

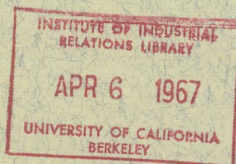
Report on:

ILWU MEMBERSHIP ATTITUDE SURVEY.

prepared for:

17th Biennial Convention

INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S & WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION (Ind.)



by:

ILWU Research Department  
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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Introduction. . . . .	1
I    Methods Used. . . . .	3
II   The Responses . . . . .	4
III  The Results . . . . .	9
A  Review of the Tables . . . . .	10
1.  Personal data. . . . .	10
2.  Union program. . . . .	11
3.  Local program. . . . .	12
4.  Local meetings . . . . .	14
B  The Dispatcher . . . . .	15
C  How They Voted . . . . .	17
IV   Differences by Age and Length of Membership. . . . .	19
V    Conclusions . . . . .	21
 Appendix Tables:	
International . . . . .	A-1 to A-4
Southern California . . . . .	A-5     A-8
Northern California . . . . .	A-9     A-12
Oregon. . . . .	A-13    A-16
Washington. . . . .	A-17    A-20
Canada. . . . .	A-21    A-24
Alaska. . . . .	A-25    A-28
Hawaii. . . . .	A-29    A-32
Pensioners. . . . .	A-33    A-35

## INTRODUCTION

In recent years there have been important changes in the composition of the membership of the ILWU. The oldtimers are leaving the ranks of the active members, Veterans of '34 are getting harder and harder to find, their places taken by new and younger members.

Our organizing activities, particularly in Southern California and Hawaii, are adding new members to our rolls every day. New leaders are emerging in every local as well.

The conditions the union faces are different in 1967 than they have been before. By and large, ILWU members are doing well financially and have greater security than they have ever had. The union is no longer the object of raids for every union in the country anxious to gobble up its jurisdiction. It is less often harassed by the Congress, the Justice Department and the FBI.

With these many changes in mind, the International Officers felt it necessary to go to the ranks and find out how the International's program was progressing, and what the members think about it. A questionnaire was chosen as the most effective and efficient means of reaching as many members as possible.

Beginning the last week in January and running through mid-February, nearly 39,000 questionnaires were mailed to those ILWU members on THE DISPATCHER mailing list. To our knowledge, this is the first time that an international union has ever gone

to so many of its members to get their opinions and attitudes on the union's program.

The following pages contain the results of this survey. The report is divided into five sections. The first deals with how the survey was conducted and how the results were tabulated. The second reviews the number of responses that were received, and analyzes them on a local-by-local basis.

The third section summarizes how the questions were answered - the results of the survey. Besides presenting the answers from the active members of the International as a whole, and from the seven geographic areas of Southern and Northern California, Oregon, Washington, Canada, Alaska and Hawaii; this section reviews the answers from the pensioners as well.

In the fourth section, two variables, age and length of membership, have been separated out. Different age groupings, for example, were then compared on how they had answered different questions, such as their feelings about pensions and an educational program.

A few summary conclusions to be drawn from the results are contained in the fifth section. Here, rather than go into a lengthy analysis, it has been left to the delegates to the 1967 International Convention, aided by the Publicity and Education Committee, to interpret the data and offer their evaluations.

The long Appendix at the back of the report contains the tables summarizing the answers given to the questions on the questionnaire. A set of four series of tables for each of the seven geographic areas and the International, as well as a set of three series of tables for the pensioners, are provided. The delegates will most likely want to focus their attention on the returns from their area, and compare them with those for the International. Thus, a separate section in the Appendix is provided for each area.

A copy of the questionnaire is attached to this report as well.

## I      METHODS USED

The questionnaire went through many drafts before it was finally mailed to the membership. Any suggestions on how it could be improved are welcome. We believe it is relatively clear and concise and, moreover, was designed to give every member an opportunity to make his opinions known - pro or con.

The questionnaire was kept anonymous for two reasons:  
1. it helped to get wider participation, and 2. it increased the credibility of the answers we received.

The original mailing at the end of January numbered about 37,500 and was based on THE DISPATCHER mailing list as of October 31, 1966. An additional 1,400 questionnaires were mailed

the middle of February. The original deadline, February 19, was extended. As it finally turned out, all the questionnaires received through March 6 were included in the tabulations.

Once received by the Research Department, the questionnaires were sorted and coded by geographic area. They were then turned over to a data processing firm where the answers on each questionnaire were keypunched onto IBM cards. The cards were run through a computer for the tabulation. As time permits in the months to come, the written comments on over 5,000 questionnaires will be read and analyzed.

## II THE RESPONSES

The pattern of responses, and in some cases the large variations from local to local, are interesting. On Table 1 below, the number mailed, returned, and the percent returned, are listed by local, within each industry in each geographic area. The locals in Canada and Alaska were each merged together as one group for ease of tallying, and the pensioners were not separated by local.

Table 1

### QUESTIONNAIRES RETURNED AS OF MARCH 10, 1967

<u>Southern California</u>	<u>Mailed</u>	<u>Returned</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Warehouse:			
Local 20	265	37	14.0
26	<u>3,441</u>	<u>282</u>	<u>8.2</u>
Total:	3,706	319	8.6

Southern California (con't)

	<u>Mailed</u>	<u>Returned</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Waterfront:			
Local 13	3,416	1,049	30.7
29	45	15	33.3
46	53	9	17.0
56	8	0	0
63	455	163	35.8
94	<u>189</u>	<u>86</u>	<u>45.5</u>
Total:	4,166	1,322	31.7
Mojave Desert:			
Local 30	450	101	22.5
35	<u>514</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>13.8</u>
Total:	964	172	17.8
Fish:			
Local 33	322	21	6.5

Northern California:

Warehouse:			
Local 6	8,070	1,664	20.6
11	966	109	11.3
17	787	232	29.5
67	<u>108</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>22.2</u>
Total	9,931	2,029	20.4

Waterfront:			
Local 2	86	6	7.0
10	3,139	890	28.4
14	115	52	45.2
18	19	8	42.1
34	802	413	51.5
49	21	15	71.4
54	232	107	46.1
75	150	42	28.0
91	<u>162</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>31.5</u>
Total:	4,726	1,584	33.5

Oregon

Local 8	812	330	40.6
12	379	181	47.8
31	21	5	23.8
40	155	69	44.5
50	112	60	53.6
53	53	26	49.1
92	<u>82</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>47.6</u>
Total	1,614	710	44.0

<u>Washington:</u>	<u>Mailed</u>	<u>Returned</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Warehouse:			
Local 9	256	55	21.5
15	34	9	26.5
43	<u>50</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>18.0</u>
Total:	340	73	21.5
Waterfront:			
Local 1	55	23	41.8
4	225	86	38.2
7	77	18	23.3
19	1,056	402	38.1
21	332	120	36.1
23	365	91	24.9
24	139	53	38.1
25	27	11	40.7
27	69	21	30.4
32	84	29	34.5
47	34	15	44.1
51	42	17	40.5
52	183	58	31.7
98	<u>91</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>47.3</u>
Total:	2,779	987	35.5
Fish:			
Local 3	41	5	12.2
37	<u>27</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
Total:	68	5	7.4
<u>Canada</u>	1,512	324	21.4
<u>Alaska</u>	315	72	22.9
<u>Hawaii</u>	2,519	381	15.1
Age or Local not given		160	
Unusable	<u>          </u>	<u>190</u>	<u>          </u>
Total Actives	32,962	8,349	25.3
Pensioners	<u>5,956</u>	<u>2,232</u>	<u>37.5</u>
GRAND TOTAL:	<u>38,918</u>	<u>10,581</u>	<u>27.2</u>



For the International as a whole (less the majority of members in Hawaii who do not receive THE DISPATCHER; our members there receive THE VOICE OF THE ILWU), 38,918 questionnaires were mailed out. Through March 10; 10,581, or 27.2 percent, were returned. Of these, 160 were returned too late to be included in the tabulation of the results, and 190 respondents failed to note their age or local so that they couldn't be classified by either category.

The return rate of 27.2 percent is excellent. Most mail surveys have to be content with less than half of this. From most locals, the returns, together with the fact that about half the members made comments, indicate a high degree of involvement in union affairs, and a great deal of interest in the survey. The fact does remain, however, that nearly 3 out of 4 members did not bother to fill out and return the questionnaire.

Overall, the responses on the questionnaire tell a great deal about the thinking of those members who did return it. For the others, the responses of the 10,581 give us an idea of the general direction of their thinking, but any final assessments are still a guess. With Table 1 in hand, it will be up to the delegates from each area and local to judge whether the rate of return from the locals in their area represents a true cross-section of opinion.

