

“ORGANISING WORKS” IS IT MEETING THE CHALLENGE OF DECLINING TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP?

Peter Holland & Glennis Hanley

*Working Paper 48/02
December 2002*

WORKING PAPER SERIES

ISSN 1327-5216

Abstract

Since the mid-1980s the Australian trade union movement has started to confront the issue of declining union membership. This issue, as much as any other, has the potential to threaten the labour movement's long-term future and influence in both the economic and political arenas. To this end, the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) has developed a recruitment division to support and develop the refocusing of the movement from a servicing-based to a recruitment-based culture. In this paper the development of a recruitment focus within the trade union movement is documented. An evaluation of how effective this process has been in achieving its objectives is also conducted.

This paper is a work in progress. Material in the paper cannot be used without permission of the author.

“ORGANISING WORKS” IS IT MEETING THE CHALLENGE OF DECLINING TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP?

INTRODUCTION

The Phoenix was a mythical bird that burnt itself on a funeral pyre ignited by the sun. Fanned by its own wings it rose from the ashes with renewed vigour to live through another life-span (Delahunty, Dignen & Stock 2001). As a metaphor it is a powerful symbol of regeneration. In the context of a literal resurrection, can the ACTU Organising Works Program be looked upon as the Australian union movement's Phoenix?

It is well documented that over the last two decades Australian union membership relative to the work force has nose-dived, and by 1999 only 26 per cent of the employed work force are union members (ABS Cat Nos. 6325.0. 6310.0). Moreover, since 1992 Australian union membership has dropped by almost 600,000 – despite the creation of around 1.4 million new jobs. This raises the spectre of union effectiveness in a labour market where the fastest growing work sector is deregulated, flexible, young and part time. The importance of union effectiveness was identified by Savery and Soutar (1990:77) over a decade ago when they argued that ‘Australian unions must be seen to be effective and useful by the community, government, employers and union members if they are to flourish and grow’.

Implicit in much of the debate on union decline is the vexed question of whether unions are indeed, ‘effective’ organisations (Fiorito, Jarley and Delaney 1993). This is a complex, yet topical subject and the primary focus of this paper is an investigation into the conundrum of union effectiveness through the development of the organising model of unionism developed in Australia in the 1990s.

ADDRESSING DECLINING TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP IN AUSTRALIA

The first steps in addressing declining membership emerged in policy formulation in the late 1980s. At the 1987 ACTU conference a policy document entitled *The Future Strategies for the Trade Union Movement* (ACTU 1987) was tabled. It acknowledged the past successes of the trade union movement, but bluntly assessed the future:

...unions cannot ignore the mounting pressure for further change. The question is not whether the movement can adapt and respond but whether it can adapt at a sufficient rate not only to ensure its survival but also to promote further growth (1987:1).

With a wide-ranging review of future directions, the document focused on consolidating and expanding the movement's organisational base as a key issue. It maintained that the provision of improved services to union members was contingent on the reduction in the number of unions - to be achieved via amalgamation. To this end, a range of policy initiatives were enacted, and by the mid 1990s the number of federally registered unions had fallen from 326 to 142.

In this context, the development and implementation of a recruitment strategy was first raised as a central theme: “It is patently clear, therefore, that Australian unions need to adopt and implement imaginative recruitment programs as a matter of urgency” (ACTU 1987:16).

Recruitment remained a low priority both for the ACTU and individual trade unions despite the issue being re-enforced by a further policy document *Can Unions Survive?* (Berry & Kitchener 1989), and the adoption of a set of objectives on membership recruitment and retention at the 1989 ACTU Biennial Conference. By the turn of the decade no programs directly focused on recruitment had been formally developed. The only strategy incorporating a recruitment theme was the structural adjustment process leading to the establishment of approximately 20 broad-based industrial unions. The benefits of this process were expected to include the creation of a large pool of resources to target issues such as recruitment and retention (ACTU 1987; Costa & Duffy 1990).

