

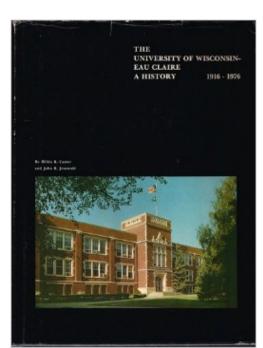
UNITED FACULTY and ACADEMIC STAFF of UWEC AFT Local 6481

The Long Century of Faculty Organizing at UW Campuses

Presented by Jim Oberly, Dept of History, UW-Eau Claire (joberly@uwec.edu) and Treasurer, United Faculty & Academic Staff of UWEC, AFT Local 6481,



Before there was UFAS,
there was TAWUP;
Before there was TAUWP
there was TAUWF;
Before there was TAUWF,
there was AWSUF;
Before there was AWSUF;



Issue: from "company union" to nationally affiliated trade union organization...

AWNST/AWTC/AWSCF...the "company union" 1928 -1964



WSCEC November 22, 1961 NOV 24'61IN

ADMINISTRATION OFFICE

Issue: from "company union" to nationally affiliated

trade union organization... 1962 "Biennial" speaker:
Justice William O. Douglas

Association of Wisconsin State College Faculties

BIENNIAL

April 6 - 7, 1962

WISCONSIN STATE COLLEGE
Stevens Point, Wisconsin

A.W.S.C.F. ADMINISTRATION 1960-1962 STATE OFFICERS

President: William Cochrane	Eau Claire
Vice President: Catharine Lieneman	River Falls
Secretary: Harold A. Classen	La Crosse
Treasurer: Robert S. Lewis 5	event Point

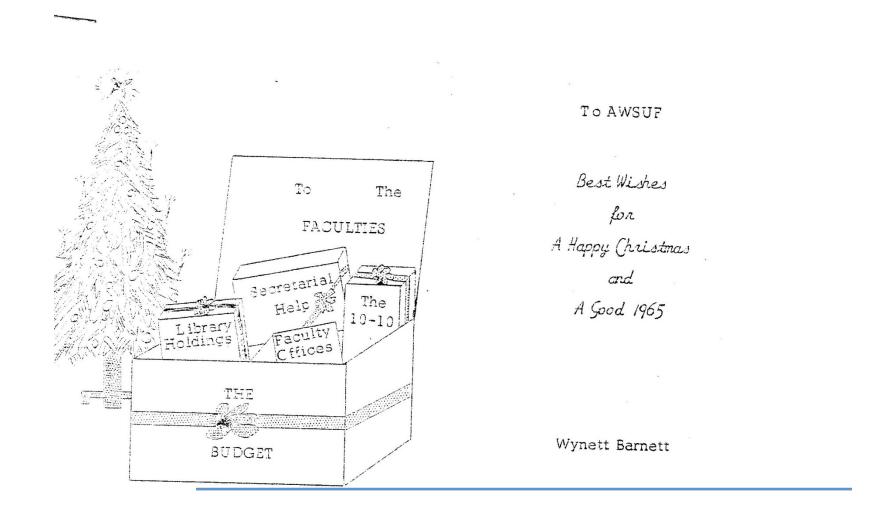
LOCAL OFFICERS 1960-1962

PRESIDENTS OF	EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS Marcus Fay Eau Claire	MEMBERS
Mercus Fay Eau Claire .	William Cochrane
Merold A. Classen La Cross	Harold A Classen
Corothy Martin Oshkosh	Dorothy Martin
Paul Gauger Platfevill Catharine Lieneman River Fal	Paul Gauger
Monica Bainter Stevens Po	is Camarine Lieneman
W. J. Wall	Dwinht Amnau
O. Gayle Manion Super Henry A. DeWind Whitewat	or Royal Briggs
Henry A. DeWind Whitewat	er Reuben W. Klumb
Ex Offici	O Guy Salver

