

REPORT ON UNION MEMBER ATTITUDE SURVEY CONDUCTED
AMONG LOCALS IN THE CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL OF
ALAMEDA COUNTY

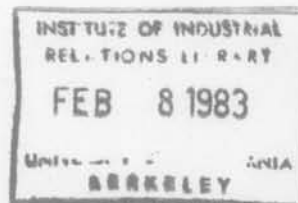
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This is the first extensive research report of the Labor Research Unit of the Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, Berkeley. We wish especially to acknowledge our indebtedness to Professor Charles Y. Glock, Director of the Survey Research Center, University of California, Berkeley, and to his colleagues.

The report was prepared under the direction of Professor Lloyd Ulman, Director of the Institute of Industrial Relations.

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I. Summary

With the cooperation of the Central Labor Council of Alameda County, its member locals, and the staff of the East Bay Labor Journal, the Institute of Industrial Relations has conducted a survey of union member attitudes in the East Bay. The survey was initiated at the request of the Council which desired a study of membership opinion concerning unionism in general, performance of unions in specific areas such as wage increases and job security, the extent and importance of democracy within unions, the efficiency of communication within locals, automation, collective bargaining, and union political activities.

To obtain a representative sample of union members, sixteen unions were chosen from three groups ranked according to the size of locals and random samples of the memberships of each of these unions were taken to complete a list of 2139 individuals. The sixteen unions include:

- Auto Machinists, Local 1546
- Auto and Ship Painters, Local 1176
- Park Services, Local 414
- Carpenters, Local 36
- Communications Workers of America, Local 9415
- Millmen and Cabinetmakers, Local 550
- Office Employees, Local 29
- Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers, Local 1-589
- Paint Makers, Local 1101
- Printing Pressmen, Local 125
- Printing Specialties, Local 382
- Post Office Clerks, Local 47
- Retail Clerks, Local 870
- Steelworkers, Local 1304
- Steelworkers, Local 4468
- Stove Mounters, Local 83

The results of this survey are based on the returns from the first two mailings to each of the unions, the proportion responding being slightly

over one-third. A third mailing was sent to those who had not replied in eleven of the unions, and the response of the third group is quite similar to the response of the first two groups. Thus, there is some reason to believe that the one-third response is sufficient to represent the attitudes of the whole population.

On the other hand, since four of the original group of sixteen unions selected from a random sample withheld cooperation, it is possible that our responses are biased to a certain extent in favor of pro-union attitudes.

The following points were found from the survey:

1. The attitude of the members of the East Bay toward unionism in general is markedly favorable. Ninety-five per cent of the respondents are of the opinion that unions are responsible for the improved living standards of workers, and seventy-nine per cent feel that their jobs are more secure because they are union members. Thus, there is apparently a great reservoir of pro-union sentiment on the part of the members. This partly may be a reflection of Oakland city central's traditional militancy and energetic political activity.

2. However, prevailing opinion would not indicate militant sentiment in favor of union pressure on employers when the survey was made. An attempt to ascertain the membership willingness to strike under four varying conditions indicated that only between thirty-five and sixty per cent of the members were willing to strike. This general lack of willingness does appear somewhat consistent with the high degree of satisfaction with union performance in specific areas as expressed at the time of the survey.

3. In the specific areas such as wage increases, fringe benefits, grievances, working conditions, and job security, the members, taken as a whole, are generally pleased with the performance of their unions. The average proportion of respondents who are either "highly satisfied" or "satisfied" in each of these categories is about three-fourths, but there are some unions which rank much lower in individual categories than others. Interestingly, many of those unions which rank relatively low in such categories as wage increases and fringe benefits also rank relatively low in their members' attitude toward unionism in general. An important finding is the fact that a majority of the members feel that the performance of unions is to some extent better today than it was five years ago. This is contrary to the often mentioned view that the progress of the union movement has been downhill since the thirties. There is also a fairly high degree of satisfaction with the performance of the business agents and shop stewards, and the respondents feel very strongly that their unions do a good job in defending any member who does not get a "fair deal" from management.

4. Those unions which rank highest in membership esteem with respect to union performance in the areas of wages and job security charge the highest dues, but their members feel very strongly that these dues are too high. Thus it might seem that members in such relatively successful unions do not see--or do not wish to acknowledge--any relation between the benefits they have received and the dues which they pay. At the same time a substantial minority are unwilling to pay more dues to strengthen their union's bargaining power. Does this suggest that these members are satisfied with what the union has already obtained for them but no longer feel

the need for "more, more"? On the other hand, members who are dissatisfied with their union's performance in the area of job security tend to feel that their dues are too low. The analogy between the dues-paying union member and the tax-paying citizen appears strong.

5. Two-thirds or more of the respondents believe that their union is generally a quite democratic organization in the sense that the leadership takes the opinions of the members into consideration when making decisions, none or only a few of the officers' decisions are based on their own self-interest, and any member of the rank and file with ability has a fairly good chance of being elected to union office if he makes the effort to run. Some of the unions which are very democratic seem to rank relatively low on bread-and-butter issues such as wage increases, but this tendency does not hold for all unions.

6. Although two-thirds of the members are pleased with the manner in which their locals' meetings are run, only a fourth of the respondents feel that all the members are well informed about union affairs. If one regards communication as an important element in union democracy, the area of communication may appear to be a major problem for locals affiliated with the Central Labor Council.

7. The political attitudes of the union members affiliated with the Central Labor Council appear to be quite conservative. For example, a fourth of the respondents feel that labor unions have too much power in the country's affairs. Another fourth feels that labor unions have too little power, and the remainder thinks that unions have just the right amount of power. Thus, there appears to be considerable emotional neutrality toward the group which the respondents indicated earlier had

been responsible for improving their living standards and job security.

There is also some evidence of a "white backlash" among these union members. A third of the respondents feel that Negroes have too much power, although an equal number feel that Negroes have too little power. It is interesting to note that those unions surveyed nearer the end of the survey period seem to be more extreme in their response to this question than unions surveyed nearer the beginning of the period; that is, a larger proportion of those answering during the later CORE demonstrations in the Bay Area indicated that they think that Negroes have too much power.

Slightly over half of the respondents were opposed to their dues being used for political activities. The majority of the respondents check to see which candidates their union endorses before voting in an election, but only about half of these say that they generally vote for those candidates. Some of the respondents who say that they usually do not vote for union endorsed candidates (about 40 per cent) may have been antagonized by the unintentional implication that they might be part of a docile, monolithic, political force, but some may simply disagree with organized labor's official political positions.

II. Presentation of Results

Below in detailed form is a breakdown of answers to specific questions by the participants in the survey under the following seven headings:

- A. General Attitudes Toward Unions and Unionism
- B. Performance of Unions in Specific Areas
- C. Union Democracy and Communication
- D. Willingness to Strike
- E. Fears and Preferences
- F. Political Activities
- G. East Bay Labor Journal

Under each heading and subtopic the question is repeated from the questionnaire and the data then displayed. Where not self-evident, explanatory remarks are made as to the intent of the question and its relevance to the subtopics. The data presented are an average of the replies from all sixteen unions. Discussion will not only concern the implication of this aggregate figure, but also the significance of the differences among the various unions. Some problems were encountered with regard to the representativeness of the sample polled, as well as problems in interpreting the replies. The reader is referred to Appendix A on survey methods for a full discussion of the difficulties.

It is interesting to note the percentage response for each of the unions, since this may be an index of the degree of apathy of the union. One might also think that the percentage response is related to the level of educational attainment of each union. The table below presents the percentage response and the percentage of respondents from each union who have graduated from high school.

	<u>Percentage response</u>	<u>Percentage graduated from high school</u>
Auto Machinists	33	53
Auto & Ship Ptrs	34	37
Park Service	35	73
Carpenters	31	55
C.W.A.	25	94
Millmen	40	61
Office Emps	30	96
O.C.A.	44	95
Paint Mkr's	29	58

(Continued)

	<u>Percentage response</u>	<u>Percentage graduated from high school</u>
Printing Press.	42	85
Printing Spec.	43	46
Post Off. Clrks	31	100
Ret. Clrks	43	88
Steelwrks, 1304	26	60
Steelwrks, 4468	34	30
Stove Mounters	24	50
Survey Average	34	78

It appears that the dependence of the percentage response on the level of educational attainment is very weak. Although the Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers (O.C.A.) response is highest and their educational attainment is very high, the Printing Specialties, whose response was almost as high, have a very low educational attainment.

A. General Attitudes Toward Unions and Unionism

1. Do you feel that your job is more secure because you are a union member?

Absolutely yes	54%
Probably yes	25
Probably not	10
No, it really isn't	11

The unions that answer "yes" more frequently than the average are the Carpenters, Printing Pressmen, Printing Specialties, and Stove Mounters, whereas the Park Services, Office Employees, O.C.A., and Post Office Clerks

answer "Probably not" and "No, it really isn't" more often. The Post Office Clerks and, to a lesser extent, the Park Services are government unions and their members are better insulated from layoff and even discharge than are employees in most private industries.

2. Do you think that without unions the living standard of the workers would be lower?

Most definitely	74%
Probably yes	20
Probably not	4
Certainly not	2

This question is more general than the last in that it refers to the situation of all workers as a whole rather than to the individual member of a specific union, but the response is probably colored by the specific situation. For example, the Carpenters, who were strongly of the opinion that their jobs are more secure in the last question, answer "Most definitely" 86 per cent of the time; likewise, the Post Office Clerks, who were negatively biased on the last question, answer "Most definitely" only 38 per cent of the time. In general, the aggregate response to each of these questions indicates a deep reservoir of pro-union sentiment on the part of the respondents.

3. Do you think that unions are doing a better job now for their workers than they were doing 5 years ago?

Yes, a much better job	35%
Yes, but only slightly better	24
Doing about the same	34
Doing a poorer job	7

There is a great deal of difference of opinion concerning the assessment of the long-run view of union performance among the various unions. Those with a high affirmative response include the Auto and Ship Painters, Park Services, Carpenters, Communications Workers of America (C.W.A.), Paint Makers, Printing Specialties, Post Office Clerks, and Retail Clerks. Those that are low in "yes" are the O.C.A., the Pressmen, and both Steelworker locals.

These three questions, taken as a whole, are evidence that union members in the East Bay feel that unions are beneficial in promoting job security and increasing their living standards and that the majority of the members feel that over-all union performance has been improving over the last five years.

B. Performance of Unions in Specific Areas

1. How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas?

	<u>Highly satisfied</u>	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>Highly dis- satisfied</u>
Fringe benefits	15%	63%	18%	4%
Grievances	12	67	17	4
Political activities	9	67	17	7
Wage increases	14	59	21	6
Job security	16	62	15	7
Working conditions	14	66	15	5
Social and educational activities	8	62	25	7

It is obvious from the above table that the majority of union members are either "highly satisfied" or "satisfied" with the performance of their unions in each of these categories. But this obscures the performance of each of the individual unions. For example, there is a wide divergence of opinion by unions in the category "wage increases" as is obvious in the table below.

Degree of Satisfaction with Union Performance in Obtaining
Wage Increases--by Unions

	<u>Highly satisfied</u>	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>Highly dissatisfied</u>
Auto Machinists	2%	77%	19%	2%
Auto & Ship Ptrs	16	64	16	4
Park Service	13	47	27	13
Carpenters	23	73	4	0
C.W.A.	6	59	28	6
Millmen	13	62	21	5
Office Emps	20	69	10	1
O.C.A.	5	34	42	19
Paint Mks	3	59	28	10
Printing Press	23	70	7	0
Printing Spec.	12	38	43	7
Post Off. Clrks	0	75	0	25
Ret. Clrks	17	64	19	0
Steelwrkrs, 1304	21	55	21	3
Steelwrkrs, 4468	14	40	25	21
Stove Mounters	0	83	17	0

As would be expected, the relative degree of satisfaction with wage increases is directly related to the average amount of take-home pay per week (excluding overtime pay) per union; that is, unions whose members have higher take-home pay have respondents who are more satisfied than the average with their wage increases. Notice that the Carpenters, who responded quite favorably to each of the three questions in Section A, are very satisfied with wage increases; and the OCA, who responded relatively unfavorably to these same questions, are quite dissatisfied with wage increases. This pattern is not consistent for all unions, but there seems to be a tendency in this direction. For further analysis of the response by individual unions to all of the categories in this question, the reader is referred to the reports on each union in Section III.

2. Does your union do a good job in defending any member who does not get a "fair deal" from management?

Yes, a very good job	63%
Yes, but only a bare minimum	23
No, not nearly enough	12
No, the union is actually in an alliance with the company against the workers	2

Since the question was purposely worded quite strongly, the response indicates a higher degree of satisfaction with the grievance process than is indicated in the reply to "grievances" in the last question. The highest unions in this regard were the C.W.A. and the O.C.A., and the lowest were the Park Services, Paint Makers, Printing Specialties, and Steelworkers 1304.

3. How good a job does your business agent do?

An excellent job	28%
A reasonable job	46
He could and should do a lot better	22
He does a miserable job	4

The unions that were highest in this question were the Park Services, Printing Pressmen, and Auto and Ship Painters, and the unions that were lowest were the C.W.A., O.C.A., Printing Specialties, and the Steelworkers 4468. Note that the C.W.A., O.C.A., and Printing Specialties were among the six least satisfied unions with regard to wage increases.

4. How satisfied are you with the job your shop steward is doing?

Highly satisfied	25%
Fairly well satisfied	52
Somewhat dissatisfied	14
Very dissatisfied	9

The unions in which there is a relatively high degree of satisfaction include the Printing Pressmen and the C.W.A. Those unions in which there is a high degree of dissatisfaction include the Park Services, Stove Mounters, Post Office Clerks, O.C.A., and Steelworkers 4468.

5. In general, how do you feel about the dues you pay?

They are extremely low	6%
They are too low	15
They are too high	52
They are extremely high	6
They are all right	21

Despite the fact that the respondents generally feel that unions improve living standards and are responsible for job security, the majority feels that it is paying too much for these benefits. A table showing the response of each union is presented below.

	<u>Dues are extremely low</u>	<u>Dues are too low</u>	<u>Dues are too high</u>	<u>Dues are extremely high</u>	<u>Dues are all right</u>	<u>Amount of dues per month*</u>
Auto Machinists	3%	11%	55%	14%	17%	\$6.50
Auto & Ship Ptrs	9	6	55	0	30	6.00
Park Service	7	36	14	0	43	3.00
Carpenters	2	15	58	8	17	6.50
C.W.A.	10	27	50	3	10	4.50
Millmen	3	11	58	3	25	6.00
Office Emps	16	16	34	0	34	4.00
O.C.A.	3	30	40	2	25	6.00
Paint Mkrs	7	21	43	0	29	5.00
Printing Press	3	8	68	11	10	12.00
Printing Spec.	2	5	65	17	11	6.00
Post Off. Clrks	43	14	14	0	29	1.75
Ret. Clrks	6	8	50	6	30	6.00
Steelwrkrs, 1304	11	36	29	4	20	6.00
Steelwrkrs, 4468	4	22	44	4	26	5.00
Stove Mounters	0	80	20	0	0	3.75

*These dues represent the median of dues which the respondents reported they were paying.

If members of a union felt that their jobs were more secure because they were union members, one would expect that they would be more inclined to think their dues were too low. On the contrary, however, those unions which are above average in their response to the question on job security (Question A-1) are more inclined toward the position that their dues are too high, and unions which are below average with respect to the linking of unionism and job security are more inclined to feel that dues are too low. Similarly, in a number of cases respondents who were quite satisfied with wage increases felt that their dues were too high. Furthermore, there is evidence of a positive relationship between weekly take-home pay (excluding overtime) and attitudes toward dues. The lower his take-home pay, the more strongly the respondent felt that union dues were too low. This might suggest the interpretation that strong, successful unionism breeds a sense of apathy on the part of members, whereas relatively weaker, less successful unionism kindles a stronger sense of sacrifice on the part of the members.

There is also a positive relationship between the amount of dues which union members pay and their relative degree of satisfaction with wage increases as seen in Question B-1 above. It would appear that the higher dues-paying unions satisfy members to a greater extent with respect to wage increases; yet apparently the members themselves do not take this interunion relationship into account.

Furthermore, it is observed that within eight unions whose dues per month were \$6.00 or over, the majority of respondents in six unions state that their dues are either too high or extremely high. Five unions have dues of \$4.50 or less per month. A majority in two of these five

feel that their dues are either too low or extremely low; and in one of the five unions, a majority of respondents reply that their dues are too high. This evidence indicates that members in unions with higher dues consider their dues too high. No consensus on dues is reached in unions with low dues.

6. How much would you be willing to increase your dues in order to strengthen your union's ability to obtain higher wages or more fringe benefits?

1-10¢	5%
11-50¢	17
51¢-\$1	22
More than \$1	11
Not at all	43

This question is somewhat "loaded," and the result is not consistent with the answers to the last question. Nevertheless, even though the question was worded in such a way as to make a person ashamed not to be in favor of a substantial increase which might directly benefit himself, a large proportion of the respondents give a flat "no."

In three unions (excluding the Post Office Clerks), 40 per cent or more of the respondents feel that dues are too low. It is interesting to note that a majority of respondents in each of these unions is willing to increase its dues significantly.

7. Does your union provide enough educational programs, social programs, and recreational facilities for the membership?

	<u>Educational programs</u>	<u>Social programs</u>	<u>Recreational facilities</u>
Yes, and I participate in them	9%	8%	2%
Yes, but I do not partici- pate in them	34	35	19

(Continued)

	<u>Educational programs</u>	<u>Social programs</u>	<u>Recreational facilities</u>
No, and I would participate in them if the union sponsored them	39%	37%	41%
No, and I would not participate if they were begun	18	20	38

The C.W.A. appears to be performing a superior job in all three areas. In the initiation of education programs, the following three unions appear to be doing an outstanding job: Auto and Ship Painters, Steelworkers 1304, and Printing Pressmen. The social programs of the Auto and Ship Painters, the Office Employees, and the Printing Specialties are far above average according to respondents, and the recreational programs of the Steelworkers 1304 and the Post Office Clerks are also deserving of comment.

The respondents in the following four unions desire, to a far greater extent than the average, that their unions begin programs in all three areas which they would attend: Park Services, Paint Makers, Steelworkers 4468, and Stove Mounters. There is a strong desire for educational programs within the O.C.A. and Post Office Clerks, while the O.C.A. and Millmen respondents indicate a strong preference for union-sponsored social activities.

C. Union Democracy and Communication

1. Do you think that leaders of your local take the opinions of the members into consideration when making a decision?

Yes, all the time	14%
Yes, most of the time	67
Seldom	17
Never	2

Four-fifths of the respondents believe that their leaders are responsive to membership views. The O.C.A. and Post Office Clerks stand out far above the average, whereas the Printing Specialties and Steelworkers 4468 are both substantially below the aggregate average.

2. Are many of your local union officers' decisions based on their own self-interest?

Almost all decisions	8%
Quite a few of the decisions	29
Only a few of the decisions	37
None of the decisions	26

On the whole, about two-thirds of the respondents are pleased with their officers' basis for decision-making.

Respondents in the Auto Machinists, Park Services, C.W.A., Office Employees, and O.C.A. unions are overwhelmingly approving of their officers' behavior, as opposed to the Auto and Ship Painters, the Printing Specialties, the Post Office Clerks, and the Steelworkers 4468, who are generally much less approving of such behavior.

3. Do you feel that every member with leadership ability has a chance of being elected to local union office if he is willing to make the effort to run for office?

Yes, a very good chance	37%
Yes, a reasonable chance	40
Yes, a very slim chance	16
No chance at all	7

Here again, a large portion of the respondents are quite satisfied with their unions' performance in a sphere which is strongly indicative of the use of democratic practices. The following unions rank considerably

above average: Park Services, C.W.A., O.C.A., Printing Pressmen, Post Office Clerks, and Stove Mounters. The Office Employees and the Printing Specialties are seen to be significantly below average.

From this and the two previous questions, one is able to derive some relative estimation of the democratic nature of the unions within the survey. It appears that two-thirds or more of the respondents consider that their union is generally quite a democratic organization in which the leadership takes the opinions of the members into consideration when making decisions, in which none or only a few of the union officers' decisions are based on their own self-interest, and in which any rank-and-file member with ability has a fairly good chance of winning a local office election.

4. Are you pleased with the manner in which your local's meetings are run?

Yes, very pleased indeed	15%
Yes, pleased most of the time	53
Somewhat displeased	25
Very displeased	7

Once again, about two-thirds of the respondents are satisfied: this time satisfaction is directed toward local union meetings. The relevance of this satisfaction to the over-all issue of union democracy is readily apparent, and this finding is generally consistent with the previous evidence. Except for Steelworkers 1304, who manifest an above-average degree of pleasure with their meetings, there are no significant individual union deviations from the average cited above.

The unions were ranked on each of the above four questions and an average of each union's ranks was obtained. The list below displays the unions in order of this average ranking. If a union's average position on the four questions is considered an index of its relative democratic behavior, then the list commences with the most democratic union in the survey.

Average Union Ranking in Four Areas of Union Democracy

O.C.A.

C.W.A.

Steelworkers 1304

Park Services

Auto Machinists

Printing Pressmen

Post Office Clerks

Office Employees

Retail Clerks

Millmen

Paint Makers

Auto and Ship Painters

Stove Mounters

Carpenters

Steelworkers 4468

Printing Specialties

The O.C.A. stands out as the most democratically run union. Yet it is of interest to recall that, compared to the average, this union is dissatisfied with its wage increases, is displeased with the performance of both its business agent and shop stewards, and is not impressed with over-all improvement of the union's performance within the past five years.

Similarly, the C.W.A., which was found to be the second most democratic union in the survey, is characterized by dissatisfaction with wage increases and the jobs performed by the business agent and the shop steward is noticed, although the respondents have an above-average regard for their union's performance over the past five years.

The Printing Specialties are the least democratically organized union surveyed; however, their performances with reference to the average is substantially identical to those of the C.W.A. in the four areas enumerated immediately above. The Steelworkers 4468 appear to be the second least democratic union. This local's rating is about the same as that of the O.C.A. in regard to wage increases, job performance of the business agent and shop stewards, and the long-run dynamic view of the union's efforts.

5. Does your union make members feel that it is worthwhile for them to belong to the union?

Yes, very worthwhile	35%
Yes, fairly worthwhile	47
No, the union doesn't care very much about how the members feel	17
No, the union goes out of its way to ignore the members' feelings	1

Once again, four-fifths of all respondents indicated answers which are favorable to the union movement. The C.W.A., Printing Pressmen, and

Steelworkers 1304 appear particularly to attract their members, while the Printing Specialties vary from the average in the opposite direction.

Evidence that union esprit de corps and democratic organization go hand in hand is seen in the cases of the C.W.A. and the Printing Specialties, the former showing a very high degree of democratic self-government and a very high satisfaction with respect to the question above, while the latter union has both a low degree of democratic organization and low membership attachment to the union. The Printing Pressmen, to a lesser extent, confirm the findings, while no cases were found in direct refutation.

6. Do you feel that the members of your union are well informed about the local union's affairs?

Yes, all of them are very well informed	27%
Yes, over half of them are well informed	29
No, only a few are well informed	37
No, only the leadership knows what is going on	7

The problem of communication is one of the most serious in the majority of unions covered in the survey, and is one of the principal reasons the survey was undertaken. The above table indicates that only slightly greater than half of the respondents found the majority of fellow union members informed (to varying degrees) about union affairs. If communication is considered an important element in a democratic union, then an over-all improvement in this area appears desirable.

Both the Park Services and the Printing Pressmen appear to have excellent communications, while the Auto Machinists, the Carpenters, the Office Employees, the Printing Specialties, and the Post Office Clerks appear somewhat below the average.

7. What is the name of your local's president and international's president?

On the average, 44 per cent of the respondents were able to name their local's president, while 38 per cent correctly identified the international president. The breakdown by locals is as follows:

<u>% name local pres. greater than average</u>	<u>% name local pres. greater than average</u>
<u>% name int'l pres. greater than average</u>	<u>% name int'l pres. less than average</u>

	<u>% on</u> <u>local</u> <u>pres.</u>	<u>% on</u> <u>int'l</u> <u>pres.</u>		<u>% on</u> <u>local</u> <u>pres.</u>	<u>% on</u> <u>int'l</u> <u>pres.</u>
Steelwrkrs, 4468	86	100	Park Services	87	20
Post Off. Clrks	75	38	Auto & Ship Ptrs	75	11
Steelwrkrs, 1304	70	48	Retail Clerks	62	26
C.W.A.	59	44	Paint Makers	59	6
O.C.A.	48	75	Stove Mounters	50	33

<u>% name local pres. less than average</u>	<u>% name local pres. less than average</u>
<u>% name int'l pres. greater than average</u>	<u>% name int'l pres. less than average</u>

	<u>% on</u> <u>local</u> <u>pres.</u>	<u>% on</u> <u>int'l</u> <u>pres.</u>		<u>% on</u> <u>local</u> <u>pres.</u>	<u>% on</u> <u>int'l</u> <u>pres.</u>
Printing Press.	43	61	Office employees	36	24
Printing Spec.	43	47	Millmen	14	23
Auto Machinists	21	47			
Carpenters	20	65			

This display may point up the differences between communications on a local and international level, but such differences may also be attributed to the differing importance of both the international and their presidents. Furthermore, comparison between locals as to the percentage identification of local presidents may not be too valid, since the position of presidents may differ significantly between locals.

D. Willingness to Strike

Four questions were asked of the respondents in order to find out how committed each individual was to the causes of his union. These attempted to find out what issues would make the respondent want to strike.

1. Would you want to strike if the employer refused to grant any wage increase or other improvements at all at your next contract negotiation?

Definitely yes	30%
Probably yes	33
Probably no	23
Definitely no	14

2. Would you want to strike if your employer refused to grant an increase of no more than 10 cents in wages and benefits in your next contract negotiations?

Definitely yes	17%
Probably yes	24
Probably no	39
Definitely no	20

3. Would you strike to avoid a cut in pay, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?

Definitely yes	33%
Probably yes	30
Probably no	20
Definitely no	17

4. Would you strike for an increase in wages, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?

Definitely yes	15%
Probably yes	21
Probably no	40
Definitely no	24

It is interesting that such a large proportion of the respondents are reluctant to strike under any of the above circumstances, and the differences in the response among the four questions speak for themselves. However, there is a great deal of difference among unions on each of these questions. The table below presents the breakdown of the response to the first of these questions, "Would you strike if you got nothing at your next contract negotiations?"

	Definitely <u>yes</u>	Probably <u>yes</u>	Probably <u>no</u>	Definitely <u>no</u>
Auto Machinists	24%	35%	22%	19%
Auto & Ship Ptrs	36	31	25	8
Park Service	33	47	7	13
Carpenters	26	48	13	13
C.W.A.	53	20	17	10
Millmen	36	27	20	17
Office Emps	23	23	35	19
O.C.A.	23	31	30	16
Paint Mtrs	31	52	14	3
Printing Press.	20	25	35	20
Printing Spec.	35	35	21	9

(Continued)

	<u>Definitely yes</u>	<u>Probably yes</u>	<u>Probably no</u>	<u>Definitely no</u>
Post Off. Clrks	12	0	0	88
Ret. Clrks	27	28	27	18
Steelwrks, 1304	47	50	0	3
Steelwrks, 4468	48	40	8	4
Stove Mounters	33	67	0	0

It must first be pointed out that the Post Office Clerks are a special case in that they cannot strike and that 90 per cent of the respondents from the Office Employees are women. Both of the predominantly male, white-collar unions, the Retail Clerks and the O.C.A., have a fairly strong reluctance to strike. Yet, the latter has shown a great deal of dissatisfaction with a number of bread-and-butter issues such as wages.

As a further look into the distribution of commitment, a table is presented below giving the breakdown by unions to the third question, "Would you strike to avoid a cut in pay if you might lose your welfare benefits?"

	<u>Definitely yes</u>	<u>Probably yes</u>	<u>Probably no</u>	<u>Definitely no</u>
Auto Machinists	29%	29%	25%	17%
Auto & Ship Ptrs	36	32	16	16
Park Service	33	27	33	7
Carpenters	38	26	17	19
C.W.A.	37	30	20	13
Millmen	42	30	13	15
Office Emps	27	17	35	21

(Continued)

	<u>Definitely yes</u>	<u>Probably yes</u>	<u>Probably no</u>	<u>Definitely no</u>
O.C.A.	22	34	30	14
Paint Mkr's	45	24	21	10
Printing Press.	32	35	18	15
Printing Spec.	22	32	22	24
Post Off. Clrks	13	13	0	74
Ret. Clrks	31	33	18	18
Steelwrkrs, 1304	54	40	3	3
Steelwrkrs, 4468	35	29	25	11
Stove Mounters	50	33	0	17

There is a diminution of militant spirit on the part of many of the unions and an increase in some of the others, but the basic distribution among unions remains the same.

E. Fears and Preferences

1. Do you feel that your own job is in danger of being eliminated by automation (or technological change)?

Yes, and my union will probably not be able to protect my job	21%
Yes, but my union is able to protect my job adequately against automation	7
No, there is no chance of automation endangering my job	48
I have never really thought about it	24

Only 25 per cent of those who feel that automation is a problem think that their union can do anything about it. Those unions which have a very high proportion of "yes, no protection" answers include the Millmen, Paint

Makers, Printing Specialties, Post Office Clerks, and both Steelworker locals. Local 4468 has a response of 63 per cent for "yes, no protection," which was the highest of all the unions.

In view of the Area Redevelopment Administration's recent designation of the Oakland area as "depressed" with respect to severe unemployment and job retraining problems, it is interesting to note that about one-half of the respondents do not consider automation a danger to their job while one quarter of them have not considered the problem at all.

2. The respondents were asked to list the order (i.e., first, second, or third) in which they would prefer to receive the following three increases at forthcoming negotiations: wage increases, pensions and welfare benefits, and vacations. The first choice is broken down as follows:

Pensions and welfare benefits	47%
Wage increases	42
Vacations	11

As would be expected, there are differences among unions concerning individual distributions of these preferences, but they follow quite closely the degree of satisfaction with wage increases and fringe benefits shown in Question B-1; that is, those members most dissatisfied with wage increases wanted wage increases first, etc.

3. Is your family income enough for your needs?

Yes, I live quite comfortably	43%
Yes, but I barely get by	43
No, I can't quite make ends meet	8
No, I don't have nearly enough for my needs	6

This does not say very much in itself, so a table showing the breakdown by unions is presented below.

	<u>Yes, quite comfortably</u>	<u>Yes, barely</u>	<u>No, can't make ends meet</u>	<u>Not nearly enough</u>	<u>Average family income before taxes per year</u>
Auto Machinists	35%	57%	5%	3%	\$7950
Auto & Ship Ptrs	41	49	4	6	7283
Park Service	7	59	27	7	6667
Carpenters	64	28	4	4	8562
C.W.A.	42	45	10	3	7517
Millmen	49	43	3	5	7553
Office Emps	68	18	12	2	8021
O.C.A.	25	48	22	5	8606
Paint Mkrs	14	64	11	11	6642
Printing Press.	53	42	4	1	8552
Printing Spec.	38	50	9	3	7567
Post Off. Clrks	0	38	24	38	7000
Ret. Clrks	48	44	6	2	7096
Steelwrkrs, 1304	57	28	9	6	7193
Steelwrkrs, 4468	29	53	7	11	8111
Stove Mounters	50	50	0	0	6667

Interestingly, the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, who were quite dissatisfied with the performance of their union in obtaining wage increases in Parts A and B, are very much of the opinion that they cannot make ends meet, relatively speaking, and yet they have the highest annual average family income. On the other hand, the Carpenters who were the most satisfied with

their wage increases and who had the second highest annual family income were the most adamant in stating that their family income was not able to suffice for their needs.

4. Do you have a second job with another employer?

	Per cent "yes"
Auto Machinists	3
Auto & Ship Ptrs	2
Park Service	13
Carpenters	2
C.W.A.	0
Millmen	5
Office Emps	10
O.C.A.	11
Paint Mkr	21
Printing Press.	7
Printing Spec.	1
Post Off. Clrks	43
Ret. Clrks	6
Steelwrkrs, 1304	3
Steelwrkrs, 4468	0
Stove Mounters	0
Average, all unions	6

Respondents in three of the four unions which had the highest percentage of members in second jobs were also the most dissatisfied with their family incomes.

5. If your regular weekly hours were reduced by 5 hours without loss of weekly take-home pay, would you want to work overtime, take a second job, or spend the extra time in leisure time activities?

Work overtime	12%
Take a second job	3
Use the extra time for leisure	71
Work overtime and take a second job	3
Work overtime and take more leisure	10
Take a second job and take more leisure	1

This question was asked in order to find out if the various proposals to alleviate unemployment by reducing the work week would be useless because of the increase of overtime work and the like by union members. It will be noted that over 70 per cent of the respondents indicate that they would use all the time for leisure.

