

Los Angeles-Orange Counties Organizing Committee  
REPORT,  
(AFL-CIO)

A SURVEY OF VOTERS IN  
NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD ELECTIONS:

Attitudes of Voters in Collective Bargaining  
Representation Elections and in Political  
Elections, Los Angeles and Orange Counties,  
California, 1966-67.

prepared by  
Paul J. Hoffman and Ellen W. Studhalter and a  
team of San Fernando Valley State College Political  
Science Department Research Analysts,

for the

Los Angeles, Orange Counties Organizing  
Committee, AFL-CIO

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Los Angeles, 1968

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## FOREWORD

As the Los Angeles -Orange Counties Organizing Committee entered upon its fifth year of existence in 1967, members of its executive body, the Advisory Committee, felt the need for an evaluation of the main techniques being employed by both union organizers and management personnel during organizing campaigns. A proposal to make such an evaluation met with the general approval of the officers and representatives of the various International Unions comprising the overall Organizing Committee. Accordingly, the San Fernando Valley State College Foundation was commissioned to carry out a survey through the Political Science Department of the College.

We wanted such a survey for two main reasons. First, to help crystallize our own thinking and clarify our evaluations of a wide range of experiences; second, to compare our subjective judgments with findings of impartial persons experienced in investigating and analyzing voter attitudes. We felt such a study would have relevance to organizers and to the labor movement far beyond our own two-counties area.

We were interested in learning more about factors that determine how, when, and why an individual decides which way he will vote. We wanted to know from representative employees, chosen at random, what chief pressures and counter-pressures are brought into play during the heat of a campaign. We were also interested in obtaining a cross analysis of voter attitudes in recent political elections as compared to representation elections conducted by the National Labor Relations Board.

We recognized that there would be limitations in the selection of the sample to be surveyed and in delineating the scope of the study. Also, there were problems of limited finances and a minimal allotment of time. In spite of these limitations, we anticipated that the findings would be significant for organizers in particular, and for all those in the labor movement who are concerned with seeking effective approaches to recent changes within the workforce and within the population itself.

In our opinion, these original purposes of the Organizing Committee proved to be fully justified by the survey. Much that is revealed in the Report has general relevance beyond our own area. We can see here a slice taken right out of the heart and core of organizing activities as they are carried on day by day throughout the entire labor movement.

We would like to express our thanks to the San Fernando Valley State College Foundation, under whose auspices this study was made. Also, we wish to thank Dr. Paul J. Hoffman, Associate Professor and Mrs. Ellen Studhalter, Instructor in the Political Science Department. Their scholarly approach and proficiency in investigation and analysis was matched only by their fine cooperation in working within the limits of time and budget allotments. We are especially grateful to Mrs. Studhalter for the many dedicated hours spent in training and guiding interviewers, in analyzing and interpreting the findings and in preparing this Report, and for the time given generously for frequent consultations with the Organizing Committee staff.

Finally, we would like to thank the students who acted as interviewers. The typical Southern California employee is highly mobile in both his place of work and residence. He was well represented on the lists of voters chosen for the sample. Nevertheless, the interviewers succeeded in tracking down a sufficient number to complete a representative sampling. We also wish to commend them for the impartiality with which they carried out their task and the interest they showed in the study itself.

To our knowledge, this is the first comprehensive survey of its kind undertaken by a trade union organization. Although the nearly 500 actual interviews do not constitute a large sample, we feel this was sufficient to provide overall findings of general application to union organizing campaigns both within and beyond the limits of Los Angeles and Orange Counties. As such, we of the Advisory Committee, hope the study will lead to further relevant investigations by other groups within the labor movement.

Los Angeles-Orange Counties  
Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO

William L. Gilbert,  
Director

NOTE: Many combinations of factors might have been chosen to be highlighted in the Report or presented in Tables. Due to obvious limitations, those selected are the most significant for general purposes.

Overall findings in terms of all responses to each question may be found in numerical or percentage form in Appendix V. Anyone wishing to go into greater detail regarding responses to any particular question, or who might wish to calculate specific responses in cross analysis with other specific responses may contact the Committee. In highly special instances, it may prove possible to make an arrangement with the SFVSC analysts for further study of the computer cards.

A word of assistance in studying the attached Report may also be in order. The reader at times could be puzzled by certain sub-totals that do not add up to relevant gross totals. The reason in such a case is probably due to the fact that some respondents did not reply clearly to the particular question, or did not fall within the specific category covered by the question.

W.L.G.

## PREFACE

This study was undertaken under the auspices of San Fernando Valley State College Foundation and carried out in the Political Science Department. Dr. Paul J. Hoffmann, Associate Professor, was the Principal Investigator, and Mrs. Ellen Studhalter, Instructor, was the Research Analyst.

We wish to thank Mr. William Kircher, Director of Organization of the AFL-CIO, for his encouragement of the study itself and for the direct assistance he gave in planning certain specific phases of it.

We also wish to thank the Los Angeles, Orange Counties Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, Mr. William L. Gilbert, its Director, and his assistant, Miss Katherine Cline, for making the study possible and for the unstinting cooperation and help they have extended at all times.

Further, we wish to express our appreciation to Mr. Sigmund Arywitz, Executive Secretary of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, for assistance in bringing the information contained herein to a larger audience within the labor movement than might otherwise have been possible.

Among others who deserve a word of appreciation are Mr. Al Soss, Chief Interviewer and Assistant Analyst and Mr. Steve Schnitman and Mr. Vernon Murray, students at California State College at Los Angeles, who carried out their interviewing schedules with outstanding energy and dedication. Mr. Gary Hatfield and Mr. Steve Heller of SFVSC and Mr. Richard Graham of CSCLA deserve honorable mention.

Thanks are also due to Dr. Gary Field, Associate Professor, Political Science, SFVSC, and Mr. George Kagiwada, Assistant Professor, Sociology, SFVSC, for their advice and guidance.

Mr. Brad Smith of the Computer Facility provided invaluable assistance and service and last but not most indispensable was the excellent assistance in the clerical, statistical and stenographic areas provided by Miss Doris Babamoto, San Fernando Valley State College student.

January, 1968

Paul J. Hoffman  
Ellen W. Studhalter



## ERRATA SHEET

To recipients of the Report, A Survey of Voters in National Labor Relations Board Elections (Los Angeles and Orange Counties, California, 1966-67):

This first edition of the Report contains certain errors which might affect a reader's interpretation of the relevant subject matter. Below are corrections which should be made. Not included are typographical, grammatical and other minor errors. (Some copies of this edition which already have been distributed contain part of the corrections listed below.)

On page 20, in the second paragraph, the second sentence should read:

"Therefore, about 33 people represented a net fall off of about 11 percent between signed cards and the vote for the union. (This net fall off arose out of a balance between card signers who voted against the union, non-card signers who voted for the union and those who did not vote.)"

On page 24, in the next to the last paragraph, the word "one-fourth" should be "one-fifth".

On page 27, in Table XII, the sentence in the Note referring to 11 percent should read:

"This is a net fall off of about 11 percent between signed cards and the vote for the union."

On page 34, in Table XXIV, the second age group totaling 242 respondents should be headed "26/40", not "41/60".

On page 41, in the second paragraph, the second sentence should read:

"35.9 percent of pro-union voters said they were strong Democrats as against 29.7 percent who said they were usually Democrats. (See Table V)."

At the end of the paragraph, add a sentence reading  
"(Among anti-union voters, only 16.5 percent said they were strong Democrats while 35.5 percent said they were usually Democrats.)"

Throughout the Report, where reference is made to the age group "under 25", the designation should be "25 or under".

April 1, 1968

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## PART ONE: DEVELOPMENT OF THE PLAN FOR THE SURVEY

### I. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

In the Spring of 1967, the Los Angeles-Orange Counties Organizing Committee of the AFL-CIO approached the Political Science Department of San Fernando Valley State College to investigate the possibilities of conducting a survey among workers in private industry focused on workers who had rather recently made a particular decision: whether to vote for or against a union as their collective bargaining agent in an election conducted in their place of employment by the National Labor Relations Board. The AFL-CIO Organizing Committee was interested in a direct contact survey of a sample of this population to obtain data about the characteristics, attitudes, and behavior of people who were recent participants in the common experience of such an election.

They especially wanted some fresh data concerning attitudinal components among young workers, female employees, workers from the ethnic minorities, and political orientation in general elections. Also employee views on management and union practices during organizing campaigns and the extent to which mass media might be influencing employee attitudes toward organized labor. In addition, they sought statistical results from a survey conducted by an outside, unbiased, and scholarly group of investigators for comparison and verification of, or variation from, data already available from other sources, about the restricted population from which the sample would be drawn. They also wished to test inferences of their own, based on experience, wide contact, and educated intuition. The basic objectives included cross analysis and correlations which would indicate probabilities and point toward cause and effect.

Their tentative hypothesis was, in short, that the "generation gap," new attitudes of young people as a whole, and perhaps other overall shifts in attitudes of working people might have great significance to the labor movement, indicating directions for new approaches to ensure that it will continue to fulfill the needs of its members and attract new members from among the unorganized, including women, young people, Negro and Spanish-speaking workers, all of whom are increasing rapidly in the workforce.

The answers to many of these questions were relevant to political science. The proposal by the Organizing Committee that an outside, unbiased agency should examine these aspects of their inner dynamics was significant in itself. It demonstrated a therapeutic positivism and scientific spirit among these leaders that argues well for the labor movement. Few organizations welcome such scrutiny and fewer still seek it and offer to supply the funds for it while readily agreeing that the findings will remain the property of the investigators.

Organized labor, as one of the most significant conflict groups or countervailing powers in our American interest group system, represented an important area for a behavioral study that promised to shed light on such current hypotheses as those that hold that the industrial worker is moving to more conservative positions on social and political issues and that he is taking on more middle class attitudes as his life-style approximates more and more

closely that of the middle class. If this is true, the need to establish correlation or lack of it between these attitudes and his perception of union membership is obvious.

In recent years, young people, long regarded as a sub-culture, seem to have been emerging as a conflict group in the political system. At least such is their mass media fanfare, indicated by the degree of attention to the "generation gap." The study would provide an opportunity to gather some data about the accuracy of this picture of youth's rejection of the established system insofar as it might be significantly measurable in the attitudes of young employees.

Since the study proposed to inquire into party preference, voting behavior and attitudes toward issues in the 1966 California gubernatorial election, and the 1964 Presidential election, the findings of the survey would supply such data relevant to political science. It would also provide practical experience in interviewing and other phases of the survey for upper division and graduate students recruited to participate as interviewers. In view of these contributive factors, Dr. Paul J. Hoffmann agreed to act as Principal Investigator and Mrs. Ellen Studhalter as Research Analyst.

A proposal and budget was submitted to and accepted by San Fernando Valley State College Foundation, who administered the grant from the AFL-CIO committee to cover certain budgeted expenses.

## II. CONSTRUCTION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire (Appendix I) which was used in the interviews was devised in consultation with Mr. William L. Gilbert, Director of the Los Angeles-Orange Counties Organizing Committee, and Miss Katherine Cline who knew best the specific objectives of the survey.

This data to be gathered for frequency distribution and correlation were translated into specific questions. The questions were arranged and worded so as to be as respondent-oriented as possible, aimed at establishing rapport, overcoming reluctance to answer, eliminating bias, and encouraging accuracy and truthfulness. After the pre-test, the questions were rearranged to place the ones that seemed most likely to arouse hostility, refusals to answer, or in some cases, terminate the interview, at the end of the questionnaire. This was judged worth the attendant disadvantage of having some respondents tire and thus tend to give inadequate replies to some of the later questions. Wording was changed which had proved ambiguous or required additional verbal explanation. Three questions were added. In general, personal-social and environmental questions preceded behavioral and psychological and attitudinal questions.

### III. HIRING AND TRAINING OF INTERVIEWERS

Interviewers were hired from upper division and graduate students in the Political Science Department of San Fernando Valley State College and the Government Department of California State College at Los Angeles.

Most of them had had some previous interviewing experience and had taken courses in Social Research Methods that included interviewing techniques.

Three training sessions were held, two at SFVSC and one at CSCLA to familiarize them with the study itself, its objectives and structure as well as with the questionnaire and general background information about the respondents.

The first session was for interviewers who worked on the pre-test, consisting of 26 interviews.

After it was completed, they met again to discuss problems they had encountered and to suggest changes in the wording of the questions. Two of them continued interviewing with the revised questionnaire.

A new group of interviewers were hired immediately, while others signed on later and were trained individually.

Six were originally hired and trained at CSCLA, of whom three worked steadily throughout the survey and were responsible for approximately half of the interviews.

### IV. ORIGIN OF SAMPLE

The sample was drawn from lists of employees eligible to vote in elections conducted by the National Labor Relations Board in plants located in Los Angeles or Orange County. The lists represented employees of 30 different companies located in various areas within the two counties. The NLRB elections took place over a period of twelve months during 1966 and 1967. The lists were selected to include large, medium and small voting units; large, medium and small unions; election results in relation to actual experience in terms of percentage of union victories and losses. (In some 1,100 NLRB elections involving AFL-CIO unions during the five years since the formation of the Organizing Committee, the percentage of victories over losses was 53.1 percent at the time of the development of the survey plan. In the sample chosen for the survey, the percentage of victories was 53.3 percent.) These lists, when all were received, contained around 5,500 names from which 500 would be selected as respondents.

From the lists a ten percent sample was selected. This was kept as random as possible, within the limits of geographical feasibility. Interviewers were first given three, and as the survey progressed, four names, for each



interview they were expected to complete. Every tenth name was chosen as the preferred respondent, with the 9th, 11th, and 13th supplied as alternatives to be called upon in that order.

A summary and analysis of the NLRB elections included in the sample follows.

Summary and Analysis of 30 Selected Lists of Plants  
Involved in NLRB Elections in 1966 & 1967

Number of unions represented	16	
Election wins	16	
Election losses	14	
% of wins over losses	53.3	
Total number of votes cast for unions	2,460	
Total number of votes cast against unions	2,635	
Total votes cast		5,095
Total eligible to vote in elections won	2,881	
Total eligible to vote in elections lost	2,743	
Total eligible		5,624

# Victories and Losses

<u>Company</u> (listed by number only)	<u>Votes Cast:</u>		<u>Eligible Number of Voters in:</u>	
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Wins</u>	<u>Losses</u>
1.	118	76	207	
2.	55	49	111	
3.	28	8	45	
4.	60	31	117	
5.	21	16	41	
6.	62	106		179
7.	16	31		62
8.	58	43	111	
9.	53	26	84	
10.	51	43		121
11.	140	79	230	
12.	351	265	661	
13.	53	33	95	
14.	32	15	62	
15.	70	74		170
16.	101	74	208	
17.	36	60		104
18.	36	144		216
19.	140	76	224	
20.	44	48		95
21.	13	54		70
22.	28	26	61	
23.	12	8	26	
24.	75	173		280
25.	305	234	598	
26.	97	212		335
27.	86	143		248
28.	229	336		584
29.	19	32		54
30.	<u>71</u>	<u>120</u>	<u>        </u>	<u>225</u>
Totals	2,460	2,635	2,881	2,743

Total votes cast            5,095

Total eligible                5,624

## V. PROBLEMS

These name sets often presented the interviewer with four prospective respondents who each lived many miles from the other. Since the interviewers soon found that only about one person out of four or five still lived at the same address, was at home, and was willing to be interviewed, it was necessary to supply them with the four names to obtain one interview. If none of the four names in a set elicited an interview, another set was to be substituted in order to preserve randomness. Therefore, it was decided to prepare lists of sets for every fifth name to optimize the chances of getting the 500 interviews. This meant that eight out of every ten names on the lists were put into the hands of the interviewers.

There was little difficulty in identifying Spanish speaking respondents by virtue of surname or language spoken. The random method of sample selection assured a proportionate representation from this group.

As to the Negro voters, difficulties of identification solely from lists of names are obvious. It was decided to omit any special means of identification in the questionnaire itself as this was not of particular concern to the Organizing Committee at the time of the survey when balanced against the overall information sought. A further explanation may be found in Part Two, Section I F, "Negro Voters" (page 10).

All lists were not available at the outset of the study. It was necessary to proceed with the interviewing as the lists were forthcoming, introducing an element of stratification by plant since time and availability of interviewers were factors that had to be considered.

## VI. FIELD WORK AND SUPERVISION

By giving the interviewers very long lists of names that were to be sought out in this preferred order, they were able to map out routes for a late afternoon and evening or a Saturday of interviewing that enabled them to cover the territory as quickly and economically as possible with a minimum of criss-crossing or doubling back.