LOCAL OFFICERS 1962-1964

PRESIDENTS OF	EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS Arnold Bakken Eau Clai	MEMARK
Arnold Bakken Eau Clai	re Carl Schildt
Harold A. Classen La Crosse	Harold A. Classon
Everett G. Fyle Oshkosh	Everatt & Pula
Philip S. Anderson River Fail	Harris A. Palmer
Philip 5. Anderson River Fall	Philip S. Anderson
nobert Simpson Stevens Po	mt Robert S. Lawis
Norman Ziemann Stor	if G. S. Wall
J. Cronk Superior	Paul Tychson
Donald Graham Whitewat	er
Ex Officia	William Cochrane

• After AWSCF there was AWSUF...1966-72



Power in numbers

AWSUF... 1969: 311 in AWSUF-EC paying dues out of 469 total faculty

AWSUF fun!

association of university of wisconsin faculties

remember...

CHARTER FLIGHT \$ 245

MILWAUKEE - BRUSSELS - MILWAUKEE
MAY 21 - JUNE 10

APPLICATIONS MUST INCLUDE A \$100/SEAT DEPOSIT.

NAME		_
ADDRESS	TEL ()	
CITY	STATE	

MAIL TO: College of Continuing Education, University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, Oshkosh, Wisconsin 54901. Telephone: (414) 424-1125.

Issue: Benefits—Pensions

- 1951... STRSW membership (today's WRS)
- 1955...WSC faculty joined Social Security System
- 1965...AWSUF asked change from from "money purchase" to "defined benefit" (50-50 contribution at first, then 66-34, next biennium, then 75-25, then up to 100% contributed by the State).
 - AWSUF goal: "providing retirement benefits that would range from 50% to 70% of the final average salary."

Issue: Benefits—Health & other insurance

- Blue Cross & Blue Shield...offered starting in 1959
- 1966—AWSUF asked State to pay 80% of health insurance.
- 1969—AWSUF asked State to pay 100% of health insurance
- 1969—AWSUF asked State to pick up group life and income continuation insurance policies

Issue: Due Process...

1965—AWSUF pushed SenBill270, stating completion of 4 years continuous service at a WSU=tenure; also, provided for hearing & 30 days notice appeal time for non-renewals.

Tenure = "employment shall be permanent, during efficiency and good behavior. No teacher permanently employed shall be discharged except for cause upon written charges."

Academic freedom shall not be abridged in determining "adequate cause."

1968--AWSUF-EC recommended that tenured members of a Dept first recommend (or not) tenure appointments and then forward to Dept chairs and then deans.

March 7, 1968—Pres. Haas met with AWSUF-EC to "discuss the faculty participation in salary and tenure of faculty."

The Resnikoff Case at WSU-EC, 1968-69



Issue: Equity...Distribution of Raises

1966—AWSUF protested WSU-BOR decision to limit raises to top 80% of staff, condemning bottom 20% to no raises. BOR conceded a bit and changed to raises for top 85%.

AWSUF asked:

- 1) some % across the board for 100%;
- 2) larger raises for upper ranks to decrease rank-compression;
- 3) some for merit increases;
- 4) consistency across WSUs;
- 5) faculty input on criteria for merit.

AWSUF and Collective Bargaining

1969 campus poll on collective bargaining. At Eau Claire:

Question—in favor? Yes=248; No=51.

Further, if one favors collective bargaining, should wait for leg approval (N=79) or proceed to organize regardless of legislature (N=203).

June 1969 AWSUF: "curriculum decisions, particularly as these involve the granting of credits and according of faculty rank, should result from proposals initiated by the faculties...and then subsequently authorized or rejected by the Board of Regents. "January 1970: WSU BOR denied Marshall Wick request to recognize AWSUF as bargaining agent for WSU faculties. WSU BOR also denied request to draft legislation for Leg to enable coll

Jan 1970 BOR meeting: BOR preparing a "faculty conduct code."

