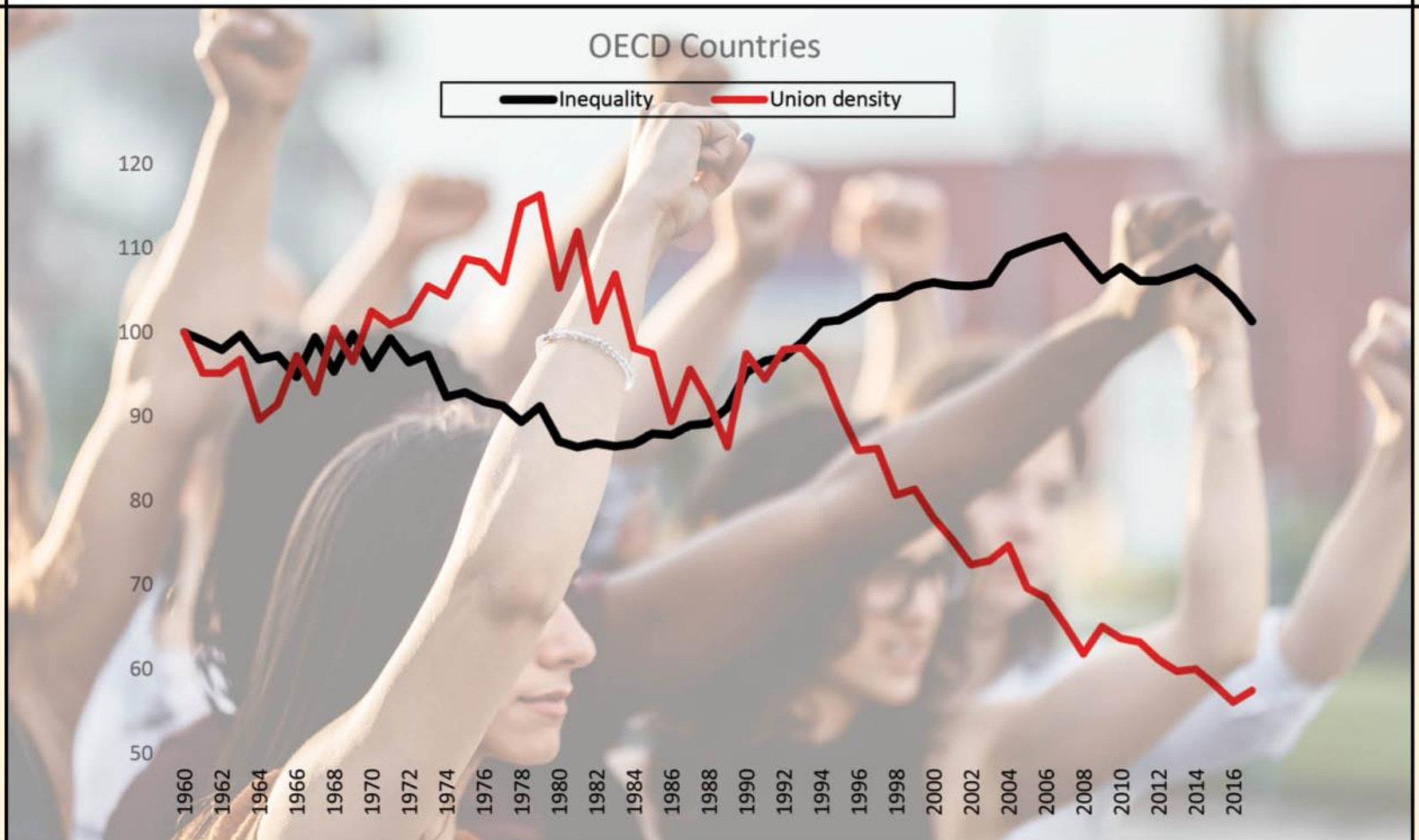


# IID

HISTORICAL DICTIONARY of

# ORGANIZED LABOR



SJAAK VAN DER VELDEN

FOURTH  
EDITION



# HID HISTORICAL DICTIONARY

The historical dictionaries present essential information on a broad range of subjects, including American and world history, art, business, cities, countries, cultures, customs, film, global conflicts, international relations, literature, music, philosophy, religion, sports, and theater. Written by experts, all contain highly informative introductory essays of the topic and detailed chronologies that, in some cases, cover vast historical time periods but still manage to heavily feature more recent events.

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# Historical Dictionary of Organized Labor

*Fourth Edition*

Sjaak van der Velden

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## Editor's Foreword

Organized labor has been around for a long time, indeed, for centuries, and it has gone through good times and bad times. Now it is passing through a bit of both. In the regions where unions struck root first and were long strongest, namely Western Europe and North America, the situation is preoccupying, to say the least. This is shown by falling memberships and also definite setbacks in legislation, rights, and earnings. On the other hand, unions are making very definite progress in places where they had previously had the most difficulty, namely Eastern Europe and the Third World. There are more members than ever, not just marginally but substantially so, and this is already a fairly long-term trend. Not everywhere, but in enough places to make a difference, the legislation is stronger, labor rights are more extensive, and even earnings are usually up, although starting from a rather low base.

So the overall situation projects a very mixed picture, and only by viewing it from all angles can one even begin to grasp where organized labor stands today. Such an understanding is obviously the goal of the *Historical Dictionary of Organized Labor*, now appearing in its fourth edition. A good place to start is the chronology, which traces this very long evolution, marking the high points and the low points globally or in specific countries. This is fleshed out in the introduction, which traces the major trends. But the bulk of the information appears in the dictionary section, with numerous entries on significant persons and events as well as literally dozens of specific countries and noteworthy trade unions. The labor movement has its own terminology, which it is essential to know, and the most important terms have their own entries while a broader range appears in the glossary. It is also full of acronyms, many so well known by insiders that they use them regularly rather than the actual names, and readers who are less familiar would be wise to check in the list. Those who want more specific figures should once again turn to the many, essentially updated appendixes. And anyone seeking further information will be helped considerably by the bibliography.

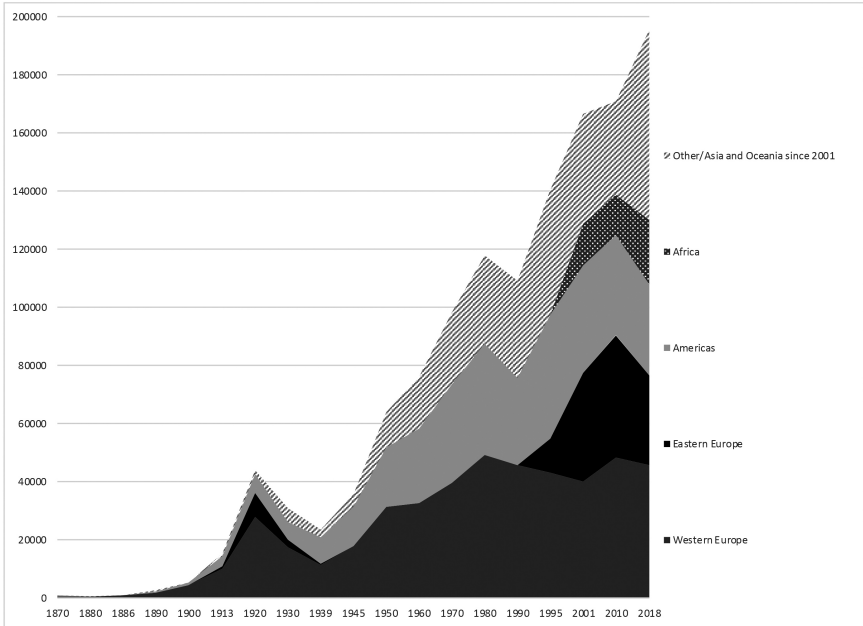
The first two editions of this volume were written by James C. Docherty, who also wrote the *Historical Dictionary of Australia* (1992, 1999) and the *Historical Dictionary of Socialism* (1996, 2004). An Australian, he got to know the unions the best way, by being a union member for several decades, and he also learned about them through a long career with, among others, the Australian Bureau of Statistics, the federal Department of Industrial Relations, the federal Department of Immigration, and the National Centre for Australian Studies at Monash University. The third and fourth editions,

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strongly rooted in the previous two, were written by Sjaak van der Velden. He is Dutch and studied history at Leiden University, where he wrote a thesis on strikes in the Netherlands. But, like Jim Docherty, he also learned about unions by being an active member. Then, in 2007, he built an international hub on labor conflicts for the International Institute of Social History, and presently he hosts the repository on labor conflicts there. In 2011, he co-organized the International Conference on Strikes and Social Conflicts in Lisbon. He, too, has written extensively, including numerous articles and 25 books. This cumulative work is precious because it provides both a long and broad view of the labor movement by persons who know it from inside.

Jon Woronoff  
Series Editor

# Organized Labor: World Membership, 1870–2018



Organized Labor: Membership per Continent, 1870–2018 (Percentages of Global Membership)

Year	W. Europe/ EU since 2010	E. Europe	Americas	Africa	Other/ Asia & Oceania since 2001	Total
<b>Membership (thousands)</b>						
1870	486	4	300		0	790
1880	545	0	50		11	606
1886	828	0	101		53	1.891
1890	"1,917"	0	325		263	2.505
1900	4193	235	869		133	5.43
1913	10060	685	3787		589	14.121
1920	27692	8501	6367		1221	43.781
1930	17357	2538	6199		4780	30.874
1939	11493	100	9111		2920	23.624
1945	17913	0	13632		4020	35.565
1950	31213	0	20523		12063	63.799
1960	32794	0	25364		17853	76.011
1970	39625	0	34005		24687	98.317
1980	49314	0	38103		30317	117.734
1990	45553	5	30328		33207	114.087
1995	42904	11839	42503		42996	140.241
2001	39999	37526	36890	14183	38085	166.683
2010	48108	42179	34442	14173	32081	175.393
2018	45568	30997	31133	22423	65366	200.133
	<b>European Union</b>	<b>Rest of Europe</b>	<b>Americas</b>		<b>Other</b>	<b>Total</b>

# Preface

Since this dictionary was first published, its subject has undergone many changes, but its aims have remained the same. It continues to be an introduction and invitation to the historical study of organized labor. It is about what organized labor has done or tried to do rather than what it ought to have been. It is about a mass movement with powerful enemies as its activities challenge the political-economic order. They have always resisted its presence, even if they have used different means. In Western nations, organized labor receives generally negative media coverage. It is routinely portrayed as a threat to the operation of a free-market economy by those who effectively own and control that economy. The crude violence toward organized labor of the past may have largely gone in Western nations, although often returning, but continues to be standard practice in most developing countries. Yet others have criticized organized labor for not being part of the vanguard of radical economic and social change. This work takes no position on what organized labor should or should not be but views it in its own terms, setting out its characteristics and trends. It also makes a plea for organized labor to be treated less as a marginal topic in the general and economic histories of most countries. This attitude may seem understandable since the trade union movement once again faces many difficulties of which the diminishing trade **union density** is only one. Labor unions still do play an important role in the economies of these countries, especially in wage setting.

This dictionary is not a one-volume encyclopedia but a work of first resort for the subject. It is designed as a research tool and to complement the *Historical Dictionary of Socialism* (2006, third edition available since 2015) by Peter Lamb, also published by Rowman & Littlefield. It provides around 600 entries covering most countries, international as well as national labor organizations, major labor unions, leaders, and other aspects of organized labor such as changes in the composition of its membership. References to ideas and political parties have been kept to a minimum because they are addressed in *Historical Dictionary of Socialism*. There are appendixes containing lists of leaders of international labor organizations, strike statistics, and union membership statistics. Much of this information is difficult to obtain, and no other work brings it together as it has been in this historical dictionary.

The entries are biased toward institutions because they have usually been the stage of organized labor for most of its history. They are also a useful way of capturing the unsuccessful as well as the successful part of the histori-

cal process. The entries are selective and make no claim to cover everything or even to be necessarily representative. They are primarily concerned with the 20th century and the present and reflect my judgment about what is important in a work of this kind.

The first aim in this dictionary is to make the subject as accessible as possible. Many of the works on organized labor assume a familiarity with the subject that not all their readers may have. Those unfamiliar with the topic should consider reading first the introduction and then the entries on the **United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, the United States, and Japan.** The appendixes and the bibliography, which also contains a guide to relevant Internet websites, are designed to complement the entries and to act as signposts for finding out more about subjects that have been neglected in the body of the dictionary.

The second aim is to show the variety of labor studies. Economists, political scientists, sociologists, and lawyers have long been well represented in this field, often long before historians showed any interest. These disciplines are valuable as they ask new questions about organized labor or offer improved frameworks for analysis. Similarly, labor relations has much to offer by its synthetic approach even though its concerns are typically with the present rather than the past.

The third aim is to encourage a greater international outlook on the topic than is apparent in most works on organized labor. In an era of globalization, the need for this may seem self-evident, but studies of organized labor are still prone to stress the special features of the country being studied rather than show how they fit into and shape global trends.

The limitations of space in a work covering such a large subject like this one mean that many important matters often must be treated with brutal brevity, which increases the chances of errors and misleading statements. Where these occur, they are my responsibility alone and I would appreciate being told of them. That disclaimer aside, it is my pleasure to thank those who have taught me about the subject in the past two decades. Without them I wouldn't be able to write a book like this. These are in alphabetical order Marcelo Badaró Mattos (Brazil), Linda Briskin (Canada), Heiner Dribbusch (Germany), Dave Lyddon (United Kingdom), the late William A. Pelz (United States), Agustin Santella (Argentina), Marcel Van der Linden (Netherlands), Kurt Vandaele (Belgium), Raquel Varela (Portugal), and Wessel Visser (South Africa). But most of all I am indebted to James C. Docherty from Australia, who in 2010 invited me to join him in preparing the third edition. Most of this volume still remembers his writing of earlier editions. I consider myself not more than the guy who updated James's work.

To facilitate the rapid and efficient location of information and to make this book as useful a reference tool as possible, extensive cross-references have been provided. Within individual entries and other parts of the text,



terms that have their own dictionary entries are in boldface type the first time they appear. Related terms that do not appear in the text are indicated in the *See also*. *See* refers to other entries that deal with the topic.

Because I was struck with COVID-19 at the end of 2020, Huub Sanders, my friend and colleague at the International Institute of Social History, took over the task of checking and correcting the proof of this book. I feel indebted to him.

Sjaak van der Velden  
Leiden, 2020



## Acronyms and Abbreviations

AA	Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers (United States, 1876–1942)
AATUF	All-African Trade Union Federation (1961–1973)
ACFTU	All-China Federation of Trade Unions (1925–1966, 1978)
ACTU	Australian Council of Trade Unions (1927)
ACWA	Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (1914)
AEU	Amalgamated Engineering Union (United Kingdom, 1920–2002); Australian Education Union (1984)
AFL	American Federation of Labor (1886–1955)
AFL-CIO	American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations (1955)
AFRO	African Regional Organisation of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (1960)
AFSCME	American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (1932)
AFT	American Federation of Teachers (1916)
ALP	Australian Labor Party (1891)
ALU	American Labor Union (1898–1905)
AMWU	Amalgamated Metal Workers’ Union (Australia, 1852–1995)
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum (1989)
APLN	Asia-Pacific Labour Network (1995)
APRO	Asian and Pacific Regional Organisation of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (1984)
ASCJ	Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (United Kingdom, 1860–1971; Australia, 1860–1992)
ASE	Amalgamated Society of Engineers (United Kingdom, 1851–1920)
ATLU	Antigua Trades and Labour Union (1939)
ATUC	African Trade Union Confederation (1962–1973)

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AWU	Australian Workers' Union (1894)
BATU	Brotherhood of Asian Trade Unions (1963–2007)
BITU	Bustamente Industrial Trade Union (Jamaica, 1938)
BIU	Bermuda Industrial Union (1946)
BKDP	Belarusian Congress of Democratic Trade Unions (1993)
BWA	Bermuda Workers Association (1944)
BWI	Building and Wood Workers' International (2005)
CAT	Central Autónoma de Trabajadores (Autonomous Workers' Center) (Chile, 1995)
CATUS	Confederation of Autonomous Trade Unions of Serbia (1903)
CBTUC	Commonwealth of the Bahamas Trade Union Congress (1976)
CCOO	Confederación Sindical de Comisiones Obreras (Union Confederation of Workers' Commissions) (Spain, 1960s)
CCSL	Confederaçao Caboverdiana dos Sindicatos Livres (Cape Verde Confederation of Free Trade Unions) (1992)
CCTU	Central Council of Trade Unions (Bulgaria, 1944–1989)
CDTN	Confédération Démocratique des Travailleurs du Niger (Democratic Confederation of Workers of Niger) (2001)
CEC	Confédération Européenne des Cadres (European Confederation of Managers) (1989)
CEF	Confédération Internationale des Fonctionnaires (International Confederation of Public Servants) (1955)
CELU	Confederation of Ethiopian Labour Unions (1963)
CEOSL	Confederación Ecuatoriana de Organizaciones Sindicales Libres (Ecuadorian Confederation of Free Trade Unions) (1962)
CESI	Confédération Européenne des Syndicats Indépendants (Confederation of Independent European Trade Unions) (1990)
CETU	Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions (1986)
CFTC	Confédération Française des Travailleurs Chrétiens (French Confederation of Christian Workers) (1919)
CFDT	Confédération Française Démocratique (French Democratic Confederation of Labor) (1964)

CGATA	Confédération Générale Autonome des Travailleurs en Algérie (Autonomous General Confederation of Algerian Workers)
CGIL	Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro (General Confederation of Italian Labor) (1944)
CGL	Confederazione Generale di Lavoro (General Confederation of Labor) (Italy, 1906–1924)
CGS	Confederación General de Sindicatos (General Confederation of Trade Unions) (El Salvador, 1958)
CGSL	Confédération Gabonaise des Syndicats Libres (Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Gabon) (1992)
CGT	Confédération Générale du Travail (General Confederation of Labor) (France, 1895); Confederación General de Trabajo (General Confederation of Labor) (Mexico, 1921); Central Geral dos Trabalhadores (General Confederation of Labor) (Brazil, 1986); Confederación General del Trabajo (General Confederation of Labor) (Argentina, 1930)
CGTA	Confédération Générale des Travailleurs Africains (General Confederation of African Workers) (Senegal and Mauritania, 1956)
CGT-B	Confédération Générale des Travailleurs du Burkina (General Workers' Confederation of Burkina) (1988)
CGT-FO	Confédération Générale du Travail-Force Ouvrière (General Confederation of Labor-Workers' Strength) (France, 1948)
CI	Communications International (1997–2000)
CIF	Confédération Internationale des Fonctionnaires (International Confederation of Public Servants) (1955)
CIO	Congress of Industrial Organizations (United States, 1933–1955)
CIT	Confederación Interamericana de Trabajadores (Interamerican Confederation of Workers) (1948–1951)
CITUB	Confederation of Independent Trade Unions of Bulgaria (KNSB in Bulgarian, 1944)
CIWA	Cook Islands Workers Association (2000s)
CNETU	Council of Non-European Trade Unions (South Africa, 1942–1955)

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CNSLR	Confederatia Nationala a Sindicatelor Libere din România (National Free Trade Union Confederation of Romania) (1990)
CNT	Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores Libres (National Confederation of Free Workers) (Dominican Republic, 1962); Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (Spain, 1910–1939)
CNTB	Confédération Nationale des Travailleurs Burkinabé (National Confederation of Burkina Workers) (1948)
CNTD	Confederacion Nacional de Trabajadores Dominicanos (National Confederation of Dominican Workers) (1971)
CNTS	Confédération Nationale des Travailleurs du Sénégal (National Confederation of Workers of Senegal) (1969)
CNV	Christelijk Nationaal Vakverbond (Christian National Trade Union) (Netherlands, 1909)
COB	Central Obrera Boliviana (Bolivian Workers' Confederation) (1952)
COHSE	Confederation of Health Service Employees (United Kingdom, 1946–1993)
COLSIBA	Coordinadora Latinoamericana de Sindicatos Bananeros y Agroindustriales (Latin American Coordinator of Banana and Agro-industrial Unions) (1993)
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions (1985)
COSI	Confédération des Organisations Syndicales Indépendantes du Bénin (Confederation of Independent Trade Union Organizations of Benin) (1997)
COSYGA	Confédération Syndicale Gabonaise (Gabonese Trade Union Confederation) (1969)
COTU	Central Organization of Trade Unions (Kenya, 1965)
COZZ	Centrum Organizowania Związków Zawodowych (Central European Organizing Center) (2016)
CPUSTAL	Congreso Permanente de Unidad Sindical de Los Trabajadores de America Latina (Permanent Congress of Trade Union Unity of Latin American Workers) (1964–2001)
CROM	Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana (Regional Confederation of Mexican Wage Earners) (1918)

CSA	Confederación Sindical de Trabajadores y Trabajadoras de Las Americas (Trade Union Confederation of the Americas) (2008)
CSB	Confédération Syndicale Burkinabé (Burkinabe Trade Union Confederation)
CSEU	Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions (United Kingdom, 1891)
CSH	Centrale Syndicale Humanisme (Central Humanist Union) (Côte d'Ivoire, 2010)
ČS-KOS	Česka a Slovenská Konfederace Odborových (Czech and Slovak Confederation of Trade Unions) (1989–1993)
CSTB	Confederación Sindical de Trabajadores de Bolivia (Trade Union Confederation of Bolivian Workers) (1936–1952)
CSTC	Confédération Syndicale des Travailleurs du Cameroun (Union Confederation of Cameroon Workers) (1992)
CTAL	Confederación de Trabajadores de America Latina (Confederation of Latin American Workers) (1938–1962)
CTC	Confederacion de Trabajadores de Colombia (Confederation of Colombian Workers) (1938–1992); Confederación de Trabajadores de Cuba (Confederation of Workers of Cuba) (1939–1959)
CTM	Confederación de Trabajadores de Mexico (Confederation of Mexican Workers) (1936)
CTUA	Confederation of Trade Unions of Armenia (1992)
CTUC	Commonwealth Trade Union Council (1979–2004)
CTV	Confederación des Trabajadores de Venezuela (Confederation of Workers of Venezuela) (1936)
CTW	Change to Win (United States, 2005)
CUT	Central Unica de Trabajadores (United Workers' Center) (Chile, 1953–1973); Central Unitaria de Trabajadores (Chile, 1988) (Colombia, 1986–1992); Central Unica dos Trabalhadores (Brazil, 1983)
CWA	Communications Workers' Union of America (1945)
DAF	Deutsche Arbeitsfront (German Labor Front) (1933–1945)
DBB	Beamtenbund und Tarifunion (Public Sector Association and Wage Union) (1918)

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DGB	Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund (German Trade Union Federation) (1947)
DISK	Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (Turkey, 1967)
DMV	Deutscher Metallarbeiter-Verband (German Metalworkers' Union) (1891–1933)
EAKL	Estonian Trade Union Confederation (1990)
EI	Education International (1993)
ELA	Euskal Sindikatua (Basque Trade Union) (1911)
EPZ	export processing zone ( <i>maquiladora, maquila</i> ) (1965)
ETUC	European Trade Union Confederation (1973)
ETUF	Egyptian Trade Union Federation (1956)
EU	European Union (1993)
EuroCop	European Confederation of Police (2001)
FDGB	Freier Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund (Free German Confederation of Trade Unions) (1945–1990)
FESTU	Federation of Somali Trade Unions (2010)
FFW	Free Federation of Workers (Puerto Rico, 1899)
FICSA	Federation of International Civil Servants' Associations (1952)
FIET	Fédération Internationale des Employés, Techniciens et Cadres (International Federation of Commercial, Clerical, Professional, and Technical Employees) (1921)
FIMEE	Federation of Industrial Manufacturing and Engineering Employees (Australia, 1911)
FIOM	Federazione Italiana Operai Metallurgici (Italian Union of Metalworkers) (1901–1924, 1944–1972)
FLTU	Federation of Lao Trade Unions (1975)
FNV	Federatie Nederlandse Vakbeweging (Netherlands Trade Union Confederation) (1980)
FOA	Federación Obrera Argentina (Argentinian Workers' Federation) (1901–1902)
FOC	flags of convenience (1920s)
FOSATU	Federation of South African Trade Unions (1979–1985)
FOTLU	Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States of America and Canada (1881)



FO-UNSL	Force Ouvrière–Union Nationale des Syndicats Libres (Workers’ Power–National Union of Free Trade Unions) (Burkina Faso, 1995)
FPK	Federation of Trade Unions of the Republic of Kazakhstan (1990); Kyrgyzstan Federation of Trade Unions (1990)
FTU-B	Federation of Trade Unions–Burma (1991)
FTUKC	Free Trade Union of the Kingdom of Cambodia (1996)
FUT	Frente Unitario de Trabajadores (United Workers’ Front) (Ecuador, 1971)
GCTU	General Confederation of Trade Unions (VKP in Russian, 1992)
GJFTU	General Federation of Jordanian Trade Unions (1954)
GFTU	General Federation of Trade Unions (United Kingdom, 1899)
GFTUK	General Federation of Trade Unions of Korea (North Korea, 1948)
GFWTU	General Federation of Workers’ Trade Unions (Yemen, 1990)
GGWU	Grenada General Workers Union (1933–1955)
GLU	Gambia Labour Union (1928)
GMWU	General and Municipal Workers’ Union (United Kingdom, 1924)
GNCTU	Grand National Consolidated Trades Union (United Kingdom, 1834–1835)
GSEE	General Confederation of Greek Labor (1918)
GTUC	Ghana Trades Union Congress (c. 1956); Georgian Trade Union Confederation (1992)
GUF	Global Union Federation (called international trade secretariat till 2002)
GWA	Grenada Workers Association (1913–1933)
GWU	Gambia Workers’ Union (1958); Grenada Workers’ Union (1933–1955); General Workers’ Union (Malta, 1943)
Histradut	General Federation of Labor in Israel (1920)
HKCTU	Confederation of Trade Unions of Hong Kong (c. 1997)
HKFTU	Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions (1948)

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HKTUC	Hong Kong and Kowloon Trade Union Council (1949)
IALHI	International Association of Labour History Institutions (1970)
IBT	International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen, and Helpers of America (1903)
ICATU	International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions (1956)
ICEM	International Federation of Chemical, Energy, Mine, and General Workers (1964)
ICFTU	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (1949–2006)
ICTUR	International Centre for Trade Union Rights (1987)
IFBWW	International Federation of Building and Wood Workers (1934)
IFCTU	International Federation of Christian Trade Unions (1920)
IFFTU	International Federation of Free Teachers' Unions (1928)
IFJ	International Federation of Journalists (1952)
IFPAW	International Federation of Plantation, Agricultural, and Allied Workers (1960)
IFSDRW	International Federation of Ship, Dock and River Workers (1896–1898)
IFTU	International Federation of Trade Unions (1901–1945)
IFWPAU	International Federation of Workers in Public Administration and Utilities (1907–1935)
IG Metall	Industriegewerkschaft Metall (Metalworkers' Industrial Union) (Germany, 1950)
IGF	International Graphical Federation (1949)
IIRA	International Industrial Relations Association (1966)
ILGWU	International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (United States, 1900–1995)
ILO	International Labour Organization (1919)
IMF	International Metalworkers' Federation (1904–1995); International Monetary Fund (1944)
ISAMMETU	International Secretariat for Arts, Mass Media, and Entertainment Trade Unions (1965–1995)
ITF	International Transport Workers' Federation (1898)

ITGLWF	International Textile, Garment, and Leather Workers' Federation (1970)
ITH	Internationale Tagung der Historiker der Arbeiterbewegung (International Conference of Labour Historians) (1964)
ITS	International Trade Secretariat (called global union federation after 2002)
ITU	International Typographical Union (United States, 1869)
ITUC	International Trade Union Confederation (2006)
IUF	International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco, and Allied Workers' Associations (1994)
IUFAWA	International Union of Food and Allied Workers' Associations (1920)
IWW	Industrial Workers of the World (United States, 1905)
KOR	Komitet Obrony Robotnikow (Workers' Defense Committee) (Poland, 1976)
KSBiH	Konfederacija Sindikate Bosne i Hercegovine (Trade Union Confederation of Bosnia and Herzegovina) (2005)
KTUC	Kiribati Trades Union Congress (1982)
KTUF	Kuwait Trade Union Federation (1968)
LFLU	Liberian Federation of Labor Unions (1979)
LIGA	Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions (Hungary, 1989)
LO	Landsorganisationen i Sverige (Labor Union Federation of Sweden) (1898); Landsorganisasjonen i Norge (Labor Union Federation of Norway) (1899); Landsorganisationen i Danmark (Federation of Danish Trade Unions) (1898)
MEI	Media and Entertainment International (1995–2000)
MIF	Miners' International Federation (1890–1995)
MSzOSz	Magyar Szakszervezetek Országos Szövetsége Tagszervezeteinek Címlistája (National Confederation of Hungarian Trade Unions) (1990)
MWF	Mineworkers' Federation of Great Britain (1890–1945)
NACTU	National Council of Trade Unions (South Africa, 1986)
NALC	Negro American Labor Council (1960)

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NALGO	National and Local Government Officers' Association (United Kingdom, 1946–1993)
NCEW	National Confederation of Eritrean Workers (1979)
NCTU	National Congress of Trade Unions (Bahamas, 1995)
NEA	National Education Association (United States, 1857)
NLRB	National Labor Relations Board (United States, 1934)
NLU	National Labor Union (United States, 1866–1876)
NSZZ	Solidarnosc Niezalezny Samorzadny Zwaiazek Zawodowy (Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity) (Poland, 1980)
NUM	National Union of Mineworkers (South Africa, 1982)
NUMSA	National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (1987)
NUPE	National Union of Public Employees (United Kingdom, 1928–1993)
NVV	Nederlands Verbond van Vakverenigingen (Netherlands Trade Union Confederation) (1906–1980)
NWU	National Workers' Union of Jamaica (1952)
OATUU	Organization of African Trade Union Unity (1973); Organization of American Trade Union Unity (1973)
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (1961)
ÖGB	Österreichischer Gewerkschaftsbund (Austrian Federation of Labor Unions) (1945)
ONSL	Organisation Nationale des Syndicats Libres (National Organization of Free Trade Unions) (1960)
OPZZ	Ogólnopolskie Porozumienie Związków Zawodowych (All-Poland Alliance of Labor Unions) (1984)
ORIT	Organización Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores (Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers) (1951–2008)
ÖTV	Gewerkschaft Öffentliche Dienste, Transport und Verkehr (Public Service, Transportation, and Traffic Labor Union) (Germany, 1896–1933, 1949–2001)
PAC	Political Action Committee (United States, 1940)
PAFL	Pan-American Federation of Labor (1918–1940)
PSI	Public Services International (1935)

PTTI	Postal, Telegraph, and Telephone International (1920–1997)
PTUC	Pacific Trade Union Community (1980–1995)
Rengo	Japanese Trade Union Federation (1987)
SACTU	South African Congress of Trade Unions (1955)
SAF	Svenska Arbetsgivaresöforreningen (Swedish Employers' Confederation) (1902)
SAK	Suomen Ammattiliittojen Keskusjärjestö (Central Organization of Finnish Trade Unions) (1930)
SATUC	South Africa Trade Union Council (1954)
SEIU	Service Employees International Union (United States, 1921)
SEKRIMA	Christian Confederation of Malagasy Trade Unions (Madagascar, 1938)
SGB	Schweizerischer Gewerkschaftsbund (Swiss Labor Union Confederation) (1880)
SSF	Syndicats sans Frontières (Trade Unions without Borders) (Switzerland, c. 1997)
STUC	Singapore Trades Union Congress (1950s–1961)
SZOT	Magyar Szakszervezetek Országos Tanácsa (Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions) (1948–1989)
TGWU	Transport and General Workers' Union (United Kingdom, 1922–2007)
TICCIH	The International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage
TU	T-Mobile Workers United (2009)
TUAC	Trade Union Advisory Committee to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (1948)
TUC	Trades Union Congress (United Kingdom, 1868; Ghana, 1953)
TUCA	Trade Union Confederation of the Americas (2008)
TUCAMW	Trade Union Confederation of Arab Maghreb Workers (1991)
Türk-Is	Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions (1952)
UADW	Universal Alliance of Diamond Workers (1905–2000)

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UAS	Unité d'Action Syndicale (Unity of Trade Union Action) (Burkina Faso, 2014)
UATUC	Union of Autonomous Trade Unions of Croatia (1990)
UAW	United Auto Workers (officially United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, International Union) (1935)
UDT	Union Djiboutienne du Travail (Djibouti Labor Union) (1992)
UFCW	United Food and Commercial Workers' International Union (United States, 1979)
UGT	Unión General de Trabajadores (General Union of Workers) (Spain, 1888); União Geral de Trabalhadores (General Workers' Union) (Portugal, 1978)
UGTA	Union Générale des Travailleurs Algériens (General Workers' Union of Algeria) (1956)
UGTAN	Union Générale des Travailleurs d'Afrique Noire (General Workers' Union of Black Africa) (1957–1960)
UGTT	Union Générale Tunisienne de Travail (General Tunisian Union of Labor) (1946)
UGTU	Union Syndicale des Travailleurs de Centralafrique (Labor Union of Central African Workers) (c. 1978)
UMWA	United Mine Workers of America (1890)
UNI	Union Network International (2000–2009); UNI Global Union (2009)
UNISON	UNISON—the Public Service Union (United Kingdom, 1993)
UNT	Unión Nacional de Trabajadores (National Union of Workers) (Mexico, 1997)
UNTA-CS	União Nacional dos Trabalhadores de Angola (National Union of Workers of Angola, 1950s)
UNTC	Union Nationale des Travailleurs du Congo (National Union of Workers of Congo) (1967)
UNTC-CS	União Nacional dos Trabalhadores de Cabo Verde—Central Sindical (National Union of United Workers of Cape Verde—Central Union) (c. 1990)
UNTM	Union Nationale des Travailleurs du Mali (National Union of Workers of Mali) (c. 1960)

UST	Union des Syndicats du Tchad (Federation of Chad Labor Unions) (1992); Unión Sindical de Trabajadores (Union of Workers) (Equatorial Guinea, 1990)
USTB	Union Syndicale des Travailleurs du Burkina (Union of Workers of Burkina) (1948)
USTC	Union Syndicale des Travailleurs de Centrafrique (Labor Union of Central African Workers) (1980)
USTN	Union des Syndicats des Travailleurs du Niger (Union of Workers' Unions of Niger) (1960)
USWA	United Steelworkers of America (1942–2008)
UTC	Union de Trabajadores de Colombia (Union of Workers of Colombia) (1946–1992)
Ver.Di	Vereinte Dienstleistungsgewerkschaft (United Services Labor Union) (Germany, 2001)
VGCL	Vietnam General Confederation of Labor (1946)
WCL	World Confederation of Labor (1968–2006)
WCOTP	World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession (1952–1993)
WFTU	World Federation of Trade Unions (1945)
WLU	Western Labor Union (United States, 1898)
WRA	Workplace Relations Act (Australia, 1996)
WU	Workers' Union (United Kingdom, 1898–1929)





# Chronology

**1152 B.C. Egypt:** The pharaoh's tomb makers refuse to work over the failure of the pharaoh's officials to supply them with grain.

**A.D. 301 Roman Empire:** Emperor Diocletian issues an Edict of Maximum Prices, which also sets maximum wage rates.

**544 Byzantine Empire:** Emperor Justinian forbids laborers, sailors, and others to demand or accept wage increases on penalty of having to pay the treasury three times the amount demanded.

**1345 Florence:** Cinto Brandini is hanged for attempting to form an organization among wool combers.

**1347–1353** The “Black Death”—bubonic plague—kills between a quarter and one-third of the population of Western Europe. The shortage of labor fuels demands for higher pay.

**1351 England:** The Statute of Labourers prohibits laborers from demanding wage increases and employers from granting them.

**1372 Netherlands:** Woolworkers in the city of Leiden go on strike over a wage issue.

**1383 England:** Early use of the term *journeymen* to describe a group of London saddlers who had combined to raise their pay.

**1387 England:** A group of London journeymen cordwainers (shoemakers) attempt to form a union.

**1393 France:** Strike by vineyard workers in Burgundy.

**1411 England:** Colchester municipal authorities outlaw payment in kind for weavers.

**1448 England:** Maximum wage law.

**1490 Genoa:** Shipbuilding employees organize to resist wage reductions; they did so again in 1526.

**1504 Venice:** Labor dispute in printing.

**1524 England:** Municipal authorities in Coventry fix maximum wage rates in the textile industry, specify payment in money, and forbid payment in kind.

**1539 France:** Strike (known as “le grand Tric”) by printing employees in Lyon over long hours. They form a union and attack strikebreakers.

**1548 England:** Parliament passes the Bill of Conspiracies of Victuallers and Craftsmen, which introduces the concept of combinations as conspiracies into English law.

**1560 England:** Some London saddlers combine to raise their pay.

**1562 England:** The Statute of Artificers gives justices of the peace the power to set the wages of artisans and laborers, sets down the hours of labor, and provides penalties for breach of contract by employers and employees. It also requires a seven-year apprenticeship as a qualification to be a journeyman.

**1619 North America:** Polish craftsmen demanding greater civil liberties go on strike.

**1655 Netherlands:** One of the first recorded strikes by women workers. Hacklers in Gouda protest against a possible wage reduction (June).

**1675 Genoa:** Uprising by 10,000 silk workers over the introduction of French ribbon looms, which enable a single worker to weave 10 to 12 ribbons at a time.

**1696 England:** Organized journeymen felt makers in London try to resist a wage cut.

**1701 England:** Payment in kind outlawed in the textile and iron industries.

**1706 England:** Journeymen weavers in the west accused of trying to force their employers to only employ members of their union.

**1718 England:** The free emigration of skilled artisans and skilled operatives prohibited by law; similar legislation was again passed in 1750 and 1765.

**1721 England:** London journeymen tailors accused by their employers of forming a “combination” of 7,000 to raise their wages and reduce their workday by one hour.

**1726 England:** Parliament passes an Act to Prevent Unlawful Combinations of Workmen Employed in the Woollen Manufactures.

**1730s Colonial Mexico:** Cessation of work by silver miners in Chihuahua in protest against the termination of their work contract.

**1731 England:** First recorded use of the “round robin” in the British navy as a method of voicing grievances.

**1765 England:** First sign of organization among coal miners at Newcastle in northeast England.

**1766 Mexico:** Real del Monte strike by silver miners for better working conditions. Because it was an organized attempt at renegotiating labor contracts and conditions, this strike is often regarded the first real strike in North American history.

**1768 England:** Parliament passes the Tailors' Act, which imposes jail terms of two months on any London journeyman who demands pay above the legal maximum and on any master who pays a higher amount.

**1769–1773 England:** Unrest among London's silk workers over mechanized looms and French competition. Workers' clubs evolve into unions, which threaten industrial sabotage to gain standardized wages. They gain the Spitalfields Act in 1773, which provides a procedure for the setting of wages and piece rates.

**1772 England:** London journeymen tailors petition parliament for higher pay because of rising living costs.

**1773 Scotland:** Trial of 12 leaders of weavers from Paisley, near Glasgow. Thousands had taken part in the strike and used force to prevent the use of strikebreakers. The leaders threaten to take their followers to North America if their demands are not met. Seven are found guilty. **England:** London cabinetmakers and tradesmen in the royal dockyards go on strike for higher pay.

**1773–1776 England:** A government register of immigrants to North America shows that of the 6,190 immigrants whose occupations were known, 49 percent were artisans, mechanics, or craftsmen.

**1780s United States:** Formation of trade societies by journeymen in Philadelphia to meet annually with masters to settle the price of their labor.

**1786 United States:** First strike of employees in a single trade (Philadelphia printers).

**1790 France:** Journeymen carpenters in Paris form a union. Following complaints by employers, it was suppressed by the Le Chapelier Law (1791), which was also applied to employers' organizations and made strikes illegal.

**1791 United States:** First recorded strike in the building trades by Philadelphia carpenters.

**1792 England:** Seamen's strike in the northeast.

**1794 England:** Rises in the cost of living because of the war with Napoleon lead to some successful strikes for higher pay by London journeymen tradesmen between 1794 and 1813. **United States:** Formation of the Federal Society of Journeymen Cordwainers (shoemakers) in Philadelphia; the society lasts until 1806.

**1796 England:** Debate in the House of Commons concerning a proposal to permit justices of the peace to fix a minimum wage.

**1797 England:** Henry Maudslay invents a metal cutting lathe with a slide rest; perfected in 1800, the lathe plays a major role in shaping the working conditions of metalworkers.

**1798 Canada:** First union formed.

**1799 England:** Parliament passes the first Combination Act. This act, and the second act of 1800, outlawed labor disputes but did not prohibit employees from improving wages and conditions. **Scotland:** Abolition of serfdom for coal miners.

**1800 England:** Parliament passes the second Combination Act. The act includes provision for arbitration in labor disputes. **India:** Frequent strikes by weavers.

**1810 France:** The Penal Code prohibits strikes and efforts to strive for wage rises in combination. Countries occupied by France get the same legislation.

**1812 Canada:** In Saint John, New Brunswick, building unions attempt to exclude American immigrants to maintain the shortage of skilled labor. **England:** Frame breaking is made an offense punishable by death in a move aimed at the Luddites, who continue to attack woolen machinery for the next two years.

**1813 England:** Repeal of the wage clause of the Statute of Artificers of 1562.

**1814 England:** Repeal of the apprenticeship clause of the Statute of Artificers of 1562. One of the petitions to parliament opposing its repeal was signed by 30,517 journeymen.

**1817 England:** Suppression of the “Blanketeers” march planned from Manchester to London.

**1818 United Kingdom:** Robert Owen requests the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle to urge governments to legally limit ordinary working hours of employees in manufacturing.

**1819 England:** “Peterloo” Massacre at Manchester.

**1823 Netherlands:** Canal diggers' strike over payment. Both a few workers and the contractor are killed.

**1824 England:** Repeal of the Combination Acts of 1799 and 1800.

**1825 England:** Outlawing of picketing by the Combination of Workmen Act. Repeal of a law that had prohibited the immigration of artisans to continental Europe. **United States:** Boston construction workers strike unsuccessfully to reduce their workday to 10 hours; they strike again, unsuccessfully, in 1830.

**1826 England:** Formation of Journeymen Steam Engine Makers' Society in Manchester; known as "Old Mechanics," it was the forerunner of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (1851).

**1827 England:** Carpenters and joiners form a general union. **United States:** Journeymen in Philadelphia form the Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations, the first citywide federation of local unions in the United States.

**1829 Australia:** Formation of a labor union by shipwrights in Sydney, New South Wales.

**1833 England:** The Factory Act outlaws the employment of children under nine and sets a maximum of nine hours work per day for employees aged between nine and 13 years. The act appoints inspectors to enforce its provisions and was the ancestor of modern factory laws. The National Regeneration Society in Lancashire advocates general strikes for the eight-hour workday. **United States:** Formation of the General Trades Union in New York; it was a confederation of tradesmen that was copied by more than 12 other American cities; it lasted until 1837.

**1834 England:** Six agricultural laborers (the "Tolpuddle Martyrs") sentenced to transportation to Australia for forming a union (18 March). **France:** Revolt by silk workers in Lyon after the government attempts to suppress labor unions (9–13 April).

**1838 England:** William Lovett, a journeyman cabinetmaker and secretary of the London Working Men's Association, suggests forming an international labor organization in his booklet *Address to the Working Classes of Europe*.

**1839 England:** The Chartist Convention votes in favor of a national strike to achieve its objectives (28 July).

**1841 France:** First factory legislation; it regulates child labor.

**1842 United Kingdom:** Formation of Miners' Association of Great Britain and Ireland; it claims 70,000 members, or a third of the coal mining industry. **United States:** A Massachusetts judge rules that it was not illegal for a union to strike for higher pay, in *Commonwealth v. Hunt*.

**1843 France:** First collective agreement; it sets wage rates for printers.

**1844 England:** Four-month coal miners' strike in Durham and Northumberland; the strike is unsuccessful. **Ireland:** Formation of Dublin Regular Trades' Association; it perishes in the 1847 depression.

**1845 Prussia:** Labor unions prohibited. **United Kingdom:** The National Association of United Trades for the Protection and Employment of Labour advocates boards of trade, that is, bodies to conciliate and arbitrate in labor disputes.

**1846 Chile:** Artisans form a mutual aid society.

**1847 United Kingdom:** William Dixon and W. P. Roberts, two of the leaders of the Miners' Association, become the first union officials to stand for election to parliament. The Miners' Association collapses the next year.

**1848 England:** Marx and Engels publish the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. **France:** Government forcibly closes down the national workshops that had been set up to provide employment; several thousand are killed and thousands of others arrested during the "June Days." **Germany:** Formation of the first national German labor union, the National Printers' Association (Nationaler Buchdrucker-Verein). **India:** Over a thousand brick makers engaged in building the Ganges Canal go on strike several times against the reduction of wage rates.

**1849 United States:** Organization of the first labor union in the anthracite coalfields of Pennsylvania by an English immigrant, John Bates.

**1850 United States:** Police kill two picketers in New York, the first labor fatalities in a United States strike.

**1851 United Kingdom:** Formation of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers in England.

**1852 United Kingdom:** William Newton, a leader of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, stands for election to the British House of Commons. **United States:** Formation of the National Typographical Union, the first national labor union in the United States.

**1857 Argentina:** Mutual aid society among printers; the society is made into a union in 1877. **United States:** Formation of the National Education Association.

**1858 Scotland:** Formation of the Glasgow Trades' Council.

**1859 United Kingdom:** Molestation of Workmen Act makes "peaceful" picketing lawful. A strike by London building employees leads to the formation of the London Trades Council in 1860.

**1860 United Kingdom:** Formation of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners.

**1861 Germany:** The legal ban on labor unions is lifted in Saxony, followed by Weimar (1863), and the North German Confederation (1869), but there is no legal right to form unions.

**1862 United Kingdom:** A delegation of French workers, allowed to visit the London Exhibition, demand freedom of association and the right to strike on their return.

**1863 England:** Foundation of the Co-operative Wholesale Society at Manchester.

**1864 France:** Lifting of the legal ban on strikes. **United Kingdom:** Formation of the International Workingmen's Association, or the First International, in London (28 September).

**1866 Netherlands:** Formation of national trade unions by printers and diamond cutters. **United States:** Formation of the National Labor Union in Baltimore (August); 77 labor union delegates claim to represent 60,000 members; the union lasts until 1872.

**1867 United Kingdom:** Second Reform Act gives the vote to the better-off urban working class. A Conciliation Act also becomes law.

**1868 United Kingdom:** Formation of the Trades Union Congress at Manchester (2–6 June).

**1869 United States:** Formation of the National Colored Labor Union (December) by black intellectuals and labor leaders; it tries to affiliate with the National Labor Union but is refused.

**1870 Austro-Hungarian Empire:** Legalizing of labor unions in what is now Austria.

**1871 Canada:** Formation of first local trade assemblies (councils). **Spain:** Formation of a printers' union in Madrid. **United Kingdom:** Labor unions legalized (29 June), but objections by organized labor lead to an improved law in 1876.

**1872 United Kingdom:** Joseph Arch founds the Agricultural Labourers' Union.

**1873 Poland:** The first recorded usage of the sit-down strike globally. Miners fighting for higher wages are removed by the police with the help of the army.

**1874 France:** A factory law introduces a system of inspectors and outlaws child labor and women working underground. **United Kingdom:** Election of Alexander Macdonald and Thomas Burt, two coal mining labor leaders, to the House of Commons.

**1877 United States:** Nationwide railroad strikes (16 July to 5 August) marked by rioting and use of the U.S. Army and state guards.

**1878 New Zealand:** Legalizing of labor unions. **United States:** Formation of the International Labor Union.

**1879 France:** Formation of first national labor union by hatters. **Australia:** First Intercolonial Trade Union Congress held in Sydney; subsequent congresses are held in 1884, 1886, 1888, 1889, 1891, and 1898.

**1880 Switzerland:** Formation of the Schweizerischer Gewerkschaftsbund (Swiss Labor Union Federation) by socialist labor unions.

**1881 Canada:** The Knights of Labor forms its first assembly. **South Africa:** The Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners forms a branch at Cape Town. **Spain:** After the legalization of labor unions, the Federación de Trabajadores de la Región Española (Federation of the Workers of the Spanish Region) is formed. **United States:** Formation of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, the forerunner of the American Federation of Labor, in Pittsburgh.

**1883 Bulgaria:** Formation of a printers' union. **United States:** First attempt to form an industrial union in the railroad industry, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.

**1884 France:** Legalizing of labor unions (21 March).

**1886 Canada:** Formation of the Canadian Trades and Labour Congress. **France:** Formation of the first national trade union center, Fédération Nationale des Syndicats Ouvriers (National Federation of Workers' Unions). **Scandinavia:** Beginning of regular conferences between labor leaders of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. **United States:** Labor riots in Chicago (4 May); founding of the American Federation of Labor (8 December).

**1887 France:** First Catholic labor union formed among white-collar workers. **United States:** Burlington railroad strike (27 February 1888 to 5 January 1889).



**1888 Costa Rica:** Italian laborers working on the railroad go on strike. **Denmark:** Blacksmiths and Ironworkers' Union formed. **Spain:** Formation of the Unión General de Trabajadores (General Union of Workers). **United Kingdom:** International labor union conference held in London; it claims to represent 850,000 British union members and 250,000 union members in Europe. The conference is a failure. Strike by women match workers in London for higher pay and improved health and safety.

**1889 France:** Formation of Second International in Paris. **Germany:** Strikes for higher wages and regulation of women's and children's work. **United Kingdom:** London longshoremen's strike (August–September) inspires Rotterdam (**Netherlands**) dockers to go on strike too (September).

**1890 International:** In many countries May Day is celebrated in commemoration of the 1886 Chicago riots and to demand the eight-hour workday. **Australia:** 50,000 workers take part in the Maritime Strike (August–December) over freedom of contract; the strike, which extends to New Zealand, fails. **Austro-Hungarian Empire:** Formation of the Austrian Union of Metalworkers and Miners. **Switzerland:** The Canton of Geneva legally recognizes agreements between employers and unions; it is one of the first laws of its kind.

**1891 Australia:** Labor unions form the Labor Party in New South Wales and South Australia. **France:** First collective agreement in the mining industry. **Germany:** Defeat of a strike by 20,000 German coal miners in the Ruhr; formation of the Deutscher Metallarbeiter-Verband (German Metalworkers' Union), Germany's first industrial union. **Norway:** Formation of Iron and Metal Workers' Union.

**1892 France:** Voluntary conciliation and arbitration law. Foundation of the National Federation of Labor (Bourses du Travail). **Germany:** Labor unions hold their first national congress. It resolves to encourage the formation of national unions and agrees to work for the formation of industry-based unions. **United States:** Major labor dispute at the Homestead Steel plant near Pittsburgh (June–November).

**1893 Belgium:** General strike (April). **United States:** First successful biracial strike, in New Orleans.

**1894 Australia:** Formation of the Australian Workers' Union. **Ireland:** Formation of the Irish Trades Union Congress. **New Zealand:** Becomes the first country in the world to introduce compulsory conciliation and arbitration for labor disputes. **United Kingdom:** Beatrice and Sidney Webb publish *The History of Trade Unionism*, the first scholarly investigation of labor unions. **United States:** Pullman railroad strike.

**1895 China:** Formation of the first unions in the Canton region. **France:** Confédération Générale du Travail (General Confederation of Labor) founded in France; it absorbs the National Federation of Labor (Bourses du Travail) in 1902. **Russia:** The Yaroslavl Great Manufacture strike against the reduction of wages; 4,000 workers participate, 13 of whom are killed by soldiers. The tsar is satisfied with the way his troops behaved.

**1896 Uruguay:** Formation of the first union federation.

**1897 Austro-Hungarian Empire:** Formation of the Czechoslovak Trade Union Federation. **Japan:** Steelworkers form a union. **United Kingdom:** Workmen's Compensation Act; the law applies only to blue-collar employees. Formation of the Scottish Trades Union Congress.

**1898 France:** Failure of first general railroad strike. **Korea:** Longshoremen form a union. **United Kingdom:** Workers' Union formed.

**1899 Australia:** First Labor Party government in the world in Queensland; it lasts one week. **Austro-Hungarian Empire:** The Hungarian Trade Union Council (formed 1891) is set up on a permanent basis. **Egypt:** Formation of the first labor union among cigarette workers. **France:** Formation of the first company union.

**1900 International:** The first international May Day to demand the eight-hour workday (May). **Japan:** Formation of unions by employees in metalworking, printing, railroads, teaching, and firefighting; they are suppressed by legislation later in 1900.

**1901 Albania:** First strikes among shoemakers and waterfront workers. **Argentina:** Formation of the first union federation; it soon split into anarchist, syndicalist, and socialist factions, foreshadowing similar splits in Chile, Brazil, Uruguay, and Paraguay. **Denmark:** International labor union conference in Copenhagen (21 August); the conference sets up the International Secretariat of the National Trade Union Federations, which is officially renamed the International Federation of Trade Unions in 1919. **Italy:** Italian Metal Workers' Union (Federazione Italiana Operai Metallurgici) formed. **United Kingdom:** The House of Lords upholds an appeal by the Taff Vale Railway Company against the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, which cost the society £23,000 in damages (July).

**1902 Belgium:** General strike. **Philippines:** Creation of a national federation by craft labor unions. **United States:** A major strike by anthracite coal miners results in the appointment of a presidential arbitration commission by President Theodore Roosevelt.

**1903 Brazil:** Strike by textile workers in Rio de Janeiro. **Canada:** Formation of the National Trades and Labour Congress by organizations excluded by the Trades and Labour Congress (that is, by the Knights of Labor and unions not part of American unions). **Netherlands:** Major strikes by railroad and longshoremen, including a failed general strike to stop legislation forbidding strikes by railroad men and public servants. **Switzerland:** White-collar unions form their own federation.

**1904 Australia:** First national Labor government, with Protectionist support (27 April to 12 August). **Bulgaria:** Creation of socialist and Marxist labor union federations; the two bodies merge in 1920.

**1905 Dutch East Indies (modern Indonesia):** Formation of first labor union by Dutch and indigenous railway employees. **Nigeria:** Formation of first substantive labor union of indigenous employees in Africa (civil servants in Lagos). **Russian Empire:** Meeting of All-Russian Conference of Trade Unions and attempts to overthrow tsarism. **United States:** Creation of the Industrial Workers of the World in Chicago.

**1906 Bolivia:** Formation of the first labor union. **France:** The Confédération Générale du Travail adopts the radical Charter of Amiens, which advocates the general strike to eliminate capitalism and affirms the independence of trade unions from political parties. **Germany:** The Mannheim Agreement declares the equality of unions and the Social Democratic Party in providing leadership for the working-class movement. **Italy:** Foundation of the Confederazione Generale di Lavoro (General Confederation of Labor). **Russian Empire:** Unions made legal (March), but a government crackdown follows after 1907. **United Kingdom:** The Trades Disputes Act protects unions from prosecution by employers over breach of contract under common law.

**1907 Argentina:** General strike in Buenos Aires by 93,000 employees. **Canada:** The Industrial Disputes Investigation Act enables the federal government to appoint a tripartite board to try to resolve labor disputes on application by the employers or the unions. **Switzerland:** Catholic unions form their own federation.

**1909 Hong Kong:** Formation of first labor union. **Spain:** Over 175 shot in riots led by revolutionary syndicalists in Catalonia over the calling up of reservists for the war in Morocco during “Tragic Week” (July); attacks on churches and convents. Government executes anarchist leader, Francisco Ferrer. **Sweden:** General strike by 300,000 employees. **United Kingdom:** House of Lords upholds the Osborne Judgement declaring political levies by labor unions illegal (2 December).

**1910 France:** First old age pension law. **Spain:** Formation of the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (National Confederation of Workers) by anarchists.

**1911 International:** Seamen's strike in Belgium, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom (June). **United Kingdom:** First national railway strike; it lasts for two days.

**1912 Italy:** Syndicalists form their own labor federation. **Japan:** Bunji Suzuki forms a labor union. **United States:** The Lloyd–LaFollette Act and other legislation forbid American federal employees from going on strike. **United States:** Bread and Roses Strike by textile workers in Lawrence, Massachusetts, for both higher wages and dignified working conditions.

**1913 France:** Clerical workers form the first national Catholic union. **United Kingdom:** Syndicalists from 12 countries attempt to form a Syndicalist International in London.

**1914 International:** In most countries affected by the outbreak of the First World War, the union movement halts strikes.

**1916 United States:** American Federation of Teachers formed (April).

**1917 Russia:** Bolshevik Revolution sets aside the provisional government installed after the abdication of the tsar (November).

**1918 Germany:** November Pact (Stinnes–Legien Agreement) made between major employers and organized labor. **Greece:** Formation of the General Confederation of Greek Labor. **India:** B. P. Wadia forms the Madras Union. **United States:** Formation of Pan-American Federation of Labor in Texas (13 November).

**1919 Argentina:** The army suppresses a general strike with much bloodshed. **British Guiana:** Formation of the British Guiana Labour Union. **Canada:** Six-week general strike in Winnipeg; sympathetic strikes also occur in other Canadian cities, notably Vancouver. **France:** Formation of the Confédération Française des Travailleurs Chrétiens (French Confederation of Christian Workers), representing 100,000 Catholic workers in 321 unions (November); formation of the International Labour Organization (ILO) from the Versailles Peace Treaty. Formation of the International Organisation of Employers in 1920 also results from the creation of the ILO. **Soviet Union:** Formation of the Third International (communist); known as the Comintern, it is disbanded in 1943. **United Kingdom:** Seven-day national railroad strike; it results in the employees gaining the eight-hour workday in 1920. **United States:** Defeat of general steelworkers' strike.

**1920 France:** The split in the Socialist Party results in the formation of the Communist Party. Railroad and general strike fails. **India:** Formation of All-India Trades Union Congress, representing 64 unions with about 150,000 members. **United Kingdom:** Formation of the Amalgamated Engineering Union.

**1921 Canada:** Formation of the Catholic Confederation of Labour in Quebec. **Soviet Union:** Kronstadt Rebellion, an insurrection of sailors, soldiers, and civilians against the Bolshevik government (March). Formation in Moscow of the Red International of Labor Unions, commonly known as the Profintern, as a communist counterweight to the International Federation of Trade Unions. Dismantled in 1937 (July).

**1921–1922 France:** The Confédération Générale du Travail splits. The communists and syndicalists from the Confédération Générale du Travail Unitaire, which joins the Red International of Labor Unions in 1923.

**1922 Hong Kong:** Successful general strike by seamen against an attempt to suppress their union. **South Africa:** Army kills 230 white strikers during Rand Revolt. **United Kingdom:** Formation of Transport and General Workers' Union.

**1924 Italy:** Abolition of nonfascist labor unions (24 January). **United Kingdom:** Formation of the General and Municipal Workers' Union.

**1925 China:** Formation of the All China General Labor Federation.

**1926 France:** Syndicalists form their own labor federation. **Portugal:** The government dissolves the Confederação Geral de Trabalho (the peak labor organization formed in 1913). **United Kingdom:** General (4–12 May) and coal mining (May–November) strikes.

**1927 Australia:** Formation of the Australian Council of Trade Unions. **Canada:** Formation of the All-Canadian Congress of Labour. **China:** Chiang Kai-shek purges the communists from organized labor in Shanghai and kills about 5,000 (April).

**1928 Colombia:** Army kills several hundred strikers during a dispute with the U.S.-owned United Fruit Company.

**1929 United States:** After years of speculation, the Wall Street stock market crashes on “Black Thursday,” which is the beginning of a decade of international unemployment, dropping wages, and political unrest from which the labor union movement also suffers (October).

**1930 Argentina:** Formation of the Confederación General del Trabajo (General Confederation of Labor). **Colombia:** Labor unions made legal. **United Kingdom:** British government begins to encourage the development of labor unions in its colonies in Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean (September).

**1931 Dutch East Indies (Indonesia):** Confederation of native employees joins the International Federation of Trade Unions.

**1932 United States:** Anti-Injunction (Norris–LaGuardia) Act provides freedom of association to organized labor.

**1933 Germany:** Labor unions suppressed (2 May); imprisonment of labor leaders in Dachau concentration camp. **United States:** Section 7(a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act gives unions the undisputed legal right to recruit employees and collectively bargain for employees.

**1934 Costa Rica:** Great Strike by banana workers against the United Fruit Company. Regarded the beginning of an effective union movement because of the collective agreement that followed in 1938. **France:** First successful general strike over the need to resist fascism.

**1935 Norway:** Conclusion of basic agreement between organized labor and employers. **United States:** National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act) protects the right of labor unions to organize and engage in collective bargaining.

**1936 France:** Syndicalists, communists, and other labor organizations hold a unity congress (March). The election of the Popular Front leads to new laws on a 40-hour work week, paid holidays, collective bargaining, and compulsory conciliation and arbitration (this last law was suspended in 1939). The Matignon Agreement provides for the unions' right to organize, an end to antiunion practices, collective bargaining, pay increases of 7 to 12 percent, and the election of shop stewards (7 June). **New Zealand:** Amendments to the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act make union membership compulsory for any employee subject to a registered award of industrial agreement; this provision remains part of New Zealand law until 1991. **United States:** The Flint Sit-Down Strike of 1936–1937. This strike at General Motors lasts for more than 40 days and inspires other workers to sit down (December).

**1937 British East Africa:** Banning of the Labour Trade Union of East Africa. **France:** A decree legalizes labor unions in the French colonies of West and Equatorial Africa (11 March). **French-speaking Africa:** White-collar workers form the first labor unions in Tunisia, in Bamako (Mali), and in Dakar (Senegal). **New Zealand:** Formation of the Federation of Labour.

**Switzerland:** An accord between employers and unions in the engineering industry eventually becomes the model for a national social partnership in Swiss industrial relations.

**1938 Caribbean:** The West Indies Royal Commission (Lord Moyne) recommends the encouragement of organized labor. **Sweden:** Saltsjobaden Agreement between unions and employers. **United States:** Formation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO); John L. Lewis becomes its president.

**1939 Canada:** Expulsion of the Canadian branches of the CIO international unions from the Trades and Labour Congress. **Cuba:** Formation of the Confederación de Trabajadores de Cuba (Confederation of the Workers of Cuba). **France:** The Confédération Générale du Travail expels communist affiliates over their support of the Soviet pact with Nazi Germany. **United States:** The Hatch Act prohibits federal employees from active participation in federal election campaigns and from providing organizational support for candidates.

**1940 Canada:** The expelled CIO unions and the All-Canadian Congress of Labour merge to form the Canadian Congress of Labour. **France:** Dissolution of all three national labor organizations (9 November). **Japan:** Suppression of all independent labor unions and employers' organizations (June). **Netherlands:** After the German Nazis occupy the country, one of their first measures is a ban on strikes and lockouts. **United Kingdom:** The Colonial Development and Welfare Act links the payment of assistance funds to fostering labor unions in British colonies.

**1941 Netherlands:** General strike mainly in the Amsterdam area against the prosecution of the Jews by the German Nazis who occupy the country.

**1942 Egypt:** Legalizing of labor unions.

**1943 Canada:** The Order-in-Council P.C. 1003 creates a legal framework for collective bargaining and mechanisms for resolving disputes.

**1944 France:** The provisional government restores free labor unions (July).

**1945 Austria:** Formation of the Österreichischer Gewerkschaftsbund (Austrian Federation of Trade Unions) (13 April). **Germany:** Resurgence of labor unions at the factory level in West Germany (March–August). By August 1945, nearly one million union members have been officially recognized in unions in the British zone. **Netherlands:** Formation of a permanent union–employer policy body, the Foundation of Labor (May). **United Kingdom:** Representatives from 53 countries attend the World Trades Union Conference in London (6–17 February). The conference leads to the creation of the World Federation of Trade Unions in Paris on 25 September. The International Federation of Trade Unions ceases to exist after 31 December.

**1946 Belgian Congo:** Labor unions formed by Africans legalized; European labor unions had been permitted in the Congo since 1921. A multiracial labor federation is formed in 1951 but splits along racial lines. **Canada:** Rand Formula introduced into industrial relations. **United Kingdom:** Major dispute in the transportation industry over the closed shop.

**1947 France:** General strike. **United States:** Taft–Hartley Act outlaws political levies by labor unions and the closed shop (23 June). The act provides for the immediate dismissal of striking American federal government employees and prohibits their reemployment by the government for three years.

**1948 International:** International Labour Organization Convention No. 87 (Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaims the right of individuals to form and join trade unions to protect their interests (Article 23, Part 4). **France:** Strike by coal miners accompanied by much violence; 30,000 troops sent in by the government. **Japan:** Public-sector employees forbidden to strike. **Peru:** Formation of the Confederación Interamericana de Trabajadores (Interamerican Confederation of Workers) (10 January) in Lima. **West Germany:** The number of union members reaches five million.

**1949 International:** International Labour Organization Convention No. 98 (Right to Organize and Collective Bargaining). **Australia:** Communist-led coal miners' strike. The federal Labor government sends in troops to mine the coal (26 June to 15 August). **United Kingdom:** Formation of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (December), which claims 54 million members. **United States:** Introduction of the General Schedule, in its present form, for white-collar employees of the American federal government; its origins go back to pay reforms of 1923, which were based on pay legislation of the 1850s. CIO expels communists.

**1950 International:** The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions establishes the European Regional Organization (November). **Germany:** Formation of IG Metall (Metal Workers' Industrial Union). **Kenya:** Army crushes a general strike in Nairobi.

**1951 Guatemala:** Castillo Armas, with U.S. support, overthrows President Jacobo Arbenz, executes labor organizers, and suppresses the country's 533 unions. **Mexico:** Formation of the Organización Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores (Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers) in Mexico City (January).

**1953 Ceylon (Sri Lanka):** Nationwide demonstration of civil obedience and strike action against the government, resulting in the resignation of the prime minister.



**1955 Singapore:** Bus workers strike for better working conditions. Much violence on 12 May 1955 between strikers, their supporters, and law enforcement. **United States:** The American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the CIO agree to merge, with George Meany as president, to form the American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO).

**1956 Canada:** The Trades and Labour Congress and the Canadian Congress of Labour merge to form the Canadian Labour Congress. **Japan:** First *Shunto* or Spring Offensive.

**1959 United States:** Wisconsin legislature passes the first public-sector bargaining law, which gives state employees the right to join unions.

**1960 International:** The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions establishes the African Regional Organisation to represent organized labor in Africa (November).

**Belgium:** General strike organized by the socialist trade union against austerity measures in the proposed United Law (Eenheidswet) lasts six weeks (December). **Canada:** Merger of the Canadian and Catholic Confederation of Labour to form the Confederation of National Trade Unions. **United States:** *Labor History* journal begins publication in New York.

**1963 International:** International Confederation of Free Trade Unions holds its first World Youth Rally in Vienna, Austria (9–19 July).

**1964 United Kingdom:** House of Lords upholds the original decision in the *Rookes v. Barnard* case. This loophole in the Trades Disputes Act (1906) makes union officials liable for damages for threatening to strike in breach of contracts of employment; it is closed by the Trades Disputes Act (1965).

**1966 International:** International Industrial Relations Association is formed.

**1967 United States:** The Taylor Act in New York State imposes penalties on public-sector employees who go on strike; the penalties are increased in 1969, 1974, and 1978 and have been enforced.

**1968 International:** The International Federation of Christian Trade Unions renames itself the World Confederation of Labor. **France:** During the “French revolution of ’68,” 10 million workers go on strike. The trade union movement hardly supports the strikers, who also occupy a number of companies (May). **United Kingdom:** Report of the Royal Commission on Trade Unions (Donovan Commission).

**1969 Germany:** The September Strikes signal the end of the postwar period of very low strike incidence. **United States:** The AFL-CIO disaffiliates from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (February) and sets up the Asian-American Free Labor Institute with U.S. State Department support.

**1970 European Economic Community:** Creation of the Standing Committee of Employment, the first formal European-level committee of its kind to include representatives from organized labor (December). **United States:** The Pay Comparability Act applies the principle of pay comparability with the private sector to American federal government employees in its present form. A successful national strike by postal workers leads to the Postal Reorganization Act, which separates pay determination in the postal service from the rest of federal employment, outlaws strikes, gives the unions the right to engage in collective bargaining, and provides for compulsory arbitration in case of disputes. President Richard Nixon attempts to delay the statutory federal pay adjustment deadline during his freeze on pay and prices; the National Treasury Employees Union (founded in 1938) takes its case to the Supreme Court and wins what has been claimed to be the largest back-pay award in history: \$600 million.

**1972 United Kingdom:** Miners massively go out on strike for the first time since 1926.

**1973 International:** Formation of the European Trade Union Confederation; it claims 37 million members. **France:** Workers of the watch producer Lip in Besançon occupy their factory. They continue producing watches for almost a year, after which the workers are rehired. **South Africa:** Strikes by black workers in Durban lead to the arrest of the leaders and the suppression of black unionism.

**1974 India:** Strike by railway workers. **United Kingdom:** Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress agree to a Social Contract.

**1976 Poland:** Formation of an Organizing Committee for Free Trades Unions in Silesia and an independent labor union committee following a strike wave. **West Germany:** Extension of the Codetermination Law to companies with 2,000 or more employees.

**1977 Soviet Union:** Vladimir Klebanov and five others announce the formation of an Association of Free Trade Unions of Workers in Moscow (November). **Spain:** Organized labor gains minimum legal freedom; full legal freedom is not granted until 1985.

**1978 United Kingdom:** The “Winter of Discontent,” as the wave of strikes is labeled, occurs during the winter of 1978–1979. The strikes occur mainly in transportation, garbage collection, hospitals, cemeteries, and the public sector. Many of the strikes are accompanied by violence during picketing.

**1979 International:** First United Nations resolution calling on member countries to release any person detained “because of their trade union activities.” **Romania:** A dissident, Paul Goma, announces the formation of the Romanian Workers’ Free Union. **South Africa:** The government appoints the Wiehahn Commission to investigate trade unionism; the commission successfully recommends that black labor unions be legally recognized. **United States:** The AFL-CIO and President Jimmy Carter reach a national accord under which the unions agree to restrain wage claims in return for a package of economic and social measures (September).

**1980 Brazil:** Five-week strike by metalworkers. **Poland:** Formation of Solidarity (22 September). **Sweden:** National lockout by employers (May). **Turkey:** A military coup results in restrictions on labor unions. **United Kingdom:** The Employment Act requires secret ballots for labor union officials and for strikes (August).

**1981 International:** Reaffiliation of the AFL-CIO with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (November). **Chile:** Formation of a centrist labor union. **United States:** A strike by the Professional Air Traffic Controllers’ Organization (3 August) leads to the firing of strikers and their replacement by military controllers and civilian controllers who return to work.

**1982 Germany:** Cuts to social services inspire 500,000 to join in union protests. **Turkey:** Trial of 52 labor leaders (February–March). **United States:** Federal government takes away air traffic controllers’ union’s right to bargain collectively (February) after its defeat in the 1981 strike.

**1983 Australia:** The Australian Council of Trade Unions and the Australian Labor Party negotiate an accord covering economic policy to be followed if the Labor Party wins the federal election (February). The accord operates between March 1983 and March 1996.

**1984 International:** The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions conducts the first survey of violations of trade union rights in the world. **Germany:** Introduction of 38-hour work week in the steel industry. **New Zealand:** Abolition of access to compulsory arbitration in interest disputes except in “essential” industries. **Spain:** The government and the Unión General de Trabajadores (General Union of Workers) agree to a social and economic pact to control wage claims as an anti-inflationary measure. The pact breaks down after 1986. **United Kingdom:** The unions lose the 12-month-

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long coal miners' strike in 1984–1985 because the Thatcher government is determined to win after the Winter of Discontent of 1978–1979, which made organized labor unpopular (March–March).

**1985 United States:** Hormel strike, Austin, Minnesota. The workers of this meatpacking company resist a 23 percent wage cut. The strike lasts 10 months and is only supported by the local branch of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union, not the national organization.

**1986 Germany:** Neue Heimat affair; the mismanagement of the cooperative housing project damages the prestige of labor unions. **United Kingdom:** Defeat of London printing unions over the introduction of new technology at Rupert Murdoch's Wapping plant.

**1987 Germany:** IG Metall gains the 37-hour work week for members from 1 April 1988; other unions also gain reductions in their working time. **Ireland:** Government, unions, and employers agree to the Programme for National Recovery (April). **Taiwan:** Formation of a Labor Party (November) after the lifting of martial law.

**1988 International:** The international trade secretariats sign the first framework agreement with a multinational corporation, Danone.

**1989 Japan:** Merger of two major labor federations, Rengo and Sohyo, to form JTUC-Rengo (21 November), with 7.6 million members.

**1990 Italy:** Strikes in a wide range of essential services legally prohibited (June). **United States:** The Federal Employees Pay Comparability Act signed into law by President George H. W. Bush (5 November).

**1991 Albania:** Formation of the first independent labor unions and national labor federation (February). **Cuba:** Formation of the Independent Cuban General Workers' Union (4 October); it continues to be denied official recognition by the government. **Morocco:** Creation of the Trade Union Confederation of Arab Maghreb Workers. **New Zealand:** The Employment Contracts Act abolishes the arbitration system and the system of compulsory union membership, which had operated since 1936.

**1992 International:** Signing of European Union Treaty in Maastricht (7 February); it includes a social policy agreement that gave European-wide labor and employer federations an enhanced formal role in the social policy of the European Union. **China:** Suppression of the China Free Trade Union Preparatory Committee (formed at the end of 1991). **Georgia:** Formation of Georgian Trade Union Amalgamation (18 December). **Nepal:** Protests against quickly rising prices results in violence and clashes between strikers and the police. A mass rally is attacked by police forces; at least fourteen people are killed (6 April).

**1993 International:** Formation of Education International. **European Community:** Formal recognition of the European Trade Union Confederation, EUROCADRES, and the Confédération Européenne des Cadres as “social partners” for European-wide dialogue on social policy matters. **India:** National strike by millions of employees against the national government’s economic reforms (9 September). **Indonesia:** Government ban on the first congress of the independent Indonesia Prosperity Labor Union (August). The union, formed in November 1990, claims 50,000 members but has twice been refused official registration by the Department of Manpower. **Poland:** Strikes by Solidarity over low pay and staff cuts (May). **United Kingdom:** The Trade Union Reform and Employment Rights Act becomes law (1 July). Creation of the International Centre for Trade Union Rights in London.

**1994 International:** The International Labour Organization adopts a convention and recommendation designed to protect the conditions of part-time workers. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions launches a campaign against child labor (June). **European Community:** European Commission’s White Paper on Social Policy recognizes employers’ organizations, unions, and voluntary associations as partners in the development of social policy (August). **Indonesia:** Mughtar Pakpahan, the leader of the independent Indonesia Prosperity Labor Union, is sentenced to three years in jail for allegedly inciting riots in Medan in April (7 November); his sentence is extended to four years in January 1995. **Vietnam:** A new labor law requires every foreign joint enterprise to establish a labor union within six months (June).

**1995 International:** The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions announces that 528 union activists were murdered during 1994 (June). Merger of the Miners’ International Federation and the International Federation of Chemical, Energy, and General Workers’ Unions to form the International Federation of Chemical, Energy, Mine, and General Workers’ Unions (November). The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions forms the Asia-Pacific Labour Network. **United Kingdom:** The Liverpool dockers’ dispute begins and lasts until 1998, making it one of the longest disputes in labor history. The fight in Liverpool is initially a dispute regarding overtime pay. Colleagues of the strikers refuse to cross the picket line, which results in a wider strike not recognized by the employer and the labor union because of the legal limitations on strike action. **United States:** The United Steelworkers, the United Auto Workers, and the International Association of Machinists agree to a merger (July). Lane Kirkland steps down as president of the AFL-CIO (August) and is replaced by John J. Sweeney (October).

**1996 International:** International unions inaugurate the first International Commemoration Day for Dead and Injured Workers to focus attention on occupational health and safety (28 April). Campaign by the International Federation of Commercial, Technical, and Clerical Employees for union recognition by the U.S. firm Toys “R” Us in 60 countries. **South Korea:** Labor law changes ending job security guarantees (December) produce a wave of strikes in 1997.

**1997 Canada:** Strike by public high school teachers (27 October–10 November) and by postal workers (November). **China:** At least three labor protests in Sichuan province over job losses in state-owned industries; two labor activists in Shenzhen are sentenced to three and a half years in jail for setting up an independent trade union in May 1994 (June). **India:** Murder of Bombay union leader Datta Samant (16 January). **Israel:** National labor strikes over privatization (November). **United States:** End of the longest strike ever, in Las Vegas; the strike began in 1991 over the rehiring of 550 employees.

**1998 France:** Introduction of a 35-hour working week for enterprises that employ 20 or more employees. **Greece:** Public-sector strikes over labor market reform (23 July). **Peru:** National strike (30 October). **Russia:** Blockades and strikes by coal miners over unpaid wages (May). General strikes in main cities over unpaid wages and low pay (7 October). **South Korea:** Unions agree to economic reform laws in return for concessions (increasing unemployment payments, allowing unions to engage in politics, and allowing public-sector teachers to form unions) (14 February); auto workers’ strike over mass layoffs and privatization (14–15 July). **Ukraine:** Strike by coal miners over unpaid wages (4 May).

**1999 International:** International Labour Organization adopts the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (No. 182). **Germany:** Creation of the Alliance for Jobs, Training, and Competitiveness, a national forum of labor unions, employers, and government.

**2000 International:** Creation of Union Network International (1 January). International Confederation of Free Trade Unions’ Annual Survey of Violations of Human Rights shows that 209 union activists were killed in 2000 compared to 140 in 1999. **France:** Organized labor gains a 35-hour working week law. **Russia:** Three labor union federations with a total of 30 million members affiliate with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (November).

**2001 Germany:** Creation of Ver.di (Vereinte Dienstleistungsgewerkschaft, United Services Union), the world’s biggest labor union (21 March). **United States:** President George W. Bush signs executive orders that direct employers to notify union members that they can opt out of dues collected from

members that are used for political activity and forbid “project labor agreements,” whereby only unionized companies can bid for government contracts. The Bush administration also indicates that it will overturn workplace safety laws on ergonomics (March).

**2002 France:** Dilution of 35-hour week labor law (December). **Germany:** IG Metall conducts a successful series of strikes that gain an immediate 4 percent pay rise and a further 3.1 percent rise from 1 June 2003. **India:** Unions lead 10 million to protest government plans to privatize state-run companies (16 April). **Italy:** General strikes over planned labor reforms to remove reinstatement of employees for wrongful dismissal (16 April). Labor protests over the giant auto company Fiat (established in 1899) laying off 20,000 employees (26 November). **Portugal:** General strike over government spending cuts required to meet the financial requirements of membership of the European Union (mid-November). **South Africa:** Two-day general strike over the government’s privatization policy (October). **United Kingdom:** Formation of Amicus from merger of the Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union and the Manufacturing, Science and Finance Union (January). **United States:** Lockout of longshoremen shuts down all ports on the West Coast over introduction of new technology and job security (29 September–9 October). **Venezuela:** Strike by oil workers protesting over president Hugo Chávez’s remaining in office leads to general strike (2 December–3 February 2003).

**2003 International:** International Confederation of Trade Unions calls for the World Confederation of Labor to join with it in building a unified global trade union movement to meet the challenges of globalization (May). A United Nations convention protecting the rights of migrant workers comes into force (1 July); among other things, it guarantees migrant workers the right to trade union representation. **Austria:** General strike over government cuts to state pensions (June). **France:** Rolling transport strikes over government plans to reform the state pension scheme (May and June). **Germany:** Strikes in the chemical and metals manufacturing industries in the east in support of the 35-hour week (June). **Nigeria:** Violence during a general strike over oil price rises (July).

**2004 Cambodia:** Two leading labor union leaders, Chea Vichae and Ros Sovannareth, are murdered (January, May). **Netherlands:** strikes and mass demonstrations stop government plans to change pension scheme (October). **United States:** A 20-week strike by 70,000 Southern California grocery workers to protect health benefits and stop imposition of a vicious two-tier wage system ends (February).

**2005 Australia:** Organized labor holds national protest rallies over federal radical labor relations reforms designed to reduce the power of unions, but the reforms become federal law (November). **Norway:** A report by the research institute Fafo shows that the trade union movement is not doing enough to embrace ethnic minorities (October). **United Kingdom:** Unite the Union is formed from the amalgamation of Amicus and the Transport and General Workers' Union (27 April). Women now make up the majority of British union members, the first time this has happened in the world.

**2006 International:** The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the World Confederation of Labor amalgamate to form the International Trade Union Confederation (1 November). **France:** One million people take part in demonstrations and strikes against government attempts to reform youth labor laws (March). **United States:** Solidarity partnership between AFL-CIO and National Education Association (June). Seven major national unions representing six million workers disaffiliate from the AFL-CIO and form a new coalition called Change to Win, devoted to organizing labor (September).

**2007 India:** Hindustan Unilever locks out striking workers as part of a series of union-busting activities by the company (July). **Mauritania:** The Islamic Republic of Mauritania becomes the last country on the globe not only to forbid slavery but also to make slavery punishable. **United States:** Hollywood writers begin a successful strike for better monetary compensation (November).

**2008 United States:** After the 2007 merger between Amicus with the Transport and General Workers Union to form Unite the Union, the new organization merges with the United Steelworkers to form Workers Uniting.

**2009 Canada:** In Toronto, 24,000 municipal workers belonging to two separate unions (CUPE Local 416, representing the outside workers, and CUPE Local 79, representing the inside workers) strike for 35 days following six months negotiating with the municipality over contract renewal (June). **Egypt:** A wave of strikes taking place during the year across almost all sectors demonstrates mounting discontent with the 28-year rule of President Hosni Mubarak and poverty. **Germany:** The first nationwide strike of cleaners is won after 10 days (November). **Russia:** Two unidentified persons attack Evgeniy Ivanov, chair of the grassroots organization at General Motors Avto, in the entrance to his apartment house. They hit him several times in the face, stating "greetings from the union" (February).

**2010 China:** A series of high-profile strikes in foreign-owned auto parts plants spreads throughout the coastal regions. This wave is remarkable: it causes concessions granted to workers, it initially receives publicity in the



Chinese media, and it helps push prospects for showcase union reform onto the agenda (May–July). **Egypt:** Strikes and demonstrations lead to the fall of President Mubarak. One of the first measures of the new military regime is a ban on strikes. **Netherlands:** Cleaners win a nine-week strike for an improved collective agreement of 150,000 workers. In December, the union is rewarded with the UNI Global Union’s world cup. **Nigeria:** After nationwide strikes, the president announces a bill that will double minimum wages (November).

**2011 Australia:** The Australian Council of Trade Unions considers launching a landmark case before the Fair Work Tribunal to give casual employees the opportunity to be classed as permanent and receive greater benefits (December). **Burma:** The president signs a new law allowing unions and strikes (October). **Greece:** The European Trade Union Federation issues its Athens Manifesto concerning the economic and social effects of the Western government cutbacks in response to the debt crisis (May). Tens of thousands take part in seven general strikes during 2011 to protest government austerity policies. **Iran:** Pressure from the International Trade Union Confederation and the International Transport Workers’ Federation results in the release of Ebrahim Madadi, a leader of the Tehran bus drivers’ union, the Vahed Syndicate; he had been imprisoned since 2008, charged with endangering national security (30 November). **Liberia:** Organized labor recognizes that unity is needed to stand up to multinational companies and decides on a merger (April). **South Africa:** Widespread strikes in metal and other industries over pay claims (August). **Turkey:** The International Trade Union Confederation supports protests by the Education International over the sentencing of 25 Turkish trade unionists to six years in prison for alleged terrorism (2 December). **United Kingdom:** The Trades Union Congress holds Day of Action over planned pension cuts by the national government; nearly a million employees strike in support (30 November). **United States:** Large-scale strikes and protests in Wisconsin and Ohio over a new anti-collective bargaining bill (February). The executive of the AFL-CIO issues its “America Wants to Work: A Call to Action” statement (August).

**2011 Arab world:** After the Arab uprisings, the Trade Union Confederation of Arab Maghreb Workers dissolves. Its tasks are taken over by the Arab Trade Union Confederation, a regional organization of the International Trade Union Confederation. **Bahrain:** A peaceful uprising is brutally oppressed with torture, detentions, and extrajudicial killings. Around 4,500 workers from both the public and private sectors are fired on the basis of their political opinions and for attending strike calls (February–April). **Bolivia:** The Central Obrera Boliviana (COB), or Bolivian Workers’ Confederation, with two million members organizes a general strike for higher wages that lasts 12 days (April). **Ivory Coast:** Trade union general secretary Basile

Mahan Gahé is abducted. His imprisonment causes international pressure until he is finally released at the end of 2012. **Syria:** Many strikes are met with violence, injury, and often killings. **United States:** Large-scale protests in Wisconsin, Ohio, and Indiana against laws limiting union rights (March).

**2012 Europe:** The European Union receives the Nobel Peace Prize for having “contributed to the advancement of peace and reconciliation, democracy, and human rights in Europe” (October). **International:** A number of Global Union Federations merge to form the IndustriALL Global Union (Industri-All). **Bangladesh:** A fire kills at least 112 factory workers who are trapped due to narrow or blocked fire escapes. People are still discussing this terrible event when a building collapses, killing 1,134 garment workers and injuring hundreds (November). **Cook Islands:** The Employment Relations Act is enacted as a result of efforts by the Cook Islands Workers Association and others. It offers strong clauses on freedom of association, collective agreements, and discrimination and sexual and racial harassment. **Madagascar:** Tens of dockers sacked for having tried to improve their working conditions and pay through union activities. Despite international pressure by the International Transport Workers’ Federation (ITF), as late as 2017, the case is not yet solved. **South Africa:** Tens of strikers are wounded and 17 killed by the police during the Marikana massacre. The massacre started as a wildcat strike at a mine (August). The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) affiliates with the World Federation of Trade Unions, while maintaining its membership within the International Trade Union Confederation. **Romania:** The government has to resign because of public protests against austerity measures. The new government wants to strengthen social dialogue but is corrected by the International Monetary Fund and the European Commission (February). **Spain:** A new labor law is introduced to make it easier and cheaper for employers to employ and dismiss workers. **United Kingdom:** For the first time since the 1940s, union membership drops below six million.

**2013 Bangladesh:** A safety pact is signed by trade unions and more than 200 brands in the garment industry after the terrible events of 2012. Implementation of the pact proves difficult to perform by the industry (July). **Belarus:** On several occasions, the International Labour Organization (ILO) mentions the country as one where authorities maintain their repression of independent unions, prosecuting and sentencing trade union leaders on trumped-up charges. **Cambodia:** A strike action ends in clashes with the police. After a mockery of a trial, the seven trade union leaders are given heavy prison sentences of up to two and a half years under suspension (May). **Czech Republic:** Labour Code amended to strengthen the role of work councils as opposed to unions. Collective agreements can now be canceled with six months’ prior notice and workers in micro-companies are excluded from the

right to join unions. **Swaziland:** Trade Union Congress of Swaziland declared illegal by the government (February). **United Arab Emirates:** Police intervention ends strike action by migrant workers; they are deported. **United States:** The National Federation of Nurses affiliates with the American Federation of Teachers (AFT).

**2014 Arab world:** After many trade unions break free from their regimes, they found a new organization, the Arab Trade Union Confederation. **Bahamas:** A strike by 15,000 workers is organized by the Commonwealth of the Bahamas Trade Union Congress because the union feels treated with “disrespect and neglect.” The strikers are soon summoned back to work. **Burkina Faso:** In order to bring trade union unity a bit closer, six confederations together with 16 independent single trade unions form an alliance, the Unité d’Action Syndicale (UAS, Unity of Trade Union Action). **Eritrea:** A case starts in which former workers of a Canadian-owned mine accuse the company of being engaged in slave labor. The owner refuses to comment on the evidence, but Canadian courts agree to hear the complaining workers. **Germany:** Employers established yellow unions in order to weaken independent unions. For example, Siemens invests a large sum in a syndicate in order to create competition to IG Metall. **Ukraine:** A report by the High Commissioner for Human Rights of the United Nations concludes grave violations of human rights have occurred. Since then, it has been nearly impossible for workers to enjoy their rights.

**2015 International:** The International Transport Workers’ Federation criticizes the development of Flags of Convenience in aviation and together with local unions reacts with strikes against antiunion airlines like Ryanair over the following years. **Bulgaria:** Workers at a refuse collection and processing company go on strike over the nonpayment of their wages for over eight months. The employer dismisses all those involved in the strike, but legal experts of the trade union step in; all lawsuits they file are resolved in the workers’ favor (March). **Chile:** The International Trade Union Confederation registers almost 600 complaints of unfair antiunion practices. **Estonia:** A stevedoring company sacks a worker right after he is elected shop steward. The court rules this termination unjust, but the company then makes his job redundant. **Germany:** Minimum wage is introduced as a long-debated compromise between the social democrats and the conservatives (January). **Montenegro:** A trade union activist sets himself on fire in protest against the proposed sale of the coal mining industry to China (November). **Samoa:** First Union, the country’s first private-sector union, is set up. **United Arab Emirates:** Riot police disperse hundreds of migrant workers who protest their low salaries (March). **United Kingdom:** Unity, formerly known as the Ceramic and Allied Trades Union, merges into the main British general union, GMB (January).

**2016 International:** While the 20 leading economies of the world gather at the G20 in China, the International Trade Union Confederation summons them to take action against job insecurity for the workforce in the informal economy (September). **Europe:** COZZ (Central European Organizing Center) is created to support the revitalization, development, and growth of trade unions in Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary. **Chile:** Parliament approves a new labor law containing new rules intended to give unions more power. The new law makes it more difficult for businesses to replace striking workers, and companies will also be prohibited from extending benefits to nonunionized employees (September). **China:** The High Commissioner for Human Rights of the United Nations expresses concern over the detention of labor rights defenders (February). **Congo (Democratic Republic):** Employees of the Congolese Office of Control go on a three-week strike in response to four months of unpaid salaries. **Gambia:** The president issues an order banning union activities of the Gambian National Transport Control Association. One of the union leaders dies in prison as a result of abuse and torture (February). **Hong Kong:** The United Nations Committee against Torture is concerned at the ongoing detentions of persons in the context of demonstrations (February). **India:** An estimated 150 million to 180 million public-sector workers go on a 24-hour nationwide general strike against plans for increasing privatization and other economic policies. It is called the largest strike in human history (2 September). **Kuwait:** Oil workers go on strike. The National Guard is brought in, but nevertheless the strike is surprisingly favorable to the workers (April). **Mauritania:** Antislavery activists are severely repressed and sent to jail (August). **Sri Lanka:** Dock workers strike against privatization of the port, but hundreds of navy soldiers disperse the strikers during an attack with poles and rifles (December). **Turkey:** The International Trade Union Confederation writes, “A series of unprecedented bans on rights to freedom of association and restrictions of basic civil liberties were enforced following the 15 July coup attempt.” **Turkmenistan:** A labor and human rights activist is arrested and tortured after he publishes an extensive report on the systematic use of forced labor (October). **United Kingdom:** The Trade Union Act is added to the list of acts that might favor employers and antiunion groups (November).

**2017 Algeria:** The Committee on the Applications of the Standards of the International Labour Organization urges the government to halt all practices of intimidation and police violence against trade union leaders (June). **Bangladesh:** The National Garment Workers Federation organizes a strike at the Haesong company during which more than 50 workers are injured after being attacked by hired thugs (August). **Cape Verde:** The union federations sign an agreement with the government to promote social peace and increase the national minimum wage (July). **Dominican Republic:** Workers try to form a

trade union at Willbes Dominicana, but the company unleashes a wave of intimidation and reprisals against all 15 members of the initiating committee. Only after strong international pressure does the company promise to respect the right to freedom of association (August). **Malta:** The Palumbo Ship Repair Company tries to avoid concluding a collective agreement by delaying the process and threatening the employees to sign a direct agreement (December). **Nigeria:** A trade union leader is killed by gunmen during a strike of nonacademic university personnel (November). **Senegal:** Founding members of a new trade union are dismissed because management of the telecom company regards the formation of the union a declaration of war (November). **Libya:** The International Organization for Migration publishes a report showing that many migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa are sold as slaves. **United Arab Emirates:** A bill is signed that for the first time guarantees domestic workers labor rights including a weekly rest day, 30 days of paid annual leave, sick leave, and 12 hours of rest a day (September). **Uzbekistan:** The International Trade Union Confederation once again concludes that the Federation of Trade Unions of Uzbekistan “is not a democratic or independent workers’ organization and does not share or adhere to the values, principles and goals declared by the ITUC.”

**2018 International:** The Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration is formally endorsed by the General Assembly of the United Nations. The International Trade Union Confederation is critical of the Global Compact because it sets lower standards than existing international law requires. **Brazil:** The country enters the list of the 10 worst countries for workers as indicated by the International Trade Union Confederation. Trade union activists are being murdered and the entire collective bargaining system collapses. **Burma/Myanmar:** Dozens of garment workers employed at a textile factory and protesting against the sacking of their striking colleagues are seriously wounded after armed thugs attack them with metal bars and wooden sticks (October). **Chad:** Civil servants strike for five months against austerity measures by the government imposed by the International Monetary Fund (May). **Croatia:** The International Trade Union Confederation reports frequent antiunion discriminatory measures. Employees attempting to form a union are often threatened with nonrenewal of their contracts (May). **French Polynesia:** General strike in response to plans to raise the pension entitlement age from 60 to 62 by the year 2020 and increase employee contribution. The strike is ended after government–union talks (February). **Iran:** From April to December, many strikes occur against the rising cost of living and the regime. Clashes with the police and arrests followed. The judiciary states that those arrested could face the death penalty. **United Kingdom:** The International Trade Union Confederation concludes serious undermining of the right to strike because of the Trade Union 2016 Act (March). **United States:**

Compelling payment of agency fees from nonunion employees in the public sector is held unconstitutional (June). **Zimbabwe:** During an army attack on the headquarter of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions, seven people are killed (August).

**2019 International:** The International Federation of Journalists adopts the Global Charter of Ethics for Journalists, which completes the Declaration of Principles on the Conduct of Journalists from 1954, known as the Bordeaux Declaration. The Global Charter forms the core of ethical standards for journalists worldwide, aimed at honest fact-finding (June). Renewing the global framework agreement, which dates back to 2007, IndustriALL and Inditex, one of the world's largest clothing retailers, agree to set up a global union committee, with the aim of sharing best practices across the industry (November). **Argentina:** The united trade union movement organizes a series of general strikes against the austerity measures under the Macri administration since 2015 (May). **Fiji:** The Fiji Trade Union Congress (FTUC) affiliates with the International Trade Union Congress, with a membership of 30,000. The arrest of the Secretary of the FTUC, along with some 30 other trade unionists, is a clear sign that the freedom to unionize is still weak in Fiji. Intimidation, harassment, and arrests of trade union officials are ongoing (May). **Gambia:** Gambian transport unionists who are divided for over a decade sign a Memorandum of Understanding, based on collective agreements to work together toward achieving common objectives (June). **Hong Kong:** Ongoing protests triggered by the introduction of a bill that would allow the extradition of criminal fugitives to mainland China, thus subjecting residents and visitors to the jurisdiction of China. On 5 August, a general strike supports the demonstrators. In September, the bill is withdrawn, but other issues cause the protests to continue into 2020 (August). **India:** Because the government implements a strong antiunion agenda, 150 million workers go on strike. This strike lasts two days, probably the biggest strike ever in human history counting the number of strike days (January). **Mexico:** A new bill is enacted that for the first time grants workers the right to collectively bargain with employers with neglect of the politically dependent union movement (1 May). **Morocco:** The union movement campaigns against a draft regulatory law written without consulting trade unions and limiting the right to strike. **Spain:** Almost 200 women footballers from 16 clubs in Spain's top division go on strike after more than a year of failed negotiations over minimum working conditions (November). **Surinam:** The president of Surinam, responsible for the murder of union leader Cyrill Daal in 1982, is finally sentenced to imprisonment, although his impunity was not put to an end (December). **United Kingdom:** The Trade Union Congress proudly announces that membership has increased for the second consecutive year and for the fourth time in the last seven years (May).

# Introduction

Organized labor is about the collective efforts of employees/workers to improve their economic, social, and political position. It can be studied from many different points of view—historical, economic, sociological, or legal—but is fundamentally about the struggle for **human rights**, social justice, and a fair part of the economic product. As a rule, organized labor has tried to make the world a fairer place. Even though it has only ever covered a minority of employees in most countries, its effects on their political, economic, and social systems have been generally positive. History shows that when organized labor is repressed, the whole society suffers and is made less just. Ongoing research also shows that people become unhappier when inequality rises, and this is not only true for the poor but in general for all people.

This dictionary could be seen as a study in failure and success. Since 1980, organized labor in most Western countries has faced falling **membership**, defeats by **employers**, and a general loss of direction and power. Eastern Europe since the falling apart of the **Soviet Union** and many developing countries in more recent years have witnessed a growth of membership. The result of this has been a growth of global membership from 118 million in 1980, via 175 million in 2010, to 200 million members at the end of 2018.

Against this very mixed contemporary background, it is timely to take stock of the history of organized labor, to see where it came from and where it has been. This introduction presents a general view of the development and growth of organized labor as a historical movement in a global perspective, explores some of the characteristics of organized labor, and analyzes the main trends since 1980.

## LABOR IN HISTORY

### The Beginnings of Organized Labor in an Unfree World

Labor unions are usually defined as voluntary organizations of **employees** created to defend or improve the pay and living conditions of their members through bargaining with their employers. This scanty definition is taken from dozens or even hundreds of definitions, the most famous being the one formulated by the **Beatrice and Sydney Webb** in their *History of Trade Unionism* (1894): “continuous association of **wage** earners for the purpose of maintaining and improving the conditions of their working lives.” The definition

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used here remains very close to theirs. Labor unions have an ultimate weapon to pursue the interest of employees, the **strike**. So-called unions that never strike or threaten a strike can hardly be mentioned as trade unions. As institutions, labor unions have existed only in the last 200 years—that is, since the advent of the Industrial Revolution and modern capitalism—but in fact organized labor has existed throughout history. It is simply that in a documentary record dominated by the powerful, labor, unless it caused trouble, was hardly mentioned.

Bargaining between rulers and the ruled has always occurred to some degree. Often this bargaining took the form of petitions by labor to their rulers complaining about some matter in the hope of redress. In 1152 B.C., the Egyptian pharaoh's tomb makers struck work over the failure of their rulers to supply them with grain; it was history's first recorded **labor dispute**. The Old Testament records that during the Israelites' Egyptian bondage, their foremen complained to the pharaoh about the lack of straw they needed to make their quota of bricks. The Old Testament also records the pharaoh's haughty dismissal of their complaints (Exodus 5:6–23).

Rulers from ancient times saw any unauthorized gatherings or organizations as a threat to social order. This can be shown by two examples from the Roman Empire. In about A.D. 54, there was a disturbance among the silversmiths of Ephesus over the threat to the trade in cult objects for the worship of Diana caused by the preaching of St. Paul. A local official pointed out that the gathering was illegal and could lead to the use of force by the Romans (Acts 19:23–40). A second example occurred in about A.D. 110, when Pliny the Younger, the governor of the troubled province of Bithynia, requested permission from the emperor Trajan to allow a fire brigade of 150 members to be organized. Trajan denied the request on the grounds that the brigade might become a focus for political opposition, as had happened elsewhere in Asia Minor.

With much of the labor performed by tied labor forces or slaves, there was little scope for the formation of a large body of free individuals who earned their living by their labor in the societies of classical Greece and Rome. Indeed, the concept of “labor” as a general function in these societies scarcely existed. Both the Greek and Latin words for *work* (*ἐργον* and *labor*) were associated with unremitting toil, compulsion, and **slavery**—an activity “real citizens” would never perform, or in the words of the Roman statesman, lawyer, and philosopher Cicero, who wrote in the first century B.C.: “vulgar are the means of livelihood of all hired workmen whom we pay for mere manual labor, not for artistic skill; for in their case the very wage they receive is a pledge of their slavery.” This has been the attitude by the elite toward the activity with which the majority of the population has been making a living for centuries. From the state, they also couldn't expect much sympathy. The



purpose of the government was and often still is to maintain the social and economic order. The Roman emperor Diocletian's well-known edict of maximum prices of A.D. 301 laid down maximum wages as well.

Despite government policy, some groups did engage in rudimentary forms of **collective bargaining**. Evidence for this comes from the early Byzantine Empire. In A.D. 544, one of the "new" laws of the emperor Justinian I forbade sailors and laborers from demanding or accepting pay increases on penalty of having to pay the treasury three times the amount at issue.

Although distant in time, these precedents showed the attitudes of the rulers toward their subjects, which were held until fairly recently in recorded history. In the absence of political bargaining, most groups often had to resort to rebellion to make their presence felt. Well-known is the revolt by tens of thousands of slaves headed by the gladiator Spartacus in 73 B.C. They managed to win victories over the Roman army but in the end were defeated and punished gruesomely. Usually rebels had no agenda for social reform, although the Mazdakite movement in sixth century A.D. Persia, with its curiously modern call for redistribution of wealth, was an exception.

During the Middle Ages in Western Europe, religion could also be an outlet for those seeking social change, as shown by the activities of revolutionary millenarians. It is interesting to note it was the radical wing of organized labor that was to continue the millenarian tradition through its imagery of a bright and shining tomorrow (*see* ICONOGRAPHY). Organized labor emerged very slowly from the economic and urban population growth of Western Europe from about A.D. 1200. The money economy of capitalism began to assume greater importance, as signaled by the revival of regular gold coin production at Florence and Genoa in 1252. Although the broad pattern of economic and social development across Western Europe differed widely, some common elements were present. Of particular significance was the rise of a wage-earning group in the population, whose existence is documented in Portugal as early as 1253. Wage earners, especially skilled members, were the founders of the first labor unions. An early example is the wool carder Brandini, who with his two sons founded an assembly in Florence in 1345. They successfully tried to group together colleagues and other workers from the woolen trade. Brandini also proposed to demand a subscription from the attendants to the assemblies. This precursor of organized labor was arrested and hanged.

## The Birth of Organized Labor in England

Among the Western nations, England can claim special importance because it was there that many of the institutions and much of the lexicon of organized labor had their origins. From about A.D. 1100, guilds or societies of masters and **journeymen** were the main agents of economic regulation.

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They could fix the price of their products, had responsibility for maintaining their quality, and controlled entry into their trade through an **apprenticeship** system. They also took care of the old and sick in their trade, and the children and wives of deceased members. The guilds could also set the wages of journeymen. The word *wages* was known to be in use in England by about 1330.

Journeymen were men who, having served an apprenticeship and become qualified in their trade, were employed by a master. Once qualified, they could find themselves in an awkward position in the medieval labor force. They were conscious of being in a socially superior position compared with peasants, but could suffer from changes in price levels through being tied to the money economy of the towns. At the same time, opportunities for advancement to a master could be limited or nonexistent.

These conditions gave rise to persistent attempts by journeymen in many trades and others to organize themselves for higher pay, a process that was assisted by the Black Death (1347–1353), which may have killed off as many as a third of the population in England, mainly the working poor. In 1381, the Corporation of the City of London forbade congregations or alliances among the trades. In 1383, some journeymen saddlers of London were accused of having formed “covins” (a term of conspiratorial suggestion first recorded in 1330) to raise their pay.

With the decline of the guilds after 1500, the English parliament started to make laws covering a wider range of economic regulation. In 1548, Parliament passed a general law prohibiting combinations among artisans and laborers. This law, the Bill of Conspiracies of Victuallers and Craftsmen, was significant for introducing the concept of combinations as conspiracies into English law. Other laws passed in the 1550s were designed to preserve the economic order; they applied to the textile industry (one of the first industries to employ large concentrations of employees) and restricted how many looms a person could own and outlawed gig-mills. In 1562, the Statute of Artificers gave justices of the peace the power to set the wages of artisans and laborers and provided penalties for breach of contract by employers and employees. The statute also laid down that a seven-year apprenticeship was required for a man to become a journeyman.

England’s economic growth, and particularly its rate of technological change from 1700, made the intent of the 16th-century labor laws increasingly difficult to apply to an increasingly dynamic economy with its fluctuating levels of **real wages**. It was also an economy with a growing labor force employed in **manufacturing**. In 1980, P. H. Lindert used samples from burial registers to gauge occupation change in England before 1800. His revised estimates, although tentative, suggest that the importance of commercial and industrial occupations in the pre-1800 economy had been underestimated by Gregory King, who used hearth tax returns and other sources.

Lindert estimated that between 1700 and 1803, the number of males employed in manufacturing doubled from 155,000 to 324,000, a modest rate by later standards but impressive for the time. These developments also provided unintended fertile soil for the germination of labor unions. Despite the antiunion laws, journeymen and others continued to form secret labor unions and, from at least 1717, to conduct strikes. The term *strike* acquired its modern meaning as early as 1763. By 1769, settling labor disputes had become an important part of the duties of justices of the peace.

In his 1980 study, C. R. Dobson documented 383 labor disputes in Britain between 1717 and 1800 that covered more than 30 trades; of these, most occurred among wool combers, weavers, and wool spinners (64); seamen and ships' carpenters (37); tailors and staymakers (27); bricklayers, carpenters, and building laborers (19); and coal miners (18). Disputes over wages and working hours accounted for 71 percent of disputes, 9 percent were over the employment of apprentices or other persons, and 6 percent were over innovation and machinery.

The evidence assembled by Dobson is important for showing that even before the start of the Industrial Revolution, labor disputes and labor organizations were established, if unwelcome, features of British society. Similar features are also found in the Low Countries, where an extensive woolen industry existed. Dobson also showed that the groups who took part in disputes were similar to those who were to play a prominent role in later periods—weavers, coal miners, and building workers—and that the issues that concerned them most were wages and working hours. In this period, labor unions had no legal standing but were clearly a presence even if shadowy as organizations.

It was no accident that 56 percent of all the disputes between 1717 and 1800 were over wages. Real wages fluctuated considerably from year to year in the 18th century, making it all too easy for the living standards of groups of employees to fall behind the cost of living. Falls in the standard of living were most conducive to increased activity by organized labor, especially during the 1790s, when England's wars with **France** caused real wages to fall by 42 percent and led to some successful strikes for higher pay by London journeymen. Parliament responded to the labor unrest with the **Combination Acts** of 1799 and 1800, which, it has been argued, were largely wartime security measures aimed primarily at labor disputes rather than labor unions as such.

The next 25 years were difficult for organized labor. The Industrial Revolution gathered pace, and with it came a host of technological changes that benefited some groups in the labor force and destroyed the livelihood of others. The legal suppression of strikes encouraged illegal outlets, such as the organized destruction of machines in the woolen industry by the **Luddites** between 1811 and 1813. Parliament and organized labor differed fundamen-

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tally on economic policy. Organized labor wished to preserve the preindustrial economic order with its extensive regulations, they wanted to save what E. P. Thompson labeled the “moral economy.” Parliament, on the other hand, was determined to move toward a free-enterprise economy with minimal government regulation. The triumph of the new economic order based on manufacturing was symbolized by the repeal of the wages clause of the Statute of Artificers (1562) in 1813 and the apprenticeship clause in 1814. There was opposition to both actions. One petition presented to parliament opposing the repeal of the apprenticeship clauses was signed by 30,517 journeymen (13,000 in London and 17,517 outside it), an action that gave some indication of the extent of organized labor at the time.

Organized labor and social protest were closely allied. Much of the social protest of the period was economic in origin and intent. Two well-known examples were the planned march to London by some Manchester weavers (the “Blanketeers”) of 1817, who were dispersed by the government after the arrest of their leaders, and the Peterloo Massacre at Manchester, when a militia charge killed 11 people in a crowd that had gathered for a political demonstration for parliamentary reform in 1819.

Although the Combination Acts were repealed in 1824, they were replaced by new legislation in 1825 that effectively prohibited strikes. Despite this, labor unions continued to survive. Francis Place estimated that in this period there were about 100,000 journeymen in London, all potential candidates for union membership. The word *union* itself seems to have come into use at this time in its modern sense in the shipping and shipbuilding industries. By 1834, the term *employee*, borrowed from French *employé*, had also come into use.

During the first half of the 19th century, two elites were evident among the artisans who composed organized labor in England: an older elite of carpenters, tailors, potters, and curriers and a new elite in ironworking, engineering, and the new manufacturing industries. Other occupations, most notably those of handloom weavers, were destroyed by mechanization of their trade. New unions began to emerge: journeymen steam engine makers (1826), carpenters (1827), a national union of coal miners in 1842 that claimed 70,000 members for a time, carpenters and joiners (1860), and, most famous of all, the **Amalgamated Society of Engineers** (1851).

According to the first directory of British labor unions, published in 1861, there were 290 trades with unions in London alone, nearly all of them in manufacturing or construction. How many members of labor unions there were in England before 1860 is not known with precision, but the available evidence suggests it was small and the numbers varied widely depending on the state of the economy. The **Grand National Consolidated Trades Union** in 1834 is thought to have had only about 16,000 members. Even well-known unions had relatively small memberships. Both the Amalgamated

Society of Engineers and the **Friendly Society** of Operative Stonemasons had only 5,000 members each in 1850–1851. These and other figures suggest that total union membership for Britain in the early 1850s was about 50,000 and fell to about 40,000 in 1860.

There was significant growth in the membership of skilled unions in the 1860s. The Amalgamated Engineers grew from 21,000 members in 1860 to 35,000 by 1870, the Ironfounders from 8,000 to 9,000, and the newly formed **Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners** from 618 to 10,200. At the 1869 meeting of the **Trades Union Congress (TUC)**, there were 40 unions represented, claiming a total membership of 250,000.

### The Example of England

Outside of Britain before 1835, labor unions seem to have existed only in France, the **United States**, **Canada**, and the colony of New South Wales in **Australia**. After the French Revolution in 1789, journeymen carpenters in Paris formed a union that aroused complaints by employers; the union was suppressed by the Le Chapelier Law (1791), which was also applied to **employers' organizations**. Strikes were forbidden by the Penal Code of 1810. Hence information on strike activity was only recorded in police records. Only from 1888 a systematic overview of labor conflicts was published. In North America, the idea of labor unions was imported from England by journeymen immigrants. A British register of American immigrants maintained between 1773 and 1776 showed that of the 6,190 immigrants whose occupations were known, 49 percent were artisans, mechanics, or craftsmen. The first American union was the Federal Society of Journeymen Cordwainers (or shoemakers) in Philadelphia; formed in 1794, the society lasted until 1806. In Canada, unions in the building industry made their presence felt at Saint John, New Brunswick, as early as 1812, when they tried to exclude American immigrants to maintain the shortage of skilled labor. In Australia, at least two unions were formed by 1835: one among Sydney shipwrights (1829) and the other among cabinetmakers (1833).

In this period, governments often made little distinction between social unrest and calls for greater democracy and labor unions. The spirit of the age was shown by a revolt by silk workers in Lyon, France, in 1834 after the government attempted to suppress labor unions. Yet despite the harshness of its laws, the environment in England was, in practice, much freer than elsewhere in Europe. For example, in 1825 the British government repealed a law that had prohibited the immigration of artisans to continental Europe, legislation that had been in English statutes since 1718. If they could survive the severe economic fluctuations of the period and the social consequences of technological change brought by industrialization, labor unions could succeed.

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European visitors to England in the 1860s were impressed by its labor unions. In 1862, a deputation of French labor leaders was allowed by Napoleon III to visit the London Exhibition. They returned with a high opinion of English working conditions and unions and asked to be granted **freedom of association** and the right to strike, freedoms that were not really available under English law.

In 1869, the Comte de Paris (Louis Philippe d'Orleans) published a sympathetic study, *The Trade Unions of England*, which was translated into English; it had previously been reprinted six times in French, and a German translation was prepared as well. In 1868, Max Hirsch, a German mechanical engineer, toured England and was much influenced by what he saw of the skilled unions, particularly their attempts to settle disputes amicably, and by their independence from political parties. On his return, he organized a new group of liberal unions known as **Hirsch–Duncker Trade Associations**, which were based on these ideas. Similarly, the constitution of the TUC provided the model for the American Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, the forerunner of the **American Federation of Labor**. In Australia, **New Zealand**, and Canada, British immigration reinforced Britain as the model for organized labor throughout most of the 19th century.

It was no accident that England, as the first industrial nation in the world, should have been the birthplace of organized labor. In European, if not American, terms, it was a land of liberty, as underscored by the Second Reform Act of 1867, which gave the vote to the better-off urban working class, that is, to most of the union members of the time. This early accommodation of labor by the political system, expressed through its alliance with the Liberal Party, marked England off from the rest of Europe and held back the formation of a purely labor party. In other parts of Europe, the political wing of labor was often stronger than its industrial wing.

There are other important differences between the history of British organized labor and that of many other parts of the world. First, British society was divided primarily by social class rather than religion, race, or ethnicity, a fact that eased recruiting. Second, as the center of a global empire up to 1939, British unions were freed from the need to participate in any struggle for national independence. Third, they operated in an advanced and relatively wealthy society thanks to modern industry and the possession of many colonies throughout the globe, even though the distribution of that wealth was highly uneven.

## The Role of the State

The spread of the Industrial Revolution, population growth, and rising literacy during the 19th century gave rise to the well-studied phenomenon of the “rise of the working class.” Crude repression, the traditional method used by governments to maintain control, continued in many countries such as **Russia**, but from about the 1860s onward the need for skilled workers gradually made this option less acceptable. This was also clear from the emergence of a group of social entrepreneurs who realized that they were dependent on well-fed, well-housed, and educated workers. Governments began to realize that they needed a way of encouraging working-class demands and protests into acceptable constitutional channels. By a process of trial and error, organized labor gradually became accepted by a number of governments as one way of achieving this goal. In various ways, often unintentional, the form of organized labor was influenced by the state. This can be shown by the responses of governments to the growth of organized labor in a number of countries.

In Britain, the supportive response of the British government to the moderate trade unionism of the 1860s and 1870s (as indicated also by the Trade Union Act of 1871) contrasted with its hostility to the radicalism of Chartism in the 1840s. It was this moderation that earned the labor unions the scorn of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. The growth of unions, especially moderate ones, seems to have been implicitly encouraged by governments in a number of European countries with the object of reducing support for **socialism**. In France, the government legalized labor unions in 1884 and provided financial assistance to the Bourses du Travail (the coordinating centers for local unions), provided they remained out of the control of extremists. This was in the starkest contrast to the state’s earlier violent suppression of the unemployed during the “June Days” in 1848 and the bloodshed of the Paris Commune in 1871. In **Germany**, the labor unions operated in a legal twilight but operated nevertheless if they avoided **politics**; as well, Bismarck attempted to undercut the threat of socialism not just by banning the Social Democratic Party (1878) but also by a number of social reforms such as sickness insurance (1883). In this sense, organized labor, far from operating in a political void, was the target of manipulation by the political culture.

Even benign actions by the state affected organized labor. For example, the introduction of compulsory conciliation and arbitration procedures in Australia and New Zealand assisted the growth of unions by easing the process of gaining recognition from employers for bargaining but also encouraged an unduly large number of unions.

The spread of the Industrial Revolution from about 1870 and the economic and social changes it brought challenged the social order. Industrial and urban growth fed the growth of organized labor and raised awkward ques-

tions about the distribution of wealth, political reform, and, ultimately, what form future society should take. Radical political creeds arose to offer answers—**anarchism**, socialism, **syndicalism**, and later **communism** or Marxist-Leninism—creeds that continued to stimulate and divide organized labor throughout most of the 20th century and made them a continuous object of attention by the state.

During World War I, governments needed the active cooperation of organized labor to maintain the high level of armaments production to fight the war. In the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and the United States, organized labor enjoyed a degree of acceptance by the state that it had not previously enjoyed. In the United Kingdom, France, and the United States, organized labor was courted by the highest levels of government and coopted into the war effort. This courting didn't prevent the same governments from acting with strength and violence if the need was felt to do so. The history of especially labor in the United States shows quite a number of such acts. The economic difficulties of the 1920s and 1930s brought new pressures to bear on the relations between the state and organized labor that were resolved by widely differing methods. In France (1936), formal accommodations between government, employers, and unions were agreed to, which had long-lasting results for organized labor. In **Norway** (1935), **Switzerland** (1937), and **Sweden** (1938), employers and organized labor came to agreements that had the support of their governments. Fascism was the other response to the economic problems of the interwar years. With its emphasis on centralized control justified on the grounds of maintaining national unity, fascism was hostile to any independent source of political power. As such, organized labor was a leading victim of fascist repression. German labor leaders were among the first inmates of Dachau concentration camp. In **Italy** (1924), **Germany** (1933), and **Japan** (1940), organized labor was incorporated into the **corporatist** apparatus of totalitarian government, examples that were copied by **Brazil** (1931), **Greece** (1931), **Portugal** (1933), and **Yugoslavia** (1935). That said, fascist policies had an enduring effect on organized labor. In Italy, the fascist legacy to organized labor consisted of the legal recognition of unions, a unitary labor organization, compulsory financial contributions, and legally binding **collective agreements**. In Germany, the forcible organization of labor into national industry groups was a powerful precedent for the simplified labor union structure of the post-1945 era.

During the Cold War, democratic governments intervened in the affairs of organized labor, overtly and covertly, throughout the world to resist communist influence in countries like Italy. Of lasting significance in this period was the creation of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** in London in November 1949 as a counterorganization to the communist



**World Federation of Trade Unions.** In these ways, organized labor has been shaped by the actions of governments (*see* GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF ORGANIZED LABOR).

## The Growth of Organized Labor

The growth of organized labor is one of the unsung success stories of modern world history. In 1870, there were about 790,000 labor union members in the world; in 1900, there were about 5 million; in 1970, there were 98 million; and, in 2018 there were 200 million. As these figures exclude communist and other authoritarian countries where unions are not allowed to bargain freely, they are all the more impressive. Few other world movements have grown so much without the use of force or direction from above.

Of the 790,000 union members in the world in about 1870, most lived in Britain (289,000) or the United States (300,000). France had about 120,000 members and Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire together had about 81,000. Labor unions also existed in Australia and Canada, but their membership was tiny, probably no more than 10,000 in total. Union growth after 1870 was neither steady nor sure. The original base of recruitment, the skilled trades, was expanded to include employees in mass employment such as the railroads, laborers, and the less skilled and finally, from 1890 onward, groups like **women** and **white-collar** employees. Even so, the rise in world union members was heavily dependent on the condition of the trade cycle and on events peculiar to countries with large memberships. For instance, in the United States, union membership reached its pre-1900 peak in the mid-1880s with about one million members—or 53 percent of the world total—but then fell to 869,000 by 1900. This collapse was brought about by internal conflict over what form organized labor should take, in particular, the fight between the American Federation of Labor and the **Knights of Labor**. In contrast, union membership in Britain advanced from 581,000 in the mid-1880s to two million by 1900.

The 20th century opened with a blossoming of organized labor. Between 1900 and 1905, labor unions appeared in Japan (although they were quickly suppressed) and among indigenous workers in Africa (Lagos, **Nigeria**), the **Philippines**, and in the Dutch East Indies (**Indonesia**). Union membership grew also in Southern and Eastern Europe until, by 1913, there were 14 million union members in the world, a remarkable development compared with 50 years before, even if organized labor remained a largely European movement. Of the 14 million union members in 1913, 76 percent were in Europe; of the remaining three million, most were in North America or Australia. This meant that unionism was essentially European in structure

and outlook. Although the **International Federation of Trade Unions** tried to build up a truly international membership, in practice it remained a largely European organization during its life from 1901 to 1945.

Less obvious, but more serious, was the relatively small proportion of employees enrolled by organized labor in most countries. In 1913, only Australia (31 percent) had more than 20 percent of its employees in labor unions. Within Europe, the highest levels of union enrollment of employees were in Germany (18 percent), the **Netherlands** (17 percent), and Britain (16 percent). With 9 percent of its employees in labor unions in 1913, the United States was comparable with Sweden and Norway (each with 8 percent). Not only did organized labor embrace a small minority of employees, its membership was heavily concentrated in mining, manufacturing, construction, and transportation. Furthermore, the vast majority of union members were men in **blue-collar** occupations.

Between 1913 and 1920, there was an explosion in world union membership based on high **inflation** largely caused by military expenditure, falling real wages, and the recruitment of large numbers of white-collar workers such as teachers. It was a period of wartime dislocation and political revolution. By 1920, organized labor could claim 44 million members worldwide, three times what it had been in 1913. Of the gain of 30 million, 18 million occurred in Western Europe, 8 million in Eastern Europe, and less than 4 million in the Americas. For the first time, too, organized labor emerged in **India** and Japan.

The year 1920 was a high point in the strength of organized labor, with about half of the employees in Germany, **Austria**, and Britain belonging to unions, a reflection of their governments' need to enlist the support of organized labor to fight World War I, but also of the growing dissension of many employees with the effects the war had on their lives. Considered by region, 63 percent of union members were in Western Europe, 19 percent in Eastern Europe, and 15 percent in the Americas.

Organized labor's new importance was officially recognized by the formation of the **International Labour Organization** in 1919. After 1920, the fortunes of organized labor fell considerably. By 1930, it could claim only 31 million members worldwide, a net loss of 13 million members. The economic crisis of the 1920s and the revived hostility of the employers cost labor dearly. Those countries where organized labor had grown the most in the period from 1913 to 1920 were those that suffered the largest losses after 1920: Germany (3.6 million), Italy (3.4 million), the United Kingdom (3.5 million), and the United States (1.6 million). In all, European unions lost 16 million members in the 1920s and North America lost 1.6 million. These losses were only partly offset by membership gains in Latin America, Asia, and Australasia of 3.6 million.

With the rise of fascism and the onset of the Depression, the growth of organized labor ceased. In Italy, the unions' declining labor membership enabled their suppression by Mussolini in 1924. In 1933, the free unions of Germany with their 5.6 million members were snuffed out and many of their leaders arrested and imprisoned. In both Italy and Germany, the fascist government suppressed labor movements that were already in decline, a decline that was also a result from the internal fights between moderates and radicals. The remaining independent labor unions of Japan were suppressed in 1940. Ironically, it was the 1930s that saw a rebirth of American labor unions, whose membership during the decade rose from 3.2 to 7.9 million, even though this growth only restored the proportion of employees in unions to about where it had been in 1920. The other main areas of labor union membership growth were in Britain and Scandinavia.

After World War II, organized labor became embroiled in Cold War politics. In 1945, the former international body of organized labor, the International Federation of Trade Unions, dissolved itself and was replaced by the World Federation of Trade Unions, which was the first truly global organization of labor unions. It lasted in this form until 1949, when the noncommunist countries withdrew and set up their own international body, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, whose membership rose from 48 million at its formation to 175 million by 2010. Meanwhile, the World Federation of Trade Unions continued as an organization.

What happened to these international labor bodies was probably unavoidable given the international climate of the times, but what was more significant and encouraging was the strong revival of organized labor in Germany, Italy, and Japan. By 1950, these three countries had a total labor union membership of 16 million, or a quarter of the world's membership. The United States also continued to have a growing labor union membership: from 7.9 million in 1940 to 13.4 million in 1950.

The 30 years from 1950 to 1980 marked another high point in the history of organized labor, with world membership growing from 64 to 118 million. The industries where organized labor was traditionally strong, such as manufacturing and other areas of mass employment, grew to meet the demands of postwar economies. Labor also enjoyed a far more sympathetic political environment, particularly in Western European democracies where **social-democratic, socialist, and labor parties** governed or were major political players.

Yet even in the time of its greatest strength, the structural problems that have always bedeviled organized labor remained. Since the 1960s, much of the growth in the labor force has been in the **service sector**—that is, those industries other than **agriculture**, mining, and manufacturing—industries with many women and white-collar workers, groups that organized labor either neglected or found difficult to recruit.

