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Does Alliance Formation between National Labor Unions and National Environmental Organizations Exist?

David Foster Steele

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I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by David Foster Steele entitled "Does Alliance Formation between National Labor Unions and National Environmental Organizations Exist?". I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Sociology.

Jon Shefner, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

Sherry Cable, Thomas Hood, Robert Gorman

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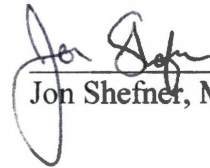
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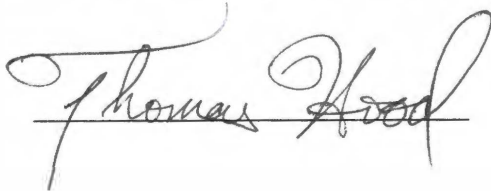
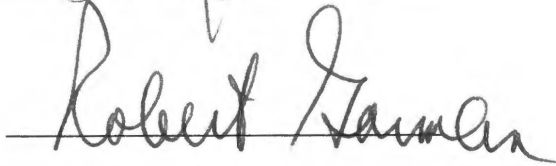
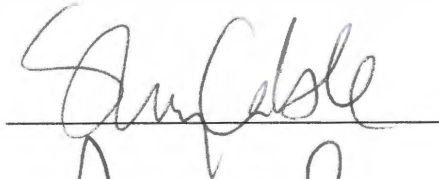
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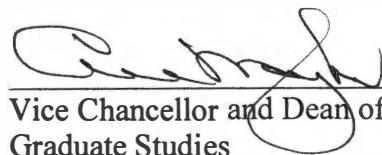


Jon Shefner, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:



Accepted for the Council:



Vice Chancellor and Dean of
Graduate Studies

***DOES ALLIANCE FORMATION BETWEEN NATIONAL LABOR UNIONS AND
NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS EXIST?***

A Dissertation Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

David Foster Steele

December 2004

Thesis
2004b
.S74

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the men and women of the labor and environmental movements. They have dedicated their lives to making a better world.

&

As always, my family.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Success is never achieved alone. Completion of this dissertation is no exception. I am foremost indebted to Dr. Jon Shefner for agreeing to chair my dissertation and for providing professional guidance over the past several years. Working with Dr. Shefner on the Global Studies Initiative at the University of Tennessee is one of the highlights of my graduate career at UT. I would also like to thank the other committee members, Dr. Sherry Cable, Dr. Thomas Hood and Dr. Robert Gorman, for their support with the dissertation and all my academic efforts. Dr. Cable and Dr. Hood have been supportive of my efforts to become a sociologist since my time as an undergraduate student in their respective classes. Dr. Cable has always challenged me to be a better student and Dr. Hood has always encouraged me to follow my research interests. Dr. Gorman's enthusiasm for the dissertation project has been invaluable. The feedback all the committee members provided greatly improved the quality of the dissertation.

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ABSTRACT

Does alliance formation between national labor unions and national environmental organizations exist? Seven national labor unions and seven national environmental organizations that are representative of the two movements are selected for examination by this study to address this question. The project gathers and analyzes three types of data: documents on the web sites of the selected organizations, interviews with high ranking officials from many of the organizations examined and the hyperlinks or web links from each organization's web page. An analysis of the documents of the web sites and interviews with high ranking officials identifies three issues that national labor unions and national environmental organizations share: global trade/globalization, corporate accountability and human exposure to toxic chemicals. Next, the study examines the hyperlinks from the web sites to discover if they demonstrate a connection between national labor unions and national environmental organizations. The study found minimal direct web links between national labor unions and national environmental organizations. From the document analysis of the web sites and the interviews conducted with high ranking officials, Warren's (1967) typology of coalitional (temporary coalitions) and federative (permanent coalitions) arrangements is used to order the efforts of national labor unions and environmental organizations to work together. The AFL-CIO is included among the assessment of organizations participating in coalitional and federative arrangements. Twenty-one coalitional arrangements and 6 federative arrangements are discovered by this study. The majority of coalitional arrangements and 3 of the 6 federative arrangements are associated with the issue of global

trade/globalization. The other coalitional and federative arrangements are associated with the issues of corporate accountability, human exposure to toxic chemicals and energy. The issue of energy as a cooperative issue emerged from the discovered coalitional arrangements. The findings of the study indicate that among national labor unions and national environmental organizations, industrial labor unions and environmental lobbying organizations have the greatest success in working together. Overall, the ability of national labor unions and national environmental organizations to work together appears to be limited by their lack of shared issues and their inability to align the frames of the issues they do share. Many indicators suggest that national labor unions and national environmental organizations are moving farther away from working together. Besides the lack of shared issues, the factors of conflicts between the labor and the environmental movements, the difficulty of adopting a social justice frame, the adverse political climate, the relationship of the labor and environmental movements to capital/business, the lack of acknowledging coalitional and federative arrangements, the lack of building federative arrangements, and the general difficulties of trying to work together limit cooperation between national labor unions and national environmental organizations. These findings are discussed using a synthesis of the framing perspective, resource mobilization, and the political process model/political opportunity perspective as suggested by Oliver and Myers (2003). The project concludes with an overview of findings, questions for future research and policy recommendations that could improve the ability of national labor unions and environmental organizations to work together.

PREFACE

The research presented herein was generously supported by the University of Tennessee Graduate School and the Yates Family with the award of a Yates Dissertation Fellowship. The points of view presented and expressed in this dissertation do not necessarily reflect the position of the University of Tennessee Graduate School or the Yates Family.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFL-CIO	American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations
AFSCME	American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees
ANWR	Arctic National Wildlife Refuge
AUDUBON	National Audubon Society
ART	Alliance for Responsible Trade
CAFTA	Central America Free Trade Agreement
CERES	Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economics
CHEJ	Center for Health, Environment and Justice
ENVIR. DEF.	Environmental Defense (abbreviation only used in tables)
FOE	Friends of the Earth
FTAA	Free Trade Area of the Americas
GREEN	Greenpeace USA (abbreviation only used in tables)
HERE	Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Union
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LEAPS	The Labor-Environment Alliance for Planetary Solidarity
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NATURE	The Nature Conservancy (abbreviation only used in tables)
NSM	New Social Movements Theory
OCAW	Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers International Union

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Continued

OSHA	Occupational Safety and Health Act
PACE	Paper, Allied-Industrial, Chemical and Energy Workers International Union
PUHCA	The Public Utility Holding Company Act
SEIU	Service Employees International Union
SIERRA	Sierra Club (abbreviation only used in tables)
SMO	Social Movement Organizations
TEAMSTERS	International Brotherhood of Teamsters
UFW	United Farm Workers of America
USWA	United Steelworkers of America
UPIU	United Paperworkers International Union
WTO	World Trade Organization

CHAPTER 1

DOES ALLIANCE FORMATION BETWEEN NATIONAL LABOR UNIONS AND NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS EXIST?

The purpose of this exploratory research is to discover if national labor unions and national environmental organizations work together to achieve their goals. While there have been some efforts to examine how labor and environmental organizations work together at the local and state level (Obach 1999, 2000, 2002; Foster 1994; Gottlieb 1993; Minchin 2003; Rose 2000) and on a specific issue or event at the national level (Buttel and Gould 2004; Dewey 1998; Dreiling 1997, 1998, 2001; Gottlieb 1993; Gordon 1998; Gould, Lewis and Roberts 2004; Mazur 2000; Miller 1980; Park 2000; Siegmann 1985, 1986; Schnaiberg and Gould 1994; Tabb 2000), no one has attempted to identify if these social movements share multiple issues they can work on together at the national level.

When relationships between national labor unions and national environmental organizations have been examined at the national level, the focus has been on a single political issue or event, like the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) (Dreiling 1997, 1998, 2001) or the protest in Seattle in 1999 against the practices of the World Trade Organization (WTO) (Buttel and Gould 2004; Gould et al. 2004; Mazur 2000; Park 2000; Tabb 2000). While this issue initiated research provides us with knowledge of which organizations participate on a single issue/event, like the Seattle Protest, it does not provide us with a comprehensive knowledge of all the issues and cooperative activities linking the organizations of the labor and environmental movement at the national level.

The goal of this research project is to begin the discovery of all the various issues and cooperative activities that exist between national labor unions and national environmental organizations. This study examines 7 national labor unions and 7 national environmental organizations to begin this process. I attempt to conceptualize the social space that exists for national labor unions and environmental organizations to work together.

IMPORTANCE OF STUDY

It is important to discover the efforts of national labor unions and environmental organizations to work together because the labor and environmental movements are two of the largest and most respected movements in the United States. Working together these movements can increase their ability to improve the quality of life for our citizenry. Organizations in both movements work to address and challenge how the costs and benefits of the capital production process are distributed across society (Buttel, Geisler, and Wiswall 1984; Obach 2000; Rose 2000; Siegmann 1985). Many researchers now call for organizations across movements to work together, including national labor unions and environmental organizations. Derber states:

The new populism is emerging today as a coalition of four movements: labor, the "Third Sector" community movement, identity movement of race and gender, and the environmental movement. The goals of all four require a systemic challenge to corporate sovereignty, and none will be able to succeed without sustained collaborative strategies.... (Derber 1998:31)

Reynolds (1999) cites Brecher and Costello (1990), Fisher and Kling (1993) and Simmons (1994, 1997, 1998) as conveying the need for unions to "build coalitions with their communities and other progressive organizations" (Reynolds 1999:54). Boggs (1990) and Broad (1995) echo the importance of labor building coalitions. Boggs

suggests that “radical social change depends upon a convergence of labor struggles and popular movements around feminism, ecology, peace and social equality” (1990:302). Broad states that the “best long-run option for labor is increasing social movement unionism through which labor combines with other social movements...in a general struggle for social justice” (1995:79). The social movements Broad suggests labor join with include “feminists, environmentalists, peace activists, aboriginal people and others to achieve a more rational and humane world order” (1995:79).

Mitchell et al. finds that national environmental organizations “frequently practice the politics of ad hoc coalitions, in which several organizations (including nonenvironmental ones, such as labor unions, whenever possible) unite in a formal or informal coalition to work together on a given issue” (1992:23). Tokar encourages “greater cooperation between ecological activists and those engaged in other social movements” (1997:216).

Burton (1998), Foster (1991), Obach (2000), Schnaiberg and Gould (1994) and Rose (2000) believe that environmental organizations must form coalitions with labor unions and incorporate social concerns into their organizational agendas for any success at confronting capital. Schnaiberg and Gould suggest that building coalitions with labor and other movement groups will allow the movements to combine in a way that gives them a “greater chance of dominating the (political) agenda, through political veto power over economic elites and their government supporters” (1994:160).

If organizations that make up the national labor and environmental movements could find a way to cooperate, they could become a significant force for social change (Boggs 1990; Obach 2000; Rose 2000). This possibility of increasing their effectiveness by working together is best explained by Obach when he states:

When divided, they (labor and environmental movement) represent relatively weak movements compared to the power wielded by those private entities charged with the exploitation of workers and nature. Yet, allied they represent a force capable of offering a significant counterweight to their mutual adversaries. Such an alliance would represent a movement capable of bringing about dramatic social change. (2000:295)

Cable and Benson (1993) illustrate the need for labor and environmental rules and regulations to become uniform at the national level. When examining grassroots environmental efforts, they discover that victories won at one production site do not transfer to production sites across the nation. Changes are made only at the site where pressure is exerted to improve conditions. Working together, national labor unions and national environmental organizations can increase their power by coordinating national activities, such as joint statements, direct action and lobbying efforts, thus working more efficiently and establishing uniform rules and regulations across the nation that do not have to be re-won on a state by state or community by community basis.

For an alliance between labor and environmental organizations to have optimal success it needs to operate at the national level. Otherwise the successes of grassroots organizations in local areas will fail to be transferred to the national level (Cable and Benson 1993). Rose states that a coalition creating a “national movement is needed when the struggle is against national or multinational companies or the federal government’s spending priorities” (2000:216-217). Obach explains that we do not have any comprehension of the “alliance building efforts between labor unions and environmental organizations at the national level” (2000:84). Considering the social conditions presently facing both movements, especially with the impact of globalization, there is a need to discover the efforts of national labor unions and environmental organizations to work

together. This project is a first step in assessing the alliance efforts between labor unions and environmental organizations at the national level.

Many researchers suggest that for progressive social change to occur in the United States organizations that comprise the various social movements must combine their forces. But do organizations work together across movements? Can they work together across movements? Does this cooperative activity occur at the national level? This project begins to address these questions by examining the cooperative activity between national labor unions and national environmental organizations.

GLOBALIZATION AS A LINKING FACTOR

The goal of this study is to discover if national labor unions and environmental organizations have the ability to work together to establish a strong social agenda. Based on the cooperation between national labor unions and environmental organizations discovered by the research on the globalization related issues of NAFTA and the Seattle protest, it is hypothesized that globalization may be a key factor in bringing together national labor unions and environmental organizations.

Buttel, Geisler, and Wiswall (1984) suggest that the need for cooperation between labor and environmentalists grew during the 1980s with the promotion of neoliberal economics. They explain that the need for cooperation between national labor unions and national environmental organizations grew due to the conservative shift of American politics that advocated the deregulation of business, particularly environmental and labor rules. This focus on deregulation is prevalent today and makes it necessary for environmentalists and labor to seek coalitions and alliances to preserve the gains they

made in previous decades (Buttel et al. 1984:15). The Reagan era anti-regulatory attacks on labor and environmental regulations during the 1980s is associated with the restructuring of the United States economic system in response to the intensified globalization of trade (Berberoglu 1990, 1992; Rose 2000).

After World War II and until the 1980s, capital, the state and labor operated as a coalition that supported and was being supported by economic growth (Schnaiberg 1980:212). Cable and Cable (1995) discuss that labor's inclusion in the "growth coalition" resulted from labor's structural position in society in which they rely on the corporate class for jobs. Cable and Cable explain that in the past, improvements for laborers have not occurred from a redistribution of profits but from an increase in profits due to the expansion of production. Ross (2000) refers to the growth coalition as the "golden age model" when high economic growth allowed for labor unions, employers and government to act as allies. Rose explains that labor's participation in the growth coalition cost the labor movement "its broader social agenda" and made the labor movement "unprepared for the hostile environment of the 1980s" created by the intensification of globalization (2000:91). (See also Dewey 1998)

Labor unions supported growth policies because in the past labor unions in the United States disproportionately represented highly skilled workers. Because highly skilled workers operate the technology used to expand production and increase environmental withdraws, they receive wage increases from growth activities, while other workers may be negatively affected by this process (Schnaiberg and Gould 1994).

Workers also supported the policies of capital out of the need for short-term economic survival (Cable and Cable 1995). Their support is often gained by job blackmail, with

capital threatening to cease operations if they do not support their policies (Kazis and Grossman 1991).

Because the focus of labor unions is on the need to improve the economic conditions of workers, they have supported the expansion of production in the past as it resulted in higher wages for highly skilled technical workers. However, with the intensification of globalization, the benefits of expanding the production process is less effective in increasing the economic standing of workers (even highly skilled workers) in the United States, thus diminishing the power and success of labor unions in the United States (Ross 2000).

It is commonly recognized that globalization allows business to move labor activities around the globe to where items can be most cheaply produced. The increased ability of business to relocate production has reduced the power of labor internationally and has resulted in the expulsion of labor in the United States from the growth coalition. As the expulsion process began in the 1980s, labor unions that were first to realize the effects of globalization started to consider working together with environmental organizations (Buttel et al 1984; Jackson and Wright 1981). Boswell and Stevis suggest that globalization is leading labor unions to expand their agenda to include "issues of gender, environment and community to mobilize support beyond their union base" (1997:300). Ross expands this to explain that "globalization forces the labor movement on the defensive, and impels it to seek out new allies, in community and action and in politics" (2004:305). National environmental organizations are a potential ally for addressing globalization as they work to oppose globalization because of its increase in international pollution and destruction of natural environments. Gould et al. see globalization as

creating the possibility for collaboration between national labor unions and national environmental organizations (2004:99).

Globalization is a critical concept needed to understand many of the activities and behaviors that operate in the world today. However, globalization is a vaguely defined concept (Guillén 2001; Ross 2000, Scholte 2000). The vagueness of the concept of globalization results from the fact that we have yet to fully realize the interdependency of society at the global level. However, our understanding of globalization and its impact on the daily lives of each human on earth continues to grow with our study of the concept. While discussing the vagueness of the concept of globalization, Scholte notes that "many of the key notions of social analysis are frequently used loosely and vaguely....'class', 'culture', 'money', 'law', 'development', 'international'...and the usages of globalization are considerably more precise than their usage" (2000:15).

Guillén examines the various definitions of globalization that currently operate in the social sciences and then promotes one that synthesizes them into a new definition.

Guillén defines globalizations as:

A process leading to greater interdependence and mutual awareness (reflexivity) among economic, political, and social units in the world, and among actors in general (Guillén 2001:236)

Guillén's definition of the concept of globalization as a process leading to greater interdependence and mutual awareness among economic, political and social units in the world and among actors in general is the definition that operates throughout my analysis of globalization issues. It indicates that as globalization intensifies, organizations that operate with agendas that are in opposition to the activities of other unified global units

(as labor unions and environmental organizations are to the trade arrangements encouraged by government and capital), may work together to promote their goals.

Evans explains that globalization is “aggressively subordinating an ever wider range of social relationships to market transactions and trying to make decision making power synonymous with market power” (2001:5). By focusing on market power as the dominating factor in decisions, issues of justice or fairness supported by environmental and labor organizations are lessened. Evans argues that globalization is forcing the labor movement to “think of itself again as a social movement” (2001:4).

Evans sees globalization as a common issue for many movements, particularly the labor and environmental movement, as they oppose the corporations that benefit from the current structure of globalization. Evans states:

Environmentalists trying to save trees and turtles or Third World women protesting the blind market logic of “structural adjustment” programs are both asserting claims that transcend the logic of market allocation. The aggressive assertion by both corporations and global governance institutions that “investor rights” take precedence over all other claims leaves the social movements confronting essentially the same logic of decision making that workers negotiating with corporate managements have always confronted. Thus globalization expands further the common ground that labor shares with other social movements. (Evans 1982:5)

Korten (1998) is concerned that globalization is submitting the world to market forces without considering the consequences of this action in regards to meeting the needs of many of the people in the world. Korten suggests that our focus on international trade is failing to recognize the problems that are the result of or exacerbated by international trade arrangements. Korten views international trade as “rapidly deteriorating the environment, human rights, food security, population, unemployment, poverty and the social fabric (of societies)” (1998:5). Many of these issues are championed by labor

unions and environmental organizations. Cummings and Tillman (1999) echo the argument against the free market ideas currently associated with globalization when they state:

But markets alone, whether unfettered or manipulated by corporate capitalists, cannot adequately provide for such important public goods as job safety and security, environmental protection, maintenance of infrastructure, public health and education, protection for the disadvantaged, multicultural diversity, planning for future generations and community integrity in the face of untrammelled growth. Market values must be balanced by community values. (Cummings and Tillman 1999:6)

Podobnik and Reifer (2004), Wallerstein (1990) and Starr (2000) encompass the labor movement and the environmental movement as part of an anti-systemic movement against globalization that is working to create a more egalitarian world concerned about protecting community values. Wallerstein states that many movements in the world today share a common bond, "they reject the injustices created by the capitalist world system" (1990:45). Buttell and Gould (2004) and Gould et al. (2004) both consider globalization an important component to possibly allow national labor unions and environmental organizations to work together because it provides a common language or critique against neo-liberal economic policies, current international institutions and corporate power. This "common bond" or "critique" of globalization should provide national labor unions and national environmental organizations the opportunity to work together as they face a common threat (Hodge and Anthony 1988; Shefner 2001).

CONTRIBUTIONS OF CURRENT RESEARCH

Van Dyke (2003), in her examination of cross movement coalition protests on university campuses, identifies three assumptions about cross movement or between movement coalitions that is important to this study. They are:

1. Coalitions that can cut across movements can mobilize more people.
2. That fragmentation of progressive issues into various movements and identities has hindered the efforts of these movements to achieve their goals.
3. The growing recognition that social movements are interconnected.¹

(Van Dyke 2003:226-227)

From these assumptions Van Dyke concludes that a need exists to study cross movement coalitions. Unfortunately, most research on coalition activity focuses "on one issue or within one social movement" (Van Dyke 2003:227). In her research on coalitions among students on college campuses, Van Dyke discovers that cross movement coalitions are more likely to come about when three factors are present. First, when multi-issue organizations are involved they can reach out to a greater range of other organizations to participate. Secondly, cross movement coalitions are more likely to occur when threats to the goals of movement organizations are produced by powerful actors, like an antagonistic federal administration, that require cross movement action to

¹ Van Dyke identifies these three assumptions from a review of the past literature. Below it appears as in Van Dyke's article with the relevant contributors to each assumption.

1. Coalitions that can cut across movements can mobilize more people (Adams 1991; Aronowitz 1993; Gitlin 1996; Jones et al. 2001; Kahn 1982; Sampson 1984; Stryker 1993; Wilson 1999).
2. That fragmentation of progressive issues into various movements and identities has hindered the efforts of these movements to achieve their goals (Aronowitz 1993; Gitlin 1996; Stryker 1993).
3. The growing recognition that social movements are interconnected (McAdam 1995; Meyer and Whittier 1994; Taylor 2000; Van Dyke 1998).

fight. Third, cross movement activities occur when an issue overlaps movement boundaries.

Van Dyke's findings highlight the need for the type of research being carried out by this project, which works to identify cross movement coalitions between national labor unions and national environmental organizations. It also supports the idea of focusing on the activities of these organizations at the national level, because it is at the national level where these organizations oversee multiple issues, and try to influence the federal policy process. A key factor in identifying the cross coalition efforts of national labor unions and environmental organizations is the discovery of the number of issues they share that provide them with opportunities to work together. Obach (2000) identifies the number of issues an organization addresses as their organizational range and hypothesizes that the greater the organizational range of an organization, the more likely their collaboration with other organizations.

The goal of this research project is to begin the discovery of all the various issues and cooperative activities that exist between national labor unions and environmental organizations. This project will address the questions: What issues do national labor unions and national environmental organizations share? What cooperative activity is presently occurring between national labor unions and national environmental organizations? What is the comparative level of cooperation between the national labor unions and national environmental organizations selected for this study?

Because past research has been initiated at the state/local level or around a specific issue or event, there is no way to know the cooperative activity between national labor unions and national environmental organizations. This research helps to discover and

conceptualize the social spaces that exist for national labor unions and environmental organizations to work together.

By focusing on the organizations selected for this study rather than focusing on the activities that occur in a specific state/community or toward a specific issue, this research has the opportunity to begin to map the social space for cooperative activity between national labor and environmental movements by identifying the issues they share, and what type (if any) of alliances they have formed to address these issues collectively. In essence, the uniqueness of this study comes from its organizational focus. It attempts to discover cooperative activity between labor unions and environmental organizations at the national level.

To achieve the goal of this research project in beginning the discovery of all the various issues and cooperative activities that exist between national labor unions and environmental organizations, each of the following chapters presents information and evidence to better understand this relationship. Chapter 2 is an analysis of the relevant research. It begins with an examination of the definitions and concepts implemented by this project. The chapter continues by examining research that provides insight into factors influencing cooperative activity and presenting an analytical framework that guides the study.

Chapter 3 is a discussion of the research strategy implemented to gain data for this project. It begins by providing a rationale for the selection of the 7 national labor unions and the 7 national environmental organizations selected for inclusion in this study. It then explains how data is collected to address the research question using document analysis of organizational web sites, personal interviews of high-ranking officials from the

selected organizations, and a sociometric/social network analysis of the web links between national labor unions and national environmental organizations.

Chapter 4 is an issue and activities oriented chapter that presents all the issues that each organization addresses and attempts to find the convergence of issues that national labor unions and national environmental organizations selected for this study share. Three issues are discovered that link national labor unions and environmental organizations. They are global trade/globalization, corporate accountability and human exposure to toxic chemicals. The issue of energy policy is also discovered as a (re)emerging issue for national labor unions and environmental organizations. Chapter 4 then examines the efforts of national labor unions and national environmental organizations selected for this study to work together. Using Warren's (1967) typology, the chapter discusses the coalitional arrangements and federative arrangements between the national labor unions and environmental organizations selected for this study. The efforts of these organizations to work together are discovered by examining the web sites of these organizations, internet searches and from the interviews conducted with high ranking officials from 5 of the national labor unions and 5 of the national environmental organizations selected for this study.

The American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) is also included in the identification of participation in cooperative activities. While collecting the data for this project it became apparent that much of the cooperation between national labor unions with national environmental organizations includes the AFL-CIO. Therefore, the researcher made a decision to acknowledge the AFL-CIO's inclusion in coalitional arrangements and federative arrangements to better identify the

cooperation between the labor unions and environmental organizations at the national level.

Chapter 5 uses the data presented in Chapter 4 to assess cooperation between national labor unions and national environmental organizations. The chapter examines the cooperation of national labor unions and environmental organizations by examining the issues on which they work together in coalitional and federative arrangements: global trade/globalization, corporate accountability, human exposure to toxic chemicals and the (re)emergence of the issue of energy. This chapter further examines the overall participation of each national labor union and environmental organization by assigning them into four categories: those with high levels of cooperation, those with medium levels of cooperation, those with low levels of cooperation and those where no cooperative activity is discovered. The chapter ends with a discussion of how the efforts of national labor unions and environmental organizations to work together are limited.

Chapter 6 examines why the efforts of national environmental organizations and national labor unions to work together in coalitional arrangements and/or federative arrangements are limited. The key factors appear to be the lack of shared issues between movements, conflicts between the labor and environmental movements, the organizational framing of the issues they do share, the current resistance of the administration of the federal government to their goals, the resistance of business to their respective organizational goals, the failure to acknowledge current coalitional and federative arrangements in which they participate, and the organizational difficulties of working together.

Chapter 7 concludes the project by reexamining the goal of this research project to discover the various issues and cooperative activities that exist between national labor unions and environmental organizations. Chapter 7 discusses the findings of this project and how they relate to previous research. Chapter 7 continues by presenting suggestions for further research which includes further identification of the cooperative activities between the labor and environmental movement by examining more organizations and expanding this identification process beyond the labor and environmental movement to include organization from other movements, such as the human rights, women's rights and farm workers movements.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE

This chapter examines previous research that helps to guide the activities of this study. The chapter begins by defining the concept of cooperative activity and discussing the difference between cross movement coalitions and other coalitions. The chapter then examines the factors that influence cooperative activity among organizations. The chapter concludes by presenting the analytical framework that will be used by this study.

DEFINITIONS AND CONCEPTS

The goal of this project is to begin the discovery of all the various issues and cooperative activities that exist between national labor unions and national environmental organizations. These organizations are respectively part of the labor movement and environmental movement in the United States. This project defines a social movement organization (SMOs), like labor unions and environmental organizations, using the definition created by Zald and McCarthy which states that a SMO is “an organization that identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement and attempts to implement these goals” (1980:2). A social movement is defined as “a set of opinions and beliefs in a population which represents preferences by changing some elements of the social structure and/or reward distribution of society” (Zald and McCarthy 1980:2). The labor movement works to improve the lives of workers, while the environmental movement works to prevent pollution and protect the natural environment.

The terms alliance and coalition are often used interchangeably in the relevant research. While most researchers imply that coalitions are groups that work together, many researchers never define what they consider to be a coalition. Kahn defines a coalition “as a group of organizations working together for a common purpose” (1982:277). Meyer and Whittier offer a similar definition when they define coalitions as “structuring mechanisms that bring a broad spectrum of distinct organizations into contact” (1994:290). This research will use Kahn’s definition of coalition and will use the terms alliance, working together, and cooperative activity interchangeably with the term coalition.²

According to Van Dyke, most research on coalition activity has occurred by examining “coalitions that are active on one issue or within one social movement” but little is known about cross movement coalitions (2003:22). Van Dyke defines a cross movement coalition as “including the participation of groups organized around different single movements or issues” (2003:233-234).

This project increases our knowledge of cross movement coalitions by identifying the cooperative activity that exists between national labor unions and national environmental organizations. Two typologies can be used to identify and classify the shared activities of the selected national labor unions and environmental organizations. The first is created by Obach (1999, 2000) which emphasizes how organizational goals affect cooperation. Obach divided inter-movement cooperation into three types: (1) instrumental cooperation, (2) compromise cooperation, and (3) enlightened cooperation. According to

² This research project, as it tries to discover cooperation between social movement organizations, is using the terms cooperation and cooperative activity differently than it has been used to address cooperation in small group research.

Obach, the most common type of cooperation is instrumental cooperation, which occurs when two organizations cooperate on an issue that allows them to achieve their respective goals. Enlightened cooperation occurs as organizations work together and incorporate some of the goals of the other cooperating organizations into their own goals. This allows them to work more closely together and intensify their cooperation. The final type of cooperation is compromise cooperation. With compromise cooperation, groups agree to support a certain policy outcome on an issue that partially fulfills the goals of each participating organization. Obach (1999) recognizes that cooperation on organizational goals is not always possible and you may also have no cooperation due to “irreconcilable differences.”

Warren (1967) created a typology for inter-organizational arrangements or contexts that focuses on the organizational structure used by organizations as they interact with each other. Warren’s typology includes the four categories of (1) social choice arrangements, (2) coalitional arrangements, (3) federative arrangements and (4) unitary arrangements.

Social choice arrangements identify organizations as they act independently. There is no contact between organizations. While organizations may be working toward similar goals, they are not working together.

Coalitional arrangements occur when organizations who are pursuing similar goals decide to work together to some degree toward achieving that particular goal. Federative arrangements move the organizations even closer. In federative arrangements organizations create councils (or new organizations) that create an inclusive structure that

allows participating organizations to coordinate activities to reaching shared goals while each organization maintains its autonomy.

Unitary arrangements occur when a hierarchical structure is used where authority rests at the top of the structure and partner organizations no longer have autonomy. Hodge and Anthony (1988) discussed unitary arrangements as creating supra-organizations that take most of the decision making away from participating organizations and places it within the supra-organization. Warren is clear to point out that “The four contexts (arrangements) should be understood as points along the various dimensions rather than discrete states” (1967:408). The concepts presented in this section will be implemented in the establishment of analytical framework of this research project. Also included will be a focus on the factors that influence cooperative activity.

FACTORS INFLUENCING COOPERATIVE ACTIVITY

Factors that influence cooperative activity between national labor unions and national environmental organizations occur at the macro level of society and on the organizational level. At the macro level, characteristics of the social structure and relationships with other social actors (politics/government and economy/capital) influence the cooperative activity between national labor unions and national environmental organizations. At the organizational level, cooperative activity is influenced by the resources and framing of issues by individual organizations. Each is examined below.

Macro Factors

From the macro level, it is suggested that organizations will work together when the political opportunity for success presents itself. Many researchers suggest political opportunities occur during times of crisis (Buttel et al. 1984; Siegmann 1985, Staggenborg 1986; Van Dyke 2003). Buttel et al. (1984) and Siegmann (1985) suggest that environmentalists and labor seek coalitions to preserve the gains they made in previous decades when confronted by corporate power and/or political adversity. Van Dyke (2003) supports this conclusion by suggesting that coalitions are formed when a threat is too great for any one organization to confront. Staggenborg (1986) and Zald and McCarthy (1980) suggest that coalitions emerge not only to face threats but to act when conditions are right for success of organizational goals by working together.

McAdam (1995: 1997), Piven and Cloward (1979) and Taylor (2000) explain that political opportunities occur when disruption of the social structure destabilizes current power relationships of the status quo, thus providing the opportunity for classes or groups to promote their interests. They suggest these disruptions usually result from some change in the political and/or economic system. As Mentioned in Chapter 1, Globalization is a process that has provided many instances of social disruption in the past few decades and may be providing opportunities for national labor and environmental organizations to work together. Taylor (2000) suggests that to take advantage of political opportunity and create social change, social movement organizations must seek allies. The opportunity to seek allies and create social change appears to be affected by the state of the national economy and the political structure.

Political Opportunities from the State of the National Economy. Dewey (1998) and Gordon (1998) suggest that cooperative activity between labor unions and environmental organizations occurred until the late 1970s when changes in economic conditions affected their cooperation³. Dewey explains:

But with skyrocketing energy costs, general inflation, and economic stagnation, workers who had once anticipated an improving standard of living and shorter work week now increasingly worried about keeping their jobs at all. At the same time, some environmentalists, following their new-found ecological awareness to more radical conclusions, questioned the desirability of economic growth and even advocated zero-growth policies, which helped to further alienate workers. (Dewey 1998:58)

Gordon (1998) agrees that cooperative activities between national labor unions and environmental organizations ended in the late 1970s and early 1980s. He supports Dewey's assessment of economic recession hindering any cooperative activity and that it led both the labor and environmental movement to "mobilize to defend core values – union jobs and wage increases on one hand, and the preservation of wilderness areas and endangered species on the other" (Gordon 1998:462). Therefore, the condition of the economy may affect cooperative activity between national labor unions and national environmental organizations.

There is no guarantee that labor unions and environmental organizations will work together. Due to economic conditions they may decide to side with capital instead.

During the Reagan Administration, Jackson and Wright (1981) suggest that the environmental movement was at a critical juncture. The environmental movement had

³ Turner and Hurd (2001) present a contradictory view to the relationship between labor unions and environmental organizations. They suggest that when the environmental movement emerged in the 1960s and 1970s the reaction by labor leaders was negative and labor viewed the demand for environmental protection as an attack on jobs, thus alienating a potential ally (Turner and Hurd 2001:16).

reached a point where it had to choose between accepting the loss of environmental gains made in the 1970s, side with capital on environmental issues, or join with other social actors (such as labor) who are critical of and want to change governmental and corporate policies that are devoid of social benefit (Jackson and Wright 1981:30). Buttel, Geisler, and Wiswall (1984:15) recognized that the possibility of national environmental organizations siding with capital as a very real possibility. In discussing the analysis of Jackson and Wright (1981), Buttel et al. (1984) suggested that if environmental organizations ally themselves with capital it will limit their actions, forcing them to focus only on market oriented techniques. Buttel et al. believed that greater long-term advantages existed if environmental organizations ally themselves with labor instead of capital.

Capital has made an effort to gain power and control within national environmental organizations by providing funding for the activities of environmental organizations (Brulle 2000; Dowie 1995; Jackson and Wright 1981; Tokar 1997). National environmental organizations are rewarded by capital when they support their actions. For example, Dreiling (1997) details how the environmental organizations that supported NAFTA were rewarded with large donations and government appointments for key personnel. These organizations also allowed capital organizations seats on their board of directors for their donations, which allows capital to alter the activities of national environmental organizations to a more market oriented approach in addressing environmental issues, reducing the ability of the movement to be critical of the production process. Oliver and Myers state that "elite money flowing into movement organizations creates jobs for activists and channels their activities into nondisruptive

organizational influence strategies" (2003:3). This relationship to capital may hinder the ability of environmental organizations to work with labor unions.

The same argument holds true for labor policy as well. Moody suggests that labor is at a similar crossroads and must choose whether labor unions are going to enter a stage of labor-management cooperation or if labor is going to take a more "traditional adversarial role in determining workers' standard of living and shaping the workplace" (1990:216). Moody argues that the intensification of globalization in the 1980s led business to take a more aggressive posture with labor unions, refusing their bargaining demands. Moody suggests one way for labor unions to become more aggressive with capital is to establish coalitions. According to Moody many unions believe conflict with capital would only lead to defeat and as a result, they have embraced labor-management cooperation in an attempt to save as many union jobs as possible. This practice would most likely hinder labor's efforts to work with environmental organizations.

Kazis and Grossman suggest that labor unions and environmental organizations have chosen not to challenge capital. They argue that since the 1950s, labor and environmental organizations have been conciliatory toward capital and have adopted pro-corporate strategies (Kazis and Grossman 1991:x). (See also Moody 1990) Therefore their relationship with capital may affect cooperative activity between national labor unions and national environmental organizations.

The BASF Lockout at the Geismar, Louisiana plant represents how capital affects the relationship between labor unions and environmental organizations. During the lockout the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) worked with local environmental organizations, the Sierra Club and Greenpeace to create a campaign against BASF that

focused on the danger of the chemicals used during the production process for both workers and the community. Minchin (2003) suggests that cooperative activity between the local OCAW campaign and the environmental organizations over the BASF lockout would not have occurred under normal conditions. Minchin quotes Richard Miller, a strategist for the OCAW, as stating that “chemical industrial workers perceive the agenda of environmentalists as a threat to their jobs unless they are at war with management” (2003:178).

Rose states that, "dividing movements and social groups is a well-established strategy for undermining opposition and distracting public attention from issues of power and common interests (2000:8). The most common strategy implemented by capital to divide labor and environmental interests among labor unions is through job blackmail, by presenting a “jobs versus the environment” argument. Because of the power of capital, job blackmail is a very effective tactic and most importantly it allows capital to control the public presentation of environmental and labor issues (Kazis and Grossman 1991:xi).

When threatened, capital argues that either environmental regulations or worker demands will drive the company out of business if realized (Burton 1986; Dowie 1995; Kazis and Grossman 1991; Rose 2000). Goodstein (1999), Hall (1994), Kazis and Grossman (1991) and Morgenstern, Pizer and Shih (2001) argue that no evidence exists to indicate that environmental protection policies impede a company's economic performance. However, this tactic by capital may reduce the ability of national labor unions and national environmental organizations to work together and discipline corporate behavior.

One of the most common economic issues presented as a barrier for labor unions and environmental organizations to work together is the perception of class conflict (Dewey 1998; Jackson and Wright 1981; Gordon 1998; Rose 2000; Schnaiberg and Gould 1994; Siegmann 1985). For example, Jackson and Wright suggest that "in the eyes of rank and file union members, environmentalists are spoiled rich kids who only surface when they want to block a project that could mean jobs for workers" (1981:29). Dewey concurs with this sentiment, explaining that by "the early 80s, many workers viewed environmentalists as elitist, as extremists who were callously indifferent to the economic growth and job opportunities essential to the well-being of ordinary working people" (1998:45). Many environmentalists perceive themselves as different from the members of labor unions. They consider labor union members to represent "the broader mass of citizenry engaged in 'dirty work'-- blue-collar, semiskilled, or marginal -- and whose concerns are less about culture and the environment and more about economic survival" (Schnaiberg and Gould 1994:161).

Evans (2001) presents a somewhat contradictory view when he explains that the changes of the constituency of the labor movement is changing in a way that is leading more unions to become involved with social justice issues that expand the concerns of unions. This may be increasing the compatibility of national labor unions and environmental organizations in a way that may be increasing cooperative activity. Asher et al. (2001) and Rose (2000) (to some degree) also indicate that the socio-demographic make up of unions may be changing. Asher et al.'s (2001) study of the 1998 American National Election Study indicates that 42 percent of union members now identify themselves as middle class. Asher et al. (2001) Evans (2001) Robinson (2000) and Rose

(2000) further explain that the demographics of labor unions are changing with more equal representation of men and women, growing immigrant union workers, an increase in racial diversity and increases in education. With these socio-demographic changes the idea of the labor movement and environmental movement not being able to work together because of class conflicts may no longer apply.

Rose (2000), in his examination of the efforts of the Building Trades and the Washington Environmental Council to work together in Washington State, found that labor unions and environmental organizations began to work together in the 1990s after conflicting with each other during the 1970s over the issues of the construction of nuclear power plants, because of the economic conditions faced by labor unions. Labor began to look for new allies for support to combat the rise of cheaper nonunion work in the state.

Political Opportunities from the State of the Political Structure. Social movement organizations most often try to change the social order by forcing change through the political system because of its responsibility to discipline the economy for the public good (Cable and Cable 1995; O'Connor 1973). Coalitions provide strength when dealing with the government. Coalitions limit the ability of government to dismiss challenging organizations by widening the political goals of each organization participating in the coalition, “making it harder for the state to address needs in a piecemeal fashion and not address the needs of some coalitional partners” (Shefner 2001:619).

In the coalition literature that relates to between movement activities, Gamson (1990), Hodges and Anthony (1988), Kahn (1982), Starr (2001) and Steedly and Foley (1990) suggest that coalitions among organizations are necessary to bring about real change in

the United States. Working together provides greater (political) power (Hodge and Anthony 1988; Kahn 1982), issues are supported by a larger base (Kahn 1982; Starr 2001), and have a greater chance for success (Gamson 1990; Steedly and Foley 1990). Therefore cooperative activity is important in improving the power relationships of social movement organizations when they are active in the political structure.

Specifically examining the possibility of labor unions and environmental organizations to cooperate in the political arena, Siegmann (1985) hypothesizes that both movements can become more powerful by working together. The advantage for labor is that by working with groups from the environmental movement they can gain support from the popularity of the environmental movement and maintain its political power, which Siegmann views as being stagnated or declining. The advantage for environmentalism is that by working with labor, the environmental movement can draw upon the historical experience of the labor movement, and benefit from labor's political and financial resources (Siegmann 1985).

