

# Week 3-4 Statewide Poll (*Preliminary*)

## Polling Working Group

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## Overview

The [Week 3 Poll on Bargaining and the Strike](#) was created by the Polling Working Group, an *ad hoc* group of more than 100 SRU-UAW and UAW 2865 members. The poll was distributed via email addresses provided on a prior petition to conduct polling, as well as through Discord, Signal groups, campus Slack workspaces, and outreach on individual campuses. Data for this sample were collected from 12/03/22 at 12 PM through 12/06/22 at 7:00 PM. Admin from the majority of campuses were voted upon in the Polling Working Group to analyze the data and develop this report.

Claims made are descriptive of the poll sample; this report does not make any inferences to the full union membership. An explanation of the composition of the sample is given in the “Sample Characteristics” section, which helps to contextualize the other results.

We’re happy to get feedback; please join the Polling Working Group conversation [on Signal](#).

*Note: These findings are based on preliminary analysis; some sample sizes vary slightly (by ~10 out of ~2100) due to small differences in time cutoffs used by members of the analysis group. We do not believe these differences affect overall interpretations of the data.*

More data:

<https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1OzllrWPribXpDudl5-jdHrK0GxR6XXzq/edit?usp=sharing&ouid=108538696857243146505&rtpof=true&sd=true>

## Summary

Total sample size: 2122 (SRU: 732, 2865: 1390). Minimum campus response: 1.5% (UCSF), maximum: 16.7% (UCSC), average response: ~3%. Overrepresentation from Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences, and those in online communities (66%); underrepresentation from Engineering. Likely skewed toward those who participate heavily in picketing and who withhold labor.

### **Strike participation and willingness**

- Overall, 47% of respondents expressed that the strike is going well or very well, while 20% of respondents expressed that it is going poorly or very poorly. Views vary considerably across sites.
- Over 96% of respondents reported withholding at least some labor, with 53% of all respondents withholding all labor and ~30% doing dissertation work only across units and subgroups. SRU respondents reported a higher rate of cutting back on hours (17%, vs. 9% overall) rather than withholding all labor (41%, vs. 53% overall).

### **Picket participation**

- Just over 50% (1055) reported that they were withholding labor but had completed fewer than 10 picket shifts. Additionally, 40% of those picketing reported not signing up through the UAW system for all of their picket shifts. This suggests that picket shift sign-ins may undercount picket participation and overall strike participation.

### **Specific Demands**

*Polled as: "How enthusiastic would you be about staying on strike if the following demands are still possible to win?"*

- Enthusiasm generally declines as prospective base pay decreases. The minimum base pay for which the majority of respondents are enthusiastic about striking is between \$38k and \$43k (about \$38,140, interpolated).
- Respondents reported higher enthusiasm for year-over-year changes that track rent markets than for fixed percentage increases.
- Among proposals besides base pay and Y/Y increases, respondents reported highest enthusiasm for: support for disabled workers; dependent healthcare; housing stipends; NRST remission; and childcare subsidies.

# Sample Characteristics

## Summary

- The sample has 2122 respondents across both units, including all campuses and LBL (see Table 1).
- The sample has high coverage from, UCSB, and UCSC (see Fig. 1), as well as workers in the topic areas of social sciences and arts/humanities.
- The sample has low coverage from UCSF (see Fig. 1), workers in the topic areas of engineering and biological sciences, and likely international workers.
- The sample skews toward high picket participation (about half of respondents participated in 10 or more picket shifts during the first 3 weeks), full labor withholding (more than half of respondents reported complete work stoppage), and participation in online communities (66% report participating in at least one).

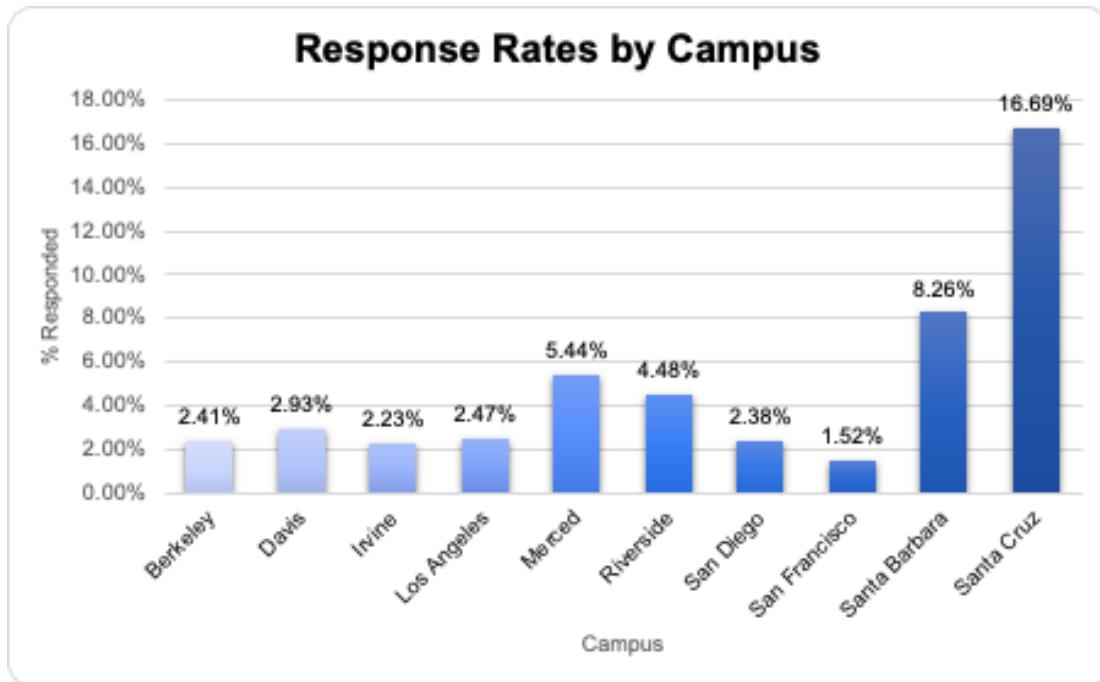
## Unit Membership

**Distribution of Respondents by Unit Membership and Campus**

Campus	UAW 2865	SRU-UAW	Total (N)
Berkeley	12.6%	19.7%	319
Davis	12.4%	10.0%	243
Irvine	7.3%	7.7%	157
LBL	-	0.8%	6
Los Angeles	16.4%	16.0%	346
Merced	1.9%	2.2%	42
Riverside	10.0%	5.3%	178
San Diego	9.2%	10.3%	203
San Francisco	-	6.6%	48
Santa Barbara	14.1%	7.4%	250
Santa Cruz	16.3%	14.0%	330
<b>Total (N)</b>	<b>1390</b>	<b>732</b>	<b>2122</b>

**Table 1.** Percentage of respondents by campus and bargaining unit.

The majority of respondents are affiliated with UAW 2865, making up approximately 66% of the sample. Respondents affiliated with SRU make up a little over a third of responses.



**Figure 1:** Bar graph of the approximate fraction of workers from each campus who responded to the poll, estimated using totals from UCOP<sup>1</sup>. Santa Cruz shows the highest proportion at 16.7%; Santa Barbara, Merced, and Riverside also have over 4% of the workforce represented<sup>2</sup>.

## International Workers

Nationality	Poll respondents	UC PhDs <sup>3</sup>
international	12.09%	32.75%
domestic	84.62%	67.25%
prefer not to answer	3.29%	0.00%

**Table 2.** Comparison of fraction of international workers in this sample versus PhD students in the UC system, as reported by UCOP<sup>1</sup>.

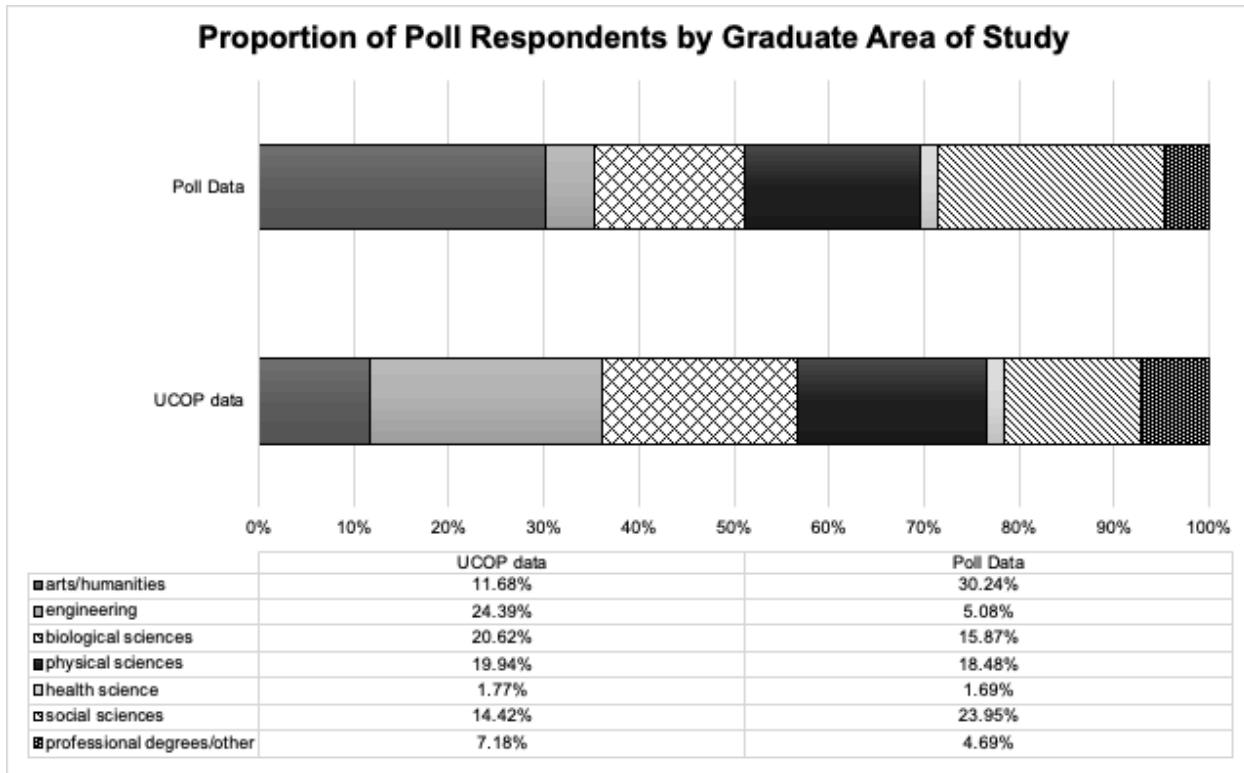
<sup>1</sup> UCOP Information Center, UC Doctoral program statistics:

<https://www.universityofcalifornia.edu/about-us/information-center/doctoral-program>

<sup>2</sup> Due to lack of data on exact numbers of SRUs and ASEs across each campus, UCOP data was used to estimate the number of workers covered by these bargaining units (UCOP = 64007). This number is larger than the known combined number of members of both units, and so the coverage rates across each campus here are likely an underestimate.

