#### **CWA STRONG Coordinators**

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# CWA Internal Organizing Training

# CWASTRONG

Strengthening our union through internal organizing in the workplace

### National CWA STRONG campaign

## CWASTRONG UNION STRONG

#### Major goals:

- > Create a shared understanding of crisis and urgency
- ➤ Member communication and engagement at center of everything
- ➤ Make internal organizing a priority activity for locals and staff
- ➤ Provide the resources to bargain the best possible contracts
- ➤ Change priorities to spend more time on CWA STRONG activities.
- ➤ Increase CWA capacity to win for members and working families

#### What we can gain in T&T

More members (+4,034)

ADT (+33) AT&T NIC (+457) Avaya (+31) CenturyLink (+2707) Lucent (+4) OFS (+17)

Windstream (+18)

AT&T Legacy T (+632)

Frontier (+130)

Sedexo (+5)

- + More dues resources (\$2 million+)
- + More PAF contributors

Increase of 5%: 804 people = \$50,250

+ More activists

## =MORE POWER!

### Four keys to successful internal organizing



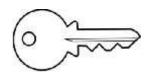
KEY 1: Asking one-on-one



**KEY 2: Positive message** 



**KEY 3: Organizing Committee** 



KEY 4: Systematic use of lists

# Overview



### **KEY 1: Asking one-on-one**

- Organizing is asking
- Importance of listening
- Assessments
- Overcoming objections
- Tracking results of conversations
- Breakout 1



#### ORGANIZING IS ASKING: THE FIVE BASICS OF INTERNAL ORGANIZING

- People join the union because they are individually approached and asked to join.
- The more people we sak to join, the more people will join.
- We will get hundreds of workers to join the union when we have hundreds assing.
- 4. We will get hundreds easing by building strong functioning organizing committees
- 5. We have strong functioning organizing committees when people are meeting regularly, making plans, working with futs, during charts, taking exagroments and

#### HOW TO ASK YOUR CO-WORKERS TO JOIN THE UNION

MAKE A DIRECT ASK, Surceptul organizate and and pangle to pain the union. Asking to organizing?

AUWAYS LIBE A MEMBERSHIP FORM & PEN, Fur the mendiently tyre is the band of the non-mender and explain how to fill it out. Organizer assistance?

shoot recopitive people first. Speak to them when you, disduction, who pays dues; they view large groups of are both, on a break and have time to talk, Auntil very tree-mantises, as a last of support for our issues. negative or with union people. One a fed to help you make discretions about who to target and when.

BE YOURSELF AND DIAME YOUR EXPERIENCE CON'S condensarial their point of view, such as "what is entry plant being perhetly articulate or prividing. Availing you lack?" By bitering, etc. learn what the perfect case for union mandwrittin, Se arough that you made the choice to stated up for yourself veriend or your

CONNECT MEMBERSHIP TO ESCIES, Whether the activities agree that you have to clearly and directly. Some is left security, president, contracting out, or health and rafety, unto membership to the first step towards standing up, uniting and fighting lack.

MEMBERSHIP AND DUES STUAL POWER, WY WAT to half the morgest, most effective union we can have. There is power to numbers, And recourses in by PREVANED AND USE A USE. For to compact the ... membership does Employer books through peerful

> LISTEN AND DON'T ASSUME. If animals was visc or that Way will think about 2s, sell-aport analod quantities to listers matter to them or if they might be an activity. Don't assume everyone shares the same views.

Section was worked. BY PERSONALLY Server personal district toler the series the first time they learn about it. Don't get showsaged when people say ro. Many join after being and note the based and engineering when which to improve and common Adjections. Seting perceions shows their membership. in the union is important.



- Ask. Ask face-to-face, using the membership form.
- One-on-one: listen to workers' issues, concerns
- Get them talking. Open-ended questions: "what could be improved at work?" or "can I ask what holds you back?"
- Be prepared, use list, record activity, make assessments
- Creating opportunities to ask
- Treat people with respect, their participation matters







#### Importance of listening

- Ask open-ended questions in order to get folks talking
- Listening allows us to identify key issues
- We can then connect the union as the solution
- People join when we make these connections
- Being heard by you opens someone up to hearing you

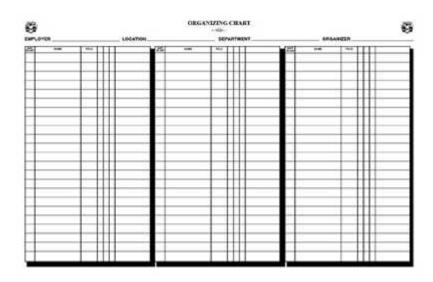




#### **123** What are assessments?

When our union assesses workers using a scale from 1 to 3, generally these numbers mean the following:

- 1. Someone who supports the union
- 2. Someone who's on the fence or undecided
- 3. Someone who opposes the union





### **Overcoming Objections**

### Approach for overcoming objections:

- 1. Empathize.
- 2. Answer the objection briefly.
- 3. Redirect to issues, reason to join.
- 4. Ask again.

"Our message is unity and action. It's much more compelling than the alternative of disunity and inaction."





#### Tracking results of conversations

- Use a CWA contact sheet whenever possible
- Record first and last name whenever possible
- Make an assessment
- Make note of valuable charting information
- Write down the issues that are important to them
- Record the result of conversation
- Write down personal information that you collect

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forest	Store	Access delice	Pro users OI	Hardwillow (3)	Addition san	Consession

## Overview



- Elements of a positive message
- Servicing vs. organizing/mobilizing
- Breakout 2
- Establishing methods in your local to prevent and deal with drops





- Power in numbers
- Work together on issues and for positive change
- 'Stronger together' versus guilt/ freeloader message
- Movement/ group action versus service/ benefits
- Connecting mobilizing to organizing
- Understand and overcome objections
- Extra benefits yes, but main reason always POWER.



#### **How the Union Functions**

SERVICING ORGANIZING

## **How the Union Functions**

#### **SERVICING**

- Emphasis on the union's "membership numbers"
- Top down approach, highly centralized with responsibilities placed on assigned persons -i.e. local officers, stewards, nat'l staff
- Resources, organizers and campaigns usually controlled by the National Union
- Local union runs like a business =
   Fee for Service

#### **ORGANIZING**

- Emphasis on the union being a "membership involvement"
- Bottom-up organization with members, activists, local leadership providing feedback for direction of campaigns and organizing
- Organizers and resources based in local union
- Local unions runs like a collective = together members solve workplace problems

## **How the Union Functions**

#### **SERVICING**

- Union staff, officers, stewards are solely responsible for workplace grievances and contract bargaining
- Union staff and officers focus only on issues impacting the bargaining unit
- Power is seen as only coming from dues and the contract

#### **ORGANIZING**

- Decentralized and dependent on active members, volunteer organizers and active local committees
- Members engaged in fighting back to protect those beyond their unit
- Power is seen as coming from memberships' willingness to take action



#### What do you think: Servicing v. Organizing?

MODEL OF UNIONISM	SERVICING	ORGANIZING /MOBILIZING
HOW UNION LEADERS PERCEIVE THEIR ROLE		
WHAT UNION LEADERS SAY		
WHAT UNION LEADERS DO		
HOW MEMBERS PERCEIVE THEIR ROLE		
WHAT MEMBERS SAY		
WHAT MEMBERS DO		



#### Preventing and dealing with drops

- Deal with drops as soon as we find out about them
- Tell the member how to drop but also try to convince them to stay in the union
- Ask open-ended questions and listen
- Be accountable for mistakes but focus on big picture
- Have an ask ready to reengage the member



## Overview KEY 3: Organizing Committee

- Role of the internal organizing committee
- Agenda for organizing committee
- Developing leaders and activists





- Representative of the workplace,
- OC means committed activists meet regularly
- Working with lists (by location, area, shift)
- Single-minded focus on organizing
- Committee members follow-up, talk to targets
- Developing leaders, recruiting new activists
- Not at a bar