Since the returns from the pensioners were roughly at half again the rate as for the actives, the pensioners were kept as a separate group. To do otherwise would give the results a built-in bias.

For the International as a whole, the data we now have is more than has ever been had before. Many members who returned the questionnaire are no doubt leaders and activists in each of the locals, and, thus, perhaps, represent the thinking of most of the members. Although this is not perfect information, we do have a lot to go on. To find out how the opinions of the members who returned the questionnaires compare with the opinions of those who did not would require a special survey to interview a sample of non-respondents. We hope to be able to undertake this on a small scale after the convention.

The project was undertaken with little or no publicity. Most members first heard of it when they received it in the mail. As an example of what a little publicity could accomplish, Local 34 achieved better than a 50 percent response after sending its members a postcard urging them to complete and return the questionnaire.

Other problems we need to consider include complacency, or a feeling of "everything is fine the way it is"; cynicism, or a feeling of "oh, what's the use"; and the extent to which a number of members have language problems. For instance, a man

may be completely literate in Spanish, but have a fair amount of trouble reading English. A questionnaire of this length and detail can be simply too arduous to complete.

Make no mistake about it, the rate of returns was excellent, higher than most people predicted. Still, it might be worthwhile spending a little time at the convention analyzing why certain members didn't answer.

### III THE RESULTS

The material in this section summarizes the answers given to the various questions on the questionnaire. The tables in the Appendix accompany this text.

The Appendix is divided into nine sections, one for the active members of the International, one for the pensioners, and one for the active members in each of the seven major geographic areas. For each area there is a table on the personal characteristics of the respondents in that area, and three series of tables on the answers to the questionnaire; Series I is on the union program, Series II is on the local program, and Series III is on local meetings. There is a set of three series of tables for the pensioners - omitted is the one on their personal characteristics. The same method of presentation is used for the International as a whole, with the exception that there is an expanded table on the personal characteristics of the respondents.

Within each series of tables, each individual table is numbered and lettered, besides having a title. The letters vary according to geographic area. If the reader is interested, for instance, in comparing the opinions of the members in Southern California and Oregon on what the locals might do, he will turn to Series II in each area and look at Table 8a for Southern California and compare it with Table 8c for Oregon. In short, for each area the answers to a particular question on the questionnaire will be found in the same series number and on the same table number, with the exception that the letter with the table number varies by area.

In reviewing this enormous amount of material, the delegates will most likely want to concentrate on the area of their home local and compare it to the material for the International as a whole. The results on the tables speak for themselves. Rather than review each and every item from the questionnaire, this report will stick to the highlights.

## A      REVIEW OF THE TABLES

### 1.    Personal Data

The tables numbered with a 2 review the personal characteristics of the respondents to the questionnaire. Over 60 percent are at least 46 years old, and nearly 30 percent will be reaching 65 in the next ten years.

Over 54 percent have belonged to the union for more than 16 years. A vast majority are married, and over one-third have three or more children.

## 2. Union Program

Generally speaking, as can be seen on Tables 3 through 3h, the respondents have strong, positive feelings toward the job the union is doing. In all cases about 80 percent feel that the ILWU is doing a better job than most other unions. More importantly, perhaps, only 2.6 percent said they wouldn't belong if they didn't have to.

By and large, the respondents have a high regard for democracy within the union. More than 82 percent feel that the leaders of the union listen to and act on the wishes of the members more than half the time. Only a relative handful, 5.9 percent, feel otherwise.

Tables 5 through 5h summarize the responses on the union's program. As to the collective bargaining issues, the membership is almost unanimous (over 80 percent overall) in wanting more emphasis put on medical benefits and pensions. On other union issues,

the respondents are particularly interested in having more emphasis put forth on legislative activities and organizing.

Over 80 percent of the respondents favor the union's putting more or at least the same emphasis as now on working for peace. Nearly two-thirds want no less than a continuation of the union's present militant position on civil rights.

Almost half of the respondents (47.7 percent) feel that the ILWU should take a non-partisan position in regard to the two major political parties. It is only among the pensioners and the active members in Northern California that a majority favor identification with the Democratic Party.

### 3. Local Program

A relatively large number of the respondents to the questionnaire have held elected office of one sort or another in their locals. The figures on Tables 7 through 7h, however, may overstate this fact because many of the people have held more than one office, or, perhaps, all of the offices listed there.

As to what programs might be undertaken by the locals (Tables 8-8h), the respondents have a great deal of interest in an education program (see also Tables 5-5h). Uppermost in their minds are classes on contract understanding and enforcement and classes for new members.

There is much interest in stewards' councils in the locals. Locally-conducted sports programs and social events are generally met with indifference. The exceptions to this are in Hawaii and Alaska. In Hawaii 61.4 percent favor having more emphasis on a sports program. The units in Hawaii are already very much involved in these activities.

On Tables 9 through 9h, it can be seen that the respondents' interest in their locals extends far beyond their contract. Not only do they have an interest in community affairs, but well over 60 percent think the locals should be taking part. Far and away, most interest is taken in working for a fairer tax system. It still remains to be seen exactly what the members had in mind in favoring involvement in this area.

#### 4. Local Meetings

There is strong feeling that membership meetings ought to be compulsory. For many locals this may just be an endorsement of their present policy. On the other hand though, only a handful of members, less than 11 percent, think that meetings should be held less than once a month. In Hawaii the figures on Table 10g may be misleading because of the involvement of the members in their various units.

For membership meetings, the greatest interest was shown in having more reports on contract beefs. Over 80 percent in each area support such a program; the members obviously want to keep informed about what is going on.

The picture on having movies and outside speakers at membership meetings is mixed. Overall, the members are indifferent to them. However, when you get farther from the major population centers such as in Canada, Hawaii and Alaska, the interest in movies and speakers picks up considerably. In no case, with the possible exception of Hawaii, was much interest shown in spending meeting time in discussing matters not strictly related to the



contract. Instead, what the members do prefer is discussions on what community-related actions their locals might actually take.

## B. THE DISPATCHER

Tables 12 and 13 below detail the answers that were given to the questions on THE DISPATCHER.

Table 12 Read THE DISPATCHER

<u>Every or Almost Every Issue</u>	<u>Once in a While</u>	<u>Never</u>
84.3%	11.8%	1.1%

Table 13 DISPATCHER Items

	<u>More</u>	<u>Same</u>	<u>Less</u>
News about own local	63.3%	30.3%	.5%
Legal problems and issues	50.2	31.3	6.7
Health matters	50.1	31.8	6.8
News about other ILWU locals	40.9	43.3	6.4
Settlements by other unions	40.3	39.5	8.9
Economic issues	36.9	35.5	12.1
Consumer problems	34.1	33.1	17.5
Officers' columns & editorials	31.4	44.0	13.3
Civil rights and liberties	26.5	35.4	25.1
Sports	20.6	41.4	22.8
Foreign policy	16.1	32.7	36.6
Book and movie reviews	9.6	28.1	44.4

Nearly 85 percent said they read THE DISPATCHER every or almost every issue. A figure of this proportion underlines the real importance of the union's newspaper as a channel of communication with the membership.

What emerges from Table 13 is that the respondents are very interested in all of those matters which they think are of direct relevance to them. These include information about their own and other ILWU locals, information on health matters and legal issues, and articles on consumer problems and economic issues.

The response on foreign policy is interesting: 48.8 percent favored doing more or at least the same along present lines; 36.6 percent favor less space in the paper on foreign policy. As far as the union's peace activities go, as was discussed on page 12, 80 percent favor having the same or more emphasis. Our best guess as to the reason for this disparity is that peace is an issue which is directly relevant to the lives and conditions of working people. The rather vague phrase, "foreign policy", is not.

Also interesting in looking at the answers to the question on THE DISPATCHER is that about 25 percent want less space devoted to civil rights and civil liberties. There are two other questions on the questionnaire which speak directly to this issue (see Tables 5 and 9 in the Appendix). The percentage opposing civil rights activity is just about the same on each of these questions.

## C      HOW THEY VOTED

Table 14 below details how the members voted who said they voted.

In California overall, about 17 percent voted for Reagan - a notoriously anti-labor candidate. This vote can be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand, it is surprisingly good, given the Reagan landslide. On the other, it is terrible, one might argue, that even one working man or woman would vote for him. The same might be said for the 22.8 percent of the members in Alaska who voted for an anti-labor candidate for Governor of that State.

