DECLINING UNION DENSITY IN CANADA: REASONS AND STRATEGIES FOR RENEWAL

by

Michelle Manveer Kaur Dhami

B.Ed., University of Northern British Columbia, 2007
B.A., University of Northern British Columbia, 2005

PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN BRITISH COLUMBIA

May 2013

ABSTRACT

Union density represents the number of private and public sector unionized workers in Canada. Currently, one in three Canadians is a member of union, though the rate of density has declined in recent years. A union is an organization that engages in collective bargaining with its employer to establish working conditions, wages, benefits, etc. In order to understand the varying opinions about unions, it is necessary to assess unions from a variety of perspectives. The five chosen perspectives are the viewpoints of society, an employer, an employee, a union, and a unionized worker. To assess the declining rate of union density, four major reasons for decline were identified. Proposed revitalization strategies are aimed at mitigating the reasons for decline, propositioning ways to reverse the decline.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am deeply indebted to many individuals without whom the completion of this program would not have been possible. Without the support of my family and grandparents, especially my Nana and Nani, there would not have been the inspiration to strive for further learning. Without my cohort, there would not have been laughs and social times that helped fuel the cohesiveness of the group. Without the professors in the program, there would not have been the exposure to new ideas. Without Rick Tallman, there would not have been a paper with structure and meaning, and it would have failed to become what I had envisioned. Without my friends and mentors, there would not have been passion and positive inspiration to draw from. I am truly grateful to UNBC for giving me years of educational opportunities and above all friendships and relationships for a lifetime. I would also like to thank Alex Ng and Fiona MacPhail for providing feedback and suggestions on how to improve my project for greater relevance and meaning to me.

Chapter 1
INTRODUCTION

Section 1.1 Purpose & Objective of Project

The purpose of this project is to explore the reasons for the decline of unions and their decreasing density within Canada; density is defined as the number or percentage of private and public sector unionized workers, compared to total workers. Unions are organized groups of workers who negotiate the terms of their working conditions with their employer through collective agreement. This research is of significance because one in three Canadians belong to a union, and unions affect all Canadian workers and influence nonunionized workplaces.

A major objective is to explore whether the decline will continue or whether a reversal is possible. The major informing research questions are: what has led to the decline of unions and can unions increase density? The selection of the research questions stems from an interest in examining short-term and long-term trends in Canadian industrial relations and the social impact of unions. There are five major perspectives from which to view unions: society's perspective, the employer's perspective, the employee's perspective, the union's perspective, and the unionized worker's perspective. In addition to examining the five different perspectives, this project will explore the reasons for decline. Comparison to the United States was made due to the similar collective bargaining systems, economy, and industrial relations; the strong influence the U.S. has had on the Canadian system also helps to justify its comparison.

Renewal strategies that address the reasons for decline will be offered, in an attempt to solve the major research questions posed for this project. Methodologically, this project has relied on a literature review from a variety of sources. An examination of relevant literature suggests that there are a number of renewal strategies which could lead to increased union density in Canada.

Section 1.2 Decline and Revitalize

During a Labour Day parade on September 6, 1960, John F. Kennedy gave a speech to a crowd of workers about the importance of unions. He said:

> "Our labor unions are not narrow, self-seeking groups. They have raised wages, shortened hours and provided supplemental benefits. Through collective bargaining and grievance procedures, they have brought justice and democracy to the shop floor . . . those who would cripple collective bargaining or prevent organization of the unorganized do a disservice to the cause of democracy."

Unions have deep historical and social roots in the previous two centuries, but with declining density in most member countries of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the future of unions is uncertain. Camfield (2006) states that it is widely accepted that unions in advanced capitalist countries have suffered from declining density. He states union renewal is not an 'unambiguous notion' and it is also uncontroversial to suggest that unions must reform to regain influence. The major question that arises from this growing trend is whether unions will become a part of our historical and social past, or whether it is possible for unions to increase in union density.

To understand the role of unions it is necessary to examine the differing viewpoints about unions and in this project five different perspectives are presented. The purpose of using five different perspectives is to provide many lenses for comparisons, as well as to highlight that unions are not viewed as a unified institution, but there are many viewpoints. The perspectives are followed by an analysis of the major reasons for the decline of unions, and lastly, renewal strategies are offered.

An analysis of relevant literature highlighted four major reasons for the decline of unions:

the growth of employment in traditionally nonunion areas, employer opposition to unionization, changing economic policies, and societal shifts. The renewal strategies address the reasons for decline, offering ways to overcome the challenges associated with each reason for decline. Based on the major reasons for decline, four main revitalization strategies are suggested: expansion into non-traditional union areas, extension of relevance to the employer, implementation of meaningful policy change, and broaden appeal to be more responsive to members' needs. Prior to looking at the perspectives, it is important to gain an understanding of the union movement and how it has progressed in Canada.

Section 1.3 Background to Canadian Unionism

Providing a collective voice to workers, unions have shaped labour laws and practices throughout the modern world. In a discussion about the gains of the Canadian labour movement, Political Scientist Marc Crawford groups the gains made by the Canadian labour movement into three categories: wages and benefits for workers, employment standards (these include health and safety and human rights in the workplace), and broader political activism, which includes advocacy for minimum wages and health care benefits for all (personal communication, January 17, 2013).

Canada's first "Dominion Statistician," R.H. Coats (1923) reported that Canada's union history began with "labour circles" in Lower Canada, and then printers and shoemakers organizing in Montreal and Toronto during the 1830s and 1840s. Coats (1923) writes that the main characteristics of the Canadian labour movement were defined by two influences, beginning in 1869 when the International Typographical Union moved into Canada from the United States, and secondly from British legislative influences. The Trades and Labour Congress of Canada became a permanent national institution in 1886, and most of the craft unions were affiliates of

union headquarters in the United States. Despite most unions being heavily influenced by American and British immigrants, Canadian trade unions, associations, and organizations were springing up around the country and engaging in active workplace engagement. Coats (1923) points out the growing political power of unions was due to their ability to elect labour politicians federally and provincially, and establish provincial labour parties. Canadian trade unionism was weaker than unionism in Britain and the United States but both heavily influenced it. British political ties and the United States' economic position shaped the Canadian union movement (Coats, 1923).

In the late 19th century, the labour movement made recognizable gains. In 1872, following the Toronto printers' strike, John A. MacDonald introduced the *Trade Unions Act,* which stated that unions were not to be regarded as illegal conspiracies. The printers' strike, known as the "*Nine Hour Movement,*" began in Hamilton, Ontario and moved to Toronto, Ontario with workers fighting for a shorter workweek. Labour Day was officially adopted as a national statutory holiday in 1894, growing out of the annual celebrations to honour the Nine Hour Movement. The Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital (1887) upheld labour organizations as a form of association in the face of the industrial changes Canada was facing, as more and more Canadians moved into urban areas for work but faced poor financial circumstances and working conditions.

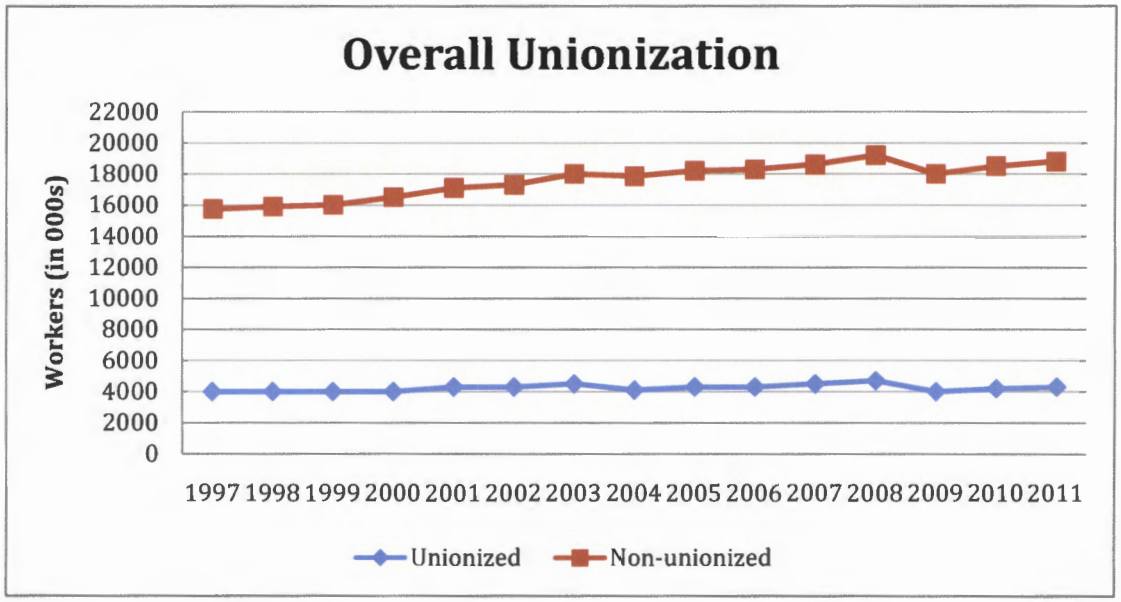
Following World War I, massive unemployment and inflation led to the Winnipeg General Strike (1919) and the formation of One Big Union, which eventually became a part of the Canadian Labour of Congress. With rampant unemployment during the Great Depression, workers pressed for measures such as employment insurance, and many strikes took place in the workplace and led to the formation of the Canadian Labour of Congress.

Following World War II, improvements were seen in wages, work hours, grievance procedures, and vacation pay. In 1946, following a strike between the Canadian Autoworkers Union and the Ford Motor Company, Supreme Court Justice Rand ruled that employers would deduct union dues from employees and provide them to the union; the Rand Formula secured the financial future of unions (Csiernik, 2009). Industrial relations in the United States continued to influence the Canadian movement in the 19th and 20th centuries, however the Canadian system would sustain growth in density compared to the United States throughout the 21st century.

Section 1.4 Canadian Union Density

Currently, roughly one in three Canadians is a member of a public or private sector union despite a downward fluctuation in union density in the last thirty years (Canada, 2012). Or, as Kuhn (1998) states, one in three Canadians worker's wages and working conditions are determined through collective bargaining. Statistics show that Canada's unionized workforce has actually grown in recent years, currently, with more than 4.5 million unionized workers, up more than 800,000 since 1997 (Canada, 2012). However, the nonunionized workforce has grown by 2.5 million workers in the same period, surpassing union growth. Figure 1 shows the amount of overall unionization in Canada, distinguishing unionized and nonunionized workers.

Figure 1: Overall unionization in Canada, 1977 – 2011



(Source: How Canadian Unions are Changing, 2012)

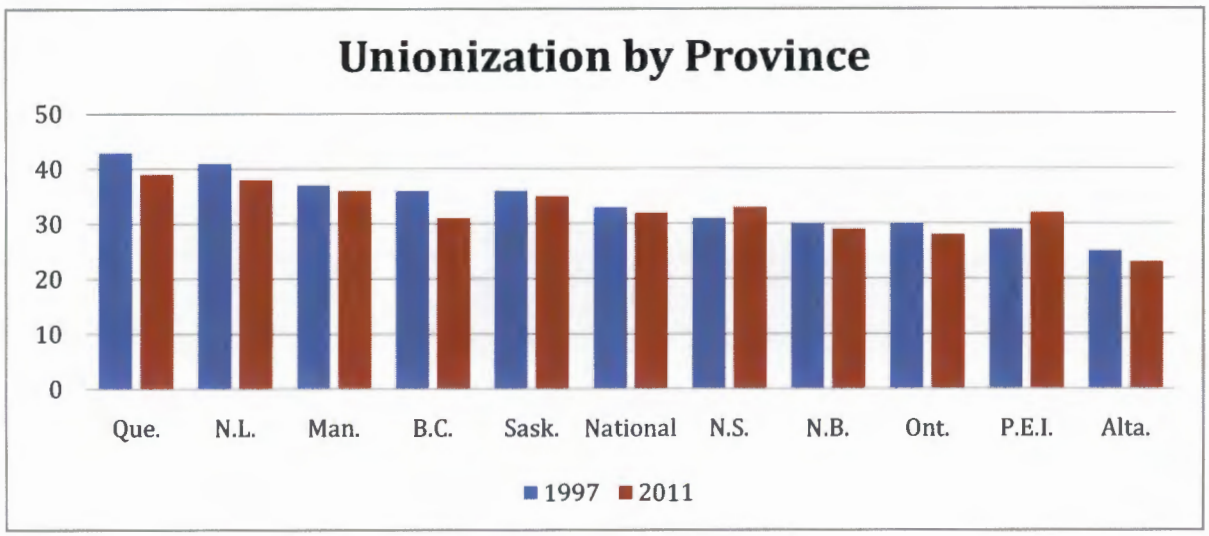
Unionized workers in Canada are highly concentrated in a small number of unions. Nearly 50% of national and international unionized Canadian workers belong to nine unions, each covering at least 100,000 workers. The five largest Canadian unions are: the Canadian Union of Public Employees (611,827 workers), the National Union of Public and General Employees (340,000 workers), the United Food and Commercial Workers Canada (245,327 workers), the United Steel, Paper and Forestry, Rubber, Manufacturing, Energy, Allied Industrial and Service Workers International Union (230,700 workers), and the Public Service Alliance of Canada (192, 080 workers); 162 unions have fewer than 10,000 members and represent 8% of workers, with an average size of 2,160 workers (Canada, 2012).