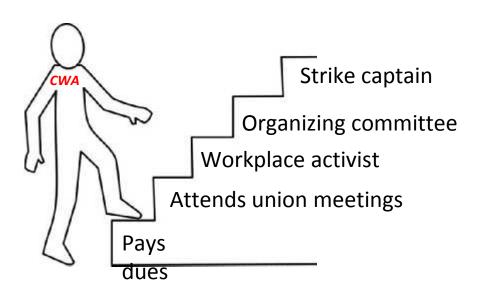
#### **Organizing Committee Agenda**

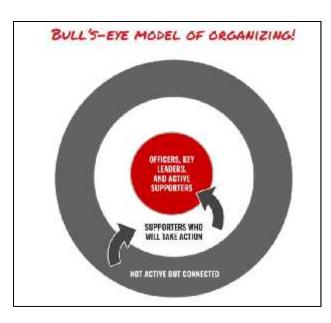
- 1) Introduction (review agenda, introductions if necessary)
- 2) Report on work since last meeting (report on activities, sign-up progress, conversations and assessments)
- 3) Update charts or lists
- 4) Plans for upcoming activities (plan events, people take specific sign-up targets, etc.)
- 5) Schedule next meeting
- 6) Other business



#### **Developing Leaders and Activists**

- Understanding levels of activity
- Asking people to do things to build their union
- Developing activists as a priority of OCs
- Identifying and recruiting activists
- Characteristics of successful organizers





# Overview

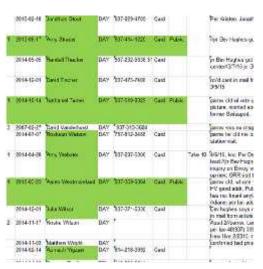


- Understanding the workplace
- Systematic use of lists









- Power analysis and understanding the workplace requires list
- Chart or "map" workplace including a complete list of workers by location, department, job title, shift, etc.
- Highlight the members, mark AFPs
- Where are the non-members?
- Using assessments:

1s (pro-union)

2s (undecided)

3s (anti-union)

unassessed

- Constantly update (messy is good!)
- Decide wall, computer or both

#### **Broadstripes**

- •Broadstripes is an internet-based tool to manage data for both internal and external organizing.
- •For locals who use this tool and regularly update information, this tool will help you keep an up-to-date snapshot of who your members and non-members/agency fee payers are at any given time.
- •The tool will give you easy access to reports to quantify your organizing progress and lists to use when you are in the field organizing.
- •Broadstripes currently has AT&T Mobility, AT&T Core and CenturyLink data with more of CWA bargaining units on the way.

#### **Broadstripes**

#### To summarize, this is meant to be a one-stop shop

- In one place you will be able to add and access information by work location
- Who is a member/non-member
- Who is participating in PAF
- Who is interested in joining and when they join
- •You will be able to add several points of quantitative and qualitative information about your contacts with members and non-members
- •If the member is interested in becoming more active
- •If the non-member had a specific issue we are supposed to get back to them about
- You will be able to add as well see notes from previous contacts from other organizers
- You will be able to input information about contacts not previously available on
   Orion

#### **Broadstripes**

#### How do I get access?

Reach out to your District's coordinator for more information.

#### What if I want to learn more about how to use Broadstripes?

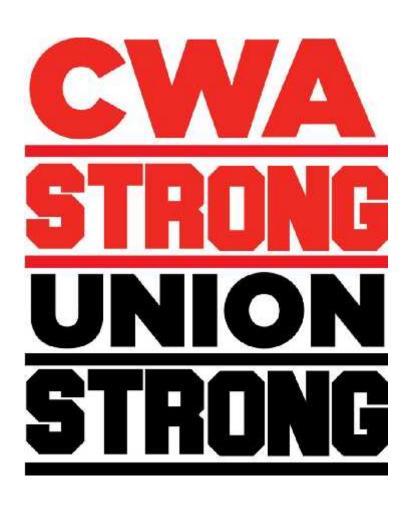
You are in luck! The Data Team will be hosting online webinar/video trainings and "office hours" regularly. You can also have your District's coordinator set up dedicated time to dive deeper into questions and comments you have about the Broadstripes system.

#### Our data team is here to help:

Sara Waterfall: swaterfall@cwa-union.org

Darren Kinnaird: dkinnaird@cwa-union.org

### Building an organizing culture in your local



- Organizing as a high priority, given resources and attention
- Asking all members to be involved
- Seeking to solve issues collectively versus individually
- Take action with people, not for people
- Union is never a 3<sup>rd</sup> party
- Talk and think about POWER and how to build it!

## overview New employee outreach

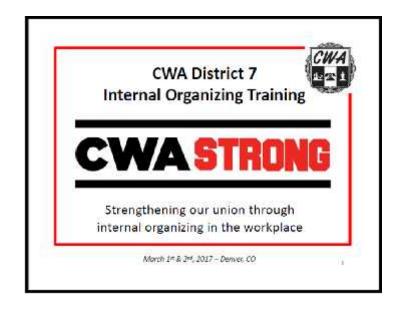
- New employee contractual access
- New employee packets and new member packets
- Committee carefully tracks all new workers and approaches them right away
- Immediate involvement
- New employee/ member events

What are we doing well? What can we do better?



# ONEY Presenting on Internal Organizing

- CWA STRONG basic presentation
- Possible opportunities: e-board meeting, membership meeting, stewards training, state council, organizing committee meetings





#### In review

### Summarize training

- Internal organizing goals and purpose
- Key 1: Asking one-on-one
- > Key 2: Positive message
- > Key 3: Organizing committee
- > Key 4: Systematic use of lists
- New employee outreach
- Presenting on Internal Organizing

#### Conclusion

# CWA District 7 Internal Organizing Training

## **CWA Strong!**

Strengthening our union through internal organizing in the workplace

### **Agenda**

- Overview of the four keys to successful internal organizing
- Key 1: Asking face-to-face
- Key 2: Positive message
- Key 3: Organizing committee
- Key 4: Systematic use of lists
- New employee outreach

### Four keys to successful internal organizing



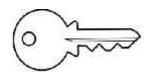
KEY 1: Asking face-to-face



**KEY 2: Positive message** 



KEY 3: Organizing Committee



KEY 4: Systematic use of lists



- Ask. Ask face-to-face, using the membership form.
- One-on-one: listen to workers' issues, concerns
- Get them talking. Open-ended questions: "what could be improved at work?" or "can I ask what holds you back?"
- Be prepared, use list, record activity, make assessments
- Creating opportunities to ask
- Dealing with and preventing drops







- Power in numbers
- Work together on issues and for positive change
- 'Stronger together' versus guilt/ freeloader message
- Movement/ group action versus service/ benefits
- Connecting mobilizing to organizing
- Understand and overcome objections
- Extra benefits yes, but main reason always POWER.



# **EXECUTE:** KEY 3: Organizing Committee

- Representative, meets regularly, committed activists
- Working with lists (by location, area, shift)
- Single-minded focus on organizing
- Committee members follow-up, talk to targets
- Developing leaders, recruiting new activists and the theory of levels of activities

Not at a bar



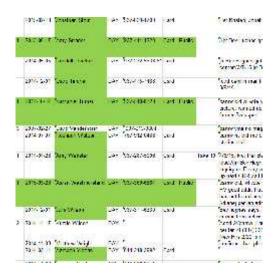
# **Organizing Committee Agenda**

- 1) Introduction (review agenda, introductions if necessary)
- Report on work since last meeting (report on activities, sign-up progress, conversations and assessments)
- 3) Update charts or lists
- 4) Plans for upcoming activities (plan events, people take specific sign-up targets, etc.)
- 5) Schedule next meeting









- Power analysis and understanding the workplace
- Complete list of workers by location, department, job title, shift
- Highlight the members
- Using assessments:

1s (pro-union)

2s (undecided)

3s (anti-union)

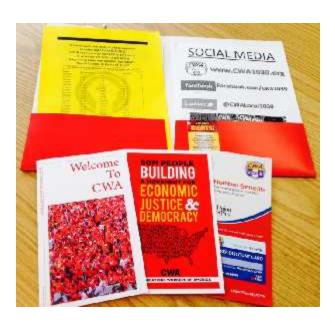
unassessed

Constantly update (messy is good!)

# New employee outreach

- New employee contractual access
- New employee packets and new member packets
- Committee carefully tracks all new workers and approaches them right away
- Immediate involvement
- New employee/ member events

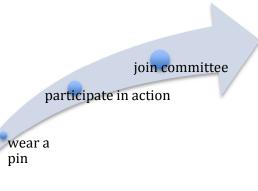
What are we doing well? What can we do better?



