

U.S.

POLITICS OF THE AMERICAN WORKER

(Unpublished) Outline and Tables, 1954?)

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* ~~These tables were~~ The author wishes to Thank Mr. Thomas Stevenson for his assistance in the preparation of these tables. The Survey Research Center of The University of Michigan kindly provided the basic data upon which the tables are based.

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HOW THE BASIC GROUPS OF THE TABLES ARE DEFINED

The tables to follow present a number of traits, attitudes, and behaviors of nine different classes of American workers. These classes are the following:

1. Union-Members: Consists of those of the national sample who belong to a labor union. This category includes women as well as men, as do all subsequent categories.
2. Non-Union Wage-Earners: Consists of persons who are skilled or unskilled wage-earners who are not members of unions.
3. Non-Union White-Collar Workers whose family income is over \$5000 in 1952 (N.U.-W.C.\$5000+): Contains the stated persons, excluding protective service workers.
4. Non-Union White-Collar Workers whose family income was less than \$5000 in 1952 (N.U.-W.C. under \$5000): As stated, but also excludes protective service workers
5. Farmers: Includes farm owners and managers but not farm laborers.
6. Wives of Union-Members: Consists of housewife respondents who said their husbands belonged to unions.
7. Wives of Non-Union Wage-Earners: Consists of housewives whose husbands were non-union wage-earners.
8. Wives of Non-union White-Collar Workers \$5000 +: As explained above.
9. Wives of Non-Union White-Collar Workers under \$5000: As Explained above.
10. Wives of Farmers: As explained above.
11. Non-union wives (or women) who are heads of households: All women who gave housewife as their occupation and were heads of their households. This would include widows, divorced persons, etc.

THE TOTALS OF THE CATEGORIES

	<u>No.</u>	<u>Per Cent of Listed Work Force*</u>	<u>Per Cent of Adult Population</u>
1. Union-Members	321	31	20
2. Non-Union Wage-Earners	256	25	16
3. Non-Union White-Collar \$5000 +	168	16	10
4. Non-Union White-Collar under \$5000	191	18	12
5. Farmers	106	10	7
<u>Sub-Total:</u>	11042	100%	
6. Wives of 1	168		10
7. Wives of 2	96		6
8. Wives of 3	73		5
9. Wives of 4	66		4
10. Wives of 5 who are Heads of Households	170		4
11. Houswives who are Heads of Households	<u>101</u>		<u>6</u>
<u>Total:</u>	1616		100%

* Does not include a number of respondents from minor and miscellaneous categories of the sample, such as people of unascertained occupation, students, and police and firemen.

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TABLE XVIII

DISTRIBUTION OF DIFFERENT WORK GROUPINGS
AMONG THE FOUR REGIONS OF THE COUNTRY

	<u>North-east</u>	<u>Mid-west</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>Far west</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>N=</u>
Union members	29	36	16	19	100%	321
N.U.wage-earners	25	22	45	8	100%	256
N.U.-W.C. \$5000 +	27	38	35	10	100%	168
N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	27	30	28	15	100%	191
Farmers	8	42	42	8	100%	106
Wives of U. members	30	36	20	14	100%	168
Wives of N. U.wage-earners	21	36	36	7	100%	96
Wives of N.U.- W.C. \$5000 +	25	42	26	7	100%	73
Wives of N.U.- W.C.under \$5000	32	30	27	11	100%	66
Wives of farmers	10	44	36	10	100%	70
N.U.wives who are heads of households	30	33	29	8	100%	101

TABLE ~~XIX~~ ^{II}

ESTIMATED FAMILY INCOME IN 1952 OF
DIFFERENT GROUPINGS OF AMERICAN WORKERS

	<u>Under \$1000</u>	<u>\$1000- 1999</u>	<u>\$2000- 2999</u>	<u>\$3000- 3999</u>	<u>\$4000- 4999</u>	<u>\$5000- 7499</u>	<u>\$7500- 9999</u>	<u>\$10,000 & over</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>N=</u>
Union members	1	4	12	30	25	23	3	2	100%	318
N.U. wage-earners	12	21	26	20	12	7	2	0	100%	244
N.U.-W.C. \$5000 +	0	0	0	0	0	55	26	19	100%	168
N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	4	8	22	36	309	26	0	0	100%	191
Farmers	9	19	23	19	10	11	2	7	100%	102
Wives of Union Members	1	5	10	35	21	24	3	1	100%	165
Wives of N.U. wage-earners	5	9	29	28	15	11	3	0	100%	94
Wives of N.U.-W.C. \$5000 +	0	0	0	0	0	62	23	15	100%	73
N.U.-W.C. \$5000 under	4	4	14	55	23	0	0	0	100%	66
Wives of farmers	9	27	26	27	7	9	3	2	100%	69
heads of N.U. wives who who are heads of household	32	27	20	8	7	3	1	2	100%	90

TABLE IIICHURCH PREFERENCE OF AMERICAN WORK GROUPINGS

	<u>Protestant</u>	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>None & Other</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>N=</u>
Union Members	61	33	3	3	100%	317
N.U.wage-earners	76	18	1	5	100%	255
N.U.-W.C.\$5000+	68	21	7	4	100%	166
N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	70	20	5	5	100%	190
Farmers	90	7	0	3	100%	106
Wives of Union Members	64%	32	3	1	100%	168
Wives of N.U. wage-earners	74	24	0	2	100%	96
Wives of N.U.- W.C. \$5000 +	68	18	14	0	100%	73
Wives of N.U.- W.C. under \$5000	67	21	4	8	100%	66
Wives of farmers	84%	10	0	6	100%	70
N.U. wives who are heads of households	79	12	7	2	100%	99

TABLE IV

REPLIES OF AMERICAN WORK GROUPINGS TO QUESTION:

"WERE YOU BROUGHT UP MOSTLY ON A FARM, IN A SMALL TOWN, OR IN A LARGE CITY?"

