

Running head: UNIONISM, GLOBALIZATION, AND DIVERSITY

Unionism, Globalization, and Diversity

Steven S. Williams

Liberal Arts Capstone 495 (495-OL012)

Thomas Edison State College

Dr. Rick Woten

May 23, 2013

**Abstract**

The number of active union members is in the decline. Globalization has allowed transnational corporations the ability to view the entire world as a pool of laborers. The declining number of union members coincidentally coincides with the income disparity in the United States. Unions, in the past couple of years, been confronting the fact that the right to work laws have passed in various states. The unions also have to deal with manufacturing jobs relocating outside the United States. The question of whether these factors have and will contribute to the declining number of union members. More importantly do unions have a plan stave off the declination or a plan in which to potentially increase the number of active members to a level in which unions will be able to have a voice in the policies that affect Americans and a seat at the table in lobbying politicians? Will union eventually fade during the 21st century, or replaced by another movement? Understanding why the numbers of individuals who are union are in the decline will provide the answer to what direction the union is heading and if the concept of unionism will survive as globalization has taken root around the world.

Abstract	-----	2
<b>Chapter 1: Introductory Chapter</b>	-----	<b>6</b>
<b>Introduction to the Chapter</b>	-----	<b>6</b>
<b>Background of the Topic</b>	-----	<b>6</b>
<b>Problem Statement</b>	-----	<b>8</b>
<b>Professional Significance of Your Work</b>	-----	<b>9</b>
<b>Overview of Methodology</b>	-----	<b>10</b>
<b>Delimitations</b>	-----	<b>11</b>
<b>Summary</b>	-----	<b>11</b>
<b>Chapter 2: Literature Review</b>	-----	<b>12</b>
<b>The Minority</b>	-----	<b>13</b>
<b>The Immigrant</b>	-----	<b>16</b>
<b>Recognizing the Problem</b>	-----	<b>19</b>
<b>The Lack of History</b>	-----	<b>22</b>
<b>Searching for Solutions</b>	-----	<b>23</b>
<b>The Labor Movement</b>	-----	<b>25</b>
<b>Chapter 3: Methodology</b>	-----	<b>29</b>

# UNIONISM, GLOBALIZATION, AND DIVERSITY

<b>The Questions</b>	-----	<b>30</b>
<b>Question 1</b>	-----	<b>30</b>
<b>Question 2</b>	-----	<b>32</b>
<b>Question 3</b>	-----	<b>34</b>
<b>Chapter 4: Results</b>	-----	<b>35</b>
<b>Minorities</b>	-----	<b>35</b>
<b>The Unorganized</b>	-----	<b>37</b>
<b>Displaced workers</b>	-----	<b>39</b>
<b>Unknown history</b>	-----	<b>40</b>
<b>Technology</b>	-----	<b>41</b>
<b>Conclusion</b>	-----	<b>42</b>
<b>Chapter 5: Summary and Discussion</b>	-----	<b>42</b>
<b>Introduction</b>	-----	<b>42</b>
<b>Statement of Problem</b>	-----	<b>44</b>
<b>Sub-questions</b>	-----	<b>44</b>
<b>Methodology</b>	-----	<b>45</b>
<b>Summary of Results</b>	-----	<b>46</b>
<b>Minorities and the Union</b>	-----	<b>46</b>
<b>The New Immigrant</b>	-----	<b>47</b>

# UNIONISM, GLOBALIZATION, AND DIVERSITY

<b>The Labor Movement in U.S. History</b>	-----	<b>49</b>
<b>Technology and its influence on labor</b>	-----	<b>49</b>
<b>Discussion of Results</b>	-----	<b>50</b>
<b>Diversity and Migrants</b>	-----	<b>50</b>
<b>The Ill Equipped Union</b>	-----	<b>52</b>
<b>Law and Politicians</b>	-----	<b>53</b>
<b>Reorganizing</b>	-----	<b>55</b>
<b>The Service Industry</b>	-----	<b>56</b>
<b>Grassroots Movements</b>	-----	<b>58</b>
<b>Conclusion</b>	-----	<b>61</b>
<b>References</b>	-----	<b>61</b>

## **Chapter 1: Introductory Chapter**

### **Introduction to the Chapter**

Membership within unions has been in decline since the 1960's. Coincidentally the income gap between the upper and lower classes has been widening since this period of time. With the onset of globalization corporations have been able to shift manufacturing overseas thus leading to the perception that unions are no longer needed as the United States shifts to a service oriented workforce. The question still exist that is if manual labor still exists, who is still doing the work and why are they not organized; are these individuals aware of the concept of unionism?

Unions are becoming obsolete or does the possibility still exist in which unions can redefine itself in order to serve the changing workforce in the United States.

### **Background of the Topic**

Technology has enabled complex organizations the ability to redefine the role the worker plays within an organization. Corporations clearly understand how the subcultures function within their organization and study how to control such environments. The employee plays a bigger role than they realize in promoting the policies of the company over any benefit for themselves. Peer pressure enables the group to steer any independent individual towards the

## UNIONISM, GLOBALIZATION, AND DIVERSITY

7

company goal. Profit is the goal and control of the worker is necessary in achieving this goal. In achieving such goals barriers such as state and federal legislation outline the rights of the worker, thus limiting the company from applying any type of abusive behavior to increase production from the worker. What the worker does or does not understand is the union that gives the worker true power if they work together collectively.

Unions do not have the ability to invest millions of dollars into the field of technology in order to become a more efficient tool in dealing with the complex organization for their members. The unions do not have the funds at their disposal in order to study the diverse workforce they potentially could use to represent as union members. In the past, the work force consisted of two groups of people white and African Americans. Union was a concept that, during a thirty year period, was easily sold to workers as the economy boomed after the Second World War. African Americans and women benefited the most from unions, as they gained a new found equality in the workplace in the form of rights and pay that they had not experienced previously in America.

The rising numbers of immigrants into the fabric of America does not guarantee that these immigrants will embrace the idea of unity when assimilation into a new society already presents so many problems for immigrants. Unions have dealt poorly with minorities in the past and never addressed the issue as the years passed. The debate over the acceptance of those who have resided in the country for decades illegally further limits the ability for the union to

organize as these potential members are illegally living and working in the United States.

Unions still have the astigmatism of being associated with the mafia or a socialist organization. The negative perceptions of unions are because of a few reasons including the fact that society does not know the true history of unions. This lack of knowledge of union history and the concept of unionism led to the lack of interest in unionism. The assimilation of a diverse group of individuals, such as women, minorities, and immigrants, has become necessary; and more importantly, understanding of these individuals has become extremely important.

### **Problem Statement**

The resources for the resurgence of the union is available; people. The problem is finding those individuals who are motivated, have a thirst for knowledge, and are willing to strive for all the basic benefits unionism offers.

1) What problem do unions face in attempting to organize workers in the industries other than manufacturing? Do the difficulties in organizing stem from the opinions of union from mass media or the stories of the unions violent past?

2) Do unions truly reflect in key positions the diversity of the workforce in today's America? Will the union ever reflect in key positions the true diversity of America? Can present leadership understand the vast differences that exist and bridge the gap of those differences in order to increase membership and teach true acceptance amongst its members beyond the rhetoric of



unity? Then take the next step in finding the common core amongst all these members in driving home the message of acceptance, unity, and then union?

3) As technology advances the complex organizations towards record profits, how can the union translate this information and put it into a form in which they can successfully brief their members as to how these same corporations are active in their goal of dismantling the union through the use of the very same technology? Then take this message and explain that in many ways the term globalization is no different from colonization and imperialism?

4) Finding the common core for all involved requires the teaching of world history in order for the union to understand its own history and have a better understanding of the common bond between all its members? Digesting such information is a huge undertaking, but is the union willing to invest the time and resources in redefining the concept of unionism to fit the true meaning of diversity and technology are changing the approach of the corporation in dealing with the workforce. Is the union willing to adapt in order to survive?

### **Professional Significance of Your Work**

The revolutions of 1832 and 1848 in Europe were the first collective organization of individuals towards a common cause of better living conditions and basic freedoms from their oppressive governments. The workers began to realize demanding better work conditions and pay for their efforts led to the birth of socialism. The concept spread to Americans who eventually gave birth to the union as the United States Government established the National

Labor Review Board. Technology has offered the corporations the opportunity to squeeze out the small business as chain stores dominate the landscape. Globalization offers an even greater advantage to the corporation as manufacturing is slowly leaving America for Mexico, Philippines, and now China. Unions during the early 20th century did not recognize the opportunities of recruiting minorities or explore the very idea of growing membership outside of manufacturing industry.

With the diverse group of workers available in a number of industries controlled by a small number of corporations, can the union remake itself in the form of a new labor movement that seizes on the fact that the growing income disparity is tied directly to the decline in membership?

### **Overview of Methodology**

A qualitative approach compared to a quantitative approach was necessary as no true research exist in which numerical results would be able to answer the initial questions as to why the number of individuals with union cards is declining? Understanding the terms used previously to define management and labor is necessary in order to better research articles that cover the methods used by management in suppressing the labor movements, particularly unions. The labor movements, including the birth of unions, needed to be understood in order to better understand how the unions were formed and the reasoning behind the declining membership. Researching material from various unions is necessary in to understand the methods they use in recruiting and maintaining membership. The news cycle provides a wealth of information in

regards to the opinions of both political parties in regards to unions, which necessitates the research into the public opinion of unions. The quantitative approach in the form of polls was necessary as is articles giving the overall picture Americans have of unionism. The changing industry that are union compared to those that are not gives another reasoning as to why which industries are able to unionize and other are not. The questions of whether these industries chose not be union or is it a case the industries can't be unionized because of the opinion of the workers towards union. The understanding of the leadership and those that are active in the arena of the labor movement was just as important. Understanding the players involved in the labor movement gives a broader picture of whether leadership has a plan in place to stop the declination in their ranks or perhaps has a plan in place to increase their membership.

