

**The Employee Perspective on Working
Life and Politics**

– A Study of Members of Unions affiliated
to the Danish LO

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Jens Lind and Morten Madsen

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The Employee Perspective on Working Life and Politics

Introduction

APL is an abbreviation for "Arbejdsliv og Politik set i et Lønmodtagerperspektiv" (The Employee Perspective on Working Life and Politics): the title of a major research project on Danish employees. The implementation of the project was commissioned by the Danish Confederation of Trade Unions LO (LO: Landsorganisationen) and had two objectives. Firstly, to provide a depth profile of the members sets of values as to welfare and solidarity. Secondly, to chart and to analyse the experience, attitudes and expectations of the members in relation to the company, the union, the welfare state and the family.

The purpose of this working paper is partly to present the main results of the APL study's questionnaire and partly to give a brief general description of the project. This paper should therefore only be considered as supplementary background material to articles about the APL study that we intend to publish in international journals in 1995.

The APL study is an investigation of a representative sample of members of unions affiliated to LO organising blue collar workers and clerical workers in both the public and the private sector in Denmark. For over a century there has been a strong tradition in Denmark for the unionization of employees. Today, the organisation percentage is between 85 and 90 and throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the numbers of members have been increasing; contrary to the tendency in a number of Western countries. In this respect, Denmark is very similar to Sweden.

In Danish social research, the typical population group consists of the whole population or a section of the population based on a number of objective variables. In this study it is the organised working class – employed and unemployed wage earners – that constitute the population. There are no prior scientific studies of LO membership. However, the Swedish LO, under the title "Voices from the Unions" (Röster om Facket) started, in 1989, a tradition of carrying out a study every five years. The results from the second round study have recently been published. Compared to the APL study there are many similarities in the attitudes of the members to union organisation. But the programme of the APL study is much broader in that, in addition to relations in the workplace and their attitudes to unions, the APL study reveals experience and attitudes to the welfare state and to family matters. Methodologically, too, the APL study contains more qualitative investigations than the Swedish membership study that is based solely on a questionnaire to employed members.

The research work has been based at the University of Aalborg and was carried out in the period 1991–1993. Professor Henning Jørgensen, Associate Professors Jens Lind and Morten Lassen, Research Fellow Morten Madsen, all from Aalborg University, participated in the project; together with Associate Professor Tage Bild of the University of Copenhagen.

The Main Results of the APL Study

The main results can be summarized in three main parts.

Firstly, the study of values showed a marked differentiation in the value sets of the members. The assumption of a dominant "worker prototype", one that gives great priority to materialist welfare values and also subscribes to basic values of solidarity is no longer dominant in the Denmark of the 1990s. The counter-type to the worker prototype consists of a large, primarily younger group of members that give greater priority to non-materialist welfare values and, at the same time, do not cherish class and societal solidarity. When these members take a position on relations at work and in the life of society, their own personal development is the main frame of reference.

In addition to these two counter-types, two other main types can be identified among the membership. There is a significant group among the members that retains basic attitudes of societal solidarity while still giving precedence to non-materialist welfare values. The fourth main type consists of members of a liberal persuasion that abjure both local and societal solidarity while prioritizing materialist welfare values. These members often have strong desires to be independent self-employed. The typologies have substantiated these main patterns in an extensive differentiation of the members' values.

The *second* main conclusion of the study is that there is a very clear need for a revision of the mandate of the union movement i.e. the members have new demands as to what union tasks are to be accomplished. Hence the members, as a result of their more differentiated values, draw specific conclusions about these interests. They think that the union movement must both intensify the struggle for the achievement of a number of traditional demands while, at the same time, a number of new professional and political objectives force their way onto the agenda. Among the first category is the demand for full employment, a safe work environment and a wages policy that defends the interests of the low-paid. Among the latter category of demands, and given as high priority as the demands for promoting the individual interests of members, both in their jobs and in society at large, is the demand for environmental measures in the society at large. In relation to the development of the welfare state, these members strongly support collective welfare measures, although their willingness to pay taxes has certain limits.

In the work of the union movement to promote these welfare objectives, the members expect the movement to exert influence throughout society: in the first instance, influencing employers; both directly and in relation to employers' organisations. But they also expect the union movement to exert a powerful influence on all the levels of the politico-administrative system. The members also express the view that, in exerting this influence, the movement should be free and independent of political actors. And this means that, only to a very limited degree, do members support the historically conditioned, ideological affiliation with the Social Democratic party.

The *third* main conclusion of the study is that the members have a very strong identification with their unions. In brief, the study shows that despite increasing differentiation in

values, there is no decline in the desire for union organisation among blue collar workers and clerical workers. The identification with unions is shown in the support for a membership with rights and important demands as to member activities. The assumption of a new trade union orientation in the direction of service organisations that prioritize members consumption rather than taking care of their union interests, has little support. But these basic attitudes by no means entail an automatic support for the current practice of union organisations. There are many signs that the members experience a significant gap between their daily lives and expectations and the professional and political practice of union leadership. What shines through the study is that the members have a very low level of confidence both in the way their leaders conduct politics and in the culture of union decision-making.

On the significance of the APL Study

The Danish LO has financed the investigation and has also engaged in extensive informational work after the publication of the study in October, 1993. The first phase of this involved dissemination of the main results to a broad section of the general public. The second phase involved a number of goal-directed meetings with the union public. These involved many meetings both with elected and with ordinary union members. These meetings have resulted in the appointment of a large number of study groups with ordinary members as participants. Currently, the groups are working on the theme "The future of the union movement". Their report deadline is the spring of 1995 and in the autumn of 1995 the LO Congress is to undertake an overall evaluation of the study groups and to take measures to strengthen the position of the union movement.

