

THE OREGON STATE PUBLIC INTEREST RESEARCH GROUP:
A CASE STUDY IN ORGANIZATIONAL IDENTIFICATION


By

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A THESIS

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Title: The Oregon State Public Interest Group:
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The Oregon State Public Interest Group (OSPIRG) enjoys continued success in the Oregon legislature on its various environmental and consumer protection issues. Grass roots politics through door-to-door canvassing raises political clout necessary for this success by soliciting membership, increasing awareness, and motivating activism. Each year OSPIRG seeks motivated and politically aware employees to work on their canvass. Employees are trained and influenced through unobtrusive means to purport the organization's goals and objectives while still maintaining a sense of individual job freedom. This research addresses a communication paradox: How does OSPIRG maintain cohesiveness and uphold the organization's beliefs, values, and attitudes, but still allow for freedom in on-the-job-decisions and canvassing activities?

Through a combination of qualitative and quantitative methodologies, this research focuses on organizational identification as the main schema for achieving standardized administrative behaviors. A literature review is provided to give a theoretical framework. Conclusions suggest improvements, evaluate strengths and weaknesses, and provide areas for future research.

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CHAPTER I: LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

The Oregon State Public Interest Research Group takes pride in the successes it has received over the years in areas of consumer and environmental legislation. The organization's success is largely reliant on the ability of its grass-root canvassers, hired individuals who go door-to-door soliciting membership and sharing information. Year after year the canvass is able to raise sufficient funds and citizen support to pass major legislation within Oregon. What makes this group of individuals successful?

The Oregon State Public Interest Research Group's (OSPIRG) canvass develops a group dynamic that nurtures education, political activism, and group solidarity. Most OSPIRG employees come to the organization with the intent to help preserve the environment, even though they may have little experience with political action and awareness of specific issues. Their common interests and values become channelled toward unified activism within OSPIRG's political framework. Each group of canvassers works in a closely knit and cohesive body to maintain a level of performance necessary for success. Canvassers possess considerable freedom concerning on-the-job-decisions. However they must represent accurately the organization's values and goals. This research addresses a paradox in organizational communication: How does OSPIRG maintain cohesiveness and

uphold the organization's beliefs, values, and attitudes, but still allow for freedom in on-the-job-decisions and canvassing activities?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

An organization's ability to maintain cohesiveness and consistency among individual decision makers has been addressed in several different studies. The Forest Ranger: A Study in Administrative Behavior, written by Herbert Kaufman, is one of the foremost ethnographic studies of organizational communication processes and cohesiveness-building policies. Other researchers including Phillip Tompkins, George Cheney, and Connie Bullis, have built upon this study by focusing on identification as the building block for decisional consistency. This latter group, influenced by Kenneth Burke's and H. A. Simons' concept of "identification," supplies this research's theoretical framework.

Identification

Identification, as I will employ it throughout this work, is defined by H.A. Simon in Administrative Behavior as, "A person identifies himself with a group when, in making a decision, he evaluates the several alternatives of choice in terms of their consequences for the specified group," (1947: 205). Identification influences group members to view decisions not in terms of personal ends but

in terms of the organization's goals. In addition, the organizational goals evolve into members' decision-making premises. When people identify with a group or cause, the decision making process changes; group goals become individual premises rather than individual goals evolving into the group's.

George Cheney, in "The Rhetoric of Identification and the Study of Organizational Communication" (1983), discusses identification and its effects on group dynamics. Drawing upon Kenneth Burke's writings, Cheney notes that identification arises from a need to "compensate for the 'mystery' or estrangement in the division of labor and in other ordered domains of human experience" (1983: 145). In everyday life, people feel alienated from others or from themselves. This creates a need for belonging--a sense of order and categorization. By belonging to a group the feeling of estrangement from the world wanes.

People seek to identify with certain groups in response to this division in society (1983: 146). For example, individuals see themselves as belonging to certain "corporate identities" (1983: 145). Corporate identities could include one's work place, family, friendship circle, place of residence, and other categories. People share identities and oppose others. Many of these identities may also overlap. This overlap is termed "consubstantiality," the area of commonality between two parties. Consubstantiality occurs also when an individual's values,

beliefs, and premises agree with the organization's with which s/he identifies.

Consubstantiality supplies people with common motives for acting similar ways (1983: 146). The foundation for these commonalities lies in such domains as intentions, values, beliefs, ideas, and attitudes. Cheney states, "Consubstantiality may be thought of as a product or state of identification that leads an individual to see things from the 'perspective' of a target..." (1983: 146). The "target" refers to the aspect or item with which a person identifies. For example, one "identifies" with the belief that the land is sacred and must be rescued from industrial exploitation. Others also share this belief. When these people come together they create an organization that aims to further and build upon this belief. People identify with organizations through the common values that bring them together. Pre-existing beliefs give people common motives and are catalysts for organizational identification.

Cheney argues that organizations influence people through the identification process. One may be predisposed to the values and beliefs of an organization, thus enhancing the identification process without organizational influences per se. Organizations themselves also apply pressure on individuals to accept group goals over individual agendas.

Thus, while an individual has the ability to identify spontaneously with an organization target, the "move" is often encouraged in its dealings with the member. Simply put, an individual who is inclined to identify with an

organization (or an organization subunit) will be open to persuasive efforts from various sources within the unit (1983: 146).

The organization influences members through various means to adopt its principles of action (values, beliefs). Each member begins "doing what's best" for the organization (1983: 147). The identification process influences people to internalize common goals and premises supplied by the organization. And organizations possess considerable power to enforce and create deeper identification and cohesiveness.

Enthymemes

The internalization of values, beliefs, and norms (premises) lies at the core of understanding group and individual decision making. Individuals base decisions on their own or the organization's values. Groups that express strong identification bonds supply premises that create the framework for individual choice. Through identification and administrative behavior, choice alternatives can be limited. H.A. Simon indicates that, "The behavior of a rational person can be controlled, therefore, if the value and factual premises upon which he bases his decision are specified for him" (1947: 223). Organizations motivate people to agree with organizational premises and to act according to these objectives.

To clarify the terminology, a brief, and in no way complete, discussion of syllogisms and enthymemes is

provided. Premises are the foundations from which we make decisions. The classical understanding of premises can be illustrated through a syllogism:

Major Premise: Socrates is a man;
Minor Premise: All men are mortal;
Conclusion: Socrates is mortal.

In this form the premises explicitly outline the parameters for reaching a conclusion. All limitations and criteria are clearly stated and accepted as true in themselves. The conclusion is explicitly and unquestionably correct.

Conclusions also may be reached through an enthymeme. The exact meaning and definition of the enthymeme is still under academic dispute. The enthymeme, coined by Aristotle, assumes that all premises in a proof need not be stated. In simplistic and incomplete terms, an enthymeme is a syllogism with a major premise suppressed or "drawn from the audience" (Bitzer, 1959: 408). By drawing from premises (values, beliefs, and understandings) within an audience, the persuader can arrive at a desired end. S/he does not need to say explicitly what the premises are for the audience to reach a conclusion. For example, most people would accept that Socrates is mortal whether the first two premises were stated or not.

When a group member accepts a group's values, beliefs, and understandings, his/her decisions become consistent with the organizational objectives. By influencing acceptance of premises through identification, groups create consistent

and conformed decisions and employees voluntarily work toward pre-determined goals.

Identification Revisited

Cheney and Tompkins, in "Communication and Unobtrusive Control in Contemporary Organizations" (1985), outline a process of enthymeme manipulation and identification within groups. They discuss enthymemes and premises and note the distinction between two enthymemic sources: 1) from the members or 2) from the organization. Identification is fostered by influencing members to accept established premises.

Organizational power can influence individuals toward specified goals. This power may be strengthened when organizations stress a management style that includes policies such as teamwork, a "flat" hierarchy, and intense face-to-face interaction concerning non-routine decisions (1985: 184). "Flat" refers to an administrative structure which maximizes equality between employees rather than the more traditional "ladder" hierarchy. Indeed organizations that do employ the above style find that:

The explicit rules and regulations are largely replaced by the common understanding of values, objectives, and means of achievement, along with a deep appreciation for the organization's "mission" (1985: 184).

Proper procedure becomes internalized and unquestioned when the "mission" is accepted. This allows for freedom in

decision making with the assurance that consistency and cohesion will be maintained. People share goals and, even though procedure may vary to some degree, these goals underlie decisions.

Tompkins and Cheney note, however, that the classical enthymeme, or persuasion via drawing from the audience's premises, does not fit the events occurring in organizations, where the enthymemic premises are accepted by the audience from the organization's premises. They expand Aristotle's enthymeme by creating enthymeme₂:

We shall define enthymeme₂ as a syllogistic decision-making process, individual or collective, in which a conclusion is drawn from premises (beliefs, values, expectations) inculcated in the decision maker(s) by the controlling members of the organization (1985: 188).

Individuals are influenced to switch the source of their choice making premises; they accept the group's premises rather than their own. Their own may already be consistent with the organization's, but the organization still influences deeper commitment and acceptance. Individuals within the group grow to share a common set of values which are purported through administrative behaviors. By building common decision-making premises, organizations reduce decision variance in the field.

Tompkins and Cheney note that this process is not unlike the enthymeme₁ process (1985: 189) except for the source of the premises. Citing Scott and Hart (1979), Tompkins and Cheney argue that an organization's power can

influence an individual and "result in organizational values being accepted as given, beyond reflection and discussion" (1985: 190). Questioning of these beliefs is discouraged, thus strengthening the organization's control over employees. Tompkins and Cheney also found that the organization attempts to restrict the flow of communication that questions the values, beliefs, and rules of the group (1985: 192). By identifying with a group and accepting its premises, an individual may become encapsulated within the organization. The individual becomes isolated from new or outside-the-group perspectives.

For example, I was confronted by a Jehovah's Witness on my doorstep one day and could not get her to look at the Bible as a book about history. To her it was "unquestionably the word of God." She identified so strongly with her religious belief that she no longer had the will or capacity to question the premises on which she grounded that belief.

Unquestioned acceptance of premises limits an individual's perception of choice. An individual becomes involved with a group as described above and the range of alternatives diminishes.

Thus through identification, the decision maker's range of vision is narrowed by selecting particular values, particular items of empirical knowledge, and particular behavior alternatives for consideration, to the exclusion of other values, other knowledge, and other possibilities (Tompkins, 1985: 192).

By basing decisions on the organization's standards, people tend to disregard other options, thus reducing their perception of other available alternatives. The options actually entertained are those accepted and developed by the organization. Improper decisions and choice digression, as defined by the group, disappear. People choose freely from a selection of options dictated by the group.

Premise acceptance is often non-conscious to the group member; s/he does not realize the change taking place. Tompkins and Cheney note that much of the organizational premises are not explicit. Often they are suppressed but apparent through various situations.

We believe that much of the communication in this entire process is tacit; that is, there are many kinds of suppressed premises, and this is what makes the organizational enthymemic process so elusive, subtle, persuasive, and, from the organizations standpoint, effective. Organizational members often "fill in" premises while nearly always accepting the "master premise" of putting the organization first (1985: 196).

The premises that are not explicitly stated are inferred by the employee and accepted. The organization's power stems from its ability to pass down these premises so that individual group members come to identify with them and accept them as their own.

Tompkins and Cheney feel there is danger involved with this process of identification and premise acceptance. Since the individual is mostly unaware of the dynamic

operating upon his/her self, and s/he is predisposed to identify with the organization:

We could just as well label the process of premise setting as "indoctrination, brainwashing, manipulation and false consciousness." It could even be called "consciousness raising" (1985: 198).

Interestingly, the process that produces something as popular and entertaining as consciousness raising is closely linked to systems that produce indoctrination. The connection between these terms lies in shaping choice. Manipulation involves limiting the perception of alternatives. Similarly, consciousness raising also limits the perception of choice: The receiver is persuaded to accept a new and specific set of "enlightening" conclusions that displace and replace previously accepted alternatives. Organizations can manipulate employees to behave in standardized ways by building programs to enforce and encourage organizational identification.

In a different study, "Account Analysis of Organizations: Decision Making and Identification," (1983) Tompkins and Cheney use the identification process as a theoretical framework to study organizational decision making. Through a series of accounts (interviews) and the Organizational Identification Questionnaire, (a standardized measure that quantifies the identification level within a targeted population) the researchers found evidence to support Simon's identification theory: identification

influences members to evaluate choice in terms of the organization.

A person identifies with a unit when, in making a decision, the person in one or more of his or her organizational roles perceives the unit's values or interests as relevant in evaluating the alternatives of choice. . .We expect that such identifications anticipate how committed a person will be to the implementation of the chosen solution (1983, 144).

This study used a standardized measure and interviews to reinforce the previous theories about identification. The researchers were able to create a replicable method of analysis to evaluate the level of identification and commitment to group goals.

The Organizational Identification Questionnaire (OIQ) has been used in numerous studies since then. Tompkins and Cheney's 1985 literature review concerning identification in group process includes numerous studies that support the accuracy and use of the OIQ. (See Tompkins and Cheney (1985) for a review of several of these studies). They include: Cox (1983), Cheney (1983), Hall (1970), and Dionisopoulos and Samter (1983). And other discussions supporting the dynamic presented by Kaufman include: Mills and Applegate (1983), Gahris (1983), Geist and Chandler (1983), and Bullis (1984). Kaufman's work will be discussed in greater detail later. These studies support the conclusion that premise-setting through organizational identification greatly influences employee decisions and behaviors.

Organizational identification affects many groups and influences group members in particular ways. Many researchers have explored the dynamic between decision making and identification. This phenomenon plays a role concerning organizational adherence to standardized programs. Based on the academic research conducted by other scholars, this research also seeks to identify the degree of identification and how it affects adherence to established and accepted behaviors. The following section illustrates these concepts through a case study of the Forest Service and provides an excellent model for structuring this research project.

IDENTIFICATION IN PRACTICE

The Forest Ranger: A Study in Administrative Behavior

(1960) by Herbert Kaufman describes in depth the identification dynamic and how it develops. The book prefaces with the central dilemma confronting organizations such as the Forest Service:

How to devise and operate an agency which will operate consistently, in the sense of reducing to the minimum variations from established, organization-wide norms while at the same time preserving individuality and stimulating creative thinking and action on the part of its [employees] (1960: vii).

The organization has directives and pre-formed policies that all employees must follow. Lower level employees may not see decisions within the same framework as those who create the standards, thus their actions may vary and deviate from

established norms. Programs must be developed to ensure that decisions made at the lower levels remain consistent with the policies established at the top.

Kaufman thus focuses his research on the issue of how lower level staff members make decisions concerning policies passed down to them. "What this study is concerned with is the way field men are induced to carry out tangibly the terms of headquarters agreements" (1960: xi). Kaufman seeks to determine the same understanding of group dynamics as my study: how organizations control behavior to ensure consistent practices.

Within an organization there is a tendency toward fragmentation. OSPIRG, for example, operates two main canvasses within Oregon, one in Eugene and one in Portland. It is also part of a national organization of Public Interest Research Groups (PIRGs). These bodies operate independently from each other, yet they still maintain a consistent drive toward the goals of the whole group. Fragmentation of these groups may be expected since there are "powerful centrifugal forces" (1960: 4) operating against cohesion. When this does not occur, a communication dilemma emerges: What holds groups together when the tendency is to become more specialized and fragmented? Kaufman's book is an attempt to answer this communication dilemma.

Kaufman sees that fragmentation does not occur for a variety of reasons. Forest Rangers, the study population,

are influenced by several behavioral guides that clearly outline each decision. A few of the techniques involved include procedural devices for performing decisions, detecting and discouraging deviation, and developing the will and capacity to conform. The last category illustrates the extent to which the Forest Service's policies ensure control: Rangers voluntarily conform to organizational premises.

The Forest Service nurtures conformity to its norms, values and beliefs through selection, training, and identification. Rangers are selected through a process whereby job seekers are discouraged from the job to the degree that:

Those who make the grade and stick to the Forest Service [application process] are therefore men who know the agency and are not at odds with its goals and methods. They have shown an intrinsic readiness and ability to conform (1960: 170).

The applicants are ready to accept the premises as they arrive on the job. They want to belong to the Service and are willing to act in behalf of the group, thus already minimizing their own value premises. They seek to identify with and be identified as a Forest Ranger.

Training builds upon this initial disposition to conform by giving the novice actual rules and regulations of behavior. Kaufman explains:

At the very least, then, post-entry training in the Forest Service expands the abilities needed to conform to pre-formed agency decisions. It also tends to reinforce dedication to the agency and its

objectives. . .It helps identify men whose eagerness to advance manifests itself in the will to do what the leaders recommend, let alone direct (1960: 175).

Through training, which constitutes the major part of the new-hire's initiation, the actual tools for conformity and proper decision-making behavior are developed. Choices provided by the organization discount individualized decisions and reflect standardized behaviors.

