THE CALIFORNIA CORRECTIONAL PEACE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION
AND MEDIA DISCOURSE:
A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF CALIFORNIA NEWSPAPERS

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AND MEDIA DISCOURSE:
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A Thesis

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Division of Criminal Justice
Abstract

of

THE CALIFORNIA CORRECTIONAL PEACE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION
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by

Laura Kay Kielman

The media plays an important role in presenting information to the public concerning correctional officers and labor relations. The CCPOA is the largest and most powerful correctional officers union in California and has frequently been reported on by the press. This study addresses the content of reporting in newspaper articles that reference the CCPOA. This research focuses on the media portrayal of the CCPOA by conducting a content analysis of the Los Angeles Times and the San Francisco Chronicle between January 1, 1990 and December 31, 2009. This study identified a framework for media reporting that found political, collective bargaining and economic trends. Future research regarding media reporting of labor relations of California corrections is encouraged since this issue is not a widely featured research topic.

_______________________, Committee Chair
David Swim, D.P.A.

_______________________
Date
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Chapter 1

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Introduction

Media representation often shapes public opinion, especially in regards to the criminal justice system (Dowler & Zawilski, 2007). The content of media reports present the public with a limited scope of information that becomes the basis for knowledge, in this case knowledge of the criminal justice system. Previous research has explored the media’s depiction of criminal justice personnel and correctional officers by focusing primarily on the content of movies and television programs (Cavender & Bond-Maupin, 1993; Dowler, 2003; Eschholz, Mallard & Flynn, 2003; Horton, 1997; Rafter, 2006; Stevens, 2008). This study seeks to reach beyond entertainment level communication and review how the press reports the content of newspaper articles featuring the labor organization that represents correctional officers.

Background of the Problem

The correctional field has changed drastically over the past several decades due to the swelling prison population (Novek, 2009; Sims, 2001). In 1980, the Bureau of Labor Statistics (2000) reported 260,000 state and local level correctional employees within the United States, a number which increased to approximately 424,000 employees in 1999 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2008). California established a precedent by building more prisons than any other territory in the world (Rudman & Berthelsen, 1991). Consequently, there has been an increase in correctional officer positions in order to maintain essential safety and security within the prisons. In 1995,
California statistics recorded 26,720 sworn peace officer positions, which increased to 29,057 positions in 2001 (“CDC Facts”, 1995-2001). In order for this large group of officers to have a voice regarding their wages and working conditions, unification and professional development among correctional officers became necessary.

In 1978, the State Employer-Employee Relations Act (SEERA), also known as the Dills Act, established collective bargaining in California between the state and most of its employees (PERB, 2007). Collective bargaining is the process by which labor and management agree to the terms and conditions of employment. This process allows the two sides to meet and confer in good faith, produce an agreed upon contract, and agree to adjust for alterations to the contract when needed (Nigro, Nigro & Kellough, 2007; Wynne, 1978). Any matters that involve wages, hours and other terms and conditions of employment are subject to collective bargaining (Wynne, 1978). This means that management may not arbitrarily change an employee’s work conditions without notifying the proper authorities.

Commencing in 1982, the California Correctional Peace Officers Association (CCPOA) began to develop into a cohesive labor organization with the purpose of protecting and negotiating wages, hours and working conditions for correctional officers. Currently representing more than 30,000 California correctional employees, this labor union has become very powerful throughout the past decades in labor negotiations (CCPOA, 2008; Page, 2008).

The CCPOA has received media coverage due to its involvement with politics and controversial legislation. The labor organization has also been the subject of media
reports because of its participation in political campaigns as well as its support for the “Three Strikes and You’re Out” law (Page, 2008). Although the CCPOA has received a great deal of media attention while engaging in negotiations and various political undertakings, this has largely gone undocumented in academic journals. The CCPOA remains highly active and in the public arena as they vigorously participate in negotiations with the employer of California correctional officers, the State of California’s Department of Corrections & Rehabilitation (CCPOA, 2008). The collective bargaining process not only affects correctional officers and their employer, but also the public who receives information about the outcome of labor agreements from the press.

Research shows that negative images of correctional officers have been a contributing stressor to individuals working in the field (Cheek & Miller, 1983; Lambert, Hogan & Griffin, 2007; Moon & Maxwell, 2004). The media’s coverage of corrections allows the public to formulate opinions or images of correctional officers. Since the majority of the public does not have actual knowledge about working in corrections, it is necessary to be attentive to the way that corrections is portrayed to the public (Welch, Weber & Edwards, 2000). Muzzatti and Featherstone (2007) suggest that newspapers are a source of information from which society draws their opinions and that the media is able to influence mass public opinions via the articles. As a result, these social artifacts contain the content that the public receives in order to create their image of corrections. Since the correctional officer’s labor union is directly influencing
media attention, there is a need for more research to examine the image of the CCPOA and the possible effect on the image of correctional staff.

**Purpose of the Study**

The gap in the literature is such that, while consistently mentioning the importance of the media’s influence on the public, no studies have looked at the content of media coverage related to the image of the CCPOA. The purpose of this study is to explore newspaper article content in California to identify what and how the media is reporting on the CCPOA as related to their collective bargaining activities during the past 20 years.

**Research Questions**

In order to have a better understanding of the relationship between society and the correctional officer’s union over time, this research ultimately seeks to answer the following research questions (1) What are the prevalent trends of CCPOA reporting in California newspapers? (2) Have these reporting trends changed over the last two decades during the periods of 1990-1999 and 2000-2009? (3) How are news stories framed when reporting on the activities of the CCPOA?
Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

History of Prison Unions

Private and public sector employees have sought to form and join unions for several reasons. Historically, organizational management has had the upper hand by exclusively defining the conditions of employment concerning wages, working hours and leave time (Josi & Sechrest, 1998). Women and immigrants were a particularly disadvantaged group who had little or no voice to express their desires when it came to employment (Chun, 2008). A solution to this discrimination and inequality was the establishment of labor rights, which occurred through the development of employee unions and associations.

Labor organizations represent employees based on similar working conditions or vocation. Public sector employees may work for the national, state or local level of government. For the purpose of this research, the focus will include correctional officers employed by the State of California. Correctional officers are public sector employees who have distinctive working conditions. In order to secure their jobs, protect their wages and receive fair benefits, correctional officers have not been alone in their desire for fair treatment from management, yet they do face unique working conditions that set these employees apart from others in the workforce.

One of the earliest forms of prison unions can be traced to the 1900s in the New York City Department of Corrections (Wynne, 1978). The Prison Keepers’ Association consisted of correctional employees who sought reasonable compensation in their
wages and benefits. The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), a national labor union, included correctional officers into its organization from the 1930s on. However, there were limitations to membership since national representation was not a formalized process. A major drawback facing correctional officers was the inability to negotiate effectively with their employers (Wynne, 1978). Without recognized policies, correctional officers did not emerge as an established labor group in the early 1900s (Josi & Sechrest, 1998).

The Correction Officers’ Benevolent Association in New York City was the first labor organization to overcome previous restrictions (Wynne, 1978). In the 1950s, this union engaged in formal negotiations with management regarding wages. Although wages are a primary concern for most vocations, working conditions are also important given the type of work environment and specifications for each type of employment. Thus, many employee groups desire individual associations in order to better represent the specialized needs of their workforce. These associations can develop a clear focus to protect groups of employees who work in similar situations, perform similar tasks, receive similar training and perform specialized skills. This collective foundation seems necessary for successful union leadership to effectively develop employment issues in a certain profession.

The International Association of Correctional Officers (IACO) and the American Jail Association are other national associations that offer training and services to correctional officers (Josi & Sechrest, 1998). Though these associations provide
training and support, they lack the direct communication with the employer, which a statewide union could access.

The workplace of correctional officers is distinctive from other types of employment. Corrections is the field that oversees holding facilities which house detained individuals who have been accused or convicted of criminal acts. Correctional institutions consist of two types of detention facilities. The first type is local confinement facilities or jails. Jails house individuals for a variety of reasons: those suspected of committing a crime and who are awaiting a trial, those in the sentencing process and those actively serving a sentence (Braswell, Fletcher & Miller, 1998). The second type of facility, and a focus of this study, is prisons or penitentiaries. Prisons house individuals convicted of committing crimes who are serving their sentences (Wynne, 1978). The main distinction between jails and prisons is traditionally defined by the presence or absence of treatment or rehabilitative programs (Braswell, Fletcher & Miller, 1998). Jails typically do not have these programs whereas prisons do. Employees who work in jails and prisons may have different needs in regards to their working conditions.

Correctional officers are peace officers who maintain the security of a facility and maintain custody of a criminal population. These employees have a unique daily routine and work environment that is considerably different from other vocations. Philosopher Michael Foucault (1977) describes this routine as an architectural system of surveillance, control and discipline of prisoners. This control leads to power that creates dynamics within individuals and within the prison that officers must confront
Due to the challenging prison environment, it is necessary for correctional officers to have a united voice for their concerns and to represent their needs.

Labor agreements are the result of negotiations, yet parties often encounter disagreements. In fact, labor issues have been closely tied to American politics since the 1930s (Lichtenstein, 2002). In 1935, Congress passed the Wagner Act, which solidified a starting point for labor relations in the United States. As a way to address employee issues, this law was exemplary in not favoring the employer over the employees. Although the establishment of prison unions occurred in the early 1900s it was not until the social activism of the 1960s that labor groups became more assertive in the negotiation process (Chun, 2008).

California Corrections and Collective Bargaining

The history of California corrections has changed significantly over the years. Early corrections consisted of untrained officers and poorly managed staff (Rudman & Berthelsen, 1991). The 1960s and 1970s saw an increase in social and political unrest. In the late 1970s, the California Legislature passed determinate sentencing laws, which was largely due to the rejection of rehabilitation by policy makers. Although these laws passed, the California Department of Corrections maintained the rehabilitative philosophy in their practices (Rudman & Berthelsen, 1991). Lengthy sentences contributed to the expanding prison population, which led to a need for an increased number of officers. The large number of correctional officers was needed to maintain order and security within the prisons (Rudman & Berthelsen, 1991). This growth throughout the 1980s led to the largest prison development program of California and
the largest number of employees working for corrections (Rudman & Berthelsen, 1991). This rapidly expanding workforce would require representation from a union with strong leadership and commitment to correctional officers.

Although the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation operates primarily under regulations provided by the Department Operational Manual (DOM), a disclaimer defers to the current Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) as pertaining to represented groups (State of California, 2009). Policy 31130.3 states that the MOU prevails over the DOM as it pertains to salary and compensation provisions. Though the state of California has regulations for operations and personnel policy, the labor agreement or MOU is the authority for current information regarding employee wages and benefits. The CCPOA negotiates these agreements on behalf of correctional officers in order to represent the needs of members depending on current and changing work conditions.

The large portion of money budgeted to California correctional peace officers suggests a significant perspective towards importance of the union that represents them. For example, in 1995, California contained 30 constructed public operated prisons and in 2001, this number had increased to 33 prisons (“CDC Facts”, 1995-2001). More prisons need more employees, so the California budget has often reflected an increase for peace officer employees because of the expanding prison population. In fact, California corrections accounted for 26,720 sworn peace officer positions in 1995, which increased to 29,057 positions in 2001 (“CDC Facts”, 1995-2001).
While many changes were happening in the field of corrections, the area of collective bargaining was also changing. One of the earliest overall efforts to improve working conditions in the United States was a series of Presidential Executive Orders (E. O.) in the 1960s and 1970s. The E.O.s established and expanded the right for public employees to join unions (Kearney, 2009). In 1978, the introduction of the State Employer-Employee Relations Act (SEERA), also known as the Dills Act, established collective bargaining in California (PERB, 2007). The Dills Act is the legal framework for compliance and modification of California’s personnel policies. Additionally, this act allows the majority of California’s state and local public employees to participate in negotiations with employers. The Public Employment Relations Board (PERB) is the quasi-judicial entity that oversees collective bargaining in California. In short, the PERB enforces the Dills Act, which allows the collective bargaining process for California public sector employees (PERB, 2007).

