

ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY
LABOR EDUCATION DIVISION

A SURVEY OF
TRADE UNION MEMBERS' ATTITUDES
TO SOME CURRENT MAJOR SOCIAL QUESTIONS

by Albert R. Verri

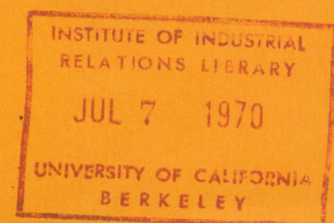
1. Statement of Purpose in the Formulation of the Problem:

The trade union movement in America is generally subject to considerable discussion concerning its role and function in American society. It is a topic of serious concern not only to the millions of workers within its membership, but also the subject of considerable dialogue between members of the academic world, the communication medias, political parties, government, and the business community - not to mention the great numbers of intellectually and socially oriented individuals who, perhaps, are its most severe critics.

The tendency, generally, among such groups is to look upon the labor movement as a monolithic unity, without any divergent or separately moving parts, and which is totally under the manipulative power and will of its leaders. The fact that most of the major labor organizations in America are democratically - run, under strict government and public supervision, and do not, in any way, represent the autocratic fiefs found in many corporate structures, seems to escape the attention of some of these critics.

Among those who have a much greater understanding of the basically democratic structure within the major sections of organized labor, there is still the persistent tendency to look upon these labor organizations as strictly manipulative processes for matters of social concern without regard to the fundamental fact that workers, like other sections in our society, mirror many of the attitudes which are generally prevalent throughout our society. To what degree these attitudes range in comparison with the other segments in our society seems always to be a point of controversy and even speculation. What do the trade union members really think about many of our more prominent social questions? The problem of answering some of these questions is generally a difficult one because trade unions are basically collective bargaining organizations with its major orientation on "bread and butter" issues. Deference to social issues are usually made at the International Union conventions to provide the policy framework within which the whole union must operate, but efforts are meager, indeed, to extend discussion of these issues at the local levels where the bulk of the trade union membership can be reached.

Chicago, 1970



Without adequate samplings of the attitudes of workers relative to current social questions, the handicaps to meaningful social and political activity are frequently difficult barriers to overcome. For example, one of the more serious questions confronting most labor unions and its leaders is the growing mass of young workers who are currently entering the labor force - thus, bringing the question of the so-called "generation gap" from the university campus to the workplace in the factory.

The inadequacy of trade union research of workers' attitudes makes it difficult to develop precise formulations for more sophisticated programs of research. Much exploratory research needs to be done before more meaningful hypotheses are formulated and tested and which can be used as more intelligent guides to action.

2. A Description of the Study Design.

The survey involved in this study is essentially an exploratory one. It is unstructured in the sense that no particular proposition was to be tested but that the results could lead to more elaborate studies in the future. Before the survey was undertaken, the aim of the study was established to (1) increase familiarity with certain phenomenon; (2) testing understandings of certain concepts; (3) possible debunking of some popular notions; (4) to what extent differences in attitudes existed between significant component elements of trade union membership; (5) and to establish what consensus existed among the respondents as to what subjects needed to be given priority in future research.

The information to be elicited from the respondents were to run a rather broad spectrum of social issues ranging from those which were close to their everyday work experience to those further removed and more prevalent among other segments of the population.

Care had to be taken that the respondents were representative of membership in the labor movement. It was necessary to assure that a sufficient sampling could be made of the various groups such as black and white workers, young and older workers, the more predominant ethnic groups, male and female, by religion and by occupations and income. To achieve this kind of diversity would have been no small task, under ordinary conditions, as this would have involved considerable time and expense.

It was suggested that students attending the classes of Roosevelt University's Labor Education Division might provide the convenience and diversity needed to get a representative sampling. Following discussions with both the Director and Assistant Director of the Division, it was agreed that the information could be elicited from three separate groups who were then attending classes.

3. Methods Used to Collect the Data.

The survey was conducted by the use of a questionnaire covering a broad spectrum of social questions. As trade union members - at least the more active ones - are sensitive about the image they create among their fellow union members, great care had to be taken to stress the impersonal nature of the study and their anonymity as a respondent. Further the questions had to be formulated in such a manner that there would not be any difficulty in understanding the terms used so that they could serve as satisfactory indicators to the number of concepts referred to in the study. The multiple choices arranged for each of the questions were largely based on the current alternatives usually heard in discussions among trade unionists. Admittedly, as direct interviews (which would have gathered more extensive information) were out of the question, the questionnaire could not be complicated requiring extended written responses. The questions needed to be formulated to elicit the most direct responses as to what the respondents knew about trade union affairs, how he felt about things, what he wanted, what his basic beliefs were, and what his expectations were about the future.

The matter of minimizing bias was also considered. Care was taken to impress upon the respondents what the study was being conducted by a trade union representative who was interested in making an objective study of the attitudes prevalent in the trade union movement. With this approach, there could be no consideration of trade union loyalty or partisanship in any way. The responses to many of the questions would indicate their general acceptance of the objective nature of the study.

