

**Profile, Attitudes and Requests of UGT Delegates and  
Members**

FUNDACIÓN LARGO CABALLERO

Working Paper n.11  
Barcelona 1990

## **PRESENTATION**

The report on the study "Profile, attitudes and requests of UGT delegates and members" is above all a tool for the trade union leadership, not only to take stock of an already finished work but especially as a tool to define a strategy for the future, to get acquainted with the present structures and to transform them so that our labour movement can learn how to welcome the new generations which will have to face a renewed pattern of industrial relations.

And the moment chosen for this study is not casual; in its general historical context UGT is finishing its first century of experience and action, and has also gone through the first decade of recovered liberties along which it has experienced different electoral confrontations, an important political transition, a hard economic and industrial crisis and the first steps to get out of it.

However, in spite of the difficulties mentioned, if we had to remark any conclusion of this sociological study this would be that UGT is an entity introduced and vertebrated enough in our country, although still suffering from the consequences of a long illegality stage and the lack of associative attitudes in our population.

The need for stablishing priorities among tasks has implied the abandonment of some organization aspects and thus some structural weaknesses that are stated in this study, precisely so that they can be raised and solved. It seems particularly important to pay attention to the message that has to be sent to the younger generations and women, to put in first place the actions addressed to workers of the small and middle size enterprises, and generally to achieve a bigger responsibility in the union's commitment of delegates and members.

To end this presentation I want to say that what has been done until today would be of small value if it is not continued and studied in depth keeping data and results up to date through the right fieldwork and supporting qualitative working groups that allow us to face up new sectorial and territorial studies and also their further exploitation and diffusion.

Much of the success of an organization depends on its ability to know itself and, without any doubt, on an adequate informative basis supporting its decisions.

## **INTRODUCTION**

In the autumn of 1987 a research on trade unions was launched at the Francisco Largo Caballero Foundation, then chaired by Manuel Ventura. The aims of

the project were connected to some questions that trade unionists and social scientists had in mind: why do workers abstain from joining trade unions in greater number? How are trade unions in reality? What do workers request from trade unions today? And so on. The present report is the result of a long and thorough work in which a large number of workers, technicians and sociologists have been involved. This report contains an unique information on UGT, on trade unions in general and on the wage earners who are delegates and/or members of UGT.

Questionnaires were exhaustively thought and discussed and aim to search for the opinion of workers with an important motivation towards answering (delegates, members); this explains its length. Most of the questions went without any problem and those which posed any were used only as far as their lacks allowed.

The statistical processing applied to data was simple and effective. Maybe in the future a more complex processing of some questions (those that admit it or which would be interesting to deepen) will be pertinent.

The working hypotheses of the qualitative part (11 discussion groups) were decisive to establish the inquiries strategy. It is the reader who must now evaluate their correctness and value the extraordinary richness of data that we already have. In these reports we want to give a sense or an interpretation to these data, which already are the most complete source to know UGT and to understand some basic questions of present trade unions.

I have had the honour to conduct or coordinate a group of excellent researchers (Almudena Asenjo, Maite Vargas and Francisco Borges) whose work is shown in the rich material we are presenting. The technicians of the "Arias y Asociados" team collaborated in the qualitative section, contributing also to the quantitative with some suggestions.

Luis Garrido (IESA) is responsible of the difficult and wonderful samples design in collaboration with our team and with the sociologists Miguel Requena and Juan Jesús González.

Other persons who made possible this research are mentioned in the paragraph of acknowledgements.

The F. Largo Caballero Foundation and UGT always encouraged us without any misleading or obstacle. It is important to say so because the enquiries are essentially enquiries on lacks. There is no concession to triumphant rhetorics or to their contraries. The aims in our mind were to collaborate to the trade union improvement from our social scientists perspective. We hope so be it.

When this research finished the Foundation had a new chairman, Sebastián Reyna, who welcomed our work as much as Manuel Ventura did. We are all grateful to both.

Fermin Bouza  
Madrid, abril de 1989

## **SOME REMARKS ON THE METHODOLOGY**

The research on "Profile, attitudes and requests of the UGT delegate and member" was carried on in two phases: a first qualitative one through eleven discussion groups and a second quantitative phase through a national enquiry which was applied to two samples that we will call delegates sample and membership sample.

### **Delegates sample**

The universe from which the delegates sample was drawn was of the 66.411 delegates that UGT obtained in the Trade Union Elections of 1986 according to the official data of the Labour Office. Its size was fixed in 662 interviews of which 597 were carried out. The sample error is 4% for a sample distribution  $p=q$  of 50% with a confidence level of 95%.

Criteria for stratifying were size of the place of work and groups of Comunidades Autónomas. For the first case three sections were set for the distribution: from 6 to 24 workers, from 25 to 99 and 100 and more.

