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DIMENSIONS OF UNION GROWTH IN POSTWAR

WESTERN EUROPE

by

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ITALY



## INTRODUCTION

This paper presents a 'handbook' of data and sources on union membership and union density in ten European countries: Austria, Denmark, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and West Germany. The period covered is: 1950-1981.

Emphasis has been laid on comparable definitions and data of union membership and union density, the latter concept referring to the ratio of actual to potential membership. As much as possible, the same definitions of (1) trade unions, (2) trade union members, and (3) potential trade union members or the dependent labour force have been applied. In this respect, I have followed the definitions given by George Sayers Bain and Robert Price in their invaluable source-book "Profiles of Union Growth. A Comparative statistical portrait of eight countries", Oxford 1980, in particular pp. 1-12.

With respect to (1) trade unions, the most serious difficulty exists as to the inclusion of professional and managerial or staff associations. If such associations de facto perform a bargaining function on the behaviour of their members and independent of their employer(s), they are counted as trade unions and included in the series presented. With respect to (2) trade union members, one is confronted with various difficulties. Trade union organisations maintain to a various degree the membership of pensioners, retired workers etc., or organize self-employed members, students, small and independent tenant farmers, etc. That is, groups that do not belong to the dependent labour force. Inclusion of these categories in the membership series, therefore, leads to an overstatement of union density rates. Moreover, between countries, union federations and over time very different practices have been followed. I have tried to present, next to the 'raw' membership data as given by the unions themselves or as follows from their returns to the national statistical offices, a reconstructed series for the 'active' union member-



ship corresponding to the wage and salary earners, holding a job and/or looking for a job. Unemployed union members have been considered 'active' members in this sense. As to (3) potential union membership, the main difficulties relate to part-time workers or job seekers and to the unemployed. I have tried to follow ILO definitions with respect to the employed and unemployed dependent labour force sample surveys. It should be said, however, that not all countries apply the same concepts and in some cases one has to rely on registration data.

I have made use of national sources and statistics. In the cases of the United Kingdom, West Germany and the three Scandinavian countries, I could extend and refine the series presented by Bain and Price. Austria, the Netherlands and Switzerland presented little difficulties, since union membership records are returned to the respective national statistical offices. As to the latter two countries, a consistent and comparable series on the dependent labour force had to be reconstructed. Italy and France present us with the biggest problems. No union membership statistics are recorded by their statistical offices and unions themselves only partly or irregularly record or publish data on their membership (see also Bain & Price, introduction). Recently, this has improved considerably in the case of Italy. In the French case, we have to rely completely on secondary, often contradictory and partisan sources (see: infra).

Problems of comparability and reliability increase if one descends to a more disaggregated level. Next to series on the aggregate union membership and union density, I present data for all countries except France on the following dimensions:

- a) union membership and union density by sex (not possible for Italy, Norway and Switzerland);
- b) union membership and union density by employment status: manual versus non-manual or white-collar employees (not possible for Italy). The



white collar category comprises: managers, superintendents, works foremen and overlookers, research, development, technical and design employees, draughtsmen, tracers, travellers, office employees generally (in government, services and industry), professional services, banking and insurance employees, entertainment and media employees, and business services (see: Bain 1970, Bain & Price 1980, and infra);

- c) union membership and union density by private or public employment (the latter category includes local government, government services and public industry).

For all countries and dimensions I have specified the membership and relative shares of the main union confederations separately.

This research has been conducted as a side-project to the large research project on "The Organization of Business Interests", directed by Philippe C. Schmitter and Wolfgang Streeck. The data presented should help to make comparisons between union confederations and business associations, as well as create a data-base for further research on the determinants and dimensions of union growth, the relative strength of central union confederations within the wide national labour movements, party and union mobilization, the rise of public sector unionism and other related subjects.

At the end of this paper I have added a bibliography of the literature referred to in the chapters.





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Table A1: Union Membership and Union Density, 1950-1980.

year	membership OGB	Dependent Labour Force	Union Density
1950	1.290.6	2.057.7	62.7
1955	1.398.4	2.189.2	63.9
1960	1.501.0	2.364.2	63.5
1965	1.542.8	2.447.0	63.0
1970	1.520.3	2.447.6	62.1
1971	1.526.4	2.506.9	60.9
1972	1.542.0	2.561.9	60.2
1973	1.559.5	2.649.6	58.9
1974	1.580.4	2.698.3	58.6
1975	1.587.5	2.711.9	58.5
1976	1.604.7	2.741.1	58.5
1977	1.619.1	2.788.3	58.1
1978	1.628.8	2.816.3	57.8
1979	1.641.5	2.826.9	58.1
1980	1.661.0	2.841.9	58.4

Sources and Notes

Union membership 1950-1980: F.Klenner, III, 1979, p.2358;  
F.Traxler 1982, p.257.

Dependent labour force: Oesterreichisches Statistische Zentralamt,  
Statistisches Handbuch fuer die Republik  
Oesterreich, Vienna, annual.

Union density rate: own computation.

OGB=Oesterreichischer Gewerkschaftsbund, founded in 1945. Membership of the OGB equals total membership in Austria. Union membership is recorded at the end of each year, i.e. 31 December 1950 = 1950, and so on.

The figures given for the dependent labour force or "potential union membership" are annual averages based on data provided by the Austrian social insurance registration, which covers over 96% of all wage and salary earners (ILO 1977). The unemployed are added to the number of employed wage and salary earners. Unemployment data are registration data too (they show only a small difference if compared with the data on unemployment based on the quarterly labour force sample surveys (carried out since 1969). The series on unemployment has been discontinued twice: in 1962 and 1973. From K.W.Rothschild 1977 (p.81) we could derive a continuous series up to 1973. The discontinuity of the unemployment data before and after 1973 is only of limited nature.



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Since pensioners, retired workers etc., are in some unions included among the union membership, especially in the public sector (see: Traxler 1982, and below), the union density rates in table A1 are to some extent overstated, presumably by 1 to 3 percentage points. The density rates given in the following table A2 suffer from the same overstatement.

Table A2: Union Membership and Union Density by Sex, 1950-1978

year	Male union members (1)	depend. lab.f. (2)	density (3)	Female union members (4)	depend. lab f. (5)	density (6)	women as % of all members (7)
1950	956.0	-	-	334.6	-	-	25.9
1955	1.027.4	-	-	371.1	-	-	26.5
1960	1.079.7	1.506.9	71.7	421.3	862.3	48.9	28.1
1965	1.108.7	1.527.9	72.6	424.1	919.0	47.2	28.1
1970	1.101.6	1.530.6	72.0	418.7	917.0	45.7	27.5
1975	1.136.6	1.650.0	68.9	450.9	1.061.9	42.5	28.4
1980	1.148.3	1.692.7	67.8	480.5	1.123.6	42.8	29.5

Sources and Notes: same as for table A1



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Table A3: Union membership of Manual workers (private sector), 1952-1978

year	Manual union membership			total (4)	density rates		
	industry (1)	agricult. (2)	service (3)		ind. (5)	agr. (6)	hotel (7)
1952	634.6	69.2	68.1	771.9	75.7	32.9	42.0
1962-65	729.7	53.7	65.9	849.3	72.3	53.9	20.7
1970-73	697.8	32.3	64.6	794.7	72.5	62.8	20.2
1978	668.8	22.0	76.5	767.3	74.1	91.7	25.8

Sources and Notes

Manual union membership (as for following tables A3-A7):

1952: A.Pelinka 1980, p.183;

1962-1965 and 1970-1973: 4-year averages calculated from  
F.Traxler 1982, pp.257-8, tables 32-33.

1978: F.Klenner, III, 1979, p.2359.

The density rates (column 5-7) are taken from Traxler (Ibid.).

column (1) = membership of 6 unions in industry and construction  
inclusive mining and energy);

column (2) = membership of one union in agriculture;

column (3) = membership of 3, since 1978 2 unions in commerce &  
transport, hotel & catering and personal services.

The lowest density rate is recorded for manual labour in commerce:  
15.6% in 1978. The overall density rate for manual labour in the  
private sector can be estimated somewhere between 65-70%.



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Table A4: Union Membership and Union Density Non-Manual Labour (private sector), 1952-1978.

year	union membership (1)	density (2)
1952	168.1	43.9 (1950)
1962-65	265.2	40.1 (1960)
1970-73	282.8	36.1 (1970)
1978	336.8	31.6 (1978)

Sources and Notes: same as table A3

Non-manual union membership: all members of the Gewerkschaft der Privatangestellten (GPA), i.e. the union of white collar employees in the private sector and the Gewerkschaft Kunst, Medien und Freie Berufe.

The union density rates (col. 2) are taken from Traxler (Ibid.).

Table A5: Union membership and union density of public employees, 1952-1978.

year	manual members	non-manual members	total members	density rates manual	public sector non-manual	sector total
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1952	215.1	163.2	378.3	100.0(a)	-	-
1962-65	236.9	181.6	418.5	100.0(a)	75.0 (b)	92.4 (b)
1970-73	249.8	206.7	456.5	100.0(a)	72.2 (c)	85.5 (c)
1978	277.7	247.1	524.8	100.0(a)	69.9 (d)	85.0 (d)

Sources and Notes: same as table A3

Union density rates: taken from Traxler (Ibid.).

Public employee unions in Austria are: the civil servants union, the union of municipal employees, the railway union and the postal service union. As non-manual union membership I have counted the membership of the civil servants union and 50% of the membership of the union of municipal employees.



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- (a) In railways and postal service density rates of far over 100% are recorded (157%, versus 121% in 1978, see Traxler 1982, p.260). Partly, this is a result of the inclusion of retired workers in the union membership, partly a consequence of the incomplete labour force statistics and the methods used (in particular, the recalculation of part-time labour in man-year data).
- (b) Average for 1964-1968, not completely congruent with non-manual labour in the public sector, because of calculation on the full membership of the union of government employees and the union of municipal employees which organizes manual workers as well.
- (c) Average for 1969-1973, idem.
- (d) 1979, idem.

Table A6: Distribution of Union members by occupational category, 1952-1978.

year	Manual (private) (Arbeiter) (1)	Non-manual (priv ) (Angestellte) (2)	Public employees (Beamte + Bedienstete) (3)
1952	58.6	12.7	28.7
1962-65	55.4	17.3	27.3
1970-1973	51.7	18.6	29.7
1978	47.1	20.7	32.2

Sources and Notes: calculated from tables A3-A5.



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Table A7: Manual and Non-Manual union membership and union density, 1952-1978.

year	MANUAL			NON-MANUAL		
	union members	lab.force	density	union members abs. in %	lab.force	density
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1952	987.0	-	-	313.3 (23.8)	-	-
1962-65	1.086.2	-	-	446.8 (29.1)	-	-
1970-73	1.044.5	-	-	489.5 (31.8)	-	-
1978	1.045.0	1.396.4	74.8	583.9 (35.8)	1.376.7	42.4

## Sources and Notes

Manual and non-manual union membership: calculation from tables A3-A5.

Manual and non-manual dependent labour force: Statistisches Handbuch fuer die Republik Oesterreich.

Density rates: own computations.

The Austrian Statistical Office makes a two-fold distinction between Arbeiter (manual workers) and Angestellte (white collar employees) plus Beamte. This distinction resembles that of the German Statistisches Bundesamt. Beamte is not equal to "public employees", but refers to only those with a special legal status (job tenure, pension rights). "Beamte" is neither equivalent to white collar employees in the public sector; part of the manual workers in the public sector have acquired this status as well. Elsewhere the Austrian Statistical Offices distinguishes within the group of public employees Beamte and pragmatisierte Bedienstete, the latter group only enjoying a short-time or fixed contract or being apprentices. For the aforementioned reasons the manual labour force is understated and the manual density rate accordingly overstated; a part of the Beamten should be counted as manual labour. For the same reason and to the same degree the non-manual density rate is understated. I have recalculated the manual and non-manual dependent labour force, that is Arbeiter on the one hand and Angestellte plus Beamte on the other, for the end of 1978 from the social insurance data of July 1978 and January 1979 (averaged). All unemployed (average second half-year 1978) have been added to the manual labour force (Statistisches Handbuch 1980, p.318, table 22.12).



## DENMARK

Table DK1: Union Membership LO, FTF and other organisations, 1950-1980

year	LO	other	of which FTF	AC	FR	CO-I	Indep.
1950	856.4	120.6				-	57.3
1955	687.4	162.3	60.0 (1)		-	-	28.2
1960	772.3	192.3	115.8		-	-	29.4
1965	829.2	243.6	-		-	-	43.2
1970	896.0	332.4	184.0		-	-	73.3
1971	909.5	329.6	-		-	-	66.4
1972	924.2	342.7	-	-	-	-	71.7
1973	930.1	346.4	199.8	42.6	20.8	3.9	79.3
1974	947.8	372.2	210.2	44.0	21.4	3.9	92.7
1975	1.011.7	402.2	227.6	45.3	21.7	5.2	102.4
1976	1.087.2	425.8	240.7	48.1	21.9	5.3	109.8
1977	1.141.6	436.5	251.5	62.5	22.6	5.4	94.5
1978	1.212.0	457.4	265.6	65.8	23.3	5.4	97.3
1979	1.249.6	506.0	277.4	69.7	24.0	5.7	129.2
1980	1.277.7	519.0	280.1	71.7	23.9	5.6	137.7

(1) = 1953

## Sources and Notes

Union Membership: 1950-1970: G.S.Bain & R.Price 1980, pp.151-153, table 8.1.

1970-1980: Statistisk Aarbog Danmark, Copenhagen, annual

LO = Landsorganisationen i Danmark, the Danish Federation of Trade Unions, founded in 1898.

FTF = Faellesraadet for danske Tjenestemands- og Funktionaer-organisationer, the Council of Public Servants and Salaried Employees Associations, founded in 1952.

AC = Akademikernes Centralorganisation, the Central Organisation of Professional Employees, founded in 1972 (although most of its constituent unions came into existence much earlier and a coordinating committee was already established in 1962)

FR = Hovedorganisation for Arbejdsleder- og Tekniske Funktionaerforeninger i Danmark (Faellesrepresentationen), the Federation of Supervisory and Technical Staff Organisations, founded in 1953.

COI = Statstjenestemaendenes Centralorganisation I, the Association of Unions of Lower Grade Public Servants, founded in 1909. This organization comprises a number of LO - and FTF - employees as well as independent unions. Only the membership of the latter unions (not affiliated to LO or FTF) is given in table DK1.



## DENMARK

Apart from the LO, it was not always possible to specify the membership of the other confederations. The second column ("other") includes all union members except the LO. Only for some years and for the most recent period was it possible to specify union membership by confederation. The FTF and the FR have been created in 1952/53 as a consequence of the bargaining system dealing separately with categories of white collar employees. Other "federative" bargaining structures, such as CO-I (lower grade state employees, the so-called "silvercords") and CO-II (higher-grade state employees or "goldcords") had already been established in 1909. CO-I comprises both LO and FTF unions as well as independent unions. Only the membership of the latter unions is represented in table DK1. CO-II has only FTF affiliates. In 1975 a similar bargaining structure was created for teachers' unions, the Laerernes Centralorganisation (LC). Like CO-II this organisation has not been listed separately in table DK1 since its membership is included in the FTF-membership.

Some of the unions affiliated to the FR include self-employed members, but this is believed only to be a small number. AC-unions do in fact comprise a much larger number of self-employed professionals (about 30 to 35 % according to R.Lund 1983). The AC-membership given in table DK1 excludes such members and comprises only salaried professionals.

From 1970 onwards my figures, based on the Danish Statistical Yearbook, deviate slightly from those given by Bain & Price (due to later revisions of reported membership by the Statistical Office). A more substantive difference springs from the inclusion of a number of independent white collar unions which previously had not reported their membership and are not included in the series of Bain & Price (they included a group of independent unions, mainly recruiting manual workers, which had much earlier started to return membership reports to the statistical office). The inclusion of this new group of independent white collar unions accounts for an additional 60-90,000 members from 1975 to 1980. According to Bain & Price (p.150, note 6) this group of unions had a combined membership of some 30,000 members in 1970. For the years between 1970 and 1975 I have extrapolated the membership of this unions. The membership of these unions could therefore be included in the aggregate series from 1970 onwards, leaving a discontinuity between the pre- and post-1970 data. In 1977 one relatively large independent white collar union joined the AC.

Until 1973 unions recorded their membership at different dates (January 1st and March 31st). Since 1973 all unions record their membership at 1st January. So, the 1972-membership is the membership of both manual and non-manual unions as of 1st January 1973, and so on.



## DENMARK

Table DK2: Total Union Membership and Union Density, 1950-1980.

year	total union membership (1)	dependent labour force (2)	density all unions (3)	density LO (4)
1950	777.0	1.497.7	51.9	43.8
1955	849.7	1.565.9	54.3	43.9
1960	964.6	1.619.5	59.6	47.9
1965	1.072.8	1.763.2	60.8	47.0
1970	1.228.4	1.918.2	64.0	46.7
1971	1.239.1	1.936.0	64.0	47.0
1972	1.266.9	1.991.9	63.6	46.4
1973	1.276.5	2.004.9	63.7	46.4
1974	1.320.0	2.050.2	64.4	46.5
1975	1.413.9	2.052.7	68.9	49.3
1976	1.513.0	2.103.8	71.9	51.7
1977	1.578.1	2.155.6	73.2	53.4
1978	1.669.4	2.226.5	75.0	54.4
1979	1.755.5	2.224.2	78.9	56.2
1980	1.796.0	-	-	-

Sources and Notes

Union membership: see table DK1; the aggregate union membership has been calculated so as to eliminate double counting.

Dependent Labour Force 1950-1976: Bain & Price (Ibid.)  
1977-1980: Statistisk Aarbog Danmark.

With respect to the updated data the same source and method as used by Bain & Price have been applied. The labour force data refer to the labour force sample surveys of October each year and include the unemployed.



- 1977: Statistisk Aarbog, 1978, table 14, results of Labour force sample survey 15-74 year old population by employment status and sex, excluding same categories (self-employed, directors and managers, wives assisting in husband's trade; including the unemployed but not first-job seekers; the increase of the latter category in recent years may have caused a slight understatement of the dependent labour force (according to the ILO, Yearbook of Labour Statistics, 1982, 52,500 young people were searching for their first job).
- 1978: Ibid., 1980, table 14, idem.
- 1979: Ibid., 1981, table 14, idem.
- 1980: no data available.



## DENMARK

Union density rates 1950-1972: Bain & Price (Ibid.)

1973-1979: own computation

I ignore to what extent the recorded union memberships include retired workers, as is the case in many other countries. The LO does include "passive" members in its returns to the Danish Statistical Office as do some independent manual unions, the other unions refer explicitly to "active" members. So, the series given here may express an overstatement of aggregate union membership and union density by some percentage points. All unions include the unemployed in their recorded memberships. Due to the absence of comprehensive data on the membership of a number of independent white collar unions prior to 1970, union density rates up to that year are slightly understated. The upward shift of union density rates in the 1970's seems to be, at least partly, a consequence of the improved coverage of union membership statistics.

Table DK3: Percentage share of confederations in total union membership, 1950-1980

year	LO	FTF	AC
1950	84.5		
1955	80.9	7.1 (1)	
1960	80.1	12.0	
1965	77.3	-	
1970	73.5	15.0	
1971	73.4	-	
1972	72.9	-	
1973	72.9	15.7	3.3
1974	71.8	15.9	3.3
1975	71.6	16.1	3.2
1976	71.9	15.9	3.2
1977	72.3	15.9	4.0
1978	72.6	15.9	3.9
1979	71.2	15.8	4.0
1980	71.1	15.6	4.0

(1) = 1953

Sources and Notes: calculated from tables DK1 and DK2



## DENMARK

Table DK4: LO-membership and density by Sex, 1974-1980.

year	Male LO members	Male depend. lab.f.	Density males LO	Female LO members	Female depend. lab.f.	Density females LO	Women as % of LO membersh
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1974	654.9	1.174.0	55.7	292.9	876.2	33.4	30.9
1975	679.9	1.171.9	58.0	331.8	880.9	37.7	32.8
1976	699.1	1.189.7	58.8	388.1	914.2	42.5	35.7
1977	710.6	1.202.2	59.1	431.0	953.4	45.2	37.4
1978	730.0	1.227.0	59.4	482.1	999.6	48.2	39.8
1979	733.7	1.206.3	60.8	515.9	1.017.9	50.7	41.3
1980	739.5	-	-	538.3	-	-	42.1

Sources and Notes

Union membership by Sex 1974-1980: Statistisk Aarbog Danmark, 1974-81.