The Forest Service practices influence members to think in terms of the agency, to make decisions in terms of the agency, and to act out these decisions in terms of the agency. Through transfer and promotion, the use of symbols, consultation with superiors and other methods,

Without realizing it, members of the Forest Service thus "internalize" the perceptions, values, and premises of action that prevail in the bureau; unconsciously, very often, they tend to act in the agency-prescribed fashion because that is the way that has become natural to them (1960: 176).

Rangers learn to accept the premises and thus act in clearly defined ways that support the Forest Service's goals. These defined ways are brought on through each member's identification with the group's values, understandings, and beliefs. In most cases, alternative ways of choosing and acting are not entertained in the Ranger's mind (1960: 178).

In addition, the individual loses sight of his/her individuality; distinct lines between group identity and individual identity begin to fade. The Forest Ranger's experiences and work environment:

Practically merge the individual's identity with the identity of the organization; the organization is as much a part of the members as they are of it...one outcome of the practices is that field officers (among others) make their administrative decisions in terms of the consequences for the Forest Service, and in terms of the criteria the leaders wish them to employ (1960: 197).

Individual identity and group identity become intertwined as the individual accepts the Service's premises. Rangers put the organization's values above their own and theirs transform into the same as the Service's. This leads to voluntary conformity and acceptance of policies among all Forest Service Rangers.

Kaufman notes that the Rangers, even though they do almost exactly what they are supposed to do, feel that they are free and independent. The options they perceive when making decisions, although limited and created by the procedure manual, allow them to choose freely. However, their free choice is only among the alternatives supplied and allowed by the Service. They understand their decisions are based on the "Forest Service way," but still perceive themselves as independent. Their self perceptions change to the degree that they become isolated within the Forest Service framework--a world created by the Forest Service's administrative behaviors.

The Forest Service's goals become the framework by which Rangers make on-the-job decisions. The Rangers come into the Forest Service predisposed to its values. They are taught the tools and procedures for making decisions in the

Forest Service "way." And they learn to identify with and to accept the organization's decision-making premises. Rangers learn to "handle most situations precisely as their superiors would direct them to if their superiors stood looking over their shoulders, supervising every detail" (1960: 222). The agency outlines the premises for decisions and the Rangers voluntarily conform to them, and their decisions and actions reflect this acceptance.

Herbert Kaufman's extensive study clearly and completely discusses the Forest Service's programs designed to ensure adherence to policy. And adherence is rarely absent. His research highlights many of the tactics, policies, and behaviors that bring members to conform voluntarily to the Service's procedures and values. He describes in detail the broad range of dynamics that exist within the Forest Service and how they play an integral role. Indeed, his study is a model to use in building other studies concerning group identification and decision making dynamics.

CONCLUSION

I have explored and illustrated how identification plays a key role in group dynamics and decision making. When looking at an organization such as OSPIRG, where people come together to promote a "cause," I think we need to be aware of the dynamic that emerges. Individuals come into organizations predisposed to that group's values. The

organization passes down information that defines these values, trains the individual to act in ways that support these premises, and the member begins to put the premises of the organization ahead of his/her individual values and beliefs. The extent to which this person identifies with the group may lead him/her to stop questioning his/her own values and beliefs and limit his/her perception of choice.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS/HYPOTHESES

OSPIRG expresses many similarities with the Forest Service in terms of administrative practices. The Organizational Identification framework provides a useful and standardized means for studying administrative behavior. Hypothesis listed below emerged from the Organizational Identification Questionnaire used by Cheney, Tompkins, et al. The research questions are based on the model provided by Kaufman's work. In light of the research conducted above in regards to organizational dynamics and identification, I offer the following research hypotheses.

Hypothesis #1: There is no difference in organizational identification across time.

Past research does not indicate change over time, and thus the null hypothesis is assumed.

Hypothesis #2: People willing to return to OSPIRG's canvass have higher identification levels than those who do not.

The following research questions also frame this project.

1. How does identification within OSPIRG emerge?
2. Does identification play a role in OSPIRG's campaign effectiveness?
3. How can OSPIRG improve its canvass?

These questions will guide a look into the processes by which OSPIRG conducts its canvass. By focusing on identification as a group phenomenon, I hope to gain helpful

insight into OSPIRG practices. The final result may guide the group toward more success and greater social change.

CHAPTER II: METHODOLOGY

This research consists of a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. I will employ the Organization Identification Questionnaire for the quantitative portion. Ethnography makes up the qualitative approach. By triangulating the two methods, I hope to identify the answers to the questions listed above.

Triangulation has received much support in recent years as an excellent means for limiting the weaknesses of qualitative and quantitative methodologies while maximizing their strengths. Triangulation is "the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon" (Denzin, 1978: 291). This ensures "that the variance reflected that of the trait and not of the method" (Jick, 1979: 602-604). In addition, triangulation intends to minimize the weakness of a method and maximize its strengths (1979: 604). By using both quantitative measures and qualitative analyses, I can avoid problems with bias and methodology and still give "thick" descriptions of statistical relationships.

POPULATION

The Oregon State Public Interest Research Group employs over 120 canvassers during the summer in its Eugene office. Canvassers, on the average, are college aged individuals working for the canvass as a summer job. From June 10 - July 31, 1990 over 460 individuals applied. When research

interviews and application form analysis were conducted from this population 37 were currently employed, 71 people who had made staff or worked more than one day had quit, 58 had been rejected, and over 294 neither returned after their application day or their observation day. Additional observation took place from June 10 - August 24, 1988 and June 15 - August 12, 1989. Each years' canvass was approximately the same size.

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

The Organizational Identification Questionnaire (see Appendix #1) is a seven point Lickert scale consisting of 25 questions. The questionnaire has been employed in several studies indicated in Chapter 1 and reliabilities are excellent.

The OIQ will measure organizational identification levels at three different time periods. Time 1 (Q1) is administered during the canvasser's first week, time 2 (Q2) is handed out between three weeks and employment termination, and time 3 (Q3) is distributed when a canvasser discontinues employment. The data received from the questionnaires will be analyzed using the SPSS/PC program.

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

The qualitative section of the research is based largely on ethnography as outlined by Michael Agar in Speaking of Ethnography. Ethnography is a method of looking

at a culture, finding areas that need clarification, weighing those against a theory and deciding whether the theory holds true or not. "Whatever else ethnography is, it is in part a movement from breakdown through resolution to coherence" (1986: 23).

Ethnography is a method that builds on subjective observations. A researcher observes a set of behaviors and seeks to explain these behaviors inclusively. Explanations of observations have to be altered as time and understanding increase. Conclusions are reached when an explanation seems to include all behaviors.

Coherence, the end of the ethnographer's observations, involves describing an act in a way that is consistent with the framework, motives, and/or premises of the group that the act occurred in (1986: 25). A breakdown is a problem of understanding an event that demands explanation (1986: 25). Resolutions involve evaluating a strip, "any bounded phenomenon against which an ethnographer tests his or her understanding," against a schema, a theory or understanding that expresses the goals, values, and framework of the group being studied (1986: 27-28). Coherence comes following resolutions of breakdowns.

The ethnography process involves evaluating phenomena against a schema and deciding whether the schema holds true. If it does not then a new schema must be developed. The same phenomenon is then measured against schema². This process continues through schemaⁿ until coherence results.

When a later phenomenon discounts a previous schema, all past events must be reevaluated against the new schema. In this way theories are developed, evaluated and improved. The ethnographer analyzes phenomenon until an inclusive theory is developed.

The schema I will observe focus on organizational identification and adherence to established policies. Specific strips include daily routine, artifacts, recruitment, interviewing, briefings, debriefings, and social activities. These observational units will be viewed in terms of how they relate to organizational identification in practice. When do people show signs that they identify strongly with the group? When does this identification seem to influence decisions? In what way? What programs influence cohesion to standardized behaviors? These schema and strips will guide the qualitative analysis section of this research.

INTERVIEWS/DIRECT OBSERVATION

Interviews with current and past OSPIRG employees and direct observation are the primary sources of data for the ethnography section. Direct observation includes three years' experience: June-July 1990, May-September 1988, July-August 1989. I worked as a field manager and canvasser during the summer 1988. In addition, I observed and had informal discussions during summer 1989. Observations concluded during summer 1990. I have been able to observe

numerous activities and programs as a researcher and a participant.

Interviews with more than 50 past and current employees were conducted over the past two years. Twenty-three interviews were held with past employees from the summer 1989 canvass. These discussions included administration of the "Past Employee Questionnaire" (see Appendix #2) followed by an open discussion concerning the individual's experience. Questions included "Why did you quit," "How informed were you concerning pay and work hour procedures," and "What suggestions do you have for OSPIRG," to name a few. Interviews averaged about 40 minutes and were recorded by tape and brief notes.

Interviews conducted during summer 1990 were of two different types. Employees who no longer worked for OSPIRG (33) were interviewed over the phone. They responded to the Organizational Identification Questionnaire followed by a short moderately structured interview (see Appendix #3). Other interviews (14) did not include administration of the Organizational Identification Questionnaire at the time of the interview. These were conducted at various times throughout the summer. They were moderately structured with an outline covering the range of programs and strips listed above (see Appendix #2.1). Phone interviews lasted 20 minutes and person-to-person interviews averaged 45 minutes.

I also have three years' informal experience with the organization. Many informal discussion with friends and

acquaintances added to the breadth and depth of my understanding. Progressing from a new hire, canvasser, and field manager, to an outside observer has given me extensive exposure of OSPIRG's programs, policies, and administrative behaviors.

SUMMARY

Through the combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, this project limits weaknesses and maximizes strengths. Statistics do not provide explanations for phenomena while ethnography often falls victim to idiosyncratic interpretation. By employing a previously used and accepted statistical questionnaire, I can limit the inaccuracies that emerge from my own bias. In addition, deeper explanations and understandings can be provided by the direct observation approach.

CHAPTER III: QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

The Organizational Identification Questionnaire was administered and gave significant results to both hypotheses. The strengths of the results are mitigated due to problems with questionnaire administration. Significance levels, however, confirm that organizational identification does play a role in OSPIRG's administrative behavior.

PROCEDURES

The OIQ was administered at three separate times, (denoted Q1, Q2, and Q3). OSPIRG administrative staff administered Q1 to those employed less than one week and Q2 to those employed more than one week. Via phone interview, I and hired associates, not OSPIRG related, administered Q3 to past employees. Before each interview, directions were read and no interpretation of questions provided. Directions also requested participants to give a code name so their three scores could be analyzed longitudinally. The 25 questions had values ranging from 1 to 7 ("very strongly agree" = 1 and "very strongly disagree" = 7, and "Neither agree nor disagree" = 4). Each questionnaire was totalled and divided by 25 to give a mean score for organizational identification. Tracking individual respondents over time proved unsuccessful, and thus three general groupings for each Q1, Q2, and Q3 were created.

RESULTS/DISCUSSION

Participants included new, experienced, and past employees. A total of 74 responses were received: Q1 = 10, Q2 = 31, and Q3 = 33. Fifteen responses to Q3 were discarded by the researcher prior to analysis due to unsatisfactory responses. In addition, the computer rejected eight surveys due to excessive missing data. Fifty-one usable surveys were analyzed: 9 from Q1, 25 from Q2, and 17 from Q3. Analysis was conducted using the SPSS/PC Oneway ANOVA program. Reliabilities for the Organizational Identification Questionnaire are excellent, Alpha = .92.

Although individual responses were not tracked over time, generalized groupings indicate that new and current canvassers have high identification levels while people who quit identify less. Hypothesis #1, "There is no significant difference in organizational identification across time," was rejected, ($F(2,51) = 3.367, P < .04$). Post hoc Scheffe tests revealed significant differences between Q2 and Q3. The mean score for Q1, Q2, and Q3 were 2.649, 2.531, and 3.162, respectively. Twelve percent of variance was explained.

Individual tracking was not possible due to inadequate respondent coding (discussed below). Overall, the findings indicate that canvassers are predisposed to identify with

the organization and the campaign at the campaign, and but people become disillusioned and quit.

Hypothesis #2, "People willing to return to the organization have higher identification levels than those who do not" was confirmed. Respondents to Q3 were asked if they would be willing to work for OSPIRG again. People unwilling to return to canvassing expressed significantly lower identification, ($F(4,51) = 5.07, P < .01$). Post hoc Scheffe tests revealed differences were primarily between Group 2, "strongly agree," ($M = 2.54$), and Group 7, "very strongly disagree," ($M = 4.36$). Sixty-three percent of the variance is explained by this relationship. Interestingly, Group 2 ($n = 7$) were the only positive responses. There was only one response to Group 4, "neither agree nor disagree," ($M = 3.68$). Negative responses included disagree ($n = 2, M = 2.98$), "strongly disagree," ($n = 3, M = 2.96$), and "very strongly disagree," ($n = 4$).

People were either strongly willing to return or did not desire to return to some degree. And most felt a very strong desire not to return. Those who responded negatively to the reemployment question also contributed to the significant difference found in Hypothesis #1. Apparently OSPIRG affects employees to quit working and to have weak identification with the campaign and organization. In addition, those who still have relatively high identification levels are willing to return. These data

indicate that most employees initially identify with the cause and the organization, and that some OSPIRG activities drive people to quit and to view the organization less favorably.

CONCLUSIONS

These data support the research questions that organizational identification plays a significant role regarding employment and commitment. People want to work for OSPIRG issues prior to employment. While working they still associate strongly with the organization and the campaign. However, some people become alienated and refuse to work again, while others who quit still identify and are willing to return. Those who express lower identification also indicate strong conviction to not return. Statistical results strongly support these conclusions.

I realize these data have two major weaknesses: 1. the small sample size, and 2. individual tracking over time. Due to improper administration and responses, more responses were received than analyzed. OSPIRG staff did not enforce questionnaire coding and 100% return rate. I did not oversee the whole process as thoroughly as possible. Fifteen phone responses conducted by other hired personnel were not included, because the directions were not followed and more than one response was given to each answer. These weaknesses do not discount the usable data; however they do create the need for a follow-up to test validity.

CHAPTER IV: QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Organizational identification and cohesion to OSPIRG's directives and processes emerge through the group's various programs and activities. These activities influence employees to minimize their own premises and work toward the group's good, according to the OSPIRG way. Specific activities can be isolated to illustrate their influence; however, OSPIRG's effectiveness comes from the relationships between various activities. Major canvass activities to be discussed include: recruitment, interviews, training programs, briefings, debriefings, canvassing, social life, and camping canvasses. A qualitative analysis of these activities shows how cohesion to pre-formed policies and identification emerge and influence canvassers. But first I will describe OSPIRG's artifacts and daily routine as an orientation to canvassing operations.

ARTIFACTS

Artifacts can be found throughout the organization and provide the initial strips for interpreting sources of behavioral consistency and organizational identification. The schema developed is that artifacts are strips that influence employees to identify and indicate the existence of this organizational identification. Various fact sheets, posters, calendars, and other material are plastered on all walls. Canvassers themselves wear OSPIRG T-shirts,

buttons, and have bumper stickers on their cars and bikes. Most materials have the OSPIRG logo and the word "OSPIRG" on them. Artifacts are used for merit awards, canvassing, education, and motivation. See appendix #5 through appendix #15. These also help create corporate identities among staff.

The OSPIRG office itself is an artifact; it evokes a feeling of campaign and political activism. There are three director offices, a large office space for field managers, a bathroom, storage room, conference room, foyer, and a lounge/open area. The foyer, lounge, field manager office and conference room walls are all covered with posters, graphs, maps, membership cards, a large calendar, and other artifacts. The lounge has a magazine rack containing all artifacts used by the canvassers. The conference room contains posters which aid the directors during interview sessions. Wherever one looks, s/he sees "OSPIRG" and campaign propaganda that inspire motivation, education, and activism.

Canvassers are awarded 1990 summer canvass T-shirts for achieving double quota in one night, \$160, and a bumper sticker upon making the "staff" rank. These both help indicate a canvasser's skills and prestige. The T-shirt is very popular among the staff both as an identifier of success and a work shirt. Many wear their staff shirts several days a week. These labels are revered by employees. Bumper stickers are less popular and receive less

recognition, since they are less noticed during daily activities. Those who have not received a T-shirt are encouraged to earn one, although they are not shunned or viewed negatively if they do not. Artifacts, particularly these two, label the receiver and bring him/her closer to OSPIRG, its staff, and the campaign. Similarly in organizations such as the Forest Service, uniforms and rank badges provide labels that build identification and conformity. Artifacts help nurture identification; they represent OSPIRG's campaign and mission and label staff.

DAILY ROUTINE

The canvass has a daily routine which also fosters organizational identification and cohesiveness. The daily schedule plays a role in raising enthusiasm, increasing skills and knowledge of various issues, and preparing canvassers for the day's work. Canvassers come to work between 1 p.m. and 2 p.m. Early arrival is encouraged, especially when a briefing occurs. The day usually ends between 10 p.m. and 12 p.m. For the nine to thirteen hours at work, canvassers are bombarded with information about politics, the issues, canvassing, and friendships that illustrate the full range of solidarity building programs. The routine is quite standardized; hence, it echoes the "by-the-book" scheduling and practices found in the Forest Service.