However, with the rate of trade union membership continuing to decline at an accelerated rate through the 1990s, it appeared that indirect policies of structural adjustment were not sufficient on their own to deliver the expected membership benefits. Indeed, critics of the amalgamation process have argued that the restructuring process actually diverted resources through increased bureaucracy:

The duplication of union executives and the tendency for union administrations to become increasingly bureaucratic burns up the additional resources the process was supposed to generate for membership recruitment (Costa 1994:32).

This point is also supported by Peetz, who notes:

It seems the potential gains from some amalgamations have not yet been achieved because of faction fighting within the newly created organisations. Such factionalism is a diversion of resources from the provision of services to members and from expansionary recruitment strategies and can worsen the alienation of existing or potential members (1998:195).

The implications of failing to negate this accelerating decline were clear. With a representation of less than one-third of the workforce, the legitimacy of the trade union movement to be truly representative of the Australian workforce was under threat. It was apparent that the issue of recruitment be addressed as a matter of urgency (Costa & Duffy 1990). Indeed for Australian unions to *remain* at their current level, 285,000 new members need to be recruited each year. To achieve a *growth* of even 1 per cent, unions need to increase recruitment to 420,000 new members each year (Carnegie 2000)

DEVELOPING A RECRUITMENT CULTURE

The lack of success in arresting the decline within the movement through structural adjustment and the accelerated decline of membership led the ACTU to actively seek more direct ways of addressing this issue. The ACTU wised up to the fact that the recruitment of new young members was a key objective. The focus transferred to the development of a recruitment and retention strategy to more effectively target membership decline. Paradoxically, investigation by a delegation of ACTU and affiliate officers into alternative strategies identified the model developed by the labor movement in the traditionally low-unionised United States as a possible blueprint for the Australian movement. This model had been developed in the mid-1980s to combat the hostile industrial legislation of the Reagan and Bush administrations (Pocock 1995) and the anti-union strategies adopted by many US organisations (Meyer & Cooke 1993; Voos 1994; Peetz 1995; Wheeler & McClendon 1998).

The peak trade union body, the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organisations (AFL-CIO), identified that it was in danger of becoming little more than an industry lobby group if membership decline was not addressed as a matter of urgency. Since the mid-1950s US trade union density has declined from 35 to 15 per cent (Wheeler & McClendon 1998). The report *“The Changing Situation of Workers and their Unions”* (AFL-CIO 1985), sought to redirect the union movement and provide it with a strategic orientation. The ‘strategic’ approach entailed a move from a purely servicing model (of current members), which was passive in that it provided information and resources to current members, to an organising model of potential members. The key features of this organising model included identifying the recruitment markets and targeting them through sophisticated campaigns. However, servicing existing members remained a core function.

The first major development in refocusing of core values of the US labor movement came in 1989 when the AFL-CIO established the Organising Institute. The objectives of the Institute were:

- (i) To recruit, train and place field organisers in order to increase the quality and quantity of union organisers/recruiters.
- (ii) To designate specific recruiting campaigns as training sites for on-the-job training for interim, apprentice and local organisers.

- (iii) To use the experience and expertise of the best practising organisers/recruiters from participating unions to analyse and evaluate recruitment practices and campaigns.

The Organising Institute stands for promoting and encouraging a recruitment culture within unions. It is both a focus and a spearhead for the revitalisation of the American unions (Stuart 1993:7-8).

To facilitate the development of such an organising model, the Organising Institute also developed an “Elected Leaders Taskforce” to ensure the development of an organising model and negate potential problems and obstacles to this change process.

In July 1993, the ACTU Executive sent a fact-finding delegation to the USA to investigate recruitment practices. The delegation investigated the role of the Organising Institute, identifying several key aspects in developing a successful recruitment culture:

- recognise that the number one priority of the union must be recruitment;
- develop a recruitment culture at all levels of the union;
- recognise that significant resources must be allocated to recruitment, including both budgets and staffing;
- integrate all the activities of the union to further recruitment objectives;
- strategic planning for and analysis of recruitment objectives at the national, state and local levels and the development of nationally-integrated recruitment plans;
- recognise that the servicing of existing membership had in the past been done at the expense of recruiting new members;
- recognise that the servicing mentality was not sufficient to meet the challenge of declining union membership and that 'servicing' alone was self-defeating.
- commitment to involving members in actions and decisions that affect them, whether that is bargaining for an enterprise agreement, recruiting new members, or settling workplace grievances. American unions describe this approach to membership involvement to further recruitment objectives as the **“organising model”** (Stuart 1993:9)

