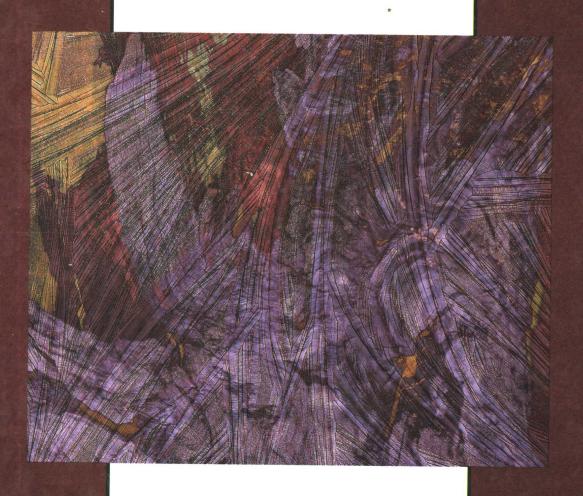
Fifth Edition

LABOR RELATIONS

Development, Structure, Process



John A. Fossum

0116542



LABOR RELATIONS

Development, Structure, Process



John A. Fossum **Industrial Relations Center**

University of Minnesota



IRWIN

Homewood, IL 60430 Boston, MA 02116



This symbol indicates that the paper in this book is made from recycled paper. Its fiber content exceeds the recommended minimum of 50% waste paper fibers as specified by the EPA.

© RICHARD D. IRWIN, INC., 1979, 1982, 1985, 1989, and 1992

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the publisher.

Sponsoring editor: Kurt Strand Project editor: Jean Lou Hess

Production manager: Bette K. Ittersagen

Designer: Robyn B. Loughran Compositor: Better Graphics, Inc.

Typeface: 10/12 Electra

Printer: R. R. Donnelley & Sons Company

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Fossum, John A.

Labor relations: development, structure, process/John A.

Fossum.—5th ed.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-256-05824-5

1. Industrial relations. I. Title.

HD6961.F65 1992

331'.0973---dc20

91-18828

Printed in the United States of America 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 DOC 8 7 6 5 4 3

PREFACE

The fifth edition of Labor Relations: Development, Structure, Process is the first edition in the third decade of its use. Over this period of time, employment, and as a consequence, labor relations, has seen major changes. The preponderance of employment has moved from the production of goods to the provision of services. The relative number of occupations has moved from those requiring physical prowess and effort to those depending on cognitive abilities and their application. Simultaneously, the financial performance of organizations became increasingly critical and the economy became truly global.

Over the period of time covered by the five editions of this text, research has increasingly identified the effects of these changes on employers and unions, the effects of unions on firm performance, and the effects of unions on individual employees. During the same period, there has been *no* legislation at the federal level that has had any major effect on labor laws. Although, at the same time, the interpretation and enforcement of labor laws has been substantially different than in the past. As a result, organized labor has increasingly adopted new methods for representing employees.

Similar to the previous editions, this edition can be recognized as an evolutionary product. The basic topics remain much the same, with the exception of the incorporation of information on health care labor relations and equal employment opportunity into the text where appropriate, and the addition of chapters on employee relations in nonunion organizations and international and comparative labor relations. Changes within chapters include expanded treatments of the political activities of unions, updated evidence on the effects of unions on economic and noneconomic outcomes to firms and individuals, a completely revised chapter on union-management cooperation, the incorporation of substantial new research material on the grievance process, and an updating and greater information in the mock contract negotiation exercise.

I hope that you will see this book as presenting a balanced perspective—balanced from a labor or management viewpoint, and balanced from a behavioral, institutional, and economic perspective. In the development of this approach, I am indebted to many institutions and individuals—my graduate school professors at the University of Minnesota and Michigan State University; my colleagues over time at the University of

Wyoming, University of Michigan, UCLA, and now in the Industrial Relations Center at the University of Minnesota; and the many academics and practitioners from whom I have received ideas in academic meetings and conversations.