In 1997, the Canadian unionization rate was 33.7% and in 2011 it was 31.2%. In 2011, women held 51.7% of unionized jobs. "The public sector has added more than 650,000 unionized workers, a 33% increase over the past decade and a half. Meanwhile, private sector union growth has flat lined, growing by less than 70,000 workers (4%). While the public sector

has maintained its current rate of unionization (74% of workers are unionized), the private sector's rate has dropped from 21% in 1997 to 17% in 2011." The higher rate of public sector unionization is perhaps a symptom of less opposition to unionization in the public sector, compared to the private sector and due to the addition of health-care sector jobs ("How Canadian Unions," 2012).

Up until 1997, manufacturing accounted for the largest unionized sector in Canada. However, in the last fifteen years, the manufacturing industry has lost 250,000 jobs. The healthcare sector has added the greatest number of jobs with 660,000 and the vast majority of them are unionized. "Workers over the age of forty-five are most likely to be unionized, but that figure has dropped by more than 7% since 1997. Workers under the age of twenty-five lag well behind, but their demographics' unionization rates have actually risen since 1997" ("How Canadian Unions," 2012). Figure 2 shows unionization rates by province. "More than 40% of Quebec workers were unionized in 1997, the highest rate of any province and almost 7% higher than the national average. Alberta was, and remains, the least unionized province. In British Columbia, unionization levels dropped by almost 6% in B.C. in the past fifteen years, while rising in some Atlantic provinces" ("How Canadian Unions," 2012).

Figure 2: Unionization by Province



(Source: How Canadian Unions are Changing, 2012)

Section 1.5 *What do Unions Do?*

The 1984 book by Freeman and Medoff, *What do Unions Do,* was considered to be groundbreaking in the areas of labour economics and industrial relations. The authors looked at unions' effects on productivity, growth, profits, and investment while acknowledging variation among labour environments and degree of competition (Hirsch, 2004). Hirsch (2004) suggests that the authors' research is still relevant today despite its limitations, since it is still difficult to quantify what unions do because of the differences between the public and private sector, and variation among industries. Freeman and Medoff's work has been widely dissected and contested, however most scholars agree that Freeman and Medoff asked the following defining question: "*how can we encourage value-enhancing workplace arrangements that facilitate voice among workers, while constraining unions' monopoly face?"* If unions operate with a monopoly face, it is important to question whether they add value to a workplace.

The precursor to *What do Unions Do*, Freeman and Medoff's (1979) article "The Two Faces of Unions," explained what is implied by the union's monopoly face. In their discussion of unions, Freeman and Medoff, presented the idea of the "two faces of unions." The first face is the monopoly view, which presumes that unions increase inefficiencies and inequality by raising wages solely for their members. The second face is the "collective voice/institutional response view," which states unions provide their members with collective voice, affecting the working relationship positively, resulting in increased productivity and equality in the workplace. The monopoly view sees unions as impediments because unions drive up wages for employers, which can actually lead to fewer positions. Workplace disruptions such as strikes can interfere with economic functions and contracts can be limiting. However, the authors found that unionized workplaces suffered from less turnover because there is less preoccupation with working conditions or rivalry among employees.

Freeman and Medoff's paper was published during the 1970s, a time when anti-union sentiment was high, and most union coverage in the media was becoming increasingly vitriolic (Western & Rosenfeld, 2011). The authors do not reject the monopolistic view or dispute that unions raise wages for their members, because in general, unionized members typically enjoy greater benefits than nonunionized workers (Freeman & Medoff, 1979). However, it is the type of relationship between employees and employers that most effects workplace productivity. According to Freeman and Medoff, in an employers' relationship with a union and its unionized workers there are two possible reactions that employers can have to collective bargaining, either a positive reaction or a negative one. By reacting positively, employers can raise productivity because management and employees can work together to find mutual solutions due to greater communication. A negative reaction can adversely affect productivity because of possible worker dissatisfaction if workers' needs are not met. The research did not provide a strong link

between unionism and increases or decreases in productivity, as evidence suggested increases and decreases in productivity were found in both unionized and nonunionized workplaces. Freeman and Medoff (1984) conclude by suggesting that unions certainly have parts of both views; the monopoly view is exhibited in the fact that most benefits are experienced by unionized workers and the voice view can lead to operating inflexibility and higher costs. Despite the negative effects, Freeman and Medoff suggest that the positive results outweigh the negative effects.

Unions may be favoured as one of the best vehicles to influence workplace conditions due to their collectivized nature, and currently they are one of the best-equipped institutions that serve the collective needs of all workers. They appear to be, as Freeman (1981) suggests, one of the existing players that has the capacity to effect changes in industrial relations; however, Freeman does suggest that most significant workplace reforms were the products of great social disruption. Perhaps unions can be instrumental in addressing the needs of workers. They will need greater social appeal to inspire unionized and nonunionized workers, because it was out of social disruption that the right to association was granted in an effort to achieve industrial peace following workplace unrest and strikes in the 1930s. By identifying unions as the best vehicle to increase union density, it is important to assess whether this is a contentious or popular notion. The following chapter will present the five different perspectives, which will help to identify a broader opinion of unions.

Chapter 2
FIVE DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES

Unions evoke reactions for individuals based on their own prior experiences with unions, or perhaps based on their current employment position. To understand the differing opinions and views on unions it is useful to assess them from various perspectives; this helps to provide an understanding of the complexities of unions by assessing the many, often conflicting viewpoints. The following chapter looks at unions from five different perspectives beginning with a broad societal perspective, followed by an employer's perspective, an employee's perspective, a union perspective, and lastly a unionized worker's perspective.

Section 2.1 Society's Perspective

It is necessary to look at unions from a societal perspective, because unions not only affect unionized workers, but have implications for all citizens. Fick (2009) states unions are assessed by how they impact workers, trade unions, and employers, but suggests that the influence of unions is not restricted to the workplace because unions impact society by contributing to the creation and maintenance of democratic societies (Fick, 2009). Historically, authoritarian regimes, such as the fascist regimes of Italy, Spain, and Germany, viewed unions as a challenge to power and took steps to limit their power or bring them into government (Fick, 2009). Today, citizens in countries such as China and Sudan face challenges to collective bargaining and association, and unions are prohibited in Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (Fick, 2009), which are all countries with limited democratic functions. Fick (2009) cites examples in Latin America and Spain to demonstrate that union movements can provide pro-democratic dialogue and lead to the destabilization of authoritarian regimes.

Fick (2009) points to perhaps one of the greatest contributions of unions, which is that they

provide a voice for all workers. The 'democratization effect of unions,' has justified their existence as they have helped to bring about laws in the workplace, regulating conditions and limiting the way management can exercise its authority, which extends security, dignity, fairness, and justice to all workers (Godard & Frege, 2013). Unions are able to exert this type of influence because they have skill sets that other organizations lack. Though some non-governmental organizations or voluntary associations have some of the following characteristics, it is unions that possess all five: democratic representation, demographic representation, financial independence, breadth of concerns, and placement within society (Fick, 2009). These characteristics allow unions to be representative of societal concerns and in a position to bring about change for all citizens, including effecting labour laws.

Coiquaud (as cited in Brunelle, Hayden, & Murray, 2011) assesses the role Canadian courts have played in assessing laws which have attempted to limit unionization. Canadian courts have upheld rights to collective bargaining and the constitutional guarantee of freedom of association. Many laws have been subjected to revision after they have been found to be unconstitutional. Courts are used to support legislation which ensures employers are abiding by their legal duties, and also to uphold rights to bargain working conditions, for rights, and provisions.

There are four tools that have been influenced by unions and have been used to improve working conditions: collective bargaining, substantive rights, procedural rights, and social security (Pocock, 2011). Collective bargaining ensures some voice in influencing working conditions, and includes a union's ability to withdraw services, which can put increased pressure on employers. Substantive rights, such as minimum wage, leave, and working hours have all been established as standards through legislation. Each of the these tools came from collective organizations, or political partnerships and public campaigning (Pocock, 2011). Procedural

rights are designed to "contest managerial prerogative" and promote collective organization. They offer protection from unsafe or unhealthy work, rights to flexible working conditions or consultation, and rights to contest discrimination, sexual harassment or unfair dismissal (Pocock, 2011). Social security provisions allow employees to "decommodify" themselves and access services without an employer, such as workers' compensation, disability support, paid parental leave and access to education and health services (Pocock, 2011). Each of these tools have been applied to make improvements for all workers. In addition, unions also help to maintain wage equality by influencing the wages of all workers. There is also a connection to maintaining a strong middle class, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 3 by referring to the United States example and the correlation between the decline of unionization and the decline of the middle class.

To further illustrate the growing inequality between CEO's compensation and that of an average worker's, Fick (2009) provides comparison of CEO wages and the average worker. During the 1950s to 1970s, CEO compensation remained relatively stable and began a gradual increase from the 1970s to the 1980s, followed by a steep increase thereafter. Between 1990 and 2004, the average worker's pay increased 4.5% while the average CEO's pay increased 319.2 % (Fick, 2009). The divide and stagnation of worker's wages continues and unions are in a position to be the collective voice to bring attention to the issue. Though unions can bring awareness to wage stagnation which has effected the average worker's wages, from the employer's perspective, union wage demands can often be onerous and effect the long-term viability of an organization.

Section 2.2 Employer's Perspective

The employer is classified broadly to include management, private sector employers, and public sector employers such as the government. A major concern for an employer in a unionized environment is whether or not the presence of a union effects operations, or in the private sector, the effect that a union can have on the financial performance of a firm. Unionized workers in Canada and the United States make 15% more than nonunionized workers in their respective countries by engaging in bargaining with their employer; however there appears to be a greater reluctance to invest in unionized workplaces due to the higher wages (Kuhn, 1988). This reluctance to invest could affect the long-term viability of an organization and have greater impact on the unionized workforce in reduced hours and reduced positions.

Odgers and Betts (1997) looked at the level of industry unionization and industry investment, specifically of 18 industries in manufacturing, finding strong evidence that the presence of labour unions in an industry will reduce the level of investment to below that of a similar nonunionized firm because of a reduced incentive to invest. They found that industries with average unionization experienced an 18-25% reduction in investment, and reduction in net investment of 66-74% in comparison to a relative nonunion industry (Odgers & Betts, 1997). In addition, they also found that when the threat of unionization exists and wages are increased to discourage the process, those companies suffer from a lack of capital for investment because unions are viewed as a threat to profitability and lead to inflexibility. Previous studies have also found unions to have a negative impact on profits, which leads to an inability to finance investment internally and leads to lower returns on capital. Employers also experience less flexibility with their workforce in a unionized environment.

Attention is often drawn to the high wages, benefits, and pension programs of unionized workers; in the public sector these provisions are considered to be at the expense of taxpayers,

especially when private sector wages stagnate. McGinnis and Schanzenback (2010) argue that during the industrial age, unions were necessary checks against the exploitative powers of private companies when workers were less educated and skilled; provisions like collective bargaining were granted to balance the power between employee and employer. The authors suggest that it is no longer about the checks to power because unions have formed themselves into interest groups, which are no different than lobbyists. Employers may find themselves with reduced flexibility because of the concentration and organization of workers.