<sup>3</sup> The UCOP dataset used as reference only contains a breakdown for PhD students.

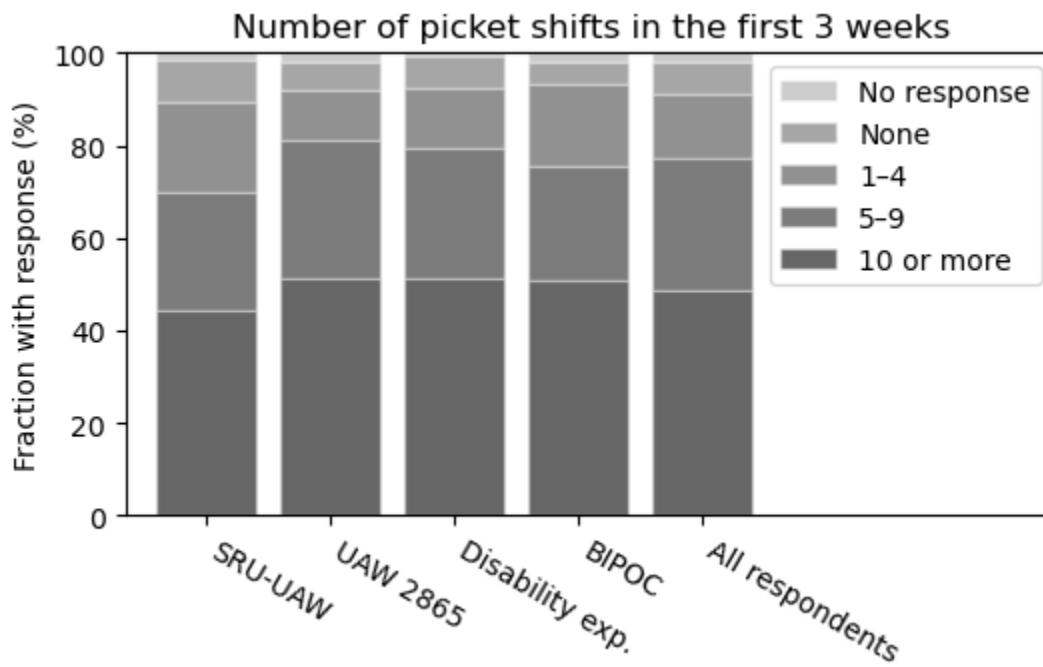
## Topic Area



**Figure 2.** Stacked bar chart of topic area of PhD students in the UC system, as reported by UCOP<sup>4</sup>, and of respondents' reported topic areas. Social sciences and arts/humanities are more represented than in UC overall; engineering and biological sciences are less represented.

<sup>4</sup> UCOP Information Center, UC Doctoral program statistics:  
<https://www.universityofcalifornia.edu/about-us/information-center/doctoral-program>

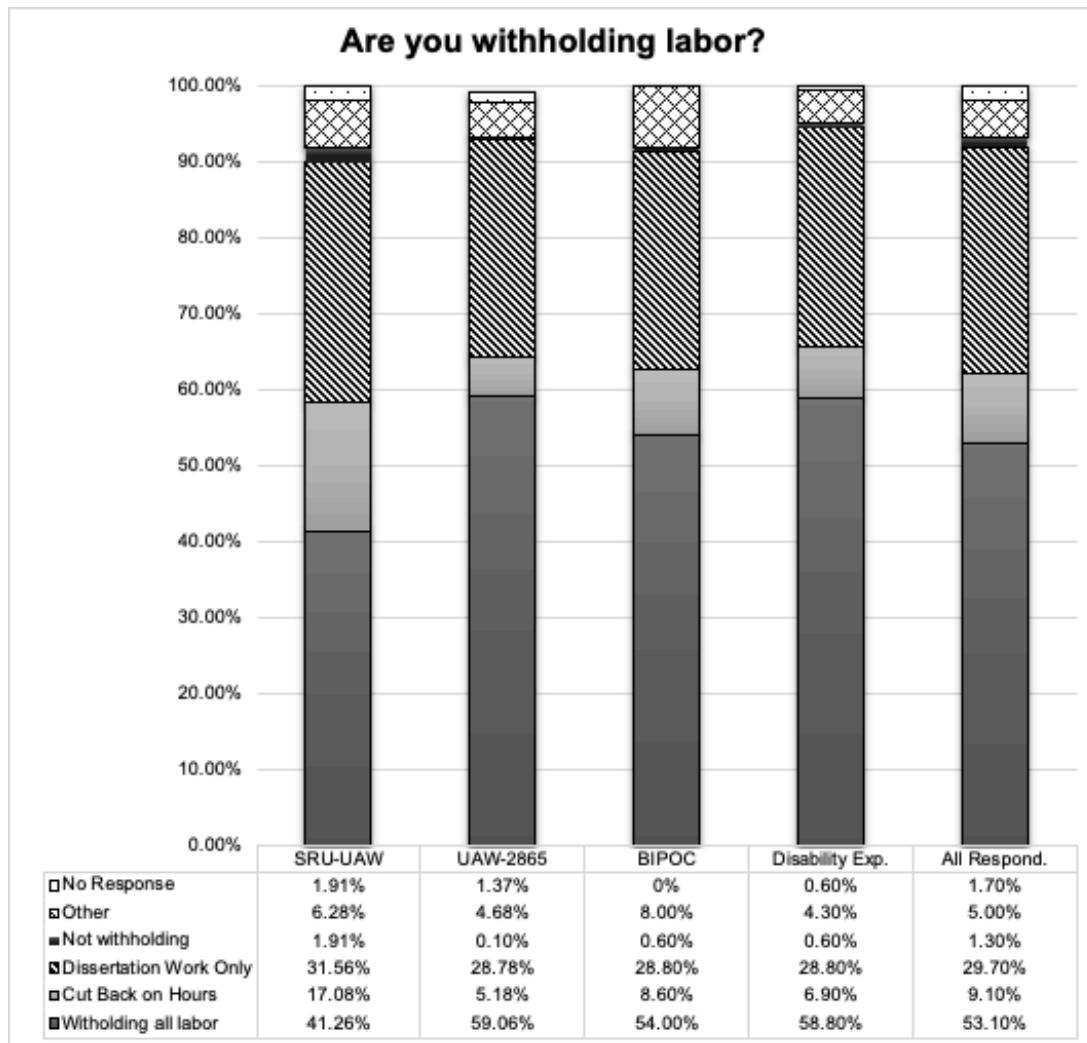
## Picketing



	SRU-UAW	UAW 2865	Disability exp.	BIPOC	All respondents
No response	1.8%	2.1%	0.6%	1.8%	2.0%
None	9.1%	5.8%	6.9%	4.9%	6.9%
1-4	19.5%	11.1%	13.1%	17.8%	14.0%
5-9	25.1%	29.8%	28.1%	24.5%	28.2%
10 or more	44.5%	51.1%	51.3%	50.9%	48.8%
Total (n)	728	1388	534	163	2116

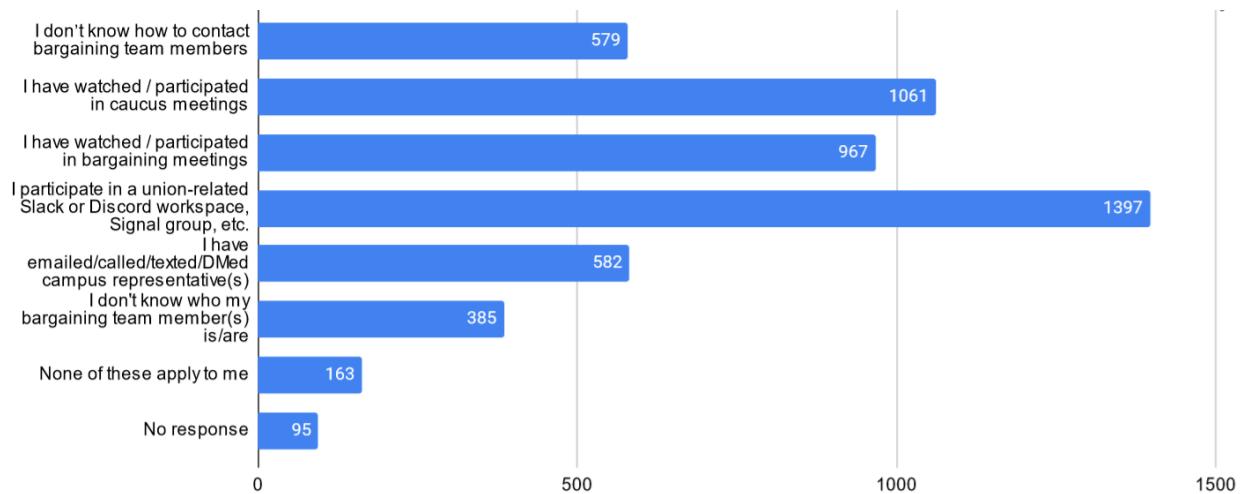
**Figure 3.** Stacked bar graph and table of number of picket shifts filled in the first three weeks by bargaining unit, disability experience and racial/ethnic identification (represented by percentage). About half of all respondents report 10 or more shifts, though this is lower for SRU (45%). Only about 7% of respondents report not participating in picketing.

## Labor Withholding



**Figure 4.** The vast majority of respondents (over 96%) reported that they are withholding at least some labor, with 53% of all respondents withholding all labor and an additional 30% doing dissertation work only across units and subgroups. SRU respondents reported a higher rate (17.08%) of cutting back on hours rather than withholding all labor. BIPOC and people with disability experience reported lower rates of not withholding than respondents overall (0.60% vs. 1.30%).

## Other



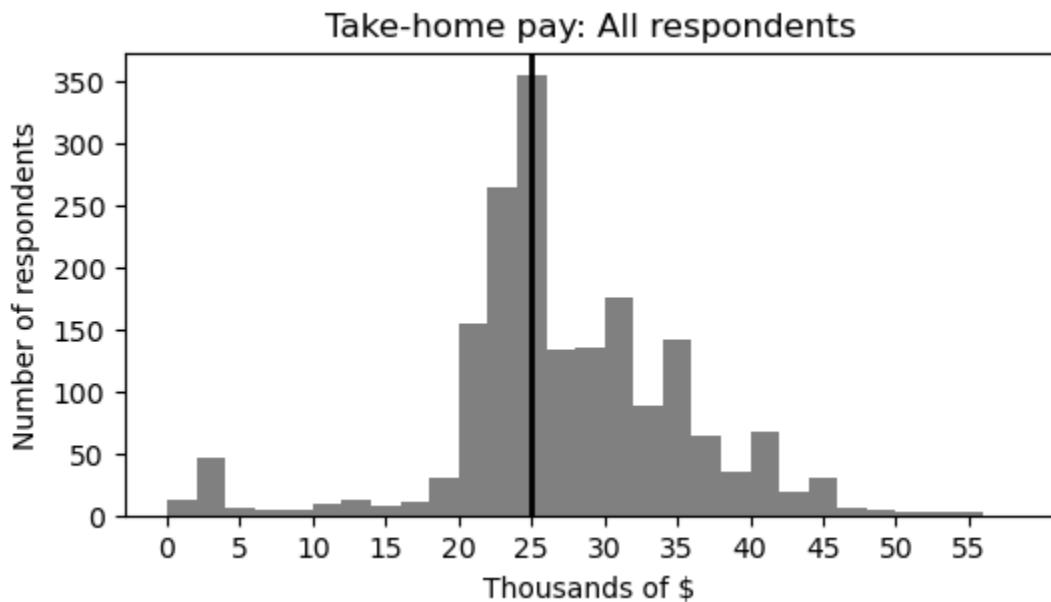
**Figure 5.** Bar graph of responses to "check any that apply to you" question. (Total  $n = 2107$ .) A large fraction of respondents (66%) report participation in online communities. Large numbers of respondents also report engagement with caucus (50%) or bargaining (46%) meetings.

