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FROM THE WEBBS TO THE WEB:
THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE INTERNET
TO REVIVING UNION FORTUNES

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ABSTRACT

This paper shows that in the 2000s unions in the UK and US made innovative use of the Internet to deliver union services and move toward open source unions better suited for the modern world than traditional union structures. In contrast to analysts who see unions as being on an inexorable path of decline, I argue that these innovations are changing unions from institutions of the Webbs to institutions of the Web, which will improve their effectiveness and revive their role as the key worker organization in capitalism.

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Can the Internet produce more effective and successful unions and help resuscitate the labour movement in the UK and US?

Some labour experts in the UK and US claim that the Internet will fundamentally alter employee representation and the way unions operate (Shostak,1996; Diamond and Freeman, 2002, Darlington, 2000, Lee, 1996). Freeman and Rogers (2002a, 2002b), in particular, have outlined the elements of a new “open source” union form designed to deliver union services and connect activists over the Internet at low cost, regardless of management recognition. Some readers will undoubtedly be sceptical about these claims or forecasts, and not only because they originate with pointy headed intellectuals. A substantial minority of persons in both countries do not use the Internet. In 2004 37% of US citizens and 44% of UK citizens were non-users and many had no intention of going on-line.¹ Internet hype fuelled the dot.com bubble of the late 1990s and led some to foresee rapid development of a referendum-style democracy. The collapse of the bubble and gradual growth of e-democracy and e-government² are reminders that economic and social patterns change more gradually than innovations in computer speed and the growth of Internet hosts.

Still, it would be foolhardy to reject visionary claims out of hand. The e-economy has grown steadily post the dot.com bust.³ The Internet propelled an obscure ex-governor of Vermont to be Democratic party front runner in early 2004. Activists have created powerful political sites independent of the standard political parties. And <http://www.moveon.org>

¹ Surveys show that during the first part of 2004 56% of adults in the UK used the Internet(www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?id=8) while in the US, 63% of adults were regular Internet users in 2004 (www.mediamark.com/mri/TheSource/sorc2004_06.htm)

² Accenture, E-Government Leadership: High Performance Maximum Value (May 2004) finds the growth of the Internet in providing government services was tailing off in 22 countries, including the UK (www.accenture.com/xdoc/en/industries/government/gove_egov_value.pdf).

increasing proportion of citizens in the UK and US use the Web to obtain government services.⁴¹

Whether the Internet will have similar transforming effects on union activities is an empirical question.

To see how far unions have come in using Internet technologies to improve their services to members and to reach unorganized workers, this essay examines the content of union web sites in the UK and US and reviews eight significant union innovations in applying the new technologies. The evidence shows that while visionary ideas of open source unions have yet to be fulfilled, union progress using the Internet and related technologies has been sufficiently rapid to suggest that unions are indeed in the process of morphing from institutions of the Webbs to institutions of the Web (per my title). While by itself this may not resuscitate the labour movement in the UK and US, it will greatly increase the chances of such a change in fortunes.

I. Union Presence in Cyberspace

From the mid-1990s to the mid-2000s, unions in the UK, and in the rest of the advanced world, developed a web presence. In 1995 the only UK union with a web site was UNISON. In 2001 there were 373 union web sites in the UK (Diamond and Freeman, 2002), based largely on

³See <http://www.esa.doc.gov/DigitalEconomy2003.cfm>

⁴ The most notable political site in the US is www.moveon.org. UK government services on the Internet are given at <http://www.direct.gov.uk/Homepage/fs/en>. For US use of the Internet for government services see http://207.21.232.103/pdfs/PIP_E_Gov_Report_0504.pdf

data in www.cyberpicketline.org.uk). In the US, all international federations and thousands of local unions developed web sites. Worldwide, the number of union web sites has risen rapidly, as many developing country unions have gone on-line, and as the global union federations and International Confederation of Free Trade Unions have made the Internet integral to their operations. In 2004 the global union federation, UNI-Union International Network, launched a web-based help desk to assist union web workers in running or improving their web sites (http://www.e_tradeunions.org).

Many union leaders in the UK and US had come to view the Internet as part of their strategy for the future. The TUC's Internet strategy has produced a web site that provides information largely to nonunion workers (www.worksmart.org.uk); another site that links union representatives around the country (www.unionreps.org.uk); as well as a site reporting its activities (www.tuc.org.uk). The general secretary for NAPO, the UK's probation officers' union, uses a blog to communicate with her members (www.napo.org.uk/napolog), and so too does the general secretary of the Communication Workers Union (www.billyhayes.co.uk). In the US, the AFL-CIO has created an email list of approximately two million members and activists to use in union campaigns (www.unionvoice.org/wfean/home.html). The president of the highly successful Service Employees International Union uses a weekly blog on the union website to converse with members (www.fightforthefuture.org/blog).

For the visionary claims to come true, unions need high quality web sites that give them a significant place in cyberspace. Analysing the content of UK union web sites in 2001-2002, Ward and Lusoli concluded that the bulk of the sites were mediocre, at best. The vast majority of UK unions had "signpost websites" that gave the name of the union and some minimal information, together perhaps with a picture of the union president. This finding is consistent

with what union workers said about their unions' web sites on the 2001 British Workplace Representation and Participation Survey. Only 20% of Internet active union members reported having ever visited their unions' web site; 22% didn't know if their union had a web site, and 6% claimed their union did not have a web site. Of those who used their union web site just 14% reported that the site was excellent, while 14% reported it as poor (Diamond and Freeman, 2002, table 7).

But UK unions improved their web sites in the early 2000s. The development of standardized commercial programs made it easier to produce user friendly and informative sites. Technologically sophisticated web workers created professional expertise in many unions. Innovative use of Internet technology by the Trades Union Congress and improved web sites broadly set a standard to which many individual unions responded. Most important, as noted above, many union leaders came to recognize the need for an effective web-based strategy to carry out union functions.

Because central federation web sites are the face of unionism to much of the world, I begin my assessment of the UK union presence in cyberspace by comparing the content of the TUC's main web site to the content of web sites of the central union federations in the US, Canada, and Australia. I use the methodology developed by Ward and Lusoli (2003) to analyse individual British union web sites, supplemented by some additional information. This methodology scores the content of union web sites along three dimensions: provision of information, such as information about union history, policies, media releases, an FAQ, and so on; options for participation, for instance an e-mail sign-up, member forum, on-line joining; and provision of services, such as purchase of insurance, training, professional development. The protocol codes 13 items relating to information as 1 for provision or 0 for absence of information.

