

Labour Movement Revitalization? A Comparative Perspective

John Kelly
Department of Industrial Relations
London School of Economics
Houghton Street
London
WC2A 2AE
Tel: 0202-7955-7030
Fax: 020-7955-7042
E-mail: j.kelly@lse.ac.uk

Countess Markievicz Memorial Lecture

Dublin, 7 April 2003

Are Unions in Decline?

On the face of it this does not appear to be a question that is either promising or interesting. According to the conventional wisdom, with which we are all familiar, union movements around the world have been in decline since the early 1980s and whichever indicator you examine seems to tell much the same story: trade union membership has been falling in many countries, strike activity has declined even more dramatically and many governments, both Left and Right, have adopted neo-liberal economic programmes that have eroded the traditional centres of union power, in manufacturing and the public sector. The purpose of this lecture is not to deliver an iconoclastic rebuttal of these claims or to offer a complacent appraisal of the current problems facing organized labour. Instead I want to argue three main propositions: first, that whilst the experience of union decline is common, it is not universal: there are labour movements across Europe that have bucked the trend. Second, there is some evidence of a recent revival in union fortunes from a number of different countries: the Spanish general strike of June 2002 was just one of a series of recent mass mobilizations across Europe that forced the country's right-wing government to abandon its welfare reforms. Finally, in examining the state of a labour movement we cannot simply focus on membership or density – a common practice in the English-speaking world – but must consider a wider range of indicators of union power.

The first section of this lecture reviews the familiar evidence of union decline across a range of countries and aims to present a reasonably comprehensive summary of our current state of knowledge. In the second part I explain why we need to employ different indicators in different countries. Union density or membership is sometimes a valid and reliable measure of union power but not always. For instance, the Spanish and American union movements both operate at density levels below 20 per cent, but

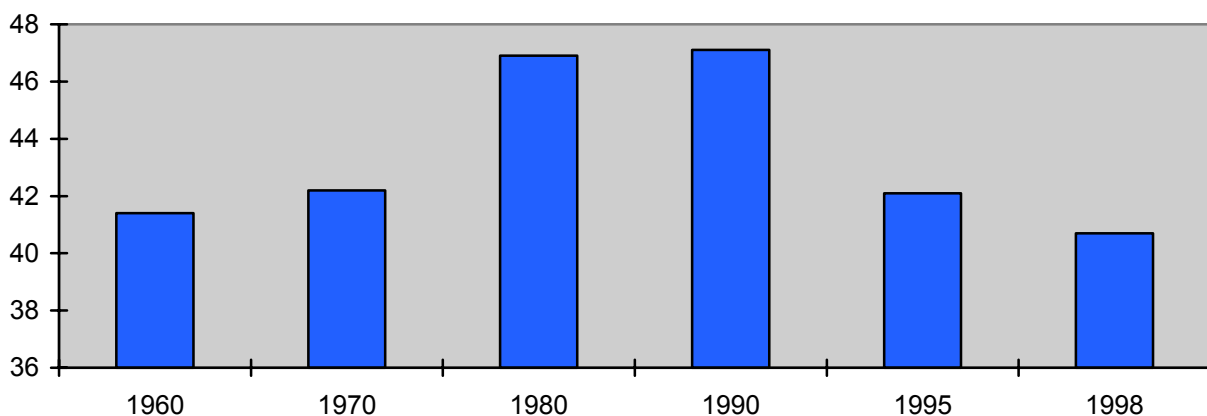
the former wields significantly more influence over workers terms and conditions of employment than the latter. In the third section I present evidence that leads to a more rounded view of the state of the labour movement across the advanced capitalist world.

The Parameters of Labour Movement Decline

Trade union density

Trade union density – the percentage of workers who belong to a trade union - is the statistic most frequently used to compare and contrast trade union movements and to chart their fortunes over time. There is debate over how best to measure density – should unemployed or retired union members be included for example? – and there is disagreement as to whether union density is a valid indicator of union power (see Kelly 1998: 9-13). At the very least however it is sensible to argue there is some connection between union density and union power, however complex. Figure 1 (below) shows trends in union density for 16 OECD counties between 1960 and 1998 (the latest year for which standardized comparative data is available).

Figure 1 Trade union density 1960-1998 (16 OECD countries, % employees)



Sources: Calmfors et al (2001: Table 2.1, 13 European countries); Jarley (2002: Table 7.1, (USA); Murray (2002: Table 4.1, Canada); Kuwahara (1998: Table 10.1, Japan). Average mean values each year are unweighted for country size.

Average union density in 1960 across this set of countries was under 42 per cent but by 1980 had climbed to almost 48 per cent. Interestingly the decline in union density experienced in Britain and the USA from 1980 onwards was not reflected throughout the advanced capitalist world as a whole. Across much of Europe union density decline was far more pronounced in the 1990s than in the 1980s.

Membership composition

Even where union density has remained relatively stable, as in West Germany until around 1993-4, commentators have expressed concern about the growing mismatch between the composition of the trade union movement and that of the labour force. For example, in 1998 women comprised between 40 and 50 per cent of the labour force of most advanced capitalist countries, but this range of figures was hardly reflected in the gender composition of national union movements (see Table 1 below).

