

EVALUATION AND PUBLIC OPINION:  
PLANNING TOOLS FOR  
ORGANIZED LABOUR

Report of a Practicum  
Presented to  
The Faculty of Graduate Studies  
University of Manitoba

**MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK**

by  
Robert George Onysko

September, 1986



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EVALUATION AND PUBLIC OPINION:  
PLANNING TOOLS FOR ORGANIZED LABOUR

BY

ROBERT GEORGE ONYSKO

A practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies  
of the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements of the degree of

MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

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## INTRODUCTION

The following report is a summary of my experience as a graduate student placed at the Manitoba Federation of Labour (MFL). It is a task-oriented report as a consequence of the nature of the placement and my desire to gain practical experience, and highlights several areas of involvement.

Chapter I describes the process of selecting the MFL as a practicum site, including my personal experience with industrial relations, negotiations around a placement contract, and expectations. This chapter also outlines my activities at the site.

Chapter II is a literature review which attempts to grapple with the issue of the future direction of organized labour in Canada. It traces the evolution of labour within economic, historical, and political contexts with some specific references to Manitoba in order to offer alternative courses of action.

Chapter III is a description of an organizational review inquiring into the activities of the ten MFL Standing Committees. Because the contents of this review are deemed confidential, only the methodology, theoretical basis, and process are discussed.

Chapter IV introduces an exploratory research project testing public opinion within the city of Winnipeg on issues of concern to the MFL. It includes the rationale for the project and discussion of the methodology.

Chapter V is a presentation of data from the research project and its potential impact upon organized labour. It also includes suggestions for improving the questionnaire and undertaking the survey.

Chapter VI is the conclusion. It seeks to unify these somewhat divergent activities into a meaningful whole in regard to what this experience has meant to me. Learning outcomes are also addressed.

## CHAPTER I

### The Practicum

The development of this practicum idea occurred between October and December of 1985. Facilitated by Professor Reid, discussions commenced with Wilf Hudson, President of the MFL, as to the possibilities and practicalities of taking on a graduate student. Having been an active member of the Manitoba Government Employees' Association as both a shop steward and vice-president of my component local, I had general knowledge about the MFL.

Its office is located in the Union Centre at 570 Portage Avenue. The MFL is lead by a president, chosen at a biennial convention, and is staffed by a Co-ordinator, an Economist/Researcher, and two Administrative Secretaries. As a labour organization, it represents approximately 76,000 workers in a confederation of 40 affiliated unions. The MFL is also a charter member of the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC).

Distinctions between the CLC, MFL, and affiliated unions can be likened to the three levels of government—federal, provincial, and municipal. The CLC consults, advocates, and lobbies on behalf of its member organizations at the federal government level and defines policies on international affairs for its membership. The MFL's main role is to advocate on behalf of its members at the provincial government level. Affiliated unions primarily



serve the needs of their members at the local level, with some wider coordination within their union at the national or international level (depending upon the nature and size of that union).

The CLC does not speak for all labour unions at the federal government level, as several craft and construction unions have either broken away, or have never affiliated. However, it does represent in excess of two million members. A trade union must be affiliated to the CLC to be a member of the MFL.

The purposes of the MFL are tenfold: 1. To support the principles and policies of the CLC. 2. To promote the interests of its affiliates and generally to

advance the economic and social welfare of the workers in Manitoba.

3. a) To assist affiliated organizations in extending the benefits of mutual assistance, collective bargaining, and union education to the workers. b) To assist wherever possible in the organization of the unorganized into unions for their mutual aid, protection, and advancement, giving recognition to the principle that both craft and industrial unions are appropriate, equal, and necessary as methods of union organization.
4. To encourage all workers without regard to race, creed, colour, age, sex, national origin, or political beliefs to share in the full benefit of union organization.
5. To secure provincial legislation which will safeguard and promote the principle of free collective bargaining, the

rights of workers, and the security and welfare of all people, and give collective expression to our elected representatives.

6. To protect and strengthen our democratic institutions, to secure full recognition and enjoyment of the rights and liberties to which we are justly entitled, and to preserve and perpetuate the cherished traditions of our democracy.
7. To promote the cause of peace and freedom in the world and to assist and co-operate with free and democratic labour movements throughout the world.
8. To aid and encourage the sale and use of union made goods and union services through the use of the union label and other symbols.
9. To protect the labour movement from all corrupt influences and from the undermining efforts of all totalitarian agencies which are opposed to the basic principles of democracy and free and democratic unionism.
10. To preserve the independence of the labour movement from political control, to encourage workers to vote, to exercise their full rights and responsibilities of citizenship, and to perform their rightful part in the political life of the municipal, provincial, and federal governments.

The MFL President chairs an Executive Council comprised of some 26 representatives of organized labour across the province. Ten standing committees report to the Executive Council: Compensation, Education, Federal Unions,

Human Rights, Pension, Political Education, Safety and Health, Strike Support, Technological Change, and Women's. These committees generate much of the daily work within the MFL, implementing policy decisions adopted at convention. Furthermore, much of the work that is undertaken is the result of volunteer participation from union members within affiliates.

Individual commitment has been, therefore, critical to the MFL's ability to carry out its mandate. However, unions and other organizations depending upon volunteers have typically been limited by finite numbers and infinite work to be done. The potential resource of a graduate student with some specialized skills to offer was looked upon by the MFL with interest. Similarly, as a student seeking to maximize learning opportunities, there was a great deal of potential within the MFL.

Through the assistance of Professor Reid, Wilf Hudson and I agreed to a contract outlining mutual responsibilities. The terms of the contract were general and allowed for maximum flexibility by both sides.

#### Practicum Proposal

Public opinion tends to define trade unions as a necessary evil: necessary to protect workers' rights and improve wages and benefits, but evil in terms of power, self interest, and periodic corruption. The public's perception is becoming increasingly important for the labour movement. This practicum will explore issues of public relations and public opinion in a labour setting.

It involves a contract with the Manitoba Federation of Labour to provide services in return for learning in the following areas:

1. Public Relations:

- a) Assist in the drafting of press releases on issues of concern to the MFL.
- b) Provide research skills as the President may require.
- c) Help in the organization of media events.

2. Public Opinion:

- a) Work with the organization to design and implement a survey to examine public opinion on the trade union movement in relation to other power and interest groups.
- b) Analyze findings and identify possible new courses of action or areas of involvement for the MFL.

3. Union Outreach:

- a) Review current status of MFL constituency groups.
- b) Determine the extent to which the MFL can benefit from such groups.
- c) Develop a strategy to tap their expertise and support.
- d) Assess the long-term political implications for the MFL.

4. Other Duties:

- a) As mutually defined and agreed upon.

- b) This contract can be amended by the parties as required.

Office space was made available within the District 3 office of the United Steelworkers of America. Work formally commenced on the practicum during the first week of January, 1986. Class scheduling allowed for Monday and Wednesday as full days on site with a half-day alternating between Tuesday and Thursday. There was occasional evening work as well.

The initial weeks provided for becoming familiar with the organization, prioritizing activities, and beginning a literature review. MFL staff were most helpful in making files and other documentation available. In addition, Wilf Hudson made a point of introducing me to many union leaders and staff representatives within the Union Centre. A letter was directed to all affiliates announcing my arrival.

Some general time lines were discussed in regard to potential areas of work. Due to the impending provincial election, it was felt that public opinion surveying should be left until the spring, perhaps late March or early April. Participation as a resource person on the MFL Human Rights Standing Committee ("other duties") could begin immediately and would involve attending monthly meetings. Discussion of a media relations policy could also commence in January. As well, a review of MFL standing committees was being initiated in January.

By the end of January, it became evident that this practicum would entail three major and two minor areas of involvement. Major areas would include completion of the

literature review, participation in the review of standing committees, and undertaking a public opinion survey. Minor areas would include participation on the Human Rights Committee and studying options regarding a media relations policy. The issue of union outreach as outlined within the contract would not be addressed, for there was sufficient work within the above activities.

Direction and supervision were provided both jointly and singularly by President Hudson and Professor Reid on a consultation basis as situations demanded. I otherwise worked quite independently within the practicum site.

The succeeding chapters outline the literature review, the methodology of the standing committee review, and the methodology of and data from the public opinion survey. It should be noted that the standing committee review is an internal document and will not appear within the text of this report. The methodology employed and some commentary on process will be offered instead. Learning and other revelations are discussed in the concluding chapter.

This practicum allowed me to become immersed in a variety of projects, large and small. It was my intention to design a learning environment which would maximize "hands on" experience; and more critically, experience which could be invaluable in other areas of administration and research. It was an attempt to glean the "practical" out of the practicum.

## CHAPTER II

### Literature Review

Labour unions have been evolving in Canada since the early 1800's. Much of that activity has been in response to general economic developments and the specific actions of governments and employers. As a result of the most recent economic recession, many unions have discovered that previously won battles with governments and employers have resumed, threatening the survival and recognition once thought secure.

A model developed by Kovacs (1971) outlines three stages of development for organized labour. In the formative stage, unionism displays dedication to its causes and demands reform. Success is achieved through working class solidarity, militancy, and adherence to philosophies advocating political change. In the pragmatic stage, unionism focuses on the successes of collective bargaining at the micro level. In the power stage, unions redefine their goals toward broader purposes and direction, particularly in the attainment of greater economic and social benefits for all members of society.

Currently, the Canadian labour movement can be placed within the pragmatic stage. Collective bargaining is the primary vehicle by which unions derive benefits for their members. However, economic realities over the last two decades have severely tested the efficacy of collective

bargaining. This reliance on bargaining has placed the labour movement in a defensive position, giving it few alternatives in response to changing economic circumstances. Unless organized labour can transcend the pragmatic stage, its power, both real and perceived, will continue to decline.

The Kovacs model is a useful one for analyzing the evolution of organized labour in Canada and commenting on future trends. It has been amended to include emergent political activity within the pragmatic stage to illustrate the conflict between political action and business unionism. Moreover, the model must be viewed within the wider contexts of economic theories and world economic development.

Since the latter part of the eighteenth century, the world has been in the grips of an industrial revolution. Emerging in Europe, technology and mechanization abruptly ended centuries of feudalism, replacing an agrarian society with an urban and industrial one. Such change demanded a re-thinking of the relationship between man, work, and society.

Three predominant economic ideologies were advanced in response to the industrial revolution and into the twentieth century. The first, advocated by Adam Smith, was laissez-faire capitalism. The second, developed by Karl Marx, was dialectical materialism. The third, proposed by John Maynard Keynes, required government intervention to attenuate the workings of the market economy (Galbraith, 1977).

Smith argued that men and women did their best when they reaped the rewards of hard work or intelligence and were punished for sloth. It was equally important that people



were free to seek work and conduct business which would reward their efforts. What served the individual, provided him with the most, then best served society. Along with the pursuit of self-interest, the wealth of a nation could be enhanced by division of labour (Galbraith, 1977).

Galbraith also notes that at the heart of Smith's theory was the perspective of the primacy of the market. Smith opposed tariffs and other restraints on trade, including unions and cartels. He favoured the greatest possible freedom for the exchange of goods within national and international markets. The state was the greatest enemy of economic freedom, for it imposed tariffs, granted monopolies, and raised taxes. Freedom of trade enlarged the freedom of the individual to pursue his self-interest.

Marx, writing in the second half of the eighteenth century, formulated strong criticism to the workings of laissez-faire capitalism. He proposed that conflict between social classes was natural and kept society in a condition of constant change. Once society had developed a structure which was seemingly secure, that structure would nurture antagonistic forces which would challenge and eventually destroy it. The capitalists challenged and destroyed feudalism, but their new society would nurture the development of a class-conscious proletariat. Workers would eventually move against the capitalist order. Since the existing state served only the interests of capital, it would be overthrown by revolution. A workers' state would be the next new structure (Tucker, 1972).

By the nature of its division of labour, alienation, and exploitation, industrial society of the nineteenth century would provide the ferment for revolution. Events in western Europe in 1848 and 1871 indicated that perhaps revolution was imminent, but attempts at establishing revolutionary governments in Germany and France failed. Revolution eventually came, but not under the conditions of industrialization Marx felt were imperative. Instead, it occurred in agrarian Russia, where peasants were led in revolt against a crumbling Czarist government (Galbraith, 1977).

Laissez-faire capitalism remained the dominant economic ideology of Western Europe and North America into the twentieth century. The crash of American stock markets in 1929 followed by a ten-year depression dealt western economies a serious blow. Until the Depression, idle plants and men were viewed as an aberration--a temporary adjustment of the system.

Keynes maintained that the modern economy could regain equilibrium even with high unemployment, provided that governments intervened. He advocated borrowing by governments and the expenditure of these funds. Workers and others receiving monies spent by governments would, in turn, also spend and stimulate the economy. As unemployment diminished and inflation began to rise, governments could raise taxes to reduce their deficits and invoke wage and price controls to keep the cost of living stable. Manipulating the central bank rate as well as imposing

exchange controls to prevent the exodus of capital could also be used to combat inflation (Galbraith, 1977).

According to Galbraith, Keynes's basic notions about the economic system were contrary to classical economic theory. He showed that whereas in the past, the capitalist system found its equilibrium at full employment, the modern economy could as well find its equilibrium with continuing and serious underemployment. The economy was changing, particularly the investment and re-investment patterns of businesses and individuals.

Instead of savings always being invested, savings were being retained at an increasing level. Unspent savings ultimately meant a shortage of purchasing power resulting in a fall in output of the economy as a whole. Such a slump reduced earnings, changed gains into losses, reduced personal incomes, and, while decreasing investment, it reduced savings even more. Thus, savings could be forced to equal investment. If governments borrowed and invested enough, savings would be offset by a high level of output and employment (Galbraith, 1977).

National economies unfolded on the basis of these three theoretical perspectives. Laissez-faire capitalism gave way to Keynesian economics in the west; while Marxism, or its variants, was imposed in Russia, and eventually, other countries within its sphere of influence.

Economic history over the last two centuries has been divided by the World Bank (1985) into four periods: pre-World War I, the inter-war years, 1945-1972, and 1973 until

the present. Prior to 1914, the London financial market was the main source of capital for other countries. Europe's growing demand for food and raw materials was satisfied only by investment in other parts of the world. Rapid expansion of international trade and economic development was facilitated by steam technology and a low tariff policy between Europe and America. The resultant international finance fostered growing economic interdependence (Foreman-Peck, 1983).

World War I weakened all European economies. With the end of the war came an end to European expansion. The leadership in world finance and economic integration was assumed by the United States (Woodruff and Woodruff, 1974). The United States became the new source of capital. Three important changes occurred during the inter-war period: government lending and borrowing was increasing; the United States was becoming more protectionist and was moving away from a freer trade policy; and there was no longer a lender of "last resort", a role fulfilled by Britain in the previous era. The stock market crash of 1929 followed by three years of successive decline in industrial output and world trade caused the disintegration of the international monetary system (World Bank, 1985).

To emerge from the Depression and, thereafter, to finance their war efforts, governments particularly in Germany and North America adopted Keynesian economics. In 1944, allied western governments also convened to establish the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. Plans were

laid for the formation of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which was eventually negotiated in 1947. These measures were taken to stabilize world currencies which had been fluctuating widely with the abandonment of the gold standard (World Bank, 1985).

After World War II, the United States continued as the major creditor country. In 1947, it announced the Economic Recovery Program (Marshall Plan) designed to reconstruct Europe. Over thirteen billion dollars were provided in commodity grants and loans between 1948 and 1953. After the ending of Marshall aid, American foreign investment continued to expand. This expansion was the result of incentives to American banks and corporations, devalued European currencies, and a large American military presence in Europe. The 1940's and 1950's were boom years for American business and industry (World Bank, 1985).

However, Keynesian economics proved asymmetrical. While it cured depressions and unemployment, it was not as successful in dealing with inflation. Furthermore, government support for the economy involved heavy military spending, for in the American situation, spending for welfare and the poor was thought to be dangerous. Keynesian progress was, therefore, uneven--many cars and few houses, many cigarettes and limited health care (Galbraith, 1977).

By the end of the 1960's, growth rates began to slow and inflationary pressures were building. These pressures were compounded by the first substantial oil price increases in modern history occurring in 1973. The energy crises

caused by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries produced a major change in world current account imbalances. Industrial economies registered deficits in 1974, but managed to recover in the following year. A second round of oil price increases between 1979-80 coupled with a dramatic rise in real interest rates threw all economies, industrial and developing, into a prolonged recession.

"Recovery" has been underway since 1984, but over the last decade, two significant trends have unfolded: a move from financing on the basis of equity to financing on the basis of debt (crucial for countries such as Mexico which borrowed heavily during the 1970's to develop vast oil reserves) and the growing role of "private" sources of financing (governments were no longer borrowing from other governments directly, but from international financial markets) (World Bank, 1985).

World economic history since the industrial revolution has witnessed a third, and perhaps more significant, trend. There has been growing economic interdependence in relations among advanced, non-Communist countries. This process is based upon technological advances in transport and communication, especially in the speed and reliability of moving goods, money, people, information, and ideas across national boundaries. It is much further advanced in North America, Western Europe, and Japan and has been causing a convergence in social and economic policy-making. Increasing economic interdependence erodes national monetary, taxation, regulatory and redistributive policies. Thus, policies which

have hitherto been regarded as domestic will come under increasing influence of the international market (Cooper, 1986).

Throughout their history, trade unions have been responding to changing ideological and economic circumstances. Prior to 1900, organized labour grew slowly in Canada (Craig, 1983). Unions had neither recognition, nor protection in law and were initially regarded as illegal combines. Isolated locals organized by craft appeared between 1825 and 1850, but it was not until 1869 with the formation of the Knights of Labour did the first major trade union federation arise. Thereafter, trade union federations, confederations, and congresses ebbed and flowed, often evolving with differing goals.

The Knights of Labour attempted to organize workers across craft lines into a secret society advocating idealism and critical social thought (Morton, 1982). Membership was potentially open to all. The organization advocated the worth of working people, condemned the evils of monopoly, and proposed a society founded on co-operation. The Knights produced labour newspapers and offered the first serious social criticism in Canada.

Prominent Knights ran for political office; however, ideological and personal disputes arising from political involvements split the organization. Both the Liberal and Conservative Parties courted Knights as candidates in a few ridings. In Hamilton, Toronto, and, Ottawa Knights' organizations were shattered and never recovered from the

ideological rivalries; while a succession of lockouts and failed strikes further eroded their credibility. This prompted the belief among craft unions that the ill-paid and unskilled could never be organized; and more importantly, that partisan politics could be fatal (Morton, 1982).

American Federation of Labour (AFL) president, Samuel Gompers, concluded that partisan politics and two unions attempting to organize the same industry would undermine a strong labour movement. The Knights and craft unionists struggled to work together until 1902, when Gompers' philosophy prevailed. Thereafter, the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada (TLC), a combination of craft unions and assemblies of the Knights of Labour emerged as the "Parliament of Canadian Labour" and remained in existence until the founding of the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) in 1956. It had a close association with the AFL.

In western Canada, the One Big Union movement (OBU) evolved after 1900 partly as a reaction to the TLC. It advocated radical industrial unionism to bring about the transformation of society. Mass strikes by men and women organized into one union could force major concessions from corporations and the state by totally disrupting the economy. "Production for use, not profit" was their rallying cry. The OBU was critical of the TLC because of its control by eastern interests and acceptance of capitalism (McCormack, 1977).

Locals in Quebec organized into Catholic federations after World War I. In 1921, the Confederation of Catholic Workers of Canada was formed. According to Craig (1983), it



was dominated by the Roman Catholic Church until 1946 when a new and combative breed of secular union leaders from Laval University gained control of the executive positions within the Confederation. Until that time, the Church and provincial government were closely allied.

Despite regional differences in the emergence of organized labour, militancy was a common characteristic of the formative stage. Unions found that the general public could be sympathetic toward their aims and actions, but only to a point. The difficulty for unions was the determination of just how militant they could become without losing public support.

In the London, Ontario, Street Railway Strike of 1898, few segments of society supported the company (Palmer, 1976). Such community support spurred strikers to greater militancy, but in the process, non-working class members of the community felt threatened and switched their support to the company.

A brief general strike in Winnipeg in 1918 strengthened the position of militants within the labour movement as it resulted in a favorable settlement for civic employees. This victory appeared to indicate that by acting in solidarity, unions could challenge employers, governments, and the courts and win (Bercuson, 1974). It also moved organized labour further left in western Canada in contrast to the business unionism becoming entrenched in central Canada.

However, victory was short lived. Winnipeg was a city polarized by class. A second attempt at a general strike in

1919 pitted the working class against the business interests and split the city in two. The strikers were not prepared to cope with the political and military implications of their situation as the general strike progressed. Business interests succeeded in maintaining essential services, while the federal government concluded that the strike was revolutionary and sent in the military to crush it. The defeat of workers in the 1919 general strike totally undermined the strength of western labour.

In Quebec, militancy emerged more slowly, primarily due to the mediating influence of the Church. To Craig (1983), the turning point in Quebec labour history occurred during the 1949 strike in Asbestos. The strike not only strained the Church-government coalition, as many priests openly supported the strikers, but more significant, Catholicism was being eroded as the ideology underlying Quebec labour (Morton, 1982).

The period from 1919 until 1949 was a difficult one for Canadian labour. Attacks from business and governments and division among unions weakened the labour movement. During the 1920's, organizing was at a standstill and the union leadership was divided; while during the 1930's workers wanted jobs, not unions. The Depression did fuel radical thought and activity, as many believed that capitalism was coming to an end. In 1933, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) was established under the leadership of J.S. Woodsworth. Its Regina Manifesto rejected capitalism as a system of domination and exploitation of one class by

another and proposed socialism as an alternative (Finkel, 1979).

Three trade union philosophies during the Depression have been identified by Finkel. The fifty-thousand member All Canadian Congress of Labour (ACCL) put forward an analysis similar to the CCF, but declined to support the party even at election time. The much larger TLC remained conservative in its views and continued to accept the capitalist system, but began to advocate for some public ownership within the economy (especially among utilities, and later, banks). Most radical was the Communist led Workers Unity League which organized forty-thousand workers. It and the Communist Party were victims extensive state repression. Many Communist and non-Communist trade union organizers were deported by the Bennett Government for failing to accept existing property relations and for threatening the nation's security.

The outbreak of World War II and the passage of favorable legislation in Canada modelled after the National Labour Relations Act of the United States began to alter the balance of power, for unions gained recognition and rights (Abella, 1974). The Canadian economy entered a boom period, driven by production in support of the war effort.

Ideologically, the left was virtually driven from any positions of influence within federations of labour during the 1940's and 1950's. Canadian labour conducted its own cold war, rendering communists and democratic socialists impotent. Business unionism narrowly defined around the

collective bargaining process became the philosophy of organized labour in English-speaking Canada. Only in Quebec was Marxism gaining a foothold, partly due to the disillusionment with Catholicism (Morton, 1982).

A fundamental assumption of business unionism has been the acceptance of the status quo (for the purposes of this discussion, "business unionism" refers to the focus on collective bargaining, contract administration, and working conditions and is not necessarily a pejorative term). In the Gompers tradition, unions have bargained for more, more, and more now for their members. The result of this focus on bread and butter unionism at the micro level has prevented significant changes in the operation of the market economy. Furthermore, business unionism has minimized political education and mobilization, abdicating this role to the politicians (Laxer, 1976).

Labour is, therefore, in serious difficulty on the philosophical front. Historically, the Canadian labour movement has had strong leanings to the left, but this loss has meant that no strong, countervailing philosophy exists to offset the emerging power of the political right. As long as workers have a growing stake in a relatively prosperous socio-economic system, they are unlikely to support radical reform. By placing collective bargaining first, unions lose their commitment to social reform (Crispo, 1982).

Regional, religious, cultural, and demographic variables tend to be more significant in determining voter preference than class (Williams, Bates, Ormstein, and

Stevenson 1979). Since the Liberals and Progressive Conservatives tend to be inconsistent on social and economic policies, they offer the potential of representing most segments of society (Irvine, 1981). Thus, a minority of workers support the New Democratic Party (NDP) even though it almost always champions their cause (Crispo, 1982).

With the formation of the CLC in 1956, the issue of formal political support of the CCF and subsequently, the NDP was divisive. Most international unions had clauses prohibiting participation of their locals in partisan politics. However, during the 1960's, many locals supported the NDP despite the prohibition. The CLC researched the possibility of affiliate locals officially endorsing the NDP, but this was rejected by the majority of affiliates. As well, union support placed the NDP in an uncomfortable position. It could be harmed by union ties through union unpopularity, but it could not exist without union help (Horowitz, 1968).

Recollections by long-time trade unionists reveal that the rejection of NDP affiliation was not as overwhelming as implied within the literature. While it is true that a majority of affiliates rejected NDP endorsement, these were mainly craft unions whose memberships were small in comparison to the much larger industrial unions which supported endorsement (Hudson interview, 1986).

It was not until the federal election of 1979 that the CLC openly supported the NDP. Until that election, the CLC had been providing workers and some financial aid. Despite

more active and official involvement of unions on behalf of the NDP, the party lost in major metropolitan Ontario cities where members of the CLC and affiliated unions were most active (Craig, 1983).

While the CLC and its affiliates were approaching political involvements cautiously in English Canada, more politically active orientations were emerging in Quebec. Craig notes that during the 1960's and 1970's, the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU), formerly the Confederation of Catholic Workers of Canada, adopted a Marxist perspective and saw no future for Quebec within the capitalist system. Its more moderate counterpart, the Quebec Federation of Labour (QFL), comprised of affiliates who in English Canada formed the CLC, turned away from the NDP in support of the Parti Quebecois (PQ) during the 1970's. The NDP could not compete with the PQ's blend of social democracy, liberalism, and nationalism.

Quebec unions became vehicles of revolutionary protest, especially among the young and intellectuals. The 1972 "Common Front", an attempted general strike by the CNTU, QFL, and Quebec Teachers' Corporation was among the largest in the history of the Canadian labour movement. It presented the image of a civil war against the provincial government of Robert Bourassa (Morton, 1982). Nevertheless, the Common Front was defeated as the full power of the state was exercised against the strikers, including legislation, legal penalties, and negative media publicity (Charbonneau, 1979).

The more moderate attempts at change via the political

process in English Canada and the radical tactics of confrontation in Quebec have neither resulted in significant reform of the market economy, nor permanently instilled any notion of widespread-working class consciousness. Though March (1975) argues that the Canadian public has vague feelings unions are a "good thing", recent survey evidence compiled by Maclean's (1986) indicates that the public looks first to government; second, to business; and last, to unions to act in its interest.

American evidence provided by Lipset (1983), who has analyzed public opinion surveys over a twenty year period, indicates that unions are the least trusted American institution. They are seen as too powerful and too corrupt. The American public displays even more contempt toward union leaders than unions in general, for it distrusts their motivations and intentions. As long as Americans believe they are faring better financially than their parents, they have no reason to seriously question the economic and political system under which they live.

The final stage of labour movement evolution according to the Kovacs (1971) model is that of power. Yet, previous attempts of unions exercising power have tended to fail. Unions cannot deliver the labour vote to the NDP (Crispo, 1978), and they have not succeeded in transforming society. They appear to be in a quandry, as there is much work to be done by the labour movement before men and women achieve full dignity in the workplace and within Canadian society (Cornish and Ritchie, 1980).

A changing labour force is further complicating matters for organized labour. Since the 1960's there has been a steady growth of white collar employment, the educational levels within the labour force are increasing, more women are employed, and the labour force is becoming increasingly urban. The numbers of blue-collar, male trade unionists are in decline, primarily because the industries in which they are found are either in decline, or have rationalized and automated their productions lines.

Unions throughout the industrial west are beset with declining membership, high rates of unemployment, rapid technological transition, and diminished public support (Kuttner, 1986). Much of this is the result of structural changes within western economies. Intensified foreign competition and accelerated technological innovation are forcing a rapid restructuring of the economy which threatens most blue-collar skills with obsolescence.

Production workers who are displaced from factories are ill-equipped with the skills employers require; while the relocation of manufacturing plants to developing countries, primarily because of low wages, has been making these plants more competitive than their counter-parts in North America and Europe. Unemployment in North America is becoming, therefore, more structural than cyclical. For many displaced workers, the alternatives are reduced to choosing menial, low-paying jobs within the service sector, or remaining chronically unemployed (Ehrbar, 1983). For those who remain employed, wage freezes, or wage and benefit concessions have



been exacted by employers claiming the need to maintain their competitiveness.