A name set was retired from all lists when crossed out on one to try to avoid the possibility that the primary respondent might be interviewed by one interviewer and one of the alternates by another. There was only one case reported of two interviewers actually approaching the same person.

In order to minimize reporting errors, as much control as possible was set up to see that the interviewers followed their instructions exactly and interviewed the proper person, or the alternates in proper order. It seems evident that the method of mapping out their routes on that basis, as described, virtually guarantees that they did. In many cases, their routes were planned under supervision, and in all cases, they were required to submit

reports of the results of attempts to contact respondents. As they developed pride in their ability to become familiar with areas quickly and traverse them more efficiently, they enjoyed comparing notes on their methods of covering their territories, such as using a certain main street as a diameter or some comparable scheme. After a route was set, it would not have been feasible to substitute other names from the list, so that it is safe to assume that once the route was planned with the correct sequence of names, they did not deviate from it. They were given some leeway to vary the order in which they approached alternates in the name set, if it enabled them to plan a more efficient route for an interviewing excursion.

The researchers estimate that at least 2,100, and probably as many as 2,500 people were actually sought out at their addresses as they appeared on the lists. The interviewers encountered a high proportion of persons sought who no longer lived at the address appearing on the lists, despite the relative recentness of the elections. About 1,200 were located, of which about 700 declined to be interviewed. Probable reasons for high incidence of refusal are discussed in a later section of this report. If refusal to answer further questions occurred before Question 20 was reached, the interview was discarded as a refusal by the interviewers. They were instructed to make every effort in such cases to elicit some revealing remark that might indicate the cause of reluctance or hostility.

## VII. CODING AND TABULATION

The questionnaires were, for the most part, coded by the interviewers, who were given copies of the coding procedure and instructed in its use. All questionnaires were edited after they were submitted. Open end responses were recorded so that a ranked list of them could be prepared for each question which allowed for such answers. (See Appendix II)

A computer card was designed to contain all closed responses to all questions, on a one-column variable basis.

Computer runs necessary to obtain the results and answer the questions included in the survey objectives were developed. Computer time was made available by the SFVSC Computer Center, without charge, with the stipulation that all punching, sorting and preparing of decks be taken care of by the researchers.

Establishment of a cut-off date made it necessary to terminate the field work when 491 interviews had been received in usable form. A card was punched for each one, as well as the necessary program-activating leader cards for ten different frequency distributions, which were subsequently run on the computer at the SFVSC Computer Center, using a FORTRAN (TRUNCATE, OBJECT) program. (Interviews received after the cut-off date are not included in the computation. The actual number of completed interviews, excluding those received too late, was 491.)

Distributions by frequency, percentage and cumulative percentage were obtained on all variables (i.e. questions) for all respondents, (identified in tables as total sample); as well as on all variables by sex, by vote for or against the union, by 1966 gubernatorial vote, and for three age groups. All tables used in this report were prepared from these computer runs, their cross analysis, and supplemental calculations. The complete distributions are included in Appendix V.

(The reader may wish to familiarize himself with the questionnaire before studying the finds. It appears as Appendix I.)

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NOTE: Part two, which follows, deals with the respondents themselves and with certain selected findings. Tables are employed to show findings in relation to specific groups and sub-groups within the sample. Evaluations of union and management techniques are shown. Also, reasons projected by the respondents as to why they think that others voted the way they did.

Both text and Tables focus on aspects of the survey which are of greatest general interest. Additional findings can be selected for analysis and cross-reference by referring to Appendix V, which contains all responses to all questions composing the questionnaire. These are shown in terms of percentages as well as in numerical form.



## PART TWO: THE RESPONDENTS

### I. DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SURVEY RESPONDENTS

#### A. Introduction

A basis for comparing the 491 respondents making up the sample with other population groups is provided by personal-social characteristics revealed in responses to the questionnaire, discussed below. Such personal-social characteristics also present a profile of the survey sample itself and data for cross analysis.

Demographic factors important to the survey were age and sex of the respondents, ethnic groups, marital status, birthplace, education, length of employment of respondents, skilled and non-skilled employees.

The survey involved people who had recently voted in a union representation election. Thus, the demographic profile of the entire sample has been contrasted with the profile of those who said they had voted for the union as well as with the profile of those who reported having voted against the union in the N.L.R.B. election.

The above demographic characteristics are discussed in Sections B through G which follow. Also, see Tables I through IV.

#### B. Male and Female Respondents

There were 139 females and 352 males in the total sample or, in percentages, 28.3 percent women and 71.7 percent men.

The women accounted for 33.6 percent of those who reported having voted for the union while the men accounted for 66.4 percent of those reporting in the affirmative. Among those who reported having voted against the union, 20 percent were women and 80 percent were men.

When the "female only" vote is analyzed, 61.9 percent reported pro-union votes, 28.8 percent reported having voted against the union and 9.3 percent refused to state how they voted. The "male only" vote shows a much smaller spread between the pro and anti-union voters; the percentages of pro and anti-union votes were 48.3 and 45.5 respectively among the men. Those who refused to state how they had voted were 6.2 percent of the total number of men in the sample.

One of the findings of the recent poll taken by John Kraft for the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education was that 20 percent of union members are women and that the strongest support for all AFL-CIO positions on all major issues occurred among women. Female respondents in the San Fernando Valley State College survey showed the same tendency. The women were less educated at every level and their median education was slightly under two years of high school while the median for men fell well into the 3-4 years high school group.

Altogether, single, divorced, widowed, etc., categories accounted for 51 percent of the women and only 22 percent of the men. It is interesting to note that nearly half of these women workers were married; 15.8 were divorced.

### C. Respondents Under 25

There were 100 respondents who were under 25, or 20.4 percent of the sample; 35 percent were 30 or under. The median age was 32 for women, 36 for men.

Respondents under 25 accounted for 18.7 percent of the total pro-union vote, slightly less than their proportion of the sample. Of those under 25, 48 percent reported voting for the union as compared with 52 percent of the total sample. Of the women, 31.7 percent were under the age of 25, as compared to 16 percent of the men. This suggests that the proportion of young people in the workforce will be higher in plants employing large numbers of women. It also suggests that the young men in the sample voted well under 48 percent for the union.

### D. Other Factors Relating to Age Group

The percentage of skilled workers was greater in the 41-60 age group, which was the age group that voted most heavily for the union. Since cross-analysis reveals that skilled workers as a whole emerged as slightly more likely to vote against the union, it can be deduced that older workers not classified as skilled were well over 60 percent for the union.

Other significant variations by age group emerge from the 1966 gubernatorial vote. The under 25 group, while most likely to be non-voters or to refuse to say which candidate they voted for, also showed a more marked shift toward Reagan than the 26-40 or 41-60 groups. While only 13 percent of the total sample reported themselves to be Republicans, 46 percent of the youngest group reported voting for Reagan, as compared to 42 percent of the 26-40 group and 41 percent of the 41-60 group.

### E. Spanish-Speaking People

Spanish-speaking people totaled 20.2 percent of the sample. They voted 58.8 percent for the union. Thirty-one percent of them were under 25 as compared to 20.4 percent for the total sample. At least 66 percent of them were not high school graduates. Their median age was 30. Fifty-five percent of them voted for Brown as compared to 48.8 percent of the total sample.

The percentage of Spanish-speaking women was 29.5 while only 16.5 percent of the men were Spanish-speaking.

### F. Negro voters

In the view of the Organizing Committee, experience over a period of five years had established that Negro workers generally had been supporters of union organizing campaigns. Leadership and participation by Negro employees of all age groups had been remarkably high in plants having a racially mixed workforce. Thus, there was no need seen for a particular approach in the questionnaire itself to this segment of the workforce, especially in view of the problem of ethnic identification of prospective respondents from lists

of employees. (This problem was discussed previously on page 6.)

Nevertheless, on the basis of reports submitted by interviewers, it can be estimated that nine or ten percent of those interviewed were Negroes. There were some problems in obtaining interviews, whether the interviewer himself was Negro or white. Especially, there was a reluctance on the part of prospective Negro respondents to grant interviews in instances where the union had lost the election. Those granting interviews tended to be younger rather than older workers and the respondents usually were pro-union in their attitudes. There was one instance where an individual explained that he had voted for the union, even though he considered it "a union of the white man." In this case, the employee was one of a small minority of Negroes in the plant.

Several of the lost elections had been in low-paying industries employing many Negroes. Employees in such plants indicated suspicion of the interviewers to a greater degree than any other group of workers. A strong element of fear was present that the responses to the questions might get back to the employer and that the respondent might be readily identifiable. Such employees were unwilling to chance an interview.

These interviews add up to a sample which is too small to indicate any special attitudes among Negro employees who participated in the elections covered by the survey. This might be considered a possible area for some future study.

#### G. Other Demographic Factors

The tables which follow further refine and cross-reference this demographic data.

Table I, a distribution by marital status, shows married people to be slightly more pro-union than single people. It is probably that this is more a factor of age than any direct effect of marriage.

Table II shows the variations of union vote according to length of employment. More of those working under one year voted for the union than voted against. In the categories one to two years and two to five, more people voted against the union. Among the five to ten year group, the pro and anti-union vote was about even.

Table III showing the variations of union vote according to birthplace is suggestive. Since early attitudes never lose their influence even when they become cross pressures, there is significance for union-voting in regional variations in strength and activity of the labor movement.

Table IV shows that persons with the median education, three to four years of high school, were more likely to vote against the union than either those less educated or more educated.

Those employed over ten years were more likely to vote for the union than to vote against. This group shows the greater variation in the direction of support for the union than any other group. The suggestion is that both the least and most senior employees are more likely to respond favorably to the union campaign than groups in between.

TABLES SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF OTHER DEMOGRAPHIC DATA AMONG

CONTROLLED GROUPS OF RESPONDENTS (IN PERCENTAGES)

TABLE I

MARITAL STATUS	UNION VOTE		SEX		AGE			VOTE FOR GOVERNOR		TOTAL SAMPLE	
	FOR	AGAINST	MALE	FEMALE	UNDER 25	25/40	41/60	REAGAN	BROWN	PERCENTAGE	
SINGLE	18.0	21.5	15.9	28.7	58.0	13.6	2.9	22.1	15.7	19.5	
MARRIED	71.1	69.5	78.1	48.9	38.0	77.3	79.7	69.2	71.7	69.9	
DIVORCED	7.4	8.0	5.1	15.8	4.0	8.7	10.1	7.7	8.3	8.1	
OTHER	3.5	1.0	0.9	6.5	-	0.4	7.2	1.0	3.3	2.4	

TABLE II

LENGTH OF EMPLOYMENT	UNION VOTE		SEX		AGE			VOTE FOR GOVERNOR		TOTAL SAMPLE	
	FOR	AGAINST	MALE	FEMALE	UNDER 25	26/40	41/60	REAGAN	BROWN	PERCENTAGE	
UNDER 1 YR.	7.8	6.5	7.3	8.6	23.0	4.1	3.6	8.7	5.4	7.7	
1 - 2	24.6	28.5	24.7	30.2	46.0	28.1	8.7	24.0	27.9	26.3	
2 - 5	39.6	41.5	53.1	41.7	29.0	45.5	39.9	38.5	38.3	38.9	
5 - 10	15.2	15.5	15.9	13.7	2.0	16.5	24.6	19.2	13.8	15.3	
OVER 10	12.9	7.0	11.9	5.8	-	4.5	23.2	7.7	12.9	10.2	
NO ANSWER	0.8	1.0	2.0	-	-	1.2	-	1.9	1.7	1.6	

TABLES SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF OTHER DEMOGRAPHIC DATA AMONG

CONTROLLED GROUPS OF RESPONDENTS (IN PERCENTAGES)

TABLE III

<u>BIRTHPLACE</u>	<u>UNION VOTE</u>		<u>SEX</u>		<u>AGE</u>			<u>VOTE FOR GOVERNOR</u>		<u>TOTAL SAMPLE</u>	
	FOR	AGAINST	MALE	FEMALE	UNDER 25	26/40	41/60	REAGAN	BROWN	PERCENTAGE	
LOS ANGELES/ SOUTHERN CALIF.	30.5	34.5	30.4	34.5	47.0	37.6	10.9	42.3	25.0	31.6	
MIDWEST	12.1	18.0	14.5	12.2	8.0	12.8	18.8	15.4	12.5	13.8	
SOUTH	21.1	20.5	17.5	28.8	23.0	20.2	21.0	11.1	27.5	20.8	
EAST	17.2	13.0	18.2	10.1	7.0	12.4	29.0	15.9	17.1	15.9	
FAR WEST	8.2	10.0	8.8	10.1	8.0	9.5	9.4	8.7	10.4	9.2	
FOREIGN	10.2	3.5	10.6	4.3	7.0	6.2	10.8	6.3	5.4	8.7	

TABLE IV

<u>EDUCATION</u>	<u>UNION VOTE</u>		<u>SEX</u>		<u>AGE</u>			<u>VOTE FOR GOVERNOR</u>		<u>TOTAL SAMPLE</u>	
	FOR	AGAINST	MALE	FEMALE	UNDER 25	26/40	41/60	REAGAN	BROWN	PERCENTAGE	
0-8 GRADE	14.5	11.0	11.1	18.0	9.9	9.5	19.6	7.2	13.3	13.0	
1-2 YEARS H.S.	33.6	21.5	26.4	36.7	23.0	31.4	29.7	21.6	35.8	29.3	
3-4 YEARS H.S.	41.8	53.5	48.2	37.4	51.0	47.9	39.9	52.9	42.1	45.2	
1-2 YEARS COLLEGE	8.2	11.5	11.1	6.4	15.0	7.4	10.1	15.9	5.8	9.8	
3-4 YEARS COLLEGE	1.5	2.0	2.0	1.4	2.0	2.5	.7	2.4	1.3	1.8	
NO ANSWER	.4	.5	1.1	-	-	1.2	-	-	1.7	.8	



## PART TWO: THE RESPONDENTS (Continued)

### II. POLITICAL ATTITUDES OF RESPONDENTS: Relationship to Union Vote and Other Characteristics

Questions asked in the survey about political preferences and attitudes toward issues were designed to elicit confirmation or to refute two propositions.

The first of these was the hypothesis suggested by political writers and analysts of recent trends that there has been a shift toward a more conservative stance among working people.

For decades, organized labor has espoused programs and supported legislation to promote economic advancement and security for working people, as well as supported leaders associated with such programs. A political coalition of labor, political, ethnic and other groups evolved within this framework. The world's highest standard of living has been established for the bulk of American employees to a great degree as a result of this coalition, supported and expanded by the collective bargaining process in the organized workplaces.

The generation that saw the achievement of such socio-economic advances is now passing from the scene. In the view of some observers, the new generation moving into the workforce has weaker ties with the movement that produced this "American standard of living." The focus has shifted in the workingman's view of political realities.

He, in this view, has become a member of a new middle class. He has property to protect; therefore, he opposes high taxes, open-housing, and sees threats to his job from groups who seek to improve their status. If there is substance to these assumptions, the worker could be expected to be more likely to vote Republican. He would reflect these views in the relative importance he assigns to campaign issues.

The other hypothesis to be examined was that a correlation would appear between political attitudes of respondents and their attitude toward joining a union.

#### A. Party Preferences and Voting Behavior

Questions in this area asked the respondent to characterize the strength of his party affiliation. Respondents also were asked which candidate they voted for in the 1964 presidential election and in the 1966 gubernatorial election and which campaign issues had been most important in determining their vote for governor. (See questions number 14, 15 and 16.)

Table V below, showing the distribution of party preferences, indicates that 58 percent of respondents characterized their party preference as Democrat, either strong Democrat or usually Democrat. This corresponds exactly to the percentage of those reporting themselves as Democrats in the recent national survey of union members by John Kraft.

In the gubernatorial election, the sample would have elected Brown. However, the margin is decidedly narrower than it was in the Presidential election. This is consistent with the pattern of California voting and is most marked in the younger and the better educated respondents (see Table VI), who would have elected

Reagan, and the male respondents who would have given him a close race against Brown. California voter registration for 1966 showed 58 percent of registered voters were Democrats and 42 percent were Republicans.

A large segment of respondents characterized themselves as Independent. This is typical of California voters and it is typical for these voters to actually vote Republican. This tendency is particularly evident with the youngest group in the sample.

The correlation between Republican affiliation, choice of Republican candidate and union vote is marked, as shown in Tables V, VI and VII.