Table 1 Union representation by gender (women as % of total union membership 1998)

Netherlands	28%
Germany	31%
Austria	32%
Ireland	38%
UK	41%
USA	41%

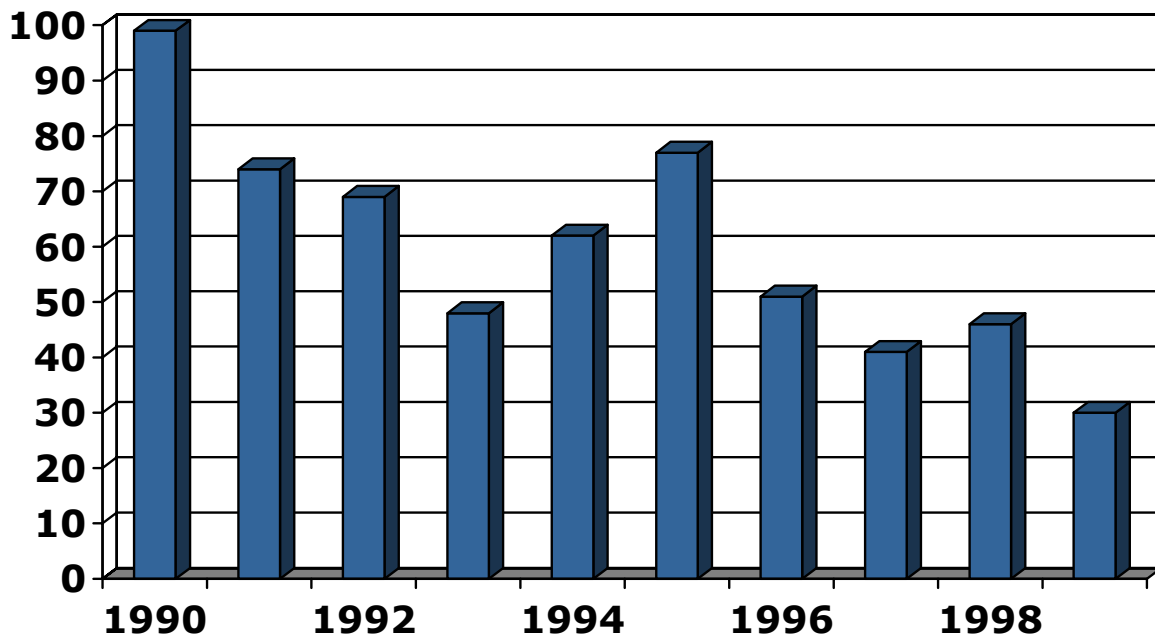
Sources: Ebbinghaus and Visser (2000: Tables AU13, GE13, IR13, NE13, UK13); www.bls.gov

Unions in many countries continue to be well organized and strongly represented in the stable or contracting sectors of the economy – the public sector and manufacturing - but poorly organized in the expanding private service sector. For example in 2001 union density in British public administration was 59 per cent, in manufacturing it was 27 per cent, but in wholesale and retail trade it stood at just 12 per cent (Brook 2002: 348).

Strike action

Falling union density since 1990 has been matched by a decline in strike activity, as the following Figure shows.

Figure 2 Strikes in the OECD 1990-1999 (days lost per 1000 workers, annual averages)



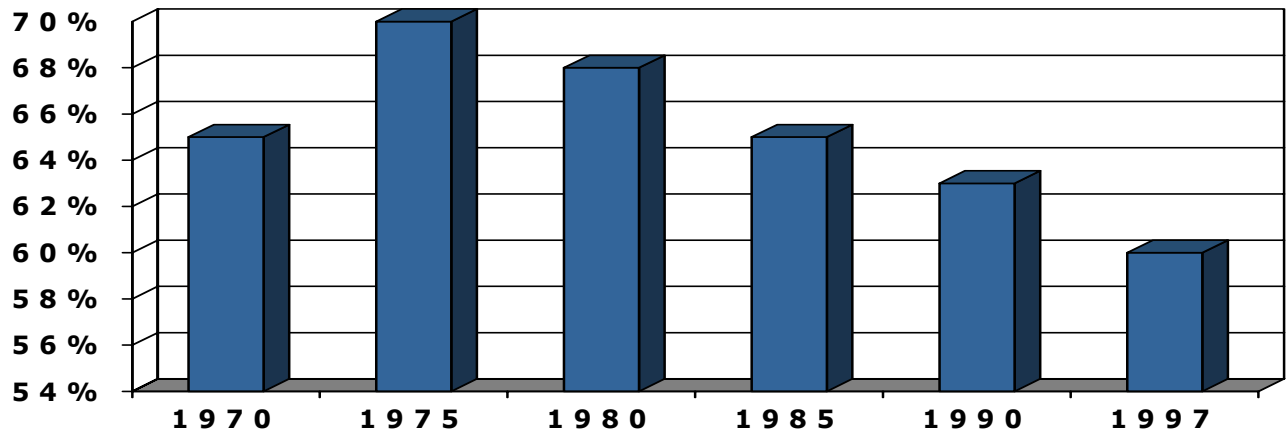
Source: Davies (2001: Table 1).

