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REVIVING THE IMAGE: COMMUNICATING  
THE BENEFITS OF LABOR UNIONS

by  
Kathleen Mulholland

A Thesis

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the  
Master of Arts Degree  
of  
The Graduate School  
at  
Rowan University  
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Approved by \_\_\_\_\_

Date Approved June 9, 1999

## ABSTRACT

Kathleen Mulholland

### REVIVING THE IMAGE: COMMUNICATING THE BENEFITS OF LABOR UNIONS

1999

Dr. Suzanne Sparks

Public Relations

The goal of this study is to show that unions need to communicate the purpose they serve in society to revive their tarnished image. The results show through quantitative and qualitative analysis that although some studies show the public approval rating of unions has increased, a negative image still exists.

To determine the type of message the mass media is sending to the public about unions, a content analysis was performed on articles written by the *Washington Post* about four national strikes. Twelve individual in-depth interviews were conducted using six union and six nonunion participants to gather detailed information concerning the participants' opinions, attitudes, and experiences about labor unions. A simple random sample survey was conducted. New Castle County in the state of Delaware was chosen as the sample population of 196. To determine whether to accept or reject each hypothesis for statistical significance, a binomial probability distribution was run on each survey question.

Seventy-two percent of survey respondents believe that society has a negative perception of labor unions. By communicating the contributions unions make to society, the American public will understand why unions are a necessary component in our

economic and social system. A well-planned marketing campaign will guide labor unions in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

## MINI-ABSTRACT

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## Chapter 1

### Background

The modern labor movement emerged in the 1930s and reached a peak in 1945 numbering about 36% of the labor force. In 1990, union representation dropped to 12.2% of the private sector workforce. According to Northrup (1991), in 1973, the building trades unions represented 40.1% of the construction work force but declined to 21% in 1990. Garfield (1997) states that after World War II, one in three private-sector workers belonged to a union, but today only one in ten belongs. According to Heshizer (1985), public approval of unions was high during the Roosevelt New Deal Years, but started to decline because of strikes and high inflation.

In the early 1980s, public opinion of labor unions was 55%, an all-time low, and membership was declining. “Unions had developed a mammoth image problem. They were seen as being arrogant, autocratic, irresponsible, corrupt, a bunch of aging dinosaurs no longer relevant to a changing world,” (Cosco, 1989, p. 18).

The AFL-CIO saw the need for public relations and created a department called the Labor Institute of Public Affairs in 1982. A study was conducted in 1985 to determine labor’s image. The results of the study were published in a report called *The Changing Situation of Workers and Their Unions*. “The report was a frank assessment of labor’s shortcomings and challenges. The AFL-CIO admitted it had failed

to overcome public misconceptions about unions and had failed to communicate its positive contributions to workers, management, and society at large,” (Cosco, 1989, p. 18). The AFL-CIO realized it needed to communicate positive messages to the general public and its membership.

In 1986, a campaign called “UNION, YES” was launched. By August 1988, a Gallup Poll found 61% of Americans approved of trade unions. But according to Garfield (1997), unions continue to conjure images of corruption, violence, paralyzing work rules, mob ties, and raided pension funds. After the Teamsters won a major public relations victory, the president had his election overturned for campaign fraud.

Another campaign was launched in 1996 called “TODAY’S UNIONS” which tried to show a kinder, gentler AFL-CIO. According to an ad review in *Advertising Age* (1997), the “TODAY’S UNIONS” campaign is not just an image campaign, it’s also an organizing campaign, that uses an oddly soft-pedaled appeal to potential members who might otherwise not see the benefits of membership. A proud autoworker, an articulate ironworker, and a soft-spoken nurse deliver the message that unions are nothing to fear, just regular folks trying to get an even break. According to Garfield (1997), the message is so folksy and gooey and Pollyanna that the benefits are obscured.

Labor unions historically have not communicated their achievements to internal or external publics. Unions need to convey an effective message that concentrates on the contributions unions make to the economic, social, and political life of the working people. According to Cosco (1989), union public affairs director Rozanne Weissman says organized labor is missing some of the most basic stories by not promoting fundamental

achievements such as Social Security, health benefits, and the apprentice training programs.

People forget that unions were the source for establishing the middle class for millions of working families. “By pushing blue-collar pay up, unions helped narrow the gap between rich and poor after World War II,” (Bernstein, 1994, p. 74). The 1950s and 1960s were prosperous years for workers and corporations, but the 1970s saw a decline in unions and a decline in real wages. As the 1980s progressed, we became a service sector country and moved the industrial jobs overseas because according to corporate America, we could not afford the American worker. “The average income in the United States of the top fifth was 11 times that of the bottom fifth – compared with a seven fold difference in West Germany and fivefold in Japan” (Sexton, 1991, p. 247).

By communicating a message that illustrates the benefits unions provide to our society, unions will achieve a positive public image and gain public support. “A positive public image contributes to labor’s political and legislative work” (Clark, 1989, p. 59). They need public support to continue making economic, social, and legislative contributions to American workers. According to Bonior (1998), history shows that progress occurs in places where free labor movements are strong. As unions become weaker in this country, it is not surprising that we see an assault on programs such as Social Security and Medicare.

### Problem Statement

Can labor unions change public perception of their image if they communicate their achievements? Understanding the history behind the labor movement is essential for public relations practitioners to address the present problems. According to Sexton

(1991), economic elitists have repressed unionism by controlling the media and portraying a negative image of labor unions since the inception of the labor movement.

In 1877, during the Erie Railroad Strike, “in just one issue of the *New York Times*, strikers were referred to as disaffected elements, rough hoodlums, rioters, suspicious-looking individuals, bad characters, thieves, enemies of society, riffraff,” (Sexton, 1991, p. 104) and the list of negative labels continued. Employers have linked the word “Communism” to labor’s demands for safer working conditions and better pay and labeled any small demand as “un-American.”

The news media has been the primary vehicle communicating any information concerning labor unions to the general public. According to a study performed by Schmidt (1993), media coverage of unions between 1946 and 1985 was concentrated on strike activities. Although the number of strikes and the number of stories on unions have declined, the percentage of the total stories devoted to strikes has increased. The most common portrayal of the unions concerns strikes, and the consequences of strikes are almost always shown as negative.

To reverse the downward trend, organized labor needs to create a positive public image for itself by informing the public of the contributions to American workers the union has provided and still provides. Since the beginning of the industrial revolution, organized labor has played a key role in enacting and defending laws that include: an eight-hour work day, the elimination of child labor, free public schooling, Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid, unemployment compensation, occupational safety and health laws and minimum wage laws. The average American does not realize that these societal benefits are the result of unions.

## Delimitations

This researcher will not look at union policy and procedures or union contracts. The researcher will not study the image of unions prior to 1983. A simple random sample survey will be conducted in New Castle County in Delaware using random digit dialing. The entire U.S. will not be studied. A content analysis will be performed on four strikes covered by the *Washington Post*. Unions that represent the public sector were not studied.

## Purpose

By communicating the contributions unions make to society, the American public will understand why unions are a necessary component in our economic and social system. Unions create a balance between the owner and the worker. Companies offer benefit packages, vacations, sick days and pension plans to keep unions out. This started in the late 1880s and was called welfare capitalism. Without the standard that unions create, companies would not feel it necessary to offer attractive wage and benefit packages. “As former Secretary of Labor George Schultz put it, ‘in a healthy workplace, it is very important that there be some system of checks and balances. Free societies and free trade unions go together,’” (Shaiken, 1998, p. 35).

The campaigns “UNION, YES” and “TODAY’S UNIONS” do not specifically identify to the general public the benefit unions provide. Unions will never organize all of America, but gaining better public approval ratings could cause an increase in membership and strengthen their political clout to push working America’s causes forward.

The results of this study should show through quantitative and qualitative analysis that although some studies show the public approval rating of unions has increased, a negative image still exists. It will also show the importance of communicating the benefits of labor unions to the public. By marketing the features and benefits of labor unions, a positive image will emerge which could increase public support.

The following are the hypotheses in this study:

**Hypothesis I: It is expected that most publics view labor unions in a negative manner.**

Clark (1989) states that the report issued by the AFL-CIO's Committee on the Evolution of Work Committee determined a poor public image to be labor's major problem. Unions need to appropriate time and money to effectively communicate the economic, social, and political accomplishments they provide for our society. Too often, only the bad news about organized labor gets publicized; successes are ignored, and efforts made by unions to further the interests of workers and the general public go unnoticed.

According to Heshizer (1985), unions are one of the most misunderstood institutions in our society due to a lack of information communicated to the public. Educational systems in high school do not devote much time to labor history and do not show labor unions in a positive light. The general public receives information about unions from the media and research shows the media unfairly covers the negative side of labor such as strikes and corruption. Although the frequency of strikes has decreased, the percentage of total stories devoted to strikes has increased.

According to Jarley and Kuruvilla (1994), most people approve of unions but believe that they are too powerful and self-serving, engage in too many costly strikes, and employ leaders who are untrustworthy and deserving of little confidence. Sensationalist media coverage of union corruption and violent strikes contribute to a negative media image of labor unions according to Schmidt (1993). “The media not only projects an image of the trade unions but in doing so set an ‘agenda’ in the public mind” (Walsh, 1988, p.212).

**Hypothesis II: It is expected that if labor unions communicate their achievements, they can engender a better public image with internal and external audiences.**

Since the majority of the media coverage on labor unions is concentrated on strikes and the news media often uses a negative slant, unions need to communicate that they are necessary to protect the interests of workers. According to the AFL-CIO’s Labor Institute of Public Affairs (LIPA), labor must convey its effectiveness in the workplace and the community so the coverage of unions improves. “A media relation’s effort can have an enormous impact on the public’s perception of labor causes and issues,”(Walsh, 1988, p. 213).

When Toyota constructed an \$800 million assembly plant in Georgetown, KY, union leaders and union contractors used media relations to persuade Toyota to switch from using nonunion labor to union labor.