Rose (2000), in his examination of the efforts of the Building Trades and the Washington Environmental Council to work together in Washington State, found that environmental organizations wanted to work with labor unions in the 1990s. The reason they wanted to work together is because they needed the support of new allies to pass legislation to regulate growth in the state, legislation that had previously been defeated.

Political conditions may also negatively affect cooperative activity between labor unions and environmental organizations. Obach's (2000, 2002) study of state labor leaders found that control by the Republican Party of state government reduces the ability of state labor and environmental actors to work together. Obach explains that when the

Republican Party is in control of government “movement actors seek to secure their own goals and abandon any efforts to work with others to make broader gains” (2002:94).

The Seattle protest of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1999 is the most known and discussed activity examining the efforts of national labor unions and environmental organizations to work together to change political conditions and is component of the issue of globalization. Buttel and Gould (2004), Gould, Lewis and Roberts (2004), Mazur (2000), Park (2000) and Tabb (2000) all identify the Seattle protest as a reaction to the current model of international trade/globalization. Park explains that the Seattle protest resulted from a “lack of transparency and the secretive manner in which international trade rules are negotiated” and that “environmental groups and labor unions were no longer satisfied with waiting on the policy sidelines” (2000:13).

Tabb sees the Seattle protest as the “healing breach between the ecological and anti-imperialist concerns of young people and the end to the narrow business unionism and Cold-War collaboration of the Meany-Kirkland years in the labor movement” (2000:28). Gould et al. (2004) agree that the Seattle protest was important, but do not believe that it indicated any kind of cooperation between national labor unions and national environmental organizations. Gould et al. state:

Seattle was largely the simple fact that both groups simultaneously, and with some minimal coordination, protested the same institution and policy, and that other organizations were able to articulate some unifying critique of neo-liberalism which included a focus on both labor and environmental concerns. That is not an insignificant step, and could certainly signal the potential for a unified opposition and an even more ambitious unifying ideology. However, Seattle was not a reliable indicator that a blue-green coalition existed, nor that such a coalition would be sustainable. (Gould et al. 2004:94)

Economic and political conditions may either encourage or hinder cooperative activity between national labor unions and national environmental organizations. Economic and political conditions are often difficult to separate. As discussed in Chapter 1, globalization is an arrangement of international economic integration created by national governments that may be leading national labor unions and national environmental organizations to work together.

Organizational Factors

While the macro factors of political and economic conditions influence cooperative activity between labor unions and environmental organizations, cooperative activity is influenced by organizational factors as well. The organizational factors that influence cooperative activity can be placed into two broad categories: overlapping issues and the perception among organizations that the benefits of committing resources to a cooperative activity outweigh the costs.

Overlapping Issues. For cooperative activity between national labor unions and national environmental organizations to occur, organizations must have a concern for a shared issue (Kahn 1982; Obach 2000; Staggenborg 1986; Van Dyke 2003). Obach (2000) suggests that what creates the conditions for certain organizations to work together is the strength of their organizational range (the number of issues an organization addresses) which allows for some of the issues of each organization to overlap.

Multi-issue organizations have greater organizational range than single issue organizations and are more likely to work together (Van Dyke 2003). If multi-issue

organizations are not in direct competition, they will work together if they share similar organizational goals (Hodge and Anthony 1998; Zald and McCarthy 1980).

Specifically examining the possibility of labor unions and environmental organizations working together, Siegmann (1985) hypothesizes that both movements could experience disadvantages by working together. Siegmann suggests that by working together both movements could “lose members who oppose cooperation between the movements based on economic, political and ideological reasons and that policies presented from increased cooperation could create short or long term disadvantages to the whole or some parts of each movement.” (1985:5).

An important condition influencing the ability of national labor unions and national environmental organizations to work together is the "frames" or rationale they create to address the issues that concern their organizations. Snow et al. (1986) when discussing the importance of social movement organizations (SMO) in retaining support from participants or members, explains that frame alignment among organizations must occur. Frame alignment is defined by Snow et al. as "the linkage of individual and SMO interpretive orientations, such that some set of individual interests, values and beliefs and SMO activities, goals and ideology are congruent and complimentary" (1986:464). The key component of creating frame alignment is so organizations can participate in cooperative activity. This is accomplished through a process of “frame bridging” that provides organizations with a common ground to work together on an issue. In this process, SMOs reframe the issues they are currently working on in a way that will bridge to the frames of other organizations working on the same issue for support and possible coalition activities (frame bridging). (See Snow et al. 1986; Benford and Snow 2000)

SMOs will sometimes create frame extensions as well. Frame extensions occur when SMOs adopt a new issue into its framework to allow them to support other SMOs and gain political adherents (Snow et al. 1986:472). Kahn (1982) refers to frame alignment as “cutting an issue”.

An example of frame alignment is presented by Buttel and Gould (2004) and Gould et al. (2004), who both suggest that national labor unions and environmental organizations share a common language or critique against globalization as it relates to neo-liberal economic policies, current international institutions and corporate power. The criticism of national labor unions and environmental organizations toward globalization creates frame alignment between these organizations.

Cooperative activity is more likely to occur if organizations share issues. For organizations to share issues they must be willing to align their frames with other organizations. Particularly, when examining cooperative activity between social movements, it appears the adoption of a social justice frame may be a key to cooperative activity because of its ability to expand issues and align frames.

Social justice is best defined as the redistribution of resources to ensure fairness in meeting the basic needs of people” (Weisheit and Morn 2004:30). According to Weisheit and Morn (2004), social justice encompasses the issues of human rights, economic justice, gender justice, racial and ethnic justice, and environmental justice. If an organization adopts a social justice frame it becomes concerned not with just one dimension of social justice but becomes sensitive to all of the issues that demand fairness. Some national labor unions only focus on economic justice and some environmental organizations only focus on environmental justice. For national labor unions and national

environmental organizations to work together, they must commit their organization to adopting a greater social justice frame that bridges their concerns with organizations from other movements.

National environmental organizations have been accused of failing to represent the concerns of less empowered groups in our society by not focusing on social justice issues (Gottlieb 1993; Schnaiberg and Gould 1994; Rose 2000). Dreiling (1998) echoes this analysis. He states that many environmental organizations follow a conservation/preservation approach that "keeps issues of social inequality and injustice separate from matters of resource management and preservation" (Dreiling 1998:53). However, Dreiling recognizes that some environmental organizations do favor an environmental justice approach that makes "explicit connections between social inequities, particularly racism, and environmental degradation" (1998:53). Dreiling (1998), Obach (2000) and Rose (2000) suggest that grassroots and environmental justice oriented organizations are forcing national organizations to begin incorporating environmental justice and social justice issues into their agendas. Dreiling specifically identifies Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth and the Sierra Club as the national environmental organizations that have incorporated an environmental justice and social justice issues framework into their respective agendas.

Dreiling (1998) also recognizes that a similar division exists within the labor movement. Many labor unions in the labor movement maintain a traditional "business unionism" approach that is similar to the conservation/preservation approach of some environmental groups, supporting a narrow, single issues wage related focus. Other labor unions have begun to adopt a "social movement unionism" that encompasses more than

work related concerns and actively participates in all issues that affect the lives of their members, not just as workers but also as citizens. Dreiling suggests that social movement unionism began to develop in the late 1980s, as social union leaders were elected to key union positions due to more unions initiating open elections. The service sector unions also played a role in increasing social movement unionism as they gained influence in the AFL-CIO with their more diverse membership than previous unions (Dreiling 1998:58-59). (See also Obach 2000; Rose 2000; Robinson 2000; Siegmann 1985). Evans (2001), Kidder and McGinn (1995) and Robinson (2000) agree with Dreiling and suggest that the entire labor movement is moving more toward a social movement unionism approach.

Both environmental justice and social movement unionism organizations share a focus on social justice issues that provides them with the potential to adopt a social justice frame and work together, while traditional business unionism and conservation/preservation organizations share a more narrow focus and ignore the interdependency of issues between SMOs (Dreiling 1998; Obach 2000; Rose 2000; Siegmann 1985). One of the questions this research hopes to discover is the extent to which groups within these movements are making a transition to adopting a social justice frame because it is within this frame that the potential lies for the formation of sustained cooperative activity between movements (Dreiling 1998:55). The adoption of a social justice frame allows for the connection of issues across movements.

Perception among Organizations that the Benefits of Committing Resources to a Cooperative Activity Outweigh the Costs. Zald and McCarthy (1980) and Staggenborg (1986) suggest that cooperative activity between organizations is most likely to occur

when there is a perceived chance for victory. Cooperative activity between organizations occurs because organizations perceive that the benefits of working together outweigh the cost of resources and that by working together they are able to better manage scarce resources (Hodge and Anthony 1988). Unfortunately, there are organizational conditions that often limit the benefits of working together.

Obach (2000) identified a process he termed the "coalition contradiction" that hinders the efforts of social movement organizations to work together. The coalition contradiction results from organizations "maintaining two objectives: to advance their cause and to maintain their organization" (Obach 2000:108-109). These objectives create a contradiction because the tactics and strategies an organization pursues toward one of these objectives can be detrimental to the other.

To advance their cause, organizations may choose to enter into alliances that give them greater political power to advance their agendas. However, when organizations cooperate with other organizations it often forces them to compromise their organizational goals or to take on added goals of coalition partners. When organizations change their goals to better align with coalition partners, they risk weakening their membership base (Kahn 1982; Obach 2000; Staggenborg 1986).

An organization's ability to attract new members may also be negatively effected by joining a coalition. Because of coalition alignment, an organization can become less differentiated from other organizations within the same movement and therefore experience difficulty justifying the existence of multiple organizations in the same movement that are doing the same type of activities (Kahn 1982; Obach 2000; Staggenborg 1986; Zald and McCarthy 1980).

Bell and Delaney (2001) and Staggenborg (1986) also find that organizations are often reluctant to contribute staff time to coalition activity. Bell and Delaney suggest it is out of fear that if the coalition falls apart the organization has wasted a valuable resource (2001:75). The importance of resources to cooperative activity is derived from the resource mobilization perspective, McCarthy and Zald (1973, 1997; Zald and McCarthy 1980) explain that success by social movements requires that they have the necessary resources to promote their agenda. For national labor unions and national environmental organizations to work together, they must be willing to commit the necessary resources to doing so.

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THIS STUDY

The review of the relevant literature helps to guide this project in three ways. First, it provides a working definition for what is meant by coalition. Second, it provides a scheme to identify cooperative activity. Finally it provides sensitivity to factors that have been identified by previous researchers as important to cooperative activity.

Kahn defines a coalition “as a group of organizations working together for a common purpose” (1982:277). This research will implement Kahn’s definition of coalition and will use the terms alliance, working together, and cooperative activity interchangeably with the term coalition.

To identify cooperative activity, this project will implement Warren’s typology (1967). From Warren’s typology, cooperative activity will be considered to exist if organizations are working together in coalitional arrangements, federative arrangements or unitary arrangements. I plan to use Warren’s typology because it not only focuses on

how organizations pursue their organizational goals like Obach (1999; 2000), but separates cooperative activity by the organizational structures created by organizations to pursue cooperative goals. Along with the identification of cooperative activity, this project will assess the level of cooperation among national labor unions and national environmental organizations by their participation in coalitional arrangements, federative arrangements, and unitary arrangements.

The literature also indicates that this research should be sensitive to factors that have been identified by previous researchers as important in influencing cooperative activity. At the macro level, political opportunities that may affect cooperation are created by the state of the national economy and the state of the political structure. The literature suggests that economic conditions may affect cooperative activity between national labor unions and national environmental organizations. National labor unions and national environmental organizations may decide that it is more advantageous to work with capital than to work together. This study will try to identify the ability of capital to use its economic position to promote a “jobs versus the environment” argument to disrupt cooperative activity between national labor unions and national environmental organizations. The project will be sensitive to the ability of the political structure to either encourage or hinder cooperative activity as well. Of particular interest to this study is the discovery of how globalization is affecting cooperative activity between national labor unions and national environmental organizations.

At the organizational level, the presence of overlapping issues and the perception among organizations that the benefits of committing resources to a cooperative activity outweigh the costs appear to influence the ability of national labor unions and national

environmental organizations to work together. Due to the importance of overlapping issue in fostering cooperative activity in the previous research, this study will be particularly sensitive to trying to discover the issues that national labor unions and national environmental organizations share. The study will also try to gauge how important adopting a social justice frame is to creating shared issues and cooperative activity between national labor unions and national environmental organizations.

The perception among organizations that the benefits of committing resources to a cooperative activity outweigh the costs and how this influences cooperative activity between national labor unions and national environmental organizations will also be examined. The project will focus on what factors indicate a willingness among organizations to commit resources to cooperative activity, paying particular attention to their efforts to overcome “coalition contradiction.”

The next chapter presents a research strategy implemented by this study. This research strategy will help in the identification of the issues and cooperative activities that exist between national labor unions and national environmental organizations.

CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH STRATEGY

This research project implements three different research techniques to identify what issues national environmental organizations and national labor unions share and if they are working together. The first technique is a document analysis of the web sites of selected national labor unions and national environmental organizations. The second technique is conducting interviews with high ranking officials of national labor unions and national environmental organizations. The third research technique is a sociometric or social network analysis of active web links or hyperlinks for each selected organization to discover if these connections are an appropriate indicator of cooperative activity.

By implementing three different data gathering techniques, I am able to search for cooperation between national labor unions and national environmental organizations from three different points in social reality (Berg 1995). A deeper, more substantive understanding of the relationship between national labor unions and environmental organizations is the expected result of this effort.

As discussed in Chapter 2, past research on the relationship between national environmental organizations and national labor unions has been sparse and occurred tangentially from the study of few selected issues. No work has been undertaken to identify the cooperation between organizations that comprise the national labor and environmental movements by using the web links among organizations as an indicator. To identify cooperation between these two movements, I am implementing a qualitative,

inductive approach (Babbie 1992, Neuman 1994). Berg (1995) identifies the inductive approach as a research-before-theory model. Basically, this means that I collect data that is relevant before I attempt to explain what is occurring between national labor unions and national environmental organizations. After compiling and analyzing the data, I apply it to theory heuristically and possibly contribute to new theory if "holes" are found in the ability of existing theories to explain the relationship between national labor unions and national environmental organizations. The main goal of this research is not to promote any particular theoretical perspective. Rather it is an attempt to identify and describe the type of relationship that exists between national labor unions and national environmental organizations.

SELECTION OF ORGANIZATIONS FOR RESEARCH

Seven national environmental organizations and seven national labor unions are chosen for this study to represent the environmental and labor movements at the national level in the United States. (See Table 3.1) The sampling for this study is purposive. Purposive sampling is warranted for this study because of the need to select organizations that are most informative for the study and that allow for in-depth investigation to discover the relationship between national labor unions and national environmental organizations (Neuman 1994).

The 7 environmental organizations selected to represent the environmental movement at the national level are the Sierra Club, National Audubon Society, Environmental Defense, Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace USA, The Nature Conservancy, and the Center for Health, Environment and Justice (formerly known as the Citizen's

TABLE 3.1
NATIONAL LABOR UNIONS AND ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS
SELECTED FOR STUDY

NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS	NATIONAL LABOR UNIONS
<p>Sierra Club www.sierraclub.org</p> <p>National Audubon Society www.audubon.org</p> <p>Environmental Defense www.environmentaldefense.org</p> <p>Friends of the Earth www.foe.org</p> <p>Greenpeace USA www.greenpeaceusa.org</p> <p>The Nature Conservancy nature.org</p> <p>The Center for Health, Environment, and Justice www.chej.org</p>	<p>Service Employees International Union www.seiu.org</p> <p>United Farm Workers of America www.ufw.org</p> <p>Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Union www.hereunion.org</p> <p>International Brotherhood of Teamsters www.teamsters.org</p> <p>Paper, Allied-Industrial, Chemical and Energy Workers International Union www.paceunion.org</p> <p>American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees www.afscme.org</p> <p>United Steelworkers of America www.uswa.org</p>

Clearinghouse for Hazardous Waste). The logic of choosing these organizations is twofold. These national environmental organizations represent the broad continuum of national environmental organizations as presented by Mitchell et al (1992). The sample also includes environmental organizations Dreiling (1998) identifies as previously working with national labor unions against the passage of NAFTA, an issue of common interest to both movements. This action is taken to assure that the national environmental organizations that are most likely to be involved with national labor unions are included in the sample, allowing for greater understanding cooperation between national labor unions and environmental organizations.

The sample includes other environmental organizations that allow for representation of the overall national environmental movement. When examining the 20 year trend of national environmental organizations from 1970 to 1990, Mitchell et al. identifies and describes the “key national environmental organizations, distinguishing between those that formally engage in lobbying and those that emphasize other activities...” (1992:12). Mitchell et al. breaks these organizations down into 12 lobbying organizations, 3 direct action organizations, 5 land and wildlife preservation organizations, 2 toxic waste organizations and 3 other organizations placed in an “other” category. (See Table 3.2) From the categories established by Mitchell et al., I include four national organizations that are identified as lobbying groups in my sample. They are the Sierra Club, the National Audubon Society, Environmental Defense, and Friends of the Earth. These groups provide diversity within the national organizations that comprise the lobbying groups. The Sierra Club and the National Audubon Society are environmental organizations established at the turn of the century with large organizational

TABLE 3.2
NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS AS IDENTIFIED BY
MITCHELL ET AL. (1992)

LOBBYING ORGANIZATIONS	SAMPLED LOBBY ORGANIZATIONS
Sierra Club National Audubon Society National Parks Conservation Association Izaak Walton League Wilderness Society National Wildlife Federation Defenders of Wildlife Environmental Defense Fund ¹ Friends of the Earth Natural Resources Defense Council Environmental Action Environmental Policy Institute ²	Sierra Club National Audubon Society Environmental Defense Fund Friends of the Earth
DIRECT ACTION	SAMPLED DIRECT ACTION ORGANIZATION
Greenpeace USA Sea Shepherd Conservation Society Earth First!	Greenpeace USA
LAND & WILDLIFE PRESERVATION	SAMPLED LAND & WILDLIFE PRESERVATION ORGANIZATION
Nature Conservancy World Wildlife Fund Rainforest Action Network Rainforest Alliance Conservation International	Nature Conservancy
TOXIC WASTE	SAMPLED TOXIC WASTE ORGANIZATION
Citizen's Clearinghouse for Hazardous Waste National Toxics Campaign ³	Citizen's Clearinghouse for Hazardous Waste (Now known as the Center for Health, Environment and Justice)
OTHER MAJOR ORGANIZATIONS	COMBINED WITH TOXIC WASTE
League of Conservation Voters Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund ⁴ Earth Island Institute	I combined the selection of an organization from this other category with the toxic waste category.

(From Mitchell et al. 1992)

1. Environmental Defense Fund shortened their name to Environmental Defense in 2000.
2. The Environmental Policy Institute merged with Friends of the Earth in 1989.
3. I could not find a web site for this organization or any indication that it is still in existence.
4. The Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund became Earthjustice Legal Defense Fund in 1997.

memberships that focus on the “first generation issues” of land and wildlife preservation.⁴

The Environmental Defense Fund and Friends of the Earth are new environmental organizations established after World War II in the late 1960s and 1970s that formed during the recognition of “second generation issues” that “involve consequences that are often delayed or subtle; and their causes more difficult to prove”(Mitchell et al. 1992:14).

Greenpeace USA is the national organization chosen to represent the direct action component of the national environmental movement. I chose Greenpeace USA because they are the organization with the largest membership in this category and identified by Dreiling (1998) as working with national labor unions on the issue of NAFTA.

The Nature Conservancy is the national organization chosen to represent the land and wildlife preservation component of the environmental movement. I chose the Nature Conservancy to represent this category in the sample because they are the wealthiest of all environmental organizations in the United States and have a stronger U.S. focus compared to other organizations that comprise this category (Mitchell et al. 1992).

The Citizen’s Clearinghouse for Hazardous Waste represents the toxic waste and “other” components of the environmental movement. For the purpose of this study I collapsed these two categories identified by Mitchell et al. (1992) and chose the Citizen’s Clearinghouse for Hazardous Waste for inclusion in the study.

Dreiling’s (1998) study of NAFTA influences the selection of national environmental organizations chosen for this study as well. Dreiling explained that Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth and Sierra Club joined with national labor unions in creating coalition

⁴ Many of the environmental organizations that were established during the focus of first generation issues have gone on to include second generation issues in their present day agendas.

organizations opposing NAFTA. Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth became members of Alliance for Responsible Trade. Friends of the Earth and the Sierra Club became members of the Citizen's Trade Campaign. Both Alliance for Responsible Trade and the Citizen's Trade Campaign are organization coalitions that have continued to operate after the passage of NAFTA to address contemporary trade issues.

Since these three national environmental organizations worked with national labor unions on the issue of NAFTA, they are included in the sample. This action is taken to assure that the national environmental organizations that are most likely to be involved with national labor unions are included in the sample, allowing for greater understanding of cooperation between national labor unions and environmental organizations. Of particular importance for this study is to discover if these organizations have continued to work together to strengthen this relationship beyond the focus of the single issue of NAFTA.

The Institute of Industrial Relations Library (n.d. <http://www.iir.berkeley.edu/library/webguides/unionsgd.html>) at the University of California, Berkeley maintains an exhaustive list of unions in the United States. From that list I have chosen the following 7 national labor organizations to include in this study to represent the diversity of the national labor movement. They are the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), United Farm Workers of America (UFW), Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union (HERE), International Brotherhood of Teamsters (Teamsters), Paper, Allied-Industrial, Chemical and Energy Workers International Union (PACE), American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), and the United Steelworkers of America (USWA).

Included in this sample is a division between industrial/manufacturing unions and service unions. USWA, Teamsters, and PACE are unions whose members are involved in the industrial/manufacturing process. AFSCME, SEIU, and HERE are national labor unions that represent the growing union membership oriented toward service positions in society. I also included the UFW because their members work directly in the agriculture industry; a work process close to nature and therefore expected to provide many opportunities for overlap between the concerns of workers and environmental issues.

Dreiling (1998) identified environmental leanings in the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union (OCAW) (which merged with the United Paper Workers Union (UPIU) in 1999 to form PACE), USWA, Teamsters, and SEIU in his study of NAFTA. These labor unions have participated in coalitions with environmental organizations on the issue of trade and/or include past leaders that supported environmental issues. Dewey (1998) and Gordon (1998) identify the OCAW, UFW and USWA among the unions adopting a pro-environmental stance during the 1960s. Dreiling (1998) and Johnston (1994) discuss how service unions like AFSCME and SEIU have been a driving force for reform in the AFL-CIO. They have reinvigorated unions and encouraged unions to consider taking up social issues, like the environment, which are viewed as potentially important issues for improving the quality of life for their membership (Dreiling 1998). HERE is included as the third service union in my sample because it is one of the larger unions in the AFL-CIO with 265,000 members and because of their commitment “to service members and engage in political activities” on their behalf (n.d. <http://hereunion.org/about/default.asp>).

The selection of these seven national labor unions and seven environmental organizations should provide insight into the cooperative activities between the labor and environmental movements at the national level. Many of these organizations have demonstrated coalition activities with the issue of NAFTA. This study attempts to discover if these activities have continued, stalled, or expanded beyond one single issue coalition to form more integrated and formal relationships.

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS OF WEB SITES

One of the most important decisions to make in any research project is the type of data that will be collected. Document analysis of organizational web sites is a key component of data collection for this research project. From examining the web sites of the selected national labor unions and national environmental organizations, I am able to discover the issues they share, and if they report working together. Jones explains that “it is important to recognize that on-line (internet) experience is at all times tethered in some fashion to off-line experience” (1999:xii). The reporting of working together by organizations on their web sites should be reflective of their efforts to work together in reality.

Document analysis of each organization’s web site also provides the opportunity to identify key attributes of each national labor union and national environmental organization. Attributes of key interest of these organizations are their membership, purpose, the effect of globalization upon the organization, their coalition activities, the use of a social justice framework in presenting their issues, their relationship to capital, their relationship to the federal government, and other information that may be of importance for this study.

Internet research is still considered a new endeavor (Jones 1999:xi). For this study I begin with a thorough investigation of each organization's principal domain web site and follow the data that provides insight to my interest in coalition building and activities that may influence coalition building between national labor unions and environmental organizations across the internet. I also use the search engines available on the internet to collect data on the efforts of national labor unions and national environmental organizations to work together.

Document analysis of web sites is an important source for discovering information about each national labor union and national environmental organization because each organization operates its own web site. This means that information presented on their web site is unfiltered by the corporate control of most mass media.

In *The Myth of the Liberal Media* (Media Education Foundation, Lewis, Herman, and Chomsky 1997) one discovers that all information appearing in the mainstream media goes through a cleaning or filtering process that may color the original meaning of the message or block messages from reaching the public. By examining documents posted on each organization's web site, their message should be undiluted from any outside filtering process.

Another reason for using web sites for the document analysis of this study is that it is a unique technology that provides world wide information dissemination (Leiner et al. n.d.). The internet allows for the dissemination of information that is not confined by the constraints of other forms of mass media studied by researchers. For example, analysis of television and radio content occurs within mediums that limit information based on the time that is allowed for a spot to run. Information content is reduced to fit within the time

allowed in a television or radio advertisement or news program. Analyses of newspapers or magazines limit information content to fit within a dedicated number of pages. These constraints on information may result in many important elements of issues or entire issues of importance to national labor unions and national environmental organizations to be overlooked by traditional media.

By focusing on web sites, this research overcomes the limitations of time and size. An organizational web site provides the opportunity to view information around the clock for anyone with access to the internet. Size or space is not an issue on web sites; an organization can easily increase the size of their web site. Therefore, organizations can discuss issues in minute detail with little attention considered for size. Many of the organizational web sites in this study contain thousands of pages of information. This rationale is what led to the decision to focus on web site analysis for this project. If organizations discuss how they work with other organizations, it should be reported on their organizational web sites.

A code sheet is used in the analysis of each web site that allows for open coding of each web site but keeps the focus of the project on discovering if national labor unions and national environmental organizations work together. As mentioned earlier in this section, the code sheet is used to search for organizational membership, purpose, the effect of globalization upon the organization, their coalition activities, the use of a social justice framework in presenting their issues, their relationship to capital, their relationship to the federal government, and other information that may be of importance for this study. The code sheet used for document analysis of the web sites is located in Appendix I.

After the initial coding process, each web site undergoes coding again to “uncover and validate the relationships” (Strauss and Corbin 1990:185). When the second level of coding is completed the data is examined once again to identify categories of data that explain the social situation being researched (See Strauss and Corbin 1990). This process provides the scientific rigor necessary to replicate this study and provide the necessary data to address if national labor unions and national environmental organizations are working together.

Complete collection of data from the web sites of the national labor unions and environmental organizations selected for this study occurred from October 2002 through June 2003. Until the end of the project in June 2004, the web sites of the organizations selected for this study and other relevant web sites were reexamined to verify emergent themes.

INTERVIEWING HIGH RANKING OFFICIALS OF NATIONAL LABOR UNIONS AND NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

The second technique implemented in this study is the interviewing of high ranking officials of 5 national labor unions and 5 national environmental organizations. (See Table 3.3) This activity is useful in corroborating the accuracy and timeliness of the information on the sampled organization’s web sites. The officials interviewed are associated with one of the national labor unions or national environmental organizations selected for inclusion in the document analysis of organizational web sites. These organizational officials occupy high ranking positions within each organization and are privy to the decision making process of their respective organization. They have a keen

**TABLE 3.3
INTERVIEW LIST**

ORGANIZATION	PERSON	POSITION	DATE
AFL-CIO (Labor)	RICHARD L. TRUMKA	SECRETARY- TREASURER	OCTOBER 22, 2003
HERE (Labor)	RON RICHARDSON	EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT	APRIL 3, 2003
PACE (Labor)	ANONYMOUS	ANONYMOUS	2003
SEIU (Labor)	TOM WOODRUFF	INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT	MAY 28, 2003
UFW (Labor)	MARC GROSSMAN	COMMUNICATIONS DIRECTOR	MARCH 11, 2003
USWA (Labor)	LEO W. GERARD	PRESIDENT	MARCH 24, 2003
AUDUBON SOCIETY (Environment)	JOHN BIANCHI	DIRECTOR OF COMMUNICATIONS	MAY 8 & 9, 2003
CHEJ (Environment)	LOIS GIBBS	EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR	MARCH 6, 2003
FOE (Environment)	DAVID WASKOW	ADMINISTRATIVE POLICY COORDINATOR	MAY 6 & 7, 2003
NATURE CONSERVANCY (Environment)	MIKE CODA	DIRECTOR OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS	JULY 1, 2003
ANONYMOUS (Environment)	ANONYMOUS	ANONYMOUS	2003

insight into the activities of their organization, which includes their relationships or coalition activities with other national organizations.

The inclusion of these interviews in this study should help identify the efforts to national labor unions and environmental organizations to work together and provide a rationale for their coalition activities. It also adds to the scientific rigor and validity of the project, but more so, the inclusion of interviews with national labor union and national environmental organization officials helps to more accurately identify the social context of the activities under study, making the interviews another important data source for the study (Neuman 1994:324).

The interviews are conducted using a semi-structured interview process (Berg 1995). The semi-structured interview allows the process to be open to the discovery of unforeseen themes and issues that are important to understanding the relationship between national labor unions and national environmental organizations. The process includes questions that reflect the research questions guiding this study's efforts to ascertain if national labor unions and national environmental organizations are working together. The questions from the interview process identify the position and responsibilities of the person being interviewed, how decisions are made by the organization at the national level, the major activities, issues and strategies of each organization, their use of a social justice framework, the impact of globalization on the organization, the organization's efforts to work with other national organizations, how they view business and their relationship to the federal government. The interview guideline is located in Appendix II.

The interviews are recorded on tape, transcribed and then assessed by implementing an inductive coding process. The interviews undergo the same coding process as described in the web site analysis section of this chapter. The interviews are first coded to discern any possible relevant information for discovering the relationships between national labor unions and national environmental organizations. Then the interviews undergo a second level of coding to “uncover and validate the relationships” (Strauss and Corbin 1990:185). When the second level of coding is completed the data is examined once again to identify validated categories of data that explain the social situation being researched (See Strauss and Corbin 1990).

SOCIOMETRIC/SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS OF WEB LINKS TO OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

Morris and Ogan (1996) identify social network analysis as one of the most useful tools to apply to web site analysis to gain valuable information. Organizations are social entities, and like any social entity they create ties or relationships with other social entities (Diani 2003:9; Garton, Haythornthwaite and Wellman 1999:75; Hanneman n.d.:6). This study takes advantage of the social network analysis technique to identify the relationships between national labor unions and national environmental organizations using the selected sample of organizations as central nodes. Burriss, Smith and Strahm define hyperlinks or web links “as ties of affinity, paths of communication, tokens of mutual aid in achieving public recognition and/or potential avenues of coordination” (2000:215). Burriss et al. continue to explain that web links can be viewed as one of the

cheapest forms of affiliation between organizations. All you have to do is link your organization's web site to the web site of another organization.

By providing a web link from one organization to another, the organization providing the web link is acknowledging some type of association or affinity with the linked organization. While the level of association may be weak and only consist of a web link, it provides a baseline indicator to suggest the existence of relationships between national labor unions and national environmental organizations. If national labor unions and national environmental organizations are working together, it should be readily evident by the web links they share between their organizations.

In identifying cooperation between national labor unions and national environmental organizations selected for this project, a dataset of each organization's active web links (or hyperlinks) is created from their organizational, principal domain web pages and examined.⁵ Because the goal of this project is to discover cooperative activity among national labor unions and national environmental organizations, the dataset established from each organizations web links are created using the root URL of each organization's web site. This allows for the identification of indirect web links. For example, if the Teamsters and Friends of the Earth both link to a web page on the Investor Responsibility Research Center web site, I code the link as www.irrc.org to assure that the connection is

⁵ The social network analysis technique is applied to the active web links found in the principal domain web site of each organization sampled for this project. If the organization operated or joint operated other web sites that contained links, they were not included in this analysis. As discussed in this section, social network analysis identifies a level of association that may be weak and only consist of a web link. To give this analysis strength, it is necessary to include only those web links associated with the principal domain web site. The principal domain web site is defined for this study as any web page that has a suffix from a root or homepage URL. For example, all Sierra Club web pages that are from the principal domain www.sierraclub.com are included in this analysis.

recognized. The goal is to discover if the organizations have web links to each other and what web links they may share to other web sites on the internet.

The purpose of this research technique is to identify from the sampled organizations the web links that exist between national labor unions and national environmental organizations, and the links they share to other organizations that are relevant for this study. This effort will provide a baseline indicator to discover if national labor unions and national environmental organizations are working together.

The research strategy outlined in this chapter provides the data to address the goals of this project in discovering the various issues and cooperative activities that exist between national labor unions and national environmental organizations. This data is used to examine the following questions: What issues do national labor unions and national environmental organizations share? What cooperative activity is presently occurring between national labor unions and national environmental organizations? What is the level of cooperation between the national labor unions and national environmental organizations selected for this study? The first two questions are the focus of Chapter 4. The last question is the focus of Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 4

SHARED ISSUES AND ACTIVITIES AMONG NATIONAL LABOR UNIONS AND NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Can national labor unions and environmental organizations work together? To answer this question one needs to have an understanding of whether the organizations of the labor and environmental movements have any shared or common issues confronting their organizations. Kahn (1982), Obach (2000), Staggenborg (1986) and Van Dyke (2003) identify the sharing of common issues as a key factor in organizations working together. From an analysis of web sites and interviews with high ranking officials this study discovers three issues that national labor unions and national environmental organizations share: global trade/globalization, corporate accountability and human exposure to toxic chemicals.

Just because national labor unions and national environmental organizations share issues, it does not guarantee that they will work together to address the issues they share. This study gathers data to identify cooperative activities between national labor unions and national environmental organizations in two ways. First, following Burris et al. (2000) perspective that web links represent “ties of affinity,” the direct web links between the national labor unions and national environmental organizations selected for this study are examined. Second, Warren’s (1967) concepts of coalitional arrangements and federative arrangements are applied to the organizational relationships discovered from the analysis of each organization’s web site. The AFL-CIO is included among the organizations participating in coalitional and federative arrangements.

SHARED ISSUES

A key to the ability of national labor unions and environmental organizations to work together is whether they share organizational issues that allow for collaboration (Kahn 1982; Obach 2000; Staggenborg 1986; Van Dyke 2003). Obach acknowledges that a need exists to identify the issues on which national labor unions and national environmental organizations may come together (2000:200).

From a resource mobilization perspective, organizations must share common issues if they are to work together to increase the probability of a reward for resource investment. According to Shefner (1999) the political process/political opportunity perspective views shared issues as shared grievances that allow organizations to identify potential partners in confronting the state to correct identified problems/issues.

Shared issues between national labor unions and national environmental organizations are discovered by analyzing the web sites and interviews with high ranking officials of most of the national labor unions and environmental organizations selected for this study. The shared issues between national labor unions and national environmental organizations are identified through the discovery of key themes from the various organizations presented in Table 4.1. These key themes demonstrate a relationship to the issues of global trade/globalization, corporate accountability and human exposure to toxic chemicals that potentially allows for cooperation on these issues. Each issue is discussed below. (A complete list of all the national issues identified for each organization is located in Appendix III)

TABLE 4.1
KEY THEMES THAT IDENTIFY SHARED ISSUES FROM NATIONAL LABOR UNIONS AND NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

GLOBAL TRADE/ GLOBALIZATION	CORPORATE ACCOUNTABILITY	TOXIC EXPOSURE
Oppose NAFTA	Promote Precautionary Principle	Fight Exposure to Toxic Chemicals
Oppose FTAA	Don't Buy From Polluting Companies Campaigns/ Address Corporate Abuses	Advocate Chemical Safety Legislation
Oppose Fast Track Authority	Support International Right to Know Campaign	Support International Right to Know Campaign
Address Trade Policies and Practices of WTO, IMF, Export-Import Bank of U.S. and other U.S. Lending Institutions	Fight Corporate Welfare	Stop Federal Spending that Threatens Public Health
Reform Trade to be Responsible and Fair	Industry Must Protect Workers from Chemical Exposure	Protect Federal Toxic Waste Policies from being Weakened
	Use Investment Practices to Influence Corporate Activities	Address Bio-Terrorism Issues
		Stop Worker Exposure to Pesticides

Global Trade/Globalization Issue

The organizations interested in the issue of global trade/globalization are critical of current trade agreements made by the United States and the lending practices of the WTO, IMF and other lending institutions. The organizations focusing on this issue are demanding that labor and environmental standards be addressed in trade agreements and international lending practices. One can define the global trade/globalization issue as a criticism of the present global economy to provide for labor and/or environmental standards.

All of the national labor unions examined in this study are critical of the U.S. trade agreements that have been created to increase globalization. The Center for Health, Environment and Justice (CHEJ), Friends of the Earth (FOE) and the Sierra Club also address globalization issues. (See Table 4.2) Greenpeace USA is concerned with international trade in a limited way. Their focus is on the illegal trade of mahogany.

All of the national labor unions and the Center for Health, Environment and Justice, Friends of the Earth and the Sierra Club opposed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and now oppose the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). The organizations involved in the issue see the FTAA as an expansion of NAFTA that like NAFTA, does not include adequate protections for workers or the environment. Both national labor unions and environmental organizations are concerned with FTAA increasing the problems created by NAFTA. Lois Gibbs at CHEJ said:

The history of NAFTA has shown us how it is just a terrible policy. It didn't achieve any of the things (benefits) supporters said it was going to achieve, in fact it's made things worse ... and the FTAA is the same as NAFTA. (Author Interview 2003)

TABLE 4.2
POSITION OF EACH ORGANIZATION ON THE ISSUE OF GLOBAL
TRADE/GLOBALIZATION

ORGANIZATION	CRITICAL OF CURRENT TRADE/ GLOBALIZATION PRACTICES
AFSCME (Labor)	YES
HERE (Labor)	YES
PACE (Labor)	YES
SEIU (Labor)	YES
TEAMSTERS (Labor)	YES
UFW (Labor)	YES
USWA (Labor)	YES
CHEJ (Environment)	YES
ENVIR. DEFENSE (Environment)	YES
FOE (Environment)	YES
GREENPEACE USA (Environment)	YES
SIERRA CLUB (Environment)	YES
AUDUBON SOCIETY (Environment)	NO
NATURE CONSERVANCY (Environment)	NO

A PACE official explains the labor position on NAFTA and FTAA and its failure to provide the benefits promised to the participating countries by the federal government by stating:

We were strong opponents of NAFTA. We accept the fact that it exists. We feel that the labor enforcement provisions that were put in at the last minute by the Clinton administration are entirely inadequate and totally unenforceable. We feel that wages in Northern Mexico have gone down since the implementation of NAFTA. We know that working conditions have not improved there. We know that several hundred thousand American jobs were lost because employers can go to Mexico and pay 50 or 60 cents an hour to do the same job you do in the United States ... We expect the same effects from FTAA that we had with NAFTA. (Author Interview 2003)

Leo W. Gerard, President of the United Steelworkers of America, summarizes the criticisms of labor unions toward trade agreements like NAFTA and the proposed FTAA when he states:

The deindustrialization of the United States of America with global trade agreements is designed to exploit the environment, exploit workers and undermine the collective bargaining strength of unionized workers in the United States. The whole approach to globalization is the ability of financial interests to move money and jobs to the region of the world that they believe will give them the greatest opportunity to maximize the return on their investments and not necessarily maximize the return for stakeholders. (Author Interview 2003)

National labor unions and national environmental organizations in this study that are identified as opposing NAFTA and the new FTAA, advocate “fair trade” over “free trade.” The “Principles of Unity on Trade and Investment” signed by The AFL-CIO, AFSCME, PACE, Teamsters, USWA, FOE and the Sierra Club defines what these organizations mean by fair trade or responsible trade.

These organizations advocate that the following five fair trade principles guide the policy of the United States in the establishment of global trade agreements: 1. Make policies democratic and transparent 2. Protect human rights and the rights of workers, 3.

Protect the environment 4. Promote family based agriculture and 5. Cancel the debt of impoverished nations so they can use the resources to improving the lives of its citizens. (AFL-CIO 2002: <http://www.aflcio.org/issuespolitics/globaleconomy/principles.cfm>).