Finally, no control groups were used to compare the responses to any particular variable except through the distinctions already existent with the respondents such as their race, sex, age, income, etc.

4. Results of the Study (this is contained at the end of this paper on page 11)

5. Preliminary Interpretations of the Survey

The results of the study raise many interesting questions concerning potential hypotheses for future study and development. As the largest, and perhaps the most potentially influential force in America, workers - as a group - are perhaps the least surveyed on the range of social questions dominating the social scene. As indicated earlier, this study is necessarily an exploratory one, although the direction which the study took seems to lend itself to some preliminary interpretations and conclusions.

The study indicates that more than one-third of the workers questioned were living with an income below the minimum income levels established by the government for an average family of four. This group was mostly made up of Black workers who comprised 17% of the 24% questioned who were living at such levels.

A noteworthy result was the fact that 60% of these respondents had one to four years of high school in contrast to the elementary level of education what was prevalent during the '30's and before. Only two workers in this study could not show more than an elementary education. Of those workers who went to high school, there were four times as many who could claim three to four years of high school education compared to those who attended for a year or two.

While the median average of age of the respondents was 40, the mean average of their union membership was 15 1/2 years. This would indicate that a number of these respondents became union members a few years after they had reached majority age.

The survey indicated that a sizeable majority consider religion to be an important part of their lives with only 3% expressing antagonism to religion. A future study could perhaps deal with those religious factors that might explain to what extent - if at all - they influence his thinking on the social issues of the day and which directly affect his outlook within the labor movement.

Whether "moonlighting" - or working a second job - was any factor among workers generally was difficult to ascertain from the respondents selected. Being in the secondary leadership of local unions, which could take up much of their after-work, their responses cannot be sufficiently conclusive for these reasons. However, the fact that 17% of them held down a second job was not an insignificant figure considering that this group would be less prone to being involved in "moonlighting" - itself a frowned-upon practice among many trade unionists.

Most workers associated themselves with the workingclass in the social structure of American society. 66% said that this was the class they should be identified with. Any sizeable identification with the middle class came from workers in the \$10,000 to \$12,000 income bracket who were largely made up of college educated people. The line of division was clear, apparently, in the upper class bracket. No worker identified himself as belonging to it. Between white and Black workers, the latter (71%) identified more with the workingclass, but not appreciably significant from the 67% among white workers who made the same identification.

Education is uppermost in the minds of workers as the area most deserving of their time and money after all their essentials were provided for. Among Black workers, aspirations for education were stronger. 63% of the Black workers said they would want to spend their extra money for education as against 50% among the white workers. Among both of these groups of workers, travel was the next choice.

Reading habits of workers has been a major concern of labor leaders who are constantly seeking and developing new techniques for improving the amount of reading done by their members. 80% of the workers questioned said they read newspapers regularly and 36% said they read magazine articles with regularity. 45% had read one or more books the past year. 22% said they had read more than five.

Only a small percentage (12%) of these workers said they were fully satisfied with the form and content of union literature. The larger percentage (75%) said they were only satisfied "partially" with them.

About one-fourth (24%) of these workers felt that organized labor was "doing a good job in advancing workers' interests." The vast majority (72%) felt their unions had either lost their crusading spirit, relied more on compromise, and lagged behind other organizations on the two most important social issues - peace and civil rights.

Consistent with their views that labor, as an institution, was not fulfilling the full potential of its role in society, the majority (69%) felt that its leaders were not dedicated to the tasks of the labor movement. Only 30% felt that the labor movement was fulfilling its historical role of championing the cause of the poor. Among Black workers, the group most likely to have greater numbers among the poor, were not as critical on this question as the white workers. 43% of the Black workers felt that labor did champion the cause of the poor with only 19% among the white workers agreeing with this opinion.

88% of these workers felt that labor had to speak out more on social and political issues, to develop a more independent political stance, and to become a more effective instrument for progress in America. 25% seemed to support what labor is doing right now of working with the Democratic Party. 17% of these workers, however, supported the formation of a labor party.

The position often attributed to younger workers as urging unions to concentrate mainly on wage increases in negotiations was not borne out in the survey. 96% said they want the emphasis of the union negotiations placed on both wage increases and other fringe items such as pensions, insurance, etc.

Where to place their priorities on social questions, white and Black workers differed appreciably. Uppermost in the minds of Black workers (38%) was the social problem of granting equal rights to all Americans. Only 16% of the white workers would consider this as the most primary issue. Twice as many white workers (25%) as Black workers (12%) listed the ending of the war in Vietnam as the number one priority. Concern for stopping the rise in cost of living were about equally distributed among the white and Black workers. The awesome possibility of nuclear war seemed low on the list of priorities of both the white and Black workers.