#### B. Issues - Gubernatorial Election of 1966

All categories of respondents ranked "Taxes and High Cost of Living" as the number one issue in order of importance except the people who voted for Brown, who made it their second issue. These respondents placed the highest importance on "Experience and Qualifications of Candidates." (See question number 16, Appendix I.)

"Civil Rights and Open Housing" ranked as a very important issue to all groups. However, Reagan supporters elevated "Protests, Riots and Student Agitation" to second place, indicating the importance they placed upon seeing such disturbances stopped, since Reagan stressed so heavily during his campaign that he intended to restore "law and order" in these areas.

The complete ranking of issue choices is set forth in Table VIII below.

#### C. Significance of Political Responses

With reference to the current speculation previously alluded to, that there is a shift among working people toward more conservative or middle class attitudes, the tabulated responses are consistent with this view but not necessarily conclusive.

The heavy vote for Reagan is marked, when the usual voting behavior of groups comparable to the sample is considered. More directly indicative is the contrast between the percentage of professed Democrats and the percentage of Brown supporters.

However, it would be premature to infer cause and effect or, especially, to infer any lasting trend on the basis of one gubernatorial election. Many neutral factors were at work favorable to Reagan's victory, such as the simple desire for a change.

It should be noted that there is a correlation between Reagan supporters and anti-union voters. Also, it cannot be overlooked that, neutral factors aside, support for Reagan indicates support for conservative views.

# PARTY PREFERENCES AND VOTING BEHAVIOR

RESPONSES IN RELATION TO SEX, AGE, GUBERNATORIAL AND UNION VOTE, SHOWN IN TABLES BELOW.  
TABLE VI ALSO SHOWS RELATION TO EDUCATIONAL LEVELS OF RESPONDENTS (IN PERCENTAGES).

TABLE V: PARTY PREFERENCES

QUESTION NUMBER 14: "WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING MOST ACCURATELY DESCRIBES YOUR POLITICAL ATTITUDE?"

ATTITUDE	SEX		AGE				REAGAN BROWN	UNION VOTE		TOTAL SAMPLE
	MALE	FEMALE	UNDER 25	26/40	41/60			FOR	AGAINST	
1. STRONG DEMOCRAT	27.0	30.9	21.0	25.2	34.8		4.8	35.9	16.5	28.1
2. USUALLY DEMOCRAT	29.8	32.4	23.0	36.8	26.8		31.3	29.7	35.5	30.5
3. INDEPENDENT	11.4	17.3	24.0	11.2	10.1		23.1	11.3	15.5	13.0
4. STRONG REPUBLICAN	3.7	3.6	2.0	2.9	5.8		8.7	2.3	6.0	3.7
5. USUALLY REPUBLICAN	11.4	4.3	11.0	8.7	8.7		19.7	6.6	13.0	9.4
6. NON-VOTER	13.6	10.0	15.0	12.4	12.3		10.1	12.9	11.0	12.6
7. OTHER ANSWER	3.1	1.4	4.0	2.9	1.4		2.4	1.2	2.5	2.6

TABLE VI: GUBERNATORIAL VOTE, 1966

QUESTION NUMBER 15: "FOR WHOM DID YOU VOTE IN THE LAST GENERAL ELECTION FOR GOVERNOR?"

CANDIDATE	SEX		AGE				HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION OR MORE	UNION VOTE		TOTAL SAMPLE
	MALE	FEMALE	UNDER 25	26/40	41/60			FOR	AGAINST	
REAGAN	45.7	31.7	46.0	42.1	41.3		71.2	32.8	57.5	42.4
BROWN	44.6	56.8	40.0	50.8	51.5		49.2	60.2	35.0	48.8
NON-VOTER	4.2	7.9	7.0	2.5	2.9		-	1.9	3.0	5.3
REFUSED TO SAY	3.5	3.6	7.0	4.5	4.3		-	5.1	4.5	3.5

TABLE VII: PRESIDENTIAL VOTE, 1964

QUESTION NUMBER 15: "FOR WHOM DID YOU VOTE FOR PRESIDENT?"

CANDIDATE	SEX		AGE				REAGAN BROWN	UNION VOTE		TOTAL SAMPLE
	MALE	FEMALE	UNDER 25	26/40	41/60			FOR	AGAINST	
JOHNSON	75.3	79.1	67.0	81.0	75.4		66.3	79.7	73.5	76.4
GOLDWATER	17.6	7.9	17.0	12.0	18.1		32.2	12.9	19.0	14.9
NON-VOTER	3.7	8.6	7.0	2.5	3.6		-	2.7	3.0	5.0
REFUSED TO SAY	3.4	4.3	9.0	4.5	2.9		-	4.7	4.5	3.7

# RANKING OF ISSUES IN GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN

IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE, BY UNION VOTE, SEX, AGE AND GUBERNATORIAL VOTE OF RESPONDENTS.

TABLE VIII

QUESTION NUMBER 16: "WHEN YOU DECIDED ON YOUR CANDIDATE FOR GOVERNOR, WHICH OF THESE ISSUES WERE MOST IMPORTANT TO YOU?"

<u>ISSUES</u>	RANK BY UNION VOTE		RANK BY SEX		RANK BY AGE			VOTE FOR GOVERNOR		TOTAL SAMPLE
	FOR	AGAINST	MALE	FEMALE	UNDER 25	26/40	41/60	REAGAN	BROWN	RANK
1. TAXES AND HIGH COST OF LIVING	1ST	1ST	1ST	1ST	1ST	1ST	1ST	1ST	2ND	1ST
2. CIVIL RIGHTS AND OPEN HOUSING	3RD	2ND	3RD	2ND	3RD	2ND	3RD	4TH	3RD	3RD
3. WELFARE COSTS	5TH	4TH	5TH	4TH	4TH	5TH	5TH	3RD	4TH	4TH
4. PROTESTS, RIOTS, STUDENT AGITATION	4TH	5TH	4TH	5TH	5TH	4TH	4TH	2ND	5TH	5TH
5. "CRIME IN THE STREETS"	6TH	6TH	6TH	6TH	5TH	6TH	6TH	5TH	6TH	6TH
6. EXPERIENCE & QUALIFI- CATION OF CANDIDATES	2ND	3RD	2ND	3RD	2ND	3RD	2ND	6TH	1ST	2ND
7. WAR IN VIETNAM	7TH	7TH	7TH	7TH	5TH	7TH	7TH	7TH	7TH	7TH

## PART TWO: THE RESPONDENTS (Continued)

### III. DETERMINANTS OF UNION ELECTION BEHAVIOR

#### A. Significance of Knowledge of Federal Legal Rights and Protection for Voting Decision (See Table IX)

Responses to three separate questions, designed to determine the importance of understanding one's rights, are tabulated together below, on page 26.

The questions are: Number 22, "Before the election, did you have knowledge of your rights under the federal law to join and be active in the union and to be protected by the Government in such activities?"; Number 22B, "If yes, when did you acquire this knowledge?"; Number 23, "Did this knowledge (or lack of it) affect your decisions and actions...?"

While 78 percent or more of all groups of respondents stated that they knew their rights, some significant variations occur. The "Union Vote" columns include only respondents who actually voted and were willing to tell the interviewer how they voted. It is noteworthy that both those for and those against the union had a higher degree of knowledge of their rights than other sub-groups.

Women and the youngest group were least likely to know their rights. These same two groups most frequently learned their rights during the union campaign, and most often indicated the influence of this knowledge on their decision. Persons who voted for the union were significantly more influenced by knowing their rights than those who voted against.

Among survey respondents, there is almost always a very low incidence of affirmative replies to a direct question which requires the respondent to admit that he, himself, was influenced by an external factor. People prefer to present themselves as independent thinkers. The very high proportion of people who were conscious of knowing their rights indicates that this tendency, in fact, was a more influential factor than was admitted.

#### B. Role of Personal Contacts in Determining Voting Decisions (See Table X)

The responses tabulated in Table X allow comparisons between groups relative to the frequency of discussions with "fact-to-face" associates and the extent of their influence as subjectively recognized by the respondent. Questions eliciting these responses (Numbers 24A, 24B, 25 and 26,) are as follows: "Before the election, did you discuss the issues with friends, neighbors, spouse or other relatives? Were your parents union supporters? Did these people tend to influence your decisions? Did the employees at your plant talk to each other much about the union before the election? If so, did these discussions tend to influence your decision?"

Although 63 to 70 percent reported talking about the union election to friends, neighbors and family, as compared to 81 to 90 percent who reported talk among fellow-employees, a considerably higher proportion admitted to being influenced by "home" associates than by "workplace" associates. This may be accounted for by influence of husbands on women respondents as often reported



by the interviewers, and the influence of older relatives on young people, which shows clearly in the table.

The influence of fellow-employees was undoubtedly greater than the percentage of affirmative responses would indicate. This can be inferred by cross-reference to later tables which show respondents' consistent very high ranking of talks with fellow employees on the union committee as a union campaign technique. (See Tables XIII through XVI.)

#### C. Influence of Impersonal Sources on Attitudes (See Table X)

Percentage of affirmative responses of the various groups to two questions about such "opinion-makers" as mass media, community spokesmen and the general public were included in Table X to facilitate comparison of the proportion of affirmative responses to a "projected" question about influence. When respondents were asked whether they believed such sources influenced people's vote, they were much more likely to recognize this influence, since they were not asked directly whether they, themselves, were influenced.

Questions 31 and 32 of the questionnaire relate to the influence of mass media. They are, "In your opinion, are the news media, community spokesmen, the public, in general favorable or unfavorable toward unions?" and "Do you believe people in your plant were influenced by such outside sources in the recent union election?"

Approximately 50 percent of respondents in all groups believed mass media and other influential spokesmen were favorable in their attitudes toward unions. The most significantly higher favorable perception was held by persons voting for the union, suggesting the effect of the psychological tendency to screen out communications which are contrary to one's own beliefs. Older respondents were most likely to assess these impersonal sources as unfavorable. It is likely that their present perceptions are colored by earlier recollections of more outspoken anti-union propaganda.

An additional 19 percent of respondents believed mass media and other sources to be impartial in their attitudes, with only about 27 percent viewing them as definitely unfavorable. (See Appendix V, Question 31.)

#### D. Relationship of Time of Decision to Union Vote (See Table XI)

The appropriate question here is Question 37, "At what point, prior to the election, did you decide how you would vote?"

Persons who decided to vote for the union decided how they would vote earlier than those who decided to vote against the union.

Young people made up their minds later and were most likely to decide at the last minute.

The oldest group were very much the most likely to decide how they would vote as soon as the union came around.

Persons who voted against the union and those who voted for Reagan reported most often that they decided later, "after much thought."

E. Relationship of Signing Union Authorization Cards to Union Vote  
(See Table XII)

Responses to Questions 41 and 42 show the relationship between signing a union authorization card and the actual votes of the respondents as follows, in terms of percentages. The questions, respectively, are: "Had you signed a card for the union before the election?" and "How did you vote? (If you didn't vote, how would you have voted?)"

Out of the total sample, 52 percent, or 256 people, voted for the union while 58.9 percent or 289 people reported having signed authorization cards. Therefore, about 33 people or approximately 11 percent of those who signed cards did not vote for the union.

When the breakdown is made on those who voted for and against the union, it becomes apparent that 7.8 percent of those who voted for the union had not signed cards but decided to vote for the union anyway. The 32 percent of those who voted against the union but who had signed cards may have been persuaded against the union late in the campaign, or may have had no objections to the holding of an election although they, themselves, did not intend to vote for the union. Views consistent with this hypothesis were sometimes expressed by respondents to interviewers.

F. Evaluation of Union and Management Campaign Techniques

1. Union techniques

The ranked rating of union techniques was consistent for all groups but one. This is shown in Tables XIII, XIV, XV and XVI, relating to question number 38, "What do you think influenced you or your co-workers most in the union campaign?"

All groups agreed that union meetings were most influential as shown by the number who ranked it as a first or second choice. Talks with fellow employees by union committee people were a close second.

Reagan supporters gave even more weight to such talks (see Table XVI), which is consistent with this group's large percentage of respondents who decided how to vote only after much thought. The suggestion of prolonged uncertainty in a sizeable segment of this group may indicate a shift in some attitudes to opposition to unions, paralleling a shift in political choice to the right. Such changes in attitude usually are accompanied by doubt and indecisiveness due to counter-pressures.

As a group, women were the most impressed with union meetings. (See Table XIV.) Open end responses other than the four suggested choices afforded by Question 38 shed further light on the rating and evaluation of union techniques. (See Open End Responses, Appendix II.)

2. Management techniques

The questions relating to techniques employed by management to influence their employees are Numbers 33 and 34: "Did management in your plant favor or oppose the union coming in? If so, how? Which of the following means were

used by the company?" Tables XVII, XVIII, XIX and XX show the ranked rating of management techniques.

In response to question Number 33, no anti-union voters saw management as favorable to the union. Only five pro-union voters did (1.9 percent out of a total of 256 pro-union voters.) Pro and anti-union respondents were in agreement as to which management techniques were most influential, although pro-union people were oftener non-respondent to these particular questions. (Table XVII) The "captive audience speech" by top management representatives was ranked first as the most influential technique. Second came talks by foremen or supervisors with individuals or small groups of employees and third, management's letters sent to the homes of employees.

As separate groups, both men and women ranked these techniques in the same order as above. (Table XVIII) There were some differences in ranking by age groups. (Table XIX) Those under 25 and those between 26 and 40 ranked the three most important techniques in the same order as above. However, in the 41 to 60 age group, there was some variation in that they ranked as equal and first in importance, letters sent to employees' homes and speeches by top management representatives. This group ranked talks by foremen or supervisors with individuals or small groups as second. Third in importance to this group was the fifth choice, "open house, picnic, party or other company sponsored social events."

Reagan voters showed some difference in response from Brown voters (Table XX). Both ranked the "captive audience speech" as most influential but Reagan supporters felt letters to employees homes were second while Brown supporters felt talks by foremen or supervisors were second in order of importance. Brown supporters ranked letters to homes as third, while Reagan supporters felt that talks by foremen were third.

G. Respondents' Projection of Reasons for Voting For or Against the Union (See Tables XXI through XXIV)

Interviewers find that responses are given more freely to projected questions such as Numbers 35 and 36 in the questionnaire. (See Appendix I)

Number 35 is, "People interviewed in other surveys usually have given some of the following reasons for voting for the union. Which of these seem more important to you?" The reasons projected deal with better pay and job security, seniority rights, control over production standards, fringe benefits and grievance procedure. (These are listed in detail in Tables XXI and XXII.

Number 36 is, "Among reasons given by people who voted against the union, which of the following seem the most important to you?" These reasons deal with dues, fines or assessments, strikes, fear of plant closure or layoff, satisfaction with existing benefits, preference for some other union and fear of getting into trouble with management. (These reasons are listed in detail in Tables XXIII and XXIV.

Many social psychologists feel that responses to this type of question reflect the respondent's own beliefs more accurately than do direct questions. The respondent reveals his own attitudes while attributing them to other people and thus is relieved of responsibility for them. Tables XXI through XXIV show the

reasons projected by respondents and the order of importance attributed to these reasons. As a whole, the total sample (491 respondents) ranked the reasons for voting for the union in the following order:

First, Reason Number 1 ("Union representation and collective bargaining ensure better pay and job security.")

Second, Reason Number 4 ("Fringe benefits, such as pensions, holidays, and sick leave, will be improved.")

Third, Reason Number 2 ("They--i.e. unions, can ensure fairness in promotion fair pay for work performed, seniority rights, etc.")

Fourth, Reason Number 5 ("Grievances or complaints will be handled better; employees will be in a more secure position.")

Fifth, Reason Number 3 ("There will be better control over speedup, production standards, quotas, etc.")

Specific groups within the total sample tended to rank the reasons in the same order as did the total sample. This was true of the pro-union and anti-union respondents alike. This was also true of those voting for Reagan and of voters for Brown, as well as for male respondents and for persons in the age group 26 to 40. All of these groups ranked the reasons in the above order.

Women, young people 25 or under and those in the oldest age group varied somewhat from the total sample and from the above groups in the order of importance they attached to the specific reasons. Thus, women and the under-25 age group placed most importance on Reason 4, relating to fringe benefits. They gave second ranking to Reason 1, union representation and collective bargaining to ensure better pay and job security.

Older people placed greatest importance on Reason 1, as did most others, but they gave second and equal rank to Reasons 4 and 5, fringe benefits and grievance procedure.

However, within this ranking, more older people mentioned grievance handling than fringe benefits as first choice for the second rank. (See Table XXII)

Regarding reasons projected for voting against the union, the total sample ranked them in the following order:

First, Reason Number 1 ("Did not like the idea of paying dues; having to join.")