Unions are encountering resentment from the general public as well. They are seen as being increasingly selfish, retarding industrial innovation, and serving only themselves. Even liberal intellectuals who have tended to view organized labour as a major force advocating social justice now see unions as just another interest group (Seligman, 1982).

Business unionism has been sold to the membership as a force for better wages, benefits, and job security. Rank and file loyalty to union leadership has been tied predominantly to the union's ability to negotiate the best possible wage and benefit contracts (Johnson, 1983). The recent and sudden inability of unions to deliver on these objectives has left organized labour in a philosophical dilemma. To Crispo (1978) this leaves the labour movement with four types of philosophies which it can pursue:

1. Continued business unionism in the Gompers tradition.
2. Combined business and reform unionism.
3. Social reform ahead of collective bargaining in the Knights of Labour tradition.
4. Radical social or revolutionary unionism.

However, Williams (1971) argues that the predominant union philosophy of business unionism is obsolete. It is actually class collaboration as the existing order and form of government is accepted. Since most activities occur at

the local level, wider societal impact is minimal. A more class conscious approach de-emphasizes collective bargaining and the strike as the main methods of protest against employers in favor of political action and demonstrations of labour solidarity.

Since workers are changing their priorities, the poverty which served as the catalyst for organizing in the emergent period of labour history is no longer applicable (Gorz, 1964). Differences among classes are less quantitative and more qualitative and surround consumption. Instead of a working class, an underprivileged class of consumers has been evolving. Because the worker is not "at home" in his or her work, because that work is often uncreative, and because work is relegated to the means by which needs are satisfied, workers seek satisfaction and growth elsewhere. The market economy has trained the individual to buy back his or her individuality as a consumer, because the workplace has denied the worker this satisfaction. Thus, workers tend not to love their jobs--most look to the pay cheque, not self-fulfillment. If the job pays enough, fulfillment can be sought by other means (Crispo, 1978).

Gorz also states that the struggle for wages has been short-sighted. It has turned into a battle over percentages, rather than a fight to change the market economy. A combined approach of linking wage demands with worker control and self-determination could potentially force capitalism to change in a direction more favorable to workers. Such an

approach requires a political perspective and a political consciousness, for working class action does not occur spontaneously. This approach demands planning as well. Workers will be defeated if they restrict their activities to defensive battles.

Shifting macro-economic policies by governments are further threatening organized labour. Policies have emerged in the United States, Britain, and Canada advocating programmed austerity—where wages and government spending on public services are curtailed to reduce inflation and restore business confidence—and monetary restraint—where higher interest rates and credit restrictions force industries to cut production or shut-down completely through an inability to obtain credit and lower consumer demand for products. These changes have spurred optimism among the business community, forced workers into defensive strategies, and threaten the welfare state with dismantlement (Johnson, 1983).

As workers are placed in increasingly difficult circumstances, both economically and strategically, the old question of who controls the work process, for what purpose, and for whose benefit is once again in the forefront. Since World War II, unions in Canada have been reluctant to confront the issue of control and have opted to mediate power relations through collective bargaining. The resultant industrial relations system is complex and legalistic and requires the use of experts by all parties to the process. This is far removed from the original intentions of workers

historically to challenge the authoritarian structure of the workplace and establish a basis for democratizing it (Johnson, 1983).

Within the labour movement there are a variety of future directions being proposed. The United Auto Workers (UAW) (1984) maintain that collective bargaining is the primary function of organized labour, while acknowledging that threats or limits to collective bargaining adversely affect organizational strength. Resorting to strikes, whether over contract disputes, or in response to union recognition, concessions, or plant closures reinforces a negative public opinion of unions, regardless of whether such strikes may be justified.

Quality of working life is, therefore, a future goal of the UAW. As a union, it would like to negotiate quality of working life experiments and demonstration projects to increase job satisfaction, make the workplace more equitable, and promote genuine managerial concern for workers as ends in themselves. Higher production as a consequence of such programmes would be a positive side effect, not primary goal.

Public sector unions, such as the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) propose alternative economic strategies. In its brief to the Macdonald Commission, CUPE (1984) advances the concept of public planning for the optimal use of human and natural resources. Current public enterprises are modelled on the same hierarchical, authoritarian structure as private enterprises and operate no differently as far as the workers are concerned. Public

planning would draw upon the abilities and ideas of ordinary citizens and employees alike. It advocates economic and social development which is sensitive to regional needs and realities as opposed to the wishes of distant shareholders.

In Quebec, lessons of the Common Front experiences reveal a need for political education among the membership (Charbonneau, 1979). The work of political action committees within unions has to be intensified to offer an in-depth analysis of the worker's situation in relation to class and the nature and role of the state. Struggles must be moved onto the political front in the name of social justice for all workers. This approach requires that unions break down the barriers which separate them from active political involvements and work toward greater political solidarity. Yet, solidarity is difficult to achieve. The only time workers have any degree of solidarity is when they go on strike. As soon as there is something worth struggling for, a bond between workers begins to emerge and can emerge rather quickly (Johnson, 1983).

A variety of groups outside the labour movement have become involved in proposing alternatives as well. In its brief to the Macdonald Commission, the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops (1984) proposes a social justice model of society. The Conference believes that the narrow, ideological choice between capitalism and communism has prevented the growth of creative social imagination. More significantly, the forces of transnational capital and technology are dictating what is desirable or feasible to

nations and peoples seeking to develop alternatives.

The bishops advocate alternatives which have a moral purpose—where the socio-economic order develops resources to serve the basic needs of all for a more humane life; social goals—where there is a national commitment to full employment emphasizing permanent and meaningful jobs; empower the powerless—where all citizens can play a more meaningful role in shaping future developments; economic planning—which is achieved through wider participation; economic strategies—where there is greater local design of economic development; social ownership—where new forms of worker controlled or community controlled ownership are pursued; social production—where renewable resources are a priority; and global solidarity—where consultation and cooperation with other nations and workers in those nations are encouraged.

The need to be proactive, to engage in qualitative planning open to wider debate, and to develop an international common front are similarly echoed by Gorz (1964). To achieve these ends, workers must first accept capitalism in order to change it; or rather, force it in the direction workers want it to go. Instead of fighting management's plan for lay-offs or reorganizations, unions must advance and advocate their own plans for reorganization, reclassification, and re-employment. With every partial victory, workers' power will be strengthened. Gorz acknowledges that such battles will be concluded with compromises, but unions should not underestimate the value of partial victories and their effect on worker consciousness

raising.

For organized labour to move in new directions will not be an easy task. All organizations desire stability, and this belief in stability serves primarily to protect organizations and the individuals within them from fear associated with change (Schon, 1971). Since social and technological systems are inter-locking on an ever increasing basis, change in one provokes change in the other. By changing, unions envision only what will be lost, not what might be gained. Therefore, the response is to "dig in", to struggle harder on the basis on well worn plans with emphasis on better leadership, more information, and better execution.

Change and new directions for organized labour require that members of the "new working class" educate and enlist the support of the more passive traditional working class as partners and allies (Denitch, 1973). Furthermore, militants within organized labour will have to seek out their counterparts within the community and among outside interest groups in order to build new social relationships and broaden their power (Hunnuis, 1971).

Within Manitoba, the Manitoba Federation of Labour (MFL) has developed a program of political education and endorses the NDP. It urges all member locals to affiliate with the NDP and become active in party politics at the constituency level (MFL Policy Book, 1985). Such affiliation is done on a voluntary basis. While it can claim some success in aiding the election of NDP provincial governments, political education is more a position than a priority.

The MFL's parallel political campaign was initially established to centralize and co-ordinate political action on the part of organized labour in Manitoba, with particular emphasis on Winnipeg. It was funded by a voluntary dues check-off by unions and their locals who felt political action was a priority. Through the use of telephone canvassing, workers were sensitized to current issues affecting the labour movement and were encouraged to vote NDP at election time. The parallel campaign was an ongoing project which was recently shut down because of a lack of funding.

For organized labour to change, it must be able to plan and not simply react to the issues initiated by employers or governments. Planning requires information; particularly information regarding public opinion. Such information can be derived from public opinion polling and can provide a representative picture of what people do as well as what they think. Polling can be invaluable, because rarely do people have anything to say which is disconnected from their relationship to the economic, political, and social order (Bogart, 1985).

Polls can rank the importance of various issues, especially economic ones (Policy Concepts). They can also provide more detailed opinion on a single issue, such as technological change (Decima Research, 1985). Moreover, when polls are conducted regularly, they become powerful tools by which trends can be determined (Lipset, 1983).

With the recent loss of its parallel political



campaign, the MFL has lost a potentially useful vehicle by which public opinion polling can be undertaken.

Notwithstanding its many and varied areas of involvement, the MFL cannot say with certainty that it is effective or effectively using its resources in these areas, for it has no method of measuring outcome. As an organization, it is content to depend upon NDP governments to enact favourable legislation. However, as previously noted, NDP governments must cater to a broad spectrum of the electorate in which labour is just one, albeit important, constituent.

Among Canadian trade unionists, there is a tendency to claim being better at retaining members in the wake of this most recent recession than their American counterparts. Or, more precisely, that the percentage of non-farm employees who are unionized has remained virtually stable, whereas a significant decline in percentages has occurred in the United States. Much of this stability is the direct result of public and service sector unionization which has offset reductions within the ranks of industrial unions. Canada's biggest unions are currently found in the public sector. In the United States, public sector unionization continues to be, for the most part, illegal.

In order for organized labour to move into the power stage of evolution according to the Kovacs (1971) model, it must transcend business unionism. To do so requires a rediscovery of its roots and a re-kindling of the vision and ideology which created unions. Specifically, idealism and sense of wider social responsibility as desirable goals must

be placed in both a national and international context. There remain many disadvantaged groups and regions within Canada in addition to the unemployed. Moreover, investment and industry are moving out of Canada and into the developing countries where wages are low, social responsibility is lacking, and fundamental human rights are often violated. Collective bargaining alone does not address these problems.

Secondly, unions must become more actively involved in politics at all levels. This includes involvements beyond federal and provincial politics. Civic, municipal, and school board elections should also become priorities. Activities at the school board level are especially important, for the result might be a greater labour presence within school curricula. By the time an individual enters the labour force, he or she will have spent potentially twelve or more years in an educational system which, implicitly and explicitly, is de-legitimizing the role of organized labour (Johnson, 1983).

Third, unions must set membership education as a genuine priority, especially in areas of consciousness raising. One frequently cited criticism of unions is their being out of touch with their membership. The role of all union representatives, be they shop steward or business agent must be re-appraised and expanded to include membership education on an equal plane with contract administration and negotiation.

Fourth, unions must broaden their base of support to include community and interest groups. A variety of interest

groups continues to develop in Canada, primarily on an issue—by—issue basis. Many of these issues overlap with the concerns of organized labour. To this point, only limited effort has been expended by the labour movement to network with such groups with the intent of building wider coalitions. Labour has the organizing skills to undertake such coalition building.

Fifth, unions must plan and be proactive using the best information possible. Both governments and employers depend heavily on accurate, current information. Their actions tend not to occur spontaneously, but on the basis of planning. Unions do not have the same research capabilities, and they are highly suspicious of public opinion polling. Generally, decision-making proceeds from the rank-and-file upward to union executives in theory, but in daily practice, the reverse tends to occur because of the number, nature, and complexity of issues.

Finally, unions must begin to think in wider, global terms. Transnational capitalism and technology force governments and industries alike to think in broader, interdependent, and intercontinental terms. The manner by which unionists are groomed for leadership roles often precludes this. Most union activities are task oriented and have a narrow focus—handling a grievance, negotiating, manning a picket line, or staging a workshop to name but a few. Limited thought is given to just how these pieces fit into a larger picture or ultimate goal. More significantly, limited time is spent attempting to fit the actions of

various unions or federations of labour in to some type of unified whole.

The future path of the labour movement is not clear. However, it cannot remain stationary. Attacks on unions via the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, if successful, may eliminate several fundamental union rights and seriously erode what power labour has. Section 2 (d) provides for freedom of association which raises the question of whether union membership is optional in an industry or organization. Section 6 (2) gives every citizen of Canada the right to pursue the gaining of a livelihood in any province. This is potentially a powerful right granted employers who might claim that a union makes their enterprises unprofitable, thereby threatening their right to a livelihood. Challenges to previously accorded union rights under federal and provincial legislation are being mounted at this time. The real possibility exists that it will be the Supreme Court of Canada and not organized labour which will determine the fate of unions in this country (Hatherly, 1985).

Unions must risk and manage change; otherwise they will be unable to protect their members. Even more important, they will lose the opportunity to participate in the building of a more humane and meaningful society for all workers, both in Canada and around the world.

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## CHAPTER III

### Evaluation Methodology

The following pages provide a technical assessment of the MFL Standing Committee Review from the perspective of evaluation research. Since the actual review document is confidential, this chapter serves as a summary of the actual process. Particular emphasis is placed upon the methodology employed for data collection and analysis. A discussion of methodology requires a brief description of the program, presentation of an evaluable model, determination of the appropriate level of knowledge, choice of an experimental design, commentary about the design's limitations, and identification of outcomes. A combination of literature review and practical experience form the basis of the assessment.

Impetus for this review came as a concern from the Education Standing Committee during the fall of 1985 that it was no longer certain of its role vis a vis the other standing committees. The request was made of the Executive Council of the MFL to provide new direction for the Education Committee. As a result, the Executive Council instructed its officers (President, Vice-President, Treasurer, and Coordinator) to conduct a review of all standing committees. Terms of reference for such a review were not set out and were the responsibility of the officers to define.

A consensus emerged among the officers that a review

would be conducted in two stages. The first stage would review committee terms of reference, activities to date, and potential future direction. This stage would commence in January of 1986. The second stage would be the normal year-end financial audit and would take place after June 30, 1986. The officers enlisted the assistance of a graduate student (the evaluator) for primary responsibility in undertaking the first stage.

To begin, the officers agreed that a day-long meeting be held to hear reports of the chairpersons of each committee. The evaluator and officers would hear their submissions and comments, and thereafter, the evaluator would proceed with the review. An immediate problem was the definition of just what kind of information should be collected and evaluated.

Rutman (1984) argues that an evaluability assessment helps to ensure that the evaluation can provide credible and useful information, while at the same time, establishing the probability of subsequent evaluations being successful. The evaluability assessment researches the program's (in this instance, the organization's) structure, as well as the technical feasibility of implementing the desired methodology. One must determine the extent to which the program is sufficiently well defined to lend itself to evaluation. At the very least, a proper description of the program is needed.

In organizational terms, the structure of the MFL is well defined and is illustrated in figure one. As indicated

in Chapter I, the MFL has clearly outlined purposes which serve as a kind of mission statement, is governed by a constitution, and is bound by policies and resolutions decided at biennial conventions. Much of its day-to-day work is undertaken by the ten standing committees which are the focus for this review.

The "outputs" of the committees are recorded in paper files, are provided as written reports to Executive Council, and are filed as reports to conventions. However, files alone do not provide the complete description of the committees' workings. Specifically, they neglect the dynamics which are created by the personnel involved on each committee.

Recognizing the limitation of working solely with recorded information, the stakeholders (officers) felt interview data would be valuable. The initial meeting with committee chairpersons followed by interviews of select committee members would complement written data.

A four-part review format was devised by the evaluator:

#### Part I

Devise a form or instrument to collect information from the presentations of committee chairpersons. Collect information consistently across committees. The following categories formed the instrument:

Committee Goal(s)

## Objectives Set to Meet Goal(s)

### Programs Derived from Objectives

#### Activities Undertaken within Programs

##### Part II

Review the written documentation of all committees including: minutes, reports, briefs, and correspondence.

##### Part III

Interview the staff representatives assigned to each committee in addition to 2 randomly selected committee members. Participate as a member of the Human Rights Committee.

##### Part IV

Clarify guidelines for the review on an ongoing basis. Present the written evaluation with recommendations to the stakeholders.

This starting point to the MFL review paralleled Rossi and Freeman's (1982) second stage of an evaluability assessment—requiring the interview of program personnel—and led into the third stage—scouting the program. Part of the "scouting" process allowed the evaluator to participate in the Human Rights Standing Committee as an active member, performing duties of secretary and resource person. Difficulties in the review began to emerge at this point.

While the stakeholders knew of the committees' activities in general terms, or, in some cases, specific

terms, because they sat as members on a committee being reviewed, detailed information allowing for objective setting on their part was not available. Generally, the stakeholders knew that the committees had executives, held regular meetings, had terms of reference when they were originally struck, and undertook a variety of activities, including: briefs to governments, educational workshops, and consultations with interest groups. Furthermore, the stakeholders were aware that some committee terms of reference were in need of revision, attendance was problematic, personality issues were present, and some committees exhibited ongoing executive turnover.

The evaluator was placed in a difficult position of partially defining objectives through the selection of measures for study, something that Rutman warns against doing. Nevertheless, potential bias was minimized by periodic consultation with some of the stakeholders on an individual basis to ensure the evaluator was "on the right track".

According to Patton (1984), a qualitative evaluation approach can be used in the absence of pre-determined categories for assessment. The resultant evaluation becomes a detailed description of situations, events, and people, in addition to interactions, observed behaviors, and direct quotations from people about their experiences, attitudes, and beliefs. Data is collected as open-ended narratives without necessarily fitting institutional activities, or people's experiences into pre-determined and standardized

categories.

Patton identifies four elements in the collecting of qualitative data:

1. the evaluator must get close enough to the people and situation to understand what is going on.
2. the evaluator must capture what actually takes place.
3. the evaluator provides a great deal of pure description.
4. the evaluator relies on direct quotations from people.

Furthermore, the less one changes a setting under study, the more that setting lends itself to qualitative research. The approach is deductive, fitting small observations into a general theory of organizational design. Few hypotheses are required; what is required is that the evaluator be placed within the middle of a situation in order to make sense of it.

The availability of file information meant that some quantification was possible, specifically: terms of reference; the number of meetings per year; the attendance recorded in minutes; nature of participants--male, female, public sector union, private sector union, and frequently, whether they were from Winnipeg or from rural or northern Manitoba; nature of committee activities; and the fact that most decisions required some formal process--a seconded motion put to a vote.

Less obvious were the dynamics which occurred within the committees. This information could be gained only by interview data from committee participants. While the file showed that a decision was made by virtue of a majority vote to a seconded motion, there was often no record of events and steps leading to the decision.

File documentation was able to provide the following variables:

1. The presence of terms of reference in the file and whether there was any evidence that the terms were reviewed, debated, or amended.
2. Average attendance calculated on the total participation recorded in the minutes divided by the total number of meetings.
3. Type of participant—male, female, private sector versus public sector union, Winnipegger versus rural or northern member.
4. Evidence of lobbying efforts, particularly in the form of briefs, letters to ministers, or meetings with ministers and party officials.
5. Evidence of membership influencing through workshops and modes of communication between the committee and rank and file members (such as newsletters, mail-outs, posters, use of television).

6. Evidence of outreach activities through officially noted coalitions with outside interest groups and a willingness to act as speakers on behalf of the labour movement.
7. Evidence of committee inter-relationships through formally noted joint undertakings on projects, workshops, and common issues.
8. Evidence of committee chairperson turn over as noted in the minutes.

Interview data provided the following variables in very general and descriptive terms:

1. The extent to which meetings were organized in the opinion of the committee member.
2. The extent to which the chairperson was able to conduct the business of the meeting in the opinion of the committee member.
3. The extent to which the chairperson was able to create a positive climate within the committee in the opinion of the committee member.
4. The extent to which committee members felt comfortable in participating in committee debate.
5. The extent to which visible minorities were represented on the committee in the



opinion of the committee member.

6. The extent to which committee members valued other members in their opinion.
7. The extent to which the committee set short or long-term goals in the opinion of the member.
8. The extent to which the committee reviewed its progress in the opinion of the member.

Two interview subjects were selected randomly from each committee, while a third, the MFL staff representative assigned to that committee, was also interviewed. The random subjects were chosen by listing all committee members noted in the attendance section of the minutes over the last six months. A number was assigned to each member. These numbers were thrown into a hat and three were chosen by the evaluator (the third acting as an alternate). Subjects were interviewed either in person, or by telephone. Questions were posed in an open-ended fashion, allowing the committee member to provide as much information as possible, and responses were written down by the evaluator. Interviews required between twenty minutes and one hour to complete. All subjects were advised that their comments would be treated confidentially and they would not be named in the review.

Useful data was determined by corroboration across subjects and file data. That is, if two or more subjects noted the same phenomenon, or reiterated information noted in the file, then the evaluator made the decision that the data

was meaningful and useful.

Referring to Tripodi's (1983) categorization of levels of knowledge, this particular design is primarily quantitative-descriptive. Facts are derived from simple questions and provide only low order empirical generalization. Furthermore, the review is mainly summative, with variables derived from ongoing, long-time committee activities. Research at the formative level exists only to the degree that variables identified above can be generalized to new standing committees.

Using this format, the review became comparative, where the evaluator attempted to identify the existence of similar variables across committees. One could then judge on the basis of presence or absence of common variables how committees differed or were similar to one another. However, there was no way of determining a standard of measurement ranking committees from best to worst, or some other scale, given the design (Scriven, 1972).

All committees displayed similar key content elements, usually found within terms of reference. These included: lobbying government(s), influencing union membership, and engaging in outreach activities. "Process elements", as derived from interview categories listed above, were much less objective and required selection on the part of the evaluator.

Although Rutman argues that management can suggest appropriate forms of measurement, even in a general sense, this was not done. It is perhaps a major weakness of the

design. Had the evaluator and stakeholders attempted to grapple with the issue of measurement, a higher level of knowledge may have been possible.

Furthermore, Cochran (1978) states that the production of data, regardless of the adequacy of methods used in gathering it, affects the situation being measured. Data are both descriptions of events and events in their own right. The well known Hawthorne Effect is one such example of possible reactivity to "being studied".

The MFL Committee Review was novel to the organization. It created expectations and apprehensions among some of the stakeholders and some of the subjects being interviewed that the review would be the precursor to change. At minimum, it articulated a variety of concerns about committee functions which hitherto had not been openly expressed, though perhaps privately thought.

There was also a consequence for the evaluator upon release of the report. Initially, the report was submitted to the officers. It was then copied without revision and distributed among the members of the Executive Council.

The immediate response was mixed: some found the report useful and instructive in regard to future committee planning; others were incensed because of perceived criticism directed at prominent union members or the activities of some committees. Certainly, one of the possible consequences for an evaluator has long been to act as a lightning rod for heat generated by his/her report. Since the MFL President found the Review helpful and useful, the evaluator can

perhaps feel confident that his was a credible attempt at evaluation, notwithstanding limitations noted above.

Whether change will occur as a result of the Review has yet to be determined. If nothing else, it provides the stakeholders with a snapshot in one moment of time of the status of their standing committees. Furthermore, it has potential value as a model by which variables can be measured and provides a perspective of how a review might be undertaken. Should there be no changes; however, the future use of evaluations to the organization might be compromised. The stakeholders and membership may no longer see the utility of ongoing evaluation.

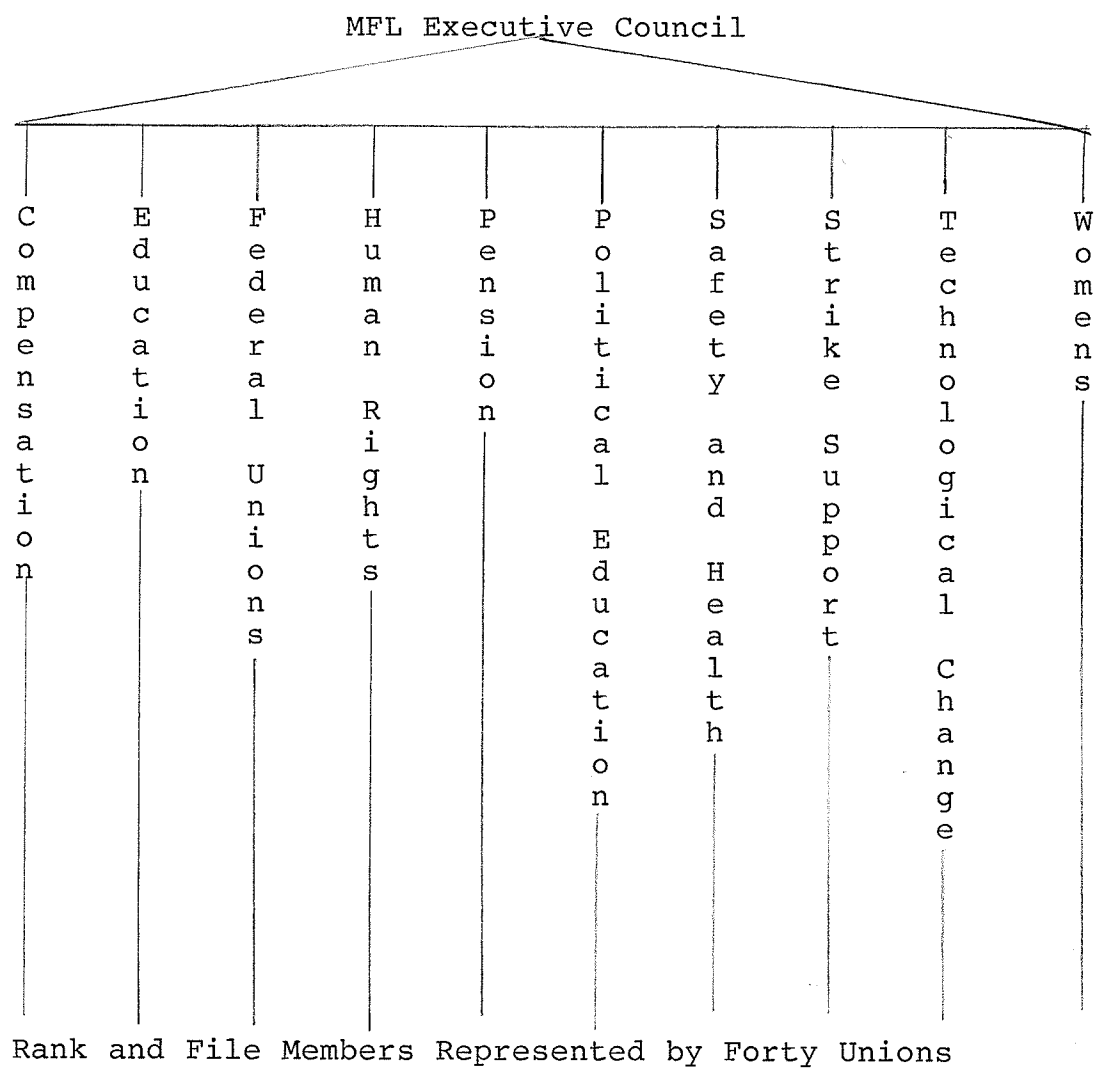
Placed within a wider context, reviews can offer organized labour valuable information. The previous chapter identifies some of the current difficulties and potential alternatives facing the trade union movement. Such alternatives require the ability to make choices and take risks, but within the bounds of sound planning and organizational decision-making. Unless reviews and evaluations are conducted regularly, an organization cannot state with certainty that it is making effective and efficient use of its resources. Planning and evaluation must be linked to be of optimal use to an organization.

More important to organized labour, since its greatest resource lies in the time and commitment offered by its membership, is the need to keep such volunteers committed and enthusiastic. Their time and expertise are vital, but can be sapped by difficulties internal to the organization;

difficulties which the organization may not know about in detail. Evaluation can identify organizational strengths and weaknesses and propose alternatives. It is a useful tool which organized labour should be using with regularity.

Should the MFL choose to employ regular evaluations as part of its decision-making structure, a note of caution must be raised. Evaluations or reviews, depending upon the circumstances, are not always objective and neutral devices. Many a review has been written to justify or validate previously made decisions. Moreover, evaluations tend to find the weaknesses in an organization, and by implication, apportion blame. They may not always have the desired positive effect, but can generate new difficulties. As long as the organization is cognizant of the potential "traps" surrounding evaluation, it is better equipped to use the tool prudently.

Figure One



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## CHAPTER IV

## Public Opinion Survey: Methodology

A public opinion poll was conducted for the MFL during the week of April 10-16, 1986. It consisted of a telephone survey sampling public opinion within the city of Winnipeg and was administered by trade union volunteers.

This chapter presents the methodology of the survey. It begins with questionnaire construction and follows with the logic underlying the survey.

## A. Questionnaire Construction:

Questions were designed to test public opinion in three main areas:

1. Is the general public sympathetic to issues organized labour believes important?
2. From which sources does the general public derive information concerning unions?
3. How does the general public regard unions and their leaders in comparison to those of business and government?