**Hypothesis III: It is expected that certain communication techniques will provide more effective labor relations.**



The report by the AFL-CIO's Evolution to Work Committee suggested that local labor groups allocate resources to marketing strategies that would benefit the image of the local hall and the labor movement overall. The AFL-CIO does not have the resources to market every metropolitan area in the country. Labor representatives can address the negative perceptions to the local press, their own members, their community, and the local schools more effectively than the AFL-CIO nationally.

Local labor halls should build a positive and professional relationship with the local news media and explain to reporters and editors why labor is an important part of a local economy. The AFL-CIO offers useful information on how local unions can develop expertise in dealing with the media.

According to Clark (1990), the more members are involved with the union, the more they learn about it. Family outings, picnics, softball teams are social activities that get members and their families involved with the union. Local halls can use educational programs to attract more members to monthly meetings. According to Heshizer (1985), research shows that union members who regularly attend meetings have a more positive view of union government than inactive members. Local union halls can communicate with members through a monthly or quarterly newsletter. The information included will help members act as key communicators in the local community by addressing the misconceptions the community has about unions.

A positive relationship with the local community can be established by building alliances with community charities like the Boy Scouts, the United Way or the Red Cross or by participating in community events like parades or carnivals. This will help gain community support if a strike or a boycott situation occurs. "A positive public image

contributes to labor's political and legislative work and should be one of the main goals of any image-building effort," (Clark, 1989, p. 59). Local unions should consider various types of paid advertising from billboards, to ads in the movie theatres, to messages on buses or local cable television, which will deliver a positive message to the community.

According to Clark (1990), teaching young people the role unions played in our history is rarely part of a high school curriculum. Children are the future work force. By explaining the historical contributions that unions made to society, their perceptions of unions will lead to future benefits. When an opportunity at a local school function presents itself, a union representative should try to be involved.

This researcher assumes that most labor unions are typical of the ones studied here and the results can be generalized to most labor unions regardless of industry.

#### Procedure

A content analysis was performed on four strikes, the PATCO strike, the United Auto Workers (UAW) against Caterpillar, the Teamsters against UPS, and Communication Workers of America (CWA) against AT&T. The PATCO and the UAW strike were unsuccessful strikes for the union while the Teamsters and the CWA strikes used effective public relations campaigns and were successful for the union. To determine if the media reported the strikes differently, this researcher compared the two unsuccessful strikes with the two successful strikes.

Using three articles from each strike covered by the *Washington Post*, this researcher coded each sentence to determine whether a negative, positive or neutral slant existed. Two coders tested the results to verify reliability and validity. In-depth interviews were conducted with six nonunion participants and six union participants to

determine a basis for the survey instrument. A simple random sample survey was conducted in New Castle County in Delaware using a Wilmington telephone book. A sample size of 196 was used.

#### Terminology

The terms organized labor, labor unions, trade unions, the labor movement, and unions are used interchangeably to represent the private sector workforce under the umbrella organization of the AFL-CIO. The term public includes the media and the general public.

## Chapter 2

To locate relevant information about labor unions and their image, this researcher used Franklin, the online catalog system, and databases, Proquest, ABI/Inform and Expanded Academic/ASAP at University of Pennsylvania's library. This researcher located articles in various labor journals and articles in public relations journals using the keywords "labor unions," "image," "public relations," and "labor movement."

This researcher used journal articles written from 1983 to 1994 that discuss the labor union image, communicating contributions to society, a negative public opinion affects the union and its activities, and communication techniques for external and internal audiences.

### The Labor Union Image

According to Clark (1990), evidence shows that although strikes receive the most attention from the media, union corruption, greed and violence are other factors that contribute to the negative image about unions. According to Jarley and Kuruvilla (1994), the media negatively effects public attitudes about labor unions by focusing on the sensational events like strikes and leader corruption. Schmidt (1993) performed a content analysis of *The New York Times* for the period of 1946 through 1985 on union news coverage. The study showed that although the total number of articles about labor unions declined, the bulk of union news reporting was concentrated on strikes.

Schmidt (1993) states that the media are most effective in changing the attitudes of nonmembers who are most likely to obtain their information from the mass media rather than from direct contact with union members or union literature. The media has made the words “strike” and “unions” synonymous in people’s mind, but most union members never go on strike. The common cold causes more worker absence than strikes. Work time lost due to strikes averaged about .07 % from 1980 to 1983 according to Clark (1990). The public doesn’t understand that the right to strike is a fundamental right like the freedom of speech and freedom of the press. Without the right to strike, workers do not have any bargaining power and must accept whatever wages and working conditions employers offer.

A study by Jarley and Kuruvilla (1994) shows the impact of strikes on public opinion causes a rise in opposition (i.e. disapproval) to unions. Strikes seem to push some “no opinion” respondents into the disapproval camp. Media coverage of strikes has the strongest negative effect on individuals who lack ideological and group attachments to unions according to Schmidt (1993). Unions take the blame when a strike occurs and causes inconvenience to the public.

The second myth is that union leaders are corrupt. According to Craft and Abboushi (1983), the public believes that American unions are powerful and effective in improving job conditions for their members and in influencing government, but are run by a selfish and partially corrupt leadership in a autocratic and centralized manner.

When a leader is tied to organized crime, embezzlement of union funds or rigged union elections, the story makes headline news. The public never hears about the hundreds of union leaders who perform an honest and responsible job for the union.

According to Clark (1990), evidence shows corporate America has a much bigger problem with corruption than the labor movement. But corporate crime gets buried in the business pages, while union misdeeds are splashed across the front page claims Sexton (1991).

The third misconception is that unions are greedy and responsible for excessively high wages. "Large wage differentials between union and nonunion workers lowers public support for trade unions. Public approval declines once the union-nonunion wage differential exceeds 20%," (Jarley and Kuruvilla, 1994, p. 110). When a strike occurs, the news media always reports about the wage issue because it is an easy topic to cover. This creates the idea that wages cause inflation and higher prices. According to Clark (1990), wages go up in response to rising prices. Wage increases generated by unions on average do not match the rising cost of living caused by inflation. From 1975 to 1981, prices increased by 69% but wage gains by unions only represented 3.3% of the total.

According to Clark (1990), another myth is that unions use violence to achieve their objectives. Just as the media sensationalizes strikes and corruption, violence makes the headline news and shows unions in an unfavorable way. According to Schmidt (1993), the media creates the perception that union activity is dominated by aggressive behavior.

Since the media seems to contribute to the negative image more than any other source, this researcher performed a content analysis on four strikes. The content analysis reinforces the secondary research and shows that the media is biased against unions when reporting strike news. To amend the negative image the media portrays, unions need to rebuild their image by communicating the benefits they serve to the public.

## Communicating Contributions to Society

According to Craft and Abboushi (1993), the public does not understand unions. The Louis Harris Organization conducted a survey in 1985 for the AFL-CIO Committee on the Evolution of Work. The results of the survey (1985) state that unions have failed to communicate the purpose they serve in society. The general public only hears the “bad news” about unions – strikes, leader corruption, greed and violence. The public is unaware of the legislative work the labor movement performs that benefits all workers such as fighting for Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid, minimum wage laws, prevailing wage laws, education funding and occupational safety and health laws.

The report also states (1985) the most important feature of unions is to improve working conditions and provide a fair share of the profits that labor helps create. Through political and legislative efforts, the labor movement wants to improve the lives of all workers. “Over 75 percent of all workers – and over 75 percent of non-union workers – state that they agree that unions in general improve the wages and working conditions of workers” (AFL-CIO Committee on the Evolution of Work, p. 12, 1985). The approval rating of unions seems to depend more on an unfavorable image, often emphasized in the media and on the lack of knowledge, rather than on actual union behavior and performance.

According to Clark (1990), by communicating to society the basic functions and services that the union provides, a significant contribution to the labor movement would occur by positively influencing how unions are viewed. When labor needs public support in a strike, endorses a candidate for political office or tries to rally public opinion against

issues like deregulation, privatization, the flight of industry, or environmental hazards of corporate pollution, a well informed public will back labor's issues.

Unions need to communicate their purpose because they create the starting point for salaries for blue-collar and white-collar America.

“Traditionally, companies have pegged white-collar pay hikes to those won by their unionized workers. As wages have gone, so have fringe benefits. Most workers have them largely because of unions, and they are disappearing partly because unions are weaker. Company-paid retirement plans, for instance, caught on after World War II, when federal wage and price controls prompted unions to demand pensions in lieu of pay. To keep unions at bay, nonunion employers followed suit, and pension plan multiplied. The trend reversed as the union threat shrank. The share of workers aged 25 to 64 with an employer paid pension plan slid 6 points, to 57% from 1979 to 1988, according to a 1992 study by Freeman and David E. Bloom, a Columbia University economist. ‘The single biggest reason for the decline,’ says Freeman – roughly 25% - ‘is deunionization’” (Bernstein, 1994, p. 70).

According to Shaiken (1998), a steep drop in union membership should matter to most Americans because unions paved the road to the middle class for millions of working families. The decline of unions has fueled the decline of real wages that started in the early 1970s. Bernstein (1994) states that in the 1980s, blue collar and white collar wages grew only 23% and trailed inflation while rent, dividends and interest of owners of capital earned jumped 65%. This occurred partly because unions represented fewer workers. Unions helped decrease the gap between the rich and the poor after



World War II.

The income disparity between the rich and poor grew 20% during the 1980s and weakened the middle class. According to Sexton (1991), we are becoming a nation of haves and have nots with less in the middle. The income gap between the top and the bottom in other industrialized nations is far less than the income gap in the U.S. People deserve a fair share of the profits that they create which allows them to purchase the products they produce.

“Free-market economies need healthy unions. They offer ‘a system of checks and balances,’ as former Labor Secretary George P. Schultz has put it, by making managers focus on employees as well as on profits and shareholders” (Bernstein, 1994, p. 70). Unions help create a fair distribution of the profits and gives workers to the power to pass laws like pension and safety laws that affect them.

According to Bernstein (1994), even Senator Hatch (R-Utah), who opposes unions, believes they help working people have a legitimate and consistent voice. The documentation this researcher gathered shows that unions serve a purpose in a free market economy. This researcher conducted a telephone survey to determine if the public thinks a negative public opinion affects the union’s ability to influence legislation that benefits the American worker.

