

The Evolution of a Union Campaign



Presenter



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Declining Union Membership

- Membership is down from 34% compared to its peak
- Total union membership is now below 13%
- It's down to 7.2% in the private sector
- Only 2,000 elections last year vs. 8,000 30 years ago





What Have Unions Been Doing To Reverse The Losses?

New targets

- Government and service sector employees
- Moving away from higher skilled, higher paid "blue collar" groups to smaller service sector employees
- Going after jobs that are not likely to be exported
- Looking at "secondary" targets that purchase supplies from unionized businesses
- Targeting new Americans
- Exploring traditionally unfriendly geographic markets
- More open to smaller bargaining units



What Have Unions Been Doing To Reverse The Losses?

Spending money to influence politicians

- Unions spent <u>millions</u> to influence elections in the past two election cycles because they want to change the rules
- More than \$100,000,000 spent in 2008 and 2010; average of \$50,000,000 per year for past decade
- Some of the largest PACs are union-sponsored



What Have Unions Been Doing To Reverse The Losses?

Different tactics

- Corporate campaigns
- Greater use of web-based communications
- Neutrality agreements
 - Companies remain "neutral" and don't get involved in the campaign, while unions continue to sell employees
 - Unions are recognized upwards of 90% of the time when the employer remains neutral
- Pushing for legislative and/or regulatory change



Unions Turn to Technology



More Than 100 Properties On UNITE-HERE Boycott List



HL HospitalityLawyer.com

Twitter



L HospitalityLawyer.com

E-Mail

- Guard Publishing Co., 351 NLRB 1110 (2007)
 - 3-2 decision
 - Permitted discipline of employees for using company email system to solicit support for union
 - Email systems considered like bulletin boards





E-Mail

- *Guard Publishing Co. v. NLRB*, 571 F.3d 53 (D.C. Cir. 2009)
 - Overruled Board decision
 - Legality of facially neutral policy not appealed
 - Failure to apply neutral policy in even-handed manner results in unfair labor practice





Guard Publishing Dissent

- "Only a Board that has been asleep for the past 20 years could fail to recognize that e-mail has revolutionized communication both within and outside the workplace. In 2007, one cannot reasonably contend, as the majority does, that an e-mail system is a piece of communications equipment to be treated just as the law treats bulletin boards, telephones, and pieces of scrap paper."
- "National labor policy must be responsive to the enormous technological changes that are taking place in our society. Where, as here, an employer has given employees access to e-mail for regular, routine use in their work, we would find that banning all nonwork-related 'solicitations' is presumptively unlawful Accordingly, we dissent from the majority's holding that the Respondent's ban on using e-mail for 'non-job-related solicitations' was lawful.

Wilma Liebman Current Chair, NLRB



Labor's Backup Plan – The NLRB

- Labor law regulators
- Offices in Washington D.C.
- Five presidential appointees
- Three from President's party
- Two from opposition party





Who Currently Sits On The NLRB?

- Wilma Liebman; Chairman (D)
 - Former Teamster Attorney has actively dissented and suggested that laws are "broken"
- Mark Pearce (D)
 - Former Union-side Attorney advocates shorter
 Canadian representation election model
- Craig Becker (D)
 - Former SEIU Attorney has said he sees little place for employer in campaign process
- Brian Hayes (R)



What Can We Expect From the NLRB?

- Overturning substantial precedent
 - Temporary employees/joint employment
 - "Weingarten" rights in non-union setting
 - Use/reinstatement of "Salts"
 - Electronic communications
 - Supervisory card solicitation
 - Picketing/permanent replacement
 - Removal of early decertification window
 - Scope of protected concerted activity



Possible NLRB Rulemaking

- Condensed time to election
- Electronic balloting
- Union access to employer premises
- Increased scrutiny on first contract negotiations
- Enhanced penalties



What Can We Expect From a New General Counsel?

- Increased resort to injunctive relief in all discharge cases
- Expanded scrutiny of first contract negotiations
- Reduced standard for ULP complaints
- Increased utilization of bargaining orders



What Can We Expect From a New General Counsel?