Announcements

At 2 p.m. the Canvass Director gives announcements. These include recognizing achievement from the night before (T-shirt awardees, new staff members), updating news concerning camping canvass(es), reporting any campaign news, announcing upcoming events (briefings, pizza nights, parties, excursions, and others), and sharing other information related to environmental issues, current events, and the canvass. Announcements are characterized by humor, applause, and laughter. Canvassers share their enthusiasm and concerns. Reports concerning turf success focus on the amount of money earned. The director gives average incomes per canvasser and shares names of those who raised more than double quota. In fact, very little discussion is devoted to issues in comparison to fund raising. Money talk is the main source of inspiration. (Interestingly, monetary failure on turf is also the largest cause of discouragement and quitting). Announcement time focuses employees on raising money, spreading the message, and creating deeper bonds between staff.

Announcements are followed with the calling out of each crew for the day. Canvassers are divided into groups of 4-12 according to their turf location. Each field manager (F.M.) reads her/his crew list. Often F.M.s will share new information about the town or the issue. They also may ask crew personnel to respond with a phrase when his/her name is called. For example, those going to Springfield may

respond, "Drop the trash in the can" or "I'm psyched for more recycling in Springfield." This activity builds crew bonds and enthusiasm for the job and town. Crews then leave for lunch. Employees start the day by identifying with their common goal or mission. This strengthens group bonds and unity and also focuses attention on the cause and the OSPIRG program.

Lunch

Lunch lasts from around 2 p.m. until approximately 3:30 p.m. and provides time for additional group socialization and identification. Each crew goes to an out-of-office location to eat. For example, crews enjoy dining at Eugene's Fifth Street Market. Crews travelling out of Eugene usually get snacks before they leave and eat lunch upon arrival. Few canvassers pack a lunch. Lunchtime activities are largely social and interactive: political discussions, role plays, and daily job preparation.

Role plays and job preparation are standardized lunchtime programs. Program standardization of this sort parallels the Forest Service and other identification building organizations since it helps create consistency between different groups. Directors encourage participation in role plays; however, experienced canvassers may not do them. Crews that canvass outside of Eugene often conduct role plays while travelling. For example, sessions occur while driving to Corvallis, Albany, and Roseburg to name a

few. They help prepare canvassers for particular towns and the work. Job preparation includes reviewing turf, organizing membership cards, and discussing the area's particular political climate.

Lunch also provides a time for the field manager to share information about a particular town. Information includes demographic material, names of important political people in the area, local state representatives and senators, past canvassers' experiences, the town's economic composite, and when other canvass groups have been there. This information helps staff adapt to the town's particular interests when discussing OSPIRG's campaign.

Most importantly, in terms of organizational identification, morale, and success on turf, lunch brings crews together in a social setting for two hours a day. Friendships are nurtured, politics are discussed, and various other bonding activities emerge. The socializing and socialization that takes place are vital to the canvass's success.

Turf

Each canvasser receives an area to canvass, "turf," with 50 to 70 houses, "doors." S/he is dropped off at 4 p.m. and picked up at 8 p.m. During the four hours on turf, the canvasser talks to as many people as possible. Employees canvass alone unless accompanied by a trainee or trainer. The goals, as perceived by the staff, are to raise

membership and educate the public. When a door is not answered the canvasser indicates this on a turf sheet so s/he can call back later. After going to new houses for 3 hours, the canvasser returns to his/her callbacks.

Canvassers must report their daily experiences, turn in callback sheets, and evaluate their performance each night when debriefing with the field manager and/or director.

This practice helps minimize bad habits and deviation from established policy, and builds conformity and communication connections. Organizations such as OSPIRG and the Forest Service use continued reporting and reviewing to maintain consistent behavioral representation of established goals.

Standard Rap

The rap is designed to give each canvasser a starting point to discuss OSPIRG's issues with the public. It helps identify who the canvasser is, why s/he is there, what OSPIRG has accomplished in the past, what OSPIRG is working on now, why, and the need for membership contributions. The last part of the rap is the contribution appeal. Most canvassers repeat the rap close to verbatim. Directors want canvassers to recite the rap, but still be flexible enough to adjust to each door. As an employee becomes more familiar with the issues, OSPIRG, and the rap, s/he tends to vary the appeal. Debriefings and role plays help enforce adherence to the standard rap and improve skills. Once

again, standardized behaviors are encouraged and enforced to help maintain uniformity.

A canvasser aims to educate the public and raise money. S/he repeats the standard rap at each door. Following this initial appeal, the canvasser and door engage in a discussion. "Doors" often share their own opinions and ask questions about the issue and OSPIRG itself. Indeed, when doors are interactive, the canvasser must be well versed in the organization's activities, the implications of the various bills and measures, and counter arguments likely to emerge. Role plays, staff, and training encourage canvassers to be persistent when soliciting contributions, and thus all discussions should return to the need and appeal for financial support. Canvassers initially ask for the \$15 to \$30 membership fee. Small contributions are also accepted. All monetary appeals are framed within politics. For example, a canvasser may say, "Your membership contribution today will give us the political clout we need to be effective in the legislature." If a canvasser still receives no contribution, s/he is encouraged to leave some information and go to the next door. The standard rap is a strip that provides a breakdown concerning identification; canvassers face a plethora of door types and must be able to cope with each one. Arguments and appeals are standardized to provide the most successful responses and employees rehearse these during role plays. Indeed, all canvassers express similar arguments based on OSPIRG premises. The rap

helps solidify consistent practices among employees as well as introduce persuasively the campaign to people on turf.

Pick-up and Debriefing

The field manager picks up each canvasser at a designated time and place, debriefs him/her at trunkside, and drives on to the next canvasser. Information gained at this time is forwarded to the directors during the field manager's nightly debriefing. Trunkside debriefing gives the field manager a good idea about what happened on turf, how closely the canvasser stuck to OSPIRG's goals and processes, and what improvements should or should not be made. This behavioral strip also illustrates how all administrative levels are joined, which helps build identification and cohesion. For example, the Forest Ranger must submit reports for all activities. His/her superior must also submit a report concerning the subordinate's report. This report network reaches all employee levels and provides directors with opportunities to notice deviance and improper practices. Knowing that all staff levels will be reviewing each crew member's performance helps ensure proper behavior.

Check-out

Each canvasser checks out by totalling contributions, filling out membership cards, and indicating turf covered. All monies, cards, and turf sheets are returned to the field

manager. The F.M. double-checks the money, totals it for the whole crew, and gives it to the canvass director when debriefing. Cards and turf sheets are retained for future use. Check-out usually takes about an hour. Once again employee performance is reviewed and monitored. Low level employees want to provide accurate information so their F.M. also provides accurate information. Employees look after each other, once again illustrating group effort to work together and achieve a common goal.

Summary

The daily routine illustrates how organizational identification and cohesion to policy emerge and is controlled. Throughout the day, canvassers talk about the issues, practice arguing for OSPIRG's goals, build friendships, and improve their canvassing skills. They report each night to a superior who reports in turn to her/his superior. Bonding and conformity result from the program's intensity and thoroughness. Both OSPIRG and the Forest Service have clearly defined daily routines with standardized activities. This in itself provides a breakdown that can be explained through organizational identification. Further sections will illustrate more clearly the extent to which these daily programs foster deeper commitments, bonds, and organizational identification.

RECRUITMENT

The recruitment process supports the schema that organizational identification plays an important role at OSPIRG. New employee recruitment is an ongoing and essential aspect of the canvass. OSPIRG realizes a very high employee turnover rate (See Chapter II: Population) and must constantly train new staff. At times the canvass may have upwards of 75 or fewer than 10 employees. The major thrust of the recruitment process is, as I have heard several directors say, "to become as big as possible." As described in Chapter III, identification helps retain staff and maintain motivation. Many employees become discouraged with the job and they do not enjoy door-to-door solicitation. OSPIRG builds interpersonal and group bonds to counteract the tendency to "burn-out" and quit.

Recruitment occurs over a four month span. The canvass opens in the fourth week of May. Prior to opening, OSPIRG actively advertises for summer canvassers through information booths, classified ads, posters, pamphlets, word-of-mouth, and other means primarily at Oregon college campuses. This recruitment time provides OSPIRG with its core staff. Those who start early also receive the most training attention.

After the canvass opens and a staff is in place recruitment activity reduces to posters, classified ads, and word-of-mouth. (Stabilization of canvass staffing occurs

around one month into the summer). Most direct approach methods, such as information booths, are cancelled.

OSPIRG's application form asks "How did you learn about the PIRG job?". Responses indicate that most employees heard of the job through the newspaper. Friends, posters, and other means (including street fairs, information booths, and campus activities) are also significant means for recruitment (see Table #1).

All recruitment advertising strives to get the prospective canvasser into the office for an interview. The newspaper ad, poster, pamphlet, and career center list a phone number to call for additional information. The ads appeal to "Activists," "Environmentalists," and those who want "meaning in their job." Interested persons are invited to call for more information. Once again OSPIRG parallels the Forest Service in that job seekers are already identifying with organizational programs and values.

Information shared during the first contact, either person-to-person or by phone, revolves primarily around OSPIRG's campaign and the need to attend a group interview session. Very little information about specific job activities is given. The OSPIRG representative, usually the Administrative Assistant, Assistant Director, or Canvass Director, indicates that OSPIRG is Oregon's largest and strongest environmental and consumer lobby group. S/he also outlines the job as "political canvassing" working toward the passage of various political goals. The representative

explains that pay is anywhere from \$140 to \$260 per week and is based on 35% commission, hours are from 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. weekdays, and more information is available during an initial interview session. Door-to-door solicitation and a full description of pay procedure are seldom explained in depth. The main message is to explain the political campaign and schedule the caller for a group interview. In a sense, as a director indicated, "We almost trick people into coming into the interview." People come into the office because of the need for a summer job, the attractiveness of OSPIRG's campaign, and the desire to help the environment (see Table #2); most applicants indicate a predisposition toward environmental activism. Identification with campaign issues and the "cause" are very significant for recruitment.

OSPIRG realizes that "door-to-door" canvassing per se is not a popular job opportunity and thus not conducive to a large canvass. By motivating people to come to an interview session and seek out more information, canvass directors can describe the job activity within a political framework. Individuals are more willing to accept an "unattractive" job if they feel it works toward a much bigger good. And people begin to identify with the campaign as soon as they attend the group interview. Tim Goss, Canvass Director, says, "People get a sense of involvement when they come in." The office, the staff, and the interview session itself exude political activism and a sense of campaign that inspire

people to become more involved and active. In the office, identification with the campaign and other people with similar interests help the recruiting process. In addition, information concerning specific job activities can be introduced within the political campaign framework thus minimizing the job's unattractiveness.

INTERVIEWS

The interview plays a significant role in shaping identification into cohesive activism. After making an initial call to the organization, a prospective employee attends a pre-scheduled interview. This interview session has three activities: a group interview/orientation, an application form, and a one-on-one interview. The purpose is to frame campaign, education, and fund raising issues within OSPIRG's political goals. It also details OSPIRG's history and justifies the need for fund raising and canvassing. This reduces negative reactions to door-to-door solicitation. Interviewees begin to see themselves involved in a large political campaign that has been proven successful. They start to realize that their own beliefs are very similar to the organizations and the people involved. The movement toward accepting OSPIRG's specific decisional premises speeds up during the interview session. The emergence of unobtrusive control is illustrated through the interview process.

Interviewers follow a standardized "rap" outline. The application routine is the same for all PIRG's nationwide, although geared to OSPIRG's own agenda. This rap, however, differs from the canvasser's "standard rap" which gives an actual speech that employees must repeat verbatim.

Interviewers have some degree of freedom when giving the interview presentation. Organizational identification can explain this breakdown (that interviewers are given more freedom in this "rap" than canvassers); interviewers have already accepted organizational premises and will represent the "mission" without the strict guidelines. Lower level Forest Service employees must also follow documented guidelines more than the higher-ups.

The group interview aims to describe the campaign's "big picture" and job activity within the political process's framework. After a brief introduction, the interviewer develops the campaign "problem," in this case the need for more recycling and packaging restrictions. The presenter then gives the solution to the problem, using visual aids, and discusses the oppositional forces, the packaging industry. Environmental concerns and values begin to focus into direct action within OSPIRG's value system.

The presenter then ties the campaign together with a description of the political process and how OSPIRG will be successful. Specifically, OSPIRG counters the opposition, which has vowed to use \$5 million mostly in television

advertising, through grass roots politics. Large industry uses mass media and direct mail methods to gain support.

Activating the public through membership contributions and other avenues gives the organization political clout. Political clout, specifically, comes from three main programs: 1) membership support and contributions, 2) public education, and 3) additional involvement. Additional involvement includes letter writing, lobbying, and canvassing, to name a few. Since the canvass started in 1983, membership has increased from 2,000 to over 75,000, all giving at least \$15. By donating money, voters send messages to their representatives and senators to support OSPiRG's programs. Cash solicitation is more than merely sales; it produces political power. Door-to-door canvassing is essential for raising this support. Interviewees receive a message that inspires action and involvement and begins to draw their decisional premises toward the campaign's.

Payment procedure is also described at this time. Applicants are informed that they will receive 35% commission of whatever they make, which is \$140 per week "base salary" as long as minimum quota is achieved each night. After 21 days the base pay increases to \$160 as long as the minimum quota is maintained. Canvassers also receive 35% of any monies they make above quota.

Quota is set at \$80 through the following logic: each employee canvasses 50 to 70 houses per turf. Around 1/2 of the people will be home. Of those 25 to 35 households 20%

to 35% will contribute. The average contribution is \$10 to \$20. Thus the average expected income per night is \$80 to \$110. The directors inform the applicants that all turf is capable of yielding at least the minimum quota. Quota supplies directors with evaluation information and work quality standards. Income received pays for canvassers and other programs.

The interviewer then presents the qualifications OSPIRG seeks. Employees need to be able to motivate people away from political apathy, ask for money, and start working almost immediately. Urgency is placed within a political framework; for example, OSPIRG needs over 600,000 votes to win its initiative and the election is only four months away. Urgency also increases pressure to commit to the campaign. Applicants are predisposed to the campaign issues. Understanding of the problem, opposition, and solution draws them toward OSPIRG's specific agenda and creates pressure to become active immediately.

The pay process causes a breakdown in organizational identification. People interviewed expressed dissatisfaction with the way OSPIRG deals with employee financial policies. Indeed, pay procedure alienates people from the organization although not necessarily from the cause. Past employees in particular indicate they quit primarily due to financial misunderstandings. As one ex-cavasser says, "I was told I was going to make much more than I was. They knew I misunderstood, yet they let me

think I would be getting paid differently. I quit because I felt cheated...Yes, I do agree with what OSPIRG is doing. I only disagree with how they treated me as an employee."

Quota and the notion of base pay are two devices that breed alienation, mistrust, and dissatisfaction toward OSPIRG. Over 80% of those interviewed who quit indicate dissatisfaction with employer/employee relations concerning pay. Many said they were misinformed concerning how much they were to earn; they believed that a base salary meant the lowest possible income. Even though there is no minimum guaranteed "base pay," use of the term fosters false perceptions. Most employees also indicated they rarely earned advertised income amounts. Other respondents said they had no problem with the pay itself, except that they were misinformed. For these respondents, if OSPIRG had told them realistically how much they would make, then they may not have quit. The pay process itself does not create dissatisfaction, but the way it is presented alienates employees.

OSPIRG does not want income considerations to discourage applicants. Recruiters, as a director told me, "may not have been as clear as possible" when talking about pay issues. However, when I attended interviews they were extra clear. Because OSPIRG needs to get people working on the campaign and involved with the political process, it does not want people leaving before they have a chance to socialize and bond with the staff. Pay, or lack of it, is

the largest drawback to recruitment. Many employees could not describe full pay procedure up to two weeks after employment began, and by this time identification and social bonding were well under way. One ex-canvasser told me, "The social life kept me from quitting, even though I knew I was not making any money." By misleading canvassers either intentionally or unintentionally, OSPIRG indicates the reliance on interpersonal and political programs to nurture and increase commitment and bonding. This breakdown shows that OSPIRG uses identification and interpersonal bonding to keep its canvass strong. They realize pay is their weak spot and organizational identification causes employees to focus on the campaign and each other rather than their income.

In conclusion, non-monetary rewards and provide additional incentive to join. Campaign involvement reinforces activism both in self and others. Interpersonal and communication skills develop. Understandings of the issues, political processes, and demographics increase. And OSPIRG programs are part of a larger campaign throughout the United States. OSPIRG is one of many public interest research groups in the U.S. Its bills and initiatives set precedents and standards for the rest of the nation. By working at this canvass, activists are helping world-wide environmental and consumer campaigns. Interestingly, directors do not include income as a benefit when describing the job. Once again OSPIRG's campaign is framed within

politics and the need to be active. The group interview starts and ends within a context of political empowerment that effectively inspires applicants to become involved immediately and to identify with campaign staff.

