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Psycho-Social Approach to the Associated Worker Cooperativism in Andalusia, Spain

by

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Abstract

In associated worker cooperativism, the degree of agreement between the cooperative principles and values (democracy, equality, solidarity, etc.) and their economic efficiency is going to depend, to a great extent, on the human profile from which this type of organization is nurtured. In this study, we approach, precisely, how both dimensions (social and economic) interact, fundamentally, through a psycho-social study carried out with a sample of 159 associated workers belonging to 36 Andalusian associated worker cooperatives. The results indicate that in Andalusia, as in almost all of Spain, this conception of cooperation requires strong organizational, formative and economic support.

Introduction

In spite of its advantages when compared to the private business sector, associated work cooperativism is a largely unknown entity in the Social Sciences in general. At least in Spain, legal and even economic studies on cooperativism are relatively common, but studies of a psycho-social nature are not. In this article we present, in fact, some of the results obtained from the first psycho-social study carried out up until now in Spain and Andalusia on this type of organization.

Without doubt, the failures of the Andalusian associated worker cooperativism during the past 20 years stem as much from the structural factors that accompany the development of this type of experience as from their own internal dynamics. Therefore, from a psycho-social perspective we can obtain a true vision of the possibilities and limitations of the cooperative experiences developed in Andalusia.

The psycho-social analysis of a cooperative organization is crucial, therefore, in order to understand the socio-economic dynamic established within it, as, given the singularity of this organizational model, the psycho-social characteristics of its members have an influence on its economic results and vice versa.

*Antonio J. Romero thanks the Andalusian Council on Cooperation for the Arco Iris Award in 1997 (best study on cooperativism), regarding his Doctoral Dissertation (Ph.D.), titled: *Participation in workers' cooperatives in Andalusia, Spain*

On the other hand, with the aim of contributing toward mitigating the lack of existing knowledge about Andalusian associated worker cooperativism,¹ in December 1996 we carried out an exploratory study of a psycho-social nature using a sample of 159 associated workers belonging to 36 cooperatives of this type located in the provinces of Jaén, Granada and Almería. This sample, selected randomly based on the data reflected in the 1991 Census on Andalusian Cooperative Societies and valid at that time presented the following characteristics:

Table 1. Socio-Demographic Variables

		N
Sex	Male	102
	Female	57
Job title	Worker	95
	Sales and administrative tasks	34
	Management	30
Education level	Primary school	51
	Junior high school	48
	High school and job training professional	38
	Higher education	22
Age	<30	43
	30-40	78
	>40	38

Age: Mean= 34.52; Typical deviation= 7.09; Rank= 19-58

In summary, from the information obtained in our own investigation, as well as through a series of indirect sources, we can better discover the general situation of associated worker cooperativism in Spain and Andalusia, the characteristics of the democratic system and psycho-social characteristics of this type of organization, and the individual principles, motivations and expectations that have led, finally, to undertaking the cooperative project.

General aspects of associated work cooperativism in Spain and Andalusia

Cooperativism, together with trade unionism and socialism, constitutes one of the alternatives to which the incipient worker movement of the 19th century turned to defend itself from the precarious conditions of life imposed by the capitalist mode of production.

Currently, cooperativism presents diverse modalities. Legally (Dirección General de Cooperativas, 1999), it is possible to differentiate between consumer

¹The Andalusian cooperativism of associated workers has not earned the same attention as other notorious experiences like that of Mondragón, and, apart from some contributions of an economic (Morales, 1989, 1992a,b, 1994, 1995; Gálvez, 1996), socio-economic (Haubert, 1984, 1985), sociological (Del Pino, 1974) or psycho-social nature (Romero, 1989, 1999 a,b,c; Romero and Pérez, 1999), there exists a great lack of knowledge about its theoretical and empirical reality.

and end-user cooperatives (for housing, credit, education and insurance), service cooperatives (agricultural and for communal land exploitation)² and associated work cooperativism.

This latter type, known in Spain as *cooperatives of associated workers*, consists of an autonomous association of individuals, united voluntarily to satisfy their social, economic and cultural needs and aspirations, by means of a jointly owned company and democratic administration (Alianza Cooperativa Internacional, 1995).