Two broad observations may be made about the course of the history of organized labor between 1870 and 1980. First, union membership grew mightily, if unevenly, from lowly beginnings in hostile political and legal environments to a position of strength where governments had to take account of its views. This growth was achieved by democratic means. Unlike communism, organized labor has come from below rather than being imposed from above by a self-proclaimed representative of the employees, or as communists themselves call it “the vanguard of the working class.” Second, through its political struggles, organized labor has helped change society for the better by fighting for improved working conditions and greater sharing of the gains of economic growth. These successes need to be remembered in any assessment of the history of organized labor. It is also vital to appreciate the many internal difficulties faced by organized labor, which are the subject of the next section.

## THE CHARACTER OF ORGANIZED LABOR

### The Divisions of Organized Labor

So far, it has been convenient to view organized labor as a single entity to show how it developed and spread as a world movement. But organized labor has never been a single entity, and its divisions are as important as its similarities both within and between countries. Organized labor has always reflected faithfully its country of origin in all important respects.

The most widespread division in the history of organized labor has been that between the skilled and the less skilled (*see* CRAFT UNIONS). As has already been mentioned, the strongest labor unions developed among groups of skilled men, and it was these groups that were largely responsible for its survival before the 1880s. Skilled men, of course, had many advantages over the less skilled; they could command higher pay, were harder to replace, and so had more bargaining power with an employer. Furthermore, they had already made a substantial investment of time and effort in their employment through the apprenticeship system. As a result, it was all too easy for the skilled to look down on or fear the less skilled rather than make common cause with them. At the same time, the less skilled presented a potential threat to skilled men, especially when technological change reduced the skills needed for a job and opened the way for the less skilled to be trained to replace them.

This problem has been a critical issue for organized labor throughout much of its history. It came to the forefront spectacularly with the Knights of Labor in the United States in the 1880s; the Knights were the first labor organization in the world to recruit the unskilled as well as the skilled. The

problem gave rise to debate about how organized labor should be organized, by industry or by occupation. An industry-based union implied that all within that industry could be eligible for recruitment into a union, whereas unions based on craft or skilled occupations implied that many employees within the industry would be left out (*see* INDUSTRIAL UNIONS). As labor unions emerged among the traditionally less skilled, new problems arose. For example, the American Federation of Labor, the body that only accepted affiliates organized along craft lines, also included unions of unskilled employees even in the late 19th century. With union growth came the problem of which unions had the right to recruit which employees. With no clear answer in many cases, there was often much conflict between unions about who had recruitment rights. As a result, national labor federations often had to adjudicate in interunion disputes.

The second divide in organized labor was between **blue-collar** and white-collar workers and the distinctions of social “class” this implied. In late 19th-century Germany, it was called the *Kragelinie* or “collar line.” Although **white-collar unionism** began to emerge in a number of countries in the 1900s, it was generally moderate in character and aloof from manual union organizations and their concerns until after 1945.

As well as these sources of division, organized labor has been and is divided by religion. Before World War II, organized labor in Western Europe (apart from Britain) was divided by religion, specifically into Catholic and non-Catholic movements, with the non-Catholic unions largely being socialist in outlook. Since 1945, with the exception of Germany and Austria, this division has persisted in continental Europe despite efforts to unify the movements in France, **Belgium**, and Switzerland (*see* CATHOLICISM).

Politics has been a fourth source of division in organized labor. Before 1920, the dominant form of political division was between socialists (of varying degrees) and nonsocialists (Catholic, Liberal, and Protestant). After 1920, communism became an important and sometimes dominant element in labor union politics. More generally, the persistent political division in labor unions was between right wing and left wing. **Race and ethnicity** has been, and is, a fifth source of division in organized labor. In some countries, notably **South Africa**, it assumed huge proportions up to the 1990s.

## Ways and Means: Achieving Objectives

Since the late 19th century, organized labor, despite its divisions, has sought to change the rules by which work is governed. The means for achieving this goal has been through collective bargaining, preferably to have as an outcome a signed, legally enforceable agreement that sets out wages and conditions of employment. Although labor disputes attract publicity and may be dramatically or even violently conducted, in democratic societies the pro-

cess of collective bargaining is more usually slow, detailed, and dull. When organized labor is unable to secure a collective agreement, it may resort to a withdrawal of labor (the strike), but this is a relatively rare event outside of certain industries such as mining, transportation, and metals manufacturing.

Where collective bargaining is not permitted or fails, organized labor may turn to politics for assistance to achieve its objectives. It may seek to lobby parties—for example, in the use of **political action committees** in the United States—or, if this fails to deliver satisfactory outcomes, to form its own political parties, as happened in Australia, Britain, and Scandinavia (*see* AUSTRALIAN LABOR PARTY (ALP); LABOUR PARTY (BRITISH)). Since the 1950s, international labor organizations have become adept in forming specific organizations to lobby larger political organizations to seek a voice for labor or to press particular claims (*see*, for example, ASIA-PACIFIC LABOUR NETWORK (APLN)).

For most of its history, organized labor has not tried to change the essential features of capitalism, but it has tried to mitigate its worst effects. By slowly chipping away at the economic system through improved labor laws and collective agreements, organized labor has brought about incremental but important economic and social changes that have provided benefits that extend well beyond its immediate membership. Indeed, organized labor was and still is one of the principal forces for economic fairness in most democratic societies.

## An Assessment of Organized Labor

Given the divisions within organized labor and the other formidable obstacles it has had to face, it is surprising that it has survived and grown at all. The key to its success may be found in its continual concern with the practical and attainable rather than the theoretical or ideal. Although the history of organized labor is punctuated by widespread and often short-lived social eruptions, to survive as organizations, labor unions have to become recognized, to make rules and agreements governing how work is to be performed and paid, and to seek change in an incremental rather than revolutionary fashion. This is the discipline of reality, of having to deal with the world as it is rather than how it ought to be, as advocated by political or social theorists. This is not to say that organized labor has not been often profoundly influenced by ideas, but it typically assesses those ideas in terms of their practicality.

Whether they admit it or not, labor unions are political beings. By definition, they represent a potential challenge to the existing distribution of power, goods, and services in society, which accounts for their repression by government throughout much of history. They might be won over by government, but that implicit challenge is always present. Their participation in the

political process can take many forms, such as lobbying governments or simply providing career stepping stones for upwardly mobile middle-class aspirants, as has happened through labor parties in countries such as Britain and Australia or in a number of African nations since the 1960s.

Unions are also primarily reactive in character. Typically, they work to preserve and protect the pay and conditions of members. Strikes are generally a last resort of unions and occur when other measures have failed. Periods of inflation are especially productive of labor disputes because they upset the distribution of real wages across and within the employed labor force. This was particularly evident in most countries between about 1910 and 1920 and in the 1970s. Similarly, in periods of rising prosperity, unions seek to gain what they see as their share through strikes for improved pay and conditions.

Union membership size, although important, is no guide in itself to bargaining strength with employers. Some numerically large unions representing relatively poorly paid employees may have little bargaining power, while others, particularly those in key industries such as transportation and communications, may have a lot. Even so, few unions are powerful enough in their own right to be able to bargain effectively on a large scale (e.g., with governments). Organized labor learned long ago to cooperate through national bodies (*see* TRADES UNION CONGRESS (TUC)).

None of this is to say that labor unions are ideal organizations. Like any institution, they can become corrupt if their leaders pursue their own or some other body's interests to the neglect of their members. Where this has occurred, such as in the celebrated case of the **Teamsters** in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s, it receives widespread attention, but, by and large, these are exceptions. Despite all the dire predictions to the contrary, unions continue to go about their work and have remained democratic institutions. This is not to say that all members participate in their activities all of the time; usually, union activities are confined to the committed few, but unions do offer the possibility for all to participate if they choose to do so. As Germany and Austria since 1945 show, organized labor can also be a powerful force for promoting and sustaining democracy.

## ORGANIZED LABOR SINCE 1980

### Global Economic Change and the “Crisis of Labor”

Since 1980, organized labor in most of the Western world has been on the defensive. The topic that has received the most publicity and pessimistic academic study has been the “crisis of labor,” that is, the decline of union membership and power in Western countries, particularly in the United States and the United Kingdom, where union busting became a phenomenon

that attracted bureaus that were well paid by employers wanting to get rid of labor unions. The recession of 1981–1982 greatly reduced employment in industries in which organized labor had traditionally been strong, such as **coal mining**, steel, and manufacturing as a whole. General economic problems enabled organized labor to be blamed by conservative governments and their economic advisers in the United States and the United Kingdom as barriers to economic efficiency. There is a fundamental cultural clash between the advocates of the free market as an economic policy, with its emphasis on deregulation, and organized labor, which is passionately in favor of regulation and government intervention to counteract market failures.

Many economic trends adverse to organized labor since 1980 have been evident. They include a fall in the proportion of well-paid, full-time jobs with benefits; the end of reliable career ladders or long-term employment outside of government service; the increasing use of contractors and the decline of the employer–employee legal relationship; competition from Third World countries (especially from their **export processing zones**) to employees in Western economies and the broader phenomenon of **globalization**; and major shifts in employment away from manufacturing toward the service sector and away from blue-collar workers to white-collar and managerial jobs. The period has also seen a growth of inequality and a decline in the quality of working life, characterized by longer working hours and greater insecurity of employment. Technological change in the form of the better use of computers in the workplace has brought rising productivity but also a spread of the likelihood of unemployment to white-collar employees.

The result of all these trends has been a significant fall in the number of union members in Western countries. Between 1980 and 2010, their numbers in Western Europe fell from 49.3 to 48.3 million and in North America from 23.5 to 10.3 million, trends that seem to support a widespread view among commentators that organized labor was a movement with a past but no future. It was largely overlooked that in the same period membership in Africa, Asia, and Latin America grew, pushing global membership up by 48 percent from 118 to 175 million.

Ironically, at a time when organized labor in Western countries was falling, there was a considerable improvement in the quality of statistical information about its membership in the form of household surveys, mainly in North America, Australia, and the United Kingdom, although sometimes too for Western Europe. Since the 1980s, these surveys have shown that organized labor occupies the relatively privileged parts of the labor force. Members tend to have higher incomes, higher levels of benefits, and better working conditions and are more likely to work for government or larger enterprises than nonunion members.



Although the general economic trends in the developed countries of the past 30 years have been unfavorable to organized labor, they are not the sole reason for the declining density of union membership among employees. All too often, the leadership of organized labor has made the defense of the labor union as an organization their first priority. **Amalgamations** of unions protect the edifice of organizations by making them more efficient, but may be detrimental to the interests of the members at the grassroots. Similarly, unduly close relationships between the leadership of organized labor and government of the day can too easily lead to the neglect of the interests of members. A return to the core business and attitude of the unions may possibly be the way to overcome the “crisis of labor.” In the final analysis, the only resource organized labor can trade is the wages and working conditions of its members.

### **Developing Countries: Some Cause for Optimism**

Organized labor has always faced huge, if not impossible, obstacles in developing countries, as the Third World is now called, and the economic difficulties of the 1980s provided a convenient excuse for the repression of unions as impediments to economic growth. In 1984, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions began to conduct annual surveys of **violations of trade union rights** in the world. These reports make for harrowing reading; they document the murder, torture, and imprisonment of union leaders and the denial of official recognition of labor unions that are not controlled by the government. Nowadays the survey is presented as the Global Rights Index, but the message is the same. There is still a lot to be done until all trade union activists will be safe to act as they like.

Needless to say, those countries with the worst record of human rights also have appalling records of the violation of trade union rights. Despite all this, organized labor has grown in many developing countries over the past 40 years. In Africa, organized labor grew from 1.1 to 22.4 million members between 1980 and 2018; in Asia, membership growth was from 23.4 to 63.9 million. In Latin America, membership growth was from 14.6 to 24.1 million in 2011, but a decline to 20.8 in 2018 makes this part of the world an exception to the overall growth in developing countries. There are indications that governments may come to realize that political freedom is an indispensable condition to sustained economic growth, but they may still choose to do away with this insight and return to open repression.

## Eastern Europe: The Unexpected Revival

Eastern Europe has been the unexpected chapter in the history of international organized labor since 1980. In 1920, there were about 8.5 million union members in Eastern Europe or about 19 percent of the world's total. There were only 2.5 million by 1930, and thereafter independent organized labor effectively disappeared in a welter of repression first by fascism and then by communism.

The formation of Solidarity in September 1980 was a milestone in the emergence of independent organized labor, not just in **Poland** but for what it foreshadowed for Eastern Europe as a whole. The 1990s saw the demise of communism and the emergence of organized labor in the Baltic States and in Russia itself, developments barely imaginable in 1980. In 2011, there were 46.9 million union members in Eastern Europe or about 23 percent of the world's total, comparable with its share in 1920. In November 2000, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions made the historic decision to admit three Russian labor federations as affiliates with their combined membership of 30 million. It was the first time that any Russian labor unions had been admitted to membership in a democratic, international labor organization.

In summary, then, despite a sea change of adverse economic trends and well-publicized declines of organized labor members in Western economies, the world membership of organized labor has increased from 118 to 200 million—a rise of 69 percent—between 1980 and 2018. A loss of nearly 10 million members in Western Europe between 1980 and 2001 was repaired in 2010 when the total loss for the entire period was back at only 0.7 million. This small loss was more than offset by gains of 44 million in Eastern Europe, 13 million in Africa, 7 million in Asia, and 9 million in Latin America. Of course, this membership growth will take time to translate into the kind of power and favorable institutional arrangements enjoyed by unions in Western Europe and quite possibly may never eventuate at all. Nevertheless, this unpublicized growth testifies to the dynamism of organized labor in a global economy that has undergone huge changes since 1980. Apart from this optimistic view, we may however not forget that global **union density** was calculated in 2014 to be no more than 7 percent. It may therefore be necessary for the union movement to broaden its scope, as many are already trying to do, and in doing so becoming more attractive to young people and those working in precarious jobs, the overwhelming majority of working people nowadays.

## CONCLUSION

By any measure, organized labor has had an extraordinary history in the 20th century. Certainly, the facts of its growth are undeniable. In 1900, there were just 5 million union members, but 200 million by 2018. In 1900, Western and Eastern Europe accounted for 82 percent of these members, but only 38 in 2018. The Americas held 16 percent of the world's union members in 1900 and after a growth to 22 percent in 2001 again 16 percent in 2018. Outside of Europe and the Americas, organized labor has grown impressively from 133,000 in 1900 to 92 million by 2018, taking its share of world membership to 46 percent. The trade union movement of today faces, according to researcher Jelle Visser, who wrote a report for the International Labour Organization in 2019, two main challenges: “the digital economy and the social divide between workers with stable, paying jobs and workers with unstable, poorly paid or precarious jobs, or no job at all.” Let us, however, not forget that the union movement survived earlier developments in job creation and the divide between several groups of employees.

Labor unions came into existence because they were wanted. As economies industrialized, so the stress on society grew. The upsetting of power relationships and the redistribution of wealth that came in the wake of industrialization brought friction. Everything that has happened to organized labor since 1980—membership decline, defeats in major strikes, a feeling that it is no longer needed, the threat of technological change, the transferring of jobs to low-wage countries—has all happened before in some form. One thing that seems constant in the history of organized labor is the temptation for employers and conservative governments to take advantage of its weaknesses to attack unions, a policy that can sometimes revive them.

Organized labor is essentially about economic democracy, and how governments treat labor unions is usually a fair indication of the real level of democracy in their society. True, organized labor can cause disruption through strikes, but the economic cost pales before the cost of industrial accidents, high labor turnover, and the lower productivity of sullen employees. Properly consulted, unions can be a force for higher productivity and economic achievement through reducing labor turnover and making for more contented employees. Industrial society has many built-in conflicts that create the demand for unions. Organized labor can be, and has been, frequently suppressed, but unless the mainsprings of its grievances can be satisfied, it will not go away.

There is nothing new in the unions' quest for a more just world or in the generally hostile global politico-economic environment they face. Such difficulties have always confronted organized labor in some form or another. But, despite confident predictions to the contrary, organized labor has not disap-

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peared; indeed, its membership has continued to grow, as discussed, in the Third World and Eastern Europe. For as Britain's greatest labor union leader, **Ernest Bevin**, said in 1923, "We live not for today, but for the future." His idea is a very ancient one indeed but still worth fighting for, as so many union members, union activists, and union professionals have done over the last two centuries.

# A

**ACCORD.** *See* UNION–GOVERNMENT AGREEMENTS.

**ACTIVITIES.** *See* COLLECTIVE BARGAINING; OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH AND SAFETY; POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (PAC); POLITICS; SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC, SOCIALIST, AND LABOR PARTIES.

**AFGHANISTAN.** There is no early history of organized labor in Afghanistan. A small independent union movement existed between 1967 and 1978, but in general the country has lacked all of the prerequisites for its development, being economically backward, politically repressive or unstable, and with a society based largely on ethnic and tribal loyalties. This was further complicated by Soviet invasion, arrival of the Taliban, and intervention of the **United States**. The Central Council of Afghan Trade Unions (CCATU), founded in 1978, made efforts to build a genuine labor union structure in the country, but these efforts were frustrated by the international interventions and the Taliban. Afghanistan has never been represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** or ratified **International Labour Organization (ILO)** conventions. The National Union of Afghanistan Workers and Employees, an offspring of the CCATU, became affiliated to the **International Trade Union Confederation** in 2013, but this membership didn't last long. In 2019, the **New Unionism Network** mentioned a number of small, independent unions with less than 300,000 members. That was a decrease of 150,000 members since 2010.

**AFRICAN REGIONAL ORGANISATION (AFRO, ITUC-AFRICA).** AFRO was an international regional labor organization established by the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** to represent its affiliated members in Africa. The idea for AFRO originated from a recommendation of the fifth congress of the ICFTU, which was held in Tunis, **Tunisia**, in 1957, but AFRO was not formally established until 1993. In December 1997, AFRO held a pan-African conference on **child labor**. In

November 2007, AFRO merged with the Democratic Organization of African Workers' Trade Unions (DOAWTU), a member of the **World Confederation of Labour (WCL)** founded in 1993. After the merger, the organizations continued as the African Regional Organisation of the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC-Africa). ITUC-Africa has 16 million members and 101 affiliated trade union centres in 51 African countries. The headquarters of ITUC-Africa is in Lome, **Togo**. *See also* TRADE UNION CONFEDERATION OF ARAB MAGHREB WORKERS (TUCAMW).

**AGE.** From early on, the bulk of labor union members have been middle-aged men who first served a period of **apprenticeship** or some kind of skilled training preparatory to joining a union in their early twenties. **Coal mining** was an important exception to this generalization because miners could start to earn adult wages in their teens, and teenagers were a feature of coal mining union membership up to the 1950s. The availability of official surveys of union **membership** since the 1970s has enabled the age structure of organized labor to be known in detail and how it has changed over time. Three common patterns are evident from these surveys. First, as expected, the surveys show that the proportion of union members is always higher in the older ages than the younger ones, regardless of the year selected. This happens mostly because younger workers are more likely to change jobs and be less settled in their employment than older, more experienced **employees**. Second, the proportion of employees under 25 joining labor unions has fallen by about half since the 1980s. For example, in **Canada**, the proportion of 17- to 24-year-olds who were members of labor unions fell from 26 to 14 percent between 1981 and 2004. Third, as a result of young employees not joining unions, there has been an aging of the remaining members. For instance, in **Australia**, the median age of male union members grew from 38 to 44 years between 1983 and 2010 and for female union members from 32 to 48 years. A comparable rise in the ages of labor union membership has also occurred in the **United States**. In 2018, the same rise can be observed for the **United Kingdom**, where almost 77 percent of employees who were trade union members were aged 35 or older, while only 4.4 percent were aged between 16 and 24. Although statistics on the age structure of union members in other economies are not published by the **International Labour Organization (ILO)** and the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), it is generally thought that it is aging. Scattered information provided by Jelle Visser's ICTWSS Database from 2019 supports the idea.

**AGENCY SHOP.** Term from the **United States** referring to a **collective agreement** that excludes **free-riders** by forcing them to pay the equivalent of the union **membership** fee in order to retain employment at that work-

place. An agency shop is seen as a means to secure industrial peace. Compelling payment of agency fees from nonunion employees in the **public sector** was held unconstitutional in June 2018. In **Canada**, the agency fee is known as the Rand formula after Justice Ivan Rand, who introduced this formula in 1946 when he ended the Ford Strike of 1945 in Windsor, Ontario. *See also* JANUS DECISION.

**AGRICULTURE.** Despite its historical importance as an employer of labor in most countries, labor unions have been a relatively minor feature of labor relations in agriculture in 20th-century history. This is because few labor union members are employed in agriculture in industrialized economies. For example, the percentage of **employees** in agriculture and related industries who were members of labor unions in the **United States** in 2010 was only 1.6 percent compared with 12 percent for all industry sectors. In contrast, labor unions among plantation workers in Central and South America have been an important part of national labor movements. Agricultural labor in these countries has been traditionally characterized by low pay and poor working conditions and is subject to frequent violence by **employers** and military governments. Efforts have been made to form international labor bodies to fight these bad circumstances, like, for example **Coordinadora Latinoamericana de Sindicatos Bananeros y Agroindustriales (COLSI-BA)**, the Latin American coordinator of banana and agro-industrial unions that was founded in **Costa Rica** in 1993. *See also* INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF PLANTATION, AGRICULTURAL, AND ALLIED WORKERS (IFPAW).

**ALBANIA.** Albania was ruled by the Ottomans until 1912 and was economically backward. Organized labor in Albania emerged only from 1901 when shoemakers at Shkodra and longshoremen at Durrës conducted localized **strikes**. In 1920, Albania finally became independent, and the first national labor union was formed among teachers in 1924. In the 1930s, Korça became the center of organized labor in Albania. Further development of organized labor was stifled by Italian and German occupation (1939–1944) and by the establishment of a severe Stalinist regime under Enver Hoxha. Although the constitution of 1946 encouraged the formation of labor unions, this trend was reversed in 1950 when the constitution made the unions subordinate to the ruling Communist Party.

The totalitarian regime began to crumble in 1985. In 1990, the ruling communist oligarchy agreed to the creation of other parties. In December 1990, there was a round of strikes, and in January 1991 strikes were legalized. In February 1991, the first independent labor unions were formed as well as a national labor federation. In October 1991, the legal status of unions

and their contracts with **employers** were upheld by legislation. The right to strike was restricted by labor laws in 1991, and the government arrested strikers in 1993. However, the economic backwardness of Albania continued. A mission to Albania by the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** estimated unemployment at about 25 percent. There was a **general strike** on 16 September 1996 over price rises and demands for pay increases linked to **inflation**. Two Albanian unions are affiliated to the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**. The 2010 ITUC report mentioned that trade union rights are recognized by law but that members and organizers are too frequently harassed. In addition, all public-sector **employees** are denied the right to strike. In 2013, trade **union density** was 13.3 percent. In 2019, the ITUC accused the country of regular **violation of trade union rights**.

**ALGERIA.** Algeria was a colony of **France** from 1830 to 3 July 1962. The first labor unions were formed by French settlers, and their example provided the model for the emergence of organized labor among native Algerians from the 1940s. The Union Générale des Travailleurs Algériens (UGTA), or General Union of Algerian Workers, was formed in 1956 and affiliated with the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** in the same year. It remained an affiliate until 1963, when it withdrew; in this affiliation period, the UGTA claimed a **membership** of 8.9 million. In 1959, Aissar Idir, the first general secretary of the UGTA, died in a French military prison following his detention and torture. From 1963 to 1988, the UGTA was under the control of the Front de Libération Nationale (National Liberation Front), the political party that ruled Algeria. But the UGTA then restored internal democracy and asserted its autonomy by breaking all links with political parties. The ICFTU sent several missions to Algeria between 1989 and 1995. In 1996, the UGTA was readmitted to the ICFTU as a national, genuinely independent, and democratic organization with 1,350,000 members. The independent stance of the UGTA, particularly its calls for social justice, has made it the object of attacks by Islamic fundamentalists and the government. Between 1992 and 1994, 300 members of the UGTA were killed by Islamic fundamentalists. On 28 January 1997, Abdelhak Benhamouda, aged 51, the staunchly democratic leader of the UGTA, was assassinated outside the organization's headquarters. In 2009, the UGTA declared a membership of 1.5 million. A legal right to strike does exist. In many instances, government and police have nevertheless made it almost impossible to go on strike.

The 2010 **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** survey noted that protest actions were banned and repressed and that the right to strike was limited by the government. At the end of the year, a big protest movement started in reaction to a lack of housing and a significant rise of the



prices of necessary foodstuffs. Riots were suppressed, after which a wave of self-immolations swept the country. The union movement stepped in at the end of January 2011, when they joined the *Coordination Nationale pour le Changement et la Démocratie* (National Coordination for Change and Democracy), which strove for systemic change through marches. The protest movement continued to 2013 but never became as radical as in other Arab countries where the Arab Spring caused often violent regime changes. In Algeria, President Boutflika stayed in power. Trade union leaders continued to face intimidation and legal procedures, fines, and prison sentences. In June 2017, the **International Labour Organization (ILO)** Committee on the Application of Standards urged the government to halt all practices of intimidation and police violence against trade union leaders. These demands were supported by the ITUC, especially when SNATEGS, the independent union of gas and electricity workers, was unilaterally and unlawfully dissolved by the government. In 2019, demonstrations again swept the streets when Boutflika announced that he wanted to run for his fifth term. Now the president was removed. Unemployed youth were the main instigators of the protests, supported by the *Confédération Générale Autonome des Travaileurs en Algérie* (CGATA, Autonomous General Confederation of Algerian Workers). Unlike the 10 times bigger UGTA, the CGATA is not officially recognized by the government, but both are affiliates of the ITUC.

**ALLIANCE FOR LABOR ACTION.** The Alliance for Labor Action was the name of a campaign initiated by **Walter Reuther**, the president of the **United Auto Workers**, in alliance with the **Teamsters** to recruit new union members among **white-collar** employees and in service industries in 1969. The alliance was formed outside of the **American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)**, from which the United Auto Workers had disaffiliated (July 1968) and from which the Teamsters had been expelled (1957). Later, the chemical and distributive unions joined. Based in Atlanta, Georgia, the alliance's campaign had poor results, partly because of hostility from the AFL-CIO, which regarded the alliance as a rival organization. After Reuther's death in an airplane crash in 1970, the alliance lost momentum and was disbanded in December 1971.

**AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION OF IRON AND STEEL WORKERS (AA).** A labor union in the United States that represented iron- and steelworkers, founded in 1876. It was disbanded in 1942, to form the **United Steelworkers of America**. A landmark in the history of the union was the Homestead **strike** of 1892. In response to the refusal of the union to accept a 22 percent **wage** decrease by the Carnegie Steel Company, the company locked out the 3,800 **workers**. Pinkerton private detectives fought a fierce

battle with the workers, leaving a few of them dead. The detectives were handed over to the police, after which more than 8,000 militia were sent in. The workers lost the struggle and the union was almost bankrupt. In November 1935, the AA partnered with the **Congress of Industrial Organizations**.

**AMALGAMATED ENGINEERING UNION (AEU).** The AEU was formed in the **United Kingdom** from the **amalgamation** of the **Amalgamated Society of Engineers (ASE)** and several other smaller unions on 1 July 1920. For most of its history, the ASE had only admitted skilled engineering employees, that is, workers who had completed an **apprenticeship**, but in 1926 it began to admit lesser skilled workers, mainly because of the effects of technological change and also to counter competition from unions such as the **Workers' Union**. By 1939, it had 390,900 members compared with 168,000 in 1933. World War II boosted the demand for engineering workers. In 1942, **women** were admitted to the ranks of the AEU for the first time; by 1943, they made up 139,000 of its 825,000 members. In 1943, too, the AEU became Great Britain's second largest union, a position it retained for most of the postwar period.

The AEU continued to grow with the economy and also through amalgamation with other unions, notably with the 72,900 strong Amalgamated Union of Foundry Workers (formed in 1946) in January 1968. Between 1962 and 1979, the membership of the AEU rose from 982,200 to a peak of 1,483,400. In 1971, the Technical, Administrative, and Supervisory Section (TASS) joined the AEU, which renamed itself the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers; in 1988, the TASS left to join the Association of Scientific, Technical, and Managerial Staffs to form the Manufacturing, Science and Finance Union, and the AEU reverted to its former title. During 1991, the AEU and the other members of the **Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions** won a campaign that reduced the working week from 39 to 37.5 hours for many of its members. On 1 May 1992, the AEU merged with the Electrical, Telecommunications, and Plumbing Union to become the Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union. Between 1986 and 1994, the membership of the AEU fell from 858,000 to 781,000. In 2001, the AEU had a membership of 728,200 before it merged with the Manufacturing, Science, and Finance Union to form **Amicus** in January 2002. *See also* IG METALL.

**AMALGAMATED METAL WORKERS' UNION (AMWU).** The AMWU has been one of the strongest labor unions in **Australia**. It began as the New South Wales branch of the English-based **Amalgamated Society of Engineers** in 1852 with 27 members. From 1920 to 1973, it was called the Amalgamated Engineering Union, and the AMWU from 1973 to 1990. Its

members were skilled metalworkers, and it was one of the few unions to offer members sickness, accident, unemployment, and **strike** payments. From 1915, it began to admit lesser skilled metal workers into its ranks. Between 1920 and 1969, its membership rose from 16,000 to 149,300. In 1968, it formally severed its links with its British parent union. After 1945, the AMWU was one of the leading unions in gaining higher pay and better conditions for its members through **labor disputes**. From 1972, it grew by **amalgamation** with other unions, namely the Association of Drafting, Supervisory, and Technical Employees (1990) and the Vehicle Builders Employees' Federation (originally formed in 1912) in 1993. In February 1995, the AMWU merged with the Printing and Kindred Industries Union (formed in 1916) and was renamed the Australian Manufacturing Workers' Union, which claimed a membership of over 130,000 in 2009.

**AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS (ASCJ).** A British and international union, the ASCJ was formed in London in June 1860 with 618 members following a **strike** in 1859–1860 to win the nine-hour working day. The **employers** responded with a **lockout** and a demand that the strikers sign an undertaking that they would not join a labor union. The strong financial support given by the other unions, particularly the **Amalgamated Society of Engineers**, caused the employers to withdraw their demand. Membership of the ASCJ rose to 10,178 by 1870 and to 17,764 by 1880, making it one of the most powerful **craft unions**.

The ASCJ was also an international union; it established branches in **Ireland** (1866), the **United States** (1867), Scotland (1871), **Canada** (1872), **New Zealand** (1875), **Australia** (Sydney, 1875; Adelaide, 1878; and Melbourne, 1879), and **South Africa** (1881). In Australia, the New South Wales branch of the ASCJ claimed 33,000 members in 1890. In the United States, the ASCJ provided a model for the formation of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners in Chicago in 1881 by Peter J. McGuire. The Brotherhood proved to be far more successful than the ASCJ in recruiting members. In 1923, the Canadian branches of the ASCJ were closed and merged with the American Brotherhood. In 1911, the English ASCJ merged with the Associated Carpenters and Joiners' Society of Scotland (founded in 1861). Further amalgamations followed that transformed the original craft union into an **industrial union** that eventually gave rise to the Union of Construction and Allied Technical Trades in 1971. In Australia, the ASCJ retained its separate identity until 1992. *See also* UNITED KINGDOM.

**AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF ENGINEERS (ASE).** Since 1851, engineering unions have played a central role in the history of organized labor in the **United Kingdom**. The first continuous labor organization in the engi-

neering industry was the Journeymen Steam Engine, Machine Makers, and Millwrights' Friendly Society formed in Manchester in 1826 and known as Old Mechanics. The ASE was largely formed from the merger of Old Mechanics and the Smiths' Benevolent Sick and Burial Society in 1851. Membership began at 5,000 and reached 11,000 by the end of 1851. The formation of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (ASE) in 1851 was hailed by **Beatrice and Sidney Webb** as a pivotal event in the history of organized labor as marking the first of "model" unions with well-developed organizations, high contribution fees, and sickness, **unemployment**, superannuation, and funeral **benefits**. The ASE was the target of a nationwide **lockout** by **employers** in 1852. Defeated, some members left Britain to form a branch of the ASE in New South Wales, **Australia**, in 1852. In 1851, the ASE founded its first branch in **Ireland**; it also set up branches in **Canada** (1853), the **United States** (1861), **New Zealand** (1864), and **South Africa** (1891). With the creation of these branches, the ASE became an international as well as a British union, an example later followed by the **Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners**.

In 1897–1898, the ASE suffered an important defeat by a lockout organized by the engineering employers, an event that led it to become a prime mover in the formation of the **General Federation of Trade Unions** in 1899. During the lockout, over £28,000 was given by European unions (half came from German unions) and overseas branches of the ASE. Faced with intense competition from American unions, the ASE closed down its American branches in 1920, whereas in Australia, the ASE went on to become one of the major unions as the **Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union**. In 1913, the ASE had 17,000 members (or about 10 percent of its total membership) in nine countries outside of Great Britain. In Britain, the membership of the ASE grew from 100,000 in 1910 to 174,300 in 1914. As a result of the demand for munitions during World War I, membership reached 298,800 in 1918. In 1916, George Nicoll Barnes (1859–1940), a former secretary of the ASE, joined Lloyd George's wartime government as minister for **pensions**. From 1905, the ASE supported the creation of a single union for the engineering industry and in 1918 persuaded 17 unions in the industry to conduct ballots for **amalgamation**; nine of these bodies agreed to amalgamate to form the **Amalgamated Engineering Union**. In 1920, just before the amalgamation, the ASE had 423,000 members. *See also* DEUTSCHER METALLARBEITER-VERBAND (DMV); FEDERAZIONE ITALIANA OPERAI METALLURGICI (FIOM).

**AMALGAMATION.** Amalgamation—that is, the merging of a labor body with one or more other labor bodies—has been an important feature of the history of organized labor in most countries. In the **United Kingdom** and in countries where organized labor had British roots (**United States, Canada,**

**South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand**), there were by the late 19th century relatively large numbers of unions organized by occupation or **craft**. As these unions tried to recruit new members, they soon came into conflict with other unions, and one of the functions of national labor federations such as the **Trades Union Congress** and the **American Federation of Labor** was often to adjudicate in **jurisdictional** (or demarcation) disputes between unions. One solution to this problem was amalgamation, which had the added advantage of better-funded union administrations. A number of large unions have grown by amalgamation, notably the British **Transport and General Workers' Union** and the Australian Federated Miscellaneous Workers' Union.

Amalgamation has accounted for much of the general fall in the number of unions in English-speaking countries. In Australia, the number of unions officially recorded fell from 573 in 1911 to 132 in 1996, after which date more recent data is not available. In the United Kingdom, the peak number of unions was reached in 1920, when there were 1,384 unions. By 2001, there were 226 unions; in 2010, only 177 remained. In New Zealand, the number of unions was greatest in 1937 at 499, but by 1973 this figure had dropped to 309 and between 1985 and 2010 from 259 to 157. Because of its longer tradition of **industrial unions**, the decline in the number of unions in **Germany** has been comparatively low. In the United States, the number of unions affiliated with the **American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations** was only 55 in 2010–2019, compared with 139 in 1955. Between 1956 and 1994, there were 133 union amalgamations, of which 40 occurred between 1986 and 1994. Since the recession of the early 1980s, there has been continual economic pressure on unions generally to maintain their strength through amalgamation. Although amalgamations may benefit labor unions as organizations, it can be detrimental to their relations with their members at the grassroots level. *See also* RANK AND FILE.

**AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL).** The AFL was the leading federation of American organized labor from the early 1890s. It grew out of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the **United States and Canada**, which was formed in Pittsburgh in 1881. Based on the British **Trades Union Congress**, it represented 50,000 members and gave autonomy to affiliated unions. It faced strong competition for members from the **Knights of Labor**. Interunion fighting prompted **Samuel Gompers** to lead a campaign by **craft unions** that resulted in the setting up of the AFL in Columbus, Ohio, on 8 December 1886. The AFL was based on craft unions, not on unions organized by industries. This led to **jurisdictional** or demarcation disputes between member unions over which organizations had the right

to recruit certain members, particularly in **coal mining**, which the **United Mine Workers of America** declared as its preserve in the “Scranton Declaration” in 1901.

During World War I, the AFL became the recognized spokesman of American organized labor, and it had the support of the National War Labor Board. By 1920, the AFL represented four million employees, but this gain rapidly fell away in the face of a sustained offensive by employers for the “**open shop**.” The Depression reduced the AFL to only 2.1 million members by 1933. The **membership** was disproportionately concentrated in coal mining, railroads, and construction. Gompers, the AFL president since its formation (with one short break in 1894), died in 1924 and was succeeded by **William Green**, who was president until his death.

Reflecting its craft union roots, the AFL was always a conservative organization, and dissatisfaction with its neglect of mass production workers enabled **John L. Lewis**, the president of the United Mine Workers’ Union, to set up a rival to the AFL based on **industrial unions**, the Committee of Industrial Organizations, in 1935, which officially became the **Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)** in 1938. In 1937, the AFL had 3.4 million members compared with 3.7 million in the CIO, and in 1938 all CIO member bodies of the AFL were expelled in the United States and in Canada. Competition for members with the CIO, compounded by its less conservative policies, ensured that rivalry continued with the AFL into the late 1940s. In 1952, **George Meany** was elected president of the AFL, and a formal merger with the CIO occurred in December 1955. *See also* AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR—CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS (AFL-CIO).

**AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR—CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS (AFL-CIO).** The AFL-CIO was formed by the merger of the two rival national labor federations in the **United States** in December 1955. The **Taft–Hartley Act** of 1947 and the worsening political climate for organized labor encouraged the two bodies to consider joining forces. The deaths of the presidents of both bodies in 1952 (**William Green** of the **American Federation of Labor** and **Philip Murray** of the **Congress of Industrial Organizations**), who were bitter rivals, also made the **amalgamation** of the two organizations far easier. **George Meany**, who replaced Green as AFL president, worked hard to achieve unity, as did his counterpart in the CIO, **Walter Reuther**. Meany became president of the AFL-CIO, a post he held until 1979. In 1957, the AFL-CIO expelled the **Teamsters** and the Laundry Workers and the Bakers’ Union for corruption.

Although officially nonpolitical, the AFL-CIO has always been closely associated with the Democratic Party. In its international dealing in labor affairs, the AFL-CIO has followed conservative policies, as shown by its

withdrawal from the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** between 1969 and 1981. Since the early 1980s, the AFL-CIO has petitioned the United States government to exclude **China, Malaysia, and Thailand** from the generalized system of preferences for their abuses of **human rights** and labor union freedom. In 1979, **Joseph Lane Kirkland** succeeded Meany as AFL-CIO president and held the post until 1995. He was succeeded by **John J. Sweeney**, who was in turn succeeded by Richard L. Trumka in 2009.

In 1973, the AFL-CIO had 114 affiliated unions with a total **membership** of 13.4 million. Between 1991 and 2001, the number of its affiliated unions fell from 89 to 66 and the total membership they represented fell from 13.9 to 13 million. In 2002, the AFL-CIO stated as its mission “to bring social and economic justice to our nation by enabling working people to have a voice on the job, in government, in a changing global economy and in their communities.” Despite these words, the decline of membership continued. In 2003, five unions grouped together informally as the New Unity Partnership (NUP) to promote reform in the AFL-CIO and renewed effort to organize unorganized workers. Two years later, these dissatisfied unions, together with the Teamsters, split and formed **Change to Win**. In 2009, three unions decided to leave Change to Win and come back to the AFL-CIO. As a result of all the unrest, the AFL-CIO only counted nine million members in 2010, but membership had been growing again since 2007. In 2018, the membership was 12.5 million out of a total union membership for the United States of 14.6 million.

**AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE, COUNTY, AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES (AFSCME).** The AFSCME was founded in 1932 by a small group of **white-collar**, professional state **employees** in Madison, Wisconsin, as the Wisconsin State Administrative, Clerical, Fiscal and Technical Employees Association. In 1935, with help from the **American Federation of Labor (AFL)**, the association successfully resisted through lobbying and demonstrations against drafting state legislation aimed at dismantling the state’s civil service system and was granted an AFL charter. By the end of 1936, AFSCME had emerged as a national labor union with 10,000 members that was recognized by the AFL. Before the 1970s, the AFSCME grew steadily rather than quickly, from 73,000 in 1946 to 237,000 in 1965. In 1958, the AFSCME forced New York City Mayor Robert Wagner to grant **collective bargaining** rights to unions representing city employees.

In 1961, President John F. Kennedy issued Executive Order 10988, which legitimized collective bargaining for federal employees and helped create a favorable atmosphere for similar demands from all public employees. These developments worked to the advantage of the AFSCME, which used them to get collective bargaining frameworks established in a number of states. On 3 April 1968, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. traveled to Memphis, Tennessee, to

support AFSCME sanitation workers who were on **strike**. That evening, he delivered his famous “I’ve been to the mountaintop” speech to a packed room of supporters. The next day, Dr. King was assassinated.

AFSCME **membership** rose from 647,000 in 1975 to a million by 1985 and to 1.6 million (including retirees) by 2010. The AFSCME has a history of using the political process and lobbying to achieve its goals. A survey of AFSCME members in March 2001 found that 53 percent were **women**, 29 percent had household incomes of \$60,000 or more, and 31 percent had college or postgraduate education. AFSCME still feels the need to fight undermining efforts of, as they call them, “privatizers, deregulators, tax-cutters, people who want to turn back the clock on racial justice and women’s equality, and selfish people at the helm of corporations.” But despite all the efforts, membership again dropped in 2018, now by 6 percent.

**AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS (AFT)**. Although formed in April 1916, the origins of the AFT can be traced to the Chicago Federation of Teachers, which was formed in 1897. Faced with a hostile environment, particularly the lack of a framework for **collective bargaining** until the 1960s, **membership** growth was slow and uncertain, falling from 9,300 to 3,700 between 1920 and 1924. Opportunities for growth in the 1930s were hampered by an internal struggle with **communism**. During World War II, the AFT was able to negotiate contracts with educational authorities in the states of Montana and Washington and conducted its first **strike** in St. Paul, Minnesota, in 1946. Between 1939 and 1955, the membership of the AFT grew from 32,100 to 46,000. In 1957, the AFT lost nearly 7,000 members when local unions that refused to admit African Americans were expelled. An early affiliate of the **American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)**, the AFT achieved a major success in the early 1960s when its New York locals gained collective bargaining rights and, in 1963, the AFT dropped its no-strike policy. Against a background of discontent over the failure of teachers’ salaries to keep up with the private sector, the membership of the AFT climbed from 97,000 to 396,000 between 1965 and 1975 and to 499,00 by 1987.

The AFT faced a formidable competitor in its efforts from the **National Education Association (NEA)**, which had opposed collective bargaining for teachers before 1963. Efforts to merge the two unions nationally failed because of the affiliation of the AFT with the AFL-CIO. Finally, in 2001, the AFT and the NEA signed the NEA–AFT Partnership, a pledge by both organizations to “work together on behalf of our members and on behalf of all those whom our members serve.” The partnership recognized the independence of both unions and their commitment “to nurturing and improving public education above all. We are determined to fight for family needs, which must be met in order to make our public schools the equalizer they



have been and should be for society. This encompasses quality of life issues, such as health care for all Americans, safe neighborhoods and a caring government.” In 2010, the AFT claimed a membership of 900,000, which grew to 1.7 million members in 2017. This growth was partly the result of the 2013 affiliation of the National Federation of Nurses. The motto of the modern AFT is “a union of professionals” because it organizes more than teachers. Also, **employees** indirectly involved in education and nurses and other health-care professionals are members of the AFT.

**AMERICAN LABOR UNION (ALU).** The ALU was a short-lived radical organization formed by the Western Federation of Miners in 1898 as the Western Labor Union to supplement the eastern-dominated **American Federation of Labor (AFL)**. A **socialist** organization, the ALU attempted to recruit employees ignored by the AFL, that is, the lesser skilled, **women**, and immigrants. The Western Labor Union was fiercely opposed by the AFL and changed its name to the ALU in 1902 to compete directly with the AFL, as advocated by Eugene V. Debs. The ALU also advocated **industrial unions** instead of **craft unions**, which were the basis of the AFL. Despite its wider recruiting ambitions (it claimed 100,000 members), the core of the ALU was the Western Federation of Miners. The ALU was one of the parent organizations of the **Industrial Workers of the World**, which continued its main aims after 1905, after which time the ALU ceased to exist. *See also* UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

**AMICUS.** Amicus, from the Latin word meaning “friend” or “ally,” was formed in the **United Kingdom** from the merger of the **Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union** and the Manufacturing, Science and Finance Union in January 2002. With 1.1 million members, it became the second largest British labor union, after **UNISON**. In 2007, Amicus merged with the **Transport and General Workers’ Union** to form **Unite the Union**.

**ANARCHISM.** The term *anarchism* comes from the medieval Latin *Anarchia*, derived from ancient Greek *Αναρχία*, meaning “without government.” As a political philosophy, it owed much to Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865), who regarded the state as a negative element in society that should be abolished. Mikail Alexandrovich Bakunin (1814–1876), a Russian political thinker, propagandist, and activist, absorbed Proudhon’s ideas and was one of the leading anarchists of the 19th century. In the International Working Men’s Association (generally known as the First International), Bakunin was an opponent of Karl Marx’s ideas about the socialist state. Anarchism, as envisaged by Bakunin, sought the overthrow of the state and its replacement by democratically run cooperative groups covering the whole

economy. It attracted support from certain intellectuals and in rural areas where the local political and economic system was repressive and ignored demands for reform. It drew much support from **Spain** and **Italy**, where it formed a strand of political thinking with **syndicalism** called anarcho-syndicalism. Anarcho-syndicalists envisage the overthrow of capitalism by a **general strike** guided by the union. Because of their association with political violence, anarchists were excluded from mainstream **socialism** from 1896. **Immigration** spread anarchist ideas to Latin America; in 1919, anarchists attempted to form a federation covering the whole of Latin America.

In Spain, anarchists formed their own federation, the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (National Confederation of Labor), in 1910, and anarchists remained important until their destruction during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), when they were fought by both the right-wing Franco insurgents and the Stalinist communists. From 1940 to about 1990, anarchism failed to attract a significant following, but in the 1990s began to grow again. Much of the violence that occurred in the protests about **globalization** from the late 1990s was committed by self-proclaimed anarchists, who often had no knowledge of the theoretical background of 19th-century anarchism. *See also* ARGENTINA; CHILE; COMMUNISM.

**ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM.** *See* ANARCHISM; SYNDICALISM.

**ANGESTELLTE.** German term for a private-sector **white-collar employee**, in contrast to *Beamte*.

**ANGOLA.** Free labor unions and **strikes** were forbidden when Angola was a colony of **Portugal** up to 1974, although organizations among European employees existed from 1897. In the 1960s, the Liga Geral dos Trabalhadores de Angola (General Union of Angolan Workers) was an affiliate of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)**, but only as an organization in exile. Angola was admitted to full affiliation with the ICFTU in 2002 and claimed 51,000 members in the Central Geral de Sindicatos Independentes e Livres de Angola (General Centre of Independent and Free Unions of Angola). Also affiliated with the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** is the União Nacional dos Trabalhadores de Angola (UNTA-CS), which had almost 500,000 members in 2017, the Central Geral remaining at only 93,000.

In February 2006, the Strike Act had been revised, under which the right to strike has been strictly regulated. A tripartite system of **collective bargaining** is recognized, but union rights are not consistently enforced. In 2007, the survey of **violations of trade union rights** reported that the situation in the

country still made it difficult for the unions to enforce their rights; this complaint was repeated in subsequent years. In 2018, again the ITUC concluded that a systematic violation of rights took place.

**ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA.** Antigua and Barbuda was a colony of the **United Kingdom** to 1981. The legal right to register a labor union was granted in 1939. The Antigua Trades and Labour Union (ATLU), a labor union closely related to the labor party, was the first Antiguan labor organization to take advantage of this law; it registered in 1939 and claimed 7,000 members by 1975. After a split from the ATLU in 1967, the Antigua Workers' Union was formed. The ATLU became an affiliate of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** by 1975. In 2007, there still were 7,000 union members in Antigua and Barbuda or 75 percent of the **employees**. This number diminished to 3,365 in 2018, of which ATLU took the biggest part (3,000). Both unions mentioned are now affiliates of the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**. Law recognizes both the right to **collective bargaining** and the right to **strike**. But because many industries are classified as “essential services,” the right to strike is severely limited.

**ANTIUNION DISCRIMINATION.** Any practice that disadvantages a worker or a group of workers on grounds of their past, current, or prospective trade union membership, their legitimate trade union activities, or their use of trade union services can constitute antiunion discrimination, including dismissal, transfer, demotion, harassment, and the like. The **International Labour Organization** considers it one of the most serious violations of **freedom of association**, as it may jeopardize the very existence of trade unions.

**APPRENTICESHIP.** Apprenticeship is a system of vocational training for teenagers characterized by on-the-job instruction and technical training. In England, apprenticeship was first regulated in the 14th century, and a seven-year apprenticeship was set down in law in 1562; this was repealed in 1814, despite protests from organized labor. Apprenticeship has historically been favored by organized labor as a way of maintaining skill standards for craft occupations and as a means of controlling the supply of labor, both unqualified as well as skilled. Apprenticeship has largely been a feature of specialist craft occupations, particularly in **manufacturing**, but has also been extended to service occupations such as hairdressing. In the 20th century, technological change and rising education levels have diminished the importance of apprenticeship. This does not mean that the system has disappeared. Many

countries have tried to update the system to modern standards, and the **United States** even wants to expand the apprenticeship model to include **white-collar** occupations such as information technology.

As a method of trade training, apprenticeship has the disadvantage of being less available to students who leave school during low points in the trade cycle because that is usually the time when **employers** cut down on the number of new apprentices to lower their **wage** costs. *See also* YOUTH.

**ARAB TRADE UNION CONFEDERATION.** After the so-called Arab Spring (2010–2012), many trade unions broke free from their regimes, left the **International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions (ICATU)**, and reunited under the auspices of the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**. The Arab Trade Union Confederation aims to unite the Arab workers to defend their rights, including the rights of **women** and **youth**, who are working against discrimination, as well as to preserve the rights of migrant workers against exploitation. *See also* TRADE UNION CONFEDERATION OF ARAB MAGHREB WORKERS (TUCAMW).

**ARBEITER.** German term for manual or **blue-collar workers**, in contrast to *Angestellte* and *Beamte*.

**ARBITRATION.** A means of resolving **industrial disputes** outside the courts through the involvement of a neutral third party, which can either be a single arbitrator or an arbitration board. Arbitration can be nonbinding or compulsory. During the process, it is custom and often demanded by the arbitrator that sides refrain from industrial actions like **strike** or **lockout**. *See also* CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION.

**ARGENTINA.** Argentina has one of the oldest labor movements in Latin America; in 1857, printers formed a mutual **benefit** society, which they made into a union in 1877. The first union federation was formed in 1891 but did not last long. Ten years later, the next federation was formed, the Federación Obrera Argentina (FOA), or Federation of Workers of Argentina, which was renamed Federación Obrera Regional Argentina one year later. The FOA soon split into **anarchist**, **syndicalist**, and **socialist** factions. All workers' organizations recognize the FOA as their origin.

Like North America and Australasia, the population of Argentina was built on **immigration**; in the case of Argentina, the bulk of the immigrants up to the 1930s came from **Italy** and **Spain**. Most immigrants settled in the eastern part of the country. They played an important role in the formation of the labor movement, but the *criollos* (people of original Spanish descent from the period of early colonization) had their part too.

Despite its early beginning, union membership was low in the 19th century. In 1908, a government survey estimated that there were only 23,400 union members in Buenos Aires, and even by 1920, national membership had only reached 68,000. Despite these low membership figures, Argentina experienced a **general strike** in 1902 and also in 1904 and 1905. In the 1907 general strike, 93,000 took part. By 1930, when the Confederación General del Trabajo (CGT), or General Confederation of Labor, was formed by socialist and syndicalist unions, the number of union members had grown to 280,000. Other rival labor federations were formed by anarchists and **communists**. Because of the military governments, the 1930s are labeled the infamous decade, but still the union movement developed. In 1935, the CGT split into a syndicalist wing (Unión Sindical Argentina) and a socialist-communist CGT. A year later, a 48-hour general **strike** was launched by construction workers, during which three workers and three policemen were killed. From 1943, the CGT became an active participant in **politics** through Colonel Juan Perón. In the turmoil that followed Perón's removal in 1955, the CGT was suppressed by the military government and forced underground, but it reemerged in 1961.

Thereafter, political rather than industrial concerns dominated Argentinean labor as governments both military and democratic attempted to deal with the country's severe economic problems; these policies produced factional divisions within the CGT. The union was suppressed after the 1976 military coup d'état but managed to continue its existence. The legal status of the CGT was restored in 1986 following intervention by the **International Labour Organization**. In 1988, Law 23551 established a framework for the administration of labor unions, **collective bargaining**, and **labor disputes**. In 2001, there were claimed to be 4.4 million union members in Argentina compared with 2.5 million in 1990. In 2001–2002, the country's economic crises threatened to undermine political stability and the relatively favorable status of organized labor. Despite the severity of the crisis in 2002, the survey of **violations of trade union rights** reported that labor unions had managed to survive surprisingly well. According to the 2009 report, unionists suffered from intimidation, dismissals, and attacks. Membership even grew between 2002 and 2009, causing a stable percentage of **employees** organized in unions.

Recurring economic problems were met by austerity measures under the Macri administration since 2015. These measures were felt by a great part of the population, 14 million Argentineans living in poverty at the beginning of 2019. The three affiliates of the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** responded with a general strike on 29 May. This strike was the fifth in a row. The ITUC protested against several violations of workers' and union rights by the government. *See also* TOSCO, AGUSTIN GRINGO (1930–1975); VANDOR, AUGUSTO (1923–1969).

**ARMENIA.** The first trade unions were formed in 1905–1907. Part of the former **Soviet Union** from 1920 to September 1991, there was no history of organized labor in Armenia. The Council of Trade Unions of Armenia was established in 1921 but subordinate to the Communist Party; it was not independent. After the fall of **communism**, 24 unions signed a declaration on the foundation of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Armenia (CTUA). The CTUA is the follow-up of the Soviet Union structure but has nothing to do with communism. In 2007, the CTUA had 296,645 members. In 2014, **membership** had fallen to 208,000, and the drop continued to 189,953 in 2019. This continuous drop may be explained from the lost prestige of labor unions since the Soviet era and the growth of unemployment. The economy remains undeveloped and the population poor. The CTUA is affiliated with the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**.

**ASIA AND PACIFIC REGIONAL ORGANISATION (APRO).** APRO is an international regional labor organization formed by the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** in 1984. It began in Karachi, Pakistan, in May 1951 as the Asian Regional Organisation. It was later moved to **India** and then to **Singapore**, where it remains. In 2007, APRO had affiliates in 28 countries and represented 30 million members. In 2007, following the merger of the ICFTU and the **World Confederation of Labour**, APRO merged with the Brotherhood of Asian Trade Unions (BATU) and adopted the name the **International Trade Union Confederation–Asia Pacific (ITUC-AP)**. In 2018, it had a **membership** of over 23 million workers of 59 national trade union centers in 34 countries and territories in the Asian and Pacific region.

**ASIA-PACIFIC LABOUR NETWORK (APLN).** APLN was formed by the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** in 1995 to lobby for **social dialogue** with the governments of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum (APEC; formed in 1989 to promote free trade and investments) on economic and social issues such as debt, corruption, structural imbalances, and **child labor**. To date, its overtures have been rejected. In 2018, the APLN again stressed the need of the establishment of an APEC labor forum, a body with consultative responsibilities in parity with the APEC Business Advisory Council (ABAC) that would also participate in and contribute to the Human Resources Development Ministers' Meeting and other APEC meetings. APLN and APEC have 21 country members.

**AUSTRALIA.** The first labor unions in Australia arose among shipwrights in 1829, but it was not until after the gold rushes in the 1850s that organized labor became more important. Before the 1880s, most unions were formed

by employees in a limited range of occupations, but in the 1880s there was an upsurge of “new” unionism, which embraced a wider range of occupations. By 1890, there were about 200,000 union members covering about 23 percent of all employees, giving Australia, briefly, the highest **union density** in the world. Between 1878 and 1900, the six colonies that made up Australia—there was no national government until 1901—passed laws that recognized labor unions. In 1879, the labor unions held their first intercolonial congress in Sydney; subsequent congresses were held in 1884, 1886, 1888, 1889, 1891, and 1898. Between August and December 1890, 50,000 workers in Australia and **New Zealand** took part in the great Maritime Strike over freedom of contract; the strikers suffered defeat. Between July and September 1894, the unions suffered a second major setback as a result of the wool shearers’ strike in Queensland. The depression of the early 1890s, which was aggravated by a severe drought, retarded economic growth and caused union **membership** to fall to 97,000 (or about 9 percent of employees) in 1901.

The unions also used **politics** to improve their position. Following the introduction of public payment of a salary to members of parliament in New South Wales in 1889, the Sydney Trades and Labour Council resolved to support labor candidates, a decision that resulted in the election of 35 labor members to the parliament at the 1891 election, an event that marked the birth of what later was called the **Australian Labor Party**. Greatly assisted by the introduction of compulsory **conciliation and arbitration** as a means of settling labor disputes—a system that eased the process for unions to **collectively bargain** with **employers** by granting them legal recognition—union membership rose to 498,000 or 34 percent of **employees** in 1913, the highest level in any country at the time. As in other countries, **white-collar unions** began to organize during the 1900s, but most union members continued to be predominantly male **blue-collar** employees. With the establishment of the Federated Miscellaneous Workers’ Union in 1915 (a union that organized employees not recruited by other unions), the structure of organized labor remained relatively unchanged until the late 1980s. Australian labor unions have been a mixture of large and small organizations since the 1890s. Between 1913 and 1995, the proportion of unions with less than 1,000 members fell from 80 to 49 percent and the number of unions fell from 432 to 142.

After 1913, union membership rose and fell according to the state of the economy and the distribution of employment by industry. Unionism was strongest among blue-collar workers and skilled tradesmen. It was weakest among casual employees and white-collar workers. As a proportion of employees, unions reached their height in Australia in 1953, when 63 percent of employees were members; half a century later it had fallen to 25 percent.

Since the early 1980s, the structure and size of union membership in Australia has changed considerably, affected by the economy and politics. Between 1983 and 1996, the federal Labor government and the **Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU)** worked closely to achieve economic growth and other objectives through a series of **accords**. The pay raises this process delivered to all employees reduced the necessity to join unions, and between 1982 and 1996 the number of union members fell from 2,567,600 to 2,194,300, and the proportion of employees who were union members fell from 49 to 31 percent.

With the election of the conservative Liberal-National government in March 1996, the special relationship between organized labor and the federal government ended abruptly. In 1996, the government passed the Workplace Relations Act (WRA), which curbed labor unions and restricted the right to **strike**. Strikes were forbidden for multiemployer or pattern bargaining as well as **boycotts**, political strikes, and sympathy strikes. In 2002, only 23 percent of all employees were union members; in the private sector, only 18 percent of all employees were union members. The WRA was amended by the Workplace Relations Amendment (Work Choices) Act of 2005, which came into force in March 2006 and went even further in imposing limitations on workers' rights. This legislation was used against workers and trade unionists, and as a result workers were dismissed, prosecuted, and fined. In 2009, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** concluded that the new legislation was still in effect although the new Labor government's Fair Work Act provides stronger rights for workers and unions. A year later, the ITUC was a little more optimistic about union rights. Between 1995 and 2010, the decline in the proportion of employees who were labor union members in Australia (33 to 18 percent) was greater than in the **United States** (15 to 12 percent). The total number of members in 2010 was 1.4 million, and 1.5 in 2016. In recent years, the union movement has stressed more than before the growing inequality and insecurity Australian employees have witnessed over the last 40 years.

**AUSTRALIAN COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS (ACTU).** The ACTU is the national body representing labor unions in **Australia**. The idea of a single body representing Australian labor unions was first suggested by William Guthrie Spence (1846–1926) at the 1884 Intercolonial Trade Union Congress, but it failed to attract support although subsequent congresses considered ways of federating the various peak labor bodies in the various colonies. The creation of a national government in 1901 and a federal system of **conciliation and arbitration** in 1905 created a new incentive to form a national body. But despite further national congresses in 1902, 1907, 1913, and 1916, it was not until the national conference of 1921 that the first steps were taken to form a peak national labor body, and even then two further



conferences were needed (in 1922 and 1925) before the ACTU was formed in Melbourne, Victoria, in 1927. The ACTU was invited to join the **International Federation of Trade Unions** in 1936 but did not accept. Until the late 1950s, the powers of the ACTU were limited, with real power continuing to reside with the state trades and labor councils.

It was not until 1943 that the ACTU created its first salaried position, and it was only in 1949 that it had its first full-time president, Albert E. Monk, who held the post until 1969. In 1953, the ACTU joined the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** and remains by far its largest member in Oceania. The growing importance of national **wage** cases and the convenience for national governments of dealing with a single labor body further strengthened the ACTU. In 1968, the then largest labor union, the **Australian Workers' Union**, affiliated with the ACTU. In 1980, the Australian Council of Salaried and Professional Associations joined the ACTU, as did the other major **white-collar** body, the Council of Australian Government Employees, in 1981. By 1981, all significant unions and union groupings had become affiliated with the ACTU, and it represented about 2.5 million employees.

The ACTU was at its greatest influence when the **Australian Labor Party (ALP)** ran the national government from March 1983 to March 1996. In the March 1983 national election, the ALP won office and the former ACTU president from 1970 to 1980, Bob Hawke, became prime minister. Although the ACTU remains based in Melbourne, most large labor unions have their headquarters in Sydney. Between 1986 and 1993, the number of unions affiliated with the ACTU fell from 162 to 94, largely in response to a campaign led by the ACTU for the **amalgamation** of unions. In 2009, the ACTU had 26 affiliated unions and represented 1.9 million members.

The ACTU has had an affirmative action policy for many years and elected its first female president, Jennie George, in 1996. After George stepped down, she was replaced in May 2000 by Sharan Burrow, who remained president until 2010. Burrow was succeeded by Ged Kearney, and since 2018 Michele O'Neil has been president. In 2002, half of the ACTU executive's members were **women**. At the beginning of the 21st century, the ACTU has conducted "living wage" campaigns for lower-paid employees and against long **working hours**. It has also played a significant role in promoting democracy and trade unionism in the Pacific and Southeast Asia. The objective of the ACTU for 2010 was to remind the government that Australian workers cannot live with second-rate **safety** standards because reducing death, injury, and illness at work is a top priority for working people and unions. Recently, the secretary of the ACTU stressed, "There is a crisis of insecure work and low wage growth in Australia. Working people cannot wait any longer for their government to address low wage growth and insecure work." So far, the success of the several focuses has not material-

ized in growing **membership**. The ACTU had 1.2 million members in 2018. *See also* PACIFIC TRADE UNION COMMUNITY (PTUC); UNION–GOVERNMENT AGREEMENTS.

**AUSTRALIAN LABOR PARTY (ALP).** The ALP is one of the oldest and most successful continuous political parties based on organized labor in the world. It had its beginnings in a decision of the Sydney Trades and Labor Council in January 1890 to support candidates in the 1891 election following the introduction of state payment of the salaries of members of parliament in 1889. Support for a direct role in **politics** by organized labor was boosted by its defeat in the Maritime Strike of 1890. Labor unions have continued to provide the basis of the ALP ever since. It represented the culmination of efforts to elect working-class representatives to parliament, which began in the late 1870s. It drew part of its inspiration from the British Liberal Party, the main political outlet for the organized English working class in the 19th century. By the mid-1900s, the ALP had been set up in all Australian states. Its features of a platform of policies and disciplined voting by its elected members began a new era in Australian politics. Usually represented by its opponents as a “left-wing” party, the ALP has always been a moderate **social-democratic** party, although it did contain some radical groups. There have been two major splits in the ALP. The first was in 1916–1917 over military conscription, and the second occurred in 1955 over attitudes to **communism**. The ALP formed national governments in 1904, 1908–1909, 1910–1913, 1914–1915, 1929–1932, 1941–1949, 1972–1974, and 1983–1996, but its longest terms of government success have been in the states. Notable ALP prime ministers have been Chris Watson (1904), Andrew Fisher (1908–1909, 1910–1913), William Morris Hughes (1915–1916), James H. Scullin (1929–1932), John Curtin (1941–1945), Ben Chifley (1945–1949), Gough Whitlam (1972–1974), Bob Hawke (1983–1991), Paul Keating (1991–1996), Kevin Rudd (2007–2010), Julia Gillard (2010–2013), and Kevin Rudd (2013). Before becoming prime minister, Hawke was president of the **Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU)** from 1970 to 1980. In September 2002, the federal parliamentary ALP leader, Simon Crean, a former ACTU president, succeeded in reducing bloc voting by organized labor at ALP state conferences from 60 to 50 percent. The ALP was returned as the federal government in the elections of November 2007 led by Kevin Rudd. He was deposed by his deputy, Julia Gillard, in August 2010, and in the elections shortly afterward the ALP lost ground and was returned a minority government dependent upon the support of three independents. *See also* LABOUR PARTY (BRITISH).

**AUSTRALIAN MANUFACTURING WORKERS' UNION.** *See* AMALGAMATED METAL WORKERS' UNION (AMWU).

**AUSTRALIAN WORKERS' UNION (AWU).** From the 1900s to 1969, the AWU was the largest labor union in **Australia**. It began as a sheep shearers' union in Ballarat, Victoria, in 1886. In 1894, the AWU was founded in Sydney, New South Wales, from the **amalgamation** of shearers' and laborers' unions, with a claimed membership of 30,000. The membership of the AWU was open to all **employees**. The AWU expanded by amalgamation with other unions, first with the rural laborers' union in 1894 and then with unions of semiskilled workers in rural, general laboring, and mining occupations between 1912 and 1917. By 1914, the AWU had 70,000 members.

The AWU has been a powerful but conservative force in Australian organized labor and in the **Australian Labor Party**. In the 1950s, the AWU had about 200,000 members. Structural changes in industries and occupations, as well as internal disputes, have reduced the AWU **membership** since 1970 from 160,000 to 115,500 by 1990. In November 1993, the AWU amalgamated with the Federation of Industrial Manufacturing and Engineering Employees (FIMEE), formerly the Federated Ironworkers' Association (formed in 1911), and was officially renamed the AWU-FIME Amalgamated Union. Two years later, the name was changed back to the Australian Workers' Union. It had a membership of about 170,000 in 1999 and 135,000 a decade later. Despite efforts to attract workers from other professions, membership is still declining. In 2018, membership was a little over 100,000.

**AUSTRIA.** Labor unions were legally tolerated within the present borders of Austria in 1870; the unions claimed 46,600 members by 1892 and 119,000 by 1900. Union growth was hampered not just by political and religious divisions in Austrian society but also by the large proportion of the labor force employed in **agriculture**. In 1920, 41 percent of the labor force was employed in agriculture, a proportion that had only dropped to 32 percent by 1934. Even so, as in other Western European countries, union **membership** grew substantially after 1913 from 263,000 to a million by 1920, when it reached 51 percent of employees, a level comparable with **Germany**. To a large extent, the union growth that occurred just after World War I was the result of legislative change. The newly created Austrian Republic, following the German example, sought to tie organized labor into the new political order by laws in 1919–1920 that set up chambers of labor (modeled on the chambers of commerce) within the works council law of 1919; these laws set up an ordered industrial relations system with compulsory union membership. By 1930, union membership had declined to 38 percent of employees in

response to the economic dislocation of the 1920s and the Depression. Unions were also caught up in the turmoil of Austrian **politics**. After a short civil war in 1934, the **socialist** unions along with the Social Democratic Party were repressed and placed under the control of a labor federation run by the **Catholic** unions. After the annexation of Austria by Germany in 1938, all Austrian organized labor was incorporated into the **Deutsche Arbeitsfront**.

The end of World War II saw the immediate rebirth of free organized labor in Austria. Wartime imprisonment of all labor leaders by the Nazis encouraged the Catholics, socialists, and **communists** to bury their differences and form the Österreichischer Gewerkschaftsbund (ÖGB, Austrian Federation of Labor Unions) in April 1945. **Blue-collar** and **white-collar** workers are traditionally organized in separate unions. Composed of 15 unions, the ÖGB has worked with government to promote balanced economic growth and a stable democratic government. The laws of 1919–1920, which set up works councils, were the basis of the “social partnership” that became characteristic of the **corporatist** approach to organized labor followed by Austria throughout the post-1945 period. During this period, industrial peace was prevalent. In 2001, there were 1.4 million union members in Austria, compared with 1.6 million union members in 1994; over this period, union membership among Austrian employees fell from 49 to 43 percent. In 2010, the number of union members had fallen to 1.2 million. Eight years later, the number had declined a little further to 1.1 million or about 27 percent of all employees.

**AZERBAIJAN.** Azerbaijan has been independent of the former **Soviet Union** since August 1991. Organized labor in Azerbaijan has progressed despite the government’s use of Soviet-era laws. In 1993, an independent journalists’ union was formed after two journalists were beaten up on government orders. Azerbaijan became an affiliate of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** in 2000. In 2001, there were 735,000 union members in Azerbaijan, organized in the Azerbaijan Trade Union Confederation. In 2007, the **International Trade Union Confederation’s** survey of **violations of trade union rights** reported that there was little respect for **collective bargaining** in Azerbaijan even though it had been legal to form labor unions since 1994. Unions reported that many **employers** did not recognize unions, and one of these employers even dismissed 700 union members. He did so despite the new 2006 law that stipulated that a written consent by the union is required if an employer wants to dismiss his personnel. Official figures from the ITUC in 2018 still mention 735,000 union members, although the Azerbaijan Trade Union Confederation itself claims a membership of 1,600,000.

# B

**BAHAMAS.** A colony of the **United Kingdom** to 1973, labor unions emerged in the Bahamas after 1943, when unions were, in effect, legalized; the law was broadened in 1958. The first union was the Bahamas Federation of Labor (1942), which organized the **general strike** of January 1958. The strike evolved in response to the growth of the tourist sector and the refusal to use a call-up system. In solidarity with taxi drivers, electricity workers, garbage collectors, dockers, civil servants, and others walked off. British troops arrived to reinforce the police. After two weeks, the **strike** was called off following the promise to set up an authority to resolve the dispute.

In 1969, the Bahamas Federation of Labor ceased to exist. By then, the Bahamas had become an affiliate of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)**. In 2001, there were 2,500 union members in the Bahamas, mainly organized in the Commonwealth of the Bahamas Trade Union Congress (CBTUC, 1976) and the National Congress of Trade Unions (NCTU, 1995). Numbers for 2016 were 15,000 for the CBTUC and 40,000 for the NCTU. In 2018, no trade unions were affiliated with the **International Trade Union Confederation**, but the two national centers often work closely together.

The Industrial Relations Act strongly limits the right to strike. In 2010, the government was reported to still have wide powers to interfere in union activities, while **employers** in the hotel sector in 2008 laid off **employees** on a massive scale. The hotel sector is the largest employer besides the government. A strike of 15,000 workers was organized in 2014 by the CBTUC because the union was treated with “disrespect and neglect.” The strikers were soon summoned back to work. In 2018, many social conflicts erupted over pay and **benefits** that almost developed into a general strike.

**BAHRAIN.** Until 1971, Bahrain was a British protectorate. The ruling elite has been since the 18th century the al-Khalifa family. Independent labor unions are not allowed in Bahrain. In 1983, the government introduced a joint work council system that included elected workers’ representatives, who in turn elect 11 members to the General Committee of Bahrain Workers.

About 60 percent of the labor force are expatriate even though official policy is to replace them with Bahraini workers. These migrant workers are hardly protected by law against maltreatment. Although they share the same rights to form work councils as the locals, they prefer not to do so because they are not protected against dismissal. In 2005, the **International Trade Union Confederation** stated that developments in the country were positive: “The right to form trade unions has existed since 2002, although only one national trade union centre is recognised, and other rights are still limited.” The General Federation of Bahrain Trade Unions, which had 10,000 members in 2018, was founded in January 2004 and in December became the first organization in the Gulf States to become a member of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)**. The 2010 survey of the International Trade Union Confederation mentioned that many construction workers were threatened with arrests and dismissals because they sought better working conditions.

In 2011, a peaceful uprising was brutally suppressed with torture, detentions, and extrajudicial killings. Around 4,500 workers from both the public and private sectors were fired on the basis of their political opinions and for attending **strike** calls. In 2018, the ITUC repeated its call to implement the progress promised four years before.

**BALTIC STATES.** *See* ESTONIA; LATVIA; LITHUANIA.

**BANGLADESH.** Bangladesh was called East Pakistan until December 1971, when it forcibly seceded from West Pakistan. Organized labor in Bangladesh dates from the 1920s, mainly in cotton manufacturing. After the creation of **Pakistan** in 1947, Indian labor unions set up a labor union federation in East Pakistan to mirror the All-India Trade Union Congress, but under Indian tutelage. Despite ratification of **International Labour Organization** Conventions 87 and 98, relating to the right to **collective bargaining** and the right to **strike**, respectively, organized labor in East Pakistan was effectively muzzled. The creation of Bangladesh did not lift the restrictions on organized labor, and labor relations remained turbulent, reflecting the poverty of Bangladesh and its political instability. By 1975, organized labor in Bangladesh was divided among three national labor federations; two were affiliated with the **communist-led World Federation of Trade Unions**, and the third, the Bangladesh Jatio Sramik League, was an affiliate of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)**. By 1989, there were four national labor organizations affiliated with the ICFTU. In 2001, these affiliates had a combined **membership** of 888,700. In 2010, the six affiliates of the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** had a total membership

of 876,000. Only 5 percent of all **employees** were union members, compared with 38 percent in the formal sector. The number of union members in 2018 was 774,444, a decline of more than 100,000.

The ICFTU and the **global union federations** have urged the labor federations of Bangladesh to work closely together. In 2007, the ITUC's survey of **violations of trade union rights** reported that there was a growth in legal restrictions on organized labor and that a climate of political violence toward labor unions continued. This climate resulted in firings, arrests, torture, and even the death of a worker. The 2009 survey mentioned increased restrictions on workers' rights and intensified exploitation during 2008. Although the state of emergency was lifted at the end of 2008, repressions and labor conflicts continued throughout 2009. This situation hadn't improved in 2018, when arrest, suspensions, and threats of prosecution were still facing striking workers. A very important issue was **safety** in the garment industry, an issue that took worldwide attention after two lethal accidents. In November 2012, a fire in the Tazreen Fashions factory killed at least 112 workers, who were trapped due to narrow or blocked fire escapes. People were still discussing this terrible event when the Rana Plaza building collapsed, killing 1,134 garment workers and injuring hundreds of others. In July 2013, a safety pact was signed by trade unions and more than 200 brands, but five years later it was clear that still not enough is being done to protect garment workers. Unions in the garment industry still face a hostile environment, as can be shown by the example of more than 50 workers who were injured after being attacked by hired thugs as they took part in a peaceful protest against the Haesong company in 2017. The sit-in and **strike** was organized by the National Garment Workers Federation. Local police refused to file workers' complaints about the attacks.

**BARBADOS.** Barbados was a colony of the **United Kingdom** to November 1966. The framework for labor relations in Barbados was created in 1939 with the implementation of the Trade Disputes (Arbitration and Enquiry) Act. This act followed riots two years earlier. These riots were also followed by the formation of an organization. The Barbados Workers' Union was registered in 1941 and claimed 15,000 members by 1975 and 25,000 members by 2007. The number was 15,000 again in 2018. Barbados has been an affiliate of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** since 1951.

Under the labor law, **employers** are not obliged to recognize unions, but many do so. The right to **strike** is not granted to essential workers. In the 2010 **International Trade Union Confederation** survey, a few examples were mentioned of employers using strategies to curtail unions. In 2017, government officials intervened during internal elections of the National Union of Public Workers.

**BASQUE COUNTRY.** Although part of **Spain**, the Basque Country has been a recognized affiliate of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** since 1951 through the *Solidaridad de Trabajadores Vascos* (Solidarity of Basque Workers), which was formed in 1911 as a Basque nationalist union. It was declared illegal after the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) and forced to be an exiled organization until the end of the dictatorship of General Francisco Franco in 1975 and the legalizing of labor unions in Spain in 1977. The now legal organization moved ideologically from nationalism to a more class-oriented position. In 2001, the Basque Country remained affiliated with the ICFTU through the *Euskal Sindikatua* (ELA, Basque Trade Union Movement), which had a **membership** of 110,000. In 2010, it claimed a membership of 115,000, 10,000 more than in 2018, when ELA organized 40 percent of all union members in the Basque Country.

According to the survey of **violations of trade union rights** in January 2006, furniture deliverers for the multinational IKEA dismissed striking workers in the Vizcaya region, which is a violation of the right to **strike**. Recently, ELA has been seeking, in its own words, a fairer society facing up to neoliberal policies, the organizational work to eliminate job insecurity, and the left-wing drive toward sovereignty.

**“BATTLE OF THE OVERPASS”.** The “Battle of the Overpass” was the name given to a violent incident on 26 May 1937, on an overpass to the Ford Motor Company, between **Congress of Industrial Organizations** organizers and Ford’s private police force. The organizers, who included **Walter Reuther** and Richard Frankenstein, had planned to hand out leaflets at Ford. Ford refused to recognize unions and ordered the organizers to leave. In the fight that followed, Reuther and Frankenstein were beaten up by Ford’s police in front of the press. The incident was the subject of some famous photographs in the *Detroit News* and typified the violence of U.S. labor relations in the 1930s. *See also* UNITED AUTO WORKERS (UAW).

**“BATTLE OF THE RUNNING BULLS”.** The “Battle of the Running Bulls” was an event during the **sit-down strike** at the General Motors factory in Flint, Michigan, in 1937. This 44-day **strike** was one of the most important strikes in the history of the **United States**. Earlier strikes in the decade were broken by strongmen and the local police, but this time the strikers fought back. They felt safe to do so after the passage of the **Wagner Act**.

On 30 December 1936, the strikers shut themselves into the factory, after which GM shut off electricity and heat. Contrary to earlier occasions, this time the governor refused to intervene. On 11 January 1937, there was a violent clash when the police tried to prevent protesters from bringing food



to the factory. The police were chased away, hence the nickname “Battle of the Running Bulls.” After the battle, the governor ordered in the National Guard, but only to keep the peace and not to interfere in the labor conflict. Public opinion was on the side of the strikers, and therefore GM finally gave in. The sit-down strike was settled on 11 February 1937, when GM recognized the **United Auto Workers (UAW)** as the negotiator for its members.

**BEAMTE.** Term for **public-sector employees in Germany**, including civil servants and employees in state-run enterprises such as postal services, railroads, and schools, in contrast to *Angestellte*.

**BEAMTENBUND UND TARIFUNION (DBB).** Founded in 1918 immediately after the right to unionize was enlarged to civil servants, the DBB was renamed by the Nazis in 1933. The new name was Reichsbund der Deutschen Beamten (RDB), an integral part of the Nazi regime. It reemerged after the war, and in 2018 the DBB (Civil Service Association and Wage Union) had over 1.3 million (in 2011, 1.23 million) members in the public sector and the privatized services. It is the second largest union in Germany and a member of the Confédération Européenne des Syndicats Indépendants (CESI).

**BECK, DAVID (1894–1993).** Beck was one of the main figures in the **Teamsters** from the mid-1930s to the mid-1950s. Born in Stockton, California, he joined the Teamsters in 1914 and, after service in World War I, was elected to his first position within the union in 1923. He became a full-time organizer for the union in 1927 for the Northwest. In 1940, he became an international vice president. In 1949, he was the fraternal delegate of the **American Federation of Labor** to the **British Trades Union Congress**. In 1952, Beck was elected international president of the Teamsters. He supported Dwight D. Eisenhower’s campaigns in the 1950s and became a vice president of the **American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)** between 1953 and 1957. In 1957, he was accused of corruption and embezzlement of union funds by Senator McClellan and expelled from the AFL-CIO. Beck served a 30-month jail term between 1962 and 1965 for federal income tax evasion. He later became a millionaire from real estate dealings in Seattle, Washington.

**BELARUS.** Independent of the former Soviet Union since August 1991, the Republic of Belarus has remained the closest of the former Soviet territories to its past and formed a union state with the **Russian Federation** in 1996. An independent trade union movement was begun by miners and workers in the capital, Minsk. In November 1993, the Belarus Free Trade Union and the

Belarussian Independent Trade Union formed a **strike** committee and together with political opponents of the government called a strike for 15 February 1994. The government declared the strike illegal and imprisoned and harassed the organizers. In the meantime, the two trade unions together with the Free Metalworkers' Union formed the Belarussian Congress of Democratic Trade Unions (BKDP), which was a member of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** and had about 10,000 members in 2016. This membership is in stark contrast to the four million members claimed by the Federation of Trade Unions of Belarus, the official trade union that evolved from the Soviet-era unions. Despite its association with the government, the FTUB has also in recent years been in conflict with that same government over union interference and living standards.

Under the 1996 constitution, the president of Belarus has, in effect, a monopoly of political power and rules by decree. In January 1999, all previously registered labor unions had to reregister or be banned. The Labor Union Law of January 2000 violates trade union rights, according to the assessment of the ICFTU in 2002, which judged these violations to be the worst in Europe. In 2007, the **International Trade Union Confederation's** survey reported that the government's **violations of trade union rights** caused the **European Union** trade preferences to be withdrawn. The 2010 survey stated that antiunion legislation and practice remained firmly in place. They even deteriorated in general, but an unprecedented court ruling reinstating a dismissed trade union activist gave some hope for the future. On several occasions, such as in 2013, the **International Labour Organization (ILO)** has mentioned Belarus in a special paragraph as a country where authorities maintained their repression of independent unions, prosecuting and sentencing trade union leaders on trumped-up charges. In 2019, the ITUC repeated the ILO's complaints.

**BELGIUM.** It is common knowledge that the first Belgian unions were organized by spinners and weavers in the cotton industry in 1857, but according to new insights the first union was probably founded in 1842 by Brussels typographers. From the start, organized labor was weak and divided by religion and ethnicity. Nevertheless, this did not mean the absence of working-class discontent; this forced the middle classes in 1886 to acknowledge the "social question." In April 1893, about 200,000 **employees** took part in a national **strike**. **Catholic** and **socialist** labor unions emerged in the 1880s, but even their combined efforts at recruitment yielded poor results. By 1900, there were only 42,000 union members, accounting for 3 percent of all employees. Only 10 percent of employees were unionized by 1913, but, in common with other Western European countries, union growth was substantial to 1920, when there were 850,000 union members, accounting for 37 percent of employees. Since 1960, the Catholic labor federation (Confédéra-

tion des Syndicats Chrétiens/Algemeen Christelijk Vakverbond, formed in 1912) and the socialist labor federation (Fédération Générale du Travail de Belgique/Algemeen Belgisch Vakverbond), formed from a labor body set up in 1898, have developed a closer working relationship to strengthen their bargaining position with employers. Apart from these, a much smaller liberal union (Centrale Générale des Syndicats Libéraux de Belgique/Algemene Centrale der Liberale Vakbonden van België) has been in existence since 1930. Over the winter of 1960–1961, a **general strike** was organized by the socialist union against austerity measures known as the Loi Unique or Eenheidswet (Unity Law). The strike started nationwide, but soon Wallonia was on its own.

In 1990, about 54 percent of Belgian employees were members of labor unions. In 2002, Belgium had 1.85 million labor union members, covering 40 percent of Belgian employees. Contrary to many Western countries, **membership** in Belgium grew over the next decade. In 2009, **union density** stood at 50.2 percent. This relatively high union membership is a result of the Ghent system of unemployment insurance, whereby unions play an important role in the payment of **unemployment benefits**. Another factor that contributes to the high level of union membership is the fact that unions can offer members an annual bonus, paid by the **employers**.

The right to form unions and to strike is strongly enshrined in law. Since the mid-1980s, a growing number of employers have tried to gain the legal prohibition of strikes, particularly since 2009. In 2010, the three national trade union centers lodged a complaint against the state before the **European Union** for violation of the right to strike for allowing employers to counter collective action by a preventive strategy. Also, in 2019, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** mentioned Belgium because of several **violations of trade union rights**.

**BELIZE.** Known until 1973 as British Honduras, Belize was a colony of the **United Kingdom** to September 1981. The British authorities legalized trade unionism in the 1930s. The National Trade Union Congress of Belize has been an affiliate of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** since 1992, when it claimed 2,400 members. This number had grown to 8,000 in 2018.

Although a legal right to form unions exists, especially on the banana plantations and other **export processing zones**, this right does not exist in practice as **employers** are more persuasive in court. Most workers have the right to **strike** without giving notice. In the case of health and postal workers and other employees in “essential services,” a notice period of 21 days must be given. The 2010 annual survey of **violations of trade union rights** states

that the government blocks union negotiations. In 2019, the ITUC mentioned regular violations of rights in this small country with a population of a little over 400,000 inhabitants.

**BENEFITS.** Although the benefits of being a member of a labor union are generally considered in terms of higher pay—the **union wage differential**—it has long been common for labor unions to negotiate other nonwage benefits as part of **collective bargaining**. Depending on the economic health of the industry concerned, these benefits might include plans that provide above-average retirement, health-care, and insurance benefits. National government surveys in both **Australia** and the **United States** since the mid-1990s have shown consistently that union members generally enjoy access to and participation in a significantly higher level of nonwage benefits than nonunion members. For example, in August 2005, only 10 percent of Australian union members did not have leave entitlements in their main job compared with 32 percent of nonunion employees. In March 2006, the U.S. survey found that, in keeping with previous surveys, union members had higher levels of access to the most important nonwage benefits of employment; for instance, not only did 84 percent of union members have access to retirement benefits compared with 57 percent of nonunion members, but the access to the best retirement benefits, defined benefits, differed greatly. Only 15 percent of nonunion employees had access to a defined-benefit retirement plan compared with 70 percent for union members. In a 2017 survey published by the Economic Policy Institute, comparable shares of benefits for U.S. union members were mentioned. Developing countries often have a bigger proportion of workers in the **informal economy**, in which benefits are difficult to achieve. Therefore, the **International Labour Organization** published its 2019 report to encourage trade unions to be more active in the informal economy.

**BENIN.** Benin was a colony of **France** before August 1960, when it was called Dahomey. A national labor organization existed in Benin in the 1950s, when it joined the **Union Générale des Travailleurs de l’Afrique Noire** (General Union of Workers of Black Africa) in 1957. After independence, organized labor in Benin became intertwined with **politics**. In 1969, the Benin labor body the Confédération Nationale des Syndicats Libres (National Confederation of Free Trade Unions) was admitted to membership in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)**. The ICFTU was concerned about the efforts of the Benin military government to form a single national labor organization under its control. In 1973, the Confédération Nationale des Syndicats Libres merged with the Union Générale des Syndicats du Dahomey (General Union of the Trade Unions of Dahomey),

which had been formed in 1964. Through this body, Benin remained a member of the ICFTU and its successor, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**, but continued being a hostage to political instability and poverty. In 2018, five national confederations were a member of the ITUC, of which the Confédération des Organisations Syndicales Indépendantes du Bénin (COSI, Confederation of Independent Trade Union Organizations of Benin), with more than 129,000 members, was the biggest. This COSI was created in 1997 by seven unions. Unions are only allowed to be formed after government approval. **Strikes** are legally allowed but also strongly regulated. In 2009, the ITUC complained that striking workers met with intimidation; several union leaders received death threats. In 2010, the authorities still acted with hostility toward the unions, a situation hardly improved in 2019.

**BERMUDA.** In Bermuda, a British dependent territory, the population is still largely divided along racial lines. The first manifestation of the working-class response to repression was a **strike** of dockers in 1863, but this didn't lead to any organization. The first union was the Bermuda Union of Teachers, founded in 1919. The foundations of a labor relations system were finally laid by the Trade Union and Trade Disputes Act (1946). After the introduction of this law, from the Bermuda Workers Association (BWA) founded in 1944, the Bermuda Industrial Union (BIU) was formed in 1946, drawing most of its **membership** from black **blue-collar** workers. The worst incident of violence happened in 1965, when the union called a strike on behalf of electrical workers. During this strike, a fight between demonstrators and the police became known as the Belco Riots, after the name of the company. Seventeen officers were injured, nine demonstrators were taken to court, and four union members went to prison.

By 1975, the BIU claimed 6,000 members. Bermuda has been a member of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** and its successor, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**, since 1969 and had 9,000 members in 2011. In 2018, the BIU was still a member of the ITUC, with 3,641 members. The biggest Bermudan member was the Bermuda Trade Union Congress (over 8,000 members), of which the BIU is also a part.

**BETRIEBSRÄTE.** German term for works councils. They began in the late 19th century, were enacted in legislation in 1920, and were incorporated into codetermination (*Mitbestimmung*).

**BEVIN, ERNEST (1881–1951).** Bevin was the greatest leader to emerge from organized labor in the **United Kingdom** in the 20th century. Born into poverty in Somerset, he held a number of lowly jobs until finding work as a

van driver in 1901. His formal education was very limited. Like other labor leaders of his generation, he was a Methodist. He gained some further education from the Quaker Adult School and joined the **Socialist** Party in Bristol, where he became a speaker and an organizer. In 1908, he became active in the Right to Work movement for the unemployed. During the **strike** by dockers (longshoremen) at Avonmouth, he organized the dock carters as part of the Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and General Workers' Union so they could not be used as **strikebreakers**. In 1911, he became a full-time official of the Dockers' Union. An outstanding negotiator, Bevin became one of the union's three national organizers in 1913. He realized that strong, centralized authority was as vital for unions as **rank-and-file** support.

In 1915–1916, Bevin was sent as the fraternal delegate of the **Trades Union Congress (TUC)** to the **American Federation of Labor**, a trip that gave him an international outlook on the world of organized labor. In 1920, his brilliant advocacy for the dockworkers before the Industrial Court won him national recognition, as did his leadership of the Council of Action's campaign to boycott the supply of military equipment to **Poland** for use against the Russian revolutionaries. In 1921, Bevin was the pivotal figure in the **amalgamation** of 14 unions to create a new mass union, the **Transport and General Workers' Union (TGWU)**, which by the late 1930s had grown to be the largest union in Britain and, for a brief time, the largest in the world.

In 1925, Bevin became a member of the general council of the TUC, a position he held until 1940; in 1937, he was chairman of the TUC. During the 1930s, Bevin successfully fought **communist** influence within the TGWU. In 1937–1938, he conducted a tour of the British Commonwealth and was able to bring about improved labor relations. In 1940, he was made minister for labor, a position responsible for organizing Britain's labor force during World War II. Bevin's last official position was foreign secretary from 1945 to just before his death. *See also* DEAKIN, ARTHUR (1890–1955).

**BLACK LABOR MARKET.** The black labor market refers to employment in jobs for which the income is not declared for taxation and **social security**. It is a subset of the term *black economy*, which came into use in the late 1970s. This form of labor engagement often removes workers from **occupational health and safety** protection and is a traditional source of low pay. In 2000, it was estimated that 48 percent of nonagricultural employment in North Africa was in the black or **informal** sector, which is the name mostly used for black labor in developing countries. Including agricultural employment, the percentage rises. In a country like **India**, it rises beyond 90 percent. The percentages for developed countries probably are around 15. In 2019 an estimated 2.5 billion workers around the world were in the black labor mar-

ket. Labor unions oppose the informal labor market as its lower labor costs threaten the pay and conditions of the workforce and their members in particular. *See also* BONDED LABOR.

**BLACK LIST.** A list of workers compiled by and circulated among **employers** identifying union members and activists who are to be sacked or otherwise penalized.

**BLUE-COLLAR/WHITE-COLLAR.** *Blue-collar* and *white-collar* are terms to describe manual occupations (meaning literally to work with the hands) and nonmanual occupations (meaning to work with the brain rather than the hands), respectively. Although of U.S. coinage, both terms have entered general English usage, although the color blue—whether of caps or coats—was associated with servants and other menial occupations in England from the 17th century. The term *white-collar*, referring to a clerical occupation, was used in the United States from about 1920; *blue-collar* was coined in about 1950 and was in general English usage by the 1960s.

One of the outstanding features of the labor force in advanced capitalist economies in the 20th century has been the shift away from blue-collar to white-collar **occupations**. The trend in the British labor force seems to have been typical for other countries. Between 1911 and 1951, the proportion of blue-collar jobs in the labor force fell from 75 to 64 percent and has continued to decline ever since. By 2000, only about one-third of the labor force in Western economies worked in blue-collar jobs.

Historically, these terms have strong connotations of social class. A manual occupation was the membership badge of the working class and a white-collar occupation indicated middle-class membership. These social distinctions were reinforced by labor laws and from about 1910 were reflected in the occupational classifications of population censuses, which presented a carefully graded hierarchy of occupations from managers at the top to laborers at the bottom. The Code de Travail (Code of Labor) in **France**, which was published between 1910 and 1936, distinguished between the superior intellectual qualities of white-collar work and those required for blue-collar jobs. Labor laws passed in **Greece** (1920), **Italy** (1926), and France (1924, 1935) defined the division between blue- and white-collar jobs and provided for different systems of payment. Blue-collar workers received **wages**; white-collar workers were paid salaries. White-collar workers were paid more but less frequently and received preferential treatment in the case of their employers' bankruptcy. Although the legal distinction between blue-collar and white-collar employees has tended to lessen since the 1950s, it remained a feature of labor law in most Western European countries in the late 1990s.

Organized labor worldwide reflected the social division between blue-collar and white-collar workers. Generally not welcome in organized labor, white-collar unions and their federations tended to remain outside its ranks until the 1960s. In 1900, less than 10 percent of union members worked in white-collar jobs, but after 1910 the proportion of white-collar members began to slowly rise. Even so, the **iconography** of organized labor tended to pay homage only to blue-collar work (“real” work) as opposed to the work performed at a desk by a white-collar employee. Heavy manual work was more amenable to being presented as heroic than was working in **safety** and comfort at a desk. This aspect is visible in the 1978 movie *Blue Collar* by Paul Schrader and starring Richard Pryor, Harvey Keitel, and Yaphet Kotto. The story is about three desperate car factory workers who are so sick of being mistreated and ignored by the very union who is supposed to be looking after their interests that they decide to strike back by robbing the union safe.

Since the 1970s, technological change has blurred the social distinction between blue- and white-collar jobs. A white-collar job no longer carries the social status it did 50 years ago. Over the same period, the proportion of blue-collar jobs in the labor force has declined and the proportion of white-collar jobs has risen as a result of changes in types of work and through social mobility. Since 2010, this trend has reversed a little, but the general changes are still valid. In 2000, the British Department of Trade and Industry recognized these changes when it ceased to publish statistics on union **membership** divided by blue- and white-collar jobs following the introduction of a new classification of occupations. In 2001, 48 percent of union members in the **United States** were employed in white-collar jobs, and 45 percent were in **Australia**. In both countries, employees in blue-collar jobs were still more likely to be union members than were white-collar employees, but 2017 United States data suggest a growth of **white-collar unionism**. **Union density** among white-collar employees grew from 4 percent in 2010 to 7 percent in 2017. For organized labor, these trends have meant that a substantial part of its membership in Western economies works in white-collar jobs even though it has become harder to compare these changes with the past because of changes to the classification of official occupational statistics since 2000. Problems arising from the shift from blue-collar workers in the labor force to white-collar workers are not unique for developed economies. After 2000, highly skilled professionals began working in mining in **Ghana**, and the Ghana Mineworkers Union had to rebrand and now organizes professional and managerial staff in addition to blue-collar workers.

**BÖCKLER, HANS (1875–1951)**. Böckler was one of the leading architects of the revived post-1945 labor movement in **Germany**. The son of a coachman, he qualified as a gold- and silversmith and joined the **Deutscher Metal-**



**lar-beiter-Verband** (German Engineering Union) and the Social Democratic Party in 1894. After being wounded in 1916, he left the army to become an official of the engineering union. In 1927, he became the Düsseldorf-area chairman of the General German Trade Union Federation and was elected to the Reichstag in 1928. In 1944, Böckler managed to avoid capture by the Nazis for his part in a July plot to kill Adolf Hitler.

After the Nazis' defeat, the Allies adopted different policies on the revival of the labor unions. The British policy, following the Potsdam Agreement, which encouraged organized labor, was to allow the revival to come gradually from the local level first and to be carefully supervised, whereas leaders like Böckler preferred to organize centralized democratic unions, following in many respects the organizational framework of the former Nazi **Deutsche Arbeitsfront**. Böckler and other leaders were advised on the future structure of organized labor by a delegation from the British **Trades Union Congress** in 1945. The individual independent labor unions that had been approved set up a first so-called **Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund** (German Trade Union Confederation) in the British zone on 22–25 April 1947, with Böckler as its head. Realizing the need for the labor movement to be better informed, Böckler was the prime mover in 1946 in creating the Institute for Economic Science to give organized labor expert advice for its policies and positions. Also in 1946, Böckler, in an address to the first labor conference in the British zone, made clear his support for the unions to be represented on the managing and supervisory boards of companies, thereby laying the foundation for the introduction of *Mitbestimmung* (codetermination). In October 1949, the federations of German labor unions in the British, American, and French zones of occupation were merged into the present **Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund**, and Böckler was elected chairman by 397 out of 474 votes, a position he held until his death.

**BOLIVIA.** Organized labor in Bolivia has a violent history. The first trade union in Bolivia was formed in 1906, but organized labor was torn by political ideologies—**socialism**, **anarchism**, and, later, **communism**—as well as facing opposition from the government, and handicapped by the poverty of Bolivia's people. The first national Bolivian Labor Congress was held in 1927. During a 1936 similar congress, the Confederación Sindical de Trabajadores de Bolivia (CSTB, Trade Union Confederation of Bolivian Workers) was founded. It was the most prominent trade union confederation from 1936 to 1952. The Bolivian miners' unions federated in June 1944. Following the successful revolution of the National Revolutionary Movement, organized labor formed the Central Obrera Boliviana (COB), or Bolivian Workers' Confederation, in 1952 when the CSTB was dissolved. Until 1963, the COB worked with the leftist government and gained significant advantages, notably concession of its demand for "workers' control" of mines. A military

coup in November 1964 ended the alliance between the government and the COB. Thereafter, Bolivia's labor unions were the focus of government repression. A **general strike** led by the COB in May 1965 resulted in hundreds of deaths. In 1974, the COB and organized labor generally were banned by the government. There were widespread violations of **human rights** in Bolivia in the 1970s, which were exposed after a secret mission to the country by the British National Union of Miners in April 1977. The left-wing COB was not an affiliate of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)**, preferring affiliation with the communist **World Federation of Trade Unions**. Bolivia's membership of the ICFTU in the 1950s and 1970s was through one of its smaller unions. Civilian government was restored in Bolivia in 1982. In 1993, the government introduced free-market reforms, which resulted in a wave of **strikes** during 1995. The COB played an important role in demonstrations that brought down the country's president in 2005. In 2010, it forced a **pension** reform, and in 2011 it organized a general strike for higher wages that lasted 12 days. The COB organizes about two million workers.

In 2001, Bolivia and **Uruguay** were the only South American countries not to be members of the ICFTU, and this was also true for the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** in 2018. In 2009, the ITUC reported that the general climate for organized labor in Bolivia continued to be repressive, despite hopes for a restoration of trade union rights and a new constitution improving trade union rights. In 2011, strikes were still strictly regulated, but they continued to take place. The relationship between the government and the trade union movement was deteriorating in 2016 and **violations of trade union rights** were widespread. During 2017, trade unions were concerned over the government's reluctance to recognize and organize certain trade unions. A positive development was the support and ratification by trade unions of the government's Process of Change.

**BONDED LABOR.** Bonded labor is a form of **forced labor** in which a worker is bonded to an employer, often to repay a debt lent to the worker at an inflated interest rate. Bonded or indentured labor was a feature of the labor force of colonial North America. It was common in Asia, particularly in **India**. Since 1945, bonded labor has been illegal in India but is widespread in practice; it has been estimated that there were 10 million bonded laborers in India in 1999. The **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** has since 1997 been associated with the world's oldest antislavery organization, Anti-Slavery International, which was founded in 1839. In 2001, the United Nations Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery estimated that there were 20 million workers of both sexes and all ages working as bonded labor. In 2009, the number had grown to 27 million workers. A 2017 report by the **International Labour Organization** concluded that debt-bonded la-

bor was an important part of all forced labor, with regional differences. It was most common in Asia, Africa, and the Arab states, where roughly 50 percent of all forced labor exploitation involved debt bondage. *See also* SLAVERY.

**BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.** One of the six republics that made up the former **Yugoslavia**, Bosnia and Herzegovina has been a separate nation since 1991. The country's war-torn history in the 1990s has precluded the emergence of organized labor. In 2007, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** noted that although **collective bargaining** existed all over the country, the right to establish unions in fact needed prior authorization. Since 2002, the government has been refusing to register the Confederation of Trade Unions of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Dismissals and threatening of unionists by private-sector **employers** also frequently take place. In 2005, the Union of Independent Trade Unions of Bosnia and Herzegovina, together with the Union of Trade Unions of the Republika Srpska and the Union of Brcko District, established the Konfederacija Sindikate Bosne i Hercegovine (KSBiH, Trade Union Confederation of Bosnia and Herzegovina), which is a full member of the ITUC. The KSBiH has 161,214 members. The 2019 ITUC Global Rights Index concluded that systematic **violation of trade union rights** occurs in the country.

**BOTSWANA.** There were some labor unions in Botswana, a colony of the **United Kingdom** up to September 1966 under the name of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. **Membership** in these early unions was slight; even by 1974, Botswana's unions had a total of only 1,400 members. By 1986, the membership of the Botswana Federation of Trade Unions—as indicated by its returns to the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions**—had risen to 14,000 and to 18,000 by the 1990s. In 2018, membership was a little over 55,000. Unlike most other postindependence African countries, Botswana has remained a stable democracy, a condition that has maintained organized labor and reflected its relatively prosperous economy. Since the mid-1990s, the relocation of the indigenous San people from their historic lands is a blot on Botswana's democratic image.

The 2004 Trade Disputes Act effectively prohibits most **strikes**. Even though the right to strike legally exists, the procedures are so complex that unions always lose their case. In addition, many **employers** use dismissals and other unfair tactics to discourage **collective bargaining**. In 2009 and again in 2010, the survey of **violations of trade union rights** concluded that it is impossible to strike legally. After strikes in 2011, the government de-

cided to add more occupations to the essential services list that under **International Labour Organization (ILO)** regulations allow national legislation to prohibit strikes. The list, among others, includes diamond mines.

**BOYCOTT.** A collective refusal to buy or use the goods or services of an **employer** to express disapproval with its practices. The term originated in 1880 when an Irish landowner, Captain Charles Boycott, was denied all services. A boycott can be used to support strikers during a **labor dispute**.

**BRAZIL.** The first labor unions were formed in Brazil in the 1900s, but, as in other countries separated from **Portugal** or **Spain**, organized labor developed along the political and religious divisions of the mother country, as shown by the formation of **Catholic**, **socialist**, **anarchist**, and **communist** unions. Although Brazil claimed 270,000 union members by 1930, these divisions and the economic world crisis allowed the government of Getúlio Vargas to force all unions to become officially registered in 1931, a move that Vargas used to outlaw the communist and anarchist unions. Vargas, who ran the government until 1945, used the example of fascist **Italy** to build a **corporatist** state in which unions were controlled by government nominees or supporters and received their finances from compulsory contributions by all employees regardless of whether they were union members. Since 1945, as in other Latin American countries, the labor unions have played a central role in the campaign against authoritarian government and in favor of democracy, although their efforts have been hampered by internal political divisions. The 1950s and 1960s were marked by a high level of **labor disputes** and the growth of communist support. In 1964, an antiunion military junta seized power. This government declared most **strikes** illegal and banned free unions.

Massive strikes all over the country were pivotal to the redemocratization process during the late 1970s. During this process, the Central Unica dos Trabalhadores (CUT), or Single Workers' Center, was founded in August 1983. After the reintroduction of civilian government in 1985, the Central Geral dos Trabalhadores (CGT), or General Confederation of Labor, was formed in August 1986. An unconditional right to strike was established in 1988 for all **employees** except the police and the military. In 2000, three Brazilian labor federations were members of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions**: the CGT with 2.2 million members, the CUT with 4.6 million members, and the Força Sindical (Union Strength, formed in 1991) with 2.1 million members. In 2001, there were 8.9 million labor union members in Brazil covering 21 percent of employees. Trade **union density** dropped to 18.9 percent in 2016. On 27 October 2002, **Luiz Inacio "Lula" Da Silva** (1945–), a former leader of the metalworkers' union in the 1970s,

was elected president, the first occupant of the position with a background in organized labor. His election raised hopes for improvement in the treatment of organized labor in Brazil, but rural violence and land disputes still exist. Lula stayed in office until 1 January 2011, when he was succeeded by a partisan. When he tried to regain office in 2019, he was imprisoned on accusations of corruption during his presidency, accusations that seem to have been at least partly politically inspired.

The 2009 survey of **violations of trade union rights** paints a grim picture of the blatant violation of union rights by a number of **employers**, with four union leaders murdered in Brazil in that year. In 2018, the country entered the list of the 10 worst countries for workers as indicated by the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**. Trade union activists were murdered, and since the adoption of a new law the entire **collective bargaining** system collapsed. The act caused a drastic decline of 45 percent in the number of **collective agreements** concluded in 2018. There is also a worrying trend of employers withdrawing labor rights and pressing for lower **wages** at the company level.

**BREAD AND ROSES STRIKE.** Also known as the Lawrence Textile Strike, the 1912 Bread and Roses Strike was a **strike** by immigrant workers in Lawrence, Massachusetts, led by the **Industrial Workers of the World**. The **women** involved were angry about a two-hour pay cut in consequence of a new law that shortened their workweek. In a short time, the strike grew to more than 20,000 workers. The strike was a unifier of tens of nationalities and lasted more than two months. They were opposed by mill owners and city leaders, who even planted dynamite in an attempt to discredit strikers. At the end of January, two strikers were killed by the police and soldiers. The banners the strikers carried, declaring, “We want bread, and roses, too,” gave the **labor dispute** stoppage its name. Congress started a hearing, and the horrible stories told there turned public opinion in favor of the strikers. They won the strike, and by the end of March more than a quarter of a million workers received similar raises. The strike also proved that the leadership of the **American Federation of Labor** was wrong in its assumption that immigrants were not able to fight collectively for their interests. In 2000, the name of the strike was used in a movie by Ken Loach about a young, illegal Mexican immigrant who working as a janitor gets involved in the **organizing** campaign by the labor union.

**BRENNER, OTTO (1907–1972).** One of the main post-1945 labor leaders in **Germany**, Brenner was born in Hanover and began his working life as a general laborer but eventually worked his way up to electrical engineer. He joined the **Deutscher Metallarbeiter-Verband** (German Metal Workers’

Union) in 1922. He was a cofounder of the Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei (Social Democratic Workers' Party) in 1931. Arrested by the Gestapo in 1933, he was jailed for two years and was under police surveillance until 1945. With Hans Brümmer, he was joint leader of **IG Metall** from 1952 to 1956 and then led the union alone until his death. Under Brenner's leadership, IG Metall was at the front of the movement in West Germany for **shorter working hours**. In 1958, Brenner warned of the dangers of unemployment caused by technological change. In 1969, he was elected president of the European Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the forerunner of the **European Trade Union Confederation**.

**BRITAIN.** *See* UNITED KINGDOM.

**BRITISH GENERAL STRIKE.** The British General Strike, which took place between 4 and 12 May 1926, was the largest single confrontation between the government and organized labor that has ever occurred in the **United Kingdom**. The immediate background to the **strike** was the government's decision in 1925 to return Britain to the gold standard, a move that increased the price of British exports and encouraged **employers** to instigate pay cuts to maintain their position in world trade. At the center of the strike were grievances by the coal miners over wage cuts and their efforts to gain the support of other unions. Although **employees** gave a high level of support to the strike—a record 162 million working days were lost through **labor disputes** in 1926—the Stanley Baldwin government was well prepared and used special constables, university students, and other volunteers to take the place of strikers. The coal miners remained on strike until August, when they admitted defeat and returned to work on the employers' terms. As a result of the strike, the **Trades Union Congress (TUC)** issued an invitation for talks on the reform of British industrial relations in 1927. Although the offer was ignored by the employers' association, the offer was taken up by Sir Alfred Mond, the chairman of Imperial Chemical Industries, who met with Ben Turner of the TUC in a series of talks that ran into 1928; these talks led to the Mond–Turner Report, which suggested that organized labor should have a role in making national economic and industrial relations policies. The idea was rejected by the **employers' organizations**, and the talks were abortive. The government enacted the Trade Disputes Act in 1927, which outlawed the secondary **boycott** and strike, the mechanisms on which the strike had been based. This law, although not used, was repealed by Clement Attlee's **Labour** government in 1946. *See also* GENERAL STRIKES.

**BROWNFIELD SITE.** A workplace where there are established unions and a long-standing system of industrial relations characterized by customs and practices recognized by **employers** and unions, in contrast to a **greenfield site**.

**BRUNEI.** Brunei is a sultanate that became independent from British rule in 1984. The sultan, who is from a family that has been in power for over six centuries, rules by decree. As a consequence of large oil and gas reserves, the indigenous population of Brunei enjoys a high standard of living. However, 40 percent of the workforce are foreigners. Only 5 percent of the **employees** in the oil sector are organized in unions. **Strikes** are legal but seem not to occur although there have been some work stoppages and protests, especially in the garment industry. They were a response to poor working conditions, poor living conditions, payroll deductions, and nonpayment of overtime pay. The majority of labor laws only applies to citizens, excluding migrant workers. The 2009 annual survey of **violations of trade union rights** mentioned virtually no union activity, and this was the same 10 years later. No violations were reported either.

**BUILDING AND WOOD WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL (BWI).** At its World Congress in Buenos Aires on 9 December 2005, the **International Federation of Building and Wood Workers** and the World Federation of Building and Wood Workers (WFBW) created a new **global union federation**, the BWI. The WFBW was the continuation of the International Confederation of Christian Building and Woodworkers' Unions, constituted in 1937. The BWI is a global union federation, grouping free and democratic unions with members in the building, building materials, wood, forestry, and allied sectors.

The BWI groups together 334 labor unions representing around 12 million members in 130 countries. Its headquarters is in Geneva, **Switzerland**. Regional offices and project offices are located in **Panama** and **Malaysia**, **South Africa**, **India**, **Burkina Faso**, **Bosnia and Herzegovina**, **Lebanon**, **Kenya**, **South Korea**, **Russia**, **Argentina**, **Peru**, and **Brazil**. Since 2013, BWI activities have been determined by the "Jobs for All—Justice for All: Unions Make It Possible!" strategic plan. In the end, quality working and living conditions in the building and wood sectors must be achieved and a sustainable industrial development promoted.

**BULGARIA.** The first labor union in what is now Bulgaria, but was part of the Ottoman Empire to 1908, was formed in 1883 by printers. Other unions were formed after that date, and a **Socialist** Party was set up in 1893. In 1904, two labor federations were formed. Despite its small **membership**

(there were 2,700 members in 1904 and about 29,000 in 1911), organized labor conducted 537 **strikes** up to 1910, of which 161 won gains for the strikers. During World War I, Bulgarian organized labor developed a revolutionary character; in 1920, when the two labor federations merged, union membership reached 36,000 and attained its pre-1945 peak of 49,800 in 1923. Bulgaria was an affiliate of the **International Federation of Trade Unions** from 1904 to 1913 and from 1921 to 1933. A military coup in June 1923 brought a fascist-style government to power, which banned many labor unions. Although there was some revival of organized labor after 1927, union membership had fallen to 18,900 by 1933. After the withdrawal of the Nazis in 1944, the Central Council of Trade Unions (CCTU) was formed; it became a pillar of the **communist** regime and was given a range of responsibilities concerning labor administration. Bulgaria was a model of communist orthodoxy until the late 1980s, but the CCTU managed to develop some independency.

In February 1989, some members of the intelligentsia formed an independent labor union, Podkrepa (Support). In spite of the imprisonment of some of its leaders, it claimed 100,000 members by December 1989 and played a central part in the popular uprisings that broke the communist political monopoly. The challenge posed by Podkrepa for the leadership of organized labor prompted the CCTU to reform itself and also changed its name to Confederation of Independent Trade Unions of Bulgaria (CITUB). CITUB called a **general strike** in December 1990, a move that helped to cause the fall of the government. As in **Poland**, disputes over the ownership of union assets have been a major issue since the end of communism. In December 1991, the democratically elected government seized the assets of the Communist Party, including those of the CITUB. In June 1992, the CITUB and Podkrepa agreed that union property should be returned to organized labor and divided between them. In 1993, Podkrepa was a member of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** with 321,200 members. By 2001, these two affiliates had a combined membership of 555,350, which diminished to 350,000 in 2018 (**union density** was 13.7 percent then). In 2007, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** reported frequent harassment of union officials and members who were relocated, downgraded, or even dismissed. After international action, the parliament removed on 12 October 2006 the ban on strikes in the energy, communication, and health-care sectors and provided for mediation and **conciliation** procedures. In 2010, the prohibition of strikes in public administration still remained in force. The ITUC also reported ongoing frequent harassment of trade union activists. Despite this negative situation for organized labor, it was also possible to win a case, such as in 2015 when workers at a refuse collection and processing company went on strike over the nonpayment of their **wages** for over eight months. The **employer** dismissed all those involved in the strike,



but legal experts of the CITUB stepped in. All 70 lawsuits they filed were resolved in the workers' favor. But still, in 2018, the ITUC again complained about regular **violations of union rights** in Bulgaria.

**BURKINA FASO.** Called Upper Volta until 1984, Burkina Faso was a colony of **France** up to 1960. As in other French colonies, organized labor followed the example of French settlers and reflected divisions within French organized labor. The first trade unions were founded in the 1930s. In 1947, the first national union federation was formed as a branch of the French Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT), or General Confederation of Labor. In the 1960s, the Organisation Voltaïque des Syndicats Libres (Organization of Free Trade Unions of Volta) was established and was admitted to membership in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)**; it claimed 6,000 members by 1966. Organized labor remained fragmented and weakened by too many unions. Nevertheless, in January 1966, the unions successfully conducted a **general strike** to bring down the government. When in 1975 the military government announced the creation of a single party, a wave of **strikes** began that led to the dissolution of the government. In 1980, teachers throughout the country went on strike and provoked a military coup and the formation of a military junta.

Burkina Faso has continued to be a member of the ICFTU and its successor, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**. Following the suspicious death of the journalist Norbert Zongo in 1998, the Workers' Front was formed to defend organized labor and basic **human rights** generally; the Workers' Front was the target of government repression in 2000. In 2001, the ICFTU reported that there were still many restrictions on organized labor, particularly over the government's ability to use public-sector **employees** to break strikes. There were 59,500 union members in Burkina Faso in 2001. In 2002, the ICFTU reported that a climate of government intimidation toward organized labor prevailed in Burkina Faso. The same was true in 2006, when the six national trade unions who organized a national strike in May reported threats and intimidation against their members. In 2008, the right to strike was broadened, but at the same time this right was violated as a response to numerous protests. In 2010, excessive restrictions to the right to strike still remained, and in 2018 the ITUC again complained that the government resorted to outright prohibitions of demonstrations to undermine workers' rights to peaceful assembly. Four national confederations totaling 108,707 members were affiliated with the ITUC. These were the Confédération Nationale des Travailleurs Burkinabé (CNTB, National Confederation of Burkinabe Workers), the Confédération Syndicale Burkinabé (CSB, Burkinabe Trade Union Confederation), the Organisation Nationale des Syndicats Libres (ONSL, National Organization of Free Trade Unions), and the Union Syndicale des Travailleurs du Burkina (USTB, Union of Workers of Burki-

na). Besides these four organizations affiliated with the ITUC, two other confederations exist. The *Confédération Générale des Travailleurs du Burkina* (CGT-B, General Workers' Confederation of Burkina), which originated with the French CGT (see above), is by far the largest in terms of membership. The last confederation is the *Force Ouvrière–Union Nationale des Syndicats Libres* (FO-UNSL, Workers' Power–National Union of Free Trade Unions). In 2014, these organizations together with 16 independent single-trade unions formed an alliance, the *Unité d'Action Syndicale* (UAS, Unity of Trade Union Action), which has brought trade union unity a bit closer.

**BURMA.** Burma was part of British India from 1886 to 1937 and has been independent of the **United Kingdom** since 1947. Organized labor in Burma emerged among Indian and Chinese imported workers in the 1920s. In 1926, the British administration legalized labor unions, and this principle was incorporated into the 1948 constitution. By 1961, there were 173 registered unions with a total **membership** of 64,000, but thereafter Burma's history was dominated by political instability, military repression, and rebellious ethnic groups. In 1964, the Socialist Program Party government abolished independent organized labor and, in 1968, set up its own system of grassroots committees to control labor. Following hundreds of deaths in student riots, a **general strike** in August 1988, and a mass demonstration in Rangoon attended by one million people in September, the military took power, killed thousands of opponents of the regime, renamed the country Myanmar, and suppressed all vestiges of organized labor.

In 1991, the Federation of Trade Unions of Burma (FTUB) was formed in secret in **Thailand** and was forced to operate along the borders of Burma because of the severity of military repression. By 1997, the FTUB claimed to have an underground national network of sympathizers within Burma. Virtually all factories in Burma are owned by the military government. **Forced labor** is a general feature of the labor force, despite Burma's ratification of **International Labour Organization** Convention No. 87—Forced or Compulsory Labor (1930). The **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** has consistently drawn attention to the government of Burma as one of the worst **human rights** offenders in Asia; dozens of trade union activists are in jail. Burma has never been a member of the ICFTU or its successor.

The 2010 survey of the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** mentioned the inhuman attitude of the military government when it refused to allow international help in response to Cyclone Nargis, which killed over 140,000 people. Trade unions were still repressed, but in 2011 the regime announced freedom to organize and to strike. Democratic forces continued their struggle against the military government, but it was not before 2016 that the first elected civilian government took office. In practice

though, the situation has hardly improved for some ethnic groups and trade unions. This is obvious from an event in 2018 when dozens of predominantly female garment workers employed at a textile factory were seriously wounded after armed thugs attacked the protesters with metal bars and wooden sticks. The police were called in but made no arrests. The judgment of the ITUC in its Global Rights Index was clear. **Strike** actions were brutally repressed and severely punished by the government, and there was a systematic **violation of union rights**.

**BURUNDI.** Since independence from **Belgium** in 1962, the country suffered from military coups and ethnic rivalries that cost the lives of hundreds of thousands of people. The country is infamous for its two genocides. In 1972, the number of casualties was believed to be between 80,000 and 210,000, while in 1993, 50,000 people were killed. In both cases, ethnic differences between Hutus and Tutsis were the cause of the violence. The right to form unions and the right to **strike** are severely limited. Two union federations totaling 17,500 members are affiliated with the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**. One seceded in 1995 from the other that was founded four years earlier, but the two work closely together. Since many people work in the **informal economy**, **union density** is estimated at 1.3 percent only. According to the survey of **violations of trade union rights**, 2008 was a bad year for trade union rights, and the surveys for the following years showed no improvement. In 2018, the ITUC described Burundi as one of the African countries that was “still plagued by internal conflicts which further deteriorated the humanitarian situation and deprived millions of basic protection.”



# C

**CA'CANNY.** Originally a term used in Scotland meaning “to go carefully,” it was first recorded in 1896 to refer to **workers** deliberately reducing the pace of their work or the quantity of their output. By 1918, *ca'canny* had entered standard English usage in Britain.

**CAMBODIA.** After the Japanese occupation, **France** tried to regain control of the country, which had been a French protectorate since 1863. In 1953, Cambodia became independent but became involved in the **Vietnam War**. In 1975, the Khmer Rouge took power and renamed the country Kampuchea. The Khmer Rouge used terror to try to rebuild the economy on an agricultural basis, and millions starved. After years of internal war, a constitutional monarchy was installed in 1993.

Three years later, the Free Trade Union of the Kingdom of Cambodia (FTUKC) was founded. Three union confederations are affiliated with the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** with a total of more than half a million members. The FTUKC is not part of them. **Union density** is 9.6 percent, which may be explained by the fact that the right to form unions is restricted, as is the right to **strike**. There is a whole battery of antiunion practices. In 2011, 300 striking garment workers were victimized. The year 2018 witnessed a severe antiunion case described by the ITUC in its annual Global Rights Index. Seven national trade union leaders were prosecuted for their alleged participation in a strike action organized in 2013 that had ended in clashes with the police. After a mockery of a trial, the seven leaders were given heavy prison sentences of up to two and a half years under suspension.

**CAMEROON.** Cameroon was under **French** administration for the United Nations to 1960. Accordingly, its labor unions developed along French lines with the usual French ideological divisions. Cameroon has been represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** since 1953. By 1975, there were about 40,000 union members. The first union federation was formed in 1948, and in 1971 Cameroon's four union federa-

tions agreed to merge. Labor unions were regulated by law in 1974. The 1992 labor code required government approval for workers to form a trade union. Between December 1993 and January 1994, there was a **strike** caused by large pay cuts in the **public sector**; the strike was defeated by violence and intimidation. A delegation to Cameroon from the ICFTU and its **African Regional Organisation** was able to get an assurance from the government that it would not interfere in the internal affairs of the country's labor federation, the Confédération Syndicale des Travailleurs du Cameroun (Union Confederation of Cameroon Workers). The 1992 Labor Code permits labor unions to be formed, but the ICFTU has complained about government interference in the internal affairs of unions. When the cumbersome procedures for calling strikes are not met, heavy sanctions follow. In 2008, a transport strike gave way to riots to which the security forces responded with brutal force. Ten years later, security forces fired live ammunition at protesting workers again. In contrast to other Third World countries, the ICFTU found that the country's **export processing zones** generally conformed with internationally recognized labor standards.

Repression of union activities continued in 2010 and subsequent years. Still, the union movement has grown. In 2010, there were 200,000 labor union members in Cameroon for a trade **union density** of 5.4 percent. Four years later, this had grown to 6.9 percent, the latest figure available.

**CANADA.** Evidence of organization among skilled mechanics in Canada exists from the 1790s, and seven such bodies are known to have existed by 1829. They made their presence felt at Saint John, New Brunswick, as early as 1812, when they tried to exclude American immigrants to maintain the shortage of skilled labor in the building industry. Trade unions were often illegal: for example, in 1816 the government of Nova Scotia prohibited workers from bargaining for better labor conditions and provided prison terms as a penalty, a situation familiar to many European countries where the British **Combination Act** or the **French** law *Le Chapelier* forbade **strikes** and trade unions. Despite these limitations, workers, with or without unions, protested their conditions, and sometimes violently. Examples are the violent strikes that took place on the Welland and Lachine Canals in the 1840s. Up to the early 1870s, the **United Kingdom**, through **immigration**, was the dominant influence on the shaping of Canadian organized labor, as shown by the establishment of Canadian branches of British unions such as the **Amalgamated Society of Engineers** in 1853 and the **Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners** in 1872. However, in the 1860s, international **craft unions** came into the Canadian colonies, including the Iron Molders International Union. In 1872, the Trade Unions Act was introduced. Trade unions were no longer regarded as illegal conspiracies but recognized as legitimate representative bodies of workers.

With the growth of the **United States** economy after the Civil War and its greater interrelationship with the Canadian economy after the early 1870s, the United States increasingly came to dominate the politics and structure of organized labor in Canada. The **Knights of Labor** set up their first assembly in Canada in 1881, the same year that saw the formation of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada in Pittsburgh. Its successor, the **American Federation of Labor (AFL)**, soon established a presence in Canada. Conflict arose with the Knights of Labor, and in 1902 the Canadian Trade and Labour Congress (formed in 1883 as successor of the Southern Ontario–based Canadian Labor Union, founded in 1873) expelled the Knights and all other unions that were part of an American (or “international”) union. The excluded unions formed their own federation, the National Trades and Labour Congress, in Canada in 1903, which was renamed the Canadian Federation of Labour in 1908. In 1906, the **Industrial Workers of the World** created its first organization in Canada; as in the United States, it largely recruited the lesser-skilled employees. **Catholic** unions in Quebec created a provincial federation in 1921. In common with other countries, Canada experienced a wave of **labor disputes** after World War I, notably the **general strike** in Winnipeg in 1919. The **One Big Union** movement also found support at the same time, claiming around 50,000 members in the 1920s. Despite the growth of organized labor, the proportion of **employees** enrolled in unions remained low. In 1920, for example, only 15 percent of Canadian employees were union members compared with 17 percent in the United States, 42 percent in **Australia**, and 26 percent in **New Zealand**. Unions accounted for 33 percent of Canadian employees by 1950, and this level remained relatively unchanged thereafter; moreover, unlike other countries, Canada did not suffer a sharp decline in union **membership** during the 1980s. A modest decline in **union density** did happen though, to 28.4 percent in 2016, according to data published by the **International Labour Organization (ILO)**.