These organizations are not against global trade. However, they are against the present system of free trade which is underpinned by the “neoliberal economic philosophy that economies should be as unregulated by governmental constraints as possible” (Shefner 2004:33; See also Buttel and Gould 2004). David Waskow, Administrative Policy Coordinator at Friends of the Earth, made the advocacy for fair trade among these organizations clear by stating:

We are not against globalization. Our concern is with the institutions and investment patterns (caused by globalization) that can work in various different ways. We want to make sure they work in the best possible way. (Author Interview 2003)

Richard Trumka, Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO echoes the labor position by advocating alternatives and criticizing the present format of trade agreements by stating:

The benefits of globalization that we were all promised have been shared by relatively few parts of society. The American worker has paid for the party but does not get to go and eat at the banquet. American workers have been laid off and it has been a result of globalization and when they haven't been laid off it has resulted in lower wages. Every time we go to negotiate there is the threat of moving a factory or facilities overseas. We don't view the workers on the other side of the border as the enemy. They are trying to make a living just like workers here. What we think is that trade and globalization should function to bring up the standard of living of everybody in the world. When you do that it creates a bigger market and everyone benefits and lives better. But that has not been the case. You have seen corporations - American corporations - take our technology, take our capital, take our know-how, take our skills and go around the world seeking the lowest wages they could find to exploit people. The globalization process has been a real fiasco. It created a winner take all attitude in the economy. (Author Interview 2003)

Associated with international trade agreements is the opposition by many of the national labor unions and environmental organizations against fast track authority. Fast track authority allows the United States Congress to only vote for or against trade agreements. Congress is not allowed to amend them. The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), International Brotherhood of Teamsters, PACE, USWA and FOE and the Sierra Club are part of a group that signed joint letters to the Senate and House opposing fast track authority. They oppose fast track authority because it does not allow for public participation in the creation of trade agreements and therefore will most likely not include the labor and environmental standards these organizations advocate in future trade agreements (AFL-CIO 2002:

<http://www.aflcio.org/mediacenter/prsptm/pr05062002.cfm>, Teamsters 2001:

http://www.teamster.org/01newsb/hn_011107_3.htm). While it did not sign the joint letters, Environmental Defense also opposes fast track authority because of its failure to allow for inclusion of environmental standards in trade agreements (Environmental Defense 2001: <http://www.environmentaldefense.org/pressrelease.cfm?ContentID=88>).

Also closely related to global trade and a component of globalization are the lending practices of the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), and export credit agencies. What projects they fund and the requirements associated with their funding of international projects greatly influences global trade. Environmental Defense, Greenpeace USA, Friends of the Earth, and the United Steelworkers of America want to see these institutions change their lending regulations to better protect the environment and/or the rights of workers.

Global trade/globalization is an issue that many of the national labor unions and environmental organizations examined in this study share. Buttel and Gould (2004) and Gould et al. (2004) both suggest that national labor unions and environmental organizations share a common language or critique against neo-liberal economic policies, current international institutions and corporate power. The findings of this project support this claim. The criticisms by these organizations about global trade/globalization present the closest frame alignment between national labor unions and environmental organizations for the issues they share.

Corporate Accountability Issue

The organizations working on the issue of corporate accountability are demanding that corporations act in an ethically responsible manner by providing workers decent wages and a safe workplace and not pollute the community in an effort to increase corporate profit. One can define the issue of corporate accountability as the demand for corporations to recognize their responsibility to act in a way that promotes the well being of citizens and workers.

USWA, Teamsters, AFSCME, HERE, SEIU, Friends of the Earth, Environmental Defense, Greenpeace USA, the Sierra Club and CHEJ are concerned with corporate accountability in some way. (See Table 4.3) USWA, Teamsters, AFSCME, and SEIU advocate using the investment of their pension funds to demand corporate accountability. They use their power as a shareholder in companies to push them to respect the rights of workers. PACE also advocates corporate accountability by demanding that industry

TABLE 4.3
POSITION OF EACH ORGANIZATION ON THE ISSUE OF CORPORATE
ACCOUNTABILITY

ORGANIZATION	ADVOCATE GREATER CORPORATE ACCOUNTABILITY?
AFSCME (Labor)	YES
HERE (Labor)	YES
PACE (Labor)	YES
SEIU (Labor)	YES
TEAMSTERS (Labor)	YES
USWA (Labor)	YES
CHEJ (Environment)	YES
ENVIR. DEFENSE (Environment)	YES
FOE (Environment)	YES
GREENPEACE (Environment)	YES
SIERRA CLUB (Environment)	YES
UFW (Labor)	NO
AUDUBON SOCIETY (Environment)	NO
NATURE CONSERVANCY (Environment)	NO

protect workers from reactive chemicals (PACE 2002:

<http://www.paceunion.org/pressreleases1.htm>).

CHEJ and the Sierra Club advocate the implementation of the precautionary principle.

The precautionary principle requires companies to prove their products are safe before they go on the market. Greenpeace USA demands that we make companies responsible

for the accidents their production process creates. For example, Greenpeace USA

advocates making Dow Chemical, who purchased Union Carbide, accept responsibility for the chemical accident in Bhopal, India (Greenpeace USA 2002:

http://www.greenpeaceusa.org/features/Bhopal_arreststext.htm). Similar to the strategy of

labor unions, Friends of the Earth advocates a green investment program to encourage corporate responsibility to the environment by promoting investment in environmentally

responsible corporations. Environmental Defense is rather limited on their activities

toward corporate responsibility. Environmental Defense's largest push to promote

corporate responsibility is through its environmental alliances program that partners with business to promote green design (Environmental Defense n.d.:

http://www.environmentaldefense.org/program_descriptions.cfm?subnav=2).

While many of the national labor unions and environmental organizations are concerned about the issue of corporate accountability, overall they are using different frames for identifying solutions to the problem. National labor unions and FOE (the exception to the national environmental organizations) are trying to push companies toward corporate accountability by gaining economic power within companies through investment practices. Except for FOE, the national environmental organizations concerned about corporate accountability are trying to push corporate accountability by

creating new regulatory processes and through public acknowledgement of “good” and “bad” corporate practices.

Human Exposure to Toxic Chemicals Issue

The organizations concentrating on the issue of human exposure to toxic chemicals are concerned about the dangerous substances people are exposed to in the workplace and/or community. One can define the issue of human exposure to toxic chemicals as the demand that the government and capital protect workers and citizens from dangerous chemical exposures. I include in this definition the concern some organizations have toward biological dangers to the public (ex. Smallpox, Anthrax). While the issue of human exposure to toxic chemicals is related somewhat to corporate accountability, it is different because the primary focus of the issue is on the federal government protecting workers and the public from these dangers.

Many researchers have called for workers and environmentalists to work together on health and safety issues or recognize it as a possible issue of mutual concern for members of the labor and the environmental movement (Dewey 1998; Gordon 1998; Siegmann 1986; Miller 1980; Obach 2000; Rose 2000). From the data examined by this study it is discovered that, except for HERE, all the labor unions and all the environmental organizations in this study are concerned about toxic chemicals. (See Table 4.4) The focus of labor unions is to protect workers from exposure to hazardous chemicals at the workplace. For example, one of the highest concerns for the UFW is pesticide poisoning. In 1988 Cesar Chavez fasted for 36 days to bring attention to the poisoning of farm workers by pesticides. In the newest *Fields of Poison Report* (2002) produced by the

TABLE 4.4
POSITION OF EACH ORGANIZATION ON THE ISSUE OF HUMAN
EXPOSURE TO TOXIC CHEMICALS

ORGANIZATION	PROTECT HUMAN HEALTH FROM EXPOSURE TO TOXIC CHEMICALS?
AFSCME (Labor)	YES
PACE (Labor)	YES
SEIU (Labor)	YES
TEAMSTERS (Labor)	YES
UFW (Labor)	YES
USWA (Labor)	YES
CHEJ (Environment)	YES
ENVIR. DEFENSE (Environment)	YES
FOE (Environment)	YES
GREENPEACE (Environment)	YES
SIERRA CLUB (Environment)	YES
HERE (Labor)	NO
AUDUBON SOCIETY (Environment)	NO
NATURE CONSERVANCY (Environment)	NO

California Rural League Assistance Foundation, the UFW and the Pesticide Action Network, they discovered that workers are still endangered by pesticides due to a lack of regulation enforcement (UFW 2002 <http://www.ufw.org/pesticides.htm>). Friends of the Earth is also concerned about the danger of pesticides, particularly methyl bromide, to farm workers (FOE n.d.: <http://www.foe.org/camps/comm/safefood/pesticides>)

The National Audubon Society and the Nature Conservancy are concerned about toxic chemicals in an effort to protect natural environments like freshwater and marine life from exposure. The rest of the environmental organizations selected for this study, focus more on the dangers of toxic chemicals to human health. For example, Environmental Defense found chemical safety in the United States to be almost non-existent.

Environmental Defense states:

Even the most basic toxicity testing results are not available for more than 75% of the top volume chemicals in commercial use. In other words, the public cannot tell if a large majority of the most common chemicals in the United States pose health hazards, much less how serious the risks might be. These ubiquitous chemicals exist in our air and water, our food, our consumer products, our children's toys.

(Environmental Defense n.d.:

<http://www.environmentaldefense.org/system/templates/page/issue.cfm?subnav=20>).

National labor unions and national environmental organizations take a slightly different approach to their concern for toxic chemicals. National labor unions focus primarily on the dangers of toxic chemicals in the workplace while national environmental organizations focus more on the dangers of exposure to communities, except for the Nature Conservancy and the National Audubon Society who are concerned about the exposure of toxic chemicals to wildlife habitat. However, there is overlap in

this area that could possibly allow national labor unions and environmental organizations to align their frames to work together.

When examining the relationship between labor unions and environmental organizations at the state level, Obach (2002) found that the most common agreement between the two movements is the issue of toxic substances (at the state level). However, this data indicates that while there is some frame alignment on this issue, there is also some distance due to the different primary focus of the national labor unions and environmental organizations that are concerned with this issue.

LACK OF SHARED ISSUES

Kahn (1982), Obach (2000), Staggenborg (1986) and Van Dyke (2003) identify the sharing of common issues as a key factor in organizations working together. By examining the web sites and interviews conducted for this study three issues are discovered that national labor unions and national environmental organizations share. They are global trade/globalization, corporate accountability and human exposure to toxic chemicals.⁶ Of these three issues, national labor unions and national environmental organizations share the greatest frame alignment on their criticisms and solutions toward the issue of globalization.

⁶ Beside the text analysis of web sites and interviews conducted for this study, another verification of the sharing of these three issues is the indirect web links shared by the national labor unions and environmental organizations to other advocacy organizations. Indirect links are a web address or URL of an advocacy organization that is shared by both a national labor union and an environmental organization. Presented in Appendix IV are the indirect web links to other advocacy organizations listed from the selected national labor unions and environmental organizations web sites and the themes of their linkage. The indirect links that they share to other organizations concur with the findings and are based on the shared issues of global trade/globalization, corporate accountability, and human health issues related to toxic exposure. National labor unions and environmental organizations also share indirect links to some political reference material. From the evidence from the assessment of direct web links discussed in this chapter, the validity of indirect web links should be viewed with caution.

From a resource mobilization perspective, organizations must share common issues if they are to work together. Organizations will not invest resources in working together unless their organizations will receive some benefit from the activity. Unfortunately, national labor unions and national environmental organizations appear to currently share very few issues that they can work on together.

SHARED ACTIVITIES

This section focuses on the shared activities of the selected national labor unions and environmental organizations. Since I have established national labor unions and national environmental organizations share three key issues (global trade/globalization, corporate accountability, and human exposure to toxic chemicals), the next step is to discover if and how they are working together on the issues they share. This identification is made by examining the coalitional arrangements and federative arrangements between the selected national labor unions and environmental organizations from 1999 to June 2004.⁷

Evidence of coalitional arrangements among these organizations includes joint statements, letters of endorsements, joint planning of protest events, and alliances by

⁷ This time period is selected for two reasons in the recording of coalitional and federative arrangements. First, the goal of this study is to discover the current efforts of national labor unions and environmental organizations to work together and this appears to be an appropriate time frame. Second, there is a concern as to when the web sites of each organization are updated and certain information is deleted. Going back further to assess the efforts of national labor unions and environmental organizations to work together may favor some organizations over others. Only 3 activities are discovered that do not fit the time frame. They are: the Sierra Club and UFW's support for the rights of strawberry workers and the dangers of chemically tainted Mexican strawberries in 1994, the Sierra Club, Greenpeace, Teamsters and SEIU's support of worker and environmental rights for the people of Nigeria in 1996 and the Sierra Club's endorsement of the AFL-CIO and UFW's demands for Gargiulo Inc., (which is partially owned by Monsanto) to pay strawberry workers back pay for "off the clock" work and personal purchase of safety equipment in 1997 (See Sierra Club n.d.: <http://www.sierraclub.org/trade/environment/poisoned.asp>; Sierra Club 1996: <http://www.sierraclub.org/human-rights/nigeria/releases/mills.asp>; AFL-CIO 1997: <http://www.aflcio.org/mediacenter/prspmtm/pr02121997.cfm>).

labor and environmental organizational members. Federative arrangements between national labor unions and environmental organizations are composed of federative or permanent, self-sustained organizations created by national labor unions and environmental organizations in pursuit of agreed upon goals. The section concludes with an in-depth examination of how the national labor unions and environmental organizations selected for this study participate in cooperative activities.⁸

Direct Web Links as an Indicator of Shared Activities

Burris et al. (2000) explains that web links can be viewed as one of the cheapest forms of affiliation between organizations. All you have to do is link your organization's web site to the web site of another organization. By providing a web link from one organization to another, the organization providing the web link is acknowledging some type of association or affinity with the linked organization. While the level of association may be weak and only consist of a web link, it provides a baseline indicator to identify the existence of cooperation between national labor unions and national environmental organizations. If national labor unions and national environmental organizations are working together, it should be readily evident by the direct web links they share between their organizations.

This study found minimal direct web links between the national labor unions and national environmental organizations selected for this research. (See Figure 4.1) The Sierra Club web site provides web links to AFSCME and the USWA but neither labor

⁸ This research project can only identify the cooperative activity between national labor unions and national environmental organizations that it can formally document. However, there is the possibility that other cooperative activity is occurring informally that cannot be documented.

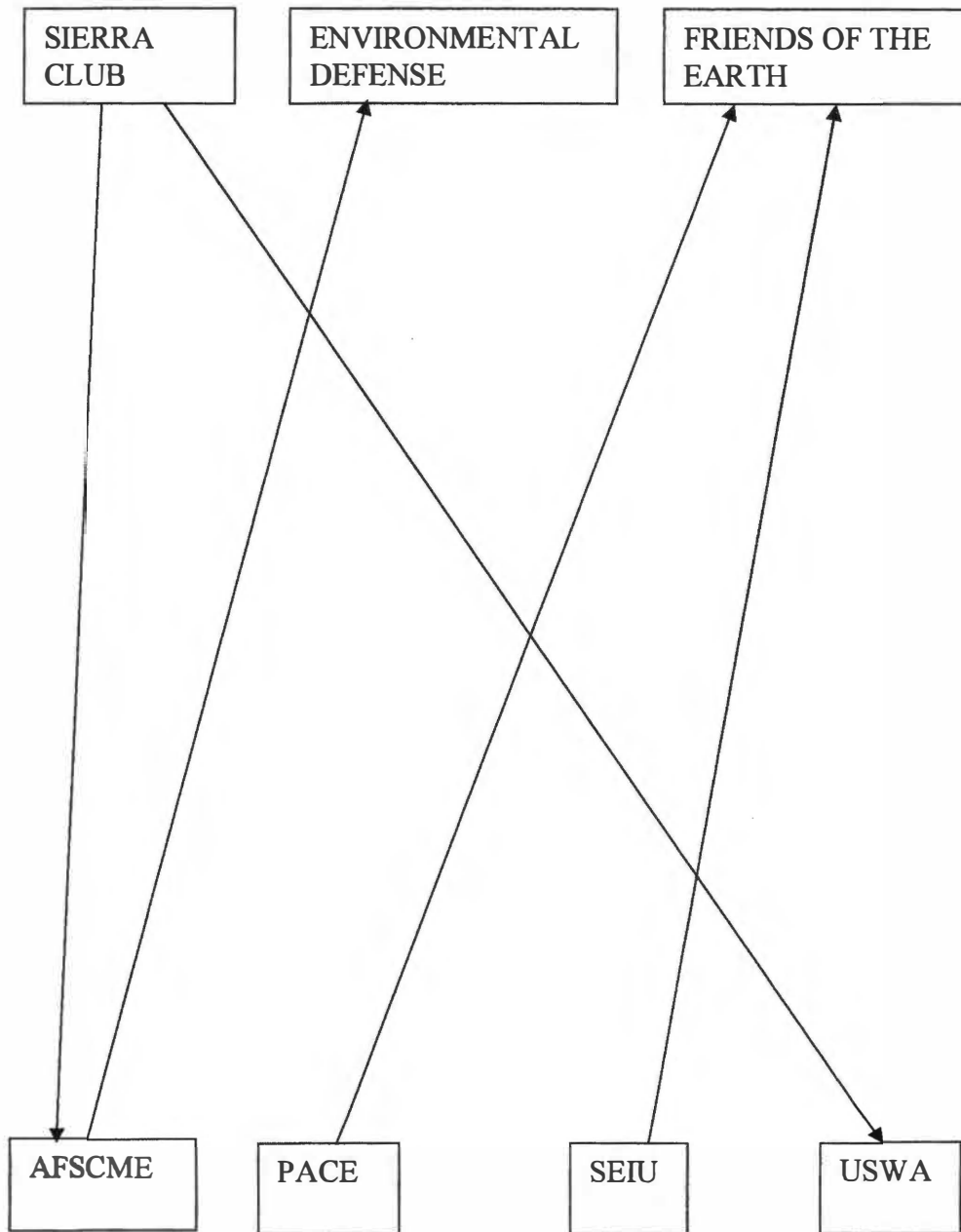


FIGURE 4.1
DIRECT LINKS BETWEEN NATIONAL LABOR UNIONS AND ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

union provides a reciprocal link back to the Sierra Club. The web sites of PACE and SEIU provides links to Friends of the Earth. However, the PACE web link is no longer active and Friends of the Earth did not provide a reciprocal links back to either organization. AFSCME provides a web link to the Environmental Defense Scorecard web site (www.scorecard.org), a web site that allows you to find out what pollutants are being released in your community.

This result from the collection of web links indicates that national labor unions and national environmental organizations cooperate very little in trying to reach their goals. However, this result most likely demonstrates that web links are not an appropriate indicator to identify the efforts of national labor unions and environmental organizations to work together. The next sections of this chapter examines other evidence from the web sites of each organization and the interviews conducted with organizational officials to discover cooperation between the national labor unions and national environmental organizations selected for this study.

Identifying Cooperative Activities

Warren (1967) created a typology for inter-organizational arrangements or contexts that focuses on the organizational structure used by organizations as they interact with each other. Warren's typology includes the four categories of (1) social choice arrangements, (2) coalitional arrangements, (3) federative arrangements and (4) unitary arrangements.

Social choice arrangements identify organizations as they act independently. There is no contact between organizations. While organizations may be working toward similar goals, they are not working together.

Coalitional arrangements occur when organizations who are pursuing similar goals decide to work together to some degree toward achieving that particular goal. Federative arrangements move the organizations even closer. In federative arrangements, organizations create councils (or new organizations) that create an inclusive structure that allows participating organizations to coordinate activities to reaching shared goals while each organization maintains its autonomy.

Unitary arrangements occur when a hierarchical structure is used where authority rests at the top of the structure and partner organizations no longer have autonomy. Hodge and Anthony (1988) discussed how unitary arrangements create supra-organization that take most of the decision making away from participating organizations and places it within the supra-organization. Warren is clear to point out that “The four contexts (arrangements) should be understood as points along the various dimensions rather than discrete states” (1967:408).

Applying Warren’s continuum to the national labor unions and environmental organizations examined in this study, I find that when they work together, they do so either in a coalitional or federative arrangement.⁹ While the coalitional arrangement is the more common, the federative arrangement may be the best to allow the groups to work together over long periods of time. Kahn (1982) discusses coalitions as being either short term where organizations participate on a single issue (which Warren identifies as coalitional arrangements) and coalitions that are long term and permanent (which Warren identifies as federative arrangements). Kahn suggests that these long term coalitions or

⁹ Since the goal of this project is to discover if national labor unions and environmental organizations work together, social choice arrangements are not assessed. This study found no evidence of the existence of a unitary arrangement between national labor unions and national environmental organizations.

federative arrangements are essential to “building real power for people and one of the great challenges of organizing” (1982:277)

To identify an organization as being a federative arrangement, I include as criteria for a federative arrangement that the new organization structure maintain its own web site, members be organizations (not individuals associated with organizations) and it be a sustained activity. As mentioned previously, the research identifies two distinct organizational structures that national labor unions and environmental organizations create to work together. They use both coalitional and federative arrangements.

Coalitional Arrangements

According to Warren (1967) coalitional arrangements occur when organizations who are pursuing a similar goal or similar goals, decide to work together to some degree toward achieving that particular goal. In coalitional arrangements, organizations agree to cooperate to reach their goals on an ad hoc basis. All decision making occurs among each organization, the coalition has no authority and there is no formal organization for decision making (Warren 1967:405). Most researchers would call Warren’s concept of coalitional arrangements “temporary coalitions.” Table 4.5 includes the coalitional arrangements between national labor unions and national environmental organizations found by this study. Each arrangement is discussed in detail.

As indicated in Table 4.5, the AFL-CIO is included among the organizations participating in coalitional arrangements. While collecting the data for this part of the research project it became apparent that much of the cooperation between national labor

TABLE 4.5
CONNECTIONS BETWEEN NATIONAL LABOR UNIONS AND NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS WORKING TOGETHER IN COALITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

COALITION ACTIVITY	ISSUE FOCUS	A F L - C I O	A F S C M E	H E R E	P A C E	S E I U	T E A M S T E R S	U F W	U S W A	A U D U B O N	C H E J	E N V I R D E F	F O E	N A T U R E	G R E E N	S I E R R A
FTAA Call to Action (Miami Protest 2003)	Trade	X	X		X		X		X				X			X
Tell Us the Truth Tour (2003)	Trade	X					X		X				X			X
March to Miami Campaign (2003)	Trade	X	X						X							X
Rapid Response Conference in Miami (2003)	Trade								X				X			
Letter to Robert Zoellick (U. S. Trade Representative 2003)	Trade	X					X		X				X		X	X
Principles of Unity on Trade and Investment	Trade	X	X		X		X		X				X			X
Stop Fast Track Authority (Joint Statement 2001/2002)	Trade	X	X		X		X		X				X			X
World Bank Reform (Joint Report April 2002)	Trade	X										X	X			
Cross Border Trucking (2001)	Trade						X						X			X
Oppose China's Trade Practices Protest (2000)	Trade	X	X				X		X				X			
Seattle WTO Protests (1999)	Trade	X					X		X				X		X	X
Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment ¹	Multiple Issues (Trade, Corp. Act, Energy and Jobs)		X		X	X	X		X		X		X			X

¹ The Blue Green Alliance and the Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment are coalitions that members of the labor and environmental movements have established to work together. Labor and environmental organizations are not members of these coalitions per se, only individuals within these organizations are members. However, many of the national organizations appear to be supportive of the Blue Green Alliance and the Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment.

TABLE 4.5
Continued

COALITION ACTIVITY	ISSUE FOCUS	A F L - C I O	A F S C M E	H E R E	P A C E	S E I U	T E A M S T E R S	U F W	U S W A	A U D U B O N	C H E J	E N V I R D E F	F O E	N A T U R E	G R E N	S I E R R A
Statement Demanding Full Accountability of Corporations (2000)	Corp. Act.		X				X				X		X			
Support Apollo Alliance (2003)	Energy Policy	X	X		X	X	X		X						X	X
Oppose Repealing PUHCA (2003)	Energy Policy	X										X				X
Oppose Drilling in ANWR (LEAPS) (2002)	Energy Policy					X			X							X
Climate Change Conference (1999)	Energy Policy	X	X		X	X			X			X			X	X
Blue Green Alliance ¹	Energy Policy				X	X			X			X				X
Voting in 2001/2002 Elections	Voter Camp.					X										X
Criticism of the Bush Administrations Court Appointments (2003)	Judicial Appoint.	X	X													X
Impact of Agricultural Water Sale to Cites on Workers (2004)	Water Issue							X			X					

¹ The Blue Green Alliance and the Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment are coalitions that members of the labor and environmental movements have established to work together. Labor and environmental organizations are not members of these coalitions per se, only individuals within these organizations are members. However, many of the national organizations appear to be supportive of the Blue Green Alliance and the Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment.

unions with national environmental organizations includes the AFL-CIO. In fact, many of the joint activities between national labor unions and national environmental organizations are presented only on the AFL-CIO's web site. Therefore, the researcher made a decision to acknowledge the AFL-CIO's inclusion in coalitional and federative arrangements. Richard Trumka, the Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO is interviewed for this study as a result of the inclusion of the AFL-CIO.

Twenty-one coalitional arrangements are identified by this study. These activities include endorsements, joint statements, joint campaign projects, and joint protest activities. Coalitional arrangements are associated with the issues of global trade/globalization, energy and corporate accountability. Three miscellaneous coalition arrangements are found as well.

Coalitional Arrangements Associated with the Issue of Global Trade/Globalization.

Twelve of the 21 coalitional arrangements are related to the issue of global trade/globalization, further identifying global trade/globalization as a key issue for cooperation among national labor unions and environmental organizations. The issue of global trade/globalization includes participation in the Stop FTAA protest in Miami, partnerships in the Tell Us the Truth music tour, the March to Miami campaign, the USWA Rapid Response Conference, a joint statement to U.S. Trade Representative Robert Zoellick opposing WTO trade liberalization that does not include social and environmental benefits, an endorsement of "Principles of Unity on Trade and Investment," a joint statement opposing fast track authority for the President of the United States, creation of a report demanding reform of the World Bank, opposition to

cross border trucking, participating in a rally demanding China honor trade agreements and improve their record on human rights, acknowledging the participation of organizations in the protest against the WTO in Seattle and the trade activities of the Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment.

The AFL-CIO, AFSCME, PACE, Teamsters, USWA, FOE and the Sierra Club participated with 48 other organizations to call for a “peaceful and permitted mobilization to demonstrate the growing opposition to the FTAA” for the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) trade talks held in Miami in November of 2003. The statement calling for participation in the protest explained that the improvements of economic and environmental conditions promised by the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) have not been realized and that the FTAA is an expansion of the NAFTA agreement. They made clear that they are not against trade but “support trade models that include responsibilities – not just rights – for corporations; protect workers’ rights, health, safety, family farmers, women, consumers, and the environment; and promote sustainable, equitable and democratic development” (AFL-CIO 2003:

<http://www.aflcio.org/issuespolitics/globaleconomy/loader.cfm?url=/commonspot/security/getfile.cfm&PageID=23761>). This call to demonstrate was found on the AFL-CIO web site.

The AFL-CIO, Teamsters, USWA, Friends of the Earth and the Sierra Club were partners with other organizations in the 13 city “Tell Us the Truth Tour” held in November of 2003. The tour was a “music and education trek trying to put the issues of media reform, economic and environmental justice and democracy at the top of the American political agenda” (Tell Us the Truth n.d.:

http://www.tellusthetruth.org/index_home.html). The tour promoted the concept of free trade over the current trade models of NAFTA and the FTAA prior to the November 19, 2003 FTAA Ministerial Meetings. The tour also worked to raise awareness to the dangers of media consolidation in the United States being promoted by the Federal Communications Commission.

The AFL-CIO, AFSCME, USWA and Sierra Club participated in the launch of a 30 city “March to Miami” campaign composed of various advocacy organizations. The coalition went to each city to protest against FTAA and build support to defeat FTAA. The coalition called for “trade polices that support working families, healthy communities and a safe environment for all” (USWA 2003t <http://www.uswa.org/uswa/program/content/550.php>).

The USWA held a Rapid Response/Legislative Mobilization Conference in Miami on November 18-19, 2003 that was attended by 1,200 steelworkers to discuss the negative effects of NAFTA and the potential dangers of FTAA before the protests of the FTAA Ministerial Meetings (USWA 2003: <http://www.uswa.org/uswa/program/content/776.php>). Brent Blackwelder, the President of Friends of the Earth, participated in the conference as a keynote speaker.

The AFL-CIO, Teamsters, USWA, FOE, Greenpeace USA, the Sierra Club and 26 other organizations signed a joint statement sent to United States Trade Representative Robert Zoellick in 2003 to oppose investment liberalization at the World Trade Organization Ministerial meeting held in Cancun. They were concerned about “the lack of social and environmental benefits included in WTO investment rules, that the investment rules do not control corporate behavior, that the ability of governments to

protect their people by creating policies that protect worker rights, public health and the environment is undermined, and that the ability of poorer nations to developing their economies is impeded” (AFL-CIO 2003:

<http://www.aflcio.org/issuespolitics/globaleconomy/loader.cfm?url=/commonspot/security/getfile.cfm&PageID=21973>). This statement was located on the AFL-CIO and FOE web sites.

The AFL-CIO, AFSCME, PACE, Teamsters, USWA, FOE and the Sierra Club were part of a group of 50 organizations who signed a “Principles of Unity on Trade and Investment” statement that opposes the present process of global trade. They advocated that five principles, should guide the policy of the United States in the establishment of global trade agreements. They are: 1. Make policies democratic and transparent 2. Protect human rights and the rights of workers, 3. Protect the environment 4. Promote family based agriculture and 5. Cancel the debt of impoverished nations so they can use the resources to improving the lives of its citizens. (AFL-CIO 2002:

<http://www.aflcio.org/issuespolitics/globaleconomy/principles.cfm>). The “Principles and Unity on Trade and Investment” statement was located on the AFL-CIO web site.

The AFL-CIO, AFSCME, PACE, Teamsters, USWA, FOE and the Sierra Club participated in a joint statement sent to the Senate in 2002 as part of a coalition of 135 groups that opposed fast track authority according to the AFL-CIO web site (AFL-CIO 2002: <http://www.aflcio.org/mediacenter/prsptm/pro5062002.cfm>). The Teamsters web site identified a similar joint statement opposing fast track that was endorsed by the same organizations and sent to the Speaker of the House of Representatives in 2001 (Teamsters 2001: http://www.teamster.org/01newsb/hn_011107_3.htm). Fast track authority allows

the United States Congress to only vote for or against trade agreements. Congress is not allowed to amend them. The AFL-CIO, AFSCME, PACE, Teamsters, USWA, FOE and the Sierra Club oppose fast track authority because it does not allow for public participation in the creation of trade agreements and therefore will most likely not include the labor and environmental standards these organizations advocate in future trade agreements (AFL-CIO 2002: <http://www.aflcio.org/mediacenter/prsptm/pr05062002.cfm>, Teamsters 2001: http://www.teamster.org/01newsb/hn_011107_3.htm).

The AFL-CIO web site recorded that the AFL-CIO, Environmental Defense and FOE participated with other groups as part of a “U. S. Civil Society Coalition” in 2002 to demand reform of the World Bank. “Specifically, the report calls for a responsible increase in IDA (International Development Assistance) grants, deeper debt cancellation for the poorest countries, open meetings of the World Bank’s board, assessments of the impact of all bank loans and guarantees that bank policies will fight poverty, respect the environment and protect workers’ rights and human rights” (AFL-CIO 2002: <http://www.aflcio.org/issuespolitics/globaleconomy/ns04172002.cfm>). Friends of the Earth and Environmental Defense have copies of the report on their web sites.

The Friends of the Earth and the Sierra Club along with other advocacy organizations supported the Teamsters opposition to cross border trucking. Their concerns were for the lack of harmonization between the safety standards required for Mexican vehicles and drivers compared to American vehicles and drivers. They suggested that for road safety, long haul, cross border trucking should not be allowed. (Teamsters 2001: <http://www.teamster.org/01newsb/hn%5F010820%5F2.htm>). This information was found only on the Teamsters web site.

The AFL-CIO web site documented a 15,000 person rally held in Washington D.C. in April of 2000 that demanded China act as a responsible trading partner with the United States. The rally demanded that China stop human/work rights and polluting it environment by complying with international standards (AFL-CIO 2000: <http://www.aflcio.org/mediacenter/prsptm/pr04122000.cfm>). The AFL-CIO, AFSCME, Teamsters, USWA, and FOE participated in the rally with other organizations. The other participants were mostly unions. FOE was the only identified environmental organization to participate. Leo W. Gerard of the USWA explained the problem labor has with China as a trading partner when he stated:

You don't hear any more discussion about China being a repressive communist dictatorship that has child labor, prison labor, slave labor and all of those things. China is now considered the fastest growing market for the export of capital and jobs. (Author Interview 2003)

The Teamster's web site presented a call for demonstration at the Seattle Ministerial meeting of the WTO in 1999. It stated that 600 organizations planned to be part of the demonstrations and included the AFL-CIO, USWA, FOE, Greenpeace and Sierra Club among groups that would be participating (Teamsters n.d.: http://www.teamster.org/wto/what_is_seattle_ministerial.htm). The teamsters criticized the WTO for supporting the actions of big business at the expense of working families. The discovery of this data questions the findings of Gould et al. (2004). Gould et al. do not believe that the Seattle protest indicated any kind of collaboration between national labor unions and national environmental organizations. However, this announcement from the Teamsters web site may indicate that the coordination between some labor and environmental groups was greater than expected.

The Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment is an organization that is included in the coalitional arrangements of this research in an effort to be comprehensive in identifying the activities of national labor unions and environmental organizations to work together. This organization is an alliance created by individuals within the labor and environmental movement. Neither national labor unions nor national environmental organizations are members of the Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment, but it would be remiss not to discuss its activities since it is supported by individual members of both the national labor unions and environmental organizations selected for this study.

The Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment is a group that was formed when members of both the labor and environmental movements found themselves protesting against the Maxxam Corporation in Houston in 1999. This led to the establishment of the ‘Houston Principles’ which recognized their “common interest in making corporations more accountable for their behavior world wide” (Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment n.d.: <http://www.asje.org/houston.html>).

There are four working groups of the Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment which focus on the issues of restoration jobs, rogue corporations, global trade and energy issues (Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment n.d.: <http://www.asje.org/ab.html>). The Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment remains an active alliance. AFSCME, PACE, Teamsters, SEIU, USWA, CHEJ, FOE, and the Sierra Club have members who have demonstrated support for the Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment. The Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment is very critical of global trade. The organization opposes FTAA and is concerned as to how service jobs are to be regulated in the global economy as they are

now being affected by globalization (Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment n.d.: <http://www.asje.org/gt.html>).

Coalitional Arrangements Associated with the Issue of Energy Policy. Six coalitional arrangements have been formed to address energy policy issues. They include the newly formed Apollo Alliance, opposing the efforts to repeal the Public Utility Holding Company Act (PUHCA), a climate change conference, opposition to drilling in the Artic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR), the Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment and the Blue Green Alliance.

The Apollo Alliance is a recent effort founded by the Institute for America's Future (also called the Campaign for America's Future), Center on Wisconsin Strategy, Common Assets Defense Fund, Americans for Energy Freedom and the Carol/Trevelyan Strategy Group. The Apollo Alliance recommends funding of a "10 year, \$300 billion research plan that would promote energy efficiency, reduce dependence on foreign oil and preserve manufacturing jobs" (Steven Greenhouse 2003 article located at Institute for America's Future web site:

http://www.ourfuture.org/issues_and_campaigns/energy_independence/nyt_6_6_03.cfm).

The Apollo Alliance plan was presented at the Take Back America Conference held in 2003 by the Campaign for America's Future. At present it appears that national labor unions and environmental organizations are endorsing the Apollo Alliance. The Apollo Alliance may eventually grow into a federative arrangement if national labor unions and environmental organizations deepen their commitment to this project.

Richard Trumka of the AFL-CIO explains that the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Council, along with other unions which include AFSCME, PACE, SEIU, USWA and the Teamsters (as a member of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Council) are endorsing the Apollo Alliance. The Apollo Alliance is also endorsed with letters of support from the presidents of the Sierra Club and Greenpeace USA. Other environmental organizations have also sent letters of support for the project. (Apollo Alliance n.d.: http://www.apolloalliance.org/about_the_alliance/).

The AFL-CIO, Friends of the Earth and the Sierra Club joined with other organizations to oppose the repealing of the Public Utility Holding Company Act (PUHCA). They suggest that past legislative efforts that weakened the act contributed to the to the California energy crisis by allowing energy generators to withhold electricity to drive up energy prices (AFL-CIO 2003: http://www.aflcio.org/issuespolitics/puhca_background.cfm).

Tom Woodruff, the International Executive Vice-President of the SEIU, stated that SEIU joined with environmental organizations to oppose drilling for oil in ANWR (Author Interview 2003). SEIU's opposition to drilling for oil in ANWR is presented on the web site of an organization known as LEAPS or The Labor-Environment Alliance for Planetary Solidarity. "The organization which formed in January 2002 brings together leaders and members of labor unions and environmental groups to work cooperatively with other advocates of economic, social and environmental justice." (LEAPS n.d.: <http://www.corporatecampaign.org/whatleap.htm>).

The web site includes a statement by the Andrew L. Stern, the President of SEIU opposing drilling for oil in ANWR. USWA is identified as being against drilling of

ANWR as well due to their stance on the issue in the 1970s (LEAPS n.d.: <http://www.corporatecampaign.org/lablist.htm>). While LEAPS does not include national environmental organizations as members, it is included in this study because it represents an effort by national labor unions to support an action supported by national environmental organizations. It is obvious that the SEIU supports environmental organizations in opposing drilling in ANWR, but they do not mention this support on their web site. The Sierra Club web site does acknowledge support from SEIU by its endorsement of Arctic protection in an article promoting the creation of alliances with labor (Barry n.d.: <http://www.sierraclub.org/planet/200205/green.asp>).

In April 1999, the AFL-CIO, AFSCME, PACE, SEIU, USWA, FOE, Greenpeace USA and the Sierra Club participated with other organizations in “a two day extensive dialogue about climate change and energy policy” (AFL-CIO 1999: <http://www.aflcio.org/mediacenter/prsptm/pr05061999.cfm>). After the conference the following statement was released by AFL-CIO President John Sweeney and Sierra Club Executive Director Carl Pope:

The transition in the global energy economy is threatening both workers' rights and the climate. We commit ourselves to crafting together a package of worker friendly domestic carbon emission reduction measures. (AFL-CIO 1999: <http://www.aflcio.org/mediacenter/prsptm/pr05061999.cfm>)

This statement indicated an effort by national labor unions and environmental organizations to work together on energy issues. The information about this conference was discovered on the AFL-CIO web site.

The Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment also focuses on the energy issue looking for solutions to climate change that are worker friendly. The Alliance for

Sustainable Jobs and the Environment is discussed in the previous section examining global trade/globalization coalitional arrangements since it is a multi-issue organization focusing on the issues of global trade/globalization, corporate accountability, energy and jobs.

Like the Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment, the Blue Green Alliance is an organization that is included in the coalitional arrangements of this research in an effort to be comprehensive in identifying the activities of national labor unions and environmental organizations to work together. This organization is an alliance created by individuals within the labor and environmental movement. Neither national labor unions nor national environmental organizations are members of the Blue Green Alliance, but it would be remiss not to discuss its activities since it is supported by individual members of both the national labor unions and environmental organizations selected for this study.

The Blue Green Alliance identifies itself as:

A self-selected group of labor union and environmental officials, staff and activists seeking serious approaches to environmental protection that benefit working people and their unions. For the last five years we have worked together to develop a responsible labor-friendly approach to reduce global warming threats... We will NOT choose between good jobs and the environment we leave to our children. We will work with each other to protect both! (Blue Green Alliance n.d.: <http://www.bluegreenalliance.org/>).

The focus of the Blue Green Alliance is on global warming. Organizations with members participating in the Blue Green Alliance include PACE (as a member of the Just Transition Alliance), SEIU, USWA, FOE, and the Sierra Club. Unfortunately, from its web site, it appears that the Blue Green Alliance has become inactive. The last postings to the web site are in 2002. I sent the Blue Green Alliance an e-mail using the “Contact”

address listed on the web site about the status of the organization, but I never received a reply.

The issue of energy was not identified as a shared issue between national labor unions and national environmental organizations from the analysis of the web sites and interviews of high ranking officials interviewed. Only two national labor union officials mentioned energy as an issue in their interviews. Tom Woodruff of the SEIU discussed SEIU's opposition to drilling in ANWR and Richard Trumka of the AFL-CIO discussed the Apollo Alliance.

The issue of energy in this research study is either over emphasized or newly emerging. It could be overstated because two of the organizations (Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment and the inactive Blue Green Alliance) identified as coalitional arrangements in this study are created by individuals within the labor and environmental movement. Neither national labor unions nor national environmental organizations are members. However, it is important to include them in this study to be thorough in identifying the efforts of the labor and environmental movement to work together. While the inclusion of the Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment and the Blue Green Alliance may overemphasize the energy issue, it does appear to be an emerging issue with the groups who formed the Apollo Alliance bringing together national labor unions and national environmental organizations to support its plans to seek labor intensive energy alternatives.

Coalitional Arrangements Associated with the Issue of Corporate Accountability.

Two coalitional arrangements are associated with the issue of corporate account ability. They are the Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment and the Stakeholder Alliance.

The Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment, as discussed in previous sections, is a multi-issue organization focusing on the issues of global trade/globalization, corporate accountability, energy and jobs. The Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment identifies and publicizes the actions of what they define to be “rogue corporations.” They identify rogue corporations as “corporations that operate in a way that is harmful to workers, the environment and the community, avoid accountability for their actions, and are at the forefront of global destruction in their industry” (Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment n.d: <http://www.asje.org/rc.html>). The Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment have created a “rogues gallery” of corporations which includes such corporations as Coca-Cola, Wal-Mart, General Electric, the Gap, Maxxam and AK Steel (Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment n.d.: <http://www.asje.org/roguesgallery.pdf>).

AFSCME, the Teamsters, CHEJ and Friends of the Earth all support a statement of principle established by the Stakeholder Alliance, an effort by the Center for Advancement of Public Policy. The statement of principle suggests that corporations are not only accountable to their stockholders, but to their workforce and the community as well (Stakeholder Alliance n.d.: <http://www.stakeholderalliance.org/stmtprin.html>). The statement of principles demands that corporations “provide the information that stakeholders need to protect themselves from the negative consequences of corporate

actions” (Stakeholder Alliance n.d.: <http://www.stakeholderalliance.org/stmtprin.html>).

While the Stakeholder Alliance has its own web site, I have designated it a coalitional activity instead of a federative activity because it appears that the only action organizations take is the support of the statement of principles. The Stakeholder Alliance web site appears to be inactive and is therefore not a sustained activity. The last post to the web site was in 2000.

Miscellaneous Coalitional Arrangements. Three coalitional arrangements identified by this study that do not fit into a category. One is a coalitional arrangement between the SEIU and the Sierra Club to orchestrate a joint voting campaign. The second is a coalitional arrangement between the AFL-CIO, AFSCME and the Sierra Club in their opposition to many of the judicial nominations of the Bush Administration. The third is a coalitional arrangement between Environmental Defense and the UFW.

During my interview with Tom Woodruff of the SEIU, I was made aware that the SEIU and the Sierra Club worked together on voting campaigns in the 2001 and 2002 elections. He stated:

We have been very involved with the Sierra Club in some of the state elections in 2001 and a lot in 2002. We had a “Vote for Children” project where we worked in a number of communities around the country with school children and the Sierra Club sponsoring scholarships to camp for kids who worked in their schools and communities to encourage voting in underrepresented areas (Author Interview 2003) (See also Sierra Club n.d.: <http://www.sierraclub.org/youthservices/programs/frontrange.asp>).

This coalitional activity was not presented on the web site of SEIU.

In an open letter to U.S. Senators, AFSCME joined with the AFL-CIO, the Sierra Club and other organizations in opposing Miguel Estrada’s appointment to the U.S.

Court of Appeals through a writing campaign. AFSCME (and the other organizations) opposed his appointment because of his refusal to answer questions regarding his judicial philosophy during his confirmation hearing (AFSCME:

<http://www.afscme.org/action/1030204.htm>). The web sites of the AFL-CIO and Sierra Club expand the issue of judicial nominations and oppose many of the nominees of the Bush Administration (AFL-CIO n.d.:

<http://www.aflcio.org/issuespolitics/ns04242003.cfm>; Sierra Club n.d.;

<http://www.sierraclub.org/politics/judicialnominations/campaign.asp>).

Environmental Defense is working with the UFW in an effort to decrease the effect of water transfers on UFW workers in the west. As the cost of water has increased in the West, farmers are selling their water to metropolitan areas and letting their land lie fallow, reducing the number of jobs for farm workers (Environmental Defense 2004: <http://www.environmentaldefense.org/article.cfm?contentid=3494>). Environmental Defense advocates that the needs of misplaced farm workers be considered.

Summary of Coalitional Arrangements

The coalitional arrangements discovered by this study support the premise that global trade/globalization is a key factor in national labor unions and national environmental organizations working together. Twelve of the 21 identified coalitional arrangements are associated with the issue of global trade/globalization. Six of the 21 identified coalitional arrangements address the issue of energy. While the issue of energy was not discussed much on the web sites and in the interviews with national labor unions (SEIU and the AFL-CIO are exceptions), it appears to be an emerging issue to link national labor unions

and environmental organizations. The Apollo Alliance is important in this emergence as it tries to bring national labor unions and national environmental organizations together by encouraging both the creation of energy alternatives to fossil fuels and a commitment to the creation of jobs.

Two of the 21 coalitional arrangements are associated with the issue of corporate accountability and 3 of the coalitional arrangements are miscellaneous issues. While the coalitional arrangements do demonstrate that national labor unions and environmental organizations work together, one would expect more coalitional arrangements to occur than recorded. The coalitional arrangements are endorsements, joint statements, joint reports, conferences and protests activities occurring from 1999 to June 2004. If these organizations were cooperating intensely at the national level more coalitional arrangements would exist.

Federative Arrangements

Six federative arrangements are found to exist between national labor unions and environmental organizations selected for this study. As discussed earlier in this chapter, federative arrangements are defined by Warren (1967) as occurring when organizations establish councils (or new organizations) that create an inclusive structure. This decision making structure exists outside any one particular participating organization and allows the new structures to coordinate the activities of participating organizations to reach shared goals while each organization maintains its autonomy (Warren 1967:404-405). Most researchers would call Warren's concept of federative arrangements "permanent coalitions." To identify an organization as being a federative arrangement, I include as

criteria for defining an activity as a federative arrangement that they maintain their own web site, members be organizations (not individuals associated with organizations) and it be a sustained activity. The Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economies, Corporate Sunshine Working Group, Health Care Without Harm, the International Right to Know Campaign, the Citizen's Trade Campaign, and the Alliance for Responsible Trade meet these criteria (See Table 4.6). These federative arrangements address three issues: global trade/globalization, corporate accountability, and health (human exposure to toxic chemicals). Two of the federative arrangements are multi-issue oriented. The International Right to Know Campaign includes the issues of global trade/globalization, corporate accountability and human exposure to toxic chemicals. The Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economies includes the issues of corporate accountability and human exposure to toxic chemicals. Each federative arrangement is discussed below in relation to the issues they address.

Federative Arrangements Associated with the Issue of Global Trade/Globalization.

Three federative arrangements are associated with the issue of global trade/globalization. They are the Citizens Trade Campaign, the Alliance for Responsible Trade and the International Right to Know Campaign.

Citizens Trade Campaign is an organization whose main purpose is trade reform. Citizens Trade Campaign formed in 1992 and includes labor and environmental organizations who originally came together to oppose the North American Free Trade Agreement or NAFTA (Dreiling 1997, 1998, 2001; Citizens Trade Campaign n.d: <http://www.citizenstrade.org/about.php>). Citizens Trade Campaign continues to be an

TABLE 4.6
CONNECTIONS BETWEEN NATIONAL LABOR UNIONS AND NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS WORKING TOGETHER IN FEDERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS

FEDERATIVE ORGANIZATION	ISSUE FOCUS	A F L - C I O	A F S C M E	H E R E	P A C E	S E I U	T E A M S T E R S	U F W	U S W A	A U D U B O N	C H E J	E N V I R D E F	F O E	N A T U R E	G R E N	S I E R A
Citizen's Trade Campaign	Trade						X		X				X			
Alliance for Responsible Trade	Trade	X											X			
International Right to Know Campaign	Trade/ Corp. Act./ Health	X					X						X			X
Corporate Sunshine Working Group ¹	Corp. Act.	X											X			
Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economies	Corp. Act./ Health	X										X	X			X
Health Care Without Harm	Health	X				X					X	X			X	X

¹ The information on the members of the Corporate Sunshine Working Group is limited. Its web site suggests other labor and environmental organizations participate in this arrangement but they are not identified.

active organization. The Citizens Trade Campaign deals with a wide variety of trade issues. For example, their web site presents concerns for NAFTA, CAFTA (Central America Free Trade Agreement), FTAA, the WTO and Fast Track Authority. The Citizens Trade Campaign expresses its commitment to trade reform by stating:

We are united in a common belief that international trade and investment are not ends unto themselves, but instead must be viewed as a means for achieving other societal goals such as economic justice, human rights, healthy communities, and a sound environment. The rules which govern the global economy must reflect the views and needs of the majority of the world's people on issues such as jobs, wages, the environment, human rights, food and consumer safety, access to essential services, and public health. (Citizens Trade Campaign n.d.: <http://www.citizenstrade.org/about.php>)

The Teamsters, the USWA and Friends of the Earth are organizations included in this study that are members of the Citizens Trade Campaign. Dreiling (1998) identifies both the Sierra Club and SEIU as members of the Citizens Trade Campaign during its formation against NAFTA. However, neither of these organizations is presently listed as members of the Citizens Trade Campaign on its web site.

The Alliance for Responsible Trade (ART) is another organization that focuses on trade that formed during the fight over NAFTA (Dreiling 1997, 1998, 2001; Alliance for Responsible Trade n.d: http://www.art-us.org/Who_We_Are.html). The Alliance for Responsible Trade focuses on the trade issues associated with NAFTA, CAFTA, FTAA and other agreements that affect our Hemisphere. The organizations in this study that participate in the Alliance for Responsible Trade are the AFL-CIO and Friends of the Earth. During the formation of the Alliance for Responsible Trade, Greenpeace was a member. However, Greenpeace is no longer listed as a member of ART on their web site.

This may have occurred as a result of strained relations with the AFL-CIO. Dreiling suggests that:

The AFL-CIO, however, never established close relations to Greenpeace, reflecting the variance in the tactical dispositions and absence of common relations among the respective organizations (Dreiling 1998:64).

Why do both the Citizens Trade Campaign and the Alliance for Responsible Trade exist? Dreiling (1998) suggests that the difference between these organizations is that the Citizens Trade Campaign focused on the NAFTA fight as a national issue and the Alliance for Responsible Trade took a more ‘internationalists’ focus on the NAFTA issue. This is demonstrated by the efforts of the Alliance for Responsible Trade to work with other international organizations. The Alliance for Responsible Trade is a member of the Hemispheric Social Alliance which advocates alternatives to the present trade agreement model. International organizations that the Alliance for Responsible Trade partners with include such groups as Mexican Action Network on Free Trade, Action Canada Network and the Brazilian Association of NGOs (Alliance for Responsible Trade 2000: <http://www.art-us.org/LiberateText.html>).

The International Right to Know Campaign is an effort by a coalition of more than “200 environmental, labor, social justice and human rights organizations” that demands U.S. Companies report environmental, labor and human rights practices at their international plants. (International Right to Know Campaign n.d.: http://www.irtk.org/what_is_irtk.html). The International Right to Know Campaign hopes to achieve this goal by passing a law that extends the Emergency Planning and Community Right to Know Act of 1986, which allows communities and workers in the United States access to this type of reporting, to all communities in the world in which

U.S. companies operate. This campaign incorporates the issues of trade, corporate accountability and health dangers associated with human exposure to toxic chemicals. The International Right to Know is concerned with global trade/globalization because it attempts to affect the practices of U.S. corporations as they operate around the world by disclosing environmental dangers, human rights, and labor practices to all communities affected by the production process. Partners of the International Right to Know Campaign include the AFL-CIO, Friends of the Earth and the Sierra Club. The Teamsters also act as an endorsing organization of the International Right to Know Campaign. (International Right to Know Campaign n.d: http://www.irtk.org/what_is_irtk.html)

These three federative actions related to global trade/globalization demonstrate that this is an issue that national labor unions and environmental organizations not only share, but one that many of the national labor unions and environmental organizations have committed to working on together. AFL-CIO, the Teamsters, USWA, FOE, and the Sierra Club are involved with at least one of these federative arrangements associated with the issue of global trade globalization. However, there may be some distancing occurring on this issue for some organizations. Greenpeace is no longer associated with the Alliance for Responsible Trade and the Sierra Club and SEIU are no longer associated with the Citizens Trade Campaign.

Federative Arrangements Associated with the Issue of Corporate Accountability.

Three federative arrangements are associated with the issue of corporate accountability. They are the Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economies (CERES), the Corporate Sunshine Working Group and the International Right to Know Campaign

The Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economies (CERES) is an organization established in 1988 that brought together social investors, corporations, environmental groups and other groups that represent the public interest to improve the reporting and practices of environmental management in corporate America. Today, more than 70 companies endorse the CERES Principles (CERES n.d.:

<http://www.ceres.org/about/main.htm>). The 10 CERES Principles that endorsing companies commit to follow are: (1) protecting the biosphere, (2) creating a sustainable use of natural resources, (3) reducing and properly disposing of waste, (4) conserving energy, (5) protecting employees from environmental, health, and safety risks, (6) producing environmentally safe products and services, (7) maintaining and restoring environmental health and safety, (8) informing the public of environmental dangers caused by the company, (9) assuring that each company's Board of Directors and CEOs is committed to the CERES principles, and (10) auditing the company's adherence to these principles annually and producing a publicly available report of the audit. (CERES n.d.: http://www.ceres.org/our_work/principles.htm). The CERES Principles are used to create a more informed corporate investor and to change the organizational culture of companies that participate to adopt environmentally sustainable practices. Many environmental organizations and public interest groups participate in CERES. The AFL-CIO, Environmental Defense, Friends of the Earth, and the Sierra Club are the organizations included in this study that are members of CERES.

The Corporate Sunshine Working Group is an organization established in 1998 that focuses on increasing corporate accountability by encouraging the Securities and Exchange Commission to require publicly traded corporations to increase their disclosure

on the social issues of “human rights, worker health and safety and public health”

(Corporate Sunshine Working Group n.d.:<http://www.corporatesunshine.org/faq.html>).

The Corporate Sunshine Working Group believes that better disclosure of environmental and worker practices are needed to allow investors to invest in companies responsibly.

The Corporate Sunshine Working Group “is an alliance of investors, environmental organizations, unions and public interest groups (Corporate Sunshine Working Group n.d.: <http://www.corporatesunshine.org/faq.html>). The AFL-CIO and the Friends of the Earth are identified as members of the Corporate Sunshine Working Group. However, a contact person at the Corporate Sunshine Working Group explained that participation in the group changes often and that the AFL-CIO has not been very active in the Corporate Sunshine Working Group for the past year (Author Interview). The Friends of the Earth web site provides a link to the web site of the Corporate Sunshine Working Group and appears to maintain a lead role in sustaining the group.

The International Right to Know Campaign also focuses on corporate accountability.

As a corporate accountability issue the International Right to Know Campaign states:

When U.S. companies treat workers poorly, destroy the environment or collaborate with oppressive governments that violate human rights, they are undermining social and economic development, jeopardizing our security and dishonoring American values. U.S. companies have a responsibility to act as good ambassadors and their business activities should reflect our democratic values to the rest of the world. (International Right to Know Campaign n.d.: http://www.irtk.org/what_is_irtk.html)

Federative Arrangements Associated with the Issue of Human Exposure to Toxic

Chemicals. Three of the federative arrangements are associated with the issue of human exposure to toxic chemicals. They are Health Care Without Harm, the International Right

to Know Campaign and the Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economies (CERES).

Health Care Without Harm is a federative organization that promotes “an ecologically sustainable health care system” (Health Care Without Harm n.d.:

<http://www.noharm.org/aboutUs/missionGoals>). The key issues that Health Care

Without Harm addresses are phasing out the use of dangerous chemicals in the health care industry like mercury, pesticides, cleaning chemicals, and PVC plastics (polyvinyl chloride), properly disposing of medical waste, building environmentally safe facilities, and purchasing environmentally “green” products.

At one point, Health Care Without Harm was a program associated with the Center for Health, Environment and Justice (CHEJ). Lois Gibbs, Executive Director of the Center for Health, Environmental and Justice (CHEJ) explains

Healthcare Without Harm is an organization we’ve just spun off last year (2002) in which we not only worked with a national coalition, but we worked with international groups as well. (Health Care Without Harm) is really looking at transforming the healthcare industry by trying to close down its many medical incinerators - which are just a disaster. (Author Interview 2003)

Among the participating organizational members of Health Care Without Harm, the AFL-CIO, SEIU, Environmental Defense, Greenpeace USA and the Sierra Club are listed as members. Though not listed as an organizational participant on the Health Care Without Harm web site, CHEJ also supports Health Care Without Harm. Since CHEJ and Health Care Without Harm recently became two separate organizations they have yet to make the adjustments to the public areas of their web sites to identify their continued partnership (Author Interview 2004).

The International Right to Know Campaign is concerned about the issue of human exposure to toxic chemicals. The key goal of the International Right to Know Campaign is to demand environmental disclosure of toxic exposure both to workers in the workplace and to the community from the discharge of plant waste.

The Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economies (CERES) is also concerned about human exposure to toxic chemicals. Four of the 10 CERES Principles that endorsing companies commit to adhere to are concerns for environmental safety for workers and the public.

Summary of Federative Arrangements

The three issues discovered by analyzing the web sites and interviews with high ranking officials from the national labor unions and environmental organizations selected for this study are global trade/globalization, corporate accountability and human exposure to toxic chemicals. These same three issues are the ones that national labor unions and national environmental organizations have created federative arrangements to address. Six federative arrangements are identified where national labor unions and national environmental organizations work together. When national labor unions and environmental organizations do form federative arrangements fewer national labor unions and environmental organizations are participating than in coalitional arrangements.

Three of the 6 federative arrangements are associated with the issue of global trade/globalization. Three of the 6 federative arrangements are associated with the issue of health (human exposure to toxic chemicals). Three of the 6 federative arrangements are also associated with the issue of corporate accountability. The International Right to

Know Campaign and the Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economies are multi-issue federative arrangements. The International Right to Know Campaign includes the issues of global trade/globalization, corporate accountability and human exposure to toxic chemicals. The Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economies includes the issues of corporate accountability and human exposure to toxic chemicals. As discussed in Chapter 2, Schnaiberg and Gould (1994) suggest a permanent alliance between national labor unions and environmental organizations is needed to advocate alternatives to labor and environmental problems that don't simply transfer the problem to another aspect of society. These federative arrangements are addressing that need by creating permanent alliances between national labor unions and environmental organizations for the issues they have in common.

This chapter discovered four issues that are shared by national labor unions and national environmental organizations. They are: global trade/globalization, corporate accountability, human exposure to toxic chemicals and a (re)emerging concern of the issue of energy. Using Warren's (1967) typology to identify cooperative activity, 21 coalitional arrangements and 6 federative arrangements are identified. This information is used in the following chapter to examine the cooperative activities of each national labor unions and environmental organization selected by this study. Chapter 5 examines cooperation of each organization by issue and the overall cooperation of each individual organization.

CHAPTERo5

ASSESSMENT OF THE EFFORTS OF NATIONAL LABOR UNIONS AND NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS TO WORK TOGETHER

Cooperation between individual national labor unions and national environmental organizations varies greatly among the organizations selected by this study to represent the labor and environmental movement. This chapter examines the cooperation of national labor unions and environmental organizations by examining the issues on which they work together in coalitional and federative arrangements: global trade/globalization, corporate accountability, human exposure to toxic chemicals and the (re)emergence of the issue of energy. This chapter further examines the overall participation of each national labor union and environmental organization by assigning them into four categories: those with high levels of cooperation, those with medium levels of cooperation, those with low levels of cooperation and those where no cooperative activity is discovered. A detailed discussion of the activities of each organization and an explanation as to why each organization does or does not cooperate across movements is offered.

ASSESSMENT OF NATIONAL LABOR UNIONS AND ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS COOPERATIVE ACTIVITY BY ISSUE

The coalitional and federative arrangements presented in Chapter 4 identify four shared issues on which national labor unions and national environmental organizations work together: global trade/globalization, corporate accountability, health of humans from

exposure to toxic chemicals and energy policy. Global trade/globalization, corporate accountability and human exposure to toxic chemicals are identified as shared issues of importance for national labor unions and environmental organizations from the analysis of their web sites and interviews with high ranking officials. The issue of energy is not identified as a generally shared issue between the two movements from the analysis of the web sites and interviews from high ranking officials. However, energy appears to be an emerging or reemerging issue where a common frame between national labor unions and national environmental organizations is possibly being formed. The framing perspective assumes that organizations can share issues that lead to the possibility of working together only if they frame issues in a way that allows for cooperation. While assessing cooperative activity of organizations by each shared issue, this section also examines the frame(s) that are operating for each issue among the various organizations. The level of cooperation on each issue is assessed as either high, low or no activity. High cooperation is defined as participation in half of the issue activities. Low cooperation is defined as participation in at least one activity but less than half.

Cooperative Activity Associated with the Issue of Global Trade/Globalization

Global trade/globalization is the issue that national labor unions and environmental organizations share that leads to over half of their efforts to work together. Twelve of the 21 coalitional arrangements and 3 of the 6 federative arrangements are related to the issue of global trade/globalization. The changes resulting from global trade/globalization are a “pull factor” that leads some of the national labor unions and environmental

organizations concerned about global trade/globalization to recognize their shared concerns and work together.

The evidence suggests that national labor unions and environmental organizations have experienced the greatest success in aligning their frames on the issue of global trade/globalization and their opposition to its current structure. Buttel and Gould explain that globalization has been a unifying effect for the various movements (like the labor and environmental movement) who deal with the issue of globalization because it provides a “common critique of neo-liberal economic policies, the anti-democratic nature of international financial institutions (the World Trade Organization, International Monetary Fund, and World Bank in particular) and the increasing power of transnational capital” (2004:39). Vogel suggests that the linkages of environmental and labor concerns on trade are now a permanent part of trade policy (2000:365). Buttel and Gould (2004) view globalization as creating new relationships among movements to contest the power of transnational actors. When discussing the ability of organizations in the labor and environmental movement to work together on the issue of globalization, Richard Trumka of the AFL-CIO states:

We have done a lot of work on globalization together (with environmental organizations) because we both believe that you cannot have globalization that is going to be good if it harms workers rights or if it simply transfers pollution around the world. With the present rules of globalization 2 things happen: 1. the environment suffers and 2. workers are economically disadvantaged. Addressing globalization is a marriage of these two issues. (Author Interview 2003)

However, on the issue of global trade/globalization, many from the labor movement remember that most national environmental organizations have not been supportive of

trade issues in the past. For example, when discussing NAFTA an official from PACE states:

Most of the national environmental groups supported NAFTA under the mistaken impression that the environmental fix that the Clinton Administration put in would be effective, which it wasn't. (Author Interview 2003)

This is echoed by Richard Trumka of the AFL-CIO who explains:

I don't know how any environmental group could have supported NAFTA. There is no way that agreement was good for the environment. The only thing it was good for was transferring pollution from one point to another point. If your goal is to save the environment of mother earth it did not work – in some cases it even got worse – because you have a factory that is subject to all the environmental regulations we have in this country move to Mexico where it has no regulations. Then the amount of pollution that the factory puts out is higher than when it was in the US. So who won? (Author Interview 2003)

The organizations that have high participation on the issue of global trade among the national labor unions are the AFL-CIO, Teamsters and the USWA. The organizations that have high participation on the issue of global trade among the national environmental organizations are the FOE and the Sierra Club (See Table 5.1).

This discovery indicates that national industrial unions and national environmental organizations that are lobby organizations are most likely to work together on the issue of global trade. The industrial unions are the segment of labor that is presently and for the past two decades been most affected by the increased intensity of globalization. Leo W. Gerard, President of the USWA, explains the impact of global trade on industrial unions by stating:

The major issue facing our union - our members and most folks that are employed in the manufacturing sector in North America - is the deindustrialization of North America. The deindustrialization of the United States of America (is the result of) global trade agreements that are designed to exploit the environment, exploit workers and undermine the collective bargaining strength of unionized workers in the United States.(Author Interview 2003)

TABLE 5.1
ORGANIZATIONAL COOPERATION ON THE ISSUE OF GLOBAL
TRADE/GLOBALIZATION

ORGANIZATION	ASSESSMENT OF PARTICIPATION	12 GLOBAL TRADE COALITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS	3 GLOBAL TRADE FEDERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS
FOE (Environment)	HIGH	11	3
AFL-CIO (Labor)	HIGH	9	2
TEAMSTERS (Labor)	HIGH	9	2
USWA (Labor)	HIGH	10	1
SIERRA CLUB (Environment)	HIGH	9	1
AFSCME (Labor)	LOW	6	0
PACE (Labor)	LOW	4	0
GREENPEACE USA (Environment)	LOW	2	0
SEIU (Labor)	LOW	1	0
CHEJ (Environment)	LOW	1	0
ENVIR. DEF. (Environment)	LOW	1	0
HERE (Labor)	NO ACTIVITY	0	0
UFW (Labor)	NO ACTIVITY	0	0
AUDUBON (Environment)	NO ACTIVITY	0	0
NATURE CONSERVANCY (Environment)	NO ACTIVITY	0	0

Friends of the Earth and the Sierra Club (along with Greenpeace) broke with most of the national environmental community when they supported NAFTA (Dreiling 1997, 1998). This action indicates the realization by these organizations that environmental conditions are at risk if they are not included in the trade rules that underlie the global economy.

Some national labor unions and environmental organizations have low participation on the issue of global trade/globalization. The national labor unions that have low participation on the issue of global trade/globalization are AFSCME, PACE and SEIU. The national environmental organizations that have low participation on the issue of global trade/globalization are Greenpeace USA, CHEJ and Environmental Defense. While these labor unions and environmental organizations participated in 1 to 6 coalitional arrangements related to global trade, they did not participate in any of the federative arrangements.

Four organizations have no participation in coalitional or federative arrangements related to global trade/globalization. The UFW and HERE are the national labor unions that do not cooperate with national environmental organizations on this issue and the National Audubon Society and the Nature Conservancy do not cooperate with national labor unions on this issue. The UFW, HERE, National Audubon Society and the Nature Conservancy have not activity between movements on any of the shared issues. The reasons for this lack of activity are discussed later in this chapter when the participation of each organization is examined.

Cooperative Activity Associated with the Issue of Corporate Accountability

The ability of national labor unions and environmental organizations to work together on the issue of corporate accountability is limited by the current framing of the problem by labor unions and environmental organizations and the strategies they suggest as how to make corporations more responsible for their actions. The main focus of labor unions in addressing this issue is through social investment. They use the pensions of their respective labor unions to demand corporations provide decent wages to their workers and reduce the transfer of jobs overseas.

Environmental organizations practice this activity to some degree by encouraging members to invest their money in corporations that adhere to sound environmental practices (particularly FOE). Unfortunately, they do not have the resources as individual organizations to effectively use social investment as a tool to discipline corporations. To address the issue of corporate accountability national environmental organizations formed the Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economies discussed in Chapter 4. However, they are not investing themselves, they are creating principles that organizations can follow to create a report for investors. Environmental organizations do provide awards to businesses to recognize those that are participating in sound environmental practices. The greatest possibility for working together on the issue of corporate accountability occurs when national labor unions and environmental organizations seek government regulations to change the practices of corporations. However, even then they must bridge the frame of their arguments to include both labor and environmental concerns.

Only 2 out of the 21 coalitional arrangement and 3 of the 6 federative arrangements are associated with the issue of corporate accountability. The Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment and the Stakeholder Alliance are the coalitional arrangements that are concerned with corporate accountability. The Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment, with their focus on “rogue” corporations, expands their frame to include environmental and labor issues by identifying a rogue corporation as a “corporation that operates in a way that is harmful to workers, the environment and the community” (Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment n.d.: <http://www.asje.org/rc.html>). The Stakeholder Alliance is a group of organizations who have endorsed a statement of principles that demand corporations “provide the information that stakeholders need to protect themselves from the negative consequences of corporate actions” (Stakeholder Alliance n.d.: <http://www.stakeholderalliance.org/stmtprin.html>).

The Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economies, the Corporate Sunshine Working Group and the International Right to Know Campaign are the federative arrangements that are associated with the issue of corporate accountability. The Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economies encourages companies creating an investment report that evaluates their efforts to adopt environmentally sound principles. The Corporate Sunshine Working Group works through the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission to improve the disclosure of labor and environmental standards by publicly traded companies. The International Right to Know demands that U.S. Companies disclose the dangers of their production process to all those affected – communities, shareholders, and possible investors.

While there are few coalitional or federative arrangements associated with the issue of corporate accountability, many of the organizations examined in this study are participating in the coalitional and federative arrangements that do address this issue. Friends of the Earth, the Sierra Club, the AFL-CIO and the Teamsters have high participation on the issue of corporate accountability. (See Table 5.2) Friends of the Earth participate in all five of the arrangements (See Table 5.2) The AFL-CIO participates all three of the federative arrangements. The Sierra Club participates in 1 of the coalitional arrangements and 2 of the federative arrangements and the Teamsters participate in the 2 coalitional arrangements and 1 of the 3 federative arrangements.

The national labor unions AFSCME, PACE, SEIU, USWA and the national environmental organizations CHEJ and Environmental Defense have low participation on the issue of corporate accountability. Environmental Defense participates in the federative arrangement Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economies. AFSCME and CHEJ participate in both of the coalitional arrangements. PACE, SEIU and USWA participate in the coalitional arrangement of the Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment.

As mentioned previously, it is important to point out that the Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment is an organization that is included in the coalitional arrangements of this research in an effort to be comprehensive in identifying the activities of national labor unions and environmental organizations to work together but is an organization created by individuals within the labor and environmental movement and no national labor unions or national environmental organizations are members. By including the Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment as a coalitional arrangement, the

TABLE 5.2
ORGANIZATIONAL COOPERATION ON THE ISSUE OF CORPORATE
ACCOUNTABILITY

ORGANIZATION	ASSESSMENT OF PARTICIPATION	2 CORPORATE ACCOUNTABILITY COALITIONAL ARRANGEMENT	3 CORPORATE ACCOUNTABILITY FEDERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS
FOE (Environment)	HIGH	2	3
SIERRA CLUB (Environment)	HIGH	1	2
AFL-CIO (Labor)	HIGH	0	3
TEAMSTERS (Labor)	HIGH	2	1
AFSCME (Labor)	LOW	2	0
CHEJ (Environment)	LOW	2	0
ENVIR. DEF. (Environment)	LOW	0	1
PACE (Labor)	LOW	1	0
SEIU (Labor)	LOW	1	0
USWA (Labor)	LOW	1	0
HERE (Labor)	NO ACTIVITY	0	0
UFW (Labor)	NO ACTIVITY	0	0
AUDUBON (Environment)	NO ACTIVITY	0	0
GREENPEACE USA (Environment)	NO ACTIVITY	0	0
NATURE CONSERVANCY (Environment)	NO ACTIVITY	0	0

number of organizations in this study that are concerned about corporate accountability are greatly increased. However, it would be remiss not to identify its activities since it is supported by individual members of the national labor unions and environmental organizations selected for this study.

While there are few coalitional or federative arrangements associated with the issue of corporate accountability, there does appear to be some interest among national labor unions and national environmental organizations to work together on this issue.

Cooperative Activity Associated with the Issue of Human Exposure to Toxic Chemicals

While human exposure to toxic chemicals is an important issue, the efforts of national labor unions and national environmental organizations to work together on this issue appear to be very narrow in scope. Only 3 federative arrangements link national labor unions and national environmental organizations to this issue. No coalitional arrangements are associated with the issue of human exposure to toxic chemicals. Of the 3 federative arrangements, one encourages protection from toxic exposure in the health care industry (Health Care Without Harm) and the other two promote reporting of toxic exposures of U.S. plants at their overseas facilities (International Right to Know) and creating a report on environmental safety standards for investors (Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economies). The 3 federative arrangements are able to bridge this problem by expanding the frame to include concerns of both workers and the community to toxic exposure, providing evidence that this frame can be expanded.

Dowie (1995) suggests the safety and health issues related to occupational toxins has always been a marginal issue for both the labor and environmental movements. Besides appearing to be a marginal issue for both movements, the difficulty to work together on also results from very little frame alignment between the two movements on the issue. Generally, labor unions frame concern about toxic exposure primarily as a workplace issue and environmental organizations frame concerns about toxic exposure as a community issues. Obach (2002) found that at the state level the most common agreement between the two movements is the issue of toxic substances. This is not the case at the national level as global trade/globalization provides the most agreement between national labor unions and national environmental organizations.

Only the AFL-CIO, and the environmental organizations Sierra Club, Friends of the Earth (FOE) and Environmental Defense have high participation in the arrangements that address the issue of human exposure to toxic chemicals.(See Table 5.3) The AFL-CIO and the Sierra Club participate in all 3 of the health (human exposure to toxic chemicals) federative arrangements. The national environmental organizations FOE and Environmental Defense participate in two of the federative arrangements.

SEIU, TEAMSTERS, and Greenpeace USA have low participation on this issue. They all participate in one of the federative arrangements.

The greatest difficulty in expanding the framing of this issue to allow for more cooperation between national labor unions and environmental organizations is the focus upon protecting natural resources by many environmental organizations. Lois Gibbs of CHEJ articulates this problem, particularly as it relates to fighting toxic exposure, as

TABLE 5.3
ORGANIZATIONAL COOPERATION ON THE ISSUE OF HUMAN EXPOSURE
TO TOXIC CHEMICALS¹

ORGANIZATION	ASSESSMENT OF PARTICIPATION	3 HEALTH FEDERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS
AFL-CIO (Labor)	HIGH	3
SIERRA CLUB (Environment)	HIGH	3
ENVIR. DEF. (Environment)	HIGH	2
FOE (Environment)	HIGH	2
GREENPEACE USA (Environment)	LOW	1
SEIU (Labor)	LOW	1
TEAMSTERS (Labor)	LOW	1
CHEJ (Environment)	LOW	1
AFSCME (Labor)	NO ACTIVITY	0
HERE (Labor)	NO ACTIVITY	0
PACE (Labor)	NO ACTIVITY	0
UFW (Labor)	NO ACTIVITY	0
USWA (Labor)	NO ACTIVITY	0
AUDUBON (Environment)	NO ACTIVITY	0
NATURE CONSERVANCY (Environment)	NO ACTIVITY	0

¹ This project did not discover any coalitional arrangements related to human exposure to toxic chemicals.

resulting from the reluctance of many environmental organizations to address public health issues. Gibbs states:

Health is the main concern for our organization because most of the constituencies we work with deal with the environmental issues of incinerators, dumping sights, drinking water and so forth - it really is about human health. We call it environmental health because we are dealing with (toxic) exposure. We do not work a lot of with the natural resource people - people who are concerned about our natural environment. (Author Interview 2003)

The cooperation of national labor unions and environmental organizations to participate on the issue of toxic exposure will be limited unless the frame is expanded to include both workplace and community dangers to toxic exposures.

Energy Policy as a (Re)Emerging Cooperative Issue

Six coalitional arrangements are associated with energy policy in the United States. The Climate Conference, oppositional support of the environmental position against drilling for oil in ANWR, support of the Apollo Alliance, and opposition to repealing the Public Utility Holding Company Act are coalitional arrangements dealing with energy policy. The Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment and the Blue Green Alliance are also identified as dealing with energy issues as both groups indicate that the need for a cheap and environmentally friendly energy source is emerging as an issue that is leading to participation among national labor unions and environmental organizations.

The AFL-CIO, AFSCME, Sierra Club, PACE, SEIU, USWA and FOE have high participation on the issue of energy. The Sierra Club participates in all 6 coalitional arrangements associated with the issue of energy. (See Table 5.4) SEIU and USWA participate in 5 of the 6 energy coalitional arrangements. FOE and PACE participates in 4

**TABLE 5.4
ORGANIZATIONAL COOPERATION ON THE ISSUE OF ENERGY¹**

ORGANIZATION	ASSESSMENT OF PARTICIPATION	6 ENERGY COALITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS
SIERRA CLUB (Environment)	HIGH	6
SEIU (Labor)	HIGH	5
USWA (Labor)	HIGH	5
PACE (Labor)	HIGH	4
FOE (Environment)	HIGH	4
AFSCME (Labor)	HIGH	3
AFL-CIO (Labor)	HIGH	3
TEAMSTERS (Labor)	LOW	2
GREENPEACE USA (Environment)	LOW	2
CHEJ (Environment)	LOW	1
HERE (Labor)	NO ACTIVITY	0
UFW (Labor)	NO ACTIVITY	0
AUDUBON (Environment)	NO ACTIVITY	0
ENVIR. DEF. (Environment)	NO ACTIVITY	0
NATURE CONSERVANCY (Environment)	NO ACTIVITY	0

¹ This project did not discover any federative arrangements related to the issue of energy.

of the 6 coalitional arrangements. The AFL-CIO and AFSCME participate in 3 of the energy coalitional arrangements.

The Teamsters, CHEJ, and Greenpeace USA have low participation on the issue of energy. Teamsters and Greenpeace USA participate in 2 of the 6 energy coalitional arrangements. CHEJ participates in 1 of the energy coalitional arrangements.

The intensity of participation on energy policy may be over presented by the data. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Teamsters have sided against the environmental movement and support drilling for oil in ANWR, the Blue Green Alliance is now disbanded and the Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment is counted as an energy coalitional arrangement even though organizations are part of the coalitional arrangement only their members. However, the Apollo Alliance appears to be making progress in increasing cooperation on this issue. A few environmental organizations have sent letters of endorsement to the Apollo Alliance and it appears that there is the possibility the movement on this effort will increase.

As discussed in Chapter 2, energy is an issue that is documented as creating some participation between national labor unions and environmental organizations in the 1970s. These coalitional arrangements on the issue of energy, particularly the Apollo Alliance, may indicate a reemergence of the issue and could possibly lead to the creation of federative organizations if they can agree upon how to address the issue.

Summary of Cooperative Activities by Issue

Global trade/globalization is the issue on which national labor unions and national environmental organizations are most likely to work together. It is on this issue that they

have established the most coalitional and federative arrangements. This supports the hypothesis that labor has been expelled from the growth coalition it shared with government and capital and is now looking for new partners advocated by this study and Rose (2000). National labor unions and national environmental organizations also work together on the issues of corporate accountability, and human exposure to toxic chemicals. The efforts of national labor unions and environmental organizations efforts to work together on these shared issues of concern validates Kahn (1982), Obach (2000), Staggenborg (1986) and Van Dyke (2003) claim that sharing common issues is as a key factor in organizations working together. One issue that does not fit this explanation is the participation of national labor unions and national environmental organizations on the issue of energy policy. While most of the national environmental organizations discuss on their web sites the issue of energy, national labor unions did not. The only exceptions are the SEIU and AFL-CIO, whose officials discussed energy policy during their interviews and the USWA who posted their participation in the Apollo Alliance to their web site in January 2004.

Organizations that make up the labor movement and environmental movement only work together on the limited issues they share. To have the opportunity to work together these shared issues must be framed in a way that allows them to do so. Siegmann (1985) believes that the differences in worldview keep the labor and environmental movement from working closer together. To work together, these organizations must change their worldview to allow for the creation of complimentary frames. The difficulty of environmental organizations to cross the issue gap and work with labor is explained by an environmental organization official when the person states:

Well I think the organization has core issues that a lot of traditional conservation groups work on - public lands for example and energy issues for at least some of our coalition partners. Then, as you get farther out from what people consider traditional environmental issues - globalization would be a good example - our partners change. (Author Interview 2003)

Another environmental organization official explains how their organization decides with whom to work:

It is sort of a self-selection process. We don't weed anybody out, but we work with the ones that are working on trade. We do a little bit of work on corporate accountability issues. We and the AFL-CIO have been involved in a coalition called the International Right to Know campaign that would require US companies to disclose key aspects of their practices and impacts overseas in the area of environmental standards, labor standards and human rights. So, that is something where we have been involved in with the AFL-CIO. I would say international trade is the focal point of the collaborative work that has been done. (Author Interview 2003)

Richard Trumka or the AFL-CIO articulates the union position on issues when he states:

One of the most important issues is jobs and the economy. The second one is jobs and the third one is jobs. (Author Interview 2003)

These statements demonstrate that organizations in the labor movement are going to work in partnerships only when it benefits their workers and their focus on job related issues and environmental organizations are only going to work with national labor unions when the activity benefits their environmental agendas.

To provide an overlap on the issues addressed by the labor and environmental movements to allow organizations from these movements to work together, a framing component is necessary. For national labor unions and national environmental organizations to work together, they have to frame or align the frames of their arguments on shared issues in a way that will allow them to work together in a way that advances the goals of all participating organization. From the evidence presented in Chapter 4, and

in the discussion above on organization participation in coalition and federative arrangements by issue, some of the national labor unions and national environmental organizations have experienced success in aligning their frames to incorporate the needs of the labor and environmental movement on the issues of global trade/globalization, human exposure to toxic chemicals, corporate accountability. The ability of the national labor unions and national environmental organizations to work together and why some organizations have low participation or no activity in working together across movements is discussed in the next section by examining the participation of each organization.

OVERALL LEVELS OF COOPERATION BY NATIONAL LABOR UNIONS AND NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

This section of the chapter examines the overall participation of national labor unions and environmental organizations across issues by assigning them into four categories: those with high levels of cooperation, those with medium levels of cooperation, and those with low levels of cooperation and those where no cooperative activity is discovered. High cooperation is defined as an organization participating in over two-thirds of the cooperative activities in relation to the organization with the highest level of participation. A medium level of cooperation is defined as an organization participating in over one-third of the cooperative activities in relation to the organization with the highest level of participation. A low level of cooperation is defined as an organization participating in less than one-third of the cooperative activities in relation to the organization with the highest level of participation but demonstrating some cooperative activity.