We, the researchers, have, to a considerable degree, taken part in these informational processes. In addition, in the form of concentrated articles, we have presented and discussed selected main results from the study. All in all, we can state that the study has received considerable attention among the relevant Danish public and lead to renewed debate on the basis and perspective of union organisation of employees. The studies seems to have raised issues of considerable social relevance.

In our view, the study also has considerable relevance for the social sciences. As will be made clear in what follows as to the design and content of the study, it provides a solid empirical contribution to contemporary discussions in a large number of the social science disciplines: for example, sociologically oriented research on social values, on the breakdown of values and differentiation in "service capitalism" society. The same is true of political research on democracy and the establishment of community, participation and management in political-administrative processes. The study naturally gives an input to trade union research on the members' identification with, challenges to and participation in union work, the way union interests are managed together with their assessment of union leadership. Finally, this study could be a major input in that part of industrial relations research that particularly concentrates on the analysis of the extent of and conditions for human resource

management. Hence the APL study could be a source of inspiration to significant parts of Danish social research.

The objective and methodology of the APL study

The APL study had two primary objectives. Partly to give a comprehensive coverage of the members' experience with, attitudes towards and expectation of the societal institutions that are of crucial importance for their welfare: namely the company, the union, the welfare state and the family. Partly also to give an in-depth profile of which set of values union members cherish primarily – here at the beginning of the 1990s – as to welfare conditions and ideas of solidarity which themselves represent the basic foundations for the existence of union organisation.

To achieve these objectives, the study has used a variety of methods. Two sets of data have been created: one post questionnaire on the basis of which this introduction's percentual distributions originates and one interview-based. As to the latter, this involves depth interviewing of 36 specially selected members. The post questionnaire study is of a stratified sample with the membership of the union as the stratification variable. The random sample was of, in all, 5.317 persons out of a total membership figure of over 1.4 million. Of these, 3.390 filled out and returned the questionnaire: a response percent of 64. An analysis of those non-respondents plus a relevance and validity assessment lead to the conclusion that this is sound material, capable of representing the circumstances of members of the LO confederation. The post questionnaire study was carried out in the period 2nd April 1991 to 15th January, 1992. Interviewing took place in the period November, 1992 to January, 1993. In the Spring of 1993, the triangulation method was used in the continued data processing.

Publications

From the study, the following publications are available:

Books:

Jørgensen, H., M. Lassen, J. Lind and M. Madsen (1993): *Analyse-og hypotesegrundlag for forskningsprojektet: "Arbejdsliv og politik set i et lønmodtagerperspektiv"* [The analytical and hypothetical basis for the research project: "The Employee Perspective on Working Life and Politics"], Aalborg: CARMA.

Jørgensen, H., M. Lassen, J. Lind and M. Madsen (1993): *Medlemmer og meninger* [Members and Opinions], Copenhagen: LO and CARMA.

Bild, T., H. Jørgensen, M. Lassen and M. Madsen (1993): *Sikke nogen typer* ["It sure takes all kinds"], Copenhagen: LO and CARMA.

Bild, T., H. Jørgensen, M. Lassen and M. Madsen (1993): *Fællesskab og forskelle* [Community and Difference], Copenhagen: LO and CARMA.

Articles:

Bild, T., H. Jørgensen, M. Lassen, J. Lind and M. Madsen (1993): Lønarbejdere mellem individualisme og kollektivism [Employees between individualism and collectivism], in: *GRUS* nr. 40, volume 14, pp. 81–113.

Bild, T. and M. Madsen (1993): De unges syn på arbejdsliv og politik [How the young view working life and politics], *Working paper* nr. 6, Institute of Political Science, University of Copenhagen.

Bild, T., H. Jørgensen, M. Lassen and M. Madsen (1994): Har fagbevægelsen en fremtid? [Does the union movement have a future?], in: *Økonomi og Politik* nr. 4, volume 67, pp. 43–57.

Bild, T., H. Jørgensen, M. Lassen and M. Madsen (1995): Demokratiproblemer i LO [The problems of democracy in LO], in: *Samfundøkonomen* nr. 2.

Bild, T. and Madsen, M. (1995): Demokratiet i fagbevægelsen [Democracy in the union movement], in: Madsen, M., H.J. Nielsen and G. Sjöblom (eds.): *Demokratiets mangfoldighed – nogle danske eksempler* [The Variety of Democracy – some Danish Cases], under publication, Copenhagen: Policy Studies Press.

Pamphlets etc.:

Aggerholm, J., T. Bild, H. Jørgensen, M. Lassen and M. Madsen (1993): *Medlemmer i bevægelse* [Members in movement], Copenhagen: LO and CARMA.

Madsen, M. (1994): *Medlemmerne mener* [The views of the members], Copenhagen: LO.

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Questionnaire for the LO Study of "The Employee Perspective on Working Life and Politics"

		(percent/n)
1. Sex: <i>(Put one circle only)</i>		3340
1. Woman	50	
2. Man	50	

2. When were you born? Year: _____
 (see appendix, table 1)

QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR JOB, WORKPLACE ETC.