After completing the application form, applicants are interviewed individually. These interviews last about five minutes and are intended to determine whether the applicant is interested or not and how political s/he is. A brief discussion based on the application form concerning past experience, skills, and political interests is included. The interviewer also evaluates the applicant's qualifications, integrity, and seriousness. Some application forms contain director comments indicating the interviewee as "very political," "highly enthusiastic," "too young," or having "poor language skills." Interviewers look for those with the ability and potential of becoming good OSPIRG employees. Following the interview the applicant is either invited back for an observation day and possible employment or is rejected.

Each applicant is also presented with a packet of materials that help encourage adherence to OSPIRG's mission. All information is provided by OSPIRG and includes explanations of particular issues and legislative bills, newspaper articles written about the campaign, fact sheets, a "standard rap" sheet, OSPIRG's newsletter, and various other artifacts. The job seeker is invited to read this material at home some time before s/he attends an

observation day. OSPIRG does not have a follow-up procedure to see whether the information was interpreted correctly or retained.

All this information is provided by OSPIRG; original sources, literary citations, and research methods are not included. In fact, when asked about sources I was told to check with the Portland office. They in turn gave me more information about the issue published by OSPIRG itself. Much of OSPIRG's information comes from student research during the school year and is not published by other sources. However, lack of non-OSPIRG representation expresses a one-sided perspective and further research and analysis is not encouraged. One piece of literature from oppositional forces is provided, a counter-proposal to OSPIRG's recycling act. The OSPIRG Executive Director's cover letter to this document asks canvassers for input regarding the proposal. Interestingly, he skews objectivity by providing his own opinions and analysis. The information a new recruit receives is biased toward OSPIRG's own agenda and thus limits alternative understandings and choice; it helps create conformity and adherence to company policy.

Regardless of this one-sidedness, most canvassers reported they received an excellent awakening to the political climate and process. Indeed, the OSPIRG campaign provides a forum for open discussion about a wide range of political and social issues. Canvassers discuss politics during work and at social events and often rely on similar

data coming from similar sources--OSPIRG. This assists in politicizing canvassers and further influencing them toward committed activism. Knowledge of the political issues and climate along with a common data base empowers canvassers and fosters unified perspectives and beliefs, once again enhancing the identification and cohesion processes.

APPLICATION FORM

The application form (see Appendix A) seeks information about the applicant's background, interests, political awareness, and language aptitude. Interviewer's use the application form to determine prospective canvasser's ability level. Each applicant is rated one, two, three, or R (reject). Interviewers also indicate whether an applicant has field manager potential. The form illustrates that applicants often share similar values, beliefs, and understandings about politics and the world. Applicants relate to the organization's values and goals before starting employment.

Question #2, "Previous work experience," and question #3, "What leadership skills or experience do you have," were not analyzed. I feel these areas are useful for applicant review and promotion potential but not significantly relevant to the questions this study asks. Question #5, "On the reverse side, please provide an answer to one of the following questions," was not reviewed in depth. I summarize applicants' responses to this question below.

As indicated previously, responses to question #1, "How did you learn about the PIRG job?" overwhelmingly listed newspaper ads (see Table #1). A higher number of applicants who were rejected or quit following the interview observation replied to a newspaper ad, 81%, than those who quit after T-1 or were still current, 55%. Indeed, responses indicate that employees who stayed longer heard of the organization through friends and other means more often than those who quit early (35% versus 17%). Employee retention is higher for those who learn of OSPIRG through personal contact rather than mass media advertising. This may show that providing more information early on about canvassing may enhance retention and/or weed out a higher number of those likely to quit early.

Question #4, "List three reasons why you want to work for PIRG," was analyzed and shows that most canvasser come to OSPIRG because of a concern for the environment and a desire to become politically active (see Table #2). A much high number of applicants, regardless of their time of stay with OSPIRG, indicated they wanted to save the environment, were concerned about the future, and cared for the issues OSPIRG works on. Regardless of employment duration most respondents indicated similar reasons. However, rejected applicants did show more responses to "need job/money" and "special job characteristics." This indicates that people who are less informed about the organization and the job itself may be less qualified, and/or those interested in

money more than in saving the environment are not desired, and/or they cannot earn enough working for OSPIRG. Regardless of these differences, there are strong similarities among motives for applying at OSPIRG. Indeed, applicants clearly express the propensity to conform and accept OSPIRG's decisional premises since they bring many of the same values with them.

Question #5 requests applicants to respond to one of three essay options. Most responded by writing one paragraph to option #1, "What do you see as society's most pressing problem?" The answers largely supported responses given to question #4 (see Table #2); people feel that environmental damage and doubts about the future are most urgent. Responses to the latter two options, "Ideally, what do you see yourself doing in five years and why?" and "What do you want to be remembered for and why?" varied immensely according to the individual's own interests.

This section's administrative purpose is to give the interviewer an example of the applicant's writing ability and level of political awareness. How well the applicants will represent the organization is also inferred from their writing ability and topic selection. The interviewer may ask follow up questions related to the content of the essay during the one-on-one section. Content, however, plays a secondary role to the essay's form and style. The interviewer gains a composite of the applicant's eloquence and language aptitude both through the written essay and the

oral interview. Applicants' potential for identification and adherence to OSPIRG's goals are assessed.

The application form is used continuously by office personnel for promotion review, phone and mail information, and other administrative purposes. I could not find any indication that essays were used to guide OSPIRG's future projects. OSPIRG does not summarize responses. The application form's purpose is primarily for hiring and promotion activities. It does indicate, however, that many of OSPIRG's applicants share common concerns, values, and beliefs about the world. This is significant because it indicates that organizational identification occurs prior to employment. Where new recruits for the Forest Service are predisposed to accept organizational guidelines and premises, so are OSPIRG applicants. In many cases individual beliefs are the same as the organizations and the other employees. This strengthens the ability of the organization to unobtrusively control employee behaviors and decision making since the employee already shares similar goals. OSPIRG needs only to shape political behavior along established company lines to ensure consistency. Training programs give the behavioral framework for communal and accepted premises, and provide an excellent strip illustrating organizational identification and unobtrusive control.

NEW EMPLOYEE TRAINING

OSPIRG conducts formal training sessions for most positions and activities that enhance solidarity with PIRG programs and standards and build identification. These standardized programs include: observation day/new employee training, trainer training, field manager training, advanced training, director training, role plays, debriefings and briefings. In addition to formal training programs, canvassers report that training is always occurring informally; people constantly discuss the issues, relate turf experiences, and share tactics. Indeed, the entire canvass can be viewed as an integrated training program.

New employee training starts with the interview and ends formally when staff status is attained. The interview gives the new employee an initial understanding of the problem, solution, and campaign (see interview section above) and also begins to build conformity to standardized behaviors and beliefs. Successful applicants are scheduled for a non-paid observation day.

Observation Day

The observation day is the most intensive and thorough training OSPIRG conducts. It gives new employees a chance to watch a canvasser in action and try canvassing as well. All administrative aspects and technical skills are taught during this 9- to 12-hour time period. After the training

day the new employee should be able to canvass successfully by him/herself in accordance to OSPiRG's norms.

To begin the observation day, the trainee is paired with a staff member who has received trainer training. Directors pair training duos with the hope that friendships emerge. Prior to going out on turf the trainer explains various administrative tasks (maps, membership cards, terminology) and answers questions. They also role play with each other. Socialization begins immediately as the two become familiar and share their common values.

Once on turf the trainee observes the canvasser, asks questions, practices his/her rap, and gets prepared to try a few doors. Canvassers go door-to-door between 4 p.m. to 8 p.m. Trainees observe for two hours. At around 6 p.m. they try their first door with the trainer present. Trainees also try doors alone with the trainer staying on the street. From 7 p.m. to 8 p.m. the trainee is on his/her own. The trainer and trainee meet together at 7:45 p.m. to review experience. At 8 p.m. they are picked up. The field manager conducts a trunkside debriefing with the trainee and the trainer separately.

Throughout the time on turf the trainer and trainee are talking about the campaign, reviewing the rap, and practicing with role plays. The trainee is expected to memorize the standard rap and successfully recite it at a door before going alone. In addition, trainers give trainees examples of counter arguments and discussions that

may emerge at a door. After each door, the two critique the event. For example a trainer may say, "You did fine with the appeal for membership and the description of OSPIRG, but you need to keep the order of the rap. You should use the rap as it's written." This gives the trainer and trainee a chance to improve their skills, explain responses received by doors, and share more information about campaign issues. In addition, the constant sharing of raps and arguments fosters conformity of style and process; many trainees learn to copy their trainers' styles.

Upon returning to the canvass office, the trainee and trainer go over check-out procedure and are debriefed again. Trainers and trainees are each talked to privately by a director. The purpose is to evaluate both individuals and determine whether to hire the trainee. The director decides whether to hire based entirely on the trainer's input and suggestion. During the trainee debriefing, the director informs him/her of the decision and asks for an evaluation of the trainer. The network of debriefing and review helps ensure behavioral conformity. After completing check-out procedures and debriefing the observation day concludes.

Cohesion to OSPIRG's goals and accepted behaviors are nurtured during the observation day. The observer cannot go to a door until the standard rap is memorized, arguments in favor of the campaign are developed, and other rhetorical skills improved, i.e. keep voice authoritative, frame all cash appeals in terms of political necessity, and be

persistent when asking for money. Deviation from the standard rap and organization of the monetary appeal is dispelled through constant and pervasive review. When individuals do begin to deviate from the OSPIRG way, they are confronted during debriefings (discussed later). When employees deviate from the standard rap and earn more money, they are still encouraged to use the rap as it is written. Formal adjustments to the rap are not accepted even if greater success results. When a canvasser has more experience and has proven him/herself, directors are less strict concerning the rap, but they still encourage recitation of the standardized rap. Conformity to these pre-determined specific practices gives structure to observer's predisposition toward environmental issues. Training programs teach specific behaviors and arguments to trainees and thus unobtrusively control their actions and on-the-job decisions.

New Hires

New hires receive no additional formal training, but they are required to perform role plays every day for their first week. A new hire's first paid day follows the observation day and is titled T-1 (trainee day 1). S/he keeps the trainee title until earning quota for a night and making staff. If quota is not earned after two days the trainee is put on ultimatum. Employment discontinues following an unsuccessful T-3. Until s/he makes staff s/he

is required to practice canvassing much more intensely than regular staff. In contrast, other staff personnel may or may not perform role plays each day. This policy increases adherence with OSPIRG's established goals; canvassers learn within a few days the acceptable knowledge, communication skills, and sales approaches necessary to be successful. A canvasser either learns the skills right away or no longer canvasses. The urgency involved helps build pressure to succeed and the skills accepted by the organization. New hires immediately enter a highly demanding and intense training program that turns their values into proper and accepted canvassing.

Solidarity and conformity are increased because of anxiety and pressure that emerge. Staff members are labelled as staff. They receive bumper stickers and T-shirts and have already passed through the rite of passage of making quota. Often, new hires would sit together at pizza nights thus forming two groups, those "in" and those who have yet to be proven. I heard on more than a few occasions that training staff would do almost anything to make money at the door. For example an interviewee said, "I felt so bad for not making quota. I have to admit I bent the truth a little to get this one woman to join. I only needed one more membership to make staff." They would lose sight of the political message and focus on fund raising. At times, they would add their own money in order to reach

the \$80 quota. The pressure to conform and become one of the group is very intense for new recruits.

OTHER TRAINING PROGRAMS

Other training programs are less intensive and time consuming. They focus more on specialization in particular areas and do not include as much skill training or new information. They do however include the same degree of thoroughness and standardization as the new employee training.

Trainer Training

Trainer training is for people who will take applicants on their observation day. Directors choose trainers according to their canvassing ability (based on dollar average), communication skills (based on role play sessions and other observations), and interest. Trainers do not receive an increase in pay. The training sessions consist primarily of role plays with the trainee candidate acting as a trainer, a hypothetical new employee, and a director. The director evaluates the trainer candidate's behavior and helps build necessary skills. The skills necessary for training beyond canvassing and communication are ability to accurately critique oneself and the new employee, motivate, and stay enthusiastic. Word for word use of the standard canvasser rap is enforced. Trainers are also told to make friends with the applicant. Debriefings are held each night

the trainer trains to determine whether to continue his/her role. Trainers are important players in the recruitment and retention process and they must represent and encourage the acceptance of OSPIRG's norms. As is the case with the group interview, trainers have accepted organizational premises and their behaviors are consistent with organizational norms. They behave as if their superiors were watching them at all times. Thus, only canvassers who express commitment, conformity, and cohesion to OSPIRG's policies become trainers. And the best trainers are those who teach standardized behaviors thus fostering further acceptance of organizational values and premises among staff.

Advanced Training

Advanced training ideally occurs for all personnel sometime after their first week. This program consists primarily of a more experienced staff member observing the canvasser at several doors and then giving an evaluation. The intent is to find problems or habits a canvasser may have that hinder success. Not all staff members receive advanced training due to lack of experienced trainers and too many canvassers. This program provides an additional opportunity to counteract deviance from the established program and re-energize burned-out personnel.

Field Manager Training

Canvassers who express excellent communication, canvassing, and organizational skills may be invited to become field managers. This training focuses on administrative tasks (scouting and drawing turf, check-out), and skills for leading role plays and trunkside debriefings. A trainee becomes a "Field Manager in Training" and works as an apprentice to an experienced field manager.

Apprenticeship usually lasts a few weeks, depending on how quickly trainees learn and their own leadership ability. When the directors and the overseeing field manager feel the trainee has acquired adequate skills, s/he is given a town to manage. F.M.s receive an increase in pay (\$10 per week) and usually work 10- to 13-hour days. They have considerably more work to do during the day. Debriefings and evaluations take place both during and after the training program and help to guarantee that field managers represent and encourage adherence to established processes.

Field managers are the organization's work horses. They put in the longest hours, receive the least training for their responsibilities, and have the most expected of them. They have to keep their own canvassing dollar average high, build morale and enthusiasm among their crew, and hold crews accountable for their behavior. Field managers receive little supervision and guidance from their superiors, but when performance lags they are held accountable. Staff members seeking promotion tend to be

more dedicated to the cause and are willing to put more energy into the canvass. Kaufman notes that Forest Service staff seeking promotion "choose to fit themselves into the agency pattern in order to advance" (1960, 174). Similarly, canvassers who choose the OSPIRG way and express competence in organizational activities also receive promotions. These employees become more dedicated, involved, and representative of the organization as a whole. Thus, their willingness to do more and to work harder increases.

Director Training

Administrative assistant and director trainings occur before the canvass opens and take place in Portland, Oregon, or Santa Barbara, California. The program lasts a week. Candidates include experienced canvassers who express organizational, communication, and canvassing skills. These people are trained on all aspects of the canvass including all training programs, interviews, bookkeeping, debriefing, and campaign issues, to name a few. Directors should be able to answer any question that arises during the canvass. They must also enforce adherence to PIRG policy and programs through successful implementation of the activities described in this research.

Summary

The schema described above suggests that organizational identification emerges through various training programs conducted by the organization. Applicants come to the organization already possessing many of the beliefs and values of the organization. The training programs teach canvassers how to articulate these beliefs into persuasive and acceptable behaviors. Employees learn how to be political, how to do politics, and how to argue for the organization. They are encouraged to conduct their work in clearly defined manners. As the Forest Services practices and training programs influence its personnel to behave in conformed and acceptable manners, so do OSPIRG's programs. Both organizations teach employees how to choose and make decisions based on alternatives provided by the organization. Training programs once again illustrate unobtrusive control over individuals working for the organization.

ROLE PLAYS

Role plays provide the main source of skill development, outside of actual canvassing, and education for canvassers. They also create conformity and homogeneity in argument and appeal content and style by giving explicit rhetorical examples for canvassers to use themselves. These hypothetical situations take place each day before going out on turf. They are done in groups of 4 to 50. They are also

used other times to assist evaluation and debriefing purposes. Each role play involves a person acting as a door and another is a canvasser. The two interact until the door agrees or declines to give a contribution. Over 80% of the role plays observed concluded with the door donating money. These skits are far from realistic, but they do provide an excellent form of practice and influence conformity.

Role play sessions often focus on a particular appeal or door type. Specific appeals include asking for more than \$30, asking for small contributions, getting new members, renewing past members, reactivating members, inspiring additional involvement, and other areas that need attention. Canvassers who play the door role can adopt certain characteristics that are found on turf. These include such types as apathetic, pessimistic, poor, rich, supportive, critical, angry, easy, and hard to name a few. Particular problems a canvasser may have, such as dealing with rejection or being persistent, can also be worked on. Role plays can be catered to specific problems, specific towns, and other needs the canvasser may have.