Second, Reason Number 3 ("Believed there would be a strike if the union came in.")

Third, Reason Number 5 ("Believed union was not needed as management already provided same benefits.")

Fourth, Reason Number 4 ("Believed the management would move the plant or there would be a layoff.")

Fifth, Reason Number 7 ("Considered management so against the union that it would mean trouble for those who supported it.")

Sixth, Reason Number 2 ("Feared possible fines or assessments.")

Seventh, Reason Number 6 ("Would have voted for some other union, but not this particular one.")

Eighth, Reason Number 8 ("Previous experience with unions.")

Tables XXIII and XXIV show that the entire sample ranked Reason Number 1 first, as did pro and anti-union voters, men and women, each specific age group and Reagan and Brown voters.

Variations occurred in the way that specific groups ranked the second most important reasons. The overall sample gave second ranking to fear of a strike as a reason that others voted "no". Groups agreeing were those for the union, voters for Brown, and those in the age group 41 to 60. Others who ranked fear of strike second, were voters under age 25 and those aged 26 to 40. The latter, however, gave equal rank to Reason Number 5, which was the belief that "management provided the same benefits as the union."

Women ranked Reason Number 4 as second in importance--the belief that the plant would be moved or that there would be a layoff. Groups placing second importance solely on Reason Number 5 were anti-union voters, male respondents and those who had voted for Reagan. (This is consistent with the finding that a higher percentage of Reagan voters were against the union as were a higher percentage of men, than either Brown voters or female voters.)

Responses to Question Number 36 again illustrated readiness to answer projected questions. It is clear that those voting for the union varied from those voting against it in their ranking of projected reasons for voting "no". People who voted "no" ranked the belief that the union was not needed much higher in importance and ranked fear of reprisal from management much lower than did "yes" voters.

Thus, anti-union voters considered that the union was not needed to be second in importance as a reason and fear of management, seventh. Those voting for the union considered fear of management to be third in importance, ranking this reason just as important as fear of a strike, which they also rated third. They gave only fifth rank to the belief that the union was not needed.

An interesting set of responses was in regard to Reason Number 8, "Previous experience with unions." Almost all groups rated this least significant as a reason for voting against the union, as did the sample as a whole. They gave this reason eighth rank. The only variations in this respect was in the two younger age groups. Those under 25 projected "previous experience with unions" as a sixth most important reason for voting against the union while the group aged 26 to 40 ranked it seventh. This indicates a potential problem among younger people in the direction of dissatisfaction with union experiences.

H. Affirmative and Negative Responses to Certain Questions Relating to Union Vote (See Tables XXV and XXVI)

A number of questions were asked calling for responses of "yes" or "no" and relating to the union vote. Among them, the following were of special relevance:

Number 13, "Have you ever belonged to a union?"

Number 20, "Regarding union elections, did you vote in the most recent one held by the National Labor Relations Board in your plant?"

Number 27, "Were you surprised at how the election came out?"

Number 28, "Had you ever voted in a union election before?"

Number 29, "If so, did you vote the same way as in the recent one?"

In Table XXV, all 491 respondents are accounted for in terms of affirmative, negative and "no answer" replies. These are shown also in percentage terms.

Table XXVI presents, in percentages, only the affirmative responses. Distributions are shown as they occurred in the various groups of respondents. That is, this table shows those who answered "yes" to the above questions, in percentages of pro and anti-union voters, males and females, the three separate age groups and according to voters for Reagan and for Brown. Those answering affirmatively also are shown (in the last column on the right) as a percentage of all 491 respondents making up the total sample.

Thus, under the column "Union Vote--For", 36.7 percent of those voting for the union had previous union membership; 89.1 percent of those who were for the union actually voted in the election; 28.5 percent of them said they were surprised at the outcome; 44.9 percent had voted in a previous N.L.R.B. election and 78.3 percent of the latter had voted for the union in both elections.

Similarly, under "Union Vote--Against", 20.5 percent of the anti-union respondents had previous union membership, 87.1 percent voted in the election, 15 percent were surprised at the outcome, 32 percent had voted in a previous election and 68.1 percent voted "no" in both elections.

It is interesting that over one-third of the union vote came from people who had previous union membership while one-quarter of the anti-union respondents previously had been union members. This indicates that previous union membership carries over favorably far more than unfavorably to the union in an N.L.R.B. election.

Also important to note is, that almost 80 percent of respondents who had voted in a previous election voted for the union both times while less than 70 percent of the anti-union voters had voted "no" in both elections. This indicates a gain for the union from among previous anti-union voters when another N.L.R.B. election is held at a later date. This has some bearing on the relationship of the time of deciding how to vote to the vote itself. (Discussed previously under Section D)

As has been pointed out, those voting for the union made up their minds as to how they intended to vote earlier than did the "no" voters. This indicates that "yes" voters are more decisive types of people. Those voting "no" tend to be "waverers", taking much longer to decide. For example, 35 percent of the respondents stated they made up their minds later in the campaign, rather than earlier, about half of them not making up their minds until right before the election. This finding is consistent with the finding of 34.4 percent who said they had not signed union authorization cards and with the 40.7 percent who said they finally voted against the union. The fact that they made up their minds late to vote "no" indicates that these are changeable types of voters. Such people are open to change towards a pro-union attitude in a second or third union campaign. The experience of the Organizing Committee substantiates this finding.

Other inferences may be drawn from a close study of Table XXVI.

To summarize, it is clear that demographic attributes (age, sex, political inclination, etc.) and union activity affected each other measurably. Also, variations in percentages of affirmative answers to these separate questions were consistent for the various demographic attributes of the respondents who gave these "yes" answers.

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NOTE: Tables IX through XXVI dealing with Determinants of Union Election Behavior are on pages numbered 26 through 35.

# DETERMINANTS OF UNION ELECTION BEHAVIOR

TABLE IX: SIGNIFICANCE OF KNOWLEDGE OF LEGAL RIGHTS

QUESTIONS 22A, 22B, AND 23. (RESPONSES IN PERCENTAGES, ACCORDING TO UNION VOTE, SEX, AGE AND GUBERNATORIAL VOTE OF RESPONDENTS.)

QUESTION No.	UNION VOTE		SEX		AGE			VOTERS FOR		TOTAL SAMPLE
	FOR	AGAINST	MALE	FEMALE	UNDER 25	26/40	41/60	REAGAN	BROWN	
22A. HAD KNOWLEDGE OF LEGAL RIGHTS	82.0	84.0	81.0	71.9	75.0	75.6	84.8	82.2	79.2	78.4
22B. LEARNED DURING CAMPAIGN	30.5	25.0	27.6	36.7	44.0	31.8	19.6	27.4	34.2	30.1
23. THIS KNOWLEDGE AFFECTED DECISION; ACTION	18.4	13.0	14.2	19.2	25.0	12.0	18.8	14.9	16.3	15.5

TABLE X: ROLE OF PERSONAL CONTACTS IN DETERMINING VOTING DECISIONS AND INFLUENCE OF IMPERSONAL SOURCES.

QUESTIONS 24A, 24B, 25, 26, 31, AND 32 (RESPONSES IN PERCENTAGES)

QUESTION No.	UNION VOTE		SEX		AGE			VOTERS FOR		TOTAL SAMPLE
	FOR	AGAINST	MALE	FEMALE	UNDER 25	26/40	41/60	REAGAN	BROWN	
24A. TALKED TO FRIENDS, NEIGHBORS, SPOUSE, OR OTHER RELATIVES	68.8	65.0	63.6	66.9	70.0	63.6	65.2	68.3	63.3	64.6
24B. PARENTS PRO-UNION	38.3	28.0	33.8	28.8	33.0	32.6	31.9	37.5	30.8	32.4
25. THE ABOVE INFLUENCED DECISION	37.9	31.0	32.7	33.1	36.0	33.9	31.2	31.7	35.8	32.8
26. TALK AMONG EMPLOYEES THIS INFLUENCED DECISION	84.0	87.5	84.4	82.0	89.0	84.3	82.6	87.5	81.3	83.7
31. BELIEVED MASS MEDIA, COMMUNITY AND PUBLIC OPINION FAVORABLE	22.7	19.5	19.6	22.3	30.0	14.9	23.9	21.2	20.8	20.4
32. BELIEVED OUTSIDE SOURCES (I.E. MASS MEDIA) IN- FLUENCED PEOPLES' VOTE	55.1	47.5	49.7	51.8	49.0	54.5	44.2	52.9	50.8	50.3
	46.1	45.0	45.4	39.6	45.0	41.7	47.8	40.9	47.1	43.8



# RELATIONSHIP OF TIME OF DECISION TO UNION VOTE

TABLE XI

QUESTION 37: "AT WHAT POINT, PRIOR TO THE ELECTION, DID YOU DECIDE HOW YOU WOULD VOTE?"  
(IN PERCENTAGES, ACCORDING TO UNION VOTE, SEX, AGE AND GUBERNATORIAL VOTE OF RESPONDENTS.)

TIME OF DECISION	UNION VOTE		SEX		AGE			VOTERS FOR		TOTAL SAMPLE
	FOR	AGAINST	MALE	FEMALE	UNDER 25	26/40	41/60	REAGAN	BROWN	
1. AS SOON AS UNION CAME AROUND	36.3	27.5	32.4	28.8	25.0	25.6	44.9	30.8	31.7	31.4
2. AFTER HEARD WHAT AFTER HAD TO OFFER	31.3	25.0	28.4	25.2	25.0	31.4	22.5	25.5	30.0	27.5
3. LATE IN CAMPAIGN AFTER MUCH THOUGHT	14.5	24.5	17.3	17.3	20.0	19.4	13.8	25.0	13.3	17.3
4. RIGHT BEFORE ELECTION	14.9	22.0	16.8	20.1	21.0	19.0	12.3	15.3	16.7	17.7
5. NO ANSWER	3.9	1.0	5.4	8.6	8.0	4.5	6.5	2.9	8.3	5.3

# RELATIONSHIP OF SIGNING UNION AUTHORIZATION CARDS TO UNION VOTES

TABLE XII

(IN PERCENTAGES) QUESTION 41: "HAD YOU SIGNED A CARD FOR THE UNION BEFORE THE ELECTION?" AND QUESTION 42: "HOW DID YOU VOTE?"

QUESTIONS 41 AND 42	UNION VOTE		SEX		AGE			VOTERS FOR		TOTAL SAMPLE
	FOR	AGAINST	MALE	FEMALE	UNDER 25	26/40	41/60	REAGAN	BROWN	
1. SIGNED CARDS	89.5	32.0	56.3	65.5	53.0	55.0	70.3	51.9	66.7	58.9
2. DID NOT SIGN	7.8	66.5	37.8	25.9	39.0	38.8	23.9	45.2	24.6	34.4
3. NOT PRESENT TO VOTE	2.7	1.5	0.6	2.9	2.0	2.9	2.2	0.5	1.7	1.2
4. NO ANSWER	-	-	5.4	5.8	6.0	3.3	3.6	2.9	7.1	5.5

NOTE: 289 REPORTED HAVING SIGNED AUTHORIZATION CARDS. 256 REPORTED THEY VOTED FOR THE UNION. THUS 33 PEOPLE OR APPROXIMATELY 11 PERCENT VOTED "NO" AFTER SIGNING CARDS. (THE 256 "YES" VOTERS REPRESENT 52.1 PERCENT OF THE SAMPLE. THE 200 "NO" VOTERS REPRESENT 40.7 PERCENT OF THE SAMPLE.)

# EVALUATION OF UNION CAMPAIGN TECHNIQUES

DISTRIBUTION OF RANKED RESPONSES TO QUESTION 38: "WHAT DO YOU THINK INFLUENCED YOU OR YOUR CO-WORKERS MOST IN THE UNION CAMPAIGN?" THIS QUESTION APPLIES TO TABLES XIII, XIV, XV, AND XVI. THE RESPONSES ARE RANKED IN ORDER OF THEIR FREQUENCY OF MENTION, AS FIRST, SECOND, THIRD AND FOURTH RANK.

NOTE: ALSO SHOWN ARE THE NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS (UNDER THE "CHOICE" COLUMNS) WHO WEIGHTED EACH TECHNIQUE AS FIRST, SECOND AND THIRD MOST INFLUENTIAL. TOTALS UNDER "TOTAL RESPONSES" INCLUDE THE SUMS OF THE FIRST, SECOND, THIRD AND FOURTH CHOICES, ALTHOUGH ONLY THE FIRST THREE CHOICES ARE SHOWN IN THE TABLES. THOSE TECHNIQUES WHICH RANKED FOURTH WERE MENTIONED TOO INFREQUENTLY TO BE SIGNIFICANT AND THEREFORE WERE ELIMINATED FROM THE TABLES.

TABLE XIII: UNION TECHNIQUES RANKED BY UNION VOTE

UNION TECHNIQUES	TOTAL SAMPLE (491)						UNION VOTE					
							FOR (256)			AGAINST (200)		
	CHOICE			TOTAL RESPONSE			CHOICE			TOTAL RESPONSE		
	1ST	2ND	3RD		RANK		1ST	2ND	3RD		RANK	
1. THE UNION MEETINGS	161	38	1	203	1ST		100	14	1	116	1ST	78
2. THE UNION LEAFLETS	47	49	19	117	3RD		26	23	9	59	3RD	51
3. DISCUSSIONS WITH UNION ORGANIZERS IN YOUR HOME	37	25	19	82	4TH		15	16	15	47	4TH	28
4. TALKS WITH FELLOW EMPLOYEES WHO WERE ON THE UNION COMM.	115	53	16	186	2ND		63	31	9	105	2ND	78
5. OTHER	49	47	11	148			19	24	4	58		82

TABLE XIV: UNION TECHNIQUES RANKED BY SEX

UNION TECHNIQUES	MEN (352)						WOMEN (139)					
	CHOICE			TOTAL RESPONSE			CHOICE			TOTAL RESPONSE		
	1ST	2ND	3RD		RANK		1ST	2ND	3RD		RANK	
1. THE UNION MEETINGS	110	29	-	140	1ST		51	9	1	63	1ST	
2. THE UNION LEAFLETS	29	37	11	78	3RD		18	12	8	41	3RD	
3. DISCUSSIONS WITH UNION ORGANIZERS IN YOUR HOME	28	17	13	59	4TH		9	8	3	21	4TH	
4. TALKS WITH FELLOW EMPLOYEES WHO WERE ON THE UNION COMMITTEE	90	31	11	133	2ND		26	22	6	55	2ND	
5. OTHER	29	32	6	96			14	8	5	35		

# EVALUATION OF UNION CAMPAIGN TECHNIQUES (CONTINUED)

TABLE XV: UNION TECHNIQUES RANKED BY AGE GROUP

UNION TECHNIQUES	UNDER 25 (100)					AGES 26 TO 40 (242)					AGES 41 TO 60 (138)				
	C H O I C E			TOTAL RESPONSE	RANK	C H O I C E			TOTAL RESPONSE	RANK	C H O I C E			TOTAL RESPONSE	RANK
	1ST	2ND	3RD			1ST	2ND	3RD			1ST	2ND	3RD		
1. THE UNION MEETINGS	38	4	-	43	1ST	80	19	1	100	1ST	41	15	1	58	1ST
2. THE UNION LEAFLETS	8	12	6	26	3RD	24	22	10	57	3RD	15	13	3	32	3RD
3. DISCUSSIONS WITH UNION ORGANIZERS IN YOUR HOME	6	10	1	18	4TH	23	12	2	27	4TH	7	3	3	13	4TH
4. TALKS WITH FELLOW EMPLOYEES WHO WERE ON UNION COMMITTEE	22	10	4	36	2ND	57	30	10	97	2ND	33	11	3	51	2ND
5. OTHER	10	11	2	13		12	20	3	48		21	6	1	28	

TABLE XVI: UNION TECHNIQUES RANKED BY GUBERNATORIAL VOTE

UNION TECHNIQUES	VOTERS FOR REAGAN (208)					VOTERS FOR BROWN (240)				
	C H O I C E			TOTAL RESPONSE	RANK	C H O I C E			TOTAL RESPONSE	RANK
	1ST	2ND	3RD			1ST	2ND	3RD		
1. THE UNION MEETINGS	59	20	-	79	2ND	94	16	1	113	1ST
2. THE UNION LEAFLETS	16	26	11	53	3RD	23	20	7	52	3RD
3. DISCUSSIONS WITH UNION ORGANIZERS IN YOUR HOME	17	16	2	35	4TH	13	7	3	24	4TH
4. TALKS WITH FELLOW EMPLOYEES WHO WERE ON THE UNION COMMITTEE	57	26	13	96	1ST	52	23	3	79	2ND
5. OTHER	26	18	18	87		16	23	5	55	