		(percent/n)
3. Are you currently: <i>(Put one circle only)</i>		3330
1. In full-time work (more than 30 hours a week)	72	
2. In part-time work (less than 30 hours a week)	11	
3. Unemployed	17	

4. What is your link to the labour market?

In what year did you get your first real job? Year: _____
 (see appendix, table 2)

In how many companies have you been employed within the last 3 years? Ca. no.: _____
 (see appendix, table 3)

How long, in all, have you been unemployed within the last 3 years? Number of months: _____
 (see appendix, table 4)

5. Are you employed in: (If unemployed: where are you seeking work?) (percent/n)
3220
(Put one circle only)

1. Agriculture, forestry, fishing, development of natural resources	3
2. Manufacturing (industrial and handicraft)	26
3. Construction and planning	9
4. Trade, restaurant and hotel business	9
5. Transport	8
6. Banking, finance and insurance business	1
7. Public administration (technical and administrative fields)	10
8. Education, health and welfare institutions	18
9. Private service trades	11
10. Other, which: _____	6

*If you have been unemployed for more than the last 3 month, proceed to question 24.
If you are employed or have been so within the last 3 months, please answer the following questions based upon your current or latest employment.*

6. Are you: <i>(Put one circle only)</i>	(percent/n) 2858
1. Employed in the public sector	39
2. Employed in the private sector	61

7. Are you employed as: <i>(Put one circle only)</i>	(percent/n) 2836
1. Unskilled worker	40
2. Skilled worker	28
3. White-collar worker	28
4. Apprentice or student	4

8. How long have you been employed in your current place of work? <i>(Put one circle only)</i>	(percent/n) 2888
1. Less than 1 year	18
2. 1 - 3 years	21
3. 4 - 10 years	29
4. Over 10 years	32

9. How many employees are there in your current place of work? <i>(Put one circle only)</i>	(percent/n) 2867
1. 5 or less	11
2. 6 - 19	23
3. 20 - 49	17
4. 50 - 199	23
5. 200 or more	26

10. How are your working hours? (<i>Put one circle only</i>)		(percent/n) 2866
1. I work regularly within the time period 6 a.m.-6 p.m.		79
2. I work regularly within the time period 6 p.m.-6 a.m.		3
3. I only work on week-ends		0
4. I work a double shift		4
5. I work a treble shift		4
6. Other, which: _____		10

11. How often do you work overtime? (<i>Put one circle only</i>)		(percent/n) 2862
1. Never		18
2. Seldom		62
3. Weekly		16
4. Almost daily		5

12. How would you describe your job? (<i>Put one circle only in each line</i>)	(percent/n)					
	Very much	Much	Partly	Little	Very little	
It has a high degree of routine	14	17	43	15	11	2229
It requires language skills	3	5	19	18	55	2627
It requires computer skills	6	11	17	9	57	2599
It requires craftmanlike skills	19	15	20	11	35	2668
It requires technical knowledge	12	16	31	16	26	2635
It requires logical thinking	30	38	25	4	3	2717
It requires the ability to cooperate with ones colleagues	45	33	18	3	2	2784
It requires the ability to work with management	33	33	26	5	3	2738
It requires responsibility	58	32	9	1	1	2588
It requires independence	53	31	14	1	1	2793
It requires good relations with customers	37	16	16	8	22	2682

13. How do you evaluate your career possibilities in your job?*(Put one circle only in each line)*

(percent/n)

	In total agree-ment	In parti-pal agree-ment	Neit-her agree nor disagree	Partial dis-agree	Totally dis-agree	
I have practically no possibilities for in-service training	22	16	18	18	25	2798
I constantly learn new things through my work	35	34	15	8	9	2825
I have participated in new ways of organizing my work (jobrotation, self governing groups etc.)	22	21	20	10	28	2766
My chances for personal development are good	27	28	21	9	15	2811

14. Has the management in your workplace plans on changing the organisation of work?*(Put several circles where relevant)*

(percent/n)

1. No				43		2922
2. Yes, on making work groups (for example self-governing groups, flexible groups)				14		2923
3. Yes, on jobrotation				11		2923
4. Yes, on expanding our work assignments				23		2924
5. Yes, other, such as _____				6		2923
6. Don't know				20		2922

15. How would you characterize your work environment?*(Put one circle only in each line)*

(percent/n)

	In total agree-ment	In parti-pal agree-ment	Neit-her agree nor disagree	Partial dis-agree	Totally dis-agree	
My work is physically demanding	32	26	14	11	18	2822
I perform the same movements for long periods	21	20	13	15	31	2809
I am exposed to dangerous substances	9	13	14	13	51	2761
My work is psychologically strenuous	17	21	20	14	28	2799
I must often work under pressure of time	32	28	16	9	15	2811
I can't let go of my work when I go home	8	17	15	16	45	2799
I don't have problems with the work environment	32	20	19	15	13	2836

16. On the job, do you have the chance: *(Put more circles where relevant)* (percent/n)

1.	To take an hour off on short notice without loss of wages.	49	2835
2.	To start work later one day and work longer another.	51	2832
3.	Flexible working hours.	21	2834
4.	To decide for myself when I will go on holiday.	59	2834
5.	To decide for myself what work I will do in the next hour.	32	2834
6.	To have a private chat with fellow workers on the job.	76	2834
7.	Other liberties, such as	7	2832

17. How often do you plan and organize your work with your fellow workers?

(Put one circle only) (percent/n)

1.	Always	19	2929
2.	Most of the time	31	
3.	Sometimes	33	
4.	Never	17	

18. What best describes your personal relationship with your fellow workers

(Put one circle only) (percent/n)

1.	I have close friends in my workplace.	13	2863
2.	I have an excellent relationship with my fellow workers.	79	
3.	I have no personal relationship with my fellow workers.	8	

19. What best describes your relationship with management in your workplace?

(Put one circle only) (percent/n)