In Spain, the democratic philosophy on which the cooperativism of associated workers is based does not make up its main attraction, but instead, the fundamental reason for the promotion and development of this type of organization is the creation of one's own job. It is no coincidence that Spain is the European country with the greatest number of cooperatives of associated workers (Eurostat, 1993), at the same time that it maintains the highest unemployment rate.³ In 1990, in Spain there were 6,266 cooperatives of associated workers, which provided employment to 124,000 workers. 61 percent of these organizations were formed for reasons of a defensive nature and/or to create jobs, that is, trying to preserve jobs in a private company in crisis, or begun by unemployed persons as a way of fighting unemployment (Barea and Monzón, 1992).

To be exact, the high structural unemployment rates, as well as another series of added factors of a political and socio-economic nature, have made Andalusia the Spanish region with the greatest number of cooperatives of associated workers.⁴ The

²Although this article does not discuss Spanish agricultural cooperativism, we refer the readers of *Journal of Rural Cooperation* interested in this topic to the following works: Barea and Monzón, 1992; Caballer, 1986; Domingo and Romero, 1987; Julia and Server, 1989; Domingo and Loma-Ossorio, 1991; Julia, 1993; Parras, 1997; Entrena and Moyano, 1998; Mozas, 1999.

³According to the latest survey of the Active Population, carried out in December 1999 by the National Institute of Statistics, in Spain there are 2,562,000 unemployed (15.43 percent of the active Spanish population). 771,800 of these unemployed persons, that is, 26.81 percent of the active population, live in Andalusia, making it the region in Spain and the European Union with the highest unemployment rate.

⁴Andalusia is a beautiful land located in the south of Spain, made up of 8 provinces (Jaén, Córdoba, Sevilla, Huelva, Cádiz, Málaga, Granada and Almería), occupying an area of 87,268 km² (17 percent of the Spanish territory) and, according to the latest Municipal Census carried out in 1996, with a population of 7,234,873 inhabitants (approximately 18 percent of the Spanish population) (Instituto de Estadística de Andalucía, 1997). However, and in spite of its territorial importance and population, Andalusia suffers secularly, a socio-economic situation of discrimination and underdevelopment (Delgado, 1981, 1993), which has given it the sad record of occupying the last places in the ranking of development levels among the regions pertaining to the European Union. The large structural inequalities existing in the land division and the scarcity of industrial fiber, have made unemployment and immigration the two historical ills of Andalusia. The policy of social services and of unemployment put into practice by the different democratic governments in the last 20 years, which benefit in large part the unemployed in the agricultural sector, have fortunately halted the migratory tendency, but that is one of the reasons, however, for the high structural unemployment rates experienced by the Andalusian society. For this reason cooperativism of associated workers is one of the few alternatives available to

blossoming of this type of organization occurred in Andalusia at the beginning of the 1980s, and from that time to the present day, their number has not stopped growing. Currently, there are 1,768 cooperatives of associated workers in Andalusia, which provide jobs for 19,155 workers (Dirección General de Cooperativas, 1997).

Characteristics of the democratic system of cooperativism of associated workers

The cooperativism of associated workers is linked to the democratic tradition in the job world, and one could even claim that it is the pioneer of this tradition. Through cooperation, the individual not only creates his own job, but also aspires to forming part of a special type of organization of a democratic and participative nature, and acquires, in this way, a double role: that of worker and employer at the same time. So that in a cooperative organization there exists, at least formally, an egalitarian distribution of power and property amongst all of its members, regardless of their individual characteristics or the type of work they do within the organization.

In practice, however, the participation of the members of the cooperative in the decision-making process implies, fundamentally, the control of the activities of those other members who have been previously chosen to administer and represent the interests of the community. Specifically, the degree of control exercised by each individual will depend on the cooperative putting into practice a series of democratic mechanisms and rights, such as: the right to information; the exercise of social control; the right to choose and be chosen; and the periodic turnover of the social and executive responsibilities. Legally, every cooperative of associated workers must be made up of at least the following governing organisms: General Assembly, Board of Governors and Administration.

The General Assembly constitutes, at its end, the sovereign organism of the cooperative. The exercise of this sovereignty is applied by means of a *one person, one vote*⁵ system. It is made up of all of the members of the organization, and any type of decision of an economic and social nature can be the subject of a debate and agreement in its center.