The delegation’s recommendation to the ACTU was to adopt the US model as a blueprint for Australian trade unions recruitment strategy. The 1993 ACTU Congress endorsed this. The ACTU Recruitment and Retention Committee, with the support of the ACTU National Executive, undertook to develop a strategy with the US model as a guide (ACTU 1994a; Stuart 1995).

The first recommendation was the creation of a stand-alone recruitment unit based on the US Organising Institute. In 1994 “Organising Works” was established (ACTU 1994b) by the ACTU, which administered it with participating trade unions through a management committee. In 1994, the first year of the program, 58 positions were offered. In 1995 an initial intake of 86 trainees was supplemented by a mid-year intake of 52, and a further 70 trainees commenced in 1996. In 1997 and 1998, 23 and 21 trainees were taken on respectively. By 2001 close to 300 trainees had completed the program (ACTU Organising Centre 2001).

The applicants undertook a nine-month training program, which included two residential courses. The training continues with a mixture of in-house training and on-the-job experience with a sponsoring union to which the trainee return on completion of the course. In addition, a mentor system ensures the continuity of training and development. Assessment involves written projects and two formal interviews with mentors and trainees (Walton 1996; TUTA 1997). At the end of this training period the organisers join their designated or sponsoring union. The completion rate of the program is over 90 per cent (Walton 1997).

Funding for the Organising Works program was initially a joint exercise between the ACTU, participating trade unions accepting graduates and, up to 1996, the Federal Labor Government through the Trade Union Training Authority (TUTA) as a registered Labour Market Traineeship Program. The financial shortfall of the TUTA funding has been offset by a \$1 million fund set-up by the ACTU and a levy on union membership worth a further \$240 000 per annum which covers the fixed costs of the program. The sponsoring unions contribute “the full wage cost of trainees less any government funding received” (Cooper & Walton 1996:12).

GRASS ROOTS UNIONISM

The focus of Organising Works is the development of organisers who visit the workplace (particularly low-unionised sectors) and address issues of concern to those at the shopfloor and identify how the union movement can provide a role in addressing problems and grievances. These initiatives contain the foundation for the development of a recruitment culture across the broad and diverse union movement. The ability to identify a wide range of issues including enterprise bargaining, grievance handling and health and safety as pertinent to rank and file members underpins these initiatives (Kelty 1997). As the Chairman of 'Organising Works' notes: "This is not about trying to win people back to the unions in traditional areas but in new industries" (Bull 1994:30). The low representation the union movement has among the 18 - 25 age group (under 20 per cent) is a central feature in this recruitment focus (Workplace 1994: Want 1997). The profile of organisers has therefore been an important consideration in this respect. The average age of Organising Works graduates is 25, the majority are female and more than 50 per cent have a second language and a tertiary qualification. "Like can now recruit like" (Turnbull 1994:8).

Once established in a workplace the key focus is to build a self-sustaining organising culture, which involves members themselves (TUTA 1996). With the support of Organising Works graduates, and the trade union, an Organising Model of unionism can be established (see Table 1).