1.	The management and I have common interests in getting the company to function.	57	2914
2.	The management and I have only partial common interests.	28	
3.	The management and I have no common interests.	15	

20. Does the management in your workplace?*(Put only one circle in each line)*

(percent/n)

	Very much	Much	Partly	Little	Very little	
Value its staff and take personal consideration.	15	23	40	13	10	2856
See to it that the individual staff member has good possibilities for development	7	16	41	21	15	2781
Gives high priority to educational and personnel planning	8	15	34	26	18	2755
Gives high priority to job satisfaction in the workplace.	10	21	39	18	11	2807
Puts efficiency before all other considerations	19	22	37	15	7	2781

21. Have you experienced obstacles in being able to participate in courses/education during working hours?*(Put more circles where relevant)*

(percent/n)

1. No.				60		2842
2. Yes, we are too busy in my workplace.				16		2841
3. Yes, I have experienced reluctance from my employer.				7		2841
4. Yes, the course budget is too low in my workplace.				14		2840
5. Yes, I would suffer a loss of salary by participating in courses/education				9		2840
6. Yes, there is too long a wait to attend courses.				10		2840
7. Yes, there exist no relevant courses for me.				10		2837
8. Other obstacles, such as: _____				5		2837

22. Do you have a shop steward in your workplace? (Put one circle only)

(percent/n)

1. Yes.				65		2883
2. No.				31		
3. Don't know.				4		

23. What do you feel about your workplace?

(percent/n)

(Put one circle only in each line)

	In total agreement	In partial agreement	Neither agree nor disagree	Partial disagree	Totally disagree	
I would like another job.	17	18	19	11	35	2704
I would like to work for the same company until I leave the labour market	29	12	22	10	26	2779
When I talk to friends and acquaintances about my workplace, I usually talk positively about it	31	33	23	8	5	2775
I have no feeling of solidarity with the concern I work for.	8	12	24	19	38	2680

24. Has your job been influenced by new technology within the last 3 years?*(Put one circle only)*

(percent/n)

- | | | |
|---|----|------|
| 1. Yes | 48 | 3015 |
| 2. No (<i>Proceed to question 25</i>) | 53 | |

If yes:

What do you feel about the new technology?

(percent/n)

(Put one circle only in each line)

	In total agreement	In partial agreement	Neither agree nor disagree	Partial disagree	Totally disagree	
My work has become more challenging and interesting	31	33	20	6	10	1396
I have had to undergo further training.	28	24	17	7	23	1343
There's no longer so much use for my skills	8	9	12	14	57	1348

25. What would mean most to you if you could freely choose work? (percent/n)

(Put one circle in every line)

	Highly signifi- cant	Somewhat signifi- cant	Hard to say	Not signifi- cant	Not at all signifi- cant	
That the work is interesting and exciting	77	17	4	1	0	3238
That I could decide a lot myself	35	41	17	6	1	3199
That the salary is high	33	46	15	5	1	3206
That I feel I do a good job	83	15	2	0	0	3245
That there is job security	75	19	4	1	1	3219
That there is good fellowship in the workplace	75	21	3	1	0	3245
That the work environment is good	77	20	3	0	0	3230
That the job is close to home	27	39	14	16	4	3223
That I can decide my own working hours	16	35	24	19	6	3186
That there are good possibilities for in-service training	30	38	19	10	5	3190
That the management understands and respects the employees	79	18	3	0	0	3238

26. If you yourself could decide your working hours, how should they be? (percent/n)

(Put more circles where relevant)

1. Full-time	66	3305
2. Part-time	23	3307
3. Working hours within the period 6 p.m.-6 a.m.	65	3306
4. Working hours within the period 6 a.m.-6 p.m.	5	3305
5. Weekend work	3	3304
6. Shift work	4	3307
7. Flexible working hours	35	3305

27. Should there be more participation in decision-making in the place of work?*(Put more circles where relevant)*

(percent/n)

1. Yes, especially regarding the overall decisions on hiring, firing, closure, expansion, etc.	44	3265
2. Yes, but especially around organization of everyday work.	63	3266
3. No, there doesn't need to be more participation.	20	3265

28. What thoughts do you have about your future in the labour force?*(Put one circle only in each line)*

(percent/n)

	In total agreement	In partial agreement	Neither agree nor disagree	Partial disagree	Totally disagree	
I'm afraid to be unemployed	40	22	16	10	13	3195
I'm afraid that my qualifications won't be sufficient in the labour force of the future	20	23	20	15	21	3178
I'm not worried about my future in the labour force.	21	23	19	16	22	3191
I would like another education	17	17	23	11	22	3129
I would like to have my own firm.	11	11	12	8	59	3125
I would like to quit working.	8	6	12	8	66	3154

QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR UNION

29. Do you have a post unpaid in your trade union?

(Put more circles where relevant) (percent/n)

1. Yes	12	3328
2. No, I've never been	73	3328
3. No, but I've previously been	13	3324
4. No, but I would like to be if I was asked to	5	3301

If yes:

Which union post: *(Put more circles where relevant)* (percent/n)

1. Shop-steward	33	625
2. Member of local union representation	34	621
3. Safety regulations representative	36	621
4. Member of works committee	21	657
5. Other, of which: _____	23	659

30. Have you participated in union meetings within the last year?

(Put more circle where relevant) (percent/n)

1. No <i>(Proceed to question 31)</i>	56	3298
2. Yes, general meeting(s) in the union	23	3290
3. Yes, union meetings	13	3291
4. Yes, after work meetings, study circles and the like arranged by the union	12	3290
5. Yes, union meetings in the workplace	27	3289

