Notes

Preface

1. Farm workers had been excluded from the Wagner Act.

Introduction

1. Until 2008, the highest level of decision-making authority in the system had resided with a “Sponsorship Board” consisting entirely of Sisters. During this time the Sisters also made up a majority on the system’s board of directors. In 2004, however, the Sisters applied to the Vatican to establish a “public juridic person,” a lay body with which the Sisters could share governance responsibilities (see Judy Cassidy, “St. Joseph Health System Looks Forward to New Life as a Public Juridic Person,” Health Progress [November–December 2004], 6–10). This body attained formal authority on May 10, 2008 (“St. Joseph System Marks Transition to New Sponsorship Structure,” Catholic Health World 24:14 [August 1, 2008]). As of 2011, this new board consisted of three Sisters and two lay leaders.


6. In 2010, 14.3 percent of workers in hospitals were members of unions, the most of any segment of the health care and social assistance industries and slightly more than the 12.3 percent of workers who were members of unions across the U.S. workforce; see Barry Hirsch and David Macpherson, *Union Membership and Earnings Databook: Compilations from the Current Population Survey* (Arlington, Va.: Bureau of National Affairs, 2010).

7. When workers in New York City hospitals began organizing in the late 1950s, Fred K. Fish, president of Greater New York Hospital Association, argued for the impropriety of unions in hospitals: “Voluntary hospitals have accepted responsibility of the sick and are committed to this obligation. They cannot delegate any part of this responsibility to a union or any other medically unrelated organization. . . . There should be no intervention when the issue may be life or death”: Leon Fink and Brian Greenberg, *Upheaval in the Quiet Zone: A History of Hospital Workers’ Union, Local 1199* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 54. Similar arguments continue to appear today.


10. Union leaders cited Martin Luther King Jr.’s 1963 “Letter from Birmingham Jail” as a powerful response to the argument that worker leaders and union organizers brought conflict to the hospital. In the letter, written to eight white Alabama clergymen who had opposed civil rights demonstrations, King argued: “You deplore the demonstrations taking place in Birmingham. But your statement, I am sorry to say, fails to express a similar concern for the conditions that brought about the demonstrations. I am sure that none of you would want to rest content with the superficial kind of social analysis that deals merely with effects and does not grapple with underlying causes. It is unfortunate that demonstrations are taking place in Birmingham, but it is even more unfortunate that the city’s white power structure left the Negro community with no alternative” (James M. Washington, ed., *The Essential Writings and Speeches of Martin Luther King, Jr.* [New York: HarperCollins], 289–302).


15. Ibid., 35.


23. Ibid., 132.

24. Ibid., 138.


27. Fantasia, *Cultures of Solidarity*, 17.

28. Ibid., 19.


30. Ibid., 140.


34. Ibid., 395.


44. Ibid., 164.

45. Many union leaders expressed frustration that their use of theology would be questioned, feeling as though their own religious backgrounds had been stripped of them by the Sisters. They pointed out that Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers were not charged with using religious teaching instrumentally, and believed that a labor movement worth working for had to tie economic interests to a broader moral vision.


53. Ibid., 126.

54. Shaw, *Beyond the Fields*.


1. The Labor of Love


6. Ibid., 55, 153.


10. Ibid., 113.


16. Ibid., 116.


24. Ibid., 234.
25. Ibid., 235.
26. Ibid., 248.
27. Ibid., 253.
31. Ibid., 4.
32. Scott et al., *Institutional Change and Healthcare Organizations*.
33. Hochschild, *Managed Heart*.

2. Losing It

1. Soon after this initial meeting, on January 1, 2005, Local 250 would merge with Local 399 to form United Healthcare Workers West (SEIU-UHW).
2. 1199NW, founded in 1983, began as an offshoot of New York City’s 1199 healthcare workers’ union. Along with other 1199 locals around the country, 1199NW went on to become affiliated with SEIU.
3. Between 1997 and 2002, SEIU led a successful campaign for election ground rules within hospitals owned by Catholic Healthcare West (CHW), the largest not-for-profit hospital system in California and one of the largest Catholic hospital systems in the country.