Table 1

A Servicing Union Model	An Organising Union Model
The union is seen as a third party. It enters the workplace to increase membership or solve problems.	Members own the campaign to unionise their workplace.
Unions tell members how they can solve their problems.	Members generate own issues and organise to solve them together.
Relying on employer to provide lists of names and workers to union official.	Mapping the workplace and staff attitudes are crucial - names and information is provided by the workers.
Relying on workplace access and employer cooperation.	Initial organising can be done outside work - in worker's homes and other places.
Cold selling union membership by organisers.	Establishing initial contacts and finding natural leaders to help recruit.
Selling the union for services and insurance protection.	Workers empowered to do it for themselves through education and support.
Relying on full time officials to recruit and solve problems.	An internal organising committee formed and workers encouraged to build the union through one to one organising.
Recruitment is seen as a separate activity.	Recruitment and organising are integrated.
Results are achieved but they are likely to be short term.	Results are obtained through sustained efforts - more likely to be permanent.
The union is blamed when it can't get results.	Members share decisions and solve problems together with union leaders.
Members complain they pay fees and the union does nothing.	Members make a real contribution to union struggles and identify with the union. An attack on the union is an attack on themselves.
Organisers resent members for not coming to meetings or participating.	The image of the union is positive and active.
Management acts, while the union reacts and it is always on the defensive.	The union has its own agenda with members involved and it keeps management off balance.

Source: TUTA 1997

TRADE UNION PARTICIPATION IN ORGANISING WORKS

Many unions were indifferent towards the program, only agreeing to be involved in Organising Works after considerable political pressure from senior levels within the ACTU. Many senior trade union representatives were openly sceptical about the whole process, not least because of the model's origins in the USA (Walton 1997). In addition, there was doubt that these young people new to the movement, not from the traditional organiser's background and without a proven track record, would have the ability and credibility to gain acceptance in the workplace (Martin 1995).

The trainee intake is determined by trade union demand. However, in order for the recruitment culture to take root within the trade unions it is fundamental that it becomes an integral part of all union work (Walton 1996). In this context discussion with a number of Organising Works graduates revealed several deep-seated problems within individual unions in moving from the servicing to organising model. One graduate described his efforts in getting a foothold in a greenfield site with no union representation. The workforce was cynical about what the union could offer. When the graduate asked for the senior union representatives to visit the site, they claimed they did not have the time to see just half a dozen people, as they were busy servicing current members' needs. The graduate could see that these six or so employees were the natural group leaders and would have been influential in delivering more members. The lack of union support reinforced the perception of the union as distant and irrelevant. The site remains union free.

A second graduate pointed to the issue of union poaching. Despite the focus on recruiting new members, it was not uncommon for poaching of existing members of other unions to take place. Whilst this did not have the official approval of the union the graduate acknowledged tacit approval of the practice.

Several graduates noted that after the training course they were only given one year of employment before being terminated. One graduate noted that his union had forewarned him of this. He knew that recruiting 50 or so members would pay for his salary. In the event he recruited between 350 and 400 new members, which was still insufficient to maintain his employment. A senior union official also pointed to the problem of repeat offenders, unions who take on a (subsidised) trainee for the nine month training period only to terminate their employment very soon after this and apply for another trainee. He noted that the ACTU seem to turn a blind eye to this practice.

Another graduate pointed to a cultural problem in that his union was happy to take on 'cheap' labour to recruit members as long as this didn't get in the way of their normal union duties, which presumably meant maintaining the servicing model. He noted the cynicism that met many of the techniques and approaches to union recruitment he brought from the Organising Works traineeship in particular researching the membership and history of a particular site and industry to identify key issues and problems. The attitude is best described in his words as 'they thought I was trying to teach them to do their job'. This last point illustrates the tension within unions at this refocusing of direction and resources.

DISCUSSION

The recruitment of over 10 000 new members per annum (ACTU 1997), directly attributable to the Organising Works program has seen a change in attitude and focus within many trade unions regarding the importance of the recruitment process (Walton 1997). However, as the discussion above reveals there are still many trade unions locked into the servicing model rather than adopting a dual or balanced approach of servicing and recruitment. The importance in this is that they are mutually reinforcing. Without understanding the needs of potential members servicing is unlikely to be effective in adapting and providing for these changing demands. Walton (1997), points to the recognition by the ACTU that Organising Works alone will not provide the solution to the problem of declining membership despite the obvious success of the program as a recruitment tool. The continued decline of trade union membership through this period is testimony to this (ABS 6325.0). In this context, the ACTU has developed a variety of strategies to further the development of an organising model.

