

## REPRESENTATIONS OF TRADE UNION RIGHTS IN US MEDIA OUTLETS: A FRAMING THEORY-BASED CONTENT ANALYSIS ACROSS POLITICAL LEANINGS

### ABD MEDYA KURULUŞLARINDA SENDİKAL HAKLARIN TEMSİLİ: POLİTİK EĞİLİMLER ÜZERİNE ÇERÇEVELEME TEORİSİ TEMELİNDE BİR İÇERİK ANALİZİ

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#### ABSTRACT

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##### Anahtar Kelimeler

Sendikal Haklar,  
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Kuruluşları.

##### Anahtar Kelimeler

Trade Union  
Rights,  
Framing Theory,  
Frame Themes,  
Media Outlets.

In the United States, after the Covid-19 pandemic, workers' unionization efforts have become more visible. Media discourse plays a critical role in shaping public perception of trade union rights. This study uses Goffman's approach, which defines frames as *interpretive schemes*, and is grounded in Entman's framing functions and Scheufele's understanding of *frame-building*. Based on AD Fontes Media's classification, this study selected 12 media outlets with equal representation of right-, center-, and left-leaning perspectives. 213 news articles published since the start of the pandemic were analyzed using the MASQDA program within the framing theory. Through frequency and thematic analysis, the study examined which frames were highlighted, whether there were differences across political leanings, and how ideological positions affected news representations. Findings show that right-leaning media adopted a negative stance -though not explicitly- toward union rights while left-leaning outlets showed a more supportive tone. Center-leaning media generally remained informational. Overall, media outlets frequently linked labor issues with current political debates and focused more on the unions' power and strategies. Except for some left-leaning outlets, the frame for rights concerning workers' collective actions was weak, and companies' anti-union policies were underreported. In this regard, it has been argued that the pro-capital stance in the US media affects news coverage of union rights.

#### ÖZ

ABD'de özellikle Covid-19 pandemisi sonrasında işçilerin sendikalaşma çabaları daha görünür hâle gelmiştir. Medyanın bu konuyla ilgili haberlerindeki söylemler ise kamuoyunun sendikal haklara ilişkin algısının şekillenmesinde belirleyici bir rol oynamaktadır. Çalışma; kökenini Goffman'ın çerçeveleri *yorum şemaları* olarak tanımlayan yaklaşımından almakta ve Entman'ın çerçeveleme işlevleri ile Scheufele'nin *frame building* anlayışı temelinde konumlanmaktadır. AD Fontes Media'nın sınıflandırmasına dayanarak eşit sayıda sağ, merkez ve sol eğilimli 12 medya kuruluşu belirlenmiştir. Bu kuruluşlarda, Covid-19 pandemisinden itibaren yayımlanan sendikal haklarla ilgili 213 haber metni, çerçeveleme teorisi temelinde MASQDA programı aracılığıyla incelenmiştir. Frekans analizi ve çerçeve temaları üzerinden; medya kuruluşlarının hangi çerçeveleri öne çıkardığı, politik eğilimlere göre farklılaşma olup olmadığı ve ideolojik pozisyonların haber temsillerine etkisi araştırılmıştır. Sonuçlara göre, sağ eğilimli medya sendikal haklara açıkça olmasa da olumsuz bir tutumla yaklaşırken, sol eğilimli medyada bunun tersi bir eğilim gözlenmiştir. Merkez medya ise çoğunlukla bilgilendirici bir dil kullanmıştır. Medya kuruluşlarının emek gündemini çoğunlukla güncel politik tartışmalarla ilişkilendirdiği, sendikaların gücüne odaklandığı; ancak hak çerçevesinin zayıf kaldığı ve şirketlerin sendika karşıtı politikalarının yeterince görünür olmadığı saptanmıştır. Bu durum, sermaye yanlısı ideolojik tutumun haberleri şekillendirdiğini göstermektedir.

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## Introduction

One of the critical factors in achieving decent work, which is the fundamental goal of the International Labor Organization (ILO), is the utilization of workers' trade union rights (Ghai, 2003; ILO, 2010). Union rights are an *umbrella concept* that includes the rights to unionization, collective bargaining, and strike. These rights are directly related to each other, and the existence of one without the other loses its meaning (Gülmez, 2010; Özveri, 2012). Two of the ILO's eight core conventions deal with union rights. These are *C087- Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize Convention*, and *C098- Right to Organize and Collective Bargaining Convention* documents. Additionally, the right to form and join a union is recognized as a basic right in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article 23).

However, following the implementation of neoliberal policies in the 1970s, there has been an increase in non-standardization in labor relations (Standing, 2011), and unions faced a hostile environment, and non-unionization rose (Fantasia and Voss, 2004; Visser, 2019). Moody (2017) asserted that automation, lean production techniques, and the relocation of production to the Global South have collectively contributed to the erosion of traditional industrial relations. Nevertheless, according to Schmitt and Mitukiewicz (2012), it has been national policy preferences regarding union-busting policies, rather than technological developments, that fostered non-unionization.

The lack of unions not only leads to greater inequality but also makes people more interested in unions (Tongür and Elveren, 2014). Today, hundreds of millions of workers around the world are currently trying to exercise their union rights. For instance, in the US, which is covered by this study, workers' tendency to unionize has been growing in recent years, especially since the Covid-19 pandemic. The efforts of workers at global companies such as Starbucks and Amazon to unionize, strong public support for unions in opinion polls, and a noticeable increase in the number of workers participating in union elections are concrete facts that support this tendency (Logan, 2023; Blanc, 2024a; Minchin, 2024; Çelik et al., 2025). For a case in point, Shierholz et al. (2024) noted that 59% of workers across all sectors in the US seek unionization. According to ILOSTAT's *statistics on social dialogue*, the trade union density rate in the US for 2020 was only 10.3%. When these two data points are compared, it is clear that US workers have a strong inclination toward unionization despite the low trade union density rate.

The study aims to examine the manner in which media outlets in the US frame the actions of workers in defending their union rights and the impact of these outlets on shaping social perception. In the period following the pandemic, it is imperative to concentrate on the manner in which the media influences public opinion in the face of mounting unionization efforts in the US. Understanding the public's media-shaped perception is important because this directly affects labor movement success or failure. For instance, during the 1997 strike by UPS workers, the employer conceded to the majority of the union's demands due to substantial public support (Bergin, 2005). For this reason, the acquisition of public support has emerged as a pivotal strategic objective within union movements. The ongoing presence of Starbucks workers' union struggles in the media since 2022 can be attributed primarily to their efforts to garner public support (Blanc, 2024b). The Italian, UK, and Norwegian trade unions examined in the study by Valentini et al. (2020) also worked to gain public support in their campaigns, regardless of their specific goals. On the other hand, it is crucial to refrain from interpreting union movements exclusively as organizational structures. According to Kelly's (1998) mobilization theory, such movements should also be examined through emotional, identity-based, and perceptual dimensions. Therefore, the explication of media frames in union movements is a meaningful endeavor in these respects as well.

In order to achieve the objective of the study, framing theory has been employed in the research. Framing theory is a widely adopted approach within the domain of communication studies for the analysis of content, owing to its capacity to unveil the latent meanings, narrative structures, and ideological orientations that are embedded into media texts (Yuniawana et al., 2023). This study draws its roots from Goffman's (1974) approach, which defines frames as *schemata of interpretation* used to make sense of everyday experiences. According to Goffman, individuals perceive, classify, and make sense of social reality not directly but through these interpretive schemes; thus, frames enable the organization and interpretation of complex social events. The study, which has been inspired by this theory, is based on Entman's (1993) framing approach. According to Entman, *To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described*. These four

functions provide an analytical framework for analyzing how union rights are represented in the media. Furthermore, drawing on Scheufele's (1999) "frame-building" approach, the study investigates how media organizations with different ideological orientations construct these frames in different ways. Thus, the study reveals not only the forms of visibility of union rights in news reports but also the impact of ideological positions on these representations. In this respect, the study brings together literature on communication and social policy by focusing on news articles in media outlets that examine union rights, a key issue in social policy. Furthermore, the study contributes to the extant literature by centering on the unionization phenomenon that has been a major topic of public debate in the US in recent years.