The Board of Governors is an organism elected by the General Assembly, normally for a period of four years, whose principal duties are those of representation, government and administration of the cooperative. The General Assembly delegates,

the working class people in Andalusia in order to get off the unemployment lists.

⁵In the world of cooperation, this motto has not always been applied in a universal and generalized way. Thus, until 1971, when dealing, above all, with technical questions, the Mondragón Cooperative Group was ruled by a weighted vote, depending on the professional qualifications of its collaborating members. The justification for the existence of this weighted or qualified vote was based, fundamentally, on the idea that this would serve to stimulate social and professional promotion. Given that the economic stimulus at the most elevated levels of the organization had been practically suppressed, as the salary scale was quite reduced, it was necessary to create other types of measures, granting, in this way, greater value to the opinions of the most qualified members of the organization (Elena, 1966).

therefore, its power to the Board of Governors, and this organism has to be accountable to the assembly every year.

Once the General Assembly has established the policy to be followed, the Governing Board must become responsible for the execution of the business project by means of the definition of a strategy and the control of the Administration.

The Administration constitutes, finally, the executive organ of the cooperation. It is a one-person organ chosen by the Governing Board – generally for a period of 4 years – and to whom he must render an account of his actions.

In short, the ideal operating model of a cooperative of associated workers is, basically, the following: the General Assembly establishes, the Governing Board defines, and the Administrator executes.

In Andalusia, however, the actual operation of a great number of cooperatives of associated workers differs greatly from the ideal model we just mentioned. Thus, there are frequently operative and functional imbalances between the different governmental organisms, or even a complete absence of said organisms. Without looking any farther, some of the cooperatives of this study operate in a large assembly manner and, in some of these cases, no formal leader or administrator exists to direct them. Surprisingly, this type of organization is that which presents a more appropriate psycho-social dynamic (see Romero, 1989, 1999 a,b,c; Romero and Pérez, 1999).

This other model of assembly type functioning is due, among other factors, to the psycho-social characteristics of the members of the cooperatives in Andalusia and the cooperatives' reduced size. In Andalusia, due to a series of economic and social reasons we will analyze later, 88.3 percent of the cooperatives of associated workers in existence are made up of fewer than 12 members, and only 0.96 percent have more than 100 members (Dirección General de Cooperativas, 1997). This reduced organizational size has its advantages and disadvantages. So, it may favor participation in the decision making process. In fact, in a small group, the individual has no reason to feel inhibited, his work role is usually holistic, specialized knowledge is demythicized, the organizational structure is based more on a rationality of values than on a formal rationality (Rothschild-Whitt and Whitt, 1986) and the scarce organizational texture contributes, furthermore, to feeling better informed and more connected. But it also could be a synonym of diverse economic and financial difficulties, a limited ability to compete in the market, or a lack of necessary resources to capture good leaders.

Another type of situation characteristic of the perversion of the ideal model usually occurs when there are no appropriate mechanisms for distributing power among the distinct governmental organisms or the roles involved in belonging to these organs are not properly assimilated. Thus, in some cooperatives, the members of the Board of Governors may become a clan, ignoring the decisions adopted in the General Assembly or interfering with the work of the administrator.

The opposite also occurs frequently, that is, that the administrator takes on all the responsibilities and powers, ignoring decisions made by the General Assembly or Board of Governors.

In any case, the figure of the professional administrator is not firmly rooted in the cooperativism of associated workers in Andalusia, as only 15 percent of the cooperatives have professional administrators. In 6 percent of the cooperatives the administrator is a contracted professional, and in the other 9 percent, a member of the cooperative at the same time (Dirección General de Cooperativas y Empleo, 1987). It is common, therefore, for someone to carry out the duties of the administrator, but without being established formally in that role. Concretely, 22 percent of the sample of cooperatives that have participated in this study do not have anyone specifically in charge of the administrative duties. 78 percent of them, therefore, do have an administrator or someone similar, but only 6.7 percent of them had performed management duties in previous cooperative experiences.

This absence or rejection of the management roles practiced by Andalusian cooperativism of associated workers is due, on the one hand, to the scarcity of economic resources necessary for contracting good management professionals and, on the other, to the anti-business mentality from which many cooperative members often suffer. This causes them to erroneously give priority to the social aspects of the cooperation to the detriment of the business or economic aspects.