For most of the 20th century, about half of Canada’s union members have been members of American unions, a feature that ensured that the political divisions and events of the United States, such as the formation of the **Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)**, were also part of the history of Canadian organized labor. This particular chapter was closed in 1956 when the Trades and Labour Congress (the Canadian equivalent of the AFL) and the Canadian Congress of Labour (the Canadian equivalent of the CIO) merged to form the Canadian Labour Congress, which remains the largest labor federation in the country, with 1.5 million members in 2001 and to date. Since 1974, a number of Canadian unions have split from the American unions to be fully independent in **collective bargaining**. In 2011, there were 4.6 million union members in Canada, compared with 3.9 million in 1995 and 1.5 million in 1960. Canada has always been a member of the **Interna-**

**tional Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** and its successor, and, despite the country's excellent **human rights** record, the ICFTU has been critical of restrictions on trade union rights and the right to strike imposed by some provincial governments, particularly in the **public sector** (especially at the federal level) or "essential services." In its 2009 survey, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** expressed concern about an antiunion trend in legislation and practices based on a hostile political climate. In 2019, again the ITUC mentioned regular **violations of trade union rights** in the country. Positively judged was the new legal framework designed to fight harassment and violence, including sexual harassment and sexual violence, in workplaces.

**CANDY MEN.** Term used in 19th-century **England** to describe the men employed by coal owners to evict miners from company-owned housing during **labor disputes**. The term originated in the English coal miners' strike of 1844, when some sellers of "dandy candy" in Newcastle-upon-Tyne were employed as bailiffs to evict miners from company-owned houses.

**CAPE VERDE.** Cape Verde (or Cabo Verde) became independent from **Portugal** in July 1975. Because of colonial oppression and later droughts, more citizens live elsewhere than on the nine islands themselves. It is regarded as one of the most stable democracies in Africa. The first labor union was formed in Cape Verde in 1976. Cape Verde was not represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** until 1990, when its affiliate, the União Nacional dos Trabalhadores de Cabo Verde—Central Sindical (UNTC-CS), or National Union of Workers of Cape Verde—Central Union, claimed 15,000 members. In December 1991, the government closed part of the social center building of the UNTC-CS and handed the keys to a rival labor organization. The dispute continued for three years and led to calls for intervention by the ICFTU. In 1999, Cape Verde ratified Convention 87 of the **International Labour Organization** on the **freedom of association** and protection of the right to organize.

In 2018, the two trade union centers were both affiliated with the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**. Next to the UNTC-CS with a **membership** of 15,000, there is the Confederaçao Caboverdiana dos Sindicatos Livres (CCSL, Cape Verde Confederation of Free Trade Unions) with 19,786 members. Their total membership is the same as in 2010, when there were also 35,000 union members in the country. In July 2017, the union federations signed an agreement with the government to promote social peace and increase the national **minimum wage**. There is a legal right to **strike**, but the government has on occasion ordered strikers back to work.



**CARIBBEAN CONGRESS OF LABOUR.** This regional international labor organization was formed in 1960 to lobby Caribbean governments on labor issues and to provide training and research. Between 1990 and 2010, the number of employees it represented rose from 122,600 to 500,000 in 13 countries and three nonmetropolitan territories of the English- and Dutch-speaking Caribbean countries. Most of its 32 country members are also members of the **International Trade Union Confederation**.

**CASUALIZATION.** The practice of increasing the flexibility of the workforce by replacing permanent, full-time **workers** with workers on temporary, irregular contracts. In advanced countries, it used to be the norm that workers worked full-time with regular hours and a contract. But since the 1990s, this has changed. The world of **globalized** supply chains sees employers who do away with their responsibilities in the name of “flexibility” and “competitiveness.” Governments for their part have all but given up on the objective of full and decent employment. Workers find themselves increasingly forced to accept lower pay, less security, less favorable working conditions, and difficult access to the right to **collective bargaining**. Temporary contracts are becoming the norm, agency work is spreading, and casual or day labor as well as forms of “dependent” self-employment are thriving. Labor unions have tried to stop casualization, but the solution must be found in the political arena. *See also* PRECARIAT.

**CATHOLICISM.** Catholics and Catholicism have played a major role in shaping the history of organized labor. Because the growth of **socialism** in Western Europe was often associated with anticlericalism, it led to a Catholic reaction. At Ghent, the Anti-Socialist League was set up in 1878. In **France**, the first Catholic labor union was formed among **white-collar** workers in 1887. The 1891 papal encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (Of New Things) rejected socialism but recognized and supported the need for social justice and cooperation between **employers** and **employees** within industrial society, thereby encouraging Catholics to participate in labor unions under the guidance of spiritual leaders. Because of the papal promotion of cooperation, Catholicism is often associated with **corporatism**.

In **Germany**, the first Catholic unions were formed in 1894, and by 1919 had a combined **membership** of one million. In France, the first national Catholic union was formed among clerical workers in 1913. In **Switzerland**, Catholic unions formed their own federation in 1907. A French Catholic labor federation, Confédération Française des Travailleurs Chrétiens (French Confederation of Christian Workers), was formed in 1919; it claimed to represent 100,000 employees. An international body, the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions (the forerunner to the **World Confederation**

**of Labour [WCL]**), was formed at The Hague in 1920, the culmination of efforts begun in 1908. Although Catholic labor organizations were important, they did not represent the full extent of Catholic activity in organized labor, for Catholics were also active in the non-Catholic organizations, which generally retained their numerical superiority over the purely Catholic ones.

The emergence of **communism** from the early 1920s presented Catholicism with its greatest ideological challenge of the century, as it had many of the features often associated with a religion. Communism was officially condemned by the Vatican in the encyclical *Domini Redemptoris* (Redemption of the Lord) in 1937. From that time onward, Catholics were important as a group in fighting communist infiltration of organized labor in the 1940s and 1950s. Catholic unions remain a feature of organized labor in Western Europe, but in Germany and **Austria** their support is limited because the pre-World War II divisions within organized unions were seen as contributing to the success of fascism. Catholicism has been the driving force behind the WCL. Since the merger of the WCL with the **International Trade Union Confederation** in 2003, the sole international organization based on the principles of Catholicism is the Movement of Christian Workers, set up in 1966.

**CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC.** The Central African Republic became independent of **France** in 1960, at which time organized labor in the country had about 2,000 members. The government of Jean-Bédél Bokassa brought the unions under the control of one organization in 1964. The Central African Republic has been represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** since 1980 by the Union Syndicale des Travailleurs de Centrafrique (USTC), or Labor Union of Central African Workers. Recently, three organizations were affiliates to the **International Confederation of Trade Unions (ITUC)**. **Strikes** in the Central African Republic, such as those conducted by public-sector **employees** in April 1994 over unpaid salaries, were met by government military forces. Despite the establishment of a democratic government in 1993, relations between the government and organized labor remain difficult. In 1999, the general secretary of the USTC, Sunny-Colé, was arrested and beaten up by the presidential security unit and only released after international pressure. In 2001, there were 15,000 union members in the Central African Republic. In 2007, the ITUC reported police intimidation and the prevention by **employers** of union meetings at the workplace. The ITUC considered the 2009 Labor Code to be inadequate and complained in 2010 that unions were not respected. In 2018, there were 27,000 union members in two union confederations affiliated with the ITUC. The ITUC in 2019 complained that there existed no guarantee of rights due to a breakdown of the rule of law although the law gives workers the right to

strike in both the private and **public sectors**. Life has been difficult in the country for decades, a situation worsened by an ongoing civil war since 2012.

**CHAD.** Independent of **France** since August 1960, organized labor in Chad began as branches of French unions; they claimed 1,500 members by 1960. In 1962, the government required official approval before a trade union could be formed and banned any political activity by unions. The unions were brought under **government control** by one union body in 1965. In 1968, a new confederation emerged, joining several groups. Both existing labor union organizations were ineffective in opposing government policies because of internal rivalries. In 1975, **strikes** were banned after a military coup, and in 1976 public-sector **employees** were forbidden to form trade unions. Despite the hostile legal and political environment, Chad has been represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** since 1992 by the Union des Syndicats du Tchad (UST), or Federation of Chad Labor Unions, a split-off from the official confederation. Strikes in the **public sector** over the government's failure to pay salaries in 1994 and 1995 were met with violence by the government; at least five union leaders were murdered in 1994. In July 1994, the government and the UST agreed to a social pact that resulted in an agreement to pay the salaries due; the International Monetary Fund warned the government that the pact was a serious violation of its aid package and could result in its cancellation. In 1996, the ban on strikes ended. In 2007, the **International Trade Union Confederation** reported that the government appeared to be engaged in an attempt to curtail the UST. In the same year, the legislation was amended to make **organizing** strikes more difficult. In 2010, basic trade union rights were still frustrated by government intervention. In 2018, civil servants struck for five months against austerity measures by the government imposed by the International Monetary Fund. There were 125,000 union members in Chad in 2018.

**CHANGE TO WIN.** The Change to Win Federation (CTW) is a coalition of five labor unions in the **United States** formed in 2005 as an alternative to the **American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)**. The coalition is associated with strong advocacy of the **organizing** model. Worried about the continued decline in the share of **employees** who were union members, the five unions came together in 2003 to push reform in the AFL-CIO. Their main concern was an effort to start organizing unorganized workers. Two years later, the informal partnership, joined by the **Teamsters** and the **United Food and Commercial Workers**, formed Change to Win, which introduced a program for reform of the AFL-CIO.

The CTW's members were largely **service-sector** unions that represented large numbers of **women, immigrants**, and people of color, as opposed to the **manufacturing** unions. On the eve of the 2005 AFL-CIO convention, the two largest Change to Win affiliates, **Service Employees International Union** and the Teamsters, announced that they were leaving the AFL-CIO. Others followed. In 2005, Change to Win held its founding convention and announced the formation of a federation dedicated primarily to organizing. In 2009, reunification talks between the AFL-CIO and CTW failed. At that time, the CTW had 5.5 million members, a number that has decreased since then. In 2018, six unions were affiliated with Change to Win.

**CHECKOFF.** A formal arrangement between an **employer** and a union whereby the employer deducts union fees and dues from their **employees'** pay and remits them to the union. In developing countries such as **Nigeria**, the checkoff system was for a period of time regarded a means to strengthen the union movement. In the **United States**, the system has been under attack from mainly Republican politicians, after which a number of unions took matters into their own hands. They tried to convince their **membership** to allow the union to be automatically paid from their bank accounts. It was more successful than many feared. An extra advantage may be that with a bank draft the employer loses insight into who is a union member and who is not.

**CHILD LABOR.** The elimination of child labor was a general objective of organized labor in the 19th century, not just on the grounds of the protection of children but also to reduce their competition with adults. As children were cheaper to employ than adults, they tended to reduce the **wages** of adults. Early 19th-century British social reformers like Robert Owen (1771–1858) opposed the employment of children. Union pressure for legislation to regulate factory employment and exclude child labor effectively began in 1833 in England, but progress was slow and grudging. In the **United States**, **Samuel Gompers**, although generally suspicious of government labor laws, supported them if they were aimed at eliminating child labor. The National Child Labor Committee (formed in 1904) induced most states to pass child labor legislation, but Supreme Court opposition delayed the passing of a national law to directly prohibit child labor until 1949. The **International Labour Organization (ILO)** has sought to reduce the incidence of child labor but with limited success outside of Western economies. The first ILO Convention concerning child labor was adopted in 1919: The Minimum Age (Industry) Convention, 1919 (No. 5). It was followed by the Minimum Age for Employment Convention, 1973 (No. 138).

The **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** and its successor, the **International Trade Union Confederation**, have been campaigning against child labor since 1986. Child labor remains widespread in developing countries, with many poor families seeing child labor as essential for their economic survival. On 8 January 1995, the Indian National Trade Union Congress and the Centre of Indian Trade Unions signed a pact with the ILO to work toward the elimination of child labor. In 1999, the ILO adopted the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (No. 182), which was based on the ICFTU's Child Labor Charter released in 1998. In the 21st century, child labor still exists although the proportion of children working has diminished. In 1960 around 25 percent of children aged 5–17 years were estimated to be working. In 2003, the percentage had decreased to 10 percent. This is much lower, but it still affects 168 million children worldwide, of which the highest percentages are in Sub-Saharan Africa. *See also* BONDED LABOR; MINIMUM AGE; SLAVERY.

**CHILE.** The first labor organizations in Chile were founded as mutual aid associations by artisans in 1847. The growth of unions was slowed by hostile governments, which violently suppressed **strikes** in 1890 and 1907; the 1907 strike was led by nitrate employees, of whom over 2,000 were killed by the army. The first national labor federation in Chile was set up in 1909. **Anarchism** attracted a wide following, and an anarchist labor federation existed between 1931 and 1936. The number of union members was claimed to be 150,000 by 1923 and 204,000 in 1927. A new labor federation was created in 1936, but during 1946–1947 it split into **communist** and **socialist** factions. A reformed national labor federation, the Central Unica de Trabajadores (CUT), or Central Workers Union, was established in 1953; left-wing in character but independent of any political party, it became affiliated with the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)**. During the 1960s, there was a general rise in labor unrest, a reflection of the deep divisions in Chilean society. In 1970, Salvador Allende, the leader of the Popular Unity Coalition, was elected president with the CUT as his major ally. In September 1973, the Allende administration was overthrown in a military coup that had the backing of the administration of Richard Nixon in the **United States**. Not only were strikes, unions, and **collective bargaining** suppressed, but 13,000 people were arrested and at least 2,200 were executed by the Pinochet administration.

Labor unrest during the 1980s gave rise to a new, broad-based labor federation, the Central Unitaria de Trabajadores (CUT), or Unified Workers' Center, in August 1988, which actively worked for the restoration of democratic government (achieved in 1990) and labor law reform. In 1992, there were

about 720,000 union members in Chile (about 24 percent of **employees**) of whom 425,000 were affiliated with the Unified Workers' Center. Between 1983 and 1993, the number of unions in Chile rose from 4,401 to 11,389.

In 1994, the Unified Workers' Center was admitted to membership of the ICFTU. In 2001, it was estimated that about 12 percent of Chilean employees were union members. On 11 September 2001, the senate of Chile adopted a labor union rights law; the ICFTU has complained that the law does not go far enough, but noted that for the first time in the history of Chile, 10 military officers were found guilty of the murder of a labor union official, Tucapel Jiménez, under the dictatorship of General Augusto Pinochet. In 2016, a new labor law was approved by parliament containing new rules intended to give unions more power. The new law made it more difficult for businesses to replace striking workers, and companies will also be prohibited from extending **benefits** to nonunionized employees.

Since 2007, monitoring by the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** has indicated greater respect by the government for organized labor and progress in the application of labor standards. However, in the same year both affiliates, the CUT and the Central Autónoma de Trabajadores (CAT, Autonomous Workers' Center, founded in 1995), strongly condemned the government's repression of a peaceful nationwide demonstration called in August for **social security**, decent **wages**, and respect for collective bargaining rights. In general, the country remained unstable regarding trade union rights. In 2015, for example, there were 567 complaints of unfair antiunion practices registered by the ITUC and its then only affiliate, CUT.

**CHINA.** The first Chinese labor unions were formed in the Canton region from 1895; they were followed by a union of seamen formed in the British colony of **Hong Kong** in 1909, who successfully defended their union by a **strike** in 1922 against an attempt to suppress it. In the same year, the first national congress of Chinese labor was held, which led to the formation of the All China General Labor Federation in 1925. Organized labor drew much of its support from the industrial city of Shanghai. In 1927, Chiang Kai-shek of the nationalist Kuomintang movement purged the **communists** from organized labor in Shanghai, which resulted in the killing of about 5,000 people. In 1930, there were said to be 2.8 million labor union members in China, but free labor bodies were never able to get established primarily because neither the communists nor the Kuomintang supported an independent labor movement.

In 1950, the communist government, which had taken power on the Chinese mainland under the leadership of Mao Zedong a year earlier, adopted a labor union law that recognized only the All-China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU, established in 1925) under the control of the Communist Party. During the Cultural Revolution, even the state-sponsored ACFTU was

forbidden, but it was restored in 1978. The 1992 Trade Union Law (amended in 2001) has not led to the recognition of any independent labor organizations. The ACFTU is the largest trade union in the world with 239 million members in 2010 and 302 million in 2017.

In 1989, there was an attempt to form independent labor unions, but these bodies and the Free Trade Union Preparatory Committee (formed at the end of 1991) were suppressed by the government in 1992. China has never been a member of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** or its successor, the **International Trade Union Confederation**, because both have disregarded the ACFTU as an independent organization. Links with the Communist Party are too narrow. On 1 January 1995, a labor law came into effect that set down minimum general conditions of employment for the first time. The absence of an officially recognized labor movement has not meant the absence of **labor disputes** in China, which are known to have occurred on a large scale (there were 520,000 labor disputes in 2008), particularly following the **privatization** of many state-owned enterprises in the 1990s. In 2002, the ICFTU was particularly critical of abuses of trade union rights in China and noted a wave of strikes during March to May 2002, particularly in the northeastern provinces. In 2009, this criticism remained valid. There still is no right to strike or form independent unions. In 2009 and 2010, strike waves swept the country and especially the Guangdong region. The sometimes victorious 2010 wave was seen by some observers as the beginning of the end of China as a low-wage country. Although improvements have been made, as late as 2016 the High Commissioner for Human Rights of the United Nations felt it necessary to express concern over the detention of labor rights defenders. *See also* TAIWAN.

**CITRINE, WALTER MCLENNAN (1887–1983).** Born to a Liverpool seaman and a nurse, Citrine began his career as an electrician and became active in the Independent Labour Party and the electrician's union of Liverpool. Citrine became assistant general secretary of the **Trade Union Congress (TUC)** in 1924 and general secretary in 1926. He held the post for 20 years. Citrine also served as president of the **International Federation of Trade Unions** (1928–1945) and chairman of the **World Federation of Trade Unions** (1945–1946). As TUC general secretary, Citrine proved to be an efficient administrator and a highly skilled organizer. The 1926 **General Strike** definitively convinced Citrine to abandon the conflict model; the unions should try to remove reasons for conflict and develop into reliable negotiators. Identified with the conservative wing of English labor, Citrine nevertheless opposed plans by the **Labour** government in 1931 to cut **unemployment benefits**. He published a number of books, including *The Trade Union Movement of Great Britain* (1926) and his autobiography *Men and Work* (1964). Citrine upset many in the labor movement when he accepted a

knighthood in 1935 and a peerage in 1946. Until his retirement in 1957, he was chairman of the British Electricity Authority. *See also* UNITED KINGDOM.

**CLOSED SHOP.** A workplace where union **membership** is a condition of employment; *closed shop* is British usage and *union shop* is American usage. There are two main forms of the closed shop: workplaces where an individual must be a member of a particular union before being employed and those where the individual must join a particular union after being employed at the workplace. The opposite term is *open shop*.

**COAL MINING.** With engineering, coal mining was one of the main pillars of organized labor in most Western countries. Between the early 1900s and the late 1930s, coal miners' unions were the largest single labor unions in both the **United Kingdom** and the **United States**. Within both countries, labor unions among coal miners emerged on a regional basis after 1840, but their attempts to form effective national bodies floundered until the 1890s. The similarity in the two countries was explained not just by the geographical separation between coalfields but also by the presence of British immigrants among the union leaders in the early history of coal mining in the United States. The first labor union in the anthracite coalfields of Pennsylvania was organized by an English immigrant, John Bates, in 1849. Later, Daniel Weaver and Thomas Lloyd, both immigrant miners from Staffordshire, formed the American Miners' Association in 1861.

Between 1854 and 1902, nearly 191,000 miners of all kinds emigrated from Britain; of the 184,000 whose destinations are known, 109,200 went to the United States, 11,000 to **Canada**, and 24,900 to **Australia** and **New Zealand**. The bulk of this migration occurred between 1854 and 1871, when 70,400 British miners emigrated. In 1890, 58 percent of coal miners in Pennsylvania were foreign born; in Australia, 76 percent of coal miners in the largest coalfield, at Newcastle, New South Wales, were foreign born in 1891.

Because coal was the main source of energy in the Western world up to the 1950s, coal miners' unions were able to command considerable influence within organized labor, but since that time, technological changes have reduced the number of miners needed, and other sources of energy have lessened the reliance on coal. Between 1910 and 1940, the share of energy supplied to the U.S. economy from coal fell from 85 to 50 percent. Coal mining had also been a major source of **labor disputes** in Australia, Britain, and the United States before 1950. An example of these disputes is the British national coal **strike** of 1912. The main goal of the strikers was to secure a **minimum wage**, an end attained after 37 days when the government intervened and passed the Coal Mines Act.



Today, **China** is the world's largest coal producer, with five million people active in the sector. Pressure by environmentalists and the climate movement urges a stop to mining coal, but production is not diminishing yet. *See also* IMMIGRATION; MINeworkers' FEDERATION OF GREAT BRITAIN (MWF); UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA (UMWA); APPENDIX D, TABLE 16.

**CODETERMINATION.** *See* MITBESTIMMUNG.

**COGLAN, TIMOTHY AUGUSTINE (1855–1926).** An Australian statistician and historian, Coghlan was born in Sydney to Irish parents. Coghlan became the colonial statistician of New South Wales in 1886, a post he held until 1905, when he became agent general in London. As a statistician, he achieved acclaim both in Australia and internationally; in 1893, he was made a fellow of the Royal Statistical Society in London. Coghlan not only reorganized the statistical collections of New South Wales, he systematically extended the collections and communicated their results in appealing publications with text and tables, notably in the yearbook *The Wealth and Progress of New South Wales*, which was first published in 1887. He was particularly interested in the emergence of the labor movement and the growth of labor unions as well as movements in **wages** and prices. Because of his accuracy and his inside knowledge of political affairs, his publications remain an important source for the study of labor in **Australia**. His great work, *Labour and Industry in Australia*, was published in four volumes in 1918 by Oxford University Press and continues to be an indispensable source for economic, political, and labor history in the last half of the 19th century. *See also* LABOR HISTORY; LABOR STATISTICS.

**COLLECTIVE AGREEMENT.** An agreement, generally in writing, that incorporates the results of negotiations between an **employer** and labor unions. The agreement stipulates the working conditions, work regulations, and conflict settlement. The contract is legally binding and valid for a certain period of time. Advantages for the **employees** include the nondiscriminatory value of the agreement: no employee is exempted. Employers, although at first reluctant to sign such contracts because they intervened in their attitude of being the one and only boss, gradually also became supporters of signing, partly because collective agreements often include the rule that no **strikes** are allowed during the duration of the agreement, but mainly because collective agreements prevent concurrence on wage levels or trying to steal workers from other companies by offering them higher wages. *See also* COLLECTIVE BARGAINING.

**COLLECTIVE BARGAINING.** Collective bargaining is the decision-making process whereby **employers** and independent unions negotiate the **wages** and conditions of employment as well as regulating **industrial relations**. Negotiations take place between one or more workers' representatives, unions, or trade union centers on the one hand and employers or employers' representatives on the other hand. This process may also include governments. The outcome of collective bargaining is usually a **collective agreement**. The **International Labour Organization (ILO)** adopted a few conventions on collective bargaining. The Collective Agreements Recommendation, 1951 (No. 91), considers measures that should be taken to extend the application of the stipulations of a collective agreement to all the employers and workers within the industrial and territorial scope of the agreement. The Collective Bargaining Convention, 1981 (No. 154), and the accompanying Recommendation (No. 163) describe the establishment of agreed rules and procedures, processes for the resolution of disputes, and access to information for meaningful negotiations. The form of collective bargaining varies. Unions and employers may bargain directly with each other or through a third party, such as an independent negotiator or a tribunal established by the government. Bargaining structures can vary also. Bargaining can take place with just a single enterprise or across a whole industry or a whole country. The ILO calculates coverage rates for wage and salary earners in employment. However, in countries with a large **informal economy** or **black labor market**, the formal category of **employees** may be small in comparison to total employment and high coverage rates may present a distorted picture about the significance of collective bargaining in such countries. The types of collective bargaining that are used reflect the particular histories and cultures of the countries concerned. For example, collective bargaining in the private sector in the **United States** and the **United Kingdom** is generally done without any government participation, whereas in **Australia** government industrial tribunals continue to play an active part in the bargaining process. In **Brazil**, collective bargaining is only open to unions registered by the government. Because collective bargaining is a major activity of trade unions, we might expect that countries with a high **union density** also have a high collective bargaining coverage. Research published in 2017 has shown that this is not always the case. Significant disparities were observed by Jelle Visser, Susan Hayter, and Rosina Gammarano. There are countries with a high collective bargaining coverage and low union density rates (e.g., **France**) and countries with relative high union density rates and low collective bargaining coverage rates (e.g., **Moldova**, the **Philippines**, **El Salvador**, and **Malaysia**). They also concluded that the coverage of collective bargaining suffered from some erosion since the economic crisis of 2008. This erosion started a little earlier in **Germany** after the unification. *See also* UNION-GOVERNMENT AGREEMENTS.

**COLOMBIA.** Associations of **employees** were formed in Colombia from the 1850s, but the first unions did not appear until around 1909. A **strike** by banana laborers at the U.S.-owned United Fruit Company in December 1928 resulted in the deaths of several hundred strikers when the government decided to send military forces. Unions and **collective bargaining** were fostered by a law of 1931. A union federation was formed in 1935 but soon split between **socialists** and **communists**. It was reunited as the Confederacion de Trabajadores de Colombia (CTC), or Confederation of Colombian Workers, in 1938. Colombia had two union federations affiliated with the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** by 1951, the CTC and the Catholic Union de Trabajadores de Colombia (UTC), or Union of Workers of Colombia, formed in 1946, but they were rivals and it was not until 1958 that the two bodies, with the support of the ICFTU, agreed to work together. In 1986, the center-left Central Unitaria de Trabajadores (Central Union of Workers) was founded. The CTC and the UTC merged in 1992 with a few other unions into the Confederacion General de Trabajadores Democraticos.

Although collective bargaining and trade unions were legalized in 1975, organized labor in Colombia has had a difficult history marked by political instability and repression, a reflection of the country's narrow economic base and poor economic performance. In its annual surveys of **violations of trade union rights**, the ICFTU has consistently made special mention of the savagery of labor relations and **human rights** abuses in Colombia, specifically the killing of labor union activists. Between 1987 and 2000, from 2,500 to 3,200 union activists were killed in Colombia; in 2002, 184 were killed, compared with 185 in 2001. In 2006, this number had fallen to 78, but this was hardly proof of better relations. The 2009 survey confirmed this by mentioning the assassination of 49 unionists and a 25 percent rise in antiunion violence. According to the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**, this sad position of Colombia as the country with the most assassinations per year is still true. Besides, national and international companies used harassment, persecution, and repressive actions against unions. In 2018, two confederations were affiliated with the ITUC, the CTC and CUT, with a total of 730,000 members. According to the **International Labour Organization, union density** was 9.5 percent in 2016 and strikes were not registered. In 2019, Colombia ranked as one of the 10 worst countries for workers' rights. Each year reports of the killing of union activists continue to be published. In 2018, the number was 34, out of a global total of 53 murders.

**COMBINATION ACT.** From 1799 and 1800, these acts made trade unions illegal in the **United Kingdom**. These acts may be regarded as a panicky reaction to the fight against rising food prices and fear of what happened in **France** during and after the revolution of 1789. The acts sentenced workers

who combined to gain an increase in **wages** or a decrease in hours to three months in jail or two months' hard labor. Appeal of the sentence was extremely difficult. Similar prohibitions applied to **employers**, but they never materialized. In 1824, the Combination Acts were repealed, but new **strikes** were answered with the Conspiracy Laws of 1825, which had much the same effect. The 1871 Trades Union Act finally gave trade unions legal recognition. In continental Europe, similar laws existed and even foreshadowed the Combination Acts. In 1791, the revolutionary government of France passed the Loi Le Chapelier (Law Le Chapelier), which banned guilds and all kinds of trade unions and strikes. In 1864, the right to strike and to associate was reinstated. When the French occupied parts of Europe, they exported the Law Le Chapelier to these countries, like **Belgium** and the **Netherlands**.

**COMMONS, JOHN ROGERS (1862–1945)**. Born in Ohio, Commons became a political reformer on the side of labor and one of the foremost political economists in the **United States**. Based in Wisconsin, he played a significant role in drafting progressive labor laws between 1905 and 1911 and served on the state's Industrial Commission between 1911 and 1913. Outside of Wisconsin, he helped to found the American Association for Labor Legislation in 1906, served on the Commission on Industrial Relations between 1913 and 1915, and was president of the National Consumers' League from 1923 to 1935. Among his many achievements was his founding of the Wisconsin school of **labor history**, one of the first systematic, scholarly endeavors of its kind anywhere. His publications included *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society* (1910–1911, 10 vols.) and *History of Labor in the United States* (1918–1935, 4 vols.).

**COMMONWEALTH TRADE UNION COUNCIL (CTUC)**. This international body, originally based in London but now administered from the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** head office in Brussels, was formed in 1979 to guarantee that trade union views are taken into account by governments in the 53 countries that make up the Commonwealth, that is, the former British Empire. In 1987, the CTUC took part in founding the Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative. In 2004, the council was transformed into the Commonwealth Trade Union Group. In 2009, there were some 30 million **employees** in the groups' member countries, a number that grew to 70 million in the late 2010s. The group holds an annual meeting in Geneva and sends a major delegation to the biennial Commonwealth Heads of Government Meetings (CHOGM) as well as sending submissions to that and other Commonwealth ministerial meetings.

**COMMONWEALTH TRADE UNION GROUP.** *See* COMMONWEALTH TRADE UNION COUNCIL (CTUC).

**COMMUNICATION WORKERS OF AMERICA (CWA).** The CWA is the largest telecommunications union in the world. It grew out of the organization of telephone workers in the 1890s by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the Commercial Telegraphers' Union. The modern union began as the National Federation of Telephone Workers, which was formed at Chicago in June 1939 with 45,000 members. Inadequate **wages** and the failure to respond to union appeals led to a **strike** in November 1944. Within three days, the strike had spread to 25 cities and forced the government to establish a national board to handle the cases of telephone workers. By 1945, the federation had grown to 170,000 members. Following a failed strike against the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, the federation renamed itself the Communication Workers' Association in 1947 and was reorganized along more central lines. In 1949, it joined the **Congress of Industrial Organizations** to avoid further jurisdictional or demarcation disputes with other unions in the telecommunications industry and became affiliated with the **American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations** in 1955.

The year 1955 saw the Bell strike. This struggle with Southern Bell lasted 72 days, encompassing nine states and 50,000 workers. Although the union was willing to resolve the issues through **arbitration**, Southern Bell refused. Ultimately, a contract was signed that gave improvements like wage increases and the right to strike. **Membership** in the CWA rose from 180,000 in 1950 to 260,000 in 1960 and to 573,000 by 1983. After a number of mergers with often smaller unions from several professions, members now work in not only telecommunications but also publishing, the airline industry, public safety, health care, education, social work, and broadcasting. In 2009, the year that CWA together with **Ver.di** formed T-Mobile Workers United (TU), its membership was over 700,000 in the **United States** and **Canada**. Ten years later, the number of members was still the same. *See also* POSTAL, TELEGRAPH, AND TELEPHONE INTERNATIONAL (PTTI).

**COMMUNICATIONS INTERNATIONAL (CI).** The CI was named the **Postal, Telegraph, and Telephone International** until August 1997. The change in name was made in response to mergers and other changes in the organization of global telecommunications. On 1 January 2000, the CI merged with the **International Graphical Federation**, the **Media Entertainment International**, and the **Fédération Internationale des Employés**,

**Techniciens et Cadres** (International Federation of Commercial, Clerical, Professional, and Technical Employees) to form the **Union Network International Global Union**.

**COMMUNISM.** In reaction to the support for their national governments at the beginning of World War I by **social-democratic parties**, many radical social-democrats split off. The establishment of the Bolshevik regime under Vladimir I. Lenin following the Russian Revolution in 1917 and the formation of communist parties from the split-off radical social-democrats in other parts of the world after 1918 began a new era in the history of organized labor. Underlying these changes was an upsurge of working-class discontent based on sharp **inflation** during and after World War I and the economic slump of the early 1920s. Following Lenin, communist theory and practice regarded labor unions as the primary vehicle of working-class organizations and, as such, ideal for infiltration and mobilization on behalf of revolution; this was the purpose of the Communist International (Comintern), which was established in March 1919. Noncommunist bodies that proved resistant to infiltration, notably the **International Federation of Trade Unions**, were made the targets of propaganda wars of ridicule and scorn. This even went so far that communists labeled social-democrats “social-fascists.”

As organizations, labor unions were often poorly equipped to deal with communist infiltration because of the low proportion of members who were really active and attended union meetings. As well, many communists gained election to union posts because of their dedication and hard work. The communist presence was notable in the leadership of certain industries, such as **coal mining**, engineering, transportation, and the waterfront; during the Depression of the early 1930s, communists were often the leaders of moves to mobilize the unemployed. With Hitler’s attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941, the communist parties in the West were instructed to cooperate with their governments. In 1943, the Comintern was officially disbanded.

The end of World War II and the start of the Cold War saw a renewal of the Russian-led campaign to infiltrate organized labor, a campaign that brought about a split of the **World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU)** and the creation of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** in 1949. The improvement in the world economy after the early 1950s and determined campaigns to remove communists from key union positions largely eliminated communism as a major force within organized labor in the West. Nevertheless, individual communist leaders continued to be important in organized labor until the 1980s. With the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the threat of communism largely disappeared, and the former labor union federations in **Russia** and Eastern Europe converted themselves into organizations that professed to be democratic to compete with the emergence of new labor union organizations that had no history of being run by commu-

nist governments. In Western Europe, few communist-oriented labor federations remain, but in other parts of the world, especially in developing countries, a number of communist-oriented trade unions exist and have even been growing. An example of these is the **Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)**, with 1.8 million members affiliated with both the WFTU and the **International Trade Union Confederation**. *See also* SOCIALISM.

**COMPANY UNION.** A company union is one formed by the management of a company among its **employees** and run for the benefit of the **employer**. Such unions are also variously called house unions, **yellow unions**, and even employee representation plans. Although a company union was formed in **France** in 1899, company unions were largely a feature of labor relations in the **United States**. They flourished in the 1920s and early 1930s but were effectively killed off by the National Labor Relations Act in 1935. Some observers regard the relatively docile unions of large companies in **Japan** as a form of company union. *See also* ENTERPRISE UNION.

**CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION.** Conciliation and **arbitration** are two methods that can be used for settling **labor disputes**. Following legislation in 1562 to fix maximum levels of **wages**, local courts in England acted as industrial tribunals and as wage boards. By 1769, conciliation in labor disputes had become an important part of the work of English magistrates. The **Combination Act** of 1800 included an arbitration clause. During the 19th century, conciliation and arbitration gradually became features of the method of resolving labor disputes in England.

Conciliation refers to the voluntary use of a mediator who tries to reach a settlement that both **employer** and **employees** would accept. Failing that, resort could be made to arbitration, where a settlement would be proposed by a board or an individual. The first conciliation legislation was passed in Britain in 1867, but the system had mixed success. In the wave of labor disputes in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, governments considered making conciliation and arbitration compulsory; that is, the parties in dispute would be legally compelled to accept the settlement of a board or tribunal. In the **United Kingdom**, labor unions generally opposed compulsory conciliation and arbitration. Nevertheless, compulsory arbitration as a means of settling disputes was used in **Germany** (1923–1928), **France** (1915–1919, 1936–1939, and 1940–1951), **Kansas** (1920–1925), **Norway** (1945–1952), and **Turkey** (1947–1963, 1980–1982).

Compulsory conciliation and arbitration achieved its most lasting success in **Australia** and **New Zealand**. In 1894, New Zealand introduced compulsory arbitration into its legal system, and it remained there until removed by

far-reaching reforms in 1991. In Australia, industrial tribunals were established under federal and state laws between 1896 and 1912. In the early 1900s, there was considerable interest in these labor experiments from the United Kingdom, France, and the **United States**. In 1907, the British government sent Ernest Aves (1857–1917) on a fact-finding mission to Australia and New Zealand to investigate compulsory conciliation and arbitration; he reported that these systems seem to work well in their particular environments but concluded that the different legal and economic environment of the United Kingdom made their adoption inappropriate. Since the mid-1980s, both federal and state governments in Australia and New Zealand have encouraged greater reliance on **collective bargaining** and narrowed the rights of unions in **industrial actions**. Laws were now utilized as a means to combat **strikes** and **lockouts**.

In 1951, the **International Labour Organization** adopted a recommendation on voluntary arbitration and conciliation (No. 92). An important line in this recommendation was that no provision may be interpreted as limiting the right to strike. *See also CONSEILS DE PRUD'HOMMES.*

**CONFEDERACIÓN DE TRABAJADORES DE AMERICA LATINA (CTAL).** The CTAL, or Confederation of Latin American Workers, was formed in 1938 by Vincente Lombardo Toledano, a Mexican Marxist. A left-wing international federation, it had close links with the **Congress of Industrial Organizations**. During World War II, the CTAL actively promoted organized labor in Latin America and supported the work of the **International Labour Organization**. In 1945, the CTAL joined the **World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU)** and became its regional affiliate for Latin America. The CTAL remained with the WFTU after the withdrawal of its noncommunist members in 1948. In 1963, the CTAL was officially disbanded and replaced by the **Congreso Permanente de Unidad Sindical de los Trabajadores de America Latina y el Caribe** (Permanent Congress of Trade Union Unity of Latin American Workers).

**CONFEDERACIÓN INTERAMERICANA DE TRABAJADORES (CIT).** The CIT, or Inter-American Confederation of Workers, was the successor body to the Pan-American Federation of Labor. Formed on 10 January 1948 in Lima, **Peru**, the other founding member countries of the CIT were **Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, El Salvador, Dutch Guiana (Surinam), Mexico, Panama, Puerto Rico,** and the **United States**. The **American Federation of Labor (AFL)**, represented by **George Meany** and others, was the prime mover in the creation of the CIT, which also had the support of the U.S. Department of State in its efforts to insulate Latin America from European fascism. The CIT soon became a victim of regional



and international **politics**. In 1949, it was expelled from Peru by the government crackdown on organized labor and was then caught up in the politics of the Cold War. In 1951, the CIT reorganized itself into the **Organización Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores (ORIT)**, the regional branch of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)**. After the ICFTU merged into the **International Trade Union Confederation** in 2008, ORIT was dissolved and renamed **Trade Union Confederation of the Americas**.

**CONFEDERACIÓN SINDICAL DE TRABAJADORES Y TRABAJADORAS DE LAS AMERICAS (CSA)**. The CSA, or the Trade Union Confederation of Male and Female Workers of the Americas (TUCA), is the largest regional workers' organization in the Americas. Founded in 2008 in Panama City, it represents more than 55 million workers belonging to 48 national trade union organizations distributed in 21 countries. These numbers differ from those in 2012, when TUCA represented 50 million workers from 29 countries and 65 trade unions. TUCA/CSA is the regional organization of the International Trade Union Confederation.

**CONFÉDÉRATION EUROPÉENNE DES CADRES (CEC)**. Originating in the International Confederation of Managers, founded in 1951 by French, German, and Italian confederations of managers and executives, the CEC (European Confederation of Managers), also known as EUROCADRES, was formed in 1989. Since December 1993, it has been formally recognized by the **European Union** as a “social partner” for European-level dialogue on social policy matters. In 2009, the CEC represented 1.5 million employed managers in Europe, compared with 800,000 in 1993. The number has, however, decreased to around one million in 2019. The CEC supports professional equality between men and **women** and programs to improve their access to jobs involving supervision, responsibility, and autonomy; the specific presence of a representation of executives and managerial staff in all the information, consultation, and participation bodies in the company; and adaptations to supplementary **pensions** in Europe to promote the free movement of labor.

**CONFÉDÉRATION EUROPÉENNE DES SYNDICATS INDÉPENDANTS (CESI)**. The CESI, or European Confederation of Independent Trade Unions, was created in 1990 to represent the interests of a range of independent labor organizations. Its country membership in 1993 consisted of Belgium, Germany, Iceland, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and the United Kingdom as well as Sweden, Norway (to July 1994), the Czech Republic and Slovakia, and the Public Services International. Since 1994, the CESI had admitted affiliates from Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, and Romania.

In 2005, the CESI was granted “social partner” status for European-level dialogue on social policy matters by the European Commission. In 2008, the European Federation of Public Service Employees affiliated. Two years later, the CESI represented eight million members, compared with five million in 1993, a number that was the membership total in 2018 again. In that year, member countries were not the same as in 1993. CESI covered 19 countries including the Russian Federation and France. The particular strength of CESI lies in the public sector although member organizations also represent private-sector workers. *See also* CONFÉDÉRATION EUROPÉENNE DES CADRES (CEC); EUROPEAN TRADE UNION CONFEDERATION (ETUC).

**CONFÉDÉRATION GÉNÉRALE DU TRAVAIL (CGT).** The CGT, or General Confederation of Labor, has been the oldest continuous important labor organization in **France** since its formation at Limoges in 1895; it absorbed the National Federation of Bourses du Travail in 1902. In 1906, the CGT adopted the radical Charter of Amiens, which called for **wage** increases and **shorter working hours** by dispossessing the “capitalist class” and supported the **general strike** as a means of achieving that end; the charter also made the CGT independent of any political party or philosophy. Between 1914 and 1920, the number of union members represented by the CGT grew from 400,000 to 2.5 million, but, as before 1914, the CGT was riven by tensions between its right and left wings. In 1921–1922, the CGT split when the **communists** and **syndicalists** formed their own federation, the Confédération Générale du Travail Unitaire, which joined the Red International of Labor Unions in 1923. In 1936, the CGT and the Confédération Générale du Travail Unitaire held a unity congress that resulted in the latter’s readmission to the CGT. **Membership** of the CGT soared to between four and five million by 1936. Nevertheless, tensions between the communists and non-communists remained. From 1937, the CGT also organized workers in France’s West African colonies, but in 1955 members in **Senegal** and **Mauritania** voted for separation. In 1956, they formed the Confédération Générale des Travailleurs Africains (CGTA, General Confederation of African Workers).

In 1948, many of the noncommunists in the CGT left to form their own body, the Confédération Générale du Travail-Force Ouvrière, leaving the CGT effectively under the control of the French Communist Party (formed in 1920). The CGT has been the most important Western European affiliate of the communist **World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU)** since 1949, but its power has been declining since the 1970s. Between the early 1970s and 1988, the membership of the CGT fell from 2.3 million to 800,000 and to 650,000 by 1999. In the 1990s, the CGT started cutting most of the links with the Communist Party, after which membership increased again to 710,000. In

2001, the CGT was the only major national labor federation in Western Europe that was not an affiliate of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions**. In 1995, the CGT left the WFTU, and it became a member of the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** in 2006. Several federations and regional branches are, however, still affiliated with the WFTU. In 2018, the CGT had a total of 664,350 members.

**CONFÉDÉRATION INTERNATIONALE DES FONCTIONNAIRES (CIF)**. The CIF (International Confederation of Public Servants) is a Paris-based labor organization that was formed in 1955. In 2001, it had 11 members in eight countries and was associated with the Confédération Européenne des Syndicats Indépendants.

**CONFEDERATION OF HEALTH SERVICE EMPLOYEES (COHSE)**. The COHSE was a British health workers' union formed in 1946 from the merger of the Mental Hospital and Institutional Workers' Union (founded in 1910) and the Hospital and Welfare Services Union (founded in 1918). Between 1948 and 1982, its membership grew from 25,000 to 230,000. In 1993, it merged with two other labor unions to create **UNISON**.

**CONFEDERATION OF SHIPBUILDING AND ENGINEERING UNIONS (CSEU)**. The CSEU began in 1891 as the Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades. It provided a forum for **collective bargaining** for British **white-** and **blue-collar** unions in shipbuilding and engineering. In its present form, it was constituted in 1936, but until World War II it was not a fully representative body. Wartime cooperation with the Foundry Union and the **Amalgamated Engineering Union** on the national negotiating body, the National Engineering Joint Trades Movement (formed in 1941), helped to allay suspicions, and in 1944 the Foundry Union joined the CSEU, followed by the **Amalgamated Society of Engineers** in 1946. In 1989, the CSEU had 22 affiliated organizations representing two million members. In 2001, the CSEU represented about 1.2 million union members. In 2010 and 2011, the CSEU complained about job losses in the engineering industry and restrictions imposed by British labor laws on organized labor. At present, the CSEU is a federation of only four members: **Unite the Union**, **GMB**, Community, and Prospect representing hundreds of thousands of members.

**CONGO (DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC)**. A colony of **Belgium** until 1960, in this largest country in Sub-Saharan Africa labor unions existed only among Europeans before 1945. Called Zaire from 1971 to 1997, its organized labor claimed 325,000 members by 1965, according to the returns by its four affiliates of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions**

(**ICFTU**), of whom 300,000 were members of the Confédération des Syndicats Libres du Congo (Confederation of Free Trade Unions of the Congo), formed in 1961. Thereafter, the fortunes of organized labor in the Democratic Republic of Congo have reflected its unstable and violent political history. There was no representation from the Congo in the ICFTU between 1965 and 1995. In 2002, the ICFTU reported that although trade union rights existed on paper, they were ignored in practice against a background of fragile peace following the civil war and economic collapse. In 2006, two union activists were kidnapped and tortured because they were critical of the conditions at the company where they worked. In 2009, **employers** still showed hostility toward unions. Despite massacres and forced migration, organized labor claimed 492,000 union members in the Democratic Republic in 2010. **Membership** grew to 1,230,500 in 2018 despite new waves of massacres. The growth of the union movement was so far not able to prevent the Congo from being labeled by the **International Trade Union Confederation** a country where systematic **violations of union rights** occur, and the **safety** of activists remains a major concern. An example of this happened in 2017, when the driver of Guy Mpembele, executive secretary in charge of external relations for the UNTC (Union Nationale des Travailleurs du Congo, 789,370 members), was abducted. He was found injured and unconscious the following day. The right to **strike** is recognized in the Congo, but there are provisions that undermine this right. Despite the compulsory **arbitration** and appeal procedures prior to initiating a strike, workers do go out on strike regularly. In 2016, **employees** of the Congolese Office of Control went on a three-week strike in response to four months of unpaid salaries. Strikes also occurred in the following years.

**CONGO (REPUBLIC).** The administration of French Equatorial Africa allowed Africans to form unions in 1944 and legalized these in 1952. The present territory of Congo was granted independence by **France** in 1960. In August 1963, the unions successfully resisted the attempts of the Fulbert Youlou government to impose a one-party state. The unions formed the Confédération Syndicale Congolaise (Congolese Trade Union Confederation) in 1964. A comprehensive labor law was introduced in 1975 to regulate the unions; union **membership** was then about 22,000. By 1995, Congo was represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ITUC)** by two affiliates with a combined membership of 80,800.

Despite civil war in the early 21st century, there were 112,000 union members in the Congo by 2010. This is surprising, as **employers** regarded organized labor with contempt and the legal framework for trade union rights remained weak. In 2019, the ITUC wrote, “The law prohibits **antiunion discrimination**, but does not provide adequate means of protection against it.”

**CONGRESO PERMANENTE DE UNIDAD SINDICAL DE LOS TRABAJADORES DE AMERICA LATINA (CPUSTAL).** The CPUSTAL or Permanent Congress of Trade Union Unity of Latin American Workers was an international labor federation formed in 1964 with 18 countries from Latin America and the Caribbean. It succeeded the **Confederación de Trabajadores de America Latina**. Closely associated with the **World Federation of Trade Unions**, it had 25 member countries in 1990 and claimed 20 million members. The CPUSTAL faced much opposition from right-wing governments and was defunct by 2001. *See also* ORGANIZACIÓN REGIONAL INTERAMERICANA DE TRABAJADORES (ORIT).

**CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS (CIO).** The CIO was a national labor federation in the **United States** from 1935 to 1955. Unlike its competitor, the **American Federation of Labor (AFL)**, the CIO practiced **industrial unionism** and sought to organize the unskilled. Although there had been earlier attempts to recruit the unskilled into the ranks of organized labor, notably by the **Knights of Labor** and the **Industrial Workers of the World**, the results of their efforts had been short-lived. The AFL only supported unions based on “**craft**” or **occupation** and ignored the unskilled and those employed in the mass production industries that emerged after 1900. During the 1920s, the **membership** of American unions declined in the face of **company unionism**, well-organized campaigns for the **open shop**, and an unsympathetic political and legal environment. In 1929, a group of **socialists** and progressive labor unionists led by A. J. Muste set up the Conference for Progressive Labor Action to win the AFL over to industrial unionism and recruitment of the unskilled, but their efforts failed.

The possibility for success came in 1933 in the form of Section 7(a) of the **National Industrial Recovery Act**, which provided for the right of **employees** to form unions for **collective bargaining** free from **employer** interference. Despite the known existence of a high level of support for unionism in mass production industries, the leadership of the AFL successfully resisted all efforts to charter new industrial unions at its 1934 convention. **John L. Lewis**, the president of the **United Mine Workers of America**, itself an industrial union, assumed the leadership of the dissidents to the AFL policy and, along with **Sidney Hillman** of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, **David Dubinsky** of the **International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union**, and five other labor leaders, formed the Committee for Industrial Organization in November 1935. In August 1936, the 10 unions that had affiliated with the CIO were suspended by the AFL following successful **organizing** drives by the CIO in the steel, automobile, radio, and rubber industries.

The CIO unions went on to win three major industrial victories for union recognition. The first was achieved by a large-scale **sit-down strike** at the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company, which won union recognition for the

CIO's United Rubber Workers in 1936. In March 1937, the CIO won an unexpected major victory by negotiating union recognition for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee from U.S. Steel. The committee negotiated a 10 percent pay raise, an eight-hour day, and a 40-hour week. The third victory for union recognition was won by the **United Auto Workers (UAW)** against the General Motors Corporation, also in 1937. In 1938, the CIO was expelled from the AFL. The last major victory by the CIO was the gaining of recognition by the UAW from the Ford Motor Company after a 10-day strike in 1941. By 1939, the CIO claimed that its affiliated unions had a combined membership of 1.8 million compared with 3.9 million for the AFL. World War II more than doubled the membership of the CIO to 3.9 million, making it equal to that of the AFL.

However, the CIO never again regained the recruiting initiative it had seized in the late 1930s because the AFL began to recognize industrial unionism within its own ranks, as shown by the conversion of large affiliates like the **Teamsters** into industrial unions and by the defection of John L. Lewis and his United Mine Workers of America from the CIO in 1940. The Cold War also harmed the CIO, which had always been a more militant body than the AFL. On 5 November 1955, the two organizations agreed to merge as the **American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)**. At the time of its merger, the CIO had an affiliated membership of 4.6 million.

**CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS (COSATU).** On 1 December 1985, COSATU, a mainly black labor federation, was formed in **South Africa**. Being nonracial by policy, it claimed 1.3 million members by 1991. COSATU came into existence after four years of unity talks in the middle of the struggle against Apartheid. One of the founding trade unions was the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU). FOSATU was formed in 1979 from the unions that emerged from the Durban **strike** wave of 1973 and supported nonracialism and **industrial unionism**. In 1987, COSATU organized a strike as part of the Living Wage Campaign. The strike coincided with the then still only white “general” election, and 2.5 million workers participated. Two years later, COSATU joined a campaign against Apartheid. After the end of Apartheid at the beginning of the 1990s, COSATU managed to influence the transition. In 2005, COSATU was a black, male-dominated trade union with a huge female **membership**.

In 2012, COSATU decided to affiliate with the **World Federation of Trade Unions**, while maintaining its membership within the **International Trade Union Confederation**. Two years later, what has been described as a “black day for labour” took place when COSATU expelled the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA). NUMSA with its 338,000 members was the biggest union within COSATU but accused the

umbrella organization of being too much intertwined with the government. Other unions followed NUMSA and left COSATU. In 2018, COSATU had 1.8 million members who were part of the overall trade **union density** of 28.1 percent. Since the abolition of Apartheid, South Africa has been one of the countries of the highest strike incidence globally.

**CONSEILS DE PRUD'HOMMES.** Labor tribunals in **France** that date from 1806. These tribunals resolve individual disputes arising out of a contract between **employers** and **employees**. First, the tribunal tries to achieve **conciliation** to resolve the conflict. If this fails, a judgment will follow. Judges are elected by their peers. Half the members represent employers, and half represent employees, hence a decision cannot rely only on one group alone. There are now 210 tribunals.

**CONTRACTING OUT.** The practice whereby an **employer** transfers an aspect of its business operation to an external provider, also called outsourcing. Outsourcing was first promoted as a business strategy in 1989 and became an integral part of business economics throughout the 1990s. It is subject to considerable controversy in many countries. Those opposed argue it has caused the loss of domestic jobs, particularly in the **manufacturing** sector but also in the **public sector**. It also gave rise to new industries such as cleaning companies and private security, and also bookkeeping. In big and state companies, these are tasks that used to be performed by **employees** of the company itself.

**COOK ISLANDS.** An associated state of **New Zealand** with 17,500 inhabitants, the Cook Islands have been an affiliate of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions/International Trade Union Confederation** since about 1993 through their Cook Islands Public Service Association, which had a **membership** of 1,120 in 2004. The association was later renamed Cook Islands Workers Association (CIWA) and experienced a little growth in the number of members to 1,200 in 2010, from which year it remained stable. In 2012, the Cook Islands Employment Relations Act was passed as a result of efforts by CIWA and others. It offers strong clauses on **freedom of association**, **collective agreements** and individual agreements, discrimination, sexual and racial harassments and duress, termination and redundancy, dispute resolution, and government-funded paid maternity leave, based on the **minimum wage** of six weeks for **women** in the private sector.

**COOPERATIVES.** The cooperative movement, expressed in either consumer cooperatives or productive cooperatives, was one of the three pillars of the labor movement during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Next to labor unions and workers' parties, they were an attempt to change capitalism. Cooperatives were developed as an alternative to existing society within that society. It started primarily in the **United Kingdom** and **France**. The history of consumer cooperatives began already in the 18th century when local weavers sold oatmeal at a discount in Fenwick (East Ayrshire). Several hundred cooperatives started functioning in the years up to 1850, but most of them were short-lived. Important for the cooperative movement were the Rochdale Principles and the ideas of Robert Owen (1771–1858), who tried to form self-governing communities in Scotland and the **United States**. These failed, but the idea remained vivid. In the United States, an early productive cooperative was established in the 1790s, and later the **Knights of Labor** supported the idea. Cooperatives existed also in other field, such as **agriculture**, insurance, and electricity supply, some of which are still functioning, like the cooperative banks, who in general survived the crisis of 2007–2008 better than most corporate banks. Perhaps the most well-known modern cooperative is the industrial Mondragón cooperative in **Spain**, which is a diverse network of enterprises. New initiatives were taken after World War II, and the 1970s and 1990s, the latter to cope with the energy crisis. Although UNESCO inscribed cooperatives on the Cultural Heritage List in 2016, the general idea of building a parallel society to capitalism failed.

**COORDINADORA LATINOAMERICANA DE SINDICATOS BANANEROS Y AGROINDUSTRIALES (COLSIBA).** COLSIBA (Coordinating Body of Latin American Banana and Agro-industrial Unions) was founded in 1993 in **Costa Rica** in order to promote the unity of the working class and to fight exploitation and **violations of labor and union rights** in agrarian plantations in Latin America. The autonomy and freedom of political affiliation of the members are guaranteed. In 2001, COLSIBA and the **International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco, and Allied Workers' Associations (IUF)** signed a framework agreement with Chiquita, a multinational banana company. According to the agreement, the company will respect core labor standards. COLSIBA with its more than 45,000 members in **Belize, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Panama, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador** is active in bananas, pineapple, coffee, flowers, sugarcane, and several other agro industries.



**CORPORATISM.** The organization of large interest groups in society into corporate bodies as originally promoted by the Roman Catholic Church at the end of the 19th century. It was a response to the emergence of labor unions, more specifically **socialism**. In his encyclical letter *Rerum Novarum* (Of New Things) of 1891, Pope Leo XIII condemned the consequences of the Industrial Revolution but also the class struggle supported by socialists. He summoned **employers** and **employees** to work together as they supposedly did before the Industrial Revolution. The term *corporatism* specifically refers to industry groups, unions, and governments. The creation of such umbrella organizations was also a feature of the fascist governments of **Italy** and **Germany**. Hence, the term *neocorporatism* has been coined to describe the close cooperation between government, business, and unions in Western European countries since World War II to develop and implement economic policies on concerns like **wages** and managing technological change. See also CATHOLICISM.

**COSTA RICA.** The first union in Costa Rica was created in 1905. In 1943, non-Catholic and **Catholic** union federations were formed. Despite its democratic government, Costa Rica's union growth has been limited by the narrow basis of the economy and by unemployment as well as by political and religious divisions. Also, **employer** opposition prevented workers from joining unions. In the early 1980s, multinational banana companies together with the U.S. embassy, the Costa Rican government, and the Roman Catholic hierarchy created an alternative to independent labor unions. These *solidarista* associations try to replace trade unions and workers' rights under the pretext of peaceful labor relations. They act in the tradition of *el solidarismo*, which dates back to the 1940s. In 1997, Del Monte allowed its banana workers the right to organize after international pressure.

By 1976, the three national labor federations had only about 30,000 members. Between 1958 and 1991, the **membership** of the Catholic federation increased from 12,000 to 56,700. Costa Rica has been represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** since 1951 and claimed 45,000 members in 2001. Since 2007, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** has reported increases in antiunion violations; its two affiliates claimed 138,000 members in 2010. In 2018, total membership diminished to 115,000 spread over three affiliates, trade **union density** was 19.4 percent, and the country suffered from repeated **violations of union rights** according to the ITUC overview.

**CÔTE D'IVOIRE (IVORY COAST).** As a colony of **France** until 1960, Côte d'Ivoire before the 1950s saw its organized labor consist of overseas branches of French unions. One of these was a local branch of the **Confédér-**

**ation Generale du Travail (CGT)**, approximately half of which became independent in 1956 as the CGT-Autonome. CGT-Autonome was a Pan-Africanist movement that rejected class struggle and in 1957 merged with others to form a new trade union for workers in French West Africa, the **Union Générale des Travailleurs d'Afrique Noire (UGTAN)**. The indigenous unions that emerged in Ivory Coast after 1950 became associated with the independence movement, but after independence these came under pressure to become part of the one-party political system that lasted until 1990.

Côte d'Ivoire has been affiliated with the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** by the Union Générale des Travailleurs de Côte d'Ivoire (General Union of the Workers of the Ivory Coast, founded in 1962) since 1992. Under its law, the president of Côte d'Ivoire can end a **strike** by compulsory **arbitration**. In 1991, a new federation was formed because they wanted a more pluralist trade union system. One year later, another federation was established to complete the scene. A strike by 700 workers at a government-owned enterprise over management's refusal to allow democratic trade union elections between May 1993 and April 1995 resulted in the deaths of 14 strikers and strikers' evictions from company-owned housing. Between 1991 and 2001, the number of union members in Côte d'Ivoire declined from 400,000 to 120,000, and the economy suffered from a civil war in 2003. In 2009, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** complained about continuous intimidation and repression of strikers. Its two affiliates claimed a total of 328,000 members in 2010. In the northern regions, both government and rebels repressed strikes. In 2011, union general secretary Basile Mahan Gahé was abducted. His imprisonment caused international pressure until he was finally released at the end of 2012. In 2019, more than 915,000 union members were affiliated with the ITUC, a growth mainly established by yet another newcomer, the Centrale Syndicale Humanisme (Central Humanist Union, CSH) with 600,000 members. The CSH was founded in 2010 by merging 80 unions. The CSH, which now has 157 member organizations, is also affiliated with the **World Federation of Trade Unions**. According to the ITUC, the country was still suffering from a systematic **violation of union rights**.

**COUNCIL OF NORDIC TRADE UNIONS.** An international labor organization representing **Denmark** (including the Faroe Islands), **Finland**, **Greenland**, **Iceland**, **Norway**, and **Sweden**, this council has existed since 1972 in its present form, but its origins date to 1886. The purpose of the council is to provide a forum for topics of mutual interest and to exchange information. In 2009, the council represented 9 million members, compared with 7.2 million in 1990. Ten years later membership had gone down to 8 million in 16 trade union confederations.

**COZZ (CENTRUM ORGANIZOWANIA ZWIĄZKÓW ZAWODOWYCH; CENTRAL EUROPEAN ORGANIZING CENTER).** COZZ is an independent entity involving organizers and trainers experienced in trade union campaigning. COZZ was created in 2016 to support the revitalization, development, and growth of trade unions in **Poland**, the **Czech Republic**, **Slovakia**, and **Hungary**. This translates into working with partner organizations and supporting them through training programs, strategy, and **organizing** capacity development and joined organizing efforts. COZZ has run pilot organizing projects and a number of training workshops and conferences in Poland, in partnership with Polish and European trade unions affiliated with **UNI Global Union** and UNI Europa.

**CRAFT UNIONS.** Historically, craft labor unions have been based on craftsmen, that is, those skilled **blue-collar** occupations requiring the completion of an **apprenticeship** to attain a formal qualification of competency. Because of their relatively high pay and strategic position in the workplace to disrupt production, craft unions have often been able to exercise economic power disproportionately greater than their numbers and were at the forefront of the leadership of organized labor in the **United Kingdom**, the **Netherlands**, and the **United States** in the 19th century. Up to the 1960s, craft unions had especially been a feature of **printing**, construction, and metals **manufacturing**. Generally, **membership** in craft unions was closed to **employees** who had not completed a relevant apprenticeship, and craft unions attempted to regulate their working environment closely by upholding unwritten work rules, such as reserving particular jobs for skilled workers. Notable examples of craft unions have included the **Amalgamated Society of Engineers**, and craft unions have often been leaders in the establishment of national union federations such as the British **Trades Union Congress** and the **American Federation of Labor**. Technological change since the 1960s has effectively brought about the end of craft unions, which usually **amalgamated** with other unions. In a few professions, craft unions have persisted though. *See also* INDUSTRIAL UNIONS.

**CROATIA.** Organized labor emerged in Croatia in 1904, and in 1907 Croatia became a member of the **International Federation of Trade Unions**. By 1913, **membership** in the country's unions had grown to 7,000. From October 1918 to its dissolution in June 1991, Croatia's labor movement was intertwined with the violent history and ethnic politics of the republic of **Yugoslavia**. However, the situation changed with independence. The largest labor organization in Croatia, the Union of Autonomous Trade Unions of Croatia (UATUC), was formed in 1990 by dissident unions and former **communist** unions. The UATUC applied to join the **International Confedera-**

**tion of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** in 1992 and was admitted in January 1997. In 2001, the ICFTU reported that although the legal framework for organized labor had improved, the right to **strike** was still limited despite criticism by the **European Union**. In 2009, the government used EU regulations as a pretext to reduce the rights of public workers and trade unions. The labor code in force in 2010 allows for more flexibility and liberalization. Private **employers** still resist union **organizing** by dismissing activists. In 2010, there were 278,000 union members in Croatia compared with 650,000 in 1997. Membership in the organizations affiliated with the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** further lowered to 261,000 in 2019, and **union density** was 25.8 percent in 2016. In 2018, the ITUC reported frequent **antiunion discriminatory** measures. Employees attempting to form a union were often threatened with nonrenewal of their contracts.

**CUBA.** The first Cuban labor union was formed among tobacco **employees** in 1868, and over the next 15 years a number of **craft unions** were set up. A congress of Cuban employees was held in 1892 and passed resolutions calling for independence from **Spain** and the eight-hour day. **Anarchism**, as in other Latin American countries, was an important force within organized labor; an anarchist labor federation was created in 1925. In 1933, there was a **general strike** that succeeded in gaining some progressive legislation, but a second general **strike** in 1935 was repressed and organized labor crushed.

It revived in 1938, and in January 1939 the Confederación de Trabajadores de Cuba (CTC), or Confederation of Workers of Cuba, was formed. Cuba was represented in the **Confederation of Free Trade Unions** from 1951 to 1959. Fidel Castro's triumph over Fulgencio Batista was greatly assisted by a general strike in 1959. With Castro's victory, strikes were forbidden and organized labor was gradually deprived of its independence; Cuba then had 1.2 million union members. In 1961, under Castro, the CTC was renamed Central de Trabajadores de Cuba (Workers' Central of Cuba) and became affiliated with the **World Federation of Trade Unions**. The official ideology refused the need for free trade unions because "no antagonistic contradictions" were supposed to exist between the union movement and the state. Because not everyone adhered to this view, an Independent Cuban General Workers' Union was created in October 1991, but it has always been denied recognition by the government and even by 2010 this had not changed. Independent union members continued to be persecuted and exiled. In April 2011, the first Communist Party Congress in almost 13 years approved a plan for wide-ranging economic changes. The right to strike is, however, still not recognized in law.

**CURAÇAO.** The biggest of the islands that made up the Netherlands Antilles, Curaçao saw early efforts by Roman **Catholics** to organize workers during the years between the two world wars. Only after World War II did modern unions emerge. In 1969, a pivotal moment passed when a series of riots arose from a strike by oil workers at the Shell plant. Known as the Trinta di Mei (30th of May), the uprising left two people dead and the city center of Willemstad destroyed. Caused by unemployment and racism, the riot resulted in higher **wages** and the resignation of the government.

Curaçao has been a member of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** since at least 1957. Union **membership** in Curaçao fell from 9,000 in 1957 to 6,000 in 1988 and to 5,100 in 2001. It was 5,800 in 2010 when the Netherlands Antilles were dissolved and the island became a country within the Kingdom of the **Netherlands**. Membership further decreased to 4,000 in 2018. The Sentral di Sindikatonan di Korsou (Central Trade Unions of Curacao) was also affiliated with the **Caribbean Congress of Labour**.

**CYPRUS.** Organized labor in Cyprus emerged in 1910, four years before the island was annexed by the **United Kingdom**. British colonial authorities repressed the early unions. The first trade union law was enacted in 1932, but comprehensive labor laws were only introduced during World War II. The first labor federation was established in 1941. Organized labor was part of the struggle for independence, which was gained in 1960. From 1963, divisions between Greeks and Turks on Cyprus became evident and were formalized after the division of the island with the Turkish invasion in 1974. Cyprus has been represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** since 1951. In 2010, its two affiliates with the **International Trade Union Confederation** claimed a combined **membership** of 74,000. In 2019, the number of affiliates had grown to three while membership remained almost stable at 75,000. The total of **strikes** and **lockouts** has significantly decreased from 76 in 2012 to 16 in 2017 but bounced back to 37 in 2018. Cyprus was the number one country in Europe regarding the number of strike days per thousand employees during 2010–2017. This high classification can be explained by a single strike movement in 2013 in construction.

**CZECH REPUBLIC.** The Czech Republic was created in 1993 from the division of **Czechoslovakia**. It has been represented since the division in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** by the Czech-Moravian Confederation (formerly Chamber) of Trade Unions, which claimed a **membership** of 1.3 million in 2001. In January 2001, a new labor code was introduced that strengthened the legal position of organized labor but excluded the **public sector** from **collective bargaining**. In 2007, the **Interna-**

**tional Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** reported difficulties with **organizing** but also some progress. The economic crisis has, however, been used to set union rights a few years back and made workers vulnerable to anti-union harassment. In 2010, trade union activities became difficult as a result of the economic crisis, and union membership had fallen to 445,000. In 2019, membership in the affiliate of the ITUC had fallen again, to 292,754, with an overall trade **union density** of 10.5 percent.

In 2013, the labor code was amended to strengthen the role of work councils as opposed to unions. **Collective agreements** can now be canceled with six months' prior notice, and workers in microcompanies are excluded from the right to join unions. In 2019, the ITUC reported repeated **violations of union rights** in the Czech Republic.

**CZECHOSLOVAKIA.** Before 1918, Czechoslovakia was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The first labor union was set up by **journeymen** drapers at Liberec in 1870 and had 3,500 members after a year. Unions became part of the political struggle for independence as well as pursuing industrial objectives. A labor federation was formed in 1897, and some members attended as observers at the conferences of the **International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU)** in 1901 and 1902. Reflecting the diversity of the society, unions were divided along national, political, and religious lines. In 1905, the unions made their presence felt through protests for the eight-hour day as well as for the universal franchise. By 1913, there were 318,000 union members; some were in German unions, and others were members of **Catholic** or Protestant unions. In 1919, the Czech and German labor federations became affiliates of the IFTU and remained affiliated until 1938. By 1920, there were 1.7 million union members in the Czechoslovak Republic. Unlike most of its neighbors, Czechoslovakia had a large industrial base; in 1921, 37 percent of the labor force was employed in **manufacturing**. Union **membership** peaked at 1,738,300 in 1928, when there were 583 unions. Under the Nazi occupation (1938–1945), free unions were suppressed and compliant ones created.

As a result of their leadership of the partisans during World War II, the **communists** gained much popular support. In 1945, the communists formed their own labor federation, the Central Council of Trade Unions. Noncommunist unions reestablished themselves, but their independence was short-lived, and from 1948 the communist federation was the sole national labor center. During the “Prague Spring” in 1968, the unions actively supported Alexander Dubček’s program of reforms. The 12 industrial unions were divided into 58 new unions with a high degree of independence. After the Soviet invasion and the fall of Dubček in April 1969, these initiatives were suppressed.

After the collapse of the communist regime in November 1989 in the so-called Velvet Revolution, organized labor carried out its own internal reforms, which produced a united federation of Czech and Slovak unions, Česka a Slovenská Konfederace Odborových (ČS-KOS), with a membership of six million. Following the peaceful division of the country into the **Czech Republic** and **Slovakia** in 1993, the ČS-KOS was also divided along Czech and Slovak lines. At the time of the division, there were 2.6 million members in the Czech Republic and 1.2 million in Slovakia.





# D

**DA SILVA, LUIZ INACIO (LULA) (1945–).** Da Silva was born on 27 October 1945 in the hinterland of Pernambuco State, **Brazil**. Later on, he added “Lula” to his name of birth. *Lula* means “squid,” but is also the nickname of people called Luiz. When Luiz was seven years old, his family moved to São Paulo State. After basic education, Lula started working at a local cleaner. Later, he got a placement in a training course and graduated as a metalworker. After the 1964 military coup, Lula worked in Villares Industries in São Bernardo do Campo, in the industrial heartland of São Paulo State. His brother Frei Chico brought him into contact with the labor movement.

Lula made a rapid career in the unions, and in 1975 he was with an overwhelming majority elected president of the Metalworkers Union of São Bernardo do Campo and Diadema, a 100,000-strong union. Lula redirected the Brazilian labor movement, leading to the first **strikes** in 10 years. The massive strikes and mass meetings were met with police intimidation. State repression caused Lula to consider creating a political workers’ party. In 1980, Lula, together with union members and others, founded the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT, Workers’ Party). In the same year, a metalworkers strike provoked government intervention and the imprisonment of Lula and other union leaders for 31 days. In 1983, he took part in the establishment of the Central Única dos Trabalhadores (United Workers’ Federation).

The PT nominated Lula for the presidential elections of 1989, but he lost by a slim margin. In 1994 and 1998, Lula ran again for president in vain. After the PT allied with other political parties under a platform of social inclusion, Lula was elected president of the republic in 2002, the first left-wing head of state since the military coup of 1964. Promising to promote economic growth and the diminishing of social differences, he was reelected in 2006. In 2010, Lula was legally not allowed to run again, but a fellow party member, Dilma Vana Rousseff, won the elections. This was the same year that Lula entered Time’s list of the 100 most influential people in the

world. In recent years, Lula was sentenced to jail for money laundering and passive corruption, but he remained very popular, perhaps because the accusations may partly have been politically motivated.

**DEAKIN, ARTHUR (1890–1955).** One of the leading British labor leaders in the 1940s, Deakin was born in Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire, and moved to Wales in the early 1900s, where he worked in a steel plant. During this period, he became a Primitive Methodist and a teetotaler. In 1910, he moved to North Wales, where he was a member of several unions, including the **Amalgamated Society of Engineers**, but transferred to the Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and General Workers' Union and became a full-time organizer for the union in 1919. When the union became part of the **Transport and General Workers' Union (TGWU)** in 1922, Deakin became, in effect, its manager for North Wales. After holding various local government positions, he became national secretary of the General Workers' part of the TGWU and moved to London, where his abilities were recognized by the general secretary, **Ernest Bevin**, who made Deakin his protégé. When Bevin joined Winston Churchill's War Cabinet in 1940, Deakin became the acting general secretary of the TGWU; he became permanent in the position with Bevin's retirement in 1946. In the same year, he also became president of the **World Federation of Trade Unions** and, like his patron, Bevin, strongly opposed the communists, who were against the Marshall Plan for aiding postwar Europe. Indeed, Deakin played a central role in the foundation of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** in 1949. Deakin continued to play an important part in fighting **communism** within the **Trades Union Congress**, of which he was president in 1951–1952.

**DEMARICATION.** *See* JURISDICTION.

**DENMARK.** Organized labor developed relatively strongly in Denmark from the mid-1850s after the abolition of the guilds. By 1890, there were 218 unions with about 31,000 union members; in 1900, there were 96,000 union members or about 14 percent of employees, a level comparable with the **United Kingdom** (13 percent). This strength owed much to an agreement reached between the Federation of Danish Trade Unions (the Landsorganisationen i Danmark [LO], formed in 1898) and the government in 1899 over the right to organize; the unions were also given the task of running the **unemployment** insurance program. This agreement enabled Danish unions to enjoy a privileged position within European countries of the time and continued to sustain them thereafter. Unlike in many other European countries, unions in Denmark are not divided along political or religious lines but

rather along educational ones. The LO organizes skilled and unskilled workers; another union organizes teachers, nurses, and bank workers; and a third represents employees with a higher education.

In the post-1945 period, Denmark continued to have a high level of union **membership**; it rose from 52 percent of employees in 1950 to 80 percent in 1980 and even by 1991 remained at 81 percent. In 2010, there were 1.7 million union members compared with two million in 2001. The number again decreased to 1.6 million in 2018 who were affiliated with the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**. About 67 percent of Danish **employees** were union members in 2016. Denmark is one of the rare countries where no **violations of union rights** are mentioned by the ITUC.

**DENSITY.** *See* UNION DENSITY.

**DEUTSCHE ARBEITSFRONT (DAF).** The DAF (German Labor Front) was set up by the Nazis to control the German labor movement between 1933 and 1945. After November 1933, the DAF also included all employers. The DAF covered the whole labor force and by 1939 had control of about 20 million people. During World War II, it was used to maintain production of war materials and to settle **labor disputes**. The members of the DAF were organized among 18 *Reichbetriebsgruppen* or industrial groups. Although not a free labor organization, the structure of the DAF foreshadowed the 16 industrial groups (*Industriegewerkschaften*) in West **Germany**, which were created between 1948 and 1950. *See also* BÖCKLER, HANS (1875–1951); CORPORATISM; DEUTSCHER GEWERKSCHAFTSBUND (DGB).

**DEUTSCHER GEWERKSCHAFTSBUND (DGB).** The DGB (Confederation of German Trade Unions) is the leading labor union federation of Germany. The first German union confederation, the Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund (General German Trade Union Federation), was formed in 1868 and claimed to represent 142,000 employees, but was able to achieve little as a result of Otto von Bismarck's repressive Anti-Socialist Laws, which were in force from 1878 to 1890. In 1890, a new labor federation, the Generalkommission der Gewerkschaften (General Council of Trade Unions), was formed with Carl Legien as its president.

In 1919, this body was reorganized as the Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund (General German Trade Union Federation), a title it retained until its suppression by the Nazis in 1933. After Germany's defeat in 1945, unions were at first only allowed to organize within state boundaries, but with the lifting of this restriction, a first confederation under the label of the Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund was set up in the British zone under the leadership of **Hans Böckler** in April 1947. This DGB was in some ways but

not formally the predecessor of the later DGB. There was a broad consensus among postwar trade unionists that the new German trade union movement should cover all currents within the labor movements and overcome the prewar split in **socialist**, Christian, and liberal trade unions. In 1949, the American and French authorities had given their agreement to extend the confederation to all their zones in West Germany and to their sectors in Berlin. The official foundation of the DGB as the Confederation of German Trade Unions in the new Federal Republic of Germany (Bundesrepublik Deutschland) took place in October 1949 in Munich. The DGB was granted only weak powers by the affiliated unions, which kept full control of their own finances and remained solely responsible for **collective bargaining**. By 1950, the DGB had a total **membership** of nearly 5.5 million, of whom 83 percent were **blue-collar** employees and 15 percent were **women**. Until 2001, one union, **IG Metall**, accounted for about a quarter of its total membership. Although a nonpartisan confederation and not formally affiliated with the German Social Democratic Party (Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands), the DGB has been closely associated with it in practice. Following the formal reunification of Germany in October 1990, the membership of the unions affiliated with the DGB rose from 7.8 to 9.8 million members between 1989 and 1994. Its membership in 1994 consisted of 62 percent blue-collar workers and 31 percent women. Since 1994, the DGB has experienced a decline in the membership of its affiliates to 7.8 million in 2000 and 6.3 million in 2009, prompting greater moves toward **amalgamation**. In 2007, Siemens AG launched an attack to weaken the strength of the DGB. Although not legally proven, the company probably supported the founding of a **yellow union** to attain that goal. In 2009, the DGB consisted of eight industry unions (compared with 16 in 1994), but its power over its larger affiliates was very limited. The eight industrial groups covered by its affiliated unions were construction, **agriculture**, and environment; mining, chemicals, and energy; rail transport; **education** and science; metal manufacturing, woodworking, textiles, and garments; food beverages and catering; **police**; and the many industry groups covered by **Ver.di** (commerce, banking, and insurance; media and the arts; public and private services and transportation [public and private]; and postal and communication workers). In 2018, the downward road of membership numbers was still going on. The DGB had six million members, including retirees and unemployed, then. Trade **union density** was 17 percent. Despite a few peaks in **strike** activity at the beginning of the 21st century, the DGB still bears the image of being a “collective bargaining machine.”

**DEUTSCHER METALLARBEITER-VERBAND (DMV).** The DMV (German Metalworkers’ Union) was the first industrial union to be formed in Germany. The first German metalworkers’ unions were formed in

1868–1869, but membership growth was slow before 1891, when representatives of a number of separate metal unions formed a single industrial union, the Deutscher Metallarbeiter Verband (DMV) with 23,200 members. Because it recruited unskilled as well as skilled workers, the DMV was regarded with suspicion by the older craft unions. For instance, the Berlin metalworkers did not join the DMV until 1897, and then only on the condition that they retain their independence. For an industrial union, the growth of the DMV was slow—50,000 in 1896, 100,000 in 1901, and 554,900 by 1913—largely because the DMV was denied recognition by employers in the new large-scale heavy industry plants. Granted recognition during World War I in 1916, the membership of the DMV rose to 786,000 by 1918 and to 1.6 million in 1919, a level it held until 1923, making it briefly the largest single union in the world. The DMV proved incapable of retaining these gains after 1924 because of the economic crisis and also internal weaknesses. In particular, it failed to recruit the young; between 1919 and 1931, the percentage of members under 20 fell from 23 to 12. By 1928, membership had fallen to 944,000. The DMV was to the left of most of the German labor movement. It was dissolved by the Nazis on 2 May 1933, and many of its leaders were imprisoned. *See also* BRENNER, OTTO (1907–1972).

**DJIBOUTI.** A colony of **France** to June 1977, Djibouti had scarce labor unions. Apart from local branches of French unions, only two unions existed by 1975. The French Overseas Labor Code of 1952 remained in force in 1994, despite the government's promise to update the country's labor laws. In July 1993, the secondary school teachers formed a union that received legal recognition; it called a **strike** in January 1994 over the nonpayment of salaries, prompting a round of government repression and intimidation. Djibouti has been represented internationally in organized labor since 1994 by the Union Djiboutienne du Travail (UDT), or Djibouti Labor Union, which claimed 13,000 members from 2010 to present. Apart from this union, another independent organization exists. This is the Union Générale de Travailleurs de Djiboutie (UGTD, General Union of Djibouti Workers), which was the official union arm of the government until 1995. In that year, the UDT staged a **general strike** to protest against huge **wage** cuts or around 40 percent imposed by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. Hundreds of trade unionists were dismissed, including trade union leaders from the UDT but also the UGTD. The protests and conflicts separated the UGTD from the government, and since then the two trade unions have worked closely together. In 1999, the labor minister staged a coup against the two independent unions by setting up two phantom or **yellow unions**. In 2002, the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** reported that there was considerable government interference with organized labor. Since 2002, it has remained very difficult to exercise trade union rights in Djibouti with

strikes being violently repressed and the UDT having to cancel meetings of its congress. The systematic **violation of union rights** has been endemic in the country despite international protests. It is the more surprising that the labor unions still organize around 70 percent of the workers in the formal economy.

**DOMINICA.** Independent of the **United Kingdom** since November 1978, Dominica saw organized labor emerge by the late 1940s, and the country was an affiliate of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** by 1951. The ICFTU reported a union **membership** of 1,900 in 1995. The government since the 1990s has severely curtailed the right to **strike**. In 2010, there were about 1,700 union members in Dominica, covering less than 10 percent of the workforce. In response to a dockers' strike in 2018, the prime minister said their action was illegal and selfish. This claim is a clear indication of government interference in labor relations. Although a real center doesn't exist, three unions were affiliated with the **International Trade Union Confederation** in 2018, totaling 3,300 members.

**DOMINICAN REPUBLIC.** Organized labor emerged during the U.S. occupation between 1916 and 1924. A union federation was formed in 1930. The dictator General Rafael Trujillo tried to suppress the federation, but it survived despite much loss of life. In 1946, Trujillo set up a union federation controlled by the government. Following a mission to the Dominican Republic in 1957, the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** boycotted the oppressive Trujillo government; Trujillo was assassinated in 1961. In 1962, organized labor split along political lines, with the moderate bodies setting up the Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores Libres (National Confederation of Free Workers). It was affiliated with the ICFTU by 1965 and became the Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores Dominicanos (CNTD), or National Confederation of Dominican Workers, in 1971. The militant union bodies opted to resist the government. Civil war in 1965–1966 resulted in U.S. occupation. The political environment for organized labor only began to improve after the 1978 elections. After pressure by the CNTD, a labor code introduced in 1992 provided legal protection for labor unions and required that a union had to have a **membership** of more than half of the **employees** at an enterprise for it to be recognized as the representative for **collective bargaining**. Economic reforms from the 1980s led to the establishment of **export processing zones**, in which unions were, in effect, not permitted, and working conditions and pay were substandard. In 2002, the ICFTU reported that although workers could form unions, they were effectively excluded from export processing zones and sugar plantations. The government remained repressive toward organized labor. This

situation continued during the first and second decades of the 21st century. Despite a not too low **union density** of 11 percent, antiunion strategies, such as layoffs, undermine workers' rights. The following incident may serve as an example. When in 2017 workers tried to form a trade union at Willbes Dominicana, the company unleashed a wave of intimidation and reprisals against the 15 members of the initiating committee. It was only after strong international pressure that the company reinstated the workers and also promised to respect the right to **freedom of association**. In 2018, the **International Trade Union Confederation** mentioned repeated **violations of union rights** in the Dominican Republic.

**DONOVAN COMMISSION.** The Donovan Commission was the popular term for the British Royal Commission on Trade Unions and Employers' Associations, which reported to the government in 1968. Named after its chairman, Lord Donovan, it made a comprehensive investigation of **industrial relations** and institutions. The commission found that **Great Britain** had two systems of labor relations, a formal and an informal system. The formal system, based on law and official institutions, was less important than the informal system, based on the behavior of unions, shop stewards, and **employers**. It argued that **collective bargaining** should be extended with the agreement of employers and unions and that legislative reform of the formal system was not a practical option. Despite the commission's findings, which were the product of careful research, including some pioneering survey investigations, British conservative governments since 1980 have placed primary reliance on the law as a means of controlling and reducing the power of organized labor. The lasting legacy of the Donovan Commission was the inauguration of official workplace surveys. *See also* EMPLOYMENT ACTS; *ROOKES V. BARNARD*.

**DOP, MADIA (1928–2008).** Madia Dop was born in **Senegal** and regarded in his youth as something of an *enfant terrible*. He nevertheless was trained as an accountant. In 1950, he joined the French **Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT)** and participated in the **general strike** of 1952. In 1956, Dop was one of the founding members of the Food Industries' Workers' Trade Union, and in 1957 he joined the executive committee of the **Union Générale des Travailleurs d'Afrique Noire (UGTAN, General Workers Union of Black Africa)**. Following the dissolution of UGTAN in 1960, he set up the Senegalese Workers' Union, later to become the Senegalese Workers' Confederation (CST). After his return from exile to **Mali** during 1964–1966, Dop was welcomed as a national working-class hero. He devoted himself to promoting the merger of the various trade unions into one central union, the Union Nationale des Travailleurs du Sénégal (UNTS, National Union of

Senegalese Workers). In 1969, after the dissolving of the UNTS, Dop helped found the *Confédération Nationale des Travailleurs du Sénégal* (CNTS, National Confederation of Workers of Senegal). In 1978, he was elected general secretary of the Dakar Regional Federation of CNTS Unions. Dop supported a more radical and democratic style of trade unionism and therefore, in 1981, founded *Renouveau Syndical* (Union Renewal). He later assumed the leadership of the CNTS, and he was also elected vice chairperson of the Organization of African Trade Union Unity, and subsequently chairman of the ICF-TU-AFRO (African Regional Organisation of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions). While in this post, he increased the number of missions to various African trade union confederations and took part in many international meetings. From 1984 to 1990, Dop was a member of the governing body of the **International Labour Organization (ILO)**, during which period he again showed his commitment to **human rights** and social justice. In 1996, he was the worker vice chairperson of the International Labour Conference. *See also* AFRICAN REGIONAL ORGANISATION (AFRO, ITUC-AFRICA).

**DOWNSIZING.** Reduction of a company's workforce generally in an attempt to cut costs and improve efficiency. It became a popular practice in the 1980s and early 1990s as a way to deliver better short-term shareholder value. Critics maintain that this type of cost cutting is not in the interest of the long-term future of companies. Downsizing can also be performed in the **public sector**, where shareholder value is not an issue, and does not necessarily imply the mass layoff of employees. Reduction of the workforce can also be reached by waiting for workers to change jobs or retire. Mass layoffs can have a devastating effect in various ways—psychological, social, and on the health of the people involved. A 1995 survey in the **United States** found out that for every 1 percent rise in the unemployment rate, there were statistically 37,887 more deaths, 20,240 more heart failures, 4,227 more mental hospital admissions, 3,340 more admissions to state prisons, 920 more suicides, 640 more homicides, and 495 more deaths from alcohol-related cirrhosis.

**DUBINSKY, DAVID (1892–1982).** A prominent U.S. labor leader, Dubinsky was born in Russian **Poland** and began his working life as a baker. He took part in a successful **strike** in 1907, after which he spent 18 months in jail. Exiled to Siberia, he escaped on the way and went underground until he gained an amnesty in 1910. In 1911, he immigrated to the **United States** and joined the **International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union** in New York. From 1918, he occupied various senior offices in Local 10 of the union and became secretary-treasurer in 1929 and president in 1932, a position he held



until 1966. Thereafter, Dubinsky emerged as one of the main labor leaders in the United States. He was a labor adviser to the National Recovery Administration from 1933 to 1935 and an executive council member of the **American Federation of Labor (AFL)** in 1935 but resigned after the suspension of the **Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)** in 1937. Nevertheless, Dubinsky opposed the CIO as an independent body. In 1940, he reaffiliated his union with the AFL, and in 1945 was again on its executive council. He also took an active part in labor **politics** and was a founder of the American Labor Party in 1936. Dubinsky was a participant in the formation of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** in 1949.



# E

**ECUADOR.** Organized labor emerged in Ecuador in its main port of Guayaquil in 1920, mainly as a result of the rise in the cost of living caused by the **inflation** of World War I. Although union protests over the cost of living were suppressed, the unions formed a federation to campaign for rights; its efforts led to the labor law of 1928. A national **Catholic** federation was formed in 1938, but this trade union was more concerned with religious causes and efforts to curtail **communist** infiltration than with the fight for workers' interests. In 1944, the **industrial unions** set up their own labor federation. A third national federation was formed in 1962 and was affiliated with the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions**; by 1975, this organization was renamed as the Confederación Ecuatoriana de Organizaciones Sindicales Libres (CEOSL), or Ecuadorian Confederation of Free Trade Unions. In 1964, the military government denied the unions the right to **strike**, but they and students successfully forced the government to resign. Despite their differences, the three labor federations together with independent trade unions have tended to cooperate in the Frente Unitario de Trabajadores (FUT), or United Workers' Front. FUT tried to achieve common goals such as a larger **social security** system and the nationalization of the petroleum industry. Internal division aside, slow economic growth as well as political hostility have made it difficult for organized labor to accomplish significant gains since the 1970s. A fresh challenge came in the 1990s with government efforts to reform the economy along free-market principles. In 1991, the labor law was amended to discourage the formation of unions in small enterprises that are an important part of the economy of Ecuador. There was a strike wave over government policies, particularly over petrol price rises and redundancies. In 1994, there was a nine-week strike by teachers that was only brought to an end by the government threat to declare a state of emergency and subject teachers to military discipline. Hyperinflation in 2000 and a fall in gross domestic product of 7.5 percent led to widespread labor protests in January 2001, which were met by government repression and the unlawful detention of the leaders of organized labor, including José Chávez, the president of the CEOSL. During demonstrations by teachers in June

2001, four people were shot dead. Since then, intimidation and violence toward organized labor has been routine, and there is no right to strike in practice. Violations are widespread in both the public and private sectors. **Employers** try to promote *Solidarismo* movements.

In 2019, the democratically elected president, Lenín Moreno, announced a series of far-reaching cutbacks. He boasted that 23,000 public workers had been dismissed during his term and that nonpermanent contracts in the **public sector** would be renewed with 20 percent lower pay. His measures were supported by the International Monetary Fund but sparked massive protests organized by indigenous organizations, students, farmers, and the FUT. The trade union affiliated with the **International Trade Union Confederation** had 100,000 members in 2019. The ITUC complains about the limitations on the right to strike and to form unions and published a long list of incidents that confirm the judgment that there exists no guarantee of rights in Ecuador.

**EDUCATION.** Education was seen as a prerequisite for self-confident union members in the labor movement in the late 19th century, and it was one reason why early unions were strongly opposed to **child labor**.

Labor unions in education have historically concerned schoolteachers. In the **United Kingdom**, the National Union of Elementary Teachers was formed in 1870; it renamed itself the National Union of Teachers in 1888 and conducted its first **strike** in 1914 against the Education Authority in Herefordshire. In 1919, the union agreed to admit uncertified teachers as members, gained a national pay scale, and adopted an **equal pay for equal work** policy. In **Australia**, the first teachers' union was formed in Victoria in 1878. Other teachers' bodies were formed in Queensland in 1889 and New South Wales in 1895. The New South Wales Teachers' Association was formed in 1918 and formally registered as a labor union in 1919. The first teachers' strike occurred in Western Australia in July 1920 when they joined the majority of the **public sector** in a three-week strike for increased pay to compensate for **inflation**; the strike was largely successful. The first teachers' strike in Victoria occurred in 1965 and in New South Wales in 1968. In the **United States**, the Chicago Federation of Teachers was formed in 1897 and affiliated with the **American Federation of Labor** in 1902. In 1916, the **American Federation of Teachers (AFT)** was created and grew to 9,300 members by 1920. Thereafter, it had a difficult history marked by a fall of **membership** in the 1920s (down to 3,700) and an internal struggle with **communists** in the 1930s. Even by 1940, only about 3 percent of teachers were members of the federation. Despite a national no-strike policy up to 1963, teachers did strike at the state level in 1946 largely because of the failure of teachers' salaries to keep pace with comparable occupations in the private sector. The AFT faced strong competition from the **National Education Association (NEA)** from 1960; since 1987, the NEA has been the

largest labor union in the United States and in 2010 was the largest independent union in the world. It counted for 2,952,972 members in 2015. *See also* WHITE-COLLAR UNIONISM.

**EDUCATION INTERNATIONAL (EI).** EI was formed in 1993 from the merger of the **International Federation of Free Teachers' Unions** (formed in 1928) and the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession (formed in 1952). It is based in Brussels and has 402 affiliated unions in 173 countries representing almost 30 million members, mostly **women**. The real history of EI goes back to 1912 with the establishment of the International Committee of National Federations of Teachers of Public Schools in **Belgium**. Other organizations were founded in 1923 (the World Federation of Education Associations in the **United States**) and 1926 (the International Federation of Teacher Associations and the International Trade Secretariat of Teachers). EI promotes the development of democratic organizations for teachers and other **education** workers, and tries to foster good relations between education workers in all countries.

**EGYPT.** The first Egyptian labor union was formed among cigarette workers in 1899, and by 1911 there were 11 unions claiming a total of 7,000 members. As often happened in other colonial societies, labor unions became part of the movement for independence. They participated in the revolution of 1919, which led to the formation of a monarchical government in 1922. In the early 1920s, the unions were led by the Egyptian Socialist Party (formed in 1921), but an attempted **general strike** in 1923 was suppressed. During the 1930s, Egyptian organized labor became intertwined with **politics**. Unions were legalized in 1942. After the overthrow of the monarchy in 1952 under Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser, organized labor and the political system became increasingly integrated. In 1962, the president of the Egyptian Trade Union Federation (formed in 1956) was made minister of labor, a trend later followed by **Guinea** and **Tanzania**. Strikes do occur in Egypt, but they are regarded as a form of public disorder and are illegal. The government response to strikes is to use the **police** to repress them violently. However, in 2006, there were more than 220 strikes, which made this year the strongest wave of labor protest since 1945. In 2008, a demonstration in Mahalla was savagely repressed, leaving six people dead. The year 2008 also saw the emergence of an independent union within a department of the Ministry of Finance, a unique event. Because there was no independent organized labor in Egypt, it has never been a member of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** or the early **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**. In 2010, a strike movement was the beginning of popular protest that turned out to be an introduction to the resignation of President Mubarak

in 2011. The military council that took power soon issued a ban on strikes. In 2018, the ITUC had two affiliates in Egypt with a total **membership** of 320,000 workers. Trade **union density** was over 45 percent in 2002; more recent data is not available, but this high density lies in the power of the government-run Egyptian Trade Union Federation. According to the ITUC, there is still no guarantee of rights and striking workers are prosecuted every now and then.

**EL SALVADOR.** Organized labor formed its first national federation in 1922; a reformed federation was set up in 1924 and drew support from plantation workers. A revolt in 1932 against the dismissal of the elected government by the military dictatorship of Maximiliano H. Martínez was savagely repressed with the slaughter of up to 20,000 peasants, an event that cowed organized labor until the mid-1950s. In 1957, the **Organización Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores (ORIT)**, or Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers, held a congress that resulted in the foundation of the Confederación General de Sindicatos (General Confederation of Labor Unions) in 1958 and its swift affiliation with the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)**. Although some liberalization was extended to organized labor by the government from 1962, mainly in response to fears caused by the **communist** revolution in **Cuba**, progress was limited by the inequitable distribution of land ownership, unemployment, and vigilante violence, as well by the dependence of the economy on a few staples such as coffee for its growth. The country was torn apart by civil war from 1980 to 1992, during which perhaps 10,000 trade unionists lost their lives. Since 1992, organized labor has continued to face hostility from the government and legislative restrictions; for example, El Salvador only ratified International Labor Convention No. 87 (Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize) in 2006, but it has so far not come into force. In 2002, the ICFTU reported that there had been no improvement in the political and economic environment for organized labor in El Salvador. In 2009, the new left-wing administration legally registered trade unions, but two years later unions still confronted a strong antiunion culture. Private companies from their side continued to intimidate workers and deny their right to **organize**. In 2019, there were still regular **violations of union rights**.

**EMPLOYEE.** A person who works for a public or private **employer** and receives remuneration in **wages**, salary, commission, tips, piece rates, or pay in kind. The group may involve **blue-collar** workers, **white-collar** workers, and managers or directors. In the **United Kingdom**, there exists a sometimes confusing difference between who is an employee and who is a worker. All employees are workers, but not all workers are employees. Unfortunately,

there is no clear definition. If employees work under a contract of employment, which implies that the person can't turn down provided work and is subject to a disciplinary procedure, he or she is probably an employee. In other countries, like **Germany** and the **Netherlands**, the term *employee* (*An-gestellte*, *employé*) used to refer to white-collar work and the term *worker* to refer to blue-collar work. More generally, in those two countries, the word for someone working for wages is *Arbeitnehmer* and *Werknemer* (literally, someone who takes the work), a word about which Frederick Engels joked in his 1883 foreword to the third edition of Marx's *Das Kapital* that it is not the worker who takes the work but, on the contrary, the employer who takes the work from his employees in exchange for wages.

**EMPLOYER.** A person or organization that operates an enterprise and hires one or more **employees** to whom he or it pays **wages**. Employees are by definition subordinate to the employer.

**EMPLOYERS' ORGANIZATIONS.** Employers' organizations, like labor unions, have existed at least since Adam Smith's well-known discussion of their secret activities in *The Wealth of Nations* (Book I, Chapter VIII) in 1776. Smith literally wrote about combinations of masters that exist to sink the **wages** of workmen below the natural state of things: "These are always conducted with the utmost silence and secrecy." As shapers of national labor policy or participants in **collective bargaining**, formal employers' organizations in most countries emerged after 1880 partly in response to **strikes** and the rise of organized labor. The general pattern was usually for **employers** in an industry to organize first and create a national body later. In the **United Kingdom**, the shipowners formed a national federation in 1890, as did the engineering employers in 1896; the engineering federation organized two **lockouts** in 1896 and 1922 and defeated the unions both times. In 1919, the British Employers' Confederation was formed. In 1965, the Confederation of British Industry was created from a merger of the British Employers' Confederation, the Federation of British Industries, and the National Association of British Manufactures. The chambers of commerce remained separate from these bodies.

In the **United States**, the shoemakers' employers organized an association as early as 1789. In 1899, the National Metal Trades Association was formed. The National Association of Manufacturers was set up in 1895, and in 1903 it adopted an **open shop** policy to fight unions. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States was founded in 1912. In **France**, the Le Chapelier Law of 1791 banned organizations by **employees** and employers but was largely enforced only against labor unions. The legislation that legalized unions in 1884 also legalized employers to form organizations, but those

organizations that were created were confined to particular industries. A national employers' organization was only created in 1919 and even then was set up at the behest of the government; it was dissolved in 1940. The present principal employers' organization in France, the Conseil National du Patronat Français, was created in 1945. In the **Netherlands**, employers organized after the big dockers' strike of 1889, but this was short-lived. In 1907, Rotterdam port employers renewed their effort to combine with a call in English: "The incessant labour-troubles to which shipping at our port has lately been subject, has made it necessary to the Employers to join together, in order to be able to protect Ship-owners against the delay and unreasonable claims from the part of the labourers." In the meantime, a national employers' organization was formed in 1899 in reaction to the new Labor Law. In **Germany**, a national federation of employers in manufacturing (Vereinigung der Deutschen Arbeiterverbände) was formed in 1913; it was joined by another national body (Reichsverband der Deutschen Industrie) in 1919. The **November Pact (Stinnes–Legien Agreement)** of 1918 encouraged the formation of employers' organizations by making such associations responsible for representing employers in **collective bargaining**. In the 1930s, the Nazis incorporated the employers' organizations into the **Deutsche Arbeitsfront**.

In 1950, the West German employers created the first comprehensive national employers' organization, the Bundesvereinigung der Deutschen Arbeitgeberverbände (Confederation of German Employers' Associations), to conduct national collective bargaining. In **Italy**, a national employers' organization was established in 1910; it became known by its shortened title, Confindustria (Confederation of Industry), after 1920. In 1923, Confindustria successfully opposed a proposal by the fascist government of Benito Mussolini to integrate employers and unions in one body; it retained its autonomy and went on to remain a part of **industrial relations** in Italy after 1945.

In **Japan**, a national federation of chambers of commerce was formed in 1892. In 1917, the Japan Economic Federation was formed to prevent the legal recognition of labor unions. In 1938, the government set up the Greater Japan Patriotic Industrial Association (known as Sampō); all employers' organizations and unions were forced to join this body as part of the war effort in June 1940. Nikkeiren, the Japanese Federation of Employers' Associations, was formed in 1948.

In **Australia**, the first employers' organizations designed to deal with unions were formed by coal mine owners in 1872. The first national body was formed by building employers in 1890. In 1903, the various State Chambers of Manufactures formed a national body. Until the 1970s, employers' organizations were largely state-based and relatively ineffective as national organizations. In 1977, the first national umbrella employer organization, the Confederation of Australian Industry, was formed as a counterpart to the **Australian Council of Trade Unions**; in 1992, this body merged with the



Australian Chamber of Commerce to form the Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry. The Business Council of Australia, a group of large employers, was created in 1983 to shape industrial policy. In **New Zealand**, the New Zealand Federation of Employers' Associations was formed in 1902. In 1992, the New Zealand Employers' Federation had 10,000 individual employer members and 51 affiliated business organizations as members. The New Zealand Business Roundtable, an employer body made up of large firms, was created in the mid-1970s to discuss and prepare general economic policies.

The International Organization of Employers, formed in 1920, is the only international body of its kind; it provides the employers' representatives to the **International Labour Organization** of 150 national organizations from 143 countries.

**EMPLOYMENT ACTS.** Between 1980 and 1993, Conservative governments in the **United Kingdom** introduced a number of laws to limit the power of labor unions, following the "**Winter of Discontent.**" The Employment Act of 1980 limited **picketing to employees** who were directly engaged in a **strike**, expanded the exemptions from the **closed shop**, introduced public funding for secret ballots for the election of full-time union officials, and required secret ballots before unions engaged in strikes. The idea of strike ballots was first suggested in the Conservative Party's policy paper *Fair Deal at Work*, which was published in 1968, and was also recommended for certain kinds of strikes in a British **Labour Party** policy document, *In Place of Strife*, published in 1969. The Employment Act of 1982 outlawed the preentry closed shop and demanded that postentry closed shops must be supported by 85 percent of employees in a ballot. The secret ballot provisions of the 1980 act were **boycotted** by the **Trades Union Congress** and had little effect.

In 1984, the government published a green paper (a statement of government proposals) on proposed changes to the industrial law, which reintroduced the debate about public funding for secret ballots for the election of full-time union officials and before **industrial disputes**. This was followed by a white paper (a statement of government intentions) and the Trade Union Act of 1984, which required secret ballots for the election of full-time officials and for the holding of strikes not more than four weeks before they were due to start; the strike provision came into force on 26 September 1984. The Employment Act of 1988 enabled a union member to apply to the court for legal action against the union if it engaged in **industrial action** without the support of a ballot. The Employment Act of 1990 provided for a right of complaint to an industrial tribunal for any employee refused employment because he or she did or did not belong to a union, made unions potentially liable for common law actions if any of their officials (including **shop ste-**

**wards**) initiated industrial action without written repudiation, and gave **employers** greater power to dismiss employees who engaged in unofficial industrial action. This act has been interpreted as a return to the **Taff Vale Case**.

The Trade Union Reform and Employment Rights Act of 1993 became law on 1 July and built on the trends evident in British labor law since 1980. Among other things, the law created a new legal right that enabled any individual, employer, or union member whose supply of goods and services was affected by a dispute that did not meet these conditions to initiate civil law proceedings against the union. The legislation also required unions about to engage in a labor dispute to conduct first an independently scrutinized postal ballot among members and to provide the employer with at least seven days' written notice.

The election of the Labour Party in May 1997 did not result in the repeal of these employment acts, and although the level of labor disputes in the United Kingdom was low in the 1990s and at the beginning of the 21st century, this decline seems to have been caused by economic circumstances rather than the legislative environment. There have been instances though when striking was made difficult, as was shown by the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**. Courts have interpreted the ballot and notice requirements very strictly and sometimes granted an injunction if the union did not sufficiently communicate the outcome of a ballot to the employer as requested by law. The Trade Union Act of 2016 was added to the list of acts that might be in favor of employers and antiunion groups. This act gives the certification officer who regulates unions the power to start an investigation into the internal affairs of trade unions. In general, the act also severely impedes strike action because of the required 50 percent turnout for all strike ballots and the required 40 percent yes vote in ballots in important public services. Other restrictions on the right to strike are in force, and the ITUC judged there were regular **violations of union rights** in 2018 in the United Kingdom. *See also* DONOVAN COMMISSION.

**ENTERPRISE UNION.** A union whose membership is limited to **workers** in one particular enterprise. This kind of union is especially prevalent in **Japan**. Sometimes an enterprise union is confusingly called a **company union**.

**EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK.** Equal pay for equal work originally referred to **women** receiving the same pay as men provided they perform work of equal value. In the **United States**, equal pay for women was raised as early as 1837. In the **United Kingdom**, the **Trades Union Congress** passed resolutions in support of equal pay for women in the 1890s. Union

support for equal pay, although based on **human rights** concerns, was also influenced by the desire to prevent women from being used to undercut union **wage** rates. The entry of large numbers of women into jobs traditionally done by men, such as in transportation or metalworking, was generally only tolerated in wartime, but they were expected to leave these jobs at war's end. In the United Kingdom, women were only admitted to the **Amalgamated Engineering Union** in 1942. In **Australia**, industrial tribunals set women's pay rates at 55 percent that of men's in the 1920s and 1930s and raised them to 75 percent in 1950.

In 1951, the **International Labour Organization** adopted the Equal Remuneration Convention (No. 100), which called for equal pay for men and women for work of equal value. This principle is actually wider than equal pay for equal work. Equal remuneration for work of equal value also encompasses cases where men and women do different work but of the same value. Generally, however, Convention 100 is interpreted as dealing with equal pay for equal work. In 1958, the Australian state of New South Wales introduced "equal pay for equal work" legislation, which was followed by the other states by 1968. In 1969 and 1972, the Australian federal industrial tribunal handed down decisions in favor of equal pay for equal work for **employees** covered by federal awards. In 1970, the United Kingdom government introduced the Equal Pay Act. Despite these changes, women's pay in the private sector still lags behind men's, partly because they often do different work than men that is valued lower.

Since modern **globalization**, a pay gap also exists between the established and migrants. Permanent staff accuse migrants of bringing down wages, while temporary workers are angry about being underpaid for doing the same job as colleagues. The unions' response to this is to demand equal pay for equal work.

**EQUATORIAL GUINEA.** During the colonial era, the island and mainland that is now Equatorial Guinea witnessed abuses and terrible working conditions that led to resistance and uprisings. Most common was the flight to the interior. Many workers on the cocoa plantations came from the British colonies of **Nigeria** and Gold Coast and in 1900 staged a revolt. The Spanish colonial regime under Franco was severe but also implemented some acts regulating labor relations. In 1959, workers in exile founded the Unión General de Trabajadores de Guinea Ecuatorial (General Union of Workers of Equatorial Guinea), which supported the anticolonial struggle. Colonial civil servants organized a strike in 1963 in order to demand higher **wages** and parity between Europeans and Africans. Independent of **Spain** since October 1968, Equatorial Guinea never afforded organized labor the opportunity to develop because of the governing one-party system. Under the new regime, people were forced to do public works on Saturdays, such as cleaning up the

grass from the streets. This brought labor relations almost back to the hardest episodes of colonial times. In 1976, the London-based Anti-Slavery Society published a report on **forced labor** and **slavery** in Equatorial Guinea. In 1990, the independent Unión Sindical de Trabajadores (UST, Trade Union of Workers) was formed, but it failed to gain legal recognition or any reform of the country's denial of trade union rights. In its first two years of existence, UST supported **strikes** that were brutally repressed by the government. Arrests and torture were used to terrify anybody daring to challenge the political power. Strikes in the following years hence failed. The Independent Services Trade Union in the **public sector** has also been unable to secure legal recognition since 1995. Despite the government's ratification of the eight core labor standards of the **International Labour Organization** in 2001, it has since then suppressed all attempts to create independent labor unions, according to the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**. In 2008, a strike at a Chinese company was brutally repressed: two workers were killed, about 100 were arrested, and 400 were repatriated. There were no strikes reported in 2018, and Equatorial Guinea was still not represented in the ITUC.

**ERITREA.** Eritrea was formed as an independent nation in 1993 after a 30 years' war against **Ethiopia**, which had annexed the region in 1962 as a province, notwithstanding the fact that Eritrea was supposed to be an autonomous part of the Ethiopian federation since 1952. Since independence, Eritreans have been ruled by an autocratic and repressive regime. By 1995, the National Confederation of Eritrean Workers (NCEW, founded in 1979) had been admitted to affiliation with the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions**; it was closely monitored by the government, however. As a result of tensions with bordering countries, the Eritrean people have suffered from increasing repression and **violations of trade union rights** until in 2018 peace was signed between Eritrea and Ethiopia. Since 2014, a case has been going on for years in which former workers of the **Canadian**-owned Eritrean Bisha mine accuse the mine of being engaged in **slave labor**. The owner has refused to comment on the evidence, but Canadian courts have agreed to hear the complaining workers. In 2018, the country was affiliated with the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** by 26,000 members (in 2001, 18,000) of the NCEW. According to the ITUC survey of violations of trade unions' rights, in 2019 there was no guarantee of rights in Eritrea.

**ESTONIA.** Organized labor was only able to emerge in Estonia after it gained independence from **Russia** in 1920; previously, it had been part of the Russian Empire. By 1923, there were 30,000 union members and a national

labor federation had been formed by 1927 and joined the **International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU)**. The number of union members reached 50,000 by 1932, and the national labor federation retained its membership in the IFTU until 1939. In 1940, an independent labor movement ceased to exist in Estonia, when, like the other **Baltic states**, it was annexed by the Soviet Union. From 1957 to 1994, the Estonian Seamen's Union was accorded membership in exile by the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)**.

In the late 1980s, the Soviet Union began to fragment, allowing independent organized labor to reemerge. In 1989, the communist labor federation of Estonia joined the independence movement. In March 1990, Estonia and the other Baltic states declared their independence from the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, the political climate remained dangerous, as was shown by the murder of two visiting Swedish union officials who made contact with the independent labor movement. Violations of union rights have since then been frequent. In 1994, Estonia became the first Baltic state to be represented in the ICFTU by the Estonian Trade Union Confederation (EAKL, founded in 1990; it claimed 119,000 members in 1996, 65,000 members in 2001, and 20,000 in 2018, when it was the only Estonian affiliate of the **International Trade Union Confederation**). In 1992, a new trade union confederation broke away from EAKL. This organization is much smaller and **organizes** more **white-collar employees** while EAKL has a stronger focus on industrial workers.

In 2000, a trade union law was adopted that guaranteed the right to organize. However, the recession of 2008 hit the economy hard and led to antiunion behavior in the private sector. The ban on **strikes** for public servants was prolonged for over 15 years. Ten years later, there were still complaints about **violations of union rights**. In 2015, a stevedoring company sacked a worker right after he was elected as **shop steward**. The court ruled this termination unjust, but the company then made his job redundant. Calculations of trade **union density** differ between 4.5 and 10 percent, leaving significant parts of the economy union free.

**ETHIOPIA.** Apart from a short period of occupation by **Italy** (1936–1941), Ethiopia is the only African country that has never been colonized by Western powers. Although a member of the **International Labour Organization** from 1923, Ethiopia did not legally recognize labor unions until 1962, and unions had to form and operate secretly. The first union was formed among the **railroad** workers in 1947. In 1954, the unions formed the first national labor federation, which was reformed into the Confederation of Ethiopian Labour Unions (CELU) in 1963. Assisted by both the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)**, which it joined, and the **American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations**,

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the **membership** of the CELU grew from 28,000 in 1964 to 85,000 in 1974, but organized labor fell foul of the military council (the Dergue) that replaced Emperor Haile Selassie. The Dergue regime formed its own labor federation. **Strikes** were forbidden, and the CELU was caught up in a policy of government hostility and prolonged civil war, economic destruction, and famine. In 1986, the CELU changed its name to the Confederation of Ethiopian Trade Unions (CETU), and in 1994 the CETU reaffiliated with the ICFTU. It ceased its membership by 1997 as it was brought increasingly under **government control**. In 2010, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** reported that the government still closely monitored organized labor. This situation was still the same in 2018, when the ITUC noticed a systematic **violation of union rights**. This conclusion was taken from numerous incidents, like the arrests of strikers or the sacking of union members. The more than 203,000 members of CELU were again affiliated with the ITUC.

**EUROPEAN TRADE UNION CONFEDERATION (ETUC).** The ETUC is the major international labor organization of Western Europe. Although the **International Federation of Trade Unions** was mainly a European body for most of its life between 1901 and 1945, the first moves to form a regional labor federation of European bodies were made in November 1950 when the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** established the European Regional Organization. The creation of the European Coal and Steel Community prompted a number of national labor federations as well as the **International Metalworkers' Federation** and the **Miners' International Federation** to form the Committee of Twenty-One to represent the interests of organized labor. Following the creation of the European Economic Community by the Treaty of Rome in 1958, the ICFTU formed the European Trade Union Secretariat, which incorporated the Committee of Twenty-One.

Further changes in the structure of Western European organized labor were also prompted by wider changes in the supranational European political framework. In 1968, the ICFTU members of the free-trade area set up the Trade Union Committee for the European Free Trade Area. In 1969, the European Trade Union Secretariat reshaped itself as the European Confederation of Free Trade Unions. In February 1973, these two bodies agreed to merge as the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC). Up to 1991, the membership of the ETUC was largely confined to noncommunist labor bodies in Western Europe, but since that time, the ETUC has admitted affiliates from Eastern European countries.

The ETUC has always operated as a lobbying body for organized labor, but at its 1991 congress it resolved to take an active role in **collective bargaining** for the whole of Europe. Its role assumed added significance after

the signing of the **European Union Treaty** (7 February 1992); appended to the treaty was a social policy agreement that gave European-wide labor and **employers' organizations** an enhanced formal role in preparing and implementing the social policy of the European Union. In December 1993, the ETUC was one of three European-wide labor bodies that were granted formal “**social partner**” status by the European Commission for European-wide dialogue on social policy matters. Although both the commission and the ETUC wanted to advance this dialogue to collective bargaining, this course has been opposed by the Union of Industrial and Employers' Confederations of Europe, even though the ETUC had reached an agreement with the European Center of Public Enterprises for such a move in September 1990. In later years, collective bargaining systems have come under some pressure. A decline was already visible in the numbers of companies and workers covered by a **collective agreement**, which encouraged employer organizations and a number of experts and politicians to argue against the inflexible nature of the collective bargaining system. This opposition was encouraged by the 2008 crisis and followed by the implementation of labor reforms to increase the competitiveness of the countries involved and the European Union in general. One of the priorities of ETUC in 2019 still was the launch of a tripartite partnership on **wages** and collective bargaining.

In 1994, the ETUC claimed 46 million members (compared with 37 million in 1973) in 21 countries. In 2009, the ETUC had 82 national labor federations as affiliates from a total of 36 European countries representing a total of 60 million members. This number diminished to 45 million members in 2019. In 1978, the ETUC launched the European Trade Union Institute (ETUI), which is an independent research and training center employing around 70 people from all over Europe. *See also* CONFÉDÉRATION EUROPÉENNE DES CADRES (CEC).

**EUROPEAN UNION (EU).** The EU has its origins in the founding in 1952 by six countries of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), “a first step in the federation of Europe.” It is, however, possible to go further back in time to find earlier steps to a European community. The founding fathers of the ECSC (Alcide de Gasperi, Jean Monnet, Robert Schuman, and Paul-Henri Spaak) are officially regarded the founding fathers of the EU. Further integration was reached with the European Economic Community in 1957; its present title dates from 1 November 1993. The rise of the EU has been paralleled by changes in the **European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC)**, the primary lobby group for European organized labor. The EU's concern with economic and social issues, particularly since the 1970s, has made it an increasingly important vehicle through which European labor can try to achieve its objectives. The European Union Treaty, signed at Maastricht on 7 February 1992, appended a social policy agreement that gave

European-wide organized labor and **employers' organizations** an enhanced formal role in the social policy of the European Union. In 1993, the European Commission formally recognized the ETUC and the **Confédération Européenne des Cadres** as “**social partners**” for European-wide dialogue on social policy matters. In August 1994, the European Commission’s white paper on social policy recognized employers’ organizations, labor unions, and voluntary associations as partners in the development of social policy. In 1996, the European Commission directive on European works councils came into force; it meant that any company with more than 1,000 employees, of whom at least 150 worked in a minimum of two EU member countries, had to set up a works council or at least a formal procedure for informing and consulting staff about matters affecting their working lives. In 1999, a European Commission directive setting a limit on **working hours** became operational in the **United Kingdom**.

In 2000, the EU adopted the Lisbon Agenda, intended to make Europe the most competitive economy in the world. To obtain this, labor was supposed to accept liberalization. In reaction, in 2003 and 2006, longshoremen successfully struck Europe-wide to oppose liberalization of port labor as stipulated in an EU directive. In February 2002, the EU, after much lobbying by the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions**, incorporated trade union rights in its regulations on tariff preferences for 2002–2004. In 2012, the EU received the Nobel Peace Prize for having “contributed to the advancement of peace and reconciliation, democracy, and **human rights** in Europe.” Notwithstanding the many positive opinions about the existence of the EU, after a people’s referendum held in 2016, the United Kingdom left the EU at the beginning of 2020.

**EXPORT PROCESSING ZONE (EPZ).** An EPZ is a specific form of free-trade zone or *maquiladore* or *maquila* (assembly plant). The term refers to areas designated by governments in developing countries since the 1960s where foreign companies can produce goods and services with minimal taxation and without the legal restraints of the labor regulations that might apply elsewhere in the country. EPZs have therefore been a constant topic of concern for labor unions. A more recent term used is special economic zone (SEZ), used for an area in which the business and trade laws are different from the rest of the country. More terms are in use, each with a slightly differing meaning, but in practice these areas are generally zones of exploitation for their **employees**, characterized by low **wages** and poor working conditions. EPZs were first set up in northern **Mexico** on the U.S. border in 1965. The first EPZ in Africa was established in **Mauritius** in 1970, and Asian countries followed, beginning with the **Philippines**. Labor unions are either prohibited or actively discouraged by violence. In 2002, the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** estimated that about 80 percent



of employees in EPZs were **women** and that they earned about half of what their male counterparts were paid. There were about 3,500 EPZs in the world in 2006 employing 66 million workers, of which 40 million were Chinese.



# F

**FACTORY OCCUPATION.** A form of **industrial action** whereby **employees** occupy their workplace and continue working, so this form is in fact the most extreme, even challenging ownership of the means of production. Factory occupations are therefore declared illegal in many countries. Sometimes the occupiers even sell the products on their own account. One of the most well-known factory occupations took place in the 1970s at the watch producer Lip in Besançon, **France**. There the workers in 1973 continued producing watches for almost a year, after which the workers were rehired. Another occupation by **shop stewards** that received widespread interest was at the Scottish Upper Clyde Ship Builders in 1971 after liquidation. The workers were supported by demonstrations that attracted 80,000 people and received a financial donation from Beatle John Lennon. A more recent occupation occurred in Argentina in the early 2000s when workers took over the Zanon tile factory. *See also* SIT-DOWN STRIKE.

**FALKLAND ISLANDS.** A British self-governing overseas territory with less than 4,000 inhabitants. Successfully retaken by the **United Kingdom** after Argentine invasion in June 1982, the Falkland Islands has only one labor union, the General Employees Union; formed in 1943, it has been an affiliate of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** since 1949. Between 1975 and 1990, the membership of the General Employees Union fell from 450 to 150. There were no affiliates from the Falkland Islands in the **International Trade Union Confederation** in 2010 and later.

**FÉDÉRATION INTERNATIONALE DES EMPLOYÉS, TECHNICIENS ET CADRES (FIET).** The FIET, or the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical, Professional, and Technical Employees, was an international trade secretariat formed in 1921 from a failed earlier international clerical body that had operated from Hamburg, Germany, between 1909 and 1914. The FIET was primarily a European body until 1949, after which time it expanded into other continents. The main industries represented by the FIET were in the service sector: banking, insurance, commerce, retailing, and

social services. Between 1976 and 1994, the affiliated membership of the FIET rose from 6.2 to 11 million. It is based in Geneva. In January 2000, the FIET merged with Communications International, the International Graphical Federation, and the Media Entertainment International to form the Union Network International. *See also* WHITE-COLLAR UNIONISM.

**FEDERATION OF INTERNATIONAL CIVIL SERVANTS' ASSOCIATIONS (FICSA).** Founded in 1952 in Paris, the FICSA represents the staff employed by the United Nations and its specialized agencies, including the **International Labour Organization**. Based in Geneva and New York, the FICSA had 29 affiliated associations or unions from 2009 to 2019. *See also* WHITE-COLLAR UNIONISM.

**FEDERAZIONE ITALIANA OPERAI METALLURGICI (FIOM).** The FIOM (Italian Federation of Metalworkers) was formed in 1901 and operated until 1924, when it was suppressed by the fascist government along with the other free unions in Italy. Its membership growth was slow, a reflection of the slow industrialization of the Italian economy. In 1906, it signed the first collective agreement in Italy, which gave the union the closed shop and the right of employees to elect members to grievance committees. From 10,000 members in 1913, it had only reached 40,000 by 1918, but by 1920 it had grown to 152,000, a rise that reflected the demands of World War I. By 1923, its membership had fallen to 20,000. It was revived in 1944. A union known for its militancy in the 1960s, its membership grew from 167,000 in 1968 to 278,700 in 1972, when it merged with two other metal unions to form an industrial union for the metal industry.

**FIJI.** Labor unions were first formed in Fiji in 1939 but had an unstable history, largely in response to the ethnic tensions between Indians and native Fijians, with unions tending to be either ethnically Indian or native Fijian. In 1957, the Fiji Industrial Workers' Congress, which had been formed in 1952, was admitted to **membership** in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)**, thereby becoming the third part of Oceania to be a member after **New Zealand** and **Australia**. In 1966, the Fiji Industrial Workers' Congress was reformed as the Fiji Trade Union Congress; by 1975, it had 23,000 members. In 1970, Fiji became an independent democratic nation from **Britain**, but by the late 1980s economic difficulties fed racial tensions between native Fijians and the economically better-off Indian Fijians, who made up about half the population. Two military coups in support of the rights of native Fijians in 1987 resulted in restrictions on labor unions and the reintroduction of the Tripartite Forum, made up of unions, **employers**, and government representatives. Fiji's poor economic performance

undercut efforts to attain political stability. There was another coup in May 2000 by elements of the military, although civilian rule was restored with military support in July. At that date, an estimated 55 percent of the **employees** were unionized. In 2002, the ICFTU reported that although **collective bargaining** and the right to **strike** are legally recognized, there was a general failure by the government to enforce these rights. It remained relatively easy for employers to dismiss trade union activists, particularly after the military takeover in December 2006, which was condemned by the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**. At first, the provisional government was inclined to respect trade union rights, but over time it came to realize organized labor was one of its opponents. In 2014, long-delayed elections were held that reestablished the power of the military leader of Fiji. In 2018, he was reelected in elections deemed free and fair. The arrest in 2019 of the secretary of the Fiji Trades Union Congress and president of the ITUC Asia-Pacific, along with some 30 other trade unionists, on May Day is a clear sign that the freedom to unionize is still weak in Fiji. Intimidation, harassment, and arrests of trade union officials have been ongoing.