Concepts were defined and operationalized into questions. The response categories of "yes", "no", and "don't know" were used for their simplicity in coding, as well as their ability to derive a firm response from the subjects.



Issues which ultimately became questions in this survey were chosen after interviews with 4 union leaders and 2 staff representatives. Their opinions were elicited as to which issues they felt were most important to the labour movement today. Many more issues than were contained within the survey were identified. Some, for example free trade and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms as they affect the labour movement, were thought to be too complex to both phrase into acceptable questions and expect a "yes", "no", or "don't know" answer. The ultimate selection of issues and actual drafting of questions was undertaken by the researcher.

Since the MFL has renewed debate on formulating a media policy, the inclusion of a question canvassing sources of union information was both timely and necessary to test one of the hypotheses noted above. This question required that a new response category be provided and was listed as follows: "television", "radio", "newspapers and magazines", "books", "personal experience", "family and friends", and "other".

The business, government, and union comparison questions were mainly selected, or modified from existing surveys. Maclean's (1986) included a question asking to whom the public turned most to look after its best economic interests. Drawing heavily on Gallup polls, Policy Concepts detailed public responses to the perceived power of big business, big government, and big labour. Lipset and Schneider (1983) undertook an extensive review of American

public opinion polls testing public trust and confidence in major institutions or organizations, including business, government, and labour. These questions were answered with a "yes", "no", or "don't know".

To facilitate and maximize analysis of subject responses, some demographic information was also elicited. The categories providing for sex, age, and income group were taken directly from Statistics Canada surveys. Education level and employment status were modified from a Manitoba Labour study (the modifications being the combination of "vocational and community college" in the former and the addition of "workers' compensation" and "other" to the latter). One demographic category was developed specifically for this survey: the number of income earners in a family. Occupational categories were omitted primarily because possible responses found in the literature, particularly Statistics Canada, were quite lengthy.

Sample frame and sample size were functions of budget, availability of volunteers, and competence of the researcher. Since most public opinion polling today is undertaken by telephone, this was the most appropriate interview format for this survey. Coverage of more than 90% of the population was likely by using the telephone (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1981). The sample frame consisted of all working telephones within the city of Winnipeg in April--289,270 according to the Manitoba Telephone System. Using a computer, 1000 random Winnipeg telephone numbers were generated in order to assure 300 respondents, which was the sample size desired. The

telephone numbers were purchased from the Institute of Social and Economic Research at the University of Manitoba.

Lists of volunteers were provided by the MFL Parallel Campaign and included approximately 25 individuals who were thought capable of making the transition from political canvassers to telephone surveyors. Minimal training was required.

Since this was the first telephone survey undertaken by the researcher, keeping the project to a manageable size was important. It became not only exploratory research for the MFL, but for the researcher as well.

In order to strengthen the degree of certainty of subject responses weakened by a small sample size, Several questions were included which had been asked in previous Maclean's, Gallup, and Policy Concepts research. One could then assert that, if responses to these particular questions reflected results of the original polls, then the responses to the remaining questions within the survey were likely to be a valid representation of public opinion despite the small sample size.

Before the survey officially commenced, the questionnaire was pre-tested by the researcher. Ten subjects were selected from the Winnipeg telephone directory and were administered the survey. Results from the pre-test indicated that the order of some questions had to be changed, specifically regarding the business, government, and union comparisons, to avoid a possible response set. These questions were subsequently scattered throughout the first

part of the questionnaire. Also, a question was added to identify situations where the respondent was not a union member, but other members of his or her household were. No other difficulties emerged from the pre-test. Completion time ranged between 8 and 10 minutes.

Several offices within the Union Centre served as the sites from which telephone calls were made. Since surveyors were dispersed on two floors, supervision was difficult. Furthermore, because all telephone lines within a particular office were being used, the quality of the surveyors' questioning and recording was not possible to measure on site.

Surveyors marked subject responses directly on the questionnaire. The responses were then coded on Fortran sheets, were keypunched into the mainframe computer at the University of Manitoba, and the resultant data was analysed with an SPSS-X statistical package. Analysis was confined to the use of descriptive statistics.

Public Opinion Survey: Methodology (continued)

B. Logic of the Design:

Propositions:

The following propositions are advanced to build a logical argument to support the usefulness of survey research for the Manitoba Federation of Labour:

1. If the Manitoba Federation of Labour conducts regular, public opinion surveys in Manitoba, then it will be able to monitor public opinion of organized labour.
2. If the public is questioned on issues important to the Manitoba Federation of Labour, then the degree of public support for those issues will be known.
3. If the public is questioned on its opinion of unions, then the degree of public support for unions will be known.
4. If public opinion supports issues that are important to the Manitoba Federation of Labour, then the Federation can be viewed as articulating the opinions of Manitobans on those issues.
5. If public opinion of unions is negative, then the Manitoba Federation of Labour can know the basis of that opinion.
6. If public opinion of unions is known, then the Manitoba Federation of Labour can compare this opinion to the public's opinion of business.
7. If the public opinion of unions is known, then the Manitoba Federation of Labour can compare this opinion to the public's opinion of governments.

8. If the majority of Manitobans are not members of unions , then it can be expected that personal experiences are derived from encountering industrial action.
9. If the majority of Manitobans have no personal experiences with unions, then they must derive their opinions from other sources.
10. If the media is an important source of information on unions, then the manner in which unions are presented to the public by the media will influence public opinion.
11. If the image of unions as projected by the media is negative or incomplete, then the Manitoba Federation of Labour can devise a strategy to influence the media.

Contextual Hypotheses:

1. If issues important to the Manitoba Federation of Labour are of a general nature, then public support for those issues will be general with no linkage to organized labour.
2. If public opinion of unions is negative, then it is because unions and the public have conflicting goals.
3. If previous surveys are accurate, then unions will be perceived by the public as "powerful", "self-interested", and "untrustworthy".
4. If the media is the primary source of information about unions, then it reflects widely held public opinions on unions.
5. If the media and personal experience are not causes of negative union opinion, then some other factor must be influencing public opinion.
6. If the public views large organizations negatively, then

business and governments should draw similar negative opinions.

#### Priority of Hypotheses:

If previous public opinion polls on issues are accurate, then the Manitoba Federation of Labour can expect public support on issues important to the Federation.

If previous public opinion surveys on unions are accurate, then the Manitoba Federation of Labour can expect the public to have a negative opinion of unions.

If the media is an important source of information on unions, then the manner in which unions are presented to the public by the media will influence public opinion.

#### Assumptions:

Knowledge:           A telephone survey can generate meaningful data.

The questions operationalize the concepts.

The interviewers are adequately trained.

Demographic characteristics are useful.

Data is properly analyzed.

Knowing public opinion can lead to action.

Value:               Unions should have more power.

Unions should care about the well-being of all citizens.

The media hates unions.

The public hates large organizations.

#### Concept Definitions:

Manitoba Federation of Labour or "Federation":

A confederation of affiliated unions in Manitoba.

confederation:

A contract between two or more organizations to support each other in some act or enterprise; where residual power is held at the lower level.

affiliate:

A member of society, family, or organization.

union:

Any organization of employees formed for the purposes which include the regulation of relations between employers and employees, and includes a duly organized and certified group or federation.

Manitoba:

A province in Canada.

public opinion survey:

A randomly conducted telephone questionnaire used to record individual judgements or beliefs at a fixed point in time.

monitor:

To watch or check for a particular purpose.

support:

To uphold by aid or encouragement and to maintain or defend.

public:

All the inhabitants of a community, state, or country who, for the purposes of this study have an equal opportunity of being included in the sampling frame.

issues:

A material point turning up in any argument or debate where one side can take the positive and the other side can take the



negative.

economy:

The sum total of the production, distribution, and consumption of wealth, goods, and services in a nation.

unemployment:

To be actively seeking, but unable to find work or occupation within a two-week period.

job creation:

The act of making employment opportunities available to the unemployed by increasing the net number of jobs in the economy.

inflation:

An economic condition causing a decrease in the value of money. The price level.

deficit:

The shortfall between what money a government spends and what revenue it takes in.

regulation:

A governing strategy based on public input to ensure that needs are met in a satisfactory manner such that the public interest is served.

deregulation:

To leave economic initiatives to the unsupervised business sector where market forces and free competition are main concerns.

Autopac:

Government owned automobile insurance in Manitoba.

Established Program Funding:

An agreement between the Manitoba government and the federal government to jointly fund the cost of health care, post-secondary education, and social services to Manitobans.

medicare:

The system of free, public medical care in Canada.

post-secondary education:

A course of scholastic instruction or technical training in institutional settings, or under supervision from those institutions beyond high school funded primarily by governments, but for which the student must also pay a share of the cost.

social services:

A range of programs designed to relieve individual suffering, or provide minimum standards of well-being that are funded by governments and have standards set by governments.

environment:

The surroundings in nature comprised of all physical matter that actually or potentially affect the development and functioning of all living things.

pollution:

Substances which make the environment foul, unclean, or impure.

pay equity:

A job evaluation system whereby dissimilar jobs are judged and paid equal on the basis of requiring the same amount of knowledge, skill, hardship, and responsibility, also known as equal pay for work of equal value.

peace:

An end to strife and armed conflict within and between nations.

protest:

A strong expression of disapproval or dissent and a willingness to take action based on that expression.

boycott:

To refuse to participate, buy, or otherwise aid.

government:

An institution based on the political party system which regulates, controls, restrains, and exercises authority over the actions of individuals in communities, societies, or states.

business:

A sector of the economy comprised of commercial or industrial enterprises which employ labour for the purpose of generating a profit for the owners of those enterprises.

opinion:

A belief based upon what one thinks rather than upon what is proven or known to be true.

negative:

To deny or, otherwise be opposed to a particular position or situation.

positive:

To be in favour of, or willing to support a position or situation.

previous public opinion surveys:

Existing surveys carried out by Gallup, Policy Concepts, and Maclean's.

accurate:

To be in conformity to truth, a standard or a model.

powerful:

The capability of producing an effect through strength, force, or energy manifested in action.

self-interested:

Concern only for one's own advantage.

untrustworthy:

A lack of reliance on the integrity, veracity, justice, or friendship of another.

personal experience:

To become practically acquainted with on an individual basis.

industrial action:

Activities undertaken by a union to slow or disrupt work and can include informational pickets, overtime bans, working to rule, or strikes.

media:

A means or form of communication, or transmitting communication which includes television, radio, newspapers, books, and magazines.

organized labour:

Workers who are members of unions and act together to advance collective interests.

Manitobans:

Citizens who reside in the province of Manitoba.

majority:

Fifty per cent plus one of a population group.

know:

Become familiar with, or make evident.

degree:

A variable measure or extent.

question:

To seek information.

important:

That which has significance or priority.

articulate:

The ability to express oneself clearly.

members:

Individuals who belong to an organization.

manner:

A characteristic or customary way of acting or doing.

#### Operationalized Concepts:

The survey instrument will collect data in four areas: issues; government-business-union opinions; media influences; and demographics. Each issue is introduced in terms of how one, or some of its attributes will be measured, and the potential benefits to the M.F.L. of knowing the responses. These introductions will not appear in the actual instrument.

#### Issue: The Economy

A Poll undertaken by Maclean's (1986) indicates that unemployment, interest rates, inflation, government deficits, and the dollar are issues which summarize main economic concerns for Canadians. Question #1 will determine whether Manitobans similarly rank economic concerns and will allow this ranking to be compared to that derived from future applications of this survey. Question #2 will allow annual

comparisons as to whether financial well-being is improving. Both questions provide for cross-tabulation on the basis of demographic information.

1. Thinking about important economic issues today, which one of the following are you most concerned about? (read in rotating order)

unemployment	1
interest rates	2
inflation	3
government deficits	4
value of the dollar	5

2. Considering your present financial situation, are you better off financially than one year ago?

Issue: Unemployment

Because unemployment has been ranked as the foremost economic concern in the Maclean's (1986) survey, questions #3 to #5 query the performances of the federal and provincial governments and business in job creation. The responses will give the M.F.L. current public opinion on job creation efforts and the ability to monitor changes in this opinion in subsequent surveys. Results from this question might aid the M.F.L. in developing a lobby strategy, and provide feedback on the Manitoba government's policy of spending increases to create jobs.

3. Are you satisfied that the federal government is doing all it can to create jobs in Canada?
4. Are you satisfied that the provincial government is doing all it can to create jobs in Manitoba?

5. Are you satisfied that business is doing all it can to create jobs?

Issue: The Deficit

According to the business sector, government deficits in Canada are too high and must be reduced. Both the provincial and federal governments are experiencing revenue shortfalls and can make choices in how to reduce their deficits—either by cutting programs, or raising taxes, or both. Questions #6 and #7 put these alternatives to the public with the intent of determining which alternative might gain more support. Support for either alternative will have important implications for the M.F.L. Higher taxes will reduce purchasing power for workers and might lead to a demand for wage increases to maintain purchasing power; fewer services could result in a cut-back in the public service, directly affecting the M.F.L.'s largest affiliates—public sector unions. If neither alternative is supported, then the M.F.L. can lobby governments to adopt some other strategy to reduce deficits.

6. Would you be willing to pay higher taxes to help governments reduce their deficits?
7. Would you be willing to receive fewer government services to help governments reduce their deficits?

Issue: Inflation

Inflation is approached in terms of potential financial hardship resultant from interest rate levels; and the responses, when cross-tabulated with demographics will allow the M.F.L. to know which segments of the public are

being hardest hit by present and future interest rate levels.

8. Is the current level of interest rates causing you financial worries?

Issue: Deregulation

Deregulation is a serious threat to organized labour in terms of unemployment, and to the public in terms of threats to safety and potentially higher service costs. The business sector is quite vocal in urging governments at all levels to divest themselves of enterprises and services which belong to the private sector; and moreover, to reduce the rules and controls which hamper free competition. Questions #9 and #10 address the issues of selling public enterprises and reducing regulations. The degree of support for these issues is an important one for organized labour, which has been fighting deregulation for several years. Question #11 elicits the extent of support for government automobile insurance—a fundamental platform of the New Democratic Party in Manitoba, as well as a monopoly public enterprise.

9. In general, should governments sell public enterprises and crown corporations to the business sector?
10. In general, should governments reduce the number of rules and regulations on the business sector?
11. Are you satisfied with Manitoba's Autopac car insurance?

Issue: Established Program Funding

Manitoba and the federal government share the cost of health care, post-secondary education, and social services to Manitobans. Originally funded on a 50/50 basis, recent years have witnessed the desire of the federal government to reduce



its share of funding to these services. Reductions of federal transfer payments will affect the quality and quantity of such services. Questions #12, #13 and #14 will allow the M.F.L. to monitor public satisfaction of health care, post-secondary education, and social services in Manitoba. The responses can serve as guides to action in lobbying governments, or further influencing public opinion.

12. Are you satisfied with the current health care system in Manitoba?
13. Are you satisfied with the current post-secondary education system in Manitoba?
14. Are you satisfied with the current social services system in Manitoba?

Issue: The Environment

The environment has usually given way to economic development, with the result that prosperity and pollution often coexist. There is increasing concern from a variety of interest groups that the environment must be better protected. Question #15 determines the performance of governments in environmental protection. Environmental concerns might have serious implications for workers involved in resource based industries, as some industries have shut down or have relocated in response to greater environmental protection legislation.

15. Are you satisfied that governments are doing all they can to protect the environment?

Issue: Pay Equity

Pay equity is an important issue not only for women

within the workforce, but also for the NDP government in Manitoba. It is an issue which places working women on one side and business interest on the other. The degree of support for pay equity among the general public, including various demographic subgroupings, may indicate just how far and how quickly the provincial government will move toward implementing pay equity for all Manitobans.

16. Should women working at jobs of equal value to those performed by men in the same company receive equal pay?

Issue: Peace

One of the paradoxes of Canadian international relations is that while Canada is known for its peace-keeping role around the world and its advocacy of bilateral nuclear disarmament, it continues to allow testing of modern weapons by the United States on Canadian soil. Question #17 determines support for such testing and will allow the M.F.L. to compare responses to its position on this subject.

17. Should the federal government participate in the development and testing of new weapons with the United States?

Issue: Protest

The extent of public protest is an important barometer of issue popularity. Organized labour has long advocated a variety of protests and actions in defense of its aims. Question #18 will reveal if the public is increasingly more interested in forms of protest and in which segments of society the "protesters" are located. The M.F.L. can then target these groups in the hope of gaining issue support.

18. Have you ever boycotted a product, taken part in a protest, joined an organization, written to your MP/MLA, or taken some other action because you felt strongly about an issue?

Public Perception of Unions /Business/Governments:

This section will allow the M.F.L. to compare public opinion of organized labour to that of governments and business around three issues: caring, power, and trust. Question #19 is for union identification purposes and will indicate whether the opinions of unionists are different from non-unionists on issue questions. Questions #20 to #28 are the comparison questions.

19. Do you belong to a union?
20. In general, do unions care about the well-being of the average citizen?
21. In general, do governments care about the well-being of the average citizen?
22. In general, does business care about the well-being of the average citizen?
23. In general, do you believe unions have enough power?
24. In general, do you believe governments have enough power?
25. In general, do you believe business has enough power?
26. In general, do you trust union leaders?
27. In general, do you trust government leaders?
28. In general, do you trust business leaders?

The Media:

Organized labour is more and more concerned about the manner in which it is being presented to the public by the

media. Question #29 determines the source of public opinion of unions.

29. Thinking about unions, where do yo get most of your information about unions?

television	1
radio	2
newspapers/magazines	3
books	4
personal experience	5
family/friends	6
other	7

Demographic Information:

30. Sex                      male      1  
                                  female    2

31. Could you tell me you age?

15-24	1
25-34	2
35-44	3
45-54	4
55-64	5
65+	6
refusal	9

32. What is your level of education?

elementary (grade 1-8)	1
some high school	2
graduated high school	3
vocational/community college	4
some university	5

graduated university	6
other	7

33. Are you

employed full-time	1
employed part-time	2
unemployed	3
retired	4
on workers compensation	5
student	6
home-maker	7
other	8

34. How many income earners are there in your family?

1
2
3 or more

35. Would you estimate your annual family income as

under \$5000	1
\$5000-\$9999	2
\$10,000-\$14,999	3
\$15,000-\$19,999	4
\$20,000-\$24,999	5
\$25,000-\$29,999	6
\$30,000-\$34,999	7
\$35,000-\$39,999	8
\$40,000-\$44,999	9
\$45,000+	10
refusal	99

## CHAPTER V

## Public Opinion Survey: Presentation of Data

Charts and tables are used to present the findings. They are found in the appendixes along with the survey instrument. Some comparisons are made to existing survey results as outlined in the methodology section. A number of charts compare all respondents to union respondents. In those cases, the "union" response column is always presented directly to the right of the "all respondents" column. The columns totalling 100% at the extreme right of these charts can be ignored.

Tables present findings as a percentage (example: 55.20), with the exception of the extreme right column (n=) which indicates the actual number of respondents in a particular category. In some cases, results may not total exactly 100% due to rounding.

I The Economy:

This section of the survey tests the foremost economic issue and personal financial well-being. Chart 1 provides a percentage comparison of the importance of each issue. Unemployment continues to be the most importantly perceived economic issue with 43.6% of respondents concerned about it. In the Maclean's (1986) poll, 35% of respondents believed that unemployment concerned them most, while a further 10% stated that youth unemployment was the most important issue. Together, they total 45% of Canadians being concerned about

some form of unemployment.

Of respondents identifying as union members, 51.4% felt unemployment to be the most important issue, 27% found the value of the dollar important, 10.8% were concerned about government deficits, while 5.4% equally rated interest rates and inflation as important.

Chart 2 presents perceived financial situations, comparing union respondents to all respondents. Union members appear to be significantly better off financially, likely a function of unionized status and ability to gain higher wages through collective bargaining.

Table 1 indicates a slightly higher percentage of men financially better off than women. However, this data must be taken in the context of the inequality between men's and women's salaries. In terms of age, those in the younger categories are better off financially than those either approaching or in retirement. High school graduates have a higher level of indicated improvement in their financial situations than other educational groupings. Those employed full-time are also more likely to experience financial improvements than other employment status groups. Not surprisingly, the more income earners in a family, the greater the possibility of being better off financially. Improvement across income groups is uneven, but there is some indication that household income in excess of \$20,000 is required to note significant improvements in financial well-being.

This question was posed by Gallup (1986) and was

expanded to capture those whose financial situation was the same as last year, as well as those whose situation worsened. The Gallup results showed that 46% of respondents felt their financial situations were better; 24%, the same; and 30%, worse. Among men, Gallup found 48% better off; 22%, the same; and 30%, worse. Among women, Gallup found 44% better off; 26%, the same; and 30%, worse.

## II Unemployment:

Chart 3 addresses federal government job creation satisfaction. Although the majorities of all respondents and union respondents are not satisfied with the federal job record, of those expressing satisfaction, more are likely to be union members.

With but few exceptions, Table 2 reveals low satisfaction with the federal job record. The elderly, those with limited education, part-time employees, and low income earners indicate the highest levels of satisfaction.

Provincial government job creation satisfaction as indicated by Chart 4 is slightly higher for all respondents compared to the federal effort, while union members are less satisfied with the provincial effort. Majorities of both groups continue to be dissatisfied.

Table 3 also reveals low satisfaction with the provincial job record, but not as low in comparison to the federal efforts. Again, the elderly, those with limited education, part-time employees, and low income earners indicate the highest satisfaction. In addition, students are more satisfied with provincial versus federal efforts as are



the unemployed.

The highest levels of satisfaction with job creation lie with the business sector and are presented in Chart 5. Both all respondents and union respondents are very similar in their opinions to this question. Although more respondents of both groups are not satisfied, the gap between the satisfied and dissatisfied narrows considerably.

Table 4 indicates higher levels of satisfaction with the business job record across demographic categories with but few exceptions. Of interest is the level of satisfaction claimed by part-time employees, perhaps reflecting the growing availability of part-time employment. Even the unemployed are more satisfied with the efforts of business to create jobs in comparison to either the provincial or federal governments. This may be explained by announcements of job creation programs which might not affect the unemployed person at that specific time, and thereby result in feelings of frustration or dissatisfaction with government efforts.

### III The Deficit:

As shown by Chart 6, paying higher taxes to reduce government deficits is not very popular; however, union respondents are more willing to do so compared to all respondents. Table 5 reveals that while higher taxes are not supported across demographic groupings, there are some subtle differences. For example: women are somewhat more willing to pay higher taxes than men; the young are less willing than the old; the university graduate is more willing than the less educated; those employed part-time or retired are more

willing than those in full-time employ; as the number of income earners increase, the less likely are they willing to pay higher taxes; and those earning more than \$30,000, but less than \$40,000 are the most willing to pay higher taxes.

Reductions in government services are a more acceptable route to lowering deficits. Chart 7 indicates that a majority of all respondents were willing to receive fewer services (53%). Union respondents are less willing to accept cuts in services, but the percentage in support is still high (45%). Cutbacks would directly affect their union brothers and sisters employed in the public sector.

Table 6 presents some dramatic differences in responses to this question across demographic categories. Women are significantly less likely to accept reductions in services compared to men as are the elderly, those with limited education, and the unemployed. Of interest is the high popularity of service reductions across income groups, especially among the lower income groups. One might speculate that these groups are benefitting the most from the provision of government services.

#### IV Inflation:

Interest rates are causing few worries as witnessed by Chart 8. Union respondents are the least worried about interest levels at this time. Table 7 reveals that only isolated groupings continue to worry about interest rates: students, low income earners, and those in the \$25,000 to \$29,000 group.

#### V Deregulation:

Chart 9 shows that majorities of all respondents and union respondents favour selling public enterprises and crown corporations to the business sector. From the union perspective, this is most surprising, given the high priority of fighting deregulation by organized labour. From Table 8, university graduates and students are the most opposed to such sales. The high level of "don't know" responses among those of limited education, the unemployed, and those in the \$15,000 to \$19,999 income group may indicate that knowledge and understanding of this issue is uneven demographically.

In regard to deregulating the business sector, Chart 10 indicates that all respondents favour such action more so than union members. Again, the union percentage in support of deregulation is high (35.9%) considering the campaigns unions and federations of labour have mounted in opposition to it. The high percentage among all respondents with no opinion on the issue (23.2%) is also noteworthy.

Demographic profiles in Table 9 reveal that men favour deregulation much more than women, with the caution that nearly 30% of women have no opinion on the issue, almost double that of men. No pattern emerges across age groups, although respondents aged 65 and over have the lowest positive regard for deregulation. Findings by educational grouping do not provide any pattern either, excepting the high percentage among those with elementary education having no opinion. Within employment status groups, those working part-time, the unemployed, and home-makers support deregulation the most, while students support it the least.

Responses by number of income earners do not display any trends, but households earning in excess of \$20,000 seem to support deregulation the most and have lower percentages of no opinion on the issue.

Given the level of support for selling crown corporations and favouring deregulation, one might expect limited satisfaction with Manitoba's government owned automobile insurance. This is not the case as exhibited by Chart 11. Autopac is overwhelmingly supported by all respondents, and enjoys an even higher level of support from union members. It would appear from this evidence that it matters less to the public whether a corporation is publicly or privately owned; rather, what might matter more is whether the service is competitively priced, efficiently delivered, profitable, and of direct benefit to the consumer. These attributes may also set it apart from the crown corporations and public enterprises which consistently lose money and are berated in the press and legislatures across Canada.

A review of demographic information in Table 10 indicates that satisfaction is high to very high across groupings and categories. Certain among the elderly, those of limited education, the retired, and of low income express a high rate of no opinion, quite possibly because many in these categories are not driving. The highest satisfaction levels originate among the unemployed and those households earning in excess of \$45,000.

#### VI Established Program Funding:

Programs which depend heavily on federal transfer

payments include health-care, post-secondary education, and social services. Chart 12 shows that satisfaction with health-care is very high and virtually identical among all respondents and union members. The level of dissatisfaction among both is also identical. Table 11 indicates that satisfaction levels are slightly higher for men than women, while the young, the aged, the unemployed, the retired, those of low income, and those earning between \$30,000 and \$34,999 state the highest levels of satisfaction. Cutbacks in health-care would probably not be popular with the public.

Satisfaction levels for post-secondary education are much lower than those for health-care. As displayed by Chart 13, barely 50% of union respondents are satisfied with the system, while 46.4% of all respondents are satisfied with it. This question has resulted in a large percentage of all respondents without an opinion, primarily because they may not have current, direct knowledge of the system. Table 12 displays some differences by sex, with more men satisfied with the system than women. Again, the high percentages registering no opinion throughout a variety of demographic categories is important. Individuals may not miss, or have a comment on potential changes to a system they know little about.

Social services satisfaction presented by Chart 14 is slightly higher among all respondents and union respondents than post-secondary education satisfaction (51.8% and 55% respectively). In addition, the percentage expressing no opinion is much lower. Satisfaction, as shown in Table 13,

is somewhat higher for men than women, and the aged, high school graduates, those employed part-time, those with low incomes, and one high income group. The unemployed exhibit the lowest social services satisfaction. It is interesting to note the high satisfaction level in the \$40,000 to \$44,999 income group. This may be a function of benefitting from social services depending upon nature of the program, eligibility, and accessability, notwithstanding a high income. Ignorance of social services can also be a factor—if one has no knowledge of social services, one may be less inclined to answer in the negative.

#### VII Environmental Protection:

All respondents and union respondents cite limited satisfaction with governments protecting the environment (25.4% to 20% respectively) as revealed by Chart 15. Furthermore, this is an issue which is capable of eliciting firm opinions. as the percentages with no opinion are small. Table 14 indicates that while a high majority of respondents across most demographic categories are dissatisfied with governments' environmental protection record, women are slightly more satisfied than men, as are the young and the aged; those with a high school education; those who are unemployed, retired, or home-makers; and those who earn low incomes.

#### VIII Pay Equity:

As witnessed by Chart 16, pay equity enjoys overwhelming support from both all respondents and union respondents. This is born out demographically in Table 15 as

well. Women support pay equity more strongly than men, although both percentages are very high (96.1% to 85.1% respectively) and the least amount of support (77.3%) is found among those in excess of 65 years and those households earning less than \$5000 dollars (71.4%).

