

What Makes Unions Strong?
A Network Perspective on Union Bargaining Power

Lanu Kim

A thesis

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
Requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

University of Washington

2014

Committee:

Katherine Stovel

Jake Rosenfeld

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

Sociology

©Copyright 2014

Lanu Kim

University of Washington

Abstract

What Makes Unions Strong?

A Network Perspective on Union Bargaining Power

Lanu Kim

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:

Katherine Stovel

Sociology

This paper aims to describe the structural factors which affect the organizational differences in labor unions. Based on Emerson's power-dependence theory, I suggest two axes: dependence and cohesion. Dependence measures how well a union monopolizes the supply of workers to an employer. When organizations or individual workers can be easily replaced, a union will have low dependence; it also relates to low bargaining power. Cohesion indicates how much workers are participating in union activities; it depends on the density of social network and the economic institution related to a union. When a union is supported by those two aspects of cohesion, the possibility of initiating a successful strike is higher. Four case studies are explored to illustrate this hypothesis. This paper attempts to theoretically relate the organizational structure and power, and verify with the real world examples.

1. Introduction

Some unions succeed, while others fail. Some unions fail that were considered to be strong, while some unions that were considered weak succeed. The Boeing machinists' union, which has been renowned for their strong reputation, recently retreated from the negotiation table. Janitors in Los Angeles, a group considered impossible to organize, succeeded in generating collective power in 1990. This paper aims to determine the factors that drive the difference in efficacy among unions.

The janitor's success in LA was surprising in part because all of the usual obstacles hindering organizing efforts were present. Unions are most effective when the workers have a specific skill-set and are well-educated. Being a janitor does not require scarce skills or significant education. Worse, individual janitors can be easily replaced by other workers. Partly due to the low barriers to entry, many of these janitors were immigrants, some without full documentation to work legally in the United States. These characteristics contributed to janitors' vulnerability; as a result, it was a greater priority to simply preserve their jobs rather than improve their working conditions. The success of the janitors' campaign in the 1990s is even more surprising because it happened during an era of overall union decline. While the private unionization rate was near 30% in 1970, it had fallen to 11.3% by 2012. Much of the decline in unionization parallels the decline in the manufacturing industry, the traditional locus of union power in the United States.

The situation regarding the conflict between Boeing and its machinists' union in late 2013 is interpreted as the representative case of the decline of union power. Boeing, the most famous aircraft company in the world, has been located in one of the most educated and

prosperous American metropolitan cities, Seattle, since 1916. Regardless of its history, when it comes to building a new factory for a new aircraft 777x, Boeing threatened to leave Seattle unless the union accepted a contract which included lower wage increases, reduced pension rates and healthcare benefits. Boeing's aggressive attitude is even more surprising because the machinist union was famous for its close relationship with the company. At the same time, the workers were also able to make powerful strikes. Boeing's threat was effective and the union finally decided to accept this unfriendly contract.

Even with challenging circumstances, the janitors' union made a significant breakthrough. What makes this union so strong? Also, what makes the strong machinist union relatively frail? In this paper, rather than simply cheering the successful cases and learning specific strategies from them, or lamenting the demise of labor unions and condemning brutal companies, I suggest a structural approach to explaining organizational power differences in unions. While those unions were situated in different economic, political and legal contexts, I will try to add a theory of union strength that emphasizes the structural and organizational features of unions, rather than generalize it to explain all facets of unions. In addition, through revealing the factors contributing to successful union organizing, this approach is able to provide support to unions in two ways. First, the findings of this paper will assist unions survive as an organization. Second, these findings will aid unions exists as an institution which has contributed to reduce economic inequality in race and gender (Rosenfeld 2014).

In this paper, I begin with specifying the definition of union power, and suggest two structural factors based on power-dependence theory: dependence and cohesion. These each affect union power in a different way. Then, I illustrate four cases to show how this theory can be incorporated into describing union power. I conclude with a discussion section that further

elaborates on the ways the cases illustrate the importance of cohesion and dependence for successful union activities.

2. Two aspects of union power

Before presenting my argument about the sources of unions' power, we must specify what we mean by the term "power." Put simply, if an organization fulfills its goals, I consider it competent and powerful. Thus, in general terms, we say that a union¹ is powerful when it wins concessions from employers regarding working conditions and wages. However, whether a specific union succeeds at achieving its particular goals depends in part on the goals it sets for itself; for example, a relatively strong union might make demands concerning wages, benefits, and working conditions. In such a case, it is hard to claim that the union is weak just because failed to meet one portion of its goal. Thus, rather than quantitatively measuring unions power by their success, I focus on how the relational context that unions are embedded in shapes their ability to win concessions from employers.

There are two primary means by which unions achieve their goals. First, and most importantly, unions act on behalf of employees in collective bargaining with employers. Under collective bargaining, representatives of the union and employer meet to negotiate a labor contract including wages, working hours, and health benefits. These contracts apply to all employees represented by the union. Since the National Labor Relations Act (henceforth,

¹ There are different unions with different boundaries. We commonly call AFL-CIO, SEIU or UAW a union, but strictly speaking, these are professional associations because they do not have bargaining rights. It is the local chapters affiliated in these organizations which are considered to be a union, as the local chapters are the agents of collective bargaining. In this paper, when I assert that a union is powerful, the scope of a union is restricted to the organization with a bargaining right.

NLRA) was passed in 1935, private unions are guaranteed the right to engage in collective bargaining. In addition – and crucial for the argument that I propose – the NLRA requires employees to form one exclusive bargaining unit, thereby prohibiting unions from competing with each other (at least in the same bargaining unit) (29 U.S. Code § 159 (a)²). Based on this foundation, a union secures the legal channel to present their demands collectively to employers.

Collective bargaining is a crucial tool in a union's arsenal, but sometimes negotiations break down. This may lead unions to employ the second means at their disposal: a strike. During a strike, workers refuse to perform their expected duties. Strikes can severely damage a company's productivity if unionized workers refuse to work for substantial periods of time, or if other workers join the strike in solidarity. By threatening a company with decreasing productivity, strikes can enhance a union's power at the bargaining table. In addition, strikes help unions gain support from the broader public by publicizing poor working conditions and stagnant wages. Building political pressure outside the company may force employers to pay more attention to workers' demands. While strikes can enhance a union's power, strikes are quite a rare occurrence. In 2012, there were only 19 work stoppages that involved 1,000 or more workers, and less than .005% of working time was idled by strikes (Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics). In past decades, strikes were somewhat more common, but still rare relative to the working population of the US: in the 1970s, the average number of strikes per year was 287.9 compared to 20.1 in 2000s (Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics). Though strikes are a powerful means by which workers can express their grievances and broaden support for their positions, their infrequency suggests that they are very difficult to conduct.

² "Representatives designated or selected for the purposes of collective bargaining by the majority of the employees in a unit appropriate for such purposes, shall be the exclusive representatives of all the employees in such unit for the purposes of collective bargaining in respect to rates of pay, wages, hours of employment, or other conditions of employment".

Thus far, I have identified two factors that can make a union powerful: successful collective bargaining and an effective threat of strike. Each of these methods engages a different set of actors. The actors who participate in collective bargaining are representatives of employees and employers. The actors in strikes are the employees themselves. Thus, two distinct explanations are required to describe what makes each strategy effective.

Though both tactics have been used by unions at the same time, they have not yet been analyzed together in the literature. There have been other studies which found complementary attributes in unions. For instance, Clawson and Clawson (1999) note that the term “union” indicates the institutional form and the term “labor movement” refers to more fluid labor activism. They assert that a union can be only constituted by the presence of labor movement. This study illustrates two aspects of workers’ organization, but does not discuss how those two aspects strengthen a union. Freeman and Medoff (1984) argues that a union has two sides: monopoly and collective face. This research provides evidence that union workers earn more than nonunion workers; this shows the effect of a collective face of a union. The approach based on a monopoly side emphasizes the loss of economic efficiency. This research has a meaning in that it clarifies the two faces of a union, but which factor affects to the strength of each face has not been explained.

Also, adding to defining and combining those two strategic factors, I introduce an organizational perspective to explain each source of power. This is broader than previous work. Previously, there has been literature which emphasizes the role of legal foundation in order to explain what makes unions important in the bargaining process. The 1935 National Labor Relations Act guaranteed the right for unions to participate in collective bargaining process for the first time. Though there was debate about the chronological order. It is contested whether the

labor movement existed as a political movement before the legislation or if the shape that unions now take was largely affected by the legislation. Both sides agree that this law increased the growth of unions and dictated the nature of labor-management relationship (Skocpol, Finegold and Goldfield 1990). However, this approach cannot explain in-group differences of union's power. Though unions share the same legal foundation, the amount of power varies from union to union and from profession to profession. This in-group difference cannot be explained by which factor causes the emergence of group.

