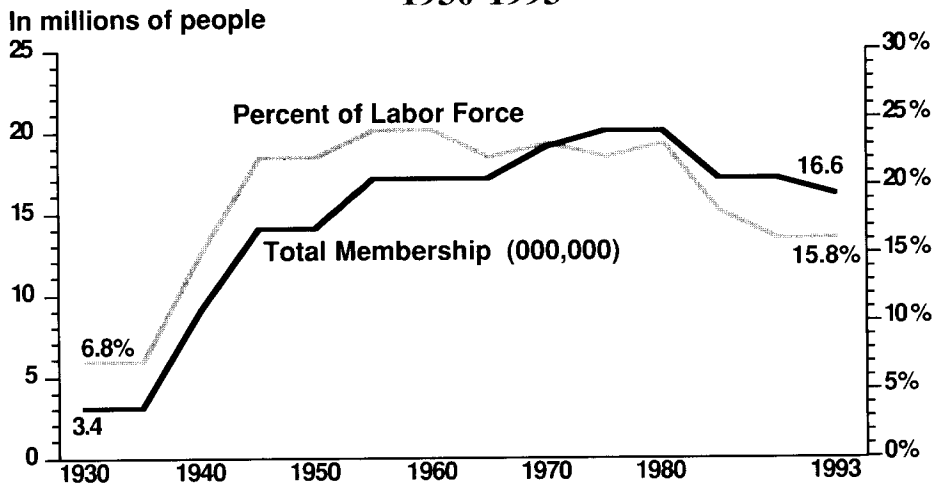


# Transformation: Declining and Shifting Union Membership

Union Membership and Its Proportion of the Labor Force,  
1930-1993



Note: Union membership is only counted for dues-paying members with union headquarters in the US. For 1930 to 1967 no professional associations were included in official counts of union members. Prior to 1983 counts may have included self-employed, retired, and unemployed union workers.

Source: US Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Fewer Collective Bargaining Elections

Year	Total elections held seeking a collective bargaining representative	Percentage won by unions
1940	1,192	77%
1950	5,619	75
1960	6,380	59
1970	7,773	56
1980	7,296	48
1985	3,749	47
1990	3,623	50
1992	2,993	50

Note: Data are for fiscal years. For 1940 and 1950 all elections held, including reruns and runoffs, are not necessarily closed in that fiscal year. 1992 data are preliminary.

Source: National Labor Relations Board.

## The Ten Largest Labor Unions: Then and Now

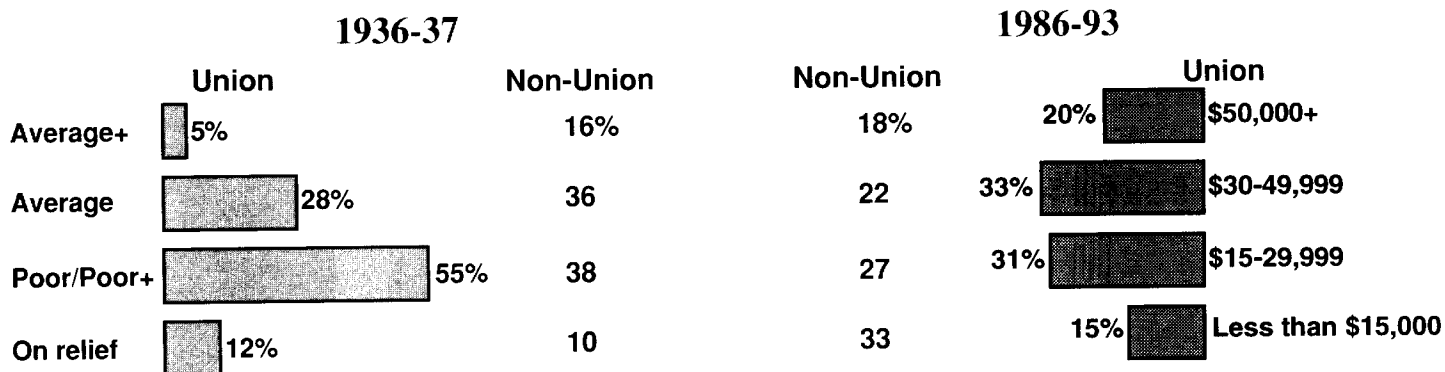
1952	(000)	1993	(000)
1. United Automobile, Aircraft & Agricultural Implement Workers	1,185	1. National Education Association	2,000
2. United Steelworkers	1,100	2. International Brotherhood of Teamsters	1,700
3. International Brotherhood of Teamsters	1,000	3. American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees	1,300
4. United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners	750	United Food and Commercial Workers International Union	1,300
5. International Association of Machinists	699	5. Service Employees International Union	1,000
6. United Mine Workers	600	6. United Automobile, Aerospace & Agricultural Implement Workers of America	862
7. International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers	500	7. International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers	845
8. Hotel & Restaurant Employees' International Alliance	402	8. American Federation of Teachers	830
9. International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union	390	9. Communications Workers of America	600
10. International Hod Carriers', Building & Common Laborers Union	386	10. International Association of Machinists & Aerospace Workers	550
		United Steelworkers of America	550

