

Labor organization mergers 1979–84: adapting to change

*The merger pace accelerates
as unions, employee associations
unite in the face of shrinking
membership and dues income*

LARRY T. ADAMS

More labor organizations merged between January 1979 and June 1984 than in any similar period since the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations joined to form the AFL–CIO in December 1955. Since that time, there have been 86 mergers with approximately 35 percent taking place in the last 5½ years.¹

Although the constitution of the AFL–CIO strongly endorses the “elimination of conflicting and duplicating organizations and jurisdictions through the process of . . . voluntary mergers,” only 20 mergers took place between 1955 and 1965. Disappointed at the slow rate of amalgamation, George Meany declared in December 1965, “I . . . strongly suggest that the responsible officers of many unions, who by all logic and commonsense should merge, might well take a broader look at the union as an instrument of progress for working people rather than an institution devoted to its own perpetuation for the sake of sentiment and tradition.”² The pace of mergers remained slow for the next 2 years, but became brisk between 1968 and 1972, with 19 mergers occurring. Six years of modest merger activity followed. However, the pace picked up again in 1979 and continued through April 1984. Furthermore, merger negotiations are currently taking place among a number of unions and some may end successfully.

Although unity has always been a philosophical goal of

organized labor, practical considerations usually provide the impetus for merger. Some labor organizations merge because of costly jurisdictional disputes or the need to gain a strong and united voice in collective bargaining. Others choose merger because they cannot survive in the face of dwindling membership and dues income stemming from employment loss resulting from import competition, recession, technological change, or employer relocation.

A few mergers involve relatively equal organizations joining to form a new entity, but most are the result of an absorption of a small labor organization by a much larger one. But regardless of the type of merger, an agreement of affiliation must be reached regarding organizational structure, election and terms of office, bylaws, and union dues that will accommodate the individual functions and philosophies of the organizations. An acceptable means of sharing authority and control by officers of both organizations must be determined. For organizations with strong craft traditions, the issues of craft identity and jurisdiction must be dealt with. When these and other issues are not resolved, potential mergers fail. Merger is a difficult process requiring delicate negotiations, patience, and sensitivity to personal and institutional sensibilities. Although mergers may be good for the labor movement in general, they usually occur when the economic and institutional problems that create the need to merge outweigh the problems of satisfying that need.

Mergers involving employee associations occur, in part, for reasons similar to those influencing mergers by traditional labor unions, but there are significant historical and

Larry T. Adams is an economist in the Division of Developments in Labor-Management Relations, Bureau of Labor Statistics. Evelyn Traylor, an economic assistant in the same division, assisted in gathering data for this article.

legal differences. Between 1960 and mid-1984, when State and local government employment more than doubled, many States passed laws granting public employees the right to organize and bargain collectively. Expanding their functions beyond the traditional lobbying and merit system activities, many national professional groups and State employee associations³ began to organize workers, petition for representation elections, and engage in collective bargaining. The blessings of these changes were mixed. Even where the legal right to organize and negotiate collective bargaining agreements had been conferred, many State labor laws did not provide for or proscribed requirements that workers represented by an association for bargaining join and pay dues or a service charge. As a result, many associations were required to represent all workers in a bargaining unit while operating on a limited budget. Other associations, covered by stronger security provisions, were able to secure adequate financial resources only to be confronted with costly jurisdictional challenges from stronger national labor organizations. For many of these public employee associations, merger with a national labor organization is the most effective way to increase their strength and ensure their future.

Mergers of labor organizations (both unions and employee associations) are, in general, precipitated and molded by a broad set of economic, institutional, legal, and social factors. The blend of these issues is unique to each merger situation, and the resulting amalgamation is also unique. The following discussion highlights the significant aspects of almost all mergers that occurred between January 1979 and April 1984. Organizations are ranked first by the number of mergers they were involved in, and then by the number of members they gained through amalgamation. (See table 1 for a complete list of all mergers which occurred between January 1979 and April 1984.)

Organizations involved in more than one merger

The United Food and Commercial Workers. The largest merger in the history of the American labor movement occurred on June 7, 1979, when the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America joined with the Retail Clerks International Union to become the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union. Culminating 14 years of sporadic merger discussions and 6 years of final negotiations, the joining of 500,000 Meat Cutters and 735,000 Retail Clerks established the Food and Commercial Workers as one of the largest labor organizations in the United States.