#### IX Peace:

Chart 17 presents public opinion on cruise missile testing in Canada. Both all respondents and union respondents have similar positions on this issue and are not in favour of such testing (65.8% and 67.5% opposed respectively). Demographic profiles in Table 16 reveal that while a majority of respondents in all categories oppose testing, men support it more than women, as do those in the 35 to 44 age group, those with either an elementary or some university education, the retired, the single income earner households, and those in the \$10,000 to \$14,999 and \$30,000 to \$39,999 income groupings.

#### X Protest:

Union respondents are slightly more willing to protest than all respondents as displayed by Chart 18 (60% to 54.6% respectively). The minority percentages of those unwilling to protest are also high. Table 17 indicates that women are far more likely to protest than men. With the exception of the very young and very old, age groups are also most likely to protest. Those with either an elementary school education or some high school are less apt to protest than those with higher levels of education. Among employment status groups, those employed full-time, part-time, and those who are home-

makers are more willing to protest. Students are the least likely protest group in this category. An examination of income groups reveals that households earning in excess of \$25,000 are more disposed to protesting.

#### XI Union Information Sources:

In Chart 19, personal experience is the major source of union information for all respondents and union respondents (34.6% and 50% respectively). What is surprising is that only 50% of union respondents derive their union information from personal experience. One might have expected this figure to be much higher and is left with the impression that they might be unaware of their own union. The next likely source are newspapers and magazines for both groups. Electronic media, particularly television, are well down the list. If this is an accurate presentation of opinion, then perhaps unions need be less concerned about their presentation by television and should place more emphasis on the kinds of perceptions derived from people's personal experiences, what is printed in newspapers, and what their family and friends say about unions.

Table 18 indicates that more men obtain their union information from personal experience than women. With the exception of the over 65 age group, for whom newspapers are the main information source, all others state personal experience as their foremost source. Among educational groups, those with a completed high school education or less state personal experience as their main source; those with education levels beyond high school depend on newspapers.



Full-time employees stress personal experience followed by newspapers, while part-time employees state the reverse. Only students rank television ahead of other sources. Home-makers rely most upon family and friends for their union information. As one might expect, the more income earners there are in a family, the more likely they are to cite personal experience as the main source of information. Personal experience is also an important information source for most income groups, excepting the \$5,000 to \$9,999 groups, for whom television is more important, and the \$30,000 to \$34,999 and \$40,000 to \$44,999 groups, for whom newspapers are more important.

#### XII Business, Government, and Union Comparisons:

In regard to caring about the average citizen, Table 19 shows that all respondents rate governments ahead of business and unions, who tie for second (43.2% versus 36.2%). Union respondents rank governments first as well (57.5%), with unions second (52.5%) and business third (37.5%). Union households perceive unions as most caring (49.3%), followed by governments in second place (41.3%) and business in third (37.3%). Charts 20, 21, and 22 provide respondent comparisons to each question.

Maclean's (1986) posed a somewhat similar question: "Whom do you look to most to look after your best economic interests: government, business or unions". To this question, 42% chose government, 33% chose business, 14% chose unions, and 9% stated "other".

Concerning the question of power, in Table 20, all

respondents state that governments have sufficient power (82.1%), with unions second (79.2%) and business a distant third (55.1%). Union respondents and union households follow a similar response pattern (77.5%, 75%, 60% and 80%, 78.7%, 60% respectively). Charts 23, 24, and 25 provide respondent comparisons to each question.

Policy Concepts traced Gallup Poll responses to the question of which group poses the biggest threat: big business, big labour, or big government. Although this question is somewhat more value laden through use of the term "big", responses within the Prairie Region in 1985 reveal that 38% felt that big government was the biggest threat, with big labour and big business tied at 23%. Some 16% of respondents were undecided.

Table 21 displays public perceptions of trust among the three groups. While all three leadership groups are more distrusted than trusted, business leaders are trusted most (34.9%), government leaders, next (28.1%), and union leaders, last (21.9%) by all respondents. Among union respondents, more distrusted their own leaders than trusted them, but they rank union leaders first (40%), business leaders second (37.5%), and government leaders third (32.5%). Union households place business leaders first (40%), union leaders second (30.7%), and government leaders third (25.7%) in terms of trust. Charts 26, 27, and 28 provide respondent comparisons to each question.

The Gallup Report (1985) asked Americans: "How would you rate the honesty and ethical standards of people in these

different fields, very high, high, average, low, very low? Response categories of a variety of occupational groups were then provided. The combined rating of high and very high for business executives was 23%, for Congressmen, 20%, and for labour union leaders, 13%.

Lipset and Schneider (1983) have noted a sharp decline in the confidence and faith in the major institutions of government, business, and labour since the mid-1960's. Public criticism appears to have been directed at the performance of these institutions and their leaders, particularly in regard to competence, trustworthiness, and integrity.

## Public Opinion Survey: Presentation of Data (continued)

### Suggestions for Improvement:

As a piece of exploratory research, the MFL survey has value in demonstrating the kind and quality of information it is possible to collect via public opinion polling. However, the key to understanding polls is that they provide a snapshot of public opinion at one point in time. Their true value lies in replication and tracking responses to questions over time. Only then can one say that public opinion is changing in regard to an issue, or group of issues.

More importantly, survey data can bring an element of science into decision-making and can provide the organization with a higher level of knowledge from which to make decisions. Mason, Mcpherson, Hum, and Roberts (1983) note that without a scientific level of knowledge, decisions can only be based upon tradition, authority, or intuition.

The findings from this survey reveal that not all the questions are good ones. Nachmias and Nachmias (1981) state that in order for a question to be useful statistically, it must demonstrate a sufficient degree of variance in the responses. Thus, questions which are overwhelmingly answered in one direction are less useful for analysis purposes than those more closely split between "yes", "no", and "don't know".

Responses to the MFL survey indicate that perhaps questions pertaining to interest rate worries, Autopac and

health-care satisfaction, and pay equity support might either be eliminated or re-worded. They have been answered in such an overwhelming direction that much useful analysis is precluded. As well, there is the possibility with pay equity that the question is perceived as equal pay for equal work, not equal pay for work of equal value (Consultation with a Manitoba Labour official indicates that support for pay equity in this province is high, but in the 70% range.).

Sub-questions may also be considered in future. For example, those respondents answering "yes" to receiving fewer government services to help reduce the deficit might be further asked just which services, or categories of services should be cut.

Regarding the actual execution of the survey, ideally, all surveyors should be in the same location with sufficient telephone equipment to permit call monitoring. Such structure minimizes errors in the posing and recording of questions.

Finally, no amount of duplicating questions from other surveys in order to overcome a small sample size can compensate for not having a large enough sample around which one can set high confidence values. Successful polling is indeed a numbers game.

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## CHAPTER VI

## Conclusion

The conclusion to this practicum lies in integrating the theoretical and practical applications of knowledge as they pertain to the future of organized labour. To do so requires some comment upon the literature review followed by a discussion of just what the actual work has meant—not only as a learning experience, but to demonstrate where practice can complement theory, or serve as a vehicle to implement theory.

As stated in the literature review, organized labour must move beyond business unionism and take up new challenges. For too long, the options for labour have been either to continue doing "more of the same", or to move into the sectarian left both philosophically and politically. It has been only in the aftermath of the recession that a third alternative is emerging. However, such change contains an element of risk.

Included among the components of this alternative are: a re-discovery of union roots, making political education for union membership a priority, networking with outside interest groups, advocating change on an issue by issue basis, involvement in trans-national unionism, emphasizing union education, and the ability to spread labour's message on it's own terms.

Effectiveness in these areas demands, at minimum,

planning capability and access to the best and current information possible. Decision-making based upon sound information can attenuate risk. Labour has always been more reactive than proactive, but knowledge of emerging political and economic trends, planning and evaluation, and public opinion can help change this process. Planning also demands a sense of vision and ability to unify seemingly disparate parts into a whole. Business and governments depend upon planning and effective use of information; unions appear to be more suspect of such practices.

This can partly be explained in the manner by which union personnel are "recruited" and "advanced". A cadre of workers rising from the shop floor to shop steward, to officers within their local, to committees and offices within their labour council or provincial federation can often ensure a microscopic view of the world. "Action" and "activity" frequently supercede planning or objectivity. Some of these individuals then move into union staff representative positions where, theoretically, action and activity should follow, not lead, planning and objective analysis of situations.

Furthermore, there is a growing sense that pressures affecting labour are moving beyond the union-management relationship. International market forces combined with the mobility of capital to the most favourable conditions for profit (usually out of the region or country) have often left workers in helpless situations when plants shut-down and relocate. The opponent is far more difficult to fight when he



has just moved to South Korea. Traditional union responses become irrelevant in such circumstances and call for new alternatives.

Among the most serious effects of the recession has been the permanent reduction of unionized workers across industries. Not only must unions operate with fewer funds, but with fewer personnel to advocate their aims. It has become a situation of "doing more with less", a comment frequently heard in business and government. Having access to the best and most updated information possible can ensure that resources (time, money, and personnel) are deployed most effectively.

While it must be acknowledged that planning and evaluation within a federated structure is much different than within a hierarchical one, the goals remain the same. A reality for the MFL is that it has limited clout over member unions. The president cannot order changes; these must come as resolutions and motions passed either at convention or at Executive Council. Regular planning and evaluation functions may require wide consensus before implementation.

In addition, there are negative aspects to the evaluation process. These are primarily political in the sense that evaluations can be written to conform to pre-determined assumptions and serve only as a validating process, rather than a dispassionate, investigative one. It must also be noted that evaluations uncover mistakes and leave individuals and organizations open for potential criticism. However, these shortcomings should not minimize

the import of the evaluation process; rather, evaluations should be conducted with elements of care and caution.

Public opinion polling can serve a vital role in generating some of the data which can be used in planning exercises. Knowledge can become power. This axiom is well known to both business and governments.

As a demonstration project, the MFL Public Opinion Survey shows the extent to which:

1. The general public and organized labour hold similar perceptions on issues (also broken-down demographically).
2. Public perception of unions is favourable or otherwise in comparison to business and governments.
3. The media and other sources act as public's choice for information about unions.
4. It is realistic for the MFL to conduct its own polling.
5. This student is able to conduct a public opinion poll.

Even with the limitations of a small sample size as this applies to wider generalization of findings, information collected in these areas raises some serious questions for the MFL.

Concerning the respondents to the questionnaire, unionized workers hold opinions which are substantially similar to those of the general public on a variety of issues. Furthermore, unions continue to rank poorly in

comparison to perceptions of business and governments. More surprising is the extent to which media's role as a source of union information is less important than that of personal experience combined with family and friends. To do effective polling, the MFL will have to commit resources in terms of money and personnel. The generation of current data both regularly and over time will provide some of the knowledge by which the MFL can more effectively strategize and measure its impact. Finally, the fact that this student can undertake a survey, analyze data, and bring forth meaningful results has been a revelation. Public opinion polling need not be a mystifying process.

The review of literature and projects noted above indicate that a variety of learning opportunities have been present during the duration of this practicum. It has always been my intention to make the experience one of skill learning and training. Of necessity, some attention to theory has been required, primarily to delineate the wider issues and not be subsumed with events under one's nose. The ability to conceptualize and critically analyze are vital to any organization.

Within organizations, common activities take place. Reviews occur in a wide array of establishments and programs. While the choice of model, or design by which the review will be conducted is a subjective one, execution of that review requires systematic procedures and attention to detail. Moreover, it demands the willingness and ability to make judgements based upon information and the confidence to stand

by those judgements.

Similarly, public opinion polling is not only an end in itself by providing useful information; it necessitates rigor and perseverance to be carried out. An individual possessing such traits can be helpful to many organizations, especially when situations become difficult and complex. Challenge should be sought, not avoided at all costs.

Lastly, the issue of power must be addressed. This practicum has allowed the opportunity to work freely among the leadership of a large organization. Being "close" to the source of decision-making power, that is, the power of affiliates coming together as part of the MFL, even if such proximity was fleeting and indirect, has been exciting.

The MFL practicum experience has been invaluable in its generalizability to other areas. Most important, it has given me greater confidence to risk new areas of endeavour and has resulted in an immediate broadening of my employment horizons.

## APPENDIXES

Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_ of Graduate Research. We are talking with people in Winnipeg about their opinions on economic and social issues. Are you over 18 years of age? (If not, ask to speak to an eligible respondent, if still "no", thank and terminate)

1. Thinking about economic issues, which one of the following are you most concerned about? (Read in rotating order)

unemployment	43.6%
interest rates	6.9
inflation	9.0
government deficits	16.0
value of the dollar	24.5

The following questions can be answered with a "yes", "no", or "don't know".

	Y%	N%	DK%
2. Considering your present financial situation, are you better off financially than one year ago?	45.2	48.7	6.0
3. Are you satisfied that the federal government is doing all it can to create jobs in Canada?	27.0	58.0	15.0
4. Are you satisfied that the provincial government is doing all it can to create jobs in Manitoba?	31.5	57.0	11.5
5. Are you satisfied that business is doing all it can to create jobs?	35.5	43.5	21.0
6. Do you trust government leaders?	28.1	59.8	12.1
7. In general, do unions care about the well-being of the average citizen?	36.2	47.7	16.1
8. Would you be willing to pay higher taxes to help governments reduce their deficits?	28.5	62.5	9.0
9. Would you be willing to receive fewer government services to help governments reduce their deficits?	53.0	37.0	10.0
10. Is the current level of interest rates causing you financial worries?	22.1	75.9	2.0
11. In general, should governments sell public enterprises and crown corporations to the business sector?	52.8	26.6	20.6
12. In general, should governments reduce the number of rules and regulations on the business sector?	47.5	29.3	23.2

13.	Are you satisfied with Manitoba's Autopac car insurance?	72.9	17.1	10.1
14.	In general, do governments care about the well-being of the average citizen?	43.2	42.2	14.6
15.	Are you satisfied with the current health care system in Manitoba?	86.4	10.1	3.5
16.	Do you believe business has enough power?	55.1	27.8	17.2
17.	Are you satisfied with the current post-secondary education system in Manitoba?	46.4	26.5	27.0
18.	Are you satisfied with the current social services system in Manitoba?	51.8	31.5	16.8
19.	In general, does business care about the well-being of the average citizen?	36.2	48.0	15.8
20.	Are you satisfied that governments are doing all they can to protect our environment?	25.4	66.0	8.6
21.	Do you believe unions have enough power?	79.2	12.7	8.1
22.	Should women working at jobs of equal value to those performed by men in the same company receive equal pay?	90.8	7.1	2.0
23.	Do you trust union leaders?	21.9	57.1	20.9
24.	Are you in favour of American cruise missile testing in Canada?	25.0	65.8	9.2
25.	Have you ever refused to buy a product, taken part in a protest, joined an organization, written your MP/MLA, or taken some other action because you felt strongly about an issue?	54.6	43.9	1.5
26.	Do you belong to a union?	20.4	79.6	0
27.	Do other members of your household belong to a union?	23.5	76.0	.5
28.	Do you believe governments have enough power?	82.1	11.2	6.6
29.	Do you trust business leaders?	34.9	43.6	21.5

Now I ask that you answer the following questions based on the categories provided.

30. Thinking about unions, from where do you get most of your information about unions?

television	12.4%
radio	3.2
newspapers/magazines	28.6
books	3.2
personal experience	34.6
family/friends	13.5
other	4.3

31. Sex: male 48.0%  
female 52.0

32. Could you tell me your age? (If the respondent refuses, offer to read the categories)

15-24.....	12.7%
25-34.....	26.9
35-44.....	20.3
45-54.....	15.2
55-64.....	12.2
65+.....	11.7
refusal...	1.0

33. What is your current level of education?

elementary (grade 1-8).....	6.7%
some high school.....	21.1
graduated high school.....	25.3
vocational/community college.....	12.4
some university.....	12.9
graduated university.....	21.6
other.....	0

34. Are you

employed full-time?.....	52.3%
employed part-time?.....	8.7
unemployed?.....	7.2
on workers compensation?.....	0
retired?.....	14.9
student?.....	7.2
home-maker?.....	8.7
other?.....	1.0

35. How many income earners are there in your family?

one.....	48.1%
two.....	38.1
three or more...	13.8



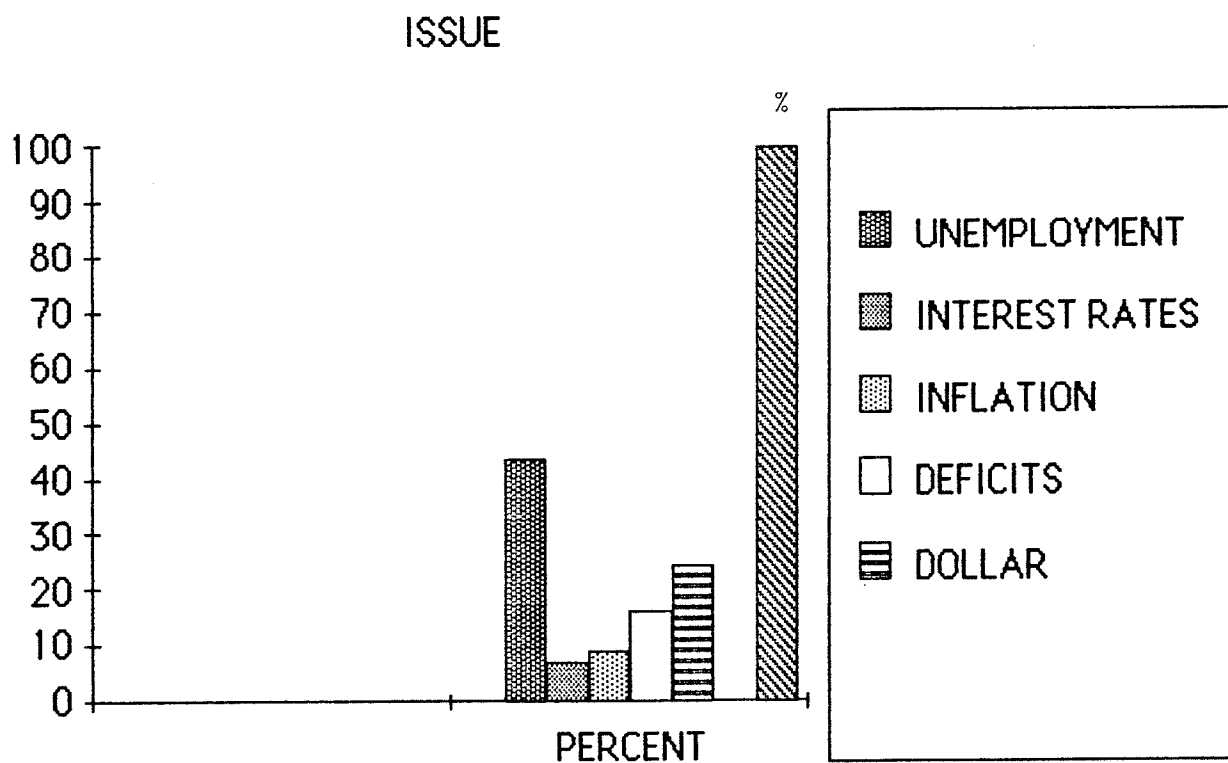
36. Which of the following income groups includes your annual household income? (Read choices).

under \$5000?	3.6%
\$5000-\$9999?	5.7
\$10,000-\$14,999?	12.4
\$15,000-\$19,999?	12.4
\$20,000-\$24,999?	13.4
\$25,000-\$29,999?	8.8
\$30,000-\$34,999?	7.2
\$35,000-\$39,999?	4.6
\$40,000-\$44,999?	8.8
\$45,000 or more?	15.5
refusal	7.7

Thank-you for participating in this survey. Good-bye.

CHART 1

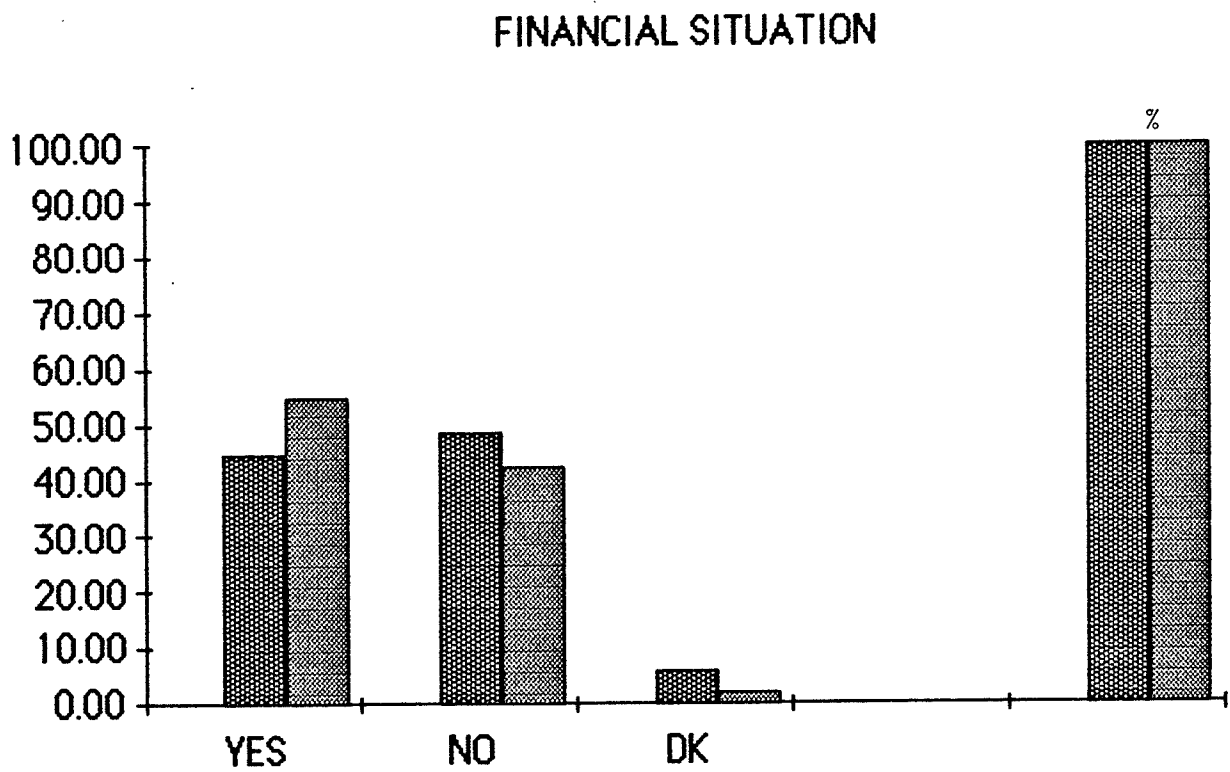
Thinking about economic issues, which one of the following are you most concerned about?



Unemployment	43.6%
Interest Rates	6.9
Inflation	9.0
Government Deficits	16.0
Value of the Dollar	24.5

CHART 2

Considering your present financial situation, are you better off financially than one year ago?



	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW
All Respondents	45.2%	48.7%	6.0%
Union Respondents	55.0	42.5	2.5

TABLE 1

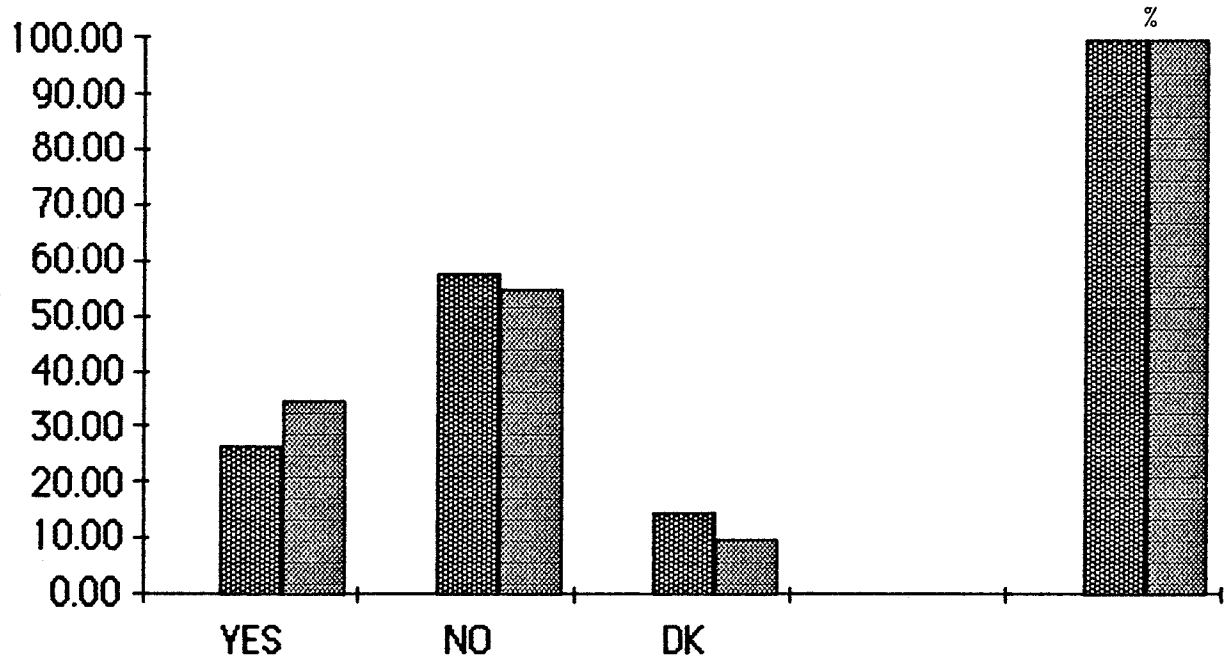
Financial situation by demographic data:

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	FINANCIAL SITUATION					
2			YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	n=
3	MALE		46.80	47.90	5.30	94
4	FEMALE		43.70	49.50	6.80	103
5	AGE 15-24		68.00	24.00	8.00	25
6	25-34		50.90	43.40	5.70	53
7	35-44		47.50	47.50	5.00	40
8	45-54		20.00	70.00	10.00	30
9	55-64		39.10	60.90	0.00	23
10	65+		39.10	52.20	8.70	23
11	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL		30.80	69.20	0.00	11
12	SOME HIGH SCHOOL		46.30	51.20	2.40	41
13	HIGH SCHOOL GRAD		55.10	42.90	2.00	49
14	COMMUNITY COLLEGE		33.30	54.20	12.50	24
15	SOME UNIVERSITY		48.00	52.00	0.00	25
16	UNIVERSITY GRAD		43.90	43.90	12.20	41
17	EMPLOYED FULL-TIME		57.80	36.30	5.90	102
18	EMPLOYED PART-TIME		41.20	58.80	0.00	17
19	UNEMPLOYED		21.40	71.40	7.10	14
20	RETIRED		34.50	65.50	0.00	29
21	STUDENT		23.10	61.50	15.40	13
22	HOME-MAKER		35.30	58.80	5.90	17
23	1 INCOME EARNER		45.10	51.60	3.30	91
24	2 INCOME EARNERS		46.50	46.50	7.00	71
25	3+ INCOME EARNERS		50.00	42.30	7.70	26
26	UNDER \$5000		16.70	83.30	0.00	6
27	\$5000-9999		18.20	72.70	9.10	11
28	\$10000-14999		37.50	58.30	4.20	24
29	\$15000-19999		29.20	70.80	0.00	24
30	\$20000-24999		57.70	42.30	0.00	26
31	\$25000-29999		47.10	52.90	0.00	17
32	\$30000-34999		50.00	28.60	21.40	14
33	\$35000-39999		66.70	33.30	0.00	9
34	\$40000-44999		41.20	52.90	5.90	17
35	\$45000+		50.00	36.70	13.30	30

CHART 3

Are you satisfied that the federal government is doing all it can to create jobs in Canada?