Note: Prior to 1993 these data were collected by the Bureau of Labor Statistics through canvasses of unions with headquarters based in the US. The 1993 data were collected through similar canvasses done by *The Information Please Almanac*. In all cases, the data are those provided by the individual unions and in some cases may be estimates.

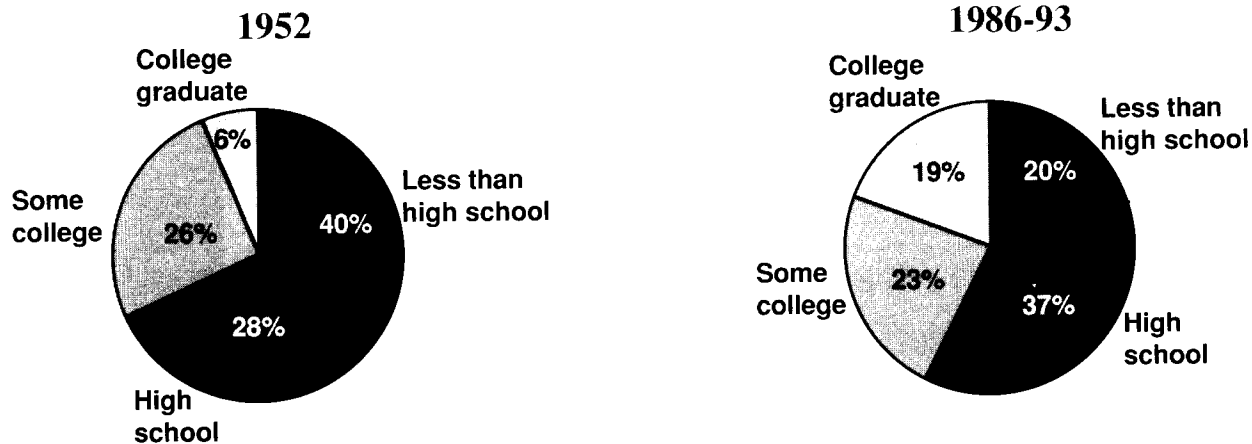
# Today's Unionists: Better Educated, More Affluent...

**Question:** Do you belong to a labor union (1936-37)?; Are you (or is your husband) a member of a labor union (1952)?; Do you (or your spouse) belong to a labor union (1986-93)?

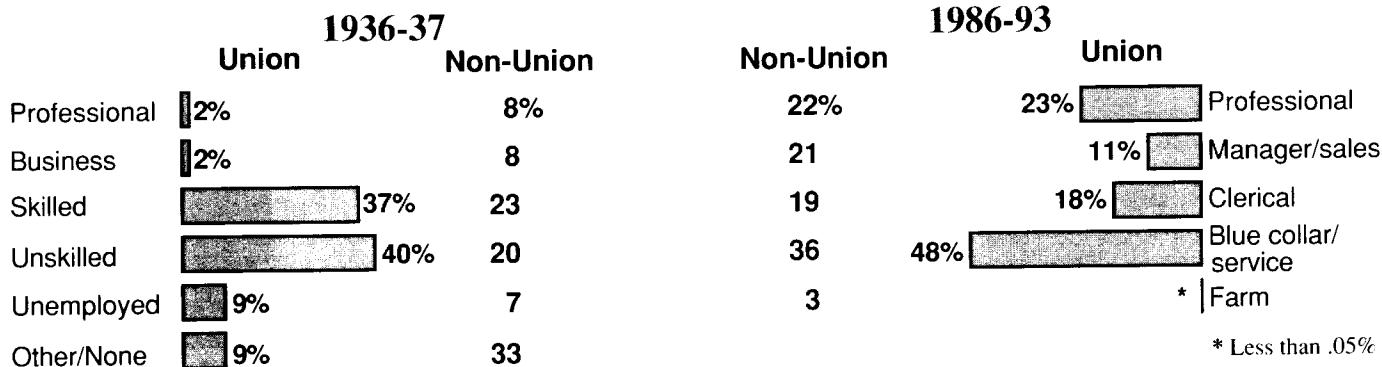
## Union vs. Non-Union Households—Economic Status