The organizations with high levels of cooperation are the national labor unions AFL-CIO, United Steelworkers of America (USWA) and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (Teamsters) and the environmental organizations Friends of the Earth (FOE) and the Sierra Club. (See Table 5.5) The national labor unions American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), Service Employees International Union (SEIU) and the Paper, Allied-Industrial, Chemical and Energy Workers International Union (PACE) have medium levels of cooperation with national environmental organizations.

The United Farm Workers of America have a low level of cooperation with environmental organizations. The national environmental organizations Greenpeace USA, Environmental Defense, and Center for Health, Environment and Justice (CHEJ) have a low level of cooperation with national labor unions. The Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Union (HERE) has no activity with national environmental organizations. The national environmental organizations the National Audubon Society and the Nature Conservancy have no activity with national labor unions. A detailed discussion of the activities of each organization and an explanation as to why each organization does or does not cooperate across movements is offered.

National Labor Unions with High Levels of Cooperation with National Environmental Organizations

The national labor unions that have the highest levels cooperation with national environmental organizations are the AFL-CIO, the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. It is important to recognize that

**TABLE 5.5
ORGANIZATIONAL COOPERATION OVERALL**

ORGANIZATION	ASSESSMENT OF OVERALL PARTICIPATION	TOTAL OF COALITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS BY ISSUE (Trade= 12 Energy=6 Corp. Act. = 2 Miscellaneous = 3 Total= 21¹)	TOTAL OF FEDERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS BY ISSUE (Trade=3 Corp. Act. = 3 Health= 3 Total= 6²)
AFL-CIO (Labor)	HIGH	Trade= 9 Energy= 3 Corp. Act. = 0 Misc.= 1 Total= 13	Trade = 2 Corp. Act. = 3 Health= 3 Total= 5 ²
USWA (Labor)	HIGH	Trade= 10 Energy= 5 Corp. Act. = 1 Misc. = 0 Total= 14 ¹	Trade= 1 Corp. Act. = 0 Health= 0 Total= 1
TEAMSTERS (Labor)	HIGH	Trade= 9 Energy= 2 Corp. Act. = 2 Misc.= 0 Total= 11 ^b	Trade= 2 Corp. Act. = 1 Health= 1 Total= 2 ³
FOE (Environment)	HIGH	Trade= 11 Energy= 4 Corp. Act. = 2 Misc.= 0 Total= 15 ^b	Trade= 3 Corp. Act. = 3 Health= 2 Total= 5 ²

¹ The Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment is triple counted in the issues section of this cell because it is a multi-issue organization focusing on global trade/globalization, corporate accountability and energy.

² The International Right to Know Campaign is triple counted in the issues section this cell because it is a multi-issue organization focusing on the issues of global trade/globalization, corporate accountability and health. The Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economies is double counted in this cell because it is a multi-issue organization focusing on the issues of corporate accountability and health.

³ The International Right to Know Campaign is triple counted in the issues section this cell because it is a multi-issue organization focusing on the issues of global trade/globalization, corporate accountability and health.

⁴ The Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economies is double counted in the issues section this cell because it is a multi-issue organization focusing on the issues of corporate accountability and health.

TABLE 5.5
Continued.

ORGANIZATION	ASSESSMENT OF OVERALL PARTICIPATION	TOTAL OF COALITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS BY ISSUE (Trade = 12 Energy = 6 Corp. Act. = 2 Miscellaneous = 3 Total = 21 ¹)	TOTAL OF FEDERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS BY ISSUE (Trade = 3 Corp. Act. = 3 Health = 3 Total = 6 ²)
SIERRA CLUB (Environment)	HIGH	Trade = 9 Energy = 6 Corp. Act. = 1 Misc. = 2 Total = 16 ¹	Trade = 1 Corp. Act. = 2 Health = 3 Total = 3 ²
AFSCME (Labor)	MEDIUM	Trade = 6 Energy = 3 Corp. Act. = 2 Misc. = 1 Total = 10 ¹	Trade = 0 Corp. Act. = 0 Health = 0 Total = 0
SEIU (Labor)	MEDIUM	Trade = 1 Energy = 5 Corp. Act. = 1 Misc. = 1 Total = 6 ¹	Trade = 0 Corp. Act. = 0 Health = 1 Total = 1
PACE (Labor)	MEDIUM	Trade = 4 Energy = 4 Corp. Act. = 1 Misc. = 0 Total = 7 ¹	Trade = 0 Corp. Act. = 0 Health = 0 Total = 0

¹ The Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment is triple counted in the issues section of this cell because it is a multi-issue organization focusing on global trade/globalization, corporate accountability and energy.

² The International Right to Know Campaign is triple counted in the issues section this cell because it is a multi-issue organization focusing on the issues of global trade/globalization, corporate accountability and health. The Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economies is double counted in this cell because it is a multi-issue organization focusing on the issues of corporate accountability and health.

³ The International Right to Know Campaign is triple counted in the issues section this cell because it is a multi-issue organization focusing on the issues of global trade/globalization, corporate accountability and health.

⁴ The Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economies is double counted in the issues section this cell because it is a multi-issue organization focusing on the issues of corporate accountability and health.

TABLE 5.5
Continued.

ORGANIZATION	ASSESSMENT OF OVERALL PARTICIPATION	TOTAL OF COALITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS BY ISSUE (Trade= 12 Energy= 6 Corp. Act. = 2 Miscellaneous = 3 Totale= 21 ¹)	TOTAL OF FEDERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS BY ISSUE (Trade = 3 Corp. Act. = 3 Health = 3 Totale= 6 ²)
UFW (Labor)	LOW	Trade= 0 Energy= 0 Corp. Act.= 0 Misc.= 1 Totale= 1	Trade= 0 Corp. Act. = 0 Health= 0 Totale= 0
GREENPEACE USA (Environment)	LOW	Trade = 2 Energy= 2 Corp. Act. = 0 Misc.= 0 Total = 4	Trade= 0 Corp. Act.= 0 Health= 1 Totale= 1
ENVIR. DEF. (Environment)	LOW	Trade= 1 Energy= 0 Corp. Act. = 0 Misc.= 1 Total = 2	Trade= 0 Corp. Act. = 1 Health= 2 Totale= 2 ⁴
CHEJ (Environment)	LOW	Trade= 1 Energy= 1 Corp. Act. = 2 Misc.= 0 Totale= 2 ¹	Trade= 0 Corp. Act. = 0 Health= 1 Totale= 1

¹ The Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment is triple counted in the issues section of this cell because it is a multi-issue organization focusing on global trade/globalization, corporate accountability and energy.

² The International Right to Know Campaign is triple counted in the issues section this cell because it is a multi-issue organization focusing on the issues of global trade/globalization, corporate accountability and health. The Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economies is double counted in this cell because it is a multi-issue organization focusing on the issues of corporate accountability and health.

³ The International Right to Know Campaign is triple counted in the issues section this cell because it is a multi-issue organization focusing on the issues of global trade/globalization, corporate accountability and health.

⁴ The Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economies is double counted in the issues section this cell because it is a multi-issue organization focusing on the issues of corporate accountability and health.

TABLE 5.5
Continued.

ORGANIZATION	ASSESSMENT OF OVERALL PARTICIPATION	TOTAL OF COALITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS BY ISSUE (Trade= 12 Energy= 6 Corp. Act. = 2 Miscellaneous = 3 Total= 21 ¹)	TOTAL OF FEDERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS BY ISSUE (Trade = 3 Corp. Act. = 3 Health= 3 Total= 6 ²)
HERE (Labor)	NO ACTIVITY	Trade= 0 Energy= 0 Corp. Act. = 0 Misc.= 0 Total= 0	Trade= 0 Corp. Act. = 0 Health= 0 Total= 0
AUDUBON (Environment)	NO ACTIVITY	Trade= 0 Energy= 0 Corp. Act. = 0 Misc.= 0 Total= 0	Trade= 0 Corp. Act.= 0 Health= 0 Total= 0
NATURE CONSERVANCY (Environment)	NO ACTIVITY	Trade= 0 Energy= 0 Corp. Act. = 0 Misc.= 0 Total= 0	Trade= 0 Corp. Act. = 0 Health= 0 Total= 0

¹ The Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment is triple counted in the issues section of this cell because it is a multi-issue organization focusing on global trade/globalization, corporate accountability and energy.

² The International Right to Know Campaign is triple counted in the issues section this cell because it is a multi-issue organization focusing on the issues of global trade/globalization, corporate accountability and health. The Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economies is double counted in this cell because it is a multi-issue organization focusing on the issues of corporate accountability and health.

³ The International Right to Know Campaign is triple counted in the issues section this cell because it is a multi-issue organization focusing on the issues of global trade/globalization, corporate accountability and health.

⁴ The Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economies is double counted in the issues section this cell because it is a multi-issue organization focusing on the issues of corporate accountability and health.

the USWA and the Teamsters are “industrial” unions and that the AFL-CIO represents most industrial unions in the United States. Their efforts to cooperate with environmental organizations results from the detrimental effects current trade polices have created for the union workers in their industries and experiencing environmental dangers in the workplace. These findings refute a claim by Burton that “service and government employee unions have brought environmental issues greater respectability within the labour movement” (1986:293). The findings support the claim made by Siegmann that “during the 1970s, industrial unions were more supportive of proenvironmental policies than service unions” (1986:324). Today, industrial unions still have a stronger tie to national environmental organizations. Each of the national labor unions with high levels of cooperation with national environmental organizations is discussed below.

American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO).

The American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) is a “voluntary federation of 61 national and international unions” (American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations n.d.: <http://www.afl-cio.org/aboutaflcio/about/thisis/index.cfm>). The AFL-CIO’s participation in these cooperative activities is very high. The AFL-CIO works with national environmental organizations in 13 of the 21 coalitional arrangements and 5 of the 6 federative arrangements. The AFL-CIO works with national environmental organizations on the issues of global trade/globalization, energy, corporate accountability, and the health issue of human exposure to toxic chemicals. This reflects the commitment of the AFL-CIO executive council to making the AFL-CIO a more politically active organization.

The AFL-CIO is very concerned about the plight of all workers, including the difficulties facing industrial unions as they suffer from the effects of globalization. When the AFL-CIO elected John Sweeney as President, Linda Chavez-Thompson as Executive Vice President and Richard Trumka as Secretary Treasurer in 1995, they represented a shift in the AFL-CIO toward a more active labor movement, focusing on the issues of organizing and political action to address issues important to the labor movement (Brecher and Costello 1999; Bronfenbrenner 2001; Obach 2000; Rose 2000). The AFL-CIO is responsible for “setting the strategic course for the national labor movement” (Obach 2000:81). One of the strategies the present AFL-CIO administration is embracing is trying to cooperate with organizations that represent other social movements. The AFL-CIO provides the web site that best presents information of national labor unions and environmental organizations working together.

The AFL-CIO perceives the environmental community as a potential ally that is trying to incorporate labor issues into its agenda. Richard Trumka of the AFL-CIO expresses this perception when he states:

I believe that the environmental movement - by and large - is really trying to be responsive. There are segments of it that we work with very closely. They are concerned with the environment both at the micro and macro level. (Author Interview 2003)

While the AFL-CIO has high cooperation among the coalitional and federative arrangements identified by this study, there is some indication that they are moving away from their commitment to work with national environmental organizations with their abolishment of the “Environmental Liaison” position at the AFL-CIO. From 1996 to 2002, Jane Perkins occupied this position at the AFL-CIO (Barry 2002:

<http://www.sierraclub.org/planet/200205/green.asp>; Moberg March 28, 2002:

<http://www.alternet.org/story.html?StoryID=12734>; Obach 2000). When I called the AFL-CIO headquarters to speak to the Environmental Liaison, I was informed that the position no longer existed. Moberg (March 28, 2002) suggests that the Environmental Liaison position was abolished because some member unions of the AFL-CIO's resistance to environmental policies.

United Steelworkers of America (USWA). The USWA has high participation working with national environmental organizations. The USWA works with national environmental organizations in 14 of the 21 coalitional arrangements and 1 of the 6 federative arrangements. The USWA works with national environmental organizations on the issues of global trade/globalization and energy.

In 1990, at the USWA's 25th Constitutional Convention, they adopted a report entitled *Our Children's World: Steelworkers and the Environment* as the official environmental policy of the USWA (USWA Task Force on Environment 1990). The report outlines the major environmental problems of the world today and states that "The environment is an essential union issue" (USWA Task Force on Environment 1990:12). The report views environmental issues as union issues for three reasons: (1) environmental threats are a threat to the children of our nation, (2) that protecting the environment ultimately protects jobs and (3) environmental issues are like all other union issues – a result of economic forces (USWA Task Force on Environment 1990:12-17). The report encourages USWA locals to "join with environmental groups on local issues" (USWA Task Force on Environment 1990:20).

The current president of the USWA, Leo W. Gerard, was a member of the USWA Task Force on the Environment that identified environmental issues as union issues. In an interview, he reiterated their commitment to environmental protection when he stated:

We work very closely with them (environmental organizations) on trade. We have worked with them very closely on specific issues. We worked with them on the Clean Air Act and the Clean Water Act. We worked with them on coal company emissions. Over the years, we have worked together on asbestos and lead. We have worked together on all kind of specific issues as well as broader issues. (Author Interview 2003)

Participation by the USWA on environmental issues is nothing new. In October of 1948, a toxic smog engulfed Donora, Pennsylvania “killing twenty people and sickening nearly half of the more than thirteen thousand people who lived in the area” (Dewey 1998:47). It was the USWA that demanded corrective action be taken. However businesses and government were unresponsive. Therefore the USWA investigated the situation. The toxic smog at Donora, Pennsylvania is viewed as one of the first efforts of a “union to seek the truth and fix corporate culpability to a highly visible environmental disaster” (Dewey 1998:47).

Siegmann (1985; 1986) identifies the USWA as always being a staunch supporter of environmental issues. Siegmann explains that the USWA has always been “particularly supportive on issues regarding air pollution and working for passage and reauthorization of the Clean Air Act throughout the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s” (1986:319).

The USWA continues to build upon this history of environmental concern. As Leo W. Gerard, President of the USWA explains:

Our members - a large portion of them - work in heavy industrial manufacturing. They were in a dirty environment before it came out of the plant. So, we have been environmentalists since the birth of the union. We have had a relationship with the environmental movement for a long time... We were the environmental

movement before there was one. In the 1940s and 1950s it was us fighting for clean air, clean water, a clean work place, and reduced emissions. We fought for lead standards. We fought for all kinds of exposure standards. We fought for all those things before there was an official environment movement. (Author Interview 2003)

The history of the USWA and its commitment to environmental protections make it a natural ally to national environmental organizations.

International Brotherhood of Teamsters (Teamsters). The Teamsters have high participation in working with national environmental organizations but that may be changing. The Teamsters work with national environmental organizations in 11 of the 21 coalitional arrangements and 2 of the 6 federative arrangements. The Teamsters work with national environmental organizations on the issues of global trade/globalization, energy, corporate accountability, and human exposure to toxic chemicals.

A rift appears to be emerging between the Teamsters and national environmental organizations, particularly with the Teamsters' support of drilling for oil in ANWR. Another action that indicates that the relationship between national environmental organizations and the Teamsters is beginning to strain is the announcement by the Teamsters in April 2003 of a new partnership with the Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, a group that advocates increasing oil development of federal lands. The Teamsters have joined with the Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy to create a new organization called the Labor Environment Alliance. This Labor Environment Alliance professes to promote a perspective that "balances environmental issues with economic development and new jobs" (Teamsters 2003s <http://www.teamster.org/03news/nr%5F030416%5F2.htm>). The Labor Environment

Alliance is a pro-ANWR organization that suggests that the jobs that would be created by drilling for oil in ANWR outweigh the environmental risk, which they perceive as small. Almost all of the national environmental organizations oppose drilling for oil in ANWR.

Even with this conflict over ANWR, the evidence indicates that the Teamsters are still one of the national labor unions most likely to cooperate with national environmental organizations. However, this could be the result of activities initiated by the previous leadership of Ron Carey, who served as the President of the Teamsters from 1991 to 1996. Ross (2004) suggests that the ouster of Carey is a factor weakening the link between the Teamsters and national environmental organizations. Ross views Carey as a “reformer” president of the Teamsters (Ross 2004:305). According to Witt and Wilson (1999), Carey’s support of an expanded social justice frame for the Teamsters union is viewed as the key factor of the Teamsters successful strike against United Parcel Service in 1997. However, in 1997 Carey lost the office of Teamster President due to a campaign finance violations scandal and the Teamsters returned to a business unionism model in which the “old guard leaders who controlled most local unions reverted to their traditional “don’t rock the boat” relationship with the company” (Witt and Wilson 1999:69).

National Environmental Organizations with High Levels of Cooperation with National Labor Unions

The organizations that have the highest participation among the environmental organizations are the national lobbying organizations the Sierra Club and Friends of the Earth (FOE). Both the Sierra Club and FOE are very active political organizations. Along

with Greenpeace, the Sierra Club and FOE are environmental organizations that Dreiling (1997, 1998, 2001) identifies as supporting the labor movement during its opposition to NAFTA. Dreiling (1997, 1998, 2001) identifies the FOE and Greenpeace as the environmental organizations that worked to create and maintain the alliance between national labor union and environmental organizations in the fight for NAFTA. Sierra Club and Friends of the Earth also participated in the Seattle Protest of the WTO with national labor unions (Teamsters n.d.: http://www.teamster.org/wto/what_is_seattle_ministerial.htm) and supported 1973 OCAW strike against Shell Oil Company (Gordon 1998).

Sierra Club. The Sierra Club has high participation working with national labor unions. The Sierra Club works with national labor unions in 16 of the 21 coalitional arrangements and 3 of the 6 federative arrangements. The Sierra Club works with national labor unions on the issues of global trade/globalization, energy, corporate accountability, and human exposure to toxic chemicals.

Dreiling (1997, 1998, 2001) identifies the Sierra Club as a surprise ally of labor during its opposition to NAFTA as it broke with the other national mainstream environmental organizations to support labor's anti-NAFTA position. Dreiling (1998) suggests that the Sierra Club's alignment with national labor unions against NAFTA is a result of the adoption of an environmental justice perspective within the Sierra Club, representing a reframing of the Sierra Club's agenda to include socio-economic issues.

The action of the Sierra Club to oppose NAFTA is easily recognized when one understands their commitment to political action. The Sierra Club is recognized by the

United States Internal Revenue Service as a 501(c)(3) and a 501(c)(4) organization. Most environmental organizations are 501(c)(3) organizations, which allow for tax deductible contributions but limits lobbying activity. Being a 501(c)(4) organization does not allow for tax deductible contributions, but it does allow the Sierra Club to spend unlimited amounts of money on lobbying and to endorse candidates. The Sierra Club Foundation is the 501(c)(3) not for profit part of the organization that provides funds to the Sierra Club for tax deductible activities that the organization conducts (Sierra Club Foundation n.d.: <http://www.sierraclub.org/foundation/>).

The Sierra Club continues to try and increase its cooperative activities with national labor unions and other organizations. In an effort to reach out to organizations in other movements, they established a Partnership Program in 2001. In the minutes of a meeting of the Sierra Club Board of Directors, Melanie Griffin, the Director of Environmental Partnerships states:

The Partnership Program is one of the most successful campaigns for establishing diverse and active coalitions. This program moves beyond ad hoc organizing efforts and diversifies our base of support by building long-term relationships with allies and focuses on how to work on issues. We look at demographic trends to determine constituencies to build alliances. We are currently active with labor, hunters, anglers, faith and communities of color at all levels of the club. (Sierra Club 2002:25)

Through efforts like the partnership program, the Sierra Club has indicated and acted upon an interest in working with national labor unions on shared issues. However, Dreiling (1998) identifies the Sierra Club as a member of the Citizens Trade Campaign. On the Citizens Trade Campaign web site, they are no longer listed as a member. This may indicate a growing distance between the Sierra Club and national labor unions.

While the efforts of the Sierra Club to work with national labor unions are strong, this

distancing from the Citizens Trade Campaign does justify some caution in assessing their current relationship.

Friends of the Earth (FOE). Friends of the Earth (FOE) has high participation working with national labor unions. FOE works with national labor unions in 15 of the 21 coalitional arrangements and 5 of the 6 federative arrangements. FOE works with national labor unions on the issues of global trade/globalization, energy, corporate accountability, and human exposure to toxic chemicals.

As mentioned previously, Dreiling (1998, 2001) identifies FOE as a “linchpin” organization during the fight against NAFTA in linking some of the national environmental organization with the national labor unions who worked against NAFTA. Dreiling suggests that FOEs role in the fight against NAFTA helped foster the Sierra Club’s decision to side with labor on this issue because it meant that the Sierra Club would not be alone in going against the other mainstream environmental organizations that supported NAFTA (1998:63).

Like the Sierra Club, Friends of the Earth participates in greater legislative activities than most national environmental organizations with their political arm Friends of the Earth Action. While it is unclear, Friends of the Earth Action is most likely a 501(c)(4) organization, since it can participate in “unlimited lobbying and electoral activity” (Friends of the Earth Action n.d.: <http://www.foeaction.org/message.html>). Friends of the Earth Action also seeks funds for a SolarPAC (Political Action Committee) to “counter-force the fossil fuel and nuclear PACs” by supporting renewable energy alternatives (Friends of the Earth Action n.d.: <http://ww.foeaction.org/solar.html>).

Another indicator of the connection between Friends of the Earth and national labor unions is the financial support Friends of the Earth receives from them. According to the Friends of the Earth 2001 Annual Report, FOE received donations from the United Auto Workers, International Brotherhood of Teamsters and United Steelworkers of America. The United Auto Workers donation ranged from \$5,000 to \$24,999 and the donation from the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the United Steelworkers of America provided donations that ranged from \$1,000 to \$4,999. However, the Friends of the Earth 2002 Annual Report indicate that these donations did not continue for the 2002 year.

David Waskow of FOE states that “the major collaboration we do with labor unions is on trade” (Author Interview 2003). Waskow said that he has a good working relationship with the AFL-CIO and “that it’s rare for two or three days to go by without talking to somebody at the AFL-CIO” (Author Interview 2003). The relationship between FOE and the national labor unions is a result of FOE’s focus on the issue of global trade. Wapner identifies FOE as the environmental organization that has been at the forefront of demanding international banking institutions (World Bank, IMF and Development Banks) take into consideration the environmental impacts of their decisions to fund projects (1994:391). Kline states that when David Brower established FOE one of his main goals was to create an organization that placed a greater emphasis on addressing how international issues and activities affect environmental health (2000:89).

A key reason FOE is able to maintain such a high level of participation with national labor unions is due to their commitment to addressing not only what are viewed as traditional environmental issues but expanding the framing of their organizational goals to include other issues as well. David Waskow of FOE explains:

I mean we are certainly concerned with economic inequality. We are concerned with situations where poor people or minorities bear the brunt of environmental damage and harm. But we do tend to consider ourselves allies with other kinds of organization that work on social issues, like human rights groups, labor, etc. We are somewhat unusual in that regard I think - in our readiness to do that.
(Author Interview 2003)

Because of their focus on the issue of global trade and their willingness to include other social issues in their goals, FOE is able to maintain high participation with national labor unions.

National Labor Unions with Medium and Low Levels of Cooperation with National Environmental Organizations

AFSCME, SEIU and PACE are labor unions that sometimes participate with national environmental organizations. AFSCME and SEIU are government/service unions. PACE is an industrial union that appears to have reduced its participation with national environmental organizations. The UFW appears to very rarely work with national labor unions.

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

AFSCME has medium participation working with national environmental organizations. AFSCME works with national environmental organizations in 10 of the 21 coalitional arrangements and none of the federative arrangements. AFSCME works with national environmental organizations on the issues of global trade/globalization, energy and corporate accountability.

AFSCME has rather strong participation in coalitional arrangements with national environmental organizations, but appears resistant to working with national environmental organizations in federative arrangements. This may represent a decision making culture within AFSCME that prefers to cooperate with other organizations in a very limited way. Since industrial unions work with national environmental organizations more often than the government/service unions, the frequency of their cooperation with national environmental organizations may be best explained as resulting of their priorities of shared issues. The overlapping issues for national labor unions and environmental organizations may be more of a priority for industrial unions than government/service unions. AFSCME appears to mostly work with national environmental organizations by supporting joint issue statements.

Service Employees International Union (SEIU). SEIU has medium participation working with national environmental organizations. SEIU works with national environmental organizations in 6 of the 21 coalitional arrangements and 1 of the 6 federative arrangements. SEIU works with national environmental organizations on the issues of global trade/globalization, energy and corporate accountability and human exposure to toxic chemicals.

The SEIU appears to participate with national environmental organizations but its primary focus is not on the area of global trade/globalization, which is the prominent issue bridging the labor and environmental movement. SEIU's participation centers on issues of energy policy, health issues and a voting campaign with the Sierra Club in terms of coalitional activity. Since the SEIU is a union that represents the health care workers,

it logically supports the federative organization Health Care Without Harm. This further supports the idea that the lower frequency of cooperation with national environmental organizations among government/service unions may be a result of their priorities toward shared issues. The overlapping issues for national labor unions and environmental organizations may take a lower priority for government/service unions.

SEIU may be a labor organization that will be more active with national environmental organizations in the future. Tom Woodruff of the SEIU expresses that they share a similar goal in that both movements are trying to improve the quality of life for the public when he states:

I think we share (with organizations in the environmental movement) a fundamental belief in a better quality of life for average Americans as opposed to the right wing who would continue to destroy the environment and continue to destroy quality jobs to maximize profits. We share a common belief in a progressive America, one where workers make decent wages and have decent benefits and where we have an environment that is protected and can be used for the benefit of everyone. (Author Interview 2003)

Paper, Allied-Industrial, Chemical and Energy Workers International Union

(PACE). PACE has medium participation working with national environmental organizations. PACE works with national environmental organizations in 7 of the 21 coalitional arrangements and none of the federative arrangements. PACE works with national environmental organizations on the issues of global trade/globalization, corporate accountability and energy.

PACE is a labor union that appears to be moving away from participating with national environmental organizations. PACE is a union that was created from the merger of the United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU) and the Oil, Chemical, and

Atomic Workers International Union (OCAW). The OCAW has a historical relationship of working with the environmental movement.

Gordon (1998) defines the OCAW strike against Shell Oil Company as the first cooperative effort between national labor unions and national environmental organizations. In the 1973 OCAW strike against Shell Oil Company the central issue was the formation of a union safety committee. Many environmental organizations, as part of the Urban Environment Conference, supported OCAW in its strike against Shell Oil Company. The environmental organizations included: Environmental Action, Environmental Defense Fund, Friends of the Earth, the Environmental Policy Center, the Sierra Club and Zero Population Growth.

The relationship OCAW had with national environmental organizations appears to have changed with its merger with UPIU. An official of PACE stated that “PACE does not work with environmental organizations very often – the OCAW did it a lot more and mostly on occupational safety issues” (Author Interview 2003). The PACE official attributes this change as resulting from an “anti-industrial bias on the part of the mainstream environmental movement.” The PACE official states:

There is a real disparity in the views between labor unions and rank and file union members and the leadership and the rank and file members of national environmental organizations on environmental issues. There is a strong anti-industrial bias among many people in the general public. And to some extent - it's my personal belief - that many people act on this (anti-industrial bias) by joining environmental groups. And this anti-industrial bias means that some members of the environmental community are too quick to want a plant to close to end pollution or are perfectly willing to see a plant close if that is what it takes to end pollution. They lack concern for the fate of people who work there and the communities who depend on those jobs. (Author Interview 2003)

The PACE web site explains that PACE is still a participant in the Just Transition Alliance. OCAW participated in the Just Transition Alliance before merging with the United Paperworkers International Union to form PACE. PACE proclaims they work with the Just Transition Alliance because they focus on environmental justice and are concerned about jobs in a way that national mainstream environmental organizations are not. PACE explains its displeasure with mainstream environmental groups in its statement of support for the Just Transition Alliance by stating:

Since the late 1990s, first the OCAW and then PACE have maintained a strong connection with the Just Transition Alliance, a coalition of union and environmental justice groups that works to preserve jobs and enhance workers' rights in environmentally difficult situations...Environmental justice groups began forming in the 1970s to combat this degradation, in large part because many mainstream environmental groups failed to make fence-line community issues a priority...The EJ movement placed a strong emphasis on environmental solutions that had the preservation of jobs as a priority. (PACE n.d.: <http://www.paceunion.org/julyaugust2002.htm>)

The Just Transition Alliance (www.jtalliance.org) web site identifies along with PACE the other members of the Just Transition Alliance. The other members are the Asian Pacific Environmental Network, the Farmworker Network for Economic and Environmental Justice, the Indigenous Environmental Network, the Northeast Environmental Justice Network and the Southwest Network for Environmental and Economic Justice. The Just Transition Alliance appears to focus on fostering cooperation on environmental and labor issues at the community level. While PACE may still be trying to work with environmental organizations at the community level, PACE appears to have given up on working with national environmental organizations.

United Farm Workers of America (UFW). The UFW has very low participation working with national environmental organizations. The UFW works with national environmental organizations in 1 of the 21 coalitional arrangements and none of the federative arrangements. The UFW did not work with national environmental organizations in coalitional or federative arrangements on any of the major issues identified. Environmental Defense works with the UFW in an effort to decrease the effect of water transfers on UFW workers in the west. As the cost of water has increased in the West, farmers are selling their water to metropolitan areas and letting their land lie fallow (Environmental Defense 2004:

<http://www.environmentaldefense.org/article.cfm?contentid=3494>). Environmental Defense advocates that the needs of misplaced farm workers must be considered and assistance provided.

The UFW web site does demonstrate some efforts of the UFW to work with national environmental organizations but it does not include any of the environmental organizations selected for this study. The UFW has web links to the Pesticide Action Network, Environmental Working Group, and to the Natural Resource Defense Council. However, none of the links for the Natural Resource Defense Council links are active. The UFW worked with the Pesticide Action Network and the California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation to create the *report Fields of Poison 2002: California Farmworkers and Pesticides* which details the dangers of pesticide exposure to farm workers.

Marc Grossman, the Communications Director for the UFW, states that the UFW has had “long standing relationships, off and on, with environmental groups over the issue of

pesticide poisoning of farm workers and consumers” (Author Interview 2003). Grossman identifies the Natural Resource Defense Council, the Sierra Club and Public Citizen as groups that have been involved in the pesticide issue with the UFW. Because the membership of the UFW is mostly located in California, this issue has occurred mostly at the state level. This point is important due to the uniqueness of the UFW as discussed in Chapter 3. They are an organization working in the agricultural industry, a work process close to natural resources and therefore expected to provide many opportunities for overlap between the concerns of workers and environmental issues. However, most of the national environmental organizations selected for this study do not appear to participate in cooperative activities with the UFW.

National Environmental Organizations with Low Levels of Cooperation with National Labor Unions

Greenpeace USA, Environmental Defense and the Center for Environmental Health and Justice (CHEJ) have a low level of participation in activities with national labor unions. Greenpeace USA’s cooperation with national labor unions appears to be limited by its focus on direct action activities. Environmental Defense’s cooperation with national labor unions is limited because of its focus on market oriented solutions. CHEJ’s cooperation with national labor unions is limited at the national level because it focuses its activities on the local level.

Greenpeace USA. Greenpeace USA has low participation working with national labor unions. Greenpeace USA is identified as participating in 4 of the 21 coalitional

arrangements and 1 of the 6 federative arrangements identified in this study. Greenpeace USA works with national labor unions on the issues of global trade/globalization, energy, and human exposure to toxic chemicals. The only federative arrangement that Greenpeace USA is part of is Health Care Without Harm, which focuses on toxic exposure in the health care industry and medical waste. This distance between Greenpeace USA and the national labor unions may be a result of Greenpeace's identification as a "radical" organization.

Like the Sierra Club and Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace USA is a politically active environmental organization. Greenpeace Fund is its 501(c)(3) organization which is very limited in terms of legislative activity and Greenpeace, Inc. is its 501(c)(4) organization that may participate in unlimited lobbying and endorse political candidates. Greenpeace USA appears to be moving away from trying to work with national labor unions. As discussed earlier, Dreiling (1997; 1998; 2001) identifies Greenpeace as one of the national environmental organizations actively participating with labor during the fight against NAFTA. However, the focus of Greenpeace USA appears to be shifting away from trade issues, which is the dominant shared issue among national labor unions and national environmental organizations. The only trade issue that is identified as important on the Greenpeace USA web site is the illegal logging of mahogany in the Amazon (Greenpeace USA 2002:

http://www.greenpeaceusa.org/index.fpl?article=506&object_id=8154).

Dreiling (1998) suggests that Greenpeace and some of the labor unions, particularly the AFL-CIO, kept its distance from each other due to the different tactics they employed. Wapner explains that Greenpeace is a direct action group that "rarely comes

with messages to call your congressperson or pressure local government officials” (1994:391). National labor unions and the national lobby environmental organizations actively try to affect government labor and environmental policy. Presenting Greenpeace USA as an organization who radically rushes to direct action may be inaccurate. On the Greenpeace USA web site in the Campaigner Profile, Meghan Houlihan states:

Often, when I talk with people about my involvement with Greenpeace, they're interested in the more "exciting" aspect of the work - the banner-hanging from tall buildings (and subsequent jail time), my stint on a Greenpeace ship, action trainings, and so forth. But the fact is that direct action is a tactic used when other methods fail, which means that if I'm hanging a banner from a building or engaged in an action on a Greenpeace vessel, it's because something particularly egregious is taking place. So while it may seem exciting - and admittedly, it sometimes is! - it's also a fairly disheartening statement about the degree of damage we're doing to the environment. I'm just glad that Greenpeace is there to draw much-needed attention to these issues. (Houlihan 2003: <http://www.greenpeaceusa.org/members/switch.pl/features.meghantext.htm>)

However, this perception as a radical organization may affect its cooperation with national labor organizations.

Environmental Defense. Environmental Defense (previously known as the Environmental Defense Fund) has low participation working with national labor unions. Environmental Defense works with national labor unions in 2 of the 21 coalitional arrangements and 2 of the 6 federative arrangements. Environmental Defense works with national labor unions on the issues of global trade/globalization and human exposure to toxic chemicals.

It may be difficult for national labor unions and Environmental Defense to work together because of their market oriented approach to environmental problems and the many relationships they share with the business community (Environmental Defense n.d.:

<http://www.environmentaldefense.org>). McCloskey explains that Environmental Defense announced in the mid-1980s that “industry and environmentalists should work together harmoniously” (1992:79). Chatterjee and Finger (2003) criticize Environmental Defense as being co-opted by corporations. Chatterjee and Finger point out in particular the corporate sponsorship of Environmental Defense by General Motors and McDonalds. In effect Environmental Defense is seen as endorsing the efforts of these corporations. For example, with the help of Environmental Defense, McDonald’s became able to show their institution of a recycling program as an indication of McDonald’s commitment to the environment instead of resulting from a campaign critical of McDonald’s by the Center for Health Environment, and Justice (at the time named the Citizens Clearinghouse for Hazardous Waste) Chatterjee and Finger (2003). Capital/business is well represented on Environmental Defense’s Board of Trustees (Environmental Defense 2002: 18).

Center for Health, Environment and Justice (CHEJ). The Center for Health, Environment and Justice has low participation working with national labor unions. CHEJ works with national labor unions in 2 of the 21 coalitional arrangements and 1 of the federative arrangements. CHEJ members work with national labor unions in the Stakeholder Alliance and in the Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment, multi-issue alliance that focuses on the issues of global trade/globalization, corporate accountability and human exposure to toxic chemicals. CHEJ also works with the federative arrangement of Health Care Without Harm.

CHEJ is a unique organization in this study because most of its work begins at the grassroots level – bringing change from the bottom up, which creates a momentum on issues that cannot be ignored at the national level. CHEJ recognizes that labor unions are a natural ally in their efforts to build community coalitions. In explaining organization strategies for grassroots efforts they state:

Unions are another established institution with a deep history of struggle that could be helpful to your coalition. Labor organizations are highly political. They play an active role in local electoral politics endorsing candidates and work in campaigns. You need to find out if one of the decision makers is one of the people the union endorsed or if he is good on labor issues. They also have their own internal politics based upon control of the organization through their own internal election of officers. Stay clear of these internal politics. When you want or need something go straight to the elected officials or the top staff.

Like every other group your issue needs to be one that benefits the union members. On dioxin there is a direct benefit in working together to build a safe work place and environment (CHEJ 2003s <http://www.chej.org/ORGBOX/coalitions.htm>).

There is an indirect link between CHEJ and PACE associated with CHEJ's "BeSafe Campaign" which advocates the use of the precautionary principle for use by the chemical industry. The Just Transition Alliance is a supporter of the BeSafe Campaign and PACE is a member of the Just Transition Alliance as discussed in the PACE section of this chapter.

In an interview with Lois Gibbs, Executive Director of CHEJ, she talked about hows CHEJ works with national labor unions, but more on the local or state level. Gibbs said it was difficult to work with unions at the national level because:

They have a lot of stuff on their plates and it is just very hard to break through that. It is very bureaucratic and very difficult to try to figure out whom you talk to and how you can move through a union. We have done it but it is very difficult to do. (Author Interview 2003)

Gibbs states that CHEJ works mostly with PACE and initially began working with them before the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union merged with the United Paperworkers International Union in 1999 to form PACE. Presently Gibbs states that CHEJ is working with PACE on “trying to get them (the paper industry) to move from bleaching paper or (have PACE) take a position of moving from bleaching paper with chlorine to hydrogen peroxide” (Author Interview 2003). This relates to a key focus of CHEJ, to reduce dioxin emissions. This assessment contradicts the assessment of my informant from PACE which believes that the relationship between CHEJ and PACE is diminishing. This assessment may result from the focus of CHEJ who is working with PACE on the local and state level instead of the national level and results from a change in the priorities of PACE after being created from the merger of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union and the United Paperworkers International Union.

Gibbs identifies the issue of environmental health as the link between CHEJ and labor unions. In discussing this relationship she states:

In the community, workers may be sick and they may be fighting for health and safety issues internally (at the workplace) and also externally. The same health risks they are facing in the plant are also being seen in the community and by working together we are more likely to clean up the workplace as well as reduce the emissions into the communities where we all work and play. Most of the community represents worker’s families. They have a vested interest in making sure their wives or their husbands and children are safe. (Author Interview 2003)

Gibbs believes that there is an increasing effort for labor unions and environmental organizations to work together at the local level. She believes that eventually this will “bubble up” to the national level and national labor unions and environmental organizations will work in a more collaborative manner with each other.

National Labor Union with No Activity with National Environmental Organizations

HERE is the only labor union identified as not participating in any of the coalitional or federative arrangements discovered by this study. It appears that there is very little overlap of issues for HERE to cooperate with national environmental organizations.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Union (HERE). There is no evidence of HERE working with national environmental organizations. Ron Richardson, the Executive Vice-President of HERE stated that HERE has little cooperation with environmental groups. Richardson comments:

I think that there are a lot of other unions that would probably interact with environmental organization - unions that deal with manufacturing or unions that deal with natural resources. When you are dealing with the hotel industry, it is not very often that we are involved with environmental groups. (Author Interview 2003)

As a service union, HERE appears to have few cooperative activities with national environmental organizations. The overlapping issues for national labor unions and environmental organizations may be more of a priority for industrial unions than for government/service unions and since it does not represent public employees like AFSCME and SEIU, it may be more so for HERE.

National Environmental Organizations with No Activity with National Labor Unions

The National Audubon Society (often referred to simply as “Audubon” on their web site) and the Nature Conservancy show no activity of working with national labor unions. This

appears to be the result of these environmental organizations's narrow focus on the goal of preservation/conservation of the natural environment (Dreiling 1997, 1998, 2001).

These environmental organizations also share strong connections to business.

National Audubon Society (Audubon). There is no evidence of the National Audubon Society working with national labor unions from the collected data of this study or their organizational web site. John Bianchi, Director of Communications for the National Audubon Society, when asked about working with national labor unions responds:

Well that is an interesting question. I don't know that we have (worked with labor unions in the past), but I got a call today from our chief operating officer who said I just got a call from the Trade Union Courier (labor newspaper) and they would like to have us in a special section and want us to talk about what we do. So we are involved in that for the first time since I have been here. I have never worked with a national labor organization before. I don't know if this will lead to any kind of cooperative project but it is a first contact. (Author Interview 2003)

From the data gathered, it does not appear to have led the National Audubon Society to working with labor unions on the national level. Mitchell et al.'s (1992) classification of the National Audubon Society as a lobbying organization appears to be incorrect. The National Audubon Society's activities better conform to Mitchell et al.'s category of Land and Wildlife Preservation, which appears to provide little overlap of issues with national labor unions. The National Audubon Society expresses their focus on preservation issues from their mission statement, which states:

Audubon is dedicated to protecting birds and other wildlife and the habitat that supports them. Our national network of community-based Audubon nature centers and chapters, environmental education programs, and advocacy on behalf of areas sustaining important bird populations engage millions people of all ages and backgrounds in positive conservation experiences. (National Audubon Society n.d.: <http://www.audubon.org/nas/>)

The National Audubon Society also receives large amounts of funding from corporations and may not work with most national labor unions to protect that revenue stream. For example, from the National Audubon Society's 2001 Annual Report the many corporate contributors included the Ford Motor Company as contributing over \$1,000,000 dollars to the National Audubon Society, Toyota Motors Sales, USA, Inc. contributing \$100,000 to \$999,999 dollars and McDonald's Corporation contributing \$50,000 to \$99,999 dollars (National Audubon Society 2001:32). Capital/business is strongly represented on the Audubon Board of Directors (National Audubon Society n.d.: <http://www.audubon.org/nas/board/>).