F. Political Activities

1. The table below summarizes the replies to the question: "People in each group have too much power, too little power, or about the right amount of power in the country's affairs." The categories are open to interpretation by each respondent, but the answers do give some evidence of the underlying attitudes (or prejudices) of the respondents as a whole.

	<u>Too much power</u>	<u>Too little power</u>	<u>Just the right amount of power</u>
Rich people	71.5%	1.0%	27.5%
Liberals	20.8	25.2	55.0
Negroes	32.8	34.6	32.6
Rightwingers	50.1	6.4	43.5

(Continued)

	<u>Too much power</u>	<u>Too little power</u>	<u>Just the right amount of power</u>
College professors	11.5	34.1	49.4
Voters	1.8	57.8	40.4
Labor unions	25.2	25.5	50.3
Communists	77.2	3.9	18.9
Big corporations	76.8	2.2	21.0

A quarter of the union members felt that unions had too much power; on the other hand, as we shall see, a much larger proportion of middle-class Protestants were of this opinion. It is quite likely that many respondents thought in terms of Communist international rather than Communist internal power so that the overwhelming "too much power" dictum is not necessarily an indication of a "grass roots" desire for a return to McCarthyism. The other categories are less ambiguous. Especially interesting are the categories "Liberals," "Negroes," and "Labor unions." A breakdown of the percentage response by each of the 16 unions is presented in the table below.

	<u>Liberals</u>			<u>Negroes</u>			<u>Labor unions</u>		
	<u>Too much</u>	<u>Too little</u>	<u>Just right</u>	<u>Too much</u>	<u>Too little</u>	<u>Just right</u>	<u>Too much</u>	<u>Too little</u>	<u>Just right</u>
Auto Machinists	13	23	65	23	31	46	21	18	61
Auto & Ship Ptrs	20	23	57	29	44	27	23	18	59
Park Service	11	33	56	36	55	9	23	31	46
Carpenters	29	26	45	27	37	36	19	34	47
C.W.A.	20	0	80	48	31	21	28	21	51
Millmen	30	25	45	41	37	22	24	33	43
Office Emps	23	29	48	31	43	26	36	20	44
O.C.A.	25	24	51	37	27	36	24	24	52

(continued)

	Liberals			Negroes			Labor unions		
	<u>Too much</u>	<u>Too little</u>	<u>Just right</u>	<u>Too much</u>	<u>Too little</u>	<u>Just right</u>	<u>Too much</u>	<u>Too little</u>	<u>Just right</u>
Paint Mkr's	8	24	68	20	32	48	12	38	50
Printing Press.	27	18	55	37	32	31	34	14	52
Printing Spec.	15	26	59	25	25	50	28	36	36
Post Off. Clrks	14	57	29	14	57	29	50	0	50
Ret. Clrks	17	23	58	33	37	30	28	19	53
Steelwrkrs, 1304	4	35	61	24	36	40	8	48	44
Steelwrkrs, 4468	16	31	53	33	46	21	5	41	54
Stove Mounters	20	20	60	50	17	33	33	33	34
Total	20	25	55	33	35	32	25	26	49

The response for the category "Liberals" may also be influenced to some extent by legitimate confusion on the part of many of the respondents about the meaning of the term. There has been a rather concerted campaign on the part of many politicians, publicists, and the like to identify "Liberal" with "Communist," but it is very surprising to see that a fourth of the respondents feel that labor unions have too much power. The large "too much power" response concerning Negroes is further evidence of the "white backlash" among union members. Notice in particular the response for the two Steelworkers unions. Relatively few of this group thought that liberals or unions had too much power, but a much larger proportion of the group felt that Negroes had too much power.

This same question was used by a group of sociologists who were studying differences in political attitudes among religious groups. The table below presents results for four categories taken from responses of middle-class Protestants in the Bay Area. According to the sociologist in charge of the project, these people are fairly conservative on the average.

The sample was taken a year ago before the civil rights demonstrations began in the Bay Area.

	<u>Too much power</u>	<u>Too little power</u>	<u>Just the right amount</u>
Liberals	40%	10%	70%
Negroes	8	55	37
Labor unions	83	2	15
Big corporations	60	2	38

The union members and the Protestant group are not strikingly different in their attitudes toward liberals and big corporations, although the union members are less conservative. Thus, the large "too much power" response by the union members concerning big corporations is not necessarily evidence that the unionists are for the most part non-conservative in their political thinking.

It is interesting to note that there is only an imperfect relation between these political attitudes and the degree of commitment for individual unions. Both the Steelworkers unions, for example, were shown (see Part D) to be very militant, and they are also the least conservative unions in the survey, but the Communications Workers were also fairly militant and are perhaps the most conservative union politically of all the unions surveyed.

2. How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in the area of political activities?

Highly satisfied	9.0%
Satisfied	67.4
Dissatisfied	16.8
Highly dissatisfied	6.8

3. Is it all right with you if some of your union dues are used for union political activities?

Yes, certainly	30.2%
Yes, but only for Congressional and Presidential campaigns	18.8
No, under no circumstances	51.0

This question is ambiguous. Under the Taft-Hartley Act union financial contributions to support any federal political office seeker are outlawed, and thus the question may have been misunderstood as an attempt to ascertain rank-and-file sanction of union violation of this law. However, the question implicitly referred to only legal union activities such as voter registration, distribution of literature of an informative nature, etc. Nevertheless, it is clear from an examination of the percentage breakdown by unions that the percentage of those answering "yes, certainly" in each union was strongly associated with the degree to which the members of each union took a "liberal" line in the questions presented in the table on pages 31-32 above.

Of the 718 respondents, 606 (or 85.6%) are registered voters and 102 (or 14.4%) are not. (Ten left the question blank.) There seems to be little relation between the political attitudes of members of each union and whether or not they are registered voters.

The voting behavior of the respondents may be classified as follows (absolute numbers above and percentages in parentheses):

4. Did you vote in the last election?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Blank</u>
Local or county	471 (66%)	161 (22%)	86 (12%)
State	523 (73%)	122 (17%)	73 (10%)

(Continued)

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Blank</u>
Congressional	474 (66%)	137 (19%)	107 (15%)
Presidential	561 (78%)	103 (14%)	54 (8%)

5. Do you check to see which candidates your local endorses prior to voting in an election?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Blank</u>
Local or county	407 (57%)	215 (30%)	96 (13%)
State	435 (61%)	194 (27%)	89 (12%)
Congressional	412 (57%)	205 (29%)	101 (14%)
Presidential	443 (62%)	207 (29%)	68 (9%)

6. If you do check to see which candidates your union endorses, do you generally vote for these candidates?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Depends on candidate</u>	<u>Blank</u>
Local or county	244 (34%)	207 (29%)	39 (5%)	228 (32%)
State	265 (37%)	191 (27%)	42 (6%)	220 (30%)
Congressional	236 (33%)	199 (28%)	42 (6%)	241 (33%)
Presidential	244 (34%)	222 (31%)	42 (6%)	210 (39%)

There are problems in the interpretation of these results. With reference to the last table, about 6% of the respondents felt that the question read in effect, "Are you a puppet who blindly follows the dictum

of someone else when you vote?", and they wrote in such comments as, "It depends on the candidate"; "I vote for the man"; "I make my own decisions"; etc. Thus, it is quite likely that others were so annoyed that they checked "No" for the sake of principle.

There are three questions about COPE, as follows:

7. Do you participate in any union activities, such as COPE?

(1) <u>Yes</u>	(2) <u>No</u>	(3) Don't know <u>about COPE</u>	(4) Both <u>2 & 3</u>	(5) <u>Blank</u>
74	404	181	54	5

8. If "No" would you be willing to participate in such political activities in the coming election?

<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't know or maybe</u>	<u>Blank</u>
97	475	7	139

9. If you are married, do you think that your spouse would be willing to participate in union political activities (such as helping union members register to vote)?

Yes, several hours per week	29
Yes, several hours per month	90
No	478
Not married	92
Blank	29

It may be useful to note the breakdown by unions of those who replied "Yes" to question number 8.

	<u>No. of Yes's</u>	<u>% Yes</u>
Auto Machinists	5	11.9
Auto & Ship Ptrs	6	10.9
Park Service	2	13.3

(continued)

	<u>No. of Yes's</u>	<u>% Yes</u>
Carpenters	7	13.7
C.W.A.	4	18.3
Millmen	5	7.7
Office Emps	8	16.0
O.C.A.	9	14.7
Paint Mkrs	8	27.6
Printing Press.	5	7.2
Printing Spec.	10	14.3
Post Off. Clrks	0	0.0
Ret. Clrks	10	15.2
Steelwrkrs, 1304	6	18.2
Steelwrkrs, 4468	10	35.7
Stove Mounters	<u>1</u>	<u>16.7</u>
Total	97	Average 13.6

In summary, it is not too difficult to see why only 24 per cent of the respondents say that they either do participate in political activities such as COPE at the present (10 per cent) or would be willing to do so in the coming election (about 14 per cent). Apathy is one factor, and disagreement with labor's political objectives is another.

G. East Bay Labor Journal

One of the prime means of communication for the Central Labor Council of Alameda County is its newspaper, the East Bay Labor Journal, which is co-published with the Building and Construction Trades Council of Alameda

County. Several questions were asked to determine the effectiveness of this line of communication.

The sample in this section has been decreased from the 16 unions previously discussed to those 10 unions which are presently subscribers to the Journal. These unions are listed below on page 39. Thus the aggregate figures, in this section only, refer to the average of these 10 unions.

In order to obtain a norm from which to judge the Journal's performance, readership patterns with regard to local union newspapers were sought. Unfortunately, the reliability of the data on local union newspapers is suspect since in about one-half of each of the unions polled between 40 and 60 per cent of the unions' respondents said their union did not publish a paper, whereas the remainder indicated the varying degrees to which they read their union's newspaper. Only two questions pertaining to the Journal were salvageable.

1. Do you read the East Bay Labor Journal?
(Per cent of respondents from the 10 subscriber unions.)

Yes, almost every issue	72%
Yes, once in a while	23
No, never	4
I do not receive it	1

The evidence points to the fact that the East Bay Labor Journal is a most effective voice from the Central Labor Council and the Building Trades Council--at least insofar as the members who receive a copy read the paper. Parenthetically, it is interesting to note that a few respondents stated they did not receive the Journal, since their addresses were obtained from the Journal's mailing lists.

A breakdown of responses by local is presented below:

	<u>Yes, almost every issue</u>	<u>Yes, once in a while</u>	<u>No, never</u>	<u>I do not receive it</u>
Auto Machinists	76	19	5	0
Auto & Ship Ptrs	76	18	2	4
Carpenters	82	16	0	2
Millmen	75	23	0	2
Paint Mkrs	76	21	3	0
Printing Press.	57	35	7	1
Printing Spec.	73	26	1	0
Ret. Clrks	68	24	8	0
Steelwrkrs, 1304	88	9	3	0
Steelwrkrs, 4468	64	32	4	0

2. What features of the East Bay Labor Journal do you find the most interesting? (Per cent of respondents from the 10 subscriber unions who read each item listed.)

Union news in the community	48%
Editorials	39
Collective bargaining developments	36
Political columns	24
Sports or family features	19

An additional item to those listed above was "Others: (specify)."

The only items which appeared to any significant degree were letters to the editor and columns on consumer buying, each of which was indicated by 2 per cent of the respondents.

III. Individual Union Reports

Separate evaluations on each of the sixteen unions and the C.W.A. Officers and Shop Stewards follow. Every report is self-contained, since each union is being sent copies of its own evaluation. Page 3 of each report contains a summary of the findings on the individual union. These reports are inserted in the following order:

- Auto Machinists, Local 1546
- Auto and Ship Painters, Local 1176
- Park Services, Local 414
- Carpenters, Local 36
- Communications Workers of America, Local 9415
- Millmen and Cabinetmakers, Local 550
- Office Employees, Local 29
- Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, Local 1-589
- Paint Makers, Local 1101
- Printing Pressmen, Local 125
- Printing Specialties, Local 382
- Post Office Clerks, Local 47
- Retail Clerks, Local 870
- Steelworkers, Local 1304
- Steelworkers, Local 4468
- Stove Mounters, Local 83
- Office and Shop Stewards of the
Communications Workers of America, Local 9415

University of California
Institute of Industrial Relations
Labor Research Unit

Report on the Attitudes of Auto Machinists, Local 1546

I. Introduction:

During the past year the Labor Research Unit, with the cooperation of the Central Labor Council of Alameda County, has conducted a survey of the attitudes of the members of 16 unions. Since the results have been broken down by unions so that we might study the variance of attitudes of members of different kinds of unions, we have written a special report on the feelings of the membership of Auto Machinists, Local 1546, with special reference to the problems that are important to the local.

There are some problems in the interpretation of the results of a survey of this nature:

First, since we mailed the questionnaire to a random sample of the membership of each of the unions selected and did not actually speak directly with any of the participants, there is the possibility that the people who took the trouble to fill out and return the questionnaire (slightly over one in three for the first two mailings) do not represent the feelings of the "population" as a whole. To check against this, we sent a third mailing to 11 of the 16 unions, and the results were not significantly different from the results of the first two mailings. Thus, at least to some extent, we can say that the respondents are representative of the population.

Second, most questions require interpretation by the individual respondent, and this results in unavoidable problems of semantics. For

example, in Question #1 we ask, "How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas?", and the respondent checked either, "Highly satisfied," "Satisfied," "Dissatisfied," or "Highly dissatisfied" to a number of topics such as "Wage Increases." What "highly satisfied" means to one person is not necessarily the same as it means to another. One person may reason, "I would have liked more of an increase last negotiating session, but my union did as well as can be expected under the circumstances, so I will check 'satisfied'." Another individual might think, "They got nowhere near as much as I needed so I will check 'highly dissatisfied'." Since, however, we did get a relatively large number of responses, we should obtain a reasonably accurate picture of what the respondents think.

Third, how does the union leadership interpret what is a "favorable" or "unfavorable" response? One way of attempting this is to compare the response for the individual union in question with the response for all unions, but this, of course, is a relative rather than an absolute standard and ignores differences in circumstances of the different unions. One particular union may, for example, be faced with a rather severe problem of technological change within the plant or industry, and many of the respondents of that union may react by indicating that the union is not doing enough to insure job security. The Report would therefore point out that the response of this union was different from the response of all unions in this direction. However, this is in no way intended as criticism of the performance of the leadership of that local. We are merely reporting on the attitudes of the respondents.

We hope that this Report will be of some use to your union as well as to the labor movement as a whole, and we appreciate the cooperation you have given us.

II. Summary:

We sent out 128 questionnaires to the members of Local 1546, and 42 usable ones were returned. The 32.8 per cent response was about equal to the average for all unions. This indicates an average degree of interest in union affairs which is substantiated by an analysis of the replies of Local 1546.

As far as overall satisfaction with the union and the work its officers are doing, the Auto Machinists appear to be quite satisfied with the union's achievement in the areas of wages, benefits and working conditions, and endorse the job their leaders do to a greater extent than does the average union member. But communications within the local appear to be a significant problem for Local 1546--a problem which may be accentuated by the distribution of members among numerous small shops. The low proportion of members who were able to identify their local president testifies to the insufficient communication on the part of local officers. Some evidence of dissatisfaction with dues is also noted.

III. Presentation of Results

Below, in detailed form, is a breakdown of answers to specific questions by the members of Local 1546. The data are presented under five headings:

A. Rating of Over-all Performance of Union by Members, which includes as subtopics the activities of the union, the responsiveness of the leadership to the members and the general attitude toward the union and unionism.

B. The Performance of the Union in Specific Areas, such as union democracy, officers' performance, meetings, dues, and automation.

C. The Degree of Commitment which members have toward their union.

D. The Desires of the Membership with respect to wages, fringes, and incomes.

E. Specific Comments of Members.

Under each heading and subtopic the question is repeated from the questionnaire and the data then displayed. Where not self-evident, explanatory remarks are made as to the intent of the question and its relevance to the subtopic. Additional remarks are included in every instance comparing Local 1546's answers to the aggregate. The reader is referred to the qualifying remarks in the second paragraph of this Report.

A. Rating of Over-all Performance of Union by Members

1. Activities of the Union

(a) How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas? (responses given in percentage figures)

	<u>highly</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>satisfied</u>	<u>dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>highly dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>
Fringe Benefits	5	83	8	4
Grievances	8	74	15	3
Political Activities	0	81	17	2
Wage Increases	2	77	19	2
Job Security	7	79	12	2
Working Conditions	7	79	12	2
Social and Educational Activities	3	57	37	3

These responses are similar to the results obtained for all unions in every category except Social and Educational Activities where the members of 1546 appear to be more dissatisfied than the average.

- (b) Do you think that unions are doing a better job now for their workers than they were doing 5 years ago?

Yes, a much better job.....31%

Yes, but only slightly better.....24

Doing about the same.....38

Doing a poorer job..... 7

The Auto Machinists' replies do not appear to differ substantially from the aggregate response.

2. Responsiveness of the Leadership to Individual Members' Opinions

- (a) Do you think that leaders of your local take the opinions of the members into consideration when making a decision?

The response indicates that the members feel overwhelmingly that the leadership takes their opinions into consideration most of the time. Compared to the aggregate, the respondents were a bit more qualified in their affirmative answers.

- (b) Are many of your local union officers' decisions based on their own self interest?

The members of 1546 wholeheartedly approve of their leaders' behavior to a far greater extent than does the average union member surveyed. Thus, this union ranks quite high on issues of union democracy.

3. General Attitude Toward Unions and Unionism

- (a) Do you feel that your job is more secure because you are a union member?

Absolutely yes.....54%

Probably yes.....21

Probably not..... 5

No, it really isn't.....20

These answers indicate that the members of 1546 consider their jobs only slightly less dependent upon the union than do the members of all unions in the survey.

- (b) Do you think that without unions the living standard of the workers would be lower?

Most definitely.....71%

Probably yes.....29

Probably not..... 0

Certainly not..... 0

These replies are similar to the average response.

B. Performance of the Union in Specific Areas

1. Union Democracy

- (a) Do you feel that every member with leadership ability has a chance of being elected to local union office if he is willing to make the effort to run for office?

About three-quarters of the Auto Machinist respondents felt that individuals had a "very good" or "reasonably good" chance, which was about average. However, a slightly larger percentage indicated "reasonably good," as opposed to "very good," than did the aggregate, which is consistent with the answers received on question A-2 (a).

- (b) Do you feel that the members of your union are well informed about the local union's affairs?

Yes, all of them are very well informed.....26%

Yes, over half of them are well informed.....21

No, only a few are well informed.....41

No, only the leadership knows what is going on...12

The problem of communication is one of the most serious in the majority of unions polled, and is one of the principal reasons the survey was undertaken. This troublesome area appears to be slightly more acute for the Auto Machinists than for the average union surveyed.

- (c) The respondents were asked to name their union's local president. Only 21 per cent answered correctly, which was on of the three lowest responses.
- (d) 36% of the respondents knew the name of the union's international president, which is only slightly less than the figure for all unions. As judged by answers to Bl (b), (c), and (d), local communications are an area in which 1546 falls far below the majority of other unions surveyed.

2. Officers' Performance

- (a) How satisfied are you with the job your shop steward is doing? Four out of forty-two respondents replied that they did not have a shop steward, and five individuals abstained. Of the remaining thirty-three, the answers are broken down as follows:

Highly satisfied.....	36%
Fairly well satisfied.....	49
Somewhat dissatisfied.....	9
Very dissatisfied.....	6

These replies do not appear to vary significantly from the aggregate of answers.

- (b) How good a job does your business agent do?
- | | |
|------------------------------------|-----|
| An excellent job..... | 33% |
| A reasonable job..... | 40 |
| He could and should do better..... | 25 |
| He does a miserable job..... | 2 |

This response was about average for all unions.

3. Meetings

- (a) Are you pleased with the manner in which your local's meetings are run?

Yes, very pleased indeed..... 8%

Yes, pleased most of the time.....67

Somewhat displeased.....20

Very displeased..... 5

The respondents appeared more "pleased" than "displeased" compared to the response for all unions. It is difficult to reconcile this answer with the evidence of poor local communications.

4. Dues

- (a) In general, how do you feel about the dues you pay?

They are extremely low..... 3%

They are too low.....11

They are too high.....55

They are extremely high.....14

They are all right.....17

The respondents were more inclined to feel that their dues are both "too high" and "extremely high" than were the respondents of all unions.

- (b) How much would you be willing to increase your dues in order to strengthen your union's ability to obtain higher wages or more fringe benefits?

As **might** be expected from the previous question, the respondents were somewhat less anxious to raise their dues than were the respondents in all the sixteen unions. 31% indicated that they would prefer a raise of less than 50¢, 11% preferred a raise of 51¢-\$1.00, 11% wanted raises greater than \$1.00, while 47% preferred no raise at all.

5. Automation

The membership of 1546 is not nearly so concerned with problems of automation as is the average member in the sixteen unions surveyed.

C. The Degree of Commitment

In this section we asked a number of questions to find out what kinds of problems would make the members of the union willing to strike. In a qualified sense, this may be taken to be an index of the degree of commitment which the members have toward the union. However, the setting of a decision to strike varies greatly from industry to industry and union to union, and this index is not an absolute measure of the degree of commitment.

1. Would you want to strike if the employer refused to grant any wage increase or other improvements at all at your next contract negotiations?

Definitely yes.....24%

Probably yes.....35

Probably no.....22

Definitely no.....19

2. Would you want to strike if your employer refused to grant an increase of no more than 10 cents in wages and benefits in your next contract negotiations?

Definitely yes.....11%

Probably yes.....32

Probably no.....34

Definitely no.....23

3. Would you strike to avoid a cut in pay, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?

Definitely yes.....30%

Probably yes.....30

Probably no.....24

Definitely no.....16

4. Would you strike for an increase in wages, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?

Definitely yes.....10%

Probably yes.....30

Probably no.....30

Definitely no.....30

As might be expected from the degree of satisfaction with wages and fringe benefits expressed in paragraph A-1 (a) above, the Auto Machinists were about as willing to strike as were the average union members surveyed.

D. Desires of the union membership.

1. Preferences

We asked a question to find out the preferences of the membership in collective bargaining between wage increases, vacation, and pensions and welfare benefits. As the first choice among the three, the three groups were broken down as follows:

Wage increases.....49%

Vacations..... 0

Pensions and welfare.....51

The membership appears to place less emphasis upon vacations than does the aggregate.

2. Income

Is your family income enough for your needs?

Yes, I live quite comfortably.....35%

Yes, but I barely get by.....57%

No, I can't quite make ends meet..... 5%

No, I don't have nearly enough
for my needs..... 3%

On the whole, members of 1546 considered themselves a bit better off than did the average respondent, with a larger percentage indicating "barely get by" than in the aggregate.

E. Specific Comments of Members

At the end of the questionnaire, space was provided for comments on relevant union issues. A few of the more interesting and constructive comments are included below with the precaution that they are not necessarily representative of the feelings of the membership. Nevertheless, it is hoped that they may prove of use to the union. (Comments have been edited for spelling and diction.)

1. Over-all Performance of Union

Knowledge of union activities is very poor due to bad advertising. No one knows what is going on until it's all over. The only time you hear from the union is when they remind you that you haven't paid your dues.

2. Meetings

I have been through the union wars of 1934-1935 and have become so displeased with the word "union" that it gripes my ego still to think I am coerced into attending meetings.

3. Education

I believe education of our people is the most essential product we can produce.

University of California
Institute of Industrial Relations
Labor Research Unit

Report on the Attitudes of Auto and Ship Painters
Local 1176

I. Introduction:

During the past year the Labor Research Unit, with the cooperation of the Central Labor Council of Alameda County, has conducted a survey of the attitudes of the members of 16 unions. Since the results have been broken down by unions so that we might study the variance of attitudes of members of different kinds of unions, we have written a special report on the feelings of the membership of Auto and Ship Painters, Local 1176, with special reference to the problems that are important to the local.

There are some problems in the interpretation of the results of a survey of this nature:

First, since we mailed the questionnaire to a random sample of the membership of each of the unions selected and did not actually speak directly with any of the participants, there is the possibility that the people who took the trouble to fill out and return the questionnaire (slight over one in three for the first two mailings) do not represent the feelings of the "population" as a whole. To check against this, we sent a third mailing to 11 of the 16 unions, and the results were not significantly different from the results of the first two mailings. Thus, at least to some extent, we can say that the respondents are representative of the population.

Second, most questions require interpretation by the individual respondent, and this results in unavoidable problems of semantics. For

example, in Question #1 we ask, "How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas?", and the respondent checked either, "Highly satisfied," "Satisfied," "Dissatisfied," or "Highly dissatisfied" to a number of topics such as "Wage Increases." What "highly satisfied" means to one person is not necessarily the same as it means to another. One person may reason, "I would have liked more of an increase last negotiating session, but my union did as well as can be expected under the circumstances, so I will check 'satisfied'." Another individual might think, "They got nowhere near as much as I needed so I will check 'highly dissatisfied'." Since, however, we did get a relatively large number of responses, we should obtain a reasonably accurate picture of what the respondents think.

Third, how does the union leadership interpret what is a "favorable" or "unfavorable" response? One way of attempting this is to compare the response for the individual union in question with the response for all unions, but this, of course, is a relative rather than an absolute standard and ignores differences in circumstances of the different unions. One particular union may, for example, be faced with a rather severe problem of technological change within the plant or industry, and many of the respondents of that union may react by indicating that the union is not doing enough to insure job security. The Report would therefore point out that the response of this union was different from the response of all unions in this direction. However, this is in no way intended as criticism of the performance of the leadership of that local. We are merely reporting on the attitudes of the respondents.

We hope that this Report will be of some use to your union as well as to the labor movement as a whole, and we appreciate the cooperation you have given us.

II. Summary

One hundred and sixty-four questionnaires were sent out to the members of Local 1176 and 55 usable ones were returned. The 34 per cent reply was equal to the average for all unions.

These respondents were, on the whole, quite pleased with the manner in which their local was run. This generalization is substantiated by the evidence of satisfaction with the business agent, with the manner in which local meetings are conducted, and with the overall improved job which the local has recently performed. The membership of 1176 thought that their leaders were quite responsive to rank-and-file opinions; contradictorily, they also indicated that a substantial proportion of decisions were made by the leaders in their own self-interest. The troublesome area of communications does not appear as crucial in 1176 as in other unions surveyed. This is possibly one reason why there was evidence of a fairly high degree of commitment on the part of the membership toward their union.

III. Presentation of Results

Below, in detailed form, is a breakdown of answers to specific questions by the members of Local 1176. The data are presented under five headings:

A. Rating of Over-all Performance of Union by Members which includes as subtopics the activities of the union, the responsiveness of the leadership to the members and the general attitude toward the union and unionism.

B. The Performance of the Union in Specific Areas, such as union democracy, officers' performance, meetings, dues, and automation.

C. The Degree of Commitment which members have toward their union.

D. The Desires of the Membership with respect to wages, fringes, and income.

E. Specific Comments of Members.

Under each heading and subtopic the question is repeated from the questionnaire and the data then displayed. Where not self-evident, explanatory remarks are made as to the intent of the question and its relevance to the subtopic. Additional remarks are included in every instance comparing Local 1176's answers to the aggregate. The reader is referred to the qualifying remarks in the second paragraph of this Report.

A. Rating of Over-all Performance of Union by Members

1. Activities of the Union

(a) How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following area? (responses given in percentage figures)

	<u>highly</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>satisfied</u>	<u>dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>highly dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>
Fringe Benefits	15	73	12	0
Grievances	12	68	16	4
Political Activities	22	66	8	4
Wage Increases	16	64	16	4
Job Security	19	54	21	6
Working Conditions	14	62	20	4
Social and Educational Activities	10	72	14	4

These responses are similar to the results obtained for all unions in every category except Political Activities and Social and Educational Activities

where the members of 1176 appear to be more satisfied than the average for all unions.

- (b) Do you think that unions are doing a better job now for their workers than they were doing 5 years ago?

Yes, a much better job.....44%

Yes, but only slightly better.....28%

Doing about the same.....24%

Doing a poorer job.....4%

Compared with the aggregate response, the Auto and Ship Painter replies are biased toward both "much better" and "slightly better," indicating a more favorable dynamic view of union performance on the part of 1176 members.

2. Responsiveness of the Leadership to Individual Members' Opinions

- (a) Do you think that leaders of your local take the opinions of the members into consideration when making a decision?

The response indicates that the members feel overwhelmingly that the leadership takes their opinions into consideration most of the time, and this response compares very favorably with the aggregate response.

- (b) Are many of your local union officers' decisions based on their own self interest?

Contrary to what might be expected from the previous question, the members of 1176 believe that more of their officers' decisions are based on self-interest than does the majority of members surveyed.

3. General Attitude Toward Unions and Unionism

(a) Do you feel that your job is more secure because you are a union member?

Absolutely yes.....55%

Probably yes.....20%

Probably not..... 6%

No, it really isn't.....19%

No deviation from the aggregate is noted.

(b) Do you think that without unions the living standard of the workers would be lower?

Most definitely.....78%

Probably yes.....18%

Probably not..... 0%

Certainly not..... 4%

These replies are similar to the average response.

B. Performance of the Union in Specific Areas

1. Union Democracy

(a) Do you feel that every member with leadership ability has a chance of being elected to local union office if he is willing to make the effort to run for office?

The membership thought that individuals had a "very good" or "reasonably good" chance in about the same proportions as did the average union respondent. This finding is consistent with the two replies in A-2 (a) and (b).

(b) Do you feel that the members of your union are well informed about the local union's affairs?

Yes, all of them are very well informed.....40%

Yes, over half of them are well informed.....25%

No, only a few are well informed.....29%

No, only the leadership know what is going on. 5%

The problem of communications is one of the most serious in the majority of unions covered in this survey. However, since the members of 1176 consider themselves to be more informed than do the average of respondents, the Auto and Ship Painters appear to be doing a very satisfactory job in this area.

(c) The respondents were asked to name their union's local president. Seventy-five per cent answered correctly which greatly exceeded the average for all unions (44%). This answer confirms the previous finding with regard to local communications.

(d) Only 11% of the respondents knew the name of their international president, compared with 38% for all unions.

2. Officers' Performance

(a) How satisfied are you with the job your shop steward is doing?

Eleven out of fifty-five replied that they did not have a shop steward and eight individuals abstained. Of the remaining thirty-six respondents, the answers are broken down as follows:

Highly satisfied.....31%
Fairly well satisfied.....50%
Somewhat dissatisfied.....13%
Very dissatisfied..... 6%

The replies did not vary significantly from the aggregate.

(b) How good a job does your business agent do?

An excellent job.....42%
A reasonable job.....37%
He could and should do better.....19%
He does a miserable job..... 2%

There was a sizeable shift from "reasonable job" to "excellent job" when 1176 is compared to the average response.

3. Meetings

(a) Are you pleased with the manner in which your local's meetings are run?

Yes, very pleased indeed.....30%
Yes, pleased most of the time.....44%
Somewhat displeased.....20%
Very displeased..... 6%

The respondents appear to be more pleased with their local meetings than are the average union members. One would anticipate this answer from those given in A-1 (b), A-2 (a), B-1 (b) and B-1 (c).

4. Dues

(a) In general, how do you feel about the dues you pay?

They are extremely low..... 9%

They are too low..... 6%

They are too high..... 55%

They are extremely high..... 0%

They are all right..... 30%

The respondents were more inclined to feel that their dues were "all right" than were the respondents of all unions.

(b) How much would you be willing to increase your due in order to strengthen your union's ability to obtain higher wages or more fringe benefits?

As would be expected from the last question, the respondents were a bit more unwilling to raise their dues than were the average union respondents. Forty-nine per cent indicated that they desired no increase, 24% preferred a raise of 1¢ - 50¢ while 27% wanted raises greater than 51¢.

5. Automation

The membership of 1176 is not nearly as concerned with problems of automation as is the average member in the sixteen unions surveyed.

C. The Degree of Commitment

In this section we asked a number of questions to find out what kinds of problems would make the members of the union willing to strike. In a qualified sense, this may be taken to be an index of the degree of

commitment which the members have toward the union. However, the setting of a decision to strike varies greatly from industry to industry and union to union, and this index is not an absolute measure of the degree of commitment.

1. Would you want to strike if the employer refused to grant any wage increase or other improvements at all at your next contract negotiations?

Definitely yes.....35%
Probably yes.....32%
Probably no.....25%
Definitely no..... 8%

2. Would you want to strike if your employer refused to grant an increase of no more than 10 cents in wages and benefits in your next contract negotiations?