## Union Households — Education



## Union vs. Non-Union Households—Occupation



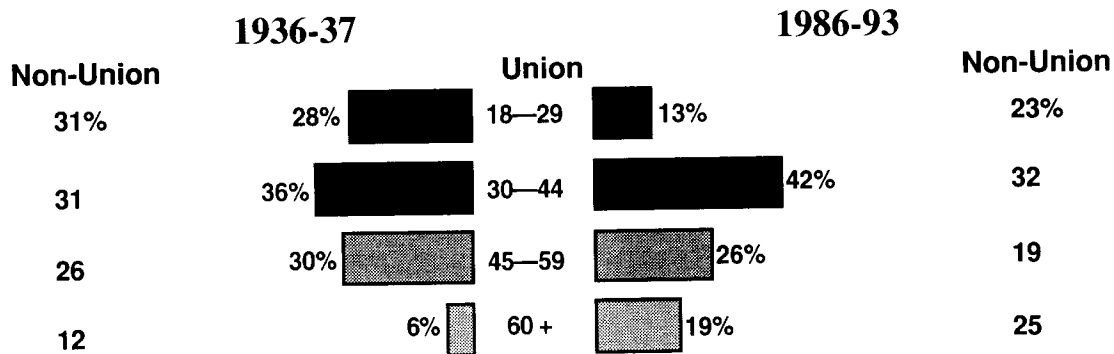
**Note:** For all dates shown, the data for that period have been combined.

**Source:** Surveys by the Gallup Organization, 1936-37 and 1952, and the National Opinion Research Center's General Social Survey (NORC-GSS), 1986-93.

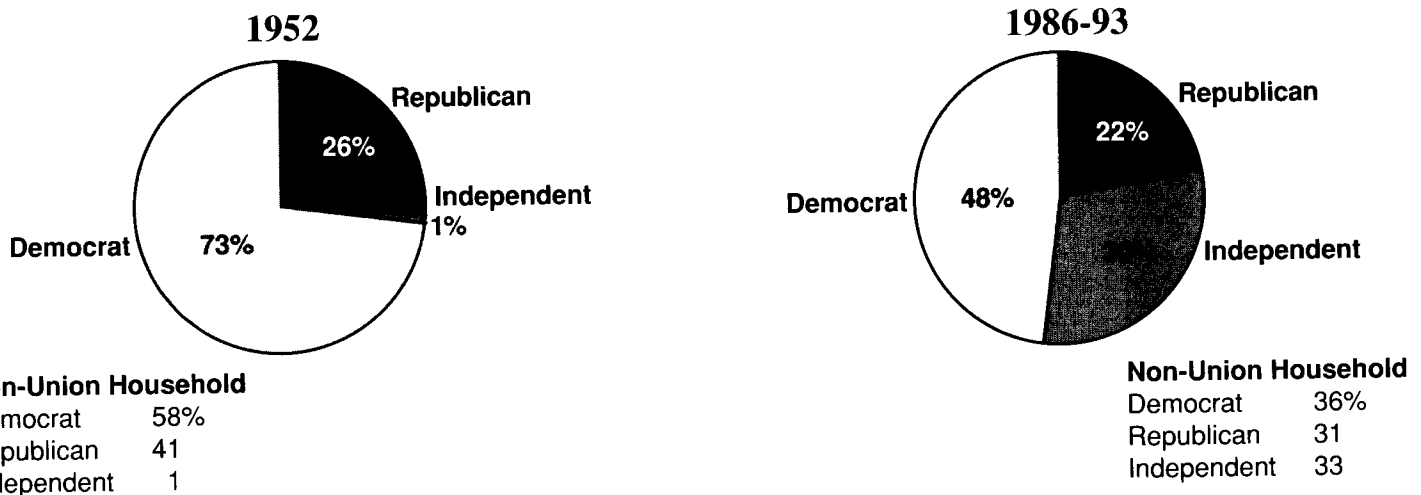
# ...Older, Married and More Independent

**Question:** Do you belong to a labor union (1936-37)?; Are you (or is your husband) a member of a labor union (1952)?; Do you (or your spouse) belong to a labor union (1986-93)?