For management, the impact of collective bargaining has been significant. Since the 1970s, administrators are limited in using their discretion because of the power given to employees on behalf of their labor organizations or unions. Management’s actions must fall within the scope of collective bargaining to ensure legality (Montilla, 1978). Balancing the interests of both employees and employers might be a lengthy and complicated task, yet this process is necessary in order to comply with the “duty to bargain” clause of collective bargaining contracts (Montilla, 1978, p. 458). This clause provides that each side of the bargaining table make genuine efforts to come to an agreement and not hinder negotiations for proceeding. Although, Collins (as cited in
Josi & Sechrest, 1998) notes that there are no concrete parameters of collective bargaining, either side may use discretion to narrow or widen negotiation issues. Collective bargaining has led to further development of a fair opportunity for change in employer-employee relations.

At times when the two sides are unable to reach an agreement, mediation, fact-finding or arbitration may sometimes be necessary. Arbitration is an impasse resolution procedure protected by the state’s collective bargaining legislation (Kearney, 2009). Each side has the opportunity to present evidence that supports its claim to a neutral third party (Lichtenstein, 2002). Mediation is also a means towards settlement, yet is a more informal process than arbitration. Fact-finding is another means towards settlement and is a formal process, like arbitration (Kearney, 2009). These impasse resolution procedures are alternate approaches to settlement in public sector labor relations.

California has designated a specific branch of the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation (CDCR) to handle such labor relations. The Office of Labor Relations operates under the supervision of the Undersecretary of Administration. This office is a part of the team that handles negotiations and settlements between unions and the state (“CDCR Offices and Programs”, 2009). In order to conduct negotiations with management, CCPOA must negotiate with the agency that represents the interests of the State, which is the Department of Personnel Administration (DPA) (DPA, 2007).
The DPA negotiates with labor associations that represent 21 different bargaining units within the State of California (DPA, 2007). A bargaining unit is determined by the PERB and consists of employees with similar working conditions. Each bargaining unit is represented by a single contract, or agreement, that protects employee and employer rights (DPA, 2007). Most employees of the CDCR are represented by the CCPOA. The CCPOA currently represents more than 30,000 employees, most of whom are correctional officers (CCPOA, 2008). The CCPOA exclusively represents all employees in bargaining unit six (BU6). The salaries of bargaining unit six employees represent the largest portion of California’s General Fund (Legislative Analyst’s Office, 2008).

All employees who work within a bargaining unit fall under the same contract and thus employees benefit from their respective union negotiations whether they are members of that organization or not. Conditions of employment allow deduction from employee wages in terms of a mandatory fair share contribution or are required as part of membership dues (Kearney, 2009). This money is then used to compensate the union or association for its efforts in the collective bargaining process. Correspondingly, as the correctional officer population increases, more dues are generated for the CCPOA. This money might be used towards negotiating a contract, legal fees for BU6 employees, among other things. The changing conditions of employment and changing description of the correctional work environment are important to understand the issues that a union may face.
Collective bargaining is an important factor for employees working in the public sector. The process by which labor and management agree to the terms and conditions of employment is a crucial function of employee unions. The CCPOA is responsible for negotiating these benefits for correctional officers and therefore must have strong working knowledge of employment operations and issues that correctional officers face.

The Working Conditions of Corrections and Stress

Less than 60 years ago, working as a correctional officer was considered a job, not a career. After the 1960s in California, the job of correctional officer began to morph into a long-term career opportunity (Josi & Sechrest, 1998). The new career option inherently contained working conditions that confined individuals to a custodial environment, however the potential long-term hazards had yet to be recognized. The modern full-time job of a correctional officer often includes working overtime and places individuals in potentially stressful working conditions.

This work environment may be stressful because of inherent dangerous conditions of working with a criminal population. Several factors that may take a toll on an individual’s health include working among potentially dangerous inmates, receiving conflicting orders from management and supervisors, and working in an isolated environment (Castle & Martin, 2006). These working conditions predicate the need for a labor union that supports the needs of correctional officers.

The job of a correctional officer in and of itself is unique and thus requires a certain type of individual (Stickrath & Sheppard, 2004). Officers sometimes must perform a dichotomy of security and treatment roles, yet these responsibilities often are
in conflict (Braswell, Fletcher & Miller, 1998). Merit, or general skills and knowledge, are required in order to assess or examine whether an individual might be capable of successfully performing a certain task (Josi & Sechrest, 1998; Wilson, 1989). Although individuals are screened and assessed for performing peace officer duties within the correctional organization, there are many traits to consider other than college education or successful completion of an entrance exam. Choosing employees who possess attitudes and traits such as attention to detail, decisiveness, stress tolerance, emotional control, conformity to rules, integrity and ethical behavior may contribute to amenable working conditions among prison settings (Freeman, 2000; Stickrath & Sheppard, 2004, p. 68).

Negative public image can be measured by media portrayals. The United States Department of Justice (2000) reports that correctional officers believe that some of the public overwhelmingly think they are brutal. Historically, correctional officers have been referred to as “guards.” Correctional officers feel that this negative stereotype insinuates that they are ignorant, unprofessional zombies who condone violence upon inmates (Freeman, 2000). This image would likely produce stress in anyone who has integrity and professionalism within his or her vocation, qualities possessed by many who work in modern corrections. Although the potential stress from lack of public support remains unstudied, the media is in a position to produce information that leads the public to create an image of correctional officers.

Turnover among correctional officers can be costly since training is a large investment and experience is crucial. Lower rates of attrition have been associated with
higher salaries of correctional officers (Josi & Sechrest, 1998). A study that examined voluntary turnover of juvenile correctional staff found that stress was a significant indicator for this attrition (Mitchell, Mackenzie, Styve & Gover, 2000). Even though correctional officers are selected based on individual personality traits, stress remains a consequential part of the job. The daily issues that officers encounter are representative of the more significant issue of stress in the correctional workplace.

Another source of stress may stem from organizational justice. The sense of fairness that exists within an institution, sometimes referred to as organizational justice, remains a major factor for individuals working within a correctional facility (Lambert, Hogan & Allen, 2006). Job satisfaction and longevity are important for employers to consider since research suggests that turnover is quite prominent among correctional staff (Mitchell, MacKenzie, Styve & Gover, 2000). If correctional officers perceive that the criminal justice process and outcomes are unjust then they may suffer from stress or a lack of commitment to their job (Lambert, Hogan & Griffin, 2007). This perception of fairness within an organization is important to staff as well as the public (Lambert, Hogan & Griffin, 2007).

If the public believes that the criminal justice system is unfair due to media coverage, the image of corrections will likely suffer. The media may be influential in projecting an image of corrections that is in opposition to the difficult and dangerous job that an officer performs. If individual officers do not feel that the media represent them accurately, this disconnect may result in additional stressors. Although correctional employees differ individually in terms of age, race, education, position,
gender, tenure, and supervisory status, fairness within the correctional workplace should exist so that correctional employees do not experience further stress in addition to what they already face working among dangerous criminals (Lambert, Hogan & Griffin, 2007).

The prison is a unique work environment, which correctional officers encounter daily. This daily schedule entails long work hours, contact with potentially dangerous inmates, often-ambiguous job roles and prisons that are overcrowded. The literature consistently mentions these stressors in articles about the job-related stress of correctional officers (Cheek & Miller, 1983, Lambert, Hogan & Griffin, 2007; Moon & Maxwell, 2004). Yet another often-cited source of stress for correctional officers is the perception of a negative public image (Finn, 2001; Freemen, 1999; Sims, 2001). Having already discussed the solitary nature of corrections, individual officers have little influence over what the public at large sees of the organization in which they work. In addition, these findings of stress are consistent among correctional officers working in countries other than the United States such as Canada, South Korea and South Africa (Botha & Pienaar, 2006; Moon & Maxwell, 2004).

Prisons have changed tremendously throughout the past decades. They have become more violent since the 1980s. Dangerous inmates who know how to make weapons out of junk equipment, place pride on achieving felon status and assault staff outnumber correctional officers (Behind the wall, 1996). Stress is constantly a factor inside prisons since there are many side effects to working in a solitary environment. Former President of CCPOA, Don Novey, voiced his concerns. There is “no average
day” in the life of correctional officers who have the “most challenging and difficult job in law enforcement today” (Behind the wall, 1996). Yet the officers must do their job while maintaining professionalism. This situation may produce stress daily or in the long run for officers in this environment.

The combination of the issues facing correctional officers may manifest in the employee’s physical or mental health. Correctional officers experiencing job-related stress often require time off due to this medical condition (Wynne, 1978). This symbiotic relationship between officers and health likely influences the collective bargaining process because officers often require time off due to stress (Wynne, 1978). In addition, correctional professionals feel that they often receive little appreciation for their difficult and dangerous jobs because of the negative public perception (Freeman, 1999). The CCPOA has embraced its mission to represent the needs and interests of the correctional professional. In doing this, they have become the public face of correctional personnel.

CCPOA, Politics and Collective Bargaining

The CCPOA’s mission is to “promote and enhance the correctional profession, protect the safety of those engaged in corrections and advocate for the laws, funding and policies needed to improve prison operations and protect public safety” (CCPOA, 2008, para. 2). Founded in 1957 as the California Correctional Officers Association (CCOA), a group of correctional officers joined together to support one another in the effort to better working conditions after a colleague committed suicide. In 1982, the union was renamed to encompass personnel from both the youth authority and the adult
correctional institutions (CCPOA, 2008). During the late 1970s, collective bargaining laws had recently been ratified as established by the Dills Act (PERB, 2007). This combination facilitated the CCPOA to assemble a solid framework to negotiate on behalf of members with their employer, the State of California.

From 1980 to 2002, Don Novey served as President of the CCPOA. Prior to holding the union’s presidency, Novey had been a correctional officer for three decades (Brinkerhoff, 2001). Novey’s strategic planning placed the union in a unique opportunity for success. Before 1980, the CCPOA had approximately 1,800 members and a relatively low professional image. Novey led this union and reorganized it in terms of legal, labor and legislative components (Brinkerhoff, 1997). While membership in labor unions throughout the United States was widely in decline, Novey increased membership from 6,000 to 31,000 by including into the union other professions besides correctional officers such as parole officers, medical technicians and correctional counselors (Paglen, 2004; Southworth, Stepan-Norris & Stepan-Norris, 2009). This expansion coupled with intelligent leadership formed a union that actively represented the interests of correctional personnel. Instead of taking a backseat to management, the union transformed itself into a dynamic entity in both labor relations and correctional issues.

Arbitration was successful as related to the negotiations between the California Correctional Peace Officers Association and the State of California in the early 2000s. This was the most recently negotiated labor agreement or memorandum of understanding (MOU) for California correctional officers and was initiated on January
16, 2002. In addition, some of these benefits were retroactive to July 2001. This agreement is known as the 2001-06 MOU. Although arbitration is legal under the Dills Act, these negotiations have been costly for the employer since this MOU allowed major changes to personnel policy (Legislative Analyst’s Office, 2008). The CCPOA successfully negotiated these benefits and personnel policy changes for their members.

The context of the public workplace is political. Barker (2006) states that both society and the government are influential in the way a state or region may view imprisonment. The pendulum between punishment and rehabilitation has often been present throughout the history of corrections (Rudman & Berthelsen, 1991). This democratic process may further the mission of either rehabilitation or punishment towards offenders (Barker, 2006). These inconsistent goals of the correctional workplace may contribute to the social distance between corrections and the public.

Politics have not only been associated with the changing mission of corrections, but also may relate to the appointment process. The Governor has authority to appoint individuals to fill public sector departmental management. One can imagine how politically ingrained the field of corrections, or other departments, can become when individuals who have little or no direct experience are appointed to managerial positions by politicians. Public service labor relations must operate within this paradigm. Employer-employee relations consists of participation from each side to come to an agreement regarding terms and conditions of employment. The CCPOA appears to have strategically placed themselves at the forefront of many political debates and campaigns in order to work with management through this challenging process.
Novey and the CCPOA have endorsed and contributed generously to California politics, which has greatly influenced some of the state’s elections. The union has donated to individual politicians supporting the belief that those actions would benefit the union as well as correctional staff. Over the years, the CCPOA financed political leaders who supported the union’s common interests. Contributions to Gray Davis by the prison guards’ union were not unique to him; the union had donated to those who came before him as well (Schrag, 2006). Former California Governor Gray Davis, former California Governor Pete Wilson and former California Attorney General Dan Lungren have all received millions of dollars in campaign contributions from the CCPOA over the years (Brinkerhoff, 1997; Josi & Sechrest, 1998; Paglen, 2004). This support seems to have influenced elections and political decisions.

