

LABOR UNION COMMUNICATION:
EFFECTS OF LABOR MEDIA ON LOCAL UNION VOTE CHOICE

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by
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The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School, have examined the dissertation entitled

LABOR UNION COMMUNICATION:
EFFECTS OF LABOR MEDIA ON LOCAL UNION VOTE CHOICE

presented by Anji L. Phillips,

a candidate for the degree doctor of philosophy,

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I dedicate this work to my late G-Ma Rita (Kearney) Rigg, and my late mother-in-law, Ruth (Sanders) Phillips. The former, because of her unfailing belief in me to succeed, and the latter, because of her unfailing belief in her son to succeed.

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ABSTRACT

Framing theory posits the idea that media frames a particular issue, and provides a focus or precedence of that frame to the exclusion of other information. Framing of a candidate or issue may lead voters to have a particular point of view about a candidate or issue based on their media diet (i.e., channel repertoire). The present study investigated the effects of exposure to labor union media on labor union members' evaluation of the gubernatorial candidates in the 2014 State of Illinois election. The author conducted a cross-sectional survey of 201 active and retired labor union members in the State of Illinois recruited from a nonrandom, purposive, network sample. Gender, race, income, party identification, party ideology, and religiosity were all controlled. Results indicated exposure to labor union media, and awareness of the labor union endorsement, but not trust in labor media, predicted a negative evaluation of the Republican candidate (Bruce Rauner). Trust in labor union, but not exposure to labor union media, nor awareness of the labor union endorsement, predicted a favorable evaluation of the union-endorsed Democratic candidate (Pat Quinn). Awareness of the labor union endorsement, but not exposure to labor media, predicted a negative evaluation of right-to-work and anti-union laws. Channel repertoire indicated television, followed by newspapers (most trusted medium), radio, and the Internet were most used for political information, but the national labor union website garnered the most trust as a channel.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Labor unions in the State of Illinois are bracing themselves for change based on the results of the November 4, 2014 gubernatorial election. Democratic incumbent, Pat Quinn, faced Republican nominee, Bruce Rauner, a multimillionaire, and venture capitalist business executive for governor, with Quinn losing 46 to 51 percent (Pearson, Garcia, Long, Selter, 2014). In Peoria, Illinois-based Caterpillar CEO Doug Oberhelman endorsed Rauner for governor (Nightengale, 2013). Union leaders feared Rauner “will try to be the next Mitch Daniels, the former Republican governor of Indiana who ended collective bargaining for state workers by executive order, or a knockoff of Gov. Scott Walker, the Wisconsin Republican who led efforts to cut collective bargaining rights for most public employees in his state” (Davey, 2014, para. 2). Labor union management worried about Quinn’s popularity problem with Democrats in general, and labor union members in particular. Quinn proposed cuts to union retiree benefits as one measure to try to balance the state’s budget due in part to the State’s pension debt (Bland, 2014). Labor management tried to convince labor members that voting for the unpopular incumbent Quinn would be better for labor than the management-supported member of the “0.01 percent” Rauner (Davey, 2014, para. 10). Conventional wisdom of low voter turnout in non-presidential election years also added fuel for labor leaders’ worry about the midterm election (Kaufman, Petrocik, & Shaw, 2008, p. 149).

In order to understand why labor union advocates were worried about the results of the gubernatorial election in Illinois, it is important to consider the recent changes in state policies across the country that conservative groups have advocated, and Republican governors have enacted, since 2011. In short, labor union members cannot simply rely

on being a member of a union to collect dues, maintain collective bargaining, and keep established benefits. Labor unions are now in a period where they have to justify their existence and the value they provide to members who pay union dues. Labor union management also has to increase resources spent to ward off reduced wage and benefit changes through legislation as part of a broad conservative plan to reduce union influence, while also experiencing decreased resources due to fewer union members in general. Ultimately, labor union leaders were justifiably worried about convincing labor union members to vote for the labor union supported candidate.

Recent elections around the country have featured candidates with a platform of economic reform who have become increasingly hostile to labor. The challenge for local labor advocates is how they should communicate their message of union-friendly and unfriendly candidates to union members-at-large? How should they communicate to union members about issues that affect labor union members specifically? How should they motivate their base to vote for the union-supported candidates when efforts in other states have failed? The increased rise and impact of right-to-work and anti-union legislation on members of labor unions, coupled with public perception of union members as greedy, all make the ability to persuade individuals to pay dues, fight to maintain collective bargaining rights, and fight to keep benefits difficult at best (“State of the labor unions,” 2013). The effect on unionized labor has been a decline of union membership, and a decline in those who pay dues, which both decreases union finances and negatively affects the ability of unions to influence political elections on the same level as well financed corporations (“Bureau of Labor Statistics,” 2013; Confessore, 2013; Suarez, 2013). The Supreme Court’s Citizens United decision cleared the way for

both corporations and unions to pay for advertising within 60 days of a general election and within 30 days of a primary election (Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission, 2010). Unions, however, are still at a financial disadvantage with less money to spend on elections compared to corporations. Spending by corporate America in the 2012 election cycle, at 9.5 billion dollars, far outpaced labor union election expenditures at 600 million dollars (Blumenthal & Jamieson, 2014). State of Illinois spending on election advertising more than doubled previous expenditures (Pearson, 2014b). The Quinn vs. Rauner campaign broke previous records spent on Illinois gubernatorial campaigns with total contributions of almost \$100 million in 2014 compared to just over \$50 million in 2010 (Pearson, 2014a; Pearson, 2014b). Rauner donated more than \$26 million himself, which is almost as much as Quinn raised for the entire 2014 campaign (Pearson, 2014b). Labor accounted for more than \$13 million paid directly to Quinn's campaign, and business provided almost \$38 million of Rauner's campaign funds, which does not include the money Rauner donated to his own campaign (Merrion, 2014; Pearson, 2014b). Campaign spending limits imposed by Illinois state law was removed because Rauner contributed heavily to his own campaign. Supporters were then able to spend millions on the Rauner campaign, which broke state records (Confessore, 2015). These figures do not even account for outside influence from political action committees (PACs) from both labor and business, in addition to PACs created by Rauner's supporters.

In short, local unions, like those in Illinois, need to communicate a message to members to vote for union-friendly candidates. Union leaders seek support for candidates who are in direct contrast to those candidates interested in corporate profits

with higher executive compensation. Simply, union leaders want their members to reject candidates who support companies where the compensation of their executive officers outpaces the wages of average workers, as well as those candidates who work to reduce labor union influence.

Right-To-Work and Anti-Union Legislation

Nationally, 2011 signaled the awareness of a widespread push by Republican governors and legislators to restrict, remove, or otherwise eliminate union employees' rights to collect dues, collectively bargain for wages, healthcare, and retirement among other benefits and considerations such as automatic withdrawal of dues from paychecks (Leckrone, 2011). Over 700 pieces of legislation have been introduced in almost every state of the union to adopt, modify, or otherwise change states' "right-to-work" status and/or implement additional anti-union measures (Linn, 2013; Simon, 2011, "State governments," 2011; "State of the labor unions," 2013).

Many pro-union supporters argue the term "right-to-work" is actually a misnomer. The right-to-work moniker used by conservatives obfuscates the true meaning of the issue. When a state enacts right-to-work legislation, constituents, and some policy makers, may understand this as gaining a right-to-work. For example, the Director of Fiscal Policy for the conservative Oklahoma Counsel of Public Affairs, Jonathan Small, illustrates the confusion: "When you have a policy like we used to have, where someone would have to be a member of some bullying organization in order to get a job, regardless of what the outcome is, we still think it's better for people to be able to move freely throughout the job market" (Layden, 2012, para. 13). Right-to-work legislation actually means employees may choose union representation; however, they are not

compelled to pay union dues despite the fact that a union is negotiating wages and benefits on their behalf. New hires brought in after a contract, where the previous employees chose representation by a union and the votes were certified, may resent part of their paycheck going toward union dues even though the union negotiates the wages and benefits for all employees in a unit. Union members call the group that refuses to pay dues or fees for collective bargaining in right-to-work states “free riders.”

In short, right-to-work legislation affects both *public* and *private* sector labor unions’ ability to collect dues unless otherwise specified by the state. For example, Indiana’s right-to-work statutes only applied to public sector school employees starting in 1995 (U.S. Department of Labor, 2008). New right-to-work legislation in Indiana applies statewide as of 2012 and includes the private sector (Guyett, 2012). Right-to-work legislation gives employees a choice to pay union dues if they accept employment at a company with union representation for their position, and employees in a union shop who choose not to pay still receive the collective bargaining help for wages and benefits without financially contributing to the union.

A conservative-backed group, The National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation (NRTWF), lists 25 states that have passed legislation since 1923 to either reduce or eliminate compulsory union contributions (Cohn, 2015; LaJeunesse, 2013). According to the NRTWF, Indiana’s latest status, as a right-to-work state, was part of a decade-long push to reduce the impact of labor unions with eight more states currently being targeted (LaJeunesse, 2013). The United States Department of Labor lists 23 states with right-to-work laws and constitutional amendments as of January 2009, which already included Indiana (“U.S. Department of Labor,” 2008). With Michigan and

Wisconsin added to the list the total number of states corresponds with NRTWF's tally of 25 right-to-work states as of March 2015 (Cain, 2013; Cohn, 2015). As of March 6, 2015, the Republican led Assembly voted to make Wisconsin the 25th state to enact right-to-work legislation (Associated Press, 2015).

Alternately, some states have actually enacted anti-union legislation. Anti-union legislation may affect some, but not all, *public* sector labor unions on issues outside of collecting union dues. Some examples of anti-union legislation of public sector labor unions include: limiting collective bargaining (e.g., with regard to healthcare or increased contributions to health care costs, wages, retirement benefits), limiting the ability to strike, and the removal of automatic payroll deductions, and the removal of cost of living increases to wages.

In short, anti-union legislation affects some, but certainly not all *public* sector labor unions. For example, Republican legislators from states such as Wisconsin, which is now considered a right-to-work-state, began by introducing anti-union bills to remove collective bargaining rights and automatic union dues collection from many, but not all, public sector union members. Public sector police officers and firefighters were able to keep bargaining rights and automatic union dues collection. Many argue the police officers' and firefighters' unions were able to keep these benefits because they supported Governor Scott Walker of Wisconsin during his election (Barbour & Spicuzza, 2011; Clark, 2011; Glauber, Umhoefer, & Bergquist, 2011; Stein & Marley, 2013; Vielmetti & Marley, 2012).

On June 30, 2014 the Supreme Court created a third category called "partial public employees" (Pamela Harris v. Pat Quinn, 2014). The United States Supreme

Court ruled that home health care workers in Illinois could not be forced to pay union dues because they should not be considered public nor private employees (Pamela Harris v. Pat Quinn, 2014; Pearson & Mears, 2014). Justice Samuel Alito wrote home health care workers paid by Medicare should not be compelled to financially support a union because, in part, they are only partial-public employees hired by the person needing the assistance, and can be summarily dismissed by the customer with no grievance process with a labor union through the state (Pamela Harris v. Pat Quinn, 2014). This decision adds the new category of partial-public employees for right-to-work legislation that previously included all public and private sector employees in a state. This Supreme Court case limits right-to-work legislation in Illinois to *only* apply to home health care workers, or those that are considered partial-public employees.

There has been varied success with implementation of right-to-work and anti-union legislation affecting both the public and private sector unions across the United States. The 2014 Supreme Court case emphasizes that efforts to influence legislation on a large scale are still very active. Private conservative groups are making it their full time job to have adopted both right-to-work and anti-union legislation state by state (LaJeunesse, 2013).

The Rise of Anti-Union Legislation

Unions are undergoing a nationwide struggle to maintain their relevancy. Even the previous strongholds of the traditionally friendly manufacturing states in the “rust belt” from parts of Wisconsin into New York are not immune to right-to-work and anti-union legislation. In February of 2011, Governor Scott Walker of Wisconsin introduced policies to eliminate collective bargaining for some of its public employees, arguing the

move was necessary to eliminate lengthy negotiations with employees that would prevent him from making sweeping financial reform in state government. Those who supported Governor Walker's election were spared, including police officers, firefighters, and motor vehicle inspectors, which are part of the state troopers' union (Stein & Marley, 2013). University police officers were not part of the group that supported Governor Walker in the election, nor were they spared. Governor Walker sought to remove public employees' ability to negotiate the employee contribution rate for retirement and insurance. Walker's detractors argued he was "part of a nationwide effort to kill labor unions" (Barbour & Spicuzza, 2011, p. A1). State Democrats fled the state to meet up in Illinois to avoid a vote on the issue (Glauber, Umhoefer, & Bergquist, 2011). Walker argued the move was necessary to make the Wisconsin State budget solvent. Detractors argued the policy was more about ending the influence of organized labor and firing anyone who disagreed with the governor's policies. A Federal court in the Western District of Wisconsin upheld the limits on collective bargaining, but would not uphold a requirement to recertify the union every year nor stop automatic payroll deductions (Vielmetti & Marley, 2012). The success of Governor Walker's reforms in Wisconsin added fuel to lawmakers in other states trying to limit union influence.

In March of 2011, Governor John Kasich of Ohio signed an anti-union bill to prohibit striking and restrict collective bargaining to wages and job safety concerns, which excluded "health care, sick time or pension benefits" (Leckrone, 2011, para. 16). By November of that year, the voters rejected the bill on a referendum making Ohio one of the few states that was able to overturn anti-union legislation (Terkel & Celock, 2011). Legislative changes have resurfaced as a new anti-union strategy in Ohio called

“Workplace Freedom” that is designed to ban the collection of union dues from people who are not members of a union but who benefit from the collective bargaining by unions (Blackwell, 2013). As of June 2014, there was not enough support to pass this legislation in Ohio, although the Ohio AFL-CIO worried that if re-elected Governor Kasich would introduce legislation during a lame duck session after the November 2014 election (de Souza, 2014). The introduction of new legislation supports the idea that passing anti-union legislation or right-to-work laws are part of a broader strategy to limit the influence of unions in elections by reducing union coffers.

In April of 2011, Governor Rick Scott of Florida also worked to remove automatic deduction of union dues. Legislators were trying to prevent unions from automatically collecting dues from paychecks, and trying to require that members vote annually to allow their union to use dues for political purposes (Terkel, 2011). Governor Scott did not have much support from the Republican Party because Florida is already a right-to-work state, and the potential rule to prevent automatic deductions did not apply to all Floridians or companies, just unions.

Republican legislators in other states, such as Massachusetts and New Jersey, have been successful in limiting collective bargaining by public employees regarding health care (Dellisanti, 2011). New Jersey Governor Chris Christie was also able to increase employee contributions for pensions. Outside of legislation, the governor of Maine ordered a mural removed from a state building simply because it depicted labor history and in his opinion was one-sided (Simon, 2011).

In February of 2012, Governor Mitch Daniels of Indiana signed a law that is most notable because it was the first successful right-to-work legislation in the “rust belt” or

manufacturing heavy Midwest despite protests from labor unions (Greenhouse, 2012; Guyett, 2012). Following Indiana's lead, Governor Rick Snyder of Michigan also signed a right-to-work bill in December of 2012. Individuals in Michigan represented by unions will no longer be compelled to pay union dues for wage, healthcare, and retirement contribution negotiations if they are currently being represented by a union or if they work in a shop where there is union representation (Hartfield, 2012). This bill surprised many as Michigan is known for its largely unionized automobile manufacturing industry, and the bill comes on the heels of the positive news regarding the collaboration of the United Auto Workers (UAW) and management.

The legislative lessons learned from around the country are important to union advocates in Illinois. Since pro-business Bruce Rauner won the Illinois Governors' seat, labor unions now wonder how long it will take Rauner to make good on his promise to "wrest institutions from the influence of labor unions" (Stout, 2014, para. 4). Rauner says "he would model his governorship after those of Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker and former Indiana Gov. Mitch Daniels" (Burnett & Tareen, 2014, para. 9). The message from Republican lawmakers is clear. Business leaders do not want to deal with labor unions, and they are using GOP-backed legislation to clear the way to give individuals a "right-to-work" as part of their effort to convince voters to support their candidates. Voters who may be guided by a misunderstanding of what right-to-work means coupled with recent Supreme Court decisions could very well pave the way for statewide right-to-work status in Illinois.

The Impact of Right-to-Work Legislation

The state of Oklahoma saw a sharp drop in labor union membership in the four years following the passage of right-to-work laws in 2001 (Layden, 2012); and while there has been a small increase in union membership since 2005, the total number of individuals belonging to a union is lower now than when the legislation was passed (Layden, 2012). Numbers from 2012 show labor union membership in Oklahoma is at 115,000 members, which is just 4,000 shy of the number of members when right-to-work was enacted in 2001 (“Bureau of Labor Statistics,” 2013). The number of workers who do not pay for union representation in Oklahoma alone is up from 19,000 to 25,000 in just one year from 2011-2012 (“Bureau of Labor Statistics,” 2013). In states that do not have right-to-work legislation, labor unions are able to collect a fee (i.e., “fair share fee”) to cover the cost of representation for wage and benefit bargaining from those who do not want to belong to the union.

The overall impact of right-to-work has had a chilling effect on union coffers by eliminating this fee from individuals who decide not to join a union even when an existing union is in place where they apply to work (Layden, 2012). Additional impacts of right-to-work legislation are difficult to determine because of the many variables that affect state performance. Wages are lower in states that have adopted right-to-work laws (“Bureau of Labor Statistics,” 2013; LoBianco, 2012). Union representatives look at the increased push to reduce or eliminate money to support unions as another way to reduce the already perceived waning political power of unions in elections. Still other union leaders argue Republican governors are working to increase the profits of corporations at the expense of employees. Legislators argue that designating itself as a right-to-work

state or enacting legislation to reduce or to remove collective bargaining is what will tell companies that their state is “open for business” without the burden of union contracts that typically include higher wages and benefits (“Bureau of Labor Statistics,” 2013). Again, right-to-work legislation applies to public, private, and partial-public sector unions and removes the requirement to pay union dues or fair share fees. Anti-union legislation without the right-to-work designation mainly affects public sector employees, and typically affects collective bargaining of benefits.

The Response of the National Labor Relations Board

The fight by unions to maintain collective bargaining rights and benefits, in addition to fighting off outsourcing, has been problematic due to the lagging economy and concern for larger corporate profits for shareholders in the private sector. Additionally, mounting fiscal debt by states has contributed to the rhetoric for eliminating rights of union employees. Union members had a belief that they would not lose benefits they had already negotiated for in good faith. Poor profit margins and a lack of spending by consumers have given conservative groups ammunition to cut wages and benefits. A conservative movement in the country is leading these changes, in part, to improve the business climate for corporations that struggle to earn profits because of perceived “greedy” labor union employees.

In August of 2011, as one response to the mounting legislation affecting labor unions, the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) required companies to display a poster that, in part, informed employees of their right to join a union (Semuels, 2011; “U.S. Department of Labor,” n.d.). The rule was to be implemented by April of 2012 (“Employee Rights Notice Posting,” n.d.). The courts initially ruled the NLRB did not

have authority to create such a rule because it violated employers First Amendment rights, which was later overturned (“The N.L.R.B.’s Contested Poster,” 2013). At this point, the poster is available, but the NLRB chair will not enforce its placement until all appeals have been exhausted (“Office of Public Affairs,” 2012). The NLRB cites a drop in union membership as one reason for the need of a poster to inform employees of their rights to join a union even in a right-to-work state amid declining union membership.

The Decline of Union Membership

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics in the U.S. Department of Labor (2013), the 2012 data show a continued drop in labor union membership. Since 1983, total labor union membership dropped 3.3 million workers and 8.8 percent (“Bureau of Labor Statistics,” 2013; Linn, 2013). In other words, 14.4 million people belong to a labor union in 2012 compared to 17.7 million when comparable data were available in 1983 (“Bureau of Labor Statistics,” 2013). Public sector unions had a union membership rate of 35.9 percent, compared to private sector unions with a 6.6 percent membership rate (“Bureau of Labor Statistics,” 2013). For example, professionals in education, training, and library positions had the highest union membership rates of over 34 percent, which is higher than those in private sector construction trades, which is over 13 percent (“Bureau of Labor Statistics,” 2013). Additionally, Black workers were more likely to be union members than their White, Asian, or Hispanic counterparts (“Bureau of Labor Statistics,” 2013). The least populous union memberships were found in southern and western states (“Bureau of Labor Statistics,” 2013).

Today, union membership and middle-class wages are on the decline, and executive compensation is on the rise (Liberto, 2011; “U.S.: Hostess,” 2012). Executive

compensation, or pay for Chief Executive Officers (CEOs), Chief Financial Officers (CFOs), and other top-paid management executives including Vice President's (VPs), may include base pay, stock options, performance-based or non-performance-based incentives, and other amenities such as exclusive use of cars, drivers, planes, and various residences that may be supplemented by the company, and requires reporting to the United States Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) ("U.S. Securities," 2011). Executive compensation was up 23% in 2010, compared to 2009, and is now 343 times more than the pay of typical workers (Liberto, 2011). This disparity is actually down from 2000, when CEOs were outpacing the average worker's wage by 525 times (Liberto, 2011). This wage disparity brought about new disclosure requirements from the SEC regarding executive compensation (Confessore, 2013). Now that the SEC requires full disclosure of executive compensation, some would also like to see where corporations are donating their money for political purposes ("U.S. Securities," 2011). The Supreme Court decision regarding Citizens United removed any spending limits in campaigns by corporations or labor unions ("Citizens United," 2010; Suarez, 2013). Some argue that asking or requiring companies to disclose where their money is going would be a burden to corporations, although labor unions are already required to submit to the Department of Labor where their donations are going (Blumenthal & Jamieson, 2014; Confessore, 2013; Suarez, 2013).

Labor Union Communication and Vote Choice

When we consider the reduction in union membership annually, in addition to the depth and breadth of legislation enacted in the last two years to reduce or eliminate union influence, it seems that the efforts of union advocates to inform union membership of

issues important to their constituency and persuasive efforts to vote for “union-friendly” candidates would be imperative for union survival. Therefore, this study focuses on the effects of labor union communication from labor union media. In order to understand how exposure to labor union media affects labor union members and their subsequent vote choice, participants in this study are labor union members.

The main purpose of this study is twofold. First, the purpose is to examine local labor union members’ use of labor media, including national, state, regional, and local labor organizations, which endorse candidates and lobby for issues that affect them. To this end, I conducted a survey of local union members from the state of Illinois regarding a recent election to examine their sources of political information, and possible influence of labor media on evaluation of candidates and subsequent vote choice. The second purpose of this study is to understand if labor union members use and trust the messages regarding candidates contained in the labor media when formulating their voting decisions for union-supported candidates.

The increase in the amount of legislation that has been generated to enact right-to-work and other anti-union legislation around the country make labor unions an important group to study. Little scholarly work has been done to investigate communication organs (i.e., “mediums” of communication) of labor unions (Blume, 1970). Conventional wisdom holds that labor union members are all Democrats or liberals. Clearly, not all union members vote for the labor union-supported candidate. The reality is there are also many union members who vote for Republican and conservative candidates. Therefore, it is important to study actual labor union members. Some labor union members identify more strongly with Democrats or those who lean liberally, and some labor union

members identify more strongly with Republicans or those who lean conservatively. Traditional Democratic candidates typically support policies that benefit labor union membership, but this is not always the case. Therefore, labor union members in the State of Illinois, and their consumption of national, state, regional, and local labor media regarding candidates and issues important in the Illinois general election on November 4, 2014, and union members' subsequent vote choice is the focus of this study.

Theoretical Perspectives

Framing Theory

Survey framework. Framing theory will be used to guide the construction of this study's survey as framing is the idea that a particular issue (e.g., or in this case an endorsement of a candidate, or a position on a ballot referendum) is given focus or precedence to the exclusion of other information about that candidate or issue (Borah, 2011; Bruggemann, 2014; Price & Tewksbury, 1997; Scheufele, 1999; Shah, McLeod, Gotlieb, & Lee, 2009). This may lead voters to have a particular point of view about a candidate or issue (Shah, Domke, & Wackman, 1996). Further, Price and Tewksbury (1997) argue, "the more prominent group distinctions are made in news reports, the more likely are group-related constructs to be used as reference points in interpreting the issue at hand" (p. 201). This could mean, for example, that labor union members who identify strongly with the union may perceive labor union communication to be more trustworthy than mainstream media, and subsequently rely on their membership in the labor union to guide decision-making at the polls. Alternately, a labor union member who felt their membership in their church was more important than their membership in the labor union, may place greater importance on information from the church compared to their

information from the labor union. Individuals may choose to expose themselves to or ignore certain forms and sources of media, and therefore be exposed to certain frames more than others.

Effects framework. Framing is used to examine if labor union members are persuaded by their exposure to labor union media (Borah, 2011; Bruggemann, 2014; Price & Tewksbury, 1997; Scheufele, 1999; Shah, McLeod, Gotlieb, & Lee, 2009). Framing theory is appropriate to understand the vote choice of labor union membership because it helps to explain how exposure to labor union media messages may influence interpretation by a receiver at a later time. For example, how the labor media may choose to cover or “frame” a candidate or issue may heighten awareness of previously held beliefs, which may filter the lens that we use to view a candidate or issue (Zaller, 1992). Political frames come from a variety of media sources. Although individuals may only expose themselves to certain types of media, and exclude other media sources, individuals perceive some sources of news to be more trustworthy than others (Jones, 2004; Lee, 2010). According to Price and Tewksbury (1997), the timing of exposure to certain frames may prime a person to respond a certain way within a certain period following exposure.

The source of these political frames may affect the salience of information regarding candidates and issues to the individual. Issue salience may also be influenced by conventional wisdom communicated by political pundits and “spin doctors” (Kaufman, Petrocik, & Shaw, 2008). So, the salience of the coverage of candidates and issues for an election communicated by labor media may be important to the decision making of some members of the union, unimportant to others, and may ultimately

influence voting. Therefore, framing is an appropriate perspective for studying the effects of labor media on labor union members' vote choice.

Current Gaps in Literature

The first goal of the study is to fill a gap in the research of labor unions' communication "organs," also known as the medium (i.e., newspaper, radio, television, and Internet) and channel (e.g., a specific newspaper like *The Labor Paper*) used by union advocates to communicate to union members-at-large. To date, few studies within the discipline of communication mention labor union organs or mediums, and almost no analysis addresses labor media and subsequent vote choice (e.g., Digby-Junger, 1998; Garver, 1958; Perry, Taylor, & Doerfel, 2003). Digby-Junger's (1998) study provides a comparison of four newspapers published by Blacks and their place in history as Black radical press. The only mention of a labor union in this analysis is to acknowledge the use of the *Messenger* by the "Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters" as their way to communicate in the early 20th century (Digby-Junger, 1998, p. 268). Garver's (1958) research is the only available study to discuss the labor union press as a specific topic of analysis, and unfortunately this work is over 50 years old. Perry, Taylor, and Doerfel (2003) talk about how one union utilized the Internet during a strike. The examination of labor union communication "organs" is not completely absent from academic research. On the contrary, while dated, there is a healthy discussion of labor unions in the political science literature (Blume, 1970; Juravich, 1986; Juravich & Shergold, 1988; LeRoy, 1990), yet this body of work is often limited in its communication focus. The present study focuses on communication variables and constructs that are of interest to

understanding the political communication occurring between labor unions and their members.

The second goal of the study seeks to fill a gap in the literature regarding the influence of labor unions' communication of political endorsements and positions on issues to labor union members. There are a few studies that discuss how labor unions use advertisements or advertorials to communicate their message to members and the public at large (e.g., Brown, Waltzer, & Waltzer, 2001; Buss & Hofstetter, 1976; Mullen, 1963). Even here, studies by Buss and Hofstetter (1976) and Mullen (1963) focused more on the differences between Democrats and Republicans rather than labor unions' use of advertising in campaigns. Simply, there is a lack of understanding the impact of communicating the union endorsement on the union voter.