In 2019, the Fiji Trade Union Congress was affiliated with the ITUC with a membership of 30,000.

**FIMMEN, EDO (EDUARD CARL) (1881–1942)**. President of the **International Transport Workers' Federation**, Fimmen was born in Nieuwer Amstel (now part of Amsterdam) in the **Netherlands** to German-born parents. He was fluent in French, German, and English. By the early 1900s, Fimmen was a committed protestant Christian, antimilitarist, and **socialist** and had adopted the pseudonym “Edo.” He campaigned against prostitution and in favor of **equal pay for women**. He was employed as a clerk and, following a **general strike** in 1903, helped found the General Dutch Federation of Trade and Office Clerks in October 1905. In January 1906, this federation affiliated with the new Netherlands Federation of Labor Unions, and Fimmen became its secretary in 1907, holding the position until February 1916 and then serving the federation in other roles until 1919.

As early as 1910, Fimmen began to be active in international labor unions when he became a secretary of the German-based International Shop Assistants Secretariat. World War I interrupted his activities, but in April 1919 he became secretary of the International Transport Workers' Federation (ITF). He used this position to organize opposition to the Allied intervention against the **Soviet Union**, to support left-wing politics, to oppose fascism, and to help union leaders he knew personally who suffered in fascist countries. The priority he gave **politics**, particularly his support for cooperation with **communists** as opposed to purely labor union activities, drew criticism from some within the federation. The ITF itself was weakened by the loss of member organizations in fascist **Italy**, **Spain**, and **Germany**; in 1931, it had

a **membership** of 2.3 million, compared with 3 million in 1920. He organized a conference of the exiled union leaders in April 1935. Illness and the outbreak of World War II in 1939 forced Fimmen to leave Europe for Mexico, where he died. He is remembered as an outstanding leader of the ITF, which honored him in 1942 and 1952. A statue for Fimmen was erected in Rotterdam in 1997 to celebrate the centennial of the ITF. Fimmen wrote a number of publications, including two in English, *The International Federation of Trade Unions* (1922) and *Labour's Alternative: The United States of Europe or Europe Limited* (1924).

**FINLAND.** Organized labor in Finland emerged on a significant scale in the 1900s. In 1907, at the initiative of the Social Democratic Party, 18 unions held a congress that claimed a total **membership** of 25,000 out of 175,000 nonagricultural **employees**. Strongly influenced by **communism**, this body was banned by the government in 1930, and the Social Democratic Party reorganized a noncommunist body, the Suomen Ammattiliittojen Keskusjärjestö (SAK), or Central Organization of Finnish Trade Unions. In 1922, a separate **white-collar** federation was formed to restore real pay levels, which had been sharply eroded by the **inflation** that followed World War I; the white-collar federation, unlike the other labor federation, was politically independent. After a steady growth, organized labor collapsed at the end of the 1920s.

Political oppression and the legal ban of organized labor in 1929 and 1930 caused union coverage of Finnish employees to collapse to 5 percent in 1930, compared with 25 percent in 1920, but it recovered strongly after 1944 with the improvement of the political climate for labor. Between 1965 and 1970, union membership in Finland rose from 642,900 to 945,300, raising its coverage of employees from 42 to 57 percent, an increase brought about by diminished internal conflict within organized labor, the introduction in 1960 of the **Ghent system** of **unemployment** insurance, and the establishment of a centralized **collective bargaining** system. The SAK remained the dominant labor federation in the post-1945 period; in 2010, it had 800,000 members compared with the Confederation of Unions for Professional and Managerial Staff (382,000) and the Finnish Confederation of Professionals (418,000). Despite economic difficulties, Finnish organized labor has continued to cover three out of four workers during the 2000s. In 2017, 17 percent of employees belonged only to an unemployment fund, hence only around 10 percent did not belong to any trade union or an unemployment fund.

**FLAGS OF CONVENIENCE (FOC).** An international system of merchant ship registration whereby a shipowner in a country with a Western economy registers ships in a Third World country to avoid paying high taxes and

**wages** and providing good working conditions; the system began in the 1920s when U.S. shipowners began registering ships in **Panama** to avoid alcohol prohibition on their passenger ships. Since the 1970s, the share of global merchant shipping sailing under flags of convenience has risen from 20 to over 50 percent. The **International Transport Workers' Federation (ITF)** has denounced the FOC system since 1948. Often poorly maintained, FOC ships are more prone to accidents that cause environmental damage. In 2000, twice as many FOC ships were shipwrecked as other ships. The ITF has estimated that about 2,000 merchant sailors a year die in accidents at sea, mainly on FOC ships. In 2002, the top FOC countries were Panama, **Liberia**, **Malta**, **Bahamas**, and **Cyprus**. The top ship ownership countries of FOCs were **Greece**, **Japan**, the **United States**, **Norway**, and **Hong Kong**. In 2009, the ITF covered about a quarter of FOC vessels with global agreements, ensuring basic pay and conditions to over 123,000 seafarers. In 2015, the ITF criticized a similar development in aviation, and **strikes** in following years against an airline like antiunion Ryanair were the union's reaction.

**FORCED LABOR.** Throughout recorded history, the performance of the work needed by society has been linked with coercion. Labor in classical Greek and Roman society depended heavily on agricultural laborers tied to the land and **slavery**. With the rise of market economies in Western Europe after 1300, the first free labor forces in the modern sense began to emerge slowly on a significant scale. Although most working people had effectively little economic freedom, the Industrial Revolution brought a far greater range of choices of employment, and the crude notion of a forced labor force receded, although pockets of feudal arrangements remained even in the **United Kingdom**; for example, Scottish coal miners were not fully emancipated from lifetime bondage until 1799. Slavery was abolished in the British Empire in 1807, in the **United States** in 1865, and was the target of an international conference in 1890. Serfdom in **Russia** was abolished in 1861. Forced labor in a legal sense in **Britain** became confined to convicts, who were exported to North America from 1655 to 1776 and **Australia** until 1868. Within British prisons, labor was regarded by the authorities as therapeutic and useful for offsetting administrative costs. Before World War II, forced labor in some form and to varying degrees was a feature of the African colonies of **Belgium** and **France**.

Organized labor has generally been hostile to prison labor because it could be used to undercut the price of goods produced by union members. In 1934, the U.S. Supreme Court denied the state of Alabama an injunction to stop the sale of goods made by prisoners. Nazi **Germany** and **Japan** both made extensive use of forced labor by civilians as well as by prisoners of war and political prisoners. Forced labor has also been a feature of **communist** regimes, notably in the former Soviet Union, where especially political prison-

ers were used to build new infrastructure and other economically valuable constructions in what was labeled the Gulag Archipelago. The **International Labour Organization (ILO)** passed a Convention against Forced Labor (No. 29) in 1930. The **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** and its successor, the **International Trade Union Confederation**, have repeatedly denounced the use of forced labor in a number of countries, most notably **Burma**. In 2010, 12.3 million people were supposed to be in forced labor, a number that had grown to 25 million in 2015. According to data collected by the ILO, most infamous in this respect is the Asia-Pacific region, with 11.7 million forced laborers, followed by Africa (3.7 million).

**FRANCE.** Early forms of labor organization existed in France long before the effects of the Industrial Revolution became evident during the 19th century. For example, there is a record of a **strike** by vineyard workers in Burgundy as early as 1393 and by printers at Lyons in the 16th century. As in Britain, **journeymen** were the leaders in forming labor unions. Following the revolution in 1789, journeymen carpenters in Paris took advantage of its promise of political freedom by forming a union in 1790, but the **employers** objected and it was suppressed by the Law Le Chapelier (1791), which was also applied to **employers' organizations** and made strikes illegal. Despite the legal prohibition on strikes, there was a revolt by silk workers in Lyons after the government attempted to suppress labor unions in April 1834. Some progress toward peaceful labor relations occurred in the early 1840s, as evidenced by the making of a **collective agreement** in the **printing** industry in 1843, but otherwise the government was quick to use force against the working class, as shown by the "June Days" in 1848, when it shut down employment workshops for the unemployed, a move that resulted in some thousands of deaths and the arrest of thousands of others.

In 1862, a deputation of French labor leaders was allowed by Napoleon III to visit the London Exposition. They returned with a high opinion of English working conditions and labor unions and asked to be granted **freedom of association** and the right to strike. Strikes were legalized in 1864, but, although legalizing unions was considered in 1868, nothing was done. In 1869, the Comte de Paris published a sympathetic study, *The Trade Unions of England*, which was reprinted six times, but the official attitude toward unions was colored by the bloodshed of the Paris Commune (1871), when 10,000 people were killed.

By the 1880s, the government realized that there were advantages to encouraging labor unions as a means of tempering revolutionary tendencies by the working class. In 1884, it legalized strikes and labor unions and provided financial assistance to the Bourses du Travail (the coordinating centers for local unions), provided they remained out of the control of political extremists. The first national trade union center, the Fédération Nationale des



Syndicats Ouvriers (National Federation of Workers' Unions), was opened in 1886. A **Catholic** labor union was formed among **white-collar** workers in 1887, the first sign of an important division within French organized labor; the Catholic unions went on to form their own national labor federation in 1919. **Collective bargaining** began in the **coal mining** industry in northern France but remained limited in scope because of the importance of small enterprises in the economy. In 1895, a new national labor federation, the **Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT)**, or General Federation of Labor, was formed; it absorbed the National Federation of Bourses du Travail (founded in 1892) in 1902. **Syndicalism**, a doctrine that had its origins in the revolutionary tradition of France, became an important influence on organized labor, particularly with its emphasis on the use of **general strikes**.

Yet French organized labor never attained the strength of its counterparts in other major European countries. In 1920, a high-water mark for organized labor in Europe, only 12 percent of French **employees** were members of unions, compared with 53 percent in **Germany**, 39 percent in **Italy**, and 48 percent in the **United Kingdom**. Subsequently, French labor was weakened by divisions caused by **communists**. Despite the **Matignon Agreement** in 1936, which provided for the unions' right to **organize**, an end to antiunion practices, collective bargaining, pay increases, and the election of **shop stewards**, French organized labor remained relatively weak even though an impression of strength might have been created by dramatic events such as the national disturbances of May 1968. Although the reasons for the weakness of French organized labor since 1945 are complicated, they stem in large part from its deep political and religious divisions. Aside from the Catholic labor federation, the Confédération Française des Travailleurs Chrétiens (CFTC, French Confederation of Christian Workers, formed in 1919), the most important division occurred in April 1948 when the noncommunist unions of the CGT withdrew and formed their own federation, the Confédération Générale du Travail-Force Ouvrière (CGT-FO), or General Confederation of Labor-Workers' Strength. A fourth national labor federation, the Confédération Française Démocratique (CFDT) or French Democratic Confederation of Labor, was formed in 1964. An unforeseen social eruption with 10 million strikers, **factory occupations**, demonstrations, and street fights almost forced the government to resign in 1968. But President de Gaulle stayed in office and made a deal with the unions. The strikers went back to work with higher **wages** and other **benefits**.

From a high point of 38 percent of employees in unions in 1950, there was a steady decline thereafter to 21 percent in 1960 and 17 percent in 1980. Between 1989 and 2001, union coverage of French employees fell from 11 to 9 percent, the lowest level for any large Western industrialized country. Also, unlike most other Western industrialized countries, France still has no single, dominant national labor federation. In 2001, organized labor affiliated with

the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** was divided between three national federations: the CGT (650,000 members), the CGT-FO (300,000 members), and the CFDT (765,000 members). In 2018, after the international merger and the foundation of the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**, the **membership** was CGT 664,000, CGT-FO 600,000, CFDT 624,000, and CFTC 140,000, but trade **union density** was still low at around 8 percent. Yet despite its very low level of union membership and some legal limitations, France has a very high collective bargaining coverage rate of 98.5 percent (2014). France also experienced a high level of **labor disputes** in recent years compared with Germany and the United Kingdom. Although the number of days not worked per 1,000 employees due to **industrial action** decreased a little from 127 in 2000–2009 to 125 in 2010–2015, it was still the second highest in Europe (only in **Cyprus** was the number higher). In 1995, a right-wing government launched the first attack on the government **pension** scheme. The unions reacted with two months of strikes and demonstrations on a scale not seen since 1968. This movement forced the government to step back and abandon the plans. Major strike movements followed the introduction of the 35-hour week in February 2000. In May and June 2003, the unions again instituted strikes (this time rolling strikes) in protest over government plans to reform the pension scheme. Despite these strikes and demonstrations, the government this time won. The defeat for the employees was partly caused by a split in the united front of the unions. The struggle over further “reforms” of **social security** continues.

Activists sometimes face discrimination, such as disciplinary sanctions or suspension of their careers. In addition, the **International Labour Organization (ILO)** received a complaint concerning the creation of police files about trade union participation. These files are considered a threat to union activity. In 2017, the CGT and CGT-FO lodged a complaint with the ILO for the violation of some ILO conventions. The general judgment of the ITUC in 2019 was therefore that France witnessed repeated **violations of union rights**.

**FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION.** The **International Labour Organization (ILO)** first considered drafting a convention on freedom of association to protect labor unions in 1925, a concern prompted by the incorporation of unions under **government control** in fascist **Italy**. Among the ILO member countries of the time, there were two main kinds of laws relating to unions. Under the first kind of law, unions were unlawful unless their formation and operation were authorized by the government. Under the second kind of law, unions were legally recognized and operated without government control. Examples of countries following this second kind of law were the **United Kingdom** (1871), **New Zealand** (1878), and **France** (1884). However, the 1925 proposal failed, mainly because the representatives of organized labor

within the **International Federation of Free Trade Unions** were unable to agree on a course of action, with some fearing that such a convention could limit the freedoms the unions already had. The present ILO Convention on Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize (No. 87) was not passed until 1948. It was augmented by Convention No. 98 (Right to Organize and **Collective Bargaining**) in 1949. The ILO established the Freedom of Association Committee to monitor the operation of these conventions in 1951. Since then, the committee has dealt with more than 3,200 cases published in six compilations, the latest in 2018.

**FREELoadERS.** *See* FREE-RIDERS.

**FREE-RIDERS.** **Employees** who are not union members but who nevertheless benefit from the **collective bargaining** arrangements on pay and conditions achieved by organized labor at their place of work. With declining **union density** since the 1980s, free-riders have become a bigger problem than before because the diminishing numbers of union members have to pay for their unwilling colleague's arrangements. *See also* JANUS DECISION; RIGHT-TO-WORK LAWS.

**FRENCH POLYNESIA.** Acquired piecemeal by **France** by 1889, this group of south Pacific islands had organized unions that were mainly overseas branches of French unions. In 1984, the islands became an autonomous territory (renamed collectivity in 2003) within France. In 1990, a Polynesian union based on Tahiti, A Tia I Mua, was admitted to **membership** in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** as the affiliate for French Polynesia with 5,000 members, although the largest labor union in French Polynesia was the Confederation of Workers' Union of Polynesia. Unions organized a **general strike** in June 2010 against the government to create a national **unemployment** insurance in response to job losses following the economic crisis. After two weeks, the dispute was settled, and the **International Labour Organization** asked to look into the feasibility of an unemployment fund. In February 2018, a general **strike** was launched in response to plans to raise the **pension** entitlement age from 60 to 62 by the year 2020 and increase **employee** contribution. The strike was ended after government–union talks.

**FRIENDLY SOCIETY.** A friendly society (or mutual society, benevolent society, or fraternal organization) is a mutual association for insurance, **pensions**, savings, or banking—people joined together for a common financial or social purpose. Before the existence of modern insurance and the welfare state, these kinds of societies provided mutual **benefits** or financial and so-

cial services to individuals. Friendly societies therefore were important in many people's lives. Many of these societies still exist. Early unions often served the same purpose and sometimes even grew out of a friendly society. The historical relationship between unions and European medieval guilds that also were a kind of friendly society is, however, disputed. *See also* NORWAY; RAILROADS.

**FULL-TIME/PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT.** Before the 1960s, most **employees** in Western countries were employed full-time; that is, they worked about 40 or 44 hours a week. Part-time employment emerged in the early 1930s as a temporary expedient to cope with the Depression. With the entry of more **women** into the labor force, particularly married women, there was a growth in demand for fewer working hours. Official labor force household surveys in many countries collect statistics on full-time and part-time employment—with full-time employment defined as 35 hours or more a week—and these have shown a general rise in part-time employment since the 1970s. In 1994, the **International Labour Organization** adopted a convention to protect the conditions of part-time workers.

Organized labor has generally found it harder to recruit part-time workers as members, as was shown by results from labor force surveys in 2002 and 2010. In the **United States**, 13 percent of full-time employees were union members, but only 6 percent of part-time employees. In the **United Kingdom**, 28 percent of full-time employees were union members compared with 21 percent of part-time employees. *See also* WORKING HOURS.

# G

**GABON.** Gabon has been independent of **France** since 1960, and indigenous organized labor developed along the French model. One of its labor federations, the Confédération Nationales Travailleurs Gabonais or National Confederation of Workers of Gabon, was an affiliate of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** by 1965, with 6,100 members. In 1964, Gabon became a one-party state and formed a single labor federation under party control from the country's 70 unions in 1969; in 1978, labor law reaffirmed this system. The government-aligned union center, COSYGA (formerly known as Gabonese Trade Union Confederation), evolved into a more independent organization after 1991. In the same year, the Confédération Gabonaise des Syndicats Libres (CGSL), or Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Gabon, was formed. By 1992, this independent union had become affiliated with the ICFTU and gained government recognition as Gabon's second labor federation. The CGSL conducted an unsuccessful **general strike** in February 1992 over **inflation** and falling living standards. The political environment for organized labor in Gabon is difficult. Although the right to strike exists in theory, in practice it does not and trade unionists are regularly harassed, dismissed, or beaten up. In 2010, the president restricted the right to strike, and in 2017 several mentions of arrests and banning of union activities were reported by the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**. The two labor federations are represented in the ITUC and have a combined **membership** of 42,000.

**GAMBIA.** Gambia has been independent of the **United Kingdom** since 1965, and organized labor in Gambia began effectively in October 1928 when the Gambia Labour Union (GLU) was formed by Edward Francis Small (1890–1957) and the first **strike** was conducted. In 1935, the GLU was officially registered under the 1932 Trade Union Act. By 1953, the GLU was affiliated with the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions**. By 1965, the Gambia Workers' Union, founded in 1958, had replaced the GLU as Gambia's ICFTU affiliate; its **membership** was small, being only 3,000 by 1988. Gambia is remarkable for being one of the few African countries

hardly named in the survey of **violations of trade union rights** since 2002. In 2016, the situation was somewhat different when the president of Gambia issued an order banning union activities of the Gambian National Transport Control Association. One of the union leaders arrested, Sheriff Diba, died in prison as the result of abuse and torture. The **International Transport Workers' Federation** thereupon filed a complaint with the ILO. In 2019, Gambian transport unionists, who were divided for over a decade, signed a memorandum of understanding to work together toward achieving common objectives. Gambia is not represented in the International Trade Union Confederation.

**GENERAL AND MUNICIPAL WORKERS' UNION (GMWU).** The GMWU was one of the largest labor unions in the **United Kingdom** from its formation on 1 July 1924 following the **amalgamation** of three unions: the National Union of General Workers, which was founded by Will Thorne (1857–1946) in 1889 as the National Union of Gasworkers and General Labourers of Great Britain and Ireland (it had 202,000 members in 1924); the National Amalgamated Union of Labour, which had about 53,000 members in 1924; and the Municipal Employees' Association, which was founded in 1894 and had about 40,000 members in 1924. Known officially as the National Union of General and Municipal Workers, the GMWU drew the bulk of its **membership** from lesser skilled employees, particularly those in the gas industry and local government. There was much overlap between the kinds of **employees** it recruited and those of similar general unions, particularly the **Transport and General Workers' Union**.

At its creation, the GMWU had 298,200 members. This number fell during the Depression to 207,700 in 1932, but by 1940 the GMWU had 493,740 members and 715,460 by 1950. Between 1945 and 1992, the GMWU was Britain's third largest union in most years. Membership rose to 786,140 by 1962 and to a peak of 964,800 in 1979. An important feature of this growth was the share of **women** members. Between 1924 and 1940, the proportion of women members in the GMWU rose from 9 to 18 percent and to 20 percent by 1950. By 1976, 34 percent of the total membership were women, a proportion that had increased to 36 percent in 1994. In 1972, the GMWU set up a new section to recruit **white-collar** employees.

Between 1963 and 1979, the GMWU absorbed five small unions. In 1982, it combined with the Amalgamated Society of Boilermakers, Shipwrights, Blacksmiths, and Structural Workers (itself a production of amalgamation with other unions, the oldest of which was formed in 1834) to create the General Municipal, Boilermakers' and Allied Trade Union. In 1989, this union amalgamated with the Association of Professional Executive, Clerical, and Computer Staff (originally formed as the National Union of Clerks in 1890) to form a union known simply as the **GMB**.

**GENERAL CONFEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS (GCTU).** Founded in Moscow in 1992, the GCTU (in Russian VKP) is the formal successor to the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions and its successors, which was the official trade union centre during the Soviet era in **Russia** when **government control of organized labor** governed. During the period of Glasnost, the GCTU entered a phase of “self-criticism,” but this was halfhearted. The GCTU joined together trade unions from states that used to be part of the Soviet Union but are now independent, claimed a membership of 75 million in 2005, and now has 50 million members in 41 affiliated trade unions and aims at protecting trade union rights. The official language of the confederation is Russian.

**GENERAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS (GFTU).** The GFTU was formed in Manchester, England, in January 1899 by a number of relatively large unions, including the **Amalgamated Society of Engineers** with 85,000 members, the Gas and General Labourers’ Union (with 48,000 members), the National Amalgamated Union of Labour with 22,000 members, and the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives (with 22,000 members). A moderate body, the purpose of the GFTU was to provide mutual support and to resolve **labor disputes**. At its formation, its constituents had about 310,400 members or about a quarter that of the **Trades Union Congress (TUC)**, which regarded the GFTU as a competitor. Although the GFTU aspired to be a large organization, it found it difficult to move beyond representing **craft unions**, a feature that won it respect and support from **Samuel Gompers**. The number of members it represented rose from 884,000 in 1912 to over a million by 1920, but the withdrawal of the ASE in 1915 and other unions severely weakened the GFTU. The general secretary of the GFTU from 1907 to 1938 was William A. Appleton (1859–1940). As well as its useful role in labor dispute settlements and labor **politics**, the GFTU was **Britain’s** representative in the **International Federation of Trade Unions** until it was supplanted by the TUC between 1918 and 1922. In 2001, the GFTU had 34 affiliates, mainly smaller, skilled unions, and represented 252,000 members, compared with 277,900 in 1988. Affiliated **membership** was even lower in 2010, when numbers stopped at 215,000. Nowadays, GFTU provides support and services to the affiliated unions, which allows these unions to remain focused on their own tasks.

**GENERAL STRIKES.** General strikes, in the sense of a widespread **labor dispute** that affects a city, region, or country, feature prominently in the history of organized labor; there is no hard-and-fast definition because these labor disputes can assume a variety of forms. The followers of **anarchism** and **syndicalism** in the late 19th century and early 20th centuries saw the

general strike as a means of overthrowing capitalism and replacing it with a fairer system. They saw their view confirmed by the general strikes that took place in **Russia** during the 1905 revolution, but also by the general strikes in **Argentina** (1902) and the **Netherlands** (1903). The strike wave of the late 19th century was often an expression of working-class discontent, with many participants not being members of labor unions, as occurred in **Belgium** in 1893. A general strike could also be international in its effects; the Maritime Strike called by unions in eastern **Australia** in 1890 was also supported by unions in **New Zealand**. After 1900, general strikes were usually called by labor unions.

General strikes have also occurred in cities (for instance, Philadelphia in 1910; Brisbane, Australia, in 1912; Seattle in 1919; and Winnipeg, **Canada**, in 1919) and countries (such as **Sweden** in 1909 and Argentina in 1909 and 1919). The 1920s were a high point of the use of the general strike: **Portugal** (1919, 1920, and 1921), **France** (1920), **Norway** (1921), **Hong Kong** (1922), **Egypt** (1923), **South Africa** (1922), and the **United Kingdom** (1926). Usually these general strikes were suppressed (for example, in **Cuba** in 1935 or in **Kenya** in 1950) by military force or led to punitive legal actions by the government (for instance, in **South Korea** in 1946–1947). On occasions, the general strike has achieved some improvements (for instance, in Cuba after the general strike in 1933). Although general strikes have continued to occur in Western Europe since 1945—for instance, in France (1947, 1968) and **Denmark** (1973)—their incidence has declined. Yet they remain an option for labor in an intolerable political environment, as happened in **Bulgaria** in 1990 and **Bangladesh** in 1994. In the 1990s, general strikes, such as in **Greece** in 1998, have often centered on labor market reforms or **privatization**. Others, such as in **Venezuela** between December 2002 and January 2003, have had purely political objectives. Since 2008, the general strike has reemerged in Western Europe, particularly in Greece, Portugal, France, and **Spain**, to resist cuts in government expenditure caused by the financial crisis. In January 2019, the possibly biggest general strike in history took place in **India** when between 150 and 200 million people were on strike in an event organized by the united trade union movement. *See also* BRITISH GENERAL STRIKE; “WINTER OF DISCONTENT”.

**GEORGIA.** Part of the Russian Empire to November 1917, Georgia briefly enjoyed independence to 1921, when it was forced to join the Soviet Union. Always strongly nationalistic, Georgia’s people began in 1988 to demand independence. In June 1990, Georgia’s labor unions seceded from the Soviet trade unions and declared their political independence. Over the next three years, the Georgian labor unions fought against attempts by the communist government of Zviad Gamsakhurdia to take control of organized labor for his own ends. Finally, on 18 December 1992, Georgia’s labor unions formed the



Georgian Trade Union Confederation (GTUC), consisting of 26 of the country's 30 unions. The Georgian economy in the first half of the 1990s was weakened by the victory of the separatist movement in Abkhazia (which resulted in an influx of 200,000 refugees), high **inflation**, and the general disruption caused by the transition to a free-market economy. In 2001, Georgia was admitted to affiliation with the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions**. In 2007, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** reported that the new labor code had diminished trade unions' bargaining rights since July 2006. The code also made it very easy to dismiss workers, for which the World Bank praised the code.

In 2008, a military conflict with **Russia** resulted in the loss of many lives, including trade union members. Fear of losing jobs caused 20,000 union members to leave their union. In the 2010s, conditions were still bad for organized labor, and several restrictions on the right to **strike** are in force. In 2018, the ITUC affiliate GTUC was reported to have 152,000 members.

**GERMANY.** In terms of historical importance and influence in Europe, organized labor in Germany has been second only to the **United Kingdom**. This importance derived not just from the numerical size of Germany's labor unions during the first two decades of the 20th century, but also from the pivotal role German labor leaders played in promoting international labor unionism. Organized labor came relatively late to Germany. The first national German labor union, the National Printers' Association (Nationaler Buchdrucker-Verein), was not established until 1848. Despite the spread of industrialization after 1850, political repression retarded the growth of unions. In 1861, the legal ban on labor unions was lifted in Saxony, followed by Weimar (1863) and the North German Confederation (1869), but there was no legal right to form unions. In 1863, Ferdinand Lasalle (1825–1864) founded the German Workingmen's Association, which had as one of its aims the legalizing of labor unions. Yet by 1869 there were only 77,000 union members, of whom 30,000 were enrolled in liberal or "yellow" **Hirsch–Duncker Trade Associations**. Further progress of organized labor was retarded by Otto von Bismarck's Anti-Socialist Laws of 1878, which were not repealed until 1890.

In 1892, German labor unions held their first national congress, at which they agreed to encourage the formation of national and **industrial unions**. In 1894, the **Catholics** began organizing their own unions, a step that marked the beginning of the third division of pre-1933 German organized labor, along with the conservatives (the Hirsch–Duncker Trade Associations) and the **socialists** (the Free Trade Unions). By 1913, the Free Trade Unions had 2.5 million members, the Catholic unions 218,200, and the Hirsch–Duncker Trade Associations 106,600. At that time, Germany had the second highest total number of union members in the world after the United Kingdom.

**White-collar** unions were formed after 1900, and their **membership** grew from 567,700 in 1906 to 941,300 by 1913. **Collective bargaining** also emerged during the 1900s; by 1913, two million **employees** were covered by agreements negotiated by collective bargaining.

World War I boosted membership to 10.5 million in 1920, but the hyperinflation of the war and the economic disruption that followed it made this level unsustainable. Nonetheless, the labor unions were largely responsible for the defeat of the right-wing Kapp putsch in Berlin in 1920. In 1923, the government created an **arbitration** service to deal with **labor disputes** and even made the service compulsory if the parties could not agree. The legitimacy of organized labor was not accepted by many large **employers** in the late 1920s. Between October and December 1928, 220,000 engineering employees were locked out by their employers in the Ruhr, and although the dispute was settled by mediators, the employers were harshly critical of their efforts. The economic downturn turned into full depression by 1931, and its resultant very high unemployment (44 percent by 1932) destroyed the power of organized labor. This weakness was worsened by the continuing fights between socialists and **communists** and made the suppression of organized labor by Adolf Hitler a relatively easy matter. On 2 May 1933, Germany's unions were suppressed and many of their leaders were sent to the Dachau concentration camp. The former unions were coordinated into the German Labor Front (**Deutsche Arbeitsfront**).

In reviewing the relative political weakness of German organized labor before 1933, it is important to realize that for all the industrial growth after 1850, a large part of the German economy remained in **agriculture**; even in 1933, the proportion of the labor force employed in agriculture was 29 percent.

The revival of organized labor in western Germany began when the advancing Allied armies were petitioned for permission to form labor unions in March and April 1945. By August 1945, nearly one million union members had been officially recognized in unions in the British zone, where official policy was favorable to their growth as a means of promoting democracy. In this they were very successful, for Germany's labor unions went on to play a fundamental role in promoting and sustaining democracy in West Germany. The situation was completely different in the eastern part of Germany, somewhat confusingly named the German Democratic Republic (DDR, Deutsche Demokratische Republik). In the DDR, there was only one trade union, the Free Confederation of Trade Unions (FDGB, Freier Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund). The FDGB was formed in 1945 to overcome the prewar diffusion but soon became an undercover organization of the Communist Party. As a part of the specific role attributed to unions in the DDR, the FDGB even had 61 seats in the East German Parliament. Although claiming to organize

almost 98 percent of all workers, the union was not a free union and was not given the right of free collective bargaining. The FDGB was affiliated with the **World Federation of Trade Unions**.

Determined to avoid the mistakes of the past, West German unions were to be organized along industry lines, sectarian divisions were to be avoided, and unions were to have a say in the decision-making process of large enterprises, a policy that made it possible for Germany to put pressure on the **South African** government to permit black labor unions. Despite the impressive gains made by organized labor since 1950, only 33 percent of employees were union members by the late 1980s, which was below the levels of neighboring **Austria, Belgium, and Denmark**.

Although the formal reunification of Germany in October 1990 opened up new recruiting opportunities for organized labor, it also presented many problems because of the economic backwardness of the former East Germany, where the FDGB was dissolved. At first, there were impressive gains in membership, but these had been largely lost by 1999 as a result of the recession of the early 1990s, the lackluster performance of the German economy, persistently high unemployment, and the high cost of the economic integration of the former East Germany. In 2003, only 22.6 percent of German employees were union members, a percentage that diminished to 17 percent in 2016. Nevertheless, organized labor continues to carry much political weight in Germany.

There is, however, still room for improvement in conditions for German organized labor. For example, in 2007, the Swedish retailer Hennes and Mauritz was accused of bullying union activists. In 2014, employers established yellow unions in order to weaken independent unions. For example, the company Siemens invested a large sum into a syndicate in order to create competition to **IG Metall**. The chairman of this syndicate was later imprisoned because of corruption and fiscal fraud. More generally, civil servants are denied the right to **strike** in spite of the ongoing efforts of the **International Labour Organization** since 1959 to move the government to grant this right. *See also* BÖCKLER, HANS (1875–1951); BRENNER, OTTO (1907–1972); DEUTSCHER GEWERKSCHAFTSBUND (DGB); DEUTSCHER METALLARBEITER-VERBAND (DMV); LEGIEN, CARL (1861–1920); *MITBESTIMMUNG*; UNION-GOVERNMENT AGREEMENTS.

**GHANA.** Ghana, the former Gold Coast, has been independent of the **United Kingdom** since March 1957; organized labor began in the 1920s and gained legal regulation in 1941. The first known **strike** was by miners in 1919. A series of collective actions followed as well as the formation of unions. The colonial regime responded by outlawing strikes. In 1945, the Gold Coast Trades Union Congress was formed and was an affiliate of the

**International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** by 1953 with 74,000 members; later, it was renamed the Ghana Trades Union Congress (GTUC). As in other African colonies and territories, organized labor was aligned with movements for independence. By 1965, the GTUC had ceased to be a member of the ICFTU and did not rejoin until 1992; in 1993, it claimed 556,500 members (275,000 in 2018). Since 1965, under successive military dictatorships that governed the country until 1992, strikes were effectively illegal in Ghana, but despite the country's postindependence political and economic difficulties, the environment for organized labor has remained positive compared to other countries on the continent. However, legal restrictions on striking and forming labor unions continued, as complained about by the **International Trade Union Confederation** in its annual survey of **violations of trade union rights**. In 2016, trade **union density** (20.6 percent) was high in comparison to the **collective bargaining** coverage rate (14.7 percent), while regular violations of rights were observed. An example of the union hardships is the arrest of six people belonging to the Coalition of Unemployed Nurses, who joined hundreds of their colleagues to demand that they be employed. They were detained for peacefully **picketing** the Ministry of Health in 2019.

**GHENT SYSTEM.** A system whereby labor unions are partly responsible for the payment of **unemployment benefits**. The system started in the city of Ghent, **Belgium**, hence the name. It also exists in a number of Nordic countries like **Iceland**, **Finland**, **Denmark**, and **Sweden** and explains the high **union density** in those countries compared to countries where the system of payment to the unemployed is different. In the pre–World War II years, similar systems were in force in countries like the **Netherlands**. Payments are always supported by the national government, which wants to get an insight into the numbers of the workers and union members involved. Therefore, not all labor unions were enthusiastic about the system because they were afraid to lose independence.

**GHRAO.** Term (pl. *gheraos*) from **India** for a **labor dispute** in which **employees** harass **employers** and prevent them from leaving the workplace until the employees' claims are granted. The term is a Hindi word that means “to surround,” and that is literally what the workers do; they surround the employer and prevent him, sometimes violently, from moving, drinking, eating, and the like. It started in the late 1960s in West Bengal.

**GLOBAL UNION FEDERATION (GUF).** Before 23 January 2002, GUFs were known as **international trade secretariats (ITSs)**. In 2009, there were 11 GUFs that still existed in 2018, compared with 16 ITSs in 1995. They

were **Building and Wood Workers' International**; **Educational International**; International Arts and Entertainment Alliance; **International Federation of Chemical, Energy, Mine, and General Workers' Unions**; **International Federation of Journalists**; **International Metalworkers' Federation**; **International Textile, Garment, and Leather Workers' Federation**; **International Transport Workers' Federation**; **International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco, and Allied Workers' Associations**; **Public Services International**; and **Union Network International**. Unions belonging to a GUF can through their national confederation simultaneously be affiliated with the **International Trade Union Confederation** and the **World Federation of Trade Unions**. The GUFs maintain a common global unions website. *See also* GLOBALIZATION.

**GLOBALIZATION.** The term *globalization*, although already used in the late 1980s, came into general usage in the late 1990s to describe the process of acceleration in the interdependence of the international economy since about 1980, particularly with reference to trade, technological transfers, and information. Supporters of globalization hail its general economic benefits, such as increasing the volume of world trade, reducing poverty, and keeping prices down. Opponents of globalization complain about its potential threat to the sovereignty of nations, and international and regional organized labor has been long concerned about job losses from advanced industrial economies to developing countries.

In November and December 1999, organized labor took part in the protests about globalization at the World Trade Organization meeting in Seattle, but because it conducted its protest peacefully, it received little publicity in the mass media compared with the violence used by **anarchist** and other anti-capitalist groups. Led by the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)**, organized labor called for the inclusion of social justice issues in the debate about globalization and for the inclusion of **International Labour Organization (ILO)** standards in tariff agreements. Symbolic of the need by international organized labor to address globalization directly was the renaming of the **international trade secretariats** as **global union federations** in January 2002.

In March 2002, the ICFTU presented a submission to the first meeting of the ILO World Commission on Globalization in which it acknowledged that globalization had “created unprecedented wealth and resources” but at the price of “a still-widening gap in incomes both inside and between countries and enduring unacceptable levels of absolute poverty.” It cited an associated growth in **human rights** abuses with globalization, such as **forced labor**, **child labor**, and the exploitation of **women** workers in **export processing zones** throughout the Third World. The ICFTU was especially critical of the lack of social responsibility shown by the World Trade Organization, the

International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank in addressing the need for ILO international standard setting for labor as well as the need by multinational corporations to exercise due social responsibility and accountability.

The ICFTU and the GUFs continue to lobby the United Nations, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and regional economic groups on behalf of the rights of workers. On 28 May 2003, the ICFTU's general secretary, **Guy Ryder**, called for the religious international labor body, the **World Confederation of Labour**, to join with the ICFTU in building a unified global trade union movement capable of better meeting the challenges of globalization. This call resulted in the formation of the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** on 1 November 2006. The financial and economic crisis that shook the world since 2008 made observers from organized labor less enthusiastic about globalization. The ITUC addressed the leading industrial countries in the world who gathered at the G20 in 2016 to take action because working families were caught in job insecurity and a sense of hopelessness for a secure future for their sons and daughters. This situation was considered partly the result of the global trading system of supply chains that traps almost half the workforce in the **informal economy** with no rights, no **minimum wages**, and no social protection.

**GMB.** The main British general union, the GMB was formed in 1989, largely from the General, Municipal, Boilermakers and Allied Trade Union, whose initials were used to form the new union's name. Early history of the union goes back to 1889, when the Gas Workers and General Labourers Union was formed in East London, England. Almost anyone can become a member regardless of where they are employed. It is affiliated with the **Trades Union Congress** and the British **Labour Party**, to which GMB is also a major financial contributor. In 2009, the GMB had 601,000 members, compared with 683,900 in 2001 and 790,000 in 1994. In 2015, Unity, formerly known as the Ceramic and Allied Trades Union, merged into the GMB. **Membership** is now at 620,000 working people.

**GOMPERS, SAMUEL (1850–1924).** Gompers was the outstanding national labor leader in the **United States** from the late 1880s until his death. He was also an important figure in international labor. Born in London, he and his family arrived in New York in 1863, where he began work as a cigar maker and attended night classes to improve his **education**. He joined the Cigarmakers Local 15 in 1864 and made the union the basis of his career. Gompers was one of the principal founders of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and **Canada** in 1881 and of its successor, the **American Federation of Labor (AFL)**, in 1886; he became the first president of the AFL, a position he held, with the exception of 1894,

until his death. Although originally attracted to **socialist** ideas in the early 1870s, Gompers turned to unionism as the means to improve the position of labor. He was an admirer of English unionism and used it as a model for reorganizing the Cigarmakers' Union, particularly its emphasis on high **membership** fees and **unemployment**, sickness, and death **benefits**. He based the Federation of Organized Trades on the British **Trades Union Congress**. He and the socialists became enemies.

By the late 1870s, Gompers had developed the set of beliefs—later known as the doctrine of **voluntarism**—that he applied throughout his labor career. He believed that unionism, organized along occupational rather than industrial lines and using **strikes**, was the correct path to improving the position of **employees**. He distrusted the state as a means of achieving this end and opposed not only unions supporting political parties but also laws designed to set maximum hours and **minimum wages** and establish health and unemployment insurance. At the same time, he supported the restriction of **child labor**. Voluntarism, as espoused by Gompers, made the United States a notable exception to the views held by organized labor in other countries and led to friction with the **International Federation of Trade Unions**. With the collapse of the **Knights of Labor** from the late 1880s, Gompers and the AFL became the undisputed national center of American organized labor, but it was a narrow movement based on better-off employees that largely ignored the unskilled and immigrants. Gompers's ideas prevailed until the Depression and the rise of the **Congress of Industrial Organizations** in the 1930s. Gompers also played a significant role in setting up the **International Labour Organization**.

**GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF ORGANIZED LABOR.** Since 1920, governments that have been unwilling to tolerate an independent organized labor movement have generally suppressed them first and then set up their own labor organizations as agents of control. In communist countries, governments have suppressed independent organized labor on the grounds that, as **communism** represented the working class, an independent labor movement was not needed. By 1922, organized labor in **Russia** had been brought under the complete control of the Communist Party and strikes were forbidden. This approach was later followed by newly formed communist regimes in Eastern Europe and **China**. The ideology behind this is that the Communist Party as the “vanguard” of the working class once in power is the best way to secure the interests of the workers. In 1924, nonfascist labor unions were suppressed in **Italy**, an example followed by **Greece** (1931), **Brazil** (1931), **Germany** (1933), **Portugal** (1933), **Yugoslavia** (1935), and **Spain** (1940). In the 1960s, it was common for newly independent countries in Africa and Asia to bring organized labor under government control through the creation of single national labor organizations, even though orga-

nized labor typically played an active role in independence movements. Government control of unions was an issue during the revolts of 2010 and 2011 in Arab countries. *See also* DEUTSCHE ARBEITSFRONT (DAF); EGYPT; POLITICS; UNION-GOVERNMENT AGREEMENTS; VENEZUELA.

**GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT.** *See* PUBLIC SECTOR.

**GRAND NATIONAL CONSOLIDATED TRADES UNION (GNCTU).**

An early attempt to form a union confederation in the **United Kingdom** in 1834. After earlier but failed attempts in the 1820s to form national general unions during a period of industrial unrest, the Operative Builders' Union and Robert Owen initiated a conference to be held in London in February 1834. During this conference, the GNCTU was founded. The organization was only open to **members** of trade unions but not very keen on **organizing** and supporting **strikes**. The new union was more in favor of a cooperative attitude. The lost strikes of the period and the case of the **Tolpuddle Martyrs** caused the new organization to disappear within a year of its founding.

**GREAT BRITAIN.** *See* UNITED KINGDOM.

**GREECE.** The development of organized labor in Greece was hampered by the country's lack of economic growth and dependence on **agriculture**; in 1920, half the Greek labor force was employed in agriculture. The first union was formed by carpenters at the Syros shipyard in 1879, but it was not until 1918 that the Greek General Confederation of Labor (GSEE) was founded. Throughout the 1920s, conflict between **socialists** and **communists** weakened organized labor. Beginning in 1914, legislation was passed to regulate unions, and from 1931 to 1936 the state brought organized labor under its control, using the example of fascist **Italy**. This was obvious in 1946 when the government nominated the executive of the GSEE. Between 1967 and 1974, Greece was run by a military government, which seized control in a coup.

In 1968, sections of organized labor formed a group to work for the restoration of democracy. With the collapse of the military government, this group continued its activities but redirected its focus at improving democracy within organized labor, particularly with respect to the GSEE. Following organized labor's complaints to the **International Labour Organization** over government interference in the confederation, a new leadership took over and conducted a **strike** against proposed antistrike legislation in 1990, in which more than a million participated. Even so, the GSEE has been continuously represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade**



**Unions** and its successor the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** since 1951. In the 1990s, Greek unions have engaged in **labor disputes** over the **privatization** of government businesses and moves to reform the labor market. In 1998, there was a **general strike** by **public-sector** employees over labor market reforms, and general strikes have continued to be a feature of Greek **politics**. In 2005, there were about 640,000 union members in Greece, covering about 23 percent of employees. The ITUC has been concerned about **violations of trade union rights** in Greece and attacks on union activists. In its surveys of violations of trade union rights for 2009 and 2010, it drew attention to the attack with sulfuric acid on Constantina Kuneva, secretary of the All Attica Union of Cleaners and Domestic Workers, after enduring pressure, intimidation, and death threats. It considered the investigation into this barbaric act to have been slow and inefficient.

Greece has gone through a series of, as the ITUC called them, unacceptable attacks on workers' rights. These **pension** cuts and labor market deregulation measures were requested by the International Monetary Fund before the country could get loans and pay off its debts. The austerity and deregulation started in 2010 and have met serious protests from workers and labor unions, who consider the measures a means to have workers pay for the crisis that began in 2008. **Collective bargaining** coverage went down from 70 percent before the crisis to 10 percent in 2015.

**GREEN, WILLIAM (1872–1952).** Green succeeded **Samuel Gompers** as president of the **American Federation of Labor (AFL)** in 1924 and held the post until his death. Born in Coshocton, Ohio, into a **coal mining** family of English and Welsh immigrants, Green became a coal miner, like his father, at 16. He became active in coal mining unionism in 1891 and served as president of the Ohio District of the **United Mine Workers of America (UMWA)** in 1906. He served two terms in the Ohio Senate for the Democratic Party, where he achieved the passage of a workman's compensation law in 1911. In 1912, he was made the international secretary-treasurer of the UMWA, a post he held to 1922. From 1914, he served in executive positions in the AFL and attended the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 that led to the creation of the **International Labour Organization (ILO)**. Upon Gompers's death on 3 December 1924, Green became president of the AFL with the support of the president of the UMWA, **John L. Lewis**.

As AFL president, Green maintained the policy of backing **craft unions** as the preferred model for organized labor and ignored the need for recruiting union members among lesser skilled workers and **women**. As a result, the **employers' organizations** were able to continue their offensive against organized labor, assisted by a weakening economy in the late 1920s, culminating in the Depression, with little resistance. By 1930, only 9 percent of U.S. **employees** were union members, the same level as in 1913, and nearly half

of what it had been in 1920. In contrast, Green's career prospered from 1933 under the presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Green served on the National Labor Board in 1934 and on the governing board of the ILO from 1935 to 1937.

The creation of the **Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)** by John L. Lewis in 1935 led to Green's resignation from the UMWA in 1938, following the AFL's expulsion of the unions that supported the CIO. Although the two national labor federations supported the Allied effort during World War II, they remained rivals. After World War II, the AFL began to recognize **industrial unions**. Green died on 21 November 1952, 12 days after the death of his CIO counterpart, **Philip Murray**. The deaths of these rivals greatly assisted the merger of the AFL and the CIO in December 1955. *See also* MEANY, GEORGE (1894–1980).

**GREENFIELD SITE.** A new workplace where there are no established unions or system of **industrial relations**. Often such sites are objects of competition between unions to recruit members and to gain exclusive recognition from management, in contrast to a **brownfield site**. The greenfield site system is governed by **Australian** law, which stipulates that a union greenfield agreement is an agreement between unions and an **employer** in relation to a new project, business, or undertaking that someone is proposing to establish. The agreements are negotiated between the employer and a union on behalf of future **employees**.

**GRENADA.** Grenada has been independent from the **United Kingdom** since February 1974, and organized labor has followed a British pattern of development. The first union was the Grenada Union of Teachers, formed in 1913 and from 1921 known as the Grenada Workers Association (GWA). Over the years, it also involved workers in many other areas. When a bill was passed in 1931 that would mean price increases, it was met by a massive demonstration. The bill was repealed. From 1933, trade unions were legally permitted. The GWA split in two, resulting in the Grenada General Workers Union (GGWU) and the Grenada Workers' Union (GWU), both registered in 1933. By 1948, the GGWU had 517 and the GWU had 917 members. The two formed the Grenada Trades Union Council in 1955.

**Collective bargaining** was first regulated by the Labour Ordinance of 1940, which was extended to labor unions in 1951. Grenada has been represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** and its successor, the **International Trade Union Confederation**, since 1951 and had about 8,000 members by 2009 and 8,000 a decade later.

**GUATEMALA.** Organized labor in Guatemala began in the early 1900s. Efforts were made to form union federations in 1912 and 1928, but under the military dictatorship of General Jorge Ubico, all activities by organized labor were suppressed from 1931 to 1944. In 1946, the Second Congress of the Guatemalan Workers' Federation supported economic development in addition to supporting the immediate economic demands of workers. In 1947, there were 65 trade unions in Guatemala, but only 11 legally recognized. Yet by 1951 a legal framework had been created in Guatemala that enabled **collective bargaining** to occur. In 1957, Guatemala was admitted to membership in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** and has retained its representation since. Despite interference in its external affairs by the **United States**, widespread violence against labor unions, and 30 years of murderous civil war from the mid-1960s to the mid-1990s, organized labor declared a **membership** of 150,000 to the ICFTU by 1989. Guatemala has figured largely in the annual survey of **violations of trade union rights** for the murder of labor union leaders (2,000 unionists are said to have been murdered during the late 1980s), a legal system that discriminates against **employees** generally, and violence toward efforts to form labor unions in the country's **export processing zones**. In 2009, the right to **strike** remained difficult to exercise in practice because of threats, attacks, kidnapping, and raids. Some U.S. employers, such as Coca-Cola, have a long history of antiunion practices. In the first two decades of the 21st century, Guatemala has been labeled the deadliest place to be a trade unionist in the world. It is therefore not surprising that **union density** in 2016 was only 2.6 percent. The affiliation with the **International Trade Union Confederation** was divided over three national unions with a total membership of a little over 100,000 in 2018. *See also* INTERNATIONAL UNION OF FOOD, AGRICULTURAL, HOTEL, RESTAURANT, CATERING, TOBACCO, AND ALLIED WORKERS' ASSOCIATIONS (IUF).

**GUINEA.** Guinea became independent from **France** in October 1958, and organized labor there was largely confined to French **employees** until the 1950s. The later president of Guinea **Sékou Touré** was among the first Africans to found a trade union—first, in 1945, a postal workers union, and a year later the Union Territoriale des Syndicats de Guinée (Territorial Union of Guinean Trade Unions). There were only 2,600 union members in Guinea by 1953, but this had grown to 39,000 by 1955 after a successful **general strike**. After independence, organized labor came under the control of the government. Guinea was not represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** until 1997. In 2007, there was a general climate of government intimidation and violence toward organized labor in Guinea. In 2008, striking miners were dismissed and striking policemen beaten up by the army, leaving three dead. In 2009, the ban on trade union activities was

lifted, but this did not prevent troops from killing many demonstrators later that year. After this shooting, the union movement organized a successful two-day **strike**. Also in later years, trade union activists were victims of armed attacks. *See also* GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF ORGANIZED LABOR.

**GUINEA-BISSAU.** Guinea-Bissau has been independent from **Portugal** only since September 1973; organized labor had to operate in secret before then because of Portuguese rule. The General Union of Guinea-Bissau Workers existed by the 1960s and was an affiliate in exile of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** from 1965 to 1975. Guinea-Bissau was admitted to membership in the ICFTU in December 1997. Conditions for organized labor continued to be difficult. The national union center was subject to intimidation before a three-day **strike**. In 2009, it was still virtually impossible to exercise trade union rights, or more bluntly, the country has a history of violently suppressing trade union activity. There is also little proof of **collective bargaining**. Even so, Guinea-Bissau had 50,000 labor union members in the period 2010 to 2018.

**GUYANA.** Guyana has been independent from the **United Kingdom** since May 1966. The first registered **labor dispute** was a **strike** by dockers in 1905 for higher **wages**. The first labor union in Guyana was the Guiana Labour Union in 1919, followed by the Manpower Citizens' Association in 1936, which recruited Indian **employees** of the sugar plantations. In 1940, the unions formed the Guyana Trades Union Congress. In 1942, the colonial administration introduced three ordinances that provided a legal framework for **collective bargaining** and union registration. By 1953, there were 30 unions in Guyana and the country had two unions affiliated with the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)**, with a combined **membership** of 8,600. Thereafter, political and ethnic tensions polarized organized labor. Guyana did not rejoin the ICFTU until 1965, when the Guyana Trades Union Congress claimed to represent 45,000 members. In 2001, this number had fallen to only 15,000 members. One year later, the ICFTU reported that there was political and ethnic discrimination toward organized labor in Guyana and restrictive strike legislation remained in place. In the 2010s, Guyana was not represented in the **International Trade Union Confederation**.

# H

**HAITI.** A colony of **France** based heavily on slave labor, it saw a revolution by nearly half a million slaves at the end of the 18th century. This uprising, led by Toussaint Louverture, resulted in independence since 1804 although the country led by former slaves had to pay France an indemnity for more than a century. In 1903, the first recorded labor union was founded by shoemakers. From 1915 to 1934, Haiti was occupied by the **United States**, which brought memories back to the era of **slavery**. The country was ruled by the Duvalier family from 1957 to 1986. “Papa Doc” Duvalier eliminated the existing union movement when he came to power. Haiti became the poorest country in the Western hemisphere during this period. There have been political turmoil and military intervention since.

After 1986, unionists were still under attack and political killings are still endemic, although on a less massive scale. The 2009 survey of the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** mentioned that no steps had been taken to harmonize legislation with **International Labour Organization** standards, despite the promise by the new government to do so. The rights to organize and to **strike** were still severely limited, and **antiunion discrimination** is the rule in Haiti. But in general the situation has improved since the Duvalier era. The Confédération des Travailleurs Haïtiens (Confederation of Haitian Workers), founded in 1986, is the biggest labor union, affiliated with the ITUC.

**HILLMAN, SIDNEY (1887–1946).** An important U.S. labor leader, Hillman was born in **Lithuania**. He studied to be a rabbi until 1902, when he moved to **Russia**; there he studied economics. For his part in labor agitation, he spent eight months in jail. On his release, he immigrated to the **United States** in 1907, where he settled in Chicago. Hillman worked as a clerk for two years, then became a garment cutter and a member of the United Garment Workers’ Union of America (formed in 1891). Between September 1910 and January 1911, Hillman was the leader of a **strike** against Hart, Schaffner, and Marx in Chicago. The success of this strike fed discontent with the conservative leadership of the union, and in 1914 Hillman led a

breakaway group of members who formed the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA). Hillman became its first president. The second result of the 1910–1911 strike was the setting up of **arbitration** machinery that was extended to other parts of the clothing industry. Hillman was a dedicated supporter of **industrial unionism** and led the ACWA through an industry-wide **lockout** between December 1920 and June 1921 and the exclusion of racketeers during the 1920s. He served on the federal Labor Advisory Board (1933) and on the National Industrial Recovery Board (1935). In 1935, he became one of the leaders of the **Congress of Industrial Organizations**. A political moderate, Hillman supported the American Labor Party and the Democratic Party.

**HIRSCH–DUNCKER TRADE ASSOCIATIONS.** Hirsch–Duncker Trade Associations were a group of labor unions that operated in **Germany** from 1869 to 1933. They were begun by Max Hirsch (1832–1905), a mechanical engineer, and Franz Duncker, a newspaper publisher. Hirsch made a tour of England in 1868 and came back with the idea that German unions should imitate those of England as he perceived them—that is, independent from political parties, in favor of the amicable settlement of **labor disputes**, and avoiding the use of **strikes**. In 1869, he and Duncker organized a national federation of unions with 30,000 members among eight trade associations. Although the Hirsch–Duncker associations were exempt from the Anti-Socialist Law of 1878 because of their lack of political affiliation, their growth was slow. It was not until 1902 that their combined **membership** reached 102,600. Despite claims of political and religious neutrality, the associations were linked with left-wing liberalism, a political area to which other groups could make better claim. After reaching a peak membership of 226,000 in 1920, the associations' membership declined to 149,800 by 1931. They were dissolved by the Nazis in 1933 and were not reestablished after 1945.

**HOFFA, JAMES P. (1941–).** The only son of **James Riddle Hoffa**, James P. Hoffa was born in Detroit, Michigan, and completed his **education** at the University of Michigan as a lawyer in 1966. He joined the **Teamsters** in 1959 and worked as a laborer in Detroit and Alaska in the 1960s. Between 1968 and 1983, he was a Teamster attorney representing members in workers' compensation cases, **social security**, and personal legal matters; he also represented Teamster joint councils and local unions. He was administrative assistant to the president of Michigan joint council 43 between 1993 and 1998. In 1999, Hoffa was easily elected general president of the Teamsters on a platform of reform; he was reelected in 2001 and 2006. Under his leadership, the Teamsters conducted an independent, internal investigation of

the history and current status of the influence of organized crime in the Teamsters and released it to the public in March 2002. The Teamsters' **membership** grew for the first time in decades under Hoffa.

**HOFFA, JAMES RIDDLE (1913–c. 1975).** Jimmy Hoffa was one of the most controversial labor leaders in recent U.S. history. Born in Brazil, Indiana, Hoffa worked in various **service-sector** jobs including one at a grocery chain. Low **wages** and poor working conditions drove the workers to organize a trade union. Hoffa showed courage, which impressed his colleagues, because he refused to work under an abusive foreman. Local 299 of the Detroit **Teamsters** invited him to work for them. He advanced steadily in the Teamsters, was made a vice president in 1952, and was president from 1957 to 1971. In the course of his union career, Hoffa developed links with the Mafia. In 1964, he was convicted of jury tampering, fraud, and conspiracy over the disposition of union benefit funds and began a 13-year jail sentence in 1967, which was commuted by President Richard Nixon in 1971. As president, Hoffa's contribution to the Teamsters as a union was to enlarge its **membership** in the transportation and storage industry (under Hoffa, the Teamsters' membership grew from 1,417,400 to 1,789,100), to introduce the first nationwide contract in the industry (1964), and to expand the union's health and medical program. Hoffa disappeared in 1975 and was declared legally dead in 1982. He has been presumed to have been murdered by the Mafia. His career was the subject of the 1993 film *Hoffa*, starring Jack Nicholson and Danny DeVito. *See also* HOFFA, JAMES P. (1941–).

**HONDURAS.** The first labor union in Honduras was formed in 1917 among tradesmen, but organized labor could make little progress because of government opposition; under the dictatorship of General Tuburcio C. Andino, organized labor was suppressed from 1932 to 1949. Between 1950 and 1963, a more favorable political environment enabled the formation of unions. A successful **strike** by 10,000 banana plantation workers against the U.S.-owned United Fruit Company led to union recognition and the country's first **collective agreement** in 1954 and general government recognition of labor unions and the right to strike. From 1959, Honduras was represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)**. In 1963, the military took power and suppressed organized labor; they held power more or less continuously until 1982. By the 1990s, the main concern of the ICFTU with regard to Honduras had turned to harsh working conditions and physical abuse of **women** workers in the country's **export processing zones**, particularly by Korean-owned firms. Only an estimated 14 percent of **employees** are unionized. The right to strike and form unions remained tenuous in Honduras in 2008 when a number of companies did everything in their

power to destroy organized labor. Companies in the banana business harassed trade unions, and three members of a bank workers' union were arrested. A coup d'état in 2009 destroyed all remaining union rights, and the elected administration that followed did nothing to restore them. Ten years later, a situation of **union busting**, police repression, and violations of collective agreements still heavily opposed union activity in the country. The two Honduras affiliates of the **International Trade Union Confederation** in 2010 claimed a total **membership** of 305,000. In 2018, this affiliation had grown to three organizations and 563,000 members.

**HONG KONG (CHINA).** Hong Kong was a dependent territory of the **United Kingdom** until June 1997, after which Hong Kong became a special administrative region (SAR) of **China**. The first labor union in Hong Kong was formed in 1900, and its waterfront unions conducted a major **strike** in 1922. The first labor federation was formed in 1923. Although strikes and trade unions were illegal before the ordinance of 1948, the colonial administration appointed an official in 1938 to arbitrate in **labor disputes** and to regulate unions. The Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions (HKFTU) was formed in 1948, and the Hong Kong and Kowloon Trade Union Council (HKTUC) was established in the following year. Hong Kong has been represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** since 1951. Despite being a British colony, the legal status of labor unions in Hong Kong lagged behind that of other British colonies by the 1970s, a state of affairs that drew criticism from the ICFTU and the British **Trades Union Congress** in the 1970s.

The transfer to Chinese rule in 1997 caused the decline of the HKTUC, which was oriented toward **Taiwan**, and the emergence of the independent Confederation of Trade Unions of Hong Kong, which identifies with opposition politics. Since 1997, the ICFTU has been critical of the Hong Kong authorities' failure to create an institutional framework that provided for labor union rights and **collective bargaining**. There were many successful strikes in 2009. In 2010, the **International Trade Union Confederation** concluded that workers and unions continued to have little room for promoting their interests or defending their rights. Complaints about fired union activists, the lack of collective bargaining, and **human rights** in general persisted throughout the 2010s. In 2016, the United Nations Committee against Torture was concerned at the ongoing detentions of persons in the context of demonstrations. An important part of the population is worried about the power of China over legal rights in Hong Kong. This concern ignited massive demonstrations and strikes in 2019–2020.



**HUMAN RIGHTS.** Organized labor has always supported human rights issues, even if that support has been tinged with economic considerations. The exclusion of children from factory employment, for example, could be justified on the grounds of the protection of their welfare, but the employment of children also posed a threat to adult **wages**. Similarly, the attempts of the **American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations** to deny tariff preferences to certain countries such as **Indonesia** for abuses of trade union rights could also be interpreted as reducing competition from countries with low-wage economies. More clearly, the support for human rights by organized labor was evident in the case of the Apartheid system in **South Africa**, where **German** and **Swedish** unions were able to exert pressure on the boards of their companies operating in South Africa to adopt progressive codes of conduct that excluded racist practices.

In 1985, the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** began to publish annual surveys of **violations of trade union rights** in the world, which document the murder, torture, and imprisonment of union leaders and denial of official recognition of labor unions that are not controlled by the government. Its successor, the **International Trade Union Confederation**, has continued to conduct this survey. Those countries with the worst record of human rights violations also have the worst record of violation of trade union rights. The Middle East usually attracts significant attention in this regard, but of late attention has been given to Asia and Africa. *See also* CHILD LABOR; FORCED LABOR; INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION (ILO); SLAVERY.

**HUNGARY.** Organized labor within the modern borders of Hungary emerged during the 1860s and grew in parallel with the Social Democratic Party, which set up a council of labor unions in 1891; this was reorganized on a permanent basis in 1899. In 1898, there were 126 unions with a combined **membership** of 23,000. In 1907, the unions claimed a combined membership of 130,000, but the hostile political climate reduced this to 112,000 by 1912. Hungary was an affiliate of the **International Federation of Trade Unions** from 1905 to 1939. In 1919, Hungary's political framework was shattered by the attempted creation of a **communist** republic under the leadership of Béla Kun, which was replaced by a provisional government of labor and **socialists** and then by a right-wing counterrevolutionary government led by Admiral Miklós Horthy, who suppressed organized labor. His regime lasted until 1944. The imposition of communist rule meant that it was impossible for an independent labor movement to operate until 1986. In 1956, independent workers' councils managed to stage a **general strike** against the Soviet regime. The movement was suppressed, however.

In 1989, Hungary became independent from the **Soviet Union** and the state-led union center, Magyar Szakszervezetek Országos Tanácsa (SZOT) or Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions, was dissolved. The country became a market economy at high speed. By 1995, two national labor federations existed: the Magyar Szakszervezetek Országos Szövetsége Tagszervezeteinek Címlistája (MszOSz), or National Confederation of Hungarian Trade Unions, formed in 1990 from the former SZOT with 895,000 members, and the Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions (LIGA), formed in 1989 with 98,000 members. The LIGA, MszOSz, and the Autonomous Trade Union Federation were members of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** in 2001. Together, their membership was 766,000, or about 29 percent of all **employees**. A national survey by the MszOSz in 2001 found widespread violations of **freedom of association**, discrimination against organized labor, and breaches of labor law. Amendments to the labor code in September 2002 have improved the legal environment for organized labor in Hungary, but discrimination against unions continues. According to the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**, union organizing in multinationals is difficult and trade union rights in the **public sector** are limited. The three Hungarian affiliates of the ITUC claimed a combined membership of 630,000 in 2010, from which only 258,000 remained in 2018. In 2013, three trade union confederations, including MszOSz, formed a new confederation, but the division among too many unions remained. LIGA, which claims to have 112,000 members, is the largest outside the ITUC-affiliated unions. According to the ITUC, Hungary still knows restrictions on **strikes**, trade unions are subjected to legal and factual barriers, and union activists are sacked regularly.



**ICELAND.** In 1944, Iceland became fully independent from **Denmark**. In 1916, seven unions created the Icelandic Federation of Labor with 650 members. The first attempt at forming a labor federation had been made in 1907, but it collapsed in 1910. By 1923, union **membership** had reached 4,000. Between 1925 and 1927, three regional labor federations were created. Despite legal restrictions, many **labor disputes** have occurred in Iceland. State and local government **employees** organized their own labor federation in 1942. Union membership grew from 4,500 in 1927 to 30,000 in 1960 and 82,900 in 2001. By 2010, the Icelandic affiliates of the **International Trade Union Confederation** declared a total membership of 130,000 covering most employees. In 2018, **union density** was the highest of all OECD countries, 91 percent, and the **collective bargaining** rate stood at 80–90 percent. *See also* COUNCIL OF NORDIC TRADE UNIONS.

**ICONOGRAPHY.** Throughout its history, organized labor has made extensive use of public symbols to express and create unity and to win support. Painted silken banners depicting the activities and aspirations of union members seem to have been derived from coats of arms in Britain and began to be used from about 1807. About three-quarters of the union banners used by organized labor in Britain from 1837 until the 1970s were made by a firm founded by George Tutill (1817–1887); Tutill's banners were also exported throughout the British Empire. Banners were carried on May Day or **Labor Day** and to encourage solidarity during **labor disputes**. Common themes in the iconography of organized labor were the appeal to unity (e.g., in slogans like “the unity of labor is the hope of the world”) and secular millenarianism (the promise of a better future, often symbolized by a rising sun) and how it might be achieved through **socialism** or **communism**. Traditionally, the iconography of organized labor has depicted **blue-collar** employment.

Union labels have also been used to promote goods produced by union members; they were first used in the **United States** by the Cigar Makers' International Union in 1874. In 1884, the **Knights of Labor** and other unions used union labels as part of their **boycott** campaign. Organized labor has also

used badges and medals to promote **membership**; the **general strike** in Brisbane, **Australia**, in 1912 was prompted by management's objections to government streetcar **employees** wearing membership badges. Other outlets for the use of union iconography were the labor press from the 1880s and, from the 1930s, film. In 1954, the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** began to create a catalog of films made by organized labor and held screenings at their own film festivals held every two years. Since the late 1990s, the World Wide Web has been an important medium through which unions can spread their ideas and messages about actions undertaken. *See also* INDUSTRIAL ARCHAEOLOGY.

**IG METALL.** IG Metall was the largest labor union in **Germany** and the largest union in any democratic country in the world between 1950 and 2001. Since 1965, it has had over two million members, or a third of Germany's total trade union **membership**. Based on engineering **employees**, the sheer size of IG Metall, which drew many members from the car industry, has made it a major force in post-1945 German labor history. IG Metall was formed at a congress in Hamburg, 18–22 September 1950, with a membership of 1.3 million, but of course the real history goes back to the 19th century when the **Deutscher Metallarbeiter-Verband (DMV)** was founded in 1891. Hence the new name. The new union has since the 1950s been a trendsetter in **collective bargaining** with a focus on negotiating and using industrial conflict only as an, although sometimes necessary, exception to the rule. Its leader between 1954 and 1972 was **Otto Brenner**. IG Metall played a prominent part in **labor disputes** and in gaining pay increases and **shorter working hours** for its members. In 1977, the first debates were held within IG Metall for gaining a 35-hour workweek.

In 1984, IG Metall conducted a **strike** that lasted seven weeks and reduced the working hours of its members to 38.5 hours, and in February 1988 it signed an agreement that gave many of its members a workweek of 36.5 hours. Following the reunification of Germany in 1989, IG Metall actively recruited in the former East Germany to raise its membership to 3.6 million by 1992. On 21 April 1994, IG Metall negotiated an agreement with the **employers'** metal trades federation for a 35-hour week to begin on 1 May 1994. In 1994, IG Metall had three million members, but by 1997 membership had fallen to 2.6 million, of whom 18 percent were **women**. This decline was a reflection of the slow growth of the German economy and the cost of the integration of the former East Germany.

In the mid-1990s, IG Metall moved to the forefront of German labor unions in its adoption of policies aimed at combating discrimination on the grounds of **race and ethnicity**. In 1994, about 10 percent of the membership of IG Metall were non-German, of whom about half were from Turkey or of Turkish descent. By 2000, membership had increased slightly to 2.7 million,

but in 2010 it had fallen to 2.4 million and 2.2 million in 2019. In 2008, IG Metall launched a campaign using the threat of warning strikes to gain an 8 percent pay raise, but, faced with the global financial crisis, it accepted a 4.2 percent raise. Ten years later, when the crisis was over, more than 900,000 workers took action to support the union's demands for a **wage** raise and shortened working hours.

**IMMIGRATION.** Immigration from Western Europe has played an important role in spreading organized labor to other countries. In the **United Kingdom**, some sections of organized labor actively encouraged emigration as a way of reducing unemployment. Several English unions, notably the **Amalgamated Society of Engineers** and the **Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners**, were able to establish branches in North America, **South Africa**, and Australasia through immigration. As a major source of skilled employees, British immigrants were particularly important in the founding of labor unions in **Canada**, the **United States**, **Australia**, and **New Zealand** before 1900. Similarly, organized labor in Latin America was much influenced by Spanish and Italian immigrants. In the United States, immigrants were disproportionately represented in organized labor because they were the backbone of the industrialized labor force in the large cities.

Up to 1890, the industrialized labor force of the United States was dominated by British, Irish, and German immigrants, but thereafter immigrants from **Russia**, Eastern Europe, **Italy**, and Scandinavia assumed greater importance. By 1910, 20 percent of the labor force of the United States was foreign born. Not only that, 72 percent of immigrants were urban dwellers, compared with 36 percent for the native born. The **occupations** that loomed large in the history of organized labor were immigrant dominated; in 1910, 48 percent of coal miners were foreign born, as were 45 percent of woolen textile workers and 37 percent of cotton textile workers. The harsh lot of many immigrant **employees**—low pay, long hours, and poor and unsafe working conditions—generated justifiable discontent and created a large social divide in American society, whose established unions (because they tended to represent the better-off native born) proved ill equipped to heal. Nevertheless, union activity was one source of upward social mobility for the foreign born. Gary M. Fink estimated in 1984 that of the 80 top labor leaders in the United States in 1900, 40 percent were foreign born, and even by 1946 this proportion had only fallen to 20 percent. In Australia, immigration has been a feature of organized labor for over a century, and between 1976 and 1999 a steady 24 percent of union members were born overseas.

In Western Europe, immigration from Eastern Europe, Northern Africa and Turkey, the Caribbean, and Sub-Saharan Africa since the 1970s has fed the **black labor market** and heightened issues of **race and ethnicity**. Al-

though the leadership of European organized labor officially opposes racism, there are doubts about the degree to which the **rank and file** share their views.

On 1 July 2003, the United Nations Convention on Migrant Workers came into force. Among other things, it required countries that ratified the convention to guarantee migrant workers the right to labor union representation. The **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** has expressed concern that none of the countries receiving large numbers of migrants—that is, in North America, Western Europe, Australasia, and the Middle East—have ratified the convention. In Asia and the Middle East, immigrants generally have the worst conditions of employment, pay, and official protection. In 2018, the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration was formally endorsed by the General Assembly of the United Nations. The compact is not legally binding under international law but will serve as a guideline. The ITUC has been critical of the compact because it sets lower standards than existing international law requires. *See also* COAL MINING.

**INDIA.** A British colony until 1947, this “sovereign **socialist** secular democratic republic,” as its constitution states, has been governed by the Indian National Congress for most of the period since then to the late 1980s. Before 1918, there was very little organized labor in India. Those unions that had been formed were confined to skilled and better-off **employees**, but it was the second half of the 19th century that witnessed several **strikes** and protests by workers already. Probably the first workers’ organization in India was the Bombay Mill-Hands Association, founded in 1890. From then, more labor associations and trade unions were formed. The industrialization brought by World War I created a more favorable climate for the creation of unions. In 1918, B. P. Wadia created the Madras Union, which was based on textile employees. Stimulated by low **wages**, wartime **inflation**, and the rise of the independence movement, the next two years brought an increase in unions and union **membership**. In 1920, the All-India Trades Union Congress was formed, representing 64 unions with about 150,000 members. Between 1920 and 1924, more than a thousand strikes were recorded, the unrest leading to false accusations at trade union leaders trying to overthrow British rule. In 1926, an act was passed to regulate and monitor the trade union movement. A total membership of 100,619 was registered. In that era, India’s unions and labor federations became divided between moderates and **communists**. As in other colonies, industrial and political aims (that is, support for independence) became mixed. In 1947, the government sponsored a new noncommunist labor federation, the Indian National Trade Union Congress, thereby setting a precedent for the various labor federations to be associated with a particular political party.

Between 1950 and 1970, the number of union members rose from 2.3 million to 4.9 million. Although Indian unions operate in a relatively benign legal environment compared with many other Asian countries, their power to influence governments has been limited. For example, a **general strike** by millions of employees against the national government's economic reforms on 9 September 1993 had no effect on government policy. There were 11.8 million union members in 2001 in India, compared with 10.3 million in 1995. On 6 April 2002, unions led 10 million workers in protests over government plans to **privatize** state-run companies. In 2009, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** was again critical of government restrictions of the right to strike, particularly in the state of Tamil Nadu and in **export processing zones** generally. To remove a union, Unilever closed down a factory in 2008. In 2009, a protesting worker, Ajit Kumar Yadav, was killed during a demonstration of over 100,000 workers from 70 auto companies. In 2010, the three Indian affiliates of the ITUC had a total membership of 15.2 million, of whom 8 percent were self-employed **women**. This number grew vast until it was 46.8 million in 2018 in four affiliates. In recent years, the ITUC has written many reports on all kinds of behavior by the police and companies to obstruct union activities, even by death threats. In 2016, an estimated 150 to 180 million **public-sector** workers went on a 24-hour nationwide strike against plans for increasing privatization and other economic policies. The strike was also in favor of **social security**, universal health care, and a higher **minimum wage**. It was then called the largest strike in human history, but because the government has been accused of performing a strong antiunion agenda, 150 million workers went on strike again on 8 and 9 January 2019. This strike lasted two days, hence this event was probably really the biggest strike ever in human history. *See also* CHILD LABOR; LOKHANDE, NARAYAN MEGHAJI (1848–1897).

**INDONESIA.** Indonesia was ruled by the **Netherlands** as the Dutch East Indies from the 17th century to 1949. It had no organized labor until 1905, when Dutch and indigenous **railroad** employees formed a union. A labor federation, the Persatuan Pergerakan Kaum Buruh (United Workers' Movement), was founded in 1919, but it only lasted until 1921. **Communism** and nationalism were features of organized labor from the 1920s to the 1960s. By 1930, there were 32,000 union members in Indonesia, and in 1931 a revived labor federation of indigenous **employees** was admitted to the **International Federation of Trade Unions**.

In 1933, the Dutch government announced the lowering of military **wages**, for which the indigenous crew of the Zeven Provinciën (Seven Provinces) started a mutiny, assisted by a few European marines. Prime Minister Colijn ordered a bombing, leaving 23 personnel dead. Under Japanese occupation during World War II, all unions were suppressed. Since independence, labor

unions have been bound up with the government. Some sections of organized labor participated in the communist insurgency in the 1950s and early 1960s, but these were suppressed in an extensive crackdown that followed the attempted coup of 1965. The Suharto regime that took power following the coup stressed national unity and consensus. **Strikes** and free unions were therefore curbed. Since 1973, labor unions have been incorporated into the apparatus of government, although remaining nominally independent under the All-Indonesian Labor Federation. Although three Indonesian labor federations have been members of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** since 1969, in the early 1990s their **membership**, and those of a fourth body, was suspended because of their lack of independence from **government control**.

An independent union, Setia Kawan (Prosperity Labor Union), was formed in November 1990; it claimed 50,000 members in 1993 but has twice been denied registration as a legal body, and its leadership has been harassed by the military. In August 1993, the government banned the union's first congress. There is also another independent labor body, the Center for Indonesian Working-Class Struggle. Muchtar Pakpahan (1958–), a lawyer and the leader of the Prosperity Labor Union, was arrested on 13 August 1994 over riots in Medan, Sumatra, that occurred in April 1994 because of demands for raising the **minimum wage**, **freedom of association**, the investigation of the death of Rusli (a striker), and compensation for dismissed rubber factory workers.

On 7 November 1994, Pakpahan was sentenced to three years in jail, a decision that brought protests from labor leaders in **Australia** and the **United States**. On 16 January 1995, Pakpahan's sentence was increased to four years by the North Sumatra High Court. After the collapse of the Suharto government in May 1998, the government of Bacharuddin Jusuf Habibie released Pakpahan and other labor organizers. It also agreed to ratify **International Labour Organization (ILO)** Convention 87 on freedom of association and the right to **organize** labor unions. Although Convention 87 and the other seven core standards of the ILO were ratified by 2001, trade union rights in practice have proved difficult to exercise in Indonesia, with violence and intimidation of organized labor continuing to be commonplace. In 2001, four Indonesian unions were affiliated with the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** with a total **membership** of 432,600. In 2003, the right to strike and **collective bargaining** were curtailed by legislation, and police violence against union activists continued. In 2008, the government ignored the violations of law by **employers** and declared strikes illegal. In 2009, the government continued to undermine workers' rights, a situation not changed a decade later, when striking workers and trade union members will still often harassed by the police. Despite this hostile environment, the two Indo-



nesian affiliates of the ITUC claimed a combined membership of one million in 2010 and 1.3 million in 2018. *See also* SASTRADIREDA, SUPARNA (1915–1996).

**INDUSTRIAL ACTION.** Any form of action taken by a group of workers, often but not always represented by a union, or an **employer** during an **industrial dispute**. *See also* FACTORY OCCUPATION; LOCKOUT; SIT-DOWN STRIKE; STRIKE; WORK-TO-RULE.

**INDUSTRIAL ARCHAEOLOGY.** Industrial archaeology is a branch of archaeology devoted principally to the physical remains and technology of the Industrial Revolution. It started already after World War I but grew in the 1960s and is also associated with efforts to re-create the living conditions in industrial centers through open-air museums such as those of Beamish in northeast England, at Dudley in the English Midlands, the Hagen Westphalian Open-Air Museum in **Germany**, and the Ignacy Lukaszewicz Open Air Museum of the Oil Industry in **Poland**. In 1978, The International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage (commonly known as TICCIH) was founded to promote the study and preservation of industrial heritage. *See also* ICONOGRAPHY.

**INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY.** *Industrial democracy* is a term coined by the **anarchist** Proudhon in the 1850s to describe a situation in which the workers chose their own management. At the end of the 19th century, **Sidney and Beatrice Webb** used the term to describe **collective bargaining**. This dichotomy in the meaning of the term continued to play a role in the course of the 20th century. In general, it indicates some degree of control by **employees** in the decisions and processes that affect their working lives. The most extreme vision as used by Proudhon means that the employees should be the managers of their employment. This view has been particularly popular in the left wing of organized labor and expressed in the term *workers' control*. This view got inspiration from factory committees during the Russian Revolution of 1917 but also from seeming democratic control by the workers in **Yugoslavia** in the 1970s. In its milder forms, especially in the 1970s but going back in time to the 19th century when the first **employers** started experimenting with workers' representation, it has been used to justify greater consultation with employees as a means for raising labor productivity. *See also* MITBESTIMMUNG; SYNDICALISM.

**INDUSTRIAL DISPUTE.** A conflict between workers and **employers** concerning conditions of work or terms of employment. It may result in **industrial action**. *See also* LABOR DISPUTES.

**INDUSTRIAL PSYCHOLOGY.** Industrial psychology is primarily concerned with human relations at work. It is more widely known as industrial and organizational psychology (I/O psychology), but in the **United Kingdom** the more common term is *occupational psychology*. There have been a number of schools of thought within the field, reflecting the kinds of employment dominant in the economy. One of the earliest was “scientific management,” which was founded by an engineer, Frederick Winslow Taylor (1856–1915), who had been employed by the Midvale Steel Company in the 1880s. Taylor developed his ideas at a time when technological changes in the steel industry enabled managements to break the power of skilled **employees** and replace them with lesser skilled workers. Employees were assumed to be relatively unintelligent and motivated largely to earn more by agreeing to close supervision in the performance of monotonous work of low skill content. Scientific management was suitable for industries engaged in high-volume production in which the tasks could be broken down into a series of repetitive steps such as assembly lines.

The “human relations” school was founded by an Australian-born psychologist, (George) Elton Mayo (1880–1949), who conducted a series of experiments for the management of the Western Electric Company in Chicago between 1924 and 1927. One of Mayo’s findings was the important role played by informal groups in the performance of factory work and their significance for work habits and attitudes.

In 1943, A. H. Maslow published a psychological theory of motivation, which proposed that employees’ satisfaction depended on a hierarchy of needs: physiological needs, safety, love or social needs, self-esteem, and self-fulfillment. In the 1950s and 1960s, F. Herzberg built on Maslow’s work to stress the need for the work itself to have or produce a sense of achievement, advancement, and responsibility as factors that motivated employees to perform more productively. In the 1970s, **industrial democracy** (a term with a variety of meanings) was given more attention in the management literature as a means of promoting higher productivity and lower absenteeism. In practical terms, it has encouraged greater consultation by management of its employees. As a general rule, the results of the research carried out by industrial psychologists have been of far greater interest and use to management than they have to organized labor. This is because the research has often been commissioned by **employers** and because the research itself often ignored unions and why they might be supported by employees. *See also* EMPLOYERS’ ORGANIZATIONS.

**INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.** A general term for the interaction between management and its **employees**; it implies that both sides are **organized**. Industrial relations can also include governments and their representatives.

As a term, *industrial relations* dates from the 1920s. Since 1945, the term *labor–management relations*—or just *labor relations*—has also come into use.

**INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY.** Industrial sociology is a branch of sociology concerned with work, its organization, and its effects. Although there were earlier investigations, industrial sociology had its origins in the work of British pioneers such as Henry Mayhew in the 1850s and 1860s and Charles Booth in the 1890s. These investigators collected data on employment, living conditions, income, and costs among the working class in London. In the **United States**, important studies were carried out of particular groups such as **coal miners** (for example, by Peter Roberts in 1904) and clothing employees. In the 1930s, studies by industrial sociologists in many countries documented the debilitating effects of long-term unemployment; for example, E. W. Bakke published *Citizens without Work* in 1940. Others published their findings as official government reports. Common themes in industrial sociology in the period from 1945 to 1980 were how the working class was responding to greater affluence, the monotony of mass production, and family relationships.

Labor unions as such were not studied much before the pioneering works of **Beatrice and Sidney Webb** in the 1890s. In 1952, an American investigator, Joseph Goldstein, published *The Government of British Trade Unions*, which examined the workings of the **Transport and General Workers' Union** and estimated that branch attendance at union meetings never exceeded 15 percent of the **membership**. Subsequent studies have confirmed Goldstein's findings of low membership participation in the affairs of most large unions. In 1974, Harry Braverman wrote *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century*, in which he developed a critical analysis of scientific management. His general thesis is the deskilling of labor by which management gains complete control of the labor process. Another important idea of the book by Braverman is the notion that often technical developments are a response to workers' actions.

Since 1980, industrial sociologists have often been concerned with the social effect of economic change; the effects of steel plant closures on communities, for instance, have been studied in many countries. *See also* INDUSTRIAL PSYCHOLOGY; LABOR HISTORY.

**INDUSTRIAL UNIONS.** In theory, industrial unions are labor unions that only recruit their members from a particular industry regardless of whether the employees in the industry have completed an **apprenticeship**, in contrast to **craft unions**. The issue of how organized labor should be organized—whether by particular trade or by industry—was often raised in the late 19th

century, but assumed greater importance in the early 20th century with the growth of unions. In 1905, the **Industrial Workers of the World** agreed that it should consist of five main industry groups: mining, **manufacturing**, building, transportation, and public service distribution. Concerned about their autonomy, craft and other smaller labor unions resisted the advocates of industrial unions. In turn, the advocates of industrial unions, particularly drawing on **syndicalism**, regarded craft unions as organizations that maintained divisions among the working class and rendered organized labor vulnerable to attack. The debate assumed urgency in **Germany** after World War II when leaders like **Hans Böckler** succeeded in reestablishing organized labor along the lines of industrial unions. This was possible because of the smashing of the previous mix of craft and industrial unions in Germany by the Nazis, but elsewhere the goal of purely industrial unions has proved elusive for organized labor in democratic societies. The main difficulty with industrial unions has been defining an “industry” for practical purposes. In 2010, organized labor is still characterized, despite numerous **amalgamations** over the past 50 years, by a mixture of types of unions, some organized around an industry (e.g., **education**), a particular occupation (e.g., the U.S. Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen), or a conglomerate of occupations (e.g., **Amicus**). In debates over decreasing **union density**, a return to industrial unionism is often mentioned; this could be started by accentuating **employees’** pride over their profession or industry.

**INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (IWW).** The IWW, popularly known as the “Wobblies,” was the American expression of **syndicalism**, which was influential in international organized labor from the early 1900s until about 1920. Although the works of European theorists such as Karl Marx and Georges-Eugène Sorel were known, the IWW owed its origins to the violent labor environment of the mining industry in the western **United States**. The prime mover in the formation of the IWW was the radical Western Federation of Miners, a body that originated in the Butte Miners’ Union, established in 1878. After defeats in disputes in 1903 and 1904, particularly at Cripple Creek, Colorado, the Western Federation of Miners called a convention in 1904 in Chicago to form a single organization for the working class, which led to the creation of the IWW in 1905. The convention adopted a radical platform that declared that the **employers** and workers had nothing in common and agreed to build an organization that admitted all **employees** regardless of sex, **race**, or nationality, an idea dormant in American organized labor since the demise of the **Knights of Labor** in the late 1880s. It also agreed that the IWW should be made up of five main industry groups: mining, **manufacturing**, building, transportation, and public service distribution, an idea that later became very influential in international organized labor.

By 1906, the IWW claimed 14,000 members but was able to mobilize far greater support among poorly paid and exploited workers. It campaigned for free speech in the late 1900s, which provoked vigilante violence, and conducted America's first **sit-down strike** at the General Electric plant at Schenectady, New York, in 1906. The IWW proved adept at mobilizing working-class discontent, for example, among the largely **immigrant** textile employees at Lawrence, Massachusetts, in 1912, but not at creating lasting organizations. With the entry of the United States into World War I in 1917, the IWW came under direct attack from the federal government, which raided IWW offices and arrested the bulk of the leadership. Of the 105 leaders arrested, 91 were convicted, including William Haywood (1869–1928). At its height, between 1919 and 1924, the **membership** of the IWW ranged between 58,000 and 100,000.

Although the IWW continued to live on after 1924, it was no longer a significant force. In its heyday, it led the mobilizing of unskilled workers in **agriculture** and lumber and, more important, drew public attention to their deplorable working conditions. The IWW also provided members for the American Communist Party. Although primarily an American organization, the IWW was an important force in **Canada** and was a focus for left-wing activity in **Argentina, Australia, Mexico, New Zealand, and South Africa**; its most lasting legacy was its advocacy of the **One Big Union**. The IWW continues as an international organization and mainly maintains a website. *See also* INDUSTRIAL UNIONS.

**INDUSTRIALL GLOBAL UNION (INDUSTRIALL).** In 2012, a few global union federations merged to form this new international union. In 2019, it represented 50 million workers from 140 countries in the mining, energy, and **manufacturing** sectors and is a force in global solidarity, taking up the fight for better working conditions and trade union rights around the world. IndustriALL fights for another model of **globalization** and a new economic and social model that puts people first, based on democracy and social justice. A good example is the renewal of the global framework agreement, which dates back to 2007, in November 2019 when IndustriALL and Inditex, one of the world's largest clothing retailers, agreed to set up a global union committee, with the aim of sharing best practices across the industry. IndustriALL brought together the former **International Metalworkers' Federation (IMF)**; **International Federation of Chemical, Energy, Mine and General Workers' Unions (ICEM)**; and **International Textile, Garment, and Leather Workers' Federation (ITGLWF)**.

**INDUSTRIEGEWERKSCHAFT METALL.** *See* IG METALL.

**INDUSTRY.** A general description of the type of goods or services produced or provided by the various sectors of the economy. Industries can be classified in a number of ways. One approach is to divide the economy into three parts: primary (**agriculture** and mining), secondary (**manufacturing**), and tertiary (other industries, also called service industries). For statistical purposes, most countries use a variant of the United Nations' International Standard Industrial Classification of All Economic Activities (ISIC). ISIC has been in existence since 1958 and was revised for the last time in 2008. Originally, unions recruited their members by **occupations** or trades rather than industries, which is still visible in the term *trade union*.

**INFLATION/DEFLATION.** These terms refer to movements in the level of prices of goods and services in an economy, especially the prices of the cost of living. *Inflation* refers to rising prices, and *deflation* refers to falling prices. If **nominal wages** do not match the changes of prices in an inflationary period and **real wages** are falling, organized labor is more likely to engage in disputes for higher **wages**.

**INFORMAL ECONOMY.** This refers to the part of the economy that is outside taxation and government regulation. People active in this shadow economy are often regarded as unemployed or underemployed because they remain outside official statistics. In developing countries, the informal economy can sometimes be bigger than the formal economy grasped by gross domestic product figures. According to the **International Labour Organization (ILO)**, more than six workers among 10 in the world operate in the informal economy. Because informal jobs are characterized by a high incidence of poverty and severe work deficits, the ILO has recommended formalization since 2015.

**INTERNAL LABOR MARKET.** The labor market that operates in a large enterprise such as the **railroads**. In the past, it has often been characterized by clearly defined points of entry, vertical organization, bureaucratic rules, and promotion of **employees** within the organization. Most jobs in an internal labor market are filled by promotion or transfer from other divisions in the company. This system is beneficial to both **employers** and workers. The former do not need a search system outside the company; the latter often work without having to fear the concurrence of outsiders. Labor unions promoted the existence of an internal labor market to reward senior employees.

**INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LABOUR HISTORY INSTITUTIONS (IALHI).** The IALHI was formed in Stockholm in 1970, mainly by the Swedish Archives of Labor, the **Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund**, the German Friedrich Ebert Foundation, the Dutch International Institute of Social History, the British **Labour Party**, the Swiss Archives of Society, and the **Trades Union Congress**. It brings together archives, libraries, document centers, museums, and research institutions specializing in the history and theory of the labor movement from all over the world. It fosters lending of materials wherever possible among members, encourages the interchange of publications and duplicates and sponsors publications such as bibliographies, lists of holdings, and surveys. IALH also hosts a web portal ([socialhistory-portal.org](http://socialhistory-portal.org)) that gives access to digital collections of 13 of its members. *See also* LABOR HISTORY.

**INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS, CHAUFFEURS, WAREHOUSEMEN, AND HELPERS OF AMERICA.** *See* TEAMSTERS.

**INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR TRADE UNION RIGHTS (ICTUR).** ICTUR was established in London in 1987 as an organizing and campaigning body with the fundamental purpose of defending and improving the rights of trade unions and trade unionists that are threatened throughout the world. In 1993, ICTUR was recognized as an important international organization and granted accredited status with both the United Nations and the **International Labour Organization**. The ICTUR is an independent forum for discussion and debate. It operates on a very small budget and relies heavily on the goodwill of its networks of contributors and supporters worldwide. Since 1993, it has published *International Union Rights*, and in 2016 ICTUR took over the publication of *Trade Unions of the World* from John Harper.

**INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF ARAB TRADE UNIONS (ICATU).** The ICATU was formed in Damascus, **Syria**, in March 1956, by national labor bodies in **Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya**, and Syria. The aims of the ICATU included the improvement of living standards of Arab **employees** but also support for national struggles for independence against colonial rule. The ICATU promoted training and study courses for union officials from 1969. Two forces weakened the potential effectiveness of the ICATU: the repression of organized labor by Arab governments and the left-wing character of the ICATU. The ICATU split in 1978, and its headquarters were transferred from Egypt to Syria in protest against President Sadat's visit to **Israel**. In 1992, the ICATU had 16 member nations and had close links to

the **World Federation of Trade Unions**. During the 2004 congress, it was clear that differences exist between democratic forces and party-dominated unions. In 2010, the General Secretariat expressed its solidarity with the Egyptian people in seeking the overthrow of the Mubarak regime. In 2014, after many Arab trade unions broke free from their regimes, they founded a new organization, the **Arab Trade Union Confederation**.

**INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS (ICFTU)**. The ICFTU was the largest international body representing organized labor in noncommunist countries between its formation in December 1949 and 2006. After the replacement of the **International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU)** by the **World Federation of Trade Unions** in 1945, there was growing concern over infiltration of the new body by **communist** organizations controlled by the **Soviet Union**. This concern was strongest in the **United States**, the **United Kingdom**, and the **Netherlands**, which set up the ICFTU in 1949. At its foundation, the ICFTU had members in 51 countries, which represented 48 million union members, of whom 43 percent were in Western Europe and 31 percent in North America. Despite its strong support for independent labor unions from its formation, many of the ICFTU's members in Latin America, Africa, and Asia were guilty of violations of this principle. In 1985, the ICFTU began to publish annual surveys of **violations of trade union rights** in the world. The ICFTU checked applicant organizations carefully to ensure that they were independent and not mouthpieces of their governments.

By the 1960s, the ICFTU had broadened its perspective to include progressive social goals. In 1969, the politically conservative **American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)** withdrew from the ICFTU and did not rejoin until 1981. The absence of the AFL-CIO reduced the budget of the ICFTU by one-quarter.

The ICFTU had four regional organizations: the **European Trade Union Confederation**; the **Organización Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores** (Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers), formed in 1951; the **Asian and Pacific Regional Organisation**, formed in 1984 from the Asia Regional Organization, formed in 1951; and the **African Regional Organisation**, formed in 1960.

After 1989, some labor federations from former East European communist countries were admitted to membership of the ICFTU. By 1995, organized labor in Eastern Europe accounted for only 9 percent of the 125 million members in the ICFTU. However, in November 2000, the ICFTU took the historic decision to admit the **Russian** labor federations as affiliates, a move that boosted the union **membership** represented by the ICFTU by 30 million and the proportion of its members living in Eastern Europe to 24 percent. As well as country members, **global union federations** have been associated



with the ICFTU, although retaining their autonomy. In 2001, the ICFTU had a membership of 156 million or about 93 percent of all global labor union members. On 1 November 2006, the ICFTU merged with the **World Confederation of Labour**. The two formed the **International Trade Union Confederation**.

**INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF LABOUR AND SOCIAL HISTORY (ITH)**. ITH is an international network of associations, research institutes, and historians of labor and social movements. It has more than 100 members from five continents. It was founded in 1964 in Vienna, **Austria**, as Internationale Tagung der Historiker der Arbeiterbewegung, or the International Conference of Labour Historians. It originally served as a platform of dialogue between the Western and Eastern scientific communities of labor historians.

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, ITH redefined its mission as a forum of international scholarly exchange in the field of labor and social history. The conference has reoriented toward a global and inclusive approach to **labor history**. In this approach, the view on “labor” has been broadened, including nonformalized labor relations, domestic and care work, as well as coerced forms of labor. ITH emphasizes a global approach to labor and social history and focuses on transnational topics. ITH sets a high value on communicating scholarly research to an interested public outside the scientific community. Its main activity is the organization of the annual Linz Conferences and the publication of conference papers.

**INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF BUILDING AND WOOD WORKERS (IFBWW)**. The IFBWW **global union federation** was formed on 1 April 1934 through the merger of the Woodworkers’ International (formed in 1904) and the Building Workers’ International (formed in 1903). Later in 1934, two other **international trade secretariats**, the Painters’ International (formed in 1911) and the Stoneworkers’ International (formed in 1904), joined the IFBWW, which has been based in Geneva since 1970. The affiliated **membership** of the IFBWW was 2.2 million in 1975 and 3.5 million in 1992. In 2005, the IFBWW claimed 10 million members and 287 affiliated labor unions in 124 countries. At its congress in Buenos Aires on 9 December 2005, the IFBWW and the World Federation of Building and Wood Workers created a new joint global union federation, the **Building and Wood Workers’ International**.

**INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF CHEMICAL, ENERGY, MINE, AND GENERAL WORKERS' UNIONS (ICEM).** The ICEM **global union federation** was created in 1964 from the merger of the International Federation of General Factory Workers (formed in 1907) and the International Federation of Industrial Organizations and General Workers' Unions (formed in 1947). The ICEM faced competition from the International Federation of Petroleum and Chemical Workers (formed in 1954) until that organization's denouncement by Victor George Reuther as a "front" for the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, an action that led to the folding of the federation in 1976. Between 1976 and 1992, the affiliated **membership** of the IFCEGW rose from 4 to 6.3 million members. In 1995, it merged with the **Miners' International Federation**. In 2009, the ICEM claimed a membership of over 20 million and 467 affiliated labor unions in 132 countries. The ICEM sought to obtain global agreements with multinational corporations on workers' rights, pay, and working conditions. Its activities include representing workers' interests within the United Nations, its agencies, and other intergovernmental bodies. In 2012, the ICEM joined the new global federation **IndustriALL Global Union**.

**INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF CHRISTIAN TRADE UNIONS.** *See* WORLD CONFEDERATION OF LABOUR (WCL).

**INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF FREE TEACHERS' UNIONS (IFFTU).** The IFFTU **international trade secretariat** was originally formed as an entirely European body in 1928 but was reorganized as a global labor body in 1951 in Paris. Its **membership** increased from 2.3 million in 1976 to 19 million in 1993. It was based in Brussels. In 1993, it was reorganized as **Education International** following its merger with the **World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession**.

**INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF JOURNALISTS (IFJ).** The first effort to form an international labor organization among journalists dates from 1926. This effort was originated by the trade union of journalists in **France**. The IFJ was formed in 1952 by noncommunists who split from the **communist**-dominated International Organization of Journalists. Up to the late 1980s, the IFJ was neither an **international trade secretariat** nor a formal associate of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions**, but it was both by 1993. **Membership** in the IFJ was 81,900 in 1976 and 350,000 in 1994. It is based in Brussels. In 2010, the IFJ claimed a membership of 600,000 in more than 100 countries, and in 2018 membership was the same but the number of countries had grown to 140. The IFJ has a particular concern with **human rights** and the freedom of the press. Report-

ing world events is a dangerous occupation; in 2009, the IFJ documented the deaths of 139 journalists among its affiliates, a number that was lower at the end of 2019, 37. On 12 June 2019, the IFJ adopted the Global Charter of Ethics for Journalists, which completes the Declaration of Principles on the Conduct of Journalists from 1954, known as the Bordeaux Declaration. The Global Charter will form the core of ethical standards for journalists worldwide, aimed at honest fact-finding. *See also* WHITE-COLLAR UNIONISM.

**INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF PLANTATION, AGRICULTURAL, AND ALLIED WORKERS (IFPAW).** The IFPAW **international trade secretariat** was created in 1960 by the merger of the International Landworkers' Federation, which was formed by some European agricultural labor unions in 1921, and the Plantation Workers' International, which was organized by the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** in 1957 to represent Third World plantation **employees**; the International Federation of Tobacco Workers joined this body in 1958. Between 1976 and 1992, the affiliated **membership** of the IFPAW was stationary at three million. In 1988, the IFPAW signed an agreement with the French food multinational Danone on **collective bargaining**, one of the first of its kind. In 1994, the IFPAW merged with the **International Union of Food and Allied Workers' Associations**. *See also* AGRICULTURE.

**INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS (IFTU).** The IFTU was the first continuous general international organization of labor unions. Officially called the International Secretariat of the National Trade Unions Federations until 1919, the IFTU was formed in Copenhagen on 21 August 1901 by labor representatives from **Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Norway, Sweden, and the United Kingdom**. The original impetus for the formation of the IFTU came from J. Jensen, the leader of the Danish labor unions, who had attended a conference held by the **General Federation of Trade Unions** in London in 1900. Its largest affiliates between 1901 and 1913 were the United Kingdom and Germany. The **American Federation of Labor (AFL)** joined the IFTU in 1911 but left officially in 1919; it did not reaffiliate until 1937. Before 1913, the IFTU devoted itself to collecting money to help unions and strikers engaged in **labor disputes**, and to exchanging information. World War I split the IFTU along national lines, and it was not reestablished until 1919. Up to 1919, the IFTU was led by **Carl Legien**.

After 1919, the IFTU participated in European **politics**, a policy that led to the withdrawal of the AFL. The IFTU invited the **Russian** trade unions to its conferences, but these moves were met with hostility from the communist government, which regarded the IFTU as a competitor for the leadership of

organized labor. The Russians established Profintern, the labor arm of the Comintern, as a rival to the IFTU. The IFTU continued to aid labor unions in affiliated countries and carried out fact-finding missions of workers' conditions in **Austria** and Belgium (1920) and the Saar and Upper Silesia (1921). Throughout its life, the IFTU was essentially a moderate, European-based organization and the voice of organized labor in the **International Labour Organization**. In 1927, the IFTU established an International Committee of Trade Union Women, which lasted until 1937; it considered issues such as **equal pay for equal work**, domestic service, working from home, and the **women's peace campaign**.

In the 1930s, the IFTU tried to widen its **membership**; **India** joined in 1934, **Mexico** in 1936, **New Zealand** in 1938, and **China** in 1939. The **Australian Council of Trade Unions** was invited to join in 1936 but did not accept. At its conferences in 1931 and 1932, the IFTU adopted the 40-hour workweek and a comprehensive social program as objectives. Despite its best efforts, the IFTU was weakened by the suppression of organized labor by fascism and undermined by **communism** and lack of support from the AFL for most of its life. The IFTU gave way to the **World Federation of Trade Unions** and ceased to exist on 31 December 1945. *See also* INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS (ICFTU); SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC, SOCIALIST, AND LABOR PARTIES.

**INTERNATIONAL GRAPHICAL FEDERATION (IGF)**. The IGF was founded in Stockholm in 1949 through the **amalgamation** of three international **printing** and graphical trades bodies—the International Typographical Secretariat (formed in 1889), the International Federation of Lithographers (formed in 1896), and the International Federation of Bookbinders and Kindred Trades (formed in 1907)—and eight British graphical trades labor unions. Based in Brussels, the IGF is mainly a European body. Its affiliated **membership** increased from 806,300 in 1976 to 1.2 million in 1994. In January 2000, the IGF merged with **Communication International; Media Entertainment International**; and the **Fédération Internationale des Employés, Techniciens et Cadres (FIET)**, or the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical, Professional, and Technical Employees, to form the **Union Network International**.

**INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS ASSOCIATION (IIRA)**. The IIRA was formed in 1966 to encourage the study of **industrial relations** on a purely academic level. The general purpose of the association is to promote the study of industrial relations throughout the world in the relevant academic disciplines. The association has 47 institutional members and over 1,000 individual members worldwide, including prominent industri-

al relations scholars and practitioners. Subjects such as **globalization**, changes in information technology, gender, HIV/AIDS at the workplace, **occupational health and safety**, labor law, human resource management, labor standards, and **social dialogue** are largely discussed during its congresses. The IIRA is located in the office of the **International Labour Organization (ILO)** in Geneva, Switzerland.

**INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION (ILO).** Created in 1919 as part of the peace process to end World War I, the ILO is a permanent world organization composed of representatives of governments, **employers' organizations**, and organized labor. The ILO's function is the protection and improvement of working people through the setting of legal minimum standards and technical assistance. The first steps toward the creation of such a body were taken in **Switzerland** in the late 1880s. The Belgian government supported the Swiss initiatives, and the International Congress of Civil Reforms in Brussels in 1897 called for the setting up of an international body to protect labor. The Swiss-based International Association for Labor Legislation was formed in 1900 and held a number of international conferences, which stimulated government interest in forming a permanent body to protect employment conditions. An important precedent for the creation of the ILO occurred in 1904 when **France** and **Italy** signed a treaty regulating the employment conditions of their nationals working in each other's country.

World War I disrupted these efforts, but the need for the active support of labor to fight the war gave organized labor an enhanced standing with the British, French, and German governments. In 1916, a congress held by organized labor in the **United Kingdom** was attended by representatives from France, Italy, and **Belgium**; it prepared specific proposals to be incorporated into the treaty expected to end the war and suggested an international commission to implement them. In Germany, **Carl Legien**, concerned that the **International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU)** might be broken up, convened a counterconference at Berne in 1917. Organized labor in France and **Germany** strongly supported the idea of an international body to safeguard the interests of labor. During the preparations for the Versailles Treaty, a Labor Commission was formed of 15 members drawn from the **United States**, France, the United Kingdom, Italy, **Japan**, Belgium, **Cuba**, **Czechoslovakia**, and **Poland**; the commission was chaired by **Samuel Gompers**.

Overcoming many political and ideological differences, the commission succeeded in having these principles incorporated into the treaty: respect for labor, the right of association, adequate **wages**, an eight-hour workday or 48-hour week, abolition of **child labor**, **equal pay for equal work**, migrant workers to be given the same treatment as nationals, and an inspectorate system for protecting labor. Although the final outcome of the peace process was a disappointment for organized labor in Europe, the compromises re-

flected the political reality of the time. Under the ILO constitution, the governing body was to have 12 representatives from governments, six from **employers**, and six from **employees**; however, in practice, employee representation was dominated by the IFTU. The ILO became an affiliated agency of the League of Nations.

The ILO was able to achieve relatively little in its first 20 years. The fascist suppression of free unions in Italy raised the issue of **freedom of association** in a very stark way, but the ILO was unable as an organization to agree on a course of action. Its representation was also inadequate; the United States did not join until 1935. Its recommendations for reducing the mass unemployment of the early 1930s through increased government spending were ignored by member governments. Despite its difficulties, the ILO succeeded in starting the first continuous collections of international **labor statistics**, such as the labor conflict statistics that started to be published in 1927.

In 1946, the ILO became the first specialized agency to be associated with the United Nations. In the late 1940s, the ILO adopted two fundamental propositions regarding organized labor: Convention 87 (Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise, 1948) and Convention 98 (Right to Organise and to Bargain Collectively). In 1951, the governing body of the ILO set up a standing Freedom of Association Committee to oversee the operation of these and other conventions relating to organized labor. Although there is no specific ILO convention setting down the right to **strike**, Article 3 of Convention 87, stating that unions have the right to “draw up their constitutions and rules, to elect their representatives in full freedom, to organize their administration and activities and to formulate their programmes,” has been interpreted as including a right to strike. The extent of ratification by member governments of the ILO of these and similar conventions varies, as does the degree of respect for them among those governments that have. The United States withdrew from the ILO between 1977 and 1980 because of disagreements with its policies.

Organized labor is represented in the ILO by the **International Trade Union Confederation**, which uses the **international standard setting** of the ILO, specifically seven core labor standards, in its assessment of **violations of trade unions rights**: forced or compulsory labor (Convention No. 29, 1930), freedom of association and protection of the right to organize (Convention No. 87, 1948), right to organize and **collective bargaining** (Convention No. 98, 1949), equal remuneration for work of equal value (Convention No. 100, 1951), discrimination in employment and **occupation** (Convention No. 111, 1958), minimum **age** for employment (Convention No. 138, 1973), and worst forms of **child labor** (Convention No. 182, 1999). *See also* LABOR DISPUTES; OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH AND SAFETY; THOMAS, ALBERT (1878–1932).

**INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION (ILGWU).** The ILGWU has played a significant role in the history of organized labor in the **United States**. Formed in New York City in March 1900, the ILGWU received a charter from the **American Federation of Labor (AFL)** three months later. Its **membership** grew from 2,200 in 1904 to 58,400 in 1912, much of which consisted of Jewish and East European immigrants. Successful **strikes** in New York City in 1909 and 1910 secured the union's future. The 1910 cloak makers' strike gained a 54-hour workweek over six days, the **closed shop, arbitration** for the settlement of disputes, and the abolition of home-based work and subcontracting, which were important means of keeping **wages** in the trade low. Other important initiatives of the ILGWU in this period were union health centers (1913) and the preparation of an employer-funded unemployment plan (1919). By 1920, the ILGWU had grown to 195,400, but this success was undermined by **communists**, who dominated the leadership until 1928.

The newly elected leadership of Benjamin Schlesinger and **David Dubinsky** took over a union with debts of \$800,000 and a financial membership of only 40,000. Assisted by the **National Industrial Recovery Act**, the ILGWU was rebuilt; by 1935, its membership had grown to 168,000 and most of the debts had been repaid. Under Dubinsky's leadership, the ILGWU was at the center of the struggle within organized labor to promote **industrial unionism** and in the formation of the **Congress of Industrial Organizations**. It left the AFL in 1938 but rejoined in 1940. In 1973, the union had a membership of 427,600, of whom about 80 percent were **women**. Diversity of **race and ethnicity** remained characteristic of its membership. In 1992, the ILGWU had 143,000 members. In 1995, the ILGWU merged with the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers' Union to form the Union of Needletrades, Industrial, and Textile Employees.

**INTERNATIONAL METALWORKERS' FEDERATION (IMF).** The IMF was the largest of the **international trade secretariats** until 1995. It began as the International Metallurgists' Bureau of Information in 1893 and took its final name in 1904. In 1921, the IMF accepted a new constitution, which included a call for international cooperation to improve **wages** and conditions and for workers to take over the means of production. By 1930, the IMF had a **membership** of 1.9 million, but by 1938 the Depression and fascism had reduced its membership to only 190,000. By 1947, its membership had grown to 2.7 million. The IMF played a major role in defeating the attempt of the **communist-led World Federation of Trade Unions** to absorb the various international trade secretariats in 1948–1949 and in the formation of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** in 1949. In 1994, the IMF claimed 16 million members among its 165 affiliated unions. In 1995, the IMF merged with the International Federation

of Chemical, Energy, and General Workers' Unions to form the **International Federation of Chemical, Energy, Mine, and General Workers' Unions (ICEM)**.

**INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF EMPLOYERS.** *See* EMPLOYERS' ORGANIZATIONS.

**INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT FOR ARTS, MASS MEDIA, AND ENTERTAINMENT TRADE UNIONS.** *See* MEDIA ENTERTAINMENT INTERNATIONAL (MEI).

**INTERNATIONAL STANDARD SETTING.** International standard setting refers to the work of the **International Labour Organization (ILO)** in devising suitable standards for the protection and improvement of working conditions, especially in relation to **working hours**, the protection of **women** and children, adequate **wages**, **social security**, **freedom of association**, and vocational and technical **education**. The framing of such standards is difficult because the standard of living in the member countries of the ILO differs so greatly, as do their **politics** and economies. At the same time, there is an obvious need for such standards.

**INTERNATIONAL TEXTILE, GARMENT, AND LEATHER WORKERS' FEDERATION (ITGLWF).** The ITGLWF is a **global union federation** formed in 1970, although international bodies among European textile labor unions date from 1894, and among shoemakers and leather **employees** from 1907. In 1960, the Textile Workers' Asian Regional Organization was created with 1.5 million members. Other similar regional bodies were formed, and these were the basis of the ITGLWF. Based in Brussels, the **membership** of the ITGLWF was 5.2 million in 1976, 7 million in 1994, and 10 million in 2010. In 2007, the international textile union of the **World Confederation of Labour** merged into the ITGLWF. Five years later, the ITGLWF was dissolved and the affiliates joined the new **IndustriALL Global Union**.

**INTERNATIONAL TRADE SECRETARIAT (ITS).** ITSs have been an important feature of the European labor movement throughout the 20th century and of the international labor movement since 1945. The secretariats represented individual **occupations** or particular **industries**. They emerged as formal organizations among hatters (Paris, 1889), cigar makers (Antwerp, 1889), shoemakers (Paris, 1889), miners (Manchester, 1890), glass workers (Fourmies, **France**, 1892), typographers (Berne, 1892), tailors (Zurich, 1893), metalworkers (Winterthur, **Switzerland**, 1893), textile workers (Man-



chester, 1894), furriers (Berlin, 1894), lithographers (London, 1896), brewery workers (Berlin, 1896), transportation workers (London, 1897, this secretariat absorbed the **railroad** workers who had formed a secretariat in Zurich in 1893), foundry workers (1898), stone workers and stone cutters (1902, 1904), building workers (Berlin, 1903), carpenters (Hamburg, 1903), woodworkers (Amsterdam, 1904), pottery and china workers (1905, 1906), diamond workers (Antwerp, 1905), bookbinders (Nuremberg, 1907), hairdressers (Stuttgart, 1907), municipal and public services (Mainz, 1906), factory and unskilled workers (this secretariat lasted from 1908 to 1914), postal workers (Marseilles, 1910), hotel and restaurant workers (Amsterdam, 1911), and painters (Hamburg, 1911).

By 1913, the trade secretariats claimed a total **membership** of 5.6 million, of which the largest were those of the miners (1.2 million), metalworkers (1 million), transportation workers (860,000), and textile workers (533,000). By 1939, important new secretariats had emerged among teachers (1928) and government employees (1935).

After 1945, international labor organizations along occupational lines were important among civil servants, journalists, transportation workers, metalworkers, miners, teachers, postal workers, textile workers, and plantation and agricultural **employees**. Despite attempted **communist** infiltration in 1948–1949, the international trade secretariats preserved their independence. Since 1949, they were associated with the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions**. One way in which the ITSs tried to improve the conditions of their members is through agreements negotiated with multinational corporations to provide a framework for **collective bargaining**; the first of these was negotiated with the French corporation Danone in 1988. In January 2002, the ITSs were renamed **global union federations**.

**INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION CONFEDERATION (ITUC).** The ITUC resulted from the 1 November 2006 merger between the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** with the **World Confederation of Labour**.

In 2010, the ITUC represented 175 million workers in 155 countries and territories and had 311 national affiliates. These numbers have been growing since then to 200 million workers, 331 organizations, and 163 countries. The ITUC continues the work of both predecessors, including the survey of **violations of trade union rights**. The ITUC follows the historic role of trade unionism: to better the conditions of work and life of working **women** and men and their families, and to strive for **human rights**, social justice, gender equality, peace, freedom, and democracy. The organization uses the slogan “Building Workers’ Power” to make clear what it stands for. *See also* APPENDIX C.

**INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORT WORKERS' FEDERATION (ITF).**

The ITF is a **global union federation** that grew out of the International Federation of Ship, Dock and River Workers (IFSDRW), which was formed by Tom Mann (1856–1941) and some European labor leaders in London in 1896. The Rotterdam dock **strike** of that year was the catalyst for the realization that international cooperation was strongly needed. British seamen were almost unloading the ships that were under strike, but intervention from Havelock Wilson prevented such action. The IFSDRW became the ITF in 1898. World War I disrupted the ITF, and it was reestablished in 1919 through the efforts of Dutch, Swedish, and British labor unions. In 1920, the ITF had three million members, all of them in Europe; by 1931, **membership** had fallen to 2.3 million. The ITF provided valuable services to the Allied war effort during World War II. As of 1948, the ITF began to seek affiliates from outside Europe. Since 1949, the ITF has been working closely with the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** and its successor to draw attention to the hazards of the use of **flags of convenience** in world merchant shipping. By 1976, half of the 4.1 million members of the ITF were in developing countries. In 2010, the ITF claimed 779 unions representing over 4,600,000 transport workers in 155 countries. Because it has many waterfront union affiliates, the ITF can exert considerable power if it chooses. For example, in 1997, it successfully supported the Maritime Union of **Australia** in two labor conflicts with the conservative federal government over planned changes to waterfront labor practices. Something similar happened in 2006, when the ITF successfully resisted a second attempt by the **European Union** to open up port services to labor market competition after 6,000 dockers from 16 European countries were joined by longshoremen from Australia and the **United States**. In 2020, in **Canada** and Europe, the ITF “Dockers’ Clause” came into force, part of which is the following sentence: “Neither Seafarers nor anyone else on board whether in permanent or temporary employment by the Company shall carry out cargo handling services in a port, at a terminal or on board of a vessel, where dock workers, who are members of an ITF affiliated union, are providing the cargo handling services.” In 2020, the ITF represents nearly 20 million transport workers from 150 countries.

**INTERNATIONAL UNION OF FOOD, AGRICULTURAL, HOTEL, RESTAURANT, CATERING, TOBACCO, AND ALLIED WORKERS' ASSOCIATIONS (IUF).** The IUF is a **global union federation** that was formed in 1994 from the merger of the **International Union of Food and Allied Workers' Associations** and the **International Federation of Plantation, Agricultural, and Allied Workers**. In 1997, the IUF negotiated an agreement to provide a framework for **collective bargaining** with a number

of multinational corporations. In 2010, the IUF had over 12 million members in 336 labor unions in 120 countries. The numbers were 421 affiliated trade unions in 127 countries representing over 10 million workers in 2019.

**INTERNATIONAL UNION OF FOOD AND ALLIED WORKERS' ASSOCIATIONS (IUFAWA).** The IUFAWA was an **international trade secretariat** established in 1920 from the **amalgamation** of the international federation of brewery employees (formed in 1896) and baking and meat employees. Until 1945, the IUFAWA was a European body, but afterward it expanded into North America (1950), Latin America (1953), Africa (1959), and East Asia (1961). In 1980, the IUF, with the support of international organized labor, campaigned against Coca-Cola over the exploitation of plantation workers in **Guatemala**. **Membership** in the Geneva-based IUFAWA was 2.1 million in 1978 and 2.3 million in 1992. In 1994, the IUFAWA merged with the **International Federation of Plantation, Agricultural, and Allied Workers** to form the **International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco, and Allied Workers' Association**.

**INTERNATIONAL UNIONS.** International labor unions are those that have branches in more than one country. The term is commonly applied to American unions with branches in **Canada**, but could also be applied to **Ireland**. Other international unions have been the **Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners** and the **Amalgamated Society of Engineers**. *See also* IMMIGRATION.

**INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' DAY.** Celebrated on May 1, this day is for many working people around the globe a manifestation of joy about the gains made by the labor movement but also a day to commemorate the things still worth fighting for. It is the counterpart of **Labor Day**, celebrated mainly in the **United States** and **Canada**. International Workers' Day, also known as May Day or Day of Labor, was first celebrated in 1890 when in many countries trade unions followed the call for **strikes** and demonstrations to demand the eight-hour working day. This call was issued by the Second International Workingmen's Association upon its foundation in 1889. *See also* COMMUNISM; SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC, SOCIALIST, AND LABOR PARTIES.

**IRAN.** Organized labor began in Iran when printers formed a union in the early 20th century. A national labor federation was formed in 1920 and fought for the eight-hour working day; it claimed 8,000 members by 1922. The first labor legislation was introduced in 1923. Under the right-wing

regime of Reza Khan, organized labor was forced to operate and grow in secrecy. In 1944, the Unified Trade Union of Iranian Workers was formed, with a **membership** of about 150,000, and became an affiliate of the **World Federation of Trade Unions**. It had about 180,000 members by 1945. Organized labor played an active role in the oil nationalization campaign between 1946 and 1953, and there were large-scale **strikes**. By 1951, the Iranian Trades Union Congress had affiliated with the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** and remained an affiliate until 1959, representing 65,000 union members. The overthrow of the Mohammed Mossadeq government and its replacement by the son of Reza Khan, Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, with secret British and U.S. support, resulted in renewed repression and the outlawing of labor unions that were not controlled by the government. After the fundamentalist Islamic Revolution in 1978 and 1979, organized labor has remained ruthlessly repressed. Many thousands of activists were arrested and imprisoned. Strikes are illegal but nevertheless occur: 181 strikes took place from March 1998 to March 1999. Strikers and activists are often sentenced to sadistic penalties, including execution. The **International Trade Union Confederation** documented the flogging of four labor activists in 2009, two of them **women**: Sousan Razani and Shiva Keriabadi, who were sentenced to 70 and 15 lashes, respectively. In 2019, the situation hadn't improved despite several waves of strikes and demonstrations. The regime was able to stay in power and also in 2019 intervened in strikes with brutal force and severe punishment of strikers and trade union activists.

**IRAQ.** There was no independent organized labor in Iraq in the 20th century after the violent suppression of the first trade unions in the 1920s. There was only one legal labor organization after 1945, the General Federation of Trade Unions, which was controlled by the ruling Ba'ath Party until the overthrow of Saddam Hussein in April 2003. Laws from the old regime, including the union restrictions, have not been replaced so far. The 2009 report by the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** reported the assassination of a trade unionist. Others have been tortured or fallen victim to the bands sowing terror across the country after the fall of Saddam Hussein. In 2009, a **strike** wave occurred, but the Iraqi government continued repressing and punishing union activity from 2010 to 2019. The ITUC labels the country at the worst level of "no guarantee of rights."

**IRELAND.** The existence of unions by the 18th century in Ireland is known from a law of 1729, which outlawed combinations among **journeymen**, with a penalty of three months' hard labor. Similar laws were passed in 1743 and 1757. Despite the intimidating legal climate, unions were formed. In May 1788, journeymen cabinetmakers in Belfast formed a union; their minute

book survives, making it one of the oldest documents of its kind. As a part of the **United Kingdom** until 1922, Irish organized labor was much influenced by the English model, but it also took some important initiatives of its own. In 1844, the Regular Trades' Association was formed in Dublin; it perished in the 1847 depression, but it was one of the first city labor councils in Britain. British unions were active in Ireland from 1851, beginning with the **Amalgamated Society of Engineers**. By 1900, about three-quarters of the 67,000 union members in Ireland belonged to British unions; in 1940, this proportion had fallen to 30 percent, and was stable at about 14 percent between 1955 and 1985.

In 1894, the Irish Trade Union Congress was formed, with 50,000 members among its affiliates. Originally intended to act as an auxiliary to the British **Trades Union Congress**, it went its own path from 1901; in 1945, it was challenged by the formation of a new peak labor body, the nationalist Congress of Irish Unions, but in 1959 these two bodies merged to become the Irish Congress of Trade Unions. Union **membership** in Ireland rose from 189,000 in 1922 to 285,000 in 1950 and to 490,000 in 1980. Despite some losses in the 1980s, union membership reached 677,600 by 1995 and 758,800 by 2001, or 59 percent of employees. Irish immigrants have played a significant role in the history of organized labor in the **United States**, **Australia**, and **New Zealand**. In 2010, the Congress of Irish Unions claimed 833,000 members, a number that plummeted to 700,000 in 2018. Trade **union density** was 24.4 percent in 2016, and the **International Trade Union Confederation** reported no **violations of trade union rights** since 2014.

**ISRAEL.** Organized labor in what is now Israel began in 1920 with the formation of leagues by both Arab and Jewish workers. The creation of the Histadrut (General Federation of Labor in Israel) in December 1920, representing 4,400 workers, was a pivotal event in the history of organized labor in Israel. Unlike the labor federations in most other countries, the **socialist** Histadrut was a state in miniature with wide political and economic goals within its promotion of Zionism and consumer cooperation. In 1933, there were 35,400 union members within the present borders of Israel. In the next year, some members of the Histadrut formed the National Labor Federation, which rejected the idea of class struggle and supported separate bodies for **employees** and **employers**. Nevertheless, the Histadrut continued to be the dominant labor organization after the declaration of the state of Israel in 1948; in 1945, it claimed 150,000 members and 300,000 by 1995. Histadrut has been more than a labor union and is also the owner of many enterprises. In 2001, the Histadrut had about 450,000 union members and about the same number who were self-employed or housewives. Individuals join the Histadrut directly and are then placed in the union that covers their **occupation**.

The Histadrut has close ties with the Labor Party, which was formed in 1968, and has been represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** and its successor since 1957.

After the 1967 Arab–Israeli War, Israel occupied the West Bank and Gaza, suppressing the independent Palestinian union movement. In the late 1990s, Israel granted both territories limited autonomy in accordance with the Oslo Accords. In 2009, the **International Trade Union Confederation** reported that although the rights of Israeli employees were fairly well respected, there was legal discrimination against Palestinian workers and no protection for migrant workers who come mainly from Asia. Also, the right to strike was undermined by court rulings and employer behavior such as the employment of thugs. During 2010–2018, Histadrut claimed 450,000 members. *See also* PALESTINE.