### **Delimitations**

The limiting factors in researching the declining numbers are the fact that the unions themselves do not provide much information in this regard. The history of unions can be found in libraries, but the concept of unionism is not part of mainstream society as in days past. Mainstream media, in the form of movies, have portrayed unions in a negative light. The images of the mafia controlling the unions and using unions to launder money have given unions a bad reputation. The violent past of unions is another negative aspect that the public associates with unions. Finding information that is either positive or informative in regards to unions will be difficult, as the subject of unionism in the 21st century is one in which too many discussions

have been held within American society.

### **Summary**

In an attempt to understand the declining numbers within the union, better understanding unions, their leadership, the members, society's opinion of unions and transnational corporations is needed. The declining number could be for a number of reasons or just a couple. How all these entities and individuals fit into the scheme of things is necessary in order to get a clearer picture of which direction the labor movement is going. In the end it is the purpose of this paper to shed light on why the number of members is in decline and what steps have or have not been taken to address this issue. It is the hope of this paper a better understanding of which direction unions are heading in the 21st century.

### **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

Unions have recently changed their methods in the hope of gaining new members. Unions have begun to change their attitude towards minorities, immigrants, and women while adjusting to the new tactics used by the corporation in an attempt to break up unions. Union have come to the realization that their best hope of survival is to welcome those members they have ignored into their fold while adding another group that they once believed were the cause of declining membership; the new immigrant. Changing the public perception of unions is a difficult task while at the same trying to change their member's perception of the new immigrants. Unions are

finding that their own history is in the process of being written out of American history books and reinterpreted by the media and corporations. The public is constantly reminded of the union's past connection to organized crime and the dysfunctions of the unions themselves. Re-branding its image as an entity that believes in both inclusion and diversity of is a hard sell to minorities, women, and the new immigrants given the union's track record of inclusiveness.

Can union leaders embrace and accept the methods used by grassroots organizations, work centers, and community leaders in mobilizing the workforce. Or do unions continue to rely on laws and politicians in the hope that laws that favor unions are passed? Can the union afford to wait for such laws as their numbers diminish over time? Work centers and some unions have shown the willingness to adapt to the tactics used by the 21st century Corporation. The larger unions in the meantime are being overwhelmed by these same corporations that stymie the union's ability to organize. Can the union seize upon the recent labor movements, and become the single active voice that labor movements will gravitate into a singular entity? Can the union find a way to consolidate these all of these movements into an active voice that can change perceptions of the public, media, and politicians; and in turn cause them to both take notice and have positive opinions of unions; therefore gaining support for the labor movement?

### **The Minority**

Peter Rachleff (2012) discussed a little-known labor group called the Knights of Labor (p.34). He noted that during the mid 1880's blacks and whites were able to come together for a common cause in protecting the rights as laborers within a community. Yes, bi-racial, with African

## UNIONISM, GLOBALIZATION, AND DIVERSITY

14

Americans and whites organized separately but linked together in one campaign, with a shared set of goals (Rachleff, 2012, p. 34). They as members of the community understood the importance of organizing and supporting each other as the city government of Richmond, Virginia was actively in the process outsourcing work instead of using localized labor. The Knights of Labor quickly mobilized, organized boycotts, and gained the support of local leaders.

The main focus of the article the article explained through civil protests and boycotts, the Knights of Labor was able to force the city of Richmond to reconsider the prospect of outsourcing labor instead of using the local unions for city projects. The purpose of the article was to explain that not only did white and black people form a coalition for economic reasons, but was able to get the community involved. Even though they lacked the right to vote, women along with white and black people, played critical roles in these campaigns (Rachleff, 2012, p. 36).

Organized labor in general had not dealt with the issues concerning women, new immigrants, or minorities who were union members. The purge of the Left from the Congress of Industrial Labor (CIO) and the merger of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial Labor (CIO) did nothing to improve the condition of workers of color (Fletcher, 2011-2012, p. 47). At the end of the Second World War African Americans lost their unions jobs as the white workers returned from war. As union members, African Americans did not have their issues addressed by union leadership. Union leadership chose to focus on the white members that were already in their ranks.

In the early 20th century, Unions quickly increased their membership by accepting immigrants, which included Italians, Polish, Germans, Jews, and Irish, into their ranks. Unions did not reach out to women and African Americans as their numbers were not needed.

Today it is the work centers and smaller organizations that specifically address the issues that confronted Latin and Asian immigrants as unions struggled to reach out to these groups. Fletcher (2011-2012) focused on the fact that African Americans have never had a constituency that specifically addressed any of the issues that were important to them as Americans (p.46). At a point when the Black Freedom Struggle was gaining steam—in the form of the Civil Rights Movement (1950s–1960s)—organized labor’s ossification and inability to look beyond its own institutional boundaries imperiled its own future (Fletcher, 2011-2012, p.46). Immigrants who have entered the country have work centers to address their labor issues. Fletcher (2012-2012) continued to point out the fact that unions are ill equipped to deal with understanding the any of the important issues that are important to African Americans, because they never addressed any of the issues in the past (p.47). African Americans do have the largest percentage of members that are unionized compared to other ethnic groups. Fletcher (2011-2012) also points out the fact work centers have reached out to the Latin and Asian communities in filling a void left by unions (p.49). He does not explain why African Americans would support unions after they have previously been shunned by the very same unions that were charged with representing them.

In an interview with the long of the UCLA Center for Labor Research and Education (LRE) Professor Kent Wong touched on the fact that Asian and Latino communities in California were

able to come together organizers and find a way outside of traditional labor organizations and organize into cohesive units and that were able to both understand and take advantage of their rights as individuals within the city of Los Angeles despite their status as immigrants. Professor Wong further explained UCLA for LRE was able to form a coalition with local leaders in order to create labor law and union leadership classes specifically for LGBT groups, women, African Americans, Latinos, and Asians. Not only are these classes uniquely tailored for specific groups, but are the first of their kind in the United States.

Professor Wong continued to point out that the conventional union were only concerned with their base constituency and never truly addressed the issues of African Americans, Women, Latinos, Asians, or the immigrant. Historically, the American Labor Movement has had a very antagonistic relationship with immigrant communities (Cervantes, 2007, p.6). Professor Wong continued with the fact that these minority groups have always been part of the union, but never had anywhere else to go in addressing their issues. Grassroots movements and labor classes being offered by UCLA offered these groups the ability to have a larger voice, not only in the labor movement, but within the unions themselves. The individuals that attend these leadership schools will in turn form coalitions within their communities. Professor Wong touched on the very fact that the conventional union needs to follow a new method in organizing, because the conventional methods used by unions have always ignored minorities, women, and immigrants.

### **The Immigrant**



## UNIONISM, GLOBALIZATION, AND DIVERSITY

17

David Bacon's (2010) article covers the fact the immigrants who migrate to the United States are very much aware of the issues of equality and their rights as laborers (p.42). The migrants come from countries, such as Mexico and El Salvador, in which unions once were strong before the transnational corporations entered their countries. While three-quarters of the workforce in Mexico belonged to unions three decades ago, less than 30 percent do today (Bacon, 2010, p.38). Upon entering the country, immigrants, who are aware of unions, quickly become aware the laws in America do not favor the union or the laborer. In many ways, the immigrant better understands the power unions hold if members are strong collectively. The immigrant is also aware of what happens when a union becomes weak. U.S. companies have entered countries like Mexico, with the understanding that Mexican government would in return find various ways to break up the unions. Unions once an institution supported by the Mexican government, in the last 40 years, has eliminated unions in order to make Mexico a lot more attractive to transnational corporations from countries like the United States.

Organizations such as the AFL-CIO we're against any type of immigration, because these organizations felt immigrants took jobs from their members. The same immigrants are filling up the various jobs in the service sector without the same basic rights enjoyed by American citizens. Immigrant workers make up an increasing percentage of the workforce in building services, healthcare, manufacturing, food processing, construction, and hospitality [hotels and restaurants] (Bacon, 2010, p.42).

While the unions once supported the restrictions on immigrants, now support the very idea of

immigration. The loss of jobs were blamed on the cheap products entering the United States were putting American companies out of business and the immigrants were at the same time taking jobs from Americans. Blame the workers in Mexico or China for taking your job. Blame the immigrant workers in the United States for the same thing (Bacon, 2010, p.40). The reasoning is that it is the transnational corporation caused their migration in the first place. They [Mexicans] are now less than an eighth, and as low as one-fifteenth, depending on the industry—even during a period in which U.S. wages have declined in buying power (Bacon, 2010, p37). The corporation is created poverty on both sides of the border by transporting union jobs to countries like Mexico and then those countries break up the unions creating joblessness. These individuals, from countries like Mexico, then migrate to the United States looking for work and in order to send a remittance to their family members in their home country. These laborers enter fields they once held in their home countries at a reduced wage.