## **Theoretical Background**

### ***The Media Structure in the US***

Herman and Chomsky (1988) put forward the *Propaganda Model* to explain the functioning of the American mainstream media. According to this model, the media is not a neutral means that only transmits news. On the contrary, the media is a systematic ideological apparatus that reflects the interests of capitalists and dominant powers. This model is based on five basic filters: ownership structure, dependence on advertising revenue, selection of news sources, pressure for criticism (flak), and dominant ideology (anti-communism during the Cold War, market sanctity today). These structures direct media content and keep public opinion at the margins of the hegemonic order. Although the media presents an apparently pluralistic structure, it functions to marginalize alternative views and limit opposition within the system. According to McChesney (1999), the US media system is one of the most commercial and influential media systems in the world. The US media system is essentially built on capitalist interests, which is why critical leftist discourses are systematically excluded from the media sphere. The media not only provides news but also functions as an ideological means that protects the interests of those who hold economic and political power.

Hallin and Mancini (2004) positioned the American media system within the Liberal Model, which emphasizes private property, limited government intervention, and professional journalism. Candeub (2007) examined that ownership of American media is increasingly concentrated in the hands of a small number of large corporations. This poses risks to freedom of expression and democratic control, especially in television and radio. He argued that the FCC fails to regulate media ownership because it focuses solely on the numerical diversity of *different voices*, ignoring the extent to which these voices serve to monitor and monitor the public interest. Candeub discussed that while media regulation should strengthen public control by encouraging citizen journalism, neoliberal policies and court decisions have weakened this function and control over the media has largely passed to market actors. Pickard (2020) stated that the US media system is built on a structure based on private capital. From the early days, it has adopted a business model based on advertising revenue to grow and has treated journalism as both a public service and a commercial product. However, he stated that public service journalism in the US has remained powerless and media regulations have worked in favor of private capital.

### ***Framing Theory***

In the literature, it is generally accepted that Goffman's Frame Analysis forms the sociological basis of news framing analysis (D'angelo, 2019). According to Goffman (1974), frame is *I assume that definitions of a situation are built up in accordance with the principles of organization which govern events -at least social ones- and our subjective involvement in them; frame is the word I use to refer to such of these basic elements as I am able to identify*. Goffman calls these frames *primary frameworks* and divides them into two. The first is *natural frameworks*, which explain physical events independently from human intention; for example, a tree falling in the wind. The second is *social frameworks*, which explain events on the basis of human intention, will or intervention; for example, someone deliberately cutting down a tree. These primary frameworks are decisive in terms of defining and making sense of events.

Frame analysis, developed by Goffman (1974), aims to reveal the ways social experiences are organized. The basis of this approach is the belief that an event gains meaning only through the frame used by the individual. Frame analysis suggests that social reality is not fixed, but a structure constructed through frames. In this context, frame analysis addresses not only individual cognitive processes but also the social and cultural context of these processes. Frames are also not fixed and can change over time or according to context. The main ways

of these changes are defined as keying and fabrication. Keying is the presentation of an event in another context. Fabrication is the presentation of an unreal frame to deliberately mislead the audience. These two concepts show that frames can also be used manipulatively and strategically.

Gamson and Modigliani (1989) defined the concept of frame as a central organizing idea that gives meaning to an event or issue. This definition was made before the media context and emphasizes the role of framing in social meaning-making processes. The authors stated that media frames operate through symbolic wholes structured with metaphors, case studies, images and narratives called *media packages*. These packages not only give meaning to events; they also serve to reproduce hegemonic meanings by reinforcing ideological positions. Entman (1993) argued that framing operates at four levels: communicator, text, receiver, and culture. The communicator makes framing choices, which are embedded in the text and interpreted by the audience through cognitive schemas. Culture reflects the shared frames within a society. Framing not only highlights certain elements but also shapes meaning through what is excluded, often revealing underlying power relations.

According to de Vreese (2005), framing involves a communication source that presents and defines a problem. De Vreese defined framing as a communicative process whereby certain aspects of reality are emphasized to promote a specific interpretation. He identifies three stages: frame-building (the influences shaping frame construction during news production), frame-setting (the interaction between media frames and audience cognition), and the effects of framing on individuals and society. Framing is treated both as a dependent variable (shaped by production factors) and an independent variable (affecting audience responses). Additionally, he distinguished between generic frames, which are broadly applicable, and issue-specific frames, which are context-bound, providing a typology for systematic analysis. Framing refers to creating narratives that serve certain purposes by highlighting specific aspects of the story and ignoring or hiding particular elements; this has a direct impact on how audiences perceive social reality (Civila and Lugo-Ocando, 2024).

Scheufele (1999) offered a key theoretical contribution to framing by positioning it clearly within media effects research. Building on Entman's (1993) definition, framing is the selection and emphasis of certain aspects of perceived reality in communication. He recognized between media frames, which shape how issues are presented in news content, and individual frames, which guide how audiences interpret information. Framing is analyzed both as a dependent variable (in frame-building processes) and as an independent variable (in influencing attitudes and perceptions). Through a four-cell typology, Scheufele linked production and audience-level effects, offering conceptual clarity and situating framing alongside agenda-setting and priming.

Chong and Druckman (2007) distinguished between framing in communication (how information is presented) and framing in thought (how individuals mentally organize information). They claimed that framing influences public opinion by shifting the weight individuals assign to specific considerations when forming attitudes. Drawing from cognitive psychology, they showed that exposure to different frames can alter evaluations without changing underlying beliefs, raising concerns about the stability and coherence of public opinion in democratic contexts.

Ndamah-Arthur (2018) conducted an experimental study to examine the effects of three news frames -conflict, human interest, and attribution of responsibility- on audience responses. Involving 121 university students, the study exposed participants to two framed news reports about distinct African socio-political events. Participants' reactions were measured across four key domains: evaluative (text appreciation), affective (emotional responses), persuasive (opinions, beliefs, intentions), and conative (word of mouth intentions). The findings demonstrated that frame type significantly influenced audience responses, particularly among individuals with high issue involvement. The study concluded that framing effects are not uniform or universal; instead, they are contingent upon contextual and individual-level variables, such as interest in the issue. These results underscore the conditional nature of framing effects and contribute to the broader understanding of their variability across audiences and content types. In this context, comparative framing analysis stands out as an important method in terms of revealing not only the differences in the content of the news, but also the structural, cultural and ideological factors behind these differences. Such analyses also make a valuable contribution to increasing media literacy and developing critical media consumption skills.

### ***Examples of Framing in Media Outlets***

When looking at comparative framing analysis, it can be seen that it examines the differences in news frames of the same topic from different cultural perspectives and ideologies (Ramasubramanian & Miles, 2018). For example, a study displayed that *war story* news is structured differently in international media. There were also differences in news tone and source usage among the four news media examined (Dimitrova & Connolly-Ahern, 2007). Another study examined the contrasting visual narratives used by English and Arabic transnational press and revealed differences (Fahmy, 2010). In the study conducted by Morstatter et al. (2018), it was observed that different media outlets apply bias in the way they report the news, and this negatively affects the way readers filter what we read and obtain information. The way news is presented shapes not only how events are perceived, but also the audience's attitudes and reactions to events. The political leanings, cultural norms and target audience expectations of media outlets are among the basic elements that determine the frame of the news, which causes the same event to be presented in very different ways in different media outlets. In another study, framing analysis was conducted using computer-based text analysis of Facebook posts by Al Jazeera, BBC and CNN News regarding COVID-19 in the context of framing theory (Hossain et al., 2022).