Specific acknowledgments are also necessary to credit those who have assisted me in the development of this book. The first edition was conceived in an act of faith with Iim Sitlington and Cliff Francis of Business Publications, Inc., an earlier subsidiary of Richard D. Irwin. The thorough reviews and helpful comments of Hoyt Wheeler of the University of South Carolina (and my first faculty industrial relations colleague at the University of Wyoming) and I. B. Helburn of the University of Texas significantly assisted me in the preparation of the first edition. The second edition was aided by suggestions and comments from Jim Chelius of Rutgers University, Sahab Dayal of Central Michigan University, and George Munchus of the University of Alabama at Birmingham. The third edition was aided by the reviews of George Bohlander of Arizona State University, Richard Miller of the University of Wisconsin, Edmond Seifried of Lafayette College, and Bobby Vaught of Southwest Missouri State University. The fourth benefited from comments and suggestions from Edward Reinier of the University of Southern Colorado and Jack E. Steen of Florida State University. The plans for this edition were helped by A. L. "Bart" Bartlett of Pennsylvania State University, Robert Seeley of Wilkes University, R. H. Votaw of Amber University, and Frank Balanis of San Francisco State University, and portions of the manuscript were improved substantially by suggestions from Edward Suntrup of the University of Illinois at Chicago and Bill Cooke of Wayne State University.

Reference materials are particularly important in preparing a text, and reference librarians are thus helpful in pointing out new information and locating it. I have been assisted by several in preparing this text. For the first two editions, JoAnn Sokkar, Mabel Webb, and Phyllis Hutchings of the Industrial Relations Reference Room at the University of Michigan provided this assistance. For editions three, four, and five, Georgianna Herman and Mariann Nelson of the Industrial Relations Center Reference Room at the University of Minnesota have found obscure sources and provided quick turnaround. Library services are very important in preparing a text and also important for students in making the maximum use of the exercises in this book. Research assistants are also an important resource that substantially facilitates text preparation. I was particularly fortunate to have an extremely able research assistant during the period in which this revision took place. Kimberly Scow not only found all the things I needed, she also suggested additional material and topics to emphasize. Her knowledge, thoroughness, and enthusiasm will be of great benefit to her new employer, Chevron Corporation, as she begins her professional career. I owe a great debt of gratitude to all of these Preface

individuals. Any errors or omissions in this text should not be attributed to them. I have occasionally ignored advice which was probably beneficial and may have overlooked information provided by them to me.

Finally, I owe a permanent debt to all of the parents of my family who provided me with the examples and support to undertake an academic career; to my wife, Alta, who has made the personal sacrifices of moving several times, has subordinated her interests during times when I was writing, and has offered the wisest counsel; and to my children Andy and Jean, who had to explain to their friends that their father was not "terminally weird" for spending many consecutive weekends in front of a microcomputer display after being harassed for failing to meet deadlines. And Jean, you can make one last stab at the public school library system by sneaking a copy into the high school library, but unless it circulates more frequently than the ones you put in the grade school and junior high libraries, we'll have to concede that the effort to move labor relations into the elementary and secondary school students' interests has been a failure.

John A. Fossum



1		Labor Unrest	31
INTRODUCTION	2	The IWW and the Western Federation	
What Unions Do	3	of Miners	33
Why Workers Unionize	4	The Boycott Cases	35
Catalyst for Organization	4	Early Legislation	36
Individuals and Union Organizing	5	Trade Union Success and Apathy	37
Beliefs about Unions	9	World War I	37
Beliefs of Employees in General	9	The American Plan	37
Nonunion Respondents	11	The End of an Era	38
Union Members	11	Union Philosophies and Types in the United States	39
Areas of Frustration	12	Summary and Prologue	40
Collective Behavior	12	Discussion Questions	41
Group Cohesiveness	13	Discussion Questions	'1
Unions, Their Members, and Decision	•		
Making	14	3	
Labor Unions in the 1990s	15	THE EVOLUTION OF AMERICAN	
Summary and Preview	17	LABOR: II	42
Plan of the Book	17	Industrial Unions	44
·		The Industrial Union Leadership	44
2		Organizing the Industrial Work Force	44
THE EVOLUTION OF AMERICAN		Legislation	46
LABOR: I	22	Norris-LaGuardia Act (1932)	46
Early Unions and the Conspiracy		National Industrial Recovery Act (1933)	47
Doctrine	24	The Wagner Act (National Labor	40
Philadelphia Cordwainers	24	Relations Act, 1935)	48
Commonwealth v. Hunt	25 25	Employer Intransigence	49
Pre-Civil War Unions		Constitutionality of the Wagner Act	50
The Birth of National Unions	26	Labor Power	51
The National Labor Union	27 27	Pre-World War II	51
The Knights of Labor	27 29	World War II	53 55
The American Federation of Labor	47	Reconversion	"