Ms. Camou (2012) effectively points out 31 percent of the US workforce is comprised of contingent workers, including those are temporary, on-call, part-time, and independent contracting workers (p.42). She discusses in her report the difficulties in organizing laborers who are considered subcontractors. Their ability to organize made even more difficult by their immigration status in America. The fields in which day laborers usually work are difficult to unionize. The unions are not equipped to deal with community issues as effectively as the work centers or advocacy groups. The immigrants' situation is made even more complicated by the fact that they work for cash and are not considered full time employees. The article further

suggests organizing such workers would be almost impossible considering the fact that day laborers do not often work for the same employer. Labor centers have been successful in recruiting and organizing day laborers compared to the traditional union. Camou (2012) discussed that organizing of day laborers has had some success as the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) has been able to use grassroots organizations to grow their membership from the ranks of immigrants (p.44). Conventional unions do not have the type or organization to reach out and recruit the day laborers. Unions need to connect with work centers and the communities that serve the immigrant; they need connect with the day laborer in order to grow their ranks. Camou (2012) effectively points to the fact that the laborers, particularly from Central Americans are not averse to joining unions as they are used to such organizations in their native countries (p. 43).

This aspiration for upward mobility informs much of their activism (Milkman, 2011, p. 364). The case of workers from Central American organized a sit-in along with African Americans against the Republic Window company. The plant employed quite a few African Americans, who joined the sit-in alongside their Latino co-workers, overcoming black – brown tensions that reportedly existed earlier on (Milkman, 2011, p.362). The sit-in showed that both African and Central Americans can come together for a common cause. The sit-in also showed that if a community comes together, then civil disobedience can still work. The workers organized, despite their legal status, to protest the moving of their factory and the inevitable loss of jobs. Immigrant workers have found it easier to get involved in grassroots movements through work

centers and advocacy groups. Worker centers routinely provide basic information—both in written form and through educational workshops—to low-wage immigrant workers about their rights under U.S. labor and immigration law, assistance that is much needed and highly prized by recipient (Milkman, 2011, p.367). The real and imagined barriers to recruiting foreign-born workers into unions are in practice counteracted by a series of factors that actually make it easier to organize Latino immigrant workers than their US-born counterparts (Milkman, 2011, p.364). If the legal status of the immigrant were to change, then prospect organizing in dramatically increasing the numbers of unionized members as Central Americans have already show they are not only aware of the legal rights as laborers, but willing to stand up for those very same rights.

### **Recognizing the Problem**

During its 2009 convention the AFL-CIO recognized the fact that a change was needed in order for the union to both survive and add to their existing membership. The convention also illustrated promising trends: unions' greater seriousness about working closely with progressive allies, and their growing openness to workers who want to be in the labor movement but can't secure collective bargaining in the traditional manner (Eidelson, 2013, p.6). The significance of the convention was the fact that leadership finally recognized the importance of changing the manner in which they organized and the importance of recruiting immigrants. Before the convention, the leadership had been hopeful that The Employee Free Choice Act would pass both houses and be signed into law by President Obama. The Employee Free Choice Act itself would have made it easier for individuals to organize and form a union. After the Employee

Free Choice Act did not pass under President Obama, the AFL-CIO leadership realized new tactics were needed in gaining new members. The AFL-CIO, during the convention, recognized the importance of the grassroots approach toward increasing its membership. Not all the members were in support of such measures as targeting immigrants. The referendum nonetheless passed during the convention; AFL-CIO as an organization was aware that such a referendum was necessary to increase their numbers within the United States.

John Schmitt and Alexandra Mitukiewicz (2011) compiled the results of a study to record the trends in union membership in the richest countries (p.1). Overall the number of union members has not changed much, but the study does show there are differences in the membership depending on the style of government within those countries. Over the same period, countries typically described as “liberal market economies” - The United States, The United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, Ireland, Japan, and Canada have generally seen a sharp drop in union coverage and membership (Schmitt & Mitukiewicz, 2011, p.1). They numbers support their belief that globalization and technology are not as much of a factor in the decline in union membership as the style of government of their host country.

Ann Hodges (2009) asserts that unions have relied too much on the legal system and politicians in their struggle against corporations (p.890). In relying in the support of the legal system and politicians the unions have forgotten how to utilize the grassroots movements in mobilizing their membership into action. Institutionalized unions have relied too heavily on legal action, contract enforcement, and electoral politics and, consequently, too little on engaging

their own membership, organizing new members, and building coalitions with other organizations with similar aims (Hodges, 2010, p.890). She further asserts that unions should have spent more time and their resources on grassroots movements as their reliance on politicians has become their achilles heel as unions not longer are able to have as strong voice in the very same political arena. The laws no longer favor unions and unions can no longer match the donations of the large corporation in the political arena. The argument is made that if unions return to the style of campaigning that made the unions a force in politics in the first place is the one option that should be explored if unions are to make a comeback. Unions, in the past, mobilized its members during campaign season as a tool that sent a message to politicians. The influence unions used to have has faded with their reliance on donations and changed labor laws.

Hodges further points out that the Union still needs certain laws and lawyers in order to be successful in the labor movement, but at the same time the union need not forget the grassroots style of unionization that made unions strong in the first place. Instead my argument is that the law should be only one piece of the strategy and not the guiding light (Hodges, 2010, p.896). The split between the AFL- CIO with the organization called, “Change to Win” was because of the differences of opinion within the once powerful organization. Within the AFL-CIO members were split their belief of returning to the grassroots style of organization, especially in recruiting immigrants, while other still preferred the conventional style of running a union. Change to Win wanted to focus primarily on building membership through working with various smaller organizations. Thus, while favorable law can ease organizing, it can also seduce unions

into reliance on the law to maintain membership, foregoing the internal organizing that is needed to maintain strong connections with the union (Hodges, 2010, p.907). The AFL-CIO preferred to utilize the political arena in order to push for laws that were beneficial for the laborer.

Throughout our last three decades of retreat and defeat, the generally agreed-upon left-wing formula for union revitalization has been a “to-do” list more easily recited than implemented (Early, 2014, p16-17). Early discussed that direct action would reap more benefits by forming alliances with community backed labor. The Chicago Teachers Union was used as an example of a community support action in staging a successful civil protest for better wages and working conditions. The article further suggested that changes within the unions may be necessary before unions are able to formulate new strategies outside of relying on the Democratic Party and union consultants for advice in running a union.

### **The Lack of History**

Albert Shanker Institute (2012) Labor's untold story focuses on the fact that the business community devoted a significant amount of resources in changing the curriculum in high schools, particularly U.S. history (p.30). The article touches on the fact the many of the rights that are enjoyed today by Americans, such as the five day work week, eight hour days, social security, and child labor laws are just a few of the rights Americans enjoy because of the labor movement. Most textbooks cover significant social legislation but rarely mention the contribution of the labor movement in its advocacy and adoption. Spotty, inadequate, and slanted coverage of the labor movement in U.S. history textbooks is a problem that dates back at

least to the New Deal era (Albert Shanker Institute, 2012, p.30). The struggles during the labor movement in gaining these rights are omitted from the text books. The Albert Shanker Institute suggest (2012), these omissions are purposely done in order to rob the labor movement its ability to spawn potential labor movement in the 21st century (p.31). After the Second World War, the business community continued to devote significant resources to the development and promotion of a high school social studies curriculum that promoted its vision of society and its perspective on U.S. history (Albert Shanker Institute, 2012, p.31). The article goes further discussed that the public's perception of unions would be positive if the omissions in the history books did not exist. As the right to work laws are being introduced, the Albert Shanker Institute (2012) suggest that if the public truly understood what the labor movement meant then these laws would never have been introduced in the first place (p.33). The true focus of the article is the importance of Americans understanding the labor movement and how the labor movement had in many ways benefited individuals within the American society.

### **Searching for Solutions**

The Teamsters has not made any significant changes in trying to organize new members (Johnson, 2006, p.20). The Teamsters deal primarily with the transportation and warehousing businesses. The teamsters union has seen a decline in membership, despite the fact that there has been an increase in the number of jobs both the transportation and warehousing market. Despite the increase in jobs in the private sector, the Teamsters have not adopted any plans as far as



## UNIONISM, GLOBALIZATION, AND DIVERSITY

25

increasing membership. Given that a key tenet of the Change to Win program is building power by organizing in “core industries,” the IBT’s lackluster organizing record in trucking is especially worrisome (Johnson, 2006, p.21). Teamsters has been busy absorbing smaller unions, but has not formulated a plan in order to expand membership. Dwindling membership is not the problem, the problem with the teamsters is that they are not exploring the idea of change in order to expand membership in conjunction with the growth within the transportation and warehousing industry. Johnson points out that this is a crucial factor not being addressed by the Teamsters, considering the fact that management has been consistent in trying to reduce union membership or openly discouraged those who want to join the union by conjuring images of the Teamsters their previous ties to organized crime.

Ian Greer (2006) was a very big supporter of the idea of consolidating union power in order to deal with globalization (p.1). Organizations such as the AFL-CIO or the International Brotherhood of Teamsters would be able to effectively pool their entire resources into a behemoth of a union. The idea of combining resources in order to donate money to political campaigns, in the hope the candidate wins and helps pass legislation that is beneficial to the unions. The unions’ membership numbers are declining within the changing landscape of labor. The 'failure of organizing' was common to both Change to Win and AFL-CIO affiliates, as Richard Hurd pointed out in his analysis of union density data since the late 1980’s (Greer, 2006, p.3). The fact that unions no longer have had difficulty in organizing is the reasoning that Ian Greer believes it is necessary for the unions to pool their resources in order to combine their

numbers into one union (Greer, 2006, p.4). This would be accomplished by uniting under one roof and consolidating resources. Ian Greer offers no clear idea of how any of the organizations would be able to organize such a diverse group laborers. Nor does he give an example what the mission statement of the combined union would be in to motivate the rank and file.