#### A Negative Public Opinion Affects The Union and Its Activities

Heshizer (1985) states that union leadership knows a negative public opinion has weakened organizing efforts and affects labor’s ability to influence legislation. The negative image the media creates affects the union’s ability to increase its membership and gain public support for legislative issues that benefit the American worker.

According to Craft and Abboushi (1983), a poor image leads to public disapproval of union actions and negatively affects core activities. “Public opinion can enhance or impede union political activity, influence member loyalty, and effect how employers deal with unions” (Jarley and Kuruvilla, 1994, p. 98). Walsh (1988) states that 86% of national leaders believes a negative public image hurts union organizing.

The ramifications of a negative image go beyond organizing, bargaining, and political action. Most managers believe unions impede productivity and raise wage costs. But according to Bernstein (1994), 50 quantitative studies have concluded that higher productivity of unionized companies offsets most of their higher costs. This perception can affect a state’s economy and the creation of new jobs. Pennsylvania has a highly unionized workforce and was ranked 38<sup>th</sup> out of 48 states on where businesses would want to move their operations. Clark (1990) states that employers and government, as well as unions and workers, have much to gain from turning labor’s negative image around.

Since wage gains, medical benefits, and pensions for workers are directly related to union gains, white-collar America along with blue-collar citizens can benefit from a positive union image. Unions need to adapt communication techniques that will revive their image. In a telephone survey, this researcher asked respondents the techniques they thought would be most effective.

#### Communication Techniques for External and Internal Audiences

To build a more positive image, unions should convey their message to the public, the news media, the schools and their membership. Craft and Abboushi (1983) identify a direct approach and indirect approach. The direct approach focuses on enhancing union

the image by educating the public and the media about the benefits of unionization. The indirect approach focuses on communicating with members and employers, people with an existing relationship with the union.

According to Clark (1990), by increasing visibility through community activities like the United Way, youth athletic leagues and blood drives, the public will recognize unions in a positive light and lead to a more positive image. Sending news releases to newspapers, radio and television stations will help give the public an accurate understanding of the union as an organization and who union members are. A positive image will lead to public support for labor's legislative and political work.

Advertising is another way to increase visibility and unions can control the message. Billboards, newspapers, television, message boards on buses or radio are channels that unions can use to send positive messages about themselves. "Unions: The People Who Brought You The Weekend" is a creative reminder of the role unions have played in America states Bonoir (1998).

Clark (1990) states that most people receive their information about unions from the news media. Reporters are involved with union events during a crisis. The labor story has become complicated to cover because it involves economics, social and political concepts. According to Grimes (1987), the labor movement was an exciting and moving story in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s and reporters provided a balanced view of events to labor union members and officials, industrial relations personnel, the academic community and government officials. Now, reporters are unfamiliar with the labor scene because specific reporters are not assigned to labor issues. Labor representatives need to convey to reporters and editors why labor is an important element in the economy.

According to Sexton (1991), business people and opinion leaders who benefit from a negative public opinion about unions influence the way the media covers union stories. Twenty-six corporations controlled more than half the media that reach over 200 million Americans in 1987. Union leaders need to communicate with reporters during non-crisis times to provide them with a trade union perspective on political, economic and social events according to the AFL-CIO Committee on the Evolution of Work (1985).

Craft and Abboushi (1983) state that the education system does not teach students about how labor organizations helped the American worker make economic gains and build America. Textbooks have not described unions in a favorable way. If labor sends a message that they play a valuable role in the working lives of people, it will help tomorrow's workers have a positive attitude about labor unions. Scholarship programs and essay contests are ways labor unions can effect school age children and promote a positive union image.

According to Clark (1990), the place to start to create a more positive image of labor is within its own organizations. According to Heshizer (1985), unions cannot expect the general public to understand the purpose the union serves when union members do not completely understand what their unions do. An educated membership will address union issues and present a credible image to the public. Keegan (1987) claims that members can communicate their satisfaction in membership, the benefits of unionism they see in their daily working lives, the kind of problems unions help them manage and solve. A newsletter would inform members and employers about activities that the union and AFL-CIO are involved with.

## Summary

The secondary research found and the content analysis this researcher performed show that the media contribute to the negative attitude the public has about unions. Unions need to send positive messages to the public, the news media, to schools and their members by using various communication techniques to generate public approval and public support. In a democratic society, public support is needed if a special interest group, like labor unions, want their issues pushed through the legislative process and made into law. According to Shaiken (1998), 44% of private sector workers would like to have a union, more than the 9.8% who are represented.

The decline in union membership has contributed to a decline in wages and increased the gap between the rich and the poor. According to the magazine *The Economist*, the standard of living for blue-collar employees has stagnated and the take home pay of the average production worker is no higher in real terms today than it was in 1973. "Labor's strength obviously depends on the success of its politics and on government policy; at the same time, its politics depend on its success in collective bargaining" (Sexton, 1991, p. 19).

### Chapter 3

The goal of this study is to show that unions need to communicate the purpose they serve in society to revive their tarnished image. Secondary research found in various labor journals written from 1983 through 1998 revealed that public approval ratings hit an all time low during the mid-1980s. In 1987, union membership sunk to single digits for the first time since the 1930s.

This researcher wanted to determine the public's perception about the image of unions, the effect the perception has on union activities, and the communication techniques that would help enhance their image. The research methods chosen were a content analysis, in-depth individual interviews, and a telephone survey.

#### Content Analysis

Secondary research data showed that the public has a negative opinion toward unions and that the media contributed to the low rating. To determine the type of message the mass media is sending to the public about unions, this researcher performed a content analysis on articles written by the *Washington Post* about four national strikes. A content analysis is a systematic, objective, and quantitative way to analyze the media. The *Washington Post* was chosen because of its national circulation as a "paper of record." It covered all four strikes more extensively than any other publication.

The four strikes chosen were the air traffic controllers' (PATCO) strike, the strike by the United Automobile Workers (UAW) against Caterpillar, Communication Workers of America (CWA) against AT&T, and the Teamsters' strike against UPS. These strikes were chosen because they were national strikes that drew a significant amount of media attention. The outcome of PATCO strike and UAW strike was a disaster for the union, while the outcome of CWA strike and the Teamsters' strike was successful for the union.

Using three articles from each strike that covered the beginning, the middle and the end of the strike, this researcher typed each sentence into a spreadsheet on Microsoft Excel. Each sentence was a recording unit and was coded negative, positive or neutral to determine the tone of the article toward the union. A comparison between the successful strikes and the unsuccessful strikes was made to ascertain if the media reported the stories differently.

Two people coded one article from each strike to verify the reliability and validity of the study. According to Weber (1990), intercoder reliability produces the same results when the same text is coded by more than one coder. The directions given to the coders are located in Appendix A. Conflicts can occur from cognitive differences among coders, ambiguous coding instructions, or random recording errors. According to Wimmer and Dominick (1997), face validity occurs when the measurement device measures what it is supposed to measure. Semantic validity exists when coders place coding units in the same category and agree that the sentences have similar meanings states Weber (1990).

Scott's *pi* index and Cohen's kappa were used to measure intercoder reliability. According to Wimmer and Dominick (1997), Scott's *pi* index accounts for the number of

categories used and for probable frequency. Cohen's kappa calculates reliability when there are more than two coders

### In-depth Interviews

Twelve individual in-depth interviews were conducted using six union and six nonunion participants. In-depth interviews provide detailed information concerning the participants' opinions, values, and experiences. The researcher selected participants based on age, occupation, and sex. The interview took approximately 25 minutes. The questions were constructed after the results from the content analysis were obtained. Data for the interview questions were derived from secondary research and the results of the survey the AFL-CIO performed and published in a report called *The Changing Situation of Workers and Their Unions*.

Twenty-five Likert scale questions with choices of strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree, and strongly disagree were asked. The questions identified how the participants feel about unions and union leaders, if unions are necessary in our society, the public's attitude toward unions, and the image of unions. Five open-ended questions were asked allowing participants the freedom to answer with in-depth responses. The questions asked why a decline in union membership has occurred, what contributions the labor movement has made, were any strikes viewed as positive, what communication techniques would be useful for unions, and how unions could improve their image. One question asked participants to list in order of importance whether they think inflation, unemployment, low productivity, strikes, excessively high wages, the public's lack of knowledge, or leader corruption create a negative image for unions. Another question asked participants in order of importance whether they think strikes hurt the image of the union because



they cause inconvenience to the public, wage settlements cause inflation, wage differentials between union and nonunion workers, or the media projects a negative image. Union members were asked five additional Likert scale questions about the image of their union and its communication techniques. The information gathered gave the researcher a basis for developing the telephone survey.

### Survey Instrument

A simple random sample survey was performed using New Castle County in the state of Delaware as the sample population. The 1999 Wilmington Bell Atlantic White Pages was used to develop the sample population of 196. Starting with the letter “A,” this researcher used random digit dialing.

The survey is located in the Appendix B. It consisted of 21 closed-ended questions based on the individual interview responses using the same Likert-scale choices. In addition, respondents were asked whether they thought society has a positive or negative perception of unions and whether unions make any positive contribution to society. A closed-ended question with unordered responses asked what type of media would be effective for unions to use to improve their image. The choices were billboards, radio, television, magazines, or newspapers. At the end of the survey, four demographic questions were asked: union affiliation, age, education level, and sex.

The respondents were asked whether they or anyone in their family had a union affiliation. The categories for age included 18 – 34, 35 – 50, and over 50. The categories for education were high school graduate, some college, completed college, some graduate school, completed graduate school, and doctorate. This researcher will determine if a relationship exists between the demographic categories and the responses.

The data from the survey were entered into a statistical program called SPSS 9.0. This software program calculates various distribution probabilities. A numeric value was assigned to each response; five equals strongly agree, four equals agree, three equals neutral, two equals disagree, one equals strongly disagree, zero equals no opinion, and negative equals no or negative. To determine whether to accept or reject each hypothesis for statistical significance, a binomial probability distribution was run.