The establishment of nationally-accessible telephone centres based in Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane to provide advice and assistance and referral information; the development of regional recruitment campaigns; and the allocation of resources to specific campaigns to target union effort are some of the initiatives in this area (Walton 1996). As the ACTU president Jennie George stated:

... these programs were intended to supplement the new organising and recruitment strategy employed by individual unions. In particular, they would provide a means of contact with workers in workplaces that were difficult to access, such as part-time or casual workers, outworkers and workers in regional areas. Pilot programs had proved to be successful and will on this basis, be expanded (cited in Gahan 1995:618).

Other strategies developed by the ACTU include the expansion of commercial and financial services such as home loans and travel insurance and associate membership for those wishing to take advantage of specific union services (Curran 1995). Successes with these policies include the Liquor and Hospitality Union, which has targeted casinos throughout Australia with a discount airfares strategy. At the Crown Casino - Melbourne the union has achieved 40 per cent membership. Other unions developing strategic approaches to the recruitment of new members include the Finance Sector Union, The National Union of Workers and the Association of Professional Engineers, Scientists and Managers, Australia (Curran 1995). The ACTU is also developing a strategy with other peak union bodies including the AFL-CIO in the USA and TUC in Britain to exchange organiser to gain experience working on recruitment and organising campaigns in these countries (ACTU 1997). As Walton notes:

The plan is ambitious and the ACTU Executive has recognised that the success of "Organising Works" has been important in adoption of the plan and the commitment by unions to organising and recruiting (1996:7).

In assessing the success of the Organising Works program several criteria need to be analysed. Because the focus of this program is recruitment, a key criteria or indicator of success is trade union membership. Statistics indicate that trade union membership has continued to decline through the period Organising Works has been in existence (ABS 6325.0). Although, this obviously varies across unions and industries, with the Hospitality and Retail sectors showing substantial gains, the transient nature of employment in these industries make this gains difficult sustain. Thus whilst the program has generated substantial membership, it appears to be having little impact on the overall decline of trade union membership.

From the ACTU perspective this does not truly reflect the overall objectives of the program. As Chris Walton (1996) notes, the program is only one element of a broad range of strategies adopted by the ACTU to address this issue of membership decline. The key objective for Organising Works is the development of a recruitment culture within unions to supersede the traditional servicing model. The success of the program itself is better understood and defined in the context of cultural change and financial investment. However, as noted above, there is evidence of several unions maintaining the servicing model at the expense of developing a recruiting or organising model. The initial involvement of several trade unions in the program as a result of political pressure reinforces this lack of uniformity across the movement regarding this change in focus. However, since the initial intake of Organising Works graduates, the demand for them has remained, with over 200 graduates active in the union movement, and the development of recruitment departments and sections within more progressive unions, indicating a gradual adoption of the recruitment model (Walton 1997).

From a financial perspective, the revenue generated by these graduates has proved a worthwhile investment. Estimates indicate that each graduate on average needs to recruit 50 new members in order to cover their costs (Turnbull 1994). The average per graduate is estimated to be in the order of 170 new members per annum (ACTU 1996). This represents over 13 800 new members per annum (ACTU 1996) including significant percentages of young people and female recruits (Walton 1996). The revenue generated through this program of over \$2.7 million per annum is more than double the investment, making the program financially attractive for participating unions (Cooper & Walton 1996; Walton 1996, 1997). In addition Walton (1997) notes the long-term benefits of this success in terms of new members and increased

representation in industries such as the fast food, horse racing, retail and greenfield sites, which were previously unorganised.

CONCLUSION

The success of the Organising Works program can be assessed from a variety of perspectives. From the ACTU's perspective, Organising Works is only one element in a strategy to revitalise the movement by moving it from the traditional servicing model toward a recruitment or organising model, and organising members to resolve their own issues in the workplace. More importantly, it is a recognition by the Australian trade unions that membership decline must be addressed as a matter of urgency and to be successful it must be addressed as an issue common to all trade unions. However, the evidence for this is inconsistent. While some unions are beginning to display the features and reap the benefits of an organising model (Turnbull 1994; Walton 1996, 1997), there are other unions which have been forced into adopting the program and others which remain focused on the servicing model of current members.