### **The Labor Movement**

In 1952 there were 470 separate strikes involving 1,000 or more workers. All told, nearly 3 million people—600,000 steelworkers alone—struck their jobs that year. But sixty years later, in 2012, there were only nineteen such strikes, involving a total of just 148,000 workers (Fraser, 2014, p49). The one day strike carried out by the workers in McDonald's was able to bring up the issue of working conditions and wages for the fast food employee. The service industry is not unionized. Organizations such as the Service Employee International (SEIU) and United Ford and Commercial Workers (UFCW) unions have actively found ways in which to give support to such organizations and are seeking alternative methods in which to include these groups into their membership. The SEIU and UFCW have focused their efforts in unionizing workers in the service industry. Furthermore it has become apparent as the jobs disappear in the manufacturing industry the ability to strike has disappeared with these jobs. Strikes against a single McDonald's or Wal-Mart store are not as effective as a national strike against the entire chain of stores. A national strike would have to be a coordinated affair, because the one-day strikes only brings particular issues confronted by employees to that particular store within the

## UNIONISM, GLOBALIZATION, AND DIVERSITY

27

national chain. SEIU and UFCW are aware that strikes on a large level are clearly a thing of the past and such jobs that would require a strike no longer exist. Organizers and labor historians agree that the simultaneous decline in the frequency of strikes and the overall strength and membership of the American labor movement is not a coincidence (Fraser, 2014, p.49).

Corporations are more concerned with grassroots networks than they are with conventional labor unions. The question is: can worker centers escape the fate of other, similarly situated groups targeted by corporate smear campaigns (Fang, 2014, p.31). Large corporations, particularly the retail sector, wield a powerful anti-machine consisting of lobbyists and consultants. The lobbyist and consultant have a well thought out game plan in dealing with traditional unions. The plan has worked up a point, but the article clearly points out that worker centers and smaller labor organizations have caused quite a bit of concern within the large retail chains as far as the potential growth of these organizations. Kefauver's alarm at the rise of worker centers, which he has repeated in talks with the US Chamber of Commerce and other business trade groups, isn't simply bluster (Fang, 2014, p.31). The grassroots networks draw strength from the fact that they are community based, therefore able to draw upon any number of resources within a particular neighborhood. The other problem these movements present to the corporation is the fact that it is the workers or laborers that participate in these organizations, have the support of their communities. Adding to the difficulties in dealing with the organizations is the fact that unions have found ways to fund these organizations. Fine, worker centers might prove to be more nimble than unions or ACORN given their diverse funding base,

which includes foundations, labor unions and, in some cases, worker contributions (Fang, 2014, p.33). Wal-Mart workers have taken the non-union route in advocating for basic workplace rights and hourly pay above the minimum wage. Organizing in the traditional manner would only lead to the defeat of any attempt at organizing, as Wal-Mart is known for closing stores that have attempted to organize. Wal-Mart has aggressively battled organizing drives at its stores — it even closed a Canadian store after its workers voted to unionize (Greenhouse, 2012,). Greenhouse (2012) continues by noting that although Wal-Mart has been able to deal with traditional unions, it has had a difficult time dealing with grassroots organizations such as the United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW).

Traditional unions have provided financial support to grassroots organizations such as OUR Wal-Mart in order to provide support in their efforts to organize. These grassroots organizations have been trying to utilize federal laws to protect workers in their bid to become organized workers within the Wal-Mart retail chain. Despite the funding, employees still face many difficulties in organizing and must face an organized effort by Wal-Mart in intimidating their employees from organizing. Mr. Schlademan acknowledged that it was hard to get a majority of workers at a particular Wal-Mart store to vote in support of a union (Greenhouse, 2012). This has made it necessary for the employees to use non-traditional methods in organizing and advocating for various rights from the large retail chain.

The Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) strike utilized new tactics which were originally born

from the old ones in revitalizing the labor movement which included their members, the community, and the grass roots movements. By actively recruiting all these groups, the CTU was able to stage a successful strike against the city of Chicago by creating a coalition between the teachers, activists, and community leaders by finding a common message. This allowed all three the ability to address issues that concerned everyone involved. Under new and more activist leadership, the CTU also provided a much-needed demonstration of the powerful synergy between union reform, internal democracy, workplace militancy, and effective community organizing (Early, 2014, p.26).

Laws passed have favored the employer, and at the same time have made it difficult for the worker to use the strike or civil unrest as an effective tool in which to send their displeasure to management in regards to working conditions or pay. The ability to strike has been hampered by the corporation's ability to make it difficult for workers organize into a union in the first place. The late 19th and early 20th centuries saw fierce confrontation over the economic future of the nation. Workers had no protected right to organize, and employers were not compelled to recognize unions (Phillips-Fein, 2015, p.91). The media has been covering the labor movement, which has aided smaller groups and activists in spreading the word of the situations confronting the workers struggles in the labor market. The concept of feudalism has survived to become an agrarian system, the industrial revolution, capitalism, and now in the 21st century globalization. Socialism is not a new term, although demonized in American society, when the discussion the redistribution of wealth. The social movements, over a century ago included minorities and

women, but they groups weren't able to take advantage of the social mobility unions had to offer to its immigrant members during this period of time. The workers were able to rely on unions to bargain for many of the same basic rights that the social movements that lead to the creation of the middle class. As the 21st century approached unions were no longer needed as corporations such as Wal-Mart only needed to hire cheap labor. Retail and service companies (such as Wal-Mart) built their economic plans around cheap prices, made possible by easy access to low wage, nonunion labor both in the stores and at suppliers (Phillip-Fein, 2015, p. 93). The mission of the unions reaching out to these groups is difficult at best, since the unions have to deal with the corporate messaging and a non-existent relationship with these minority groups.

Phillips-Fein (214) drives home the point that unions are the cause of their own possible extinction and not globalization (p.93).

### **Chapter 3: Methodology**

The fields of psychology, social science, and history offer the foundation in researching the topic of the declining numbers within union. History assists in finding a correlation between the laborer and those who profit from it. The basic system of profit never changed, only the definition. The one term that never changed was class. What also did not change was the worker always wanting true compensation for their labor. Peasants, slaves, workers, and laborers are the descriptive words of those who worked for the feudalism, bourgeois, industrialist, capitalist, and now the transnational corporation. Revolutions were the beginnings of socialism, which in turn gave birth to the unions. Imperialism and colonialism are in the history books, but

now reborn in the form of globalism.

Workers are losing their jobs and the unions are in decline. The basic question of whether unions will eventually disappear in within the American society caused formulation of the sub-questions to answer the basic question itself. Using the terms globalization, feudalism, socialism, industrialist, capitalist, peasant, slave, worker, and laborer allows for a wealth of terms in which one can search for articles and research papers. The terms can be mixed and matched for various results after the initial query. Similarity in the terms does not change the fact that each term came from a different period of time. The balance between labor and management has not changed, but the times and working conditions did. Understanding of the period of time in which these terms were used is important in drawing the possible correlation in regards to the situation confronting labor and management of the 21st century. The next step is then asking the questions in regards to the declining numbers within the union.

### **The Questions**

1) What problem do unions face in attempting to organize workers in industries other than manufacturing? Do the difficulties in organizing stem from the opinions of union from mass media or the stories of the unions violent past?

Imperialism was the subject that led to the exploitation of the workers abroad, which in turn led to various labor movements within the home countries and the countries being exploited. The search for articles that compared the imperialism and colonialism to globalism netted no significant data or research. Drawing parallels between cheap labor and slavery to the workers

being exploited overseas would enable an analogy to be formed as far as the colonization and globalization. The search for articles that discussed how the corporations attempted to avoid unions by seeking out cheap labor overseas was the next step. The belief that the declining number of union members may have been because of the number of jobs leaving the U.S. borders.

The industrial age effectively ended slavery as machines replaced the workers. The similarities between the industrial age and the introduction of technology today are similar in the aspect that a large number of laborers are not necessary in producing a product. The violence of the laborers uprising has been well documented in the early days of the unions, but today's labor movements have not had any such occurrences. Most information in regards to unions during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century discussed the violence between those that wanted to organize and the companies who hired strikebreakers to physically suppress such movement.

It was becoming apparent that the history of unions was consistently being tied to violence. This was not the reason for the declining numbers, nor was this a reason the unions were not able to recruit new members. The need for polling data in regards to the perception of unions was needed in order to better understand of the declining numbers was due to a negative attitude towards unions. Part of the sub-question was answered, but not the question of declining membership. Researching articles pertaining to unions and the attitudes Americans had towards the unions. A quantitative approach was needed in looking for polling numbers to understand the opinions of Americans toward unions over the last 50 years, but there weren't too many



articles covering this subject. Not too many polls concerning the attitudes towards unions existed. A qualitative approach would be better approach in researching this subject. The discussion of manufacturing leaving the United States for countries like India, China, and Mexico netted fifty articles. Finding articles in regards which types of industries specifically relocated from the United States for foreign countries in order to use cheaper labor were one of the avenues pursued in researching for pertinent information. The one underlying fact as far as manufacturing is the fact technology replaced a number of unionized jobs. Today's technology can be compared to yesterday's industrialization when considering that machines replaced the slaves; today's technology indeed replaced some manufacturing job, but significant data was needed in regards to technology being one of the causes for declining union membership.