Only the LO records its membership by sex; it is, therefore,  
not possible to make this distinction for other unions as well.

Male & Female dependent labour force: same as for table DK2.

Union density rates LO: own computations



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Table DK5: Manual union membership and union density

year	LO	Indep.	Total	Dep.lab.force (manual)	Density
1950	-	-	579.6	1.064.5	54.4
1955	590.3	24.2	614.5	1.070.7	57.3
1960	653.9	25.4	679.3	1.055.9	64.3
1965	674.0	38.7	712.7	1.059.0	67.3
1970	708.7	38.3	747.2	1.035.5	72.1
1971	698.1	26.4	724.5	1.042.2	69.6
1972	703.2	25.7	728.9	1.018.3	71.6
1973	691.0	26.9	717.9	1.010.5	71.0
1974	712.5	32.2	744.7	1.015.6	73.3
1975	746.2	32.4	778.6	1.001.2	77.7
1976	831.9	34.9	831.9	1.001.1	83.1
1977	828.8	26.8	850.6	1.006.7	84.5
1978	854.9	25.5	880.4	1.032.0	85.3
1979	875.5	29.7	905.2	-	-
1980	893.1	30.5	923.6	-	-

Table DK6: Non-manual union membership and density, 1950-1980

year	LO	other	total	dep.lab.f non-manual	density
1950	-	-	197.4	433.2	45.5
1955	97.1	138.1	235.2	495.2	47.5
1960	118.4	166.8	285.2	563.5	50.6
1965	155.2	194.9	350.1	704.2	51.1
1970	187.3	293.9	481.2	882.7	54.5
1971	211.4	302.2	514.6	893.0	57.6
1972	221.0	317.0	538.0	973.6	55.2
1973	239.1	319.5	558.6	994.4	56.2
1974	235.3	340.0	575.3	1.034.6	45.6
1975	265.5	369.8	635.3	1.051.5	60.4
1976	290.2	390.9	681.1	1.102.1	61.8
1977	317.8	409.7	727.5	1.148.9	63.3
1978	357.1	431.9	789.0	1.196.1	64.5
1979	374.1	476.3	850.4	-	-
1980	384.6	488.5	873.1	-	-



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Sources and Notes

Union membership 1950-1970: Bain & Price 1980, table 8.2;  
1970-1980: Statistisk Aarbog, 1976-81.

I have used the same classification as Bain & Price (see notes to their table 8.2, pp. 154-5). Additional information, for unions not included in their series, could be derived from Buksti & Johanson 1977.

Non-manual union membership is:

L0: Handels- og Kontorfunktionaernes Forbund,  
Dansk Funktionaerforbund  
Privatbanefunktionaerforbund  
Dansk Kommunalarbejderforbund (50%)

All members of FTF, FR, AC and CO-I (except L0-affiliates and those members already included in FTF)

Independent unions:

Dansk Musiker Forbund  
Danmarks Aktive Handelsrejsende  
Dansk Journalistforbund  
Forneningen af Arbejdsledere i Danmark  
Foreningen af Danske Civiløkonomer  
Ingeniorsammenslutningen (since 1977 in AC)  
Technisk Landsforbund  
Foreningen af Funktionaerer i SAS (since 1979)  
Centralforeningen for Stampersonel (since 1979)  
Kristelig Funktionaer-Organisation (since 1979)  
Artist Forbund (since 1979)  
Prosa (electronic data operators, since 1979)

All other union members have been classified as manual.

Manual and Non-manual dependent labour force:

1950-1975: Bain & Price, Ibid.

1975-1980: Statistisk Aarbog, same as for table DK2.

The Danish Statistical office makes a fairly conventional distinction between salaried employees (white collar) and manual workers (blue collar). The different categories are listed in Bain & Price, pp.154-5.

Union density rates: own computations



## DENMARK

Table DK7: Percentage shares of LO, FTF and AC in manual &amp; non-manual union membership

year	Manual	Non-manual		
	share by:	shares by:		
	LO	LO	FTF	AC
1950	-			
1955	96.1	41.3	30.0 (1)	
1960	96.3	41.5	40.6	
1965	94.6	44.3	-	
1970	94.8	47.6	38.2	8.9 (2)
1975	95.8	41.8	35.8	7.1
1980	96.7	44.0	32.1	8.2

(1) calculated for 1953

(2) calculated for 1973

Table DK8: Public employee unionism in Denmark, 1973-1980.

year	public employee membership:			
	in LO	in FTF	in other	total
1973	76.8	105.8	29.5	212.1
1974	84.4	116.7	30.2	231.3
1975	91.4	124.0	32.1	247.5
1976	95.9	132.4	33.6	261.9
1977	100.6	137.2	43.3	281.1
1978	110.1	144.9	43.2	298.2
1979	123.0	153.8	45.5	321.7
1980	129.3	161.9	46.3	337.5

Sources and Notes

As public employee unions have been counted:

In the LO: all unions affiliated to CO-I, the unions of hospital workers and the union of municipal employees.

In the FTF: all unions affiliated to CO-I, the teachers unions, a number of small unions (hospital employees, librarians, etc.) and the unions co-operating through CO-II (higher grade state employees)



## DENMARK

In CO-I: all members of unions not affiliated to either the LO or the FTF

In AC: 50% of the membership (that is, of only those who are salary earners)

In effect, in 1980 slightly over half the AC membership was employed by the state or by state-subsidized institutions.

Of the independent unions only the union recruiting employees in the state-run telephone company.

Table DK9: Shares of LO, FTF and AC in total public employee membership, 1973-1980

year	share LO	share FTF	share AC
1973	36.2	49.9	10.0
1975	36.9	50.1	9.2
1978	36.9	48.6	11.0
1980	38.3	48.0	10.6

Sources and Notes: calculated from table DK8.



## FRANCE

Looking at the deplorable state of union membership statistics in France, one is inclined to think that the French unions are still deeply inspired by the classical doctrine of syndicalism as it was expressed at the time by Albert Lévy, who happened to be the treasurer (sic!) of the CGT in its earlier days. He is quoted of having said that "le nombre de syndiqués n'a pas d'importance, le syndicat n'est qu'un entraîneur. Le syndicat, c'est comme un tas de pavés, comme une butte de terre, sur laquelle on plante le chapeau et autour duquel on bat le rappel (...) Pas besoin de beaucoup de membres dans un syndicat, il vaut mieux qu'il n'y en ait beaucoup, car le lourde modération entre avec le grande nombre." (in J.-L. Birien 1978, p.88). But this is, of course, only partly true; how would one explain the zeal with which the French confederations struggle for each others members and the vehemence with which they contest each others membership claims. For all we know, it is a fact that in no other advanced capitalist society union membership data are to such a high extent subject to obscurity and speculation, contesting claims by the union organisations themselves and strong parti pris on the side of many students as in France. The union confederations do not publicize membership statistics, but limit themselves to periodically expressed claims that they represent a certain number of members, by which they try to prove of being larger than the others (e.g., the notorious fight between the CFDT and the FO about who is the second largest confederation) or of being more "representative", which is again important for them being represented in "(quasi-)public bodies" or, most important, getting a better share of the public funds allocated to the unions by state bodies. Thus, in trying to reconstruct union membership data for France, one runs into severe problems (especially, if one considers a longer time period, as is tried here). Many sources contradict each other, the data provided by the unions themselves are extremely scarce, deliberately vague, in some cases completely absent (the case of the F.O.), and, at any rate, unreliable. Despite all this obstacles, I have tried to present a series of union membership for post-war France using and weighing several sources.

The general development of union membership - on which most students seem to agree - is that union membership fell dramatically after the postwar upswing, that lasted until 1947 (when the French Communist Party left the government and the unity of the CGT, established since the People's Front of 1936, came to an end). The rapid fall of membership was followed by a long period of stagnation, probably continuing until the late 1950's (when Gaullism gained power). Only during the late 1960's and early 1970's union membership rose again (May-1968, the "Grenelle agreements", followed by, after 1972, the period of unity of the political left (the so-called "Programme Commun"), though the rise in union membership has been less than one might have expected comparing with similar politically induced waves of unionization in French history. Whatever the case, since the mid-1970's union membership stagnated, and during the most recent



years, it declined again, a decline which particularly affected the CGT. (G.Adam 1964, A.Prost 1964, A.Kriegel 1966, G.Lefranc 1969, P.Caire 1971 J.-D.Reynaud 1975, 1982, 1983, H.Landier 1980 and 1980, A.W.M.Teulings & J.Visser 1981).

A second point to be stressed (and noted by most students in the field of French unionism) is the difficulty of establishing who counts as a member. Is a member he or she who subscribes to a union confederation - by taking the annually renewable confederal membership card (carte confédérale), or should one argue that such is only the case if the monthly dues (the so-called timbres syndicales) to the national union or the local units (the Union Départementale) are regularly and sufficiently paid for? As many authors have noted, the annual confederal cards, even if they are sold by the confederation to its affiliated unions/locals and repayment by the latter has taken place, are not always distributed among workers and, therefore, do not necessarily imply membership. What is more, it is quite regular practice for union members in France not to pay their dues every month, but only 6 or 7 times a year - a phenomenon not completely unknown in other countries too, being partly a consequence of job-change and membership turnover-but, as it seems, of much less magnitude and importance. The convention of the CGT, for instance, partly legitimates this practice by allowing a 10-months-due payer remain a full member (and congress vote). The FO has a similar rule (art.41 of its convention). The CFDT has adopted a practice which has more or less the same effect: it distinguishes between adherents (i.e. whoever takes or is believed to have taken the annual confederal card) and regular paying members or "cotisant réguliers", i.e. those who pay at least 9 months a year. Apparently, the former category is calculated and publicized by this confederation, just by generally adding 30% to its more or less regularly paying members. (H.Landier 1981, p.66). I have generally followed and tried to apply the definition of membership given by A.Kriegel (p. 21 et seq.) who defines as "adhérent normal" a worker who pays at least 9 monthly dues per year (see also: V.R.Lorwin 1965, G.Lefranc 1969, P.Caire 1971, J.-D.Reynaud 1975).

The CONFEDERATION GENERALE DU TRAVAIL (CGT):

#### 1945-1950:

At the 26th Congress the CGT claimed, by mouth of one of its general secretaries, Benoît Frachon, to represent five and a half million members. However, at the congress only 3,952,400 members were represented (Cl. Harmel 1967, p.20). Maybe this difference is partly explained by the fact that a number of Union Départementales did not bother to represent themselves at the congress, which would have required them to pass on a part of its members' dues payment to the confederation. Another explanation may be that many of these



members had not paid their dues and could not be counted at congress (given the constitution). V.R.Lorwin gives even a membership figure of 6 million for 1946, observing that presumably this figure represents "less a gap between facts and claims than at many other periods" (V.R.Lorwin 1965, p.352) J.-D.Reynaud gives a similar membership figure, but for the French Trade Union movement as a whole (J.-D.Reynaud 1975, I, p.140). This must have been somehow the maximum. Note that the CGT at the time was still united and included both the CGT-Force Ouvrière, which broke away in 1947 and formed an independent confederation in April 1948, and the national teachers union, the Fédération de l'Education Nationale (FEN), that established itself in 1947 as an independent national union.

#### 1950-1967:

The decline in CGT membership has been reconstructed by C.Harmel 1967 and G. Lefranc 1969, the second author being a relatively well-informed observer from the "inside", having served as the head of the Training and Education department at the CGT headquarter. Both authors calculate the membership from the financial reports submitted to the bi-annually held congresses and give additional information about the annual average of monthly dues paid. This method could be relied upon until 1958, after which a change in the financial reports made this use more difficult. Additionally, Lefranc gives the number of representatives present at the CGT congresses up to 1967. Since each representative "stands" for a number of votes, respectively (paying) members, the membership of the CGT can be calculated from this method as well. See for a theoretical defense and empirical application of this method: A.Prost 1964. Usually the latter procedure leads to lower estimates of the membership than the method using financial reports, for the reasons mentioned above. But the reverse may occur as well: national unions may have reasons to cheat and suggest a higher membership than they actually have, thus maintaining or increasing their influence at congress or in the confederal executive bodies, even if this would require them to pay a higher financial contribution to the confederation. Secondly, at congress the retired workers and possible other "passive" member groups, are represented and counted as members/votes too. With the financial reports missing or, at any rate, less usable, the estimation of the CGT-membership from the late 1950's to the eve of the May-1968 rising becomes a more hazardous one.

In the following table I have collected the information drawn from these different sources, using different methods. Column (1) is taken from C Harmel 1967, p.26, and is based on the confederation's financial reports. Between brackets the average number of months for which due payment in a given year has actually taken place (calculated for the membership as a whole) is reported. Given our definition of membership (at least 9 months a year), the CGT membership as given in the first column is clearly overstated. The figures in column (2) can be found in G.Lefranc 1969, p.79, and are



based on the number of delegates/votes present at congress. The third column shows the number members claimed by the CGT, usually at the eve of its congresses. (see: C.Harmel 1967, W.Kendall 1977, H.Landier 1981). The figure given for 1959 is a remarkable one because it is the lowest claim the CGT ever made. In what he called an "opération vérité", Frachon, in response to speculations in the French press that the CGT represented only about 1,200,000 members, announced a membership of 1,600,000. J.-D.Reynaud (1975, I, p.140) estimated that towards the end of the Fifties the CGT and the FO together represented not more than 2 million members at the most, of which the FO, in all likelihood, represented a fifth to a quarter. It is quite likely that during the 1960's the CGT membership rose slightly, but not as much as the organisation announced. It claimed, indeed, some 2 million members at the eve of May 1968 (A.Barjonet 1972, p.64; but this claim does not agree with later reports submitted to the CGT's 1972 congress). Lefranc's estimates that between the end of 1967 and the beginning of 1968, that is, before the May-June events, the CGT had between 1.5 and 1.8 million members seem more in line with reality (idem: J.-D.Reynaud 1975).

All figures in columns 1 to 3 contain pensioners etc. In column (4) I have tried an estimate without the latter category - 100,000 to 200,000 pensioners in the 1960's (Harmel, *ibid*), with a tendency to rise in the 1970's.

Harmel rightly observes that the figures he presented (column 1) are of a "précision trompeuse" (*ibid.*); in order to highlight their probabilistic character, I have expressed the membership data in round figures that are best understood as mid-points of a variation of some 100,000 members less or more.



CGT-membership 1950-1967/68 (in thousands)				
	based on:			estimate
	financial reports (1)	votes at congress (2)	CGT-claim (3)	(4)
1950	3.393.8 (7.3)	-	-	2.750.0
1951	3.076.2 (7.6)			
1952	2.505.4 (8.1)			
1953	2.342.1 (8.1)		-	
1954	2.132.6 (8.2)			
1955	2.142.7 (8.3)	1.479.9		1.600.0
1956	2.185.4 (8.5)			
1957	2.079.6 (8.4)	1.236.5		
1959		1.508.1	1.600.0	
1960				1.500.0
1961		1.606.4	1.722.3	
1963		1.692.7	1.773.2	
1965		1.791.2	1.939.3	1.550.0
1967-68			1.942.5	1.600.0

#### 1968-1975:

Like the other confederations, the CGT increased its membership during and after May-1968, but there remains quite some uncertainty about the magnitude and permanency of this increase. The organisation itself claimed to have gained 400,000 members (H.Krasucki in *La Vie ouvrière*, 8-10-1969) and had passed from some 2 million to 2.4 million members. Estimates in the press, however, varied a great deal: from L.Rioux in *Le nouvel Observateur* of 27-4-1970 who estimated a gain of 100,000 to 200,000 members which brought the organisation somewhere near 1.7 million, to G.Marchal in *Le Monde* of 4-7-1970 who estimated an increase to 2,400,000 members (including pensioners). Most estimates for the early, resp. mid-1970's fluctuate somewhere between these extremes (Reynaud 1975, II, pp.123-124: 1.7 to 2.0 million members; M.Williams 1974, p.28: 2.2 million; C.Crouch & A.Pizzorno 1978, II, p.317: 2 million; M.Maurice & F.Sellier 1976, p.514: 2.0 to 2.4 million; OECD 1979: 2.4 million). Some of these estimates do include the retired, others do not. It is possible, however, to reconstruct a series up to 1977, again using the congress reports - i.e. the announcements made by the organization at the eve of its congresses and the statements about member-recruitment the year preceding congress - and specifying the membership of the Union Confédérale des Retraités, probably the most growing CGT-federation in the Seventies.



## CGT-membership 1969-1978 (in thousands)

	CGT-claim	pension.	less pens. (1)-(2)	votes congress	estimate
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1969	2.301.5	241.3	2.060.1	1.857.6	1.700.0
1970	2.333.1	271.6	2.061.4		1.700.0
1971	2.327.6	268.8	2.058.8		1.700.0
1972	2.318.1	290.6	2.027.6	1.711.4	1.670.0
1973	2.339.9	296.5	2.043.2		1.680.0
1974	2.342.8	296.7	2.046.3		1.680.0
1975	2.377.6	303.5	2.074.1	1.359.4	1.700.0
1976	2.350.1	306.7	2.043.4		1.680.0
1977	2.310.0	310.0	2.000.0		1.640.0
1978	-	-	1.790.0		1.550.0

sources: columns (1) to (4) from H.Landier 1980, p.78, and H.Landier 1981, p.46; and C.Harmel 1979. Estimating the membership (column 5) I have taken into account that the dues rate (number of monthly dues -or timbres- paid per year) declined to 6 or 7 a year in the 1970's. See: J.-L.Birien 1978, p.88, and H.Landier 1981, pp.56-60, quoting several statements by the confederal treasurer deploring this fact.

Since 1975 the CGT membership declined, at first slowly (30,000 active members in 1976 and 40,000 in 1977 according to L'Humanité, 30-11-1978), in later years drastically. The confederation's internal opposition suggested that the CGT-membership fell from 2,400,000 in 1975 to about half of this figure in 1980 (quoted in J.-D.Reynaud 1983, p.79, who observes that both figures seem to suffer from exaggeration in different directions; however, the CGT treasurer announced a loss of 350,000 members between 1977 and 1979 -ibid.). The CGT's most important and powerful affiliate, the Fédération des Travailleurs de la Métallurgie (FTM), the union of metalworkers, lost a quarter of its membership between 1974 and 1978, declining from 420,000 to 320,000 (H.Landier 1981, p.57; J.-D.Reynaud 1982, p.90). Reynaud estimates the CGT membership in 1980-1981 at 1.3 to 1.4 million (1983, p.79).

## The CGT-FORCE OUVRIERE (FO):

The FO discloses least of all confederations information about its membership. From its foundation in 1948 to the present day it invariably claims 1 million members. The CGT, from which the FO split off, said that only 200,000 members had followed the new confederation. Other, less partisan observers thought the FO started with 330,000 to 340,000 members (Revue syndicaliste of 2-5-1949 and L'économie of 2-11-1949, both quoted in A.Bergounioux 1979), a figure which corresponds with the number of seats in the



Commission Supérieure des Conventions Collectives allocated to the FO at that time. Until 1968 a complete silence reigns as to the membership of this organisation (apart from Reynauds' estimate already referred to). The figures given in Table F1 are guesses, assuming that the FO membership in the first twenty years of its existence varied between 300,000 to 500,000 members. The latter figure is a credible estimate as to its membership at the eve of May 1968 (Reynaud 1975, I, p.140, II, 124-125; G.Lefranc 1969, p.205). It is believed that the FO gained some 100,000 members during 1968-1969 (cf. the estimates in Le Nouvel Observateur and Le Monde, already quoted). Following the same method as in the case of the CGT, C.Harmel in Etudes sociales et syndicales, calculated from the annual cards sold by the confederation to its subunits, that the FO had 617,400 members in 1970, with on average 6 to 7 monthly dues paid per year (quoted in Bergounioux, p.216). The figures in the following table are taken from H.Landier 1980, p.77 and H.Landier 1981, p.65. The figures in column (1) are based on the financial reports to congress about the annual confederal subscription cards sold. Between brackets the annual averages of timbres per card are added. The estimate in column (2) pertains to the membership less pensioners, included in the first column, and applies the same membership definition as used with regard to the CGT and CFDT; this leads to a reduction of presumably 30 per cent of the membership calculated from the confederal subscription cards.