# Pay and Rent Burden

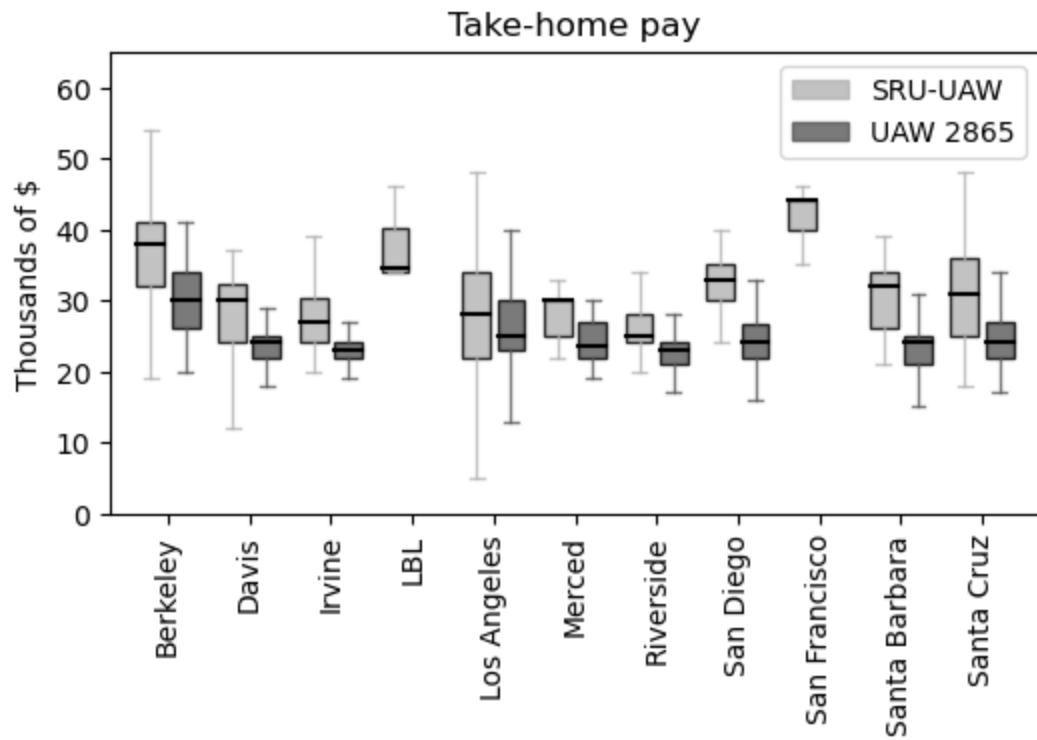
## Summary

- UAW 2865 workers report lower pay than SRU-UAW workers at all sites.
- On average, workers report spending 52% of pay on rent, with high variability and a long tail on the high-end.
- Large fractions of workers in both units report spending  $\geq 50\%$  of pay on rent; this proportion is larger for UAW 2865 than for SRU-UAW at all sites.

## Take-home Pay

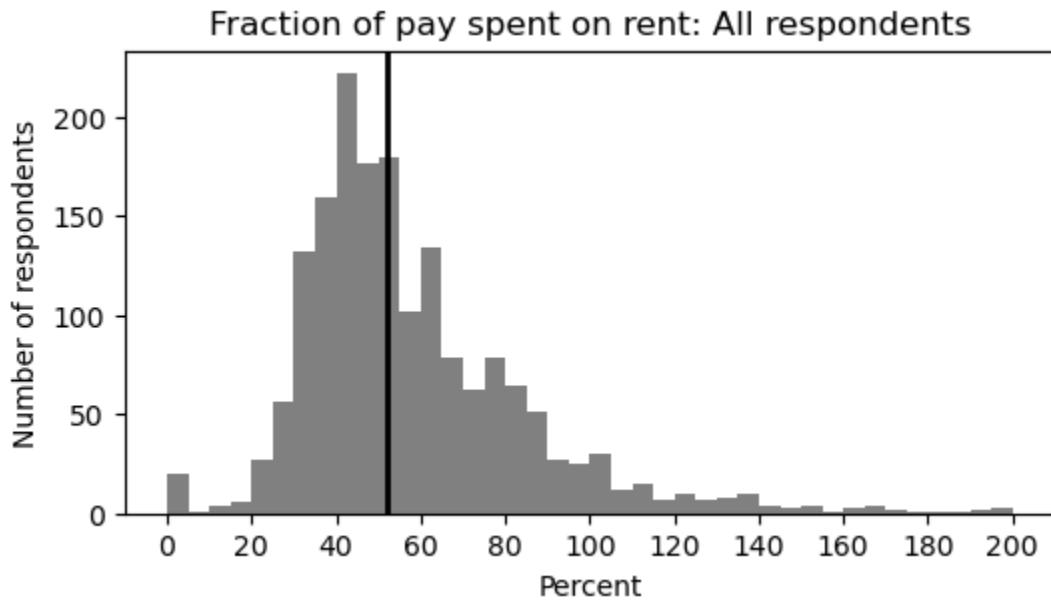


**Figure 6.** Histogram of reported take-home pay, with a black line depicting the median of \$25k. The distribution is unimodal centered around the \$25k median, with some positive skewness.

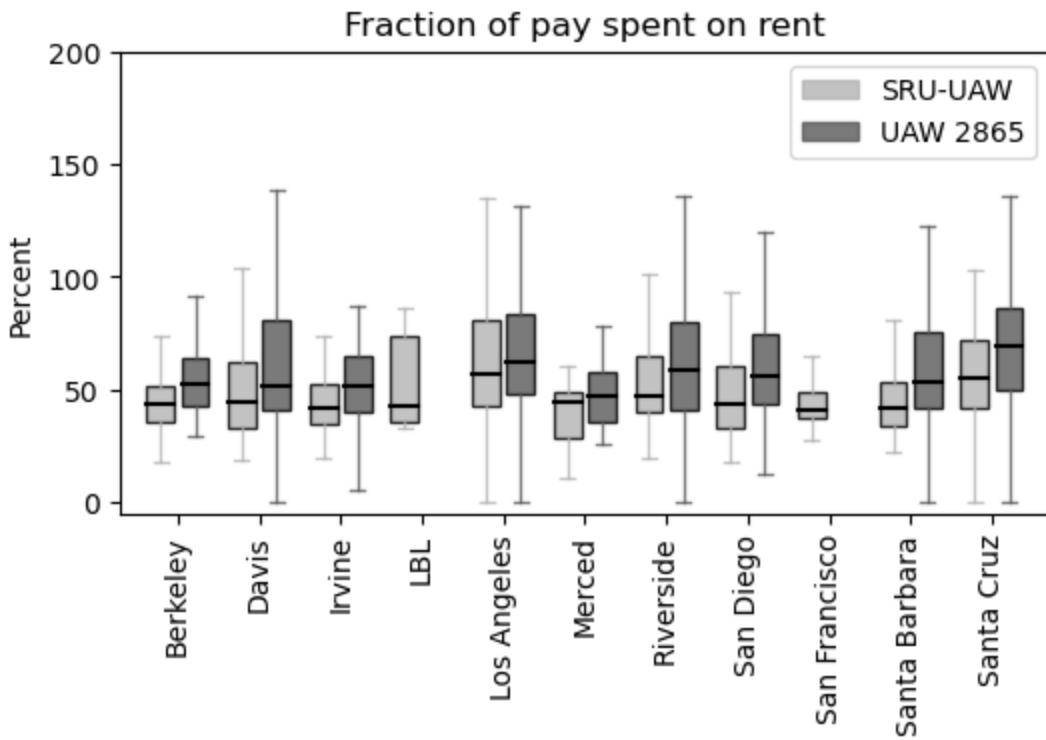


**Figure 7.** Box plots of take-home pay show higher median pay among SRU-UAW members compared with UAW 2865 members within campuses. ASEs and SRs had the highest variability in pay at UCLA and Berkeley.

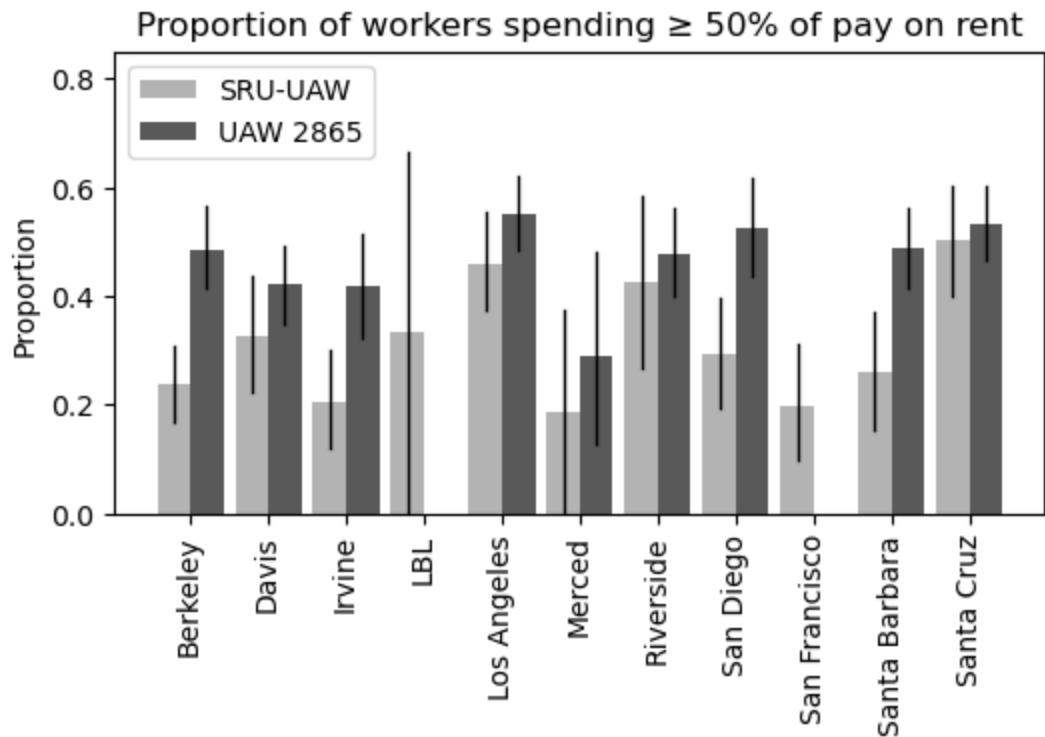
## Rent Burden



**Figure 8.** Histogram of percent of take-home pay spent on rent; a black line shows the median value of 52%. The distribution is unimodal with a peak around 40% and a long tail to the right up to 200%.