By 1999 the level of strike activity was two thirds lower than the 1990 figure and the latter in turn was well down on the level of strike action from the early 1980s ((Bird 1991). The chart also shows that occasionally the downward trend comes to a halt, as in 1994 and 1995, when major general strikes in Italy and France respectively produced a small increase in days lost compared to previous years.

Union economic effects

If we turn from the organization and activity of unions to their effects then once again we find a similar story. There are of course many different ways of measuring union effects. For example we could examine the wages paid to union employees as compared to non-union employees. Or we can turn from the substantive effects of unions to their 'voice' effects and explore how far unions provide workers with an effective say in decisions at the workplace. Comparative analysis is rather restricted by the availability of standardized data but we do have figures on wage shares in national income, a measure sometimes used to gauge the power of organized labour as against capital. National income can readily be divided into wages and salaries on the one hand and profits on the other and data for the 15 EU member states is shown in Figure 3 (below). What the evidence shows is that the share of national income going to wage and salary earners as compared to owners of capital rose significantly in the early 1970s but since then has displayed a consistent downward trend. The latest available figures show that labour's share is approximately ten percentage points lower than in the mid-1970s and that decline represents a dramatic shift in the class distribution of income.

Figure 3 Wage share in national income 1970-1995, EU 15



Source: European Commission (2000: Chart 43).

Interpretation of the figures is complicated however. A redistribution of income from labour to capital could indicate a decline in union power, as suggested by the figures shown earlier on union density and strike rates. But it could also reflect a shift in labour strategies as national union confederations traded wage moderation for gains in other areas, such as working time or employment creation. Finally it could be the result of increased capital investment with employers making more use of labour-displacing technology, as in banking for example. The reason for making these points is not to undermine the evidence I have just presented but to stress the importance of interpreting the numbers with care.

The dominance of neo-liberal ideas

Finally we should mention the influence of neo-liberal ideas on governments of both Right and Left throughout the 1980s in the major economies of the capitalist world. I take the core of neo-liberalism to be the belief that economic life should be regulated as far as possible by market forces and that actions or organizations which interfere with market regimes should be restricted or suppressed. The anti-union

legislation and privatization programme of the Thatcher government in Britain between 1979 and 1997 provides a familiar illustration of this ideology in operation, as does the Reagan government's firing of several thousand striking air traffic controllers in 1980. But not all governments of the Right were as anti-union as these two and the fifteen year reign of the Christian Democratic Union in Germany under Chancellor Helmut Kohl is an instructive counter-example. There were no moves at all by the Kohl government to dismantle or weaken the key features of the German system of industrial relations, built around centralized bargaining, industrial unions and works' councils. To complicate the picture a little further, it is also important to note that neo-liberal ideas penetrated many traditional parties of the Left during the 1980s. The Spanish Socialist Party (PSOE) under Felipe Gonzalez is probably the best example. Elected in 1982 on a radical programme of nationalization, it was only four years before the 'left' government abandoned this policy and embarked on a major programme of restructuring and eventual privatisation of public corporations that would see unemployment double to over 20 per cent by the late 1980s. A similar programme of public sector restructuring and privatization (though without the unemployment consequences) has been undertaken by the Blair government in Britain since 1997 (see Boix 1998; Glyn 2001). As we shall see shortly however the 'neo-liberalism' of Left governments is different in some key respects from that of the Right.

In summary, whether we focus on union density, on membership composition, strike trends, national income shares or governmental policy, it is clear that the two decades since 1980 have represented extremely hard times for union movements around the world. This however is only part of the story and what will soon become clear is that the countries which dominate the English language literature - Britain and

the USA - represent extreme and somewhat unusual cases in the spectrum of national union movements. Generalizing from these cases is hazardous and potentially very misleading.

Union Power Resources and Union Revitalization

It is a common practice in Britain and the USA, and to a lesser degree in Ireland, to chart the fortunes of the trade union movement by reference to membership or density. The underlying assumptions are that unions are effective and influential when they are able to exercise power and that union power depends above all on membership: large and growing movements are more powerful than small or shrinking movements. Membership is certainly one of the key power resources of trade unions as it is for all social movements that claim to speak on behalf of particular constituencies. Membership also provides unions with finance to support a cadre of full-time officers who can negotiate on behalf of union members with both employers and government. But is membership (or density) a *necessary* condition for union revitalization? When Spanish trade unions defeated the Aznar government's unemployment benefit reforms by means of a general strike in June 2002 they did so with a membership density level below 20 per cent. This, and other similar examples, suggests we need to go beyond membership figures in thinking about union decline or revitalization. A second reason for using multiple indicators flows from the theoretical analysis of different varieties of capitalism. According to Hall and Soskice (2001) there are five basic institutions at the heart of capitalist economies: the industrial relations system, the training system, the structures of worker motivation and reward, the structures of corporate governance and the networks of relations between firms. These institutions can be configured in different ways to generate

several ‘varieties of capitalism’ each with its own dynamics and economic outcomes. Liberal market economies (LMEs), such as the UK and the USA, typically have decentralized industrial relations systems in which bargaining coverage closely mirrors union density and where pay inequality (measured by the 9:1 decile ratio) is relatively high. Coordinated market economies (CMEs), such as Germany and the Netherlands, by contrast, typically have more centralized bargaining, higher bargaining coverage (even if union density is relatively low) and lower earnings inequality. Mediterranean economies, such as Italy and Spain, are normally thought of as hybrids of the LME and CME types, but their precise characteristics are the subject of considerable debate. One implication of this classification is that union membership is very significant as an indicator of union strength in the LMEs but is much less so in the other varieties of capitalism