Definitely yes.....20%
Probably yes.....31%
Probably no.....35%
Definitely no.....14%

3. Would you strike to avoid a cut in pay, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?

Definitely yes.....36%
Probably yes.....32%
Probably no.....16%
Definitely no.....16%

4. Would you strike for an increase in wages, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?

Definitely yes.....17%

Probably yes.....27%

Probably no.....36%

Definitely no.....20%

The 1176 response indicates that the membership is slightly more willing to strike than is the average union member surveyed.

This is inspite of the fact that the Auto and Ship Painters appear to be relatively as satisfied with wages and fringe benefits as are the average members. Their position on strikes indicates a relatively high degree of commitment to the union which can be seen also in replies to questions A-1 (b), A-2 (a) and B-2 (b).

D. Desires of the Union Membership

1. Preferences

We asked a question to find out the preferences of the membership in collective bargaining between wage increases, vacations, and pensions and welfare benefits. As the first choice among the three, the three groups were broken down as follows:

Wage increases.....40%

Vacations.....20%

Pensions and welfare.....40%

There appeared to be a bit more emphasis on vacations than in the aggregate.

2. Income

Is your family income enough for your needs?

Yes, I live quite comfortably.....41%

Yes, but I barely get by.....50%

No, I can't quite make ends meet..... 4%

No, I don't have nearly enough for my needs..... 6%

The members of 1176 considered themselves about as well off as did the average member surveyed which is what would be expected from the response to "wage increases" in question A-1 (a).

E. Specific Comments of Members

At the end of the questionnaire, space was provided for comments on relevant union issues. A few of the more interesting and constructive comments are included below with the precaution that they are not necessarily representative of the feelings of the membership. Nevertheless, it is hoped that they may prove of use to the union. (Comments have been edited for spelling and diction.)

1. Officers' Performance

Our Business Agent should do more about the safety and welfare of the workers. For example, we need a place to eat our lunches. Also, since there are far more members than jobs available, the union should not accept any more members.

Our union representatives are too political. They have gotten away from the original purpose of their representing the membership and only try to further their own interests.

University of California
Institute of Industrial Relations
Labor Research Unit

Report on the Attitudes of the East Bay
Regional Parks District Local 414

I. Introduction

During the past year the Labor Research Unit, with the cooperation of the Central Labor Council of Alameda County, has conducted a survey of the attitudes of the members of 16 unions. Since the results have been broken down by union so that we might study the variance of attitudes of members of different kinds of unions, we have written a special report on the feelings of the membership of Local 414, with special reference to the problems that are important to the local.

There are some problems in the interpretation of the results of a survey of this nature:

First, since we mailed the questionnaire to a random sample of the membership of each of the unions selected and did not actually speak directly with any of the participants, there is the possibility that the people who took the trouble to fill out and return the questionnaire (slightly over one in three for the first two mailings) do not represent the feelings of the "population" as a whole. To check against this, we sent a third mailing to 11 of the 16 unions, and the results were not significantly different from the results of the first two mailings. Thus, at least to some extent, we can say that the respondents are representative of the population.

Second, most questions require interpretation by the individual respondent, and this results in unavoidable problems of semantics. For

example, in Question #1 we ask, "How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas?", and the respondent checked either, "Highly satisfied," "Satisfied," "Dissatisfied," or "Highly dissatisfied" to a number of topics such as "Wage Increases." What "highly satisfied" means to one person is not necessarily the same as it means to another. One person may reason, "I would have liked more of an increase last negotiating session, but my union did as well as can be expected under the circumstances, so I will check 'satisfied'." Another individual might think, "They got nowhere near as much as I needed so I will check 'highly dissatisfied'." Since, however, we did get a relatively large number of responses, we should obtain a reasonably accurate picture of what the respondents think.

Third, how does the union leadership interpret what is a "favorable" or "unfavorable" response? One way of attempting this is to compare the response for the individual union in question with the response for all unions, but this, of course, is a relative rather than an absolute standard and ignores differences in circumstances of the different unions. One particular union may, for example, be faced with a rather severe problem of technological change within the plant or industry, and many of the respondents of that union may react by indicating that the union is not doing enough to insure job security. The Report would therefore point out that the response of this union was different from the response of all unions in this direction. However, this is in no way intended as criticism of the performance of the leadership of that local. We are merely reporting on the attitudes of the respondents.

We hope that this Report will be of some use to your union as well as to the labor movement as a whole, and we appreciate the cooperation you have given us.

II. Summary

We sent out 43 questionnaires to the members of Local 414 and received fifteen usable questionnaires in return. The 35 per cent response was slightly higher than the average for all 16 unions.

Compared to the survey average, the union seems to hold up fairly well in most categories. The union is among the more democratic, according to the members, but there is a fairly high amount of dissatisfaction with the "bread-and-butter" issues of Wages, Fringe Benefits, and Working Conditions. Interestingly, there was not an abnormally high "propensity to strike" on the part of the respondents.

III. Presentation of Results

Below, in detailed form, is a breakdown of answers to specific questions by the members of Local 414. The data are presented under five headings:

A. Rating of Over-all Performance of Union by Members which includes as subtopics the activities of the union, the responsiveness of the leadership to the members and the general attitude toward the union and unionism.

B. The Performance of the Union in Specific Areas, such as union democracy, officers' performance, meetings, dues, and automation.

C. The Degree of Commitment which members have toward their union.

D. The Desires of the Membership with respect to wages, fringes, and income.

E. Specific Comments of Members.

Under each heading and subtopic the question is repeated from the questionnaire and the data then displayed. Where not self-evident, explanatory remarks are made as to the intent of the question and its relevance to the subtopic. Additional remarks are included in every instance comparing Local 414's answers to the aggregate. The reader is referred to the qualifying remarks in the second paragraph of this Report.

A. Rating of Over-all Performance of Union by Members

1. Activities of the Union

(a) How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas? (responses given in percentage figures)

	<u>highly</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>satisfied</u>	<u>dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>highly dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>
Fringe Benefits	13	27	47	13
Grievances	13	60	20	7
Political Activities	0	67	25	8
Wage Increases	13	47	27	13
Job Security	7	66	20	7
Working Conditions	14	36	43	7
Social and Educational Activities	0	57	36	7

The respondents were similar to the survey average in the categories Grievances, Political Activities, Job Security, and Social and Educational Activities. They were more dissatisfied than the average in Wage Increases and Fringe Benefits and much more dissatisfied in Working Conditions. In this last category it is interesting to note that the respondents scored most heavily for all categories the

options "highly satisfied," and also "dissatisfied," reflecting a dispersion of feelings among the membership concerning this point.

(b) Do you think that unions are doing a better job now for their workers than they were doing 5 years ago?

Yes, a much better job.....57%

Yes, but only slightly better..... 7%

Doing about the same.....36%

Doing a poorer job..... 0%

This differs from the survey average in that there was a large movement from "slightly better" to "much better."

2. Responsiveness of the Leadership to Individual Members' Opinions

(a) Do you think that leaders of your local take the opinions of the members into consideration when making a decision?

The response indicates that the members feel overwhelmingly (three out of four) that the leadership takes the members' opinions into consideration "most of the time."

(b) Are many of your local union officers' decisions based on their own self-interest?

As would be expected from the distribution of answers to the last question, most of the respondents feel that the answer is "only a few" or "none." In both of these questions the union ranked "more democratic" than the survey average.

3. General Attitude Toward Unions and Unionism

(a) Do you feel that your job is more secure because you are a union member?

Absolutely yes.....33%
Probably yes.....33%
Probably not.....20%
No, it really isn't.....14%

These answers indicate that the members of Local 414 consider their jobs less dependent upon the union than do the average of all unions.

(b) Do you think that without unions the living standard of the workers would be lower?

Most definitely.....67%
Probably yes.....20%
Probably not.....0%
Certainly not.....13%

This is similar to the survey average.

B. Performance of the Union in Specific Areas

1. Union Democracy

(a) Do you feel that every member with leadership ability has a chance of being elected to local union office if he is willing to make the effort to run for office?

Eighty-six per cent of the respondents felt that individuals had a "very good" or "reasonably good" chance, which is similar to the survey average.

(b) Do you feel that the members of your union are well informed about the local union's affairs?

Yes, all of them are very well informed.....	13%
Yes, over half of them are well informed.....	60%
No, only a few are well informed.....	13%
No, only the leadership knows what is going on.....	14%

Compared to the survey average, this response shows a large increase in the "over half" category.

(c) We asked the respondents for the name of their local president, and 93 per cent answered correctly. This is far above the survey average (44 per cent).

2. Officers' Performance

(a) How satisfied are you with the job your shop steward is doing?

Two out of the fifteen respondents replied that there was no shop steward, and one individual left the question blank. Of the remaining twelve respondents, the answers are broken down as follows:

Highly satisfied.....	17%
Fairly well satisfied.....	50%
Somewhat dissatisfied.....	33%
Very dissatisfied.....	0%

This is similar to the survey average.

(b) How good a job does your business agent do?

Excellent.....	52%
Reasonable.....	32%
He could and should do better.....	16%
Miserable.....	0%

This is one of the most favorable responses of any of the unions in the survey.

3. Meetings

(a) Are you pleased with the manner in which you local's meetings are run?

Yes, very pleased indeed.....	15%
Yes, pleased most of the time.....	54%
Somewhat displeased.....	31%
Very displeased.....	0%

This is similar to the survey average.

4. Dues

(a) In general, how do you feel about the dues you pay?

They are extremely low.....	7%
They are too low.....	36%
They are too high.....	14%
They are extremely high.....	0%
They are all right.....	43%

More of the respondents felt that dues are "too low" compared to "too high" with respect to the survey average.

- (b) How much would you be willing to increase your dues in order to strengthen your union's ability to obtain higher wages or more fringe benefits?

As would be expected from the last question, the majority of the respondents feel that dues should be raised. Thirty-six per cent wanted an increase of between 51¢-\$1.00 and 21 per cent wanted an increase of greater than a \$1.00. Compared to the survey average, more individuals want dues increased in Local 414.

5. Automation

Only one of the fifteen individuals was afraid of job elimination through technological change.

C. The Degree of Commitment

In this section we asked a number of questions to find out what kinds of problems would make the members of the union willing to strike. In a qualified sense, this may be taken to be an index of the degree of commitment which the members have toward the union. However, the setting of a decision to strike varies greatly from industry to industry and union to union, and this index is not an absolute measure of the degree of commitment.

1. Would you want to strike if the employer refused to grant any wage increase or other improvements at all at your next contract negotiations?

Definitely yes.....	33%
Probably yes.....	47%
Probably no.....	7%
Definitely no.....	13%

2. Would you want to strike if your employer refused to grant an increase of no more than 10 cents in wages and benefits in your next contract negotiations?

Definitely yes..... 7%
Probably yes.....33%
Probably no.....40%
Definitely no.....20%

3. Would you strike to avoid a cut in pay, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?

Definitely yes.....33%
Probably yes.....27%
Probably no.....33%
Definitely no..... 7%

4. Would you strike for an increase in wages, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?

Definitely yes.....27%
Probably yes.....27%
Probably no.....33%
Definitely no.....13%

In each of these four questions the respondents were similar to the survey average.

D. Desires of the Union Membership

1. Preferences

We asked a question to find out the preferences of the membership in collective bargaining between wage increases, vacations, and pensions and welfare benefits. As the first choice among the three, the three groups were broken down as follows:

Wage increases.....	67%
Vacations.....	0%
Pensions and welfare.....	33%

The desire for wage increases overshadows the other two categories to a greater extent than it does with the typical union in the survey.

E. Specific Comments of Members

At the end of the questionnaire, space was provided for comments on relevant union issues. A few of the more interesting and constructive comments are included below with the precaution that they are not necessarily representative of the feelings of the membership. Nevertheless, it is hoped that they may prove of use to the union. (Comments have been edited for spelling and diction.)

1. Over-all Performance of Union

The union we now have is a joke as it has no power from a mother union. The officials of our union are too afraid of losing their jobs to speak out and they lack the education to do so. Most of the men want a different union to represent us. We are not informed about union matters and votes unless we are at every meeting. But even if one were at a meeting it is impossible to gain the floor, not because of numbers, but because we are not in the clique.

2. Officers' Performance

My criticism of unions is that the leadership is too "professional". I would prefer more John L. Lewis, Eugene Dobbs, and Harry Bridges.

University of California
Institute of Industrial Relations
Labor Research Unit

Report on the Attitudes of Carpenters
Local 36

I. Introduction:

During the past year the Labor Research Unit, with the cooperation of the Central Labor Council of Alameda County, has conducted a survey of the attitudes of the members of 16 unions. Since the results have been broken down by unions so that we might study the variance of attitudes of members of different kinds of unions, we have written a special report on the feelings of the membership of the Carpenters, Local 36, with special reference to the problems that are important to the local.

There are some problems in the interpretation of the results of a survey of this nature:

First, since we mailed the questionnaire to a random sample of the membership of each of the unions selected and did not actually speak directly with any of the participants, there is the possibility that the people who took the trouble to fill out and return the questionnaire (slightly over one in three for the first two mailings) do not represent the feelings of the "population" as a whole. To check against this, we sent a third mailing to 11 of the 16 unions, and the results were not significantly different from the results of the first two mailings. Thus, at least to some extent, we can say that the respondents are representative of the population.

Second, most questions require interpretation by the individual respondents, and this results in unavoidable problems of semantics. For

example, in Question #1 we ask, "How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas?", and the respondent checked either, "Highly satisfied," "Satisfied," "Dissatisfied," or "Highly dissatisfied" to a number of topics such as "Wage Increases." What "highly satisfied" means to one person is not necessarily the same as it means to another. One person may reason, "I would have liked more of an increase last negotiating session, but my union did as well as can be expected under the circumstances, so I will check 'satisfied'." Another individual might think, "They got nowhere near as much as I needed so I will check 'highly dissatisfied'." Since, however, we did get a relatively large number of responses, we should obtain a reasonably accurate picture of what the respondents think.

Third, how does the union leadership interpret what is a "favorable" or "unfavorable" response? One way of attempting this is to compare the response for the individual union in question with the response for all unions, but this, of course, is a relative rather than an absolute standard and ignores differences in circumstances of the different unions. One particular union may, for example, be faced with a rather severe problem of technological change within the plant or industry, and many of the respondents of that union may react by indicating that the union is not doing enough to insure job security. The Report would therefore point out that the response of this union was different from the response of all unions in this direction. However, this is in no way intended as criticism of the performance of the leadership of that local. We are merely reporting on the attitudes of the respondents.

We hope that this Report will be of some use to your union as well as to the labor movement as a whole, and we appreciate the cooperation you have given us.

II. Summary

One hundred and sixty-four questionnaires were sent to members of Local 36, and 51 usable questionnaires were returned. The 31 per cent response was close to the average for all unions (34 per cent).

The carpenters indicated that they were more dependent upon the union, both with respect to their job security and to their standard of living, than were the average union members surveyed. This is consistent with a finding that the membership was also more committed to the union as seen in a strong tendency to strike under varying conditions. This fact may have been influenced by present contract settlements. Such settlements may also have had an impact upon the very favorable membership opinion of the union performance over the past five years. Substantiating evidence for this view is seen in the high degree of satisfaction expressed for the union's performance in gaining wage increases, and also in the substantial proportion of members who consider their family income quite satisfactory for their needs.

The respondents also indicated a high degree of satisfaction with the jobs their shop stewards and business agents were performing. But it should be noted that they felt their leaders were not as responsive to rank-and-file opinion as did the average union members. This fact is partially indicative of a lack of communication within the local which was emphasized by the extremely low percentage of respondents who were able to name their local president. However, the members themselves did not consider communications a particularly pressing problem.

III. Presentation of Results

Below, in detailed form, is a breakdown of answers to specific questions by the members of Local 36. The data are presented under five headings:

A. Rating of Over-all Performance of Union by Members which includes as subtopics the activities of the union, the responsiveness of the leadership to the members and the general attitude toward the union and unionism.

B. The Performance of the Union in Specific Areas, such as union democracy, officers' performance, meetings, dues, and automation.

C. The Degree of Commitment which members have toward their union.

D. The Desires of the Membership with respect to wages, fringes, and income.

E. Specific Comments of Members.

Under each heading and subtopic the question is repeated from the questionnaire and the data then displayed. Where not self-evident, explanatory remarks are made as to the intent of the question and its relevance to the subtopic. Additional remarks are included in every instance comparing Local 36's answers to the aggregate. The reader is referred to the qualifying remarks in the second paragraph of this Report.

A. Rating of Over-all Performance of Union by Members

1. Activities of the Union

(a) How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas? (responses given in percentage figures)

	<u>highly</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>satisfied</u>	<u>dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>highly dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>
Fringe Benefits	21	62	15	2
Grievances	5	72	16	7
Political Activities	4	71	18	7
Wage Increases	23	73	4	0
Job Security	11	67	13	9
Working Conditions	7	70	18	5
Social and Educational Activities	5	59	27	9

These responses are similar to the results obtained for all unions in every category except wages wherein the members of Local 36 appear to be much more satisfied than are the average union members surveyed.

- (b) Do you think that unions are doing a better job now for their workers than they were doing 5 years ago?

Yes, a much better job..... 54%

Yes, but only slightly better..... 25

Doing about the same..... 17

Doing a poorer job..... 4

Compared with the aggregate response, the O.A.C. response is biased from "much better" to "about the same," indicating a less favorable dynamic view of union performance on the part of O.A.C. respondents.

2. Responsiveness of the Leadership to Individual Members' Opinions

- (a) Do you think that leaders of your local take the opinions of the members into consideration when making a decision?

The Response indicates that the majority feel that the leadership takes their opinions into consideration most of the time, but this was not as strongly expressed as in the aggregate of all sixteen unions.

- (b) Are many of your local union officers' decisions based on their own self interest?

Again, a majority approve of the leadership behavior, the replies not differing significantly from the aggregate.

3. General Attitude Toward Unions and Unionism

- (a) Do you feel that your job is more secure because you are a union member?

Absolutely yes.....66%
 Probably yes.....22
 Probably not..... 2
 No, it really isn't.....10

These answers indicate that the members of Local 36 consider their jobs much more dependent upon the union than do the average members of unions in the survey.

(b) Do you think that without unions the living standard of the workers would be lower?

Most definitely..... 86%
 Probably yes..... 8
 Probably not..... 6
 Certainly not..... 0

The respondents express answers which show a shift from "probably yes" to "most definitely" when compared to the aggregate.

B. Performance of the Union in Specific Areas

1. Union Democracy

(a) Do you feel that every member with leadership ability has a chance of being elected to local union office if he is willing to make the effort to run for office?

About three-quarters of the Carpenter respondents felt that individuals had a "very good" or "reasonably good" chance which was about average. However, a slightly larger percentage indicated "reasonably goods", as opposed to "very good", than did the aggregate which is consistent with the answers received in question A-2 (a).

(b) Do you feel that the members of your union are well informed about the local union's affairs?

Yes, all of them are very well informed.....	27%
Yes, over half of them are well informed.....	22
No, only a few are well informed.....	43
No, only the leadership knows what is going on.....	8

The problem of communication is one of the most serious in the majority of unions covered in this survey and is one of the principle reasons the survey was undertaken. Local 36 does not appear to deviate from the aggregate in this respect.

(c) The respondents were asked to name their union's local president. Only 20 per cent answered correctly which was one of the three lowest responses. On the whole, 44 per cent of all respondents correctly stated their local president. This fact indicates that local communications in Local 36 may be a bit more serious than was indicated in the previous question.

(d) Sixty five per cent of the respondents knew the name of the union's international president, compared with 38 per cent for all respondents.

2. Officers' Performance

(a) How satisfied are you with the job your shop steward is doing?

Four of the 51 respondents replied that they did not have a shop steward, and 11 individuals abstained. Of the remaining 36 respondents, the answers are broken down as follows:

Highly satisfied.....	62%
Fairly well satisfied.....	22
Somewhat dissatisfied.....	8
Very dissatisfied.....	8

In comparison with the aggregate of answers, the respondents showed a shift from "fairly well satisfied" to "highly satisfied."

(b) How good a job does your business agent do?

An excellent job.....	25%
A reasonable job.....	59
He could and should do better.....	14
He does a miserable job.....	2

The response indicates that the carpenters are a bit more pleased with their business agents than are the average members surveyed.

3. Meetings

(a) Are you pleased with the manner in which your local's meetings are run?

Yes, very pleased indeed.....	11%
Yes, pleased most of the time.....	50
Somewhat displeased.....	30
Very displeased.....	9

The response was about average for all unions.

4. Dues

(a) In general, how do you feel about the dues you pay?

They are extremely low.....	2%
They are too low.....	15
They are too high.....	58
They are extremely high.....	8
They are all right.....	17

The Carpenters' replies do not vary from the average.

- (b) How much would you be willing to increase your dues in order to strengthen your union's ability to obtain higher wages or more fringe benefits?

Contrary to what might be expected from the previous question, the Carpenters appear quite a bit more reticent to raise their dues than are the majority of other members surveyed. Thirty-three per cent indicated that they would prefer a raise less than 50 cents, 12 per cent wanted raises greater than 50 cents, while 55 per cent preferred no raise at all.

5. Automation

With only 28 per cent of the members indicating any fear of job elimination, the Carpenters are about as concerned with automation as are the average union members.

C. The Degree of Commitment

In this section we asked a number of questions to find out what kinds of problems would make the members of the union willing to strike. In a qualified sense, this may be taken to be an index of the degree of commitment which the members have toward the union. However, the setting of a decision to strike varies greatly from industry to industry and union to union, and this index is not an absolute measure of the degree of commitment.

1. Would you want to strike if the employer refused to grant any wage increase or other improvements at all at your next contract negotiations?

Definitely yes.....	26 $\frac{1}{2}$
Probably yes.....	48
Probably no.....	13
Definitely no.....	13

2. Would you want to strike if your employer refused to grant an increase of no more than 10 cents in wages and benefits in your next contract negotiations?

Definitely yes..... 26~~4~~
Probably yes..... 26
Probably no..... 33
Definitely no..... 15

3. Would you strike to avoid a cut in pay, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?

Definitely yes..... 38~~4~~
Probably yes..... 26
Probably no..... 17
Definitely no..... 19

4. Would you strike for an increase in wages, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?

Definitely yes..... 13~~4~~
Probably yes..... 29
Probably no..... 37
Definitely no..... 21

The Carpenters' response was somewhat more radical than was the response for the aggregate; that is, there was more willingness to strike. This could be due to the increase in wages which their willingness to strike helped produce in the summer of 1962. The answers indicate a stronger membership commitment to the union than is seen in the average union surveyed.

D. Desires of the Union Membership

1. Preferences

We asked a question to find out the preferences of the membership in collective bargaining between wage increases, vacations, and pensions and welfare benefits. As the first choice among the three, the three groups were broken down as follows:

Wage increases.....	44%
Vacations.....	16
Pensions and welfare.....	40

As might be anticipated from question A-1 (a), there was a slight shift away from a preference for wages, toward pensions and vacations, as compared with the aggregate response.

2. Income

Is your family income enough for your needs?

Yes, I live quite comfortably.....	64%
Yes, but I barely get by.....	28
No, I can't quite make ends meet.....	4
No, I don't have nearly enough for my needs.....	4

Compared to the aggregate, the Carpenters shifted from "barely get by" to "quite comfortably" which is what would be expected from the response to "wage increases" in Question A-1 (a).

E. Specific Comments of Members

At the end of the questionnaire, space was provided for comments on relevant union issues. A few of the more interesting and constructive comments are included below with the precaution that they are not necessarily representative of the feelings of the membership. Nevertheless,

it is hoped that they may prove of use to the union. (Comments have been edited for spelling and diction.)

1. Over-all Performance of Union

Interest in local union activities has diminished since after the war and the membership is not taking an active interest therein due to a number of reasons in the case of the Alameda County carpenters. We have six local unions, all splinter groups making unity of action impossible. Local works against local which does not make for harmony or unity of purpose.

The Labor Day picnic is a flop in my mind because: (1) the fair grounds have too little shade, (2) very few people you know attend, (3) the politicians talk too much; and (4) just one political party is represented. I think that each local should have its own picnic with no politics.

Labor and management in the construction industry should have meetings to offer scholarships to the needy, but bright, students. Awards for fine and beautiful buildings, most honest contractor, most advanced apprentice, best idea from a journeyman, most popular foreman, etc. should also be given by the industry.

2. Dues

Why are some of my dues sent to the International and when we are on strike don't know that we are alive?

3. Meetings

I believe that a mailing poll system should be used to indicate membership desires -- a man in the hall or meeting is lost, shouted down, or reluctant to state his views with the result that non-participation is sponsored.

University of California
Institute of Industrial Relations
Labor Research Unit

Report on the Attitudes of the Communications Workers of America
Local 9415

I. Introduction

During the past year the Labor Research Unit, with the cooperation of the Central Labor Council of Alameda County, has conducted a survey of the attitudes of the members of 16 unions. Since the results have been broken down by union so that we might study the variance of attitudes of members of different kinds of unions, we have written a special report on the feelings of the membership of Local 9415 with special reference to the problems that are important to the local.

There are some problems in the interpretation of the results of a survey of this nature:

First, since we mailed the questionnaire to a random sample of the membership of each of the unions selected and did not actually speak directly with any of the participants, there is the possibility that the people who took the trouble to fill out and return the questionnaire (slightly over one in three for the first two mailings) do not represent the feelings of the "population" as a whole. To check against this, we send a third mailing to 11 of the 16 unions, and the results were not significantly different from the results of the first two mailings. Thus, at least to some extent, we can say that the respondents are representative of the population.

Second, most questions require interpretation by the individual respondent, and this results in unavoidable problems of semantics. For

example, in Question #1 we ask, "How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas?", and the respondent checked either, "Highly satisfied," "Satisfied," "Dissatisfied," or "Highly dissatisfied" to a number of topics such as "Wage Increases." What "highly satisfied" means to one person is not necessarily the same as it means to another. One person may reason, "I would have liked more of an increase last negotiating session, but my union did as well as can be expected under the circumstances, so I will check 'satisfied'." Another individual might think, "They got nowhere near as much as I needed so I will check 'highly dissatisfied'." Since, however, we did get a relatively large number of responses, we should obtain a reasonably accurate picture of what the respondents think.

Third, how does the union leadership interpret what is a "favorable" or "unfavorable" response? One way of attempting this is to compare the response for the individual union in question with the response for all unions, but this, of course, is a relative rather than an absolute standard and ignores differences in circumstances of the different unions. One particular union may, for example, be faced with a rather severe problem of technological change within the plant or industry, and many of the respondents of that union may react by indicating that the union is not doing enough to insure job security. The Report would therefore point out that the response of this union was different from the response of all unions in this direction. However, this is in no way intended as criticism of the performance of the leadership of that local. We are merely reporting on the attitudes of the respondents.

We hope that this Report will be of some use to your union as well as to the labor movement as a whole, and we appreciate the cooperation you have given us.

II. Summary

We sent out 159 questionnaires to the members of Local 9415 and received 32 usable questionnaires in return for the first mailing. This is similar to the response on the first mailing of the other unions in the survey.

In general, the union is doing a good job, according to the respondents, in most areas, and there seems to be little extreme dissatisfaction. The union is also fairly run, according to the members, and the questions on union democracy were all answered favorably. Interestingly, the members show a greater-than-average desire for a dues increase, which seems a good indication of approval.

III. Presentation of Results

Below, in detailed form, is a breakdown of answers to specific questions by the members of Local 9415. The data are presented under four headings:

A. Rating of Over-all Performance of Union by Members which includes as subtopics the activities of the union, the responsiveness of the leadership to the members and the general attitude toward the union and unionism.

B. The Performance of the Union in Specific Areas, such as union democracy, officers' performance, meetings, dues and automation.

C. The Degree of Commitment which members have toward their union.

D. The Desires of the Membership with respect to wages, fringes, and income.

A. Rating of Over-all Performance of Union by Members

1. Activities of the Union

(a) How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas? (responses given in percentage figures)

	<u>highly</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>satisfied</u>	<u>dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>highly dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>
Fringe Benefits	16	62	19	3
Grievances	26	61	10	3
Political Activities	6	65	13	16
Wage Increases	6	59	28	6
Job Security	38	50	9	3
Working Conditions	23	67	10	0
Social and Educa- tional Activities	13	67	10	10

These results are similar to the results for all unions in the categories Fringe Benefits, Wage Increases, and Social and Educational Activities. The Respondents were more satisfied than the average in Grievances, Job Security, and Working Conditions, and they were less satisfied in Political Activities. This last fact is accounted for, we think, by the fact that the respondents are much more conservative politically than the average for all unions.

(b) Do you think that unions are doing a better job now for their workers than they were doing 5 years ago?

Yes, a much better job..... 45%

Yes, but only slightly better..... 29

Doing about the same..... 23

Doing a poorer job..... 3

The respondents feel that unions are doing "much better" in far greater proportions than the sample average.

2. Responsiveness of the Leadership to Individual Members' Opinions

- (a) Do you think that leaders of your local take the opinions of the members into consideration when making a decision?

The response indicates that most of the members feel that the leadership takes their opinions into consideration all or most of the time, and this compares favorably with the aggregate response.

- (b) Are many of your local union officers' decisions based on their own self interest?

Again, the response is approving of the leadership behavior, which is consistent with the answers to the previous question.

3. General Attitude Toward Unions and Unionism

- (a) Do you feel that your job is more secure because you are a union member?

Absolutely yes.....	47%
Probably yes.....	31
Probably not.....	16
No, it really isn't.....	6

- (b) Do you think that without unions the living standard of the workers would be lower?

Most definitely.....	78%
Probably yes.....	16
Probably not.....	6
Certainly not.....	0

In both of these questions the respondents were similar to the survey average.

B. Performance of the Union in Specific Areas

1. Union Democracy

- (a) Do you feel that every member with leadership ability has a chance of being elected to local union office if he is willing to make the effort to run for office?

Ninety-four per cent of the respondents thought that individuals had a "very good" or "reasonably good" chance of being elected to local union office. This is much higher than the survey average.

- (b) Do you feel that the members of your union are well informed about the local union's affairs?

Yes, all of them are very well informed.....	31%
Yes, over half of them are well informed.....	25
No, only a few are well informed.....	41
No, only the leadership knows what is going on...	3

This is similar to the survey average.

- (c) We asked the respondents for the name of the union's local president, and 59 per cent answered correctly, which is substantially higher than the average for all unions.

2. Officers' Performance

- (a) How satisfied are you with the job your shop steward is doing?

One out of the 32 respondents replied that he did not have a shop steward, and 2 individuals left the question blank. Of the remaining 29, the answers are broken down as follows:

Highly satisfied.....	21%
Fairly well satisfied.....	63
Somewhat dissatisfied.....	7
Very dissatisfied.....	9

This reponse indicates a slightly greater degree of satisfaction with the shop stewards of Local 945 than the survey average.

(b) How good a job does your business agent do?

Sixty-five per cent of the respondents thought that their business agent was doing an "excellent" or "reasonable" job. This is slightly lower than the survey average.

3. Meetings

(a) Are you pleased with the manner in which your local's meetings are run?

Yes, very pleased indeed.....	13%
Yes, pleased most of the time.....	62
Somewhat displeased.....	17
Very displeased.....	8

The respondents are slightly more pleased than the respondents for all unions in the sample.

4. Dues

(a) In general, how do you feel about the dues you pay?

They are extremely low.....	10%
They are too low.....	27
They are too high.....	50
They are extremely high.....	3
They are all right.....	10

- (b) How much would you be willing to increase your dues in order to strengthen your union's ability to obtain higher wages or more fringe benefits?

Sixty-one per cent of the respondents indicated that they wanted a dues increase. (Half of these wanted the increase between 50 cents and \$1.00.) On both of these questions the respondents were more toward a position of "dues too low" and "raise dues" than the survey average.

5. Automation

Very few of the members of Local 945 felt that there was any danger of automation threatening their jobs.

C. The Degree of Commitment

In this section we asked a number of questions to find out what kinds of problems would make the members of the union willing to strike. In a qualified sense, this may be taken to be an index of the degree of commitment which the members have toward the union. However, the setting of a decision to strike varies greatly from industry to industry and union to union, and this index is not an absolute measure of the degree of commitment.

1. Would you want to strike if the employer refused to grant any wage increase or other improvements at all at your next contract negotiations?

Definitely yes.....53%

Probably yes.....20%

Probably no.....17%

Definitely no.....10%

2. Would you want to strike if your employer refused to grant an increase of no more than 10 cents in wages and benefits in your next contract negotiations?

Definitely yes.....21%
Probably yes.....40%
Probably no.....25%
Definitely no.....14%

3. Would you strike to avoid a cut in pay, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?

Definitely yes.....37%
Probably yes.....30%
Probably no.....20%
Definitely no.....13%

4. Would you strike for an increase in wages, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?

Definitely yes.....34%
Probably yes.....14%
Probably no.....38%
Definitely no.....14%

The C.W.A. response was a great deal more "militant" than the survey average on each of the four questions. This is surprising because the majority of the respondents work for the public utility, and one would expect a low strike propensity among these people.