Membership of the two unions moved in opposite directions with the Meat Cutters losing 25,000 members and the Retail Clerks gaining 85,000 between 1974 and 1978. In addition to providing a unified voice in bargaining with common employers, the merger ended a long history of jurisdictional disputes in retail and wholesale trade and the meat products industries.

In the 4 years following its consolidation, the Food and Commercial Workers absorbed three other labor organizations. In September 1980, the Barbers, Beauticians and Allied Industries International Association merged with the Food and Commercial Workers to become the Barbers and Cosmetologists Division. With the advent of "the 'chain store' operation of barber-stylists and beautician-hairdressers,"⁴ the Barbers and Beauticians suffered severe membership losses during the 1970's. With rapidly dwindling financial resources, the union was "unable to cope with the problem" of organizing "people who are unaware of the necessity to organize."⁵

The United Retail Workers Union, a 22,000-member organization (95 percent in Illinois and 5 percent in Indiana), joined the Food and Commercial Workers in November 1981. Encountering difficulties as a small, geographically concentrated labor organization dealing with national food chains, the rank and file voted to become Local 881, the Food and Commercial Workers fifth largest local.

The Insurance Workers International Union, following two attempts to merge with the United Steelworkers of America (in 1980 and 1982), joined the Food and Commercial Workers in October 1983 as the Professional Insurance and Finance Division. With membership down to 15,000 in 1983 from 24,000 in 1970, the Insurance Workers entered the merger as a first step towards "a full scale organizing effort in the insurance and finance industry."⁶

Service Employees International Union. One of the largest AFL-CIO affiliates, the Service Employees International Union absorbed four labor organizations beginning in 1980. Commenting on the union's mergers, Service Employees Union President George Hardy declared, ". . . In the past 10 years our 'reach out' program has resulted in 22 affiliations by independent and other AFL-CIO unions . . . Each affiliation has fully protected the autonomy and the contracts of the [incoming] group."⁷

The International Jewelry Workers Union joined the Service Employees in July 1980. Chartered by the AFL in 1912 with locals dating back to 1882, it was one of the oldest labor organizations in the United States. The Jewelry Workers locals became separate chartered local unions in the newly created Service Employees Jewelry Division. While the Jewelry Workers maintained membership at about 10,000 in the 1970's, it had "been finding it increasingly difficult to protect . . . members against the conglomerates who are buying up America's century old jewelry and watch companies. [The Jewelry Workers need] the size and strength of a union like [Service Employees] to get on equal footing with these industrial giants."⁸

The Oregon Service Employee Association chose to merge with the Service Employees in December 1980 after considering merger with the Communications Workers of America and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. In the 2 years prior to the merger, Oregon