Economists have pointed out the monopoly power of unions in collective bargaining process. They argue that unions form cartels through collective bargaining. Like cartels, they help wages keep above the market-determined wage in a competitive situation (Freeman and Medoff 1984). This line of economic research illustrates the source of the extra wages as derived by union activities. However, the analytic potential of monopoly power is limited to explaining the circumstances of one company; thus, it is not possible to see the differences of power between unions by using this theory.

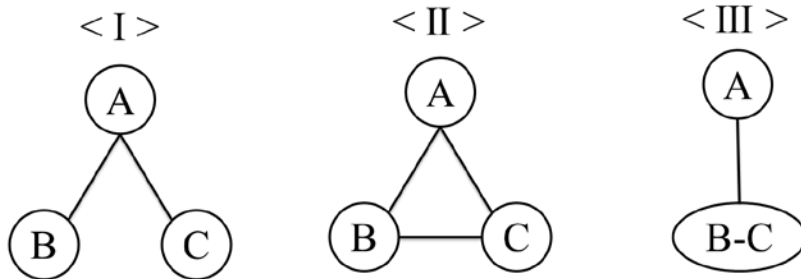
The variations in union power are observed when they are analyzed in the context of organizational relationships. Focusing only on the contract between an employer and an employee in the company is essentially focusing on only one relationship in an intricate web of relationships. A union's effectiveness determines what the contract shall be; its effectiveness is determined by the nature of the intricate web of relationship. Thus, the differences in unions' power can be explained when we analyze their embedded organizational context.

3. Defining organizational structure

The relational structure between organizations is one way to define power. While defining the source of power still remains as a huge issue in political network field (Ward et al. 2011), Emerson's power-dependence theory (Emerson 1962) provides the basic foundation for our discussion. Emerson suggests that power emerges from a relational structure and is evident in the dependent relationships. He specifies that the dependence of actor A upon actor B is inversely proportionate to the availability (or lack thereof) of alternatives for the goal of actor A outside of A-B relationship. Actor A's dependence on actor B comprises actor B's power on actor A.

Using these definitions on power, Emerson formulates several ways to balance power relationship between two actors. One of the methods is to reduce the alternative sources of relationship by forming a coalition with others situated in the same position. This process explains "the emergence of a 'collective actor' ". For example, assume that there are three actors: A, B and C. The pairs B and C are both partnered with A and are related (< I > in Figure 1.) In order to balance the power, Emerson suggests that a relationship should be created between B and C (< II > in Figure 1). Forming a coalition between B and C (< III > in Figure 1) makes A lose an alternative, which once made A more powerful. This process illustrates how weaker actors can elevate their position with a stronger actor through forming a coalition between them.

<Figure 1> The Emergence of a Coalition (The Idea from Emerson (1962))



A labor union is an example of this coalition forming process. If labor workers need to make a contract with an employer individually, they will be vulnerable to employers' decision. Because employers always have alternative workers who can fill in for one worker's absence, employers might threaten a worker with being fired should they fail to agree to a bad contract. In other words, employers have more alternatives compared to a worker, which makes the worker dependent on the employer. The existence of alternatives is important. A weaker actor might be excluded from exchange activities when the number of exchange activities is fixed. Applying to this case, exclusion in the context of the labor market indicates the loss of a job, which is the most serious threat for a worker. The power is distributed unevenly in the employer's favor. Due to the fear of losing a job, a worker is not able to claim their rights.

In order to prevent this problem, workers can form a coalition and exercise balanced power against employers. By forming a group, labor unions control the availability of alternative workers, and simultaneously reduce competition among workers. One of the reasons that janitors tried to form a union was to prevent a decrease in wages caused by an increased number of immigrant workers (Milkman 2006).

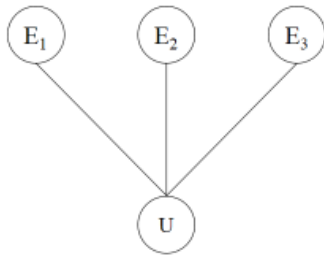
Though Emerson's theory explains why workers in unionized workplaces are offered better contracts compared to workers in non-unionized ones, it cannot explain why some unions do better in winning concessions from employers compared to others. Based on this theory, all unions are equally powerful at the bargaining table. In reality however, unions have different degrees of success in winning concessions from employers. As attaining one's goals is the definition of powerful, reality suggests that different unions are differentially powerful and Emerson's theory cannot explain this.

We need a more sophisticated explanation for the situation which consists of multiple actors. The reality is more complicated than the assumptions Emerson makes for the model. There are a number of employers and in a workplace, there may be multiple unions, contrasted to Emerson's assumption of one employer and union. Rather than keeping his unrealistic assumption, I propose to expand the theory to include a multiple actors, while still maintaining the basic logic: the lack of alternatives makes the organization weak. By doing so, this theory is able to explain why some unions succeed while others fail.

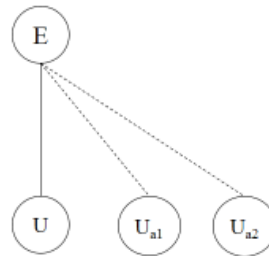
3.1 Dependence

<Figure 2> Hypothesized network structure of dependence

< I > High Dependence



< II > Low Dependence



E – Employer; U – Union

Subscript “a” indicates alternative union which include workers needed by an employer.

Subscript 1 and 2 indicate different actors.

Black Straight line: Current contract

Dashed lines: Possible contract

Emerson provides two definitions of power. The first definition is related with the number of alternatives. This argument can be applied to the labor relationship. When an employer can choose an alternative organization or an individual worker to make a contract, the labor organizations needs to compete with each other to gain access to an employer³ (<Figure 2> - < II >). Thus, union power relies on the ability to monopolize the supply of workers⁴ to

³ In order to simplify the ideal concept, alternative workers are omitted. However, there also could be alternative workers to an employer. If remaining in a non-unionized company is possible and there are available non-unionized workers, it will also undermine the power of a union.

⁴ In this analysis, the supply of workers is restricted to workers which employers consider possible to make a contract.

employers. The most favorable position for workers is for their employer to lack any alternative except negotiating with the currently hired workers' union.

The same logic is applied to the worker's relationship to employers. If a union has options to make contracts with other employers, it will increase the power of workers' side because employers become dependent on currently employed workers. Assume that there is one union and three employers (<Figure 2> - < I >). If one employer refuses to agree to the contract that a union suggests, workers might not work with that employer as workers have alternative places to work. In this situation, unions can prohibit employers from easily breaking the table. Workers can claim their needs more strongly.

Not only alternative unions, but the existence of alternative individual workers also makes an employer not dependent on the union. The logic of power-dependence theory applies to this case in the same way. Employers have alternative labor sources when they are able to hire non-union workers outside of the current unionized workers. This structure permits more freedom for employers in choosing with whom to hire; employers are also able to deny workers' demand for more working benefits or wage increase, because they can substitute the unionized workers with other people who need a job. In contrast, currently hired workers need to make them competitive by lowering their labor cost in the labor market to be continually employed.

The number of replaceable workers tends to increase as both capital and labor move more freely in the society. For example, in our current era, the advancement of communicating technology makes it possible for companies to hire workers for a call center from Philippines or India at a lower labor cost than, at the expense of, American workers. This broadened pool of replaceable workers restricts American unions from effectively raising their demands to employers. I call this circumstance "weak union" in this paper.

The effect of competition among organizations is still in question. There has been a long argument about whether inter-organizational competition is helpful for union power or not. This is represented by the case of membership growth in two large labor federations, AFL and CIO, from the mid-1930s to 1955. Hannan and Freeman (1987) suggest the membership increases in industrial unions inhibited the growth of craft unions, because though the number of organizations in the population is limited, unions are competing against each other for the same resource: workers skilled in a particular craft. On the other hand, proponents of inter-organizational competition argue that it contributed to the growth of both the competing union and labor force as a whole by stimulating the dominant federation to develop new organizing strategies and smoothly adapt itself to the new economic circumstances (Stepan-Norris & Southworth 2010). Both arguments acknowledge the importance of exogenous factors in the massive increase in union membership during this period. These factors include favorable political circumstances and economic development in manufacturing industry.

Dependence argument contrasts with Stepan-Norris & Southworth's approach in that competing unions undermine each union's power as an employer becomes less dependent on one union with an organizational approach. However, the mechanism in the benefit of competition that Stepan-Norris and Southworth mention is that the existence of rival unions gives birth to the new idea of organizing technique and forces a dominant union to actively seek for un-organized labor. This mechanism still matches my second approach: that a union can increase its power by reducing the existence of individual replaceable workers who might be able to compete with a union. In my perspective, because of favorable political and economic environments for organizing individual workers in this period, unions could have strengthened themselves by organizing more individual workers. It became harder as the location of jobs has scattered due to

the increase in service sector industry and globalization. Unions are trying to overcome the current situation by re-gathering their organizations and forming one bargaining union per industry. The new labor federation emerged in 2005, Change to Win, concentrates on this issue.