	<u>Farm</u>	<u>Small Town</u>	<u>Large City</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>N=</u>
Union members	28	24	38	100%	314
N.U.wage-earners	51	30	19	100%	246
N.U.-W.C.\$5000+	20	42	38	100%	164
N.U.-W.C.under \$5000	29	36	35	100%	190
Farmers	89	10	1	100%	104
Wives of U.M.	24	38	38	100%	161
Wives of N.U. wage-earners	42	33	25	100%	93
Wives of N.U.- W.C. \$5000 +	18	36	46	100%	72
Wives of N.U.- W.C. under \$5000	26	37	37	100%	65
Wives of farmers	78	19	3	100%	69
N.U. wives who are heads of households	50	29	21	100%	101

T A B L E V

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF AMERICAN WORK GROUPINGS

	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>N=</u>
Union members	90	10	100%	320
N.U. wage-earners	75	25	100%	254
N.U.-W.C.\$5000 +	98	2	100%	167
N.U.-W.C.under \$5000	95	5	100%	190
Farmers	88	12	100%	106
Wives of union members	94	6	100%	168
Wives of N.U. wage-earners	90	10	100%	96
Wives of N.U.-WC. \$5000+	100	0	100%	73
Wives of N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	94	6	100%	66
Wives of farmers	94	6	100%	70
N.U. wives who are heads of households	95	5	100%	100

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TABLE VI

GENERATION-TIME IN AMERICA OF AMERICAN WORKER GROUPINGS

	<u>First generation</u>	<u>Second generation</u>	<u>Third generation</u>	<u>Fourth generation</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>N=</u>
Union members	11	27	21	41	100%	300
N.U.wage-earners	7	18	17	58	100%	230
N.U.-W.C. \$5000 +	11	26	25	38	100%	159
N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	6	25	24	45	100%	183
Farmers	0	26	25	49	100%	97
Wives of U.Members	11	50	30	9	100%	102
Wives of N.U.wage-earners	4	21	23	52	100%	81
Wives of N.U.-W.C. \$5000 +	4	23	32	41	100%	70
Wives of N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	2	21	23	54	100%	61
Wives of farmers	5	12	21	62	100%	66
N.U.wives who are heads of households	17	22	20	41	100%	87

TABLE VII

TYPES OF POPULATION AREAS IN WHICH AMERICAN WORKERS LIVE

	N=	Urban metro	Sub- urban metro	Rural metro	City 50,000 +	City 2500- 50,000 South	City 2500- 50,000 North	City under 2500 South	City under 2500 North	Open country South	Open country North	Total
Union Members	321	22	11	5	23	5	15	3	11	1	4	100%
N.U.wage- earners	256	14	4	2	13	15	13	12	11	12	4	100%
N.U.-W.C. \$5000+	167	20	13	1	18	8	16	7	13	1	3	100%
N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	190	18	8	3	17	10	15	10	13	12	4	100%
Farmers	106	0	0	0	1	6	3	12	6	22	50	100%
Wives of U.members	168	20	16	5	21	2	13	7	7	4	5	100%
Wives of N.U.wage- earners	96	12	4	7	18	10	13	9	13	6	8	100%
Wives of N.U.-W.C. \$5000+	73	23	10	1	19	11	15	7	7	4	3	100%
Wives of N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	66	14	6	3	23	8	15	9	17	4	1	100%
Wives of farmers	70	0	0	0	1	3	1	6	13	27	49	100%
N.U.women who are heads of households	101	18	6	1	14	13	23	6	11	4	4	100%

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TABLE VIII

THE EDUCATION OF AMERICAN WORKERS

	<u>Some grade school</u>	<u>Completed grade school</u>	<u>Some high school</u>	<u>Completed high school</u>	<u>Incomplete high school plus other</u>	<u>Complete high school plus other</u>	<u>Some col- lege</u>	<u>Completed college</u>	<u>% Total</u>	<u>N=</u>
Union members	25	18	23	12	6	9	4	2	1	100% 320
Non-union wage-earners	35	23	16	11	8	3	2	0	2	100% 256
N.U.-W.C. \$5000 +	2	5	8	14	5	13	22	31	0	100% 168
N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	9	11	9	19	7	13	15	17	0	100% 191
Farmers	29	34	12	12	4	2	5	1	1	100% 106
Wives of U. members	12	16	28	21	4	11	5	1	2	100% 160
Wives of N.U. wage earners	22	25	19	22	4	4	2	1	1	100% 96
Wives of N.U.-W.C. \$5000 +	0	3	7	25	0	27	20	18	0	100% 73
Wives of N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	8	14	16	31	3	14	9	3	2	100% 64
Wives of farmers	23	20	14	20	3	3	13	1	3	100% 70
Non-union women who are heads of households	39	27	12	9	3	4	4	0	2	100% 99