Table 1. Chronology of labor organization mergers, January 1979 to April 1984

Date	Organization and affiliation ¹	Membership at time of merger
1979:		
January	International Typographical Union (AFL-CIO) International Mailers Union (Ind.)	81,300 3,100
March	Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (AFL-CIO) United Shoe Workers of America (AFL-CIO)	475,000 25,000
June	Retail Clerks International Union (AFL-CIO) Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America (AFL-CIO) Formed the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union (AFL-CIO)	735,000 500,000
August	International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (AFL-CIO) Distributive Workers of America (Ind.)	1,499,000 35,000
August	International Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America (AFL-CIO) The Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers International Union (AFL-CIO)	750,000 11,000
1980:		
January	Tile, Marble and Terrazzo Finishers and Shopmen International Union (AFL-CIO) The Granite Cutters International Association of America (AFL-CIO)	7,000 2,300
June	Brotherhood of Railway, Airline and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees (AFL-CIO) The American Railway and Airway Supervisors Association (AFL-CIO)	170,000 8,000
July	Service Employees International Union (AFL-CIO) International Jewelry Workers' Union (AFL-CIO)	625,500 10,000
September	United Food and Commercial Workers International Union (AFL-CIO) Barbers, Beauticians and Allied Industries International Association (AFL-CIO)	1,300,000 27,000
October	International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (Ind.) Inland Boatmen's Union of the Pacific (Ind.)	64,000 4,000
November	Service Employees International Union (AFL-CIO) Oregon State Employees Association (AGE) ²	635,500 14,500
1981:		
January	International Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots (Marine Division—ILA ³ (AFL-CIO)) American Radio Association (AFL-CIO)	9,000 473
September	Aluminum Workers International Union (AFL-CIO) The United Brick and Clay Workers of America (AFL-CIO) Formed the Aluminum, Brick and Clay Workers International Union (AFL-CIO)	27,000 15,000
November	United Food and Commercial Workers International Union (AFL-CIO) United Retail Workers Union (Ind.)	1,300,000 22,000
1982:		
July	Glass Bottle Blowers of the United States and Canada (AFL-CIO) International Brotherhood of Pottery and Allied Workers (AFL-CIO)	80,000 11,000
September	Aluminum, Brick and Clay Workers International Union (AFL-CIO) United Glass and Ceramic Workers of North America (AFL-CIO) Formed the Aluminum, Brick and Glass Workers International Union (AFL-CIO)	40,000 28,000
October	American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO) Arizona Public Employees Association (AGE)	1,100,000 7,500
November	Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union (AFL-CIO) International Production, Service and Sales Union (Ind.)	400,000 18,000
December	Service Employees International Union (AFL-CIO) National Association of Government Employees (Ind.) Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (AFL-CIO) United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union (AFL-CIO)	650,000 100,000 410,000 8,000
1983:		
May	American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO) Ohio Civil Service Employees Association, Inc. (AGE)	1,130,000 17,000

Date	Organization and affiliation¹	Membership at time of merger
July:	International Printing and Graphic Communications Union (AFL-CIO)	112,000
	Graphic Arts International Union (AFL-CIO)	82,500
	Formed the Graphic Communications International Union	
August	Brotherhood of Railway, Airline and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees (AFL-CIO)	178,000
	Western Railway Supervisors Association (Ind.)	325
October	United Food and Commercial Workers International Union (AFL-CIO)	1,300,000
	Insurance Workers International Union (AFL-CIO)	15,000
December	American Federation of Government Employees (AFL-CIO)	255,000
	National Association of Government Inspectors and Quality Assurance Personnel (Ind.)	800
1984:		
February	Service Employees International Union (AFL-CIO)	750,000
	California State Employees Association (AGE)	50,000
	American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO)	1,130,000
	Ohio Association of Public School Employees (Ind.)	25,000
March	International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (AFL-CIO)	1,100,000
	Brewery Workers Local 9 (A directly affiliated local of the AFL-CIO)	2,400
April	International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers (AFL-CIO)	134,000
	United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers International Union (AFL-CIO)	29,000
	Communications Workers of America (AFL-CIO)	550,500
	West Virginia Public Employees Association (Ind.)	1,500

¹Affiliations are designated as (AFL-CIO); Ind. (independent); and AGE (Assembly of Government Employees).
²These organizations disaffiliated with the AGE just prior to, or at the time of, merging.
³International Longshoremen's Association.
NOTE: This table reflects all mergers known to the Bureau as of June 30, 1984.

Service Employee membership had declined 16 percent to 14,500, in part, the result of State budget restrictions that reduced employment and jurisdictional disputes with the Teamsters. The granting of complete local autonomy—including a guarantee never to be placed in trusteeship—was cited by Oregon Service Employees as the major reason for choosing to join the Service Employees.

On December 1, 1982, the National Association of Government Employees—a public sector labor organization with 70 percent of its membership in the Federal Government and 30 percent in State government—merged with the Service Employees. Membership of Government Employees dropped from its peak of 200,000 in 1978 to 100,000 in December 1982.

The California State Employees Association, following merger talks with four other unions, joined the Service Workers in February 1984.⁹ The California Employees faced intense raiding after the January 1983 enactment of a State labor law allowing agency shop provisions in public sector collective bargaining agreements.¹⁰ Rather than expend a large portion of its resources defending against the raids, the California Employees chose to merge with an AFL-CIO affiliate, thereby securing the protection of article 20 of the AFL-CIO constitution prohibiting raids among member unions.