Novey’s close relationship with previous Governor Gray Davis was controversial due to the CCPOA’s large campaign contributions to Davis and Davis’ commitment to the union. Novey believed that Davis had similar values of governing and working for the people. Davis had supported similar issues to those that the CCPOA had, and he had attended many of the union’s conferences and events. Novey stated that Davis showed up to more than half of their events and that “fifty percent of politics is just being there and showing support” (Craft, 2001, A Partner in Strategy Section, para. 9). Davis was also criticized for accepting more than $206,000 in contributions from the CCPOA in 2000 (Craft, 2001). Running and winning political elections have proven costly.
Besides their donations to politicians, the CCPOA has contributed monies in support of legislation. The media frequently mentions that this labor organization makes generous contributions, which border on millions of dollars (Craft, 2001). According to Brinkerhoff (1997), the campaign contributions to Wilson and Lungren were largely due to the CCPOA’s support for the “Three Strikes” law. This law has produced major implications for the State of California and the Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation because of the many issues that are associated with this piece of legislation.

In the early 1990s, California constructed the harshest Three Strikes law throughout the nation. The creation of the law subjected repeat offenders to some of the most severe sentences (Lyons, 2004). This law focused on increasing penalties for repeat offenders, by sentencing some convicted offenders to serve a mandatory minimum sentence of 25 years to life for committing two or three felonies (Chen, 2008). In the years prior to passing this law, the national incarceration rate had been increasing (Bhati, 2007). Although incarceration rates continued to increase during the 1980s and early 1990s, crime rates appeared to be decreasing (Vitiello, 1997).

The Three Strikes legislation of California has had major implications for the field of corrections. The Legislative Analyst’s Office (2005) reports that in the time between 1994 and 2005, California sentenced more than 87,000 individuals under the Three Strikes law for either a second or third strike conviction (as cited in Chen, 2008). This “get tough on crime” idea has contributed to the overcrowding of prisons throughout the country (Pratt, 2009, p. 24). Little was done in terms of ongoing
assessments for short-term or long-term implications to correctional operations. There have been major contributions by researchers dedicated to understanding the impact of Three Strikes. Chen’s (2004) study of state-level data from all 50 states for 1986 to 2005 found that all states have incarcerated no more than 400 offenders under their respective Three Strikes law, yet California has convicted more than 100,000 offenders. This being said, California’s policy has not effectively controlled the crime rate when compared to the efforts of other states (Chen, 2008). However, it has increased the prison population and protected employment for union members.

Since the Three Strikes law has had major implications for correctional employees, it must be looked at more closely. In a review of the book Cruel Justice by Joe Domanick, Randle (2006) directs our attention to the social climate during the inception of Three Strikes. Domanick asserts that the good intentions of society were not existing in a vacuum, but were pioneered in conjunction with some of the most politically and monetarily influential groups of the early nineties such as the CCPOA and the National Rifle Association (NRA). This collaboration coupled with the public outcry for keeping the streets safe helped propel this punitive Three Strikes statute quickly through the legislature (Randle, 2006). Getting tough on crime has seemed to generate a quick response considering the influential parties involved. Without oversight and critique, this potentially dangerous piece of legislation should have been approached with caution since a large organization has been impacted.

Nevertheless, in 1994 Proposition 184, commonly known as the “Three Strikes and You’re Out”, law passed in California. One of the rationalizations for the
introduction of this law was to increase public safety (Legislative Analyst’s Office, 2005). Research has found that although this law has resulted in more convictions in California than in any other state with similar laws, the goal of controlling crime rates has not been significant (Chen, 2008; Vitiello, 1997). This means that as a society, we may feel safer, but crime rates remain relatively the same. The CCPOA may have an inherent interest in supporting this law since more convicted criminals are clients of the prison system in view of the fact that the strikers must serve their time in state prisons, which is of course where the correctional officers that the CCPOA represents work (CA Penal Code 667). Over the years since the inception of California’s Three Strikes legislation, many correctional workplaces are still affected; however, a large number of politicians have rotated offices.

After Arnold Schwarzenegger replaced Gray Davis as Governor of California in the 2003 recall, the CCPOA encountered a politician who came into office with celebrity income and status. Schwarzenegger did not need monetary political contributions, thus his professional relationships were approached with suspicion and doubt, especially concerning the CCPOA and others he saw as “special interests groups” (Schrag, 2006, p. 222). In the years before Schwarzenegger took office, the CCPOA had been building and maintaining partnerships that would prove beneficial. Building alliances among social institutions provides power and strength, which has been common among many types of labor groups (Chun, 2005). The opposition between Schwarzenegger and the CCPOA was contrary to the prior years of partnerships that the CCPOA had experienced.
In addition to building political alliances over the years, Novey and the CCPOA have aligned themselves with private organizations. Some of these organizations have somewhat sympathetic connotations. Two examples of such groups are the Native American tribes and victim’s rights organizations. The CCPOA became allied with three of the wealthiest Native American tribes in California: the Pechanga Band of Luiseno Indians, the Morongo Band of Mission Indians and the Viejas Band of Kumeyaay Indians (Brinkerhoff, 2000). This Political Action Committee (PAC) partnership stemmed from the death of a Native American prison guard while on duty. Both sides had something to gain in the formation of the Native Americans & Peace Officers PAC (NAPO). The CCPOA brought its political power and experience; the Native American tribes brought significant cash. This alliance combined common interests to protect peace officers financially and spilled over to other political issues (Brinkerhoff, 2000).

The CCPOA also found partnership with victim’s rights groups. The labor organization collaborated with these groups and thus grew stronger over the years. A study by Page (2008) focused on the affinity among the CCPOA and crime victim groups. The purpose of his research was to analyze ethnographic data of public gatherings that both the CCPOA and crime victims’ organizations attended. By observing these groups, the research found that media reporting was interested in the opinions of victims’ advocates on prison issues (Page, 2008). An affinity between the two groups generated concern for keeping prisoners out of the community in which they had caused harm.
In addition to forming partnerships, the CCPOA has supported tougher anti-crime laws and has worked with the legislature to increase public safety. Corrections employees understand the inmate populations that they work with daily and often donate money or spare time to assist victim groups that have experienced harm by inmates (Behind the wall, 1996). Findings by Page (2008) included that the CCPOA has found a likely ally in crime victim organizations since they both would likely advocate for harsher penalties for criminals. This study also found that the CCPOA has formed alliances with groups that can further their interests politically at public functions. This study provides much needed insight on possible motives of the CCPOA since the literature remains almost non-existent. In order to further the literature, this study will investigate media perspectives regarding the CCPOA and trends in reporting over time.

The political relationships and alliances that the CCPOA has made allow the group to place itself strategically in positions of power, which often puts them in the media spotlight. This under-researched topic may affect individuals across the State of California since the political impact of the CCPOA’s endorsement or opposition may be significant. The CCPOA frequently appears in the media, yet this has gone widely without critical study. This union has been criticized for having too much power by being able to alter the careers of politicians both positively and negatively (Paglen, 2004). Novey was credited with being so effective that “if [he] ran the contractor’s union, there’d be a bridge over every puddle” (Paglen, 2004, p. 43). This literature
helps frame the research topic area as to whether there is a predominant role for labor unions to follow.

On the other hand, the media has accused California prison officials of being ineffective and an enormous expense to the state (“California is failing the prison test”, 2009). Private suppliers have shown an interest in seeking to capitalize on the possibility of providing private run prison service to the public. The private industry would be able to function with lower labor costs (Wilson, 1989). In similar situations, the CCPOA has publicly stated their opposition to privatizing corrections (“Field of…dreams”, 1999). Given that their interests lie in representing public employees, these private correctional officers would not fall under the umbrella of representation from the CCPOA.

Consequently, the CCPOA has consistently opposed private prisons. Novey stated that “we're gonna fight (private prisons) all the way” (“Field of…dreams”, 1999, para. 10). If a private prison organization was poorly operated and failed, the government would have the ultimate responsibility to see that the public safety was ensured. If the government is not in charge of prisons, then a dangerous precedent is established when private industry is controlling public welfare (“Field of…dreams”, 1999). Ultimately, Novey felt that the state might have to intervene if a private organization were to fail in the operation of prison systems.

Although the CCPOA has contributed to a largely political arena, the collective bargaining acts of the union have not gone unnoticed by the public. A major victory for the CCPOA was the negotiation of Senate Bill 85 in 2002 which increased retirement
benefits for those in bargaining unit six (Legislative Analyst’s Office, 2008). Wages have been increasing for correctional officers and working conditions have improved over the past several decades. In 2000, the annual average wage for a correctional officer was $32,680 and had increased to $41,340 by 2008 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2000 & 2008). In California today, a job posted on the State Personnel Board for the position of correctional officer starts at $60,660 (“Vacancy search”, 2009). Keeping in mind that this is the starting salary, before factoring in overtime and longevity, this pay scale is significant. California corrections represent some of the highest paid employees so the labor organization that negotiates on behalf of correctional officers’ wages would need strong leadership and organizational commitment.

Other collective bargaining successes have been attributed to the CCPOA. Novey previously participated in negotiating an agreement between the CCPOA and the state for drug testing all new correctional officers. This collective bargaining agreement was significant towards policy development for future employees (Brinkerhoff, 1999). Besides focusing on employee protections, the CCPOA is concerned about fairness within the correctional organization. The CCPOA believes that inmates should not have more luxuries than correctional officers have. It has been the case that peace officers were threatened with the possibility of layoffs, yet “inmates continue to enjoy benefits such as a recently expanded movie program, baseball fields and gyms”, said CCPOA president Don Novey (Sotero, 1999, para. 9). This statement seems to illustrate Novey’s commitment to the rights of correctional employees.
The control that a union has may intimidate others in management or in society. Correctional associations have been criticized by management for becoming too involved in administrative aspects including discussion regarding daily work conditions and within the larger context of passing legislation (Josi & Sechrest, 1998). Although the CCPOA was involved in political discussions, the leadership of this labor organization was making strides in its collective bargaining activities.

Over the past several decades, the CCPOA has strived to improve working conditions for California correctional employees. The issues surrounding corrections and the CCPOA have not gone unnoticed by the media. The correctional workplace has often been the focus of media attention in regards to both individual officers and the union because of political alliances and collective bargaining successes.

**Media Coverage of Corrections**

Correctional officers have a difficult job that the public, due to media representation, often misunderstands. Graber’s 1980 study (as cited in Garofalo, 1981) found that 95% of people accept the mass media as their primary news source in regards to criminal justice issues. Research shows that the media often represents the field of corrections as an ineffective and violent workplace (Freemen, 1999). The contrast between reality and popular culture can easily become blurred since images of prisons and corrections often appear on television as entertainment, describing a fantasy world of violence, rebellion and sex (Novek, 2009). Public opinion may become skewed if an alternate informational source is not readily available.
Although there are few pieces of literature describing media representation of the California correctional officer’s union, there have been some studies related to correctional officers and the media. The content of media stories are often selected based on criteria such as violence, vulnerability, drama and the unexpected (Dowler, 2003; Muzzatti & Featherstone, 2007). Although these criteria have frequently been identified as factors in the levels of crime portrayed by the media (Muzzatti & Featherstone, 2007), content of newspaper articles may focus on other topic areas, such as the portrayal of correctional officer’s unions. The media may also choose headlines and individual news articles that contain drama, violence and the unexpected, even when it comes to the labor relations process of the criminal justice system. In fact, worker drama and struggles placed in the public view have furthered the labor relations process for some unions in the past by bringing issues to the public arena for discussion and debate (Chun, 2005).

Welch, Weber and Edwards (2000) conducted a study of topics in corrections reported on by the New York Times which found that social control by means of governmental politics was a dominant theme in the articles. Welch et al. (2000) advise students and professors to be aware of and critically analyze what the media is reporting to the public. Though the authors were limited by only selecting a sample from one newspaper, the New York Times proclaims the largest daily circulation of all U.S. newspapers and is widely influential across the nation (Welch et al., 2000). Other media studies have found that the impact of the media has contributed to criminal justice policy changes and implementations (Welch et al., 2000). This literature offers
insight into the possible political agenda that the media sets as related to correctional issues.