#### Summary

The statistical data obtained from the content analysis and telephone survey validate that unions have a negative image and the media contributes to the image. The public believes unions are needed and serve a purpose in our society, but unions need to communicate that purpose through marketing and image building techniques. If unions communicate a positive image, it will help gain public support and increase membership.

## Chapter 4

To test the hypotheses in this study, in-depth interviews, a content analysis, and a telephone survey were conducted. In-depth interviews with six union and six nonunion participants produced a basis of information about the perceptions people have of unions, and their image, their leaders, and their purpose in our society. Open-ended questions asked participants why they believe union membership has declined, what contributions the labor movement has made to economic, social or political life of workers, whether the media reported any strikes positively, and what techniques labor unions could use to improve their image.

The participants felt the factors contributing to the decline in union membership include:

- global competition
- nonunion competitors have improved their wage/benefit packages and training programs
- unions do not promote themselves
- corporations are anti-organized labor
- the media projects a negative image
- strikes and corruption cause bad publicity
- unions became what they were fighting against.

Participants credit the labor movement with increasing wages and creating a middle class by distributing profits equitably, improving working conditions by pushing for better safety laws, and improving the quality of life for the average person by enacting an eight hour day, weekends, vacations and medical benefits. None of the participants remembered the media showing a strike with a positive slant.

To improve the union image, participants suggested using the media to publicize its history and explain what it actually does besides striking, market themselves jointly under an umbrella organization like the ACT Foundation in West Virginia, educate their membership, write articles for reputable journals and produce documentaries.

The secondary research stated that the media contributed to the negative image of labor unions because the coverage is concentrated on strikes. The in-depth interviews supported the secondary research. A content analysis on four strikes covered by *The Washington Post* was performed as a quantitative research method to determine if the media uses a negative tone when it reports on strikes.

Scott's *pi* index and Cohen's kappa formula were used to determine if the results of the content analysis were reliable and valid. The *pi* index is 1.38 when the researcher's results were measured against each coder. Cohen's kappa formula is .0019 and measures the reliability rate when using more than two coders. Both scores indicate that the researcher and the coders were in agreement and the content analysis is highly reliable. Since the coders placed the sentences into the same category, agree they have similar meanings, and it measured what it was suppose to measure, the content analysis is valid. The results of the content analysis are stated under hypothesis I findings.

A telephone survey was performed as a quantitative research method to measure the opinions of the in-depth interviews. Questions with Likert scale responses ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree were asked. A sample size of 196 was chosen. The basis for the survey questions was the information gleaned from the interviews. The survey questionnaire is located in Appendix B.

For statistical significance, a binomial probability distribution was used to determine whether to accept or reject the hypotheses. The descriptive statistics and the binomial test for each question are located in Appendix C. The descriptive statistics illustrate the number of the sample, the mean, and the standard deviation. The mean is the average of the set of scores. According to Wimmer and Dominick (1997), the standard deviation is the degree to which scores deviate from the mean. It is used to determine a confidence level or the amount of standard error.

The binomial test shows the number of the sample (N), the observed proportion, the test proportion and the asymmetric significance. Group one in the sample represents strongly disagree, disagree, and neutral and group two represents agree and strongly agree unless otherwise noted. The observed proportion is the percentage of the sample that corresponds with the respondents who disagree or agree. This researcher chose the test proportion of .50. The asymmetric significance is the region of rejection and determines whether to accept or reject the hypothesis.

This researcher chose a probability level of .05 to obtain a confidence level of 95%. The asymmetrical significance ranges from .000 to 7.47E-36. Since it falls below the probability level for each survey question except question #18, then the hypotheses in this study are accepted. The binomial test supports each hypothesis.

**Hypothesis I: It is expected that most publics view labor unions in a negative manner.**

The respondents were asked whether they thought society has a negative or positive perception of unions. Seventy-two percent of those surveyed believe that society has a negative perception of labor unions.

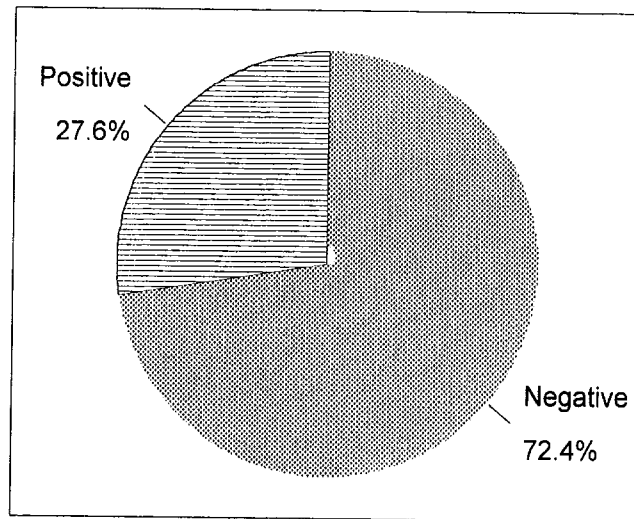


Figure 1. Society has a negative or positive perception of unions.

A cross tabulation between respondents with and without a union affiliation shows that 68% of respondents with a union affiliation believe that society has a negative perception of unions.

Table 1

Cross Tabulation Between Respondents with and without a Union Affiliation and Society has a Negative or Positive Perception of Labor Unions.

			Society has a negative or positive perception of labor unions.		Total
			Negative	Positive	
Affiliated with a union	No	% within Affiliated with a union	75.0%	25.0%	100.0%
	Yes	% within Affiliated with a union	68.8%	31.3%	100.0%

Eighty-eight percent of respondents agree that media coverage influences the public's opinion about labor unions and 86% agrees that the perceived corruption of union leaders contributes to a negative image.

The results from the content analyses of four strikes, PATCO against the Federal Aviation Administration, UAW against Caterpillar, the Teamsters against UPS, and CWA against AT&T, reveal that the media covers strikes with a negative slant. Each sentence from each strike was coded as negative, positive, or neutral. Forty-four percent of the sentences presented the union negatively. Only 21% of the sentences were positive.

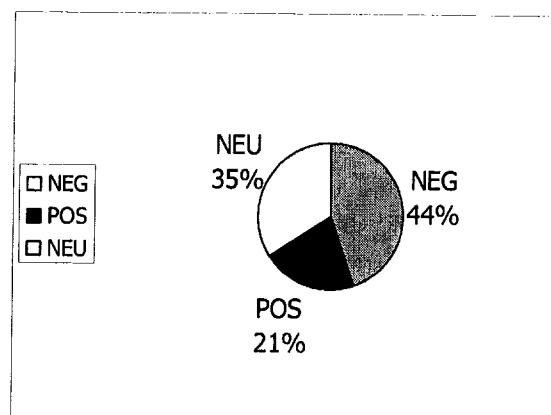


Figure 2. Content Analysis of the PATCO, UAW, Teamsters, and CWA Strike

The PATCO strike and the UAW strike had unsuccessful outcomes for the union. The Teamsters' strike and the CWA strike had successful outcomes for the union. A comparison between the unsuccessful strikes and successful strikes was made to determine whether they were reported differently.

According to Cosco (1989), the PATCO strike was a public relations disaster. The union should have presented the strike as a safety issue, but it became a money issue. The public supported management rather than the overworked striking air traffic controllers.

In a strike against Caterpillar, the UAW was forced back to work under the same contract after five months to avoid permanent replacement workers. Caterpillar said it could not afford to operate under the pattern labor agreement that the union negotiated with John Deere, Inc. and the big-three automakers.

According to Miller (1997), Teamster leader Ron Carey used the part-time worker issue to gain public support in the strike against UPS. People were tired of corporate downsizing with record profits. Carey and his public relations team tapped into public sentiment to sway public opinion in favor of the strike and the Teamsters.

According to Cosco (1989), the CWA had one of the most creative and effective public relations campaigns in a battle with AT&T following deregulation of the phone industry. The CWA used public service announcements to emphasize operator services.

*The Washington Post* reported the strikes with positive outcomes differently than the strikes with negative outcomes. Sixty-four percent of the sentences in the articles written about the PATCO and UAW strike were negative statements and only 13% of the sentences were positive toward the unions. The Teamster strike and the CWA strike have



reverse numbers. Only 32% of the sentences written were negative toward the union, while 21% of the sentences were positive.

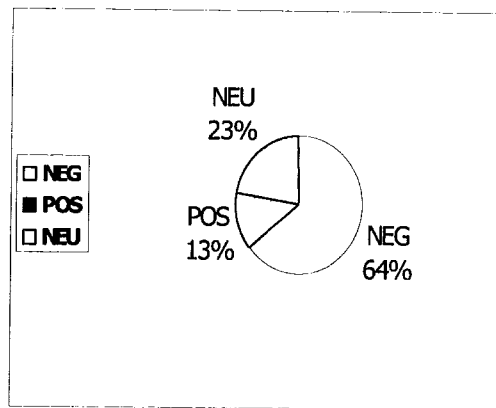


Figure 3. Content Analysis for PATCO and UAW Strike

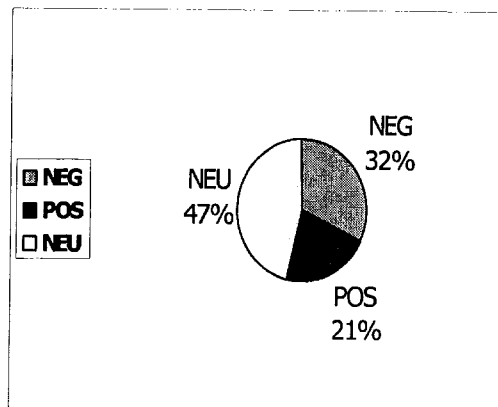


Figure 4. Content Analysis for Teamsters and CWA Strike

Although respondents believe society has a negative perception of unions, 80% believe they make a positive contribution to society. A cross tabulation between respondents with and without a union affiliation reveals that 74.1% of respondents without a union affiliation agree that unions make a positive contribution to society.