14. According to the organization’s website, approximately 86,000 healthcare workers are members of CNA, which merged in 2009 with other local nursing unions to form the 150,000-member National Nurses United (NNU).


19. Ibid., 10, 12, 14, 15, 17–18.

20. Ibid., 20.

21. Ibid., 20, 23.

22. Ibid., 12.


24. SEIU-UHW was formed in 2004 as a result of a merger between SEIU’s two largest California health care unions, SEIU Local 250 and SEIU Local 399.


28. “Sutter Strike Notice 11/20/04 Article Talking Points,” Santa Rosa Memorial Hospital internal memo.

29. Johnston, *Success While Others Fail*.


31. Fantasia, *Cultures of Solidarity*.


34. Ibid., 27.

36. On September 27, 2007, the advertisement appeared in several large daily newspapers, including the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the *Orange County Register*, the *Santa Rosa Press Democrat*, and the *Los Angeles Times*.


39. Ibid., 11.

40. Ibid., 12.


42. In anticipation of increased traffic as a result of the Sutter deal, Memorial Hospital had announced that it would expand its inpatient capacity by 80 beds, would double the size of its emergency room, and would expand its parking garage. After the deal fell through, many of the beds that were added proved difficult to fill, and the parking garage expansion was scrapped after having been started. The failed deal with Sutter was likely responsible for the abrupt departure of Memorial’s CEO, George Perez. Guy Kovner, “Colleagues Say Perez Felt Brunt of Failed Deal,” *Santa Rosa Press Democrat*, August 16, 2008.


3. A Struggle Over New Things


5. SEIU international union memo in author’s files.


8. Ibid.


15. PowerPoint presentation delivered on September 6, 2005. In author’s files.


20. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid., 2.
26. In an NLRB case documented by James Gross (1995); see also Clawson, *Next Upsurge*, every worker at Blue Flash Company had signed union cards and then denied having done so when questioned in mandatory meetings with supervisors.
31. Sharpe, “Union Democracy and Successful Campaigns.”
33. Carol Benfell, “Union Vote Sought at Memorial: SEIU to Ask for Agreement on Ground Rules, but SR Hospital Officials Say It’s Unnecessary,” *Santa Rosa Press Democrat*, July 12, 2006.
34. Summary of meeting between Sister Katherine Gray, Deborah Proctor, and Robert Reich, February 27, 2007, Orange, California.
38. Ibid., 23
40. Notes from meeting between Glaser and union representatives, September 6, 2005. From Eileen Purcell files.
43. Notes from meeting between Glaser and union representatives, September 6, 2005. In author’s files.
44. Notes on e-mail correspondence between Fahey and Glaser. In author’s files.

4. Winning the Heart Way


5. IAF did support the union in other ways. For example, IAF organizers did help union leaders secure meetings with some significant religious leaders in Southern California during the campaign.


10. Ibid., 15.

11. Ibid., 42.

12. Ibid.


20. Eileen Purcell notes.


24. According to international leaders, several other SEIU campaigns in religious hospital systems had failed or been put on hold, including one at Catholic Health Services of Long Island (CHSLI) and ones within Advocate Health Care in Chicago, Providence Health System in Seattle and Southern California, and Catholic Health Partners in Ohio.

5. Trouble in the House of Labor

1. Ganz, Why David Sometimes Wins, 239.
3. Ibid., 24.
5. Przeworski, Capitalism and Social Democracy, 27.
8. Fletcher and Gapasin, Solidarity Divided, 65; Early, Civil Wars in U.S. Labor.
10. Fletcher and Gapasin, Solidarity Divided, 128; Winslow, Labor’s Civil War in California, 36–37.
12. Clawson, The Next Upurge, 45–46; Fletcher and Gapasin, Solidarity Divided, 124; Winslow, Labor’s Civil War in California, 44.
14. Ibid., 146.
15. Forty nursing homes ultimately were organized.
25. Ibid.

Conclusion

1. Freeman and Medoff, *What Do Unions Do?*

11. For exceptions, see Ash and Seago, “The Effect of Registered Nurses’ Unions on Heart-Attack Mortality”; Gordon, *Safety in Numbers*.
13. Ibid.
22. Ibid., 206.
23. Ganz, “Resources and Resourcefulness.”