An ongoing comparative study of union movements in five countries spanning the three varieties of capitalism (Germany, Italy, Spain, the UK and the USA) has developed a multi-dimensional approach that recognizes the complexity of union decline/revitalization (Behrens, Hamann and Hurd 2004). The first dimension is union membership but this can be broken down into three components: the actual membership level, union density and the composition of membership, measured by reference to gender, ethnicity or employment sector for example. It is conventional to use density in comparative and historical research but as we shall see shortly, the use of density alone is potentially misleading. Second there is bargaining power. One aspect of this dimension is bargaining coverage, the proportion of workers whose pay and conditions of employment are regulated by negotiations between unions and employers or government. Third, there is political power, as reflected in the capacity of a union movement to influence government policy. This dimension entails some

capacity on the part of union movements to mobilize their members in collective action designed to pressure government into making concessions. Finally there is institutional vitality, the capacity of a union movement to reform its own structures and respond to changes in its environment. A union movement that is on the way to revitalizing itself would ‘score’ well on all four dimensions. As a result we would expect there to be consequences for union members, measured by such key bargaining objectives as wage levels and wage inequality or other, broader indices of social justice.

Parameters of Union Revitalization

Union membership and density

The story of declining union density is familiar enough, but there is also evidence across the different varieties of capitalism of increases in union membership and/or density. Table 2 (below) presents evidence from nine countries where there has been membership growth. The first column records either the low point of membership prior to growth or, if growth has been fairly continuous, the membership level in 1980. The second column contains the most recent membership figure. The table also shows the density figures for the same years in these countries. The first point to note is that the union membership figures tell a rather different story about the fortunes of union movements as compared to density. Take the Irish case for example. Judged by density alone the union movement is in serious decline with a fall of 13 percentage points between 1988 and 1999. But when we look at the actual membership figures we see that the number of people belonging to unions was approximately 20 per cent higher in 1999 than in the late 1980s. Over the same period unemployment had fallen from 17 per cent to less than 10 per cent, annual real wage growth has been around

2.5 per cent and the unions have been involved since 1988 in a social pact with government, involving tripartite negotiations over a wide range of issues: wages, labour market and welfare state.

Table 2 Increases in union membership (millions) and density (%) OECD countries 1980-2001

Country	Membership 1	Membership 2	Density 1	Density 2
Belgium	2.31 (1980)	2.59 (1997)	69	73
Denmark	1.79 (1980)	2.15 (2001)	78	82
Finland	1.65 (1980)	2.08 (2001)	70	71
Netherlands	1.49 (1986)	1.92 (2001)	33	27
Norway	1.09 (1980)	1.49 (1999)	55	54
Italy	5.46 (1997)	5.69 (1999)	37	37
Spain	0.64 (1980)	1.46 (1997)	8	16
Canada	3.40 (1980)	4.01 (1999)	36	32
Ireland	0.47 (1988)	0.56 (1999)	52	39

Sources: Ebbinghaus and Visser (2000: Tables BE13, DE13, FI13, IR13, IT13, NE13, NO13, SP13, UK13); EIRO (2000a, b; 2001a, b; 2002; 2003a); Murray (2000: Table 4.1).

Unions have invested resources in organizing and have indeed raised the overall membership total. However the rate of employment growth during the past 15 years has been around four times the EU average (European Commission 2000). The result is that whilst the Irish union movement has successfully recruited more members, the workforce has grown still faster, leading to the outcome we observe in the table: a