Overall, it cannot be denied that aggregate trade union membership attrition is not yet being offset by these changes. As Walton notes: "This is a long-term strategy. It takes a long time to change an organisational culture" (1997). However, the link between inadequate union activity at the workplace, low union membership, recruitment and retention has been clearly identified in the literature (Cregan & Johnston 1990; Palmer & McGraw 1990; RAILS 1993; Peetz 1998). With trade union membership declining at over one per cent per annum through the 1990s and now representing around a quarter of the workforce, it has become apparent that if trade unions fail to respond appropriately, trade union membership will continue to decline. It may well be that Australian unions have yet to boost a revival in their fortunes, despite adapting their structure and outlook.

REFERENCES

- Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) Cat. No.6310.0 *Trade Union Statistics Employee earnings, benefits and trade union membership Australia*. ABS, Belconnen. ACT.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) Cat.No 6323.0, *Trade Union Statistics* ABS, Belconnen. ACT.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) Cat.No 6325.0, *Trade Union Members, Australia*, ABS, Belconnen. ACT
- ACTU. (1987) *Future Strategies for the Trade Union Movement*. Melbourne.
- ACTU. (1994a) *Organising Works*. Melbourne
- ACTU. (1994b) *Recruitment - The Priority For 1995: Report Recruitment*. Melbourne
- ACTU. (1996) *National Voice: Report to Annual General Meeting of Organising Works Inc.* ACTU. Melbourne.
- ACTU. (1997) *National Voice: Decision of ACTU Executive Meeting*. ACTU. Melbourne.
- American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organisations (AFL-CIO). (1985) *The Changing Situation of Workers and their Unions. AFL-CIO Committee on the Evolution of Work*. Washington.
- Bamber, G & Lansbury, R. (1998) *International and Comparative Employment Relations: A study of Industrialised market economies*. (3rd ed), Sydney:Allen & Unwin Pty Ltd..
- Bean, R. (1995) *Comparative Industrial Relations: An Introduction to Cross-National Perspectives*. London:Routledge.
- Berry, P & Kitchener, G (1989) *Can Unions Survive?* Building Workers Industrial Union (ACT Branch), Canberra, September.
- Bodman, P.M. (1996) "Explaining the Decline of Australian Trade Union Membership". paper presented to the Australian Conference of Economists. Canberra. September.
- Bull, T. (1994) "Trade Unions:Can young blood save them?" *Bulletin* 27 September:28-32.
- Bramble, T. (1989) "Award Restructuring and the Trade Union Movement: A Critique". *Labour and Industry* v.2, no.3. (October):372-98.
- Curran, C. (1995) "Strength in Numbers". *Workplace*:(Winter): 26-7. Melbourne.
- Cooper, R & Walton, C. (1996) "Organising and Recruitment in Australia: The Response of Unions to the Membership Crisis" Paper presented at AFI-CIO and ILR School. Cornell University. "Organising for Success" Conference. March. New York.
- Costa, M & Duffy, M. (1990) "Trade Union Strategies in the 1990s". *The Economic and Labour Relations Review* v.1, no.1:145-64. (June).
- Costa, M. (1994) "Trade Unions: Can young blood save them?" *Bulletin*. 27 September:28-32.
- Cregan, C & Johnston, S (1990) "An Industrial Relations Approach to the Free Rider Problem: Young People and the Trade Union Membership in the UK". *British Journal of Industrial Relations* v. 28, no.1:84-104.
- Deery, S & De Cieri, H. (1991) "Determinants of Trade Union Membership in Australia". *British Journal of Industrial Relations* v. 29, no.1:59-73.
- Delahunty, G., Dignen, S. & Stock, C (2001) 'The Oxford Dictionary of Allusions' Oxford University Press.
- Evatt Foundation. (1995) *Unions 2001: A Blueprint for Trade Union Activism*. Sydney:Evatt Foundation.
- Gahan, P. (1995) "(Re)Organize! Recruit! Survive?": The 1995 ACTU Congress. *Journal of Industrial Relations* v.27, no.4:610-626.
- George, J. (1995) Speech to the 1995 ACTU Congress. Cited in Gahan, P. (1995) "(Re)Organize! Recruit! Survive?": *Journal of Industrial Relations* v.27, no.4:610-626.