Table 2

Cross Tabulation between Respondents with and without a Union Affiliation and Unions Make a Positive Contribution to Society.

			unions make a positive contribution to society		Total
			no	yes	
Affiliated with a union	no	% within Affiliated with a union	25.9%	74.1%	100.0%
	yes	% within Affiliated with a union	12.5%	87.5%	100.0%

Eighty-two percent believe unions improve wages, 79% believe they improve working conditions and 65% believe they have raised the standard of living and improved the quality of life for the middle class. Ninety-one percent believe that unions were necessary during the early 1900s, but only 58% believe unions are still needed in 1999.

A cross tabulation between respondents with and without a union affiliation was performed on whether unions are still needed in 1999 to protect workers. Of those without a union affiliation, 39.7% agree and 30.2% disagree, and of those with a union affiliation 43.8% agree and 13.8% disagree.

Table 3

Cross Tabulation between Respondents with and without a Union Affiliation and Unions are still needed in 1999 to protect workers.

			Unions are needed in 1999 to protect workers.					Total
			Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	
Affiliated with a union	No	% within Affiliated with a union	6.0%	30.2%	13.8%	39.7%	10.3%	100.0%
	Yes	% within Affiliated with a union	3.8%	13.8%	13.8%	43.8%	25.0%	100.0%

Of the respondents who believe that unions make a positive contribution to society, only 38% of respondents agree that unions make the public aware of the contributions they make in society. Only 33% of respondents believe that the marketing the AFL-CIO has done over the past five years has contributed to improving the union image.

Twenty-five percent of those with a union affiliation agree and 31.3% are neutral that the AFL-CIO's marketing has helped improve the union image.

Table 4

Cross Tabulation between Respondents with and without a Union Affiliation and the AFL-CIO's Marketing has helped improve the Union Image.

			AFL-CIO's marketing has helped improve the union image				Total
			Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	
Affiliated with a union	No	% within Affiliated with a union	32.8%	41.4%	25.0%	.9%	100.0%
	Yes	% within Affiliated with a union	25.0%	31.3%	40.0%	3.8%	100.0%

Seventy-six percent of respondents believe a poor public image affects the union's ability to increase membership, and 77% think that a poor public image affects the union's ability to influence legislation. Sixty-six percent believe unions need public support to influence legislation.

A cross tabulation of respondents with different educational levels was made on whether unions need public support to influence legislation. The results show that of those who agree: 59.6% completed high school, 58.7% completed some college, 43.5% completed college, 50% completed some graduate school, 25% completed graduate school, and 40% completed a doctorate program.

Table 5

Cross Tabulation Between Education Levels of Respondents and Unions Need Public Support to Influence Legislation.

			Unions need public support to influence legislation.					Total
			Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	
Education level	High School	% within Education level	1.9%	13.5%	11.5%	59.6%	13.5%	100.0%
	Some College	% within Education level		12.7%	9.5%	58.7%	19.0%	100.0%
	Completed College	% within Education level		8.7%	32.6%	43.5%	15.2%	100.0%
	Some Graduate Sch	% within Education level	21.4%	21.4%		50.0%	7.1%	100.0%
	Comp. Grad Sch.	% within Education level		43.8%	25.0%	25.0%	6.3%	100.0%
	Doctorate	% within Education level		40.0%		40.0%	20.0%	100.0%

**Hypothesis II: It is expected that if labor unions communicate their achievements, they can engender a better public image with internal and external audiences.**

The survey asked respondents five questions about unions communicating their achievements to engender a better public image with internal and external audiences. Twelve percent of respondents strongly agree and 79.1% agree that if unions communicate their contributions to society, the public will view them more positively.

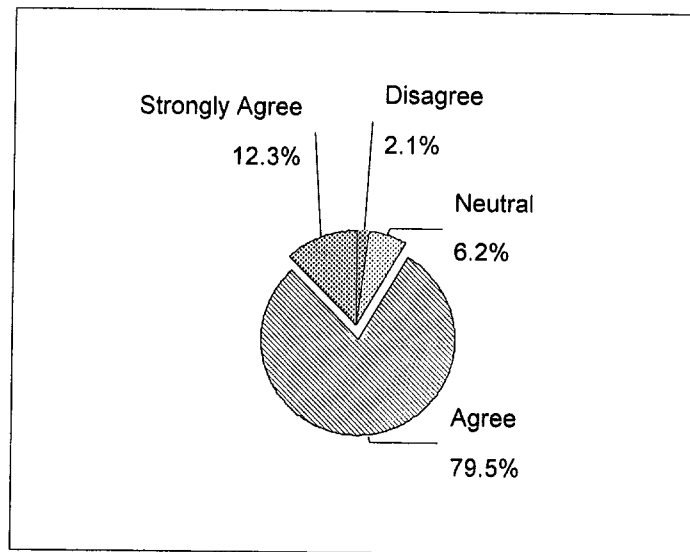


Figure 5. If Unions communicate their Achievements, Society will view them More Positively.

Eighty-six percent of respondents agree that if union members are educated on the function of the union, they will have a more positive image of the union. Sixty-six percent of respondents agree and 11.2% strongly agree that people would be more likely to support the union during a strike if unions communicate the real issues.

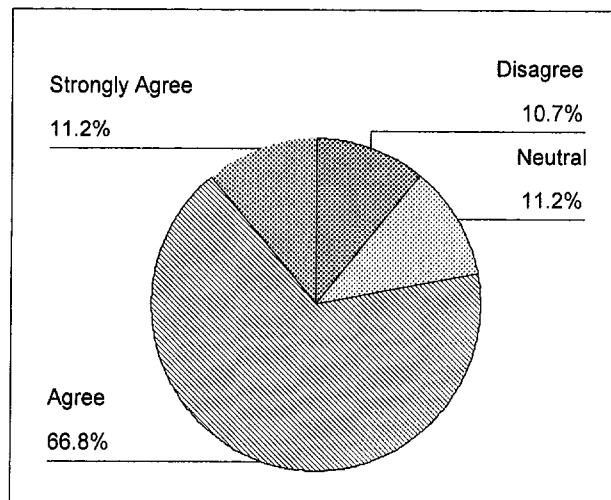


Figure 6. If Unions Communicate the Real Issues During a Strike, the Public Would be More Likely to Support the Union.

Eighty-five percent of respondents agree that if unions communicate the community activities union leaders are involved with, people will have a more positive perception of union leaders. Eighty-eight percent of respondents agree that if labor history was taught in schools, people would have a better understanding of the purpose of unions.

**Hypothesis III: It is expected that certain communication techniques will provide more effective labor relations.**

The responses from the in-depth interviews suggest that unions should use the media to publicize their history and explain what they actually do besides striking. The survey asked respondents what type of media would be most effective for unions to use to improve their image and the results show: 1.5% magazines, 14.8% newspapers, 7.1% billboards, 8.7% radio, and 67.9% television.

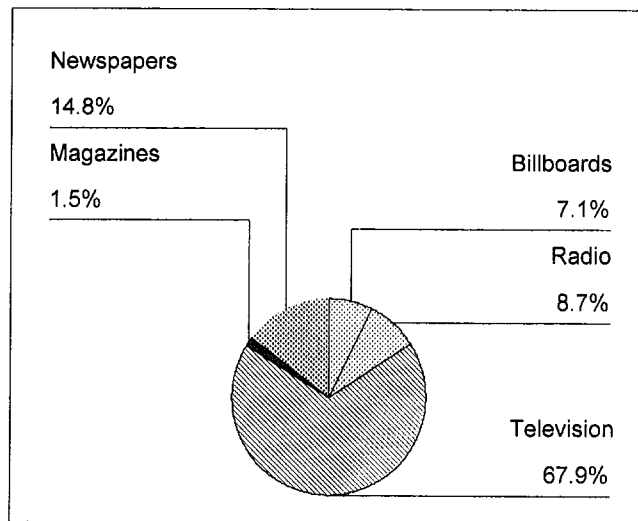


Figure 7. The Most Effective Media Type for Unions.

The responses from the in-depth interviews from union members believe using newsletter and unions meetings are techniques that would educate the membership. Interview participants chose television as the most effective type of media for unions to use.

A nonunion participant from the West Virginia area suggested local unions form an association that would handle the marketing functions like the ACT Foundation in West Virginia. He believes it improves relations between the contractors and employees and it helps keep everybody working. A union interview participant from West Virginia feels the ACT Foundation is beneficial because it raises public awareness about unions through advertising.

## Summary

The content analysis, simple random sample survey, and in-depth interviews support the three hypotheses in this study. The content analysis showed that the media contributes to the negative perception the public has towards labor unions. The in-depth interviews provided detailed background information about the attitudes and opinions of participants and a basis for the survey instrument. The simple random sample survey measured the public's perception towards labor unions and their purpose in society. Both quantitative research methods have a high degree of reliability and validity.

The results of this study show through quantitative and qualitative analysis that labor unions have a negative image. The results also show the importance of communicating the benefits of labor unions to the public. By marketing the features and benefits of unions, a positive image will emerge that will lead to an increase in both public support and an increase in membership.

## Chapter 5

### Summary

The goal of this study was to show that unions need to communicate the purpose they serve in society to revive their tarnished image. This study investigated the labor union image, whether communicating achievements can engender a better public image, and communication techniques for local unions.

During an 11-year sales career in the construction industry, this researcher spoke with many union and nonunion workers about their attitudes, opinions, and experiences toward labor unions. Most union members realize that unions create a starting point for wages for white collar and blue collar America. Most people only see union activity when they see a strike in the media, corruption, or violence and are not exposed to the positive aspects of unions. The general public cannot remember a life that existed without vacations, weekends, holidays, medical benefits, pensions, Social Security, unemployment insurance, minimum wage laws, child labor laws, prevailing wage laws, and safety laws. Unions are responsible for attaining and maintaining these perquisites.

According to Sexton (1991), American employers, generally hostile to unions, began offering profit-sharing plans by the late 1880s. In the 1920s, also known as welfare capitalism, life insurance, pensions, bonuses, housing, sport teams, lunchrooms,



and restrooms were used to raise production and to avoid unionization within the company. But the public is not aware of this and unions don't inform them.

This researcher combined field experience with quantitative and qualitative research to confirm that unions need to market their image. Business uses the media and the government to create an anti-union environment. The content analysis in this study verifies that the media use a negative slant when they cover strikes. The survey substantiates that although unions have a negative image, the public believes that unions improve wages and working conditions and make a positive contribution to society. But unions do not make the public aware of their contributions. The survey also confirms that by communicating with internal and external publics, they would improve their image and therefore gain public support.