**ITALY.** Although organized labor in its modern form developed during the last half of the 19th century, there is evidence of earlier organizations in cities such as Florence from the 14th century. An example of such organizations is the effort undertaken by the wool carder Brandini in 1345 to assemble his fellow workers. This Florentine was hanged by the authorities. In 1675, an estimated 10,000 silk workers in Genoa rioted over the introduction of French ribbon looms, which enabled a single worker to weave 10 to 12 ribbons at a time; the workers burned the new looms. Medieval guilds lasted longer in Italy than in other parts of Western Europe and were only abolished piecemeal on a regional basis between 1770 and 1821. At the same time, as in other parts of Western Europe, artisan **journeymen** were the vanguard of organized labor. In 1853, they held a regional conference of friendly societies, bodies that were forerunners of labor unions. Although the first labor union was formed in the **printing** industry in Turin, and a national printers' body was created in 1872, there was little in the way of unions elsewhere until after 1880.

Nevertheless, the absence of formal unions did not indicate the absence of **labor disputes**; 634 occurred between 1860 and 1878, mainly in the north and mostly over **wages**. The example of the French Bourse du Travail (Labor Union Center), particularly that founded at Marseilles in 1888, was influential in Italy and led to the formation of chambers of labor (*camera del lavoro*) beginning in Milan in 1891. By 1893, the chambers had about 41,000 members. Government policy toward organized labor turned hostile in the 1890s, and it tried to suppress the unions between 1894 and 1899.

After a last attempt at official suppression in Genoa in 1900, labor unions began to emerge and create new national organizations, exemplified by the formation of the Confederazione Generale di Lavoro (CGL), or General Confederation of Labor, in 1906. Although there was impressive national growth in Italian union **membership** after 1900, the labor movement was divided

along political and religious lines. Revolutionary **syndicalism** attracted much support from rural workers employed on large estates and claimed 200,000 members in 1908. The syndicalists formed their own labor federation in 1912 and were opposed by the **socialist** unions. As well, the **Catholic** unions, which were first formed in 1894 and claimed 107,600 members by 1910, made up a separate strand of organized labor. In 1920, they formed their own federation, the Confederazione Italiana dei Lavoratori (Italian Confederation of Workers), with 1.2 million members of whom 79 percent were employed in **agriculture** or textiles **manufacturing**. The socialist federation, the CGL, had 2.2 million members, of whom about 34 percent worked as farm laborers and most of the others in manufacturing.

Politically, Italy was still immature in 1920; there was little opportunity for labor leaders to gain the experience of government they needed. There was much labor unrest in 1919 and 1920, but the Socialist Party failed to translate this into practical political gains and continued to preach revolution; it was further weakened by a split caused by the **communists** in 1921. Divided, organized labor lost support and declined. Between 1920 and 1924, the membership of the CGL collapsed from 2.2 million to 201,000. On 24 January 1924, Benito Mussolini's fascist government abolished the nonfascist labor unions of Italy. The CGL voted itself out of existence in 1927. The fascist government introduced a number of important principles into Italy's system of **industrial relations** that were to have lasting consequences. It brought in a centralized system of **collective bargaining** under which unions that were part of the Confederation of Fascist Corporations were legally recognized as partners, as well as a compulsory system of pay deductions for union dues. Italy's **corporatism** was imitated by **Germany, Greece, Spain, Portugal, and Brazil**.

On 3 June 1944, all three sections of organized labor—socialist, communist, Christian Democrat (Catholic)—agreed to the “Pact of Rome,” which provided for the setting up of a new united labor confederation, the Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro (CGIL), or General Confederation of Italian Labor, which was made up of equal representation from these three groups. This unity did not last; following a wave of **strikes** and unrest led by the communists of the CGIL, the Christian Democratic unions formed their own federation in 1948, as did the republican and democratic socialists in 1949. The Christian Democratic federation, the Libera Confederazione Generale Italiana dei Lavoratori, or Free General Italian Confederation of Workers, received support for its establishment not only from the Catholic Church but also from the **American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)** and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency as a counter to the communist-dominated CGIL. In 1972, the three labor federations formed an alliance, which collapsed in 1984 and was only partly restored. **Rank-and-file** dissatisfaction with the three federations in

1987–1988 led to the formation of grassroots committees known as *comitati di base*, or “cobas,” which sought the repeal of a law of 1970 giving the federations legal rights in collective bargaining. In June 1990, the government prohibited strikes in a wide range of essential services. In 1994, Italy’s 10 “autonomous” labor unions (which operated mostly in the **public sector**) formed a federation, the Intesa Sindacati Autonomi (Pact of Autonomous Unions), which claimed to represent six million **employees**. In 2001, there were about four million union members in Italy, covering about 27 percent of employees. Italian labor union membership figures have been remarkable since the 1960s for their high proportion of **retired employees**. In 2010, the three Italian affiliates of the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** declared a combined membership of 12.2 million, but many of these were retired. This was also the case at the end of the 2010s, hence **union density** did not exceed 34.4 percent in 2016. Outside the three affiliates of the ITUC, a number of other federations exist, which makes the trade union landscape rather fragmented. *See also* FEDERAZIONE ITALIANA OPERAI METALLURGICI (FIOM); LUDDISM.

**IVORY COAST.** *See* CÔTE D’IVOIRE (IVORY COAST).



# J

**JAMAICA.** Jamaica was a colony of the **United Kingdom** from the mid-17th century until August 1962. After the emancipation of **slaves** in 1838, it took quite a while before the now free laborers started forming trade unions. The first labor union in Jamaica was formed by longshoremen in 1918, and labor unions were legalized in 1919. Reflecting Jamaican society generally, organized labor in Jamaica has been divided by **racial** and class conflicts. An important milestone event in the history of organized labor in Jamaica since 1930 was the formation of the Bustamente Industrial Trade Union (BITU) in 1938 after islandwide labor conflicts in that decade showed the existing discontent among the workers. Later, the Trades Union Congress of Jamaica in 1948, and the National Workers' Union of Jamaica (NWU) in 1952 came into existence. The trade union movement was successful in its struggle for social improvement, which led to the 1974 Employment Act, the 1975 Labour Relations and Disputes Act, and the 1975 Equal Pay for Women Act. These acts all came into being during the first government of Michael Manley (1972–1980), who was a former official of the NWU. Deteriorating economic circumstances since the 1970s have, however, changed the pro-union attitude of the government. Jamaica was represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** since 1953, but no Jamaican union is affiliated to the **International Trade Union Confederation** in 2010. In 1980, the Jamaican Confederation of Trade Unions was founded by the BITU, the NWU, the Jamaica Association of Local Government Officers, and the Trade Union Congress.

In 2002, the ICFTU complained that no labor unions had been formed in the country's **export processing zones**, that the right to strike was denied to **employees** in the **public sector**, and that **collective bargaining** remained restricted in Jamaica. These issues have continued. The surveys of **violations of trade union rights** for the 2010s complained almost on a regular basis that **employers** still tried to deny the right to organize and **strike**, and about the undue intervention by the Ministry of Labour in terminating strikes. Strikes in a number of economic sectors like the sugar industry are legally

hindered, and the government has the opportunity to enforce **arbitration**. No information is known to the **International Labour Organization** on trade **union density** or the collective bargaining rate.

**JANUS DECISION.** This 2018 decision by the United States Supreme Court was a landmark concerning the collection of fees from nonmembers by labor unions. Under the **Taft–Hartley Act**, state law could allow union security agreements in the private sector. In such an agreement, an **employer** and labor union can agree on the possibilities for labor unions to compel workers to join the union, while the employer may collect the fees. The Janus Decision states that such union fees violate the first amendment right to free speech. The decision is regarded an attack on union life by the conservatives because the case by Mark Janus was funded by a conservative think tank.

**JAPAN.** The first recorded labor disputes in Japan date from 1870, and the first union was formed among steelworkers in 1897. Other unions were formed among employees in **printing, railroads**, teaching, and firefighting; their total **membership** reached 8,000 in 1900, but they were suppressed by law. Japanese government opposition to unions continued until 1945, and unions were denied legal recognition. Nevertheless, a Japanese labor movement did emerge from 1912 when Bunji Suzuki formed a labor union called the Yuai-kai (Workers' Fraternal Society); government hostility forced it to pretend it was a cultural and moral body in its early years. In 1917, some **employers** formed the Japan Economic Federation to prevent the legal recognition of labor unions. By 1920, there had been significant growth in organized labor in Japan, with total membership reaching 103,000. In 1921, the Yuai-kai established Japan's first labor federation, the Nihon Rodo Sodomei. In the 1920s and 1930s, Japanese organized labor was split between **social democrats, socialists, and communists**. In 1940, when all independent unions and **employers' organizations** were compulsorily merged into a body run by the government, there were only 9,500 union members compared with 408,700 in 1935.

As in **Germany**, the end of World War II brought an explosive growth in organized labor; in December 1945, Japanese **employees** were legally allowed to form unions, to engage in **collective bargaining**, and to **strike**. The release of communists and other radicals from jail enabled them to rejoin the unions and fight the hardship and poverty of the immediate postwar period through strikes. In 1948, the right to strike was withdrawn from **public-sector** employees. Between 1945 and 1950, the number of labor union members increased from 380,700 to 5.8 million and the number of unions rose from 509 to 29,144. A Japanese delegation attended the founding congress of

the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** in London in November and December 1949, and Japan was a full member of the ICFTU by 1951.

Three labor federations were formed in 1946, and multifederations based on political as well as industrial differences remained a feature of Japanese organized labor thereafter. The largest federations were the Domei (that is, the Japanese Confederation of Labor, which evolved out of Sodomei, the Japanese Federation of Trade Unions, originally formed in 1946 to cover private-sector employees) and the socialist, mainly public-sector Sohyo, or General Council of Trade Unions of Japan. Sohyo was formed in 1950 when the noncommunists split from the communist-dominated Sanbetsu-Kaigi (or Congress of Industrial Unions of Japan, originally formed in 1946). In 1987, Domei and some other federations as well as unaffiliated unions formed a new private-sector federation, now referred to as “old” **Rengo** (Japanese Trade Union Federation). In 1989, this body merged with Sohyo to create “new” Rengo, which claimed 7.7 million members by 1992 or about two-thirds of total labor union membership. New Rengo has also engaged directly in **politics** by supporting opposition candidates in elections.

From 1946 to 1960, the level of **labor disputes** in Japan was relatively high; an annual average of 458 working days per thousand employees were lost through labor disputes between 1946 and 1950, 468 between 1951 and 1955, and 437 between 1956 and 1960. In 1956, the **Shunto**, or Spring Offensive, was begun by Sohyo and became an annual coordinated drive to gain **wage** increases. Since the mid-1970s, the level of labor disputes in Japan has decreased dramatically.

As a proportion of employees, union membership has declined steadily since its peak of 56 percent in 1950 to 19 percent in 2005, and 17 percent in 2016. This decline has largely occurred in the private sector, with union coverage of government employees remaining high. Japan continues to be a nation with a large number of labor unions; there were 61,178 unions in 2005, compared with 70,839 in 1995 and 41,561 in 1960. Since 1945, organized labor in Japan has become important in world terms; with 10.1 million members in 2009, Japan accounted for almost 6 percent of the membership of the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**. In 2009, the ITUC complained about the strong legal restrictions on government employees’ union rights, including the ban on public-sector strikes. Foreign workers often end up in sweat shops with hardly any rights. In 2018, this situation hadn’t improved, and the ITUC judged that there are repeated **violations of union rights** in Japan. *See also* CHINA; ENTERPRISE UNION; SOUTH KOREA (REPUBLIC OF KOREA).

**JOB SHARING.** Job sharing generally refers to the splitting of a full-time job into two part-time positions in Western countries. Although first proposed in the 1970s, job sharing is largely a development of the 1980s and has been especially beneficial to **women** employees with young children. Although it came to be accepted by most unions when it was done on a voluntary basis, it was often treated with suspicion at first as a possible threat to the conditions of full-time **employees**.

**JORDAN.** Although the first labor union among Arab workers in Jordan was formed in Haifa in 1920, organized labor effectively dates from 1954 with the formation of the General Federation of Jordanian Trade Unions (GFJTU), but has since had a difficult history caused by government restrictions. In 1965 and 1969, Jordan was represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions**, but not again until 1995, when it was represented by GFJTU, which claimed 200,000 members (120,000 in 2018). In 2009, the **International Trade Union Confederation** reported that all unions must belong to GFJTU. Organized labor faces many restrictions in practice, and Jordan's one million foreign **employees** are still denied the right to join unions. The right to **strike** is heavily curtailed. Throughout 2009, strikes and demonstrations by migrant workers were brutally broken up by the police. The situation for migrant workers remained problematic. Therefore, in 2018, the Arab Migrant Resources Centre launched a project aimed at supporting and empowering the 230,000 migrant workers from Asian countries.

**JORDAN, BILL (WILLIAM BRIAN) (1936–).** General secretary of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** from 1995 to 2001, Jordan was born and educated in Birmingham, England. He began work as a machine tool fitter at the age of 15. In 1966, he became a **shop steward** convener with the **Amalgamated Engineering Union** and rose to become the president of the Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union in 1986, a post he held until becoming general secretary of the ICFTU. He was a member of the general council of the **Trades Union Congress** from 1986 to 1995 and over the same period served on the executive of the **International Metalworkers' Federation** and was president of the European Metalworkers' Federation. During his period as general secretary of the ICFTU, there was a sustained offensive against **child labor** and a major increase in the **membership** of the ICFTU (from 126 to 156 million), mainly brought about by the accession of the labor federations of **Russia** in 2000. In 2000, he was made a baron (life peer) in recognition of his contribution to British and international organized labor.

**JOURNEYMEN.** Term first recorded in 14th-century England to describe an artisan or mechanic who had completed an **apprenticeship** and then worked as an **employee**. The career of a journeyman was part of the guild system, in which a young man after apprenticeship became a journeyman but not a master craftsman yet. Both apprentices and journeymen were employed by craftsmen, but journeymen lived a more independent life and not in the household of a master craftsman as apprentices did. The origin of the word *journey* is the French word *ournée*, which means “day”; journeymen were paid daily. By contrast, in **France**, journeymen were called *compagnons*. In a number of trades, journeymen moved from one town to another to gain more experience before they might become a full member of the guild. Journeymen were the main groups in the formation of early labor unions in 18th-century England and the **United States**.

**JURISDICTION.** Jurisdiction refers to the work boundaries recognized by unions for recruiting members for a particular union. Unions can, and do, disagree over which union has the right to recruit members carrying out certain kinds of work, and this can lead to disputes. Work boundaries can also be altered by technological change. In British usage, the equivalent term is *demarcation*.



# K

**KAZAKHSTAN.** The first recorded trade union was the Union of Copper Mine Workers, founded in 1905. During the Soviet era, an independent union movement ceased to exist. Independent of the **Soviet Union** since December 1991, Kazakhstan's independent organized labor has been hampered by a 1990 Soviet labor law that required **collective bargaining** to be carried out between management and a "conference" representing **employees**. However, the law did not define how or by whom the "conference" was to be convened. This omission has enabled the former government-controlled unions to be parties to **collective agreements** and freeze out independent unions. In 1990, the Federation of Trade Unions of the Kazakh SSR, later renamed Federation of Trade Unions of the Republic of Kazakhstan (FPK), was established.

Despite considerable government opposition, including violence, workers in **coal mining** formed an independent labor union in 1992 and conducted a **strike** in May 1994. In July 1995, a mission from the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** and the **Miners' International Federation** visited Kazakhstan but was unable to secure a fair settlement for the coal miners because the judicial system was biased in favor of the former government-run unions. In 2002, the ICFTU reported that antiunion practices by **employers** were widespread. In 2010, Kazakhstan was not represented in the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**. This situation had changed in 2018 when two affiliates, including the FPK, represented Kazakhstan with a total of 452,000 members. Trade **union density** was 49.2 percent in 2012, but the independent trade unions, also affiliated with the ITUC but much smaller than the FPK, were still under attack by Kazakh authorities.

**KENYA.** Kenya was a colony of the **United Kingdom** until December 1963. Labor unions among African workers emerged in the late 1930s after the colonial government allowed them. In 1935, the Indian Trade Union was founded, which soon embraced all races and trades, after which it was renamed the Labour Trade Union of Kenya. The first serious **strike** took place in Mombassa among railway apprentices. By the late 1940s, the Transport

and Allied Workers Union and the Clerks and Commercial Workers Union were also established. By 1950, the East African Trade Union Congress was founded, and the stage was set for confrontation with the colonial government. The Dockworkers Union strike of 1955 was the first time a trade union leader could successfully settle a strike.

The union movement was, however, split in small factions in those years, and it was only in 1958 that the Kenya Trades Union Congress was founded to overcome the divisions. The next step was when in 1965 the Central Organization of Trade Unions (COTU) was founded. After independence, the government was hostile to the existence of an independent labor movement. For example, on 1 May 1994, the government arrested Joseph Mugalla, the general secretary of the Central Organisation of Trade Unions (COTU, established in 1965), over threats to call a **general strike** in support of **wage** claims. Kenya was represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** from 1953 to 1959 and again since 1991 by the COTU. In 2001, the ICFTU reported that unions in Kenya were restricted in practice in their right to organize, particularly in the country's **export processing zones**. There were about 233,500 union members in Kenya in 2001. In 2002, the ICFTU complained that the right to strike was subject to much government interference. In 2007, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** repeated this complaint because workers are prevented from unionizing or going on legal strikes. In 2009, legal amendments favored trade union activities, but **collective bargaining** remained difficult. Ten years later, however, a ruling by the Court of Appeal that confirmed the sacking of 336 **employees** of tea companies, including Unilever, because they were on strike was considered by the ITUC a setback for union rights.

**KIRIBATI.** The country became independent of the **United Kingdom** in July 1979. The Kiribati Trades Union Congress (KTUC, established 1982) has been represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** and its successor since 1993, when it claimed a **membership** of 2,600. No **strikes** have been recorded since 1980 because heavy penalties exist, but in 2016 representatives of the KTUC declared that the situation for labor had improved.

**KIRKLAND, JOSEPH LANE (1922–1999).** Kirkland was president of the **American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)** from 1979 to 1995. Born in Camden, South Carolina, he was employed as a merchant marine pilot between 1941 and 1946 and as a nautical scientist in the Hydrographic Office of the U.S. Navy Department between 1947 and 1948. In 1945 and 1946, he was a member of the International Organization of Masters, Mates, and Pilots (formed in 1887). He graduated



with a science degree from Georgetown University in 1948. In the same year, he joined the **American Federation of Labor** as a researcher and was assistant director of its **social security** department between 1953 and 1958. His writing ability was recognized in the AFL-CIO, and in 1961 he was made executive assistant to its president, **George Meany**.

In 1969, Kirkland was elected secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO. In the 1960s, he coordinated the AFL-CIO's civil rights campaign and fought racial discrimination in unions. He lobbied for a fair employment clause in the Civil Rights Act (1964), played an active role in the war on poverty, and helped to raise more than two million dollars for the A. Philip Randolph Institute's antighetto programs. In 1979, he negotiated a national accord with the Jimmy Carter administration in which the AFL-CIO promised to restrain **wage** claims to help control **inflation** in return for greater measures to protect the poor, limits on corporate profits, and an undertaking not to use unemployment as a means of lowering inflation. As AFL-CIO president, Kirkland followed a more moderate path than Meany. Under him, the AFL-CIO rejoined the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** in 1981. In 1986, Kirkland was elected president of the **Trade Union Advisory Committee to the Organisation for Economic and Co-operation and Development** (founded in 1948). In 1995, Kirkland was succeeded by **John J. Sweeney** as AFL-CIO president.

**KNIGHTS OF LABOR.** The Knights were the first mass labor organization in the **United States** to recruit unskilled workers as well as African Americans and **women**, and the organization has been described as a form of **syndicalism**. Originally formed in 1869 as a secret society by some garment cutters in Philadelphia, the Knights rejected the **wage** system and supported cooperation and **education** as a means of improving the position of workers. Between 1878, when it became a national body, and 1881, the **membership** of the Knights rose from 9,000 to 19,000 and was open to all who earned their living through manual labor either as **employees** or as small farmers. Between 1881 and 1893, the Knights were led by Terrence V. Powderly (1849–1924). The Knights supported the abolition of **child labor**, government inspection of mines and factories, and the nationalization of banks and **railroads**. The Knights was a centralized organization, and membership grew from 49,500 in 1883 to a peak of 703,000 in 1886, of which about 10 percent were African Americans and 10 percent were women. Most of this growth occurred as a result of successful **strikes** against railroad companies in 1884.

After 1886, the membership of the Knights declined rapidly following their defeat in a strike against Jay Gould's Southwestern Railroad (1886), factional fighting within the Knights, and a prolonged struggle with the **craft unions** represented by the **American Federation of Labor**. One of the ma-

job problems faced by the Knights was the gulf between the expectations of the **rank and file** and the moderation of the senior leadership, a gulf exposed by the leadership's refusal to endorse the nationwide eight-hour campaign in 1886. The Knights were also active outside the United States, forming offshoots in **Canada** (1881), the **United Kingdom** (where they claimed 10,000 members by 1889), **Belgium, Ireland, Australia** (1890), and **New Zealand**. Within the United States, the membership of the Knights ebbed rapidly from 511,400 in 1887 to 220,600 by 1889. Although a spent force after 1890, the Knights claimed 20,200 members in 1900 and continued to publish a journal until 1917. Some of their ideas were carried on by the **Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)** after 1905.

**KOREA.** See NORTH KOREA (DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA); SOUTH KOREA (REPUBLIC OF KOREA).

**KOSOVO.** Kosovo has been independent from **Serbia** since 2008. The essential rights of organized labor are guaranteed by the United Nations but are frequently violated by **employers**. Laws to help organized labor were expected to be enacted in 2010 but failed to materialize. The country continues to face violence, such as against journalists in 2018, an attack condemned by the **European Federation of Journalists**.

**KRAGENLINIE.** German noun literally meaning "collar line" but really referring to the social distinction between **blue-** and **white-collar employees**.

**KUWAIT.** Kuwait has been ruled by monarchs for more than 200 years without interference from political parties. Based on oil, the economy has attracted so many foreign workers that they constitute 80 percent of the workforce. Although it is possible to form labor unions in Kuwait, it is very difficult. In 1968, the Kuwait Trade Union Federation (KTUF) was founded; it is the sole legal trade union. In 1994, the law required that at least 100 workers were required to form a labor union, of whom at least 15 had to be Kuwaiti nationals.

Expatriate workers have to live in Kuwait for at least five years before they can join a labor union, but they cannot hold office or vote on union ballots or at union meetings. Expatriate domestic servants are often mistreated and can be prosecuted if they leave their **employers**. In 2009, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** drew attention to the restrictions on trade union rights. Hundreds of migrant workers were arrested and deported when they struck against bad working conditions and low **wages**. The labor code that was passed at the end of 2009 did nothing to improve conditions for **immigrant** employees or organized labor in general. The

2010s witnessed continuing attacks on trade union rights and strikers, an example of which was the oil workers' **strike** of 2016. When the strike broke out, the National Guard was brought in and the government took legal action against the strike. Under such circumstances, it almost comes as a surprise that after three days the strike ended with negotiations and guarantees that no strikers would be sanctioned. The 20,000 workers even received a 7.5 percent pay raise. In general, though, the ITUC still complained in 2018 about the systematic **violations of union rights**. The KTUF is still the only union affiliated with the ITUC, counting 34,274 members in 2018.

**KYRGYZSTAN.** Independent since August 1991 from the former **Soviet Union**, of which it had been formally a part since 1924, Kyrgyzstan has no early history of organized labor. The 1992 Labor Law recognized the right of workers to form unions, but the right to **strike** was not specifically protected and strikes were made illegal. The law recognized the right to **collective bargaining** but generally was more in favor of attracting foreign investors than protecting workers' rights. In 2001, the Kyrgyzstan Federation of Trade Unions (FPK) had 980,400 **members**. In 2007, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** noted that trade unions successfully prevented attempts to remove some union rights, but in 2008 a district court suspended the president of the Kyrgyzstan Federation of Trade Unions. As a result, the FPK lost its ITUC status and had not regained it by 2019. In 2019, **IndustriAll Global Union** and other **global union federations** on behalf of affiliates in Kyrgyzstan protested against a new law on trade unions that was submitted to parliament without any participation by trade union representatives. The FPK wrote that the proposed law clearly contradicts the constitution, the labor code, and Conventions 87 and 98 of the International Labour Organization.



# L

**LABOR ARISTOCRACY.** The term *labor aristocracy* was first used by Marx's companion Frederick Engels and later developed by Kautsky and Lenin to describe the emergence of labor unions by skilled, relatively well-paid **employees** in Britain after 1850. Such employees included stonemasons, engineers, **railroad** engine drivers, carpenters, and printers. Because of their better-off condition, paid for by profits made by exploitation of colonies and underdeveloped countries, such unions were less likely to support radical social change and more likely to identify with middle-class ideas and values. The labor aristocracy made up about 15 percent of working-class employees in late 19th-century Britain.

**LABOR DAY.** Labor Day, a public holiday celebrated in the **United States** and **Canada** on the first Monday of September, was begun by the **Knights of Labor** as a march in New York City in 1882; other marches were held in 1883 and 1884 to celebrate labor. Oregon was the first U.S. state to legislate Labor Day as a public holiday in 1887. The U.S. Congress declared it a public holiday in 1894. Labor Day public holidays are also a feature of **Australia** and **New Zealand**, though largely devoid of their original significance. Labor Day is celebrated in other countries as May Day or **International Workers' Day**.

**LABOR DISPUTES.** Labor disputes, whether in the form of **strikes** or **lockouts**, are the most consistently visible sign of the presence of conflicts between **employers** and labor. There have been labor disputes since the earliest times—the first recorded labor dispute occurred in **Egypt** in 1152 B.C. among the pharaoh's tomb makers—and they predate unions as formal, continuous organizations. In 18th-century England, 383 labor disputes were recorded between 1717 and 1800, and these led to the first sustained efforts to create legal mechanisms for their resolution. As the Industrial Revolution developed, labor disputes and other kinds of collective action such as rallies and demonstrations began to replace older forms of social protest such as food riots and tax revolts.

From about 1830, the first systematic efforts were made to collect information on disputes both by officials and by individuals. In **France**, official monitoring began in 1830 even though strikes were treated as a crime before 1864. Elsewhere in Europe, monitoring of disputes in some form had begun in the **United Kingdom** (1870) and **Italy** (1871), activities that often grew into official national statistical collections by the 1890s. In the **United States**, in 1888, the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics published a time series for its labor disputes from 1825 to 1886 and continued to publish statistics into the 20th century, as did New York State, even though a national series of U.S. dispute statistics was begun in 1881. Other countries followed: **Denmark** (1897), **Canada** (1901), the **Netherlands** and **Germany** (1901), **Sweden** and **Norway** (1903), **New Zealand** and **South Africa** (1906), **Finland** (1907), **Australia** (1913), and **Japan** (1914). In 1927, the **International Labour Organization** began publishing dispute statistics for all the countries that collected them.

This monitoring was in response to a general rise in the level of disputes in Western Europe and North America from the late 1860s to the outbreak of World War I in 1914 and from 1917 to about 1930. **General strikes** occurred in some countries such as in **Belgium** (1893), the Netherlands (1903), Sweden (1909), Britain (1926), and France (1968). The year 1920 was one of the high points of disputes based on rising **inflation** and falling **real wages** in the aftermath of World War I. The causes of these waves of disputes included political as well as economic objectives. Many employees who were not formally union members took part in labor disputes.

Governments before 1914 were more concerned with disputes as a threat to political stability than as a cost to the economy. Labor disputes are unlike most other social phenomena in that they can change greatly from one year to the next and often occur in waves. There have been three major international waves of labor disputes: 1869 to 1875, 1910 to 1920, and 1968 to 1974. The relationship between labor disputes and the trade cycle is complicated, but there is a clear association between the frequency of disputes and the state of the trade cycle. In good economic times, there are usually more disputes than when the cycle is depressed.

On occasion, particularly intense labor disputes have politicized some of their participants. For instance, two of the thousands of strikers who were victimized after the great **railroad** strike of 1917 in New South Wales, Australia, were drawn into politics: Joseph Benedict Chifley (1885–1951), who was Australia's prime minister from 1945 to 1949, and John Joseph Cahill (1891–1959), who was premier of New South Wales from 1952 to 1959.

In 1984, two Danish economists, Martin Paldam and Peder J. Pedersen, examined data for 18 Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries between 1919 and 1979 and found a positive link

between nominal **wage** rises and the number of labor disputes. They found that changes in real wages were only negatively related to changes in labor disputes in the United States and that in other countries the relationship was either positive or insignificant. They also suggested that there was a cultural-linguistic divide in the labor dispute record of these countries between 1919 and 1979. They distinguished high-conflict countries as belonging to the Anglo-Saxon group (United Kingdom, **Ireland**, United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand) or the Latin group (France and Italy), low-conflict countries as belonging to the German-Nordic group (**Austria**, **Denmark**, Germany, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and **Switzerland**), and a fourth group that did not fit easily into any category (Belgium, Finland, and Japan). They could not discern any long-term pattern in the labor dispute levels of the Anglo-Saxon or Latin groups, but in the German-Nordic group there was a strong falling trend of disputes since the peak level of the early 1920s.

Labor disputes are unevenly distributed in the economy. Certain industries, particularly **coal mining**, engineering, and transportation, have frequently accounted for a major part of the disputes in many countries. From the 1970s, a “tertiarisation of industrial conflict” has been noted, following the tertiarisation of the economy. Since 1980, the number of disputes has fallen to very low levels in most countries, a trend that has been attributed to the decline in the strength of organized labor and profound economic shifts such as the deindustrialization of most Western countries.

The study of labor disputes has been approached from two main directions: the sociohistorical approach, which examined their statistical characteristics within and between countries over time, and the “rational expectations” approach, which treats labor disputes as one possible result of rational decision making by bargainers with incomplete information. This latter approach has been popular among **labor economists** since about 1970, although it was first suggested by the economist John R. Hicks in 1932. Although the two approaches proceed from widely different attitudes and assumptions, it is clear that there is no agreed single model that can be applied to labor disputes for all periods.

For all the drama that can accompany large labor disputes, they account for only a tiny proportion of the workdays lost in most Western economies compared with other sources of loss such as illness and industrial accidents. The lost production caused by disputes is usually quickly made up. Nevertheless, governments remain sensitive to the level of disputes as an indicator of political stability and the countries’ reliability as international traders. Consequently, the legal right to strike is circumscribed in various ways even in many Western countries. Legal notice of a strike is required in some countries. In Japan, most of the **public sector** is denied the right to strike, as are federal government employees (since 1912) and most state employees in the United States, with the exception of those in Hawaii and Pennsylvania. Final-

ly, the international statistics on disputes for any period must be treated with considerable caution, as many countries understate their true level of disputes and use incomparable definitions. Data compiled by the British Department of Industry indicated that within the countries of the OECD, the average number of working days lost per thousand employees in 1996 to 2000 was 59, compared with an average of 66 between 1991 and 1995. Since 2006, strikes in many countries affected by the global financial crisis have risen sharply, but the level of the 1970s was never reached. *See also* BRITISH GENERAL STRIKE; CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION; GENERAL STRIKES; LABOR STATISTICS; “WINTER OF DISCONTENT”; INDUSTRIAL DISPUTE.

**LABOR ECONOMICS.** The branch of economics that studies the supply and demand for human beings on the **labor market**. Theoretical advances and the availability of computerized data sets have enabled labor economics to advance greatly since the 1960s through the use of quantitative analysis or econometrics. One topic that has received attention from labor economists has been the economic effects of organized labor that challenge the traditional tools of macro- and micro-economics and show their limitations.

**LABOR FORCE.** The economically active part of the population. It includes those who are employed (the employed labor force) and the unemployed (the potentially employed). Those who are not in the labor force are usually students, retired people, “housewives” (male or female), and people who are not actively seeking work. It is a matter of debate when people are regarded to be employed. According to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, “The employed are defined as those who work for pay or profit for at least one hour a week, or who have a job but are temporarily not at work due to illness, leave or industrial action.” This definition tends to diminish the unemployment number, which seems to benefit sitting governments.

**LABOR HISTORY.** Credit for the first truly scholarly investigation of organized labor must go to **Beatrice** (1858–1943) and **Sidney James Webb** (1859–1947). Married in 1892, the Webbs created one of the most productive working partnerships in modern British intellectual history. Committed Fabians, their contribution to the scholarship of organized labor was enormous and included *The History of Trade Unionism* (1894), *Industrial Democracy* (1897), and *The Consumers’ Co-operative Movement* (1921). *The History of Trade Unionism* was revised in 1920 and exerted a major influence, particularly in encouraging an institutional approach to labor unions. They defined a labor union as a “continuous association of wage earners for the purpose of



maintaining or improving their conditions of employment,” a definition that has been criticized for neglecting the role of noncontinuous labor bodies in the history of organized labor. The definition also received criticism from those who envisage the union movement as a mover for the destruction of capitalism.

In the **United States**, John R. Commons (1862–1945) founded the Wisconsin school of labor history, one of the first systematic, scholarly endeavors of its kind anywhere, and published the 10-volume *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society* in 1910–1911 and a four-volume *History of Labor in the United States* between 1918 and 1935. In **Australia**, T. A. Coghlan (1855–1926) published a four-volume general account, *Labour and Industry in Australia from the First Settlement in 1788 to the Establishment of the Commonwealth in 1901*, in 1918. In 1921, J. T. Sutcliffe published *A History of Trade Unionism in Australia*.

However, this impetus was not sustained, and the scholarly examination of the history of organized labor tended to languish in the 1930s and 1940s and did not revive until the 1960s, when it benefited from an upsurge of interest in social and economic history, stimulated by works such as E. P. Thompson’s *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963). Academic journals devoted to labor history began in the United States (1960), Australia (1962), and **Canada** (1976). Academics lost interest in the 1980s, but following the recent global revival of labor unrest, academia has shown renewed interest. The focus of interest has been shifting from Western countries to what is sometimes called the global South, or developing countries. Modern labor historians also show more interest in nonstandard forms of labor than their predecessors did. *See also* SLAVERY.

**LABOR MANAGEMENT REPORTING AND DISCLOSURE ACT.**  
*See* LANDRUM–GRIFFIN ACT.

**LABOR MARKET.** The labor market is a “place” in the economy where the demand for labor and the supply of labor interact. It is about hiring and supplying certain labor to perform certain jobs, and the process of determining the **wages** to be paid and received in performing tasks. Classical economists regard all markets to be free, but this idea has been debated for a long time. Especially, the labor market is not free considering all the deficiencies that exist, of which the existence of labor unions, sometimes called the cartel of labor, is only one. *See also* LABOR ECONOMICS; PRIMARY LABOR MARKET; SECONDARY LABOR MARKET; SEGMENTED LABOR MARKET.

**LABOR PARTIES.** See SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC, SOCIALIST, AND LABOR PARTIES.

**LABOR STATISTICS.** Most of the earliest labor statistics were collected through the census of population and housing: the **United Kingdom** census included a question on **occupation** from 1811, and the **United States** census included a question on **industry** from 1820. From the 1860s, there was growing demand for better statistical information about labor. Several American states, notably Massachusetts (1869), Pennsylvania (1870), and Ohio (1877), established statistical bureaus that collected data on **wages**, prices, and **labor disputes**.

The demand for better statistics did not just come from governments and **employers**; organized labor was well aware of the importance of accurate statistics. The International Working Men's Association (the First International) as early as 1866 invited all workers of Europe and America "to collaborate in gathering the elements of the statistics of the working class." Aim III of the **Knights of Labor** was the establishment of a bureau of labor statistics "so that we may arrive at correct knowledge of the educational, moral and financial condition of the laboring masses." The U.S. Bureau of Labor was created in 1884 and made an independent organization in 1888. From about 1890, many countries began to publish official statistics on topics, such as labor disputes, trade union **membership**, wages, prices, employment, and unemployment. In 1893, the British government began to issue a national statistical publication with commentary, the *Labour Gazette*, which continues to the present as the *Employment Gazette*. In **Australia**, the federal government began publishing a compendium of national labor statistics, the *Labour Report*, in 1912 and continued it until 1972. The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics began to publish the *Monthly Labor Review* in 1915, a publication that continues to the present.

In 1940, the United States began to collect labor force statistics from a regular household survey, an example followed by **Canada** (1954), Australia (1960), and many other countries since. One important byproduct of these surveys has been their ability to match labor union membership with a range of socioeconomic and demographic characteristics. Such information began to be available for the United States in 1973 (although the present survey began in 1983), from 1983 for Australia (with a pilot survey being held in 1976), in 1984 for Canada, in 1987 for **Sweden**, and in 1989 for the United Kingdom.

The main agency for the collection of international labor statistics is the **International Labour Organization**, which has been publishing its *Year Book of Labour Statistics* since 1927. ILO Convention 160 (Labor Statistics, 1985) called on member countries to regularly compile and publish statistics on employment, unemployment, earnings, working hours, consumer prices,

household expenditure, occupational injury and diseases, and labor disputes. This convention was a revision of Convention 63 (Statistics of Wages and Hours of Work, 1938). The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, to which 30 countries are members, also collects and publishes labor statistics.

**LABOR UNIONS AS EMPLOYERS.** Because of their role as representatives of **employees** and their traditionally small size as organizations, it has tended to be forgotten that labor unions as organizations are also **employers**, and the topic has not been researched. However, the increased **amalgamation** of labor unions since the 1980s has meant that labor unions have become larger organizations and therefore more likely to be employers in their own right. One of the arguments for employing people by trade unions has been their independence vis-à-vis employers during negotiations, an argument often forgotten by critics who point out the good working conditions of many union employees and the **benefits** they receive. Information on unions as employers is scanty, but in the **United States** official survey figures show that there was an average of 138,400 people employed by its labor unions between 2001 and 2005, that is, one employee for every 114 union members. In **Australia**, **wage** and salary data for 2004–2005 implied that there were about 6,500 people employed by labor unions, or one employee for every 300 union members. In the **Netherlands**, the mergers and financial problems of labor unions even resulted in a number of strikes by union employees against the unions they worked for.

**LABOUR PARTY (BRITISH).** Formed in 1900 as the Labour Representation Committee, the British Labour Party has been one of the leading continuous political parties in the world based on organized labor. Labour officials first began contesting British parliamentary elections in 1847, but none were successful until 1874, when Alexander Macdonald (1821–1881) and Thomas Burt (1837–1922), two coal miners' leaders, were elected to the House of Commons. In 1867, the franchise was widened to include relatively well-off urban working-class males. Because of its ability to work with the Liberal Party for labor objectives, the **Trades Union Congress** was slow to see the need for organized labor to support its own political party. In 1892, Keir Hardie (1856–1915) succeeded in having a resolution for separate labor representation carried at the TUC, but no action followed. It was the **Taff Vale Case** that galvanized organized labor into supporting a separate labor party; in 1906, the Labour Representation Committee was renamed the Labour Party. Membership was at first open only to unions, but in 1918 individuals were allowed to join. During World War I, a number of Labour members were participants in the government.

In 1918, the Labour Party adopted a socialization objective that called for government control of most of the economy, and in 1922 it became the official opposition party for the first time. In 1923–1924, the Labour Party formed a minority government under Ramsay MacDonald. In the 1930s, the Labour Party fared badly in elections and directed its policies toward producing detailed reformist programs. During World War II, members of the Labour Party, such as **Ernest Bevin**, participated in Winston Churchill's government. In 1945, Labour, under Clement Attlee (who had been leader of the party since 1935), won government for the first time and proceeded to implement wide-ranging reforms. Labour was defeated in 1951 and did not win government again until 1964. Thereafter, the Labour Party's electoral record in national British politics was mixed: Labour lost power in 1970, regained it in 1974, and lost again in 1979 after the "**Winter of Discontent**" when militant labor struck massively. After 1979, Labour spent 18 years in the political wilderness, during which time it tried to regain public support by setting the unions at a distance. The changes resulted in a landslide victory in 1997 for New Labour under Tony Blair. It won a second victory in June 2001 and a third in May 2005. However, despite these wins, relations between the Blair government and organized labor were cool. The government showed no obvious bias in favor of organized labor and was accused by organized labor's left of being too close to big business. After Tony Blair, the Labour Party under Gordon Brown stayed in office and the image of the party didn't change much. Since 2010, the Labour Party has lost elections, after which the more radical Jeremy Corbyn moved the party leftward.

Certainly, the election of the Labour government in 1997 did little to arrest the slow decline in the **membership** of organized labor. Although the number of employed British union members averaged about 7.3 million between 1995 and 2008, the proportion of **employees** who were union members fell from 29 to 25 percent. There were continued falls in 2009 and 2010 as a result of the global financial crisis and the failure of unions to recruit additional men in **full-time** employment. In 2010, there were 6.9 million union members accounting for 24 percent of employees, a percentage that remained stable since then. *See also* UNITED KINGDOM.

**LANDRUM–GRIFFIN ACT.** This act, known officially as the Labor Management Reporting and Disclosure Act, was a major piece of U.S. federal labor law that was passed in September 1959. It was aimed at reducing corruption and the influence of organized crime within unions as exemplified by the **Teamsters**. After the findings of the Senate McClellan Committee, the act was approved. It set down minimum standards to ensure democratic elections, but it also extended the ban of the **Taft–Hartley Act** on secondary **boycotts** and allowed the states to assume jurisdiction in relatively minor **labor disputes**.

**LAOS.** Independent from France since 1949, the Lao People's Democratic Republic has been ruled by the Communist Party since 1975. The party also controls the Federation of Lao Trade Unions (FLTU), and the FLTU does everything in its power to support government policy. No unions are allowed outside the FLTU, and **strikes** are forbidden in law. FLTU membership is only open to **employees** with Lao nationality. The **International Trade Union Confederation** survey of **violations of trade union rights** documents the arrest in 2009 of nine rural workers during a demonstration. In 2016, three Lao employees working in Thailand were arrested upon return to their home country because of criticizing the government online.

**LATVIA.** Organized labor was only able to emerge in Latvia after it gained independence from **Russia** in 1920; previously, it had been part of the Russian Empire. In 1921, the labor federation of Latvia joined the **International Federation of Trade Unions** and remained a member until 1933. In 1923, Latvia claimed a trade union **membership** of 23,660. In 1940, an independent labor movement ceased to exist in the **Baltic states** after their annexation by the **Soviet Union**.

In the late 1980s, the Soviet Union began to fragment, allowing organized labor to reemerge. During March 1990, Latvia and the other Baltic states declared their independence from the Soviet Union. Labor unions were legalized in Latvia in December 1990, although there was conflict over the ownership of the property of the former communist labor federation. The right to **strike** was recognized in 1998, although with limitations. In 1997, the Free Trade Union Confederation of Latvia was admitted to membership in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** and claimed a membership of 207,400 in 2001, which plummeted to 91,500 in 2018. During 2001, the government made efforts to bring Latvia's laws in line with the conventions of the **International Labour Organization** and the **European Union**. In 2002, the ICFTU conceded that progress had been made in Latvia's legal environment for organized labor, but that government did not regard labor unions as partners in **social dialogue** and that there was much opposition to unions in the private sector. The 2009 survey of **violations of trade union rights** by the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** observed that there was a trend of **employer** hostility toward organized labor and **collective bargaining**. The 2010s showed no improvement, with collective bargaining and union activities still under attack. Despite this antiunion climate in 2015, there were big strikes in **education** and health care. In 2018, **union density** was only 12.6 percent and the ITUC concluded there were repeated violations of rights.

**LAVAL CASE.** Swedish unions took action in 2004 against the Latvian Laval company over the working conditions of Latvian construction workers in the town of Vaxholm who were paid according to the standards of **Latvia**. Laval refused to sign a **collective agreement**, and the unions responded with a blockade of the workplace. The Labor Court of **Sweden** referred the case to the European Court of Justice, which ruled in 2007 that the right of businesses to supply cross-border services is more fundamental than the right to **strike**. The **European Trade Union Confederation** fears that as a consequence equality for migrant workers according to the conditions of the host country is under attack and social dumping will follow, a fear that has proven true throughout the following decade.

**LAW.** See COMBINATION ACT; EMPLOYMENT ACTS; LANDRUM–GRIFFIN ACT; NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT; RIGHT-TO-WORK LAWS; *ROOKES V. BARNARD*; TAFT–HARTLEY ACT; WAGNER ACT.

**LEBANON.** An independent nation since 1943, Lebanon had been previously administered by **France** under a mandate from the League of Nations. Labor unions in Lebanon were first formed in the 1940s. Reflecting its society, organized labor was fragmented along religious, ethnic, and political lines. Lebanon was represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** since 1951, but by a number of affiliates since 1965; in 1996, Lebanon had 13 affiliates, the most of any country at the time. The biggest affiliate is the General Confederation of Lebanese Workers with more than half of organized labor. Between 1975 and 1990, Lebanon suffered from civil war, which claimed 150,000 lives and inflicted massive economic damage. In 2009, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** expressed its concern that **Palestinian** workers, who are regarded as stateless, are not allowed to form unions. The right to **strike** is limited, as is the right to organize demonstrations. A **general strike** in May 2008 met with army intervention. Interference in union matters went on throughout the following 10 years. In 2019, massive street protests and strikes forced the government to resign. The ITUC has no affiliate in Lebanon.

**LEGIEN, CARL (1861–1920).** Carl Legien was one of the leading labor leaders in **Germany** before 1914. Born in Marienburg, he was raised in an orphanage after the death of his parents. Apprenticed as a turner in 1875, he settled in Hamburg after military service. He joined the turner's union in 1886 and became its chairman. In 1890, he was elected chairman of the Generalkommission der Gewerkschaften, the National Federation of Trade Unions, a position he held until his death. He used his position to build a

strong national union organization and to maintain the independence of the union movement from the control of the Social Democratic Party. He was a strong opponent of the **general strike** as advocated by **syndicalism**. He was president and secretary of the **International Federation of Trade Unions** from 1901 to 1919. Ironically, for someone who opposed general strikes, it was Legien who issued the call for the general strike in Berlin that defeated the proto-fascist Kapp Putsch in 1920.

**LESOTHO.** Lesotho has been independent from the **United Kingdom** since October 1966 but economically dependent on **South Africa** since then; organized labor had emerged sufficiently by the 1960s to form the Basutoland Federation of Labour, which was admitted to the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** in 1979, declaring a **membership** of 12,000. Changing its name to the Lesotho Federation of Trade Unions by 1983, the federation remained in the ICFTU to 1993, against a backdrop of political instability and military rule between 1986 and 1995. The ICFTU has been critical of the environment for organized labor in the 1990s. In 2007, the **International Trade Union Confederation** reported that, because of complicated legal procedures, there have not been any legal **strikes** for many years, although strikes do occur. Industrial action in the **public sector** is illegal by definition. Labor unions in the private sector could not be formed without permission and had to be registered by the registrar of trade unions. Harassment of union activists remained commonplace. In 2018, marches and demonstrations by thousands of workers and the threat that textile factories would go down forced the government to agree to a **minimum wage** for factory workers.

**LEWIS, JOHN LLEWELLYN (1880–1969).** John L. Lewis was the most important miners' leader in the **United States** in the 20th century. He was born in Lucas, Iowa, and began working as a coal miner at 16. In 1909, he gained his first office with the **United Mine Workers of America**, progressing to vice president in 1917 and president in 1920, a position he held until 1960. Lewis was a controversial figure who devoted much of his energies in the 1920s to fighting and expelling rivals from within the union, the **membership** of which fell from 500,000 to 75,000 between 1920 and 1933. Lewis realized the need for legal support in rebuilding the union and was a prime mover behind Section 7(a) of the **National Industrial Recovery Act** of 1933, which gave **employees** the right to collectively organize and bargain without **employer** interference. A supporter of **industrial unions**, Lewis saw the potential for **organizing** the semiskilled and led the campaign to form the **Congress of Industrial Organizations**. He served as its president from 1938 to 1940, resigning in opposition to the policies of President Franklin D.

Roosevelt. In 1946 and 1948, Lewis led a series of **strikes** that resulted in the coal mine owners paying a bounty on each ton of coal mined, which was used to finance health, welfare, and retirement **benefits** for miners. Lewis's last major achievement was the first federal Mine Safety Act (1952). *See also* COAL MINING.

**LIBERIA.** Despite its name and origins as a haven for freed U.S. **slaves** since 1847, Liberia has not enjoyed a history of liberty. There was no legal framework for organized labor or **collective bargaining** until 1963. A national labor union federation was formed in 1960 on the remains of a former federation founded in 1951 but soon defunct. The 1960 federation was modeled on the U.S. **Congress of Industrial Organizations**, it gained affiliation with the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** by 1965, but by 1989 had been replaced as Liberia's affiliate by the Liberian Federation of Labor Unions (LFLU). The LFLU was formed in 1979 after the country's president urged the union movement to merge and form one single union. Not all unions agreed. In 2007, Liberia was mentioned in the survey of **violations of trade union rights** because the government tried to interfere in internal trade union affairs. In 2008, a historic **collective agreement** was signed by the Firestone rubber plantation. The same year saw the removal of a 1980 decree that had banned **strikes**, but in 2009 a legal framework for trade union activities was still lacking. In 2014, trade union leaders were dismissed; a sit-in at the Ministry of Justice three years later was not enough to reinstall them. The Liberia Labour Congress is the affiliate of the **International Trade Union Confederation** and has 42,000 members.

**LIBYA.** Libya has been independent from **Italy** since December 1951. Organized labor in Libya only dates from after 1945; under Benito Mussolini's rule, labor unions were outlawed. The Libyan General Workers' Union was formed in 1952 and was an affiliate of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** from 1953 to 1959, when it **amalgamated** with another labor federation to form the Libyan National Confederation of Trade Unions. However, after the coup by Colonel Muammar al-Qaddafi in September 1969, organized labor in Libya ceased to function and its affiliation with the ICFTU also ended; at that time, Libya had about 35,000 union members. In 2010, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** reported that Libyan workers were still denied any right to **organize** independent labor unions and **collective bargaining** was heavily curtailed. The report was also critical of the government's disregard of the rights of migrant workers and the virtual prohibition on **strikes**. The General Trade Union Federation of Workers claimed to be more independent than during the past, but the ITUC concluded that it was still under strict **government control**.



The uprisings in **Tunisia** and **Egypt** that started in 2010 were followed by a popular revolt in Libya resulting in the death of Qaddafi. Since then, the country has been divided and the central government has not been able to protect the rights of workers. Collective bargaining has been difficult to perform, but over the decade since the fall of Qaddafi a number of strikes took place.

**LIECHTENSTEIN.** Liechtenstein is a constitutional monarchy with a high standard of living, thanks to its financial services as the main economic sector. There is freedom for unions and **strikes**. The single union, Liechtensteiner Arbeitnehmer Verband (Liechtenstein Employees' Association, founded in 1920), had 1,200 members in 1910 and covered about 13 percent of **employees**. In 2018, **membership** had decreased to 992 employees.

**LITHUANIA.** Organized labor was only able to emerge in Lithuania after it gained independence from **Russia** in 1918; previously, it had been part of the Russian Empire since 1795. A labor federation existed in Lithuania by 1926 and was a member of the **International Federation of Trade Unions** until 1927, but after a military government took power, the number of union members fell from 18,500 in 1927 to 1,200 by 1932. In 1940, an independent labor movement ceased to exist in Lithuania and the other **Baltic states** after their annexation by the Soviet Union.

In the late 1980s, the Soviet Union began to fragment, allowing organized labor to reemerge. The first independent labor union in the post-1940 period in the Baltic states was formed in Lithuania in 1988. During March 1990, all three Baltic states declared their independence from the Soviet Union. In Lithuania, an independent workers' union, the Lithuanian Workers' Union, was formed in 1989 and claimed 150,000 members by 1992. In 1991, the Lithuanian government nationalized the property of the **communist** labor federation and introduced the Collective Agreements Law, which hindered the formation of new labor unions. Lithuania was represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** by 1997. In 2001, its two labor federation members claimed a combined **membership** of 91,600. In 2007, the **International Trade Union Confederation** was critical of restrictions on the right to join unions and of the excessive ban on **strikes**. Besides, the national confederation, the LPSS Solidarmus, suffered government interference in its activities. Legislation in 2008 relaxed restrictions, but antiunion behavior continued. At least three trade unionists were dismissed in 2010. The ITUC continued complaining about the repeated **violations of union rights** in Lithuania. Trade **union density** was only 7.7 percent in 2016, but strikes did occur.

**LOBBYING.** *See* POLITICS.

**LOCKOUT.** A **labor dispute** initiated by an **employer** or group of employers in contrast to a **strike** (that is, a labor dispute initiated by **employees**). The word was first recorded in 1860 to describe a labor dispute in which the employees were literally locked out of their workplace. In practice, lockouts are difficult to measure because provocation by an employer can mean that the dispute takes the form of a strike. An example of a national lockout occurred in the **United States** in October 2002, when a lockout of longshoremen resulted in the closure of 19 ports on the West Coast. In many countries, lockouts seem to have almost disappeared, but **India** and **Germany** have witnessed many lockouts in the recent past.

**LOKHANDE, NARAYAN MEGHAJI (1848–1897).** Generally regarded as the father of organized labor in **India**, Lokhande started his career with the **railroads** and the postal department. Afterward, he joined the Mandavi Textile Mills as storekeeper in 1870. This mill-life experience exposed him to the miserable living conditions of the mill hands, and it prompted him to **organize** them. Before the Factory Act of 1881, no legislation existed to protect **employees**, who toiled in appalling conditions that could be endured for only a few years. Many were **women** and children, causing growing concern about the exploitative nature of factory work. Despite the **employers'** resistance, the government enacted the Factory Act of 1881. The enforcement of the law was minimal, so Lokhande saw the need to establish a union in 1884, the Bombay Mill Hands Association—the first labor organization in India. That year also witnessed the appointment of a factory commission because the concerns of adult mill workers had so far been ignored. The association and Lokhande placed many formal grievances before the government. They also gathered thousands of signatures of mill workers, submitted memoranda, and gave valuable evidence before the commission. He also established a hospital for the poor so they would have access to medical facilities. In 1896, he was involved in relief work when Bombay and its suburbs were in the grip of the plague. This tireless work itself led to his death from the plague. Despite all his achievements, Lokhande was a forgotten figure until 2005, when he was commemorated on a postage stamp.

**LUDDISM.** *Luddism* was the name given to a systematic if sporadic campaign of **machine breaking** by **employees** who feared that their role in the **industry** would be taken over by machines. Luddism drew its name from an imaginary leader, Ned Ludd, who was also referred to as Captain Ludd and General Ludd. It occurred in the English textile industry between 1812 and 1818. **Employers** took to shooting Luddites, and eventually the movement

was suppressed with legal and military force. At one time, there were more British soldiers fighting the Luddites than there were fighting Napoleon in Spain.

**LUXEMBOURG.** Luxembourg has been a sovereign nation since 1867, when organized labor also began to develop. Like its neighbor, **Belgium**, its organized labor has been divided by religion. The Confédération Générale du Travail (General Confederation of Labor), the main labor federation, was formed in 1919. A **Catholic** labor federation was formed in 1920. Union **membership** was 18,000 in 1930. Unions were suppressed by the Nazis, and, although an attempt was made to build a unified labor movement after 1944, it had failed by 1948 through the defection of **communists** and Catholics. Luxembourg has always been a member of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions**. Between 1970 and 1990, the number of union members in Luxembourg rose from 52,000 to 75,000, divided among labor federations that cater to **white-** and **blue-collar** unions, Catholic unions, private-sector white-collar unions, and **craft unions**. In 2010, the two Luxembourg affiliates of the **International Trade Union Confederation** had a total membership of 104,500, a number that slightly increased to 120,600 in 2018. Trade **union density** was estimated at 41 percent. This relatively high density can be explained by the many services the unions provide and the capacity and willingness to incorporate migrants.



# M

**MACHINE BREAKING.** Machine breaking, that is, the wrecking of new machinery by workers, was a form of **industrial dispute** dating from at least the late 17th century and a feature of **industrial relations** before the recognition of labor unions. It was, however, certainly not a blind rage of illiterate workers, but as E. P. Thompson in his valuable work *The Making of the English Working Class* showed in 1963, it was a form of labor dispute adapted to the circumstances of the time. *See also* LUDDISM.

**MADAGASCAR.** Independent from **France** since June 1960, Madagascar had labor unions by 1937. One of the oldest now is the Christian Confederation of Malagasy Trade Unions (SEKRIMA), formed in 1938. In the 1950s, SEKRIMA had 100,000 members, but after 1972, the membership shrank to only 7,000 around 2010, bumping up to 38,100 in 2018. Madagascar was represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** by 1953 and has retained its affiliation ever since, despite political uncertainty. In 1995, there were about 30,000 union members in Madagascar. In 2007, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** reported government hostility to labor unions in “essential services” and particularly in **export processing zones**. The right to **strike** is recognized but not easy to use because of complicated procedures. Despite this, and a political crisis in which dozens of civilians were killed, the four Madagascan affiliates of the ITUC claimed a total of nearly 78,000 members in 2010. Both membership and the number of affiliates have grown since; there were five affiliates and 84,400 members in 2018. SEKRIMA was one of them with the highest number of members. In 2012, 43 dockers were sacked for having tried to improve their working conditions and pay through union activities. Despite international pressure on Madagascar from the **International Transport Workers’ Federation (ITF)** in 2017, the case was not solved.

**MALAWI.** A former colony of the **United Kingdom** and independent since July 1964, Malawi was previously called Nyasaland. It was unusual among colonies in having an ordinance regulating labor unions in 1932 before there

was any real presence of organized labor. The Nyasaland Trades Union Congress was formed in 1956 and was admitted to the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** in 1957; it was reformed as the Trades Union Congress of Malawi in 1964 and has remained an affiliate of the ICFTU and its successor ever since. After independence, organized labor fared poorly. Hastings Banda, who led the independence movement and was the first prime minister, declared himself president for life in 1971 and ran a one-party government to 1994 that committed abuses of trade union and **human rights**. By 1995, Malawi had about 45,000 labor union members. In 2007, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** reported that, although labor unions and **collective bargaining** were legally recognized in Malawi, they were severely regulated and **strikes** were easily declared illegal. In 2010, 50 workers were dismissed for striking and the ITUC confirmed that **employers** and government still resisted unions. Trade **union density** was 5.5 percent in 2013, and the ITUC kept complaining about repeated **violations of union rights**.

**MALAYSIA.** The first labor unions in the Malayan Peninsula were created by the Chinese in the **Singapore** area, starting with a union of engineering mechanics in 1875. Other unions were formed later by Indian **employees**. In 1939, there were 43 unions. By 1947, there were about 200,000 members of labor unions, of which about half belonged to unions controlled by **communists**. The Malaysian Trades Union Congress (originally called the Malayan Trade Union Council) was formed in 1950. The development of Malaysian labor unions was retarded by the economic dominance of **agriculture** until the late 1980s and by the period of the Malayan Emergency (1948–1960), which forced governments to devote their efforts to fighting the communist insurgency. Since becoming independent from the **United Kingdom** in 1957, Malaysian governments have tolerated rather than encouraged labor unions. The Trade Unions Act of 1959 did not allow general unions for workers but only **craft unions** and enterprise or in-house unions. Although the act forbids **employers** to victimize workers for being union members, many workers have been reluctant to join a union for fear that their contracts might not be renewed and because employers have dismissed union officials. In 1967, the Industrial Relations Act gave the government the power to use compulsory **arbitration** to settle **labor disputes** if **conciliation** failed. To encourage foreign investment in 1981, labor unions were excluded from **export processing zones**, which mainly produced electronic goods. Under pressure from the **American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations**, this policy was relaxed in September 1988 to permit in-house unions in these zones. Malaysia has been represented continuously in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Union** and its successor since 1951. They have been critical of the Malaysian government and policies of hinder-

ing **collective bargaining** and the free operation of labor unions. In 2010, there were 400,000 union members in Malaysia, compared with 350,000 in 1992. In 2009, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** complained that the Trade Union Act (2008) obstructed the creation of independent and strong unions; the ITUC documented many examples of employers' destroying labor unions and abuse of migrant employees. Also, the right to **strike** is hampered by many legal restrictions and almost nonexistent. The last major strike occurred in 1962, when thousands of railway workers successfully went on strike to demand conversion of daily **wages** to monthly salaries.

**MALDIVES.** Independent from the **United Kingdom** since 1965, the Maldives became a presidential republic three years later but only became a multiparty state in 2005. The 2008 constitution guarantees **freedom of association** and the right to **strike**, but there is no legal protection of workers engaged in trade union activities. The Tourism Employees Association of Maldives, which was formed in 2008, seems to have been the first labor union ever formed on the Maldives. In 2009, all the leaders of a strike at the Bandos Island Resort lost their jobs. The 2010s saw more instances of **anti-union discrimination**. An example is the 2013 strike by Maldivian **employees** at Alimatha Resort in Vaavu Atoll, which was ended by police interference and the arrests of union leaders. The resort management dismissed 27 strikers.

**MALI.** Mali has been independent of **France** since September 1960; organized labor in Mali originally consisted of the overseas branches of French labor unions. After independence, organized labor was placed under **government control** through the Union Nationale des Travailleurs du Mali (UNTM), or National Union of Workers of Mali. In 1993, this organization was admitted to membership in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions**, when it claimed 130,000 members. This 1993 **membership claim** was repeated in 2018. The growing independent attitude of the UNTM provoked the government to fund a breakaway union center. This union, which is much smaller than the UNTM, has also been an affiliate of the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**. The ITUC surveys of **violations of trade union rights** since 2007 have documented the arrests of union leaders and dismissals of activists, such as 100 strikers from the Morilla gold mines in 2010. Since 2012, Mali has been the scene of rivalries between central government and rebel groups. Such a situation is never advantageous to workers and trade unions. There have been many instances of dismissals and harassment of union activists over the years.

**MALTA.** Malta has been fully independent from the **United Kingdom** since 1964; the first Maltese labor union was formed among waterfront fitters under English influence in 1884, but it was not until 1945 that a legal framework for labor unions and **collective bargaining** was established. Malta has been represented continuously in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** and its successor, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**, since 1951 by the General Workers' Union (GWU, formed 1943); it claimed 36,000 members in 2001. Since 1959, a rival union center has existed, claiming 31,000 members in 2001. In 2002, the government introduced a law that would allow for compulsory **arbitration in labor disputes**. In 2008, there were 84,000 union members in Malta, of which only 60,000 remained in 2011. In 2015, trade **union density** was 51.4 percent and the **collective bargaining** rate about the same at 41.8 percent. In 2017, the ITUC mentioned the case of the Palumbo Ship Repair Company, which tries to avoid concluding a collective agreement by deliberately delaying the process and threatening **employees** to sign a direct agreement with the company. The GWU was thus left out of the process.

**MANUAL/NONMANUAL.** *See* BLUE-COLLAR/WHITE-COLLAR.

**MANUFACTURING.** Manufacturing, also known as the secondary sector, covers all those economic activities that result in the production of tangible goods. It was the first economic sector in which organized labor arose, from about 1350 in Western Europe. Modern organized labor emerged in the 18th century in the **United Kingdom**. **Printing** was the earliest part of manufacturing to produce organized labor. With the advent of the Industrial Revolution from 1850, engineering and metalworking, together with **coal mining**, became important parts of the backbone of organized labor. In the United Kingdom, this was most evident in the **Amalgamated Society of Engineers**, formed in 1851. Between 1892 and 1970, about 40 percent of all British union members were employed in some area of manufacturing, of whom about half were employed in metalworking and engineering. Since the 1970s, the strength of manufacturing unions within organized labor in industrial countries has declined along with employment in the **industry**. In the United Kingdom, for example, only 20 percent of **employees** in manufacturing in 2010 were union members compared with 33 percent in 1995. Over the same period, the percentage of employees in manufacturing in the **United States** fell from 18 to 11 percent. Even in up-and-coming **China**, the number of employees in manufacturing fell from 86.2 million in 1990 to 83.1 million in 2002.



**MARIKANA MASSACRE.** On 16 August 2012, tens of strikers were wounded and 17 killed by the police in **South Africa**. The massacre started as a wildcat **strike** at a mine in Marikana, close to Rustenburg. The mine was owned by Lonmin, a company in which the former president of the republic but also a former trade union official, **Matamela Cyril Ramaphosa**, were involved. After the massacre, which was compared to violent police actions during Apartheid, a series of violent clashes between the police, security forces, and members of the National Union of Mineworkers on the one hand and angry strikers on the other followed suit. Another 10 people were killed.

**MATERNAL PROTECTION.** The provision of legal safeguards for employed mothers was recognized by the **International Labour Organization** by Convention No. 3 (Maternal Protection) in 1919, which was revised in 1952 as Convention No. 103. Paid leave for maternity (that is, during and after pregnancy), however, generally only became a feature of **women's** employment in the 1980s. Convention No. 183, adopted in 2000, provides for 14 weeks of maternity **benefit** to women to whom the instrument applies. The convention also requires ratifying states to take measures to ensure that a pregnant woman or nursing mother is not obliged to perform work that has been determined to be harmful to her health or that of her child, and provides for protection from discrimination based on maternity. In 2019, this convention had been ratified by only 38 countries.

**MATIGNON AGREEMENT.** The Matignon Agreement was a landmark agreement in the history of labor relations in **France**. It was reached between the Socialist government of Léon Blum, the **Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT)**, or General Confederation of Labor, and **employers' organizations** on 7 June 1936. The agreement provided for the unions' right to **organize**, an end to antiunion practices, **collective bargaining**, pay increases of 7 to 12 percent, and the election of **shop stewards**. One problem with the agreement was that by extending bargaining rights to all representative unions rather than to a single bargaining body, it tended to inhibit the development of strong collective bargaining units representing **employees**.

**MAURITANIA.** Mauritania has been independent from **France** since November 1960; organized labor in Mauritania has been under **government control** since 1971, and the government reserves the right to recognize or dissolve labor unions. Foreign workers do not have the right to form labor unions. Mauritania was the last country to abolish **slavery**, in 1981, but has been struggling with the persistence of this practice to date, and even as late as in 2016 antislavery activists were severely repressed and sent to jail. On 16 October 2000, a march organized by the Free Confederation of Maurita-

nian Workers was declared illegal by the government and 40 participants were arrested. In December 2001, Mauritania was admitted to membership in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)**. The ICFTU was critical of the Mauritanian government's failure to make good on its promises to reform its labor laws, made to the **International Labour Organization** since 1993. It remained critical of the Labor Code of 2004. In addition, successive military governments have harassed organized labor, and the **International Trade Union Confederation** was unable to report any improvements in 2010, a situation not improved by 2019.

**MAURITIUS.** Mauritius has been independent from the **United Kingdom** since March 1968; organized labor developed there in the 1940s—as evidenced by the formation of the Mauritius Trades Union Congress in 1946—and came to reflect the country's ethnic and political divisions. Mauritius has been represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** since 1951; between 1951 and 1995, its reported **membership** rose from 10,000 to 67,000, and the Mauritius Labour Congress, which was formed in 1963, was the country's representative at the ICFTU from 1965. Mauritius established the first **export processing zone** in Africa in 1970. In 2001, the ICFTU was critical of the low level of union membership in the export processing zones of Mauritius, even though such membership is legal; in 2002, it noted that some improvements had been made. The 2009 and 2010 surveys of **violations of trade union rights** conducted by the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** reported harassment of union activists and that workers in the export processing zones have virtually no trade union rights. In 2018, over 123,500 trade union members within five national confederations were affiliated with the ITUC. Trade **union density** was 28.1 percent in 2016, but reports by the ITUC showed numerous attempts by employers and the government to block **collective bargaining**.

**MBOYA, THOMAS JOSEPH ODHIAMBO (1930–1969).** Tom Mboya was the son of relatively poor members of the Luo tribe (the second largest tribe at that time) in **Kenya**, then a British colony. Despite the poor environment he grew up in, Mboya was educated at school and completed secondary school. But when he ran out of money, he was unable to complete the examinations. Mboya later was able to attend the sanitary inspectors' school in Nairobi because he was given a stipend. Working as an inspector in Nairobi, he became secretary of the African Employees Union. In 1952, he founded the Kenya Local Government Workers Union. When the Mau Mau Rebellion against the European land ownership started in 1951, the colonial British government responded with the declaration of a state of emergency. In 1952, Jomo Kenyatta, the leader of the Mau Mau, and over 500 others were de-

tained. Most of them belonged to the Kikuyu tribe, the largest of the country. Tom Mboya accepted the post of treasurer in the Kenya African Union (KAU), thus controlling most of the opposition to British rule. The British banned the KAU in 1953, leaving the newly created Kenya Federation of Labour in control of the “official” opposition. With the support of the British **Labour Party**, Mboya went to the **United Kingdom** to study industrial management. By the time he returned, the Mau Mau Rebellion had ended in a bloodbath, leaving 10,000 Mau Mau and only just over 100 Europeans dead. The existing union movement was mostly involved in the struggle for independence, in which Mboya played a big role. When he attended a convention of African nationalists at Accra, **Ghana**, he regarded it as “the proudest day of my life.” After achieving independence and the declaration of a republic in 1963, Jomo Kenyatta became Kenya’s first president. Ethnic rivalries between the Luo and the Kikuyu developed rapidly. Mboya was considered a potential successor to Kenyatta, but a Kikuyu murdered him in 1969.

**MEANY, GEORGE (1894–1980).** Meany was president of the **American Federation of Labor (AFL)** from 1952 to 1955 and of the **American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)** from 1955 until 1979. Born in New York City, Meany completed an **apprenticeship** as a plumber in 1915 and based his union career on the United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the **United States** and **Canada**. In 1939, he was elected secretary-treasurer of the AFL, but it was not until the late 1940s that he could exercise any real power. He was the first director of the AFL’s League for Political Education (1948) and served on the executive board of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** during 1951. A skilled negotiator, he played a major role in the merger of the AFL with the **Congress of Industrial Organizations** to form the AFL-CIO in 1955. A Catholic, Meany waged a determined campaign against **communism** and labor rivals such as **Walter Reuther**; he was also opposed to racial or religious discrimination in organized labor. A right-wing Democrat, Meany refused to give the AFL-CIO’s endorsement to the left-wing George S. McGovern, the Democratic nominee for president in 1972. Under his leadership, the AFL-CIO left the ICFTU in 1969 over its stance on **politics** and did not rejoin until 1981. Meany was succeeded as AFL-CIO president by a more moderate figure, **Joseph Lane Kirkland**.

**MEDIA ENTERTAINMENT INTERNATIONAL (MEI).** Originally called the International Secretariat of Entertainment Trade Unions, the MEI was an **international trade secretariat** set up in 1965 in Brussels at a conference of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions**. In

1984, it became an autonomous part of the **Fédération Internationale des Employés, Techniciens et Cadres (FIET)**, or the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical, Professional, and Technical Employees. The secretariat was not a success; between 1973 and 1992, its **membership** fell from 470,000 to 100,000. In 1993, it merged with the International Federation of Trade Unions of Audio-Visual Workers (founded in 1974) to form the International Secretariat for Arts, Mass Media, and Entertainment Trade Unions (ISAMMETU). In December 1995, the ISAMMETU renamed itself the MEI, and in January 2000 it merged with **Communication International**, the **International Graphical Federation**, and the FIET to form the **Union Network International**.

**MEMBERSHIP OF ORGANIZED LABOR.** The membership of organized labor tends to be drawn from the better-off sections of the labor force or from industries characterized by large **employers**. The first labor unions were made up of skilled artisans, such as in **printing**, and later by skilled metalworkers in **manufacturing**. Unions among large-scale industries such as **coal mining**, textiles, and **railroads** tended to be formed after about 1860. Unions among the lesser skilled **employees** mostly only began late in the 19th century. The industrial composition of union membership changed considerably in the 20th century in response to shifts in employment. In 1900, about half of all union members in the **United States** were employed either in mining or in manufacturing, but since 1950 their share of union membership has declined. In 2010, only 10 percent of union members were employed in mining or manufacturing in the United States compared with 17 percent in 2001.

Other industries (excluding **agriculture**) have accounted for a growing share of union members, again in response to employment shifts within the labor force. These industries cover a great range of economic activities, from construction to **education** and from government employment to personal services. Transport and communications accounted for 22 percent of union members in **Australia** and the United States in 1900, but only for 11 percent in the **United Kingdom**. By 2001, the share of union members employed in transport and communications was about 10 to 11 percent in all three countries.

Household surveys of the labor force since 1980 have shown that the proportion of employees in these industries (sometimes called the tertiary or **service sector**) varies greatly. For example, in 2001, the proportion of employees in wholesale and retail trade who were union members was 4.7 percent in the United States, 15.2 in Australia, and 12 percent in the United Kingdom. In contrast, the proportion of employees in government employ-

ment in 2001 was consistently high in all three countries: 37 percent in the United States, 59 percent in the United Kingdom, and 48 percent in Australia.

Until the 1960s, **women** made up only about 20 percent of union members but have more than doubled their share in Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Since 2005, there have been more women labor union members than men in the United Kingdom. An exception to this trend was **Germany**, where the proportion of women members only grew from 18 to 32 percent between 1960 and 1997. Statistics on the **ages** of union members have only become available with household labor force surveys since the 1970s. These surveys show that younger employees, particularly teenagers, are less likely to be union members than middle-aged employees. In 2010, only 12 percent of employees aged 20 to 24 were union members in the United Kingdom, compared with 23 percent of those aged 30 to 34 years.

In the United States, only 4 percent of employees aged 16 to 24 were union members compared with 13 percent of employees aged 25 and over in 2010. Despite intense efforts to attract young members, most unions in the industrialized world keep having problems with a low **union density** rate among young workers. In Europe between 2004 and 2014, the fall in youth unionization has been especially remarkable in **Denmark, Ireland, and Sweden**. Only in **Austria** and Germany did unionization of young people increase. *See also* FULL-TIME/PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT; WHITE-COLLAR UNIONISM; APPENDIX D.

**MEXICO.** As in Western Europe, the first organizations among workers in Mexico were mutual-aid societies, which were formed in the main urban areas between 1835 and 1864. Although de facto unions emerged after 1876, it was not until 1906 that organized labor made its presence felt through **strikes** by miners (Cananea) and textile workers (Rio Blanco); these were violently suppressed by the Porfirista dictatorship. The Constitution of 1917 recognized labor unions and the right to strike and was a tangible victory from the revolution of 1910. In May 1918, the Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana (CROM), or Regional Confederation of Mexican Wage Earners, was established with 75 organizations that claimed a million members. Militant at first, the CROM became more allied with the government, a trend that promoted the creation by **anarchists** of a radical alternative labor federation, the Confederación General de Trabajo, or General Confederation of Labor, in 1921. By 1923, union **membership** in Mexico had fallen to about 800,000 but then rose to 2.1 million by 1927.

The Depression beginning in 1929 reduced union membership to 500,000 by 1932, but by 1934 organized labor claimed 2.6 million members. In 1936, a third labor federation, the Confederación de Trabajadores de Mexico (CTM), or Confederation of Mexican Workers, was formed. Because the

CTM had the affiliation of oil workers, miners and metalworkers, **railroad employees**, and peasants, it became the dominant federation and developed close links with the ruling political party. Since 1936, other labor federations were founded, usually to the left of the CTM. In 1997, the Unión Nacional de Trabajadores, or National Union of Workers, was created by dissident organizations located in the telecommunications sector and especially among health workers in the **public sector**. It had 180,000 members in 2018.

Mexico joined the **International Federation of Trade Unions** in 1936 and has been an active participant in pan-American labor bodies such as the **Pan-American Federation of Labor** and the **Organización Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores**. In 1966, the Congreso del Trabajo, or Congress of Labor, was set up to provide a single voice for organized labor. Mexico has been represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** and its successor since 1951. In 1965, the Mexican government established the first **export processing zone** near the U.S. border to assemble goods for foreign-owned companies at low **wages**. In 2001, Mexico's affiliate in the ICFTU, the CTM, claimed a membership of 1.5 million. In 2007, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** noted that, although the general legal environment for organized labor was acceptable, in practice there were **violations of trade union rights** in the public sector and the export processing zones. The ITUC documented two deaths and 41 injuries during a demonstration by miners in 2009 over the illegal dismissal of a union leader. Six labor activists were killed in 2009. The ITUC was unable to report any improvements in conditions for organized labor in Mexico in 2010 and later during that decade. Union harassment, killings, and dismissals of union activists occurred every year. On 1 May 2019, a new bill was enacted that for the first time in history gives workers the right to **collective bargaining** with **employers** with neglect of the politically dependent union movement.

**MINERS' INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION (MIF)**. The MIF was set up in **Belgium** in 1890 by representatives of miners' unions from **Austria**, **Belgium**, **France**, **Germany**, and the **United Kingdom**. Between 1913 and 1931, its claimed **membership** rose from 1.2 to nearly 1.5 million. In the late 1950s, the MIF began to prepare standards for miners; it released a miner's charter in 1957 and a charter for young miners in 1958. In 1976, the MIF had 887,500 members, of whom 628,700 were in Europe, 203,800 in Asia, and 8,800 in the **United States**. In 1994, the MIF had 58 affiliated unions that represented 4.2 million members. In 1995, the MIF merged with the **International Federation of Chemical, Energy, Mine, and General Workers' Unions**. *See also* COAL MINING.

**MINEWORKERS' FEDERATION OF GREAT BRITAIN (MWF).**

From the early 1890s to the late 1930s, the Mineworkers' Federation (its official title from 1932) was the largest labor union in the **United Kingdom** and the largest single labor union in the world until 1919. The federation grew out of discussions among delegates representing regional groups of **employees** in **coal mining** who met to coordinate **wage** claims against the mine owners. The Yorkshire Miners' Association (formed in 1858) took the initiative to form the federation in 1889. In 1890, the MWF showed its strength by leading a campaign that resulted in a 5 percent raise. In 1892, the federation claimed 150,000 members among its affiliates, compared with only 36,000 in 1889. Thereafter, the federation's **membership** grew rapidly as large affiliates joined: the Scottish Miners' Federation joined in 1894, the South Wales Miners' Federation in 1898, and, finally, the Durham Miners' Federation in 1908. Originally formed in 1869, the Durham Miners' Federation had 121,800 members when it affiliated with the MWF. Between 1900 and 1910, the membership of the federation rose from 363,000 to 597,000, but it continued to be an umbrella organization covering a multitude of labor unions, often with a regional rather than a national outlook. In 1944, when the federation had 603,000 members, it was made up of no less than 22 largely autonomous districts. Wartime centralization of coal mining organization and bargaining hastened the conversion of the federation into the National Union of Mineworkers in January 1945. *See also* UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA (UMWA).

**MINIMUM AGE.** The legal specifying of a minimum **age** of employment in an **industry** has been one way of controlling the exploitation of children and teenagers in the labor force. The first effective factory legislation in England in 1833 outlawed the employment of children under nine years old. In 1919, the **International Labour Organization (ILO)** approved Convention No. 5, which set 14 as the minimum age for entry into industrial employment. This convention was revised in 1937 to raise the minimum age to 15 for most forms of employment. Since 1970, the ILO has introduced two additional conventions to address the minimum age and **child labor**: minimum age for employment (Convention No. 138, 1973) and worst forms of child labor (Convention No. 182, 1999). Child labor is now defined as labor performed by a person under 18.

**MINIMUM WAGE.** The term *minimum wage* refers to the principle that an **employee** in a country or an **industry** should be paid a minimum amount. The idea of a minimum (or living) **wage** was an important aspiration in the history of organized labor, naturally so in the 19th century when wages were often barely adequate to live on, particularly in certain industries such as

clothing **manufacturing**. The first modern minimum wage law was passed in the **United Kingdom** in 1773; this was the Spitalfields Act, which gave English silk weavers a minimum wage that lasted as a principle until about 1820, but other textile employees were not successful. In 1779, English stocking handloom workers rioted after a proposed minimum wage law for the industry was rejected by Parliament. In 1811, petitions for a minimum wage from weavers in England and Scotland with a total of 77,000 signatures were also rejected by Parliament. In 1796, the English parliament debated a minimum wage law that had been proposed by Samuel Whitebread, but the measure failed to attract support.

From the beginning of its existence the **International Labour Organization** has encouraged minimum wage settings, based on these words from the Treaty of Versailles: “the payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in their time and country.” Pressure for minimum wages caused governments to act in various ways to provide a minimum wage. Some countries (the **United States** in 1938 and **France** in 1950) have provided a minimum wage through national legislation. Others, such as **Australia** and **New Zealand**, have used **conciliation and arbitration** to set minimum wages in particular industries. There was no legal minimum wage legislation in the United Kingdom before 1999; this followed commitments the British **Labour Party** had adopted in the early 1990s but was only able to implement after its victory in the 1997 elections. In **Germany**, a minimum wage was only introduced in 2015 as a long-debated compromise between the **social democrats** and the conservatives.

The effects of minimum wage laws have been criticized by some economists since the 1970s as hurting rather than helping low-skilled employees. They have argued that such laws raise the cost of their labor above the market rate and thereby increase their unemployment. The economic effect of a minimum wage depends on the level at which it is set and whether **employers** have a monopoly on the labor they wish to hire. Too high a minimum wage rate could add to unemployment, but in cases in which employers enjoy monopoly conditions, a minimum wage can help low-skilled workers because the additional labor cost could be paid out of profits.

**MITBESTIMMUNG.** *Mitbestimmung* is a German term meaning “the right to have a voice in the economic decision making of firms”; it is usually translated as “codetermination.” *Mitbestimmung* is expressed through direct labor representation at the various levels of decision making within a firm. The idea of codetermination came from the desire of organized labor to replace the authoritarian order of pre-1918 **Germany** with one that embodied both political and economic democracy. This goal was given practical expression in the Betriebsrätegesetz (Works Councils Law of February 1920),



which provided for elected **employee–employer** councils in enterprises employing more than 20 employees and for the election of a works steward in enterprises with fewer than 20 employees; the idea for these councils grew out of the government’s attempts during World War I to enlist the support of organized labor for the war effort in return for recognition. The principles of codetermination remained popular in German organized labor throughout the 1920s. In 1928, the Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, or German General Trade Union Federation, formally adopted *Wirtschaftsdemokratie*, or economic democracy, a philosophy designed to counter **communism**. In contrast, what little support there was for codetermination among large employers in the early 1920s rapidly declined as the decade progressed.

With the revival of free German labor unions in 1945, codetermination was widely adopted and was first applied at the Klöckner steelworks in early 1946. Codetermination was encouraged in the British occupational zone (but not in the American zone) as a means of promoting and sustaining democracy in the economy.

An extended form of codetermination, *Montan-Mitbestimmung*, was applied to companies that derived more than half their income from steel, iron, or coal in 1951 (the German word *Montan* means “mine”). Under legislation passed in 1952 and 1972, all enterprises with five or more employees were able to have works councils. In 1976, the principle of codetermination was extended to the supervisory boards of enterprises with 2,000 or more employees. Although in theory works councils are distinct from labor unions, in practice those elected to the councils from the unions are usually **shop stewards**. Although only 39 percent of German firms had works councils in 1992, the proportion varied according to the size of the firm, with 13 percent among those with 5 to 20 employees, 34 percent among those with 21 to 50 employees, 53 percent among those with 51 to 159 employees, 97 percent among those with 151 to 300 employees, and 88 percent among those with more than 300 employees. *See also* AUSTRIA; BÖCKLER, HANS (1875–1951); EUROPEAN UNION (EU); SLOVENIA.

**MOLDOVA.** Moldova has been independent from the former **Soviet Union** since August 1991; organized labor in Moldova has faced considerable economic, political, and social obstacles to its development. Moldova is the poorest country in Europe. Although parliamentary elections have been held in Moldova since February 1994, its labor laws reflect the repressive Soviet era. The General Federation of Trade Unions of the Republic of Moldova (FGSRM) was the official labor union during and after the Soviet era. In 2000, a new union broke away to form Solidaritate (Solidarity), but seven years later it returned to the FGSRM. The two merged and formed the Confederation of Trade Unions of the Republic of Moldova (Confederatia Nationala Sindicatelor din Moldova, CNSM), which moved away from the

governing **Communist Party**. The labor union has faced official discrimination, and the right to **strike** is restricted. High unemployment also restricts the potential of the unions to **organize** and bargain collectively. Moldova was represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** by 2006, and its affiliate reported 450,000 members to the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** in 2010, compared with 326,000 in 2006. Membership in the affiliate later shrank to 319,000 in 2018. The ITUC considered that the national labor legislation in Moldova still fell short of the standards of the **International Labour Organization** in 2010. The CNSM is also affiliated with the **General Confederation of Trade Unions**.

**MONGOLIA.** In 1917, the first two trade unions were established, mainly by Russians. After the murder of trade unionists by a White Russian baron in 1920, it took only one year before the unions were reestablished. In August 1927, 4,056 union members formed the First Congress of Mongolian Trade Unions, establishing the Confederation of Mongolian Trade Unions in the form it maintained until the late 1980s. A **communist** state from 1924 until March 1990, Mongolia has, of necessity, a brief history of independent organized labor. Nevertheless, the Confederation of Mongolian Trade Unions had been reformed by November 1994 and left the **World Federation of Trade Unions**. It was admitted to membership in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** in the same year; it claimed a **membership** of 450,000 to the **International Trade Union Confederation** in 2001, a number also mentioned in 2010 and 2018. Dependence on **China** and mining for the growth of the economy has led to protests because **safety** regulations have not been in line with recommendations of the **International Labour Organization**. In 2015, a trade union activist even set himself on fire in protest against the proposed sale of the **coal mining** industry to China.

**MONTENEGRO.** This former part of the Federal Republic **Yugoslavia** emerged as an independent state in June 2006. It joined the **International Labour Organization** and its confederation of independent labor unions with 61,000 members affiliated with the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** soon afterward. Since 2007, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** has drawn attention to **employer** hostility toward organized labor and inadequate labor legislation to protect unions and their right to **strike**. In 2010, 60 bauxite workers went on strike and closed themselves in for 25 days. Their strike was ended by government interference, like a few other labor disputes in mining and metalwork. In 2019, the ITUC was still complaining about **antiunion discrimination** and unfair dismissals. *See also* SIT-DOWN STRIKE.

**MONTSERRAT.** Montserrat is a dependent territory of the **United Kingdom**; the Montserrat Trades and Labour Council was formed in 1948 and was an affiliate of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** from 1957 to the 1980s, when it was replaced by the Montserrat Allied Workers' Union (formed in 1973); in 2001, it reported a **membership** of 193. It is also part of the **Commonwealth Trade Union Group**. In 2018, there was no affiliate with the **International Trade Union Confederation** in Montserrat.

**MOROCCO.** Morocco has been independent of **France** since March 1956; organized labor in Morocco dates from 1936, when the colonial administration allowed European workers to form labor unions. However, Moroccan workers were denied the legal right to form labor unions until 1951, although the colonial administration tolerated Moroccan **membership** in unions in 1946. As in other African countries, organized labor in Morocco was associated with the independence movement, and Moroccan workers preferred to form their own unions rather than join European ones. The Union Marocaine du Travail, or Moroccan Union of Workers, formed in March 1955, was admitted to the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** in 1957 but had ceased its membership by 1965; it did not reaffiliate until 1993, when it claimed a membership of 410,600. As late as the 1990s, union leaders who had been missing since the 1960s were found to be in jail or dead. Since 1994, the right to **strike** has been restricted in Morocco, and by 2002 the ICFTU reported that organized labor had little real legal protection for its activities and spoke of police violence against labor demonstrations. In 2008, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** noted greater tolerance of the authorities toward workers' protests. Organized labor in Morocco was, however, still harassed during 2010. Despite this, the three Moroccan affiliates of the ITUC claimed a combined membership of 1.1 million in 2010. This 2010 membership diminished to 581,500 in 2018 and thus severely weakened the trade union movement. In 2019, however, these unions launched a campaign against Draft Regulatory Law No. 15.97, which was written without consulting trade unions and will limit the right to strike.

**MOZAMBIQUE.** Mozambique has been independent of **Portugal** since June 1975 after a long struggle. Organized labor in Mozambique effectively dates from 1965, when limited rights of **collective bargaining** were granted to bank and **railroad** employees, even though some European workers there had formed organizations as early as 1898. From 1975 to the early 1990s, the government did not permit an independent labor movement. Mozambique has only been represented in the **International Confederation of Free**

**Trade Unions (ICFTU)** and its successor since 1995; it claimed to represent a **membership** of 119,900 in 2001. Since 2002, the ICFTU noted that there was discrimination against **employees** who went on **strike** in the **export processing zones**. The **International Trade Union Confederation** considered the 2007 labor code inadequate to protect organized labor. In 2010, there were 97,000 union members in Mozambique, a number unchanged in 2018.

**MURRAY, PHILIP (1886–1952)**. Murray was the first president of the **United Steelworkers of America**. He was born in Blantyre, Scotland, and began work as a coal miner at the age of 10. His father was a local **coal mining** union official. In 1902, he immigrated with his family to the **United States**, where he began working as a coal miner in western Pennsylvania. In 1904, he was elected to his first position within the **United Mine Workers of America (UMWA)**, and in 1912 was elected to its executive board.

Thereafter, Murray sat on a number of important labor bodies, including the National Bituminous Coal Production Committee (1917–1918) and the Labor Industrial Advisory Board of the National Recovery Administration (1933).

In 1936, as a vice president of the UMWA, he was put in charge of the campaign to unionize the steel industry by the UMWA's president, **John L. Lewis**. His efforts eventually led to the formation of the United Steelworkers of America, which Murray led from 1942 to his death. In 1940, he took over the presidency of the **Congress of Industrial Organizations** after Lewis's resignation. Lewis had Murray expelled from the UMWA for a combination of personal and political differences; Lewis was a Republican, and Murray was a Democrat. After World War II, Murray led major **strikes** in the steel industry (1946, 1949, and 1952) for better pay and conditions. Murray was also active in community affairs; for example, he was a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. *See also* GREEN, WILLIAM (1872–1952).

**MYANMAR.** *See* BURMA.

# N

**NAMIBIA.** Namibia has been independent of **South African** control since 1989; organized labor in Namibia originally consisted of branches of South African unions, both for European and African workers. In 1962, the Union of South West Africa in Exile was formed and was associated with the movement for independence. The first legal **strike** in Namibia took place in November 1992 in the diamond industry following the introduction of new labor legislation. In December 1995, the government prohibited **public-sector** employees from participation in **politics**. In 1995, the government established **export processing zones**, in which strikes were prohibited for five years. In December 2001, the National Union of Namibian Workers, which had been formed in 1971, was admitted to membership in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** and claimed a **membership** of 65,000. In 2007, the right to **organize** was withdrawn from prison staff, which violated **International Labour Organization** principles. Managers in the mining **industry** continued dismissing strikers, while excessive restrictions still applied to the right to strike in 2010. In 2018, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** had two affiliates in Namibia with a total membership of 110,000. The ITUC continues mentioning unfair labor practices, the undermining of strikes, and the suspension of **shop stewards**. Information on strikes happening have only been published by the International Labour Organization in the early 1990s, but they do occur.

**NATIONAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICERS' ASSOCIATION (NALGO).** NALGO was one of the largest unions in the **United Kingdom** from 1946 to 1993. It was founded in 1905 as a provincial federation catering to local government officers and was called the National Association of Local Government Officers (NALGO). Between 1905 and 1946, its **membership** grew from 5,000 to 140,000. In 1946, NALGO broadened its recruitment of members to include those in other parts of the **public sector** such as the National Health Service, gas, and electricity. Its title was officially changed to National and Local Government Officers' Association in 1952 to reflect these changes in membership, but the acronym NALGO

was retained. In 1964, when it became affiliated with the **Trades Union Congress**, its membership had reached 338,300. Like most other white-collar unions, NALGO was opposed to **strikes** and connections with the political and industrial aspects of organized labor for most of its life. It was not until 1970 that NALGO authorized its first strike. By 1981, NALGO's membership had reached 706,150; its membership rose to 760,000 by 1991. In 1993, NALGO merged with the **National Union of Public Employees** to create **UNISON**. *See also* WHITE-COLLAR UNIONISM.

**NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION (NEA)**. Since about 1987, the NEA has been the largest labor union in the **United States**. Formed in 1857 in Philadelphia, it operated as a professional association of school administrators until 1905, when it admitted teachers as members. Despite a conservative reputation that lasted until the 1960s, the NEA has displayed its progressive side on a number of occasions. In 1866, it formally admitted **women** to full **membership**. In 1914, the NEA passed a resolution supporting **equal pay for equal work**, and in 1972 the NEA representative assembly voted to formally support the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Before 1963, the NEA opposed unionism and **collective bargaining** for teachers but changed this policy, and since 1963 it has been a participant in collective bargaining, as evidenced by its victories in ballots for exclusive bargaining rights against its industrial rival, the **American Federation of Teachers (AFT)**, an affiliate of the **American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)**. The affiliation of the AFT with the AFL-CIO has long been an obstacle to efforts to **amalgamate** the two unions. In 1992, the NEA gained a major civil rights victory, lobbying successfully to pass the Civil Rights Act, which protects individuals against on-the-job harassment and discrimination and allows victims of employment discrimination to collect compensatory damages.

In 2001, the two organizations agreed to form a cooperative partnership to work together on issues of mutual interest while preserving their independence. Between 1995 and 2006, membership in the NEA rose from 2.2 to 3.2 million, making it the largest white-collar union in the world and the world's second largest labor union after **Ver.di**. By 2010, the NEA had overtaken Ver.di as the world's largest labor union. In 2015, it counted 2,952,972 members but still outnumbers Ver.di. *See also* EDUCATION; WHITE-COLLAR UNIONISM.

**NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT**. The National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933 was the cornerstone of modern **collective bargaining** in the **United States**. Under Section 7(a), a provision fought for by the miners' leader, **John Llewellyn Lewis**, employees were given the right to

organize labor unions to collectively bargain with **employers** without harassment, provisions that had been included previously in the federal Railway Labor Act (1926). The National Industrial Recovery Act was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in *Schechter Poultry Corporation v. U.S.* in 1935 and was replaced by the **Wagner Act**. Nevertheless, the shift in the legal environment toward a more favorable view of labor unions indicated by these laws was the basis of a massive recruitment drive by organized labor in the mid-1930s. *See also* AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR—CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS (AFL-CIO); UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA (USWA).

**NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT.** *See* WAGNER ACT.

**NATIONAL LABOR UNION (NLU).** The NLU was a body created by U.S. organized labor in Baltimore, Maryland, in August 1866 to bring about progressive political reforms. Its agenda included the eight-hour workday, the reduction of monopolies, and producer and consumer cooperatives. The delegates at the inaugural congress represented about 60,000 **employees**. The main achievement of the NLU was gaining the eight-hour workday law for laborers, workmen, and mechanics working for the federal government. In 1869, it sent a delegate to the first conference of the International Workingmen's Association (First International) in Basel, Switzerland. In 1870, the NLU formed a political wing, which created the Labor Reform Party in 1872. The emphasis on **politics** cost the NLU the support of **craft unions**, and by 1876 it was defunct. *See also* WORKING HOURS.

**NATIONAL LABOUR FEDERATION.** The National Labour Federation was formed in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England, in 1886, with the goal of organizing men and **women** of all trades, in contrast to both **craft unions** and **industrial unions**. Any labor union could also join. Its founders were some members of the **Amalgamated Society of Engineers** and Edward R. Pease (1857–1955), a **socialist** and founding member of the Fabian Society. The federation claimed 60,000 members in 1890, mostly in semiskilled jobs in engineering, chemicals, shipbuilding, and construction. By 1892, the federation's **membership** had fallen to 6,000, and it was dissolved in 1894, largely as a result of the depression of the early 1890s and defeats in **strikes**. *See also* KNIGHTS OF LABOR.

**NATIONAL UNION OF PUBLIC EMPLOYEES (NUPE).** The NUPE grew out of the London County Council Employees' Protection Society (formed in 1888), which became the basis of the Municipal Employees Association in 1894. As a result of a split in 1907, a new body was created, the

National Union of Corporation Workers, with a **membership** of 8,000. In 1928, this body changed its name to the NUPE and set about recruiting all **employees** working for local governments in the **United Kingdom**, a policy that led to conflict with the **General and Municipal Workers' Union** and the **Transport and General Workers' Union**, which managed to exclude the NUPE from affiliation with the **Trades Union Congress** until the 1970s. The membership of the NUPE grew from 10,000 in 1948 to 215,000 in 1962 as a result of recruiting the lower grades of the local government and the National Health Service. Between 1934 and 1962, the NUPE was led by its general secretary, Bryn Roberts, a strong supporter of **industrial unionism**. In 1982, the NUPE had 710,450 members, of whom 65 percent were **women**; membership declined to 658,000 in 1986 and to 551,000 in 1992, of whom 70 percent were women. In 1993, the NUPE amalgamated with the **National and Local Government Officers' Association** to create **UNISON**. *See also* PRIVATIZATION; PUBLIC SECTOR.

**NEPAL.** Organized labor in Nepal effectively dates from 1947, when the jute and sugar workers went on **strike**. No union organization was legally permitted until 1964, when the Nepal Labour Organization was formed; by 1975, it had been admitted to membership in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** and claimed a **membership** of 50,000, but it was not an affiliate in the 1980s. In 1992, the government enacted a labor union law that prohibited **antiunion discrimination**, but the law has not been followed in practice and the right to strike is restricted. In 1993, the Nepal Trade Union Congress joined the ICFTU and claimed a membership of 140,000. In 2001–2002, the ICFTU reported that the government did not really recognize labor unions as valid representatives of workers, and police violence against unions continued. It noted that 200 labor union members had been murdered by Maoist guerrillas during 2002, along with hundreds of other Nepalese. When unions supported the struggle for the restoration of **human rights** and labor rights in 2006, they were the target of police repression: two trade unionists were killed by the police in 2008. Despite its many problems, there were 680,600 labor union members in Nepal in 2010 affiliated with the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**, a number grown to 1.2 million in 2018, divided over three affiliates. Despite this seeming strength, the union movement in Nepal is still subject to a number of **violations of rights**.

**NETHERLANDS.** Organized labor in the Netherlands began in 1866, when printers formed a national union. A nonreligious labor federation was established in 1871 and a Protestant labor federation in 1877. Organized labor was divided by **politics** as well as religion. In 1893, a **social democratic** labor



union center, the Nationaal Arbeids Secretariaat (National Labor Secretariat), was created, which claimed to represent 16,000 members. The secretariat stood under the influence of revolutionary **socialists**, which caused its alienation from mainstream labor supporters. Union growth was slow; by the early 1900s, there were only about 19,000 union members. Nevertheless, there were major successful **labor disputes** organized by longshoremen and **rail-road** employees in 1903. The **general strike** these strikes developed into was, however, lost. This failure led to the formation of a new national labor federation in 1906. In 1909, a combined **Catholic** and Protestant labor federation was created, but the Catholics withdrew on orders from their bishop. Despite the small size of the country, Dutch union leaders played a significant role in international organized labor, notably, the histories of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** and the **International Transport Workers' Federation**.

As in other countries, there was considerable growth in union **membership** in the Netherlands between 1913 and 1920, rising from 234,000 to 684,000. This growth took place along deep religious and political divisions, not just because these divisions were present in Dutch society but also because many unions were created by socialists or clergy in the absence of large-scale concentrations of manufacturing employment. In 1920, 23 percent of Dutch union members belonged to Catholic unions, 12 percent to Protestant unions, 37 percent to socialist unions, 7 percent to left-wing unions, and 21 percent to some other category. Although these proportions changed over time, the fundamental divisions remained part of the Dutch labor movement despite the formation of a small nondenominational association of labor federations in 1929. During the Nazi occupation, organized labor was banned.

In 1943, secret meetings between the leaders of the **employers** and the unions led to a new understanding about the conduct of **industrial relations** after the war. This agreement produced a permanent employer–union body, the Foundation of Labor, in May 1945, which received recognition by government as the leading policy maker in socioeconomic matters. During a short period after the war, a left-wing union emerged and organized large groups of workers. Because the **Communist** Party took over leadership, most members returned to the revived prewar unions. By 1950, there were nearly 1.2 million union members covering 42 percent of all **employees**, but since that time the proportion of employees enrolled by unions has steadily declined. In 1976, the social democratic and Catholic unions merged into a new national labor federation, the Federatie Nederlandse Vakbeweging, or Netherlands Federation of Labor Unions; the merger was completed in 1981. The Dutch labor movement was significantly reduced by the recession of the early 1980s, which cut the proportion of employees in unions from 32 percent in 1980 to 28 percent in 1995, 25 percent in 2001, and 21 percent in

2008. In 2010, the two Dutch affiliates of the **International Trade Union Confederation** claimed a combined membership of 1.7 million, but since then this combination fell to 1.3 million members. Trade **union density** was 17.3 percent in 2016. Since then, strike activity has grown astonishingly, but membership in almost all unions has kept diminishing, which is explained by some observers from the separation between union officials and the **rank and file**, which has been problematic since the late 1950s. *See also* FIMMEN, EDO (EDUARD CARL) (1881–1942); OLDENBROEK, JACOBUS HENDRIK (1897–1970).

**NEW CALEDONIA.** New Caledonia is still a territory of **France**. Nine labor unions existed in New Caledonia by 1975. New Caledonia has only been an affiliate of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** since 1993, when it claimed to represent 3,600 members. New Caledonia was not represented in the **International Trade Union Confederation** in 2010. Later during the 2010s, it reaffiliated with 4,781 members.

**NEW ECONOMY.** A catchall term for a host of economic and labor market trends evident since about 1980. The new economy has been described as being based on information manipulation, transformation, and transfer and the use of computers. New economy or postindustrial economy trends are particularly evident in finance and banking. Optimistic predictions about the future development of the economy based on the new computer technology were shaken by the end of the dot-com bubble in 2000.

**NEW UNIONISM NETWORK.** The New Unionism Network is an international group of people who since 2007 have tried to build and revitalize the union movement by posting blogs on their website. It is a network rather than an organization, with no links to any other group. Membership is open to anybody who supports the principles: **organizing**, workplace democracy, internationalism, and creativity.

**NEW ZEALAND (AOTEAROA).** New Zealand has an importance in the history of organized labor belied by its small size and location in the southwest Pacific Ocean. It was first settled by Maoris in the mid-14th century and by Europeans from 1840. Exploiting shortages of skilled labor, the first unions emerged in the building trades from 1842. Sustained British **immigration** brought union members as well as the example of labor unions. Printers (1862) and tailors (1865) formed unions, and the British international unions, the **Amalgamated Society of Engineers** (1864) and the **Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners** (1875), set up New Zealand branches. The first urban trades council was formed in Auckland in 1876, an example

followed by other cities and towns in the early 1880s. In 1879, following the successful election of S. P. Andrews, a plasterer, to Parliament, a Working Men's Political Association was formed that was concerned with land tax, tariff protection for local industries, and the prohibition of Chinese immigration.

The most powerful influences on organized labor in New Zealand were **Australia** and the **United Kingdom**. In 1878, New Zealand followed the British example and legalized labor unions. In January 1885, the first New Zealand Trades Union Congress was held in Dunedin following the example set by Australian labor unions from 1879. As in other countries, there was a surge of union growth between 1886 and 1890. In 1886, for example, the Amalgamated Shearers' Union of Australia set up a New Zealand branch and made a special effort to recruit Maoris; in the same year, Christopher Leek founded a mass **railroad** union and named it after the union he had belonged to in England, the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants. Between 1885 and mid-1890, the number of union members rose from 3,000 to 63,000.

The participation of New Zealand labor in the great Australian Maritime Strike of 1890 (August–November) and the economic depression that set in after largely destroyed the unions' growth of the late 1880s. It was at this time that New Zealand embarked on a series of social experiments, which attracted international attention in the early 1900s. In 1894, New Zealand became the first country in the world to introduce a compulsory **conciliation and arbitration** system for **labor disputes**. Amending legislation was passed in 1898 that, although it encouraged union formation and growth through official registration, denied unions the right to **strike** once an award of the **arbitration** court was in force. The New Zealand experiment attracted interest and visits from **France** (F. Challye in 1903), the United Kingdom (**Beatrice and Sidney Webb** in 1898, Ramsay Macdonald in 1906, and Ernest Aves in 1907), and the **United States** (Henry Demarest Lloyd in 1900, V. S. Clark in 1906, and Colonel H. Weinstock in 1909).

The use of compulsion in conciliation and arbitration in labor disputes was adopted by Australia but remained unusual in the rest of the world. The constraints of the arbitration system led to labor disputes, particularly as radical unions found they could legally strike if they were not registered organizations under the conciliation and arbitration legislation. There was a disastrous waterfront strike in 1913 that, despite Australian support, depleted the finances of the unions for four years. Radical ideas, particularly for the **One Big Union**, came through the **Industrial Workers of the World**, which formed a branch in New Zealand in 1912. A gold miners' strike at Waihi and Reefton in 1912 was marked by police and **employer** violence, which led to the death of a picketer.

In 1913, the United Federation of Labour was formed and became the leader of organized labor. In July 1916, the New Zealand Labour Party was formed and claimed 10,000 members. Yet compared with Australia, organized labor was weak; in 1920, only 26 percent of employees were union members compared with 42 percent in Australia. In 1928, a coalition government abolished compulsory arbitration to enable **wage** reductions. In 1935, the Labour Party won a landslide victory and enacted legislation that established a strong regulatory role for government in economic and social management. In 1936, the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act was amended to make union **membership** compulsory for any employee subject to a registered award of industrial agreement, a change that naturally led to a substantial growth in union membership. In 1937, the New Zealand Federation of Labour was formed and joined the **International Federation of Trade Unions** in 1938 and the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** in 1951. Another feature of the period was the growth of **industrial unionism** in engineering and **printing**. With the exception of the 1951 waterfront strike, developments among organized labor were not especially noteworthy again until the late 1960s, when the **white-collar unions** formed a federation; it amalgamated with the New Zealand Federation of Labour in October 1987 to form the New Zealand Council of Trade Unions.

In the mid-1980s, in response to New Zealand's severe economic difficulties, a series of radical reforms were introduced that again made New Zealand a social laboratory, this time for economic deregulation and the free exercise of market forces. In 1984, the government made the first move to abolish compulsory arbitration in interest disputes (a distinction between **rights and interest** disputes was first introduced into New Zealand legislation in 1973) except in "essential" industries. Yet much of the system first created in 1894 remained in place up to 1991, when the Employment Contracts Act was enacted. The act abolished the arbitration system and its awards and changed the basis of the **industrial relations** system to the law of contract. It also ended the system of compulsory union membership, which had been introduced into bargaining arrangements in 1936.

Largely because of the economic problems faced by the New Zealand economy, but also because of the removal of the protection of compulsory membership, organized labor has fared poorly since 1991. In 1985, there were 683,000 union members in New Zealand covering 44 percent of employees, but by December 1994 there were only 375,900, covering 23 percent of **full-time** employees. The reelection of the Labour Party in November 1999 led to the replacement of the Employment Contracts Act by the Employment Relations Act, which made the legal environment fairer for organized labor. In 2000, there were 318,500 union members, covering about 17.5 percent of employees. In 2010, the New Zealand Council of Trade Unions declared a membership of 200,000 to the **International Trade Un-**

**ion Confederation (ITUC)**, a number unchanged in 2018. Trade **union density** was 15.9 percent in 2015, a clear indication of the diminishing influence of organized labor. Another indication is the almost disappearance of strike activity from hundreds of strikes in the 1970s to less than 20 in the early 2010s. These developments go together with **employer** neglect of collective bargaining agreements, as mentioned by the ITUC in its annual survey of **violations of trade union rights**.

**NICARAGUA.** Although organized labor had emerged in Nicaragua by 1924, any progress was stifled by the dictatorship of the Somoza family, which was in power from 1936 to 1979. Organized labor reemerged briefly between 1945 and 1949 and again from 1956, with political struggle against the government taking priority. By 1965, Nicaragua had been admitted to membership in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** and remained represented in the ICFTU despite a brutal civil war between 1981 and 1990. After the transition to democratic government, Nicaragua opened its first **export processing zone** in 1993. In 1996, the government promulgated a new labor code that removed many of the previous restrictions on forming labor unions, but the right to **strike** remains difficult to exercise in practice. In 2002, the ICFTU was particularly critical of working conditions in the 23 export processing zones, describing them as “close to **slavery**.” Official intimidation of organized labor remains common in Nicaragua. The **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** reported continued antiunion policies by Coca-Cola and the brutal suppression of a medical workers’ strike in 2009. There was no improvement in conditions for organized labor in 2010. Later in that decade, an ongoing stream of complaints by the independent trade union movement was published. Strikers were criminalized, union members were dismissed, and the Labor Ministry refused to recognize trade unions.

**NIGER.** Niger has been independent from **France** since August 1960; organized labor developed under French rule after World War II but after independence was effectively placed under **government control**. Since 1992, Niger has moved toward democratic rule. In 1993, it was admitted to membership in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)**; its affiliate, the Union des Syndicats des Travailleurs du Niger (USTN, formed in 1960, Union of Workers’ Unions of Niger), claimed to represent 70,000 members in 2001. Later that year, the Confédération Démocratique des Travailleurs du Niger (CDTN), or Democratic Confederation of Workers of Niger, broke away from the USTN and also became an affiliate with the ICFTU. Since the **strikes** of 1994, Niger has been relatively peaceful, although international pressure was necessary to release 22 activists from pris-

on. In 2009, the united trade union movement organized a **general strike** against presidential plans to assume more power. These plans led to a political crisis and a coup d'état in 2010 by the military that was followed by new presidential elections in 2011. Despite political turmoil, Niger since 2002 has been one of the few African countries not to be mentioned in the survey of **violations of trade union rights**.

**NIGERIA.** Nigeria has been independent from the **United Kingdom** since October 1960. Organized labor in Nigeria began in 1912 with the formation of the Nigerian Civil Servants' Union; other unions were formed by teachers, miners, and **railroad** workers in the 1930s. In 1938, the British administration passed a trade union ordinance. The first national union federation was formed in 1943, and by 1957 Nigeria was represented by three affiliates in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)**. At independence in 1960, Nigeria had 631 labor unions representing 520,164 members. Organized labor in Nigeria was large but politically divided and therefore vulnerable to government efforts to place it under control, a process assisted by civil war between 1966 and 1970. Nigeria ceased to be represented in the ICFTU between 1975 and 1990 and was not readmitted until 2000, largely because promises made to an ICFTU delegation in 1993 that organized labor should be free of **government control** were not kept. In 1978, the Nigeria Labour Congress was formed under state sponsorship, but it gained considerable autonomy. This independence has been under severe threat from time to time from the military rulers. In 1992, the government established **export processing zones** where organized labor was, in practice, excluded. In 2002, the ICFTU remained critical of the restrictions on the right to organize unions and the right to strike in Nigeria. On 1 February 2002, there was a national **strike** by **police** over **wages** arrears, which resulted in the dismissal of 153 policemen and the laying of charges against 2,000 others. In 2003, there was police violence during a **general strike** over oil price rises. In 2005, an amendment to the Trade Union Act imposed heavy penal sanctions for workers and unions involved in nonauthorized **strike** actions. If they fail to comply with the legal requirements for strike action, they are liable to a fine or imprisonment for six months. The year 2005 also saw the Trade Union Congress of Nigeria (TUC) registered as a labor center. The TUC started in 1980, initially as the Federation of Senior Staff Associations of Nigeria (FESSAN), then as the Senior Staff Consultative Association of Nigeria (SESCAN). In 2006, oil workers were attacked by rebel groups, a union member was abducted while in the presence of state officials, and government officials tried to interfere in union affairs. The **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** survey of **violations of trade union rights** in 2009 documented the assassination of one union leader and the dismissal of hundreds of activists and called 2010 a violent year

for Nigerian organized labor. In 2019, the ITUC again complained about the ongoing violation of rights in the country, where in 2017, during a strike, a trade union leader was assassinated. Abdulmumuni Yakubu, the branch chairman of the Non-Academic Staff Union, was killed by unknown gunmen at his home during the negotiations with the local government on the ongoing strike action of nonacademic university staff unions in the state. The strikers opposed the prolonged nonpayment of wages.

**NIGHT WORK.** Night work is an integral feature of industrial economies, particularly in certain industries such as transportation, storage, and communication, and in some parts of **manufacturing**, such as baking. The problem of night work was recognized in an English law of 1802 designed to protect the health and morals of pauper children taken on as **apprentices**; it forbade any apprentice to work between 9 p.m. and 6 a.m. from 1 June 1803. Night work has long been held to be harmful to young **employees** and **women**, hence the efforts made by the **International Labour Organization** to limit night work to adult males by Conventions No. 4 and No. 6 in 1919. These conventions were revised in 1948 to remove exceptions in the earlier conventions. Convention No. 171 (1990) set the rules all night workers should work under. This convention applies to all employed persons except those employed in **agriculture**, stock raising, fishing, maritime transport, and inland navigation. *See also* WORKING HOURS.

**NIHON RODOKUMIAI SORENGOKAI.** *See* RENGO.

**NOMINAL WAGES.** The amount of **wages** received without taking account of **inflation** or deflation, in contrast to **real wages**.

**NORMATIVE.** In economic and sociological literature, *normative* refers to what ought to be, that is, the outcome predicted by a theory combined with the objectives ascribed to society, in contrast to the “positive,” or what actually happens in reality.

**NORRIS-LAGUARDIA ACT.** The Anti-Injunction (Norris-LaGuardia) Act was a fundamental piece of U.S. federal labor law, which was passed in 1932 and designed to give organized labor full **freedom of association**. It outlawed **yellow dog contracts** and prohibited federal courts from issuing injunctions (court orders restraining union activity on the grounds of the prevention of injury to property or other rights) during **labor disputes** except under particular circumstances. The effect of the Norris-LaGuardia Act was weakened by a series of Supreme Court decisions in the 1970s concerning

the issuing of injunctions during disputes where there were contracts or **arbitration** machinery. *See also* NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT.

**NORTH KOREA (DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA).** An independent state since 1948, having been a colony of **Japan** from 1910 to 1945, North Korea is run on essentially Stalinist principles, of which the one-party state and glorification of the party leader are the most well known. There has been no independent labor movement permitted in North Korea since 1925, when the Japanese administration outlawed trade unions. Since 1948, the government-controlled General Federation of Trade Unions of Korea (GFTUK) is the only national labor organization allowed. The 1.6 million members of the GFTUK are affiliated with the **World Federation of Trade Unions**. **Wages** are set by the government, and there is no right to **strike** or to engage in **collective bargaining**. The survey of **violations of trade union rights** in 2010 repeated its previous complaints about the total lack of respect for rights of organized labor in North Korea. *See also* SOUTH KOREA (REPUBLIC OF KOREA).

**NORTH MACEDONIA (FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC).** The Republic of North Macedonia was part of **Yugoslavia** until 1991 and was formerly known simply as Macedonia. A dispute over the name with Greece was finally solved in 2018, after which North Macedonia came into effect in February 2019. Unlike **Yugoslavia (Federal Republic)**, there was no significant continuous history of organized labor in Macedonia—although some unions are known to have been formed in 1905—which remains the poorest of the republics that made up the former Yugoslavia.

In 2010, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** was concerned about serious limitations on the right to **strike** in Macedonia and changes to labor laws wanted by international financial institutions that disadvantaged organized labor. There were 5,300 union members in Macedonia, and trade **union density** was 28.0 percent. According to the ITUC, the government has been seriously interfering in trade union affairs at the end of the 2010s.

**NORWAY.** Organized labor in Norway began to emerge from the 1860s. As in other European countries, mutual aid or **friendly societies** preceded the formation of unions. The first union was founded by **printers** in Oslo in 1872. Labor federations were formed in the cities from 1882. In 1887, a political labor party was formed. Two pivotal events in Norwegian labor were the establishment of the Landsorganisasjonen i Norge (LO), or the Labor Union Federation of Norway, in 1899, and a parallel national organ-



ization by **employers** in 1900. In 1902, the LO and the **employers' organization** signed their first agreement. A **lockout** in 1911 gave rise to a law on **labor disputes** passed in 1915 and revised in 1927, which introduced the concepts of **rights and interests** in disputes in an attempt to control **strikes**. In 1919, another law brought in the eight-hour workday. There was a failed **general strike** in 1921 and other major labor disputes in 1924 and 1931. In 1935, the Labor Party, which had become Norway's largest political party in 1927, won government. In the more cooperative political climate that followed, the first Basic Agreement (1935) was concluded between the LO and the employers' organization, thereby founding a tradition of **collective bargaining** characterized by a mixture of national and **industry bargaining**. The proportion of **employees** who were union members in Norway declined from a peak of 60 percent in 1960 to 55 percent in 2007 and 52.5 percent in 2015. In 2010, the three Norwegian affiliates of the **International Trade Union Confederation** declared a combined membership of nearly 1.4 million. This membership had slightly grown to 1.5 million by 2018. During the campaign for decent work, the year 2019 saw a number of union actions among food deliverers who were not granted regular contracts. *See also* DENMARK; SWEDEN.

**NOVEMBER PACT (STINNES–LEGIEN AGREEMENT).** The November Pact (also known as the Stinnes–Legien Agreement) was signed in **Germany** between the largest **employers' organizations** and the free (or **social democratic**) labor unions, the **Hirsch–Duncker Trade Associations**, and the **Catholic** unions in November 1918. Designed to stabilize the revolutionary political climate that prevailed in Germany following its defeat in World War I, the agreement recognized the legitimacy of unions to engage in **collective bargaining**, granted the eight-hour workday, and provided for workers' committees in enterprises employing more than 50 **employees** to ensure that the conditions of employment of **collective agreements** were carried out. The November Pact led to the formation of the Zentralarbeitsgemeinschaft or Central Labor Association, an organization designed to implement the pact, but it was not effective after 1924 because of hostility from **employers**. *See also* LEGIEN, CARL (1861–1920); *MITBESTIMMUNG*.



# O

**OCCUPATION.** The specific job an individual is paid to carry out. There are two main kinds of occupation: manual, or **blue-collar**, occupations and nonmanual, or **white-collar**, occupations. Unions generally base their recruitment of members on groups of occupations. Historically, unions drawn from manual occupations tend to be more militant than those drawn from white-collar occupations. With the tertiarization of the **labor market** since especially World War II, the difference in militancy has been decreasing.

**OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH AND SAFETY.** The term *occupational health and safety* covers all aspects of health at work, from the hazards that can cause injury or death to ways of improving the working environment. Knowledge about the risks of particular **occupations** and from handling certain materials dates from antiquity; the Roman architectural writer Vitruvius (c. 25 B.C.) was aware that lead smelting and lead pipes were harmful to producers and consumers. In 1713, Italian physician Bernardino Ramazzini wrote *De Morbis Artificum Diatriba* (Diseases of Workers), in which he outlined all kinds of hazards workers encountered during performing their occupations. With his proposal to ask patients, “What is your occupation?,” he was one of the founders of occupational medicine. Over the past two centuries, occupational health and **safety** has grown as an area of concern for organized labor, particularly in occupations with a high risk of injury or death, such as **coal mining**. The **International Labour Organization** published its first encyclopedia on occupational health and safety in 1930. Since the 1930s, there has been a growth in joint management–union committees with responsibilities for occupational health and safety. General support for occupational health and safety in the workplace has been a standard feature of organized labor, particularly since the 1960s, and has increased as knowledge about hazards has grown. The leaking of toxic gas from the Union Carbide plant in Bhopal, **India**, on 2–3 December 1984, which led to the deaths of 2,600 people and injuries to 200,000 others, was a landmark in general awareness of occupational health and safety; organized labor at the plant had been demanding improved safety conditions for its workers since

1976. The incident raised the profile of occupational health and safety in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions**. On 28 April 1996, international labor unions inaugurated the International Commemoration Day for Dead and Injured Workers to focus attention on occupational health and safety. Since 2003, the International Labour Organization has also been involved in this commemoration day. In 2018, occupational fatalities per 100,000 **employees** were highest in **Palestine** (28.4) and **Cuba** (25.0), compared to **New Caledonia**, **Colombia**, French Guyana, **Iceland**, and **Malta** with zero occupational deaths.

**OCCUPATIONAL STATUS.** Refers to the division of the employed **labor force** into **employers**, self-employed, **employees**, and unpaid helpers. This division differs considerably depending on the level of economic development. Data collected by the **International Labour Organization** in 2018 showed that the percentage of employees was 84.7 in the **European Union** and 29 percent in Africa. The self-employed category showed an opposite position: 10.3 percent in the EU and 48.3 percent in Africa. Percentages for the entire world were employees 52.8 percent, employers 2.9 percent, self-employed 33.5 percent, and contributing family workers 11.1 percent.

**OLDENBROEK, JACOBUS HENDRIK (1897–1970).** Oldenbroek was born and raised in a cigar maker's family in Amsterdam. He started his professional career as a clerk and soon moved to the headquarters of the Dutch **social-democratic** union, where he met **Edo Fimmen**. In 1919, he accompanied Fimmen to the secretariat of the **International Federation of Trade Unions** and two years later to the **International Transport Workers' Federation (ITF)**, both located in Amsterdam. Meanwhile, Oldenbroek was active in the union of office workers and the Dutch social-democratic party. In the party, Oldenbroek and Fimmen took a leftist stand, but the ITF forced them to express more moderate views.

Despite this difference of opinions, the two Dutchmen were allowed to get important positions within the ITF. From 1937, Oldenbroek was second in charge after Fimmen. One of their most prominent activities was the building of an anti-Nazi network of seamen in **Germany**. When the ITF's headquarter moved to London in 1939, Fimmen and Oldenbroek moved too. Fimmen's illness and death in 1942 made Oldenbroek the actual leader of the ITF. Oldenbroek remained in close contact with the American secret service in their joint effort to get social and economic information out of Germany and the occupied territories.

After the war, Oldenbroek played an important role in the formation of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** in 1949. His career as secretary general of the ICFTU ended in 1960, when he clashed

with **George Meany** of the **American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations** over how to encourage organized labor in Africa. The Americans wanted a top-down approach and threatened to draw back from the ICFTU if Oldenbroek did not resign. *See also* NETHERLANDS.

**OMAN.** Oman is a sultanate that has always remained independent but was highly dependent on the British empire. Its labor law of 1973 did not provide for the existence of labor unions or **collective bargaining**. **Strikes** were illegal until the 8 July 2006 decree by the government that guaranteed the right to strike and the 31 October decree that granted the freedom to establish trade unions. About half of the labor force are expatriates. Committees of management and workers in enterprises where 50 or more are employed are provided for in law but not always implemented. The Labor Welfare Board handles individual workers' grievances. In 1993, Oman joined the **International Labour Organization**, but its **employees** have for a long time not been represented in either the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** or the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**. There are almost three times as many migrant workers as Omani workers in the private sector. In its survey of **violations of trade union rights** in 2009, the ITUC considered that migrant employees in Oman suffered conditions little better than **forced labor**. One year later, in 2010, the General Federation of Oman Trade Unions was the world's newest union federation and has since been an affiliate of the ITUC with 65,000 **members** in 2018. Inspired by the Arab Spring of 2011, Omanis also demonstrated to demand more jobs and economic **benefits**. The sultan responded rather positively by issuing directive mandates for reforms. However, the trade union movement is still suffering from systematic violation of rights, such as the dismissal of striking workers.

**ONE BIG UNION.** One Big Union (OBU) refers to the idea of **organizing** all **employees** into a single union, in contrast to both **craft unions** and **industrial unions**. It originated in the **United Kingdom** in 1834 when Robert Owen (1771–1858) and John Doherty (c. 1798–1854) organized the Grand United Consolidated Trades Union, which briefly attracted a **membership** of 16,000. In the **United States**, the International Labor Union made the first determined effort to recruit unskilled as well as skilled labor in the late 1870s, an idea followed by the **Knights of Labor** in the 1880s. In the United Kingdom, the idea of an OBU was revived by the **National Labour Federation** in 1886 and by unions such as the **Workers' Union** in 1898 and through federations of existing unions, such as the **General Federation of Trade Unions** in 1899, organizations both created following the defeat of the **Amalgamated Society of Engineers** in the **lockout** of 1897. The idea of the

OBU was revived by the **Industrial Workers of the World** and was an important topic of debate internationally up to the early 1920s. In a limited way, the OBU has found practical expression in union **amalgamations**.