Tarish et al. (2022) comparatively examined how the American mainstream media (CNN and Fox News) framed war discourses during the Bush, Obama, and Trump eras. During the Bush era, the *just war* discourse was supported; Obama's diplomatic language was reflected more positively; Trump's nationalist-populist rhetoric was supported by Fox News and criticized by CNN. These findings revealed how the ideological positions of media outlets give meaning to the leader's discourse. Powers and Godbersen (2023) analyzed how the Black Lives Matter protests were framed in the New York Times, USA Today, and the Wall Street Journal in the summer of 2020. They found that liberal (New York Times), conservative (Wall Street Journal), and mainstream (USA Today) newspapers showed significant differences in terms of word choice, emphasis, and source use regarding the event. While the New York Times used more dramatic and emphatic language, the Wall Street Journal emphasized the institutional order; USA Today tried to balance the two tendencies. It was determined that the most repeated word was *police*, and it was revealed that the newspapers took ideological positions with legitimizing/delegitimizing framing.

Broomfield et al. (2022) conducted a comparative study of how migrant labor is framed in the media in fruit and vegetable production in the UK using 92 news articles published between 2015 and 2020 in both the mainstream and specialist agricultural press. High-circulation national newspapers such as The Guardian, The Times, Daily Mail, and agricultural sector publications such as Farmers Weekly, Farmers Guardian and The Scottish Farmer were assessed. The study found that in both media types, news was largely presented within an economic framework around the interests of farmers and agricultural businesses while the voices of migrant workers and social reform actors were largely absent from the media.

Kliner (2014) analyzed how labor unions were represented in the media by examining 648 news articles and broadcast transcripts published in leading print newspapers such as The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, USA Today, Washington Post and Los Angeles Times, as well as major television channels such as CNN, NBC, CBS and ABC, between 2009 and 2013. In the analysis, differences were coded according to the tone of the news, type of union, type of activity and occupational groups. The study found that unions were generally represented negatively, but this negativity was not as dominant as in previous years. Although prominent strikes and protests were heavily covered in the media, they did not produce a positive discourse towards unions. Strikes were not the most frequently covered topic in the news; instead, contract negotiations and political activities were at the forefront. In addition, it was seen that unions in professional groups serving the public interest were often presented as a threat to society. It was observed that even unions in occupations such as teachers and caregivers were framed negatively.

### **Methodology and Data**

#### ***Computer-Based Text Analysis***

Grounded in framing theory and informed by a comprehensive review of the literature on media representations of labor issues, this study investigates how union rights is framed in contemporary news media. Framing theory suggests that the way issues are presented in the media can shape public perception by emphasizing certain



aspects over others. In this context, our research aims to explore the representational strategies employed by news outlets in their coverage of union rights. Specifically, we address the following research questions:

**RQ1:** What are the dominant frames that emerge in the portrayal of union rights in media outlets?

**RQ2:** Do different news outlets vary in their framing of union rights?

In order to investigate how union rights is framed in the contemporary news media, computer-based content analysis was used in the study and the MAXQDA program was preferred. In the context of the computer-assisted approach, words that tend to occur together in texts are determined with the help of clustering algorithms. One of the obvious advantages of this method is the objectivity in frame extraction (Matthes & Kohring, 2008). MAXQDA is a software program specifically designed for qualitative data analysis involving textual materials (Marjaei et al., 2019). Research by Oliveira et al. (2016) showed that both MAXQDA and NVIVO offer advantages in the stages of thematic content analysis. As an unbiased machine-based software, MAXQDA, like traditional software, can identify word frequencies; in addition, it can also reveal semantic relationships between textual concepts by clustering themes over the texts imported into the software (Kuckartz & Rädiker, 2019). In the in-text analysis process, the software can identify the most frequently used words and word combinations (Hossain et al., 2022).

### *Data*

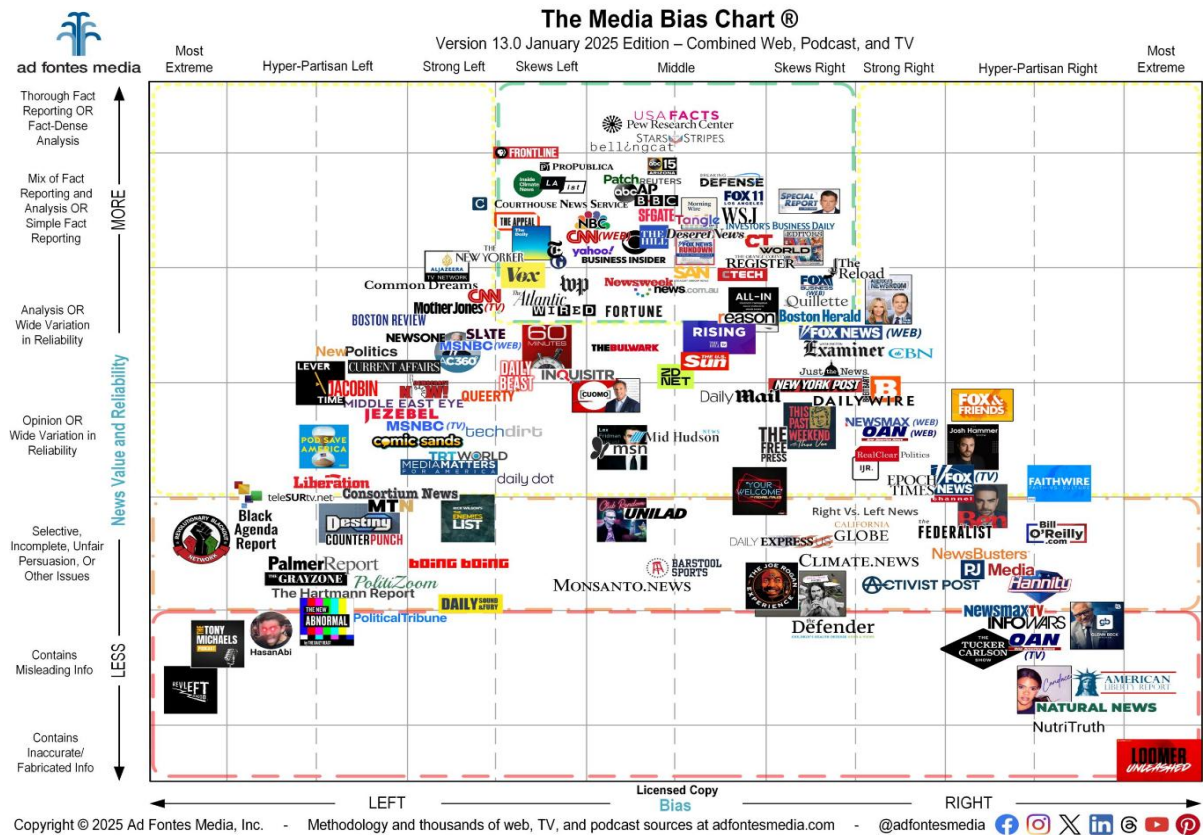
Hyman (2001) emphasized that unions have not been limited to a single function throughout their historical development but have carried multiple identities in different contexts. According to him, unions, on the one hand, are actors in the labor market that protect the economic interests of their members; on the other, they act as institutions aiming at promoting social welfare and justice. At the same time, they play a central role in the class struggle as organizations of collective resistance against the capital. The tension between these multiple identities determines how the union movement is perceived and represented in different countries and periods. The role of the media at this point is an important topic for research.

In this study, news related to union rights and union movements was scanned and included in the analysis. During the news selection process, the content was considered to be directly relevant to the topic. A total of 213 news articles from 12 media outlets were obtained using the keywords related to union rights. When selecting news articles, the earliest date was chosen, the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic. This is because, as noted in this study, unionization efforts in the US increased after the pandemic. Most of the news articles were selected from more recent ones. This method ensured that news directly related to the research questions and suitable for comparison was selected. The news articles were examined through the MAXQDA program, providing sufficient depth and representation for a qualitative study. Although analyzing each news article separately initially seemed to preclude generalization, inductive analysis of these texts revealed recurring frames and allowed for meaningful generalizations. For this reason, the study achieved theoretical saturation and provided a solid basis to assess the relationship.