In announcing the decision to merge his unions's 50,000 members with the Service Workers 750,000 membership, the president of the California Employees Association stated that "because [the California State Employees Association] will come under the no-raiding provision of the AFL-CIO constitution, [it] will no longer have to divert precious resources to fight off other unions."¹¹

The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. Three State employee associations were absorbed by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME): The Arizona Public Employee Association, the Ohio Civil Service Employee Association, and the Ohio Association of Public School Employees. The Arizona Association, struggling with a 38-percent membership decrease in the 8 years prior to the merger, the lack of a State labor law conferring the right of collective bargaining to public employees, and the existence of a State right-to-work law, joined with existing State, County and Municipal Employees locals in October 1982 to form Arizona Public Employee Association/Council 97, the largest public sector labor organization local in Arizona.

The Ohio Civil Service Employees, suffering a 50-percent

membership loss of 17,000 members between 1976 and 1983, merged with the State, County and Municipal Employees on May 25, 1983, after a raiding dispute between the State, County and Municipal Employees and the Communication Workers of America. The Ohio Public School Employees, representing 25,000 nonprofessional public school employees, joined the State, County and Municipal Employees on February 11, 1984. These two affiliates will operate under Ohio's new State labor law, which became effective in April 1984, and provides State and local government workers with the right to negotiate wages, hours, working conditions, and agency shop.

The Aluminum, Brick and Glass Workers International Union. The first step in what would become a three-party merger among labor organizations of comparable size took place on September 1, 1981, when the Aluminum Workers International Union merged with the United Brick and Clay Workers of America to become the Aluminum, Brick and Clay Workers International Union. Both organizations incurred significant membership losses in the years preceding the merger. Membership of the Aluminum Workers decreased from 32,000 in 1974 to 27,000 in 1981. The decrease was generally caused by cutbacks in domestic automobile production and building construction—industries which consume a large proportion of domestic aluminum production. In 1981, the Brick and Clay Workers membership, 18 percent lower than in 1970, reflected the slowdown in building construction as well as a shift from brick and clay to less expensive construction materials.

On September 1, 1982, the newly formed Aluminum, Brick and Clay Workers merged with the United Glass and Ceramic Workers of North America to form the Aluminum, Brick and Glass Workers International Union. With membership having declined to 15,000 from 43,000 in 1972, the Glass and Ceramic Workers' president declared, "Membership is the foundation and you cannot continue to funnel money in forever if . . . membership continues to decline. We have not been successful in organizing . . . [and] that is the key to survival . . . We will reach a point where we will not be able to function as we have in the past if we do not merge."¹² Earlier in the year, the Glass and Ceramic Workers terminated negotiations with the International Brotherhood of Pottery and Allied Workers and the Glass Bottle Blowers of the United States and Canada in disagreement over dues structure. The Pottery Workers and the Glass Bottle Blowers subsequently merged.

The International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America. The International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America absorbed the Distributive Workers of America in 1979. The Distributive Workers union was organized in 1933 and comprised mainly immigrant workers in wholesale trade. The Distributive

Workers and the Automobile Workers have a history of mutual support on social and economic issues. While both organizations lost a significant proportion of their membership in the years preceding the June 1979 merger, the Distributive Workers, with 35,000 members, had been successful in expanding their jurisdiction to represent clerical workers in universities, professional and nonprofessional law office employees, and retail store employees. In March 1984, the Automobile Workers also absorbed Brewery Workers Local 9, a directly affiliated local of the AFL-CIO.

The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. In a further consolidation of labor organizations representing workers in the apparel and textile industries, the United Shoe Workers of America and the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union were absorbed by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union in 1979 and 1982, respectively. Membership in each of these organizations had declined sharply in the 1970's. Employment in the apparel and textile industries has been declining, in large measure the result of import competition, recession, and laborsaving changes in technology. In addition, the general demand for apparel and textiles has been diminished by less frequent style changes and more durable fabrics.

Prior to joining the Clothing and Textile Workers, the United Shoe Workers held merger discussions with the Brotherhood of Shoe and Allied Craftsmen (BSAC-Ind.). The organization resulting from the proposed merger was slated to merge with the Retail Clerks International Union as the RCIU/Shoe Division. However, there was disagreement over the division of power within the proposed shoe division. Negotiations became more difficult when, in 1978, the Shoe and Craftsmen unilaterally merged with the Retail Clerks. Believing it was no longer possible to gain parity with the Shoe and Craftsmen within the Retail Clerks Shoe Division, the United Shoe Workers sought merger talks with, and ultimately merged into, the Clothing and Textile Workers.