It codes 4 items from 0 to 3 on participation, depending on strength of the form of participation.

It codes 12 services as 1 for provision and 0 no provision. For ease of analysis, I scale the sum of the scores in each areas from 1 to 100 and average them to obtain a summary measure of content quality.⁵

Figure 1 gives the content quality scores for the websites of the TUC and the other major English-speaking union federations as of 2004. All of the websites score relatively highly on the measures for information and services. In part, this reflects the importance that central federations give to their web presence, since web sites are one of the few ways for a central federation to reach union members and other workers. But most of the web sites score less on participation. One reason for this is that unions have shied away from developing interactive web sites that might encourage members or others to be critical of union leadership and policies. Another reason is that central federations are cautious about interacting with the members of their affiliates. Overall, the AFL-CIO obtains the highest score for its web site, achieving 95% of the maximum possible score, while the TUC scores lowest of the federations, at 79%. One reason for this, however, is that the TUC has three web sites – the main TUC site and the worksmart site and the unionreps site -- which divide some of its information, services, and participative features. A content analysis of all three treated as a single site gives a score of 90%

To see whether individual UK unions had improved their sites since the Ward-Lusoli study, I computed the content of the web sites of the same unions they had studied in 2004. Because of union mergers and other changes, not all of the sites in their study were still operating, but the majority were. Table 1 summarizes my results in terms of the average content

⁵ In addition, the Ward-Lusoli content analysis examines numbers of links with other sites, which I ignore in this paper.

score across the three domains of participation, services, and information. The figures in column 1 give my rescaling of the scores for 30 unions in 2001-2002 reported by Ward and Lusoli, overall and divided between large and smaller unions. The average for all UK unions in 2001/2002 is just 38% of the maximum possible score, with however considerable difference between the larger and smaller unions. Column 2 shows that in 2004 the UK unions averaged 54% of the maximum score in the categories – a substantial improvement in a short period of time. The table differentiates between larger and smaller unions. In both years larger unions had better web sites than smaller unions. In addition, since 2001-2002, the larger unions improved their web sites more rapidly than the smaller unions. As an example of the change in the quality of web sites for large unions, consider the Transport and General Workers' Union (TGWU). In 2001-2002 this was largely a signboard, with limited information and interactive features. It scored 29 on the 0-100 scale. In 2004, the TGWU scored 58, which put it at the average for UK unions.

Because US unions went on the Web earlier than UK unions, US union sites are likely to be more advanced than UK union sites. To compare the web sites of UK unions to those of US unions, I paired unions in the two countries by sector or type of worker (for instance, comparing the web sites of teaching unions, of communication workers and so on), and analyzed the content of the US union web sites. I obtained 22 matches. Columns 3 and 4 of table 1 gives the results of these calculations. In 2004, the content scores of US unions averaged 69% – 11 points above the scores for their UK counterparts. But there was virtually no difference in the quality of UK and US union websites among large unions. Indeed, the UK's UNISON was tied with one other union at the highest score of 90, above the 82 for its US peer, the Association of Federal, State, County and Municipal employees. The reason for the lower average rating of UK websites is

that smaller UK unions have fewer features on their sites than smaller US unions – possibly because they have fewer members and thus less resources than their US pairs.

In sum, UK union web sites have improved to the extent that the sites of large UK unions have attained rough equivalency with the sites of large US unions. While smaller unions have a ways to go to improve their web sites, and almost all unions could add more participative features, UK union web sites are no longer the dredges of cyberspace that they were just a short while ago.

II. Innovative Uses of the Internet

Union development of a modern web presence is necessary but not sufficient to fulfill the visionaries' picture of the Internet strengthening trade unions. To fulfill the vision, unions must use Internet technology to deliver services to workers and connect activists and develop some of the attributes of the open source form. To determine how far unions moved in these directions, I examine eight innovative uses of the web by unions and labour activists. I focus primarily on innovations by British unions, with some attention however to US and Dutch union innovations.

(1) Providing information to workers: the TUC's worksmart

Before the Internet, it was difficult and expensive for unions to provide information to workers outside the organized sector and to aid organized workers in small work places. The Internet gives unions a low cost tool for informing workers in any locality about workplace conditions and rights and for advising them how to deal with workplace problems. In a world that obtains its information on-line, moreover, it is critical for unions to take advantage of this new way of reaching workers. As Bibby has stressed, a union's "website acts as the most prominent public shop-window of the organisation, providing an opportunity to explain the services and benefits which union membership can bring"(Bibby, 2004, p 4).

To see how important a strong web presence is for unions, consider a world where nonunion web sites, such as commercial job boards or NGO sites or government sites or employment law office sites, offered easier access, better information, and superior advice about workplace problems than union web sites. Nonunion workers would see unions as irrelevant to their needs. Union workers might wonder about the value of their subscriptions. By contrast, if union web sites provide workers with the best information and advice about workplace problems, workers will naturally see unions as a helpful institution. They will be more likely to join unions and support union campaigns. The information-laden union web site advertises union expertise to workers and shows how unions can help workers with specific problems, as well as directly aiding those workers.

In 2002 the Trades Union Congress developed www.worksmart.org.uk, “to be a one-stop shop for everything to do with your working life”, particularly for non-union workers. The worksmart site <http://www.worksmart.org.uk> contains basic information about workplace problems and worker rights and links to other sources of information and advice. Its union parentage is presented discretely, with no reference to union campaigns or TUC events. Box 1 describes the site and gives some sense of how it is organized. In its first year the site reported 20,000 monthly visitors; in its second year, it reached 40,000 visitors in peak months.