The groups of Comunidades Autónomas were: Andalucía, Aragón-Rioja, Asturias-Cantabria, Canarias, Castilla La Mancha-Extremadura, Castilla-León, Cataluña, Galicia, Madrid, País Vasco-Navarra y País Valenciano-Murcia-Baleares.

97 sample points that were equivalent to municipalities were set and a selection of enterprises where the enquiries would take place was made according to UGT's influence and type of economic activity. Thus three types of municipalities were established on the basis of the number and class of enterprises that would be interviewed.

- Municipality Type 1: it was assigned two interviews in enterprises with 6-24 workers; three in 25-99; and six in those with 100 and more (a total of eleven).

- Municipality Type 2: two interviews in enterprises with 6-24 workers and

three in those with 25-99 (a total of five).

- Municipality Type 3: four interviews in enterprises with 6-24 workers.

### **Membership sample**

In this case the universe consisted in the 700.000 members of UGT according to the data provided by the Confederate Administrative Secretariat.

Criteria for stratifying, selection of enterprises and sample points were the same as in the delegates sample, increasing the number of interviews proportionally to each type of municipality: 18 interviews in Type 1, 65 in Type 2 and 4 in Type 3.

The size of the theoretical sample was set at 986 although only 522 interviews were carried out; this and the fact that they were not distributed according to the set criteria reduces its statistical significance, being impossible to mark the error limits. Thus the results of this enquiry have just an indicative nature.

### **Use of the enquiry**

Once data had been collected, tabulated and recorded by the enterprise ALEF its utilization began. It will be useful to understand the results specified in this section to remark shortly two of the variables that were constructed.

These variables are "position towards membership" and "position towards delegation" which refer to the delegates and membership samples respectively.

POSITION TOWARDS MEMBERSHIP of the delegates sample. All of them are delegates elected in the last trade union elections. It has the following values:

#### **Table1**

POSITION TOWARDS DELEGATION of the membership sample. All of them are members of UGT. The values are:

#### **Table2**

### **PROFILE OF UGT DELEGATE AND MEMBER**

In this chapter we have included some of the personal characteristics, as well as some others referring to the trade union, labour and political life of UGT delegates and members.

This profile is important not only to know who are and where are UGT delegates and members but, much more, because it allows us to approach some of the changes that are taking place in the human weave of the trade union organization and also how this group is inserted in the Spanish society. Still we will not raise these questions here.

The results that appear in first place are related to the global of the delegates sample, against which will be presented the figures concerning member delegates, not member delegates and grass-roots members.

According to the sex and age distributions men delegates are 88%; thus it can be said that women have a small presence in the trade union: just 12%. The predominant age group is that of 30-39 years old, with 41%.

The education level of UGT delegates is low: 13% of them has below primary studies and 36% primary.

On the other side some of their labour and trade union characteristics have to do both with the size of the work place and with the activity area where they are working: 57% of the delegates work in enterprises with less than 50 employees; industry is the activity area more frequent, especially the metal industry (23%).

Among their labour features, seniority in the present job appears to be the outstanding one: 56% of them began working in their place before 1975. This can explain the high percentage of permanent contracts (90%).

The average income of these delegates, most of which have an official level (52%) being much more rare the presence of technicians (7%), is 100.000 ptas/home and month.

Other economic characteristics of these delegates are the following: a high percentage of homeowners (78%) and also of car owners (85%); 40% of homes have a video recorder and a record player. Other frequent electrical household appliances are the refrigerator, colour TV and washing machine.

Together with this objective approach to their social position we must also stand out the way they perceive it. Thus when asked to place themselves in a social class range, 75% choose the middle class, percentage that falls to 69% when they are asked to say to which social class they would like to belong. In this case, 14%

prefers the high class and 10% the very high.

The values that better describe their relationship with the trade union are the joining year and their seniority as representatives in the enterprise. In the first case, 29% of delegates joined the trade union between 1975 and 1977, 33% did it between 1979 and 1982; the figures go down during the period 1983-1986 and reach a 22% between 1986 and the first half of 1988. Delegates affiliated during these last years belong to enterprises with 25-99 workers (44%) and with less than 25 (22%).

On the other hand seniority as representatives in the enterprise can give us an idea of the organization mobility and renewal. In this sense the results were: 56% of the present UGT delegates were elected for the first time in the last trade union elections and 15% are delegates since the first, held in 1978.

42% of the elected delegates in 1986 have joined the trade union between this elections year and the first months of 1988, what makes us think that in the moment of trade union elections UGT turns to many more workers not members than our delegates sample would suggest.

To finish with the delegates profile, we present some data about their sociopolitical and cultural characteristics. It is a group whose information sources are not much different from the rest of population's average. Most of them look at television: 90% does it daily preferably between 8 and 9 p.m. and being especially interested in news bulletins, TV films and sports programmes. Less delegates listen to the radio: 62%.