# In review

- Summarize training
  - Overview of the four keys
  - Key 1: Asking face-to-face
  - > Key 2: Positive message
  - Key 3: Organizing committee
  - Key 4: Systematic use of lists
  - New employee outreach
- Conclusion





#### ASKING MEMBERS TO HELP BUILD THEIR UNION

#### WHY PEOPLE GET INVOLVED:

- Want to make a difference
- Personally asked to help
- Understand what's expected

#### WHY PEOPLE **DON'T** PARTICIPATE:

- Don't think it matters
- Weren't asked
- Feel they don't have time

#### AN 'ASK' MUST DO 3 THINGS:

- Educate the person on the importance of the issue being addressed
- Describe activity in detail
- Explain how the activity relates to the issue and why it is an effective tactic

#### MEMBERS NEED TO:

- Understand how the activity connects to the issue
- Feel like they are making a contribution, having an impact
- Have activity that is manageable

#### LEADERS NEED TO:

- Identify and mentor prospective activists
- Draw connections between actions and issues.
- Ask the member to do something that fits their level of commitment
- Confirm participation before activities (and follow up with no shows)



#### Assessing co-workers' level of support for the union

#### Why make assessments?

In order to strengthen bargaining power and enforce our contract, internal organizers must continually identify and mobilize supporters while neutralizing negative voices in the bargaining unit. Internal organizers should aim to mobilize fellow supporters, convince their undecided co-workers and avoid the anti-union employees. It is not possible to make good decisions about how to spend time building the union membership unless internal organizers have some way of assessing people based on their level of support.

#### What are assessments?

When our union assesses workers using a scale from 1 to 3, generally these numbers mean the following:

- 1. Someone who supports the union
- 2. Someone who's on the fence, uninformed about the union or whose level of support is unknown
- 3. Someone who opposes the union

People change their minds. Their view on the union moves when their co-workers talk to them, as they learn more or as they gain experiences on the job and in the broader world. As organizers and activists, our responsibility is to move people and their attitudes towards the union. Accordingly, our assessments should also change when people's viewpoints on the union change.

#### How do we make assessments?

We make assessments based on information we gather from the person about their level of support. What have they said about the union? Are they wearing a union pin or an anti-union bag tag? Some people are not always forthright about their views about the union, which makes them more difficult to assess. As much as possible, we should base our assessments on real information and not assumptions.

It is important to reconfirm support and get up-to-date information on why we consider co-workers to be 1s, 2s or 3s. Do we have solid, current information about their point of view?

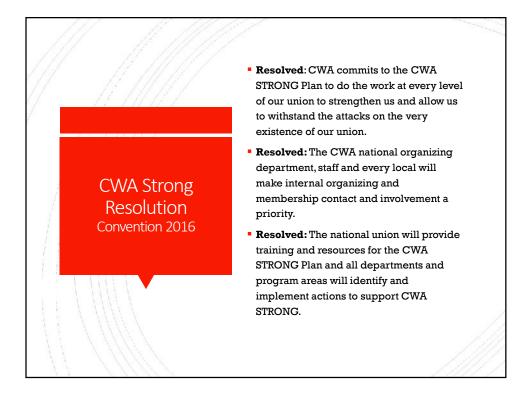
#### **Common assessment mistakes:**

- Assuming someone is a 1 because they signed a card for the union.
- Assuming someone is a 3 because they said they were "not interested"
- Assuming someone is a 1, 2 or 3 without probing into their real views or reasons
- Assuming someone is a 1 because they are nice or because they are friendly to supporters
- Assuming someone is a 3 because they are grumpy, angry, bitter or anti-social
- Assuming someone is a 3 because they are friends with manager

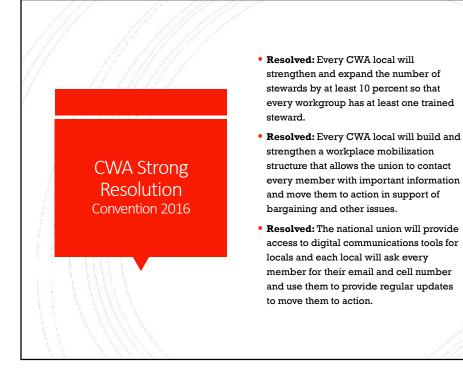


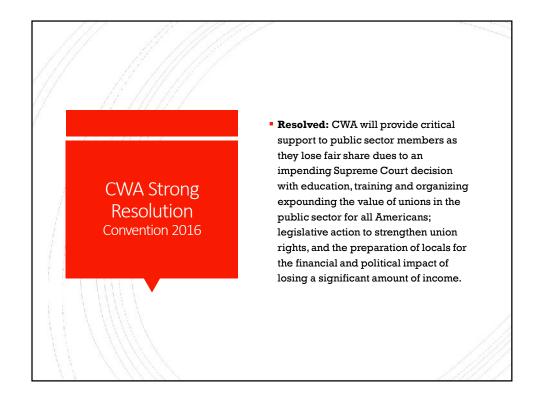






• Resolved: All CWA locals at or below 80 percent organized will work with their District/Sector Organizing Coordinators and staff to design a systematic plan to increase membership by 10 percentage points. **CWA Strong** • Resolved: Collectively across the union Resolution CWA will sign up 40,000 non-members before the next convention. Convention 2016 • Resolved: Every CWA local commits to have active and effective organizing, legislative-political, and human rights committees and to send new activists to boot camps and other trainings.









CWA PUBLIC WORKERS RESPOND TO ANTI-UNION ATTACKS IN IOWA

#### **HOUSE FILE 291**

Signed Feb. 17 by Gov. Terry Branstad (R)

- Negotiations
  - Limited to wages
  - Cannot Bargain over health insurance, vacation, overtime pay, evaluations procedures, working conditions, seniority benefits, vacation time....
  - Wage increases capped to 3% or CPI
- Recertification
  - Recertify before every new contract
  - Majority of the bargaining unit
  - Union pays for re-certification process Prohibits Pay Roll Deduction
- Applies to all non-public safety workers

#### THE KOCH NETWORK IN **IOWA**



- Spent \$3.4 million in 2014 to re-elect Gov. Branstad and elect Sen. Joni Ernst.
- Koch Industries PAC donated over \$45,000 to lawmakers in the legislature in 2015-2016.
- In 2016, Americans for Prosperity made over 700,000 phone calls, knocked on over 50,000 doors, and sent over 300,000 mailers.
- Americans for Prosperity has a staff of 27 with five field offices in Iowa.





# CWA STRONG INTERNAL ORGANIZING



July CWA Strong Training 3 Locals; 16 Participants Developed OI Plan

July – Sept. Cleaning Unit Lists One-on-One Contacts Education about Legislation Increased Membership & Commitments for YES Vote

Oct Recertification Elections

# CWAERS VOTE TO KEEP THEIR UNION

Bargaining Unit	Unit	YES Vote	NO Vote	Void	% Yes Vote
Council Bluffs Comm. Schools	305	264	1	3	87%
City of Council Bluffs	81	64	0	3	79%
AEA 267	99	69	1	0	70%
Palo Alto Hospital	145	127	2	3	88%
Calhoun County	17	11	0	1	65%
Pocahontas	4	1	0	0	25%

536 unit workers voted YES 4 unit workers voted NO

# IOWA PUBLIC WORKERS OVERWHELMINGLY VOTE FOR UNION REPRESENTATION



 436 out of 468 public-sector bargaining units voted to recertify their union in October.

AFSCME: 41 of 42 units recertified ISEA: 216 of 220 units recertified

- 28,448 out of 33,252 employees eligible to vote statewide supported recertification.
- 624 people in the entire state cast a "no" ballot

CWA Local 3603 Charlotte, NC

#### **Strong Internal Organizing Committee**

- In March 2016, the Local had 61.1% membership
- Its organizing committee of (6) six participated in a training on March 22.
- The training focused on having in-depth conversations with coworkers
- Organizing committee member Michael Roberts said, "In my experience working to organize our union as part of CWA STRONG, if our members don't see us, we don't exist. With our increased site visits, our members are getting informed and educated and becoming CWA activists."
- Now 76.9% organized.