In addition, the second goal of the study also seeks to identify the specific media that labor union members use to acquire their political knowledge, and the ultimate vote choice of labor union members. Therefore, the study will also fill gaps in the existing literature regarding the influence of traditional and labor communication on labor union members' vote choice.

Literature regarding labor unions within the discipline of communication is considered sparse at best (Botan & Frey, 1983; Freedman, 2004; Knapp & McCroskey, 1968). According to Freedman (2004), "few studies of the U.S. labor press have been published in the peer-reviewed literature of journalism or labor, and those focused more on the history of the labor press rather than what it reports and how" (Freedman, 2004, p. 304). One study examining labor press is a study by Martin (2010) that is devoted to illustrating how researchers have underutilized publications by various social movements,

including labor unions as one group, as a source of data to illustrate media bias. It is clear, as of 2015, that there are still many gaps in the communication literature in our understanding and analysis of labor unions' communication with their members. This study examines extant political science literature of both traditional and modern labor union influence in elections with the goal of broadening our overall understanding of labor union communication practices with members and the effects of such communication activity on union members' voting behaviors.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The decline in labor union membership is well documented (Chang, 2001; Sousa, 1993, “State of the labor unions”, 2013). Labor union members, however, have a higher voting turnout rate than labor union households, which have a higher voting turnout rate than non-labor union households in a general election (Chang, 2001; Delaney, Masters, & Schwochau, 1990; Sousa, 1993; Wolfe, 1969/1978). Despite the documented decline in labor union membership and the rise of labor union voter turnout, an April 2014 Rasmussen poll, and an October 2014 Rasmussen poll two weeks prior to the election for Illinois governor showed Republican Rauner leading the labor union-endorsed Democrat Quinn 43 to 40 percent, and 48 to 47 percent respectively (“Election 2014”, 2014a; “Election 2014”, 2014b). This begs the question: can a labor union voting bloc actually impact an election? Labor union leaders certainly want to get labor union members to the polls. The literature, however, is missing an important examination of how labor union advocates are communicating with labor union members on topics and political candidates of importance to a labor union friendly agenda; and, furthermore, if labor union members are consuming labor media when making their political decisions. The current chapter examines what we know about labor union influence in elections from political science, as well as the communication literature that broadly covers research of framing effects of media. The goal is to highlight the dearth of communication research of labor union communication. Finally, the theoretical framework of the current study will be provided, along with hypotheses and research questions that seek to understand labor union members’ use of traditional and labor union media and its potential influence on vote choice.

Traditional Labor Union Influence in Elections

There has long been an interest in how unions and labor union members affect policy change in Washington, and how labor may influence candidate choices for various elected offices (Greenstone, 1969; Norris, 2002; Ra, 1978; Wilson, 1979). While there is some evidence of the relationship between knowledge and labor issues and vote choice, perceived voting importance and registration, voter turnout, and some demographic influence, ultimately, it is the hope of labor union leadership to create a reliable and engaged labor bloc (LeRoy, 1990). Labor union advocates would like to see a labor bloc that supports candidates who will create or advocate policies that are favorable to labor union members and their families (LeRoy, 1990). Therefore, labor union leaders try to influence the voting behavior of the labor union membership. The literature surrounding labor unions and their influence on voting looks at a variety of local, state, and national elections. Two common findings emerge from these studies, including mass media's influence on political knowledge, and political orientation as an important factor in labor union voter turnout (Blume, 1970; Juravich & Shergold, 1988; LeRoy, 1990). Therefore, the rationale for studying the communication of labor union media geared toward labor union members and voters is based on gaining an understanding of the type of mediums, and the trust of these mediums, on labor union members' voting behavior, and labor union media's ability to influence the outcome of an election.

Vote Choice and Political Knowledge

It is a well established fact that union households are more likely to vote Democratic than nonunion households (e.g., Axelrod, 1972/1978, Campbell et al., 1960; Chang, 2001, Cook, 1975/1978; Hojnacki & Baum, 1992; Juravich & Shergold, 1988;

Kaufmann et al., 2008; LeRoy, 1990; Lewis-Beck, Jacoby, Norpoth, & Weisberg, 2008; Nie, Verba, & Petrocik, 1979/1999; Rayback, 1959/1978; Sousa, 1993; Wolfe, 1969/1978). In fact, early political historians noted, “labor voted for Jackson in 1832 and became an integral part of the Democratic Party” (Rayback, 1959/1978, p. 56). Later:

Union members...persisted in their Democratic voting. A Democratic candidate for the House of Representatives, for example, can on the average expect to obtain 60 to 70 percent of the union vote, and a Democratic presidential candidate, even if he does badly, will do less badly among union members than one would expect on the basis of national figures. This has not changed over time. (Nie et al., 1979/1999, p. 232)

In an examination of more recent Presidential elections, Lewis-Beck et al. (2008) argue, “regardless of the Presidential Election, 1948-1996, this pro-Democratic union sentiment manifests itself” (Lewis-Beck et al., 2008, p. 321).

Additionally, those who are more active in union activities (e.g., Campbell et al., 1960; Juravich, 1986; Juravich & Shergold, 1988) or take leadership positions (e.g., Juravich & Shergold, 1988) are more likely to vote for the union endorsed candidate. Also, those who are more informed (e.g., Campbell et al., 1960; Juravich, 1986), have higher political knowledge (e.g., Blume, 1970; Juravich, 1986), and identify more closely with the union (e.g., Campbell et al., 1960; Lewis-Beck et al., 2008), are more likely to support a union-endorsed candidate.

Surprisingly, a greater length of time spent in a union does not necessarily increase the likelihood of supporting the union endorsed candidate (e.g., Boris & Bruno, 2010). It may be important to consider, however, that the Boris and Bruno (2010) study

investigated support of two Democrats (Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton). Also in this study, length of time in the union and effect on voting may have been tempered because the United Steel Workers originally supported John Edwards (Boris & Bruno, 2010). Once Edwards left the race, “the international union did not give an immediate endorsement to either Obama or Clinton...[Additionally], “there was a lack of clarity in distinguishing between Clinton and Obama on the issues” (Boris & Bruno, p. 111). Length of time spent in a union may well make a difference when the candidate choices are between a Democrat and a Republican.

While current research is limited, and does not support the length of time spent in a union as an influence on vote choice, those with greater political knowledge are more likely to support a union-endorsed candidate (Blume, 1970; Juravich, 1986). Where do union members receive most of their information when making their voting decisions? Simply, union members report most of their political information comes from mass media sources (Bruno, 2000; Juravich, 1986). Media influence on political knowledge is prevalent even while union leaders may try to persuade union members to support a particular candidate; and union members often cite sources other than union communication or union leaders for their political knowledge (Bruno, 2000; Juravich, 1986). According to studies that explore the effects of a local union on its membership, mass media is the predominant source union members cite as the basis for their political information (Blume, 1970; Juravich & Shergold, 1988; LeRoy, 1990). LeRoy (1990) acknowledged that most of the information regarding elections comes from very influential media, while limited political information was received via union communication: “The data suggest that union members get most of their political

information from the media, and get the least amount of their political information from union newspapers, co-workers, and union leaders” (LeRoy, 1990, p. 24).

While the mass media are the dominant place where union members get political information, Juravich and Shergold (1988) argued, “union publications and telephone contacts have a significant impact...on voting preference” (Juravich & Shergold, 1988, p. 384). Although, according to Cook (1975/1978), telephone banks were distrusted and disliked. Additionally, LeRoy (1990) argued, “the data do not indicate to what extent these sources...[television, radio and newspapers, and their general use] influence the voting decision...The data may reflect exposure to, as opposed to reliance on, these sources” (LeRoy, 1990, p. 24). Juravich and Shergold (1988) propose that union management has the ability to overcome a media message if the “traditional organs of union opinion—the newsletter and flyer...message is conveyed in a manner that union members find ‘useful’” (Juravich & Shergold, 1988, p. 381). It is important to note that even though union members relied on the mass media for a majority of their political information, their actual political knowledge is still relatively low (Blume, 1970; Juravich, 1986).

Union members gained their political knowledge largely from mass media in the form of newspapers during earlier times and television in more recent times (e.g., Blume, 1970; Bruno, 2000; Juravich, 1986). According to Juravich and Shergold (1988), consumption of electronic media impacts the vote choice of labor union members. Also, according to LeRoy (1990), when considering a presidential vote, union members rely on the union as a source of political information less than television/radio, newspaper, spouse/family, magazine, and political party. In the past, a majority of union members

received most of their political information from a daily newspaper, followed by television, yet union members actually trusted their daily newspaper the least (Blume, 1970). Earlier research indicates union members trusted the union newspaper message more than their local newspaper, although the major source of their information was from non-union newspapers (Blume, 1970). Alternately, the union publication was the most trusted source of “formal communication” (Blume, 1970, p. 142). As time has passed, television has replaced the newspaper as the dominant form of mass media where union members gathered political information (e.g., Blume, 1970; LeRoy, 1990). Blume (1970) and LeRoy (1990) conducted their research on this topic during a time when the Internet was not used as a source of political information, which makes examining labor union communication – now with a variety of media choices – even more important during a time in history where the prevalence and pervasiveness of political information on the Internet is available to anyone. Many labor union leaders are still utilizing a printed newspaper dedicated to labor members as their main form of communication. This includes, for example, IBEW Local 34, who uses *The Labor Paper* as the official form of communication for all members of the IBEW Local 34 in Central Illinois. The American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Council 31 in Illinois also use the newspaper *AFSCME Works* to communicate. Other labor unions in Illinois receive their political news from national, regional, state, and local labor advocates in various labor specific publications.

Presidential Elections

There have long been arguments regarding labor unions’ influence in Presidential elections (e.g., Wolfe, 1969/1978). According to Sousa (1993):

The conventional wisdom that there has been a steady decline in the union effect on voting in presidential elections is wrong. The union effect waned in the turbulent campaigns of 1968 and 1972, but it took on renewed significance in 1976 and in the 1980's. (p. 748)

Later, Chang (2001) illustrated the union effect on voting by comparing union member household vote to the nonunion workers who vote in presidential elections. Labor union households made up 26% of the voters in 2000, which is up from 23% in 1996, and 19% in 1992, despite the fact that labor union members were only 13.5% of the workers in 2000 (Chang, 2001). Therefore, while there has been a decrease of union membership over time, the remaining union members have increased their turnout at the polls during general elections. This same surge is not shown during primary elections. The increase in general election turnout may partially be due to the heavy emphasis labor union leaders place on election communication leading up to and during a general election campaign.

In addition to union membership and changes in union member turnout at the polls, individuals also view the role of unions in our society much differently now than in the past. Lewis-Beck et al. (2008) argue, “the union remains an important, highly partisan voting group in our society” (Lewis-Beck et al., 2008, p. 322). While union membership is decreasing, individuals who believe unions should have more influence is on the rise. A Gallup poll from 2005 indicates labor union membership has dropped over time, although there is an increase in the number of people who believe labor union members should have a stronger influence in elections—at 38% compared to those who believe labor should have less influence at 30% (Lewis-Beck et al., 2008).

Voting Importance, Registration, and Turnout

The road to the ballot box begins with the conviction that voting is important. The fundamental belief of the union member regarding the importance of registering to vote and ultimately voting is the foundation or core of union member beliefs (Delaney, Masters, & Schwochau, 1988), a fundamental commitment to democracy and rule by the people. The first step to actually casting a ballot is the personal belief that one's right to vote is an important and worthwhile endeavor. Labor union members have this personal belief and are more likely than their nonunion counterparts to believe voting makes a difference (Delaney et al., 1988).

Registering to vote is the next step. Labor union members self-report at 14.5% more likely to vote compared to a nonunion sample examining both those *registered* and those *not registered* to vote. However, in an examination of those actually registered to vote—labor union members are only 11.4% more likely to vote compared to nonunion members (Delaney et al., 1988, Juravich & Shergold, 1988). Delaney et al. (1988) did take the extra step of validating the self-reported data by comparing official results of a local election. From the current evidence that we have, union members are more likely than their nonunion counterparts to believe that registering to vote and voting is important (Chang, 2001; Cook, 1975/1978; Delaney et al., 1988; Juravich & Shergold, 1988). The results of many studies on labor union voting behavior, however, measure a union household and not the individual union member. This means that a nonunion person who happens to live with someone who is a member of a labor union is measured and reported as part of that union household.

Research on voter turnout is varied. Studies that measure the union household as representative behavior of the union member may be part of the problem. Studies using ANES data show that over time labor union households have higher voter turnout rates than nonunion voters (Chang, 2001). According to Sousa (1993), however, in an analysis of presidential elections between 1960 and 1988, voter turnout among union households was not much higher than their nonunion counterparts, and only statistically higher in 1976 and 1984 (Sousa, 1993). Research from Delaney et al. (1988), and Juravich and Shergold (1988) echoes Sousa's (1993) work. Further, in primary elections, some scholars (e.g., Delaney et al., 1988) argue that union household members are *not* more likely than the general population to show up to vote.

Sousa (1993) elaborates on union membership and its effect on voter turnout after controlling for demographics including age, income, race, strength of party identification, and a dummy variable for their status as a union household or not (Sousa, 1993). Being a member of a labor union household does not predict voter turnout. Although, Sousa (1993) admits, "it is possible that the union effect on turnout was depressed by the decision to focus on union householders, and not just union members" (Sousa, 1993, p. 754). In an earlier study, Delaney et al. (1988) emphasize, "researchers have not empirically examined whether or not there are differences in political behavior between nonmembers and nonmembers residing in union households" (Delaney et al., 1988, p. 223). Ultimately, Delaney et al. (1988) argue, "union family members' turnout rates are not different from nonmembers" (Delaney et al., 1988, p. 233). Later, Delaney, Masters, and Schwochau (1990), in a study that also examined union endorsed candidates, explain that the union household vote is somewhere in between the union member and the

nonunion member. This range or vote continuum may explain the varied results among studies regarding turnout. Perhaps the answer is union members have higher turnout than union households, which have higher turnout than nonunion members do, and their respective households.

In short, while many claim greater voter turnout by union members and their families, there is varied evidence to support this claim. Very few studies examine the topic in depth over a longer period. Delaney et al. (1988) examined congressional voting from one election in 1978. Juravich and Shergold (1988) examined union members in Pennsylvania during the Presidential election of 1984. Sousa (1993) provides the most thorough overview from ANES data covering the presidential elections from 1960-1988. Chang (2001) does examine ANES data covering presidential elections from 1948-2000, but does not provide the tables or statistical analysis that Sousa (1993) presents as evidence.

The story of voter turnout of union members is best explained by understanding that union member voter turnout in primary elections is low (e.g., Delaney et al., 1988), and union member voter turnout in general elections is also low, but has been increasing as union membership has been decreasing (e.g., Chang, 2001). In short, union members are not necessarily motivated to go to the polls any more than nonunion members, but when union members show up at the polls, they vote for the Democratic candidate more often than not (Sousa, 1993), and evidence of union membership influencing vote choice may be present (e.g., Campbell et al., 1960; Sousa, 1993). Further, union membership impacted vote choice and was statistically significant in six of the eight election cycles that Sousa (1993) examined, including the greatest impact in the 1984 Presidential

election when Democratic candidate Walter Mondale lost to incumbent Republican President Ronald Regan. Finally, the literature regarding voter turnout of union members utilizes data from union households and not just the union member when examining ANES data, and our best understanding is that a union household may have only slightly higher voter turnout than a nonunion household (Delaney et al., 1990).

Demographic Influence

The most defining demographic influence of the union voter is race. Analysis of the demographics of labor union members encompass gender (Boris & Bruno, 2010; Fiorito & Greer, 1986), education (Boris & Bruno, 2010; Juravich & Shergold, 1988), age (Juravich & Shergold, 1988), religion (Boris & Bruno, 2010), and income (Campbell, Converse, Miller, & Stokes, 1960; Sousa, 1993); however, race combined with union membership appear to be the strongest predictors of vote choice (Boris & Bruno, 2010; Sousa, 1993). While race is not the solitary predictor of vote choice, simply being Black does make a difference in turnout and vote choice.

The empirical evidence from voter turnout tells us that the Black voter votes Democratic (Lewis-Beck, Jacoby, Norpoth, & Weisberg, 2008; Pomper, 1975). According to Lewis-Beck et al. (2008) African Americans have voted Democratic in presidential elections for some time. Also, Black voters have more cohesion and stronger ethnic identity: “When that identification intensifies, so does the political reaction...The indication is that black Democratic support is issue-based, rather than merely symbolic” (Lewis-Beck et al., 2008, p. 322). When a Black voter is also a union member, the union effect on voting appears clearly:

The union effect appears to be much stronger and more consistent for black than white voters. Union whites outvoted non-union whites by an average of only 2.5 percentage points, but turnout among union blacks exceeded that of non-union blacks by an average of 12.7 points... [In short] union status helps to equalize the differences in the voting rates of black and white voters. (Sousa, 1993, pp. 751-752)

According to Kaufmann, Petrocik, and Shaw (2008), women are more likely to vote Democratic than men, and white women are more likely than white men to vote Democratic in an examination of ANES data. In a study of union members that examines race and gender, Boris and Bruno (2010) show that a majority of Black (94.4%) union members compared to White (32.8%) union members preferred Barack Obama as the Presidential candidate, and females (58.2%) preferred Hillary Clinton compared to males (45.2%) (Boris & Bruno, 2010). Demographic factors including race, gender, education, age, geographic location, and religion explained 30.3 percent of the variance in respondents' primary voting decision (Boris & Bruno, 2010). Only race and gender were statistically significant at .01; and education was statistically significant at .05 (Boris & Bruno, 2010). This finding is consistent with Juravich (1986), who also did not find income or age to be statistically significant. Unlike Boris and Bruno (2010), Juravich (1986) did not find education to be statistically significant.

Later, Juravich and Shergold (1988) did find that younger and less educated union members were less likely to vote (Juravich & Shergold, 1988). This is consistent with empirical evidence that younger citizens consistently vote less than do older voters (Kaufmann et al., 2008).

In all, Lewis-Beck et al. (2008) argue that Blacks vote more as a group, and labor union members vote less as a group, although group cohesion may not help in predicting the characteristics or attraction of one candidate over another within a particular election (Lewis-Beck et al., 2008). Understanding how various demographics may influence union membership may help explain the variance in union membership voting. Clearly, studies of union membership should control for race considering the tremendous influence of Black voters. Gender may also play an important role when determining vote choice; however, more research is needed in this area to examine confounding variables that may also contribute to vote choice.

There is not enough evidence to understand the story of demographic influence on the union voter outside of race. While Sousa (1993) found union members with middle and upper incomes would vote more Democratic, “for lower income voters, differences were statistically significant in only four of eight election cycles” (Sousa, 1993, p. 745). More research in the area of demographics is necessary to understand how the union voter may differ from the nonunion voting population, again, outside of race.

Modern Labor Union Influence in Elections

Clearly, changes in the percent of the union workforce, labor union voting turnout, labor union voting impact, and perceptions of labor union influence provides a need to systematically understand how labor union leaders communicate with the labor union workforce, and how this communication may affect union members’ vote choice. The limited studies of labor union voting typically examine the labor union household, and not the labor union member independently. Relevant political science literature on “union membership” and “labor voting” revealed some support for labor union influence

on elections. Additionally, a few studies have examined union membership and not union households in the context of labor issues, including organizing (e.g., Demsetz, 1993; Martinez & Fiorito, 2009; Martinez, Fiorito, & Ferris, 2011; Reed, 1989; Walker & Lawler, 1986); political influence (e.g., Dark, 1996; Kau & Rubin, 1981; Masters & Delaney, 1987; Moore, Chachere, Curtis, & Gordon, 1995); mobilization (e.g., Gershtenson, 2003; Greene, 1991; Lamare, 2010); interest group impacts (e.g., Clark, 1998; Patton & Marrone, 1984); and gender differences (Fiorito & Greer, 1986), but do not include vote choice.

Finally, most studies of labor unions' role in politics and elections are mainly concerned with national Presidential elections that examined either large regional union membership or analysis that utilized ANES data. In general, the preceding review of the political science literature regarding labor union membership and elections revealed the following four concepts: First, union members are more likely than their nonunion counterparts to believe that registering to vote and voting is important; second, union membership impacts vote choice; also Black union voter turnout exceeds nonunion Blacks; and, finally, mass media is the dominant place where union members get political information that informs their vote choice.

Theoretical Framework

Framing

Framing theory is often engaged to guide research on media content, such as how the media frame topics and issues, as well as research examining the effects of media frames (Price & Tewksbury, 1997). Topics that are framed in a particular way may activate or “prime” previous knowledge on a candidate or issue, therefore affecting an

individuals' judgment of a particular candidate or issue when exposed to certain frames (Price & Tewksbury, 1997). Further, Price and Tewksbury (1997) argue that salient messages that are consistent over a long period of time may be important to understanding long-term effects. Framing considers the impact on the audience's cognitive interpretation of the message based on salient messages to the receiver created by those in the media (Shah, McLeod, Gotlieb, & Lee, 2009).

Framing theory offers insight into how the framing of campaign issues by journalists has the potential to affect vote choice. The crux of framing theory is certain information about a particular issue is given focus or precedence to the exclusion of other information about the same issue. This may lead individuals (voters) to have a particular point of view about a candidate or a "plank issue" (i.e. a public position on an issue by a political party), which may be important to understanding a candidate's position by a voter. Framing by traditional news organizations versus labor union media of candidates and issues may be particularly relevant to labor union voters if they consume media that utilize particular media frames while excluding others.

Price and Tewksbury (1997) argue this occurs due to how we store knowledge, our active thoughts, and the stimuli within our current environment. Our "knowledge store," for example, is our network of thoughts we keep about various constructs (Price & Tewksbury, 1997, p. 186). For example, if a union member is presented with the fact that Bruce Rauner wants to enact right-to-work laws in a news story, the union member may activate social objects and their attributes like "billionaire," or "union hater." Second, goals, values, and motivations may also be activated like "he wants to break the unions" or, "he wants to turn Illinois into Wisconsin." Third, affective and emotional states are

activated like “hate,” “anger,” or even “despair.” Price and Tewksbury (1997) argue this is because we associate connections among what we think, how we remember, our previous opinions, and how we feel about these constructs.

Constructs that are salient to us are part of our “active thought” (Price & Tewksbury, 1997). This means that when something is presented to us that we find particularly important, we are more likely to actively think about this construct. For example, if a union member is concerned about the outcome of the election, and a new commercial comes on for Bruce Rauner, he or she would conduct an “Evaluation of Construct Relevance.” Specifically, the union member may activate many areas within the knowledge store; for example, because there may be a high excitation level the first time the commercial is viewed. If the union member sees the same commercial again, he or she may only activate the affective or emotional state “jerk,” because of the recency and frequency of prior activation.

Evaluations of constructs are activated based on “current stimuli” (Price & Tewksbury, 1997). This means that the salience of the various objects, attributes, and events contribute to how we access various cognitions. Because we are presented with a variety of messages about a given candidate or issues, we evaluate that which is of particular importance to us based on our current stimuli. For example, new constructs may be activated if the union member sees a new commercial about Bruce Rauner from an attack ad by his political opponent Pat Quinn regarding outsourcing of jobs. The union member may activate motivation constructs like “Rauner only wants to outsource jobs to increase his own billions.” Again, the recency and frequency of current stimuli

can trigger active thought from our knowledge store based on the salience of a candidate or issue in this case.

Therefore, the knowledge a union member stores regarding candidates may be different depending on the media diet of a labor union member. For example, if a labor union media diet includes heavy consumption of labor union media compared to traditional media sources, the framing of labor union candidates and issues may activate different active thoughts based on the stimuli within their labor union work environment. Exposure to a heavy labor union media diet may influence labor union member vote choice based on consumption of labor union frames compared to traditional media frames.

Salience of a news story to a voter is more apparent when the reader/listener/viewer is less familiar with a particular topic. The voter then relies more on the news media's frame or coverage of a particular topic for decision-making, making the union members' media diet important to their decision-making. For example, 2004 presidential candidate John Kerry incurred the attribute that he was a "flip-flopper" or changed his mind on issues due in part to the news coverage surrounding his bid for the presidency. Framing is then used to explain how John Kerry is viewed by the public as a "flip-flopper," or someone who changes their position on a topic to suit political purposes (Melkote, 2009).

The challenge to the audience is that the news media end up highlighting some issue or attribute at the expense or exclusion of other attributes. An example of how news media frames make certain attributes salient for their core audience is the September 11, 2012 terrorist attack on the U.S. embassy in Benghazi. Consider the

reporting regarding Benghazi in various news media. The frame that MSNBC provided was not nearly as negative as to how then Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and President Barack Obama handled the crisis (Benen, 2014). Alternately, the frame that FOX News provides blames Clinton and Obama for attempting to cover up the attack (Herridge, 2014; Ingmire, 2014). A blogger, however, blasted MSNBC for not carrying any live coverage of the April 2014 U.S. House of Representatives Oversight Committee hearing on Benghazi, and praises Fox news for carrying “74 minutes and 25 seconds worth of live coverage” (Meyer, 2014). In turn, MSNBC criticizes FOX News for mentioning Benghazi 1,101 times during its coverage since 2013 (“The GOPs Summer of Benghazi Coverage,” 2014).

The attack of a U.S. Embassy in Benghazi is framed differently for members of different media audiences. This highlights the difference in exposure to a certain topic by different media with very different frames. Some may argue this is “priming” an audience or predisposing an audience to a particular viewpoint that is later accessed by a voter during an election. Essentially, the audience may find that a particular candidate or issue is salient, but the salience of the attributes is also important (Kiousis, 2004). In the Benghazi example, for those who consumed media on this topic and considered the information salient, not only would the position on the issue of a terrorist attack on Benghazi be salient if exposed, but also one’s position on both former Secretary Clinton and President Obama would be salient. If we were predisposed to learning about Benghazi on MSNBC, we would believe that former Secretary Clinton and President Obama handled the attack appropriately. If we were predisposed to learning about Benghazi on FOX News, we would believe that former Secretary Clinton and President

Obama were covering up the mishandling of the United States' response to the terrorist attacks in Benghazi.

News frames are different based on the source (Dimitrova, Kaid, Williams, & Trammell, 2005). Simply, different media frames may incite a difference in perception of the issues (Rill & Davis, 2008). These differences are important when we consider salience of channel and platform repertoire of a labor union member's media diet. For example, union members may only expose themselves to labor media, and may limit their television exposure to FOX News (conservative-leaning) or MSNBC (liberal-leaning). This limited exposure may activate constructs that are consistent or incongruent with one's current opinions.

Entman (2003) provided an extended view of framing called Cascading Activation. Entman (2003) argued that the original message does not come from the journalist (who is perceived to "set the agenda"), but actually from the White House and other elites. Others then reinterpret this frame further down the line (e.g., White House > Elites > Officials > Journalists > Public). Once the elite "frames" an issue in a particular manner, it is very difficult to change. For example, information flows or cascades down easier than transmission the other way. Although, the rise of information available to many using the Internet, including various labor union media, offers an alternative to these elite frames. Therefore, in the example provided by Entman (1993), the frame created by the White House may end up dominating the news received by the public via traditional television news. Alternative media choices like *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart* on cable's Comedy Central, or *Rush Limbaugh* via talk radio, or social media (e.g., Facebook, Twitter, or blogs), and labor union media (e.g., labor union

communication via newspaper, social media, and websites dedicated to labor) may each present alternative frames. Competing frames from others sources may not matter, however, if an individual only exposes themselves to certain channels, also known as channel repertoire.