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# EVALUATION OF MANAGEMENT TECHNIQUES (CONTINUED)

TABLE XIX: MANAGEMENT TECHNIQUES RANKED BY AGE GROUP

MANAGEMENT TECHNIQUES	UNDER 25 (100)					AGES 26 TO 40 (242)					AGES 41 TO 60 (138)				
	C H O I C E			TOTAL RESPONSE	RANK	C H O I C E			TOTAL RESPONSE	RANK	C H O I C E			TOTAL RESPONSE	RANK
	1ST	2ND	3RD			1ST	2ND	3RD			1ST	2ND	3RD		
1. LETTERS SENT TO EMPLOYEES' HOMES	50	7	1	59	3RD	75	12	4	93	3RD	78	11	5	97	1ST
2. SPEECHES BY TOP MANAGEMENT REPRESENTATIVES TO THE EMPLOYEES	18	44	5	68	1ST	65	70	9	145	1ST	28	66	3	97	1ST
3. TALKS BY FOREMEN OR SUPERVISORS WITH INDIVIDUALS OR SMALL EMPLOYEES' GROUPS	16	18	21	60	2ND	54	52	27	133	2ND	19	24	23	69	2ND
4. CIRCULARS OR POSTERS ON COMPANY PREMISES	2	2	10	19	5TH	6	23	30	72	5TH	2	10	11	31	4TH
5. OPEN HOUSE, PICNIC, PARTY, OR OTHER COMPANY SPONSORED SOCIAL EVENTS	2	7	4	21	4TH	5	31	27	75	4TH	3	7	19	33	3RD
6. OTHER TECHNIQUES	2	-	5	8	6TH	2	-	9	15	6TH	1	3	6	14	5TH

TABLE XX: MANAGEMENT TECHNIQUES RANKED BY GUBERNATORIAL VOIE

MANAGEMENT TECHNIQUES	VOTERS FOR REAGAN (208)					VOTERS FOR BROWN (240)				
	C H O I C E			TOTAL RESPONSE	RANK	C H O I C E			TOTAL RESPONSE	RANK
	1ST	2ND	3RD			1ST	2ND	3RD		
1. LETTERS SENT TO EMPLOYEES' HOMES	90	17	7	117	2ND	92	11	4	110	3RD
2. SPEECHES BY TOP MANAGEMENT REPRESENTATIVES TO THE EMPLOYEES	41	88	10	140	1ST	64	78	5	148	1ST
3. TALKS BY FOREMEN OR SUPERVISORS WITH INDIVIDUALS OR SMALL EMPLOYEES' GROUPS	43	29	33	106	3RD	42	60	33	137	2ND
4. CIRCULARS OR POSTERS ON COMPANY PREMISES	6	10	16	44	5TH	5	22	27	64	4TH
5. OPEN HOUSE, PICNIC, PARTY, OR OTHER COMPANY SPONSORED SOCIAL EVENTS	6	26	23	64	4TH	4	19	29	62	5TH
6. OTHER TECHNIQUES	1	2	12	21	6TH	3	1	7	17	6TH



**RESPONDENTS' PROJECTION OF REASONS FOR VOTING AGAINST THE UNION**  
(RANKED IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE)

QUESTION 36: "AMONG REASONS GIVEN BY PEOPLE WHO VOTED AGAINST THE UNION, WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING SEEM THE MOST IMPORTANT TO YOU? NAME THREE OR FOUR." \*

NOTE: ONLY TABULATIONS FOR THE FIRST THREE CHOICES AND EIGHT SPECIFIC REASONS ARE SHOWN.

TABLE XXIII: RANKING BY UNION VOTE AND SEX

REASON No.	UNION VOTE										SEX																													
	FOR (256)										AGAINST (200)										MALE (352)										FEMALE (139)									
	C H O I C E			TOTAL RESP.	RANK	C H O I C E			TOTAL RESP.	RANK	C H O I C E			TOTAL RESP.	RANK	C H O I C E			TOTAL RESP.	RANK	C H O I C E			TOTAL RESP.	RANK															
	1ST	2ND	3RD			1ST	2ND	3RD			1ST	2ND	3RD			1ST	2ND	3RD			1ST	2ND	3RD			1ST	2ND	3RD												
	1ST	2ND	3RD	TOTAL RESP.	RANK	1ST	2ND	3RD	TOTAL RESP.	RANK	1ST	2ND	3RD	TOTAL RESP.	RANK	1ST	2ND	3RD	TOTAL RESP.	RANK	1ST	2ND	3RD	TOTAL RESP.	RANK															
1.	239	68	33	358	1ST	127	29	18	182	1ST	104	36	12	158	1ST	176	48	22	261	1ST	65	19	11	97	1ST															
2.	45	63	27	141	6TH	33	45	15	95	4TH	9	18	10	41	6TH	32	44	18	99	6TH	13	19	9	42	6TH															
3.	32	103	81	237	2ND	23	61	34	126	2ND	4	36	46	99	3RD	22	71	65	178	3RD	10	32	16	59	3RD															
4.	49	42	86	192	4TH	28	26	53	116	3RD	16	10	30	62	4TH	29	26	55	121	5TH	20	16	31	71	2ND															
5.	59	89	61	228	3RD	10	29	27	76	5TH	46	57	31	142	2ND	44	74	48	179	2ND	15	15	13	49	4TH															
6.	11	21	16	54	7TH	7	6	9	22	6TH	7	15	7	35	7TH	9	18	10	43	7TH	2	3	6	11	7TH															
7.	27	55	75	182	5TH	18	36	44	116	3RD	8	16	28	58	5TH	20	36	59	136	4TH	7	19	16	46	5TH															
8.	7	4	18	34	8TH	4	1	5	20	7TH	3	2	13	21	8TH	7	3	15	29	8TH	--	1	3	5	8TH															

\* THE REASONS ENUMERATED IN QUESTION 36 ARE:

1. DID NOT LIKE THE IDEA OF PAYING UNION DUES, HAVING TO JOIN.
2. FEARED POSSIBLE FINES OR ASSESSMENTS.
3. BELIEVED THERE WOULD BE A STRIKE IF THE UNION CAME IN.
4. BELIEVED THE MANAGEMENT WOULD MOVE THE PLANT OR THERE WOULD BE A LAYOFF.
5. BELIEVED THE UNION WAS NOT NEEDED, AS MANAGEMENT ALREADY PROVIDED PRACTICALLY THE SAME BENEFITS AS IN UNIONIZED WORKPLACES.
6. WOULD HAVE VOTED FOR SOME OTHER UNION, BUT NOT THIS PARTICULAR ONE.
7. CONSIDERED MANAGEMENT SO AGAINST THE UNION THAT IT WOULD MEAN TROUBLE FOR THOSE WHO SUPPORTED IT.
8. PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE WITH UNIONS.
9. OTHER

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 36: RANKING OF REASONS FOR VOTING AGAINST THE UNION (CONTINUED)  
(RANKED IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE)

QUESTION 36: "AMONG REASONS GIVEN BY PEOPLE WHO VOTED AGAINST THE UNION, WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING SEEM THE MOST IMPORTANT TO YOU? NAME THREE OR FOUR." \*

NOTE: ONLY TABULATIONS FOR THE FIRST THREE CHOICES AND EIGHT SPECIFIC REASONS ARE SHOWN.

TABLE XXIV: RANKING BY AGE AND GUBERNATORIAL VOTE

REASON No.	A C F										VOTE FOR GOVERNOR														
	UNDER 25 (100)					41/60 (242)					41/60 (138)					REAGAN (208)					BROWN (240)				
	C H O I C E			TOT. RESP.	RANK	C H O I C E			TOT. RESP.	RANK	C H O I C E			TOT. RESP.	RANK	C H O I C E			TOT. RESP.	RANK	C H O I C E			TOT. RESP.	RANK
	1ST	2ND	3RD			1ST	2ND	3RD			1ST	2ND	3RD			1ST	2ND	3RD			1ST	2ND	3RD		
1.	44	14	5	67	1ST	136	27	19	188	1ST	57	24	9	97	1ST	111	39	10	171	1ST	109	26	20	161	1ST
2.	10	18	5	34	5TH	15	31	16	64	5TH	20	13	6	41	6TH	10	26	13	52	6TH	32	32	12	79	5TH
3.	7	17	13	43	2ND	15	55	45	125	2ND	8	32	22	66	2ND	10	39	43	101	3RD	18	57	34	116	2ND
4.	11	11	16	42	3RD	23	21	40	92	3RD	15	9	29	56	3RD	12	9	27	54	5TH	30	29	47	114	3RD
5.	16	8	16	43	2ND	26	62	27	125	2ND	15	16	16	53	4TH	40	53	36	139	2ND	18	29	23	75	6TH
6.	2	3	2	7	6TH	6	7	11	27	6TH	4	10	3	20	7TH	8	4	11	26	7TH	3	15	3	23	7TH
7.	4	14	17	38	4TH	9	21	41	80	4TH	13	20	16	50	5TH	11	22	20	67	4TH	14	26	46	102	4TH
8.	1	--	4	7	6TH	3	1	9	14	7TH	2	3	5	12	8TH	1	4	12	20	8TH	2	--	4	8	8TH

\* THE REASONS ENUMERATED IN QUESTION 36 ARE:

1. DID NOT LIKE THE IDEA OF PAYING UNION DUES, HAVING TO JOIN.
2. FEARED POSSIBLE FINES OR ASSESSMENTS.
3. BELIEVED THERE WOULD BE A STRIKE IF THE UNION CAME IN.
4. BELIEVED THE MANAGEMENT WOULD MOVE THE PLANT OR THERE WOULD BE A LAYOFF.
5. BELIEVED THE UNION WAS NOT NEEDED, AS MANAGEMENT ALREADY PROVIDED PRACTICALLY THE SAME BENEFITS AS IN UNIONIZED WORKPLACES.
6. WOULD HAVE VOTED FOR SOME OTHER UNION, BUT NOT THIS PARTICULAR ONE.
7. CONSIDERED MANAGEMENT SO AGAINST THE UNION THAT IT WOULD MEAN TROUBLE FOR THOSE WHO SUPPORTED IT.
8. PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE WITH UNIONS.
9. OTHER.



AFFIRMATIVE AND NEGATIVE RESPONSES TO CERTAIN QUESTIONS RELATING TO UNION VOIL

TABLE XXV: DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO  
QUESTIONS 13, 20, 27, 28 AND 29

QUESTION No.	QUESTION	TOTAL SAMPLE (491)			TOTAL SAMPLE (100%)		
		RESPONSE			PERCENTAGE		
		YES	NO	NO ANS.	YES	NO	NO ANS.
13.	HAVE YOU EVER BELONGED TO A UNION?	146	342	3	29.7	69.7	.6
20.	DID YOU VOTE IN THE MOST RECENT NLRB ELECTION IN YOUR PLANT?	413	58	20	84.1	11.8	4.1
27.	WERE YOU SURPRISED AT THE OUTCOME?	107	367	17	21.8	74.7	3.5
28.	HAD YOU EVER VOTED IN A UNION ELECTION BEFORE?	185	287	19	37.7	58.5	3.8
29.	IF SO, DID YOU VOTE THE SAME WAY AS IN THE RECENT ONE?*	139*	44*	2*	75.1	23.8	1.1

\*QUESTION APPLIES ONLY TO THE 185 RESPONDENTS WHO ANSWERED YES TO NO. 28. THEREFORE, THESE RESPONSES DO NOT TOTAL 491.

ABOVE AFFIRMATIVE RESPONSES IN RELATION TO UNION VOIL, SEX, AGE AND GUBERNATORIAL VOIL

TABLE XXVI: DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO  
QUESTIONS 13, 20, 27, 28 AND 29 (IN PERCENTAGES)

NOTE: THIS TABLE REFERS ONLY TO RESPONDENTS IN THE ABOVE TABLE WHO ANSWERED "YES" TO THE QUESTIONS LISTED ON THE LEFT. FOR A DETAILED EXPLANATION, SEE PAGE 24 OF THIS REPORT.

QUESTION No.	QUESTION	UNION VOTE		SEX		AGE			VOTERS FOR		TOTAL YES % OF 491
		FOR	AGAINST	MALE	FEMALE	UNDER 25	26/40	41/60	REAGAN	BROWN	
		36.7	20.5	34.6	17.3	15.0	21.1	51.5	32.7	30.0	
13.	HAVE YOU EVER BELONGED TO A UNION?										29.7
20.	DID YOU VOTE IN THE MOST RECENT NLRB ELECTION IN YOUR PLANT?	89.1	87.1	84.7	82.7	76.0	87.2	87.7	87.0	84.2	84.1
27.	WERE YOU SURPRISED AT THE OUT- COME?	28.5	15.0	18.8	29.5	30.0	14.9	26.8	23.6	19.6	21.8
28.	HAD YOU EVER VOTED IN A UNION ELECTION BEFORE?	44.9	32.0	33.8	39.2	12.0	36.8	56.5	38.9	38.3	37.7
29.	IF SO, DID YOU VOTE THE SAME WAY AS IN THE RECENT ONE?	78.3	68.1	74.4	75.3	75.0	79.0	70.0	72.0	75.0	75.1

## PART THREE: SOME OVERALL ASPECTS OF SURVEY RESULTS

### I. INTRODUCTION

The survey yielded responses which were distributed, mainly in percentage or proportional form, according to various attributes of the respondents. Inferences can be drawn about the significance of factors present in one situation and absent or present in different degrees in another. Correlations become observable and associations apparent, according to the presence or absence of certain attitudes or attributes.

The establishing of cause and effect is not necessary for such associations and correlations to have predictive value or practical application.

To illustrate, as revealed by the survey and borne out by the experience of the Organizing Committee, only from 35 to 40 percent of people who are asked to sign cards will refuse, yet of the rest, some move later into the ranks of those who vote against the union. It has been suggested earlier that some of those who do sign definitely do not want the union to come in and do not intend to vote for it, but rather have some such thought as, "Let's see what they can do", or, "What do people want?", etc.

Such an attitude is not intensely anti-union and these are the people from whom the winning percentage must come. The loss of card signers must not be great enough to lose the election.

It is axiomatic that the intensely against are a lost cause, while the aggressively for, need no further expenditure of effort. The mildly for, need activation and reinforcement; the neutral need conversion, while the mildly against are still susceptible to change.

By examining the total picture of this survey further inferences may be made; speculations, suggestions, and hints may prove helpful in developing ways of reaching those who can go either way and in reinforcing the portion of their attitudinal components that tend to be pro-union.

In order to facilitate the use of survey results to make judgments and formulate ideas for new approaches, certain evaluations and analyses follow that may help answer questions or confirm hypotheses, either as they were originally set forth or as they emerged when the survey developed.

### II. EVALUATING THE VALIDITY OF SURVEY REPORTS

Survey results are subject to two types of errors; sampling error and reporting errors.

#### A. Sampling Error

This type of error results from the fact that the survey is based upon a sample instead of the entire population. It is an experiment, like those used in physical sciences, in which inferences may be drawn about a finite population from data obtained from a random sample of that population.

The process of statistical inference rests upon certain assumptions. One of these is that successive samples from a population will tend to assume a normal distribution. That is, the means of a sequence of samples will cluster around the true mean of the

population, and percentage divisions or proportions of the samples will approach the true proportions.

There is a factor of pure chance that any given sample will not contain the number of any group that occurs in the entire population. The sampling error measures the limits on either side of the obtained figures within which the true population has a given probability of falling (usually 95 in 100). This is a statistical procedure and depends on the size of the sample and the ratio of the sample to the total population. Any given test statistic for level of significance of 95 percent should fall between +1.96 and -1.96 standard deviations of the true proportion in the population.

It is safe to assume that there was no systematic bias in this survey that disturbed the randomness of the sample and that percentage distributions of the total sample would be about 95.5 percent identical in another sample of the same population and would approach that accuracy if the entire population had been interviewed. Each breakdown, representing a smaller sample, would have a larger standard deviation or sampling error. The practical application of this requires that unless an attribute, for example; AGE GROUP, affects the respondent's distribution by more than 3 or 4 percent, it is probably not valid to assume that this factor has any significant influence upon respondents' answers.

Sampling error is purely statistical, and occurs in any experiment where a sample of the whole is used to represent the whole. In a survey which involves interaction of human beings, other factors, of a generally psychological nature, must be examined. These make up the other type of error or bias.