April 1970—BOR denied AWSUF request to be recognized as bargaining agent. "the question of collective bargaining involving university faculties is a matter of public policy and one to be determined by the state legislature."

AWSUF and Merger





Questions re merger: should new merged BOR adopt AAUP 1940 statement of principles of academic freedom?

Answer: Yes.

Question: Should new merged BOR adopt old UW Ch. 36 rules on due process for non-renewable faculty?

Answer: Yes.

AWSUF May 1, 1971 statement on merger: ok, if

- 1) local campus autonomy for personnel decisions;
- 2) faculty shared governance be recognized;
- 3) campuses have direct access to BOR;
- 4) those tenured under Ch. 37 keep tenure;
- 5) System Admin *not* be on anybody's campus.
- 6) Parity in faculty salaries between WSUs and UWs:

"Equal Pay for Equal Work!"

After AWSUF...there was TAUWF

T.A.U.W.F.



1974-76 EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE State Officers

President Jerry B. Culver UW-LaCrosse 608-785-1671, X263

Vice President Michael R. Behr **UW-Superior**

Secretary Carol J. Marion UW-Stevens Point

Gerald J. Scheppers UW-Platteville

Executive Secretary Edward J. Muzik UW-Eau Claire 139 W. Wilson St. Madison, WI 53703 608-257-6177

Past President Charles D. Kenney **UW-Superior** David R. Lund

Allen Nelson

UW-Eau Claire

UW-LaCrosse D: 1 111 D..... September 18, 1974

Prof. Wil Pautz UW-Eau Claire Eau Claire, Wi 54701

Dear Wil,

The enclosed document is sent for your reaction. I would appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

I do not know where this draft is now nor what the timing is. Will keep you informed.

Sincerely,

EDWARD J. MUZIK Executive Secretary

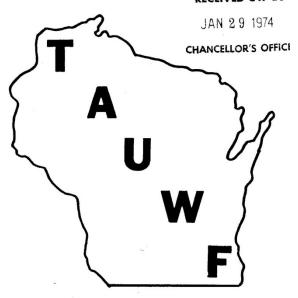
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Constitution and By - Laws

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THE ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN FACULTIES, INC.

RECEIVED UW-EC



JANUARY, 1974

Faculty Near Accord on Bargaining

By Leon Hughes of The Journal Staff

Madison, Wis. -- Faculty organizations are near agreement on the kind of collective bargaining law they want for the University of Wisconsin system, the Assembly Labor Committee was told Friday.

The committee held hearings on two bills, both of which would give faculty members essentially the same rights to bargain that other state employes have.

One of the bills is supported by the Wisconsin Education Association Council and the Association of University of Wisconsin Faculty (TAUWF)

The other measure was introduced at the request of the Wisconsin Federation of Teachers (WFT) and the Wisconsin AFL-CIO.

Each bill would allow faculty groups to bargain for wages, hours and conditions of employment and would permit the agency shop, which requires all employes to pay union dues or the equivalent.

The WEA-TAUWF bill would give faculty members the right to strike. The WFT-AFL-CIO bill would not.

for the Legislature to consider, said his group was neutral on, ployes, also endorsed the probefore the end of July.

for the Madison Chapter of the American Association of University Professors, said he believed that the compromise would be better than either of the two bills. Bleicher is chairman of the Mathematics Department at the Madison cam-

Policy Voice

Wilson Thiede, chairman of the University Committee (the executive committee of the Madison faculty), said his organization had been meeting with the other groups and believed that a bill would be agreed on.

He said the groups still must find a way to protect the faculty's voice in university policy.

work professor in Madison. representing United Faculty, ployes of local governments. endorsed the idea of collective bargaining but said there still was not an overwhelming demand for it from the profes- were supervisors in private insors.

Leon Schur, an economics professor, at the UW-Mil-

the two bills before the com-Michael Bleicher, speaking mittee but he said a compromise bill might be acceptable.