Psycho-socioeconomic characteristics of the cooperativism of associated workers of Andalusia

Sixty eight percent of the sample of cooperatives analyzed in this study initiated their activities with less than 2 million pesetas in capital, 27 percent fluctuated between 2 and 5 million pesetas, and only the remaining 5 percent of the cases had more than 5 million pesetas of initial capital. This lack of capital is related, on the one hand, to the social composition of the large majority of Andalusian cooperatives and, on the other, to their reduced sizes.

Thus, in Andalusia, the creation of a cooperative of associated workers is, frequently, the alternative chosen by those who have been expelled from the job market, are just entering the market or maintain an irregular or precarious situation. Specifically, 66 percent of the subjects who participated in this study were unemployed, looking for their first job or working under a temporary contract before joining the cooperative and, in 82 percent of the cases, their monthly income was less than 70,000 pesetas. This low income level was experienced especially by women, as 61 percent of them earned less than 30,000 per month before becoming members of a cooperative.

In spite of their difficult economic situations, the members themselves try, by using their meager savings or unemployment payments, to overcome the lack of initial capital by supplying the funds necessary to get the cooperative project started.

In this sense, in 75.8 percent of the cooperatives analyzed in this study, more than 50 percent of the necessary financing for initiating the activity had been supplied by the members, given that in 54 percent of the cases neither public institutions nor private entities provided any economic support. Only 21.2 percent of the cooperatives benefited from public funds, although they never surpassed 10 percent of the financing necessary to put the organization in motion. Likewise, a similar percentage of cooperatives obtained more than half of their financing through lines of credit.

Resorting to self-financing is, furthermore, a characteristic that can be generalized to the rest of Spanish cooperativism, as 48 percent of the cooperatives had not solicited any help from the Public Administration (Barea and Monzón, 1992).

This lack of initial capital for the formation of the cooperative, together with the limited capacity of the market,⁶ constitute, on the other hand, two of the main economic reasons for the reduced sizes of these organizations. A third reason, of a sociological nature, consists of the selection criteria utilized when the cooperative is created. Thus, given that setting up a project of this magnitude can be considered an adventure with great risks and sacrifices (Haubert, 1984), the founders usually resort to a reduced group of family members and friends who have earned their complete trust.

Another of the most important stumbling blocks of the cooperativism of associated workers in Andalusia is the scant cultural and technical preparation of most of its members. Only 6 percent of them have medium or superior level academic degrees, 8 percent have studied in high school or professional training schools, 49 percent have finished primary school and the remaining 37 percent have had no specific training (Dirección General de Cooperativas y Empleo, 1987). In spite of this fact, training is frequently not seen as an instrument of social action which increments productivity and improves the management of the organization, but rather as a routine that interrupts the work dynamic of the company, negatively affecting the majority. In this sense, in Spain 65 percent of the cooperatives of associated workers do not use the *Education and Cooperative Promotion Fund*. Only 17.5 percent dedicate the corresponding budget to training of members, while the remaining percentage dedicate the Fund to aiding cultural and sports entities, fraternity lunches, etc. (Barea and Monzón, 1992). Specifically, 62.5 percent of the sample of cooperatives analyzed in this study did not invest in training at all, and only 16.7 percent dedicated less than 2 percent of their budget to this topic. Paradoxically, 82 percent of the subjects surveyed in this study think training is one of the basic principles of cooperativism, recognizing, in addition, the need for it, as 44.9 percent believe that the level of

⁶Due to the reduced size or business scope of the majority (nearly 80 percent) of the Andalusian cooperatives of associated workers, their performance possibilities are limited to local, regional or provincial markets (Dirección General de Cooperativas y Empleo, 1987).

training existing in their cooperatives is medium.

On the other hand, sex and age represent two important variables for understanding the psycho-social dynamic of the Andalusian cooperatives. Thus, women managed only 25 percent of the sample of cooperatives analyzed, even though women represent 1/3 of the personnel of the Andalusian cooperatives (Dirección General de Cooperativas y Empleo, 1987). This fact agrees with the predominance of the male sex in the composition of the Andalusian cooperative. In this way, women will frequently remain relegated to activities like sewing or cleaning services, both being almost the only job alternatives available to them, above all in rural settings, given the low skill level required. Furthermore, in the textile sector, these types of activities usually are part of the submerged economy, and will only rise to the surface when a large commercial firm is interested in them by subcontracting the activity and avoiding the corresponding labor costs. Thus women are victims of these *pseudo-cooperative* experiences, from which they only receive a minimal income to complement the household economy (Haubert, 1984; Morales, 1992, 1994). It is important to point out, in the same way, that 51.8 percent of the women lack any professional experience before their entrance into the cooperative.