The search for articles written about the Teamsters and the AFL-CIO, since they are the two most well-known and largest unions, is a logical approach in regards to searching for articles for declining membership and the plans both unions may have in changing this trend. Both unions coincidentally have declining membership. In regards to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, not too much information was available except for the strike in 1997 and their violent past with Jimmy Hoffa as their president. Only one article discussed the declining membership of the Teamsters under James Hoffa, Jr. With so few articles in regards to the Teamsters, it became apparent the Teamsters were not active in recruiting new members.

The term work center was the one new term that continuously was returned after each several queries into the retail and service industries relationship with unions. Work centers particularly

assisted new immigrants in their fight against exploitation.

2) Do unions truly reflect in key positions the diversity of the workforce in today's America?

Will the union ever reflect in key positions the true diversity of America? Can present leadership understand the vast differences that exist and bridge the gap of those differences in order to increase membership and teach true acceptance amongst its members beyond the rhetoric of unity? Then take the next step in finding the common core amongst all these members in driving home the message of acceptance, unity, and then union?

Very few articles that discussed minorities and unions were found after searching the databases of offered by Thomas Edison State College, ProQuest, and EBSCO. Articles pertaining to women and unions produced not significant papers or articles covering this issue. Most articles covered sexism in the workplace as well as feminism. The term African American produced a scant number of articles and research papers. The articles both discussed the fact that unions did not represent both women and minorities as members. I realized this was a subject not written about in detail, let alone researched by too many individuals. This was a gap in research that needs to be pursued, since the queries did not produce any articles or research papers on this very subject.

The lack of articles or research concerning minorities and women pointed to the fact the only articles that were to be found in regards to the unions recruiting techniques, during the late 19th and early 20th century would only highlight the fact unions in their early years had already started to become an inclusive entity. Even during the Civil Rights Era, membership began to

decline, no articles of any significance was written about unions during this period of time other than the ones concerning Jimmy Hoffa and Bobby Kenney.

Queries terms about activism and unions netted results in regards to the Occupy Wall Street Movement. A wealth of articles was available connecting the Occupy Wall Street Movement to the unions and socialism. These articles discussed the theories of socialism versus capitalism. Articles were then found that discussed the Occupy Wall Street Movement and the Chicago Teachers Strike. There were several articles that were written about the Chicago teachers strike and the methods used in launching a successful strike. Several articles discussed how the Chicago Teachers Strike effectively laid out a blueprint in how to mobilize its members. The Chicago Teachers Strike gave new direction in which to conduct research. Instead of researching how conventional unions should rebuild its membership, the new labor movement was taking shape in the form of work centers and activism; the Chicago Teachers Strike and all involved provided a wealth of terms in which one could continue to research in understanding unions and the labor movement. New methods of organizing were taking place through the OUR Wal-Mart campaigns. The OUR Wal-Mart movement has recently had several articles appearing in prominent newspaper and not just labor movement blogs. In reading about the OUR Wal-Mart campaigns, one can then discover information about the one day strikes against McDonald's for the \$15 minimum wage.

3) As technology advances the complex organizations towards record profits, how can the union translate this information and put it into a form in which they can successfully brief their

members as to how these same corporations are active in their goal of dismantling the union through the use of the very same technology. Then take this message and explain that in many ways the term globalization is no different than colonization and imperialism.

In researching technology, it became apparent that technology was not the cause of the unions declining membership. The terms colonization and imperialism returned results referring to the new immigrant. The new immigrant as a term netted dozens of articles when a query was submitted into databases. New immigrants and unions did not net any good sources of information as did new immigrants and organizing. Organizing, immigrants, and labor movement were terms that netted excellent information in regards to the new immigrants and the concept of unionizing.

A new type of union is in its earliest stages as activist, the new immigrants, and work centers were already at work in finding new ways of organizing. The labor movement has always existed, but the traditional unions that work in the transportation and manufacturing industry is in the decline. The decline can be equated the end of the guilds during the 16<sup>th</sup> century. These two traditional unions, Teamsters and AFL-CIO, would not be able to absorb these types of workers as the work in a totally different industry. Next were searches into the types of tactics these unions used in organizing immigrants, women, and at times the African Americans. No articles in regards to tactics or efforts in organizing minorities, new immigrants, or women were found.

### **Chapter 4: Results**

Unions have been facing the dilemma of decreasing membership since the 1960's. With the

onset of globalization corporations have been able to shift manufacturing jobs overseas thus leading to the perception unions are no longer needed in the United States shifts to a more service oriented workforce. The question still exist that is if manual labor still exists, who is still doing the work and why are they not organized; are these individuals aware of the concept of unionism? The reason for the decline in the numbers has been blamed on new technologies that displaced workers. Globalization is another factor blamed for the decline in numbers as transnational companies have moved their operations to countries such as Mexico. The lack of knowledge within the unions in regards to immigrants has led to the divide which unions have tried to bridge the communication gap. Work centers and the University of California Los Angeles have already reached out to immigrants, women, and minorities in the form of organizing and classes. These efforts in educating and organizing have contributed the efforts of the labor movement in its effort in empowering the worker.

### **Minorities**

During the late 1890's blacks and white organized in the city of Richmond, Virginia in order to settle a dispute with the city that was in the process of outsourcing labor for an important city project. This civil display of unity was a clear example that whites and black can work together for a common cause. They were able to involve the community in organizing boycotts to for the city to sit down and meet their demands. This civil display of unity showed that whites and blacks share the same core values of community, family, and work in which any differences that may have existed did not prevent them from organizing into an effective group in forcing the city

of Richmond to the negotiating table.

Universities such the University of California Los Angeles has taken steps in creating classes that specifically are designed for African Americans, Women, LGBT, Asians, and Latinos. They have designed classes that teach these members how to be involved with their communities and in organizing. These classes enable these groups to be more involved in the union, something they were not able to do previously with the traditional unions. The classes also allow these individuals the opportunity to educate them and to be empowered as laborers. Immigrants, particularly, are able to take advantage of these classes to both educate and organize themselves. The university is attempting to fill a gap that was left by the traditional unions since their initial movements over 100 hundred years ago. Unions spend more time using old style formulas and statisticians in figuring out how more effectively organize. Unions still rely on laws and politicians in order to gain the necessary support in order to still have a strong voice in policy. The loss of influence with politicians and laws that have passed that are not favorable to unions have weakened the unions. The Chicago Teachers Union strike in contrast developed a more effective strategy in organizing that has not been used since the earlier years of the unions; they involved their members in the process of civil protest. By working with community leaders, work centers, and advocates the Chicago Teachers Strike was able to show stage a successful strike. The Chicago Teachers Strike was able to mesh a diverse group of individuals and organizations into a single entity with one purpose that all involved shared.

### **The Unorganized**

A significant number of individuals work for cash and do not pay taxes. This is a disadvantage as far as organizing. The efforts of attempting to organize these individuals into unions only have proven difficult as they do not work for any single employer in which unions could bargain collectively. There are laws that do protect the workers' rights, but at the same time they are in jeopardy as they are often illegal immigrants. The type labor these workers perform is difficult to organize as the work done within a few days time, and the location in which the work is performed often changes. In dealing with case, these individuals are not considered employees, but rather contractors. These combined factors make the prospect of organizing laborers into the unions difficult. Work centers are often better equipped to deal with these individuals as they often work and live in the same communities as the work centers. This is an advantage to the work center that the unions are not able to enjoy themselves. Work centers are in a situation in which they can better navigate the labor laws in offering effective services to the immigrant laborer compared to the union.

Formal unions did not spend the necessary time in organizing, recruiting, and addressing the issues confronted by their members from urban centers; minorities. The formal unions also did not recognize the potential in growing their membership by addressing both addressing and understanding the issues that confronted the Latin American segment of laborers. Latin Americans turned to work centers and various independent organizations to address their needs as laborers. Latin Americans understood the how important these organizations were in improving their lives. Traditional unions realize the potential these groups hold in growing their

membership, but do not have the resources or a plan in which to bring these individuals into their ranks as unionized members. The AFL-CIO recently has become aware of the idea of working closer with smaller organizations and work centers in growing membership. Unions are becoming aware of the fact that there is no power in negotiating, if the membership continues to decline. Progressive labor movements have gotten the attention of the AFL-CIO and SEIU, but the International Brotherhood of Teamsters is one of the larger unions that have not reached out to these same communities in an effort to grow membership. Work centers overall have been more successful in organizing than traditional unions.

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters had been losing members although there has been significant growth in the transportation industry. James Hoffa has not made any significant efforts in trying to increase membership. The Teamsters have absorbed smaller unions, but this has not lead to increased membership. In contrast, the AFL-CIO has increased its membership despite the splitting of their union. The workers from the Republic Windows has shown that immigrant workers are not adverse to the idea of striking for the rights despite their status, further that they along with other minorities, African Americans, were willing stage a civil protest in order to advocate for their rights. The immigrant worker works for a pay rate well below the native worker, have a lack of benefits, and live with the concern of their immigrant status. These factors have not deterred the immigrant worker from organizing and seeking assistance from the work center in taking advantage of the labor laws despite the immigrant status. The immigrant laborer does have a more positive attitude towards unions than the typical



American as they come from countries in which the unions are popular amongst its citizens.

The ability to organize the immigrant is often easier than the American.

### **Displaced workers**

Workers from countries such as Mexico are very aware of the concept of unionism and victims of the de-unionization efforts made by their government. The Mexican government has been breaking up unions in order to make Mexico more attractive the other transnational organizations that actively seek countries that do not have unions. The unions once a force in Mexico has slowly been dismantled by the privatization of governmental agencies. Once privatized, the transnational corporation settles into certain areas and hire the local residents are a fraction of what they once made. These workers are forced to migrate to the United States to earn a living and send the earnings back to Mexico in the form of remittance. These workers enter the United States with the understanding of what unions mean for them personally and the devastation that follows once unions are broken up. They in turn do not have a fear of organizing and have joined work centers despite the immigration status. Unions have not bridged the gap between these members and their organizations. The unions are not diversified and have not organized themselves into an organization that can understand these laborers. The recent history of unions is one of exclusions to the point unions once supported anti-immigration laws.