### FEDERAL GOV'T JOB CREATION SATISFACTION



	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW
All Respondents	27.0%	58.0%	15.0%
Union Respondents	35.0	55.0	10.0

TABLE 2

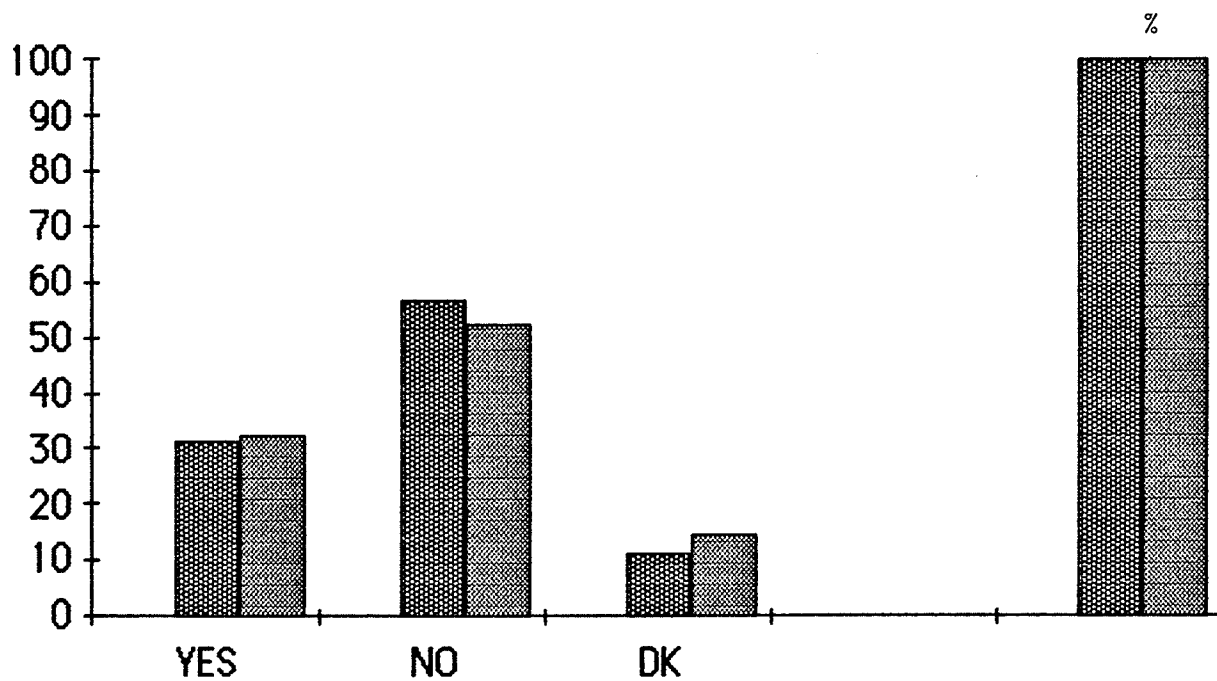
Federal government job creation record by demographic data:

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	FED JOB RECORD					
2			YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	n=
3	MALE		25.30	58.90	15.80	95
4	FEMALE		27.20	58.30	14.60	103
5	AGE 15-24		32.00	48.00	20.00	25
6	25-34		22.60	62.30	15.10	53
7	35-44		27.50	67.50	5.00	40
8	45-54		13.30	73.30	13.30	30
9	55-64		20.80	54.20	25.00	24
10	65+		47.80	43.50	8.70	23
11	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL		46.20	23.10	30.80	13
12	SOME HIGH SCHOOL		29.30	56.10	14.60	41
13	HIGH SCHOOL GRAD		26.50	59.20	14.30	49
14	COMMUNITY COLLEGE		25.00	62.50	12.50	24
15	SOME UNIVERSITY		32.00	48.00	20.00	25
16	UNIVERSITY GRAD		14.30	78.60	7.10	42
17	EMPLOYED FULL-TIME		23.50	63.70	12.70	102
18	EMPLOYED PART-TIME		41.20	23.50	35.30	17
19	UNEMPLOYED		14.30	85.70	0.00	14
20	RETIRED		37.90	48.30	13.80	29
21	STUDENT		21.40	57.10	21.40	14
22	HOME-MAKER		23.50	64.70	11.80	17
23	1 INCOME EARNER		26.40	58.20	15.40	91
24	2 INCOME EARNERS		25.00	58.30	16.70	72
25	3+ INCOME EARNERS		23.10	69.20	7.70	26
26	UNDER \$5000		57.10	42.90	0.00	7
27	\$5000-9999		27.30	54.50	18.20	11
28	\$10000-14999		25.00	54.20	20.80	24
29	\$15000-19999		12.50	54.20	33.30	24
30	\$20000-24999		38.50	53.80	7.70	26
31	\$25000-29999		17.60	70.60	11.80	17
32	\$30000-34999		50.00	50.00	0.00	14
33	\$35000-39999		0.00	77.80	22.20	9
34	\$40000-44999		23.50	64.70	11.80	17
35	\$45000+		16.70	73.30	10.00	30

CHART 4

Are you satisfied that the provincial government is doing all it can to create jobs in Manitoba?

### PROVINCIAL GOV'T JOB CREATION SATISFACTION



	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW
All Respondents	31.5%	57.0%	11.5%
Union Respondents	32.5	52.5	15.0

TABLE 3

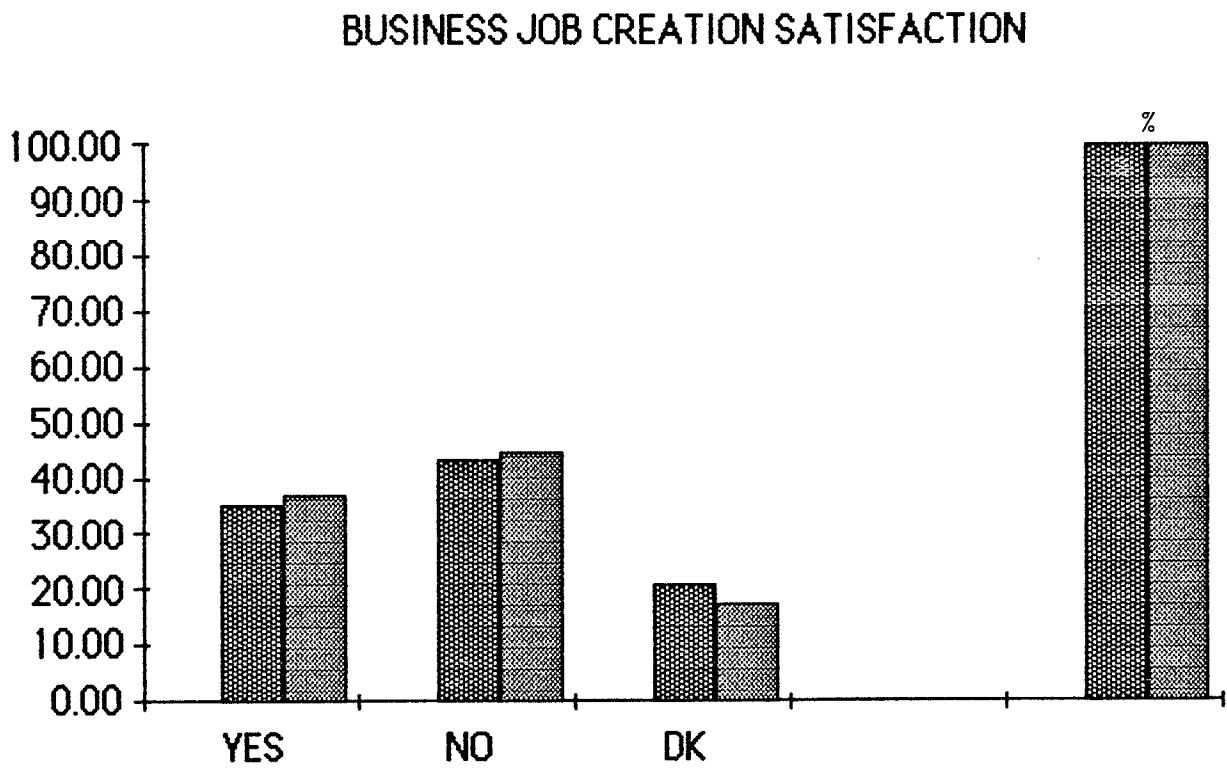
Provincial government job creation record by demographic data:

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	PROV JOB RECORD					
2			YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	n=
3	MALE		33.70	53.70	12.60	95
4	FEMALE		28.20	61.20	10.70	103
5	AGE 15-24		24.00	56.00	20.00	25
6	25-34		28.30	66.00	5.70	53
7	35-44		27.50	67.50	5.00	40
8	45-54		26.70	56.70	16.70	30
9	55-64		29.20	50.00	20.80	24
10	65+		56.50	34.80	8.70	23
11	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL		46.20	30.80	23.10	13
12	SOME HIGH SCHOOL		36.60	51.20	12.20	41
13	HIGH SCHOOL GRAD		28.60	61.20	10.20	49
14	COMMUNITY COLLEGE		20.80	70.80	8.30	24
15	SOME UNIVERSITY		24.00	56.00	20.00	25
16	UNIVERSITY GRAD		33.30	61.90	4.80	42
17	EMPLOYED FULL-TIME		30.40	60.80	8.80	102
18	EMPLOYED PART-TIME		23.50	52.90	23.50	17
19	UNEMPLOYED		21.40	71.40	7.10	14
20	RETIRED		44.80	41.40	13.80	29
21	STUDENT		42.90	35.70	21.40	14
22	HOME-MAKER		17.60	76.50	5.90	17
23	1 INCOME EARNER		27.50	61.50	11.00	91
24	2 INCOME EARNERS		34.70	52.80	12.50	72
25	3+ INCOME EARNERS		23.10	69.20	7.70	26
26	UNDER \$5000		57.10	42.90	0.00	7
27	\$5000-9999		27.30	72.70	0.00	11
28	\$10000-14999		33.30	50.00	16.70	24
29	\$15000-19999		25.00	58.30	16.70	24
30	\$20000-24999		46.20	46.20	7.70	26
31	\$25000-29999		47.10	41.20	11.80	17
32	\$30000-34999		35.70	57.10	7.10	14
33	\$35000-39999		11.10	55.60	33.30	9
34	\$40000-44999		23.50	70.60	5.90	17
35	\$45000+		20.00	70.00	10.00	30



CHART 5

Are you satisfied that business is doing all it can to create jobs?



	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW
All Respondents	35.5%	43.5%	21.0%
Union Respondents	37.5	45.0	17.5

TABLE 4

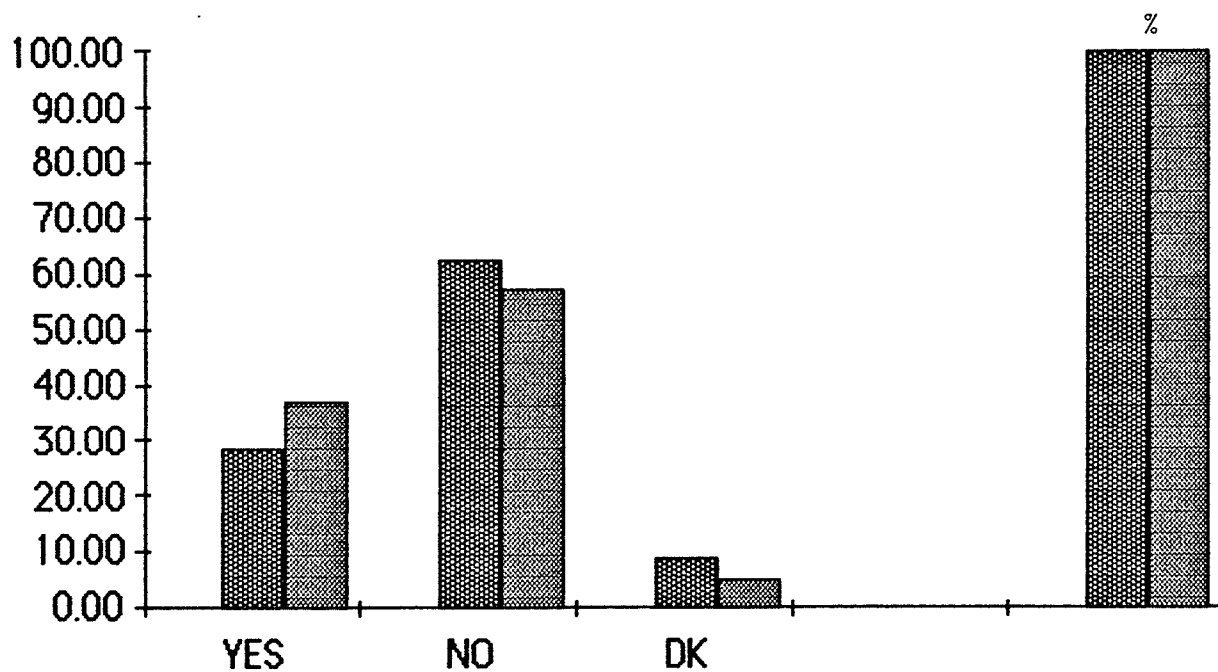
Business job creation record by demographic data:

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	BUSINESS JOB RECORD					
2			YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	n=
3	MALE		33.70	50.50	15.80	95
4	FEMALE		36.90	37.90	25.20	103
5	AGE 15-24		32.00	48.00	20.00	25
6	25-34		37.70	43.40	18.90	53
7	35-44		32.50	45.00	22.50	40
8	45-54		30.00	46.70	23.30	30
9	55-64		41.70	45.80	12.50	24
10	65+		30.40	39.10	30.40	23
11	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL		46.20	23.10	30.80	13
12	SOME HIGH SCHOOL		31.70	29.00	29.30	41
13	HIGH SCHOOL GRAD		44.90	40.80	14.30	49
14	COMMUNITY COLLEGE		45.80	33.30	20.80	24
15	SOME UNIVERSITY		32.00	48.00	20.00	25
16	UNIVERSITY GRAD		19.00	66.70	14.30	42
17	EMPLOYED FULL-TIME		35.30	46.10	18.60	102
18	EMPLOYED PART-TIME		47.10	29.40	23.50	17
19	UNEMPLOYED		35.70	50.00	14.30	14
20	RETIRED		31.00	48.30	20.70	29
21	STUDENT		14.30	64.30	21.40	14
22	HOME-MAKER		47.10	23.50	29.40	17
23	1 INCOME EARNER		37.40	40.70	22.00	91
24	2 INCOME EARNERS		36.10	45.80	18.10	72
25	3+ INCOME EARNERS		23.10	57.70	19.20	26
26	UNDER \$5000		42.90	42.90	14.30	7
27	\$5000-9999		18.20	63.60	18.20	11
28	\$10000-14999		37.50	37.50	25.00	24
29	\$15000-19999		12.50	54.20	33.30	24
30	\$20000-24999		42.30	38.50	19.20	26
31	\$25000-29999		41.20	29.40	29.40	17
32	\$30000-34999		64.30	35.70	0.00	14
33	\$35000-39999		33.30	44.40	22.20	9
34	\$40000-44999		23.50	52.90	23.50	17
35	\$45000+		36.70	60.00	3.30	30

CHART 6

Would you be willing to pay higher taxes to help governments reduce their deficits?

### WILLINGNESS TO PAY HIGHER TAXES



	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW
All Respondents	28.5%	62.5%	9.0%
Union Respondents	37.5	57.5	5.0

TABLE 5

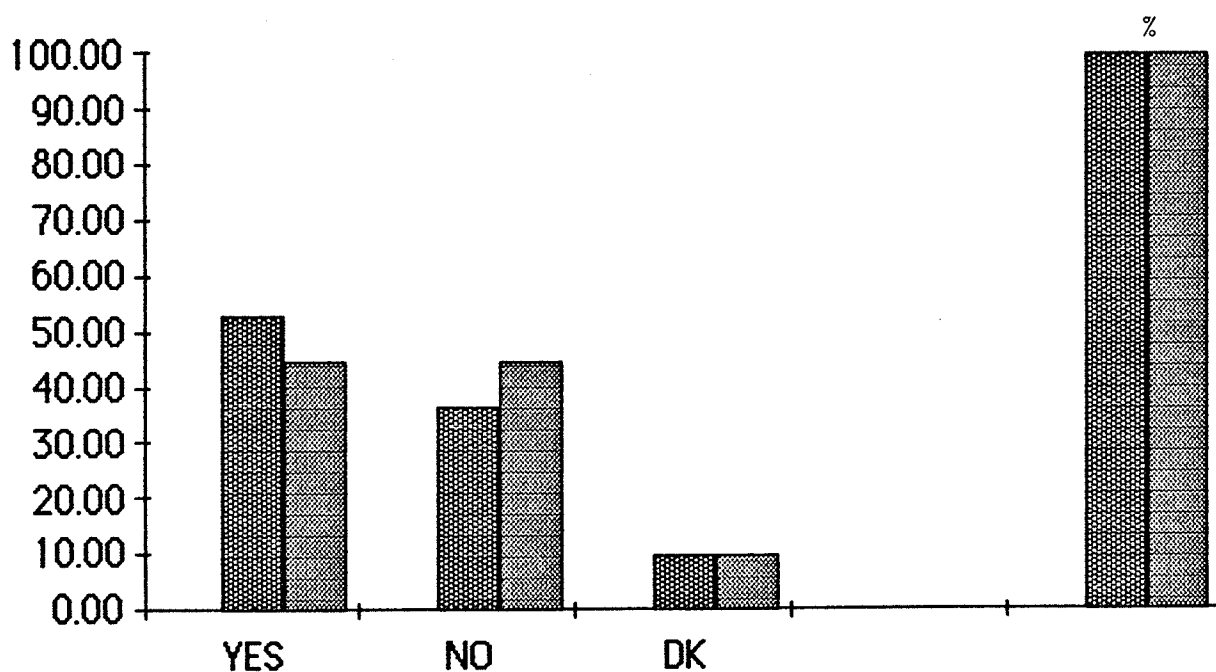
Willingness to pay higher taxes by demographic data:

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	PAY HIGHER TAXES					
2			YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	n=
3	MALE		27.40	66.30	6.30	95
4	FEMALE		30.10	58.30	11.70	103
5	AGE 15-24		24.00	60.00	16.00	25
6	25-34		17.00	73.60	9.40	53
7	35-44		45.00	50.00	5.00	40
8	45-54		30.00	60.00	10.00	30
9	55-64		20.80	70.80	8.30	24
10	65+		39.10	52.20	8.70	23
11	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL		30.80	38.50	30.80	13
12	SOME HIGH SCHOOL		26.80	63.40	9.80	41
13	HIGH SCHOOL GRAD		28.60	67.30	4.10	49
14	COMMUNITY COLLEGE		25.00	62.50	12.50	24
15	SOME UNIVERSITY		24.00	68.00	8.00	25
16	UNIVERSITY GRAD		38.10	57.10	4.80	42
17	EMPLOYED FULL-TIME		28.40	65.70	5.90	102
18	EMPLOYED PART-TIME		41.20	52.90	5.90	17
19	UNEMPLOYED		28.60	50.00	21.40	14
20	RETIRED		41.40	55.20	3.40	29
21	STUDENT		0.00	78.60	21.40	14
22	HOME-MAKER		29.40	52.90	17.60	17
23	1 INCOME EARNER		31.90	54.90	13.20	91
24	2 INCOME EARNERS		27.80	68.10	4.20	72
25	3+ INCOME EARNERS		23.10	69.20	7.70	26
26	UNDER \$5000		28.60	71.40	0.00	7
27	\$5000-9999		18.20	54.50	27.30	11
28	\$10000-14999		8.30	79.20	12.50	24
29	\$15000-19999		37.50	54.20	8.30	24
30	\$20000-24999		23.10	69.20	7.70	26
31	\$25000-29999		23.50	70.60	5.90	17
32	\$30000-34999		50.00	42.90	7.10	14
33	\$35000-39999		44.40	55.60	0.00	9
34	\$40000-44999		35.30	64.70	0.00	17
35	\$45000+		33.30	60.00	6.70	30

CHART 7

Would you be willing to receive fewer government services to help governments reduce their deficits?

### RECEIVE FEWER GOV'T SERVICES



	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW
All Respondents	53.0%	37.0%	10.0%
Union Respondents	45.0	45.0	10.0

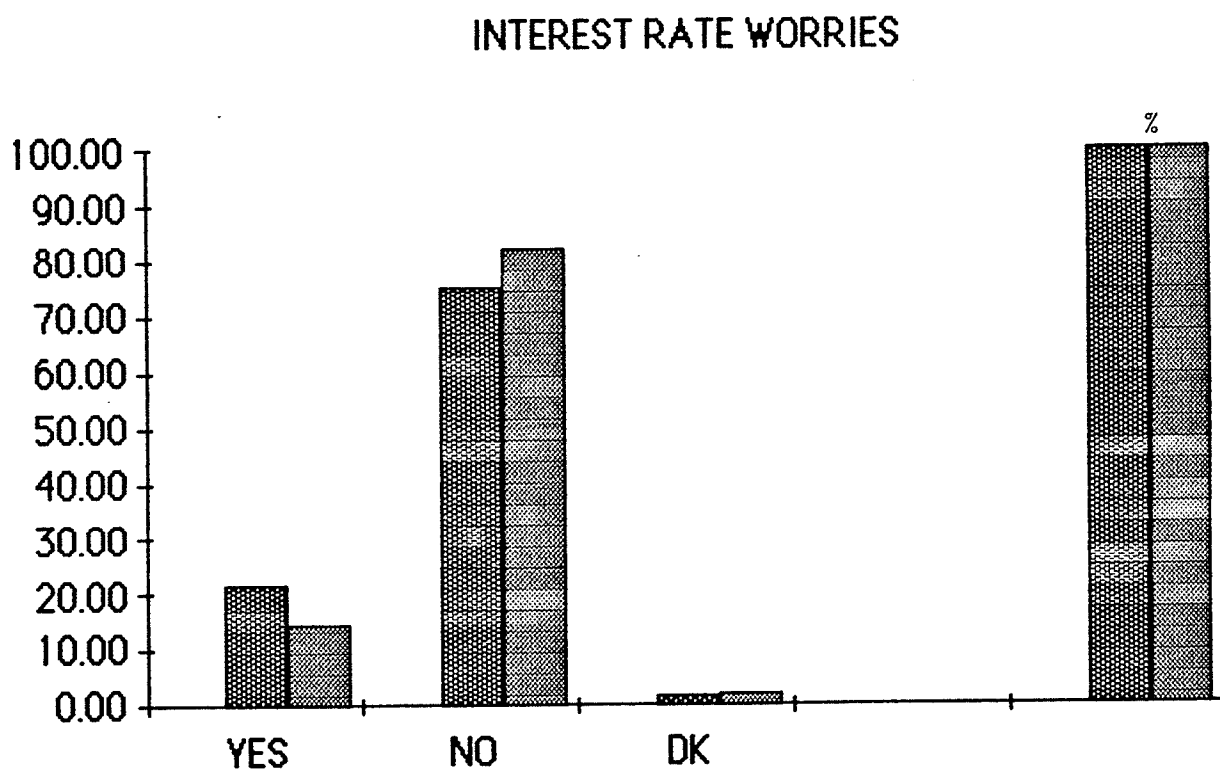
TABLE 6

Willingness to receive fewer government services by demographic data:

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	FEWER GOV'T SERVICES					
2			YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	n=
3	MALE		70.50	24.20	5.30	95
4	FEMALE		37.90	48.50	13.60	103
5	AGE 15-24		64.00	32.00	4.00	25
6	25-34		41.50	50.90	7.50	53
7	35-44		67.50	27.50	5.00	40
8	45-54		56.70	20.00	23.30	30
9	55-64		41.70	50.00	8.30	24
10	65+		47.80	39.10	13.00	23
11	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL		23.10	53.80	23.10	13
12	SOME HIGH SCHOOL		63.40	22.00	14.60	41
13	HIGH SCHOOL GRAD		59.20	34.70	6.10	49
14	COMMUNITY COLLEGE		54.20	41.70	4.20	24
15	SOME UNIVERSITY		60.00	32.00	8.00	25
16	UNIVERSITY GRAD		45.20	47.60	7.10	42
17	EMPLOYED FULL-TIME		54.90	37.30	7.80	102
18	EMPLOYED PART-TIME		58.80	35.30	5.90	17
19	UNEMPLOYED		35.70	42.90	21.40	14
20	RETIRED		58.60	31.00	10.3	29
21	STUDENT		50.00	42.90	7.10	14
22	HOME-MAKER		52.90	35.30	11.80	17
23	1 INCOME EARNER		56.00	33.00	11.00	91
24	2 INCOME EARNERS		58.30	38.90	2.80	72
25	3+ INCOME EARNERS		38.50	42.30	19.20	26
26	UNDER \$5000		57.10	28.60	14.30	7
27	\$5000-9999		54.50	45.50	0.00	11
28	\$10000-14999		45.80	50.00	4.20	24
29	\$15000-19999		45.80	45.80	8.30	24
30	\$20000-24999		57.70	30.80	11.50	26
31	\$25000-29999		47.10	41.20	11.80	17
32	\$30000-34999		57.10	28.60	14.30	14
33	\$35000-39999		100.00	0.00	0.00	9
34	\$40000-44999		52.90	35.30	11.80	17
35	\$45000+		63.30	33.30	3.30	30

CHART 8

Is the current level of interest rates causing you financial worries?



	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW
All Respondents	22.1%	75.9%	2.0%
Union Respondents	15.0	82.5	2.5

TABLE 7

Interest rate worries by demographic data:

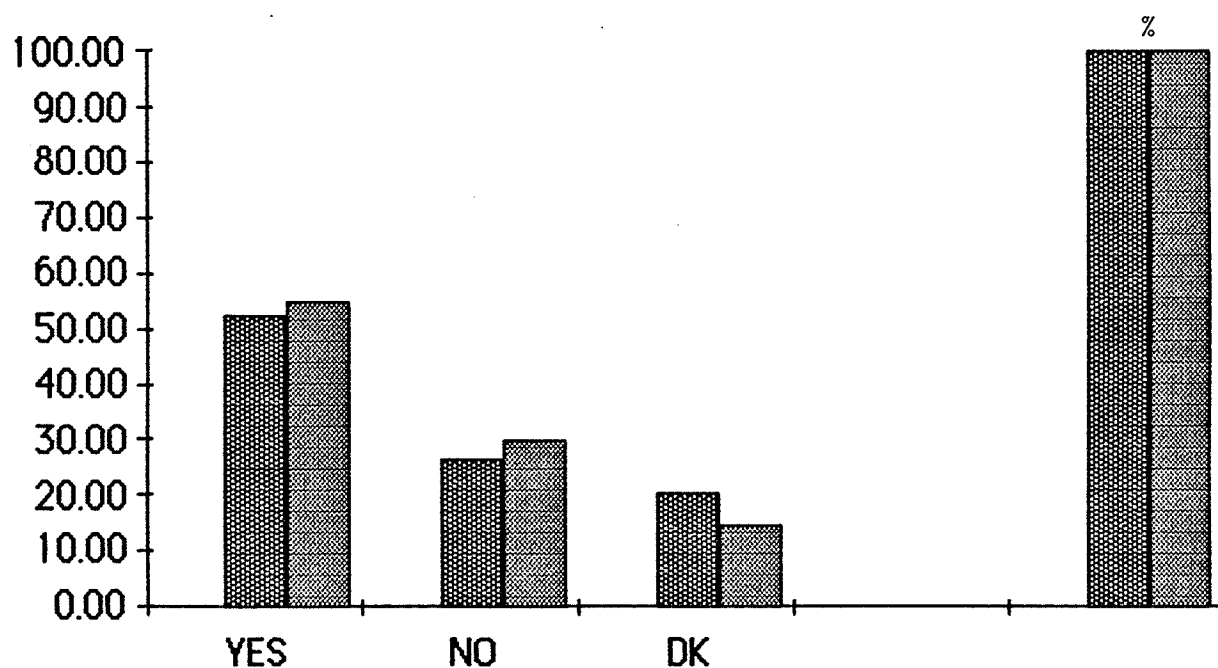
	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	INTEREST % WORRIES					
2			YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	n=
3	MALE		23.20	75.80	1.10	95
4	FEMALE		20.60	76.50	2.90	102
5	AGE 15-24		28.00	72.00	0.00	25
6	25-34		22.60	71.70	5.70	53
7	35-44		20.00	80.00	0.00	40
8	45-54		20.00	80.00	0.00	30
9	55-64		25.00	75.00	0.00	24
10	65+		18.20	77.30	4.50	22
11	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL		15.40	76.90	7.70	13
12	SOME HIGH SCHOOL		26.80	70.70	24.00	41
13	HIGH SCHOOL GRAD		22.40	75.50	2.00	49
14	COMMUNITY COLLEGE		16.70	83.30	0.00	24
15	SOME UNIVERSITY		28.00	72.00	0.00	25
16	UNIVERSITY GRAD		19.00	78.60	2.40	42
17	EMPLOYED FULL-TIME		22.50	76.50	1.00	102
18	EMPLOYED PART-TIME		5.90	94.10	0.00	17
19	UNEMPLOYED		21.40	64.30	14.30	14
20	RETIRED		17.20	79.30	3.40	29
21	STUDENT		42.90	57.10	0.00	14
22	HOME-MAKER		23.50	76.50	0.00	17
23	1 INCOME EARNER		24.20	73.60	2.20	91
24	2 INCOME EARNERS		20.80	79.20	0.00	72
25	3+ INCOME EARNERS		11.50	80.80	7.70	26
26	UNDER \$5000		57.10	28.60	14.30	7
27	\$5000-9999		9.10	90.90	0.00	11
28	\$10000-14999		41.70	58.30	0.00	24
29	\$15000-19999		29.20	62.50	8.30	24
30	\$20000-24999		11.50	88.50	0.00	26
31	\$25000-29999		35.30	64.70	0.00	17
32	\$30000-34999		7.10	92.90	0.00	14
33	\$35000-39999		11.10	88.90	0.00	9
34	\$40000-44999		29.40	70.60	0.00	17
35	\$45000+		3.30	93.30	3.30	30



CHART 9

In general, should governments sell public enterprises and crown corporations to the business sector?