#### **Engaging New Employees**

#### AT&T Mobility

- 2 AT&T Mobility stores
- 95% organized with only two non-members.
- Engage new employees by pointing out key contract provisions that improve their working conditions

#### Helena Labs

- 140 employees make and distribute medical supplies, the challenges are different.
- High turnover
- Sign members up at monthly new employee orientations f15 minutes then ask them to join, and the vast majority say yes.
- Grown to 70% organized
- Increase their stewards to six

#### CWA Local 7040 Phoenix, AZ



- Piedmont Airline Local 7040
- Local 7040 worked with District 7 campaign lead to develop an internal organizing plan
- Local's membership grew from 501 to 763
- In one month the Local gained +262 from October to November
- This was a 52.3 % increase!
- Membership and density in the local grew from 50% to 74%



Connect With Your District & Sector Staff

- Speak with your Sector and District coordinators

- Develop initial plans with reaching non-members using list

- How can you get buy-in from your local leadership?

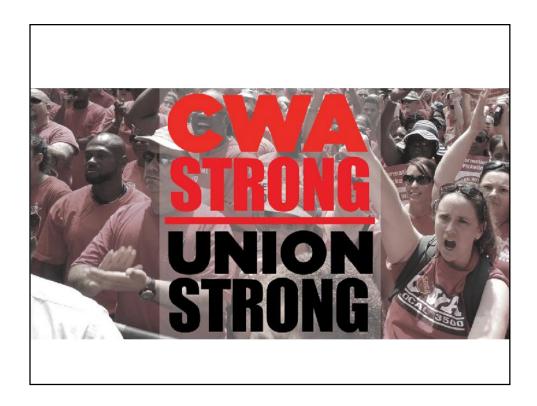
- Set date(s) for follow up conversations

- Report out on next steps

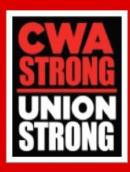
# Which Side Are You On?







# CWA Telecommunications & Technologies Leadership Conference INTERNAL ORGANIZING TRAINING



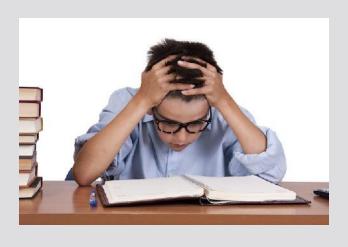
Melissa Matos
Assistant to the Vice President
Public, Healthcare and Education Workers

# **GOALS FOR THE TRAINING**

- 1. Define & understand power
- 2. Learn more about successful movements of working class people to build power
- 3. Analyze how the economy is working against us and what we can do to change it
- 4. Practice skills of how to have effective organizing conversations and get people involved in the union

2

# QUIZ!: Our Economic Reality



3

#### **Instructions**

- ☐ 10 Questions
- Select a note taker to record your answers
- 30 seconds to discuss and select an answer

Our Economic Reality

4

The average worker that would benefit from an increase to the minimum wage is:

- a) A teenager who is earning extra spending money and works part time after school.
- b) Over 35 working full time, earning more than half of their household income

# Question 1

b. Over 35
working full
time, earning
more than half
of their
household
income

www.epi.org



Since 1990, the cost of living in the U.S. has increased by 67%. Since 1990, the real value of the minimum wage has increased %.

- a) 73%
- b) 62%
- c) 48%
- d) 21%

# Question 2

d) 21%

One year's earnings at the minimum wage is \$15,080, yet the income required for a single worker to have real economic security is at least \$30,000. Essentially this means that the Federal minimum wage needs to be doubled!

The State of Working America, Economic Policy Institute

What percent of low-wage workers do not have access to paid sick days to care for their own health?

- a) 97%
- b) 80%
- c) 50%
- d) 35%

# Question 3

#### b. 80%

Workers without paid sick days are more likely than those with paid sick days to report going to work with contagious illnesses. More than three in four food service and hotel workers (78 percent) don't have a single paid sick day — and workers in child care centers and nursing homes overwhelmingly lack paid sick days.

http://www.paidsickdays.org/research-resources/quick-facts.html#.V7I1T\_krJQI

From 1978 to 2014, CEO Compensation increased 997%. What was the annual compensation increase for the typical worker during the same period?

- a) 20.7 percent
- b) 50.1 percent
- c) 10.9 percent
- d) 5.7 percent

#### Question 4

#### c) 10.9 percent

Over the last several decades, inflation-adjusted CEO compensation increased from \$1.5 million in 1978 to \$16.3 million in 2014, or 997 percent, a rise almost double stock market growth. Over the same time period, a typical worker's wages grew very little: the annual compensation, adjusted for inflation, of the average private-sector production and nonsupervisory worker (comprising 82 percent of total payroll employment) rose from \$48,000 in 1978 to just \$53,200 in 2014, an increase of only 10.9 percent. Due to this unequal growth, average top CEOs now make over 300 times what typical workers earn.

The CEO-to-worker compensation ratio, 20-to-1 in 1965, peaked at 376-to-1 in 2000 and was 303-to-1 in 2014, far higher than in the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, or 1990s.

http://www.epi.org/publication/top-ceos-make-300-times-more-than-workers-pay-growth-surpasses-market-gains-and-the-rest-of-the-0-1 percent/

A 2003 study by the National Bureau of Economic Research found that job applicants with "Black names" needed to send out \_\_\_\_\_% more resumes than job applicants with "White names" to get 1 call back despite having similar qualifications.

- a) 15%
- b) 30%
- c) 50%
- d) 70%

# Question 5

c) 50%

After responding to 1,300 ads with more than 5,000 resumes, the researchers found that the job applicants with white names needed to send 10 resumes to get one callback, but the black candidate needed to send 15 for one. It didn't matter whether the employer was a federal contractor or was described as an "equal opportunity employer," as those also discriminated like the others.

Source: http://www.nber.org/papers/w9873.pd

In 2012, the top earning 25 hedge fund managers made more than all kindergarten school teachers in the U.S. combined.

- a) True
- b) False

# April 2 de comparing compensation in two very different jobs (total very different jobs). In 2014, an annual ranking of top hedge fund managers found that the 25 most successful pulled in \$11,620,000,000. During that time the nation had about 158,000 kindergarten teachers (excluding those who work in special education). The average salary was \$53,480 – equally about 8.5 billion dollars. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2015/05/12/the-top-25-hedge-fund-managers-earn-more-than-all-kindergarten-teachers-combined

What percentage of jobs created since the recent economic recovery are considered low-wage jobs?

- a) 21%
- b) 48%
- c) 58%

# Question 7

c) 58%

Laura, Clawson, Daily Kos 4/2/13

Big banks have done exceedingly well since the Wall Street Bailout of 2008. Surely, the frontline bank workers have benefitted from the banks' soaring profits.

Approximately how many US bank tellers are on some form of public assistance?

- a. Less than 10%
- b. 25% (1/4)
- c. 33% (1/3)
- d. 50% (1/2)

### **Question 8**

c. 33% (1/3)

The University of California at Berkeley's Labor Center reported that US taxpayers are doling out nearly \$900 million a year to supplement the wages of bank tellers, which amounts to a public subsidy for multibillion-dollar banks.

http://www.washingtonpost.com/business/economy/low-bank-wages-costing-the-public-millions-report-says/2013/12/03/21a932ee-5bb0-11e3-bf7e-f567ee61ae21 story.html

Successful candidates for U.S. Senate in 2016 spent an average of \$\_\_\_\_\_ on his or her Senate campaign?