Unions once welcomed “white” immigrants into their ranks but were not as open to accepting Asians, Latinos, and African Americans members. These are the core members that would have

made up the core membership of the 21<sup>st</sup> century unions, as these individuals are the majority of workers in the service industry. The union's claim diversity, but the leadership has not been able to deal with Asians, African Americans, Women, and Latinos in a manner in which they can shed the perception of being an organization that only takes care of its white membership. The traditional unions still haven't found a way in which to pool their resources in finding a way in which to increase their numbers or have a better understanding of the diversified workforce.

### **Unknown history**

History books have neglected to mention how the unions and the labor movement of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century are directly responsible for the eight hour day, children leaving the workforce and attending school, and the passage of workplace safety laws. These are some of the rights enjoyed by the laborers in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century. The history books do not speak directly of how these rights did not exist in the early 19<sup>th</sup> to the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. The labor movements in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century are not presently studied as part of the U.S. history. This has caused a lack of knowledge or understanding of unions and what they mean for the average individual. This is one of the main problems facing unions as they are having great difficulty in organizing new members who are unfamiliar with the function of the union. The main tool that unions often were able to use, one organized, no longer can use the strike as a tool in bargaining for the rights of individuals as it once did in the past. The new jobs in the service industry make it difficult to both organize and stage a strike if necessary in bargaining over certain issues. The service industry is an altogether different industry compared to the manufacturing industry. The union

in the past was able to strike in specific areas that would in turn affect an entire company. The service industry in contrast is made up of a chain of self-sufficient stores. A one-day strike only affects a single store and not the operation as a whole. The entire machine known as the corporation is not affected, unless well-organized national strikes were held against a specific company.

### **Technology**

The markets and laws have had the most effect on the declining membership within unions compared to technology. Technology itself is not something new as workers have always been eventually replaced by the modernization of factories. Unions not being to adapt to the new laws and their over reliance on laws have led to their declining numbers. Unions have spent more time supporting candidates and advocating of laws that are favorable to unions, than in organizing efforts. In countries such as The United States, Japan, and Canada, that are considered “liberal market economies”, it is no coincidence that the memberships within these unions have declined.

Furthermore, unions have not taken a different approach in increasing their membership in the 21st century. There is no direct correlation between technology and the decline of union membership. Unions have not increased membership, because they have not spent a significant time in organizing a membership drive. The labor movements themselves have grown in numbers, but none of these movements have led to any real success in organizing into unions. The unions have not seized upon the Occupy Wall Street movement in adding to their ranks or

having a voice within the movement itself. The labor movement has grown, because of the efforts of grassroots organizations and work centers. Unions have not been directly involved except for infusing cash into these movements.

### **Conclusion**

The declining numbers of the unions are for various reasons. The research shows that unions did not take the necessary steps in organizing the necessary members in order to be better prepared for the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The unions over reliance on laws and politicians have made them vulnerable at a time in which corporations are actively moving to countries that are becoming anti-union and in turn, the displaced workers are migrating to the United States. The unions did not have a plan in place in which to service their African Americans, Latinos, Asians, and Women members. Unions did not better understand the situation that caused the immigrant worker to migrate to the United States. The union further did not understand that the immigrant worker is a laborer that is predisposed to the idea of unionism. The Chicago Teachers Strike, work centers, and grassroots organizations have found effective way in with to deal with the situations of the 21<sup>st</sup> century worker. The traditional union has not, and this is a contributing factor in their inability to organize and gain new members.

## **Chapter 5: Summary and Discussion**

### **Introduction**

Peasants, slaves, workers, and now the laborer have always wanted compensation for their

## UNIONISM, GLOBALIZATION, AND DIVERSITY

45

labors. The feudalist, bourgeois, industrialist, capitalist, and now the transnational corporation have consistently exploited labor in order to maximize profits. The beginnings of socialism started with revolutions, which in turn gave birth to unions. During the early 1930's to late 1950's nearly one in four workers belonged to a union. Membership within unions began to decline in the 1960's. Unions have been facing the dilemma of decreasing membership and the rising profits of the companies in which their membership is employed. The reason for the decline in the numbers has been blamed on new technologies that displace workers. With the onset of globalization corporations have been able to shift manufacturing overseas thus leading to the perception that unions are no longer needed in the United States. Transnational corporations continue to move their operations to countries like Mexico that have systematically dismantled the unions that exist inside their borders.

The new immigrant has faced backlash from unions and their members for taking jobs from their members. Unions failed to realize the service industry has been growing in retrospect to the declining manufacturing sector of the United States job market. This has led to the difficulties faced by unions in organizing in the service industries and more importantly recruiting new immigrant. Work center have taken up the slack left by traditional unions in informing and organizing the new immigrants into groups that have shown the willingness to organize, but their status as immigrants does not allow to enjoy the same rights as the citizens of the United States in organizing. The divide which unions have to presently deal with in regards to immigrants was caused by their own lack of knowledge about immigrants.

Minorities, such as Latinos, Asians, and African Americans, and women were another group that was left behind as unions concentrated on a specific group of members in order to maintain its membership. Like the new immigrants, unions disregarded these minorities and did not understand the importance of their support in maintaining their membership. As the 21st century has welcomed the transnational corporation, unions are quickly realizing new methods are needed to stem the declining membership within the ranks. If an answer is not formulated and implemented, then unions will eventually become a memory as the trade guilds have from centuries past.

### **Statement of Problem**

The resources for the resurgence of the union are available, people. The problem is finding those

Individuals who are motivated rebuilding the union, thirst for knowledge, and are willing to strive for all the basic benefits unionism offers. The problem faced by unions is they are having not shown the ability to find or support these types these individuals.

### **Sub questions**

1) What problem do unions face in attempting to organize workers in the industries other than manufacturing? Do the difficulties in organizing stem from the opinions of union from mass media or the stories of the unions violent past?

## UNIONISM, GLOBALIZATION, AND DIVERSITY

47

2) Do unions truly reflect in key positions the diversity of the workforce in today's America?

Will the union ever reflect in key positions the true diversity of America? Can present leadership understand the vast differences that exist and bridge the gap of those differences in order to increase membership and teach true acceptance amongst its members beyond the rhetoric of unity? Then take the next step in finding the common core amongst all these members in driving home the message of acceptance, unity, and then union?

3) Can unions find the common core of ideals in which all individuals can realize that they have a shared history and all want fair compensation for their work? Digesting such information is a huge undertaking, but is the union willing to invest the time and resources in redefining the concept of unionism to fit the true meaning of diversity? Are unions willing to accept the fact that technology has changed the approach corporations use in communicating with the workforce? Is the union willing to adapt in order to survive?

4) As technology advances the complex organizations towards record profits, how can the union translate this information and put it into a form in which they can successfully brief their members as to how these same corporations are active in their goal of dismantling the union through the use of the very same technology? Can the union take the negative image of unionism and explain to the American society that unions have been the answer to such

globalization?

### **Methodology**

The fields of psychology, social science, and history offer the foundation in researching the topic of the declining numbers within union. History assists in finding a correlation between the laborer and those who profit from it. The basic system of profit never changed, only the definition. The one term that never changed was class. What also did not change was the worker always wanting true compensation for their labor. Peasants, slaves, workers, and laborers are the descriptive words of those who worked for the feudalist, bourgeois, industrialist, capitalist, and now the transnational corporation. Revolutions were the beginnings of socialism, which in turn gave birth to the unions.

Imperialism and colonialism are in the history books, but now reborn in the form of globalism. Workers are losing their jobs and the unions are in decline. The basic question of whether unions will eventually disappear in within the American society caused formulation of the sub-questions to answer the basic question itself. Using the terms globalization, feudalism, socialism, industrialist, capitalist, peasant, slave, worker, and laborer allows for a wealth of terms in which one can search for articles and research papers. The terms can be mixed and matched for various results after the initial query. Similarity in the terms does not change the fact that each term came from a different period of time. The balance between labor and management has not changed, but the times and working conditions did. Understanding of the period of time in which these terms were used is important in drawing the possible correlation in regards to the



situation confronting labor and management of the 21st century.

### **Summary of Results**

#### **Minorities and the Union**

During the late 1890's blacks and white organized in the city of, in order to settle a dispute with the city that was in the process of outsourcing labor for an important city project. This civil display of unity was a clear example that whites and black can work together for a common cause. They were able to involve the community in organizing boycotts to for the city to sit down and meet their demands. This civil display of unity showed that whites and blacks share the same core values of community, family, and work in which any differences that may have existed did not prevent them from organizing into an effective group in forcing the city to the negotiating table.

UCLA has created classes specifically designed to educate African Americans, Women, LGBT, Asians, and Latinos in being effective union members, being actively involved in their communities, and how to organize. These classes effectively filled the gap left by the traditional labor union in enabling these individuals to be more active in the labor movement. The new immigrants, particularly, were to take advantage of these classes to both educate and organize themselves. Traditional unions neglected the resource known as people in order to pursue an

agenda of laws and developing relationships with politicians. The Chicago Teachers Union strike proved that effective strategy in organizing, as the ones used early years of the unions, could still be an effective form of civil protest while at the same time gaining support from activist, community leaders, and at the same time involving their members.