A director or field manager leads the role play session and evaluates the participants. S/he invents a setting using any combination of particulars discussed above. Role play facilitators are trained to follow a specific evaluation format. S/he asks the participants what they thought of their performance. S/he then gives a few positive comments concerning skills s/he liked and then

suggests areas for improvement. After giving his/her critique, the facilitator asks for other opinions and suggestions. Often suggestions are verbatim phrases; people are told exactly what and how to say something in response to a given argument. These specific arguments help shape homogenous responses that clearly represent the organizational premises. People learn these arguments, internalize them, and accept the premises by which they were formed. All role plays follow this format. They provide excellent opportunities for positive skill development and problem solving as well as reliance on established arguments and terminology. Role plays also build conformity to OSPIRG's plans and practices, as they give personnel opportunities to see each other at work, develop acceptable skills and arguments, and dispel deviation and misinformation.

DEBRIEFINGS

Debriefings, one-on-one discussions, are held for all canvass activities and provide opportunities for employee input, skill development, and employee review. Debriefings are central to developing cohesive and acceptable behaviors within the canvass. All canvassers experience debriefings nightly, and those with more responsibility may debrief several times a day. Debriefings provide a communication network which ties all canvassers, directors, and canvass

offices together and nurtures acceptance of OSPiRG's values, beliefs, and norms.

Although debriefings are mainly viewed negatively since they most often occur when someone does not make quota or is being evaluated for another reason, they are neutral in intent; they primarily seek information about individual behavior.

People who conduct debriefings are trained to follow a set format which ensures consistent value representation. Field managers must hold each canvasser accountable for the amount of money earned. If a person comes in with less than quota, the F.M. must say, "You should have made quota." Variations do occur; however, the message "You are accountable" remains. If a canvasser indicates that the turf was bad or the people did not have enough money, the F.M. is instructed to say, "Don't blame the turf. A good canvasser can make quota on any turf." There are other examples as well. Directors can be heard giving the same messages to the people they debrief. Debriefings provide the opportunity to enforce consistency in certain attitudes and opinions and keep all canvassers connected closely with the directors.

Directors are also debriefed by the campaign directors from the Portland office. They are required to call Portland each night and report the numbers, the amount of money brought in, new members, renewals, and other items. Similarly field managers who lead camping canvasses are

required to report by phone each night to their canvass director. All levels of employees are connected through the debriefing program.

As described earlier in this chapter, OSPIRG maintains a communication network between all staff levels that helps enforce adherence to company policy. The Forest Service also expresses the same bureaucratic program. As is true in Kaufman's book, OSPIRG's program helps develop conformity to policy. Employees know that all activities will be reported, and therefore they want to stay within the accepted range of actions and decisions.

BRIEFINGS

Briefings are information sessions organized by directors and feature various authority figures regarding OSPIRG's programs. Attendance is voluntary though strongly encouraged. Briefings are intended to inspire and educate canvassers by filling them in on national issues, the success of the campaign, and specific issues themselves. Briefing speakers included representatives from other PIRG offices, state senators and representatives, OSPIRG lobbyists, and other full-time campaign staff. These information sessions provide excellent opportunities for low level and upper level staff to interact. A feeling of unity and "family" emerges as canvassers become connected with the larger campaign, their leaders, and their organizational goals.

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

OSPIRG sponsors many social activities with the intent of building morale, enthusiasm, friendships, and most importantly, organizational identification and cohesion. Socializing occurs at all times except canvassing. OSPIRG's activities all revolve around social interaction between employees. Pizza nights, lunch, riding in the car, announcements, role plays, debriefings, parties, briefings, recruitment, and other activities are all done in groups and participation is encourage strongly. Arguably, the social aspects may be the most significant unobtrusive influences in creating personal bonds and solidarity that ensure cohesion and conformity to OSPIRG's goals and practices.

Pizza night and planned parties are two common activities that nurture friendship building. Pizza night is held after work every Wednesday and provides canvassers with free food, relaxing socializing, and an opportunity to share stories and information. Most conversations revolve around campaign issues, canvassing, and other work-related material. There is usually a party at a staff member's house each week. This event provides similar opportunities for friendship bonding. At the very least, these social activities bring the staff together and encourage group involvement, politicization, and friendships.

The state office also provides various weekend social events. Camping trips, retreats, and other events give

opportunities for canvassers from the three Oregon canvasses to get together and socialize. There is usually an event of this sort once a month. Conversations focus on OSPIRG issues, canvassing, and politics in general. In addition to socializing, participants also use these times for briefings, debriefings, and other business. Although all social events are optional, peer pressure and strong encouragement usually help produce a strong showing. These activities are quite powerful in reinforcing feelings of "family" and solidarity.

Indeed, many canvassers do not live at home or in their "normal" college environment and thus adopt the canvass as a surrogate family. The life they are accustomed to during the school year is not what they experience during the summer. In addition, many canvassers come from other schools, states, and cities. Canvassers are free to become deeply and personally involved with the canvass.

Interviews indicate that many employees stay with OSPIRG primarily for the social life. The canvassing job is quite demanding and discouraging at times. Social events help counteract burn-out. Canvassers feel that the social interaction and friendship bonds provide them with the incentive and motivation to continue canvassing. The framework for identification and conformity comes from the top; the actual cohesion and bonding arises with little resistance. If people are performing as OSPIRG intends, are attending organized events, and interact with other

employees they will adhere to and promote willingly and voluntarily the opinions, values, and beliefs of OSPIRG.

CAMPING CANVASSES

In addition localized canvassing around the Eugene office, crews also travel to more distant locations and operate short term camping canvasses. These towns are usually too far away to commute to each day. For example, camping canvasses occur in Newport, Ontario, Bandon, and Bend. Many canvassers want to attend these trips because the turf is perceived as better, they provide a change of scenery, and most people have a good time. Crews usually are six people including a field manager. Canvassers leave Eugene Sunday night or Monday morning and return Friday night. Friendship bonding and morale both increase due to the constant close contact with each other and the feelings of unity that arise.

Camping canvasses do not start until well into the summer, thus indicating that identification plays an important role. The campers, and the F.M. especially, need to represent the organization as if they were still in Eugene. They need to be able to help each other adapt to the location, while staying consistent with the mission. Directors assign camping canvasses to those who have expressed strong skills. One director told me that she used camping as a reward for excellent canvassing. Concerning on-the-job decisions, directors must trust the staff s/he

sends. This trust is possible through the process of organizational identification and acceptance of OSPIRG's values, beliefs, and goals.

CONCLUSIONS

As illustrated above, OSPIRG uses a variety of tactics to nurture organizational identification and cohesion to company policy. From the moment contact is made, through hiring and daily routines, to the highest level of employment, OSPIRG keeps a close eye on how one conducts his/her work, how successful s/he is, and many other issues. Rarely does a canvasser deviate and slip through the extensive lines of communication. OSPIRG's every program influences employees to stay within the guidelines desired by the organization.

OSPIRG shows many connections to the Forest Service concerning its ability to maintain cohesion and adherence to pre-formed decisions among all employee ranks. Applications help weed out undesirable job seekers and indicate strong value similarities among canvassers. Training helps build skills and abilities acceptable to and consistent with company policy. Constant review of job practices keep deviation to a minimum. These programs influence canvassers to willingly accept OSPIRG's values, while minimizing their own. The canvasser's experience is intensive, holistic, and highly challenging. Predispositions to conform and to adopt OSPIRG's values are channeled toward acceptance of

standardized behaviors making a consistent, cohesive, and effective group of activists.¹

¹ Note: The breakdown concerning pay procedure where cohesion and acceptance of organizational premises are deterred through inaccurate and misleading descriptions is resolved within the framework of organizational identification. OSPIRG turns attention away from the canvass' weak pay program to allow other bonding and unobtrusive pressures to act upon the new recruit. Organizational identification plays a key role in helping OSPIRG overcome its deficient and unattractive pay program.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSIONS

This research's primary question centers on a paradox: how to maintain consistent representation of OSPIRG's values while still allowing freedom in individual decision making. The Oregon State Public Interest Research Group provides an excellent environmental and political education that gives activists new political alternatives. Education and awareness empower canvassers to produce political change. At the same time, OSPIRG structures and influences conformity in day-to-day actions. The organization's summer canvass exhibits policies and programs that breed group socialization and acceptance of campaign goals and values. Two forces are working simultaneously on the canvasser; political awareness which produces more and new alternatives in decision making, and enforced behaviors that limit choice. Through organizational identification these two forces come together and create a cohesive, energetic, and highly successful canvassing group.

OSPIRG's entire canvass helps strengthen organizational identification by structuring behavior along company lines. Canvassers come to the organization already identifying with the issues. They also express similar interests and political concerns. The organization fosters commitment and conformed behavior by channeling these predispositions toward group goals. Recruitment and training programs, daily routines, and social events illustrate how

standardized practices and behaviors emerge.

Consubstantiality between individual and company beliefs enhances conformity, but non-conscious influences guarantee it. These activities affect canvassers to accept organizational premises as if they were their own.

Canvassers non-consciously learn to accept group values, beliefs, and norms. Every day they canvass door-to-door professing and arguing in favor of OSPIRG's issues and campaign. They often confront opposition and unfavorable responses; non-OSPIRG people fail to accept the organization's campaign and even disagree with it. These "doors" not only deny the organizational values, but they reject the individual's values as well. When personal values and "one's self" is being denied, discouragement, anger, and disappointment emerge. Group identification and social interactions help counteract burn out. Canvassers develop an us-and-them attitude and rely on each other for value and self confirmation. Canvassing, for this group, has become more than a job; it is a reflection of their own feelings and concerns to help the environment and win OSPIRG's campaign. And, as with the Forest Service, individual freedoms lie within organizationally accepted standards and behaviors.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS: ANSWERED

Research Question #1: How does identification within OSPIRG emerge?

Various programs influence identification, but canvassers express a strong predisposition to identify prior to employment. The Organizational Identification Questionnaire, application forms, and interviews all indicate that employees have a desire to save the environment and make a difference in the world. These values, however, manifest in varying forms of activism; OSPIRG hires anarchists, communists, and socialists, for example. OSPIRG is an avenue for activists to express their individual values, beliefs, and goals.

The organizational practices have an additional effect on canvassing personnel. The organization influences canvassers to put aside their individual agendas and form of political activism and conform to its established norms. Recruitment, interviews, and the observation day weed out a large majority of those who may not conform and perform according to the OSPIRG "way." Formal training programs further foster acceptance of pre-established acceptable behaviors. Constant debriefings, briefings, and role plays disallow deviation and strengthen conformity. Canvassers' performance style and belief orientations are all part of public knowledge. Social activities further create group bonds and solidarity that foster deeper commitments to the organization. The entire canvass activities, staff, and

social life influence canvassers to adopt organizational values as their own, indicated by unified action and decision making. Each canvasser represents the organization as if a supervisor was present, and s/he refrains from expressing these values in non-OSPIRGian behaviors.

Research Question # 2. Does identification play a role in OSPIRG's campaign effectiveness?

OSPIRG could not have success without organizational identification. Identification allows for unified behavior and value orientation as discussed above. In addition, the OIQ indicates that ex-canvassers with low identification levels are not willing to return to the canvass. The application form also suggests that people who are motivated by the need for money quit very early; retention requires an element besides mere employment. Job motivation and willingness to canvass suggest that identification's most significant role is attracting canvassers and actually getting them to commit. Without identification, OSPIRG would experience, at best, a much higher turnover rate and smaller staff. More likely, it would shut down.

Research Question #3: How can OSPIRG improve its canvass?

As suggested in Chapter 4, there are complaints canvassers have toward the organization. Pay procedure, inaccurate advertising, quota anxiety, and one-sided education create alienation and negative attitudes toward

OSPIRG. This research indicates that most complaints are not against the actual program, but against the way it is communicated and administered. Canvassers do not mind devoting long hours to the cause; they mind being told they will make a lot more money than they do. They feel cheated when ads suggest incomes as high as \$240 per week yet then receive \$100. They dislike pressure to achieve quota, yet understand the necessity to perform to potential. Quota supplies a false incentive that motivates canvassers to campaign for money, not political awareness. They do not mind learning only OSPIRG's perspective; they mind not having any avenue for more supporting and opposing information. Biased and propagandistic information limits understanding and the possibilities for consensus, negotiation, agreement, and accepted change--it limits OSPIRG's ability to achieve its mission. I have one suggestion: The OSPIRG administration needs to make a deep commitment to honest and truthful communication.

STRENGTHS/WEAKNESSES

I have offered a perspective on OSPIRG's administrative behavior and practices, and I understand that misinformation or misinterpretation may emerge. I have taken steps to minimize research weaknesses and maximize accuracy. I qualify the degree of accuracy below by listing strengths and weakness.

Strengths

1. Throughout this project, I received excellent support from the OSPiRG organization. It allowed me to review application forms, attend various activities, and interview staff during work hours. Staff personnel reacted to my questioning with honesty, interest, and openness. Clearly, this research is greatly strengthened by the assistance received.

2. Combined qualitative and quantitative methods maximize research strengths and minimize weaknesses. The ethnographic interpretation agreed with data received through the standardized questionnaire. Reliability levels were high. Having both methods indicate similar phenomena suggests accurate research and interpretations.

3. I have observed the organization over three summer's time. This experience adds to the depth and accuracy of my understanding as well.

Weaknesses

1. This study focuses on one campaign office only. Eugene's canvass is only one of hundreds of campaign locations. This research has limited ability in suggesting similar phenomena at other locales.

2. The OIQ results were not as extensive as desired. The sample size is small and individual tracking proved unsuccessful. The data indicated by the OIQ, although

significant and reliable, does not support strong conclusions by itself.

3. I have personal biases which may have skewed interpretations and research gathering methods. After working for OSPIRG, I already believed that pressures to conform and accept standardized beliefs existed. I was predisposed to find what I found. I also identify with the organization's mission and cause; I believe strongly in environmental and consumer protection campaigns. I also believe accurate communication is necessary for an organization that has as much power over individuals as OSPIRG. They shape understandings, behaviors, and opinions and have a responsibility to minimize inaccuracies and misconceptions. I do feel, however, that I distanced these beliefs when conducting research and sought accurate and realistic interpretations.

FUTURE RESEARCH

Future research has many possibilities. Changes in group and individual identification levels over time, analyses of the entire OSPIRG campaign, and interconnections between OSPIRG, other PIRGs, and the national organization are but a few follow up projects. This is a new research area and political activism and canvasses are becoming more successful and popular. Further research would add to our understanding of group behavior, individual decision making,

political activism, and youth movements as well as the study of organizational communication.

CLOSING

Although this research criticizes OSPIRG, it is intended to empower the organization toward continued and increased success. I embrace the mission to create social change and empower the public. Organizational identification is not a bad thing in itself, but employee manipulation and unobtrusive control can be. OSPIRG has the potential to build positive experiences and commitments based on sound awareness. It can also manipulate and mislead people. Awareness of its own power is important to ensure ethical administration. With attention to the canvass' weak areas and added truth in communication, OSPIRG has the potential to set standards for other canvasses and realize greater success.

DEFINITIONS

- Turf--The territory given to a canvasser for each night's work; usually consists of 50 to 70 houses in a localized area.
- Standard Rap--The established speech that each canvasser is required to memorize and repeat at each door.
- Interview Rap--The established outline for directors to follow during interviews; not a speech.
- Membership--The participation in OSPIRG through a minimum contribution of \$15.
- Small Contribution--Dollar amount donated but less than membership fee; also referred to as "smalls."
- Door--Each house on a turf.
- Cards--Index cards that indicate current and past members and "Do Not Canvass" members.
- Callbacks--Doors on turf that were not contacted the first time through; canvassers return to these houses.
- Quota--The minimum amount required to raise each night; \$80.
- Role Plays--Hypothetical situations where canvassers practice their rap and arguments; consists of a person play acting a door and another as a canvasser.
- Debriefing--A discussion between a superior (trainer, field manager, director) and a canvasser concerning the canvasser's experience on turf, problems with the job, or other areas; trunkside debriefings occur with each employee as s/he is picked up on turf.

Observation Day--A non-paid work day where a trainee observes a canvasser on turf and canvasses a small number of doors him/herself.

T-1--Indicates training day #1; a canvasser works training days until the daily quota is achieved; T-2, T-3 follow; termination occurs if the trainee does not make quota following T-3.

Staff--Staff people are those who have made quota at least once; to make staff means to have earned quota during a training night (see above).

Ultimatum--the term used to refer to one who must make quota or have employment terminated; all T-3 canvassers are on ultimatum; staff who fail to consistently make quota can be put on ultimatum at the directors' discretion.

Canvasser--Any staff member or trainee who goes door-to door soliciting memberships and other contributions and discussing the issues.

Field Manager--The crew leader who scouts, draws up, and assigns turf to the canvasser; also responsible for checking out his/her crew each night; also canvasses.

Administrative Assistant--Front office secretary responsible for answering phones, canvassing at least 35% of weekly quota, reporting to Assistant and Canvass Directors and other tasks.

Assistant Director--Responsible for conducting interviews, coordinating with other canvass organizations, giving briefings and debriefings, canvassing at least 35% of

weekly quota, reporting to Canvass Director, and other tasks.