McGinnis and Schanzenback (2010) suggest that private sector unions are regulated by the free market and an individual company's ability to raise capital; in the public sector, the funding for unions comes from taxes. The union wage premium relates to the amount of cash compensation. McGinnis and Schanzenback (2010) suggest that this premium is higher than it appears because of the intangible benefits of job security, early retirements, and pension plans. From an employer's perspective, unions can interfere with the level of investment in a particular industry and drive up wages. The wage premium public sector unionized workers receive draws attention because taxation funds these premiums, which can influence public opinion. The next section will assess how public support for unions is formed, from the perspective of an employee.

Section 2.3 Employee's Perspective

Periods of economic downturn and uncertainty may lead to greater public support for unions. Following the recession of the early 1980s, which led to periods of high unemployment and job instability, Lowe and Krahn (1989) studied public support and attitudes towards unions in Edmonton and Winnipeg in 1981. Because periods of recession can lead to greater layoffs, concession bargaining, and in general, pose a challenge to union power due to perceived ineffectiveness in raising wages and conditions from members, they wanted to assess

respondents' support. Lowe and Krahn (1989) revisited the 1981 results in 1987 to determine whether economic conditions affect perception of the role of unions, whether intercity differences were diminished due to economic activity, and whether difficult economic times influence nonunion employees decision to join a union.

The 1981 data had found higher support for a unions' ability to improve wages and job security in Winnipeg versus in Edmonton. Lowe and Krahn (1997) found there was reversal of the 1981 results; in 1987, a higher proportion of Edmontonians agreed unions protected wages and working conditions, and a higher portion of respondents expressed they would join a union if one were available. Explanations provided for the higher support in Edmonton during the second survey, are greater economic downturn and higher unemployment, and industrial disputes (Lowe & Krahn, 1997). The data from Edmonton and Winnipeg demonstrates that economic activity can affect support for unions.

The authors also included results from Gallup Polls on attitudes towards unions. The 1981 survey had found that 40% of respondents answered that they would join a union if one existed in their workplace (Lowe & Krahn, 1997). In 1986, Canadian labour unions received the lowest public confidence score of all institutions, these include institutions such as multinational corporations, the tobacco industry, and oil companies, even though the differences were not pronounced (Lowe & Krahn, 1997). The same research found that government was seen as the main player to address working conditions, not unions.

Gallup Poll surveys from 1950-1958 found that when asking whether unions were "bad," 12 to 20% of respondents agreed while 60 to 69% responded "good;" when asked the same question between 1976-1982, 30 to 42% answered bad while 42 to 54% answered good (Lowe & Krahn, 1997). Between 1936 and 1985, when asked the following question: "do you approve or disapprove of labour unions," the majority responded they approved, adding that unions help to

improve wages and working conditions, and provide a voice to big corporations. A 1997 Gallup Poll found Canadian support of unions to be 57%, with a 39% disapproval rating (Lowe & Krahn, 1997). While periods of economic downturn can influence public support for unions, unions need to fulfill a broader role for their members and for their employers.

Section 2.4 Union's Perspective

From a union's perspective, a unionized workplace provides greater wages and benefits. Long and Shields (2009) looked at 250 Canadian firms in 2000 and 2004 to determine how unions effect compensation. Their research findings suggest that higher unionization results in a larger proportion of indirect pay, or employee benefits. They cite empirical evidence from Canada to suggest that unionized employees' indirect pay component of compensation is 45% higher than nonunionized members. In the United States it adds 20-30% to employee benefits and amounts to compensation which is 10% higher. Unionized workers have higher indirect pay because pay is often one of the bargaining focuses, as unions tend to favour base pay because it is easier to monitor than performance pay, and little differentiation between members and benefits is preferred. However, the 2004 results show that increased benefits are at the expense of base pay because firms with more unionization devoted a larger proportion of total compensation to indirect pay (Long & Shields, 2009).

The Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) refers to the "union advantage" which is illustrated in its study of twenty-nine Canadian communities. The findings show that communities with higher rates of unionism enjoy higher levels of income and greater services and small businesses. High unionization rates lead to higher wages, greater benefits, and pension plans for workers. On average, unionized workers make $5.11 more than nonunionized workers and women with unionized jobs make $7.94 more than their counterparts, nonunionized women. In addition,

88.5% of unionized workers received non-wage benefits like drug, vision, and dental plans, compared to 68.6% of nonunionized workers. Ninety-two percent of large unionized workplaces (with 500 or more employees) had pension plans, compared to 68.4% of nonunionized workplaces of similar size. In small, unionized workplaces (with less than twenty employees), 47.6% offered health-related benefit plans and 34.2% had pension plans. In contrast, 31.1% of similar sized nonunionized workplaces had health-related benefit plans and 12.5% had pension plans for their workers (CLC, 2013). The union advantage clearly helps to bring gains and benefits to its membership and these gains often extend to all workers through fringe benefits.

From a union perspective, few organizations have the capacity to influence workplace conditions and standards as unions do. Given declining union density in the United States, Godard and Frege (2013) were interested in determining what types of organizations were fulfilling the former role of unions. The authors found that identity-based associations and employer created alternative, nonunion systems of representation have been filling the void, despite management established labour organizations being illegal under the Wagner Act in the United States (Godard & Frege, 2013). In order to determine the efficacy of these organizations, telephone interviews were conducted with 1,000 members who were members of a union, management-established system, or an independent nonunion association.

The surveys were based on participants' perception, but the authors conclude that the newly created alternatives are not fulfilling the former roles of unions. The two main conclusions are, unions are an important way to manage workplace authority relations, and second, management created associations do not extend workplace rights and are often a way to forestall unions (Godard & Frege, 2013). Identity-based associations, or employer and management created nonunion systems of representation do not compare favourably. These organizations lack independence from their employer and do not have the capacity to represent union members

through democratically elected leaders.

Clark, Gray, and Solomon (1996) explore the relationship between Canadian unions and their employees, suggesting that unions as employers, or employer-unions, are only as effective as their employees. Union leaders are often selected based on their political skills, and it is not uncommon for leaders to draw on these skills, rather than their personnel and administrative skills (Clark et al., 1996). They suggest that employer-unions recruit from their union members, but they often lack the personnel and administrative experience needed; this affects the fairness, equality, and transparency of the level of service delivered and is directly hypocritical with the standards that unions often demand of their employers. Clark et al.'s (1996) six-survey study of 30% of Canadian unions found that unions lack personnel and administrative policies related to discipline and discharge, hiring, performance appraisal, and salary review. The results indicated that less than 50% of unions had related personnel policies. The authors suggest three contributing factors: unions are primarily political organizations that use things like job promotions and assignments as a means to reward loyalty or punish disloyalty, lack of personnel policies centers operational control in the union leaders, and union leadership lacks administrative ability.

Through social activism, labour unions have provided wellness services to union members, however these benefits indirectly affect all Canadian workers, leading to greater well-being for all Canadian employees (Csiernik, 2009). Partnerships with organizations like the United Way also make it possible for the benefits of these services to be realized by unionized and nonunionized workers. Nonunionized organizations have also adopted many of the services. Examples of these services negotiated and implemented by unions include Employee Assistance Programs that are independent of management, counseling, referral services, and substance abuse programs (Csiernik, 2009). Unions have also partnered with community organizations for

improvements to social housing, the prevention of violence against women, affirmative action for First Nations and minorities, and human rights (Csiernik, 2009).

Section 2.5 Unionized Worker's Perspective

By becoming a member of a union, a union member agrees to the contract theory of union constitution, which establishes a contractual relationship between the member, the union, and every other member. The union is given the authority to deal with all internal matters except for the judiciary responsibility of upholding contract law (Lynk, 2002). A union member is tied to its union and members. It is assumed that a member makes this obligation in the hopes of receiving greater work satisfaction and a guarantee of working conditions. Powdthavee (2011) looked at whether unionized workers are happier than nonunionized workers and found that in the first year of unionization, there is a positive and significant feeling of job satisfaction in both males and females. This positive job satisfaction tends to decline over the years as the result of bargaining efforts.

In addition to bargaining, which can have a negative effect on members' perception of their union, strikes can also produce the same result. Following a five month strike, Chaulk and Brown (2008) conducted a survey of workers to assess organizational commitment, job satisfaction, work climate satisfaction, management satisfaction, and union commitment. The prime objective of the study was to assess the impact job action like strikes has, which can affect all levels of the organization. Unions may experience less union commitment and involvement from members, while workers may experience feelings of disenchantment, or frustration with union and management. Chaulk and Brown (2008) found that following a strike, workers viewed both management and union in a negative way. The author's research revealed that workers who have a negative experience during a strike may develop a negative view, which can alter their

view of their job, union, manager, and workplace. In addition to negative views, workers experience "decreases in satisfaction and organizational commitment," which can lead to decreased productivity and inefficiency, and ultimately higher turnover. Chaulk and Brown (2008) suggest that it may be more useful to measure pre-strike, during bargaining, and post-strike views.

The level of dissatisfaction following bargaining efforts and strikes, shows that union members are not always satisfied or convinced of their union's efforts. Levesque and Murray (2006) interested in the perspectives of former union members examined the reasons for departure of 5,645 union members who belonged to a mix of public and private unions from blue and white-collar professions. Levesque and Murray (2006) found that the biggest reason for leaving was based on a belief of the union's inability to solve members' problems or improving working conditions. Waddington (as cited in Levesque & Murray, 2006) and Gahan (2012) both looked at union member's dissatisfaction with their unions because of the correlation between union satisfaction and the level of worker commitment, loyalty, participation, and decision to quit. Participation of union members is key to maintaining the democratic nature of unions, and ensuring engagement. Waddington (as cited in Levesque & Murray, 2006) suggests that the key to retention is to pursue strategies that enhance membership identification through new forms of governance that increase representation and participation.

Because perceived union efficacy forms the strongest indicator of an individual's willingness to join a union, Givan and Hipp (2012) looked at how union and nonunion members viewed unions, how former members and those who were never members of unions, and different groups perceived unions. They collected data from over 15,000 respondents from twenty-four countries, finding that union members are more positive in their belief that unions can improve working conditions and former union members hold more positive views of unions than those

who have never been unionized. Givan and Hipp (2012) found that woman tend to have a more positive view of unions because of the belief that unions help to maintain job security. They add that women may have better awareness of union benefits because they are more susceptible to workplace discrimination. In addition to gender, skill level also effects unions perception, those with low skill or education levels were less likely to view unions positively.

Some research has shown that nonunion members may have a higher rate of job satisfaction compared to union members, but this may be due to higher expectations and desire for improved working conditions; union members do have a more favourable view of unions than nonunion members, despite lower job satisfaction, union members tend to have better working conditions and more job security (Givan & Hipp, 2012). The studies also showed that those in supervisory positions, those who feel they are easily replaceable in their organization, individuals who are satisfied with their work, and those with good relationships with management do not believe unions can improve or positively influence working conditions. In contrast, workers who have good relationships with their colleagues, those who have physically demanding jobs or work in dangerous conditions, or are single believe that unions can positively influence working conditions (Givan & Hipp, 2012).

The five different perspectives demonstrate that there is a broad range of attitudes and opinions of unions, each influenced by a particular viewpoint, however at times, some overlap exists. Many social, political, and economic factors influence the perspectives. Unions do influence the working conditions of unionized and nonunionized workers, but from an employer's perspective, there is a cost associated with a unionized environment. Not only have social, political, and economic factors shaped perspectives, they also shape the reasons for decline. The following chapter will highlight four major reasons for the decline of unions.

Chapter 3
DECLINING UNIONISM

Section 3.1 Reasons for Decline

North American unions have their roots in an industrial economy, however the traditional structure of unions does not allow for worker's interests to be represented effectively in the contemporary workplace (Brunelle et al., 2011). The contemporary workplace of the post-industrial economy is one that is technologically advanced and increasingly globalized. As most institutions, unions need to evolve to become progressive institutions that serve as an active solution for all employees; in addition, unions need to be responsive. Though the nature of work has changed, according to Brunelle et al. (2011), it is still important to promote and advance democracy in the workplace to advocate for those who are excluded from current union coverage and in vulnerable circumstances. In addition, the authors suggest that this is of utmost importance due to prevailing neoliberal ideology which advocates for the absence of union principles (Brunelle et al., 2011).