- a) \$5.1 million
- b) \$3.8 million
- c) \$7.3 million
- d) \$10.4 million

# Question 9

d) \$10.4million

The average dollars spent on a Senate race in 2004 was 3.8 million dollars. After the Citizens United decision, that figure has ballooned to an average of 10.4 million dollars.

http://metrocosm.com/the-history-of-campaign-spending/

According to Forbes, America's five (5) richest families have a net worth of:

- a) \$98,000,000
- b) \$50,000,000,000
- c) \$380,000,000,000
- d) \$1,000,000,000,000

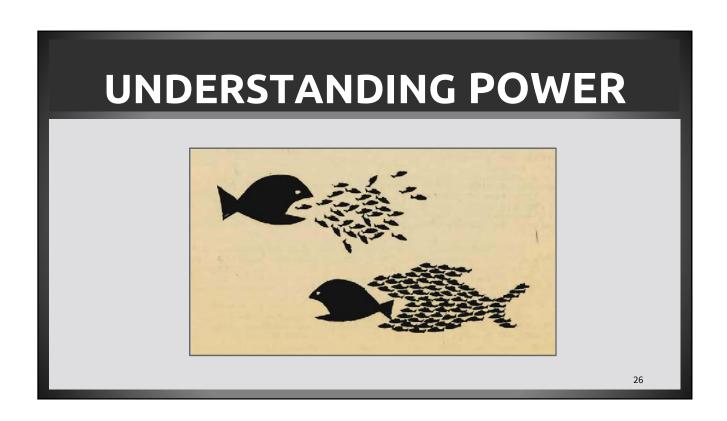
# Question 10

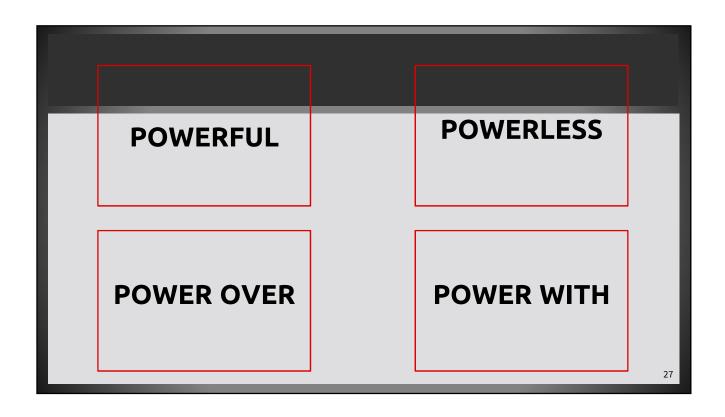
## c) 380,000,000,000

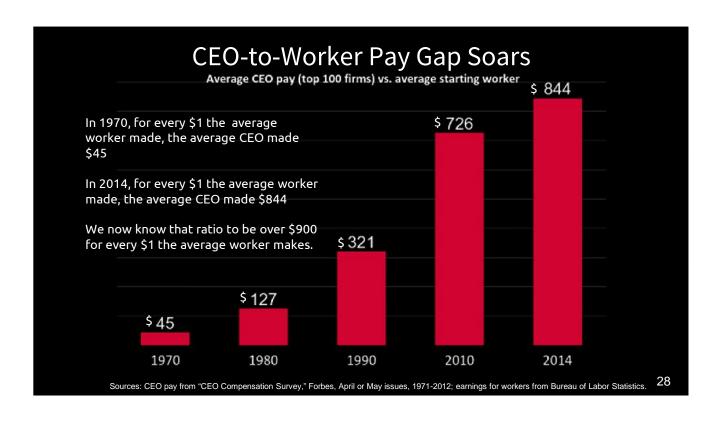
Name	Net Worth	# of Family Members	Source
Walton Family	\$130 B	7	Wal-Mart
Koch Family	\$82 B	4	Diversified
Mars Family	\$78 B	3	Candy
Cargill-MacMillan Family	\$49 B	23 (est.)	Cargill, Inc.
Cox Family	\$41 B	5	Media

https://www.forbes.com/families/list/









#### What Do the TOP CEOs Make?

#### Randall Stephenson, Chairman, CEO and President of AT&T

In 2015, he received \$25,145,914 in total compensation. Randall Stephenson made about

#### 682 times the average worker's pay.

# Lowell McAdam, Chairman and CEO of Verizon Communications

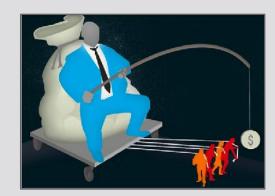
In 2016, he received \$17,674,579 in total compensation. Lowell McAdam made about

#### 469 times the average worker's pay.

#### Sundar Pichai, CEO of Google Inc.

In 2015, he received \$100,632,102 in total compensation. Sundar Pichai made about

2,674 times the average worker's pay.



29



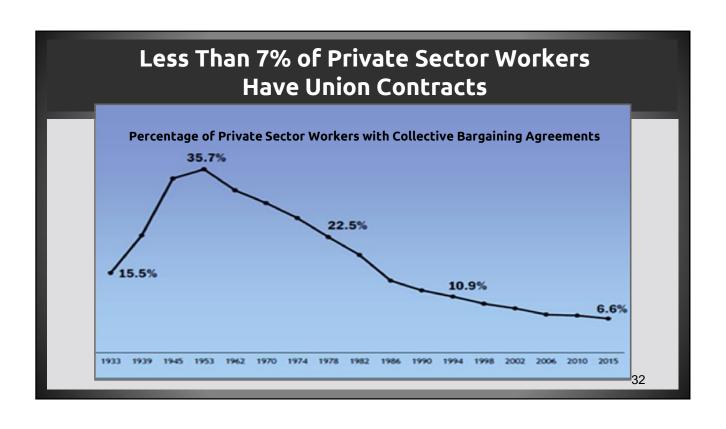
The Richest 10% of people have *half* of America's income.

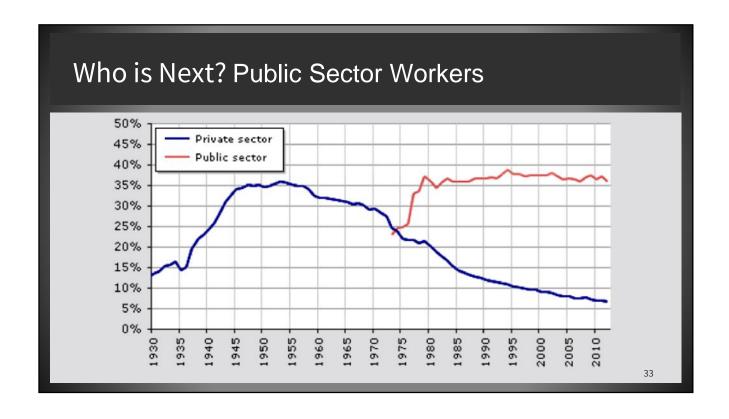
The remaining *half* of income is shared among the rest of us.

WHY?

30

#### **Corporate Power & Politics** What are current ways that you see the influence of Corporate America on our political system? TAX BREAKS IN FAVOR **MASS UNLIMITED OF CORPORATIONS CAMPAIGN SPENDING INCARCERATION DEFUNDING GOVERNMENT** ANTI-WORKER **PUBLIC INTERVENTION IN LEGISLATION SERVICES ORGANIZING DRIVES**





#### **SMALL GROUP BREAKOUT**

You will have 10 minutes to discuss the following four questions.

- 1) Who has the power in the economy when only 7% of private sector workers belong to a union?
- 2) Why is it important to know that the majority of wealth and power in this country are concentrated in Corporate America?
- 3) How does this affect your union's bargaining power with your employer?
- 4) Do you think Corporate America deserves to control our politics? Why or why not?

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Union organizing is at its best when workers have a clear class analysis and critique of policies that benefit corporate America at the expense of working class people.

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# Activity: Worker Organizing & Social Movements Throughout History

- 7 Minutes
- At your table, make a list of all the social movements you can think of from Unites States history
- No looking at your phones!
- Tables can volunteer to report out responses

Movements happen when regular people "rise up in anger and hope, defy the rules that ordinarily govern their lives, and, by doing so, disrupt the workings of the institutions in which they are enmeshed."