хi

Changing the Balance	55	Federal Mediation and Conciliation	0.7
Taft-Hartley Act	55	Service D. I.	87
Retrenchment and Merger	57	National Mediation Board National Labor Relations Board	88 88
Merger	58	~	91
Corruption	58	Summary	
Landrum-Griffin Act	60	Discussion Questions	91
Legislative Attempts in the 1970s	61	5	
Public-Sector Union Growth	61	-	
Federal Executive Orders	62	UNION STRUCTURE AND	94
Civil Service Reform Act	63	GOVERNMENT	
State and Local Governments	63	The Local Union	96
Passing the Torch	63	Local Union Democracy and	98
Summary	65	Participation Functional Democracy	100
Discussion Questions	65	·	
2	0,	International Unions	102
1 4		National Union Goals	103
LABOR LAW AND FEDERAL		National Union Jurisdictions	106
AGENCIES	68	National Structure National-Local Union Relationship	108 111
Overview	70	National-Local Union Relationship National Union Politics	113
Railway Labor Act	70	National Unions and Public Policy	114
Overview	72	The AFL-CIO	116
Norris-LaGuardia Act (1932)	73	State and Local Central Bodies	119
Wagner and Taft-Hartley Acts (as	• -		
Amended)	75	Overview of the Union Hierarchy	120
Section 2, Taft-Hartley	75	National Union Mergers	121
Section 3	76	Union Finances	122
Section 7	76	Organization Receipts and	
Section 8	77	Disbursements	122
Section 9	79	Union Officer Compensation	123
Sections 10, 11, and 12	79	Pension Administration	124
Sections 13 through 19	80	Summary	124
Title II	80	Discussion Questions	125
Title III	81	<u>-</u>	
Summary (1050)	81	6	
Landrum-Griffin Act (1959)	81	UNION ORGANIZING AND	
Title I—Bill of Rights for Union	0.1	EMPLOYER RESPONSE	126
Members Title II - Paparta Required of Unions	81	How Organizing Begins	128
Title II—Reports Required of Unions and Employers	82	The Framework for Organizing	128
Title III—Trusteeships	82 82	Representation Elections	130
Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt	O.	Bargaining Unit Determination	134
Organizations Act	83	Legal Constraints	135
Effects of Implementation of Laws	84	Legal Constraints [urisdiction of the Organizing Union]	136
Federal Departments and Agencies	85	The Union's Desired Unit	136
Department of Labor	85	The Union's Desired Unit The Employer's Desired Unit	136
Department of Educati	0,7	The Employer's Desired Office	1/0

NLRB Policy	137	Bargaining Structures	185
Other Issues in Unit Determination	140	Multiemployer Bargaining	186
The Organizing Campaign	141	Industry-Wide Bargaining	187
No Distribution or Solicitation Rules	141	National/Local Bargaining	189
Union Strategy and Tactics	142	Wide-Area and Multicraft Bargaining	189
Management Strategy and Tactics	147	Pattern Bargaining	190
The Role of the NLRB	151	Conglomerates and Multinationals	192
Interrogation	152	Coordinated and Coalition Bargaining	192 192
Communications	152	Public Policy and Court Decisions	192
The 24-Hour Rule	153	Influence of Bargaining Power and Structure	194
Employee Responses to Campaigns	153		
The Effects of Unfair Practices	155	Summary	195
Election Certifications	155	Discussion Questions	196
	157	CASE Material Handling Equipme	nt
Setting Aside Elections The Impact of Board Remedies	157	Association Bargaining	
Election Outcomes	158	Group	198
Decertifications	159		
Contextual Characteristics	.,,		
Influencing Elections	160	8	
Organizing and Membership Trends	161	WAGE AND BENEFIT ISSUES IN	200
Summary	161	BARGAINING	200
Discussion Questions	162	Components of Wage Demands	202
	102	Equity	202
CASE GMFC Custom Conveyor	162	Ability to Pay	202
Division	163	Standard of Living	204
. 7		Pay Programs	204
		Pay Level	205
THE ENVIRONMENT FOR BARGAINING	166	Pay Structure	209
		Pay Form	213 217
The Product and Service Market	168	Pay System	
Public Policy and Industrial		Union Effects on Pay	220
Organization	170	Union Effects on Pay Levels	220
Regulation and Deregulation	171	Union Effects on Pay Structures Union Effects on Pay Form	224 224
Foreign Competition	173	Union Effects on Pay Systems	225
Employer Interests	173		
Labor as a Derived Demand	174	Union Effects on Organizational	225
Labor-Capital Substitution	175	Effectiveness	
Labor Markets	176	Productivity	225
Employee Interests	177	Profitability and Returns to Shareholders	227
Union Interests	177	Wage Issues in Current Contracts	228
Legal Requirements	179	Summary	228
Bargaining Power	181	Discussion Questions	230
Ability to Continue Operations			<u>د</u> کار
(or Take a Strike)	183	CASE Health Care Costs and	221
Union Bargaining Power	185	Employment Levels	231