The news content to be analyzed in this study was taken from right, center, and left media outlets. A total of 12 media outlets were selected, and a balanced distribution was achieved by representing each ideological position, with equal numbers of right-, center-, and left-leaning groups (four from each group). Furthermore, not only the "right" and "left" axes were considered, but also sub-ideological positions such as strong right and left. This allowed for a more comprehensive assessment of how news with varying tones of ideological leanings was presented and framed. Furthermore, media outlets whose news was freely and publicly available were selected. This approach ensures that the analyzed news is widely accessible and the study is transparently auditable. In this context, right-leaning media outlets Fox News, Newsmax, One America News Network (OAN), and Breitbart News; center-leaning media outlets PBS, ABC News, USA Today, and NBC; and left-leaning media outlets were classified as CNN, Mother Jones, Democracy Now!, and Common Dreams. 15 to 20 news items were selected from each media outlet.

The ideology adopted by media outlets can be subjective; therefore, media outlets were sorted as right, center, and left by taking into account the classification of Ad Fontes Media.<sup>1</sup> This ideological positioning is made according to the Ad Fontes Media Bias Chart (see figure 1.) Ad Fontes Media employs a systematic and pluralistic content analysis methodology that evaluates media content along two axes: political bias (horizontal) and reliability (vertical). Each piece of content is independently reviewed by at least three analysts with differing political orientations (left, center, and right). Political bias is scored on a scale from -42 (most extreme left) to +42 (most extreme right), with content falling between -1 and +1 categorized as centrist. Scores are determined based on three main criteria: whether the content advocates a particular political position, the ideological slant of the language used, and which issues are included or omitted. For example, content that solely affirms the narratives of one political party while systematically excluding opposing perspectives is classified as hyper-partisan. Content scoring up to  $\pm 6$  is labeled as skewed, up to  $\pm 18$  as strong, and up to  $\pm 30$  as hyper-partisan, while scores beyond  $\pm 30$  are defined as most extreme. Importantly, this classification is not based on universal ideological norms but is contextualized within the contemporary US political landscape. Analysts' political leanings are determined through a combination of self-reported views across 18 policy areas and the results of standardized political typology assessments. This approach ensures that content is evaluated from a balanced ideological perspective (Otero, Von Wald, Fox-Ramirez & Heldebrandt, 2025).

Figure 1. The Media Bias Chart



**Note:** Reprinted with permission from Ad Fontes Media (2025). © Ad Fontes Media. Retrieved from [https://adfontesmedia.com/wp-content/uploads/2025/01/Media-Bias-Chart-13.0\\_Jan-2025-Licensed-scaled.jpg](https://adfontesmedia.com/wp-content/uploads/2025/01/Media-Bias-Chart-13.0_Jan-2025-Licensed-scaled.jpg)

<sup>1</sup> Ad Fontes Media is a public benefit corporation founded in 2018 and based in Colorado. Their primary mission is to positively transform society by analyzing news content for credibility and bias (Ad Fontes Media, n.d.).

## Findings and Discussion

### Frequency Analysis

Today, the agenda-setting power of media outlets can be analyzed through the language they use and the themes they frequently repeat. In this context, this analysis was conducted to reveal how different news outlets approach themes such as unionization, labor movements, and institutional actors, and the most frequently used keywords on leading news platforms were examined. In addition to traditional media outlets such as FOX News, CNN, PBS, and NBC News, alternative platforms such as Mother Jones and Democracy Now were also comparatively examined. While word frequencies and percentage distributions show which concepts these news sources give more space to on their agendas, they also provide clues about the formation of news frames on topics such as labor rights, strikes, large corporations, and political figures. This type of content analysis provides an important basis for understanding the relationship between the media's ideological tendencies and thematic priorities.

**Table 1.** The Right-Leaning Media Outlets

FOX News				News Max			
N	Word	Frequency	Percentage	N	Word	Frequency	Percentage
1	union	125	1,19	1	Starbucks	97	1,31
2	Biden	61	0,58	2	union	95	1,28
3	federal	60	0,57	3	Amazon	94	1,27
4	worker	57	0,54	4	UAW	41	0,55
5	Amazon	55	0,52	5	worker	31	0,42
6	strike	30	0,29	6	company	24	0,32
7	million	29	0,28	7	automobile	23	0,31
8	bargaining	28	0,27	8	rights	22	0,30
9	national	25	0,24	9	vote	21	0,28
10	political	22	0,21	10	unionization	21	0,28
OAN				Breitbart			
N	Word	Frequency	Percentage	N	Word	Frequency	Percentage
1	Boeing	87	1,18	1	Amazon	117	1,56
2	union	55	0,75	2	Starbucks	55	0,73
3	strike	52	0,71	3	union	52	0,69
4	Amazon	43	0,58	4	Boeing	44	0,59
5	Starbucks	38	0,52	5	strike	43	0,57
6	contract	33	0,45	6	Biden	27	0,36
7	wage	25	0,34	7	worker	22	0,29
8	port	24	0,33	8	contract	22	0,29
9	worker	21	0,28	9	teamsters	22	0,29
0	representa tion	20	0,27	10	union	22	0,29

The right-leaning media outlets in table 1 develop discourses about unions largely through specific companies (Amazon, Starbucks, Boeing) and event-based words (strike, contract, representation) in their news content. While the word *union* is at the top of the list in all four media outlets, the context of this word is often given



together with the company names. In FOX News, the concept of *union* is frequently mentioned together with political institutions and actors such as *Biden, federal, national*. For example, the headline of a news coverage by Fox News is *Biden White House quietly intervening in international labor dispute over legal objections*, and the introduction of the same news is *The White House is escalating a labor dispute at a major mine in central Mexico, an action backed by powerful labor unions, but it could have a devastating effect on workers and the economy*.

In more ideologically aligned other right media outlets, *union* word is mentioned together with company names and words directly related to labor struggle such as *strike, representation, wage*. Additionally, these outlets' news reports focus more on the economic effects of union struggles. Examples of such headlines include OAN's *Global Amazon Worker Strike Over Black Friday Weekend Could Lead To Significant Delivery Delays* and *Dockworkers From Maine To Texas Begin Strike That Could Have Lasting Impact On Economy*, as well as Breitbart's *Strike by Hollywood Union LATSE Threatens to Halt Movie, TV Production Nationwide*. In Newsmax's report on the expansion of the five-day Starbucks workers' strike across US states, the company's statement that *Starbucks said the disruptions from the strike have no significant impact on its operations because only a small handful of US stores have been impacted* demonstrates that the economic impacts of union activities are being taken seriously. Moreover, these media outlets often interpret union rights not as a matter of social justice or in favor of workers, but as a disruptive or politicized movement. An illustrative example of this phenomenon is Fox News' headline *Teachers unions prioritize 'radical social and political agendas,' alienating parents: report*. In the introduction of this news; *The American Federation of Teachers (AFT) and National Education Association (NEA) have embraced "radical social and political agendas" and ramped up funding for political causes in recent years, likely contributing to the backlash at school board meetings across the country, according to a new report*. statements are included.

These samples show that the right-leaning media tends to address union activities either in the context of political authority or within the framework of individual company cases. Additionally, it can be said that in reporting union activities, conceptualizations are made on a personal or ideological level rather than on a neutral and factual level. As a result, these outlets, although not openly, *deeply* did not approach union rights positively, did not focus on the demands in union struggles within a rights framework and mostly included these struggles on an event-driven basis. However, the fact that no clear anti-unionism was observed, except for specific examples, is significant in terms of showing the legitimacy of the workers' and unions' quests.

