

Construction Union Agreements: Union Organizing in Historical-Comparative Perspective

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Do the ways that unions organize affect their political stances?

Most labor unions compel employers to negotiate, *but the Building Trades engage in voluntary negotiations*, relying on workers' skill levels rather than strike leverage.

Building Trades (BT) are frequently political outliers.

- Oppose progressive environmental policies that other unions have endorsed.
 - Align more closely with the petrochemical industry (e.g., pipelines).
- Do not support single-payer healthcare.
 - Fifteen unions are Labor for Single-Payer Healthcare affiliates. None are building trades unions.

Historical: Within-Case Analysis¹

- Historical trajectory of the union.
- Durability: institutional arrangements.
- Structural features & constraints.
- Institutional changes (mergers, etc.).
- Evolutionary or generative approach.²

Comparative: Between-Case Analysis³

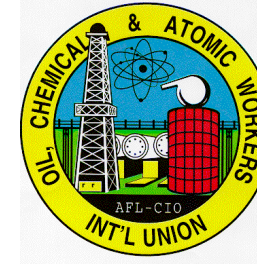
- Differences in institutional features.
- Difference in political outcomes.

¹Matthew Lange (2013). *Comparative-Historical Methods*. SAGE Publications Ltd. ISBN: 978-1-84920-628-0 978-1-4739-1422-3. DOI: 10.4135/9781473914223. URL: <https://methods.sagepub.com/book/comparative-historical-methods> (visited on 12/17/2023).

²Adolph L. Reed (1997). *W.E.B. Du Bois and American Political Thought: Fabianism and the Color Line*. New York: Oxford University Press. 282 pp. ISBN: 978-0-19-505174-2.

³Lange 2013.

Case Selection⁷



- **IAM⁴**: International Association of Machinists District 751
- **UA⁵**: United Association of Plumbers and Pipefitters Local 189
- **OCAW/USW⁶**: Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (now part of the United Steelworkers)

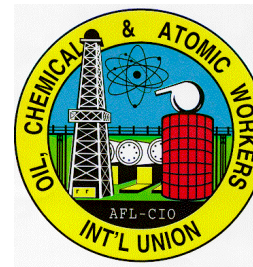
⁴John McCann (1989). *Blood in the Water: A History of District Lodge 751 of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers*. Olympia, Washington: District Lodge 751, IAM.

⁵Richard Schneirov (1993). *Pride and Solidarity: A History of the Plumbers and Pipefitters of Columbus, Ohio, 1889-1989*. Ithaca, N.Y: ILR Press. 189 pp. ISBN: 978-0-87546-307-0 978-0-87546-306-3.

⁶Les Leopold (2007). *The Man Who Hated Work and Loved Labor*. White River Junction, Vt: Chelsea Green Pub. Company. ISBN: 978-1-933392-63-9 978-1-933392-64-6.

⁷Image sources: UA Local 189, <https://images.app.goo.gl/XZJ2Es3X4TYtJqzP7>. OCAW, https://web.archive.org/web/20010825164515im_/http://webshells.com/ocaw/555.gif. USW, <https://images.app.goo.gl/e4s1xJdefhUXT6CK8>. IAM 751, <https://images.app.goo.gl/Bv4FR6ugSFoq6mb37>.

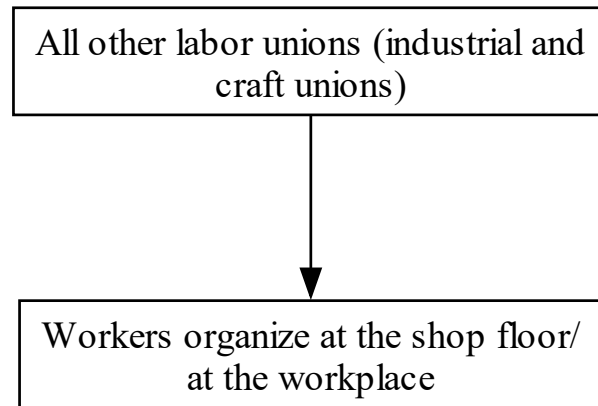
Case Selection Table



Union	Similarity	Difference	Outcome
Machinists (IAM)	Both craft unions	▪ Industrial mode of organizing	▪ Support progressive social-wage policy (e.g., single-payer healthcare).
Plumbers/Pipefitters (UA)		▪ Involuntary agreements	
		▪ Voluntary agreements	▪ No/limited support for social-wage policy.
Union	Similarity	Difference	Outcome
Oil Chemical & Atomic Workers/Steelworkers (OCAW/USW)	Both have substantial petrochemical work	▪ Industrial mode of organizing	▪ Supports progressive social-wage policy.
		▪ Involuntary agreements	▪ Supports the Pollan Report—creation of clean-energy jobs and a transition from fossil fuels.
Plumbers/Pipefitters (UA)		▪ Voluntary Agreements	▪ No/limited support for social-wage policy. ▪ Has defended the construction of new oil pipelines. ▪ Opposed reforms and regulatory policies that might hamper new refinery projects

Table: The most similar cases that had different outcomes were selected.