Contents

xiii

9		Department Involvement	262
NONWAGE ISSUES IN		Reviewing the Expiring Contract	264
BARGAINING	232	Preparing Data for Negotiations	264
Nonwage Provisions of Current		Identification of Probable Union	
Contracts	234	Demands	265
	2)7	Costing the Contract	265
Union and Management Goals for		Negotiation Objectives and the	
Nonwage Issues	234	Bargaining Team	269
Design of Work	234	Bargaining Books	269
Hours of Work	237	Strike Preparation	271
Federal Wage and Hour Laws	239	Strategy and Logistics	272
Collective Bargaining and Work		Union Preparation	272
Schedules	239	National-Level Activities	272
Entitlements to and Restrictions on		Local-Level Preparations	274
Overtime	240	Effects of Union Characteristics on	
Shift Assignments and Differentials	240	Bargaining Outcomes	275
Innovation Work Schedules	240	Negotiation Requests	276
Paid Time Off	241	What Is Bargaining?	276
Length of Contracts	241	Attributes of the Parties	278
Union and Management Rights	242	Perceptions of Bargainers	279
Discipline and Discharge	243	Theories of Bargaining Tactics	280
Grievance and Arbitration	243	Bluffing	281
Strikes and Lockouts	244	Behavioral Theories of Labor	
Union Security	245	Negotiations	282
Working Conditions and Safety	246	Integrative Bargaining Attitudinal Structuring	282 285
Seniority and Job Security	247	Intraorganizational Bargaining	285
Layoff Procedures	248	Use of the Components in Bargaining	287
Promotions and Transfers	249	Negotiations	289
Equal Employment Opportunity and		Initial Presentations	289
Seniority	249	Bargaining on Specific Issues	289
Effects of Unions on Nonwage			290
Outcomes	250	Tactics in Distributive Bargaining	291
Union Influences on Hiring	250	Committing to a Position	
Promotions, Transfers, and Turnover	251	Settlements and Ratifications	291
Retirement Programs	253	Nonagreement	292
Job Satisfaction	254	Recent Changes in Bargaining	504
Commitment to the Union	255	Outcomes	294
Summary	256	Summary	296
Discussion Questions	257	Discussion Questions	296
		Negotiating Exercise	298
CASE GMFC Attitude Survey	258	A. Contract Costing	298
		B. Approach	305
• 10		C. Demands	305
CONTRACT NEGOTIATIONS	260	D. Organization for Negotiations	306
	262	E. Negotiations	306
Management Preparation	202	F. Additional Information	3 07