D. Desires of the Union Membership

1. Preferences

We asked a question to find out the preferences of the membership in collective bargaining between wage increases, vacations, and pensions and welfare benefits. As the first choice among the three, the three groups were broken down as follows?

Wage increases.....	38%
Vacations.....	14%
Pensions and welfare.....	48%

This is similar to the survey average.

2. Income

Is your family income enough for your needs?

Yes, I live quite comfortably.....	42%
Yes, but I barely get by.....	45%
No, I can't quite make ends meet.....	10%
No, I don't have nearly enough for my needs.....	3%

Again, this is similar to the response for all unions.

University of California
Institute of Industrial Relations
Labor Research Unit

Report of the Attitudes of Millmen and Cabinetmakers
Local 550

I. Introduction

During the past year the Labor Research Unit, with the cooperation of the Central Labor Council of Alameda County, has conducted a survey of the attitudes of the members of 16 unions. Since the results have been broken down by unions so that we might study the variance of attitudes of members of different kinds of unions, we have written a special report on the feelings of the membership of the Millmen and Cabinetmakers, Local 550, makes special reference to the problems that are important to the local.

There are some problems in the interpretation of the results of a survey of this nature:

First, since we mailed the questionnaire to a random sample of the membership of each of the unions selected and did not actually speak directly with any of the participants, there is the possibility that the people who took the trouble to fill out and return the questionnaire (slightly over one in three for the first two mailings) do not represent the feelings of the "population" as a whole. To check against this, we sent a third mailing to 11 of the 16 unions, and the results were not significantly different from the results of the first two mailings. Thus, at least to some extent, we can say that the respondents are representative of the population.

Second, most questions require interpretation by the individual respondent, and this results in unavoidable problems of semantics. For

example, in Question #1 we ask, "How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas?", and the respondent checked either, "Highly satisfied," "Satisfied," "Dissatisfied," or "Highly dissatisfied" to a number of topics such as "Wage Increases." What "highly satisfied" means to one person is not necessarily the same as it means to another. One person may reason, "I would have liked more of an increase last negotiating session, but my union did as well as can be expected under the circumstances, so I will check 'satisfied'." Another individual might think, "They got nowhere near as much as I needed so I will check 'highly dissatisfied'." Since, however, we did get a relatively large number of responses, we should obtain a reasonably accurate picture of what the respondents think.

Third, how does the union leadership interpret what is a "favorable" or "unfavorable" response? One way of attempting this is to compare the response for the individual union in question with the response for all unions, but this, of course, is a relative rather than an absolute standard and ignores differences in circumstances of the different unions. One particular union may, for example, be faced with a rather severe problem of technological change within the plant or industry, and many of the respondents of that union may react by indicating that the union is not doing enough to insure job security. The Report would therefore point out that the response of this union was different from the response of all unions in this direction. However, this is in no way intended as criticism of the performance of the leadership of that local. We are merely reporting on the attitudes of the respondents.

We hope that this Report will be of some use to your union as well as to the labor movement as a whole, and we appreciate the cooperation you have given us.

II. Summary

One hundred and sixty-four questionnaires were sent out to members of Local 550 and 65 usable ones were returned. The 40 per cent response was about the average for all 16 unions (34 per cent).

In most respects Local 550 is quite "typical" of the 16 unions surveyed, particularly with regard to wages, fringe benefits, union democracy, meetings and dues. There is a fear of automation among the Millmen which is more pronounced than among the average union member questioned. However, there is a stronger feeling that the union can help cope with the automation problems and that jobs are more secure as a result of union membership. These facts suggest that the membership of Local 550 might be a bit more committed to their union than is the average union member. This is substantiated by a somewhat keener desire to strike under varying conditions.

The respondents expressed above average enthusiasm for the efforts of their business agent. Communications were not seen to be much of a problem by the membership. However, since only 14 per cent of the respondents were able to name their local's president (the lowest percentage for all 16 unions) this perplexing area may be more troublesome than the respondents believe.

III. Presentation of Results

Below, in detailed form, is a breakdown of answers to specific questions by the members of Local 550. The data are presented under five headings:

A. Rating of Over-all Performance of Union by Members which includes as subtopics the activities of the union, the responsiveness of the leadership to the members and the general attitude toward the union and unionism.

B. The Performance of the Union in Specific Areas, such as union democracy, officers' performance, meetings, dues and automation.

C. The Degree of Commitment which members have toward their union.

D. The Desires of the Membership with respect to wages, fringes, and income.

E. Specific Comments of Members.

Under each heading and subtopic the question is repeated from the questionnaire and the data then displayed. Where not self-evident, explanatory remarks are made as to the intent of the question and its relevance to the subtopic. Additional remarks are included in every instance comparing Local 550's answers to the aggregate. The reader is referred to the qualifying remarks in the second paragraph of this Report.

A. Rating of Over-all Performance of Union by Members

1. Activities of the Union

(a) How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas? (responses given in percentage figures)

	<u>highly</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>satisfied</u>	<u>dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>highly dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>
Fringe Benefits	8	76	16	0
Grievances	12	75	8	5
Political Activities	7	70	15	8
Wage Increases	13	62	21	5
Job Security	10	65	19	6
Working Conditions	8	72	18	2
Social and Educational Activities	5	56	29	10

These results are similar to those for all unions except in the categories

of Grievances and Social and Educational Activities wherein the Millmen appeared more satisfied than the average union member.

- (b) Do you think that unions are doing a better job now for their workers than they were doing 5 years ago?

Yes, a much better job..... 41%

Yes, but only slightly better..... 20

Doing about the same..... 35

Doing a poorer job..... 4

These replied did not differ significantly from the aggregate response.

2. Responsiveness of the Leadership to Individual Members' Opinions

- (a) Do you think that leaders of your local take the opinions of the members into consideration when making a decision?

The response indicates that the members feel overwhelmingly that the leadership takes their opinions into consideration most of the time.

These replies did not differ from the average member's reply.

- (b) Are many of your local union officers' decisions based on their own self interest?

Again, the response is approving of the leadership's behavior which is consistent with the previous question. Once again, the reply did not differ from the aggregate.

3. General Attitude Toward Unions and Unionism

- (a) Do you feel that your job is more secure because you are a union member?

Absolutely yes.....	62%
Probably yes.....	13
Probably not.....	11
No, it really isn't.....	14

The Millmen are more positive than the average in their assertion that their jobs are more secure because of the union.

(b) Do you think that without unions the living standard of the workers would be lower?

Most definitely.....	72%
Probably yes.....	17
Probably not.....	5
Certainly not.....	6

This response is similar to the average response.

B. Performance of the Union in Specific Areas

1. Union Democracy

(a) Do you feel that every member with leadership ability has a chance of being elected to local union office if he is willing to make the effort to run for office?

About three quarters of the respondents thought that individuals had a "very good" or "reasonably good" chance, which was about average for all 16 unions surveyed.

(b) Do you feel that the members of your union are well informed about the local union's affairs?

Yes, all of them are very well informed.....	20%
Yes, over half of them are well informed.....	40
No, only a few are well informed.....	28
No, only the leadership knows what is going on.....	12

The problem of communication is one of the most serious in the majority of unions covered in this survey and is one of the principle reasons the survey was undertaken. But the problem does not appear to be any more acute within the Millmen than within the average union surveyed.

(c) The respondents were asked to name their local's president. Only 14 per cent of the Millmen respondents were able to do so which was the lowest figure of all 16 unions covered in the survey. This would indicate that communications may be more of a problem than indicated above.

(d) Only 23 per cent of the respondents knew the name of the union's international president, compared with 33 per cent for all unions.

2. Officers' Performance

(a) How satisfied are you with the job your shop steward is doing? Fifteen of the 65 respondents replied that they did not have a shop steward, and 7 individuals abstained. Of the remaining 43 respondents, the answers are broken down as follows:

Highly satisfied.....	28%
Fairly well satisfied.....	56
Somewhat dissatisfied.....	5
Very dissatisfied.....	14

These replies do not differ significantly from the aggregate.

(b) How good a job does your business agent do?

An excellent job.....	34%
A reasonable job.....	52
He could and should do a lot better.....	8
He does a miserable job.....	6

The respondents felt that their business agent did a much better job than did the average union member.

3. Meetings

(a) Are you pleased with the manner in which your local's meetings are run?

Yes, very pleased indeed.....	15%
Yes, pleased most of the time.....	58
Somewhat displeased.....	17
Very displeased.....	10

As might be inferred from Questions A-2 (a), A-2 (b), and B-1 (a) above the Millmen did not differ significantly from the average.

4. Dues

(a) In general, how do you feel about the dues you pay?

They are extremely low.....	4%
They are too low.....	11
They are too high.....	56
They are extremely high.....	4
They are all right.....	25

Once again the Millmen are not observed to deviate significantly from the average.

- (b) How much would you be willing to increase your dues in order to strengthen your union's ability to obtain higher wages or more fringe benefits?

Contrary to what might be anticipated from the previous question, the Millmen were much more reticent about raising dues than was the average union worker. Thirty seven per cent indicated they would prefer a raise of from 1 - 50¢, 22 per cent desired to raise dues about 51¢, while 41 per cent wanted no dues increase.

5. Automation

The respondents consider that automation is threatening their jobs to a greater extent than does the average union member of the 16 unions. A larger portion of the Millmen also feel that the union will be able to protect them.

C. The Degree of Commitment

In this section we asked a number of questions to find out what kinds of problems would make the members of the union willing to strike. In a qualified sense, this may be taken to be an index of the degree of commitment which the members have toward the union. However, the setting of a decision to strike varies greatly from industry to industry and union to union, and this index is not an absolute measure of the degree of commitment.

1. Would you strike if the employer refused to grant wage increase or other improvements at all at your next contract negotiations?

Definitely yes.....	36%
Probably yes.....	27
Probably no.....	20
Definitely no.....	17

2. Would you want to strike if your employer refused to grant an increase of no more than 10 cents in wages and benefits in your next contract negotiations?

Definitely yes..... 22%
 Probably yes..... 28
 Probably no..... 32
 Definitely no..... 18

3. Would you strike to avoid a cut in pay, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?

Definitely yes..... 43%
 Probably yes..... 30
 Probably no..... 13
 Definitely no..... 14

4. Would you strike for an increase in wages, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?

Definitely yes..... 14%
 Probably yes..... 28
 Probably no..... 30
 Definitely no..... 28

The Millmen's response was slightly more radical than was the response of the aggregate; that is, there was more willingness to strike. Since no trend is visible elsewhere with regard to differing attitudes on wages, fringes or union performance over the past five years, the Millmen's willingness to strike is not immediately apparent. Considering such willingness as a measure of the degree of commitment which members have for their union, Question A-3 (a) concerning union influenced job security indicates one reason that members might be strongly committed and thus inclined to strike.

D. Desires of the Union Membership

1. Preferences

We asked a question to find out the preferences of the membership in collective bargaining between wage increases, vacations, and pensions and welfare benefits. As the first choice among the three, the three groups were broken down as follows:

Wage increased.....	43%
Vacations.....	7
Pensions and welfare.....	50

This is typical of the response for all unions.

2. Income

Is your family income enough for your needs?

Yes, I live quite comfortably.....	49%
Yes, but I barely get by.....	43
No, I can't quite make ends meet.....	3
No, I don't have nearly enough for my needs.....	5

Compared to the aggregate response, the Millmen respondents shifted slightly from "barely get by" to "comfortably". This is somewhat surprising in view of answers to Questions A-1 (a), and C.

E. Specific Comments of Members

At the end of the questionnaire, space was provided for comments on relevant union issues. A few of the more interesting and constructive comments are included below with the precatation that they are not

necessarily representative of the feelings of the membership. Nevertheless, it is hoped that they may prove of use to the union. (Comments have been edited for spelling and diction.)

1. Over-all Performance of union

I believe that labor should come to realize that we would all benefit if we worked more closely with management and they with us. When we can see each others' points, then we will all move ahead.

Unions should be more involved in social issues of national concern such as integration, federal health insurance, aid to education, etc. They have immense resources to effect progress in these areas but seem to lack initiative and the willingness to support changes beneficial to the working classes.

I can only speak of the situation in my place of employment, but I sincerely believe that labor and management have a tremendous responsibility to each other as well as to the community-at-large.

2. Wages

I have to invest in other interests to supplement my earnings as a cabinet maker. I disagree with the wage structure wherein the old master craftsmen are getting the same wage scale as journeymen who have completed four year apprenticeship in one area of cabinet making and who are not able to do some of the fine work which the old craftsmen must do for them.

University of California
Institute of Industrial Relations
Labor Research Unit

Report on the Attitudes of Office Employees
Local 29

I. Introduction:

During the past year the Labor Research Unit, with the cooperation of the Central Labor Council of Alameda County, has conducted a survey of the attitudes of the members of 16 unions. Since the results have been broken down by unions so that we might study the variance of attitudes of members of different kinds of unions, we have written a special report on the feelings of the membership of the Office Employees, Local 29, with special reference to the problems that are important to the local.

There are some problems in the interpretation of the results of a survey of this nature:

First, since we mailed the questionnaire to a random sample of the membership of each of the unions selected and did not actually speak directly with any of the participants, there is the possibility that the people who took the trouble to fill out and return the questionnaire (slightly over one in three for the first two mailings) do not represent the feelings of the "population" as a whole. To check against this, we sent a third mailing to 11 of the 16 unions, and the results were not significantly different from the results of the first two mailings. Thus, at least to some extent, we can say that the respondents are representative of the population.

Second, most questions require interpretation by the individual respondent, and this results in unavoidable problems of semantics. For

example, in Question #1 we ask, "How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas?", and the respondent checked either, "Highly satisfied," "Satisfied," "Dissatisfied," or "Highly dissatisfied" to a number of topics such as "Wage Increases." What "highly satisfied" means to one person is not necessarily the same as it means to another. One person may reason, "I would have liked more of an increase last negotiating session, but my union did as well as can be expected under the circumstances, so I will check 'satisfied'." Another individual might think, "They got nowhere near as much as I needed so I will check 'highly dissatisfied'." Since, however, we did get a relatively large number of responses, we should obtain a reasonably accurate picture of what the respondents think.

Third, how does the union leadership interpret what is a "favorable" or "unfavorable" response? One way of attempting this is to compare the response for the individual union in question with the response for all unions, but this, of course, is a relative rather than an absolute standard and ignores differences in circumstances of the different unions. One particular union may, for example, be faced with a rather severe problem of technological change within the plant or industry, and many of the respondents of that union may react by indicating that the union is not doing enough to insure job security. The Report would therefore point out that the response of this union was different from the response of all unions in this direction. However, this is in no way intended as criticism of the performance of the leadership of that local. We are merely reporting on the attitudes of the respondents.

We hope that this Report will be of some use to your union as well as to the labor movement as a whole, and we appreciate the cooperation you have given us.

II. Summary

One hundred and sixty-four questionnaires were sent to members of Local 29 and 50 usable ones were returned. The 30 per cent response was only slightly below the average for all unions (34 per cent).

The members of Local 29 appear to be quite satisfied with their wage increases but still feel that the business agent could and should do a better job. Although many more of the respondents consider that their dues are extremely low in comparison with the average replies for all 16 unions, they are about as reluctant as the average member to increase their dues.

There appears to be more doubt among the members of Local 29 as to the union's ability to provide job security than among the average union member; however, the respondents do not express an above average degree of concern over problems of automation. These two facts, as well as the knowledge that 90 per cent of the respondents were women (as opposed to an average of 16 per cent for the 16 unions), that 68 per cent were married (84 per cent was the average here), and that the respondents were relatively satisfied with wage increases, help to explain why the members were more reluctant than the average respondents to strike under varying conditions. From this unwillingness to strike it might be inferred that the membership is less committed to Local 29 than is the average union member.

The respondents feel that their leaders take their opinions into consideration to a greater extent than does the average member. Although this finding points to a rather democratically organized union, it is observed that the members feel that the rank-and-file do not have much of an opportunity to win union elections. Lastly, communications appear to be a major area of concern for Local 29, one which the respondents recognized as deserving of attention.

III. Presentation of Results

Below, in detailed form, is a breakdown of answers to specific questions by the members of Local 29. The data are presented under five headings:

A. Rating of Over-all Performance of Union by Members which includes as subtopics the activities of the union, the responsiveness of the leadership to the members and the general attitude toward the union and unionism.

B. The Performance of the Union in Specific Areas, such as union democracy, officers' performance, meetings, dues and automation.

C. The Degree of Commitment which members have toward their union.

D. The Desires of the Membership with respect to wages, fringes, and income.

E. Specific Comments of Members.

Under each heading and subtopic the question is repeated from the questionnaire and the data then displayed. Where not self-evident, explanatory remarks are made as to the intent of the question and its relevance to the subtopic. Additional remarks are included in every instance comparing Local 29's answers to the aggregate. The reader is referred to the qualifying remarks in the second paragraph of this Report.

A. Rating of Over-all Performance of Union by Members

1. Activities of the Union

- (a) How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas? (response given in percentage figures)

	<u>highly</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>satisfied</u>	<u>dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>highly dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>
Fringe Benefits	19	57	19	5
Grievances	9	78	11	2
Political Activities	11	74	15	0
Wage Increases	20	69	10	1
Job Security	17	68	11	4
Working Conditions	21	57	19	2
Social and Educational Activities	9	64	23	5

These results are similar to the results for all unions in every category except Wage Increases and Grievances wherein the members of Local 29 appear to be more satisfied than the average.

- (b) Do you think that unions are doing a better job now for their workers than they were doing 5 years ago?

Yes, a much better job..... 32%

Yes, but only slightly better..... 27

Doing about the same..... 39

Doing a poorer job..... 2

These replies do not differ significantly from the average response.

2. Responsiveness of the Leadership to Individual Members' Opinions

- (a) Do you think that leaders of your local take the opinions of the members into consideration when making a decision?

The response indicates that the members feel overwhelmingly that the leadership takes their opinions into consideration most of the time.

The respondents support their leaders to a greater extent than the average union member surveyed.

(b) Are many of your local union officers' decisions based on their own self interest?

Again, the response is approving of the leadership's behavior which is consistent with the previous question. Here the reply does not differ significantly from the aggregate.

3. General Attitude Toward Unions and Unionism

(a) Do you feel that your job is more secure because you are a union member?

Absolutely yes.....	43%
Probably yes.....	20
Probably not.....	15
No, it really isn't.....	22

The Office Employees appear to have less faith in their union's ability to ensure a secure job than do the average respondents.

(b) Do you think that without unions the living standard of the workers would be lower?

Most definitely.....	66
Probably yes.....	26
Probably not.....	6
Certainly not.....	2

These replies are similar to the average.

B. Performance of the Union in Specific Areas

1. Union Democracy

- (a) Do you feel that every member with leadership ability has a chance of being elected to local union office if he is willing to make the effort to run for office?

Slightly less than three quarters of the respondents thought that individuals had a "very good" or "reasonably good" chance. But when compared with the average response, the Office Employees showed a shift toward "no chance" and "very slim chance." This is somewhat inconsistent with Question A-2 (b).

- (b) Do you feel that the members of your union are well informed about the local union's affairs?

Yes, all of them are very well informed.....	21%
Yes, over half of them are well informed.....	25
No, only a few are well informed.....	46
No, only the leadership knows what is going on.....	8

The problem of communication is one of the most serious in the majority of unions covered in this survey and is one of the principle reasons the survey was undertaken. It appears that the problem is a bit more acute for Local 29.

- (c) The respondents were asked to name their union's local president. Thirty-six per cent answered correctly which was below the average of 44 per cent for all respondents. This is consistent with the findings in the previous question.

(d) Twenty-four per cent of the respondents knew the name of the union's international president, compared with 38 per cent for all respondents.

2. Officers' Performance

(a) How satisfied are you with the job your shop steward is doing? Fifteen out of the 50 respondents replied that they did not have a shop steward, and 3 individuals abstained. Of the remaining 32 respondents, the answers are broken down as follows:

Highly satisfied.....	22½
Fairly well satisfied.....	56
Somewhat dissatisfied.....	16
Very dissatisfied.....	6

These replies do not differ significantly from the average.

(b) How good a job does your business agent do?

An excellent job.....	19½
A reasonable job.....	48
He could and should do a lot better.....	31
He does a miserable job.....	2

The response indicates that the Office Employees are a bit more displeased with their business agent than are the average members surveyed. There was a shift from "excellent" to "could and should do a lot better."

3. Meetings

(a) Are you pleased with the manner in which your local's meetings are run?

Yes, very pleased indeed..... 16⁴/₁₀₀
 Yes, pleased most of the time..... 58
 Somewhat displeased..... 16
 Very displeased..... 10

The response was similar to the average for all unions. This is consistent with Question A-2 (b).

4. Dues

(a) In general, how do you feel about the dues you pay?

They are extremely low..... 16⁴/₁₀₀
 They are too low..... 16
 They are too high..... 3⁴/₁₀₀
 They are extremely high..... 0
 They are all right..... 3⁴/₁₀₀

The respondents were more inclined to feel that their dues were "extremely low" than were the respondents of all unions.

(b) How much would you be willing to increase your dues in order to strengthen your union's ability to obtain higher wages or more fringe benefits?

Contrary to what might be anticipated from the previous question, the Office Employees were no more willing to raise their dues than were the average union members. Twenty-five per cent indicated they would prefer a raise less than 50 cents, 36 per cent desired a dues raise above 50 cents while 39 per cent wanted no dues increase.

5. Automation

The respondents are not as concerned over automation eliminating their job as are the average union members surveyed.

C. The Degree of Commitment

In this section we asked a number of questions to find out what kinds of problems would make the members of the union willing to strike. In a qualified sense, this may be taken to be an index of the degree of commitment which the members have toward the union. However, the setting of a decision to strike varies greatly from industry to industry and union to union, and this index is not an absolute measure of the degree of commitment.

1. Would you want to strike if the employer refused to grant any wage increase or other improvements at all at your next contract negotiations?

Definitely yes.....	23%
Probably yes.....	23
Probably no.....	35
Definitely no.....	19

2. Would you want to strike if your employer refused to grant an increase of no more than 10 cents in wages and benefits in your next contract negotiations?

Definitely yes.....	8%
Probably yes.....	17
Probably no.....	48
Definitely no.....	27

3. Would you strike to avoid a cut in pay, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?

Definitely yes..... 27%

Probably yes..... 17

Probably no..... 35

Definitely no..... 21

4. Would you strike for an increase in wages, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?

Definitely yes..... 13%

Probably yes..... 10

Probably no..... 46

Definitely no..... 31

The Office Employee's response was more conservative than was the response for the aggregate; that is, there was less willingness to strike. This is quite consistent with Question A-1 (a) above (Wage Increases) and with Question D-2 below dealing with family income. Further, if one considers such unwillingness as a measure of the degree of commitment which members have for their union, Question A-3 (a) concerning union influenced job security indicates one reason that members might be less committed to the union and thus less inclined to strike.

D. Desires of the Union Membership

1. Preferences

We asked a question to find out the preferences of the membership in collective bargaining between wage increases, vacations, and pensions and welfare benefits. As the first choice among the three, the three groups were broken down as follows:

Wage increases..... 35%

Vacations..... 8

Pensions and welfare..... 42

The respondents place more emphasis on wages and less on pensions than the average union members. This is contrary to what might be expected from the reply on Wage Increases in Question A-1 (a).

2. Income

Is your family income enough for your needs?

Yes, I live quite comfortably..... 68%

Yes, but I barely get by..... 18

No, I can't quite make ends meet..... 12

No, I don't have nearly enough for my
needs..... 2

As indicated in Question A-1 (a), Local 29 respondents indicated a decided shift from "barely get by" to "quite comfortably" when compared to the aggregate.

E. Specific Comments of Members

At the end of the questionnaire, space was provided for comments on relevant union issues. A few of the more interesting and constructive comments are included below with the precaution that they are not necessarily representative of the feelings of the membership. Nevertheless, it is hoped that they may prove of use to the union. (Comments have been edited for spelling and diction.)

1. Over-all Performance of Union

I believe unreservedly that decent wages, hours and working conditions for both blue and white collar workers can be achieved only through organization. However, union membership for me has resulted in: (1) a wage ceiling below that which my education, experience and performance would command were my wages not restricted by union scale; (2) an income tax deduction for union dues; (3) the prospect of a \$30 per month pension at age 65; and (4) the knowledge that I am not taking a free ride. To improve wages, hours and working conditions is the reason for joining a union. Not many altruistic souls will become members merely to strengthen the labor movement in general and to improve the lot of their fellow workers.

I am a wholehearted supporter of the union as it is very democratic. The officers sincerely work for the betterment of the workers and don't try to ram things down their throat. However, I disapprove of strong arm tactics and don't believe unions should have too much power. Unions tend to be abusive of their power just as large corporations do. We should strive to keep a happy balance of power between the two since no matter how hard they try, neither side is perfect. Either side may be right in some instances and wrong in other instances.

2. Officers' Performance

I think the Business Representative should make it a point to call yearly at every plant covered by a contract. In this way the union would be strengthened and scabs would be eliminated.

I feel that our union representatives are amateurs dealing with full-time professional labor relations men. I don't even know who the union officers are.

3. Civil Rights

I would favor applying pressure on "closed" unions to allow minority groups to enter as I believe much of our civil rights problems are the responsibility of such unions.

4. Meetings

I am an inactive union member -- that is I do not attend union meetings mainly because they are too fraternal. I cannot bring myself to call everyone "Brother" and "Sister". I would just as soon call out "ballyhoo" at intervals or attend a revival meeting.

5. Wages

Higher wages are not the answer -- they only increase prices in the long-run. The union's job in the future will be the securing of jobs for the "over 40" workers.

University of California
Institute of Industrial Relations
Labor Research Unit

Report on the Attitudes of the Oil, Chemical and
Atomic Workers, Local 1589

I. Introduction

During the past year the Labor Research Unit, with the cooperation of the Central Labor Council of Alameda County, has conducted a survey of the attitudes of the members of 16 unions. Since the results have been broken down by union so that we might study the variance of attitudes of members of different kinds of unions, we have written a special report on the feelings of the membership of Local 1589, with special reference to the problems that are important to the local.

There are some problems in the interpretation of the results of a survey of this nature:

First, since we mailed the questionnaire to a random sample of the membership of each of the unions selected and did not actually speak directly with any of the participants, there is the possibility that the people who took the trouble to fill out and return the questionnaire (slightly over one in three for the first two mailings) do not represent the feelings of the "population" as a whole. To check against this, we sent a third mailing to 11 of the 16 unions, and the results were not significantly different from the results of the first two mailings. Thus, at least to some extent, we can say that the respondents are representative of the population.

Second, most questions require interpretation by the individual respondent, and this results in unavoidable problems of semantics. For

example, in Question #1 we ask, "How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas?", and the respondent checked either, "Highly satisfied," "Satisfied," "Dissatisfied," or "Highly dissatisfied" to a number of topics such as "Wage **Increasss**." What "highly satisfied" means to one person is not necessarily the same as it means to another. One person may reason, "I would have liked more of an increase last negotiating session, but my union did as well as can be expected under the circumstances, so I will check 'satisfied'." Another individual might think, "They got nowhere near as much as I needed so I will check 'highly dissatisfied'." Since, however, we did get a relatively large number of responses, we should obtain a reasonably accurate picture of what the respondents think.

Third, how does the union leadership interpret what is a "favorable" or "unfavorable" response? One way of attempting this is to compare the response for the individual union in question with the response for all unions, but this, of course, is a relative rather than an absolute standard and ignores differences in circumstances of the different unions. One particular union may, for example, be faced with a rather severe problem of technological change within the plant or industry, and many of the respondents of that union may react by indicating that the union is not doing enough to insure job security. The Report would therefore point out that the response of this union was different from the response of all unions in this direction. However, this is in no way intended as criticism of the performance of the leadership of that local. We are merely reporting on the attitudes of the respondents.

We hope that this Report will be of some use to your union as well as to the labor movement as a whole, and we appreciate the cooperation you have given us.

II. Summary

We sent out 147 questionnaires to the members of Local 1589 and received 64 usable questionnaires back. The 44 per cent response was a great deal higher than the average for all 16 unions (34 per cent). This is perhaps indicative of a large degree of interest in union affairs on the part of the membership but may also be due to the fact that the union had the highest average level of educational attainment of any of the unions we surveyed.

In general, the union seems to be one of the most democratic of all the unions we surveyed, and most of the respondents feel that the union is run in their interest and that they can have a voice in the decision-making process if they want to. On the other hand, the performance of the union in obtaining wage increases and fringe benefits does not seem to live up to the expectations of the membership. This is especially true of wages (although the average family income of the respondents is among the highest of all the unions surveyed). Interestingly, and indicative of what we think is a fairly high degree of esprit de corps among the members, the respondents feel that dues should be raised in order to strengthen the union's hand in obtaining benefits.

III. Presentation of Results

Below, in detailed form, is a breakdown of answers to specific questions by the members of Local 1589. The data are presented under five headings:

A. Rating of Over-all Performance of Union by Members which **includes as** subtopics the activities of the union, the responsiveness of the leadership to the members and the general attitude toward the union and unionism.

B. The Performance of the Union in Specific Areas, such as union democracy, officers' performance, meetings, dues, and automation.

C. The Degree of Commitment which members have toward their union.

D. The Desires of the Membership with respect to wages, fringes, and income.

E. Specific Comments of Members.

Under each heading and subtopic the question is repeated from the questionnaire and the data then displayed. Where not self-evident, explanatory remarks are made as to the intent of the question and its relevance to the subtopic. Additional remarks are included in every instance comparing Local 1589's answers to the aggregate. The reader is referred to the qualifying remarks in the second paragraph of this Report.

A. Rating of Over-all Performance of Union by Members

1. Activities of the Union

(a) How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas? (responses given in percentage figures)

	<u>highly</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>satisfied</u>	<u>dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>highly dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>
Fringe Benefits	9	48	38	5
Grievances	13	76	11	0
Political Activities	2	68	25	5
Wage Increases	5	34	42	19
Job Security	21	68	11	0
Working Conditions	21	72	5	2
Social and Educational Activities	0	62	33	5

These results are similar to the results for all unions in the categories Grievances, Political Activities, Job Security, and Social and Educational Activities. There appeared to be a higher degree of satisfaction with

respect to Working Conditions. However, the members were more dissatisfied than the average with Wage Increases and Fringe Benefits. This is especially true of the former of these categories.

(b) Do you think that unions are doing a better job now for their workers than they were doing 5 years ago?

Yes, a much better job..... 22%

Yes, but only slightly better..... 19

Doing about the same..... 45

Doing a poorer job..... 14

Compared with the aggregate response, the O.C.A. response is biased from "much better" to "about the same," indicating a less favorable dynamic view of union performance on the part of O.C.A. respondents.

2. Responsiveness of the Leadership to Individual Members' Opinions

(a) Do you think that leaders of your local take the opinions of the members into consideration when making a decision?

The response indicates that the members feel overwhelmingly that the leadership takes their opinions into consideration most of the time, and this compares very favorably with the aggregate response.

(b) Are many of your local union officers' decisions based on their own self interest?

Again, the response is overwhelmingly approving of the leadership's behavior, which is consistent with the response to the previous question. Thus, the union rates very high on questions of union democracy.

3. General Attitude Toward Unions and Unionism

(a) Do you feel that your job is more secure because you are a union member?

Absolutely yes..... 30%

Probably yes..... 37

Probably not..... 19

No, it really isn't..... 14

These answers indicate that the members of #1589 consider their jobs less ~~dependent upon the~~ union than do the members of all unions in the survey.

(b) Do you think that without unions the living standard of the workers would be lower?

Most definitely..... 76%

Probably yes..... 19

Probably not..... 5

Certainly not..... 0

This response is similar to the average response.

B. Performance of the Union in Specific Areas

1. Union Democracy

(a) Do you feel that every member with leadership ability has a chance of being elected to local union office if he is willing to make the effort to run for office?

The respondents thought that individuals had a "very good" or "reasonably good" chance in rather overwhelming proportions, and the response on this question was better than for any of the other 15 unions. This, coupled with the response to questions A-2 (a) & (b), indicates that #1589 is something of a model union in this respect.

(b) Do you feel that the members of your union are well informed about the local union's affairs?

Yes, all of them are very well informed..... 17%

Yes, over half of them are well informed..... 38

No, only a few are well informed..... 43

No, only the leadership knows what is going on 2

The problem of communication is one of the most serious in the majority of unions covered in this survey and is one of the principle reasons the survey was undertaken. However, it is not as great a problem with O.C.A., as would be expected from the other questions on democracy.

(c) We asked the respondents for the name of the union's local president, and 48% answered correctly, which is slightly better than the average for all unions.