The trade unionists polled were more in favor of a massive national assault on the ill effects of automation upon workers. 69% felt that government, industry, and labor should engage in planning programs to handle the problem. 4% felt that automation was to be opposed in every way. Only 1% felt that automation ought to be allowed to run its own course without interference from anyone.

In response to the question for identification of their views within America's political spectrum, 36% of these workers placed themselves in the moderate category. 27% identified themselves as Liberals, and 9% as conservatives. Only 3% identified themselves as left of center, and 1% as with the Radical Left. The percentage differed sharply when a white-black comparison was made. 50% of the white workers identified themselves as moderate with only 23% among the Blacks. There were more liberal Blacks (32%) than liberal whites (22%). Conservatives among the whites led the Blacks in percentage by 7 to 1 adding credence to the strides claimed by George Wallace among the white-worker voters. Only one worker classified himself as a "reactionary" and no one identified himself with the Radical Right.

The political spectrum shows a more unified relationship when it comes to choice of political party. 82% favored the Democratic Party with only 1% favoring the Republican Party. 4% said they would favor Wallace's American Independence Party over the others. 6% desired independent political approaches in the election of candidates such as "split-ticket" voting.

In spite of the fact that 82% of these workers favored the Democratic Party, 37% said they were not generally satisfied with the two-party system. Of those who expressed such dissatisfaction, 45% felt there should be more political parties on the ballot to provide a great choice for the voter.

Stronger feelings were expressed for political leaders than for trade union leaders. Presidents Kennedy and Roosevelt, and Robert Kennedy topped the list in popularity over Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., John L. Lewis, Walter Reuther, and George Meany - in that order. James Hoffa seemed to be the most unpopular of all receiving only 25% of the support of these workers.

Hubert Humphrey and Senator Edmund Muskie topped the list of people these workers would most likely want to head the government. Humphrey with (56%) of the workers' votes was not too far ahead of Muskie with (51%). In city and state politics, Mayor Daley barely nudged ahead of his popular candidate for the U.S. Senate, Adlai Stevenson III. Next to Humphrey and Muskie, Daley received 31% of the choices with Stevenson closely behind with 30%. Senator Charles Percy, while a Republican, was still able to win the support of 25% of the workers. President Nixon, with 15% of the vote, fared just a little better than Barry Goldwater who received 11%. Governor Nelson Rockefeller polled more than both of them with 23%. The preference of these workers for George Wallace and Howard Miller, the right-wing disc-jockey, both of who received 10% of the choices, compared closely with the 9% of the workers who identified themselves as Conservatives. Of the civil rights leaders, Rev. Jesse Jackson was the most popular receiving 30% of the choices over 15% for Father Groppi, 9% for Dick Gregory, and 6% for the militant Stokely Carmichael. Youth leaders Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin could hardly make a show receiving none of the votes.

Only a small minority were in favor of militant confrontation or revolution to force social change. 69% of the Black workers, and 33% of the white workers favored non-violent actions to apply pressure for change. A larger percentage of whites (44%) over Blacks (11%) favored peaceful change even if it took many years to make the need changes in our society. That revolution is not considered the appropriate method for change is reflected in the small figure of 6% of these workers who favored it. While peaceful and non-violent actions for change had the strongest favor among these workers, the majority (51%) felt there should not be a repetition of the Communist red-baiting of the Radical Left of today as was done with the Left of the '30's. 27% could see no difference between with the Radical Left of today with that of the '30's, while another 27% was not so sure of how to look at the Radical Left of today.

According to these workers, a generation gap exists in the ranks of labor as there appears to be in other segments of our society. The survey among white and Black workers and by age groups showed

majorities in every instance that young and old are apart on aims and ideals. 73% of these workers attributed this gap to differences in ideals and in the means of achieving them. 81% of them felt that efforts should be made by the older workers to close the gap by trying to understand why young people are thinking about and even joining them in their activities for better communication. Most of the young and older workers were agreed that the difficulties of communication lay more with older people than with the young.

Very few of these workers - young or old - accepted the view that one over 30, 40, 50, or even 60 years of age could no longer make any significant contribution to the social welfare. 60% of the respondents believed that social impotence because of age was false. This view was shared substantially in both of the age categories used. 57% of the workers under 35 felt the claim was false as did 63% of the workers over 35. 27% of all workers could not offer any opinion on the subject.

Young people are enjoying too much freedom according to 58% of the people questioned in the survey. 17% of them felt that young people were not enjoying the amount of freedom that should be extended to them. Only 7% felt that the amount of freedom they enjoyed was just right. 18% were not sure what to say about it.

Hippies and Yippies, often the terms used broadly to identify any young protester, did not fare so well in the survey. About a third (32%) felt that they were just young people who wanted a better world than their elders. 77% of them, however, felt that Hippies and Yippies were troublemaking kids who wanted to avoid the draft and who were influenced by Communist agitators. Black workers were more sympathetic to the young protesters by a ration of almost 4 to 1.