The media has political influence associated with policy changes. Freeman (2000) conducted a study of 1,546 newspaper articles featuring corrections during 1994 and 1995 within the U. S., which were coded for content of crime control policy issues. The purpose of this study was to analyze the impact of these policies as related to corrections and identify who was responsible in the debates. The researcher determined that corrections was limited in their involvement with these issues and that citizens, politicians and editorial writers were more frequently associated with crime control policy issues (Freeman, 2000, p. 72). Although individuals in the correctional field may be participating in discussions regarding public policy, this study showed that their views are not readily present within the newspaper.

Although some research has described the media as a largely political arena, others have come to different conclusions. Surette and Otto (2002) conducted a study that suggested technology has affected the format of reporting news and entertainment as separate events. The blending of information and entertainment or infotainment now is common and exists in popular culture. By measuring the content of television shows, the findings established that news magazine programs were most informative when compared to talk shows. Other major findings were that crime-focused and reality-based television programs were more entertaining or infotaining than informative (Surette & Otto, 2002). This topic is of concern for those working in the public sector
since the media may have altered the public perception concerning issues related to the criminal justice system and corrections.

The media also continues to be highly influential over the public especially during the election season (Garofalo, 1981). Comstock et al. (as cited in Garofalo, 1981) narrow this statement by acknowledging that newspaper content carries a heavier degree of importance in politics than does television. Another important factor is the way in which journalists and reporters create the image that mass media produces. McCombs and Shaw (1972) compare the media’s content to what voters believed were the key issues during the Nixon, Humphrey, Wallace presidential election campaign. Findings show that the mass media was “agenda-setting” by reporting on the process of the election rather than the issues surrounding the election. This partially supported McCombs and Shaw’s (1972) hypothesis that the media influences what topic area to think about, even if it is not a direct issue. Ultimately, the media has the power to decide what information is reported.

Such power in the media reporting has produced a negative image of the field of corrections. According to Freeman (2000), the field of corrections has frequently carried a negative connotation in the media. Freeman (1999) also points out that the organizational management of the employer has often been the reason for this. The lack of information given by management has often resulted in the public’s mistrust for this profession. Though management has sometimes remained silent about the inner workings of the prisons, other groups, such as unions, have spoken out and taken an active stance towards media relations.
The CCPOA and the Media

The CCPOA has done many things that the field of corrections has been criticized for lacking. By actively communicating with the public and media, the union has undertaken a feat that most correctional entities tend to shy away from (Freeman, 2000). The CCPOA has engaged in public demonstrations by proactively taking a position that forms community alliances and remaining politically involved. These events have often put the CCPOA in the media spotlight. The proactive behavior has led to a number of media stories surrounding the CCPOA and the members they represent. Research has not been significant in this area and no research has analyzed a synthesis of stories regarding the CCPOA. Nevertheless, newspaper articles appear to constitute the bulk of reporting regarding the CCPOA.

Another publication that reflects the CCPOA is its own periodical entitled The Peacekeeper, which the group produces and distributes (CCPOA, 2008; Page 2004). The newsletter features stories on members, commentaries, meeting information, details of assaults on staff by inmates or wards in adult and youth correctional facilities, advertisements, fundraising, bulletin boards, information on member rights and contact information for members (CCPOA, 2008). This informational newsletter allows members with similar job duties to share resources and remain connected regarding important advances that impact bargaining unit six employees. This periodical presents another media image of correctional officers and their union, yet it is unknown if the public is aware of it.
Proactively protecting its members, the CCPOA has remained vigilant in labor relations with the state. As a result of the 2001-06 MOU, the Legislative Analyst’s Office (2008) estimates that bargaining unit six employees gained more wage increases compared to other employees such as the California Highway Patrol (CHP) and other state employees. An approximate salary increase of 34 percent over five years did not even take into account overtime. California newspapers as well as national newspapers frequently referred to the status of negotiations, which have resulted in both positive and negative stories in the media in relation to the activities of the CCPOA.

On the other hand, the union has not always been in the news for its outstanding achievements. Abuses by prison guards at Pelican Bay State Prison and Corcoran State Prison were announced to the public through the media (Brinkerhoff, 2000; Freeman, 2000). The former CCPOA President Don Novey responded to the allegations of abuse at Corcoran by saying that the incident stemmed from the CDC failing to address the density of dangerous criminals sent to Corcoran. The media reported that the facility housed some of the state’s most dangerous inmates and that officers were rarely rotated out of this dangerous environment. Correctional officers were confronted with this volatile situation, which led to the allegations of abuse (“Deadly Trouble”, 1999).

Because the issue of crime in communities is a major public concern (Humphries, 1981), it is likely that employees working in the correctional field committing crimes would be a major public concern also.

Another example of potentially negative media attention took place during an inmate graduation at Ironwood State Prison in 2003. CCPOA members showed up to
protest the event. A union representative stated that the organization was against the program because they believe that it diverts monies from the public and gives the money to criminals ("California Correctional Officers Protest", 2003). This tough against crime approach has often dominated the perception of the CCPOA’s image, regardless of what the union has sought to achieve.

The CDCR is also in the media because of its political involvement. In August of 2009, the New York Times featured an article about California corrections concluding that the system has failed ("California is failing the prison test", 2009). California’s overcrowded prisons had inevitably created a dangerous environment for both inmates and staff, which had led to inmate riots. Coupled with the state’s inflated budget and lack of commitment to resolve this issue by the California Legislature, the dangerous environment was essentially inevitable, the article stated ("California is failing the prison test", 2009). The article warned that the prison union (CCPOA) had political power in the Assembly to squash the reform plan of Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger. On the other hand, the state does not want to be labeled "soft on crime” ("California is failing the prison test", 2009). Many stakeholders in California corrections influence this tense political climate, which is often reported on in the media.

Though the CCPOA is often in the media for being tough on crime, Abramsky (2008) attributes this to a past focus and indicates that the union has now taken a broader scope in regards to corrections. After Don Novey retired as CCPOA President in 2002, Mike Jimenez took Presidency. Jimenez considered his personal life
experiences and applied the significance to union operations; his son had gotten involved with drugs and therefore the criminal justice system. Realizing that not all convicted offenders are hopeless hardened criminals, Jimenez’s focus shifted to reforming the prison system. Viewing the correctional system as flawed and dangerous, the new CCPOA President publicly sought to protect the employees working in prisons by creating safer prisons for inmates and staff (Abramsky, 2008). This shifting focus and change of CCPOA leadership may shape the content of what the media reports on.

In 2008, the CCPOA led efforts in a recall campaign of Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger (Gizzi, 2008). In August of 2009, the Governor encountered complaints from the CCPOA regarding unfair labor practices that he had administered. Governor Schwarzenegger had implemented a furlough program that essentially cuts the pay for state workers in the name of repairing California’s strained budget situation (Edwards, 2009). The CCPOA is one of two groups to file a claim against the state (CCPOA, 2009). The union has also taken stances opposing the Schwarzenegger administration in areas such as prison reform. Although this stance may seem contrary to past action, the CCPOA opposed the expansion of new prisons (Abramsky, 2008). Even though building more prisons could possibly result in more correctional officer positions, the union has taken the position that unsafe working conditions may arise due to overcrowding (Abramsky, 2008). The often-opposing views between the union and the Governor have emerged in the media for public discussion.

Overall, the correctional officers union with its public visibility has been able to influence and enact changes in the California workplace and community. However, the
topics and issues that the media report on have not been documented as a cohesive representation, as is largely the case in media representation of corrections (Doyle, 1998). It is unclear whether the union has been in the press more for its political affiliations or for its labor relation actions. In order to guide this research, an overview of the theory of media framing is necessary.

*Media Framing*

The formulation of any media story may be unique to an individual author’s views or a publication’s ideological foundation—this is called framing. Framing is a communication tool that shapes the way that a subject or topic area is described (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). The deliberate structure within an article may influence the direction of a story (Kline, Karel & Chatterjee, 2006). The press is in a position to create a story in a deliberate manner that may project a specific meaning or perception to the reading public (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

In an effort to focus more so on a particular topic, framing has become a relevant area in communication research (Entman, 1993). By making a topic more salient, an author is able to frame the idea or event in a deliberate manner. The media have used the concept of framing during political campaigns in order to persuade rather than state the facts (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Tuchman (1978) describes framing as a window. There are several sizes, shapes, concaves and colors that a window may be. If one were to look through a window, there may be differing perspectives that change or alter based on what type of window one is looking through.
Consistent topic areas, or frames, that appear and repeat in print media can be used for research that is more effective. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) have identified several frames that appear to set the parameters under which news is constructed and discussed. Conflict, human interest, economic, morality, and responsibility frames guide the grouping of news content into cohesive discourse (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Using these five frames to view articles featuring news content about the field of corrections may assist researchers by providing a more clear representation of the labor relations process. Though each frame mentioned above may not inherently seem conducive to union related news stories, the highly political arena in which corrections and the criminal justice system operate may give an overview of what content is being reported or is lacking. Since it is unclear what the overall content of correctional union reports are, framing will help narrow and guide the research questions.

Framing may be an important element as it pertains to newspaper articles mentioning the CCPOA. For example, the public many perceive an article as more politically oriented than factual depending on the framing of a particular story. This ambiguity of reporting may vary depending on organization, author or topic area. Since the CCPOA has frequently appeared in the media rather than scholarly texts, this study will utilize the opportunity to examine the content of the press. Although the labor union has frequently appeared in the media, the relationship, in terms of communication, between these two entities has yet to be examined by a perspective other than the union or the media. The parameters in which each news article is
conceived and reported are unique to an author and a publication source. Although facts may be reported, the framework of a story is ultimately determined by an author who can be persuasive in the story’s direction.

Summary

The political involvement of the CCPOA has affected labor relations since the press frequently cites this labor organization. Sometimes collective bargaining issues have political subtext since these relationships between the union and politicians are often intertwined. Publicity in the form of newspaper articles has the ability to reach a wide range of audiences who may not be aware of current collective bargaining endeavors. The individual components that affect the collective bargaining process are management, labor, the representatives of each side and the issues surrounding conditions of employment.

Collective bargaining is a topic that may be of interest to many parties. Employees may be interested since the outcome of negotiations will likely have a direct impact on their employment conditions. The public might be interested in collective bargaining negotiations if the outcomes could affect the community in which they live. Government officials might be interested in the positive or negative image that is portrayed as compared to facts relevant to employer-employee relations. Other sources of media might be interested when the story is relevant or would be something that would interest the public. Although a major focus of the CCPOA is collective bargaining and labor relations, other topics reported on by the press may contribute to their image.
Although the literature gives us an idea of the actions of the CCPOA over the last several decades, the daily newspaper articles contain the day-to-day updates that help create the picture that the majority of the public sees. The analysis that follows examines the trends in reporting of the CCPOA in California newspaper articles. This topic is of significance since correctional officers’ salaries represent some of the largest parts of the budget and affect the state so greatly. The wide range of topics and personnel issues that affect correctional officers and their union require understanding and commitment. It is hypothesized that the media depicts the CCPOA more as a political powerhouse than a union that actively represents the needs of its members. This research seeks to show the relationship between the activities of the CCPOA and the content reported in the press.
Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

It is imperative that scholars critically examine media influence and relationships within public discourse (Novek, 2009). Since image is often constructed by issues that the media reports, this study utilized content analysis to determine what reporting trends California newspaper articles contain in relation to the collective bargaining activities of the CCPOA. Analyzing the content of California newspaper articles has uncovered an informed perspective of this relationship.

In order to test the hypothesis that the media portrays the CCPOA as a political organization more than it reports on the content of the group’s labor relations, the methodology of content analysis was utilized. Media trends have been coded with content analysis since 1893 (Krippendorff, 2004). Content analysis is appropriate for this study since data can be collected unobtrusively and no participants will be harmed by analyzing previously published information (Babbie, 2004). To collect this information, both manifest and latent content were considered when developing the coding instrument since the study sought to uncover both what was reported, the manifest content, and how it was reported, the latent content (Babbie, 2004).