(d) 75% of the respondents knew the name of the union's international president, compared with only 38% for all unions.

2. Officers' Performance

(a) How satisfied are you with the job your shop steward is doing?

Three out of the sixty four respondents replied that they did not have a shop steward, and one individual abstained. Of the remaining sixty respondents, the answers are broken down as follows:

Highly satisfied..... 13%

Fairly well satisfied..... 57

Somewhat dissatisfied..... 22

Very dissatisfied..... 8

In comparison with the aggregate of answers, the respondents showed a shift from "highly satisfied" to "somewhat dissatisfied."

(b) How good a job does your business agent do?

20% of the respondents replied that they did not have a business agent. Of those who thought that there is a business agent, there is observed a definite bias with reference to the aggregate toward the position that the business agent "could and should do better."

3. Meetings

(a) Are you pleased with the manner in which your local's meetings are run?

Yes, very pleased indeed.....	22%
Yes, pleased most of the time.....	19
Somewhat displeased.....	45
Very displeased.....	14

Again, the respondents appeared more "displeased" than "pleased" compared to the response of all unions. It is difficult to reconcile this with the unusually favorable response to questions on democracy.

4. Dues

(a) In general, how do you feel about the dues you pay?

They are extremely low.....	3%
They are too low.....	30
They are too high.....	40
They are extremely high.....	2
They are all right.....	25

The respondents were more inclined to feel that the dues are too low than were the respondents of all unions.

- (b) How much would you be willing to increase your dues in order to strengthen your union's ability to obtain higher wages or more fringe benefits?

As would be expected from the last question, the respondents were more willing to raise their dues than were the respondents in all of the 16 unions. 41% indicated that they would prefer a 51¢ - \$1 raise, 31% preferred a raise greater than \$1, and only 25% preferred no raise at all. (The remaining 3% wanted a raise less than 50¢.)

5. Automation

There is no danger of automation threatening the jobs of the union members, according to the respondents, so this is not a problem for #1589.

C. The Degree of Commitment

In this section we asked a number of questions to find out what kinds of problems would make the members of the union willing to strike. In a qualified sense, this may be taken to be an index of the degree of commitment which the members have toward the union. However, the setting of a decision to strike varies greatly from industry to industry and union to union, and this index is not an absolute measure of the degree of commitment.

1. Would you want to strike if the employer refused to grant any wage increase or other improvements at all at your next contract negotiations?

Definitely yes.....	23%
Probably yes.....	31
Probably no.....	30
Definitely no.....	16

2. Would you want to strike if your employer refused to grant an increase of no more than 10 cents in wages and benefits in your next contract negotiations?

Definitely yes..... 16%
Probably yes..... 23
Probably no..... 41
Definitely no..... 20

3. Would you strike to avoid a cut in pay, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?

Definitely yes..... 22%
Probably yes..... 34
Probably no..... 30
Definitely no..... 14

4. Would you strike for an increase in wages, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?

Definitely yes..... 13%
Probably yes..... 16
Probably no..... 51
Definitely no..... 20

The O.C.A. response was slightly more conservative than was the response for the aggregate; that is, there was less willingness to strike. This is due to a number of possible factors, not the least important of which, we would imagine, is the professional nature of the work performed by the members compared, say, to the Steelworkers. It is interesting, however, because of the relatively high degree of dissatisfaction with wage increases.

D. Desires of the Union Membership

1. Preferences

We asked a question to find out the preferences of the membership in collective bargaining between wage increases, vacations, and pensions and welfare benefits. As the first choice among the three, the three groups were broken down as follows:

Wage increases.....	49%
Vacations.....	9
Pensions and welfare.....	42

This is typical of the response for all unions.

2. Income

Is your family income enough for your needs?

Yes, I live quite comfortably.....	25%
Yes, but I barely get by.....	48
No, I can't quite make ends meet.....	22
No, I don't have nearly enough for my needs.....	5

Compared to the aggregate response, the O.C.A. respondents shifted from "comfortably" to "can't quite make ends meet," which is what would be expected from the response to "wage increases" in Question A-1 (a).

E. Specific Comments of Members

At the end of the questionnaire, space was provided for comments on relevant union issues. A few of the more interesting and constructive comments are included below with the precaution that they are not

necessarily representative of the feelings of the membership. Nevertheless, it is hoped that they may prove of use to the union. (Comments have been edited for spelling and diction.)

1. Over-all Performance of Union

In regard to question 1, if the "job the union is doing" refers to the efforts put forth (both by the local and the International) and taking the over-all bargaining situation into consideration, then I am highly satisfied. However, if this refers to the final results of the bargaining process, then I am dissatisfied, the more so for having been involved in our bargaining for the past six years. Some of our final settlements have been rather shameful even though it was the best that could be done with the tools we had to work with at the time.

2. General Attitude Toward Union

My apparent negative approach to many of these questions is due to the generally low morale observed at Shell and the lack of many employees to join the union. Others receive all the benefits without joining. I do not consider myself an organizer or leader, but I would do more if more general interest were shown toward the union. At least I pay my dues and attend meetings on important issues.

3. Automation

I don't feel the union can help on the question of automation where I work. There are too many non-union members to allow a strong enough union at Shell Development.

4. Wages

The wage rates negotiated in our research division, due to their inability to directly affect production, have declined relative to the local industries and even local government. This is causing an increasing number of my fellow employees to take second jobs or seek other types of employment. The only apparent answer if company policy remains unchanged is a more militant union such as the ILWU or the Teamsters. My personal choice has been to purchase a business of my own so after the next few weeks this problem will no longer concern me.

5. Strikes

The O.C.A. is, and has been, run by too many pacifists. For instance, no strike fund reserve has been built up, and there have been years when we should have had a raise and when one was not sought by the

international officers. I feel that to conduct a successful strike, the Oil Workers would have to be affiliated with the Teamsters. I am in favor of that.

Our local is a good union, no thanks to myself. The only problem is that the union is being sold out by the higher VIP's. When one local goes on strike in Texas against Shell, we don't go out on strike to back them up. Why the hell belong to an international?

University of California
Institute of Industrial Relations
Labor Research Unit

Report on the Attitudes of Paint Makers,
Local 1101

I. Introduction:

During the past year the Labor Research Unit, with the cooperation of the Central Labor Council of Alameda County, has conducted a survey of the attitudes of the members of 16 unions. Since the results have been broken down by unions so that we might study the variance of attitudes of members of different kinds of unions, we have written a special report on the feelings of the membership of the Paint Makers, Local 1101, with special reference to the problems that are important to the local.

There are some problems in the interpretation of the results of a survey of this nature:

First, since we mailed the questionnaire to a random sample of the membership of each of the unions selected and did not actually speak directly with any of the participants, there is the possibility that the people who took the trouble to fill out and return the questionnaire (slightly over one in three for the first two mailings) do not represent the feelings of the "population" as a whole. To check against this, we sent a third mailing to 11 of the 16 unions, and the results were not significantly different from the results of the first two mailings. Thus, at least to some extent, we can say that the respondents are representative of the population.

Second, most questions require interpretation by the individual respondent, and this results in unavoidable problems of semantics. For

example, in Question #1 we ask, "How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas?", and the respondent checked either, "Highly satisfied," "Satisfied," "Dissatisfied," or "Highly dissatisfied" to a number of topics such as "Wage Increases." What "highly satisfied" means to one person is not necessarily the same as it means to another. One person may reason, "I would have liked more of an increase last negotiating session, but my union did as well as can be expected under the circumstances, so I will check 'satisfied'." Another individual might think, "They got nowhere near as much as I needed so I will check 'highly dissatisfied'." Since, however, we did get a relatively large number of responses, we should obtain a reasonably accurate picture of what the respondents think.

Third, how does the union leadership interpret what is a "favorable" or "unfavorable" response? One way of attempting this is to compare the response for the individual union in question with the response for all unions, but this, of course, is a relative rather than an absolute standard and ignores differences in circumstances of the different unions. One particular union may, for example, be faced with a rather severe problem of technological change within the plant or industry, and many of the respondents of that union may react by indicating that the union is not doing enough to insure job security. The Report would therefore point out that the response of this union was different from the response of all unions in this direction. However, this is in no way intended as criticism of the performance of the leadership of that local. We are merely reporting on the attitudes of the respondents.

We hope that this Report will be of some use to your union as well as to the labor movement as a whole, and we appreciate the cooperation you have given us.

II. Summary

One hundred questionnaires were sent to members of Local 1101 and 29 usable questionnaires were returned. The per cent response was only slightly below the average for all unions (34 per cent).

The respondents express more dissatisfaction with their wage increases and family income than do the average members surveyed. This may partially explain why they are more willing to strike than are the average members. This willingness to strike is further indicative of a higher degree of membership commitment to the union. This commitment is seen in the favorable view toward the increased union performance over the past five years, the belief that dues are too low and should be raised, and the fear of automation with which the union might be able to cope.

On the whole the respondents are quite pleased with the job their business agent has done. They believe that self-interest does not influence union leaders' decisions to the extent the average member surveyed felt, and consider that rank-and-file members have a better chance of being elected to their local's union office than do the average union members. In general, the Paint Makers are found to be more democratically organized than the average of the sixteen unions surveyed.

III. Presentation of Results

Below, in detailed form, is a breakdown of answers to specific questions by the members of Local 1101. The data are presented under five headings:

A. Rating of Over-all Performance of Union by Members which includes as subtopics the activities of the union, the responsiveness of the leadership

to the members and the general attitude toward the union and unionism.

B. The Performance of the Union in Specific Areas, such as union democracy, officers' performance, meetings, dues, and automation.

C. The Degree of Commitment which members have toward their union.

D. The Desires of the Membership with respect to wages, fringes, and income.

E. Specific Comments of Members.

Under each heading and subtopic the question is repeated from the questionnaire and the data then displayed. Where not self-evident, explanatory remarks are made as to the intent of the question and its relevance to the subtopic. Additional remarks are included in every instance comparing Local 1101's answers to the aggregate. The reader is referred to the qualifying remarks in the second paragraph of this Report.

A. Rating of Over-all Performance of Union by Members

1. Activities of the Union

(a) How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas? (responses given in percentage figures)

	<u>highly</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>satisfied</u>	<u>dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>highly dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>
Fringe Benefits	10	66	17	7
Grievances	7	64	25	4
Political Activities	7	74	15	4
Wage Increases	3	59	28	10
Job Security	10	56	24	10
Working Conditions	7	65	14	14
Social and Educational Activities	4	71	21	4

These responses are similar to the results obtained for all unions in every category except Wage Increases and Job Security wherein the members of Local 1101 appear to be more dissatisfied than the average.

- (b) Do you think that unions are doing a better job now for their workers than they were doing 5 years ago?

Yes, a much better job.....24%
Yes, but only slightly better.....52%
Doing about the same.....21%
Doing a poorer job..... 3%

Compared with the aggregate response, the Paint Makers replies shifted significantly from "about the same" to "slightly better" indicating a more favorable dynamic view of union performance.

2. Responsiveness of the Leadership to Individual Members' Opinions

- (a) Do you think that leaders of your local take the opinions of the members into consideration when making a decision?

The response indicates that the members feel overwhelmingly that the leadership takes their opinions into consideration most of the time. Compared to the aggregate, the respondents were a bit more qualified in their affirmative answers.

- (b) Are many of your local union officers' decisions based on their own self interest?

The members of 1101 wholeheartedly approve of their leaders' behavior, even to a slightly greater extent than does the average union member surveyed.

3. General Attitude Toward Unions and Unionism

(a) Do you feel that your job is more secure because you are a union member?

Absolutely yes.....38%

Probably yes.....42%

Probably not.....17%

No, it really isn't..... 3%

These answers indicate that the respondents consider their jobs about as dependent upon the union as do the members of all unions surveyed. However, a shift was noted from "absolutely yes" to "probably yes" when compared with the average union member.

(b) Do you think that without unions the living standard of the workers would be lower?

Most definitely.....63%

Probably yes.....34%

Probably not..... 3%

Certainly not..... 0%

The respondents express answers which show a shift from "most definitely" to "probably yes" when compared to the aggregate.

B. Performance of the Union in Specific Areas

1. Union Democracy

(a) Do you feel that every member with leadership ability has a chance of being elected to local union office if he is willing to make the effort to run for office?

About three quarters of the ~~Paint Maker~~ respondents felt that individuals had a "very good" or "reasonably good" chance which

was about average. But a slightly larger percentage indicated "very good," as opposed to "reasonably good," than did the aggregate which is consistent with the answers received to question A-2 (b).

(b) Do you feel that the members of your union are well informed about the local union's affairs?

Yes, all of them are very well informed.....	28%
Yes, over half of them are well informed.....	31%
No, only a few are well informed.....	41%
No, only the leadership knows what is going on.....	0%

The problem of communication is one of the most serious in the majority of unions covered in this survey and is one of the principle reasons the survey was undertaken. The problem does not appear to be any more or less acute for the Paint Makers than for the average union surveyed.

(c) The respondents were asked to name their union's local president. Fifty-nine per cent answered correctly which was far above the average of 44 per cent.

(d) Only 6 per cent of the respondents knew the name of the union's international president, compared to 38 per cent for all unions.

2. Officers' Performance

(a) How satisfied are you with the job your shop steward is doing?

Four out of twenty-nine respondents replied that they did not have

a shop steward and one individual abstained. Of the remaining twenty-four respondents, the answers were broken down as follows:

Highly satisfied.....	25%
Fairly well satisfied.....	46%
Somewhat dissatisfied.....	13%
Very dissatisfied.....	16%

These replies do not appear to vary significantly from the aggregate of answers.

(b) How good a job does your business agent do?

An excellent job.....	15%
A reasonable job.....	70%
He could and should do better.....	15%
He does a miserable job.....	0%

The response indicates that the Paint Makers are a bit more pleased with their business agent than are the average members surveyed. There was a shift toward "reasonable job" from all other categories.

3. Meetings

(a) Are you pleased with the manner in which your local's meetings are run?

Yes, very pleased indeed.....	11%
Yes, pleased most of the time.....	54%
Somewhat displeased.....	39%
Very displeased.....	6%

The response was similar to the average for all unions.

4. Dues

(a) In general, how do you feel about the dues you pay?

They are extremely low.....	7%
They are too low.....	21%
They are too high.....	43%
They are extremely high.....	0%
They are all right.....	29%

The respondents were somewhat more inclined to feel that their dues were too low than were the respondents of all unions.

(b) How much would you be willing to increase your dues in order to strengthen your union's ability to obtain higher wages or more fringe benefits?

As would be expected from the last question, the respondents were more willing to raise their dues than were the average respondents in all sixteen unions. Eighteen per cent indicated that they would prefer a raise of less than 50 cents, 43 per cent wanted raises greater than 51 cents while 39 per cent preferred no raise at all.

5. Automation

The members of 1101 appear to be much more concerned over problems of automation than are the average members surveyed. This confirms the answers found in question A-1 (a) concerning Job Security. A significant portion of those who fear automation believe that the union can provide protection.

C. The Degree of Commitment

In this section we asked a number of questions to find out what kinds of problems would make the members of the union willing to strike. In a qualified sense, this may be taken to be an index of the degree of commitment which the members have toward the union. However, the setting of a decision to strike varies greatly from industry to industry and union to union, and this index is not an absolute measure of the degree of commitment.

1. Would you want to strike if the employer refused to grant any wage increase or other improvements at all at your next contract negotiations?

Definitely yes.....31%
Probably yes.....52%
Probably no.....14%
Definitely no..... 3%

2. Would you want to strike if your employer refused to grant an increase of no more than 10 cents in wages and benefits in your next contract negotiations?

Definitely yes.....24%
Probably yes.....34%
Probably no.....31%
Definitely no.....10%

3. Would you strike to avoid a cut in pay, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?

Definitely yes.....45%
Probably yes.....24%
Probably no.....21%
Definitely no.....10%

4. Would you strike for an increase in wages, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?

Definitely yes.....17%
Probably yes.....38%
Probably no.....38%
Definitely no..... 7%

The Paint Makers' response was somewhat more radical than was the response for the aggregate; that is, there was more willingness to strike. This may well reflect the Paintmakers feelings on wage increases expressed in question A-1 (a).

D. Desires of the Union Membership

1. Preferences

We asked a question to find out the preferences of the membership in collective bargaining between wage increases, vacations, and pensions and welfare benefits. As the first choice among the three, the three groups were broken down as follows:

Wage increases.....54%
Vacations..... 0%
Pensions and welfare.....46%

The Paint Makers appear to place less emphasis on vacation benefits and more emphasis on pensions as compared with the aggregate response.

2. Income

Is your family income enough for your needs?

Yes, I live quite comfortably.....14%

Yes, but I barely get by.....64%

No, I can't quite make ends meet.....11%

No, I don't have nearly enough for
my needs.....11%

As would be anticipated from the response to "Wage Increases" in question A-1 (a), the respondents were much more dissatisfied with their family incomes than were the average union members surveyed.

E. Specific Comments of Members

At the end of the questionnaire, space was provided for comments on relevant union issues. A few of the more interesting and constructive comments are included below with the precaution that they are not necessarily representative of the feelings of the membership. Nevertheless, it is hoped that they may prove of use to the union.
(Comments have been edited for spelling and diction.)

1. Over-all Performance of Union

A lot of members dislike the union because it is split and only three-quarters of the plant is organized. Those who are not union members still have union protection and the same benefits as union members.

2. Grievances

Union leaders are not to blame for poor grievance handling. Rather it is the fault of the men themselves who will complain about a problem but will not stand behind each other to solve it.

University of California
Institute of Industrial Relations
Labor Research Unit

Report on the Attitudes of the Printing Pressmen,
Local 125

I. Introduction:

During the past year the Labor Research Unit, with the cooperation of the Central Labor Council of Alameda County, has conducted a survey of the attitudes of the members of 16 unions. Since the results have been broken down by unions so that we might study the variance of attitudes of members of different kinds of unions, we have written a special report on the feelings of the membership of the Printing Pressmen, Local 125, with special reference to the problems that are important to the local.

There are some problems in the interpretation of the results of a survey of this nature:

First, since we mailed the questionnaire to a random sample of the membership of each of the unions selected and did not actually speak directly with any of the participants, there is the possibility that the people who took the trouble to fill out and return the questionnaire (slightly over one in three for the first two mailings) do not represent the feelings of the "population" as a whole. To check against this, we sent a third mailing to all of the 16 unions, and the results were not significantly different from the results of the first two mailings. Thus, at least to some extent, we can say that the respondents are representative of the population.

Second, most questions require interpretation by the individual respondent, and this results in unavoidable problems of semantics. For

example, in Question #1 we ask, "How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas?", and the respondent checked either, "Highly satisfied," "Satisfied," "Dissatisfied," or "Highly dissatisfied" to a number of topics such as "Wage Increases." What "highly satisfied" means to one person is not necessarily the same as it means to another. One person may reason, "I would have liked more of an increase last negotiating session, but my union did as well as can be expected under the circumstances, so I will check 'satisfied'." Another individual might think, "They got nowhere near as much as I needed so I will check 'highly dissatisfied'." Since, however, we did get a relatively large number of responses, we should obtain a reasonably accurate picture of what the respondents think.

Third, how does the union leadership interpret what is a "favorable" or "unfavorable" response? One way of attempting this is to compare the response for the individual union in question with the response for all unions, but this, of course, is a relative rather than an absolute standard and ignores differences in circumstances of the different unions. One particular union may, for example, be faced with a rather severe problem of technological change within the plant or industry, and many of the respondents of that union may react by indicating that the union is not doing enough to insure job security. The Report would therefore point out that the response of this union was different from the response of all unions in this direction. However, this is in no way intended as criticism of the performance of the leadership of that local. We are merely reporting on the attitudes of the respondents.

We hope that this Report will be of some use to your union as well as to the labor movement as a whole, and we appreciate the cooperation you have given us.

II. Summary

One hundred sixty-four questionnaires were sent out to members of Local 125 and 69 usable ones were returned. The forty-two per cent response was above the average for all sixteen unions (34 per cent).

Although the Pressmen express more concern over problems of automation that do the average members surveyed, they also believe that their union can cope successfully with the problem. As a result they are more satisfied with the union's performance in the dimension of job security than is the average union member polled, and furthermore state that their job is presently more secure because they are union members. In addition the members of Local 125 were more pleased with the union's performance in the realm of wage increases than are the average members. However, inspite of these facts it is curious to note that the Pressmen consider, to a greater extent than the average respondent, that their union is doing about the same job now as it did five years ago. But it is also noted that the respondents were more highly satisfied with their business agent and shop steward than were the average union members.

Even though there was an expression of dissatisfaction with local meetings the members considered that their rank-and-file does have an opportunity to be elected to union office to a greater extent than does the member of the average union polled. Lastly, it is noted that the members of Local 125 were not as willing to strike as were the majority of members surveyed. This may partially be explained by the high degree of satisfaction expressed over wage increases and family income, and also the fear of job elimination implicit in their worries over automation.

III. Presentation of Results

Below, in detailed form, is a breakdown of answers to specific questions by the members of Local 125. The data are presented under five headings:

A. Rating of Over-all Performance of Union by Members which includes as subtopics the activities of the union, the responsiveness of the leadership to the members and the general attitude toward the union and unionism.

B. The Performance of the Union in Specific Areas, such as union democracy, officers' performance, meetings, dues, and automation.

C. The Degree of Commitment which members have toward their union.

D. The Desires of the Membership with respect to wages, fringes, and income.

E. Specific Comments of Members.

Under each heading and subtopic the question is repeated from the questionnaire and the data then displayed. Where not self-evident, explanatory remarks are made as to the intent of the question and its relevance to the subtopic. Additional remarks are included in every instance comparing Local 125's answers to the aggregate. The reader is referred to the qualifying remarks in the second paragraph of this Report.

A. Rating of Over-all Performance of Union by Members

1. Activities of the Union

- (a) How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas? (responses given in percentage figures)

	<u>highly</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>satisfied</u>	<u>dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>highly dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>
Fringe Benefits	21	59	18	2
Grievances	14	65	15	6
Political Activities	16	54	22	8
Wage Increases	23	70	7	0
Job Security	25	60	9	6
Working Conditions	21	68	11	0
Social and Educational Activities	17	53	26	4

These responses are similar to the results obtained for all unions in every category except Wage Increases and Job Security wherein the members of Local 125 appear to be much more satisfied than are the average union members surveyed.

(b) Do you think that unions are doing a better job now for their workers than they were doing 5 years ago?

Yes, a much better job.....26%

Yes, but only slightly better.....18%

Doing about the same.....48%

Doing a poorer job..... 8%

Compared with the aggregate response, the Pressmen replies shifted significantly from the first two categories to "about the same" indicating a less favorable dynamic view of union performance on the part of the carpenters.

2. Responsiveness of the Leadership to Individual Members' Opinions

- (a) Do you think that leaders of your local take the opinions of the members into consideration when making a decision?

The response indicates that the members feel overwhelmingly that the leadership takes their opinions into consideration most of the time.

This was typical of the response from the average union member.

- (b) Are many of your local union officers' decisions based on their own self interest?

Again a majority approve of the leadership behavior, the replies not differing significantly from the average.

3. General Attitude Toward Unions and Unionism

- (a) Do you feel that your job is more secure because you are a union member?

Absolutely yes.....	62%
Probably yes.....	24%
Probably not.....	10%
No, it really isn't.....	4%

As suggested by replies to question A-1 (a) [Job Security], the respondents from Local 125 consider their jobs much more dependent upon the union than do the average members of unions in the survey.

- (b) Do you think that without unions the living standard of the workers would be lower?

Most definitely.....	75%
Probably yes.....	17%
Probably not.....	8%
Certainly not.....	0%

This response is similar to the average response.

B. Performance of the Union in Specific Areas

1. Union Democracy

- (a) Do you feel that every member with leadership ability has a chance of being elected to local union office if he is willing to make the effort to run for office?

About 90 per cent of the respondents thought that individuals had a "very good" or "reasonably good" chance which was above average.

- (b) Do you feel that the members of your union are well informed about the local union's affairs?

Yes, all of them are very well informed.....38%

Yes, over half of them are well informed.....33%

No, only a few are well informed.....25%

No, only the leadership knows what is going on..... 4%

The problem of communication is one of the most serious in the majority of unions covered in this survey and is one of the principle reasons the survey was undertaken. But the respondents in Local 125 do not see the problem to be as acute as do the average members questioned.

- (c) The respondents were asked to name their union's local president. Forty-four per cent were able to do so, which was equal to the average response.

- (d) Sixty-one per cent of the respondents knew the name of the union's international president, compared with thirty-eight per cent for all respondents.

2. Officers' Performance

(a) How satisfied are you with the job your shop steward is doing?

Two out of sixty-nine respondents replied that they did not have a shop steward, and six individuals abstained. Of the remaining sixty-one respondents, the answers are broken down as follows:

Highly satisfied.....	40%
Fairly well satisfied.....	43%
Somewhat dissatisfied.....	10%
Very dissatisfied.....	7%

In comparison with the aggregate of answers, the members of Local 125 showed a shift from "fairly well satisfied" to "highly satisfied."

(b) How good a job does your business agent do?

An excellent job.....	49%
A reasonable job.....	40%
He could and should do better.....	11%
He does a miserable job.....	0%

The Pressmen felt that their business agent did a much better job than did the average union member.

3. Meetings

(a) Are you pleased with the manner in which your local's meetings are run?

Yes, very pleased indeed.....28%

Yes, pleased most of the time.....18%

Somewhat displeased.....46%

Very displeased..... 6%

Contrary to what might be inferred from question B-1 (a) above, the Pressmen were significantly more dissatisfied with their union meetings than were average union members.

4. Dues

(a) In general, how do you feel about the dues you pay?

They are extremely low.....48%

They are too low.....41%

They are too high..... 9%

They are extremely high..... 3%

They are all right..... 0%

Eighty-nine per cent of the Pressmen felt their dues were either "too low" or "extremely low," compared to only twenty-one per cent of the average union respondents.

- (b) How much would you be willing to increase your dues in order to strengthen your union's ability to obtain higher wages or more fringe benefits?

Contrary to what would be expected from the last question, the Pressmen were about as anxious to raise dues as were the majority of other members surveyed.

5. Automation

As anticipated from questions A-1 (a) and A-3 (a) the members of Local 125 are more concerned over automation than are the average members, and furthermore feel that the union will be able to protect them to a greater extent than do the average members.

C. The Degree of Commitment

In this section we asked a number of questions to find out what kinds of problems would make the members of the union willing to strike. In a qualified sense, this may be taken to be an index of the degree of commitment which the members have toward the union. However, the setting of a decision to strike varies greatly from industry to industry and union to union, and this index is not an absolute measure of the degree of commitment.

1. Would you want to strike if the employer refused to grant any wage increase or other improvements at all at you next contract negotiations?

Definitely yes.....	19%
Probably yes.....	25%
Probably no.....	35%
Definitely no.....	21%

2. Would you want to strike if your employer refused to grant an increase of no more than 10 cents in wages and benefits in your next contract negotiations?

Definitely yes.....10%
Probably yes.....20%
Probably no.....47%
Definitely no.....23%

3. Would you strike to avoid a cut in pay, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?

Definitely yes.....31%
Probably yes.....35%
Probably no.....18%
Definitely no.....16%

4. Would you strike for an increase in wages, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?

Definitely yes..... 7%
Probably yes.....18%
Probably no.....48%
Definitely no.....27%

The Pressmen's response was somewhat more conservative than was the response for the aggregate; that is, there was less willingness to strike. This may reflect both the present high degree of satisfaction with wage increases and the concern over problems of job elimination through automation.

D. Desires of the Union Membership

1. Preferences

We asked a question to find out the preferences of the membership in collective bargaining between wage increases, vacations, and pensions and welfare benefits. As the first choice among the three, the three groups were broken down as follows:

Wage increases.....	30%
Vacations.....	29%
Pensions and welfare.....	41%

Vacations benefits are much more desirable among the Pressmen than among the average respondents.

2. Income

Is your family income enough for your needs?

Yes, I live quite comfortably.....	52%
Yes, but I barely get by.....	42%
No, I can't quite make ends meet.....	4%
No, I don't have nearly enough for my needs.....	2%

Compared to the aggregate response, the Pressmen respondents shifted toward "quite comfortably" from all other categories which is what would be expected from the response to "wage increases" in question A-1 (a).

E. Specific Comments of Members

At the end of the questionnaire, space was provided for comments on relevant union issues. A few of the more interesting and constructive comments are included below with the precaution that they are not necessarily representative of the feelings of the membership. Nevertheless, it is hoped that they may prove of use to the union.

(Comments have been edited for spelling and diction.)

1. Over-all Performance of Union

I feel that the union I am in is run as a clique, as are many organizations. Therefore most of the interest is in what this group does. This can be best expressed in the fact that older members would be in this clique and so the clique looks to a strong stand on pensions. If you are not a member of the clique, you naturally don't have as much interest in the affairs -- witness the low attendance of meetings even under penalty.

Labor unions which try as internationals to conduct nationwide negotiations, as well as strikes, violate their trust by forcing upon the entire nation the will of a minority. This in itself defeats its own purpose.

2. Officers' Performance

All officers should not hold office more than four years, including the business agent.

3. Fringe Benefits

Personally, I think that we should stop asking for more money and concentrate on fringe benefits to combat automation which is bound to show up in our shop which is full of machinery.

University of California
Institute of Industrial Relations
Labor Research Unit

Report on the Attitudes of the Printing Specialties,
Local 382

I. Introduction:

During the past year the Labor Research Unit, with the cooperation of the Central Labor Council of Alameda County, has conducted a survey of the attitudes of the members of 16 unions. Since the results have been broken down by unions so that we might study the variance of attitudes of members of different kinds of unions, we have written a special report on the feelings of the membership of the Printing Specialties, Local 382, with special reference to the problems that are important to the local.

There are some problems in the interpretation of the results of a survey of this nature:

First, since we mailed the questionnaire to a random sample of the membership of each of the unions selected and did not actually speak directly with any of the participants, there is the possibility that the people who took the trouble to fill out and return the questionnaire (slightly over one in three for the first two mailings) do not represent the feelings of the "population" as a whole. To check against this, we sent a third mailing to 11 of the 16 unions, and the results were not significantly different from the results of the first two mailings. Thus, at least to some extent, we can say that the respondents are representative of the population.

Second, most questions require interpretation by the individual respondent, and this results in unavoidable problems of semantics. For

example, in Question #1 we ask, "How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas?", and the respondent checked either, "Highly satisfied," "Satisfied," "Dissatisfied," or "Highly dissatisfied" to a number of topics such as "Wage Increases." What "highly satisfied" means to one person is not necessarily the same as it means to another. One person may reason, "I would have liked more of an increase last negotiating session, but my union did as well as can be expected under the circumstances, so I will check 'satisfied'." Another individual might think, "They got nowhere near as much as I needed so I will check 'highly dissatisfied'." Since, however, we did get a relatively large number of responses, we should obtain a reasonably accurate picture of what the respondents think.

Third, how does the union leadership interpret what is a "favorable" or "unfavorable" response? One way of attempting this is to compare the response for the individual union in question with the response for all unions, but this, of course, is a relative rather than an absolute standard and ignores differences in circumstances of the different unions. One particular union may, for example, be faced with a rather severe problem of technological change within the plant or industry, and many of the respondents of that union may react by indicating that the union is not doing enough to insure job security. The Report would therefore point out that the response of this union was different from the response of all unions in this direction. However, this is in no way intended as criticism of the performance of the leadership of that local. We are merely reporting on the attitudes of the respondents.

We hope that this Report will be of some use to your union as well as to the labor movement as a whole, and we appreciate the cooperation you have given us.

II. Summary

One hundred sixty-four questionnaires were sent to members of Local 382 and 70 usable ones were returned. The 43 per cent response was considerably above the average for all unions (34 per cent).

The Printing Specialties appear to be more dissatisfied with their wage increases and working conditions than are the majority of respondents from the sixteen unions polled. This may be reflected both in the finding that they consider their dues too high and their jobs somewhat threatened by automation. But it is curious to note that they also consider their family incomes as adequate as do the average union members surveyed. The last fact may reflect an above average incidence of married women in the Printing Specialties sample.

Although the shop stewards are rated as performing about average in Local 382, there is more dissatisfaction expressed over the performance of the business agent than in the average union polled. Even though the majority of respondents believe that their leaders take their opinions into consideration, this is not expressed as strongly as in the average union. Likewise, the leaders' decisions are not judged as free of self-interest as in the average union. Furthermore, rank-and-file members are not given as good a chance in winning union elections as in the aggregate. These facts indicate that Local 382 is not as democratically organized as are a number of other unions in the survey.

Based upon the respondents own opinions, there appears to be a greater lack of communication within Local 382 than in the average union. However, some mitigating evidence on this finding is also presented.