The reading rates of these delegates are quite low be it newspapers, magazines or books. In the first case preferences are, by order, regional papers, "El País" and sports papers. The preferred magazines are "Interviu", "Cambio 16" and "Tiempo". When the enquiry was done a very low percentage of delegates was reading a book: 70% was not reading any.

The number of UGT delegates stating they are Catholics is also outstanding: 71%, 21% of which are practising.

From a political point of view, it is a group placed in left positions, leaning towards the center-left, particularly those recently entered delegates. The senior members of the trade union occupy positions more to the left and are more affiliated to PSOE.

The political vote of UGT delegates is mainly socialist: 79% voted for PSOE in the 1986 elections. However the vote intention for this party at the time of this enquiry had fallen to 64%; the differential vote went mostly to "Don't Know" rather

than to other parties.

This was in short the profile of UGT delegates. We must take into account that these figures, as has already been pointed, are the global for the delegates sample and thus they don't show some of the specific characteristics of the not affiliated delegates or the grass-roots membership.

It would not be mistaken to say that the profile we have just drawn fits especially with the one concerning the affiliated delegate. The not affiliated delegate, which means 24% of the delegates sample, is a very important element for the trade union. In the following lines we will mention quickly the characteristics that differentiate him/her from the preceding figures:

- They are younger (22% is between 20 and 29 years old) and there are more women within the group (17%);

- They have occupied their job for less time and are concentrated in enterprises with less than 25 workers, especially those related to services and the construction industry (this last with 41% of its delegates not being affiliated);

- They state more frequently belonging to the middle class and desire to go up in the social ladder;

- Their political positions are mainly at the centre and almost none is affiliated to a political party. They also diversify more their vote: almost 30% less than the affiliated delegates vote for PSOE.

Lastly, just a few remarks on the grass-roots membership specific features:

- Their average age is slightly higher and there are also more women. Their education level is lower: 56% is in the primary or below primary groups;

- Their joining the trade union is more recent: 26% became member before 1977; since 1982 41% enters it

- They are concentrated in enterprises with more than 100 employees and belong especially to the industrial sector.

## **ATTITUDES TOWARDS TRADE UNIONS MEMBERSHIP**

The enquiries show a progressive ideologization as we approach the present, if we reason in terms of year of affiliation. This fact corresponds with opinions against trade unions expressed in the discussion groups by the not affiliated who saw in trade unions an ideological form that did not interest them. The not affiliated delegates included in the delegates enquiry also expressed similar opinions in their answers.

These recent members (from 1980 until today) form a wide majority in the trade union that does not seem to have given a new image of it to the not affiliated,



who keep a historical perception of labour and trade unions and reject it.

The picture that the affiliated workers have of the not affiliated does not correspond with the one these last have of themselves, and what the former consider as lack of class consciousness is looked at by the latter as independence. This disagreement was widely shown in the qualitative phase of the study, which we will see at the end of this chapter.

The term "de-ideologization" can be confusing without establishing "ideology" in the concret context of a country where trade unions have played a decisive political/ ideological role during the civil war and the underground period. Maybe it is this over-ideology of trade unions imposed by the political dynamics what is rejected in a new historical situation. Trade unions (UGT in this case) still carry that history, especially for the oldest affiliates. The young members have looked more for a protection trade union although they also share a negative point of view towards the not affiliated workers.

### **Reasons for membership**

The most important is "protection" far above the rest that delegates and members state as determinants for their affiliation to UGT (49 % of delegates and 67% of grassroots affiliates), followed by "ideology" (26% of delegates and 17% of grass-roots affiliates).

As the size of the enterprise gets bigger, the importance of ideology increases and that of protection decreases. On the contrary, protection is more often mentioned by the sections of lowest incomes and, generally, women.

The de-ideologization of affiliation increases with the nearness of the year of affiliation, especially since 1980.

### **Reasons for not affiliation to class trade unions**

Workers themselves are responsible for not affiliating to UGT and class trade unions (either because of apathy or individualism, etc) according to the opinions of the affiliated delegates (75%), not affiliated delegates (59%), ex-affiliated delegates (55%) and grass-roots affiliates (64%). It seems clear that this attribution to the workers themselves is higher between the affiliated (both delegates and not) than between the not affiliated or ex-affiliated.

The attribution to a bad service from the part of trade unions as a reason

explaining non-affiliation is important between the ex-affiliated delegates (41%) and not much between the affiliated delegates (20%).

### **Definition of the not affiliated worker**

The affiliated delegates (trade union's operative centre) defined not affiliated workers by choosing some descriptive words from a broad list; the description was as follows, by choice/frequency order: apathic, without a class consciousness, individualist, without an ideology, independent.

The not affiliated delegates chose the following, also by order: independent, without an ideology, individualist, apathic, without a class consciousness.