Design

The research design of this study was exploratory since this topic had not been studied widely. This approach seeks to provide insight regarding the issue of labor relations and the California Correctional Peace Officers Association. Since this was an
exploratory study, a bivariate analysis was conducted once the data were collected. This approach allowed each data set to be looked at individually in order to establish a framework regarding the topic of this study (Babbie, 2004). The process was a quantitative content analysis of California newspaper articles.

Procedures

The unit of analysis in this study was newspaper articles. Since this is an exploratory study, the data will be collected from macro-level or big picture topics regarding the labor union in the media. Secondary data was collected from two California newspapers chosen based on the daily circulation rates that are most representative of California. The newspapers have the highest daily circulation rates in the State of California, both of which are over 220,000 (Mondo Newspapers, 2009). The Los Angeles Times has 723,181 daily circulations; the San Francisco Chronicle registers 312,118 daily circulations.

Data were collected from California newspaper articles since the CCPOA operates within this state and these newspapers are most representative of California media. The newspapers are geographically representative of California since one is located in northern California and the other is located in southern California.

Variables

A twenty-year timeframe was chosen beginning January 1, 1990 and ending on December 31, 2009. This timeframe was chosen based on the history of the union as well as change in union leadership and Governors of California. The flux of Democrat or Republican Governors could have an impact upon the content of reporting. Another
reason for this separation of decades is to compare media representation based on the change in power or leadership of the CCPOA. Don Novey served as President of the CCPOA for the duration of the former decade. Both Don Novey and Mike Jimenez served as President of the CCPOA during the latter decade. Looking at the twenty-year timeframe in two separate decades could possibly show a cohesive consistent union representation or a disjointed fragmented union image.

The first decade consists of January 1, 1990 – December 31, 1999, during which the CCPOA was very politically active and had consistent presidency. During the early 1990s, the labor union was making strides in their collective bargaining and was gaining political force. Throughout this first decade, leadership was consistent as Don Novey acted as President of the CCPOA.

The second decade consists of January 1, 2000 – December 31, 2009, during which the CCPOA had several changes in leadership and the organization’s direction. In addition, the union’s political influence had waivered and a combination of Presidents presided (Novey and Jimenez). In addition, the union seems to have lost some of their momentum in labor negotiations.

This research sought to conduct a content analysis to provide some insight into trends of reporting. Overall, the independent variables are time and newspaper, the dependent variable is the image of the CCPOA. Perhaps a content analysis of these timeframes and newspapers can provide insight into any trends in reporting. Timeframes were collected based on article reporting year so that the information could
be collapsed to address the research question research question two, which inquires if reporting trends have changed over the last two decades.

Data Collection

Data were collected using the ProQuest online database. This database contained full text articles from 1977 to the present. The keywords “CCPOA” and “California Correctional Peace Officers Association” were chosen to ensure that this specific union was found, not just prison unions or other California unions.

Preliminary searches of full text articles from both newspapers yielded results. The Los Angeles Times keyword search of “CCPOA” yielded limited results of 36 full text articles during the selected timeframe. A keyword search of “California Correctional peace Officers Association” totaled 59 results during the selected timeframe. “Association” was often abbreviated to “Assn” in many articles so an additional search of “California Correctional Peace Officers Assn.” was performed. This last search yielded 419 full text articles during the desired timeframe.

Article title and dates were compared in order to solidify the sample and to avoid duplicating articles or omitting any original articles. All of the 36 “CCPOA” results were duplicates of the 419 sample. In addition, three of the 59 articles searched by utilizing “California Correctional Peace Officers Association” were unique and were therefore added to the 419 sample for a total of $n=422$. Therefore, the total keyword sample size for the Los Angeles Times was $n=422$ (Table 1).
Table 1: *LA Times* Keyword Sample *n*=422

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Article</th>
<th>Number of Articles</th>
<th>*Percentage</th>
<th>Year of Article</th>
<th>Number of Articles</th>
<th>*Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>34.1%</td>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>65.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percentages may vary due to rounding

A second keyword search of “CCPOA” and “California Correctional Peace Officers Association” was performed in the *San Francisco Chronicle* search. This search resulted in a larger preliminary result of 202 full text articles during the desired timeframe. Again, once the keyword searches were performed, articles were compared to ensure that duplicate articles were excluded and unique articles were included. A keyword search of “CCPOA” yielded 26 results, two of which were unique; a keyword search of “California Correctional Peace Officers Assn” yielded only seven results, none of which were duplicates. Therefore, a total keyword sample size of *n*=211 was established (Table 2).
Table 2: SF Chronicle Keyword Sample n=211

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Article</th>
<th>Number of Articles</th>
<th>*Percentage</th>
<th>Year of Article</th>
<th>Number of Articles</th>
<th>*Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>38.4%</td>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>61.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percentages may vary due to rounding

Once the initial keyword search samples were obtained (Tables 1 and 2), a combined total of the two newspaper keyword search samples was assembled (Table 3). The total number of articles containing the keyword in both the Los Angeles Times and the San Francisco Chronicle was 633, which is represented in Table 3.
Table 3: *LA Times* and *SF Chronicle* Combined Keyword Sample *n=633*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Article</th>
<th>Number of Articles</th>
<th><em>Percentage</em></th>
<th>Year of Article</th>
<th>Number of Articles</th>
<th><em>Percentage</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>15.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>8.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>35.5%</td>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>64.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percentages may vary due to rounding

Ultimately, a full-text search was completed from the ProQuest online database for both the *San Francisco Chronicle* and the *Los Angeles Times* utilizing a keyword search combining “CCPOA”, “California Correctional Peace Officers Association” and “California Correctional Peace Officers Assn.”. This combination yielded the largest keyword sample results. The parameters of the search were from January 1, 1990 until December 31, 2009. All data were collected by reporting date in order to collapse this data to answer RQ2 (Holsti, 1969). Only articles published during this timeframe were included in the sample. Duplicate articles were not included in the search parameters.
Sampling

Once the initial keyword search samples were obtained (Tables 1 and 2), a stratified random sampling technique was utilized to select a sample from each newspaper that was both representative and manageable in size. This sampling method was random, but included strata, or groups, in this case newspapers, to ensure that a representative sample was drawn from each newspaper. Overall, two samples were drawn, one sample from both the Los Angeles Times and the San Francisco Chronicle.

In order to reduce the data further, a sample size selection chart was used to obtain recommendations for sample sizes. Isaac and Michael (1981) offer a precision level chart (based on a given population) that relates to a suggested sample size. For the \( n=211 \) population, a sample of \( n=70 \) was suggested for a 90% confidence, or precision, level. For the \( n=422 \) population, a sample of \( n=82 \) was suggested for a 90% confidence level (Isaac & Michael, 1981). This study utilized these suggested sample sizes.

The newspaper articles were arranged by publishing date and were numbered in reverse chronological order. A random number generator was utilized to produce the sample to be coded (Statistics, Probability, and Survey Sampling, 2009). A random number table generator was used and not an \( n \)th sample since this would ensure equal distribution of days of the week articles were published, so that \( n \) would not equal seven and the number of weeks studied is divisible by seven (Holsti, 1969, p. 134). Researchers in the past have created sampling errors by enlisting an \( n \)th article that biased the result. For example, findings from a study of marriage announcements in Sunday newspapers by Hatch and Hatch (1947) show that they sampled a period of time
that prevented Jewish couples from marrying (Krippendorff, 2004). In an attempt not to duplicate the error by Hatch and Hatch (1947), a random sample of the CCPOA articles was purposefully generated.

In the end, two random samples were obtained for coding, one from the *Los Angeles Times* and one from the *San Francisco Chronicle*. The *Los Angeles Times* sample (n=82) and the *San Francisco Chronicle* sample (n=70) are shown in Tables 4 and 5, respectively.

**Table 4: LA Times Coded Sample n=82**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Article</th>
<th>Number of Articles</th>
<th>*Percentage</th>
<th>Year of Article</th>
<th>Number of Articles</th>
<th>*Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11.0%</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
<td><strong>36.6%</strong></td>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>52</strong></td>
<td><strong>63.4%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percentages may vary due to rounding
Table 5: *SF Chronicle* Coded Sample *n*=70

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Article</th>
<th>Number of Articles</th>
<th>*Percentage</th>
<th>Year of Article</th>
<th>Number of Articles</th>
<th>*Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
<td><strong>37.2%</strong></td>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>44</strong></td>
<td><strong>62.8%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percentages may vary due to rounding

The two coded samples were combined in order to provide an overall perspective (*n*=152) (Table 6). All articles were coded from this sample, regardless of length. Overall, the combined coded samples were found to be representative of the entire sample (*n*=633) (Table 1).
Table 6: *LA Times* and *SF Chronicle* Combined Coded Sample *n=152*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Article</th>
<th>Number of Articles</th>
<th>*Percentage</th>
<th>Year of Article</th>
<th>Number of Articles</th>
<th>*Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9.9%</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>56</strong></td>
<td><strong>36.8%</strong></td>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>96</strong></td>
<td><strong>63.2%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percentages may vary due to rounding

*Instrument*

The coding sheet was developed in order to find the prevalence of persons, groups, subjects and frames in the articles. It is hypothesized that the CCPOA is reported more so for political reasons than labor issues. The persons, groups, subjects and frames in the newspaper articles were coded in order to determine which reporting topics were reported regarding the CCPOA (Appendix A). All coded information was found in both the title of the article and the body of the article. These areas were coded in order to represent trends in reporting (RQ1). The coding instrument allowed for open and closed ended questions. Based on the literature regarding the CCPOA, some reporting topics that were found to frequently occur in the articles were politics,
campaign contributions, and negotiation of wages, among others. A more complete description of the coded persons, groups, subjects and frames can be found in Appendix B.

_Framing Theory_

Framing theory proposes that the media sets the parameters regarding what and how information is disseminated (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). The theory suggests that image is dependent on the media; therefore, the image of the CCPOA is dependent upon media frames. This study sought to test the hypothesis that the media portrays the CCPOA as a political organization more often than it shows the CCPOA as a labor relations group. By performing a content analysis of California newspaper articles, a better vision of this portrayal was exposed.

Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) created an instrument to collect framing data. The framing theory suggests that the image or content of an article is dependent upon the type of media frames. Therefore, reporting of the CCPOA is framed differently depending on the author, publisher or story type. In their study, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) identified 20 questions to determine frame; however, the current exploratory study chose only one question from each frame in order to gain preliminary results and to collect only a manageable amount of data (Krippendorff, 2004). The five framing questions used in this study are recorded in Appendix B. Using this previously tested instrument as part of the coding sheet will help to ensure reliability and validity of the results.
Five of Semetko and Valkenburg’s (2000) media frames were used to determine the parameters that the media is setting in relation to the CCPOA. The five frames coded for in this study will be frequency of conflict, human interest, economic consequences, morality and attribution of responsibility. The conflict frame emphasizes a disagreement between individuals or groups. The human-interest frame puts emphasis on an emotional perspective in the story. The economic consequences frame calls attention to the fluctuation of finances. The morality frame highlights moral prescriptions as to how the society should behave. Lastly, the attribution of responsibility frame portrays that the government, individuals or groups are accountable for solving social problems (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). By comparing the content of newspaper articles concerning the CCPOA to these frames, each article will be assessed for content and the type of media frame.

Reliability

This study sought to obtain reliable results. Reliability is achieved when the same results are achieved multiple times (Babbie, 2004). Using a standardized coding sheet should help ensure reliability so that the results of this study remain constant and are reliable. In addition, by using two of the most widely circulated newspapers, this study should gather a sample that is representative of California’s largest newspapers. Although newspaper readership seems to be declining, the focus of newspapers, unlike television, has primarily been an output of news (Garofalo, 1981). Therefore, the integrity of this source should be a reliable research tool.
Validity

Validity encompasses the need to accurately measure the concept that is being tested (Babbie, 2004). Utilizing a previously tested instrument should improve the validity of this study since previous researchers have established that all questions have a high Cronbach’s alpha that helps to ensure the reliability of the coding mechanism (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Although this study can only measure the secondary information that is available from the news articles, reasonable determinations can be inferred to draw conclusions.

Limitations

Limitations of this research might include that the findings of this study will be unique to the newspapers that were coded. Thus, the results may not be able to be generalized to other California newspapers. In addition, this study only looked at newspaper articles whereas the media consists of many sources such as television, magazines, and online periodicals. Future studies should use additional sources of media to gain a more representative view of media portrayals of the CCPOA.