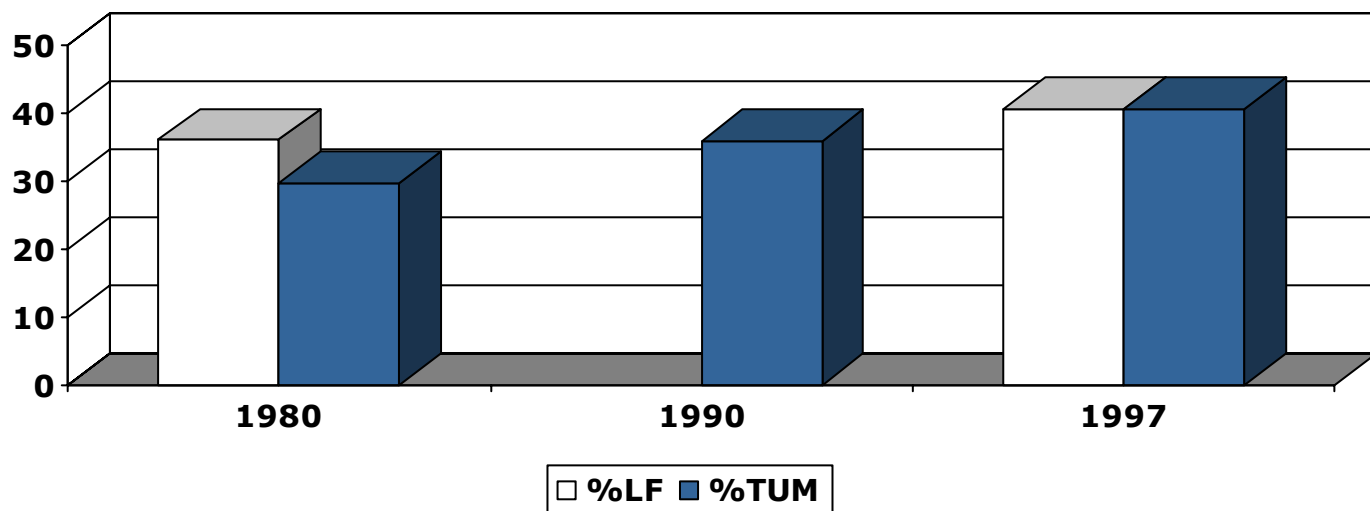
rise in membership but a fall in density (and the Dutch and Canadian cases are similar).

The second feature of the table appears to bear out a more familiar point, which is that some union movements have successfully raised both membership and density levels for many years, especially in Scandinavia. But what also emerges is that ‘successful’ union movements, judged for the moment by membership and density alone, are not confined to Northern Europe but are found across all three varieties of capitalism. This is an important point because it undermines the claim that union revival is a peculiar and rare phenomenon confined to a handful of exceptional Nordic countries.

Membership composition

It is true, as observed earlier that many union movements continue to be male-dominated, even when their membership is increasing, as in the Netherlands. But if we examine trends over time (for those few movements where we have reliable data) we obtain a rather different impression. Figure 4 (below) documents the ‘gender representation gap, the percentage of the labour force which is female as compared to the percentage of the union movement which is female. What the data show is that since 1980 the representation gap has steadily diminished. In the eight union movements featured in the figure – Austria, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Ireland, Netherlands, Sweden and the UK – women comprised on average 36 per cent of the labour force in 1980 but just 30 per cent of the union movement. By 1997 their share in the labour force and the unions was virtually identical at 40 per cent. Studying membership composition over time suggests that, on average, unions have performed considerably better in recruiting women than many critics have suggested.

Figure 4 Women in unions and in the labour force (medians, 8 countries)



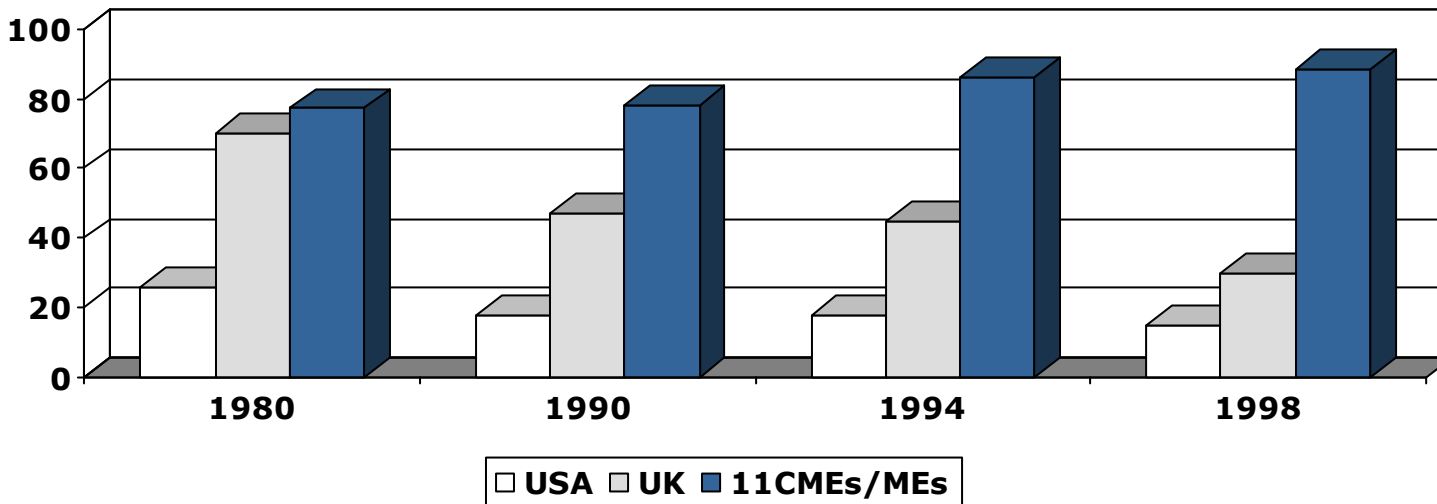
Source: Ebbinghaus and Visser (2000: Tables AU13, DE13, GE13, FI13, IR13, NE13, SW13, UK13).