III. Presentation of Results

Below, in detailed form, is a breakdown of answers to specific questions by the members of Local 382. The data are presented under five headings:

A. Rating of Over-all Performance of Union by Members which includes as subtopics the activities of the union, the responsiveness of the leadership to the members and the general attitude toward the union and unionism.

B. The Performance of the Union in Specific Areas, such as union democracy, officers' performance, meetings, dues, and automation.

C. The Degree of Commitment which members have toward their union.

D. The Desires of the Membership with respect to wages, fringes, and income.

E. Specific Comments of Members.

Under each heading and subtopic the question is repeated from the questionnaire and the data then displayed. Where not self-evident, explanatory remarks are made as to the intent of the question and its relevance to the subtopic. Additional remarks are included in every instance comparing Local 382's answers to the aggregate. The reader is referred to the qualifying remarks in the second paragraph of this Report.

A. Rating of Over-all Performance of Union by Members

1. Activities of the Union

(a) How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas? (responses given in percentage figures)

	<u>highly</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>satisfied</u>	<u>dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>highly dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>
Fringe Benefits	8	62	24	6
Grievances	8	55	33	4
Political Activities	8	68	20	4
Wage Increases	12	38	43	7
Job Security	16	59	12	13
Working Conditions	12	54	26	8
Social and Educational Activities	9	55	30	6

These responses are similar to the results obtained for all other unions in every category except Fringe Benefits, Wage Increases, and Working Conditions. Members of Local 382 were somewhat more dissatisfied with Fringe Benefits and quite a bit more dissatisfied with Wage Increases and Working Conditions than were the average members surveyed.

(b) Do you think that unions are doing a better job now for their workers than they were doing 5 years ago?

Yes, a much better job.....30%

Yes, but only slightly better.....25%

Doing about the same.....35%

Doing a poorer job.....10%

This answer was similar to the average.

2. Responsiveness of the Leadership to Individual Members' Opinions

- (a) Do you think that leaders of your local take the opinions of the members into consideration when making a decision?

The response indicates that the majority feel that the leadership takes their opinions into consideration most of the time, but this is not as strongly expressed as in the average.

- (b) Are many of your local union officers' decisions based on their own self-interest?

Although a majority feel that only a few or none of the decisions are based on the officers' self-interests, again this is not as strongly expressed as in the average.

3. General Attitude Toward Unions and Unionism

- (a) Do you feel that your job is more secure because you are a union member?

Absolutely yes.....	61%
Probably yes.....	26%
Probably no.....	7%
No, it really isn't.....	6%

The answers indicate that the members of Local 382 consider their jobs slightly more dependent upon the union than do the average members of unions in the survey.

- (b) Do you think that without unions the living standard of the workers would be lower?

Most definitely.....	71%
Probably yes.....	26%
Probably no.....	3%
Certainly not.....	0%

These replies are similar to the average response.

B. Performance of the Union in Specific Areas

1. Union Democracy

- (a) Do you feel that every member with leadership ability has a chance of being elected to local union office if he is willing to make the effort to run for office?

As might be expected from questions A-2 (a) and A-2 (b), the respondents were not as optimistic about the chances of election as were the average union members. From these three questions it might be inferred that Local 382 is not quite as democratically organized as the average union surveyed.

- (b) Do you feel that the members of your union are well informed about the local union's affairs?

Yes, all of them are very well informed.....25%

Yes, over half of them are well informed.....22%

No, only a few are well informed.....42%

No, only the leadership knows what is going on.....11%

The problem of communications is one of the most serious in the majority of unions covered in this survey and is one of the principle reasons the survey was undertaken. Since the members of Local 382 consider themselves less well-informed than do the average respondents, the Printing Specialties appear to have difficulties in this area.

- (c) The respondents were asked to name their union's local president. Contrary to the finding in the previous question, 43 per cent of the respondents answered correctly which was equal to the average response from all unions.

(d) Forty-seven per cent of the respondents knew the name of the union's international president, compared with only 38 per cent for all respondents. Thus answers to this and the previous question tend to mitigate the findings on communications.

2. Officers' Performance

(a) How satisfied are you with the job your shop steward is doing?

Two out of 70 respondents replied that they did not have a shop steward, and four individuals abstained. Of the remaining 64 respondents, the answers are broken down as follows:

Highly satisfied.....	25%
Fairly well satisfied.....	50%
Somewhat dissatisfied.....	20%
Very dissatisfied.....	5%

The replies did not vary significantly from the aggregate.

(b) How good a job does your business agent do?

An excellent job.....	24%
A reasonable job.....	43%
He could and should do better.....	30%
He does a miserable job.....	3%

There is a slight shift from the first two categories to "could and should do better" when Local 382 is compared to the average response.

3. Meetings

(a) Are you pleased with the manner in which your local's meetings are run?

Yes, very pleased indeed.....13%
Yes, pleased most of the time.....50%
Somewhat displeased.....31%
Very displeased..... 6%

These replies are similar to the average.

4. Dues

(a) In general, how do you feel about the dues you pay?

They are extremely low..... 2%
They are too low..... 5%
They are too high.....65%
They are extremely high.....17%
They are all right.....11%

The respondents are more inclined to feel that their dues are both "too high" and "extremely high" than are the average union members.

(b) How much would you be willing to increase your dues in order to strengthen your union's ability to obtain higher wages or more fringe benefits?

As would be expected from the previous question, the respondents are much less willing to raise their dues than are the average members in all 16 unions. Fifty-eight per cent indicate that they desire no increase, 15 per cent prefer a raise of less than 50 cents, while 17 per cent want raises greater than 51 cents.

5. Automation

The members of Local 382 are a bit more concerned with the problems of automation and job elimination than are the average union members. Only one-third of the Printing Specialties respondents feel that there is no danger of job elimination, as compared with about half of the aggregate.

C. The Degree of Commitment

In this section we asked a number of questions to find out what kinds of problems would make the members of the union willing to strike. In a qualified sense, this may be taken to be an index of the degree of commitment which the members have toward the union. However, the setting of a decision to strike varies greatly from industry to industry and union to union, and this index is not an absolute measure of the degree of commitment.

1. Would you want to strike if the employer refused to grant any wage increase or other improvements at all at your next contract negotiations?

Definitely yes.....	35%
Probably yes.....	35%
Probably no.....	21%
Definitely no.....	9%

2. Would you want to strike if your employer refused to grant an increase of no more than 10 cents in wages and benefits in your next contract negotiations?

Definitely yes.....13%

Probably yes.....18%

Probably no.....46%

Definitely no.....23%

3. Would you strike to avoid a cut in pay, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?

Definitely yes.....23%

Probably yes.....31%

Probably no.....22%

Definitely no.....24%

4. Would you strike for an increase in wages, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?

Definitely yes.....13%

Probably yes.....22%

Probably no.....37%

Definitely no.....28%

The willingness of members of Local 382 to strike does not differ significantly from the average for all unions. This may be indicative of an average amount of commitment to the union.

D. Desires of the Union Membership

1. Preferences

We asked a question to find out the preferences of the membership in collective bargaining between wage increases, vacations, and pensions and welfare benefits. As the first choice among the three, the three groups were broken down as follows:

Wage increases.....	49%
Vacations.....	10%
Pensions and welfare.....	41%

The respondents from Local 382 indicate a slightly stronger preference for pensions as opposed to wages than do the average respondents.

2. Income

Is your family income enough for your needs?

Yes, I live quite comfortably.....	39%
Yes, but I barely get by.....	49%
No, I can't quite make ends meet.....	9%
No, I don't have nearly enough for my needs.....	3%

Contrary to what might be anticipated from question A-1 (a), these replies do not differ significantly from the average.

E. Specific Comments of Members

At the end of the questionnaire, space was provided for comments on relevant union issues. A few of the more interesting and constructive

comments are included below with the precaution that they are not necessarily representative of the feelings of the membership. Nevertheless, it is hoped that they may prove of use to the union. (Comments have been edited for spelling and diction.)

1. Bargaining

Our contract has a clause in it that states that the company has the final say on any issue that is deadlocked. The company purposely deadlocks issues because they know that they get the final word in their favor.

2. Wages

National and coast-wide bargaining is hurting us at the present in the East Bay. It is doubtful if the uniform national wage can ever be achieved due to agriculturally low labor areas, the South, and the right-to-work states. It is a worthy goal but I fear unattainable.

The paper box industry is the poorest paid of any industry that I know of. The only way you can get a decent weekly check is if you work overtime and that gets quite tiresome after a while. We fought for a 40 hour week so that a worker would have more leisure time at home with his family and then they ask you to work overtime. Today everything is speed and at the end of 8 hours you are ready to go home and relax, particularly after fighting freeway traffic for 30 minutes.

3. Automation

Automation is the coming issue in all plants throughout the country. There are many union members who don't realize how serious it is. During negotiations of contracts, we should suggest that the company set aside some money each month to give to employees if their jobs are eliminated due to automation. This way the companies might think twice before they begin to automate.

University of California
Institute of Industrial Relations
Labor Research Unit

Report on the Attitudes of the
Post Office Clerks, Local 47

I. Introduction

During the past year the Labor Research Unit, with the cooperation of the Central Labor Council of Alameda County, has conducted a survey of the attitudes of the members of 16 unions. Since the results have been broken down by union so that we might study the variance of attitudes of members of different kinds of unions, we have written a special report on the feelings of the membership of Local 47, with special reference to the problems that are important to the local.

There are some problems in the interpretation of the results of a survey of this nature:

First, since we mailed the questionnaire to a random sample of the membership of each of the unions selected and did not actually speak directly with any of the participants, there is the possibility that the people who took the trouble to fill out and return the questionnaire (slightly over one in three for the first two mailings) do not represent the feelings of the "population" as a whole. To check against this, we sent a third mailing to 11 of the 16 unions, and the results were not significantly different from the results of the first two mailings. Thus, at least to some extent, we can say that the respondents are representative of the population.

Second, most questions require interpretation by the individual respondent, and this results in unavoidable problems of semantics. For

example, in Question #1 we ask, "How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas?", and the respondent checked either, "Highly satisfied," "Satisfied," "Dissatisfied," or "Highly dissatisfied" to a number of topics such as "Wage Increases." What "highly satisfied" means to one person is not necessarily the same as it means to another. One person may reason, "I would have liked more of an increase last negotiating session, but my union did as well as can be expected under the circumstances, so I will check 'satisfied'." Another individual might think, "They got nowhere near as much as I needed so I will check 'highly dissatisfied'." Since, however, we did get a relatively large number of responses, we should obtain a reasonably accurate picture of what the respondents think.

Third, how does the union leadership interpret what is a "favorable" or "unfavorable" response? One way of attempting this is to compare the response for the individual union in question with the response for all unions, but this, of course, is a relative rather than an absolute standard and ignores differences in circumstances of the different unions. One particular union may, for example, be faced with a rather severe problem of technological change within the plant or industry, and many of the respondents of that union may react by indicating that the union is not doing enough to insure job security. The Report would therefore point out that the response of this union was different from the response of all unions in this direction. However, this is in no way intended as criticism of the performance of the leadership of that local. We are merely reporting on the attitudes of the respondents.

We hope that this Report will be of some use to your union as well as to the labor movement as a whole, and we appreciate the cooperation you have given us.

II. Summary

We sent out 26 questionnaires to the members of Local 47 and received 8 useable questionnaires in return. The 31 per cent response was only slightly below the average for all 16 unions (34 per cent). We also received a few questionnaires from individuals who indicated that the questions did not apply to the kinds of problems faced by the Post Office Clerks so they did not fill out their questionnaires. It is true that this study was formulated with the problems of private employee rather than public employee unions in mind, and this may have caused the response to be lower than it would have been if the questionnaire had been written for public employee unions exclusively.

In summary, the respondents felt that the union is run quite democratically and with the interests of the members in mind. At the same time, there is a pessimism due to what appears to be the lack of power of the union. This is, of course, due to the unique relation between the employer and the union and the legal framework within which the union operates, but despite this there seems to be a fairly strong reservoir of solid union sentiment among the respondents.

III. Presentation of Results

Below, in detailed form, is a breakdown of answers to specific questions by the members of Local 47. The data are presented under five headings:

A. Rating of Over-all Performance of Union by Members which includes as subtopics the activities of the union, the responsiveness of the leadership to the members and the general attitude toward the union and unionism.

B. The Performance of the Union in Specific Areas, such as union democracy, officers' performance, meetings, dues and automation.

C. The Degree of Commitment which members have toward their union.

D. The Desires of the Membership with respect to wages, fringes, and income.

Under each heading and subtopic the question is repeated from the questionnaire and the data then displayed. Where not self-evident, explanatory remarks are made as to the intent of the question and its relevance to the subtopic. Additional remarks are included in every instance comparing Local 47's answers to the aggregate. The reader is referred to the qualifying remarks in the second paragraph of this Report.

A. Rating of Over-all Performance of Union by Members

1. Activities of the Union

(a) How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas? (responses given in percentage figures)

	<u>highly</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>satisfied</u>	<u>dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>highly dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>
Frings Benefits	0	88	12	0
Grievances	0	62	25	13
Political Activities	0	88	12	0
Wage Increases	0	75	0	25
Job Security	0	88	0	12
Working Conditions	0	38	50	12
Social and Educational Activities	12	50	38	0

The response for Local 47 is similar to the response for the aggregate of all 16 unions with respect to all categories except Working Conditions. The respondents were far more dissatisfied than average in this area.

- (b) Do you think that unions are doing a better job now for their workers than they were doing 5 years ago?

Yes, a much better job.....38%
Yes, but only slightly better.....25
Doing about the same.....25
Doing a poorer job.....12

This response is similar to the sample average.

2. Responsiveness of the Leadership to Individual Members' Opinions

- (a) Do you think that leaders of your local take the opinions of the members into consideration when making a decision?

All the respondents replied that the leadership took the feelings of the membership into consideration "most of the time," and this compares very favorably with the survey average.

- (b) Are many of your local union officers' decisions based on their own self interest?

Again, the response was favorable to the leadership.

3. General Attitude Toward Unions and Unionism

- (a) Do you feel that your job is more secure because you are a union member?

Absolutely yes.....0%

Probably yes.....29

Probably not.....29

No, it really isn't.....42

This response is biased from "yes" to "probably no" and "no, it really isn't," compared to the survey average. This reflects the fundamental difference between private employer and public employer unions.

B. Performance of the Union in Specific Areas

1. Union Democracy

- (a) Do you feel that every member with leadership ability has a chance of being elected to local union office if he is willing to make the effort to run for office?

The respondents thought that individuals had a "very good" or "reasonably good" chance in rather overwhelming proportions.

(b) Do you feel that the members of your union are well informed about the local union's affairs?

Yes, all of them are very well informed.....0%

Yes, over half of them are well informed.....38

No, only a few are well informed.....62

No, only the leadership knows what is going on.....0

(c) We asked the respondents for the name of the union's local president, and 75 per cent answered correctly, which is much better than the average for all unions.

2. Officers' Performance

(a) How satisfied are you with the job your shop steward is doing?

Highly satisfied.....0%

Fairly well satisfied.....57

Somewhat dissatisfied.....14

Very dissatisfied.....29

The members of Local 47 are more dissatisfied with the performance of the shop steward than the survey average.

(b) How good a job does your business agent do?

Half the respondents replied that their business agent did a "reasonable" job while the other half felt that he "could and should do better."

3. Meetings

(a) Are you pleased with the manner in which your local's meetings are run?

Yes, very pleased indeed.....	0%
Yes, pleased most of the time.....	71
Somewhat displeased.....	29
Very displeased.....	0

This is close to the survey average.

4. Dues

(a) In general, how do you feel about the dues you pay?

They are extremely low.....	43 $\frac{1}{2}$
They are too low.....	14
They are too high.....	14
They are extremely high.....	0
They are all right.....	29

The respondents exhibit a bias toward "extremely low" compared to the survey average.

- (b) How much would you be willing to increase your dues in order to strengthen your union's ability to obtain higher wages or more fringe benefits?

As would be expected from the last question, the majority of the respondents were in favor of a dues increase. Thirty-seven per cent were for an increase of less than 50¢, 25 per cent for an increase of over a dollar, and 38 per cent in favor of no increase.

5. Automation

Most of the respondents felt there was no danger of automation eliminating their jobs. Of the 38 per cent who felt there was such a danger, all felt that the union would not be able to protect their jobs.

C. The Degree of Commitment

In this section we asked a number of questions to find out what kinds of problems would make the members of the union willing to strike. In a qualified sense, this may be taken as an index of the degree of commitment which the members have toward their union in private employment, but it is meaningless when applied to Federal employment. The response was overwhelmingly in favor of a "no strike under any circumstances" position, but a few individuals were willing to strike if the government offered a cut in pay.

D. Desires of the Union Membership

1. Preferences

We asked a question to find out the preferences of the membership in collective bargaining between wage increases, vacations, and pensions and welfare benefits. As the first choice among the three, the three groups were broken down as follows;

Wage increases.....	38%
Vacations.....	0
Pensions and welfare.....	62

The members are more desirous of wage increases relative to increases in fringe benefits than their cousins in private industry.

2. Income

Is your family income enough for your needs?

Yes, I live quite comfortably.....	0%
Yes, but I barely get by.....	38
No, I can't quite make ends meet.....	24
No, I don't have nearly enough for my needs.....	38

University of California
Institute of Industrial Relations
Labor Research Unit

Report on the Attitudes of the Retail Clerks
Local 870

I. Introduction

During the past year the Labor Research Unit, with the cooperation of the Central Labor Council of Alameda County, has conducted a survey of the attitudes of the members of 16 unions. Since the results have been broken down by union so that we might study the variance of attitudes of members of different kinds of unions, we have written a special report on the feelings of the membership of Local 870, with special reference to the problems that are important to the local.

There are some problems in the interpretation of the results of a survey of this nature:

First, since we mailed the questionnaire to a random sample of the membership of each of the unions selected and did not actually speak directly with any of the participants, there is the possibility that the people who took the trouble to fill out and return the questionnaire (slightly over one in three for the first two mailings) do not represent the feelings of the "population" as a whole. To check against this, we sent a third mailing to 11 of the 16 unions, and the results were not significantly different from the results of the first two mailings. Thus, at least to some extent, we can say that the respondents are representative of the population.

Second, most questions require interpretation by the individual respondent, and this results in unavoidable problems of semantics. For

example, in Question #1 we ask, "How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas?", and the respondent checked either, "Highly satisfied," "Satisfied," "Dissatisfied," or "Highly dissatisfied" to a number of topics such as "Wage Increases." What "highly satisfied" means to one person is not necessarily the same as it means to another. One person may reason, "I would have liked more of an increase last negotiating session, but my union did as well as can be expected under the circumstances, so I will check "satisfied"." Another individual might think, "They got nowhere near as much as I needed so I will check "highly dissatisfied"." Since, however, we did get a relatively large number of responses, we should obtain a reasonably accurate picture of what the respondents think.

Third, how does the union leadership interpret what is a "favorable" or "unfavorable" response? One way of attempting this is to compare the response for the individual union in question with the response for all unions, but this, of course, is a relative rather than an absolute standard and ignores differences in circumstances of the different unions. One particular union may, for example, be faced with a rather severe problem of technological change within the plant or industry, and many of the respondents of that union may react by indicating that the union is not doing enough to insure job security. The Report would therefore point out that the response of this union was different from the response of all unions in this direction. However, this is in no way intended as criticism of the performance of the leadership of that local. We are merely reporting on the attitudes of the respondents.

We hope that this Report will be of some use to your union as well as to the labor movement as a whole, and we appreciate the cooperation you have given us.

II. Summary

We sent out 154 questionnaires to the members of Local 870 and received 66 usable questionnaires in return. The 43 per cent response was a great deal higher than the average for all 16 unions (34 per cent). This is perhaps indicative of a large degree of interest in union affairs on the part of the membership but may also be due to the fact that the union had one of the highest average levels of educational attainment of the unions we surveyed.

In general, the union seems to be doing a very good job in the bread-and-butter areas, according to the members, especially in the areas of fringe benefits and wage increases. In the area of union democracy, the union was quite similar to the sample average. There seems -- and this is only an impression -- to be a feeling that the union is doing such a good job in the important areas that much of the membership does not bother to follow union affairs as closely as do the membership of some other unions we surveyed which were less successful in these areas.

III. Presentation of Results

Below, in detailed form, is a breakdown of answers to specific questions by the members of Local 870. The data are presented under five headings:

A. Rating of Over-all Performance of Union by Members which includes as subtopics the activities of the union, the responsiveness of the leadership to the members and the general attitude toward the union and unionism.

B. The Performance of the Union in Specific Areas, such as union democracy, officers' performance, meetings, dues, and automation.

C. The Degree of Commitment which members have toward their union.

D. The Desires of the Membership with respect to wages, fringes, and income.

E. Specific Comments of Members.

Under each heading and subtopic the question is repeated from the questionnaire and the data then displayed. Where not self-evident, explanatory remarks are made as to the intent of the question and its relevance to the subtopic. Additional remarks are included in every instance comparing Local 870's answers to the aggregate. The reader is referred to the qualifying remarks in the second paragraph of this Report.

A. Rating of Over-all Performance of Union by Members

1. Activities of the Union

(a) How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas? (responses given in percentage figures)

	<u>highly</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>satisfied</u>	<u>dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>highly dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>
Fringe Benefits	34	58	8	0
Grievances	15	69	14	1
Political Activities	10	64	19	7
Wage Increases	17	64	19	0
Job Security	15	62	17	6
Working Conditions	13	74	10	3
Social and Educational Activities	5	72	20	3

Compared to the average response for all 16 unions the respondents were similar in all categories except Fringe Benefits, Wage Increases, and Working Conditions, to which categories the respondents indicated

a higher degree of satisfaction than the survey average.

- (b) Do you think that unions are doing a better job now for their workers than they were doing 5 years ago?

Yes, a much better job..... 46%

Yes, but only slightly better..... 22

Doing about the same..... 29

Doing a poorer job..... 3

The respondents felt that unions are doing a "much better job" in significantly higher proportions than to the sample average.

2. Responsiveness of the Leadership to Individual Members' Opinions

- (a) Do you think that leaders of your local take the opinions of the members into consideration when making a decision?

The response indicates that the majority of the membership feels that the leadership takes their opinions into consideration "most of the time." The combined "yes" vote was 82 per cent, and this is about the same as the survey average.

- (b) Are many of your local union officers' decisions based on their own self interest?

As would be expected from the last question, the majority of the respondents felt that "only a few" or "none" of the leader's decisions were entirely based on their own self-interest, and the response was again similar to the overall response.

3. General Attitude Toward Unions and Unionism

(a) Do you feel that your job is more secure because you are a union member?

Absolutely yes.....	48%
Probably yes.....	29
Probably not.....	9
No, it really isn't.....	14

This is similar to the survey average.

(b) Do you think that without unions the living standard of the workers would be lower?

Most definitely.....	77%
Probably yes.....	18
Probably not.....	3
Certainly not.....	2

B. Performance of the Union in Specific Areas

1. Union Democracy

(a) Do you feel that every member with leadership ability has a chance of being elected to local union office if he is willing to make the effort to run for office?

Sixty-eight per cent of the respondents felt that members had a

"very good" or "reasonably good" change. This is slightly below the survey average.

(b) Do you feel that the members of your union are well informed about the local union's affairs?

Yes, all of them are very well informed..... 29%

Yes, over half of them are well informed..... 27

No, only a few are well informed..... 33

No, only the leadership knows what is going on..... 11

This is about the same as the aggregate.

(c) We asked the respondents for the name of the union's local president, and 62 per cent answered correctly, which is much better than the average for all unions (44 per cent).

2. Officers' Performance

(a) How satisfied are you with the job your shop steward is doing?

Twenty-six out of the 66 respondents replied that they did not have a shop steward, and 19 individuals left the question blank, of the remaining 21 respondents, 2 were "highly satisfied" with the job the shop steward was doing, 12 were "fairly well satisfied," 4 were "somewhat dissatisfied," and 3 were "very dissatisfied."

(b) How good a job does your business agent do?

excellent..... 16%

reasonable..... 48

could do better..... 28

miserable..... 8

This is about the same as the aggregate response.

3. Meetings

(a) Are you pleased with the manner in which your local's meetings are run?

Yes, very pleased indeed.....	23%
Yes, pleased most of the time.....	52
Somewhat displeased.....	23
Very displeased.....	2

This response is slightly better than the average response for all 16 unions.

4. Dues

(a) In general, how do you feel about the dues you pay?

They are extremely low.....	7%
They are too low.....	8
They are too high.....	50
They are extremely high.....	6
They are all right.....	29

(b) How much would you be willing to increase your dues in order to strengthen your union's ability to obtain higher wages or more fringe benefits?

Fifty-two per cent of the respondents replied that they would not want a dues increase, and the remainder was divided among three amounts of dues increase: 11-50 cents, 15 per cent; 51-100 cents, 23 per cent; and greater than 100 cents, 10 per cent. In this question and the last one the respondents were biased toward "no dues increase" and "dues too high" positions compared to the survey average.

5. Automation

There is little dangers of automation threatening the jobs of the union members, according to the respondents, so this is not a problem for #870. Only 12 per cent of the respondents felt that it was, and half of these people felt that the union could cope with the threat.

C. The Degree of Commitment

In this section we asked a number of questions to find out what kinds of problems would make the members of the union willing to strike. In a qualified sense, this may be taken to be an index of the degree of commitment which the members have toward the union. However, the setting of a decision to strike varies greatly from industry to industry and union to union, and this index is not an absolute measure of the degree of commitment.

1. Would you want to strike if the employer refused to grant any wage increase or other improvements at all at your next contract negotiations?

Definitely yes.....	28%
Probably yes.....	28
Probably no.....	26
Definitely no.....	18

2. Would you want to strike if your employer refused to grant an increase of no more the 10 cents in wages and benefits in your next contract negotiations?

Definitely yes.....	17%
Probably yes.....	18
Probably no.....	43
Definitely no.....	22

3. Would you strike to avoid a cut in pay, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?

Definitely yes..... 31%
Probably yes..... 33
Probably no..... 18
Definitely no..... 18

4. Would you strike for an increase in wages, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?

Definitely yes..... 31%
Probably yes..... 33
Probably no..... 18
Definitely no..... 18

The response of the Retail Clerks was slightly more conservative than than was the response for the aggregate; that is, there was less willingness to strike. In the third question, however, the respondents were slightly more willing to strike than average.

D. Desires of the Union Membership

1. Preferences

We asked a question to find out the preferences of the membership in collective bargaining between wage increases, vacations, and pensions and welfare benefits. As the first choice among the three, the three groups were broken down as follows:

Wage increases..... 49%
Vacations..... 15
Pensions and welfare..... 36

The Retail Clerks are relatively more favorable to wage increases and vacations than the other unions.

2. Income

Is your family income enough for your needs?

Yes, I live quite comfortably..... 48%

Yes, but I barely get by..... 44

No, I can't quite make ends meet..... 6

No, I don't have nearly enough for my needs..... 2

Compared to the aggregate response, the Retail Clerks shifted toward "Yes, I live quite comfortably" from the lower categories. This is to be expected because: (a) the respondents had one of the highest average family incomes of all unions, (b) they are quite satisfied with wage increases in Question A-1 (a).

E. Specific Comments of Members

At the end of the questionnaire, space was provided for comments on relevant union issues. A few of the more interesting and constructive comments are included below with the precaution that they are not necessarily representative of the feelings of the membership. Nevertheless, it is hoped that they may prove of use to the union. (Comments have been edited for spelling and diction.)

1. Over-all Performance of Union

A union in the food industry is not as successful as a union in a plant that employs hundreds of people in the same building. For example Safeway's top level policy is not to fight the union or its members, but some of the lower class "Big Spokes" (managers and assistant managers) think that a clerk should put in one or two free hours a day if he really likes his job. The union ought to do something about it.

I think the women who work in the office at the union headquarters are very inconsiderate. At least they could smile while taking your money, let alone say hello when you come in.

It is definitely wrong for extra help to be hired such as members of the armed forces who have security in their jobs or others who work days at a well-paid job. There are many unemployed who cannot find work as a result of these practices. Something should be done to see that people are only holding one job at a decent wage and with fair working conditions.

The union does not try to keep the membership informed. The union has been bargaining for two months and I have not heard or read what they are bargaining for.

2. Union Democracy

I believe unions today deprive members of participation in decisions by not having secret ballots and not actually having any working members as liason to union officers and company management.

3. Officers' Performance

It would be a good thing if the business agent came to each plant at least once a month to see that the union contract was being upheld. I belong to both the Retail Clerks 870 and the Millmen 550. The business agent does come around once a month in the Millmen but never in the Clerks.

4. Fringe Benefits

I believe that pension funds, accumulated in lieu of wages, should be returned after five or more years of membership if the member ceases to work through this specific union. Too much money which belongs to the members is held in pension funds.

5. Meetings

Why doesn't the union arrange meeting places in the various districts, thereby enabling the members to participate fully without a ridiculously large sacrifice of time, money and sanity.

University of California
Institute of Industrial Relations
Labor Research Unit

Report on the Attitudes of the Steelworkers,
Local 1304

I. Introduction

During the past year the Labor Research Unit, with the cooperation of the Central Labor Council of Alameda County, has conducted a survey of the attitudes of the members of 16 unions. Since the results have been broken down by union so that we might study the variance of attitudes of members of different kinds of unions, we have written a special report on the feelings of the membership of Local 1304, with special reference to the problems that are important to the local.

There are some problems in the interpretation of the results of a survey of this nature:

First, since we mailed the questionnaire to a random sample of the membership of each of the unions selected and did not actually speak directly with any of the participants, there is the possibility that the people who took the trouble to fill out and return the questionnaire (slightly over one in three for the first two mailings) do not represent the feelings of the "population" as a whole. To check against this, we sent a third mailing to 11 of the 16 unions, and the results were not significantly different from the results of the first two mailings. Thus, at least to some extent, we can say that the respondents are representative of the population.

Second, most questions require interpretation by the individual respondent, and this results in unavoidable problems of semantics. For

example, in Question #1 we ask, "How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas?", and the respondent checked either, "Highly satisfied," "Satisfied," "Dissatisfied," or "Highly dissatisfied" to a number of topics such as "Wage Increases." What "highly satisfied" means to one person is not necessarily the same as it means to another. One person may reason, "I would have liked more of an increase last negotiating session, but my union did as well as can be expected under the circumstances, so I will check 'satisfied'." Another individual might think, "They got nowhere near as much as I needed so I will check 'highly dissatisfied'." Since, however, we did get a relatively large number of responses, we should obtain a reasonably accurate picture of what the respondents think.

Third, how does the union leadership interpret what is a "favorable" or "unfavorable" response? One way of attempting this is to compare the response for the individual union in question with the response for all unions, but this, of course, is a relative rather than an absolute standard and ignores differences in circumstances of the different unions. One particular union may, for example, be faced with a rather severe problem of technological change within the plant or industry, and many of the respondents of that union may react by indicating that the union is not doing enough to insure job security. The Report would therefore point out that the response of this union was different from the response of all unions in this direction. However, this is in no way intended as criticism of the performance of the leadership of that local. We are merely reporting on the attitudes of the respondents.

We hope that this Report will be of some use to your union as well as to the labor movement as a whole, and we appreciate the cooperation you have given us.

II. Summary

We sent out 127 questionnaires to the members of Local 1304 and received 33 usable questionnaires in return. The 33 per cent was one point below the average for all 16 unions.

In general, the union seems to be doing a very good job in the "bread-and-butter" issues of Wages and Fringe Benefits, and the members are on the whole satisfied with the job the officers are doing. Interestingly, they feel that dues are too low. The response is also favorable in the area of union democracy.

III. Presentation of Results

Below, in detailed form, is a breakdown of answers to specific questions by the members of Local 1304. The data are presented under five headings:

- A. Rating of Over-all Performance of Union by Members which includes as subtopics the activities of the union, the responsiveness of the leadership to the members and the general attitude toward the union and unionism.
- B. The Performance of the Union in Specific Areas, such as union democracy, officers' performance, meetings, dues, and automation.
- C. The Degree of Commitment which members have toward their union.
- D. The Desires of the Membership with respect to wages, fringes, and income.
- E. Specific Comments of Members.

Under each heading and subtopic the question is repeated from the questionnaire and the data then displayed. Where not self-evident, explanatory remarks are made as to the intent of the question and its relevance to the subtopic. Additional remarks are included in every instance comparing

Local 1304's answers to the aggregate. The reader is referred to the qualifying remarks in the second paragraph of this Report.

