

Table 1: Membership, Organizing Outcome, and Organizing Effort Measures for 25 Largest US Unions, 1990-2004

National Union	Members 1990	Members 2004	Membership Change 1990-2004	Membership Change 1990-1995	Membership Change 1999-2004	NLRB Win Rate 1990-1995	NLRB Win Rate 1999-2004	Self-Rated Org'zing Effect'n 1990	Self-Rated Org'zing Effect'n 1997	NLRB Electns 1990-1995	NLRB Electns 1999-2004	Rel. Org'zing Effort 1990-1995	Rel. Org'zing Effort 1999-2004	Self-Rated Org'zing Commitment 1997	Org'zing Budget Share 1996-1998
NEA	2000000	2698504	34.9	10.0	8.1	.	40.0	3.8	4.0	.	15	.	1.0	3.0	.
SEIU	892000	1551319	73.9	18.0	25.8	64.6	72.4	3.6	.	1101	1208	85.3	113.1	.	.
AFSCME	1195250	1324932	10.9	5.0	4.0	58.7	64.7	3.6	.	167	334	12.1	22.0	.	.
IBT	1410000	1324927	-6.0	-3.3	0.7	43.3	45.2	2.9	.	5707	4114	193.5	163.8	.	.
UFCW	1136500	1205299	6.1	-12.3	-4.1	49.5	52.9	3.5	.	988	980	73.8	61.4	.	.
AFT	666750	915537	37.3	13.7	24.3	58.7	81.9	3.6	4.0	46	83	7.6	16.4	4.0	.
IBEW	754666	658647	-12.7	-10.4	-4.4	43.8	56.3	2.9	3.0	892	823	53.5	59.3	3.0	26.7
UAW	893000	644725	-27.8	-15.4	-14.3	46.5	54.7	2.9	.	658	479	89.9	103.9	4.0	.
CWA	583500	624079	7.0	-6.6	24.7	53.1	53.5	3.4	3.0	326	333	34.4	42.7	4.0	.
USA	473666	557727	17.7	-2.9	1.0	41.8	42.7	2.1	4.0	971	633	227.0	152.9	4.0	15.0
LIUNA	453000	528045	16.6	19.3	-1.6	53.6	52.8	3.0	4.0	489	415	50.8	36.9	4.0	20.0
UBC	564250	524237	-7.1	-24.3	24.8	44.1	45.7	2.9	.	395	352	38.2	40.9	.	.
IAM	575250	480200	-16.5	-3.8	-19.5	48.5	65.9	3.3	3.0	747	630	92.7	77.1	3.0	31.7
IUOE	345000	334402	-3.1	-4.2	1.1	57.8	58.7	3.6	1.0	823	878	80.1	80.6	2.0	.
PPF	247500	272178	10.0	5.0	4.9	57.7	44.8	3.3	.	182	203	16.3	20.8	.	.
PACE	208500	252393	21.1	19.3	-13.3	41.6	43.3	2.3	1.0	279	215	135.1	63.9	2.0	4.0
NALC	259303	250054	-3.6	0.5	-3.4	.	.	4.0	3.0	2.0	1.0
HERE	280000	249746	-10.8	-15.5	5.1	41.2	53.6	2.5	4.0	425	138	99.1	30.6	4.0	53.3
IAFF	146500	241841	65.1	23.2	18.8	.	100.0	4.0	4.0	8	14	3.7	1.9	3.0	.
APWU	268666	229993	-14.4	-2.0	-22.9	.	75.0	3.6	4.0	1	24	0.1	10.9	2.0	.
AFGE	180500	215476	19.4	-1.1	15.7	50.0	60.0	3.1	.	16	10	10.9	5.0	.	.
UNITE	210750	201605	-4.3	25.7	-4.2	51.8	62.9	3.7	3.0	251	105	170.0	85.8	4.0	.
ATU	129750	151073	16.4	-26.3	12.1	56.2	55.4	3.3	3.0	105	92	56.2	72.1	3.0	.
OPEIU	110750	123726	11.7	-23.7	18.6	56.9	58.4	.	4.0	123	101	68.6	93.9	4.0	7.3
SMW	123000	118740	-3.5	-15.0	0.8	53.4	41.4	2.9	2.0	234	222	73.4	74.0	4.0	28.3