Campaign Director--Responsibilities include canvassing at least 35% of weekly quota, overseeing entire operation, giving debriefings, briefings, training, interviews, reporting to Portland campaign directors, and other tasks.

PIRG--Public Interest Research Group; generic term used for similar organizations across the United States; i.e. USPIRG refers to United States PIRG, MASSPIRG to Massachusetts PIRG.

TABLE #1

How did you learn about the PIRG job?*

Source	Current (37)	Quit after T-1 or more (71)	Reject (58)	Quit after interview observation/ (294)
Newspaper	54% 20	55% 39	84% 49	80% 235
Poster	5% 2	20% 14	3% 2	14% 41
Pamphlet	11% 4	6% 4	0% 0	2% 6
Other**	19% 7	20% 14	7% 4	9% 26
Friend***	19% 7	14% 10	7% 4	8% 24
Career Center	3% 1	3% 2	0% 0	2% 6
1-800#	0% 0	0% 0	2% 1	1% 2

*Numerous respondents indicated more than one source.

**Other includes parents, campus organizations, other PIRGs nationally, previous employment, street fairs, contact with OSPIRG staff, and information booths

***Friend is a write-in answer under the "other" section. Since a large portion of the "other" respondents indicated "friend," I separated the two answers.

TABLE #2

List three reasons why you want to work for PIRG.

Reason	Current (37)	Quit after T-1 or more (71)	Reject (58)	Quit after interview/ observation/ (294)
Save environment/issues/ future	89% 33	81% 58	78% 45	86% 253
Education/ experience for self	30% 11	38% 27	38% 22	40% 118
Educate/emp- ower others	43% 16	52% 37	57% 33	60% 176
OSPIRG itself/ career	27% 10	15% 11	31% 18	22% 67
Need job/money	14% 5	18% 13	52% 30	32% 96
Special job character- istics*	40% 15	44% 31	17% 10	32% 94
Meet/work with people	27% 10	17% 12	17% 12	9% 26

*Respondents indicated various specific characteristics about the job that they found attractive. Examples include: the hours are convenient, job is better than flipping burgers, job has meaning or integrity, can be own boss.

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APPENDIX #1

ORGANIZATIONAL IDENTIFICATION QUESTIONNAIRE

DIRECTIONS: Think of your role as an employee for OSPIRG. For each item below select the answer that best represents your belief about or attitude toward OSPIRG. Please respond to all items. All answers will be regarded with complete confidentiality. The alternative responses are:

YES! I agree very strongly with the statement.

YES I agree strongly with the statement.

yes I agree with the statement.

? I neither agree nor disagree with the statement.

no I disagree with the statement.

NO I disagree strongly with the statement.

NO! I disagree very strongly with the statement.

Please indicate in the following space a code by which the researchers can identify your responses on all material collected from you. This code may be whatever you want. You only need to remember it for future materials.

If you have already filled out a prior questionnaire, please use the same code as before.

CODE: _____

After reading each item carefully, please circle your one response.

1. I would probably continue working for OSPIRG even if I didn't need the money.

YES! YES yes ? no NO NO!

2. In general the people employed by OSPIRG are working toward the same goals.

YES! YES yes ? no NO NO!

3. I am proud to be an employee of OSPIRG.

YES! YES yes ? no NO NO!

4. OSPIRG's image in the community represents me well.

YES! YES yes ? no NO NO!

5. I often describe myself to others by saying, "I work for OSPIRG" or "I am from OSPIRG."
YES! YES yes ? no NO NO!
6. I try to make on-the-job decisions by considering the consequences of my actions for OSPIRG.
YES! YES yes ? no NO NO!
7. We at OSPIRG are different from others in our field.
YES! YES yes ? no NO NO!
8. I am glad I chose to work for OSPIRG rather than another company.
YES! YES yes ? no NO NO!
9. I talk up OSPIRG to my friends as a great company to work for.
YES! YES yes ? no NO NO!
10. In general, I view OSPIRG's problems as my problems.
YES! YES yes ? no NO NO!
11. I am willing to put in a great deal of effort beyond that normally expected in order to help OSPIRG be successful.
YES! YES yes ? no NO NO!
12. I become irritated when I hear others outside OSPIRG criticize the company.
YES! YES yes ? no NO NO!
13. I have warm feelings toward OSPIRG as a place to work.
YES! YES yes ? no NO NO!
14. I would be quite willing to spend the rest of my career with OSPIRG.
YES! YES yes ? no NO NO!
15. I feel that OSPIRG cares for me.
YES! YES yes ? no NO NO!

16. The record of OSPIRG is an example of what dedicated people can achieve.
YES! YES yes ? no NO NO!
17. I have a lot in common with others employed by OSPIRG.
YES! YES yes ? no NO NO!
18. I find it difficult to agree with OSPIRG's policies on important matters relating to me.
YES! YES yes ? no NO NO!
19. My association with OSPIRG is only a small part of who I am.
YES! YES yes ? no NO NO!
20. I like to tell others about projects that OSPIRG is working on.
YES! YES yes ? no NO NO!
21. I find that my values and the values of OSPIRG are very similar.
YES! YES yes ? no NO NO!
22. I feel very little loyalty to OSPIRG.
YES! YES yes ? no NO NO!
23. I would describe OSPIRG as a large "family" in which most members feel a sense of belonging.
YES! YES yes ? no NO NO!
24. I find it easy to identify myself with OSPIRG.
YES! YES yes ? no NO NO!
25. I really care about the fate of OSPIRG.
YES! YES yes ? no NO NO!

26. How many weeks have you worked for OSPIRG?

Less than 1 week 1-3 weeks 4-6 weeks

7-9 weeks 10-15 weeks 16-20 weeks

More than 21 weeks

27. What is today's date? _____

28. I would be willing to work for OSPIRG again.

YES! YES yes ? no NO NO!

QUESTIONNAIRE: PAST OSPIRG EMPLOYEES

Name: _____ Age: _____ Marital Status: _____ Sex: _____

Source(s) of income: _____ Level of Education: _____

Do you recycle? _____ What? _____

Do you vote? _____ Party Affiliation: _____ When did you start with OSPIRG? _____

What was your position? _____ Have you worked with OSPIRG (PIRG) before? _____

Where? _____ Where? _____

Have you worked for other "social change" groups? (i.e. Greenpeace, CUB)? _____

When? _____ Where? _____

How did you hear about OSPIRG? _____

Why did you choose to work for OSPIRG? _____

What time did you usually get to work? _____ What time did you usually leave? _____

How many people do you talk to, on the average, while on turf? _____

How long do you stay at each door, on the average? _____

What do you perceive to be OSPIRG's main goal or mission? _____

Did OSPIRG make information available to you about: (Please answer the following questions with a number between 1 and 10; 10 indicating full information and 1 indicating no information).

National PIRG Issues/Projects: _____ State PIRG issues/projects: _____

Other environmental/consumer group issues/projects: _____

The non-PIRG side of the issues/projects: _____ OSPIRG's Bureaucratic structure: _____

Local to national political processes: _____ Where to access more information: _____

OSPIRG's specific bills and legislation: _____ Earnings and payment procedures: _____

Why did you discontinue working for OSPIRG's canvass? Explain.

Would you be willing to do a more in depth interview? _____ Phone: _____

Describe, to the best of your recollection, an average day at work for OSPIRG, (from the time you get to the office until you leave at night).

Describe your leisure (after work, weekends) time activities while you were employed by OSPIRG and how it compares with now, (please indicate how much time was spent with co-workers).

Describe how/why your role as a canvasser was related to OSPIRG's mission.

Did your experience with OSPIRG's canvass help you to become more politically, ecologically, and socially aware? How? Explain.

What part(s) of OSPIRG's summer canvass do you see as the strongest? Explain.

What part(s) do you see as in need of improvement? Explain.

How would you describe the role of the canvasser to someone unfamiliar with OSPIRG or canvassing.

Please attach additional pages if necessary.

Organizational Identification Questionnaire
Follow-up Interview Questions

Please answer honestly to the following open ended questions. I encourage elaboration.

All comments are confidential and for research purposes only.

1. Why did you quit?
2. What is the mission of the OSPIRG campaign?
3. Did you feel adequately informed concerning campaign issues? Please elaborate.
 - concerning pay procedure?
 - concerning job responsibilities?
 - concerning opposing points of view?
4. How do social events relate to canvass success?
5. What suggestions do you have to improve the canvass?
6. Is there anything else you would like to include?

Thank you

INTERVIEW OUTLINE
NOVEMBER 1989 - FEBRUARY 1990

These questions are designed as a guide and were not necessarily followed in this order or format. Most interviews became discussions where these questions would be answer without direct questioning.

1. Ask selected questions in response to page 2 of Current/Past Employee Questionnaire.
2. Did you ever come in below quota? How did that feel? How did the F.M. treat you? How should the F.M. have treated you? How did the directors treat you? How should?
3. What is the most important aspect of being a canvasser from the OSPIRG administration's perspective?
4. Did you feel you had access to the OSPIRG officials in Portland?
5. Did they offer you better/worse explanations to the issues?
6. Are there certain phrases that strike you as unique to OSPIRG?
7. Do you feel differently about yourself now than when working for OSPIRG? How?
8. Was your experience with the organization a positive one in terms of your personal growth?
9. What lifestyle changes did you experience?
10. Did you read the actual bills and initiatives? Were they offered for reading?
11. Could you argue from an anti-OSPIRG perspective?
12. What do you feel about the amount of money you made?
13. Did you make lasting friendships while working for OSPIRG?
14. Why does the organization experience such a high turnover rate?
15. Do you think you moved the public to political action? Beyond mere voting?
16. Did you ever want to quit? Why? What messages did you receive from those you told about this?

PIRG CITIZEN OUTREACH CAMPAIGN

FM Candidate (circle)
Destination city _____
Int. office/campus _____
Int. place _____ time _____
Interviewer (full name) _____
Observation date ____/____/____ time _____
OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Name _____

School _____

Date of Graduation _____ Date of birth _____

Present mailing address _____

_____ zip _____ phone _____

Permanent mailing address _____

_____ zip _____ phone _____

Summer mailing address _____

_____ zip _____ phone _____

Access to car? _____ seating capacity _____

1. How did you learn about the PIRG job?
 ___ newspaper ___ Career center ___ poster ___ 1-800# ___ other? _____

2. Previous work experience? (3 most recent jobs) _____

3. What leadership skills or experience do you have? (community or campus)

4. List three reasons why you want to work for PIRG:

5. On the reverse side, please provide an answer to ONE of the following questions.
 1. What do you see as society's most pressing problem? If you were given a million dollars to solve it, how would you spend it?
 2. Ideally, what do you see yourself doing in five years and why?
 3. What do you want to be remembered for and why?

Interested in: Summer F-T P-T Chapter other: _____
 Comments: _____

OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Date available to begin ____/____/____
 Recommendation: 1 2 3 R
 _____ PCsent _____ CLsent
 _____ RDpc _____
 _____ CDpc _____

OSPIRG STANDARD CAMPAIGN RAP

INTRODUCTION

- 1) I.D. Hi, my name is _____, and I'm from OSPIRG, the state's largest environmental and consumer lobby.
- 2) Past Issue We just passed the first law in the country that will reduce the use of toxic chemicals.
- 3) Purpose We're on our annual membership drive campaigning for stronger recycling laws.

CAMPAIGN

- 1) Problem The amount of garbage being produced is increasing at an alarming rate every year. Half of all landfill space now goes for throw-away packaging.
- 2) Solution That's why OSPIRG is working on a proposal to require that packaging be made out of recyclable or reusable materials.
- 3) Urgency The packaging industry has threatened a multi-million dollar campaign against this proposal. We need your support to win.

MEMBERSHIP

- 1) Clipboard This is our statement of support which outlines the issues we work on. (hand over the clipboard)
- 2) Membership The most effective way to support us is to become a member of OSPIRG. Members give us the clout and the resources to win these campaigns. The suggested membership is \$30. As a member you receive our newsletter.
- 3) Check The best way to join is with a check.

Hints:

1. Use the rap, it works.
2. Talk with people, not at them.
3. Hand them the clipboard before asking them to join.
4. Have fun.

PIRGs

Work for the environment

CAMPUS STAFF

In joining the staff of PIRG's Campaign to Save the Environment, you're teaming up with more than a million PIRG staff, citizen and student members nationwide to make sure we are NOT too late to protect our planet for the future. You can continue to make a difference on these issues after graduation in a professional staff position with the PIRGs. The campaign skills you develop this summer will make you a strong candidate for a position as a PIRG Campus Organizer.

PIRG Campus Chapters are formed by students at a college or university who make a community decision to become a part of the statewide PIRG network. Campus Staff work with the students in each chapter, providing them with the means to accomplish PIRGs' agenda for action on public interest issues. Campus Staff link the resources of the campus community with the issue expertise and campaign management skills of the statewide PIRGs' professional staff.

Responsibilities: The first priority of each Campus Staffperson is to develop the relationship between PIRG and the campus community and to sustain a secure funding base. Campus Staff work to build strong relations with student leaders, faculty, and administrators, and generate student awareness and interest in the organization through media, publicity events, and personal contact. Campus Staff are also responsible for recruiting and training talented, committed student volunteers to carry out local and statewide research, educational events, and campaigns. During the summer, Campus Staff take on leadership roles in the national network of state PIRGs by directing regional campaign offices.

Qualifications: We are seeking practical idealists — articulate, self-motivated, creative individuals who want to help build a better society. Previous campaign or leadership experience is helpful, but intensive training is provided. A two year commitment is desirable; a one year commitment is required.

Salary and Benefits: Entry level salary is \$12,000 to \$15,000 a year, depending on experience, plus health and other benefits.

College Loan Assistance Program: In 1987, PIRGs initiated a program — unique among public interest organizations — to assist qualifying staff with college loan payments.

Locations: Campus Staff openings are currently available with PIRGs in CO, CT, MN, MO, and WI. Additional positions are available in AK, CA, FL, IL, MA, MD, ME, MI, MT, NJ, OH, OR, PA and WA.

To apply: Speak with your Canvass Director to arrange an interview, or contact Laurie Reeves, Recruitment Coordinator, Fund for Public Interest Research, 29 Temple Place, Boston, MA, 02111 (617) 292-4805.

Alaska PIRG

California PIRG

Colorado PIRG

Connecticut PIRG

Florida PIRG

Illinois State PIRG

Maryland PIRG

Massachusetts
PIRG

PIRG in Michigan

Minnesota PIRG

Missouri PIRG

Montana PIRG

New Jersey PIRG

Ohio PIRG

Oregon State PIRG

Pennsylvania PIRG

Washington PIRG

Wisconsin State
PIRG

U.S. PIRG (The
PIRG National
Lobbying Office)

Oregon Plastic Industries Political Action Committee

CERTIFIED MAIL

APRIL 27, 1990

DEAR PLASTICS INDUSTRY LEADER:

UNLESS WE JOIN TOGETHER NOW TO PROTECT OUR JOBS AND THOSE OF OUR EMPLOYEES, THE PLASTICS INDUSTRY IN OREGON WILL PROVIDE THE ENCORE TO THE SPOTTED OWL CONFLICT.

ELECTED POLITICIANS IN SALEM AND CITIES THROUGHOUT THE STATE HAVE SINGLEDED OUT THE PLASTICS INDUSTRY AND BLAMED IT FOR A SOLID WASTE PROBLEM THAT WE DID NOT CREATE. IN ADDITION, OSPIRG, THE RALPH NADER CONSUMER GROUP, HAS INVOLVED ITSELF. AS THIS IS WRITTEN, AN OSPIRG PETITION IS BEING CIRCULATED WHICH IS THE STARTING POINT OF A BAN ON PLASTICS IN OREGON. IT IS VIRTUALLY ASSURED A SPOT ON THE BALLOT.

WE SIMPLY CANNOT ADEQUATELY EXPRESS THE CONCERN ALL PLASTICS COMPANIES SHOULD BE FEELING. OUR LIVELIHOODS ARE AT RISK. IF YOU MAKE YOUR LIVING IN PLASTICS IN OREGON, WE BELIEVE IT IS YOUR OBLIGATION TO SUPPORT OUR INDUSTRY THROUGH OPIPAC.

MONIES FROM OUR PAC ARE USED AS CONTRIBUTIONS FOR STATE LEGISLATIVE RACES ONLY. NOT ONE PENNY OF OPIPAC CONTRIBUTIONS WILL BE USED TO PAY FOR STAFFWORK OR LOBBYING. ALL DONATIONS WILL BE USED AS DIRECT CONTRIBUTIONS TO CANDIDATES. WHILE A LARGE CONTRIBUTION WILL NOT BUY A VOTE, ANY POLITICIAN FINDS IT HARDER TO SAY "NO" TO A LARGE CONTRIBUTOR. OPIPAC IS NOT ASSOCIATED WITH SPI DIRECTLY, BUT WE WORK CLOSELY WITH SPI'S LEGISLATIVE LOBBYIST.