~~TABLE VIII~~ ^{IX}

THE PARTY AFFILIATIONS OF AMERICAN WORKERS

	<u>Strong Dems.</u>	<u>Weak Dems.</u>	<u>Independent Dems.</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>Independent Reps.</u>	<u>Weak Reps.</u>	<u>Strong Reps.</u>	<u>Apol- itical</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>No</u>
Union Members	29	29	12	6	4	11	8	1	100%	296
N.U.wage- earners	30	22	10	7	5	12	7	7	100%	242
N.U.-W.C. \$5000 +	11	20	14	9	10	18	18	0	100%	154
N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	20	27	10	6	9	10	18	0	100%	181
Farmers	24	26	6	6	9	16	13	0	100%	103
Wives of U. Members	20	31	9	3	8	15	14	0	100%	159
Wives of N.U.wage- earners	15	29	12	8	6	12	12	6	100%	89
Wives of N.U.-W.C. \$5000 +	17	24	1	4	10	21	23	0	100%	71
Wives of N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	23	20	11	3	12	20	9	2	100%	65
Wives of farmers	12	36	9	1	9	14	13	6	100%	70
N.U.women who are heads of households	21	21	6	5	5	15	20	7	100%	96

TABLE X

POLITICAL AFFILIATION OF PARENTS WHILE RESPONDENT WAS GROWING UP

	<u>Both parents Dem.</u>	<u>Both parents Rep.</u>	<u>All other replies (3-9,0-+)</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>N*</u>
Union members	42	22	36	100%	297
N.U.wage-earners	38	18	44	100%	242
N.U.-W.C. \$5000 +	42	29	29	100%	155
N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	39	29	32	100%	182
Farmers	45	25	30	100%	104
Wives of U.Members	43	30	27	100%	159
Wives of N.U.wage-earners	36	21	43	100%	89
Wives of N.U. W.C. \$5000 +	42	30	28	100%	81
Wives of N.U. W.C. under \$5000	54	21	25	100%	65
Wives of farmers	40	23	37	100%	70
N.U.women who are heads of households	35	26	39	100%	96

TABLE ^{XI}
~~XI~~

THE VOTE IN 1948 AMONG AMERICAN WORKERS

	<u>Truman</u> <u>(Dem.)</u>	<u>Dewey</u> <u>(Rep.)</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Thurmond</u>	<u>Didn't</u> <u>Vote</u>	<u>Never</u> <u>Voted</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>N=</u>
Union members	53	16	0	0	11	20	100%	287
Non-union wage-earners	36	18	1	0	13	32	100%	234
Non-union W.C.\$5000 +	32	47	0	0	10	11	100%	151
Non-union W.C.under \$5000	35	37	1	1	7	19	100%	177
Farmers	37	29	0	2	14	18	100%	100
Wives of union members	38	25	0	0	12	25	100%	152
Wives of N.U.wage-earners	31	20	0	0	11	38	100%	88
Wives of N.U.W.C. \$5000 +	34	49	0	3	3	11	100%	70
Wives of N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	38	27	0	0	10	25	100%	63
Wives of farmers	34	21	1	0	18	26	100%	68
Non-union women who are heads of households	30	30	0	0	14	26	100%	88

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T A B L E X I I

THE VOTE IN 1952 AMONG AMERICAN WORKERS

	<u>Voted Dem.</u>	<u>Voted Rep.</u>	<u>Voted Other</u>	<u>Non-Voter Dem.</u>	<u>Non-Voter Rep.</u>	<u>Non-Voter Other</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>N=</u>
Union members	45	28	1	15	9	2	100%	295
Non-union wage-earners	36	26	0	19	15	4	100%	232
Non-union W.C. \$5000 +	21	67	1	3	7	1	100%	157
Non-union W.C. Under \$5000	30	52	4	7	7	0	100%	180
Farmers	26	42	5	6	18	3	100%	102
Wives of union members	37	37	0	14	10	2	100%	153
Wives of Non-union wage-earners	27	35	1	16	17	4	100%	88
Wives of N.U.- W.C.\$5000 +	23	67	0	4	6	0	100%	69
Wives of N.U.- W.C.under \$5000	28	47	0	13	10	2	100%	61
Wives of farmers	24	39	0	13	16	8	100%	67
N.U.wives who are heads of households	21	35	0	16	21	7	100%	87

T A B L E X *VII*

ATTITUDES TOWARDS GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION IN HOUSING,
EDUCATION, ETC., AMONG AMERICAN WORK GROUPINGS

	<u>Should do more</u>	<u>About right;OK</u>	<u>Should do less</u>	<u>More on some, less on others</u>	<u>DK & NA</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>N=</u>
Union members	32	49	12	2	5	100%	297
N.U.wage-earners	28	53	9	1	9	100%	242
N.U.-W.C. \$5000 +	25	35	33	4	3	100%	155
N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	25	45	21	4	5	100%	183
Farmers	18	49	25	6	2	100%	104
Wives of U.M.	29	50	11	1	9	100%	159
Wives of N.U. wage-earners	28	59	18	0	19	100%	189
Wives of N.U.- W.C. \$5000 +	23	38	32	3	4	100%	71
Wives of N.U.- W.C.under \$5000	26	40	23	3	8	100%	65
Wives of farmers	19	50	16	1	15	100%	70
N.U. wives who are heads of households	18	41	19	2	20	100%	96

TABLE ~~III~~ ^{XV}

REPLIES OF AMERICAN WORKERS TO THE QUESTION:
"WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING THINGS DO YOU THINK IT WOULD BE BEST TO DO NOW IN KOREA(1952)?