> Robert Hansen, a chemistry County. professor at the UW-Platteville, said unionism was not James J. Mortier, Milwaukee's suitable for university teach-

vice president of the UW sys- palities. tem, said the administration the bills but hoped action would be delayed until a bill unionized. could be perfected.

"It might be wise to look more carefully at the consequences," he said.

He added, however, that he was encouraged by the movement toward a compromise.

Like Rank and File

The committee also heard supporters and opponents of Raymond Muntz, a social the proposal to give bargaining rights to the supervisory em-

Lawton said supervisors in the public service were treated more like rank and file than dustry. Therefore they should have the right to bargain.

Roy Kubista, lobbyist for the force on collective bargaining, County and Municipal Em- olic Church, Kenosha,

posal, as did several supervisors' unions from the city of Milwaukee and Milwaukee

The bill was opposed by labor negotiator, and Ed Johnson, executive director of the Donald Smith, economic League of Wisconson Munici-

Mortier said a municipality was not taking a position on could not have a management team if its supervisors were

> Johnson said supervisors would be reluctant to cross picket lines during a strike by other employes.

Father Rodriguez Marks Anniversary

Father Robert Rodriguez, Catholic pastor of Spanish speaking people in Kenosha County, will observe his 20th anniversary as a priest by celebrating mass at 11:30 a.m. Monday at Holy Trinity and Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, 613 S. 4th St. A lunch will be served there at 1 p.m.

Rodriguez is the priest in waukee and chairman of a task | American Federation of State, residence at St. James Cath-

Source: Milwaukee Journal, May 26, 1973, p. 26.

Professors May Ask Pay Bargaining

recognize the need for adequate salaries for University of Wisconsin professors, collective bargaining probably will come to the state's campuses. a UWM faculty member said Tuesday.

Eric Schenker, a professor of economics and director of the university's Urban Research Center.

Schenker took part in a panel discussion on faculty salaries in the UWM Union, sponsored by the UWM chapter of the American Association of University Professors.

Gains Eroded

sors a few years ago and sub-\$13,778. But in buying power,

simply to catch up with the cost of living.

Although professors have been reluctant to turn to collective bargaining, Schenker using 1967 as a base. said, they may feel it is the only way to obtain raises.

"I hope the Legislature will The prediction was made by not just sweep this under the rug," Schenker said. "If it does, higher education, as we have known it in Wisconsin, will not continue."

Statistics Given

Schenker read from a table showing, he said, that since 1967 UW professors had lost buying power. Average salaries per academic year, by rank, are, in 1974: professor, Schenker said inflation had \$21,729; associate professor, eroded gains made by profes- \$16,317; assistant professor.

If the Legislature does not stantial increases were needed | Schenker said, the full professor has lost 10.1%; the associate professor 8.9%, and the assistant professor 8.6%.

State Rep. Dennis J. Conta (D-Milwaukee), another member of the panel, said that while he could understand the needs of the faculty, it was unlikely that the Legislature would be enthusiastic about granting a large salary increase to professors.

The typical legislator, Conta said, is going to be concerned about avoiding a tax increase because that is the position that will please most of the people who vote for him.

LOOK FOR US IN MILWAUKEE'S **BIGGEST SHOPPING CENTER** DOWNTOWN

"Most legislators do not represent constituencies that are very concerned about your salary increase," Conta said.



Source: Milwaukee Journal, Sept 20, 1974, p. 5

Union for Faculty in Doubt

Madison, Wis. —UPI— Professors at the University of Wisconsin here probably never will be unionized, according to the chairman of the University Committee.

Steven H. Chaffee, head of the faculty's executive body, said a systemwide faculty union would not be established as long as faculty members at Madison, Milwaukee and the UW Extension continued to resist it.

He said that would hold true even if the State Legislature authorized collective bargaining as requested by the Association of University of Wisconsin Faculty, the group that represents professors at the former state university campuses.

"Six months or a year ago, I thought collective bargaining was an inevitable progression," said Chaffee. "But the Madison campus' resistance to it turns out to be not just a fear of the unknown or a stereotyped idea about unions."