Age is usually the cause of a great heterogeneity in the characteristics of the members who make up the cooperative. Differences in age can thereby signify different levels of education and training and different experiences of general and work related socialization, and may even act as a conflictive factor when these distinct experiences and labor concepts collide. In this way, the generational conflict is usually tied to a cooperative's proper functioning, which, on occasions, will require an increase in staff, thus making the entrance easy for new generations lacking cooperative training, who may eventually question both the internal organizational structure and the work method used.

It is worth pointing out, finally, that 84.2 percent of the subjects surveyed lacked previous experience as cooperative members. Along this line, none of the women or persons of less than 30 years of age had been members of a cooperative before.

Cooperative principles, motivations and expectations related to cooperation

It is a well-known fact that the cooperative principles represent the basic essence of this unique way of organizing production, thus contributing to the formation of an idiosyncratic organizational culture.

We were particularly interested in analyzing the attitudes expressed by the subjects studied regarding the four *classic* principles of cooperativism: democratic participation, economic participation, open doors and inter-cooperation.

Thus, regarding the principle of democratic participation, 68.5 percent of the subjects surveyed showed themselves to be in favor of the slogan: *one person, one vote*. This fact implies, therefore, that there is not a unanimous acceptance of

egalitarian participation in the decision-making process. Probably, this important percentage of individuals is not aware of the nature of cooperativism, or considers democracy to be incompatible with economic efficiency.

However, experiences as noteworthy as that of Mondragón, through an attitude of constant social innovation, have made it clear that this binomial is feasible. In this sense, in order to avoid the risk that an important part of the cooperative ends up shying away from their duties, the Mondragón cooperatives have put *informative sessions* into practice, which are held prior to their assemblies. These meetings take place in small groups, where it is possible to delve more deeply into the topics dealt with, apply pedagogical methods to achieve greater comprehension, or debate the distinct points of view with less inhibition than in larger groups. In this way, more significant debates and decision-making would be left for the Assembly (González, 1990). Limiting the size of the cooperatives to a maximum of 500 workers and the creation of social boards constitute two other basic ways of tackling the problems associated with participation when faced with organizational growth.

The distribution of the surpluses generated depending on the job carried out represents a clearly differentiating characteristic of associated work cooperativism. The degree of participation of each member in the economic benefits will depend, however, on two factors: the remuneration obtained for the job held and that part of the net surplus to be shared – which can vary in each exercise – and whose destination may be self-financing or cooperative repayment.

In spite of the fact that 68.9 percent of the subjects surveyed expressed themselves as being in favor of the first benefit sharing modality, 62 percent of the cooperatives studied practiced a policy of salary equaling, and only in 28.6 percent of the cases were the salary differences from 2 to 1. A similar situation exists at the state level, as 70 percent of the Spanish associated worker cooperatives pay their members in an egalitarian way (Barea and Monzón, 1992). However, this prevailing egalitarianism may not be the most appropriate attitude for confronting the diverse economic and social challenges of the world of cooperation, since, as we indicated earlier, this policy may produce flight to the private sector on the part of the organization's most valuable elements.

Cooperativism must defend, therefore, the capitalization of the surpluses generated, and not their automatic distribution among the members. This is one of the basic lessons that can be extracted from the Mondragón experience (Whyte and Whyte, 1989), where they were aware from the beginning that without the necessary financial autonomy, the future and viability of the project could not be guaranteed. For this reason, they created the Popular Worker's Savings Bank, with the intention of providing support and financial and economic coverage to the group of cooperatives belonging to the Basque corporation. In Spain, however, the policy of self-financing is only put into practice by 50 percent of the associated worker cooperatives, while

21 percent of them carry out benefit sharing (Barea and Monzón, 1992).

The principle of *open door* or free admission constitutes one of the basic characteristics of cooperativism. The literal application of this principle would imply both the entrance to and exit from the cooperative of any person who expresses the will to do so, without establishing any limits. Perhaps, because of this, 62 percent of the subjects in the sample under study reject an excessively altruistic interpretation of this principle, since it could have important economic and social repercussions for the organization, such as: the entrance of new members with little *cooperative potential* or the premature abandonment of the cooperative by its members, with the resulting risk of decapitalization.