FO-membership 1973-1978 (in thousands)		
	(1)	(2)
1973	861.5 (7.3)	620
1974	874.4 (7.8)	640
1975	900.7 (7.4)	650
1976	926.3 (7.5)	670
1977	955.0 (7.4)	690
1978	983.0 (7.5)	720

These figures harmonize with those mentioned in the literature: J.Capdeville & R.Mouriaux 1976, p.73: 600,000-800,000, C.Crouch & A.Pizzorno 1978, II, p.317: 650,000; M.Maurice & F.Sellier 1976, p.514: 500,000-600,000; OECD 1979, presumably referring to a later date (1977 or 1978?): 800,000). J.-D.Reynaud quotes as a credible estimate for 1978: 720,000 members (Reynaud 1982, p.90). It is quite possible that, unlike its competitors, the FO maintained or even slightly increased its membership during recent years (cf. Landier 1980, p. 77, and Landier 1981, p.65 and p.69; Reynaud 1983, p.80), but, again, this is difficult to verify.



The CONFEDERATION FRANCAISE DES TRAVAILLEURS CRETIENS (CFTC)  
and the CONFEDERATION FRANCAISE DEMOCRATIQUE DU TRAVAIL (CFDT):

G.Adam 1964, p.45 gives a complete series of the membership of the CFTC from 1945 to its split in 1964: from 300,000 in 1945 to 380,000 in 1948, after which year membership declined to 330,000 in 1950; membership stagnated during the first half of the 1950's but increased during the second half to 420,000; at the time of its split it stood at half a million members. At its 1964 congress the majority (over 70% of the delegates) supported the decision to de-confessionalise the organisation, which led to the formation of a new confederation, the CFDT. The majority of the former CFTC membership followed the new confederation. The old CFTC (called the CFTC-Maintenance) claimed 145,000 members in 1966 and 150,000 in 1968 (J.-D.Reynaud 1975, I, p.140, II, pp.124-125, who gives some credibility to these claims). It should, however, be mentioned that G.Lefranc thought the CFTC to have a substantially lower membership: 80,000 at the eve of May 1968 and 110,000 after, at the same time attributing higher membership figures to the CFDT (Lefranc 1969, p.205; idem L.Rioux in Le Nouvel Observateur but not Le Monde, already quoted). Nobody mentions that the CFTC - unlike the CFDT to which we turn below - gained from the 1968 militancy. The confederation itself claimed a membership of 200,000 in 1973 and in later years it invariably publishes a membership figure of 250,000 (H.Landier 1975, pp.39-40, indicating an annual increase of 4% during the first half of the 1970's). Other students arrive at lower figures: from 150,000 to 180,000 in the 1970's (cf. J.Capdeville & R.Mouriaux, ibid.; M.Maurice & F.Sellier, ibid.; OECD 1979, ibid.). If the figure of 150,000 in the early 1970's is held credible and if we take into account the reports of the CFTC treasurer submitted to congress (in which an annual per cent increase or decrease is mentioned), then a small progress to 180,000 in 1977 is possible. From later financial reports it can be concluded that membership stagnated or slightly declined in recent years (H.Landier 1981, pp.66-67).

If the CFTC membership before the split stood somewhere near half a million, the newly founded CFDT could have started off with, at most, 400,000 members. Its claim amounted to 500,000 in 1966 and between 500,000 and 600,000 at the eve of May 1968. G.Lefranc estimated its gain in 1968-1969 at about 200,000 members (1969, p.205, idem Le Monde, but not Le Nouvel Observateur). In the early 1970's the organisation claimed 900,000 members, in June 1976 the title of its journal (CFDT Syndicalisme) read: "Nous sommes un million". In January 1977, however, the same journal mentioned 820,000 regular paying members (quoted from J.-L.Birien 1978, p.109). In this context it should be noted that the lack of clarity in the definition of membership is - in the particular case of the CFDT - to some extent purposely, since it feels itself permanently forced to outbid the repetitive and, indeed, unsubstantiated claim of the FO that it has one million members and, therefore, is the second largest confederation in France. As already mentioned above, the CFDT adds 30% to its regular paying membership (that is, those



who pay 9 months a year!) to "calculate" its wider adherents (may be - and not unreasonably - it does believe all other organizations to do the same). Most students of French trade unionism agree that the CFDT is the second largest organization, though its lead over the FO became smaller in recent years (for a view to the contrary, attributing to the FO a larger membership, threatening even the CGT in its leading position: H.Landier 1981, pp.68-70).

Nevertheless, some better data on the CFDT membership are available. From time to time it publicizes such data in Syndicalisme CFDT, which allow for a distinction between "sympathisants" and "regular paying members"; for some years even its pensioner-membership are given separately (74,560 in 1977, and 78,300 in 1979). From this information it is possible to reconstruct a series from 1970 to 1979 (H.Landier 1981, p.61, see also: the percentage increase/decrease publicized in CFDT Aujourd'hui, quoted in J.-L.Birien 1978, p.109, and H.Landier 1981, p.62). From its own figures on its percentage growth, we can derive an approximation of its growth until 1970: from 550,000 in 1967 to 630,000 (in 1968) and 665,000 (in 1969). This fits quite well with the membership figures given for 1970 and later years.

CFDT-membership 1970-1979:

	"adhérents"	"cotisants réguliers"
	(1)	(2)
1970	882,052	678,502
1971	917,955	706,119
1972	966,863	745,741
1973	1,010,084	776,988
1974	1,015,401	781,078
1975	1,066,637	820,490
1976	1,077,731	829,024
1977	1,077,071	828,516
1978	1,047,990	806,146
1979	1,008,590	775,835

These figures do not include pensioners; the regular paying members (column 2) pay 9 dues per year. It can be concluded that the CFDT membership increased considerably and regularly from 1966 to 1976, and declined since. In 1980 this decline of membership continued (4.1%), in 1981 followed by a very small progress (plus 1%) (see: J.-D.Reynaud 1982, p.90, and 1983, p.80). So, the membership figures of the CFDT will have been near to 744,000 in 1980 and 751,000 in 1981.



## The CONFEDERATION FRANCAISE d'ENCADREMENT (CFE):

The CFE has recently been founded as a reorganization of the federation(s) of managerial and technical staffs. It is the hereditor of the Confédération Générale des Cadres (CGC), founded in October 1944. Until 1968 we know little to nothing about the membership of the CGC. Maybe it had some 100,000 members in the early sixties (Crozier 1966); in early 1968 it claimed 200,000 members (Lefranc 1969, p.205), which probably rose to 250,000 a year later (Kendall 1977, p.69; Reynaud 1975, I, p.141, who thought this a credible claim). In later years the CGC claimed 300,000 members, but most authors, referring to the mid-1970's, thought 250,000 a more exact figure (Maurice & Sellier, 1976, p.517; OECD 1979). May be it made some progress (taken into account the membership of the Union des Cadres et Techniciens with which it merged - see: J.-L.Birien 1978, p.41) and its present membership is near 300,000. At its 1978 congress it announced 322.181 members, in 1980 302.133 members (see: "Cadres et Maîtrise", No. 794, April 1981), however, only 215,000 members were represented at the latter congress (H.Landier 1981, p.67). J.-D.Reynaud (1982, 1983), too, refers to a move towards unionization of staff personnel (cadres), with the CGC (now: CFE) as the organisation most benefitting from this tendency.

## OTHER UNIONS:

Undoubtedly, the most important independent union is the FEN, organising teachers and other personnel in education. The FEN is probably the most stable union organization and is rather different as far as its bargaining methods and the services rendered to its membership are concerned (Crozier 1967, Guérin 1973). It is generally attributed a membership of 400,000 in 1968, rising to 500,000 in the mid-1970's and 550,000 at the end of the 1970's. From Jansen & Kiersch (1983, p.447) I have derived the following table. The figures given presumably include "passive" members (pensioners).

FEN-membership 1951-1980 (in thousands)

1951	182.0	1967	391.0
1953	-	1969	-
1955	208.0	1971	494.0
1957	232.0	1973	520.0
1959	255.0	1975	526.0
1961	281.0	1977	543.0
1963	322.0	1979	-
1965	368.0	1980	531.0



The membership of the so-called "independent" or "autonomous" federations (the Confédération Générale des Syndicats Indépendents, founded in 1949, in 1959 the Confédération Française du Travail, presently the Confédération des Syndicats Libres (CSL)) is unknown, though most authors attribute 50,000 or, at most, 100,000 members to it (cf. J.-D.Reynaud 1975, OECD 1979). In September 1975, the CSL announced a figure of 82,331 "adhérents vérifiés", whatever that may mean (see: J.-L.Birien 1978, p.71).



## FRANCE

From the sources and data, mentioned above, I have derived the following table (F1). It should be recalled that all figures are somehow approximative. By using as much as possible the same definition of membership (see above), the figures given for each confederation are to some extent comparable. Since the membership figures are reconstructed from congress-reports and announcements about member recruitment preceding these congresses, in other words events taking place at different times in a given year, there is no common reporting data. Yet, in case of choice, I have preferred as much as possible end-of-the-year data (particularly in 1968). All membership figures are meant to exclude "passive" members.

Table F1: Union membership by Confederation, 1950-1981

year	CGT	FO	CFDT	CFTC	CGE CGC	Other Unions	Total Members
1950	2.750	350	-	330	50	200	3.680
1955	1.600	350	-	350	50	250	2.600
1960	1.500	350	-	420	50	250	2.570
1962	1.500	400	-	450	70	280	2.700
1965	1.550	400	--- 500 ---	---	100	350	2.900
1968	1.650	550	630	150	200	400	3.580
1970	1.700	600	680	150	250	470	3.850
1971	1.700	600	710	150	260	490	3.910
1972	1.670	610	740	160	270	510	3.960
1973	1.680	620	780	160	280	520	4.040
1974	1.680	640	780	160	290	530	4.080
1975	1.700	650	820	170	300	530	4.170
1976	1.680	670	830	170	310	540	4.200
1977	1.640	690	830	180	320	540	4.200
1978	1.550	720	810	180	320	530	4.110
1979	1.450	720	780	170	310	530	3.960
1980	1.400	720	740	170	300	520	3.850
1981	1.350	720	750	170	300	520	3.810



## FRANCE

Table F2: Union Membership and Union Density, 1950-1981

year	Membership of confederations (CGT+FO+CFDT)	Total Union membership	Dependent labour force	Density of conf.	Overall union density
1950	3.430	3.680	-	-	-
1955	2.300	2.600	-	-	-
1960	2.270	2.570	-	-	-
1962	2.350	2.700	13.630.0	17.2	19.8
1965	2.450	2.900	14.781.0	16.6	19.6
1968	2.830	3.580	15.423.0	18.3	23.2
1970	2.980	3.850	16.652.8	17.9	23.1
1971	3.010	3.910	16.979.9	17.7	23.0
1972	3.020	3.960	17.308.3	17.4	22.9
1973	3.080	4.040	17.641.5	17.5	22.9
1974	3.100	4.080	17.868.8	17.3	22.8
1975	3.170	4.170	18.149.9	17.5	23.0
1976	3.180	4.200	18.391.3	17.3	22.8
1977	3.160	4.200	18.706.7	16.9	22.5
1978	3.080	4.110	18.906.2	16.3	21.7
1979	2.950	3.960	19.121.1	15.4	20.7
1980	2.860	3.850	(19.300.0)	(14.8)	(19.9)
1981	2.820	3.810	-	-	-

Sources and Notes

Union membership: see table F1 (until 1965 the "confederal membership" includes the membership of the CFTC; after 1965 only the membership of the CFDT).

Dependent Labour Force: Annuaire Statistique de la France, Paris, annual, tables 2.01-2: ("Salariés occupés et Chômeurs").

The labour force data are taken from the quarterly labour force sample survey and include the unemployed, but not the unpaid family workers. They refer to annual averages. As a consequence of a change in the definition of unemployment, a small discontinuity between the pre- and post-1977 data exists.

Union density rates: own computations.





The figures on overall union membership and union density do not differ a great deal from those found in other sources. J.-D.Reynaud estimated the overall membership in the 1960's between 2 and 3 million (density rate: 15-20%), in the first years of the 1970's between 3 and 4.5 million (density rate: 20-25%) (Reynaud 1975, I, p.142, II, pp.124-125). Eugène Desamps (general secretary of the CFDT until 1971) thought that all unions together had no more than 2,700 to 3,000 members in 1967 (quoted in W.Kendall 1977, p.68-69). An observer from the employer's side estimated the union density rate in 1965 at 18.5% (P.de Calan, 1968, p.80-81). Another observer gives 20% for the end 1960's (M.Bouvard 1971, p.36). Estimates for the 1970's all range between 20% and 25% (H.Clegg 1976, p.11: 23% in 1972; C.Crouch & A.Pizzorno, II, p.317: 20%; K.von Beyme, 1978, p. :23-25%; OECD 1979: 20-25%).



## FRANCE

Table F3: Percentage share of CGT, FO, CFDT, CFTC in union membership

year	CGT	FO	CFDT	CFTC	Three Confederations (1950-65 = CGT+FO+CFTC) (1968-81 = CGT+FO+CFDT)
1950	74.7	9.5	-	9.0	93.2
1955	61.5	13.5	-	13.5	88.5
1960	58.4	13.6	-	16.3	88.3
1965	53.4	13.8	--- 17.2 (1)-		84.5
1968	46.1	15.4	17.6	(4.2)	79.1
1970	44.1	15.6	17.7	(3.9)	77.4
1971	43.5	15.3	18.2	(3.9)	77.0
1972	42.2	15.4	18.7	(4.1)	76.3
1973	41.6	15.3	19.3	(4.0)	76.2
1974	41.2	15.7	19.1	(3.9)	76.0
1975	40.8	15.6	19.7	(4.0)	76.0
1976	40.0	16.0	19.8	(4.0)	75.7
1977	39.0	16.4	19.8	(4.3)	75.2
1978	37.7	17.5	19.7	(4.4)	74.9
1979	36.6	18.2	19.7	(4.3)	74.5
1980	36.4	18.7	19.2	(4.4)	74.3
1981	35.4	18.9	19.7	(4.5)	74.0

Source: see Table F1.

(1) = membership of CFDT and CFTC together in 1964.

These figures can be compared with other data expressing the relative influence of union confederations. One such indicator is the share of valid votes for each confederation in the elections of the Comités d'Entreprise (CdE). Data on these elections are regularly published by the French Ministry of Labour. We must be aware that such Enterprise councils (Cd'E) exist only in private enterprises above a certain limit (over 50 employees). In other words, workers in small enterprises and public employees do not take part in these elections. Hence, unions which happen to organize only or recruit mainly the latter parts of the workforce, show results which underestimate their overall strength. This affects particularly the FO, which has a large part of its membership in the public sector, and, to a lesser extent, the CFTC, whose membership is mainly to be found in small firms. An important union such as the FEN does not figure at all in these electoral data.



The election results can only be compared per two consecutive years, since the election of a Cd'E takes place every two years and each year only about a half of the enterprise committees is renewed.

Table F4.: Elections to the Comité d'Entreprise  
Share of valid votes by each confederation

year	CGT	CFDT	FO	CFTC	CFE	other unions	non- union
'66-67	47.9	18.4	7.8	2.3	4.1	3.7	15.9
'68-69	44.4	18.8	7.4	2.8	5.0	5.6	16.1
'70-71	44.6	19.3	7.4	2.4	5.2	6.5	14.5
'72-73	42.5	19.3	7.6	2.6	5.3	6.2	16.6
'74-75	40.5	19.1	8.3	2.7	5.5	6.3	17.4
'76-77	39.5	19.7	9.2	2.8	5.4	6.4	16.7
'78-79	36.6	20.5	9.9	2.9	6.2	5.0	18.8

Source: Ministère du Travail; Revue des Affaires Sociales.

J.Capdeville & R.Mouriaux 1976, p.85-; H.Landier 1981, p.84-;

J.-D.Reynaud 1982, p.85-, and 1983, p.80-.

In 1968 about 5,400,000 wage earners and salaried employees took part in the Cd'E elections, that is about one-third of the dependent labour force. The electorate has almost doubled in the 1970's (extension to smaller enterprises, to the service sector and, generally, an improved observance of the legal obligation to install an elected enterprise council). Nevertheless, as said earlier, a large part of the dependent workforce does not figure in this election. For that reason one might prefer to compare union membership data with another type of election. In 1979 12.3 million workers (only private and quasi-public sector) could participate in national election of representatives in the Conseils de prud'hommes. The actual turnout was 61%. However, the problem with that election was that - differing from the Cd'E elections - the official unions had been granted a favourable position (non-union lists had been excluded from presenting themselves) and that the election was unique in its kind. We have no other elections of this type to compare with - the comparison with the only other national election, the one to the Caisses de sécurité sociale, is disputable, since that election took place in 1962 and the electorates in both cases have a complete different social profile, as have the parties participating. The CFDT, for instance, did not exist at the time; important participants of 1962 such as the "Mutualistes" and the "Associations familiales" did not participate in the 1979-election).

The election to the Conseils de prud'hommes show indeed a much better result of the FO, probably more in line with its actual force. The CGT gathered 42.4% of the votes, the CFDT 23.1%, the FO



17.4%. Of the smaller confederations the CFTC was leading with 7.0%, followed by 5.1% of the CGC; 4.6% of the votes went to the other unions (elections of 12-12-1979, source: Le Monde, 14-12-1979). With respect to all percentages one must bear in mind that the "non-union" lists were not represented.



## ITALY

Table II: Membership of the CGIL, 1950-1982

year	total membership	pension- ers	self-employed farmers	membership less pensioners and self-employed
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1950	4.640.5	326.8	542.8	3.770.9
1955	4.194.2	452.9	514.4	3.226.9
1960	2.583.2	371.3	352.1	1.859.7
1965	2.542.9	385.4	289.0	1.868.5
1968	2.461.0	399.9	220.2	1.841.0
1970	2.942.5	429.5	157.5	2.355.6
1971	3.138.4	436.0	133.8	2.568.6
1972	3.215.0	440.4	123.9	2.650.7
1973	3.435.6	470.8	107.0	2.857.8
1974	3.826.6	529.2	90.3	3.157.1
1975	4.081.4	676.0	79.0	3.326.4
1976	4.313.1	762.5	71.1	3.479.5
1977	4.475.4	872.7	62.7	3.540.0
1978	4.528.0	983.4		3.544.6
1979	4.583.5	1.056.2		3.527.3
1980	4.599.1	1.103.5		3.495.5
1981	4.595.0	1.186.2		3.408.8
1982	4.560.6	1.279.7		3.280.9

## Sources and Notes

CGIL-membership 1950-1977: G.Romagnoli *et.al.* 1980, vol II, pp.185-1977-1980: G.Romagnoli & G. Della Rocca 1982, p.92, table 3.1.  
1981-1982: *Rassegna Sindacale*, XXIX, 1983, n. 6, pp.25-28.

The Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro (CGIL) organizes retired workers in a separate union, Sindacato Pensionati Italiani (SPI). The membership of this union is specified in Romagnoli *et.al.*, vol II, (table 2.1); for the period 1978-1982 in: E.Biagioni 1979, E.Biagioni *et.al.* 1982, pp.36-37 and 386-387, and *Rassegna Sindacale*, 1983. Until 1978 the CGIL membership included also small farmers ("mezzadri e coltivatori diretti"). Their number can be calculated by subtracting the membership of the union of agricultural workers, the Federbraccianti, from the total CGIL membership in agriculture, including small farmers and workers on



own account. Romagnoli et.al. give both the number of CGIL members in agriculture (vol.II, table 2.1) and the number of CGIL members among agricultural wage earners (vol.II, table 3.1). The membership of the Federbraccianti can also be found in A.Amoretti 1974, p.48 (table 1) and p.60 (table 4), up to 1974, and for later years in E.Biagioni et.al. 1981, p.39, table 7. In 1978, the remaining group of 62.706 "mezzadri e coltivatori diretti" left the CGIL to become members of a farmers organisation, the Confederazione Italiana Coltivatori (E.Biagioni 1979); G.Romagnoli & G.Della Rocca 1982, p.91, note 6).

In recent years the CGIL also started to organize, in an independent union, the unemployed, but it had a rather moderate success in doing so: 10,000 in 1981, and 14,000 in 1982 (Rassegna Sindacale, Ibid.). I have included these members in the "active membership" (column 4). It is possible that the CGIL did organize some unemployed in the 1950's as well, especially in agriculture and construction, but I have not been able to find hard data on this.