**Table 2.** Centrist Media Outlets

PBS				ABC			
N	Word	Frequency	Percentage	N	Word	Frequency	Percentage
1	Union	125	1,32	1	Starbucks	136	1,87
2	Amazon	111	1,17	2	union	102	1,41
3	Starbucks	103	1,08	3	worker	46	0,63
4	Worker	83	0,87	4	UAW	42	0,58
5	Continuation	38	0,40	5	Amazon	41	0,56
6	High	35	0,37	6	vote	39	0,54
7	Vote	33	0,35	7	union	39	0,54
8	Teamsters	28	0,29	8	continuation	28	0,39
9	Strike	27	0,28	9	unionization	26	0,36
10	Unionization	22	0,23	10	Apple	22	0,30
USA TODAY				NBC NEWS			
N	Word	Frequency	Percentage	N	Word	Frequency	Percentage
1	Amazon	95	1,62	1	union	95	1,34

2	Union	78	1,33	2	Amazon	56	0,79
3	Starbucks	77	1,31	3	Trump	49	0,69
4	Strike	56	0,96	4	Starbucks	34	0,48
5	Teamsters	41	0,70	5	federal	31	0,44
6	Continuation	25	0,43	6	Teamsters	23	0,32
7	Port	22	0,38	7	worker	22	0,31
8	Representation	22	0,38	8	Biden	20	0,28
9	Christmas	19	0,32	9	Doge	19	0,27
10	to agreement	17	0,29	10	Boeing	17	0,24

Table 2 shows that the news discourse of the centrist media outlets regarding unions is presented in a more balanced and factual framework. The words that stand out in the media outlets' news are the process between the parties, which shows that the centrist media language is more process-oriented rather than confrontational. For example, USA Today's headline *Starbucks union says strike to impact 300 stores; company says less than 200 locations affected* provides explanations from both sides. Moreover, while basic concepts such as *union*, *worker*, *strike*, *unionization*, *vote* and *representation* are frequently used, concrete company and union names such as *Amazon*, *Starbucks*, *teamsters* and *UAW* are also widely covered. This situation indicates that the centrist media outlets draw attention to both concrete company events and general union trends. PBC News' headline *Labor movements are seeing historic victories this year. Can unions keep up the momentum?* and ABC News' headline *Number of striking US workers more than doubled last year, study shows.* are news that reflect the general unionization trend in the US and examine the reasons for this trend.

On the other hand, the fact that some mainstream media outlets (e.g. NBC News) also include political figures (e.g. Trump, Biden) represents that union discussions are sometimes drawn into a political framework. The statements in the content of this outlet's news headline *Major service workers union joins forces with AFL-CIO as second Trump term looms* are examples of this situation: *Meanwhile, Trump allies Elon Musk and Vivek Ramaswamy, the co-heads of the new nongovernmental Department of Government Efficiency, have proposed large-scale employment changes for government workers in the coming Trump administration, prompting backlash from unions. Trump has criticized the United Auto Workers, and numerous unions endorsed Harris last year.* However, this situation is not as prominent as the right-leaning media; the center's approach is more of a balancing stance that opens up space for arguments in favor of both employers and workers. While the mainstream media generally gives extensive coverage to union issues, it adopts an impartial journalism discourse that focuses more on providing information and following the process. Also, the news of these media outlets is not dominated by the rights frame as in the right-leaning media and there is an association with the political frame (in different attitudes). However, there is no *hidden negative* perception of union rights through *negative economic effects* as in right-leaning outlets.

**Table 3.** Left-leaning media outlets

CNN				Mother Jones			
N	Word	Frequency	Percentage	N	Word	Frequency	Percentage
1	union	169	0,79	1	union	65	0,70
2	Starbucks	161	0,75	2	Starbucks	55	0,59
3	Amazon	123	0,57	3	UAW	45	0,48
4	activity	119	0,56	4	union	40	0,43
5	performance	60	0,28	5	Labor	38	0,41
6	support	58	0,27	6	Fain	36	0,39

7	union	55	0,26	7	strike	24	0,26
8	worker	54	0,25	8	Amazon	23	0,25
9	Apple	43	0,20	9	struggle	22	0,24
10	strike	39	0,18	10	Strike	20	0,21
Democracy Now				Common Dreams			
N	Word	Frequency	Percentage	N	Word	Frequency	Percentage
1	Trump	230	1,32	1	Starbucks	99	1,63
2	Amazon	67	0,38	2	Amazon	95	1,57
3	federal	53	0,30	3	strike	67	1,11
4	Rights	51	0,29	4	union	60	0,99
5	strike	40	0,23	5	Boeing	59	0,97
6	Thursday	33	0,19	6	contract	37	0,61
7	court	31	0,18	7	Teamsters	35	0,58
8	Biden	30	0,17	8	health	28	0,46
9	government	29	0,17	9	struggle	24	0,40
10	election	27	0,15	10	representation	23	0,38

According to Table 3, left-leaning media outlets exhibit a more rights-based, critical and activist-oriented approach in their news discourse on unions. The high frequency of company and organization names such as *union*, *Starbucks*, and *Amazon* as well as process and impact-oriented concepts such as *activity*, *performance* and *support* on CNN shows that union activities are addressed in terms of effectiveness and social support. The introduction of the news titled *These baristas are leading a nationwide campaign to unionize Starbucks. It came at a cost*, which emphasizes union activism, tells the personal stories of workers who are prominent in union work. The introduction of the news includes the following statements: *They came from very different backgrounds and different parts of the country, each with different reasons for seeking a job at Starbucks. Few of these workers had given any thought to unions when they started their jobs at the coffee chain. But now they are at the center of one of the most successful union organizing campaigns to take place in the United States in decades.*

The frequency of concepts identified with classical labor discourse such as *union*, *labor*, *struggle* and *strike* on Mother Jones reveals a clear tone of solidarity towards organized labor. The language in this media is positioned towards supporting the *raison d'être* of unions and legitimizing workers' collective struggles for rights. The news coverage headlined *Increasing Workloads and Stagnating Pay—Hotel Workers Are Fighting Back* describes hotel workers' demands for decent jobs along with poor working conditions. The following excerpt from Common Dreams' news story headlined *US Strike Wave Could Soon Grow as Airline, Healthcare Workers Fight for Decent Contracts*, which uses similar words, is another illustrative example: *The nationwide U.S. strike wave that has seen hundreds of thousands of autoworkers, screenwriters, actors, hotel workers, baristas, and others walk off the job to win better wages and benefits could soon get even bigger, as tens of thousands of flight attendants and Kaiser Permanente employees prepare to take action amid stalled contract talks.*

As in right- and center-leaning media outlets, labor news is framed by being linked to political debates in left-leaning media. Democracy Now data provides the most obvious example of this tendency. The fact that terms such as *Trump*, *federal*, *government*, as well as terms such as *strike* and *rights* that directly refer to union rights and collective action, display that the news language includes not only union formations but also workers' demands for social rights and political representation. The outlet's news coverage headlined *President Trump on Monday fired*

two leaders of the National Labor Relations Board, in a major attack on workers' rights and labor unions. is another explanatory example.

The left-leaning media positions unions as one of the fundamental elements of not only business life but also the structure of democratic society; it differs from other media types with its labor-centered discourses. In this respect, this media discourses are characterized by a journalistic language that increases the legitimacy of union movements and creates sympathy in the public. A fundamental difference between the right-leaning and left-leaning media is that workers' struggles against poor working conditions are portrayed within the framework of rights, rather than the economic consequences of collective actions.