To sum up, I hypothesize union power will be proportionate to the number of employers, and inversely proportionate to the number of unions and alternative unorganized workers available. In other words, a union's power will be increased when a union monopolizes the supply of workers and negotiates with a multiple employers, which induces an employer to compete with other employers to get an access to workers.

3.2 Cohesion

Putting the relationship between unions and employers on one axis, I suggest another axis to explain union strength that is based on the relationship among affiliated workers. This axis represents cohesion among workers. The basis of this argument comes from another aspect of power-dependence theory. It argues that actor A's dependence on B is proportionate to "A's motivational investment in goals mediated by B" (Emerson 1962). If the previous argument about the number of alternatives is focusing on the effects of the number of links (quantity), then this argument states the strength of them.

Interpreting this theory to the case of unions, unions' power is dependent on workers' motivational investment to the organization. This argument is that workers' collective action is based on class-consciousness that does not automatically emerge from their individual attitudes or ideas (Fantasia 1988). Fantasia interprets class-consciousness as something formed in the context of micro-level interaction, rather than as something abstract, and thus can be generalized

beyond the daily life of workers. Workers, in her theory, are always supposed to willingly participate in collective action as they have the same relationship with the means of production (class in-itself), and are once being aware of their class (class for-itself) according to Marx's old statement. Fantasia finds the level of participation is transformative according to their organizational culture. The second axis I propose, cohesion, focuses on this point. Particularly, the economic institution that the union is embedded in and the workers' social interaction in the union are factors which vary union's power. While the economic institution characterizes an individual's incentive to participate in union activities, social interaction explains how the network that an individual is embedded in encourages participation.

First, the economic institution affects workers' decisions of whether to identify themselves as a member of labor movement or an employee of company. The institution around union dues illustrates this point. If a worker is covered by union contract, but does not need to be affiliated in a union and neither pay union dues, this worker tends to choose not to be a union member in order to avoid paying union dues. Those whom choose not to be a member of union will become indifferent to union activities, and in the long term, it will undermine the solidarity of workers. On the contrary, if mandatory union membership is required for all workers, workers will take their membership for granted, and will show favorable attitude toward a union as workers themselves are affiliated in this organization. Not only it affects individual workers' identity, but also it decides the total revenue of the labor organization that is collected through union dues.

Second, social interaction facilitates workers' participation, and successful collective action, including a strike, requires the support of many participants to help a union push their demands on an employer. A successful strike is possible when it includes significant amount of

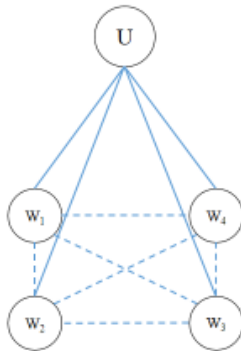
workers which is enough to be a threat to an employer. In this sense, the importance of preexisting social relationships among workers to encourage participation has been emphasized in strike activity (Kerr and Siegal 1954). Specifically, workers might participate in the strike together when they have the group identity by sharing culture and the grievances in the workplace (Dixon and Roscigno 2003). Social interaction is a channel for forming this solidarity. Still, whom workers create a network with is in question. In the workplace, workers tend to communicate frequently with those that they stand near during the day, thus, the relationship is made between workers who have similar working statuses. Working statuses, however, tend to be affected by race and gender (Kilbourne et al. 1994), and this status hierarchy based on categories fostered by organizational settings which provide relatively stable environment for interaction (Tomaskovic-Devey 2014). If the boundary around the workplace network is broad, rather than segregated by social factors, the participation rate in strike will be higher.

Previous arguments around social network and participation in collective action, including a strike, have discussed which factors increase an individual's will to participate. Dixon and Roscigno's research (2003) reveals which individual attributes and how the network of workers affect an individual's participation in a strike, therefore lead the strike to succeed. Though there has been research which sets the unit of analysis as the individual embedded in the network context (Siegal 2009), not enough research sets the unit of analysis as the union which consists of those individuals. In order to fill this gap, I analyze the union as a unit of analysis, which helps contrast unions' differential abilities to make a strike. This ability originates from the sum of participants in strike which is increased by dense interaction inside of the organization. I call this factor, "cohesion." High cohesion indicates the process where members

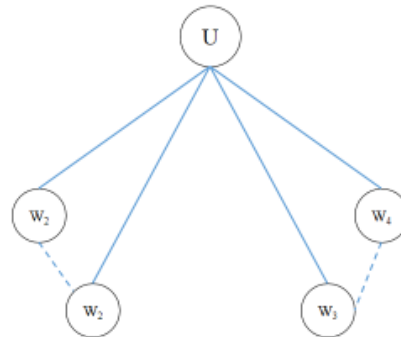
in a union frequently interact with other workers based on a dense network (<Figure 3> - <I>). On the other hand, when workers are separated in each group and only interact inside of that circle, there will be less peer influence to encourage participation in collective action (<Figure 3> - <II>).

<Figure 3> Hypothesized network structure of cohesion

< I > High Cohesion



< II > Low Cohesion



U – Union; W – Worker
 Subscripted numbers indicate different workers affiliated in a union.
 Blue Straight line: Affiliation in a Union
 Blue Dashed lines: Interaction among workers

3.3 Four models of union power

Based on power-dependence theory, I formulate the organizational structure of unions with two axes. The first axis measures how much unions can monopolize the supply of workers

to employers, and how much employers will be competitive in order to get an access to workers via union. This axis will be called “dependence.” The second axis demonstrates how much workers could be mobilized to join a union’s collective action. This axis will be called “cohesion,” henceforth. Because each of these two axes represents different aspects of a union, I will assume that each part will bring different aspects of power to a union.

Related to the first axis, I hypothesize that if the organizational structure makes employers more dependent on a union, the bargaining power of the union will be increased. This circumstance will be called “high dependence.” Because there will be fewer number of alternatives to employers in high dependence, employers will act more friendly toward unions. However, when there are more number of unions compared to the number of employers, employers might nullify the contract if the union demands higher labor standards. This circumstance will be called “low dependence.” Hence, the bargaining power of this union will be low.

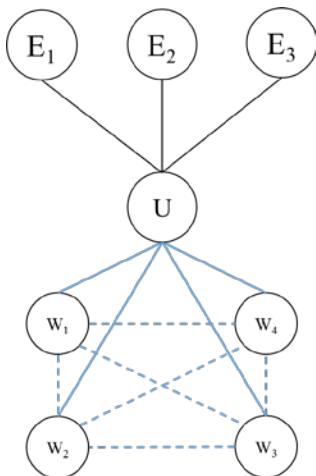
Regarding the second axis, I hypothesize that if cohesion among workers increases, such that they are in the “high cohesion” category, a union will have more power to gather people to make a strike.. I illustrate these hypotheses with a two-way table.

<Table 1> Four models of unions' power based on dependence and cohesion

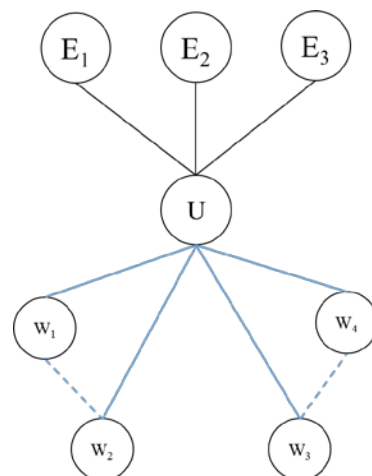
	High Cohesion	Low Cohesion
High Dependence	The Unions with Strong bargaining power & Strong collective action	The Unions with Strong bargaining power & Weak collective action
Low Dependence	The Unions with Weak bargaining power & Strong collective action	The Unions with Weak bargaining power & Weak collective action

<Figure 4> Hypothesized network structure of four models

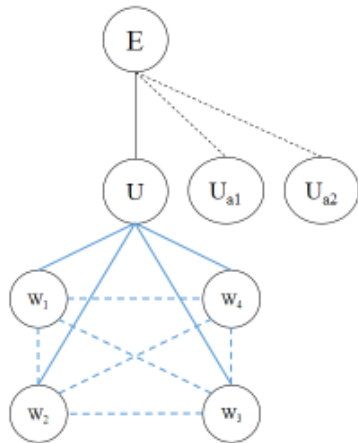
< High Dependence – High Cohesion >



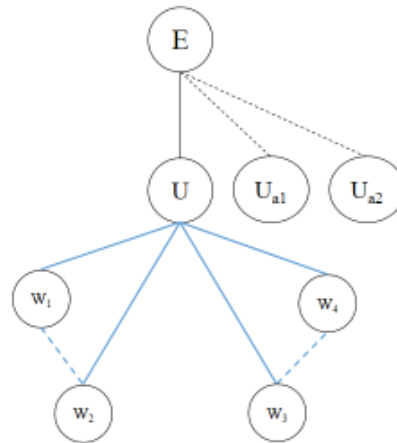
< High Dependence – Low Cohesion >



< Low Dependence – High Cohesion >



< Low Dependence – Low Cohesion >



E – Employer; U – Union

Subscript “a” indicates alternative union which include workers needed by an employer.