Permissiveness in sexual relations was acceptable only in relations before marriage. 45% agreed that sexual relations before marriage was proper, but disagreed (52%) that homosexual relations were acceptable even between consenting adults. Smoking pot (marijuana) was also condemned by both Black and white workers, 67% and 66% respectively. The survey, according to age, revealed that workers under 35 would be more permissive on the use of marijuana.

The social experience which had the greatest effect upon Black workers were the assassinations of President Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. White workers were not as affected in both cases. In the Dr. King assassination, 36% of the Black workers indicated that this was the social experience which had the greatest impact upon their lives

while only 3% of the white workers were so affected. The Vietnam war seemed to have the greatest effect upon the white workers with 25% indicating this had the greatest single effect upon their lives. Only 14% of the Black workers made any such indication of the Vietnam war.

The affluence and growth of the American economy has not affected the thinking of the workers where they do not fear recurrence of a depression like that of the '30's. 41% did not believe it would, and 18% had no opinion about the matter. Division of these workers on this issue by age or race did not materially affect the results one way or another. Whether young or old, Black or white, the same relative percentages were maintained in their responses.

A majority of these workers did see some similarity of current social experience with that of the '30's. In response to the question whether any similarity existed between the student demonstrations of today and labor's unionizing struggles of the '30's, 58% believed there was. 22% did not believe so and 20% could express no opinion. More Black workers than white workers saw this similarity and more younger people than older people believed a similarity existed.

Students who demonstrated peacefully against the war in Vietnam received the support of 72% of these workers. Again, more Black workers (77%) than white workers (69%) and more young workers (92%) over the older workers (57%) supported the young anti-war demonstrators.

The question of withdrawal of American troops by December, 1970, or sooner did not receive the same degree of support for condemning the war itself. Barely a majority - (51%) - said they were in favor of the troops coming home by the end of the year. 32% seemed opposed to this kind of timed withdrawal while 17% did not know.

In response to the question of waging war itself, 82% felt that nations should abandon the use of war to settle their political differences. 71% of the respondents believed that either the negotiating machinery of the U.N. or an International Court who could issue final and binding decisions (in the fashion of labor arbitration) should be used to settle such disputes between nations.

The use of force in various situations seemed to depend on a number of factors which were not made explicit in the survey. Being workers and members of trade unions, one would expect the respondents to be more familiar and more directly concerned with the strike situation. The use of force was not opposed per se, but rather it was dependent upon the situation itself; i.e., the extent of self-interest and the degree

of the respondent's involvement. 55% of these workers said they would use force in a strike situation where other workers were threatening to cross a picket line. However, only about one-fourth of these workers would approve the use of force in a civil rights confrontation or in a demonstration by students to prevent instructors from entering their classrooms.

The strains and tensions between minority groups must be looked at as a transitory phase in American life according to the majority of these workers polled. 56% of all workers believed that these tensions are temporary. More than one-fourth (28%), however, felt that tensions between the minority and ethnic groups was a permanent feature of American life. Viewed separately by racial groups, the white workers (77%) seemed to be more confident of the temporary nature of these racial and ethnic tensions than their Black brothers (34%). More Black workers (31%) than white workers (23%) were reconciled to the permanent status of these tensions. Where white workers (0%) did not assume a "don't know" stance, 35% of the Black workers could not make up their minds to classify these current tensions in our society as temporary or permanent. When viewed according to age, both Black and white workers seemed closer together on how to classify the nature of these tensions.

The teaching of Black studies in high schools or universities were supported by majorities among both white and Black. 89% of the Black workers supported such programs with an appreciable percentage - 69% - coming from the white workers to support such educational programs. The strongest opposition (19%) came from workers over 35 who were mainly made up of white workers.

6. Conclusions of the Survey

As stated earlier, the survey lends itself for further development of hypotheses to provide the bases for more definitive studies. The "generation gap," believed to exist by both young and older workers seems to exist in this study at least - more as a popular notion than one supported by facts. Not enough data has been collected on perhaps more fundamental questions which would point out more sharply the conflict existing between the generations among workers. For example, more pointed questions can be formulated concerning the current role of workers in industry and in their trade unions.

While the respondents were workers in various industries and leaders at the local levels of a number of unions, the study of the responses of these particular workers can be of great help in the formulation of more precise questions directed to other groups of worker-respondents who are not in the leadership and who do comprise the base of the union's rank and file. Any generalization of workers' reactions to current social situations cannot be made until these particular studies have also been made.

4. Results of the Study

Group surveyed: Trade union members employed in the following industries:

Steel	31%
Clothing	12%
Meat Packing	7%
Miscellaneous	50%

(The remainder were workers employed in more than a dozen different industries such as Railroad, government, Education, Printing, Aircraft Mechanics, glass, Plating, and Food industries.)