#### Labor Union Image

The secondary research stated that the media contributes to the negative image of labor unions because the coverage is focused on strikes, corruption, and greed. The telephone survey supports the secondary research. Eighty-eight percent of the respondents agree that media coverage influences the public's opinion about labor unions. The media act as gatekeepers controlling the flow of information to the public. Most people learn about world events that go beyond their own personal experiences from the media.

According to Sexton (1993), the media receive their information from conservative sources such as the public information offices of corporations and government. Their conservative bias stems from a corporate and mass advertiser influence. Twenty-six corporations controlled more than half the media that reach over

200 million Americans in 1987. Corporate America has been hostile towards unions since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, so the media prints the company's side of a strike and stresses that the union is causing the inconvenience to the public. In a recent strike, the media stated that people were stranded and could not get to their destination because the airplane pilots were striking.

The content analysis of four strikes, the PATCO strike, UAW against Caterpillar, CWA against AT&T, and Teamsters against UPS, covered by the *Washington Post* support that the media reported the stories in favor of the company. Forty-four percent of the sentences in the articles have a negative slant toward the union, 35% were neutral, and only 21% of the sentences were written positively toward the union.

A comparison was made between the PATCO and UAW strikes that had unsuccessful outcomes. The CWA and Teamster's strike that had successful outcomes. It revealed that 64% of the sentences written about the PATCO and UAW strikes were negative toward the union, while 32% of the sentences written about the Teamsters and CWA workers were negative against the union. The Teamsters used sophisticated public relations and advertising techniques to make the part-time worker the issue in the strike and CWA advertised operator services. According to Sexton (1991), public opinion can make or break strikes, elect candidates, influence labor legislation, and affect union growth.

The telephone survey revealed that 72% of respondents believe that society has a negative perception of labor unions and 68% of respondents with a union affiliation believe that society has a negative perception of labor unions. Since an anti-union corporate America controls the flow of information through the media, labor unions need

to market the positive to reduce the negative perception. According to Walsh (1988), unions need to devote more effort to making communications an essential part of union activity and stop trying to control the damage already done. They should develop communication techniques that maximize the positive and minimize the negative.

When Labor Unions Communicate their Achievements, they can Engender a Better Public Image

With an anti-union business climate that spend millions of dollars on union busting campaigns and generating negative publicity, unions need to market themselves to create a favorable image. People purchase a product based on features and benefits. Respondents in the survey overwhelmingly agree that if unions communicate; their features and benefits to the media and to the community, the real issues during a strike, and the purpose of the union to members, then society would have a more positive view of unions.

According to Pat Jackson's double bottom line theory, organizations must please their publics before they can hope to do business. That's the first bottom line. The second bottom line for an organization is sales and profits. The first bottom line for labor unions is their reputation and image. The second bottom line is increasing their membership through organizing and an increase in man-hours worked by regaining market share. Before organizing can occur, a positive image needs to exist. It will be difficult to organize workers who view the organization negatively. The product that unions sell to their customer, the owner, is the worker that provides the labor to complete a project. It is difficult to sell your product to a customer when a negative image exists.

Labor unions need to communicate with the public to regain a positive approval rating. Gaining public support will help push issues through the legislative process. By fostering a relationship with the public, a trust will build and the public is more likely to help the union during a strike, a boycott or an organizing drive.

#### Communication Techniques for Local Unions to Employ

In 1988, the AFL-CIO launched a two-year \$13 million advertising campaign called "UNION, YES." In 1996, they launched an advertising campaign called "TODAY'S UNIONS." Only 33% of survey respondents believe that the AFL-CIO's marketing has helped improve the union image. According to Clark (1989), to address this problem, the labor movement must market itself on the national, state and local level.

Two examples of associations that formed to handle the marketing functions of labor unions on a local level: The Builders Guild in Pittsburgh, PA and the Affiliated Construction Trades (ACT) Foundation in Charleston, WV. The Builders Guild is a partnership between building trades unions, architects, engineers, business owners and contractors. According to the *Pittsburgh Engineer* the objectives are to: create a more positive economic climate for skilled workers, influence the economic development of the region, provide tradesmen with educational training in communications, business and customer service skills, and work with high school systems to show that the building trades are an excellent and viable career choice.

The ACT Foundation is an association of West Virginia building and construction trades unions that started in 1992. It supports 12 full-time people and has an operating budget of just under \$2 million per year. Thirty-nine unions fund it through a deduction of 25 cents per hour worked. But nonunion workers also benefit because ACT makes

sure that nonunion contractors follow the same safety standards as the union contractors and pay the prevailing wage when required. It uses radio, television and newspapers to convey the message that union workers live next door, pay taxes, and purchase goods in West Virginia. A monthly newsletter is sent to members.

According to the director, the ACT Foundation combined environmental issues with safety issues to stop a pulp and paper mill worth \$1.2 billion from being built on the Ohio River. The owner wanted to use old technology that would deposit large amounts of dioxin into the river and would create an environmental disaster. ACT has acquired credibility through its active voice in the legislature.

In Delaware, the labor unions are forming an association to promote union labor in the construction industry. It is called the Delaware Construction Council and is applying for a grant to the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service (FMCS). The FMCS was established as an independent agency by the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947. It was created to resolve collective bargaining disputes and promote the development of stable labor-management relations. The grant money will be used to market and foster relationships between the labor unions and owners to achieve the related goals of profits and jobs and contribute to the strength of the economy.

Since the media play such a decisive role in shaping people's attitudes, the AFL-CIO developed media technique programs that local labor unions can utilize. According to Cosco (1989), the AFL-CIO operates the George Meany Center for Labor Studies in Silver Springs, MD for education and training purposes and provides media technique programs. Other resources on dealing with the media and schools are located in Appendix D.

Walsh states (1998) that media skill allows a more effective presentation of the union's message and viewpoint. Union officials are not elected because they look good or are comfortable in a television studio. Mr. Ron Carey, the Teamster's president during the UPS strike, very effectively used the media and the part-time worker issue to sway public opinion behind the drivers. The public was tired of corporate downsizing with record profits. Opinion polls showed that the majority of people supported the Teamsters.

Gaining alliances with environmental or civil rights groups on issues that effect both groups raises political clout. According to Cosco (1989), labor joined the National Association of Counties, National Conference of Mayors, and the National League of Cities to successfully fight for the federal law requiring management to give workers 60-days notice of plant closings. They ran newspapers ads, staged press conferences, and had members write to their legislators.

Paul F. Clark, an associate professor in the Department of Labor Studies and Industrial Relation at Pennsylvania State University, wrote a pamphlet called *Changing Labor's Image: A Union Member's Guide* which identifies communication techniques that local unions can use with their membership, the community, the local media, and in schools. This researcher outlined some techniques in chapters one and two.

### Conclusion

The survey results show that people believe unions improve working conditions and wages and make a positive contribution, but unions do not make the public aware of their contributions. The marketing that the AFL-CIO has done has not been effective in the Delaware Valley area. Ninety-one percent of respondents believe that unions were

necessary in 1900, but only 58% believe they are still needed. People believe a poor public image affects the ability to increase membership and to influence legislation because unions need public support to be effective.

Northrup states (1991), that as membership declined, so did organizing. The proportion of salaried employees versus hourly employees continues to increase. Salaried employees in private industry have repeatedly made clear that they do not wish to be led by the leaders of blue-collar unions.

According to Walsh (1988), unless trade unions use the media to communicate their function, the consequences are likely to be grave. Communications should be an essential part of union activity. To address the image problem, advertising campaigns must include planning for media coverage. The survey results show respondents favor television. Ignoring the challenge of dealing more effectively with the media could mean further membership and market losses, which could lead to the demise of unions.

Unions fight an uphill battle with public perception for a variety of reasons. The primary reason is that the media projects a negative image by linking unions with strikes, corruption, violence, and inflation. Corporations benefit from a negative union image and they control over half the media. According to Heshizer (1985), people believe that business benefits society more than unions and more people express negative opinions about unions than business. Most people receive their information about unions from the media and their lack of knowledge allows them to be easily influenced. Negative union news is splattered across the front page, while business buries its disapproving acts in the business section on the second page.

American employers are hostile toward unions. According to Heshizer (1985), the degree of opposition to unions in America far exceeds opposition in any other industrialized country. Bernstein states (1994) that in every West European country except Britain and Ireland, it is legally mandated that employee groups, usually selected by other employees, provide input to many managerial decisions and work for advancing worker interests.

Business owners in America use money and influence to exploit labor's shortcomings, even blaming labor when problems exist in the economy. Companies spend millions on union-busting consulting firms, also known as labor management consultants, to avoid unionization. In the late 1800s, the Pinkerton Detective Agency was a labor spy agency that companies hired to infiltrate unions and destroy them. Their tactics were unscrupulous and many times illegal, but always effective. In the 1990s, a more modern and legal method has been employed to establish a "union-free environment." Sexton states (1991) that a whole new legal industry has been created that involves hundreds of lawyers that participate in anti-union campaigns and advise employers on legal and illegal ways to defeat unions. Business has successfully used globalization, deregulation, privatization, and legislation that lead to a decrease in membership and weaker unions.

According to Sexton (1991), the Taft-Hartley Amendment that was passed in 1947 was the most anti-labor law in the English-speaking world by strengthening the ability of employers to repress unionism. Hurd states (1998) that it allowed employers the freedom to fight unionization while restricting union tactics such as organizing. Anti-union campaigns now included verbal intimidation of employees before an election to



ensure union defeat. A nonunion interview participant who drives a truck stated that the workers at his company voted for a union, but the union lost by one vote. Eight men were fired or quit who were involved in organizing the union.

The Reagan administration appointed four corporate lawyers to the National Labor Relations Board who were openly hostile to unionization. Board decisions favoring unions in unfair labor practice cases plummeted. The board expanded the legally acceptable anti-union tactics available to employers.