In addition to a post-industrial economic shift, there are a number of other factors that have significantly affected union density. Some of the factors are beyond the control of unions and are a result of economic, political, and social shifts. There does appear to be some scholarly consensus for factors, and this chapter will analyze the four most prominent ones: the growth of employment in traditionally nonunion areas due to the effects of globalization, employer opposition to unionization, changing economics, and societal shifts. Each reason for decline will be followed with the identification of possible issues unions may be able to address or ways to counter the reasons; however, more concrete revitalization strategies that address the reasons will be provided in Chapter 4.

Section 3.2 Reasons for Decline #1 – Growth in Nonunion Areas & Globalization

Haiven (2006) suggests that there are two primary reasons for the decline of unions. First, he suggests that employment is growing in areas where unions are scarce and decreasing in areas that have traditionally been unionized; second, unionized jobs in manufacturing have disappeared or shifted overseas, and mechanization has reduced the number of employees required. Pocock (2011) affirms Haiven's (2006) assertion, stating that the greatest job growth has been in the service sector, which accounts for nearly 70% of all jobs today.

Like Haiven (2006), Schmitt and Mitukiewicz (2012) found that a shift away from industrial jobs, jobs typically with higher unionization, was attributable to efficiency in manufacturing which led to greater productivity. Technology increased productivity and efficiency in industrial and manufacturing jobs, and it also increased the automation and off-shoring of unions jobs (Schmitt & Mitukiewicz, 2012). Not only did technological advances and decreases in manufacturing jobs lead to fewer union jobs, a job polarization effect was also seen. The polarization led to jobs that either required less skill, face-to-face, manual tasks or jobs that required more skill and the performance of abstract tasks, these jobs could not be automated or off-shored (Schmitt & Mitukiewicz, 2012). The application of technological advances to increase productivity and replacement of traditionally unionized jobs was made easier with increased globalization.

In addition to the growth of jobs in nonunion areas, the globalization of the labour force has also challenged unions' ability to compete. According to the International Labour Organization, traditionally, the international community had accepted that labour is not a commodity that can be negotiated for the lowest price or substandard working conditions. However, Guille (2009) argues that the size of the global workforce, shift of manufacturing, increased competition, and free trade agreements have caused labour to become a commodity.

Schmitt and Mitukiewicz (2012) add that union's competitive abilities are compromised due to direct competition with low wage earners in other countries and 'heightened capital mobility' that allows employers to move production, reducing the bargaining power of unions. Many countries have experienced technological change and globalization. However, they have all had different experiences and different effects to their unionization rates.

It is highly unlikely that jobs lost to oversees competitors will be regained. To improve unions' ability to compete, and to mitigate losses in traditionally unionized areas, unions should focus on the service sector, an area that is largely not unionized. Due to increased global competition and heightened capital mobility, unions will have a role to play in helping employers remain competitive or enhance their competitiveness at the risk of losing more jobs. A strategy to avoid labour becoming a commodity even further will be to bring attention to the low wages and working conditions companies may be taking advantage of overseas and shifting focus to a global workforce. Working with employers is one of the key ways to work together to find mutually beneficial solutions. This may be difficult to achieve because the degree of government and employer opposition has significantly affected declining union rates as well.

Section 3.3 Reason for Decline #2 - Government/Employer Opposition

As previously noted, the classification of employer includes private and public sector employers, including the government. Employers can be a strong force of opposition to unions due to many factors, such as reduced flexibility due to collective agreements and the higher costs associated with unions. Haiven (2008) suggests governments are making it increasingly difficult for employees to organize and bargain collectively, which results in employer's taking advantage of this. There are many recent examples in Canada of governments attempting to limit collective bargaining rights and constitutional challenges to the Supreme Court of Canada, such as teacher's

job actions in British Columbia and Ontario which challenged government legislation. In 2007, in *Health Services and Support – Facilities Subsector Bargaining Association v. British Columbia,* the Supreme Court of Canada ruled the right to bargain collectively was constitutionally protected under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms' guarantee of freedom of association, which reversed a 29-year decision. The Supreme Court of Canada ruled: "the right to bargain collectively with an employer enhances the human dignity, liberty and autonomy of workers by giving them the opportunity to influence the establishment of workplace rules and thereby gain some control over a major aspect of their lives, namely their work" (as cited in Tucker, 2008, p. 157). The recognition of the Charter right proved that workers should have the ability to influence workplace conditions. Furthermore, the court's decision recognized the greater role collective bargaining has in society, stating that "collective bargaining also enhances the Charter value of equality. One of the fundamental achievements of collective bargaining is to palliate the historical inequality between employers and employees" (as cited in Tucker, 2008, p. 157).

Employers have the ability to influence workplace relations with unions in a positive or negative way, depending on their approach to union relations. A 1995 survey of a representative sampling conducted by Freeman, a Harvard University labour economist and Rogers of the University of Wisconsin Law School, found that one in three respondents had a preference for working in a unionized workforce, but would not vote to be unionized due to fear of management's response. Freeman and Rogers (1995) find that the fear of management's opposition towards unionizing can be enough to convince workers that they should forego unionization. Sheer anti-union sentiment can be detrimental or affect willingness to unionize, but outright opposition can have even greater effects.

Bentham (2002) looked at the impact of employer's resistance to unionization in eight Canadian jurisdictions, finding that employer resistance accounted for 80% opposition. Bentham (2002) assessed research on the United States where nearly every study found a negative link between employer opposition to unionization, union growth, and employee decisions to unionize. In fact, Bentham (2002) argues that employer resistance to unions has increased and public policy has not gone far enough to protect employees from the impact of such sentiments, this is noted as one of the primary contributors to the decline of organized labour in the United States. Bentham uses two measures, the percentage of employees voting in favour of the union, and the percentage of union election wins.

Using previous studies, Bentham (2002) outlines three main resistance variables: actions that prevent or limit a union's ability to communicate with employees or with employees' ability to communicate amongst themselves, employer directed communication regarding the union certification application, and the tightening of work rules or monitoring of employees. Six "dummy variables" were added: administrative challenges and delays such as postponements, objections or appeals of board decisions, objection(s) to the bargaining unit that were granted, objection(s) to the bargaining unit that were denied or partially denied, training managers to deal with an organizing drive, hiring a lawyer or consultant, and whether unfair labour practice charge(s) were filed against the employer. This opposition can take many forms, but Bentham (2002) finds that United States employers engage in tactics quite different from Canada. She suggests that employers in the United States engage in more obvious and direct resistance. Some of the methods she highlights are training managers to deal with organizing campaigns, the transfer or removal of activists, the issuance of threats, and the communication of anti-union sentiment, to undermine the long-term worker solidarity.

According to Pozzebon and Thomason (1998), in the United States, managerial opposition reduces union support during the certification processes. They analyzed Ontario and Quebec to find whether or not there were similar trends to the United States where managerial opposition is a prime factor in declining union density. The results found that Canadians engaged less in similar activities, such as distributing anti-union literature, but this raises the question of whether they can use similar tactics to reduce union density in Canada. Pozzebon and Thomason (1998) conclude that similar tactics can be used but legal differences, such as the right to work legislation in the United States cause dissimilarities.

In addition to the perception of employer or managerial opposition to unionization, employers and management affect unionization through their faith in bargaining and interaction. A union goal should be to engage in more meaningful communication which is for the better of the entire organization. According to R. Tallman, unions can help to combat employer and government opposition to unions by acting as a solution to problems and challenges that arise in the workplace; an extension of relevance to the employer would lead to less opposition (personal communication, September 10, 2012).

Section 3.4 Reasons for Decline #3 – Changing Economics

Tucker (2008) suggests that following World War II, liberal state policies modeled after the Keynesian welfare regime were designed to promote employment, economic growth, and the welfare of citizens with a commitment to union-based industrial relations through collective bargaining. However, this changed in the 1970s when employers and industrial capitalist countries adopted policies that attempted to avoid collective bargaining. With increasing globalization, a shift to neo-liberalism led to the establishment of free trade agreements; the agreements reduced governments' ability to control capital as in the previous manner and led to a

greater need to be competitive with other countries. Through changes to labour and employment laws, employers attempted to regain control at the expense of working conditions and job security. At the same time, there were greater reductions in social spending and attacks on collective bargaining rights and working conditions, but tax cuts for the wealthy (Tucker, 2008). Employers began to demand more from their workforce, as the structure and conditions of work began to change. Jobs were shifted to part-time, contract, or causal, which saved employers costs like benefit expenses. Employers attempted to control wages through layoffs, demands for concessions, back-to-work legislation, privatization, contracting-out, and imposed collective agreements (Camfield, 2006). Greater flexibility and control over working condition were sought after due to the economic priorities of reducing costs.

Levesque and Murray (2006) suggest that decreasing union density is attributable to economic shifts due to increased globalization and the unyielding desire to achieve labour flexibility by employers. Like Tucker (2008), Brown (2006) points to capitalism's preoccupation with flexibility as a contributing factor to the decline in union density. Some of the effects of that preoccupation are casual jobs which often have no benefit provisions such as sick leave, and an increase in the number of low paying jobs. Since the 1970s, a rise in the neoliberal economic policies pursued by many governments due to increased global competition resulted in increased privatization and the growth of new industries. Neoliberal policy aimed to implement reforms by reducing the role of government by allowing the marketplace to drive economic policies and development strategies (Murray & Overton, 2011). This pursuit of flexibility and economic policies, further reduced the bargaining power of unions; however there are many recent examples of challenges to the neoliberal shift.

Stanford et al. (2009) explain that some of the basic tenets of neo-liberalism that have dominated since the 1970s have recently been shown to be imperfect around the world. The

examples demonstrate that though neo-liberalism has been advanced as a suitable economic system, recent occurrences may expose some if its shortcomings. The first is a preoccupation with privatization, Stanford et al. provide the example of the government bailout of banks and the auto industry to illustrate government involvement in the bailing out of private industry. The second tenet of neo-liberalism Stanford et al. point to is the downside of globalization, where economic failures in one country are linked to another. They provide the example of the Iceland economy collapse as a result of real estate prices in Florida. The third challenge they point to is government intervention, which has recently been necessary during the financial crisis of 2008 in the form of stimulus money.

Camfield (2007) refers to neoliberal restructuring as a move from the post World War II welfare state to what he calls the 'lean state' which seeks to create more flexible and lean operations by reducing the number of staff through part-time and casual workers and increased privatization. The role for unions to play is to help reduce some costs and engaging in meaningful policy change because there may be some positives that can arise in helping to address some of these issues. Some of the provisions of lean state, such as casual jobs, benefited employees as social changes shifted the nature of work and more women entered the workforce. Other social shifts, however, have significantly contributed to union density decline, as discussed in the next section.

Section 3.5 Reasons for Decline #4 – Societal Shifts

Brown (2006) points to 'shifts in consciousness and ideology' which have eroded working class solidarity; workers are increasingly in jobs that can isolate them from others in small sites or costs centers, or through contract or casual work. The nature of work makes it difficult for unions to pass on the collectivist values that can lead to cohesiveness in the

workforce. Levesque and Murray (2006) believe that challenges to union identities stem from the differing values individuals bring to work, which are influenced by public policies that have attempted to make employment an individual relationship between employee and employer. New technologies have also changed the idea of workplace and traditional work hours, as people in certain positions have flexibility to work in their homes or set their own work schedules. Furthermore, shifts in generational ideology have also played a role in the decline of unions.

A generational issue at play is the inability to recruit young workers to unions. This is problematic because the unionized workforce is ageing at a faster rate than the labour force (Lowe & Rastin, 2000). Lowe and Rastin (2000) looked at reasons that influence a young worker's desire to join a union, they found that it was not necessarily education that effected willingness to join, but due to work experience as a youth and then experience in the labour market.

Lowe and Rastin (2000) analyzed the responses of high school and university graduates in three Canadian cities, Toronto, Sudbury, and Edmonton, to determine how previous union membership, attitudes, education, and work experiences shaped their willingness to join unions. The authors suggest that it is more difficult to recruit than in previous generations due to changes in the structure and conditions of work. Factors that have affected the ability to engage youth in meaningful union discussion is due to high rates of youth unemployment, wages that are typically lower than other workers, and youth are typically employed in part-time or temporary jobs (Lowe & Rastin, 2000). The authors suggest that youth leave such employment to go on to post-secondary education which leads to greater experience in the student job market of low-skill, low-wage jobs; in turn, youth may become critical of poor working conditions and rewards, leading to greater occupational aspirations but more importantly, a greater sense of individualism rather than the collectivist ideals of unions (Lowe & Rastin, 2000).