<http://Www.worksmart.org.uk>

The worksmart site is a work in progress. The site lacks a sophisticated artificial intelligence program along the lines of www.askjeeves.org or medical advice sites, that would allow an AI “workplace expert” to answer detailed questions about problems. It does not provide labour market news nor career or salary information, a discussion forum, information on particular employers that many workers report that they would find useful on a web site (see

table 2). The site specializes in rights at work; a google search for “workplace rights, UK” places the site 10th on the list of relevant sites. But at this writing worksmart is not well-linked to other sites: in June 2004 it had just 157 other web site links compared to 2,440 links to the TUC web site⁶. The TUC plans to increase the site’s visibility and reach by syndicating it to commercial sites and search engines as the marquee site with workplace information. The Tiscali Internet Service Provider (the fourth largest in the UK) made worksmart its site for workplace information. In 2004, the TUC estimated that about 15% of users come from that source.⁷ In 2004, moreover, worksmart developed special projects on working proper hours and increasing the number of bank holidays that drew national media coverage.

The TUC effort to reach nonunion workers contrasts with that of the AFL-CIO, which has shied away from developing a site targeted at largely nonunion workers. If you want to learn about your pension rights in the US, the AFL-CIO’s own web site is useful, but if you are a nonunion worker who does not readily think of the AFL-CIO as the place to go, you may be unable to find the information readily. The AFL-CIO alternative has been the organization Working America (described under 8), which provides considerable information to nonunion workers on line but under a strong union label.

(2) Obtaining and publicizing wage information: the Dutch wage indicators survey

The wage indicators web site (www.wageindicator.org/index.php?pag=home) developed by the University of Amsterdam Institute of Advanced Labour Studies, working with FNV (Dutch Confederation of Trade Unions), and Monsterboard (the Dutch Monster.com internet

⁶ This count is for June 28, 2004. .

⁷ As of 31st March 2004, Tiscali had 8 million active users of whom 1.2 million were broadband customers.

recruitment firm), gathers and delivers wage data through an Internet survey.⁸ Originally started in 2001 to allow Dutch women to compare pay across jobs, the survey has expanded to cover Dutch men, and to cover workers in several other countries. The survey asks users to fill out a questionnaire about their salary, which it uses to obtain wage, salary or earnings data for occupations, with which they can check their relative pay. Apart from questions about earnings, the survey asks about working hours, work history, company, contract, attitudes toward work, including preferences on working hours.

Why did the Dutch Confederation of Trade Unions support this survey? In the Dutch industrial relations system, unions bargain over wages for broad sectors, and thus establish what amounts to minimum levels of pay in those areas. Union involvement in the wage indicators survey was motivated by a desire to find the actual wages paid workers in different settings. This would illuminate the impacts of collective bargaining and the extent of pay dispersion independent of collective agreements. The wage indicators survey was sufficiently successful that in July 2004, comparable surveys were launched in eight other EU countries, including the UK, and in China.

(3) International union news: www.labourstart.org

Eric Lee has argued that the Internet will create a more global trade union movement by providing information on labour issues around the world and a mode for initiating and conducting campaigns on those issues at low cost (Lee, 1996, 1998). The major web site

⁸ As with other web-based surveys, the sample is non-representative of the population (Tijdens, 2004). This cannot be remedied simply by weighting responses by population demographics, since the workers who fill out the survey may differ from others with the same demographics. Still, the survey can provide correlations among variables that are likely to generalize to the broader population (Freeman, 2004).

connecting unionists around the world is Lee's www.labourstart.org, which has become the primary source of international labour news. The site lives on the volunteer activity of correspondents, who upload labour stories from their local newspapers to the site. As of 2004 over 500 unions made the site their channel for helping members keep abreast of international labour developments. In addition to providing news, the site uses its 15,000 or so email list to engage readers in online campaigning on particular problems, and offers free web forums to any union which wants one and links to other forums around the world. In 1999 the site sponsored a "Labour Website of the Year" competition, in which users of the site voted by email for the best site. Lee reports that dozens of votes were cast for some 25 sites. By 2003, the competition had attracted nearly 6500 votes among 27 sites (Lee, 2004) Box 2 describes www.labourstart.org.

(4) Creating union campaigns: the AFL-CIO's Working Families Network

In 2002-2003 the AFL-CIO organized the development of what amounts to a massive email list of union members and activists – the Working Families Network. Since member unions feared that they would lose power by giving the central federation access to their email directories, the AFL-CIO did not ask for such direct access. Instead, the affiliates kept control of their own email lists and thus can accept or reject AFL-CIO sponsored email campaigns or those of other organizations as it sees fit. If a union was e-mailing its list as part of a campaign and feared that members would suffer from online campaign fatigue from AFL-CIO messages or if it had a different view of a particular issue than the AFL-CIO, the union could veto the AFL-CIO appeal. Organized in this way, the central federation was able to gain huge buy-in from affiliate organizations and to encourage the affiliates to build their own activist lists. In summer 2004 the AFL-CIO had over 28 participating national unions, 84 geographically defined State Federations and City Labor Councils, and over 400 local unions and other union organizations

involved with its Family Network. There were more than 600 local administrators responsible for particular lists. The overall network included over 2 million union “eActivists”. This large number allowed the AFL-CIO to e-mail small proportions of the list and still engage large numbers of persons, and to send localized appeals to particular areas. During the 2003 Safeway strike in California, the AFL-CIO directly raised nearly \$350,000 for the Safeway grocery workers via two emails to 400,000 people on their main activist list.

The large numbers also allows the AFL-CIO to link online appeal to offline activity in a locality. To pressure management in the California Safeway strike, the AFL-CIO e-mailed persons in the District of Columbia and asked them to join local teams to confront their local Safeway stores, even though those stores were not on strike. Each person on the team was given the email address and phone number of all the other people on their team, plus the local store info. The success of this activity led the AFL-CIO to recruit volunteers from the eActivist list to go door-to-door in targeted areas to talk to union members about the issues related to the 2004 national election – tapping a big network of activists who otherwise would not be involved in local mobilization efforts.

The AFL-CIO regards its email Working Families Network as a success. The former director of Working Families wrote in July 2004 “The scope of this is overwhelming at times---I checked this morning and there were 306 live online campaign sites in the system today, each producing campaign messages by union activists, and also generating new list members through tell-a-friend and related pages.” (Fox, 2004)

(5) Industrial disputes: the UK firefighters dispute web sites

In November 2002, the UK Firefighters Brigade Union (FBU) struck over wages and working conditions. The firefighters wanted a 40% pay increase to bring pay to £30,000 per year.