Subscript 1 and 2 indicate different actors.

Black Straight line: Current contract; Black Dashed lines: Possible contract; Blue Straight line: Affiliation in a Union; Blue Dashed lines: Interaction among workers

In order to examine these hypotheses, I illustrate four case studies for each model by using two axes that I previously specified. For each case study, a simple network model is drawn to facilitate understanding the organizational setting. Rather than trying to control all of the complexities inside a union, as well as those in surrounding circumstances, I incorporate them in my interpretation of structural context. Each state has a different legal background regulating union activities in cases of bargaining or strike. In addition, the boundary of the bargaining unit is defined differently based on the industry and legal conditions. The rise and fall of industries where unions are affiliated is closely related to this workers’ organizational power. Thus, rather

than unrealistically searching for an organization that I can control all those surrounded factors, I choose to capture certain moments and demonstrate them based on my hypotheses.

4. Empirical verification

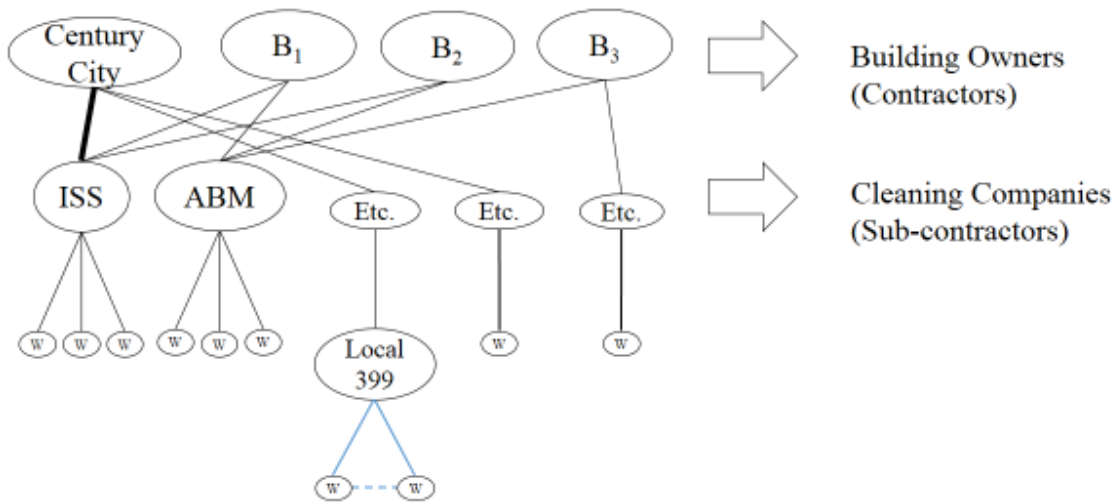
4.1 Justice for Janitors Campaign (High Dependence – High Cohesion)

The “Justice for Janitors” (henceforth, JfJ) campaign shows how organizing strategy leads to succeed. This campaign began in 1985, initiated by the larger union, Service Employees International Union (henceforth, SEIU), with the goal of achieving better wages, minimal health-care coverage and full-time job status. These conditions are considered essential for janitors to step up toward the middle-class. In 1990, JfJ had succeeded in organizing its first strike in Los Angeles. From the LA strike, it extended to other cities including Denver (1998), New Jersey and Philadelphia (2001), Boston (2003), Miami (2006), and Houston (2006) (SEIU 1).

The reason why JfJ became popular is generally considered to be the result of great tactics. Howley, who was a senior public policy analyst in the SEIU, said that success was attributed to creativity and persistence in tactics, even under the unfriendly legal context (Howley 1990). I do not deny that efforts from leaders did play a major role in leading the janitors’ strikes to succeed. What makes those strategies consistent and invulnerable was industry-wide organizing strategy. The importance of local and industry-based organizing strategies has been mentioned as a critical factor. Milkman (2006) argues that although the dry wallers’ strike and janitors’ campaign use contrasting organizing strategy, bottom-up organizing for drywallers and top-down one for janitors, both of them could have been successful because

they used industry-wide organization. Savage (2006) also points out the strategy focusing on geographic area rather than worksites removed wages from race-to-bottom.

<Figure 5> The market structure before Justice for Janitors campaign (1989)



Local 399 indicates Local 399 in SEIU.

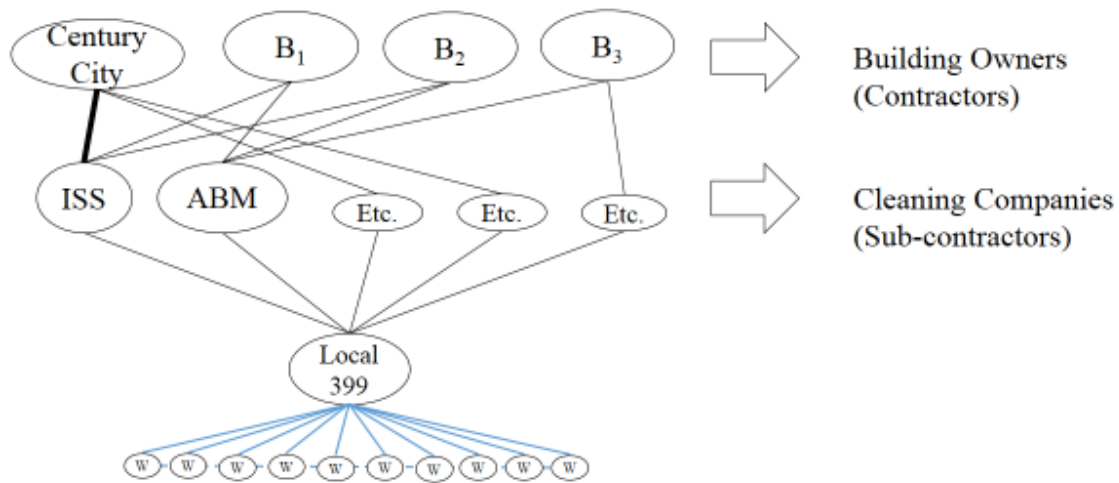
Each circle indicates an actor.

Subscript 1, 2 and 3 indicate different buildings.

Black Straight line: Current contract

Blue Straight line: Affiliation in a Union; Blue Dashed lines: Interaction among workers

<Figure 6> The market structure after Justice for Janitors (1990)



Local 399 indicates Local 399 in SEIU.

Each circle indicates an actor.

Subscript 1, 2 and 3 indicate different buildings.

Black Straight line: Current contract

Blue Straight line: Affiliation in a Union; Blue Dashed lines: Interaction among workers

I focus on this organizing tactic by using the aforementioned dependence and cohesion model. <Figure 5> shows the market structure of the cleaning industry in L.A before JfJ and <Figure 6> shows the changes in market after JfJ. Local 399 was the branch of the union of SEIU located in L.A, which led JfJ movement. The cleaning industry market consisted of two tiers of contracts. First, cleaning companies hired janitors. The second tier was that building owners made contracts with these cleaning companies. There were two big cleaning companies, ISS (International Service System) and ABM (American Building Maintenance), in addition to other small cleaning companies (Erickson et al. 2002). These cleaning companies were employed by building owners (Century City, B1, B2, B3).

Before JfJ, most of janitors in L.A were not organized as a group. The service industry was different from the manufacturing industry in that the service industry's labor market was segmented by geography. At the same time, working places were scattered in the area. In contrast, in the manufacturing industry, workers stayed at the same place but labor market was not regionally segmented. For example, the owner of a car company does not need to hire a worker from Seattle to make a car even if I want to sell it in Seattle. On the contrary, a taxi company owner can only hire taxi drivers from Seattle if they want to provide service to Seattle passengers. Thus, janitors needed to try a different tactic from the one prevalent in unions based on manufacturing industry. Janitors were affiliated in the same company, but they did not work together at the same worksite. They might be dispatched to different buildings that subcontracted cleaning to their company. Scattered worksites made it difficult for union leaders to maintain their previous strategy.

The general market environment was hostile to workers. One could start a cleaning company and the only start-up capital required would be the expense of cleaning equipment; which did not cost too much. This cheap initial investment lowered the barriers of entry into the cleaning market. More small cleaning companies opened, and the market became more competitive. The only possible way to survive in this competitive market environment was to reduce the labor cost. This made companies reticent to allow union organizing. They feared building owners might terminate the contract once the building had been unionized. For example, in <Figure 5>, if etc. were unionized and thus the labor cost were increased, Century City might have chosen one of the non-unionized cleaning companies.