### Frame Themes

Table 4 classifies the 213 news items we examined according to their framing themes. This classification was carried out using the MASQDA program, and the themes were determined by us based on the content of the news. These frames highlight which themes the outlets consider important.<sup>2</sup>

**Table 4.** Frame Themes

News	Frame Theme				
	The Right to Organize	Union Policies Companies	Busting of Unions' Strategies	Power and Collective Bargaining	Legal Processes
FoxNews	20/2	20/3	20/8	20/4	20/3
Newsmax	20/8	20/4	20/6	20/5	20/3
OAN	20/1	20/0	20/16	20/14	20/1
Breitbart	17/2	17/1	17/9	17/6	17/2
PBS	16/4	16/1	16/9	16/2	16/1
ABC	16/7	16/0	16/6	16/2	16/2
USA Today	15/4	15/0	15/6	15/9	15/1
NBC News	20/5	20/3	20/3	20/6	20/5
CNN	20/5	20/3	20/8	20/4	20/1
Mother Jones	18/3	18/2	18/9	18/4	18/2
Democracy Now	15/1	15/3	15/6	15/4	15/4
Common Dreams	16/1	16/1	16/12	16/9	16/0

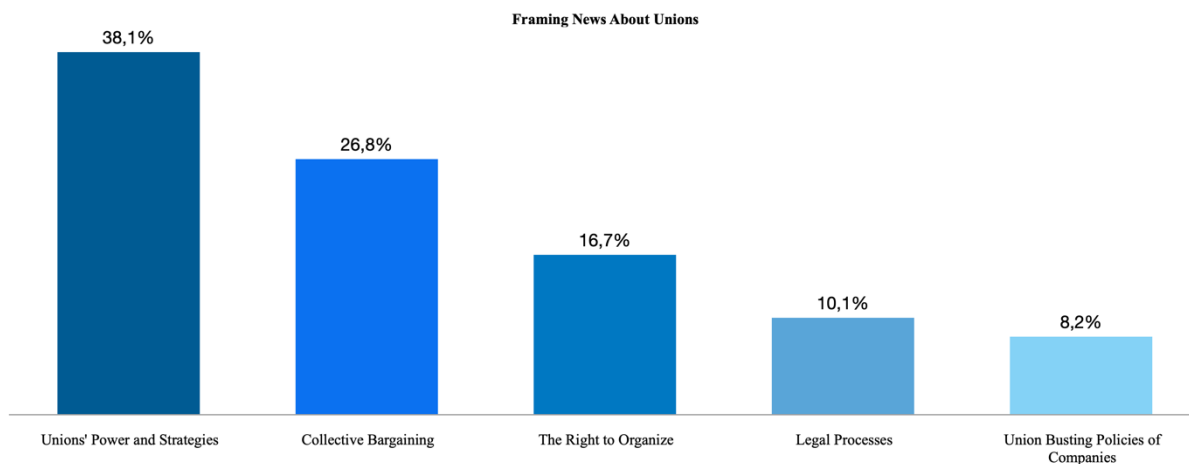
The framing data in Table 4 reveal the discourse structures adopted by media outlets in news about unions at a more conceptual level. While the frames *Unions' Power and Strategies* and *Collective Bargaining* are prominent in right-leaning media outlets (Fox News, Newsmax, OAN, Breitbart), rights-based or anti-corporate frames such as *The Right to Organize* and *Union Busting Policies* are seen to remain marginal. For example, OAN devoted 16 of

<sup>2</sup> Since some news items fall under several themes, the number of news items under each theme may exceed the number of news items published by the outlets.

its 20 news articles to the power of unions and 14 to collective bargaining processes, whereas the right to organize and anti-union practices of companies were covered in only 1 news article each. This distribution shows that the right-leaning media structure their news discourse about unions mostly around the potential influence or controllability of unions and render workers' quest for rights invisible.

Mainstream media outlets (PBS, ABC, USA Today, NBC News) exhibit a more balanced distribution of framing themes, revealing that they adopt an information-focused and process-based narrative in news about unions. The relatively equal coverage of *The Right to Organize*, *Unions' Power and Strategies*, and *Collective Bargaining* frames in this group of media outlets reflects the mainstream media's efforts to make both workers' right to organize and union bargaining processes visible.

On the other hand, left-leaning media (CNN, Mother Jones, Democracy Now, Common Dreams) presents union struggles with a discourse that is rights-based, includes system criticism, and legitimizes collective action, using frames such as *Unions' Power*, *Collective Bargaining*, and *Union Busting Policies* more frequently. In particular, Common Dreams' focus on union power in 12 of its 16 news stories and collective bargaining in 9 shows the importance that media with this tendency attach to labor-focused framing. This table reveals that the ideological orientation of media outlets directly affects the way union movements are reported and that public perception is shaped through different framing strategies.



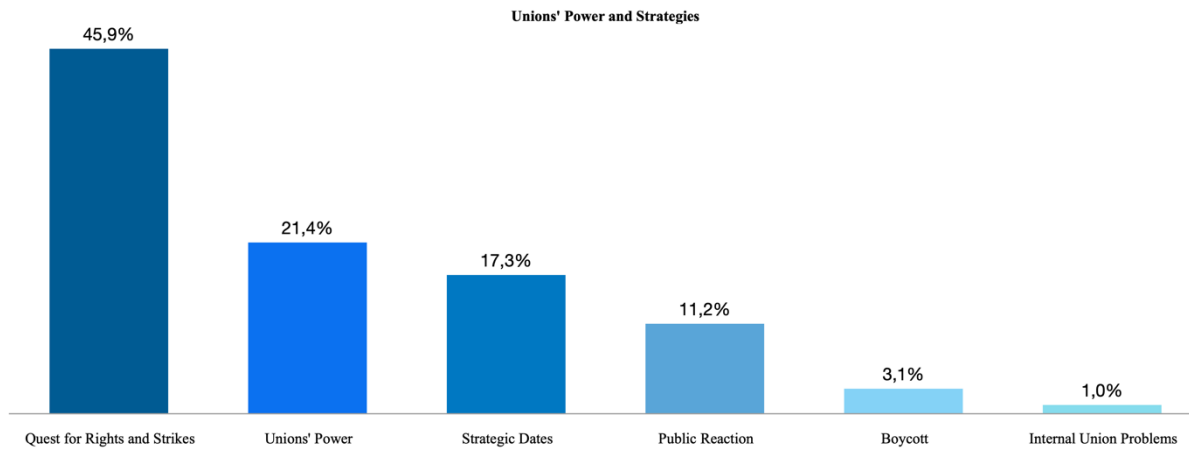
**Graph 1.** Frame Themes as Percentages

Graph 1 shows the percentage distribution of news content on how unions are framed in the media. The most emphasized frame is seen as Unions' Power and Strategies with 38,1%. This suggests that unions are presented as a power center in media narratives and their tactical moves are highlighted. Strategic aspects of unions such as bargaining power, strike threats or membership campaigns create a strong effect that can generate both support and reaction in the public eye. The second most emphasized theme is Collective Bargaining with 26,8%. This indicates that the media treats union negotiations with employers as an important topic. However, the high rates of these two frames show that union activities are perceived only in terms of struggle and strategy, and this may cause the more complex social and legal contexts related to unions to remain in the background. The topics that are less covered in the chart are listed as The Right to Organize (16,7%), Legal Processes (10,1%) and Anti-Union Policies of Companies (8,2%). Particularly, the anti-union attitudes of companies that are framed at a low rate indicate that they are not sufficiently visible in the media. This situation may lead to the suppressive or intimidating policies implemented by employers against union activities not being discussed sufficiently in the public sphere. Similarly, the low representation of legal processes may suggest that there is a deficiency in informing the public about workers' ways of seeking their rights or legal regulations. The fact that the media presents union news mainly in terms of power, strategy and bargaining causes both the structural dimensions of union struggle and the legal grounds for the protection of workers' rights to remain in the



background. This framing may have significant long-term effects on the legitimacy of unions and public perception.

In addition, the sub-themes of the first two frame themes shown in Graph 1 are presented in Graph 2 and 3.