So, it seems that a literal interpretation of this principle is not viable, at least, for associated worker cooperativism, although using practices showing lack of solidarity, completely contrary to the spirit of cooperation, is not justified either. In this sense, cooperative experiences that have achieved a certain degree of economic success usually finance themselves by demanding the payment of excessively high quotas of social capital, which impede, in fact, the incorporation of new members. Another practice showing a lack of solidarity would consist of responding to the needs generated by the process of economic expansion by contracting salaried workers.

The question lies in determining what will occur in the future with this type of pseudo-cooperative. Once the critical moment of the retirement of the founding members arrives, will they hand over their enterprise to other workers or sell it to the highest bidder?

The world of cooperation must also become aware that only by forming associations can a place in an extremely competitive environment be secured (Vanek, 1970; Rothschild-Whitt and Whitt, 1991). This is another of the main lessons that can be derived from the Mondragón experience, where pertaining to the Group lends each of the member cooperatives the support of a complex social, economic, financial, technological and cultural fiber (Johnson and Whyte, 1991). In Andalusia, however, the phenomenon of inter-cooperation has hardly any importance, as only 7 percent of the existing cooperatives pertain to a second degree cooperative (Dirección General de Cooperativas y Empleo, 1987). This fact was corroborated by our own study, in which it was shown that 60 percent of the subjects surveyed rejected the principle of social and economic inter-cooperation.

The attainment of the social and economic objectives of cooperation is going to depend, likewise, on the motives underlying the cooperative project and the expectations generated regarding it (see Romero, 1999 a,b; Romero and Pérez, 1999). Thus, as we mentioned before, the majority of the cooperative experiences begun usually respond to a "*primary motivation*" or one of a "*defensive*" nature. In this sense, 40.4 percent of the subjects in our sample under study decided to join a cooperative in order to earn money, 20.5 percent did it to get off unemployment,

17.9 percent joined for reasons of personal fulfillment, 12.2 percent for the working conditions, and only 9 percent joined for ideological reasons.⁷ However, it seems that the course of the cooperative experience may have partly frustrated the expectations generated, as 53.2 percent of the subjects hoped to improve their economic situations, 20.5 percent still trusted they would be able to fulfill themselves personally and 16.7 percent wanted to improve their working conditions.

In spite of this, the opinion on the future of cooperativism was somewhat divided, as 35.5 percent predicted it would have a bright future, 31 percent predicted a normal future and the remaining 34 percent foresaw, however, a grim future. It should be pointed out that, among the most pessimistic prophesiers, we found 40 percent of the managers and 50 percent of the people over 40 years of age, while, on the contrary, 41.8 percent of the individuals under 30 years of age expressed confidence in the future of cooperativism

Conclusions

At the beginning of the 1980s, in a context of serious economic crisis, the phenomenon of cooperativism was reborn in Andalusia, as it was in so many other places. This unique way of organizing production thus constitutes one of the main instruments on which the popular classes still count for creating their own jobs and, consequently, getting off unemployment.

The primary motivation or defensive nature toward cooperation has been linked, however, to the starting up of initiatives with serious internal deficiencies of an organizational, formative and material nature. The cooperative organization thus reproduces the same problem of those who make it up.

Throughout this article, we have tried to point out that Spanish cooperativism in general – except, of course, the case of Mondragón – shares some similar characteristics and situations. Furthermore, it can be foreseen that in Andalusia, given the lack of private initiatives and the high structural unemployment figures still existing, these types of experiences will continue to prosper with even more importance than in the rest of the country. This prediction is not an obstacle to thinking that the future of Andalusian cooperativism is going to depend, however, on its ability to find a model of operation where its essences (democracy, solidarity, etc.) are compatible with the competition the market requires, although this objective requires strong measures of support of a formative, organizational, or financial economic nature.

⁷The low percentage of individuals who opted for the cooperative alternative as motivated by ideological reasons should be seen in the light of the fact that cooperativism, together with trade unionism and socialism, has traditionally been one of the basic instruments of the working class for achieving its own emancipation and paradoxically, 74 percent of the subjects surveyed define themselves as belonging to the political left.

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