Total persons interviewed:	71
Total Males	52 (73%)
Total Females	19 (27%)
Ages of Respondents:	
35 years old and younger	23 (32%)
Over 35 years of age	48 (68%)
Average (median) age of respondents	40
Racial distribution:	
White	36 (51%)
Black	35 (49%)
Highest educational level reached:	
Elementary	3%
2 years High School	12%
3-4 years High School	48%
College (one to four years, including two with bachelor degrees and one with M.A. degree)	33%
Not reported	4%
Marital status of respondents:	
Married	79%
Single (including divorced, widowed, etc.)	21%

Predominant ethnic background (other than Negro):

German	9%
Irish	9%
Polish	9%
Miscellaneous (remainder widely scattered among a number of other ethnic groups)	64%

Average span of Union membership of respondents: 15.6 years

Income of respondents (all workers):

Under \$4,000	1%
\$4,000 to \$6,000	18%
\$6,000 to \$8,000	24%
\$8,000 to \$10,000	28%
\$10,000 to \$12,000	2%

Income of respondents (by race):

<u>White Workers</u>		<u>Black Workers</u>
0%	Under \$4,000	1%
3%	\$4,000 to \$6,000	15%
7%	\$6,000 to \$8,000	17%
22%	\$8,000 to \$10,000	6%
14%	\$10,000 to \$12,000	10%
3%	Over \$12,000	0%

**Income of respondents in relation to minimum
government health budget standards:**

	<u>Black Workers</u>	<u>White Workers</u>
Under \$8,000	33%	10%
Over \$8,000	16%	39%

Religious preference of respondents:

Catholic	38%
Protestant	45%
Other, none, or not reported	17%

Extent of religious participation or interest:

Very religious	21%
Somewhat religious	55%
A little bit religious	21%
Antagonistic to religion	3%

Workers holding a second job:

Working a second job	17%
Not working a second job	83%

Workers who consider it important to own home:

Important to own home	77%
Not important to own home	22%
Don't know	1%

Reasons why workers want to own their own homes:

Economic security	52%
Status living	11%
Desire to own things	18%

To what social class would you say you belong?

All workers:

Working class	66%
Middle class	34%
Upper class	0%

All workers(by income):

	<u>Working Class</u>	<u>Middle Class</u>	<u>Upper Class</u>
Under \$4,000	11%	0%	0%
\$4,000 to \$6,000	17%	3%	0%
\$6,000 to \$8,000	17%	4%	0%
\$8,000 to \$10,000	23%	9%	0%
\$10,000 to \$12,000	10%	14%	0%
Over \$12,000	1%	1%	0%

All workers (by educational level):

	<u>Working Class</u>	<u>Middle Class</u>	<u>Upper Class</u>
High School education	69%	22%	0%
College education	31%	69%	0%
Elementary education	0%	(2)*	0%

* Only two of the respondents had not gone to high school;
therefore not computed on percentage basis.

All workers (by racial distribution)

<u>White workers</u>		<u>Black workers</u>
67%	Working class	71%
33%	Middle class	29%
0%	Upper class	0%

If your wages were more than enough to take care of your family's food, clothing, and shelter, what is the first item that comes to your mind that you would spend your money for:

All workers:

Education	56%
Travel	41%
Other	2%
Don't know	1%

All workers (by racial discrimination)

<u>White workers</u>		<u>Black workers</u>
50%	Education	63%
39%	Travel	31%
9%	Other	3%
2%	Don't know	3%

During the past year, what was the extent of your reading?

All workers:

Read newspapers regularly	80%
Read newspapers occasionally	4%
Read magazine articles regularly	36%
Read magazine articles occasionally	24%
Read 1 or more books past year	45%
Read 5 or more books past year	22%

What is your view of the labor movement?

All workers:

Labor has lost its crusading spirit	13%
Labor not sufficiently concerned with our social problems	7%
Labor relies more on compromise than struggling for its rights	18%
Labor should be leading other organizations in the fight for peace and civil rights	57%
Labor is doing a good job in advancing workers' interests	24%
Labor is concerning itself too much with issues outside of wages and contract	4%

How do you regard the leaders of labor?

All workers:

As politicians, careerists, and job holders	42%
As sincere people trying to do a job but not dedicated	27%
As dedicated leaders	25%
No opinion	6%

Do you believe labor is fulfilling its historic role in society championing the cause of the poor?

All workers:

Yes	30%
No	51%
Don't know	19%

All workers (by racial distribution)

White workers

19%	Yes
58%	No
23%	Don't know

Black workers

43%
43%
14%

What do you believe labor should be doing to become a more effective instrument for progress in American society? (check those you agree with).

All workers:

Should speak out more on important issues	46%
Should have an independent political action program which favors no political party	42%
Should form a labor party	17%
Should continue to work with Democratic Party with labor playing prominent part	25%
Should keep out of politics altogether	3%

Do you believe many of the benefits you now enjoy:

All workers:

Would have come anyway without the union's help.	6%
Came only with the union's help	90%
No opinion	4%

When labor engages in contract negotiations, where should it place its greatest emphasis?