**OPEN SHOP.** In contrast to a **closed shop**, an open shop is a place of employment where **employees** may not be union members, either by choice or by coercion by the **employer**.

**ORDER 1305.** A British wartime regulatory measure issued in June 1940 to enforce compulsory **arbitration** as a final resort in **labor disputes**, though disputes continued. Order 1305 was withdrawn in August 1951 although the tribunal it established survived until 1958.

**ORGANIZACIÓN REGIONAL INTERAMERICANA DE TRABAJADORES (ORIT).** The ORIT, or Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers, was formed out of the Confederación Interamericana de Trabajadores or Inter-American Confederation of Workers in Mexico City in January 1951 by representatives of 21 countries. The United States delegation was led by George Meany of the American Federation of Labor, and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) was represented by Sir Vincent Tewson, the general secretary of the British Trades Union Congress.

Originally based in **Mexico**, the ORIT has been based in Caracas, **Venezuela**, since the late 1990s. It was created within the framework of Cold War **politics** with the aim of resisting **communist** influence in Latin America. Despite its promotion of strong, democratic labor unions, the ORIT came under suspicion of being too close to the U.S. Department of State. The ORIT also faced competition from rival inter-American labor federations, the Marxist **Confederación de Trabajadores de America Latina** (Confederation of Latin American Workers) up to 1962, a **Catholic** labor federation formed in 1954, and the radical **Congreso Permanente de Unidad Sindical de los Trabajadores de America Latina** (Permanent Unity Congress of Labor Unions of Latin American Workers) from 1964 to the 1990s. The ORIT was the undisputed primary body for representing the Americas in the ICFTU. In 2001, the ORIT represented 32.4 million union members within the ICFTU or 21 percent of its total **membership**. After the merger that led to the formation of the **International Trade Union Confederation**, ORIT gave way to the **Trade Union Confederation of the Americas–Confederación Sindical de Trabajadores y Trabajadoras de las Americas** in 2008.

**ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN TRADE UNION UNITY (OATUU).**

The OATUU was formed in 1973 from the merger of the All-African Trade Union Federation (AATUF), the African Trade Union Confederation (ATUC), and the Pan-African Workers' Congress. The AATUF was formed in Casablanca in May 1961. It was the first international trade union federation designed to represent African countries only and was formed to exclude influence of both the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** and the **World Confederation of Labor (WCL)**, which were regarded as too conservative. Those national organizations that did not accept this view formed the ATUC in January 1962 as a rival organization. The merger of the AATUF and the ATUC to form the OATUU was made at the behest of the Organization of African Unity. The affiliation of African labor organizations with international labor bodies created discord within the OATUU, with both the ICFTU and the WCL claiming affiliates among bodies affiliated with the OATUU. In 1988, the OATUU and the WCL signed a formal statement of cooperation. In 2004, the OATUU claimed to represent 53 countries with a combined **membership** of 30 million (in 2018, 25 million); in contrast, the ICFTU claimed only 15 million members in Africa but the International Trade Union Confederation more than 20.6 million in 2018.

**ORGANIZING.** Organizing is a new model for labor unions to recruit new members. It started as a reaction to the plummeting fall in the coverage of **employees** by organized labor since the 1980s. This model opposes the service model union in which the organization acts in the interest of the members but without active participation of these members themselves.

Specially appointed organizers try to build up confidence and networks within the workforce. Employees are often visited at home where long hours of talk serve as means to win confidence and collect information. During industrial action, the emphasis is on the responsibility of the employees and the use of creative tactics. Organizing successfully started in the **United States** within the **Service Employees International Union** and from there spread to other unions and countries. In 2001, moviemaker Ken Loach produced the thrilling movie *Bread and Roses* about the Justice for Janitors campaign in Los Angeles in which tense conversations between workers make clear that organizing for the workers can be a risky affair. *See also* BREAD AND ROSES STRIKE.

**OSBORNE JUDGEMENT.** The Osborne Judgement was a landmark decision by the British House of Lords in December 1909 that declared it illegal for labor unions to contribute funds to the British **Labour Party**. Osborne, a union member himself, was a former Marxist but now a fundamentalist libertarian and Liberal who saw the levy as part of a plot by **socialists** to take over

the unions. Organized labor was only able to get redress from the Osborne Judgement after the Liberal Party, led by Lloyd George, was elected to government in 1911.

**OUTSOURCING.** *See* CONTRACTING OUT.

**OUTWORKER.** Literally, someone who works “out”—that is, outside a factory and from home. Outworkers were common in the textile industry. Outworkers typically work under poor conditions for very low pay. The word has been used in this sense since 1856. The modern definition used by the **International Labour Organization** reads: “Outworkers are workers who hold explicit or implicit contracts of employment under which they agree to work for a particular enterprise, or to supply a certain quantity of goods or services to a particular enterprise, by prior arrangement or contract with that enterprise, but; whose place of work is not within any of the establishments which make up that enterprise.”



# P

**PACIFIC TRADE UNION COMMUNITY (PTUC).** Originally called the Pacific Trade Union Forum, the PTUC was set up in 1980 to improve cooperation between organized labor in **Australia** and **New Zealand** and the Southwest Pacific countries, as well as to campaign against the testing of nuclear weapons in the region. In 1992, the PTUC had 14 country members representing about 3.2 million union members, with the bulk of this **membership** living in Australia, New Zealand, and **Papua New Guinea**. The **Australian Council of Trade Unions** provided the secretariat for the PTUC. In 1995, the PTUC was superseded by the **Asia and Pacific Regional Organization**.

**PAKISTAN.** Pakistan has been independent of the **United Kingdom** since 1947, when the British Indian Empire was divided into **India** and Pakistan. Organized labor inherited the labor law framework of British India, which dated from 1926, when unions were legalized, and played an active role in the independence movement. The All-Pakistan Trade Union Federation was formed in 1948 to represent unions in both Pakistan (then West Pakistan) and East Pakistan (**Bangladesh**). Between 1951 and 1968, the number of unions in Pakistan rose from 309 to 1,041, and their reported **membership** rose from 393,100 to 522,900, despite restrictions on organized labor imposed by military governments. In 1971, Bangladesh seceded from Pakistan. Pakistan has been represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** since 1951. In 1980, the government established **export processing zones** from which organized labor is effectively prohibited and there is no right to **strike**. In 2001, the ICFTU reported that although Pakistan had about 1.1 million union members, organized labor faced considerable hostility from the military government of General Pervez Musharraf, characterized by the arrest of union leaders; the torture of Nadeem Dar (president of the Leatherfield Labour Union) by the owner of the Leatherfield Company; **police** intimidation; and coercion for **employees** to sign individual, nonunion employment contracts. After the release of a new labor policy in 2002, the ICFTU noted that there were greater, not fewer, restrictions on

organized labor. Despite the release of yet another new Industrial Relations Act in 2008, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** commented that restrictions on organized labor still remained. Trade union rights are still violated, and several trade unionists were detained in 2009. This practice has been going on to the present. In 2017, dozens of government schoolteachers marched in protest to demand the payment of long overdue salaries. They were met with a baton charge by the police to beat them back. Over a dozen teachers were injured. Because of this kind of action, the ITUC reported in 2018 that Pakistan suffered from systematic **violations of union rights**. Trade **union density** was 5.6 percent in 2015.

**PALESTINE.** As of 2011, the Palestinian Authority that governs Gaza and the West Bank is still waiting for independence from **Israel** although it was recognized as a nonmember observer state by the United Nations in 2012 and has developed bilateral relationships with more than 130 governments. The Palestine General Federation of Trade Unions was formed in 1965 with origins dating back to the 1920s. It claimed a membership of 131,000 in the autonomous West Bank (88,000) and the Gaza Strip (43,000). The federation became an affiliate of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** in November 2002, with 215,000 members. Since 1989, the ICFTU has sought to improve relations between the federation and the Histadrut of Israel, but this effort lost its purpose in the light of the expected independence of Palestine. The blockade of the Palestinian territories by Israel made union **organizing** very difficult. In 2009, **strikes** and peaceful May Day demonstrations were repressed by the Palestinian Authority. In 2010, the exercise of **freedom of association** and **collective bargaining** remained difficult, especially in Gaza. Ten years later, the situation wasn't improving because of Palestine being a failed state.

**PANAMA.** Independent from **Colombia** since 1903, organized labor was introduced by the **American Federation of Labor** in 1917 when it formed a section in the canal zone to cater to U.S. **employees**, but the American example did not really take hold among Panamanian workers until the 1930s, as shown by the formation of the first labor federation in 1939. Panama has been represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** since 1951, but Panamanian organized labor has been weakened by the usual political and religious divisions of Latin America. In 2001, the ICFTU was critical of the Panamanian government's restrictions on trade union rights for the **public sector** and the layoff by Chiquita Brands International of 400 banana workers in a dispute. In 2009, the **International Trade Union Confederation** reported that conditions for organized labor in Panama had not improved and that barriers to trade union organizations still

existed. It documented the killing of a labor leader in 2010. In 2016, a report was released mentioning aggressive and systematic **union busting** by logistics company DHL in Panama, **Colombia**, and **Chile** as part of a company policy, including acts of intimidation, inadequate **safety** standards, arbitrary management, nonrespect for fundamental rights and labor rights, insults, and frame-ups.

**PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (PAFL).** The PAFL was the first international labor federation formed in the Americas; it operated between 1918 and 1940. It was formed at Laredo, Texas, on 13 November 1918, primarily through the efforts of Santiago Iglesias, the president of the labor federation of **Puerto Rico**, and John Murray of the International Typographical Union in California, working in conjunction with **Samuel Gompers**. The original members of the PAFL were **Colombia**, **Costa Rica**, **El Salvador**, **Guatemala**, **Mexico**, the **United States**, and Puerto Rico. Iglesias had been lobbying the **American Federation of Labor** for the creation of a Pan-American labor federation since 1900, but his efforts did not begin to bear fruit until 1915. The value of good relations between organized labor in the United States and Mexico was shown in 1916 when Gompers secured the release of Americans taken prisoner during an illegal military raid in Mexico to capture Pancho Villa. The PAFL worked for peace between the United States and Mexico, concerned itself with the international migration of labor in the Americas, and opposed American intervention in the internal affairs of Central American and Caribbean countries. Although the **Dominican Republic**, **Nicaragua**, and **Peru** joined the PAFL, its effectiveness was reduced by the deaths of its key personnel: Murray in 1919, Gompers in 1924, and Iglesias in 1939. The last conference of the PAFL was held in New Orleans in 1940. *See also* ORGANIZACIÓN REGIONAL INTERAMERICANA DE TRABAJADORES (ORIT).

**PAPUA NEW GUINEA.** Papua New Guinea has been independent of **Australia** since September 1975; organized labor there developed under Australian influence, with the first unions being confined to European **employees**. However, the Australian presence was small until World War II, when the country was invaded by the Japanese and was the scene of fierce fighting. The colonial administration was opposed to the formation of labor unions by indigenous employees, and it was not until the late 1950s that they began to be formed. This didn't prevent Papua workers from striking, like they did in 1929 when 3,000 of them went on **strike**. More than 200 of the strikers were sentenced to hard labor, during which many died. The Papua New Guinea Trades Union Congress was formed in 1970 and was an affiliate of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** since 1975. By 1973,

there were 41 registered labor unions with a total **membership** of 35,000. In 2001, Papua New Guinea had about 70,000 union members, compared with 60,000 in 1995. Most of the labor force works in the **informal sector**, which organized labor finds difficult to recruit. Papua New Guinea has not been represented in the **International Trade Union Confederation** since 2010.

**PARAGUAY.** Unions in Paraguay formed a federation in 1917 but were able to make little progress because of the lack of economic development, war with **Bolivia** from 1932 to 1935, and political oscillations; in 1936, organized labor was favored by the government, but a year later unions were restricted. The government sought to interfere with and manipulate organized labor in the 1940s and 1950s. A **strike** over the **minimum wage** in 1958 was widely supported but repressed by the Stroessner dictatorship that ruled the country between 1954 and 1989. Paraguay has been represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** from 1957 to 1975 and again since 1993. The 1993 labor code protected union leaders, but not union members or ordinary workers, from dismissal. Although the constitution guarantees unions and **collective bargaining**, these rights are restricted in practice by both the labor code and **employers'** behavior. According to the survey of **violations of trade union rights**, organized labor in the private sector was harassed during 2009, but following union protests, there was some improvement in the antiunion attitude of the government in 2010. The 2010s, however, witnessed continuing violations of trade union rights, including the right to strike.

**PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT.** *See* FULL-TIME/PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT.

**PENSION.** Pension is a retirement income arrangement to provide people with an income when they are no longer earning a regular income from employment. Such arrangements are called retirement plans in the **United States**, pension schemes in **Ireland** and the **United Kingdom**, and superannuation plans in **New Zealand** and **Australia**. Old-age pensions are regarded as delayed **wages**.

Generally, retirement **benefits** may consist of three pillars, the first set up by a government institution, the second by **employers** or **employers' organizations** and trade unions, and the third by insurance companies. Recent years have witnessed a shift from the first to the second and even to the third pillar in industrialized countries. Responsibility for a good income arrangement thus has to be borne by the individual rather than by a **collective**

**agreement.** Pensions in developing countries are almost nonexistent because most people work in the informal sector of the economy, where workers remain largely unprotected by **social security**.

**PERMANENT CONGRESS OF TRADE UNION UNITY OF LATIN AMERICAN WORKERS.** *See* CONGRESO PERMANENTE DE UNIDAD SINDICAL DE LOS TRABAJADORES DE AMERICA LATINA (CPUSTAL).

**PERU.** Organized labor in Peru developed in the late 19th century; the first national labor federation was formed in 1919 and a second, under Marxist leadership, in 1929. There were about 25,000 union members by 1930. Because of its association with left-wing politics and support for land nationalization, organized labor was repressed by the military governments that ruled Peru in the 1930s and 1940s. The Confederación de Trabajadores del Perú (Confederation of Workers of Peru) was formed in May 1944 and was an affiliate of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** by 1951. Organized labor in Peru has been caught up in the country's political divisions and by internal divisions based on religion. In 2000, organized labor played an active part in the campaign to get rid of the corrupt and autocratic President Alberto Fujimori. By 2001, there were three Peruvian labor federations affiliated with the ICFTU, claiming a combined **membership** of 265,000. Despite the return to democratic government after the repressive regime of Fujimori, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** remained critical of Peru's record of trade union rights during 2002–2008, noting first the use of the military to put down a demonstration against **privatization** and later the use of the police to put down a demonstration against the unfair dismissal of three trade union leaders. Labor laws have not been revised since the restoration of democracy, and the government still assists **employers** in breaking **strikes**. The weakness of the trade union movement and the effects of repression were also visible in the number of strikes, which went down from a yearly average of 184 in the years 1990–1999 to 68 in 2000–2009. In 2018, the two remaining affiliates of the ITUC only counted 37,700 members, or 14 percent of the number in 2001. Overall trade **union density** was only 5.6 percent in 2016. In a situation with such a weak trade union movement, it is not surprising that the ITUC noted several instances of police repression, **antiunion discrimination**, and reprisals.

**PHILIPPINES.** Having been a colony of **Spain** since the 16th century, the Philippines were ceded to the **United States** in 1898. Already in the 1850s, secret organizations for mutual aid and **benefits** of workers, much like the

**friendly societies** in the **United Kingdom**, were formed. In 1872, the first **strike** was recorded when **printers** walked out in San Fernando. Although labor unions were not legalized in the Philippines until 1908, **craft unions** were formed after 1899; these unions set up a national federation of labor, Union Obrera Democratica Filipina (Democratic Workers Union of the Philippines), in 1902. Tolerated by the U.S. administration rather than encouraged, union growth was slow; by 1930, there were estimated to be only 67,000 union members spread over 300 trade unions. The labor movement was also divided between **communists** and noncommunists, of which the communists were more successful in enlisting union support for independence. After independence from the **United States** in 1946, Cipriano Cid, an official of the **Congress of Industrial Organizations**, set up the Philippines Association of Free Labor Unions. A **Catholic** labor federation, the Federation of Free Workers, was formed in 1950. In 1953, the Philippines was admitted to membership in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** and has remained represented there.

In 1954, the Republic Act 875 gave labor unions legal protection and the right to engage in **collective bargaining**. Because of deep internal divisions, hostile management, legal complexities, and lack of public support, organized labor was unable to utilize fully the advantages of this law. In 1950, there were only 150,000 union members out of two million nonagricultural **employees**. In 1963, organized labor engaged directly in **politics** by creating the Workers' Party, but it fared poorly in the Manila elections of that year. In 1965, a new national labor federation, the Philippines Labor Center, was formed, but it did not result in a unified labor movement. From the early 1970s, industrial and political protests in the Philippines became intertwined.

President Ferdinand Marcos declared a state of emergency in September 1972, which was used to suspend the right to strike and to arrest labor leaders. In 1974, a new labor code aimed at reorganizing the unions along industrial lines. In 1975, the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines was established; it claimed a million members and remains the largest labor federation in the country. The 1980s witnessed several waves of strikes, even in the **export processing zones**. From 1981 to 1985, the yearly average of strikes was 245, and the number was still increasing. In 1986, there were 581 recorded strikes, the highest number in the history of the Philippines, with 3.6 million man-days lost. After the overthrow of Marcos in 1986, a new constitution was adopted in February 1987, which promised full legal protection for labor, organized and unorganized. According to government figures, the membership of labor unions in the Philippines grew from 1.9 to 3.8 million between 1980 and 2000. Like **Japan**, there are thousands of unions in the Philippines.

Despite an improvement in the political and legal climate for organized labor, the ICFTU complained to the Philippine government about restrictions on the right to collective bargaining and discrimination against unions in 1991–1992. It has also noted the continuation of violence against labor officials and striking employees, such as in 2006 when at least 33 unionists were killed in “an orgy of extrajudicial violence.” In 2009, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** drew attention to restrictions on the right to strike or form unions, and it documented the murder of four labor activists. The country has been suffering from ethnic, Maoist, and Islamic terrorist groups for years, which has not been in the interest of the union movement. In 2019, the ITUC was still complaining about the lack of rights.

**PICKETING.** Picketing refers to labor union members demonstrating outside a workplace, often with placards, in support of the union’s claims against the workplace **employer** during **labor disputes**. The group carrying out the picketing (the “picket line”) will also try to encourage **employees** not engaged in the dispute to stay away from the workplace. They can do this verbally or, on occasion, by violence. Picketing in this sense had entered English usage by 1867. Picketing was outlawed in the **United Kingdom** in 1825, but “peaceful picketing” was legalized in 1859. Violence during picketing was legally prohibited in 1875. The **Employment Act** of 1980 limited legal picketing to employees engaged in a labor dispute. In the **United States**, mass picketing was outlawed by the **Taft–Hartley Act** in 1947. *See also* “WINTER OF DISCONTENT”.

**PIECE WORKER.** An **employee** paid on the basis of defined tangible results (literally, the production of “pieces”) as opposed to attendance time at work. It is a specific form of payment by results, related specifically to the output of each individual worker. The term *piece worker* was used by 1884, but the phrase *piece work* dates from much earlier. It appeared in writing for the first time in 1549. Abuse of the system can be halted by fixing a **minimum wage**.

**POLAND.** Organized labor in what is now Poland emerged during the late 19th century in Galicia, then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Other unions were formed in German-controlled Poland but not in the Russian Partition, where unions were illegal before 1906. Organized labor and the Polish Socialist Party (formed in 1892) were closely linked. A national labor federation was created in 1918. Despite the difficult conditions for organizing and the heavily rural nature of the Polish economy, union growth was impressive. In 1920, there were 947,000 union members, who were mostly organized by industry groups. Political pressure by the Socialist Party gained

exclusive rights for unions in **collective bargaining** in the 1920s, but the economic difficulties of the period reduced union **membership** from its peak of one million in 1921 to 539,100 by 1924. In 1926, the government forced **employees** of government-owned enterprises to belong to a government-sponsored union. Nevertheless, union membership reached 979,000 by 1930, and despite the Depression, there were still claimed to be 738,900 members in 1933. This growth was to some extent a reflection of the increase in **manufacturing** employment, which nearly doubled from 1.3 to 2.5 million between 1921 and 1931. With the imposition of **communist** rule in 1948, an independent labor movement ceased to exist in Poland, although the trend toward an industrialized economy continued. Between 1950 and 1969, the number employed in manufacturing rose from 2.8 to 4 million.

In the 1970s, the first sustained popular challenge to the communist-dominated labor movement and society in Eastern Europe occurred in Poland. From December 1970 to January 1971, there was a wave of **labor disputes** in the Baltic cities that resulted in 44 deaths. Poland's continued economic problems—particularly its high **inflation** and large overseas debts—depressed living standards and maintained discontent. In September 1976, the Workers' Defense Committee (Komitet Obrony Robotników) was set up to help those who had lost their jobs in labor disputes. In May 1976, a committee of free labor unions was formed in the Baltic cities. The visit to Poland of the newly elected first Polish pope, John Paul II, in June 1979 provided a focus for economic grievances as well as nationalist, political, and religious feelings. A round of government-decreed price rises in the 1980s led to rolling **strikes** at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk (the former German city of Danzig), which was the catalyst for the government conceding on 31 August 1980 the right not only to form independent labor unions but also to strike and broadcast religious programs, as well as the right to more civil liberties. It was from these origins that Solidarity—"Solidarnosc" Niezależny Samorządny Związek Zawodowy, or Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity—was formed on 22 September 1980, with an unemployed former electrician, **Lech Walesa**, as its chairman. By December 1980, 40 independent labor unions had been formed and there was a growing movement to create a rural version of Solidarity. On 1 January 1981, the communist labor federation was disbanded, but these gains proved short-lived. The pace of change raised the threat of Russian intervention, a threat that had hung over Poland since the first Partition in 1772.

The government declared martial law in December 1981. On that same day, miners from the Wujek coal mine in Katowice went on strike. The strikers called for an end to martial law, but the authorities brought tanks to the streets, and the strike was brutally suppressed by a special platoon of the communist riot police, which fired at the miners, killing nine and wounding 21. Years later, in 2007, 15 former members of the platoon were given prison



terms for their part in the killings, most sentenced to two and a half to three years in jail, except for their former platoon commander, who was sentenced to 11 years. In 2019, another member of the platoon was sentenced to 3.5 years in prison for committing a crime against humanity.

In October 1982, Solidarity was driven underground by labor laws that dissolved all labor unions. It survived, but its membership fell from 10 to 1.3 million by 1995. There was much debate about Solidarity's goals, and a splinter organization, Solidarity 80, was formed.

In 1987, Solidarity was admitted to membership in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)**, the first labor organization to be admitted to the ICFTU from Eastern Europe that was not an organization in exile. In November 1984, the former communist labor federation reformed itself as the Ogolnopolskie Porozumienie Zwiaskow Zawodowych (OPZZ), or All-Poland Alliance of Labor Unions, a nonauthoritarian body that recognized the independence of labor unions. The OPZZ derived its strength from its control of the assets of Solidarity, which enabled it to offer members **benefits** such as the use of holiday homes. In 1992, the OPZZ had three million members and another 1.5 million members who were **retired employees**.

Despite these national divisions, organized labor in Poland cooperates closely through joint councils at the enterprise level, which has enabled it to conduct many labor disputes since the end of communist rule in early 1990 and to obtain the election of Walesa as the new republic's first president. Since 1990, Solidarity has struggled with the consequences of Poland's conversion from a state-run to a capitalist economy and from a one-party to a democratic society. Both Solidarity and the OPZZ are highly politicized organizations, and from 1992 both bodies have been represented along with representatives from government and **employers' organizations** on a tripartite commission that monitors the economy. In 2001, Solidarity declared a membership of 1.1 million to the ICFTU, which was about 13 percent of employees.

In 2002, the ICFTU reported that changes to the labor code reduced the rights of Polish organized labor. In 2010, the two Polish affiliates of the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** declared a combined membership of 986,000. In 2010, the ITUC judged that antiunion behavior by **employers** was increasing, and in 2017 Solidarity complained about the government's failure to organize genuine consultations with unions. During the second decade of the 21st century the affiliates of the ITUC saw membership grow to 1,146,700.

**POLICE UNIONISM.** Although the police usually appear as the historical enemies of labor unions, they have formed their own unions and have sometimes engaged in **labor disputes**. The **inflation** of World War I and the

failure of police pay to be increased accordingly was the background to police strikes in a number of countries. In the **United Kingdom**, a police union was formed in 1918; it engaged in **strikes** in 1918 and 1919, incidents that led to the legal suppression of police unionism. Legislation in 1964 and 1972 allowed the formation of Police Federations but forbade their affiliation with the **Trades Union Congress**, a ban that has continued to the present. Police unions were formed in the states of **Australia** between 1915 and 1921, and a police strike was held in Melbourne in 1923. Unlike in the United Kingdom, however, police unions have been able to affiliate with the national peak labor organization; the Police Federation of Australia was an affiliate of the **Australian Council of Trade Unions** in 2002.

Police unions were also formed in the **United States** in the 1910s. A police strike took place in Boston (1919). The Boston strike was the result of the suspension of some of the police, who had joined a new union sponsored by the **American Federation of Labor**. The governor of Massachusetts, Calvin Coolidge, strongly opposed the strike, thereby gaining a greatly enhanced standing with the public that assisted his election as president. Since the 1920s, other police labor disputes have occurred, such as the dispute in New York City in January 1971. During the 1970s, 245 illegal police strikes occurred in the United States. In February 1979, the International Union of Police Associations (formed in 1954) became the first independent law enforcement union to hold an **American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations** charter, based partly on a successful police strike in Memphis, Tennessee. By 1997, this U.S. union had more than 80,000 members, a number grown to more than 100,000 in 2019.

In 2001, the European Confederation of Police (EuroCop) was formed, uniting 33 trade unions from 26 European Countries, which includes more than 500,000 police officers. EuroCOP succeeded the Union Internationale des Syndicats de Police (International Union of Police Unions), founded in 1953. The original goal of EuroCop was to allow police organizations from the United Kingdom to join.

**POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (PAC).** PACs were set up by organized labor in the **United States** in the 1940s to circumvent federal legal restrictions on the amount of money organizations, businesses, or individuals could contribute to election campaigns. Since the 1940s, other organizations have set up their own PACs. The importance of PACs was increased by 1971 federal legislation. Of the \$7.5 million contributed by labor PACs to congressional campaigns in 2000, \$7 million went to Democrats and \$0.5 million to Republicans. In 2008, there were 293 PACs run by organized labor, which contributed a total of \$80.2 million to candidates. *See also* POLITICS.

**POLITICS.** By their very nature, labor unions are political institutions, offering a permanent challenge to the economic, political, and social order. In the last half of the 19th century, organized labor in the **United Kingdom** lobbied the Liberal Party to achieve its objectives, particularly legal protection. As labor unions banded together to form national and **industry** federations, they either worked with the established political order or, where they could not, formed their own political parties, as in **Australia, Austria, Finland, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden,** and the United Kingdom. The **United States** and **Canada** were unusual among Western nations in their lack of significant political parties based on organized labor, although the **National Labor Union** was an exception.

Tensions could, and did, arise between organized labor and their political parties. For example, in 1906, organized labor in **France** and **Germany** declared its independence from control by political parties. In Third World countries, organized labor has almost always played an active role in independence movements. Since 1945, organized labor has supported the efforts of **social-democratic** parties in the Western nations to create welfare states to enhance **social security** and has been an active participant in **union–government agreements**. In both the United Kingdom and Australia, the respective parliamentary labor parties have sought to reduce the influence of organized labor within their parties in response to the decline of union **membership** during the 1990s. The idea behind this shift was what was called the Third Way, a new vision based on the idea that thinking the old class-based division of left and right was redundant. This change of ideas didn't not help in the long run; the labor parties also lost attraction to the public, just like the trade union movement. *See also* LABOUR PARTY (BRITISH); POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (PAC); SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC, SOCIALIST, AND LABOR PARTIES.

**PORTUGAL.** Unions and left-wing political groups developed in parallel in Portugal after 1870, a response to Portugal's poverty and its political conservatism. A Socialist Party was set up in 1875, and **syndicalism** attracted much support. There was considerable labor unrest from the 1880s to the revolution of 1910, which caused the fall of the monarchy and the creation of a republic. By 1913, there were claimed to be 90,000 union members, and a national labor federation, named the Confederação Geral de Trabalhadores (General Confederation of Labor) from 1913, was created. The next 15 years were chaotic, with **general strikes** being declared in 1919, 1920, and 1921. **Collective bargaining** was legalized in 1924. In 1926, a fascist, military-backed dictator, Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, took power and dissolved the Confederação Geral de Trabalho. Using the examples of fascist **Italy** and the Nazi **Deutsche Arbeitsfront**, Salazar established a corporate network of

government-controlled unions that required compulsory **membership** in 1933. A general strike called by the left wing of organized labor in 1934 only led to more repression.

An independent labor movement did not begin to emerge once more until 1970, when the present Confederação Geral dos Trabalhadores Portugueses–Intersindical Nacional (CGTP-IN, General Confederation of Portuguese Workers–National Labor Unions) was formed illegally. After the Carnation Revolution (Revolução dos Cravos) in 1974 forced the dictatorship to vanish, conditions for organized labor began to improve. The right to **strike** was conditionally granted in 1974 and was extended in 1977. A rival **socialist** labor federation, the União Geral de Trabalhadores (UGT), or General Workers' Union, was formed in 1978 and was admitted to membership in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** in 1987 with 983,700 members; it has remained Portugal's representative in the ICFTU and its successor. In December 1996, the UGT, the government, and representatives of the **employers' organizations** signed a social pact aimed at creating employment and improving training in return for cooperation on improving economic performance. In 2010, the two trade union federations claimed to have 1,092,080 members, but these numbers were disputed and turned out to have decreased in recent years. In 2016, the CGTP-IN announced the loss of 64,000 members in four years as a result of unemployment and emigration. A few months earlier, a UGT leader declared that this fate had befallen his organization as well: they had lost 80,000 members.

In its 2010 survey of **violations of trade union rights**, the **International Trade Union Confederation** judged that antiunion behavior was common in private companies and noted that the right to collective bargaining was limited to the **public sector**. The UGT had only 350,000 members in 2018, and collective bargaining, of which the rate was still very high, was under pressure by **employers'** refusal to negotiate.

**POSTAL, TELEGRAPH, AND TELEPHONE INTERNATIONAL (PTTI)**. The PTTI was founded in Milan, **Italy**, in 1920, although the first international conference of postal, telegraph, and telephone **employees** had been held in Paris in 1911. As with other **international trade secretariats**, the PTTI was a European body up to 1950, after which time it began to expand globally. **Membership** in the Geneva-based PTTI was 3.2 million in 1975 and 4 million in 1994. In August 1997, the PTTI renamed itself **Communications International**. *See also* COMMUNICATION WORKERS OF AMERICA (CWA).

**PRECARIAT.** The class of workers living under conditions of temporary, flexible, contingent, casual, and intermittent work. Surveys in several countries have shown that a growing group of people are not able to earn a decent living despite sometimes having more than one job. At the end of the month, they had not enough money to buy treats for themselves. Also, a lot of their time was spent seeking extra income to make ends meet; this is why the existence of the precariat is sometimes seen as a reason to propose basic income for all adults. These conditions are a direct result of the weak bargaining position of labor since the 1970s, especially in the West. *See also* CASUALIZATION.

**PRIMARY LABOR MARKET.** A **labor market** characterized by high or difficult entry qualifications, high pay, good working conditions, and good promotion prospects, in contrast to the **secondary labor market**.

**PRINTING.** Printing has an important place in the history of organized labor up to the 1970s. Printing was an unusual trade in that it demanded not just superior technical skills but also a high level of literacy. It was this combination that often placed printers at the forefront of **employees** both in terms of power at the workplace and as leaders within organized labor. Printing was also a leading **industry** in technological change, a fact that created problems as well as opportunities for its employees. **Labor disputes** in printing occurred as early as the 16th century in **Italy, France, and Switzerland**.

Printers were among the first to form formal unions in many countries, although they had been informally organized long before; for instance, in 1829, printers conducted one of **Australia's** first **strikes**. In **Germany**, printers formed the first national labor union, the Nationaler Buchdrucker-Verein (National Printers' Association), in 1848. The printing industry was often a pacesetter for other industries. The first **collective agreement** made in France in 1843 set **wage** rates for printers. The first international labor organization among printers was formed in 1889.

Philadelphia printers carried out the first strike of employees in a single trade in the **United States** in 1786, and a short-lived union existed among New York printers in the late 1770s. In 1804, the New York printers formed a union that lasted until 1815. Ely Moore, the first president of the National Trades' Union, the first U.S. labor federation in 1834, was a printer. In 1852, the National Typographical Association was formed, which, after the affiliation of printing unions in **Canada**, renamed itself the International Typographical Union (ITU) in 1869. As a strong **craft union**, the ITU played an influential role in the creation of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada in 1881 and the **American Federation of Labor** in 1886.

Hierarchical occupational divisions were an important feature of the organization of printing work, with compositors being the highest group; their dominance of the ITU led to the creation of separate unions by other printing employees such as stereotypers and electroplaters, photoengravers, bookbinders, and journalists in the last decades of the 19th century. Ethnicity also played a role in the history of the ITU. In 1873, printers employed by the German-language press formed their own union, the German American Typographia, but in 1894 this body merged with the ITU. In 1906, the ITU conducted a successful campaign in book- and job-printing firms for the eight-hour workday, laying the foundation for its adoption elsewhere in the printing industry. In 1911, the ITU and other unions formed a printing industry body, the International Allied Printing Trades Association.

Until the 1960s, the printing industry unions throughout the world enjoyed considerable power, but with the coming of new technology, that power waned as many of the older mechanical skills were replaced by electronic machines and, more recently, by computers. Symptomatic of the decline of their power was the defeat of London printing unions over the introduction of new technology at Rupert Murdoch's Wapping plant in London in 1986. *See also* INTERNATIONAL GRAPHICAL FEDERATION (IGF).

**PRIVATIZATION.** Privatization refers to the sale or partial sale of a government-owned enterprise or agency either to a private-sector company or through the sale of shares offered to the general public. Privatization was adopted by the Conservative governments in the **United Kingdom** starting in 1979 as a means of improving the efficiency and productivity of the economy. It was based on the ideas of two economists, Friedrich von Hayek and Milton Friedman.

The economic effects of privatization have been much debated, but privatized concerns can achieve higher productivity and bigger profits at least in the short term if they are able to significantly reduce the number of **employees**. Generally, organized labor has opposed privatization because of the job losses and intensified work methods it usually brings. From the early 1980s, many Western countries have used privatization to varying degrees as a means of improving their economic performance (for example, **Australia** and **New Zealand**). Since the economic crisis of 2008, privatization has been increasingly criticized.

Since the late 1980s the former communist countries of Eastern Europe have used privatization as part of the transition from planned to market economies. In Asia, privatization has been used both in noncommunist countries (for example, **Indonesia** and **Thailand**) and **communist** countries such as **Vietnam** and **China**. Privatization has produced major **labor disputes** in countries as different as China (October 1997), **India** (April 2002), and **South Africa** (October 2002). *See also* PUBLIC SECTOR.

**PUBLIC SECTOR.** In most Western countries, one of the most significant trends in the structure of union **membership** over recent decades has been the large increase in the proportion of union members employed by the public sector (that is, by government or government agencies) compared with the private sector. Precise measurement of this trend is difficult because the statistics have not always been collected in a convenient form or because frequent changes of national policy (such as over the nationalization of industries in the **United Kingdom** since 1945) drain the meaning from longer-term comparisons even if the data are available.

Nevertheless, the distribution of labor union **membership** for the United Kingdom (taking the public sector to be a combination of union membership employed by national government, local government, and **education**, gas, electricity, water, postal, and telecommunications) suggests that 10 percent of union members were employed by the public sector by 1920, 20 percent by 1940, and 22 percent by 1960.

In 1960, only 6 percent of union members in the **United States** were public-sector **employees**. The growth of government employment after 1960 and structural changes in the private sector in the 1970s and 1980s (specifically the decline in large-scale **manufacturing** employment and the growth of the **service sector**) combined to raise the proportion of union members employed by the public sector to a historic high. In the United States, the proportion of union members employed by the public sector rose from 11 percent in 1970 to 32 percent in 1983, and to 49 percent by 2010. In 2010, the **union density** among employees in the public sector remained far higher than in the private sector: 41 percent in Australia, 57 percent in the United Kingdom, and 36 percent in the United States. The 2010 numbers were slightly lower than the ones for 2001, which may be a result of the economic crisis and austerity measures by the respective governments. Hand in hand with the growth of the public sector, a tertiarization of **strikes** has been observed. *See also* PRIVATIZATION; PUBLIC SERVICES INTERNATIONAL (PSI); WHITE-COLLAR UNIONISM; WOMEN.

**PUBLIC SERVICES INTERNATIONAL (PSI).** The PSI is one of the largest **global union federations** in the world. It was formed in 1935 with the merger of the International Federation of Workers in Public Administration and Utilities (IFWPAU) and the Civil Servants' International. The IFWPAU was founded by representatives of local government unions with 44,479 members from **Denmark**, **Germany**, **Hungary**, the **Netherlands**, **Sweden**, and **Switzerland** summoned at the First International Conference of Workers in Public Services in 1907 at the suggestion of the Dutch. The Civil Servants' Association was created in 1925 in the Netherlands and represented **employees** of central governments. The activities of the PSI were severely restricted first by the disaffiliation of the British civil servants in

1927 (which was forced by legislation passed after the **general strike** in 1926) and then by the suppression of organized labor by the Nazis in Germany in 1933. After World War II, the PSI was reestablished in London under the name International Federation of Unions of Employees in Public and Civil Services (in 1958, shortened to the present name), and its membership broadened to take in countries outside Europe. In 1957, persistent lobbying of the **International Labour Organization (ILO)** by the PSI resulted in the formation of a committee for public services, although it was not until the early 1970s that the **public sector** was given greater attention by the ILO. Between 1976 and 1994, the **membership** of the PSI rose from 4.8 to 16 million. In 2010, the PSI claimed to represent 20 million members in 650 union affiliates in 148 countries; nine years later, the respective numbers were 30 million, 700 affiliates, and 154 countries. *See also* WHITE-COLLAR UNIONISM.

**PUERTO RICO.** Puerto Rico is a free state that has been associated with the **United States** since 1952; organized labor in Puerto Rico emerged after 1872 but was outlawed by the Spanish administration in 1888. From 1898 to 1952, Puerto Rico was under U.S. administration, and the first unions date from 1898. Links with the **American Federation of Labor** began in 1901 when the Free Federation of Workers (FFW, founded in 1899) affiliated. Organized labor effectively opted out of **collective bargaining** and sought a political role. In 1934, there was a large-scale sugar workers' **strike**. In March 1940, a new labor federation was formed, the Confederación General de Trabajadores (General Confederation of Workers), which soon surpassed the FFW. By 1951, Puerto Rico had joined the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** and has remained a member. Between the 1960s and the mid-1970s, the proportion of union **membership** in Puerto Rico who belonged to U.S. unions fell from about 75 to 43 percent. In 1957, the two existing labor federations merged to form the Federación del Trabajo de Puerto Rico, or Federation of the Workers of Puerto Rico, which was the country's ICFTU affiliate and claimed a membership of 53,000. In 2009, there was considerable labor unrest in Puerto Rico. The fragmented and often sectarian labor union movement of Puerto Rico has not been represented in the **International Trade Union Confederation** since 2010.



# Q

**QATAR.** There is no organized labor in the emirate. Although the country has been a member of the **International Labour Organization** since 1972, it never ratified Conventions 87 (1948, Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise) and 98 (1949, Right to Organise and **Collective Bargaining**). After a series of **strikes**, the government even outlawed strikes in 1957. From 2004, the emir allowed workers to form trade unions and even the ban on strikes was lifted, but in practice they almost never occur because of regulations. **Labor disputes** have to be reported to a **conciliation** board.

About 75 percent of the labor force is expatriate. Joint consultative committees of management and workers' representatives are possible under the law, but they do not discuss **wages**. In 2002, the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** noted that labor unions continued to be banned. Although the new 2005 labor code raised hopes for improvements, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** reported in 2009 that no unions were created. The **International Transport Workers' Federation** has criticized Qatar Airways' treatment of its female **employees**. Migrant workers still suffer abuse in Qatar despite some recent labor legislation. Especially the building of stadiums for the World Cup in 2022 has attracted many migrants who reportedly have been working under severe circumstances. More than 100 strikers were deported in 2009; similar deportations occurred in the 2010s. Qatar has never been represented in the ITUC.



# R

**RACE AND ETHNICITY.** Racial divisions have been both a unifier and a divider in the history of organized labor. There were many instances of the use of different ethnic groups to break **strikes** in the 19th century. In the **United Kingdom**, Welsh, Irish, and Cornish miners were brought in by **employers** to break strikes. In the **United States**, immigrants were used as strikebreakers in the steel industry. In the 1870s and 1880s, violent anti-Chinese feelings, particularly in the mining industry, helped to promote labor unions in the western United States and southeastern **Australia**. In the United States, one of the objectives of the **National Labor Union**, a labor organization that operated between 1866 and 1876, was the restriction of Chinese **immigration**. It was the refusal of the NLU to accept racial integration that led to the operation of the Colored National Labor Union between 1869 and 1871. In the United States, and later in **South Africa**, organized labor tended to be the preserve of European men, although cooperation could occur, as was shown by the successful biracial strike of 1893 in New Orleans. The **Knights of Labor** were unusual in the mid-1880s in their practice of racial integration.

Attempts at racial integration in the United States for much of the 20th century floundered on the racism of many labor unions. In 1924, the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York supported the creation of the Trade Union Committee for Organizing Negro Workers, but this body was defunct by 1927. In 1935, the Negro Labor Committee was formed in New York State and organized a march on Washington in 1941, which led to the setting up of the Fair Employment Practices Commission in 1943, which was designed to eliminate discrimination in employment in war industries or government on the grounds of “race, creed, color, or national origin.” In 1960, A. Philip Randolph and other black leaders set up the Negro American Labor Council (NALC) to fight racial discrimination in unions affiliated with the **American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)**; the council operated throughout the 1960s, and its relations

with the AFL-CIO were often difficult. In the late 1960s, more radical black union groups came into being that challenged the leadership of the NALC within organized labor.

At its inaugural conference in November 1949, the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** declared its intention to work together to “eliminate throughout the world every kind of discrimination or domination based upon race, creed, color, or sex.” However, in practice it was not until the 1960s that the ICFTU was able to devote serious attention to the racial aspect of this resolution, mainly with respect to South Africa, where under Apartheid racial discrimination became a legal system supported by white labor unions. The ICFTU actively participated in the events of 1997, the European Year against Racism. Since the 1980s, organized labor has made more efforts to combat racism in its own ranks and in the labor force generally. In 1981, the British **Trades Union Congress** released a major policy statement, *Black Workers: A TUC Charter for Equal Opportunity*. In 1996, **IG Metall** published a handbook concerning racial discrimination at the workplace.

In the United States, 15 percent of American labor union members were African Americans in 2002, compared with 14 percent in 1983. The percentage of Hispanics among union members rose from 6 percent in 1983 to nearly 10 percent in 2001. African Americans were more likely to be union members than white or Hispanic Americans; in 2010, 13 percent of African American employees were union members, compared with 12 percent of white and 10 percent of Hispanic employees.

In the United Kingdom, official surveys of labor union members have also found significant variations in the proportions of employees by race who were union members; in 2001, 29 percent of white employees were union members, compared with 30 percent for blacks and 25 percent for Asians. In 2010, 27 percent of white employees were union members, compared with 29 percent for blacks and 16 percent for Asians. These figures may indicate a growing dissatisfaction with trade union policy among blacks and Asians because the decrease in **union density** since 2001 was much bigger than among white workers. In Western Europe, immigration from mainly North Africa, **Turkey**, and the former colonies became a feature of life since the 1950s, and the trade union movement had to find a way of dealing with this new phenomenon. They first opposed immigration because it was seen as an **employers’** strategy to put a downward pressure on **wage** development. Later on, they began to recruit migrants and started to defend their rights, but in general the unions remained ambiguous toward immigration although this attitude has improved over the years.

**RAILROADS.** The railroads were among the main battle grounds of organized labor between 1870 and 1920. Railway employment was characterized by long hours, dangerous working conditions, and management devices to control **employees** such as company towns (for instance, Pullman in Illinois and Crewe in England). Management attitudes and organization were based on the army. Occupations were divided horizontally as well as vertically. Despite these drawbacks, the railroads were attractive because they usually offered relatively secure employment and the prospect of promotion with experience and length of service. Under these conditions, unions were slow to emerge although a **friendly society** was set up by English locomotive engine drivers and firemen as early as 1839 and may have had some features of a labor union; locomotive enginemen are known to have formed unions in 1848 and 1860.

In 1865, an attempt to form a provident society by the guards of the Great Western Railway Company was crushed by the dismissal of its leaders. In 1866, locomotive engine drivers and firemen formed a union that demanded the 10-hour workday. The other unions present within the railroad **industry** before 1870 were those of tradesmen working in the repair workshops. In 1871, the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales was formed and became the largest railroad union in **Britain**; this union was the subject of the **Taff Vale Case** in 1901, which cast doubt on the legal status of labor unions. It amalgamated with two other unions in 1913 to become a genuine **industrial union** and changed its name to the National Union of Railwaymen.

In the **United States**, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen was formed in New York in 1873 with the original aim of providing sickness and funeral **benefits** for members, but it soon became a labor union. In 1883, the formation of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen represented the first attempt to create an industrial union in the railroad industry.

In **Australia**, a locomotive engine drivers' union was formed in Victoria in 1870, and general railway unions, based on the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, were formed in the various colonies between 1884 and 1899, and in **New Zealand** in 1886.

The railroad industry was the focus of some major **labor disputes** between management and employees. In the United States, there were three national clashes before 1900: in 1877, the Burlington railroad **strike** of 1888–1889, and the Pullman strike and **boycott** of 1894. There was a national railroad strike in **France** in 1898. The first national railroad strike in Great Britain was in 1911 and lasted two days; it was followed by another one in 1919. One of Australia's largest strikes, from August to September 1917, was centered on the railroads. General strikes by Dutch railroad employees have occurred twice: in 1903 for higher **wages** and in 1944 against the Nazi occupation of the **Netherlands** by the Germans. In 1974, 1.7 million workers

of the railways in **India** went on strike for an eight-hour working day and a pay raise. This probably largest industrial action in the world was brutally suppressed after 20 days, with thousands of strikers sent to jail. Until the 1980s, most railroad companies were state owned. The hype of **privatization** has since caused a lot of labor unrest.

**RAMAPHOSA, MATAMELA CYRIL (1952–).** One of the leaders of black organized labor in **South Africa**, Ramaphosa was born in the Soweto area of Johannesburg. He studied law from 1972 and became involved in student **politics**. These activities resulted in being detained in solitary confinement for 11 months in 1974 under the Terrorism Act. In 1976, he was again detained, this time for six months. After his release, he became a law clerk and studied for a degree. After obtaining his degree in 1981, Ramaphosa joined the National Council of Trade Unions as a legal advisor. In 1982, he was requested to start a union for mine workers: the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). Ramaphosa was again arrested but was undeterred from organizing. Ramaphosa was elected as the first general secretary of the NUM. Under his leadership, union **membership** grew from 6,000 in 1982 to 300,000 in 1992, nearly half of the total number of black workers in the South African mining industry. As general secretary, he along with James Motlatsi, president of NUM, and Elijah Barayi, vice president of NUM, also led the mine workers in one of the biggest **strikes** ever in South African history. In 1985, the NUM helped to establish the Congress of South African Trade Unions. Ramaphosa resigned in 1991, when he was elected secretary general of the African National Congress (ANC). Ramaphosa played a leading role in the Mass Democratic Movement during the political struggle against Apartheid and became head of the ANC team that negotiated the end of Apartheid with the government. After the first democratic elections in 1994, Ramaphosa became a member of parliament and played an important role in the government. After he lost the race to become president of South Africa, he resigned from politics in 1997 and moved to the private sector. During this period, he became involved in the **Marikana Massacre** at the other side of the class division when he called for action against the strikers. Ramaphosa returned to politics and has been president of South Africa since 2018.

**RANK AND FILE.** The term originates from the military, where it relates to the horizontal ranks (rows) and vertical files (columns) of individual foot soldiers, apart from the officers. In trade union history, it is a term for the individual **members** of a union, excluding the elected or even paid leadership. Next to this rather technical meaning, the term has also been used to stress differences of opinion between the two groups within a union, ordinary

members against bureaucrats. In this latter sense, it was used during the rank-and-file movement during the 1930s in the **United States**. This movement originated in the **Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers (AA)** and challenged the conservative leadership to act in reorganizing the union along industrial lines. The term was also widely used during the 1960s and 1970s when workers went on **strike** without the consent of trade union leaderships.

**REAGAN, RONALD (1911–2004)**. Reagan was the first U.S. president to have also been an executive officer in a national labor union; between 1959 and 1960, he was president of the Screen Actors' Guild (formed in 1933). Despite this background, his presidency (1981–1989) was hostile to organized labor, as shown by his crushing of the **strike** by the Professional Air Traffic Controllers' Organization in August 1981 by firing over 11,000 strikers and replacing them with military controllers and civilian controllers who returned to work. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Reagan are together known for their neoliberal attitude toward labor.

**REAL WAGES**. Real wages are **nominal wages** taking account of **inflation** or deflation. Changes in levels of real wages, particularly falls, have been a potent cause of labor unrest. An older term for real wages was *effective wages*.

**RECOGNITION**. The designation by a government agency of a union as the workers' representative or acceptance by an **employer** that its **employees** can be collectively represented by a union. The subsequent negotiation process between the union and employer is known as **collective bargaining**. Recognition is often regulated by law; the **International Labour Organization** keeps up to date on developments in its affiliated countries.

**REGIONAL ORGANISATION FOR ASIA AND PACIFIC (ITUC ASIA PACIFIC)**. After the merger of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** and the **World Confederation of Labor** in November 2006, the **Asia and Pacific Regional Organisation** merged with the Brotherhood of Asian Trade Unions and was renamed ITUC Asia Pacific. It is based in Singapore, has 40 affiliated organizations in 28 countries, and claims a **membership** of 30 million.

**RENGO**. Rengo, an abbreviation for Nihon Rodokumiai Sorengokai (Japanese Trade Union Confederation), is the largest labor union federation in **Japan**. It is the product of a series of **amalgamations** with other labor federations. The largest part of Rengo began as Sodomei (Japanese Federa-

tion of Trade Unions) in 1946, which became Domei (Japanese Confederation of Labor) in 1964, by which time it had 2.1 million members. In 1987, Domei joined with Sorengo (National Federation of Trade Unions of Japan; formed in 1979) and Shinsanbetsu (National Federation of Industrial Organizations; formed in 1952) to form Zenmin Roren (Japanese Private Sector Trade Union Federation, now referred to as “old Rengo”). The second part of Rengo was the **public-sector** labor federation Sohyo (General Council of Trade Unions of Japan), which was formed in 1950 when the noncommunist unions split from the **communist**-dominated Sanbetsu-Kaigi (Congress of Industrial Unions of Japan), which had been formed in 1946. Left-leaning and militant, Sohyo was largely responsible for beginning the *Shunto* or Spring Offensive for **wage** increases in 1956. In November 1989, Zenmin Roren and Sohyo merged to form Rengo. In 2001, Rengo organized a mass campaign of 10 million workers against the government. In 2010, Rengo represented 6.8 million union members, and 6.7 million in 2018. Rengo is Japan’s only affiliate with the **International Trade Union Confederation**.

**RETIRED EMPLOYEES.** Retired **employees** who were formerly labor union members were a neglected group in analysis or discussions of organized labor but have assumed greater importance since the 1970s with the **layoff** of older workers in **manufacturing** and the aging of the **labor force** in most Western economies. In **Germany**, the **United Kingdom**, and the **United States**, union members often retain their **membership** after retirement. In 1986, it was estimated that retired employees on **pensions** made up less than 10 percent of union members in Germany and the United Kingdom, but about 18 percent in **Norway**.

**Italy** is one of the few countries in the world where organized labor has set up strong organizations of retired employees as autonomous associations within the main labor federations. Between 1951 and 1973, the number of pensioner union members was stable at about 600,000, but thereafter has grown steadily to 1.7 million by 1980 and to 5.1 million by 1996. Between 1970 and 2001, the proportion of total union members in Italy who were retired employees rose from about 8 to 18 percent.

In 2002, the **United Auto Workers** had 710,000 active members and over 500,000 retired members in the United States and **Canada**. In addition to its 1.4 million employed members in 2001, the U.S. **Service Employees International Union (SEIU)** had 120,000 members who were retired. Retired members of the SEIU assist in the election of politicians favorable to organized labor.

Since the late 1990s, concern over maintaining pensions has been a main area of interest for European and U.S. organized labor. By 2002, the European Federation of Retired and Elderly Persons operated under the auspices of the **European Trade Union Confederation**. National statistics on the



numbers of retired employees who retain their membership in labor unions are generally not available. In **Australia**, the United Kingdom, and the United States, the labor force surveys of households that are used to generate statistics on labor union membership all exclude retired employees. In a 2019 report, the European Trade Union Institute was not very hopeful when it wrote about the graying of the European union movement and the bleak prospect of attracting the young.

**RÉUNION.** An overseas department of **France** situated in the Indian Ocean, Réunion saw organized labor emerge by the 1970s and conduct **general strikes** over **inflation** in May 1973 and February 1974. In 2000, Réunion was admitted to membership in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions**. In 2010, the Union Interprofessionnelle de la Réunion had 16,000 members and was affiliated with the **International Trade Union Confederation**.

**REUTHER, WALTER PHILIP (1907–1970).** Reuther was one of the chief labor leaders in the **United States** in the post-1945 period through his presidency of the **United Auto Workers (UAW)**, which he held from 1946 until his death. Born in Wheeling, West Virginia, he completed three years of secondary education before entering a tool and die maker **apprenticeship** with the Wheeling Steel Corporation. Fired for union activities by the corporation, he moved to Detroit in 1926. In 1931, he was fired by Ford, again for union activities. Unemployed, he took a world tour during 1933 to 1935 that included Europe, the **Soviet Union**, **China**, and **Japan**. On his return, he became an organizer and then an official of the UAW in Detroit. He was elected to the executive board of the UAW in 1936 and was one of the leaders of the UAW's campaign of **sit-down strikes** during 1937 against General Motors and Chrysler. The UAW's campaign for recognition against Ford was met with violence in which Reuther and Richard Frankenstein were beaten up by Ford's private police, an infamous incident dubbed the **"Battle of the Overpass."** During World War II, Reuther served on a number of federal government boards.

In 1946, his moderate faction won control of the UAW and Reuther became its president. The UAW's **strike** campaign for better pay and conditions in the motor industry culminated in a contract with General Motors in 1948, which included pay increases based on the official cost-of-living index. In the same year, Reuther was wounded by a shotgun in an attempted assassination. He became president of the **Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)** in 1952 and supported its merger with the **American Federation of Labor (AFL)** in 1955. He served as a vice president but led the UAW out of

the AFL-CIO in 1968 following disagreements with its conservative president, **George Meany**. Before his death in a plane crash, Reuther's last major activity was his leadership of the **Alliance for Labor Action**.

**RIGHTS AND INTERESTS.** A distinction sometimes made between types of **labor disputes**: “rights” refers to the interpretation of the rights of unions and management in a contract or employment agreement, whereas “interest” refers to the making of those terms. For example, an interest dispute could be over the **recognition** of a union by management; rights disputes are usually about alleged violations of agreed conditions of employment by one of the parties to the agreement.

**RIGHT-TO-WORK LAWS.** Under the federal **Taft–Hartley Act** of 1947, U.S. states were given the right to ban the union (or closed) shop within their borders. The idea behind these laws is probably derived from legislation forbidding unions from forcing **strikes** on workers. Under most **union shop** agreements, new **employees** typically had 30 days in which to join the union. Right-to-work laws make it possible for employees in unionized workplaces to remain nonunionists and have the general effect of inhibiting union **membership** growth. Within the **United States**, 27 states have such laws; they include all of the South and most of the Midwest.

**ROMANIA.** Organized labor first emerged in what is now Romania among **printers** who formed mutual **benefit** societies at Brasov in 1846. During the 1860s, other **employees** formed associations, which were much influenced by **socialism**. In 1872, a general union was formed that was open to all employees without regard to **occupation**, sex, or religion. In 1893, the Romanian Social Democratic Party was formed, and a national labor federation was set up in 1906. The unions supported the peasant uprisings in 1907. The labor federation was an affiliate of the **International Federation of Trade Unions** from 1909 to 1918 and from 1923 to 1938.

Between 1914 and 1920, union **membership** rose from 40,000 to 300,000, divided among 350 unions. In 1921, the Communist Party was constituted from the former Socialist Party and competed for the leadership of organized labor. Both parties sponsored their own labor federations. After a short period of cooperation, the Communist Party broke away from the united labor federation and was banned by the government in 1923; in 1929, its labor federation was banned too. There were many **labor disputes** in Romania in the late 1920s and early 1930s, a reflection of not just the deterioration in economic conditions but also the rise in **manufacturing** employment from 318,000 in 1913 to 953,000 in 1930. In 1936, a new labor federation was formed, with 310 individual unions representing 80,000 members, but when

the fascist government came to power two years later, unions and **strikes** were outlawed. During World War II, the Romanian government was an ally of the Nazis until its overthrow in 1944. With the establishment of a **communist** republic in 1947, organized labor became part of the machinery of government.

An attempted formation of an independent union was made in 1979 but was harshly suppressed. A second clandestine effort was made in 1988, but this was suppressed also. Communist rule in Romania was ended by a violent popular uprising between December 1989 and January 1990. In December 1989, *Fratia* (Fraternity), a broadly based independent labor union, was formed. The former communist labor federation was dissolved early in 1990 and replaced by what became the *Confederatia Nationala a Sindicatelor Libere din România* (CNSLR), or National Free Trade Union Confederation of Romania. A third independent labor body, *Alfa-Cartel*, was formed by 1991. In the same year, the government legalized the formation of independent labor unions.

As in **Bulgaria** and **Poland**, there have been conflicts between the independent labor organizations over the control of the assets of the former communist labor federations, but in Romania these have been minimized by a high degree of cooperation. In 1993, the CNSLR and *Fratia* joined forces to become the Romanian member of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)**, with a claimed membership of 3.2 million, which represented 39 percent of employees. In 2001, the two Romanian affiliates of the ICFTU claimed a total membership of 400,000.

The 2003 Trade Union Law gave legal recognition of the right to form unions. The right to strike is also recognized, but there exist some limitations and courts tend to declare strikes illegal. Even in 2010, the enforcement of laws to protect organized labor remained difficult. For example, many foreign **employers** make employment conditional upon the employee agreeing not to become a union member. In 2012, the government had to resign because of public protests against austerity measures. The new government wanted to strengthen **social dialogue** but was corrected by the International Monetary Fund and the European Commission. The right to strike was to be restricted and the number of persons protected from **antiunion discrimination** or retaliatory firing limited. These demands were implemented in a new code in 2016. The four affiliates of the **International Trade Union Confederation** claimed a membership of 901,000 in 2018; trade **union density** was 25.2 percent in 2013.

**ROOKES V. BARNARD.** *Rookes v. Barnard* was an important legal case concerning the operation of labor unions in the **United Kingdom**. In 1955, Douglas Rookes, an employee of the British Overseas Airways Corporation, resigned from his union, the Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding

Draftsmen. The union, wanting to maintain a **closed shop**, instigated his dismissal. Rookes sued the union and was awarded substantial damages; the association appealed to the House of Lords, but it upheld the original decision in 1964. The case, which reflected poorly on the attitude of a union toward an individual, opened up a loophole in the Trades Disputes Act (1906) by making union officials liable for damages for threatening to **strike** in breach of contracts of employment. This loophole was closed by the Trades Disputes Act (1965). The legal issue raised by *Rookes v. Barnard* was one of the forces behind the appointment of the **Donovan Commission**.

**ROTH, HERBERT OTTO (1917–1994).** A librarian and writer, Roth was born in Vienna, **Austria**, the son of a railway engineer. He wrote the first general account of organized labor in **New Zealand**. He was called “Otti” during his years in Austria but was later known as “Bert” in New Zealand. Although his parents were Jewish, religion played little part in his upbringing. As a young man, he was an instinctive leftist, although his family was not particularly political. With the dominance of fascism in Austria in the 1930s, left-wing politics was increasingly clandestine. The German annexation of Austria in March 1938 threatened **socialists** and Jews alike. Bert Roth fled Austria, his escape route taking him first into **Germany**, then across Lake Constance into **Switzerland** and ultimately to **France**. In 1940, he acquired a permit to immigrate to New Zealand. On arrival, he described himself to a reporter as a socialist refugee.

Roth quickly became involved in left-wing **politics**. He mixed with old socialists and **communists** and a younger bohemian group. Bert Roth never became formally affiliated with particular socialist factions. He described himself as a “champagne socialist.”

Roth’s greatest contribution to New Zealand history writing was *Trade Unions in New Zealand Past and Present* (1973), which remains the standard introduction to the history of New Zealand unionism. Most of Roth’s writing was based on unpublished material, drawn largely from his own private collection, which is an important resource at the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington.

**ROUND ROBIN.** A petition to **employers** from **employees** with the signatures arranged like the spokes of a wheel to disguise the identity of its initiators. The word is the English form of the French *ruban rond*, where it was used for the first time in the 17th century. British round robins originated in the Royal Navy, and the term was first recorded in 1731. Organized labor in the 19th century found them to be a useful device for dealing with repres-

sive managements who refused to engage in **collective bargaining**. Round robins are sometimes still used in countries where trade union rights are not well observed.

**RUSSIAN FEDERATION.** Before March 1906, unions were illegal throughout the Russian Empire. Their brief legalization produced a surge of **membership** growth to 123,000 by 1907 in the wake of the 1905 Revolution, but this development was wrecked by a government crackdown. There was some revival by organized labor between 1911 and 1914, but it was able to achieve little beyond conducting protest **strikes**. The revolutionary period between mid-1917 and 1920 saw an explosion of strikes and union membership from 1.5 to 5.2 million. The main division in the Russian labor movement was between those who supported the autonomy of organized labor from the political arm of labor (led by the Mensheviks) and the Bolsheviks, who held that the function of the unions was to help overthrow the government and transfer power to the **socialist** party, which was said to act on behalf of the proletariat and was renamed the **Communist** Party after 1918. During 1919 and 1920, the Bolsheviks achieved control of the Russian labor movement. At first, the unions played an important role in the program of economic reconstruction known as the New Economic Policy, but from 1922 under Lenin, Stalin, and their successors, the unions operated as agents of centralized communist rule whose main role was to increase economic output. The year 1922 also was when the country got its new name, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), commonly known as the Soviet Union, which existed until 1991.

In 1978, some dissidents tried to form an independent union for professional **employees**, but it was suppressed by the Soviet government and its leaders imprisoned. The first sign of a mass independent labor movement came in mid-1989 with a wave of strikes in northern Russia, **Ukraine**, and the Urals, which gave rise to workers' committees and the formation of an independent miners' union, which joined the independent Confederation of Labor when it was set up in May 1990. In October 1990, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, the central communist body formed in November 1924, transformed itself into the General Confederation of Unions of the USSR; it recognized the rights of the newly independent nations within the former Soviet Union and pledged itself to protect union rights.

After the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States on 8 December 1991, the General Confederation of Unions again reshaped itself to become the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia, made up of seven of the new states (excluding Ukraine) in April 1992. The organizational continuity of these moves was important for maintaining control of the assets of the former communist labor organization, a vexed issue in most other East European countries. Aside from the emergence of the independent

labor organizations in the former Soviet republics, the main independent Russian labor organization is Sotsprof, a federation of **social-democratic** and socialist unions formed in about 1990.

An official crackdown on independent organized labor began in August 1992, when there was a strike by air traffic controllers. In the same year, the Boris Yeltsin government began a program of economic reform marked by **privatization** of state-run enterprises. A **collective bargaining** law was introduced in 1993 but changed little in the way the labor code worked, with its many restrictions on the right to strike and the banning of strikes in **railroads**, public transport, civil aviation, communications, energy, and defense. In 1994, trade union efforts to monitor or influence privatization of enterprises to ensure the protection of workers' rights was met with official violence and intimidation.

From the early 1990s, the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** was able to take a growing role in the well-being of Russian organized labor. Beginning with trade union **education**, the ICFTU campaigned for the payment of **wage** arrears due to Russian workers, which culminated in the All-Russian Trade Union Day of Action in April 1998. The ICFTU also secured the participation of the **International Labour Organization (ILO)** in the Russian wages campaign. During the economic turmoil of 1998, the ICFTU organized meetings between the leaders of Russian organized labor and the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. The ICFTU successfully promoted cooperation between Russia's three labor federations. An ICFTU mission to Russia reported favorably on the country's organized labor.

In November 2000, the ICFTU took the historic decision to admit as affiliates the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia, the All-Russian Confederation of Labor (formed in 1995), and the Confederation of Labor of Russia (also formed in 1995). This was the first time that Russia had ever been represented in an independent international labor organization. In 2001, these three federations had a combined membership of 30.5 million. In 2007, the ICFTU noted that, although Russian workers had the right to form unions, collective bargaining for smaller unions was difficult in practice and that generally the political environment for organized labor had worsened since 2001. The ICFTU also considered that amendments to the labor code that came into force in 2003 imposed rules on union structures. The right to strike is still limited, despite ILO criticism. In 2010, unionists still faced intimidation, dismissals, and arrests, while some receive death threats. In 2015, trade **union density** was 30.5 percent and strikes were hardly registered, although the **International Trade Union Confederation** mentioned labor conflicts that were opposed by **union busting** and criminal prosecution.

**RWANDA.** Rwanda has been independent from **Belgium** since July 1962; the first labor unions were branches of Belgian unions. Since independence, the history of Rwanda has been one of political turmoil and massive ethnic violence, culminating in a genocidal civil war in 1994. In 1993, the Centrale Syndicale des Travailleurs du Rwanda (Central Trade Union of Workers of Rwanda) was admitted to the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** with 70,000 members. In 2007, the **International Trade Union Confederation** reported that labor unions in Rwanda operated in a climate of antiunion **employers** and limitations on the right to **strike**. By 2009, conditions for organized labor had improved but were still far from ideal because free **collective bargaining** is not guaranteed and the right to strike is hampered by lengthy procedures. In 2017, the ITUC reported managers in the **public sector** were often guilty of violation of labor laws in a climate of regular **violation of union rights**.

**RYDER, GUY (1957–).** General secretary of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** from January 2002 and its successor, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**, since November 2006. Ryder was born in Liverpool, England. He worked as an assistant in the international department of the **Trades Union Congress** between 1981 and 1985 before serving as secretary of the **industry** trade section of the **Fédération Internationale des Employés, Techniciens et Cadres** (International Federation of Commercial, Clerical, Professional, and Technical Employees) in Geneva from 1985 to 1988. In 1988, he joined the staff of the ICFTU in Geneva and rose to be the director of its office there. He was also secretary of the Workers' Group of the Governing Body of the **International Labour Organization (ILO)** in 1993 to 1998 and other positions with the ILO before becoming general secretary of the ICFTU. In 2002, he listed his priorities as ICFTU general secretary in an interview as responding better to the challenge of **globalization**, increasing the effectiveness of the ICFTU, creating greater opportunities for **women**, and boosting recruitment to combat the aging of the **membership** of organized labor. In 2010, he left the ITUC and returned to the ILO to become its director general in 2012.





# S

**SABOTAGE.** Derived from the French word *sabot* (wooden shoe), sabotage is a means for workers to stop the smooth running of production. It is often repeated that the word came into use after workers threw their *sabots* into a machine. This is probably just a myth. When French **syndicalist** Émile Pouget advised the **Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT)** in 1897 to adopt a policy of work slowdowns and inefficiencies that had been used successfully by British trade unionists, he was looking for a proper term. In Britain, it was known as **ca’canny**, but Pouget looking for a French equivalent suggested *sabotage*, a noun based on *saboter*, which originally meant to make loud clattering noises with wooden shoes by farmers working slowly. Sabotage can take different forms, including the go-slow, but one of the main characteristics is that most of the time it is not performed openly. Organized labor has been reluctant to use sabotage, with the exception of the **Industrial Workers of the World**. But even in the more recent past, open sabotage did occur like during the construction of a generating station in **Canada** in 1974. Workers bulldozed electric generators, damaged fuel tanks, and set buildings on fire. *See also* LUDDISM.

**SAFETY.** Derived from the French word *sauf*, “safe” means being free of all kinds of failure, damage, error, accidents, harm, or any other undesirable events or circumstances. Safety also means achieving an acceptable level of risk. This can take the form of being protected from the event or from exposure to something that causes health dangers.

Safety has been an important issue for labor unions since the heyday of the Industrial Revolution. Work often was hazardous, and some professions such as in the mines or on the docks were infamous for their dangers. The **International Labour Organization (ILO)** keeps more than 40 conventions and recommendations on safety. The most important are Occupational Safety and Health Convention, 1981 (No. 155); Occupational Health Services Convention, 1985 (No. 161); Promotional Framework for Occupational Safety and Health Convention, 2006 (No. 187); and Occupational Safety and Health Recommendation, 2006 (No. 197).

According to the ILO, every year more than two million people die from occupational accidents or work-related diseases. It also estimates that there are 270 million occupational accidents and 160 million cases of occupational diseases each year worldwide, but the emphasis is on developing countries, where deaths and injuries take a heavy toll, especially among children, migrants, and **women**.

Since 1995, the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** and its successor has organized the International Commemoration Day for Dead and Injured Workers, in memory of workers who die or are injured at work. The ILO has supported this since 2003. Health has also been a reason for workers to go on **strike**, like in 2007, when chromium miners in **Albania** struck over safety for months after the deaths of two colleagues. *See also* OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH AND SAFETY.

**SAINT CHRISTOPHER AND NEVIS.** St. Christopher and Nevis, also known as Saint Kitts and Nevis, has been independent from the **United Kingdom** since September 1983; labor unions on St. Christopher and Nevis have been legally recognized since 1940. The islands have been represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** since 1951 by the Saint Christopher and Nevis Trades and Labour Union, founded in 1940. This labor union was closely associated with the Saint Kitts and Nevis Labour Party, which had been in power for several periods until 2015. In 2001, there were about 400 labor union members on St. Christopher and Nevis. **Strikes** have been unknown since 1988. In 2018, the **International Trade Union Confederation** had no affiliate in the country.

**SAINT HELENA.** St. Helena is a territory of the **United Kingdom**. The St. Helena General Workers' Union has been the sole labor union on the island since its formation in 1958; it had about 700 members in 2001 and was represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** from 1965 to 2001. In 2010, there was no affiliation with the **International Trade Union Confederation**. This didn't stop workers from taking the first industrial action in half a century during the construction of the island's airport in 2013.

**SAINT LUCIA.** St. Lucia has been independent from the **United Kingdom** since February 1979; organized labor developed after the establishment of **collective bargaining** arrangements in 1938. As part of **strikes** and disturbances in the Caribbean territories of the United Kingdom, 1935 ended with a November strike of coal workers. The St. Lucia Workers' Union was formed in 1939 and was followed by the St. Lucia Waterfront Worker's Trade Union in 1945. Both unions have been affiliates of the **International**

**Confederation of Free Trade Unions** from 1953 to 2006; by 2010, they had amalgamated to form the National Workers' Union with about 3,000 members. It affiliated with the **International Trade Union Confederation** and in 2018 still was, together with the much smaller seamen, waterfront, and general workers' trade union.

**SAINT MONDAY.** A custom, also called Cobblers' Monday, observed from about the mid-17th century by shoemakers, tailors, and other **journey-men** of taking Monday as a holiday and sometimes even Tuesday. The custom also seems to have been observed by French textile **employees**. By 1764, it was observed by bricklayers, painters, and handloom **employees**. Work not performed on Monday was often made up later in the week at night. The purpose of the custom was to create a period of leisure and to exert more control over when work was done. Its opponents claimed that "Saint Monday" was observed mainly in alehouses and taverns. The custom was gradually eliminated by the factory system and replaced by a regulated system of hours, including half-day working on Saturdays. *See also* SABOTAGE.

**SAINT VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES.** St. Vincent and the Grenadines has been independent from the **United Kingdom** since October 1979; organized labor on St. Vincent and the Grenadines emerged after World War II. By 1957, the United Workers, Peasants, and Ratepayers' Union had become affiliated with the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)**, and the islands have continued their affiliation since then. In 2001, their ICFTU affiliate was the Commercial, Technical, and Allied Workers' Union, with 2,000 members. In 2010, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines with a **union density** of 4.9 percent was not represented in the **International Trade Union Confederation** and has not been since.

**SALTING.** A term from the United States that refers to the placing of paid union organizers as **employees** in the workplace with the object of recruiting new union members. It may be used as a final resort to be allowed to talk to the workers of a company when law prohibits unions from entering the workplace. The term probably comes from the mining **industry** and the addition of outside ore to a mine to make it seem richer than it really is. *See also* ORGANIZING.

**SAMOA.** Samoa, until 1997 known as Western Samoa, became independent of **New Zealand** in January 1962. An association of schoolteachers existed by 1973, but no labor unions as such. The Public Service Association was the country's affiliate of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Un-**

**ions** by 1988, with 2,200 members. It remained an affiliate until 2006 but never joined the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**. In recent years, the ITUC's affiliate has been the Samoa Trade Union Congress, founded in 1995. Trade **union density** in 2013 was 11.8 percent. In 2015, First Union, the country's first private-sector union, was set up; 600 **employees** immediately enlisted.

**SAMSON, MILIANO (ELMO) (1915–1978)**. The founder of the Laborers' Union of Hawaii, Elmo was born and raised in poverty. When his parents were evicted from their house during a sugar plantation **strike** in the 1920s, the family had to sleep in a ditch. This memory together with other reminiscences of his life in poverty motivated Samson to get engaged in union activities. After working on a sugar plantation, he worked at the Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard. Elmo helped to organize the local of the Laborers' Union, which had a **membership** of a few hundred. He also assisted in the formation of the Hawaii Building Trades Council and the Hawaii State Federation of Labor, **American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations**, of which he became a vice president in 1966, the year it was constituted. At the time of his death, the local had 3,500 members.

**SAN MARINO**. The oldest republic in the world (dating from 1600), San Marino has been represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** from 1959 to 2006 by the Confederazione Democratica dei Lavoratori Sammarinesi (Democratic Confederation of San Marino Workers) and in the **International Trade Union Confederation** since 2006; it has 5,900 members. Since 1996, it has been joined by a second affiliated union; together, they claimed 7,600 members in 2001 and 12,700 in 2018. The country was not mentioned in the survey of **violations of trade union rights**.

**SASSENBACH, JOHANN (1866–1940)**. Johann Sassenbach was born in Breun (now known as Lindlar), **Germany**. After his training time, he became a *sattler* (saddle maker) like his father. As a **journeyman**, he hiked through Germany, **Switzerland**, **France**, northern **Italy**, and **Austria**. After returning in 1889, he joined the just-established association of saddle makers and related workers and established a branch of the union in the same year in Cologne. Sassenbach moved to Berlin in 1890. He attended advanced **education** and language courses and lectures at the university. In 1891, he became chair to the saddle makers' union and editor of the *Sattlerzeitung*. In 1895, he also organized the first **socialist** academic conference.

From 1902 to 1921, Sassenbach was a nonsalaried member of the Generalkommission der Gewerkschaften (National Federation of Trade Unions). In 1920, Sassenbach was sent to Rome as social attaché of the German Foreign

Office. From 1922, he was secretary and from 1927 to 1931 secretary-general of the **International Federation of Trade Unions**. He was also an author and publisher and can be regarded as the first trade union librarian. The Nazis seized his extensive library and imprisoned him. Sassenbach died in Frankfurt am Main.

**SASTRADIREDDJA, SUPARNA (1915–1996)**. Born in Java, Dutch East Indies (**Indonesia**), Sastradiredja died in Amsterdam (**Netherlands**). He was one of the founders of the trade union of plantation workers Sarekat Buruh Perkebunan Republik Indonesia (Sarbupri; Estate Workers Union of the Republic of Indonesia) in 1947 and its secretary-general until 1965. Sarbupri in its initial stage was more engaged in fighting the Dutch during the struggle for independence than in union organizing. In the 1950s, the union, the largest in Indonesia and closely linked to the **Communist** Party, organized massive **strikes**. When in 1965 a coup d'état brought the military to power, thousands of communists and union members were slaughtered. Sastradiredja escaped persecution because he was in **China** at the time. In 1978, he moved to the Netherlands, where he died in exile.

**SAUDI ARABIA**. Organized labor first made its presence felt in Saudi Arabia in 1953 when 13,000 Saudi nationals successfully went on **strike** in the oil industry to demand equality of conditions with U.S. workers. The government was subsequently presented with petitions asking for permission to form labor unions. Some temporary concessions were made, but these were withdrawn by 1959. Most **employees** in Saudi Arabia are migrants. **Collective bargaining** and labor unions are forbidden. In 1994, the government advised the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** that trade union rights were considered to violate the principles of Islam. Although in theory workers have access to labor courts, in practice it is virtually impossible for expatriate workers to legally enforce their rights. In April 2002, amendments to the labor law allowed for the establishment of workers' committees made up of Saudis and expatriates in firms employing 100 or more as a way of improving work performance. In 2010, conditions for migrant employees in Saudi Arabia had not improved. Expatriates made up about two-thirds of employees who are deported if they protest or strike. The 2010s saw no improvement for trade union rights, hence the **International Trade Union Confederation** labeled the kingdom as having no guarantee of rights. Some hope for the future may be derived from little reforms that were granted since 2005 and 2015, when the ban on **women** driving was lifted and cinemas were allowed to operate for the first time in decades.

**SCAB.** *Scab* is a pejorative term used by organized labor in the **United States** and elsewhere to describe persons brought in by **employers** to replace **employees** on **strike**. In the United States, its use was first recorded in 1806 to describe employees who would not join a union of their **occupation**. Used as a term for *strikebreaker*, it was recorded in the **United Kingdom** already in the 18th century. Originally, the word referred to a skin disease, while it later took a secondary meaning when it became used as an insult for a mean and low person.

**SCHEVENELS, WALTER (1894–1966).** Walther Schevenels was a Belgian trade union leader and one of the founders of the Metalworkers' Federation of **Belgium**. In 1929, he was appointed assistant general secretary of the **International Federation of Trade Unions**, and in 1930 he became general secretary and held the position until 1945. He then became assistant general secretary of the **World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU)** in charge of the industrial field. Together with the Western European trade unions, he left the WFTU, and after the creation of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** in 1949, he became in January 1951 secretary general of the European Regional Organisation. He held this position until his death in 1966.

From 1949, he was also secretary general of the Trade Union Advisory Committee of the European Recovery Programme, from 1955 known as the Joint Trade Union Advisory Committee to the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation and from 1961 known as the **Trade Union Advisory Committee to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development**. Among his publications are *Forty-Five Years: International Federation of Trade Unions 1901–1945* (Brussels, 1955) and “European Regional Organisation (ERO), of the ICFTU” in *The European Trade Union Movement within the ICFTU* (Brussels, 1964).

**SECONDARY LABOR MARKET.** A **labor market** usually characterized by low entry qualifications, low pay, poor working conditions, and limited opportunities for promotion, in contrast to the **primary labor market**. *See also* LABOR FORCE.

**SEGMENTED LABOR MARKET.** A **labor market** that is dominated by one sex, race, or other group. Sex is a common characteristic of a segmented labor market; for example, most librarians are female and most engineers are male. Over time, there have been shifts in this segmentation. When more women enter a certain segment, like **education**, men tend to move to other professions.

**SÉKOU TOURÉ, AHMED (1922–1984).** A trade union leader from **Guinea** who later became president of the country. Belonging to the Mandinka people, he attended a technical college and was involved in a student protest against the quality of food. He was therefore expelled from school and became involved in labor union activity. From 1941, he worked at the telephone company and enlisted with the **Confédération General du Travail** (CGT, General Confederation of Labor). As in other African countries, his work for the labor union movement intertwined with the struggle against the colonial power. After founding a labor union for postal workers in 1945, Sékou Touré was also involved in the founding of the **Rassemblement Démocratique Africain** (African Democratic Rally). In 1948, he became general secretary of the CGT for West Africa and Togoland. One of the greatest successes of the CGT under his leadership was a 71-day **general strike** in 1953. In 1957, Sékou Touré founded the **Union Générale des Travailleurs d’Afrique Noire** (UGTAN, General Union of Workers from Black Africa).

After a referendum, Guinea became independent from **France** in 1958 with the leader of the strongest labor union and opposition party, Sékou Touré, as its president. Having studied the works of Marx and especially Lenin, the new leadership turned the country into a one-party state, with the former union leader as its president for the next 24 years. Probably 50,000 people were murdered under his regime, which lasted until his death in 1984. It was not until after his death that independent labor unions were allowed to emerge. *See also* GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF ORGANIZED LABOR.

**SENEGAL.** Senegal has been independent from **France** since April 1960. Organized labor began in Senegal in 1937 in the form of branches of French labor unions like the **Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT)**. By 1956, total **membership** had risen to 50,000. In 1947, Senegalese railway workers successfully struck to obtain equal rights with their French colleagues, but it was not until after the **general strike** of 1952 that the Overseas Labor Code was adopted, which for the first time gave protection to workers in the French colonies. The **Confédération Nationale des Travailleurs du Sénégal** (National Confederation of Workers of Senegal) was formed in 1969 and in 1993 was admitted to membership of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** with a claimed membership of 60,000. Despite challenges, Senegal has managed to retain a pluralist political system since independence. The ICFTU reported that, although the 2001 constitution recognized the right to **collective bargaining**, the right to **strike** was curtailed. Similarly, the labor code recognized the right to form labor unions, but these unions had to be approved by the Ministry of the Interior. In 2001, Senegal was represented by two union federations. The ICFTU reported that the government continued to retain the right to grant or withhold approval to form a labor union and that the constitution adopted in January 2001 under-

mined the right to strike, but admitted that the right to collective bargaining was recognized. In 2008, protests and a general **strike** demanded the government respond to rising living costs.

Conditions for organized labor in Senegal have not improved since 2002. In 2010, Senegal had five affiliates with the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** with a total membership of 191,000, a number that had grown to 227,800 in 2018. Trade **union density** was 22.4 percent in 2015. Strikers were dismissed and beaten in 2010, while in 2017 **employees**, founding members of a new trade union, were dismissed because management of the telecom company regarded the formation of the union as a declaration of war and immediately started intimidating and threatening its members. The ITUC because of several such instances judged in 2019 that systematic **violation of union rights** was going on in Senegal. *See also* DOP, MADIA (1928–2008).

**SERBIA.** A former part of **Yugoslavia (Federal Republic)**, Serbia has been independent since February 2008. The first independent trade union, Ujedinjeni Granski Sindikati Nezavisnost (United Branch Trade Unions Independence), was founded in 1991 as an expression of dissatisfaction with the policies of the existing **communist**-style trade union. The biggest trade union confederation in Serbia is the Confederation of Autonomous Trade Unions of Serbia (CATUS), which was founded in 1903 but at the same time is the successor of the communist-style Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia. Between 1903 and 1914, CATUS grew considerably and organized the first **general strikes**. Two world wars and undemocratic regimes hindered trade union development. After 1945, CATUS became part of the new system in Yugoslavia and could not act autonomously. In the 1990s, the adjective *autonomous* was added to show the definitive break with the past. In 2006, CATUS became an affiliate of the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**.

Serbia has almost no history of **strikes** on the basis of **collective bargaining**, and the trade union movement is weak, because trade union leaders are not willing to cooperate. An important strike in the **public sector** broke out in 2010 when teachers struck for months, mainly over pay. Despite the ratification of several **International Labour Organization** conventions, Serbian organized labor faces harassment from **employers** despite a relatively high trade **union density** of 27.9 percent (2010). Two **women** labor activists were attacked in 2009, and attacks on collective bargaining and labor unions have continued during the 2010s, both by the government and by employers.



**SERVICE EMPLOYEES INTERNATIONAL UNION (SEIU).** The SEIU is a leading U.S. labor union, also active in **Canada**, that recruits nurses, doctors, health technicians, workers in local government, state **employees**, security officers, janitors, and building service workers. It was formed in 1921 as the Building Service Employees International Union and was chartered by the **American Federation of Labor**. It adopted its present name in 1968. Between 1980 and 2010, the **membership** of the SEIU rose from 625,000 to 1.8 million, one of the few unions to successfully exploit the recruitment opportunities presented by the employment growth of the **service sector** by using the **organizing** model; in addition, the SEIU had 120,000 members who are **retired employees**. In 2001, more than half its members were **women** and 20 percent were African American. The SEIU claims to represent more **immigrant** workers than any other union in the **United States**. From the early 1980s to 1995, the president of the SEIU was **John Joseph Sweeney**. The SEIU operates a strong, grassroots political program and has been affiliated with **Change to Win** since 2005, when it left the **American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations**. In 2010, the SEIU was the fourth largest labor union in the world, a position it retained in 2018.

**SERVICE SECTOR.** The service (or tertiary) sector is that part of the economy that provides consumer or producer goods (usually intangible) for immediate consumption, in contrast to the primary sector (**agriculture**, forestry, and fishing) and the secondary sector (**manufacturing**). Since World War II, the service sector has become the largest and fastest-growing sector in industrialized economies, both in terms of employment and value of economic output. In 2010, 88 percent of **employees** in the **United States** and 87 percent in **Australia** were employed in the service sector.

Within the service sector, the traditionally strong areas of labor union **membership** have been in the **railroads** (up to the 1920s), port labor, and since World War II **education** and communications. Outside of the **public sector**, the service sector, because of its diversity and part-time employment, has partially been a difficult recruiting area for organized labor. For example, in 2010 only 5 percent of employees in wholesale and retail trade in the United States were union members, compared with 22 percent of employees in transportation and utilities.

**SEYCHELLES.** The Seychelles has been independent from the **United Kingdom** since June 1976; organized labor in the Seychelles emerged in the 1960s. It was represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** since 1989 by its National Workers' Union, which was formed in 1978, uniting all previously existing unions; it claimed 5,000

members in 2001. The other independent union, the Seychelles National Trade Union, ceased operations in 2007. The Seychelles has not been represented in the **International Trade Union Confederation** since 2010. According to the **International Labour Organization**, trade union density was only 2.1 percent in 2011, but other sources mention 15–20 percent.

**SHOP STEWARDS.** Also known as delegates, shop stewards are the representatives of a union at the workplace but are not officials of the union. Shop stewards have been very important in British labor unions since 1915, when the first committee of shop stewards came into being at the Clyde shipyard in response to the imprisonment of three shop stewards there. In 1917, the government wanted to subscribe **members** of the **Amalgamated Society of Engineers**, who were until then exempted from conscription. This effort was met with a **strike** involving 200,000 workers, a strike during which the Shop Stewards Movement arose. When this movement came under the influence of the **Communist Party**, it lost momentum. Shop stewards have been important in modern labor relations. Recent European research even suggests that both **employers** and workers benefit from their existence. Many employers are glad to have a shop steward as a sparring partner for everyday negotiations, while most workers are sure that having a shop steward ensures higher **wages** and better working conditions.

**SHORTER WORKING HOURS.** From as early as the 16th century, unions have attempted to reduce **working hours**, or at least resist them being lengthened. There were two disputes in the **printing** industry in **France** in 1539 and 1572 over long working hours. In both the **United Kingdom** and the **United States**, there were moves by organized labor to gain a maximum working day of 10 hours in the 1830s. In the 1880s, there was an international movement by organized labor to reduce the workday to eight hours. This movement was also the beginning of the yearly 1 May manifestations, but for most **employees** the eight-hour working day was not achieved until the 20th century. Since 1945, metalworkers' unions have generally been the vanguard for the reduction of working hours in the United Kingdom, **Germany**, **Italy**, and **Australia**. Since the 1980s, the target working week for organized labor has been the 35-hour week, but outside of France, which introduced the 35-hour working week in 2000 at the behest of organized labor, shorter working hours remain a desired but not an attained goal in Western Europe. Indeed, in December 2002, the French Parliament agreed to dilute the 35-hour week labor law. Furthermore, statistics collected by the **International Labour Organization** indicate that in 2004, 22 percent of French employees worked

over 48 hours a week to make ends meet. In general, a worldwide rise in working hours occurred since the 1980s. *See also* INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' DAY.

**SHUNTO.** *Shunto* is a Japanese term meaning “spring offensive” and refers to the national process of bargaining over **wages**, conditions of employment, and other issues between unions, **employers**, and the government. The *Shunto* was begun in **Japan** in February 1956 by Sohyo (General Council of Trade Unions of Japan) as a way of strengthening the power of the unions and of reducing earning differentials between enterprises and the thousands of unions based on them. For decades, the *Shunto* began with an agreement by the unions about the amount of the pay increase they wanted and a corresponding decision by the **employers' organization** (*Nikkeiren*) about the amount of the unions' demand that they were prepared to accept; the unions then formally presented their demands. The *Shunto* moved on to the private sector beginning with the iron and steel, shipbuilding, electrical equipment, and automobile industries.

Later, the *Shunto* proceeded to industries such as textiles, petroleum, and food. Pay increases made in the larger enterprises were then applied to medium and smaller enterprises. The *Shunto* reached its climax in April. The increases gained by the *Shunto* in the private sector were used as the basis for increases for government **employees** and employees in national enterprises. The *Shunto* has been responsible for gaining wage increases higher than the consumer price index. In 1975, the *Shunto* delivered a pay increase of 32.9 percent, but since 1976 these increases have been less than 10 percent; in 1995, the *Shunto* pay increase was 2.8 percent, its lowest level. Since 1995, the *Shunto* has declined in importance in response to the depressed state of the Japanese economy and the shrinking of trade unions. *See also* RENGO.

**SICK-OUT.** A form of **industrial action** in which groups of **workers** absent themselves from work, claiming they are sick. Thus they avoid accusations of being on **strike**, which can, according to political circumstances, be a dangerous act. Under such circumstances, being on sick leave can be regarded as a thermometer for **industrial relations** instead of being only an indicator for the health situation in a country or **industry**. In situations where sick leave is being paid by the company or government, sick-outs are a cheap way of performing industrial action. *See also* SABOTAGE.

**SIERRA LEONE.** Sierra Leone has been independent from the **United Kingdom** since April 1961; organized labor effectively dates from the 1920s, although the first attempts to form unions began in 1884. In 1942, there were 11 registered unions with a total **membership** of 800. In 1955, the

unions conducted a **general strike**. The Sierra Leone Labour Congress came into being in 1976 from the merger of two labor federations formed in 1942 and 1958. It has been the country's affiliate with the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** and the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** and claimed 25,000 members in 2010 and 54,550 members in 2018. There have been tensions between organized labor and the government, but conditions for organized labor have been relatively free. On 8 May 2000, a demonstration for peace by 2,000 union members resulted in the deaths of 19 and the wounding of 50 people by rebel insurgents; three bystanders were also killed. Sierra Leone is one of the few African countries where **violations of trade union rights** did not occur until the early 2010s. It started with 2012 when workers who protested over pay, conditions, and right to organize were fired at by police bullets and tear-gas canisters, leaving one woman dead and at least six injured. Later in the decade, the ITUC reported more cases of antiunion violence.

**SINDICATO NACIONAL DE TRABAJADORES DE LA EDUCACIÓN (SNTE)**. SNTE (National Union of Education Workers) represents teachers in **Mexico**. With over 1.4 million members, it is currently the largest teachers' union in the Americas, the largest union in Latin America, and the sixth largest union globally, although the numbers are disputed and by some estimated to be less than one million. As early as 1919 and the late 1920s, there were teachers' strikes in Mexico that strongly made the need for labor unions apparent. From this period, teachers' unions were founded, such as the Mexican Confederation of Teachers (1932) and in 1934 the League of Education Workers (under the leadership of **communists**), the Workers' University, and the National Federation of Education Workers. By 1935, the United Front was formed from the National Education Workers, culminating in the creation of the National Confederation of Education Workers. SNTE was formed in 1943 as a union allied with the governing political party PRI. A good example of **government control of organized labor**. Accused of antidemocratic practices, SNTE broke away from the party in the 1990s. The union's president for life since 1989, Gordillo, was arrested in 2013 and replaced by a new union leader. She was charged with embezzlement of union funds, charges that were still open in 2016. Gordillo, who came to power in the struggle for more democracy, was like her predecessors closely linked to state officials. From 2018, Alfonso Cepeda Salas has been the new leader of SNTE.

**SINGAPORE**. After achieving self-rule from the **United Kingdom** in 1959, Singapore joined the Federation of **Malaysia** in 1963. Labor unions emerged in Singapore from 1946 and soon became part of the struggle against British

rule. In the early 1950s, Singapore's high level of **labor disputes** was a reflection of the political militancy of organized labor. In 1955, **strikes** were forbidden in essential services. The National Trades Union Congress (NTUC) was officially registered in 1964 but had its origins in a body formed in the 1950s, the Singapore Trades Union Congress (STUC). The STUC split in 1961 into the left-wing Singapore Association of Trade Unions and the noncommunist NTUC. Between 1946 and 1962, the number of labor union members in Singapore grew from 18,700 to 189,000. In 1953, Singapore was admitted to membership of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions**. In 1965, Singapore left the Federation of Malaysia and has been sovereign since that time. With the defeat of political leftists in the early 1960s, organized labor in Singapore was increasingly brought under **government control** and incorporated into a newly vested **tripartite** system. Unions are free to form in the private sector but forbidden in the **public sector**. Despite its lack of freedom, the NTUC claimed 225,000 members, which represented about 14 percent of **employees** in 2001. In 2018, the organization had 252,000 members. In 2009, the **International Labour Organization** reported that many of the restrictions on trade union rights were not applied because the minister of manpower has the power to make exemptions. Migrant workers still have little opportunity to organize, and only two strikes have been officially registered since 1978. The first came in 1986, when workers from an American oil field equipment company successfully struck for two days over the victimization and dismissal of six union members and officials. In 2012, bus drivers from mainland **China** who were employed in Singapore protested against the disparity in salary between them and other foreign bus drivers. The strike was considered illegal, and five strikers were brought to justice and 29 strikers sent back to China.

**SIT-DOWN STRIKE.** A form of **industrial action** whereby **employees** occupy their workplace but do not carry out any work. This tactic prevents **employers** from replacing them with **strikebreakers**. Another reason to sit down is preventing the employer from removing equipment to transfer production to other locations. The tactic is therefore often used during attempts by labor unions to stop plant closures. The first recorded usage of the sit-down strike was in **Poland** in 1873 when miners fought for higher **wages** but were removed by the police with the help of the army. During both **Russian** Revolutions of 1905 and 1917, and in the aftermath of World War I, many sit-down strikes occurred, especially in **Italy**. In the **United States**, it was the **Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)** who used this type of strike for the first time in 1906 when 3,000 workers sat down and protested the sacking of three colleagues at the General Electric Works in New York. During the 1930s, a wave of sit-down strikes swept the United States. The most famous was the Flint Sit-Down Strike of 1936–1937. This strike at General Motors

lasted for more than 40 days. At the end of the decade, courts ruled sit-down strikes illegal. During the 1960s and 1970s, a new wave occurred but now mainly in Western Europe, especially during the 1968 revolt in **France**. See also FACTORY OCCUPATION.

**SLAVERY.** The most extreme form of **forced labor**, slavery is often assumed to be a feature of the past, an institution that existed in almost all parts of the world. In Roman antiquity, a slave was labeled an *instrumentum vocale* (a tool with a voice), and this attitude is typical of how slaves have been viewed and treated throughout history. Modern slavery seems to have died in the 19th century when first slave trade and consequently slavery as such was forbidden throughout the Western world and its colonies, but there is much evidence of a resurgence of slavery since the 1980s. In 1994, the Committee against Modern Slavery was established in Paris, and between 1997 and 1998 it investigated 135 cases, mainly involving Third World **immigrant** workers in Western Europe. Slavery reemerged in southwest Sudan in 1989 as part of the civil war waged by the Islamic fundamentalist regime in northern Sudan. There have also been incidents of trafficking in children as slaves in West and Central Africa from 1995 to 2001. The **International Labour Organization** adopted the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (No. 182) in 1999 in an effort to combat the practice. In 2007, the Islamic Republic of **Mauritania** became the last country in the world to officially forbid slavery and make it a criminal offense. In 2008, Anti-Slavery International, a non-governmental organization based in London that dates back to 1839, estimated that there were about 12.3 million people who were slaves—that is, they were forced to work through the threat of violence—in the world. Estimates from 2018 range from 40 million to 45.8 million slaves worldwide. Whatever the numbers, slavery is still a huge problem. In 2017, the International Organization for Migration published a report showing that many migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa were sold as slaves. Pictures of a slave market in **Libya** shocked the world. See also CHILD LABOR; SYNDICAT SANS FRONTIÈRES (SSF).

**SLIDING SCALE.** A system of payment that linked **wages** directly to the price obtained for the good being produced by an **industry**. In 1795, agricultural laborers in Norfolk, England, suggested a sliding scale that would have tied their wage rate to the price of wheat. Sliding scales that linked wages to the price of coal were prevalent in the **coal mining** industry in the 1870s and 1880s in **Britain** and the **United States**. Although the system could yield higher wages when coal prices were high, it could have disastrous effects on miners' earnings if the coal price fell sharply.

**SLOVAKIA.** Formed from the eastern part of **Czechoslovakia** on 1 January 1993, Slovakia was represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** and its successor **International Trade Union Confederation** by the Confederation of Trade Unions of the Slovak Republic from 1993; it claimed 338,000 members in 2010 and 2018, compared with 702,000 in 2001. The European Trade Union Institute, however, estimated **membership** at 231,000 in 2016. The ICFTU reported in 2001 that there had been a significant improvement in trade union rights in Slovakia, specifically removing the requirement that lists of names of striking workers be provided to the **employer**. A labor code was introduced in April 2002 that provided for **collective bargaining**, but no protection for labor unions that go on **strike** if part of a collective bargain has not been honored by the employer. In the second half of the 2010s, Slovakia witnessed a growing number of strikes. **No violations of trade union rights** were reported in that period.

**SLOVENIA.** Independent from the former **Yugoslavia** since 1991, Slovenia has enjoyed political stability and has made considerable strides from a state-run to a market economy. A centralized system of **collective bargaining** has been in place since 1989. In 1993, independent labor unions were legalized, and a codetermination system based on *Mitbestimmung* in **Germany** was introduced to enable unions to influence **privatization**. In 1994, organized labor was a participant in a **union–government agreement** on incomes policy. By 1994, there were four main labor federations, of which the largest was the reformed ex-**communist** organization. Never a member of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions**, Slovenia had about 300,000 union members in 2003 or about 41 percent of **employees**; in 1998, these figures were 385,000 and 43, respectively. Trade **union density**, according to the European Trade Union Institute, seems to have been declining to around 12 percent in 2018, although official figures are not available. The **International Labour Organization (ILO)** estimated density at 26.9 percent. Both the European Trade Union Institute and the ILO agree that the **collective agreement** rate is still high at around 70 percent.

**SOCIAL DIALOGUE.** A term that came into vogue in the 1980s to describe formal discussions between representatives of labor unions and **employers** or governments on ways to achieve shared outcomes, such as economic growth and the reduction of unemployment. Social dialogue between the **social partners** has been successful in Western Europe but not elsewhere, generally speaking. During the 2010s, the seeming success was also debated in these countries because especially parts of the **rank and file** were looking for answers to the economic crisis of 2007–2008.

**SOCIAL DUMPING.** A term coined in Western Europe in the late 1980s to refer to the adverse effects on affluent countries of economic competition from poorer countries. These effects can take the form of unemployment caused by the displacement of relatively highly paid **employees** because of the import of goods produced by poorly paid employees, the relocation of centers of employment from countries of high pay to ones with low pay, and attempts to lower the pay and conditions of employment in affluent societies by pitting them against workers in developing countries. The term has also been applied to the migration of workers from low-wage countries to high-wage countries.

**SOCIAL PARTNERS.** Unions and **employers** or their representative organizations. *See also* COLLECTIVE BARGAINING; SOCIAL DIALOGUE.

**SOCIAL SECURITY.** Social security has been defined by the **International Labour Organization (ILO)** as embracing social insurance schemes (for occupational injury, health, **pensions**, and unemployment), public health, family allowances, war benefits, and special transfers to government **employees**. The growth of social security systems in Western economies during the 20th century was sought by organized labor not just to improve the conditions of employees generally but also as a means of reducing the competition for positions in the paid **labor force** from dependent groups such as children, mothers, and the aged. Of special importance was the introduction of **unemployment benefits** because the unemployed were the pool from which **strikebreakers** were traditionally drawn by **employers**. In 1950, the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** issued a manifesto in favor of social security and old **age** and sickness insurance in the context of wider support for political and economic democracy.

In 1952, the ILO adopted Convention No. 102 on Social Security (Minimum Standards), which covered the following forms of **benefits**: medical, sickness, unemployment, old age, occupational injury and disease, family, maternity, and invalidity.

Since the 1980s, there has been growing concern by governments about the adverse economic effects of spending on social security. Regardless of their political complexions, Western European governments have tried to reduce social security benefits based on the assumption that their maintenance in the long term is unsustainable because of the aging of their populations. This assumption has been fostered by the neoliberal belief that the state has to retreat from the economy. Their efforts have produced **strikes** in 2003 in **France** and **Austria** and conflict within the German Social Democratic Party. Nevertheless, social security systems are the main means for the redis-



tribution of income from the better off to the less well off in Western societies. In 2002, the ICFTU complained that only 40 countries had signed ILO Convention No. 102 on Social Security, a number that had grown to 58 in 2019.

The term *social security* may also refer to basic security as recognized in Articles 25 and 26 of the Universal Declaration of **Human Rights**. This security covers food, housing, clothing, **education**, money, and medical care. Social protection in developing countries is still not significant, but growth of these economies may mean that this situation will change. *See also* MINIMUM WAGE.

**SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC, SOCIALIST, AND LABOR PARTIES.** Social-democratic, **socialist**, and labor political parties grew out of the conviction that the economic and social condition of working-class people needed improvement. They formed the third pillar of the early labor movement, next to **cooperatives** and labor unions. The parties developed in and outside the union movement out of groups whose origins sometimes dated back to the International Working Men's Association (commonly known as the First International). Usually composed of diverse groups and opinions, these parties developed their own characteristics depending on their country of origin, but they were united by their vision of themselves as the political arm of the working class. Despite the formation of socialist groups in the 1880s, such as the Social Democratic Federation, the Socialist League, and the Fabians, it was the relative success of the political alliance of labor unions with the Liberal Party in the **United Kingdom** that delayed the formation of an independent political party based on unions. It was not until 1893 that the Independent Labour Party was formed; it cooperated with the **Trades Union Congress** to form the Labour Representation Committee in 1900; it was renamed the British **Labour Party** in 1906. In **Norway**, the Labor Party was formed in 1887. In **Australia**, the Labor Party was established separately in the colonies of New South Wales and South Australia in 1891. Labor parties were formed in **South Africa** in 1909 and in **New Zealand** in 1916.

In continental Europe, the generally authoritarian political climate encouraged political parties with labor connections to be far more radical, even revolutionary. They drew the bulk of their political ideas from Marxism. This tendency was reinforced by the relative weakness of labor unions for most of the 19th century. The first European social-democratic party was formed in **Germany** in 1863 by Ferdinand Lassalle (1825–1864) as the German Workmen's Association, and the second, also in Germany, by Wilhelm Liebknecht (1826–1900) and August Bebel (1840–1913) as the Social Democratic Party of Germany in 1866. In 1875, these two parties fused to form the Social Democratic Party. Socialist parties soon emerged in other Western European countries: **Denmark** (1871), **Czechoslovakia** (1872), **Portugal**

(1875), **Spain** (1879), **France** (1880), **Belgium** (1885), **Austria** and **Switzerland** (1888), **Sweden** (1889), **Italy** (1892), **Romania** (1893), the **Netherlands** (1882, which split in 1894), and **Finland** (1899).

**Socialist** parties were formed in Eastern Europe too: **Armenia** (1890), **Poland** (1892), **Bulgaria** (1893), **Hungary** (1894), **Lithuania** (1896), **Russia** (1898), and **Georgia** (1899); a social-democratic party was formed in **Latvia** in 1904, and in **Ukraine** in 1905. In the **United States**, a socialist labor party was formed in 1876, a Greenback-Labor Party in 1878, and a Socialist Party in 1901. A Socialist Party was formed in **Argentina** in 1892.

The Second International Workingmen's Association, which was set up in 1889, was the international forum for many of these parties. Although there was agreement about the need for change, there was much disagreement about the methods for achieving it. By the late 19th century, there were two main tendencies at work in these parties both within their national borders and internationally: those who wanted change by gradual reform within the political order and those who wanted change by full-scale social revolution. These differences eventually led to a break, the first of which occurred in the Netherlands when the radicals left the social-democratic party to form a new one with the same program and almost the same name. This new Dutch party was later, together with other split-offs incorporated into **communism** from 1917.

Electorally successful labor parties, that is, political parties built solely on organized labor, have been relatively rare since 1900 outside of Australia, the United Kingdom, and Scandinavia. Conflict can and does arise between the political and industrial wings of organized labor. One early instance of this occurred in Germany in 1906; it was resolved by the Mannheim Agreement, which declared the equality between the Social Democratic Party and the unions in providing the leadership for the working class. In France, the trade unions declared their independence from all political parties in the Charter of Amiens, also in 1906. *See also* POLITICS.

**SOCIALISM.** As a political ideology, socialism took shape during the 19th century; as a word, it came from the Latin *socius*, meaning "friend" or "ally." Although the term *socialism* was applied to a wide range of beliefs, a shared concern was the need to assume some kind of collective control over the means of production, distribution, and exchange, and to use this control for the greatest good of the members of society. Despite great interest in socialist ideas in organized labor, there was often little understanding of how to translate socialist theories into practice. In many countries, from about 1910, socialists within labor unions began to divide between reformists and revolutionaries, giving rise to **communism**. **Social-democratic, socialist, and labor parties** have been the means for introducing socialist policies into mainstream democratic politics, with organized labor being careful to preserve its

independence from political parties. The **inflationary** effects of World War I caused a heightened sense of economic injustice among the working class and led to the incorporation of explicit socialist objectives into the platforms of the British **Labour Party** (1918) and the **Australian Labor Party** (1919). By and large, social-democratic, socialist, and labor parties saw parliaments and legislation as the way to implement socialism before the 1950s, with organized labor playing a secondary role as a means of bringing about incremental improvements in pay and working conditions. However, there have been some important exceptions to the limited role assigned to organized labor within socialism. In the **United Kingdom**, guild socialists in the 1920s envisaged labor unions as the basis for a future socialist state. In **Germany**, organized labor gave formal support to the principle of economic democracy, an idea that became *Mitbestimmung* (codetermination) after 1945. *See also* ANARCHISM; POLITICS.

**SOLOMON ISLANDS.** The Solomon Islands have been independent from the **United Kingdom** since 1978; organized labor emerged in the 1970s in the form of the Solomon Islands Council of Trade Unions (SICTU), despite considerable ethnic tension between the indigenous people and the descendants of immigrant **Indian** plantation workers, which has led to military coups and the suspension of democratic government. SICTU was and is affiliated with the **World Federation of Trade Unions**. In 1975, another trade union was formed, the Solomon Islands General Workers' Union, which operated only in the private sector. The leader of this union, Bart Ulufa'alu, later became prime minister from 1997 to 2000. In 2014, the Workers' Union of Solomon Islands was founded, which has affiliated with the **International Transport Workers' Federation**. The Solomon Islands were not represented in the **International Trade Union Confederation** in 2010.

**SOMALIA.** Somalia was formed from a merger of colonial territories of the **United Kingdom** and **Italy** in July 1960; labor unions in Somalia emerged in the 1940s and formed a labor federation in 1949, which was represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** by 1959. Somalia continued to be represented in the ICFTU until 1969. With the country plagued by clan rivalries and prolonged civil strife since the late 1970s, organized labor effectively ceased to exist. Somalia has not been represented either in the ICFTU or its successor, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**, since 1969, when Siyad Barre seized power. Independent unions were not allowed, and organizing **strikes** was punishable by death. In 1991, when Barre's reign was overthrown by guerrillas, civil institutions collapsed and it took more than 10 years to reestablish central

government. In the meantime, in 2010, unions from five sectors formed the Federation of Somali Trade Unions (FESTU). FESTU is the first independent national trade union in Somalia and is affiliated with the ITUC with 72,000 **members**. During the second half of the 2010s, the ITUC informed the world of many instances of antiunion behavior by the government. In 2015, FESTU was prevented from attending a conference organized by the **International Labour Organization (ILO)**. In 2016, the ILO urged the government to refrain from any further interference in the unions. Union activists were even killed in that period.

**SOUTH AFRICA.** The first labor union in South Africa was the **Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners**, which was established by Europeans in Cape Town in 1881. Workers in the Kimberley set up a union in 1884, the Artisans' and Engine-Drivers' Protection Association. The **Amalgamated Society of Engineers** formed a branch in Johannesburg Town in 1893. The Transvaal Federation of Unions was created in 1911. One remarkable feature of this development was the very low **membership** of organized labor in South Africa compared with similar societies such as **Australia** and **New Zealand**. There were only 3,800 union members in 1900 and only 11,900 by 1914, of whom 2,800 were members of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. As in other countries, the following six years saw a large increase in union membership, to 135,100 by 1920, but this represented only about 12 percent of nonagricultural **employees**.

A second feature of European labor organization, though not one confined to South Africa, was its hostility to other racial groups. The South African Industrial Federation, which was formed in 1914, was aimed at protecting the jobs of skilled Europeans against unskilled black workers and maintaining racial divisions. The South African branch of the **Industrial Workers of the World**, founded in 1910, was unique in setting up a multiracial body, but it could not survive in such a racially divided society. The first recorded black union, the Industrial Workers of Africa, was formed in 1917, but the largest body, the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, was set up in 1919; it claimed 100,000 members by 1925 but was virtually made defunct by 1930. Gandhi helped to form unions among Indian workers, but the growth of non-European unionism alarmed the Europeans, who went on **strike** in 1922 in protest against the substitution of white for black workers in certain job categories in the mines and against the reduction of **wages**. In the ensuing conflict, called the Rand Revolt, approximately 230 strikers were killed by the army and the police. The incident led to the election victory of a pro-white labor government in 1924, which would introduce legislation to reduce economic opportunities for non-Europeans—a policy that greatly harmed non-European unionism. Membership in all South African unions

grew from 118,300 in 1930 to 272,500 in 1940 and to 408,600 in 1950. In 1942, some black unions formed the Council of Non-European Trade Unions (CNETU); it claimed 158,000 members by 1945.

With the victory of the National Party in the 1948 elections, total Apartheid became government policy, and this also entailed a hostile attitude toward non-European unions, which led to their politicization. In 1954, the South Africa Trade Union Council was formed with unions from all the country's racial groups. In 1955, the South African Congress of Trade Unions was formed from the merger of some independent black unions and the CNETU, but it was crushed by the government between 1962 and 1965 because of its radicalism. After strikes by black workers in Durban in 1973, the government arrested the leaders and tried to suppress black unionism. The government reaction led to concerted support for black unions by international unionism through bodies such as the **International Metalworkers' Federation** and through pressure from the union representatives on the boards of Swedish and German multinational companies operating in South Africa.

In 1977, the government appointed the Wiehahn Commission to investigate trade unionism; the commission successfully recommended that black labor unions be legally recognized and the system of racial reservation of job **occupations** be abandoned. The recommendations did not mean complete freedom for black organized labor. Rural and domestic workers and state employees were denied access to **collective bargaining**, and unions could not affiliate with a political party or support illegal strikes. Nevertheless, black unionism grew despite continued violence; in April 1987, for instance, seven strikers were killed during a **railroad** strike. In December 1985, the Congress of South African Unions, a mainly black labor federation, was formed; nonracial by policy, it claimed 1.3 million members by 1991. A radical black labor federation, the National Council of Trade Unions, was formed in 1986 and claimed 327,000 members in 1994, when it became affiliated with the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)**, the first South African labor federation to be admitted because of Apartheid and the restrictions on trade union rights.

The ICFTU had been lobbying hard against South Africa's policies since 1954 and had been actively supporting black organized labor since 1980. Although the Apartheid system ended with multiracial elections in 1994, and the legal rights of organized labor were recognized by the 1995 Labour Relations Act and strengthened in March 2002, the ICFTU complained that they are often ignored in practice. Since 2007, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** has complained about police violence against strikers, the **violation of trade union rights** of subcontracting employees, and the heavy penalties imposed on strikers. The worst example of antiunion policy of course was the **Marikana Massacre** of 2012, which caused a

number of casualties. In 2010, South Africa was represented by four labor federations in the ITUC with a combined membership of 2.8 million, a situation unchanged in 2018. Over the 2010s, the ITUC published many cases of police attacks on striking workers. In 2018, the parliament adopted an act that constituted a major attack on the right to strike, making it practically impossible for workers to go on protected strikes by introducing a number of cumbersome procedures prior to the declaration of strike actions. *See also* RACE AND ETHNICITY; RAMAPHOSA, MATAMELA CYRIL (1952–).

**SOUTH KOREA (REPUBLIC OF KOREA).** The first **labor disputes** on the Korean Peninsula date from the 1890s, and the first labor union was formed by longshoremen in 1898, the Song-Jin Dockers' Union. Korea was a colony of **Japan** from 1910 to 1945. Following the suppression of a revolt for independence in 1919, Japanese policy was one of toleration until 1925. In this period, three labor federations were formed (1920, 1922, and 1924). In 1925, the Japanese repressed organized labor by their Public Peace Law; at this time, there were about 123,000 union members in Korea. With Japan's defeat in 1945, organized labor revived and set up a large, broad-based, **communist** labor federation. It was challenged by an anticommunist, nationalist labor federation with U.S. backing, the General Federation of Korean Trade Unions, in March 1946. After it led two **general strikes**, the communist federation was outlawed in 1947.

Although in theory labor was able to organize, **collectively bargain**, and **strike** under the constitution of 1948, in practice it was controlled by the government. In 1958, an independent labor federation was formed, but after a military coup in 1961, all labor unions were broken up and reorganized by the military into 14 **industrial unions** based on organized labor in **Germany**. Under the labor laws of 1953 and subsequent years, most **public-sector** employees were denied the right to strike. In 1963, unions were legally forbidden from participation in **politics**.

Following the promise of constitutional reforms in June 1987, there was an outburst of independent activity among **employees**; it is estimated that 400,000 employees joined these unions by August 1987. An independent labor federation, the National Council of Labor Unions, was set up in January 1990 from a body originally formed in March 1984; it claimed about 200,000 members in 1992. Despite the lack of freedom of organized labor in South Korea since 1953, its labor federation has been a continuous member of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** since 1949. Since the late 1980s, South Korea has had a high level of labor disputes, a reflection of the abrasive nature of its labor relations. The ICFTU has been highly critical of the violent way the government has responded to strikes by organized labor. During 2002, 147 labor members were detained by the government, and 55 remained detained at the end of the year. During

2006, some strikers were seriously injured and one steelworker killed as a result of police violence. In 2010, the two South Korean affiliates of the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** claimed a total **membership** of 1.7 million. Membership grew to 1.8 million in 2018, while the ITUC has maintained its complaints about the repression of organized labor during the 2010s. Arrests and sentences have been a feature of life for trade union activists and leadership. In 2017, the Committee on Freedom of Association of the **International Labour Organization** officially expressed that South Korea was in breach of **freedom of association** principles. *See also* NORTH KOREA (DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA).

**SOVIET UNION.** *See* RUSSIAN FEDERATION.

**SPAIN.** Organized labor developed slowly in 19th-century Spain, a reflection of the country's economic and political backwardness. In 1871, **printers** formed a union in Madrid, but unions were not legalized until 1881, an event that led to the formation of the first labor federation, the Federación de Trabajadores de la Región Española (Federation of Workers of the Region of Spain), which claimed to represent 58,000 members. This body was replaced in 1888 by the Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT), or General Union of Workers, which has continued to be Spain's largest labor federation; it was dominated by the **socialists**. In 1902, the UGT affiliated with the **International Federation of Trade Unions**.

**Anarchism** was one of the distinguishing characteristics of Spanish labor. It found particular appeal in rural areas and envisaged the overthrow of the state by a **general strike** and its replacement by democratically run **cooperative** groups covering the whole economy. In 1910, the anarchists formed their own federation, the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (National Labor Federation), which continues to the present as an insignificant organization. Unions and union growth were relatively weak. Between the early 1900s and 1913, the number of union members rose from 26,000 to 128,000.

Violence was also a feature of Spanish labor. During "Tragic Week" (July 1909), over 175 people were shot in riots led by revolutionary **syndicalists** in Catalonia after the calling up of reservists for the war in **Morocco**. The rioters' attacks on churches and convents led to the execution of anarchist leader Francisco Ferrer despite international protests. After World War I, unions grew significantly; between 1920 and 1930, the number of union members increased from 220,000 to 946,000, and by 1936 the UGT claimed two million members.

The civil war (1936–1939) and the repression that followed under General Francisco Franco eliminated independent organized labor from political life officially in 1940. The UGT continued as an organization in exile in **France**.

It was a founding organization of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** and maintained the ICFTU's hostility to Franco's regime; for example, in 1952, the ICFTU protested vehemently over the admission of Spain to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. During the 1960s, the **communists** organized **employees** at the workplace and even led illegal **strikes**.

With the restoration of democracy following Franco's death in 1975, labor unions were legalized in 1977, although full legalization was not granted until 1985. As well as the UGT, the communists organized their own federation from the workplace groups they formed under Franco, the Confederación Sindical de Comisiones Obreras (CCOO), or Union Confederation of Workers' Commissions, and the anarchists reemerged, but with only a shadow of their pre-1936 strength. In 1984, the government and the Unión General de Trabajadores agreed to a social and economic pact to control **wage** claims as an anti-inflationary measure. The pact, which was opposed by the CCOO, broke down after 1986. In 1980, Spain had about 1.7 million union members, but this figure had declined to about 1.2 million by 1990. In 2010, the four labor federations in Spain affiliated with the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**, including the one representing **Basque Country**, claimed a total **membership** of over 2.3 million, only two million remaining in 2018, when overall trade **union density** was 13.9 percent. This union density is one of the lowest in Europe and in reality perhaps even lower. The ITUC has been concerned about threats made to organized labor by some multinational companies to discourage **labor disputes**. The global financial crisis and government cuts in spending led to widespread strikes in 2010 and beyond. In early 2012, a new labor law was introduced to make it easier and cheaper for **employers** to employ and dismiss workers. Strikers have been criminalized, and many violations of the right to strike were mentioned by the ITUC. In 2019, a striking labor conflict took place when almost 200 **women** footballers from 16 clubs in Spain's top division went on strike after more than a year of failed negotiations over minimum working conditions.

**SPRING OFFENSIVE.** *See SHUNTO.*

**SRI LANKA.** Sri Lanka, formerly known as Ceylon, has been independent from the **United Kingdom** since February 1948. Organized labor developed at the end of the 19th century, beginning with the Ceylon Printers' Union in 1893. In 1926, the unions formed the All-Ceylon Trades Union Congress; by 1930, Ceylon had about 114,000 union members. In 1935, labor unions were legalized by the colonial administration. In 1940, the Ceylon Indian Congress Labour Union was formed for the Indian Tamils; it was reformed as the



Ceylon Workers' Congress in 1950. In 1951, a barrier to **strike** action became lawful in the Industrial Disputes Act, which imposed a compulsory recourse to **arbitration**, or to long and complex **conciliation** and mediation procedures prior to strike actions. Although organized labor in Sri Lanka claimed a large **membership**, it was characterized by fragmentation based on ethnic, political, language, and religious divisions. At independence, there were 1,592 registered unions; of these, 412 unions reported membership of 398,400. By 1973, 590 unions reported that their total membership was 1.2 million. Sri Lanka was represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** from 1951. Sri Lanka's political stability has been severely challenged by the Tamil insurgency since 1983, which led to emergency regulations and created the opportunity to restrict organized labor as well. The ICFTU was highly critical of the **violation of trade union rights** in Sri Lanka's **export processing zones** in 2000 and 2001 but noted improvements in 2002. In 2009, **employers** often still refused to recognize unions and the government criminalized **strikes** and other union activities. From 2010 to 2018, Sri Lanka had four affiliates with the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** with a combined membership of 741,000. When in 2016 dockworkers went on strike against **privatization** of the port, they were opposed by a brutal military operation when hundreds of navy soldiers dispersed strikers during an attack with poles and rifles. Given this kind of action, it is not surprising that the ITUC in 2018 labeled Sri Lanka a country where systematic violations of rights exist. *See also* INDIA.

**STEELWORKERS.** *See* UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA (USWA).

**STRIKE.** A strike is a **labor dispute** initiated by a group of workers, a labor union, or a group of unions, in contrast to a **lockout** or a labor dispute initiated by an **employer** or group of employers. In a strike, workers withdraw their labor from the employer. This meaning of *strike* in contrast to *lockout* has been established in English since about 1850. The definition of a strike used by the **International Labour Organization** is used by most statistical bureaus around the globe; it runs as follows: "A strike is a temporary work stoppage by one or more groups of workers, . . . with a view to enforcing or resisting demands or expressing grievances." Before 1850, the word *turnout* was used for a strike. The word *strike* comes from Indo-European *streig*, which means "stand still." It was first used in its modern sense in a hiring bond in 1763 between coal owners and miners at Newcastle in northern England and in connection with London tailors in 1764. Although labor disputes are often called strikes by the media, in practice the initiator can be difficult to determine, particularly as strikes are often called by labor

unions in response to the actions of employers, such as reductions in **wages** and entitlements or adverse changes to **working hours** or conditions at work. Strikes in the sense of a broad offensive by labor unions are comparatively rare events and mainly occur in periods of prosperity combined with price **inflation**; examples include strikes by metalworkers' unions in the early 1970s for higher pay. Strikes can take a variety of forms. Although most strikes typically have the extension or defense of wages and conditions as their objectives, they may have purely political objectives (as in the **Netherlands** in 1941 against the maltreatment of Jews by the Nazis and **Venezuela** in 2002–2003, and **Greece** against austerity measures by the government since 2010) or may be in support of strikes by other labor unions, the so-called sympathetic strike. Another variety is the unofficial or wildcat strike, in which a local or regional branch of a labor union engages in a strike without the approval of, or even in opposition to, the head office of the union. Wildcat strikes may also occur without any trade union participation; often they get inspiration from left-wing political groups but are sometimes really spontaneous actions by the **rank and file**. *See also* GENERAL STRIKES; “WINTER OF DISCONTENT”.

**STRIKEBREAKER.** *See* SCAB.

**STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT.** A term that came into vogue in the 1980s to describe the economic changes that debtor Third World or developing nations had to implement to receive economic assistance from organizations such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. These changes typically include **privatization** and reductions in government expenditure because these are regarded as gateways to more economic growth in a free market. In a number of countries, labor unions have resisted austerity measures by their governments.