A. Rating of Over-all Performance of Union by Members

1. Activities of the Union

(a) How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas? (responses given in percentage figures)

	<u>highly</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>satisfied</u>	<u>dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>highly dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>
Fringe Benefits	18	61	18	3
Grievances	19	63	16	2
Political Activities	21	58	6	15
Wage Increases	21	55	21	3
Job Security	29	52	16	3
Working Conditions	19	69	9	3
Social and Educational Activities	17	67	6	10

This response is similar to the survey average except for the fact that there appears to be a movement from "satisfied" to "highly satisfied" in most categories. In the category Political Activities, however, a larger proportion of the respondents are "highly dissatisfied" than is true for the unions as a whole. This may be due to the fact that the respondents from Local 1304 seemed to be among the most "liberal" of all of the 16 unions in the survey and these people may have felt that the union is not doing enough in this area.

- (b) Do you think that unions are doing a better job now for their workers than they were doing 5 years ago?

Yes, a much better job.....36%

Yes, but only slightly better.....18%

Doing about the same.....39%

Doing a poorer job..... 7%

This is similar to the survey average.

2. Responsiveness of the Leadership to Individual Members' Opinions

- (a) Do you think that leaders of your local take the opinions of the members into consideration when making a decision?

Yes, all the time.....27%

Yes, most of the time.....61%

Seldom.....12%

Never..... 0%

The respondents were stronger in the "yes" categories than the sample average.

- (b) Are many of your local union officers' decisions based on their own self-interest?

As would be expected from the response to the last question, very few of the individuals who completed the questionnaire felt that decisions were based on self-interest.

3. General Attitude Toward Unions and Unionism

(a) Do you feel that your job is more secure because you are a union member?

Absolutely yes.....79%
Probably yes.....15%
Probably not..... 3%
No, it really isn't..... 3%

Compared to the over-all union response, this result is heavily biased toward "absolutely yes."

(b) Do you think that without unions the living standard of the workers would be lower?

Most definitely.....90%
Probably yes.....10%
Probably not..... 0%
Certainly not..... 0%

Again, the respondents were much more strongly of the opinion that unions are beneficial.

B. Performance of the Union in Specific Areas

1. Union Democracy

(a) Do you feel that every member with leadership ability has a chance of being elected to local union office if he is willing to make the effort to run for office?

The respondents felt that individuals had a "very good" or "reasonably good" chance in large proportions.

(b) Do you feel that the members of your union are well informed about the local union's affairs?

Yes, all of them are very well informed.....	31%
Yes, over half of them are well informed.....	25%
No, only a few are well informed.....	44%
No, only the leadership knows what is going on.....	0%

This is similar to the survey average.

(c) We asked the respondents for the name of the union's local president, and 70 per cent answered correctly, which is much higher than the average for all unions (44 per cent).

2. Officers' Performance

(a) How satisfied are you with the job your shop steward is doing?

Highly satisfied.....	30%
Fairly well satisfied.....	52%
Somewhat dissatisfied.....	14%
Very dissatisfied.....	14%

This is similar to the survey average.

(b) How good a job does your business agent do?

Excellent.....	39%
Reasonable.....	45%
Could do better.....	12%
Miserable.....	4%

Compared to the survey average, the respondents were more satisfied with the job their business agent was doing.

3. Meetings

(a) Are you pleased with the manner in which your local's meetings are run?

Yes, very pleased indeed.....	31%
Yes, pleased most of the time.....	47%
Somewhat displeased.....	22%
Very displeased.....	0%

There are relatively more members of Local 1304 who are "highly pleased" with meetings than the survey average.

4. Dues

(a) In general, how do you feel about the dues you pay?

They are extremely low.....	11%
They are too low.....	36%
They are too high.....	29%
They are extremely high.....	4%
They are all right.....	20%

Compared to the response for all unions, the respondents from Local 1304 are biased toward the feeling that dues are too low.

(b) How much would you be willing to increase your dues in order to strengthen your union's ability to obtain higher wages or more fringe benefits?

As would be expected from the last question, the respondents were more willing to raise dues than the average for all 16 unions. The amount centered around a 51¢-\$1.00 increase.

5. Automation

Thirty-two per cent of the respondents felt that there was a threat to their jobs because of automation and that the union would not be able to do anything about it; five per cent felt that there was a danger but that the union would be able to protect their jobs; and the rest thought there was no danger.

C. The Degree of Commitment

In this section we asked a number of questions to find out what kinds of problems would make the members of the union willing to strike. In a qualified sense, this may be taken to be an index of the degree of commitment which the members have toward the union. However, the setting of a decision to strike varies greatly from industry to industry and union to union, and this index is not an absolute measure of the degree of commitment.

1. Would you want to strike if the employer refused to grant any wage increase or other improvements at all at your next contract negotiations?

Definitely yes.....	47%
Probably yes.....	50%
Probably no.....	0%
Definitely no.....	3%

2. Would you want to strike if your employer refused to grant an increase of no more than 10 cents in wages and benefits in your next contract negotiations?

Definitely yes.....33%

Probably yes.....30%

Probably no.....37%

Definitely no..... 0%

3. Would you strike to avoid a cut in pay, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?

Definitely yes.....53%

Probably yes.....40%

Probably no..... 3%

Definitely no..... 3%

4. Would you strike for an increase in wages, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?

Definitely yes.....34%

Probably yes.....41%

Probably no.....14%

Definitely no.....11%

In each of these categories the respondents were much more willing to strike than the survey average.

D. Desires of the Union Membership

1. Preferences

We asked a question to find out the preferences of the membership in collective bargaining between wage increases, vacations, and pensions and welfare benefits. As the first choice among the three, the three groups were broken down as follows:

Wage increases.....	52%
Vacations.....	16%
Pensions and welfare.....	43%

This is similar to the survey average except for the fact that the respondents from Local 130⁴ seem to value vacations more highly than individuals from other unions. This is especially true of the second choice, which is not shown on the table.

2. Income

Is your family income enough for your needs?

Yes, I live quite comfortably.....	56%
Yes, but I barely get by.....	29%
No, I can't quite make ends meet.....	9%
No, I don't have nearly enough for my needs.....	6%

This is similar to the survey average.

E. Specific Comments of Members

At the end of the questionnaire, space was provided for comments on relevant union issues. A few of the more interesting and constructive comments are included below with the precaution that they are not necessarily representative of the feelings of the membership. Nevertheless, it is hoped that they may prove of use to the union. (Comments have been edited for spelling and diction.)

1. Officers' Performance

In general, the union's leadership that I have seen lacks aggressiveness, vision, and consistent principles. They can rarely see beyond the immediate problems and hence are too divided. Politically, they are too tied to the Democratic Party. Sometimes they will talk about a Labor Party, but they never do anything about it.

The Business Agent does not visit our plant enough.

Once each week I would like to see the Business Agent visit the plant he has under his supervision.

University of California
Institute of Industrial Relations
Labor Research Unit

Report on the Attitudes of Steelworkers, Local 4468

I. Introduction:

During the past year the Labor Research Unit, with the cooperation of the Central Labor Council of Alameda County, has conducted a survey of the attitudes of the members of 16 unions. Since the results have been broken down by unions so that we might study the variance of attitudes of members of different kinds of unions, we have written a special report on the feelings of the membership of the Steelworkers, Local 4468 with special reference to the problems that are important to the local.

There are some problems in the interpretation of the results of a survey of this nature:

First, since we mailed the questionnaire to a random sample of the membership of each of the unions selected and did not actually speak directly with any of the participants, there is the possibility that the people who took the trouble to fill out and return the questionnaire (slightly over one in three for the first two mailings) do not represent the feelings of the "population" as a whole. To check against this, we sent a third mailing to 11 of the 16 unions, and the results were not significantly different from the results of the first two mailings. Thus, at least to some extent, we can say that the respondents are representative of the population.

Second, most questions require interpretation by the individual respondent, and this results in unavoidable problems of semantics. For

example, in Question #1 we ask, "How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas?", and the respondent checked either, "Highly satisfied," "Satisfied," "Dissatisfied," or "Highly dissatisfied" to a number of topics such as "Wage Increases." What "highly satisfied" means to one person is not necessarily the same as it means to another. One person may reason, "I would have liked more of an increase last negotiating session, but my union did as well as can be expected under the circumstances, so I will check 'satisfied'." Another individual might think, "They got nowhere near as much as I needed so I will check 'highly dissatisfied'." Since, however, we did get a relatively large number of responses, we should obtain a reasonably accurate picture of what the respondents think.

Third, how does the union leadership interpret what is a "favorable" or "unfavorable" response? One way of attempting this is to compare the response for the individual union in question with the response for all unions, but this, of course, is a relative rather than an absolute standard and ignores differences in circumstances of the different unions. One particular union may, for example, be faced with a rather severe problem of technological change within the plant or industry, and many of the respondents of that union may react by indicating that the union is not doing enough to insure job security. The Report would therefore point out that the response of this union was different from the response of all unions in this direction. However, this is in no way intended as criticism of the performance of the leadership of that local. We are merely reporting on the attitudes of the respondents.

We hope that this Report will be of some use to your union as well as to the labor movement as a whole, and we appreciate the cooperation you have given us.

II. Summary

We sent out 82 questionnaires to the members of Local 4468 and received 28 usable questionnaires in return. The 34 per cent response was equal to the average response for all 16 unions.

One specific problem facing the union is not uncovered by a question in the questionnaire, but this problem may be a deciding factor in the nature of the response to many questions. The percentage of the respondents for Local 4468 who were women was twenty-nine. Half of these wrote comments which indicated a high degree of dissatisfaction with their position, and these comments are included at the end of the report.

There was a great deal of dissatisfaction with the performance of the union with respect to wage increases, grievances, and job security, and much of this may be due to the dissatisfaction of the women who answered the questionnaire. Similarly, the high degree of dissatisfaction with the performance of the business agent may be due to this fact. On the other hand, the union appears to be run slightly more democratically than the average union in the survey, and the respondents seem to be more aware of union affairs than average.

III. Presentation of Results

Below, in detailed form, is a breakdown of answers to specific questions by the members of Local 4468. The data are presented under five headings:

A. Rating of Over-all Performance of Union by Members which includes as subtopics the activities of the union, the responsiveness of the leadership to the members and the general attitude toward the union and unionism.

- B. The Performance of the Union in Specific Areas, such as union democracy, officers' performance, meetings, dues, and automation.
- C. The Degree of Commitment which members have toward their union.
- D. The Desires of the Membership with respect to wages, fringes, and income.
- E. Specific Comments of Members.

Under each heading and subtopic the question is repeated from the questionnaire and the data then displayed. Where not self-evident, explanatory remarks are made as to the intent of the question and its relevance to the subtopic. Additional remarks are included in every instance comparing Local 4468's answers to the aggregate. The reader is referred to the qualifying remarks in the second paragraph of this Report.

A. Rating of Over-all Performance of Union by Members

1. Activities of the Union

- (a) How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas? (responses given in percentage figures)

	<u>highly</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>satisfied</u>	<u>dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>highly dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>
Fringe Benefits	14	65	12	4
Grievances	14	46	43	7
Political Activities	7	73	12	8
Wage Increases	14	39	25	22
Job Security	12	40	24	24
Working Conditions	14	61	18	7
Social and Educational Activities	4	58	23	15

The respondents were similar to survey average in the categories Fringe Benefits, Political Activities, Working Conditions, and Social and Educational Activities but were more dissatisfied than average in the categories of Wage Increases, Grievances, and Job Security.

- (b) Do you think that unions are doing a better job now for their workers than they were doing 5 years ago?

Yes, a much better job.....	33%
Yes, but only slightly better.....	12%
Doing about the same.....	40%
Doing a poorer job.....	15%

There is a movement from "slightly better" to "about the same" and "poorer," compared to the survey average.

2. Responsiveness of the Leadership to Individual Members' Opinions

- (a) Do you think that leaders of your local take the opinions of the members into consideration when making a decision?

Sixty-three per cent of the respondents feel that the leadership takes the opinions of the members into consideration all or most of the time, which is somewhat lower than the survey average.

- (b) Are many of your local union officers' decisions based on their own self-interest?

Again, 63 per cent of the respondents feel that the leadership seldom or never acts in its own self-interest.

3. General Attitude Toward Unions and Unionism

(a) Do you feel that your job is more secure because you are a union member?

Absolutely yes.....64%

Probably yes.....21%

Probably not.....11%

No, it really isn't..... 4%

Compared to the average response for all unions, the Steelworkers in Local 4468 consider their jobs somewhat more dependent upon the union.

(b) Do you think that without unions the living standard of the workers would be lower?

Most definitely.....82%

Probably yes.....14%

Probably not..... 0%

Certainly not..... 4%

This response is similar to the average.

B. Performance of the Union in Specific Areas

1. Union Democracy

(a) Do you feel that every member with leadership ability has a chance of being elected to local union office if he is willing to make the effort to run for office?

About three-quarters of the Steelworkers feel that individuals had a "very good" or "reasonably good" chance which was about average.

(b) Do you feel that the members of your union are well informed about the local union's affairs?

Yes, all of them are very well informed.....25%

Yes, over half of them are well informed.....39%

No, only a few are well informed.....29%

No, only the leadership knows what is going on..... 7%

The problem of communication is one of the most serious in the majority of unions covered in this survey and is one of the principle reasons the survey was undertaken. But the response indicates that the members of Local 4468 do not consider this problem as serious as do the majority of members surveyed.

(c) The respondents were asked to name their union's local president. Eighty-six per cent answered correctly which was the highest response for all 16 unions. The average for all unions was 44 per cent. This indicates that the communication problem certainly might not be as crucial as the average.

(d) All respondents knew the name of their union's international president, compared with only 38 per cent for all unions.

2. Officers' Performance

(a) How satisfied are you with the job your shop steward is doing?

Highly satisfied.....	18%
Fairly well satisfied.....	54%
Somewhat dissatisfied.....	21%
Very dissatisfied.....	7%

In comparison with the aggregate of answers, the respondents showed a slight shift from "highly satisfied" to "somewhat dissatisfied."

(b) How good a job does your business agent do?

An excellent job.....	14%
A reasonable job.....	36%
He could and should do better.....	21%
He does a miserable job.....	29%

There was a large shift from "excellent job" and "reasonable job" to "miserable job." When these replies are compared to the average, only 4 per cent of all members polled indicated "miserable job." This significant finding may be partially attributed to a high degree of dissatisfaction evidenced on the part of women in the union. (See paragraph E-3 below.) If women in this union are very dissatisfied and since they represent 29 per cent of the respondents, the nature of the bias is possibly explained.

3. Meetings

(a) Are you pleased with the manner in which your local's meetings are run?

Yes, very pleased indeed.....19%

Yes, pleased most of the time.....47%

Somewhat displeased.....30%

Very displeased..... 4%

This response is about average for all unions.

4. Dues

(a) In general, how do you feel about the dues you pay?

They are extremely low..... 4%

They are too low.....22%

They are too high.....44%

They are extremely high..... 4%

They are all right.....26%

There was a slight shift toward "too low" from "too high."

(b) How much would you be willing to increase your dues in order to strengthen your union's ability to obtain higher wages or more fringe benefits?

As would be expected from the previous question, the respondents were somewhat more willing to raise their dues than were the respondents in all of the 16 unions. Eighteen per cent indicated that they would prefer a raise of less than 50 cents, 40 per cent preferred a raise greater than 50 cents while 42 per cent wanted no raise.

5. Automation

Over two-thirds of the respondents express a fear that their job is in danger of being eliminated by automation, and most all of these respondents feel that the union will not be able to protect their job. In the aggregate, only 28 per cent expressed a fear of job elimination. Again a partial explanation may be in the percentage of women respondents and their own fears as exemplified in paragraph E-3 below.

C. The Degree of Commitment

In this section we asked a number of questions to find out what kinds of problems would make the members of the union willing to strike. In a qualified sense, this may be taken to be an index of the degree of commitment which the members have toward the union. However, the setting of a decision to strike varies greatly from industry to industry and union to union, and this index is not an absolute measure of the degree of commitment.

1. Would you want to strike if the employer refused to grant any wage increase or other improvements at all at your next contract negotiations?

Definitely yes.....	46%
Probably yes.....	39%
Probably no.....	9%
Definitely no.....	6%

2. Would you want to strike if your employer refused to grant an increase of no more than 10 cents in wages and benefits in your next contract negotiations?

Definitely yes.....38%
Probably yes.....20%
Probably no.....41%
Definitely no..... 6%

3. Would you strike to avoid a cut in pay, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?

Definitely yes.....36%
Probably yes.....29%
Probably no.....25%
Definitely no.....10%

4. Would you strike for an increase in wages, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?

Definitely yes.....21%
Probably yes.....11%
Probably no.....54%
Definitely no.....14%

Respondents from Local 4468 appear more willing to strike than the average members surveyed. Their implied higher-than-average degree of commitment is consistent with their willingness to increase dues (Question B-4 (b)).

D. Desires of the Union Membership

1. Preferences

We asked a question to find out the preferences of the membership in collective bargaining between wage increases, vacations, and pensions and welfare benefits. As the first choice among the three, the three groups were broken down as follows:

Wage increases.....	56%
Vacations.....	3%
Pensions and welfare.....	41%

The respondents from Local 4468 place more emphasis on pensions than does the average respondent.

2. Income

Is your family income enough for your needs?

Yes, I live quite comfortably.....	29%
Yes, but I barely get by.....	53%
No, I can't quite make ends meet.....	7%
No, I don't have nearly enough for my needs.....	11%

Compared to the aggregate, the Steelworkers shifted from "quite comfortably" to "barely get by" which is what might be expected from the response to "Wage Increases" in Question A-1 (a).

E. Specific Comments of Members

At the end of the questionnaire, space was provided for comments on relevant union issues. A few of the more interesting and constructive comments are included below with the precaution that they are not necessarily representative of the feelings of the membership. Nevertheless, it is hoped that they may prove of use to the union. (Comments have been edited for spelling and diction.)

1. Over-all Performance of Union

I believe that the International has too much power and that the local should take care of its own people. In fact, the International should interfere only when it is asked to do so.

2. Officers' Performance

We have a one-man union. The president has too much to say.

3. Women Workers

The company is trying to get the women out of the company and the union seems to be all for it.

Something should be done to protect the jobs of women in 4468.

I am grateful to be a union member, but automation is changing "jobs" to "jobs for men". In adding more work for men, it is eliminating jobs for women. It is unfair to women. They were glad to have us work during the war, but not now.

I would appreciate more jobs for women, many of whom are self-supporting and others who, for the first time, are able to live like human beings because they can go out and help their husbands. But a lot of places are putting women out of work. So I think the union should fight more for women workers.

University of California
Institute of Industrial Relations
Labor Research Unit

Report on the Attitudes of the Stove Mounters,
Local 83

I. Introduction

During the past year the Labor Research Unit, with the cooperation of the Central Labor Council of Alameda County, has conducted a survey of the attitudes of the members of 16 unions. Since the results have been broken down by union so that we might study the variance of attitudes of members of different kinds of unions, we have written a special report on the feelings of the membership of Local 83, with special reference to the problems that are important to the local.

There are some problems in the interpretation of the results of a survey of this nature:

First, since we mailed the questionnaire to a random sample of the membership of each of the unions selected and did not actually speak directly with any of the participants, there is the possibility that the people who took the trouble to fill out and return the questionnaire (slightly over one in three for the first two mailings) do not represent the feelings of the "population" as a whole. To check against this, we sent a third mailing to 11 of the 16 unions, and the results were not significantly different from the results of the first two mailings. Thus, at least to some extent, we can say that the respondents are representative of the population.

Second, most questions require interpretation by the individual respondent, and this results in unavoidable problems of semantics. For

example, in Question #1 we ask, "How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas?", and the respondent checked either, "Highly satisfied," "Satisfied," "Dissatisfied," or "Highly dissatisfied" to a number of topics such as "Wage Increases." What "highly satisfied" means to one person is not necessarily the same as it means to another. One person may reason, "I would have liked more of an increase last negotiating session, but my union did as well as can be expected under the circumstances, so I will check 'satisfied'." Another individual might think, "They got nowhere near as much as I needed so I will check 'highly dissatisfied'." Since, however, we did get a relatively large number of responses, we should obtain a reasonably accurate picture of what the respondents think.

Third, how does the union leadership interpret what is a "favorable" or "unfavorable" response? One way of attempting this is to compare the response for the individual union in question with the response for all unions, but this, of course, is a relative rather than an absolute standard and ignores differences in circumstances of the different unions. One particular union may, for example, be faced with a rather severe problem of technological change within the plant or industry, and many of the respondents of that union may react by indicating that the union is not doing enough to insure job security. The Report would therefore point out that the response of this union was different from the response of all unions in this direction. However, this is in no way intended as criticism of the performance of the leadership of that local. We are merely reporting on the attitudes of the respondents.

We hope that this Report will be of some use to your union as well as to the labor movement as a whole, and we appreciate the cooperation you have given us.

II. Summary

We sent out 25 questionnaires to the members of Local 83 and received 6 usable questionnaires in return. The 24 per cent response is quite a bit lower than the average for all 16 unions (34 per cent). With only 6 questionnaires it is very difficult to infer anything meaningful about the attitudes of the membership as a whole. If, for example, one additional person had completed the questionnaire, the percentage breakdown for each answer would be different by 17 per cent. Thus, we have not attempted to compare the response of Local 83 with that of the aggregate in each question.

Despite the limitation of the small sample size, the percentages for Local 83 compared favorably in such areas as Wage Increases and Fringe Benefits but unfavorably in Job Security and Grievances. The union is very similar to the average for all unions in questions of union democracy.

III. Presentation of Results

Below, in detailed form, is a breakdown of answers to specific questions by the members of Local 83. The data are presented under four headings:

A. Rating of Over-all Performance of Union by Members which includes as subtopics the activities of the union, the responsiveness of the leadership to the members and the general attitude toward the union and unionism.

B. The Performance of the Union in Specific Areas, such as union democracy, officers' performance, meetings, dues, and automation.

C. The Degree of Commitment which members have toward their union.

D. The Desires of the Membership with respect to wages, fringes, and income.

Under each heading and subtopic the question is repeated from the questionnaire and the data then displayed. Where not self-evident, explanatory remarks are made as to the intent of the question and its relevance to the subtopic. Additional remarks are included in every instance comparing Local 83's answers to the aggregate. The reader is referred to the qualifying remarks in the second paragraph of this Report.

A. Rating of Over-all Performance of Union by Members

1. Activities of the Union

(a) How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas? (responses given in percentage figures)

	<u>highly</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>satisfied</u>	<u>dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>highly dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>
Fringe Benefits	0	83	17	0
Grievances	0	50	50	0
Political Activities	0	75	25	0
Wage Increases	0	83	17	0
Job Security	0	50	50	0
Working Conditions	0	83	17	0
Social and Educational Activities	0	20	20	60

- (b) Do you think that unions are doing a better job now for their workers than they were doing 5 years ago?

Yes, a much better job.....17%

Yes, but only slightly better.....17%

Doing about the same.....66%

Doing a poorer job..... 0%

2. Responsiveness of the Leadership to Individual Members' Opinions

- (a) Do you think that leaders of your local take the opinions of the members into consideration when making a decision?

Yes, all the time..... 0%

Yes, most of the time.....67%

Seldom.....33%

Never..... 0%

- (b) Are many of your local union officers' decisions based on their own self interest?

Almost all of them.....33%

Quite a few.....33%

Only a few.....17%

None.....17%

3. General Attitude Toward Unions and Unionism

- (a) Do you feel that your job is more secure because you are a union member?

Absolutely yes.....17%

Probably yes.....83%

Probably not..... 0%

No, it really isn't..... 0%

- (b) Do you think that without unions the living standard of the workers would be lower?

Most definitely.....66%

Probably yes.....17%

Probably not..... 0%

Certainly not.....17%

B. Performance of the Union in Specific Areas

1. Union Democracy

- (a) Do you feel that every member with leadership ability has a chance of being elected to local union office if he is willing to make the effort to run for office?

Yes, a very good chance.....17%

Yes, a reasonably good chance.....83%

Yes, but only a very slim chance..... 0%

No chance..... 0%

- (b) Do you feel that the members of your union are well informed about the local union's affairs?

Yes, all of them are very well informed.....33%

Yes, over half of them are well informed.....33%

No, only a few are well informed.....33%

No, only the leadership knows what is going on..... 0%

- (c) We asked the respondents for the name of the union's local president, and 50 per cent knew his name.

2. Officers' Performance

(a) How satisfied are you with the job your shop steward is doing?

Highly satisfied.....	0%
Fairly well satisfied.....	20%
Somewhat dissatisfied.....	60%
Very dissatisfied.....	20%

(b) How good a job does your business agent do?

Excellent.....	33%
Reasonable.....	33%
Could do better.....	17%
Miserable.....	17%

3. Meetings

(a) Are you pleased with the manner in which your local's meetings are run?

Yes, very pleased indeed.....	0%
Yes, pleased most of the time.....	17%
Somewhat displeased.....	50%
Very displeased.....	33%

4. Dues

(a) In general, how do you feel about the dues you pay?

They are extremely low.....	0%
They are too low.....	80%
They are too high.....	20%
They are extremely high.....	0%
They are all right.....	0%

(b) How much would you be willing to increase your dues in order to strengthen your union's ability to obtain higher wages or more fringe benefits?

1 - 10 ¢.....	17%
11 - 50 ¢.....	17%
51 - 100¢.....	49%
over \$1.00.....	17%
None.....	0%

5. Automation

Do you feel that your own job is in danger of being eliminated by automation (or technological change)?

Yes, and my union will probably not
be able to protect my job.....17%

Yes, but my union is able to protect my
job adequately against automation....17%

No, there is no chance of automation
endangering my job.....49%

I have never really thought about it....17%

C. The Degree of Commitment

In this section we asked a number of questions to find out what kinds of problems would make the members of the union willing to strike. In a qualified sense, this may be taken to be an index of the degree of commitment which the members have toward the union. However, the setting of a decision to strike varies greatly from industry to industry and union to union, and this index is not an absolute measure of the degree of commitment.

1. Would you want to strike if the employer refused to grant any wage increase or other improvements at all at your next contract negotiations?

Definitely yes.....33%
Probably yes.....67%
Probably no..... 0%
Definitely no..... 0%

2. Would you want to strike if your employer refused to grant an increase of no more than 10 cents in wages and benefits in your next contract negotiations?

Definitely yes.....17%
Probably yes.....17%
Probably no.....33%
Definitely no.....33%

3. Would you strike to avoid a cut in pay, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?

Definitely yes.....50%
Probably yes.....33%
Probably no..... 0%
Definitely no.....17%

4. Would you strike for an increase in wages, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?

Definitely yes.....33%
Probably yes.....33%
Probably no.....17%
Definitely no.....17%

D. Desires of the Union Membership

1. Preferences

We asked a question to find out the preferences of the membership in collective bargaining between wage increases, vacations, and pensions and welfare benefits. As the first choice among the three, the three groups were broken down as follows:

Wage increases.....	60%
Vacations.....	0%
Pensions and welfare.....	40%

2. Income

Is your family income enough for your needs?

Yes, I live quite comfortably.....	50%
Yes, but I barely get by.....	50%
No, I can't quite make ends meet.....	0%
No, I don't have nearly enough for my needs.....	0%

University of California
Institute of Industrial Relations
Labor Research Unit

Report on the Attitudes of the Officers and
Shop Stewards of the Communications Workers of America,
Local 9415

I. Introduction

In the Spring of this year the Labor Research Unit, with the cooperation of the Central Labor Council of Alameda County, conducted a survey of the members of 16 unions and also of the officers and shop stewards of Local 9415. This is a report on some of the attitudes of the last-mentioned group.

There are some problems in the interpretation of the results of a survey of this nature.

First, although we mailed the questionnaire to each of the officers and shop stewards, we received a completed questionnaire from a minority of the group. We never actually interviewed any of the population, so there is the possibility that those who took the trouble to answer are not typical of the group as a whole. Although there was only one mailing to this group, we sent three mailings to some of the other unions, and we found that there was not a significant difference in the response of each mailing. This is at least partial evidence that those who answered the questionnaire are not "unusual" and that they can speak for the population as a whole, but it does not remove all doubt.

Second, most questions require interpretation by the individual respondent, and this results in unavoidable problems of semantics. For example, in Question #1 we ask, "How satisfied are you with the job your

union is doing in each of the following areas?", and the respondent checked either, "Highly satisfied," "Satisfied," "Dissatisfied," or "Highly dissatisfied" to a number of topics such as "Wage Increases." What "highly satisfied" means to one person is not necessary the same as it means to another. One person may reason, "I would have liked more of an increase last negotiating session, but my union did as well as can be expected under the circumstances, so I will check 'satisfied'." Another individual might think, "They got nowhere near as much as I needed so I will check 'highly dissatisfied'." Since, however, we did get a relatively large number of responses, we should obtain a reasonably accurate picture of what the respondents think.

Third, how does the union leadership interpret what is a "favorable" or "unfavorable" response? In the report of the rank-and-file of Local 9415 we compared the response with the average response for all unions, so in this report we compare the response of the officers and shop stewards with that of the rank-and-file. Evaluations of responses to individual questions, we have found, cannot be made by people on the "outside" from an absolute standard but only from a relative standard. Thus, the major task of interpretation of the results is left to the reader who is more acquainted with the problems of Local 9415.

We hope that this report will be of some use to your union, and we appreciate the cooperation you have given us.

II. Summary

We sent out 242 questionnaires to the officers and shop stewards and 66 usable questionnaires were returned, a 27 per cent response. This is

above average for the first mailing to the rank-and-file of the 16 unions, but, it seems to us, rather low considering the group, the excellent covering letter signed by Mr. Wade, and the fact that there was no post card to find out which members responded. This fact in itself is perhaps evidence of an underlying apathy concerning the affairs of the union.

In comparison with the C.W.A. rank-and-file, the officers seem to be less satisfied with meetings and the degree of information about union affairs possessed by the members of the union, and they are also less satisfied in the areas of Fringe Benefits and Working Conditions. The group has a more favorable impression of the benefits of unionism, and they are relatively more militant with regard to striking over specific issues. In most other categories they do not differ markedly from the rank-and-file.

III. Presentation of Results

Below, in detailed form, is a breakdown of answers to specific questions by the members of Local 9415. The data are presented under five headings:

A. Rating of Over-all Performance of Union by Members which includes as subtopics the activities of the union, the responsiveness of the leadership to the members and the general attitude toward the union and unionism.

B. The Performance of the Union in Specific Areas, such as union democracy, officers' performance, meetings, dues, and automation.

C. The Degree of Commitment which members have toward their union.

D. The Desires of the Membership with respect to wages, fringes, and income.

E. Specific Comments of Members.

Under each heading and subtopic the question is repeated from the questionnaire and the data then displayed. Where not self-evident, explanatory remarks are made as to the intent of the question and its relevance to the subtopic. Additional remarks are included in every instance comparing the officers' and shop stewards' response with the response of the rank and file. The reader is referred to the qualifying remarks in the second paragraph of this Report.

A. Rating of Over-all Performance of Union by Members

1. Activities of the Union

(a) How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas? (responses given in percentage figures)

	<u>highly</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>satisfied</u>	<u>dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>	<u>highly dis-</u> <u>satisfied</u>
Fringe Benefits	5	55	38	2
Grievances	17	70	11	2
Political Activities	6	64	27	3
Wage Increases	3	57	31	9
Job Security	29	62	9	0
Working Conditions	22	53	23	2
Social and Educational Activities	12	55	24	9

Compared to the rank-and-file (hereafter R. & F.), the Officers and Shop Stewards (hereafter O. & S.S.) feel the same in the categories Grievances, Wage Increases, and Job Security, and they are less satisfied with Fringe Benefits, Working Conditions, and Social and Educational Activities. In Political Activities, there is a shift from "highly dissatisfied" to "dissatisfied."

- (b) Do you think that unions are doing a better job now for their workers than they were doing 5 years ago?

Yes, a much better job.....47%

Yes, but only slightly better.....30%

Doing about the same.....22%

Doing a poorer job..... 1%

This is slightly higher than the response for the R. & F. but not significantly higher.

2. Responsiveness of the Leadership to Individual Members' Opinions

- (a) Do you think that leaders of your local take the opinions of the members into consideration when making a decision?

Eighty-four per cent of the O. & S.S. felt that the leadership takes the members' opinions into consideration all or most of the time, which is slightly lower than the R. & F. response (87 per cent).

- (b) Are many of your local union officers' decisions based on their own self-interest?

Again, 84 per cent of the O. & S.S. felt that decisions are based on self-interest seldom or never, but this is somewhat higher than the R. & F. response, which is somewhat inconsistent with the last question in a comparative sense.

3. General Attitude Toward Unions and Unionism

(a) Do you feel that your job is more secure because you are a union member?

Absolutely yes.....65%
Probably yes.....26%
Probably not..... 6%
No, it really isn't..... 3%

There is a marked increase in the "absolutely yes" category compared to the R. & F. and the sample average.

(b) Do you think that without unions the living standard of the workers would be lower?