In Oregon and Washington, the candidates endorsed by the respective district councils were dumped by the membership. A great part of this pattern in Oregon no doubt stems from old Democratic Party ties. In Washington it would appear to be the case that a Republican friend of the ILWU happened to be running against a woman peace candidate. The known friend and incumbent won out.

Nevertheless, these results do raise questions about the effectiveness of the union's political program. In comparison, for example, nearly three-fourths of the Hawaii members followed their union's endorsement despite the fact that his opponent had backing from much of the labor movement in the Islands.

Table 14 How They Voted

(Percentage of those who said they voted; pensioners and actives)

	<u>Brown</u>	<u>Reagan</u>	<u>Other</u>
Southern California	79.3%	20.1%	.6%
Northern California	83.5	15.2	1.3

	<u>Hatfield</u>	<u>Duncan</u>	<u>Other</u>
Oregon	39.2%	58.4%	2.4%

	<u>Bryant</u>	<u>Pelly</u>	<u>Other</u>
Washington	34.8%	65.2%	0

(Those who voted for  
either Bryant or Pelly  
only.)

	<u>Egan</u>	<u>Hickel</u>	<u>Other</u>
Alaska	74.6%	24.0%	1.4%

	<u>Brown</u>	<u>Gill</u>	<u>Other</u>
Hawaii	74.1%	25.9%	0

#### IV DIFFERENCES BY AGE AND LENGTH OF MEMBERSHIP

In the discussions which were held prior to undertaking this project, the single most common question asked was, "What do the young guys think?" It was, perhaps, this uncertainty which got the whole project under way.

In this section, the respondents to the questionnaire have been grouped by age and length of membership. Their answers to several questions have been cross-tabulated by these groupings. For age, the groups used are those under 35, 36 to 45, 46 to 55, and over 55. For length of membership, the groups used are 0 to 5 years, 6 to 15 years, 16 to 25 years, and over 25 years.

On Table 15, collective bargaining issues are analyzed by age groupings. The younger members are slightly more in favor of putting more emphasis on wage gains than are the older members. Surprisingly, perhaps, there is only a relatively slight difference on the attitudes toward pensions between the young and the old. There is about an equal interest in getting better medical benefits among each of the age groupings.

Table 15		Collective Bargaining Issues by Age Groupings of Active Members			
		Under			
Age:		35	36-45	46-55	56+
More emphasis on:					
Gaining higher wages		60.5%	56.8%	52.6%	50.5%
Improving pensions		77.3	78.4	79.8	84.8
Bettering medical benefits		84.0	83.7	82.1	83.6

On Table 16, other union issues are analyzed by age groupings. Generally, the older members are in favor of putting even more emphasis than at present on organizing activities and legislative activities, pushing forward on civil rights and working for peace than are the younger members.

Table 16		Other Union Issues by Age Groupings of Active Members			
Age:		Under 35	36-45	46-55	56+
More emphasis on:					
Organizing		66.5%	70.8%	71.6%	76.4%
Legislative					
Activities		80.0	81.3	80.8	83.3
Civil Rights		34.0	36.8	40.1	44.4
Working for					
Peace		54.5	55.5	59.4	65.2

The younger members show somewhat more interest in developing a membership education program than do the older members, although the difference is not great. As can be seen on Table 17 below, the younger members see more of a need for classes for new members than do the older members. Many of us would have thought just the opposite to be true. The older members are somewhat more interested in labor history classes than the younger members.

Table 17		Education Program by Age Groupings of Active Members			
Age:		Under 35	36-45	46-55	56+
More emphasis on:					
Membership edu-					
cation program		66.4%	66.4%	62.9%	63.0%
Classes for new					
members		74.7	72.5	69.2	69.1
Classes in labor					
history		55.6	60.3	59.8	63.8

A number of variables were analyzed as to the differences between the members who have just joined the union and those who have been around for a long time. Curiously, perhaps, only a very few differences emerged, and none of them appear to be very significant. The only ones which seem to have some meaning are in regard to the frequency of membership meetings.

On Table 18, it can be seen that members with 25 years in are more likely to favor compulsory membership meetings than are members with zero to five years. However, there is general agreement between the two groups that meetings should be held at least once a month. Only a few more of the newer members than the members of longer standing want meetings less than once a month.

Table 18		<u>Frequency of Membership Meetings by Length of Membership Grouping of Active Members</u>			
Years:		0-5	6-15	16-25	26+
Once-a-Month:					
Compulsory		48.4%	50.8%	54.8%	59.1%
Voluntary		35.8	34.1	29.9	27.4
Once-in-a-while		8.5	7.9	7.2	5.4
Contract only		3.7	3.0	1.9	2.5
Never		1.1	1.0	.6	.8

## V CONCLUSIONS

We believe the results of the questionnaire speak for themselves. Some general conclusions might be of value for purposes of focusing the attention of the Convention Committee on Publicity and Education and the convention delegates on some

programs which are to be given consideration as part of our future work.

Naturally, we would have been happier with a much greater response to the mailing, although from what we have been able to find out the 27 percent return is considered extremely good. If we undertake another one, we have learned a great deal about the value of advance notice and broadscale and repeated publicity during the venture. No doubt we will also do some follow-up work in an effort to try to find out more about the thinking of those who did not respond.

Some general conclusions can be drawn. First, and foremost, is the strong, positive feeling of the membership toward the ILWU, which shows up in the responses to questions about how they think the union is doing, on the internal democracy of the ILWU, and on membership-meeting participation.

The union is primarily an economic weapon and this shows clearly in the answers. It is apparent that the membership also wants a union program that goes beyond immediate collective bargaining issues. They want the union to represent them in community problems which affect them as citizens and working people, and they expect the union to take on issues of equity and social justice which affect the country as a whole.

The results also show that there is a good deal of interest in the establishment of some type of educational program, although as of this moment the only clear areas of educational



demand are for classes on contract understanding and enforcement and for new members. This seems like a good place to start.

The enormous number of written comments on the questionnaire is one of the healthiest aspects of the response. Almost 50 percent took additional time out to put their ideas down in writing. These, of course, will be studied, and the fact that this large a group used the opportunity to express their opinion - and feel that they have a union which does listen - is encouraging in itself. If nothing else, this is excellent proof that the ILWU continues to be a basic rank-and-file, membership-oriented trade union; something we have long fought to maintain and hope to keep for the future.

## APPENDIX

### Table of Contents

	<u>Pages</u>	
	<u>from</u>	<u>to</u>
The International	A-1	A-4
Southern California	A-5	A-8
Northern California	A-9	A-12
Oregon	A-13	A-16
Washington	A-17	A-20
Canada	A-21	A-24
Alaska	A-25	A-28
Hawaii	A-29	A-32
Pensioners	A-33	A-35

Note: Through an oversight on the first table in the set of tables relating to Hawaii, Page A-29, the heading, "Hawaii", was left off.

Users of these tables are advised to put the name of the area on each table. The first table in each set is already so labeled. If you write in the name of the area on each succeeding page of tables, it will no doubt prove helpful in using them.

THE INTERNATIONAL  
PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS  
(Percentages based on 8,195 Actives only)

	SEX										
	MALE	FEMALE									
	94.2%	5.4%									
AGE	Under 25	26-35	36-45	46-55	55 plus						
	3.6%	13.6%	21.9%	31.4%	29.5%						
RACE	SPANISH SPEAKING	AMERICAN INDIAN	WHITE	ORIENTAL	NEGRO	OTHER					
	8.3%	.6%	70.2%	4.0%	12.8%	1.8%					
EDUCATION	UNDER 7 YRS.	7-9	10-12	COLLEGE 1-3	COLLEGE 4 plus						
	7.2%	23.2%	50.7%	14.9%	2.4%						
LENGTH OF MEMBERSHIP	LESS THAN 2 YEARS	2-5	6-15	16-25	25 plus						
	7.0%	12.9%	25.4%	37.2%	17.0%						
MARITAL STATUS	SINGLE	SEP/DIV	MARRIED	WIDOWED							
	8.2%	5.5%	83.9%	1.8%							
NUMBER OF CHILDREN	NONE	1	2	3 plus							
	22.0%	16.0%	23.9%	33.1%							
COLLEGE EDUCATION FOR CHILDREN	WANT TO GO	ATTENDING	ATTENDED	GRADUATED							
	49.8%	9.2%	6.7%	8.3%							

SERIES I

THE UNION PROGRAM

Table 3

The Job the ILWU is Doing

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Fine as is.	46.4%	35.4%
Better than most, could do more.	81.3	8.8
Not as well as other unions.	19.8	58.9
Can do just as well without ILWU.	2.6	76.7