If yes:

Why do you participate in general meetings, union meetings and the like? (percent/n)

(Put more circles where relevant)

1.	As a member one has a duty to participate in those kinds of activities	46	1588
2.	Not to look bad among my colleagues	5	1573
3.	To be together with my colleagues	20	1575
4.	To make my opinions known and have influence	52	1574
5.	To get information	89	1575
6.	Other reasons: _____	4	1582

31. On wich occasion have you, within the last year, personally approached your union?

(Put more circles where relevant)

(percent/n)

1.	I have never made an approach (<i>Proceed to question 32</i>)	43	3170
2.	I was in danger of being fired	6	3166
3.	I had a salary problem at work	10	3166
4.	I had a problem with the work environment in my workplace	5	3165
5.	I needed good advice because I had personal problems	7	3163
6.	I had to take part in social get togethers in the union	6	3165
7.	I wanted advice and guidance regarding education	16	3167
8.	I wanted to know about the possibilities of participating in trips, journeys etc., that the union arranged	5	3166
9.	Other, of which: _____	20	3163

If you have approached the union:

Are you satisfied with the service in the union? (*Put one circle only*)

(percent/n)

1.	Very satisfied	25	1922
2.	Satisfied	55	
3.	Dissatisfied	10	
4.	Very dissatisfied	4	
5.	Don't know	6	

32. What do you think about the following:

(percent/n)

(Put one circle only in each line)

	In total agree- ment	In parti- pal agree- ment	Neit- her agree nor disagree	Partial dis- agree	Totally dis- agree	
I always make my opinion known to my union in specific cases.	26	18	34	7	15	3060
As a rule I get my opinions across to my union	4	11	54	10	22	2973
The union is easy to get in touch with.	41	28	19	8	5	3156
The union does a good job informing about union work.	25	30	30	9	6	3129
The union must work towards increasing the activity of its members	31	22	35	6	6	3075
Union dues could well be higher	1	2	12	10	75	3169

33. What do you think about the labour movements' work?

(percent/n)

(Put one circle only in each line)

	In total agree- ment	In parti- pal agree- ment	Neit- her agree nor disagree	Partial dis- agree	Totally dis- agree	
The labour movements' leaders act totally in accordance with the members interests	8	24	34	23	12	3163
The labour movement would be stronger if the trade unions were mutually in greater agreement	45	27	25	2	2	3155
The local branches should decide more in relationship to the union	27	31	36	3	2	3134
There is too great a distance between what happens in the workplace and the decisions taken by the union.	32	29	34	4	2	3160

34. Why are you a member of your union?

(percent/n)

(Put one circle only in each line)

	In total agree- ment	In parti- pal agree- ment	Neit- her agree nor disagree	Partial dis- agree	Totally dis- agree	
Because I think that one ought to be a member of a union. . .	56	17	12	5	10	3185
In solidarity with my fellow workers.	40	18	20	7	15	3135
To have my interests looked after.	53	21	16	4	6	3141
To get unemployment benefit.	78	12	4	1	4	3197
Because it is required in my workplace	48	9	14	4	26	3156
Other reasons, such as: _____	4					3268

35. What do you think ought to be the unions most important tasks? (percent/n)

(Put one circle only in each line)

	In total agree-ment	In parti-pal agree-ment	Neit-her agree nor disagree	Partial dis-agree	Totally dis-agree	
Fight unemployment	71	17	9	2	2	3267
Securing the highest possible salary for the members	59	28	10	2	1	3246
Equalize salary differences between the high paid and the low paid	47	27	16	6	4	3233
Equalize salary differences between men and women	67	19	10	2	2	3243
Shorten working hours	29	25	26	9	11	3217
Improve the work environment	69	23	7	1	1	3238
Work for a more interesting and personally developing job . . .	42	29	26	3	2	3186
Work for greater job security	67	22	9	1	1	3233
Improve education, in-service and retraining possibilities for the members	62	23	13	1	1	3208
Work for participation in decision making in the workplace . .	42	30	23	4	2	3201
Run media activities (newspaper, radio and TV)	6	12	31	14	39	3166
Improve pension schemes	56	25	14	2	3	3212
Work for improvement of the environment/protection of nature	46	22	20	5	7	3205
Further the wage-earners' joint ownership of private concerns .	11	18	45	10	16	3170
Further profit sharing schemes	23	25	37	6	9	3166
Organize leisure and travel offers for members	18	19	31	11	22	3184
Render personal assistance to members	44	22	25	4	5	3185
Organize private insurance schemes	18	20	35	9	18	3182

36. How best should the union solve its tasks?*(Put more circles where relevant)*

(percent/n)

1.	Through central negotiations with employer organizations.	52	3192
2.	Through local negotiations with the individual employers.	57	3192
3.	Through co-operation with other unions/other groups in the workplace	46	3191
4.	Through use of strike threats and other forms of collective struggle.	8	3191
5.	By influencing the municipalities and other local authorities	22	3184
6.	Through close contact with the Social Democratic Party (Labour).	10	3188
7.	By influencing the government and Parliament	30	3188
8.	Through influence in the European Union.	13	3187
9.	By influencing media.	16	3189

37. Where do you stand regarding the following?

(percent/n)

(Put one circle only in each line)

	In total agreement	In partial agreement	Neither agree nor disagree	Partial disagree	Totally disagree	
Unions are necessary for attending to the interests of wage-earners.	65	22	9	2	2	3251
Unions have too little influence on society today.	19	28	36	11	7	3174
Unions have too little influence on employers.	22	30	30	11	6	3191
The union's policy resembles the employer's policy too much. . .	11	20	43	16	10	3162
In my workplace the employer and the union often disagree in important matters.	13	16	42	12	17	3091