### SELL PUBLIC ENTERPRISES TO PRIVATE SECTOR



	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW
All Respondents	52.8%	26.6%	20.6%
Union Respondents	55.0	30.0	15.0

TABLE 8

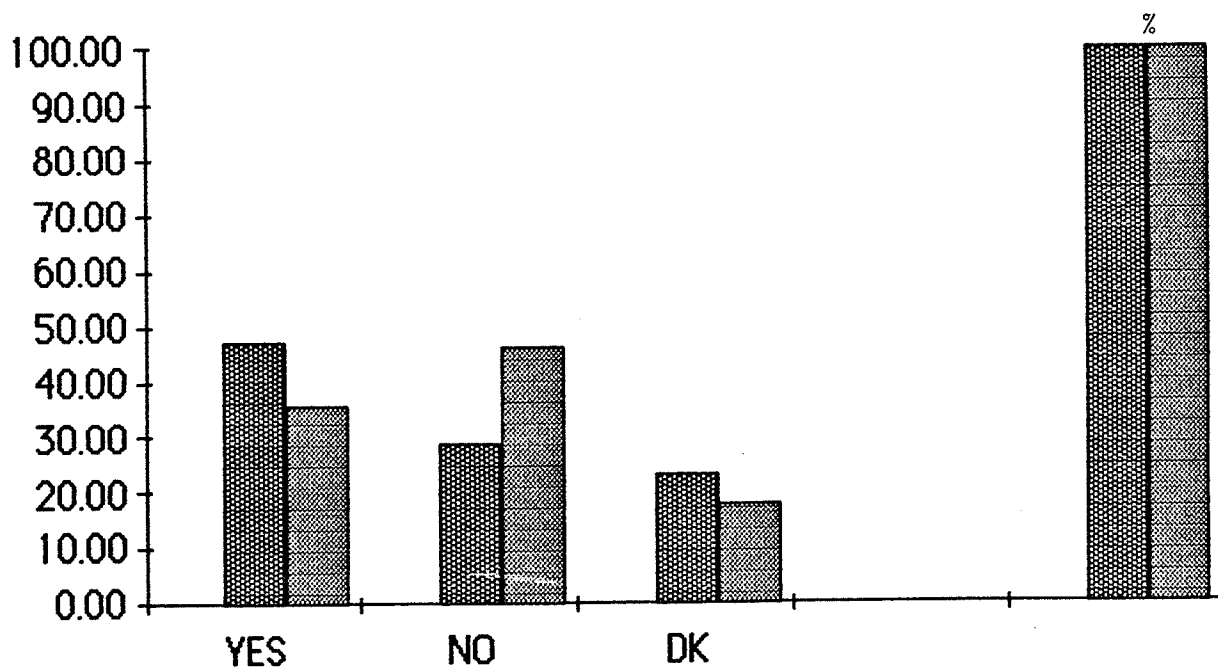
Sell public enterprises and crown corporations by demographic data:

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	SELL					
2			YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	n=
3	MALE		52.60	27.40	20.00	95
4	FEMALE		53.90	25.50	20.60	102
5	AGE 15-24		60.00	24.00	16.00	25
6	25-34		43.40	28.30	28.30	53
7	35-44		65.00	17.50	17.50	40
8	45-54		50.00	33.30	16.70	30
9	55-64		58.30	29.20	12.50	24
10	65+		50.00	27.30	22.70	22
11	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL		30.80	30.80	38.50	13
12	SOME HIGH SCHOOL		61.00	22.00	17.10	41
13	HIGH SCHOOL GRAD		63.30	20.40	16.30	49
14	COMMUNITY COLLEGE		66.70	25.00	8.30	24
15	SOME UNIVERSITY		48.00	24.00	28.00	25
16	UNIVERSITY GRAD		40.50	38.10	21.40	42
17	EMPLOYED FULL-TIME		51.00	25.50	23.50	102
18	EMPLOYED PART-TIME		76.50	17.60	5.90	17
19	UNEMPLOYED		35.70	28.60	35.70	14
20	RETIRED		58.60	24.10	17.20	29
21	STUDENT		21.40	57.10	21.40	14
22	HOME-MAKER		82.40	11.80	5.90	17
23	1 INCOME EARNER		48.40	26.40	25.30	91
24	2 INCOME EARNERS		62.50	22.20	15.30	72
25	3+ INCOME EARNERS		46.20	34.60	19.20	26
26	UNDER \$5000		42.90	28.60	28.60	7
27	\$5000-9999		45.50	36.40	18.20	11
28	\$10000-14999		54.20	20.80	25.00	24
29	\$15000-19999		33.30	33.30	33.30	24
30	\$20000-24999		53.80	26.90	19.20	26
31	\$25000-29999		64.70	29.40	5.90	17
32	\$30000-34999		50.00	21.40	28.60	14
33	\$35000-39999		55.60	33.30	11.10	9
34	\$40000-44999		58.80	29.40	11.80	17
35	\$45000+		66.70	20.00	16.70	30

CHART 10

In general, should governments reduce the number of rules and regulations on the business sector?

## DEREGULATE BUSINESS SECTOR



	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW
All Respondents	47.5%	29.3%	23.2%
Union Respondents	35.9	46.2	17.9

TABLE 9

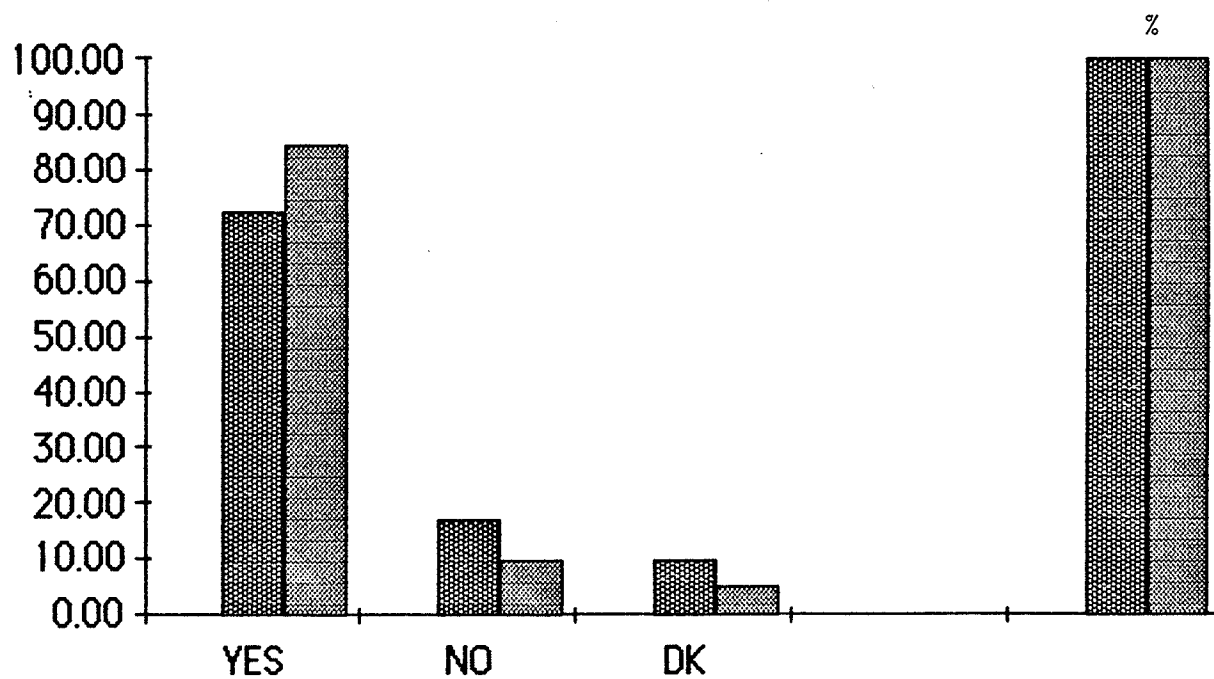
Deregulation by demographic data:

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	DEREGULATION					
2			YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	n=
3	MALE		57.90	26.30	15.80	95
4	FEMALE		38.60	31.70	29.70	101
5	AGE 15-24		44.00	36.00	20.00	25
6	25-34		47.20	34.00	18.90	53
7	35-44		57.50	20.00	22.50	40
8	45-54		46.70	23.30	30.00	30
9	55-64		54.20	29.20	16.70	24
10	65+		33.30	28.60	38.10	21
11	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL		30.80	15.40	53.80	13
12	SOME HIGH SCHOOL		42.50	37.50	20.00	40
13	HIGH SCHOOL GRAD		59.20	24.50	16.30	49
14	COMMUNITY COLLEGE		54.20	25.00	20.80	24
15	SOME UNIVERSITY		36.00	28.00	36.00	25
16	UNIVERSITY GRAD		47.60	35.70	16.70	42
17	EMPLOYED FULL-TIME		47.10	28.40	24.50	102
18	EMPLOYED PART-TIME		52.90	29.40	17.60	17
19	UNEMPLOYED		57.10	28.60	14.30	14
20	RETIRED		42.90	28.60	28.60	28
21	STUDENT		35.70	50.00	14.30	14
22	HOME-MAKER		58.80	17.60	23.50	17
23	1 INCOME EARNER		47.30	25.30	27.50	91
24	2 INCOME EARNERS		54.20	27.80	18.10	72
25	3+ INCOME EARNERS		34.60	46.20	19.20	26
26	UNDER \$5000		14.30	57.10	28.60	7
27	\$5000-9999		18.20	54.50	27.30	11
28	\$10000-14999		37.50	37.50	25.00	24
29	\$15000-19999		35.00	29.20	45.80	24
30	\$20000-24999		61.50	15.40	23.10	26
31	\$25000-29999		70.60	17.60	11.80	17
32	\$30000-34999		64.30	28.60	7.10	14
33	\$35000-39999		77.80	22.20	0.00	9
34	\$40000-44999		41.20	35.30	23.50	17
35	\$45000+		63.30	20.00	16.70	30

CHART 11

Are you satisfied with Manitoba's Autopac car insurance?

### AUTOPAC SATISFACTION



	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW
All Respondents	72.9%	17.1%	10.1%
Union Respondents	85.0	10.0	5.0

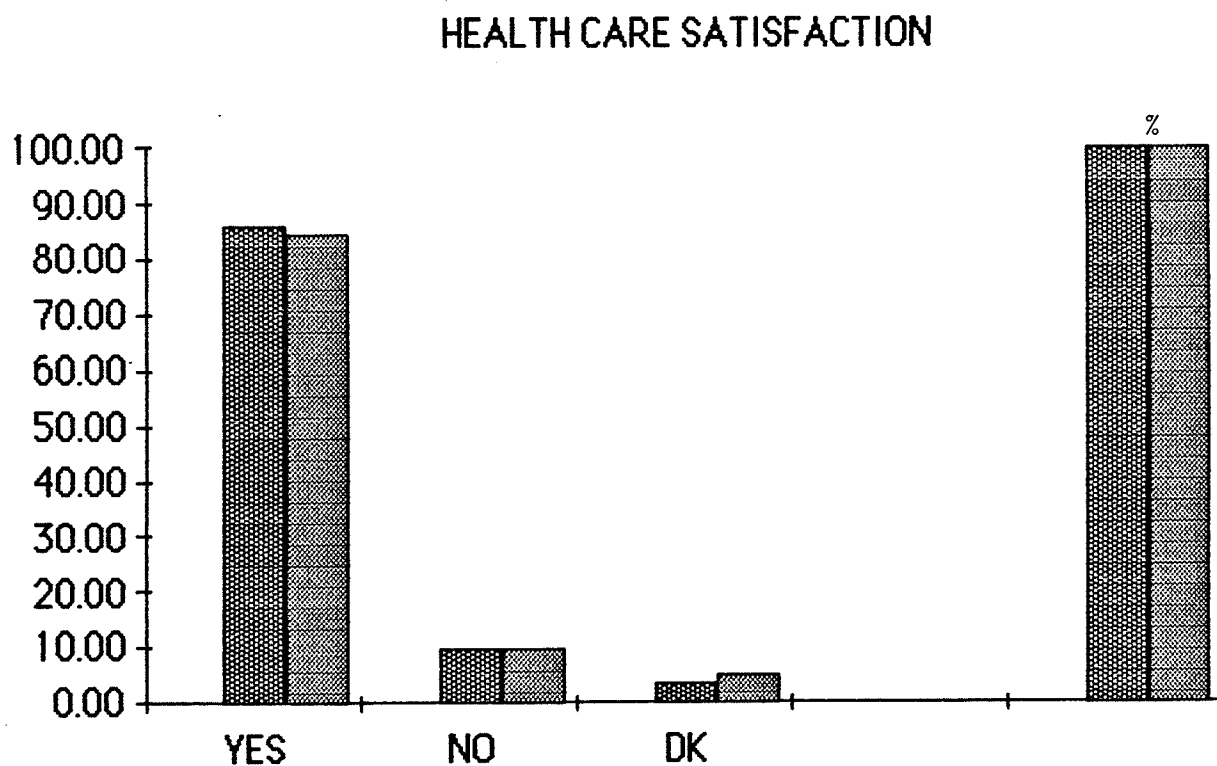
TABLE 10

Autopac satisfaction by demographic data:

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	AUTOPAC SATISFACTION					
2			YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	n=
3	MALE		76.80	17.90	5.30	95
4	FEMALE		69.60	16.70	13.70	102
5	AGE 15-24		68.00	12.00	20.00	25
6	25-34		83.00	13.20	3.80	53
7	35-44		67.50	30.00	2.50	40
8	45-54		76.70	23.30	0.00	30
9	55-64		79.20	8.30	12.50	24
10	65+		54.50	13.60	31.80	22
11	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL		61.50	7.70	30.80	13
12	SOME HIGH SCHOOL		68.30	24.40	7.30	41
13	HIGH SCHOOL GRAD		73.50	14.30	12.20	49
14	COMMUNITY COLLEGE		70.80	20.80	8.30	24
15	SOME UNIVERSITY		76.00	20.00	4.00	25
16	UNIVERSITY GRAD		81.00	14.30	4.80	42
17	EMPLOYED FULL-TIME		71.60	21.60	6.90	102
18	EMPLOYED PART-TIME		70.60	17.60	11.80	17
19	UNEMPLOYED		92.90	0.00	7.10	14
20	RETIRED		65.50	6.90	27.60	29
21	STUDENT		78.60	21.40	0.00	14
22	HOME-MAKER		76.50	23.50	0.00	17
23	1 INCOME EARNER		74.70	15.40	9.90	91
24	2 INCOME EARNERS		75.00	18.10	6.90	72
25	3+ INCOME EARNERS		57.70	26.90	15.40	26
26	UNDER \$5000		85.70	0.00	14.30	7
27	\$5000-9999		63.60	9.10	27.30	11
28	\$10000-14999		62.50	25.00	12.50	24
29	\$15000-19999		62.50	25.00	12.50	24
30	\$20000-24999		80.80	11.50	7.70	26
31	\$25000-29999		82.40	17.60	0.00	17
32	\$30000-34999		78.60	21.40	0.00	14
33	\$35000-39999		66.70	11.10	22.20	9
34	\$40000-44999		82.40	11.80	5.90	17
35	\$45000+		90.00	10.00	0.00	30

CHART 12

Are you satisfied with the current health care system in Manitoba?



	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW
All Respondents	86.4%	10.1%	3.5%
Union Respondents	85.0	10.0	5.0

TABLE 11

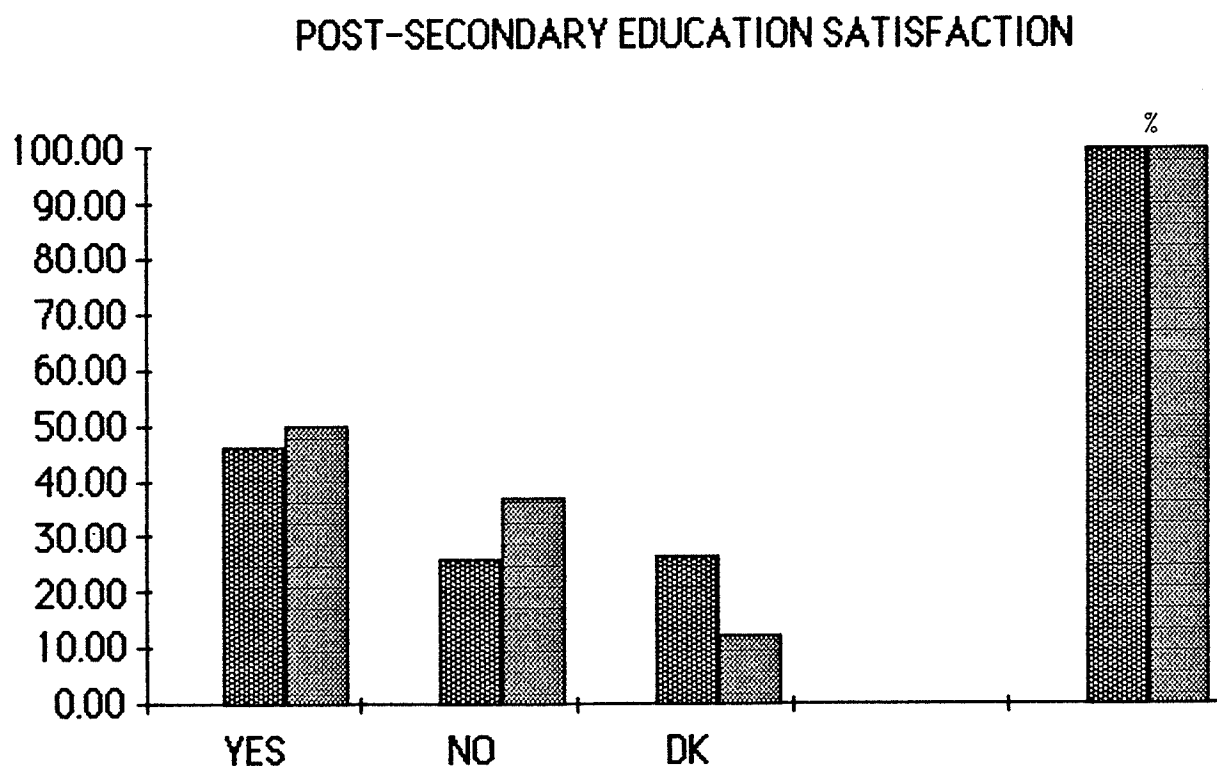
Health-care satisfaction by demographic data:

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	HEALTH SATISFACTION					
2			YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	n=
3	MALE		89.50	7.40	3.20	95
4	FEMALE		84.30	12.70	2.90	102
5	AGE 15-24		96.00	0.00	4.00	25
6	25-34		79.20	17.00	3.80	53
7	35-44		92.50	7.50	0.00	40
8	45-54		73.30	20.00	6.70	30
9	55-64		87.50	8.30	4.20	24
10	65+		100.00	0.00	0.00	22
11	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL		92.30	0.00	7.70	13
12	SOME HIGH SCHOOL		90.20	4.90	4.90	41
13	HIGH SCHOOL GRAD		85.70	12.20	2.00	49
14	COMMUNITY COLLEGE		83.30	12.50	4.20	24
15	SOME UNIVERSITY		84.00	12.00	4.00	25
16	UNIVERSITY GRAD		85.70	14.30	0.00	42
17	EMPLOYED FULL-TIME		83.30	14.70	2.00	102
18	EMPLOYED PART-TIME		82.40	11.80	5.90	17
19	UNEMPLOYED		92.90	0.00	7.10	14
20	RETIRED		100.00	0.00	0.00	29
21	STUDENT		92.90	0.00	7.10	14
22	HOME-MAKER		82.40	11.80	5.90	17
23	1 INCOME EARNER		86.80	8.80	4.40	91
24	2 INCOME EARNERS		88.90	11.10	0.00	72
25	3+ INCOME EARNERS		76.90	15.40	7.70	26
26	UNDER \$5000		100.00	0.00	0.00	7
27	\$5000-9999		90.90	9.10	0.00	11
28	\$10000-14999		91.70	4.20	4.20	24
29	\$15000-19999		83.30	4.20	12.50	24
30	\$20000-24999		88.50	11.50	0.00	26
31	\$25000-29999		76.50	23.50	0.00	17
32	\$30000-34999		92.90	0.00	7.10	14
33	\$35000-39999		88.90	11.10	0.00	9
34	\$40000-44999		82.40	11.80	5.90	17
35	\$45000+		76.70	23.30	0.00	30



CHART 13

Are you satisfied with the current post-secondary education system in Manitoba?



	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW
All Respondents	46.4%	26.5%	27.0%
Union Respondents	50.0	37.5	12.5

TABLE 12

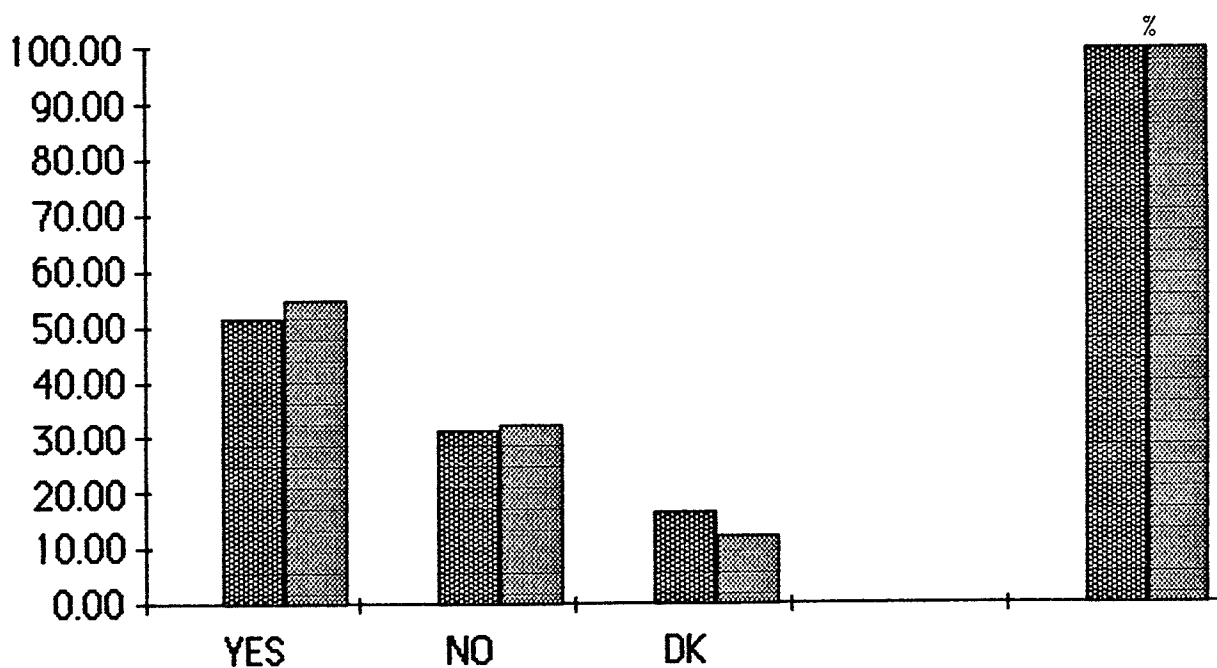
Post-secondary education satisfaction by demographic data:

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	POST-SEC SATISFACTION					
2			YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	n=
3	MALE		51.60	24.20	24.20	95
4	FEMALE		41.60	28.70	29.70	102
5	AGE 15-24		45.80	45.80	8.30	24
6	25-34		50.90	34.00	15.10	53
7	35-44		40.00	30.00	30.00	40
8	45-54		56.70	13.30	30.00	30
9	55-64		50.00	16.70	33.30	24
10	65+		31.80	13.60	54.50	22
11	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL		30.80	15.40	53.80	13
12	SOME HIGH SCHOOL		45.00	15.00	40.00	40
13	HIGH SCHOOL GRAD		46.90	22.40	30.60	49
14	COMMUNITY COLLEGE		37.50	37.50	25.00	24
15	SOME UNIVERSITY		64.00	32.00	4.00	25
16	UNIVERSITY GRAD		47.60	38.10	14.30	42
17	EMPLOYED FULL-TIME		48.00	31.40	20.60	102
18	EMPLOYED PART-TIME		52.90	29.40	17.60	17
19	UNEMPLOYED		42.90	21.40	35.70	14
20	RETIRED		41.40	10.30	48.30	29
21	STUDENT		64.30	35.70	0.00	14
22	HOME-MAKER		31.30	18.80	50.00	16
23	1 INCOME EARNER		45.10	22.00	33.00	91
24	2 INCOME EARNERS		47.20	30.60	22.20	72
25	3+ INCOME EARNERS		46.20	38.50	15.40	26
26	UNDER \$5000		57.10	14.30	28.60	7
27	\$5000-9999		45.50	18.20	36.40	11
28	\$10000-14999		39.10	26.10	34.80	23
29	\$15000-19999		54.20	16.70	29.20	24
30	\$20000-24999		53.80	23.10	23.10	26
31	\$25000-29999		52.90	41.20	5.90	17
32	\$30000-34999		57.10	21.40	21.40	14
33	\$35000-39999		33.30	0.00	66.70	9
34	\$40000-44999		58.80	35.30	5.90	17
35	\$45000+		46.70	43.30	10.00	30

CHART 14

Are you satisfied with the current social services system in Manitoba?