Scales: Num. Num. Pct Change Pct Change Pct Change Pct Pct 1 to 4 1 to 4 Num. Num. Index* Index* 1 to 4 Pct
 Index*=1000 * (Eligible voters in NLRB elections divided by membership); .=missing data

NEA=Natl Educn Assn, SEIU=Service Employees, AFSCME=State, County, Municipal Employees, IBT=Teamsters, UFCW=Food & Commercial Wrkrs, AFT=Teachers, IBEW=Electrical Wrkrs, UAW=Auto Wrkrs, CWA=Communication Wrkrs, USA=SteelWrkrs, LIUNA=Laborers, UBC=Carpenters, IAM=Machinists, IUOE=Operating Engineers, PPF=Plumbers, PACE=Paper, Allied, Chemical, Energy Wrkrs, NALC=Letter Carriers, HERE=Hotel & Restaurant Employees, IAFF=Fire Fighters, APWU=Postal Wrkrs, AFGE=Government Employees, UNITE=Needle Trade & Textile Employees, ATU=Amalgamated Transit, OPEIU=Office & Professional Employees, SMW=Sheet Metal Wrkrs

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics for Membership, Organizing Outcome, and Organizing Effort Measures (All Unions), 1990-2004

Variable	N	Mean	Std Deviation	Coefficient of Variation	Sum	Minimum	Maximum
Members 1990	128	142624	296003	207.5%	18255812	10	2000000
Members 2004	106	172890	383853	222.0%	18326330	0	2698504
Membership Change 1990-2004	80	3.1	73.6	2356.2%	249.9	-83.7	546.4
Membership Change 1990-1995	97	-5.3	34.9	-658.3%	-514.0	-88.4	233.3
Membership Change 1999-2004	82	2.7	24.1	882.9%	224.1	-58.8	99.3
NLRB Win Rate 1990-1995	57	51.0	12.3	24.0%	2906.0	22.6	81.8
NLRB Win Rate 1999-2004	63	60.6	16.8	27.8%	3818.0	21.7	100.0
Self-Rated Org'zing Effect'ness 1990	109	2.9	0.7	22.8%	318.5	1.0	4.0
Self-Rated Org'zing Effect'ness 1997	71	2.5	1.0	40.1%	174.0	1.0	4.0
NLRB Elections 1990-1995	71	259.6	712.6	274.5%	18433.0	1.0	5707.0
NLRB Elections 1999-2004	107	139.1	442.1	317.9%	14879.0	0.0	4114.0
Rel. Org'zing Effort 1990-1995	61	62.4	52.9	84.8%	3804.0	0.1	227.0
Rel. Org'zing Effort 1999-2004	73	73.4	142.3	193.8%	5359.0	0.4	1091.0
Self-Rated Org'zing Commitment 1997	74	2.8	1.0	34.9%	204.0	1.0	4.0
Org'zing Budget Share 1996-1998	44	14.5	14.3	98.4%	638.7	0.0	53.3

Table 3: Correlations Among Membership, Organizing Outcome, and Organizing Effort Measures, 1990-2004