38. What do you think is important for fixing wages? (percent/n)
(Put one circle only in each line)

	In total agree-ment	In parti-pal agree-ment	Neit-her agree nor disagree	Partial dis-agree	Totally dis-agree	
The central negotiations between my union and the employers' association means most in determining my wage.	35	21	27	6	11	3064
The negotiations between my employer and my shop steward means most in determining my wage.	15	15	29	9	33	2996
The company's profits results mean most in determining my wage.	13	19	29	9	31	3000
My wage is determined to a high degree by my qualifications	19	24	22	8	28	3052
My union's role in determining my wage is hardly noticeable.	27	17	29	12	15	3054

39. What do you think ought to determine the size of one's wage? (percent/n)
(Put one circle only in each line)

	In total agree-ment	In parti-pal agree-ment	Neit-her agree nor disagree	Partial dis-agree	Totally dis-agree	
There ought to be equal pay for equal work	76	13	6	2	3	3257
The wage ought to be adjusted to the individual wage-earner's efforts	34	31	16	7	13	3181
The wage ought to be adjusted to the individual company's economic capacity	11	23	29	12	26	3131

40. On what grounds have you within the last year contacted your unemployment fund?

(Put more circles where relevant) (percent/n)

1. As I'm not a member, I haven't made contact	4	3112
2. Even though I am a member of an unemployment fund, I haven't made contact	52	3113
3. In order to sort out my unemployment benefit	26	3113
4. In order to arrange an interview about my situation as an unemployed	17	3113
5. In order to get vocational guidance	8	3110
6. In order to get help in choosing an education	6	3113
7. To get good advice because I have personal problems.	4	3112
8. To find out about my social rights	7	3112
9. To participate in the unemployment fund's activities for the unemployed.	4	3112
10. In order to get a new job.	11	3111
11. To become a member of the unemployment fund.	6	3113
12. Other, which: _____	5	3113

41. What do you think of the unemployment fund?

(percent/n)

(Put one circle only in each line)

	In total agree- ment	In parti- pal agree- ment	Neit- her agree nor disagree	Partial dis- agree	Totally dis- agree	
The unemployment fund doesn't always look out for the mem- ber's interests	13	21	46	10	11	3023
The unemployment fund should to a greater extent provide guidance about education and vocational guidance.	28	25	40	4	3	3003
The unemployment fund ought to aim more at assigning work	43	27	26	2	2	3030
The unemployment fund ought to carry out a stricter control of the unemployed	26	19	34	8	14	3034
When I contact the unemployment fund I always get good service	30	19	45	4	3	2916

QUESTIONS ABOUT POLITICAL CONDITIONS AND PUBLIC AUTHORITIES

42. Where do you stand regarding the following political objectives? (percent/n)
(Put one circle only in each line)

	In total agree- ment	In parti- pal agree- ment	Nei- her agree nor disagree	Partial dis- agree	Totally dis- agree	
It is important to fight unemployment.	85	12	2	1	1	3298
It is important to secure economic growth	61	26	9	3	1	3244
It is important to protect the environment	82	13	4	1	0	3273
It is important to reduce the difference between rich and poor .	48	25	16	7	4	3257

43. What do you think would be the best means to fight unemployment?
(Put more circles where relevant)

(percent/n)

1. Employment projects	35	3283
2. More jobs in the public service	25	3284
3. Tax relief	5	3284
4. Companies should be ordered to hire unemployed	22	3284
5. Ban on firing in the companies	9	3282
6. Increase in-service training for the employed	37	3283
7. Shorter working hours	38	3281
8. Ban on overtime	45	3284
9. Lower salaries	4	3284
10. Gradual increase of the salary for the young	25	3283
11. Other, such as: _____	8	3283

44. What do you think about unemployment benefit? (percent/n)

(Put one circle only in each line)

	In total agree-ment	In parti-pal agree-ment	Neit-her agree nor disagree	Partial dis-agree	Totally dis-agree	
I should be made easier to get benefits	11	13	36	16	23	3147
Unemployment benefit is too low.	25	21	30	12	13	3193
There is too much control of benefit recipients	8	10	37	18	28	3148
The unemployed should do voluntary work while they receive unemployment benefit	30	28	22	9	12	3215

45. Have you within the last year been in contact with the Job Centre?

(Put one circle only)

(percent/n)

3312

1. No	66
2. Yes, once	15
3. Yes, 2 - 5 times	16
4. Yes, more than 5 times	3

46. How do you think you are being helped by the Job Centre? (percent/n)

(Put one circle only in each line)

	In total agree-ment	In parti-pal agree-ment	Neit-her agree nor disagree	Partial dis-agree	Totally dis-agree	
The Job Centre is good at informing and guiding me about my job possibilities	15	17	41	12	15	2431
In their suggestions they are very considerate about my own job wishes	15	16	49	10	10	2383
In their suggestions they are very considerate about my own wishes concerning education	11	15	57	8	9	2347
The Job Centre's staff are often too busy to be able to give me thorough guidance and help	19	14	49	8	10	2379

47. What do you think about the need for the Job Centre?*(Put one circle only)*

(percent/n)

- | | | | |
|----|--|----|------|
| 1. | The Job Centre is necessary in a well functioning labour market | 85 | 2961 |
| 2. | The Job Centre's tasks are superfluous; the individual in the labour market must fend for himself. | 15 | |
-