#### B. Reporting Error

This category includes all inaccuracies on the part of the respondents or errors in recording by interviewers. By comparison with known facts about the true population, or other relative criteria, these can be identified. If there are variations that indicate distortion, the experience of similar social research can provide some explanations that are, themselves, valuable as survey results.

In a given survey, certain factors will be operative or absent that need to be clearly understood when making inferences from the relationships and correlations revealed by the data. Because of interesting similarities, as well as significant differences, results and findings of the many studies of voting behavior, and attitudes of the electorate conducted by social scientists<sup>1</sup>, provide some useful comparisons.

This survey used a sample of a finite population about which several things were known. Its size, the number who voted, and how many voted for the union was a matter of record. The number of people who were employed in plants which became unionized as a result of the election was also known. Some data was available from outside forces which provided other measurements of whether the sample was representative of wider populations, such as all union members, all California voters, etc., and how it differed from these. Such comparisons establish validity and confidence levels that variations have significance, and are not due to chance or error.

The recent survey, conducted by John Kraft for the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education, among 1,700 members of twelve international unions, has been cited previously.

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<sup>1</sup> Lazarsfeld, Berelson, Campbell, et. al.

It provides a useful comparison of aggregate distributions for union members as opposed to persons recently involved in a union campaign.

KRAFT POLL		SEVSC SURVEY	
<u>Age</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Under 30	25	Under 25	20
Under 40	50	Under 30	36
Women	20	Under 35	53
Democrats	53	Under 40	70
Independents	17	Women	28
Republicans	16	Democrats	58
Not Sure	9	Independents	13
Ethnic Minorities	17	Republicans	13
		Non-Voter or Other	15
		Ethnic Minorities (est.)	29

This survey sample was younger, contained a higher percentage of women and represented more members of ethnic minorities than did the Kraft poll. These groups are all slightly less likely to vote than the general population, as established by voter studies, thus accounting for the higher proportion of non-voters. Since Los Angeles has the highest urban concentration of persons of Mexican origin outside of Mexico City, they account for the high figure for ethnic minorities. As previously explained, Negroes were not so identified but were estimated to be 9 or 10 percent of the sample.

A second set of factors pertaining to this survey arises from the subject matter and what is called the salience it has for the respondents. Salient questions are those that concern recent events or decisions that have aroused strong reactions or produced tension. The respondent is not neutral; he is not casual. He may feel threatened in a sensitive area of his life. On the other hand, he has not forgotten, and he probably sees the survey as relevant to his major concerns; his job, his employer, relationships with fellow-workers, his very future itself. Such salience factors are absent in voting studies, consumer surveys and the like, which increases the likelihood of accurate responses in some ways and decreases it in others.

Opinion researchers have conducted follow-up studies, involving the same group of people, which reveal that they do not give exactly the same answers to the same questions, even when the time interval is short and the questions are factual. However, the differences are slight, and tend to be compensating, so that the aggregate results are seldom changed any more than they would be by a survey of a different sample of the original population.

The real salient questions tend to introduce bias based on psychological factors that

would be operative throughout this population and would show up in any sample. The experience of other research can shed some light on these.

Salient subjects produce a high incidence of refusal to be interviewed. Some types of potential respondents are more likely to feel threatened than others. Statistically, women, urban residents and poor people are more likely to refuse. Interviewers confirmed in this case that more refusals came from women. The interviewers were male; one-half of the women who were interviewed were married. Their household duties, and the intervention of their husbands contributed to their higher refusal rate. Psychologically, personality types that are more subject to fears, suspiciousness, and feelings of insecurity are more likely to refuse. They are likely to have a generally negative approach to life. This provides a partial explanation for the higher percentage of persons interviewed who stated that they voted for the union (52 percent) than the percentage of persons in the survey population (48 percent) who actually did so. There is also internal evidence, to be discussed in more detail below, that persons who voted for the union were more decisive and positive personality types than those who voted against it, which substantiates the psychological probability that they were more likely to consent to the interview in the first place. (See page 41.)

It has also been determined that respondents will tend slightly toward giving the answer they believe will be pleasing to the interviewer. By the time the interviewer reached the last question, respondents would have been likely to think, from the total nature of the survey, that the interviewer hoped for a "yes" answer, although, in fact, he wanted a true one. It should be noted here that the question was placed last to reduce to a minimum refusals to answer. The figures in the following table are relevant.

TOTAL POPULATION (of survey)			SURVEY RESPONSES		
<u>Number of:</u>	<u>Percent</u>		<u>Number of:</u>	<u>Percent</u>	
Eligible Voters	5,624	100	Respondents	491	100
Votes Cast	5,095	91	Votes Reported	456	93
Actual Votes Against	2,635	52	Reported Votes Against	200	40
Actual Votes For	2,460	48	Reported Votes For	256	52
Eligible to Vote in Wins	2,881	51	No Answer	35	8
Eligible to Vote in Losses	2,743	49			

Note that the affirmative answers ("Reported Votes For") exceeded the true proportion ("Actual Votes For") by four percentage points, actually within the range of sampling error. As mentioned above, the percentage of actual votes cast for the union in all elections from which the survey sample was drawn was 48 percent. The percentage of survey respondents claiming to have voted for the union was 52. This corresponds closely with the percentage of those eligible to vote in all elections won by the union, which was 51 percent.

In terms of votes against the union, the responses indicated that only 40 percent had voted negatively. Actually, in the overall survey population, the anti-union votes amounted to 52 percent. This distortion of 12 percent in the negative answers

("Reported Votes Against") may be explained partially by the previously discussed decisive characteristics of persons willing to be interviewed and partially by two additional factors.

One of these is to be found in the eight percent of those failing to answer the question, "How did you vote?" This suggests that most of the "No Answer" group had voted against the union but did not wish to reveal the fact. The remaining four percent who are unaccounted for, once again is within the range of sampling error.

Another factor is one of identification on the part of voters with the trend, once the election is in the past. This suggests the possibility that the "winner take all" phenomenon which has been established in the findings of Lazarsfeld and others in checking validity of voter behavior studies was operating in regards to union voting.

People tend to identify with the winners or winning party, a slightly higher percentage of people in a precinct claiming to have voted for them than actually did. They tend to resolve their previous dissident opinions, and to come to believe they were for the winners in the first place. Thus, some small percentage of respondents, since they are presently working in a union plant would now favor it and be reluctant to admit their former opposition. Interviewers indicated that they actually observed this when interviewing employees of plants where the union had won the election. An identification with the "no" majority would tend to occur where the union had lost. This may be compared with responses concerning voting in presidential elections, both in the present survey and another survey among union members in St. Louis in 1950<sup>2</sup> about the 1948 vote for president.

ST. LOUIS SURVEY-1948 ELECTION		SFVSC SURVEY-1964 ELECTION	
Truman	81.5%	Johnson	75.3%
Dewey	9.3%	Goldwater	17.6%

(Vote for other candidates not shown.)

Both sets of figures suggest inaccurate responses; partly due to the "winner-take-all" phenomenon, based on election studies of groups in the population and their voting behavior. There is no hard evidence of the inaccuracies in reporting in this example, but they are indicated by the fact that all groups tend to cluster rather closer to national figures than these percentages reflect. Considering only the vote for Truman and Dewey in 1948, omitting Henry Wallace and Strom Thurmond, Truman received 52% of the vote. It is unlikely that this survey sample, even though they were all union members, actually deviated quite so greatly from the electorate as a whole. In view of the fact that Johnson received 62% of the vote in 1964, the present survey seems to be more likely to accurately reflect the vote of working people and even suggests some confirmation of a shift to the right in their voting patterns.

### III. IMPLICATIONS OF SELECTED CROSS ANALYSES

From a number of associations discovered in the distribution of various responses certain patterns emerge, some of them only after study of the "whole picture"

<sup>2</sup> Rose, Arnold, Union Solidarity, Minnesota Press (1950)

presented by the survey. This involves extensive cross analysis. Such cross reference, when put together, suggests verification of the hypothesis suggested above, i.e. that people who voted for the union tended to consistently exhibit characteristics of firmness and decisiveness.

For instance, they were much more likely to describe themselves as strong Democrats than to consider themselves usually Democrats--the less positive position. 36 percent of pro-union voters said they were strong Democrats as against 16½ percent who said they were usually Democrats. (See Table V.) They were also less likely to class themselves as Independent, a category that voting studies have shown is often the response of a cross-pressured, indecisive, or apolitical voter, unable to make up his mind until late in the campaign, or likeliest to be a non-voter.

A significantly higher percentage of pro-union voters who had voted in union elections before, reported that they had voted the same way then as they did in the recent election. (35%, as compared to 22 percent of the anti-union voters.)

They were more likely to see mass media as favorable to unions (on their side) than anti-union people were to see them as unfavorable (on their side). This tends to indicate that they were without ambivalence or tension in their decision, since people with firm, settled opinions are less likely to be conscious of dissonant opinions from outside sources.

They were also appreciably more likely to have made an early decision on their union vote (68 percent to 52.5 percent), and more likely to say they would vote the same if the election were held again today (94.5 percent to 86 percent).

At first glance, it may seem inconsistent with this profile of pro-union voters (shown above as tending to be comfortable with, and firm in their decisions) to note that they were more likely as a group to admit to influence from family, friends, and co-workers. The unwillingness of respondents to concede the importance of influence has already been discussed. People who are more subject to contradictory pressures, both internally and externally, are even less likely to admit to external influence.

Since 32 percent of the people who voted against the union replied that they had signed cards beforehand, a considerable degree of mind-changing took place. To put it another way, only 68 percent of those who voted against the union had not signed while 89.5 percent of those who voted for the unions had signed cards.

Explanations for this would be somewhat speculative in the absence of further study, but it is interesting to note that the working people over the years have tended to be pro-union. Their rational self-interest would logically make them so. Insofar as they are not pro-union, other forms of opinion formulation have worked at cross-purposes (i.e. family attitudes, unfavorable experiences, management influences, increased prosperity bringing about a different life style, or other factors). Some evidence of this can be surmised from comparison of data regarding pro-union parents, region of birthplace, etc.

Such a hypothesis can be useful in organizing campaigns. It stresses the importance of combining campaign techniques aimed at conversion with the reinforcement of good interpersonal communications throughout the campaign and with special emphasis on the need to be ready to counter late or last-minute techniques used by the management.

Similar analysis can be made of other hypotheses. Some of these will require a note of caution. For instance, although respondents with a college education were more inclined to be pro-union, they comprised only 11 percent of the sample and nearly half of them represented an election situation in which the pro-union vote was very large for particular reasons. Therefore, this finding is inconclusive.

A surprising number of people perceived mass media as favorable to unions. The actual bias of the media tends to be unfavorable to organized labor, and becomes more so at some periods than at others. A cursory content analysis of current media, made by the research analyst, indicates a generally unfavorable tone, in the columns of opinion-makers that appear on the editorial pages, in the words chosen to headline news stories, in articles in certain magazines and in the way labor leaders are quoted in recent news coverage. Rivalries, feuds and dissension within and between unions are played up out of proportion, such as the recent conflict in UAW over the dues hike during the '67 strikes. Labor leaders are depicted as boors, dictators, or militant intransigents who trample on the public interest or exhibit a ruthless disregard for the problems of the total society.

Inflationary trends are attributed frequently in the press to the "cost-push" theory, and the blame is put on organized labor's contract negotiations which have ignored wage guidelines. Strikes are usually treated as militant, or even violent acts of public disruption, with the issues which would give the public an understanding of the strikers' side of the story virtually ignored. Space does not permit extensive quotations or references, but the Labor section of Time, September 22, 1967, provides an example of nearly every type of biased coverage.

Business, on the other hand, is receiving kudos from the image-makers in a rash of items about its partnership and creative role in the Great Society. It is pictured as determined to help solve the problems of job-training, rebuilding the ghettos, and finding ways to employ the unemployable. At the same time, aspersions are cast on some unions, accusing them of obstructionist policies toward minorities. This tends to reflect on the whole labor movement, causing the public to forget, or misconceive the real role of organized labor in its long and finally successful fight for welfare legislation and civil rights laws.

A number of columnists have confirmed to their own satisfaction that the working man is moving into the ranks of the right, is rejecting the policies of the very unions whose history of skillful collective bargaining have given him the prosperity and middle-class life style he now enjoys. The implication is that the unorganized, particularly young people, who have been the beneficiaries of this history without being participants, would have no incentive to become union members, and in fact, actively oppose policies that will raise their taxes or support legislative benefits to minority groups, which they associate with unions.

Fifty percent of respondents in this survey believed mass media are favorable to unions. Only 27 percent saw these sources as unfavorable, while 19 percent said they were impartial. The true bias is not readily apparent to the average person, since there is usually a veneer of objectiveness. Yet there can be little doubt that it results in widespread conditioning of attitudes that are harmful to the labor movement in its organizing activities. Organizers need to arm themselves with counter-information and with techniques of recognizing and exposing unfair and unfavorable stories. They should be ready at all times to supply the part of the story which has been omitted or distorted in such a way as to give a false impression. It would not be feasible to take individual items apart point by point, but general arguments to counteract what



may be currently appearing in the press should be readily available, and could be an effective tool for organizers and union committees.

As to the purported shift to the right, the survey did turn up some evidence of such a trend, particularly if the anti-union vote among young people is taken as confirmation. This trend, however, is really rather small when viewed in the light of current mass media treatment of the subject of the alienation of young people from many aspects of modern society.

No massive alienation is indicated in the survey. On the other hand, it would be equally misleading to disregard indications that there is a trend. As previously indicated, respondents under 25 accounted for 18.7 percent of the total pro-union vote, slightly less than their proportion of the sample. Fifty-two percent of the total sample reported voting for the union, but only 48 percent of those under 25 reported affirmative votes.

The young respondents are particularly significant when the anti-union voting tendency among them is correlated with anti-union voting in the sample as a whole and with the fairly substantial verification in survey results of the hypothesis of a general move toward conservative views.

If, as some observers are predicting, there is to be a rather extensive move to the right in the national voting population, with both major political parties becoming more right-oriented, it seems reasonable to assume that among working people a counter-trend will begin to emerge in time. Studies indicate that rational self-interest motivates the voter insofar as he has the information to see the relationship between an issue and his own interest.

Working people will not be likely to stay long with any rightward shift that includes restrictive labor legislation and programs unfavorable to labor, such as some Republicans already are hinting at in their stumping speeches. (For example, references to compulsory arbitration.) It could even be predicted that the unorganized will more readily see the value of union membership if such threatening clouds loom upon their horizons.

It is important to note that journalistic treatment of supposed trends of any kind is usually exaggerated and over-rated. Phrasing is often aimed more at creating a sensation than at communicating facts. "Working people are defecting in droves" (from liberal positions), "Young people largely bolted union-endorsed candidates," "Legislative goals of unions are far out of line with members' interests," are only a few examples. While not even borne out by the remainder of the news story itself, such scare-words have a tendency to become self-fulfilling prophecies. They are contagious, and even people practiced at discounting such statements are affected by them. Therefore, one of the most striking features of the survey results is that variations between groups of respondents, or percentage differences that indicate any trends tend to be small. The proportional differences that bear out a "generation gap" are only a matter of a few percentage points. Differences in attitudes and behavior from one control group to another reveal problem areas that need special attention, but they definitely do not show any massive "bolting" or "droves" of defectors. It is only necessary to reach a few more young people to make the difference between winning and losing, and here it should be noted that the responses also show that young people are more uncertain, more likely to seek advice, and thus more open to persuasion.

This principle, that it is only necessary to reach a few more in order to change a result or reverse a trend, applies to most identifiable groups in the survey. Good communication in the form of face-to-face reinforcing relationships with personality types who are indecisive and unsure of themselves is the method which their responses indicate would be most effective.

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Note regarding Appendices, which follow:

Appendix I is the survey Questionnaire.

Appendix II contains the Open End Responses.

Appendix III consists of General Comments of Interviewers.

Appendix IV is a Systems Analysis of Union Campaigns.

Appendix V shows the Frequency Distribution of 491 Respondents--All Variables (i.e. numbers and percentages of all "yes", "no" and "no answer" responses ).