According to Sexton (1991), National Guard was created in 1870s as the state militia and renamed in 1903 to intervene as an industrial police force in strikes and demonstrations. In the survey, 65% of the respondents agree that the government protects the rights of workers to organize. The majority of the public is unaware of how difficult it is for workers to organize.

#### Contributions to the Field

To develop an effective marketing campaign that rebuilds the union image, public relations practitioners need to understand the anti-union environment. It has existed since the Industrial Revolution. Economic elitists control the media to create a negative image for unions and sway public opinion in their favor.

If unions are a negative influence in our society and on productivity as economic elitists want the public to believe, then why does West Germany, the leading economy in Europe, have one of the strongest labor movements in the world?

Organized labor must create a positive public image by informing the public of the benefits the union has provided and still provides. Since the beginning of the industrial revolution, organized labor has played a key role in enacting and defending

laws that include a eight-hour work day, the elimination of child labor, free public schooling, compulsory schooling laws, Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid, unemployment compensation, occupational safety and health laws and minimum wage laws. The average American does not realize this.

Today, white-collar and blue-collar workers have safe working conditions, decent wages and benefits because unions create and maintain the standard. Without an organized body that fights for worker's rights, the American standard of living will continue to decline for blue and white-collar workers.

Using the double bottom line theory that states an organization must please its publics before it can hope to do business, public relations practitioners need to convey messages that sell the features and benefits of labor unions. Some key features and benefits of unions are:

- Creating a starting point for wages for blue and white-collar employees.
- Representing working America, union and nonunion.
- Initiating weekends, holidays, pensions minimum wage, vacations, and benefits for all workers.
- Fighting for safety regulations.
- Providing excellent training programs.
- Paving the road for the middle class.
- Offering a system of checks and balances between the owner and the worker.
- Offsetting most of their higher costs with higher productivity.
- Adopting a "we are in this together" mentality with management rather than "us versus them."

- Companies provide perquisites to keep unions out.
- America has the most unequal income distribution in the industrial world and it has increased with the decline of unionization.

These messages will help: improve the union image, unions recapture market share, foster a better relationship with business owners, and gain support from union and nonunion publics which will urge politicians to legislatively assist unions.

Some people believe and hope that unions are a dinosaur dying a slow death. According to Bernstein (1994), during the 1980s when globalization hit, unions were too slow to organize new industries. Union leaders became what unions had originally fought against. The unions of tomorrow need to balance better wages with efforts to help employers win competitive battles. In place of adversarial skills, labor leaders need expertise in everything from management techniques to technology to communication techniques. A well-planned marketing campaign will guide labor unions into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. “Unions are the cornerstone of a democratic society,” (Shaiken, 1998, p. 39). America still needs unions.

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## Appendix A

TO: Gail Robinson

Charlie Ferguson

FROM: Kathy Mulholland

DATE: January 19, 1999

SUBJECT: Content Analysis

You have received a copy of newspaper articles published in the *Washington Post* from the Teamster's strike with UPS, the Communication Workers strike with AT&T, air traffic controllers strike against the federal government and the United Auto Workers strike with CAT. Each sentence in each article is a coding unit that you will identify as having a negative, positive or neutral connotation towards unions. Place an X in the appropriate column. You are testing my accuracy and reliability. Only read the highlighted articles.

Some sentences are easily recognized as negative, positive or neutral while some sentences seem to have two choices. Other sentences need the context of the sentence in the article to be determined. The media use semantics to hide their bias against unions. Read each sentence carefully before making a decision. You can confer with each other or other people to help make the decision. Examples of hidden bias are as follows:

1. Business and consumers who normally use UPS to ship their good and gifts scrambled to find alternatives yesterday after the Teamsters struck the nation's largest package-delivery company. This could be neutral or negative, but the words scrambled and struck create a negative connotation.

2. “I’m working full-time hours with part-time pay and benefits,” she said, adding that she’s been trying to get upgraded to full-time status for almost two years.” This is a negative sentence against UPS, so it is positive for the union.
3. The company said it has no immediate plans to hire replacement workers. Although the word “no” is in the sentence, it is coded neutral because it does not have a negative connotation towards the union.
4. Picketing was generally peaceful, although 10 strikers were arrested outside UPS facilities in Boston and Chicago for allegedly trying to block trucks. This sentence starts as positive but uses the word “although” to transition to a negative sentence.
5. The strike began Aug. 4 when 185,000 Teamster members walked off the job. This could be either negative or neutral, but “walked off the job” creates a negative connotation against the union.

Please return your results to me by February 2 at the latest. It took me approximately seven hours to code 12 articles with over 10,000 words. You are coding four articles with 3,200 words.

Thanks for your help!



## Appendix B

Hi, my name is Kathy and I am a graduate student at the Rowan University. I am conducting a survey for my thesis. This survey will take approximately 7 minutes. Can I proceed?

1. Do you think society has a positive or negative perception of unions? (Circle the answer)

In the following statements concerning the image of labor unions and their communication techniques, you can choose whether you strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree or strongly disagree. So you have five choices from strongly agree to strongly disagree.

2. Unions improve wages for workers.
  1. STRONGLY AGREE
  2. AGREE
  3. NEUTRAL
  4. DISAGREE
  5. STRONGLY DISAGREE
3. Unions improve working conditions of workers.
  1. STRONGLY AGREE
  2. AGREE
  3. NEUTRAL
  4. DISAGREE
  5. STRONGLY DISAGREE
4. Corporations provide employees with the pay and benefits the company can afford.
  1. STRONGLY AGREE
  2. AGREE
  3. NEUTRAL
  4. DISAGREE
  5. STRONGLY DISAGREE
5. The government protects the rights of workers to organize.
  1. STRONGLY AGREE
  2. AGREE
  3. NEUTRAL
  4. DISAGREE
  5. STRONGLY DISAGREE

6. Unions WERE necessary to protect the interests of workers during the early 1900's?

1. STRONGLY AGREE
2. AGREE
3. NEUTRAL
4. DISAGREE
5. STRONGLY DISAGREE

7. Unions are still needed in 1999 to protect the interests of workers.

1. STRONGLY AGREE
2. AGREE
3. NEUTRAL
4. DISAGREE
5. STRONGLY DISAGREE

8. Unions need public support to influence legislation.

1. STRONGLY AGREE
2. AGREE
3. NEUTRAL
4. DISAGREE
5. STRONGLY DISAGREE

9. Union leaders represent their membership.

1. STRONGLY AGREE
2. AGREE
3. NEUTRAL
4. DISAGREE
5. STRONGLY DISAGREE

10. The perceived corruption of union leaders contributes to a negative public attitude toward unions.

1. STRONGLY AGREE
2. AGREE
3. NEUTRAL
4. DISAGREE
5. STRONGLY DISAGREE

Please answer yes or no to the next question.

11. Do you think unions make any positive contribution to society?

1. Yes
2. No

If the answer is yes, answer question number 12

If the answer is no, skip question number 12

We are going back to strongly agree through strongly disagree

12. Unions make the public aware of the contributions they make in society.
1. STRONGLY AGREE
  2. AGREE
  3. NEUTRAL
  4. DISAGREE
  5. STRONGLY DISAGREE
13. Public attitudes about labor unions are influenced by media coverage of union activities.
1. STRONGLY AGREE
  2. AGREE
  3. NEUTRAL
  4. DISAGREE
  5. STRONGLY DISAGREE
14. A poor public image affects the union's ability to increase its membership.
1. STRONGLY AGREE
  2. AGREE
  3. NEUTRAL
  4. DISAGREE
  5. STRONGLY DISAGREE
15. A poor public image affects the union's ability to influence legislation that benefits the American worker.
1. STRONGLY AGREE
  2. AGREE
  3. NEUTRAL
  4. DISAGREE
  5. STRONGLY DISAGREE
16. The marketing that the AFL-CIO has done over the past 5 years has contributed to improving the union image.
1. STRONGLY AGREE
  2. AGREE
  3. NEUTRAL
  4. DISAGREE
  5. STRONGLY DISAGREE
17. Workers should have the right to join unions.
1. STRONGLY AGREE
  2. AGREE
  3. NEUTRAL
  4. DISAGREE
  5. STRONGLY DISAGREE

18. Over the years, unions have raised the standard of living and improved the quality of life for the middle class?
1. STRONGLY AGREE
  2. AGREE
  3. NEUTRAL
  4. DISAGREE
  5. STRONGLY DISAGREE
19. What type of media would be most effective for unions to use to improve their image choose one
1. Billboard
  2. Radio
  3. Television
  4. Magazines
  5. Newspapers
20. If unions communicate their contributions to society, the public will view them more positively.
1. STRONGLY AGREE
  2. AGREE
  3. NEUTRAL
  4. DISAGREE
  5. STRONGLY DISAGREE
21. If union members are educated on the function of their union, they will have a more positive image of the union.
1. STRONGLY AGREE
  2. AGREE
  3. NEUTRAL
  4. DISAGREE
  5. STRONGLY DISAGREE
22. If unions communicate the real issues during a strike, people would be more likely to support their cause.
1. STRONGLY AGREE
  2. AGREE
  3. NEUTRAL
  4. DISAGREE
  5. STRONGLY DISAGREE
23. If unions communicate the community activities the union leaders are involved with, people would view them more positively.
1. STRONGLY AGREE
  2. AGREE
  3. NEUTRAL
  4. DISAGREE

5. STRONGLY DISAGREE

24. If labor history was taught in schools, people would better understand the purpose of the union.

1. STRONGLY AGREE

2. AGREE

3. NEUTRAL

4. DISAGREE

5. STRONGLY DISAGREE

Are you or is anyone in your family affiliated with a union?

1. yes

2. no

Is your age between

1. 18 – 34

2. 35 – 50

3. over 50

What is the highest level of education

1. Completed high school

2. Some college

3. Completed college

4. Some graduate school work

5. Completed graduate school

6. Completed a doctorate program

Male or female

## Appendix C

**Table C1**

### Descriptive Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Society has a negative or positive perception of labor unions	196	.28	.45

**Table C2**

### Binomial Test

		Category	N	Observed Prop.	Test Prop.	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
Society has a negative or positive perception of labor unions	Group 1	positive	54	.28	.50	5.16E-10 <sup>a</sup>
	Group 2	negative	142	.72		
	Total		196	1.00		

a. Based on Z Approximation.