The Brotherhood of Railway, Airline and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees. Citing the need for additional collective bargaining efforts, the American Railway and Airway Supervisors Association merged with the Railway Clerks on August 6, 1980. While membership in the Railway-Airway Supervisors Association rose from 6,200 to 8,000 during the 1970's, the Railway Clerks' membership fell from 275,000 to 170,000 between 1970-80. In August 1983, the Western Railway Supervisors Association, with fewer than 500 members, joined the Railway Clerks as a member of the Professional Employees Department.

Other selected mergers

On July 1, 1983, in one of the largest printing union mergers in the history of the industry, the International Printing and Graphic Communication Union and the Graphic

Arts International Union joined to become the Graphic Communication International Union. Both organizations had sizeable membership decreases in the 10 years prior to the merger, but they remained the two largest printing industry labor organizations. As changes in printing technology have continued to blur or eliminate craft distinctions and erode employment, the Printing and Graphic union and the Graphic Arts union, both products of previous mergers, affiliated to end costly jurisdictional disputes and to gain a large, single voice in collective bargaining.

Encouraging the membership to ratify the merger, a Printing and Graphic union leader reminded the rank and file that "we have seen industry merge from the individual owner to the corporation, to the conglomerate, to the multinational corporation." He further stated that "each union has squandered untold thousands of dollars in contested organizing drives, in raids on each other's shops, in crossing each others picket lines, even performing each others struck work . . . Such . . . acts would cease under merger."¹³

On April 1, 1984, the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers absorbed the United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers International Union. Both organizations had membership decreases in the 6 years prior to the merger. While the Boilermakers and the Cement Workers did not negotiate with the same employers or represent workers in related occupations, the organizational structure and operation of the two unions were similar. As a result, the Cement Workers joined the Boilermakers as the Cement, Lime and Gypsum Allied Workers Division with only minor modification to the Boilermakers constitution.

In 1982, the Glass Bottle Blowers Association of the United States and Canada absorbed the 11,000 member International Brotherhood of Pottery and Allied Workers to form the Glass, Pottery, Plastics and Allied Workers Union. Both the Pottery and Allied Workers and the Glass Bottle Blowers had been actively seeking merger since 1970. In 1976, the Pottery Workers, following a substantial membership loss, affiliated with the Seafarers International Union of North America expecting that the benefits of merger would include increased membership. When the Pottery Workers membership failed to increase after 18 months, the merger was dissolved. From 1978 to 1981, the Pottery Workers conducted unsuccessful merger talks with both the Brick and Clay Workers and the Glass and Ceramic Workers. Commenting on the necessity of a merger, the president of the Pottery Workers declared, "It is nearly impossible for small unions to survive today, and it is inevitable [that] the small labor unions spread over the country must unite for strength . . ."¹⁴

With changes in construction methods making the lath and plaster crafts virtually obsolete, membership in the International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers declined from 14,600 in 1970 to 11,000 in 1979. To maintain employment, the lathers used substitute construction meth-

ods which replaced the lath craft. However, the new methods were as closely related to other construction crafts as to lathing, and jurisdictional disputes ensued. Consequently, in 1979, the Lathers affiliated with the Carpenters, with each craft having priority for available work within its historical jurisdictions.

The current merger environment

Merger is perhaps the most efficient method for a labor organization to increase membership and financial resources. Many organizations that have traditionally represented workers in industries and occupations now adversely affected by recession, imports, plant relocation, technological change, and other disruptions are actively seeking to absorb small related organizations. They also seek to expand their jurisdictions to the growing or stable areas of the economy such as service industries and the public sector. However, these unions may experience conflict with organizations that already represent workers in these areas and are eager to maintain and expand their own jurisdictions. With many large labor organizations representing both public and private sector workers actively courting a limited number of merger partners, rivalries have developed.

Merger negotiations are frequently kept secret. When negotiations fail, the fact that they took place may never become known. When they lead to initial agreement by the leadership, they may be rejected by the rank and file. Following are brief descriptions of some of the merger talks now taking place.