We can see that there is almost a reversal between both groups' definition and perceptive distance, which are separated by a true symbolic wall as was shown in the qualitative groups analysis, that we will examine further on.

### **Why don't UGT not affiliated delegates join the trade union?**

When the last elections took place 40% of the UGT elected delegates were not members of the trade union. This percentage was lower when the enquiries were made: 23,8%, which means that a high percentage of delegates (15,000 approximately) is not disposed to join the trade union, soon at least. Most of them seem to be demotivated and just a few declare to prefer keeping their independence or to have some disagreement with UGT.

### **Perception of the trade union in the qualitative phase**

In the work previous to the enquiries that has been done with the discussion groups we have observed a different idea of trade unions between affiliates and non affiliates

which has made us talk of a true barrier or wall between both. Non affiliates claimed for a micro trade union nearer to their immediate problems and less ideologcal. They saw the trade union as an almost primitive body only useful to negotiate high level agreements and felt that trade unions are obscure and little appropriate organizations. They were afraid of the generalization that a trade union implies and preferred to maintain their independence.

Affiliates saw these non affiliates as individualists and without a class

consciousness, although they also thought, as the non affiliates did, that trade unions were too dependent on political parties.

We could conclude that, in general, affiliates showed an important maladjustment to the current situation of the world and the social relations and, on the other side, non affiliates were too well adapted and with a notable lack of ideological perspectives.

Bringing these two positions close together did not seem easy and the enquiry came to prove so, partially at least. Although the new membership is more adapted to reality, it is still little informed, it participates very little and does not seem to have created a new image of the trade union. A continuing study of these questions will give us a temporary guideline of its possible evolution.

## **PARTICIPATION FORMS WITHIN THE TRADE UNION**

According to the following figures, participation within the trade union is clearly insufficient. This fact seems due to a large number of questions difficult to modify; maybe among the easiest to be raised we can mention the affiliates' own attitude, very passive and corresponding to a pattern of control unionism, not much favourable to open initiatives.

In all the raised questions affiliated delegates play a central role, much superior to that of the affiliate. And it is precisely this affiliated delegate (50% of them at least) who seems a little more participative in the trade union life, both in the enterprise and the trade union premises and meetings.

Although being general, the problem of a low participation is more pressing among the grass-roots affiliates. And if we consider, together with this, the information and communication problems the resulting picture seems very defective.

Reasons for not participating can not always be attributed to the trade union inefficiency; there is also a high percentage of disinterested, near to 45% of the sample delegates and 50% of the membership sample (considering the global number of those who never took part in inner elections).

This lack of interest forms part of the political/syndical culture of the long Francoist years and now reveals itself very strongly in trade unions already little trained for participation.

According to the criteria used in the study, the most satisfied employees with the "work/wages" ratio are the less near to trade unions and it does not seem likely

that they will join one if it does not offer more participation and more human relations (culture and leisure).

### **Participation in UGT inner elections**

About 50% of delegates (affiliated, of course) have never participated in any UGT internal elections, not even in their enterprise (to constitute the trade union section or other questions). More than 75% of the grass-roots affiliates have not done it either.

Still, the enterprise is the more participative area (even if not much) and figures fall (particularly among grass-roots affiliates) in territorial or federal elections.

Participation increases in bigger enterprises and also when members grow older, as a general rule.

### **The responsible posts in UGT**

67% of affiliated delegates and 90% of grass-roots affiliates do not occupy any responsibility post in UGT.

The possibility to do it seems related to: a bigger size of the enterprise, a higher income level, a higher studies level and affiliation seniority.

Delegates with responsibilities in UGT place themselves more to the left than the average.

### **Participation as delegates in UGT different level Conferences**

61% of affiliated delegates have never attended Conferences as well as 82% of grassroots affiliates. 35% of delegates attending conferences and just 9% among the non participating are members of PSOE.

### **Contributions in the inner meetings**

78% of the grass-roots affiliates participate "little or not at all" in this kind of meetings while the same figure is 59% among affiliated delegates and 90% among not affiliated delegates. There seems to exist a big inhibition in all the categories when it is time to give one's opinion about the summons' contents and it also seems

that a pattern of control unionism prevails.

## **INTERNAL INFORMATION IN UGT**

### **Situation data**

First, as a general feature, it can be said that, when asked "do you feel informed about what happens and what it is decided in UGT?", a number of members and delegates consider themselves well enough informed of how does UGT act and take decisions: "very" and "enough" are the answers of 38% of delegates and 28% of members. On the other side, a more generalized perception is that the information is not sufficient and even null. In the extreme positions, a little more than 25% of members and 20% of delegates feel to be "not at all informed" and just 4% state to be "very informed".

Globally, delegates seem to feel better informed than membership does.

Among delegates affiliates are the group which feel better informed (more than 40%) while non affiliates (78,3%) and grassroots affiliates (75,9%) state to feel "not much" or "not at all" informed.