Union Organizing Paths: Comparison



The industrial mode of organizing (left) and the construction mode of organizing (right).

Construction unions may follow either path, but other unions may not voluntarily negotiate the way that construction unions can.

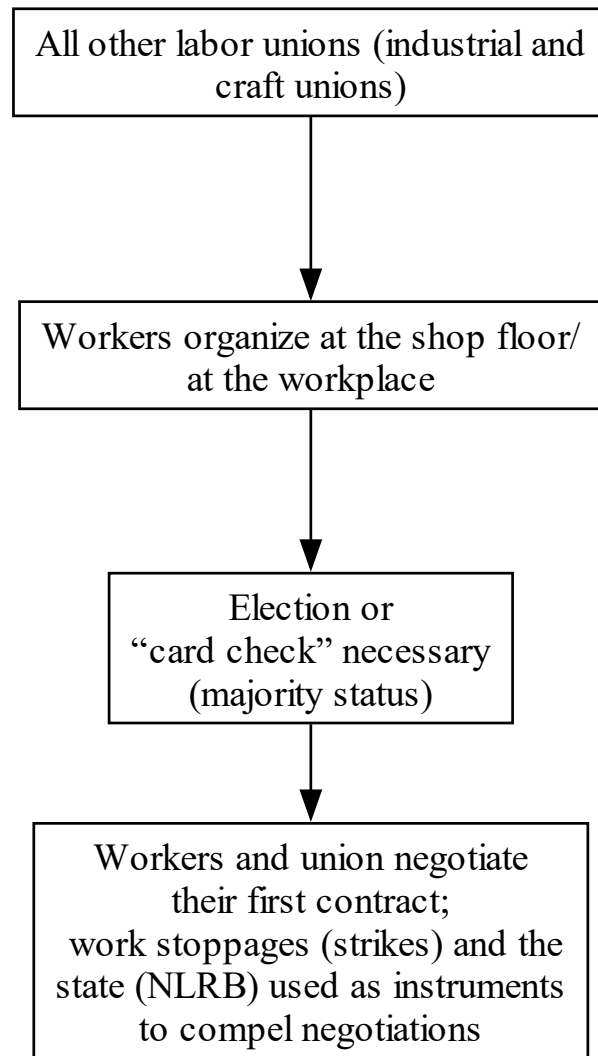
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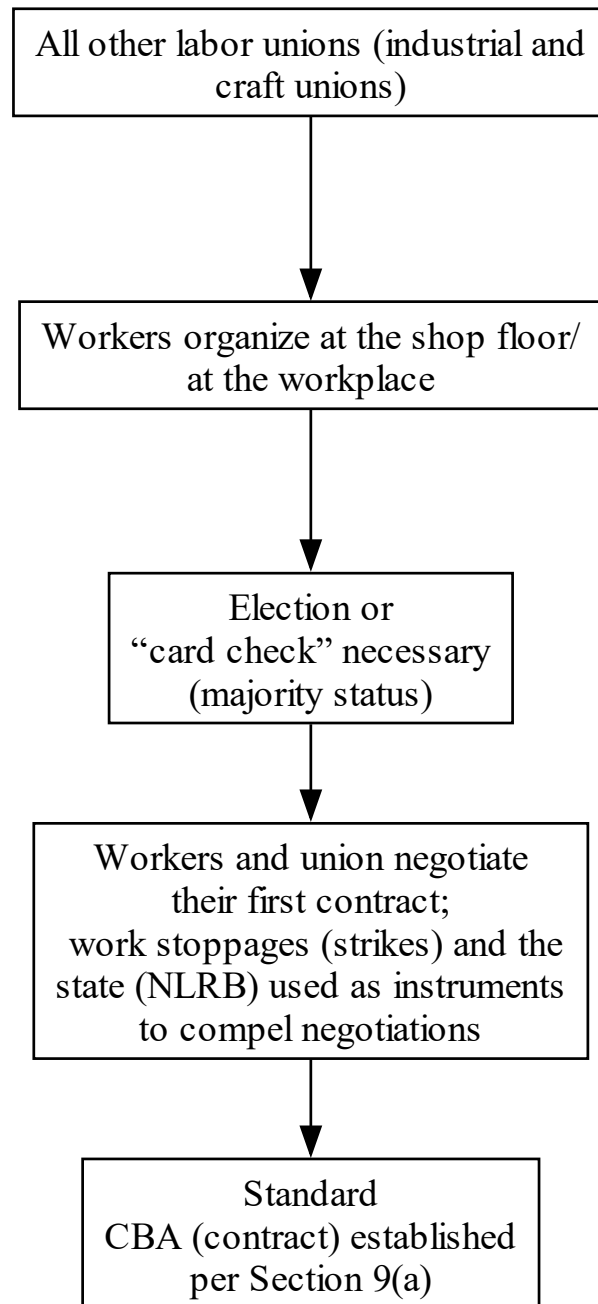