Table 4

Leaders Listen to Members

<u>Always</u>	<u>Usually</u>	<u>50-50</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	<u>Never</u>
12.9%	44.4%	24.8%	3.5%	2.4%

Table 5

Union Program and Activities

	<u>More</u>	<u>Same</u>	<u>Less</u>
Collective bargaining issues:			
Better medical benefits.	83.2%	11.2%	.6%
Improving pensions.	80.5	12.4	1.9
Higher wages.	54.3	32.8	5.2
Other union issues:			
Legislative action.	81.5	12.4	1.4
Organizing.	72.0	15.0	5.2
Ties with other unions.	68.4	18.0	5.4
Education program.	64.3	17.0	7.2
Working for peace.	59.4	19.9	10.9
Electing friends of labor.	57.8	19.6	13.4
Promoting civil rights.	39.6	25.8	22.7

Table 6

Political Identity of Union

<u>Democratic</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Non-Partisan Independent</u>
41.5%	1.6%	47.7%

SERIES II

THE LOCAL PROGRAM

Table 7

Held Local Office

<u>Elected Officer/ Executive Board</u>	<u>Steward</u>	<u>Convention/ Caucus</u>	<u>Committee/ District Council</u>
22.9%	30.8%	11.3%	12.5%

Table 8

What Local Might Do

	<u>More</u>	<u>Less</u>	<u>Not Worth Doing</u>
Classes:			
Contract understanding.	82.7%	1.5%	3.2%
New members.	70.8	3.5	7.7
Labor history.	60.3	9.3	10.3
Parliamentary procedure.	56.8	9.1	9.5
Stewards council.	79.5	2.6	6.5
Local union bulletin.	76.4	2.8	3.7
Education - publicity committee.	58.0	6.9	18.1
Sports program.	44.8	11.5	23.7
Social events.	32.1	14.2	32.0

Table 9

Local and Community Affairs

	<u>Take Part</u>	<u>Don't Take Part</u>
Fairer tax system.	84.6%	9.7%
Assisting youth programs.	73.1	16.6
Teaching about unions in schools.	70.9	21.2
Improving the schools.	66.2	25.0
Ending racial discrimination.	63.7	26.7
Promoting better housing.	63.4	25.9

SERIES III

LOCAL MEETINGS

Table 10

How Often

<u>Once a Month/ Compulsory</u>	<u>Once a Month/ Voluntary</u>	<u>Once in a While</u>	<u>Contract Only</u>	<u>Never</u>
53.3%	31.8%	7.3%	2.6%	.9%

---

Table 11

Features of Meetings

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
Reports on contract beefs.	84.1%	5.7%
Discussion from floor.	66.6	16.8
Compulsory attendance.	52.0	34.2
Local community action projects.	51.5	33.2
Outside speakers.	39.1	43.0
Movies.	32.7	50.0
Matters not in contract.	28.2	57.5

# SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Table 2a      Personal Characteristics

AGE:	Under 25	5.9%
	26-35	17.9
	36-45	21.7
	46-55	28.5
	55+	24.9
<hr/>		
RACE:	WHITE	75.0
	NEGRO	7.6
	SPANISH SPEAKING	12.7
	ORIENTAL	.9
	AMERICAN INDIAN	.6
	OTHER	.9
<hr/>		
LENGTH OF MEMBERSHIP:	Less than 2 years	11.5
	2-5	16.3
	6-15	26.6
	16-25	28.5
	25+	16.3

SERIES I

THE UNION PROGRAM

Table 3a

The Job the ILWU is Doing

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Fine as is	42.4%	39.6%
Better than most, could do more	79.7	9.7
Not as well as other unions	19.4	58.9
Can do just as well without ILWU	3.2	76.3

---

Table 4a

Leaders Listen to Members

<u>Always</u>	<u>Usually</u>	<u>50-50</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	<u>Never</u>
11.4%	42%	28.7%	5.3%	3.1%

---

Table 5a

Union Program and Activities

	<u>More</u>	<u>Same</u>	<u>Less</u>
Collective bargaining issues:			
Better medical benefits	84.1%	10.6%	.4%
Improving pensions	80.1	11.5	2.1
Higher wages	55.5	31.9	4.4
Other union issues:			
Legislative action	79.1	13.7	2.1
Organizing	67.4	18.3	6.3
Ties with other unions	66.4	17.9	7.2
Education program	65.1	17.4	6.7
Working for peace	55.7	19.7	14.8
Electing friends of labor	54.4	20.6	15.7
Promoting civil rights	31.0	25.7	31.3

---

Table 6a

Political Identity of Union

<u>Democratic</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Non-Partisan Independent</u>
43.8%	1.9%	46.8%



**SERIES II**

**THE LOCAL PROGRAM**

**Table 7a      Held Local Office**

<u>Elected Officer/ Executive Board</u>	<u>Steward</u>	<u>Convention/ Caucus</u>	<u>Committee/ District Council</u>
15.3%	26.2%	4.9%	9.6%

---

**Table 8a      What Local Might Do.**

	<u>More</u>	<u>Less</u>	<u>Not Worth Doing</u>
<b>Classes:</b>			
Contract understanding	85.5%	1.4%	3.2%
New members	73.3	2.7	6.8
Labor history	60.4	9.6	11.8
Parliamentary procedure	60.2	9.2	10.0
 Stewards council	 83.5	 1.9	 6.0
Local union bulletin	81.1	2.3	3.0
Education - publicity committee	57.9	7.0	20.0
Sports program	43.2	11.6	26.6
Social events	29.8	15.1	34.8

---

**Table 9a      Local and Community Affairs**

	<u>Take Part</u>	<u>Don't Take Part</u>
Fairer tax system	81.4%	12.7%
Assisting youth programs	73.3	17.7
Teaching about unions in schools	69.0	23.7
Improving the schools	62.2	28.7
Ending racial discrimination	52.2	37.7
Promoting better housing	53.4	35.6

SERIES III

LOCAL MEETINGS

Table 10a

How Often

<u>Once a Month/ Compulsory</u>	<u>Once a Month/ Voluntary</u>	<u>Once in a While</u>	<u>Contract Only</u>	<u>Never</u>
58.9%	28.7%	5.5%	2.4%	1.2%

---

Table 11a

Features of Meetings

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
Reports on contract beefs	86.2%	4.4%
Discussion from floor	62.4	20.5
Compulsory attendance	55.5	31.7
Local community-action projects	46.0	39.3
Outside speakers	36.9	45.9
Movies	29.9	53.7
Matters not in contract	21.4	65.2

# NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

Table 2b

## Personal Characteristics

AGE:	Under 25	2.9%
	26-35	12.7
	36-45	19.1
	46-55	30.7
	55+	32.3

---

RACE:	WHITE	58.8
	NEGRO	23.3
	SPANISH SPEAKING	11.1
	ORIENTAL	1.2
	AMERICAN INDIAN	.4
	OTHER	1.4

---

LENGTH OF MEMBERSHIP:	Less than 2 years	5.6
	2-5	12.0
	6-15	22.6
	16-25	38.3
	25+	20.0

**SERIES I**

**THE UNION PROGRAM**

**Table 3b**

**The Job the ILWU is Doing**

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Fine as is	47.1%	34.1%
Better than most, could do more	79.1	9.5
Not as well as other unions	25.6	53.2
Can do just as well without ILWU	3.3	75.1

**Table 4b**

**Leaders Listen to Members**

<u>Always</u>	<u>Usually</u>	<u>50-50</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	<u>Never</u>
13.7%	41.2%	23.6%	3%	2.6%

**Table 5b**

**Union Program and Activities**

	<u>More</u>	<u>Same</u>	<u>Less</u>
<b>Collective bargaining issues:</b>			
Better medical benefits	82.2%	10.6%	1.0%
Improving pensions	82.3	10.0	1.8
Higher wages	63.7	23.8	4.0
<b>Other union issues:</b>			
Legislative action	81.1	12.0	1.3
Organizing	73.1	12.6	4.9
Ties with other unions	71.0	15.2	4.4
Education program	63.8	14.9	8.5
Working for peace	62.0	17.7	9.5
Electing friends of labor	56.0	18.7	14.4
Promoting civil rights	45.5	22.1	19.6

**Table 6b**

**Political Identity of Union**

<u>Democratic</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Non-Partisan Independent</u>
47.5%	1.8%	42%

SERIES II

THE LOCAL PROGRAM

Table 7b Held Local Office

<u>Elected Officer/ Executive Board</u>	<u>Steward</u>	<u>Convention/ Caucus</u>	<u>Committee/ District Council</u>
13.8%	32.4%	13.5%	11.4%

---

Table 8b What Local Might Do.