Channel Repertoire

Channel repertoire is defined as the idea that individuals routinely choose from a limited number of channels on a regular basis to access media content despite the increased amount of choices available to the public in the current media landscape (e.g., Ferguson, 1992; Ferguson & Melkote, 1997; Ferguson & Perse, 1993; Heeter, 1985; Lochte & Warren, 1989). The concept of channel repertoire is different from selective exposure. Selective exposure, based on Festinger's (1957) theory of cognitive dissonance, is defined as individuals choosing to expose themselves only to ideas or concepts that are congruent with their current attitudes, and avoiding information where they might be exposed to ideas or concepts that are incongruent with their beliefs on an issue (Festinger, 1957; Trilling & Schoenbach, 2014). Trilling and Schoenbach (2014), in a study of online news, did not find statistically significant support for user preference/avoidance of sites that matched their political viewpoints. Further, Trilling and Schoenbach (2014) argue individuals use media that is popular and easily accessible.

Individuals may have a channel repertoire due to convenience. For example, local union members may read *The Labor Paper* because it shows up in their mailbox twice a month. Similarly, they may also watch Fox News or MSNBC because they have a cable subscription, and want to see what is going on in the world at a time when they have access to 24-hour news service. Individuals may also listen to their local radio station to

get news like WMBD-AM because that is what is available to them in their car to and from their way to work. They may also be exposed to Fox News Radio on WMBD-AM because that is the news service that the radio station subscribes to for national news. They may also be exposed to certain labor news because they “like” a group on Facebook, and information from this group may pop up in their newsfeed. Therefore, exposure to a media source may not have as much to do with selective exposure and what they may find credible, as much as convenience.

Early on, the concept of channel repertoire was applied to television (e.g., terrestrial, and cable) to convey that we may have many television channels to choose from, but we select only a small few to watch on a regular basis when cable was developing on the television landscape (Heeter, 1985; Taneja, Webster, Malthouse, & Ksiazek, 2012). Later, researchers compared television receive-only (TVRO) satellite systems or “free-to-air” C-band analog systems opposed to direct-broadcast satellite that is encrypted (e.g., Lochte & Warren, 1989), to the up and coming cable choices, and even the effect of having a remote control on choices (Ferguson, 1992; Ferguson & Melkote, 1997). Although channel repertoire has also been used to describe radio (e.g., terrestrial, cable, and satellite) and television (e.g., terrestrial, cable, and satellite), emerging research on repertoire has investigated Internet use of media (Ferguson & Perse, 2000), and cross-platform approaches called media repertoire (Kim, 2014; Taneja, Webster, Malthouse, & Ksiazek, 2012). Individuals are not only selecting from very few choices, but the emergence of multiple platforms (i.e., access to television on the Internet using mobile devices, tablets, laptops, or streaming on their television), is changing the way individuals find content. Therefore, with more and more platforms available, individuals

are gaining political knowledge in a variety of ways, and consuming the same media the same way on a regular basis. When someone wants political information, they are typically going to go to the same few places to get that content, which means their political knowledge is drawn from a relatively few places on a regular basis. Now, whether the individual trusts a particular news source is a different story.

Trust in News Media

The salience of frames from our channel repertoire includes our knowledge store about particular candidates and issues, and our active thoughts based on frames from a varied or limited media diet. Therefore, our current evaluation of political actors and issues become relevant because of an upcoming election. Adding to our knowledge store is the trust we place in a variety of news media sources.

Conceptually, trust is defined as when individuals give control to someone else to reduce the risk of an uncertain future. Giving this control to someone else happens when the individual may not have knowledge regarding the outcome. In short, “when there is nothing at stake, trust is not needed” (Kohring & Matthes, 2007, p. 238). This conceptual definition is important when you consider that journalists frame news stories differently. Therefore, our channel repertoire, and our choice of mediums place a level of trust in where we get our news.

Several scholars have argued that Americans in general do not trust the media (e.g., Jones, 2004; Lee, 2010; Williams, 2012). Mistrust of certain media would ultimately impact salience of frames that we receive from these sources. For example, we may still expose ourselves to media that we may be skeptical of to understand how

“the other side” may think about a political candidate or issue to add to our knowledge store, but we may not consider their arguments salient when making a voting decision.

Tsfati and Cappella (2003), and later Tsfati (2010), expected that those who were more skeptical of mainstream media news would seek alternatives, and avoid or limit their media diet of mainstream media news. Tsfati and Cappella (2003) found that those with higher levels of skepticism consumed higher levels of nonmainstream media compared to their diet of mainstream news. Alternately, those with lower levels of skepticism consumed more mainstream news as part of their overall media news diet (Tsfati & Capella, 2003).

Those who mistrust mainstream media news may seek out alternatives for their political knowledge store. Tsfati (2010), however, found that those with higher levels of skepticism do not get their political news from the Internet as an alternative to mainstream news. In short, they seek out Internet news less than those who have higher levels of trust.

In a study regarding the relationship between media trust and news attention, Williams (2012) examined the idea of different types of media trust by medium. For example, Williams (2012) found higher age, more education, and greater income to be statistically significant predictors of trust of the news reporters themselves when it comes to newspapers. Higher income was the largest predictor of those who placed trust in television news networks specifically (Williams, 2012). Audience attention to Internet news did not show any statistically significant levels with regard to trust of news reporters (like newspapers), trust of news institutions (like television), or trust of news information content from traditional media and the Internet (like television). In short, for

the newspaper medium, some people place their trust in the reporter; and when it comes to television, some people place their trust in the institution. The Internet, as a news medium, does not show any predictors of media trust with regard to news reporters, news corporations, or news content.

Kohring and Matthes (2007) argue that previous research on trust in news media is varied because researchers utilize credibility constructs to operationalize trust. Research regarding trust in news media has previously drawn on credibility in much of its research (e.g., Kioussis, 2001; Tsfati, 2010; Tsfati & Cappella, 2003). Tsfati (2010), for example, adapts McGrath's (1986) news credibility scale. To counter these conceptual issues, Kohring and Matthes (2007) developed and validated a multidimensional scale to operationalize and examine trust in news media as a second order hierarchical factor comprised of four first order factors including: "trust in selectivity of topics," "trust in selectivity of facts," "trust in the accuracy of depictions," and "trust in journalistic assessment" (Kohring & Matthes, 2007, p. 239). The authors argue their multidimensional scale is valid for assessing trust in news media. Their only caveat is that each of their first order factors included four latent factors that all concerned the issue of unemployment. Therefore, research utilizing union members as the sample, for example, should test an issue salient to union members.

The Present Study

Framing

Framing tells us that a particular issue (and candidate, in this case) is given focus to the exclusion of other information (Entman, 1989). Frames highlighted in exposure to certain news media frames make certain attributes salient (Rill & Davis, 2008). *The*

Labor Paper, for example, ran a six-part comparison of Quinn vs. Rauner. A majority of the articles in this series focused on how Bruce Rauner, and right-to-work and anti-union laws would be a poor choice for labor (Stevens, 2014a). Some of the articles did acknowledge Quinn's popularity problem because he tried to cut public labor benefits to help balance the Illinois budget (Stevens, 2014a; Stevens 2014b; Stevens, 2015). A majority of the newspaper articles, however, focused on the negative aspects of Rauner and the positive aspects of Quinn. Therefore, we should expect labor media to frame union-endorsed candidates positively; the non-union-endorsed, and right-to-work and anti-union laws negatively. The research on framing leads to the following hypotheses:

- H1a:** Union members' exposure to labor union media will positively predict a favorable evaluation of the union-endorsed candidate.
- H1b:** Union members' exposure to labor union media will negatively predict a favorable evaluation of the non union-endorsed Republican candidate.
- H2:** Union members' exposure to labor union media will negatively predict a favorable evaluation of right-to-work and anti-union laws.
- H3a:** Exposure to labor union media will positively predict awareness of union's endorsements.
- H3b:** Awareness of labor union's endorsements will positively predict a favorable evaluation of the union-endorsed candidate.
- H3c:** Awareness of labor union's endorsements will negatively predict a favorable evaluation of the non-union-endorsed Republican candidate.
- H3d:** Awareness of labor union's endorsements will negatively predict a favorable evaluation of right-to-work and anti-union laws.

Channel Repertoire

Individuals select a few channels to access media content out of popularity and convenience, which constitutes their channel repertoire (e.g., Ferguson, 1992; Trilling & Schoenbach, 2014). The proliferation of mediums and channels available for consumption has changed the landscape of traditional and new media outlets. The research on channel repertoire leads to the following research questions:

RQ1: What is the most used medium of news for labor union members?

RQ2: Will the relationship between labor union media exposure on candidate evaluation differ according to whether participants get their labor news mostly from traditional labor media (e.g., labor newspapers), or mostly from new labor media (e.g., social media labor channels on Facebook and Twitter) sources?

Trust in News and Labor Media

Labor union members' political knowledge is mainly acquired from the mass media (Blume, 1970; Bruno, 2000; Juravich, 1986; Juravich & Shergold, 1988). Unfortunately, the research we have on trust in labor union media is dated; and the media landscape is now completely different, which may change which sources are currently most trusted. Previous research showed that political information is trusted the least when it is from non-union newspapers (Blume, 1970). The most trusted source of political information is the union paper (Blume, 1970; Cook 1975/1978; Juravich & Shergold, 1988) and union leadership (Cook, 1975/1978; Juravich, 1986; LeRoy, 1990) even though union membership cited union sources the least for their political information. Additionally, telephone banks were also not trusted by union members

(Cook, 1975/1978), even though telephone banks were routinely one of the ways union leadership communicates information to union members regarding candidates (LeRoy, 1990). This led to the following research questions and hypotheses regarding trust in news and labor media:

RQ3: What is the most trusted medium of news for labor union members?

H4a: Trust in labor union media will positively predict a favorable evaluation of the union-endorsed candidates.

H4b: Trust in labor union media will negatively predict a favorable evaluation of the non union-endorsed Republican candidate.

RQ4: The relationship between labor union media exposure and a positive evaluation of the labor-endorsed candidate will be moderated by trust in labor union media, such that the relationship will be strongest among those who are most trusting of labor union media.

Labor Union Membership

What do we know to be true about union members and their voting behavior?

Union members are more likely than non-union members to believe that voting is important (Delaney et al., 1988), and more likely than non-union members to register to vote (Delaney et al., 1988, Juravich & Shergold, 1988). Therefore, union members are more likely to vote than nonunion members (Delaney et al., 1988; Juravich & Shergold, 1988). The exception is in primary elections (Delaney et al., 1988). Union membership, however, does not guarantee higher turnout at the polls (Delaney et al., 1988; Juravich & Shergold, 1988; Sousa, 1993).

Regardless of turnout, union membership does have an impact on vote choice (Sousa, 1993). Of those who vote, union members and union households are more likely to vote Democratic (Bok & Dunlop, 1970; Campbell et al., 1960; Chang, 2001; Kaufmann, 2008; LeRoy, 1990; Nie et al., 1979/1999; Sousa, 1993). Additionally, “union members who were active in their union, held leadership positions, and had contact with their union were significantly more likely to vote for the candidate endorsed by their union” (Juravich & Shergold, 1988, p. 383). While the core of LeRoy’s (1990) study also illuminates the rise of issue voting over bloc voting, “unions’ influence on voting behavior is considerably more complex than earlier analyses have suggested” (Juravich & Shergold, 1988, p. 383). Early research echoes current findings, including “The union effect on the union respondent’s voting behavior is enhanced the more closely attached the respondent feels to unions, the more he accepts the legitimacy of union political activity, and the more he perceives a clear voting preference” (Wolfe, 1969/1978, p. 379).

Union members who are more active (Campbell, 1960; Juravich, 1986; Juravich & Shergold, 1988), serve as a union leader (Juravich & Shergold, 1988), and more informed (Blume, 1970; Campbell, 1960; Juravich, 1986; Lewis-Beck, 2008), are more likely to support a union-endorsed candidate. This led to the following research question on involvement in the labor union:

RQ5: Will the relationship between labor union media exposure and positive evaluations of union-endorsed candidates be strongest among those who are closely involved in their union (i.e., union members who participate in the labor union through a variety of labor-sponsored activities)?

Labor Union Communication

Clearly, there is evidence to show how union membership affects vote choice (i.e., Chang, 2001; Sousa, 1993), although there is still a conceptual definition problem. For example, more research is necessary to understand the voting differences among union members and union households. Much of the research to date discusses the two groups almost interchangeably. Little research acknowledges there might even be a problem when considering these independent variables as the same when there may be some characteristic differences (Delaney et al., 1990; Sousa, 1993). Therefore, this study will focus on labor union members specifically.

This current chapter examined the idea of labor union communication, and labor union voting behavior in the context of media framing, channel repertoire, and media trust. More specifically, the goal is to understand labor union media influence with an emphasis on the local coverage of political candidates by labor media. Clearly, the frames created by labor union media work to tell a story that resonates with union members if they select labor union media for their repertoire of political information. Of course, labor union media promote a specific frame for their own best interest. This bias, however, is not unlike findings in traditional news media where at times Republicans are presented more favorably than Democrats and vice versa (Entman, 2010). Our earlier cable news example explicates the day-to-day framing bias that exists in traditional news media (Meyer, 2014; “The GOPs Summer of Benghazi Coverage”, 2014). In summary, this chapter illuminates research from political science and communication related to labor union media and subsequent voting behavior. The theoretical foundation was established with framing. The next chapter will explicate the study’s method.

CHAPTER THREE: METHOD

This chapter will describe the participants, design, procedures, measures, and data analysis in order to answer the research questions and hypotheses from Chapter Two. Specifically, this chapter will explicate the need for a survey of labor union members.

Participants

This study attempts to understand labor union communication from labor union media and its use on forming vote choice of labor union membership. To understand labor union communication impact, if any, on labor unions' members and their subsequent vote choice, it is important to conceptually define and study actual labor union members, and not just members of a union household, as previous research in this area has used (Delaney et al., 1990; Sousa, 1993). Only active and retired union members, and not members of union households, were asked to participate in the present study. Members of various unions affiliated with the Illinois AFL-CIO (ILAFL-CIO) were selected to survey because of potential access to 51 different labor unions affiliated with the ILAFL-CIO, which represents almost 900,000 union members, their jurisdiction within the boundaries of the State of Illinois, and their endorsement of political candidates ("2014 General Election Endorsements," 2014).

Because state and local unions were hesitant to allow survey of their membership through direct mailing lists due to confidentiality and privacy concerns, I conducted a nonrandom, purposive, network (snowball) sample of active and retired members of a labor union in the State of Illinois. Recruitment of the initial sample was three-fold. First, I posted a link to the survey on my personal Facebook account to recruit volunteers, in addition to asking my personal network to share the link to the survey on their

Facebook accounts. Specifically, I posted “*If you belong to a labor union, or you are retired from a labor union in the State of Illinois, you qualify to take this survey for my research at the University of Missouri. *If you complete the survey now you may enter for a chance to win one of four gift cards to Bass Pro Shop, Amazon, or a company of your choice. *For a chance to win, complete by April 15th for \$500, by April 20th for \$300, by April 25th for \$150, or by April 30th for \$50. *Friends: please like, comment, tag, and share to spread the word to find volunteers to take this study, because you want to help your friend complete her dissertation and graduate. This survey is confidential. *Thanks all! Anji”. Second, I telephoned my personal network of labor union friends and family I know from AFSCME (American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees), AFT (American Federation of Teachers), IBEW (International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers), IBT (International Brotherhood of Teamsters), IFT (Illinois Federation of Teachers), INA (Illinois Nurses Association), SMWIA (Sheet Metal Workers International Association), UA (United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing, Pipefitting, and Sprinkler Fitting Industry of the U.S. and Canada), and UFCW (United Food & Commercial Workers) to request that they complete the survey, and invite their friends and family to complete the survey. I provided each person a paper copy or electronic link based on his or her preference, and their preference for how they wanted to reach out to their personal network. Finally, I asked various labor leaders around the state, including the Illinois AFL-CIO, if they would be willing to share the electronic link with their membership (see APPENDIX for the survey).

A power analysis is appropriate to determine an appropriate sample size (Cohen, 1988). G*Power was used to calculate a total sample size of at least 191 with an effect size of 0.2, an error probability of 0.05, with a power of 0.80 (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007). There were a total of 201 labor union members who completed the survey.

There were more male (68.2%) participants than females (31.8%) (see Table 1). The majority of the participants were overwhelmingly White or European American or Middle Eastern American or North African American (94.0%, $N = 189$) compared to those who selected more than one race including White, and all other races (6.0%, $N = 12$) (see Table 1). All of the participants completed high school (100%, $N = 201$) while a majority of participants had some college (78.6%, $N = 158$) and at least 29.9% ($N = 60$) graduated from an apprenticeship training program (see Table 1). A majority of the participants earned between \$50,000 and \$75,000 (34.3%, $N = 69$), which only accounted for their individual income, and did not include their household income (see Table 1).

The age of the participants ranged from 22 to 75 years of age with an average age of almost 46 years ($M = 45.89$, $SD = 10.92$); and active union members (86.1%) participated at a higher rate than retired union members (13.9%) (see Table 2 and Table 3). The length of time the union members were part of their union ranged from 1 to 54 years with an average of almost 17 years ($M = 16.64$, $SD = 11.57$) spent in the union (see Table 2).

Just over 77% ($N = 155$) of union members were aware of Pat Quinn's endorsement for Governor, and just over half of the union members (50.2%, $N = 101$) voted for the incumbent and union-endorsed Democrat Pat Quinn (see Table 4).

Politically, the majority, which is just over a quarter of the sample, self-identified as a Democrat (25.4%, N = 51) followed by Independent (16.9%, N = 34) (see Table 5). The majority of members self-identified as a “moderate” in Economic (39.3%, N = 79), Social (35.3%, N = 71), and Overall Political Ideology (39.3%, N = 79) (See Table 5).

There were 21 different unions represented from 57 different locals with a majority from AFSCME (24.4%, N = 49), IBEW (16.4%, N = 33), International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) (13.4%, N = 27), and the Illinois Education Association-National Education Association (IEA-NEA) (10.9%, N = 22) (see Table 6). There were 51 different job classifications with 79 different job titles ranging from Actor to Working Foreman Clerk (see Table 7).

Participants had union membership from 29 different Illinois cities as far North as Rockford, as far South as Pinckneyville, as far West as Macomb, and as far East as Chicago. A majority of union membership was from Peoria (33.3%, N = 67), Centralia (23.9%, N = 48), Springfield (9.0%, N = 18), East Peoria (8.5%, N = 17), Galesburg (6.0%, N = 12), and Chicago (5.5%, N = 11) (see Table 8).

Design and Procedures

The purpose of this study was to examine local union membership use of labor media, and whether union members trust labor media in their subsequent decision to vote for the union-endorsed candidate. To this end, the author employed a cross-sectional survey design of active and retired members of labor unions affiliated with the ILAFL-CIO to examine labor union membership exposure to labor union media frames, their channel repertoire, trust of labor media, and how union membership may impact vote choice following an election.

Procedures. The author distributed both a paper survey with an option to fill out the survey in an electronic version for convenience to participants, and an electronic link to the survey via social media. The paper copies were distributed to labor union members known by the researcher throughout the State of Illinois. The electronic version was for those who were not interested in completing the paper version of the survey, and for distribution on Facebook accounts associated with labor unions in the State of Illinois using a link from Qualtrics software. A unique number was attached to each paper copy of the survey to prevent duplicate entries from someone filling out both the paper version, and the online version. If someone filled out the electronic version, he or she was asked to supply this unique number before beginning the survey if they received a paper copy, or asked to enter “the number 9 followed by the time (for example, 90720 or 91243)” if they clicked on the link with no paper copy. The author asked that all paper copies of the surveys be returned regardless of paper or electronic completion.

The author applied for and received exempt approval from the IRB. The author began distribution of the survey in April 2015 via paper and electronic link, and received 197 complete responses during the month of April. There were four surveys completed during the first week of May 2015.

All participants were given an informed consent indicating that participation was voluntary prior to taking the survey. The paper version and the electronic version included the informed consent on the first page of the survey prior to the survey questions. Returning the paper copy of the survey by hand, or through a secure URL, was an indication of consent. The questions were ordered the same for both the paper version and the electronic version to maintain consistency among participants.

Respondents were offered an incentive to complete the survey in a timely manner by having a choice to enter a drawing to receive one of four gift cards to Bass Pro Shop, Amazon, or a company of their choice.

Any identifying information received to enroll in the drawing was separated and discarded prior to any analysis of data. Four participants were chosen randomly to receive a reward according to the date of submission once the identifying information was separated from responses. Winners were all notified via telephone by June 8, 2015. The following labor union members won a gift card to a company of their choice: \$500 (Lowe's)- "General Services" from IBT (International Brotherhood of Teamsters) Local 627 in Peoria, Illinois; \$300 (Amazon)- "Firefighter" from IAFF (International Association of Firefighters) Local 4186 in Glenview, Illinois; \$150 (Amazon)- "Journeyman Steamfitter" from UA (United Association of Union Plumbers, Fitters, Welders, and Service Tech's) Local 353 in Peoria, Illinois; \$50 (Gander Mountain)- "Correctional Officer" from AFSCME (American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees) Local 203 in Centralia, Illinois. All four individuals completed a W9 form in order to receive their gift card. All four W9 forms and gift cards were procured and delivered to participants in June 2015.

Measures

The survey consisted of items to measure labor union member media exposure, their medium and channel repertoire, trust of media, evaluation/awareness of union-endorsed candidates and right-to-work and anti-union laws, in addition to, union involvement, and demographics. The survey is included in the Appendix.

Independent variables.

Union member exposure to labor union media. Labor union media are defined as any media that are distributed on behalf of the labor union or federation that affiliates with labor unions with the intent to inform and/or persuade members of the union regardless of medium or channel. The variable labor union media exposure was measured by using a combined mean score of each type of channel specific to labor where a higher number indicates greater exposure to labor union media. The index includes two newspaper sources (i.e., *local labor union*, *national labor union*) in addition to 16 items from Internet channels that were specific to labor members from Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and websites (i.e., *local labor union*, *national labor union*, *ILAFL-CIO*, and *AFL-CIO*). There were 18 items in total to measure union member exposure to labor union media. See Table 9 for the combined mean and standard deviation.

Mediums. Mediums are defined as the means through which individuals access news content. Mediums were measured using a combined mean score of each type of channel by medium (i.e., newspaper, radio, television, and internet) excluding “other”, wherein a higher number indicates greater frequency of use by each medium using a 7-point Likert scale (i.e., 0 = *Never*, 1 = *Almost never (a few times a year)*, 2 = *Rarely (once a month or less)*, 3 = *Sometimes (a few times per month)*, 4 = *Often (once a week)*, 5 = *Frequently (a few times per week)*, 6 = *Every Day*) to denote the frequency they used each medium to access news content. See Table 9 for means and standard deviations.

Channels. Channels are conceptually defined as the location of content by type after an individual chooses a medium. Channels were measured by scoring the types of channels within each medium using a 7-point Likert scale (i.e., 0 = *never*, 1 = *Almost*

never (a few times a year), 2 = Rarely (once a month or less), 3 = Sometimes (a few times per month), 4 = Often (once a week), 5 = Frequently (a few times per week), 6 = Every Day) to denote the frequency they used each type of channel to access news content within each medium. See Table 10 for means and standard deviations.

The types of newspaper channels included were narrowed down from a list drawn from any newspaper that serves, and originates from, inside the State of Illinois, and newspapers with a national presence outside of Illinois, including those relevant to labor. The newspapers examined for inclusion were derived from a list of members and nonmembers maintained by the Illinois Press Association (IPA). The IPA is a statewide newspaper association that represents over “450 daily and weekly newspapers” (“A Brief History of the IPA,” n.d.). Survey fatigue prevents listing these papers individually.

Types of newspaper channels within the medium of newspaper were measured by stating “I read from the following types of newspapers to get political information” where a higher number indicates more frequent use (i.e., *Local Daily* (like *Journal Star*) that delivers a physical newspaper 5-7 days per week, *Local Weekly* (like *The Weekly Messenger*) that delivers a physical newspaper at least one day per week, *State Daily* that may be purchased locally (like *The Chicago Tribune*), *National Daily* (like *The New York Times*) that have a national presence that may be purchased locally, and newspapers that are specific to labor (i.e., *Your Local Labor Union Paper* (like *The Labor Paper*), *Your National Labor Union Paper* (like *The Electrical Worker*)). There were seven types of newspaper channels in total, including the “Other Newspaper (Write In)” category. The other category was not included in the analysis.

Radio channels selected broadly included the types of radio channels by terrestrial (i.e., *Local AM Radio* (like 1470 WMBD-AM), *Regional AM Radio* (like 890 WLS-AM), *Local FM Radio* (like Public Radio 89.9 WCBU), *Satellite Radio* (like Sirius XM), *Internet Streamed Radio*, and *Other Radio* (Write In)) regardless of the specific frequency or channel the participant may use to access news content. Radio channels were measured by stating, “I listen to the following types of radio channels to get political information” where a higher number indicates more frequent use. There were six radio channels in total. The other category was not included in the analysis.

Reducing channels to only measure local AM, regional AM, local FM, satellite, and internet streamed radio was determined after all commercial and noncommercial AM, and FM radio stations that primarily program a news, talk, and/or informational format including sports talk stations that operate inside the State of Illinois were found. In addition, “Class A” AM stations that operate in the State of Illinois that have transmitter power at 50,000 watts to reach our participants were found using the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) AM and FM Query Broadcast Station Search (“AM Query Broadcast Station Search,” n.d.; “FM Query Broadcast Station Search,” n.d.). The appropriate stations were found by removing all records for the federal allotment (FA) channels that are either licensed or vacant. Next, I removed all license applications for construction permits (CP) to build translators (FX) for rebroadcast, and low power-FM, and full service FM stations or applications for a license not currently broadcasting. I added call letters for the remaining records of translators used to rebroadcast other stations, added formats from each stations’ website, and deleted any format that did not match the operational definition. The FCC does not collect data on the format, and so

each station's website was reviewed to determine if the format met the operational definition for inclusion. The FCC query lists 130 licensed AM, and 954 licensed FM stations in the State of Illinois, which prevented each station from being included due to survey fatigue. There is not a regional FM equivalent to AM because FM radio waves do not travel as far as AM radio waves.

Television channels included all types of commercial broadcast (i.e., *ABC*, *CBS*, *NBC*, and *FOX*), noncommercial broadcast (i.e., *PBS*), and the main 24-hour cable and satellite channels (i.e., *Al Jazeera America*, *BBC World*, *CNN*, *FOX News Channel*, *MSNBC*, and other television). Television channels were measured by stating, "I watch the following types of television channels to get political information" where a higher number indicates more frequent use. There were 11 television channels in total.

The network affiliate or the noncommercial equivalent was chosen to measure traditional broadcast channels. Television channels that offer news as part or all of their programming, and were available in the State of Illinois with strong and moderate broadcast signals using the digital television (DTV) reception maps from the FCC, were included ("DTV Reception Maps," n.d.). The broadcast stations were found using the FCC TV Query Broadcast Station Search ("TV Query Broadcast Station Search," n.d.), which yielded 202 stations. Only affiliates from those stations that had strong or moderate signal strength that met the criteria were included. I did not include any of the secondary or tertiary digital channels available, because these digital channels on traditional broadcast carry limited to no news/information programs. This limited the number of broadcast channels to five.