Agreement between General		12	
Manufacturing & Fabrication		UNION-MANAGEMENT	
Company and Local 384, United		COOPERATION	374
Steelworkers of America	313	Labor and Management Roles and the	9
		Changing Environment	376
		Organizing and the Evolving Bargainin	g
		Relationship	3 76
• 11		Preferences of Management and Labor	377
IMPASSES AND THEIR		Levels of Cooperation and Control	377
RESOLUTION	338	Integrative Bargaining	378
Impasse Definition	34 0	Creating and Sustaining Cooperation	380
Third-Party Involvement	340	Methods of Cooperation	381
Mediation	340	Area-Wide Labor-Management	
Mediator Behavior and Outcomes	343	Committees	382
Mediator Backgrounds and Training	347	Joint Labor-Management Committees	383
Mediator Activity	349	Relations by Objectives	383
Fact-Finding	349	• ,	
Taft-Hartley Fact-Finding	350	Workplace Interventions	384
Railway Labor Boards	351	The Scanlon Plan	388
Fact-Finding and the Issues	351	Rucker Plans Impro-Share	391 392
Interest Arbitration	351	Quality Circles and Team Concepts	392
Review of Third-Party Involvements	352	Labor-Management Committees	396
Strikes	352	Quality-of-Work-Life and Employee	,,,
Strike Votes and Going Out	353	Involvement Programs	396
Picketing	354	Union Political Processes and the	
Slowdowns	355	Diffusion of Change	398
Corporate Campaigns	356	Management Strategy	399
Shutdowns	356	Research on the Effects of Cooperation	300
Continued Operations	357	across Organizations	399
Rights of Economic Strikers	358	Research on the Long-Run Effects of Cooperation	400
Contracting Out	359	•	402
Evidence on the Incidence, Duration,	360	Employee Stock Ownership Plans	402
and Effects of Strikes		The Diffusion and Institutionalization of Change	402
Overview	364		
Boycotts	365	Summary	403
Lockouts	367	Discussion Questions	404
Perishable Goods	367	CASE Continuing or Abandoning	
Multiemployer Lockouts	367	the Special-Order	
Single-Employer Lockouts	368	Fabrication Business	405
Bankruptcies	369		
Summary	370	13	
Discussion Questions	371	CONTRACT ADMINISTRATION	408
CASE GMFC Impasse	372	The Duty to Bargain	410
CASE GME Unipasse	114	THE DUTY TO DAIRAIN	110