	<u>More</u>	<u>Less</u>	<u>Not Worth Doing</u>
Classes:			
Contract understanding	79.0%	1.7%	3.7%
New members	67.0	4.3	8.8
Labor history	59.0	9.0	10.1
Parliamentary procedure	52.3	9.4	9.7
Stewards council	81.0	2.5	5.2
Local union bulletin	73.9	3.1	3.7
Education - publicity committee	58.3	7.0	16.5
Sports program	44.0	10.2	23.6
Social events	34.3	14.4	28.5

---

Table 9b Local and Community Affairs

	<u>Take Part</u>	<u>Don't Take Part</u>
Fairer tax system	85.3%	8.1%
Assisting youth programs	71.3	16.9
Teaching about unions in schools	69.3	21.8
Improving the schools	67.2	23.3
Ending racial discrimination	70.0	20.6
Promoting better housing	68.5	20.5

**SERIES III****LOCAL MEETINGS****Table 10 b****How Often**

<u>Once a Month/ Compulsory</u>	<u>Once a Month/ Voluntary</u>	<u>Once in a While</u>	<u>Contract Only</u>	<u>Never</u>
50.7%	29.5%	9.5%	3.3%	1.1%

---

**Table 11 b****Features of Meetings**

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
Reports on contract beefs	82.5%	5.9%
Discussion from floor	68.1	15.1
Compulsory attendance	49.7	34.0
Local community-action projects	53.1	29.6
Outside speakers	35.6	44.1
Movies	35.0	45.7
Matters not in contract	32.9	51.3

# OREGON

Table 2c

## Personal Characteristics

AGE:	Under 25	1.7%
	26-35	7.7
	36-45	20.8
	46-55	36.4
	55+	32.6

---

RACE:	WHITE	96.6
	NEGRO	-0-
	SPANISH SPEAKING	.3
	ORIENTAL	.1
	AMERICAN INDIAN	.8
	OTHER	.7

---

LENGTH OF MEMBERSHIP:	Less than 2 years	5.1
	2-5	4.4
	6-15	30.0
	16-25	44.5
	25+	15.8

**SERIES I**

**THE UNION PROGRAM**

**Table 3 c      The Job the ILWU is Doing**

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Fine as is	50.0%	31.5%
Better than most, could do more	82.0	8.0
Not as well as other unions	9.0	66.9
Can do just as well without ILWU	.7	78.2

---

**Table 4 c      Leaders Listen to Members**

<u>Always</u>	<u>Usually</u>	<u>50-50</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	<u>Never</u>
13.6%	51.2%	24.2%	2.5%	1.2%

---

**Table 5 c      Union Program and Activities**

	<u>More</u>	<u>Same</u>	<u>Less</u>
<b>Collective bargaining issues:</b>			
Better medical benefits	84.2%	11.4%	.4%
Improving pensions	70.4	22.3	3.2
Higher wages	34.2	49.9	7.0
<b>Other union issues:</b>			
Legislative action	84.8	11.4	.4
Organizing	70.2	19.1	3.9
Ties with other unions	65.2	23.7	4.7
Education program	59.9	20.4	7.6
Working for peace	58.1	21.9	10.9
Electing friends of labor	67.5	18.5	7.2
Promoting civil rights	31.8	32.4	24.5

---

**Table 6 c      Political Identity of Union**

<u>Democratic</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Non-Partisan Independent</u>
32.4%	1.8%	57.6%



SERIES II

THE LOCAL PROGRAM

Table 7c      Held Local Office

<u>Elected Officer/ Executive Board</u>	<u>Steward</u>	<u>Convention/ Caucus</u>	<u>Committee/ District Council</u>
50.4%	26%	9.5%	17.2%

---

Table 8c      What Local Might Do

	<u>More</u>	<u>Less</u>	<u>Not Worth Doing</u>
Classes:			
Contract understanding	83.3%	1.1%	3.3%
New members	72.3	3.2	7.3
Labor history	60.1	9.0	9.1
Parliamentary procedure	58.0	8.8	8.1
Stewards council	71.6	3.9	11.7
Local union Bulletin	73.8	2.8	5.0
Education - publicity committee	51.9	8.8	20.8
Sports program	41.6	14.2	23.8
Social events	24.7	14.0	39.4

---

Table 9c      Local and Community Affairs

	<u>Take Part</u>	<u>Don't Take Part</u>
Fairer tax system	86.4%	9.5%
Assisting youth programs	72.9	17.1
Teaching about unions in schools	78.1	15.2
Improving the schools	64.9	26.6
Ending racial discrimination	55.1	33.7
Promoting better housing	56.6	32.0

**SERIES III**

**LOCAL MEETINGS**

**Table 10 c**

**How Often**

<b><u>Once a Month/ Compulsory</u></b>	<b><u>Once a Month/ Voluntary</u></b>	<b><u>Once in a While</u></b>	<b><u>Contract Only</u></b>	<b><u>Never</u></b>
67.1%	29.8%	1.8%	.3%	.1%

---

**Table 11 c**

**Features of Meetings**

	<b><u>Favor</u></b>	<b><u>Oppose</u></b>
<b>Reports on contract beefs</b>	80.4%	7.3%
<b>Discussion from floor</b>	63.4	16.3
<b>Compulsory attendance</b>	63.4	26.0
<b>Local community-action projects</b>	52.2	33.7
<b>Outside speakers</b>	39.0	42.4
<b>Movies</b>	22.0	60.1
<b>Matters not in contract</b>	24.0	63.4

WASHINGTON

Table 2d

Personal Characteristics

AGE:	Under 25	3.1%
	26-35	12.2
	36-45	21.3
	46-55	32.1
	55+	30.7

---

RACE:	WHITE	92.0
	NEGRO	3.8
	SPANISH SPEAKING	.8
	ORIENTAL	.3
	AMERICAN INDIAN	.7
	OTHER	.6

---

LENGTH OF MEMBERSHIP:	Less than 2 years	5.7
	2-5	13.4
	6-15	24.9
	16-25	38.3
	25+	16.3

SERIES I      THE UNION PROGRAM

Table 3d      The Job the ILWU is Doing

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Fine as is	42.3%	37.2%
Better than most, could do more	85.5	6.8
Not as well as other unions	12.5	64.7
Can do just as well without ILWU	1.7	77.0

---

Table 4d      Leaders Listen to Members

<u>Always</u>	<u>Usually</u>	<u>50-50</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	<u>Never</u>
12.5%	49.5%	25.2%	3.1%	1.9%

---

Table 5d      Union Program and Activities

	<u>More</u>	<u>Same</u>	<u>Less</u>
Collective bargaining issues:			
Better medical benefits	82.1%	13.4%	.2%
Improving pensions	76.6	17.6	2.0
Higher wages	40.9	45.3	6.5
Other union issues:			
Legislative action	83.0	12.4	1.2
Organizing	68.7	17.7	6.5
Ties with other unions	66.5	20.4	6.1
Education program	63.0	19.4	5.9
Working for peace	55.6	24.6	10.7
Electing friends of labor	61.8	20.2	9.9
Promoting civil rights	30.0	32.4	25.9

---

Table 6d      Political Identity of Union

<u>Democratic</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Non-Partisan Independent</u>
33.8%	.6%	57.4%

**SERIES II**

**THE LOCAL PROGRAM**

**Table 7i**

**Held Local Office**

<u>Elected Officer/ Executive Board</u>	<u>Steward</u>	<u>Convention/ Caucus</u>	<u>Committee/ District Council</u>
39.2%	29.5%	6.9%	13.8%

---

**Table 8 d**

**What Local Might Do**

	<u>More</u>	<u>Less</u>	<u>Not Worth Doing</u>
<b>Classes:</b>			
Contract understanding	84.9%	1.0%	2.4%
New members	75.4	2.2	5.8
Labor history	63.8	8.5	8.7
Parliamentary procedure	59.9	8.3	8.3
<b>Stewards council</b>	70.0	3.7	9.1
Local union Bulletin	73.5	2.4	5.3
Education - publicity committee	51.5	6.1	23.2
Sports program	40.2	12.3	26.1
Social events	28.5	11.7	38.1