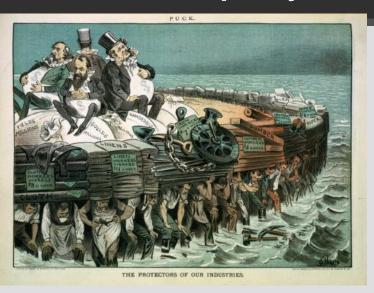
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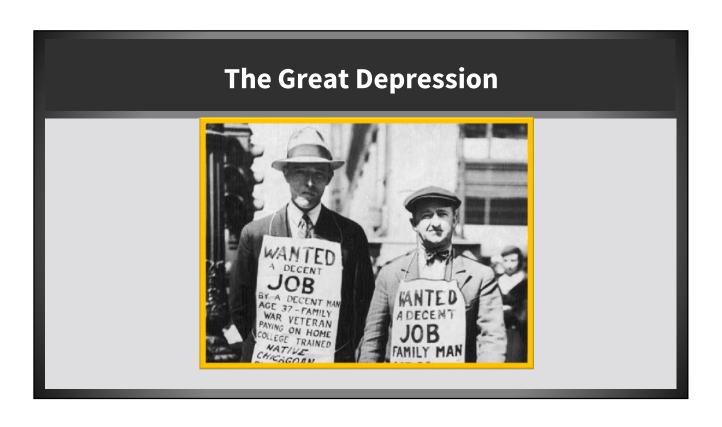
- Frances Fox Piven,Poor People's Movements

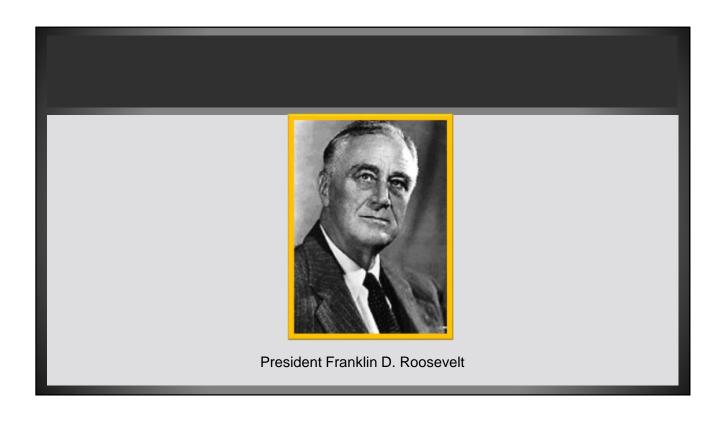
27

### 1920s - Massive Wealth Inequality

- Boom and bust economy
- Wealth concentrated in a handful of families & corporations
- Market Crash of 1929





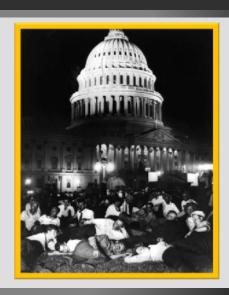


### 1930s - Mass, Working Class Movement

### **The Bonus Army**

In 1932, the Bonus Army came to Washington to demand payment of WWI pensions and for government assistance to the unemployed.

Members of the Bonus Army camped out on the lawn of the U.S. Capitol building

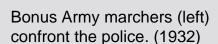




Washington, DC (1932)

### 1930s - Mass, Working Class Movement

Protestors were shot down in the streets by General McArthur's troops but set the stage for reforms under FDR.



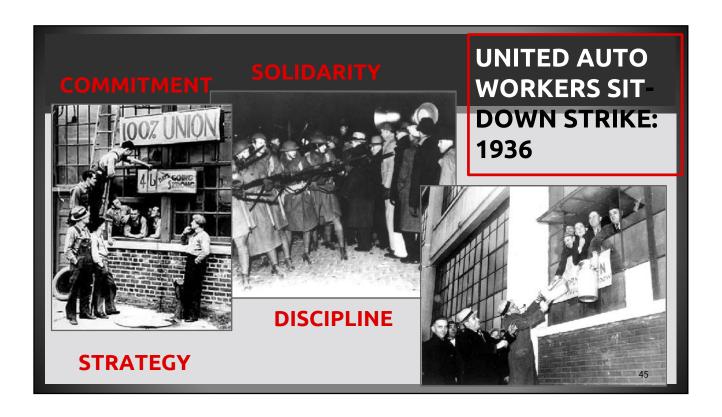


# Mass movements won victories for working class in the past



Victorious UAW Sitdown, at Flint, MI 1937

- □ National Labor Relations Act, 1935
- ☐ Social Security, 1935
- ☐ Unemployment Insurance, 1938
- Fair Labor Standards Act, 193840-hour work weekMinimum Wage

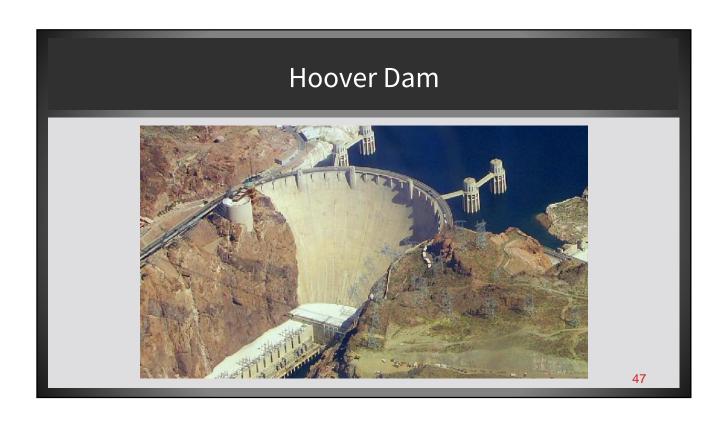


## Works Progress Administration, 1935-1943

- Largest New Deal agency
- Almost every city and town in the US had a project built by WPA workers
- At its peak in Nov. 1938 the program employed **3.3 million** workers
- 8.5 million total during the course of the program
- ✓ Works Progress Administration (WPA)
- ✓ Public Works Administration (PWA)
- ✓ Civil Conservation Corps (CCC)



Typical plaque on WPA projects

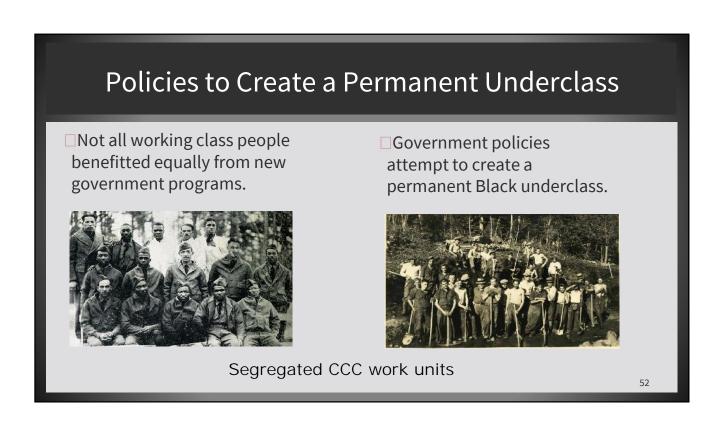












### Federal Housing Administration (FHA)

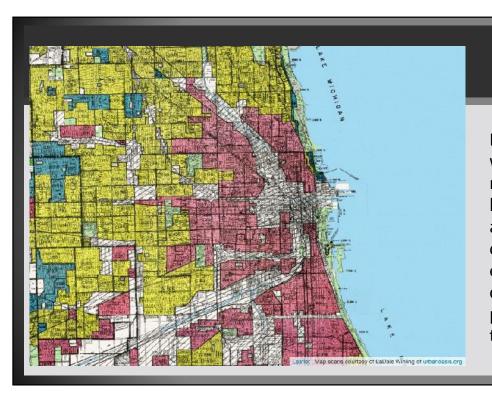
Between 1930 and 1950, 3 out of every 5 homes purchased in the US were financed by the Federal Housing Administration which enabled millions of working class Americans to buy homes.

Question: During that time period how many FHA-back loans were made to similarly -qualified Black buyers?

2%

http://www.bostonfairhousing.org/timeline/1934-FHA.html

53



FHA "Redlining" would be the norm in the housing sector as a whole for decades to come, effectively denying black people the ability to own homes.

# During and after WWII, workers mobilized and won a bigger piece of the economic pie Williams Milliams Milliams

1946 - NFTW First National Contract with AT&T

### 1955 Strike at Southern Bell



50,000 workers went on strike for 72 days

CWAers won:

Across-the-board wage increases

The right to arbitration for suspensions, discharges and job vacancy fillings, reduction of work tour hours

Most significantly, recognition of the right to strike

# Building a Broader Movement: Intersections between Racial Justice and Labor Fights



57

### Memphis Sanitation Strike, 1968

### **CONDITIONS IN MEMPHIS**

Garbage had to be collected by hand Workers had to supply their own protective gear

Workers could be sent home for arriving a minute late to work

African Americans weren't eligible for supervisor positions Injured or sick workers had to find their own transportation to hospital

### Organizing to Win

Thomas Oliver Jones, a worker, organized campaign for 7 years before the strike.

He believed "Workers themselves had to take action!", and he used his own money to establish a small treasury.

He had <u>hundreds</u> of conversations before signing up sanitation workers!



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### City Bosses Deny Union Representation!

#### **Worker Demands:**

- Wage increases
- Overtime pay
- Guaranteed pay for bad weather
- Equal treatment on the Job
- Inclusion of African Americans for eligibility for supervisory positions

Memphis Mayor says "NO UNION, I'll replace strikers with Contractors!"