Following the rejection of a merger between the International Typographical Union and The Newspaper Guild by delegates attending the International Typographical convention, the International Typographical Union undertook merger discussions with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America and the Graphic Communications International Union. Teamsters President Jackie Presser and AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland have questioned the merits of joining the largest independent union in the United States or merging with the smaller AFL-CIO affiliate. There has been considerable debate on this issue within the Typographical union. Discussions have been intensified by a contested presidential election in which the incumbent has favored joining the Teamsters and the challenger has endorsed merging with the Graphic Communications union.

In February 1984, the Telecommunications International Union, an independent labor organization with 50,000 members in seven States (the majority in New York and Connecticut), reviewed merger proposals by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), the Communications Workers of America (CWA), and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW). Earlier in the month, the Telecommunications union had convened a special convention to vote on a possible merger with the State, County and Municipal Employees.

However, a Federal judge, holding that the delegates had insufficient information regarding merger proposals, ordered the vote postponed until the membership could receive adequate information to choose among the merger candidates. As a result, the Telecommunications union plans to distribute merger information to its membership that will be provided by State, County and Municipal Employees, Communications Workers, and the Electrical Workers. The Telecommunications union plans to conduct a membership referendum to select a merger partner; the leadership has formally endorsed the State, County and Municipal Employees.

In March 1984, the membership of the Screen Actors Guild rejected a merger with the Screen Extras Guild, as they had done 2 years earlier. As a result, the Screen Actors Guild leadership reopened suspended merger discussions

with the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists.

Two of the AFL-CIO's largest white-collar labor organizations, the Office and Professional Employees International Union and the International Federation of Professional and Technical Engineers are engaged in merger talks. The Office and Professional Employees and the Professional and Technical Engineers, both with moderate membership gains in recent years, cite the increased organizing ability of a single, larger white-collar labor organization and "the overwhelming need to organize the unorganized white-collar sector"¹⁵ as principal reasons for the proposed merger.

The process of labor organizations striving to adapt, survive, and prosper within the changing configuration of the U.S. economy is likely to keep merger activity fast-paced and highly competitive. □

—FOOTNOTES—

¹The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported on this subject in "Union mergers in the 1980's: a look at the reasons and results," *Monthly Labor Review*, October 1978, pp. 13-23 and "Union merger pace quickens," *Monthly Labor Review*, June 1971, pp. 63-70.

²*Proceedings of the Sixth Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO*, Dec. 9, 1965, p. 21.

³The American Nurses Association and the Arizona Public Employees Association are examples of national professional and State employee associations.

⁴*Journeyman Barber and Beauty Culture*, Barbers, Beauticians and Allied Industries International Association, June 1980, p. 2.

⁵*Ibid.*, December 1980, p. 5.

⁶*AFL-CIO News*, American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, Sept. 10, 1983, p. 1.

⁷*Service Employee*, Service Employees International Union, June 1980, p. 3.

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹The other unions were: the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; the Communications Workers of America; the International Union of Operating Engineers; and the International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America.

¹⁰An agency shop requires all employees in the bargaining unit who do not join the union to pay a fixed amount monthly, usually the equivalent

of union dues, as a condition of employment, to help defray the union's expenses in acting as a bargaining agent.

¹¹*White Collar Report* (Washington, The Bureau of National Affairs, Inc., 1984), Vol. 55, p. 73.

¹²*Aluminum Light*, Aluminum Brick and Clay Workers International Union, May-June 1982, p. 3.

¹³*News and Views*, International Printing and Graphic Communications Union, May 1983, p. 7.

¹⁴*Potters Herald*, International Brotherhood of Pottery and Allied Workers, August 1982, p. 2.

¹⁵*Government Employee Relations Report* (Washington, The Bureau of National Affairs, Inc., 1984), Vol. 22, p. 340.

NOTE: The requirement for inclusion in this and the previous studies was affiliation with the AFL-CIO or, for unaffiliated unions, the existence of collective bargaining agreements with different employers in more than one State (except those meeting requirements for exclusive recognition). Professional or State employee associations were included if they reported that they engaged in collective bargaining or representational activities and claimed membership in more than one State or, if claiming membership in only one State, they represented employees in two counties or more within the State. Every effort was made to include all unions and associations meeting these standards.