As a result of the unfriendly market environment for janitors, union leaders chose to organize all the janitors in the cleaning industry and lead them to make one master contract

which covered the whole local market (<Figure 6>). This city-wide bargaining structure standardized the overall labor condition in the local market. Through organizing all possible workers in the industry, the union monopolized the supply of workers. By doing so, the union was able to remove wage differences from competition. Of course, it was hard to begin industry-wide organizing because if a union targeted a particular cleaning company, the company risked losing the current contract it made with building owners. Thus, on the one hand, they allowed unionized firms to choose low wage rates in order to compete with un-unionized firms under the agreement that it would negotiate increased wages once the half of janitors were organized. On the other hand, union leaders targeted the Century City building, one of the biggest office complex in downtown L.A. The union reserved the market for unionized cleaning companies after the union had succeeded in drawing agreement from Century City to make contracts only with unionized firms. These two strategies made possible to spread unionizing process (Erickson et al. 2002).

JfJ's efforts in organizing were successful. Only ten percent of building janitors in L.A were unionized in the beginning of the campaign, but at the end of the campaign, it reached 90% (Savage 2006). This organized labor force carried through the wage increase and health benefits. Janitors' wage had been increased from \$4.50 per hour before the campaign to \$6.80 per hour after the campaign (SEIU homepage).

Along this organizing strategy, SEIU leaders suggested a new campaign named "Unite to win: A 21st century plan to build new strength for working people." Its goal was to reproduce JfJ's strategy to other industries (Savage 2006). The core was the idea that scattered unions weakened workers. It argues that sharing an industrial sector, craft or market will create bargaining power (Savage 2006). As this statement shows, the key of the success of the JfJ

campaign relied on monopolizing supply of labor workers and using this structure to make employers dependent on current workers. In order to maintain this strategy, union leaders needed to concentrate on organizing.

In addition, another successful factor for JfJ campaign was the cohesive network of workers. High cohesion among workers brought out stronger collective action, which led the campaign to succeed. Janitors in L.A were once considered hard to organize because this group largely consisted of immigrants from Mexico and Central America. Milkman argues that interlocking networks among immigrants played an important role in the union-building process (Milkman 2000). She points out that those immigrants shared strong sense of community compared to native-born American workers. For instance, they were also similar in religion, being that most were Catholics. Through densely connected to each other, they were able to mobilize their friends and family members more easily. Also, Milkman focuses on the stigma effect which developed from experience living as an immigrant. Because they had suffered more during residing in the U.S and shared this painful experience with others, immigrants realized the necessity of unions faster and more strongly than native workers. (Milkman 2006, p.133-140) This research reveals densely formed network among janitors contributed to organizing a union and resulted in workers' high participation in JfJ campaign. This is thus a case of forming solidarity based on social network and increasing cohesion.

4.2 The Paperworkers' Strike in Jay (Low Dependence – High Cohesion)

The case of Local 14 of the United Paperworkers International Union (henceforth, UPIU) illustrates strengths and weaknesses of a union that has low dependence and high cohesion.

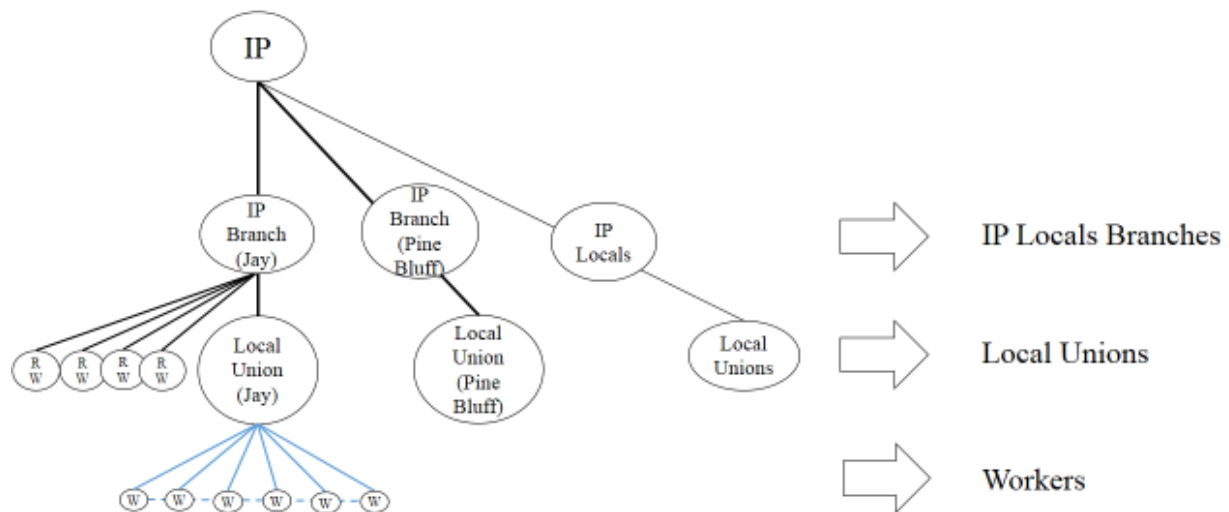
Particularly, this section focuses on explaining the strike which lasted for fourteen months starting in June 1987. While workers affiliated in Local 14 succeeded to begin a strike against International Paper Company (henceforth, IP), they failed to win concessions from an employer at the end and ultimately agreed with worse working conditions. During the negotiation in spring 1987, IP proposed a new contract which removed Sunday premium wages and the Christmas shutdown. It also reduced the workforce by at least 350 jobs. Though the union suggested extending the current contract without increasing wages or requiring different working conditions, IP refused. It forced the worse contract on the workers. Against the company's offer, 1,250 workers affiliated in Local 14 decided to go on a strike (Getman 1999).

Once it had begun, workers refused to go to the working place and formed the picket line in order to put pressure to the company and appeal to public. It was successful in the beginning. They formed active rallies and alliances with public even outside of the region. However, the union failed to win concessions from the employer at the end and the striking workers were permanently replaced. Alternative workers, the "scabs," came from outside the unionized supply of workers and so IP was less dependent on workers in strike. IP brought 500 replacement workers in the first three weeks since the strike had begun. After the workers in strike had been replaced, the imminent issue for the union was to reinstate workers to the paper mill. This goal was not achieved.

IP could be resistant to the effects of the strike because IP had hundreds of branches throughout the world (Getman 1999). Even when the branch in Maine stopped working, or the replacement workers struggled to meet the previous workers' productivity, this financial loss could be covered by other branch companies. IP endured financial loss from the strike, but this issue did not prohibit IP from pressing workers.

The paper mill workers' strike contained all the virtues of a successful movement. Before this strike, Local 14 maintained a close and good relationship with the company. The town of Jay, Maine was a tiny village where most of the residents had a relationship with the company. The population in Jay was a little above 4,000 in 1987 while 1,250 workers had a job in IP. This indicates that most households were possibly affected by the decision made by the company. Also, the workers' average hours in the mill were high. They were required to work 60 hours per week and 75% of Sundays (Getman 1999). Workers' concentration in the local community and workplace formed strong sense of belonging. Solidarity emerged from frequent interactions in both the working place and children's schools supported the tough period of strike. However, once the company treated workers as a replaceable commodity, as shown in the 1987 suggested contract, this community based on workers' loyalty toward the company turned into the one full of a feeling of betrayal. (Getman 1999)

<Figure 7> The relationship between IP and its unions



Each circle indicates an actor.

W - workers; RW - replaced workers
Black Straight line: Current contract
Blue Straight line: Affiliation in a Union; Blue Dashed lines: Interaction among workers
* IP Locals include domestic and overseas mills.

This case shows each part of two axes for union's power is doing a different role. As I hypothesized from above, dependence brings bargaining power and cohesion provides the foundation for successful strikes. Regarding dependence first, Local 14 (UPIU Local (Jay) in <Figure 7>) had low dependence for both of the two reasons suggested above. First, the company had a large pool of alternative workers (RW in <Figure 7>). Thus, even when current workers refused to work, the company could have replaced workers in a short period of time and minimized the financial damage. In order to monopolize the supply of workers and increase bargaining power, replacing workers should have been prevented. Second, this strike was less effective because local unions failed to make a master contract which covered all unions in IP. Instead, Local 14 devised the strategy based on site-by-site negotiation. Though National Labor Relations Act required unions to bargain against the company by individual local, unions might have tried to enlist other locals in IP into the strike once those locals' contracts were expired (Getman 1999). If locals succeeded in making one master contract, it could have strongly pushed the company to agree on it. For example, the Pine Bluff mill had a similar size factory as the Jay mill. Activists in Jay were trying to persuade workers in the Pine Bluff to participate in forming the master contract together. If Pine Bluff workers could have participated in this process, the power of strike would have been increased dramatically, because concentrated efforts among locals could have threatened the company more to listen to workers' demands. In contrast, if locals could not have combined their power, the lost revenue for the company from the strike in Jay could be backed up by other working mills. In addition, if other locals would not support this strike, it might undermine the morale of workers. Unfortunately, though activists in Jay put

efforts to enlarge the pool for the negotiation, it was not successful (Getman 1999, p64). These alternative sources of revenue of the company (IP Branch (Pine Bluff) and IP locals in <Figure 7>) placed it in stronger bargaining position. Because of union's structural dependence on the company, workers failed to win concessions at the end.⁵

Though overall strike failed, strong cohesion from social network formed by living in the same neighborhood was still effective in organizing a strike. Based on sharing experience from school, local life and the working place, workers in strike succeeded in maintaining strong solidarity throughout the strike (Getman 1999). One of the participants, Roland Samson, said that "The strike was wonderful because we were doing the right thing, people were putting a lot on the line to do the right thing" (Donnelly 2007). This statement reveals that strong cohesion provided firm belief in justifying the strike to workers, then it helped workers keep united. As I illustrate above, strong cohesion did not always guarantee the final success.