The government offered much less and wanted productivity improvements through changes in work conditions. The dispute continued through 2004, when the firefighters signed an agreement for a smaller pay increase and disaffiliated from the Labour Party. Three union Web sites played a role in the dispute: the FBU site, a TUC support site, and, a rank and file site set up by a Manchester firefighter to allow members to discuss freely issues relating to the strike and union policy.

The FBU site, www.fbu.org.uk chronicled the dispute and efforts to negotiate its resolution. It presented union policies and tactics to members but did not engage union members in an interactive way. The TUC site <http://www.tuc.org.uk/fp4f> <http://www.fire.org.uk> was set up to publicize a December demonstration in support of the firefighters. TUC officials reported that the site received 40,000 visitors in the two weeks it operated and gave information to activists around the country that helped make the demonstration a success. The site did not report any of the misgivings that TUC leaders felt about the FBU's strategy.

The rank and file site, www.30KFirePay.org.uk (now defunct) provided space for members to discuss the dispute without censoring views that might conflict with those of the leadership. The site was put up rapidly at low cost and was of sufficiently high quality for labour start users to vote it the 3rd best web site in 2002 in the annual labourstart poll of best labour web sites.⁹ The militancy expressed on the rank and file site provided a more accurate view of the feelings of firefighters about the dispute and the decisions made by their leadership and the government than that given on the other union sites.¹⁰

⁹ Labourstart.org runs an annual "beauty contest" in which users of the site vote on the best labour web sites of the year. The number of participants voting in the contest has risen substantially over time.

¹⁰ Swedish unions have used the Internet to poll members during negotiations, while both the

These web sites did not produce victory for the firefighters in the dispute. Arguably, the web sites had the opposite effect, feeding unrealistic expectations by members and reducing the possibility of compromise at critical times. Still, the use of the Web to provide information to union members and the general public during a strike and the rapid creation of the TUC and rank-and-file temporary sites are likely to be imitated in future disputes.

6) Email Bulletins and Online Learning: TUC risk email bulletins.

Beginning in 2002, the TUC sent a weekly **e-bulletin**, [Risks: weekly health and safety update](#), to union health and safety reps and others seeking information about occupational health and safety issues. By 2004 some 8,000 people had signed up for the e-bulletin. Given the success of the Risk e-bulletin, the TUC developed five other email bulletins for interested representatives and workers.¹¹ Taking web use a step further, the TUC's education and training division developed online training in health and safety to union representatives unable to otherwise access classroom training, which it will launch in 2005 and follow with online courses in other areas. In the pilot project that preceded the national launch, reps from smaller firms and shift workers made up a disproportionate share of online course enrollees. Several individual unions also offer online safety rep training for their members. Finally, the TUC also uses the Internet to deliver training to union members (<http://www.learningservices.org.uk>).

III. Toward Open Source Unions

“So I am asking you to authorize SEIU to create Purple Ocean, the world's first “open source,” virtual union -- with a goal of uniting one million more people who want to join our campaigns for justice.” Andy Stern, President, Service Employees International Union, San

CWU and Connect have polled members regarding agreements with employers. See Bibby, p 7-8

¹¹ These are: Changing Times News: Fortnightly work/life balance update; Education update: 3 times yearly newsletter; Equality news: monthly update; In ToUCh: the monthly TUC round-up; International Development Matters; Organise!: bi-monthly update for union organisers

Francisco California June 21, 2004 <http://www.seiu2004.org/press/keynote.cfm>

The open source union form uses the Internet to provide information and services to workers at low cost; makes the union web site a virtual union hall for supporters and activists to exchange information and views; includes workers/supporters outside of collective bargaining as union members; uses the interactive features of the Internet to increase union democracy; and combines online Internet communities with offline activities in local areas to create a social movement.

The principal UK innovation in the open source direction has been the third of the TUC's sites mentioned earlier, www.unionreps.org.uk – a web site linking union representatives. The principal US innovation have been a set of competing open source union forms for workers outside of collective bargaining, of which the SEIU “purpleocean” site is the most recent.

(7) Strengthening union representatives: www.unionreps.org.uk

In July 2003 the TUC established www.unionreps.org.uk to help union representatives carry out their jobs around the country (TUC, 31 June 2003). The site contains bulletin boards, email news for reps, a directory of online resources, a calendar of key events and training courses for reps, and other features. The site is limited to union representatives from UK unions and the TUC. While representatives are the face of unions in most workplaces, they are not union officials but rather workers usually elected by their peers to help resolve workplace problems and make collective agreements and unionism succeed. Some reps are health and safety specialists, some are learning specialists, some specialise in defending workers against ill treatment by management, and so on. Many representatives conduct union business on company time but many work outside normal working hours. In 2004 there were approximately 230,000 union

representatives in the UK.¹² The site reached 5,000 unique visitors in August 2004, so that it was being used by approximately 5% of all reps and 10% of those likely to use the Internet.

To see how union reps use the new site and the Internet more broadly in their work, Freeman and Rehavi surveyed some 900 union representatives who underwent TUC training in 2003-2004 (regular reps) and some 400 users of the unionreps.org site. The sample of reps who underwent classroom training are essentially a random group of local reps with respect to Internet use. The majority of these reps reported that they used the Internet frequently, making it clear that access and familiarity with the Web is no barrier to an open source form.¹³ By construction, the users of the unionreps site are all Internet users and can be viewed as the union reps of the potential open source future.

Table 3A summarizes the survey responses regarding use of the Internet for representative duties. The largest proportion of regular reps report that they used materials from their representative training courses for their training, but a substantial proportion report using the Internet as well. Representatives from the unionreps.org sample differ in one important way from other union representatives: *they make more extensive use of the Internet for their work*. Sixty-six percent of the unionreps.org users reported using the Internet “often” compared to 31% of the other representatives. Modestly fewer unionreps.org representatives said that they relied “often” on union officials and senior workers for information than the other representatives, which implies that the Internet adds a source of information to a greater extent than it substitutes for existing sources.

¹² Data from the 1998 WERS survey suggests that there were about 250,000 union reps in that year. The TUC estimates 230,000 in 2004.