The UW — Madison has a faculty governance structure under which the faculty runs the university, Chaffee said, and professors feel they could lose more than they could gain from a union.

"In addition, there is no longer so much of a national current in the direction of faculty collective bargain—— 1976;

1979

UW unionization for faculty backed

By ELDON KNOCHE

Sentinel Madison Bureau

Madison — A bill to permit collective bargaining for the University of Wisconsin faculty was approved. 11 to 2. Wednesday by the Legislature's Joint Finance Committee.

The proposal, which education unions have pushed for several sessions, is expected to go to the Senate floor this month.

There is "sufficient support to pass it," said Sen Gerald Kleczka (D-Milwaukee), committee co-chairman

The bill is opposed by the UW administration

"Collective bargaining is not in the best interest of the quality of the university," UW Senior Vice President Donald Smith said after the vote. "We think this is a mistake."

Smith said university administrators were particularly disappointed that negotiations would be conducted by the State Department of Employment Relations, not the UW Board of Regents.

Traditionally, the strongest opposition to collective bargaining has come from the UW — Madison and UW — Milwaukee faculty.

The greatest support for union bargaining has come from the former Wisconsin State University System in which the Association of Universi-

sentation before negotiations take place.

In other legislative activity:

•State Rep. Kevin Soucie (I waukee) Wednesday urged t Republican committee estab "solely to block wetlands I tion" should not get state exper

According to Soucie, a Repu was excluded from the GOP's lands committee because he fa legislation to protect wetlands.

"The taxpayers of Wisc should not be expected to pick tab for party politics." Soucie s

● The Survey Committee of Exemptions debated a proposition. Peter Bear (D-Madison would eliminate gasoline tax currently 7 cents a gallon — or hol for 18 months. The tax then be gradually reimposed several years.

Gasohol is 90% gasoline and alcohol.

 Assembly Majority Leader Wahner (D-Milwaukee) sa would not pursue legislation to late transportation of nuclear in Wisconsin.

New federal rules from the ar Regulatory Commission wi vide the necessary safeguards, ner said.

Under the new federal "spe-

Faculty bargaining still not a good idea

In votes sometimes too close for comfort, the Legislature over the years has killed bills giving collective bargaining rights to the University of Wisconsin System faculty and academic staff.

And such actions have always reflected the sentiment of the UW Board of Regents, which has voted against collective bargaining rights five times in the past 11 years.

But last week, in its closest vote ever, the board once again voiced opposition to unionization, but by a mere two votes. Where votes had sometimes been unanimous in opposition, the new vote was 8-6.

Obviously, the board is deeply split. What is more difficult to predict, however, is the effect the board's decision will have in the Legislature.

Bills to extend bargaining rights to faculty and academic staff are pending before state lawmakers, who return for deliberations later this month. One would affect faculty and staff; the other just academic staff. Both would exclude UW Extension personnel, and the faculty bill would exclude UW — Madison faculty.

Still, no matter who is excluded this time, passage will set the standard and bills for full unionization would not be far behind.

In 1984, when things got close, the state AFL-CIO let it be known, in no uncertain terms, that legislators who bucked the tide could expect no union support in the approaching elections.

A similar scenario could very well be played out this year, with higher stakes because of the regents' position.

Their vote indicates a nearmajority have lost sight of unionization's impact on the principles of tenure, peer review and the shared governance of the system with the administration.

Would those regents, for example, be prepared to replace the influence of a department dean with that of a department steward?

Quite clearly, proponents of unionization now have another argument for passage of the pending bills: the division of the regents.

Sensible legislators must rely on logic, rather than passion, to cast their votes. There is much at stake.





THOMPSON

DOYLE

ment of rules on racing. He also cited the Racing Board's action to revoke the license of Dairyland Greyhound Park in Kenosha for failure to comply with those rules.