**Figure 9.** Box plots of reported fraction of take-home pay spent on rent, stratified by unit within each campus. Variability within each group is high. Median values are around 50% for most sites, but are higher for 2865 than for SRU at all sites.



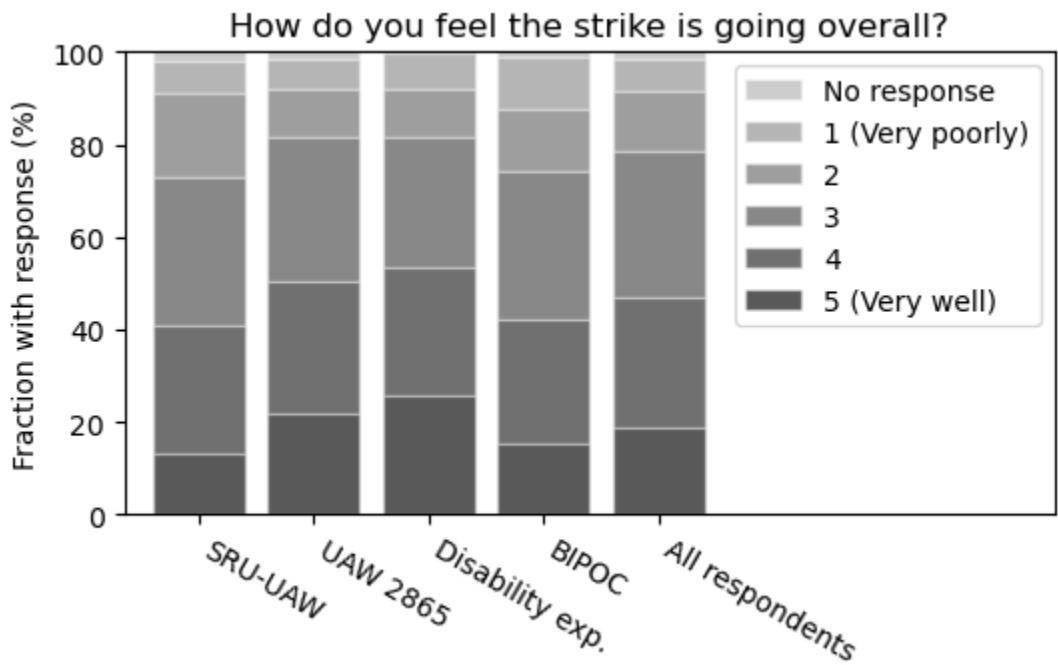
**Figure 10.** Bar plot of fraction of respondents reporting spending  $\geq 50\%$  of pay on rent, stratified by unit within each campus. Black lines depict bootstrapped 95% confidence intervals. Values range between 20% and 60%, and are higher for 2865 than for SRU at all sites.

## Views on the Strike

### Summary

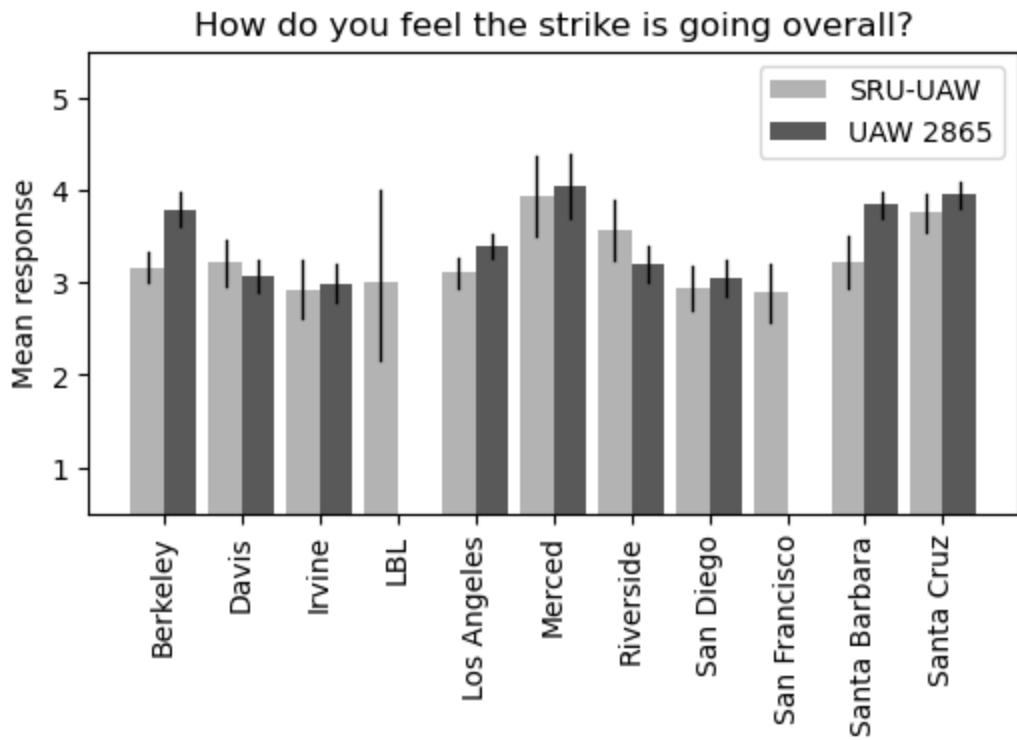
- Overall, 47.0% of respondents expressed that the strike is going well or very well, while only 19.7% of respondents expressed that it is going poorly or very poorly. However, there is significant variation in the distribution of responses to this question by site, with about half of sites expressing ambivalent views.
- Most respondents reported signing up for most of their picket shifts in the UAW system. However, 40.1% of those picketing reported not signing up through the UAW system for all of their picket shifts, suggesting that picket signups may undercount participation on the picket line.
- 92% of respondents indicated that they were somewhat or very enthusiastic about striking through at least week 4.

## Overall View



	SRU-UAW	UAW 2865	Disability exp.	BIPOC	All respondents
No response	2.1%	1.5%	0.4%	1.3%	1.7%
1 (Very poorly)	7.0%	6.7%	7.7%	11.0%	6.8%
2	17.9%	10.3%	10.5%	13.5%	12.9%
3	32.4%	31.1%	28.3%	31.9%	31.5%
4	27.3%	28.5%	27.3%	27.0%	28.1%
5 (Very well)	13.3%	21.9%	25.8%	15.3%	19.0%
Total (n)	728	1388	534	163	2116

**Figure 11.** Stacked bar graph of proportions of respondents' answers regarding overall views of the strike.

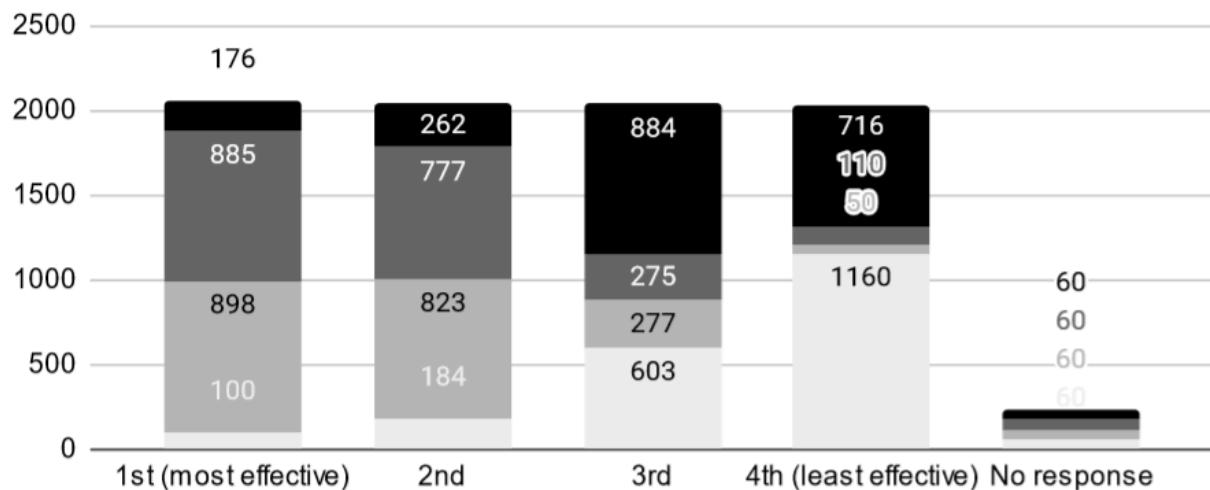


**Figure 12.** Bar graph of mean responses regarding overall feelings on the strike, stratified by campus and unit. Black lines indicate bootstrapped 95% CIs. Most sites have mean responses near 3; some exceptions include Merced (~4 for both units), Santa Cruz (3.5–4 for both units), Berkeley (4 for 2865) and Santa Barbara (4 for 2865).

## Tactics

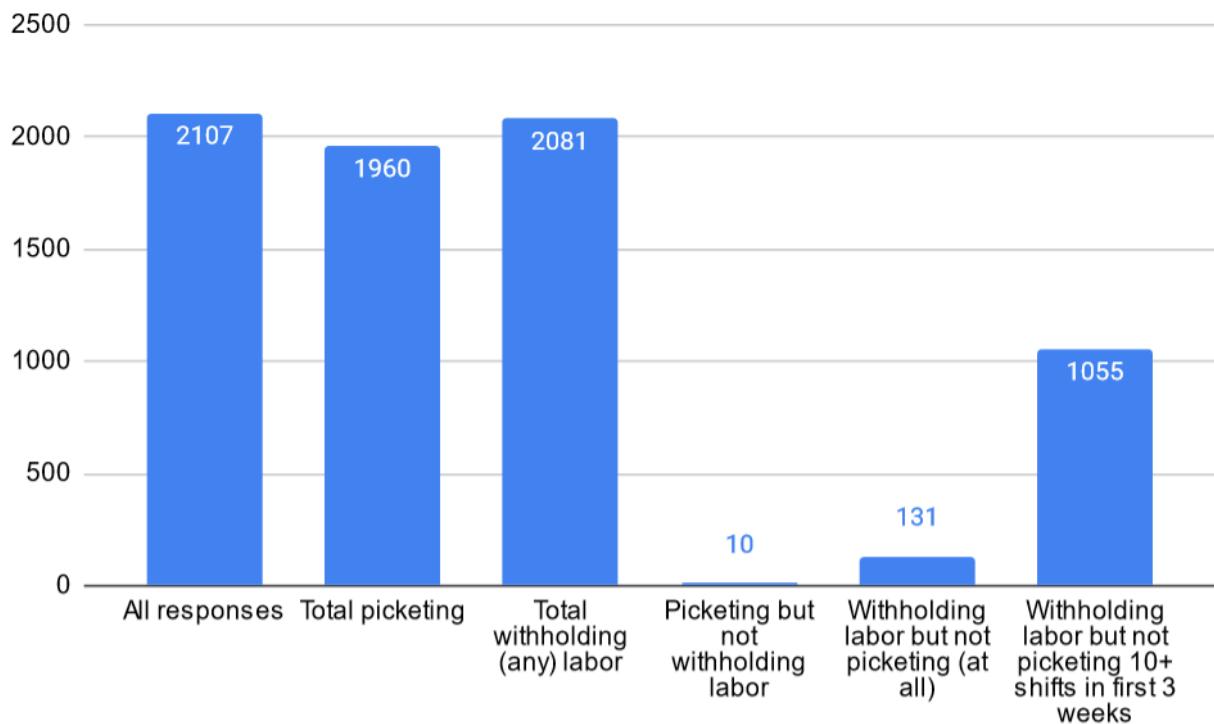
Please rank the following aspects of the strike by how effective you think they are for winning