All workers:

Increases in wages only	1%
Increases in fringe benefits only	1%
Increases in both wages and fringe benefits	96%
No opinion	2%

With the wide range of questions now facing the labor movement what order of importance would you list your most wanted program. (Below are listed their No. 1 choices).

All workers:

Granting equal rights to all American	27%
Ending the war in Vietnam	18%
Stopping the rise in the cost of living	18%
Establishment of employment programs for hard-core unemployed	10%
Prevential of nuclear war	6%
Prevention of air and water pollution	6%
Rebuilding our cities	5%
Limiting the population explosion	0%

All workers (by racial discrimination)

White workers

16%	Granting equal rights to all Americans
25%	Ending the war in Vietnam
19%	Stopping the rise in the cost of living
	Establishment of employment programs for hard-core unemployed
11%	
8%	Prevention of nuclear war
9%	Prevention of air and water pollution
3%	Rebuilding our cities
0%	Limiting the population explosion

Black workers

38%
12%
18%
9%
3%
3%
3%
0%

All workers (by age distribution)

<u>Under 35</u>		<u>Over 35</u>
9%	Granting equal rights to all Americans	18%
6%	Ending the war in Vietnam	12%
9%	Stopping the rise in the cost of living	10%
	Establishment of employment programs for	
4%	hard-core unemployed	6%
0%	Prevention of nuclear war	6%
3%	Prevention of air and water pollution	3%
0%	Rebuilding our cities	3%
0%	Limiting the population explosion	0%

Does your experience indicate young people are encouraged to participate in union activities?

All workers:

Yes	37%
No	56%
Don't know	7%

What is your opinion of union publications?

All workers:

Fully satisfied with them	12%
Partially satisfied with them	15%
Generally dissatisfied with them	10%
No opinion	3%

What do you think should be done about automation?

All workers:

Should be controlled by contract language	17%
Should be allowed to run its own course without interference from unions	1%
Should be planned by government, industry, and labor to prevent any bad effects upon workers	69%
Should be fought against in every way	4%
No opinion	9%

Political thinking in America ranges from the left with Communists and Socialists and to the right with Conservatives and Fascists. Into which category of political thinking would you place yourself at the present time.

All workers:

Radical left	1%
Left of center	3%
Liberal	27%
Moderate	36%
Conservative	9%
Reactionary	1%
Radical Right	0%
Don't know	15%

All workers (by racial distribution)

White workers

2%	Radical left
6%	Left of center
22%	Liberal
50%	Moderate
14%	Conservative
2%	Reactionary
0%	Radical Right
4%	Don't know

Black workers

0%
0%
32%
23%
2%
0%
0%
43%

All workers (by age distribution)

Under 35

0%	Radical left
8%	Left of center
17%	Liberal
35%	Moderate
17%	Conservative
0%	Reactionary
0%	Radical Right
23%	Don't know

Over 35

2%
0%
31%
38%
4%
2%
0%
23%

Which political party would you favor the most?

All workers:

Democratic Party	82%
Republican Party	1%
American Independence Party (George Wallace)	4%
Other (independent political action, I.V.I., etc.)	6%

Are you generally satisfied with our two-party system?

All workers:

Yes	59%
No	37%
Don't know	4%

All workers (by age distribution)

<u>Under 35</u>		<u>Over 35</u>
48%	Yes	67%
35%	No	25%
17%	Don't know	8%

If no, check one of the following reasons: All workers:

Both parties need to be reformed with new leadership	42%
The two-party system is okay, but there should be a greater distinction between them	13%
There should be more political parties on the ballot to provide a greater choice for the voter	45%

For whom of the following would you express your strongest feelings?

All workers:

John F. Kennedy	79%
Franklin Delano Roosevelt	63%
Robert F. Kennedy	60%
Martin Luther King, Jr.	59%
John L. Lewis	59%
Walter P. Reuther	45%
George L. Meany	30%
James Hoffa	25%

Which of these leaders would you prefer to have in or at the head of the government?

All workers:

Hubert H. Humphrey	56%
Sen. Edmund Muskie	51%
Mayor Richard J. Daley	31%
Rev. Jesse Jackson	30%
Adlai Stevenson III	30%
Lyndon B. Johnson	28%
Sen. Charles Percy	25%
Nelson Rockefeller	23%
Sen. George McGovern	23%
Sargent Shriver	15%
Father Groppi	15%

Richard M. Nixon	15%
Sen. Eugene McCarthy	12%
Sen. Barry Goldwater	11%
Howard Miller	10%
George Wallace	10%
Dick Gregory	9%
Spiro Agnew	9%
Stokely Carmichael	6%
William Buckley	6%
Lester Maddox	3%
Dr. Benjamin Spock	3%
Jerry Rubin	0%
Abbie Hoffman	0%

By what means do you think social change should come?