It is clear that in order to address the issues that arise from societal shifts, unions are going to need to broaden their appeal. Increasing appeal to youth, workers entering the workforce, and helping to build awareness of union values can all help to broaden union appeal. As noted by Lowe and Rastin (2000), individualism can be counter to union ideals. This sense of individualism may also relate to the differing of union density rates in Canada and the United States, arguably the United States has a stronger culture of individualism. The following section will detail the differences in the Canadian and United States' union experiences.

Section 3.6 Reasons for Decline - The United States Example

As previously stated, comparison to the United States is justified due to Canada's strong economic ties, and the United States' influence on Canada's industrial relations. Recently, there has been much attention given to the declining density rates in the United States. Lichenstein's (2011) assessment of the declining union density in the United States begins by suggesting that the New Deal, backed by Franklin Delano Roosevelt, had given legal and ethical legitimacy to unionism. Unions were seen as necessary to balance out the power of corporations, as well as a necessary part of American democracy. From 1933 to the end of the 1940s, union numbers had grown from 3 million to 14 million. However, the challenges began in 1947 with the Taft-Hartley Act, which allowed states to pass the "right to work acts,' which challenged unionism (Lichenstein, 2011). Right to work acts made union membership in organizations where a union operated optional, rather than compulsory, as in the past. Canadian unions have not faced the challenges of right to work legislation as in many areas of the United States. This legislation undermines unions' abilities to collect dues and remain viable. Furthermore, unions in the United States began facing increasing challenges from conservative thinkers and activists of the right

during the 1960s and 1970s, when they associated unions with the slow growth and inflation of the period (Lichenstein, 2011). Today, only approx 12% of Americans are represented in unions.

Labour laws in the United States have affected Canada's labour laws, from the Wagner Act (1935) to affirmative action, and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms to the duty to accommodate. However, Canada differs in its regulation of union democracy by refraining from instituting legislation regulating the internal political and administrative affairs of unions (Lynk, 2000). Lynk (2000) attributes this difference to a greater political respect for the autonomy of industrial relations, and there is a general acceptance of the ability of unions to manage their affairs through democratic process. Four reasons are provided to explain why union democracy in Canada has avoided the challenges the United States' unions face. Historically, Canadian unions have been democratic with social aspirations, they are free of corruption, employers are accepting of collective bargaining, and unions are voluntary associations (Lynk, 2000). However, it is important to notice a shift in tone in the last decade as Canadian provincial governments attempt to use legislation to circumvent Charter rights and the right to association.

There is some consensus (Godard 2003; Rose & Chaison, 1985; Rose & Chaison, 2001) that compared to the United States, Canadian unions have avoided the situation of the United States. Declining union density was common throughout most liberal market economies, but the United States experienced one of the sharpest declines and has some of the lowest union density of those countries (Rose & Chaison, 2001). Rose and Chaison (2001) identified factors for the difference in the United States and Canada. Organizing activity and organizing success rates have been substantially higher in Canada, and higher unionization has enabled Canadian unions to outperform their American counterparts in collective bargaining, particularly during the turbulent 1980s. The third reason identified is concession bargaining was far more prevalent in the United States, where union membership losses and aggressive employer bargaining strategies

put unions on the defensive. Another factor is the political influence Canadian unions gained by forming alliances between organized labour and social democratic parties, such as the New Democratic Party (Rose & Chaison, 2001).

Recently, in the United States there has been increased dialogue about the decline of the middle class and links to the declining rate of unionism; the middle class is defined as the middle 60% of households in terms of income (Madland & Bunker, 2012). Using United States Census data, a clear correlation between declining union density and the subsequent decrease in the middle class' share of income is witnessed.

Due to the influence of the United States, it is reasonable to question how far Canada's density decline will go, and whether a further decline of Canada's middle class will be experienced. Kidd (2005) suggests that Canadian unions exhibit a sense of overconfidence about the country's state of unionization because comparison is often made to the United States. Kidd (2005) warns that Canadian union density is declining and this further weakens the ability of organized labour to advocate for rights and leaves unions in a reactive position to the economic changes occurring globally. In addition, Kidd (2005) suggests that union density in Canada has dropped, with the sharpest decrease in the private sector. This leads to the question of whether continuing union density decline in Canada will translate to a further decline in the middle class, as appears to be happening in the United States.

Nobel Prize winning economist Paul Krugman (2007) suggests that a strong middle class is connected to labour unions in the United States. Labour unions are able to negotiate wages which are often extended to nonunionized employees, leading to higher wages and some benefits. Krugman suggests that unions are an important counterbalance to the political influence held by corporations and the economic elite, and posits that unions did not succumb to a natural death, but from a deliberate attack from corporate America. Furthermore, Krugman (2007) points out

that corporations like Wal-Mart have been able to draw favourably from a political environment which is hostile to organized labour and closely align with conservatives in an effort to challenge the Democratic Party which has traditionally been aligned with organized labour. In summation, Krugman (2007) offers that the decline of private-sector unions has led to the United States "becom[ing] more oligarchic and less democratic over the last thirty years," and unions are one of the most important institutions that have the power to stand up to the power of big money.

Researchers at Harvard University, the Center for American Progress, the Economic Policy Institute, and the Pew Research Center (2012) used Census data to show the correlation between the rate of unionization and distribution of wealth. The studies showed that unions advocate for wages and working conditions, but also make democracy work by advocating for policies which create a strong middle class, an engine for economic growth (Madland & Bunker, 2012). Census data showed that in the five states with the lowest unionization (North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Arkansas, and Louisiana), the middle class had the lowest share of income, compared to four out of five states with the highest unionization (Alaska, Hawaii, Washington, and Michigan) in which the middle class had above-average income strength (Madland & Bunker, 2012). In addition, the research shows that higher unionization rates result in reducing the gap between the rich and poor.

Besides any level of complacency Canadian unions may suffer from, there appears to be greater managerial hostility to unions in Canada, compared to the United States. In a United States and Canada comparison of managerial hostility towards unions, Campolieti, Gomez, & Gunderson (2012) found there to be greater hostility from Canadian managers due to a higher perception of union power, which is greater in Canada. Campolieti et al.'s research findings are contradictory to that of Pozzebon and Thomason's cited earlier. The reason for this may be the time difference between the two articles, as over a decade has elapsed since the initial research.

Another explanation is that Pozzebon and Thomason's research looked at the certification process whereas Campolieti et al. looked at managerial hostility.

Using Ispos-Reid data, Campolieti et al. asked two questions: (1) Are managerial attitudes towards unions more hostile in the US than in Canada? (2) Are American managers more likely to employ extreme measures to thwart a unionization drive? Campolieti et al. (2012) found that Canadian managers were more likely to engage in extreme methods, such as an attempt to interrupt organizing campaigns. Campolieti et al. (2012) provide two reasons for the differences in managerial hostility; first, the United States' culture emphasizes individual over collective rights and managerial tactics are often more sophisticated in the form of anti-union tactics. Second, the United States anti-union movement is more effective at using legislative means and the opposition is often state-led (Campolieti et al., 2012). The greater level of managerial hostility, based on the research of Campolieti et al (2012), draws further attention to the situation in Canada, and how union density rates in Canada may continue to fluctuate without the proper attention to developing renewal strategies. The next chapter focuses on four major revitalization strategies, each selected for the purpose of highlighting what unions can do successfully to overcome objections and resistance.

Chapter 4
REVITALSING STRATEGIES

Section 4.1 Defining Revivalism

To increase union density in Canada would be to increase the percentage of unionized workers. In order for greater density, a revival movement is needed for public and private sector unions. It is important to define what is meant by revivalism, is it simply a greater number of union members or is it something greater? Rose and Chaison (2001) suggest that union revivalism is defined in a number of ways. For example, some people see unions as capable of addressing the power imbalance between workers and employers by devoting organizational efforts to promoting human rights and social justice. Others view union revival as a method to unionize in non-traditional areas, or achieve greater influence over policies and management's decisions. For the purpose of this project, both definitions are adopted to assess how Canadian unions can achieve their goal of increasing density by broadening their appeal to human rights and social justice, as well as unionizing in non-traditional areas to have greater influence over workplace conditions. The following chapter will present four revitalization strategies, each of the formulated strategies are based on the reasons for decline from the preceding chapter. The revitalization strategies were formulated based on issues that were identified in each section as areas that unions can help to address; the broader aim is to suggest viable strategies that will contribute to an increase in union density.

Section 4.2 Pursuit of Union Revivalism

In Pocock's report: *Rethinking Unionism in a Changing World of Work, Family and Community Life* (2011), a number of reasons are outlined as to why unions' traditional focus and tools may not work. Changes to the forms and structure of employment interfere with the ability

to collectivize and mobilize workers (Pocock, 2011). In addition, the growth of part-time, casual, or contract work, challenge the ability to collectivize. With the service sector accounting for 70% of all jobs, most jobs are low wage jobs or in areas not traditionally unionized. Furthermore, more women are unionizing, but younger workers are somewhat unfamiliar with the appeal of unions that resonated with previous generations. Another factor is workers are changing jobs more frequently than in the past, and this can be a challenge because it may be difficult to build loyalty to an organization or union that is perceived to be a temporary assignment (Pocock, 2011). When pursuing revitalizing strategies, it is essential to formulate strategies that appeal to all workers from a wide variety of demographics.

The aim of union revivalism is to increase union density in Canada, and to have greater influence over the working conditions of all workers. Some researchers suggest it is known what needs to be done, while others suggest significant social change and new forms of collective representation are needed for changing workplaces (Levesque & Murray, 2002). Unions are facing a "decline of instrumentality," which comes from the challenges of unions' abilities to negotiate collective agreements and better working conditions. Levesque and Murray (2002) suggest that unions need to look to new sets of resources and levers of power to renew core functions which help to achieve core objectives, which is through union governance and internal organization to generate greater efficiency and sense of belonging.

Three areas are highlighted to achieve this: through collective identities, external expertise and networks, and union leadership (Levesque & Murray, 2002). Collective identities are challenged by ideological and value shifts. To combat this, unions need to be more attune to membership to be informed of trends and changes. To convey these shifts to membership and to influence change in the workplace, external expertise and networks are needed. The third area highlighted by Levesque and Murray (2002) is perhaps the most important. Union leadership

need to be tactical and flexible, not dominated in the rigid structures of the past. Leaders require the ability to anticipate changes and to develop appropriate and acceptable responses. In Waddington's paper, he suggests that the ability to read change, as well as understand the different interests can help unions determine where they are at, where they should be, and why it is necessary (as cited in Levesque & Murray, 2002). The ability to anticipate and read change, will put unions in a better position to be able to approach management with alternatives (as cited in Levesque & Murray, 2002). By improving their relationship with union members and management, union leaders can get involved in encouraging others to join which would lead to increased union density.