The greatest lack of information appears in the small working centres where, according to the membership sample, 81,5% of members say to be scarcely or not at all informed. This situation contrasts with that of the big enterprise where we can observe a higher degree of information.

Delegates with the lowest incomes are the ones who feel best informed (41,6%) and a progressive reduction outstands as incomes increase; however, in the membership sample, we can see the opposite situation : higher incomes correspond to best information.

Lastly, those who think they are doing an important work for the enterprise and consider their wages low show a bigger lack of information than those satisfied, either of getting good wages for an important work or of getting good wages although their work is not very important.

### **Trade Union's information media**

The principal channels of trade union information are newspapers (34% of delegates and 28% of members). The radio occupies however a secondary or lower position in relation to the specific trade union media (meetings, publications, etc).

## **UGT's periodical publications**

Information in UGT is channelled through different media, as newspapers, bulletins, communiqués, meetings or assemblies, talks with the leaders and companions, etc. Our analysis will base only on the newspapers or bulletins that members and delegates receive "regularly". The following are the more outstanding aspects:

Delegates are much better regularly informed by UGT than members. More than half of the members (55%) state not receiving regularly any UGT's periodical while this figure falls to 12% in the case of delegates. This better information in delegates is proved in all the organization. The grass-roots affiliates are the less informed with a big difference: 70% declare to receive no publication. Among not affiliated delegates just 12% does not receive any.

"Unión" is the publication more distributed among delegates (62%) and members (30%). Bulletins from the Territorial Unions are very little spread (3%); a bit more, but very limited, is information from the Industry Federations.

## **Valuation of the information**

According to data from the two samples, there exists a clear informative insufficiency: just 16,2% of delegates state to receive "a lot or enough" information from his/her Union. Among members the situation is still worse: 6,3% receive it from the Federation and 12,3% from the Union.

## **Requests for information**

As we have just seen, information from the trade union to delegates and members is really scarce. Requests are centred around three thematic blocks: economy (29-30%), labour (23-24%) and internal trade union (14%), and come basically from the affiliated delegates.

The most pressing requests come from the younger while women are the group that proportionally claims the least.

As the size of the enterprise increases, the requests for information on UGT organization and functioning and on worker's and delegate's rights and duties also get more pressing.

## **INFORMATION TO DELEGATES AND MEMBERS ABOUT SOME TRADE UNION FEATURES**

### **Knowledge of the leadership**

The data show that there is very little knowledge of UGT's leaders, either of the Confederation's top executive body or of its regional sectorial bodies. The percentages of "Don't know/Don't answer" and of wrong answers about the Confederate Executive Committee are very high, around 60% in both samples. Nicolás Redondo is the most popular or mentioned leader, but maybe the reason is his being a public man more than "belonging to" (the Committee), since the second leader mentioned, Antón Saracíbar (this one wholly linked to the trade union) is identified by just 97 delegates (12% of the sample) and 56 affiliates (9% of the sample).

78% of delegates and 83,6% of members don't know the name of the Secretary General of his Territorial Union, being the affiliated delegates the group that does know it in a larger proportion: 29% (mean: 21,9%).

The figures about the knowledge of the name of the Industry Provincial Federation's Secretary General are the following: 83,8% of delegates and 89,4% of members don't know it. In the biggest working centres (with more than 100 employees) the number of right answers is proportionally higher.

Just 6,8% of delegates and 9,6% of members don't recognize a photograph of Nicolás Redondo. If we compare this fact with the global figures of each group it seems that quite a few delegates and members don't follow debates about trade unions on TV or the press.

To finish this chapter we shall mention that when asked about how many members they think UGT has in Spain, 70,4% of delegates and 73,1% of affiliates answer "Don't know".

### **FORMATION IN UGT**

This is one of the aspects more influenced by the change processes that Spanish trade unions have been suffering during the last years.

In the first part of the study, the qualitative one, we can see some of the

issues that seem to affect the demand and the form of evaluation of the formation supply given by UGT:

1.- The short history since the trade union legalization. The step from a period of high political contents to another of normalization and greater social articulation.

2.- The practice and perspective of a trade union pattern more related to the manager's point of view: first as a continuation of what it had meant in the previous political regime and more normalized afterwards.

3.- The presence and attraction of technicians in the trade union, articulated in an ambivalent way in the groups' discourse:

- on one side, as knowledge carriers,
- on the other, as subjects who, from that knowledge, could introduce new forms of trade union practice.

4.- The formation as trade union information. This information is related with different aspects:

- clarifying ideology and being up to date
- participation in the trade union organization
- truthful knowledge of the decision making.