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1 Members 1990														
p														
n														
2 Members 2004	0.97													
p	0.00													
n	80													
3 Membership Change 1990-2004	0.02	0.08												
p	0.84	0.49												
n	80	80												
4 Membership Change 1990-1995	0.05	0.17	0.36											
p	0.66	0.16	0.00											
n	97	73	73											
5 Membership Change 1999-2004	0.01	0.07	0.40	0.12										
p	0.93	0.54	0.00	0.33										
n	76	82	76	72										
6 NLRB Win Rate 1990-1995	0.03	0.00	0.12	0.08	0.08									
p	0.81	0.99	0.43	0.57	0.58									
n	51	46	45	51	45									
7 NLRB Win Rate 1999-2004	-0.17	-0.13	0.21	0.26	0.24	0.58								
p	0.22	0.36	0.14	0.05	0.08	0.00								
n	56	54	53	55	53	49								
8 Self-Rated Org'zing Effect'ness 1990	0.24	0.25	0.11	0.08	0.22	0.21	0.33							
p	0.02	0.03	0.35	0.47	0.07	0.14	0.02							
n	104	73	70	82	69	50	53							
9 Self-Rated Org'zing Effect'ness 1997	0.35	0.37	0.12	-0.07	0.02	0.05	0.13	0.41						
p	0.01	0.01	0.43	0.60	0.91	0.82	0.48	0.00						
n	61	49	48	60	49	26	32	55						
10 NLRB Elections 1990-1995	0.69	0.60	0.03	0.12	-0.05	-0.07	-0.18	0.02	0.21					
p	0.00	0.00	0.85	0.38	0.75	0.60	0.19	0.90	0.22					
n	61	56	53	59	53	57	55	59	35					
11 NLRB Elections 1999-2004	0.59	0.49	0.05	0.00	-0.02	-0.06	-0.15	0.07	0.11	0.98				
p	0.00	0.00	0.67	0.97	0.85	0.64	0.23	0.56	0.47	0.00				
n	76	72	65	72	65	55	63	70	45	66				
12 Rel. Org'zing Effort 1990-1995	0.19	0.21	-0.14	-0.10	-0.25	-0.43	-0.46	-0.03	-0.10	0.44	0.40			
p	0.14	0.14	0.33	0.46	0.08	0.00	0.00	0.80	0.60	0.00	0.00			
n	61	53	53	59	52	51	52	58	33	61	59			
13 Rel. Org'zing Effort 1999-2004	0.00	-0.05	0.01	-0.14	0.15	0.16	0.06	0.06	-0.06	0.11	0.11	0.53		
p	0.99	0.71	0.95	0.26	0.25	0.27	0.65	0.64	0.72	0.40	0.36	0.00		
n	69	64	62	67	64	48	56	64	42	57	73	55		
14 Self-Rated Org'zing Commitment	0.21	0.20	-0.10	-0.31	0.06	-0.10	-0.23	0.09	0.59	0.29	0.18	0.35	0.13	
p	0.10	0.16	0.49	0.02	0.69	0.62	0.19	0.52	0.00	0.08	0.24	0.04	0.40	
n	63	51	50	61	51	27	33	57	71	36	46	34	43	
15 Org'zing Budget Share 1996-1998	0.35	0.34	-0.23	-0.18	-0.16	-0.10	-0.23	-0.14	0.38	0.51	0.34	0.24	0.12	0.58
p	0.04	0.08	0.25	0.30	0.43	0.73	0.38	0.43	0.01	0.02	0.10	0.32	0.60	0.00
n	36	28	27	35	28	14	17	32	43	21	24	19	22	44

Table 4: Paired Difference t-Tests for Selected Measures of Membership, Organizing Outcomes, and Organizing Effort, Kirkland vs. Sweeney Eras (1990-1994 vs. 1999-2004)

All Unions	Sweeney-Kirkland Eras			
	Difference	N	Paired t	p <
<u>Variable</u>				
Membership Change	7.9	72	2.24	0.03
NLRB Win Rate	5.4	49	2.89	0.01
NLRB Elections	-58.6	66	-2.09	0.05
Relative Organizing Effort	-3.6	55	-0.56	0.58
Self-Rated Org'zing Effect'ness	-0.6	55	-4.77	0.01

Large Unions	Sweeney-Kirkland Eras			
	Difference	N	Paired t	p <
<u>Variable</u>				
Membership Change	11.4	46	2.78	0.01
NLRB Win Rate	5.7	36	2.96	0.01
NLRB Elections	-64.6	41	-1.59	0.13
Relative Organizing Effort	1.22	40	0.18	0.86
Self-Rated Org'zing Effect'ness	-0.3	29	-1.62	0.12

Notes: Organizing self-rating measures are available only for two points in time, 1990 and 1997. The self-rating from 1990 was transformed from a 5-point scale to a 4-point scale for comparability before conducting the paired-difference test. For the remaining measures, the comparisons are for 1990-95 with 1999-2004. Marginal significance levels (p-values) shown reflect two-tailed tests. The sample sizes (N) shown here represent cases with valid data for both time periods used in calculating differences. Large unions are those with 50,000 or more members in 2004.