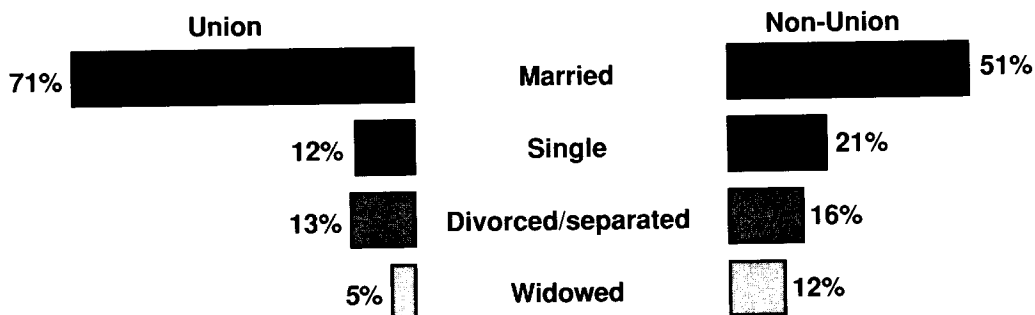
## Union vs. Non-Union Households—By Age



## Union Households—Party Identification



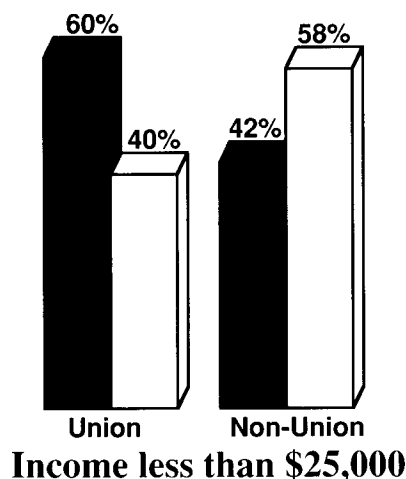
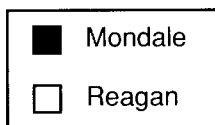
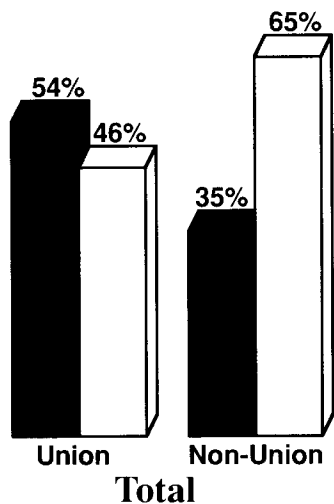
## Union vs. Non-Union Households—Marital Status, 1986-93



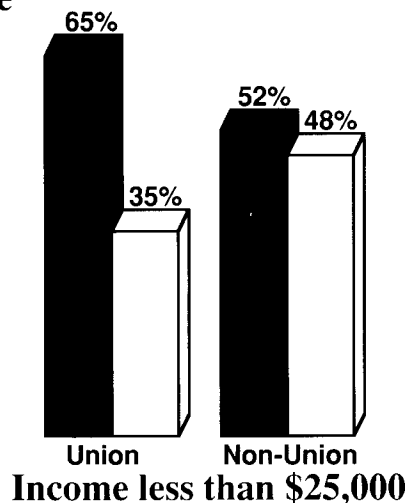
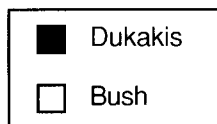
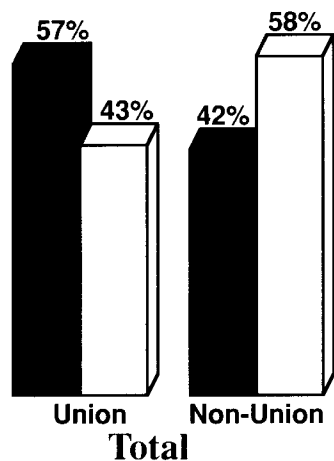
**Note:** For all dates shown, the data for that period have been combined.  
**Source:** Surveys by the Gallup Organization, 1936-37 and 1952, and NORC-GSS, 1986-93.