48. Have you within the last year participated in courses/education during working hours?*(Put one circle only)*

(percent/n)

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|------|
| | | | 3221 |
| 1. | No, I haven't participated in such course activities
<i>(Proceed to question 49)</i> | 55 | |
| 2. | Yes, once | 21 | |
| 3. | Yes, 2 – 5 times | 22 | |
| 4. | Yes, more than 5 times | 3 | |

If yes:

What did you get out of participating in a course/education?*(Put more circles where relevant)*

(percent/n)

- | | | | |
|----|--|----|------|
| 1. | I acquired qualifications I could use on the job | 74 | 1504 |
| 2. | I acquired qualifications so I could change job or type of work. | 12 | 1496 |
| 3. | I acquired qualifications so I could fend for myself in the labour force | 15 | 1496 |
| 4. | I experienced a fellowship on the course | 40 | 1496 |
| 5. | I became convinced that I can still learn something | 61 | 1494 |
| 6. | I got a push in my personal development | 40 | 1493 |
| 7. | I generally didn't have my expectations fulfilled | 8 | 1495 |

Write why not: _____

49. What do you think of the level of state benefits in the event of: (percent/n)

(Put one circle only in each line)

	Very well insured	Well insured	Neither well nor badly insured	Badly insured	Very badly insured	
Unemployment	13	32	32	15	8	3210
Illness	16	35	28	14	6	3214
Old age	5	17	31	26	21	3198

50. What do you think about the following:

(percent/n)

(Put one circle in every line)

	In total agree- ment	In parti- pal agree- ment	Neit- her agree nor disagree	Partial dis- agree	Totally dis- agree	
The public health service should be enlarged, so waiting lists can be avoided	65	25	7	2	1	3251
The retirement pension should be improved, so the elderly get better living conditions	67	24	7	2	1	3276
The authorities should provide greater financial support for cultural activities.	7	14	31	22	27	3204
The public child care arrangements should be reduced	5	9	20	19	47	3220
Public transportation ought to be limited	5	9	26	19	42	3203
Taxes have become too high, and consequently the public servi- ce should be reduced	19	20	24	17	20	3233

51. How do you think society ought to develop in the years to come? (percent/n)
(Put one circle only in each line)

	In total agreement	In partial agreement	Neither agree nor disagree	Partial disagree	Totally disagree	
Democracy should be extended more widely in society.	36	30	31	2	2	3124
Solidarity should be extended; wage-earners should stick together.	46	26	23	4	2	3176
Social justice should increase; the differences between rich and poor must be reduced.	43	26	18	10	3	3180
Prosperity should increase; especially wage-earners should have higher real wages	36	31	24	7	2	3175
The quality of life for the individual should be improved	60	25	14	1	1	3160
Nature and the environment should be protected; stricter environmental rules should be imposed especially upon companies and households.	57	30	10	2	1	3201
The individual wage-earner should have more independence on the job.	33	41	23	3	1	3169
Tradition and morals ought to play a greater role in society	23	29	34	9	5	3145
Law and order must be secured; especially the efforts of the police must be strengthened	46	27	18	6	3	3185
The individual wage-earner must be more conscientious on the job	29	35	28	5	3	3178
It should to a greater extent pay to yield an extra effort on one's job	55	28	13	3	2	3190
There should be more competition - also within the public service	21	27	45	4	3	3059
The capable must receive greater recognition	24	33	28	8	6	3157

52. Have you within the last year participated in any activities in order to influence political decisions?

(Put more circles where relevant)

(percent/n)

1.	No	80	3280
2.	Yes, signed a protest petition.	13	3279
3.	Yes, participated in a demonstration	3	3279
4.	Yes, participated in party political work	3	3280
5.	Yes, participated in other political work (grass roots activities and the like)	2	3277
6.	Yes, participated in civil activities such as a school committee, parent teacher association or the like	7	3280
7.	Yes, on strike	2	3279
8.	Yes, written a letter to the editor of a newspaper, union newsletter or the like	3	3279
9.	Other, of which: _____	1	3280

53. Who do you usually vote for?

(Put one circle only)

(percent/n)

1.	A wage-earner left-wing party	60	3175
2.	A right-wing party	19	
3.	A centre party	6	
4.	I switch between 1, 2 and 3	9	
5.	I usually don't vote	7	

QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR FAMILY AND LEISURE TIME

54. What schooling have you had? (<i>Put one circle only</i>)	(percent/n)
	3319
1. 7th class or less	21
2. 8th, 9th or 10th class	68
3. Secondary school	11

55. Wich educational background do you have (<i>Put one circle only</i>)	(percent/n)
	3208
1. None, other than primary school or secondary school	35
2. Basic year under the trade skill education scheme	10
3. Apprenticeship	34
4. Shorter theoretical training (middle-ranking technician, teacher training or the like)	10
5. Other, of which: _____	11

56. Family relations (<i>Put one circle only</i>)	(percent/n)
	3277
1. Married or live in a steady couple relationship	77
2. Live alone (<i>Proceed to question 59</i>)	23

57. Is your spouse/common-law partner: (<i>Put one circle only</i>)	(percent/n)
	2517
1. Non-skilled worker	25
2. Skilled worker	30
3. White-collar worker	27
4. Self-employed	4
5. Housewife	5
6. Undergoing an education	4
7. Other, such as: _____	4

58. Is your spouse/common-law partner at present: (<i>Put one circle only</i>)	(percent/n)
	2392
1. Employed full-time (more than 30 hours a week)	75
2. Employed part-time (between 15 and 30 hours a week)	10
3. Employed part-time (less than 15 hours a week)	1
4. Unemployed	14