YOU CAN HELP IN THREE WAYS: COMPANY CONTRIBUTIONS, YOUR INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTION, AND EXPLAINING THE "TAX CREDIT" ADVANTAGE OF EMPLOYEE CONTRIBUTIONS TO YOUR EMPLOYEES. IN OREGON, AN INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTION TO OPIPAC OF UP TO \$50 IS A TAX CREDIT (\$100/COUPLE FILING JOINTLY). YOUR EMPLOYEES NEED TO KNOW THAT AN INDUSTRY COUPLE CAN CONTRIBUTE \$100 TO OPIPAC AND IN EFFECT BE REIMBURSED IN FULL BY THE STATE AT TAX TIME. SIMPLY INDICATE "OPIPAC CONTRIBUTION" ON YOUR CHECK. BUT IT MUST BE DONE NOW.

WE ARE ASKING, IN ADDITION TO THE INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTIONS EXPLAINED ABOVE, THAT YOUR COMPANY CONTRIBUTE \$10 OR MORE PER EMPLOYEE, WITH A MINIMUM OF \$100. A RECORD OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF MONIES WILL BE PROVIDED TO ALL PARTICIPANTS FOLLOWING THE GENERAL ELECTION.

A SELF-ADDRESSED ENVELOPE IS ENCLOSED FOR YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS. WE URGE YOU TO JOIN US. WE MEET REGULARLY AT GAGE INDUSTRIES IN LAKE OSWEGO, AND WILL GLADLY ADD YOUR NAME TO OUR GROUP. THANK YOU IN ADVANCE FOR YOUR CONCERN AND HELP.

SINCERELY,

OPIPAC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

WILLIAM B. WETZ, CHAIRMAN
PRESIDENT, WETZ & COMPANY, INC.

FRANK HOVE, SECRETARY-TREASURER
V.P. OF FINANCE, MOLDED CONTAINER CORP.

ROBERT G. STODART, ACCOUNT EXECUTIVE
WEST COAST PLASTICS

ALAN McHAIL, MANUFACTURING MANAGER
MOLDED MANUFACTURING

TONY CRISTLER, PRESIDENT
CRISTLER CHEMICAL & PLASTICS

RIPLEY W. EAGE, PRESIDENT
GAGE INDUSTRIES, INC.

LEE DUNDAS, PRESIDENT
QUALITY PLASTICS CO., INC.

DENNIS G. DENTON, PRESIDENT
DENTON PLASTICS, INC.

GARY SANDERS, DISTRICT MANAGER
GENERAL POLYMERS

MERRILL ROTH, PRESIDENT
GRANT & ROTH PLASTICS, INC.

JOHN NORMANDIN, SALES MANAGER
MOLDED CONTAINER CORPORATION

LOWELL MILES, PRESIDENT
MILES PLASTICS, INC.

OSPIRG'S 1989 LEGISLATIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Environment Protection

*Toxics Use Reduction - requires businesses to develop performance goals for reduction of toxics and annual reports on their progress in meeting these goals.

*Superfund - establishes a funding mechanism for cleaning up the state's 500-1000 waste dumps and a ranking system to set cleanup priorities.

*Emergency Response - provides for training and equipping ten teams in every region of the state to respond to toxic accidents.

*Groundwater Protection - creates a statewide monitoring and research program to prevent groundwater contamination.

*Household Hazardous Waste - establishes local collection centers and education programs for safe disposal of household hazardous waste.

*CFC Ban - mandates reductions in use of chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), which are the leading contributor to destruction of the ozone.

*Global Warming - requires the state to develop a plan to reduce emissions of gases that contribute to global warming by 20% by the year 2005.

Consumer Rights

*New Car Lemon Law - expands the Lemon Law's coverage to include motorcycles.

*Organic Labelling - establishes strict standard to ensure that only produce grown by organic methods is labeled as "organic."

Government Reform

*Whistleblower - prohibits retaliation against public employees who report illegal practices by their employers.

Community Service

*Food Donations - encourages cafeterias, supermarkets, and others to donate surplus food to soup kitchens by limiting certain legal liabilities.

CONSUMERS FOR RECYCLING

2718 SW Kelly, #144, Portland, Oregon 97201, (503) 222-1315

THE OREGON RECYCLING ACT: SUMMARY OF MAJOR PROVISIONS

The purposes of the Oregon Recycling Act are to promote recycling and reuse of materials, to reduce solid waste and conserve natural resources, to eliminate unnecessary throw-away packaging, and to protect public health and the environment against hazards associated with the production and disposal of throw-away packaging. Major provisions of the initiative include:

ENVIRONMENTALLY SOUND PACKAGING. As of 1/1/93, all non-exempt packaging used in Oregon would have to meet at least one of four environmental standards:

- Reusable -- packaging used five or more times for the same purpose
- Made of Recycled Materials -- packaging with at least 50% recycled material by weight
- Recyclable -- packaging included in an effective recycling program
- Made of Recyclable Materials -- packaging composed of materials that are being effectively recycled in Oregon

For the latter two standards, "effective recycling" would mean a 15% recycling rate by 1993, 30% by 1996, 45% by 1999, and 60% by 2002. [The third standard would encourage packagers to develop recycling programs for their packages that don't meet the first two standards. The fourth standard would encourage the producers of materials used in packaging (primarily paper, glass, plastics, and metal) to ensure that there are steadily improving recycling markets for their materials. To encourage across-the-board recycling of materials, the Department of Environmental Quality (DEQ) would include all uses of the material, not just packaging ones, in calculating recycling rates for each material.]

EXEMPTIONS. Packaging that failed to meet environmentally sound packaging standards would be allowed where a packager provided the DEQ with "clear and convincing evidence" that elimination of the packaging would impose an "undue hardship upon residents of Oregon." Examples would include packaging that is the only available alternative for a certain category of products, packaging that is necessary for health or safety reasons, and packaging with specific environmental benefits that are demonstrably superior to those of available alternatives. The DEQ would assess reasonable application fees for packagers seeking hardship exemptions.

The law also would exempt packaging that was required by federal law, packaging for medicines, packaging necessary to provide tamper-proof seals, and packaging of products destined for export from Oregon. These types of packaging would not require a hardship application.

CONSUMER INFORMATION. Shelf signs and other general postings would be required to ensure that consumers had readily accessible information on environmentally sound packaging standards. The Environmental Quality Commission (EQC) also would design an environmental logo which packagers could affix to their environmentally sound packaging.

ENFORCEMENT. After one warning notice, the DEQ could impose administrative penalties of up to \$1000 per day for violations of the law. The Attorney General and local district attorneys could seek criminal penalties of up to \$10,000 per day for willful and repeated violations. Citizen suits also would be allowed where the state failed to take reasonable enforcement actions.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE. The DEQ would appoint a representative advisory committee to develop recommendations on additional steps to be taken to promote recycling markets, remove barriers to recycling, and reduce excessive packaging.

**Authorized by Consumers for Recycling
Printed on recycled paper**

CONSUMERS FOR RECYCLING

2718 SW Kelly, #144, Portland, Oregon 97201, (503) 222-1315

MATERIALS USED IN PACKAGING

<u>TYPE OF MATERIAL</u>	<u>PORTION OF TOTAL PACKAGING¹</u>	<u>RECYCLING RATES</u>	
		<u>NATIONAL²</u>	<u>PORTLAND METRO AREA³</u>
Paper	55%	22%	37%
Glass	22%	10%	40%
Plastics	11%	1%	11%
Metals			
Steel	5%	4%	---
Aluminum	3%	25%	69%
Miscellaneous	4%	---	---

1. Source: Franklin Associates, Ltd., *Characterization of Municipal Solid Waste in the United States, 1960 to 2000 (Update 1988)*, report prepared for the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, Office of Solid Waste and Emergency Response (Prairie Village, KS, Mar. 30, 1988).

2. Source: Franklin Associates, *ibid.*

3. Source: Brennan & Associates, *Metro Survey of Recycling Markets 1988 estimates of Recycling Levels*, report prepared for the Portland Metropolitan Service District, Solid Waste Department. Although the Metro region includes almost half of the state's population, these numbers may not be representative of the less urbanized portions of the state. In addition, some recycling experts have questioned their validity even for the Metro region, especially with regard to plastics recycling.

Statewide rates are not available but all estimates are that the state is recycling at a higher rate than the national average due to programs like the beverage container deposit system, a strong network of independent recyclers and stable markets for certain secondary materials. The Bottle Bill results in return rates of over 90% for glass bottles and aluminum cans, raising the rates of recycling of these materials. Newspaper recycling is estimated to be 65% in the Metro region (compared to a national rate of 23%), bringing up the overall paper recycling rate. The Metro report did not include the recycling rate of steel separate from that of other ferrous metals.



CONSUMERS FOR RECYCLING

2718 SW Kelly, #144, Portland, Oregon 97201, (503) 222-1315

THE OREGON RECYCLING ACT: FACT SHEET

Oregon's Growing Solid Waste Problems

The average Oregonian produces about four pounds of trash a day, or almost 1500 pounds per year. That translates into more than two million tons of solid waste each year in Oregon. If this garbage were stored above ground in 30-story buildings the size of football fields, it would take more than one such building per month just to hold Oregon's current volume of garbage.

And still the numbers continue to grow. Since 1984, the amount of trash generated in the Portland metropolitan area has increased 34% -- more than five times the rate of population growth. If Oregon is to avoid the kind of landfill crisis that now faces many East Coast states, we must act now to reduce our solid waste stream.

Landfilling and Incineration Are Not the Answers

Most of our trash -- about 75% -- ends up in landfills, where it can cause a variety of environmental problems including groundwater contamination. A 1988 study by the Department of Environmental Quality (DEQ) projected that groundwater cleanups may be required at 35 of Oregon's 100 municipal solid waste landfills. And, as federal regulations require stricter controls at landfills, disposal costs will continue to skyrocket. In 1988, Metro more than doubled the disposal fee at the St. Johns Landfill, from \$17 to \$42 per ton.

Burning our garbage in incinerators -- as Oregon does with about 5% of its garbage -- is no solution either. Even state-of-the-art incinerators add to our air pollution problems by pumping literally thousands of different chemical compounds into the air. And the ash residue from the burning process -- typically 25-40% of the original mass -- is often highly toxic.

The Benefits of Recycling

The only environmentally sound solution to our solid waste problems is to minimize the amount we generate and maximize the amount we recycle. Oregon is a national leader in recycling, with a recycling rate of about 20%. In addition to saving on disposal costs, recycling offers a wide range of environmental benefits:

Conservation of Natural Resources. In 1988, we saved the equivalent of 1.1 million trees by recycling 65% of newspaper in the Portland area. We could have saved 600,000 more trees if we had recycled instead of landfilled the remaining 35% of newspaper.

Energy Conservation. Recycling aluminum cans saves 95% of the energy required to produce those same cans from virgin materials. Such savings gave the aluminum industry the necessary incentive to become an industry leader in recycling, a fact that is reflected in aluminum's 69% recycling rate in the Portland area. Nevertheless, Americans still discard enough aluminum every three months to rebuild the nation's entire airline fleet.

Reduced Pollution. Use of recycled rather than virgin materials dramatically reduces air and water pollution for many industries. According to the *Solid Waste Handbook*, producing paper from recycled fiber reduces air pollution by 74% and water pollution by 35%. Using recycled steel reduces air pollution by 85% and water pollution by 76%. Making glass from recycled cullet cuts air pollution by 20%.

Oregon's Failure to Maintain Leadership on Recycling

With the nation's first Bottle Bill in 1971, the pioneering Opportunity to Recycle Act in 1983, and a strong network of independent recyclers, Oregon has established a national reputation as a recycling leader. But that reputation is slipping as other cities and states have moved ahead with much more aggressive programs in recent years:

- Maine recently doubled the scope of its Bottle Bill, while the Oregon Legislature couldn't even agree to add wine coolers to our Bottle Bill. Maine also set a goal of recycling 50% of its solid waste by 1994.

- Seattle has developed an ambitious curbside recycling program aimed at achieving a 60% recycling rate by 1994 -- a goal the city is halfway to achieving -- while the Oregon Legislature has failed to make any significant improvements in our curbside program since 1983. As a result, our curbside program, which was a national trend-setter in 1983, is now antiquated and, according to a recent DEQ analysis, is only achieving a 1% recycling rate.

- Numerous local governments have enacted bans on non-recyclable plastic packaging, while the Oregon Legislature failed to approve even a modest plastics recycling bill in the 1989 session.

- In the last days of the 1989 session, the Joint Ways and Means Committee cut DEQ funding for recycling by 75% and completely eliminated a \$2 million program designed to assist local communities in improving their recycling programs.

Regaining the Initiative Through the Oregon Recycling Act

The Oregon Recycling Act is a bold and innovative proposal in the tradition of the Bottle Bill and the Opportunity to Recycle Act. The Recycling Act focuses on packaging, which is the largest type of waste, comprising 30% of the entire solid waste stream by weight and 50% by volume. Packaging also includes some of the most wasteful use of natural resources -- with increasingly elaborate multi-layer wrappings that are intended to be discarded as soon as the product is purchased. In 1986, Americans spent \$28 billion on food packaging alone -- nearly 10% of total spending on food and beverages and more than the total income received by America's farmers.

Under the Recycling Act, all packaging, with limited hardship exemptions, would be required to meet at least one of four recycling standards:

- Reusable -- packaging used five or more times for the same purpose

- Made of Recycled Materials -- packaging with at least 50% recycled material by weight

- Recyclable -- packaging included in an effective recycling program

- Made of Recyclable Materials -- packaging composed of materials that are being effectively recycled in Oregon

For the latter two standards, "effective recycling" would mean a 15% recycling rate by 1993, 30% by 1996, 45% by 1999, and 60% by 2002.

By requiring packaging to meet these escalating recycling rates, the Act will create powerful incentives for packagers, producers of packaging materials, and recyclers to achieve across-the-board improvements in recycling rates. It will encourage packagers to simplify their packaging and shift to materials that are easy to recycle. It will encourage producers of materials used in packaging to ensure that there are steadily improving recycling markets for their materials. These incentives for producers are particularly important, because the same materials that represent more than 95% of the packaging market -- paper (55%), glass (22%), plastics (11%), and metals (8%) -- also represent close to two-thirds of the total solid waste stream -- paper (41%), metals (9%), glass (8%), and plastics (7%). The Recycling Act will encourage recycling in all uses of these materials, because the Act will require each material to meet the targeted recycling rates for overall use of the material, not just packaging uses. And, finally, the new law will give Oregon's network of independent recyclers some golden opportunities to develop new ways of recycling and reusing our natural resources.



MEMORANDUM

TO: OSPIRG Staff and Other Interested Parties
FROM: Joel Ario
RE: Counter-Proposal to Recycling Initiative
DATE: June 20, 1990

As most of you know, I and various of our supporters (especially Jerry Powell and Phil Keisling) have spent considerable time with industry representatives who have been trying to hammer out a counter-proposal to our recycling initiative with the goal of avoiding a ballot campaign. Attached is a copy of their final counter-proposal.

It now falls on us to decide whether this counter-proposal will move us far enough along with our objectives to merit dropping our ballot campaign. I am circulating the proposal to a broad group of people, because we want to get as broad a cross-section of opinion as possible before making any final decision. The first step of this process is to determine whether there is a threshold of support for accepting the proposal, in which case we would go through a more formal decision-making process. All of this would have to happen within the next week (as you might guess, we had asked for this proposal much earlier, but I didn't get it until today).

As an active participant in the process to date, I feel obliged to offer my own initial reactions to the proposal. I am disappointed with the industry proposal in several respects:

*The proposal fails to address the central goal of our initiative, which is to place some responsibilities on the producers of materials that contribute to our solid waste problems. Collection programs are important, but the basic point of our initiative is that these "back end" programs must be matched by new commitments on the part of producers to use resources more wisely on the "front end."

*The proposal caricatures our goals in ways that suggest political posturing rather than a genuine attempt to engage our initiative. To suggest that our intent is merely to get rid of a few bad packages is to trivialize an initiative that is carefully drawn to require wide-ranging efforts on the part of producers to improve recycling markets for the materials they produce and use.

*The proposal is, to put it mildly, vague on details for this late in the game. Many of the key concepts remain nebulous and it is even unclear exactly who supports the proposal.

On the positive side, I should note that Jim Whitty and Pat McCormick (who have spearheaded industry efforts to develop this proposal) have been quite constructive in their dealings with us, and my personal judgment is that they both would work hard to achieve legislation along the lines of the industry proposal. The fact that the proposal is less ambitious than some of the ideas we've discussed is, in my view, simply a reflection of the difficulties inherent in bringing the disparate industry interests together. This shouldn't be that surprising, given that we only resorted to the initiative route because these disparate interests couldn't be brought together in the legislative process.