Bargaining coverage

Union decline in Britain and the USA is sometimes measured by reference to bargaining coverage and as Figure 5 (below) shows the proportion of workers covered by collective agreements fell dramatically in Britain after 1980 and to a lesser degree in the USA. What it also shows however is that the average level of bargaining coverage actually rose across the rest of Europe over the same period. This is a remarkable trend for a number of reasons. First, coverage was already high even in 1980 at just a little under 80 per cent so there seemed to be far more scope for decline rather than growth. Second, average union density levels across Europe fell through the 1980s and 1990s and in some countries are now extremely low. In France for instance density was less than 10 per cent in 1998 and yet bargaining coverage was

almost 90 per cent. In Spain the 1998 figures were 16 per cent for union density but 85 per cent for coverage.

Figure 5 Bargaining coverage 1980-1998



Sources: Blau and Kahn (2002: Table 3.1); European Commission (2000: Chart 8).

It is true there has recently been some erosion of bargaining coverage in Germany and there is uncertainty about the degree to which centralized agreements are actually applied to small enterprises in countries such as Spain. Since the early 1980s we have also witnessed a process of ‘organized decentralization’ of bargaining so that different aspects of the same issue, say pay, are negotiated at different levels in the bargaining system (Traxler 1995). Yet the fact that hardly any employers’ organizations within Europe have seriously attempted to undermine industry agreements is evidence of the continued influence of unions. One reason for this moderation on the part of employers may be the moderation shown by unions, as evidenced in the falling share of national income going to wages and the reduced level of strike activity (see Figures 2 and 3 above).

Political power

One feature of European industrial relations since around 1990 has been the re-emergence of 'political exchange', a process of negotiation between unions and governments over one or more of the following issues: wage rises, labour market flexibility and welfare reform. The agreements reached between the parties, generally known as social pacts, are somewhat different from those reached in the early 1970s in the aftermath of the great strike wave of 1968-74. Unions then were far more powerful than they are today and governments were concerned primarily to restore industrial order, moderate wage rises to curb price inflation and halt the downward slide in the rate of profit (Kelly 1998). Whilst wage control is still a concern in some countries, it is the issues of labour and welfare reform that have come to the fore.

Many governments across Europe, both Right and Left have calculated that unions can prove useful allies in negotiating and implementing these types of reforms e.g. in Ireland, Belgium and Spain. In some countries however governments may have had little choice other than to negotiate given the mobilizing capacity of their respective union confederations: this was true of Spain in 2002 when the breakdown of negotiations on unemployment benefits resulted in a general strike and of Italy in 2003 over pensions. A quite different reading of the recent social pacts is that they insofar as they are focussed primarily around a state and employer agenda of labour flexibility and lower welfare costs, they signify union weakness. The most plausible conclusion is that social pacts are highly varied in terms of content and outcomes and have been entered into by union movements varying widely in strength (Pochet and Fajertag 2000).

Another manifestation of union political power is the influence wielded through a political party. Very few union movements are formally affiliated either

nationally or locally to political parties although most of them do support parties at elections (Hindley 1997). This can take a variety of forms: financial assistance (unless this is prohibited under national electoral law, as it is in the USA); the secondment of union activists to mobilize voters (as in the UK); or the loan of office space and equipment (as in Germany). More broadly the ties between political parties and union movements have loosened in a wide range of countries in recent years, for a number of different reasons, e.g. in Italy, Spain, Sweden and the UK (Hamann and Kelly 2003). From the party side the shift to the right in social democratic policies has meant that union movements have become more problematic allies in policy implementation (Boix 1998). In addition attempts by some parties to broaden their electoral base into the ranks of professional and other white collar workers have reduced party electoral dependency on union voters. From the union side, leaders in some countries have calculated that autonomy from political parties can prove advantageous in negotiations with government (as in Spain for example).

Nevertheless it is still the case that many Left parties remain dependent on unions in various ways. Both the British Labour Party and the US Democratic Party still receive between 30 and 40 per cent of their annual income from unions, and electoral activity by union personnel can increase voter turnout by as much as eight percentage points, a margin that can be decisive in closely fought contests (Dark 2001; Hamann and Kelly 2003).

Mobilizing capacity

The overall level of strike activity has declined sharply since the early 1980s (see Figure 2 above) and for many commentators this trend is prima facie evidence of a decline in union power. However in discussing union decline and revitalization (above) it was argued that we need to separate out several different dimensions,

including economic power and political power. If we apply these categories to strike statistics, we can separate out trends in economic as compared to political (or general) strikes. The former have clearly declined regardless of which measure is used – days lost, workers involved or numbers of strikes. General strikes however are a different matter because there has been a resurgence of this type of action across Europe since the early 1990s. In the last five years alone for instance we have seen general strikes in Austria, Italy and France (2003), Italy and Spain (2002), Greece (2001), Norway (2000) and Denmark (1998) (EIRO 1998, 2000b, 2003b). These strikes have been fought around state intervention in welfare states and labour markets, e.g. reforms to unemployment benefits and pensions and wage controls. Worker participation in general strikes is always difficult to estimate with any precision but judged by the size of demonstrations on strike days and the amount of disruption, they have usually been very well supported (see for example EIRO 2003b on Spain).