	<u>Pull out entirely</u>	<u>Keep trying for peaceful settlement</u>	<u>Stronger stand, bomb China</u>	<u>Either 1 or 3</u>	<u>Don't know & No answer</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>N=</u>
Union members	8	46	40	1	5	100%	297
N.U.wage- earners	9	49	34	1	7	100%	242
N.U.-W.C. \$5000 +	8	33	52	1	6	100%	155
N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	8	50	34	2	6	100%	183
Farmers	10	45	35	2	8	100%	104
Wives of U.Members	8	46	40	1	5	100%	159
Wives of N.U.wage- earners	10	50	34	0	6	100%	89
Wives of N.U.-W.C. \$5000 +	3	47	41	1	8	100%	71
Wives of N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	8	51	39	1	6	100%	65
Wives of farmers	17	46	29	0	8	100%	70
are heads of N.U. women who households	20	47	21	1	11	100%	96

TABLE ~~III~~ ^{IV}

REPLIES OF AMERICAN WORKERS TO THE QUESTION:
"WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING THINGS DO YOU THINK IT WOULD BE BEST TO DO NOW IN KOREA(1952)?"

	<u>Pull out entirely</u>	<u>Keep trying for peaceful settlement</u>	<u>Stronger stand, bomb China</u>	<u>Either 1 or 3</u>	<u>Don't know & No answer</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>N=</u>
Union members	8	46	40	1	5	100%	297
N.U.wage-earners	9	49	34	1	7	100%	242
N.U.-W.C. \$5000 +	8	33	52	1	6	100%	155
N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	8	50	34	2	6	100%	183
Farmers	10	45	35	2	8	100%	104
Wives of U.Members	8	46	40	1	5	100%	159
Wives of N.U.wage-earners	10	50	34	0	6	100%	89
Wives of N.U.-W.C. \$5000 +	3	47	41	1	8	100%	71
Wives of N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	8	51	39	1	6	100%	65
Wives of farmers	17	46	29	0	8	100%	70
are heads of households	20	47	21	1	11	100%	96

XV
TABLE XIII

**BELIEFS OF AMERICAN WORKERS ON THE PARTIES' STAND
FOR INCREASED GOVERNMENT ACTIVITY***

	<u>Dem. will do more than Rep.</u>	<u>Pro-con</u>	<u>Dem. will do less than Rep</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>No answer</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>N=</u>
Union members	34	40	2	17	7	100%	297
Non-union wage-earners	24	34	2	35	5	100%	242
N.U.-W.C. \$5000 +	41	33	3	17	6	100%	185
N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	31	43	4	17	5	100%	183
Farmers	27	34	4	25	10	100%	104
Wives of U. Members	29	29	5	31	6	100%	159
Wives of N.U. wage-earners	23	33	4	39	1	100%	89
Wives of N.U.-W.C. \$5000+	34	35	3	21	7	100%	71
Wives of N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	25	35	5	29	6	100%	65
Wives of farmers	23	29	0	41	7	100%	70
N.U. women who are heads of Households	13	33	3	42	9	100%	96

TABLE ~~XIII~~^{XIV} (continued)

* Some people think the national government should do more in trying to deal with such problems as unemployment, education, housing, and so on. Others think that the government is already doing too much. On the whole, would you say that what the government has done has been about right, too much, or not enough?

a) Now, how do you think the two parties feel about this question? Do you think there is any difference between the Democratic and Republican parties on this issue, or would you say they feel the same? (How is that?)

There is a lot of talk these days about discrimination, that is, people having trouble getting jobs because of their race. Do you think the government ought to take an interest in whether Negroes have trouble getting jobs, or should it stay out of this problem?

a) (If government should take an interest). Do you think we need laws to deal with this problem or are there other ways that will handle it better?

b) (If "other ways") What do you have in mind?

c) (If "laws") Do you think the national government should handle this or do you think it should be left for each state to handle in its own way?

d) (If government should stay out) Do you think the state governments should do something about this problem, or should they stay out of it also?

TABLE

XVI

ACTION AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT

	<u>National or state govt. should take action</u>	<u>Govt. should stay out entirely</u>	<u>Don't know and no answer</u>	<u>Restrictive legislation vs. Negroes</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>N=</u>
Union members	73	18	4	5	100%	297
N.U. wage-earners	66	18	11	5	100%	242
N.U.-W.C. \$5000 +	64	29	3	4	100%	155
N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	70	20	4	6	100%	183
Farmers	60	27	7	6	100%	104
Wives of U. members	67	22	7	4	100%	159
Wives of N.U. wage-earners	71	15	12	2	100%	89
Wives of N.U.-W.C. \$5000 +	66	23	7	4	100%	71
Wives of N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	83	12	5	0	100%	65
Wives of farmers	60	19	13	8	100%	70
N.U. women who are heads of households	60	16	14	10	100%	96

TABLE XVII

EXTENT OF AGREEMENT OF AMERICAN WORK GROUPINGS WITH THE BELIEF THAT THIS COUNTRY HAS GONE TOO FAR IN CONCERNING ITSELF WITH PROBLEMS IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Pro-con</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Don't know & no answer</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>N=</u>
Union members	53	3	36	8	100%	297
N.U.wage-earners	54	2	29	15	100%	242
N.U.-W.C.\$5000 +	50	1	46	3	100%	153
N.U.-W.C.under \$5000	50	4	42	4	100%	188
Farmers	69	5	14	12	100%	104
Wives of union members	60	3	31	6	100%	159
Wives of N.U. wage-earners	53	0	31	16	100%	89
Wives of N.U.- W.C. \$5000 +	45	3	45	7	100%	71
Wives of N.U.- W.C.under \$5000	51	3	37	9	100%	65
Wives of farmers	66	1	14	19	100%	70
N.U. women who are heads of households	59	0	21	20	100%	96