Most definitely.....92%
Probably yes..... 6%
Probably not..... 2%
Certainly not..... 0%

The same is true of this question.

B. Performance of the Union in Specific Areas

1. Union Democracy

(a) Do you feel that every member with leadership ability has a chance of being elected to local union office if he is willing to make the effort to run for office?

Ninety-four per cent of the O. & S.S. felt that individuals had a "very good" or "reasonably good" chance, which is the same as for the R. & F.

(b) Do you feel that the members of your union are well informed about the local union's affairs?

Yes, all of them are very well informed.....	20%
Yes, over half of them are well informed.....	32%
No, only a few are well informed.....	45%
No, only the leadership knows what is going on.....	3%

This is especially interesting in that the O. & S.S. have a much lower assessment of the degree of information which the membership possesses than does the R. & F.

(c) We asked the respondents for the name of the local's president, and all but one individual answered correctly. The same was true for the name of the international president.

2. Officers' Performance

(a) How satisfied are you with the job your shop steward is doing?

The respondents were somewhat embarrassed by this question.

(b) How good a job does your business agent do?

Excellent.....	24%
Reasonable.....	52%
Could and should do better.....	24%
Miserable.....	0%

This is somewhat more approving of the business agent's performance than the response of the R. & F.

3. Meetings

(a) Are you pleased with the manner in which your local's meetings are run?

Yes, very pleased indeed..... 8%
Yes, pleased most of the time.....60%
Somewhat displeased.....22%
Very displeased.....10%

This indicates a higher degree of displeasure with meetings than is apparent with the R. & F. and the survey average. It is unfortunate that the questionnaire did not go into the reasons for this more closely. One factor that may be important is the fact that the officers had a fairly wide geographic dispersement around the place where meetings are held, but we do not have any machine computation of this result.

4. Dues

(a) In general, how do you feel about the dues you pay?

They are extremely low.....15%
They are too low.....48%
They are too high.....22%
They are extremely high..... 0%
They are all right.....15%

There was a much greater proclivity to state dues were too low on the part of the O. & S.S. than on the part of the R. & F.

- (b) How much would you be willing to increase your dues in order to strengthen your union's ability to obtain higher wages or more fringe benefits?

As would be expected from the last question, the respondents were overwhelmingly in favor of a dues increase.

5. Automation

There is no danger of automation threatening the jobs of the O. & S.S., according to the respondents.

C. The Degree of Commitment

In this section we asked a number of questions to find out what kinds of problems would make the members of the union willing to strike. In a qualified sense, this may be taken to be an index of the degree of commitment which the members have toward the union. However, the setting of a decision to strike varies greatly from industry to industry and union to union, and this index is not an absolute measure of the degree of commitment.

1. Would you want to strike if the employer refused to grant any wage increase or other improvements at all at your next contract negotiations?

Definitely yes.....	63%
Probably yes.....	35%
Probably no.....	2%
Definitely no.....	0%

2. Would you want to strike if your employer refused to grant an increase of no more than 10 cents in wages and benefits in your next contract negotiations?

Definitely yes.....27%

Probably yes.....49%

Probably no.....22%

Definitely no.....2%

3. Would you strike to avoid a cut in pay, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?

Definitely yes.....44%

Probably yes.....37%

Probably no.....16%

Definitely no.....3%

4. Would you strike for an increase in wages, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?

Definitely yes.....17%

Probably yes.....39%

Probably no.....36%

Definitely no.....8%

In each of the first three of these questions the O. & S.S. were much more militant than the R. & F., but in the last questions twice as many respondents from the R & F. answered "definitely yes" as from the O. & S.S.

D. Desires of the Union Membership

1. Preferences

We asked a question to find out the preferences of the membership in collective bargaining between wage increases, vacations, and pensions and welfare benefits. As the first choice among the three, the three groups were broken down as follows:

Wage increases.....	54%
Vacations.....	9%
Pensions and welfare.....	37%

This is similar to the response for the R. & F.

2. Income

Is your family income enough for your needs?

Yes, I live quite comfortably.....	29%
Yes, but I barely get by.....	62%
No, I can't quite make ends meet.....	9%
No, I don't have nearly enough for my needs.....	0%

There is a tendency among the O. & S.S. to state that they "barely get by" with respect to the R. & F. and the survey average.

E. Specific Comments of Members

At the end of the questionnaire, space was provided for comments on relevant union issues. A few of the more interesting and constructive comments are included below with the precaution that they are not

necessarily representative of the feelings of the membership. Nevertheless, it is hoped that they may prove of use to the union. (Comments have been edited for spelling and diction.)

This is the only comment which we got from the officers -- quite a comment in itself on officers' interest.

This union has tried to interest its members in every way to attend meetings, but apathy is strong among the membership. The younger groups coming into the field do not know and don't care about the union.

APPENDIX A

Survey Methods

General Description

The questionnaire was composed in the fall of 1963 with the aid of Dr. Charles Glock and his staff at the Survey Research Center, University of California. Appendix B contains a copy of the Questionnaire. A sample of sixteen unions was randomly selected by the method described below. Announcements were placed in community papers and in the East Bay Labor Journal telling of the survey, its purposes, probable benefits to the labor movement, and further requesting the full cooperation of any union member who received a questionnaire. In early spring of 1964 the questionnaires were mailed to 2139 members in two separate waves, approximately one month apart. A covering letter was included in each mailing explaining the purpose of the survey and the importance of the member's prompt reply. Appendix C contains copies of these covering letters. A franked return envelope for the completed questionnaire and a postal reply card were also included. The purpose of the reply card was to determine who had not completed a questionnaire. In order to allay suspicion that the completed questionnaire could be traced to an individual respondent, the reply card and the return envelope were sent to different addresses.

At the end of the second mailing 33.6 per cent of the members polled had replied. Time and financial constraints precluded a third mailing to all unions; however, a third mailing was sent to 11 of the 16 unions as a check on the reliability of the respondents' replies.

Sampling Problems

The population for the survey was about 73,000 union members who belong to unions affiliated with the Central Labor Council of Alameda County. This excludes 30,000 - 40,000 union members whose unions are not affiliated with the Council. Thus the survey is not representative of all union members in Alameda County, but only union members affiliated with the Council. There are 152 locals in the Central Labor Council. Size of the locals varies from 5700 to 5 members per local, and these locals represent an extensive cross section of industries, crafts, and trades.

In order to ensure that the members in the locals which were to be selected for participation were themselves representative of the entire population, the method of "sampling proportional to size" was utilized. Basically, this method of selecting locals consists in categorizing unions according to size, selecting from each stratum a predetermined number of unions and then randomly sampling a certain percentage of members from each size distribution.

However, problems immediately arose once the 16 locals were selected. Five of the 16 refused to grant the Institute permission to survey their members. "It's none of your business," "The questionnaire is too nosey," and "The members can't read well enough to answer the thing" were reasons for refusal to allow the survey to be conducted. Alternative unions had to be chosen to complete the polling sample.

Because of the non-cooperative unions, the representativeness of the sample finally used is immediately suspect. Tests to determine the bias of the sample would involve either a complete separate survey or else the compilation of data from the non-cooperative unions on certain key issues.

Financial and time constraints precluded the first alternative, while lack of data prohibited the use of the second method. Thus the nature of the bias is not known.

Further problems of bias were also encountered. Only 33.6 per cent of those who were sent questionnaires responded. In order to determine whether this response was representative of the whole sample, a third mailing was sent out to 11 of the 16 unions. Comparing the replies received from the first two mailings to the 11 unions with the replies from the third mailing, it was concluded that the nature of the bias was not significant enough to be considered. It is therefore assumed that the over-all 33.6 per cent response is fairly representative of the sample. But, to repeat, no independent test was run to determine the amount of bias of the sample with respect to the population as a whole. The reader is cautioned to bear this in mind.

Problems of Interpretation

Two problems of interpretation are encountered, the first by the respondents, the second by the reader of this report.

Most questions require interpretation by the individual respondent, and this results in unavoidable problems of semantics. For example, Question #1 asked, "How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas?", and the respondent checked either, "Highly satisfied," "Satisfied," "Dissatisfied," or "Highly dissatisfied" to a number of topics such as "Wage increases," "Fringe benefits," etc. What "highly satisfied" means to one person is not necessarily the same as it means to another. One person may reason, "I would have liked more of an increase last negotiating session, but my union did as well as can be

expected under the circumstances, so I will check 'Satisfied'." Another individual might think, "They got nowhere near as much as I needed so I will check 'Highly dissatisfied'." Since, however, a relatively large number of responses was received, a reasonably accurate picture of what the respondents think is obtainable.

How does the union leadership interpret what is a "favorable" or "unfavorable" response? One way of attempting this is to compare the response for the individual union in question with the response for all unions, but this, of course, is a relative rather than an absolute standard and ignores differences in circumstances of the different unions. One particular union may, for example, be faced with a rather severe problem of technological change within the plant or industry, and many of the respondents of that union may react by indicating that the union is not doing enough to insure job security. The report would therefore point out that the response of this union was different from the response of all unions in this direction. However, this does not imply criticism of the performance of the leadership of that local.

The Aggregate Figure

The following terms have been variously used in this report: "aggregate," "average," "survey average," "response for all unions," and "average response for all unions." Each one refers to a simple average (arithmetic mean) of the total response for all unions in each category.

UNION MEMBER ATTITUDE QUESTIONNAIRE

INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

A number of important issues face the union movement today. Among these are new issues such as membership interest, the problem of wage increases or increases in fringe benefits in collective bargaining, and the extent to which unions should engage in political activity. Since *you* are the union movement, we are attempting to find out what you think about these issues. We hope that you will appreciate the importance of these issues and your stake in them.

We should like you to feel that you are expressing your true feelings as you answer the questionnaire. Please write your comments in the margins when you feel a question is unclear or doesn't allow you to express how you feel. We are *not* asking you to sign your name so *you can be sure that your answers will be confidential.*

The first sixty-four questions below can be answered for the most part by simply checking the appropriate box with a pen or pencil. Please disregard the figures at the right-hand side of each page. They are for scoring purposes.

Thank you for your cooperation.

1. How satisfied are you with the job your union is doing in each of the following areas? (Please check an answer for each activity.)

	<i>Highly Satisfied</i>	<i>Satisfied</i>	<i>Dissatisfied</i>	<i>Highly Dissatisfied</i>	
Fringe benefits	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	5/
Grievances	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	6/
Political activities . . .	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	7/
Wage increases	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	8/
Job security	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	9/
Working conditions . .	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	10/
Social and educational activities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	11/

2. Do you think that leaders of your local take the opinions of the members into consideration when making a decision?

- ☐ Yes, all the time
☐ Yes, most of the time
☐ Seldom
☐ Never

12/

3. If you answered "seldom," or "never," indicate how you would propose that the leaders be made more responsive to your wishes. (You may check more than one.)
- ☐ Through membership referendum on all decisions
 - ☐ Through increased membership participation in the making of decisions, such as committees
 - ☐ Through more frequent election of union leaders
 - ☐ Through more interest being shown in union affairs by other members who share your feelings
 - ☐ Others: 13/
4. How often, if at all, have you made suggestions to the officers of your union about the affairs of the union?
- ☐ Frequently
 - ☐ Occasionally
 - ☐ Infrequently
 - ☐ Never 14/
5. If you have made one or more suggestions, were any of your suggestions accepted? ☐ Yes ☐ No 15/
6. How many of the last six union meetings have you attended? 16/
7. Aside from your membership in the union, to what other kinds of organizations do you belong? (Check as many as apply.)
- ☐ Lodge ☐ Veterans organization 17/
 - ☐ Political ☐ P.T.A. 18/
 - ☐ Charitable or welfare ☐ Youth groups (Scout Leaders, etc.) 19/
 - ☐ Recreational ☐ Nationality organization, such as 20/
 - ☐ Religious Sons of Norway, etc. 21/
 - ☐ Others: 22/
 - (please specify) 23/
 - 24/
 - 25/
 - 26/
8. Aside from union activities, about how many times a week do you attend meetings or activities connected with organizations to which you belong?
- ☐ Once a week
 - ☐ Twice a week
 - ☐ Three times a week
 - ☐ Four or more per week
 - ☐ Never 27/
9. How far do you live from the regular union meeting place?
- ☐ Less than 2 miles
 - ☐ 2-5 miles
 - ☐ 6-10 miles
 - ☐ 11-15 miles
 - ☐ Over 15 miles 28/

10. Are you pleased with the manner in which your local's meetings are run?
- ☐ Yes, very pleased indeed
 - ☐ Yes, pleased most of the time
 - ☐ Somewhat displeased
 - ☐ Very displeased
- 29/
11. Does your union provide enough *educational programs* for the membership?
- ☐ Yes, and I participate in them
 - ☐ Yes, but I do *not* participate in them
 - ☐ No, though I would participate in them if the union sponsored them
 - ☐ No, and I would *not* participate if they were begun
- 30/
12. Does your union provide enough *social programs* (such as dances, picnics, etc.) for the membership?
- ☐ Yes, and I participate in them
 - ☐ Yes, but I do *not* participate in them
 - ☐ No, though I would participate in them if the union sponsored them
 - ☐ No, and I would *not* participate if they were begun
- 31/
13. Does your union provide enough *recreational facilities* (such as softball, bowling, etc.) for the membership?
- ☐ Yes, and I participate in them
 - ☐ Yes, but I do *not* participate in them
 - ☐ No, and I would participate in them if the union sponsored them
 - ☐ No, and I would not participate if they were begun
- 32/
14. Does your local union publish a paper?
- ☐ Yes, and I read it regularly
 - ☐ Yes, and I read it fairly often
 - ☐ Yes, but I seldom read it
 - ☐ No
- 33/
15. Do you read the *East Bay Labor Journal*?
- ☐ Yes, almost every issue
 - ☐ Yes, once in a while
 - ☐ No, never
 - ☐ I do not receive it
- 34/

16. If you read either the *East Bay Labor Journal* or your union's newspaper, what features of the paper do you find the most interesting? (Check answers for the newspaper or newspapers you read.)

	Union Newspaper	East Bay Labor Journal	
Collective bargaining developments	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	35/
Union news in the community	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	36/
Editorials	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	37/
Political columns	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	38/
Sports or family features	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	39/
Others: (specify)			40/

17. Does your company publish a newspaper for employees?

- ☐ Yes, and I read it regularly
☐ Yes, and I read it fairly often
☐ Yes, but I seldom read it
☐ No
- 41/

18. What is the name of your local's president? 42/1

19. Do any of the following officers receive a salary? 2

	Yes	No	Don't Know	
President	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	43/
Business Agent	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	44/
Secretary-Treasurer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	45/
Shop Steward	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	46/

20. For each office in which you have previously indicated a salary was paid, please check whether that salary is too high, too low, reasonable, or if you don't have any idea what the salary is.

	Too High	Too Low	Reasonable	Don't Know	
President	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	47/
Business Agent	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	48/
Secretary-Treasurer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	49/
Shop Steward	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	50/

21. How satisfied are you with the job your shop steward is doing?

- ☐ Highly satisfied
☐ Fairly well satisfied
☐ Somewhat dissatisfied
☐ Very dissatisfied
- 51/

22. If you are not satisfied with your shop steward, why aren't you? 52-53/

23. How many hours per week do you work *not counting overtime*? 54-55/
- hours.

24. Do you presently have an *opportunity* to work overtime?
- ☐ Yes, and I do work overtime
 - ☐ Yes, but I choose not to work overtime
 - ☐ No
- 56/
25. If you work overtime, how many hours per week on the average do you work overtime? hours.
- 57-58/
26. If your regular weekly hours were reduced by 5 hours *without loss of weekly take-home pay*, would you want to work overtime, take a second job, or spend the extra time in leisure time activities? (You may check more than one box.)
- ☐ Work overtime
 - ☐ Take a second job
 - ☐ Use the extra time for leisure
- 59/
27. Would you want to strike if the employer *refused to grant any wage increase or other improvements at all* at your next contract negotiations?
- ☐ Definitely yes
 - ☐ Probably yes
 - ☐ Probably no
 - ☐ Definitely no
- 60/
28. Would you want to strike if your employer *refused to grant an increase of no more than 10 cents* in wages and benefits in your next contract negotiations?
- ☐ Definitely yes
 - ☐ Probably yes
 - ☐ Probably no
 - ☐ Definitely no
- 61/
29. Would you strike to avoid a *cut in pay*, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?
- ☐ Definitely yes
 - ☐ Probably yes
 - ☐ Probably no
 - ☐ Definitely no
- 62/
30. Would you strike for an *increase in wages*, if by striking you would stand a fifty-fifty chance of losing your pension and welfare benefits?
- ☐ Definitely yes
 - ☐ Probably yes
 - ☐ Probably no
 - ☐ Definitely no
- 63/

31. List the order in which you would prefer to receive increases in your next negotiations. (Place a "1" before the type of increase you would *most* like to receive, a "2" before the *next* most desirable increase, and a "3" before the one *least* desired.)
- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----|
| ___ Pensions and Welfare Benefits | 64/ |
| ___ Vacations | 65/ |
| ___ Wages | 66/ |
32. Are you a registered voter? ☐ Yes ☐ No 67/
33. Did you vote in the last:
- | | | | |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|-----|
| | Yes | No | |
| Local or county election? (last November) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 68/ |
| State election (Nixon against Brown) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 69/ |
| Congressional election? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 70/ |
| Presidential election? (Nixon against Kennedy) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 71/ |
34. Do you check to see which candidates your local endorses prior to voting in a:
- | | | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-----|
| | Yes | No | |
| Local or county election | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 72/ |
| State election | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 73/ |
| Congressional election | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 74/ |
| Presidential election | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 75/ |
35. If you answered "yes" to any part of question 34, do you generally vote for candidates endorsed by your union for:
- | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|------|
| | Yes | No | |
| Local or county elections | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 76/ |
| State elections | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 77/ |
| Congressional elections | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 78/ |
| Presidential elections | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | 79/ |
| | | | 80/1 |
36. Is your family income enough for your needs?
- | | |
|--|---------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, I live quite comfortably | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, but I barely get by | 1 2 3 4 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> No, I can't quite make ends meet | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> No, I don't have nearly enough for my needs | 5/ |
37. Do you participate in any union political activities, such as COPE?
- | | |
|--|----|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> No | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> I don't know about COPE | 6/ |
38. If "no" would you be willing to participate in such political activities in the coming election? ☐ Yes ☐ No 7/
39. If you are married, do you think that your wife/husband would be willing to participate in union political activities (such as helping union members register to vote)?
- | | |
|---|----|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, several hours a week | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, several hours per month | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> No | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Not married | 8/ |

40. What are your union dues per month? \$.....	9-12/
41. In general, how do you feel about the union dues which you pay?	
<input type="checkbox"/> They are extremely low	
<input type="checkbox"/> They are too low	
<input type="checkbox"/> They are too high	
<input type="checkbox"/> They are extremely high	13/
42. How much would you be willing to increase your dues in order to strengthen your union's ability to obtain higher wages or more fringe benefits?	
<input type="checkbox"/> 1¢ to 10¢ per month	
<input type="checkbox"/> 11¢ to 50¢ per month	
<input type="checkbox"/> 51¢ to \$1.00 per month	
<input type="checkbox"/> over \$1.00 per month	
<input type="checkbox"/> not at all	14/
43. How are your dues collected?	
<input type="checkbox"/> Check-off	
<input type="checkbox"/> By a union officer	15/
44. Do you approve of this method of collection?	
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes, it is the best way	
<input type="checkbox"/> It doesn't make any difference to me	
<input type="checkbox"/> No, it is worse than the other method.	16/
45. Have you ever had the union process one of your grievances?	
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	17/
46. If "yes" was the union successful in winning your case?	
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	
<input type="checkbox"/> No	
<input type="checkbox"/> The decision was a compromise	18/
47. What is the name of your union's international (or national) president?	19/1
48. Should the international (or national) union take over the government of a local union if the local goes out on strike in violation of a contract?	2
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes, always	
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes, depending on the circumstances	
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes, but only in very rare instances	
<input type="checkbox"/> Never	20/
49. Should the international (or national) union take over the government of a local union if serious financial irregularities are uncovered in the local union?	
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes, always	
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes, depending on the circumstances	
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes, but only in very rare instances	
<input type="checkbox"/> Never	21/

50. Does your union make members feel that it is worthwhile for them to belong to the union?
- ☐ Yes, very worthwhile
 - ☐ Yes, fairly worthwhile
 - ☐ No, the union doesn't care very much about how the members feel
 - ☐ No, the union goes out of its way to ignore the members' feelings
- 22/
51. Do you feel that every member with leadership ability has a chance of being elected to local union office if he is willing to make the effort to run for office?
- ☐ Yes, a very good chance
 - ☐ Yes, a reasonable chance
 - ☐ Yes, a very slim chance
 - ☐ No chance at all
- 23/
52. Do you feel that the members of your union are well informed about the local union's affairs?
- ☐ Yes, all of them are very well informed
 - ☐ Yes, over half of them are well informed
 - ☐ No, only a few are well informed
 - ☐ No, only the leadership knows what is going on
- 24/
53. How good a job does your business agent do?
- ☐ An excellent job
 - ☐ A reasonable job
 - ☐ He could and should do a lot better
 - ☐ He does a miserable job
- 25/
54. Are many of your local union officers' decisions based on their own self-interest?
- ☐ Almost all decisions
 - ☐ Quite a few of the decisions
 - ☐ Only a few decisions
 - ☐ None of the decisions
- 26/
55. Do you feel that your job is more secure because you are a union member?
- ☐ Absolutely yes
 - ☐ Probably yes
 - ☐ Probably not
 - ☐ No, it really isn't
- 27/
56. Do you think that without unions the living standard of the workers would be lower?
- ☐ Most definitely
 - ☐ Probably yes
 - ☐ Probably not
 - ☐ Certainly not
- 28/

57. Do you think that unions are doing a better job now for their members than they were doing 5 years ago?

- ☐ Yes, a much better job
- ☐ Yes, but only slightly better
- ☐ Doing about the same
- ☐ Doing a poorer job

29/

58. Is it all right with you if some of your union dues are used for union political activities?

- ☐ Yes, certainly
- ☐ Yes, but only for Congressional and Presidential campaigns
- ☐ No, under no circumstances

30/

59. Does your union do a good job in defending any member who does not get a "fair deal" from management?

- ☐ Yes, a very good job
- ☐ Yes, but only a bare minimum
- ☐ No, not nearly enough
- ☐ No, the union is actually in an alliance with the company against the workers

31/

60. For each of the following groups please indicate with a check whether you think that people in each group have too much power, too little power, or about the right amount of power in the country's affairs.

	<i>Too much power</i>	<i>Too little power</i>	<i>Just the right amount of power</i>	
Rich people	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	32/
Liberals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	33/
Negroes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	34/
Rightwingers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	35/
College professors	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	36/
Voters	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	37/
Labor unions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	38/
Big corporations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	39/
Communists	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	40/

61. Do you feel that your own job is in danger of being eliminated by automation (or technological change)?

- ☐ Yes, and my union will probably not be able to protect my job
- ☐ Yes, but my union is able to protect my job adequately against automation
- ☐ No, there is no chance of automation endangering my job
- ☐ I have never really thought about it

41/

62. If automation is a problem in your company, what do you think your union <i>could</i> do to combat the threat to jobs from automation? (You may check more than one.)	
<input type="checkbox"/> Help retrain workers for other jobs	42/
<input type="checkbox"/> Press for a shorter workweek	43/
<input type="checkbox"/> Prevent new equipment which eliminates jobs from being used by the company	44/
<input type="checkbox"/> Nothing	45/
<input type="checkbox"/> Other:	
.....	46/
63. Would you be interested in attending worker classes endorsed by your union and conducted by the University of California?	
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	47/
64. If "yes" what type of class would you be most interested in attending? (Check as many as you want.)	
<input type="checkbox"/> Labor economics	48/
<input type="checkbox"/> American trade union history	49/
<input type="checkbox"/> Trade union movements of other countries	50/
<input type="checkbox"/> Labor law	51/
<input type="checkbox"/> Reading skills for labor	52/
<input type="checkbox"/> Psychology of union leadership	53/
<input type="checkbox"/> Others:	
.....	54/
Now that you have had an opportunity to express your opinions, we ask you to give us some information about yourself so that we may interpret the answers we have received. This information is essential to the success of the survey.	
65. Are you: <input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female?	55/
66. Are you: <input type="checkbox"/> Married <input type="checkbox"/> Single?	56/
67. If you are married, does your wife work? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	57/
68. How old are you?	
<input type="checkbox"/> Under 25	
<input type="checkbox"/> 26-35	
<input type="checkbox"/> 36-45	
<input type="checkbox"/> 46-55	
<input type="checkbox"/> Over 55	58/
69. Are you a citizen of the United States? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	59/
70. If yes, are you a native or naturalized citizen?	
<input type="checkbox"/> Native	
<input type="checkbox"/> Naturalized	60/

71. How many dependents do you have (not counting yourself)?.....	61-62/
72. What is your job?	
<input type="checkbox"/> Office or clerical	
<input type="checkbox"/> Service	
<input type="checkbox"/> Sales	
<input type="checkbox"/> Technical or professional	
<input type="checkbox"/> Skilled or craft	
<input type="checkbox"/> Production or assembly	
<input type="checkbox"/> Laborer or custodial	
<input type="checkbox"/> Other: (specify)	63/
73. How long have you been a paid-up member of your present union?	
<input type="checkbox"/> Less than 1 year	
<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 years	
<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 years	
<input type="checkbox"/> 5-8 years	
<input type="checkbox"/> 9-15 years	
<input type="checkbox"/> Over 15 years	64/
74. Are you now an officer in your union? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	65/
75. If "no" have you ever been an officer in your union?	
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	66/
76. When was the last time you were on strike?	
<input type="checkbox"/> Less than 2 months ago	
<input type="checkbox"/> Between 2 months and a year ago	
<input type="checkbox"/> Between 1 and 2 years ago	
<input type="checkbox"/> Between 2 and 4 years ago	
<input type="checkbox"/> Over 4 years ago	
<input type="checkbox"/> Never	67/
77. Do you have a second job with another employer? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	68/
78. What is your usual take-home pay per week <i>not</i> counting overtime?	
<input type="checkbox"/> Under \$70 per week	
<input type="checkbox"/> 71-80 " "	
<input type="checkbox"/> 81-90 " "	
<input type="checkbox"/> 91-100 " "	
<input type="checkbox"/> 101-110 " "	
<input type="checkbox"/> 111-120 " "	
<input type="checkbox"/> 121-130 " "	
<input type="checkbox"/> 131-140 " "	
<input type="checkbox"/> Over \$140 " "	69/
79. If you work overtime, what is your usual overtime pay per week?	
<input type="checkbox"/> \$1-5	
<input type="checkbox"/> 6-10	
<input type="checkbox"/> 11-15	
<input type="checkbox"/> 16-20	
<input type="checkbox"/> \$21 and over	70/

80. What was your total family income *before taxes* in 1963 from all sources such as rents, profits, wages, interest, and so on?

- ☐ Under \$2000
- ☐ \$2000-\$3999
- ☐ \$4000-\$5999
- ☐ \$6000-\$7999
- ☐ \$8000-\$9999
- ☐ Over \$10,000

71/

81. What is the name of your company?

72-73/

82. What is the number and/or name of your local?

74-77/

83. Indicate the highest amount of schooling completed:

- ☐ Grammar school
- ☐ 7th grade
- ☐ 8th grade
- ☐ 9th grade
- ☐ 10th grade
- ☐ 11th grade
- ☐ 12th grade
- ☐ 1st year college
- ☐ 2nd year college
- ☐ 3rd year college
- ☐ 4th year college

78/

84. We would appreciate your comments on any of the above questions or issues.

79/

80/2

APPENDIX B

Union Member Attitude Questionnaire

APPENDIX C

Letters of Transmittal for Union Member Attitude Questionnaire

The letters of transmittal which accompanied the three separate survey mailings follow in the order in which they were sent.

Institute of Industrial Relations
University of California
Berkeley 4, California

January 1964

Dear Union Member:

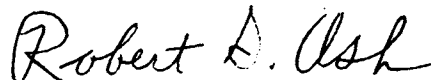
The Central Labor Council of Alameda County has requested the Institute of Industrial Relations of the University of California to conduct a survey of the attitudes of union members. The purpose of this survey is to discover what of ~~it~~ ^{you}, the union member, think of the job your union is doing in general and what you think the union should be doing to improve its service to you.

Your name has been randomly selected from your union's membership, and we are asking you to take about thirty (30) minutes of your time to complete the enclosed questionnaire. When you have completed it, please mail the questionnaire in the pre-paid envelope to the Institute of Industrial Relations. Your name does not appear on the questionnaire. There is no way that anyone can know who has answered a particular questionnaire.

But we must make sure that everyone who receives a questionnaire fills it out. If not, the Institute will not be able to evaluate the true feelings of the members. Therefore, we request that you mail the enclosed postcard to the East Bay Labor Journal at the same time that you mail the questionnaire back to the University. The purpose of this card is to enable us to know if anyone has not completed a questionnaire. However, since the card and the questionnaire will be mailed to different addresses, there is no way to connect a member's questionnaire with his postcard.

With your cooperation, this survey will enable the unions to improve their services to you and your fellow members, and it will enable the University to render more intelligent service to the community. We therefore ask you to cooperate with us, and we thank you for your help.

Sincerely,



Robert S. Ash
Executive Secretary
Central Labor Council of
Alameda County



Lloyd Ulman
Director
Institute of Industrial Relations

Institute of Industrial Relations
University of California
April, 1964

Dear Union Member:

Several weeks ago, we asked you to complete a questionnaire on union member attitudes. We hope this letter will not be interpreted as undue pressure to complete the questionnaire, but it is very important that everyone who was sent a questionnaire fill it out and return it to us.

So far, the response to our project has been very encouraging and those who have returned their questionnaires indicate they found it quite interesting. Some people, who felt they were not very "typical" union members, wondered whether we wanted them to fill out the questionnaire anyway. We are very interested in each person chosen in the sample and in the variety of union member attitudes which people have, not just in the "typical" members.

The results of the survey depend entirely upon the cooperation we receive from you and people like yourself. We recognize that we are asking you to take some time (about thirty minutes) and effort to help us. But in the light of the benefits which the survey will give to your own union, to the Central Labor Council of Alameda County, and to the University of California, we hope that you will find it possible to participate.

If you have already sent in your questionnaire, please disregard this letter and accept our apologies for having written you again. If you have misplaced your copy of the questionnaire or have not received one, please fill out the one enclosed and return it in the prepaid envelope. Note that your name does not appear on the questionnaire. We also request that you mail the enclosed postcard to the East Bay Labor Journal at the same time that you mail the questionnaire back to the University. The purpose of the card is to enable us to know if anyone has not completed a questionnaire. However, since the card and the questionnaire will be mailed to different addresses, there is no way to connect a member's questionnaire with his postcard.

May we take this opportunity to thank you for your help and patience.

Sincerely,



Robert S. Ash
Executive Secretary
Central Labor Council of Alameda
County, AFL-CIO



Lloyd Ulman
Director
Institute of Industrial Relations

oteu:29
afl-cio
Enclosure

Institute of Industrial Relations
University of California
May 1964

Dear Union Member:

We do not wish to impose upon you unreasonably, but we urgently request your cooperation in filling out the enclosed questionnaire. The survey on union member attitudes, conducted by the Central Labor Council of Alameda County and the Institute of Industrial Relations, cannot be successful without your participation.

For your union to fully represent its members, the union must first know what its members think. A representative body is only as effective in representing its members as those members are in expressing their opinion. Thus it is for your own benefit that we are requesting you to complete the enclosed questionnaire. By letting the union know exactly where you stand on important issues, you enable the union to better represent your interests.

Since no one else thinks exactly as you do about your union, it is you who must help us determine membership attitudes. Your effort in answering the questionnaire will be rewarded by a union which will be more aware of your needs and ideas.

At this time we would like to repeat that there is no way in which your identity can be revealed to anyone. Note that your name does not appear on the questionnaire.

Since this will be our last appeal for your cooperation, we are not enclosing a postal reply card with the questionnaire.

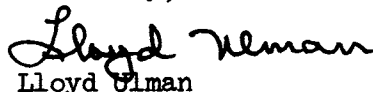
If you have already sent in your questionnaire, please disregard this letter and accept our apologies for having written you again. If you have misplaced your copy of the questionnaire or have not yet received one, we hope that you will take a few minutes to help both your union and yourself. When you have completed the questionnaire, please mail it to the University of California in the enclosed prepaid envelope.

May we take this opportunity to thank you for your help and patience.

Sincerely,



Robert S. Ash
Executive Secretary
Central Labor Council of Alameda
County, AFL-CIO



Lloyd Ullman

Director
Institute of Industrial Relations

oteu:29
afl-cio
Enclosure