---

**Table 9d**

**Local and Community Affairs**

	<u>Take Part</u>	<u>Don't Take Part</u>
Fairer tax system	82.2%	11.9%
Assisting youth programs	69.8	18.6
Teaching about unions in schools	72.0	19.2
Improving the schools	61.9	27.9
Ending racial discrimination	54.3	33.8
Promoting better housing	56.0	31.1

**SERIES III**

**LOCAL MEETINGS**

**Table 10d**

**How Often**

<u>Once a Month/ Compulsory</u>	<u>Once a Month/ Voluntary</u>	<u>Once in a While</u>	<u>Contract Only</u>	<u>Never</u>
46.8%	46.9%	2.8%	.3%	-0-

---

**Table 11d**

**Features of Meetings**

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
Reports on contract beefs	85.3%	6.1%
Discussion from floor	64.5	18.9
Compulsory attendance	46.0	42.8
Local community-action projects	48.9	37.1
Outside speakers	41.7	42.1
Movies	26.0	59.2
Matters not in contract	20.6	67.0

# CANADA

Table 2e

## Personal Characteristics

AGE:	Under 25	5.2%
	26-35	16.7
	36-45	27.5
	46-55	29.0
	55+	20.7

---

RACE:	WHITE	95.7
	NEGRO	-0-
	SPANISH SPEAKING	.3
	ORIENTAL	.3
	AMERICAN INDIAN	.6
	OTHER	.9

---

LENGTH OF MEMBERSHIP:	Less than 2 years	8.6
	2-5	19.1
	6-15	38.6
	16-25	28.1
	25+	4.6

**SERIES I**

**THE UNION PROGRAM**

**Table 3e      The Job the ILWU is Doing**

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Fine as is	46.9%	35.2%
Better than most, could do more	83.3	7.1
Not as well as other unions	6.5	71.0
Can do just as well without ILWU	1.2	77.2

---

**Table 4e      Leaders Listen to Members**

<u>Always</u>	<u>Usually</u>	<u>50-50</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	<u>Never</u>
8.6%	59.6%	20.4%	2.5%	.9%

---

**Table 5e      Union Program and Activities**

	<u>More</u>	<u>Same</u>	<u>Less</u>
<b>Collective bargaining issues:</b>			
Better medical benefits	81.2%	13.9%	-0-
Improving pensions	86.1	9.9	.3
Higher wages	18.2	59.3	12.7
<b>Other union issues:</b>			
Legislative action	83.6	9.6	1.9
Organizing	77.2	12.7	3.4
Ties with other unions	67.9	22.2	2.8
Education program	64.8	19.8	5.2
Working for peace	60.8	21.6	6.8
Electing friends of labor	47.8	20.4	21.3
Promoting civil rights	52.8	25.3	9.3

---



SERIES II

THE LOCAL PROGRAM

Table 7e Held Local Office

<u>Elected Officer/ Executive Board</u>	<u>Steward</u>	<u>Convention/ Caucus</u>	<u>Committee/ District Council</u>
33%	18.8%	12.3%	17%

---

Table 8e What Local Might Do

	<u>More</u>	<u>Less</u>	<u>Not Worth Doing</u>
Classes:			
Contract understanding	84.0%	.9%	4.3%
New Members	70.7	4.6	9.0
Labor history	59.0	8.0	13.9
Parliamentary procedure	59.0	9.0	14.5
Stewards council	71.6	2.5	8.6
Local union bulletin	83.0	1.2	2.8
Education - publicity committee	60.5	6.2	17.0
Sports program	58.0	8.6	18.5
Social events	43.2	10.8	23.8

---

Table 9e Local and Community Affairs

	<u>Take Part</u>	<u>Don't Take Part</u>
Fairer tax system	78.7%	13.6%
Assisting youth programs	79.0	13.0
Teaching about unions in schools	76.9	16.4
Improving the schools	59.0	31.2
Ending racial discrimination	79.6	12.0
Promoting better housing	66.7	23.8

SERIES III

LOCAL MEETINGS

Table 10e

How Often

<u>Once a Month/ Compulsory</u>	<u>Once a Month/ Voluntary</u>	<u>Once in a While</u>	<u>Contract Only</u>	<u>Never</u>
53.7%	37.3%	5.2%	.9%	.6%

---

Table 11e

Features of Meetings

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
Reports on contract beefs	84.0%	7.7%
Discussion from floor	67.3	20.4
Compulsory attendance	53.1	35.8
Local community-action projects	38.0	49.1
Outside speakers	55.2	35.5
Movies	32.4	53.7
Matters not in contract	27.2	59.6

# ALASKA

Table 2f

## Personal Characteristics

AGE:	Under 25	-0-
	26-35	5.6%
	36-45	27.8
	46-55	30.6
	55+	36.1

---

RACE:	WHITE	75.0
	NEGRO	-0-
	SPANISH SPEAKING	4.2
	ORIENTAL	5.6
	AMERICAN INDIAN	12.5
	OTHER	-0-

---

LENGTH OF MEMBERSHIP:	Less than 2 years	-0-
	2-5	6.9
	6-15	30.6
	16-25	55.6
	25+	6.9

**SERIES I      THE UNION PROGRAM**

**Table 3f      The Job the ILWU is Doing**

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Fine as is	51.4%	34.7%
Better than most, could do more	81.9	5.6
Not as well as other unions	27.8	55.6
Can do just as well without ILWU	1.4	75.0

---

**Table 4f      Leaders Listen to Members**

<u>Always</u>	<u>Usually</u>	<u>50-50</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	<u>Never</u>
5.6%	38.9%	29.2%	5.6%	2.8%

---

**Table 5f      Union Program and Activities**

	<u>More</u>	<u>Same</u>	<u>Less</u>
<b>Collective bargaining issues:</b>			
Better medical benefits	91.7%	4.2%	1.4%
Improving pensions	90.3	5.6	2.8
Higher wages	40.3	43.1	11.1
<b>Other union issues:</b>			
Legislative action	83.3	11.1	1.4
Organizing	79.2	6.9	5.6
Ties with other unions	72.2	15.3	4.2
Education program	62.5	26.4	4.2
Working for peace	54.2	25.0	9.7
Electing friends of labor	61.1	22.2	9.7
Promoting civil rights	41.7	30.6	13.9

---

**Table 6 f      Political Identity of Union**

<u>Democratic</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Non-Partisan Independent</u>
33.3%	1.4%	61.1%

SERIES II

THE LOCAL PROGRAM

Table 7f

Held Local Office

<u>Elected Officer/ Executive Board</u>	<u>Steward</u>	<u>Convention/ Caucus</u>	<u>Committee/ District Council</u>
68.1%	19.4%	8.3%	34.7%

---

Table 8f

What Local Might Do

	<u>More</u>	<u>Less</u>	<u>Not Worth Doing</u>
Classes:			
Contract understanding	86.1%	1.4%	2.8%
New Members	50.0	8.3	22.2
Labor history	63.9	8.3	12.5
Parliamentary procedure	56.9	8.3	11.1
Stewards council	73.6	4.2	8.3
Local union bulletin	76.4	4.2	6.9
Education - publicity committee	61.1	4.2	19.4
Sports program	51.4	6.9	20.8
Social events	45.8	6.9	26.4

---

Table 9f

Local and Community Affairs

	<u>Take Part</u>	<u>Don't Take Part</u>
Fairer tax system	91.7%	4.2%
Assisting youth programs	83.3	8.3
Teaching about unions in schools	77.8	16.7
Improving the schools	86.1	6.9
Ending racial discrimination	73.6	22.2
Promoting better housing	75.0	16.7

SERIES III

LOCAL MEETINGS

Table 10f

How Often

<u>Once a Month/ Compulsory</u>	<u>Once a Month/ Voluntary</u>	<u>Once in a While</u>	<u>Contract Only</u>	<u>Never</u>
56.9%	33.3%	1.4%	1.4%	-0-

---

Table 11f

Features of Meetings

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
Reports on contract beefs	83.3%	5.6%
Discussion from floor	73.6	15.3
Compulsory attendance	59.7	29.2
Local community-action projects	66.7	25.0
Outside speakers	55.6	37.5
Movies	52.8	36.1
Matters not in contract	30.6	58.3

Table 2g

Personal Characteristics

AGE:	Under 25	2.1%
	26-35	10.2
	36-45	41.7
	46-55	32.5
	55+	11.8

---

RACE:	WHITE	9.2
	NEGRO	-0-
	SPANISH SPEAKING	2.6
	ORIENTAL	68.5
	AMERICAN INDIAN	-0-
	OTHER	16.5

---

LENGTH OF MEMBERSHIP:	Less than 2 years	4.2
	2-5	11.8
	6-15	23.9
	16-25	51.2
	25+	7.9