TABLE XVIII

AWARENESS OF HAVING HEARD ANYTHING ABOUT THE
TAFT-HARTLEY ACT AMONG AMERICAN WORK GROUPINGS

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>N=</u>
Union members	89	11	100%	292
N.U. wage-earners	59	41	100%	238
N.U.-W.C. \$5000 +	92	8	100%	188
N.U.-W.C.\$5000 under	79	21	100%	182
Farmers	61	39	100%	102
Wives of union members	74	26	100%	155
Wives of N.U. wage-earners	56	44	100%	86
Wives of N.U.-W.C.\$5000 +	92	8	100%	71
Wives of N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	73	27	100%	64
Wives of farmers	48	52	100%	67
N.U. wives who are heads of households	47	53	100%	91

~~TABLE VIII~~

**BELIEFS OF AMERICAN WORKING GROUPS AS TO WHETHER
THEY WILL BE AFFECTED FINANCIALLY SHOULD EITHER PARTY WIN**

	<u>Better if Dems. win</u>				<u>Better if Reps. win</u>						
	<u>Very important effect</u>	<u>Important effect</u>	<u>Minor effect</u>	<u>No effect</u>	<u>Minor effect</u>	<u>Important effect</u>	<u>Very important effect</u>	<u>Depends</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>N=</u>
Union members	6	31	2	43	0	9	1	1	7	100%	290
N.U.wage-earners	5	33	3	43	1	6	1	0	8	100%	238
N.U.-W.C. \$5000 +	4	12	1	48	6	22	3	1	3	100%	153
N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	4	18	2	46	2	20	1	1	6	100%	181
Farmers	2	29	7	39	1	10	1	1	10	100%	101
Wives of U.Members	4	29	1	39	2	13	1	2	9	100%	157
Wives of N.U. wage-earners	4	29	1	39	4	9	1	2	16	100%	87
Wives of N.U. W.C. \$5000 +	3	11	0	52	3	23	1	3	4	100%	71
Wives of N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	2	23	0	47	2	15	2	0	9	100%	65
Wives of farmers	3	26	0	47	1	13	0	1	99	100%	69
N.U.women who are heads of households	4	12	3	58	0	10	0	0	12	100%	95

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T A B L E X X

THE "SOCIAL CLASS" INTO WHICH AMERICAN WORKERS PLACE THEMSELVES, WHEN PRESSED TO DO SO

	<u>Middle Class</u>	<u>Lower Class</u>	<u>Working Class</u>	<u>Upper Class</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>N+</u>
Union Members	17	2	80	1	100%	291
Non-union wage earners	15	3	81	1	100%	236
N.U.-W;C. \$5000 +	71	0	26	3	100%	149
N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	46	2	50	2	100%	179
Farmers	29	2	67	2	100%	100
Wives of U. Members	29	3	68	0	100%	156
Wives of N.U. wage-earners	26	0	73	1	100%	86
Wives of N.U.- W.C. \$5000 +	72	0	25	3	100%	68
Wives of N.U.- W.C. under \$5000	41	5	54	0	100%	63
Wives of farmers	34	3	63	0	100%	67
N.U. women who are heads of households	51	4	43	2	100%	89

T A B L E X X

THE "SOCIAL CLASS" INTO WHICH AMERICAN WORKERS PLACE THEMSELVES, WHEN PRESSED TO DO SO

	<u>Middle Class</u>	<u>Lower Class</u>	<u>Working Class</u>	<u>Upper Class</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>N+</u>
Union Members	17	2	80	1	100%	291
Non-union wage earners	15	3	81	1	100%	236
N.U.-W;C. \$5000 +	71	0	26	3	100%	149
N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	46	2	50	2	100%	179
Farmers	29	2	67	2	100%	100
Wives of U.Members	29	3	68	0	100%	156
Wives of N.U. wage-earners	26	0	73	1	100%	86
Wives of N.U.- W.C. \$5000 +	72	0	25	3	100%	68
Wives of N.U.- W.C.under \$5000	41	5	54	0	100%	63
Wives of farmers	34	3	63	0	100%	67
N.U. women who are heads of households	51	4	43	2	100%	89

TABLE XXII

HOW DIFFERENT GROUPS OF WORKERS REACT TO THE STATEMENT:
"SOMETIMES POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT SEEM SO COMPLICATED THAT A PERSON LIKE
 ME CAN'T REALLY UNDERSTAND WHAT'S GOING ON"

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>N=</u>
Union members	66	34	100%	294
Non-union wage- earners	80	20	100%	234
Non-union white collar \$5000 +	46	54	100%	155
Unon-union white collar under \$5000	58	42	100%	182
Farmers	80	20	100%	104
Wives of union members	78	22	100%	158
Wives of non- union wage- earners	84	16	100%	88
Wives of Non- union white collar \$5000 \$5000	62	38	100%	71
Wives of Non-union under \$5000	69	31	100%	64
Non-union wage- earners Wives of farmers	86	14	100%	69
households N.U. women who are heads of households	84	16	100%	90

TABLE XXIII

HOW DIFFERENT GROUPINGS OF WORKERS REACT TO THE STATEMENT:
"I DON'T THINK PUBLIC OFFICIALS CARE MUCH WHAT PEOPLE LIKE ME THINK"

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>N=</u>
Union members	34	66	100%	290
Non-union wage-earners	47	53	100%	221
N.U.-W.C, under \$5000 +	15	85	100%	153
N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	24	76	100%	182
Farmers	46	54	100%	103
Wives of union members	32	68	100%	153
Wives of non-union wage-earners	48	52	100%	85
Wives of NU-WC \$5000 +	24	76	100%	71
Wives of NU.-WC under \$5000	30	70	100%	68
Wives of farmers	46	54	100%	68
Non-union women who are heads of households	50	50	100%	90

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TABLE XXIV

REPLIES OF AMERICAN WORKERS TO THE QUESTION:
 "GENERALLY SPEAKING, WOULD YOU SAY THAT YOU, PERSONALLY, CARE A GOOD DEAL WHICH PARTY WINS THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION THIS FALL, OR THAT YOU DON'T CARE VERY MUCH WHICH PARTY WINS?"