## ITALY

Table I2: Membership of the CISL, 1950-1981

	total membership	pension- ers	self-employed farmers	membership less "passive" and self-employed
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1950	1.189.9	95.5	73.0	1.021.4
1955	1.342.2	176.1	118.3	1.047.8
1960	1.324.4	166.5	131.8	1.026.1
1965	1.468.0	149.9	90.4	1.227.7
1968	1.626.8	134.9	82.9	1.409.0
1970	1.807.6	133.9	58.1	1.615.6
1971	1.973.3	137.8	62.3	1.773.2
1972	2.184.3	158.6	83.0	1.742.7
1973	2.214.1	148.2	84.7	1.981.2
1974	2.472.7	210.0	89.2	2.173.5
1975	2.593.5	252.4	66.4	2.274.7
1976	2.823.8	287.0	74.5	2.462.3
1977	2.809.8	320.3	70.5	2.419.0
1978	2.868.7	377.8	80.0	2.410.9
1979	2.906.2	394.5	90.0	2.421.7
1980	3.057.7	448.1	101.3	2.508.3
1981	2.988.8	509.5	100.0	2.379.3

## Sources and Notes

CISL membership 1950-1977: G.Romagnoli *et.al.*, vol.II, pp.185-  
 1978-1980: G.Romagnoli & G.Della Rocca 1982, p.92,  
 table 3.1.  
 1981: CESOS 1981

With respect to the membership of the Confederazione Italiana dei Sindacati Lavoratori (CISL) one encounters the same problems as with the CGIL. Using the same methods and sources as described under table 11, I have calculated the number of retired workers", of "small farmers" and "active" members (column 2, 3 and 4 respectively). At present, the CISL still contains independent farmers among its membership. Their exact number could only be calculated for 1950-1976 and for 1980 (from the sectoral data in Romagnoli & Della Rocca, pp.93-94), for 1978, 1979 and 1981 their number has been extrapolated.



## ITALY

Table I3: Membership of the UIL, 1950-1982

year	total (1)	"passive" membership (2)	"active" membership (3)
1950	-	-	(700.0)
1955	-	-	(650.0)
1960	-	-	(550.0)
1965	-	-	(550.0)
1968	648.4	77.8	570.6
1970	780.0	105.0	675.0
1971	825.0	123.7	701.3
1972	842.9	134.9	708.0
1973	901.9	153.3	748.6
1974	965.1	173.7	791.4
1975	1.032.6	195.8	836.8
1976	1.104.9	209.9	895.0
1977	1.160.1	208.8	951.3
1978	1.284.7	218.4	1.066.3
1979	1.326.8	215.5	1.111.3
1980	1.346.9	201.0	1.145.9
1981	1.357.3	185.0	1.172.3
1982	1.358.0	177.0	1.181.0

Sources and Notes

The Unione Italiana del Lavoro (UIL) is rather hideous as far as membership data are concerned. I did not come across any source in which the exact UIL membership before 1968 was mentioned. S.Coi (1979, p.201, table 1) gave some data for 1968 and 1972-1978, but he did not distinguish the "passive" membership. G.Romagnoli & G.Della Rocca (p.92, table 3.1) give an aggregate membership series from 1970-1980, but their figures also include "passive" members. Data for 1981 and 1982 come from CGIL and CISL sources: 1981 from CESOS 1982, and 1982 from Rassegna Sindacale 1983. The latter two sources do also specify the "passive" membership: not only retired workers, but also students, self-employed, etc. From the sectoral data for 1970, 1975 and 1980, published in Romagnoli & Della Rocca 1982 (pp.93-94, tables 3.2 to 3.5) it was possible to calculate the "active" UIL-membership. For the years in between, as well as for 1968, I have extrapolated the "passive" membership included in the UIL membership.



On the basis of the 1968-1982 data I have made a rough estimate of the UIL membership ("active" only) for the years before 1968. The estimate is based on the rather fixed proportional distribution of union members in the 1970's, at least until 1978 and especially if the UIL is related to the CGIL (see on this point also: S.Coi, p.202 and p.204, table 2).

Table I4: Aggregate union membership and union density, 1950-1981

year	Total union membership ("active")	Dependent lab.force	Union density	density CGIL	density CISL	density UIL
1950	5.492.3	(12.000)	45.8	31.4	8.5	(5.8)
1955	4.924.7	12.492	39.4	25.8	8.4	(5.2)
1960	3.435.8	12.970	26.5	14.3	7.9	(4.2)
1965	3.646.2	13.324	27.4	14.0	9.2	(4.1)
1968	3.820.6	13.639	28.0	13.5	10.3	4.2
1970	4.646.2	14.029	33.1	16.8	11.5	4.8
1971	5.043.1	14.187	35.5	18.1	12.5	4.9
1972	5.301.4	14.391	36.8	18.4	13.5	4.9
1973	5.587.6	14.664	38.1	19.5	13.5	5.1
1974	6.223.2	14.858	41.9	21.2	14.6	5.3
1975	6.437.9	15.167	42.4	21.9	15.0	5.5
1976	6.836.8	15.530	44.0	22.4	15.9	5.8
1977	6.910.3	15.905	43.4	22.3	15.2	6.0
1978	7.021.8	15.934	44.1	22.2	15.1	6.7
1979	7.060.3	16.309	43.2	21.6	14.8	6.8
1980	7.149.7	16.506	43.3	21.2	15.2	6.9
1981	6.950.4					

#### Sources and Notes

Total members (col.1): calculated from tables I1-I3 ("active" membership only); generally end-of-year data, but no common reporting date.

The aggregate union membership as given here includes only the membership of the three mentioned confederations. However, this leaves aside the membership of some independent or "autonomous" unions or confederations, such as the CISNAL. The membership of these organisations is hard to establish. It is believed that these organisations had some influence in the 1950's and early 1960's, and re-emerged in the mid-1970's, particularly in the public sector



(health, education, transport). Some research on the membership of these independent unions was conducted by the Research Department of the CGIL (based on sectoral and regional surveys). The first survey, in 1975, suggested a membership of the independent unions between 471,300 and 501,300, possibly including some 100,000-150,000 pensioners, self-employed etc.; a second survey, in 1978, revealed 300,000-350,000 "active" members (E.Biagioni et.al., 1980, pp.53-56).

Apart from the areas in the public sector just mentioned, independent unions had some influence in banking and private transport: airlines, sea and road transport (for sectoral accounts: see R.Stefanelli 1982). In industry and agriculture these independent unions are almost non-existent, although this is bound to change, considering the fairly recent "movements" of middle and higher managerial staff personnel in the Italian economy.

On the basis of the CGIL-surveys, G.Romagnoli & G.Della Rocca 1982, p.92, give the following membership of independent unions between 1976 and 1980:

membership of independent or  
"autonomous" unions

1976	.....	310,000
1977	.....	316,000
1978	.....	322,000
1979	.....	346,000
1980	.....	370,000

It is not possible to stretch this series further backward. Nevertheless, it seems safe to assume, on the basis of the scarce information available, that for the whole period from 1950 until 1981 more than 90%, and probably even close to 95% of all Italian union members were members of unions affiliated to one of the three main confederations.

#### Dependent labour force:

A complete series for 1960-1980 is presented by the Italian Statistical Office ISTAT in Annuario di Statistiche del Lavoro, Rome 1981, vol.XXII: nuova serie 1959-1980. This "new series" is based on the revised quarterly labour force sample survey, in use since 1977, which includes more fully (and better comparable with international ILO and OECD standards) the unemployed (unemployed who lost a job, first job seekers as well as re-entrants in the labour market). The "new series" is a backward projection (by the ISTAT) until 1959 based on the post-1977 results and demographic changes. For all years the self-employed, the unpaid family workers etc. are excluded and the unemployed included. The data for 1950 and 1955 are based on ISTAT, "Sommario di Statistiche Storiche dell'Italia 1861-1965", pp.127-128, tables 97-98: employed labour force less self-employed and unpaid family workers; to which I have added the



number of unemployed given by ISTAT (in: W.Buechi 1965, p.49, table 2, and P.Ferri 1971, p.33). These figures for 1950 and 1955 are rather tentative and, at any rate, one should bear in mind that there is a clear discontinuity with the data from 1960 onwards. The old ISTAT data on unemployment differed conspicuously from those published by the Ministry of Labour, and it is generally believed that the ISTAT data, in fact until 1977 (i.e. before the revision of the labour force survey sample and the construction of a "new series") underestimated the dependent labour force as well as the number of unemployed.

Union density rate: own calculation (confederal membership only)

The thus calculated density rates are generally lower than those published in Italian sources mentioned so far (but much higher than the low unionization figures repeated in most international sources). Italian sources, however, do not always exclude retired workers and self-employed farmers (so, union density rates of over 100% in agriculture are recorded). A second reason is that many authors (for instance, Romagnoli, Coi, Della Rocca) used as the denominator the "old series" on the dependent labour force, and often excluded the unemployed from their calculation of union density rates.

It should be recalled that for the calculation of the union density rates in Table I4 (column 3) only the membership of CGIL, CISL and UIL has been taken into account. If the (estimated) membership of the "autonomous" unions was to be included, the density rates would be approximately 2 to 4 percentage points higher.



## ITALY

Table I5: Shares in total union membership by confederation, 1950-1981

year	CGIL		CISL		UIL	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
1950	-	68.7	-	18.6	-	12.7
1955	-	65.5	-	21.3	-	13.2
1960	-	54.1	-	28.2	-	16.0
1965	-	51.2	-	33.7	-	15.1
1968	52.0	48.2	34.3	36.9	13.7	14.9
1970	53.2	50.7	32.7	34.8	14.1	14.5
1971	52.9	50.9	32.2	35.2	13.9	13.9
1972	51.5	50.0	35.0	36.6	13.5	13.4
1973	52.4	51.1	33.8	35.4	13.8	13.4
1974	52.7	50.7	34.0	34.9	13.3	12.7
1975	53.0	51.7	33.6	35.3	13.4	13.0
1976	52.3	50.9	34.3	36.0	13.4	13.1
1977	53.0	51.2	33.3	35.0	13.7	13.8
1978	52.2	50.5	33.0	34.3	14.8	15.2
1979	52.0	50.0	33.0	34.3	15.0	15.7
1980	51.1	48.9	34.0	35.1	15.0	16.0
1981	51.4	49.0	33.4	34.2	15.2	16.8

Sources and Notes: calculated from tables I1-I4.

In the first columns for each confederation its share in total union membership has been calculated including the "passive" members. In the second columns only the "active" members have been taken into account.



## ITALY

Table I6: Union membership in Agriculture, 1950-1980

year	Members among agric. wage earners				dependent	density	density
	in CGIL	in CISL	in UIL	Total	lab.force	CGIL + CISL	3 conf.
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1950	1.023.6	260.4	-	-	2.107.0	60.9	-
1955	979.7	222.6	-	-	1.731.0	69.5	-
1960	587.5	196.5	-	-	1.733.0	45.2	-
1965	402.0	177.7	-	-	1.507.0	38.5	-
1970	358.3	183.7	70.0	612.0	1.201.0	45.1	51.0
1975	558.3	374.6	110.0	1.042.9	1.140.0	81.8	91.5
1980	553.2	400.0	131.2	1.084.4	1.100.0	86.7	98.3

Table I7: Trade union membership in Industry, 1950-1980

year	Union members in Industry				Dependent	density	density
	in CGIL	in CISL	in UIL	Total	Lab.force	CGIL+ CISL	3 conf.
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1950	1.928.9	471.1	-	-	5.067.0	47.4	-
1955	1.547.8	401.6	-	-	5.684.0	34.3	-
1960	807.8	342.5	-	-	5.949.0	19.3	-
1965	928.6	461.6	-	-	6.339.0	21.9	-
1970	1.371.9	743.9	300.0	2.415.8	6.837.0	30.9	35.3
1975	1.747.2	926.9	351.8	3.025.9	7.092.0	37.7	42.7
1980	1.834.5	1.009.6	487.6	3.331.7	7.300.0	39.0	45.6

Table I8: Union membership in the private service sector, 1950-1980

year	Union members in private service				dependent	density	density
	in CGIL	in CISL	in UIL	Total	lab.force	CGIL+ CISL	3 conf.
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1950	546.8	148.9	-	-	2.029.0	34.3	-
1955	470.1	166.4	-	-	2.224.0	28.6	-
1960	324.5	162.7	-	-	2.447.0	19.7	-
1965	352.9	193.8	-	-	2.322.0	23.5	-
1970	389.3	239.8	155.0	784.1	2.439.0	25.8	32.1
1975	570.1	336.8	180.0	1.086.9	2.743.5	33.1	39.6
1980	565.2	424.7	258.3	1.248.2	3.230.0	30.6	38.6



## ITALY

Table I9: Union membership and Union density of Public Employees, 1950-1980

year	Public employees in:			Total	Number of state employees	density CGIL+ CISL	density 3 conf.
	CGIL	CISL	UIL				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1950	271.6	141.0	-	-	1.440.0	28.7	-
1955	229.3	257.2	-	-	1.533.0	31.7	-
1960	139.9	324.4	-	-	1.689.0	27.8	-
1965	185.1	394.4	-	-	2.028.0	28.6	-
1970	236.2	448.3	150.0	834.5	2.353.0	32.2	35.5
1975	450.8	636.1	195.0	1.281.9	2.836.5	38.3	45.2
1980	542.6	673.9	268.9	1.485.4	3.330.0	36.5	45.0

Sources and Notes for tables I6-I9

Union membership by sector: G.Romagnoli & G.Della Rocca 1982, pp.93-94,  
tables 3.2 - 3.5.

All membership data exclude "retired workers", unemployed members,  
students, self-employed members, etc.

Dependent labour force by sector: Ibid., and ISTAT, Annuario  
di Statistiche del Lavoro, annual, part II,  
"Stime dell' occupazione nel quadro della contabilit   
nazionale".

The figures for 1980 are provisional. The labour force data (column 5)  
refer to the employed labour force only.

Table I10: Proportion of Public employee membership, 1950-1980

year	Public employee members as % of total membership:			
	in CGIL	in CISL	in UIL	in total membership
1950	7.2	13.8	-	8.6
1960	7.5	31.6	-	16.1
1970	10.0	27.7	22.2	18.7
1980	15.5	26.9	23.5	20.8

Sources and Notes: calculated from tables I1-I4 and I6-I9.



## NETHERLANDS

Table H1: Union Membership by Confederation, 1950-1982.

year	NVV	NKV	CNV	Total Conf.	EVC	Other Unions	Total Membersh.
1950	381.6	296.4	155.6	833.6	163.3	163.4	1.160.3
1955	463.1	361.0	199.7	1.023.8	-	197.6	1.221.4
1960	486.7	400.4	219.0	1.106.2	=====	248.0	1.354.2
1965	526.4	406.7	228.9	1.162.1		300.3	1.462.1
1970	562.5	400.0	238.5	1.201.1		323.2	1.524.3
1971	613.0	404.5	237.8	1.255.2		322.7	1.577.9
1972	632.4	401.1	238.3	1.271.8	=====	360.0	1.631.8
1973	656.6	396.3	234.9	1.287.9	RMHP	366.4	1.654.2
1974	670.7	397.9	231.4	1.300.0		384.4	1.684.4
1975	683.8	360.4	228.1	1.272.3	123.3	314.3	1.709.9
1976	702.6	352.8	230.0	1.285.4	112.1	327.9	1.725.4
1977	720.3	347.2	258.8	1.326.3	113.7	329.4	1.769.4
1978	730.6	339.7	293.9	1.364.2	114.1	307.4	1.785.7
1979	745.5	332.4	300.7	1.378.6	117.4	295.8	1.791.9
1980	751.9	325.9	304.3	1.382.1	118.5	289.1	1.789.6
1981	734.2	308.3	297.3	1.339.8	114.8	282.3	1.736.9
1982	-- 1.026.6 --		342.4	1.369.0	113.4	230.0	1.712.4

Sources and Notes

Trade union membership: CBS, Statistiek van de Vakbeweging, 1946-1981, annual survey from 1946 to 1964, bi-annual since 1967; CBS, Sociale Maandstatistiek (Monthly Bulletin of Social Statistics), 1965-1982.

NVV = Nederlands Verbond van Vakverenigingen (1905), the Dutch Federation of Trade Unions (social democratic orientation)

NKV = Nederlands Katholiek Vakverbond (Catholic); before 1964: Katholieke Arbeidersbeweging (KAB) founded in 1925 as continuation of the Bureau of Roman-Catholic Trade Unions (1909)

NVV and NKV federated in 1976 and merged on 1st January 1982 into one new confederation: the Federatie Nederlandse Vakbeweging (FNV) or Confederation of Dutch Trade Unions.

CNV = Christelijk Nationaal Vakverbond (1909), protestant.

EVC = Eenheids Vakcentrale, syndicalist-communist orientation, founded in 1944-1945, dissolution in 1958. After 1952 no membership figures available. Membership figures of EVC: G.Harmsen & B.Reynalda, 1974, 1976.

RHMP= Raad voor Middelbaar en Hoger Personeel, founded in 1975 as federation of five white collar unions.



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The Dutch Central Statistical Office (CBS) held until 1964 every year, since 1967 every two years an enquête with trade unions. The bi-annual survey (since 1967) is supplemented by the quarterly survey of unions that are affiliated to one of the main confederations or peak organisations (NVV, NKV, CNV and - since 1975 - the RMHP, a federation of five white collar unions). The membership of other unions, not covered by these supplementary quarterly surveys, is extrapolated by the CBS for the years in which the bi-annual surveys do not take place.

Union membership in 1950 = as of January 1st. 1950, and so on until 1971; union membership in 1972 = as of April 1st. 1972, union membership in 1973 = as of March 31st. 1973, and so on. The figures for 1982 are provisional.



## NETHERLANDS

Table H2: Total union membership and union density, 1947-1982.

year	total union membership (excl. pension ) (1)	dependent labour force (2)	union density (3)
1947	912.6	2.604.3	35.0
1950	1.102.3	(2.827.9)	(39.0)
1955	1.160.3	(3.103.0)	(37.4)
1960	1.286.5	3.327.1	38.7
1965	1.389.0	(3.712.0)	37.4
1970	1.448.1	3.860.0	37.5
1971	1.498.2	3.889.0	38.5
1972	1.525.0	3.930.0	38.8
1973	1.539.6	3.951.1	38.9
1974	1.563.1	3.940.0	39.7
1975	1.579.4	3.933.0	40.1
1976	1.592.5	3.979.0	40.0
1977	1.630.9	4.036.0	40.4
1978	1.650.9	4.067.0	40.6
1979	1.657.6	4.115.0	40.3
1980	1.631.2	4.207.0	38.8
1981	1.604.9	4.299.0	37.3
1982	1.580.0	4.380.0	36.1

Sources and Notes

Union Membership: same sources as Table H1.

Pensioners and retired members have been excluded from all calculations of the union density rate (column 3). The annual survey until 1964 contained a question about the number of pensioners and allows a fairly exact calculation of their number included in union membership. For the years between 1964 and 1973 their number has partly been estimated by the CBS. Since 1973 the CBS has added a question about age-groups of union members to its questionnaire. From 1973 to 1981 the "active" union membership has been calculated as the membership between 15 and 64 years, related to the "active dependent labour force" between 15 and 64 years (column 2). So, since 1973 the pensioners included in union membership have been calculated as those members aged 65 and more. This may - particularly in most recent years, during which "earlier retirement" schemes for workers aged 61 and older have been applied throughout the Dutch economy - underestimate the actual number of



"retired workers" among union members. The unemployed have not been excluded from the union membership (they are included in the labour force data as well). Until the mid-1970's their number among the union members was small (9,900 in 1967, 2,100 in 1971 and 3,200 in 1973). Since the mid-Seventies, confronted with the rapid increase of unemployment, some unions changed their admission rules. Members becoming unemployed could maintain their membership card (as before), first-job seekers and unemployed generally could be admitted to membership (but not in all unions). The effect has been that the Dutch unions now contain a larger component of unemployed workers among their membership (though still very small if compared with the number of unemployed as a whole). In 1973 the Dutch unions had 44,400 unemployed, in 1975: 39,400, in 1977: 57,300, in 1979: 65,700 and in 1981: 86,500 among their memberships (calculation from bi-annual surveys).

Dependent labour force: CBS, Statistical Yearbook of the Netherlands; 1969-1981, section H., tables 2 ("Independent and dependent economically active population, by sex");  
CBS, Statistiek Zakboek 1982, section H., table 1., ("Beroepsbevolking naar leeftijd en positie in het bedrijf");  
CBS, Tachtig Jaren Statistiek in Tijdreeksen 1899-1979, Den Haag 1979, "volume of labour in man-years".  
CBS, Statistiek Werkzame Personen, 1973-1981.