The Nature Conservancy. There is no evidence of the Nature Conservancy working with national labor unions. Mike Coda, the Director of External Affairs for the Nature Conservancy, when asked about working with national labor unions responded:

I cannot think of a time where that has happened. Not that we are actively avoiding it (working with labor unions), we just tend to be focused on different issues. To the extent that labor unions work on environmental issues it is generally on issues of pollution – biodiversity/land conservation is not of much interest to them. (Author Interview 2003)

As with the National Audubon Society, the Nature Conservancy does not work with national labor unions because their focus on preservation/conservation issues provides no overlapping issues for them to work on together.

As well as resulting from a lack of shared issues, this lack of working with national labor unions may be the result of the Nature Conservancy's work with other partners, particularly business. Corporations that work with the Nature Conservancy include: 3M

Corporation, General Motors, Georgia-Pacific, Nature Valley, Bank of America and The Home Depot to name but a few (The Nature Conservancy n.d.:

<http://nature.org/joinandonate/corporatepartnerships/about/>). Of all the other environmental organizations in this study, the Nature Conservancy's web site indicated they have the strongest collaboration with business. Capital/business is highly represented on the Nature Conservancy's Board of Governors (Nature n.d.: http://nature.org/aboutus/files/bog_member_profiles_2003_2004_051204.pdf).

Summary of Overall Participation between National Labor Unions and National Environmental Organizations

The national labor unions and environmental organizations that have high levels of cooperation are the AFL-CIO, USWA, Teamsters, Friends of the Earth and Sierra Club. USWA and Teamsters are industrial unions and the AFL-CIO is the major representative of industrial unions in the United States. As they challenge globalization they are actively trying to partner with organizations from other movements. The Sierra Club and Friends of the Earth partner with labor unions to gain political power in their lobbying efforts. The Sierra Club and FOE (along with Greenpeace USA) can participate with national labor unions in more political activities than other national environmental organizations because of their 501(c)(4) status. The Internal Revenue Service 501(c)(4) status of these environmental organizations and the Internal Revenue Service 501(c)(5) status of national labor unions allows them to “engage in an unlimited amount of lobbying, provided that the lobbying is related to the organization's purpose...and engage in political campaigns on behalf of or in opposition to candidates for public office provided

that such intervention does not constitute the organization's primary activity" (Reily and Allen 2003:L2). Obach (2000) found that at the state level that the 501(c)(3) status of environmental organizations limits their ability to work with labor on political issues. Hodge and Anthony (1998) suggest that laws that govern organizational activity can affect cooperative activity between organizations. The Sierra Club and FOE overcome this inability by creating political components to their national organizations.

The AFL-CIO, USWA, Teamsters, Friends of the Earth and Sierra Club work together not only because they have overlapping issues but because they have framed those issues in a way that allows them to incorporate the concerns of the other organizations. By framing their issues in a way that allows them to work together, these organizations can benefit by sharing resources and become stronger politically and more efficient.

The national labor unions and environmental organization with medium or low levels of cooperation are AFSCME, SEIU, PACE, UFW, Greenpeace USA, Environmental Defense, and CHEJ. The inability of the organizations with medium and low cooperation to have high cooperation appear to be due to frames that question the benefits of dedicating resources to cooperative actions between national labor unions and national environmental organizations. AFSCME and SEIU's lack of cooperation with national environmental organizations on the issue of trade suggests that the concern for global trade/globalization is less for government/service unions and thus reduces their cooperation. PACE has reduced its historic cooperation with national environmental organizations since the OCAW and UPIU merged to form PACE. PACE identifies national environmental organizations as being overcome by an "anti-industrial bias," which weakens PACE's interest in working with national environmental organizations.

PACE, UFW and CHEJ appear to focus their concerns about building cooperation between labor and the environmental movement at the community and state level rather than the national level.

Greenpeace USA and Environmental Defense have framed their efforts in a way that reduces the possibility of working with national labor unions. Greenpeace USA direct action approach and Environmental Defense's market solution approach reduce their ability to work with national labor unions. Capital/business is well represented on Environmental Defense's Board of Trustees, which may reduce their desire to work with labor unions.

HERE, the National Audubon Society and the Nature Conservancy have no activity in the cooperative activities between national labor unions and environmental organizations. Like AFSCME and SEIU, HERE's lack of cooperation with national environmental organizations appears to be from its position as a service union. Government/Service unions appear to place a lower priority on the issues that connect the labor and environmental movements. In HERE's case this may be even more so, because unlike AFSCME and SEIU which represents government workers who may be closer to the issue of global trade/globalization, its members are all service employees. The National Audubon Society and the Nature Conservancy do not cooperate with national labor unions because they focus on preservation/conservation of land and wildlife, and do not address the environmental social issues that connect with the social issues addressed by the labor movement. Both the National Audubon Society and the Nature Conservancy have boards of directors/governors that are strongly represented by capital.

Overall there appears to be some indication that national labor unions and national environmental organizations are moving farther away from working together than moving closer together, particularly when one looks at their efforts to work together in federative arrangements. Only six federative arrangements are identified and some of the national labor unions and environmental organizations included in this study have left these organizations. The Sierra Club and SEIU are no longer identified as participants in the Citizens Trade Campaign and Greenpeace is no longer identified as a participant of the Alliance for Responsible Trade. The AFL-CIO is currently not very active in the Corporate Sunshine Working Group.

Another indication of a growing division between national labor unions and national environmental organizations is the Teamsters support of drilling for oil in ANWR. This stress between national environmental organizations and the Teamsters is compounded by the Teamsters announcement in April 2003 to form a new partnership with the Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy (a group that advocates drilling in ANWR) to create a new organization called the Labor Environment Alliance that “balances environmental issues with economic development and new jobs” (Teamsters 2003; <http://www.teamster.org/03news/nr%5F030416%5F2.htm>). In the past the Teamsters have been considered a “linchpin” labor union to working with national environmental organizations (Dreiling 1997, 1998, 2001).

The inactivity of the Blue Green Alliance is another indicator of the growing separation between the individuals who are members of national labor unions and environmental organizations. However, the Blue Green Alliance may have become

inactive because its focus, climate change, is now being addressed by the Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment and the Apollo Alliance.

Additionally, an indication that the national labor unions and national environmental organizations are moving away from working together is the abolishment of an “Environmental Liaison” position at the AFL-CIO. From 1996 to 2002, Jane Perkins occupied this position at the AFL-CIO (Barry 2002:

<http://www.sierraclub.org/planet/200205/green.asp>; Moberg March 28, 2002:

<http://www.alternet.org/story.html?StoryID=12734>; Obach 2000). Chapter 6 examines the factors that may be limiting the ability of national labor unions and national environmental organizations to work together.

CHAPTER 6

FACTORS LIMITING THE ABILITY OF NATIONAL LABOR UNIONS AND NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS TO WORK TOGETHER

The data examined in Chapter 4 and assessed in Chapter 5 indicates that cooperation between national labor unions and national environmental organizations is limited and that most cooperative activity occurs between the national labor groups of the AFL-CIO, Teamsters, USWA and the national environmental groups of FOE and the Sierra Club. The participation by other national labor unions and environmental organizations varies greatly.

As explained in Chapter 2, one would expect organizations in both movements to work together to address and challenge how the costs and benefits of the capital production process are distributed across society. Many researchers now call for organizations across movements, particularly the labor and environmental movement, to work together. Boggs (1990), Broad (1995), Burton (1986), Derber (1998), Obach (2000), Reynolds (1999), Brecher and Costello (1990), Fisher and Kling (1993), Mitchell et al. (1992), Schnaiberg and Gould (1994), Rose (2000) and Simmons (1994, 1997, 1998) encourage organizations within the labor or environmental movements to create partnerships across movements. They believe that greater cooperative activity among movements will build a social force capable of bringing about progressive social change.

While researchers have identified the need for national labor unions and environmental organizations to work together their efforts to do so are limited. This study found only 21 coalitional arrangements and 6 federative arrangements in regards to the

efforts of national labor unions and national environmental organizations to work together. Why are national labor unions and environmental organizations not working more closely together? Possible factors that could hinder their ability to work together are: the lack of shared issues, conflicts between the movements, the issue of class conflict, the framing of the issues they do share, the adverse political climate, the relationship of organizations to capital, the failure to acknowledge working together and the organizational difficulties of working together. This chapter addresses these issues to identify their impact on the efforts of national labor unions and national environmental organizations to work together.

LACK OF SHARED ISSUES

The lack of shared issues is a central problem to the ability of national labor unions and environmental organizations to work together. As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, the issues that some of the labor unions and environmental organizations share are global trade/globalization, corporate responsibility, and toxic exposure to humans. Energy appears to be a re-emerging shared issue as well. Unfortunately there are many issues that national labor unions and environmental organizations do not share. National labor unions are concerned with such issues as overtime pay, ergonomics, providing health care to workers, collective bargaining for improved wages, retirement benefits, privatization and increasing the number of jobs available. National environmental organizations focus on issues of conservation and preservation that include protecting land from development, protecting wildlife, protecting ocean life, fighting against genetically modified foods and protecting national land from logging and drilling (like ANWR).

Organizations that make up the labor and environmental movement are presently able to align their frames on only a narrow set of issues.

CONFLICTS BETWEEN MOVEMENTS

The conflicts between national labor unions and national environmental organizations can hinder their ability to work together. Siegmann, in his study of labor and environmental cooperation on energy policy from the mid 1960s to the mid 1980s explains that “with notable exceptions not withstanding, been a period of conflict: between the labor and environmental movement” (1985:179). Dewey (1998) explains this conflict during the 1970s by stating:

During the 1970s, trade unionists and environmental activists conflicted, sometimes bitterly, over issues from the Alaskan oil pipeline and the supersonic transport to nuclear power, energy policy, land use, and various state or national “bottle bills.” (Dewey 1998:45)

Conflict over logging on federal lands in the Pacific Northwest in the 1980s to early 1990s is the most publicized and researched conflict between national labor unions and national environmental organizations (See Foster 1991; Gordon 1998; Gottlieb 1993; Rose 2000). Rose (2000) in particular provides a detailed analysis of the conflict. Labor and capital sided in an effort to increase logging on federal land. Labor supported the logging to maintain jobs and the capitalists to gain valuable timber at federally subsidized prices to increase profit (Foster 1991). Environmentalists attempted to reduce/eliminate logging to protect the ecosystem. Foster explained that the Pacific Northwest ecosystem is the “most productive old growth forest – it exceeded the most productive tropical rainforest in biomass per unit area by a ratio of seven to one” (1991: 6). Foster (1991) and

Rose (2000) suggest that the problem of over cutting of private lands by capital, and the automation of the timber industry are never identified as the structural problems for union job loss and environmental destruction. Both Foster (1991) and Rose (2000) suggest that if labor and environmentalists had been willing to compromise their positions, a solution could have been reached that met their needs. As discussed previously in this study, Dreiling (1997, 1998, 2001) identifies the issue of NAFTA as a point of conflict between national labor unions and environmental organizations. While FOE, Greenpeace and the Sierra Club sided with national labor unions to oppose NAFTA, most mainstream environmental organizations supported it.

Today, the most significant conflicts between national labor unions and environmental organizations appear to be ANWR, fuel efficiency standards and the Kyoto Treaty to reduce greenhouse gas emissions around the world (Gould et al. 2004; Hunter 2002; Schneider 2002). The Teamsters support drilling for oil in ANWR against the environmental movement, the United Auto Workers of America sided with capital against the environmental movement block the raising of fuel emission standards and labor did not support the Kyoto Treaty. These past and present conflicts make it difficult for national labor unions and environmental organizations to work together.

CLASS ARGUMENT

One could argue that this limitation of shared issues supports the premise of new social movements theory. From the new social movements theory perspective one concludes that labor unions and environmental organizations share few issues because they represent diverse class interests. The environmental movement represents the

interests of the middle class and the labor movement represents the interests of the working class. However, when examining the demographics of national labor unions, the explanation of diverse class interests between national labor unions and environmental organizations is put into question. According to Asher et al. (2001) the 1998 American National Election Study states 42 percent of union members identified themselves as middle class. The interviews of high ranking officials supported this finding. Many of the unions represent employees of both the working and middle class. Asher et al. (2001) Evans (2001), Robinson (2000) and Rose (2000) further explain that the demographics of labor unions are changing with close to equal representation of men and women, an increase in racial diversity and increases in education. Many of the union officials interviewed for this study explain that the social class of union members today varies greatly. As the U.S. economy has changed service unions with white collar workers have also become a prominent component of the labor movement.

Another reason that class may not be as important in terms of limiting collaborative activity is the level at which cooperation is occurring. Rose (2000) explains that class tensions are evident when labor and environmentalists attempt to work together at the local level and try to cross a “cultural divide.” Obach (2000) suggests that this cultural divide does not appear to exist at the state level. The people of both the labor and environmental movement working at this level work in similar bureaucratic organizations, so people working for these movements at the state level share similar occupations and social networks (Obach 2000:268). The same appears to be true at the national level. If class is an issue for these movements working together, the professionalization of their organizations and the social mobility allowed for people who

work in these organizations may be creating avenues of cooperation (Rose 2000). Rose (2000) presents examples of people bridging the class divide and encouraging cooperation between the labor and environmental movements. One example is a person who is raised by parents that are union members or is a union member themselves working for a national environmental organization and thus views the labor movement as a potential ally on various environmental issues. Another example is a person who is recruited by a labor union from college to help with organizing who has a history of supporting environmental issues and recognizes the potential to work with environmental organizations on labor issues.

Siegmann (1985) in his examination of cooperation on energy policy between the labor and environmental movement up to the mid 1980s, rejects the idea that a “socio-economic cleavage exists between the movements and suggests the differences between the movements is better explained by generational/worldview conflicts” (1985:105). Siegmann (1985) illustrates that the demographic make up of the labor movement is older than the environmental movement. However, this generational difference may no longer exist today. Rose suggests that the “the younger generation of union members...is far more attuned to the environment than its elders” (2000:100).

Trying to explain the limitations of national labor unions and environmental organizations to work more closely from the new social movements theory perspective is ineffective. Another indicator of lack of support for the new social movements theory perspective is that from the evidence collected for this project. This project suggests that the industrial labor unions of the USWA and Teamsters, which are more representative of traditional blue collar workers, are most likely to work with national environmental

organizations than government/service unions. What better explains this phenomenon is the difficulty of national labor unions and environmental organizations to frame issues in a way that justifies the sharing of resources and/or provides the hope of achieving similar political goals.

IMPLEMENTATION OF A SOCIAL JUSTICE FRAME

The national labor unions and environmental organizations that work most closely together on shared issues (AFL-CIO, Teamsters, USWA, FOE and the Sierra Club) strongly favor advocating their positions by focusing on social justice or the fairness of the issue they are promoting. As discussed in Chapter 2, social justice is best defined as the redistribution of resources to ensure fairness in meeting the basic needs of people” (Weisheit and Morn 2004:30). According to Weisheit and Morn (2004), social justice encompasses the issues of human rights, economic justice, gender justice, racial and ethnic justice, and environmental justice. If an organization adopts a social justice frame it becomes concerned not with just one dimension of social justice but is concerned with all of the issues that demand fairness. Dietz, Stern and Rycroft (1989) explain that by adopting a social justice frame, national labor unions and national environmental organizations change the criteria for how decisions about labor and the environment are made. Corporations and government often want to use an economic or scientific model for decision making because it highlights as key criteria for decision making the factors of efficiency and profit or scientific experts. These models favor corporate resources and give them an advantage. National labor unions and environmental organizations prefer to implement a social justice frame work which changes the criteria of decision making

from an economic or scientific model to a political model that highlights as key criteria for decision making the issues of fairness and equity. Dietz, Stern and Rycroft (1989) suggest the adoption of a social justice frame and the shift to a political model increases the value of national labor unions and environmental organizations as they can use their “people” resources to affect public opinion.

Carroll and Ratner (1996) identify the adoption of a social justice frame (they termed a political-economy injustice frame) as necessary for cooperation between organizations from different social movements. Carroll and Ratner suggest a social justice frame allows organizations across movements to work together “by creating a common language, moving them beyond single issue activism and committing organizations to the idea that transformation of society occurs through concerted collective action” (1996:616).

Dreiling (1997, 1998, 2001), Obach (2000), Rose (2000) and Siegmann (1985) identify the adoption of a social justice frame as a key component of whether or not national labor unions and environmental organizations will work together. They say that labor unions must adopt a social movement unionism frame and environmental organizations must adopt an environmental justice frame which links their concerns for social justice. While a social justice frame is necessary for national labor unions and national environmental organizations to work together, it does not guarantee success for their goals because of the power of business and government to oppose them.

Richard Trumka of the AFL-CIO explains the importance of a social justice frame for labor unions that try to work with national environmental organizations and the opposition sometimes experienced by government when implementing a social justice frame by stating:

Instinctively, I think the American public gravitates toward fair treatment. If you can show someone is being treated unfairly, the majority of Americans generally rally around that person. They demand a fair treatment for people. So, when you are talking about social justice, if you can define an issue in terms of fairness or unfairness of the issue, Americans respond. Now, that doesn't mean that the politicians always respond, because truth, right and wrong generally does not matter to them. No, I shouldn't say generally. Sometimes it doesn't matter to them. You can be as right as the day or morning sun and still not win on an issue because the powers are aligned against you. Money has a very, very strong influence at the federal level and probably the state level as well. Being right is not always enough. (Author Interview 2003)

This position is echoed by Leo W. Gerard of the USWA when he states:

Unfortunately in the current political environment in Washington, the administration seems unresponsive to those (social justice) issues. But that doesn't prevent us from carrying on that fight because we believe social justice is a foundation of this country. This country is based on the concept of liberty and justice for all. (Author Interview 2003)

National environmental organizations who try to work with labor unions try to adopt an environmental justice frame that extends to social justice. David Waskow of FOE explains the social justice position of national environmental organizations when he states:

Our (FOE's) purpose is not only to defend the environment but also to seek social justice. We often work at the nexus of social and environmental issues. We don't see environmental issues as being separated from other social issues. For example, in the context of international policy work we are concerned about the ways in which environmental degradation hurts people - in developing countries especially - and how social injustice and economic inequity are tied up with environmental harm. (Author Interview 2003)

For national labor unions and environmental organizations to work together they have to extend the framing of their issues in a way that allows them to cooperate with other organizations (Snow et al. 1986). While labor unions are concerned with economic justice (Acuff 2000) and environmental organizations focus on environmental justice Capek (1993), both can be encompassed in a social justice frame because the focus of

both movements is based on the principles of “citizenship rights, the democratic process and respect” (Capek 1993:8). Acuff suggests that embracing a wider social justice perspective allows organizations to work with their natural allies who are all fighting injustice and that only by working together will victory be achieved (2000:8).

While sharing a social justice frame provides national labor unions and environmental organizations the ability to create the social space necessary to work together, it does not guarantee that national labor unions and environmental organizations will be able to work together. Another factor that hinders their ability to work together is that they often confront political adversity.

POLITICAL ADVERSITY

It is the role of the state to address the social issues/problems presented by national labor unions and environmental organizations (Buechler 2000, Buttel and Larson 1980, Gamson 1990, Jenkins 1994). Buechler states that it is the role of the state to act as an “intermediary between the grievances, ideology and politics of social movements on the one hand and the imperatives, requisites, and constraints of an advanced capitalist formation on the other hand” (2000:169). Jenkins (1994) sees the actions of social movements as demands for political representation. For Jenkins, the demands for social change by social movement organizations create social conflict which the state is responsible for resolving.

According to James O’Connor (1973) in his book the *Fiscal Crisis of the State* the state occupies two important but conflicting roles for the maintenance of society. The state has to assure capital accumulation through policies that support economic growth

and at the same time the state, to maintain its legitimacy, must maintain social harmony by protecting the public. (Also see Buttel and Larson 1980, Cable and Cable 1995) Cable and Cable argue that the state is closely intertwined with the interests of capital/business and that the state “tends to favor the interests (accumulation) of the corporate class when they are in conflict with those of other groups” (like labor unions and environmental groups) (1995:46).

National labor unions and environmental organizations try to get the state to act in accord with its legitimation role to protect the public. They make demands on the state to fulfill its legitimation role by their use of the social justice frame (Dietz, Stern and Rycroft 1989). Fulfillment of the legitimation role by the state is critical to the maintenance of the social order. As O’Connor explains:

A capitalist state that openly uses its coercive forces to help one class accumulate capital at the expense of other classes loses its legitimacy and hence undermines the basis of its loyalty and support. (O’Connor 1973:6)

Cable and Cable (1995) McCloskey (1992) and Mitchell et al. (1992) explain that the main goal of national environmental organizations is to promote environmental policy. Asher et al. (2001) and Brecher and Costello (1999) make a similar claim in that the goal of national labor unions is to promote the legal protection of the rights of workers.

While the political support for the goals of the labor and environmental movements have been weakened since the 1970s, the current federal administration led by President Bush is perceived as being particularly hostile to the demands for social justice promoted by national labor unions and environmental organizations that work together. The national labor unions and environmental organizations selected for this study are very

critical of the Bush administration and question the administration's commitment to the legitimization role of protecting the public.

Ron Richardson, Executive Vice President of HERE, states the greatest threat their organization presently faces is the “the Republican administration of the house, the senate and the White House (Author Interview 2003). When discussing the federal administration’s position on trade Richardson states:

There is no such thing as free trade. If there was free and balanced trade – equal trade and quid pro quo trade - then I guess it would make sense. What we have is a situation where American workers are trying to compete with people that are being paid a dollar a day. That doesn’t work. And we have an administration that seems to think that it does. Basically, what they are doing is giving away the store and giving away our jobs. (Author Interview 2003)

Tom Woodruff of the SEIU echoes the problems with the relationship of national labor unions to the federal administration when he states:

The relationship with the present administration is extremely bad. It probably has never been worse. We have never seen an administration so hell bent on destroying the lives of working people. And they do it in so many ways: removing OSHA standards, privatizing jobs, eliminating the right for a union to bargain for airport screeners and hundreds of thousands of other federal employees, and tax cuts that go to the wealthy that have pretty much bankrupted a whole lot of states forcing them to cut back on healthcare to the poor, public education and other social programs. We seem to have an administration that wants to defund the federal government through a series of tax cuts to the wealthy so public services cannot be provided. We have a serious problem with this administration. (Author Interview 2003)

The labor position is also presented by AFSCME on their web site. It states:

The radical right and its conservative allies in Big Business are waging an orchestrated, strategic assault against AFSCME and the Labor movement, which, if successful, will silence our voices at the federal, state and local levels. Our opposition - fronted by organizations like the Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Right to Work Committee, the Christian Coalition, the Family Research Council, Americans for Tax Reform, and Focus on the Family— will stop at nothing to silence us in the workplace, in

the polling booth, in Washington, D.C., in state capitals and in city halls across the country. (AFSCME 2003 <http://www.afscme.org/about/ff04.htm>)

Most national environmental organizations are as critical about the current federal administration as the national labor unions. On their web site, Greenpeace USA is critical of most of the actions taken by the federal administration that relate to the environment (Greenpeace USA n.d.: www.greenpeaceusa.org). The problems Greenpeace USA identify with the federal administration include the EPA's failure to protect citizens from toxic chemicals, increasing dependency of fossil fuels (including their efforts to drill in ANWR), withdraw from the Kyoto protocol, logging in national parks and the overall energy plan of the Bush Administration.

The Sierra Club is very critical of the federal administration under President Bush as well. They have two sections of their web site dedicated to the federal administration. The first is W Watch (n.d.: <http://www.sierraclub.org/wwatch/>) and the Big Book of Bush (n.d.: <http://www.sierraclub.org/bush/>). These areas of their web site are critical of the administration's actions toward clean air, clean water, energy policy, forest protection, wildlands, human rights, judicial nominations, population, sprawl, toxics, and trade (Sierra Club n.d.: <http://www.sierraclub.org/wwatch/>).

The tension between the federal administration and environmental organizations is further explained by David Waskow of FOE when he states:

I think in general - as is the case for any environmental organization - the anti-environmental bent of the Bush Administration creates challenges on a number of fronts. The most basic challenge is to deal with the broad range of threats presented by the administration's position. (Author Interview 2003)

The position of the current administration of the federal government is a hindrance to the furthering of both labor and environmental rights. In fact, national labor unions and

environmental organizations are fighting to keep the rights they achieved in the past. This is one of the reasons that national labor unions and national environmental organizations are moving further away from working together. This finding is best explained by resource mobilization. Because national labor unions and environmental organizations are working and spending resources to protect the rights they won in the past, they do not have the extra resources to promote further cooperation between the labor and environmental movement unless the activity or issue furthers the immediate goals of each organization participating.

The political process model enhances our understanding of the relationship between national labor unions and environmental organizations by suggesting that the state sees a political opportunity to deny the claims of national labor unions and environmental organizations, thus changing the current power relationships. The political process model focuses on the power relationships that exist between actors. While it is not often expressed in this way, it is important to recognize that the agents of the state (present Bush administration) should be viewed as a social actor that may be in conflict with the goals of national labor unions and/or national environmental organizations. The power of the agents of the state to refuse any new demands by movements to activate its legitimation function and threaten past achievements is an important factor to consider. Kelber (2001) and Nichols (2001) suggest that the Bush Administration views a possible coalition of labor and environment as a threat to their administrative agenda and work vigorously to thwart it..

Examining the relationship between labor unions and environmental organizations at the state level, Obach (2000, 2002) finds that Republican control of state government is

associated with poorer labor-environmental relations. Obach explains that “one interpretation of this outcome is that in the face of adversity, rather than uniting against their Republican adversaries, these movements actors seek to secure their own goals and abandon any efforts to work with others to make broader gains” (Obach 2002:94). The finding of this research supports the same conclusion at the national level.

The findings of this research and Obach’s (2000; 2002) research refute the previous research about organizations working together in times of crisis (Buttel et al. 1984; Siegmann 1985, Staggenborg 1986; Van Dyke 2003). Buttel et al. (1984) and Siegmann (1985) suggest that environmentalists and labor seek coalitions and alliances to preserve the gains they made in previous decades when confronted by corporate power and/or political adversity. Van Dyke (2003) supports this conclusion in more general terms by suggesting that coalitions are formed when a threat is too great for any one organization. Staggenborg also suggests coalitions emerge when “environmental opportunities or threats emerge” (Staggenborg 1986:375). This research shows that Staggenborg is only partially correct. Coalitions are more likely to form when opportunities for victory arise (Staggenborg 1986; Zald and McCarthy 1980). However, according to the findings of this project, the emergence of threats appears to reduce coalition activity.

Obach (2000, 2002) and the findings of this study suggest that the control of government by Republican officials leads to less coalition arrangements between labor and environmental organizations. Buttel and Larson (1980) and Siegmann (1985) concur in regards to support of environmental issues by explaining that the Democratic Party is more pro-environment than the Republican Party. While this appears correct, the difference between Republican and Democratic officials may be one of access instead of

the Democratic Party truly supporting the labor and environmental agendas. Dowie (1995) explains that with the Democratic control of the White House by the Clinton Administration mainstream environmental organizations had access to government officials, however that did not result in advancement of the environmental agenda. In fact, Dowie suggests that the Clinton Administration co-opted most organizations in the mainstream environmental movement by allowing them access to government and convincing them to support his agenda items (like NAFTA). Rose (2000) makes a similar argument questioning the concern the Democratic Party has for labor and environmental issues. Rose (2000) suggests that both the labor and environmental movement have been taken for granted by the Democratic Party because they have “no where to go” except to the Republicans who are even more anti-labor and anti-environment than the democrats.

Buttel and Gould (2004) and Gould et al. (2004) identify the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon on September 11, 2001 as reducing protest activity and therefore could have an impact on coalitional activity between national labor unions and environmental organizations. Buttel and Gould (2004) explain that many movement organizations made a conscience decision to halt protest activity in the United States after the attack. However, almost four years after the attack, protests have been curbed by the state capitalizing on the attack. With the implementation of USA PATRIOT Act repressing protest activity and threats of legal action, the state has forced censorship on many organizations or organizations are self-censoring their actions to avoid government scrutiny (Buttel and Gould 2004:49). The federal administration has used the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 to reduce the grievance claims by social movement for social change.

Cable and Cable (1995) suggest that the state is resistant to the demands of social movement organizations because they ask the state to regulate corporate behavior and the state is more concerned with maintaining its accumulation function than its legitimation function. McCloskey suggests that the environmental movement should “rethink its assumption about getting results through government” (1992:86). Some researchers argue that globalization has exacerbated the problem of creating social change because globalization reduces the power of national governments to establish labor and environmental laws to protect the public because they conflict with the rules of current trade agreements (Buttel and Gould 2004; Korten 1998; Rose 2000).

However, others argue that national labor unions and environmental organizations must try to create social change to the economy by using the political system. Wallerstein (2003) and Piven and Cloward (1997) both suggest that politics can be used to reform globalization. They argue that it is past political strategies that have created our present global market economy and therefore it is through the political system that groups can challenge these arrangements as it is the responsibility of the government to regulate the economy.

RELATIONSHIP TO CAPITAL/BUSINESS

The relationship of national labor unions and environmental organizations to business varies. From the perspective of the political process model, the relationship national labor unions or national environmental organizations share with capital/business is very important. These relationships determine whether business will be resistant to the goals of national labor unions and environmental organizations or support them.

Capital/business may also attempt to gain power over the organizations from these movements. Overall, the relationship national labor unions and national environmental organizations share with capital/business are varied. Many businesses work with national labor unions and try to address workers rights. When asked how business reacts to the goals of labor, Richard Trumka of the AFL-CIO states:

There are businesses that we work with. There is a group of CEO's that we get together with and we try to talk through issues. The manufacturing crisis is a concern to them. It affects them like it affects us. We try to come up with positions we can both support. Many times, they agree with us but they will not say it publicly because their colleagues will beat them up – the Business Roundtable particularly. (Author Interview 2003)

The relationship of labor to business is echoed by a PACE official when he states:

It depends on the company. There are many companies that I would characterize our relations as correct. There are other companies that try to jerk us around every chance they get. (Author Interview 2003)

Some of the national environmental organizations report the same type of relationship with business as national labor unions. The reaction of business to activities of environmental organizations is mixed. An environmental organization official presents this position when the person states:

Obviously, some businesses are highly resistant (to our goals). They see us as taking away their capacity to enjoy a profit. There are some I doubt we will ever find a broad overlap of interest with. There are others I think we can find almost a complete overlap of interest with...Our goal and our relationship with business is to encourage through carrots as well as sticks good corporate behavior that is beneficial to the environment, rather than being negative to the environment. So, we do not categorically see businesses, corporations, and capital as bad things. (Author Interview 2003)

Another example of how the relationship between national environmental organizations and business vary is exemplified by Greenpeace USA. Greenpeace USA is considered by many to be a “radical” environmental organization because of their commitment to direct

action (Mitchell et al. 1992; Wapner 1994). Greenpeace USA is very critical of the practices of companies like Dow Chemical, Monsanto and ExxonMobil (Greenpeace USA n.d.: www.greenpeaceusa.org). However, in a business report card, Greenpeace USA praises the toy companies Brio, Chicco, Evenflo, Gerber, International Playthings, Lamaze Infant Development, Lego Systems and Sassy for their efforts to remove PVC and toxic additives from their products while admonishing others for their failure to do so (Greenpeace USA 2003 <http://www.greenpeaceusa.org/toxics/reportcard.htm>).

Some environmental organizations have a stronger link with business and are rarely likely to oppose them. This position is best presented by the Nature Conservancy. They view using a non-confrontational approach to business to be the most productive in achieving their organizational goals. Mike Coda of the Nature Conservancy explains:

Our strategy is based on a notion of being solution oriented. We are not a group that criticizes other people generally. We don't seek out controversy. We try to work cooperatively with the business community. The business community has donated a lot of land to us. They provide financial support as well. In some instances, where a company has substantial land holdings we think are important to biodiversity, we look to create a cooperative relationship with them to encourage them to manage that land in a way that is best for biodiversity and conservation... In most cases, we are not pitting ourselves against them locally, nationally or internationally. We are trying to figure out ways to get our work done. If we can figure out a way to make them share their interest with ours, we try to bring them in just like any other partner. But there have been instances where people wanted different kinds of land uses than we were hoping for and on occasion that has lead us to disagree with a particular business or a set of businesses. (Author Interview 2003)

Funding of Environmental Organizations by Capital

Brulle (2000) argues that funding by “government agencies, corporations and foundations” has severely impacted the goals and actions of national environmental organizations. These agents gain control of national environmental organizations through

the use of their financial power, which is now a critical revenue source for the survival of many national environmental organizations. Particularly of interest to Brulle (2000) is the ability of foundations to affect which issues environmental organizations address by their decision of which issues to support with funding. Foundation funding also requires changes to the form of organizations by requiring a certain organizational structure be maintained to monitor the use and distribution of foundation funds (Brulle 2000; Dowie 1995; Tokar 1997). Brulle (2000) and Dowie (1995) propose that leaders of environmental organizations restrict their activities to those that will not upset the foundations (and the corporations that control foundations) that support them. Dowie states:

The message (from foundation contributors) is clear, though rarely uttered: be cautious reformers, challenge specific violators, take them to court. Lobby for environmental regulations. Educate the public. But don't rock (or knock) the capitalist boat if you intend to rely on significant foundation funding (1995:49)

The same argument applies to gifts directly from corporations and grants from the government. Dowie (1995) and Oliver and Myers (2003) concur with Brulle's assessment. Oliver and Myers (2003) see the flow of money by elites into organizations as a way to influence organizational strategies so they do not become disruptive.

Dowie (1995) also sees corporate philanthropy as a problem for the environmental movement. Dowie suggests that corporations have donated money to environmental organizations to obtain positions on their board of directors and through this position affect the directions and goals of the environmental organization. Piven and Cloward (1979) suggest that advocacy organizations that survive in society do so because "they become useful to those who control the resources on which they depend than to the

lower-class groups which the organization claims to depend...by abandoning their oppositional politics” (1979:xxi).

Brulle (2000) identifies the Nature Conservancy as the largest recipient of foundation funds. Dowie (1995) is critical of how corporate philanthropy has affected the make up of the board of directors of national environmental organizations. Of the national environmental organizations selected for this study, the National Audubon Society, Environmental Defense and the Nature Conservancy have boards that have strong corporate representation. As discovered in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 the National Audubon Society and the Nature Conservancy do not cooperate with national labor unions. Environmental Defense has very low cooperative activity with national labor unions.

This relationship between capital and many of the national environmental organizations can be viewed as an example of sponsorship. Shefner (1999) and Cobb, Shefner and Rubin (n.d.) identify sponsorship as a “relationship in which one organization initiates or significantly strengthens another by supplying concrete aid to the latter organization” (Shefner 1999:380; Cobb et al. n.d.:5-6). Shefner (1999) and Cobb et al (n.d.) suggest that because the partnership between groups is unequal, the one with the most power will have the greatest ability to affect the organizational structure and political agenda when the organizations work together. From an organizational perspective, it appears that the sponsorship of many environmental organizations by capital, either directly, through foundation contributions or appointments to their board, is a partnership that limits the possibility of national environmental organizations working with national labor unions. The possibilities for cooperation between national labor

unions and national environmental organizations is limited by the funding capital, foundations and government give to national environmental organizations. The issues they demand environmental organizations address when receiving these funds may reduce the ability of national labor unions and national environmental organizations to have overlapping issues.

The ability of capital to affect the relationship between national labor unions and environmental organizations by their control of funding to environmental organizations can be explained by both resource mobilization and the political process model. From a resource mobilization perspective, capital with its greater resource of monetary funds, gains control over or sponsorship of national environmental organizations through the funding process and uses this control to conform the goals of the organization, which may reduce their ability to work with national labor unions. From a political process model, capital is using the political opportunity available due to the need for funds by environmental organization to try and change the power relationships that exist to better favor their interests.

Jobs Versus the Environment Argument

Besides the funding practices of business to national environmental organizations, another way that business attempts to block cooperation between national labor unions and environmental organizations is to promote a “jobs versus the environment” perception among labor unions. The conflicts between national labor unions and national environmental organizations discussed earlier in this chapter are often the result of the “jobs versus the environment” scenario, which encourages labor to side with capital

(Cable and Cable 1995; Kazis and Grossman 1991). The “jobs versus the environment” argument proclaims environmental regulations will reduce the number of available jobs. For example, General Motors argued against raising fuel efficiency standards because it would “harm suppliers, dealers, jobs and the economy” and the American Petroleum Institute, the trade association for the oil and gas industry, encourages the opening of ANWR for drilling because it would create 4,760 ship building and related shipping jobs for 17 years (General Motors n.d.:

http://www.gm.com/company/gmability/public_policy/environment/cape.html; American Petroleum Institute n.d.: <http://apiep.api.org/filelibrary/anwr%20shipping%20ix.pdf>).

However, most studies suggest that the “jobs versus the environment” argument is a myth as environmental regulations cause either a very small increase or decrease in employment (Goodstein 1999, Hall 1994, Kazis and Grossman 1991, Morgenstern et al 2001). (See Chapter 2).

Even though the “jobs versus the environment” argument rarely holds true empirically, it does affect cooperation between national labor unions and national environmental organizations. The official from PACE indicates that the “jobs versus the environment” argument is still a factor in cooperation between national labor unions and environmental organizations. The PACE official states:

The genuine consequence to jobs (in relation) to environmental regulations is it costs money. Sometimes (it costs) a great deal of money for a company to put in environmental controls, or to change a process to meet an environmental standard. If a company is spending money on that - that is money you cannot spend on workers. Sometimes the cost is sufficiently high that the managers of a company will make a decision that a particular facility needs to close. (Author Interview 2003)

Richard Trumka of the AFL-CIO also sees the “jobs versus the environment” scenario as disrupting cooperation between national labor unions and environmental organizations but believes it can be overcome if national environmental organizations will work collectively with national labor unions toward a solution. He states:

When we are put against each other (labor unions and environmental organizations), it is generally because a group of environmentalists get overzealous and wants to put an industry out of existence rather than work or transition it through or change that industry...Our approach is if something we are doing is adverse to the environment, let's figure out a way to keep the industry alive and make it consistent with the environment. The other point of view is – okay, kill the industry, retrain the workers and pay them to go somewhere else. Most workers are not interested in that. That basic philosophy is the biggest hurdle to overcome in coalition building between workers and environmentalists. The environmentalists who say, “let us work with you and figure out how we can maintain jobs but make sure that the industry does not harm the environment” we work with very closely. Those that say “forget about that, kill the industry and pay the workers to go somewhere else” - we just don't jump up for that. The term that workers use for that situation is compared to just being laid off and thrown on the side of the road. They call it a fancy funeral. They say what you want to provide for us is a fancy funeral but we are not interested in going to our own funeral just yet. You see the difference in philosophy. (Author Interview 2003)

Obach (2002) finds similar evidence at the state level. Obach explains that 82% of state labor leaders believe that “environmental protection can pose a threat to interests of workers in at least some instances” (2002:91). Siegmann explains that labor unions and environmental organizations that accept the jobs versus the environment argument are less likely to work together (1985:180).

One union that has avoided falling into the “jobs versus the environment” argument is the USWA. The USWA works closely with national environmental organizations and circumvents the “jobs versus the environment” argument by seeing it as corporate rhetoric. In *Our Children's World: Steelworkers and the Environment* the position of the USWA is illustrated by the statement:

Steelworkers have heard the jobs argument before. For many years companies have tried to use economic and environmental blackmail on the union and its members. In every fight for a new health and safety regulation, or better wages, or improved pensions, there is a corporate economist to tell us that if we persist, the company or the industry will fold, with hundreds or thousands of lost jobs. It rarely turns out to be true and for good reason. Someone has to design the cleaner process or equipment. Someone has to build it. Someone has to install it. Someone has to operate it. Someone has to maintain it. In the long run, the real choice is not jobs or environment. It's both or neither. (USWA Task Force on Environment 1990:13-14)

Many of the environmental organizations selected for this study recognize that the "jobs versus the environment" argument is one that they will have to address when dealing with business and labor unions. Environmental organizations, particularly the Sierra Club and FOE who are most likely to work with national labor unions, attempt to alleviate this scenario. One environmental official discussed this problem by stating:

Jobs versus the environment – that is the mantra. We always try to provide a more reasonable structure for having the discussion besides that sort of polemic. We try to look at the environmental and ecological consequences of any particular policy that we are either supporting or opposing and we try to argue that the true cost of doing something to the environment may far outweigh a particular number of jobs that may be created in the short term. We try to engage people about what other things can be done to generate jobs that are not damaging to the environment. We want to work to create long-term sustainable jobs rather than short-term jobs. (Author Interview 2003)

Yandle (1985) suggests that labor leaders support environmental regulations when environmental problems are perceived as a health risk to workers and when the implementation of environmental regulations is labor intensive. Environmental regulations that are labor intensive receive union support because they increase job opportunities for union members.