# Voting—Union Membership Really Matters

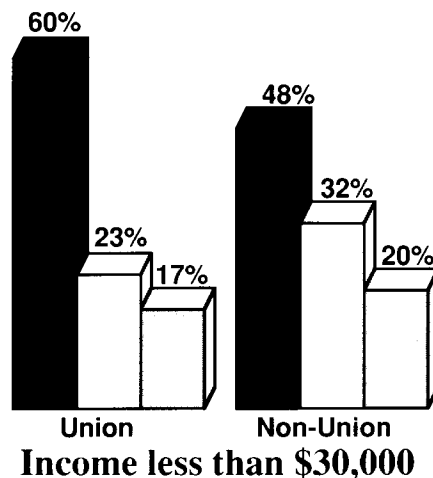
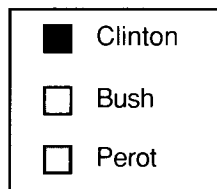
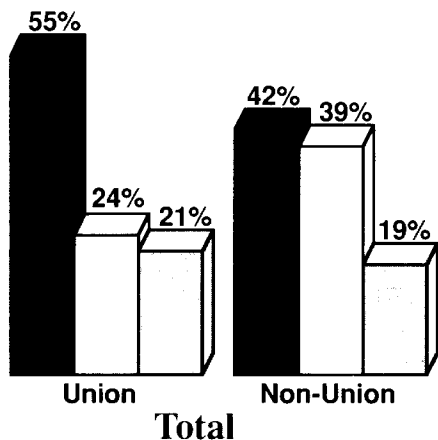
## 1984 Election Vote



## 1988 Election Vote



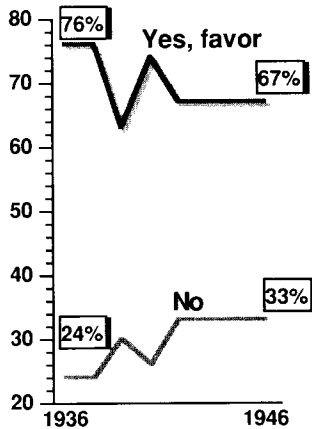
## 1992 Election Vote



Source: Surveys by CBS News/*New York Times* Exit Poll, 1984-88, and Voter Research and Surveys Exit Poll, 1992.

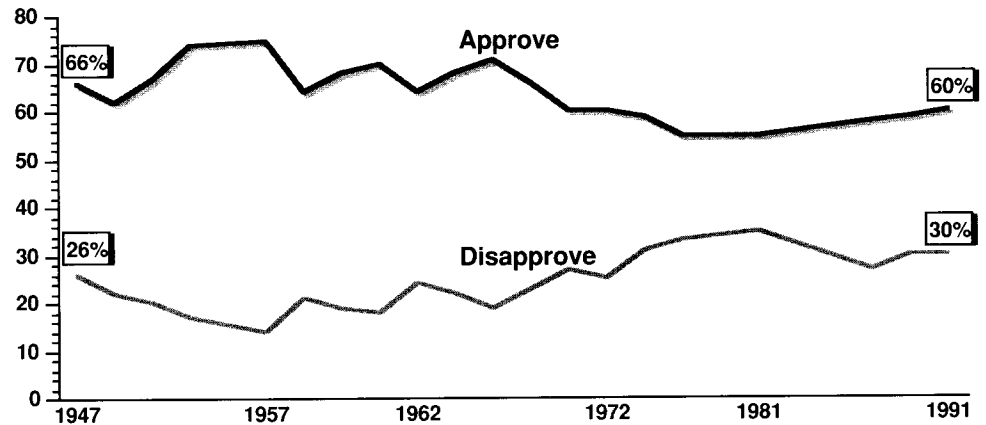
# Yes to the Idea of Labor Unions...

**Question:** Are you in favor of labor unions?



**Source:** Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of February 15-20, 1946.

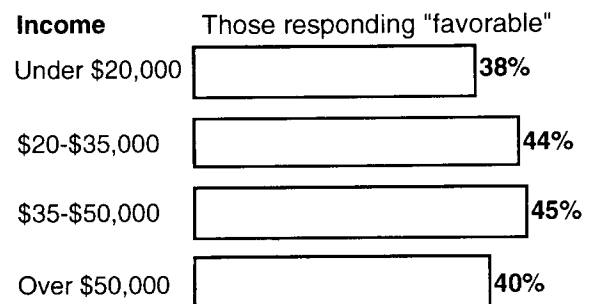
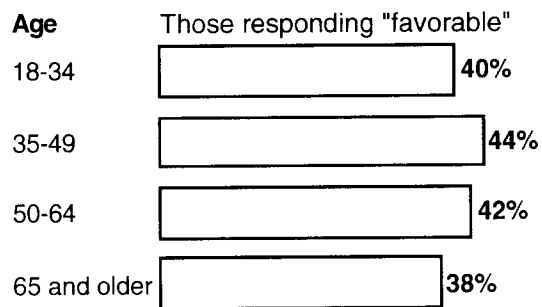
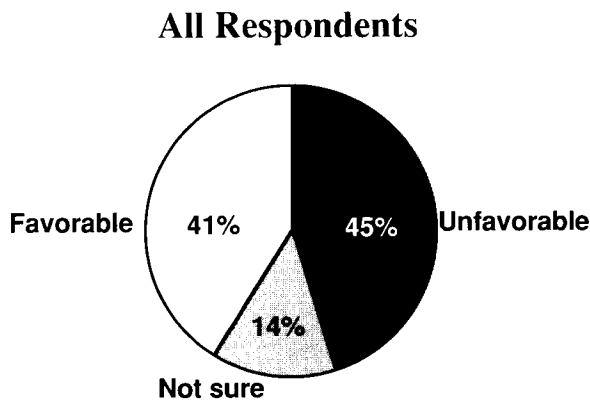
**Question:** Do you approve or disapprove of labor unions?