¹³Forty percent of the union reps said that they used the web daily, 20 percent reported using it 2-3 times a week, whereas just 20 percent said that they either never used it or used it at most once

Item 2 in Table 3A compares representatives use of the Internet for their representative work with their use of the Internet on their regular jobs and on other union activity. The regular reps use the Internet approximately as much for representative work as for their other work or union related activities. The users of the unionreps.org site use the Internet more widely for all activities, but the difference is largest for their representative duties, which suggests that the site again increases use of the Internet for that specific function.

Which web sites did union reps visit often and how useful did they find those web sites? Item 3 in Table 3A shows the responses to a question about how often per week users went to their own union's site, the TUC site, and the unionreps.org site. It shows that regular reps went most frequently to their own union web site, fewer went to the TUC web site; and the fewest went to the newly launched www.unionreps.org site. By contrast, 19% of the unionreps.org users visited their own union site more than three times a week, but almost as many said they went to the unionreps.org site. In terms of usefulness of the web sites, item 1 of Table 3B shows that the regular reps scored the TUC as the most useful site and scored the new unionreps.org site, with which most were barely acquainted, the lowest.¹⁴ By contrast, the unionreps.org sample rated that site as the most useful to them, with the TUC site rated second and their own union's site rated third. Still, these unionreps.org users viewed all of the Internet sites as more valuable than did the regular reps.

For which issues do union reps use the Internet in their work?

The survey question here allowed for multiple answers and item 2 in Table 3B shows that

a month.

¹⁴ In fact, this sample was selected as a "before" sample for assessing the impact of the new site; the regular reps were introduced to unionreps.org as part of their training. A follow-up survey will assess their usage after training.

most representatives use the Internet for more than one purpose. Among regular reps, the average number of items cited was 4. Among unionreps.org users, the average number of items cited (exclusive of the last item, which we asked only of those respondents) was 5.2. Among both groups the most cited use was finding out about worker rights and employment legislation, while the least cited uses of the Web were for keeping in touch with other unions and finding out about pay and conditions elsewhere. The biggest gap in usage between the regular representatives and the unionreps.org users was in the items about keeping in touch/exchanging information with other union reps and with other unions/worker organizations. To the extent that advice from a group of knowledgeable persons improves decisions (Surowiecki, 2004), the site has the potential for harnessing the collective wisdom inherent in union organizations and thus improving the ability of reps to provide union services at their workplace. Eighty percent of the unionreps.org users said that the bulletin board, where they could interact with other reps or follow discussions, was the most appealing feature.

Finally, the last line in Table 3B gives what was the most surprising finding for us: that 69% of unionreps.org users used the Internet to communicate with the workers they represent. On the (possibly mistaken belief) that very few regular reps were using the Internet to communicate with the workers they represented, we did not ask that question in that sample. However, the 1998 WERS survey did ask it: among the reps in the WERS in 1998 14% reported using the Internet to communicate with the workers they represent.

(8) Open source union designs

In 2001 three US unions had open source forms: www.alliance@ibm.org, an affiliate of the communication workers union organized as a minority union at IBM; www.washtech.org/wt, another communications workers affiliate based on IT workers in Northern California and

Washington; and the National Writers Union, an affiliate of the United Automobile Workers that organizes free lance writers around the country (Diamond and Freeman 2002). Since then the open source notion has expanded in the US (Box 4) and in other countries¹⁵, though not yet in the UK. I review US initiatives in two categories: jurisdictional-based organizations, in which particular unions have sought to use open source designs to enroll workers outside of collective bargaining; and national organizations, which seek to enroll members from almost any group, just as the Knights of Labor did in the 1880s.

The box highlights three jurisdiction-specific developments. First is the CWA's establishing www.techsunite.org as a national site for connecting IT workers. This extends the CWA's Washtech experience¹⁶ from the Washington state area to Oregon, and five other geographic centers of IT work. That the union has chosen a geographic form rather than the company based open source structure of www.alliance@IBM suggests that specific precipitating events may be needed to create company based open source unions (the event at IBM was the company's change in its pension fund, which greatly reduced benefits for some workers). Second, in November 2003, the Machinists established Cyberlodge (www.cyberlodge.org), an Internet based union for IT workers. The IAM (International Association of Machinists) describes the organization as having a guild-like structure where workers retain their traditional employee-employer relationship while enjoying benefits normally reserved for employees with collective bargaining agreements. The box shows that the union offers personal benefits for a

¹⁵ Bibby (2004) reports on French and Italian unions that have set up internet based organizations to attract freelance and professional workers and on the creation of a Norwegian form for self-employed workers, www.rom.no. Australian unions have formed www.itworkers-alliance.org for IT workers.

¹⁶ While initially developed without collective contracts, Washtech established collective

\$120 per year membership fee, but makes its main selling point the potential clout the workers will have by associating with a relatively powerful union of skilled workers. Third, in 2004, the Steelworkers also initiated a “new form of individual membership – open to anyone regardless of employment” that gave services at modest dues and encouraged online enrollment, but the Steelworkers have not yet developed a separate web site for this group of workers.

The two national open source designs are a greater break with the tradition of organizing by occupation or industry. In 2003 the AFL-CIO developed a “community affiliate” Working America (www.workingamerica.org). Working America began by organizing members in local neighborhoods, with a focus on community and national issues as opposed to problems at workplaces (which affiliate unions might view as encroaching on their territory). Most of the initial organizing was done via door-to-door canvassing. In Summer 2004, Working America had offices in 10 cities in five states, and 400 staff people knocking on doors daily.¹⁷ It had signed up some 500,000 members and anticipates having one million members by 2005. In contrast to the associate membership scheme that the AFL-CIO encouraged affiliates to try with minimal success *prior to the Internet*, Working America stress participation in a social movement rather than savings by purchasing with a large group.

But while the organization started through community organizing, it has put considerable effort into email collection and online campaigns, centered around its web site. Working America has been adopting many of the techniques that proved effective with the Working Families Network and has used <http://www.workingamerica.org/> online initiatives to build membership. Its intent is to combine Internet communication with the door-to-door effort:

bargaining arrangements with a handful of very small IT firms through 2004.