4.3 Comparison of teacher unions (High Dependence – Low Cohesion)

According to my hypothesis, high cohesion provides more probability to succeed in starting a strike. There are various reasons which make a union cohesive. In JfJ campaign, ethnic homogeneity played a crucial role in organizing people. In Local 14's strike, their small town helped workers to understand each other. In this section, I suggest another source of cohesion: financial engagement to union. Comparing teacher unions across states illustrates this point.

⁵ The employer, the cleaning company such as ISS or ABM, in JfJ movement also had branches in other regions. The reason why I do not consider locals in JfJ campaign is the productivity of LA branch was not affected by other locals. Thus, it could not be the alternative option for an employer. However, still the working conditions of local branches affiliated in the same large company are needed to be in balance, SEIU has tried to unite strength of Janitors in around 30 major cities. (SEIU 2)

Those two previous cases, JfJ and Local 14, can be illustrated because a strike did happen. It is obviously hard to find a representative case of non-occurred strike. This is because the number of possible cases is too numerous and heterogeneous, which makes hard to find one representative case. In other words, the number of strikes is small. The average number of strikes per year throughout 2000s was 20.1 in the United States (Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics). This number means innumerable unions did not go on a strike. Thus, it is hard to pick up the single factor which explains why these unions did not try a strike. Therefore, rather than investigating a single case, I decided to compare cases of teacher's union. This overall comparison gives the sense of the effect of economic institution on cohesion.

Teacher unions are considered one of the most influential unions. Based on their firm job status and professional job skills, they have largely affected education policy. Teacher unions are powerful in the United States; however, states guaranteed different amount of legal rights for teacher unions. Also, the membership rate and the revenue per teacher vary state by state.

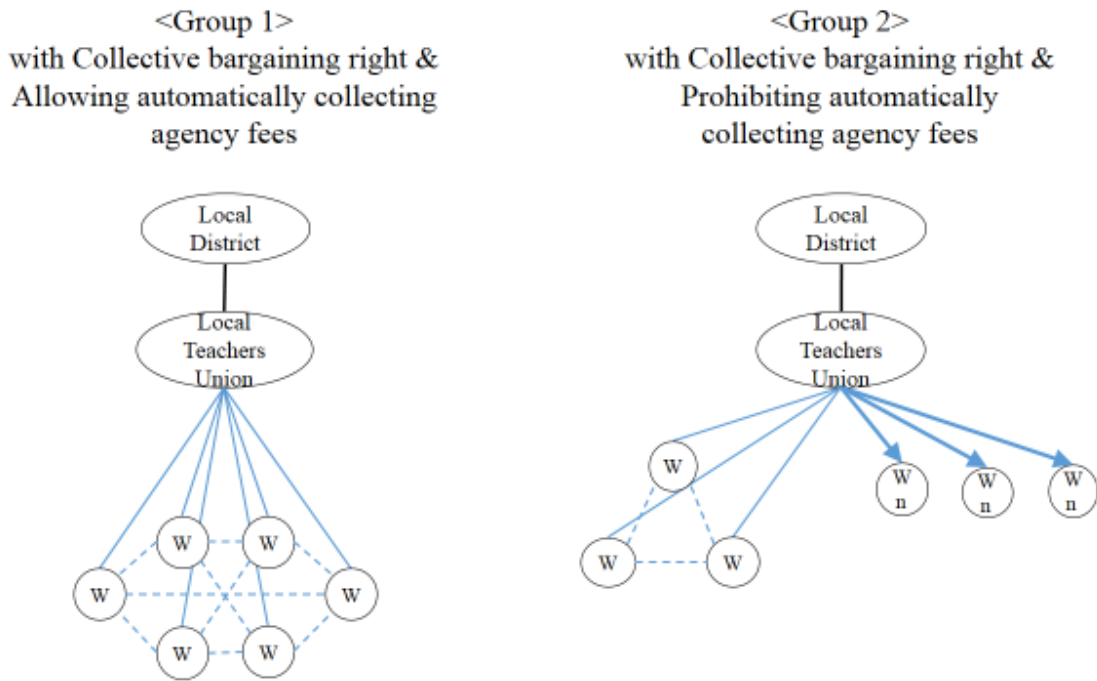
In this circumstance, in order to observe the effect of different amount of cohesion under the assumption that teacher unions bargain under the same status, I only compare states with mandatory collective bargaining status. The collective bargaining indicates the contract which is made between a local union and a school district. Mandatory collective bargaining means if district unions ask the school to make a master contract which covers the whole district, a district should accept it.

Though the legal right provides limitations to the organizational status, which prohibits the emergence of replaceable individuals and organizations at the same time, it is not enough to explain how unions can monopolize the supply of workers. The reason why I assume unions monopolize the supply of workers if the mandatory collective bargaining law exists is because of

job characteristics. Whether teachers need to take a standardized test to become a teacher is different in each state. Thus, the pool of alternative teachers is limited to whom passed the test. Also, similar to the case of janitors, the local teachers' productivity cannot be transferred to other locals. Therefore, if collective bargaining right is given to a union, a union is able to monopolize the supply of teachers.

Though teacher unions are under the same bargaining law, unions might have different legal status in collecting agency fees. Automatically collecting agency fees might be prohibited or allowed following the law in state. If it is prohibited, a worker can choose to pay agency fee or not. In this case, a worker is still covered by the collective bargaining, but she might not be affiliated in a local union. If it is possible to get fruits of the collective bargaining without paying a cost, it will reduce workers' interest in union activities: Then, it causes free-rider problem (<Group 2> in <Figure 8>). Thus, I assume that if automatically collecting agency fees from all workers is prohibited, it will induce workers less cohesive. Again, this low cohesion will bring out less participation in collective action.

<Figure 8> Comparing network structures of two groups of teacher unions



Each circle indicates an actor.

W: Workers paying agency fee; Wn: Workers not paying agency fee

Black Straight line: Current contract

Blue Straight line: Affiliation in a Union; Blue lines with arrow: Contract covered workers but workers are not paying agency fee; Blue Dashed lines: Interaction among workers

Comparing two categories – one category with mandatory bargaining law and permitted agency fees⁶, and one with mandatory bargaining law and prohibited agency fees⁷ (Winkler et al. 2012) - regarding the basic union characteristics shows a large difference in membership. The average membership rate for the first group is 89.6% when the second group is 67.2%. Also, regarding the union revenue, the average union revenue per a worker for the first group is \$649.5 compared to \$405.3 for the second group (Winkler et al. 2012). I cannot argue that those

⁶ This category includes Alaska, California, Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Hawaii, Illinois, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Washington, and Wisconsin.

⁷ This category includes Florida, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Nevada, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Tennessee.

differences are solely caused by the law on collecting agency fees, but these differences are large enough to conclude the group of unions that do not force agency fees tend to be weak.

One step further, all work stoppages that occurred from 2007 to 2011 were in states located in the first group. There were eight work stoppages with more than a thousand of participants. Those are occurred in Washington, Pennsylvania, California and Illinois, and all of those four states are included in the first group (Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics). This suggests that low cohesive network among workers might somehow prohibit workers from making a strike. It might be the effect of the law on whether strikes are allowed or not, however. Though there was one strike in Detroit (2006). While Michigan is in the first group, striking is legally prohibited. All of eight cases above were occurred in states where strike is allowed.

It is also possible to observe how people perceive whether a union can take action or not rather than where collective action already occurred. According to the survey conducted by Fordham (Winkler et al. 2012), stakeholders⁸ think that the unions in 69.6% of states from the first group are probable to fight with the school about reduction in pay and benefits rather than concede under the given budgetary constraints. On the contrary, it was actually 37.5% for the second group. This statistics show that the unions in the group with high cohesion are more likely to win concessions from the employer compared to the group with low cohesion.

4.4 Employee Representation Plan (Low Dependence – Low Cohesion)

As an example for low dependence – low cohesion union, I suggest the old model named Employee Representation Plan (henceforth, ERP). The most important development of this plan

⁸ Stakeholders include state legislators, chief state school officers and school board members, governors' offices, education journalists and etc.