The current study was restricted to the reporting years after 1990. It is possible that articles before 1990 reported on the CCPOA differently since the union had been in existence before the start date of the data collection. In addition, certain years were not included in the coded sample and could have possibly yielded different results (see Table 6).

Although this sample was representative of almost every reporting year, it is possible that the sampling technique could create future errors due to the random
sampling technique. This is important since if a random sample resulted in a flaw where all articles were coded and none contained the reporting years 1990 to 1999, the research design would have a major flaw which would prevent answering RQ2 (Holsti, 1969).

Summary

Image is frequently constructed by the media and the issues that it chooses to report (Garofalo, 1981). This study utilized a content analysis to determine reporting trends of California newspaper articles regarding the collective bargaining activities of the CCPOA. In order to answer each of the research questions, the following approach was taken. First, the persons, groups or subjects that appeared in the articles answer the question of content and offer insight into possible trends or themes in reporting. This information was gathered from the headlines and main topics of the articles. Secondly, content was collected based on reporting year so that this information could be collapsed to address the second research question. Lastly, to answer the third research question, all articles were coded based on the type of media frame reporting.
Chapter 4

ANALYSIS

This study entailed a preliminary analysis of news articles featuring the CCPOA. A content analysis of the two major California newspapers was performed in an attempt to gain perspective on the relevance of collective bargaining in news articles about the CCPOA. A total of 152 newspaper articles from the *Los Angeles Times* and the *San Francisco Chronicle* were coded. Fifty-six of the articles were published during the timeframe between January 1, 1990 to December 31, 1999. Ninety-six of the articles were published during the timeframe of January 1, 2000 to December 31, 2009. The combination of these two newspapers created the coded sample \(n=152\), which was representative of the population of CCPOA articles published during the entire timeframe (see Table 3).

The coded sample \(n=152\) was representative of the entire keyword search sample \(n=633\). The coded sample contained 63 percent of the articles published between 2000 and 2009 and the keyword search sample contained 64 percent of the articles published between 2000 and 2009. Similarly, during the timeframe of 1990 to 1999, 36 percent and 35 percent of the respective published articles were selected for this study. Therefore, the coded sample will be representative of all articles over the last 20 years.

Each article from the sample \(n=152\) was read and coded with respect to the following categories: (1) persons or groups referred to in the article, (2) subject referred to in the article and (3) framing of the article. Once the articles were coded, the data
was input into a database for analysis. These articles were analyzed by the frequency of the subjects found in the codebook. For consistency, if a person, group, subject or frame was referred to one or more times in an article, that person, group, subject or frame was counted only once. Therefore, the maximum frequency that a person, group, or subject, frame could be referenced was 152. In addition to frequency comparison, data percentages were also reviewed so that frequency was not the only basis to draw conclusions.

To address the research questions, the total number of all persons, groups, subjects and frames mentioned in the articles were grouped by each respective area. This manifest content allowed for coding content of communication such as individuals and groups who appeared in news articles.

**RQ1: What are the prevalent trends of CCPOA reporting in California newspapers?**

The first research question explored who the person or groups were in the articles. The prevailing person or group referred to in the sample articles was “other” (Table 7). The code sheet allowed the category of “other” with a write-in option. This category appeared in 146 of 152 articles. There were more mentions of “other” since this group encapsulated all of the miscellaneous groups and persons. For example, certain individuals and groups mentioned in the articles were Governors (Wilson, Davis and Schwarzenegger) the Governor’s spokespersons and counsel, Legislators, Senators, union groups other than the CCPOA, state departments and their representatives, inmate
attorneys, civil rights advocates, families of inmates, victims groups, analysts, professors, Indian tribe groups, federal judges, law enforcement and the press.

Table 7: Frequency and percentage of person or group by newspaper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person or group in article</th>
<th>SF Chronicle $n=70$</th>
<th>LA Times $n=82$</th>
<th>Total Frequency* $n=152$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Union Member</td>
<td>17 24.3%</td>
<td>18 22.0%</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Officer</td>
<td>19 27.1%</td>
<td>38 46.3%</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Employee</td>
<td>14 20.0%</td>
<td>13 15.9%</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employer</td>
<td>25 35.7%</td>
<td>35 42.7%</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>66 94.3%</td>
<td>80 97.6%</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* If a person or group was present one or more times in the article, the person or group was only coded once.

Overall, the next most prevalent person or group referred to was the employer for the San Francisco Chronicle and a union officer for the Los Angeles Times. Articles featuring an employer often mentioned CDCR (formerly California Department of Corrections / CDC and California Youth Authority / CYA) CDCR Secretary or Undersecretary, supervisors, spokespersons, Directors, Superintendents, Wardens, Chief, Internal Affairs, CDCR counsel, SPB, DPA Director and DPA Labor Relations/Negotiator. The frequency of mention in articles varied since some persons were mentioned only once and others were mentioned many times, yet only coded once based on the methodology for this study.
The third overall most frequent person or group mentioned in *San Francisco Chronicle* articles was a union officer. Again, the *Los Angeles Times* reported union officers more frequently than did the *San Francisco Chronicle*. Articles featuring a union officer included Presidents of CCPOA Don Novey and Mike Jimenez, Vice Presidents of CCPOA, as well as CCPOA leadership and executives. In addition, these persons were often mentioned because they were quoted in an article. The next most frequent person or group mentioned was union members. The union members consisted of either correctional officers or other bargaining unit six (BU6) employees. Only correctional officers (sometimes referred to as guards), parole agents and medical technicians were specifically mentioned in articles. Often these employees were alluded to and were referred to vaguely as “members”.

The person or group least often referenced was the union employee. This group included individuals such as negotiators for CCPOA, lobbyists, analysts, attorneys, and CCPOA spokespersons. Of this group, CCPOA spokespersons and CCPOA lobbyists were most frequently referred to in the articles. These individuals were counted in the union employee group since lobbyists are registered and act on behalf of union officers. In addition, spokespersons are employees of CCPOA. Overall, many persons or groups were mentioned collectively in each article rather than focusing on single individuals. These findings were consistent with Freeman’s (2000) study that found corrections was limited in news reports featuring policy issues, yet multiple outsider participants were mentioned more frequently.
Each article was also coded for the main subject referred to in the article in order to capture trends in reporting (RQ1). The two newspapers shared similar content. Political issues represented the majority of reporting when referencing articles featuring the keyword search of “CCPOA”. Political issues were reported more than 72 percent of the time (Table 8). Topics associated with political activities most often included campaign contributions, the budget, legislation (including prison reform), elections, advertisements, and the political influence of the union.

**Table 8: Frequency and percentage of subject by newspaper**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject in article</th>
<th>SF Chronicle n=70</th>
<th>LA Times n=82</th>
<th>Total Frequency* n=152</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political Issues</td>
<td>51 72.9%</td>
<td>68 82.9%</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collective Bargaining Issues</td>
<td>32 45.7%</td>
<td>44 53.7%</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee / Union positive recognition</td>
<td>4 5.7%</td>
<td>8 9.8%</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee / Union misconduct</td>
<td>15 21.4%</td>
<td>22 26.8%</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punitive attitude or opinion</td>
<td>11 15.7%</td>
<td>12 14.6%</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* If a subject was present one or more times in the article, the subject was only coded once.

Analysis of the data above shows that the second most frequently reported subject was collective bargaining issues. The myriad of issues referred to included contract negotiations, wages, benefits, recruitment, sick leave, overtime, officer safety, the hiring process, conditions of employment, member dues, suspension, firing and harassment. Other collective bargaining topics included grievances, binding arbitration,
training, labor laws, uniforms, seniority, discipline, officer stress, securing investigation documents, whistleblowers, education, fitness pay, bereavement, workers compensation, Peace Officer Standards and Training (POST) standards, merit pay, shooting policy and retirement. This data shows that collective bargaining issues were less frequently reported than political issues, as hypothesized.

The next most frequent subject referred to was employee or union misconduct. Topics in articles frequently reported on job misconduct by detailing violent acts by correctional officers towards inmates, the code of silence, investigations into misconduct, allegations of beatings, allegations of officers selling narcotics, sexual assaults by officers, destroying evidence, investigations into death of inmates, inappropriate conduct and other abuse by officers. The coded articles often referred to past misconduct, which resulted in a higher number of articles featuring this subject. Although this topic is important and serious, it is exacerbated by the fact that the newspapers continued to report on one incident several years after it occurred rather than a new incident in each article.

Some articles that referred to misconduct often focused on an employee when the union was only mentioned briefly. This information could lead a reader to believe that the CCPOA is involved in more misconduct than what is reported. In addition, correctional officers have been attacked by inmates, a situation that is not often reported to the public. This behavior is more frequent than the public realizes; officers have been attacked by predatory inmates and are exposed to deadly diseases. Officer attacks have increased to an average of five attacks each day or 2,000 attacks on staff a year.
(Behind the wall, 1996). Newspaper articles may not have access to this information, so the public is often unaware of the danger inside prison walls (Behind the wall, 1996). Yet the press finds information of staff misconduct, so the content of this section may be accurate in that respect.

The next most common theme referred to was punitive attitudes or opinions. These articles often involved three strikes legislation and amending the law in favor of more punitive actions. Other subjects reported on were oppositions to lenient parole revocation procedures, Megan’s law, favoring the death sentence, proposals to end rehabilitation programs, the increase of prisoners and the need to build more prisons, and the public’s favoring of harsher sentencing. Other subjects were “tough on crime” sentiments, lowering the age for the death penalty, favoring punishment in the United States for immigrants, opposing community rehabilitation for parole violators, the belief that politicians cannot be soft on crime, a “lock ‘em up” mentality, and increasing public safety by imprisoning more inmates.

The least mentioned subject was employee or union positive recognition. Very few stories mentioned much more than the union’s annual meetings or Don Novey’s retirement ceremony. Two articles mentioned educational success, one featuring staff and youth from the Ventura Youth Correctional Facility and another focusing on the successful rehabilitation in that inmates were making progress due to the dedication of employees. Another article mentioned the hard work of correctional officers and the difficulty and stressors of their job. One article gave an overview of the “Bring your children to work day” and offered insight into the field via positive recognition of
employees. These positive stories were singular in nature and represented the least reported topic.

When comparing the newspapers, the *Los Angeles Times* reported all subjects more frequently than did the *San Francisco Chronicle*. One discrepancy arose when comparing percentages of subjects reported among newspapers. The *San Francisco Chronicle* reported on punitive attitudes or opinions 15.7 percent of the time and the *Los Angeles Times* reported on the same subject 14.6 percent of the time. In all other instances, the *Los Angeles Times* reported all subjects more frequently and more often.

Most stories in the *Los Angeles Times* featured more than two subjects in the same article. In addition, the *Los Angeles Times* reported all persons or groups more frequently than the *San Francisco Chronicle*, with the exception of union employees. Although the reason for this specific finding is unknown, Garofalo (1981) suggests that criminologists should monitor the media to look for trends. The largest distinction in this study between newspapers was that the *Los Angeles Times* reported more positive recognition subjects and articles featuring a union officer than the *San Francisco Chronicle* (Table 8). The *Los Angeles Times* reported all other subjects more frequently.

The CCPOA was in some aspect a part of each article due to the keyword search “CCPOA”. Yet it was often unclear the specific persons to whom the newspaper was referring. Sometimes a vague term like “representative” was used. This study attempted to uncover the content of, and persons involved in media portrayals of the CCPOA and sometimes this information was unclear. The frequency with which the
CCPOA are associated in news articles about other subjects may lead the public to believe that the CCPOA rarely acts alone, and is frequently referred to in articles with other individuals or groups.

Almost every article had more than one subject present. Employee positive recognition was rarely reported exclusively; often the same article mentioned past misconduct or political issues. Since these subjects are so intertwined in the bigger picture, this study has shed light on what information is out there in order that future researchers may delve deeper.

Union functions often involve political interactions (Lichtenstein, 2002). This study has found that the CCPOA has been reported in conjunction with both political issues and collective bargaining issues. This is not surprising and is consistent with the hypothesis that the CCPOA is reported on frequently because of political interactions that are involved with the nature of their job functions.