The Dutch Statistical Office used two concepts with respect to the labour force: the volume of labour available, in which all labour is recalculated in a number of man-years (1800 hours); and the number of persons in the dependent labour force. Of course, the latter concept is the more appropriate one for calculating the union density rate. However, only for those years in which a general population census took place (1947, 1960, 1971) and since 1973, when the CBS started to carry out a labour force sample survey (at first bi-annually: 1973, 1975, since 1975 annually), the latter concept was applied (CBS, Statistiek Werkzame Personen, 1973, 1975-1981). The figures for 1947, 1960 and 1971 refer to the population censuses of, respectively 31-V-1947, 30-VI-1960 and 28-II-1971. They are related to the union membership data of 1-I-1947, 1-I-1960 and 1-I-1971. The concepts used for defining the labour force are not completely congruent between these censuses, but the remaining differences are of little consequence for the calculated union density rates.

In all cases the figures include the unemployed and those looking for work.

Since the census of 1971 the "dependent economically active population" refers to all persons between 15 and 64 years working, resp. looking for work for 15 hours or more per week, less the self-employed, unpaid family workers, and military conscripts (definition population census 1971). The so-called "marginal



workforce" (part-timers, esp. women, only working, resp. available for work during limited hours/periods) have been excluded too (see below). The data for 1972-1982 refer to the same concept, but are based on the labour force sample surveys. These surveys take place on 31st March of each year and include only the employed dependent workforce. However, based on the survey data the CBS constructs a series, with January 1st as reporting data, including the persons looking for work, resp. unemployed.

So, the dependent labour force in 1972 as of 1-I-1972, has been related to the union membership of 31-III or 1-IV of the same year. The figures for 1970, 1972 and 1974 are based on extrapolations, those for 1980-1982 are provisional.

The data on the dependent labour force for 1950, 1955 and 1965 (column 2, between brackets) are volume-data (annual averages, in man-years), developed by the CBS in the context of the National Accounts Statistics. Part-time labour is more fully included, but recalculated on the basis of man-years = 1,800 hours per year. As a consequence, the union density rates for 1950, 1955 and 1965 are slightly understated (about half to one percentage point) if compared to the others in this series. If we would apply the man-year concept for the 1970's too, this effect would become larger, mainly because the increase of part-time labour. Generally, if we would include all part-time labour (through the old man-year concept), union density rates in the 1970's would be 2 percentage points lower than showed in table H2, column (3) (see: CBS, "Statistiek van de Vakbeweging 1981", Den Haag 1982, in which union density rates for the period 1971-1981 obtained by using the old and new denominator (man-years resp. persons) are compared.

Union density rates: own computation.



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Table H3: Percentage share of confederations in total union membership, 1950-1982.

year	NVV	NKV	FNV	CNV	EVC	RMHP	Share of (NVV+NKV +CNV)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1950	32.9 (38.3)	25.5 (29.7)		13.4 (15.6)	14.1		71.8 (83.6)
1955	37.9	29.6		16.3			83.8
1960	35.9	29.6		16.2			81.7
1965	36.0	27.8		15.7			79.5
1970	36.9	26.2		15.7			78.8
1971	38.8	25.6		15.1			79.5
1972	38.8	24.6		14.6			77.9
1973	39.7	24.0		14.2			77.9
1974	39.8	23.6		13.7			77.2
1975	40.0	21.1		13.3		7.2	74.4
1976	40.7	20.4	(61.2)	13.3		6.5	74.5
1977	40.7	19.6	(60.3)	14.6		6.4	75.0
1978	40.9	19.0	(59.9)	16.5		6.4	76.4
1979	41.6	18.6	(60.2)	16.8		6.6	76.9
1980	42.0	18.2	(60.2)	17.0		6.6	77.2
1981	42.3	17.7	(60.0)	17.1		6.6	77.1
1982			60.0	20.0		6.6	79.9

Sources and Notes : calculated from Table H1.

The figures for 1950, between brackets, give the relative shares of the main confederations as if the EVC did not exist; this is added for reasons of comparisons with subsequent years.



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Table H4: Trade Union Membership by Sex, 1973-1981

year	MALES			FEMALES		
	union members (1)	depend. lab.f. (2)	density (3)	union members (4)	depend. lab.f. (5)	density (6)
1971	-	3.024.0	-	-	865.0	-
1973	1.504.1	3.096.0	48.6 (46.0)	150.1	855.0	17.7 (16.0)
1975	1.544.7	3.078.0	50.2 (47.0)	165.2	855.0	19.3 (18.0)
1977	1.562.1	3.143.0	49.7 (46.0)	207.3	893.0	23.2 (21.0)
1979	1.555.9	3.145.0	49.6 (45.0)	236.0	970.0	24.3 (23.0)
1981	1.491.7	3.216.0	46.4 (42.0)	245.2	1.013.0	24.2 (23.0)

Sources and Notes

Male and female union membership: CBS, Statistiek van de Vakbeweging, 1973-1981

Male and female dependent labour force: CBS, Statistical Yearbook of the Netherlands, 1974-1981 (section H., tables 2); and  
CBS, Statistisch Zakboek 1982 (section H., table 1).  
(see further notes to table H2)

Union density rates: own computation.

Since the reported data on male and female union membership include, unlike the data in table H2, retired workers etc., the union density rates for males and females are overstated. The CBS has made an estimate of both density rates if these members with a "passive" status on the labour market were to be excluded (CBS, Statistiek van de Vakbeweging, 1981). I have added these estimated density rates in the columns (3) and (6) between brackets.



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Table H5: Female union members as percentage of total membership, 1973-1981.

year	Female union members as % of total membership in:				
	NVV (1)	NKV (2)	CNV (3)	RMHP (4)	Total membership (6)
1973	8.4	5.0	8.1	-	9.1
1975	9.9	5.8	7.5	-	9.7
1977	11.9	5.9	11.8	6.7	11.7
1979	13.6	6.6	13.3	5.8	13.2
1981	-- 12.5 --		13.9	6.5	14.1

Sources and Notes: calculated from CBS, Statistiek van de Vakbeweging, 1973-1981.

Since the category "no response" with respect to this question was rather high among the "other" unions (about 20%), it does not seem meaningful to give the percentages for these unions as well. The female trade unionists in these unions have been estimated by the CBS in order to calculate the total.



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Table H6: Trade union membership of manual labour, 1947-1981

year	NVV	NKV	CNV	Other Unions	Total	Manual depend. lab.f.	Density
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1950	302.3	241.9	114.4	160.7	819.0	-	-
1960	365.3	327.0	149.6	14.5	856.5	2.056.7	41.6
1964	396.1	342.0	153.5	20.0	911.6	-	-
1967	385.4	310.7	161.1	28.9	886.2	-	-
1971	464.3	332.8	171.5	20.7	987.3	2.121.5	46.5
1977	521.9	309.8	161.8	20.3	1.013.6	2.047.0	49.4
1979	513.8	286.2	174.5	15.0	999.3	2.036.0	49.0
1981	-- 773.9 --		172.2	11.0	957.2	-	-

Table H7: Trade union membership non-manual labour, 1947-1981

year	NVV	NKV	CNV	Other unions	Total	Non-man. depend. lab.f.	Density
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1950	78.9	54.5	41.2	166.9	341.4	-	-
1960	121.4	73.4	69.4	233.5	497.7	1.270.4	39.2
1964	133.1	78.8	75.6	272.2	559.7	-	-
1967	135.3	68.0	58.8	272.8	534.8	-	-
1971	148.7	71.7	66.2	304.0	590.6	1.767.5	33.4
1977	198.4	37.6	97.0	422.8	755.8	2.177.0	34.8
1979	231.7	36.2	126.4	388.3	792.6	2.292.0	34.6
1981	-- 268.5 --		125.1	386.1	779.7	-	-

Sources and Notes

From 1946 to 1967 the CBS ("Statistiek van de Vakbeweging") distinguishes between three groups of union members: manual workers in the private sector (Handarbeiders), white collar employees in the private sector (Hoofdarbeiders or Beambten), and public employees (Ambtenaren). Since 1969 the CBS distinguishes only the first and the last category.

For the period 1946-1967, the CBS classification can relatively easily be transformed in a two-fold classification manual/non-manual. The manual workers in the private or semi-public sector are already classified under the manual-private category. Next to these groups, I have classified the union



members in railways, postal services, transport and auxiliary personnel in education under manual labour. Hence, from 1947-1966 non-manual union members are all members in category two (private white collar) plus all union members in the public sector except the four groups mentioned above.

- 1950: manual and non-manual union membership as of 1-1-1950. Calculated from CBS, Statistiek van de Vakbeweging, 1950, p.31, table 4.
- 1960: manual and non-manual union membership as of 1-1-1960. Calculated from CBS, Ibid, 1960, p.9, table 10.
- 1964: manual and non-manual union membership as of 1-1-1964. Calculated from CBS, Ibid, 1964, p.9, table 10.
- 1967: manual and non-manual union membership as of 1-1-1967. Calculated from CBS, Ibid, 1967, pp.13-14, tables 1-3, and p.17, table 6.

For the period 1970-1981 calculation of union membership by occupational status is more complicated, since the CBS does not any longer distinguish between manual (blue collar) and non-manual (white collar) members within the private or public sector. It is not possible to resolve this question by only looking at the membership of individual unions, since most unions are organized according to the principle of "industrial unionism" comprising both manual and non-manual workers in the same industry or sector. This principle (agreed upon between the three confederations in 1951) has been fully implemented by the NVV (which expelled its union of technicians and staff personnel in 1954), and the CNV (but not completely). The NKV maintained a relatively large union of lower and middle managerial or staff personnel and technicians, until this union left the NKV in 1974, as did some of its white collar unions in the service, resp. public sector a year later, because they did not accept the confederation's decision to amalgamate and, eventually, to merge with the NVV. The former NKV white collar union in the private sector joined in 1975 the new federation of white collar unions (RMHP). In 1982 the two former NKV white collar unions in the service, resp. public sector joined the CNV. To start with, we must estimate the number of non-manual union members included in the membership of the general unions affiliated to NVV and CNV in industry (particularly in the metalworkers' unions and in printing). For 1966 an exact calculation is possible. In the NVV 10%, in the CNV 9.1% of their membership in all general unions in manufacturing could be counted as non-manual employees. The non-manual membership of the NVV in these sectors belonged completely, and of the CNV almost completely to general ("industrial") unions. Industrial unions in the NKV organized almost no non-manual employees. For all three confederations, their non-manual membership in construction and agriculture was extremely low (CBS, Statistiek van de Vakbeweging, 1967).



For 1971, 1977, 1979, and 1981 I have assumed that the non-manual membership of NVV and CNV has stabilized at 10% of the membership of their general unions in manufacturing (there is not reason to believe that this percentage has increased to the contrary - see: G.Harmsen & B.Reynalda, 1976, pp. et seq., and J.Ramondt 1975). Non-manual membership in the NKV declined after its union of lower & medium staffs and technicians left the organisation. The membership or parts of membership of the following unions have been classified as non-manual:

10% of "Industriebonden" (metal, chemical, textiles) and of the unions in printing (in NVV and CNV).

In all three confederations the union members working in banking, commerce and insurances (part of general "service" unions) and half of the membership of their public employee unions.

Furthermore: teachers, policemen, artists, journalists, military personnel, commercial agents, organ players. Finally, unions of "supervisory staffs and overlookers/foremen" (in NKV until 1974)

Outside the three confederations, the whole membership of the RMHP was counted as non-manual. Of the other non-affiliated unions all members except those in construction and transport were counted as non-manual.

1971: manual and non-manual union membership as of 1-I-1971. Calculated from CBS, Statistiek van de Vakbeweging, 1971, p.18, table 1, and pp. 24-25, table 14-16.

1977: manual and non-manual union membership as of 31-III-1977, Calculated from CBS, Ibid., 1977, p.18, table 4; and CBS, Sociale Maandstatistiek, 1977, pp.923-4, tables 1.5.2 - 1.5.4

1979: manual and non-manual union membership as of 31-III-1979. Calculated from CBS, Ibid., 1979, p. 19, table 5; and CBS, Sociale Maandstatistiek, 1979, pp.883-4, tables 1.6.1 - 1.6.4

1981: manual and non-manual union membership as of 31-III-1981. Calculated from CBS, Ibid., 1981, p.18, table 5; and CBS, Sociale Maandstatistiek, 1981, tables 1.6.1 - 1.6.4

Manual and Non-manual labour force: ILO, Yearbook of Labour Statistics, tables II.B

The data for 1960 and 1971 refer to the population censuses, for 1977 and 1979 to the labour force sample surveys. The unemployed have been classified as manual. The labour force figures in tables H6 and H7 are not fully comparable to the aggregate figures in table H2.

Density rates: own computation.



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Table H8: Share of confederations in manual &amp; non-manual union membership, 1950-1981

year	Manual union membership share of NVV+NKV+CNV (1)	Non-manual union membership shares of NVV+NKV+CNV (2)	of RMHP (3)
1950	80.4	51.1	
1960	98.3	53.1	
1971	98.1	48.5	
1977	98.0	44.1	15.6
1979	97.5	49.7	14.8
1981	98.8	50.4	14.7

Sources and Notes: calculated from tables H1, H6-H7.

Table H8: Non-Manual trade union membership in percentage of total union membership, by confederation, 1947-1981

year	Non-manual union members in % of total membership in:			
	NVV (1)	NKV (2)	CNC (3)	Total (4)
1950	20.7	18.4	26.5	29.4
1960	24.9	18.3	31.7	36.8
1971	24.3	17.7	27.9	37.4
1977	27.5	10.8	37.5	42.7
1979	31.1	11.2	42.0	44.2
1981	-- 25.8	--	42.1	44.9

Sources and Notes: calculated from Tables H6 and H7



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Table H9: Union membership in the public sector, 1947-1981

year	NVV	NKV	CNV	Other	Total	Share 3 conf.
1951	80.3	56.8	43.2	153.8	334.1	54.0
1961	108.6	59.1	62.3	212.4	442.5	52.0
1967	114.8	53.2	65.2	247.7	480.9	48.5
1971	164.3	49.1	76.9	224.2	514.5	56.4
1973	178.6	51.9	73.1	265.7	569.3	53.3
1975	195.4	53.8	75.0	287.8	611.9	53.0
1977	223.3	55.3	105.8	279.1	663.6	57.9
1979	247.9	57.6	149.4	249.3	704.1	64.6
1981	-- 306.4 --		143.1	241.7	691.2	65.0

Table H10: Trade union membership in private sector, 1947-1981

year	NVV	NKV	CNV	Other	Total	Share 3 conf.
1951	325.3	254.6	123.0	177.1	880.0	80.0
1961	398.3	352.7	162.5	43.8	956.2	95.4
1967	405.9	325.5	154.7	54.0	940.2	94.3
1971	418.3	308.9	142.9	65.7	936.1	92.9
1973	421.2	303.4	140.2	90.1	955.0	90.6
1975	413.3	258.7	131.0	119.3	922.3	87.1
1977	413.6	234.6	121.8	123.6	902.7	85.3
1979	410.7	222.7	119.2	135.3	887.9	84.8
1981	-- 589.8 --		113.4	124.0	827.2	85.0

Sources and Notes: CBS, Statistiek van de Vakbeweging, 1950-1981,  
union membership by sector (private/public).



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## Sectoral union density rates:

The CBS gives the following sectoral union density rates:

	1947	1960	1971	1981
<hr/>				
In the <u>private sector</u> :				
-- agriculture:	29.0	59.0	52.3	42.0
-- industry (+construction):	38.8	44.9	42.7	41.1
-- insurance:	26.0	23.0	-	-
banking and insurance:	-	-	10.4	9.0
-- retail & catering:	15.0	18.0	18.9	17.0
-- transport & Post Office : (incl. public transport)	-	-	53.5	51.0
In the <u>public sector</u> :				
-- general government: (excl. education)	34.0	46.0	45.0	55.0
-- education only:	65.0	74.0	68.0	68.0
<hr/>				

Table H11: Public employee membership as percentage of total union membership by confederation, 1947-1981

year	Union membership in public sector as % of total membership in:				
	NVV	NKV	CNV	Other	Total
1947	20.5	14.6	26.5	43.5	27.2
1950	20.0	18.0	26.1	46.5	27.5
1960	21.4	14.4	27.8	82.9	31.6
1966	22.0	14.0	29.6	82.1	33.8
1970	28.2	13.7	35.0	77.3	35.5
1973	29.8	14.6	34.3	74.7	37.3
1975	32.1	17.2	36.4	70.7	39.9
1977	35.1	19.1	46.5	67.8	42.4
1979	37.6	20.5	55.6	64.8	44.2
1981	--- 34.2	---	55.8	66.1	45.1

Sources and Notes: calculated from tables H8 and H9.

Pensioners, unemployed members and unclassifiable members have been excluded from the calculation.



## NORWAY

Table N1: Union membership by Confederation, 1950-1979.

	LO	Other	of which:		LO	AF	YS
	(1)	(2)	AC	YS	(5)	(6)	(7)
			(3)	(4)			
1950	488.4	-			-		
1956	545.4	89.3			85.6		
1960	541.6	107.6			83.4		
1965	574.3	124.2			81.6		
1970	594.4	156.4			79.2		
1971	601.9	164.0			79.2		
1972	603.7	172.0			77.8		
1973	613.8	192.4			76.1		
1974	635.8	228.9	-		73.5		
1975	655.0	247.2	(71.0)		72.6	7.9	
1976	673.7	244.2	(78.6)		73.4	8.6	
1977	692.2	273.2	(84.6)	(78.9)	71.7	8.8	8.2
1978	712.7	290.8	(90.1)	(83.6)	71.0	9.0	8.3
1979	721.0	320.1	(93.9)	(87.6)	69.3	9.0	8.4
1980	728.0	346.5	(102.8)	(97.2)	67.8	9.6	9.0

Sources and Notes

Union Membership 1950-1976: G.S.Bain & R.Price 1980, pp.158-159, table 9.1;  
 1977-1980: Statistisk Aarbok Norge, annual;  
 and K.Heidar 1983, p.846 with respect  
 to the LO membership of end-1980.

LO = Landesorganisasjonen i Norge (1899), Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions.

AS = Akademikernes Fellesorganisasjon (1974), Central Organisation of Academic Professional Employees.

YS = Yrkesorganisasjonenes Sentralforbund (1977), Central Organisation of Occupational Unions, mainly white collar employees.

Some professional associations which recruit employers and the self-employed as well as employees have been excluded, as it seems until 1973 (Bain & Price, p.159). From 1974-1980 the membership of the AC (a Central Organisation of Professional Employees) has fully been counted, like some other professional associations which might also recruit some self-employed members. On the other hand, some independent associations do not report membership to the Norwegian Bureau of Statistics and, therefore, do not appear in the figures



given here.

The increase in union membership since the mid-1970's is partly the effect of a larger coverage of the union membership statistics with respect to the non-LO unions.

I ignore to what extent the reported membership data include "retired" workers or other "passive" categories.  
All membership data refer to 31st December of each year.

Table N2: Total union membership and union density, 1950-1979.

year	membership of LO	total union membership	dependent labour force	density of LO	total density
1950	488.4	-	973.8	50.2	-
1956	545.4	634.7	1.033.8	52.8	61.4
1960	541.6	649.2	1.056.0	51.3	61.5
1965	574.3	698.5	1.117.9	51.4	62.5
1970	594.4	750.8	1.215.2	48.9	61.8
1971	601.9	765.9	-	-	-
1972	603.7	775.7	1.363.0	44.3	56.9
1973	613.8	806.2	1.403.0	43.7	57.5
1974	635.8	864.7	1.425.0	44.6	60.7
1975	655.0	902.2	1.491.0	43.9	60.5
1976	673.7	917.9	1.557.0	43.3	59.0
1977	692.2	965.4	1.593.0	43.5	60.6
1978	712.7	1.003.5	1.627.0	43.8	61.7
1979	721.1	1.041.1	1.657.0	43.5	62.8
1980	728.0	1.074.5	1.685.0	43.2	63.8

#### Sources and Notes

Union membership: see table N1

Dependent Labour Force 1950-1976: Bain & Price (*ibid.*);

1977-1980: Statistisk Aarbok Norge 1978, tables 67+69; 1979, tables 67+69; 1980, tables 71+73; and 1981, tables 71+73:  
employed persons by status and industry, annual averages (excluding self-employed and family workers) plus the unemployed.