**Source:** Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of July 18-21, 1991.

## ...But Considerable Concern

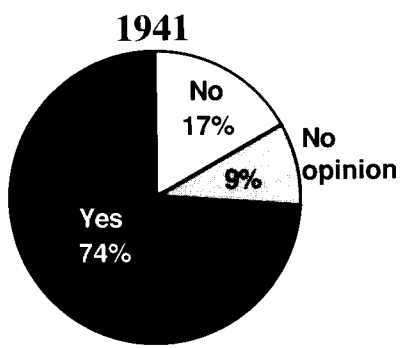
**Question:** Thinking about labor unions, do you have a generally favorable or generally unfavorable opinion of labor unions?



**Source:** Survey by Yankelovich Partners for *Time/CNN*, June 2, 1994.

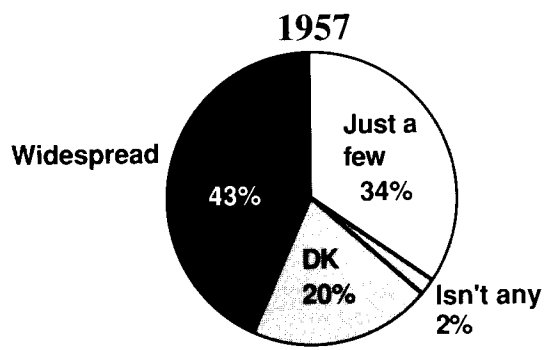
# Labor Leaders Always Get Bad Marks

**Question:** Do you believe that many labor union leaders are racketeers?



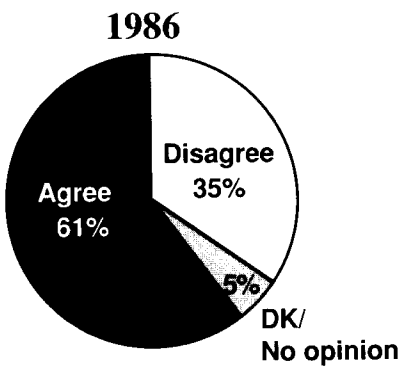
Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, October 9-14, 1941.

**Question:** ...Is corruption and graft pretty widespread in labor unions, is it just limited to a few unions, or isn't there any corruption or graft in labor unions?



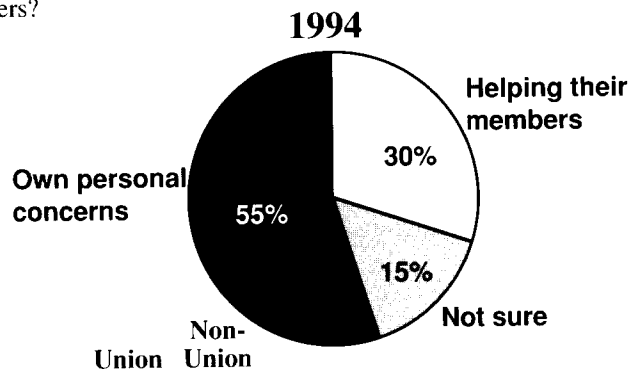
Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, April 6-11, 1957.

**Question:** ...Tell me if you tend to agree or disagree...Labor union leaders are out of touch with the workers they represent?



Note: Survey asked of a split sample.  
Source: Survey by ABC News/Washington Post, September 2-8, 1986.