- Disrupting university operations (e.g., no deliveries, blocking entry)
  - Withholding labor for a long time (e.g., grade due deadline missed)
  - Withholding labor in high numbers (e.g., all classes canceled)
  - Numbers at the picket line (that is, large visibility)



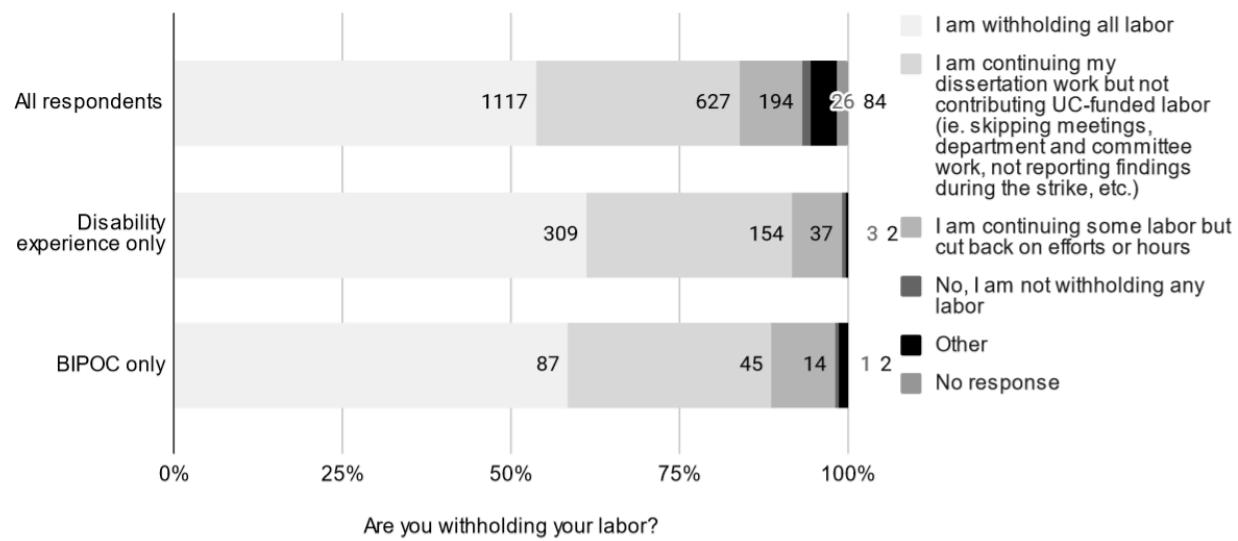
**Figure 13.** “Numbers at the picket line” was ranked 4th (least effective) by 55% of respondents. A significant majority put “withholding labor for a long time” or “withholding labor in high numbers” as first or second choice (81.6% and 78.9%, respectively).

## Picketing and Labor Withholding



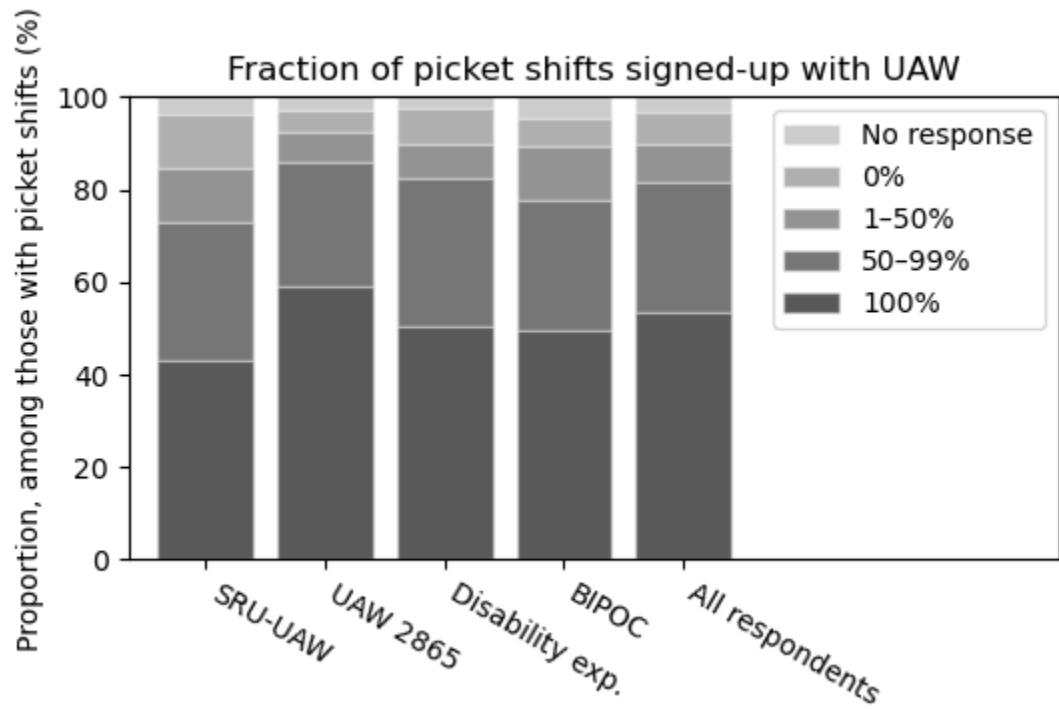
**Figure 14.** 10 respondents reported that they had completed at least one picket shift but were not withholding any labor. 131 reported that they were withholding at least some labor but had not completed any picket shifts. Just over 50% (1055) reported that they were withholding labor but had completed fewer than 10 picket shifts. For this graph, all responses other than "No, I am not withholding any labor" are grouped as "withholding (any) labor". Note: The 84 "Other" free-text responses have not been individually parsed to make sure this is accurate.

## Are you withholding your labor?



**Figure 15.** Stacked bar plots of respondents' answers regarding withholding labor. Rates of withholding labor are high across groups, with somewhat higher rates of complete labor withholding among BIPOC and respondents with disability experience.

## Picket Shift Sign-Ups with UAW



	SRU-UAW	UAW 2865	Disability exp.	BIPOC	All respondents
No response	3.9%	2.9%	2.6%	4.6%	3.2%
0%	11.7%	4.7%	7.5%	5.9%	7.0%
1-50%	11.4%	6.6%	7.7%	11.8%	8.2%
50-99%	30.0%	26.8%	31.8%	28.3%	27.9%
100%	43.0%	59.0%	50.4%	49.3%	53.6%
Total (n)	649	1278	494	152	1927

**Figure 16.** Proportions of respondents' reported fractions of picket shift sign-ups in the UAW system, among those respondents' who reported taking any picket shifts.

## **Strike Duration**

- 92% of respondents indicated that they were somewhat or very enthusiastic about striking through at least week 4.
- 5% of respondents put somewhat or very unenthusiastic beginning at week 4.

*Note:* Data for other weeks was shared with the bargaining teams. Based on feedback and deliberation on the risks of UC obtaining strike willingness data, we have decided to share only week 4 data, our closest equivalent to the bargaining teams' poll question "Are you willing to continue striking and escalating...".

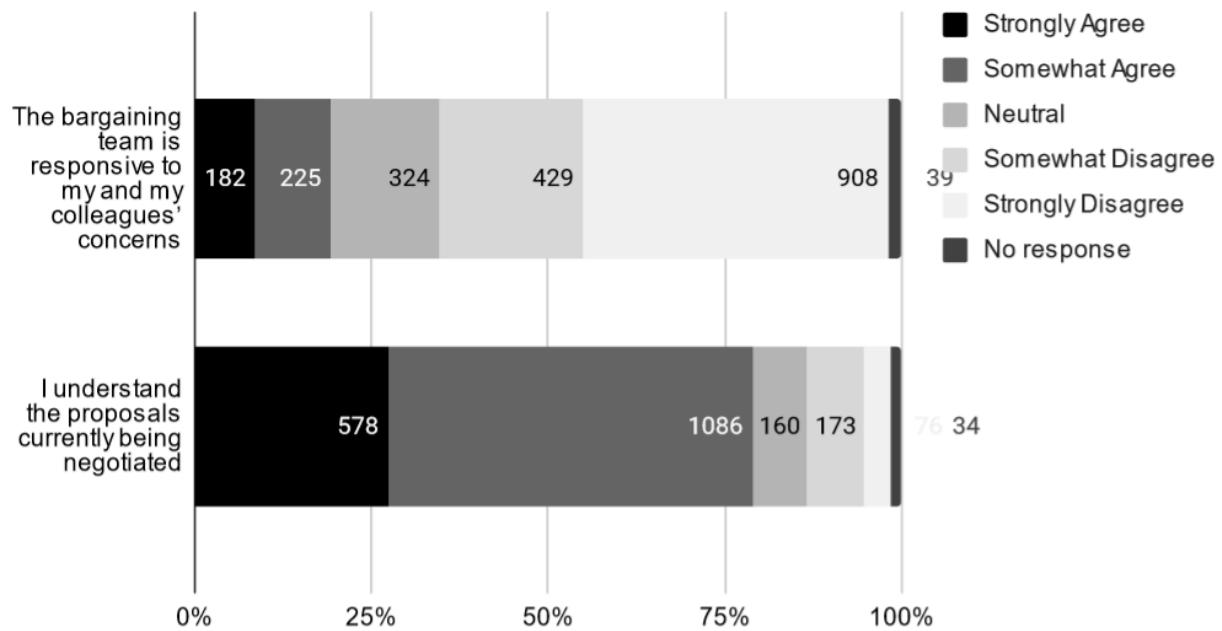
# Views on Bargaining Issues

## Summary

- Enthusiasm generally declines as prospective base pay decreases. The minimum base pay for which the majority of respondents are enthusiastic about striking is between \$38k and \$43k (about \$38,140, interpolated).
- This is largely consistent between units, but varies considerably across sites (*data in Appendix A*).
- Respondents reported higher enthusiasm for year-over-year changes that track rent markets than for fixed percentage increases.
- Among proposals besides base pay and Y/Y increases, respondents reported highest enthusiasm for: support for disabled workers; dependent healthcare; housing stipends; NRST remission; and childcare subsidies.
- Respondents overall indicated a high level of understanding of the proposals.
- Less than 20% of respondents agreed with the statement “the bargaining team is responsive to my and my colleagues’ concerns”.