## **FORMATION ACCORDING TO THE RESULTS OF THE ENQUIRY**

In the enquiry that was answered by UGT delegates and affiliates there where four questions directly related with the formation:

- 1.- Number of courses attended during the last twelve months.
- 2.- Causes for not attending any.
- 3.- Satisfaction degree about the course utility.
- 4.- Which subjects are considered interesting for possible courses.

The demand and participation in these courses are not homogeneous being the principal cause factors as age, sex, affiliation year, etc.

Thus the first outstanding point is the low participation in the formation courses, both among delegates and members: 64% of delegates and 88% of members have never attended any formation courses in the twelve months before the enquiry.

These percentages of low participation can be modified by variables as affiliation/ non affiliation in the delegates sample: 54% of affiliated delegates and 89% of the not affiliated have never attended a course. The same thing happens in the membership sample: 95% of the grass-roots affiliates has never participated in one.



Another important change in the samples' means is related with the size of the centre: workers in enterprises with a hundred and more employees are the most participative (51% has attended one or more courses in the last 12 months). In the opposite are the delegates of small enterprises (just 25%).

Women attend these courses in a lower degree than men: 27% and 37% respectively have attended a formation course during the last year. Age is also an influent factor: delegates from 20 to 39 years old are the most participative group (38%).

We find that in both samples the causes for such a low participation level are the following, by importance order:

- an objective impossibility (lack of time, difficulty in the transportation, etc);
- lack of information about the courses;
- lack of interest on the courses' contents.

The first cause is particularly mentioned by the affiliated delegates; the second, by those affiliates who have never had a responsibility in the trade union; and the third by the not affiliated delegates.

All these data were related to the answer given to the formation supply in UGT; the data referring to the demand are also interesting.

When asked about the subject they would like to learn in a course, UGT delegates and members answer the following, by importance order:

- labour legislation;
- trade union formation and action;
- professional training.

Immediately after these, a high percentage of Don't know outstands with a 27% of the delegates sample and 31% of the membership one. It is necessary to consider the results of the qualitative phase to understand this high percentage.

In relation to the satisfaction degree, the persons who participate more are also the more satisfied with the courses. Directly related with this, the demand of new courses goes together with the trade union formation supply.

Lastly, another variable that seems to condition the participation in formation courses is that of occupying inner responsibilities in the trade union. In this sense, those with responsibilities (especially in the trade unions' section) not only participate more but they are also much more likely to have attended more courses in the last year than the rest of the delegates and members.

## **TRADE UNION ACTION OF DELEGATES AND AFFILIATES**

In this section we will see the trade union action from three different points of view according to the acting subject:

- First, about the knowledge and use of the "trade union hours" and the work done during this period; the unit is the group of delegates.
- Second, about the "spreading" attitude of the UGT members.
- Third, about the last visit to the trade union premises - which can give us an idea of the link between the organization and its social basis; the subject must be both groups: delegates and members. (We must not identify group with sample).

Before starting with the first perspective it is important to see the reasons outlined by delegates as more likely chosen by the workers. They would be the following:

- friendship with the companions (23% and 30%)
- personal fairness (21% and 25%)
- the knowledge of the enterprise's problems (12% and 12%)

There are not many differences between affiliated and not affiliated delegates; however, there is a greater diversification in the answers of the first, who also mention other reasons as the trade union line or the UGT's acronym. These aspects are proportionally more important in the bigger enterprises. On the contrary, those aspects more related with personal features are more mentioned in the small and medium-sized enterprises.

### **Knowledge and use of the "trade union hours" and work done in this time period**

Every elected trade union delegate has the right to use each month a number of hours, depending on the size of the enterprise where he has been elected, of his/her working day to exercise the tasks of this responsibility. An important part of the delegates (23,5%) does not know about this time-credit and the figure is more outstanding if we differentiate those delegates affiliated to UGT (13%) from the not affiliated (52%).

Another variable that introduces some differences is the size of the working centre: we can observe that in the big enterprise the knowledge of this time-credit is higher and that in the small and medium-sized enterprise it is clearly very low (64,2% and 23,9% answer respectively "Don't know").

This differences get sharper when we study the use of this time-credit. 38,7% state not using the hours which can legally be used. Again distances are introduced by the factors of affiliation and size of the enterprise: 68% of the not affiliated delegates do not use it at all in front of 21% of the affiliated delegates. In the enterprises with 6-30 employees, 57% of delegates do not use any hours; this figure gets smaller as the number of employees increases: 31-49 employees, 44%; 50-100 emp., 32%; 101-200 emp., 10%; and so on, until the 6% of delegates in enterprises with more than 750 employees.

The reason more frequently adduced to justify this no-use is that "these hours are not necessary" (67%), which is less adduced as the number of employees in the enterprise is higher.

In relation with the work implied in this representation activity, which involves a double link -with the enterprise and with the trade union- we find that while the affiliated delegates support this double link, the not affiliated delegates concentrate more on their work in the enterprise.