What these facts suggest is that although many union movements have lost members during the past twenty years and most union movements do not strike as often as in the past, many still retain a high level of mobilizing capacity. Why and how this has been possible in the light of an alleged decline in worker collectivism is beyond the scope of this paper. In countries with a recent history of general strikes, such as France, Italy and Spain, part of the explanation may entail worker beliefs about the high probability of success. For example, pension reform was defeated by a general strike in France in 1995, perhaps encouraging workers to strike again when faced with the same issue in 2003. General strikes in Spain 2002 (unemployment benefit reform) and Norway 2000 (pay) and Denmark 1998 (pay) can all be regarded as union successes on the grounds that the final settlement was significantly closer to

the union position than the policy which first provoked the conflict (EIRO 1998, 2000b).

Union restructuring

One of the factors underlying a degree of union revitalization has been the capacity of unions to adapt to a more hostile and difficult environment and there are several pieces of evidence consistent with this proposition. In Britain for example unions have recognized and responded to the growing feminization of the workforce by a series of measures including the appointment of equality officers. In 1980 just 20 per cent of medium and large TUC unions had equality officers in post but even by 1991 the figure was 51 per cent (Kelly and Heery 1994: 48). Changes in the structure of the economy and in the content of jobs have called into question many of the dividing lines between union job territories, leading to a wave of union mergers across a number of countries (Chaison 1996). In Britain for example six of the 12 largest TUC unions in 2003 are the result of mergers completed within the past ten years (UNISON, AMICUS, PCS, CWU, GPMU and UNIFI). In Germany mergers have reduced the number of unions in the DGB to just eight. In countries with competing union confederations such as the Mediterranean economies of France, Italy and Spain, union restructuring has taken the form of attempts to construct closer working relations between union bodies. Social pacts with government and successful general strikes have been made possible in these cases (especially in Italy and Spain) by an unprecedented, if precarious, degree of unity between the different confederations.

On the other hand the scale and depth of union restructuring should not be exaggerated. The renewed emphasis on union organizing in the UK and the USA for example has been extensively discussed (Heery et al 2003; Hurd et al 2003), but significant internal restructuring to free up organizing resources has to date been

observed only in a minority of unions. In the US for example almost 50 per cent of the net union membership gains in 2000 were achieved by just three unions (IBEW, HERE and SEIU representing electrical, hotel and restaurant and service workers respectively). In Britain the 97,000 membership increase between 1998 and 2000 was subsequently wiped out by a net membership loss 2000-02 of 147,000 (Certification Office).

Union revitalization and economic outcomes

Unions make a significant difference to the degree of economic inequality within a society. If we use the measure referred to earlier, the ratio of the ninth to the first decile for gross earnings in individual countries, we can detect significant cross-national variation as well as shifts over time. Between 1983 and 1993 some countries experienced a sharp rise in income inequality whilst others saw little or no change. The best predictor of the growth in earnings inequality is a decline in union density: those countries with the steepest falls in union density recorded the most substantial rises in inequality, viz. the liberal market economies of the USA, the UK, Australia and New Zealand. Those countries with stable or rising density, such as Belgium, Finland, Italy and Canada (see Table 2 above) were also those where earnings inequality hardly changed at all over the period 1983-93 (OECD 1996: Chart 3). The union compression of the earnings distribution is primarily a result of increased pay for the low paid rather than pay restraint on the most highly paid. Whilst unions have a significant effect on the distribution of earnings, they do not in recent years appear to have had any effect on the rate of real wage growth (earnings increases adjusted for price inflation) nor on the share of wages in national income. Within the advanced capitalist world real wages have grown most rapidly 1983-93 in countries with both falling union density, e.g. Ireland, Portugal and stable density, e.g. Belgium, Denmark

(OECD 1996). The share of wages in national income has fallen sharply both in Spain, where union density is stable and strike rates high and in Austria where density has been declining and strike rates are comparatively low.

Conclusions

Four main conclusions can be drawn from the material presented in this lecture. First, and most important, whilst the experience of union decline since the early 1980s is common across the advanced capitalist world it is by no means universal. There are union movements in a number of countries that are showing clear signs of revitalization. Second, in order to arrive at this judgement it was necessary to think about union decline and revitalization in ways that go beyond the statistics on union density. The overall state of a trade union movement has to be assessed along four dimensions: membership, bargaining (or economic) power, political power and institutional vitality. The use of these measures in combination provides a far richer account of the state of a trade union movement than any single indicator. Third, comparative analysis suggests that different indicators are more or less useful in different 'varieties of capitalism'. Statistics on union membership and density tell us far more about unions in the UK and the USA for example than they do in Spain or Italy. This is because unions in the Mediterranean economies, more so than their counterparts in the UK and the USA, can compensate for low membership levels by using political power and mobilizing capacity. Finally, comparative research shows that despite the problems they have faced in recent years and their denigration as a merely sectional interest group, unions remain a powerful force both for egalitarianism and for democracy. They significantly reduce the pay gap between rich

and poor in the labour force and they provide workers with a voice, sometimes a powerful one, in state and employer policymaking.