### **Tragedy Hits**

### **Never forget**

### Echol Cole, Robert Walker and the Memphis Sanitation Strike

Echol Cole, 36 and Robert Walker, 30 were two sanitation workers killed while traveling in the back of garbage trucks in Memphis, Tennessee on Tuesday, Februnry 1, 1968.

"It was a gritesome chore to retrieve the two critical bodies from the garbage packer (an old bodiele truck) and pronounce them dead at John Gaston Hospital. Echol Code and Robert Walker soon became the anonymous cause that diverted Marini Indiar King is Momphis for the last march. (By flags flow at half-ams) for the hast march. (By flags flow at half-ams) for them, but they never were public figures. — Code and Walker would not be listed among civil rights marryes, nor sudded like Rosa Parks as the catalyst for a new movement."

Because the city listed them as unclassified, hourly employees they were not covered by workers compensation. The one month's salary and \$500 for each man were less than their burial expenses. Neither man had life insurance. Walker's wife Earline was pregnant when he died.



Learn from history to help make history



### **Escalating the Struggle**



Associated Press Febuary 14th 1968

### And, the Garbage Mounts in Memphis

MEMPHIS, Tenn. (AP) — Negotiations in the three-day-old Memphis sanitation strike broke up early today. An estimated 2,000 tons of garbage and rubbish is stacking up on the streets daily.

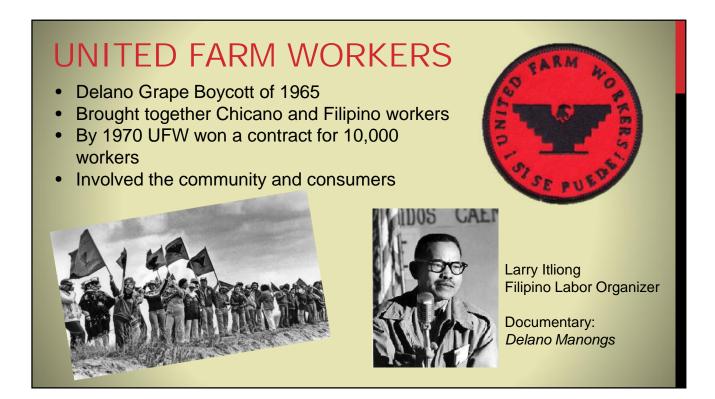
Talks between the city and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employes were to resume in the office of Mayor Hemy Loeb. No progress was reported. The garbage collectors and drivers are seeking city recognition of the union as their bargaining agent. They also are asking 55 cent hourly pay raises for laborers, now paid \$1.80, and 90-cent boosts for the truck drivers, currently making \$2.10.

City officials have branded the walkout as illegal under a 1966 Chancery Court decision forbidding municipal or county workers from striking or picketing.

ORGANIZING IS A LONG GAME!

### VICTORIES FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD, 1960S

Great Society Era									
Health and Welfare			Poverty	Consumer & Environmental Protections					
Medicare, 1965	Equal Pay Act, 1963	Elementary & Secondary Education Act, 1965	The Office of Economic Opportunity, 1964	The Water Quality Act and Clean Air Acts, 1965					
Medicaid, 1965	Civil Rights Act, 1964	Higher Education Act, 1965	Housing and Urban Development Act, 1965	The Highway Safety Act, 1966					
Child Nutrition Act, 1966	Voting Rights Act, 1965	Project Head Start, 1965	Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act, 1966	The Fair Packaging and Labeling Act, 1966					



## Victories for the Public Good, 1970s



- Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), 1972
- Clean Air Act, 1970
- Clean Water Act, 1972
- Pregnancy
   Discrimination Act, 1978

### **Environmental Protection Agency**



Oral History of the Burning River

Cuyahoga River, OH 1969

### Gilbert v. General Electric (1976)

- GE has a long record of paying women two-third less, and firing pregnant workers
- GE excluded pregnancy from disability coverage
- Martha Gilbert, GE Worker, sued for sexdiscrimination
- Supreme Court's Decision:
- Divided workers up into pregnant and nonpregnant classes
- So there was no discrimination on the basis of sex
- Pregnancy is "a voluntarily undertaken and desired condition" legally excluded from GE's disability plan.



Women Mobilize for Equal Protections, 1977

### What do these victories have in common?



#### Each:

- Was won by mass mobilization of working people
- Provided a remedy for issues impacting the average person
- Established new legal protections, rights for the majority in the workplace and community
- Curbed the role of private, corporate power through regulations and agencies
- Expanded the role of the public governance, public employees in the health, education, labor and environmental sectors

# So What Happened?

### **40 Year Class War**

"It took fourteen years to rid this country of prohibition. It is going to take a good while to rid the country of the New Deal, but sooner or later the ax falls and we get a change."



Alfred P. Sloan, CEO General Motors, 1954

### **CORPORATE AMERICA FIGHTS BACK**

#### CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

ATTACK ON AMERICAN FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM

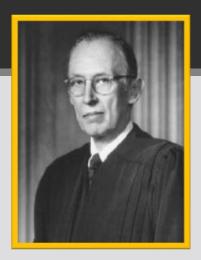
TO: Mr. Eugene B. Sydnor, Jr. Chairman, Education Committee U.S. Chamber of Commerce DATE: August 23, 1971

FROM: Lewis F. Powell, Jr.

This memorandum is submitted at your request as a basis for the discussion on August 24 with Mr. Booth (executive vice president) and others at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. The purpose is to identify the problem, and suggest possible avenues of action for further consideration.

Dimensions of the Attack

"Business must learn the lesson, long ago learned by labor and other self-interest groups. This is the lesson that political power is necessary; that such power must be assiduously cultivated; and that when necessary, it must be used aggressively and with determination - as unwelcome as it may be to the Chamber, it should consider assuming a more vigorous role in the Political Arena." - Powell Memo, 1971



Lewis Franklin Powell Jr
Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States

# Unions in the late 20th Century: A Shifting Approach

- Unions institutionalize power through collective bargaining agreements and union-friendly policy
- More deal-making with employers (i.e. we won't go on strike if you give us higher wages)
- Increased focus on SERVICING the contract instead of ORGANIZING new members



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### 1970s: Corporate America on the Offensive

- □ Attack on Collective Bargaining and Unions
- ☐ Attack on Government Regulation
- □Attack on the "Social Wage" Governmentprovided social benefits that provide economic security and a higher standard of living for working people

### THE POWELL MEMO IN PRACTICE!

### **PATCO Strike of 1981**



Ronald Reagan orders
Professional Air Traffic Control
workers to go back to work
The president then fired over
11,000 workers who ignored his
order

PATCO ultimately de-certified Ushered in era of "trickle-down economics" & "business knows best"

75

### 1980s - Global Corporate Attacks on Working People



Margaret Thatcher UK Prime Minister

### **The Corporate Agenda**

- □ Professor David Harvey, *Neoliberalism and the Restoration of Class Power*
- □Create a "good business climate" no matter what the social impact.
- □Cut public spending on education, health care and social services.
- ☐ Hostile to forms of "social solidarity" such as unions
- □ Privatization of public assets, like schools, health delivery, prisons, etc.
- ☐ "Business interests get to write legislation"
- "The neo-liberal state is profoundly anti-democratic...." What is left of democracy is undermined by massive corporate campaign contributions.