	<u>Cares very much</u>	<u>Cares, cares pretty much</u>	<u>Pro-con</u>	<u>Doesn't care very much</u>	<u>Doesn't care at all</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>N=</u>
Union members	28	40	1	21	10	100%	296
N.U. wage earners	24	37	1	22	16	100%	233
N.U.-W.C. \$5000 +	39	37	0	20	4	100%	152
N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	32	44	0	14	10	100%	181
Farmers	25	42	0	27	6	100%	102
Wives of U. members	26	49	1	17	7	100%	151
Wives of N.U. wage-earners	19	41	2	21	17	100%	88
Wives of N.U.-W.C. \$5000 +	47	36	1	13	3	100%	69
Wives of N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	31	41	0	23	5	100%	61
Wives of farmers	19	35	0	31	15	100%	68
N.U. women who are heads of households	23	26	0	30	21	100%	91

T A B L E X X V

REPLIES OF AMERICAN WORKERS TO THE QUESTION:
"WHEN YOU HAVE STATE AND LOCAL ELECTIONS AROUND HERE, WOULD
 YOU SAY THAT YOU CARE A GOOD DEAL WHO WINS THOSE ELECTIONS?"
 (Replies regarding state elections)

	<u>Care</u> <u>very much</u>	<u>Care</u> <u>pretty much</u>	<u>Pro-</u> <u>Con</u>	<u>Don't care</u> <u>very much</u>	<u>Don't care</u> <u>at all</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>N=</u>
Union members	23	37	3	26	11	100%	276
N.U.wage-earners	20	34	3	28	15	100%	227
N.U.-W.C. \$5000 +	35	38	3	16	8	100%	142
N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	31	36	4	20	9	100%	172
Farmers	20	45	4	27	4	100%	93
Wives of union members	20	34	3	27	16	100%	146
Wives of N.U. 16 wage-earners		39	0	29	16	100%	84
Wives of N.U.-28 W.C.\$5000 +		48	2	16	6	100%	67
Wives of N.U.-25 W.C.under \$5000		48	2	19	6	100%	63
Wives of farmers 23		42	3	18	14	100%	66
N.U.women who are 20 heads of households		29	3	26	22	100%	91

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TABLE XXVI

REPLIES OF AMERICAN WORKERS TO THE QUESTION:
"WHEN YOU HAVE STATE AND LOCAL ELECTIONS AROUND HERE, WOULD YOU SAY THAT YOU CARE A GOOD DEAL WHO WINS THOSE ELECTIONS?"

(Replies regarding local elections)

	Care very <u>much</u>	Care pretty <u>much</u>	<u>Pro-Con</u>	Don't care <u>very much</u>	Don't care <u>at all</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>N=</u>
Union members	24	38	3	24	11	100%	280
N.U. wage-earners	21	33	3	28	15	100%	228
N.U.-W.C. \$5000 +	35	38	3	16	8	100%	145
N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	32	37	3	19	9	100%	172
Farmers	21	45	4	26	4	100%	92
Wives of U. Members	21	34	3	25	17	100%	148
Wives of N.U. wage-earners	15	40	0	30	15	100%	86
Wives of N.U.- W.C. \$5000 +	26	49	1	19	5	100%	65
Wives of N.U.- W.C. under \$5000	26	44	2	21	7	100%	61
Wives of farmers	25	42	3	16	14	100%	67
N.U. women who are heads of households	21	27	3	27	22	100%	92

TABLE ~~XXXX~~ XXVII

OPINIONS OF AMERICAN WORKERS REGARDING WHETHER
"WORKING-CLASS PEOPLE WILL VOTE DEMOCRAT OR REPUBLICAN"

<u>"Working-class"</u> people will mostly vote:	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>Split</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>N=</u>
Union members	62	9	23	6	100%	295
Non-union wage-earners	51	10	20	19	100%	241
N.U.-W.C.\$5000+	51	14	30	5	100%	154
N.U.-W.C.under \$5000	50	17	33	11	100%	183 104
Farmers						
Wives of union members	57	10	21	12	100%	159
Wives of non- union wage-earners	39	7	23	31	100%	89
Wives of N.U.-W.C. \$5000 +	56	9	24	11	100%	71
Wives of N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	48	12	20	20	100%	65
Wives of farmers	40	7	23	30	100%	70
N.U.women who are heads of households	24	8	31	37	100%	95

TABLE XXVII

HOW AMERICAN WORKERS BELIEVE WORKING CLASS PEOPLE WILL VOTE, WITH THE REASONS FOR THEIR BELIEFS

	Special group interest	Interest not spec. group	Taft- Hart- ley	Workers think their int.	Principles for not int. oriented	Non-motive technical explanation	Because they are that way	Follows lead of union	DK, NA inap. Other	Tot- al	N=
U. Mems. who say working class will vote Dem.	38	38	4	2	0	2	6	2	8	100%	182
U. M. who say working class will vote Rep.	4	32	0	0	44	4	0	0	16	100%	25
N. U. wage- earners who say Dem.	14	51	3	3	1	2	6	5	15	100%	124
N. U. wage- earners who say Rep.	4	21	0	4	25	17	0	0	29	100%	24
NU-W.C. \$5000 who say Dem.	32	35	4	8	0	3	1	11	6	100%	28
NU-W.C. \$5000 who say Rep.	0	32	0	0	45	9	5	0	9	100%	22
NU-W.C. under \$5000 who say Dem.	34	42	1	2	0	1	1	7	12	100%	89
NU-W.C. under \$5000 who say Rep.	0	34	8	0	25	8	8	0	17	100%	12
Farmers who say Dem.	22	49	0	0	0	0	6	6	17	100%	51
Farmers who say Rep.	0	67	0	0	33	0	0	0	0	100%	3