Union density 1950-1974: Bain & Price *Ibid.*  
1975-1979: own computation.



In 1972 the Norwegian Statistical Office revised its labour force sample survey, which is believed to have a broader coverage as far as the dependent labour force is concerned. Hence, there exists a discontinuity between the data for 1950-1970 and those for 1972-1980; the former series is thought to understate the dependent labour force (Bain & Price, p.157). The data for 1972-1980 refer to the labour force sample surveys of October each year.

As already mentioned, the increase of the union density rate during the 1970's may partly be the effect of a better coverage of union membership statistics by the Norwegian Bureau of Statistics. As Bain & Price have noted, if these independent white collar organisations (partly including self-employed members) had been included, the aggregate union density rate in 1970 would have been 3.2% higher (p.159). On the other hand, the understatement of the dependent labour force in the pre-1972 data, brings about the reverse effect, i.e., the union density rates up to 1970 are already somewhat overstated. This leaves us with the outlayers for 1972 and 1973, in both cases the union density rates seem to be understated (given the absence of some "other" union members) by 2-3 percentage points.



## NORWAY

Table N3: Trade union membership manual labour, 1965-1979

year	Manual union membership:			Share of	Manual	Density
	in LO	outside LO	total	LO in total	lab.force	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1960	-	-	-	-	691.0	-
1965	466.8	10.9	477.7	97.7	-	-
1970	470.1	13.4	483.5	97.2	740.0	65.3
1975	499.6	13.4	513.0	97.4	-	-
1976	509.8	14.0	523.8	97.3	812.0	64.5
1977	518.7	15.6	534.3	97.1	818.0	65.3
1978	530.0	16.6	546.9	97.0	812.0	67.4
1979	533.4	16.1	549.5	97.1	812.0	67.8

Sources and Notes

Manual union membership: Statistisk Aarbok Norge, 1966-1981.

As manual union members have been counted: all members of LO except the memberships or parts of memberships of the LO-unions listed under table N4.

Outside the LO the following, most craft or occupational unions were listed as manual: nurses and midwives, skilled workers in the pharmaceutical industry, in forestry and wood, in printing, in the dairy industry, and machinists; plus two unions in the YS: coachdrivers and workers in the oil industry.

Manual dependent labour force: ILO, Yearbook of Labour Statistics, various years, tables IIB.

Note the discontinuity in the pre- and post-1970 data, the latter referring to the revised labour force sample survey.

Manual density rate: own computation.



## NORWAY

Table N4: Trade union membership: non-manual labour, 1965-1979

year	Non-manual union membership:			Share of	Non-manual Density	
	in LO	outside LO	total	LO in total	Lab.Force	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1960	-	-	-	-	365.0	-
1965	107.5	113.3	220.8	48.7	-	-
1970	134.3	143.0	267.3	46.5	475.0	56.3
1975	155.4	233.8	389.2	39.9	-	-
1976	163.9	230.2	394.1	41.6	745.0	52.9
1977	173.5	257.6	431.1	40.2	775.0	55.6
1978	182.4	274.2	456.6	39.9	815.0	56.0
1979	187.7	304.0	491.7	38.2	845.0	58.2

Sources and Notes

Non-manual union membership: Statistisk Aarbok Norge, 1966-1981.

Non-manual union membership in LO = members of union of journalists, commercial and office employees, supervisors and technical staff, military officers, municipal employees (50%), assistant district policemen, air defense officers, musicians, policemen (until 1975), social workers, government employees, customs officials (the last union until 1978). All other LO-members were classified as manual. Outside LO: except the memberships of unions listed under table N3, all members of "other" unions have been counted as non-manual.

Non-manual labour force: same as for table N3

Non-manual density: own computation.

The density rate of non-manual workers, since 1975, may be somewhat overstated because of the inclusion of self-employed members in the reported membership of the AC and of some of the independent white collar unions.



## NORWAY

Table N5: Share of Non-Manual Members in L0 and in total membership, 1965-1979.

year	Non-manual membership in L0 as percentage of total L0-membership	Non-manual membership as percentage of total aggregate membership
1965	18.7	31.6
1970	20.9	35.6
1975	23.7	43.1
1976	24.3	42.9
1977	25.1	44.7
1978	25.6	45.5
1979	26.0	47.2

Sources and Notes: calculated from tables N1-N4.

Table N6: Union Membership in the public sector, 1965-1979.

year	Union members in public sector in L0		outside L0		Total		Share L0 in total members public sector
	abs	(in %)	abs		abs	(in %)	
	(1)		(2)		(2)		(4)
1965	133.7	(23.3)	64.4		198.1	(28.4)	67.5
1970	155.0	(26.1)	81.5		236.5	(31.5)	65.5
1975	195.7	(29.9)	110.4		306.1	(33.9)	63.9
1978	234.3	(32.9)	129.1		363.4	(36.2)	64.5

Sources and Notes

Union membership public employees: Statistisk Aarbok Norge, 1966-1981.

Public employee members in L0: military officers, prison officials, railwaymen, municipal employees, district policemen, locomotivemen, air defence officers, policemen (until 1975), telephone & telegraph employees, government employees, customs officials (until 1978) and social workers. Public employee members outside L0: municipal staff employees, state employed engineers, teachers, state employees in YS and AS, policemen (since 1976), customs officials (since 1979).



## SWEDEN

Table S1: Union membership by confederation, 1950-1981

	members	members	members	members	members	perc.	perc.	perc.
	LO	TCO	SACO-SR	SAC	SALF	LO	TCO	LO+TCO
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1950	1.278.4	272.0	43.7	19.9		79.2	16.7	96.0
1955	1.384.5	339.9	57.6	17.0		77.0	18.9	95.9
1960	1.485.7	395.8	74.3	17.6		75.3	20.1	95.3
1965	1.564.5	511.9	100.3	21.6		71.2	23.3	94.5
1970	1.680.1	661.7	124.3	23.5		67.2	26.5	93.7
1971	1.733.1	769.4	139.4	22.6		65.0	28.9	93.9
1972	1.771.5	805.0	142.3	21.7		64.6	29.4	94.0
1973	1.807.6	839.8	150.6	21.0		64.1	29.8	93.9
1974	1.863.5	881.6	153.4	20.0		63.9	30.2	94.1
1975	1.918.1	951.4	165.0	19.0		62.8	31.1	93.9
1976	1.961.2	1.006.9	178.6	18.5		62.0	31.8	93.8
1977	2.017.8	1.059.4	191.8	18.0		61.4	32.2	93.6
1978	2.057.3	1.087.1	202.5	17.9		61.1	32.3	93.4
1979	2.089.4	1.012.8	214.0	18.0	(100.0)	60.8	29.5	90.3
1980	2.126.8	1.042.8	224.8	18.2	( 90.0)	60.7	29.8	90.5
1981	2.140.8	1.062.3	233.6	17.8	( 80.0)	60.6	30.1	90.7

## Sources and Notes

Union membership 1950-1977: G.S.Bain & R.Price 1980, pp.142-143, table 7.1;  
 1978-1981: Statistisk Åarsbok foer Sverige, 1979-1982.

LO = Landsorganisationen i Sverige, Swedish Federation of Trade Unions, founded in 1898.

TCO = Tjanstemannens Central Organisation, Central Organisation of Salaried White Collar Employees, founded in 1944.

SACO= Sveriges Akademikers Central Organisation, Central Organisation of Professional Employees (1947)

SR = Statstjanstemannens Riksforbund, Federation of Civil Servants (1917)  
 SACO and SR have amalgamated in 1975 to SACO-SR.

SAC = Sveriges Arbetares Centralorganisation, Syndicalist federation of manual workers (1910)

SALF= Federation of supervisory staffs and lower management, founded in October 1979 when its two constituent unions left the TCO.  
 (SALF is not a proper confederation; recently, it was refused recognition as a confederation). The membership of both unions together was 96,130 at 31-12-1978, the membership figures for later years are estimates (see: G.Rehn & B.Viclund 1983, p.225).

Not considered: HBT, a small union of dockers.



## SWEDEN

The figures given in table S1 include "passive" members (particularly pensioners and students). The shares of LO and TCO in the total Swedish union membership (column 6 and 7) have been calculated from these "raw" membership data.

Table S2: Total union membership and Union density, 1950-1981

year	total union membership	total union membership (less pens.)	dependent labour force	union density (1):(3)	union density (corr.) (2):(3)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1950	1.614.0	-	2.384.0	67.7	-
1955	1.799.0	-	2.542.8	70.8	-
1960	1.973.4	-	2.701.8	73.0	-
1965	2.198.3	-	2.934.7	74.9	-
1969	2.403.3	2.223.6	3.074.3	79.1	72.3
1970	2.499.6	2.287.0	3.109.3	80.4	73.6
1971	2.664.5	2.433.6	3.288.6	81.0	74.0
1972	2.740.5	2.497.2	3.297.3	83.1	75.7
1973	2.819.0	2.553.8	3.336.0	84.5	76.6
1974	2.918.5	2.648.7	3.391.3	86.1	78.1
1975	3.053.5	2.782.9	3.501.3	87.2	79.5
1976	3.165.2	2.875.5	3.520.3	89.9	81.7
1977	3.287.0	2.984.0	3.538.0	92.9	84.3
1978	3.364.8	3.052.9	3.578.0	94.0	85.3
1979	3.434.2	3.138.7	3.626.0	94.7	86.6
1980	3.502.6	3.197.6	3.645.0	96.1	87.7
1981	3.534.5	3.225.1	3.708.0	95.3	87.0



## SWEDEN

Sources and Notes

Union membership: see table S1

Bain & Price observe (p.139) that the interpretation of Swedish union membership data is complicated both over time and between confederations by the varying practices with respect to "passive" members (particularly: retired members and student members). For instance, LO unions have included such members, the TCO has excluded them until 1967; SACO has included them as well (especially students). Hence, aggregate union membership and union density are overstated in comparison with other countries by between 3 and 8 percentage points. According to Bain & Price (*Ibid.*), an exact calculation for 1974 showed that the aggregate membership without these "passive" members was 2.649.2 instead of 2.918.5, and union density 78.1% instead of 86.1%.

In Table S2 (columns 2 and 5) I have tried to adjust the series by excluding this passive membership on the basis of the incomplete information available with regard to retired members and students.

The retired members included in LO-membership are not specified in the returns to the Swedish Bureau of Statistics. However, the LO did specify their number for the period 1969-1974 (see: Bain & Price, p.140, note 5):

## Retired workers in LO, 1969-1974

	retired workers in LO (1)	LO membership less retired workers (2)	retired workers as % of total membership (3)
1969	137.8	1.521.9	8.3
1970	139.4	1.540.7	8.3
1971	146.2	1.586.9	8.4
1972	154.7	1.616.8	8.7
1973	167.5	1.640.1	9.3
1974	168.3	1.695.2	9.0

Bain & Price suggest that the proportion of retired members in the LO is not likely to have further increased in the second half of the 1970's. I have assumed that it would stabilize at 8.7% (the average of the period shown) between 1975- 1981.

For the period 1975-1981 it is possible to calculate the "passive" members included in TCO and SACO from their returns to the Swedish Bureau of Statistics (Statistisk Åarsbok foer Sverige, 1976-1982).



## "Passive" members in TCO and SACO-SR, 1975-1981

	TCO			SACO-SR		
	passive members		active	passive members		active
	abs.	as %		abs.	as %	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1975	71.0	7.4	880.6	36.9	22.3	128.2
1976	84.8	8.4	922.0	38.1	21.3	140.5
1977	91.3	8.6	968.2	40.1	20.9	151.7
1978	95.9	8.8	991.2	41.1	20.3	161.4
1979	77.1	7.6	935.7	43.2	20.2	170.8
1980	83.9	8.0	959.0	44.0	19.6	180.9
1981	86.9	8.2	975.5	44.8	19.1	188.7

By extrapolating backwards (until 1969) the proportion of "passive members" in TCO and in SACO-SR, it is possible to reconstruct a corrected series ("active members" only) between 1969 to 1981. With regard to the SALF, the same proportion of "passive members" as in the TCO has been assumed. I have neglected the possible inclusion of retired members in the SAC.

Dependent Labour Force 1950-1977: Bain & Price. 1980, pp,142-143, table 7.1;

1978-1981: Statistisk Aarsbok foer Sverige.

It should be noted that the labour force data, given in table S2, give only the number of wage earners and salaried employees, as well as the unemployed, who worked 20 hours and more per week (resp. available for 20 hours and more). Part-time workers are, however, included in the union membership data (especially, if we consider the raw membership data including retired workers and students). The OECD (Labour Force Statistics) and the ILO (Yearbook of Labour Statistics) give both series on the dependent labour force which include all workers between 16 and 74 years of age who worked more than 1 hour a week (labour force sample survey returns). Between 1965 and 1981 this would add some 300,000 workers per year to the figures given in table S2 (column 3).

Union density rates: own computation

I have calculated two series, the first one (column 4) includes the "passive" members (and can be seen as an updating of the series presented in Bain & Price), the second one (column 5) only includes the "active" membership. The second series is to be preferred if one wants to compare Swedish union density rates with those in other countries. An alternative way of calculating union density rates for Sweden could be to compare the "raw" union membership data (inclusive "passive" members) with the more inclusive data on the dependent labour force, i.e. plus part-time labour).



The thus computed density rates would be: 68.3% in 1965, 71.0% in 1970, 80.8% in 1975 and 88.0% in 1980, i.e. not very different from the density rates given in table S1, column 5.



## SWEDEN

Table S3: Union membership and union density of Males, 1975-1980

year	Male union members in:				Male lab.force	Male density
	LO	TCO	other	total		
1950	1.038.0	-	-	-	-	-
1960	1.150.9	-	-	-	-	-
1970	1.199.6	-	-	-	-	-
1975	1.258.0	519.4	131.5	1.908.9	2.125.0	89.8
1980	1.271.3	493.0	250.1	2.014.4	2.123.0	94.9

Table S4: Union membership and union density of Females, 1975-1980.

year	Female trade union membership in:				Female lab.force	Female density
	LO	TCO	other	total		
1950	240.4	-	-	-	-	-
1960	334.8	-	-	-	-	-
1970	480.5	-	-	-	-	-
1975	660.1	431.9	52.5	1.144.5	1.658.0	69.0
1980	855.4	549.8	82.9	1.488.1	1.852.0	80.4

Sources and Notes

Male and female union membership 1950-1970: LO-Statistik, Stockholm 1974  
 1975-1980: Statistisk Årsbok för Sverige, 1976-1982; union membership data in tables S3 and S4 include "passive" members.

Male and Female dependent labour force: OECD, Labour Force Statistics 1969-1980, Paris 1982.

The OECD data include the people working, resp. available for work less than 20 hours per week, plus the unemployed.

Union density rates: own computations



## SWEDEN

Table S5: Manual and Non-manual union membership and union density, 1950-1980.

year	MANUAL union members (1)	dependent labour force (2)	density (3)	NON-MANUAL union members (4)	dependent labour force (5)	density (6)
1950	1.214.2	1.614.0	75.2	399.8	770.0	51.9
1960	1.377.2	1.651.4	83.4	596.2	1.050.4	56.8
1970	1.560.2	1.741.9 (1.959.9)	89.6 (79.6)	939.4	1.367.4 (1,532.1)	68.7 (61.3)
1975	1.769.4	1.917.6 (2.035.5)	92.3 (86.9)	1.284.1	1.583.7 (1.746.5)	81.1 (73.6)
1976	1.803.4	-	-	1.361.8	-	-
1977	1.852.1	-	-	1.434.9	-	-
1978	1.888.1	-	-	1.476.1	-	-
1979	1.920.7	-	-	1.513.5	-	-
1980	1.955.7	-	-	1.546.9	-	-
		(1.990.2)	(98.3)		(1.990.8)	(77.7)
1981	1.967.1	-	-	1.567.4	-	-

Sources and Notes

Manual and Non-manual union membership 1950-75: Bain & Price 1980, p.148 table 7.3;

1976-1981: Statistisk Aarsbok foer Sverige.

Bain & Price classify the membership of TCO, SACO and SR as white collar, together with three LO unions: the Forsaekringsanstaelldasfoerbund (insurance employees), the Handelanstaellldasfoerbund (employees in commerce) and the Musikerforbunded (musicians). The membership of all other LO unions as well as that of SAC was classified as manual.

Some authors tend to classify the total LO-membership as manual, although they admit that parts of the membership of the aforementioned LO-unions comprise low-graded white collar workers. In particular, one could dispute the classification of the commercial employee union as non-manual. On the other hand, yet two other LO-unions, the union of state employees and the union of municipal employees, include some white collar employees. Although classified as manual, the SAC comprises some white collar workers as well. (see: Nilstein 1966, Wheeler 1975).

Nevertheless, I have used the same classification as Bain & Price



with respect to the period after 1975. In addition to the three aforementioned LO-unions, the membership of the TCO, the SACO-SR and of the two SALF-unions has been classified as white collar.

Manual and Non-manual labour force 1950-1975: Bain & Price (Ibid).

For the period 1976-1981 no comparable data to those used by Bain & Price were available. Between brackets I have added the figures for the manual and non-manual dependent labour force as could be derived from the ILO statistics (Yearbook of Labour Statistics, 1975-1982), tables IIB. It should be recalled that the ILO follows a different classification and what is more, includes wage earners, salaried employees and unemployed who work, resp. are available for work less than 20 hours a week. On the other hand, the series on manual and non-manual union density in Bain & Price suffers from the same overstatement (approximately 8 %) as their aggregate series, because of the retired workers and students included in the union membership data. Hence, the figures given between brackets are likely to be a better approximation of manual and non-manual union density rates, especially if compared with such rates in other countries. In both the calculation of Bain & Price and mine, the unemployed have been added to the manual workforce.

Union density rates: Bain & Price, and own calculations (between brackets).



## SWEDEN

Table S6: Proportion of Non-manual employees in LO, resp. total membership, 1950-1980

year	Non-manual members as percentage of:	
	LO membership	Total aggregate membership
1950	6.6	24.8
1960	8.5	30.2
1970	8.5	37.6
1975	8.7	42.1
1980	8.9	44.2

Table S7: Share of LO, TCO and SACO-SR in total manual/non-manual union membership, 1950-1980.

year	Share of LO in		Share of TCO in	Share SACO-SR
	manual membership	non-manual membership	non-manual membership	in non-manual membership
1950	98.4	21.0	68.0	10.9
1960	98.7	21.2	66.4	12.5
1970	98.5	15.3	70.4	14.3
1975	98.9	13.0	74.0	12.9
1976	99.0	12.9	73.9	13.1
1977	99.0	12.8	73.8	13.4
1978	99.1	12.6	73.6	13.7
1979	99.1	12.3	66.9	14.1
1980	99.1	12.2	67.4	14.5
1981	99.1	12.2	67.8	14.9

Sources and Notes: calculated from tables S1 and S5.



## SWEDEN

Table S8: Union membership of Public Employees, 1975-1981

year	Union membership of Public Employees:						state empl. (5)	density (6)
	in LO	in TCO	in SACO-SR	Total				
	share (1)	share (2)	share (3)	(4)				
1975	466.2 (48.1)	404.9 (41.7)	98.8 (10.1)	969.9	1.131.1	85.7		
1976	496.1 (48.1)	428.4 (41.6)	106.1 (10.3)	1.030.6	-	-		
1977	545.0 (48.9)	455.1 (40.9)	113.7 (10.2)	1.113.8	1.221.5	91.2		
1978	583.6 (49.3)	479.5 (40.5)	121.0 (10.2)	1.184.1	1.305.4	91.2		
1979	611.6 (49.7)	490.9 (39.9)	128.2 (10.4)	1.230.7	1.360.8	90.7		
1980	641.4 (50.1)	503.5 (39.3)	134.9 (10.5)	1.279.8	1.411.1	90.7		
1981	669.1 (50.4)	516.6 (38.9)	142.4 (10.7)	1.328.1	-	-		

## Sources and Notes

Union membership in public sector: Statistisk Aarsbok foer Sverige, 1976-1982.

In the LO two unions organize members in the public sector: the Statsanstaelldas Forbundet and the Kommunalarbetareforbundet. With respect to the TCO and SACO-SR, the Swedish Bureau of Statistics distinguishes union members according to private or public employment status. In the case of TCO and SACO-SR it gives figures which explicitly exclude "passive" members. So, we must likewise exclude such members in the LO: I have proceeded on the assumption that of its public employee members 10% has such a "passive" status (column 1). The possible membership of SAC in the public sector has been ignored. Between brackets the relative shares of the three organisations are given.