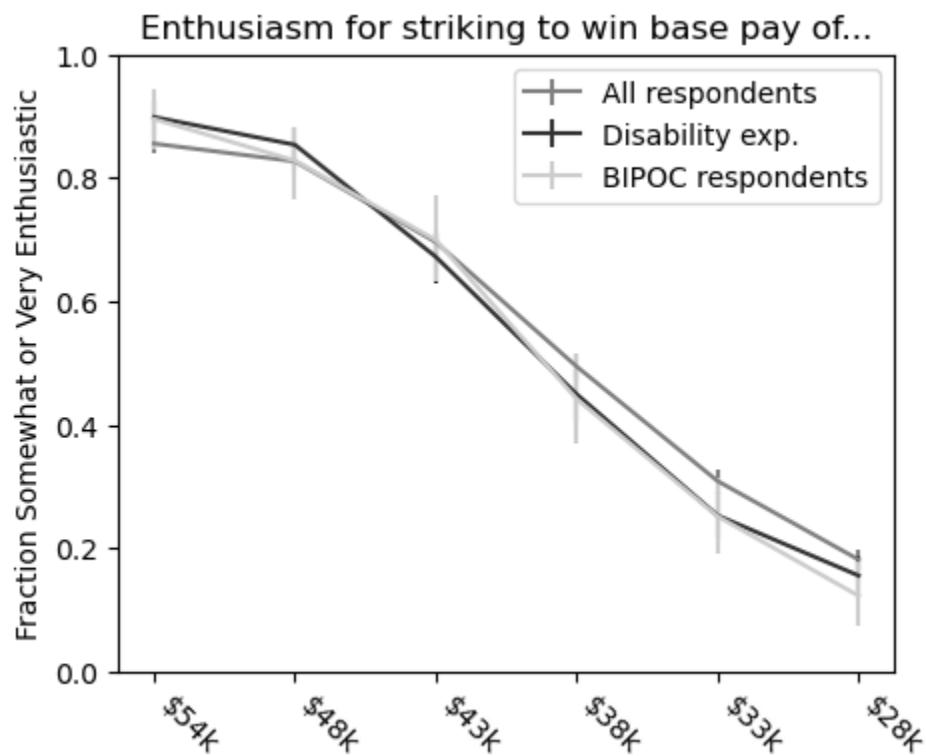
## Level of information and responsiveness of Bargaining Teams

### Bargaining Sentiments

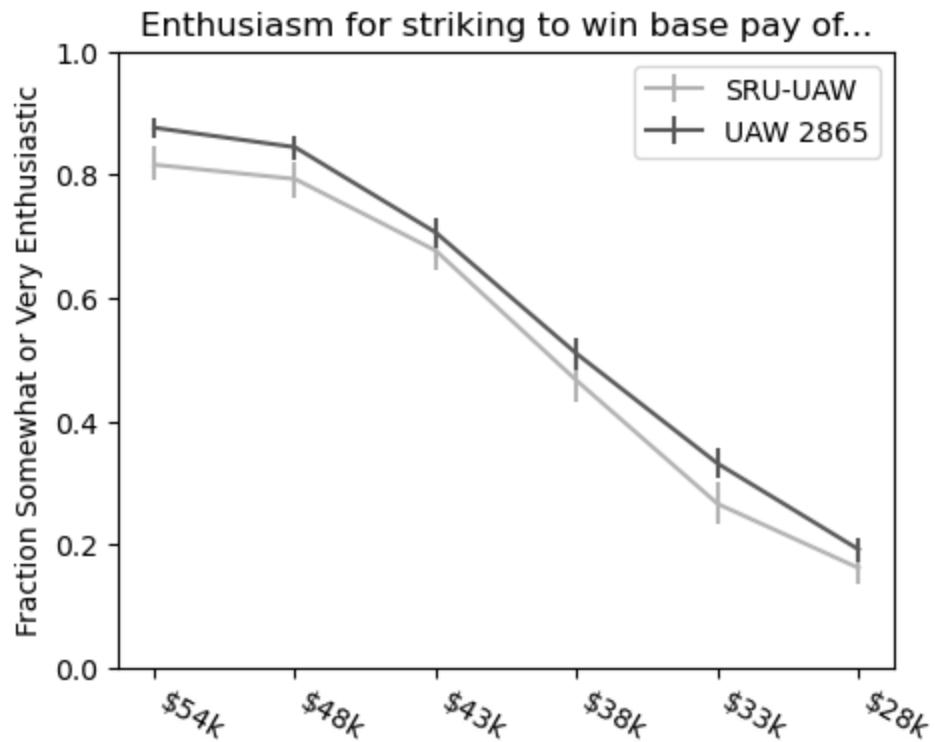


**Figure 17.** Less than 20% of respondents agreed with the statement “The bargaining team is responsive to my and my colleagues’ concerns”, with 65% somewhat or strongly disagreeing. 80% of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement “I understand the proposals currently being negotiated”.

## Base Pay



**Figure 18.** Curves of fraction of respondents Somewhat or Very Enthusiastic to continue striking to win different base pays, for all respondents, respondents who answered "Yes" to disability experience, and BIPOC respondents. Vertical lines indicate bootstrapped 95% CIs. The three curves are largely overlapping, with decreasing enthusiasm for lower base pays. The value of base pay at which 50% of respondents are somewhat or very enthusiastic is between \$38k and \$43k for all groups (about \$38,100, interpolated for all respondents).

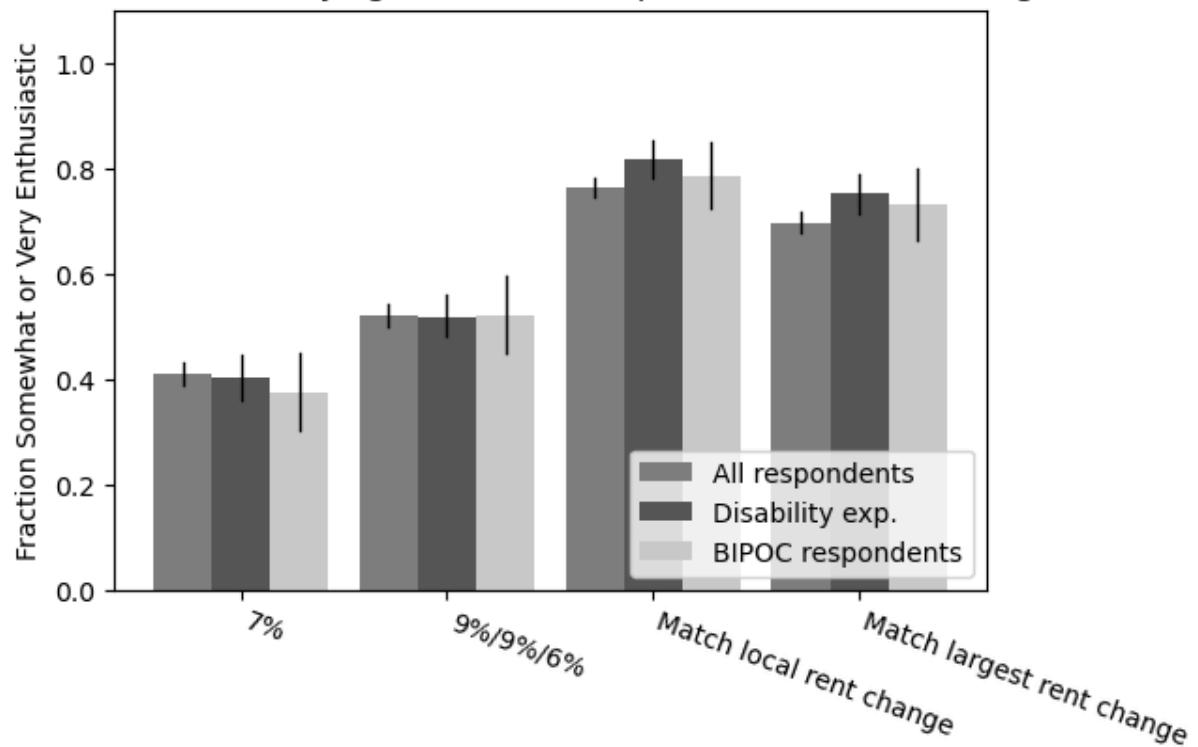


**Figure 19.** Curves of fraction of respondents Somewhat or Very Enthusiastic to continue striking to win different base pays, stratified by unit. Vertical lines indicate bootstrapped 95% CIs. The curves again show decreasing enthusiasm for lower base pay demands. The curve for 2865 is about 5–10% higher than the curve for SRU at all base pays.

*Per-campus data included as Appendix A.*

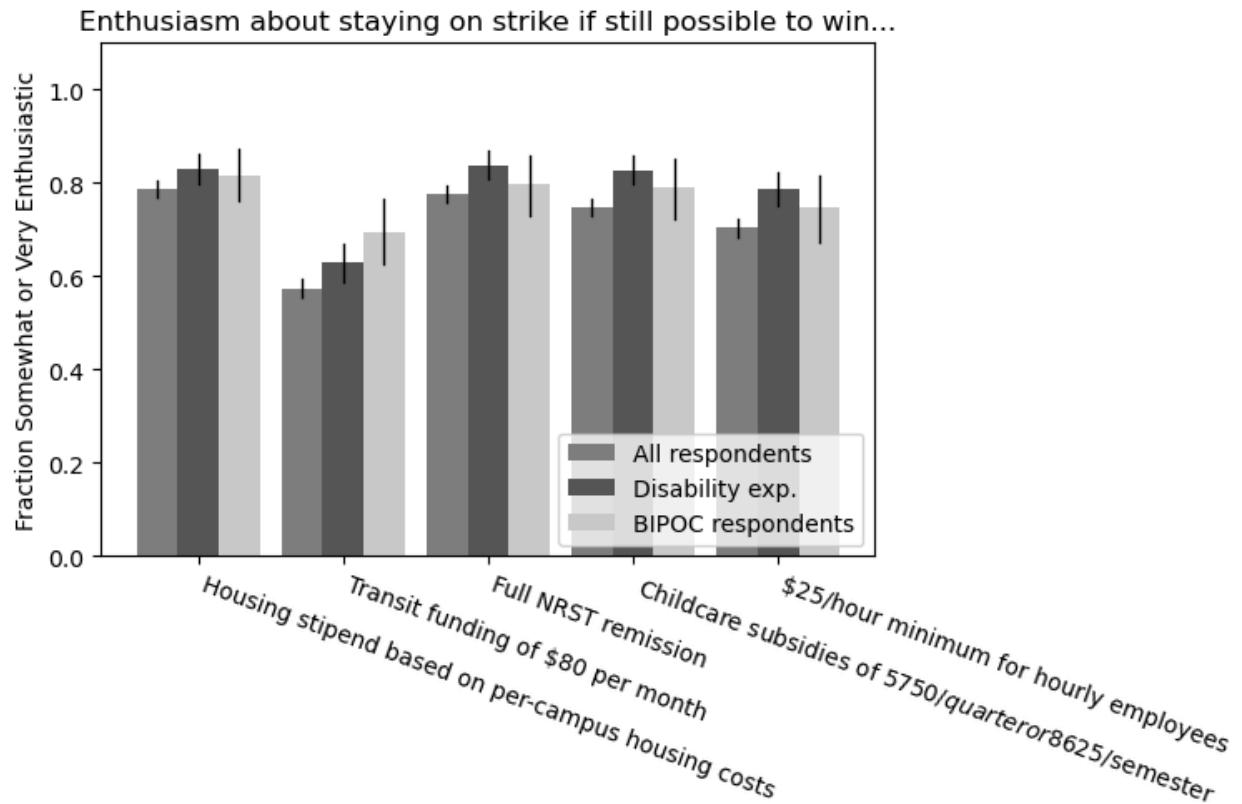
## Year-over-year Wage Increases

Enthusiasm about staying on strike if still possible to win Y/Y change of...