### **Social activity. Declared attitude and real attitude**

A good labour in social activity and propaganda is an essential element in the effective development of every organization and, although both affiliated and not affiliated delegates state to have some social activity (74,2% and 51,3% respectively), the case of the grass-roots affiliates is quite different (45%). It is important to remark that even though about half of the delegates sample have not succeeded in the attraction of new affiliates in the last twelve months another 50% has a mean of almost four new affiliates per person.

However the results obtained in the sentence: "those workers who want to join UGT know already where they must address, it is not necessary to ask them to join the trade union"-which operates as a control of the real activism, especially in relation with the delegation of the social activity towards the apparatus or organizational structure of the trade union that it means- are quite different: 64% of the affiliated delegates, 73,6% of the affiliates and 77% of the grassroots affiliates state to agree "very much or quite a lot" with the sentence.

Thus it seems that they feel that activism does not correspond to them and that they leave to the organization or the worker selfsame the affiliation to the trade union.

Besides, in the delegates sample there are a series of variables that act positively on the activism; these are the size of the enterprise, the year of affiliation to

the trade union and the meeting places -those centres that "are used more frequently to talk with other people".

According to the statements of the components of the samples, to the agreement degree with the previous sentence and also to the number of new affiliates, the big enterprise is the frame where more social activity is developed.

The senior affiliates also state a bigger activism than the recently affiliated.

And finally, the meeting centres more used are the working centre, public places and the trade union premises, by order. While among those who state to use preferably the first two places mentioned there are not important differences in relation with activism, we can observe differences in the users of the trade union premises since they appear as the most activists and are also the group that attracts more new affiliates.

### **Reasons of the activism**

The reasoning normally used in their activist determination were centred in three big blocks: the first collected those answers With an instrumental character and in search of security -support, defense, protection, affiliation necessity, etc.- and is the most used (60%); the second affected comparative aspects with regard to other trade unions -UGT better than the others- , and the third, centred in the ideological character, being almost unused except by members with responsibilities in the trade union.

The security, understood as support, defense, protection, and so on, is always the idea around which their reasoning turns, and it coincides with their own reason for joining the trade union. In their answers to the "more projective" or symbolic questions -the idea to attract new affiliates, the slogan defining what is UGT and the objects for the realisation of a poster- it is also clear that, although there is a high degree of "No answer", the sense of the answers always follows this same direction.

Lastly, when those who declared not having tried to persuade anyone are asked about their reasons, the answers more frequent are: "the respect for the ideology or ideas of others" (37% of delegates and 40% of affiliates) and "the lack of motivation" (25% of delegates and 30% of affiliates). The first reason is more frequent in the small enterprise and the second in the medium-sized and big enterprise.

## **Other types of trade union action: visits to the premises**

If we take the last visit to the trade union premises as an indicator of the bigger or smaller link with the trade union, the data show again the differences between delegates and affiliates -46,4% of the first state to have visited it in the last month, while just 38% of affiliates have- which get sharper when we introduce the affiliation factor (61% of affiliated and 11,5% of not affiliated delegates) or the delegation factor, in this case the lack of it (28,9% of the grass-roots affiliates). Also important are the figures that show the no-visit to the premises: while just 2% of the affiliated delegates declare it in the case of the not affiliated delegates it goes up to 36%.

In this context it is also important to know the frequency of "the last visit of a leader or representative of the organization to the enterprise" as another case of the link previously mentioned, although in this case the direction would be the opposite.

In the delegates sample there exists a higher frequency of the nearness of this last visit: 17,3% of delegates put it in the last month and 38,5% between one and two months ago ( the majority part in the first six months) while 66,5% of the affiliates "Don't. know" when this visit was made, put it in "more than one year ago" or think that it "never" took place; this figure reaches 72,3% among the grass-roots affiliates.

Among the reasons for this visit, delegates stand out in first place "the interest for the enterprise's progress" (21,8%), and secondly "the electoral campaigns" (19,9%) and "the discussion of the collective agreement" (17,7%), while affiliates prefer this last one as the most remarkable (19,6%) although the highest frequency corresponds to "Don't know/Don't answer" with 30% of the answers.

Lastly we must observe that while the reasons for the visit in the big enterprise are very varied and scattered, in the small one they are related particularly with the electoral campaign or the interest for the enterprise's progress.

## **RELATIONS WITH OTHER SOCIAL AGENTS**

### **Relations UGT-PSOE**

The present nature of the relation between UGT and PSOE, especially when both organizations share a common past and a political and social project that has historically been the same one, implies that the current crisis is seen in a quite ambivalent way by an important part of the trade union's social grass-roots, precisely the senior affiliates. That is the reason why sometimes a number of answers are contradictory and, if we consider that in quite a lot of cases they share the same

premises (21,8% of delegates and 24,6% of affiliates), this appears more evident.