Channels on cable television and satellite systems were found by identifying the companies that serve the communities within the State of Illinois using the Cable Operations and Licensing System (COALS) from the FCC (“Cable Operations and Licensing System,” n.d.). There were 91 cable companies that served the State of Illinois. Nationally, DirectTV and DISH provide a majority of the satellite service. I examined nine websites at random to view the channel line-up of each cable and satellite company to identify their news-only channels. Not all cable and satellite companies had every news channel available; however, 16 channels were found among all cable and satellite providers that offer either 24-hour news, or news as a distinct part of their programming (i.e., Al Jazeera America, BBC World, Bloomberg TV, CNBC, CNBC World, CNN, CNN International, C-Span, C-Span 2, C-Span 3, ESPN News, FOX Business News, FOX News Channel, Headline News, MSNBC, WGN-TV). This group was further reduced to include only the main 24-hour news services of cable networks that offer a variety of news programs with hosts, and did not specifically focus on financial, sports, or historical news, and includes limited to no coverage of entertainment news (i.e., Al Jazeera America, BBC World, CNN, FOX News Channel, and MSNBC). Participants were also able to choose “other” where they could write in a TV channel not included. In total, there are 42 broadcast, cable, and satellite television channels that were originally included, and then reduced to five to reduce the potential for survey fatigue. A total of 11 television channels were measured including the “Other TV (Write In)” category. The other category was not included in the analysis.

Internet channels selected broadly included the places where labor union members may access news content using some of the more popular sources by today’s standard of

news on the Internet (*Facebook (any page with news), Twitter (any feed with news), Websites (any site with news), and YouTube (any channel with news)*), in addition to 16 Internet channels that were specific to labor members from Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and union-affiliated websites (i.e., *Your Local Labor Union, Your National Labor Union, Illinois AFL-CIO, and AFL-CIO*).

Internet channels were measured by stating, “I use the following types of Internet sites to get political information” where a higher number indicated more frequent use. There were 4 total types of Internet channels, and 16 specific to labor. Participants were also able to choose “other” where they could write in an Internet channel not included. There are 21 channels total. The other category was not included in the analysis.

Media Trust. Media trust is conceptually defined as the degree to which an individual believes the veracity of the source of a medium or channel including selection of topics, facts, accuracy, and journalistic assessment regarding a specific topic. Media trust was measured using a single item question to examine medium trust, channel trust, and labor media trust. Kohring and Matthes (2007) argue it is important to measure trust and not credibility, therefore, I chose an exemplary statement that is in line with previous statements in the survey (“I **trust** this source of media for political information”).

Medium trust was measured using a combined mean score for the trust of each channel within each medium (i.e., *newspaper trust, radio trust, television trust, and Internet trust*), and channel trust was measured using all previous listed individual channels (i.e., from newspapers, radio, television, and Internet) by using a 7-point Likert scale where a higher level of agreement denotes a greater level of trust (i.e., 0 = *Absolutely Untrustworthy*, 1 = *Untrustworthy*, 2 = *Slightly Untrustworthy*, 3 = *Neutral*, 4

= *Slightly Trustworthy*, 5 = *Trustworthy*, 6 = *Absolutely Trustworthy*), and excludes those who did not use the channels pairwise. There were 49 items used to measure media trust. See Table 9 and Table 11 for means and standard deviations.

Labor media trust was measured using a combined mean score of all labor-specific channels of media trust that mirrors the channels used to measure union member exposure to labor union media, and excludes those who did not use the channels pairwise. There were 18 items used to measure labor media trust. Labor media trust was also used as a moderator variable.

Dependent variables.

Evaluation of candidates. Evaluation of candidates is conceptually defined as a positive or negative feeling an individual has about a particular candidate. Respondents were asked to respond to the following statement, “Rate your feelings on the following three candidates.” The author used a “feeling thermometer” adapted from Benoit, McKinney, and Holbert (2001) to measure labor union member evaluations of each of the three Illinois gubernatorial candidates (i.e., 0-100 = *Bruce Rauner – Republican*, 0-100 = *Pat Quinn – Democrat (union-endorsed candidate)*, and 0-100 = *Chad Grimm – Libertarian*) who were listed on the November 4, 2014 ballot (“Illinois Voters Guide,” n.d.). Specifically, respondents were able to rate each of the three candidates from 0 to 100, where 0 represents a “cold, unfavorable” or negative rating, and 100 signifies a “warm, favorable” or positive rating (Benoit, McKinney, & Holbert, 2001). See Table 9 for means and standard deviations.

Evaluation of right-to-work and anti-union laws. Evaluation of right-to-work, and anti-union laws is conceptually defined as a positive or negative feeling an individual

has about right-to-work and anti-union legislation that propose limiting labor union influence. Respondents were asked to respond to the following statement, “Rate your feelings on the following two laws.” A combined score of the variable evaluation of right-to-work and anti-union laws using a feeling thermometer to evaluate both right-to-work, and anti-union legislation was used. Right-to-work laws (i.e., 0-100 = “*How do you feel about laws that remove the requirement to pay union dues for representation (by public, private, and partial-public sector unions)?*”), and anti-union laws (i.e., 0-100 = “*How do you feel about laws that limit the ability of unions to collectively bargain for benefits (by public, and partial-public sector unions)?*”) was measured by asking respondents to rate each of the two statements using a feeling thermometer from 0 to 100, where 0 represents a “cold, unfavorable” or negative rating, and 100 signifies a “warm, favorable” or positive rating (Benoit, McKinney, & Holbert, 2001). See Table 9 for means and standard deviations.

Awareness of union endorsements. Awareness of union endorsements is conceptually defined as an awareness of labor union leadership’s (i.e., local union, ILAFL-CIO, AFL-CIO) support for a particular candidate (i.e., Pat Quinn – Democrat). Awareness was measured by the question “Which candidate did your labor union endorse for governor of the State of Illinois?” with the nominal choices of each candidate for governor (i.e., 0 = “*I do not know who was endorsed,*” 1 = “*Bruce Rauner – Republican,*” 2 = “*Pat Quinn – Democratic,*” or 3 = “*Chad Grimm – Libertarian*”). As a matter of record, the ILAFL-CIO, in addition to local unions around the state, endorsed Pat Quinn – Democrat for governor. This variable was dummy-coded to indicate whether participants were either aware (i.e., 1), or unaware (i.e., 0) of the labor endorsement for

Quinn. Awareness of union endorsements was also used as an independent variable. See Table 4 for descriptive statistics.

Moderator variables.

Traditional Labor versus New Labor Media Channels. To measure use of traditional labor versus new labor media channels I calculated a difference score from the combined mean score of traditional labor media channels minus the combined mean score of social media labor channels, where a positive number indicated use of more traditional labor media channels, and a negative number indicated use of more new labor media channels.

Traditional labor media channels are conceptually defined as organs of labor communication that are established as the official form of labor union communication for labor union members (i.e., local and national labor newspapers). Traditional labor media channels include a combined mean score of the two labor channels.

New labor media channels are conceptually defined as organs of labor communication that supplement traditional labor channels, and include social media accounts from Facebook and Twitter created for members of labor unions in, and readily available to members and nonmembers, where respondents may view video, interact, like, share, and comment on issues. New labor media channels included a combined mean score of 8 channels that were specific to labor members, and included their local union, national/international union, State of Illinois AFL-CIO, and the AFL-CIO. See Table 9 for means and standard deviations.

Union involvement. Union involvement is conceptually defined as union members who participate in the labor union through a variety of labor-sponsored

activities. Union involvement is an important measure to consider because members who participate, make the union a priority, and support activities sponsored by the union on a more frequent basis may feel closer to their union, and may indicate their willingness to support issues and candidates endorsed by union leaders. Past research on those who are more active in union activities (e.g., Campbell et al., 1960; Juravich, 1986; Juravich & Shergold, 1988) or take leadership positions (e.g., Juravich & Shergold, 1988) are more likely to vote for the union endorsed candidate.

Union involvement was measured using a combined score of 5 items on 7-point Likert scales to create a union involvement index created by the author where a higher number indicates more involvement (i.e., 0 = *Never*, 1 = *Almost Never (less than 10% of the time)*, 2 = *Rarely (about 30% of the time)*, 3 = *Sometimes (about 50% of the time)*, 4 = *Often (about 70% of the time)*, 5 = *Frequently (about 90% of the time)*, 6 = *Every Time*). For example, “*How often do you attend regularly scheduled union meetings?*”; “*How often do you make attending a union meeting a priority if a special vote has been called?*”; “*How often do you participate in union-sponsored community activities (e.g., marching in the labor day parade, participating in blood drives, boycotting do not patronize stores, etc.)?*”; “*How often do you participate in union-sponsored labor activities (e.g., picketing a non-union job site, manning phone banks to get out the vote, attending an awards banquet, etc.)?*”; “*How often do you volunteer/run to participate in a leadership position to serve the members of the union (e.g., as an officer or member of the board, committees, teaching, etc.) when positions are available?*”. Inter-Item correlation coefficients revealed all positive values, which indicates that the items are likely all measuring the same underlying characteristics. Cronbach’s Alpha for the

Political Ideology Scale ($\alpha = .89$) indicates good internal consistency. See Table 12 for means and standard deviations.

Control variables. Control variables include union involvement, party identification, party ideology, religiosity, and demographics.

Party Identification. I asked participants to respond to the following question, “Which political party do you most identify with?” Party identification was measured using a 7-point Likert scale (i.e., 1 = *Strong Democrat*, 2 = *Democrat*, 3 = *Leaning Democrat*, 4 = *Independent*, 5 = *Leaning Republican*, 6 = *Republican*, 7 = *Strong Republican*). See Table 5 for the mean and standard deviation.

Political Ideology. I asked participants to respond to the following statement, “Consider your political ideology for the following.” Political ideology was measured using a combined score of economic, social, and overall political ideology to create a three-item political ideology index using 7-point Likert scales (i.e., 1 = *Highly Liberal*, 2 = *Liberal*, 3 = *Slightly Liberal*, 4 = *Moderate*, 5 = *Slightly Conservative*, 6 = *Conservative*, 7 = *Highly Conservative*). Inter-Item Correlation revealed all positive values, which indicates that the items are likely all measuring the same underlying characteristics. Cronbach’s Alpha for the Political Ideology Scale ($\alpha = .94$) indicates good internal consistency. See Table 5 for means and standard deviations.

Religiosity. Religiosity was measured as a control variable exclusively because those that are more religious are more likely to vote for the conservative and/or Republican candidate. Religiosity was measured using a combined score of four-items on 7-point Likert scales (i.e., 0 = *Never*, 1 = *Almost never (a few times a year)*, 2 = *Rarely (once a month or less)*, 3 = *Sometimes (a few times per month)*, 4 = *Often (once a week)*,

5 = *Frequently (a few times per week)*, 6 = *Every Day*) to create a religiosity index adapted from Golan and Day (2010) where a higher number indicates a higher level of religiosity. I asked participants to respond to the following statement, “Consider your religion for the following.” The items included “*How much guidance does religion provide you in your day-to-day life?*”; “*How often do you attend religious services?*”; “*How often does religion play an important role in your life?*”; and “*How often do you pray?*”. Inter-Item Correlation revealed all positive values, which indicates that the items are likely all measuring the same underlying characteristics. Cronbach’s Alpha for the Religiosity Scale ($\alpha = .92$) indicates good internal consistency. See Table 12 for means and standard deviations.

Demographics. Demographics include age (i.e., *In years*); gender (i.e., 0 = *Male*, 1 = *Female*); Individual Income (i.e., 1 = *25K or Less*, 2 = *25-50K*, 3 = *50-75K*, 4 = *75-100K*, 5 = *100-125K*, or 6 = *Greater than 125K*); race (i.e., 1 = *American Indian or Alaska Native*, 2 = *Asian*, 3 = *Black or African American or Haitian American*, 4 = *Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander*, 5 = *White or European American or Middle Eastern American or North African American*, 6 = *Other*, 7 = *Hispanic or Latino (of any race)*); education (i.e., 1 = *High School Diploma or GED Equivalent*, 2 = *Some College*, 3 = *Associate’s Degree*, 4 = *Bachelor’s Degree*, 5 = *Master’s Degree*, 6 = *Graduate of Apprenticeship Training Program*, 7 = *Doctorate’s Degree*). The categories used were adapted from the ANES Guide to Public Opinion and Electoral Behavior (ANES, n.d.), and the U.S. Census Bureau (“Race,” n.d.). This variable was dummy-coded to indicate whether participants’ race was either White (i.e., 1), or non-White only (i.e., 0).

Additionally, age, vote choice, and status of their labor union membership were not used as control variables, but are included for additional demographic information about the participants. See Table 1 and Table 2 for descriptive statistics.

Vote Choice. Vote choice was measured by asking, “Whom did you vote for Governor for the State of Illinois in the November 4, 2014 election?” (i.e., 0 = *I am not registered to vote*; 1 = *I did not vote, but I am registered to vote*; 2 = *Bruce Rauner – Republican*, 3 = *Pat Quinn – Democrat*, 5 = *Chad Grimm – Libertarian*, or 5 = *other-Write In*). This variable was dummy-coded to indicate whether participants voted for the union endorsed candidate Quinn (i.e., 1), or they did not vote for Quinn (i.e., 0), and a second variable was dummy-coded to indicate whether participants voted for the non-union-endorsed Republican candidate Rauner (i.e., 1), or they did not vote for Rauner (i.e., 0). See Table 4 for descriptive statistics.

Labor Union Membership and Specialty. Labor union membership was measured by asking the following questions: “What is your membership status in your union?” (i.e., 0 = *Not a Member*, 1 = *Fair Share Member*, 2 = *Member*, 3 = *Retired*). See Table 3 for descriptive statistics. “What city is your local union located?” (i.e., *Write In*). See Table 8 for descriptive statistics. “What city do you have union meetings?” (i.e., *Write In*). “Are you considered a student, apprentice, trainee, non-tenured, journeyman, tenured, or certified?” (i.e., 0 = *None*, 1 = *Student*, 2 = *Apprentice*, or 3 = *Trainee*, 4 = *Non-tenured*, 5 = *Journeyman*, 6 = *Tenured*, 7 = *Certified*). “Which labor union do you belong to?” (i.e., *Write In*, for example, AFSCME, IBEW). See Table 6 for descriptive statistics. “What is your local number?” (i.e., *Write In number*). “What is your council number (if you have one)?” (i.e., *Write In number, or 0 if you do not have one*). “What is

your union classification?” (i.e., *Write In*. For example, RC6, Inside Wireman, etc.). “What is your job title in the labor union?” (i.e., *Write In* For example, Captain, Journeyman Electrician, etc.). See Table 7 for descriptive statistics. “How many years have you been a member of your labor union?” (i.e., *Write In. Round up to the nearest year*). See Table 2 for descriptive statistics.

Data Analysis

The following statistical analyses were used to answer the hypotheses and research questions with SPSS. Andrew Hayes’ PROCESS (moderation/mediation) macro was used where indicated (Hayes, 2013).

H1a: Hierarchical multiple regression was used to examine whether the continuous independent variable (IV) union member (*exposure to labor union media*) will positively predict the continuous dependent variable (DV) a favorable (*evaluation of the union-endorsed candidate*) while controlling for the following covariates (*gender, race, income, party identification, political ideology, and religiosity*).

H1b: Hierarchical multiple regression was used to examine whether the continuous independent variable (IV) union member (*exposure to labor union media*) will negatively predict the continuous dependent variable (DV) a favorable (*evaluation of the non-union-endorsed Republican candidate*) while controlling for the following covariates (*gender, race, income, party identification, political ideology, and religiosity*).

H2: Hierarchical multiple regression was used to examine whether the continuous IV union member (*exposure to labor union media*) will negatively predict the continuous DV a favorable (*evaluation of right-to-work and anti-union laws*) while controlling for

the following covariates (*gender, race, income, party identification, political ideology, and religiosity*).

H3a: Hierarchical logistic regression was used to examine whether the continuous IV union member (*exposure to labor union media*) will positively predict the categorical DV (*awareness of union's endorsements*) while controlling for the following covariates (*gender, race, income, party identification, political ideology, and religiosity*).

H3b: Hierarchical multiple regression was used to examine whether the categorical IV (*awareness of union's endorsements*) will positively predict the continuous dependent variable (DV) a favorable (*evaluation of the union-endorsed candidate*) while controlling for the following covariates (*gender, race, income, party identification, political ideology, and religiosity*).

H3c: Hierarchical multiple regression was used to examine whether the categorical IV (*awareness of union's endorsements*) will negatively predict the continuous dependent variable (DV) a favorable (*evaluation of the non-union-endorsed Republican candidate*) while controlling for the following covariates (*gender, race, income, party identification, political ideology, and religiosity*).

H3d: Hierarchical multiple regression was used to examine whether the categorical IV (*awareness of union's endorsements*) will negatively predict the continuous DV a favorable (*evaluation of right-to-work and anti-union laws*) while controlling for the following covariates (*gender, race, income, party identification, political ideology, and religiosity*).

RQ1: Repeated measures ANOVA was used to examine the difference between the continuous IV (mediums) of news (i.e., including *newspapers, radio, television, and Internet*) for labor union members.

RQ2: PROCESS Model 1 with 1000 bootstrap samples was used to estimate if the relationship between the continuous IV (*exposure to labor union media*) and the continuous DVs (candidate evaluation: *Rauner, Quinn, and Grimm*) is moderated by whether participants get their labor news mostly from the DV (*traditional labor media*) or the DV (*new labor media*) while controlling for the following covariates (*gender, race, income, party identification, political ideology, and religiosity*).

RQ3: Repeated measures ANOVA was used to examine the difference between the continuous IV (*most trusted mediums*) of news (i.e., including *newspapers, radio, television, and Internet*) for labor union members.

H4a: Hierarchical multiple regression was used to examine whether the continuous IV (*trust in labor union media*) will positively predict a continuous DV (*evaluation of the union-endorsed candidate: Quinn*) while controlling for the following covariates (*gender, race, income, party identification, political ideology, and religiosity*).

H4b: Hierarchical multiple regression was used to examine whether the continuous IV (*trust in labor union media*) will negatively predict a continuous DV (*evaluation of the non-union-endorsed Republican candidate: Rauner*) while controlling for the following covariates (*gender, race, income, party identification, political ideology, and religiosity*).

RQ4: PROCESS Model 1 with 1000 bootstrap samples was used to estimate if the relationship between the continuous IV (*exposure to labor union media*) and a continuous

DV (*evaluation of the labor-endorsed candidate: Quinn*) is moderated by (*trust in labor union media*), such that the relationship will be strongest among those who are most trusting of labor union media, while controlling for the following covariates (*gender, race, income, party identification, political ideology, and religiosity*).

RQ5: PROCESS Model 1 with a 1000 bootstrap samples was used to estimate if the relationship between the continuous IV (*exposure to labor union media*) and a continuous DV (*evaluation of the labor-endorsed candidate: Quinn*) is moderated by (*closely involved in their union*), such that the relationship will be strongest among those who are more involved in their union, while controlling for the following covariates (*gender, race, income, party identification, political ideology, and religiosity*).

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

This chapter presents the results of hypotheses and research questions presented in Chapter Two using the statistical methods outlined in Chapter Three. Preliminary analyses were conducted for each regression to ensure no violation of the assumptions of normality, linearity, multicollinearity, and homoscedasticity, by examining the regression line of best fit using a scatterplot. No violations of normality, linearity, or variance of the residuals were detected. The variance inflation factor (VIF) was also examined and reported for each regression model to detect multicollinearity, and no variables had a value greater than 10, which indicates the variance in the predictor variable is not due to large correlations with other variables in the model.

Framing

H1a: Union members' exposure to labor union media will positively predict a favorable evaluation of the union-endorsed candidate.

Hierarchical multiple regression was used to assess the ability of exposure to labor union media to positively predict a favorable evaluation of the union-endorsed candidate after controlling for gender, race, income, party identification, political ideology, and religiosity. The means and standard deviations for the independent and dependent variables can be found in Table 9. The correlation coefficients can be found in Table 13.

Gender, race, income, party identification, political ideology, and religiosity were entered at Step 1, explaining an adjusted $R^2 = 28.3\%$, of the variance in evaluation of the union-endorsed candidate, $F(6,194) = 14.19, p = .001$. After entry of exposure to labor

union media at Step 2, the total variance explained by the model was 28.1% (adjusted R^2), $F(1,193) = .21, p = .65$. Exposure to labor union media ($\beta = .03, p = .65$) explained an additional .1%, which is negligible, and not statistically significant. The hypothesis was not supported. The beta coefficients are presented in Table 14.

In the final model, party identification ($\beta = -.38, p = .001$), political ideology ($\beta = -.17, p = .049$), religiosity ($\beta = .16, p = .012$), and gender ($\beta = -.15, p = .022$) were statistically significant predictors of evaluations of Quinn. Overall, those who identified more with the Democratic Party compared to those who identified more with the Republican Party, and those who identified more as a liberal compared to those who identified as conservative, were more likely to report a favorable evaluation of Pat Quinn, the union-endorsed candidate. Those who identified as more religious also positively predicted a favorable evaluation of Pat Quinn. Alternately, women viewed Pat Quinn less favorably compared to men.

H1b: Union members' exposure to labor union media will negatively predict a favorable evaluation of the non-union-endorsed Republican candidate.

Hierarchical multiple regression was used to assess the ability of exposure to labor union media to negatively predict a favorable evaluation of the non-union-endorsed Republican candidate after controlling for gender, race, income, party identification, political ideology, and religiosity. The means and standard deviations for the independent and dependent variables can be found in Table 9. The correlation coefficients can be found in Table 15.

Gender, race, income, party identification, political ideology, and religiosity were entered at Step 1, explaining an adjusted $R^2 = 45.0\%$, of the variance in evaluation of the

union-endorsed candidate, $F(6,194) = 28.25, p = .001$. After entry of exposure to labor union media at Step 2, the total variance explained by the model was 46.4% (adjusted R^2), $F(1,193) = 6.29, p = .01$. Exposure to labor union media ($\beta = -.14, p = .01$) explained an additional 1.7%, which is a small amount according to Cohen (1988). The hypothesis was supported. The beta coefficients are presented in Table 16.

In the final model, party identification ($\beta = .50, p = .001$), followed by gender ($\beta = .22, p = .001$) and labor exposure, were statistically significant. Overall, those who identified more with the Democratic Party compared to those who identified more with the Republican Party, and those exposed to more labor media, positively predicted a negative evaluation of Bruce Rauner, the non-union-endorsed Republican candidate. Additionally, women viewed Bruce Rauner as more favorable compared to men.

H2: Union members' exposure to labor union media will negatively predict a favorable evaluation of right-to-work and anti-union laws.

Hierarchical multiple regression was used to assess the ability of exposure to labor union media to negatively predict a favorable evaluation of right-to-work and anti-union laws. The means and standard deviations can be found in Table 9. The correlation coefficient can be found in Table 17.

Gender, race, income, party identification, political ideology, and religiosity were entered at Step 1, explaining an adjusted $R^2 = 14.1\%$, of the variance in evaluation of the right-to-work and anti-union laws, $F(6,194) = 6.45, p = .001$. After entry of exposure to labor union media at Step 2 the total variance explained by the model was 13.8% (adjusted R^2), $F(1,193) = .36, p = .55$. Exposure to labor union media ($\beta = -.04, p = .55$)

explained an additional .2%, which is negligible, and not statistically significant. The hypothesis was not supported. The beta coefficients are presented in Table 18.

In the final model, only gender ($\beta = .25, p = .001$) was statistically significant. Overall, women viewed right-to-work and anti-union laws more favorably compared to men.

H3a: Exposure to labor union media will positively predict awareness of labor union's endorsements.

Hierarchical logistic regression was used to assess the ability of exposure to labor union media to positively predict awareness of labor union's endorsed candidates after controlling for gender, race, income, party identification, political ideology, and religiosity. The means and standard deviations for the independent variable can be found in Table 9, and descriptive statistics of the dependent variable can be found in Table 4.

Gender, race, income, party identification, political ideology, and religiosity were entered at Step 1, explaining a Nagelkerke $R^2 = 18.2\%$, of the variance in evaluation of the union-endorsed candidate, $\chi^2 (6, N = 201) = 25.61, p = .001$. After entry of exposure to labor union media at Step 2, the total variance explained by the model was 19% (Nagelkerke R^2), $\chi^2 (7, N = 201) = 26.88, p = .001$. Prediction success overall was 78.1% (98.1% for aware, and 10.9% for unaware). The Wald criterion for exposure to labor union media ($Wald = 1.17, p = .280$) had an odds ratio of 1.43, which was not statistically significant. The hypothesis was not supported. The coefficients are presented in Table 19.

In the final model, party identification ($Wald = 10.39, p = .001$) with an odds ratio of .60 was the only variable that was statistically significant. Overall, those who

identified more with the Republican Party were less aware of labor union's endorsement compared to those who identified more with the Democratic Party, who were more aware of the union endorsement.

H3b: Awareness of union's endorsements will positively predict a favorable evaluation of the union-endorsed candidate.

Hierarchical multiple regression was used to assess the ability of awareness of union's endorsements to positively predict a favorable evaluation of the union-endorsed candidate after controlling for gender, race, income, party identification, political ideology, and religiosity. Descriptive statistics for the independent variable can be found in Table 4, and the means and standard deviations for the dependent variable can be found in Table 9. The correlation coefficients can be found in Table 20.

Gender, race, income, party identification, political ideology, and religiosity were entered at Step 1, explaining an adjusted $R^2 = 28.3\%$, of the variance in evaluation of the union-endorsed candidate, $F(6,194) = 14.19, p = .001$. After entry of awareness of union's endorsements (i.e., 0 = unaware, 1 = aware) at Step 2, the total variance explained by the model was 28.1% (adjusted R^2), $F(1,193) = .23, p = .63$. Awareness of labor union endorsement ($\beta = .03, p = .63$) explained an additional .1%, which is negligible and not statistically significant. The hypothesis was not supported. The beta coefficients are presented in Table 21.

In the final model, party identification ($\beta = -.38, p = .001$), party ideology ($\beta = -.17, p = .046$), religiosity ($\beta = .16, p = .01$), and gender ($\beta = -.15, p = .02$) were statistically significant predictors of candidate evaluations of Pat Quinn. Overall, those who identified as Democrats and Liberals were more favorable to the union-endorsed

candidate Quinn compared to Republicans and Conservatives. In addition, those who considered themselves more religious held a more favorable view of Quinn. Women held a less favorable view of Quinn compared to men.

H3c: Awareness of union’s endorsements will negatively predict a favorable evaluation of the non-union-endorsed Republican candidate.

Hierarchical multiple regression was used to assess the ability of awareness of union’s endorsements to negatively predict a favorable evaluation of the non-union-endorsed Republican candidate after controlling for gender, race, income, party identification, political ideology, and religiosity. Descriptive statistics for the independent variable can be found in Table 4, and the means and standard deviations for the dependent variable can be found in Table 9. The correlation coefficients can be found in Table 22.

Gender, race, income, party identification, political ideology, and religiosity were entered at Step 1, explaining an adjusted $R^2 = 45.0\%$ of the variance in evaluation of the non-union-endorsed Republican candidate, $F(6,194) = 28.25, p = .001$. After entry of awareness of union’s endorsements at Step 2, the total variance explained by the model was 45.9% (adjusted R^2), $F(1,193) = 4.25, p = .041$. Awareness of union’s endorsement ($\beta = -.11, p = .04$) explained an additional 1.1%, which is smaller than typical according to Cohen (1988). The hypothesis was supported. The beta coefficients are presented in Table 23.