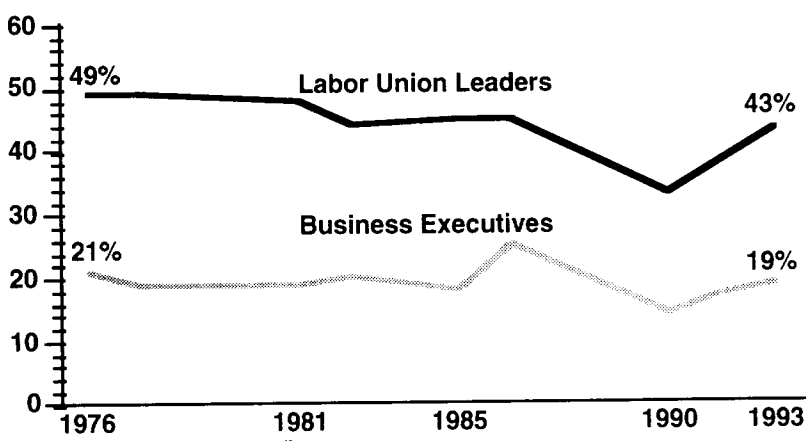
**Question:** Do you think labor union leaders are more interested in their own personal concerns or more interested in helping their members?



	Union	Non-Union
Own concerns	51%	57%
Helping others	38	28

Source: Survey by Yankelovich Partners for Time/CNN, June 2, 1994.

**Question:** How would you rate the honesty and ethical standards of people in these different fields—very high, high, average, low or very low...Labor union leaders...Business executives? (Those responding "low/very low".)



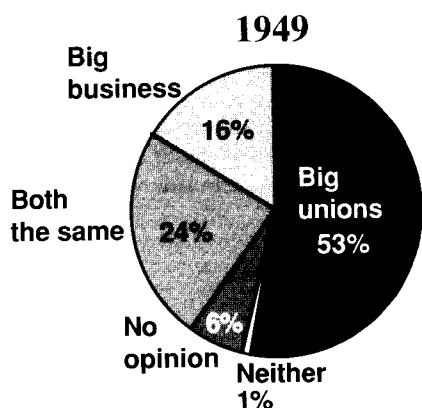
Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of July 19-21, 1993.

# What Do People Think About Unions? Not as Much as They Use To

Labor unions just aren't the issue they used to be. "Business vs. labor" questions were once common. They are now rare. People are no longer asked at all whether they are worried about labor "controlling the government." Many once saw labor posing some threat, and pollsters often asked questions (see the top of page 16) about support for vigorous regulation of unions. They found a lot of support for it.

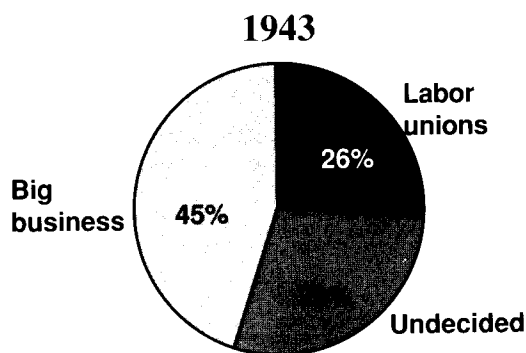
The role of unions in the US is now seen as, in comparison to the past, so non-threatening and non-controversial, that what questions are asked on business vs. labor lines get contradictory results (as shown in the data at the bottom of page 16). That is, because the issue now lacks salience, questions asking about it pick up only weakly-held—and hence variable—responses.

**Question:** Which do you believe is more of a problem today—big unions or big business?



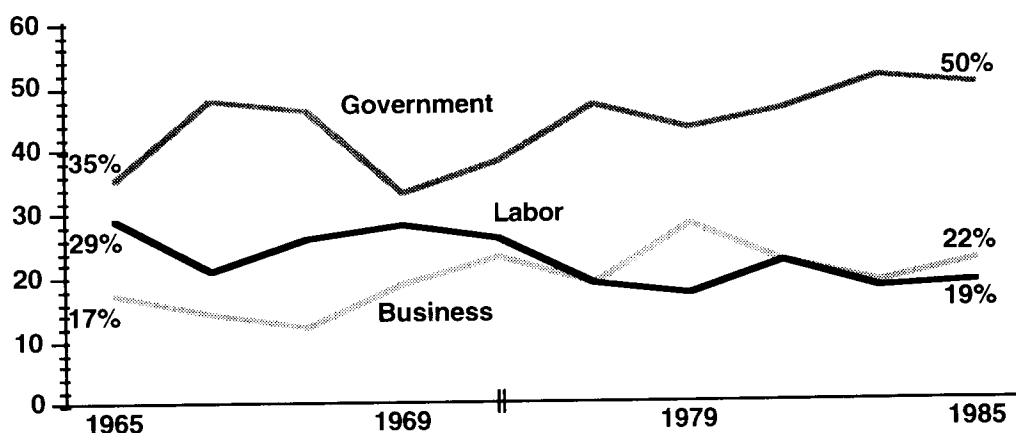
Source: Survey by Opinion Research Corporation (ORC), October 1-14, 1949.