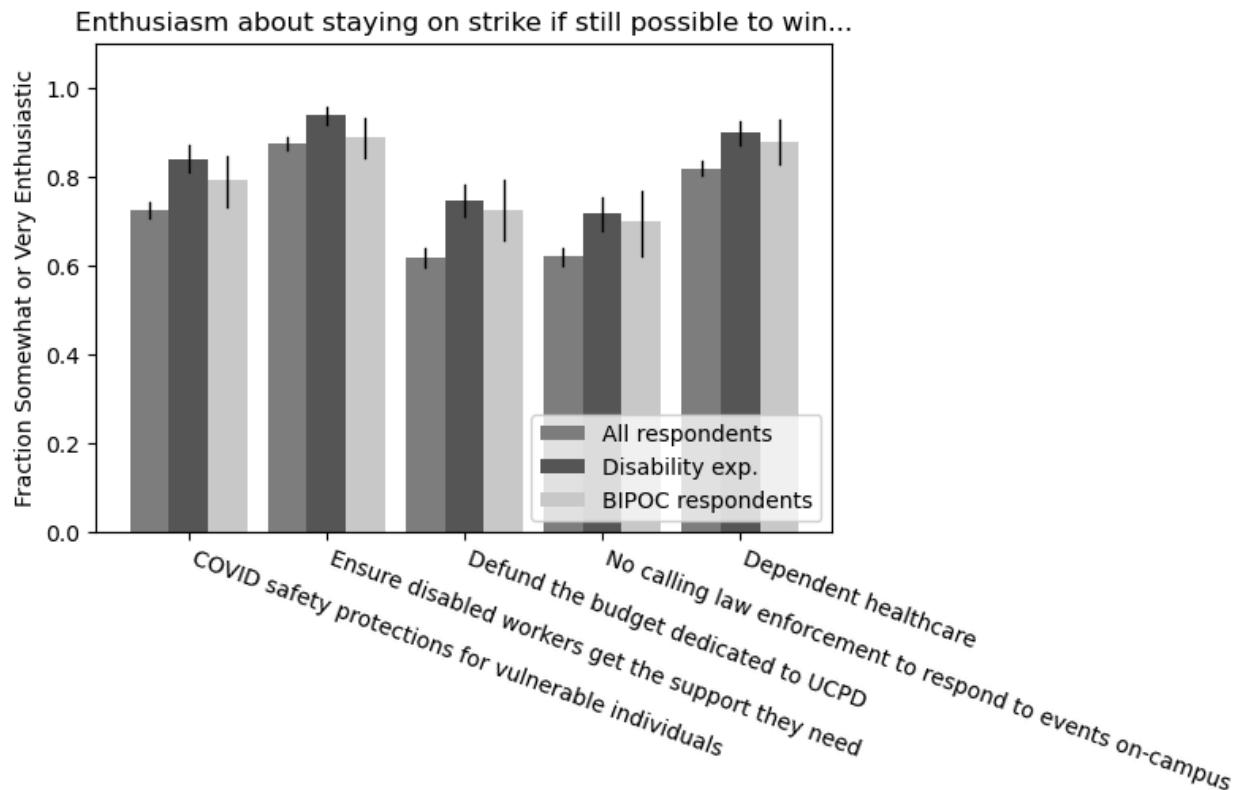
**Figure 20.** Bar graph (with black lines depicting bootstrapped 95% CIs) of enthusiasm for year-over-year wage increase proposals among all respondents, respondents answering "Yes" to the disability experience question, and BIPOC respondents. Values for proposals matching local rent changes or the largest statewide rent change (between 65% and 85%) are higher than values for fixed 7% or 9%/9%/6% increases (between 35% and 55%).

## Other Issues (1)



**Figure 21.** Bar graph (with black lines depicting bootstrapped 95% CIs) of enthusiasm for housing stipends, transit funding, NRST remission, childcare subsidies, and \$25/hr minimum wage among all respondents, respondents answering "Yes" to the disability experience question, and BIPOC respondents. All are between 55% and 85%; the lowest values are for transit funding.

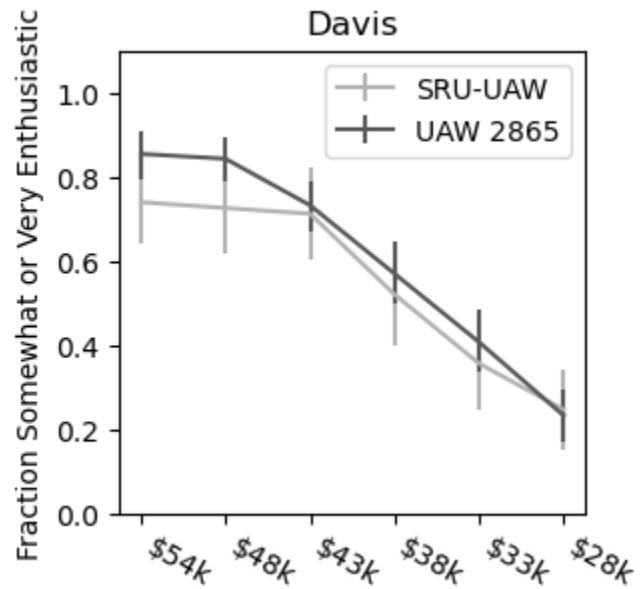
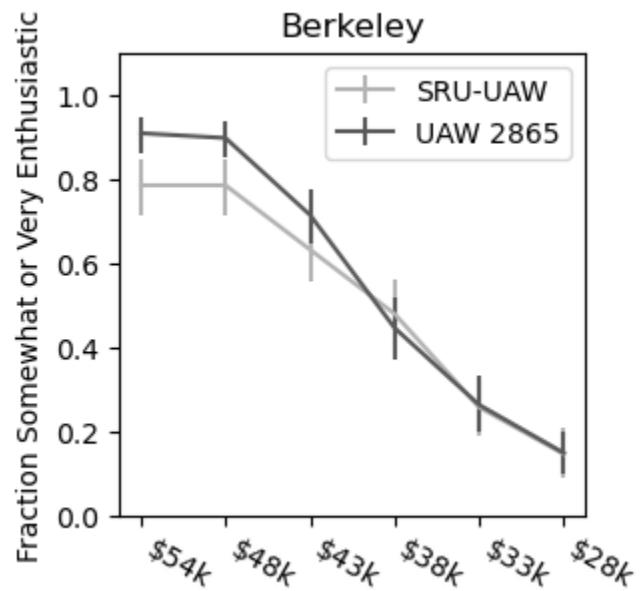
## Other Issues (2)

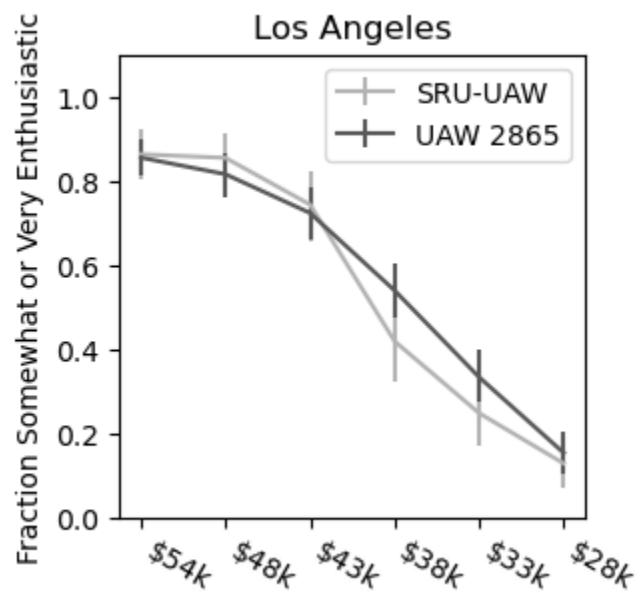
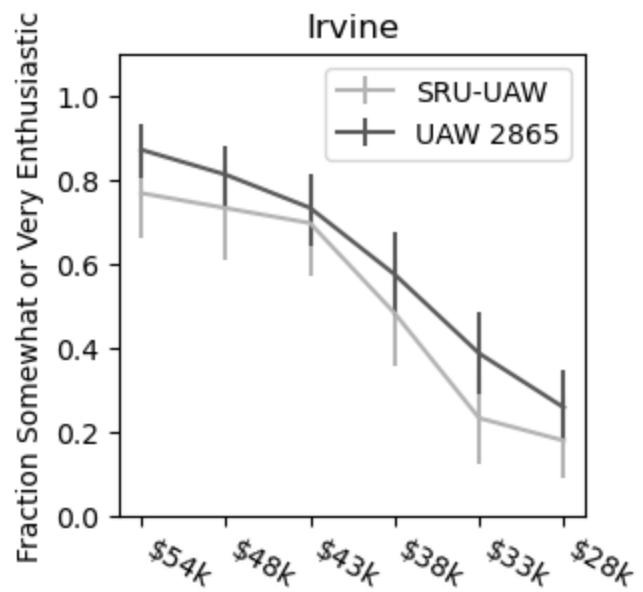