In the final model, party identification ($\beta = .50, p = .001$), followed by gender ($\beta = .23, p = .001$) and awareness of the union-endorsed candidate, were statistically significant. Overall, those who identified more with the Democratic Party compared to

those who identified more with the Republican Party negatively predicted a favorable evaluation of the non-union-endorsed Republican candidate, Bruce Rauner. Additionally, women viewed Bruce Rauner as more favorable compared to men. Finally, those who were aware of the union-endorsement held a more negative evaluation of the non-labor union-endorsed Republican candidate, Bruce Rauner.

H3d: Awareness of union’s endorsements will negatively predict a favorable evaluation of right-to-work and anti-union laws.

Hierarchical multiple regression was used to assess the ability of awareness of union’s endorsements to negatively predict a favorable evaluation of right-to-work and anti-union laws after controlling for gender, race, income, party identification, political ideology, and religiosity. Descriptive statistics for the independent variable can be found in Table 4, and the means and standard deviations for the dependent variable can be found in Table 9. The correlation coefficients can be found in Table 24.

Gender, race, income, party identification, political ideology, and religiosity were entered at Step 1, explaining an adjusted $R^2 = 14.1\%$, of the variance in evaluation of the right-to-work and anti-union laws, $F(6,194) = 6.45, p = .001$. After awareness of union’s endorsements at Step 2, the total variance explained by the model was 20.5% (adjusted R^2), $F(1,193) = 16.64, p = .001$. Awareness of union’s endorsements ($\beta = -.27, p = .001$) explained an additional 6.6%, which is smaller than typical according to Cohen (1988). The hypothesis was supported. The beta coefficients are presented in Table 25.

In the final model, awareness of union’s endorsements, followed by gender ($\beta = .24, p = .001$) and political ideology ($\beta = .21, p = .021$), were statistically significant. Overall, those who were aware of the endorsement by the labor union were less favorable

to right-to-work and anti-union laws. Alternately, women were more favorable to right-to-work and anti-union laws compared to men. Finally, those that considered themselves more conservative were more favorable to the laws compared to those who considered themselves liberal.

Channel Repertoire

RQ1: What is the most used medium of news for labor union members?

A repeated-measures ANOVA, with Huynh-Feldt correction, was conducted to assess whether there were differences between the average use of four mediums used for news (i.e. newspaper, radio, television, and Internet). Results indicate there are differences between mediums used for news. The following assumptions were tested: (a) independence of observations, (b) normality, and (c) sphericity. Independence of observations and normality were met. The assumption of sphericity was violated. Thus, the Huynh-Feldt correction was used. Results indicated that participants used mediums differently, and these differences were statistically significant, $F(2.92, 583.95) = 62.98, p = .001, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .24$. The means and standard deviations for the mediums are presented in Table 9, and individual channels used to comprise the mediums can be found in Table 10. Examination of these means suggests that participants primarily used television ($M = 1.85, SD = 1.08$), then newspapers ($M = 1.62, SD = .97$), followed by radio ($M = 1.23, SD = 1.19$), and Internet ($M = .81, SD = .79$) for political information. A polynomial contrast indicated that there is a statistically significant linear trend, $F(1, 200) = 68.37, p = .001, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .26$. There was also a statistically significant quadratic trend, $F(1, 200) = 30.15, p < .001, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .13$, and cubic trend, $F(1, 200) = 88.94, p = .001, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .31$. The graph indicates the linear trend is strongest (see

Figure 1). Further examination of pairwise comparison show the difference among mediums is statistically significant at ($p = .001$) for all except television and newspapers, which are statistically significant at ($p = .02$).

RQ2: Will the relationship between labor union media exposure on candidate evaluation differ according to whether participants get their labor news mostly from traditional labor media (e.g., labor newspapers), or mostly from new labor media (e.g., social media labor channels on Facebook and Twitter) sources?

A moderation analysis with 1000 bootstrap samples was conducted using Process Model 1. Each model provides a regression of the predictor (labor union exposure) and its ability to predict the outcome variable (evaluations of each candidate: Rauner, Quinn, or Grimm), and whether their labor media use (from a difference score to indicate either greater use of traditional or new labor media) moderates this relationship while controlling for gender, race, income, party identification, party ideology, and religiosity. The means and standard deviations can be found in Table 9.

The total variance explained by the Rauner model was $R^2 = 48.5\%$, $F(9, 191) = 22.97$, $p = .001$. While the overall model was statistically significant, the interaction effect of exposure to labor union media and use of more traditional or new labor media was not significant. See Table 26 for the unstandardized coefficients. The total variance explained by the Quinn model was $R^2 = 31.4\%$, $F(9, 191) = 10.92$, $p = .001$. Again, while the overall model was statistically significant, the interaction effect of exposure to labor union media and use of more traditional or new labor media was not significant.

The total variance explained by the Grimm model was $R^2 = 7.9\%$, $F(9, 191) = 1.49$, $p =$

.15. Neither the overall model Grimm model, nor the interaction effect of exposure to labor union media and use of more traditional or new labor media was statistically significant. Thus, the relationship between labor media exposure and candidate was not dependent on whether the union members used more traditional media than new media.

However, some of the covariates exhibited main relations on candidate evaluations. For example, exposure to labor union media ($b = -.29, p = .008$), gender ($b = 14.60, p = .0004$), and party identification ($b = 8.59, p = .001$) were all statistically significant predictors of evaluations of Rauner. In short, labor union members' exposure to labor union media predicted a negative view of Rauner. Women had a more positive view, and men held a more negative view of Rauner. Additionally, those who identified their political party as Republican held a more positive view of Rauner.

Gender ($b = -10.33, p = .03$), party identification ($b = -6.55, p = .0001$), and religiosity ($b = .67, p = .02$) were all statistically significant regarding Quinn. In short, women held a more negative view of Quinn compared to males, and those who identified as Republicans held a more negative view of Quinn compared to Democrats. Alternately, those who identified as more religious held a more positive view of Quinn.

Party identification ($b = 3.88, p = .02$) was the only statistically significant predictors regarding of the evaluation of Grimm. Those who identified as Republicans held a more favorable view of Grimm compared to those who identified as Democrats.

Media Trust

RQ3: What is the most trusted medium of news for labor union members?

A repeated-measures ANOVA, with Huynh-Feldt correction, was conducted to assess whether there were differences between the average trust of four mediums used for

news (i.e. newspaper, radio, television, and Internet). Results indicate there are differences between the trusted mediums used for news. The following assumptions were tested: (a) independence of observations, (b) normality, and (c) sphericity. Independence of observations and normality were met. The assumption of sphericity was violated. Thus, the Huynh-Feldt correction was used. Results indicated that participants trusted mediums differently, and these differences were statistically significant, $F(2.73, 351.61) = 3.19, p = .03, \eta^2 = .024$. The means and standard deviations for the media trust mediums are presented in Table 9, and individual channels used to comprise the media trust mediums can be found in Table 11. Examination of these means suggests that participants trusted newspapers ($M = 3.59, SD = 1.12$) more than television ($M = 3.50, SD = 1.05$), followed by radio ($M = 3.49, SD = 1.08$), and Internet ($M = 3.26, SD = 1.09$) for political information. A polynomial contrast indicated that there is a statistically significant linear trend, $F(1, 129) = 6.61, p = .011, \eta^2 = .049$. Further examination of pairwise comparison show the only statistically significant difference is between newspapers and the Internet ($p = .035$).

H4a: Trust in labor union media will positively predict a favorable evaluation of the union-endorsed candidate.

Hierarchical multiple regression was used to assess the ability of trust in labor union media to positively predict a favorable evaluation of the union-endorsed candidate after controlling for gender, race, income, party identification, political ideology, and religiosity. The means and standard deviations for the independent and dependent variables can be found in Table 9. The correlation coefficients can be found in Table 27.

Gender, race, income, party identification, political ideology, and religiosity were entered at Step 1, explaining an adjusted $R^2 = 28.0\%$, of the variance in evaluation of the union-endorsed candidate, $F(6,198) = 12.29, p = .001$. After entry of trust in labor union media at Step 2 the total variance explained by the model was 30.4% (adjusted R^2), $F(1,167) = 6.68, p = .011$. Thus, H4a was supported. Trust in labor union media explained an additional 2.7%, which is smaller than typical according to Cohen (1988). The results of the HRM are presented in Table 28. In the final model, party identification ($\beta = -.34, p = .001$), followed by gender ($\beta = -.15, p = .031$), religion ($\beta = .16, p = .021$), and trust in labor union media ($\beta = .18, p = .011$) were statistically significant predictors of evaluations of Pat Quinn.

In addition, women held a more negative view of Quinn than men. Those who identified as Republicans also held a negative view of Quinn. Alternately, those who had higher religiosity score, and those who trust labor media held a more positive evaluation of Quinn, the labor union-endorsed candidate.

H4b: Trust in labor union media will negatively predict a favorable evaluation of the non-union-endorsed Republican candidate.

Hierarchical multiple regression was used to assess the ability of trust in labor union media to negatively predict a favorable evaluation of the non-union-endorsed Republican candidate after controlling for gender, race, income, party identification, political ideology, and religiosity. The means and standard deviations for the independent and dependent variables can be found in Table 9. The correlation coefficients can be found in Table 29.

Gender, race, income, party identification, political ideology, and religiosity were entered at Step 1, explaining an adjusted $R^2 = 44.7\%$, of the variance in evaluation of the non-union-endorsed Republican candidate, $F(6,198) = 24.46, p = .001$. After entry of trust in labor union media at Step 2 the total variance explained by the model was 44.9% (adjusted R^2), $F(1,167) = 1.48, p = .23$. Thus, H4b was not supported. Trust in labor union media explained an additional .5%, which is negligible and not statistically significant. The results of the HRM are presented in Table 30. In the final model, party identification ($\beta = .53, p = .001$), followed by gender ($\beta = .24, p = .001$) were statistically significant.

Specifically, those who identified as Republicans held a more positive view of non-union-endorsed Republican candidate Rauner, and those who identified as Democrats held a more negative view of Rauner. Women held a more positive view of Rauner compared to men.

RQ4: The relationship between labor union media exposure and a positive evaluation of the labor-endorsed candidate will be moderated by trust in labor union media, such that the relationship will be strongest among those who are most trusting of labor union media.

A moderation analysis was conducted using Process Model 1 with 1000 bootstrap samples. The model provides a regression of the predictor (labor union media exposure) and its ability to predict the outcome variable (evaluations of Quinn), and whether participants' trust in labor union media moderates this relationship, while controlling for gender, race, income, party identification, political ideology, and religiosity. The results demonstrate that trust in labor union media did not moderate the relationship between

exposure to labor union media and a positive evaluation of the labor-endorsed candidate, Pat Quinn. The total variance explained by the model was $R^2 = 31.1\%$, $F(9, 165) = 11.82$, $p = .001$. While the overall model was statistically significant, the interaction effect between exposure to labor union media and trust in labor union media was not significant. Individual variables that contributed to the overall model and were statistically significant included party identification ($b = -5.42$, $p = .002$), and trust in labor union media ($b = 4.18$, $p = .048$). In short, those who identified as Republicans were less favorable to Quinn, and those who had greater trust in labor union media were more favorable to Quinn. Means and standard deviations for the independent and dependent variables can be found in Table 9, and the results can be found in Table 31.

Labor Union Involvement

RQ5: Will the relationship between labor union media exposure and positive evaluations of union-endorsed candidates be strongest among those who are closely involved in their union (i.e., union members who participate in the labor union through a variety of labor-sponsored activities)?

A moderation analysis was conducted using Process Model 1 with 1000 bootstrap samples. The model provides a regression of the predictor (labor union exposure) and its ability to predict the outcome variable (evaluations of Quinn), and whether their union involvement moderates this relationship while controlling for gender, race, income, party identification, political ideology, and religiosity. The results demonstrate that union involvement did not moderate the relationship between exposure to labor union media and a positive evaluation of the labor-endorsed candidate, Pat Quinn. The total variance explained by the model was $R^2 = .31$ or 31.2%, $F(9, 191) = 11.50$, $p = .001$. While the

overall model was statistically significant, the interaction effect between exposure to labor union media and union involvement was not significant. Individual variables that contributed to the overall model and were statistically significant were gender ($b = -9.48$, $p = .046$), party identification ($b = -6.59$, $p = .001$), and religiosity ($b = .62$, $p = .03$). In short, women, and those who identified as Republicans were less likely to give the union-endorsed candidate a positive evaluation. Those who were more religious were more favorable to Quinn. Means and standard deviations for the independent and dependent variables can be found in Table 9 and Table 12, and the results can be found in Table 32.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the discussion of hypotheses and research question results presented in Chapter Four. In addition, the theoretical implications, limitations, future directions, and conclusion are provided.

Framing

H1a: Union members' exposure to labor union media will positively predict a favorable evaluation of the union-endorsed candidate.

Exposure to labor union media did not positively predict a favorable evaluation of the union-endorsed Democratic candidate, Pat Quinn. While those who identified as Democrats and liberals held a favorable opinion of Quinn, he did not fare as well among the women in this sample.

The finding that exposure to labor union media did not positively predict a favorable evaluation of Quinn does not mean that exposure to labor union media does not have an influence on labor union membership (see H1b). Rather, the influence of exposure to labor union media may be small, and the positive frame from labor media was not enough to overcome the intense dislike for Quinn after he championed and signed legislation to reduce pension benefits of state workers as one way to overcome a “105 billion unfunded pension liability” (Arnold, 2014, para. 8). Positive frames of Quinn in labor union media were often qualified by negative frames acknowledging that labor union members did not always agree on 100 percent of his policies (Stevens, 2014a). It seems as though the Democrats and liberals voted for him according to party lines, and they did so because the alternative was to vote for the Republican gubernatorial

candidate, Bruce Rauner, who vocally spoke out against union labor, or the lesser known candidate Chad Grimm. Party identification of labor union members, primarily aligning with Democrats, had a stronger impact when favorability of the labor-endorsed candidate Quinn was low. Ultimately, the labor union media need to argue for the importance of the union communication as a source of information about candidates, stressing the importance of the election for the union, regardless of the labor union member's feeling toward their political party or candidate. In the case of Quinn's popularity problem, it may be prudent for labor union leadership to not only acknowledge the low favorability of the candidate, but also include counterclaims providing justification for the importance of a labor union member's decision to support the labor union-endorsed candidate. It may also be important for labor union media to consistently emphasize the positive frames of their candidate, and avoid criticizing their candidate leading up to an election.

H1b: Union members' exposure to labor union media will negatively predict a favorable evaluation of the non-union-endorsed Republican candidate.

The influence of exposure to labor union media on evaluations of Rauner was observed even after controlling for the variance in evaluations of Rauner that is explained by gender and party identification. Ultimately, mere exposure to labor union media yielded an unfavorable evaluation of the non-union-endorsed candidate with a small effect size.

The negative frame of Rauner provided by the labor union had the intended effect. Many of the labor channels communicated a consistent and sustained dialogue of how Rauner was not a good choice for labor unions, and ran multi-issue comparisons of Rauner versus Quinn (e.g., *The Labor Paper*). Ultimately, almost 29% of the labor union

members ended up voting for Bruce Rauner, with just over 50% of the labor union members voting for Pat Quinn. Thus, the message about Rauner not being a great candidate for labor unions was somewhat effective; however, over 16% of the labor union members did not turn out to vote (i.e., either not registered to vote, or did not make it to the polls).

Labor union leaders should consider emphasizing the importance of getting to the polls to vote in their labor media just as much as pointing out a candidate's flaws, and providing a negative frame of the non-union-endorsed candidate. Ultimately, Illinois labor union members had an opportunity to persuade over 16% of their non-voting membership to get to the polls. Labor union leaders could come up with an incentive for their members who are registered to vote. In addition, labor union leaders could expand voting education by communicating how to request an absentee ballot, or how to find a polling location that allows early voting. Labor leaders could also poll their membership, and publish the results in aggregate. Perhaps exposure to labor union media regarding how their local union will be voting may persuade members to vote, by showing that every vote counts.

H2: Union members' exposure to labor union media will negatively predict a favorable evaluation of right-to-work and anti-union laws.

Exposure to labor union media did not negatively predict a favorable evaluation of right-to-work and anti-union laws. Additionally, labor union females viewed the laws more favorably compared to their male counterparts. This may be explained by the earlier findings in the first hypothesis where more female union members identified as Republicans compared to Democrats.

Feelings about right-to-work laws ($M = 20.13$; $SD = 31.21$) out of a 100-point “feeling thermometer” scale were viewed as more favorable than anti-union laws ($M = 10.84$, $SD = 23.26$). This can be partially explained by wording. The question about right-to-work laws asked about how they felt about laws that remove the requirement to pay union dues for representation (since this is the definition of right-to-work laws). It is important to note that this wording was intentional. The goal was to remove bias from the term *right-to-work*. Again, *right-to-work* may sound positive to those who are uninformed. Instead, the goal was to have the union member consider the actual issues. At the end of the day, a union member may like the benefits of the union, but may dislike paying the union dues.

It is possible that exposure to labor union media did not have an impact because the issues regarding these laws may be communicated as secondary to the communication about the candidates. This would mean that individuals are exposed to fewer union frames about these laws. It may be important for labor unions to add a section to their communication channel that includes and defines right-to-work and anti-union laws on a consistent basis. This way, as new members are added to the rank-and-file, they may have an opportunity to be exposed to the information.

H3a: Exposure to labor union media will positively predict awareness of labor union’s endorsements.

Exposure to labor union media did not positively predict awareness of labor union’s endorsements. This finding could indicate that labor union media did not explicitly frame their endorsement in labor media. That is, the labor union may have focused the labor media frame on the issues, and the candidates. Labor union media may

not have reiterated the endorsement after the initial announcement. Party identification was the only variable that was statistically significant, as Democrats were more likely to be aware of the union endorsement compared to Republicans.

H3b: Awareness of union’s endorsements will positively predict a favorable evaluation of the union-endorsed candidate.

Similar to H1a (i.e., exposure to labor union media), simply being aware of the labor union’s endorsement did not yield a favorable evaluation of Quinn. Also similar to H1a, party identification (i.e., Democrats were favorable), political ideology (i.e., liberals were favorable), and gender (i.e., females were not favorable) were all statistically significant as control variables. Additionally, those with higher religiosity scores held more favorable views of Quinn.

H3c: Awareness of union’s endorsements will negatively predict a favorable evaluation of the non-union-endorsed Republican candidate.

The influence of awareness of union’s endorsements on evaluations of Rauner was observed even after controlling for the variance in evaluations of Rauner, which is explained by party identification and gender. Ultimately, awareness of union’s endorsement yielded an unfavorable evaluation of the non-union-endorsed candidate consistent with H1b (i.e., exposure to labor union media) with a small effect size. This finding makes it clear that it is important for labor union leaders to communicate their endorsement to the membership. The labor union media seem to be effective in communicating whom not to vote for, but if the candidate is very unlikeable, the members may not automatically cast a vote for the endorsed candidate either.

H3d: Awareness of union’s endorsements will negatively predict a favorable evaluation of right-to-work and anti-union laws.

The influence of awareness of union’s endorsements on evaluations of right-to-work and anti-union laws was observed even after controlling for the variance in evaluations of the laws that is explained by political ideology and gender. Ultimately, awareness of union’s endorsement yielded an unfavorable evaluation of the non-union-endorsed candidate unlike H2 (i.e., exposure to labor union media) with a small effect size. Simple exposure to labor union media is not effective. Labor union members must also be aware of the union’s endorsements, which may mean they are more actively engaged in politics, and the endorsement message was more salient. These findings may also mean that frequency of communication on an issue espoused by the Democratic Party or labor union leadership might increase awareness.

Channel Repertoire

RQ1: What is the most used medium of news for labor union members?

The most used medium of news for labor union members is television, followed by newspapers, radio, and Internet (see Figures 3 and 4 for means and standard deviations of the top 20 most used channels, and Table 10 for means and standard deviation of all channels used). Blume’s (1970) study found labor union members relied on the daily newspaper (26%), local television (16%), and their local labor paper (11%) as “important sources of political information” (p. 141). Of course, the Internet was not a factor in 1970, nor was the proliferation of television channels. The availability of many television channels makes it easy to include more television channels as part of the

overall media diet of a labor union member. The current study shows that television is the overall most used medium of news for labor union members.

Network television, despite the competition from cable, is still a mainstay for political information. NBC ($M = 3.08$, $SD = 2.07$) had the second highest mean, ABC ($M = 2.66$, $SD = 1.99$) fourth, and CBS ($M = 2.56$, $SD = 2.00$) sixth. Less than a quarter of the sample, however, cite frequent use of network television (NBC (21.4%, $N = 43$), ABC (18.4%, $N = 37$), and CBS (15.4%, $N = 31$)). Alternately, about a quarter of the sample *never* get their news from network television (NBC (20.9%, $N = 42$), ABC (25.4%, $N = 51$), and CBS (26.9%, $N = 54$)).

A comparison of broadcast networks to cable networks reveals CNN ($M = 2.47$, $SD = 2.06$) seventh, MSNBC ($M = 1.85$, $SD = 1.92$) eleventh, and FOX News Channel ($M = 1.70$, $SD = 2.04$) thirteenth. Those who cite frequent use of CNN (12.9%, $N = 26$) leads MSNBC (8.5%, $N = 7$), and FOX News Channel (8.0%, $N = 16$). Those who avoid cable network news are greater than those who avoid traditional broadcast television news (CNN (30.8%, $N = 62$), MSNBC (42.8%, $N = 86$), and FOX News Channel (50.2%, $N = 101$)). Even public broadcaster PBS ($M = 1.37$, $SD = 1.79$) sees very infrequent use (7.5%, $N = 15$), and those who avoid PBS (51.7%, $N = 104$) are similar to those who avoid the cable news networks. Greater use of broadcast television news may be partially explained by the fact that network television is still free. You do not have to purchase a cable package to receive the programming, and therefore, is still in wider use due to access and availability in all markets. In short, labor union members are still getting their news through traditional media, so labor union leadership should focus their publicity through those traditional channels.

The daily newspaper ($M = 3.39$, $SD = 2.01$) is still the primary channel of choice for labor union members. Labor union members in this study who used the daily newspaper frequently (a few times per week) (21.4%, $N = 43$) were greater than those who used the paper daily (17.4%, $N = 35$). A full 12.9% ($N = 26$) of labor union members did not use the local daily newspaper at all. Comparatively, the largest use of the local labor union paper was once per month (25.9%, $N = 52$), while 28.9% ($N = 58$) never use the local labor union paper for political information. This difference is largely explained through circulation. Many of labor unions only publish their papers once per month, or once every other month. Although, over a quarter of the labor union members do not use their labor union paper at all for political information, and finding out why may be of importance to labor union leaders.

Local FM radio (Public Radio) had the eighth largest mean ($M = 2.28$, $SD = 2.36$), with a majority of labor union members citing daily (15.9%, $N = 32$) use, while greater percentages of labor union members avoid public radio (42.3%, $N = 85$). Local AM radio had the seventeenth largest mean ($M = 1.25$, $SD = 1.88$); and 10.4% ($N = 21$) tune in to local AM radio a few times per month, with a majority (60.2%, $N = 121$) avoiding AM radio.

The Internet is also a place where labor union members get their political information including Facebook (any page with news) ($M = 2.91$, $SD = 2.43$) third, and websites (any page with news) ($M = 2.64$, $SD = 2.30$) fifth. Those who use Facebook every day (23.4%, $N = 47$) is greater than those who use Facebook frequently (12.4%, $N = 25$) for political information. Comparatively, 32.8% ($N = 66$) never use Facebook for at all for political information. Those who use the website frequently (14.4%, $N = 29$),

and every day (15.4%, N = 31) is still less than those who never (33.3%, N = 67) use websites to get political information.

Those who cite frequent (8.0%, N = 16) and daily (1.5%, N = 3) use of their local labor union on Facebook is much lower than those who never (57.2%, N = 115) access/use their labor union on Facebook for political information. The local labor union Facebook page had the ninth highest mean ($M = 2.02$, $SD = 2.16$), which was larger than the national labor union Facebook page ($M = 1.30$, $SD = 1.90$) at sixteenth. Of those who use their local labor union Facebook page for political information only 9.5% (N = 19) cite frequent use; and 9.5% (N = 19) cite daily use, with a majority (44.3%, N = 89) who never use their local labor union on Facebook for political information. Of those who use their national labor union on Facebook for political information only 5.5% (N = 11) cite frequent use; and 5.5% (N = 11) cite daily use, with a majority of 59.2% (119) who never use their national labor union on Facebook for political information.

The local labor union website had the eighteenth highest mean ($M = 1.23$, $SD = 1.75$), larger than use of the national labor union website ($M = 0.91$, $SD = 1.54$), which did not make the top 20 channels used for political information. Only 8.0% (N = 16) cite frequent use of their local labor union website, and only 3.5% (N = 7) cite frequent use of their national labor union website. Those who never use their local labor union website (57.2%, N = 11), and those who never use their national labor union website (66.2%, N = 133) greatly exceeds those who use the websites regularly. Labor union members used neither Twitter nor YouTube for political information. There are many local labor unions that do not have an official Facebook page. Local members, with no oversight or interaction with their labor leaders, run some local labor union Facebook pages. There is

a larger percentage of labor unions that run a Facebook page at the national level. The personalized information about job calls or union meetings or even grievances may be easily shared on the local page. Labor leaders should consider managing a local union Facebook page to present their information in a readily accessible manner to their union members who are using Facebook. The labor union members who use Facebook do so frequently. This presents an opportunity for the labor union to engage and communicate with their members on a regular basis.

In all, labor union members use a variety of mediums, which include an even larger variety of channels. These findings are similar to Trilling and Schoenbach (2014) who argue that individuals use media that are popular and easily accessible. Indeed, labor union members use few sources out of many choices. There was not one channel among the four mediums that dominated the others. This may be important to consider when labor leaders are trying to reach their membership. Labor leadership needs to consider that their members' choice of media is just as varied as their membership. In short, when communicating with their membership, labor leaders should consider the widespread use of traditional channels (e.g., the local daily newspaper, and broadcast television), in addition to Facebook and websites.

RQ2: Will the relationship between labor union media exposure on candidate evaluation differ according to whether participants get their labor news mostly from traditional labor media (e.g., labor newspapers), or mostly from new labor media (e.g., social media labor channels on Facebook and Twitter) sources?

A moderation analysis did not reveal a statistically significant interaction effect between labor media exposure and the primary source of their labor news. This finding may indicate that it does not necessarily matter whether the labor union member was exposed to labor news via traditional ways (e.g., local labor union newspaper) or new ways (e.g., local labor union on Facebook). It may matter, however, that union members actually trust the source of their political information (see results of H4a & H4b).

A direct effect was statistically significant for Rauner showing exposure to labor union media predicted a less favorable rating of Rauner with a small effect size. This is consistent with H1b (i.e., exposure to labor union media). In addition, gender played an important role for both Rauner and Quinn. The predominately Republican females had more positive feelings about Rauner (R), and more negative feelings about Quinn (D). There was no indication that exposure to labor union media made a difference among females regarding Grimm (L). This may be because Grimm was a lesser-known candidate, and there was not as much media exposure regarding Grimm's candidacy.

Party identification produced expected results. Those who identified their political party as Republican held a more positive view of Rauner, and a more negative view of Quinn. Additionally, those who identified as Republicans held a more favorable view of Grimm after exposure to labor union media; compared to those who identified as

Democrats who did not view Grimm as favorable. This may be partially explained by the fundamental issue central to Libertarians, that of less government, an issue which may also be appealing to some of the more conservative Republicans. Finally, religiosity was only important for Quinn. Those who had higher levels of religiosity were more favorable toward Quinn, similar to H3b (i.e., awareness of union's endorsements).