Overall trends have shown that the most frequently referred to individual has been “other” (non-CCPOA individuals) and the subject most referred to was political issues. The least frequently referred to individuals have been union employees. The least frequently referred to subjects have been employee or union positive recognition. These subjects may relate to the image of CCPOA since these subjects and persons were referred to in articles with the keyword search. These results have remained consistent throughout newspapers. Yet the answer to the question of whether reporting has changed since 1990 may shed more light on these results.
RQ2: Have these trends changed over the last two decades?

This second research question asked whether there was a difference in reporting within the last 20 years. A representative sample of the entire keyword sample was obtained, though not all reporting years were selected for the coded sample. By collapsing the reporting years, a representative sample can address RQ2 (Krippendorff, 2004).

The person or group referred to most frequently in the timeframe 1990 to 1999 was “other” (Table 9). The majority of articles featured an individual or group from the miscellaneous or other selection. Similarly, the person or group most referred to in the timeframe 2000 to 2009 was also “other”. This finding is significant since “other” was reported in both decades more than 95 percent of the time, yet all other person or groups were reported on less than 50 percent of the time.

Table 9: Frequency and percentage of person or group by timeframe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person or group in article</th>
<th>Timeframe</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1990-1999 n=56</td>
<td>2000-2009 n=96</td>
<td>Total Frequency* n=152</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Member</td>
<td>13 23.2%</td>
<td>22 22.9%</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Officer</td>
<td>18 32.1%</td>
<td>39 40.6%</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Employee</td>
<td>8 14.3%</td>
<td>19 19.8%</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employer</td>
<td>17 30.4%</td>
<td>43 44.8%</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>54 96.4%</td>
<td>92 95.8%</td>
<td>146</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* If a person or group was present one or more times in the article, the person or group was only coded once.
The second and third most referred to person or group differed by decade. The timeframe 1990 to 1999 reported more frequently on union officer than employer; the timeframe 2000 to 2009 reported more on employer rather than union officer. Although reporting of union officer and employer both increased in the latter decade, this ranking of frequency has uncovered a change over time.

Lastly, the two least frequently referred to person or groups in both timeframes were union members and union employees. The findings have shown that although three of five person or groups have remained consistently reported among decades, the frequency of reporting has increased from one decade to the next, with the slight exception of union members and the “other” category. Implications for reporters or newspapers could be to identify key figures to focus on in an article rather than everyone in the picture. In addition, future researchers should sample newspapers with a smaller circulation to identify if shorter article length results in fewer persons or groups mentioned in one article. Overall, in this sample, the reporting of person or groups associated with the CCPOA has increased in frequency over the years.

In order to identify whether trends in reporting have changed over the decades, we need to consider subject as well as person or group. All subjects in both timeframes increased from one decade to the next and remained the same in rank (Table 10). The most frequently mentioned subject in both timeframes was political issues. The second most reported subject was collective bargaining issues. This may have resulted from criticism about the hasty spending saying that correctional officers are making too much due to bonuses and incentive pay (Josi & Sechrest, 1998). The third most frequent
subject was employee or union misconduct. The next most reported subject was punitive attitudes or opinions. Moreover, the least reported subject in both timeframes was employee or union positive recognition. On the surface, it appears that there had been no change and that there was no time-related pattern of reporting coverage in regards to the subject over the past 20 years.

Although no evidence of change among subject over timeframe appeared when ranking the most frequent to least frequent subjects, the percentage of subjects in articles appeared to have increased slightly with the exception of employee or union misconduct.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject in article</th>
<th>Timeframe</th>
<th>1990-1999</th>
<th>2000-2009</th>
<th>Total Frequency*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political Issues</td>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collective Bargaining Issues</td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee / Union positive recognition</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee / Union misconduct</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punitive attitude or opinion</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* If a subject was present one or more times in the article, the subject was only coded once.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The increase in frequency of reporting remains a constant when comparing person or groups and subjects featuring the CCPOA. Changes in reporting have been
identified in regards to union officers, employer and employee or union misconduct, yet all other person or groups and subjects remain consistent throughout the years. Political issues remain the main subject of each decade. This may have occurred because of the perception that the CCPOA has tremendous authority and influence over California legislation and politics (Paglen, 2004). Articles featuring the CCPOA seldom feature the union as the main subject or group since it often appeared in conjunction with so many other groups. This may give the impression that the union’s individual achievements and issues are grouped together with current events that are often political. Though the reporting focus has rarely changed significantly, the way that it has been reported, or the framing, may give insight into the image of the CCPOA.

**RQ3: How are these news articles framed when reporting on the activities of the CCPOA?**

The third research question asks whether news frames are present in articles featuring the CCPOA. Each article in the sample was coded for frames that were present. Latent content allowed for coding the underlying meaning of framing (Babbie, 2004). The findings of each decade for framing can be found in the following table (Table 11). All frames in the sample with the exception of human-interest and morality became more prevalent in the 2000 to 2009 decade than the timeframe 1990 to 1999. In fact, the human-interest frame showed the largest decline in reporting. In the former decade, the human-interest frame was reported in 32 percent of the articles and only 14 percent in the latter decade. The most frequent frame applied in each decade was the
conflict frame. Reporting of the attribution of responsibility frame increased more than 10 percent over the decades. The morality frame decreased slightly over the decades. Lastly, the economic frame also increased 10 percent in prevalence over time. Framing had a large presence throughout both timeframes, yet the conflict frame dominated over other frames. This may be consistent with the findings that the main subject of articles was political. Political interactions are often associated with conflict or disagreement so this lends credibility to the findings of this framing sample.

Table 11: Frequency and percentage of frame by timeframe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame in article</th>
<th>1990-1999 n=56</th>
<th>2000-2009 n=96</th>
<th>Total Frequency* n=152</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attribution of responsibility</td>
<td>23 41.1%</td>
<td>49 51.0%</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human interest</td>
<td>18 32.1%</td>
<td>14 14.6%</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict</td>
<td>41 73.2%</td>
<td>75 78.1%</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morality</td>
<td>12 21.4%</td>
<td>15 15.6%</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>29 51.8%</td>
<td>59 61.5%</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* If a frame was present one or more times in an article, the frame was coded only once.

It appears that framing has increased or become more prevalent over the years. This might have occurred since the coded articles often mentioned a current event as well as a past issue regarding the CCPOA or other subject mentioned in the article. If more topics are reported in an article, the likelihood for presence of framing also increases. The most significant increases in framing over the years applied to the attribution of responsibility, conflict and the economic frames.
The only decreases in framing over the decades were in frequency of the human-interest and morality frames. Research by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) indicates that stories in press and television about European political issues in 1997 tended to be framed in terms of attribution of responsibility, conflict, and economic consequences. These results also found that the human-interest frame was commonly utilized within stories featuring crime. This seems consistent with the findings of the current study since articles featuring the CCPOA have mostly focused on political issues, not stories on crime.

A comparison of the two newspapers in the sample was coded for framing (see Table 12). The most common frame found in both newspapers featuring the CCPOA was the conflict frame. Almost three-fourths of the time (70 percent) the articles contained a disagreement between parties, individuals or groups. More than half of the articles (57 percent) mentioned financial losses or gains now or in the future. Almost one out of two articles (40 percent) found that the government had some degree of responsibility to alleviate a problem. Only 20 percent of the articles found a human-interest frame, or reported a story that went into the subject’s private or personal life. The most infrequent frame was the morality frame. Only 17 percent of the articles offered social prescriptions about how to behave. Lastly, the only frame that the Los Angeles Times reported on less frequently than the San Francisco Chronicle was the human-interest frame.
Table 12: Frequency and percentage of frame by newspaper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame in article</th>
<th>SF Chronicle n=70</th>
<th>LA Times n=82</th>
<th>Total Frequency* n=152</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attribution of responsibility</td>
<td>28 40.0%</td>
<td>44 53.7%</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human interest</td>
<td>15 21.4%</td>
<td>17 20.7%</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict</td>
<td>49 70.0%</td>
<td>67 81.7%</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morality</td>
<td>12 17.1%</td>
<td>15 18.3%</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>40 57.1%</td>
<td>48 58.5%</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* If a frame was present one or more times in an article, the frame was coded only once.

It appears that framing was more prevalent in the Los Angeles Times articles. The most significant difference between the two newspapers was related to the attribution of responsibility and conflict frames. The attribution of responsibility frame was reported 53.7 percent of the time in the Los Angeles Times compared to 40 percent of the time in the San Francisco Chronicle. The conflict frame was reported 81.7 percent of the time in the Los Angeles Times compared to 70 percent in the San Francisco Chronicle. These two frames represent the largest difference among the newspapers as related to framing.

The findings of this study have provided a preliminary analysis of person or groups, subjects and frames that are present in the press in relation to the CCPOA. Although a major contrast of person, group or subject was not found among reporting years, it remains clear that reporting has increased although single incidents may be reported many times and therefore are over reported. Severin and Tankard (2001) echo...
this sentiment by stating, “the media has the ability to raise the importance of an issue by continually reporting it. This is accomplished through selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration of information, such as the over or under reporting of significant but unusual events” (p. 277). Future studies could use this information to define specific relationships among the CCPOA or control for variables such as newspaper type, timeframe, person or group, subject or frame. Overall, the image of the CCPOA in newspaper articles appears to be overwhelmingly associated with politics, conflict, and economics.
Overview of the Study

The importance of critically examining public discourse and the media’s influence has been well documented (Novek, 2009). Many of the reasons mentioned in chapter two have pointed towards the importance of image of the correctional field. The CCPOA is California’s largest and most powerful correctional officers union (Page, 2008). The purpose of this study has been to determine what content the press reports in relation to the CCPOA and how these topics have changed over time. Given the historical context of this union and its activities over time, newspaper article content of the CCPOA was expected to report on the actions of correctional employees that have affected collective bargaining actions between the state and correctional employees.

Since the media has control over what content is reported, the methodology takes into account how framing influences media reports about the activities of the CCPOA. These issues led to the hypothesis that the CCPOA is more frequently reported on for its political activities than its collective bargaining actions. The research questions explored in this study are the following: (1) What are the prevalent trends of CCPOA reporting in California newspapers? (2) Have these reporting trends changed over the last two decades during the periods of 1990-1999 and 2000-2009? (3) How are news stories framed when reporting on the activities of the CCPOA? Content analysis methodology was used in order to determine the issues or trends that were reported and
the prevalence of frames within California newspaper articles. The results have found that the coded sample was representative of the largest newspapers in California.

**Important Findings**

Key findings indicate that the press had been increasing media coverage featuring the CCPOA throughout the years. In addition, the union was rarely reported alone and was frequently grouped with other persons, groups and subject topics. The issues in these news articles have primarily been political. Collective bargaining issues have been present in a majority of articles, yet this topic was not the focus when reporting on the activities of the CCPOA.

Overall, the image of the CCPOA in newspaper articles appears to have been overwhelmingly associated with politics, conflict, and economics. Since the CCPOA was frequently mentioned in conjunction with other persons or groups, it remains important not to generalize perceptions of the CCPOA when media reports include other persons or groups who are outside of CCPOA’s control. Although the CCPOA remains a political player and has had an authoritative stand in regards to politics and legislation, it is important to note that the labor organization is part of a larger system that is interwoven and contains many players.

The newspaper articles that were coded have given much needed insight into media reports about the CCPOA over the last 20 years. Although reporting of subjects had remained consistent, the frequency of reporting about individuals and subject topics had increased. More articles featured numerous groups and rarely focused on a single event or issue. This information overload has contributed to a possible
overrepresentation of the CCPOA in the press. In addition, the coded categories were not mutually exclusive since each individual or group, subject or frame could be reported and therefore coded more than once in an article.

Other results of this study point towards trends in reporting. Though many topics remained frequently reported throughout the years, more groups associated with the CCPOA were included in articles more often in the latter decade. There was diversity in the topics that the media reported about the CCPOA; however, the articles often featured individuals, groups or subjects that deter from collective bargaining activities of the labor union. Research from this study led to the conclusion that though the CCPOA takes a proactive approach toward media relations, there still is a good deal of reporting content that the CCPOA has no control over. These findings suggest that CCPOA publications should be more readily available to the public in order to provide an alternate reporting perspective.