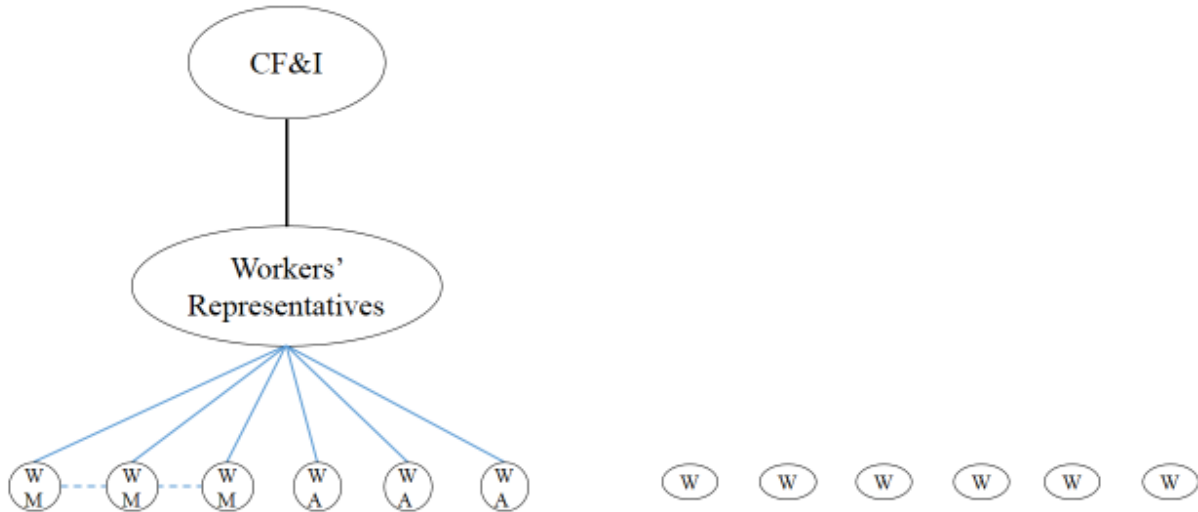
had begun in 1915 when the “Rockefeller plan” started, but it was not maintained for a long time. This type of institution, which has also called “company union”, was abolished by National Labor Relations Act in 1935. Though it was short-lived in U.S history, this plan is still advocated for its managerial efficiency in industrial relations (Kaufman & Taras 2000) and is still prevalent in East Asian countries represented by Japan. In this section, I approach to this plan⁹ and legal discussion over it with the organizational framework.

The Rockefeller plan was developed by John D. Rockefeller Jr. who managed Colorado Fuel & Iron Company (henceforth, CF&I). This plan was the result of Rockefeller’s individual efforts to find the good model of labor relation and, by doing so, to be responsible for 16 killed mine workers during the Colorado strike in 1914. The core of the plan was to organize a committee consisting of elected delegates of workers. This committee would then meet with the part of the management. This meeting was supposed to discuss workplace issues under the regular basis (Kaufman & Taras 2000, p.22).

Though ERP tried to make workers participate in decision-making process and express workers’ interest closely tied with the company’s situation, it was usually considered as a tool for anti-union policy. This turned out to be true in many cases. According to the U.S Department of Labor, 40% of companies had never held a meeting during the mid-1930s (Rees 2010, p.63). This number showed ERP was often misused to prevent aggressive unions from organizing workers in the company as workers could be represented by only one representative organization.

⁹ I do not use the term “union” in this case because it did not have collective bargaining right. However, I choose this case because this organization was also developed for representing workers.

<Figure 9> Structure of employee representation plan



Each circle indicates an actor.

WM – Mexican or American Mexican workers; WA – Native American workers; W – Other workers outside of the company

Black Straight line: Current contract

Blue Straight line: Affiliation in a Union; Blue Dashed lines: Interaction among workers

I argue that all of these organizations, including the Rockefeller plan, did not provide the firm foundation for protecting workers' right because of conditions from the organizational structure. This structural ineffectiveness is independent of whether the ERP was meant to disempower workers. This workers' organization consisted of one of the mines affiliated in CF&I and covered employed workers in it. Under this structure, currently employed workers in the company needed to compete for holding this job with workers outside of the company but in the same industry. The existence of available workers for the employer provided an alternative option for the company; it applies to the low dependence caused by individual replaceable workers. This situation might have forced the workers to agree the policies more favorable to the

company like enduring decreased wages or reduced jobs in order to survive in competitive market environment. It might have been avoided if workers had the united organization which represented all workers in the same industry, which can prevent a so-called “race to the bottom”.

Under this structural limitation, though Rockefeller had good intentions in establishing better labor relationships and suggested better working conditions to workers by using this plan, the success of it was highly dependent on individual’s will to maintain the system. It was true Rockefeller did want to form a good labor relation model, as he constantly emphasized the importance of this model in many speeches and meetings he had with other business leaders (Kaufman & Taras 2000, p.22). As a result, CF&I workers had 31 percent higher wage than workers in their eastern counterparts in 1925 (Rees 2010, p.185). Based on this number, some might argue that ERP was not always harmful to workers, but this success was possible owing to Rockefeller’s will to keep the policy. Once he lost interest in the plan, managers at the time began to use ERP as an anti-union device which was followed by warnings from critics (Rees 2010). Rees (2010) argued that, “management had always had the ability to control the plan this way”. Whereas unions reclaim some power from management, the ERP ensured that power stayed in the hands of management. Managers chose not to abuse ERP only when they voluntarily maintained their will to develop labor relationships, not because the structure facilitated equitable labor relationships.

The discussion around the law to repeal the “company union” also revealed the importance of structure to empower a labor union. The National Labor Relations Act, suggested by Senator Wagner in 1935, implicitly prohibited the company union format. The legal provision defined unfair labor practices as “to dominate or interfere with the formation or administration of any labor organization or contribute financial or other support to it” (29 U.S Code § 158 (a) (2))

was interpreted to preclude a company union, because employers were thought to support and dominate a union with this format. This law emphasizes the importance of labor organization's independence; a divide which should not be interfered by any organizations.

Connecting independence of a union to the ban on company union implied Wagner's larger goal was to create balance in bargaining power by establishing structural foundation based on law. In order to achieve this goal, Wagner insisted that collecting workers in the labor market to one organization should be achieved first (Barenberg 1993). Wagner wanted to form one union which gathers strike funds and engages in trans-enterprise bargaining by collecting all labor forces in the labor market¹⁰. Each of those two purposes is related to two axes I propose above. Trans-enterprise bargaining makes employers dependent on a union, and gathering strike funds supports cohesion among workers. Wagner also believed this structural approach for labor organization would endow more bargaining power constantly to a union. The discussion around the legislation of this law revealed that the structural relationship between employers and employees is the primary source of bargaining power. Particularly, this structure highlights monopolizing workers' supply gives collective power to a union.

Returning to the case of ERP in CF&I, I examine the cohesion of workers. In this company, the representatives of workers were dominated by American native-born workers because they had higher job skills and higher wage compared to Mexican or Mexican American workers. ERP's benefit structure was considered favorable for those whom had worked in the company for a long time and had higher job skills. Thus, representatives of workers mostly spoke for native-born American workers. Mexican workers had worse working conditions and representatives did not work to change the policy. This division along job skill and workers'

¹⁰ 79 Congress Record 7565, 7570 (1935) statement of Senator Wagner, reprinted in 2 Legislative History, Supra note 38, at 2321, 2333(introducing the 1935 bill), cited from Barenberg (1993, p.1450).

origins undermined the group identity of a “worker”. In order to prevent collective behavior of workers, the racial division was even encouraged by management (Rees 2010, p.168). This racial conflict caused minority workers to become separated from ERP and joined the Industrial Union, Industrial Workers of the World.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

I have shown that the organizational structure of a union affects which unions succeed in winning concessions from employers. I suggested two axes of union power: dependence and cohesion. First, dependence indicates how much an employer is exclusively reliant on a union to gain an access to employees. When an employer does not have alternative unions or access to replacement workers, its dependence on a union increases. This puts a union in better position to negotiate with their employer. Second, cohesion demonstrates how much workers are related to each other. This relationship plants more group identity to workers, which facilitates worker participation in collective action.

This organization-focused analysis requires unions to pay attention to their strategy in the organizing process. Regardless of activists’ efforts in a union, however, inherited characteristics of industry limit unions’ power from the beginning. This innate feature of industry might make unions either stronger or weaker. For example, transportation or food supply industry unions are able to win more concessions from employers by threatening to strike compared to other industries. This power comes from the consequences these workers will cause by stopping work. They can bring both financial loss and less trust. If transportation unions decide to go on a strike, related innumerable industries supported by the transportation system will be stuck at the same

time. Not only industries, but there will be also a huge possible number of passengers affected by this strike. Because related areas of industry and the number of affected users are broad and huge, employers should endure more damage once a strike occurs. Hence, workers are also aware of threatening strike can be more effective to claim workers' needs. When workers are aware of this feature, they do not feel a need to cooperate for union activities because unions can still be strong without their efforts. As we could see here, not only organizational structure but also industry itself affects to how unions work well against employers.