Sometimes the "jobs versus the environment" frame may be supported by labor unions because the jobs that are being created could be non-unions jobs and the jobs that are

being lost are union jobs. Logically, unions will oppose this type of job transition and thus see environmental regulations as causing a “job loss.” Burton illustrates this point when he hypothesized that the support of nuclear power by building trade unions resulted more from the fact that the building of nuclear plants would require highly skilled union workers and the construction of energy alternatives to nuclear power would not require union workers or the specialized skills to demand high wages (1986:299).

Mediation of the Jobs Versus the Environment Argument by the Issue of Globalization

The issue that demonstrates a clear connection for national labor unions and environmental organizations in opposition to the activities of business is globalization. Globalization is a tool that is used by business to block the demands of national labor unions and environmental organizations in the U.S. by saying that any concessions asked of business will force them to relocate overseas. Globalization transcends the “jobs versus the environment” argument promoted by capital that sometimes separates national labor unions and environmental organizations because capital demands that both worker and environmental concessions be accepted as a result of globalization. Leo W. Gerard of the USWA explains this point by stating:

The whole approach of globalization is the ability of financial interests to move money and jobs to the region of the world that they believe will give them the greatest opportunity to maximize the return on their investment... with NAFTA, the WTO and China, there are very few industrial employers that don't try to blackmail workers. They try to force workers to choose between their job and the environment, or their job and health care, or their job and pension because they can move to Mexico, El Salvador, China or Brazil and operate without those

costs...in my view it is undermining the social fabric of this country. (Author Interview 2003)

David Waskow of FOE suggests that one of the reasons national labor unions and environmental organizations are able to participate on the issue of global trade/globalization is due to the fact that the “jobs versus the environment” scenario does not work as an argument to divide the labor and environment movements on this issue.

Waskow states:

If there was a way to break down the “jobs versus environment” stuff in a more upfront manner, that would be extremely useful. I don’t (have to address the jobs versus the environment scenario) in my work because we (labor unions and environmental organizations) use the same frames and arguments (for trade policy). (Author Interview 2003)

When I asked Mr. Waskow if he believed that it is easier for national labor unions and environmental organizations to work together at the international level on global trade/globalization because you avoid the “jobs versus the environment” argument you experience at the national level he said “Yes, I think that’s absolutely right” (Author Interview 2003).

LACK OF ACKNOWLEDGING CURRENT FEDERATIVE/COALITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

As discussed in Chapter 2, Obach (2000) identifies a process he termed the "coalition contradiction" as hindering the efforts of social movement organizations to work together in coalitions. The coalition contradiction results from organizations "maintaining two objectives: to advance their cause and to maintain their organization" (Obach 2000:108-109). Organizations may choose to enter into alliances that give them greater political

power to advance their agendas. However, when organizations enter into alliances with other organizations it forces them to compromise their organizational goals or to take on added goals of partners organizations. The coalition contradiction is reflected in Michels (1999) concept of the iron law of oligarchy. Leaders of organizations want to maintain their power. However, to achieve success by working with others they have to give power to those controlling the cooperative activity, thus reducing the power of the leaders from most of the organizations.

When these organizations change their goals to better align with coalition partners, they risk alienating their membership base, thus losing members (Obach 2000). The coalition contradiction is based on the idea of resource mobilization. As organizations try to manage resources that are needed for organizational survival (differentiation from other organizations) it conflicts with gaining the resources needed to achieve organizational goals (power). This creates a dilemma as how to obtain the needed resources.

Except for the AFL-CIO and the Sierra Club to a great extent, the presentation of coalition activity of the web sites of the selected organizations for this study is limited. When other national labor unions and environmental organizations do discuss their activities in coalitional or federative arrangements, they often do not mention the names of their partners in these activities. They say “other environmental groups” or “labor unions” or mention the names of organizations from the other movement only. The AFL-CIO is not affected by competition like the other organizations because as the union federation organization it is not competing for members. Other organizations limit the mentioning of competing organizations to reduce the effects of the coalition

contradiction. It limits the criticism the organization receives from members who are critical of national labor unions and environmental organizations working together and helps each organization maintain its differentiation from partners in the same social movement field. However, it also has the affect of marginalizing the importance and power of coalitional and federative arrangements. They are simply not discussed in a way that acknowledges a larger group of constituent organizations who have solidarity on an issue. This lack of acknowledgement of cooperation weakens the awareness and effectiveness of the efforts of national labor unions and environmental organizations to work together. It keeps support for the efforts of national labor unions and environmental organizations to work together centered among the organizational leadership. It does not promote building support among rank and file members (Burton 1998).

NEED TO BUILD UPON FEDERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS BETWEEN NATIONAL LABOR UNIONS AND NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

The lack of federative arrangements reduces the ability of national labor unions and environmental organizations to work together. Without federative arrangements, cooperation between the two movements is temporary and often loses momentum.

Richard Trumka of the AFL-CIO advocates the maintenance of federative arrangements.

He explains:

I think it is essential. It has to be two-way working coalitions (between national labor unions and environmental organizations), where both parties benefit from the coalition and they have to be long lasting. The thing we have not done well in the past is keep coalitions intact. We have allowed them to atrophy over the years and as a result.....they have been disbanded after the issue passes. What we are

trying to do now is build coalitions that are continuous - that transition from issue to issue and don't fall down but do become a two way street. I subscribe to the idea that we need more permanent coalitions among movement organizations. Particularly in a global economy, the interests of any group will be subordinated unless you are in coalition with several organizations. Otherwise, your voice is not heard. There is a continuous need not only to have the coalitions operating but also to keep them from atrophying as they did in the past. (Author Interview 2003)

David Waskow of Friends of the Earth echoes this point when discussing the importance of the Citizens Trade Campaign in keeping partner organizations committed to the issue of trade. He says:

The Citizens Trade Campaign is much more of the context in which we do very serious ongoing work in a coalition... But there are other times like now that partner organizations have a whole slew of organizational priorities on their plate and trade slips down a bit. The Citizens Trade Campaign acts as a conduit to keep trade pushed up to the top in terms of what kind of work that each organization is doing. (Author Interview 2003)

Federative arrangements have lower rates of participation than coalitional arrangements. To be effective working together national labor unions and environmental organizations need to increase organizational membership in federative organizations and create new ones when necessary. Schnaiberg and Gould (1994) identify the importance of creating permanent alliances between labor and environmental organizations as essential to the success of promoting a strong social agenda. A present difficulty with creating new federative organizations is that since the issues that currently overlap between national labor unions and environmental organizations are limited, their ability to establish federative arrangements among the organizations of the labor and environmental movement will remain limited as well.

ORGANIZATIONAL DIFFICULTIES OF WORKING TOGETHER

The problems national labor unions and environmental organizations confront when trying to work together contribute to the limited coalitional and federative arrangements between the two movements. There are a wide variety of difficulties that organizations face when working together. A labor official explains the main problems are aligning organizational goals, the amount of time needed to maintain cooperative activities, and the need to compromise/overcome disagreements. The labor official states:

Your interests are never going to coincide completely. The first thing is the speed in which you can make decisions and respond is slowed down until you can get a working coalition. If you have to go and build it every time and bring people together, it just takes time. It slows you down and you miss opportunities. Once you have a working coalition, the threat issue is minimized. You have to build trust among the members of the group. That is the key to having a lasting coalition - building trust so the coalition does not rise and fall on the last issue that is before them. Otherwise, you can go 99 issues and be friends and have one issue that you disagree on and have everything blow apart. Whenever you do disagree, you have to be able to do it and be able to reconcile things as best you can and minimize the level of differences between you. Frequently, whenever you start analyzing it, you can come up with a creative solution where the needs of both groups are met. It is probably a better solution because it meets the needs of more people. (Author Interview 2003)

The difficulties in working together are expressed by national environmental organizations as well. An environmental official concurs with the difficulties of having to deal with disagreements which slow down the decision making process when you participate in coalitional and federative arrangements. Working together is also very time consuming. The environmental official states:

I think some of the potential disadvantages can be when you do encounter disagreement in a strategy, tactic or the basic framing of an issue. Sometimes it is time consuming to work with people and get agreement on the press release or the message. It takes more time sometimes and there is always the issue of if you are inclusive enough, did you talk to everybody you needed to. It just takes a lot more

time for communication. Generally, it pays off but sometimes it feels like if you had just done it by yourself it would have been easier. (Author Interview 2003)

These problems are echoed by another environmental official who states:

The disadvantage is that it can be quite cumbersome. There are organizations that have a much more difficult internal bureaucracy than an organization like ours that is nimble because we have a flat structure. We will have to wait, and sometimes very frustratingly wait, for other organizations to decide how they are going to do something. There is no doubt there could be better and more collaboration, but people need to get their work done. It can be time consuming and distracting to constantly engage in coalition activities. Ideally, one would be doing lots more of getting people to do collective letters and what not, but at the end of the day you can only do so much. (Author Interview 2003)

This discovery is supported by Staggenborg's findings. Staggenborg identifies in her assessment of coalitions in the pro-choice movement that "getting member organizations to contribute time to the coalition is one of the most difficult things to do (1986:386).

Bell and Delaney suggest that organizations may be cautious about committing the time of agents to coalitions (particularly in the formative stages) because if the coalition is not sustained, the attempt to build a coalition can be seen as an "unproductive use of limited resources that can ultimately detract from the struggle against injustice" (2001:75).

Carroll and Ratner further this concern by stating that coalitions have no value unless they "promise solutions to the problems that face the groups that compose coalitions" (1996:618). Rose, in his study of labor and environmentalists working together in Washington State, concurs that "agreeing to disagree" and "building trust" are key issues that must be addressed in trying to work together (2000:143).

The disadvantages of national labor unions and environmental organizations working together are best explained from the resource mobilization perspective. When organizations commit to working together it makes a commitment to provide resources to

the cooperative effort. The resource most often needed and most valued by organizations is the time of its staff to participate. This is a commitment of resources that could be used for some other purpose.

WHY DO NATIONAL LABOR UNIONS AND NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS TRY TO WORK TOGETHER?

When confronting all of these difficulties, why do organizations within the labor and environmental movements try to work together? The reason is because some of the organizations in each movement recognize the great rewards that can be reaped if they learn how to integrate their agendas and work more closely together. David Waskow of FOE, which works closely with national labor unions compared to the other environmental organizations selected for this study, explains that the political power gained by national labor unions and environmental organizations when they work together on shared issues like trade is important to helping the organizations achieve their goals. He states:

The advantage is that without question, we multiply our strength. I think on Capitol Hill especially, because labor unions have much more financing available for electoral work and other political kinds of activities, that their clout generally outstrips the environmental community when it comes to really tough issues like trade. Obviously, on a lot of environmental questions we have a fair amount of clout. When you really have to push some members to get them over the hump, I think the clout of the unions is critical. (Author Interview 2003)

Some believe that working together is the only way the two movements are going to have any chance to bring about real social change. Tom Woodruff of the SEIU states:

I think more and more, the labor movement and the environmental movement are seeing that they have much more in common than their occasional differences and that if we are going to create any progressive politics in this country we have to

do so together... I think that more people are seeing the value of doing that. None of us are big enough or powerful enough to change the politics in this country and this society in a positive way on our own. We have to seek alliances, and when there are issues that divide us, we need to work through them. If this guy in the White House gets reelected in 2004 it will be a disaster for environmentalists and it will be a disaster for the labor movement. We need to figure out how to overcome our differences and work together. (Author Interview 2003)

While there is the danger of coalition efforts falling apart or failing due to there complexity, Starr (2001) views them as important for success because it builds a broader base of support. Starr explains the creation of a broader base of support is more likely to win over public opinion, allow for more resources, and provide a multifaceted public interest argument (2001:118). (See also Hodge and Anthony 1988; Kahn 1982; Siegmann 1985) National labor unions and environmental organizations work together because it allows for a more efficient use of resources (Hodge and Anthony 1988).

The drive for national labor unions and environmental organizations to work together can be explained by both resource mobilization and the political process/political opportunity model. From resource mobilization working together provides organizations with greater political power and better use of resources because the cost of activities can be shared among organizations. From the political opportunity model, working with other organizations allows for more political opportunities to change the power relationships in society since they have greater power than if acting alone to take advantage of the slightest disruption in the status quo.

This chapter found many factors that influence cooperative activity between national labor unions and national environmental organizations. The final chapter provides a summary of the efforts of this project to discover the various issues and cooperative

activities that exist between national labor unions and national environmental organizations.

CHAPTER 7

DOES ALLIANCE FORMATION BETWEEN NATIONAL LABOR UNIONS AND NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS EXIST?

A CONCLUSION

The central question of this research project is “Does alliance formation between national labor unions and national environmental organizations exist?” Obach explains that we do not have any comprehension of the “alliance building efforts between labor unions and environmental organizations at the national level” (2000:84). This research is a first step in addressing this shortcoming.

Because past research has been initiated at the local/state level or around a specific issue/event, there is no way to know the level of cooperation between national labor unions and national environmental organizations. By focusing on the organizations selected for this study rather than focusing on the activities at the state/community level or toward a specific issue or event, this research begins the process of mapping social cooperation between national labor and environmental movements. This project identifies the issues they share, and how they work together to address issues collectively. This final chapter examines the findings of this research project and discusses questions for future research.

FINDINGS

From the analysis of the national labor unions and national environmental organizations selected for this study, the evidence suggests that national labor unions and national

environmental organizations do work together in coalitional (temporary) and federative (permanent) arrangements on the issues they share. However, their efforts to work together are limited. Only 21 coalitional arrangements and 6 federative arrangements between national labor unions and environmental organizations are identified by this study. National labor unions and national environmental organizations are primarily limited in their efforts to work together by their lack of shared issues. Cooperation between national labor unions and environmental organizations varies by the type of organizations within each movement. Conflicts between the labor and environmental movement, the inability to adopt a social justice frame, the adverse political climate, the relationship to capital, the lack of acknowledging coalitional and federative arrangements, the lack of building federative arrangements, and the general difficulties of trying to work together also limit cooperation between national labor unions and national environmental organizations.

Lack of Shared Issues

A key factor in the ability of national labor unions and environmental organizations to work together is whether they share organizational issues that allow for collaboration (Kahn 1982; Obach 2000; Staggenborg 1986; Van Dyke 2003). Only four issues are discovered that national labor unions and national environmental organizations share: global trade/globalization, corporate accountability, human exposure to toxic chemicals and the re(emergence) of energy as an issue (the energy issue is found in the identification of coalition arrangements).

Global Trade/ Globalization Issue. The national labor unions and national environmental organizations interested in the issue of global trade/globalization are critical of current trade agreements made by the United States and the lending practices of the World Bank, IMF and other lending institutions. The organizations focusing on this issue are demanding that labor and environmental standards be addressed in trade agreements and international lending practices. One can define the global trade/globalization issue as a criticism of the present global economy to provide for labor and/or environmental standards. The evidence suggests that national labor unions and environmental organizations experience their greatest success in aligning their frames on the issue of global trade/globalization and their opposition to its current structure.

Corporate Accountability Issue. The national labor unions and national environmental organizations working on the issue of corporate accountability are demanding that corporations act in an ethically responsible manner by providing workers decent wages and a safe workplace and not pollute the community in an effort to increase corporate profit. One can define the issue of corporate accountability as the demand for corporations to recognize their responsibility to act in a way that promotes the well being of citizens and workers.

While many of the national labor unions and environmental organizations are concerned about the issue of corporate accountability, overall they are using different frames for identifying solutions to the problem. National labor unions and FOE (the exception to the national environmental organizations) are trying to push companies toward corporate accountability by gaining economic power within companies through

investment practices. Except for FOE, the national environmental organizations concerned about corporate accountability are trying to promote corporate accountability by creating new regulatory processes and through public acknowledgement of “good” and “bad” corporate practices.

Human Exposure to Toxic Chemicals Issue. The national labor unions and national environmental organizations concentrating on the issue of human exposure to toxic chemicals are concerned about the dangerous chemicals people are exposed to in the workplace and/or community. One can define the issue of human exposure to toxic chemicals as the demand that the government and capital protect workers and citizens from dangerous chemical exposures. Included in this definition is the concern some organizations have toward biological dangers to the public (ex. Smallpox, Anthrax).

National labor unions and national environmental organizations take a slightly different approach to their concern for toxic chemicals. National labor unions focus primarily on the dangers of toxic chemicals in the workplace while national environmental organizations focus more on the dangers of exposure to communities, except for the Nature Conservancy and the National Audubon Society who are concerned about the exposure of toxic chemicals to wildlife habitat. However, there is overlap in this area that could possibly allow national labor unions and environmental organizations to align their frames on this issue and work together bridging their frames to include toxic dangers to both the workplace and community.

Energy Policy as a (Re)Emerging Cooperative Issue. Another issue not found by the analysis of the web sites and the interviews with some of the high ranking officials from the national labor unions and national environmental organizations selected for this study is the emerging energy issue. This issue is discovered through the identification of coalition arrangements and will be discussed in that section. Like the other issues, the activity between national labor unions and national environmental organizations on the issue of energy policy is limited.

Coalitional and Federative Arrangements

This research project implements Warren's (1967) typology of coalitional and federative arrangements to identify how national labor and national environmental organizations are working together. The AFL-CIO is included among the organizations participating in coalitional and federative arrangements. While collecting the data for this part of the research project it became apparent that much of the cooperation between national labor unions with national environmental organizations includes the AFL-CIO. Many of the joint activities between national labor unions and national environmental organizations are presented only on the AFL-CIO's web site. Therefore, the researcher made a decision to acknowledge the AFL-CIO's inclusion in coalitional and federative arrangements. Twenty-one coalitional arrangements and 6 federative arrangements are discovered between national labor unions and national environmental organizations.

Coalitional Arrangements. According to Warren (1967) coalitional arrangements occur when organizations who are pursuing a similar goal or similar goals, decide to work

together to some degree toward achieving that particular goal. In coalitional arrangements, organizations agree to cooperate to reach their goals on an ad hoc basis. All decision making occurs among each organization, the coalition has no authority and there is no formal organization for decision making (Warren 1967:405). Most researchers would call Warren's concept of coalitional arrangements "temporary coalitions." These activities include endorsements, joint statements, joint campaign projects and joint protest activity.

Using Warren's (1967) concept of coalitional arrangements, 21 efforts between national labor unions and national environmental organizations to work together are discovered. Twelve of the 21 identified coalitional arrangements are associated with the issue of global trade/globalization. This supports the hypothesis that global trade/globalization is a key factor in national labor unions and national environmental organizations working together.

Six of the 21 identified coalitional arrangements address the issue of energy. While the issue of energy was not discussed much on the web sites and in the interviews with national labor unions, it appears to be an emerging issue to link national labor unions and environmental organizations.

The issue of energy could be overstated because two of the organizations (Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment and the inactive Blue Green Alliance) identified as coalitional arrangements in this study are created by individuals, not organizations, within the labor and environmental movement. Neither national labor unions nor national environmental organizations are members. However, it is important to include them in

this study to be thorough in identifying the efforts of the labor and environmental movement to work together.

The Apollo Alliance, a project created by social organizations outside of the labor and environmental movements, appears to be an important factor in the emergence of this issue as it tries to bring national labor unions and national environmental organizations together by encouraging both the creation of energy alternatives to fossil fuels and a commitment to the creation of jobs. The Apollo Alliance is creating a frame for the issue of energy that both national labor unions and national environmental organizations can embrace.

Two of the 21 coalitional arrangements are associated with the issue of corporate accountability and 3 of the coalitional arrangements are miscellaneous issues. While the coalitional arrangements do demonstrate that national labor unions and environmental organizations are working work together, one would expect more coalitional arrangements to occur than recorded. The coalitional arrangements are endorsements, joint statements, joint reports, conferences and protests activities occurring from 1999 to June 2004. If these organizations were cooperating intensely, more coalitional arrangements would be found.

Federative Arrangements. Six federative arrangements are found to exist between national labor unions and environmental organizations selected for this study. A federative arrangement is defined by Warren (1967) as occurring when organizations establish councils (or new organizations) that create an inclusive structure. This decision making structure exists outside any one particular participating organization and allows

the new structures to coordinate the activities of participating organizations to reach shared goals while each organization maintains its autonomy (Warren 1967:404-405). Most researchers would call Warren's concept of federative arrangements "permanent coalitions." To identify an organization as being a federative arrangement, I include as criteria for defining an activity as a federative arrangement that they maintain their own web site, members be organizations (not individuals associated with organizations) and it be a sustained activity.

Using Warren's (1967) concept of federative arrangements, what many researchers would term "permanent coalitions," 6 efforts between national labor unions and national environmental organizations to work together are discovered. The issues addressed by the 6 federative arrangements mirror the three issues discovered by analyzing the web sites and interviews with high ranking officials from the national labor unions and environmental organizations selected for this study. They are global trade/globalization, corporate accountability and human exposure to toxic chemicals.

Three of the 6 federative arrangements are associated with the issue of global trade/globalization. Three of the 6 federative arrangements are associated with the issue of health (human exposure to toxic chemicals). Three of the 6 federative arrangements are also associated with the issue of corporate accountability. When national labor unions and environmental organizations do form federative arrangements, fewer national labor unions and environmental organizations are participating in the federative arrangements than in coalitional arrangements.

Schnaiberg and Gould (1994) suggest a permanent alliance between national labor unions and environmental organizations is needed to advocate alternatives to labor and

environmental problems that don't simply transfer the problem to another aspect of society. These federative arrangements are addressing that need by creating permanent alliances between national labor unions and environmental organizations for the issues they have in common. Coalitional and federative arrangements confirm that national labor unions and environmental organizations are working together on the issues they share. However, the intensity of their efforts to work together could be stronger.

Levels of Cooperation by Organization

The national labor unions and environmental organizations that have high levels of cooperation are the AFL-CIO, USWA, Teamsters, Friends of the Earth and the Sierra Club. USWA and Teamsters are industrial unions and the AFL-CIO is the major representative of industrial unions in the United States. As they challenge globalization they are actively trying to partner with organizations from other movements. The Sierra Club and Friends of the Earth are lobbying organizations that partner with labor unions to gain political power. Like the industrial unions, environmental lobbying organizations challenge globalization since it has been responsible for a reduction in environmental standards. The data suggests that national industrial unions and environmental organizations that focus on lobbying have the highest levels of cooperation.

The Sierra Club and FOE (along with Greenpeace USA) participates with national labor unions in more political activities than other national environmental organizations because of their 501(c)(4) status. The 501(c)(4) status of these environmental organizations and the 501(c)(5) status of national labor unions allows them to “engage in an unlimited amount of lobbying, provided that the lobbying is related to the

organization's purpose...and engage in political campaigns on behalf of or in opposition to candidates for public office provided that such intervention does not constitute the organization's primary activity" (Reily and Allen 2003:L2). Obach (2000) found that at the state level the 501(c)(3) status of environmental organizations limits their ability to work with labor on political issues. This research confirms the same finding at the national level.

The AFL-CIO, USWA, Teamsters, Friends of the Earth and Sierra Club work together not only because they have overlapping issues but because they have framed those issues in a way that allows them to incorporate the concerns of the other organizations. By framing their issues in a way that allows them to work together, these organizations can benefit by sharing resources and become stronger politically and more efficient.

The national labor unions and environmental organization with medium or low levels of cooperation are AFSCME, SEIU, PACE, UFW, Greenpeace USA, Environmental Defense, and CHEJ. The inability of the organizations with medium and low cooperation to have high cooperation appears to be due to their framing process which questions the benefits of dedicating resources to cooperative actions between national labor unions and national environmental organizations. AFSCME and SEIU's lack of cooperation with national environmental organizations on the issue of global trade/globalization suggests that the concern for this issue is less for government/service unions and thus reduces cooperation. PACE has reduced its historic cooperation with national environmental organizations since the OCAW and UPIU merged to form PACE. PACE identifies national environmental organizations as being overcome by an "anti-industrial bias," which weakens PACE's interest in working with national environmental organizations.

PACE, UFW and CHEJ have begun to focus their concerns about building cooperation between labor and the environmental movement at the community and state level which reduces their cooperation at the national level. Greenpeace USA's direct action approach and Environmental Defense's market solution approach reduce their ability to work with national labor unions. Environmental Defense's Board of Trustees is also well represented by capital/business, which may reduce cooperation with labor unions.

HERE, the National Audubon Society and the Nature Conservancy do not participate in the cooperative activities between national labor unions and environmental organizations. Like AFSCME and SEIU, HERE's lack of cooperation with national environmental organizations appears to be from its position as a service union. In HERE's case this may be even more so, because AFSCME and SEIU represent government workers who may be more affected by the primary issue of global trade/globalization. The National Audubon Society and the Nature Conservancy appear to lack cooperation with national labor unions because they focus on preservation/conservation of land and wildlife and do not address the environmental social issues that connect with the social issues addressed by the labor movement. Both the National Audubon Society and the Nature Conservancy have boards of directors/governors that are strongly represented by capital.

Organizations that make up the labor movement and environmental movement only work together on the limited issues they share. To have the opportunity to work together, these shared issues must be framed in a way that allows them to do so. From the framing perspective the ability of most national labor unions and national environmental organizations to establish frame alignment by bridging or extending their frames across

movements is limited. National labor unions are going to work in partnerships only when it benefits their workers and their focus on job related issues and environmental organizations are only going to work with national labor unions when the activity benefits their environmental agendas.

From a resource mobilization perspective one can surmise that national labor unions and national environmental organizations only have the resources to address a limited number of issues. From the assessment of levels of cooperation by organization, the issues being addressed by coalitional and federative arrangements appear to be less of a priority for some types of organizations than others. If national labor unions or national environmental organizations do not view an issue as a priority or view it as a low priority compared to other issues, they will not try to work together on the issue because it is viewed as an inefficient use of valuable resources.

Overall there appears to be some indication that the movements are moving farther away from working together than moving closer together, particularly when one looks at their efforts to work together in federative arrangements. Only six federative arrangements are identified by this study and some of the national labor unions and environmental organizations included in this study have left these organizations. The Sierra Club and SEIU are no longer identified as participants in the Citizens Trade Campaign and Greenpeace is no longer identified as a participant of the Alliance for Responsible Trade. The AFL-CIO is currently not very active in the Corporate Sunshine Working Group.

Another indication of a growing division between national labor unions and national environmental organizations is the Teamsters support of drilling for oil in ANWR. This

stress between national environmental organizations and the Teamsters is compounded by the Teamsters announcement in April 2003 to form a new partnership with the Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy (a group that advocates drilling in ANWR) to create a new organization called the Labor Environment Alliance that “balances environmental issues with economic development and new jobs” (Teamsters 2003: <http://www.teamster.org/03news/nr%5F030416%5F2.htm>). In the past the Teamsters have been considered a “linchpin” labor union to working with national environmental organizations (Dreiling 1997, 1998, 2001).

The inactivity of the Blue Green Alliance is another indicator of the growing separation between the individuals who are members of national labor unions and environmental organizations. However, the Blue Green Alliance may have become inactive because its focus, climate change, is now being addressed by the Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment and the Apollo Alliance.

Additionally, an indication that the national labor unions and national environmental organizations are moving away from working together is the abolishment of an “Environmental Liaison” position at the AFL-CIO. From 1996 to 2002, Jane Perkins occupied this position at the AFL-CIO (Barry 2002: <http://www.sierraclub.org/planet/200205/green.asp>; Moberg March 28, 2002: <http://www.alternet.org/story.html?StoryID=12734>; Obach 2000).

Limiting Factors

A number of factors explain why the efforts of national labor unions and environmental organizations to work together are limited and appear to be diminishing. Besides the lack

of shared issues discussed earlier, the factors of: conflicts between labor and the environmental movement, the inability to adopt a social justice frame, the adverse political climate, the relationship to capital, the lack of acknowledging coalitional and federative arrangements, the lack of building federative arrangements, and the general difficulties of trying to work together limit cooperation between national labor unions and national environmental organizations.

Conflicts between Movements. Past conflicts between national labor unions and national environmental organizations hinder their efforts to work together. From the emergence of the new environmental period in the 1960s to today, national labor unions and national environmental organizations have experienced conflicts over various issues. The current conflicts include the issues of vehicle fuel efficiency and drilling for oil in ANWR. From the framing perspective, these conflicts may make it difficult for frame alignment to occur between the two movements, because organizations are sending mixed signals in regards to their interests to work together. From the framing perspective, this represents a difficulty in aligning the frames of the organizations in a way that allows them to work together because it creates uncertainty on the value of the claims by other organizations to support their organizational goals.

Adoption of a Social Justice Frame. National labor unions and environmental organizations often find it difficult to adopt a social justice frame that allows them to work together. While labor unions are concerned with economic justice (Acuff 2000) and environmental organizations focus on environmental justice Capek (1993), both can be

encompassed into a wider social justice frame that links these organizations and allows them to work together (Acuff 2000; Dreiling 1997, 1998, 2001). The necessary frame alignment to adopt a social justice frame that links economic and environmental justice may be difficult for many of these organizations to accomplish because of the resources it would require. From a resource mobilization perspective, labor unions that operate from a business unionism frame and environmental organizations that operate from a preservation/conservation frame may not have the resources available to support frame expansion to encompass the social issues that connect the labor and environmental movement (Dreiling 1997, 1998, 2001). The relationships of national labor unions and environmental organizations to capital/business may also make it difficult to align their frames with each other as they may choose to support frames that more closely align them with the interests of capital/business. Supporting capital/business is discussed later in this section.

Adverse Political Climate. It is the role of the state to address the social issues/problems presented by national labor unions and environmental organizations (Buechler 2000, Buttell and Larson 1980, Cable and Cable 1995; Gamson 1990, Jenkins 1994; O'Connor 1973). However, the state is closely intertwined with the interests of capital/business and the state “tends to favor the interests (accumulation) of the corporate class when they are in conflict with those of other groups” (like labor unions and environmental groups) (Cable and Cable 1995:46). The current federal administration led by President Bush is perceived as being particularly hostile to the demands of national labor unions and environmental organizations and hinders their ability to work together. As they fight to

protect the rights they won in the past, they do not have the resources to cooperate with each other on new issues. This refutes the claim that organizations seek alliances when confronted with threats Buttel et al (1984) Siegmann (1985) Staggenborg (1986) and Van Dyke (2003). Alliances occur when organizations believe there is a chance for success on some aspect of an issue (Zald and McCarthy 1980).

This finding is best explained by resource mobilization. Because national labor unions and environmental organizations are working and spending resources to protect the rights they won in the past, they do not have the extra resources to promote further cooperation between the labor and environmental movement unless the activity or issue furthers the immediate goals of each organization participating.

The political process model/political opportunity perspective enhances our understanding of the relationship between national labor unions and environmental organizations by suggesting that the state sees a political opportunity to deny the claims of national labor unions and environmental organizations, thus changing the current power relationships to further their advantage. The political process model/political opportunity perspective focuses on the power relationships that exist between actors. While it is not often expressed in this way, it is important to recognize that the agents of the state (present Bush Administration) should be viewed as a social actor that may be in conflict with the goals of national labor unions and/or national environmental organizations. The power of the agents of the state to refuse any new demands by movements to activate its legitimation function and threaten past achievements is an important factor to consider.

Relationship to Capital/Business. Overall, the relationship labor unions and environmental organizations share with capital/business is varied. However, Brulle (2000), Dowie (1995) and Tokar (1997) find that the agendas of many environmental organizations are being influenced by capital contributions either directly or through foundation funding. Capital funding can lead to a position on the board of directors of some environmental organizations, allowing for even more control over the issues they address, affecting their partnership with other organizations. The efforts of capital to control the agendas of national environmental organizations can be viewed as a form of sponsorship (Shefner 1999; Cobb et al. n.d.). Capital's control of resources may greatly influence the decisions of some national environmental organizations to distance themselves from national labor unions.

From a resource mobilization perspective, capital with its greater resource of monetary funds, gains control over or sponsorship of national environmental organizations through the funding process and uses this control to constrain the goals of the organization, which may reduce their ability to work with national labor unions. From a political process model/political opportunity perspective, capital is using the political opportunity available due to environmental organizations' needs for funds to try and change the power relationships that exist to better favor their interests.

The conflicts between national labor unions and national environmental organizations often result from the promotion of a "jobs versus the environment" argument by capital that claims environmental regulations will reduce the number of available jobs. Even though the "jobs versus the environment" argument rarely holds true empirically, it does affect cooperation between national labor unions and national environmental

organizations. Environmental organizations that want to work with labor unions recognize that the “jobs versus the environment” argument is something they will have to overcome.

From the resource mobilization perspective, capital uses their control over the jobs of workers to try to force them to accept the “jobs versus the environment” argument (Kazis and Grossman 1991; Cable and Cable 1995). From the political process/political opportunity perspective, capital/business wants to maintain the power relationship that presently exists which benefits their position. It is in the best interest of capital/business to block attempts of the labor and environmental movement to work together as it could diminish their power and provide the two movements with greater political opportunities (Rose 2000). From the framing perspective, capital/business often use the “jobs versus the environment” argument to frame layoffs as a way to deflect responsibility for factory closures or job reductions as resulting from globalization, automation, or financial decisions not to renovate aging factories (Goodstein 1999; Kazis and Grossman 1991).

The reason globalization is an important shared issue for national labor unions and national environmental organizations is because it mediates the “jobs versus the environment” argument. With globalization, capital/business attacks both workers’ rights and environmental protection at the same time and have a more difficult time shifting blame between them. The organizations in the labor and environmental movements that address globalization are using the same language or critique, making it easier for them to work together on this issue (Buttel and Gould 2004; Gould et al. 2004).

Lack of Acknowledging Coalitional and Federative Arrangements. To circumvent the coalition contradiction (Obach 2000), most national labor unions and environmental organizations do not discuss their coalition or federative arrangements on their web sites. This limits the criticism the organization might receive from members who are critical of national labor unions and environmental organizations working together. However, it also marginalizes the importance and power of coalitional and federative arrangements.

To avoid the coalition contradiction (Obach 2000), national labor unions and national environmental organizations are reluctant to acknowledge their partners when they work together. The AFL-CIO appears to be an exception due to its unique position as a unitary arrangement or association organization in the labor movement. While not acknowledging coalitional and federative arrangements between national labor unions and environmental organizations mediates the coalition contradiction, it also marginalizes the importance of these activities as an organizational priority. The coalition contradiction is based on the idea of resource mobilization. As organizations try to manage resources that are needed for organizational survival (differentiation from other organizations) it conflicts with gaining the resources needed to achieve organizational goals (power through cooperation). This creates a dilemma as how to obtain the needed resources.

Lack of Federative Arrangements. Associated with the coalition contradiction is the lack of federative arrangements in which national labor unions and environmental organizations can participate. Maintaining federative organizations can reduce the resources of working together because the organizations do not have to start over for

every shared issue or event. Federative arrangements also force shared issues to remain a high priority for organizations participating in the process. The lack of federative arrangements reduces the ability of national labor unions and environmental organizations to work together. Without federative arrangements, cooperation between the two movements is temporary and often loses momentum. From the resource mobilization perspective, failing to maintain federative arrangements is a waste of resources. When organizations want to work together they have to continually recreate the decision making process. Permanent federative organizations reduce the waste of resources by organizations and also make organizations more efficient by dividing the work. However, federative arrangements face general organizational difficulties to working together that are discussed next.

General Organizational Difficulties of Working Together. National labor unions and environmental organizations that work together find that they must deal with the problems of goal alignment and overcoming disagreements when working together. This is a problem because it is time consuming work to build and maintain coalitional and federative arrangements. Getting organizations to contribute the time of staff to work in alliances is very difficult (Bell and Delaney 2001; Staggenborg 1986). The disadvantages of national labor unions and environmental organizations working together are best explained by resource mobilization. The cost of working together for national labor unions and environmental organizations is to provide staff time for the activity. National labor unions and environmental organizations identify staff time as a valuable and limited

resource. If the coalition or federative arrangement fails, then the resource of staff time that could have been allocated to other activities is lost.

Why Try to Work Together?

With all these barriers to working together, why would some national labor unions and environmental organization try to work together? The reason is because some of the organizations in each movement recognize the great rewards that can be reaped if they learn how to integrate their agendas and work more closely together. The drive for national labor unions and environmental organizations to work together can be explained by both resource mobilization and the political process/political opportunity perspective. From the resource mobilization perspective working together provides organizations with greater political power and better use of resources because the cost of activities can be shared among organizations. From the political process/political opportunity perspective, working with other organizations allows for more political opportunities to change the power relationships in society since they have greater power than if acting alone to take advantage of the slightest disruption in the status quo.

Globalization as a Vital Factor

Twelve of the 21 coalitional arrangements and 3 of the 6 federative arrangements are related to the issue of global trade/globalization. The majority of the efforts of national labor unions and national environmental organizations to work together are related to global trade/globalization, supporting the hypothesis that labor has been expelled from the growth coalition it shared with government and capital and is now looking for new

partners as advocated by this study and Rose (2000). The changes in global trade/globalization are a “pull factor” that leads some national labor unions and national environmental organizations concerned about global trade/globalization to recognize their shared concerns and work together.

The evidence suggests that national labor unions and environmental organizations work together closely on this issue because they have experienced the greatest success in aligning their frames on the issue of global trade/globalization and their opposition to its current structure. Buttel and Gould explain that globalization has been a unifying effect for the various movements (like the labor and environmental movement) who deal with the issue of globalization because it provides a “common critique of neo-liberal economic policies, the anti-democratic nature of international financial institutions (the World Trade Organization, International Monetary Fund, and World Bank in particular) and the increasing power of transnational capital” (2004:39).

Globalization is a tool used by business to block the demands of national labor unions and environmental organizations in the U.S. by saying that any concessions asked of business will force them to relocate overseas. Globalization is an important and perhaps unique cooperative issue for national labor unions and national environmental organizations because it transcends the “jobs versus the environment” argument promoted by capital. When capital demands that both worker and environmental concessions be accepted as a result of globalization, it is unable to separate the labor and environmental movements by blaming the labor problems on environmental regulations.

Prioritizing Factors

While all the factors that limit the ability of national labor unions and national environmental organizations are important, five appear to greatly explain both the difficulties for national labor unions and environmental organizations to participate in cooperative activity and also provide hope that cooperative activity can be increased. Political adversity, the “jobs versus the environment” argument, a lack of shared issues and the difficulty of some organizations to adopt a social justice frame decreases cooperative activity. Globalization, an issue and force affecting both movements, acts as a counterbalance that is having a positive effect on cooperative activity.

At the macro level, the current political structure creates political adversity for national labor unions and national environmental organizations. This political adversity of the current federal administration places all organizations in the two social movements in “defend” mode. As they focus on protecting core values they have very little time and resources to devote to cooperative activity between movements (Dewey 1998; Gordon 1998).

Also at the macro level the “jobs versus the environment” argument presented by capital still has great power to limit the ability of national labor unions and national environmental organizations to work together. However, globalization and the threat it presents for many national labor unions and national environmental organizations appears to mediate the “jobs versus the environment” argument and to somewhat mediate political adversity as well, because the organizations that view globalization as a key organizational issue do try to work together on this issue.

At the organizational level the lack of shared issues is the priority condition limiting cooperative activity between national labor unions and national environmental organizations. To increase the issues that national labor unions and national environmental organizations share, organizations must continue to evolve to a social justice frame that allows them to see the connections of issues across movements by bridging or extending the frames of their organizational goals. Currently globalization is the issue on which national labor unions and national environmental organizations share the greatest frame alignment and this frame alignment is occurring because organizations use the social justice model in interpreting this issue.

Contradictions to Previous Research

The findings of this research contradict 4 claims made by previous studies. Previous research has suggested that coalitions occur during times of crisis while this research suggests that coalition activity is reduced during times of crisis. Previous research has suggested that government/service unions will have higher levels of cooperation with national environmental organizations. This research suggests that industrial unions are most likely to cooperate with national environmental organizations. Many researchers have identified the danger from toxic substances as the central unifying issue between labor unions and environmental organizations. At the national level, the global trade/globalization issue appears to be the unifying issue. Previous research has also suggested the use of hyperlinks as representing an indication to cooperative activity. This project suggests that they are a poor indicator of the cooperation between national labor unions and national environmental organizations. Each claim is discussed below.