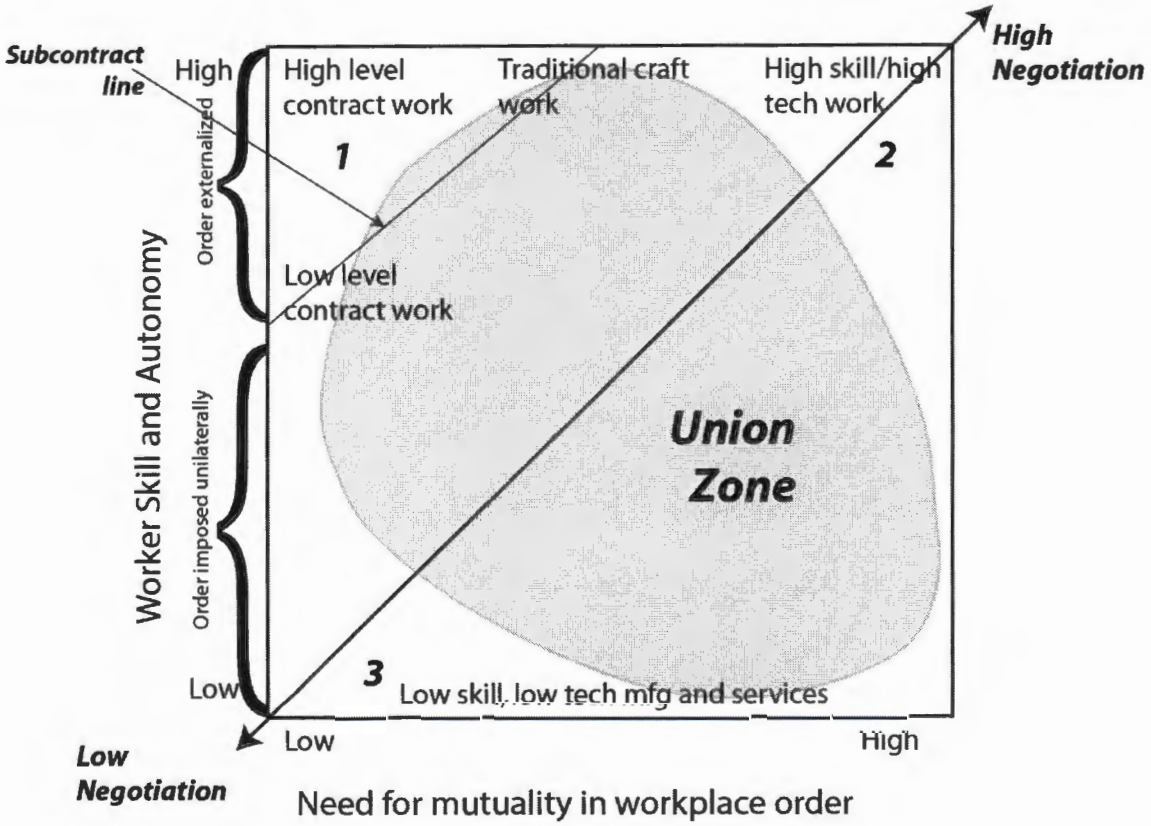
Union resources come from their membership in the form of financial contribution through union dues and certification costs. In addition to having the resources, unions need to redefine their capabilities through the creation of distinct strategies; these strategies can draw on the current strengths of unions and be leveraged in the form of methods to increase union membership. The first strategy aims to address the first reason that was identified as a cause for the decline of unions.

Section 4.3 Revitalization Strategy #1: Expansion into Union and Nonunion Zones

The strategy is to take advantage of the growth of employment in traditionally nonunion areas, and overcome the jobs losses that have occurred as a result of technology and the shift of manufacturing jobs due to globalization. Haiven (2006) uses the terms of union zone and nonunion zone to illustrate how unions can increase density, and to explain the challenges and opportunities for unions. Unions can only be the premiere front line organization to represent the collective interests and needs of workers by seeking out alternative forms for collective organization and allying with other organizations, they can not afford to ignore alternatives

(Haiven, 2006). Haiven (2006) uses a matrix to outline the areas where unions are present and/or absent, how to enhance union representation in growing sectors, and how to expand to areas of highly skilled workers. He uses specific references to Canada, stating that Canada has not experienced declining rates as the United States, but warns of complacency. Figure 3 provides an illustration of Haiven's matrix.

Figure 3: The union and nonunion zone



(Source: Haiven, L., 2006)

Haiven (2006) created the "Matrix of Negotiation," which aims to remedy the limitations of the traditional model of representation. To sustain their role as the best representatives of the interests of working people, unions need to expand the scope of representation by allying with

new organizations and interests (Haiven, 2006). Unions could make use of the matrix to identify areas to gain access to increase union density.

The matrix shows skilled workers and the amount of control they exert in the workplace; the vertical axis, called worker skill and autonomy, has highly skilled workers with little to no supervision at the top and those with less skilled workers who are monitored by bosses or machines at the bottom. The horizontal axis, called "need for mutuality in workplace order," indicated the area where the employer is reliant on workers to participate and coordinate in work processes (Haiven, 2006). The axis measures workers' ability to regulate and organize independently. A diagonal measure within the matrix ranges from low negotiation at the bottom to high negotiation at the top.

The upper left corner (Zone 1) of the matrix includes autonomous workers, considered to be highly skilled, such as accountants and web designers, less skilled such as plumbers and mechanics, or low skilled contract workers such as cleaners; they generally control their work processes and may not have a legal employment relationship with their employer (Haiven, 2006). Workers in this zone have some individual negotiating power, but cohesiveness and collective action are rare; the amount of isolation and individual oriented work could be an obstacle to collective action in this area (Haiven, 2006). The upper right corner (Zone 2) encompasses highly skilled and autonomous workers, however they must to work together to accomplish tasks. Haiven uses computer programmers and highly skilled technicians as an example. The top middle of the matrix includes craft workers like millwrights, nurses, and other semi-professional practitioners; these workers have a high degree of skill and autonomy but are in legal employment relationships with their employers that are dependent on mutuality for work because their needs are more collective than other areas of the matrix (Haiven, 2006).

The lower section of the matrix (Zone 3) encompasses workers who are low skilled with

little independence, at the lower left they have low ability to organize and in the lower right workers have a greater ability to organize. Haiven (2006) adds a "union zone" to the matrix with the nonunion zone found in the upper-left corner, upper-right hand corners, and bottom left corner, which is key to his model. It demonstrates the connection between negotiation and unionization as well as the absence of unionization in areas where negotiation is required. Haiven (2006) advises three areas which unions should be and are attempting to unionize, the upper left, the upper right, and the bottom left of the matrix. "Unions have little influence over the growth and shrinkage of areas of employment. Thus, the survival of the union movement crucially depends on its ability to embrace workers in these areas" (Haiven, 2006, p. 93).

Each zone has its specific impediments to unionization, but the potential to organize is high. The upper left corner or Zone 1 workers, are generally not employees but are contracted, so things like bargaining in good faith do not bind them. The main impediments to unionization in the upper right or Zone 2 are the personal benefit concerns of the workers in this area, and their traditional, individualized negotiating is counter to collective bargaining (Haiven, 2006). Zone 3 workers, or the bottom part of the matrix, include those who work for large corporations that are stringently opposed to unionization, like Wal-Mart and McDonalds. These workers face challenges to organization because of the large amount of resources these corporations possess and their anti-union sentiment, and the corporation will often close down specific operations to avoid unionizing. Haiven (2006) focuses on Zones 1 and 2 as areas that unions should focus their efforts because workers in these areas already engage in some organizing.

Haiven (2006) provides examples of some occupations that can benefit from unionization and areas where unionizing has been successful; the five groups are: musicians, video artisans, fish harvesters, medical technologists and nurses, and computer specialists. Though self-employed, or employers themselves, organization in these occupations can help to improve work

conditions (Haiven, 2006). Successful unionization efforts were made by the Canadian Artists and Producers Professional Relations Tribunal. The body represents members as a bargaining group, with access to mediation, and legal rights to strikes and lockouts. Other examples in media and the motion picture industry include the Alliance of Canadian Cinema, Television, and Radio Artists (ACTRA; for performers), the International Association of Theater and Stage Employees (IATSE; for technical workers), and the Directors Guild of Canada (for direction, design, production, and editing). Though it is uncommon for self-employed workers to gain legal collective bargaining rights, the fish harvesters in Newfoundland and Labrador were successful as a result of intense lobbying of the provincial and federal governments resulting in the Fishing Industry Collective Bargaining Act.

Haiven's matrix focuses on Zones 1 and 2, suggesting that unions can be successful by focusing on the collective needs of these workers. By providing for worker's rights such as collective bargaining in the absence of legal bargaining rights, strong networks, some benefits and services, and training and career development opportunities, unions can help provide a form of job security. Haiven (2006) states that organization in Zones 1 and 2 can lead to the formation of communities of workers that are not bound by geography and overcome the barriers of individual projects.

Other scholars have looked at the idea of expanding into nonunion areas. Legault and D'Amour looked at how "hard to organize" workers are regulating work by looking at videogame developers and performance artists – both with types of work that is highly skilled, but often short-term, project work (as cited in Brunelle et al., 2011). Both groups have adopted representation which is collective and individual, using industry associations. By expanding into non-traditional areas of unionization, unions are able to respond to the needs of potential union members, an important factor in expanding revitalization efforts. This strategy also helps to

address the challenges of globalization and technology, by recruiting from capital intense jobs that are less likely to be outsourced.

Section 4.4 Revitalization Strategy #2: Extension of Relevance to Employer

This strategy seeks to address the second reason for decline, defined as government and employer opposition. To overcome this reason for decline, unions can enhance their relevance to their employer by collaborating on mutually beneficial solutions to the problems and challenges that arise in the workplace, as this would increase the usefulness of unions to the government and employer.

Meaningful policy change at the union level entails unions serving as an answer to workplace issues and solving employer's problems by posing mutually beneficial solutions. These solutions can help to reduce the second reason for decline, government and employer opposition. Jalette and Hebdon (2012) state that "unqualified union opposition as an opposition strategy" is not sustainable. The strategy lacks long-term success potential because unions lack the resources to counter employer demands, which may lead to unions having to accept concessions or privatization in the future. By adopting a new method, or acting as a solution to an employer's problem, these unions can successfully overcome anti-union efforts. Jalette and Hebdon (2012) explore union responses to privatization proposals in Canadian municipalities, when fiscal pressure, new management, citizen demands for efficiency or opposition to tax increases, and the deregulation of private markets drive privatization. The authors suggest that unions are often depicted as staunch opponents of change and management is depicted as pragmatic. Because unions may increase the cost of service delivery due to the difference in public and private wages, the threat of privatization can lead to lower wages, or job losses, but this can also lead to alternatives. The study showed that unions are most successful in rejecting

privatization efforts when they use the following strategies: suggesting alternatives, which can also lead to a less adversarial relationship, multi-faceted and multiple strategies through negotiation, and presence of contingency plans such as a displacement policy for affected employees (Jalette & Hebdon, 2012).

The privatization example can be applied to general union operations. A way to address government and employer opposition, is to increase relevancy to the employer and government by working collaboratively to solve problems, and set goals and objectives. This strategy requires union members and employers to see themselves as members of the organization, not solely members of union or management. Employees and employers can work together to solve problems through the creation of plans to achieve goals. These plans could lead to more productive workplaces and greater flexibility for all due to enhanced communication.

Section 4.5 Revitalization Strategy #3: Meaningful Policy Change

The third reason identified for the decline of unions was changing economic policies and the rise of neoliberal policies. Unions can counter the effects of the dominant neoliberal agendas by presenting themselves as a viable counterweight, through enhanced awareness by being proactive. In addition to enhanced awareness and being proactive, meaningful policy change is also necessary. Camfield (2007) writes that neoliberal restructuring in the public sector leads to greater demands for concessions, and privatization and contracting-out efforts.

The right to strike and collective bargaining are challenged in the workplace; "job losses and the spread of precarious employment continue, as do the intensification of work and a change in the ethos of public sector work as managers promote the culture of the lean state" (Camfield, 2007, p 294). Furthermore, Camfield adds that these changes lead to insecurity, fear, and lack of confidence for workers that can translate into a sense of competitive individualism. In order to

turn these fears into opportunities, first, unions need to move away from the periodic contract bargaining because change in the workplace is not limited to contract negotiations, as well as engage in opposition to privatization. The second approach advocated by Camfield is getting union members to believe in the union as a form of "us," by enhancing union democracy because active member involvement strengthens and enhances it, whereas low level involvement discourages participation, commitment, and loyalty (Camfield, 2006). Some of these recommendations can be achieved through a shift in operations and more openness to different approaches.

Mironi (2010) argues that ideological divisions of union and nonunion advocates have prevented meaningful policy changes, and there is a greater need for representation models that are suited to the modern workforce and modern workplace relations. Furthermore, she suggests that global union declines and increasing workplace diversity has led to a decline of industrial relations as a field of study because scholars in the field have been unable to broaden their studies to analyze alternatives forms of representation in workplace relations; collective bargaining is still seen as the most legitimate form of representation (Mironi, 2010).

From Mironi's (2010) perspective it is difficult to find mutually beneficial solutions because unions and employer relations tend to be polarized and subjected to ideological rigidness. Mironi refers to the "terminological problem" of the traditional terms of unionized and nonunionized, which can be misleading because unionized can entail anything from a collective agreement to association, or a nationwide or industry agreement. In order to resolve this "terminological problem," Mironi provides a two dimensional framework to overcome the rigidity of terms and ideology, the first is to use the terms of individual versus collective and the second is to use direct versus represented. The use of these terms can help revive industrial

relations discussions, while searching for ways to increase union density or alternatives to the traditional representation model (Mironi, 2010).