### SOCIAL SERVICES SATISFACTION



	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW
All Respondents	51.8%	31.5%	16.8%
Union Respondents	55.0	32.5	12.5

TABLE 13

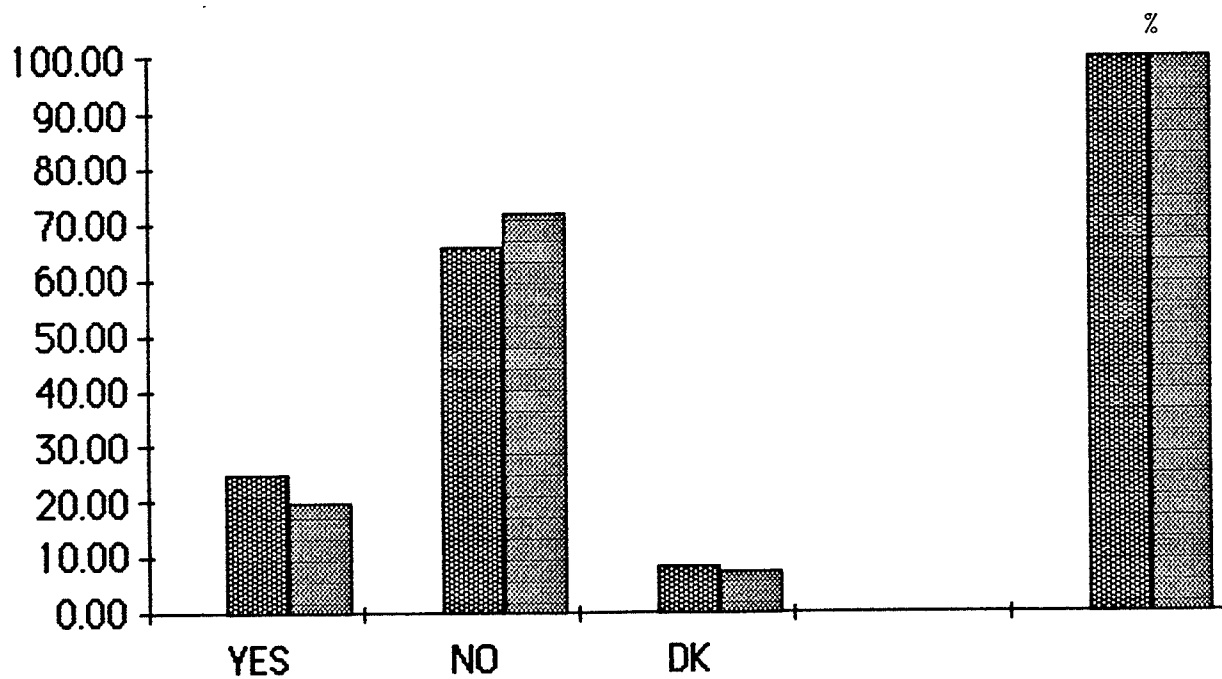
Social services satisfaction by demographic data:

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	SOC SERV SATISFACTION					
2			YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	n=
3	MALE		54.70	26.30	18.90	95
4	FEMALE		49.00	36.30	14.70	102
5	AGE 15-24		48.00	28.00	24.00	25
6	25-34		41.50	45.30	13.20	53
7	35-44		57.50	25.00	17.50	40
8	45-54		43.30	33.30	23.30	30
9	55-64		62.50	25.00	12.50	24
10	65+		68.20	22.70	9.10	22
11	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL		46.20	23.10	30.80	13
12	SOME HIGH SCHOOL		58.50	29.30	12.20	41
13	HIGH SCHOOL GRAD		63.30	20.40	16.30	49
14	COMMUNITY COLLEGE		37.50	45.80	16.70	24
15	SOME UNIVERSITY		48.00	40.00	12.00	25
16	UNIVERSITY GRAD		45.20	35.70	19.00	42
17	EMPLOYED FULL-TIME		46.10	32.40	21.60	102
18	EMPLOYED PART-TIME		64.70	23.50	23.50	17
19	UNEMPLOYED		35.70	35.70	28.60	14
20	RETIRED		69.00	24.10	6.90	29
21	STUDENT		57.10	35.70	7.10	14
22	HOME-MAKER		58.80	35.30	5.90	17
23	1 INCOME EARNER		53.80	33.00	13.20	91
24	2 INCOME EARNERS		50.00	31.90	18.10	72
25	3+ INCOME EARNERS		46.20	34.60	19.20	26
26	UNDER \$5000		71.40	28.60	0.00	7
27	\$5000-9999		63.60	27.30	9.10	11
28	\$10000-14999		41.70	37.50	20.80	24
29	\$15000-19999		41.70	29.20	29.20	24
30	\$20000-24999		53.80	34.60	11.50	26
31	\$25000-29999		52.90	41.20	5.90	17
32	\$30000-34999		50.00	28.60	21.40	14
33	\$35000-39999		55.60	22.20	22.20	9
34	\$40000-44999		76.50	23.50	0.00	17
35	\$45000+		36.70	43.30	20.00	30

CHART 15

Are you satisfied that governments are doing all they can to protect our environment?

### GOV'T ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION SATISFACTION



	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW
All Respondents	25.4%	66.0%	8.6%
Union Respondents	20.0	72.5	7.5

TABLE 14

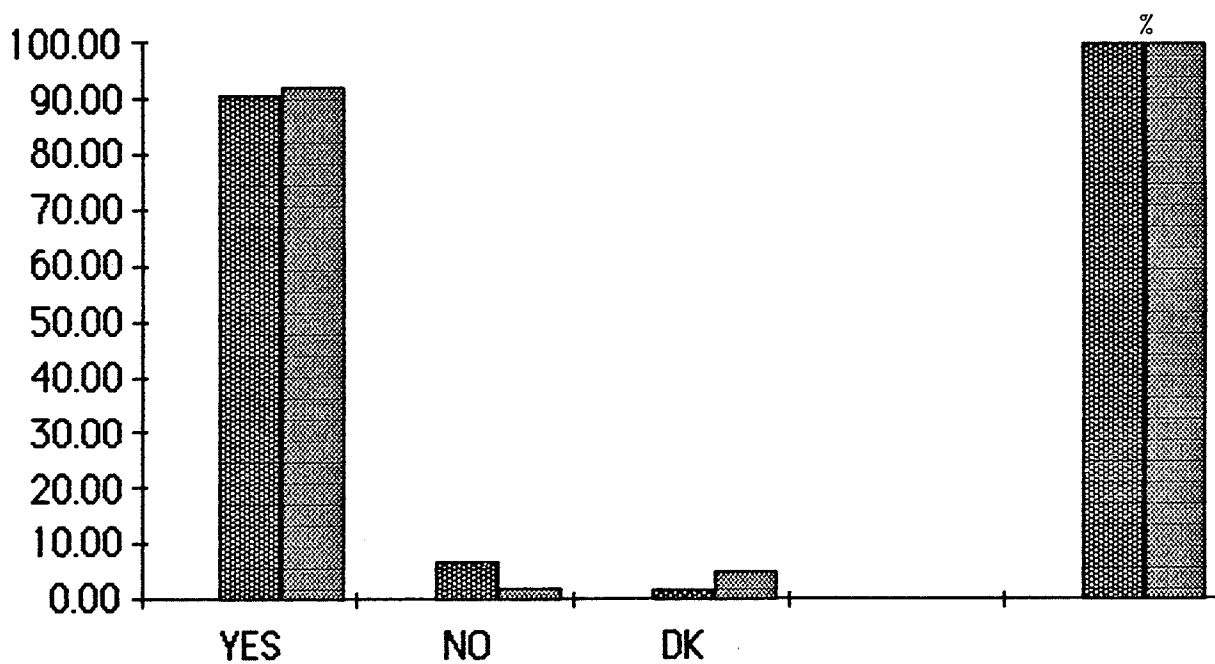
Government environmental protection record by demographic data:

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	GOV'T ENVIR PROTECT					
2			YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	n=
3	MALE		23.20	70.50	6.30	95
4	FEMALE		27.50	61.80	10.80	102
5	AGE 15-24		32.00	64.00	4.00	25
6	25-34		26.40	67.90	5.70	53
7	35-44		15.00	77.50	7.50	40
8	45-54		13.30	66.70	20.00	30
9	55-64		20.80	75.00	4.20	24
10	65+		54.50	31.80	13.60	22
11	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL		15.40	46.20	38.50	13
12	SOME HIGH SCHOOL		43.90	48.80	7.30	41
13	HIGH SCHOOL GRAD		24.50	71.40	4.10	49
14	COMMUNITY COLLEGE		20.80	75.00	4.20	24
15	SOME UNIVERSITY		20.00	64.00	16.00	25
16	UNIVERSITY GRAD		14.30	81.00	4.80	42
17	EMPLOYED FULL-TIME		18.60	74.50	6.90	102
18	EMPLOYED PART-TIME		29.40	58.80	11.80	17
19	UNEMPLOYED		28.60	57.10	14.30	14
20	RETIRED		44.80	44.80	10.30	29
21	STUDENT		21.40	64.30	14.30	14
22	HOME-MAKER		29.40	64.70	5.90	17
23	1 INCOME EARNER		25.30	63.70	11.00	91
24	2 INCOME EARNERS		23.60	69.40	6.90	72
25	3+ INCOME EARNERS		23.10	73.10	3.80	26
26	UNDER \$5000		42.90	42.90	14.30	7
27	\$5000-9999		27.30	45.50	27.30	11
28	\$10000-14999		41.70	54.20	4.20	24
29	\$15000-19999		20.80	62.50	16.70	24
30	\$20000-24999		23.10	61.50	15.40	26
31	\$25000-29999		23.50	76.50	0.00	17
32	\$30000-34999		21.40	71.40	7.10	14
33	\$35000-39999		11.10	88.90	0.00	9
34	\$40000-44999		17.60	82.40	0.00	17
35	\$45000+		16.70	76.70	6.70	30

CHART 16

Should women working at jobs of equal value to those performed by men in the same company receive equal pay?

### SUPPORT PAY EQUITY



	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW
All Respondents	90.8%	7.1%	2.0%
Union Respondents	92.5	2.5	5.0

TABLE 15

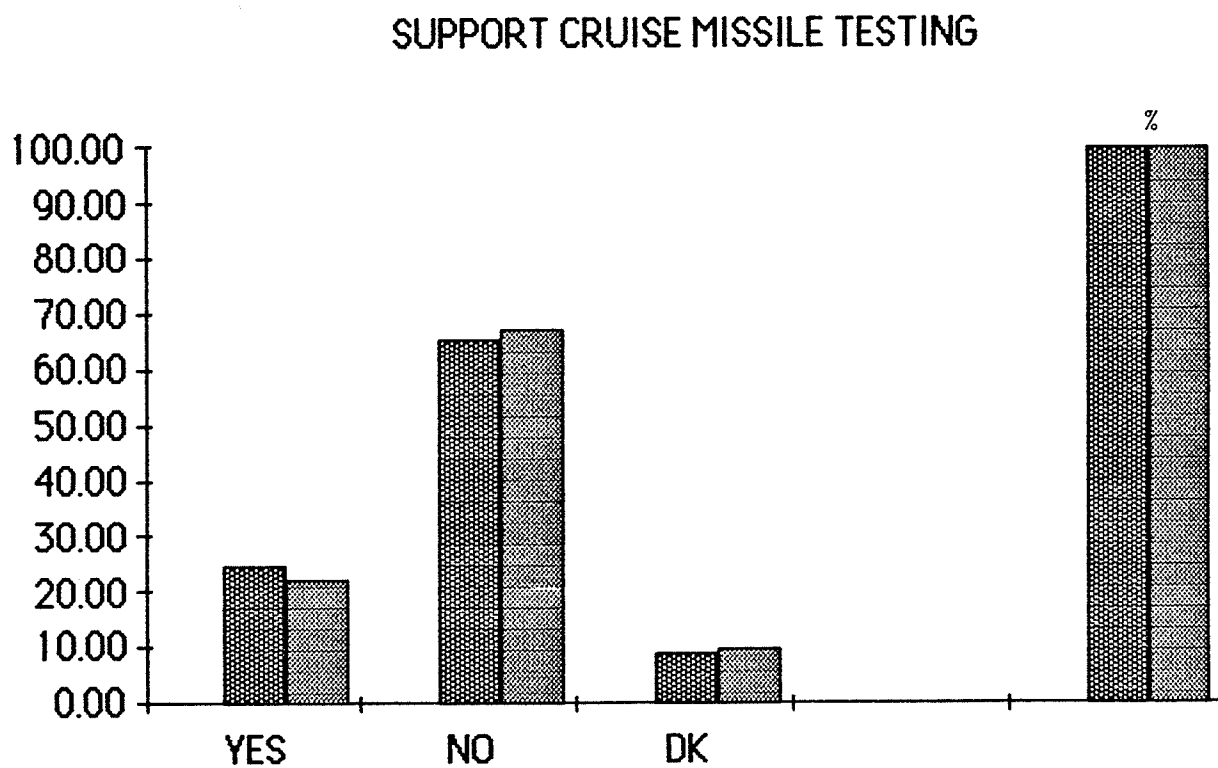
Pay equity support by demographic data:

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	PAY EQUITY SUPPORT					
2			YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	n=
3	MALE		85.10	10.60	4.30	94
4	FEMALE		96.10	3.90	0.00	102
5	AGE 15-24		100.00	0.00	0.00	25
6	25-34		96.20	3.80	0.00	53
7	35-44		87.50	5.00	7.50	40
8	45-54		86.70	13.30	0.00	30
9	55-64		91.70	4.20	4.20	24
10	65+		77.30	22.70	0.00	22
11	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL		76.90	23.10	0.00	13
12	SOME HIGH SCHOOL		85.40	12.20	2.40	41
13	HIGH SCHOOL GRAD		89.80	8.20	2.00	49
14	COMMUNITY COLLEGE		100.00	0.00	0.00	24
15	SOME UNIVERSITY		92.00	8.00	0.00	25
16	UNIVERSITY GRAD		95.20	0.00	4.80	42
17	EMPLOYED FULL-TIME		92.20	3.90	3.90	102
18	EMPLOYED PART-TIME		100.00	0.00	0.00	17
19	UNEMPLOYED		85.70	14.30	0.00	14
20	RETIRED		86.20	13.80	0.00	29
21	STUDENT		85.70	14.30	0.00	14
22	HOME-MAKER		88.20	11.80	0.00	17
23	1 INCOME EARNER		92.30	6.60	1.10	91
24	2 INCOME EARNERS		91.70	6.90	1.40	72
25	3+ INCOME EARNERS		84.60	7.70	7.70	26
26	UNDER \$5000		71.40	28.60	0.00	7
27	\$5000-9999		81.80	18.20	0.00	11
28	\$10000-14999		91.70	8.30	0.00	24
29	\$15000-19999		91.70	8.30	0.00	24
30	\$20000-24999		88.50	7.70	3.80	26
31	\$25000-29999		100.00	0.00	0.00	17
32	\$30000-34999		85.70	14.30	0.00	14
33	\$35000-39999		77.80	0.00	22.20	9
34	\$40000-44999		100.00	0.00	0.00	17
35	\$45000+		93.30	6.70	0.00	30



CHART 17

Are you in favour of American cruise missile testing in Canada?



	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW
All Respondents	25.0%	65.8%	9.2%
Union Respondents	22.5	67.5	10.0

TABLE 16

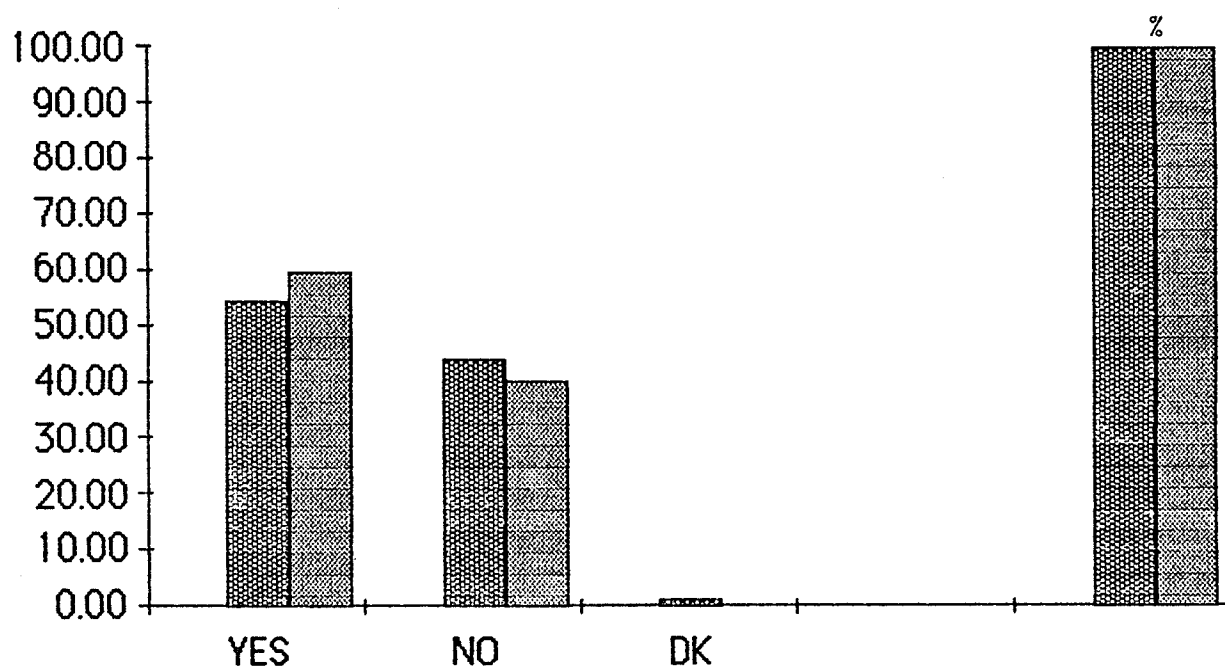
Cruise missile testing support by demographic data:

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	SUPPORT CRUISE TESTS					
2			YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	n=
3	MALE		31.90	57.40	10.60	94
4	FEMALE		18.60	73.50	7.80	102
5	AGE 15-24		12.00	76.00	12.00	25
6	25-34		24.50	69.80	5.70	53
7	35-44		35.00	60.00	5.00	40
8	45-54		20.00	63.30	16.70	30
9	55-64		25.00	66.70	8.30	24
10	65+		27.30	63.60	9.10	22
11	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL		30.80	53.80	15.40	13
12	SOME HIGH SCHOOL		24.40	63.40	12.20	41
13	HIGH SCHOOL GRAD		26.50	67.30	6.10	49
14	COMMUNITY COLLEGE		25.00	70.80	4.20	24
15	SOME UNIVERSITY		36.00	56.00	8.00	25
16	UNIVERSITY GRAD		16.70	71.40	11.90	42
17	EMPLOYED FULL-TIME		25.50	66.70	7.80	102
18	EMPLOYED PART-TIME		17.60	58.80	23.50	17
19	UNEMPLOYED		21.40	71.40	7.10	14
20	RETIRED		37.90	51.70	10.30	29
21	STUDENT		14.30	85.70	0.00	14
22	HOME-MAKER		23.50	70.60	5.90	17
23	1 INCOME EARNER		31.90	57.10	11.00	91
24	2 INCOME EARNERS		15.30	77.80	6.90	72
25	3+ INCOME EARNERS		26.90	69.20	3.80	26
26	UNDER \$5000		28.60	71.40	0.00	7
27	\$5000-9999		9.10	72.70	18.20	11
28	\$10000-14999		37.50	54.20	8.30	24
29	\$15000-19999		8.30	75.00	16.70	24
30	\$20000-24999		26.90	61.50	11.50	26
31	\$25000-29999		0.00	94.10	5.90	17
32	\$30000-34999		35.70	50.00	14.30	14
33	\$35000-39999		44.40	55.60	0.00	9
34	\$40000-44999		17.60	82.40	0.00	17
35	\$45000+		26.70	66.70	6.70	30

CHART 18

Have you ever refused to buy a product, taken part in a protest, joined an organization, written your MP/MLA, or taken some other action because you felt strongly about an issue?

## WILLINGNESS TO PROTEST



	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW
All Respondents	54.6%	43.9%	1.5%
Union Respondents	60.0	40.0	0

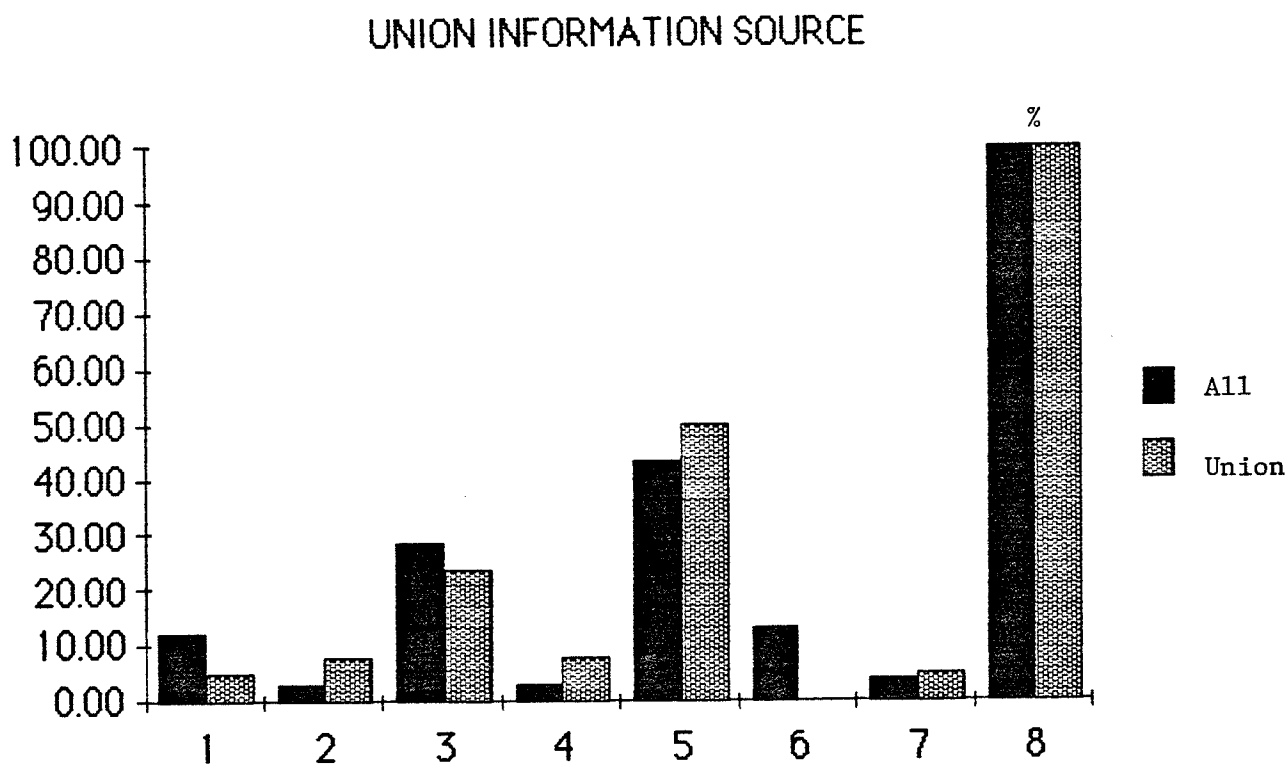
TABLE 17

Willingness to protest by demographic data:

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	WILLING TO PROTEST					
2			YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	n=
3	MALE		43.60	55.30	1.10	94
4	FEMALE		64.70	33.30	2.00	102
5	AGE 15-24		36.00	64.00	0.00	25
6	25-34		60.40	39.60	0.00	53
7	35-44		67.50	32.50	0.00	40
8	45-54		60.00	36.70	3.30	30
9	55-64		58.30	41.70	0.00	24
10	65+		27.30	63.60	9.10	22
11	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL		15.40	76.90	7.70	13
12	SOME HIGH SCHOOL		36.60	61.00	2.40	41
13	HIGH SCHOOL GRAD		63.30	34.70	2.00	49
14	COMMUNITY COLLEGE		66.70	33.30	0.00	24
15	SOME UNIVERSITY		68.00	32.00	0.00	25
16	UNIVERSITY GRAD		61.90	38.10	0.00	42
17	EMPLOYED FULL-TIME		60.80	39.20	0.00	102
18	EMPLOYED PART-TIME		58.80	41.20	0.00	17
19	UNEMPLOYED		42.90	50.00	7.10	14
20	RETIRED		41.40	51.70	6.90	29
21	STUDENT		35.70	64.30	0.00	14
22	HOME-MAKER		58.80	41.20	0.00	17
23	1 INCOME EARNER		58.20	40.70	1.10	91
24	2 INCOME EARNERS		51.40	48.60	0.00	72
25	3+ INCOME EARNERS		61.50	38.50	0.00	26
26	UNDER \$5000		42.90	57.10	0.00	7
27	\$5000-9999		45.50	45.50	9.10	11
28	\$10000-14999		45.80	54.20	0.00	24
29	\$15000-19999		41.70	58.30	0.00	24
30	\$20000-24999		50.00	46.20	3.80	26
31	\$25000-29999		70.60	29.40	0.00	17
32	\$30000-34999		71.40	28.60	0.00	14
33	\$35000-39999		77.80	22.20	0.00	9
34	\$40000-44999		52.90	47.10	0.00	17
35	\$45000+		66.70	33.30	0.00	30

CHART 19

Thinking about unions, from where do you get most of your information about unions?



	All Respondents	Union Respondents
Television (1)	12.4%	5.3%
Radio (2)	3.2	7.9
Newspapers/Magazines (3)	28.6	23.7
Books (4)	3.2	7.9
Personal Experience (5)	34.6	50.0
Family/Friends (6)	13.5	0
Other (7)	4.3	15.3

Union information source by demographic data:

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
1	UNION INFO SOURCE									
2			TV	RADIO	PAPERS	BOOKS	PER EXP	FAM/FRDS	OTHER	n=
3	MALE		9.00	2.20	31.50	4.50	41.60	7.90	3.40	89
4	FEMALE		15.60	4.20	26.00	2.10	28.10	18.80	5.20	96
5	AGE 15-24		13.00	0.00	26.10	4.00	36.00	16.00	0.00	23
6	25-34		13.70	0.00	25.50	5.90	33.30	17.60	3.90	51
7	35-44		10.80	8.10	29.70	2.70	37.80	5.40	5.40	37
8	45-54		6.90	3.40	31.00	0.00	37.90	13.80	6.90	29
9	55-64		16.70	4.20	20.80	0.00	37.50	20.80	0.00	24
10	65+		15.80	5.30	47.40	0.00	15.80	5.30	10.50	19
11	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL		8.30	16.70	16.70	0.00	33.30	25.00	0.00	12
12	SOME HIGH SCHOOL		15.80	2.60	18.40	2.60	34.20	21.10	5.30	38
13	HIGH SCHOOL GRAD		10.60	6.40	21.30	2.10	42.60	10.60	6.40	47
14	COMMUNITY COLLEGE		8.70	0.00	30.40	4.30	26.10	21.70	8.70	23
15	SOME UNIVERSITY		13.00	0.00	39.10	4.30	34.80	4.30	4.30	23
16	UNIVERSITY GRAD		14.60	0.00	43.90	4.90	31.70	4.90	0.00	41
17	EMPLOYED FULL-TIME		9.40	2.10	28.10	3.10	40.60	11.50	5.20	96
18	EMPLOYED PART-TIME		11.80	5.90	29.40	0.00	23.50	23.50	5.90	17
19	UNEMPLOYED		14.30	0.00	28.60	0.00	50.00	7.10	0.00	14
20	RETIRED		11.10	7.40	37.00	3.70	29.60	3.70	7.40	27
21	STUDENT		28.60	0.00	21.40	14.30	21.40	14.30	0.00	14
22	HOME-MAKER		20.00	6.70	20.00	0.00	13.30	40.00	0.00	15
23	1 INCOME EARNER		14.90	3.40	23.00	3.40	29.90	19.50	5.70	87
24	2 INCOME EARNERS		8.80	1.50	41.20	2.90	35.30	7.40	2.90	68
25	3+ INCOME EARNERS		12.00	4.00	20.00	4.00	44.00	12.00	4.00	25
26	UNDER \$5000		14.30	0.00	14.30	14.30	42.90	14.30	0.00	7
27	\$5000-9999		27.30	9.10	9.10	18.20	18.20	18.20	0.00	11
28	\$10000-14999		14.30	0.00	28.60	0.00	33.30	19.00	4.80	21
29	\$15000-19999		4.30	4.30	21.70	4.30	47.80	13.00	4.30	23
30	\$20000-24999		12.50	8.30	33.30	0.00	33.30	8.30	4.20	24
31	\$25000-29999		17.60	0.00	29.40	0.00	41.20	5.90	5.90	17
32	\$30000-34999		7.70	0.00	38.50	0.00	30.80	23.10	0.00	13
33	\$35000-39999		22.20	11.10	22.20	0.00	33.30	11.10	0.00	9
34	\$40000-44999		18.80	0.00	37.50	6.30	18.80	12.50	6.30	16
35	\$45000+		6.70	0.00	33.30	3.30	40.00	13.30	3.30	30

TABLE 18

TABLE 19

Business, governments, and unions compared by caring about the average citizen:

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	BUSINESS CARES					
2			YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	n=
3	ALL SUBJECTS		36.20	48.00	15.80	196
4	UNION SUBJECTS		37.50	55.00	7.50	40
5	UNION HOUSEHOLD*		37.30	52.00	10.70	75
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						
11	GOV'TS CARE					
12						
13	ALL SUBJECTS		43.20	42.20	14.60	199
14	UNION SUBJECTS		57.50	37.50	5.00	40
15	UNION HOUSEHOLD*		41.30	45.30	13.30	75
16						
17						
18						
19						
20						
21	UNIONS CARE					
22						
23	ALL SUBJECTS		36.20	47.70	16.10	199
24	UNION SUBJECTS		52.50	32.50	15.00	40
25	UNION HOUSEHOLD*		49.30	38.70	12.00	75

\*Union household=respondents identifying as union members or indicating that other members of their household belong to a union.

CHART 20

In general, does business care about the well-being of the average citizen?