Chart 1: Charting Organizing Resurgence and Decline

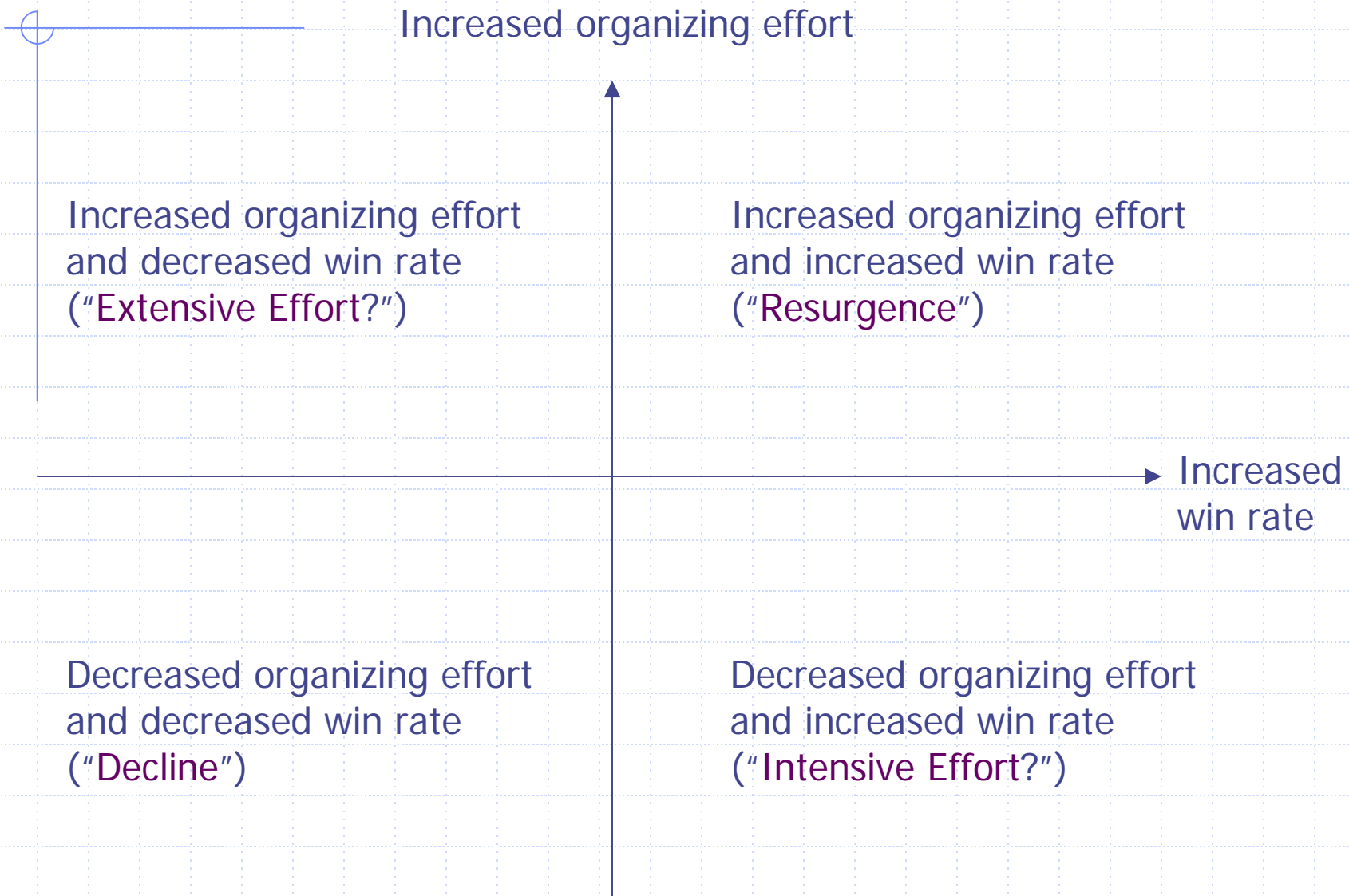


Figure1: NLRB Win Rate Increase and Organizing Effort Increase, 1990-95 vs. 1999-2004
 Largest 11 Unions (Over 500,000 Members in 2004)