Mironi (2010) advocates for two things in her article, first embrace terminology away from unionized and nonunionized and second, view the workplace as a set of multiple modern day units. The term unionized can be misleading because often times it refers to a percentage of a workforce within an organization or it can apply to a collective agreement. Unionism means different things in different regions of the world. It can be differences in the amount of control, whether workers are affected by collective bargaining or a member of a craft union, or an association. For example, European employer associations play a significant role in establishing working conditions through industry wide agreements.

Meaningful policy change could lead to reforms which can increase union density. These changes needs to come from a variety of areas including union structures and government policies and laws. Discussion of the Australian union experience and the attempts to regain losses in union density has been written about extensively. This experience has been contrasted with Canada and details a relevant example of how to increase density. The Australian experience demonstrates that aligning union interests so closely to that of labour parties, can be detrimental, especially in a country such as Canada that experiences many pendulum shifts in policy due to political power.

Brown (2006) writes that the decline of Australian density and resulting loss of influence came from union's aligning of its interests with the labour party. During the 1980s and 1990s, Australian labour unions worked closely with the government to bring about policy changes, however this changed in the late 1990s with the election of a conservative government which sought reforms. Labour unions in Australia, as well as other countries with strong union movements, were weakened by the neoliberal policies. Unions suffered from membership

declines, a hostile legal environment, challenges to employment conditions, as well the restructuring of employment to low-wage, casual positions and jobs shifting overseas. Australian union leaders sought to adopt new organizing methods, education, new community alliances, and political tactics to rebuild and redevelop unions (Brown, 2006). It is these newly sought after methods from which Canadian unions can borrow ideas.

Australian unions sought to rebuild at the base by aligning with community groups to build power at the community level, this allowed members to feel responsible for their community and involved in shaping future direction (Brown, 2006). Members were trained in protest techniques, political action, mutual aid, communication and organizing development, and media work, these tactics included rallies, boycotts, lobbying, press releases, and media conferences (Brown, 2006). Through the bottom-up movement, unions attempted to empower communities to achieve collective and democratic social change, since historically bottom-up or grassroots movements were instrumental in shaping industrial relations. This strategy also shares some overlap with the fourth recommended strategy, to revitalize by broadening appeal to a wider group, compared to the traditional form of recruiting new members to and from existing organizations.

Section 4.4 Revitalization Strategy #4: Broaden Appeal

Revitalization strategy four aims to address the fourth reason for the decline of unions, societal shifts. In order to overcome this issue, unions can benefit by broadening their appeal to a larger set of demographics, namely youth, women, and low-skill workers; this strategy will provide methods to target each demographic. Studies show women as well as individuals with greater job instability and those who have a greater number of jobs following graduation are generally more willing to join a union (Lowe & Rastin, 2000). Generally, it takes approximately

three years for a young person to make a decision about whether or not to join a union and high school graduates are more likely to go from a neutral to favourable position to join a union (Lowe & Rastin, 2002).

An important part of the strategy to target youth, women, and low-skill workers is to create a more collectivist appeal, which is counter to the individualistic ideals that have been prevalent due to societal shifts, as outlined in Chapter 3. Individualism is strong predictor of inclination to join union or not (Lowe & Rastin, 2000). If this trait is significantly stronger or more developed than any collectivist ideals, it may be difficult to convince someone of the collective benefits of joining a union. However, even if there is a strong sense of individualism, it is still possible to highlight some of individual benefits of membership in a union, such as the possibility of higher wages and greater benefits. A collectivist appeal can be created through a better understanding of the needs of membership, and identification of trends that are common to many groups.

Brunelle et al. (2011) see the current problems of unions embedded in their traditional approaches, which do not accommodate the realities of their members or potential members due to a failure to address worker's diverse needs within and outside the workplace. The authors suggest that unions can ensure they represent their membership effectively through awareness of needs and interests. By putting member needs at the center of focus, unions can seek to increase density by being responsive and attune to members' needs. Pocock (2011) suggests a better understanding of home, work, and community could lead to better tactics, including a better understanding of the need for greater flexibility with work hours. Time pressures and the need for flexibility are not new challenges for workers, but are more pronounced currently due to a growth in dual earner and single parent families (Pocock, 2011). Other strategies linked to accommodating members' needs are to provide enhanced feelings of autonomy, control,

education, and quality of service and outcomes, while providing opportunities for skill acquisition, professional development, and enhanced career identities (Pocock, 2011). Being more responsive to member's needs, translates into broader appeal. This appeal can also enhance the desirability of union membership for individuals in the target demographics.

Union density can be enhanced through appeal to the current generation through the use of social media, lessons can be drawn from the level of Generations Y's participation in politics. This is a valid comparison because recent political experiences have demonstrated how to connect a disconnected demographic to politics. Similar results can be achieved in unions to appeal to a generation with which the current message does not resonate. Ward (2008) looked at the different appeals that were made to 18-35 years old during the Australian election of 2007. Both competing parties were able to enhance and market their message through the use of social media. Successful candidates used a strategy based on YouTube, Facebook, and MySpace, with youth visiting the websites and downloading content. Some videos received over 100, 000 views. Youth were able to openly voice their concerns and communicate with candidates. In a survey of the top election concern, 18 – 24 year olds identified employment as a top concern. User-generated content helped connect youth and allowed them to feel empowered.

Other examples of the use of social media to bring about change were evidenced during the Arab Spring, which began in Egypt. Gaworecki (2011) writes that Facebook was the main organizing tool which was used primarily by youth. It enhanced the abilities of 'traditional organizing tactics' by helping to communicate the message and facilitate on the ground organization efforts. Another recent example of the use of social media in a political campaign was seen during the U.S. election of 2012. Unions can use social media to the extend their message to the current generation and youth entering the workforce since it takes three years for them to form their opinions on labor unions.

Lowe and Rastin (2000) suggest strategies aimed at the service-sector, which is more difficult to unionize, compared to traditional manufacturing or industry jobs and to create ways to recruit members from the next generation of workers who work primarily in the service sector. Yates (2006) writes, women are central to union revitalization because they are the fastest growing group of unionized workers. The year 2004 was the first time women's union density exceeded men's. She challenges four major conceptions and concludes that unions are gender biased, resulting in missed opportunities for unions to the large pool of union members to increase the labour movement. Given the growth of the number of unionized women, nearly 52% in 2011, a viable strategy is to put women into leadership roles to create greater appeal and reflection for union members.

Workers in low-skill and service sector jobs seek to benefit from union membership and would be a way to increase union density. As mentioned, union density is lower in the private sector due to increased opposition. Yates (2006) points out that sector and nature of work are central to increasing the unionization of women, even though the sectors where women dominate, such as retail, accommodation, and food, have the lowest union density. These occupations and industries often include low wages, high employer opposition to unionization, and high turnover (Yates, 2006). Women's greater support for unionization may be an effect of gendered inequalities in access to union representation, as the majority of organizers are white men. However, in the public sector there is a higher percentage of women organizers. As it stands, Yates (2006) suggests that unions are investing far greater resources in recruiting men but this can reversed through greater use of female organizers and widening appeal aimed at women.

Fine (as cited in Brunelle, et al., 2011) discusses declining private sector unionism in the United States and how work centres arose to help the large number of immigrant, low-skilled workers who earned low wages without any workplace protection. When these work centres

started five years ago they focused on enforcing current laws. However, these centres have allied with political and economic influences to form strategic partnerships and get labour standards regulations on to the public policy agenda which has resulted in greater policy changes to labour laws. Low-skill workers can experience the benefits of organized work centres, and this experience can easily extend to the unionized sector.

Section 4.7 Strong, Healthy Unions for the 21st Century

Union density has declined primarily due to external factors but unions have the capability to increase density. In addition to applying the four suggested revitalization strategies, Canadian unions can look around the world at other successful labor unions. Strong, healthy, and effective unions will be those that are proactive in reading change in labour relations and able to serve their members in a more effective way. Unions will need to be pragmatic and adopt multiple strategies to increase union density. Canadian unions can look to countries with high levels of union density, such as Scandinavian countries to learn what healthy unions in the 21st century look like.

2011 statistics show that the four OECD countries with the highest union density rates are: Iceland (79.4%), Finland (70%), Denmark (68.8%), and Sweden (67.7%). (OECD, 2011). Each of these countries has experienced declines in density and has taken steps to reduce further losses. Bild, Jorgensen, Lassen, and Madsen's (1998) analysis of the Danish labour movement suggests that unions need to engage in a process where they are 'open and self-critical' so that they can move away from being an apparatus to a movement. A healthy Canadian union movement is also one that is able to focus on the movement part which can also help to shed the institutional view of unions, as evidenced by the Danish example.

Bild et al. (1998) write that despite social and political pressures, Danish labour unions are in a decent position due to Denmark's decentralized corporate decision and implementation systems and provisions of the welfare state. Danish labour unions are considered to be one of the strongest in the world due to their strong density, participation in the political system, lack of oppositional attitudes towards unions, and as social partners they have influenced private and public regulation (Bild et al., 1998). However, the authors state that Danish unions have had to use their resources intelligently as union density has recently been challenged through the election of a liberal-conservative government and a new era of corporatism where unions are now part of an advisory process, rather than directly involved in decision-making.

Unions can leverage their power to influence by using their strategic resources and capabilities (Bild et al., 1998). The research of the Danish unions reveals that certain things can be done to increase relevance and density. To counter rising individualistic attitudes, Bild et al. (1998) suggest unions promote a more ecological aspect that fits with global environmental concerns. They also suggest instrumentality of unions can be increased by offering opportunities for personal development. It is also suggested that unions' 'classical leadership' needs to evolve to a style that includes open communication and decentralized decision-making to enhance union democracy. If this does not occur, Bild et al. (1998) warn that members who feel alienated will move away from unions and only those members who are elderly, less-skilled, less-educated, and in the public sector will remain. In addition to drawing from Denmark's experience of being more strategic, Canadian unions can look to Finland which also has a high rate of density.

Kalliola's (2005) research of Finnish unions' responses to social and economic changes reveals that these unions engaged in modernization strategies and greater labour-management cooperation to ensure long-term job security and viability. Multi-professional teamwork is a process where unions work together to form new alliances, often through mergers (Kalliola,

2005). The research of Finnish labour unions revealed four areas where unions are concentrating their efforts: job security, maintenance of collective bargaining, ability to influence social legislation and labour law, and revamping the organization of unions (Kalliola, 2005). Canadian unions can use this type of approach as well, by narrowing their focus of activity and effort.

Through new alliances and new forms of representation, Canadian unions can enhance their effectiveness. It is useful to look at other countries that have succeeded in establishing successful workplace relations without the presence of a history of unionism. South Korea is considered to be an example of a country that underwent late industrialization compared to countries like Germany and Japan, therefore its labour relations are fairly young (Kong, 2012). The newness of labour relations also allowed Korea to look to successful parts of Germany, Japan, and Sweden's systems that used elements of participatory labour relations (Kong, 2012). Korea has experienced success in its use of 'high performance work systems' (HPWS), which allows management and employees to work together in 'cooperative labour relations' (Kong, 2012). Cooperation between both groups means that employers and employees work together for long-term benefits by collaborating and consulting with one another to formulate goals. According to Kong (2012), HPWS originated in Japan and has been used in counties like the United States. It is a process that uses continuous, informal negotiation between an employer and a union, it also involves the union in strategic decision-making.

The Korean labour experience demonstrates that it is possible to move to a win-win situation by adopting mutuality through cooperation. This does not mean it is necessary to implement HPWS, it simply means that lessons can be learned from the system. Through the use of collaborative strategies, labour was able to move away from confrontational situations where management was more likely to seek dominance (Kong, 2012). Kong (2012) writes that four collaboration tools were sought after: private provision of welfare, managerial practice based

on partnership, informal and partial participation in decision making, and education, training, and other company-sponsored activities that enhanced understanding of operations. These initiatives allowed unions to be more pragmatic and cooperative in workplace relations by focusing on the long-term interests of their members (Kong, 2012).