¹⁷ Steven Greenhouse, “Labor Federation Looks Beyond Unions” NY Times July 11, 2004

indeed it promises members that they will help determine policy through online ballots. In summer 2004, when the Bush administration changed the administrative rules governing overtime, WorkingAmerica added the “Is Your Overtime Pay at Risk?” page to its web site (see Box 5), in which a lawyer responded to questions about the new regulations, and where the site posted questions and responses from various workers and an FAQ.

Finally, indicative of the future development of national unions, who have focused almost exclusively on collective bargaining since the demise of the Knights of Labor in the early 1900s , the Service Employees International Union announced in summer 2004 an explicitly open source design, www.purpleocean.org with the goal of enlisting 1 million members in the near future.¹⁸ Since SEIU is the most successful and innovative union in the US, increasing membership in the 1980s-1990s through smart organizing campaigns, its decision to develop an open source form could have immense spillover effects on the entire US labour movement.

There are unresolved design issues in open source unionism. The AFL-CIO started its organization with off-line organizing. SEIU has started on-line. Which will work better? Alliance at IBM is firm-based. Washtech is occupation based. Which will work better? But arguably the most important design issue is how to link online and offline activities. As a collective group, unions need members’ trust and commitment, which presumably requires that members get together at least sometimes in the real world. The website www.meetup.com organizes local gatherings of people brought together by a common interest on the web under the slogan ”Real world, face-to-face, maybe over coffee or a beer”. At this writing, none of the

discusses the AFL-CIO effort.

¹⁸See Leigh Strope, “Labor’s fight for its future takes to the Internet”, Associated Press, July 6, 2004. [Albany Times Union](#) discusses the SEIU endeavor.

open source unions uses the meetup structure for taking online linkages to the real world.¹⁹ Given the cost of meetings, it is critical for open source unions to determine how many face to face meetings suffice to create the personal links necessary for a viable open source organization.

Conclusion

When I began this essay, I expected to conclude by explaining why unions were slow adaptors to the Internet. It was because they were democratic organizations that operated according to median member principles; were risk averse with members' money; operated in a market with low entry and exit; and were run by conservative bureaucracies, per the Robert Michels' 1915 analysis of oligarchic tendencies in organisations.

The preceding review of union responses to the Internet as of the mid 2000s has forced me to scrap this conclusion. Unions may have adapted less rapidly than firms to the Internet, but even so unions are innovating and experimenting with the Internet at unparalleled rates. The TUC and major UK unions are experimenting with diverse ways to strengthen unionism through the Internet. Having discovered that organizing through normal channels has not delivered the renaissance of unionism that they had hoped, the AFL-CIO and major US unions are probing the open source design to see if it can produce greater support and membership. These efforts will expand in breadth and depth. In the UK the formation of works councils will induce the TUC and member unions to provide online services to councils, many of whom may be majority nonunion. In both countries unions will continue to improve the content of their web sites; construct email lists of members, find ways to link online and offline activity; create more options for workers to join on-line; and personalize services to members. Activists will connect on the Web

¹⁹ Union activists use the meetup site to organize some meetings, such as an international union organizers meeting on July 21, 2004 (<http://unionorganizers.meetup.com>).

independently of union officials and develop web sites to press for more democratic and transparent procedures.

These changes will profoundly affect union membership and density. Historically, unionism has never developed smoothly. In virtually all advanced economies, growth in membership has occurred in great spurts, with new union forms and new groups of workers leading the way (Freeman, 1996). The opportunity to deliver union services to workers through the Internet and other new technologies combined with the necessity of finding new forms and modes of operation has spurred the kind of creativity and experimentation necessary to produce a new spurt. From this experimentation, some open source form may find the “killer application” service to workers and mix of on-line and off-line activities for the next union spurt.

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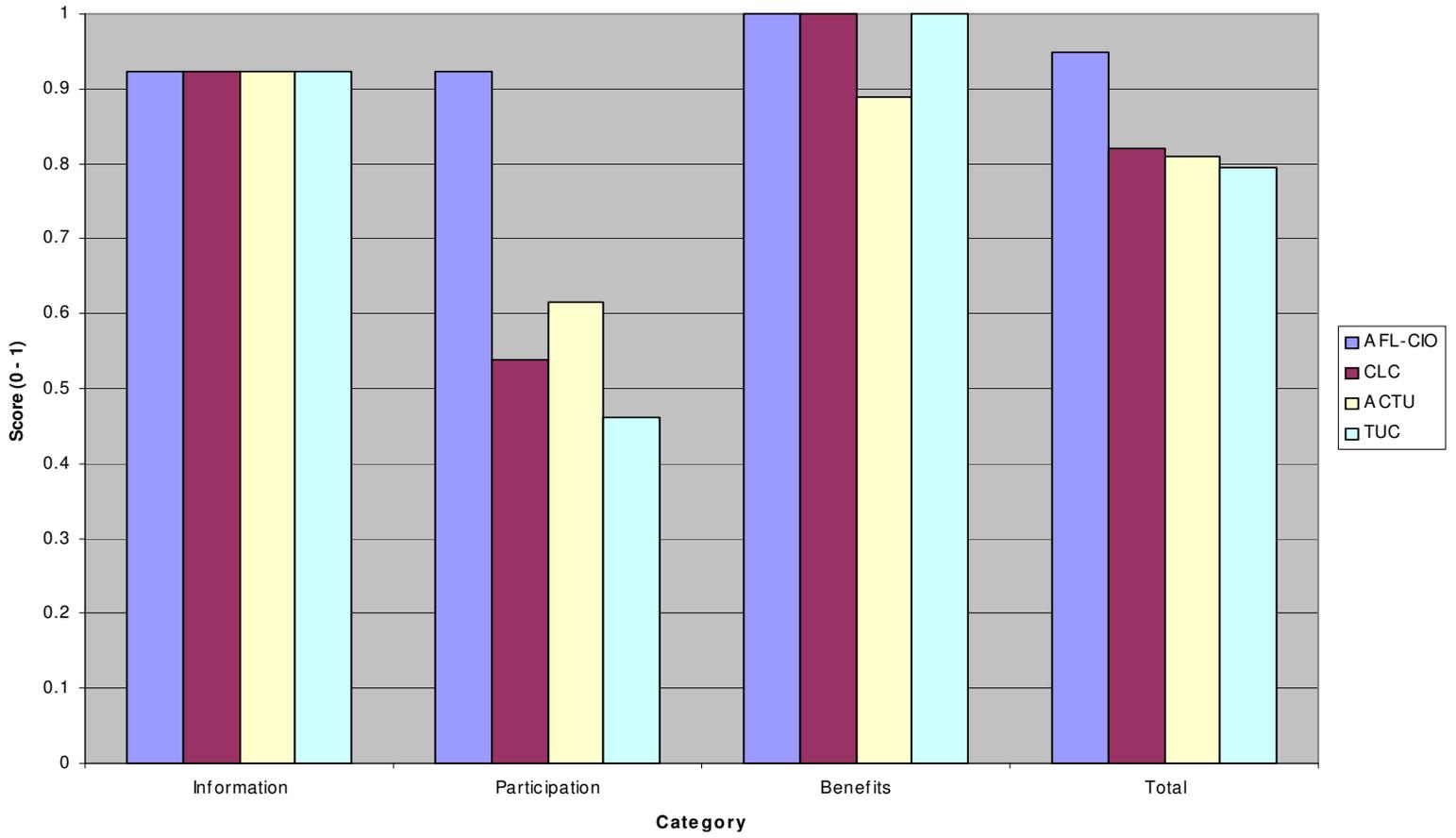
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Figure 1: Content Analysis of the Websites of Major English-Speaking Union Federations
(100 is maximum score)