### **The New Immigrant**

Organizing individuals that work for cash has proven difficult. The difficulties are multiplied by the fact that the new immigrant does not work for any single employer. The traditional unions do have an effective plan in which to communicate or organize the new immigrant. The system does not exist, because the union initially was opposed to the new immigrant, as the initial impression was that the new immigrant was responsible for taking unions jobs from union members. Unions did not realize that the type of labor the new immigrants perform was difficult to organize as the work performed usually lasted only a few days and the location in which the work is performed often changed locations. Individuals are not considered employees, but rather contractors. Work centers were better equipped to navigate specific labor laws in offering effective services to the new immigrant laborers compared to the traditional union.

Traditional unions did not spend the necessary time in organizing, recruiting, and addressing

the issues confronting minorities. The traditional unions also did not recognize the potential in growing their membership by addressing and understanding the issues confronting Latin American laborers. In understanding how important these organizations were in their lives, Latin Americans turned to work centers and various independent organizations to address their needs as laborers. The AFL-CIO recently has become aware of the idea of working closer with smaller organizations and work centers in growing membership. Progressive labor movements have gotten the attention of the AFL-CIO and SEIU, but the International Brotherhood of Teamsters is one of the larger unions that have not reached out to the Latin American community in the effort to grow membership. Work centers overall have been more successful in organizing than traditional unions.

### **The Labor Movement in U.S. History**

History books have neglected to mention how the unions and the labor movement of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century are directly responsible for the eight hour day, children leaving the workforce and attending school, and the passage of workplace safety laws. This has caused a lack of knowledge or understanding of unions and what they mean for the average individual. The union in the past was able to strike as a bargaining tool in addressing issues specific issues. The understanding of the history of the formation of unions and the reasoning behind their formation

would enable Americans the ability to better understand the function of unions.

### **Technology and its influence on labor**

The markets and laws have had the most effect on the declining membership within unions compared to technology. Technology itself is not something new, as workers have always been eventually replaced by the modernization of factories. Unions have spent more time supporting candidates and advocating of laws that are favorable to unions, than in organizing efforts.

Furthermore, unions have not taken a different approach in increasing their membership in the 21st century. The unions have not seized upon the Occupy Wall Street movement in adding to their ranks or having a voice within the movement itself. The labor movement has grown, because of the efforts of grassroots organizations and work centers. Unions have not been directly involved except for infusing cash into these movements.

## **Discussion of Results**

### **Diversity and Migrants**

The reasoning in researching the declining membership within unions was that unions lacked the diversity to inspire a true membership drive. The fact that union, being concerned with their base constituency, never addressed the issues concerning African Americans, Women, Latinos, Asians, or the new immigrant. Minorities and women have always been part of the union, but

never had anywhere else to go in addressing their issues. Labor classes offered by UCLA offered Asians, Latinos, African Americans, women, and immigrants the ability to have a larger voice, not only in the labor movement, but also within the unions themselves. The traditional union needs to follow a new method in organizing, because the conventional methods used by unions have always ignored minorities, women, and immigrants. This has led these groups to develop the attitude that they don't necessarily need the unions as they have discovered new ways in which to organize themselves into cohesive groups heading into the 21st century.

The migrants from countries such as El Salvador and Mexico understand the concept of unions and would readily join them if they did not have to worry about their immigration status. The countries that once were strong before the transnational corporations entered their countries. The immigrant entering America understood the concept of unionism and the power it holds with the support of the community. Upon entering the country, immigrants noticed that the laws in America do not favor the union or the laborers. In many ways, the migrant has a better understanding of what the union can do for individuals independently and as a group, but at the same time they understand what can be lost collectively when unions become weak. These individuals then migrate to the United States looking for work and in order to send a remittance to their family members in their home country. These laborers enter fields they held in their

home countries at a reduced wage. Mexicans in particular are open to the idea of the union and are not adverse to the very fact of pushing for their rights as individuals. Not only do Americans now understand the ramifications of the North American Trade Agreement (NAFTA) but Central Americans are examples of how corporations are taking advantage of globalization by reducing the status of the typical labor and putting a stranglehold on unions.

The unions are not equipped to deal with the new immigrant as effectively as the work centers or advocacy groups. This issue brings to light the disconnection between unions and the immigrant community as a whole. This contingent of workers has been ignored over the years by the unions as they almost exclusively dealt with the issues of their constituency and did not change with the times as did the corporations and diversity of the labor force in America. Their situation is made even more complicated by the fact that they work for cash and are considered not considered full time employees.

### **The Ill Equipped Union**

Conventional unions do not have the type or organization to reach out and recruit the day laborers, which consist mostly of new immigrants. Unions need to connect with work centers and the communities that serve the new immigrant if they are to have any chance of growing their membership. Conventional means were not used by smaller unions and work centers in

organizing the day laborers. Conventional means of organizing immigrant day laborers must take a back seat to unconventional methods today's unions are to recruit the immigrant day laborers into their ranks.

The immigrant workers have no fear of organizing. The sit-in at the Republic Window company showed that both African and Central Americans could come together for a common cause. The workers from Central America organized, despite their legal status, to protest the moving of their factory and the inevitable loss of jobs. Unions need to recognize the fact that both African Americans and Latinos, who come from Central American countries in which unions are being systematically torn apart by their governments, are a large contingent of recruit able individuals that will work together for a common economic and social cause. Unions need to understand that work groups, within these immigrant communities, are willing to bridge the gap between unions and the migrant laborer.

During its 2009 convention, the AFL-CIO recognized the fact that a change was needed in order for the union to both survive and add to their existing membership. Before the convention, the leadership had been hopeful that The Employee Free Choice Act would pass both houses and be signed into law by President Obama. The Employee Free Choice Act itself would have made it easier for individuals to organize and form a union. After the Employee Free Choice Act did

not pass under President Obama, the AFL-CIO leadership realized new tactics were needed in gaining new members. The AFL-CIO, during the convention, recognized the importance of the grassroots approach toward increasing its membership. Not all the members were in support of such measures as targeting immigrants. The referendum nonetheless passed during the convention; AFL-CIO as an organization was aware that such a referendum was necessary to increase their density within the United States.

### **Law and Politicians**

In relying in the support of the legal system and politicians, the unions have forgotten how to utilize the grassroots movements in mobilizing their membership into action. Because their reliance on politicians and law, unions have found themselves in a precarious situation of having to rely solely on these institutions as they have lost their way and more importantly forgotten the methods used by unions in establishing themselves as an organization that represented the laborer. The laws no longer favor unions and money has become a major part of the political scene. Unions can no longer match the donations of the large corporation in the political arena. The argument is made that if unions return to the style of campaigning that made the unions a force in politics in the first place is the one option that should be explored if unions are to make a comeback. Unions can use the grassroots movement in registering voters to gain the attention of



the politician. Political contributions and not the ability to mobilize its members were used to gain sending messages to politicians that the union has power and influence. Money is not the way in which the union should flex its muscle. Mobilizing is the best way to for the unions to get their members involved in the process and a very effective way to send a message to politicians. The split between the AFL- CIO with the organization called, “Change to Win” is an example of the conflict within unions as far as what direction the union should take in regaining its former strength. Within the AFL-CIO, members were split in their opinions on whether to return to the grassroots style of organization, especially in recruiting immigrants, while other still preferred the conventional style of running a union. Change to Win wanted to focus primarily on building membership through working with various smaller organizations. The Chicago Teachers Union provided the blueprint unions should utilize in staging any type of protest. Changes within the unions may be necessary before unions are able to formulate new strategies outside of relying on the Democratic Party and union consultants. To be effective unions must get the members involved.

### **Reorganizing**

The Teamsters deal primarily with the transportation and warehousing businesses. The

## UNIONISM, GLOBALIZATION, AND DIVERSITY

58

teamsters union has seen a decline in membership, despite the fact that there has been an increase in the number of jobs both the transportation and warehousing market. Despite the increase in jobs in the private sector, the Teamsters have not adopted any plans as far as increasing membership. Teamsters has been busy absorbing smaller unions, but not formulated a plan in order to expand membership. Dwindling membership is not the problem, the problem with the teamsters is that they are not exploring the idea of change in order to expand membership in conjunction with the growth within the transportation and warehousing industry. These images are decades old, yet the Teamsters had not done anything to recreate a positive image of itself as a union nor the inclination of changing its image going into the 21st century. Organizations such as the AFL-CIO or the International Brotherhood of Teamsters would be able to effectively pool their entire resources into a behemoth of a union. The idea of combining resources in order to donate money to political campaigns, in the hope the candidate wins and helps pass legislation that is beneficial to the unions. If the unions combined into one organization that was able to harness the power of hundreds of organizations, then very idea of one strong union having influence over both the politicians and labor movement is feasible, but it is extremely unlikely to happen.

### **The Service Industry**

The one-day strike carried out by the workers in McDonald's was able to get others involved on a small scale in bringing the issue of better conditions for the workers in the fast food industry. The service industry is not unionized, and at the same time, the exploitation of such workers is an accepted practice in society. Organizations such as the Service Employee International (SEIU) and United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) unions have actively found ways in which to give support to such civil displays of disobedience and minor organizations that actively seek alternative methods in addressing labor issues. Strikes were used primarily as an economic tool to bring the employer to the bargaining table, but the one-day strike can be just as effective if staged correctly in gaining national attention in improving working conditions and wages. Civil unrest in the 21st century needs to be peaceful and one that has support from the public. Strikes themselves are a thing of the past as courts often issue injunctions from such activities or the workers themselves are ill prepared for the economic repercussions of a strike.