**SUDAN.** Sudan has been independent from the **United Kingdom** and **Egypt** since January 1956; organized labor in the Sudan developed after World War II. In 1959, the 4,000-strong anticommunist Central Sudan Government Workers' Trade Unions' Federation, which formed in 1955, joined the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** but was not represented subsequently. In the 1960s, organized labor continued to grow but in a fragmented way. In 1971, the government dissolved Sudan's 562 separate labor unions, and independent organized labor ceased to exist. There was some reemergence of organized labor in the 1970s and 1980s, but in 1989 the military took over government and again dissolved the labor unions. In 1992, the government established its own organization to run labor unions. In 2000, a new labor code was introduced, but the ICFTU considered that it had not

led to an improvement in Sudan's labor relations and that independent organized labor had been forced underground. The **International Trade Union Confederation** reported that no improvement in conditions for Sudanese organized labor had occurred in 2009, and it had no affiliates there in 2010. The former affiliate, Sudan Workers' Trade Union Federation, was used as part of the government's strategy to control workers in order to ensure a regular flow of oil. In 2011, after a long struggle by rebel groups, the southern part of the country became an independent state, the Republic of South Sudan, which also has built up a record of violent rivalries and oppression of rights.

**SURINAM.** Surinam has been independent from the **Netherlands** since November 1975; organized labor began effectively in the late 1940s, with the first labor federation being formed in 1947. Before the abolition of **slavery** in 1863, the colony witnessed a number of slave revolts. The most famous of these revolts is the Berbice Slave Uprising of 1763, which was a mass revolt supported by thousands of slaves. In 1947, the first and for the time being biggest trade union was founded, the Surinaamse Werknemers Moederbond (Surinam Employees' Mother Union). By 1964, there were six national labor federations with a combined **membership** of 30,000. Organized labor was divided along political and religious lines. Surinam has been represented continuously in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** since 1951. In 1982, 15 opponents of the military regime fell victim to brutal extrajudicial killing in Paramaribo. Among them was Cyrill Daal, the president of De Moederbond. Surinam was one of the few Latin American countries not to be reported in the survey of **violations of trade union rights** by the **International Trade Union Confederation** in 2007. In 2010, Surinam was represented by two affiliates with the ITUC with a total membership of 10,000, a situation unchanged in 2018. In 2019, the president of Surinam, one of the politicians directly responsible for the murder of union leader Cyrill Daal, was finally sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment, although his impunity was not put to an end.

**SUTCLIFFE, JAMES THOMAS (1873–1938).** Statistician, economist, and author Sutcliffe was born in Yorkshire, England. After migration to **Australia**, he was appointed to a senior position with the Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics (now the Australian Bureau of Statistics) in August 1915 and was made head of its labor and industrial department, where he worked on the production of **labor statistics**. In 1920, he served as secretary to the federal government's basic **wage** commission. In 1927, he resigned from the federal bureaucracy to become general manager of Amalgamated Textile in Sydney, thereby doubling his annual income.

Sutcliffe is best known for his book *The History of Trade Unionism in Australia*, which was published in April 1921. He began researching Australian organized labor with fellow Bureau **employee** Gerald Lightfoot (1877–1966), and together they produced a short unpublished history by 1916. Sutcliffe conducted further research on his own and presented his results to the University of Melbourne, which awarded him the Harbison-Higginbotham Scholarship in 1919. In 1921, he worked for the Victorian branch of the Workers' Educational Association as tutor in industrial history. In the same year, the association published his history of organized labor in Australia. It was the first book of its kind to be based on original research, and it remained the only account until the emergence of academic interest in organized labor 50 years later; as part of that revival, his book was reprinted in 1967. Sutcliffe's study was essentially one of the growth and structure of the institutions of organized labor, an approach that came to be seen as too narrow in terms of the new social history of the 1970s, but one that still retains its soundness as labor unions continue to pursue **amalgamation**. See also LABOR HISTORY.

**SWAZILAND.** Swaziland has been independent from the **United Kingdom** since September 1968; organized labor has faced a difficult challenge to becoming established. Beginning as a large number of small bodies, the unions could make little headway in a country ruled by a king and a cabinet. A state of emergency has been in force since 1973, and political parties are banned. The Swaziland Federation of Trade Unions was registered in 1973 and became an affiliate of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** by 1989 with 26,000 members. In 1980, the government prohibited **strikes** by postal, radio, and **education** workers. In its survey of **violations of trade union rights** for 2002, the ICFTU was particularly critical of the government of Swaziland, noting its fiercely antiunion policies and its trial of six union leaders who tried to present a petition to the government. Conditions for organized labor have not improved since 2002. Indeed, Swaziland has been ratifying international labor conventions but violating them in practice. In 2007, the union movement launched a **general strike** during which tens of thousands of workers demonstrated on the streets to enforce a change of the constitution. In 2008, a strike by 16,000 **women** was brutally repressed. In 2010, the **International Trade Union Confederation** had two affiliates in Swaziland representing 76,000 members. In 2018, only one federation was remaining, also with 76,000 members, because the Swaziland Federation of Trade Unions, founded in 1973, was dissolved in 2012 into the other affiliate, the Trade Union Congress of Swaziland (TUCOSWA). In 2013, the government made TUCOSWA illegal. Trade unions have been

harassed since then by the government, but this didn't prevent Swazi workers from going on strike on a sometimes massive scale, like in 2019. The 2019 strikes received support from trade unions in neighboring **South Africa**.

**SWEDEN.** The first true labor unions in Sweden were formed in the 1880s by skilled men, much under influence from **Denmark**, to prevent strike-breaking across the borders. In 1886, the first of what became regular conferences was held between labor leaders of Sweden, Denmark, and **Norway**. In 1889, the unions formed the Social Democratic Party. But union **membership** growth was very slow; there were only 9,000 members or about 1 percent of nonagricultural **employees** by 1890. Thereafter, union membership grew steadily to 64,155 or 5 percent of employees by 1900. In 1898, a labor federation for **blue-collar** employees, the Landsorganisationen i Sverge (LO), or Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions, was formed, but the union movement faced a difficult political environment. In 1889, the government enacted a law that prevented **strikes**; it remained law until 1938. This law, the so-called Åkarp Law (named after the home village of the member of parliament who proposed it), was much more subtle. It was not directed immediately against strikes, even though "strike leaders" could be arrested and sentenced to penal servitude; rather, its main aim was to protect **strikebreakers**. It was not allowed to prevent someone from working. It was further modified several times before 1938, the first time in 1914; the most important year in strike legislation is no doubt 1928.

Yet the unions, together with the Social Democratic Party and the Liberals, demonstrated their power by conducting a **general strike** in 1902 for universal suffrage, which led **employers** to execute their plan to form the Svenska Arbetsgivareföreningen (SAF), or Swedish Employers' Confederation. In 1906, the SAF and the LO signed an agreement that, although it recognized the unions' right to represent its members in **collective bargaining**, forced the unions to accept the employers' right to hire and fire employees and to control production. A massive but unsuccessful general strike in 1909 (the number of working days lost per thousand employees was 12,677, making it one of the biggest disputes in Sweden's history) hurt organized labor so that it took many years to recover from the dip in membership. Between 1913 and 1920, the number of union members rose from 134,000 to 403,000 and the proportion of employees in unions from 8 to 28 percent. Despite large-scale protests, the government enacted laws in 1928 that regulated collective bargaining contracts and set up a labor court to settle disputes. In 1931, **white-collar** employees in the private sector formed their own labor federation.

In 1932, the political climate for labor changed for the better with the election of the first **social-democratic** government. In 1936, the government passed a second major labor law that provided for the recognition of unions

and the opening of negotiations by either employers or unions and outlawed the victimization of union members for taking part in legal union activities. This law was the legal confirmation of an existing practice. National government employees formed a labor federation in 1937 and were granted the right to bargain in that year; the benefit was extended to employees of local government in 1940. Of particular significance was the Saltsjöbaden Agreement in 1938 between the LO and the SAF; it specified dispute settlement procedures, the avoidance of disputes, and by implication the avoidance of government intervention. This agreement is generally credited with securing a high degree of industrial peace until the economic problems of the 1970s. By 1940, there were 971,000 union members, covering 54 percent of employees. Since 1950, Sweden has had one of the highest levels of **union density** in the world. In 2007, Swedish unions covered 74 percent of employees compared with 87 percent in 1995. In 2015, only 67 percent was left, but this was (together with Denmark) the third highest level in the world, after **Iceland** (90 percent) and **Cuba** (81 percent). In 2009, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** complained about attempts by the government to interfere in the process of free collective bargaining. The right to strike seemed to be limited by the consequences of the service directive of the **European Union** as shown in the **Laval Case** when unions were sentenced to pay damages and legal costs. In 2010, the three Swedish affiliates of the ITUC declared a total membership of 3.1 million, and this number of members had grown to 3.6 million in 2018. *See also* COUNCIL OF NOR-DIC TRADE UNIONS.

**SWEENEY, JOHN JOSEPH (1934–)**. Sweeney was elected president of the **American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)** in October 1995 to replace **Joseph Lane Kirkland** and was reelected twice. He retired in 2009.

Sweeney was born in the Bronx, New York City. His trade union career began as a research assistant with the **International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union**. In 1960, he joined the **Service Employees International Union (SEIU)** as a contract director for New York City Local 32B. He went on to become union president and to lead two citywide **strikes** of apartment maintenance workers. At the time of his election as president of the AFL-CIO, he was serving his fourth four-year term as president of the SEIU, which grew from 625,000 to 1.1 million members under his leadership. He was first elected as an AFL-CIO vice president in 1980. He is the author of *America Needs a Raise: Fighting for Economic Security and Social Justice* and has supported grassroots organizations and campaigns to achieve the objectives of organized labor.

**SWITZERLAND.** Organized labor in Switzerland began effectively in the late 1860s through contact with German **socialist** labor bodies. In 1873, an unsuccessful attempt was made to form a national federation, but in 1880 the socialist labor unions created the Schweizerischer Gewerkschaftsbund (SGB), or Swiss Trade Union Confederation. In 1890, the Canton of Geneva passed a law that recognized agreements between unions and **employers**; it seems to have been the first legislation of its kind in Europe to legalize **collective bargaining**. In 1900, when the SGB declared its political neutrality, Switzerland had about 90,000 union members, covering about 10 percent of its nonagricultural **employees**. Switzerland was affiliated with the **International Federation of Trade Unions** from 1902 to 1945. A **white-collar** labor federation was established in 1903 and a **Catholic** labor federation in 1907. A **general strike** in 1918 was crushed by the army.

By 1920, there were 313,000 union members, representing about 26 percent of nonagricultural employees. Swiss organized labor developed and grew in a tolerant political climate and in a relatively prosperous economy. In 1937, a peace **accord** was made in the engineering **industry** that became the basis for a national social partnership between unions and employers from the 1950s. It provided for bargaining in good faith and avoiding **strikes** or **lockouts** during the life of agreements. The consensus approach adopted so successfully in **industrial relations** reflected a wider respect for Switzerland's diversity of people, languages, and religion. Spared the ravages of World War II, the Swiss labor movement continues to be formally divided by religion, unlike those of **Germany** and **Austria**. Switzerland was represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ITUC)** from its inception in 1949. In 2006, there were 721,000 union members, representing about 19 percent of employees, a **union density** diminished to 15.7 in 2015. Since 2000, the right to strike in the **public sector** has been permitted in federal employment but had not been extended to all cantons and communes in 2002. There were several dismissals of activists in 2010, and also later in that decade the ITUC reported antiunion practices. *See also* SYNDICAT SANS FRONTIÈRES (SSF).

**SYNDICALISM.** Syndicalism was a set of practices and ideologies developed by French organized labor in the 1890s and 1900s. It derived from the French *syndical*, meaning simply "trade union," but as an ideology syndicalism (or revolutionary syndicalism) was the use of unions to gain political and social change. The class war was central to syndicalist thought, which saw governments and political parties, including **socialist** parties, as instruments of working-class oppression. Syndicalist thought stressed direct action, particularly the **general strike**, as the means to gain its objectives. It owed as much, if not more, to work experience as to ideas.

Syndicalism grew out of conditions peculiar to **France**, namely, its revolutionary tradition (1789, 1830, 1848, and 1871), the self-reliant attitude of its working class, the relatively slow growth of industrialization, and the importance of small enterprises in the economy. The French Charter of Amiens (1906), which was adopted by the national organization of French labor, the **Confédération Générale du Travail** (General Confederation of Labor), called for **wage** increases and **shorter hours** to be won by the taking over of the capitalist class and the general strike. In the **United States**, the **Knights of Labor** have been described as a U.S. version of syndicalism. In **Italy**, syndicalism began to emerge after 1902 as a reaction to reformism in the Italian Socialist Party and developed into an unstable combination of Marxism and populism.

Syndicalists tried to establish an international organization after the First World War. They opposed both the **social-democrat** union movement as well as the **communists**. In 1922–1923, delegates from **Germany**, **Sweden**, the **Netherlands**, **Czechoslovakia**, and the United States met with others and agreed to form a new “international” of revolutionary or anarcho-syndicalists. Though many organizations present had already endured severe state repression, they still totaled several million workers. However, the international had formed against a background of mounting repression. In the 1920s and 1930s, the national affiliates in Italy, Germany, and finally **Spain** were forbidden and destroyed. *See also* ANARCHISM; INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (IWW); ONE BIG UNION.

**SYNDICAT SANS FRONTIÈRES (SSF)**. SSF, or Trade Union without Borders, is an affiliate of the Communauté Genevoise d’Action Syndicale (Community of Union Action of Geneva), which emerged in 1990 to fight for the interests of technical, administrative, and service **employees** of the United Nations, embassies, and international organizations situated in Geneva, as well as the rights of migrant workers treated as virtual slaves in Europe. SSF seeks the payment of **wages** for the workers concerned through the courts. *See also* SLAVERY; SWITZERLAND.

**SYRIA**. Independent organized labor does not exist in Syria. The sole national labor organization, the General Federation of Labor Unions, is run by the ruling Ba’ath Party government, which has a long history of repression. For example, in 1980, some engineers and medical doctors who went on **strike** were arrested; 15 years later, their fate was still unknown. In 2010, the **International Trade Union Confederation** noted that there were no free or independent labor unions and no right to freely engage in **collective bargaining**. Workers face severe punishment if they **strike**. Following the popular revolts of 2010 in **Tunisia** and **Egypt**, Syria also witnessed an uprising.



There were many strikes in 2011 that were, however, met with violence, injury, and often killings. The next phase of the revolt ended in a civil war that split the country and hadn't come to an end in 2020. It is clear that in such a situation it is impossible for workers to enjoy their rights.



# T

**TAFF VALE CASE.** The Taff Vale Case was a pivotal legal case in the history of organized labor in the **United Kingdom**. It arose from **picketing** by the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants to prevent the use of nonunion labor during a **strike** in August 1900 on the Taff Vale **railroad** in South Wales. The general manager of the railroad, Ammon Beasley, sued the officials of the society for damages to the property of the railroad. The strike was settled through mediation after 11 days, but the company continued to press its claim through the courts. The company won the first round but lost in the court of appeal, after which it went to the House of Lords, which decided against the society in July 1901 and, in a consequent case, declared that the society would have to pay the company £23,000 plus its legal costs of £19,000 (about \$100,000 in total), which were huge sums for the time. The Taff Vale Case was immediately followed by two other antiunion decisions by the House of Lords over picketing and **boycotting** (*Lyons v. Wilkins* and *Quinn v. Leathem*). The Taff Vale Case had three major results. First, it cast doubt on the legal status of labor union activity not just in Britain but in all countries that used British law, particularly **Canada, Australia, and New Zealand**. Second, it swung opinion within British organized labor around to the idea that it needed its own political party. The Labour Representation Committee, which had been formed in 1900, was upgraded; in 1903, a compulsory levy was made of unions to pay for Labour members of parliament, and the committee itself was renamed the **Labour Party** in 1906. Third, pressure from organized labor on the Liberal government led to the Trade Disputes Act (1906), which granted the unions immunity from actions such as happened in the Taff Vale Case. *See also ROOKES V. BARNARD.*

**TAFT–HARTLEY ACT.** The Taft–Hartley Act, known formally as the Labor Management Relations Act, was a piece of U.S. federal law passed in 1947 to redress the imbalance in the law alleged to have been caused by the **Wagner Act** of 1935. Conservative politicians and employer groups claimed that the Wagner Act only dealt with coercive actions by **employers** and ignored such acts by unions. The legislation was passed in reaction to in-

creasing **labor disputes** generally and in **coal mining** and steel production in particular. By February 1946, nearly two million workers were on **strike** or engaged in other labor disputes because they wanted to share in the gains from a postwar economic resurgence, after almost completely having refrained from strikes during the war. Although the Taft–Hartley Act maintained the fundamental freedoms of unions, it imposed a number of important restrictions on them; it outlawed the union or **closed shop** and allowed the states to pass their own anti–closed shop or **right-to-work laws**. Unions were also made liable to be sued in the federal courts for breaches of contract and had to give at least 60 days’ notice of the ending or amending of an agreement. Finally, unions were forbidden to spend any of their funds on political campaigns. Despite some moves to repeal the Taft–Hartley Act, it has remained in force. In October 2002, President George W. Bush used it to end a maritime labor dispute on the West Coast, the first time the law had been used since 1978. *See also* POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (PAC); UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA (UMWA); UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA (USWA).

**TAHITI.** *See* FRENCH POLYNESIA.

**TAIWAN.** Following the imposition of martial law in 1949, **strikes** in Taiwan were outlawed and only unions controlled by the Kuomintang Party encouraged. Between 1955 and 1989, the number of members in government-controlled unions rose from 198,000 to 2.4 million. The continuance of martial law was justified by the government on the grounds that Taiwan was still at war with mainland **China**; it was only lifted in 1987, a step that led to a pent-up wave of **labor disputes**. Strikes were permitted by the Arbitration Dispute Law, which allowed **employees** to strike after mediation but required them to return to work. Nevertheless, striking union members were jailed for striking in 1988 and 1989. In November 1987, a Labor Party was formed and there was significant growth in the **membership** of independent labor unions. Taiwan has been represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** since 1951 by the Chinese Federation of Labor, which claimed one million members in 2001. Membership plummeted since then to 250,000 in 2009. The ICFTU reported negatively about the legal system for organized labor in Taiwan in 2002 but noted an improved attitude toward labor unions by the government since 2000. In September 2002, 60,000 teachers demonstrated for the right to form unions. The 2010 survey of **violations of trade union rights** conducted by the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** complained that many categories of employees are not allowed to form unions and that strikes are difficult to conduct legally. In 2019, the ITUC maintained that Taiwan workers and

trade unions suffered from repeated violations of rights. Since 2011, especially the situation for migrant workers from South East Asia seemed to improve after the government enacted a series of labor law reforms that removed restrictions on migrant workers from serving as union officials. This improvement only slowly materialized, and the situation for migrant workers remained troublesome.

**TAJIKISTAN.** Independent from the former **Soviet Union** since 9 September 1991, Tajikistan has no history of organized labor. The labor code is ambiguous about the right to form unions, bargain collectively, and conduct **strikes**. Although **collective bargaining** is known to occur, civil war and ethnic conflict have exhausted the society. Tajikistan was not a member of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** in 2001. In 2007, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** repeated its earlier comments that there were ambiguities in the labor law of Tajikistan, mainly in the freedom given to government to restrict the rights of organized labor. The national trade union federation has been very loyal to the autocratic government that has been in power since 1994. The **International Labour Organization** has repeatedly asked for clarification of the law. Tajikistan has not been represented in the ITUC in the 2010s. In 2019, the European Trade Union Committee for Education started schooling trade union leaders from Tajikistan.

**TANZANIA.** Tanzania was formed in December 1961 from the British territory of Tanganyika and the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. Unlike in most colonies, labor unions were legalized before there were any actual unions; a Trade Union Ordinance was passed in 1932 covering Tanganyika, but there were almost no unions formed until 1949. One of the few exceptions was the Motor Drivers' Union, founded in 1927. In the wake of the dockers' **strikes** of 1939 and 1943, railwaymen started organizing themselves in trade unions and also took widespread action. In 1947 again, they followed the dockers, during the **general strike** of 1947. Two thousand members of the Railway African Association (RAA), founded in 1945, joined the widespread action. One of the demands was equal treatment of African and Asian **employees**, an end to the "color bar" and discrimination, and **equal pay for equal work**. The Tanganyika Federation of Labour was formed in 1955 and was admitted to the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** in 1957; it was abolished by the government in 1964, which sought to dominate organized labor. In 1959–1960, a railway strike broke out that soon also encompassed the **Uganda** railways. This East African railway strike was the most important labor conflict during the decolonization process within **Britain's** African colonies. During those two years, the number of strikes ex-

ceeded an annual average of over 200, numbers that were much lower during the preceding 10 years and especially during the following decade. The one-party political system of Julius Nyerere that ran Tanzania gave way to a pluralistic system after 1992. In 1991, the government formed the Organisation of Tanzania Trade Unions, which was admitted to **membership** in the ICFTU in 1994 with a declared membership of 359,900. In 1995, the unions formed the Tanzania Federation of Free Trade Unions as a successor organization, but it was denied legal recognition and was dissolved by the government on 1 July 2000. In 2007, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** reported that there was considerable government interference in the affairs of organized labor. There have been strong restrictions on the right to strike in the private sector, whereas **public-sector** workers are entirely refused the right to strike. In the autonomous part of Tanzania named Zanzibar, all strikes are illegal. In 2017, the ITUC reported threats to union members and the actual killing of one of them. The ITUC had two affiliates in 2018, while trade **union density** was 24.3 percent.

**TEAMSTERS.** Officially known as the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen, and Helpers of America, the Teamsters was the largest labor union in the **United States** from the mid-1950s to 1987, when it was overtaken by the **National Educational Association**. The Teamsters began as the Team Drivers' International Union in January 1899 with a **membership** of 1,700 based on drivers of horse teams. In 1902, part of the Chicago membership formed a rival body, the Teamsters' National Union, but in 1903 the two organizations agreed to merge as the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. In its early years, the Teamsters was a sprawling confederation of local unions controlled by powerful bosses rather than a unified national organization. It owed much of its organizational success to Daniel J. Tobin, who was its president from 1907 to 1952. In 1910, Tobin gained jurisdiction over truck drivers from the **American Federation of Labor**, a move that enabled it to grow with the fastest parts of the American economy and placed it in a strong bargaining position in many related industries. Even so, membership growth was slow between 1912 and 1930 (from only 84,000 to 98,800), but after 1935 it grew quickly, reaching 441,600 in 1939 and 644,500 by 1945.

In 1955, the Teamsters had 1,291,100 members, the largest membership of any American labor union. Under presidents **Dave Beck** (1952–1957) and **James R. Hoffa** (1957–1971), the Teamsters continued to expand into employment sectors that were related to transportation, such as cold storage, warehousing, baking, laundry work, and canning, despite the convictions of Beck and then Hoffa for corruption and other offenses. In 1957, the Teamsters were expelled from the **American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)** but were readmitted in November

1987. During the 1980s, the leadership of the Teamsters backed **Ronald Reagan** for president, but the reformed leadership that gained power in the late 1980s backed Bill Clinton's presidential campaign. The Teamsters claimed 1.4 million members in 2009. In 1997, the Teamsters successfully conducted a 16-day **strike** against United Parcel Services that attracted popular and international support. Since 1999, James R. Hoffa's son, **James P. Hoffa**, has been general president. In 2005, the Teamsters disaffiliated from the AFL-CIO and formed the new **Change to Win** organization.

**THAILAND.** Unofficial organizations among Thai **employees** existed from the early 1880s. They conducted a number of **strikes** to gain formal **recognition**, but this was not granted until 1932 and then only lasted until 1934. Legal recognition of unions was not restored until after the Japanese were expelled in 1944; it was withdrawn in 1948, restored in 1955, and revoked in 1958. Unions were again legally recognized between 1972 and 1976, but the military government that took power in October 1976 once again withdrew recognition. Many union members in Thailand work in state-owned enterprises that have been vulnerable to changes in government policy, particularly **privatization**. Following a campaign by the unions, the right to strike was restored in January 1981 but was withdrawn for those employees working in state-owned enterprises in April 1991 following the military coup on 23 February 1991. In June 1991, the president of the Labor Congress of Thailand (formed in 1978), Thanong Po-arn, disappeared and was presumed murdered. Between 1989 and 1991, the number of union members in Thailand dropped from 309,000 to 160,000. In 1993, there were 800 unions and 26 labor federations in Thailand. It was represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** from 1951 to 2006 and in its successor, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**, from November 2006. In 2010, it was represented by four affiliates with a combined membership of 250,000, and 154,000 in 2018. The ITUC has been critical of the lack of **collective bargaining** in Thailand and unchecked **employer** violence toward organized labor, both in 2010 and in earlier years. In 2016 and 2017, the ITUC mentioned in its survey of **violations of trade union rights** a number of cases where both employers and the state made union activities almost impossible to perform. Migrant employees, mainly **Burmese, Laotian, and Cambodian**, have been vulnerable to intimidation by Thai employers.

**THOMAS, ALBERT (1878–1932).** A French labor scholar, newspaper editor, and politician, Thomas was the first director of the **International Labour Organization (ILO)** between 1920 and 1932. During the early 1900s, he carried out research in **Germany, Russia**, and the eastern Mediterranean

into **socialism**, **syndicalism**, and consumer **cooperatives**, which he published in 1903. In 1904, he was made assistant editor of the socialist newspaper *L'Humanité*. In 1910, he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies for the Socialist Party, a position he held until 1921. In 1915, he became undersecretary of state for artillery and munitions, and minister for munitions in 1916. In 1917, he was ambassador to Alexander Kerensky's government in Russia. As ILO director, he worked tirelessly for the adoption of its conventions by member countries in a very difficult political climate.

**TOGO.** Togo has been independent from **France** since April 1960; the first unions in Togo were branches of French unions. All of Togo's unions were brought under **government control** in 1972 and 1973. Togo did not move to a pluralistic political system until the early 1990s. In 1992, two Togo labor federations, with a combined **membership** of 67,300, were admitted to the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)**. In 2002, the ICFTU was critical of the weak protection afforded to Togo's unions by its laws, even though the right to join unions and to **strike** was legal. It was also critical of the lack of legal protection given to workers in the country's **export processing zones (EPZs)**, a critique still maintained in 2019. In 2006, a new labor code removed a few of the earlier weaknesses, but an antiunion climate still prevails in Togo and especially in the EPZs. The **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** reported that there had been no improvement in the environment for organized labor in Togo since 2007. In 2010, the three affiliates of the ITUC in Togo claimed a total membership of 122,000. Since 2013, Togo has been witnessing recurrent teachers' strikes because teachers want their bonuses and allowances to be fixed to the salaries of civil servants, whose economic status is more secure. They not only demand **wages** be paid on time but also regular pay raises. In the meantime, the ITUC complained about repeated **violations of union rights**.

**TOLPUDDLE MARTYRS.** The Tolpuddle Martyrs were a group of six English agricultural laborers who were convicted of unlawful oaths and conspiracy at the village of Tolpuddle in Dorset. Led by George Loveless (1797–1874), who was also a lay Methodist preacher, the six men seemed to have used an initiation ceremony in the process of setting up a union to seek higher **wages**. Their union may have been part of the expansion of the **Grand National Consolidated Trades Union**. After a summary trial in March 1834, the six were convicted under conspiracy and mutiny laws of 1797 and 1819 and transported to New South Wales, **Australia**. They were not pardoned until 1838.



**TONGA.** Tonga has been independent from the **United Kingdom** since June 1970; organized labor began effectively in the 1970s with the Tonga Teachers' Association, with 222 members in 1976. Later merging with the Nurses' Association, the union became an affiliate of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** in 1990. After joining the United Nations in 1999, Tonga joined the **International Labour Organization** in 2016 as its 87th global member. In 2010, Tonga had no affiliates with the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**, but in the 2010s the Tonga National Trade Union Congress affiliated with the ITUC, representing 1,000 members in 2018. When in 2014 hundreds of public servants announced a **strike**, they ultimately called it off after the government threatened to declare a state of emergency.

**TOSCO, AGUSTIN GRINGO (1930–1975).** A leader of organized labor in **Argentina**, Tosco was born in Córdoba Province. Tosco became general secretary of Luz y Fuerza, the union of the light and power utilities workers, in 1957. He was an advocate of general assemblies rather than representative committees and of demanding more than just **wage** raises. He opposed bureaucracy in the Confederación General del Trabajo and fought lengthy struggles with other leaders in this regard.

Tosco was actively involved in the uprising in the city of Córdoba in May 1969. This uprising was aimed at ending the dictatorship of Juan Carlos Onganía. The Cordobazo, as the uprising is called, hastened the end of the Onganía administration. Tosco was condemned to eight years in jail for his role in the revolt but released after 16 months. He returned to Córdoba but fell victim to persecution after the victory of Peronism in 1973. The Luz y Fuerza union was abolished, and Tosco went into hiding. When he fell seriously ill, his fear of persecution prevented him from going to the hospital. He died in 1975, and despite government threats thousands attended his funeral.

**TRADE UNION ADVISORY COMMITTEE TO THE ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT (TUAC).** The TUAC was formed in 1948 to represent the interests of organized labor within the Marshall Plan. Since 1962, it has played the same role within the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). The TUAC has consultative status with the OECD and is able to make its views known on multinational corporations, **labor market** reform, **privatization**, **globalization**, and **unemployment**. In 2018, the TUAC consisted of 58 national organizations, representing 66 million **employees**.

**TRADE UNION CONFEDERATION OF ARAB MAGHREB WORKERS (TUCAMW).** The TUCAMW was an international labor organization formed in 1991 by the labor federations of **Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, and Tunisia** to lobby for the inclusion of social objectives in the Arab Maghreb Union (formed in 1989 but dormant since 2008) to promote greater cooperation among the governments of North Africa. These labor federations had a combined **membership** of 2.2 million in 2001. In November 2001, the TUCAMW signed a joint declaration with the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** to strengthen cooperation between the two organizations. With assistance of the **European Trade Union Confederation**, a two-year project on trade union reform was drawn up by the TUCAMW in 2008–2009. After the Arab uprisings of 2011, the TUCAMW dissolved and its tasks were taken over by the **Arab Trade Union Confederation (ATUC)**, a regional organization of the **International Trade Union Confederation**. *See also* AFRICAN REGIONAL ORGANISATION (AFRO, ITUC-AFRICA).

**TRADE UNION CONFEDERATION OF THE AMERICAS (TUCA).** The Trade Union Confederation of the Americas was formed in 2008 as the regional representative of the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** to replace the **Organización Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores** (Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers). The TUCA had 65 affiliated or fraternal organizations in 29 countries, representing 50 million workers in 2010. Nine years later, the numbers had diminished slightly to 48 affiliated organizations in 21 countries, but representing 55 million workers.

**TRADES UNION CONGRESS (TUC).** The TUC has been the largest national labor union organization in the **United Kingdom** since its formation in Manchester on 2–6 June 1868. Its constitution provided the model for the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the **United States and Canada** in 1881, the organization that was the forerunner to the **American Federation of Labor (AFL)**. In 1894, **Samuel Gompers** initiated an annual exchange of fraternal delegates between the AFL and the TUC. The TUC played only a minor role in international labor unionism before 1913; this role was taken by the **General Federation of Trade Unions**. Between 1868 and 1898, the number of members in unions affiliated with the TUC rose from 118,400 to 1.1 million. By 1914, most British unions were affiliated with the TUC. The TUC is essentially a policy-making body for its affiliates; it has no power to direct them, although it acts as the national voice of organized labor in Britain. From 1871, it operated through its parliamentary committee as a lobby to government in the interests of labor. It also provided

a national forum for delegates to debate policy matters at its annual congresses. In 1892, Keir Hardie persuaded the TUC to pass a motion calling on its parliamentary committee to draw up a scheme for a fund to pay for the direct representation of labor members of parliament. Nothing came of the proposal, and it was not until a conference of the parliamentary committee (representing less than half of the TUC) in 1900 that Hardie succeeded in setting up the Labour Representation Committee, the body that became the British **Labour Party**.

As organized labor grew, the TUC was drawn into adjudicating disputes between its affiliates over which union had the right to recruit particular **employees**. In 1924, it drew up formal rules for the transfer of members between unions to avoid **jurisdictional** or demarcation conflicts. In 1939, these rules were codified into six principles known as the Bridlington Agreement. The operation of these procedures has been criticized as favoring larger over smaller unions. Under section 14 of the Trade Union Reform and Employment Rights Act of 1993, the unions' power to exclude or expel employees was curtailed, thus giving individuals greater choice about which union to join and so substantially reducing the power of the TUC in deciding on jurisdictional disputes between affiliates. In 1981, the **membership** of affiliates with the TUC reached its highest point of 12.2 million, but by 1992 this membership had fallen to 7.8 million, the level it had in 1950. Over the same period, the number of affiliated unions fell from 109 to 72. In 2001, the number of British unions affiliated with the TUC was 73, and they represented 6.7 million members. Both the number of unions and membership had fallen by 2009, to 58 and 6.5 million, respectively. The decline was still going on in 2016, when there were 50 affiliated unions, with a total of about 5.6 million members. In 2019, the TUC counted 5.5 million members in 48 unions. At its 2009 Liverpool conference, TUC delegates debated resolutions relating to bogus self-employment, racism, sexism and homophobia, and the economic crisis. The government was urged to regulate the economy more closely, increase public spending, accelerate the public works programs, and increase the pay of the lowest-paid employees. The TUC's plan for 2019–2020 comprised the promotion of a new New Deal, the fight for unions to be given rights to access every workplace and set pay and conditions across industries through **collective bargaining**, a ban on zero-hours contracts, a national **minimum wage** of £10 per hour, the reduction of inequality, and the fight against discrimination at work. *See also* IRELAND.

**TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS' UNION (TGWU).** From 1937 to 1993, the TGWU was the largest labor union in the **United Kingdom**. Formed in January 1922 by the **amalgamation** of 14 unions from various **industries**, it began with 350,000 members. In 1929, it absorbed the declining **Workers' Union**, which gave it a recruiting foothold in industries

that were to grow significantly in later years. In 1933, the TGWU had 371,000 members, which made it the second largest union in Britain after the **Mineworkers' Federation of Great Britain**. By 1937, the TGWU had 654,500 members. **Membership** continued to rise from the 1930s: 984,000 by 1945, 1.3 million by 1956, and 2.1 million by 1979. Between 1922 and 1978, the TGWU absorbed 84 smaller unions in a wide range of industries. In 2001, the TGWU was Britain's third largest union (after **UNISON** and **Amicus**), with a membership of 858,800, compared with 914,000 in 1994, or 11 percent of all British labor union members. In 2007, the TGWU amalgamated with Amicus to form **Unite the Union**. *See also* BEVIN, ERNEST (1881–1951).

**TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO.** Trinidad and Tobago has been independent from the **United Kingdom** since 1962; organized labor began in 1919. In 1973, there were 83 registered unions with a combined **membership** of 95,000. Trinidad and Tobago has been represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** since 1951. In 2001, there were 45,000 union **members** in Trinidad and Tobago, or about 12 percent of all **employees**. Although the law of 1972 permitted all workers to join unions and engage in **collective bargaining**, the ICFTU repeatedly noted the government's unwillingness to lift the limitations on the right to **strike** and collective bargaining in the **public sector**. The **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** repeated these and other complaints during the 2010s. In 2018, the ITUC had two affiliates in Trinidad and Tobago with 45,500 members, while overall trade **union density** was 19.8 percent in 2013. The National Workers Union (NWU), founded in 2004, was not one of these. The NWU explicitly embraces the principles of class struggle.

**TRIPARTITE.** Bodies made up of representatives of **employers**, unions, and government. Tripartite bodies of this kind are usually designed to address a problem of labor relations such as a dispute, training, or **occupational health and safety**. They may also be engaged in **social dialogue**. The **International Labour Organization** has a tripartite structure, and after World War II tripartite bodies were grounded in many Western countries in order to prevent the growth of **labor disputes**. This was a lesson learned from the upheavals and revolutions that occurred after World War I.

**TRUCK.** A term first recorded in England in 1665 to describe the payment of **employees'** wages in kind rather than money. The abuse arose from the goods offered by **employers** often having a lesser value than the **wages** owed. Truck was first outlawed in 1701 but remained an abuse throughout the 19th century despite laws passed in 1831, 1887, and 1896. Truck was also

an abuse in **Germany**, the **Netherlands**, and the **United States**. By the late 19th century, the term was extended to refer to an employer's fines or unauthorized deductions from an employee's wages.

**TUNISIA.** Tunisia has been independent from **France** since March 1956. The first attempt to form a non-European labor union in Tunisia was made in 1924, but it was suppressed by the French administration. The right to form unions was not allowed until 1932. Farhat Hachet (1914–1952), who was eventually murdered by French agents, played a major role in building organized labor in Tunisia and later in the independence movement. Tunisia has been represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** since 1953 by the Union Générale Tunisienne du Travail (UGTT), or Tunisian General Labor Union, which was formed in 1946. It claimed a **membership** of 300,000 in 1996. Despite the **socialist** leanings of postindependent governments in Tunisia, there has been much tension between organized labor and governments since the late 1970s. When the UGTT called a **general strike** in 1978, several dozen people were killed. In 2001, when Tunisia had about 533,000 union members, the ICFTU expressed concern about continued government interference in the affairs of organized labor in Tunisia, the level of antiunion activity in the private sector, and the unfair way the former general secretary of the UGTT, Ismail Sahbani, was tried for alleged corruption and forgery; he was released from his five-year jail sentence on 21 February 2002, on account of failing health. In 2008, the police violently repressed demonstrations in the Gafsa mining region. Many UGTT members were sentenced to prison.

The suicide by a young Tunisian man, Mohamed Bouazizi, sparked a popular protest against the government at the end of 2010. This movement—initiated by labor unions and intellectuals—ended with the abdication of President Ben Ali in 2011. The Tunisian revolt started a series of similar movements in the Arab world. In 2010, Tunisia was not represented in the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**, but in 2018 it was, with 700,346 members. According to registration by the ITUC, after the 2011 revolt there was not much improvement in workers' and trade union rights. Hence, in 2018, the judgment was still “systematic **violations of rights.**”

**TURKEY.** The first attempts to form labor unions in what is now Turkey began in 1871. Unions in a number of crafts were formed after the 1908 revolution, but faced with a well-organized right-wing government under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk from 1920 and limited industrial development, a mass movement was unable to emerge. The first Turkish labor law was adopted in 1936 and set down minimum standards for **employees** at work-

places where 10 or more worked, but it banned unions, **strikes**, and **collective bargaining**. Unions were legally permitted from 1947, and compulsory **arbitration** was introduced for **labor disputes**. The Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions (Türk-İs) was formed in 1952. In 1961, the new constitution guaranteed the right to form unions and introduced a system of collective bargaining.

A left-wing labor federation, the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DISK), was formed as a breakaway organization from Türk-İs in 1967 and had about 800,000 members by 1980. In 1976, the Islam-affiliated Confederation of Turkish Real Trade Unions (Hak-İs) was founded, soon to be banned. The deterioration in the economy during the 1970s led to a military coup in September 1980. The military government suppressed the DISK because of its militancy and leadership in labor disputes: 1,477 of its members were charged and 264 sentenced to varying jail terms in 1986. Several thousand others fled Turkey. The sentences were revoked in 1991. The military government also restored compulsory arbitration in labor disputes. In 1982, a new constitution was introduced, which was the basis for revised labor laws that recognized labor unions (provided they restricted their activities to one sector of the economy and avoided any links with political parties) and reintroduced collective bargaining. Turkey has been an affiliate of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** and its successor, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**, since 1965, and in 2010 its affiliates declared a combined **membership** of 1.4 million. The repressive political and legal environment of Turkey has led to many international complaints about its **human rights** record, both from the ICFTU and the ITUC. Since 2007, the ITUC has complained repeatedly about continued abuse of human and trade union rights in Turkey. Despite changes to its laws to qualify for membership of the **European Union**, the ITUC in 2010 considered that Turkish law still fell well short of what was required by international standards.

Beginning in 2015, Turkey witnessed several acts of terrorism, after which in 2016 elements of the army attempted a coup that failed following widespread popular resistance. The authorities arrested more than 130,000 people, accusing them of involvement in the coup. The trade union movement also suffered from the harder policies against oppositional forces in society. Or, as the ITUC wrote, “A series of unprecedented bans on rights to **freedom of association** and restrictions of basic civil liberties were enforced following the 15 July coup attempt.” In 2019, the situation was still such that rights were not guaranteed in Turkey. The ITUC was represented in 2018 with 1.7 million members, but trade **union density** was rather low at 8.2 percent in 2016.

**TURKMENISTAN.** Turkmenistan has been independent from the former **Soviet Union** since October 1991; there is no history of organized labor in Turkmenistan, and no independent labor movement has arisen since independence. The Soviet single-union system still survives, claiming 1.3 million members in 2001. It has never been affiliated with the **International Trade Union Confederation**. Turkmenistan has one of the world's worst records in human trafficking, mainly because the government uses **forced labor** on a massive scale. In 2016, Gaspar Matalaev, a labor and **human rights** activist, was arrested and tortured after he published an extensive report on the systematic use of forced labor. After three years' imprisonment, he was finally released.

**TWO-TIER SYSTEM.** In a two-tier system, one group of workers receives lower **wages** or employee **benefits** than another although they both perform the same work. After a period of time, a two-tier wage system can permanently lower wages in an entire **industry**. Trade unions usually oppose two-tier systems, which may be designed specifically to hinder the work of the unions by creating two classes of workers.





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**UGANDA.** Uganda has been independent from the **United Kingdom** since October 1962; organized labor in Uganda began effectively in 1948. In 1956, organized labor was sufficiently strong to form the Uganda Trades Union Congress (UTUC); it claimed 1,500 members by 1957, when it became an affiliate of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)**. In 1959, 6,000 railwaymen joined a **strike** that had begun in **Tanzania** and may therefore be called the East African railway strike. Within two weeks, however, their union led them back to work with no result besides “a promise of negotiations on the wage issue.” The UTUC ceased to exist in 1973 when the government brought organized labor under its control by founding the National Organisation of Trade Unions (NOTU) by decree. Thereafter, Uganda entered nearly 20 years of dictatorship, violent political oppression, and warfare that only ended in the late 1980s. By 1989, Uganda had been readmitted to the ICFTU; its affiliate was the National Organization of Trade Unions, which declared a **membership** of 130,000. This organization was originally established by the government, which required that all of Uganda’s unions in the private sector affiliate with it. The 2000 Trade Union Act required that the minimum number of workers a labor union can represent at a workplace was 1,000 and the union must represent 51 percent of its **employees**. There were about 146,000 union members in Uganda in 2010, compared with 80,000 in 2001. The restrictions of the 2000 legislation were removed by the Labour Union Act of 2006, but in practice the law was not enforced. In 2007, the survey of **violations of trade union rights** conducted by the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** complained that **employers** in hotels, textiles, construction, and transportation were reluctant to recognize unions, a stance supported by the government. In 2008, 116 employees of a cobalt company were dismissed for striking. In November 2009, an **International Labour Organization** representative criticized Uganda for failing to protect employees’ rights. In 2018, the NOTU was the affiliate of the ITUC with a membership of 700,000 employees. The right to strike is recognized by the constitution; however, this right is still strictly regulated.

**UKRAINE.** Ukraine has been independent of the former **Soviet Union** since December 1991; organized labor free of **government control** has emerged but has been faced with concerted government efforts to reassert state control, even though the right to form and join labor unions was guaranteed in the constitution. In June 1994, the government passed legislation that impeded the rise of independent unions and propped up the previously state-run labor organizations. Despite the hostile legal framework, independent labor unions were formed by **railroad** engine drivers in 1992 and by workers in parts of the transportation industry by 1994. In 1994, the president of the pilots' and airline crews' union, Viacheslav Buashov, died in suspicious circumstances after falling from the balcony of his apartment. By 1998, the Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine had been formed. The October 1999 trade union law led to complaints by Ukrainian organized labor to the **International Labour Organization (ILO)** that were supported by the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** and the **International Federation of Chemical, Energy, Mine, and General Workers' Unions**, but the law remained below ILO standards. Only after 2001 did Ukrainian unions affiliate with the ICFTU and its successor, the **International Trade Union Confederation**. These unions claimed a total **membership** of 11.6 million in 2006, 10.2 million in 2010, and 4.9 million in 2018. During 2010, violence and intimidation continued to be facts of life for organized labor. Since 2013, the situation deteriorated because of public outcry in response to the refusal of the president to sign an association agreement with the **European Union**. In a 2014 report, the High Commissioner for Human Rights of the United Nations concluded there were grave violations of **human rights**. Since then, it has been impossible for workers to enjoy their rights. In 2018, the ITUC simply stated "No guarantee of rights" and mentioned several occasions of trade union harassment, violence against trade unionists, and exclusion from **collective bargaining**.

**UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS.** Unemployment **benefits** are payments to the unemployed. National arrangements vary significantly. Benefits are often based on a compulsory semigovernmental insurance system to which **employees** pay a regular premium, sometimes supplemented by **employers (United States, Japan)**. In **Australia, Great Britain, and New Zealand**, unemployment benefits are funded through income taxes. In countries like **Sweden**, trade unions distribute a significant proportion of the benefits. This arrangement is known as the Ghent system, after the city in **Belgium** where it originated. Other countries distribute the money through government agencies like Centrelink in Australia, Plan Jefes in **Argentina**, or Service **Canada**.

The sums paid may cover the basic needs or compensate for the lost time proportionally to the previous earned **wage**. Benefits are generally given only to those registering as unemployed after a specified period during which they have worked as an employee. Other conditions often are that they seek work and are not currently economically active. In recent years, systems in many countries have changed in character. Payments were cut and emphasis shifted from benefit to stimulation of job seeking. The **International Labour Organization** supports this attitude since the adoption of the Employment Promotion and Protection against Unemployment Recommendation (Convention No. 176) in 1988. It has been critical of the benefit cuts though.

Many developing countries lack any decent unemployment benefits partly because of unreliable employment statistics. Government unemployment insurances in **India** only cover a small number of employees. The African Union in its Declaration on Employment and Poverty Alleviation of 2004, however, acknowledged that poverty, unemployment, and underemployment compromise basic **human rights** and emphasized the urgency of employment creation. *See also* PENSION.

**UNEMPLOYMENT RATE.** The number of unemployed as a percentage of the total **labor force** or of the total number of **employees**. The level of unemployment is important for labor unions as a factor in determining their strength in negotiations with **employers**. **Strike** research has revealed the all too obvious fact that during periods of high unemployment workers are more reluctant to go on strike.

**UNI GLOBAL UNION.** *See* UNION NETWORK INTERNATIONAL GLOBAL UNION (UNI).

**UNION BUSTING.** Attempts by an **employer** to prevent the establishment of a trade union or remove an existing union, for example, by firing union members, challenging unions in court, or forming a **yellow union**. Union busting has a long history, dating back to the 19th century, but in the present it is regarded as a practice starting in the 1970s and 1980s. In the **United Kingdom**, unions viewed the 2005 mass dismissal of Gate Gourmet workers at Heathrow Airport as a union-busting tactic. They called for a walkout that paralyzed flights and stranded thousands of travelers. The company continued making use of a labor relations consultancy. In the **United States**, the infamous firing by President **Ronald Reagan** of striking air traffic controllers in 1981 was considered union busting by labor unions. In the 1990s, many companies from the United States entered European markets while taking with them union-busting practices often proposed by a specialized professional service branch. *See also* GLOBALIZATION.

**UNION DENSITY.** Union **members** as a percentage of potential union members, usually defined as the percentage of **employees** in the **labor force** or a particular **occupation** or **industry** who are members of a labor union. The fall of union density in many Western countries ignited discussions on the legitimacy of labor unions in **collective bargaining**, sometimes giving rise to **yellow unions**.

**UNION GÉNÉRALE DES TRAVAILLEURS D'AFRIQUE NOIRE (UGTAN).** The UGTAN, or General Workers Union of Black Africa, was founded in 1957. The call for a centralized union in the African colonies of France took concrete shape with the creation of UGTAN during a meeting in **Benin**. UGTAN was under the leadership of **Ahmed Sékou Touré** from **Guinea**, one of the most prominent leaders in the struggle for independence in Africa. One year before, Sékou Touré already took the initiative to found the Confédération Générale du Travail Africain (General Confederation of African Labour). In 1959, a group split away and formed UGTAN-unitaire under the leadership of Alioune Cissé, erstwhile UGTAN general secretary. UGTAN-unitaire wanted to unite West African trade unions within the French Community but maintain independence from external international bodies. At its top, around 90 percent of the trade unions in French West Africa were affiliated with UGTAN. It did not, however, survive independence, each state having moved quickly to remove the national central trade union organization from any external influence. UGTAN disappeared in 1960.

**UNION NETWORK INTERNATIONAL GLOBAL UNION (UNI).** The UNI was formed on 1 January 2000 as Uni Network International, in response to the challenge of **globalization** to labor unions. It was founded by **Communications International**, the **Fédération Internationale des Employés, Techniciens et Cadres** (International Federation of Commercial, Clerical, Professional, and Technical Employees), the **International Graphical Federation**, and **Media Entertainment International**. Negotiations between these organizations for the formation of the UNI began in 1998. A prime goal of the UNI is to lobby the **International Labour Organization** and international trade unions in discussions on reforming the global economy, specifically improving the distribution of wealth.

The UNI is organized around 14 sectors: cleaning and security; commerce; finance; gaming; graphical and packaging; hair and beauty; information technology and services; media, entertainment, and arts; post and logistics; social insurance; sports; telecom; tourism; and temp and agency workers. Three groups cut across these sectors: **women**, **youth**, and professional and managerial staff. UNI has its global headquarters at Nyon, near Geneva, **Switzer-**

**land.** In 2009, the UNI claimed a **membership** of over 900 unions with 20 million members. In March 2009, UNI changed its name to UNI Global Union.

**UNION SHOP.** *See* CLOSED SHOP.

**UNION WAGE DIFFERENTIAL.** The union **wage** differential refers to the generally higher earnings of union members compared with **employees** who are not union members. In the **United Kingdom**, the differential is called the union wage premium. This differential is one way of directly measuring the economic effects of unions. In the **United States**, H. G. Lewis estimated that union members earned on average between 10 to 15 percent more than nonunion members between 1923 and 1929; this figure rose to about 25 percent for the period 1931–1933 and fell to between 10 and 20 percent during 1939–1941. Between 1945 and 1949, union members were estimated to earn only about 5 percent more than nonunion members. This gap widened to between 10 to 15 percent in 1957–1958 and has continued to exist. By 2002, the median earnings of **full-time** male employees who were union members were 16 percent higher than nonunion employees; for female full-time employees, the gap was 24 percent.

In 1998, full-time union members in **Canada** earned 22 percent more than full-time nonunion members. In contrast, in **Australia**, a country with a higher level of unionization than the United States, the union wage differential was much less, though it has widened in recent years. In 2007, Australian union members employed full-time earned 16 percent more than nonunion employees compared with 8 percent in 1990.

The reasons why union members earn more than employees who are not union members include their tendency to work in larger enterprises (which usually pay higher wages than smaller ones) and in **manufacturing** or **public-sector** industries. Research also found that in countries where union wage settlements frequently spill over into the nonunion sector a significant union wage differential hardly exists. *See also* APPENDIX D, TABLE 17.

**UNION WAGE PREMIUM.** *See* UNION WAGE DIFFERENTIAL.

**UNION-GOVERNMENT AGREEMENTS.** One of the features of relations between governments and unions since the 1940s has been efforts to enlist the support of unions in assisting economic growth. In the **Netherlands**, unions supported a government-controlled **wage** freeze from 1945 to 1960. In the **United Kingdom**, **Sweden**, and the **United States**, governments experimented with freezes on wages in the 1960s and 1970s as a means of controlling **inflation**; these schemes had mixed results. In 1974, for example,

the British **Labour Party** and the **Trades Union Congress** agreed to the Social Contract, which provided for a range of economic and social reforms in return for voluntary wage restraint by the trade unions.

It became evident that such schemes had little chance of success without a high level of cooperation by organized labor, which was difficult to achieve in inflationary periods. The acute economic difficulties of the late 1970s and early 1980s prompted governments in a number of countries to sign formal agreements with peak union organizations to achieve improved productivity, higher growth, and a range of other objectives. In September 1979, the **American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)** and the Jimmy Carter administration reached a national accord under which the unions agreed to restrain wage claims in return for a package of economic and social measures, but the accord lapsed with Carter's defeat by **Ronald Reagan**.

One of the most successful union-government agreements was made in the Netherlands and was named the Poldermodel: the unions agreed on a wage freeze from 1982 in exchange for a promised growth of jobs; **employers**, unions, and the government supported the treaty. The Accord between the **Australian Labor Party (ALP)** and the **Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU)** was a formal agreement regarding economic and social policy in February 1983. The Accord set out details of policies to be implemented when the ALP was elected to the federal government. It covered prices, wages, working conditions, nonwage incomes (for instance, earnings from dividends and interest), taxation, government expenditure, **social security**, and health. The Accord grew out of conferences between the ALP and the ACTU in 1979 over new approaches to economic management. The Accord was renegotiated seven times but ceased with the defeat of the Labor Party in the national elections of March 1996. The Accord has been credited with modest general increases in wages and lower levels of **labor disputes** since 1983.

In **Spain**, a social and economic pact between the government and the noncommunist federation of unions (Unión General de Trabajadores) was agreed on in October 1984 but broke down after 1986. An accord between unions, the government, and the employers was signed in **Portugal** in 1990 and was judged to have been a success in helping to modernize the economy and introduce social reforms; a new accord was signed in January 1996.

**Ireland** has also experimented with union-government agreements. In 1987, the Irish Congress of Trade Unions suggested to the government that there should be a conference to produce a national plan for economic growth, including pay and a range of social issues. Such a plan was produced; it was called the Programme for National Recovery. It operated for three years (1988-1990) and was generally judged to have been a considerable success. It was replaced by a second and broader program, the Programme for Eco-

conomic and Social Progress, in April 1991. The third program, the Programme for Competitiveness and Work, was negotiated in April 1994 and was intended to run until 1997. Unlike the Australian Accord, these programs have included employers and have been negotiated with conservative governments. In **Germany**, the federal Social-Democratic/Green coalition government set up the Alliance for Jobs, Training, and Competitiveness, a national forum of labor unions, employers, and government in 1999. **Israel** had a union–government agreement in 2007 to end a **strike** promising a 5 percent wage increase in the next two years and labor peace until 2009.

**UNISON.** UNISON was formed in the **United Kingdom** on 1 July 1993 from the merger of three **white-collar unions**: the **Confederation of Health Service Employees**, the **National Union of Public Employees**, and the **National and Local Government Officers’ Association**. Its full title is UNISON—the Public Service Union. Negotiations for the merger began in 1978 but took on greater urgency with declining **membership** in the late 1980s. In 1994, UNISON claimed 1.4 million members, of whom 71 percent were **women**. It is the largest labor union in the **Trade Union Congress** and one of the largest **public-sector** unions in Europe. In 2009, UNISON claimed a little over 1.3 million members and a little under that number in 2019. The membership of UNISON is diverse and includes frontline staff and managers working full- or part-time in local authorities, the National Health Service, **police**, colleges and schools, electricity, gas and water utilities, and public transportation.

**UNITE THE UNION.** Unite the Union was the largest labor union in the **United Kingdom** in 2010 and the fifth largest in the world. It formed from the amalgamation of **Amicus** (1.2 million members) and the **Transport and General Workers’ Union** (761,000 members) in May 2007. Known at first as the Amalgamated Union, it adopted its present name in May 2008 and is commonly known as just Unite. Unite is active in all sectors of the economy. In 2009, it claimed a **membership** of 1.6 million, which was a fall of 16 percent compared with 2008. In 2010, the fall seemed to have stopped, but in 2016 membership was only 1.2 million, of which 329,000 were **women**. This made Unison the second largest union in the United Kingdom.

**UNITED ARAB EMIRATES.** Labor unions, **collective bargaining**, and **strikes** are not permitted in the United Arab Emirates. However, a bill allowing the formation of unions was approved by the Ministry of Justice in 2004. This has not been passed, however. In 2001, 91 percent of the **labor force** were expatriates and liable to deportation if they formed unions or engaged in collective bargaining. In recent years, the Ministry of Labor and Social

Affairs has taken some action with regard to complaints of unpaid **wages** to expatriate workers. When thousands of foreign workers went on strike in 2008, they were deported. The **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** and its successor, the **International Trade Union Confederation**, have declared that organized labor has no rights in the United Arab Emirates. The situation did not change in the 2010s. In 2013, police intervention ended strike action by migrant workers; they were deported. Something similar happened in 2015, when riot police dispersed hundreds of migrant workers who protested over their low salaries. In this case, a quick agreement was reached with the company and no violence or arrests occurred. In September 2017, a bill was signed that for the first time guarantees domestic workers labor rights, including a weekly rest day, 30 days of paid annual leave, sick leave, and 12 hours of rest a day. However, the law still allows **employers** to charge reimbursement for recruitment expenses and other abuses.

**UNITED AUTO WORKERS (UAW).** The UAW—the general name for the United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America International Union—has been one of the leading unions in the **United States** since the 1930s. The UAW grew out of the Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union, which was formed in the early 1900s. Because of the metalworking nature of the industry, the union became party to many **jurisdictional** disputes with other unions, which led to the suspension of its charter by the **American Federation of Labor (AFL)** in 1918. The union was renamed the Automobile, Aircraft, and Vehicle Workers' Union of America; although its **membership** reached 40,000 in 1920, it collapsed during the 1920s.

Its revival in the 1930s occurred through the passage of the **National Industrial Recovery Act** in 1933 and the campaign by the AFL to recruit members in the auto industry. These efforts led to the formation of the National Council of Automobile Workers' Unions in 1934, but this did not satisfy the **employees'** demands for the AFL to charter an **industrial union** for the **industry**. The AFL issued a limited charter for the UAW in 1935. As before 1918, the UAW became embroiled in jurisdictional disputes with other unions. In 1936, it joined the Committee for Industrial Organizations, the forerunner of the **Congress of Industrial Organizations**, a move that led to the revocation of its charter by the AFL in 1938. The UAW was boosted by the militancy of the employees in the auto industry and during 1937 led successful campaigns for recognition by General Motors and Chrysler, campaigns that raised membership to 478,500 by 1939. Recognition by Ford came after violence against union organizers in the "**Battle of the Overpass**" (1937) and pressure from the federal government in 1941. In 1946, the moderate leader **Walter Reuther** emerged as the winner from a long factional battle within the UAW and dominated the union until his death in 1970. In



1945, the UAW had 891,800 members, making it briefly the largest union in the United States. Thereafter, its membership reflected the fortunes of the automobile industry; membership reached a peak of 1.3 million in 1955 but declined slowly after that time. In 2019, the UAW had about 400,000 (2009—513,000) employed members and over 580,000 (2009—575,000) members who were **retired employees** in the United States, **Canada**, and **Puerto Rico**. This changed relationship between active and retired members shows the problem facing many labor unions. *See also* PENSION.

**UNITED FOOD AND COMMERCIAL WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION (UFCW).** The UFCW is the second largest union in the **United States** along with the **American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees**. The UFCW was created in 1979 from the **amalgamation** of the Retail Clerks National Protective Association (formed in 1890) and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters (formed in 1897), with a combined **membership** of 1.1 million. The UFCW has maintained its membership largely through amalgamation. The UFCW absorbed the Retail, Wholesale Department Store Union (formed in the late 1930s) in 1993, the United Garment Workers of America (formed in 1891) in 1994, the United Textile Workers (formed in the late 1890s) in 1995, the Distillery Workers (formed in the mid-1940s) in 1995, and the International Chemical Workers Union (formed in 1944) in 1996. As a result of these mergers, the UFCW now covers a diverse range of industries and is particularly strong in food processing, which accounts for 70 percent of its members. The remaining 30 percent of members work in health care, insurance, department stores, garment **manufacturing**, distillery and wine making, chemical, and textiles. In 2001, the union had 1.4 million members, of whom 53 percent were **women**.

In October 2003, the UFCW declared a **strike** at a grocery in Southern California because the company Vons proposed changes to the new labor contract, including cuts in health care and **pension benefits** and the creation of a **two-tier system** in which new workers would be paid on a different schedule than existing workers. Other companies locked out their **employees** in reaction to the strike. The strike ended in February 2004 when the UFCW and affected companies reached a settlement agreement on a new contract. In 2005, the UFCW together with six other unions disaffiliated from the **American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations** to form **Change to Win**, but reaffiliated in 2013. In 2009, the UFCW had 1.3 million members in the United States and **Canada**, of whom 40 percent were young workers, which is remarkable considering the general problems organizing **youth**.

**UNITED KINGDOM.** Although covert organizations among **employees** are known to have existed throughout history, it was in 18th-century England that organized labor in the form that is most familiar today began to emerge. Between 1717 and 1800, 383 **labor disputes** are known to have occurred despite legal prohibitions on unions (called “combinations”) and **strikes**. Most of the strikes and unions were organized by **journeymen** tailors and weavers. These actions led to the first efforts at large-scale **industrial relations** legislation (as opposed simply to the repression of unions and strikes). For instance, the Spitalfields Act (1773) provided for the statutory setting of **wages** and piece rates; the level of wages could be proposed by a joint board of masters and journeymen.

From the late 18th century onward, organized labor was shaped by two great forces: the Industrial Revolution and the gradual growth of democracy in Great Britain. These two forces, particularly the indigenous development of the Industrial Revolution in Britain, meant that its organized labor assumed a different character from that of organized labor in other parts of Western Europe. Because of their outlawing by the **Combination Acts** of 1799 and 1800, unions often disguised their activities as those of **friendly societies**. Although these acts were repealed in 1824, they were followed by amending legislation in 1825 that reintroduced the common law of conspiracy for certain union actions such as **picketing**.

Nevertheless, unions survived; indeed, the modern use of the word *union* was current in the ship and shipbuilding trades by the mid-1820s. In 1826, a union formed by Manchester engineers became the ancestor of the **Amalgamated Society of Engineers**. In 1827, carpenters and joiners formed a union. Better communications, especially the introduction of a national postal service and the expansion of the **railroads**, assisted with the creation of national labor bodies. In 1842, the Miners' Association of Great Britain and Ireland was formed; it claimed 70,000 members but had collapsed by 1848. It is estimated that only about 10 percent of employees in skilled trades were members of unions (called societies). Significantly, the union men were paid for their work on the basis of custom, and the nonunion men were paid by market rates. According to the first directory of British labor unions, there were 290 unions in London in 1861.

Organized labor had also begun to play some role in the political system even though the restrictive franchise and the absence of payment of members of parliament limited its activities to lobbying and supporting occasional union officials as parliamentary candidates. In 1859, the National Association of United Trades for the Protection of Labour secured the Molestation of Workmen Act, which freed “peaceful” picketing from common-law actions. In 1851, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers was formed; it was followed by the formation of the **Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners** in 1860. Both unions were distinctive in founding branches in other coun-

tries. Another important development was the creation of federations of unions (trades councils) in the cities and large towns; the London Trades Council was formed in 1860.

The 1860s were a formative period in shaping British unionism. Its relative success and moderate behavior attracted favorable interest and comment from French and German visitors. In 1867, the Second Reform Act gave the vote to the better-off urban working class, who made up the bulk of union members at the time. In June 1868, the **Trades Union Congress (TUC)** was formed in Manchester; it became the largest and almost exclusive labor federation in Britain and was used as the model for the **American Federation of Labor** in the **United States** and **Canada** in 1881.

Before 1870, union **membership** was largely confined to skilled urban workers and to industries that relied for their labor on large, long-established working-class communities such as **coal mining** and textiles. In the comparatively prosperous early 1870s, other groups of employees formed unions: railroad employees (1871), gas workers, agricultural laborers, longshoremen, and builders' laborers (1872). The depression of the late 1870s reduced union numbers, but they rose again with the return of better conditions in the 1880s. The number of union members affiliated with the TUC rose from 289,000 in 1870 to 464,000 in 1880 and to 581,000 by 1886. As not all unions were affiliated with the TUC, these figures underestimate the real level of union membership. During the 1890s, the number of union members doubled from one to two million. The 1890s also saw the rise of a regional consciousness within Britain, as shown by the formation of the Irish Trades Union Congress in 1894 and the Scottish Trades Union Congress in 1897.

The ability of British organized labor to work within the political system through the Liberal Party reduced the imperative for it to form a separate political party despite pressure from its left wing, led by James Keir Hardie. It took the **Taff Vale Case** in 1901 to transform the Labour Representation Committee into the British **Labour Party** in 1906. Despite the legal uncertainties created by the Taff Vale Case and the **Osborne Judgement** in 1906, the number of union members grew from 2 to 4.1 million between 1900 and 1913. As well, the Labour Party increased in support and political experience. During World War I, the demands of total war led to governments co-opting the support of organized labor, as also occurred in **France**, the United States, and **Germany**. In Britain, members of the Labour Party were included in the cabinet for the first time in 1915. In 1917, Whitley councils, made up of representatives from unions and management, were set up in a number of industries. One unintended consequence of the Whitley councils was the promotion of unionism among employees of the national government. Between 1913 and 1920, the number of union members who were national government employees rose from 20,800 to 136,200.

In 1920, largely as a result of official encouragement of organized labor during World War I, union membership reached 8.3 million, or 48 percent of employees. Other aspects of this growth were an increase in **white-collar unionists** (who made up 15 percent of total union members by 1920) and the growth in the proportion of **women** labor union members (from 11 to 16 percent between 1913 and 1920). These changes reflected the rise in the number of **public-sector** union members (whose numbers rose from 394,100 in 1913 to 854,900 in 1920).

The generally depressed economic conditions of the 1920s gave rise to high levels of unemployment, which sapped union strength. There was a **lockout** by engineering **employers** in 1922, the first since 1897–1898, which forced a wage cut on the **industry**. The return to the gold standard increased the price of British exports and encouraged employers to reduce wages to compete, steps that added to labor unrest and erupted in the disastrous **British General Strike** of 1926. Persistent high unemployment for the rest of the 1920s cut union membership to 4.8 million by 1930 and lowered its coverage rate to 26 percent of employees. The main positive developments of the 1920s among the unions were the formation of the **Transport and General Workers' Union** in 1922 and the decision of the Amalgamated Engineering Union to admit lesser-skilled employees as members in 1926. After the severe depression of the early 1930s, union membership began to grow again, to reach 6.6 million by 1940.

During World War II, as in World War I, there was a resurgence of organized labor with the co-opting of both the Labour Party and the unions into the government and in the management of the economy. At the end of the war in 1945, union membership had grown to 7.8 million. As in other Western countries, organized labor in Britain had to expend some of its energy on resisting **communist** influence in a number of key unions. The **World Federation of Trade Unions** was set up in London in 1945, but its promise of a united global labor movement was dashed by its infiltration by the **Soviet Union**, a development that led organized labor in Britain, the United States, and other countries to form the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** in 1949.

Within Britain, union membership in the 1950s was stable: in 1960, 44 percent of employees were union members (the same level as in 1950) and 74 percent worked in **blue-collar** jobs. The importance of organized labor in the management of the postwar economy was recognized by governments, but their experiments with wage restraint schemes from 1948 to 1950 and from 1951 to 1964 did not attract general union cooperation. The Wilson (Labour) government, which was elected in 1964, was able to secure the participation of the unions in the Prices and Incomes Board, but its efforts to raise productivity were disappointing.

In the mid-1960s, the unions were the subject of close scrutiny by the **Donovan Commission**, which presented its report in 1968. But the voluntary approach advocated by the Donovan Commission was swept aside by official concern over Britain's poor economic performance and by frustration over unofficial labor disputes. Both the Conservatives (1968) and the Labour Party (1969) published policy papers that suggested ballots before unions could conduct strikes.

In 1979, organized labor in Britain claimed its highest ever membership—13.4 million—but this high-water mark was not maintained for long. The “**Winter of Discontent**” wave of strikes in 1978 and 1979 made organized labor unpopular and enabled the Conservative Party under Margaret Thatcher to easily win the May 1979 national elections and introduce a raft of measures, such as the **Employment Acts** and **privatization**, which brought about a radical change for the worse in the political and legal climate for organized labor. The process of consultation between the national government and the TUC that had begun during World War I and had accelerated during and after World War II was abruptly brought to a halt. The Employment Acts aim at restricting **closed shops**, picketing, and strikes without a ballot of members. The government also showed a determination to win confrontations with unions, a policy that was made plain by its defeat of the 12-month-long coal miners' strike in 1984–1985.

Since 1980, the British labor movement has been a case study of the “decline of labor,” caused by a mixture of economic and political forces. The recession of the early 1980s drastically cut employment in the older parts of **manufacturing** such as steelmaking and shipbuilding, industries that were strongholds of organized labor. Union membership figures from the Certification Office of Trade Unions and Employers' Associations show a fall of 3.7 million between 1980 and 1991, of which nearly 2.5 million occurred between 1980 and 1985. When considered annually, these falls corresponded closely to falls in manufacturing employment. The decline was not offset by the growth in employment in the **services sector** because of the diversity of this employment and its often **part-time** or casual nature, which made union recruitment difficult. Neither did the unions show an understanding of the need for recruiting drives in these new areas of employment.

The regional percentage distribution of union members has been relatively stable since 1984, but there have been substantial general declines in the proportion of employees who were union members between 1995 and 2010. In London, the proportion of employees who were union members fell from 30 to 22 percent. In the North West, the fall was from 39 to 31 percent. Over this period, the national proportion of employees who were union members fell from 32 to 27 percent. At the same time, the level of unionization remained higher in Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland, and the north of England than in southern England.

The 1980s saw the continued decline in the number of small unions, which were usually absorbed by larger ones. From a peak of 1,384 unions in 1920, the number of unions fell to 453 by 1979, to 254 by 1993, and to 179 by 2010. The most important union **amalgamations** since 1992 were those between the Amalgamated Engineering Union and the Electrical Electronic Telecommunication and Plumbing Union in 1992, and the mergers that created **UNISON** in 1993, **Amicus** in 2002, and **Unite the Union** in 2007.

Ironically, it was under the Thatcher government that the quality of statistics about labor union members improved markedly, with the introduction of an annual **labor force** survey based on households beginning in 1989. Although Thatcher was replaced as Conservative leader by John Major in 1990, the antiunion policies she had begun continued. On 1 May 1997, the Labour Party (now called “New Labour”) under Tony Blair won a landslide victory at the national elections and maintained his majority with a second large win in June 2001. However, the change of government made little difference to organized labor. The Employment Acts were not repealed, and the government, mindful of public resentment over the strikes during the “Winter of Discontent,” was careful to keep its distance from organized labor. In turn, the left wing of organized labor has been critical of the New Labour, accusing it of being too close to big business and ignoring the concerns of Labour voters.

During the term of the successive Labour governments that lasted until 2010, the long-term decline in labor union membership continued. Between 1997 and 2010, the number of union members fell from 6.9 to 6.5 million and the proportion of employees who were union members fell from 31 to 27 percent. When in 2012 membership dropped below six million members, this was the first time since the 1940s. In 2018, the TUC had 5.6 million members and trade **union density** had fallen to 23.5 percent. Much of this decline has occurred because of a fall in the number of male union members. Since 2005, the majority of British union members have been women, the first time this has happened anywhere in the world. In 2010, women accounted for 55 percent of the membership of British organized labor. In 2016, a new Industrial Act included restrictions on trade union activities and the right to strike. All strike ballots need a 50 percent turnout, and especially the required 40 percent yes votes in important public services was criticized by the Committee of Experts of the **International Labour Organization**, but this critique was to no avail. Mainly because of this act and the pressure on **collective bargaining** that resulted from the financial crisis and following austerity measures, the **International Trade Union Confederation** labeled the United Kingdom as a country with regular **violations of union rights**. In 2019, the TUC proudly announced that membership had increased for the second

consecutive year and for the fourth time in the last seven years. Thanks to a boost in public-sector membership, trade union membership had now grown to 6.35 million.

**UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA (UMWA).** From about 1905 to 1939, the UMWA was the largest labor union in the **United States**. As in the **United Kingdom**, the home of many of the first generation of U.S. coal miners, organization among miners began at a regional level. A Miners' Association was formed in St. Clair County, Illinois, in 1861; it became the American Miners' Association in 1863, by which time it had spread to the coalfields of Missouri, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. Its success proved short-lived; although it claimed 20,000 members, it had largely collapsed by 1866. Unionism was revived in the late 1870s by the miners of Hocking Valley, Ohio, who formed a new union in 1882. In 1883, the Amalgamated Association of Miners of the United States was formed based largely on the coalfields of Ohio and Pennsylvania. A new body, the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, was formed in Indianapolis in 1885. In 1886, the **Knights of Labor** formed a second national miners' union, the Miner and Mine Laborers' National District Assembly No. 135. To avoid competition between the two bodies, a joint conference agreed to the organization of the National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Laborers, but the Knights of Labor body continued to operate more or less independently.

Finally, in January 1890, the National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Laborers was reformed as the United Mine Workers of America and was recognized by the **American Federation of Labor (AFL)**. Major defeats in **strikes** and the economic depression of the 1890s reduced the UMWA to only 10,000 members in the mid-1890s, but an unexpectedly successful **general strike** in the bituminous **coal mining** industry in 1898 (which gained its participants a standard **wage** and the eight-hour workday) boosted **membership** from 97,000 in 1898 to 250,100 by 1904. The UMWA's leader, John Mitchell, used the victory to organize the miners on the anthracite coalfields of western Pennsylvania. In 1902, the UMWA won a famous victory in its strike on the anthracite coalfields after the personal intervention of President Theodore Roosevelt.

Despite the failure to organize the miners of West Virginia and elsewhere, the membership of the UMWA grew to nearly four million by 1920, when the controversial **John L. Lewis** became its president, an office he held until 1960. Under Lewis, the UMWA became a far more centralized body and played a significant role in labor **politics**, notably through the formation of the **Congress of Industrial Organizations**. When it withdrew from the AFL in 1947, it followed an independent path. The union's history has also been marked by corruption, of which the 1969 murder of Joseph Yablonski is the most infamous instance. Yablonski ran for union presidency against William

Anthony “Tough Tony” Boyle, who was later convicted of ordering the murder. The killing of Yablonski gave rise to the birth of the “Miners for Democracy” movement, which replaced the Boyle regime with leaders who had been most recently **rank-and-file** miners. New president Miller reformed the UMWA into a more democratic organization.

Boyle’s leadership and the diminished importance of coal as an energy source reduced the membership of the UMWA to 213,100 by 1973, compared with its peak of 500,000 in 1945. In 1989, when the UMWA affiliated with the **American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations**, it claimed a membership of 150,000. In 2010, there were only 55,000 union members employed in mining (compared with 66,000 in 2001) or 8 percent of mining employees. In the recent past, the UMWA also started organizing health-care workers, truck drivers, **manufacturing** workers, and public employees in the United States and **Canada**. *See also* MINEWORKERS’ FEDERATION OF GREAT BRITAIN (MWF).

**UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.** Organized labor in the United States emerged in the late 18th century but was largely confined to Philadelphia and New York. British **immigration** injected **journeymen** and their working habits and attitudes into the colonial economy. A register of immigrants to North America compiled between 1773 and 1776 showed that, of the 6,190 whose **occupations** were known, 49 percent were artisans, mechanics, or craftsmen. During the 1780s, journeymen and their **employers** in Philadelphia began to meet annually to negotiate their **wages**. The first **strike** in a single trade (**printing**, 1786) and in the building trade (1791) also occurred in Philadelphia. The first formal labor union likewise was formed in Philadelphia in 1794 by shoemakers. The union lasted until 1806, when it was made defunct by an adverse court decision. What little union growth occurred after 1806 was destroyed by the depression of 1819. Unions began to reappear in 1822. In 1827, the first citywide federation of unions was formed at Philadelphia. This federation, along with other federations, was the basis of the 12 Workingmen’s political parties, which operated in the late 1820s and early 1830s. The General Trades Union was formed in New York in 1833. Despite these activities, union **membership** was small; there were only about 44,000 in 1835, and in the financial crash of 1837 organized labor collapsed.

Unions did not experience a significant revival until the 1850s; the first national unions began to emerge in the 1850s (e.g., National Typographical Union and the National Molders’ Union). The labor shortages and industrial production related to the Civil War set a favorable context for union growth during the war. By 1864, there were 270 unions with a total membership of about 200,000. The growth of industrialization after the Civil War accentuated the worst features of the capitalist economy that had been previously



evident, namely, long hours and low wages. Old skills became obsolete, and the general trend of economic development reduced opportunities for self-employment and independence. **Agriculture** no longer offered the escape valve it had before the Civil War. In addition, mass immigration kept the wages of the unskilled low in the major cities. In 1869, the **National Labor Union** was formed but was unable to provide leadership for labor either politically or industrially. In any case, organized labor suffered greatly following the financial crisis of 1873, which reduced the number of national unions from 30 to 9 by 1877 and the number of union members from 300,000 to about 50,000. Although organized labor was weak in the late 1870s, there was no shortage of discontent, as proved by the massive violent national **railroad** strikes in 1877, or of labor activity, as shown by the conversion of the **Knights of Labor** into a national body and the formation in 1878 of the first organization that aspired to organize unskilled workers on a mass basis, the short-lived International Labor Union (ILU).

The 1880s saw the emergence of mass unionism in the United States for the first time; there were over a million union members by 1886, of whom 70 percent were members of the Knights of Labor (which realized the ILU's vision more successfully than the ILU itself), but this success disguised serious weaknesses. What advances labor achieved were through the cooperation of **craft union** members in skilled occupations; without this support, the unskilled union members could achieve little. Moreover, much of the membership was new to unionism, and its discontent over wages and hours of work applied to immigrants in the large cities. This, and the association of labor with violent protests, made it possible for organized labor to be portrayed as something foreign and outside of mainstream American society, which still had strong agricultural roots.

In 1881, the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States of America and Canada (FOTLU) at its founding congress initiated the struggle for the eight-hour day. Five years later the **American Federation of Labor (AFL)** was founded from FOTLU. In 1884, the FOTLU had unanimously set 1 May 1886 as the date by which the eight-hour workday would become standard. On Saturday, 1 May, rallies were held throughout the United States by at least 300,000 workers. On 3 May at Haymarket Square in Chicago, a rally met with police force, leaving two workers dead. A day later, eight policemen were killed by a bomb attack at the same square, which was unjustly credited to **anarchists**. Four of them were executed and one committed suicide in prison; the others were pardoned in 1893.

After the Haymarket affair, it took until 1888 before the AFL decided to campaign for the shorter workday again. The date of 1 May 1890 was chosen as the day on which workers would strike for **shorter working hours**. The international **socialist** movement decided to join this fight for a universal eight-hour workday.

The demise of the Knights of Labor in the 1890s and the relative success of the better-paid **employees** represented by the craft unions of the AFL also reinforced, as well as reflected, the far wider dispersal in earnings between the skilled and unskilled compared with the **United Kingdom**. This dispersal was mainly the result of the fact that skilled labor always seemed to be in shorter supply in the United States than in Europe, creating leverage for skilled workers. The barriers to organized labor achieving the fairly high coverage of nonagricultural employees that prevailed in Western Europe and Australasia by 1913 were formidable. They included enormous **racial and ethnic** divisions; a generally hostile legal environment; and strong, well-organized employers. The AFL added to these barriers by its unwillingness to build a mass union movement among the unskilled, leaving the task to alternative bodies such as the **Industrial Workers of the World**, which challenged the AFL during the years between 1905 and 1917, and the **Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)**, which was formed by unions that seceded from the AFL in the 1930s.

But it was in its attitude to **politics** that American organized labor showed its greatest distinctiveness from the labor movements of other Western nations. In Western Europe and Australasia, labor unions by 1900 were closely associated with **social-democratic, socialist, and labor political parties**. In the United States, this kind of permanent relationship did not exist (though this is not to say that the AFL did not participate in politics). The AFL's leadership regarded these relationships with intense suspicion and developed an ideology of **voluntarism**, which put it at odds with bodies such as the **International Federation of Trade Unions**. That ideology, which emerged from the AFL leaders' encounters with hostile courts and unsuccessful efforts to secure legislative reforms, held that workers needed to look to their unions to win better working conditions and that any state intervention was likely to favor employers' interests. Thus the AFL came to oppose **minimum wages** and other social legislation. But the AFL's voluntarist vision had limited reach. By 1930, only 9 percent of American employees were union members, the same level that had been reached in 1913.

The election of the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration in 1933 and its prolabor stance, as shown by its **National Labor Relations Act (1935)**, enabled the emergence of the CIO and its recruitment of millions of semi-skilled employees into the ranks of organized labor. The CIO broke with the AFL's craft-based voluntarism and established unions in auto, steel, and electrical **manufacturing**. The CIO's growth, along with the advantages of

government support and labor shortages created by World War II, was the main reason for raising the proportion of employees in unions to 28 percent by 1950, a good result for American labor but a low figure by Western European and Australasian standards. The proportion of American employees who were union members peaked at 32 percent in 1953 but declined steadily thereafter. The public reputation of organized labor suffered in the 1950s and 1960s with well-publicized inquiries into corruption within certain unions, notably the **Teamsters**. As in other Western economies, the effect of technological change whittled away at the parts of the **labor force** where labor was traditionally strong such as **coal mining**, steel, printing, and the railroads. At the same time, the labor force saw a general shift toward **white-collar** employment and a rising number of **women** employees. Union recruitment of new members was also hampered by **right-to-work laws** in many states. The United States is one of the very few industrialized countries that has not ratified the **International Labour Organization** Convention Nos. 87 (Freedom of Association and the Right to Organize, 1948) and 98 (Right to Organize and Collective Bargaining, 1949).

Politically, organized labor was just one interest group among many, and, although since 1936 it has been allied with the Democratic Party, this alliance has not protected it from antilabor forces within the party. Among reformers, organized labor also suffered from its conservative posture, particularly its slowness in dealing with racial discrimination. From 1980, organized labor in the United States, as in other countries, entered a prolonged crisis, which was epitomized by severe slumps in steelmaking and automobile manufacturing, industries characterized by outmoded production methods. It also faced a hostile political climate under the Republican presidencies of **Ronald Reagan** (1981–1989) and George H. W. Bush (1989–1993). Between 1983 and 1993, the proportion of employees who were union members fell from 20 to 16 percent. Bill Clinton's election to the presidency in 1993—the first Democrat administration since 1981—brought some benefits to organized labor; for example, an antiunion presidential order concerning federal contractors was rescinded. However, in November 1994, the Democrats lost control of both the House of Representatives and the Senate to the Republicans, which limited Clinton's ability to introduce pro-union policies for the rest of his administration. In the same year, Clinton successfully extended the North American Free Trade Agreement to Mexico, a move opposed by organized labor, even though it included a very weak subagreement on workers' rights. Also in 1994, the Commission on the Future of Worker-Management Relations drew attention to the continued prevalence of concerted employer hostility to organized labor, as shown by practices such as **union busting**, the illegal firing of union supporters trying to form unions in nonunionized workplaces, and a general lack of acceptance of the legitimacy of unions in democratic society, in contrast to Western Europe.

During the Clinton administration (1993–2000), the number of U.S. union members fell slightly from 16.6 to 16.3 million, despite substantial economic growth between 1994 and 2000. Although the presidency of George W. Bush (2001–2009) was predictably antiunion in its policies, U.S. organized labor continued to suffer from long-term problems, some of which are of its own making. Notable among these is a poor public image and an association with racketeering and violence based on events from the 1930s into the 1970s. Under **John Sweeney**, who was elected president of the **American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)** in 1995 and has stated that the George W. Bush administration is “the most anti-worker government since Herbert Hoover,” labor began to address this problem by broadening the scope of organized labor to include social issues such as **education**, health, and **pensions** and by greater participation in grassroots campaigns. But Sweeney’s efforts to revive the labor movement did not reverse union declines, which led four of the AFL-CIO’s five largest unions to withdraw from the federation in 2005 to form a revival union center called **Change to Win**.

Both the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** and the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** have long been critical of the United States in their surveys of **violations of trade union rights**. Their complaints include the legal exclusion of more than 30 million employees from **collective bargaining**, the harassment of labor union members, the active discouragement of attempts to form unions in the private sector, and legal restrictions on the right to strike and collective bargaining in the **public sector**. In 2003, the ICFTU claimed that at least 10 percent of union supporters trying to form a union were illegally fired. Organized labor actively supported the presidential campaign of Barack Obama in 2009, but his administration delivered little in return. In 2011, there were large-scale protests in Wisconsin, Ohio, and Indiana against laws limiting union rights.

The membership of labor unions in the United States has always varied greatly between states. In 2010, the three states with the highest union membership levels were New York (24 percent), Alaska (23 percent), and Hawaii (22 percent). The three states with the lowest **union density** levels were Arkansas, Georgia (both with 4 percent), and North Carolina (3 percent). In 2016, national trade union density was 10.3 percent, and the collective bargaining rate was 11.5 percent. These low figures are a clear indication of the trade union movement’s overall weakness in the United States. The strength of the trade union movement was also hampered when in 2016 Donald Trump was chosen as the country’s president. Although he paid lip-service to the working class to win the election, he soon showed that his sympathy lies not with workers and their unions. Trump wasted no time in rolling back regulations that gave workers some protection, such as the rule requiring companies to keep records of worker injuries. The Trump administration

removed this rule. In 2018, the ITUC mentioned in its survey of violations of trade union rights the dismissal of 1,700 employees because they were union members.

**UNITED STEELWORKERS (USW).** *See* UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA (USWA).

**UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA (USWA).** Despite promising beginnings, the steel **industry** of the **United States** was a mainly nonunion industry until 1936. The first union was formed by skilled British puddlers in Pittsburgh in 1857. They were joined by the formation of a union among skilled workers in the furnaces and rolling mills in 1861. A united industry union of skilled workers, the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers of the United States, was formed in Pittsburgh in 1876. By 1891, this union claimed 24,000 members, but in 1892 it suffered a crushing defeat in a **strike** to resist **wage** cuts by the Carnegie Steel Company at Homestead, Pennsylvania. In the following years, the Amalgamated proved incapable of meeting the enormous managerial and technological changes that came into steelmaking in the 1890s and 1900s. In particular, the unions faced a general deskilling of jobs, which greatly reduced their bargaining power. Lesser-skilled jobs meant that wages could be kept low and that immigrants could be easily recruited. In 1909, the largest steel company, the United States Steel Company, refused to recognize the association and defeated it in a strike. The company was able to maintain a union-free **labor force** until 1937. By 1912, the United States steelmaking industry was a byword for high productivity but low wages and long **working hours**. Discontent among its **employees** led to the great strike of 1919, which was organized by the **American Federation of Labor (AFL)** through its Iron and Steel Organizing Committee. Despite 300,000 taking part, the strike ended after three and a half months on 8 January 1920 in the utter defeat of the strikers.

The **National Industrial Recovery Act** of 1933 laid the foundation for a revival of unionism in the steel industry. In 1934, the AFL began a campaign to recruit union members in the steel industry, but these efforts were frustrated by the leadership of the Amalgamated, which wanted its almost defunct union to lead the campaign; it was then swept aside in 1936 by the **Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)**, which launched its own campaign to unionize the industry. Led by **Philip Murray** on behalf of **John L. Lewis**, the aim of the campaign was to build an **industrial union** for the steel industry and to increase the bargaining power of the **United Mine Workers of America** in negotiating with steel companies that owned **coal mines**. The CIO recruited 200,000 steelworkers for the Steel Workers' Organizing Com-

mittee, and in secret discussions Lewis secured not only recognition for the committee from U.S. Steel in March 1937 but also a 10 percent wage increase, an eight-hour workday, and a 40-hour workweek. However, the CIO's campaign against the independent steel producers was defeated by violence and a downturn in the demand for steel. **Police** killed 10 strikers and wounded 80 at the steelworks of the Republic Steel Company in South Chicago in May 1937.

In 1942, the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee was reorganized as the United Steelworkers of America and was forced to use the National War Labor Board to compel the independent steel producers to engage in **collective bargaining**. Murray led the USWA from its formation to his death in 1952. In 1946, the USWA conducted a monthlong strike throughout the industry, which yielded it a large pay increase. Through strikes in 1949 and 1952 and bargaining, the USWA gained the closed or **union shop** and a **pension** scheme for members. Defeat in the strike of 1959 against management's attempt to change work rules and a downturn in the national economy caused the USWA's **membership** to fall from 1.2 million in 1956 to 876,000 in 1965. By 1975, membership had recovered to the one million mark, but the worldwide crisis in the steel industry in 1982–1983 caused membership to fall to 572,000 by 1985 and to 459,000 by 1992. In 2005, the USWA and the Paper, Allied-Industrial, Chemical and Energy Workers International Union merged to form the largest industrial union in North America, the United Steel, Paper and Forestry, Rubber, Manufacturing, Energy, Allied Industrial and Service Workers International Union (in short, United Steelworkers [USW]). With more than 850,000 workers in over 8,000 bargaining units in the United States, **Canada**, and the Caribbean, USW was the largest **industrial union** in North America. In 2008, USW merged with **Unite the Union** to form **Workers Uniting**.

**UNIVERSAL ALLIANCE OF DIAMOND WORKERS (UADW).** The UADW **international trade secretariat** was formed in Antwerp in 1905, although international conferences among diamond **employees** began in 1889. By 1913, the UADW had 22,700 members. Between 1975 and 1992, **membership** in the UADW was stationary at about 10,000. The UADW was one of 16 international trade secretariats associated with the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** in 1995. In November 2000, the UADW merged with the **International Federation of Chemical, Energy, Mine, and General Workers' Unions**. At the time of its merger, the UADW had about 100,000 members. One of its last acts was to accuse the diamond **industry** of financing wars in **Angola**, Democratic Republic of the **Congo**, **Liberia**, and **Sierra Leone**.

**URUGUAY.** Organized labor in Uruguay was imported by European **immigration**; **strikes** were recorded by 1884, and the first union congress was held in 1896 to campaign for the eight-hour day. By 1930, there were 28,000 union members in Uruguay. Organized labor was politically divided, mainly between **socialists** and **communists**. Uruguay was represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** between 1951 and 1975. In June 1973, organized labor conducted a **general strike** against the military government's economic program that was defeated and ushered in a highly repressive response. The ICFTU representative in 1975 was the Confederación General de Trabajadores del Uruguay (General Confederation of Uruguay Workers) with 40,000 members. It had existed in various forms since 1951, but was disaffiliated after it came under strict **government control**. Uruguay's government became one of the world's worst offenders of **human rights** abuses, and the country has not been represented in the ICFTU since the 1970s. In 2001, there were about 120,000 union members in Uruguay. In 2004, a leftist government won the elections and changed the state's attitude toward labor and trade unions. This new attitude also gave way to an unprecedented growth of unionization, 300 percent between 2005 and 2012. The Plenario Intersindical de Trabajadores–Convención Nacional de Trabajadores (PIT-CNT, Interunion Assembly of Workers–National Workers Convention) is the most well-known national trade union federation. It was founded in 1964 as the Convención Nacional de Trabajadores (CNT, National Workers' Convention) but was dissolved. In the wake of a general strike in 1973, 18 of its members "disappeared." Ten years later in 1983, activities resumed under the name Plenario Intersindical de Trabajadores (PIT). PIT too was banned after a general strike in 1985. Later that year, the union was restored under the present name. PIT-CNT counts 120,000 members but has not been represented in **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**, but it is affiliated with the **World Federation of Trade Unions**. The ITUC mentioned several occasions of antiunion activities in its recent surveys of **violations of trade union rights**.

**UZBEKISTAN.** Uzbekistan has been independent of the former **Soviet Union** since August 1991; independent organized labor has failed to emerge in Uzbekistan because of the country's lack of economic and social development. The Federation of Trade Unions of Uzbekistan (FTUU), the survivor of the former Soviet trade union, is effectively under **government control**. Uzbekistan has never been represented in either the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** or the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**. In contrast, the FTUU is a member of the **General Confederation of Trade Unions (GCTU)**. In 2017, the ITUC once again concluded

that the “FTUU is not a democratic or independent workers’ organization and does not share or adhere to the values, principles and goals declared by the ITUC.”



# V

**VANDOR, AUGUSTO (1923–1969).** A leader of organized labor in **Argentina**, Vandor began his working life in the navy from 1940 to 1950. After leaving the navy, he joined the Philips factory in Buenos Aires. There he became the steward of the Philips factory local of the Unión Obrera Metalúrgica (UOM), or Metalworkers' Union, and in 1954 led a **strike** for better pay at the facility. He gained a reputation for strategic thinking that earned him the nickname of *El Lobo* (the Wolf). He became prominent in the UOM but was arrested following the overthrow of the Perón administration in 1955. Introduced to Perón, who was in exile in Santo Domingo in 1958, Vandor was elected secretary general of the UOM, which was the largest union of the Confederación General del Trabajo (CGT), or General Confederation of Labor. He represented labor as the leading CGT political strategist and helped the failed efforts to slip Perón into Argentina in 1964. Vandor, fearing that Perón might never manage to return to Argentina, became increasingly critical of Perón. This put him in conflict with the CGT secretary general, José Alonso. They both were candidates in the Mendoza Province gubernatorial campaign, but a conservative candidate was ultimately elected. The rivalry between the two union leaders grew even further, resulting in the ousting of Alonso in 1966 and a split in the CGT. The Onganía military dictatorship drove the two opposing rivals back to each other, after which they made common cause in the view that it was better to negotiate with the regime than to express outright opposition, moves that led to opposition from Perón and the Graphists' Union to the candidacy of Vandor for CGT secretary general in 1968. Augusto Vandor eventually reconciled himself with Perón but was assassinated in 1969 at his UOM offices, probably by a far-left Perónist group.

**VANUATU.** Vanuatu has been independent of the **United Kingdom** and **France** since July 1980 and was formerly known as the New Hebrides. Organized labor in Vanuatu has developed since the 1970s. After its founding in 1985, the Vanuatu Council of Trade Unions (VCTU) with 1,500 members joined the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** in

1988. It remained an affiliate until 2006 but at first did not join the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**. Since 1994, when **strikes** and a conflict with the government were met with dismissals and antistrike legislation, **membership** has declined. Recently, the VCTU started growing again and also joined the ITUC with 1,853 members. In 2017, migrant workers from Vanuatu who worked on special visas in **Australia** as tomato pickers were pressured by the hiring firm to leave the trade union they just joined.

**VATICAN.** Independent from **Italy** since February 1929, the Vatican was represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** from 1987 by the Associazione Dipendenti Laici Vaticani (Association of Vatican Lay Workers, founded in 1985), which organized the first **strike** in 1988. In 1992, there was a conflict between the Vatican and the union over **pensions**. One year later, the authorities formally recognized the union. It had about 300 members in 2010, a number roughly the same in 2018.

**VENEZUELA.** Organized labor developed in secret during the dictatorship of General Juan Vicente Gómez between 1908 and 1935. After Gómez's death in 1935, Venezuela began to move gradually toward democracy, aided by organized labor in alliance with peasants and students. The Confederación de Trabajadores de Venezuela (CTV), or Confederation of Workers of Venezuela, was formed in December 1936. Also in 1936, organized labor formed a **socialist** political party, Acción Democrática (Democratic Action), to work for democracy and social change. The CTV was weakened by divisions between supporters of Democratic Action and **communists**. In 1941, organized labor was legalized, and in 1945 a military coup brought in a democratic government. Democratic Action won the 1947 elections, but a military counter coup on 24 November 1948 ousted the government and repressed organized labor. The CTV was formally dissolved by the government on 25 February 1949. Democratic rule was not restored until January 1958 following a **general strike**. The CTV was a member in exile of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** from 1951 (when it claimed 200,000 members) and was a full member from 1959. In 2001, it claimed 750,700 members. Although both the Employment Law of 1990 and the 1999 constitution promote **freedom of association**, the ICFTU noted continued government interference in the affairs of organized labor in its global reports for successive years, particularly the efforts of the government led by socialist Hugo Chávez to replace organized labor with **government control of organized labor**-style organizations. Between December 2002 and February 2003, there was an unsuccessful general strike in Venezuela led by oil workers against the Chávez government. In 2006, the Coca-Cola Company successfully avoided **collective bargaining**, despite a 24-hour strike on 2

October. The **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** has continued to report that Venezuelan organized labor is forced to operate in a hostile and violent political environment. Between 2006 and 2010, the number of labor union members fell from 475,500 to 370,000. After 2013, when the Chávez administration was succeeded by the Maduro, the problems augmented. Apart from the authoritarian government, there has been violent crime, all kinds of shortages, high **inflation**, and a stream of people fleeing the country. The ITUC in 2018 judged that systematic violations of rights reigns in Venezuela and gave a number of examples in its survey of **violations of trade union rights**. The most recent figures published by the **International Labour Organization** are proof of the weakness of organized labor; trade **union density** was 0.2 percent in 2012, and the collective bargaining rate did not exceed 2.5 percent in the same year. The number of trade union members affiliated with the ITUC, on the other hand, grew from 370,000 to 669,000 between 2010 and 2018.

**VER.DI.** Ver.di, the shortened name of Vereinte Dienstleistungsgewerkschaft (United Services Labor Union), is one of the largest labor unions in the world with 2.3 million members. It was formed in **Germany** on 21 March 2001 by the **amalgamation** of five labor unions: Gewerkschaft Öffentliche Dienste, Transport und Verkehr (ÖTV), or Public Service, Transportation, and Traffic Labor Union, with 1.5 million members; the Deutsche Angestellten-Gewerkschaft (German Private Sector White-Collar Labor Union) with 450,000 members; the Gewerkschaft Handel, Banken und Versicherungen (Commerce, Banking, and Insurance Labor Union) with 440,600 members; the Deutsche Postgewerkschaft (German Postal Labor Union) with 446,000 members; and the Industriegewerkschaft Medien (Media Industrial Labor Union) with 175,000 members. Negotiations for the creation of Ver.di began in November 1998. The purpose of the merger was to arrest the decline in the **membership** of the unions (four constituent unions had 3.4 million members in 1996) and to enable them to compete with large **employers**. In his inaugural address in Berlin, the president of Ver.di who remained in office until 2019, Frank Bsirske, formerly of the ÖTV, stressed the need to recruit new members among **youth** (those under 30) and in the former East Germany. Ver.di organizes **employees** from more than 1,000 professions. Between 2001 and 2010, the membership of Ver.di fell from 3 to 2.1 million, and it continued to fall to two million in 2018, but it was still one of the largest labor unions in the world.

**VIETNAM.** Organized labor in Vietnam originated in the participation by some Vietnamese intellectuals in labor affairs in **France** during World War I. Using this experience, they set up some unions in Vietnam (then French

Indochina), beginning in Hanoi in 1920. Most labor organizing thereafter was carried out by **communists**. In 1929, the communists formed a labor federation as part of the struggle for independence from French rule, the Red Workers' General Union (RWGU). By 1930, the federation claimed 6,000 members, but it was crushed in 1930–1931 during a major peasant uprising against the French. Despite a new labor code and more toleration of labor organizations in the Popular Front period (1936–1939), these initiatives proved short-lived in the face of widespread discontent in Vietnam, the fall of the Léon Blum government in France, and the start of World War II. During the war, Vietnam was occupied by **Japan**. After the war, a fight for independence resulted in the division of the country into a northern part ruled by communists and a southern part supported by Western powers.

In 1946, the North Vietnamese government revived the RWGU as the Vietnam General Confederation of Labor (VGCL) on the Soviet model. In what was South Vietnam, the French **Catholic** labor federation, the Confédération Française des Travailleurs Chrétiens, was instrumental in forming the Confédération Vietnamienne du Travail (Vietnamese Confederation of Labor), which was based on unions among rice growers and **employees** in river transportation and later claimed 500,000 members. Two other labor federations were formed in 1952 and 1953, but they never had more than 70,000 members between them. In 1959, Vietnam was represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** by the Union Ouvrière du Viet-nam (Union of Vietnamese Workers), but this body had ceased to be affiliated by 1965. After the reunification of Vietnam, which was the outcome of the Vietnam War, during which the **United States** tried to keep at least the south of the country in its sphere of influence, the VGCL subsumed the labor organizations of the South.

With the opening of the Vietnamese economy to foreign investment and enterprises in the late 1980s, there was widespread exploitation manifested in long hours, low pay, and physical abuse. The federation, with assistance provided by the **Australian** chapter of the **International Labour Organization**, persuaded the National Assembly at the end of June 1994 to approve a new labor code. The code obliged every foreign joint venture to establish a trade union within six months of beginning operations, allowed the employees of such enterprises the right to **strike**, set up independent courts of **conciliation and arbitration**, protected these employees from wrongful dismissal, and required retrenched employees to be paid severance pay. The first legal strike under the code occurred in August 1994. In 2002, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ICFTU)** reported that although labor unions were controlled by the VGCL, some strike action was tolerated and there were indications of independent activity among sections of the **labor force**, for example, among taxi drivers, market porters, and cooks. It also reported that there had been violence toward employees at some foreign-

owned companies. In 2009, the ICFTU wrote that, although the Vietnamese government further restricted the right to strike, 762 illegal strikes occurred in 2008. The global economic crisis and the subsequent loss of jobs caused a drop in the number of strikes to 216 in 2009. Vietnam has never been affiliated with the **International Trade Union Confederation**; the VGCL is and was affiliated with the **World Federation of Trade Unions**. Although there have been signs of efforts by the VGCL to move away from the **government control of organized labor**, so far it is for the most part a government-run puppet of the Communist Party. Independent unions still face many problems in Vietnam. Their leaders are often dismissed, and strikes are still illegal in practice although hundreds occur.

**VIOLATIONS OF TRADE UNION RIGHTS.** An annual survey conducted since 1984 by the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** and the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** since 2006. The survey documents the condition of organized labor according to the relevant conventions of the **International Labour Organization (ILO)**. The survey includes information on labor union members murdered or assassinated, injured, arrested, or dismissed, by continent. The survey is one of the main ways the ITUC reports on the effectiveness of the ILO's **international standard setting** and is a prime source of information on the state of organized labor in the world.

**VOLUNTARISM.** *Voluntarism* is a term with two different meanings. In the **United States**, it referred to a doctrine subscribed to by the **American Federation of Labor (AFL)** and promoted by **Samuel Gompers** from the late 1890s to the early 1930s that stressed the need for organized labor to rely on its own resources for gaining improvement in pay and conditions and not on **politics** or political parties. Voluntarism saw a separation between the political process and organized labor, though the doctrine did not exclude lobbying political parties for favors. Voluntarism was strengthened within the AFL after its crushing failure to organize the steel **industry** in 1919. The doctrine suited workers in skilled unions that could provide welfare **benefits** to members but ignored the lesser skilled **employees**.

In the **United Kingdom**, the term *voluntarism* usually refers to the abstaining by the state from intervention in labor relations, particularly **labor disputes**, except to support or extend **collective bargaining**. For example, the Advisory Conciliation and Arbitration Service, the British government agency that was established in 1974 to resolve labor disputes, can only operate if the parties to the dispute agree to its participation. Since 1980, British

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governments have shown a greater willingness to intervene in labor relations and have passed laws to regulate their internal management and behavior. *See also* EMPLOYMENT ACTS.

# W

**WAGES.** Wages, together with **working hours**, have traditionally been central topics for organized labor in **collective bargaining** with **employers**. Although the amount of wages was usually of most concern, the method and timing of payment also figured as issues in the 19th century. Payment in goods instead of money (or “**truck**”) was widespread in the **United Kingdom** in the early 19th century even though it was outlawed as early as 1411. Similarly, the common practice of monthly payment of wages imposed undue hardship on **employees** and forced them into debt to meet day-to-day living costs.

The ability of organized labor to raise wages largely depends on the condition of the trade cycle. One area of wages where organized labor has been traditionally most active is in maintaining the differentials between wages in **occupations** by means of margins such as for skill or seniority. With the generally higher level of union strength between 1940 and 1980 in most Western countries, organized labor has sought to use economic growth to extend wage claims to cover holidays, severance, and redundancy. It has also tried to use increased productivity as a means of raising wages. The importance of unions in economic management, particularly to control **inflation**, was recognized by government through various experiments in prices and income policies in the United Kingdom and the **United States** in the 1970s; they attempted to limit general increases in wages.

Official statistics from the United States have also shown important differences in the wages of employees who are members of unions and those who are not union members, not just that union members in general earned more than nonunion employees. For example, the U.S. Employment Cost Index shows that between 1975 and 1982 the wages of union members rose faster than nonunion employees but between 1982 and 1999, the percentage change in the pay of nonunion employees was higher than that of union members. Between 2001 and 2006, the total rise was higher for union members than nonunion employees. Similarly, a study of **labor statistics** for 2003 supported the historical observation that the presence of labor unions lowered wage dispersion in the workplace. More recent studies also suggest a connec-

tion between diminishing trade **union densities** and the falling labor share in the economies of the industrialized countries. *See also* SHORTER WORKING HOURS; UNION WAGE DIFFERENTIAL; UNION-GOVERNMENT AGREEMENTS.

**WAGNER ACT.** Officially known as the National Labor Relations Act, this U.S. federal law, named for its promoter, Senator Robert F. Wagner, was passed by the Senate 11 days before the **National Industrial Recovery Act** (1933) was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. The Wagner Act reaffirmed the legal right of organized labor to recruit and represent **employees in collective bargaining** without interference from **employers**. A National Labor Relations Board was created to administer the act. The scope of the act was amended by the **Taft-Hartley Act** in 1947.

**WALESA, LECH (1943–).** The son of a carpenter who was persecuted by the Nazis and himself an electrician, Walesa would become the image of anticommunist resistance and the president of **Poland**. After finishing vocational school, Walesa worked as a car mechanic and in 1967 began working at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk. He soon became a trade union activist and was persecuted by the **communist** government. When the government raised food prices in 1970, the workers came out in protest. Walesa was the chairman of the **strike** committee at the shipyard. The harsh reaction by the communists resulted in over 30 workers killed and the radicalization of Lech Walesa. Because he was involved in illegal union activities, he was dismissed in 1976 and on a number of subsequent occasions. Frequent arrests also became a part of his life.

Walesa became a member of the underground free trade unions and, although not on the payroll of the yard, was one of the strike leaders when in 1980 a strike wave occurred in Poland. These strikes led to an agreement with the government granting the workers of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk the right to strike and the right to organize an independent union. As a result, the Solidarnosc Niezalezny Samorządny Związek Zawodowy (Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity) emerged, of which he became the chairman. In a response to the threatening growth of the union to 10 million members, martial law was imposed and Solidarity outlawed. Walesa was again arrested but returned to the shipyard after his release in 1983 and was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize that year also.

In the mid-1980s, the underground Solidarity continued. Intense strikes forced the government into negotiations in 1989. The role of Walesa again was important as the face of Solidarity. Step by step, the administration had to give in, and in 1990 he even won the presidential elections of a Poland that had broken away from the Soviet bloc. In a few years, Walesa lost much of



his popularity during Poland's transition to a market economy. Since 1995, Walesa's role has only been marginal, although *Time* chose him as one of the 100 most important people of the 20th century in 1999.

**WARNSTREIK.** German term for "warning strike." A **labor dispute** of short duration in support of union claims for higher pay or better working conditions. The purpose of the **strike** is to indicate that the claims are serious and that longer strikes may occur.

**WEBB, SIDNEY (JAMES) (1859–1947) AND BEATRICE (1858–1943).** Socialists who were influential through their writings about the theory and practice of trade unionism in the **United Kingdom**. Sidney was born in London and started his career as an office clerk. After developing **socialist** ideas, he joined the Fabian Society and argued for reform instead of class warfare. In 1892, he married Beatrice Potter, one year after she asked for his support for her research into the cooperative movement. Beatrice published *The Cooperative Movement in Great Britain* in 1891, in which she advocated the forming of workers' **cooperatives**. Beatrice's income from an inheritance allowed Sidney to give up his job as a civil servant.

Together they wrote the influential *The History of Trade Unionism*, which was published in 1894 and translated into numerous languages. Their joint efforts resulted also in the foundation of the London School of Economics and Political Science in 1895, where Sydney became a professor in 1912. Beatrice was a member of the Poor Law Commission from 1905 to 1909, where she wrote a minority report that anticipated the welfare state as known after World War II. After they joined the **Labour Party** in 1914, Sydney became a member of parliament (1922–1929).

*The History of Trade Unionism* was revised in 1920 and exerted a major influence, particularly in encouraging an institutional approach to labor unions. The Webbs are especially known today as advocates of the new unionism that surpassed the old version of the union movement. According to their definition, a trade union "is a continuous association of **wage** earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving the conditions of their employment." This definition is still often quoted but also criticized for neglecting the role of noncontinuous labor bodies in the history of organized labor.

After their visit to the **Soviet Union** in 1932, they became uncritical supporters of the regime, for which they were widely criticized. This did not prevent both the Webbs from continuing to support the Soviet planned economy until their deaths. *See also* SOCIALISM.

**WESTERN LABOR UNION.** *See* AMERICAN LABOR UNION (ALU).

**WESTERN SAMOA.** *See* SAMOA.

**WHITE-COLLAR UNIONISM.** Up to the 1940s, white-collar **employees** were a minor part of organized labor in most Western countries, with unions of **blue-collar** employees being the dominant force. Blue-collar unions tended to regard white-collar unions poorly because their members did not perform “real” work. Typically, white-collar occupations included teachers, salaried government workers, and clerks in all industries. For most of history, distinctions of social class underlay blue- and white-collar work. Blue-collar workers were, by general definition, the working class, whereas white-collar employees often saw themselves as socially superior. In **Germany**, federal laws from 1911 even recognized a “collar line” that treated white-collar workers better than blue-collar workers. White-collar employees were less likely to join unions, particularly if they enjoyed advantageous conditions from their **employers**.

Although lacking the stature of blue-collar unions within organized labor, unions of white-collar employees have a long history. In the **United States**, the first white-collar unions emerged in the 1830s among retail clerks who wanted employers to adopt a standard early closing time; in 1864, dry goods employees in New York went on **strike** to prevent the imposition of longer hours. In the **United Kingdom**, the first white-collar unions were formed among teachers in the 1860s as a result of school managers being given the right to appoint and dismiss teachers. Yet it was not until the 1880s that sustained growth in the number of white-collar unions occurred. In the United States, the first national white-collar union, the Retail Clerks’ National Protective Association, joined the **American Federation of Labor** in 1888. In the United Kingdom, white-collar unions were formed among national government clerks (1890) and postal workers (1891).

As the economies of Western nations developed, the **service sector** grew, and with it the number of white-collar employees. Between about 1910 and 1930, the proportion of white-collar employees in the **labor forces** of the United States, Germany, and Britain rose from about 13 to about 20 percent. Within organized labor in Britain, **Denmark**, and Germany, one-fifth of labor union members were white-collar employees by 1930.

After 1950, white-collar unions grew with the growth in **public-sector** employment, particularly as government was more likely to concede recognition to unions than the private sector. At the same time, blue-collar occupations grew relatively slowly, and their share of the labor force declined. During the 1960s, white-collar employees became more willing to join unions, and their labor federations joined with the traditional labor bodies based on blue-collar employees. In 2001, 45 percent of union members in **Australia** and 48 percent in the United States were white-collar employees. Since the 1990s, the traditional distinction between blue-collar and white-collar

jobs has become increasingly blurred because of occupational change, and it is no longer used in most official collections of **labor statistics**. For example, in the United Kingdom the long-standing division of **occupations** between “manual” and “nonmanual” ceased in 2000. What used to be labeled white-collar is now often to be found under the heading “professionals” in union publications. The **American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations** recently announced that more than one million professionals joined unions during the past 20 years, making their total **membership** 6.2 million in 2018, while during the same period blue-collar union membership decreased by three million.

White-collar unions have also become more **strike** prone than in the past. An example of this new attitude is the strike at Chevron in 2008 by the white-collar Petroleum and Natural Gas Senior Staff Association of Nigeria to force the removal of a senior expatriate executive. *See also* EDUCATION; FEDERATION OF INTERNATIONAL CIVIL SERVANTS’ ASSOCIATIONS (FICSA); NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION (NEA); UNISON; WOMEN.

“**WINTER OF DISCONTENT**”. This phrase from the opening of William Shakespeare’s *Richard III* has been commonly applied to a wave of **strikes** in the **United Kingdom** during the winter of 1978–1979. The number of working days lost per thousand **employees** was 1,270 in 1979, compared with 410 in 1978. The strikes occurred mainly in transportation, garbage collection, hospitals, cemeteries, and the **public sector**. The year 1979 reported the most working days lost per thousand employees in **labor disputes** since the **British General Strike** in 1926. Many of the strikes were accompanied by violence during **picketing**.

The “Winter of Discontent” ended a **union–government agreement** between the British **Labour Party** and the **Trades Union Congress** begun in 1974 that had tried to limit voluntarily union **wage** claims to 5 percent. The strike wave lost organized labor much public support and was a main reason why the Labour government was defeated in the national elections in May 1979 by the Conservative Party led by Margaret Thatcher. Between 1980 and 1993, the Conservative governments passed a series of **Employment Acts** to reduce the power of organized labor.

**WOMEN.** One of the biggest changes in the post-1950 structure of union **membership** has been the rising proportion of women. In 1913, women made up only 11 percent of labor union members in the **United Kingdom**, 8 percent in **Germany**, and 4 percent in **Australia** and the **United States**. By 1950, women made up 18 percent of labor union members in Britain and Germany, 19 percent in Australia, and 23 percent in **Japan**.

The entry of women into the labor force gathered pace after 1960 both in numbers and in the proportion of women working, making them more likely to be recruited by the largely male-dominated labor unions. Increasingly, women moved into the expanding white-collar **occupations** and were no longer just to be found in low-paid **manufacturing** occupations such as in the clothing **industry**. The **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** estimated that between 1949 and 1970, the proportion of women among its affiliates rose from 7 to 22 percent, and to 36 percent by 1996. The ICFTU set up a women's committee in 1956, and a secretariat in 1957. In 1962, it introduced specialized training programs for women in Third World countries. In 1992, the ICFTU launched its Positive Action Program for Women in Development Cooperation with the objective of setting a minimum target of 30 percent for women's participation in all labor union activities. The growing importance of women in organized labor was shown in December 2002 when the ICFTU admitted its first woman into a leadership position, Mamounta Cissé, an African, who was appointed as the second assistant secretary-general of the ICFTU. In 2004, Sharan Burrow, an Australian, became the first woman president of the ICFTU and of the **International Trade Union Confederation** from its inception in 2006.

In 2001, the proportion of women in labor unions was 47 percent in the United Kingdom, 43 percent in Australia, and 42 percent in the United States, double what it had been in 1960. In contrast, the proportion of women in labor unions in Germany and Japan changed little over this period. In 2005, women union members outnumbered men in the United Kingdom for the first time and have continued to do so, accounting for 55 percent of members in 2010. The trend was also evident in other Western countries where comparable statistics are available. In 2010, women made up 48 percent of union members in Australia and 46 percent in the United States. *See also* WHITE-COLLAR UNIONISM; TABLE 13, APPENDIX D.

**WORKER.** *See* EMPLOYEE.

**WORKERS' UNION (WU).** The WU was one of the largest general unions in the **United Kingdom** in the early 20th century. Formed in May 1898, it set out to recruit all **employees** whether skilled or unskilled and, through militancy, work toward the creation of a **socialist** society. The WU was formed in the wake of the major defeat suffered by the **Amalgamated Society of Engineers** in London in 1897 by the leading labor left-wing leader Tom Mann (1856–1941). The new union barely survived its first few years: **membership** reached 2,000 by the end of 1898 and 4,170 by 1899, but fell to 1,000 by 1902. With the recovery in the economy after 1906, membership rose to 91,000 in 1913 and to 140,000 by 1914. Much of this growth was

achieved through the recruitment of poorly paid employees, particularly in engineering and **agriculture**. By 1918, membership reached a peak of 379,000, a quarter of them **women**. Although the WU affiliated with the **Trades Union Congress** in 1917 (after two failed attempts), it was disliked by a number of other unions, such as the Agricultural Labourers' Union and especially the Amalgamated Engineers, as a competitor for members.

In 1916, the WU began negotiations for **amalgamation** with the National Amalgamated Union of Labour and the Municipal Employees' Association, which resulted in the formation of a new, but only partly amalgamated, organization, the National Amalgamated Workers' Union, in January 1919; this body claimed 500,000 members in 1920. Thereafter, membership in the WU plummeted to 140,000 in 1923 through economic depression, high turnover of members, and hostility from other unions. The WU never recovered and in 1929 was absorbed into the **Transport and General Workers' Union (TGWU)**, but the WU gave the TGWU an organizational foothold in a number of industries whose employment growth helped it to become Britain's largest union by the late 1930s.

**WORKERS UNITING.** In 2008, **Unite the Union**, the largest labor organization in the **United Kingdom** and **Ireland**, and the **United Steelworkers of America (USWA)**, North America's largest private-sector union, signed an agreement clearing the way for the creation of Workers Uniting, the world's first global trade union. Workers Uniting organizes more than three million active and **retired employees** from the **United States**, **Canada**, Great Britain, and the Republic of Ireland who work in virtually every sector of the global economy.

**WORKING AMERICA.** This community affiliate of the **American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)** was founded in 2003. It is an effort to combine the strength of the AFL-CIO with three million **employees** who are not union members because there is no workplace union for them. Working America also tries to extend union activities outside the workplace to local communities and the **unemployed**. Two of the main aims are an increased **minimum wage** and universal health care.

**WORKING HOURS.** Working hours have from the beginning of trade union history been one of the two main concerns of the movement, along with **wages**. Although there are few statistics on working hours before the Industrial Revolution, there is an impression that working hours in practice, although long, were more varied before it than after it. Where regulations existed, they prescribed long hours. For example, the English Statute of Artificers (1562) fixed the working hours for **apprentices** at 12 hours in the

summer and from daybreak to nightfall in winter. Where work was monotonous, customs like **Saint Monday** were observed by the 18th century. Figures for the **Amalgamated Society of Engineers** in the **United Kingdom** show that the number of hours its members worked in a week varied from 57 to 63 in 1851 and from 56 to 60 by 1869. In **Germany**, the typical workweek in manufacturing was 78 hours in the 1860s, 66 hours in the 1870s, and between 58 and 60 hours between 1911 and 1914. The long, monotonous week brought by the Industrial Revolution made the reduction of work hours an important issue for organized labor in Europe and North America.

The Ten Hours Movement began with textile **employees** in England in the 1830s, and the short-lived radical body the National Regeneration Society (1833–1834) advocated an eight-hour workday. In **Australia**, James Stephens (1821–1889), an English Chartist, played an important role in winning the eight-hour workday in a number of skilled trades in the colony of Victoria in the mid-1850s. In 1869, the **National Labor Union** succeeded in gaining the eight-hour workday for U.S. federal employees. In 1871–1872, engineering and building employees in northeast England won the nine-hour workday through **labor disputes**.

Most governments before 1900 avoided legislating for maximum work hours. The English Factory Act of 1875 laid down a maximum workweek of 56.5 hours for **women** and teenagers but ignored adult men and people working in **agriculture**. In the 1880s and early 1890s, there was international agitation for the eight-hour workday by organized labor. British **railroad** employees did not get the eight-hour workday until 1920, and then only after a national **strike** in 1919. Since 1945, metal unions have been at the forefront of reducing work hours in Australia, Germany, and the United Kingdom. For example, the first debates about the 35-hour week in Western Europe were conducted within **IG Metall** in 1977. Despite the efforts of organized labor, declining **union density** has coincided with increases in working hours in most industrialized countries since the 1980s. In 2006, the **International Labour Organization** reported that the number of working hours worked per person per year in **manufacturing** was 2,137 in the **United States**, 2,262 in **Japan**, 1,839 in **France**, 2,496 in **Hong Kong**, 2,163 in **Israel**, and 1,986 in **Norway**. In contrast to most other Western industrialized countries, the French Socialist government of Lionel Jospin reduced the working week from 39 to 35 hours in 1997 at the behest of organized labor. Although the change did not produce the additional jobs or lower the **unemployment** rate as claimed, it has been considered to have raised productivity. In countries where the working week has increased, such as Australia, it has been judged to have been detrimental to family life. *See also* FULL-TIME/PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT; SHORTER WORKING HOURS.

**WORK-TO-RULE.** A form of **industrial action** whereby the workers strictly adhere to all laws, rules, and principles that apply to their work, effecting a slowdown. Often regarded as a smooth form of **sabotage**, this kind of action is less disruptive than a **strike** and therefore less susceptible to disciplinary action. Work-to-rule can be used by **employees** for whom it is difficult to engage in strikes, like nurses, firefighters and policemen. It can also be used in the form of refusal to work overtime. *See also* CA'CANNY.

**WORLD CONFEDERATION OF LABOUR (WCL).** The WCL began as the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions (IFCTU), which was formed in The Hague in 1920 and traced its origins to the Ghent Anti-Socialist League, which had been organized in 1878. The IFCTU represented labor unions that objected to the anticlericalism of the **socialist** and **anarchist** labor unions that dominated European organized labor. The entry of the IFCTU into the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** was opposed by socialist labor unions in Western Europe, and the IFCTU turned its attention to the Third World and recruiting affiliates from Muslim and Buddhist countries, with the main criterion for membership being belief in a religion rather than adherence to Christianity. In 1968, the IFCTU changed its name to the World Confederation of Labor. In 2001, the WCL claimed 26 million members (compared with 19 million in 1992 and 14.5 million in 1973), mainly in Latin America or countries where **Catholicism** was strong. On 28 May 2003, the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** issued a call to the WCL to join with it to better meet the challenge of **globalization**. As a result, both organizations dissolved themselves on 31 October 2006 and formed the **International Trade Union Confederation**.

**WORLD CONFEDERATION OF ORGANIZATIONS OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION (WCOTP).** The WCOTP was made up of two federations, the International Federation of Teachers' Associations and the International Federation of Secondary Teachers, from its foundation in 1952 until February 1993, when it agreed to merge with the **International Federation of Free Teaching Unions** to form **Education International**. An independent, nonpolitical body, the WCOTP had 13 million members in 191 countries at the announcement of its merger. *See also* EDUCATION.

**WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS (WFTU).** The WFTU, claiming to represent 67 million **members**, was formed in Paris on 25 September 1945 at an international conference of labor organizations to replace the **International Federation of Trade Unions**. The WFTU was ruptured by the Cold War and **communist** opposition to the Marshall Plan. In Decem-

ber 1949, the noncommunist labor unions withdrew from the WFTU and set up their own international labor organization, the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions**. The WFTU continued as a communist-dominated organization, but since the collapse of the **Soviet Union** in 1989 it has lost much of its support. Its membership is largely confined to countries where independent organized labor is not permitted. At the 2005 congress, Mohamad Shaban Assouz from **Syria** was elected president; since 2016, Mzwandile Michael Makwayiba from **South Africa** has been president. In 2009, the WFTU claimed to represent 70 million members, compared with 120 million in 2000 and 214 million in 1991, but in 2016 the number had risen again, to 92 million. This latest number is surprisingly low, considering that one of the affiliates, the **All-China** Federation of Trade Unions, claims to have 302 million members. This flaw may be attributed to the fact that information from the WFTU is scarce and hard to interpret.



# Y

**YELLOW DOG CONTRACTS.** One of the means by which English **employers** defeated the Grand United Council of Trade Unions in 1834 was by requiring employees to sign “The Document,” by which they would give an undertaking to leave a union and not join another one. In the **United States**, this tactic was known as a yellow dog contract, from yellow dog, meaning a contemptible person, after the color of a mongrel dog. In the 1890s, yellow dog contracts, also known as the “infamous document,” that forbade union **membership** became more common. Starting in New York, the legislature became involved in trying to outlaw the practice, and finally in 1932 by the Anti-Injunction (**Norris-LaGuardia**) Act forbade this kind of antiunion contract in the private sector. In the **public sector**, they were, however, allowed until the 1960s.