59. Do you have children living at home (<i>Put one circle only</i>)	(percent/n)
	3290
1. No	49
2. Yes, give number: _____	51

60. What is your housing situation? (<i>Put one circle only</i>)	(percent/n)
	3296
1. I live in a rented flat or room	25
2. I live in a rented house	8
3. I live in an owner-occupied flat	4
4. I live in my own house	59
5. I live in a co-operative	5

61. What was your income before tax (including maintenance allowance etc.) in 1991?	(percent/n)
(<i>Put one circle only</i>)	3285
1. Below 100.000 DKK	9
2. 100.000 – 149.999 DKK	31
3. 150.000 – 199.999 DKK	36
4. 200.000 – 249.999 DKK	17
5. 250.000 – 299.999 DKK	4
6. 300.000 DKK and more	2

62. What is most important to you? (<i>Put one circle only</i>)	(percent/n)
	3048
1. To purchase durable goods for my money (e.g. house, car, boat, TV)	33
2. To use money to live well each day	51
3. To use my money to enrich my life (e.g. travel)	16

63. What is most important when you shop? (<i>Put one circle only</i>)	(percent/n)
	3014
1. The price of the product	24
2. The quality of the product	36
3. That the product is not harmful to the environment	4
4. I just buy what I like	34
5. Other, such as: _____	3

64. How do you think domestic tasks are best distributed in the family?	(percent/n)
(<i>Put one circle only</i>)	3232
1. Men and women should equally share each and every task	28
2. Men and women should share the tasks individually according to interests	55
3. It's best that the woman takes care of the majority of the household tasks and the man takes care of maintenance and repairs in the house	14
4. Don't know	3

65. What do you think about men and women working away from home?	(percent/n)					
(<i>Put one circle only in each line</i>)						
	In total agree- ment	In parti- pal agree- ment	Neit- her agree nor disagree	Partial dis- agree	Totally dis- agree	
The family economy improves.	64	27	7	1	1	3248
Family ties are better when both are working	26	32	31	7	4	3166
Everybody needs the personal benefits of having a job	54	28	12	4	2	3225
Work away from home is necessary to enhance womens' liberation	17	20	37	11	16	3168
It is necessary for the good of the nation.	16	21	44	10	10	3172

66. To what degree do you use your leisure time for:

(percent/n)

(Put one circle only in each line)

	Often	Sometimes	Never	
Extra job	5	18	77	3084
Paid spare time job	3	11	86	3040
Unpaid spare time job	15	31	54	3088
Company sport and leisure time activities connected to your work place	4	17	79	3035
Sport	26	33	40	3132
Cultural activities (theatre, cinema, art exhibitions, lectures etc.) ..	13	59	28	3134
Dinner at a restaurant	5	71	24	3137
Political or union work	4	18	78	3100
Newspaper, magazines, books and like	63	35	3	3210
TV, film on video, radio and the like	64	35	1	3238
Taking a walk	45	49	5	3218
Being together with children	59	29	13	3188
Evening school	10	29	61	3104
Hobbies (for e.x. stamps, fish)	25	32	43	3113
Friends or family	73	27	1	3194
Other, of which: _____	7			3270

67. What do you think about the following?

(percent/n)

(Put one circle only in each)

	In total agree-ment	In parti-pal agree-ment	Neit-her agree nor disagree	Partial dis-agree	Totally dis-agree	
The things I do in my leisure time are more important to me than the things I do on the job	18	26	32	14	10	3228
I relax in my leisure time so I can do my job properly	18	30	26	15	11	3233
I have a good division between work and leisure time	43	35	16	5	2	3241
It's important for family togetherness to be together on leisure time activities	50	32	15	2	1	3228

68. Where do you meet your needs for personal contacts? (percent/n)

(Put one circle only in each line)

	Very much	Much	Partly little	Little	Very	
In the family	58	26	14	1	1	3270
Among friends and moreover in my leisure time	38	39	20	2	1	3241
At work	11	25	48	11	6	3201
In the union	1	2	12	19	66	3130

Thank you for your help!

As is written in the letter from your union, your answers will be handled with the strictest confidence.

The whole of this study also includes an interview, which will start in the autumn. We would therefore like to know if you would possibly be willing to be interviewed. **Of course, this is totally voluntary.**

If you are interested, please write your name and address (and phone number if any) here:

[(percent/n) = 787]

We would appreciate if, as soon as possible, you would return the completed questionnaire in the enclosed stamped, addressed envelope.

Thank you

Henning Jørgensen Morten Lassen Jens Lind Morten Madsen

Appendix

Table 1: The age of the members (percent and n)

Age	percent	n
20 years or below	3	
21–30 years	26	
31–40 years	27	
41–50 years	26	
51–60 years	16	
61 years or more	2	
Sum	100	3.370

Table 2: Year of first employment (percent and n)

Year	percent	n
1940–1949	4	
1950–1959	14	
1960–1969	25	
1970–1979	27	
1980–1989	28	
1990 or later	3	
Sum	101	3.236

Table 3: Number of companies employed within the last three years (percent and n)

Number of companies	percent	n
None	1	
1	70	
2-5	28	
6 or more	1	
Sum	100	3.295

Table 4: Months in all of unemployment within the last three years (percent and n)

Months in all	percent	n
None	61	
1-5 months	14	
6-12 months	11	
13-19 months	5	
20-26 months	5	
27-33 months	3	
34-36 months	1	
Sum	100	3.138