SERIES I

THE UNION PROGRAM

Table 3g

The Job the ILWU is Doing

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Fine as is	64.8%	25.7%
Better than most, could do more	89.5	6.3
Not as well as other unions	18.9	67.5
Can do just as well without ILWU	2.4	84.3

Table 4g

Leaders Listen to Members

<u>Always</u>	<u>Usually</u>	<u>50-50</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	<u>Never</u>
16.8%	37.8%	19.7%	2.9%	1.8%

Table 5g

Union Program and Activities

	<u>More</u>	<u>Same</u>	<u>Less</u>
Collective bargaining issues:			
Better medical benefits	86.4%	8.4%	.5%
Improving pensions	85.3	8.4	-0-
Higher wages	60.6	27.6	5.2
Other union issues:			
Legislative action	79.3	14.4	.8
Organizing	83.7	7.9	1.6
Ties with other unions	58.0	22.8	7.1
Education program	72.7	15.2	2.6
Working for peace	64.8	18.4	7.6
Electing friends of labor	64.8	20.7	6.3
Promoting civil rights	54.1	23.4	9.7

Table 6g

Political Identity of Union

<u>Democratic</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Non-Partisan Independent</u>
33.6%	1.3%	57.5%



SERIES II THE LOCAL PROGRAM

Table 7g      Held Local Office

<u>Elected Officer/ Executive Board</u>	<u>Steward</u>	<u>Convention/ Caucus</u>	<u>Committee/ District Council</u>
30.7%	59.8%	36.2%	15.5%

---

Table 8g      What Local Might Do

	<u>More</u>	<u>Less</u>	<u>Not Worth Doing</u>
Classes:			
Contract understanding	87.4%	1.8%	.3%
New members	76.9	2.9	3.4
Labor history	58.5	12.9	6.0
Parliamentary procedure	63.8	7.3	4.7
Stewards council	90.0	1.3	1.3
Local union bulletin	76.9	4.7	1.0
Education - publicity committee	77.4	3.7	3.7
Sports program	61.4	17.3	5.5
Social events	30.2	18.6	24.9

---

Table 9g      Local and Community Affairs

	<u>Take Part</u>	<u>Don't Take Part</u>
Fairer tax system	93.4%	2.1%
Assisting youth programs	86.9	5.5
Teaching about unions in schools	67.7	21.8
Improving the schools	89.0	7.1
Ending racial discrimination	83.7	8.1
Promoting better housing	87.4	4.5

SERIES III

LOCAL MEETINGS

Table 10g

How Often

<u>Once a Month/ Compulsory</u>	<u>Once a Month/ Voluntary</u>	<u>Once in a While</u>	<u>Contract Only</u>	<u>Never</u>
39.4%	19.9%	21%	10.5%	.8%

---

Table 11g

Features of Meetings

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
Reports on contract beefs	87.1%	2.9%
Discussion from floor	79.8	4.7
Compulsory attendance	48.0	32.3
Local community-action projects	72.4	10.5
Outside speakers	55.4	22.3
Movies	55.6	21.0
Matters not in contract	46.7	33.6

# P E N S I O N E R S

## SERIES I      THE UNION PROGRAM

Table 3h      The Job the ILWU is Doing

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Fine as is	75.6%	10.3%
Better than most, could do more	75.5	9.6
Not as well as other unions	8.5	68.7
Can do just as well without ILWU	2.0	77.6

Table 4h      Leaders Listen to Members

<u>Always</u>	<u>Usually</u>	<u>50-50</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	<u>Never</u>
22.7%	36.3%	8.3%	.7%	.4%

Table 5h      Union Program and Activities

	<u>More</u>	<u>Same</u>	<u>Less</u>
Collective bargaining issues:			
Better medical benefits	82.0%	9.4%	.5%
Improving pensions	84.9	8.0	.4
Higher wages	48.7	30.3	5.4
Other union issues:			
Legislative action	85.2	7.2	.6
Organizing	78.5	8.3	1.9
Ties with other unions	75.5	10.7	2.2
Education program	66.0	11.5	3.3
Working for peace	72.8	10.3	4.1
Electing friends of labor	69.1	11.5	5.7
Promoting civil rights	55.0	16.8	5.8

Table 6h      Political Identity of Union

<u>Democratic</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Non-Partisan Independent</u>
47.8%	1.9%	36.7%

**SERIES II THE LOCAL PROGRAM**

**Table 7 h      Held Local Office**

<u>Elected Officer/ Executive Board</u>	<u>Steward</u>	<u>Convention/ Caucus</u>	<u>Committee/ District Council</u>
19.2%	28.8%	8.5%	10.4%

---

**Table 8 h      What Local Might Do**

	<u>More</u>	<u>Less</u>	<u>Not Worth Doing</u>
<b>Classes:</b>			
Contract understanding	72.8%	.7%	1.4%
New members	65.6	2.4	2.9
Labor history	63.2	3.7	3.6
Parliamentary procedure	53.2	5.2	3.9
 Stewards council	 74.2	 2.5	 4.3
Local union bulletin	70.4	1.2	2.2
Education - publicity committee	59.2	3.9	8.8
Sports program	41.2	9.6	15.3
Social events	35.3	11.7	17.4

---

**Table 9 h      Local and Community Affairs**

	<u>Take Part</u>	<u>Don't Take Part</u>
Fairer tax system	87.9%	3.0%
Assisting youth programs	73.7	8.1
Teaching about unions in schools	75.7	11.0
Improving the schools	71.2	12.6
Ending racial discrimination	74.7	10.6
Promoting better housing	77.9	7.9

**SERIES III**

**LOCAL MEETINGS**

**Table 10h**

**How Often**

<u>Once a Month/ Compulsory</u>	<u>Once a Month/ Voluntary</u>	<u>Once in a While</u>	<u>Contract Only</u>	<u>Never</u>
68.8%	19%	1.9%	.7%	.1%

---

**Table 11 h**

**Features of Meetings**

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
Reports on contract beefs	76.2%	4.4%
Discussion from floor	67.7	9.2
Compulsory attendance	66.4	15.9
Local community-action projects	61.0	16.9
Outside speakers	42.3	31.2
Movies	39.7	30.7
Matters not in contract	37.1	40.5

# INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S & WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION

150 GOLDEN GATE AVENUE, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94102 • 775-0533

HARRY BRIDGES  
President

J. R. ROBERTSON  
Vice-President

LOUIS GOLDBLATT  
Secretary-Treasurer

Dear Brother:

In order to chart the union's course at the April convention, we want to find out what you and the other members of the ILWU are thinking about the union and its program. The officers of the International are asking you to cooperate in this survey and fill out the attached confidential questionnaire.

This survey of our membership is anonymous, of course. No attempt will be made to identify any person's questionnaire, and, as a matter of fact, we are handling the questionnaires in a manner which makes it impossible to do so.

As we all know the union is changing rapidly. Many old-timers are no longer around and more will be leaving shortly. There are many new members, and new leaders are emerging in every local.

The conditions the union faces are different too. The members are better off and have greater security. The union is well-established and no longer has to struggle for its existence.

This questionnaire is being mailed to everyone on "THE DISPATCHER" mailing list. PLEASE DO NOT SIGN THE QUESTIONNAIRE. We will combine your answers with those of the other brothers and sisters in order to get a composite picture, and have a clearer understanding of the opinions of the membership. WE SHALL HAVE NO WAY OF KNOWING WHO FILLED OUT ANY PARTICULAR QUESTIONNAIRE.

Naturally, we want as much information as possible. We understand though that some people may be offended by certain questions, and may feel that some of them are just too personal. If you feel that you can't or don't wish to answer a particular question, skip it and go on to the next.

Disregard the numbers on the right hand side of the form. They are necessary for the machine tabulation of the results.

WE URGE YOU TO ANSWER THE QUESTIONS THOUGHTFULLY. IT WILL TAKE YOU ABOUT HALF-AN-HOUR.

Because we want the results ready for the Convention, we must have the questionnaires back promptly. Use the enclosed return envelope. Do not put your name or return address on it. No postage is necessary. QUESTIONNAIRES RETURNED LATER THAN SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 19th CANNOT BE USED.

Thank you for your cooperation.

(s) HARRY BRIDGES, President

J. R. ROBERTSON, Vice-President

LOUIS GOLDBLATT, Secretary-Treasurer

# YOUR ANSWERS ARE CONFIDENTIAL

## ILWU SURVEY OF MEMBERSHIP ATTITUDES

The numbers at the far right-hand side of the page are coding numbers which enable us to tabulate mechanically the answers to the questionnaires. You should ignore them.