### The Corporate Agenda...Continues

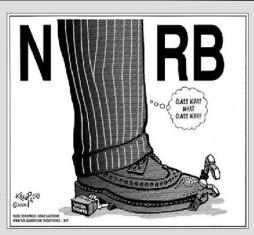
- ☐ Global race to the bottom through corporate-backed trade deals like NAFTA, CAFTA-DR, KORUS, the TPP
- Privatize and defund social benefits and social services
- □ Abolish negotiated benefits like pensions and health care
- ☐ Tax cuts for corporations and the wealthy
- ■Deregulation of major industries

### **Massive Deregulation**

- ☐ Airlines, 1978
- ☐Trucking, 1980
- ☐ Telecommunications, 1984 and 1996
- □Electricity, 1992
- □Oil and Gas Extraction, 1980
- ☐ Finance, repeatedly between 1978 and 2000

### **Effects of Corporate America's Attacks**

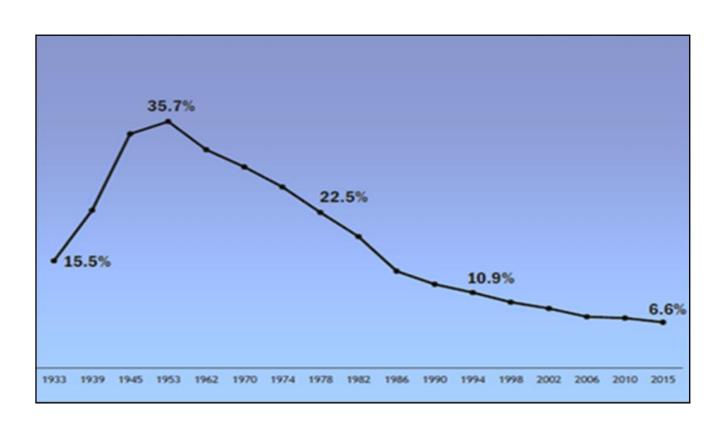
- Decline in union density: union members peak at 21 million in 1979
- Limited power of National Labor Relations Board
- Citizens United Decision = "Corporations are People"
- Explosion in free trade agreements and Corporate-Government collaboration (also supported by Democrats)



### **Labor Unions Double Down**

- Abandonment of working class commitment and politics
- Isolation: "Just take care of our own"
- Disconnection from other struggles
- [False] Perception of Privilege
- Limited voice, limited reach
- Unions lose touch with parts of membership
- Trend of less organizing, more servicing continues
- Blind support for the Democratic Party





# Where is Labor as a Movement?

How can working class people take back power to push a working class agenda?

















### The Women's March



### Harlan County Coal Miners Strike, 1931



Which side are you on boys? Which side are you on? Which side are you on boys? Which side are you on?

They say in Harlan County There are no neutrals there. You'll either be a union man Or a thug for J. H. Blair.

[Chorus]

My daddy was a miner, And I'm a miner's son, He'll be with you fellow workers Until this battle's won. [Chorus]

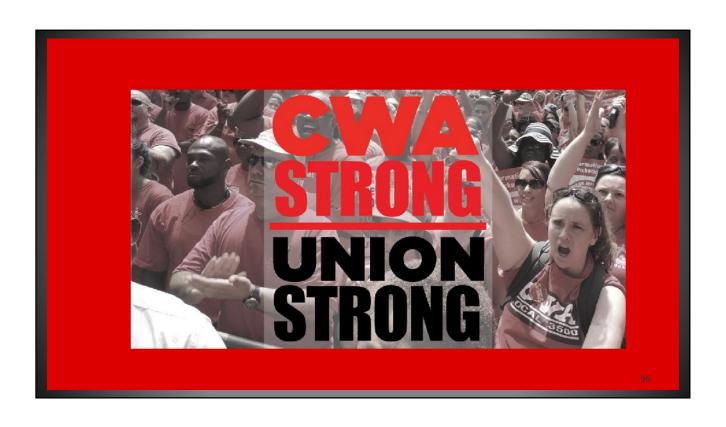
Oh workers can you stand it? Oh tell me how you can? Will you be a lousy scab Or will you be a man?

[Chorus]

Come all you good workers, Good news to you I'll tell Of how the good old union Has come in here to dwell.

[Chorus]

# Which side are you on?



### ORGANIZING IS ASKING: THE FIVE BASICS OF INTERNAL ORGANIZING

- 1. People join the union because they are individually approached and asked to join.
- 2. The more people we ask to join, the more people will join.
- 3. We will get hundreds of workers to join the union when we have hundreds asking.
- 4. We will get hundreds asking by building strong functioning organizing committees.
- 5. We have strong functioning organizing committees when people are meeting regularly, making plans, working with lists, doing charts, taking assignments and reporting.



### HOW TO ASK YOUR CO-WORKERS TO JOIN THE UNION

**MAKE A DIRECT ASK.** Successful organizers and activists agree that you have to clearly and directly ask people to join the union. Asking is organizing!

**ALWAYS USE A MEMBERSHIP FORM & PEN.** Put the membership form in the hand of the non-member and explain how to fill it out. Organizer assistance!

**BE PREPARED AND USE A LIST.** Plan to approach the most receptive people first. Speak to them when you are both on a break and have time to talk. Avoid very negative or anti-union people. Use a list to help you make decisions about who to target and when.

worry about being perfectly articulate or providing the perfect case for union membership. Be proud that you made the choice to stand up for yourself and your job. Share why you are involved or your own experience of how union solidarity has worked.

**COMMUNICATE URGENCY.** Our fights in the workplace and beyond are urgent and so is the need for us to be strong and united. The time is now!

**CONNECT MEMBERSHIP TO ISSUES.** Whether the issue is job security, pensions, contracting out, or health and safety, union membership is the first step towards standing up, uniting and fighting back.

MEMBERSHIP AND DUES EQUAL POWER. We want to build the strongest, most effective union we can have. There is power in numbers. And resources in membership dues. Employers know, through payroll deduction, who pays dues; they view large groups of non-members as a lack of support for our issues.

they will think about it, ask open ended questions to understand their point of view, such as "what is holding you back?" By listening, you learn what issues matter to them or if they might be an activist. Don't assume everyone shares the same views.

BE PERSISTENT. Some people don't join the union the first time they learn about it. Don't get discouraged when people say no. Many join after being asked multiple times. Work to identify and overcome objections. Being persistent shows their membership in the union is important.



### **Overcoming Objections**

#### I don't believe in unions.

[Ask questions and listen to understand better what is meant. Point to past victories, the bigger picture of what is happening in the economy, and the stakes in current fights to demonstrate the importance of the union]. We are working to build the strongest, most effective organization and we need your help. Can any one of us individually get better health care or pension benefits? The employer has never just given us a thing without a fight. There is power in numbers and we need you.

#### I can't afford to join the union.

It is worth paying dues to have a strong union. We often say that you can't afford NOT to pay dues. If we want power and a voice at work, we have to be organized. Dues make everything we do as a union possible and the more people pay dues, the stronger our union will be.

# The union didn't do anything to help me when I needed it.

[This objection often relates to an individual issue which did not get resolved to their satisfaction. Ask questions and listen to understand what happened in the past. If a mistake was made, empathize with them. Then refocus the person on collective issues and the urgency of the need to join the union now.] I am sorry that happened to you. That doesn't sound right. But in terms of what we are all facing at our employer today, we need you in the union to help with (current issue).

# The union supports [political candidate] and I don't support him/her.

Do you support our fight for (issue)? We don't all have to vote alike to know that we need a union at work. Our union endorsements are based on how candidates vote on working people's issues and our union dues do not go to politicians. Regardless of what different union members do at the ballot box, we need a union here at our workplace to deal with the issues that unite us here: (their issue), job security, workload, health care, pay, etc.

# I have never used the union before and I don't see the need for it now.

[If a co-worker raises this objection, they likely view the union as a grievance handling service for people who get in trouble at work. Ask questions to learn what collective issues such as health care, job security, workload, or pay matter to your co-worker.] The most important reason to join the union is to build power for the issues which affect us all. We all need the union to be an effective, powerful voice our shared concerns. Join the union and help build our mobilization on (pressing collective issue).

# Why should I join if I get the same benefits without paying dues?

[Ask questions to figure out what matters most to your co-worker and connect that to the importance of union membership.] We will all fare better with you as a member because we are stronger together and there is power in numbers. We have a better chance of winning on (issue) if you are with us. We need you.

# This union doesn't do anything. Last contract we had a big insurance increase.

The more members in our union, the stronger we are. We need you in this fight. Health care is going up everywhere, along with corporate greed and economic inequality. Without the union, we have no way of fighting as individuals on a big issue like health care. Joining the union means more power for all of our fights. We can't do it without you.

### I am quitting soon, so it won't affect me.

While you are still here, we need you. And we are working to make this the kind of workplace where you would want to stay. Your membership matters, even if you are only here a short while. Our employer will assume that non-members don't support our issues, so your participation is important. Will you fill out this form and join the union?



### **Contact Sheet**

Campaign	Location	1		Or	Organizing Committee Member				
Contact	Date	Joined union	Pro union	Borderline (2)	Anti-union (3)	Comments			



### ORGANIZING CHART

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