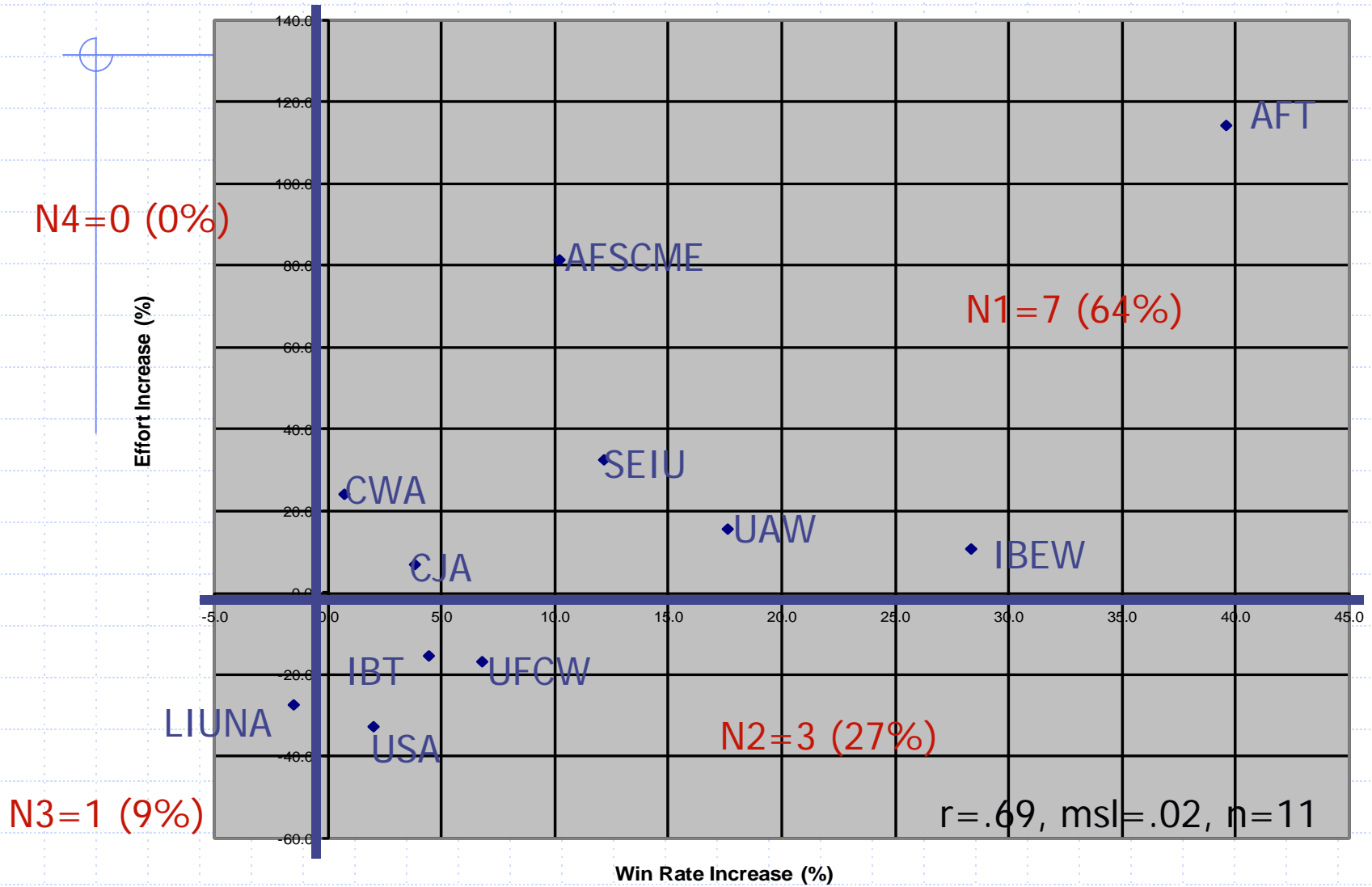


Figure 2: NLRB Win Rate Increase and Organizing Effort Increase, 1990-95 vs. 1999-2004
Largest 35 Unions (Over 50,000 Members in 2004)