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TABLE XXVIII (continued)

	<u>Special group interest</u>	<u>Interest not spec. group</u>	<u>Taft- Hart- ley</u>	<u>Workers think for their int.</u>	<u>Principles not int. oriented</u>	<u>Non-motive technical explanation</u>	<u>Because they are that way</u>	<u>Follow lead of unions</u>	<u>DK,NA Inap. Other</u>	<u>Tot- al</u>	<u>N=</u>
Wives of U.M. who say Dem.	35	38	8	8	2	2	3	3	11	100%	90
Wives of N.U. wage-earners who say Dem.	34	37	0	3	3	3	6	3	11	100%	35
Wives of N.U.-W.C. \$5000 + who say Dem.	32	37	3	10	0	3	5	7	3	100%	40
Wives of N.U.-W.C. under \$5000 who say Dem.	19	36	0	3	0	3	16	7	16	100%	31
Wives of farmers who say Dem.	25	39	0	11	4	0	0	0	21	100%	28
NU. women who are heads of households who say Dem.	31	35	0	4	0	4	9	4	13	100%	23

T A B L E XXIX

OPINIONS OF AMERICAN WORKERS REGARDING WHETHER
LABOR UNION MEMBERS WILL VOTE DEMOCRATIC OR REPUBLICAN

	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>Split</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>N=</u>
Union members	75	4	13	8	100%	296
N.U.-wage-earners	53	5	10	32	100%	241
N.U.-W.C. \$5000 +	67	5	18	10	100%	154
N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	68	5	13	14	100%	180
Farmers	64	5	9	22	100%	103
Wives of U.Members	65	4	14	17	100%	189
Wives of N.U.wage-earners	40	6	11	43	100%	89
Wives of N.U.-W.C. \$5000+	82	3	5	10	100%	71
Wives of N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	68	3	5	24	100%	65
Wives of farmers	39	7	10	44	100%	70
N.U.women who are heads of households	40	3	12	45	100%	95

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TABLE

HOW AMERICAN WORKERS BELIEVE UNION MEMBERS WILL VOTE,
WITH THE REASONS FOR THEIR BELIEFS

	<u>Special group interest</u>	<u>Interest not spec. group</u>	<u>Taft- Hart- ley</u>	<u>Members think for their int.</u>	<u>Principles for not int. oriented</u>	<u>Non-motive technical explanation</u>	<u>Because they are that way</u>	<u>Told to vote that way</u>	<u>DK,NA Inap. Tot- Other al</u>	<u>N=</u>
UM who say labor union members will vote Dem.	34	18	10	2	0	9	8	6	13 100%	227
NU wage-earners who say Dem.	31	23	9	3	0	7	5	7	15 100%	128
NU-WC \$5000+ who say Dem.	35	15	12	3	0	6	6	13	10 100%	103
NU-WC under \$5000 who say Dem.	27	21	7	1	0	5	4	16	19 100%	122
Farmers who say Dem.	30	22	6	3	0	5	5	9	20 100%	66
Wives of UM who say Dem.	38	13	11	2	1	9	7	4	15 100%	103
Wives of NU wage-earners who say Dem.	39	17	6	0	0	11	8	0	19 100%	36
Wives of NU-WC \$5000 + who say Dem.	26	15	7	3	0	9	2	21	17 100%	58
Wives of NU-WC under \$5000 who say Dem.	25	15	7	2	0	7	14	14	16 100%	44
Wives of farmers who say Dem.	34	22	0	4	0 0	4	7	22	7 100%	27
NU women, h. of h. who say Dem.	37	16	5	3	0	5	13	8	13 100%	38

TABLE

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THE REASONS AMERICAN WORKERS GIVE FOR BELIEVING FARMERS
WILL VOTE ONE WAY OR THE OTHER

	Spec. group intst.	Intst. not spec. group	Sub- sidies etc.	Farmers think for their intst.	Principles not intst. oriented	Non-motive technical explanation	Because they are that way	Total	N=
Union members	37	31	10	3	7	5	7	100%	155
N.U.wage- earners	20	49	10	1	4	6	10	100%	105
N.U.-W.C. \$5000 +	38	21	26	0	2	5	8	100%	77
N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	31	33	20	1	6	2	7	100%	82
Farmers	34	26	14	2	6	8	10	100%	50
Wives of U.Members	31	34	5	5	6	13	6	100%	62
Wives of N.U.wage- earners	14	64	9	0	4	9	0	100%	22
Wives of N.U.-W.C. \$5000 +	26	21	26	6	3	6	12	100%	34
Wives of N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	39	31	9	4	4	9	4	100%	23
Wives of farmers	25	44	6	6	0	6	13	100%	16
N.U.women who are heads of households	27	44	6	6	0	6	11	100%	18

TABLE XXXII

HOW AMERICAN WORK GROUPINGS ANSWERED THE QUESTION:
"DID YOU TALK TO ANY PEOPLE AND TRY TO SHOW THEM
 WHY THEY SHOULD VOTE FOR ONE OF THE PARTIES OR CANDIDATES?"