Those are some of my initial thoughts. Now I'd like your reaction. At the risk of over-simplifying a complex issue, I ask that each of you come down as a "1,2,or 3" on the following scale and then add whatever comments you'd like.

PLEASE CIRCLE ONE OF THE THREE CHOICES

- 1 We should accept the proposal
- 2 We should not accept the proposal
- 3 Too close a call for me to make

COMMENTS:

PLEASE RETURN THIS FORM TO JOEL BY NOON ON FRIDAY, JUNE 22.

June 19, 1990

Joel Ario
Executive Director
Oregon State Public Interest Research Group
027 SW Arthur Street
Portland, Oregon 97201

Dear Joel:

Oregon businesses now joined in the Oregon Committee for Recycling (OCFR) coalition -- along with Associated Oregon Industries (AOI) -- have been working very hard since our last meeting to fashion a comprehensive proposal to increase recycling rates in Oregon.

The OCFR and AOI objectives include aggressive source reduction and separation strategies, coupled with expanded collection programs funded through tipping fees which discourage disposal of unseparated trash and non-recyclable garbage. OSPIRG, on the other hand, has focused its initiative entirely on packaging components which end up in the solid waste stream. The challenge has been to marry our differing intentions into a single program all of us can jointly seek to pass in the 1991 Legislative Assembly. By achieving such a consensus, OSPIRG and the other sponsors of the initiative might be willing to withhold the delivery of petition signatures, allowing the next legislature to act on our mutually supported expansion of recycling in Oregon.

That may seem overly ambitious to outsiders, but you and I know firsthand it is possible. OSPIRG and Oregon's business community have helped pass landmark environmental law in Oregon in every legislative session since 1985 -- Community Right to Know, State Superfund and the Toxics Use Reduction and Hazardous Waste Reduction Acts. That joint commitment to resolving complex environmental issues in the legislature has kept Oregon on the leading edge of environmental management, providing win/win solutions. For OSPIRG and Oregon business, the win/lose context of a ballot measure contest risks a rupture of that solid working relationship. Worse, it risks confronting future major environmental issues not in Salem, but on the ballot.

Consequently, it's in everyone's best interest that we again fashion a workable solution together that satisfies our different intentions. That's the spirit of our proposal. Here are its basic purposes:

- *To expand Oregon's Opportunity to Recycle Act to include all recyclable plastics as primary recyclable materials (PRMs).*

- *To establish firm recycling goals which reflect the differing needs for recycling programs in different areas of the state, and provide the programs to assure convenient collection of recyclable materials.*
- *To fund these programs with a broad-based, fair, administratively feasible revenue source such as a tipping fee or volume-based surcharge on solid waste generators (as a marketplace incentive to encourage recycling and other source reduction).*
- *To respond to specific concerns about packaging as a contributor to solid waste by establishing an EQC task force (with broad representation from affected industries and from environmental groups) directed to determine problem packaging categories which are significant contributors to solid waste volume in Oregon. The task force would report to the legislature on its findings and recommend alternatives for reducing solid waste volumes from problem packaging categories.*

With those purposes in mind, here is a comprehensive outline of what we believe is a workable way to accomplish your objectives regarding packaging -- and satisfy our concern for more aggressive recycling collection and education programs. We think you will agree that the highest priority should be on measurable increases in recycling, and the targets for those increases should be mandated by the state:

The following recycling goals would be established for each wasteshed:

a. Portland Metro	1993	30% waste diversion percentage
	1995	40% waste diversion percentage
	2000	50% waste diversion percentage
b. Urban	1993	20-25% waste diversion percentage
	1995	25-30% waste diversion percentage
	2000	30-40% waste diversion percentage
c. Rural	1993	15-20% waste diversion percentage
	1995	20-25% waste diversion percentage
	2000	25-30% waste diversion percentage
d. Remote	1993	10-15% waste diversion percentage
	1995	15-20% waste diversion percentage
	2000	20-25% waste diversion percentage

The goals would be expressed as a percentage of solid waste generated which is diverted from landfills through source reduction, recycling and composting. An appropriate adjustment would be made for any wasteshed with a currently operating waste-to-energy facility meeting DEQ requirements.

If a recycling goal is not met for a particular watershed, the following fees and standards would be imposed by DEQ:

a. Either of the following residential fees:

(1) A differential recycling rate schedule for residential consumers of solid waste hauling services with a maximum amount of \$_____ per month. The recycling fee structure should be graduated to reflect the degree to which each household recycles the solid waste it generates; or,

(2) A differential waste collection rate schedule for residential consumers of solid waste hauling services that financially rewards waste reduction by residents. This must include offering a mini-can (19 gallon) weekly collection rate (or the equivalent). All such consumers must be informed quarterly of the availability of such rate options.

b. All multiple family housing of four or more units must provide either

- (1) an area and containers for deposit of all principal recyclable materials; or,
- (2) subsequent sorting by contract with a waste hauler.

c. All commercial offices, including all state and local government offices, restaurants, hotels and motels, and industrial buildings larger than 1,000 square feet and having 10 or more employees must be required to participate in recycling programs for at least two of the following materials:

- high-grade office paper
- corrugated cardboard
- glass
- yard debris
- newspapers

d. Expand waste reduction and recycling education and promotion programs.

e. The Environmental Quality Commission may ban from disposal any secondary material for which the DEQ finds that sufficient market capacity exists in state for all available materials, including:

- used corrugated cardboard
- used newspapers
- flint and amber glass containers
- aluminum, copper and non-ferrous metals
- yard waste

f. Mandatory garbage service will be required for all residences in communities within the watershed with populations of more than __,000.

If the wasteshed still fails to meet its established recycling goals two years after the strengthened recycling service standards are implemented, the following steps would apply sequentially:

- a. The wasteshed would undertake a comprehensive study of the local waste stream, including a detailed waste composition study and development of alternatives for increased recycling.
- b. The EQC would audit the wasteshed and revise the established goals for the wasteshed to take into account any local circumstances making compliance difficult.
- c. Mandatory source separation of recyclables would be required for all residential consumers of solid waste hauling services.

In a major expansion of the Opportunity to Recycle Act, we propose expanding the list of primary recyclable materials (PRMs) in the Portland Metro and Urban wastesheds to include all recyclable plastics, office-type paper and yard debris. To simplify plastics separation for consumers, labeling would be required on plastic containers to identify their composition according to The Society of the Plastics Industry coding system.

To enhance the ease of recycling in the Portland Metro, Urban and Rural wastesheds, weekly recycling service pick-ups would be required on the same day as garbage pick ups. To help educate Oregonians about recycling, garbage haulers would be required to send quarterly reminders to homes and businesses explaining recycling opportunities available under the act. (This requirement would sunset when a wasteshed meets its year 2000 recycling goal.)

Local garbage haulers would be required to provide their residential customers, and make available to commercial customers who request them, bins to be used for recycling.

New requirements on state and local governments imposed by this expansion of the Opportunity to Recycle Act should be funded by a tipping fee or other volume-based surcharge on non-recyclable or unseparated solid waste. Oregonians must pay the true cost for disposal of the waste they generate. That's a proven market incentive to discourage dumping and encourage source reduction and separation.

And finally, we focus on packaging. As you know, we are concerned about the OSPIRG initiative's broad sweep (impacting tens of thousands of products). But we understand that packaging is a component of solid waste which, along with other components, can be reduced by increased rates of recycling and source reduction. To address packaging, we propose aiming directly at problem packaging categories, rather than using broad drift nets and snagging dolphins as well as tuna.

We recommend the governor appoint a task force under the EQC to examine packaging segments of Oregon's solid waste stream to determine problem packaging categories which are significant contributors to solid waste volume. The task force would include representation from retailing, manufacturing, food service, packaging, recycling and reprocessing industries, as well as garbage haulers and environmental organizations.

For each problem packaging category identified by the task force, a hearing would be scheduled to consider recommendations for specific remedial actions which could reduce solid waste disposal of packaging in that category. Affected product and packaging manufacturers would have the opportunity to present information and offer alternative proposals. Based on the work of the task force, a report to the legislature can provide a road map for action regarding problem packaging which will have a sharply focused and measurable solid waste reduction impact.

We believe our proposal provides the basis for achieving measurable improvements in the share of solid waste being recycled in Oregon -- our top priority, and it offers an effective mechanism for reducing the amount of packaging material being landfilled and incinerated in Oregon -- your top priority. Our alternative minimizes the risk of unintended consequences which the OSPIRG measure may cause without sacrificing the initiative's objectives.

I know you'll want to review this outline of our proposal carefully before we meet. I will call you tomorrow to determine an acceptable schedule.

Sincerely,



Pat McCormick
on behalf of
Oregon Committee for Recycling



OSPIRG ACCOMPLISHMENTS

OSPIRG's unique blend of professional advocacy and grass-roots lobbying has won numerous measures to preserve the environment, protect public health, expand consumer rights and empower citizens. Below is a summary of some of our accomplishments from 1983-1990.

1983

- * OSPIRG wins passage of a Lemon Law requiring manufacturers to provide refunds or replacements for defective new cars.
- * OSPIRG establishes a Consumer Hotline in Eugene to answer consumer questions.
- * OSPIRG releases, **Hazardous Substances In Oregon**, which marks the beginning of OSPIRG's toxics agenda.

1984

- * Overcoming Oregon's strongest special interest lobby group, the utilities, OSPIRG wins a ballot measure creating the Citizen's Utility Board (CUB) to represent consumers in the utility rate-setting process.
- * OSPIRG, working with PIRGs across the country, co-sponsors the National Student Conference on Voter Registration, which attracts more than 1500 students from 47 states.
- * In conjunction with other state PIRGs, OSPIRG establishes U.S. PIRG, a national lobbying office in Washington, D.C. to effect legislation on a national level.

1985

- * OSPIRG successfully lobbies for a Community Right-to-Know law giving citizen access to information about hazardous chemicals being used in their communities.
- * After releasing **Hazardous Hobbies: Toxics In Art Supplies**, OSPIRG wins passage of a law requiring the labeling of hazardous art supplies and banning dangerous art supplies from elementary schools.
- * In conjunction with other PIRGs and USA for Africa, OSPIRG creates the National Student Campaign Against Hunger to educate and activate students on problems of hunger.

1986

- * OSPIRG collects more than 80,000 signatures to put a measure on the ballot prohibiting mandatory local measured service. The measure wins by 71%.
- * OSPIRG wins a second ballot measure to reform the Public Utility Commission.
- * In conjunction with the Portland Grey Panthers, OSPIRG publishes **The Nursing Home Guide Book**, a comprehensive consumer report on nursing homes in Oregon.
- * OSPIRG releases **Held Up at the Bank: Oregon Consumers and the Banking Industry**, which advocates numerous banking reforms.
- * OSPIRG's national lobbying office wins reauthorization of a much stronger federal Superfund law to clean up the nation's worst toxic dumpsites.

1987

- * OSPIRG wins its top priority in the legislature by the passage of the state Superfund to initiate a statewide search for abandoned toxic dumpsites and force the polluters to pay for cleanups.
- * OSPIRG wins passage of a Farmworker Right-to-Know law.
- * After releasing a study that reveals consumers are forced to wait up to 21 days for use of deposited checks, OSPIRG wins passage of a law guaranteeing access to deposited money within two days.
- * OSPIRG successfully lobbies for a law that requires state regulators to wait one year before accepting a private sector position with a firm they formerly regulated.

- * After releasing a report on credit card services, OSPIRG wins passage of a law that requires companies to disclose the details of their financing terms in easy-to-understand language.
- * OSPIRG's national lobbying office wins passage of federal Clean Water Act over President Reagan's veto.
- * OSPIRG launches its Toxics Use Reduction Campaign, moving the emphasis away from pollution control and toward pollution prevention.

1988

- * OSPIRG coordinates the Oregon Student Voter Registration Project involving nine campuses and registering more than 10,000 student voters.
- * OSPIRG releases **Toxics Use Reduction: From Pollution Control to Pollution Prevention**, and meets with Governor Goldschmidt to present 23,000 "Clean Stamp" postcard from Oregonians supporting Toxics Use Reduction.
- * OSPIRG launches consumer boycott of New York Seltzer's plastic can because of its detrimental effects on recycling, and wins company agreement to withdraw the can nationally.
- * OSPIRG spearheads local coalition in Portland and wins citywide ban on use of styrofoam food containers.
- * OSPIRG releases its third annual toy safety report and the federal Consumer Product Safety Commission orders recalls of two toys identified in earlier OSPIRG reports.
- * OSPIRG releases report on the success of Oregon's toxics in art supplies law and U.S.PIRG wins passage of federal art supplies law modeled after Oregon's law.

1989

- * OSPIRG collects 53,000 "TUR-Grams" from constituents and presents them to legislators in support of Toxics Use Reduction. A coalition of 72 organizations announce support for the OSPIRG proposal. In July, Oregon becomes the first state in the country to pass Toxics Use Reduction.
- * OSPIRG releases **Toxic Hazards in Oregon**, documenting 33 million pounds of toxic releases by Oregon's largest toxic users in 1987.
- * OSPIRG-backed legislation sets quality standards for food labeled "organic". For the first time in Oregon, consumers are assured that when they buy organic, the food is truly organic.
- * OSPIRG adds motorcycles to the scope of Oregon's new vehicle lemon law.
- * OSPIRG coordinates national toy safety research with five other PIRGs across country and releases first national toy safety report.
- * OSPIRG spearheads campaign to ensure Oregon's Congressional delegates vote for strongest amendments to federal Clean Air Act.
- * OSPIRG releases consumer banking surveys for Portland, Corvallis and Eugene. With these surveys, consumers can shop for banking accounts which best fulfill their needs at the least cost.
- * OSPIRG launches the Oregon Recycling Act Initiative campaign which will more than double recycling rates in the state. The initiative focuses on packaging, which comprises 30% of the entire solid waste stream by weight and 50% by volume.

1990

- * OSPIRG releases the 8th edition of its **Renter's Handbook**, which translates Oregon Landlord/Tenant law into simple terms for Oregonians.
- * OSPIRG hosts a statewide planning conference for Earth Day 1990 and 16 campuses participated. Twenty-two campuses in Oregon coordinate and participate in Earth Day 1990 activities.
- * The U.S. Consumer Product Safety Commission recalls four toys nationwide from OSPIRG's 1989 toy safety report and issues a stop distribution order on a fifth toy.
- * The U.S. Consumer Product Safety Commission recalls three additional toys from OSPIRG's national toy safety report.
- * OSPIRG wins a new school chapter at Lane Community College with 76% of the student vote.
- * OSPIRG successfully intervenes in legal action against the manufacturers of all-terrain vehicles. The intervention leads to the release of important safety information that had previously been withheld from the public.
- * OSPIRG launches petition drive for the Oregon Recycling Act and releases **Regaining the Initiative on Recycling: The Case for the Oregon Recycling Act**.
- * OSPIRG coordinates the Hunger Clean-up in Portland, Corvallis and Eugene. More than 250 students participate raising more than \$3,200 for homeless and hunger relief. The Clean-up is the largest one-day student coordinated community service event in the country.

ENVIRONMENTAL VOTER

2718 SW Kelly, #144
Portland, Oregon 97201
(503) 222-1315

THE OREGON RECYCLING ACT LIST OF ENDORSERS

Business: (cont.)

- Signature Imports, Portland
- Springfield Creamery, Eugene
- Stonehedge Inn, Hood River
- Sunflower Recycling Co-op, Portland
- Sunnyside Up Bakery, Portland
- Surata Soyfoods, Eugene
- Talent Management NW, Inc., Portland
- The Third Eye, Portland
- The Valley Country Store, Jacksonville
- Waucoma Bookstore, Hood River
- Westside Restaurant & Pub, Hood River
- Wildtime Foods, Eugene

- Paula Walsh, Rep, HD 40
- Fred Walter, Rep, HD 44

Government:

- Senator Jim Hill, Salem
- Senator Grattan Kerans, Eugene
- Senator Dick Springer, Portland
- House Majority Leader, Carl Hosticka
- Representative Judy Bauman, Portland
- Representative Mike Burton, Portland
- Representative Ron Cease, Portland
- Representative Phil Keisling, Portland
- Representative Bev Stein, Portland
- Representative Nancy Peterson, Ashland
- Dave Werschkul, Curry County Commissioner
- Judy Wyers, Metro Council

Candidates:

- Bernie Baker, Dem, HD 20
- Phyllis Barbour, Dem, HD 31
- Jerry Barnes, Rep, HD 52
- Steven Carsey, Dem, HD 55
- Dale Chambers, Dem, HD 5
- Bob Claussen, Rep, HD 33
- James Gennette, Dem, HD 8
- Tim Josi, Dem, HD 3
- Lynn Kahle, Dem, HD 43
- Robert Migliori, Dem, HD 29
- Tom Novick, Dem, HD 16
- James Peterson, Rep, SD 20
- W.L. "Bill" Reagan, Dem, SD 17
- George Schneider, Dem, HD 24
- Jim Smiley, Dem, Con, Dist. 2
- Cindy Walls, Dem, SD 14

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