**Table 1: Content Analysis of web sites of individual unions in UK and US,
Scaled from 0 to 100**

	The Same UK Union Sites, in two periods		UK union sites vs Paired US sites	
	UK, 2001/2	UK, 2004	UK 2004	US 2004
All Unions	38	54	58	69
Larger unions	52	73	76	74
Smaller Unions	35	49	49	66

Source: 2001/2 calculated from Ward and Lusoli, table 7, tabulated by Centre for Economic Performance, London School of Economics

Table 2: Percentage of Workers Who would Find “Personally Useful” Services on Web

	Very Useful	Quite Useful	Not Useful/DK
Advice about your rights at work			
Union members	37%	48%	15%
Non-members	39%	40%	21%
Information and Reviews about employers			
Union members	34%	46%	10%
Non-members	37%	49%	14%
Advice about pensions and personal finance			
Union members	36%	39%	25%
Non-members	30%	44%	26%
Information about salaries for people in your line of work			
Union members	36%	34%	40%
Non-members	36%	40%	34%
Discussion forums for people at your workplace or doing your type of work			
Union members	26%	42%	32%
Non-members	22%	40%	38%

Source: derived from Diamond and Freeman, 2002, table 5

Table 3A: Union Representatives Use of the Internet to Perform Their Job

	Often		Rarely or Never	
	Reps Under Training (%)	Unionreps.org Users (%)	Reps Under Training (%)	Unionreps.org Users (%)
1. Percent of Union Reps who “use the following sources to obtain information” for their representative duties Often and Rarely/Never				
Union reps training material	42	43	11	11
Full-time Union Staff	34	29	26	25
TUC	5	5	71	75
Older/experienced workers	31	22	22	28
Internet	31	66	35	4
2. Percent of Union Rep Internet users who use the Internet for				
Union rep duties?	32	63	26	6
Current job	30	43	43	32
Other union activities	24	50	41	11
3. Frequency of Visits to web sites ^a				
Your Union’s Web Site	9	19	57	31
TUC web site	6	11	70	46
Unionreps.org web site	3	15	83	29

Source: Tabulated from Union representatives survey, 2003-2004, Freeman and Rehavi, 2004

a– often is more than 3 times a week; rarely or never is once a month or less

Table 3B: Use of Websites by Reps Under Training and by Users of Unionreps.org.uk

	Reps Under Training (%)	Unionreps.org Users (%)
1. Percentage of Respondents who agree strongly that specified web site is very useful		
My union web site	22	31
The TUC web site	28	35
The UNIONREPS.ORG.UK	20	39
2. Percentage of Union Reps that use Internet to support specified duties		
to find out about training possibilities	61	78
to inform workers in your workplace about your union and its activities	60	76
to find out about worker rights and employment legislation	82	96
to find out about pay levels and working conditions elsewhere	43	60
to keep in touch/exchange information with your union officials	56	72
to keep in touch/exchange information with other union reps	59	80
to keep in touch/exchange information with contacts with other unions		
worker organizations	38	60
to communicate with the workers you represent	NA	69

Source: Tabulated from Union representatives survey, 2003-2004, Freeman and Rehavi, 2004

Box 1: welcome to workSMART,

workSMART, brought to you by the TUC, is here to help today's working people get the best out of the world of work

your rights at work: employment law explained

your health at work: keeping well in the workplace

your money: simple advice on your pay, taxes, and pension options

union finder: help in choosing a union

email newsletter: key and quirky stories from the world of work

We aim to be a one-stop shop for everything to do with your working life.

free help

TUC rights leaflets. The TUC's know your rights line provides a range of helpful leaflets which cover a wide range of employment rights information (available on line at www.tuc.org.uk/rights), and can advise you on which union you should join by calling 0870 600 4882.

ACAS help lines. ACAS (The Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service) is a government-funded agency that promotes good relations in the workplace. It operates a national help line on 08457 474747 that can give free information on employment issues to both employees and employers.

Advice agencies Law Centres provide a free and professional legal service to people who live or work in their catchment areas. The Law Centres Federation can tell you if there is a Law Centre near you. Its number is 020 7387 8570, or visit their website at www.lawcentres.org.uk

The National Association of Citizens' Advice Bureaux can give you information about your local CAB at www.nacab.org.uk.

On the web We've tried to give helpful links where appropriate. One good general advice site is provided by the National Association of Citizens' Advice Bureaux at www.adviceguide.org.uk. ACAS www.acas.org.uk also provides some general employment law advice. [Click here](#) for other useful links to employment rights sites.

Benefits for union members If you are in a union you can also ask them for advice. Unions are experts at solving problems at work. Use the workSMART [unionfinder](#) to contact a union in your work sector.

pensions

[The Financial Services Authority](#) offers general information about financial services and products. Phone 0845 606 1234. Lines are open Monday to Friday, 8am to 8pm. Calls are charged at local rates.