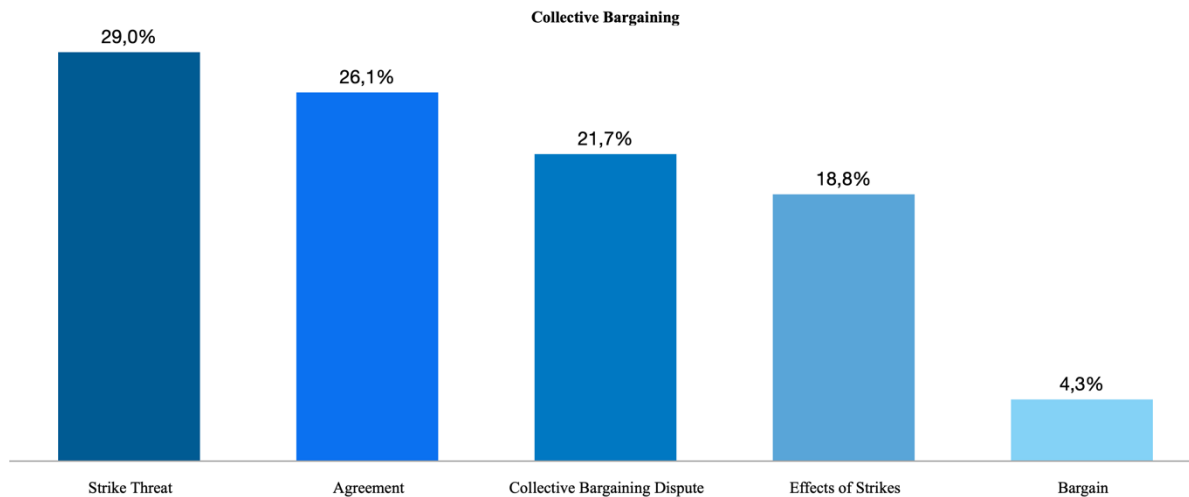


**Graph 2.** The Sub-Themes of Unions' Power and Strategies<sup>3</sup>

When the framing of news about unions is examined in this study, one of the most frequently encountered themes is the struggle means and strategies of unions. An analysis of Graph 2 reveals that these sub-themes, grouped under the title Unions' Power and Strategies, are mostly addressed through activism and conflict in media representations of unions. In particular, actions such as strikes, protests and work stoppages are intensively reported by the media and unions are presented as struggling actors in this context. However, various aspects of unions such as their structural power, symbolic function and interaction with society also gain visibility to a more limited extent. The sub-themes identified within this framework and their distribution are presented in detail below.

- The most frequently encountered theme, with a rate of 45,9%, is that unions express their demands for rights through actions such as strikes, protests and work stoppages; the media frames unions as struggling, conflict-oriented actors in such news.
- In the news that is covered by 21,4%, the structural power, representation authority, number of members and influence of unions on the government or employers are highlighted and how effective actors they are in decision-making processes are emphasized.
- In 17,3%, it is evident that union activities gain visibility in the media through marches and statements made on symbolic days (e.g. Black Friday, Christmas); in such news, it is seen that unions use these days to make their demands more visible to the public.
- In 11,2%, the public's reaction to union actions is reported; in this context, public support for strikes, social media posts or opposing views shape the public perception of unions.
- In 3,1%, consumer boycotts or protest actions to avoid shopping carried out with union calls are covered in the media; the scarcity of such content shows that the public visibility of economic pressure means is limited.
- The least covered theme, with a rate of 1%, is internal problems such as management conflicts within the union, ethical problems or disagreements between members; this situation reveals that the media pays more attention to unions through their external actions.

<sup>3</sup> As the percentages in Graph 1 and Graph 2 are rounded, the total percentage is close to 100.



**Graph 3.** The Sub-Themes of Collective Bargaining

Graph 3 demonstrates the percentage distribution of sub-themes that stand out in news content about unions' collective bargaining processes. The data provides important clues about how the media frames union processes.

- The most prominent theme, with a rate of 29%, is the threat of strikes; the fact that unions use the threat of strikes as a means of persuading employers during the collective bargaining process is frequently reported in the media as an element of pressure, and the tension in this process is highlighted.
- The theme of agreement, with a rate of 26,1%, shows that the agreements reached between unions and employers are presented to the public as positive developments; within this framework, the media emphasizes the completed and constructive aspects of the negotiation process.
- Collective bargaining disputes, with a rate of 21,7%, gain visibility in the media, especially in cases where negotiations are blocked and there is no solution between the parties; this situation causes the conflict dynamics in union-employer relations to be reflected in the news.
- The theme of the effects of strikes, with a rate of 18,8%, appears in news articles that address the effects of strikes on production processes, economic balances or consumers; in this context, the media tends to analyze how union actions affect not only workers but also other segments of society.
- 4,3% of the news directly focuses on the content of bargaining processes, that is, the scope of the talks and the details of the offers; this low rate shows that media content mostly focuses on superficial or dramatic developments.

### Conclusion

Data obtained from three distinct media leanings revealed noteworthy findings regarding how organizations framed news related to union rights. Right-leaning media, while not overtly so, exhibited a more deeply negative attitude toward union rights and focused on the negative economic consequences of collective actions. In contrast, left-leaning media approached union endeavors from a rights-based framework and adopted a pro-worker stance in industrial relations tensions. Additionally, center-leaning media adopted an information-based approach that neither fully legitimizes nor criminalizes unions. These discourse differences among the three media leanings revealed the influence of ideological positions on media representation of union rights. They clearly demonstrated that the language of news does not only function to convey information but also to construct meaning.

Apart from these disparities, it appeared that all media outlets tied the labor agenda to current political debates. Nevertheless, there were naturally varying approaches depending on political leanings. Furthermore, right-leaning media outlets' negative perception of union rights and center-leaning media outlets' *relatively neutral stance* on this issue confirmed the pro-capital (or non-pro-labor) manner of the US media structure accepted in the

literature. Although left-leaning media outlets employed pro-labor rhetoric, the fact that these outlets had a more limited sphere of influence did not contradict this view in the literature.

An examination of the frames emphasized by all media outlets in news related to union rights disclosed a dominant focus on unions' power and strategies. This situation was most likely owing to the fact that unions' efforts, such as bargaining power, strike threats, or membership campaigns, had the potential to generate both support and opposition among the public. On the other hand, companies' union busting policies were framed to a lesser extent and were not sufficiently visible in the media. Thus, employers' policies against union activities were not sufficiently discussed in the public sphere. Similarly, the low representation of legal processes indicated that the public was not sufficiently informed about workers' legal rights or the legal regulations that obstructed these rights.

### **Future Studies**

This study has uncovered how media organizations framed the union struggles in the US after the Covid-19 pandemic. Therefore, the study has limitations due to its attempt to analyze a general phenomenon over a specific period of time. In future studies, media outlets' approaches to this topic can also be examined through union movements in other countries or more concrete examples (e.g., Amazon workers' or Starbucks workers' unionization efforts). Media outlets' efforts to link current political discussions with union activism can be compared in more detail via framing theory across different political periods (e.g., the Biden and Trump eras). Additionally, a computational social sciences approach that facilitates the analysis of big data accumulated on social media platforms may be preferred for topics similarly to this study. As the number of such studies increases, the fields of communication and social policy will be able to come together more closely, and unique contributions to the literature will be possible.

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### **Statements of Publication Ethics**

We hereby declare that the study has not unethical issues and that research and publication ethics have been observed carefully.

### **Researchers' Contribution Rate**

The study was conducted and reported with equal collaboration among the researchers.

### **Ethics Committee Approval Information**

Ethics committee approval was not obtained for this study because I declare as the responsible author that this study is one of the studies that does not require ethics committee approval.

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## GENİŞLETİLMİŞ ÖZET

Uluslararası Çalışma Örgütü'nün çalışma hayatındaki temel hedefi olan insana yakışır işin sağlanmasının ön koşulu işçilerin sendikal haklarını serbestçe kullanabilmesidir. Sendikal haklar; sendika, toplu iş sözleşmesi ve grev haklarını içeren şemsiye bir kavramdır. Günümüzde tüm dünyada yüz milyonlarca işçi bu haklarını kullanmaya çalışmaktadır. Son yıllarda bu çalışmanın kapsamı içerisinde olan ABD'de işçilerin sendikalaşma çabaları görünür olmuştur. Özellikle Covid-19 pandemisinden sonra Starbucks ve Amazon gibi küresel düzeyde faaliyet gösteren şirketlerde bu çabalar kamuoyunda daha fazla gündem hâline gelmiştir.