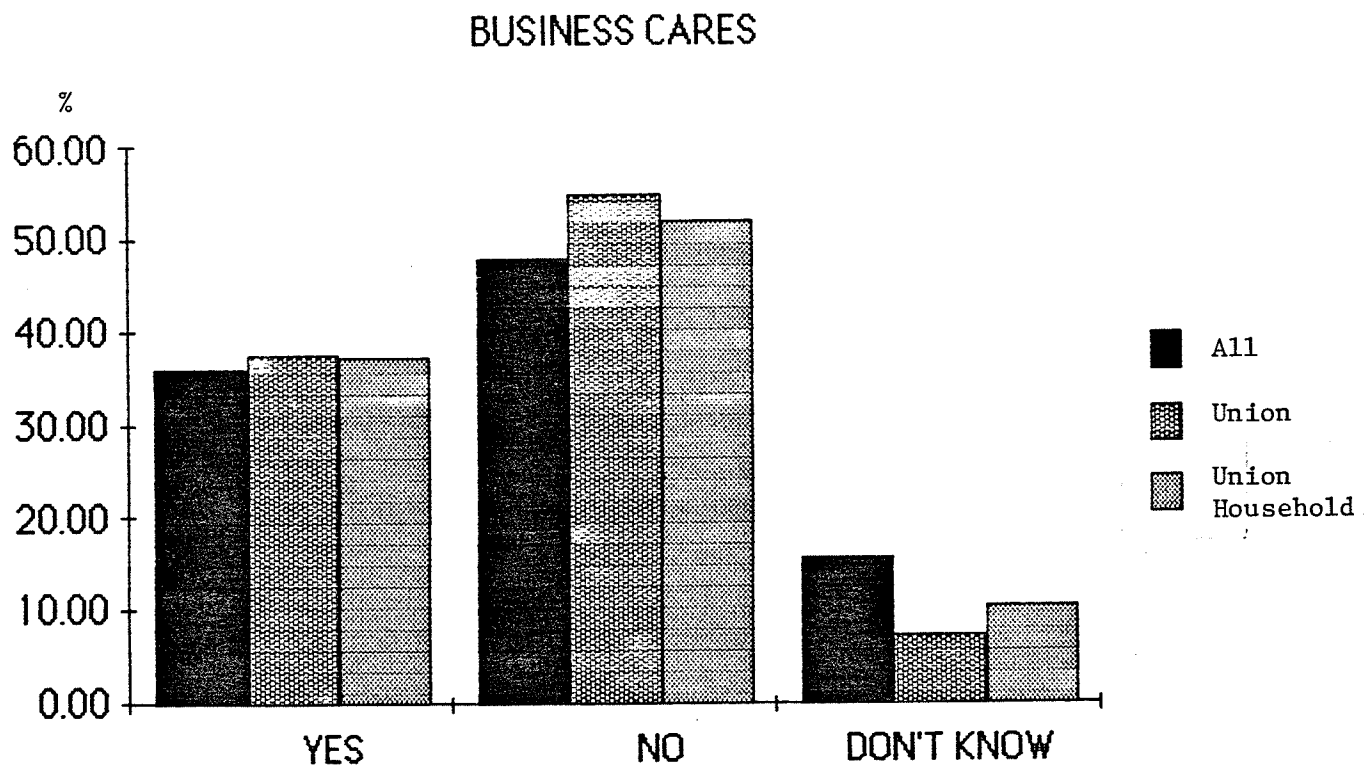




CHART 21

In general, do governments care about the well-being of the average citizen?

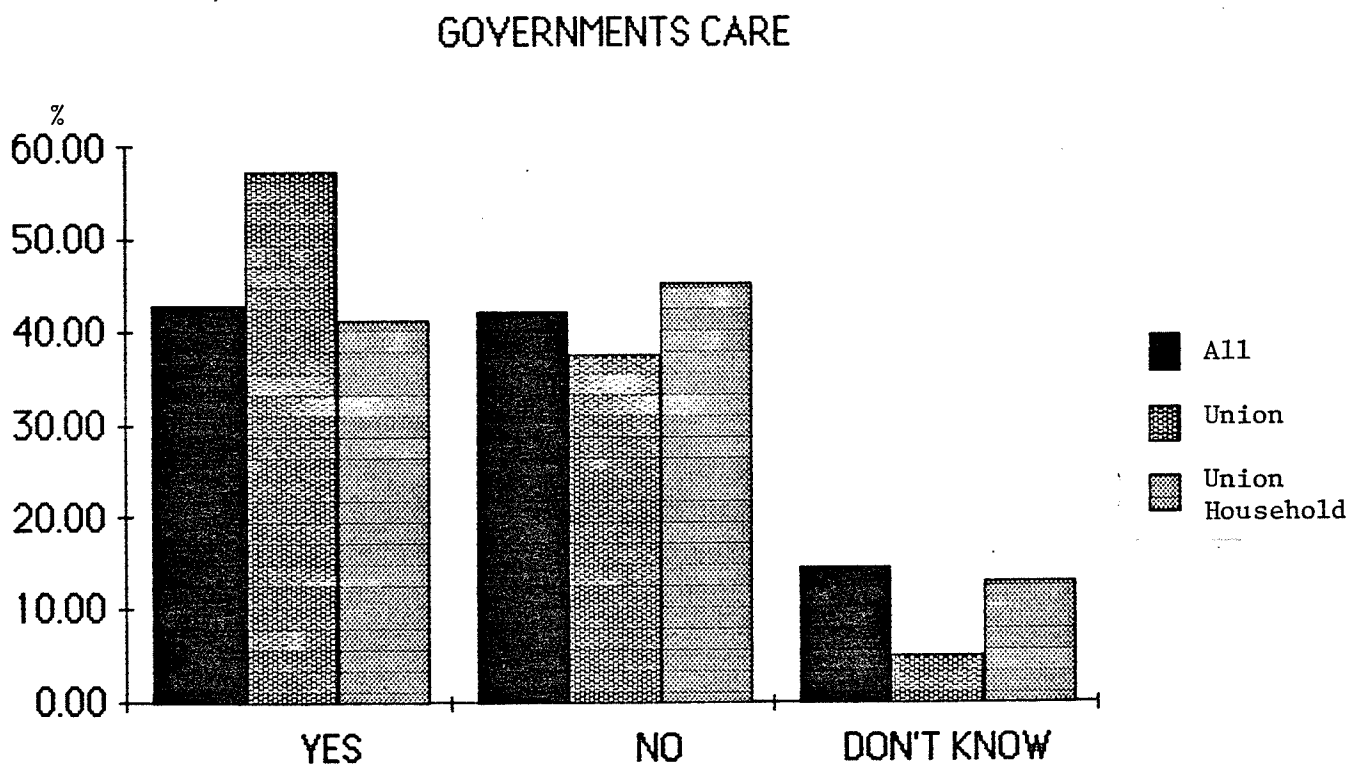


CHART 22

In general, do unions care about the well-being of the average citizen?

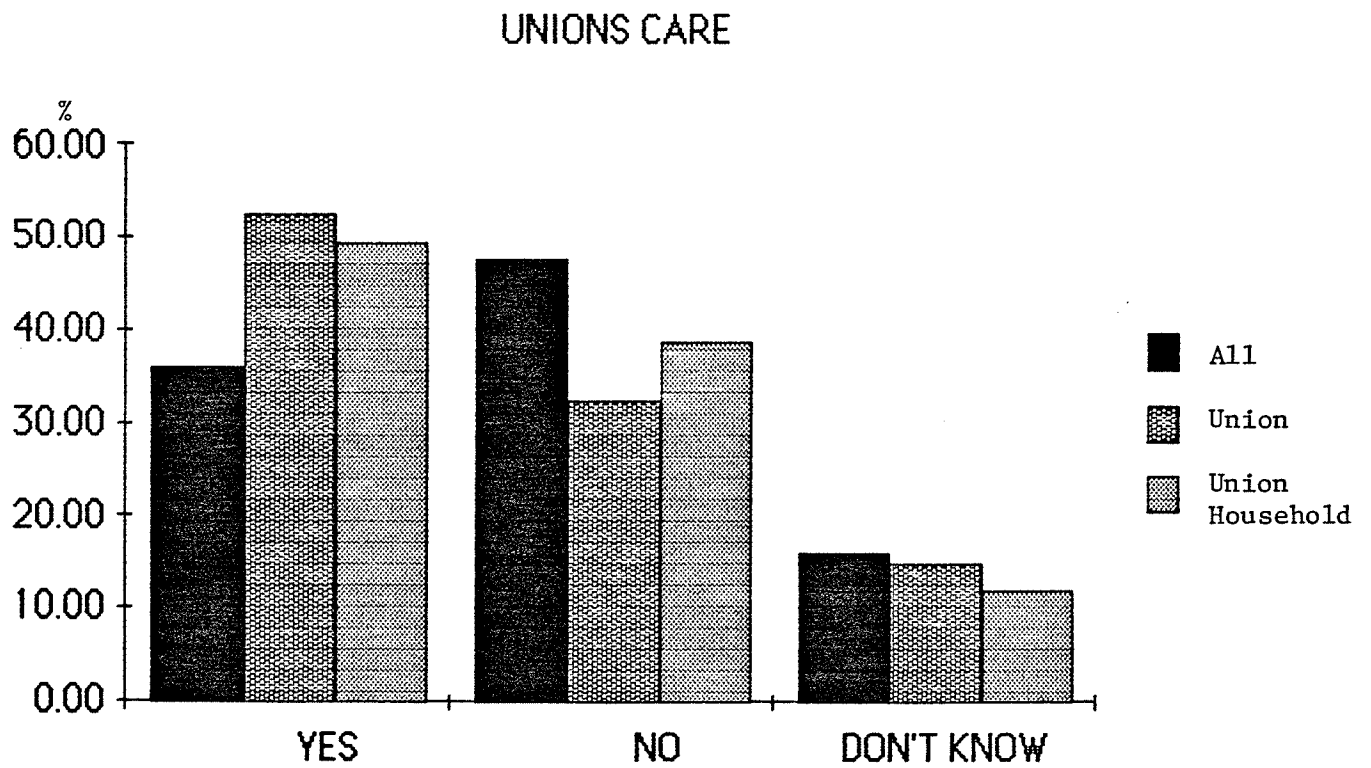


TABLE 20

Business, governments, and unions compared by whether they have enough power:

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	BUSINESS POWERFUL					
2			YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	n=
3	ALL SUBJECTS		55.10	27.80	17.20	198
4	UNION SUBJECTS		60.00	27.50	12.50	40
5	UNION HOUSEHOLD*		60.00	25.30	14.70	75
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						
11	GOV'TS POWERFUL					
12						
13	ALL SUBJECTS		82.10	11.20	6.60	196
14	UNION SUBJECTS		77.50	12.50	10.00	40
15	UNION HOUSEHOLD*		80.00	9.30	10.70	75
16						
17						
18						
19						
20						
21	UNIONS POWERFUL					
22						
23	ALL SUBJECTS		79.20	12.70	8.10	197
24	UNION SUBJECTS		75.00	20.00	5.00	40
25	UNION HOUSEHOLD*		78.70	14.70	6.70	75

\*Union household=respondents identifying as union members or indicating that other members of their household belong to a union.

CHART 23

Do you believe business has enough power?

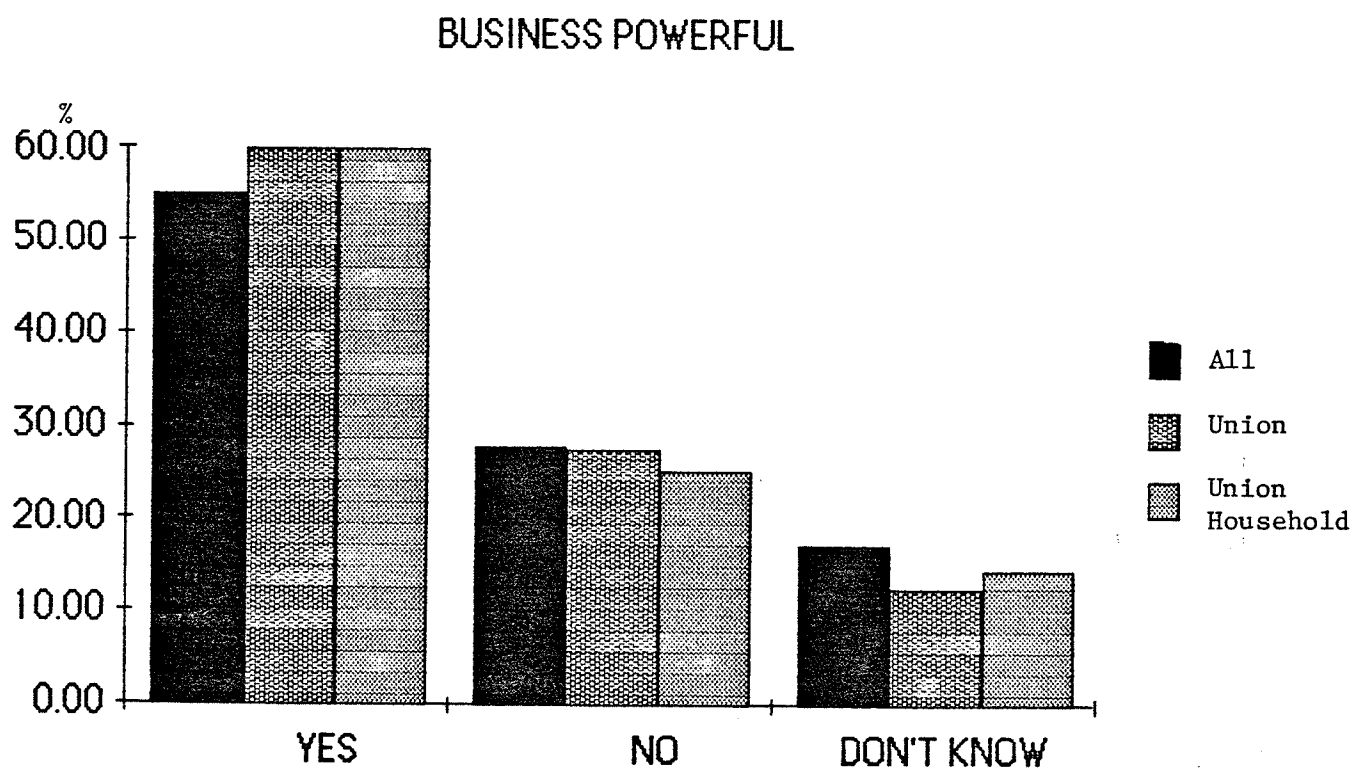


CHART 24

Do you believe governments have enough power?

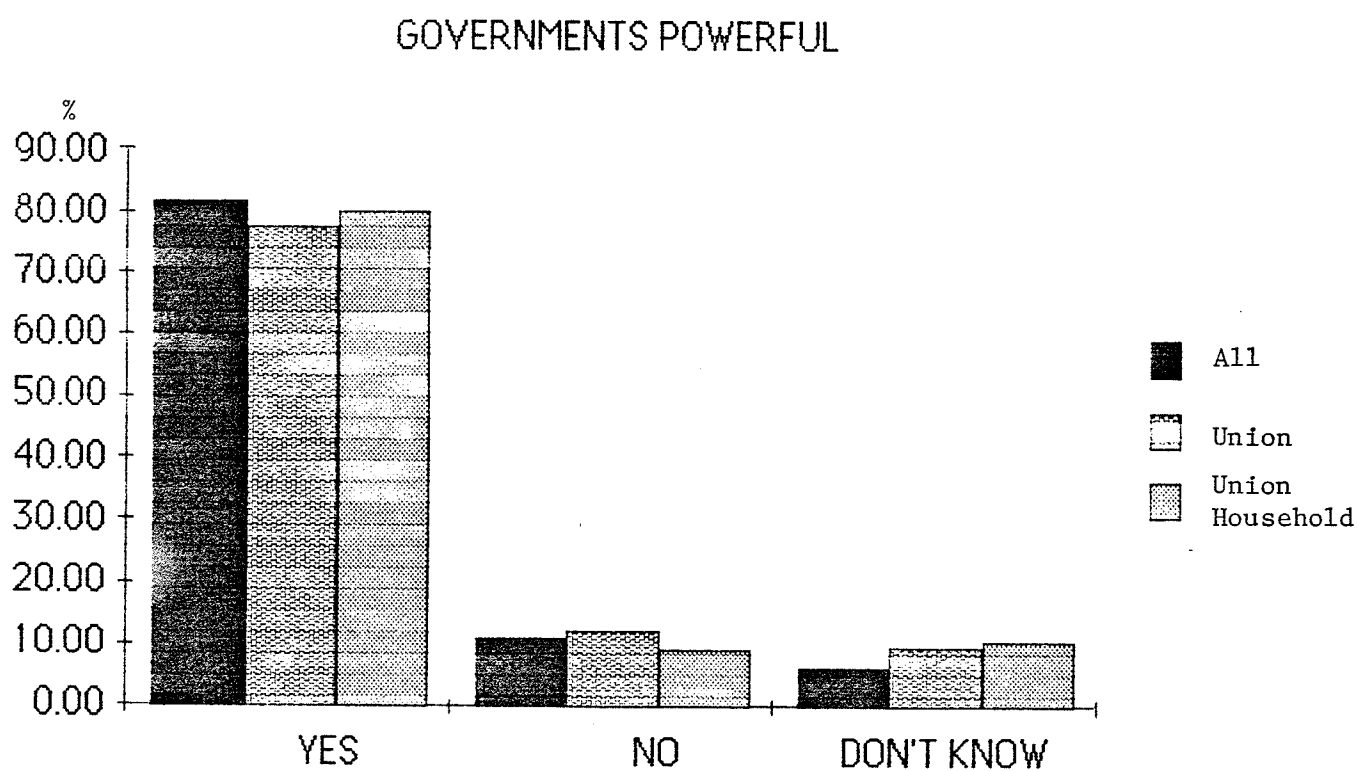


CHART 25

Do you believe unions have enough power?

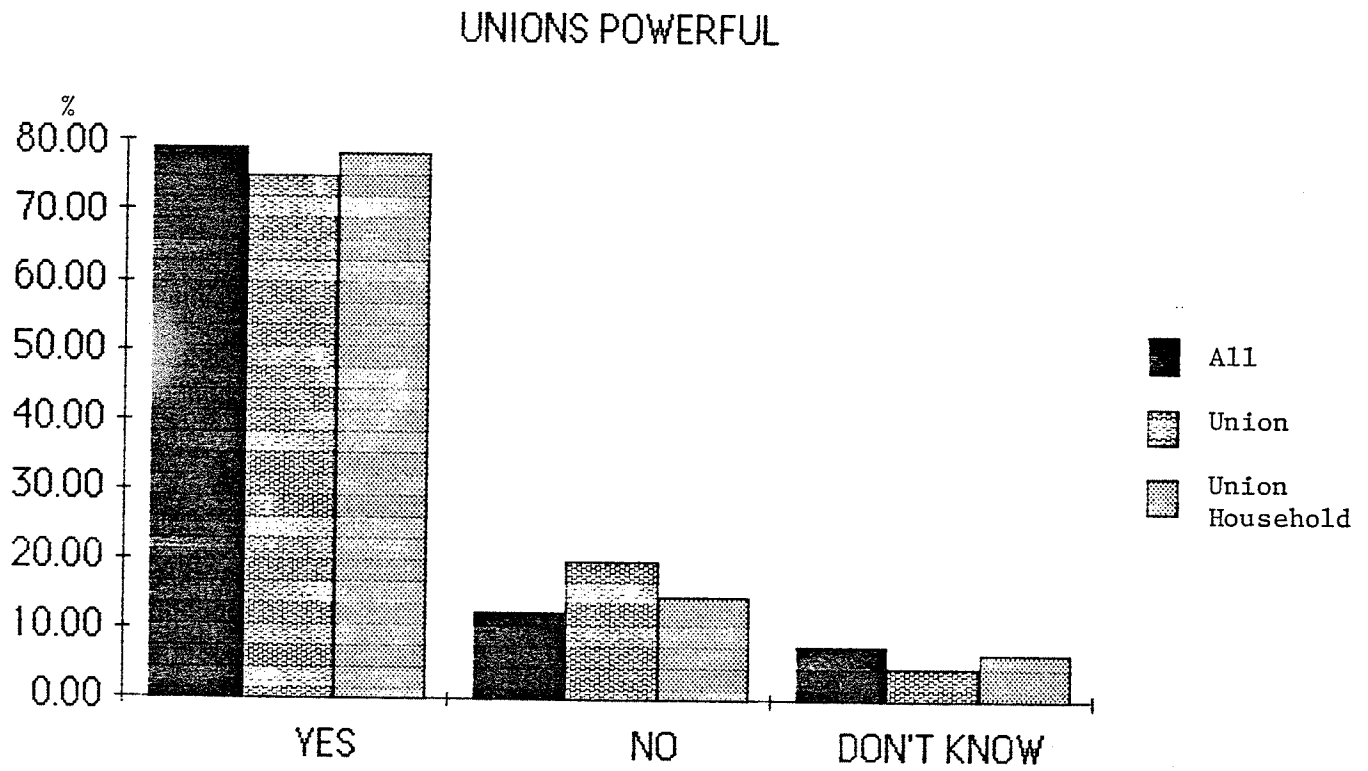


TABLE 21

Business, governments, and unions compared by leadership trust:

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	TRUST BUSINESS LEADERS					
2			YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	n=
3	ALL SUBJECTS		34.90	43.60	21.50	195
4	UNION SUBJECTS		37.50	50.00	12.50	40
5	UNION HOUSEHOLD*		40.00	42.70	17.30	75
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						
11	TRUST GOV'T LEADERS					
12						
13	ALL SUBJECTS		28.10	59.80	12.10	199
14	UNION SUBJECTS		32.50	55.00	12.50	40
15	UNION HOUSEHOLD*		25.70	62.20	12.20	74
16						
17						
18						
19						
20						
21	TRUST UNION LEADERS					
22						
23	ALL SUBJECTS		21.90	57.10	20.90	196
24	UNION SUBJECTS		40.00	42.50	17.50	40
25	UNION HOUSEHOLD*		30.70	52.00	17.30	75

\*Union household=respondents identifying as union members or indicating that other members of their household belong to a union.

CHART 26

Do you trust business leaders?

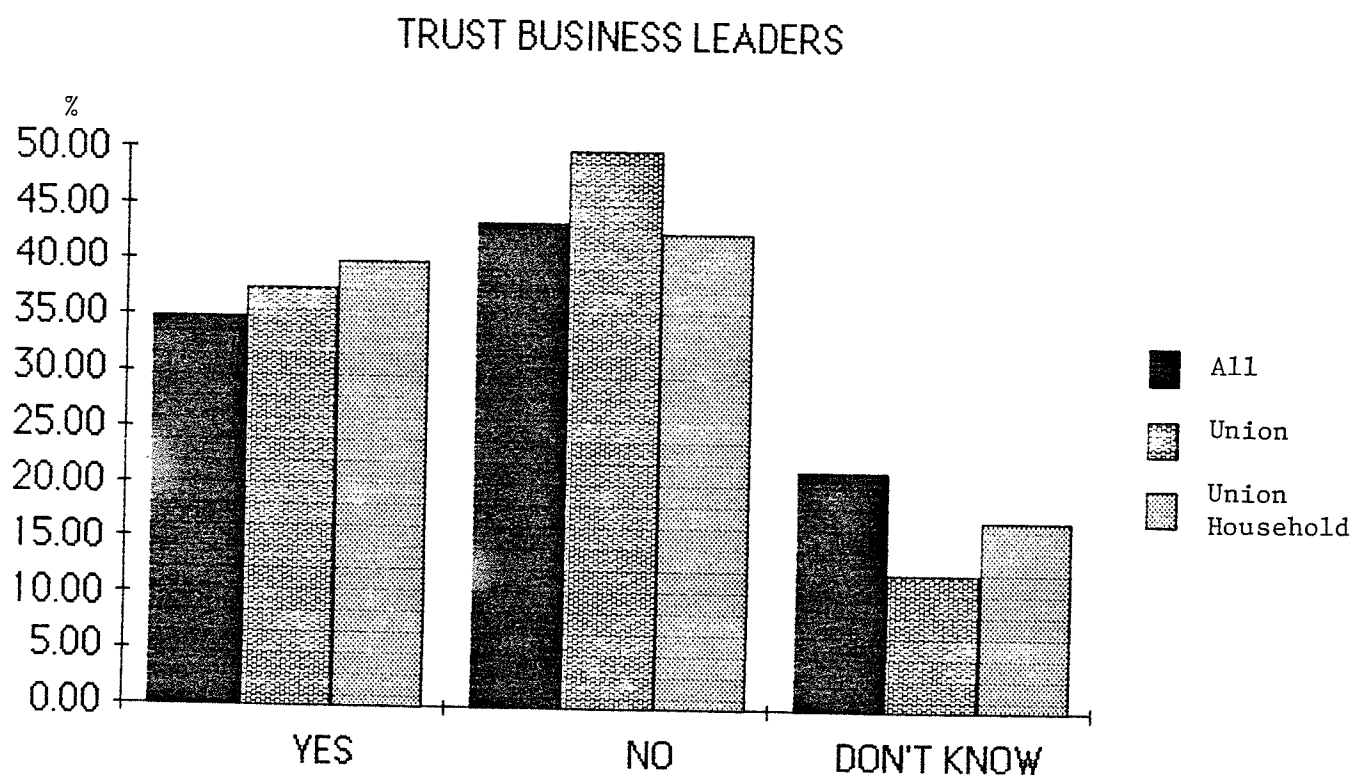




CHART 27

Do you trust government leaders?

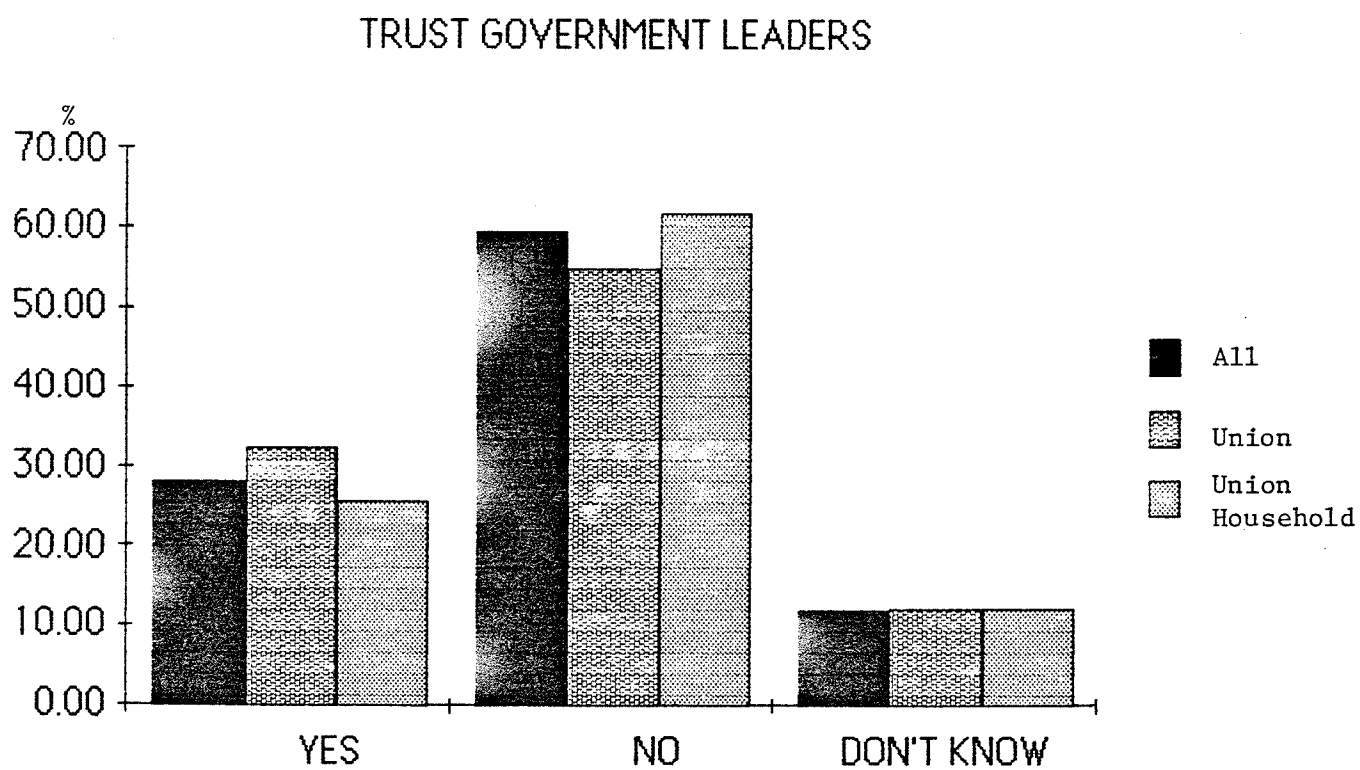


CHART 28

Do you trust union leaders?