State employees: Statistisk Aarsbok foer Sverige, 1976-1982:

Central and local government employees, employees in state subsidized activities and state industries.

Union density rates: own computation

(to be compared with corrected series in table S1)



## SWEDEN

Table S9: Proportion of public employees in union membership, 1975 and 1980.

year	Public employees as percentage of total union membership:			
	in LO (1)	in TCO (2)	in SACO-SR (3)	All unions (4)
1975	27.0	46.0	77.1	34.9
1980	33.5	52.5	74.6	40.1

Sources and Notes: calculated from tables S1-S2, S8 and  
Statistisk Aarbok foer Sverige.

In the case of the LO (column 1), the percentage of public employee members has been calculated without excluding the retired workers, neither in the two unions concerned nor in the total LO-membership. In the cases of TCO and SACO-SR the percentages have been calculated excluding the "passive" members. In column (4) the percentages express the total public employee membership less pensioners, students etc. (table S9, column 4) divided by the aggregate "active" membership (table S2, column 2).



## SWITZERLAND

Table CH1: Union membership, 1960-1981

year	SGB	VSA	CNG	SVEA	LFSA	FRom	Indep. white collar	Indep. public empl.	Total membersh.
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1950	360.0	73.2	50.1	15.0	15.1	8.1	-	-	-
1960	408.8	102.5	79.7	14.7	18.2	14.8	23.2	47.6	710.9
1965	421.4	120.2	92.5	14.8	18.7	19.5	25.7	52.3	765.1
1970	408.5	123.4	93.7	13.7	18.2	19.5	29.5	70.1	776.8
1971	409.1	125.0	94.8	13.8	18.2	19.8	31.0	70.5	782.2
1972	412.5	126.4	97.8	13.9	18.4	19.9	33.3	71.3	793.5
1973	417.9	126.7	98.9	13.8	19.9	20.5	35.5	74.0	807.5
1974	425.0	127.6	99.8	13.8	20.1	20.8	37.7	75.1	820.2
1975	442.5	139.0	106.1	14.8	21.5	24.4	41.5	80.4	870.1
1976	445.8	148.7	107.0	15.1	21.7	24.4	43.4	82.3	888.4
1977	438.2	148.3	101.3	15.1	22.3	24.4	43.2	84.5	876.3
1978	431.7	146.8	101.3	15.0	22.5	24.4	43.2	85.6	870.5
1979	428.5	146.6	101.4	14.9	22.7	24.4	43.1	85.0	866.0
1980	429.3	144.7	103.3	14.7	22.3	24.4	43.4	87.8	869.9
1981	428.5	144.9	105.4	10.1	22.5	25.0	44.2	87.5	868.1

## Sources and Notes

Union membership 1950: J.Meynaud 1963, p.15;

1960-1981: Statistische Jahrbuch der Schweiz, 1960-1981;

and F.Hoepflinger 1980 (pp.46 and 49) for the membership of the VSA in 1960 and 1965.

SGB = Schweizerischer Gewerkschaftsbund (Swiss Federation of Trade Unions), founded in 1880.

CNG = Christlich-Nationaler Gewerkschaftsbund (Catholic union federation), founded in 1907.

SVEA= Schweizerischer Verband Evangelischer Arbeitnehmer (protestant federation), founded in 1920, dissolved in 1982.

LFSA= Landesverband Freier Schweizer Arbeitnehmer (liberal), founded in 1919.

FRom= Fédération Romande des Employées (regional federation of unions).

VSA = Vereinigung Schweizerischer Angestelltenverbaende (federation of white collar employees unions), founded in 1918.



Next to the religious/political divisions in the Swiss union movement, of which the SGB, CNG, SVEA (now defunct) and LFSA are a product, a regional division exists (of which the Fédération Romande des Employées, column (6), is an example) and, more important, a division by employment status: The Vereinigung Schweizerischer Angestellter Verbaende (VSA), founded in 1918, organizes only white collar employees. In columns (7) the membership of the non-affiliated or independent white collar unions is given, the most important of which is the union of bank employees, followed by the union of technical staffs and a small union of employees in insurance (SUMA).

In the next column (8) we find the membership of six independent unions in the public sector. In the first place, three non-affiliated unions, i.e., the teachers union, a union organizing municipal and cantonal employees, and - since 1966 - a union organizing policemen. Their membership is taken together with three independent unions in the public sector (post, customs and general government personnel) which co-operate with the seven SGB-affiliated unions in the public sector through a kind of federation, the Foederativ-Verbandes des Personals oeffentliche Verwaltungen und Betriebe, whose foundation goes back to 1903.

The union membership data given here still contain a small number of "passive" members, resp. self-employed. Especially in the public sector it has been the practice of most unions to include these categories in their membership data. Although the SGB does not specify the number of retired workers in its returns to the Swiss Statistical Office, such members are specified in the returns of the Foederativ-Verbandes. Since most, if not all pensioners, included in the aggregate SGB membership, are members of its public employee unions, it was possible to give in column (1) the SGB membership without retired worker members. The membership of the six independent public employee unions (column 8) also excludes pensioners (see also: Annual Reports SGB and Foederativ-Verbandes: in 1974 20.6% of all membership of the unions co-operating in this public employee federation were pensioners: Report 1974-1975, p. 10).

According to the Swiss Statistical Office some pensioners are included in the membership of SVA too, but this should be of little importance (idem, F.Hoepflinger 1974, 1980). The independent union of technical staffs (one of the unions whose membership is given in column 7) also organizes some self-employed members.

Since 1976, the Fédération Romande does not reveal its exact membership to the Swiss Statistical Office, the figures given in column (6) are estimates made by the statistical office.



## SWITZERLAND

Table CH2: Total union membership and union density, 1960-1981

year	total union membership	dependent labour force	union density
1960	710.9	2.154.7	30.3
1965	765.1	-	-
1970	776.8	2.656.0	29.2
1971	782.2	2.698.0	29.0
1972	793.5	2.723.0	29.1
1973	807.5	2.742.0	29.5
1974	820.2	2.735.0	30.0
1975	870.1	2.606.0	33.4
1976	888.4	2.531.0	35.1
1977	876.3	2.527.0	34.7
1978	870.5	2.540.0	34.3
1979	866.0	2.559.0	33.8
1980	869.9	2.598.0	33.5
1981	868.1	2.634.0	33.0

Sources and Notes

Union membership: see table CH1.

Dependent labour force: own calculations.

The figures for 1960 and 1970 are based on population census data (Eidgenössische Volkszählung 1960, Bern 1965, and Eidgenössische Volkszählung 1970, Bern 1974): wage earners and salaried employees, less self-employed and unpaid family workers, but plus the unemployed.

For the period 1970-1981 only data on the employed, economically active population are available, that is including the self-employed and unpaid family workers. From the population censuses of 1960 and 1970 we learn that in 1960 78% and in 1970 85% of the employed economically active population could be counted as dependent labour force, the remaining part being either self-employed or unpaid family workers. One might assume that the latter percentage (85%) remained relatively stable during the 1970's. The change from 1960 to 1970 was also due to the entrance of a large number of immigrant workers, an influx that came to a halt in the 1974 crisis, after which the proportion of immigrants in the Swiss labour force declined considerably. So, I have assumed that the percentage of wage earners and salaried employees in the total employed economically active population has increased annually from 1970-1974 by about 0.2 percentage points, and has remained constant since 1975 at 86% of the total employed labour force. Given this assumption we can calculate a proxy of the Swiss



dependent labour force from the data on the employed economically active labour force (1960-1981 in: Statistisches Jahrbuch der Schweiz, 1982, p.370: employed by economic sector), to which the unemployed have been added (1970-1974: Stat. Jahrbuch 1977, p.350; and 1975-1981: Stat. Jahrbuch 1982, p.366).

Union density rate: own calculation.

From other sources follows basically the same density rates until the mid-Seventies but after 1974 estimates of Swiss union density rates show a larger range of variance. F.Hoepflinger 1980 (p.64) gives 34% for both 1950 and 1960, but he does not exclude the pensioners from his calculation. J. Meynaud estimated the union density for 1960 between 30.0 and 45.6%, depending on the way of calculation. The latter figures is reached by including the pensioner-members and excluding the wage earners in agriculture and the large proportion of immigrants in the Swiss workforce. This is done more frequently and defended on the ground that the Swiss trade unions do organize only small fractions of these categories of workers.

Hoepflinger (op.cit) has suggested that, in fact, the union density rate in Switzerland has declined during the 1960's because of the large influx of immigrants and the difficulty, resp. reluctance most unions felt in organizing the foreign workers. According to the same author there was a sharp upward shift in the union density rate after 1974 because of the reverse effect (a large number of immigrant workers returned to their countries of origin or migrated to other countries). With respect to the latter half of the 1970's most authors arrive at union density rates between 35-40%, however, without specifying their method of calculation and the data used, and without excluding the retired workers (see: Anderegg 1981, p.196: 40.0%; Boldt 1978, p.378: 35.0-37.0%; K. von Beyme 1977, p.176: 38.0-40.0%; B.Hardmeier 1981, p.32: 40%; F.Hoepflinger 1980, p.64: 38.0%; J.Poelman 1981, p.91: 38.0%; S.Sonderegger 1979, p.181: 35.0-37.0%; H.Waschke 1979: p.176: 37.0%).



## SWITZERLAND

Table CH3: Share of Confederations in Total union membership, 1960-1981

year	SGB	CNG	SGB+CNG	VSA
1960	57.5	11.2	68.9	14.4
1965	55.1	12.1	67.2	15.7
1970	52.5	12.1	64.6	15.9
1971	52.3	12.1	64.4	16.0
1972	52.0	12.3	64.3	15.9
1973	51.8	12.2	64.0	15.7
1974	51.8	12.2	64.0	15.6
1975	50.8	12.2	63.4	16.0
1976	50.2	12.0	62.2	16.7
1977	50.0	11.6	61.6	16.9
1978	49.6	11.6	61.2	16.9
1979	49.5	11.7	61.2	16.9
1980	49.4	11.9	61.2	16.6
1981	49.3	12.1	61.5	16.7

Sources and Notes: calculated from table CH1; in the case of the SGB: 3 to 5 percentage points higher if pensioners are included.



## SWITZERLAND

Table CH4: Union membership and union density by broad occupational category, 1960-1980

year	MANUAL			NON-MANUAL			
	union members	dependent lab.force	density	union members	in %	dependent lab.force	density
1960	493.8	-	-	215.7	(30.4)	-	-
1965	525.4	-	-	239.5	(31.3)	-	-
1970	509.5	1.400.0	36.4	267.3	(34.1)	1.250.0	21.4
1975	565.1	-	-	305.0	(35.1)	-	-
1980	548.0	-	-	321.9	(37.0)	-	-

## Sources and Notes

Manual and non-manual membership: Statistisches Jahrbuch der Schweiz;  
F.Hoepflinger 1974 and 1980

Non-Manual union membership: all members of VSA and of independent white collar unions. The SGB, CNG and other "general" confederations organize only a very small number of white collar employees in the private sector. According to F.Hoepflinger 1980 (pp.64-65) the SGB organized 11,900, the CNG 2,600 and the other confederations 3,000 white collar employees in the private sector (data for 1976). The SGB, for example, seems to be wholly absent in the private service sector (except for a small union of journalists and employees in mass-media etc, founded in 1974).

For the calculation of the total non-manual union membership I have assumed that SGB, CNG, LFSA, SVEA and Fédération Romande have organized only a relatively small but constant number of white collar employees in industrial unions (private sector), increasing from 14,000 in 1960 to 17,000 in 1980.

As non-manual union members in the public sector have been counted: in the SGB only the members of the unions for "Postbeamte" and for "Telegraph-beamte", that is only those in communication and postal service that have a specific employment status ("Beamte"), plus 50% of the membership of the union of public employees. The membership of the three non-SGB affiliated unions in the Foederativ-Verbandes (the union of "Zollbeamte", of "Posthalter" and of administrative personnel) have been considered as non-manual. Two of the independent public unions (teachers and policemen) have also been counted as non-manual, but the union for municipal and cantonal personnel only for 50%. Presumably, the CNG, SVEA, LSFA etc. also organize non-manual employees in the public sector, but there are no figures available, except as far as their membership in the



public sector as a whole is concerned (Hoepflinger 1980 gives some data for 1976 only). I have counted half of their membership in the public sector as non-manual and, again, assumed that they have organized a small but constant number of public employees during the period considered.

All other union members have been counted as manual.

The union membership data in table CH4 excludes the retired workers to a large degree, though not completely (see notes to table CH1).

Manual and non-manual labour force: own calculations.

Only on the basis of the 1970-population census data was it possible to divide the dependent labour force in two categories: manual/non-manual (the census of 1970 showed a proportion of manual to non-manual employees of 1.40:1.24).

Union density rate: own computations.

Table CH5: Shares in total manual/non-manual union membership by SGB, CNG and VSA, 1960-1980.

year	Share in manual membership		Share in non-manual membership	
	by SGB (1)	by CNG (2)	by SGB (3)	by VSA (4)
1960	76.0	14.3	8.2	47.5
1965	73.6	15.7	8.2	50.1
1970	73.4	16.2	8.3	46.3
1975	71.8	16.6	8.3	45.6
1980	71.4	16.5	8.9	45.0

Sources and Notes: see notes to table CH4.



## SWITZERLAND

Table CH6: Union membership of Public Employees, 1960-1980

year	Public Employee membership in SGB	as % of SGB total	membership Total as % of total membersh.	Labour Force	Density	Share SGB
1960	103.1 (25.2)		174.7 (24.6)	-	-	59.0
1965	109.5 (26.0)		187.8 (24.5)	-	-	58.3
1970	107.1 (26.2)		205.2 (26.4)	348.6	58.9	52.2
1975	109.8 (24.8)		221.2 (25.4)	-	-	49.6
1980	109.8 (25.6)		229.6 (26.4)	-	-	48.0

Sources and Notes

Union membership public employees: Statistisches Jahrbuch der Schweiz;  
F.Hoepflinger 1980

I have listed as public employee unions: all ten unions co-operating in the Foederativ-Verbandes des Personals oeffentlicher Verwaltungen und Betriebe, 7 of which are affiliates of the SGB; three independent unions (police, teachers, and municipal & cantonal employees); a part of the membership of CNG, SVEA, LSFA and Fédération Romande des Employés (cf. F.Hoepflinger 1980, and notes to table CH4).

The membership of the ten unions working together in the Foederativ-Verbandes is without pensioners; the three independent public employee unions, however, give their membership without allowing for the possibility of separating out retired workers possibly included in their recorded memberships.

State employees: R.C.Eichenberg 1979, HIWED-report no.10.

The number of "state personnel" = general government at central and local level, plus public services such as post, railways etc , only known for 1970.

Union density rate: own computation

The union density rate in the public sector, 58.9% in 1970, is considerably higher than the density rate in the private sector: 24.8% in the same year.



## UNITED KINGDOM

Table UK1: Union membership and union density, 1950-1981

year	total union membership	membership of TUC	dependent labour force	overall union density	perc. of members in TUC
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
1950	9.289	7.827.9	21.055	44.1	84.3
1955	9.741	8.263.7	21.913	44.5	84.8
1960	9.835	8.229.4	22.229	44.2	83.7
1965	10.325	8.867.5	23.385	44.2	85.9
1970	11.187	10.002.2	23.050	48.5	89.4
1971	11.135	9.894.9	22.884	48.7	88.9
1972	11.359	10.001.4	22.961	49.5	88.0
1973	11.456	10.022.2	23.244	49.3	87.5
1974	11.764	10.363.7	23.339	50.4	88.1
1975	12.026	11.036.0	23.587	51.0	91.8
1976	12.386	11.516.0	23.871	51.9	93.0
1977	12.846	11.865.0	24.069	53.4	92.4
1978	13.112	12.128.0	24.203	54.2	92.5
1979	13.447	12.173.0	24.264	55.4	90.5
1980	12.947	11.603.0	24.171	53.6	89.6
1981	12.182	(11.000.0)	23.879	51.0	90.3
1982		(10.500.0)	23.384		

Sources and Notes

Union membership 1950-1976: G.S.Bain & R.Price 1980, pp.37-38, table 2.1 based on Department of Employment sources.

1977-1981: Department of Employment Gazette, annual review article on trade unions (Dec. 1979; Dec. 1980; Jan. 1981; Febr.1982; Jan.1983. using the latest revised data available.

TUC membership 1959-1974: H.Pelling 1976, pp.302-305.

1975-1982: British Journal of Industrial Relations, "Chronicle", and C.Crouch 1982, p.240, table 8; C.Crouch 1983, p.182, table 8, and TUC 1983-Congress report (Times 12-8-1983)

Dependent labour force 1950-1977: Bain & Price (*Ibid.*)

1978-1981: data from annual census of employment (DEP-Gazette), with addition of the unemployed at mid-June. All the labour force data exclude employers, the self-employed and members of HM Forces.



## UNITED KINGDOM

Table UK2: Trade union membership and Union density by Sex, 1950-1981

	MALE			FEMALE			
	union members	dependent lab.force	density	union members	in %	dependent lab.force	density
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1950	7.605	13.937	54.6	1.684	(17.8)	7.118	23.7
1960	7.884	14.556	54.2	1.852	(19.8)	7.672	25.4
1965	8.084	15.089	53.6	2.241	(21.7)	8.295	27.0
1970	8.444	14.497	58.2	2.743	(24.5)	8.553	32.1
1971	8.382	14.366	58.3	2.753		8.518	32.3
1972	8.452	14.316	59.0	2.907		8.645	33.6
1973	8.450	14.260	59.3	3.006		8.984	33.5
1974	8.586	14.125	60.8	3.178		9.214	34.5
1975	8.600	14.249	60.4	3.427	(28.5)	9.337	36.7
1976	8.826	14.397	61.3	3.561		9.473	37.6
1977	9.071	14.414	62.9	3.775		9.654	39.1
1978	9.238	14.377	64.3	3.874		9.729	39.8
1979	9.544	14.327	66.6	3.902		9.987	39.1
1980	9.156	14.308	64.0	3.790	(29.3)	10.049	37.7
1981	8.406	14.222	59.1	3.776		9.861	38.3

Sources and Notes: same as for table UK1



## UNITED KINGDOM

Table UK3: Trade union membership and density by occupational status  
(GREAT BRITAIN only)

year	MANUAL	lab.force	density	NON-MANUAL	lab.force	density
	union members			union members abs. (in %)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1951	7.091.0	14.450.0	49.1	2.175.0 (23.5)	6.948.0	31.3
1961	6.974.0	14.020.0	49.7	2.544.0 (26.7)	8.479.0	30.0
1966	6.857.0	14.393.0	47.6	2.823.0 (29.2)	9.461.0	29.8
1970	7.095.0	12.852.0	55.2	3.533.0 (33.9)	9.688.0	36.5
1975	7.112.1	12.327.0	47.7	4.488.8 (38.7)	10.715.0	41.9
1976	7.321.6	12.322.0	59.4	4.632.3 (38.8)	11.004.0	42.1
1977	7.445.3	12.265.0	60.7	4.837.9 (39.4)	11.251.0	43.0
1978	7.549.7	12.168.0	62.0	5.029.1 (40.0)	11.467.0	43.9
1979	7.577.5	12.035.0	63.0	5.124.7 (40.4)	11.652.0	44.0

Sources and Notes

Manual and Non-manual union members: G.S.Bain & R.Price 1974, pp. 346-7, tables 5+6;  
 G.S.Bain & R.Price 1980, pp.41-2, table 2.3  
 G.S.Bain & R.Price 1983, p.8, table 1.3.

Manual and Non-manual labour force: Ibid. The labour force figures include workers on own account.

Manual and non-manual density: Ibid.



Table UK4: Union membership in public sector

year	employees in public sector  (1)	union members in public sector abs.                  in % (2)		density  (3)
1948	4.892.0	3.411.7	(39.0)	69.7
1974	6.112.6	5.079.4	(46.9)	83.1
1979	6.331.0	5.380.0	(43.7)	85.0

Sources and Notes

Union members in public sector: G.S.Bain & R.Price 1974, pp. 342-3, tables 2+3;  
 G.S.Bain & R.Price 1980, pp.43-78, tables 2.4-2.39;  
 G.S.Bain & R.Price 1981, quoted in CSO, "Social Trends", 1982, p.196, table 11.17

The public sector in the United Kingdom comprises: national government; local government; education; health service; Post Office; telecommunications; air transport; port and inland water transport; railways; gas, electricity and water; and coal mining. Not included: the nationalized iron and steel industry.