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>N=</u>
Union members	30	70	100%	293
Non-union wage earners	25	75	100%	231
Non-union white-collar \$5000 +	36	64	100%	167
Non-union white-collar under \$5000	35	65	100%	173
Farmers	20	80	100%	98
Wives of Union members	25	75	100%	153
Wives of Non-union wage earners	17	83	100%	88
Wives of Non-union white-collar \$5000 +	30	70	100%	669
Wives of Non-union white-collar under \$5000	22	78	100%	60
Wives of farmers	19	81	100%	67
Non-union women who are heads of households	17	83	100%	87

TABLE XXXIII

RESPONSE OF AMERICAN WORKERS TO THE QUESTION:
"DID YOU GO TO ANY POLITICAL MEETINGS, RALLIES,
 DINNERS, OR THINGS LIKE THAT?"

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>N=</u>
Union members	9	91	100%	292
Non-union wage-earners	2	98	100%	230
Non-union white-collar \$5000 +	15	85	100%	157
Non-union white-collar under \$5000	10	90	100%	173
Farmers	3	97	100%	98
Wives of Union members	9	91	100%	153
Wives of Non-union wage-earners	5	95	100%	87
Wives of N.U.-W.C. \$5000 +	14	86	100%	69
Wives of N.U.-W.C. under \$5000	10	90	100%	60
Wives of farmers	3	97	100%	67
Non-union women who are heads of households	1	99	100%	87

TABLE XXXIV

RESPONSE OF AMERICAN WORKERS TO THE QUESTION:
"DID YOU GIVE ANY MONEY OR BUY TICKETS OR ANYTHING
SO HELP THE CAMPAIGN FOR ONE OF THE PARTIES OR CANDIDATES?"

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>N=</u>
Union members	4	96	100%	293
Non-union wage-earners	1	99	100%	231
Non-union white-collar \$5000 +	17	83	100%	157
Non-union white-collar under \$5000	8	92	100%	173
Farmers	1	99	100%	98
Wives of union members	3	97	100%	153
Wives of non-union wage-earners	0	100	100%	88
Wives of Non-union white collar \$5000 +	7	93	100%	69
Wives of Non-union white collar under \$5000	5	95	100%	61
Wives of farmers	0	100	100%	67
Non-union women who are heads of households	2	98	100%	87

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TABLE XI

**HOW AMERICAN WORK GROUPINGS ANSWERED THE QUESTION:
"DID YOU DO ANY OTHER WORK FOR ONE OF THE PARTIES OR CANDIDATES?"**

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>N=</u>
Union members	1	99	100%	293
Non-union wage-earners	0A	100	100%	231
Non-union white-collar \$5000 +	6	94	100%	157
Non-union white-collar under \$5000	8	92	100%	173
Farmers	5	95	100%	98
Wives of Union members	3	97	100%	153
Wives of Non-union wage-earners	2	98	100%	88
Wives of Non-union white-collar \$5000 +	9	91	100%	69
Wives of Non-union white-collar under \$5000	5	95	100%	61
Wives of farmers	2	98	100%	67
Non-union women who are heads of households	0	100	100%	87

**THE VOLUNTARY POLITICAL ACTION BILL
OF THE STATE OF MICHIGAN**

**A Preliminary Analysis and Commentary on Senate Bill
No. 1401, 68th Legislature, Michigan, Regular Session of
1955, to Prohibit Political Expenditures by Compulsory-
Membership Organizations**

THE VOLUNTARY POLITICAL ACTION BILL
OF THE STATE OF MICHIGAN

(A Preliminary Analysis and Commentary on Senate Bill No. 1401, 68th Legislature, Michigan, Regular Session of 1955, to Prohibit Political Expenditures by Compulsory-Membership Organizations.)

On April 13, 1955, eight Republican senators introduced into the legislature of the State of Michigan a bill to prohibit the collecting and spending of money for political purposes by organizations in which membership is compulsory, that is, to which a person must belong in order to earn a livelihood. After hearings before the Committee on Elections of the Senate, the bill was debated and passed, seventeen to ten, by the Senate, with one Republican member joining the Democrats in opposition to the proposal. The bill was then referred to the House for further action.

Although it is too early to describe the state of the bill, a preliminary analysis of it and a commentary upon it are in order because of the important ideas it contains. These ideas relate generally to three important problems of American political life. One concerns the extent to which organizations such as unions are entitled to demand the affiliation, for economic purposes, of all persons employed in establishments governed by the unions; this is the issue of "the right to work" versus the closed or union shop. A second broad problem introduced by the bill concerns the limits of the political activities of organizations, and particularly of organizations in which membership is compulsory or near-compulsory.

In the third place, the bill involves the degree of freedom of political activity of individual Americans, especially when that activity is threatened by constraint on the ground of his own economic advantage or that of others; hence, a political as well as an economic civil liberty issue is inherent in the bill. All three of these factors come together in this proposed legislation and, by so uniting, raise many issues of the indirect consequences of each type of problem. Writ large, the bill introduces theoretical problems of first importance to political philosophy. Not the least of the theoretical issues raised is that of the ultimate fate of political unionism in American democratic politics.

Under such circumstances, one is permitted to reexamine and bring forward some of the essential traits pertaining to the right of unions to demand complete security, the right of individuals to demand government protection in the exercise of their political rights, and the right of the public to control the political activities of groups; moreover, one may introduce into the discussion such materials from the experience of foreign nations as may be closely related to the proposed bill and its possible effects.

In these early stages of understanding and interpreting a novel proposal, any analysis and commentary must be tentative, being chiefly the basis for further investigation and conclusions. The material that follows discusses the bill in

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four major phases: first, an explanation and description of the proposal; second, a description of the problems encountered in the participation of involuntary groups in politics; third, the problem of individual freedom in relation to the will of a group; and fourth, the possible effects of the proposed bill.

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