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

SURVEY (Page 1)

INTERVIEWER NO. \_\_\_\_\_

RESPONDENT NO. \_\_\_\_\_

DATE \_\_\_\_\_ TIME \_\_\_\_\_

RESPONDENT CODE \_\_\_\_\_

Key Punch Code

1. \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Sex \_\_\_\_\_

2. \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Marital Status \_\_\_\_\_ No. of Children \_\_\_\_\_

3. \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Age Group (ask respondent to place himself in the correct one)

- |             |             |
|-------------|-------------|
| 1. Under 21 | 6. 41-45    |
| 2. 21-25    | 7. 46-50    |
| 3. 26-30    | 8. 51-55    |
| 4. 31-35    | 9. 56-60    |
| 5. 36-40    | 10. Over 60 |

4. \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Do you own your home, rent it, or live with others? \_\_\_\_\_

5. \_\_\_\_\_ 5. How long have you lived at this address? \_\_\_\_\_

6. \_\_\_\_\_ 6. Do you own any other real estate? \_\_\_\_\_

7. \_\_\_\_\_ 7. If so, in what city (or town) is it located? \_\_\_\_\_

8. \_\_\_\_\_ 8. How long have you worked at your present place of employment? \_\_\_\_\_

9. \_\_\_\_\_ 9. What is your job title? \_\_\_\_\_

10. \_\_\_\_\_ 10. Where were you born? \_\_\_\_\_

11. \_\_\_\_\_ 11. What was the last grade you completed in school?

- |                          |                         |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. 0-8                   | 4. 1-2 years college    |
| 2. 1-2 years high school | 5. 3-4 years college    |
| 3. 3-4 years high school | 6. Over 4 years college |

12. \_\_\_\_\_ 12. Do you or do your parents speak a language other than English?  
Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_ If so, which one? \_\_\_\_\_

13. \_\_\_\_\_ 13. Have you ever belonged to a union? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_  
If so, which one(s) \_\_\_\_\_

14. \_\_\_\_\_ 14. Which of the following most accurately describes your political party attitude?

- |                     |                       |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Strong Democrat  | 4. Strong Republican  |
| 2. Usually Democrat | 5. Usually Republican |
| 3. Independent      | 6. Non-voter          |
| 7. Other _____      |                       |

15. \_\_\_\_\_ 15. For whom did you vote in the last general election for governor?  
If you did not vote, for whom would you have voted?  
\_\_\_\_\_ For President? \_\_\_\_\_
16. \_\_\_\_\_ 16. When you decided on your candidate for governor, which of these  
issues were most important to you?  
1. Taxes and high cost of living  
2. Civil rights and open housing  
3. Welfare costs  
4. Protests, riots, student agitation  
5. Crime in the streets  
6. Experience and qualification of candidates  
7. War in Vietnam  
8. Other \_\_\_\_\_
17. \_\_\_\_\_ 17. Do you work actively in party politics and campaigns?  
1. Usually  
2. Occasionally  
3. Never
18. \_\_\_\_\_ 18. If the election for governor were tomorrow, would you vote the  
same way? YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_
19. \_\_\_\_\_ 19. If not, what has changed your mind? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
20. \_\_\_\_\_ 20. Regarding union elections, did you vote in the most recent one  
held by the National Labor Relations Board in your plant?  
YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_
21. \_\_\_\_\_ 21. If you did not vote, what was your reason? \_\_\_\_\_
22. \_\_\_\_\_ 22. Before the election, did you have knowledge of your rights under  
the federal law to join and be active in the union and to be pro-  
tected by the Government in such activities?  
A. YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_  
B. If yes, when did you acquire this knowledge?  
1. Before the union came around \_\_\_\_\_  
2. During the union campaign \_\_\_\_\_
23. \_\_\_\_\_ 23. Did this knowledge (or lack of it) affect your decisions and  
actions in signing a card, attending meetings, or talking to  
other workers about the union?  
YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_  
How? \_\_\_\_\_

24. \_\_\_\_\_ 24. (A) Before the election, did you discuss the issues with friends, neighbors, spouse or other relatives? YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_
24. \_\_\_\_\_ (B) Were your parents union supporters? YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_
25. \_\_\_\_\_ 25. Did these people tend to influence your decisions? YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_
26. \_\_\_\_\_ 26. Did the employees at your plant talk to each other much about the union before the election? YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_
- If so, did these discussions tend to influence your decision?  
YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_ How? \_\_\_\_\_
- \* 27. \_\_\_\_\_ 27. Were you surprised at how the election came out? YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_
- If so, why? \_\_\_\_\_
28. \_\_\_\_\_ 28. Had you ever voted in a union election before? YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_
29. \_\_\_\_\_ 29. If so, did you vote the same way as in the recent one? YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_
30. \_\_\_\_\_ 30. If you changed this time, can you explain why? \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
31. \_\_\_\_\_ 31. In your opinion, are the news media, community spokesmen, the public in general favorable or unfavorable toward unions?
- FAVORABLE \_\_\_\_\_ UNFAVORABLE \_\_\_\_\_
32. \_\_\_\_\_ 32. Do you believe people in your plant were influenced by such outside sources in the recent union election? YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_
33. \_\_\_\_\_ 33. Did management in your plant favor or oppose the union coming in?
- FAVOR \_\_\_\_\_ OPPOSE \_\_\_\_\_
34. \_\_\_\_\_ 34. If so, how? \_\_\_\_\_

Which of the following means were used by the company?

1. Letters sent to employees' homes?
2. Speeches by top management representatives to the employees?
3. Talks by foremen or supervisors with individuals or small employees groups?
4. Circulars or posters on company premises?
5. Open house, picnic, party or other company sponsored social events?
6. Other? \_\_\_\_\_

What criticisms, if any, do you have of any of these means?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

35. \_\_\_\_\_ 35. People interviewed in other surveys usually have given some of the following reasons for voting for the union.

Which of these seem more important to you?

Name three or four in order of importance.

1. Union representation and collective bargaining ensure better pay and job security.
2. They can ensure fairness in promotion, fair pay for work performed, seniority rights, etc.
3. There will be better control over speed-up production, standards, quotas, etc.
4. Fringe benefits, such as pensions, holidays and sick leave, will be improved.
5. Grievances or complaints will be handled better; employees will be in a more secure position.
6. Other \_\_\_\_\_

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36. \_\_\_\_\_ 36. Among reasons given by people who voted against the union, which of the following seem the most important to you?

Name three or four.

1. Did not like the idea of paying union dues, having to join.
2. Feared possible fines or assessments.
3. Believed there would be a strike if the union came in.
4. Believed the management would move the plant or there would be a lay-off.
5. Believed the union was not needed, as management already provided practically the same benefits as in unionized workplaces.
6. Would have voted for some other union, but not this particular one.
7. Considered management so against the union that it would mean trouble for those who supported it.
8. Previous experience with unions.
9. Other \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

37. \_\_\_\_\_ 37. At what point, prior to the election, did you decide how you would vote?

1. As soon as the union came around.
2. When you heard what the union had to offer during the campaign.
3. Later in the campaign, after much thought.
4. Right before the election.

38. \_\_\_\_\_ 38. (A) What do you think influenced you or your co-workers the most in the union campaign?

1. The union meetings?

What kinds of meetings were best? \_\_\_\_\_

2. The union leaflets?

Did any one leaflet (or leaflets) impress you especially? \_\_\_\_\_

3. Discussions with union organizers in your home? \_\_\_\_\_  
Elsewhere? \_\_\_\_\_

4. Talks with fellow employees who were on the union committee? \_\_\_\_\_

5. Other \_\_\_\_\_

(B) What criticisms, if any, do you have of the union campaign?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

39. \_\_\_\_\_ 39. If the union election were held tomorrow, would you vote the same way? YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_

40. \_\_\_\_\_ 40. If not, why have you changed your mind? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

41. \_\_\_\_\_ 41. Had you signed a card for the union before the election?  
YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_

42. \_\_\_\_\_ 42. How did you vote? (If you didn't vote, how would you have voted?)

FOR THE UNION \_\_\_\_\_  
AGAINST THE UNION \_\_\_\_\_



FOR INTERVIEWER'S USE ONLY

Concerning this interview:

Indicate respondent's general attitude. Was respondent

For the union \_\_\_\_\_

Against the union \_\_\_\_\_

Disinterested \_\_\_\_\_

Suggestions:

Problems:

General:

opeiu-30  
afl-cio

## APPENDIX II

### OPEN END RESPONSES<sup>1</sup>

Interviewers were instructed to record these responses verbatim. Insofar as possible, actual wording is retained or they are grouped under a typical reply and ranked in order of frequency.

Question 16 - Other - Other reasons given for deciding on candidate for governor:

(Note: The two most significant in frequency were opposite in content.)

1. Straight ticket voters.
2. Always weigh all issues.
3. Corruption, bankrupting of state.
4. Never vote - apolitical.

Question 21 - Reasons for not voting in union election other than NOT PRESENT:

1. People pushed me both ways.
2. Never vote for anything.
3. Didn't know which was right.
4. Didn't care about result (cross-pressures, alienation, apathy).

Question 23 - How did knowledge of rights under federal law affect your decision?

1. Made me feel safer.
2. Knew it was okay to talk for union.
3. Can't get fired.
4. Protects you.
5. Makes union not needed.
6. N.L.R.B. favors unions; discriminates, is unfair.
7. All elections need policing.

Question 26 - How influenced by co-workers?

1. Voted as people I like (or who have helped me), advised me to vote.
2. Employer's attitude convinced some to vote for union.
3. Saw through their agitation.
4. Too much pressure (from some strong pro-union leaders ).

Question 27 - Reasons for surprise at union election result:

1. Thought union had general support (but it lost).
2. Agitation and tension - thought it would end (but it continued after election).
3. Thought people satisfied with the existing company union.  
(Note: Two plants had "independent" employee organizations. The vote they received was negligible and did not affect the findings.)
4. Union lost before (once, twice).
5. Thought people had better sense.

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<sup>1</sup> For closed responses, see Tables.

Questions 30 - If you changed this time in union vote, why?

1. Different union okay (or not okay).
2. Did not like union in previous company.
3. Don't want it in this one.
4. Other people straightened me out.
5. Voted no last time, but union would have been okay, except for bad officers. Give this one a chance.
6. Other plant needed (did not need) a union, this one does (or does not).
7. Big plants need unions; small ones don't.
8. Contract made things no better for workers last time (at previous place of employment).

Question 34 - Other techniques employed by management during election campaign:

1. Threats of various sorts.
2. Pointed out this union Communist or this union has too many strikes.
3. Got older employees, foremen, supervisors to put on the pressure.
4. Put employees into supervisory positions temporarily to make them ineligible to vote.
5. Put out "Vote No" buttons.
6. Got executives out from East to talk.
7. Gave parties for foremen.
8. Some people got raises.
9. Switched people around on jobs to defeat union.
10. Appealed to us - said "whole new set of (union-caused) troubles might drive them out of business." Wasted their breath and my time.

Question 34 - Part B - Criticisms of management means of opposing unions:

1. Management doesn't tell truth.
2. Letters sounded like threats.
3. People that have a little authority think they know it all.
4. Captive audience - company uses company time.
5. Foremen side with management.
6. Used spies, planted "stoolies".
7. Some people got raises for opposing union.
8. Set nationality against nationality.
9. Too derogatory to unions.
10. Raked up old dead issues.
11. Usual pushing around.
12. Used cameras.

Questions 35 - Other reasons why people voted for union - Projected:

1. Older employees tried to exert too much influence (against union) - backfired.
2. Older employees have "in" with management, want to keep it.
3. People wanted safety; safer working conditions.

Question 35 - Other reasons why people voted for union - Projected:(Continued)

4. Needed better equipment; more equipment.
5. Employees union not strong enough.  
.(Note: Again, this refers to the "independent" employee organizations in two plants.)
6. Wanted better overtime situation.
7. Wanted better insurance.

Question 36 - Other reasons why people voted against unions - Projected:

1. Reputation of the particular union.  
(Note: "Too many strikes" was a comment about the Auto Workers during the 1967 contract renewal - strike period.)
2. Prefer good relationship with management.
3. Want to be judged for my work - don't like seniority.
4. Communist influence - radicals.
5. Older people may have thought union would ease them out.
6. Unions appeal to greed too much.
7. Like peace and quiet.
8. Union doesn't stick up for a person when it comes right down to it.
9. Slackers and sloppy workers get same pay as hard workers.
10. Young kids shot down union; they haven't been "through the mill"; don't understand.
11. Unskilled push for a union; skilled people don't need it.
12. Caught union in lie at last minute.
13. Union organizers too aggressive.

Question 38 - Union campaign - other techniques in union campaign:

1. What kind of meetings?(preferences are ranked in order of frequency).
  - a. Big meetings
  - b. Small meetings
  - c. Short meetings
  - d. Meetings where you get answers
  - e. Open house
  - f. Dinners
  - g. Bowling alley
  - h. First meeting (when union was first introduced)
2. Any particular leaflet?
  - a. Read every one - all good.
  - b. Threw them all away.
  - c. Too repetitious.
  - d. Didn't realize unions strive for so many things besides wages until I read leaflets (a particular leaflet).
  - e. Surprised at how clever, easy to grasp.
  - f. Meant for idiots who need it spelled out.
  - g. Made me feel confident because had money and brains behind them.
  - h. Put it too strong.

Question 38 - Union campaign - other techniques in union campaign: (Continued)

3. Other - (Most replies under "Other" were actually criticisms).

- a. Some respondents gave no specific answers but said everything in the union campaign was excellent, while others said nothing impressed them.
- b. Several mentioned that other fellow employees who advocated the union impressed them most.
- c. The way management carried on about unions convinced some that they (unions) must be good for workers.

4. Criticisms of meetings, organizers, and/or unions:

- a. Too repetitious; meetings too long; expect too much of your time.
- b. Organizers couldn't answer some questions.
- c. Management planted "stoolies" to show them up; should have been prepared for it.
- d. Not enough personal attention to questions - "brushed off my questions" (this from a person on committee).
- e. Too much pressure.
- f. Didn't use right people on committee.
- g. Organizers too aggressive, too pushy, too radical.
- h. Poor organization, didn't try hard enough.
- i. Should have stooped to management tactics.
- j. Sets people against people - old friends won't speak to me, eat lunch with me.
- k. Don't have enough patience, no personal touch.
- l. Unions too slow to issue union membership books (after winning election).
- m. Didn't satisfy people; didn't answer critics; didn't come back to me with answer (after commitment to obtain further information).
- n. Rude, used rough language.
- o. Campaign okay, but they didn't live up to promises; became uninterested after election.
- p. Union organizers too old.
- q. Union is fooling people; tells lies.
- r. Talk down to people; act like you're an idiot.
- s. Didn't like special delivery letter sent to home right before election.
- t. Nobody tells me what's good for me.
- u. Unions are for white people.
- v. Union didn't help me; I got laid off.
- w. Bad Spanish; need more Spanish-speaking people.

Question 40 - Reasons why respondent would not vote same again:

- 1. Assessment for U.A.W. strike in Detroit.  
(Note: This was during 1937 Auto Workers strike.)
- 2. Management did not live up to promise.
- 3. Union contract no better than old days before the union.

Question 40 - Reasons why respondent would not vote same again:(Continued)

4. See the reason for union now (didn't see it the last time).
5. Unions won't let you quit (refers to maintenance of membership or union shop).
6. Too much bad feeling; don't like union leaders' attitude.

### APPENDIX III

#### GENERAL COMMENTS OF INTERVIEWERS

- I. Interviewers characterized respondents as very pro-union, very anti-union, or not strong on either side. In some cases this assessment was made subjectively by the interviewer when the respondent refused to answer concerning his union vote. These perceptions were included in the count of votes for and against the union which may introduce some reporting error in this frequency distribution.

Some interviewers appraised the general attitude of their respondents in such terms as friendly, cordial, very interested, eager, or, conversely, hostile, suspicious, belligerent, reluctant, bored, uninterested. A significantly greater percentage of those characterized as hostile, etc., had voted against the union or were subjectively described as anti-union by the interviewer. Hostile respondents often refused to answer after a certain point in the interview.

An interesting gratuitous response that was given (in substantially this form) to several interviewers indicated backlash:

"Even though management said they had given us everything the union could, I believe in safety in numbers. Besides, if management was already doing more for us than a mother would, how come they fight the union so hard? It wouldn't hurt them any if they were telling the truth. That made me believe the union would be good for the workers."