Contents xv

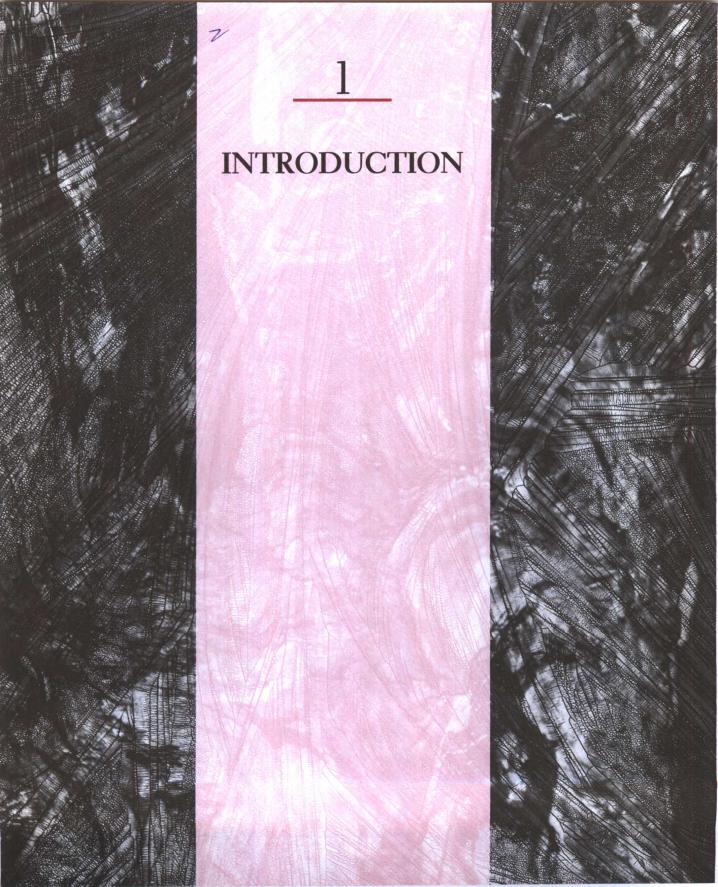
Issues in Contract Administration	410	Lincoln Mills	439
Discipline	410	Steelworkers' Trilogy	439
Incentives	411	The 1962 Trilogy	441
Work Assignments	411	Recent Supreme Court Decisions on	
Individual Personnel Assignments	412	Arbitration	441
Hours of Work	412	NLRB Deferral to Arbitration	442
Supervisors Doing Production Work	412	Exceptions to Deferral	443
Production Standards	412	Arbitration Procedures	444
Working Conditions	412	Prearbitration Matters	445
Subcontracting	413	Selection of an Arbitrator	445
Past Practice	413	Sources and Qualifications of	
Rules	413	Arbitrators	446
Prevalence of Issues	414	National Academy of Arbitrators	448
Grievance Procedures	414	American Arbitration Association	448
Steps in the Grievance Procedure	414	Federal Mediation and Conciliation	
Time Involved	417	Service	449
	418	Prehearing	449
Methods of Dispute Resolution	418	Hearing Processes	452
Striking over Grievances	418	Representatives of the Parties	452
Wildcat Strikes	420	Presentation of the Case	453
Discipline for Wildcat Strikes	420 421	Posthearing	453
Grievance Mediation	74.1	Evidentiary Rules	453
Employee and Union Rights in		Arbitral Remedies	455
Grievance Processing	421	Preparation of the Award	455
To What Is the Employee Entitled?	422	Procedural Difficulties and Their	
Fair Representation	423	Resolutions	456
Individual Rights under the Contract	423	Expedited Arbitration	457
Grievances and Bargaining	425	Inadequate Representation	458
Union Responses to Management			
Action	426	Arbitration of Discipline Cases	460
Fractional Bargaining	426	Role of Discipline	460
Union Initiatives in Grievances	427	Evidence	460
Individual Union Members and		Uses of Punishment	461
Grievances	429	Arbitration of Past Practice Disputes	462
Effects of Grievances on Employers		Arbitral Decisions and the Role of	
and Employees	431	Arbitration	463
• •	434	Summary	464
Summary		Discussion Questions	464
Discussion Questions	434	_	
CASE	435	CASES	4 67
14		1 5	
THE ARBITRATION OF		PUBLIC-SECTOR LABOR	
GRIEVANCES	436	RELATIONS	470
What Is Arbitration?	438	Public-Sector Labor Law	472
Development of Arbitration	438	Federal Labor Relations Law	472
Development of Atolication	170	LUCCIAL EMBOT AMERICAN EMP	.,_

Civil Service Reform Act, Title VII	472	Environmental Factors Associated with	į
State Labor Laws	473	Union Avoidance	505
Jurisdictions and Employees	474	Transient Employees and	
Sources of Employment	474	Representation	506
Levels of Government	474	A Philosophy-Laden Approach to	
Types of Employee Groups	474	Employee Relations	507
Public Employee Unions	476	Wage Policies	507
Bargaining Units and Organizing	4 77	Nonwage Policies	509
Public-Sector Bargaining Processes	478	Personnel Expenditures	510
Bargaining Structures	478	Employment Security	510
Management Organization for		Employee "Voice" Systems	511
Bargaining	479	Other Innovative Techniques	516
Multilateral Bargaining	479	Employer/Employee Committees	516
Bargaining Outcomes	481	Developing Practices in Nonunion	
Impasse Procedures	483	Employee Relations	517
Fact-Finding	484	Summary	519
Statutory Role of the Fact-Finder	486	Discussion Questions	519
Fact-Finding Results	486	CASE	
Criteria for Fact-Finding	400	CASE	520
Recommendations	488 488		
Arbitration Interest Arbitration Variants		. 17	
Final-Offer Arbitration	489	17	
Results of Final-Offer Laws	490	A SURVEY OF LABOR RELATIONS IN DEVELOPED	
What Is a Final Offer?	492	MARKET ECONOMIES	522
An Alternative to Final-Offer Selection			,,,,
Evidence on the Narcotic Effect	493	The Development of Labor	524
Arbitration and Maturing Labor		Movements	. — .
Relations	494	The Structure of Labor Movements	526
Arbitral Criteria	494 495	Organizing and Representation	528
The Utility of Arbitration for Unions Strikes	496	Bargaining Issues	529
Summary	498	Bargaining Structures	530
Discussion Questions	499	Impasses	531
		Union-Management Cooperation	531
CASE	500	Contract Administration	534
16		Public-Sector Unionization	534
EMPLOYEE RELATIONS IN		Summary	535
NONUNION ORGANIZATIONS	502	Discussion Questions	535
What Is Employee Relations?	504	_	
"Union-Free" Organizations	504	GLOSSARY	536
Union Avoidance	505	INDEX	548