All workers:

Non-violent actions to apply pressure for change	54%
Peaceful change even if it takes many years	27%
Militant confrontations to force change	7%
Revolution	6%
No reason to change from the way it has been going	6%
Don't know	8%

All workers: (by racial distribution)

<u>White workers</u>		<u>Black workers</u>
33%	Non-violent actions to apply pressure for change	69%
44%	Peaceful change, even if it takes many years	11%
6%	Militant confrontations to force change	9%
6%	Revolution	6%
8%	No reason to change from the way it has been going	0%
3%	Don't know	5%

All workers:(by age distribution)

<u>Under 35</u>		<u>Over 35</u>
45%	Non-violent actions to apply pressure for change	63%
26%	Peaceful change, even if it takes many years	21%
17%	Militant confrontations to force change	2%
4%	Revolution	6%
3%	No reason to change from the way it has been going	5%
4%	Don't know	4%

Many years ago the Radical Left was attacked as being "Communist." Do you believe the Radical Left of today should be labelled in the same manner?

All workers:

Yes	27%
No	42%
Don't know	27%

All workers: (by racial distribution)

White workers

36%	Yes
31%	No
33%	Don't know

Black workers

20%
51%
29%

All workers: (by age distribution)

Under 35

22%	Yes
39%	No
39%	Don't know

Over 35

31%
42%
27%

Do you believe there is a generation gap?

All workers:

Yes	72%
No	21%
Don't know	4%

All workers: (by racial distribution)

White workers

69%	Yes
22%	No
9%	Don't know

Black workers

82%
9%
9%

All workers: (by age distribution)

Under 35

78%	Yes
4%	No
18%	Don't know

Over 35

75%
21%
4%

How do you think older people should relate to young people?

All workers:

They should try to understand what young people are thinking about	51%
They should join them in their activities for better communication	30%
They should exercise stricter parental authority	17%
They should not take them seriously	0%
No Opinion	3%

Do you find yourself in disagreement more with older people or with younger people?

All workers:

Younger people	32%
Older People	45%
Don't know	15%

All workers: (by age distribution)

<u>Under 35</u>		<u>Over 35</u>
30%	Younger people	35%
52%	Older people	42%
18%	Don't know	23%

At what age would you say older people (as a group) can no longer make a significant contribution to the social welfare?

All workers:

Over 30	0%
Over 40	1%
Over 50	4%
Over 60	11%
The claim is false	60%
No opinion	27%

All workers: (by age distribution)

<u>Under 35</u>		<u>Over 35</u>
0%	Over 30	0%
4%	Over 40	2%
4%	Over 50	5%
17%	Over 60	8%
57%	The claim is false	63%
28%	No opinion	22%

Would you say that disagreements between older and younger people are due more to:

All workers:

Differences in ideals	19%
Differences in means in achieving ideals	54%
No differences in ideals or in means of achieving them	0%
Older people believe they know more about life	18%
No opinion	9%

How much freedom do you think young people are enjoying today?

All workers:

Too much	58%
Not enough	13%
Just right	7%
No opinion	18%

All workers: (by age distribution)

<u>Under 35</u>		<u>Over 35</u>
52%	Too much	56%
13%	Not enough	13%
9%	Just right	6%
6%	No opinion	13%

What does a "Hippie" or "Yippie" mean to you?

All workers:

Young troublemaker looking for kicks	35%
Young people who want a better world than their elders	32%
Radical agitators who are really Communists	11%
Young people who want to stay out of the draft	10%
No opinion	12%

All workers:(by age distribution)

<u>Under 35</u>		<u>Over 35</u>
22%	Young troublemaker looking for kicks	42%
26%	Young people who want a better world than their elders	35%
13%	Radical agitators who are really Communists	6%
4%	Young people who want to stay out of the draft	2%
35%	No opinion	15%

All workers: (by racial distribution)

<u>White workers</u>		<u>Black workers</u>
44%	Young troublemaker looking for kicks	22%
10%	Young people who want a better world than their elders	37%
14%	Radical agitators who are really Communists	3%
3%	Young people who want to stay out of the draft	3%
11%	No opinion	35%

Would you agree or disagree on the following: (all workers)

Sexual relations before marriage:

Agree	45%
Disagree	39%
No opinion	16%

Homosexual relations between consenting adults: (all workers)

Agree	17%
Disagree	52%
No opinion	31%

Would you agree or disagree on the following: Anyone should have the right to smoke pot (marijuana) if he wants to: (all workers)

Agree	31%
Disagree	60%
No opinion	9%

All workers:(by racial distribution)

<u>White workers</u>		<u>Black workers</u>
25%	Agree	26%
67%	Disagree	66%
8%	No opinion	8%

All workers: (by age distribution)

<u>Under 35</u>		<u>Over 35</u>
35%	Agree	19%
48%	Disagree	77%
17%	No opinion	4%

Which one of the following has had the greatest effect on you?