**YELLOW UNION.** *See* COMPANY UNION.

**YEMEN.** Part of the Ottoman Empire until 1918, Yemen had a precarious independence until the late 1940s. The south with the important port of Aden remained a protectorate of the **United Kingdom** until 1967, when it became an independent state and, later, a state governed on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. In 1956, the Aden Trade Union Congress (ATUC) was founded during serious **labor disputes** in that part of Yemen. Poverty, the lack of democratic tradition, and conflict between royalist and **socialist** ideologies made for political instability and warfare that resulted in the splitting of the country in 1967. North and South Yemen were not reunited until May 1990. After the reunification, the ATUC merged with the General Confederation of Workers’ Trade Unions in order to form the Yemeni Confederation of Labor Unions. The first general election in the new state was not held until April 1993. Despite this unpromising political and economic background, Yemeni civil society gave rise to **human rights** and **women’s** groups, **cooperatives**, and labor unions. In 1990, the General Federation of Workers’ Trade Unions of Yemen (GFWTU) was created, uniting Yemeni labor unions just before the country’s reunification and claimed a **member-**

**ship** of 350,000. Since 1990, the GFWTU has been an active player in promoting democracy in Yemen and became an affiliate of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** in 2002, with a declared membership of 300,000. In late 2002, a new labor law came into force that met most of the **International Labour Organization** standards, but with some restrictions such as banning **strikes** at ports, airports, and hospitals. Yemen joined the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**, and its affiliate declared a membership of 350,000 in the 2010s. The ITUC has complained that labor rights remain restricted, an assessment demonstrated by the dismissal of strikers in 2009. In 2016, a civil war broke out that made the country a place where rights are no longer guaranteed. In 2017, state **employees** in the part of Yemen occupied by rebels demonstrated to get their **wages** paid, an uncommon and dangerous act.

**YOUTH.** Youth traditionally became union members in most Western countries through the completion of an **apprenticeship**, a system of trade training and employment. Since the 1960s, apprenticeship has declined, and this, along with other changes in the labor market, has made it harder for organized labor to recruit youth. By the 1970s, it was noted that youth often had broken work experience (whether through choice or necessity) and that their relatively high labor mobility contributed to their low **membership** in organized labor. Also, youth are often employed in relatively low-skilled jobs in wholesale and retail trade, an **industry** where union membership is low and labor turnover high. Youth also suffer from disproportionately high levels of **unemployment** even in periods of prosperity.

In 1999, the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** recognized the need for organized labor to make a greater effort to recruit youth into organized labor, but few of its affiliates have done so. Between 1995 and 2010, the total share of union members aged under 25 fell from 23 to 8 percent in **Australia** and from 6 to 4 percent in the **United States**. A report published by the European Trade Union Institute in 2017 concluded that it is not so much unwillingness of youth to get organized but the fact that unions are virtually unknown to them. *See also* CHILD LABOR.

**YUGOSLAVIA.** The former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was created in 1918 partly from segments of the Austro-Hungarian Empire; it lasted until 1991, when it was torn apart by a murderous civil war. Within the borders of the former republic, organized labor first emerged in the form of mutual aid societies in the 1870s. The first labor unions were formed in 1894 in **Slovenia**, in 1904 in **Croatia** and **Serbia**, and in 1905 in **Bosnia-Herzegovina**, **Macedonia**, and **Montenegro**. In 1904, when it became affiliated with the **International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU)**, Serbia had about 5,100

union members; Croatia became an affiliate in 1907 and Bosnia in 1910. By 1913, the number of union members in these countries was 10,000 in Serbia, 7,000 in Croatia, and 5,000 in Bosnia.

After the creation of Yugoslavia, a **Communist** Party and a national labor federation were formed in 1919. By 1920, there were 25,000 union members, but following a number of **strikes**, the communist party and the labor federation were banned by the government. A new labor federation was formed by the communists and those unions not affiliated with any political party. In 1922, the Social Democrats set up a labor federation called the United Federation of Workers' Unions of Yugoslavia, which was an affiliate of the IFTU until 1939. From 1934, the United Federation of Workers' Unions of Yugoslavia became more militant through communist influence; in 1935, the government challenged its power by setting up a labor federation modeled on the fascist example of **Italy** and **Germany**. Before its suppression in 1940, the federation claimed 100,000 members.

After the Nazi withdrawal in December 1944, a new labor federation was established in 1945, which adopted its present title, Savez Sindikata Jugoslaviji (Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia), in 1948. Reflecting Yugoslavia's independence from Soviet control, it withdrew from the **World Federation of Trade Unions** in 1950, although relations improved after 1969. Organized labor in Yugoslavia was given greater freedom than elsewhere in Eastern Europe between 1948 and 1988 (e.g., in being able to conduct local strikes). In late 1988, the first independent demonstrations occurred among Yugoslav **employees**. Independent labor unions were formed during 1989 by **railroad** engineers and airline pilots. Of the separate republics created by the breakup of Yugoslavia, only Slovenia has not been admitted to membership in the **International Trade Union Confederation**.

**YUGOSLAVIA (FEDERAL REPUBLIC)**. A remnant nation created from the federal republic of **Yugoslavia** in 1991, Yugoslavia (Federal Republic) has been represented in the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** since 2000 by two labor federations in **Serbia** and **Montenegro** with a combined membership of 243,700. The ICFTU has reported that the procedure for the registration of unions is difficult, requiring the consent of the **employer**. It also reported harassment of union officials and members in 2002. On 3 February 2003, the name of the country was officially changed to State Union of Serbia and Montenegro. In 2006, the two countries declared independence from one another: Serbia and Montenegro.



# Z

**ZAIRE.** *See* CONGO (DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC).

**ZAMBIA.** Zambia has been independent from the **United Kingdom** since October 1964; organized labor in Zambia dates from the early 1930s, when there were tensions between European and African miners. Labor unions were legalized in 1949. The Northern Rhodesia Trades Union Congress was an affiliate of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)** by 1957 and claimed 9,300 members. After independence, the government disapproved of union federations or individual unions joining international labor bodies. The Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (formed in 1965) did not affiliate with the ICFTU until 1990 and claimed 299,000 members by 2001. Zambia's dependence on copper exports made its economy vulnerable to the fall in the world price of copper since 1975 and was the underlying cause of economic malaise and social unrest. Although the laws of Zambia tolerate organized labor, both the ICFTU and the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** have complained about the government's increasingly antiunion policies since 1999 regarding **strikes** over falling pay and living standards, particularly among government **employees**, and that there had not been a single legal strike in Zambia since 1994. In 2006, strikes were violently suppressed. Chinese-owned companies have been conspicuous in their hostility to organized labor. In 2010, the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions declared a membership of 350,000 to the ITUC, a number diminished to 218,000 by 2018, while trade **union density** was 25.9 percent in 2014. On several occasions, employees went on strike or took another action in protest against long delays in **wage** payment, sometimes up to 90 days. In general, trade union rights have been violated systematically.

**ZIMBABWE.** Zimbabwe has been independent from the **United Kingdom** since April 1980, although ruled by a minority European government that declared its independence in 1965. The first unions were formed by Europeans in the early 20th century. The first African union, the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, was formed in 1927. As in other African coun-

tries, organized labor was closely associated with the independence movement. Although some biracial unions developed, notably among miners and steelworkers, most unions were of one race only. The Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) was founded in 1981 by the ruling political party in order to reduce **industrial disputes** and strengthen the grip of the government on the trade union movement. Only after this **government control of organized labor** stopped and the ZCTU became really independent did the organization affiliate with the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions** in 1991, claiming a **membership** of 361,000. Since the late 1990s, organized labor was caught up in the tyranny and violence of the Robert Mugabe government and economic decline. In its survey of **violations of trade union rights** for 2007, the **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)** noted the use of workers' committees (begun in 1985) to undermine labor unions, the exemption of the **export processing zones** from labor regulation, and a general climate of heightened violence, harassment, and intimidation by the government against the leaders of organized labor as well as other opponents of the Mugabe government. In September 2006, security forces quelled a demonstration with mass arrests and beatings of union leaders, violence that was publicly supported by Mugabe. In 2008, trade unionists were arrested and tortured, and **women** activists were sexually assaulted. In 2009, the ITUC reported that the incidence of the violations of trade union rights was lower than in previous years, a reflection of the power-sharing agreement with the opposition. Unfortunately, the old regime of president Mugabe stayed in office until 2017, when the military forced him to resign. Since then, the situation for organized labor has improved, but it has a long way to go before all rights will be guaranteed. In 2018, an army attack on the headquarter of the ZCTU left seven people killed. The long history of attacks on the country's trade union movement makes the slogan of the ZCTU understandable, "Zvakawoma kudaro, ndoo kubasa kwedu" (As difficult as it is, this is our work). The ZCTU is the representative with the ITUC with 83,000 members.

## Appendix A

### *International Federation of Trade Unions: Leaders, 1901–1945*

<i>President</i>	<i>Country of Origin</i>	<i>Period in Office</i>
<b>Carl Legien</b> (1861–1920)	<b>Germany</b>	1901–1919
James Henry Thomas (1874–1949)	<b>United Kingdom</b>	1920–1924
Albert Arthur William Purcell (1872–1935)	United Kingdom	1925–1928
<b>Walter McLennan Citrine</b> (1887–1983)	United Kingdom	1928–1945
<i>Secretary</i>		
Carl Legien (1861–1920)	Germany	1901–1919
Jan Oudegeest (1870–1950)	<b>Netherlands</b>	1919–1927 (joint)
<b>Edo Fimmen</b> (1881–1942)	Netherlands	1919–1927 (joint)
<i>General Secretary</i>		
<b>Johann Sassenbach</b> (1866–1940)	Germany	1927–1930 (interim)
<b>Walter Schevenels</b> (1894–1966)	<b>Belgium</b>	1930–1945





## Appendix B

### *International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (1949–2006) and International Trade Union Confederation (2006–2019): General Secretaries, 1949–2019*

<i>Name</i>	<i>Period in Office</i>
<b>Jacobus Hendrik Oldenbroek</b> (1897–1970)	1949–1960
Omer Becu (1902–1982)	1960–1967
Harm G. Buiters (1922–2011)	1967–1971
Otto Kersten (1928–1982)	1972–1982
John Vanderveken (1930–)	1982–1992
Enzo Friso (1927–)	1992–1994
<b>Bill Jordan</b> (1936–)	1995–2001
<b>Guy Ryder</b> (1957–)	2002–2010
Sharan Burrow (1954–)	2010–

*Source:* *Trade Union World*, September 1999, p. 36, December 2001–January 2002, p. 30; International Trade Union Confederation, <https://www.ituc-csi.org/>.



## **Appendix C**

### *International Trade Union Confederation: Affiliates, 2011–2018*

Country	Affiliated Organization	Members (Thousands)	
		2011	2018
	<i>Africa</i>		
Algeria	Confédération Générale Autonome des Travailleurs en Algérie	–	268.9
	Union Générale des Travailleurs Algériens	1,533.0	2,568.6
Angola	Central Geral de Sindicatos Independentes e Livres de Angola	51.0	93.0
	União Nacional dos Trabalhadores de Angola	215.5	497.7
Benin	Centrale des Syndicats de Secteurs Privé, Parapublic et Informel du Bénin	–	10.9
	Confédération des Organisations Syndicales Indépendantes du Bénin	53.5	129.5
	Confédération Générale des Travailleurs du Bénin	51.5	90.8
	Union Nationale des Syndicats des Travailleurs du Bénin	36.0	78.3
	Confédération des Syndicats Autonomes du Bénin	53.0	55.5
Botswana	Botswana Federation of Trade Unions	56.0	55.3
Burkina Faso	Organisation Nationale des Syndicats Libres	42.5	42.5
	Confédération Syndicale Burkinabé	19.0	27.6
	Confédération Nationale des Travailleurs Burkinabé	10.5	29.9
	Union Syndicale des Travailleurs du Burkina	8.7	8.7
Burundi	Confédération des Syndicats du Burundi	12.0	12.0
	Confédération Syndicale du Burundi	5.5	5.5
Cameroon	Centrale Syndicale du Secteur Public	–	60.0
	Confédération Syndicale des Travailleurs du Cameroun	150.0	150.0
	Confédération des Syndicats Autonomes du Cameroun	75.0	65.0
	Unions des Syndicats Libres du Cameroun	50.0	50.0
Cape Verde	Confederação Caboverdiana dos Sindicatos Livres	19.8	19.8

<i>Country</i>	<i>Affiliated Organization</i>	<i>Members (Thousands)</i>	
	União Nacional dos Trabalhadores de Cabo Verde–Central Sindical	15.0	15.0
Central African Republic	Confédération Syndicale des Travailleurs de Centrafique	11.1	11.1
	Confédération Nationale des Travailleurs Centrafricains	16.0	16.0
Chad	Confédération Libre des Travailleurs du Tchad	42.0	70.0
	Union des Syndicats du Tchad	55.0	55.3
Comoros	Confédération des Travailleuses et Travailleurs des Comores	5.0	5.0
Congo	Confédération des Syndicats Libres et Autonomes du Congo	19.0	13.7
	Confédération Syndicale des Travailleurs du Congo	69.0	68.5
	Confédération Syndicale Congolaise	25.0	36.4
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Confédération Démocratique du Travail	51.0	51.0
	Confédération Syndicale du Congo	390.0	390.1
	Union Nationale des Travailleurs du Congo	51.0	789.4
Côte d'Ivoire	Centrale Syndicale Humanisme	–	600.0
	Fédération des Syndicats Autonomes de Côte d'Ivoire	–	38.1
	Union Générale des Travailleurs de Côte d'Ivoire	208.1	157.2
	Confédération des Syndicats Libres de Côte d'Ivoire	120.0	120.0
Djibouti	Union Djiboutienne du Travail	13.0	13.0
Egypt	Egyptian Democratic Labour Congress	–	120.0
	Egyptian Federation of Independent Trade Unions	–	300.0
Eritrea	National Confederation of Eritrean Workers	26.0	26.0
Ethiopia	Confederation of Ethiopian Trade Unions	203.6	203.6
Gabon	Confédération Gabonaise des Syndicats Libres	19.0	19.0
	Confédération Syndicale Gabonaise	22.8	22.8

<i>Country</i>	<i>Affiliated Organization</i>	<i>Members (Thousands)</i>	
Gambia	Gambia Workers' Confederation	52.0	n.a.m.
Ghana	Trades Union Congress Ghana	275.0	275.0
	Ghana Federation of Labour	48.2	51.2
Guinea	Confédération Nationale des Travailleurs de Guinée	100.5	100.5
	Organisation Nationale des Syndicats Libres de Guinée	43.0	23.7
	Union Syndicale des Travailleurs de Guinée	41.0	41.0
Guinea-Bissau	Union Nationale des Travailleurs de Guinée Bissau	50.0	50.0
Kenya	Central Organisation of Trade Unions	234.0	600.0
Lesotho	Lesotho Labour Council	–	18.7
Liberia	Liberia Labour Congress	6.0	42.0
Madagascar	Confédération des Syndicats des Travailleurs Malagasy Révolutionnaires	–	18.8
	Fivondronamben'ny Mpiasa Malagasy. Confédération des Travailleurs Malgaches	15.0	8.0
	Firaisan'ny Sendikan'ny Mpiasan'ny Madagasikare	25.4	11.6
	Sendika Krisitianina Malgasy–Confédération Chrétienne des Syndicats Malgaches	32.8	38.1
	Union des Syndicats Autonomes du Madagascar	4.6	7.2
Malawi	Malawi Congress of Trade Unions	200.0	200.0
Mali	Union Nationale des Travailleurs du Mali	130.0	130.0
	Confédération Syndicale des Travailleurs du Mali	15.0	16.0
Mauritania	Confédération Générale des Travailleurs de Mauritanie	25.0	36.0
	Confédération Libre des Travailleurs de Mauritanie	56.0	56.0
	Confédération Nationale des Travailleurs de Mauritanie	18.5	39.6
	Union des Travailleurs de Mauritanie	28.8	25.2
Mauritius	Congress of Independent Trade Unions	–	35.0
	Confédération des Travailleurs du Secteur Privé	–	26.6

<i>Country</i>	<i>Affiliated Organization</i>	<i>Members (Thousands)</i>	
	Mauritius Trade Union Congress	15.0	15.0
	National Trade Unions Confederation	35.0	40.0
	Mauritius Labour Congress	10.0	7.0
Morocco	Union Marocaine du Travail	320.0	340.0
	Confédération Démocratique du Travail	61.5	61.5
	Union Générale des Travailleurs du Maroc	750.6	180.0
Mozambique	Organização dos Trabalhadores de Moçambique	97.3	97.3
Namibia	National Union of Namibian Workers	80.0	80.0
	Trade Union Congress of Namibia	42.1	30.0
Niger	Union des Syndicats des Travailleurs du Niger	38.0	43.0
	Confédération Démocratique des Travailleurs du Niger	35.0	38.6
	Confédération Nigérienne du Travail	75.0	75.0
Nigeria	Nigeria Labour Congress	2,000.0	6,000.0
	Trade Union Congress of Nigeria	500.0	500.0
Rwanda	Congrès du Travail et de la Fraternité au Rwanda	15.0	24.5
	Centrale des Syndicats des Travailleurs du Rwanda	70.0	165.0
Sao Tome and Principe	Organizaçao Nacional dos Trabalhadores de São Tomé E Príncipe—Central Sindical	3.3	3.4
	União Geral de Trabalhadores de São Tomé e Príncipe	7.7	7.7
Senegal	Confédération Nationale des Travailleurs du Sénégal	64.0	70.0
	Confédération Nationale des Travailleurs du Sénégal—Forces du Changement	13.9	16.5
	Confédération des Syndicats Autonomes du Sénégal	40.0	40.0
	Union Démocratique des Travailleurs du Sénégal	20.0	21.4
	Union Nationale des Syndicats Autonomes du Sénégal	53.0	80.0
Sierra Leone	Sierra Leone Labour Congress	25.0	54.6
	Central Confederation of Trade Unions	8.3	—

<i>Country</i>	<i>Affiliated Organization</i>	<i>Members (Thousands)</i>	
Somalia	Federation of Somali Trade Unions	–	72.0
South Africa	National Council of Trade Unions	310.0	400.0
	Congress of South African Trade Unions	1,800.0	1,800.0
	Confederation of South African Workers' Unions	290.0	49.7
	Federation of Unions of South Africa	360.0	500.0
Sudan	South Sudan Workers Trade Union Federation	–	11.0
Swaziland	Swaziland Federation of Labour	10.9	–
	Swaziland Federation of Trade Unions	65.0	–
	Trade Union Congress of Swaziland	–	76.0
Tanzania	Zanzibar Trade Union Congress	15.0	15.0
	Trade Unions' Congress of Tanzania	350.0	350.0
Togo	Confédération Nationale des Travailleurs du Togo	55.0	35.0
	Confédération Syndicale des Travailleurs du Togo	79.2	73.6
	Union Nationale des Syndicats Indépendants du Togo	8.1	9.8
	Union Générale des Syndicats Libres	–	28.3
Tunisia	Union Générale Tunisienne du Travail	517.0	700.3
Uganda	National Organisation of Trade Unions	146.0	700.0
Zambia	Zambia Congress of Trade Unions	350.0	217.6
Zimbabwe	Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions	242.0	83.2
<i>Total Africa</i>		14,182.8	22,422.9
<i>Asia</i>			
Afghanistan	National Union of Afghanistan Workers and Employees	–	150.9
Bangladesh	Bangladesh Mukto Sramik Federation	204.0	125.0
	Bangladesh Free Trade Union Congress	85.0	85.0
	Bangladesh Labour Federation	102.0	102.0
	Bangladesh Jatyatabadi Sramik Dal	180.0	180.0
	Jatio Sramik League	150.0	150.0
	Bangladesh Sanjukta Sramik Federation	155.0	132.4
Burma	Federation of Trade Unions–Burma	10.0	–
Cambodia	Cambodia Confederation of Trade Unions	–	310.7



<i>Country</i>	<i>Affiliated Organization</i>	<i>Members (Thousands)</i>	
	Cambodian Federation of Unions	–	95.6
	Cambodian Labor Confederation	–	130.0
Hong Kong SAR, China	Hong Kong and Kowloon Trades Union Council	5.0	5.0
	Hong Kong Confederation of Trade Unions	170.0	197.5
India	Confederation of Free Trade Unions of India	–	1,830.0
	Hind Mazdoor Sabha	5,788.8	9,186.8
	Indian National Trade Union Congress	8,200.0	34,367.9
	Self-Employed Women's Association	1,256.9	1,412.1
Indonesia	Confederation of Indonesian Trade Union	506.2	750.0
	Konfederasi Serikat Buruh Sejahtera Indonesia	511.0	520.0
Japan	Japanese Trade Union Confederation	6,615.6	6,741.3
Kazakhstan	Confederation of Independent Trade Unions of Kazakhstan	–	70.0
	Federations of Trade Unions of Kazakhstan	–	381.9
Korea, South	Federation of Korean Trade Unions	878.6	1,000.0
	Korean Confederation of Trade Unions	812.5	812.5
Malaysia	Malaysian Trades Union Congress	400.0	469.4
Mongolia	Confederation of Mongolian Trade Unions	450.0	450.0
Nepal	All Nepal Federation of Trade Unions	–	410.3
	General Federation of Nepalese Trade Unions	330.6	440.7
	Nepal Trade Union Congress	350.0	350.0
Pakistan	All-Pakistan Trade Union Congress	110.0	90.0
	Pakistan Workers' Federation	880.0	860.0
Philippines	Trade Union Congress of the Philippines	475.0	475.0
	Federation of Free Workers	27.0	65.0
	Kilusang Mayo Uno	–	115.0
	Sentro ng mga Nagkakaisa at Progresibong Manggagawa	–	100.0
Singapore	National Trades Union Congress	228.4	252.0
Sri Lanka	Ceylon Workers' Congress	190.0	201.0

<i>Country</i>	<i>Affiliated Organization</i>	<i>Members (Thousands)</i>	
	National Trade Union Federation	400.0	400.0
	National Workers' Congress	82.9	83.0
	Sri Lanka Nidahas Sevaka Sangamaya	68.0	68.0
Taiwan	Chinese Federation of Labor	250.0	100.0
Thailand	Labour Congress of Thailand	25.0	8.0
	National Congress Private Industrial of Employees	150.0	50.0
	State Enterprises Workers' Relations Confederation	50.0	188.0
	Thai Trade Union Congress	25.0	8.0
<i>Total Asia</i>		30,122.5	63,920
	<i>Middle East</i>		
Azerbaijan	Azərbaycan Həmkarlar İttifaqları Konfederasiyası	735.0	735.0
Bahrain	General Federation of Bahrain Trade Unions	10.0	10.0
Iraq	General Federation of Iraq Trade Unions	–	850.0
Israel	General Federation of Labor in Israel (Histadrut)	450.0	450.0
Jordan	General Federation of Jordanian Trade Unions	120.0	120.0
Kuwait	Kuwait Trade Union Federation	34.3	34.3
Palestine	Palestine General Federation of Trade Unions	318.0	321.0
Turkey	Kamu Emekçileri Sendikaları Konfederasyonu	200.0	200.0
	Türkiye İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (Türk-İs)	820.0	820.0
	Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu	30.0	30.0
	Türkiye Hak İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (Hak-İs)	330.0	654.7
Yemen	General Federation of Workers' Trade Unions of Yemen	350.0	350.0
<i>Total Middle East</i>		3,397.3	4,575
	<i>Oceania</i>		
Australia	Australian Council of Trade Unions	1,716.4	1,200.0
Cook Islands	Cook Islands Workers' Association	1.2	1.2
Fiji	Fiji Trades Union Congress	33.0	30.0

<i>Country</i>	<i>Affiliated Organization</i>	<i>Members (Thousands)</i>	
French Polynesia	Confédération Syndicale A Tia I Mua	3.7	2.8
Kiribati	Kiribati Trades Union Congress	2.6	2.6
New Caledonia	Union des Syndicats des Ouvriers et Employés de Nouvelle Calédonie	–	4.8
New Zealand	New Zealand Council of Trade Unions	200.0	200.0
Samoa	Samoa Trade Union Congress	1.5	1.5
Tonga	Tonga National Trade Union Congress	–	1.0
Vanuatu	Vanuatu Council of Trade Unions	–	1.9
<i>Total Oceania</i>		1,958.4	1,445.8
	<i>European Union</i>		
Austria	Österreichischer Gewerkschaftsbund	1,222.2	1,100.6
Belgium	Fédération Générale du Travail de Belgique	1,434.5	1,549.3
	Centrale générale des Syndicats libéraux de Belgique	265.0	296.6
	Confédération des Syndicats Chrétiens	1,587.1	1,581.5
Bulgaria	Confederation of Labor (PODKREPA)	153.4	150.5
	Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria	220.0	200.0
Cyprus	Democratic Labour Federation of Cyprus	9.5	7.9
	Cyprus Workers' Confederation	64.9	64.9
Czech Republic	Czech-Moravian Confederation of Trade Unions (CMKOS)	444.6	292.8
Denmark	Landsorganisationen i Danmark (Danish Trade Union Confederation)	1,201.3	1,216.7
	Funktionærernes og Tjenestemaendenes Faellesrad	358.0	–
	Akademikernes Centralorganisation	147.1	350.9
Estonia	Confederation of Estonian Trade Unions (EAKL)	34.0	20.4
Finland	Suomen Ammattiliittojen Keskusjärjestö	758.0	929.1
	Confederation of Unions for Professional and Managerial Staff in Finland	382.0	609.2
	Finnish Confederation of Professionals	418.0	497.0
France	Confédération Générale du Travail–Force Ouvrière	800.0	600.0

<i>Country</i>	<i>Affiliated Organization</i>	<i>Members (Thousands)</i>	
	Confédération Française des Travailleurs Chrétiens	140.0	140.0
	Confédération Générale du Travail	660.0	664.3
	Confédération Générale du Travail de la Réunion	–	4.0
	Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail	814.4	623.8
	Union Interprofessionnelle de la Réunion	16.0	16.0
Germany	Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund	6,000.0	5,995.4
Great Britain	Trades Union Congress	6,201.4	5,552.2
Greece	Greek General Confederation of Labour	300.0	150.0
Hungary	Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions (LIGA)	110.0	100.2
	Magyar Szakszervezetel Országos Szövetsége (MSZOSZ) / Magyar Szakszervezetel Szövetsége	400.0	110.0
	Autonomous Trade Union Confederation	120.0	–
	National Federation of Workers' Councils	45.2	47.9
Ireland	Irish Congress of Trade Unions	833.5	700.0
Italy	Confederazione Italiana Sindacati Lavoratori	4,507.3	4,050.7
	Unione Italiana del Lavoro	2,174.2	2,230.4
	Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro	5,542.7	5,686.2
Latvia	Free Trade Union Confederation of Latvia (LBAS)	110.6	91.5
Lithuania	Lithuanian Trade Union Confederation	60.0	50.0
	Lithuanian Trade Union "Solidarumas"	8.0	10.5
	Lithuanian Labour Federation	18.5	20.0
Luxembourg	Confédération Syndicale Indépendante du Luxembourg	68.5	78.5
	Lëtzebuenger Chrëstleche Gewerkschafts-Bond	36.0	42.2
Malta	General Workers' Union	30.0	30.0
	Confederation of Malta Trade Unions	30.4	–
Netherlands	Federatie Nederlandse Vakbeweging	1,376.0	1,040.4
	Christelijk Nationaal Vakverbond	336.7	268.0

<i>Country</i>	<i>Affiliated Organization</i>	<i>Members (Thousands)</i>	
Poland	Niezalezny Samorzadny Związek Zawodowy "Solidarnosc"	667.6	551.7
	Ogólnopolskie Porozumienie Związków Zawodowych	318.0	595.0
Portugal	União Geral de Trabalhadores	260.0	350.0
Romania	Confederatia Nationale a Sindicatelor Libere din România–Fratia	520.0	150.0
	Confederatia Sindicatelor Democratice din Romania	101.0	101.0
	Blocul National Sindical	150.0	150.0
	Confederatia Nationala Sindicala Cartel Alfa	1,000.0	500.0
Slovakia	Confederation of Trade Unions of the Slovak Republic (KOZSR)	337.6	337.6
Spain	Euskal Sindikatua–Basque Country	115.0	115.0
	Unión General de Trabajadores	880.0	880.0
	Confederación Sindical de Comisiones Obreras	1,200.0	900.0
	Unión Sindical Obrera	110.0	118.9
Sweden	Landsorganisationen i Sverige	1,564.8	1,564.8
	Tjänstemännens Centralorganisation	975.0	1,382.3
	Sveriges Akademikers Centralorganisation	579.9	698.6
<i>Total European Union</i>		48,217.9	45,564.5
<i>Rest of Europe</i>			
Albania	Confederation of the Trade Unions of Albania	105.0	110.0
	Union of the Independent Trade Unions of Albania	84.0	84.0
Armenia	Confederation of Trade Unions of Armenia	–	190.0
Belarus	Belarusian Congress of Democratic Trade Unions	9.0	9.0
Bosnia-Herzegovina	Konfederacija Sindikata Bosne I Hercegovine	223.0	161.2
Croatia	Union of Autonomous Trade Unions of Croatia	164.7	164.7
	Independent Trade Unions of Croatia–Nezavisni Hrvatski Sindikati	113.6	96.9

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<i>Country</i>	<i>Affiliated Organization</i>	<i>Members (Thousands)</i>	
Cyprus (Turkish part)	Cyprus Turkish Trade Unions Federation	3.5	2.0
Georgia	Georgian Trade Union Confederation	235.8	151.9
Iceland	Athydusamband Islands (Icelandic Confederation of Labour)	109.3	123.0
	Bandalag Starfsmanna Ríkis og Baeja	20.4	21.6
	Icelandic Confederation of University Graduates	–	13.5
Kosovo	Bashkimi I Sindikatave të Pavarura të Kosovëj	70.5	30.0
Liechtenstein	Liechtensteinischer Arbeitnehmerinnen-Verband	1.2	1.0
Macedonia	Union of Independent and Autonomous Trade Unions of Macedonia	5.3	5.3
	Konfederacija Slobodnik Sindikata	–	43.0
	Federation of Trade Unions of Macedonia	–	66.2
Moldova	Confederatia Nationala e Sindicatelor din Moldova	450.0	318.7
Montenegro	Confederation of Trade Unions of Montenegro	61.3	31.5
	Union of Free Trade Unions of Montenegro	–	19.8
Norway	Landsorganisasjonen i Norge	865.6	927.9
	Confederation of Unions for Professionals	288.0	359.0
	Confederation of Vocational Unions	209.3	217.7
Russian Federation	Confederation of Labour of Russia	1,250.0	2,100.0
	Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia (FNPR)	27,800.0	20,100.0
San Marino	Confederazione Democratica Lavoratori Sammarinesi	5.9	6.8
	Confederazione Sammarinese del Lavoro	5.0	5.9
Serbia	Confederation of Autonomous Trade Unions of Serbia	465.0	300.0
	Ujedinjeni Granski Sindikati Nezavisnost	158.0	114.0
Switzerland	Schweizerischer Gewerkschaftsbund/ Union Syndicale Suisse	377.3	277.3

<i>Country</i>	<i>Affiliated Organization</i>	<i>Members (Thousands)</i>	
Ukraine	All-Ukrainian Union of Workers' Solidarity	150.0	20.6
	Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Ukraine	268.0	174.1
	Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine	8,680.0	4,750.0
Vatican	Associazione Dipendenti Laici Vaticani	0.3	0.3
<i>Total Rest of Europe</i>		42,179.0	30,996.9
<i>North America</i>			
Canada	Canadian Labour Congress/Congrès du travail du Canada	1,500.0	1,500.0
	Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux	300.0	300.0
	Centrale des Syndicats Démocratiques	72.5	70.0
	Christian Labour Association of Canada	51.0	–
United States	American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)	8,400.0	8,400.0
<i>Total North America</i>		10,323.5	10,270.0
<i>Latin America and Caribbean</i>			
Antigua and Barbuda	Antigua & Barbuda Workers' Union	3.0	3.0
	Antigua & Barbuda Public Service Association	1.0	0.3
Argentina	Confederación General del Trabajo de la República Argentina	4,401.0	4,401.0
	Central de los Trabajadores Argentinos	600.0	300.0
	Central de los Trabajadores Argentinos–Autónoma	–	612.0
Aruba (affiliated with the European Union)	Federación de Trahadornan di Aruba	2.5	–
Barbados	Barbados Workers' Union	15.0	15.0
Belize	National Trade union Congress of Belize	–	8.0
Bermuda	Bermuda Industrial Union	4.0	3.6
	Bermuda Trade Union Congress	5.0	8.3
Bonaire (affiliated with the European Union)	Federación Boneriana di Trabajo	0.5	0.5

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<i>Country</i>	<i>Affiliated Organization</i>	<i>Members (Thousands)</i>	
Brazil	Confederação Nacional das Profissões Liberais	260.0	280.0
	Força Sindical	2,100.0	–
	Nova Central Sindical de Trabalhadores	–	900.0
	Central Única dos Trabalhadores	7,464.8	7,850.2
	União Geral dos Trabalhadores	1,350.2	1,350.2
Chile	Central Unitaria de Trabajadores de Chile	400.0	400.0
	Central Autónoma de Trabajadores de Chile	107.0	–
	Unión Nacional de Trabajadores de Chile	92.0	–
Colombia	Confederación de Trabajadores de Colombia	250.0	180.0
	Central Unitaria de Trabajadores	510.5	550.0
	Confederación General del Trabajo	700.0	–
Costa Rica	Confederación de Trabajadores Rerum Novarum	30.0	49.8
	Central del Movimiento de Trabajadores Costarricenses	108.0	45.0
	Central Social Juanito Mora Porras	–	20.0
Curaçao (affiliated with the European Union)	Central General di Trahadonan di Corsow	5.4	–
	Sentral di Sindikatonan di Korsou	4.0	4.0
Dominica	Dominica Trade Union	0.8	0.8
	Waterfront and Allied Workers' Union	0.9	1.0
	Dominica Almagamated Workers' Union	2.5	2.5
Dominican Republic	Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores Dominicanos	143.0	143.0
	Confederación Nacional de Unidad Sindical	105.0	950.0
	Confederación Autónoma Sindical Clasista	172.0	172.0
Ecuador	Confederación Sindical de Trabajadoras y Trabajadores del Ecuador	110.0	–



<i>Country</i>	<i>Affiliated Organization</i>	<i>Members (Thousands)</i>	
	Central Ecuatoriana de Organizaciones Clasistas / Confederación Ecuatoriana de Organizaciones Clasistas Unitarias de Trabajadores	62.5	100.0
El Salvador	Central de Trabajadores Democráticos de El Salvador	50.0	–
	Confederación Sindical Trabajadoras y Trabajadores de El Salvador	–	23.0
	Central Autónoma de Trabajadores Salvadoreños	30.0	30.0
Grenada	Grenada Trades' Union Council	8.0	8.0
Guatemala	Confederación de Unidad Sindical de Guatemala	30.0	25.0
	Central General de Trabajadores de Guatemala	60.0	60.0
	Unión Sindical de trabajadores de Guatemala	17.5	15.4
Haiti	Confédération des Travailleurs Haïtiens	65.0	65.5
	Confédération des Travailleurs des Secteurs Public & Privé	–	9.6
	Coordinations Syndicale Haïtienne	–	30.5
Honduras	Confederación de Trabajadores de Honduras	55.0	55.0
	Central General de Trabajadores	250.0	213.5
	Confederación Unitaria de Trabajadores de Honduras	295.0	295.0
Mexico	Confederación Revolucionaria de Obreros y Campesinos	1,251.0	–
	Consejo Nacional de los Trabajadores	6.0	6.0
	Unión Nacional de trabajadores	500.0	180.0
	Confederación de Trabajadores de Mexico	1,500.0	–
Nicaragua	Central de Trabajadores de Nicaragua	25.4	25.4
	Frente Nacional de los Trabajadores	139.3	345.0
	Confederación de Unificación Syndical	30.0	30.0
	Central Sandinista de Trabajadores	40.0	40.0
Panama	Confederación de Trabajadores de la República de Panamá	40.0	40.0
	Confederación General de Trabajadores de Panamá	53.3	–

<i>Country</i>	<i>Affiliated Organization</i>	<i>Members (Thousands)</i>	
	Confederacion Nacional de Unidad Sindical Independiente	–	86.5
	Convergencia Sindical	33.8	33.8
Paraguay	Central Unitaria de Trabajadores Auténtica	40.0	40.0
	Central Nacional de Trabajadores	120.8	–
	Central Unitaria de Trabajadores	–	87.3
	Central Sindical de Trabajadores de Paraguay	–	2.0
Peru	Central Autónoma de Trabajadores del Perú	12.7	12.7
	Central Unitaria de Trabajadores del Peru	25.0	25.0
St. Lucia	National Workers' Union	3.0	3.0
	St. Lucia Seamen, Waterfront and General Workers' Trade Union	1.0	1.0
Surinam	Algemeen Verbond van Vakverenigingen in Suriname "De Moederbond"	5.4	5.4
	Organisatie van Samenwerkende Autonome Vakbonden	5.0	5.0
Trinidad and Tobago	All Trinidad General Workers' Trade Union	0.5	0.5
	National Trade Union Centre of Trinidad and Tobago	45.0	45.0
Venezuela	Confederación de Trabajadores de Venezuela	250.0	250.0
	Allianza Sindical Independiente	120.0	419.0
<i>Total Latin America and Caribbean</i>		24,118.3	20,863.3
<i>World Total</i>		175,393.0	200,132.6

## Appendix D

### *Organized Labor: Historical Statistics*

#### THE NEGLECT OF LABOR UNION STATISTICS

The tables in this appendix trace the growth and main features of labor union **membership** in the world since about 1870, with an emphasis on recent developments. The figures refer to labor unions able to engage in **collective bargaining** in a reasonably free political and legal environment and exclude countries whose unions were (or are) under the effective control of an authoritarian government such as under fascism or **communism**.

Although, like any historical statistical series, they present problems, the absence of data on labor unions in the main readily available reference books on historical statistics is a powerful reason for their presentation here. For example, B. R. Mitchell, *International Historical Statistics: Europe, 1750–1988* (New York: Stockton Press, 1992), follows his earlier international statistical works and gives data on the cost to the economy of organized labor, that is, through **labor disputes**, but ignores labor union membership despite the time series information available in George S. Bain and Robert Price, *Profiles of Union Growth: A Comparative Statistical Portrait of Eight Countries* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1980). The second volume of the monumental data book by Peter Flora et al., *State, Economy, and Society in Western Europe, 1815–1975* (Chicago: St. James Press, 1987), had been planned to include labor union membership data, but this chapter was never completed. The 2014 publication by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) *How Was Life? Global Well-Being since 1820* by J. L. van Zanden et al. (eds.) also lacks any indication of the role of organized labor in the establishment of the improvement in life the authors observe.

Despite their social and economic importance, neither the United Nations nor the **International Labour Organization (ILO)** have for a long time accepted the responsibility to regularly collect and publish global labor union statistics. This is a staggering omission from the global statistical record given that there were 200 million labor union members in the world in 2018. Membership data are gathered by the **International Trade Union Confederation**, but their efforts could hardly be described as readily available compared with those of the United Nations or the ILO, nor are they complete for

a number of countries (namely, the **United States, Canada, Germany, Japan, Malta, and Switzerland**) as they record only affiliates. Despite these defects, this has been the only single international source available from 1949.

The record of the ILO is particularly strange in this field. Since 1927, it has been publishing world labor dispute statistics—information of often dubious accuracy and comparability between countries, as the ILO has easily been ready to admit since the first publication—but ignored the union membership data available for many member countries. In previous editions of this work, we called on the ILO to remedy this gaping statistical hole in a comprehensive, ongoing, systematic fashion, and that call is repeated here, particularly in regard to the growth of female membership of international organized labor. But there has been an improvement since 2000, when the ILO started publishing a single number for trade union strength: trade **union density**, or the percentage of **employees** who are trade union members. For the purposes of international comparability of these statistics, trade union membership refers only to union members who are employees. Unfortunately, so far the ILO has only been publishing one percentage per country.

The need for an international impetus in this area has also been shown by the way certain countries have reduced their official statistical collections of labor union membership figures. Examples include Switzerland (which reduced its coverage greatly after 1987) and **Australia** (which ceased its annual census of labor unions in 1996 and reduced the amount of data it published on union members after 1999). The same can be said of labor conflict or **strike** statistics that are no longer published in a number of countries. Luckily, the OECD published data on trade union density for its 36 member states around the globe.

Virtually the only positive recent development in this field has been the creation of the Database on the Institutional Characteristics of Trade Unions, Wage Setting, State Intervention, and Social Pacts under the leadership of Jelle Visser at the Amsterdam Institute for Advanced Labour Studies (AIAS). Covering 34 countries with data mainly dating from 1960, this database can be accessed on the Internet. It is especially useful for monitoring trends in Eastern Europe. From 2020, the database will be continued with the support of the OECD and be rebranded as the OECD/AIAS ICTWSS database. Since 2017, the International Institute of Social History (IISH), also seated in Amsterdam, has been publishing global historical data on strikes, **lockouts**, and other forms of social conflict. The information is also available on the Internet.

## ORGANIZED LABOR STATISTICS AS A SOURCE

There are two main categories of organized labor statistics: dispute statistics and union membership statistics. National collections of labor dispute statistics began earlier than for labor union members, largely because such disputes were seen by governments as a threat to the existing political and economic order. Strikes have been the object of study since the impact of this sign of industrial war, as it was sometimes labeled, grew. Because striking was often considered a breach of law, the police were the first to collect data on strikes. Labor conflicts, being a clear expression of the “social question,” drew public interest by economists, historians, and politicians in the 19th century, and national statistical bureaus soon followed suit. Labor unions and **socialist** parties for their part regarded strikes as a means to achieve power for the working classes and their organizations. To strengthen the feeling of class consciousness and the willingness to go on strike among the workers, they also published data and the stories of strikes. It is surprising to realize that when in 1872 the International Workingmen’s Association (First International) summoned its members to do an inquiry into the conditions of the working classes, the level of labor conflicts was not included in the proposed schedule. But later local organizations realized that from different perspectives it was wise to remember and thus publish information on the strikes and lockouts of preceding years. Since 1927, the ILO has been compiling national data on strikes and lockouts for many countries. These aggregated data on a yearly basis per nation-state and economic sector have been published in the *Yearbook of Labor Statistics*. For each country where an official statistical bureau collects data on labour conflicts, the ILO maps, per economic sector, the yearly totals of the number of labour disputes, the workers involved, and the working days lost as a result of these conflicts. These data are available online at ILOSTAT from the year 1969. The 1927–1969 ILO data have been published online by the IISH as part of the labour conflicts project published on Dataverse. This information was published by the ILO to make time series analysis possible. There have, however, from the beginning always been flaws in the data. In 1993, the ILO published an international overview of these flaws and concluded shortly that the data were and are not suited for international comparisons. Despite this warning, which was already published yearly in the ILO yearbooks, many researchers have used the data to do precisely what they were warned not to do. Understandable, of course, because no other information was available, and because the ILO bluntly calculates a single number (yearly working days lost per 1,000 employees), it seems to be reliable because of its unique character.

In contrast, labor union membership statistics could only be supplied by the unions themselves, who may be unwilling to do so because of political suspicion, hostility, or lack of perceived gain. For instance, the legal recognition of labor unions in Australia in the late 19th century made provision for the registration of unions, but this did not result in the comprehensive registration of unions as there was little benefit to be gained from doing so. But when the system of compulsory **arbitration** and **conciliation** was introduced after 1900, unions had to be registered to participate in the benefits of the system. Similarly, **India's** voluntary system of union registration has meant that its published membership figures since 1932 have underestimated the true level of union membership.

There are two significant obstacles to preparing historical statistics on the membership of labor unions. One is the nature of the membership data. Labor union membership is often very difficult to measure accurately because of high labor turnover in some **occupations**, retirees who continue to be union members (this is an important feature of labor union membership in the **United Kingdom**, Germany, and the United States), and the difficulty of keeping track of members who remain members but have ceased to pay their dues. Also, unions may exaggerate their membership to increase their bargaining power with **employers** or to gain greater representation at general conferences of unions.

The second challenge posed is linking union membership figures to the **labor force** of their particular countries. The concept of the labor force is fairly recent in statistical history, only being adopted widely since the 1930s. Before that, a variety of concepts and definitions were used, which limits international comparisons over time.

## THE LABOR FORCE

Understanding the structure of the labor force is essential to studying organized labor and how it fits into the economy and broader society. The main components of the labor force are set out in the following diagrams. The first diagram shows how the principal groups that make up the labor force can be identified within the total population. For the purposes of studying organized labor, the main groups are employers and employees/workers. It must be stressed that this is a comparatively modern way of looking at the labor force and that the relative importance of the relationships shown has changed over time. For example, the proportions of self-employed and those who worked in family enterprises were far higher before 1900 than after it.

**Total population****Labor force (includes unemployed)****Employed labor force**

Employer	Self-employed	Employee	
		Union member	Nonunion member

Within the employed labor force, it is important to grasp the distinction between an individual's **industry** and occupation to appreciate how the various divisions within the labor force have been a source of conflict within organized labor, particularly the century-old debate over whether unions should be organized by occupation or by industry.

The next diagram sets out some of the features of the relationship between industry and occupation. It is based on how the United States classifies its labor force, but the broad principles are used by many other countries. Again, this is a modern way of examining the labor force, and the diagram makes no attempt to capture the large shifts in the industrial and occupational composition of the labor force that have occurred since 1900. Chief among these shifts have been the decline of the primary industrial sector and since about 1950 the rise of the tertiary or **service sector**. As well, the occupational composition of the labor force has been greatly altered by technological change and the general development of Western economies. This has been most evident in the growth of **white-collar** jobs and the stagnation in the number of **blue-collar** jobs. Further consideration of these trends is outside the purpose of this appendix, but it is sufficient to draw the reader's attention to an analytical framework that can also be used for historical research.

**INDUSTRIES**

Primary

Secondary

Tertiary

Agriculture, mining,  
farming, forestry, and  
fishing

Manufacturing

Service (all other industries)

**OCCUPATIONS**

White-collar

Managerial and professional

Technical, sales, and administrative support

Blue-collar

Service occupations

Precision production

Operators, fabricators, and laborers

Only a few countries in the world are fortunate enough to possess labor force statistics covering the last 100 years. The main source for this information is the population census, which can be used to generate estimates of the number of employees at work not just for the whole economy but for particular industries and occupations. As mentioned before, union membership is linked to the labor force by union density—that is, the number of union members as a percentage of the total number of employees or of a particular subgroup of employees, for example, the percentage of employees in the manufacturing industry who are union members.

In 1940, the United States became the first country in the world to collect labor force statistics from a regular household survey, an example followed by other countries since 1945. As well as collecting standard labor force data, these surveys can also be used to monitor labor union membership. These data began to be available in 1973 for the United States (although the present survey began in 1983), in 1976 for Australia (with follow-up surveys held in 1982, 1986, and thereafter every two years to 1992, and then annually), in 1984 in Canada, in 1987 in **Sweden**, annually in the United Kingdom since 1989, and biannually in **South Africa** in 2000 (from 2008, quarterly). The European Commission has also included questions on labor union membership in its Eurobarometer Surveys at various times from 1973, but in the regulation of 1998 on the organization of labor force surveys, trade union membership was not mentioned, a situation unchanged by 2008.

Comparisons of reported membership by unions and by those estimated from household surveys of trade union membership in Australia, the United Kingdom, and Canada in the 1980s suggest that unions tend to overestimate their memberships. Although subject to sampling error, household surveys are a far more reliable source and provide a wide range of sociodemographic information not available elsewhere, such as **age**, sex, birthplace, and income. Mention should also be made of the national workplace surveys that are available for the United Kingdom from 1980 and for Australia for 1989–1990 and 1995. Using data collected from employers and unions, these surveys offer important insights into labor relations that are not available from other sources, but they do not provide information on the composition of individual unions. Valuable as these surveys are, they suffer from a general lack of comparability across countries for much of the sociodemographic information they contain; this lack of standardization severely handicaps efforts to compare accurately many variables.

Needless to say, these statistics need to be subjected to the same critical scrutiny as any other historical source. What is presented here is done in the spirit of capturing a general picture of changes in union membership over the past 150 years. For many countries, the information is approximate only.



Gaps indicate not just lack of data but also times when free trade unionism has been suppressed. Because data for a number of countries are not always available for the year shown, the data for the closest year have been used.

For further information on the problems of labor unions statistics as a source, the discussions in George S. Bain and Robert Price, *Profiles of Union Growth: A Comparative Statistical Portrait of Eight Countries* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1980); Jelle Visser, "Trends in Trade Union Membership," *OECD Employment Outlook*, July 1991, pp. 97–134; and Clara Chang and Constance Sorrento, "Union Membership Statistics in 12 Countries," *Monthly Labor Review*, December 1991, pp. 46–53, retain their value.

## REGIONAL STATISTICS ON LABOR UNION MEMBERS

Most historical discussions of labor union membership statistics are usually concerned with the national level only, but regional unions' membership statistics are an often overlooked topic and of great interest in themselves where available. The availability of these statistics varies greatly between countries, as the table shows.

<i>Country</i>	<i>Period Available</i>	<i>Source</i>
Australia	1912 to date	<i>Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia; Year Book Australia</i>
India	1932–1933 to date	<i>Statistical Abstract for British India; Statistical Abstract, India</i>
Japan	1950 to date	<i>Year Book of Labour Statistics</i>
Philippines	1982 to date	<i>Yearbook of Labor Statistics</i>
Netherlands	1901 to date	<i>Jaarcijfers voor Nederland; Statistical Yearbook of the Netherlands</i>
Switzerland	1917–1932	<i>Statistisches Jahrbuch der Schweiz</i> , 1932 ed., p. 298
United Kingdom	1984, 1989 to date	<i>Employment Gazette; Labour Market Trends</i>
United States	1930 to date	<i>Directory of National Unions and Employee Associations; Statistical Abstract of the United States</i>

The smallest geographical unit generally available is by state (Australia, India, and United States) or prefecture (Japan) or region (**Philippines** and United Kingdom), although in the earliest publications even information on municipalities was sometimes available. For Australia, unpublished house-

hold survey data for below the state level are available from 1986. It should be noted too that regional statistics are particularly susceptible to boundary changes.

## STRUCTURE OF THIS APPENDIX

Part A contains tables that set out the growth and some features of organized labor in the world since 1870. Part B presents statistics on the membership of organized labor in selected countries. Part C sets out some linkages between organized labor and the labor force for selected countries. Part D compares selected structural changes in the membership of organized labor in Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States in 1995 and 2010. Part E affords information on strike incidence in the 10 most strike-prone countries during 2000 to 2018.

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## **A. ORGANIZED LABOR: INTERNATIONAL**

### **1. Organized Labor: Global Growth, c. 1870–2018**

<i>Membership (Thousands)</i>					
<i>Year</i>	<i>Western Europe</i>	<i>Eastern Europe</i>	<i>Americas</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total</i>
<b>1870</b>	486	4	300	0	790
<b>1880</b>	545	0	50	11	606
<b>1886</b>	828	0	1,010	53	1,891

**Membership (Thousands)**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Western Europe</b>	<b>Eastern Europe</b>	<b>Americas</b>	<b>Other</b>		<b>Total</b>
<b>1890</b>	1,917	0	325	263		2,505
<b>1900</b>	4,193	235	869	133		5,430
<b>1913</b>	10,060	685	2,787	589		14,121
<b>1920</b>	27,692	8,501	6,367	1,221		43,781
<b>1930</b>	17,357	2,538	6,199	4,780		30,874
<b>1939</b>	11,493	100	9,111	2,920		23,624
<b>1945</b>	17,913	0	13,632	4,020		35,565
<b>1950</b>	31,213	0	20,523	12,063		63,799
<b>1960</b>	32,794	0	25,364	17,853		76,011
<b>1970</b>	39,625	0	34,005	24,687		98,317
<b>1980</b>	49,314	0	38,103	30,317		117,734
<b>1990</b>	45,553	5,000	30,328	33,207		114,087
<b>1995</b>	42,904	11,839	42,503	42,996		140,241
<b>2001</b>	39,999	37,526	36,890	52,268		166,683
<b>2010</b>	48,568	46,866	44,867	52,701		193,001
	<b>European Union</b>	<b>Rest of Europe</b>	<b>Americas</b>	<b>Africa</b>	<b>Asia and Oceania</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>2010</b>	48,108	42,179	34,442	14,173	32,081	175,393
<b>2018</b>	45,565	30,997	31,133	22,423	65,366	200,133

**2. Organized Labor: Global Changes, c. 1870–2018****Membership Change (Thousands)**

<b>Period</b>	<b>Western Europe</b>	<b>Eastern Europe</b>	<b>Americas</b>	<b>Other</b>		<b>Total</b>
<b>1870–1880</b>	59	-4	-250	11		-184
<b>1880–1886</b>	283	0	960	42		1,285
<b>1886–1890</b>	1,089	0	-685	210		614
<b>1890–1900</b>	2,276	235	544	-130		2,925
<b>1900–1913</b>	5,867	450	1,918	456		8,691
<b>1913–1920</b>	17,632	7,816	3,580	632		29,660
<b>1920–1930</b>	-10,335	-5,963	-168	3,559		-12,907
<b>1930–1939</b>	-5,864	-2,438	2,912	-1,860		-7,250
<b>1939–1945</b>	6,420	-100	4,521	1,100		11,941
<b>1945–1950</b>	13,300	0	6,891	8,043		28,234

**Membership Change (Thousands)**

<b>Period</b>	<b>Western Europe</b>	<b>Eastern Europe</b>	<b>Americas</b>	<b>Other</b>		<b>Total</b>
<b>1950–1960</b>	1,581	0	4,840	5,791		12,212
<b>1960–1970</b>	6,831	0	8,641	6,834		22,306
<b>1970–1980</b>	9,689	0	4,098	5,630		19,417
<b>1980–1990</b>	-3,762	5,000	-7,775	2,890		-3,647
<b>1990–1995</b>	-2,649	6,839	12,176	9,789		26,154
<b>1995–2001</b>	-2,905	25,688	-5,614	9,272		26,442
<b>2001–2010</b>	8,569	9,340	7,977	432		26,318
	<b>European Union</b>	<b>Rest of Europe</b>	<b>Americas</b>	<b>Africa</b>	<b>Asia and Oceania</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>2010–2018</b>	-2,543	-11,182	-3,309	8,250	33,285	24,740

**3. International Federation of Trade Unions: Membership, 1901–1945**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Number of Country Affiliates</b>	<b>Membership of Affiliates (Thousands)</b>	<b>Percentage of World Union Members</b>
1901	8	1,168.0	21.5
1905	14	2,949.5	–
1910	18	6,118.7	–
1913	21	7,702.4	54.6
1920	21	22,701.1	51.9
1925	21	13,366.4	–
1930	26	13,578.8	49.1
1935	23	9,078.3	–
1939	26	14,638.0	62.0
1945	21	24,751.8	69.6

**4. International Confederation of Free Trade Unions/International Trade Union Confederation: Membership, 1949–2018**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Number of Country Affiliates</b>	<b>Membership of Affiliates (Millions)</b>	<b>Percentage of World Union Members</b>
1949	51	48.0	75.3
1953	63	47.3	–

<b>Year</b>	<b>Number of Country Affiliates</b>	<b>Membership of Affiliates (Millions)</b>	<b>Percentage of World Union Members</b>
1955	75	54.3	—
1959	97	56.0	73.7
1965	96	60.3	—
1969	95	63.0	64.1
1975	88	51.8	—
1979	87	67.0	52.7
1983	94	84.9	—
1989	97	80.3	70.4
1995	135	124.9	89.4
2001	148	156.5	92.1
2010	300	175.8	92.0
2018	331	200.1	—

### 5. International Confederation of Free Trade Unions/International Trade Union Confederation: Membership by Region, 1949–2018

<b>Year</b>	<b>Percentage</b>				<b>Total</b>
	<b>Western Europe</b>	<b>Eastern Europe</b>	<b>Americas</b>	<b>Other</b>	
1949	43.0	—	42.8	14.2	100.0
1959	46.7	—	32.8	20.5	100.0
1969	39.8	7.3	37.0	15.9	100.0
1979	55.2	—	18.3	26.5	100.0
1989	43.6	—	29.1	27.3	100.0
2001	27.3	23.5	20.7	28.5	100.0
2010	26.1	26.7	19.3	27.9	100.0
	<b>European Union</b>	<b>Rest of Europe</b>			
2018	22.8	15.5	15.5	46.2	100.0

### 6. Organized Labor: Largest Unions in the World, 1900–2018

<b>Year</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Members (Millions)</b>
<b>1900</b>	UK	Miners' Federation of Great Britain	0.4

<i>Year</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Members (Millions)</i>
1910	UK	Miners' Federation of Great Britain	0.6
1920	Germany	Deutscher Metallarbeiter-Verband (German Metalworkers' Union)	1.6
1933	UK	Miners' Federation of Great Britain	0.5
1937	UK	Transport and General Workers' Union	0.7
1950	Germany	IG Metall (Metalworkers' Industrial Union)	1.3
1960	Germany	IG Metall (Metalworkers' Industrial Union)	1.7
1970	Germany	IG Metall (Metalworkers' Industrial Union)	2.4
1980	Germany	IG Metall (Metalworkers' Industrial Union)	2.6
1990	Germany	IG Metall (Metalworkers' Industrial Union)	3.6
2001	Germany	Ver.di (United Services Union)	3.0
2010	USA	National Education Association	3.2
2018	USA	National Education Association	3.0

## 7. Organized Labor: Trade Unions with a Million or More Members, 2001 and 2018

<i>Labor Union/Country</i>	<i>Members (Millions)</i>	
	<i>2001</i>	<i>2018</i>
Ver.di (United Services Union)/Germany	3.0 (1)	2.0 (3)
IG Metall (Metalworkers' Union)/Germany	2.7 (2)	2.2 (2)
National Education Association/US	2.7 (3)	3.0 (1)
Service Employees' International Union/US	1.4 (4)	1.9 (4)
United Food and Commercial Workers' International Union/US	1.4 (5)	1.3 (11)
Teamsters/US	1.4 (6)	1.3 (10)
American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees/US	1.3 (7)	1.3 (9)

<b>Labor Union/Country</b>	<b>Members (Millions)</b>	
	<b>2001</b>	<b>2018</b>
UNISON/UK	1.3 (8)	1.3 (8)
Amicus/UK	1.1 (9)	–
Unite the Union/UK (formed from the merger of Amicus and the Transport and General Workers' Union, 2007)	–	1.4 (7)
American Federation of Teachers/US	1.1 (10)	1.5 (5)
Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación (National Educational Workers Syndicate)/Mexico	–	1.4 (6)

## 8. Organized Labor: Reported Murders of Union Activists, 1999–2009

<b>Year</b>	<b>Murders</b>
1999	140
2000	209
2001	223
2002	213
2003	129
2004	145
2005	115
2006	144
2007	na
2008	76
2009	101

### Countries in Which Activists Were Murdered, 2009

<b>Country</b>	<b>Murders</b>
Colombia	48
Guatemala	16
Honduras	12
Mexico	6
Bangladesh	6
Brazil	4
Dominican Republic	3
Philippines	3



<b>Year</b>	<b>Murders</b>
India	1
Iraq	1
Nigeria	1
Total	101

## B. ORGANIZED LABOR: SELECTED COUNTRIES

### 9. Organized Labor: Membership in Selected Countries, c. 1870–c. 1890

<b>Country</b>	<b>Membership (Thousands)</b>			
	<b>c. 1870</b>	<b>c. 1880</b>	<b>c. 1886</b>	<b>c. 1890</b>
Australia	–	11	50	200
Austria	–	–	–	47
Czech part of Austro- Hungarian Empire	4	–	–	–
Denmark	–	–	–	31
France	120	60	110	232
Germany	77	21	137	357
Ireland	–	–	–	50
Italy	–	–	–	41
Netherlands	–	–	–	16
New Zealand	–	–	3	63
Norway	–	–	–	20
Spain	–	–	–	5
Sweden	–	–	–	9
United Kingdom	289	464	581	1,109
United States	300	50	1,010	325

## 10. Organized Labor: Membership in Selected Countries, c. 1890–1940

<i>Western Europe</i>	<i>Membership (Thousands)</i>					
	<i>c. 1890</i>	<i>c. 1900</i>	<i>1913</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>1930</i>	<i>1940</i>
Austria	47	119	263	1,004	817	–
Belgium	–	42	203	920	671	350
Denmark	31	96	153	362	339	543
Finland	–	–	28	59	15	66
France	232	492	1,027	1,053	900	1,300
Germany	357	850	2,974	10,517	6,925	–
Greece	–	–	–	–	83	–
Iceland	–	–	–	1	4	–
Ireland	50	67	70	189	102	163
Italy	41	280	435	3,410	–	–
Luxembourg	–	–	–	–	18	–
Netherlands	16	19	234	684	625	798
Norway	20	20	64	143	140	307
Portugal	–	–	90	100	–	–
Spain	5	26	128	220	946	–
Sweden	9	67	134	403	554	971
Switzerland	–	90	122	313	320	385
United Kingdom	1,109	2,025	4,135	8,348	4,842	6,558
<b>Eastern Europe</b>						
Bosnia	–	–	5	–	–	–
Bulgaria	–	3	30	36	19	–
Croatia	–	–	7	–	–	–
Czecho-slovakia	–	62	318	1,650	1,213	–
Estonia	–	–	–	–	13	–
Hungary	–	23	115	343	141	–
Latvia	–	–	–	–	26	–
Lithuania	–	–	–	–	18	–
Poland	–	15	160	947	979	–
Romania	–	4	40	300	80	–

<b>Western Europe</b>	<b>Membership (Thousands)</b>					
	<b>c. 1890</b>	<b>c. 1900</b>	<b>1913</b>	<b>1920</b>	<b>1930</b>	<b>1940</b>
Russia	–	123	–	5,200	–	–
Serbia	–	5	10	–	–	–
Yugoslavia	–	–	–	25	49	–
<b>Other</b>						
Argentina	–	–	23	68	280	–
Australia	200	97	498	685	856	956
Brazil	–	–	–	–	270	–
Canada	–	–	176	374	322	362
Ceylon	–	–	–	–	114	–
Chile	–	–	–	150	204	–
China	–	–	–	–	2,800	–
Cuba	–	–	–	–	71	–
Dutch East Indies	–	–	–	–	32	–
Egypt	–	–	7	40	–	–
India	–	–	–	150	242	511
Japan	–	8	–	103	354	9
Korea	–	–	–	–	123	–
Mexico	–	–	–	1,000	1,837	–
New Zealand	63	24	72	96	102	248
Palestine	–	–	–	4	20	–
Peru	–	–	–	–	25	–
Philippines	–	–	–	–	67	–
South Africa	–	4	12	135	118	273
United States	325	869	2,588	4,775	3,162	7,877
Uruguay	–	–	–	–	28	–

## 11. Organized Labor: Membership in Selected Countries, 1950–1970

<b>Country</b>	<b>1950</b>	<b>1960</b>	<b>1970</b>
	<b>Membership (thousands)</b>		
Australia	1,605	1,912	2,331
Austria	1,291	1,501	1,520
Belgium	1,173	1,468	1,606

<b>Country</b>	<b>1950</b>	<b>1960</b>	<b>1970</b>
Canada	1,006	1,459	2,173
Denmark	714	987	1,143
Finland	269	468	950
France	4,000	2,592	3,549
Germany	5,513	7,687	8,251
India	2,371	3,077	4,887
Ireland	285	319	381
Italy	4,798	2,887	4,646
Japan	5,774	7,662	11,605
Malta	19	30	34
Netherlands	1,160	1,354	1,585
New Zealand	267	332	379
Norway	488	542	759
Sweden	1,278	1,879	2,546
Switzerland	627	728	843
UK	9,243	9,835	11,178
USA	13,430	17,049	21,248

## 12. Organized Labor: Membership in Selected Countries, 1980–2018

<b>Country</b>	<b>Membership (Thousands)</b>			
	<b>1980</b>	<b>1990</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2018</b>
Australia	2,555	2,660	1,902	1,620
Austria	1,444	1,375	1,187	1,000
Belgium	1,651	1,646	1,705	2,054
Canada	3,397	4,031	4,058	4,828
Denmark	1,605	1,756	1,824	1,753
Finland	1,332	1,527	1,504	1,330
France	3,282	1,968	1,781	2,071
Germany	8,154	8,014	7,928	6,222
Ireland	545	491	550	461
Italy	7,189	5,872	5,184	6,154
Japan	12,369	12,635	11,539	10,070
Netherlands	1,517	1,348	1,574	1,200
New Zealand	516	437	319	367

<b>Country</b>	<b>Membership (Thousands)</b>			
	<b>1980</b>	<b>1990</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2018</b>
Norway	938	1,034	1,129	1,236
Sweden	3,039	3,322	2,989	2,970
Switzerland	853	820	735	675
United Kingdom	11,652	8,952	7,149	6,400
United States	20,095	16,740	16,258	14,744

### 13. Organized Labor: Women Membership in Selected Countries, 1900–2018

<b>Women as a Percentage of Total Members</b>					
<b>Year</b>	<b>United Kingdom</b>	<b>Germany</b>	<b>Australia</b>	<b>United States</b>	<b>Japan</b>
1900	8	3	–	–	–
1913	11	8	4	4	–
1920	16	–	11	8	–
1930	16	8	14	–	–
1940	17	–	16	9	–
1950	18	18	19	17	23
1960	20	18	20	18	26
1970	25	16	24	24	–
1980	29	21	32	24	–
1990	38	26	37	37	28
1994	44	32	40	40	–
2001	47	32	43	42	–
2010	55	32	48	46	29
2018	55	34	51	45	33

### 14. Organized Labor as a Proportion of Employees: Selected Countries, c. 1900–1950

<b>Country</b>	<b>Percentage of Employees</b>				
	<b>c. 1900</b>	<b>1913</b>	<b>1920</b>	<b>1930</b>	<b>1950</b>
Australia	9	34	46	51	59
Austria	3	5	51	38	62
Belgium	3	10	45	28	49
Canada	–	7	15	14	33

<i>Country</i>	<i>Percentage of Employees</i>				
	<i>c. 1900</i>	<i>1913</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>1930</i>	<i>1950</i>
Denmark	14	15	35	32	52
Finland	–	14	25	5	29
France	7	13	12	9	38
Germany	6	18	53	34	35
Ireland	–	–	36	19	46
Italy	6	6	39	–	41
Japan	–	–	–	30	56
Netherlands	2	17	36	24	42
New Zealand	8	19	26	19	44
Norway	3	8	20	36	50
Sweden	5	8	28	24	68
Switzerland	10	13	26	26	39
United Kingdom	13	16	48	9	44
United States	6	9	17	3	28

### 15. Organized Labor as a Proportion of Employees: Selected Countries, 1960–2016

<i>Country</i>	<i>Percentage of Employees</i>						
	<i>1960</i>	<i>1970</i>	<i>1980</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2006</i>	<i>2016</i>
Australia	50	44	49	40	25	20	15
Austria	68	63	57	47	37	32	27
Belgium	42	42	54	54	49	54	54
Canada	29	31	34	34	31	30	28
Denmark	57	60	79	75	74	69	67
Finland	32	51	69	73	75	72	65
France	20	22	18	10	8	8	8
Germany	35	32	35	31	25	21	17
Ireland	50	59	64	57	41	35	24
Italy	25	37	50	39	35	33	34
Japan	33	35	31	26	22	18	17
Netherlands	40	37	35	24	23	22	17
New Zealand	44	39	48	49	22	23	18
Norway	60	57	58	59	54	55	53
Sweden	72	68	78	82	80	75	67

<b>Country</b>	<b>Percentage of Employees</b>						
	<b>1960</b>	<b>1970</b>	<b>1980</b>	<b>1990</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2016</b>
Switzerland	36	29	31	24	21	19	16
United Kingdom	40	45	51	39	30	29	24
United States	26	27	23	16	13	12	10

## 16. Organized Labor by Selected Industry Groups: Australia, United Kingdom, and United States, 1900–2015

<b>Year</b>	<b>Percentage of Organized Labor</b>		
	<b>Australia</b>	<b>United Kingdom</b>	<b>United States</b>
<b>Mining</b>			
1900	21.7	28.1	15.1
1913	8.1	23.4	15.9
1920	6.1	15.1	8.7
1930	5.0	13.5	6.8
1940	5.2	11.7	8.7
1950	3.0	8.2	3.2
1960	2.0	7.5	0.6
1970	1.5	3.3	1.0
1980	2.7	3.3	1.0
1990	2.2	1.9	0.7
2001	1.2	0.3	0.4
2010	2.3	na	0.4
2015	2.3	0.2	0.2
<b>Manufacturing</b>			
1900	14.2	43.7	34.2
1913	29.2	39.2	29.3
1920	32.5	42.2	37.9
1930	34.7	39.2	23.2
1940	39.5	38.0	38.3
1950	38.4	41.0	42.8
1960	36.1	41.7	51.3
1970	35.4	45.0	41.9
1980	24.7	29.4	29.9
1990	19.6	25.2	25.1

*Percentage of Organized Labor*

<b>Year</b>	<b>Australia</b>	<b>United Kingdom</b>	<b>United States</b>
2001	16.3	14.9	16.3
2010	9.1	na	9.6
2015	7.4	7.7	9.0

**17. Organized Labor: Median Weekly Earnings, Australia and United States, 1982/1983–2007**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Australia</b>		<b>United States</b>	
	<b>Union Members</b>	<b>Percentage Over Nonunion Employees</b>	<b>Union Members</b>	<b>Percentage Over Nonunion Employees</b>
<b>Full-Time Employees (Males)</b>				
<b>1982/1983</b>	\$295	3.1	\$411	14.1
<b>1986</b>	\$391	4.9	\$482	18.3
<b>1990</b>	\$506	4.2	\$542	15.7
<b>1995</b>	\$637	8.5	\$640	20.8
<b>1999</b>	\$792	6.3	\$711	15.8
<b>2002</b>	\$912	7.5	\$780	16.4
<b>2007</b>	\$1,096	10.2	\$913	23.7
<b>Full-Time Employees (Females)</b>				
<b>1982/1983</b>	\$234	1.7	\$307	22.5
<b>1986</b>	\$319	5.0	\$368	25.5
<b>1990</b>	\$426	7.5	\$448	27.2
<b>1995</b>	\$555	9.7	\$527	26.8
<b>1999</b>	\$686	9.8	\$608	26.2
<b>2002</b>	\$778	8.9	\$667	23.5
<b>2007</b>	\$919	11.5	\$790	33.4
<b>Full-Time Employees (All)</b>				
<b>1982/1983</b>	\$276	6.9	\$398	27.6
<b>1986</b>	\$372	7.8	\$444	26.8
<b>1990</b>	\$484	8.1	\$509	23.4
<b>1995</b>	\$601	8.5	\$602	25.8
<b>1999</b>	\$758	8.3	\$672	23.2
<b>2002</b>	\$866	10.1	\$740	20.7
<b>2007</b>	\$1,067	15.9	\$863	30.2



**D. ORGANIZED LABOR: SELECTED CHANGES IN MEMBERSHIP  
IN AUSTRALIA, THE UNITED KINGDOM,  
AND THE UNITED STATES, 1995 AND 2010**

**18. Organized Labor as a Proportion of Employees by Age:  
Australia, 1995 and 2010**

<i>Males</i>	<i>Unions Members as Percent of Employees</i>		
	<i>1995</i>	<i>2010</i>	<i>Percent Change</i>
15-24	24.4	9.6	-60.8
25-34	35.0	15.2	-56.5
35-44	40.6	18.8	-53.7
45-54	41.8	24.1	-42.2
55-64	40.5	24.6	-39.2
<b>All Ages</b>	<b>35.7</b>	<b>17.9</b>	<b>-49.8</b>
<b>Females</b>			
15-24	20.7	8.3	-60.1
25-34	29.5	15.3	-48.1
35-44	32.3	19.3	-40.2
45-54	34.4	25.7	-25.4
55-64	33.7	28.4	-15.7
<b>All Ages</b>	<b>29.1</b>	<b>18.7</b>	<b>-35.6</b>
<b>All</b>			
15-24	22.6	8.9	-60.5
25-34	32.3	14.8	-54.0
35-44	36.8	19.0	-48.2
45-54	38.4	24.9	-35.2
55-64	38.1	26.3	-30.9
<b>All Ages</b>	<b>32.7</b>	<b>18.3</b>	<b>-44.1</b>

## 19. Organized Labor as a Proportion of Employees by Age: United States, 1995 and 2010

<i>Unions Members as Percent of Employees</i>			
<i>Males</i>	<i>1995</i>	<i>2010</i>	<i>Percent Change</i>
16–24	6.7	5.0	–25.4
25–34	13.8	10.6	–23.2
35–44	20.4	13.6	–33.3
45–54	25.5	16.3	–36.1
55–64	23.4	16.1	–31.2
<b>All Ages</b>	<b>17.2</b>	<b>12.6</b>	<b>–26.7</b>
<b>Females</b>			
16–24	4.4	3.6	–18.2
25–34	10.1	9.5	–5.9
35–44	14.6	12.0	–17.8
45–54	17.9	13.8	–22.9
55–64	15.5	15.3	–1.3
<b>All Ages</b>	<b>12.3</b>	<b>11.1</b>	<b>–9.8</b>
<b>All</b>			
16–24	5.6	4.3	–23.2
25–34	12.1	10.1	–16.5
35–44	17.6	12.8	–27.3
45–54	21.7	15.0	–30.9
55–64	19.6	15.7	–19.9
<b>All Ages</b>	<b>14.9</b>	<b>11.9</b>	<b>–20.1</b>

## 20. Organized Labor: Selected Membership Features, Australia, United Kingdom, and United States, 1995 and 2010

<i>Country</i>	<i>1995</i>	<i>2010</i>	<i>Percent Change</i>
<i>Number of Members (Thousands)</i>			
<b>Australia</b>	2,252	1,788	–20.6
<b>United Kingdom</b>	7,125	6,536	–8.3
<b>United States</b>	16,360	14,715	–10.1
<b>Males</b>			

<b>Country</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>2010</b>	<b>Percent Change</b>
<b>Number of Members (Thousands)</b>			
<b>Australia</b>	59.9%	52.0%	-13.2
<b>United Kingdom</b>	55.1%	45.5%	-17.4
<b>United States</b>	60.7%	54.3%	-10.5
<b>Females</b>			
<b>Australia</b>	40.1%	48.0%	19.8
<b>United Kingdom</b>	44.9%	54.5%	21.4
<b>United States</b>	39.3%	45.7%	16.2
<b>Public Sector</b>			
<b>Australia</b>	42.1%	37.1%	-11.7
<b>United Kingdom</b>	52.3%	62.2%	19.0
<b>United States</b>	42.3%	49.4%	16.6
<b>Private Sector</b>			
<b>Australia</b>	57.9%	62.9%	8.5
<b>United Kingdom</b>	47.7%	37.7%	-20.8
<b>United States</b>	57.6%	50.6%	-12.1
<b>Full-Time</b>			
<b>Australia</b>	82.3%	76.6%	-6.9
<b>United Kingdom</b>	84.2%	78.4%	-6.9
<b>United States</b>	90.6%	89.4%	-1.3
<b>Part-Time</b>			
<b>Australia</b>	17.7%	23.4%	32.3
<b>United Kingdom</b>	15.8%	21.6%	36.5
<b>United States</b>	9.4%	10.6%	12.8

## E. STRIKE INCIDENCE, 2000–2018

### 21. The 10 Countries with the Highest Strike Incidence, 2000–2009

	<b>Working Days Lost per 1,000 Employees</b>
Lithuania (2008)	2,7087.0
Argentina (2000)	2,083.4

	<i>Working Days Lost per 1,000 Employees</i>
New Zealand (2009)	1,600.0
Israel (2003)	1,124.0
South Africa (2007)	753.0
Turkey (2007)	502.2
Italy (2002)	304.9
Canada (2005)	304.8
Spain (2002)	297.4
Finland (2005)	280.3

## 22. The 10 Countries with the Highest Strike Incidence, 2010–2018

	<i>Working Days Lost per 1,000 Employees</i>
New Zealand (2010)	1,000.0
Finland (2011)	664.3
Chile (2018)	257.1
Israel (2011)	209.2
United Kingdom (2017)	178.0
Norway (2012)	139.3
France (2016)	131.0
Korea, Republic of (2016)	104.1
Hungary (2018)	84.4
Spain (2012)	74.7

## NOTES AND SOURCES FOR TABLES

### 1. Organized Labor: Global Growth, c. 1870–2018

*Sources:* These sources also apply for Tables 2, 3, 4, 8. The membership of the affiliates of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) have been used as the basis of the world total of union membership from 1950. It should be noted that these figures are incomplete for the United States, Canada, Germany, Japan, Malta, and Switzerland, as well as for certain periods, and they require upward adjustment. Other sources include H. A. Marquand et

al., *Organized Labour in Four Continents* (London: Longmans, Green, 1939), 438 (for Mexico in 1940), and Elias T. Ramos, *Philippines Labor Movement in Transition* (Quezon City: New Day, 1976), 8–9 (for the Philippines in 1940). For the last decade, 2010–2018, only membership data of the ITUC was used.

## **2. Organized Labor: Global Changes, c. 1870–2018**

*Sources:* Same as for Table 1.

## **3. International Federation of Trade Unions: Membership, 1901–1945**

*Sources:* W. Schevenels, *Forty-Five Years: International Federation of Trade Unions* (Brussels: Board of Trustees of the International Federation of Trade Unions, 1956), 23, 62, 423–25, Tables 1 and 2.

## **4. International Confederation of Free Trade Unions/International Trade Union Confederation: Membership, 1949–2018**

*Sources:* John P. Windmuller, *The International Trade Union Movement* (Deventer, Netherlands: Kluwer, 1980), 62. Data after 1979 were supplied by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the International Trade Union Confederation.

## **5. International Confederation of Free Trade Unions/ International Trade Union Confederation: Membership by Region, 1949–2018**

*Sources:* Same as for Table 4.

## **6. Organized Labor: Largest Unions in the World, 1900–2018**

*Sources:* H. A. Clegg, *A History of British Trade Unions since 1889*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 570; *Statistisches Jahrbuch für des Bundesrepublik Deutschland*; John Harper Publishing, *Trade Unions of the World* (London: John Harper Publishing, 2001); websites for individual organizations.

## **7. Organized Labor: Unions with a Million or More Members, 2001 and 2018**

*Sources:* John Harper Publishing, *Trade Unions of the World* (London: John Harper Publishing, 2001); websites for individual organizations.

## 8. Organized Labor: Reported Murders of Union Activists, 1999–2009

*Sources:* *Annual Survey of Violations of Trade Union Rights*, prepared by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and its successor, the International Trade Union Confederation.

## 9. Organized Labor: Membership in Selected Countries, c. 1870–c.1890

*Sources:* **UK:** B. C. Roberts, *The Trade Union Congress, 1868–1921* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1958), 379. Data are for 1871, 1881, and 1885. (Note: these data refer only to TUC affiliates and so underestimate total union membership, but this seems to be the only time series available for this period.) **US:** Estimates in Lance E. Davis et al., *American Economic Growth: An Economist's History of the United States* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), 220. Data are for 1870, 1880, and 1886. **France:** Val R. Lorwin, *The French Labor Movement* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954), 12, 18, 23; Edward Shorter and Charles Tilly, *Strikes in France, 1830–1968* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 371. Data are for 1870, 1881, and 1886. **Germany:** Michael Schneider, *A Brief History of the German Trade Unions*, trans. Barrie Selman (Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz Nachf., 1991), 383. Data are for 1869, 1880, and 1885. **Austro-Hungarian Empire:** Marcel van der Linden and Jürgen Rojahn, eds., *The Formation of Labour Movements* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), 2:334. Data refer to 1871. **Spain:** Dick Geary, ed., *Labour and Socialist Movements in Europe before 1914* (Oxford: Berg, 1989), 245. Data are for 1881. **Australia:** J. T. Sutcliffe, *A History of Trade Unionism in Australia* (Melbourne: Macmillan, 1967), 66–67. Data are for 1879 and 1885. **New Zealand:** H. Roth, *Trade Unions in New Zealand: Past and Present* (Wellington: A. H. and A. W. Reed, 1973), 167. Data are for 1885.

*Notes:* (1) The 1880 figure for France refers to Paris only. (2) The Australian figure for 1890 was supplied by Michael Quinlan and Margaret Gardner of Griffith University from their database on Australian labor unions and labor disputes.

## 10. Organized Labor: Membership in Selected Countries, c. 1900–1940

*Sources:* The primary sources were Arthur M. Ross and Paul T. Hartman, *Changing Patterns of Industrial Conflict* (New York and London: John Wiley & Sons, 1960), 200–201; George S. Bain and Robert Price, *Profiles of Union Growth: A Comparative Statistical Portrait of Eight Countries* (Ox-

ford: Basil Blackwell, 1980); Jelle Visser, "In Search of Inclusive Unionism," special issue, *Bulletin of Comparative Industrial Relations* 18 (1990): 18; Marcel van der Linden and Jürgen Rojahn, eds., *The Formation of Labour Movements*, 2 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), 141, 143, 300, 334, 357, 385, 411, 517, 666; A. P. Coldrick and Philip Jones, eds., *The International Directory of the Trade Union Movement* (London: Macmillan, 1979); W. Schevenels, *Forty-Five Years: International Federation of Trade Unions* (Brussels: Board of Trustees of the International Federation of Trade Unions, 1956), 63; Commonwealth of Australia, Bureau of Census and Statistics, *Labour Reports* (Melbourne: Government Printer, 1922–1932).

Other data were drawn from Val R. Lorwin, *The French Labor Movement* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954), 23; Edward Shorter and Charles Tilly, *Strikes in France, 1830–1968* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 371–72; Michael Schneider, *A Brief History of the German Trade Unions*, trans. Barrie Selman (Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz Nachf., 1991), 383–86; Daniel L. Horowitz, *The Italian Labor Movement* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963), 44n106 (1893 data), 59n21, 75, 111, 125; John W. Boyle, *The Irish Labor Movement in the Nineteenth Century* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1988), 125, 127; Charles McCarthy, *Trade Unions in Ireland, 1894–1960* (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1977), 622, 635; Leo Wolman, *The Growth of American Trade Unions, 1880–1923* (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1924), 124; Lance E. Davis et al., *American Economic Growth: An Economist's History of the United States* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), 220; H. Roth, *Trade Unions in New Zealand: Past and Present* (Wellington: A. H. and A. W. Reed, 1973), 167–70; New Zealand, *Official Year Books*; John P. Windmuller, *Labor Relations in the Netherlands* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1969), 39; Dick Geary, ed., *Labour and Socialist Movements in Europe before 1914* (Oxford: Berg, 1989), 245, 254; Augustus D. Webb, *The New Dictionary of Statistics* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1911), 602, 606 (data for Austria for 1892 and 1901 and for 1906 for Hungary and Switzerland); Gary K. Busch, *The Political Role of International Trade Unions* (London: Macmillan, 1983), 110, 124; Walter Kendall, *The Labour Movement in Europe* (London: Allen Lane, 1975), Statistical Appendix; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, December 1991, 48; Walter Galenson, ed., *Labor in Developing Economies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 216, 283; *Longman's Trade Unions of the World*, 2nd ed. (London: Longmans, 1987), 205, for the Palestine figure for 1920.

*Note:* Irish data are also included in the UK figure up to 1920; the 1920 figure shown refers to 1922. They are included here separately for their intrinsic interest. Data for Chile 1920 and 1930 are in fact for 1923 and 1927, respectively.

### **11. Organized Labor: Membership in Selected Countries, 1950–1970**

*Sources:* Same as for Table 10. Except for New Zealand and the United States, the 1960 and 1970 data are from the Database on the Institutional Characteristics of Trade Unions, Wage Setting, State Intervention, and Social Pacts under the leadership of Jelle Visser at Amsterdam. The data refer to net membership only.

### **12. Organized Labor: Membership in Selected Countries, 1980–2018**

*Sources:* Same as for Table 11. Data for Canada in 2017–2018 refer to 2015.

### **13. Organized Labor: Women Membership in Selected Countries, 1900–2010**

*Sources:* George S. Bain and Robert Price, *Profiles of Union Growth: A Comparative Statistical Portrait of Eight Countries* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1980), 37–38, 102, 115, 123–24; United Kingdom Employment Department, *Employment Gazette*, January 1983, 26, January 1992, 188, May 1995, 192; Michael Schneider, *A Brief History of the German Trade Unions* (Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz Nachf., 1991), 82, 184, 384–85, 387; *Statistisches Jahrbuch 1995 für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, 741; Australian Bureau of Statistics, Trade Union Statistics, Australia, Catalogue No. 6323.0 (1980 data); Australian Bureau of Statistics, Trade Union Members, Australia, Catalogue No. 6325.0 (1990 data), Product No. 6325.0.40.001, p. 19 (1994 data); Australian Bureau of Statistics, Employee Earnings, Benefits and Trade Union Membership, Catalogue No. 6310.0; Leo Wolman, *The Growth of American Trade Unions, 1880–1923* (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1924), 98–99; James J. Kenneally, *Women and American Trade Unions* (St. Albans, VT: Eden Press Women's Publications, 1978), 218; *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (data for 1954–1978); U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employment and Earnings*, January 1991, 229, January 1996, 210; *Japan Statistical Yearbook*, 1961, 351; Ministry of Labour, Japan, *Year Book of Labour Statistics*, 1991, 320.

For 2010 and 2018, the sources were the data cubes for Australia and the United Kingdom. These are spreadsheets that contain time series on more detailed information than is published. They can be downloaded from the Australian Bureau of Statistics at <https://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Previousproducts/6333.0Main%20Features5August%202016> (data for 2018



refers to 2016) and for the UK from <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/trade-union-statistics-2018>. The U.S. data can be downloaded in spreadsheets from <http://www.stats.bls.gov/news.release/union2.t01.htm>.

*Notes:* (1) **Germany:** the 1900 figure refers to 1902–1903; the figure for 1930 refers to 1931; the figure for 2001 refers to 1997, after which no further national data were published. In a report published in 2019, data for the biggest trade union, DGB, were published. These are used for 2010 and 2018. (2) **USA:** 1913 figure refers to 1910; 1950 figure refers to 1954; 1980 figure refers to 1978. (3) **Japan:** 1990 figure refers to 1991, and no further data were published until 2010 ([https://www.mhlw.go.jp/english/database/db-l/bslu-report\\_2010.html](https://www.mhlw.go.jp/english/database/db-l/bslu-report_2010.html)).

#### **14. Organized Labor as a Proportion of Employees: Selected Countries, c. 1900–1950**

*Sources:* Same as for Table 9; Australian data for 1890 and 1900 calculated by the author; Peter Flora et al., *State, Economy, and Society in Western Europe, 1815–1975* (Chicago: St. James Press, 1987), 2:689–753, contains a valuable nonagricultural employees series that was used to calculate union density for some countries.

#### **15. Organized Labor as a Proportion of Employees: Selected Countries, 1960–2016**

*Sources:* Same as for Table 14; Jelle Visser, “Trends in Trade Union Membership,” *OECD Employment Outlook*, July 1991, 140, and “In Search of Inclusive Unionism,” *Bulletin of Comparative Labour Relations* 18 (1990): 18, 35. These data have been supplemented by the Database on the Institutional Characteristics of Trade Unions, Wage Setting, State Intervention, and Social Pacts, Amsterdam. Data for 2016 were taken from ILOSTAT (10 January 2020).

#### **16. Organized Labor by Selected Industry Groups: Australia, United Kingdom, and United States, 1900–2015**

*Sources:* **Australia:** *New South Wales Statistical Register*, 1903, pp. 805–6 (1902 data); *Western Australia Printed Papers, Reports Etc. of the Parliament, 1904*, vol. 1, Report of Proceedings under the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act, 1902, pp. 10–14 (1901 data); Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, *Labour and Industrial Branch Report* (Melbourne: Government Printer), 1912–1922; Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics/Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Labour Report* (Melbourne: Government Printer), 1923–1973; Australian Bureau of Statistics, Trade Un-

ion Members, Australia, Catalogue No. 6325.0, 1982, 1990; Australian Bureau of Statistics, Employee Earnings, Benefits and Trade Union Membership, Catalogue No. 6310.0. *Note:* the figure for 1900 refers to New South Wales (1902) and Western Australia (1901) only, and the figure for 1980 refers to 1982–1983. For data from 1990 to 2010, the source was a data cube that can be downloaded from the Australian Bureau of Statistics at <http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/6310.0Aug%202010?OpenDocument>.

**United Kingdom:** George S. Bain and Robert Price, *Profiles of Union Growth: A Comparative Statistical Portrait of Eight Countries* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1980), 43–78; Department of Labour, *Employment Gazette*, January 1983, 27, April 1992, 189; *Labour Market Trends*, April 2002, S26, and the data cube for 1995 to 2010 that can be downloaded from <http://www.bis.gov.uk/policies/employment-matters/research/trade-union-stats>.

*Note:* The data necessary to perform the calculation, the number of employees by industry, was not published after 2004.

**United States:** U.S. Department of Commerce, *Historical Statistics of the United States* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975), pt. 1, 178; George S. Bain and Robert Price, *Profiles of Union Growth: A Comparative Statistical Portrait of Eight Countries* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1980), 94–95; Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Handbook of Labor Statistics 1975—Reference Edition* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975), 383, 385; Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employment and Earnings*, January 1985–. *Note:* Data for 1950 refers to 1953, and data for 1980 refers to 1983.

*Note:* The data used to construct this table were drawn from two different types of sources: data provided by unions for the period up to 1970 for Australia and the United States, up to 1980 for New Zealand, and up to 1990 for the United Kingdom; and data from household surveys for the remaining years. Consequently, the comparability within the table might be affected to some degree. The final year (Australia 2013, United Kingdom 2016, and United States 2017) was taken from the Database on the Institutional Characteristics of Trade Unions, Wage Setting, State Intervention, and Social Pacts under the leadership of Jelle Visser at Amsterdam.

## 17. Organized Labor: Median Weekly Earnings, Australia and United States, 1982/1983–2007

*Sources:* Australian Bureau of Statistics, Trade Union Members, Australia, Catalogue No. 6325.0, 1982–1990. The data for 1982 were unpublished and were taken from table 6 of microfiche from the survey and refer to March to May 1982. The Australian data are the author’s calculations from grouped income data from Australian Bureau of Statistics, Weekly Earnings

of Employees (Distribution) Australia, August 1995, Product No. 6310.0.40.001, and Employee Earnings, Benefits and Trade Union Membership, Catalogue No. 6310.0. U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employment and Earnings*, January 1985–.

*Note:* Data necessary for the calculation for Australia were not published after 2007.

### **18. Organized Labor as a Proportion of Employees by Age: Australia, 1995 and 2010**

*Source:* Australian Bureau of Statistics data cube available at <http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/6310.0Aug>.

### **19. Organized Labor as a Proportion of Employees by Age: United States, 1995 and 2010**

*Sources:* For 1995, *Employment and Earnings*, January 1997, 211; for 2010, <http://www.stats.bls.gov/news.release/union2.t01.htm>.

### **20. Organized Labor: Selected Membership Features, Australia, United Kingdom, and United States, 1995 and 2010**

*Sources:* **Australia:** <http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/6310.0Aug%202010?OpenDocument>. **United Kingdom:** <http://www.bis.gov.uk/policies/employment-matters/research/trade-union-stats>. **United States:** <http://www.stats.bls.gov/news.release/union2.t01.htm>.

### **21. The 10 Countries with the Highest Strike Incidence, 2000–2009**

*Source:* Downloaded from ILOSTAT. Last update on 6 January 2020.

### **22. The 10 Countries with the Highest Strike Incidence, 2010–2018**

*Source:* Same as Table 21.



# Bibliography

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## INTRODUCTION

Labor unions have always attracted interest from different disciplines, each offering its own insights. Labor unions are regularly studied not only by historians but by economists, political scientists, sociologists, and lawyers. As the literature on this subject is vast, the bibliography is restricted mainly to scholarly books with their own bibliographies. Preference has been given to works published since 1980; earlier works are listed where they have become sources in their own right or where they have attained the status of classics in the field or simply because there was no obvious later work.

Because the study of organized labor is often controversial, the inclusion of a work in the bibliography does not necessarily imply recommendation; it is simply to note its importance and possible interest to the reader. It should be noted, too, that this bibliography makes no claim to be complete, particularly for the topics not expressly about organized labor, but rather to indicate what works are available and might be consulted with profit.

The bibliography contains a comprehensive listing of international comparative studies of industrial relations because these works, both old and new, are convenient starting points for investigating countries as well as being useful sources of information on organized labor. Although they typically stress contemporary developments, they usually contain a summary of past historical developments.

Given that this dictionary is part of a series about religions, philosophies, and movements, it is also important not to overlook the more general guides to reference material. Of special importance was Alan Day and Joan M. Harvey (eds.), *Walford's Guide to Reference Material*, volume 2: *Social and Historical Sciences, Philosophy and Religion* (7th ed., London: Library Association, 1998). Since 2005, this guide has been succeeded by a new kind of Walford because the web transformed the information universe. It is now S. James (ed.), *The New Walford Guide to Reference Resources*, volume 2: *The Social Sciences* (London: Facet, 2008), and again is an important tool, especially for those looking for accurate and relevant information.

Rowman & Littlefield publishes historical dictionaries on most countries, some of which have special relevance for the history of organized labor. Thomas E. Doyle II, Robert F. Gorman, and Edward S. Mihalkanin, *Historical Dictionary of Human Rights and Humanitarian Organizations* (3rd ed., 2016), provides a general context for organized labor.

For individual countries, volumes of special note are Mario J. Azevedo and Samuel Decalo, *Historical Dictionary of Chad* (2018); James C. Docherty, *Historical Dictionary of Australia* (2007); Paula S. Fichtner, *Historical Dictionary of Austria* (2009); Mark F. Gilbert and K. Robert Nilsson, *Historical Dictionary of Modern Italy* (2007); Metin Heper, Duygu Öztürk-Tunçel and Nur Bilge Criss, *Historical Dictionary of Turkey* (2018); Grigory Ioffe and Vitali Silitski Jr., *Historical Dictionary of Belarus* (2018); Joop W. Koopmans, *Historical Dictionary of the Netherlands* (2015); George Maude, *Historical Dictionary of Finland* (1995); Barry Morton and Jeff Ramsay, *Historical Dictionary of Botswana* (2018); Kenneth J. Panton and Keith A. Cowlard, *Historical Dictionary of the United Kingdom* (2 vols., 1997, 1998); J. E. Peterson, *Historical Dictionary of Saudi Arabia* (2020); Robert A. Saunders, *Historical Dictionary of the Russian Federation* (2 vols., 2019); Irene Scobbie, *Historical Dictionary of Sweden* (2006); Angel Smith, *Historical Dictionary of Spain* (2008); Robert Stallaerts, *Historical Dictionary of Belgium* (2006); Alastair H. Thomas, *Historical Dictionary of Denmark* (2008); Wayne C. Thompson, Susan S. Thompson, and Juliet S. Thompson, *Historical Dictionary of Germany* (1994); and Derek Lewis and Ulrike Zitzlsperger, *Historical Dictionary of Contemporary Germany* (2007).

Current information and references can be found in the journals listed in the relevant section below and in works such as the seventh edition of John Harper Publishing, *Trade Unions of the World* (London: ICTUR, 2016),

edited by Daniel Blackburn. This is the best current guide to global organized labor, with detailed entries for every country. In recent years, the Internet has become an indispensable source of information, and many of the books mentioned in this bibliography can be downloaded, especially the older publications. A growing number of books are published in modern electronic formats such as .epub. Details of relevant websites are given at the end of this section.

## The Study of Organized Labor

For anyone just beginning to study organized labor, the best place to start is by gaining a general appreciation of economic history, specifically the Industrial Revolution and the economic, social, and intellectual ferment it created. Useful starting points are *The Fontana Economic History of Europe*, edited by Carlo M. Cipolla (6 vols., Glasgow: Collins/Fontana Books, 1972–1976); Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism: 15th–18th Centuries* (3 vols., London: Fontana Press, 1981–1984); Sidney Pollard, *Peaceful Conquest: The Industrialization of Europe, 1760–1970* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981); M. Teich and R. Porter (eds.), *The Industrial Revolution in National Context: Europe and the U.S.A.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); and Derek H. Aldcroft and Steven Morewood, *The European Economy, 1914–2000* (4th ed., London: Routledge, 2001). For the United States, see Robert Heilbroner and Aaron Singer, *The Economic Transformation of America: 1600 to the Present* (3rd ed., Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace, 1994). Charles P. Kindleberger, *World Economic Primacy, 1500–1990* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), provides an up-to-date account of global economic history in a single volume. There is a wealth of ideas, as well as scholarship, in David Hackett Fischer, *The Great Wave: Price Revolutions and the Rhythm of History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

For economic history in the 20th century, the five-volume *Pelican History of the World Economy in the Twentieth Century* under the general editorship of Wolfram Fischer, published between 1977 and 1987, is still also recommended. The last work in this series, Herman Van der Wee, *Prosperity and Upheaval: The World Economy, 1945–1980* (1987), is most relevant as a backdrop to modern organized labor. Critical works that make understanding recent developments possible are Naomi Klein, *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007), and Thomas Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014). Especially Piketty's book, translated from French, has been the start of an ongoing discussion about growing inequality following the rise of neoliberalism since the 1980s. The economic crisis that hit the world in 2007–2008 and was totally unforeseen by economists raised discus-



sions about mainstream economic thought. Kate Raworth, labeled by the *Guardian* as the Keynes of the 21st century, wrote *Doughnut Economics: Seven Ways to Think Like a 21st-Century Economist* (New York: Random House Books, 2017), in which she calls for a completely new economic paradigm.

On the crowded developments in world economic history and economic thought since 1980, easily the best single work is Daniel Yergin and Joseph Stanislaw, *The Commanding Heights: The Battle for the World Economy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2002). It provides not only a readable account of difficult issues but also a good bibliography. For anyone who wants to gain a good understanding of the economic problems that have beset organized labor in Western economies since 1980, it is indispensable. Developments since 1980 as regard labor unions are described in Gary Daniels and John McIlroy, *Trade Unions in a Neoliberal World* (London: Routledge, 2009). Also interesting is Paul Kubicek's *Organized Labor in Postcommunist States: From Solidarity to Infirmity* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004).

For the social and economic ferment of 19th-century Europe, two good introductions from different points of view are given in the opening chapters of Philip Taylor, *The Distant Magnet: European Emigration to the U.S.A.* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1971), and in Dick Geary, *European Labour Protest, 1848–1939* (London: Methuen, 1984). Although not about organized labor as such, John Carey, *The Intellectuals and the Masses, 1800–1939: Pride and Prejudice among the Literary Intelligentsia* (London: Faber, 1992), gives a valuable, if chilling, alternative perspective on one level of response to population growth and the rise of the modern working class. On social class, Arthur Marwick, *Class: Image and Reality in Britain, France, and the USA since 1930* (Glasgow: Fontana/Collins, 1980), provides stimulating reading. Works like these are important for helping to place the study of organized labor in a wider historical perspective, a perspective that can all too easily become lost in the forest of specialist studies.

For economic thought, Robert L. Heilbroner, *The Worldly Philosophers* (6th ed., New York: Touchstone, 1986), provides a masterly introduction to the world of economic ideas written with a wit and humor seldom found in such works. More recent is Alessandro Roncaglia, *The Wealth of Ideas: A History of Economic Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), which traces the history of economic thought from the Bible and classical antiquity to the present day. For economic issues generally, the major reference work is John Eastwell, Murray Milgate, and Peter Newman (eds.), *The New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics* (4 vols., London: Macmillan, 1987), which has bibliographies after each entry; the entries on arbitration, collective bargaining, strikes, and trade unions are of particular inter-

est. Also worth noting as a background reference work is Carl Heyel (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Management* (3rd ed., New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1982).

Although organized labor has never lacked students since Adam Smith's famous reference to it in the *Wealth of Nations* (1776) as "combinations," it mainly attracted attention from economists and lawyers or from political theorists such as Karl Marx. By 1920, pioneers like Sidney and Beatrice Webb in Britain and John R. Commons and Selig Perlman in the United States established organized labor as an academically respectable field of study. Under their influence, organized labor tended to be studied from the viewpoint of its institutions; this was a "top down" approach with a strong emphasis on leaders.

Modern labor history dates from about 1960 with the works of American scholars like Irving Bernstein and David Brody and Eric Hobsbawm and E. P. Thompson in Britain. The publication of E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1963, and Penguin Books, 1968), was an inspirational milestone in labor history and a foundation work of modern social history.

What united the British and American works was their concern with the social and political setting of employees and to show the diversity of the experiences of particular groups. Over the past 50 years, the output of social histories has been huge, although their quality has often been variable.

At this point, a word of warning is needed for the beginner. The study of organized labor is intimately bound up with the study of the Industrial Revolution, the effects of which have been hotly disputed by generations of participants and scholars. The older optimistic view of the Industrial Revolution, which E. P. Thompson rightly attacked, was that it represented general material progress. He was able to show that for many groups in the labor force conditions deteriorated.

Like any revolution, the Industrial Revolution had its good and bad sides, but all too often only the bad is presented. Many of the sources are fiercely polemical, and the secondary works have been similarly influenced. Studies often focus on the negative aspects of industrialization, on what went wrong rather than on what succeeded. It has often been more appealing to write about dramatic, noble failures, or the distressed condition of particular groups of workers, than the slow, if duller, process of general material improvement partly accomplished by the hard work of organized labor. Consider, for instance, the general absence of modern scholarly works about the cooperative movement compared with the abundance of books on the left wing of labor.

The debate about the Industrial Revolution continues to the present, though in different forms. This is particularly evident in the attitudes of the various disciplines. The works of many of the economic writers, for example,

tend to take a far more positive view of the Industrial Revolution than those of social historians. For these reasons, it is vital to keep an open mind about the subject and to be mindful of the political ideologies that often still color much of the writing about organized labor.

Despite the maturing of labor history, there is a relative lack of studies of its historiography. An important exception is the U.S. study by Melvyn Dubofsky, *Hard Work: The Making of Labor History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000). In this work, Dubofsky argued that labor history is no longer the cutting edge in historical research because it has been largely successful in entering the historical mainstream. This may be true for the United States and the United Kingdom, but this should not be taken to mean that labor history generally is a problem “solved” and that there are no more worlds for the researcher to conquer. Especially freeing labor history from the Eurocentric approach has been a challenge over the past decades. Good introductions to the study of a global labor history are Marcel Van der Linden, *Transnational Labour History: Explorations* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2003), an invaluable resource for all students of European labor history, and Marcel Van der Linden, *Workers of the World: Essays toward a Global Labor History* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2008). This publication was followed by the *Handbook Global History of Work*, edited by Karin Hofmeester and Marcel Van der Linden (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2018), in which a global survey of many aspects of work and labor is presented.

### **Finding Out about Organized Labor**

After gaining a broad appreciation of the Industrial Revolution, the following works provide a sound introduction to the study of labor unions. W. E. J. McCarthy (ed.), *Trade Unions: Selected Readings* (2nd ed., Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1985), contains a valuable selection of important readings, some of which are hard to locate in their original form. The political side of labor is approached in an interesting way by Walter Korpi in his *The Democratic Class Struggle* (London: Routledge Kegan Paul, 1983). There is an excellent view of the topic by Jelle Visser, “Trade Unions from a Comparative Perspective,” in Joris Van Ruysseveldt et al. (eds.), *Comparative Industrial and Employment Relations* (London: Sage, 1995), 37–67.

For critical labor union functions and collective bargaining, see Allan Flanders (ed.), *Collective Bargaining: Selected Readings* (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1969), and H. Katz and T. Kochan, *An Introduction to Collective Bargaining and Industrial Relations* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1992). For labor economics, a useful introductory text is Lloyd G. Reynolds et al., *Labor Economics and Labor Relations* (9th ed., Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1986).

There are numerous ways of approaching the many topics within the study of organized labor. For American studies, there are excellent bibliographical essays in Foster R. Dulles and Melvyn Dubofsky, *Labor in America: A History* (9th ed., with Joseph A. McCartin, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2017; 1st ed., Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1984); Bruce Laurie, *Artisans into Workers: Labor in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1989); and Robert H. Zieger, *American Workers, American Unions, 1920–1985* (2nd ed., Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994). For British works, there are bibliographic guides in Henry Pelling, *A History of British Trade Unionism* (5th ed., London: Macmillan, 1992), and Dick Geary, *European Labour Protest, 1848–1939* (London: Methuen, 1984).

Students of American and British labor are blessed with comprehensive and high-quality bibliographies that were published in the early 1980s, particularly those by Maurice F. Neufeld for the United States and Arthur Marsh for Britain. These can be readily supplemented by recourse to book reviews and book notices in journals like *Labor History*, *Monthly Labor Review*, and the *British Journal of Industrial Relations*. *Labor History*, for instance, has published an annual bibliography of labor journal articles and other scholarly work since 1965. There is also important bibliographical information in the *International Review of Social History*.

The *Journal of Economic Literature* contains a useful annotated listing of new books. For sheer convenience as well as breadth, there is an outstanding bibliography organized by country in Marcel van der Linden and Jürgen Rojahn (eds.), *The Formation of Labour Movements, 1870–1914: An International Perspective*, vol. II (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), 701–781.

Another important bibliographical source is the International Labour Organization's documentation department. This source covers all topics pertaining to the ILO and labor and is international in coverage. The many thousands of records it contains can be accessed at <https://labordoc.ilo.org/>.

## Specific Topics

Because the study of organized labor is often about the details of work, it is essential to gain some familiarity with industrial archaeology, which is concerned with the study of the physical remains and processes of the Industrial Revolution. As well as being important for its own sake, industrial archaeology gives many insights into the organization and conditions of work and living in past times. There is a useful encyclopedia devoted to this subject, Barrie Trinder (ed.), *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Industrial Archaeology* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1992), which is international in scope and contains an excellent bibliography. In addition, Shire, a British publisher, specialized in this field, and their Shire Album series of over 100 booklets

written by experts covers topics from chain making to woodworking tools. Several of these are listed in the bibliography. Also highly recommended is the informative as well as entertaining British Channel 4 television series *The Worst Jobs in History*.

Since the late 1970s, students of organized labor have some excellent labor-saving reference works at their disposal. There are historical directories of labor unions for Britain and the United States. The British series compiled by Arthur Marsh and Victoria Ryan consists of four volumes, *Historical Directory of Trade Unions* (Westmead, Australia: Gower Press, 1980–1994). This remarkable series covers about 6,000 unions.

American unions are well covered by Gary M. Fink (ed.), *Labor Unions* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1977), which has entries on over 200 U.S. unions, each entry with its own bibliography. The work also contains national union affiliation details, a chronology, union genealogies, union executive lists, membership statistics, and a glossary.

No comparable work is currently available for Australia, but in 1982, Michael Quinlan and Margaret Gardner at the School of Industrial Relations, Griffith University, Queensland, began to prepare a computer database covering Australian unions and labor disputes between 1825 and 1925. This database contains reasonably full entries on 1,506 unions that operated between 1825 and 1900. A similar database on the Netherlands is available at the website of the International Institute of Social History.

One of the most welcome developments of the past 30 years has been the appearance of biographical dictionaries of labor leaders. The labor movement is often ignored in many national biographical dictionaries, and it is often hard to find even the most elementary background information about its leaders, let alone its rank and file. For Britain, the leading work is the nine volumes edited by Joyce Bellamy and John Saville, *Dictionary of Labour Biography* (London: Macmillan, 1972–1993). For the United States, there is a one-volume work edited by Gary M. Fink, *Biographical Dictionary of American Labor* (rev. ed., Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), that has entries on about 750 individuals.

A biographical register of Australian labor since 1788 is being prepared by Andrew Moore and John Shields at the University of Western Sydney. The finished work may not be published in printed form but might be made available on the Internet.

With the exception of Britain, all these efforts seem small compared with what is available for French labor. Jean Maitron (ed.), *Dictionnaire Biographique du Mouvement Ouvrier Français* (Paris: Les Editions Ouvriers, 1964–1997), consists of 44 volumes and covers the period from 1789 to 1939. It includes leaders as well as rank-and-file members of the labor movement. A new series has begun to cover the period from 1940 to 1968. Jean Maitron was also general editor of another series, *Dictionnaire Biographique*

*du Mouvement Ouvrier International*, which consists of dictionaries for Austria, China, and Japan (two volumes) and Germany. See the relevant section below for more labor biographical dictionaries.

Most studies of organized labor are of Britain, the United States, and Western Europe. Henry Pelling, *A History of British Trade Unionism* (5th ed., London: Macmillan, 1992), remains the best-known survey work. It can be supplemented by Chris Wrigley, *British Trade Unions since 1933* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). Keith Laybourn, *A History of British Trade Unionism, c. 1770–1990* (Wolfeboro Falls, NH: Allan Sutton, 1992), is a good guide to the academic debates of recent years. Hugh A. Clegg, *A History of British Trade Unions since 1889* (3 vols., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964–1994), is the standard scholarly work; the first volume was written with Alan Fox and A. F. Thompson. Although often heavy going, it covers the period up to 1951. It is invaluable as a reference work.

For the United States, good, comprehensive single-volume surveys are available in Foster Rhea Dulles and Melvy Dubofsky, *Labor in America* (4th ed., Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1984), and Ronald L. Filippelli, *Labor in the USA: A History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984). For Germany, John A. Moses, *Trade Unionism in Germany from Bismarck to Hitler, 1869 to 1933* (2 vols., London: George Prior, 1982), provides a valuable survey with translations of some key documents. Moses's history can be profitably supplemented with the more recent work by Michael Schneider, *A Brief History of the German Trade Unions* (trans. Barrie Selman, Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz Nachf., 1991), which covers the whole period up to the present and is good for biographical details and statistics.

C. R. Dobson, *Masters and Journeymen: A Prehistory of Industrial Relations, 1717–1800* (London: Croom Helm, 1980), is a short but valuable work largely devoted to labor disputes in the 18th century. It is a reminder that labor unions and labor disputes were evident *before* the Industrial Revolution and, therefore, may presumably still be in existence in the often predicted postindustrial world.

For the ideas that have influenced organized labor and its general development, see James C. Docherty, *Historical Dictionary of Socialism* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1997), which provides a general global survey and was updated in 2006 by Peter Lamb and James Docherty, and again by Peter Lamb in 2015. Michael Poole, *Theories of Trade Unionism* (rev. ed., London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), offers a sociological approach to labor unions.

Because of the variable coverage they give to organized labor, the bibliography does not include a separate section on histories of particular industries, although this is not to say they are unimportant; on the contrary, they must be investigated by serious students. That said, an exception needs to be made for

John Hatcher et al., *The History of the British Coal Industry* (5 vols., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984–1993), which deals with an industry that played a central role in British organized labor up to the 1950s.

## RESEARCH GUIDES, SOURCES, AND JOURNALS

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## INTERNET SITES: A SELECTED GUIDE

Whether for sending messages or accessing websites, the Internet has become an indispensable tool for labor activists and researchers, making it possible for them to obtain directly the latest information about a subject or an organization. Unlike books, websites are ephemeral, and there is no guarantee that they will be available for consultation at some future time. Labor unions began displaying their own websites on the Internet in about 1995, and by 1999 there were about 2,000 of these websites. This figure is still growing because unions and union activists are learning how to use the Internet not only as a source of information but also as a tool in day-to-day union activities. This short guide is designed to complement and expand the works listed in the bibliography and in the appendixes. It provides a brief, selected guide to the main websites relating to organized labor in 2020. It does not claim to be comprehensive, but it does provide starting points for research. It should be noted that these websites are extensively linked to

other websites. For further information on specific organizations, see Daniel Blackburn (ed.), *Trade Unions of the World* (London: ICTUR, 2016), which contains websites and contact addresses. Good guides to the use of the Internet by labor are Eric Lee, *The Labour Movement and the Internet: The New Internationalism* (London: Pluto Press, 1997), and Peter Waterman, “Alternative International Labour Communication by Computer after Two Decades,” in *Interface: A Journal for and about Social Movements Labour Communications* 2, no. 2 (2010): 241–69, from which we have bluntly picked many sites. Names of organizations that have an entry in the dictionary are in **boldface type**.

The guide lists websites relating to:

1. International Guides
2. International Labor Organizations and Guides
3. National Councils of Labor Unions
4. Labor Unions with More Than One Million Members in 2019
5. Government Departments Concerned with Labor Issues
6. Academic Websites
7. Regional Websites
8. Other Websites

## 1. International Guides

- |                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| www.ilo.org/<br>labordoc | Provides access to the main library catalog of the International Labour Organization, where apart from the hundreds of thousands ILO books, also many journal articles, working papers, and reports are available.  |
| www.labourstart<br>.org  | Has links to organized labor websites. LabourStart is an online news service maintained by a global network of volunteers that aims to serve the international trade union movement by collecting and disseminating information and by assisting unions in campaigning and in other ways. |
| www.unions.org           | Online union directory, calling itself the “Voice of Labor,” listing all labor unions in the United States.   |

## 2. International Labor Organizations and Guides

- |               |  |
|---------------|--|
| www.bwint.org | <b>Building and Wood Workers International</b> , the global union federation grouping free and democratic unions with members in the building, building materials, wood, forestry, and allied sectors. |
|---------------|--|

- www.etuc.org **European Trade Union Confederation**
- www.eurofound.europa.eu/eiro/ The European Industrial Relations Observatory (EIRO) is a monitoring instrument offering news and analysis on European industrial relations. A project of the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, EIRO began its operations in 1997. Its aim is to “collect, analyze, and disseminate high-quality and up-to-date information on key developments in industrial relations in Europe.” An important EIRO report by Mark Carley was published in 2004 and updated in 2009. It examines trade union membership trends in 23 EU member states.
- www.global-unions.org The website for the international trade union bodies based on particular industries. It is a partnership between the **International Trade Union Confederation**, global union federations, and the **Trade Union Advisory Committee (TUAC)** to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.
- www.idcdockworkers.org International Dockworkers Council. “An association formed by organizations of dockworkers from all over the world. It is defined by its basic principles as being a unitary, independent, democratic, assembly-based, working-class organisation.”
- www.ifj.org **International Federation of Journalists**
- www.ioe-emp.org International Organisation of Employers
- www.itfglobal.org **International Transport Workers’ Federation (ITF)**
- www.ituc-csi.org **International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)**
- www.iww.org **Industrial Workers of the World**
- https://search.iisg.amsterdam/Record/ARCH00622 Guide to the archives of the **International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, 1949–1993.**
- www.tuac.org The **Trade Union Advisory Committee (TUAC)** is an advisory group within the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development to give advice on its policies and programs.

www.wftucentral **World Federation of Trade Unions**  
.org

### 3. National Councils of Labor Unions

www.actu.org.au	<b>Australian Council of Trade Unions</b>
www.aflcio.org	<b>American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations</b>
www.cgb.info	Christlicher Gewerkschaftsbund Deutschlands
canadianlabour.ca	Canadian Labour Congress
www.cosatu.org.za	<b>Congress of South African Trade Unions</b>
www.dbb.de	Deutscher Beamtenbund und Tarifunion
www.dgb.de	<b>Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund</b> (German Confederation of Labor Unions)
www.fnv.nl	Federatie Nederlandse Vakbeweging (Dutch Confederation of Labor Unions)
www.ictu.ie	Irish Congress of Trade Unions
kctu.org	Korean Confederation of Trade Unions
www.lo.se	Landsorganisationen i Sverige (Swedish Labor Union Confederation)
www.nlc.edu/archives	George Meany Memorial Archives, which hold the records of the AFL-CIO.
www.nlcng.org	Nigeria Labour Congress
www.tuc.org.uk	<b>Trades Union Congress</b> (United Kingdom)
tucnigeria.org.ng	Trade Union Congress of Nigeria
union.org.nz	New Zealand Council of Trade Unions

### 4. Labor Unions with More Than One Million Members in 2019

www.nea.org	<b>National Education Association</b> (United States)
www.igmetall.de	<b>IG Metall</b> (Metalworkers' Union, Germany)
www.verdi.de	<b>Ver.di</b> (United Services Labor Union, Germany).
www.seiu.org	<b>Service Employees International Union</b> (United States)
www.aft.org	<b>American Federation of Teachers</b> (United States)

- [www.snte.org.mx/web](http://www.snte.org.mx/web) **Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación** (National Union of Education Workers, Mexico)
- [www.unitetheunion.org](http://www.unitetheunion.org) **Unite the Union** (United Kingdom)
- [www.unison.org.uk](http://www.unison.org.uk) **Unison** (United Kingdom)
- [www.afscme.org](http://www.afscme.org) **American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees** (United States). A model website, skillfully organized with high-quality past as well as current material.
- [www.teamster.org](http://www.teamster.org) **Teamsters** (United States)

## 5. Government Departments Concerned with Labor Issues

- [www.bis.gov.uk](http://www.bis.gov.uk) Department for Business Innovation and Skills. Contains a vital source on labor union statistics: trade union membership in the United Kingdom.
- [www.statistics.gov.uk](http://www.statistics.gov.uk) The major source of British labor statistics.
- [www.nlr.gov](http://www.nlr.gov) The National Labor Relations Board is the federal agency that administers the National Labor Relations Act in the United States.
- [www.state.gov](http://www.state.gov) Country reports on human rights practices. U.S. State Department, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor.
- <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/resources/the-world-factbook/index.html> An easy-to-use guide to information on issues for 267 world entities from the U.S. intelligence agency.
- [stats.bls.gov](http://stats.bls.gov) U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. (Search for “labor union.”)

## 6. Academic Websites

- <http://archives.anu.edu.au/collections/noel-butlin-archives-centre> Noel Butlin Archives Centre, Australian National University Library
- [www.iisg.nl](http://www.iisg.nl) International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, Netherlands. A major website with important links to other websites relevant to labor studies, including a global virtual library for labor history organized by country, as well as links to women's history and economic history. It incorporates an online biographical register of 575 Dutch labor leaders, a database of Dutch trade unions between 1850 and 1920, a database of almost 17,000 labor conflicts that occurred in the Netherlands since 1372, and a repository of international data of labour conflicts since 1850.
- [www.lib.berkeley.edu](http://www.lib.berkeley.edu) University of California, Berkeley—Labor Links. A labor research portal compiled by the library to labor unions, history archives, international organizations, and government agencies.
- [www.uva-aias.net/nl/ictwss](http://www.uva-aias.net/nl/ictwss) Access to an international database with union characteristics from 55 countries from 1960 to date.

## 7. Regional Websites

- [www.aawl.org.au](http://www.aawl.org.au) Australia Asia worker links, “Workers Change the World,” established in 1979 to promote international worker solidarity.
- [www.amrc.org.hk](http://www.amrc.org.hk) Asia Monitor Resource Centre, “To support and contribute toward the building of a strong, democratic, and independent labor movement in Asia.”

- [www.clb.org.hk/en/](http://www.clb.org.hk/en/) China Labour Bulletin. “A proactive outreach organisation that seeks to defend and promote the rights of workers in China.” Also publishes an online map of China with labor protests per time period and region.
- [www.labournet.de/](http://www.labournet.de/) LabourNet Deutschland/Germany. “Trade union meeting place, linking the disobedient with and without a job.” Part of the global LabourNet initiatives, which, however, are not actually connected.

## 8. Other Websites

- [www.apc.org/en/about](http://www.apc.org/en/about) Association for Progressive Communications (APC). Coordinates since 1990 the operation and development of a global network of activists and NGOs.
- [en.maquilasolidarity.org](http://en.maquilasolidarity.org) Maquila Solidarity Network. “A labor and women’s rights organization that supports the efforts of workers in global supply chains to win improved wages and working conditions and a better quality of life.”
- [icsf.net](http://icsf.net) International Committee in Support of Fishworkers. “An international nongovernmental organisation that works toward the establishment of equitable, gender-just, self-reliant, and sustainable fisheries, particularly in the small-scale, artisanal sector.”
- [www.ictur.org](http://www.ictur.org) **International Centre for Trade Union Rights.** “An organising and campaigning body defending and improving the rights of trade unions and trade unionists worldwide.”
- [www.ilo.org/public/english/iira/](http://www.ilo.org/public/english/iira/) International Labour and Employment Relations Association. Operating since 1967 under the auspices of the International Labour Organization;

- www.labornet.org maintains an international directory of labour and industrial relations institutes and centers.  
LaborNet. "Community of labor unions, activists, and organizations [that] offers a network for the discussion of economic justice and rights issues."
- labortech.net LaborTech, since 1990. "The world works because workers work." "Brings together labor video, computer, and media activists in the United States and from around the world to build and develop labor communication technology and media."
- www.newunionism.net New Unionism Network. "New Unionism is about unions setting agendas, rather than just reacting to them."
- www.nosweat.org.uk No Sweat. "No Sweat is a grassroots campaign that builds solidarity among workers worldwide. We look to global social justice movements and to the international workers' movement to build common, united, campaigning action against workplace exploitation and the sweatshop bosses."
- www.nswp.org Global Network of Sex Work Projects (NSWP). An informal alliance of sex worker rights activists working within sex work projects around the world.
- http://reinventinglabour.wordpress.com/ "ReinventingLabour is for people who organize, struggle, analyze, critique and strategize within and around the international labour movement."
- www.sigtur.com Southern Initiative on Globalisation and Trade Union Rights. "An active and living voice of workers in the Global South representing a diverse and broad spectrum of trade unions"; launched in 1991.
- www.streetnet.org.za StreetNet, International Alliance of Street Vendors, since 2002. "To promote the exchange of information and ideas on



- critical issues facing street vendors and market vendors and hawkers (mobile vendors) and on practical organising and advocacy strategies.”
- [www.tie-germany.org](http://www.tie-germany.org) Transnationals Information Exchange—Germany (but also active in other countries, such as Bangladesh, Brazil, China, Colombia, France, India, Mali, Morocco, Mozambique, Nigeria, South Africa, Sri Lanka, and Turkey). A global network of both union and nonunion activists in the formal and informal sectors.
- [viacampesina.org](http://viacampesina.org) Via Campesina. “La Via Campesina is the international movement which brings together millions of peasants, small and medium-size farmers, landless people, women farmers, indigenous people, migrants and agricultural workers from around the world.”
- [www.wiego.org](http://www.wiego.org) Women in Informal Employment: Globalising and Organising. “A global action-research-policy network that seeks to improve the status of the working poor, especially women, in the informal economy.”
- [www.women-ww.org](http://www.women-ww.org) Women Working Worldwide. An international network of women workers. Their central aim is that women themselves call for change in their working conditions, and networks such as WWW can make sure that their voices are heard and not ignored.
- [www.worldmarchofwomen.org](http://www.worldmarchofwomen.org) World March of Women. “An international feminist action movement connecting grass-roots groups and organizations working to eliminate the causes at the root of poverty and violence against women.”



## About the Author

**Sjaak van der Velden** was born in Rotterdam, the Netherlands, in 1954. He studied history at Leiden University. During his study, he started working in construction as a carpenter (1980–2000) and in the meantime also owned a bar. In the 1990s, he wrote a thesis on strikes in the Netherlands. He graduated from Leiden University in 2000 and worked with the Historical Sample of the Netherlands from 2000 to 2007 and also for a few years for the Jewish Digital Monument. From 2007, Sjaak worked with the scientific bureau of the Socialist Party until 2012. From that date, he owned a historical investigation office named Gerrit Gerritsz (the Christian name of the famous Dutch philosopher Desiderius Erasmus). In 2007, he also took on a part-time job at the International Institute of Social History (IISH) to build an international hub on labor conflicts. From the beginning of 2010, he was an affiliated fellow with the IISH and mastered the repository on international labor conflicts hosted there. In March 2011, he co-organized with Raquel Varela the International Conference Strikes and Social Conflicts in Lisbon and was the cofounder of the International Association for the Study of Strikes and Social Conflicts. In 2012, Sjaak again took on a part-time job at the IISH, working one day a week at expanding the databases on Dutch strikes, Dutch labor unions, and international labor conflicts. The other working days of the week have been devoted to writing and giving lectures, mainly for Dutch labor unions.

His publications include 25 books in Dutch and English, such as *Strikes around the World: Case Studies of 15 Countries 1968–2005* (coeditor, 2007) and *Striking Numbers: New Approaches to Strike Research* (editor, 2012), as well as hundreds of articles and book chapters in Dutch and English. Sjaak retired in 2020.