An effective union is one that is able to plan an effective strategy, and one that is able to move away from the administrative functions to the representative ones (Boxall & Haynes, 1997). In addition, an effective union is one that moves away from simply serving the membership to one that is driven by bottom up decision-making and organizing that helps drive union behaviour (Boxall & Haynes, 1997). Boxall and Haynes' (1997) discussion of the servicing model suggests that this is not a long-term solution. A union that only serves its members as consumers of services such as grievance procedures or legal advice, is likely to be ineffective in organizing workers for greater collaboration and involvement in decision-making. Unions need to convince members that they are all the union, and avoid an "us" versus "them" approach (Boxall & Haynes, 1997). A successful union is one that is able to engage its employer in a way that an individual worker is not able to. This could lead to greater workplace satisfaction for members. Boxall and Haynes (1997) also make specific suggestions for things to incorporate into the organizing, such as the creation of networks of influential union members who take part in negotiations and joint committees, or having the ability to have members come together at critical times.

A strong, healthy Canadian union movement will need to embrace revitalization strategies to increase density. By looking at examples from union movements and labour relations from around the world, Canadian unions can become more pragmatic by adopting methods that can lead to further reforms. Ideally, unions will be open to reform to become a movement and to get to a position where they are considered a credible partner in advising on workplace relations.

The classic union approach will need to be replaced with more open communication and decentralized decision-making. New alliances and forms of cooperation with management are needed to engage in continuous, informal dialogue for involvement in strategic decision-making for organizations. Long-term gains aimed at organizing, not just servicing membership, can lead to greater involvement from members.

Chapter 5
CONCLUSION

Unions fulfill an important role as workplace institutions that endeavour to serve their membership by acting as a collective and representative body, while engaging in bargaining with employers to establish better working conditions. The role of unions extends beyond the direct membership, as unions advocate for or influence the working conditions of the unrepresented and nonunionized. All Canadians are affected by union gains, not just the one in three Canadians that belong to a union.

Unions are an industrial construct. As is true of many institutions, unions have failed to reinvent themselves in the face of change in order to continue to be an important institution of the post-industrial economy. It is not to say that the function of unions is obsolete. They serve a role in maintaining democratic society, and in maintaining a strong middle class as proven by the United States example. An exploration of the five different perspectives, society, employer, employee, union, and unionized worker, was to demonstrate that unions are not viewed from a unified lens. Economic, political, and social factors within each perspective influence the points of view as does experience with unions, demographics factors, and one's position of employment.

The basis of this project was to determine what factors had led to the decline of union density and whether it was possible to increase union density. Four major reasons for decline were identified. Each of the reasons for decline illustrated that there is some overlap existing within the reasons. Each of them is also affected by economic, social, and political factors. The reasons for decline identified some possible areas were unions could address issues to enhance their instrumentality. An objective of presenting the revitalization strategies was to address the reasons for decline by presenting possible solutions.

Revitalization strategies were recommended based on their ability to address the reasons for decline. Four major strategies were outlined as the best way to increase union density. The pressure for unions to reform is mounting and it is clear that post-industrial strategies are necessary to remain relevant to the workforce. Implementing the revitalization strategies will allow unions to adapt and reinvent themselves, increasing their relevance to society, employers, employees, and union members.

Bibliography

Bentham, K. J. (2002). Employer resistance to union certification. *Industrial Relations*, *57*(1), 159-187.

Bild, T., Jørgensen, H., Lassen, M., & Madsen, M. (1998). Do trade unions have a future? the case of Denmark. *Acta Sociologica, 41*(3), 195-207.

Boxall, P. & Haynes, P. (1997). Strategy and trade union effectiveness in a neo-liberal environment. *British Journal of Industrial Relations 35*(4), 567–591.

Brown, T. (2006). Organizing for the future: labour's renewal strategies, popular education, and radical history. *Studies in Continuing Education, 28*(1), 33 – 48.

Brunelle, C., Hayden, A., & Murray, G. (2011). Employee representation in the new world of work: the dynamics of rights, voice, performance and power. *Industrial Relations*, *66*(4), 503-511.

Camfield, D. (2006). Neoliberalism and working-class resistance in British Columbia: the hospital employees' union struggle, 2002-2004. *Labour*, 579-41.

Campolieti, M, Gomez, R., & Gunderson, M. (2012). Managerial hostility and attitudes towards unions: a Canada-US comparison. *Journal of Labor Research, 34*(1), 99-119.

Canada. Human Resources and Skills Development Canada. (2012, September 17). Union coverage in Canada, 2011. Retrieved from http://www.hrsdc.gc.ca/eng/labour/labour_relations/info_analysis/union_membership/2011/tableofcontents.shtml

Canadian Labour Congress. (2013, January 22). The union advantage. Retrieved from: http://www.canadianlabour.ca/about-clc/union-advantage

Chaulk, K., & Brown, T. C. (2008). An assessment of worker reaction to their union and employer post-strike. *Industrial Relations*, *63*(2), 223-245.

Clark, P.F., Gray, L., & Solomon, N. (1996). The union as employer: personnel practices in Canadian labour unions. *Industrial Relations*. *51*(3), 488 – 506.

Coats, R.H. (1923). The labour movement in Canada. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.* 107, 282-285.

Csiernik, R. (2009). Labour welfare in Canada: an examination of occupational assistance. *Journal Of Workplace Behavioral Health*, *24*(1/2), 147-164.

Fick, B. (2009). Not just collective bargaining: the role of trade unions in creating and maintaining a democratic society. *Working USA: The Journal of Labor & Society, 12*(2), 249-264.

Freeman Jr., G. L., & Moser, H. (2010). An empirical analysis of the public's attitudes toward labor unions. National Social Science Journal, 34(2), 41-50.

Freeman, R. B. (1981). The effect of unionism of fringe benefits. *Industrial & Labor Relations Review, 34*(4), 489-509.

Freeman, R.B. & Medoff, J.L. (1979). The two faces of unionism. *The Public Interest, 57*, 69 – 93.

Freeman, R.B. & Medoff, J.L. (1984). *What do unions do?,* New York: Basic Books.

Freeman, R.B. & Rogers, J. (1995). The worker representation and participation survey: first report findings. *Proceedings of the Forty-Seventh Meeting of the IRRA.*

Gahan, P. (2012). 'Voice within voice': members' voice responses to dissatisfaction with their union. *Industrial Relations, 51*(1), 29-56.

Gaworecki, M. (2011). Organizing tool and a "space of liberty" in post-revolution Egypt?. *Social Policy, 41*(4), 66-69.

Givan, R., & Hipp, A. (2012). Public perceptions of union efficacy: a twenty-four country study. *Labor Studies Journal, 37*(1), 7-32.

Godard, J. (2003). Do labor laws matter? the density decline and convergence thesis revisited. *Industrial Relations, 42*(3), 458-492.

Godard, J. & Frege, C. (2013). Labour unions, alternative forms of representation, and the exercise of authority relations in U.S. workplaces. *Industrial & Labor Relations Review, 66*(1), 142-168.

Guille, H. (2009). Unions have no future if they do not become truly global institutions. *Social Alternatives, 28*(1), 37-41.

Haiven, L. (2006). Expanding the union zone: union renewal through alternative forms of worker organization. *Labor Studies Journal, 31*(3), 85-116.

Hirsch, B. T. (2004). What do unions do for economic performance? *Journal Of Labor Research, 25*(3), 415-455

How Canadian unions are changing. (2012, March 1). Retrieved from: http://www.cbc.ca/news/interactives/labour-demographics/

Jalette, P. & Hebdon, R. (2012). Unions and privatization: opening the "black box." *Industrial & Labor Relations, 65*(1), 17-35.

Kalliola, S. (2005). Confronting a changing economy: union responses in Finland. *Economic and Industrial Democracy, 26*(2), 257-287.

Kidd, D. (2005). State of the unions, 2005. *Canadian Dimension, 39*(3), 29-3

Kong, T.Y. (2012). Among leading South Korean firms cooperation in unlikely settings : the rise of cooperative labor relations. *Politics and Society, 40*(3), 425-452.

Krugman, P. (2007, December 4). State of the unions. *New York Times*. Retrieved from: http://www.nytimes.com/2007/12/24/opinion/24krugman.html?_r=0

Kuhn, P. (1998). Unions and the economy: what we know; what we should know. *The Canadian Journal of Economics, 31*(5), 1033-1056.

Levesque, C. & Murray, G. (2006). How do unions renew? paths to union renewal. *Labor Studies Journal, 31*(3), 1-13.

Lichtenstein, N. (2011). The long history of labor bashing. *Chronicle Of Higher Education, 57*(27), B6-B7.

Long, R.J & Shields, J.L. (2009). Do unions affect pay methods of Canadian firms? a longitudinal study. *Industrial Relations, 64*(3), 442-465.

Lowe, G. S. (2000). Organizing the next generation: influences on young workers' willingness to join unions in Canada. *British Journal Of Industrial Relations, 38*(2), 203-222.

Lowe, G. S., & Krahn, H. (1989). Recent trends in public support for unions in Canada. *Journal Of Labor Research, 10*(4), 391-410.

Lowe, G.S., & Rastin, S. (2000). Organizing the next generation: influences on young workers' willingness to join unions in Canada. *British Journal of Industrial Relations, 38*(2), 203 – 222.

Lynk., M. (2002). Union democracy and the law in Canada. *Just Labour, 1*, 16 – 30.

Madland, D. & Bunker, N. (2012). Unions make democracy work for the middle class. *Centre for American Progress.* Retrieved from: http://www.americanprogressaction.org/wpcontent/uploads/issues/2012/01/pdf/unions_middleclass.pdf

McGinnis, J.O. & Schanzenbach, M. (2010). The case against public sector unions. *Policy Review*, (162), 3-12.

Mironi, M. (2010). Reframing the representation debate: going beyond union and non-union options. *Industrial and Labour Relations Review, 63*(3), 367–383.

Murray, W. E., & Overton, J. D. (2011). Neoliberalism is dead, long live neoliberalism? neostructuralism and the international aid regime of the 2000s. *Progress In Development Studies, 11*(4), 307-319.

Odgers, C. W., & Betts, J. R. (1997). Do unions reduce investment? Evidence from Canada. *Industrial & Labor Relations Review, 51*(1), 18-36.

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2011). *Trade Union Density.* Paris: OECD.

Pocock, B. (2011). Rethinking unionism in a changing world of work, family and community life. *Industrial Relations, 66*(4), 562-584.

Powdthavee, N. (2011). Anticipation, free-rider problems, and adaptation to trade unions: re-examining the curious case of dissatisfied union members. *Industrial & Labor Relations Review, 64*(5), 1000-1019.

Pozzebon, S. & Thomason, T. (1998). Managerial opposition to union certification in Quebec and Ontario. *Industrial Relations, 53*(4), 750.

Rose, J. B., & Chaison, G. N. (1985). The state of the unions: United States and Canada. *Journal Of Labor Research, 6*(1), 97-111.

Rose, J.B. & Chaison, G.N. (2001). Unionism in Canada and the United States in the 21st century. *Industrial Relations, 56*(1), 34-65.

Savage, L. (2009). Workers' rights as human rights. *Labor Studies Journal, 34*(1), 8-20.

Schmitt, J. & Mitukiewicz, A. (2012). Politics matter: changes in unionisation rates in rich countries, 1960–2010. *Industrial Relations Journal, 43*(3), 260–280.

Stanford, J., Wilson, F., Cohen, M., Payne, L., Schwartz, K., Levine, G., & ... Palmer, B. D. (2009). Forum on labour and the economic crisis: can the union movement rise to the occasion?. *Labour, 64*, 135-172.

Survey Says Fear Is Cause of Union Decline. (1995). *Management Report for Nonunion Organizations,* 18(8), 1-2.

Tucker, E. (2008). The constitutional right to bargain collectively: the ironies of labour history in the Supreme Court of Canada. *Labour, 61*,151-180.

Ward, I. (2008). Kevin07. labor's pitch to generation youtube. *Social Alternatives, 27*(2), 11-15.

Western, B. & Rosenfeld, J. (2011). Unions, norms, and the rise in U.S. wage inequality. *American Sociological Review, 76*(4) 513 –537.

Yates, C. (2006). Challenging misconceptions about organizing women into unions. *Gender, Work & Organization, 13*(6), 565-584.