LABOR RELATIONS

Development, Structure, Process



Labor relations and employment experienced major changes during the 1980s. The proportion of employees represented by unions declined substantially; unionized employees in many industries have agreed to economic concessions; and employers became more successful in resisting union-organizing campaigns. Many commentators marked the 1981 air traffic controllers' strike and their subsequent discharge by the federal government as a major event in the recent decline in union power. The decline in union membership has been particularly marked in the United States, but membership in other western countries also has declined as the employment structure has changed from goods to service production and from manual to mental labor.

Some conditions that developed in the 1980s, such as foreign competition and an emphasis on increased profitability, continue to strongly influence labor relations in the 1990s. Unlike in the 1980s, the United States faces a shortage of high-quality labor in the 1990s. This is partly because of demographic changes related to the "baby bust" of the 1960s and 1970s and because of inadequate education and training. Employers no longer have a cushion of a large number of qualified unemployed persons to fill the jobs of striking union members. Also in the 90s, unions have changed some traditional ways of serving present and potential members that could lead to their gaining strength during the decade.

WHAT UNIONS DO

Unions evoke a lot of controversy. People generally have strong opinions about their effects and tactics. As will be noted in the history sections that follow, unions have been a part of U.S. history for as long as the nation has existed. Working men and women have felt a need to collectivize to negotiate pay and working conditions with employers, believing that employers had interests that conflicted with theirs.

As also will be noted in more detail later, one reason unions are controversial is because unionization restricts labor supply and creates monopoly power for employees who are represented by unions. On the other hand, the public regards unions as important because they provide employees a voice in how the employment relationship is implemented in their workplaces. Thus, unions are expected to benefit their members

¹ For a comprehensive examination, see Thomas A. Kochan, Harry C. Katz, and Robert B. McKersie, *The Transformation of American Industrial Relations* (New York: Basic Books, 1986).

² Leo Troy, "Is the U.S. Unique in the Decline of Private Sector Unionism," Journal of Labor Research 11 (1990), pp. 111-43.

(monopoly power), possibly at the financial expense of the public, and to benefit the public at large through labor contracts and their requirement that employers must respond to employee grievances (voice power).³

There are large differences in the degree to which industries and occupations are unionized. Some of the differences relate to the mix of occupations by industries and some to the age and employment practices of the industries. Job attributes influence the degree of unionization; job situations in which employer-specific knowledge is required and where internal workplace governance issues more strongly influence outcomes to workers are more heavily unionized.⁴

WHY WORKERS UNIONIZE

About 15 percent of the U.S. employees belong to unions. The proportions of represented employees differs greatly across occupations and industries, as does the point in American history at which occupations and industries were organized.

Employees become union members through one of three different processes. First, nonunion employees may decide they would benefit from representation and organize a union to bargain collectively for them. Second, an employee working in a unit covered by a collective bargaining agreement may decide to join the union. Third, newly hired employees may be required by the contract to join the union as a condition of continued employment.

Catalyst for Organization

A variety of employee, economic, and job characteristics are related to unionism and unionization. The monopoly power and voice roles of unions are obviously important to employees, but other aspects such as job content, experience, age, gender, and so forth are also related to willingness to form or join a union.⁵ Specific events probably trigger organizing activity for employees of any given employer. Employee dis-

³ Richard B. Freeman and James L. Medoff, What Do Unions Do? (New York: Basic Books, 1984).

⁴ Greg Hundley, "Things Unions Do, Job Attributes, and Union Membership," *Industrial Relations* 28 (1989), pp. 335–55.

⁵ Jack Fiorito, Daniel G. Gallagher, and Charles R. Greer, "Determinants of Unionism: A Review of the Literature," In *Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management*, ed. Kendrith Rowland and Gerald Ferris (Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press, 1986), pp. 269-306.