### PLEASE READ EACH QUESTION THROUGH BEFORE ANSWERING IT

1. In regard to the job that the ILWU is doing, check whether you agree or disagree with EACH of the following statements:

	Agree	Disagree	
A. The ILWU is fine the way it is. ....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	6/
B. The ILWU is doing a better job than most other unions, but it could and should do a lot more. ....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	7/
C. As I look around me, other unions seem to be doing a lot more for their members. ....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	8/
D. I can do just as well without the ILWU; if I had my choice I wouldn't belong. ....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	9/

2. In regard to democracy within the ILWU, check which ONE of the following statements most nearly reflects your opinion:

<input type="checkbox"/> The leaders of the ILWU always listen to and obey the instructions and wishes of the members.	
<input type="checkbox"/> The leaders usually listen to and act on the wishes of the membership.	
<input type="checkbox"/> Leaders of the ILWU ignore the members as often as they listen to them — it's about 50-50.	
<input type="checkbox"/> The leaders seldom listen to the members.	
<input type="checkbox"/> The ILWU is run by a bunch of bureaucrats who never listen to the members.	10/

3. With regard to membership meetings, check which ONE of the following statements you most nearly agree with:

<input type="checkbox"/> Membership meetings should be held at least once a month, and attendance compulsory.	
<input type="checkbox"/> Membership meetings should be held at least once a month, and attendance voluntary.	
<input type="checkbox"/> Membership meetings are necessary, but should not be held more often than once every two or three months, and attendance should be voluntary.	
<input type="checkbox"/> Membership meetings should be held only when necessary to discuss contract demands.	
<input type="checkbox"/> Membership meetings are a waste of time, period.	11/

4. Everybody gripes about membership meetings, but what should be done about them? Indicate on EACH of the following features whether you would favor or oppose having them in your local:

	I Favor Having	I Oppose Having	
A. Compulsory meetings in locals where they are voluntary. ....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	12/
B. More reports by officials on contract beefs. ....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	13/
C. More opportunity for discussion from the floor. ....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	14/
D. Less time spent on reading minutes. ....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	15/
E. Outside speakers. ....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	16/
F. Movies on civic affairs and world problems. ....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	17/
G. Discussions on political and community action my local might take. ....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	18/
H. Discussions on problems of foreign policy, economics, civil rights and other matters not strictly related to our contract. ....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	19/

5. Indicate what you think of each of the following steps that your local might take, or may already be taking to increase membership interest and participation. **Check for EACH whether you think more or less should be done in this direction, or indicate if the activity is not worth doing:**

	More	Less	Not worth doing	
A. Establishment or strengthening of stewards council .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	20/
B. Sports program .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	21/
C. Classes:				
1) for new members .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	22/
2) in contract understanding and enforcement .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	23/
3) in labor history .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	24/
4) in parliamentary procedure .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	25/
D. Establishment or improvement in local union bulletin .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	26/
E. Social events, dances, etc. ....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	27/
F. Setting up a local education and publicity committee .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	28/

6. The ILWU is involved in many areas of action. Some of these are listed below. To which do you think the union as a whole should give "more emphasis," "less emphasis," or "about the same" as now? **Indicate your opinion on EACH of the activities given below:**

	The union should give			
	More Emphasis	Less Emphasis	The Same Emphasis	
A. Gaining higher wages .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	29/
B. Helping elect friends of labor to political office .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	30/
C. Improving pensions .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	31/
D. Promoting civil rights .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	32/
E. Organizing unorganized workers .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	33/
F. Working for peace .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	34/
G. Developing closer ties with other unions .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	35/
H. Developing a membership education program .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	36/
I. Getting better medical benefits .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	37/
J. Working to get laws passed favorable to labor .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	38/

7. Referring just to your local, do you think it should concern itself in the affairs of your community and state? **Check whether or not you agree that your local should take part in EACH of the following activities:**

	Yes, my local should take part	No, my local should not take part	
A. Helping improve the schools .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	39/
B. Seeking to end racial discrimination .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	40/
C. Working for a fairer tax system .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	41/
D. Assisting youth programs .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	42/
E. Promoting better housing .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	43/
F. Helping to improve the teaching about unions in the public schools ...	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	44/



8. Should the ILWU, in the best interests of its members, identify with (Check ONE):

- ☐ Democratic Party  
☐ Republican Party  
☐ Follow a non-partisan, independent political program

45/

9. Answer only that question below which applies to the state you live in. (If you feel that this question is unfair or an invasion of your privacy, skip it.):

**ALASKA** . . . . In the last election, for Governor I voted for:

- ☐ Egan ☐ Hinckel ☐ Other ☐ Didn't vote

**OREGON** . . . . In the last election, for Senator I voted for:

- ☐ Hatfield ☐ Duncan ☐ Other ☐ Didn't vote

**CALIFORNIA** . . In the last election, for Governor I voted for:

- ☐ Brown ☐ Reagan ☐ Other ☐ Didn't vote

**WASHINGTON** . . In the last election, for Congress in the First District I voted for:

- ☐ Bryant ☐ Pelly ☐ Other ☐ Didn't vote

**HAWAII** . . . . In the last primary election, for Lieutenant-Governor I voted for:

- ☐ Brown ☐ Gill ☐ Other ☐ Didn't vote

46/

10. Have you served in any of the following offices in the ILWU:

Yes

- A. Local officer or executive board member ..... ☐  
B. Shop steward ..... ☐  
C. Delegate to the convention or caucus ..... ☐  
D. Local union committeeman or delegate to your district council ..... ☐

47/

48/

49/

50/

11. By checking ONE of the following, indicate how often you read THE DISPATCHER:

- ☐ Every or almost every issue ☐ Once in a while ☐ Never

51/

12. Indicate whether you think THE DISPATCHER should devote "more space," "less space," or about "the same amount of space" to EACH of the following subjects:

THE DISPATCHER should devote

	More Space	Less Space	The Same Amount of Space	
A. Information about your local .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	52/
B. News about other ILWU locals .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	53/
C. Settlements made by other unions .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	54/
D. Foreign policy .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	55/
E. Consumer problems .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	56/
F. Book and movie reviews .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	57/
G. Civil rights and liberties .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	58/
H. Economic issues .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	59/
I. Sports and the outdoors .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	60/
J. Health matters .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	61/
K. Legal problems and issues .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	62/
L. Editorials and columns by the officers .....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	63/

(Continue on other side)

Now that you have expressed your opinions, we need some information about you that will help us interpret the questionnaires. Please answer the following questions. They are crucial to the success of the survey. As we said before, absolutely no attempt will be made to identify you individually.

13. What local of the ILWU do you belong to? Local # \_\_\_\_\_ 64 65 66
14. Are you: ☐ Male ☐ Female 67/
15. Are you:  
☐ Single ☐ Separated or divorced  
☐ Married ☐ Widower or widow 68/
16. Indicate the number of children you have:  
☐ No children ☐ One child ☐ Two children ☐ Three or more children 69/
17. In regard to your children's schooling, **check ONE OR MORE boxes if they apply:**  
☐ I would like my child to go to college, or my child intends to go to college. 70/  
☐ My child is going to college now. 71/  
☐ My child has attended college, but is not presently enrolled. 72/  
☐ My child has graduated from college. 73/
18. How old are you (**Check ONE**):  
☐ Under 25 ☐ 26-35 ☐ 36-45 ☐ 46-55 ☐ Over 55 ☐ Pensioner 74/
19. Are you:  
☐ Latin-American (Spanish speaking) ☐ American Indian ☐ White  
☐ Oriental ☐ Negro ☐ Other 75/
20. Indicate how many members of your family are now or have in the past been members of the ILWU (**Check ONE**):  
☐ None ☐ One ☐ Two ☐ Three ☐ Four ☐ Five or more 76/
21. Indicate the highest level of school you have completed (**Check ONE**):  
☐ 6th grade or less ☐ 10th to 12th grade ☐ 4 years or more of college  
☐ 7th to 9th grade ☐ 1 to 3 years of college 77/
22. How long have you been a member of the ILWU? (**Check ONE**):  
☐ Less than 2 years ☐ 6 to 15 years ☐ More than 25 years  
☐ 2 to 5 years ☐ 16 to 25 years 78/

23. We would appreciate your comments on any of the above questions or issues, or any suggestions of your own as to the proper direction the ILWU should be taking:

[illegible]