Union density rates: Ibid.

The density rates for the private sector as a whole for these years would be 37.0% in 1948, 38.6% in 1974, and 42.0% in 1979.



## WEST GERMANY

Table D1: Union membership, 1950-1981

year	DGB	DAG	DHV	DBB	RB	TOTAL	share of DGB in total
1950	5.123.3	225.0	-	120.0	-	5.477.2	93.7
1955	6.104.9	420.4	32.3	517.0	8.8	7.083.5	86.2
1960	6.378.8	450.4	55.3	650.0	10.6	7.545.1	84.5
1965	6.574.5	475.6	62.7	703.1	11.5	7.827.4	84.0
1970	6.712.5	461.0	60.1	721.0		7.954.9	84.4
1971	6.686.7	469.9	60.3	706.6		8.105.5	84.7
1972	6.985.5	468.9	60.1	713.2		8.227.7	84.9
1973	7.167.7	463.4	60.3	718.0		8.409.2	85.2
1974	7.405.8	472.0	60.2	720.5		8.658.5	85.5
1975	7.264.9	470.4	60.4	726.9		8.622.6	85.4
1976	7.400.0	471.8	60.7	803.7		8.736.2	84.7
1977	7.471.0	473.4	61.0	794.2		8.799.6	84.9
1978	7.751.5	481.6	61.2	800.7		9.095.0	85.2
1979	7.843.6	487.7	61.4	824.4		9.217.1	85.1
1980	7.882.5	494.9	62.8	821.0		9.261.2	85.1
1981	7.957.5	499.4	63.6	820.3		9.340.8	85.2

Sources and Notes

Union membership 1950-1977: G.S.Bain & R.Price 1980, p.134, table 6.2;

1978-1981: Statistisches Jahrbuch fuer die Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1979-1982.

DGB = Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund, the German Federation of Trade Unions, founded in 1949.

DAG = Deutsche Angestellten Gewerkschaft, a Central Organisation of White Collar Employees, founded in 1945.

DHV = Deutscher Handels- und Industrieangestelltenverband, a union of white collar employees in commerce and industry, affiliated to the Christliche Gewerkschaftsbund CGB (see notes below)

DBB = Deutscher Beamtenbund, a Central Organisation of Government Employees ("Beamte"), founded in 1950.

RB = Deutscher Richterbund, a union of judges and state attorneys (until 1969, after which data the RB ceased reporting membership to the Federal Bureau of Statistics).



## WEST GERMANY

A problem of the data given here is that not all unions are represented. Of the Christliche Gewerkschaftsbund (CGB), founded in 1955, only its most important union, the DHV, representing between one-fourth to one-third of the total membership of the CGB, replies to the annual surveys by the Federal Bureau of Statistics. Information on the membership of the CGB can be drawn from H.Bayer et al. 1981, p. E14, table II, from A.Pelinka (1980, p.181, table 4.1.1) who gives a membership of 199,000 for 1970, and, for the most recent years, from O.Jacobi & W.Mueller-Jentch: 267,000 in December 1979 (1982, p.154), about 250,000 end-1980 (1983, p.125). These figures include the membership of the DHV. From these sources we can learn that the total CGB membership from 1965 to 1981, that is including DHV membership and pensioners, fluctuated between 190,000 and 260,000 members. Hence, taking into account that the DHV is already represented in table D1, some 150,000 to 200,000 members should be added to the aggregate union membership.

Another union, not represented in table D1, is the Union Leitender Angestellte (ULA), an independent union of managerial staffs. The membership of this organisation is not exactly known nor available. H.Bayer et.al. 1981 (p.217 et.seq.) give some data on the membership of one of its constituent unions, suggesting that this union makes up for the half of ULA's membership. It would follow that - in 1976 - the ULA had an overall membership of about 34,000. (see also: K.von Beyme 1979, p.54: who attributes to the ULA a membership of 38,000).

Therefore, would we take into account the full CGB membership as well as the membership of ULA, aggregate union membership would increase by about 2.0 to 2.5 percentage points. For the same reason, the proportion of members organized in the DGB (column 7) would in fact be 1.5 to 2.0 percentage points lower.

On the other hand, aggregate union membership as given in table D1 is overstated because of the partial inclusion of retired workers. They are not separated in the returns to the Statistische Bundesamt. From the detailed research carried out by H.Bayer et.al, we can derive some idea about the number of "passive" members (pensioners, retired workers, military conscripts, etc.) included in the reported membership data. In the 9 DGB-unions investigated, representing between 36.1% (in 1960) and 89.0% (in 1975) of all DGB members, the percentage of such "passive" members was well over 10%.

"Passive" members included in DGB (9 unions)

	"passive" members	as % of total membership
	(1)	(2)
1960	563.4	10.2
1965	676.4	11.7
1970	774.0	12.5
1975	902.8	13.8



This percentage varies from union to union: 35.6% in the mining union (IGBE), 30.2% in the railway union (GdED), 16.7% in the chemical industry union (IGCPK), 15.5% in the postal service union (DPG), 14.0% in the transport & public employee union (OTV), 11.5% in the metal workers union (IGM), 10% in the construction union (IGBSE, estimated), 4.8% in the union in commerce, banking and insurance (HBV) and none in the union in textiles (GTB) - all figures refer to 1975, except for the IGM = 1976.

The other confederations also include "passive" members. According to H.Bayer et.al, the DAG included in 1975 77.184 pensioners etc. in its recorded membership, or 16.4%; for the DHV the figures are 6,300 in 1965 (= 10.0%) and 13,200 in 1975 (= 21.8%). Data with respect to the DBB are not available, but one may assume that this organization of Beante included among its recorded membership at least 15% pensioners.

Hence, it seems safe to assume that the aggregate membership, if we only want to refer to members with an "active" position in the labour market, is inflated by about 10% to 15% (increasing in the 1970's).



## WEST GERMANY

Table D2: Total union membership and union density, 1950-1981

year	membership of DGB (1)	total union membership (2)	dependent lab.force (3)	density of DGB (4)	overall density (5)
1950	5.132.3	5.477.3	16.522.0	31.1	33.1
1955	6.104.9	7.038.5	19.037.0	32.1	37.2
1960	6.378.8	7.545.1	20.322.0	31.4	37.1
1965	6.574.5	7.827.4	21.450.0	30.7	36.5
1970	6.712.5	7.954.9	21.890.0	30.7	36.3
1971	6.868.7	8.105.5	22.000.0	31.2	36.8
1972	6.985.5	8.227.7	22.586.0	30.9	36.4
1973	7.167.5	8.409.2	22.757.0	31.5	37.0
1974	7.405.8	8.658.5	22.920.0	32.3	37.8
1975	7.364.9	8.622.6	22.732.0	32.4	37.9
1976	7.400.0	8.736.2	22.778.0	32.5	38.4
1977	7.471.0	8.799.6	22.923.0	32.6	38.4
1978	7.751.5	9.095.0	23.008.0	33.7	39.5
1979	7.843.6	9.217.1	23.281.0	33.7	39.6
1980	7.882.5	9.261.2	23.958.0	32.9	38.7
1981	7.957.5	9.340.8	24.547.0	32.4	38.1

Sources and Notes

Union membership: see table D1

Dependent Labour Force 1950-1977: G.S.Bain & R.Price 1980, pp.134-135, table 6.2;

1978: Statistisches Jahrbuch fuer die Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1979, p. 94: results of Microcensus of April 1978 ("Erwerbstaeftige nach der Stellung im Beruf"): employed labour force excluding employers, family workers and the armed forces. The adjustment for the armed forces is based on data (also contained in the Statistisches Jahrbuch), on "Beamte ohne Soldaten".

The unemployed (seasonal adjusted number of same month) have been added, on the basis of the detailed data given in Wirtschaft und Statistik, monthly, Federal Bureau of Statistics.

1979: Ibid., 1980, p.94, Microcensus May 1979, same method.



- 1980: Ibid., 1981, p.93, microcensus April 1980,  
same method.  
1981: Ibid., 1982, p.94, microcensus May 1981,  
same method.

Union density: G.S.Bain & R.Price 1980 (Ibid.) and own calculations.

On the one hand, union density rates are slightly understated (.7 to .9 percentage points) because of the omission of the complete CGB and ULA membership. They are, however, overstated because of the inclusion of retired workers in the aggregate union membership (up to about 4.5 percentage points).

So, a series of union density rates which takes into account these two corrections so as to make it comparable with other countries would show us density rates which generally lie about 3.5 percentage points lower.

In all following tables D3-D10 the union density rates suffer from this overstatement.



## WEST GERMANY

Table D3: Union Membership and union density by Sex: MALES, 1960-1980

	Male union membership				Total	Male Dependent Lab.Force	Density
	in DGB	in DAG	in DHV	in DBB (+RB)			
1960	5.285.2	294.9	41.5	-	-	-	-
1965	5.544.3	316.3	46.2	-	-	-	-
1970	5.685.4	313.5	43.9	-	-	-	-
1972	5.870.3	314.7	44.0	563.8	6.792.8	14.414.0	47.1
1975	6.051.9	306.9	44.1	582.2	6.985.1	14.281.0	48.9
1980	6.286.3	305.3	46.1	610.0	7.247.7	14.474.0	50.1

Table D4: Union membership and union density by Sex: FEMALES, 1960-1980

	Female union membership				Total	Female Dependent Lab.Force	Density
	in DBG	in DAG	in DHV	in DBB (+RB)			
1960	1.093.6	155.5	13.8	-	-	-	-
1965	1.030.2	159.3	16.4	-	-	-	-
1970	1.027.2	148.0	16.2	-	-	-	-
1972	1.115.3	152.2	16.1	149.4	1.433.0	8.172.0	17.5
1975	1.313.0	163.5	16.3	144.7	1.637.5	8.497.0	19.3
1980	1.596.3	194.1	17.5	210.3	2.018.2	9.266.0	21.8

Sources and Notes

Union membership by Sex: Statistisches Jahrbuch fuer die Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1960-1982.

The DBB only reported its membership according to sex from 1972 onwards. The RB, which ceased reporting membership, never did specify its membership according to sex.

Dependent labour force by Sex: as for table D2.

Male and female density rates: own computation



## WEST GERMANY

Table D5: Union membership and union density by occupational category, 1950-1981.

year	MANUAL			NON-MANUAL		
	Union members (1)	Dependent Lab.Force (2)	Density (3)	Union members (4)	Dependent Lab.Force (5)	Density (6)
1950	4.295.7	11.986.0	35.8	-	-	-
1951	4.924.3	-	-	1.566.7	-	-
1961	5.129.7	12.899.0	39.8	2.439.7	7.733.0	31.5
1965	5.157.3	12.993.0	39.7	2.670.1	8.365.0	31.9
1970	5.088.7	12.597.0	40.0	2.866.2	9.275.0	30.9
1975	5.310.4	11.973.0	44.4	3.312.3	10.865.0	30.5
1976	5.266.0	11.829.0	44.5	3.470.3	11.065.0	31.4
1977	5.289.4	11.807.0	44.8	3.510.2	11.174.0	31.4
1978	5.370.5	11.619.0	46.2	3.724.5	11.369.0	32.8
1979	5.387.4	11.657.0	46.2	3.829.7	11.615.0	33.0
1980	5.376.5	11.923.0	45.1	3.884.8	12.005.0	32.4
1981	5.410.6	12.225.0	44.3	3.930.2	12.290.0	32.0

Sources and Notes

Union membership by occupational category: Statistisches Jahrbuch,  
(as for table D1).



## WEST GERMANY

The Federal Bureau of Statistics divides union members in three categories: Arbeiter or manual workers (including part of the manual workers in public industry); Angestellte or white collar employees (largely but not exclusively confined to the private sector); and Beamte, that is those employees in the public sector that have acquired a special legal status in terms of job tenure, pension rights and the like. Bain & Price (p.132, note 6) rightly point out that Beamte is not coextensive with "white collar employees in the public sector", since it includes parts of the employees in railways and postal services that we have excluded from this category in other countries. It is, indeed, not a purely white collar group. Neither is Beamte coextensive with "public employees", it covers only those public employees with an established position and legal status. The category of public employees, as used in the case of other countries, is of course larger and includes also a part of the Angestellte and Arbeiter employed by the state (see table D8).

"Non-Manual" in Table D5 is Angestellte and Beamte; bearing in mind, however, that this is not quite the same as what is meant by this category in other countries. Tables D6 and D7 deal with Angestellte and Beamte separately.

The manual union membership (column 1) is equivalent to the manual membership of the DGB (as in the other tables, the CGB, in this case its manual membership, has been ignored).

The non-manual membership (column 4) is shared by several organisations: DGB, DAG, DHV, DBB and, until 1969, the Richterbund (RB).

Manual and non-manual labour force: Statistisches Jahrbuch (same as for table D2); and Wirtschaft und Statistik.

The unemployment data by occupational categories are taken from Wirtschaft und Statistik (Federal Bureau of Statistics, monthly); the unemployed of same month each year (seasonal adjusted).

Manual and Non-manual density: own computations



## WEST GERMANY

Table D6: Union membership and union density of Angestellte  
White collar employees (mainly in private sector), 1951-1980

year	White Collar (private) or <u>Angestellte</u>				Density	Share	Share
	in DGB	in other unions	Total membersh.	Dependent Lab. Force		DGB	DAG
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1951	627.0	343.5	970.5	-	-	64.6	35.4
1961	724.2	519.7	1.243.9	6.487.0	19.2	58.7	28.3
1965	835.2	538.3	1.373.5	7.021.0	19.6	60.8	34.6
1970	986.1	521.4	1.507.5	7.828.0	19.3	65.4	30.6
1975	1.381.8	530.9	1.912.7	9.223.0	20.7	72.2	24.0
1976	1.435.7	532.6	1.968.3	9.354.0	21.0	72.9	24.0
1977	1.483.2	534.4	2.017.6	9.442.0	21.4	72.9	24.0
1978	1.548.9	542.8	2.091.7	9.630.0	21.7	74.0	23.0
1979	1.610.0	549.1	2.159.1	9.880.0	21.9	74.6	22.6
1980	1.658.1	557.7	2.215.8	10.274.0	21.6	74.8	22.3
1981	1.703.4	563.0	2.266.4	10.548.0	21.5	75.2	22.0

Sources and Notes

Union membership 1951-1977: G.S.Bain & R.Price 1980, p.136, table 6.3;  
1978-1980: Statistisches Jahrbuch fuer die Bundesrepublik Deutschland  
(see notes to D4)

"Other unions" (column 2) comprises the membership of two organisations: the DAG and the DHV (see table D1).

Dependent Labour Force 1951-1977: G.S.Bain & R.Price (Ibid.)  
1978-1980: Stat.Jahrbuch (same procedure as used by Bain & Price, also included the unemployed (data in Wirtschaft und Statistik).

Union density rate: own computations



## WEST GERMANY

Table D7: Union membership and union density of Beamte, 1951-1980  
Public employees with special status, mainly "white collar",

year	"Established Public Employees" ( <u>Beamte</u> )		Total	Dependent	Density	Share	Share
	in DGB	in other	Membersh.	Lab. Force		DGB	DBB
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1951	360.8	234.4	596.2	-	-	60.6	39.4
1961	528.1	667.7	1.195.8	1.246.0	96.0	43.7	55.4
1965	582.0	714.6	1.296.6	1.344.0	96.5	44.9	54.2
1970	637.7	721.0	1.358.7	1.447.0	93.9	46.9	53.1
1975	671.7	726.9	1.399.6	1.642.0	85.2	48.1	51.9
1976	698.3	803.7	1.502.0	1.711.0	87.8	46.5	53.3
1977	698.4	794.2	1.492.6	1.732.0	86.2	46.8	53.2
1978	832.1	800.7	1.632.8	1.730.0	94.4	51.0	49.0
1979	846.2	824.4	1.670.6	1.755.0	95.2	50.7	49.3
1980	848.0	821.0	1.669.0	1.761.0	94.8	50.8	49.2
1981	843.5	820.3	1.663.8	1.773.0	93.8	50.7	49.3

Sources and Notes

Union membership 1951-1977: G.S.Bain & R.Price 1980, p.136, table 6.3  
 1978-1980: Statistisches Jahrbuch fuer die Bundesrepublik Deutschland  
 (see notes to D4)

Column 2 ("Other unions") is made up, until 1969, by two unions, the DBB and the Richerbund, and since 1970 by only the DBB (see table D1).

Dependent Labour Force 1951-1977: G.S.Bain & R.Price (Ibid)  
 1978-1980: Statistisches Jahrbuch, same tables as for table D2, plus tables on "Beamte in oeffentliche Dienst ohne Soldaten", but including part-time employees.



## WEST GERMANY

Table D8: Distribution of union membership by occupation category, 1950-1980

year	Total Membership			DGB Membership		
	Manual (private + public)	White Collar private	public	Manual (private + public)	White Collar private	public
1951	75.9	15.0	10.0	83.3	10.6	6.1
1955	71.2	15.5	13.3	82.6	10.5	6.9
1961	68.2	16.3	15.5	80.6	11.3	8.1
1965	65.9	17.5	15.5	78.4	12.7	8.9
1970	64.0	19.0	17.0	75.8	14.7	9.5
1975	61.6	22.2	16.2	71.5	18.8	9.7
1976	60.3	22.5	17.2	71.2	19.4	9.4
1977	60.1	22.9	17.0	70.8	19.9	9.3
1978	59.0	22.9	18.0	69.3	20.0	10.7
1979	58.5	23.4	18.1	68.7	20.5	10.8
1980	58.1	23.9	18.0	68.2	21.0	10.8
1981	57.9	24.3	17.8	68.0	21.4	10.6

Sources and Notes: calculated from tables D1 and D5-D7.



## WEST GERMANY

Table D9: Union membership and union density of Public Employees, 1960-1980.

year	Public employee membership				Labour Force	Density	Share DGB
	in DGB	in DAG	DBB/RB	Total			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1960	1.662.2	96.9	660.6	2.419.7	-	-	68.7
1963	1.720.5	100.2	692.0	2.512.7	-	-	68.5
1966	1.742.9	100.7	722.1	2.565.7	-	-	67.9
1971	1.843.6	106.4	706.6	2.656.6	-	-	69.4
1975	1.982.5	117.5	726.9	2.826.9	3.824.3	73.9	70.1
1977	1.983.3	124.4	794.2	2.901.9	3.988.2	72.8	68.3
1979	2.198.5	128.1	824.4	3.151.0	4.171.4	75.5	69.8
1981	2/307.3	131.3	820.3	3.258.9	4.259.3	76.5	70.8

Sources and Notes

Union membership: Statistische Jahrbuch fuer die Bundesrepublik Deutschland;  
H.Bayer et.al., 1981.

Of the DGB the following unions organize "public employees" or include "public employees":

The DPG (Deutsche Postgewerkschaft), the GdED (Gewerkschaft der Eisenbahner Deutschlands), the GdP (Gewerkschaft der Polizei), since 1978 affiliated to the DGB, the GEW (Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft), and a part of the membership of the OTV (Gewerkschaft Oeffentliche Dienste, Transport und Verkehr), that is all members except those working in the private transport sector. Information on the number of OTV-members working in the private transport sector is derived from H.Bayer et.al, 1981, p.238-248, tables 1-1a to 1-10a,

1976, extrapolated for 1977, 1979 and 1981.

State employees: Statistische Jahrbuch: "Personal in unmittelbaren oeffentlichen Dienst".

The employees of state subsidized social insurances are excluded, as are military conscripts. The number of state employees includes those in "part-time" jobs, as do the general data on the dependent labour force based on labour force sample surveys (table D2 and following). This is the reason that I hesitate to include data on state personnel for 1960-1971, since the Statistisches Jahrbuch only gives the number of full-time employees for those years.



## Union density public sector: own computations

The union density rate in the public sector results to be much higher than that in the private sector. The comparative density rate in the private sector was 30.2% (in 1975), 30.6% (1977), 30.7% (1979) and 30.0% (1981).

## WEST GERMANY

Table D10: Proportion of public employee members in total union membership 1960-1981

year	% of public employee members in total union membership	% of public employee members in DCB membership
1960	32.1	26.1
1963	32.8	26.8
1966	32.9	26.9
1971	32.8	26.8
1975	32.8	26.9
1977	<b>33.0</b>	26.5
1979	34.2	28.0
1981	34.9	29.0

Sources and Notes: calculated from tables D1 and D9.



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