Bu çalışmada ABD'deki medya kuruluşlarının işçilerin sendikal haklarını kullanma girişimlerini nasıl *çerçevelediği* analiz edilmiştir. Bu analizde iletişim çalışmalarında sıkça kullanılan çerçeveleme teorisinden faydalanılmıştır. Goffman'ın (1974) çerçeveleme analizine dayanan bu teori, medya kuruluşlarının haber metinleri içerisinde yerleştirdiği anahtar kavramlar üzerinden sosyal algıyı nasıl şekillendirdiğini açıklamaktadır. Literatürde; D'angelo (2019), Gamson ve Modigliani (1989), Entman (1993), de Vreese (2005), Scheufele (1999), Entman (1993), Chong ve Druckman ile Ndamah-Arthur (2018)'in bu konudaki çalışmaları çerçeveleme teorisini açıklamakta önemli katkılar sunmuştur. Ramasubramanian ve Miles (2018), Dimitrova ve Connolly-Ahern (2007), Fahmy (2010), Morstatter ve diğerleri (2018), Hossain ve diğerleri (2022), Tarish ve diğerleri (2022), Powers ve Godbersen (2023), Broomfield ve diğerleri ve Kliner (2014) ise çalışmalarında bu teoriye dayanarak çeşitli toplumsal olguların medya kuruluşlarınca nasıl ele alındığını incelemiştir.

ABD gibi Herman ve Chomsky'nin (1988) tarifıyla *Propaganda Modelinin* medya kuruluşlarında hakim olduğu ve medyanın ideolojik işlevinin belirgin olduğu ülkelerde sendikal hakların bu kuruluşlarca nasıl çerçevelendiği önem arz eden bir tartışma başlığıdır. Bu çalışmada da 12 medya kuruluşundan 213 haber bu amaç doğrultusunda MAXQDA programı aracılığıyla incelenmiştir. Medya kuruluşları eşit sayıda sağ (Fox News, News Max, OAN, Breitbart), merkez (PBS, ABC, USA Today, NBC News) ve sol (CNN, Mother Jones, Democracy Now, Common Dreams) eğilimlere sahip olanlardan seçilmiştir. Medya kuruluşlarının sınıflandırılmasında ise *AD Fonted Media* isimli organizasyonun tablosundan faydalanılmıştır. Çalışmanın temel soruları ise şunlardır: Medya kuruluşlarında sendikal hakların tasvirinde ortaya çıkan baskın çerçeveler nelerdir? Farklı haber kaynakları sendikal hakları çerçeveleme konusunda ayrışmakta mıdır?

Sağ eğilimli medya kuruluşlarında sendikal aktiviteler ya güncel politik tartışmalar kapsamında ya da bireysel şirket örnekleri üzerinden ele alınmaktadır. Haberlerde nötr bir yansımadan ziyade *derinden* bir ideolojik perspektif bulunmakta ve sendikal hak arayışlarına olumlu yaklaşılmamaktadır. Ayrıca grevlerin yıkıcı ekonomik etkileri sıkça bu kuruluşların haberlerinde yer almaktadır. Ancak istisnai örnekler hariç sendika karşıtı tutumun net bir şekilde belirgin olmaması, işçilerin ve sendikaların taleplerinin meşruluğunu göstermesi açısından önemlidir.

Merkez eğilimli medya kuruluşlarında daha dengeli ve çalışma ilişkilerinin iki tarafının da görüşlerine yer veren haberler bulunmaktadır. Sağ eğilimli medya kuruluşlarında olduğu gibi politik figürler (Trump, Biden vs.) sendika tartışmalarında yer almaktadır. Bu kuruluşlarda sendikal mücadelelerin olumsuz ekonomik sonuçlarına ilişkin gizli bir negatif algı bulunmamaktadır.

Sol eğilimli medya kuruluşları; sendikaları sadece çalışma hayatının değil, demokratik toplum yapısının da temel unsurlarından biri olarak konumlandırmakta ve işçi odaklı söylemleriyle diğer medya türlerinden ayrılmaktadır. Bu bakımdan bu medya kuruluşlarındaki söylemler, sendikal hareketlerin meşruiyetini artıran ve kamuoyunda sempati yaratan bir gazetecilik diliyle karakterize edilmektedir. Sağ eğilimli ve sol eğilimli medya kuruluşları arasındaki temel fark; işçilerin kötü çalışma koşullarına karşı kolektif nitelikli eylemlerinin ekonomik sonuçları yerine hak perspektifiyle ele alınmasıdır.

Haberlerde sendikal haklarla ilgili öne çıkan çerçeveler; sendikaların güç ve stratejileri (% 38,1), toplu pazarlık (% 26,8), örgütlenme hakkı (% 16,7), yasal süreçler (% 10,1) ve şirketlerin sendika karşıtı politikaları (%8,2). Sendikaların güç ve stratejileri çerçevesinin en baskın çerçeve olması, medya anlatılarında sendikaların bir güç merkezi olarak sunulduğunu ve taktiksel hamlelerinin önemsendiğini göstermektedir. Sendikaların pazarlık gücü, grev tehditleri veya üyelik kampanyaları gibi çalışmaları; kamuoyunda hem destek hem de tepki yaratabilecek güçlü bir potansiyele sahiptir ve bu durum bu çerçevenin haberlerde öne çıkmasına neden olmaktadır. Öte yandan, şirketlerin sendika karşıtı politikaları, düşük oranda çerçevelenmekte ve medya kuruluşlarında bu politikalar yeterince görünür olmamaktadır. Bu nedenle işverenlerin sendikal faaliyetlere karşı uyguladıkları

sindirme politikaları kamuoyunda yeterince tartışılmamaktadır. Benzer şekilde yasal süreçlerin düşük temsil oranı, işçilerin hukuki haklarını arama yolları veya bu yolları tıkayan yasal düzenlemeler hakkında kamuoyunun yeterince bilgilendirilmediğini göstermektedir.

Nihai olarak eğilimlerine bakılmaksızın tüm medya kuruluşları emek gündemini güncel politik tartışmalarla ilişkilendirmektedir. Ancak bu ilişkilendirmede politik eğilimlerine göre doğasında farklılıklar bulunmaktadır. Ayrıca sağ medya kuruluşlarının sendikal haklara yönelik negatif algısı ve merkez medya kuruluşlarının bu konudaki *görece tarafsız* duruşu, literatürde kabul edilen ABD medya yapısının sermaye yanlısı tutumunu doğrular niteliktedir. Her ne kadar sol medya kuruluşlarında emek yanlısı söylemler bulunsa da bu kuruluşların etki alanının daha dar olması, literatürdeki bu görüşü ters yüz edecek bir olgu değildir.

Bu çalışmada ABD’de Covid-19 pandemisinden sonra gelişen sendikal mücadelelerin medya kuruluşlarınca nasıl çerçevelendiği incelenmiştir. Başka ülkelerdeki sendikal hareketler ya da daha somut örnekler (ör. Amazon işçileri ya da Starbucks işçilerinin sendikalaşma çabaları) üzerinden medya kuruluşlarının konuları ele alma biçimleri ayrıca incelenebilir. Medya kuruluşlarının önemsedikleri güncel politik tartışmalarla sendikal eylemlilikleri ilişkilendirme çabaları, farklı politik dönemler (ör. Biden ve Trump dönemleri) çerçeveleme kuramı vasıtasıyla karşılaştırılarak daha detaylıca araştırılabilir. Ek olarak, bu hususlarda sosyal medya araçlarında biriken büyük veriyi analiz etmeyi kolaylaştıracak hesaplamalı sosyal bilimler yaklaşımı gelecek araştırmalarda daha fazla tercih edilebilir. Bu tür çalışmaların sayısının artması ile iletişim ve sosyal politika alanları daha fazla yan yana gelebilecek ve literatüre özgün katkılar sağlanabilecektir.