Organizations do not Cooperate When they Confront a Threat/Crisis. The hostility of the current Republican administration of the federal government toward labor and environmental issues reduces the ability of national labor unions and national environmental organizations to work together. Because national labor unions and environmental organizations are working and spending resources to protect the rights they won in the past, they do not have the extra resources to promote further cooperation between the labor and environmental movement unless the activity or issue furthers the immediate goals of each organization participating.

Assessing the relationship between labor unions and environmental organizations at the state level, Obach (2000, 2002) finds that Republican control of state government is associated with poorer labor-environmental relations. Obach explains that “one interpretation of this outcome is that in the face of adversity, rather than uniting against their Republican adversaries, these movements actors seek to secure their own goals and abandon any efforts to work with others to make broader gains” (Obach 2002:94). The finding of this study supports this claim at the national level as well.

The findings of this research and Obach’s (2000; 2002) research refute previous research claims that suggest organizations try to work together in times of crisis (Buttel et al. 1984; Siegmann 1985, Staggenborg 1986; Van Dyke 2003). The findings of this project suggest that the emergence of political threats reduces coalition activity as organizations focus their resources on protecting past achievements.

I am more reserved about the conclusion of this issue than Obach (2000; 2002). Dowie (1995) and Rose (2000) suggest that while the Republican Party does not support labor

and environmental issues, the Democratic Party is only slightly more supportive. In essence, neither party may support labor and environmental issues. For national labor unions and national environmental organizations to have greater support for their issues they must become stronger politically.

Service Unions do not have Higher Levels of Cooperation with National Environmental Organizations. Burton explains that “service and government employee unions have brought environmental issues greater respectability within the labor movement” (1986:293). This suggests that government/service unions are more likely to work with national environmental organizations. However, the evidence from this study suggests that industrial unions work more closely with national environmental organizations than service unions. This finding continues to support a claim made by Siegmann that “during the 1970s, industrial unions were more supportive of proenvironmental policies than service unions” (1986:324). It is hypothesized that the reason industrial unions are more likely to partner with environmental organizations is because they experience more environmental dangers in the workplace and their members are presently more affected by globalization than government/service unions.

Human Exposure to Toxic Chemicals is not the Central Connecting Issue at the National Level. When examining the relationship between labor unions and environmental organizations at the state level, Obach found that the most common agreement between the two movements is the issue of toxic substances and that global trade/globalization is also a commonly cited area of cooperation (2002:91). Other

researchers also view health and safety issues as the central issue of mutual concern for members of the labor and the environmental movement (Dewey 1998; Gordon 1998; Siegmann 1986; Miller 1980; Rose 2000). However, the data from this project indicates that at the national level, global trade/globalization is the central issue linking the efforts of national labor unions and national environmental organizations to work together. Human exposure to toxic chemicals is still a connecting issue between national labor unions and national environmental organizations but the issue of global trade/globalization clearly dominates cooperative activity.

Hyperlinks or Web Links are not a Good Indicator of Cooperation. Burris et al.

(2000) explains that web links can be viewed as one of the cheapest forms of affiliation between organizations. This study found minimal direct web links between the national labor unions and national environmental organizations selected for this research, indicating that national labor unions and national environmental organizations cooperate very little in trying to reach their goals. This result appears to demonstrate that web links are not an appropriate indicator in identifying the efforts of national labor unions and environmental organizations to work together. The document analysis of the web sites and the interviews with 11 high ranking officials from the national labor unions and environmental organizations examined in this study found greater cooperation between national labor unions and national environmental organizations than identified by their web links. The inability of web links to reflect cooperation between national labor unions and national environmental organizations may be intentional to avoid getting caught in the coalition contradiction (Obach 2000). However, it could also be the result of the

newness of web sites as a presentation for organizational activities and improve in the future as organizations continue to provide more resources for maintenance of their web sites. From this study, I recommend that any researcher using hyperlinks of web sites to gauge the relationships between organizations use caution and implement other research techniques to validate their findings. Many of the web sites this study examines did not present the connections to other organizations that is the goal of this research to discover. The interviews with high ranking officials, previous research findings and various internet searches are vital in finding many of the connections between national labor unions and national environmental organizations.

QUESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study is not the culmination of a research project but the beginning of one. To continue to enhance our understanding of the efforts of national labor unions and environmental organizations to work together, future research needs to be conducted that maps the cooperative efforts of more organizations that make up the labor movement, environmental movement, and other social movements.

While this project examines national labor unions and national environmental organizations that are representative of the various forms of organizations in each movement, further research needs to be conducted that includes more national labor unions and environmental organizations. This will allow for the possible discovery of different relationships between national labor unions and national environmental organizations if they exist and also expand our mapping of the social connections between the labor and environmental movements at the national level. On an even larger

scale, future research needs to be carried out that tries to discover all of the connections (if any) between the organizations that make up all the various social movements in the United States. These movements include not just the labor and environmental movement, but the women's rights movement, human rights moment, family farm movement, gay and lesbian movement, the health movement, civil rights movement and the peace movement to name but a few. Identifying the connections between social movements may lead us to think of the structure of social movements in a completely new way and help social movement organizations connect to work together for social change.

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APPENDIX I

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS (WEB SITE) CODE SHEET

Document Analysis (Web Site) Code Sheet

Subject Name:

1. What do they identify as issues of organizational concern?

(theme)

1a (Web site Home Page Concerns)

1b Other concerns addressed by organization.

2. Is globalization considered an important issue? (globalization, global, international, WTO, GATT, and NAFTA word search - then sentence/paragraph check for theme)

3. Is a social justice framework used to justify policy? (social justice, justice, fair and fairness word search - then sentence/paragraph check for theme)

4. Is there any indication of collaboration with other organizations? (list all) (theme)

5. What is the level of collaboration with other organizations? (joint statements, share information, share financial resources, coordinate political actions) (theme)

6. Are joint efforts presented as successful? (theme)

7. Is there any identification of obstacles or incentives for collaboration?

(theme)

8. How are the positions of capital presented? (theme)

9. How are the positions of government presented? (theme)

10. Information about Organization's Board Members?

11. Information about Organization's Leaders?

12. Does the website share financial records?

13. Are web links available to other organizations? What types of organizations are linked?

14. Other issues of importance??

APPENDIX II
***INTERVIEW OUTLINES FOR NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS
AND LABOR UNIONS***

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

I. INFORMATION

What is your position and responsibilities in your organization?

What is the purpose of your organization?

How are decisions made in your organization (at the national level)?

Can you describe your membership base?

Number of members?

Racial diversity?

Gender diversity?

Economic standing? (Working Class, Middle Class?)

What are the major activities of your organization (at the national level)?

II. SPECIFIC RESEARCH QUESTIONS ON ACTIVITIES

What are the major issues presently facing your organization?

How does your organization decide on which issues to focus its attention?

What strategies does your organization use to address these issues?

How does your organization present issues of concern? (Social Justice)

IF PRESENT IN TERMS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE:

How does your organization define social justice?

Has the increase in globalization affected your organization?

IF YES:

How has globalization affected your organization?

How does your organization define globalization?

NAFTA?

FTAA?

III. COALITION QUESTIONS

Does your organization ever work in a coalition or partnership with other national environmental organizations?

IF YES:

Can you tell me the names of these organizations?

How do you pick which national environmental organizations with whom to work? (Criteria)

What issues do you share?

How do you work together? (Joint Statements, Share Information, Share Financial Resources, Coordinate Political Actions)

Are coalitions or partnerships usually a temporary or permanent relationship?

Would you characterize these coalition efforts as successful? Why or why not?

What are the advantages and disadvantages of working with other national environmental organizations?

What do you think the political consequences would be if national environmental organizations worked more closely together?

Do you think national environmental organizations can work more closely together to achieve their respective goals? Why or why not?

IF NO:

Why not?

What do you think the political consequences would be if national environmental organizations worked more closely together?

Do you think national environmental organizations can work more closely together to achieve their respective goals? Why or why not?

Does your organization ever work in a coalition or partnership with national labor unions?

IF YES:

Can you tell me the names of these organizations?

How do you pick which national labor unions with whom to work?

What issues do you share?

How do you work together? (Joint Statements, Share Information, Share Financial Resources, Coordinate Political Actions)

Is the coalition or partnership a temporary or permanent relationship?

Would you characterize these coalition efforts as successful? Why or why not?

What are the advantages and disadvantages of working with national labor unions?

What do you think the political consequences would be if national environmental organizations worked more closely with national labor unions?

Do you think national environmental organizations and national labor unions can work more closely together to achieve their respective goals? Why or why not?

IFeNO:

Why not?

What do you think the political consequences would be if national environmental organizations worked more closely with national labor unions?

Do you think national environmental organizations and national labor unions can work more closely together to achieve their respective goals? Why or why not?

Does your organization participate in coalitions or partnerships with other types of national organizations? (examples: religious, women's rights, human rights, etc.)

IF YES:

Can you tell me the names of these organizations?

What is the focus of these organizations? (religious, women's rights, etc.)

How do you pick coalition partners?

What issues do you share?

How do you work together? (Joint Statements, Share Information, Share Financial Resources, Coordinate Political Actions)

Is the coalition a temporary or permanent relationship?

Would you characterize these coalition efforts as successful? Why or why not?

What are the advantages and disadvantages of working with these national organizations?

What do you think the political consequences would be if national environmental organizations worked more closely with these organizations?

Do you think national environmental organizations and these national organizations can work more closely together to achieve their respective goals? Why or why not?

IF NO:

Why not?

What do you think the political consequences would be if national environmental organizations worked more closely with these organizations?

Do you think national environmental organizations and these national organizations can work more closely together to achieve their respective goals? Why or why not?

IV. RELATIONSHIP TO CAPITAL

What is your organization's relationship to business?

What is the likelihood that the business community will be resistant to the goals of your organization?

IF HIGH:

How does business respond to the efforts of your organization?

How does your organization respond to attempts by business to resist your goals?

Does the practice of business saying an environmental demand will cost jobs exist?

IF YES:

How often does this practice occur?

V. RELATIONSHIP TO FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

What is your organization's relationship to the federal government?

What is the likelihood that the federal government will be resistant to the goals of your organization?

IF HIGH:

How does the federal government respond to the efforts of your organization?

How does your organization respond to attempts by the federal government to resist your goals?

VI. CONCLUSION

As you can tell from the questions that I have asked you, I am interested in your organization's activities as they relate to globalization, social justice, and coalitions/partnerships with national labor unions. Is there anything about these issues that I did not ask you about that you think I need to know?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR NATIONAL LABOR UNIONS

I. INFORMATION

What is your position and responsibilities in your organization?

What is the purpose of your organization?

How are decisions made in your organization (at the national level)?

Can you describe your membership base?

Number of members?

Racial Diversity?

Gender Diversity?

Economic standing? (Working Class, Middle Class?)

What are the major activities of your organization (at the national level)?

II. SPECIFIC RESEARCH QUESTIONS ON ACTIVITIES

What are the major issues presently facing your organization?

How does your organization decide on which issues to focus its attention?

What strategies does your organization use to address these issues?

How does your organization present issues of concern? (Social Justice)

IF PRESENT IN TERMS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE:

How does your organization define social justice?

Has the increase in globalization affected your organization?

IF YES:

How has globalization affected your organization?

How does your organization define globalization?

NAFTA?

FTAA?

III. COALITION QUESTIONS

Does your organization ever work in a coalition or partnership with other national labor unions?

IF YES:

Can you tell me the names of these organizations?

How do you pick which national labor unions with whom to work?
(Criteria)

What issues do you share?

How do you work together? (Joint Statements, Share Information, Share Financial Resources, Coordinate Political Actions)

Are coalitions or partnerships usually a temporary or permanent relationship?

Would you characterize these coalition efforts as successful? Why or why not?

What are the advantages and disadvantages of working with other national labor unions?

What do you think the political consequences would be if national labor unions worked more closely together?

Do you think national labor unions can work more closely together to achieve their respective goals? Why or why not?

IF NO:

Why not?

What do you think the political consequences would be if national labor unions worked more closely together?

Do you think national labor unions can work more closely together to achieve their respective goals? Why or why not?

Does your organization ever work in a coalition or partnership with national environmental organizations?

IF YES:

Can you tell me the names of these organizations?

How do you pick which national environmental organizations with whom to work?

What issues do you share?

How do you work together? (Joint Statements, Share Information, Share Financial Resources, Coordinate Political Actions)

Is the coalition or partnership a temporary or permanent relationship?

Would you characterize these coalition efforts as successful? Why or why not?

What are the advantages and disadvantages of working with national environmental organizations?

What do you think the political consequences would be if national labor unions worked more closely with national environmental organizations?

Do you think national labor unions and national environmental organizations can work more closely together to achieve their respective goals? Why or why not?

IF NO:

Why not?

What do you think the political consequences would be if national labor unions worked more closely with national environmental organizations?

Do you think national labor unions and national environmental organizations can work more closely together to achieve their respective goals? Why or why not?

Does your organization participate in coalitions or partnerships with other types of national organizations? (examples: religious, women's rights, human rights, etc.)

IF YES:

Can you tell me the names of these organizations?

What is the focus of these organizations? (religious, women's rights, etc.)

How do you pick coalition partners?

What issues do you share?

How do you work together? (Joint Statements, Share Information, Share Financial Resources, Coordinate Political Actions)

Is the coalition a temporary or permanent relationship?

Would you characterize these coalition efforts as successful? Why or why not?

What are the advantages and disadvantages of working with these national organizations?

What do you think the political consequences would be if national labor unions worked more closely with these organizations?

Do you think national labor unions and these national organizations can work more closely together to achieve their respective goals? Why or why not?

IF NO:

Why not?

What do you think the political consequences would be if national labor unions worked more closely with these organizations?

Do you think national labor unions and these national organizations can work more closely together to achieve their respective goals? Why or why not?

IV. RELATIONSHIP TO BUSINESS

What is your organization's relationship to business?

What is the likelihood that the business community will be resistant to the goals of your organization?

IF HIGH:

How does business respond to the efforts of your organization?

How does your organization respond to attempts by business to resist your goals?

Does the practice of business saying a union demand will cost jobs exist?

IF YES:

How often does this practice occur?

V. RELATIONSHIP TO FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

What is your organization's relationship to the federal government?

What is the likelihood that the federal government will be resistant to the goals of your organization?

IF HIGH:

How does the federal government respond to the efforts of your organization?

How does your organization respond to attempts by the federal government to resist your goals?

VI. CONCLUSION

As you can tell from the questions that I have asked you, I am interested in your organization's activities as they relate to globalization, social justice, and coalitions/partnerships with national environmental organizations. Is there anything about these issues that I did not ask you about that you think I need to know?

APPENDIX III
PROFILES AND ISSUES

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Issues and Profile Summary¹

Membership: 1.3 Million Members

Mission Statement/Purpose: "We want to introduce you to the best union in America: AFSCME, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. Why is AFSCME the best? Because AFSCME's over 1.3 million members - public service and health care workers - won't settle for anything less. Members have built the most active and powerful union in the Labor movement, and for one single purpose: to make sure that each and every member of AFSCME gets a fair deal from the boss and from the politicians. AFSCME has the most aggressive staff and the most effective programs in the Labor movement today: outstanding resources for organizing, political action, and representing members in the workplace. People in the workplace like what they see. In the biggest organizing drives of the past half century, workers have chosen AFSCME to represent them, and more than 100 independent associations have voted to affiliate. Today AFSCME continues to win nearly 90 percent of its representation elections. What this all adds up to is job protection and good contracts - and that's what a union is all about." (American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees n.d.: <http://www.afscme.org/about/index.html>)

National Issues

Oppose Tax Cut/Lack of Federal Funding of Programs	Use of Pension Funds for Corporate Responsibility	Improve Smallpox Vaccination Plan
Oppose NAFTA/FTAA	Promote Voting Among Members	Provide Training Programs
Oppose Privatization of Public Services	Oppose Corporate Welfare	Organizing
Political Action	Oppose Bush Administration Efforts to Dismantle Civil Service, Reduction in Pay Parity, and Hike in Federal Employee Health Premiums	Issue OSHA Tuberculosis Standards
Improve Health Care for Workers and Patients	Increase Transportation Funding (Maintain Balance Between Highway and Transit Program Funding)	Support Fiscal Relief for States and Local Governments
Oppose Cuts in Education Programs		Protect Social Security and Medicare (Includes Prescription Pay Plan)
Protect Social Services and Employment Security Agencies (TANF, Head Start, Food Stamps, Etc.)		Promote Women's Rights

¹ = Information for this table was compiled from the AFSCME web site.

Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Issues and Profile Summary¹

Membership: 265,000 Members

Mission Statement/Purpose: HERE is “aggressive in servicing members, organizing the unorganized, and engaging in political activity...HEREs goal in providing services to members is not simply to improve their economic welfare, but to win respect and dignity on the job and workplace democracy....A priority for the Union is organizing new employees in the hospitality and food services industries who are seeking fair treatment, respect and improved working conditions...The Union also works through the legislative process at a national, state and local level to protect the interests of its members and nonunion workers.” (Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees n.d.: <http://www.hereunion.org/about/default.asp>)

National Issues

Organizing	Collective bargaining	Health care
Decent wages	Immigration reform	Voice in the workplace
Leverage pension fund money to support union goals	Better working conditions	Oppose NAFTA/FTAA

1 = Information for this table was compiled from the HERE web site and from a personal interview with Ron Richardson, the executive vice president of HERE.

**Paper, Allied-Industrial, Chemical and Energy Workers International Union
(PACE) Issues and Profile Summary¹**

Membership: 320,000 Members (United States and Canada)

Mission Statement/Purpose: "Our purpose is to organize workers to stand up for their rights, both in the workplace and in the political arena. We work to help our members raise their wages, improve their working conditions and protect their rights by negotiating and enforcing fair collective bargaining agreements. We stand for the rights and fair treatment of every worker and everyone who depends on their earnings. We stand for jobs, equality, freedom of association, health care as a right and the right of all workers to organize and bargain collectively. We believe every one of our members, and every other citizen, has a right to a safe and healthy workplace and a safe and clean community."
(Paper, Allied-Industrial, Chemical and Energy Workers International Union n.d.: <http://www.paceunion.org/contents.htm>)

National Issues

Organizing	Help with Collective Bargaining	Political Action
Support Fair Trade	Improve Health Care	Address Crisis in Manufacturing/Chronic Job Loss in Manufacturing (Associated with Globalization)
Oppose NAFTA/FTAA	Improve Wages	OSHA, EPA, and Industry Must Address Gaps in Reactive Chemical Standards
Oppose Corporate Owned Life Insurance	Oppose Sweatshops	Support Increase in Minimum Wage
Support Generic Prescription Drug Plan	Oppose Privatization of Social Security	
Support Campaign Finance Reform		

¹= Information for this table was compiled from the PACE web site and from a personal interview with a confidential source at PACE.

Service Employees International Union Issues and Profile Summary¹

Membership: 1.5 Million Members & 120,000 Retirees

Mission Statement/Purpose: "We are nurses, doctors, health technicians, workers in local government, state employees, security officers, janitors, and building service workers. We are nursing home workers, public school workers, bus drivers, stadium workers, and people in many other jobs. We are winning better wages, health care, and safer and more secure jobs for working families in communities throughout North America. By working together, we can create better lives." (Service Employees International Union n.d.: <http://www.seiu.org/who/>)

National Issues

Organizing	Political Action	Leadership Development
Quality and Affordable Health Care	Immigration Reform	Safe and Effective Smallpox Vaccine Plan
Safe Staffing Levels of Nurses for Hospitals	End Mandatory Overtime for Nurses	Enforcement of Safer Needle Laws
Quality Public Services	Fix America's Nursing Homes	Quality Education System
Promote an Elderly Prescription Drug Plan	Improve Wages and Training of Security Officers	Support Head Start
Protect Overtime Pay	Economic Security/Living Wages	Address Inequality in Public Service Employees Retirement Benefits
Oppose NAFTA/FTAA		Oppose ANWR

¹= Information for this table was compiled from the Service Employees International Union web site and from a personal interview with Tom Woodruff, the executive vice president of SEIU.

International Brotherhood of Teamsters Issues and Profile Summary

Membership: 1.4 Million Members (7% in Canada, Rest in United States)

Mission Statement/Purpose: “To make life better for Teamsters members and their families-and for all working families-the Teamsters organize the unorganized, make workers’ voices heard in the corridors of power, negotiate contract that make the American dream a reality for millions, protect workers’ health and safety, and fight to keep jobs in North America. Today’s Teamsters are a community of workers, fueled by a contagious spirit that is equal part compassion, commitment, creativity, solidarity, and strength. Collectively, we are dedicated to the ultimate tenet of the trade union movement-the commitment to enhance the lives of our members all across North America...and to win justice for working families.” (International Brotherhood of Teamsters n.d.: <http://www.teamster.org/about/about.htm>)

National Issues

Organizing	Collective bargaining	Register voters
Running a clean union	FAA using criminal background checks to fire current employees	Teamsters disaster relief fund
Oppose cross border trucking	NTSB give right to grant immunity to employees to cooperate in aircraft accidents	National strike against Overnite Transportation
Support worker health and safety programs	Have OSHA, not FAA responsible for airline occupational safety and health	Fight against privatization and contracting out
Pension Fund	Against the domination of Wal-Mart	Support oil drilling Artic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR)
Support unemployment and health care benefits for workers	Oppose fast track	Support expansion of Trade Adjustment Assistance (TAA)
Oppose limitations on spending union money for political action	Support prescription drug coverage	Support immigrant worker rights
Support worker rights legislation (for minimum wage increase, against overtime pay reduction, for expansion of Family and Medical Leave Act Coverage	Support Social Security and Medicare	Support responsible pension investment to influence corporate behavior
		Critical of WTO

= Information for this table was compiled from the Teamsters’ web site.

United Farm Workers of America Issues and Profile Summary¹

Membership: 27,000 Members

Mission Statement/Purpose: “The United Farm Workers of America is the first and to my knowledge the only really successful farm workers union in American history. Its purpose is to improve the lives of farm workers through collective bargaining. Farm workers were excluded from the Wagner Act. The UFW is working to win for farm workers what other American workers won decades ago.” (Author Interview with UFW Communications Director Marc Grossman 2003)

National Issues

Organizing	New legalization program for undocumented immigrant workers.	Promote purchase of products harvested by UFW employee.
E-Mail Pizza Hut to help Pictsweet mushroom workers get a UFW contract.	Worker Exposure to Pesticides	Support farm worker legalization
Eliminate Child Labor	Low pay for farm workers	Lack of benefits
Oppose Iraq War	Poor housing conditions	Oppose NAFTA/FTAA
Poor working conditions		

¹ = Information for this table was compiled from United Farm Workers of America web site and from a personal interview with Marc Grossman Director of Communications for the United Farm Workers of America.

United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Issues and Profile Summary¹

Membership: 1.2 Million Working and Retired Members (United States and Canada)

Mission Statement/Purpose: "The USWA is 1.2 million working and retired members throughout the United States and Canada, working together to improve jobs; to build a better future for our families; and to promote fairness, justice and equality both on the job and in our societies. Our union is a resource, an organization that helps us achieve those goals, a network made up of hundreds of thousands of workers just like you, united to face the challenge of an ever-changing workplace in a constantly changing world. Our members work in just about every sector of the North American economy, from metals and mining and manufacturing, to health care and various services in both the public and private sectors. Together, we make our union one of the most diverse in the world."

(United Steelworkers of America n.d:

<http://www.uswa.org/uswa/program/content/301.php>)

National Issues

Organizing	Political Action	Support 1990 USWA Task Force Report "Our Children's World" Presents
American Steel Crisis (Bankruptcies of U. S. Companies and its Impact on Workers and Retirees)	Collective Bargaining	Environmental Issues of Air Pollution, Water Pollution, Toxic Chemicals, Acid Precipitation, Global Warming, Deforestation, Ozone Depletion, The Oceans, and Population
Promote Fair Trade	Critical of Practices by WTO and IMF	
Oppose NAFTA/FTAA	Improve/Protect Health Care	
Create Global Solidarity with Other International Labor Unions	Challenge Corporate Abuses	Protect the U. S. Titanium Industry
Protect Retirement Benefits	Oppose Privatization of Social Security/Medicare	Oppose the Repeal of the Ergonomics Standard
Support Enforcement of Civil Rights in the Workplace	Support Enforcement of Women's Rights in the Workplace	Support Immigrant Workers
Stop Attack on Overtime	Decline in Manufacturing and Wage Gap	Support Capital Strategies
		Increase Jobs
		Support Elder Care and Child Care

¹= Information for this table was compiled from United Steelworkers of America web site and from a personal interview with Leo W. Gerard, the International President of United Steelworkers of America.

Audubon Issues and Profile Summary¹

Membership: 600,000 Members

Mission Statement/Purpose: "Audubon is dedicated to protecting birds and other wildlife and the habitat that supports them. Our national network of community-based Audubon nature centers and chapters, environmental education programs, and advocacy on behalf of areas sustaining important bird populations engage millions people of all ages and backgrounds in positive conservation experiences." (Audubon n.d.: <http://www.audubon.org/nas/>)

National Issues

Protect Land	Education Programs about Nature	Base all Decisions on Good Science
Political Action	Establish Nature Centers	Protect Birds and Wildlife
Informing People about the West Nile Virus and its Relationship to Birds	Nature Odyssey Program (EcoTourism)	Stop the Slaughter of Horseshoe Crab
Audubon's WatchList (Prioritize Bird Species with Greatest Need)	Annual Great Backyard Bird Count	Oppose Arctic Drilling
Critical of 2004 Federal Budget to Protect Birds and Wildlife	Opposes Water Projects (Devil's Lake in North Dakota and Yazoo Pumps in Mississippi)	Expand Hunting Season for Snow Geese
Important Bird Areas Program (w/ BirdLife International)	North American Bird Conservation Initiative	Establish Audubon Camps
Strengthen Clean Water Act	Project Puffin	Latin American and Caribbean Program to Promote Conservation Efforts There
Support International Family Planning to Protect Wildlife Habitat from Destruction	Protect Our Great National Heritage (Florida's Everglades, San Francisco Bay, Mississippi River and Delta and Long Island Sound)	Audubon at Home Program
		Protect and Manage Fishing Populations

¹= Information for this table was compiled from the Audubon web site and from a personal interview with John Bianchi, the Director of Communications for Audubon.

Center for Health, Environment and Justice Issues and Profile Summary¹

Membership: 25,000 Contacts in Database. (9,000 of contacts are groups)

Mission Statement/Purpose: "CHEJ is the only national environmental organization founded and led by grassroots leaders. After winning the federal relocation of residents victimized by toxic waste at Love Canal, Lois Gibbs and other local activists were inundated with calls from people around the country who were facing similar threats and wanted help. CHEJ was founded in 1981 to address this need. CHEJ believes in environmental justice, the principle that people have the right to a clean and healthy environment regardless of their race or economic standing. Our experience has shown that the most effective way to win environmental justice is from the bottom up through community organizing and empowerment. When local citizens come together and take an organized, unified stand, they can hold industry and government accountable and work towards a healthy, environmentally sustainable future. This is democracy at its most vital, and CHEJ's mission is to give people the tools they need to bring it about. We carry out this mission by providing people with technical information and the training to use this information to organize to fight for their rights. Lois' experiences with Love Canal inspired her to found in 1981 what was then called the Citizens Clearinghouse for Hazardous Waste (CCHW). Today, as the Center for Health Environment and Justice, organizing and community empowerment continue to be at the core of the organization's mission." (Center for Health, Environment and Justice n.d.: <http://www.chej.org/about.html>)

National Issues

Strong Focus on State and Local Issues	Organize Communities	Science Program
Promotion of the precautionary principle	Fight Exposure to Toxic Chemicals	Community Research/Information Assessment
Opposed NAFTA/FTAA	Address Chemical and Other Environmental Hazards in Schools	Alliance for Safe Alternatives Campaign
Environmental Health Alliance	Environmental Health	Stop Dioxin Exposure Campaign
Health Care Without Harm Partner	Childproofing Our Community	

¹= Information for this table was compiled from the Center for Health, Environment and Justice (CHEJ) web site and from a personal interview with Lois Gibbs, the Executive Director of CHEJ.

Environmental Defense Issues and Profile Summary¹

Membership: 300,000 Members

Mission Statement/Purpose: "Environmental Defense is a leading national nonprofit organization representing more than 300,000 members. Since 1967, we have linked science, economics and law to create innovative, equitable and cost-effective solutions to society's most urgent environmental problems. Environmental Defense is dedicated to protecting the environmental rights of all people, including future generations. Among these rights are access to clean air and water, healthy and nourishing food, and a flourishing ecosystem. Guided by science, Environmental Defense evaluates environmental problems and works to create and advocate solutions that win lasting political, economic and social support because they are nonpartisan, cost-efficient and fair. Environmental Defense believes that a sustainable environment will require economic and social systems that are equitable and just. We affirm our commitment to the environmental rights of the poor and people of color. As an American organization, Environmental Defense will always pay special attention to American environmental problems and to America's role in both causing *and* solving global environmental problems." (Environmental Defense n.d.: <http://www.environmentaldefense.org/aboutus.cfm?subnav=whoweare>)

National Issues

Air Pollution Controls at Reconstruction of New York World Trade Center Site	Oppose Arctic Drilling	Stop the Waste of Catalog Mailings Demand They Recycle
Concern for Air Quality	Support Improved Fuel Efficiency Standards	Support Pay as You Drive Auto Insurance
Work on Climate Change Issues	Safe Harbor Conservation Program	Support Marine Protected Areas(Protect Against Over Fishing)
Work to Reduce Haze in National Parks	Fought to Double Conservation Spending in New Farm Bill	End the Overuse of Antibiotics in Livestock
Reform the Army Corps of Engineers	Safe Disposal of Mercury	Work with Federal Express on Hybrid Delivery Truck
	Oppose Tax Write Off for Gas Guzzlers	

¹= Information for this table was compiled from the Environmental Defense web site.

Environmental Defense Issues and Profile Summary¹
Continued

National Issues

Ecosystem Restoration Program for Key Ecosystems and Species	Work with Business to Find Solutions to Environmental Problems (Environmental Alliance Program)	Protect from Toxic Chemicals Oppose Genetically Engineered Foodstuffs
Address Environmental Issues of Urban Areas	Fix China's Three Gorges Dam Project	Agricultural Conservation Promote Green Design of Products
Address Energy Issues Make Export Credit Agencies Adhere to Environmental Rules	Protect Forests and Forest Peoples	Oppose Snowmobiles in National Parks
Oppose Fast Track Authority	World Bank and IMF Should Support Not Reduce Environmental Protections	

¹= Information for this table was compiled from the Environmental Defense web site.

Friends of the Earth Issues and Profile Summary¹

Membership: 25,000 to 30,000 (In the United States)

Mission Statement/Purpose: Friends of the Earth is the U. S. voice of an influential, international network of grassroots groups in 70 Countries. Founded in San Francisco in 1969 by David Brower, Friends of the Earth has for decades been at the forefront of high-profile efforts to create a more healthy, just world. Our members were founders of what is now the world's largest federation of democratically elected environmental groups, Friends of the Earth International." (Friends of the Earth n.d.: <http://www.foe.org/about/intro.html>)

National Issues

Policy/Political Action Focus	Address Trade Policy with Groups like the WTO	Focus on Loan Practices of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, Export-Import Bank of the U.S. and other U. S Sponsored Lending Institutions
Concerned with Federal Energy Bill	Oppose subsidies and Tax Incentives to Environmentally Harmful Companies and Activities	Concerned with Environmental Health Issues (Toxic Pesticides)
Oppose NAFTA/FTAA	Work on Corporate Accountability Issues	Oppose ANWR
Part of International Right To Know Campaign	Participate in Citizen's Trade Campaign	Protection of National Forests
Participate in Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economies	Oppose Inter-American Bank Camisea Gas Project	Protect Fisheries
Critical of President Bush's Support of Azeri President Heydar Aliyev Who Threatens Environmental Activists in Azerbaijan	Oppose New Nuclear Plants and Concerned About Present Plants Vulnerability to Attack	Ethical Concerns of Presidential Appointments to Environmental Posts
Oppose Cloning	Enforcement of Clean Air Act	Fight Spread Genetically Engineered Food
Oppose Environmentally and Financially Wasteful Road Projects	Critical of Oil Use for Sport Utility Vehicles	Identify Federal Spending that Threatens the Environment and Public Health
Green Investors Program	Improve Corporate Responsibility in United States	Promote Environmental Tax Reform
Concerned with Climate Change		

¹ = Information for this table was compiled from the Friends of the Earth web site and from a personal interview with David Waskow, the Administrative Policy Coordinator for Friends of the Earth.

Greenpeace USA Issues and Profile Summary¹

Membership: 250,000 Members in the United States

Mission Statement/Purpose: Greenpeace is the leading independent campaigning organization that uses non-violent direct action and creative communication to expose global environmental problems and to promote solutions that are essential to a green and peaceful future. (Greenpeace USA n.d.a
<http://www.greenpeaceusa.org/inside/historytext.htm>)

National Issues

Save Ancient Forests	Stop Global Warming	Eliminate Persistent Organic Pollutants
Don't Buy Exxon Campaign	Eliminate the Threat of Genetic Engineering	End the Nuclear Age
End Our Dependence on Fossil Fuels	Protect Against Toxic Chemicals	Help Stop Mad "Dow" Disease (Dow Chemical)
Tell U.S. Senators to Act on Chemical Safety Legislation	Award Shaw's CEO the #1 Food Polluter in New England Award	Stop Killing Whales
Expedite Former Union Carbide CEO to Stand Trial for Bhopal Incident	Homeland Security Must Include Chemical Safety	Clean Energy Now
Stop Star Wars	Protect Fisheries	Martha Ain't No Environmental Steward
Eliminate PVC in Toys	Promote PVC Free Shoes	Stop Genetically Engineered Fish
Stop Coal Burning	Oppose Arctic Drilling	Save Endangered Sea Birds
Stop Illegal Mahogany Trade	Critical of WTO	Oppose Off Shore Drilling

¹= Information for this table was compiled from the Greenpeace USA web site

The Nature Conservancy Issues and Profile Summary¹

Membership: Approximately 1 Million Members

Mission Statement/Purpose: "The Nature Conservancy's mission is to preserve the plants, animals and natural communities that represent the diversity of life on Earth by protecting the lands and waters they need to survive. How can we achieve such an ambitious goal? We have developed a strategic, science-based planning process, called Conservation by Design, which helps us identify the highest-priority places - landscapes and seascapes that, if conserved, promise to ensure biodiversity over the long term. In other words, Conservation by Design allows us to achieve meaningful, lasting conservation results." The Nature Conservancy n.d.: <http://nature.org/aboutus/howwework/>)

National Issues

Land Acquisitions	Conservation Easements	Conservation Buyer Programs
Conservation done at proper scale	Saving Caves and Their Creatures	Last Great Places Exhibit
Partnering with other conservancy groups around the world	Marine Initiative to protect and manage fish	Adopt an Acre Program
Corporate Partnership Program	Ecotourism Travel	Educate people about the importance of biologically sensitive areas
Fire Initiative	Work with government agencies about conservation issues	Climate Change Initiative
Freshwater Initiative	Invasive Species Initiative	EcoEnterprise Fund (A joint initiative with the Inter-American Development Bank)
Migratory Bird Program	Rescue the Reef Program	

¹= Information for this table was compiled from the Nature Conservancy web site and from a personal interview with Mike Coda, Director of External Affairs.

Sierra Club Issues and Profile Summary¹

Membership: 700,000 Members

Mission Statement/Purpose: The Sierra Club has over 700,000 members. Our mission statement:

1. Explore, enjoy and protect the wild places of the earth.
 2. Practice and promote the responsible use of the earth's ecosystems and resources.
 3. Educate and enlist humanity to protect and restore the quality of the natural and human environment.
 4. Use all lawful means to carry out these objectives.
- (Sierra Club n.d.: <http://www.sierraclub.org/inside/>)

National Issues

Protect National Forests/Public Lands	Fight for Clean Air, Water and Reduce Toxic Chemicals	Oppose Factory Farms
Support Women's Rights	Fight Sprawl/Develop Sustainable Communities	Protect Human Rights
Address Global Climate Change/Stop Global Warming	Address Energy Issues/Oppose Bush Energy Plan	Address Global Population
Concern Over Efforts of Bush Administration to Weaken Air, Water and Toxic Waste Policies	Protect Critical Fish and Wildlife Habitat	Politically Active on Elections
Stop Negligent Antibiotic Use	Oppose Commercial Logging and Road Building of Public Lands	Support the Chemical Security Act
Protect Wetlands and Small Streams	Oppose Oil, Gas and Mining Development of Public Lands	Oppose SUV's/ Raise Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE) Standards to 45 Miles per Gallon
Reform Global Trade/Responsible Trade	Polluters Should Pay for Contamination	Support Rail Transportation Systems
Oppose NAFTA/FTAA	Support International Right to Know Campaign	Stop Overgrazing of Public Lands
Provide Environmental Education	Oppose Arctic Drilling	Oppose Off-Road Vehicles
Address Nuclear Waste Issue	Oppose Genetic Engineering	Support Environmental Justice
		Advocate Sustainable Consumption

¹= Information for this table was compiled from the Sierra Club web site.

APPENDIX IV

INDIRECT WEB LINKS TO OTHER ADVOCACY ORGANIZATIONS

INDIRECT WEB LINKS TO OTHER ADVOCACY ORGANIZATIONS

ADVOCACY ORGANIZATION LINKED TO:	LINKING ISSUE	A F S C M E	H E R E	P A C E	S E I U	T E A M S T E R S	U F W	U S W A	A U D U B O N	C H E J	E N V I R D E F	F O E	N A T U R E	G R E E N	S I E R R A
AFL-CIO (www.aflcio.org)	Trade	X	X	X			X	X				X			X
Economic Policy Institute (www.epinet.org)	Trade	X	X	X	X	X									X
Foreign Policy Focus (www.foreignpolicy- infocus.org)	Trade					X						X			
Global Exchange (www.gloalexchange.org)	Trade					X									X
Good Jobs First (www.goodjobsfirst.org)	Trade	X				X									X
Human Rights Watch (www.hrw.org)	Trade	X					X								X
Jobs with Justice (www.jwj.org)	Trade	X													X
Public Citizen (www.citizen.org)	Trade/ Health	X										X		X	X
Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network (www.tirn.org)	Trade			X											X
United for a Fair Economy (www.ufenet.org)	Trade	X													X
Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (www.uniteunion.org)	Trade	X		X	X										X

Table does not include indirect web links to universities, media outlets and government operated web sites.

INDIRECT WEB LINKS TO OTHER ADVOCACY ORGANIZATIONS

ADVOCACY ORGANIZATION LINKED TO:	LINKING ISSUE	A F S C M E	H E R E	P A C E	S E I U	T E A M S T E R S	U F W	U S W A	A U D U B O N	C H E J	E N V I R D E F	F O E	N A T U R E	G R E N	S I E R R A
Co-op America (www.coopamerica.org)	Corp. Res./ Social Investment	X													X
Corpwatch (www.corpwatch.org)	Corp. Res./ Social Investment	X		X	X		X							X	X
Heartland Labor Capital Network (www.heartlandnetwork. Org)	Corp. Res./ Social Investment		X									X			
Investor Responsibility Research Center (www.irrc.org)	Corp. Res./ Social Investment				X	X						X			
SocialFunds.com (www.socialfunds.com)	Corp. Res./ Social Investment	X										X			
American Cancer Society (www.cancer.org)	Health	X													X
Natural Resource Defense Council (www.nrdc.org)	Health					X	X				X		X	X	X
National Safety Council (www.nsc.org)	Health	X		X		X								X	
Environmental Working Group (www.ewg.org)	Health	X					X								X
Pesticide Action Network (www.panna.org)	Health	X					X							X	X
American Lung Association (www.lungusa.org)	Health	X									X				X
Right to Know Network (www.rtk.net)	Health	X												X	X

Table does not include indirect web links to universities, media outlets and government operated web sites.

INDIRECT WEB LINKS TO OTHER ADVOCACY ORGANIZATIONS

ADVOCACY ORGANIZATION LINKED TO:	LINKING ISSUE	A F S C M E	H E R E	P A C E	S E I U	T E A M S T E R S	U F W	U S W A	A U D U B O N	C H E J	E N V I R D E F	F O E	N A T U R E	G R E E N	S I E R R A
Capitol Advantage (www.capwiz.com)	Political Reference	X			X							X			
Center for Policy Alternatives (www.cfpa.org)	Political Reference	X										X			
International City/County Management Association (www.icma.org)	Political Reference	X													X
Opensecrets.org (www.opensecrets.org)	Political Reference	X										X		X	
Public Agenda (www.publicagenda.org)	Political Reference	X													X
Common Cause (www.commoncause.org)	Political Reference	X												X	

Table does not include indirect web links to universities, media outlets and government operated web sites.

VITA

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