**Question:** Most people believe the government should not be controlled by any one group. However, if you had to choose which would you prefer to have control the government...big business or labor unions?



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, July 30-August 4, 1943.

**Question:** ...Which of the following will be the biggest threat to the country in the future...big business, big labor, or big government?

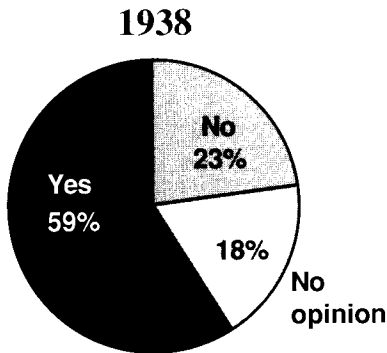


Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of June 7-10, 1985.

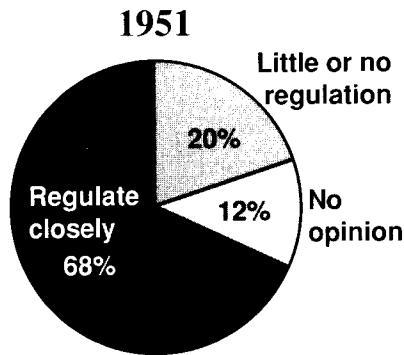
# Union Regulation Used to be a Big Concern...

**Question:** Do you think there should be more federal regulation of labor unions?

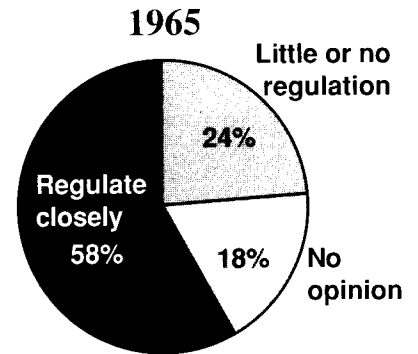
**Question:** What is your feeling about government regulation of unions...would you say it's better to regulate unions pretty closely, or would you say there should be little or no regulation of unions?



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, July 4-8, 1938.



Source: Surveys by ORC, latest that of November 22-December 10, 1965.

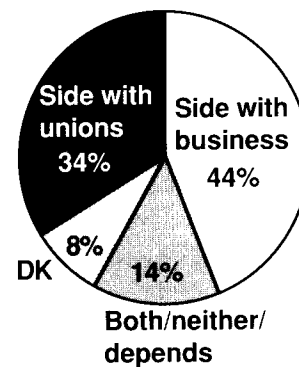
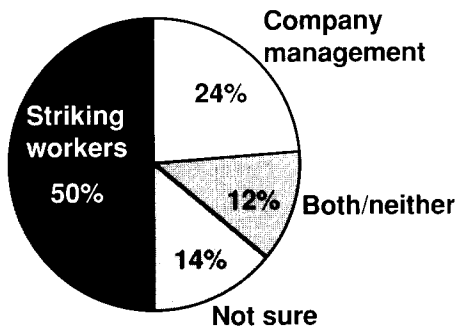


## ...But Opinion is Much Softer Now

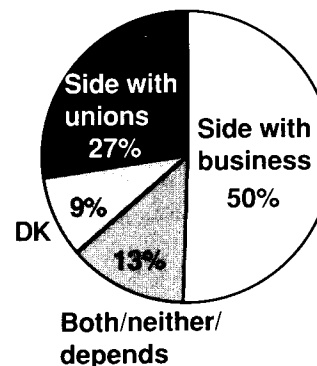
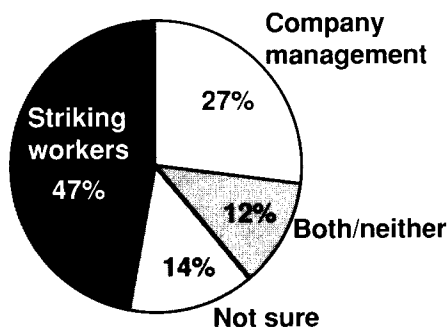
**Question:** When you hear about labor disputes, who do you most often side with...the striking workers or company management?

**Question:** When you hear of a disagreement between labor unions and business, and before you know any of the details, is your first reaction to side with the unions, or to side with business?

### All Respondents



### Non-Union Households



Source: Survey by Yankelovich Partners for Time/CNN, June 2, 1994.

Source: Survey by CBS News/New York Times, November 11-14, 1993.