"So I think we're doing a fine job of preventing any type of criminal elements from coming into the state." Thompson said. "As far as Dairyland is concerned, they have broken some rules and regulations, and therefore the process has started by the Racing Board to revoke their license.

"It's a strong message to anybody: If you break the rules in Wisconsin, you are going to have your license revoked."

Regarding the lottery tickets, Thompson said that Lottery Director William Flynn was handling the matter, that the tickets may have been misplaced, not stolen, and that the tickets had been declared yord.

Andrew Cohn. Doyle's executive assistant, accused the governor's office of distorting the issue. While Thompson maintained that Doyle's agency got a 7.4% increase

in funding. Cohn said the governor's vetoes left the department with a 1% decrease overall.

"The governor did not provide funds for the crime lab. the Division of Narcotics Enforcement, Division of Criminal Investigation or the Crime Information Bureau in the second year," Cohn said.

Cohn also took issue with Thompson's comment that each dog track had three security officers.

"The track personnel can handle violation of their rules, but investigations of criminal activity should be conducted by trained law enforcement officers," Cohn said.

Thompson rejected Doyle's latest appeal during a news conference he called to promote the Japan-Midwest US Associations Conference, which begins Monday in Milwaukee. He said more than 200 Japanese business executives would attend the two-day conference.

FACULTY ACTION DECRIED

During the news conference, Thompson also said that faculty at University of Wisconsin System campuses should not engage in a work slowdown as suggested Friday by the Association of University of Wisconsin Professionals.

The association, which represents faculty and staff in the UW System, is protesting what it considers a meager pay increase, but Thompson said that faculty on campuses in other states were tak-

ing pay cuts. He said a state employe strike would violate state law.

"So it seems to me, they're making a huge mistake," Thompson said. "I can't imagine that university professors would be breaking the law. It's against the law to strike."

The association asked 15,000 faculty and staff members to refrain from performing non-essential duties, but not to formally go out on strike. The association also renewed its call for collective-bargaining rights.

"I vetoed it, I think twice, and I'll veto it again," Thompson said.

TAPES CONTROVERSY DEFLECTED

The governor also said he had not listened to the UW "Health Line" tapes that provide frank information on sex and other subjects and did not intend to.

Thompson's chief of staff, Edward S. Marion, asked the UW System to review the tapes after a Florida lawyer complained about them, saying the tapes condone homosexuality and drug use.

"I believe that the university has got a responsibility to handle its own affairs," the governor said. "The complaint came in against them, and they should respond to it. We do not have a position on it."

The tapes were produced and distributed nationally to schools, hospitals and other organizations by UW-Madison's division of outreach and department of health and human issues.

Milwaukee Journal, Sept 28, 1991

UW Milwaukee Faculty Senate Resolution on Collective Bargaining Rights:

Whereas, the faculty and academic staff at the University of Wisconsin System currently do not enjoy, under statute, the right to engage in collective bargaining;

And whereas that right is enjoyed by other professional employees of the state of

BE IT Resolved that the Faculty Senate of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee requests that the Senate and General Assembly of the State of Wisconsin enact legislation that will grant to the faculty and academic staff of the campuses of the University of Wisconsin System the right to engage in collective bargaining.

This resolution passed, 15 February 2001.

2001 Senate BILL 145

AN ACT to renumber 111.81 (1); to renumber and amend 111.83 (4); to amend 236.09 (4), 36.09 (4m), 111.83 (3), 111.83 (5) (a) to (c), (h) and (i), 111.84 (2) (c), 3111.91 (2) (a), 111.91 (4), 111.93 (2) and (3), 230.10 (2) and 230.34 (1) (ar); to 4repeal and recreate 111.81 (10); and to create 111.81 (1g), 111.81 (7) (f), 5111.81 (8m), 111.815 (4), 111.825 (2) (em) to (j) and (2m), 111.83 (4) (b) and 111.91 6(2) (br) of the statutes; relating to: employment relations for members of the University of Wisconsin System faculty and academic staff.