A. Reasons given for reluctance or refusal to answer some questions or to be interviewed at all were reported in this order of frequency:

1. Non-respondents could not be convinced the interview would remain confidential since the interviewer had their names.
2. They stated that they had heard enough about unions vs. management to "last a lifetime"; were "sick of the subject"; "felt the less said the better", etc.
3. They suspected the management was using interviewer to check up on their pro-union activities.
4. Expressions of "too busy", "can't be bothered", "not enough time to do things that have to be done" were frequent.
5. Many who refused to be interviewed, emphatically said that it was best not to answer any questions from any stranger. One Negro interviewer, who concentrated on Negro neighborhoods, reported this feeling extensively. He believed his being a Negro did not dissipate this reaction. He also reported, as other interviewers did, that non-respondents who were illiterate, non-English speaking or residents of poorer neighborhoods stated that they had never heard of San Fernando Valley State College.
6. Antipathy toward unions was a significant reason for refusing to be interviewed. However, in no case was a fear of union reprisal expressed, other than bad feeling from fellow workers.
7. Two interviewers, who, between them, interviewed or commissioned interviews for about 200 people reported that young people were more willing to talk to them than older people and that this applied to all ethnic groups.

A. Reasons given for reluctance or refusal to answer some questions or to be interviewed at all were reported in this order of frequency: (Continued)

8. Some said questionnaire looked too long.

B. Reasons for not answering certain questions:

1. Too personal.
2. Nobody else's business.
3. Might get me in trouble.
4. Don't want it on the record, in writing, etc.
5. That's all I care to answer.
6. Some union. is paying you to do this.

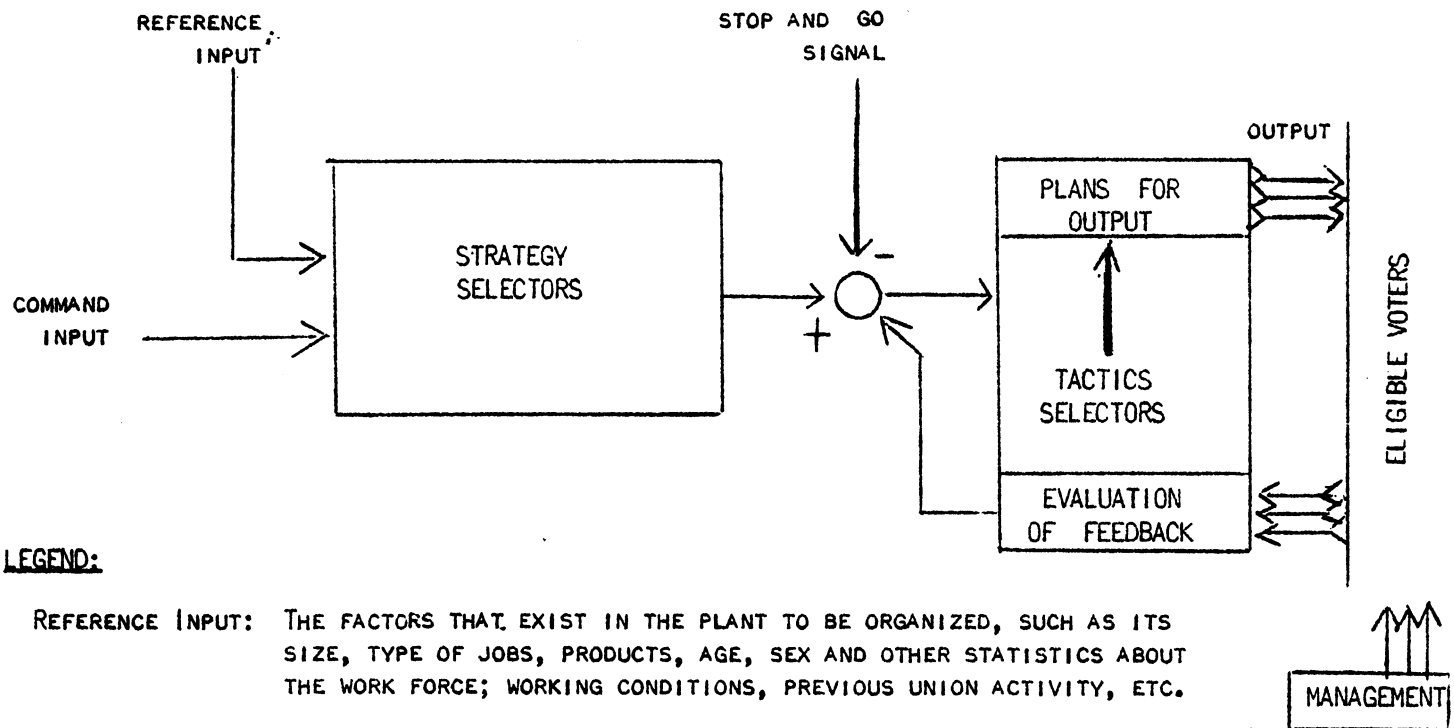
II. Other Comments Reported:

- A. Respondents quite frequently said that although the union had lost the election, they (or others) were still working towards getting organized.
- B. A man, who was very active in political campaigns, said that unions were as necessary to democracy as elections and that he taught his children to understand the importance of both.



## APPENDIX IV

### A SYSTEMS ANALYSIS OF UNION CAMPAIGNS



#### LEGEND:

- REFERENCE INPUT:** THE FACTORS THAT EXIST IN THE PLANT TO BE ORGANIZED, SUCH AS ITS SIZE, TYPE OF JOBS, PRODUCTS, AGE, SEX AND OTHER STATISTICS ABOUT THE WORK FORCE; WORKING CONDITIONS, PREVIOUS UNION ACTIVITY, ETC.
- COMMAND INPUT:** THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PARTICULAR UNION INVOLVED.
- STRATEGY SELECTORS:** THE ORGANIZERS IN CHARGE, AFTER EVALUATING THE GIVEN SITUATION, REPRESENTED BY THE TWO TYPES OF INPUT, MAP OUT AN OPTIMAL STRATEGY FOR THE CAMPAIGN.
- TACTICS SELECTORS:** PARTICULAR ACTIVITIES AND CAMPAIGN TECHNIQUES ARE SET IN MOTION TO CARRY OUT THE OVERALL STRATEGY.
- OUTPUT:** MEETINGS TAKE PLACE AS PLANNED. TALKS, VISITS AND LEAFLETS ARE USED TO FIT THE STRATEGY.
- FEEDBACK:** METHODS ARE DEvised FOR DETERMINING POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE REACTIONS TO THE OUTPUT. ENTHUSIASM, APPLAUSE AND OTHER REACTIONS ARE EVALUATED AS ACCURATELY AS POSSIBLE. SHOW OF HANDS, STRAW VOTES, REPORTS FROM IN-PLANT COMMITTEES CAN DEVELOP FEEDBACK. MANAGEMENT TECHNIQUES AND THEIR EFFECT ARE EVALUATED AND COUNTER-MEASURES PLANNED. FEEDBACK EVALUATION THEN OPERATES THE SIGNAL.
- SIGNAL:** THE SIGNAL REPRESENTS THE THERMOMETER OF SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF CAMPAIGN TECHNIQUES AND THE INDICATOR OF THE NEED FOR NEW ONES. IT SAYS--"CUT DOWN ON THAT", "INCREASE THIS", "TRY THIS TO COUNTER WHAT MANAGEMENT IS DOING." THE SIGNAL DIRECTS THE OUTPUT SO THAT IT IS CONSTANTLY IN TOUCH WITH THE CURRENT SITUATION. FEEDBACK MUST BE RECEIVED CONSTANTLY SO THAT ADJUSTMENTS CAN BE MADE TO MAKE THE BEST POSSIBLE USE OF TIME, ENERGY, TALENT AND MONEY AVAILABLE.

## APPENDIX V

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION ON 491 RESPONDENTS-ALL VARIABLES

<u>QUESTION NUMBER</u>	<u>COUNT</u>	<u>PERCENT</u>
1. Sex - Female	139	28.3
Male	352	71.7
2. Marital Status - Married	343	69.9
Single	96	19.5
Divorced	40	8.1
Other	12	2.4
3. Age - Under 21	26	5.3
21 - 25	74	15.1
26 - 30	75	15.2
31 - 35	86	17.5 - Median
36 - 40	81	16.5
41 - 45	53	10.8
46 - 50	46	9.4
51 - 55	21	4.3
56 - 60	18	3.7
Over 60	11	2.2
4. Home Ownership - Own	230	46.8
Rent	191	38.9
Live with Others	70	14.3
5. Length of Residence - Under 1 Year	48	9.8
1 - 2 Years	132	26.9 - Median
2 - 5 Years	167	34.0
5 - 10 Years	82	16.7
Over 10 Years	61	12.4
6. Other Real Property - Yes	48	9.7
No	428	87.2
No Answer	15	3.1
7. Location of Above - Los Angeles Area	18	-
Other Locations	30	-
8. Length of Employment - Under 1 Year	38	7.7
1 - 2 Years	129	26.3
2 - 5 Years	191	38.9
5 - 10 Years	75	15.3
Over 10 Years	50	10.2
No Answer	8	1.6
9. Job Classification - Skilled	129	26.3
Non-Skilled	335	68.2
White Collar	18	3.7
Not Classified	9	1.8

<u>QUESTION NUMBER</u>		<u>COUNT</u>	<u>PERCENT</u>	
10.	Birthplace - Los Angeles - So. Calif.	155	31.6	
	Midwest	68	13.8	
	South	102	20.8	
	East Coast	78	15.9	
	Far West-Other than Calif.	45	9.2	
	Foreign Born	43	8.7	
11.	Education - 0 - 8 Grade	64	13.0	
	1 - 2 Yrs. High School	144	29.3	-Median
	3 - 4 Yrs. High School	222	45.2	
	1 - 2 Yrs. College	48	9.8	
	3 - 4 Yrs. College	9	1.8	
	No Answer	4	.8	
12.	Other Language - None	319	64.9	
	Spanish	99	20.2	
	Other	73	14.9	
13.	Previous Union Membership - Yes	146	29.7	
	No	342	69.7	
	No Answer	3	.6	
14.	Party Affiliation - Strong Democrat	138	28.1	
	Usually Democrat	150	30.5	
	Independent	64	13.0	
	Strong Republican	18	3.7	
	Usually Republican	46	9.4	
	Non-Voter	62	12.6	
	Other Answer	13	2.6	
15.	Voting - Governor Brown	240	48.8	
	Reagan	208	42.4	
	Refused to Say	17	3.5	
	Non-Voter	26	5.3	
	Voting-President (1964) - Goldwater	73	14.9	
	Johnson	375	76.4	
	Refused to Say	18	3.7	
	Non-Voter	25	5.0	
16.	Issues - Ranked	<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>3rd</u> <u>Total</u>
	Taxes and High Cost of Living	238	31	20 289
	Civil Rights and Open Housing	62	77	26 165
	Welfare Costs	17	63	38 118
	Protests, Riots, Student Agitation	17	47	49 113
	"Crime in the Streets"	4	28	39 71
	Experience and Qualification of			
	Candidates	82	57	37 176
	War in Vietnam	16	18	18 52
	Other	26	9	1 36
	No Answer	29	161	263 -

<u>QUESTION NUMBER</u>	<u>COUNT</u>	<u>PERCENT</u>
17. Party Activity - Usually	6	1.2
Occasionally	71	14.5
Never	404	82.3
No Answer	10	2.0
18. Would Vote Same for Governor - Yes	413	84.1
if Election held Tomorrow No	34	6.9
No Answer	13	2.6
Don't Know	31	6.3
19. Reason for Change - Like Reagan Now	28	-
Liked Brown Better	9	-
20. Union Election Participation - Yes	413	84.0
No	58	12.0
No Answer	20	4.0
21. Reason for Not Voting - Not Present	21	-
Other Reason	32	-
No Answer	5	-
22. Knowledge of Rights - Yes	385	78.4
No	42	8.6
*No Answer	64	13.0
If Yes, When - Before Union Came Around	253	51.5
During Campaign	148	30.1
No Answer	90	18.3
23. Effect on Decision - Yes	76	15.5
No	365	74.3
Don't Know	44	8.9
No Answer	6	1.1
24. Talked to Friends, Neighbors, Spouse, Etc. - Yes	317	64.6
No	158	32.2
No Answer	16	3.2
Parents Pro-Union - Yes	159	32.4
No	273	55.6
Don't Know or Mixed	59	12.0
25. Did These Influence? - Yes	161	32.8
No	310	63.1
No Answer	20	4.1
26. Talk Among Employees - Yes	411	83.7
No	58	11.8
No Answer	22	3.5

\*Not Asked on Pre-Test - 26 Cases

<u>QUESTION NUMBER</u>	<u>COUNT</u>			<u>PERCENT</u>	
27. Surprised at Result - Yes	107			21.8	
No	367			74.7	
No Answer	17			3.5	
28. Previous Vote in Union Election - Yes	185			37.7	
No	287			58.5	
No Answer	19			3.8	
29. Vote Same - Yes	139			75.1	
No	44			23.8	
No Answer	2			1.1	
30. Direction of Change - Would now vote for	21			-	
Would now vote against	19			-	
31. Mass Media Bias - Favorable	247			50.3	
Unfavorable	134			27.2	
Don't know or believe impartial	94			19.1	
No Answer	16			3.3	
32. Influence - Yes	215			43.8	
No	233			47.4	
Don't Know	43			8.8	
33. Management - Favor Union	6			1.2	
Oppose	449			91.4	
Don't Know	19			3.9	
Refuse to Answer	17			3.5	
<u>34. Management Techniques Ranked</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4.</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Letters sent to employees' homes?	208	30	11	6	255
2. Speeches by top management representatives to the employees?	111	186	17	2	316
3. Talks by foremen or supervisors with individuals or small employees' groups?	89	95	72	4	260
4. Circulars or posters on company premises?	11	35	52	28	126
5. Open house, picnic, party, or other company sponsored social events?	10	45	52	21	128
6. Other	5	3	20	17	45
7. No Answer	57	97	267	415	-

QUESTION  
NUMBER

<u>35.</u> Projected Reasons Why People Voted for Union - Ranked	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Union representation and collective bargaining ensure better pay and job security.	249	68	48	23	388
2. They can ensure fairness in promotion, fair pay for work performed, seniority rights, etc.	100	115	71	21	307
3. There will be better control over speedup, production standards, quotas, etc.	13	56	57	25	151
4. Fringe benefits, such as pensions, holidays and sick leave, will be improved.	54	129	127	42	352
5. Grievances or complaints will be handled better; employees will be in a more secure position.	37	80	108	48	273
6. Other	19	6	7	15	47
7. No Answer	19	40	73	317	-
<u>36.</u> Projected Reasons Why People Voted Against Union	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Did not like the idea of paying union dues, having to join.	239	67	33	17	356
2. Feared possible fines or assessments.	45	63	27	6	141
3. Believed there would be a strike if the union came in.	32	103	81	21	237
4. Believed the management would move the plant or there would be a layoff.	49	42	86	15	192
5. Believed union was not needed as management already provided same benefits.	59	89	61	19	228
6. Would have voted for some other union, but not this particular one.	11	21	16	6	54
7. Considered management so against the union that it would mean trouble for those who supported it.	27	55	75	25	182

QUESTION  
NUMBER

<u>36.</u> Projected Reasons Why People Voted Against Union (Continued)	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>Total</u>
8. Previous experience with unions	7	4	18	5	34
9. Other	6	9	9	9	33
10. No Answer	16	38	85	368	-

<u>37.</u> Time of Voting Decision	<u>COUNT</u>	<u>PERCENT</u>
1. As soon as the union came around	154	31.4
2. When you heard what the union had to offer during the campaign	135	27.5
3. Later in the campaign, after much thought	85	17.3
4. Right before the election	87	17.7
5. No Answer	26	5.3

<u>38.</u> Union Techniques - Ranked	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. The Union meetings?	161	38	1	3	203
2. The Union Leaflets?	47	49	19	2	117
3. Discussions with union organizers in your home?	37	25	19	1	82
4. Talks with fellow employees who were on the union committee?	115	53	16	2	186
5. Other	49	47	11	41	148
6. No Answer	82	279	435	443	-

<u>39.</u> Would vote Same if Union Election were Held Tomorrow -	<u>COUNT</u>	<u>PERCENT</u>
Yes	415	84.5
No	29	5.9
Don't Know or Won't Say	47	9.5

<u>QUESTION NUMBER</u>		<u>COUNT</u>	<u>PERCENT</u>
40. Reason: Would Now Vote for -			
	No reason given	7	1.4
	Would Now Vote Against -		
	No reason given	5	1.0
	Specific Reason	14	2.8
	Don't Know - No Answer	465	94.7
41. Signed Card - Yes		289	58.9
	No	169	34.4
	Not Present	6	1.2
	Won't Say	27	5.5
42. Union Vote - For		256	52.1
	Against	200	40.7
	Won't Say	35	7.1

Note: A variety of responses are noted above as "other".  
For specific responses of this type, see Appendix II  
(Open End Responses).