The findings of this study are consistent with information based on historical collective bargaining procedures. This research found that political issues and collective bargaining issues represented the majority of subject topics featuring the CCPOA. In fact, collective bargaining issues have historically been politicized due to the inherent nature of conflict within negotiations for wages and working conditions (Lichtenstein, 2002). These interconnected issues have manifested themselves within this study.

This study has uncovered a definite lack of positive employee or union recognition articles. Newspaper companies are a business and news articles are
business related since the publications are designed to sell for profit. In fact, reporters frequently have systematically placed themselves in areas where news is likely to occur, such as courtrooms and crime scenes (Tuchman, 1978). It is possible that the public would be interested in legislation or other political scandals more so than recognizing achievements made by correctional officers. The sensational stories often grab the viewers’ attention thus the newspapers may be more likely to overlook positive recognition articles. If the CCPOA were interested in changing the information given to the public, the CCPOA could relate more positive information to the press in order to give a more balanced image to the public. Indeed these findings have started a body of work that facilitates an enhanced understanding of the relationship between the media and the CCPOA.

Implications for Future Research

The current research design allowed for one or more individuals, groups or subjects to be coded in order to explore this topic. A more defined study would be able to gather more specific information regarding the relationships between the CCPOA and other entities. Future research could evaluate the relationship between the media image of the CCPOA and their collateral power at the bargaining table. It is possible that as the CCPOA’s image declines, the labor organization experiences a loss of pull in negotiations. Although this study was a preliminary evaluation and did not address these issues, the findings could be used as groundwork for future research.

The current study compared two distinct decades of newspaper articles, yet future research could identify single years between which to compare results. A more
narrow study may identify different outcomes or result in a tighter comparison to see if reporting trends have changed. The media influences the public (Garofalo, 1981), so this topic remains of concern since the media or the press will continue to report on correctional officers and their union. If the media is portraying correctional officers or the union that represents them in an overtly negative way, this may lead to officer stress and a negative public image towards correctional officers. It is important to inform the public that reporting by the media is subjective and therefore should be read and processed with an open mind. In addition, correctional officers and correctional personnel should also be aware of this.

To explore the interaction between the CCPOA and the media further, future research could assess the direct relationship between single variables and the activities of the CCPOA. This research might include the relationship between the CCPOA and the Governor, the union’s campaign contributions and the state’s economic situation. This research could explore the relationship between public perception of the CCPOA and correctional officers as portrayed in the press further.

Future research could identify whether the increase in subject area news stories such as those dealing with misconduct and campaign contributions have resulted in new incidents or if articles are often referring to past activities. The current research has resulted in an overview of the information that exists so that future research can focus on other relationships between the media and the public as related to labor organizations. With any media outlet, there may not be a clear distinction between information and entertainment (Surette & Otto, 2002). Future researchers may consider
reviewing news content from newspapers and compare the results to actual events to see if the media is reporting current events or if there are any discrepancies. For example, if an event occurred in 1995 and was still being reported in 2005, the importance and necessity of reporting that event ten years later should be in question. Researchers should be aware of this distinction since it appears that news articles sometimes are over-representative of subject areas.

The CCPOA is proactive towards journalism, so an open dialogue between the CCPOA and journalists has already been established on some level. However, both parties could develop this relationship further. It seems that the CCPOA must approach other media outlets to determine whether its organization could be featured more exclusively, rather than in conjunction with other groups. This preventative action may allow the labor organization to have control over media reporting if the groups were aware of other media outlets and if they were available to make statements to the media.

It is suggested that the CCPOA identify additional approaches to disseminate its organization’s activities and publications to individuals who do not have access already. It is possible that this organization does not want to take direct action; however, since its newsletters are available online, advertising could possibly address the disparate image for the organization. Accessibility and cost associated with this proposed task is unknown at this time and could be a point of interest for future studies. Overall, the CCPOA is urged to continue promoting its collective bargaining activities to the public in order to create a more well rounded image, if that is indeed important to the organization.
Another study may choose to explore other activities of the CCPOA or take a more narrow approach in regards to collective bargaining activities that may show a multivariate relationship. Content analysis has yielded the specific findings of the particular code sheet used in this study. A limitation of content analysis is manifest content, since only the information on the code sheet may be collected (Babbie, 2004). Future research could include more limitations in the parameters of the research that specifies what to include and what to exclude from coding.

Implications for Theory Building

Alternate theories should be explored in relation to media reporting on labor organization activities. Agenda setting theory is an alternate philosophy that adheres to the concept that the media places more importance on topics than the public does (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). This theory is also associated with priming. Priming refers to the political connotations of media reporting. Together, these theories suggest that the media essentially forms an agenda and presents it in order to shape public opinion. Findings of this study suggest that the media predominantly frames CCPOA politically, so this topic could be further explored through these additional theories.

The current study has found the attribution of responsibility, conflict and economic frames dominate reporting featuring the CCPOA. Due to the press’s selection criteria or current interest, stories that feature content containing vulnerability or drama are more often selected for print (Muzzatti & Featherstone, 2007). Framing of the news, or selection of which information to put in and leave out, is an important part of reporting concerning any area of corrections. Framing theory is an important
paradigm in society since readers ought to examine with the deliberate consideration that news is subjective. The public should retrieve information from many sources to verify facts and draw conclusions from meaningful dialogue. The public should consider the communications released to the masses before being digested and accepted as credible.

**Implications for Practice**

It is crucial for correctional administrators to create open debate in regards to issues surrounding corrections, including policy and pending legislation. This proactive stance may positively increase the public’s view of corrections and decrease the negative public perception (Freeman, 1999). This is important since the scope of public knowledge of the criminal justice system is often limited to media representation (Dowler & Zawilski, 2007). As previous research has shown, corrections has frequently avoided communicating with the media (Freeman, 1999). This possibly cumbersome task of deliberately communicating with the media may ultimately benefit corrections by ensuring that the media receives an accurate image of the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation. Although the CDCR contains an Office Public and Employee Communication, the majority of research reports that communications from correctional officials ought to improve (CDCR Press Office Contacts, 2009; Freeman, 1999). Possibly, in order to create a more effective workplace, a standardized approach from correctional managers would likely benefit the public image of corrections.
Reporters or media researchers may also have a responsibility to develop a more rounded story rather than communicating duplicate information to the reading public. Journalists and media writers are encouraged to use an editing eye to not duplicate information in articles or fill the article with too many subjects, as this may be confusing or overwhelming to readers.

Legislation that has the potential to impact corrections should be reviewed and considered carefully. Randle (2006) insists that researchers sometimes have a difficult time convincing lawmakers and society even with sound empirical evidence. If research findings are not aligned with mainstream beliefs, the public and policy makers have often resisted, maintaining a “better safe than sorry” approach (Randle, 2006). A long-term approach is suggested in order to evaluate the impact of legislation over time even though it might have been enacted with the best possible intentions. Policy makers and correction authorities must continue to collaborate and engage in evaluation of long term implications for the State of California. Understanding the long-term implications of Three Strikes and other legislation shall contribute to an informed discussion so that legislation is not simply a political agenda item but rather significant social issues that affect correctional professions and the public. When correctional practice become altered due to the major costs associated with housing and securing a large number of offenders, corrections officials are encouraged to present information to the best of their ability as to how operations will be affected. Correspondingly, the public and others have an obligation to engage in discourse that affects government as well as society.
Conclusion

The CCPOA appears in the media primarily in a political context and this does not seem to be diminishing in the recent years. The activities of the CCPOA and its representation of correctional officers will likely remain in the public eye since correctional officers perform an essential public service. This function can only begin to be understood by the public if they are given sufficient information. Welch et al. (2000) encourage scholars to assess and stay informed of the public debate that surrounds corrections. Since the public is aware and will continue to review the communication between corrections, the labor organization, and the media, it is critical that scholars stay abreast of current issues in order to generate a concept of what is happening within the correctional field. The CCPOA will continue to negotiate on behalf of California correctional officers, so this open dialogue must exist in order to discuss important social issues.

This study has explored how the CCPOA is represented in newspaper articles over time. By exploring preliminary reporting related to collective bargaining and the CCPOA, this study has found that this topic is rarely reported on in depth by the press. Social scientists should continue to research and examine a more specific relationship between the CCPOA and the media. Although findings did not show significant results when comparing reporting topics among the two decades, it is important to note that reporting on the CCPOA in California newspapers has been on the rise. The impact of this increased media attention should be considered and evaluated by researchers. The
correctional officer’s labor organization has significant presence in the media, so further research in this area is encouraged.
APPENDICES
APPENDIX A

Code Sheet

Article Number: _______________

Newspaper:
   (Check one)
   □ LA Times
   □ SF Chronicle

Date of article: _______________
   (month/day/year)

Title of article:

________________________________________________________________________

(Given in full)

Persons referred to in the article:
   (Check which apply)
   □ Union Member
   □ Union Officer
   □ Union Employee
   □ Employer
   □ Other (write in) ____________________________________

Main subject / theme referred to in the article:
   (Check which apply)
   □ Political issues
   □ Collective bargaining issues
   □ Employee/Union positive recognition
   □ Employee/Union misconduct
   □ Punitive attitude or opinion
Code Sheet

Framing of the news:

The remainder of the instrument will utilize the following coding: (0) = No; (1) = Yes

1. Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem? __________
2. Does the story go into the private or personal lives of the actors (correctional officers)? __________
3. Does the story reflect disagreement between parties-individuals-groups? __________
4. Does the story offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave? __________
5. Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future? __________
APPENDIX B

Operational Definitions for Coding Categories

Research questions:
1. What are the prevalent trends of CCPOA reporting in California newspapers?
2. Have these trends changed over the last two decades during the periods of 1990-1999 and 2000-2009?
3. How are news stories framed when reporting on the activities of the CCPOA?

Unit of analysis: newspaper article

Sampling frame:
Newspaper articles published during January 1, 1990 and December 31, 2009 found on (database search) using the keyword search “CCPOA”.

Coding categories:

Article number
Start numbering at one. Continue consecutively throughout the remainder of the sample.

Newspaper name
(Check one)
☐ LA Times
☐ SF Chronicle

Date of article
(Given in full)
Month/day/year

Title of article
(Given in full)
Operational Definitions for Coding Categories

Persons referred to in the article
(Check which apply)
(*CCPOA will be in all due to keyword search)

☐ Union Member (correctional officer or Bargaining Unit 6 employee)
☐ Union Officer (President, Executive Council, Leadership team, etc.)
☐ Union Employee (contracted bargaining agents, attorneys, analysts for research, secretaries, etc.)
☐ Employer (State of California, Department of Personnel Administration (DPA))
☐ Other (write in) ___________________

Main subject / theme referred to in the newspaper article
(Check which apply)
The purpose of the subject is to capture trends in reporting.

☐ Subject 1: Political issues
  The article is primarily about political issues. It may mention campaign contributions, the Governor’s or another Government official’s involvement with CCPOA, legislation, budget, etc.

☐ Subject 2: Collective Bargaining issues
  The article is primarily about collective bargaining activities of the CCPOA. It may mention wages, conditions of employment, overtime, negotiations, firing, hiring, complaint procedure, workplace safety and policy, etc.

☐ Subject 3: Employee/union positive recognition
  The article is primarily about positive recognition of correctional officers or union employees/officials. It may mention award ceremonies, grant or scholarship opportunities, etc.

☐ Subject 4: Employee/union misconduct
  The article is primarily about correctional officer or BU6 employee misconduct. This may be on the job misconduct or off the job misconduct.

☐ Subject 5: Punitive attitude or opinion
  The article is primarily about punitive attitudes or opinions of the CCPOA. The article may focus on punishment, opposition to rehabilitation, favoring stiffer sentences, etc.
Operational Definitions for Coding Categories

The remainder of the instrument will utilize the following coding: (0) = No; (1) = Yes

News Frame
Framing of the news:
The framing questions were selected from Semetko & Valkenburg’s 2000 study on media framing. Only one question from each frame was used for coding, which was based on likeliness to uncover the presence of image in the media.

- (Attribution of responsibility frame): Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem?

- (Human-interest frame): Does the story go into the private or personal lives of the actors (correctional officers)?

- (Conflict frame): Does the story reflect disagreement between parties-individuals-groups?

- (Morality frame): Does the story offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave?

- (Economic frame): Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?
REFERENCES


(2003). California Correctional Officers Protest Prisoner Distance Education Program.