All workers:

President Kennedy's assassination	25%
The Civil Rights and Students' rebellion	18%
The Vietnam War	18%
Martin Luther King, Jr.'s assassination	18%
Depression of the '30's	11%
World War II and the battle against Hitler	4%
Cold war aftermath and the Korean War	4%

All workers: (by racial distribution)

White workers

22%	President Kennedy's assassination
25%	The Civil Rights and Students' rebellion
22%	The Vietnam War
3%	Martin Luther King, Jr.'s assassination
17%	Depression of the '30's
8%	World War II and the battle against Hitler
6%	The Cold War aftermath and the Korean War

Black workers

31%
11%
14%
36%
6%
0%
0%

All workers: (by age distribution)

Under 35

30%	President Kennedy's assassination
17%	The Civil Rights and Students' Rebellions
26%	The Vietnam War
17%	Martin Luther King Jr. 's assassination
0%	Depression of the '30's
4%	World War II and the battle against Hitler
4%	The Cold War aftermath and the Korean War

Over 35

25%
19%
15%
19%
17%
4%
2%

Do you think another depression like that of the '30's could occur in your lifetime?

All workers:

Yes	41%
No	41%
Don't know	18%

All workers: (by racial distribution)

<u>White workers</u>		<u>Black workers</u>
42%	Yes	40%
44%	No	37%
14%	Don't know	23%

All workers: (by age distribution)

<u>Under 35</u>		<u>Over 35</u>
43%	Yes	40%
43%	No	40%
14%	Don't know	20%

Why do you believe another depression like that of the '30's can or cannot recur?

All workers:

Can recur:

Historically, our economic system has always had periodic economic crises. 25%

Unlimited government spending and welfare handouts 22%

Cannot recur:

We know more about depressions and how to avoid them 14%

Our economic system is too strong to experience another economic crisis such as the Great Depression 10%

No opinion 29%

Do you see any similarity between the student demonstrations of today with the labor struggles of the '30's?

All workers:

Yes	58%
No	22%
Dont' know	20%

All workers: (by racial distribution)

<u>White workers</u>		<u>Black workers</u>
53%	Yes	60%
33%	No	14%
14%	Don't know	26%

All workers: (by age distribution)

<u>Under 35</u>		<u>Over 35</u>
65%	Yes	52%
9%	No	31%
26%	Don't know	17%

Are you in support of the aims of students who demonstrate peacefully against the war in Vietnam?

All workers:

Yes	72%
No	22%
Don't know	6%

All workers: (by racial distribution)

<u>White workers</u>		<u>Black workers</u>
69%	Yes	77%
23%	No	20%
3%	Don't know	3%

All workers: (by age distribution)

<u>Under 35</u>		<u>Over 35</u>
92%	Yes	57%
8%	No	39%
0%	Don't know	4%

Are you in favor of the United States withdrawing all American soldiers from Vietnam by December, 1970, or even sooner?

All workers:

Yes	51%
No	32%
Don't know	4%

All workers: (by racial distribution)

<u>White workers</u>		<u>Black workers</u>
44%	Yes	54%
42%	No	22%
14%	Don't know	24%

All workers: (by age distribution)

<u>Under 35</u>		<u>Over 35</u>
57%	Yes	46%
26%	No	35%
17%	Don't know	19%

Should nations go to war to settle their political differences?

All workers:

Yes	7%
No	82%
Don't know	12%

All workers: (by racial distribution)

<u>White workers</u>		<u>Black workers</u>
3%	Yes	9%
92%	No	77%
5%	Don't know	24%

All workers: (by age distribution)

<u>Under 35</u>		<u>Over 35</u>
4%	Yes	6%
78%	No	85%
18%	Don't know	9%

If your answer is "No", what system would you favor to settle disputes between nations? (Check one or more)

All workers:

The negotiating machinery of the United Nations	23%
An International Court whose decision would be final and binding on all parties	48%
Don't know	11%

How would you act in the following situations: (all workers)

	<u>Use Force</u>	<u>Not use force</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
In a strike situation where workers are threatening to cross a picket line.	55%	35%	10%
Where a permit for a civil rights march has been denied, and your group insists on marching thru a police blockade anyway	25%	56%	14%
Where students anxious to back up their demands attempt to keep teachers from entering their classrooms	22%	59%	14%
Where another person called you an obscene name	17%	59%	18%

America is a country made up of many minority and nationality (ethnic) groups. Do you believe the strains and tensions between them are temporary or permanent?

All workers:

Temporary	56%
Permanent	28%
Don't know	16%

All workers (by racial distribution)

White workers:

77%	Temporary
23%	Permanent
0%	Don't know

Black workers

34%
31%
35%

All workers: (by age distribution)

Under 35

52%	Temporary
30%	Permanent
13%	Don't know

Over 35

58%
27%
15%

Are you in favor of Black studies courses being taught at High Schools and Universities for the purpose of studying Black history and culture?

All workers:

Yes	77%
No	15%
Don't know	8%

All workers: (by racial distribution)

White workers

69%	Yes
19%	No
12%	Don't know

Black workers

89%
9%
2%

All workers: (by age distribution)

Under 35

83%	Yes
4%	No
13%	Don't know

Over 35

77%
19%
4%