The SEIU and UFCW have focused their efforts in unionizing workers in the service industry. Furthermore it has become apparent as the jobs disappear in the manufacturing industry the ability to strike has disappeared with these jobs. These strikes were effective, because the unions

were able to hold such strikes in crucial locations that would strike a critical blow to the manufacturer. Strikes are not as effective against McDonald's or Wal-Mart as they are national chains. A national strike would have to be a coordinated affair and one day strikes only bring the issue to that particular store within the national chain. A strike against a store truly does not affect the other stores or the corporation as a whole. SEIU and UFCW are aware that strikes on a large level are clearly outdated and such jobs that would require a strike no longer exist. The conventional union in many ways does not have a place in the 21st century. The laws in the laws in the 21st century clearly favor the corporation and any new movement must come from a large contingent of employees, work centers, community leaders, and activist, and politicians rather than any single effort by the traditional unions.

Corporations are more concerned with grassroots networks than they are with conventional labor unions. Large corporations, particularly the retails sector, weld a powerful anti-machine consisting of lobbyists and consultants. The lobbyist and consultant have a well thought out game plan in dealing with traditional unions. The plan has worked up a point, but the article clearly points out that work centers and smaller labor organizations have caused quite a bit of concern within the large retail chains as far as the potential growth of these organizations. The grassroots networks draw strength from the fact that they are community based, therefore able to

draw upon any number of resources within a particular neighborhood. The other problem these movements present to the corporation is the fact that it is the workers or laborers that participate in these organizations with the support of their communities. As the members are from the communities, getting the backing from communities in which these members are from is quite easy and the negative messages that the lobbyist and consultants portray about unions would not influence those within these communities. Adding to the difficulties in dealing with the organizations is the fact that unions have found ways to fund these organizations.

Traditional unions have provided financial support to grassroots organizations such as OUR Wal-Mart in order to provide support in their efforts to organize. These grassroots organizations have been trying to utilize federal laws to protect workers in their bid to become organized workers within the Wal-Mart retail chain. This has made it necessary for the employees to use non-traditional methods in organizing and advocating for various rights from the large retail chain.

### **Grassroots Movements**

The Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) strike utilized new tactics that were originally born from the old ones in revitalizing the labor movement which included their members, the community, and the grass roots movements. By actively recruiting all these groups, the CTU was able to

stage a successful in the city of Chicago. The Occupy Wall Street movement occurred after the collapse of Wall Street not able to seize the moment, even with the support of community and labor leaders, students, and activist. They as a groups were unable to create a single message in which all involved could rally under. The Chicago Teachers strike in contrast were able to seize upon the mood which engulfed the city of Chicago and created a coalition between the teachers, activist, and community leaders in expressing a message in which each all three were able to address issues that concerned everyone involved. The methods that were used by the Chicago teachers strike revitalized their union and their communities. The concept was not an old one, but one that had not been used since the earliest day of organizing. The CTU created a new blueprint in utilizing the grassroots style in running a union and recruiting new members.

Unfortunately, other unions are not seizing upon these movements, as they are reminiscent of the labor movements during the late 19th and early 20th century in which unions eventually were born. Labor unions rely too heavily on the same principles that they use for the last 100 years, which today is leading to their demise. Unions are not changing with the times. With the dwindling numbers, unions need to study the Chicago Teachers Strike and the Occupy Wall Street movement and learn what made these grassroots movement so successful. The possibility of reviving the idea of unionism by teaching students about the labor movement is one of the

many possibilities in reviving the labor movement, but this only would teach the future generation about labor while laborers are actually dealing with national chains and globalization today.

The media has been covering the labor movement, which has aided smaller groups and activist in spreading the word of the situation confronting the workers struggles in the labor market. The concept of feudalism has survived to become an agrarian system, the industrial revolution, capitalism, and now in the 21st century globalization. Socialism is not a new term, although demonized in American society, when discussing the redistribution of wealth. The social movements, over a century ago included minorities and women, but they as a group weren't able to take advantage of the upward mobility unions offered to its immigrant members during this period of time. The workers were able to rely on unions to bargain for many of the same basic rights that the social movements that lead to the creation of the middle class. With the virtual disappearance of the manufacturing sector, bargaining tools like the strike have virtually disappeared. With the disappearance of manufacturing globalization is gaining a strong foothold in redefining the laborer, as the service industry is fast becoming the norm in America.

The employee soon will not have a voice as the laborer once did in the past. The unions, in the past, were able to represent the everyday worker. Unions not having a true policy of

inclusion is making it difficult to reach out to communities they need today in attempting to increase their numbers. Unions did not spend the necessary time understanding women, minorities, or the new immigrants as the corporation are actively driving a wedge between these groups and the unions. The mission, for unions, in reaching out to these groups is difficult at best, since the union has to deal with the corporate messaging and the unions' non-existent relationship with these minority groups.

### **Conclusion**

The conventional unions are not dead or near extinction as many believe. The conventional unions need to change the methods used and embrace the members they once ignored a century ago. The concept of unionism is not old, as with the term capitalism. Globalization is the new term replacing capitalism. The labor movement represents unionism. The two opposing forces on opposite sides of the fence in the struggle of compensation for investment compared to hard work. The corporation will continue to improve with draconian methods of conducting business, communication, using lobbyist, and professional union busters in the pursuit of profits. Unions need to embrace new tactics that have been used by work centers and community centers in filling in the gap left by the union's lack of attention towards these potential members; Latinos, African Americans, women, and Asians. If a coalition can be formed with these groups, then



education would be the next step. The labor movement is alive as the union is dying. A marriage between the two is necessary for the workers to have a chance against the transnational corporation that is taking advantage of globalization.

The 20th century is only a blueprint, but the union must now understand the needs of the members it now wants to represent. The union must also realize that one of the major tools is no longer available is the ability to strike. The one day strike at Wal-Mart are perfect examples of movements the union must study in order to find a way to galvanize the masses. Union could change the culture that did not include many workers and at the same time fight for some of those smaller community-based groups that not only fight for economic justice but for social issues as well. The union spent too much time collective bargaining for members, but did not spend time organizing or addressing some of the issues that were important to local communities. By reaching out, unions can once again take the lead in the labor movement and save itself from extinction.

References

The Albert Shanker Institute (Summer, 2012). Labor's Untold Story,

*American Educator*. Retrieved from <http://www.aft.org/sites/default/files/periodicals/asi.pdf>

Bacon, D. (2010). Equality and Rights for Immigrants - The Key to Organizing Unions. *A*

*Monthly Review: An Independent Socialist Magazine*. 62(5), 34-48.

Barton, M. & Tocci, C. (2013). What We've Learned About Unions Since the Strike.

*Education Digest*. 78(5), 17-18.

Camou, M. (2012). Capacity and Solidarity: Foundational Elements in the Unionization Strategy

for Immigrant Day Labourers. *International Migration*, 50(2), 41-64.

doi:10.1111/j.1468-2435.2009.00513.x

Cervantes, R. (2007). Asian Americans in the New American Labor and Immigrant Rights Movements: An Interview with Kent Wong, Director of the UCLA Center for Labor Research and Education [Interview With Professor Kent Wong]. *Asian American Policy Review*, 16, 9-17.

Early, S. (2014). Saving Our Unions. *Monthly Review: An Independent Socialist Magazine*, 65(9), 15-27.

Eidelson, J. (2013). An AFL-CIO Reboot? *The Nation*, 297(15), 6-8.

Fang, L. (2014), War on Workers, *The Nation*, 298(20), p. 30-33

Fletcher Jr., B. (2011-2012). Unions, Organizing Cities, and a 21st-Century Labor Movement: Implications for African Americans. *Harvard Journal of African American Public Policy*, 18, 45-54.

Fletcher Jr., B. (2008). Unions, Organizing Cities, and a 21st-Century Labor Movement:

Implications for African Americans. *Harvard Journal of African American Public Policy*. (14), 27-36.

Fraser, M. (2014). Can the Service Sector Strike? *Dissent*. 61 (1), 49-53.

Greenhouse, S. (June 14, 2011). Walmart Workers Try the Nonunion Route, *New York Times*, Retrieved from [http://www.nytimes.com/2011/06/15/business/15walmart.html?pagewanted=all&\\_r=1](http://www.nytimes.com/2011/06/15/business/15walmart.html?pagewanted=all&_r=1)

Greer, I. (2006). Business union vs. business union? Understanding the split in the US labour movement. *Capital & Class*. 30 (90), 1-6.

Hodges, A. C. (2011). Avoiding legal seduction: Reinvigorating the labor movement to balance corporate power. *Marquette Law Review*. 94 (3), 889-916.

Johnson, W. (2006). Teamsters: Changing to Win? *Nation*. 282 (23), 20-22.

Lee, F. (2014). War on Workers. *Nation*. 298 (20), 30-33.

Milkman, R. (2011). Immigrant Workers, Precarious Work, and the US Labor Movement. *Globalizations*. 8 (3), 361-372.

Mitukiewicz, A. & Schmitt, J. (2011). Politics Matter: Changes in Unionization Rates in Rich

UNIONISM, GLOBALIZATION, AND DIVERSITY

69

Countries, 1960 -2010. *Center for Economic Research and Policy.*

Phillips-Fein, K. (2015). Why Workers Won't Unite, *The Atlantic*. Retrieved from

<http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/04/why-workers-wont-unite/386228>

Rachleff, P. (2012). Labor History for the Future. *Social Policy*. (42) 3,

34-36.