**Table C3**

### Descriptive Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
unions improve wages for workers	196	3.90	.84

**Table C4**

### Binomial Test

		Statistics			
		N	Observed Prop.	Test Prop.	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
unions improve wages for workers	Group 1	36	.18	.50	1.55E-18 <sup>a</sup>
	Group 2	160	.82		
	Total	196	1.00		

a. Based on Z Approximation.

**Table C5**

### Descriptive Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
unions improve working conditions of workers	196	3.83	.84

**Table C6**

### Binomial Test

		N	Observed Prop.	Test Prop.	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
unions improve working conditions of workers	Group 1	42	.21	.50	2.22E-15 <sup>a</sup>
	Group 2	154	.79		
	Total	196	1.00		

a. Based on Z Approximation.

**Table C7**

### Descriptive Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
corp. offer employees the pay the company can afford	196	2.96	1.06

**Table C8**

### Binomial Test

		N	Observed Prop.	Test Prop.	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
corp. offer employees the pay the company can afford	Group 1	117	.60	.50	8.22E-03 <sup>a</sup>
	Group 2	79	.40		
	Total	196	.60		

a. Based on Z Approximation.

**Table C9**

### Descriptive Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
gov. protects the rights of workers to organize	196	3.55	.93

**Table C10**

**Binomial Test**

		N	Observed Prop.	Test Prop.	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
gov. protects the rights of workers to organize	Group 1	69	.35	.50	4.67E-05 <sup>a</sup>
	Group 2	127	.65		
	Total	196	1.00		

a. Based on Z Approximation.

**Table C11**

**Descriptive Statistics**

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
unions were necessary in early 1900s to protect workers	196	4.34	.73

**Table C12**

**Binomial Test**

		N	Observed Prop.	Test Prop.	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
unions were necessary in early 1900s to protect workers	Group 1	17	.09	.50	1.32E-30 <sup>a</sup>
	Group 2	179	.91		
	Total	196	1.00		

a. Based on Z Approximation.

**Table C13**

**Descriptive Statistics**

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
unions are needed in 1999 to protect workers	196	3.40	1.16

**Table C14**



**Binomial Test**

		N	Observed Prop.	Test Prop.	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
unions are needed in 1999 to protect workers	Group 1	83	.42	.50	3.83E-02 <sup>a</sup>
	Group 2	113	.58		
	Total	196	1.00		

a. Based on Z Approximation.

**Table C15**

**Descriptive Statistics**

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
unions need public support to influence legislation	196	3.61	.99

**Table C16**

**Binomial Test**

		N	Observed Prop.	Test Prop.	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
unions need public support to influence legislation	Group 1	66	.34	.50	6.80E-06 <sup>a</sup>
	Group 2	130	.66		
	Total	196	1.00		

a. Based on Z Approximation.

**Table C17**

**Descriptive Statistics**

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
unions leaders represent their membership	196	3.17	1.01

**Table C18**

**Binomial Test**

		N	Observed Prop.	Test Prop.	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
unions leaders represent their membership	Group 1	107	.55	.50	.22 <sup>a</sup>
	Group 2	89	.45		
	Total	196	1.00		

a. Based on Z Approximation.

**Table C19**

**Descriptive Statistics**

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
perceived corruption of union leaders contributes to a negative public attitude toward unions	196	4.08	.81

**Table C20**

**Binomial Test**

		N	Observed Prop.	Test Prop.	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
perceived corruption of union leaders contributes to a negative public attitude toward unions	Group 1	28	.14	.50	3.13E-23 <sup>a</sup>
	Group 2	168	.86		
	Total	196	1.00		

a. Based on Z Approximation.

**Table C21**

**Descriptive Statistics**

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
unions make a positive contribution to society	196	.80	.40

**Table C22**

**Binomial Test**

		Category	N	Observed Prop.	Test Prop.	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
unions make a positive contribution to society	Group 1	yes	156	.80	.50	.00 <sup>a</sup>
	Group 2	no	40	.20		
	Total		196	1.00		

a. Based on Z Approximation.

**Table C23**

**Descriptive Statistics**

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
unions make the public aware of the contributions they make in society	157	2.94	1.02

**Table C24**

**Binomial Test**

		N	Observed Prop.	Test Prop.	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
unions make the public aware of the contributions they make in society	Group 1	98	.62	.50	2.42E-03 <sup>a</sup>
	Group 2	59	.38		
	Total	157	1.00		

a. Based on Z Approximation.

**Table C25**

**Descriptive Statistics**

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
public attitudes are influenced by media coverage	196	4.04	.69

**Table C26**

**Binomial Test**

		N	Observed Prop.	Test Prop.	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
public attitudes	Group 1	23	.12	.50	1.88E-26 <sup>a</sup>
are influenced by	Group 2	173	.88		
media coverage	Total	196	1.00		

a. Based on Z Approximation.

**Table C27**

**Descriptive Statistics**

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
poor image affects ability to increase membership	196	3.72	.88

**Table C28**

**Binomial Test**

		N	Observed Prop.	Test Prop.	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
poor image affects ability	Group 1	47	.24	.50	5.42E-13 <sup>a</sup>
to increase membership	Group 2	149	.76		
	Total	196	1.00		

a. Based on Z Approximation.

**Table C29**

**Descriptive Statistics**

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
poor image affects ability to influence legislation	196	3.72	.81

**Table C30**

**Binomial Test**

		N	Observed Prop.	Test Prop.	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
poor image affects ability to influence legislation	Group 1	46	.23	.50	1.88E-13 <sup>a</sup>
	Group 2	150	.77		
	Total	196	1.00		

a. Based on Z Approximation.

**Table C31****Descriptive Statistics**

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
AFL-CIO's marketing has helped improve the union image	196	3.06	.83

**Table C32****Binomial Test**

		N	Observed Prop.	Test Prop.	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
AFL-CIO's marketing has helped improve the union image	Group 1	131	.67	.50	3.46E-06 <sup>a</sup>
	Group 2	65	.33		
	Total	196	1.00		

a. Based on Z Approximation.

**Table C33****Descriptive Statistics**

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
workers should have the right to join unions	196	4.17	.58

**Table C34**

**Binomial Test**

		N	Observed Prop.	Test Prop.	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
workers should have the right to join unions	Group 1	10	.05	.50	7.47E-36 <sup>a</sup>
	Group 2	186	.95		
	Total	196	1.00		

a. Based on Z Approximation.

**Table C35****Descriptive Statistics**

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
unions have raised the standard of living and improved the quality of life for the middle class	196	3.62	.97

**Table C36****Binomial Test**

		N	Observed Prop.	Test Prop.	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
unions have raised the standard of living and improved the quality of life for the middle class	Group 1	69	.35	.50	4.67E-05 <sup>a</sup>
	Group 2	127	.65		
	Total	196	1.00		

a. Based on Z Approximation.

**Table C37****Descriptive Statistics**

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
If unions communicate their contribution, the public will view them more positively	195	4.02	.52

**Table C38**

**Binomial Test**

		N	Observed Prop.	Test Prop.	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
If unions communicate their contribution, the public will view them more positively	Group 1	16	.08	.50	4.07E-31 <sup>a</sup>
	Group 2	179	.92		
	Total	195	1.00		

a. Based on Z Approximation.

**Table C39**

**Descriptive Statistics**

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
If unions members are educated on function of the union, they will have a more positive image of the union	196	3.87	.70

**Table C40**

**Binomial Test**

		N	Observed Prop.	Test Prop.	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
If unions members are educated on function of the union, they will have a more positive image of the union	Group 1	28	.14	.50	3.13E-23 <sup>a</sup>
	Group 2	168	.86		
	Total	196	1.00		

a. Based on Z Approximation.

**Table C41**

**Descriptive Statistics**

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
If unions communicate real issues during a strike, people will support their cause	196	3.79	.78

**Table C42**

**Binomial Test**

		N	Observed Prop.	Test Prop.	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
If unions communicate real issues during a strike, people will support their cause	Group 1	43	.22	.50	6.93E-15 <sup>a</sup>
	Group 2	153	.78		
	Total	196	1.00		

a. Based on Z Approximation.

**Table C43**

**Descriptive Statistics**

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
If unions communicate to the public the community activities union leaders are involved with, people would view them more positively	196	3.92	.66

**Table C44**

**Binomial Test**

		N	Observed Prop.	Test Prop.	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
If unions communicate to the public the community activities union leaders are involved with, people would view them more positively	Group 1	29	.15	.50	1.30E-22 <sup>a</sup>
	Group 2	167	.85		
	Total	196	1.00		

a. Based on Z Approximation.

**Table C45**



### Descriptive Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
If labor history was taught in schools, people would better understand the purpose of the union	196	4.07	.70

**Table C46**

### Binomial Test

		N	Observed Prop.	Test Prop.	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
If labor history was taught in schools, people would better understand the purpose of the union	Group 1	23	.12	.50	1.88E-26 <sup>a</sup>
	Group 2	173	.88		
	Total	196	1.00		

a. Based on Z Approximation.

## Appendix D

*Access to the Media.* Videotape. A step-by-step guide for local unions that want to get their message on TV and radio. Available from the AFL-CIO Film Division, 815 16<sup>th</sup> St., N.W., Washington, D.C., 20006.

*CWA Local Union PR Handbook: A Guide for Telling and Selling our Union's Story.* Pamphlet product the Communications Workers of America, 1925 K St., N.W., Washington, D.C., 20006.

*Changing Labor's Image: Unions, the Media, and Public Opinion.* Videotape. A brief introduction to labor's image problem, the role of the media, and approaches to getting labor's message out at the local level. Produced by Penn State's Department of Labor Studies and Industrial Relations and available from Media Services, Penn State University, Special Services Building, University Park, PA, 16802, (Cost \$90).

*How Schools Are Teaching About Labor.* Pamphlet available from AFL-CIO Pamphlets, 815 16<sup>th</sup> St., N.W., Washington, D.C., 20006.

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