OFFICE OF THE GENERAL COUNSEL

MEMORANDUM GC 11-01

December 20, 2010

- TO: All Regional Directors, Officers-in-Charge, and Resident Officers
- FROM: Lafe E. Solomon, Acting General Counsel
- SUBJECT: Effective Remedies in Organizing Campaigns

I. Introduction

The protection of employee free choice regarding unionization is a keystone of the Agency's mission, and I am committed to making the principle of employee free choice meaningful. Accordingly, as Acting General Counsel I have placed a priority on ensuring that the Agency protects employee freedom of choice with regard to unionization by obtaining effective remedies for employers' unlawful conduct during union organizing campaigns. In Memorandum GC 10-07, I outlined my commitment to seek Section 10(j) injunctive relief as a quick and effective remedy for an employer's serious unlawful conduct during union organizing campaigns. But, to fully ensure that the Agency protects employee freedom of choice with regard to unionization, we must seek remedies that enhance the effectiveness of Section 10(j) and Board relief.

In Memorandum GC 10-07, I announced an initiative to seek 10(j) relief in all discriminatory discharges during organizing campaigns (so-called "hip-in-thebud" cases) because they have a severe impact on employees' Section 7 rights. In such cases, the discharges are often accompanied by other serious unfair labor practices such as threats, solicitation of grievances, promises or grants of benefits, interrogations and surveillance.¹ These additional unfair labor practices



¹ See, e.g., Jewish Home for the Elderiv of Fairfield County. 343 NLRB 1069 (2004) (where employer discharged an employee one day before an election, it also threatened job loss and plant closure through its chairman of its board of directors, threatened employees with arrest, created impression of surveillance, videotaped employees, interrogated employees, promised better benefits, increased wages, solicited employees to repudiate the union and revoke authorization cards, prohibited employees from discussing the union but allowed them to discuss other non-work subjects, prohibited off-duty employees access to its facility to talk to coworkers, and restricted the locations of employees' breaks to deny employees from discussing wages, benefits, and terms and conditions with fellow employees; <u>Blockbuster Pavilion</u>, 331 NLRB 1274 (2000) (in addition to refusing pro-union employees work, employer threatened discharge for union activity, threatened to burn its facility before allowing a union

What Can We Expect From a New General Counsel?

- Acting NLRB General Counsel Lafe Solomon
- Enhanced penalties for employer unfair labor practices during union campaigns
 - Requirement that boss "read the notice"
 - Greater union access to company property



NLRB Proposed Rulemaking

- All employers must post
- Employers who communicate with employees electronically must disseminate notice the same way



News Release National Labor Relations Board

December 21, 2010

Contact: Office of Public Affairs 202-273-1991 publicinfo@nlrb.gov www.nlrb.gov

> Board proposes rule to require posting of NLRA rights Notices would be similar to those detailing rights under safety, wage and anti-discrimination laws

The National Labor Relations Board has submitted to the *Federal Register* a Notice of Proposed Rulemaking, which provides for a 60-day comment period. The rule would require employers to notify employees of their rights under the National Labor Relations Act.

As the Notice states, the Board "believes that many employees protected by the NLRA are unaware of their rights under the statute. The intended effects of this action are to increase knowledge of the NLRA among employees, to better enable the exercise of rights under the statute, and to promote statutory compliance by employers and unions."

Private-sector employers (including labor organizations) whose workplaces fall under the NLRA would be required to post the employee rights notice where other workplace notices are typically posted. If an employer communicates with employees primarily by email or other electronic means, the notice would be posted electronically as well. The notice would be available from the agency's regional offices and could also be downloaded from the NLRB website.

The proposed notice is similar to one recently finalized by the U.S. Department of Labor for federal contractors. It states that employees have the right to act together to improve wages and working conditions, to form, join and assist a union, to bargain collectively with their employer, and to choose not to do any of these activities. It provides examples of unlawful employer and union conduct and instructs employees how to contact the NLRB with questions or complaints.

This rule was originally proposed in a petition to the NLRB by Charles Morris, Professor Emeritus of Law, Southern Methodist University, in 1993. Similar postings are already required under the Fair Labor Standards Act, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964,



Utilizing Agency Charges





What Can Employers Do To Oppose Unionization Of Employees?

- Exercise their "free speech rights" to tell employees of risks of unionization
- Employers can exercise these rights in a cardsigning drive <u>and</u> after a petition for election has been filed
- Employers are subject to certain rules: no TIPS (threats, interrogation, promises, or spying)



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