Ultimately, while there was a main effect for exposure to labor union media predicting a less favorable view of Rauner (similar to H1b), there was no main effect for Quinn (similar to H1a), and there was no main effect for Grimm. The first model was statistically significant for both Rauner and Quinn, but not Grimm. There was no statistical significance in the second model. In short, candidate evaluations could not withstand the introduction of the control variables into the models.

Media Trust

RQ3: What is the most trusted medium of news for labor union members?

It is important to note that while there is a statistically significant difference among mediums, a pairwise comparison shows the only statistically significant difference is between newspapers and the Internet ($p = .035$). In short, a majority of labor union members (on a seven point Likert-type scale where 0 = *absolutely untrustworthy* to 6 = *absolutely trustworthy*) fall somewhere between neutral and slightly trustworthy (see Figures 5 and 6 for means and standard deviations of the top 20 most trusted channels).

While newspapers have the highest mean for a particular medium, they were not the most trusted channel overall, which was the national labor union website. The local daily newspaper had the highest number of individuals who get their political information from a local daily newspaper (92.0%, $N = 186$); but this was not in the top 20 trusted

sources, compared to the local labor union paper (71.1%, $N = 143$, ranked 7th overall) and the national labor union paper (61.2%, $N = 123$, ranked 9th overall). However, local union members trusted their local labor union paper ($M = 3.92$, $SD = 1.48$), and their national labor union paper ($M = 3.85$, $SD = 1.54$), more than the local daily paper ($M = 3.28$, $SD = 1.47$).

Public radio ranked 13th overall for trustworthiness, and was the only radio choice in the top 20. A full 57.7% of labor union members use local FM public radio ($N = 116$, $M = 3.72$, $SD = 1.24$) for political information; and the next highest use of radio for political information was local AM radio (39.8%, $N = 80$, $M = 3.43$, $SD = 1.38$), which was not in the top 20. These two channels commonly use a talk format, and they cover local political information, which may contribute to the reliance on these two channels specifically.

Television had seven of the top 20 trustworthy channels, with PBS (48.3%, $N = 97$, $M = 3.95$, $SD = 1.28$) in fifth overall, followed by BBC World (24.4%, $N = 49$, $M = 3.84$, $SD = 1.33$, ranked 11th overall), CNN (69.2%, $N = 139$, $M = 3.69$, $SD = 1.31$, ranked 14th overall), ABC (74.6%, $N = 150$, $M = 3.56$, $SD = 1.20$, ranked 16th overall), CBS (73.1%, $N = 147$, $M = 3.54$, $SD = 1.20$, ranked 17th overall), MBNBC (57.2%, $N = 115$, $M = 3.54$, $SD = 1.35$, ranked 18th overall), and Al Jazeera America (8.5%, $N = 17$, $M = 3.53$, $SD = 1.63$, ranked 20th overall). Neither FOX (58.7%, $N = 118$, $M = 3.54$, $SD = 1.58$, ranked 36th overall), nor FOX News Channel (49.8%, $N = 100$, $M = 3.29$, $SD = 1.73$, ranked 33rd overall) ranked in the top 20. These findings provide additional support for the idea of a broader channel repertoire opposed to selective exposure (see Festinger, 1957). Labor union members did not rank all of the television they watched as

absolutely trustworthy; instead, majorities were either neutral with some slightly less or slightly more trustworthy. Very few considered the television they watched as either absolutely untrustworthy or absolutely trustworthy. A similar number of labor union members are exposing themselves to both PBS and FOX News Channel; and while they find PBS to be more trustworthy, they are not avoiding opposing viewpoints.

The Internet included ten of the top 20 means including the national labor union website (33.8%, $N = 68$, $M = 4.18$, $SD = 1.16$, ranked 1st overall), followed by the local labor union website (42.8%, $N = 86$, $M = 4.14$, $SD = 1.12$, ranked 2nd overall), AFL-CIO website (24.4%, $N = 49$, $M = 4.08$, $SD = 1.19$, ranked 3rd overall), Illinois AFL-CIO website (26.9%, $N = 54$, $M = 3.98$, $SD = 1.22$, ranked 4th overall), followed by the AFL-CIO on Facebook (29.4%, $N = 59$, $M = 3.93$, $SD = 1.34$, ranked 6th overall), national labor union on Facebook (40.8%, $N = 82$, $M = 3.89$, $SD = 1.40$, ranked 8th overall), Illinois AFL-CIO (32.3%, $N = 65$, $M = 3.85$, $SD = 1.40$, ranked 10th overall), local labor union on Facebook (55.78%, $N = 112$, $M = 3.81$, $SD = 1.38$, ranked 12th overall), local labor union on Twitter (7.0%, $N = 14$, $M = 3.64$, $SD = 1.34$, ranked 15th overall), and AFL-CIO on YouTube (8.5%, $N = 17$, $M = 3.53$, $SD = 1.13$, ranked 19th overall).

Overall, less than 50% of the labor union members are utilizing Internet sources to get their political information, with the exception of the local labor union on Facebook with almost 56%. Although, trust of labor sources on the Internet included the top four means with websites as the most trustworthy; and compare this to the trust of websites (any site with news) (66.7%, $N = 134$, $M = 2.98$, $SD = 1.13$, ranked 37th overall), which is considered slightly untrustworthy to neutral overall. Labor union websites are typically the most up-to-date source for labor news. Members may be conditioned to utilize these

websites for more than just political information (e.g., member benefits information, job calls). Additionally, the official use of social media accounts is not always consistent among labor unions. Again, a member of the union that is not in leadership, but uses social media, may run a local labor union Facebook or Twitter page. Labor leaders officially manage the national labor unions on Facebook, but not all of them manage the local social media accounts. As the labor union membership begins to age, however, it may be ideal for local labor leaders to start formally utilizing Facebook and other social media sites as another official way to communicate with their members on a regular basis, in addition to their websites.

Additionally, while simple exposure to labor union media predicted negative evaluations of the non-union-endorsed candidate, Rauner, this was not enough to predict positive evaluations of the union-endorsed candidate Quinn (e.g., see discussion of H1a and H1b). Alternately, trust in labor union media did predict positive evaluations of Quinn, but not for Rauner (see discussion of H4a and H4b). This means trust in the labor media was able to overcome the general dislike for Quinn as the labor union-endorsed gubernatorial candidate, which makes communicating effectively through both the most used channels, and the most trusted channels, important.

In all, labor union leaders end up with the challenge of trying to communicate with their labor union members in a variety of mediums. The channel repertoire labor union members use differs from the channel repertoire they trust. Specifically, labor union members use the local daily paper, broadcast television (including PBS), Facebook, and local FM public radio. Local union members trust all of their labor websites, PBS, labor Facebook sites, and their local labor union newspaper. The good news for labor

leaders is that labor union members find labor media to be trustworthy. It is important for labor leaders to capitalize on the variety of ways labor union members access their political information, and reach out to various members in new ways to account for the variance of use and trust in labor union members' media diet. Some ways to build trust among labor union membership could include advertising on these channels to promote the labor union brand internally (i.e., among its own membership), as well as externally (i.e., potential customers, the public) to build brand awareness in a positive manner. Some topics could include how the labor union is giving back to the community and the quality of work that comes from a labor union member.

H4a: Trust in labor union media will positively predict a favorable evaluation of the union-endorsed candidate.

The influence of trust in labor union media on evaluations of Quinn was observed even after controlling for the variance in evaluations of Quinn that is explained by gender, party identification, and religiosity. Ultimately, trust in labor union media yielded a favorable evaluation of the union-endorsed candidate with a small effect size, unlike H1a (i.e., exposure to labor union media), or H3b (i.e., awareness of union's endorsements). Trust in labor union media is the only variable that was able to overcome the popularity problem of Quinn with his own party. This means that even after the likely support from the Democrats is accounted for, trust in labor union media still made a small difference.

The greatest challenge for labor union leaders will be to communicate to their members with a varied media diet, while simultaneously communicating with channels union members find trustworthy. Many local labor unions use a labor newspaper to

communicate with their membership, although the local labor union paper fell to 7th place overall for media trust (see RQ3 discussion). In all, 11.2% (N = 16) found the local labor union paper to be untrustworthy, while a majority of respondents found the paper to be trustworthy (50.9%, N = 87), and the remaining labor union members were neutral (28.0%, N = 40). The highest trustworthiness score is from labor websites, with a solid group of members who consider the labor sites on Facebook to be trustworthy. The challenge for labor leaders is that the group who trust social media (local labor union on Facebook N = 112) sites is still smaller than those who use a newspaper (local labor union paper N = 143), but the trustworthiness scores for social media sites will only increase as the population ages. Even though the local labor union website ($M = 4.14$, $N = 86$) had the second highest mean to the national labor union website, less than half of the sample (N = 68) use the website; and of those, over 66% (N = 55) considered the labor union website to be trustworthy.

Overall, the goal of labor union leaders should be to cultivate trust. Specifically, they should consider how to build greater trust through their communication with union members. While neither exposure to labor union media, nor awareness of the union-endorsed candidate was statistically significant regarding Quinn, trust of this very same media did matter. Quinn was disliked intensely by labor union members (Ujifusa, 2014). Perhaps the answer is labor media trust matters when you are asking something from your membership. Labor union leaders want membership to vote for the union-endorsed candidate. Without trust, there is no loyalty to support the preferred candidate. Perhaps communicating some of the successes of the local union would be persuasive. Labor union members spend a portion of their paychecks to support the labor union in the form

of union dues. Communicating contracts that were secured, benefits negotiated, or even an increase in membership may all be things that could help cultivate trust by communicating how their paycheck is going to work for them. This type of communication may help to offset the negative frames about union dues and political action taken by Republicans intended to diminish the influence of labor unions (Epps, 2015).

H4b: Trust in labor union media will negatively predict a favorable evaluation of the non-union-endorsed Republican candidate.

Trust in labor union media did not negatively predict a favorable evaluation of Bruce Rauner. Unlike evaluations of Quinn (see discussion of H1a and H3b), exposure to labor union media (see discussion of H1b), and awareness of union's endorsement (see discussion of H3c), both predicted an unfavorable evaluation of Rauner. Why did trust in labor union media not have the same results? Both party identification (i.e., Republicans) and gender (i.e., females) had positive evaluations of Rauner individually. Trust in labor union media was in the expected direction, but not statistically significant.

Rauner was disliked by labor union members as much as Quinn, but perhaps labor union leaders did not ask membership to dislike Rauner as much as they asked membership to vote for Quinn. Trust in labor union media may have made a difference if labor union leaders specifically asked their membership to *not* vote for Rauner and then provide several reasons why. Perhaps labor union members did not consider the message from the labor union salient because the expected message regarding Rauner was negative, and therefore irrelevant in the decision-making process.

RQ4: The relationship between labor union media exposure and a positive evaluation of the labor-endorsed candidate will be moderated by trust in labor union media, such that the relationship will be strongest among those who are most trusting of labor union media.

Trust in labor union media did not moderate the relationship between exposure to labor union media and a positive evaluation of the labor-endorsed candidate, Pat Quinn. The interaction effect between exposure to labor union media and trust in labor union media was not significant. This may be explained in part by what we learned from H1 (i.e., exposure to labor union media). In short, mere exposure to labor union media does not produce a positive feeling toward the union-endorsed candidate. Again, Pat Quinn was disliked by labor union members prior to the election. Exposure to labor union media did not change labor union members' opinion of Pat Quinn. Those who had a positive evaluation of Pat Quinn fell along typical party lines. Those who considered themselves Republicans were less likely to rate Pat Quinn positively, and those who consider themselves Democrats were more likely to rate Pat Quinn positively. Trust in labor union media was a small factor (i.e. those with greater trust of labor media had a positive evaluation of Quinn), but again it did not moderate the relationship. In all, the implication is trust of labor union media is more than the combination of exposure of labor union media and trust of labor union media combined. Labor union leaders should focus on trust in labor union communication (see discussion of H4a and H4b).

Labor Union Involvement

RQ5: Will the relationship between labor union media exposure and positive evaluations of union-endorsed candidates be strongest among those who are closely involved in their union (i.e., union members who participate in the labor union through a variety of labor-sponsored activities)?

Greater involvement in the labor union did not moderate the relationship between exposure to labor union media and a positive evaluation of the labor-endorsed candidate, Pat Quinn. The interaction effect between exposure to labor union media and union involvement was not significant. Again, mere exposure to labor union media does not produce a positive feeling toward the union-endorsed candidate (see discussion in H1a). Additionally, greater union involvement did not translate into favorability of Pat Quinn. Those who had a positive evaluation of Pat Quinn fell along typical party lines. Those who consider themselves Republicans were less likely to rate Pat Quinn positively, and those who consider themselves Democrats were more likely to rate Pat Quinn positively. Additionally, gender was a factor. Women were less likely to favorably evaluate the union-endorsed candidate. This is likely due to their political identification as Republicans (see H1 discussion). Finally, religiosity was also statistically significant. Those who were more religious had a more favorable evaluation of Pat Quinn.

More involvement in the union is usually touted by labor leaders as being a potent factor in support of labor union policies and union-endorsed candidates. Many labor leaders struggle to get younger members to even attend union meetings. Involvement in the labor union might also be motivated by factors other than just agreeing with the union's platform on issues and candidates. Greater involvement in the union may have

more to do with job advancement. For example, someone in construction may prefer to work up to a foreman or an administrative position that does not require the manual labor of working in the field with tools all day. Involvement in the labor union may also be motivated by social capital. For example, if you have friends that attend the meetings, perhaps the social aspect would motivate you to attend a meeting. Of course, it is important to continue to work to get more labor union members involved. While this current study does not support the notion that greater involvement leads to more support for the labor union-endorsed candidate, it is important for the labor union leadership to develop trust (see discussion in H4a).

Theoretical Implications

Labor union media exposure did have a small impact on the non-labor union-endorsed Republican candidate, Bruce Rauner, and awareness of the labor union endorsement resulted in less favorability of the Republican candidate and right-to-work and anti-union legislation. Thus, based on these effects, we might deem that the negative frames of Rauner that were likely available in union members' exposure to union media did matter. Based on framing theory, it is likely that the media frames regarding the Republican contender and legislation encouraged participants to store knowledge about Rauner and right-to-work legislation that was salient due to mere exposure of these messages. Additionally, the results for the channel repertoire research questions revealed that the main media diet of the labor union members primarily included mainstream news on a regular basis, and labor union media on a less frequent basis. Bruce Rauner received a lot of media attention from not only the mainstream news outlets, but he also ran an extensive advertising campaign (Confessore, 2015). The salience of these frames

regarding Rauner may be due to the amount of coverage that Rauner received from mainstream news, advertising, and labor union media that might be an additive effect that all equal a negative evaluation of Rauner. It would have been hard to miss the coverage surrounding the State of Illinois budget crisis and how both Rauner and Quinn planned to solve the problem. The frequency of discussion surrounding the Illinois budget, and its direct impact on public employee unions made the negative frames regarding Rauner salient. These union members then received competing frames from their labor union newspaper on how Rauner was planning to eliminate collective bargaining and fair share fees using the blueprint of Scott Walker, the Governor of Wisconsin, as the model for success (Burnett & Tareen, 2014). In addition, *The Labor Paper* featured front-page news of Rauner's plan to allow local governments to create "employee empowerment zones," otherwise known as right-to-work, following the election (Stevens, 2015).

These same competing frames might have also had an impact on the favorability of Pat Quinn. Labor union media was not able to frame Quinn as the obvious candidate. Quinn lost popularity when he worked to cut union benefits in direct contradiction of state law (Arnold, 2014). Quinn was then faced with negative frames from both the mainstream media, and the labor union media (e.g., *The Labor Paper*). Quinn's negative frames were not as extensive as the negative frames provided for Rauner; however, labor union media did acknowledge Quinn's policies to fix the Illinois budget as "unpopular" and "controversial" (Helfers, 2014; Stevens, 2014b). These negative frames about Quinn were qualified with terms like "tough," followed by a positive frame in the same sentence. For example, "Governor Quinn made the tough, many times unpopular decisions that put Illinois on the path to recovery" (Helfers, 2014, p. 1). The negative

frame would sometimes follow the positive frame. For example, “Incumbent Governor Pat Quinn has spent his life initiating and supporting programs and policies that assist working people, even though workers have not always agreed with him, nor supported 100 percent of his policies” (Stevens, 2014a). These frames are an example of how the labor union media was not able to avoid Quinn’s popularity problem due to his policies that affected some public sector union members. Ultimately, mere exposure could not predict a favorable evaluation of Pat Quinn, because negative frames were surrounding him regardless of the labor members’ channel repertoire from mainstream news, labor news, and/or the Rauner campaign attack advertisements. Therefore, the knowledge store of labor union members included contradictory information. This variance in information regarding Quinn may have triggered the active thought of labor union members to include a variety of frames from a variety of sources, which made the information salient. It seems consistency of framing is key, and the labor union media should avoid criticizing the endorsed candidate during the election season. Ultimately, labor union members had to make a decision. Trust in labor union media, of all the variables, was predictive of a positive evaluation of Quinn. Perhaps the union members who trust the labor union media also trust the union. Despite issues with Quinn, he is still the candidate labor union members would positively evaluate. The choice by labor union members to trust their labor media then positively predicted a favorable evaluation of Quinn. Ultimately, the positive frames highlighted by the labor union media did have a small impact despite Quinn’s lack of popularity.

Limitations

There are a few limitations to consider as part of this study. First, the results cannot be generalized to labor unions as a whole. This sample was within the state of Illinois under conditions that may vary from state to state. In particular, while a race between a Democrat and a Republican is not that unusual, the enormous dislike of the incumbent gubernatorial candidate even within his own party is not necessarily typical and findings may differ in similarly replicated studies.

Additionally, variation in the union membership is not captured by the dataset. This means that some members may be part of a union of their own volition, while others may be a part of a union for various other reasons (e.g., social capital, see RQ5 discussion). This variation in union membership could explain why exposure to labor union media had mixed results, in addition to, Quinn's likeability problem. A labor union members' identity construction could have an influence based on whether they wanted to join the union or not. Labor union media may not be a direct influence.

Next, the sample overrepresented White participants. Previous research has indicated that the combination of being Black and a union member appears to be the strongest predictors of vote choice (Boris & Bruno, 2010; Sousa, 1993). This study included only 6 (3%) individuals who identified as Black or African American or Haitian American, compared to the 97% (N = 195) who identified as White, European American, Middle Eastern American, or individuals of North African American descent. The ratio of males to females was even, but a lack of racial diversity in the sample prevents greater understanding of labor union membership and their vote choice, in addition to the ability to compare these findings with earlier studies.

The data for this study was collected in April following a November election, which is why evaluation of the candidate was measured instead of intended vote choice. Conducting the survey after the election could mean that events that happened during Rauner's first three months in office could affect his evaluation. Therefore, this study cannot speak to a campaign influence exclusively.

Finally, this study is cross-sectional. Thus, this study only accounts for one moment in time. It is possible that labor union members liked Quinn, and then came to trust the labor union media more. The causality could be reversed.

Future Directions

The sample included 21 different unions with 51 different job classifications, and 79 different job titles with union membership representing 29 different cities across the state of Illinois. This made for a very diverse sample; however, it is difficult to ascertain if there is any difference between the various types of labor unions. There are not enough participants in each union within the current sample to provide a robust enough sample size for appropriate power. Future research should compare two different labor unions. For example, do service unions communicate and vote differently than teachers unions, or those who work in construction and manufacturing? What about the difference between unions with unskilled or skilled trades? We know that there are income discrepancies. Future studies should examine and compare at least two groups to understand if the type of union membership impacts results of exposure to labor union media, awareness of union's endorsements, and trust of labor union media. This type of research may help to explicate the gender differences uncovered in this study.

Higher levels of religiosity were associated with more support for the Democratic candidate. Labor union groups are typically linked with Democrats, and the sample indicated those who identify as more religious primarily self-identified as a Democrat. One might expect individuals with higher levels of religiosity to self-identify as Republican or conservative (e.g., Campbell et al., 2011); however, research regarding religion and partisanship indicates that those who self-identify as evangelical or perceive the candidate to be evangelical are more likely to identify with the Republican party compared to other organized religious groups such as Catholics (e.g., Green, 2007). Catholics, for example, are no longer considered associated mainly with the Democratic Party (e.g., during the Kennedy administration). Instead, Catholics may be associated with both the Republican Party and the Democratic Party evenly. Religious people may lean more Republican than Democratic compared to nonreligious people (Campbell et al., 2011), however, our sample revealed greater religiosity indicated greater support for the Democratic candidate. Clearly, the sample features a partisan group that strongly identifies with the Democratic Party. Future labor union communication research should include demographics that include specific religions to understand the complexities of religious affiliation and union membership on voting. Specifically, Evangelical Christians, in addition to religiosity, should be a control variable. Finally, it would be interesting to consider the differences in those who may identify as spiritual but may not consider themselves religious.

The ways in which labor union members access political information and then how they act on that information are varied. Here, the results suggested that the media diet of labor union members definitely includes a large repertoire of channels. Some of

the Internet channels were considered the most trustworthy when compared to other traditional channels of labor communication. It may be important to consider if this varies across types of labor unions. Future studies should compare unique groups (e.g., electricians compared to teachers) to see if there is a difference.

Future studies should also investigate the use of more Internet channels. Trust of labor union Internet media outperformed the standard labor newspaper. The absolute variety of ways that labor unions have the ability to communicate with their membership has increased in the last 30 years. The challenge for labor unions is how to manage these new communication technologies while maintaining traditional ways of communicating with labor union members. Labor union leaders should consider more than one way to officially communicate with their members as a means of fostering greater trust.

Next, future labor union research should focus on the labor union member, and not the labor union household. Past research (outside of Boris & Bruno, 2010; Bruno 2000) has focused almost exclusively on the union household, or relied on ANES data, which also focuses on the union household. The differences between a labor union household, and the individual labor union member should also be examined.

Exposure to labor union media yielded differing results. Future research should examine labor media through content analysis followed by a survey to understand the frequency and topics of labor union media. It would be important to compare the recency and frequency of articles regarding the labor-endorsed candidates and the non-labor-endorsed candidates. For example, would the recency and frequency of coverage of the candidates have any impact on awareness of the union's endorsements? In addition, what is the difference in coverage between candidates and standard issues of the Democratic

Party and/or labor union leaders? Does frequency of coverage impact awareness?

Finally, how might the amount of coverage affect candidate evaluation after exposure to labor union communication?

Finally, early research used the term “organ” to describe the various types of labor communication within the conceptual definition. Various definitions can be found regarding the communicative nature of “organ.” Merriam-Webster in its fourth and last entry simply defines organ as a “periodical.” Dictionary.com defines organ as a “newspaper, magazine, or other means of communicating information, thoughts, or opinions, especially in behalf of some organization, political group, or the like.” Even these definitions are outdated with the types of media we use to communicate today. A periodical is typically a subscription that periodically showed up at your house (i.e., a magazine subscription). The Dictionary.com definition only refers to outdated ways of communicating, and does not even mention television or the Internet. I propose using a common conceptual definition for future research regarding the “organs” of communication. Specifically, I propose the term “channel” when talking about a specific media source (e.g., *ABC*, *WLS-AM*, *The New York Times*, or *Facebook*) regardless of medium. Medium should then be used to describe the general source of media (e.g., Newspaper, Radio, Television, Internet, and future technology). The terms “channel” and “medium” are not limited to the study of an organization or group. They simply define how and what we use to communicate.

Conclusion

This research provides a springboard for research in the area of labor communication within the discipline of communication. This study serves as a

beginning, with many unexplored areas for future research. It is my hope that labor union leaders will begin to examine the role of communication in their efforts to connect and affect the vote choice of their labor union members.

The current story of labor union communication is complicated. We learned that exposure of labor union communication from a labor media frame may have an impact on how labor union members view candidates and issues. Specifically, exposure to labor media predicts a negative evaluation of the non labor-endorsed political candidate (i.e., Rauner), but it did not predict a negative evaluation of right-to-work and anti-union laws. Additionally, exposure did not predict a favorable evaluation of the labor-endorsed candidate (i.e., Quinn), nor did labor union media exposure predict awareness of the labor union-endorsed candidate. Again, this may be due, in part, to the construction of the union members' identity.

Awareness of the labor union's endorsements did negatively predict an unfavorable evaluation of the Republican opponent, in addition to right-to-work and anti-union laws. Awareness of the labor union's endorsement was unable to positively predict a favorable evaluation of the labor union-endorsed candidate (i.e., Quinn). We know that the incumbent was unpopular. Future research will uncover whether the popularity problem of Quinn was the main reason for the results.

This study also found out that the channel repertoire of labor union members is broad. In addition, labor union members expose themselves to channels they may not necessarily trust. Interestingly, the labor union members spend most of their media use time watching television, reading newspapers, listening to the radio, followed by using the Internet for political information. The local daily newspaper is the most used

medium; yet, the local daily newspaper is not even in the top 20 channels that are considered trustworthy. Local, state, and national labor union websites are considered the most trustworthy. Public television, and the local and national labor union newspaper do make the top 10. Additionally, at this time there is no difference in candidate evaluation on whether the labor union member utilizes more traditional or more new labor media.

Perhaps the most provocative finding of this study relates to labor members' media trust. While exposure to labor union media, and awareness of union's endorsement had no impact on the unpopular Quinn, media trust did positively predict a favorable evaluation. Alternately, labor media trust did not positively predict a negative evaluation of Rauner. Overall, trust in labor media mattered most when it came to supporting the labor union-endorsed candidate. Greater involvement in the labor union could not even predict a favorable evaluation of Quinn.

Trust of labor media is a potent factor in the labor union member evaluation of a labor union-endorsed gubernatorial candidate. Previous research has indicated that party identification is the only major factor that one needs to consider when predicting vote choice. The present study sought to ameliorate this perception by statistically controlling for not only party identification, but gender, race, income, political ideology, and religiosity as well. In short, labor union communication does have an impact on vote choice. Labor union leaders will have to focus on trust when creating and disseminating their messages regarding candidates in the media. Clearly, labor leaders need to thoughtfully consider the communication channels their members are using, and which

channels their members trust. Political communication research now has a foundation to expand its focus to include labor unions as a vital group to understand.

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TABLES

Table 1
Descriptive Statistics for Gender, Race, Education, and Individual Income

Variable	<i>N</i>	%	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Gender				
Male	137	68.2		
Female	64	31.8		
Race ^a				
American Indian or Alaska Native	5	2.5		
Asian	1	0.5		
Black or African American or Haitian American	6	3.0		
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	0	0.0		
White or European American or Middle Eastern American or North African American	195	97.0		
Other (Write In)	0	0.0		
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	1	0.5		
Education ^{ab}				
High School or GED Equivalent	201	100.0		
Some College	158	78.6		
Associate's Degree	43	21.4		
Bachelor's Degree	52	25.9		
Master's Degree	26	12.9		
Graduate of Apprenticeship Training Program	60	29.9		
Doctorate	1	0.5		
Individual Income ^c			3.16	1.04
25K or Less	4	2.0		
25-50 K	55	27.4		
50-75K	69	34.3		
75-100K	56	27.9		
100-125K	12	6.0		
Greater than 125K	5	2.5		

Note. ^a Percentages do not equal 100 due to more than one choice available. ^b Education does not include a mean nor standard deviation because participants could choose more than one. ^c Income is for the individual and not the household.