Analysis by the Legislative Reference Bureau
This bill extends the state Employment Labor Relations Act to cover the members of the faculty and academic staff of the University of Wisconsin (UW) System. Excluded from coverage are management employees and confidential employees.

2009 Wisconsin Act 28

SECTION 2255. CHAPTER 111. SUBCHAPTER VI UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN SYSTEM FACULTY AND ACADEMIC STAFF LABOR RELATIONS

- 111.98 Collective bargaining units. (1) Collective bargaining units for faculty and staff in the unclassified service of the state shall be structured with a collective bargaining unit for each of the following groups:
 - (a) Faculty of the University of Wisconsin-Madison.
- (b) Faculty of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.
- (c) Faculty of the University of Wisconsin-Extension.
- (cm) Faculty of the University of Wisconsin-Eau
 - (j) Academic staff of the University of Wisconsin— Madison and academic staff employed at the University of Wisconsin System administration.
 - (jm) Academic staff of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
 - (k) Academic staff of the University of Wisconsin– Extension.
 - (km) Academic staff of the University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire.

Table 1

Listing of attempts to extend collective bargaining rights to University of Wisconsin faculty and academic staff and relevant campaign variables

		Governor	State Senate	State Assembly	Faculty & Ac Staff Union Members	# State Fed	# Field Staff	Employer Position	Student Position	MSN Senate position	AFT-NEA peace?	Major media support?
1971-72	AB 1319	D	R	D	2700	1	1	Oppose		0	No	No
1973-74	AJR 54	D	R	D	1	1	1			0	N	N
	AB 825									0	N	N
	AB 828									0	N	N
1975-76	AB 511	D	D	D	1	1	1	0		0	N	N
	AB 900							Support		0	N	N
1977-78	SB 289	D	D	D	1	2	1	0	S	0	N	N
	SB 335							S		0	N	N
	SB 363									0	N	N
1979-80	SB 121	R	D	D	1785	3	2	0	0	0	N	N
1981-82	AB 510 / SB 395	R	D	D	1	2	2	0		0	N	N
	AB 452 / SB 636									0	N	N
1983-84	SB 174 / AB 282	D	D	D	1	1	2	0		0	N	N
1985-86	SB 170	D	D	D	1457	2	2	0		0	N	N
	AB 229									0	N	N
	AB 179 / SB 115									0	N	N
1987-88	SB 25	R	D	D	1	2	2	0	0	0	N	N
	AB 24									0	N	N
1989-90	SB 311	R	D	D	1	1	1	0	S	0	Yes	N
	SB 542	R	D	D			1			0	Y	N
1991-92	SB 262	R	D	D	1	1	1			0	Y	N
	SB 425									0	Y	N
1993-94	AB 829	R	D / R*	D	1000	1	1			0	Y	N
	AB 933					1	1	0		0	Y	N
1995-96	AB 925	R	R / D*	R	1	1	1			0	Y	N
1997-98	SB 14	R	D / R*	R	1	1	1	0		0	Y	N
1999-2000	SB 132	R	D	R	1	2	2	0		0	Y	N
2001-02	SB 145	R	D	R	1	2	2	0	S	Neutral	Y	N
2003-04		D	R	R	1	2	2			N	Y	N
2005-06	SB 452	D	R	R	←→	3**	3+	Neutral	S	N	Y	N
2007	State Budget	D	D	R	€→	3**	3+	N	S	N	Y	Yes
2007-08	SB 353	D	D	R	€→	2**	3+	N	S	N	Y	Y
2009	State Budget	D	D	D	←→	2**	3+	N	S	N	Y	Y

* Leadership switched mid-session because of special elections.

** Officers included AFT State Federation President.
Sources: State of Wisconsin Blue Book, Legislative Records, AFT records

Source:
Kniffin, K. M.
2011.
Organizing to
Organize: The
case of a
successful longhaul campaign for
collective
bargaining rights.
Labor Studies

Journal, 36:

22220