Related with the first point, as the characteristics of industry changes in process of time, affiliated unions' power are also changed. Recently, capital has become more movable and undeterred by regional limitation. The development of technology and transportation has caused resources to move easily across borders. Technological advances in machinery makes it easier to replace workers, as it requires more less-skilled workers. Hence, now big employers are able to choose the location autonomously to build factories. They begin to seek the place that provides employer-friendly tax laws and labor policies. Boeing's case represents this point. The reason for this sharp contract lies in that the union failed to monopolize all of the workers who can be possibly hired by Boeing. As my analysis has shown, the bargaining power of a union originates from doing a role as a gate keeper of access to workers. Though the union has kept their previous successful strategy, it cannot prevent Boeing from expanding the boundary of alternative workers. Without supports from bargaining power, strong cohesion might lead to all or nothing just as we have seen from Boeing's case.

This argument resonates with Marx's old statement "Workers of the world unite". Otherwise, workers will not recover their power, because the boundary of alternative workers is vaguer than before as it has been expanded to the world. Factories are built in China for the

manufacture of products sold in the U.S Companies in the U.S hire customer service representatives for telephone or internet providers from India or the Philippines. Globalization of industry prohibits a union from monopolizing the supply of workers. First, all the possible workers are hardly limited to regions. Second, because a union is still regionally limited, it makes is hard for a union to interact with other workers across alienated working places. Different regions have different legal environments regulating acceptable workplace conditions and the permissible terms of union bargaining. Along this argument, the union in the cleaning industry would have rather successful results, because this industry requires region-based workers. This industrial characteristic makes possible a union to clarify and limit the boundary of alternative workers.

Unions are limited not only by the characteristics of industry and the process of globalization, but also legal conditions that also either limit or support union power by restricting them to be in the specific shape. This is demonstrated by the case of NLRA, which implicitly banned the company union. The purpose of this law was to organize a union as a collective unit balanced in bargaining power with their managerial counterpart. On the other hand, in order to affect the cohesion side, Taft-Harley act (1947) repealed laws permitting a closed shop, which allowed employers to hire non-union workers. Similar to the case prohibiting mandatory union dues, which we discussed with the teacher union, this act also provided incentives to workers to be a free-rider. Consequently, it undermined cohesion of workers. As these historical cases illustrate, there have been legal attempts to give or deprive union power through adjusting organizational structure of unions. These cases inversely reveal that how much the organizational structure of a union composed of dependence and cohesion does the crucial role in determining union power.

Regarding the relationship between those two sources of power, I might say it is interactive, but still more research is required. High cohesion among workers cannot help unions monopolize the supply of workers automatically. However, as we have seen from JfJ campaign, high cohesion can create an opportunity for organizing workers. While cohesion itself might lead to the initiation of strike, whether efforts for a strike will include organizing to monopolize the supply of workers depends on activists' choices.

On the contrary, unions with high bargaining power might contribute to increased cohesion among workers. Hiring hall, run by International Longshore and Warehouse Union, shows one possible relationship. A hiring hall is a kind of organization usually supported by a union to control labor supply and demands. The union worked as a channel of transmitting labor force to employers by listing workers willing to work in this area and providing their information to employers. This organization was possible based on the particular economic environment. In early twentieth century, trading companies located in the Pacific Coast longshore, which included Seattle, Tacoma, Portland, and San Francisco, needed many temporal un-skilled workers to load and unload freight. Similar to cleaning companies in 1990 L.A, as the industry itself was competitive, wage increase in one unionized port would result in losing transactions to another port, which induced the race to the bottom of labor cost. In order to manage wage and working conditions, longshoring workers formed one collective union which related port to port and tried to control the supply of workers. Also, the union boycotted employer-run hiring halls in order not to lose their advantageous bargaining position. By doing so, it extended the union's bargaining unit to be coast-wide and gained economic power against employers (Hartman 1969). The case of the hiring hall in Pacific Coast demonstrates how a union gained powerful bargaining position when it literally monopolized the supply of workers.

Hiring hall included workers in the specific local area. Ahlquist and Levi's recent work (2013) illustrates that residential concentration of union members still exists centered around the hiring hall in Tacoma (Ahlquist and Levi 2013, p.142). This residential segregation revolves around the union and its organization indicates how high bargaining power of a union leads to highly cohesive relationship among workers.

Though these cases provide some evidence that one strong axis helps another axis to grow, how these two axes are structurally linked each other is currently in need of further investigation. It is evident that fulfilling both conditions will strengthen a union and help it win concessions from an employer, however.

<References>

- Ahlquist, J. S., & Levi, M. (2013). *In the Interest of Others: Organizations and Social Activism*. Princeton University Press.
- Banks, Andy (1991). "The Power and Promise of Community Unionism." *Labor Research Review*, 18(1).
- Barenberg, M. (1993). "The political Economy of the Wagner Act: Power, Symbol, and Workplace Cooperation." *Harvard Law Review*, 106(7).
- Clawson, D., & Clawson, M. A. (1999). "What has happened to the US labor movement? Union decline and renewal." *Annual Review of Sociology*, 25.
- Dixon, M., & Roscigno, V. J. (2003). "Status, Networks, and Social Movement Participation: The Case of Striking Workers¹." *American Journal of Sociology*, 108(6).
- Donnelly, Sara (2007). "After the strike | In June 1987, Local 14 walked out of International Paper's Jay mill. Twenty years later, the legacy of Maine's most notorious labor fight lives on." *Mainebiz* (URL 12/18/13
<http://www.mainebiz.biz/article/20070528/CURRENTEDITION/305289991/after-the-strike-%7C-in-june-1987-local-14-walked-out-of-international-paper-s-jay-mill-twenty-years-later-the-legacy-of-maine-s-most-notorious-labor-fight-lives-on>)
- Emerson, R. M. (1962). "Power-dependence relations." *American sociological review*, 27(1).
- Erickson, C. L., Fisk, C. L., Milkman, R., Mitchell, D. J., & Wong, K. (2002). "Justice for janitors in Los Angeles: Lessons from three rounds of negotiations." *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 40(3).
- Fantasia, R. (1988). *Cultures of Solidarity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Freeman, R. B., & Medoff, J. L. (1984). *What Do Unions Do*. New York: Basic Books.
- Getman, J. (1999). *The Betrayal of Local 14*. Cornell University Press.
- Hannan, M. T., & Freeman, J. (1987). "The ecology of organizational founding: American labor unions," 1836-1985. *American Journal of Sociology*, 92(4).
- Hartman, P. T. (1969). *Collective Bargaining and Productivity: The Longshore Mechanization Agreement*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Howley, J. (1990). Justice for janitors: The challenge of organizing in contract services. *Labor Research Review*, 1(15).
- Kaufman, B. E., & Taras, D. G. (Eds.). (2000). *Nonunion Employee Representation: History, Contemporary Practice, and Policy*. ME Sharpe.
- Kerr, C., & Siegel, A. (1954). *The Interindustry Propensity to Strike: An International Comparison*. Inter-University Study of Labor Problems in Economic Development.
- Kilbourne, B., England, P., & Beron, K. (1994). "Effects of individual, occupational, and industrial characteristics on earnings: Intersections of race and gender." *Social Forces*, 72(4).
- Milkman, R. (2006). *LA Story: Immigrant Workers and the Future of the US Labor Movement*. Russell Sage Foundation.
- Milkman, R. (Ed.). (2000). *Organizing Immigrants: The Challenge for Unions in Contemporary California*. Cornell University Press.
- Rees, J. H. (2010). *Representation and Rebellion: The Rockefeller Plan at the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, 1914-1942*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.
- Rosenfeld, J. (2014). *What Unions No Longer Do*. Harvard University Press.

- Russakoff, Dale (2006). Houston Janitor Strike Ends With Agreement. *The Washington Post*
(Available at: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/11/20/AR2006112001280.html> Jan 13, 2014)
- Savage, L. (2006). "Justice for janitors: scales of organizing and representing workers." *Antipode*, 38(3).
- Skocpol, T., Finegold, K., & Goldfield, M. (1990). "Explaining New Deal Labor Policy." *The American Political Science Review*, 84(4).
- SEIU homepage 1, Available at: <http://www.seiu.org/a/justice-for-janitors/justice-for-janitors-20-years-of-organizing.php> (Jan 12, 2014)
- SEIU homepage 2 Available at: <http://www.seiu.org/a/ourunion/a-closer-look-inside-labors-fastest-growing-union.php> (Jan 12, 2014)
- Siegel, D. A. (2009). "Social networks and collective action." *American Journal of Political Science*, 53(1).
- Stepan-Norris, J., & Southworth, C. (2010). "Rival Unionism and Membership Growth in the United States, 1900 to 2005 A Special Case of Inter-organizational Competition." *American Sociological Review*, 75(2).
- Tomaskovic-Devey, D. (2014). "The Relational Generation of Workplace Inequalities." *Social Currents*, 1(1).
- Ward, M. D., Stovel, K., & Sacks, A. (2011). "Network analysis and political science." *Annual Review of Political Science*, 14.
- Winkler, A. M., Scull, J., & Zeehandelaar, D. (2012). *How strong are U.S. Teacher Unions?: A State-by-state Comparison*. The Thomas B. Fordham Institute.