Table 2
Descriptive Statistics for Age and Length of Time in a Labor Union

Variable	Range		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Age	22	75	45.89	10.92
Years in Union	1	54	16.64	11.57

Table 3
Descriptive Statistics for Labor Union Membership Status

Variable	<i>N</i>	%
Status		
Member	173	86.1
Retired Member	28	13.9

Table 4

Descriptive Statistics for Awareness of Union Endorsement, Awareness, and Vote Choice

Variable	<i>N</i>	%
Endorsement		
I do not know who was endorsed	37	18.4
Bruce Rauner - Republican	9	4.5
Pat Quinn - Democrat	155	77.1
Chad Grimm - Libertarian	0	0.0
Awareness		
Aware of Quinn's Endorsement	155	77.1
Unaware of Quinn's Endorsement	46	22.9
Vote Choice		
I am not registered to vote	5	2.5
I did not vote, but I am registered to vote	28	13.9
Bruce Rauner - Republican	58	28.9
Pat Quinn - Democrat	101	50.2
Chad Grimm - Libertarian	7	3.5
Other – Write In	2	1.0
Vote for Endorsed Candidate		
Voted for Quinn	101	50.2
Did not vote for Quinn	100	49.8

Table 5

Descriptive Statistics for Party Identification and Political Ideology

Variable	<i>N</i>	%	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Party Identification			3.55	1.77
Strong Democrat	23	11.4		
Democrat	51	25.4		
Leaning Democrat	30	14.9		
Independent	34	16.9		
Leaning Republican	27	13.4		
Republican	25	12.4		
Strong Republican	11	5.5		
Economic Ideology			4.23	1.48
Highly Liberal	9	4.5		
Liberal	23	11.4		
Slightly Liberal	13	6.5		
Moderate	79	39.3		
Slightly Conservative	29	14.4		
Conservative	40	19.9		
Highly Conservative	8	4.0		
Social Ideology			3.91	1.61
Highly Liberal	18	9.0		
Liberal	28	13.9		
Slightly Liberal	20	10.0		
Moderate	71	35.3		
Slightly Conservative	27	13.4		
Conservative	27	13.4		
Highly Conservative	10	5.0		
Overall Ideology			4.07	1.43
Highly Liberal	7	3.5		
Liberal	30	14.9		
Slightly Liberal	17	8.5		
Moderate	79	39.3		
Slightly Conservative	27	13.4		
Conservative	37	18.4		
Highly Conservative	4	2.0		
Combined Economic, Social, and Overall Political Ideology	3.00	21.00	12.21	4.27

Table 6
Descriptive Statistics for Labor Union Membership

Variable	<i>N</i>	%
Union		
American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees (AFSCME)	49	24.4
American Postal Workers Union (APWU)	1	0.5
Associated Fire Fighters of Illinois (AFFI-IAFF)	8	4.0
Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees (BMWE)	1	0.5
Communications Workers of America (CWA)	1	0.5
International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAMAW)	2	1.0
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW)	33	16.4
International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT)	27	13.4
Illinois Education Association (IEA-NEA)	22	10.9
Illinois Federation of Teachers (IFT-AFT)	6	3.0
Illinois Nurses Association (INA)	3	1.5
International Union of Operating Engineers (IUOE)	7	3.5
Laborers' International Union of North America (LiUNA)	4	2.0
National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC)	2	1.0
Screen Actors Guild - American Federation of Television and Radio Artists (SAG/AFTRA)	1	0.5
The Newspaper Guild (TNG)	1	0.5
United Association Union of Plumbers, Fitters, Welders, and Service Techs (UA)	18	9.0
United Automobile Workers (UAW)	11	5.5
United Brotherhood of Carpenters (UBC)	2	1.0
United Food & Commercial Workers (UFCW)	1	0.5
United Transportation Union (UTU)	1	0.5

Table 7
Descriptive Statistics for Labor Union Job Titles

Variable	<i>N</i>	%
Job Title		
Actor	1	0.5
Apprentice Lineman	4	2.0
Apprentice Operating Engineer	1	0.5
Assembler and Tester	3	1.5
Baker	1	0.5
Broadcast Engineer	1	0.5
Captain	1	0.5
Captain / Treasurer	1	0.5
Captain Retired	1	0.5
Chief Clerk	1	0.5
Clerk	1	0.5
Communications Clerk	1	0.5
Conductor	1	0.5
Construction	1	0.5
Correctional Counselor	1	0.5
Correctional Counselor II	1	0.5
Correctional Lieutenant	5	2.5
Correctional Major Shift Supervisor	2	1.0
Correctional Officer	23	11.4
Correctional Officer (President)	1	0.5
Correctional Sergeant	3	1.5
Custodial Foreman	1	0.5
Custodian	13	6.5
Driver	3	1.5
Engineer	2	1.0
Fire / Arson Investigator	1	0.5
Firefighter	1	0.5
Foreman Journeyman Electrician	3	1.5
General Services	3	1.5
Habilitation Program Coordinator	1	0.5
Healthcare and Family Services Nurse	1	0.5
Human Service Casework Manager	1	0.5
Investigator	1	0.5
Journeyman Carpenter	2	1.0
Journeyman Electrician	17	8.5
Journeyman Instrument Technician	1	0.5

Journeyman Lineman	4	2.0
Journeyman Machinist	1	0.5
Journeyman Mechanical Engineer	1	0.5
Journeyman Operating Engineer	4	2.0
Journeyman Operating Engineer Working Foreman	1	0.5
Journeyman Pipefitter	3	1.5
Journeyman Plumber	4	2.0
Journeyman Plumber Lead	1	0.5
Journeyman Powerhouse Electrician	2	1.0
Journeyman Reporter	1	0.5
Journeyman Steamfitter	9	4.5
Journeyman Technician	1	0.5
Journeyman Welder Retired	1	0.5
Laborer	4	2.0
Lecturer and Assistant Professor	1	0.5
Letter Carrier	2	1.0
Licensed Practical Nurse	2	1.0
Lieutenant	1	0.5
Machine Operator	1	0.5
Machinist	1	0.5
Maintenance Craftsman	1	0.5
Major	1	0.5
Material Handler	1	0.5
Mechanic	1	0.5
Mental Health Technician I	2	1.0
Mental Health Technician II	1	0.5
Mental Health Technician III	1	0.5
Non-Tenure Track Faculty	2	1.0
Paraprofessional	1	0.5
Professor	1	0.5
Quality Specialist	1	0.5
Quality Specialist IV	1	0.5
Registered Nurse	4	2.0
Retired Machinist	1	0.5
Safety	1	0.5
Salvage Welder	1	0.5
SDS for State	1	0.5
Sportswriter	1	0.5
Support Service Worker	1	0.5
Teacher	22	10.9

Teacher's Assistant	1	0.5
Union Steward	1	0.5
Working Foreman Clerk	2	1.0

Table 8
Descriptive Statistics for Labor Union City Located in Illinois

Variable	<i>N</i>	%
City		
Bloomington	3	1.5
Burr Ridge	1	0.5
Carol Stream	1	0.5
Centralia	48	23.9
Chicago	11	5.5
Columbia	1	0.5
Dunlap	1	0.5
East Alton	1	0.5
East Peoria	17	8.5
Elgin	1	0.5
Elwood Park	1	0.5
Galesburg	12	6.0
Glenview	1	0.5
Joliet	1	0.5
Kewanee	1	0.5
La Grange	1	0.5
Mackinaw	1	0.5
Macomb	1	0.5
Mokena	2	1.0
Normal	2	1.0
Pekin	1	0.5
Peoria	67	33.3
Pinckneyville	2	1.0
Rock Island	1	0.5
Rockford	1	0.5
Romeoville	1	0.5
Springfield	18	9.0
St. Louis ^a	1	0.5
Wheeling	1	0.5

Note. ^a While this union is headquartered in Missouri, the local union meetings are held in Peoria, IL, and the union members live in Illinois.

Table 9
Descriptive Statistics for Key Independent Variables

Variable		Range	M	SD
Exposure				
	Union Member Exposure to Labor Union Media	0.00 64.00	12.83	13.67
Mediums				
	Newspaper	0.00 31.00	9.71	5.84
	Radio	0.00 27.00	6.16	5.96
	Television	0.00 50.00	18.51	10.84
	Internet	0.00 73.00	16.28	15.81
Media Trust				
	Newspaper	0.00 36.00	19.55	6.33
	Radio	0.00 30.00	14.81	5.51
	Television	0.00 54.00	29.33	10.03
	Internet	0.00 105.00	59.00	20.77
Labor Media Trust		0.00 108.00	56.17	20.36
Evaluation of Candidates				
	Bruce Rauner – Republican	0.00 100.0	25.51	30.13
	Pat Quinn – Democrat	0.00 100.0	38.95	31.03
	Chad Grimm - Libertarian	0.00 100.0	27.47	25.52
Evaluation of RTW and AU Laws				
	Right-to-Work Laws	0.00 100.0	20.13	31.21
	Anti-Union Laws	0.00 100.0	10.84	23.26
	Combined RTW and AU	0.00 200.0	30.97	45.34
Labor Media				
	Traditional Labor Media ^a	0.00 6.00	1.59	1.39
	New Labor Social Media ^a	0.00 3.50	0.78	0.89
	Traditional minus New	-2.88 6.00	0.81	1.38

Note. ^a Traditional and New Labor Social Media scores presented are from mean scores because there were only two for traditional and eight for new media.

Table 10

Descriptive Statistics for Channels including Newspaper, Radio, Television, and Internet (N = 201)

Variable	Range	M	SD
Newspaper			
Local Daily Paper (like Journal Star)	0 6	3.39	2.01
Local Weekly Paper (like The Weekly Messenger)	0 6	1.23	1.65
State Daily Paper (like The Chicago Tribune)	0 6	1.02	1.58
National Daily Paper (like The New York Times)	0 6	0.88	1.49
Your Local Labor Union Paper (like The Labor Paper)	0 6	1.78	1.57
Your National Labor Union Paper (like The Electrical Worker)	0 6	1.40	1.48
Other Newspaper (Write In) ^a	0 6	0.25	0.92
Radio			
Local AM Radio (like 1470 WMBD-AM)	0 6	1.25	1.88
Regional AM Radio (like 890 WLS-AM)	0 6	0.85	1.62
Local FM Radio (like Public Radio 89.9 WCBU)	0 6	2.28	2.36
Satellite Radio (like Sirius XM)	0 6	0.98	1.85
Internet Streamed Radio	0 6	0.81	1.68
Other Radio (Write In) ^a	0 5	0.11	0.62
Television			
ABC	0 6	2.66	1.99
CBS	0 6	2.56	2.00
NBC	0 6	3.08	2.07
FOX	0 6	1.99	2.05
PBS	0 6	1.37	1.79
Al Jazeera America	0 6	0.19	0.77
BBC World	0 6	0.64	1.36
CNN	0 6	2.47	2.06
FOX News Channel	0 6	1.70	2.04
MSNBC	0 6	1.85	1.92
Other TV (Write In) ^a	0 6	0.38	1.26

Internet

Facebook (any page with news)	0	6	2.91	2.43
Your Local Labor Union on Facebook	0	6	2.02	2.16
Your National Labor Union on Facebook	0	6	1.30	1.90
Illinois AFL-CIO on Facebook	0	6	0.90	1.60
AFL-CIO on Facebook	0	6	0.77	1.50
Twitter (any feed with news)	0	6	0.37	1.26
Your Local Labor Union on Twitter	0	6	0.16	0.72
Your National Labor Union on Twitter	0	6	0.17	0.73
Illinois AFL-CIO on Twitter	0	6	0.15	0.71
AFL-CIO on Twitter	0	6	0.15	0.71
Websites (any site with news)	0	6	2.64	2.30
Your Local Labor Union Website	0	6	1.23	1.75
Your National Labor Union Website	0	6	0.91	1.54
Illinois AFL-CIO Website	0	5	0.60	1.20
AFL-CIO Website	0	5	0.53	1.15
YouTube (any channel with news)	0	6	0.72	1.49
Your Local Labor Union on YouTube	0	6	0.23	0.78
Your National Labor Union on YouTube	0	6	0.22	0.78
Illinois AFL-CIO on YouTube	0	6	0.17	0.66
AFL-CIO on YouTube	0	4	0.17	0.51
Other Internet (Write In) ^a	0	6	0.36	1.18

Note. ^aOther scores were not used in the analysis.

Table 11

Descriptive Statistics for Channels including Newspaper Trust, Radio Trust, Television Trust, and Internet Trust

Variable	<i>N</i>	<i>Range</i>		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Newspaper					
Local Daily Paper (like Journal Star)	186	0	6	3.28	1.47
Local Weekly Paper (like The Weekly Messenger)	93	0	5	3.29	1.24
State Daily Paper (like The Chicago Tribune)	85	0	6	3.25	1.49
National Daily Paper (like The New York Times)	74	0	6	3.38	1.60
Your Local Labor Union Paper (like The Labor Paper)	143	0	6	3.92	1.49
Your National Labor Union Paper (like The Electrical Worker)	123	0	6	3.85	1.54
Other Newspaper (Write In) ^a	22	0	6	3.32	1.21
Radio					
Local AM Radio (like 1470 WMBD-AM)	80	0	6	3.43	1.38
Regional AM Radio (like 890 WLS-AM)	58	0	6	3.29	1.27
Local FM Radio (like Public Radio 89.9 WCBU)	116	0	6	3.72	1.24
Satellite Radio (like Sirius XM)	58	0	6	3.33	1.23
Internet Streamed Radio	48	0	6	2.90	1.36
Other Radio (Write In) ^a	10	3	6	3.60	1.08
Television					
ABC	150	0	6	3.56	1.20
CBS	147	0	6	3.54	1.20
NBC	159	0	6	3.49	1.28
FOX	118	0	6	3.05	1.58
PBS	97	0	6	3.95	1.28
Al Jazeera America	17	0	6	3.53	1.63
BBC World	49	1	6	3.84	1.33
CNN	139	0	6	3.69	1.31
FOX News Channel	100	0	6	3.29	1.73
MSNBC	115	0	6	3.54	1.35
Other TV (Write In) ^a	22	0	5	2.95	1.21

Internet

Facebook (any page with news)	135	0	5	2.39	1.29
Your Local Labor Union on Facebook	112	0	6	3.81	1.38
Your National Labor Union on Facebook	82	0	6	3.89	1.40
Illinois AFL-CIO on Facebook	65	0	6	3.85	1.40
AFL-CIO on Facebook	59	0	6	3.93	1.34
Twitter (any feed with news)	21	1	5	2.86	0.96
Your Local Labor Union on Twitter	14	2	6	3.64	1.34
Your National Labor Union on Twitter	15	2	5	3.47	0.92
Illinois AFL-CIO on Twitter	13	2	5	3.46	1.05
AFL-CIO on Twitter	13	2	5	3.46	1.05
Websites (any site with news)	134	0	6	2.98	1.13
Your Local Labor Union Website	86	1	6	4.14	1.12
Your National Labor Union Website	68	1	6	4.18	1.16
Illinois AFL-CIO Website	54	1	6	3.98	1.22
AFL-CIO Website	49	1	6	4.08	1.19
YouTube (any channel with news)	48	0	5	2.73	1.01
Your Local Labor Union on YouTube	23	1	5	3.43	.99
Your National Labor Union on YouTube	22	1	5	3.45	1.01
Illinois AFL-CIO on YouTube	18	1	5	3.50	1.20
AFL-CIO on YouTube	17	1	5	3.53	1.13
Other Internet (Write In) ^a	23	1	6	2.60	1.17

Note. ^a Other scores were not used in the analysis.

Table 12

Descriptive Statistics for Variables Union Involvement and Religiosity

Variable	Range		M	SD
Union Involvement ^a	0	30	12.78	8.36
How often do you attend regularly scheduled union meetings?	0	6	2.51	2.01
How often do you make attending a union meeting a priority if a special vote has been called?	0	6	3.94	2.08
How often do you participate in union-sponsored community activities (e.g., marching in the labor day parade, participating in blood drives, boycotting do not patronize stores, etc.)?	0	6	2.50	1.84
How often do you participate in union-sponsored labor activities (e.g., picketing a non-union job site, manning phone banks to get out the vote, attending an awards banquet, etc.)?	0	6	2.14	1.91
How often do you volunteer/run to participate in a leadership position to serve the members of the union (e.g., as an officer or member of the board, committees, teaching, etc.) when positions are available?	0	6	1.68	2.16
Religiosity ^a	0	24	12.50	7.69
How much guidance does religion provide you in your day-to-day life?	0	6	3.44	2.24
How often do you attend religious services?	0	6	1.92	1.66
How often does religion play an important role in your life?	0	6	3.31	2.26
How often do you pray?	0	6	3.83	2.30

Note. ^a Results for combined scores.

Table 13

H1a Correlation Coefficient for Evaluation of Union-Endorsed Candidate and Predictor Variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Feeling Thermometer -Pat Quinn (D)							
Predictor Variable							
1. Gender	-	.13*	-.33***	.15*	-.04	.12*	-.18**
2. Race		-	.04	.03	.03	.08	.04
3. Income			-	-.06	.01	-.15*	.18**
4. Party Identification				-	.66***	.17**	-.35***
5. Party Ideology					-	.24***	-.19**
6. Religiosity						-	-.07
7. Exposure to Labor Union Media							-

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 14

H1a Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis Summary for Exposure to Labor Union Media Positively Predicting a Favorable Evaluation of Union-Endorsed Candidate

Variable	B	SEB	β	R^2	ΔR^2	VIF
Step 1				.31	.31***	
Gender	-10.16	4.41	-.15*			1.23
Race	-7.76	7.97	-.06			1.03
Income	1.98	1.94	.07			1.17
Party Identification	-6.61	1.50	-.38***			2.03
Political Ideology	-1.20	.61	-.17*			1.93
Religiosity	.65	.25	.16**			1.10
Step 2				.31	.001	
Exposure to Labor Union Media	.07	.15	.03			1.18

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 15

H1b Correlation Coefficient for Evaluation of Non Union-Endorsed Republican Candidate and Predictor Variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Feeling Thermometer							
-Bruce Rauner (R) Predictor Variable	.31***	.10	-.09	.64***	.44***	.15*	-.36***
1. Gender	-	.13*	-.33***	.15*	-.04	.12*	-.18**
2. Race		-	.04	.03	.03	.08	.04
3. Income			-	-.06	.01	-.15*	.18**
4. Party Identification				-	.66***	.17**	-.35***
5. Party Ideology					-	.24***	-.19**
6. Religiosity						-	-.07
7. Exposure to Labor Union Media							-

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 16

H1b Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis Summary for Exposure to Labor Union Media Positively Predicting a Negative Evaluation of Non Union-Endorsed Republican Candidate

Variable	B	SEB	β	R^2	ΔR^2	VIF
Step 1				.47	.47***	
Gender	14.48	3.70	.22***			1.23
Race	6.90	6.67	.05			1.03
Income	1.16	1.63	.04			1.17
Party Identification	8.45	1.26	.50***			2.03
Political Ideology	.65	.51	.09			1.93
Religiosity	.05	.21	.01			1.10
Step 2				.48	.02**	
Exposure to Labor Union Media	-.31	.12	-.14**			1.18

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 17

H2 Correlation Coefficient for Right-to-Work (RTW) and Anti-Union (AU) Laws and Predictor Variable

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Feeling Thermometer							
RTW / AU Predictor Variable	.29***	-.01	-.20**	.26***	.21***	-.004	-.17**
1. Gender	-	.13	-.33***	.15*	-.04	.12*	-.18**
2. Race		-	.04	.03	.03	.08	.04
3. Income			-	-.06	.01	-.15**	.18**
4. Party Identification				-	.66***	.17**	-.35***
5. Party Ideology					-	.24***	-.19**
6. Religiosity						-	-.07
7. Exposure to Labor Union Media							-

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 18

H2 Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis Summary for Exposure to Labor Union Media Negatively Predicting a Favorable Evaluation of Right-to-Work Anti-Union Laws

Variable	B	SEB	β	R^2	ΔR^2	VIF
Step 1				.17	.17***	
Gender	24.66	7.06	.254***			1.23
Race	-7.59	12.74	-.04			1.03
Income	-5.00	3.10	-.11			1.17
Party Identification	2.67	2.40	.10			2.03
Political Ideology	1.84	.97	.17			1.93
Religiosity	-.66	.41	-.11			1.10
Step 2				.17	.002	
Exposure to Labor Union Media	-.14	.24	-.04			1.18

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 19

H3a Hierarchical Logistic Regression Analysis Summary for Exposure to Labor Union Media Positively Predicting Awareness of Union's Endorsements

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SEB</i>	<i>Wald</i>	<i>Exp(B)</i>	<i>R</i> ^{2 a}
Step 1					.18***
Gender	-.21	.41	.27	.81	
Race	-.50	.87	.33	.61	
Income	.53	.20	3.18	1.42	
Party Identification	-.52	.16	10.39***	.60	
Political Ideology	.09	.06	2.09	1.09	
Religiosity	.02	.03	.52	1.02	
Step 2					.19***
Exposure to Labor Union Media	.36	.33	1.17	1.43	

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; ^a Nagelkerke

Table 20

H3b Correlation Coefficient for a Favorable Evaluation of the Union-Endorsed Candidate and Predictor Variable

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Feeling Thermometer							
-Pat Quinn	-.22***	-.08	.12*	-.50***	-.38***	.02	.19**
(D) Predictor Variable							
1. Gender	-	.13*	-.33***	.15*	-.04	.12	-.16**
2. Race		-	.04	.03	.03	.08	-.04
3. Income			-	-.06	.01	-.15*	.17**
4. Party Identification				-	.66***	.17**	-.29***
5. Party Ideology					-	.24***	-.10
6. Religiosity						-	-.01
7. Awareness of Union's Endorsement							-

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 21

H3b Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis Summary for Awareness of Union's Endorsement Positively Predicting a Favorable Evaluation of the Union-Endorsed Candidate

Variable	B	SEB	β	R^2	ΔR^2	VIF
Step 1				.31	.31***	
Gender	-10.22	4.40	-.15*			1.22
Race	-7.43	7.96	-.06			1.03
Income	1.97	1.94	.07			1.17
Party Identification	-6.61	1.50	-.38***			2.03
Political Ideology	-1.22	.61	-.17*			1.95
Religiosity	.64	.26	.16**			1.11
Step 2				.31	.001	
Awareness of Union's Endorsement	2.24	4.71	.03			1.13

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 22

H3c Correlation Coefficient for a Negative Evaluation of the Non-Union-Endorsed Republican Candidate and Predictor Variable

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Feeling Thermometer							
-Bruce Rauner (R) Predictor Variable							
1. Gender	.31***	.10	-.09	.64***	.44***	.15*	-.30***
2. Race							
3. Income							
4. Party Identification							
5. Party Ideology							
6. Religiosity							
7. Awareness of Union's Endorsement							

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 23

H3c Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis Summary for Awareness of Union's Endorsement Negatively Predicting a Favorable Evaluation of the Non-Union-Endorsed Republican Candidate

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SEB</i>	β	R^2	ΔR^2	<i>VIF</i>
Step 1				.47	.47***	
Gender	14.9	3.71	.23***			1.22
Race	5.53	6.70	.04			1.03
Income	1.09	1.64	.04			1.17
Party Identification	8.61	1.26	.51***			2.03
Political Ideology	.71	.51	.10			1.95
Religiosity	.06	.21	.02			1.11
Step 2				.48	.01*	
Awareness of Union's Endorsement	-8.17	3.96	-.11*			1.13

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 24

H3d Correlation Coefficient for a Favorable Evaluation Right-to-Work (RTW) and Anti-Union (AU) Laws and Predictor Variable

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Feeling Thermometer							
RTW / AU Predictor Variable	.29***	-.01	-.20**	.26***	.21***	.004	-.35***
1. Gender	-	.13*	-.33***	.15*	-.04	.12*	-.16**
2. Race		-	.04	.03	.03	.08	-.04
3. Income			-	-.06	.01	-.15*	.16**
4. Party Identification				-	.66***	.17**	-.28***
5. Party Ideology					-	.24***	-.10
6. Religiosity						-	-.01
7. Awareness of Union's Endorsement							-

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 25

H3d Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis Summary for Awareness of Union's Endorsement Negatively Predicting a Favorable Evaluation of Right-to-Work and Anti-Union Laws

Variable	B	SEB	β	R^2	ΔR^2	VIF
Step 1				.17	.17***	
Gender	23.33	6.76	.24***			1.22
Race	-9.61	12.23	-.05			1.03
Income	-3.71	2.98	-.09			1.17
Party Identification	.59	2.30	.02			2.03
Political Ideology	2.18	.94	.21*			1.95
Religiosity	-.59	.39	-.10			1.11
Step 2				.23	.07***	
Awareness of Union's Endorsement	-29.50	7.23	-.27***			1.13

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 26

RQ2 Moderation Analysis Summary for Total Effect of Exposure to Labor Union Media Predicting Evaluation of the Gubernatorial Candidates (i.e., Rauner, Quinn, and Grimm) via Traditional versus New Labor Media

Variable	SE ^a	b ^a	LLCI	ULCI
Rauner				
Difference Traditional versus New Labor Media	1.39	0.6	-2..15	3.35+
Exposure to Labor Union Media	.11	-.29**	-.49	-.08
Interaction	.11	0.04	-.18	.27+
Gender	4.07	14.60**	6.58	22.62
		*		
Race	7.09	6.83	-7.15	20.82+
Income	1.73	1.1	-2.32	4.51+
Party Identification	1.41	8.59***	5.82	11.37
Party Ideology	.56	0.63	-.46	1.73+
Religiosity	.23	0.06	-.39	.51+
Constant	8.79	-27.95**	-45.28	-10.61
Quinn				
Difference Traditional versus New Labor Media	1.94	0.44	-3.39	4.26+
Exposure to Labor Union Media	.15	0.13	-.17	.42+
Interaction	.16	0.16	-.15	.46+
Gender	4.75	-10.33*	-19.70	-.96
Race	6.61	-7.62	-20.65	5.42+
Income	1.95	1.8	-2.05	5.64+
Party Identification	1.67	-6.55***	-9.84	-3.26
Party Ideology	.65	-1.17	-2.46	.12+
Religiosity	.28	.67*	.11	1.23
Constant	10.50	73.04**	52.33	93.76
		*		
Grimm				
Difference Traditional versus New Labor Media	1.41	0.89	-1.90	3.68+
Exposure to Labor Union Media	.15	0.19	-.11	.48+
Interaction	.12	-0.14	-.38	.10+
Gender	4.53	1.48	-7.45	10.40+

Race	9.53	-9.45	-28.24	9.34+
Income	1.77	-3.16	-6.66	.33+
Party Identification	1.57	3.88**	.78	6.98
Party Ideology	.62	-0.31	-1.54	.92+
Religiosity	.26	-0.27	-.77	.24+
Constant	12.33	39.05**	14.73	63.38

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$. ^a Unstandardized values reported according to Hayes (2013). 1000 bootstrap samples used. +Confidence interval includes zero, and is not valid.