The first factor to relate both organizations is the "political affiliation", and the most outstanding fact is the low level it shows: more than 84% of delegates and 88% of affiliates declare not to be affiliated to a political party. However when affiliation exists, PSOE is always the chosen party, being the big enterprise the most favourable frame.

There is a majority support to the criticism of UGT towards the governmental economic policy: between 70% and 75% state to agree "a lot or quite a lot". However, and although 70% declares to agree "a little or not at all" with the governmental economic policy, the more senior affiliates (between 1977-79) are the group that states a larger agreement and the most recent affiliates a larger disagreement with that policy.

This does not prevent them, however, of supporting their vote mainly addressed to the PSOE; about 80% declare to have voted for the PSOE in the last general elections (1986 in the moment of the enquiry). And although the trend is slightly below of the declared in previous summons - the vote expectancy is approximately 65% - there is not a shift towards other political formations and the number of undecided grows. We can see again that the senior affiliates are the most faithful in their vote, while the groups of the youngest and of the not affiliated delegates are the ones than comparatively change more their vote expectancy.

### **Relations with managers and workers**

Relations maintained between delegates and workers and managers are generally quite satisfactory; differences only depend of the size of the enterprise.

The relations with managers are predominantly qualified as "very or much satisfactory" (21% and 56% respectively) in the small enterprise while in the bigger sized they are proportionally more qualified as "little or not at all satisfactory" (32% and 6%). The youngest are the ones who state to maintain the worse relations.

The relation with employees are also slightly better in the smaller enterprises (93%) than in the bigger ones (88%). In general, those delegates with lower incomes and the group of not affiliated delegates are the ones who keep better relations with both managers and workers.

### **Relations with other trade unions**

Both delegates and affiliates define their relations with other trade unions, and with CC.OO. particularly, as positive or satisfactory; still it seems that in relation with CC.OO. the relations are better with affiliates than delegates. We can also see that as the size of the enterprise grows the labels of "very and quite satisfactory" among delegates are less important.

Lastly when asked about the existence of a change in the actuation line of CC.OO. after the nomination of Antonio Gutiérrez as Secretary General, 32,2% of delegates and 29,7% of affiliates answer "yes" while 36,2% of delegates and 34,5% of affiliates answer "no". According to the first the direction of this change would go towards "better relations with UGT" in first place, "a more modern trade union" in second, and "a less radical trade union".

### **Power and influence of the class trade unions**

Both delegates and affiliates think that the power and influence of the class trade unions has generally grown in relation to the Government (41,1% of delegates and 41,7% of affiliates), to the managers (42,8% and 35,8%) and to the workers (37,6% and 34,9% respectively). The youngest and the not affiliated delegates are the groups that proportionally believe that this power and influence has increased more. And the group of delegates that agree with the criticism of UGT towards the governmental economic policy is more optimistic towards managers and workers. They are also optimistic in relation with the future, as they generally think that the power and influence of the class trade unions will increase towards Government, managers and workers. The group of delegates that agrees more with the criticism of the governmental economic policy is the one that appears more optimistic.

### **KNOWLEDGE OF UGT'S SERVICES AND DEMAND OF NEW ONES**

We can observe that there does not exist a sufficient knowledge of the services that UGT puts at the disposal of delegates and affiliates, and also of the rest of the workers. And even some that would have that character are not considered as services: write communication, bulletins, periodical information in general and trade union information, for example.

The enquiries for the delegates and the affiliates contain some questions related, directly or indirectly, with the services of the organization.

The first of them tries to know which services are more frequently used. In this case we can see that the labour services are the most used, by 52% of delegates and 46% of affiliates.

The services offered by the trade union are proportionally less used by the not affiliated delegates, grass-roots affiliates, women and men affiliated delegates older than 50.

There are also some important aspects related with the demand of new services either of a general character or more centred in the local boundaries.

Comparatively to men, women seem to have not a clear idea of what new services could be offered by the trade union.

In both enquiries the proportion that answers "none" to the question of which services could be offered by the trade union increases with the age.

The not affiliated delegates and the grass-roots affiliates are the groups that in a higher proportion can't specify which service would they like to receive from the trade union.



**Table1**

<b>Position Towards Membership</b>	
<b>1.- Ex-members</b>	<b>5%</b>
<b>2.- Members</b>	<b>71%</b>
<b>3.- Not members</b>	<b>24%</b>
	<hr/>
	<b>100 %</b>

**Table2**

<b>Position Towards Delegation</b>	
<b>1.- Delegates in the last elections and previously</b>	<b>9%</b>
<b>2.- Delegates just from the last elections (1986)</b>	<b>7%</b>
<b>3.- Delegates in elections previous to 1980</b>	<b>13%</b>
<b>4.- Grass-roots membership (never have been delegates)</b>	<b>71%</b>
	<hr/> <b>100%</b>