- Griffin, G & Svenson, S. (1996) The Decline of Trade Unions - A Survey of the Literature. *Journal of Industrial Relations* v. 38, no.4:505-48.
- Kelty, W.(1997) Organising is everything we do: The craft of organising & recruiting. ACTU. Melbourne.
- Kenyon, P.D. & Lewis, P.E.T. (1992) "Trade Union Membership and the Accord". *Australian Economic Papers* v.31, no.59:325-45.
- Martin, L. (1995) "Unions enlists strike the right note". *The Age*. 3 April Melbourne.
- Meyer, D & Cooke, W. (1993) "US Labour Relations in Transition: Emerging Strategies and Company Performance". *British Journal of Industrial Relations* v 31, no. 4:531-552.
- Palmer, I & McGraw, P. (1990) "Union Diversification and the Battle for Recognition in the Travel Agency Industry". *Journal of Industrial Relations* v.27, no.1:3-18.
- Peetz, D. (1990) "Declining Union Density". *Journal of Industrial Relations* v.32, no. 2:197-223.
- Peetz, D. (1992) "Union Membership and the Accord in What Should Unions Do?" in Crosby, M & Easson, M (ed). Leichhardt: Pluto Press. pp.171-210.
- Peetz, D. (1995) "Australian Unions on the Road to America? Employer Strategy, Structural Change and Deunionisation". Paper presented to the Ninth Conference of the Association of Industrial Relations Academics of Australia and New Zealand. February. Melbourne.
- Peetz, D. (1998) *Unions in a Contrary World: The Future of the Australian Trade Union Movement*. University Press: Cambridge.
- Pocock, B. (1995) "Much Better the Devil you Know: Prospects for Women Under Labor and Coalition Industrial Relations Regimes". Paper presented at Industrial Relations Policy Under the Microscope Conference. ACIRRT (December). University of Sydney.
- RAILS (Research Institute for Advancement of Living Standards) (1993) Trade Union Present & Future. Report to the Committee on Industrial Relations. Regosoken. Tokyo. January.
- Scherer, P. (1983) "The Nature of the Australian Industrial Relations System: A Form of Syndicalism", in K. Hancock, Y. Sono, B. Chapman & P. Foyle (ed). *Japanese and Australian Labour Markets: A Comparative Study*. Australia-Japan Research Centre. Canberra and Tokyo. pp.157-182.
- Stuart, M. (1993) U.S. Mission on Recruitment and Organisation: Summary Report. ACTU. Melbourne.
- Stuart, M. (1995) Organising Works - Report to ACTU Executive and Council. (May). Melbourne.
- Turnbull, P. (1994) "Organising Works in Australia - Can it Work in Britain ?" *Department of Management and Industrial Relations. Working Paper Series*. University of Melbourne.
- TUTA. (1997) Organising is everything we do: The craft of organising and recruiting. ACTU Melbourne.
- Voos, P. (1994) An economic perspective on contemporary trends in collective bargaining in P. Voos ed. *Contemporary Collective Bargaining*. Madison. Wisconsin: Industrial Relations Research Association.
- Want, M. (1994) "Trade Unions: Can young blood save them?" *Bulletin*. 27 September : 28-32.
- Walton, C. (1996) Report to Annual General Meeting of Organising Works Inc. ACTU. Melbourne.
- Workplace. (1994) Winter. ACTU. Melbourne.
- Wheeler, H. & McClendon, J (1998) "Employment relations in the United States" in Bamber, G & Lansbury, R. *International and comparative industrial relations: A study of Industrialised market economies, 3rd ed.*, Sydney: Allen & Unwin Pty.Ltd. pp.55-82.

Interviews

- Chris Walton, Executive Director - Organising Works undertaken by Peter Holland - 20/02/1997.
- Organising Works graduates over the period June 1997 - November 1998.