Table 27

H4a Correlation Coefficient for Evaluation of Union-Endorsed Candidate and Predictor Variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Feeling Thermometer							
-Pat Quinn (D)	-.22***	-.08	.12*	-.50***	-.38***	.02	.36***
Predictor Variable							
1. Gender	-	.13*	-.33***	.15*	-.04	.12*	-.09
2. Race		-	.04	.03	.03	.08	.05
3. Income			-	-.06	.01	-.15*	.15*
4. Party Identification				-	.66***	.17**	-.37***
5. Party Ideology					-	.24***	.33***
6. Religiosity						-	-.08
7. Trust in Labor Union Media							-

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 28

H4a Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis Summary for Trust in Labor Union Media Positively Predicting a Favorable Evaluation of Union-Endorsed Candidate

Variable	B	SEB	β	R^2	ΔR^2	VIF
Step 1				.31	.31***	
Gender	-10.05	4.63	-.15*			1.22
Race	-8.88	8.40	-.07			1.03
Income	1.40	2.05	.05			1.17
Party Identification	-6.00	1.56	-.34***			1.96
Political Ideology	-.96	.65	-.13			1.97
Religiosity	.63	.27	.16*			1.11
Step 2				.33	.03**	
Trust in Labor Union Media	4.11	1.59	.18**			1.21

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 29

H4b Correlation Coefficient for Evaluation of Non-Union-Endorsed Republican Candidate and Predictor Variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Feeling Thermometer							
-Bruce Rauner (R) Predictor Variable	.31***	.10	-.09	.64***	.44***	.15*	-.31***
1. Gender	-	.13	-.33***	.15*	-.04	.12*	-.09
2. Race		-	.04	.03	.03	.08	.05
3. Income			-	-.06	.01	-.15*	.15*
4. Party Identification				-	.66***	.17**	-.37*
5. Party Ideology					-	.24***	-.33***
6. Religiosity						-	-.08
7. Trust in Labor Union Media							-

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 30

H4a Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis Summary for Trust in Labor Union Media Positively Predicting a Favorable Evaluation of Non-Union-Endorsed Republican Candidate

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SEB</i>	β	R^2	ΔR^2	<i>VIF</i>
Step 1				.47	.47***	
Gender	15.26	4.00	.24***			1.22
Race	6.51	7.26	.05			1.03
Income	.95	1.77	.03			1.17
Party Identification	8.97	1.34	.53***			1.96
Political Ideology	.52	.56	.07			1.97
Religiosity	.05	.23	.01			1.11
Step 2				.47	.01	
Trust in Labor Union Media	-1.67	1.38	-.08			1.21

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 31

RQ4 Moderation Analysis Summary for Total Effect of Exposure to Labor Union Media Predicting Evaluation of Union-Endorsed Candidate via Trust in Labor Union Media

Variable	<i>SE</i> ^a	<i>b</i> ^a	<i>LLCI</i>	<i>ULCI</i>
Exposure to Labor Union Media	.19	0.02	.05	8.31
Trust in Labor Union Media	2.09	4.18*	-.35	.39+
Interaction	.15	-0.03	-.32	.25+
Gender	5.30	-10.39	-20.85	.06+
Race	6.77	-8.01	-21.37	5.35+
Income	2.26	1.46	-3.00	5.92+
Party Identification	1.75	-5.42**	-8.88	-1.95
Political Ideology	.71	-1.14	-2.54	.25+
Religiosity	.30	0.54	-.04	1.13+
Constant	10.78	72.18***	50.89	93.46

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$. ^aUnstandardized values reported according to Hayes (2013). 1000 bootstrap samples used. +Confidence interval includes zero, and is not valid.

Table 32

RQ5 Moderation Analysis Summary for Total Effect of Exposure to Labor Union Media Predicting Evaluation of Union-Endorsed Candidate via Close Involvement in Labor Union

Variable	<i>SE</i> ^a	<i>b</i> ^a	<i>LLCI</i>	<i>ULCI</i>
Exposure to Labor Union Media	.22	0.13	-.44	.77+
Union Involvement	.31	0.16	-.30	.57+
Interaction	.02	-0.02	-.06	.02+
Gender	4.72	-9.48*	-18.79	-.17
Race	6.69	-7.89	-21.09	5.31+
Income	2.01	1.71	-2.25	5.67+
Party Identification	1.59	-6.59***	-9.72	-3.45
Political Ideology	.65	-1.15	-2.44	.14+
Religiosity	.28	.62*	.06	1.17
Constant	10.35	74.89***	54.47	95.31

Note. *** $p < .001$. ^aUnstandardized values reported according to Hayes (2013).

+Confidence interval includes zero, and is not valid.

FIGURES

Figure 1. RQ1 Means of Most Used Mediums

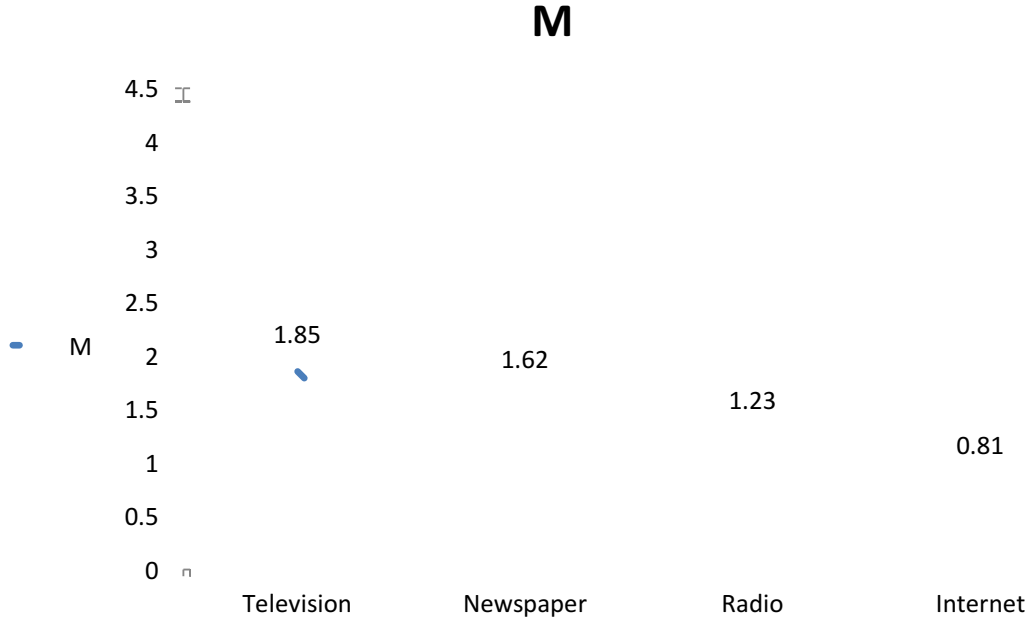


Figure 1. The figure shows statistically significant (linear, quadratic, and cubic trend of most used medium of news for labor union members.

Figure 2. RQ3 Means of Most Trusted Mediums

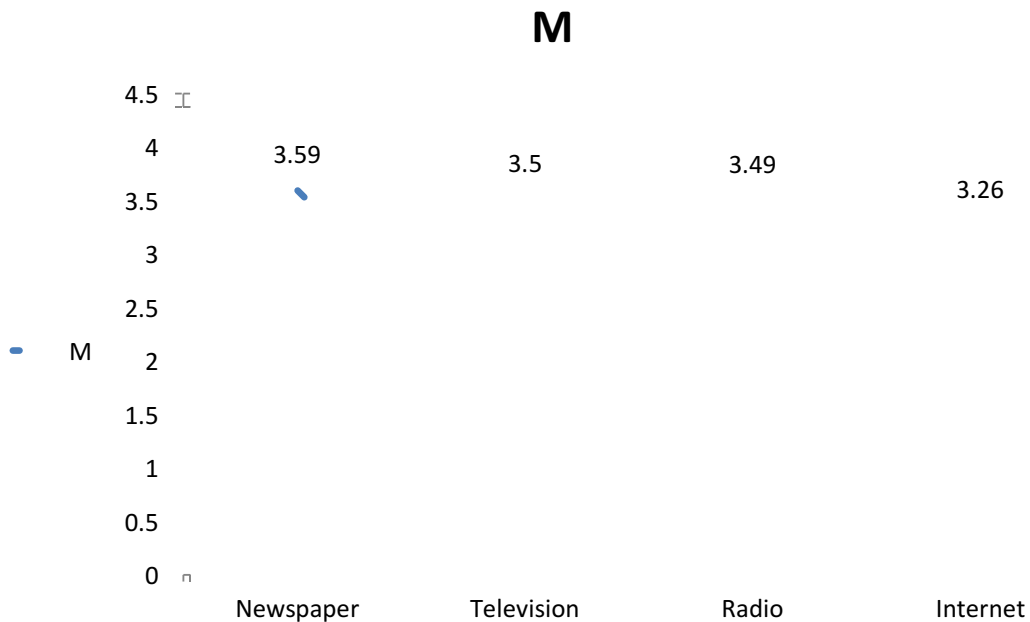


Figure 2. The figure shows statistically significant linear trend of most trusted medium of news for labor union members.

Figure 3. RQ1 Means of Top 1-10 Most Used Channels

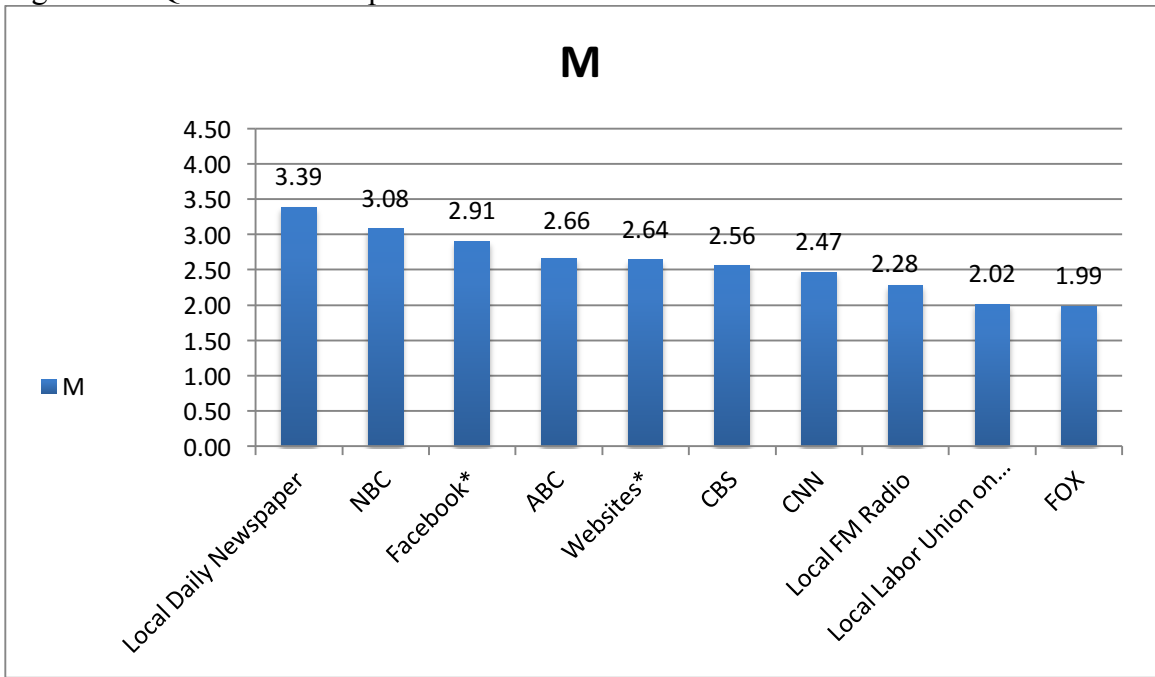


Figure 3. Note. Maximum vertical axis set to compare with Figures 4, 5, and 6. *Any page with news opposed to specific sites with news.

Figure 4. RQ1 Means of Top 11-20 Most Used Channels

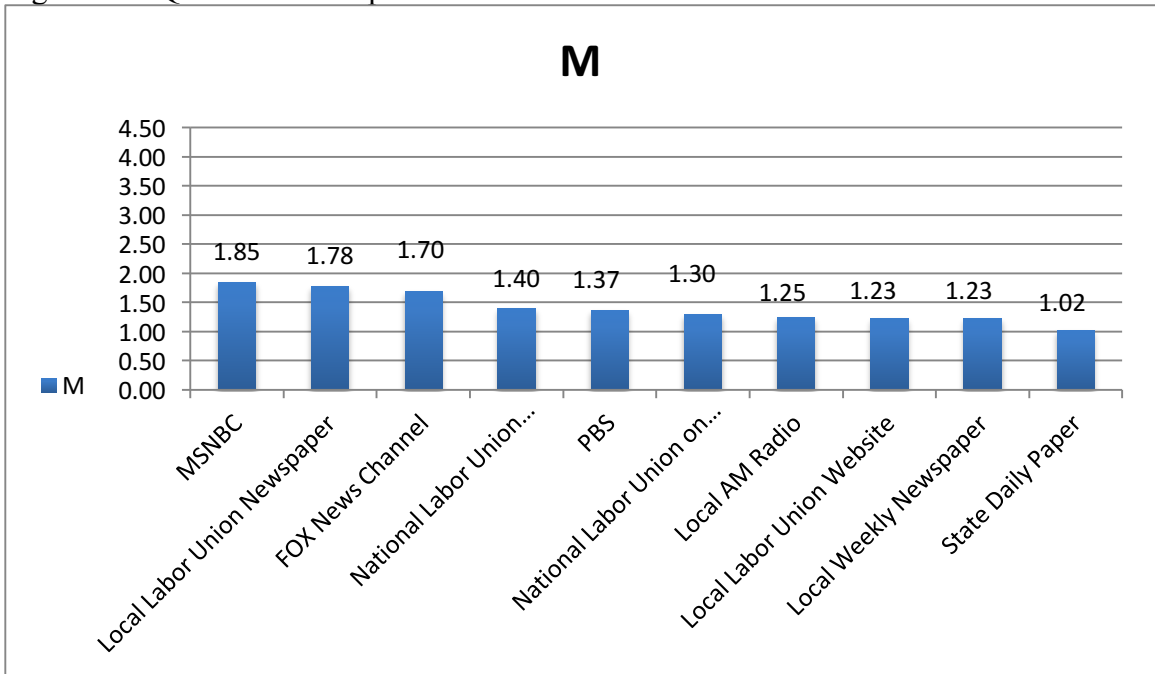


Figure 4. Note. Maximum vertical axis set to compare with Figures 3, 5, and 6.

Figure 5. RQ3 Means of Top 1-10 Most Trusted Channels

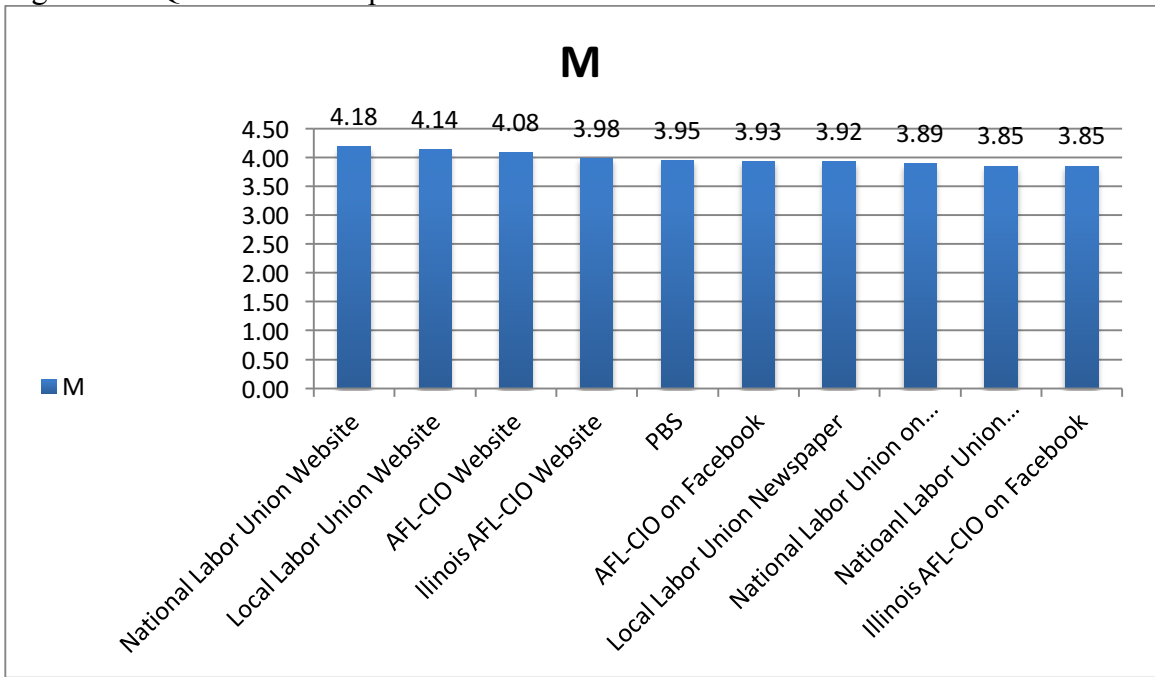


Figure 5. Note: Maximum vertical axis set to compare with Figures 3, 4, and 6.

Figure 6. RQ3 Means of Top 11-20 Most Trusted Channels

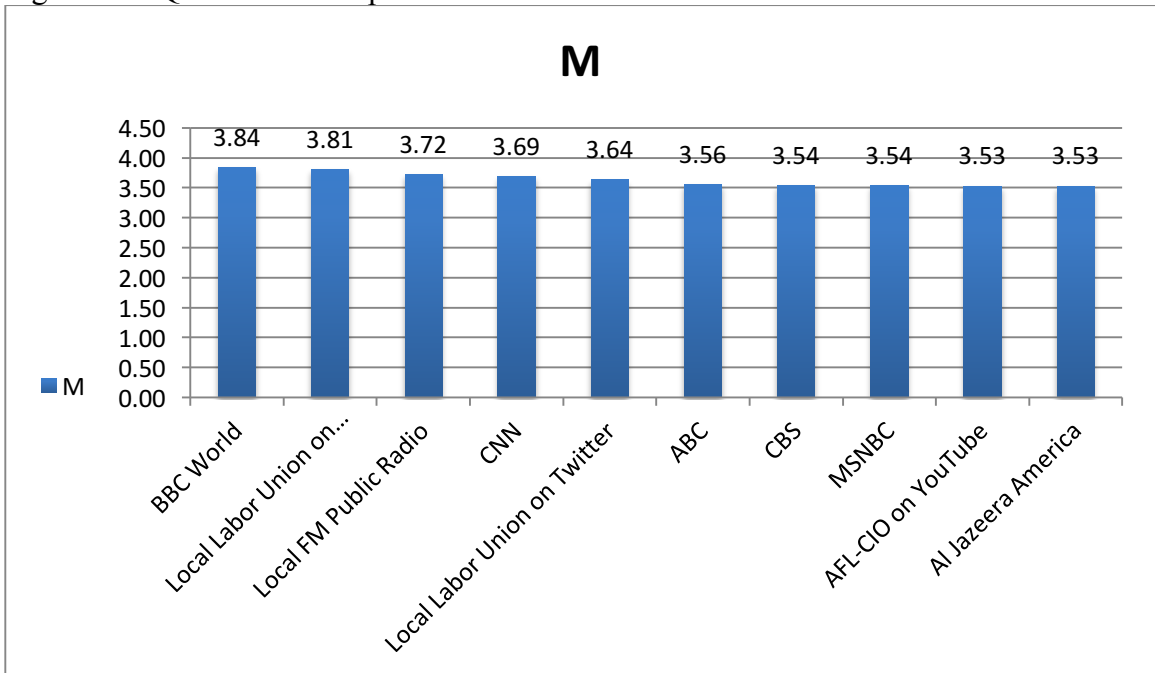


Figure 6. Note: Maximum vertical axis set to compare with Figures 3, 4, and 5.

APPENDIX

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Labor Union Communication Survey

Dear Labor Union Member of Illinois:

Thank you for volunteering to participate in this research study. The purpose of this research is to understand labor union communication and vote choice. During this study you will fill out a survey about media, your involvement in your labor union, and vote choice.

You must be 18 years of age, and a current or retired member of a labor union in the State of Illinois to participate. The entire survey should take 20 minutes or less to complete, and your responses are confidential.

If you complete the survey now you may enter for a chance to win one of four gift cards to Bass Pro Shop or Amazon (your choice). For a chance to win, complete by April 5th for \$500, by April 7th for \$300, by April 10th for \$150, or by April 30th for \$50. Any information you provide will be kept separately from your responses if you choose to participate in the drawing.

If you have questions about this research study you may contact the principal investigator, Anji L Phillips, doctoral candidate in the Department of Communication at the University of Missouri and Instructor at Bradley University, at 309-453-8403.

If you have additional questions, please feel free to contact Anji's advisor: *Mitchell S. McKinney, Ph.D.*, Professor & Chair at the University of Missouri in the Department of Communication, and Director of the Political Communication Institute at 573-882-9230.

Please note: If you have any questions about this study's approval by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) or would like to more about your rights as a research participant, please contact the University of Missouri-Columbia Campus IRB at 573-882-9585.

The following box includes your Survey ID number. If you prefer to complete the paper version of this survey, you may start the survey now. If you would prefer to take this survey online, enter this Survey ID number at the following website, and return the paper version: XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

■

Rate your *feelings* on the following three candidates.

	Rate from 0 to 100 , where 0 represents a "cold, unfavorable" or negative rating, and 100 signifies a "warm, favorable" or positive rating.
Bruce Rauner - Republican	▪
Pat Quinn - Democrat	▪
Chad Grimm - Libertarian	▪

Rate your *feelings* on the following two laws.

	Rate from 0 to 100 , where 0 represents a "cold, unfavorable" or negative rating, and 100 signifies a "warm, favorable" or positive rating.
How do you feel about laws that remove the requirement to pay union dues for representation (by public, private, and partial-public sector unions)?	▪
How do you feel about laws that limit the ability of unions to collectively bargain for benefits (by public, and partial-public sector unions)?	▪

Which candidate did your labor union <i>endorse</i> for governor of the State of Illinois? (Select one).	
<input type="radio"/>	I do not know who was endorsed
<input type="radio"/>	Bruce Rauner - Republican
<input type="radio"/>	Pat Quinn - Democrat
<input type="radio"/>	Chad Grimm - Libertarian

I read from the following <i>types of newspapers</i> to get political information. (Select one for each type).							
	Never	Almost Never (a few times a year)	Rarely (Once a month or less)	Sometimes (a few times per month)	Often (once a week)	Frequentl y (a few times per week)	Every Day
Local Daily Paper (like <i>Journal Star</i>)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Local Weekly Paper (like <i>The Weekly Messenger</i>)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
State Daily Paper (like <i>The Chicago Tribune</i>)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
National Daily Paper (like <i>The New York Times</i>)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your Local Labor Union Paper (like <i>The Labor Paper</i>)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your National Labor Union Paper (like <i>The Electrical Worker</i>)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other Newspaper (Write In)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

I *trust* this source of media for political information. (Select one for each *type of radio* channel).

	Absolutely Untrust-worthy	Untrust-worthy	Slightly Untrust-worthy	Neutral	Slightly Trust-worthy	Trust-worthy	Absolutely Trust-worthy
Local AM Radio (like 1470 WMBD-AM)	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
Regional AM Radio (like 890 WLS-AM)	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
Local FM Radio (like Public Radio 89.9 WCBU)	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
Satellite Radio (like Sirius XM)	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
Internet Streamed Radio	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
Other Radio (Write In)	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙

<i>I trust</i> this source of media for political information. (Select one for each <i>type of Internet</i> site).							
	Absolutely Untrust-worthy	Untrust-worthy	Slightly Untrust-worthy	Neutral	Slightly Trust-worthy	Trust-worthy	Absolutely Trust-worthy
<i>Facebook</i>							
Facebook (any page with news)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Your Local Labor Union on Facebook	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Your National Labor Union on Facebook	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Illinois AFL-CIO on Facebook	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
AFL-CIO on Facebook	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
<i>Twitter</i>							
Twitter (any feed with news)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Your Local Labor Union on Twitter	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Your National Labor Union on Twitter	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Illinois AFL-CIO on Twitter	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
AFL-CIO on Twitter	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

I <i>trust</i> this source of media for political information. (Select one for each <i>type of Internet</i> site).							
	Absolutely Untrust-worthy	Untrust-worthy	Slightly Untrust-worthy	Neutral	Slightly Trust-worthy	Trust-worthy	Absolutely Trust-worthy
<i>Websites</i>							
Websites (any site with news)	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
Your Local Labor Union Website	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
Your National Labor Union Website	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
Illinois AFL-CIO Website	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
AFL-CIO Website	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
<i>YouTube</i>							
YouTube (any channel with news)	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
Your Local Labor Union on YouTube	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
Your National Labor Union on YouTube	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
Illinois AFL-CIO on YouTube	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
AFL-CIO on YouTube	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
<i>Other</i>							
Other Internet (Write In)	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙

Whom did you <i>vote</i> for Governor for the State of Illinois in the November 4, 2014 election?	
<input type="radio"/>	I am not registered to vote
<input type="radio"/>	I did not vote, but I am registered to vote
<input type="radio"/>	Bruce Rauner - Republican
<input type="radio"/>	Pat Quinn - Democrat
<input type="radio"/>	Chad Grimm - Libertarian
<input type="radio"/>	Other (Write In)

What is your <i>membership status</i> in your union?			
Not a member	Fair Share Member	Member	Retired
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

What <i>city</i> is your local <i>union located</i> ? (Write In)

What <i>city</i> do you have <i>union meetings</i> ? (Write In)

Are you considered a student, apprentice, trainee, non-tenured, journeyman, tenured, or certified?

None	Student	Apprentice	Trainee	Non-tenured	Journeyman	Tenured	Certified
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Which **labor union** do you belong to? (Write In. For example, AFSCME, IBEW).

--

What is your **local number**? (Write In).

--

What is your **council number**? (Write In Number, or 0 if you do not have one).

--

What is your **union classification**? (Write In. For example, RC6, Inside Wireman, etc.).

--

What is your **job title** in the labor union? (Write In. For example, Captain, Journeyman Electrician, etc.).

--

How many **years** have you been a member of your labor union? (Write In. Round up to nearest year).

--

Write your **age**. (In years).

--

Select your **gender**:

Male

Female

Household Income (Select one).

25K or Less

25-50K

50-75K

75-100K

100-125K

Greater than 125K

<i>Race</i> (Check <i>all</i> that apply to you):	
<input type="radio"/>	American Indian or Alaska Native
<input type="radio"/>	Asian
<input type="radio"/>	Black or African American or Haitian American
<input type="radio"/>	Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
<input type="radio"/>	White or European American or Middle Eastern American or North African American
<input type="radio"/>	Other (Write In)
<input type="radio"/>	Hispanic or Latino (of any race)
<i>Education</i> (Check <i>all</i> that apply to you):	
<input type="radio"/>	High School or GED Equivalent
<input type="radio"/>	Some College
<input type="radio"/>	Associate Degree
<input type="radio"/>	Bachelor's Degree
<input type="radio"/>	Master's Degree
<input type="radio"/>	Graduate of Apprenticeship Training Program
<input type="radio"/>	Doctoral Degree

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey. Your answers will help researchers understand more about labor union communication.

If you completed the survey you may now enter for a chance to win one of four gift cards (\$500, \$300, \$150, \$50) to Bass Pro Shop or Amazon. Simply include your name, phone number where you may be reached, and the best time to call. Do not enter any information if you do not want to enter.

If you are randomly selected to win, you will be contacted by phone before May 31st.

Again, thank you for your time.

<input type="radio"/>	Name (Write In):
<input type="radio"/>	Phone Number with Area Code (Write In):
<input type="radio"/>	Best time to call with AM or PM (Write In):

VITA

Anji L (Rigg) Phillips was born and raised in Peoria, Illinois. She majored in radio and television, and earned her bachelor's degree in Communication from Bradley University in 1994. She worked in industry for a time, and left to pursue her master's degree. She completed her thesis on the effects of a political documentary film on the favorability of political candidates, and received a Master of Science in Communication from Illinois State University in 2007. Phillips completed her doctoral studies at the University of Missouri in 2015. She has co-authored four journal articles, and enjoys research at the intersection of political and mass communication with a particular interest in labor unions. She has worked full time at Bradley University since 2012, where she teaches courses in both audio and television production, in addition to, media management, sales, and programming and promotion. Phillips will continue working at Bradley University as an assistant professor of television arts in the Department of Communication.