OPAS is an independent, non-profit organisation that provides information and guidance on the whole spectrum of pensions covering State, company, personal and stakeholder schemes. They can help you if you have a problem, complaint or dispute with your occupational or private pension arrangement. OPAS operates a national telephone helpline on: 0845 601 2923. Calls are charged at local rates.

If you are a union member and have a problem with your occupational pension you should approach your union. Many unions employ pensions specialists. You can get contact details for your union from the workSMART union finder.

Box 2: About LabourStart: “Where trade unionists start their day on the net”.

LabourStart is an online news service maintained by a [global network of volunteers](#) which aims to serve the international trade union movement by collecting and disseminating information -- and by assisting unions in campaigning and other ways.

Its features include daily labour news links in 11 languages and [a news syndication service](#) used by more than 500 trade union websites. News is collected from mainstream, trade union, and alternative news sources by a network of over 230 volunteer correspondents based on every continent.

LabourStart has been involved in online campaigning for several years but moved up a gear with the launch in July 2002 of the [ActNOW campaigning system](#). Tens of thousands of trade unionists have participated in its various online campaigns and more than 15,000 are currently subscribed to its **mailing list**. They receive weekly mailings, usually on Thursdays.

Box 3: The AFL-CIO Working Families Network: Campaign for Overtime pay, 2003

The Working Families Network is an AFL-CIO created email list of 2 million union activists and supporters that the union movement uses to generate community support in important labor disputes and to press. In winter 2003, the Federation was campaigning to prevent Congress from weakening overtime legislation and remove overtime pay, particularly for white collar workers. The Families Network sent an email to their eActivist list asking people to carry out a complicated series of steps: click on a link in an email; which goes to a web page; where they would download a pdf petition form related to overtime; which they then printed on their home printer; then carried the petition to their workplace; where they were asked to sign up co-workers; and finally to fax the completed petition form to the AFL-CIO office in DC (a long distance fax).

The administrator of the program wrote that “We figured that no one would really do this because it was so many steps and required many things (printer, Adobe acrobat reader, fax machine, etc). Somewhat incredibly, we received petition forms in our office with over 180,000 names and addresses, including more than 50,000 new email addresses. We probably had more come in, but our fax machines ran continuously for an entire week and were often blocked. My phone rings one day and there's this guy with a heavy Southern accent on the line calling to ask if I was part of the Working Families Network. He was an union member who worked in a nuclear power plant in Tennessee, and he had signed up 250 of his co-workers onto the petitions, but couldn't get through on the fax machine. Amazing! “

Box 4: Newest Open Source Union Experiments

Jurisdictional based experiments

Communications Workers Union Techs Unite (www.techsunite.org) Following on its experience with washtech (www.washtech.org), the CWA developed techsunite as a national site for IT workers around the country, with organizing groups in 7 different geographic areas. Oregon IT workers set up their own organization, www.ortech.org, with \$24/year dues payable through the CWA Local 7901 Associate Member program. Each organizing committee is geographically centered, rather than company centered.

International Association of Machinists CyberLodge: An Open Source Union Project (www.cyberlodge.org). Organized over web: a guild-like structure where workers retain their traditional employee-employer relationship while enjoying benefits normally reserved for employees with collective bargaining agreements”. One-year charter membership of \$120 gives access to portable health insurance free web hosting, and other benefits “But the most important benefit is power - the ability to influence the movers and shakers who affect our working lives.”

United Steel Workers: (www.uswa.org/am) – New Form of Associate Membership “A new form of individual membership in our union – open to anyone regardless of where they work or even if they have a job! We hope this program will revolutionize the American union movement and fundamentally alter how the American people think about unions and belonging to them”. Membership at \$40 per year; online recruitment “get access to union-only benefits like confidential workplace assistance, health care savings, job training and educational opportunities”

National-based experiments

AFL-CIO. WorkingAmerica www.workingamerica.org. Organized through communities, with Internet structure. Based on local organization in 10 cities in five states, with 400 staffers signing up members. Will use lessons from Working Families Network to recruit online and develop strong email linkages. Members to vote online to determine priorities of organization, Asks for \$5 in voluntary dues. 400,000 members as of summer 2004. Goal to enroll 1 million members by end of 2004

SEIU – Purple Ocean open source union www.purpleocean.org Formed 2004 Goal is to enroll 1 million members into non-collective bargaining organization. “PurpleOcean.org is the latest wave of the American labor movement. Through actions, both online and offline, we seek to ensure fundamental human rights in the workplace and ensure that workers here and abroad are treated with dignity. By building a powerful grassroots network dedicated to social justice, PurpleOcean.org members will “spotlight” employers and politicians who respect workers and “hotlight” those who don’t. In addition to direct action, PurpleOcean.org will be a place for fun discussions and education, where workers and their allies can debate and discuss today’s paramount issues—from outsourcing and offshoring to health care and pensions.”

Box 5:



[Home](#) >> [Issues](#) >> **Is Your Overtime Pay at Risk? Ask a Lawyer**

Is Your Overtime Pay at Risk?

Lawyer!

Under new rules issued by the Bush administration, millions of workers could lose their right to overtime pay starting Aug. 23, 2004, in the largest nationwide pay cut in American history. The new Bush administration regulations remove overtime pay rights for broad classes of employees—literally millions of us, according to the Economic Policy Institute.

Find Out If Your Overtime Pay Is at Risk

- ▶ [Ask Baldwin Robertson](#), a wage-and-hour attorney for [WORKING AMERICA](#), the community affiliate of the AFL-CIO, from the law firm Woodley & McGillivray.
- ▶ [Send in your question](#), and each workday Baldwin will post the questions and answers applicable to most workers.
- ▶ [Read previous questions and answers](#) on overtime pay.
- ▶ See a list of [frequently asked questions](#) about the Bush administration's new overtime pay regulations.



Attorney at Law
Woodley & McGillivray

More

- [Take action to protect overtime pay!](#) Tell President Bush to stop the overtime pay take-away.
- [Join WORKING AMERICA](#), the community affiliate of the AFL-CIO for nonunion members.
- [Support WORKING AMERICA](#) with a voluntary dues contribution.
- [Find out more about WORKING AMERICA.](#)