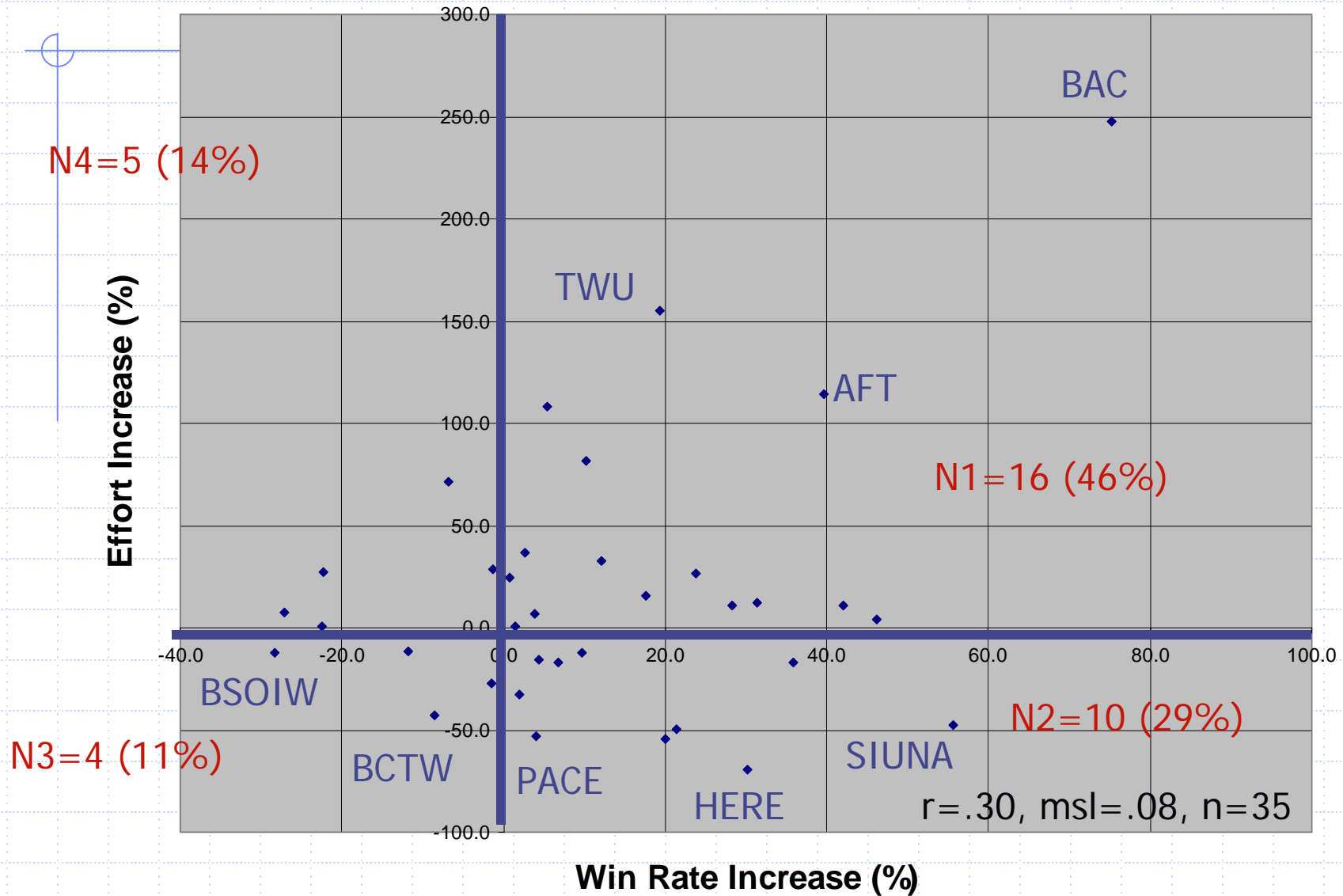


Figure 3: NLRB Win Rate Increase and Organizing Effort Increase, 1990-95 vs. 1999-2004

All Unions with 10 or more Elections in Each Period