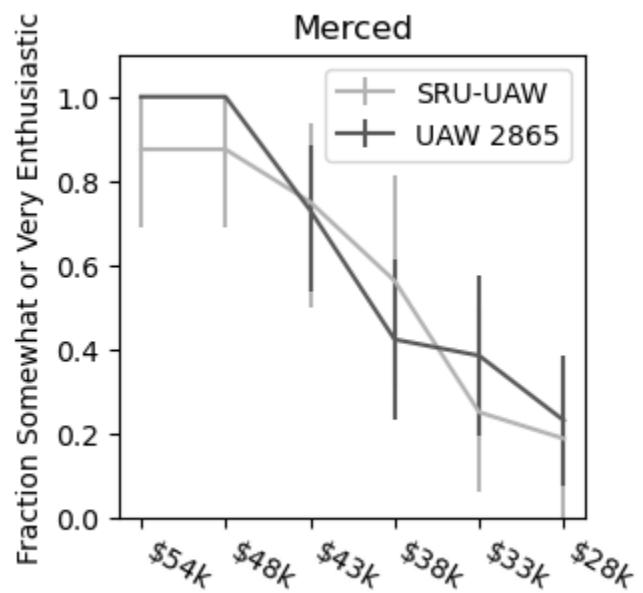
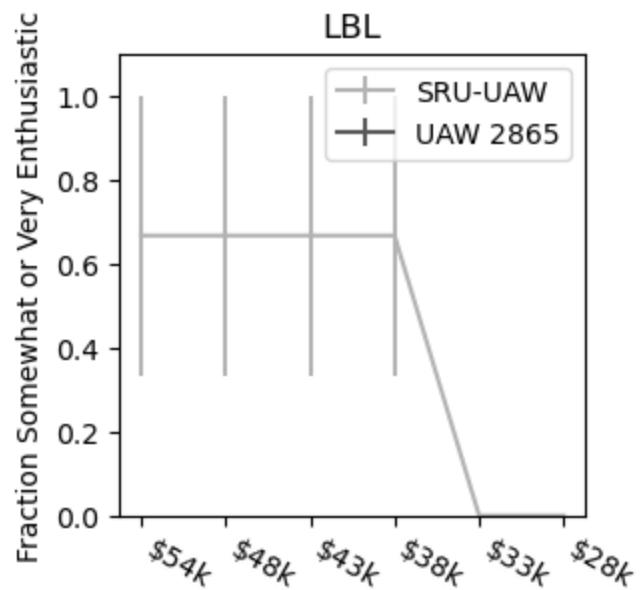
**Figure 22.** Bar graph (with black lines depicting bootstrapped 95% CIs) of enthusiasm for COVID protections, disability support, defunding UCPD, not calling law enforcement on-campus, and dependent healthcare among all respondents, respondents answering “Yes” to the disability experience question, and BIPOC respondents. All are between 60% and 100%; the lowest values are for defunding UCPD and not calling law enforcement.

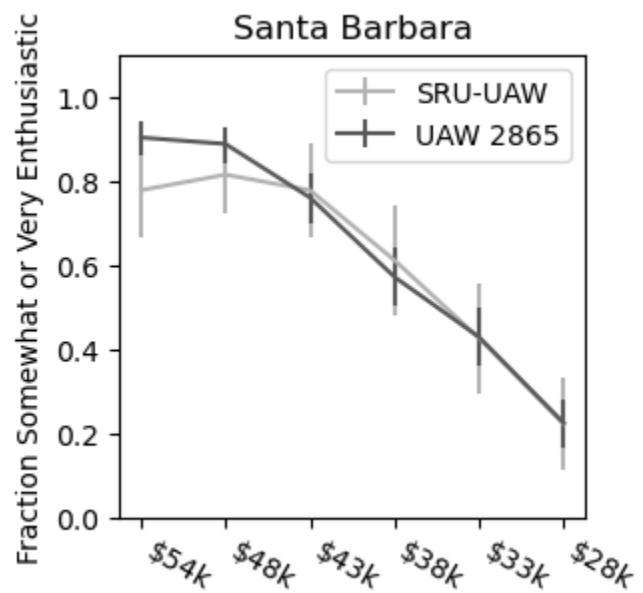
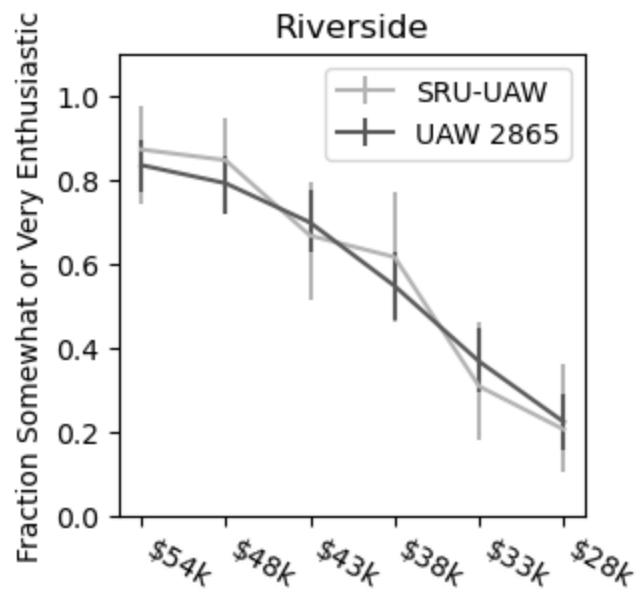
## Appendix A: Base Pay Enthusiasm Per-Campus

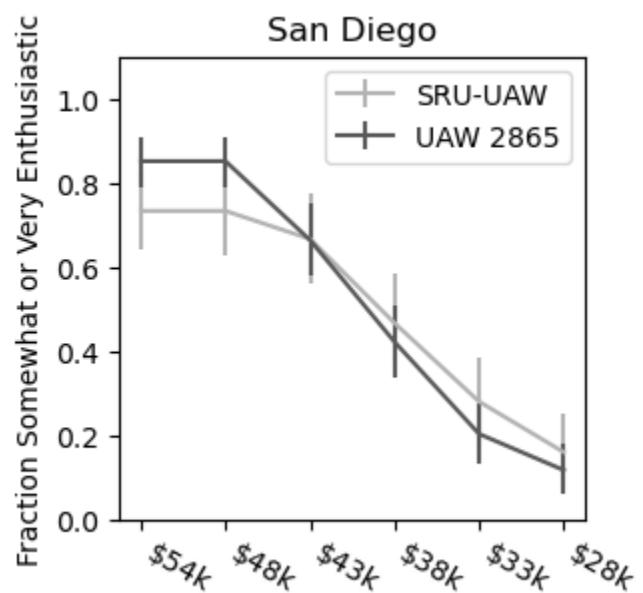
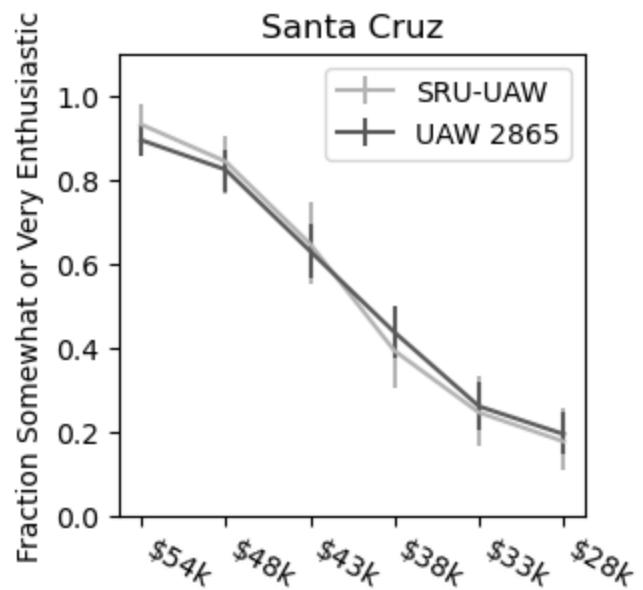
(Vertical lines are bootstrapped 95% confidence intervals.)

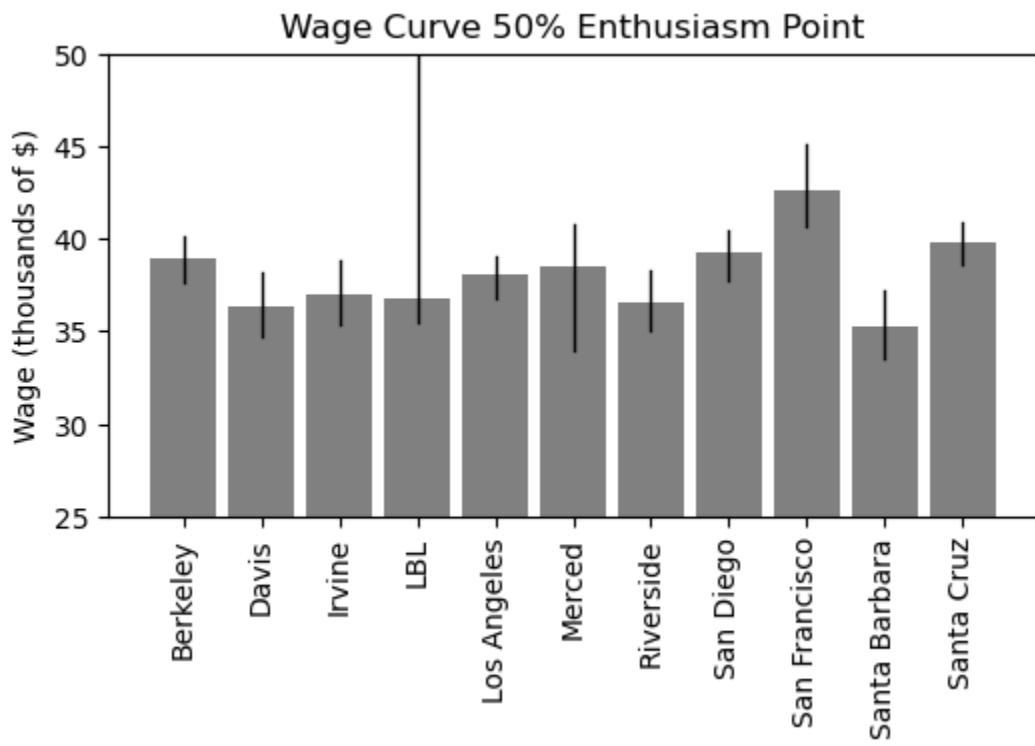
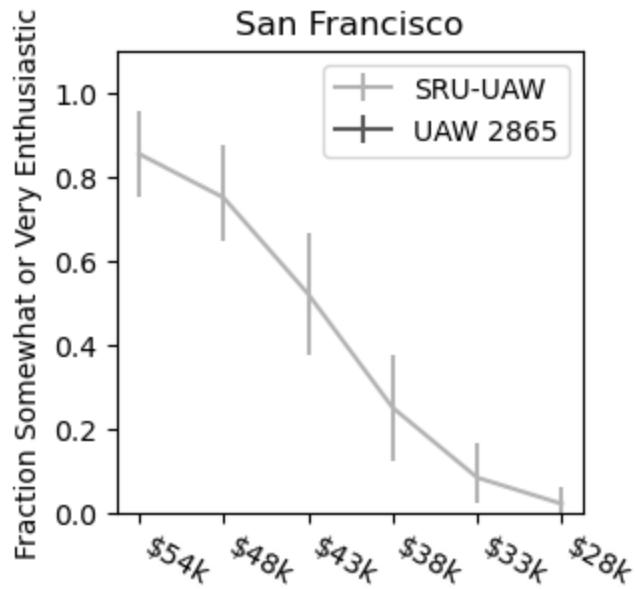












*Note: LBL has a very low sample size ( $n = 6$ ).*