References

- Behrens, M., Hamann, K. and Hurd, R.W. (2004). 'Conceptualizing Labour Movement Revitalization'. In Frege, C. M. and Kelly, J. (eds.) *Labour Movement Revitalization in Comparative Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bird, D. (1991). 'International Comparisons of Industrial Disputes in 1989 and 1990'. *Labour Market Trends*, 99(12): 653-658.
- Blau, F.D. and Kahn, L.M. (2002). *At Home and Abroad: US Labor Market Performance in International Perspective*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Boix, C. (1998). *Political Parties, Growth and Equality: Conservative and Social Democratic Economic Strategies in the World Economy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Brook, K. (2002). 'Trade Union Membership: An Analysis of Data from the Autumn 2001 LFS'. *Labour Market Trends*, 110(7): 343-354.
- Calmfors, L. et al (2001). 'The Future of Collective Bargaining in Europe'. In Boeri, T., Brugiavini, A. & Calmfors, L. (eds.) *The Role of Unions in The Twenty-First Century*. Oxford: OUP.
- Certification Office *Annual Report of the Certification Officer*. London: Certification Office, various years.
- Chaison, G. (1996). *Union Mergers in Hard Times*. Ithaca, NY: ILR Press.
- Dark, T.E. (2001). *The Unions and the Democrats: An Enduring Alliance*. Ithaca, NY: ILR Press.
- Davies, J. (2001). 'International Comparisons of Labour Disputes in 1999'. *Labour Market Trends*, 109(4): 195-201.
- Ebbinghaus, B. & Visser, J. (eds.) (2000). *Trade Unions in Western Europe Since 1945*. London: Macmillan.
- EIRO (2003a). 'Finland: Union Density Falls', February.
- EIRO (2003b). '2002 Annual Review for Spain', January.
- EIRO (2002). 'Denmark: Trade Union Density Falls', January.

- EIRO (2001a). 'Netherlands: Trade Union Finances and Representativeness Under Debate', December.
- EIRO (2001b). 'Ireland: The State of Trade Unionism', February.
- EIRO (2000a). 'Italy: Pensioners' Trade Union Organisations Examined', October.
- EIRO (2000b). 'Norway: Developments in Membership of Unions and Employers' Organisations', August.
- EIRO (1998). '1998 Annual Review for Denmark', December.
- All at www.eiro.eurofound.ie
- European Commission (2000). *Industrial Relations in Europe 2000*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- Fajertag, G. and Pochet, P. (eds.) (2000). *Social Pacts in Europe – New Dynamics 2e*. Brussels: ETUI.
- Glyn, A. (ed.) (2001). *Social Democracy in Neo-Liberal Times*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hall, P.A. and Soskice, D. (2001). 'An Introduction to Varieties of Capitalism'. In Hall, P.A. and Soskice, D. (eds.) *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hamann, K. and Kelly, J. (2003). 'Union Political Action and Union Revitalization', *IRRA Proceedings*, in press.
- Heery E., Kelly, J. and Waddington, J. (2003). 'Union Revitalization in Britain', *European Journal of Industrial Relations*, 9(1): 79-97.
- Hindley, M. (1997). *Trade Unions and Political Finding in Europe*. London: Labour Research Department.
- Hurd, R., Milkman, R. and Turner, L. (2003). 'Reviving the American Labour Movement: Institutions and Mobilization', *European Journal of Industrial Relations*, 9(1): 99-117.
- Jarley, P. (2002). 'American Unionism at the Start of the Twenty-First Century'. In Fairbrother, P. & Griffin, G. (eds.) *Changing Prospects for Trade Unionism*. London: Continuum.
- Kelly, J. (1998). *Rethinking Industrial Relations: Mobilization, Collectivism and Long Waves*. London: Routledge.
- Kelly, J. and Heery, E. (1994). *Working for the Union*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Kuwahara, Y. (1998). 'Employment Relations in Japan'. In Bamber, G. & Lansbury, R. (eds.), *International and Comparative Employment Relations*, 3e. London: Sage.
- Murray, G. (2002). 'Unions in Canada'. In Fairbrother, P. & Griffin, G. (eds.) *Changing Prospects for Trade Unionism*. London: Continuum.
- OECD (1996). 'Earnings Inequality, Low-Paid Employment and Earnings Mobility'. In *OECD Employment Outlook 1996*. Paris: OECD.
- Pochet, P. and Fajertag, G. (2000). 'A New Era for Social Pacts in Europe'. In Fajertag G. and Pochet, P. (eds.) *Social Pacts in Europe – New Dynamics 2e*. Brussels: ETUI.
- Traxler, F. (1995). 'Farewell to Labour Market Associations? Organized Versus Disorganized Decentralization as a Map for Industrial Relations'. In Crouch, C. and Traxler, F. (eds.) *Organized Industrial Relations in Europe: What Future?* Aldershot: Avebury.