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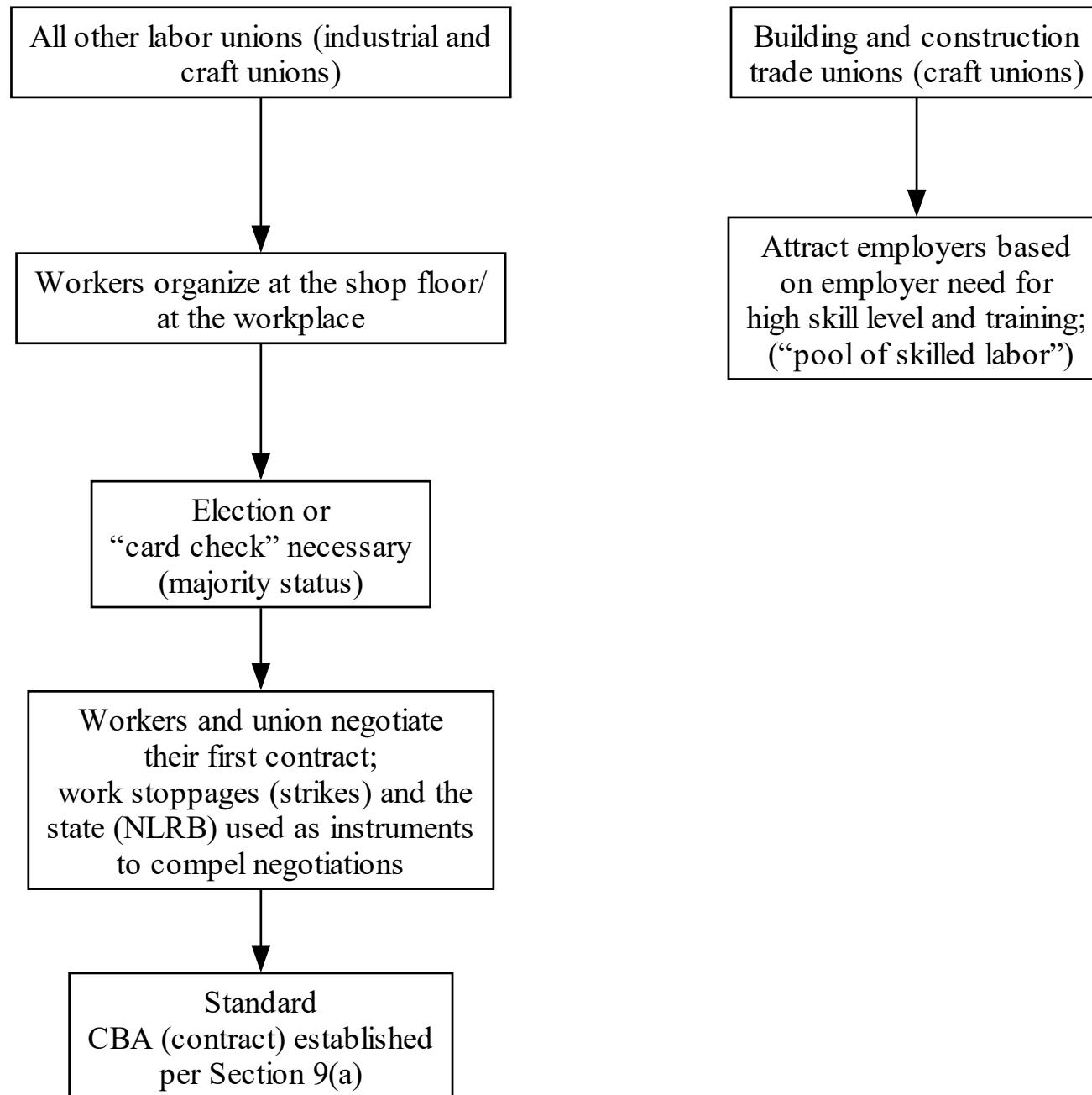
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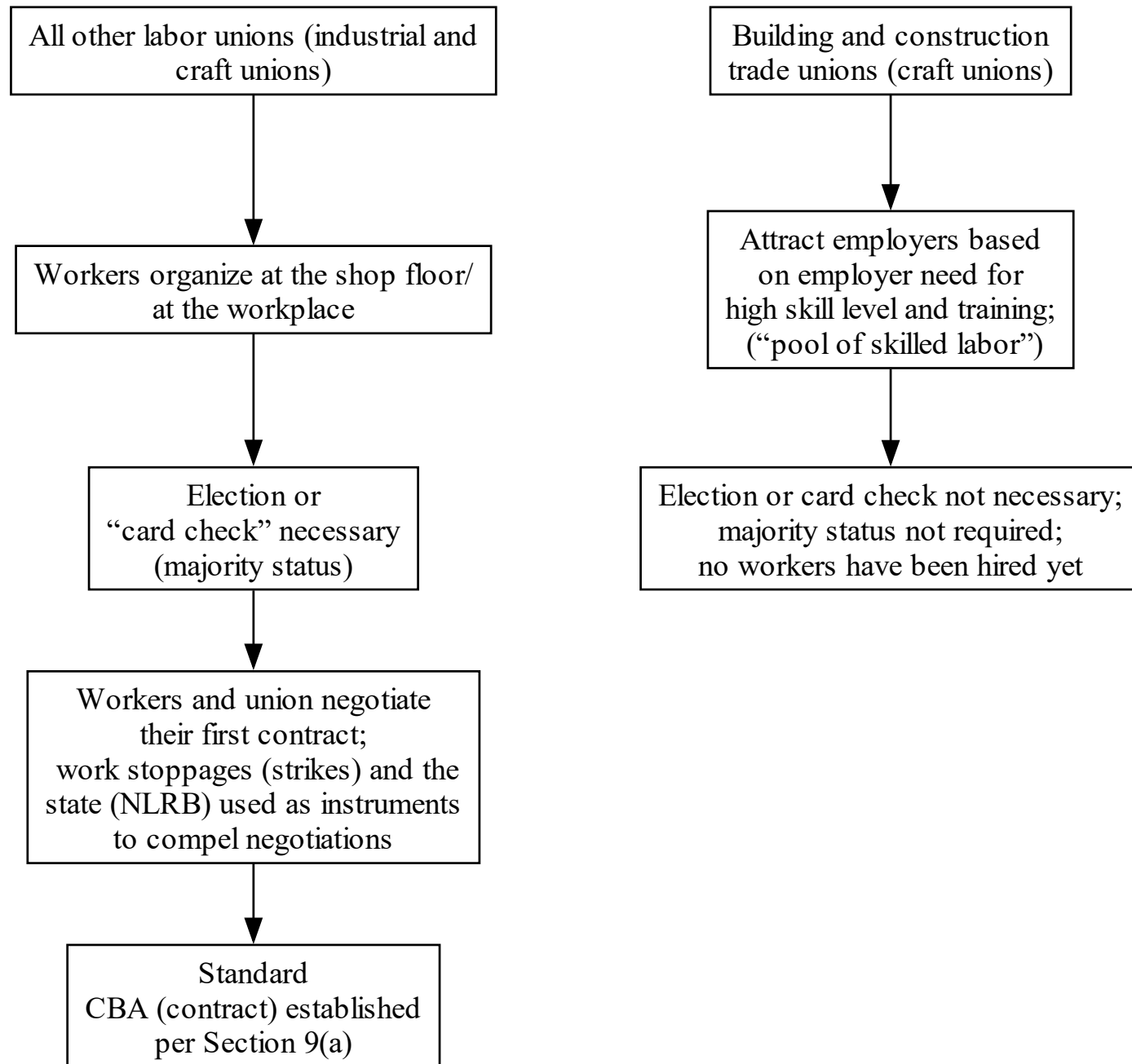
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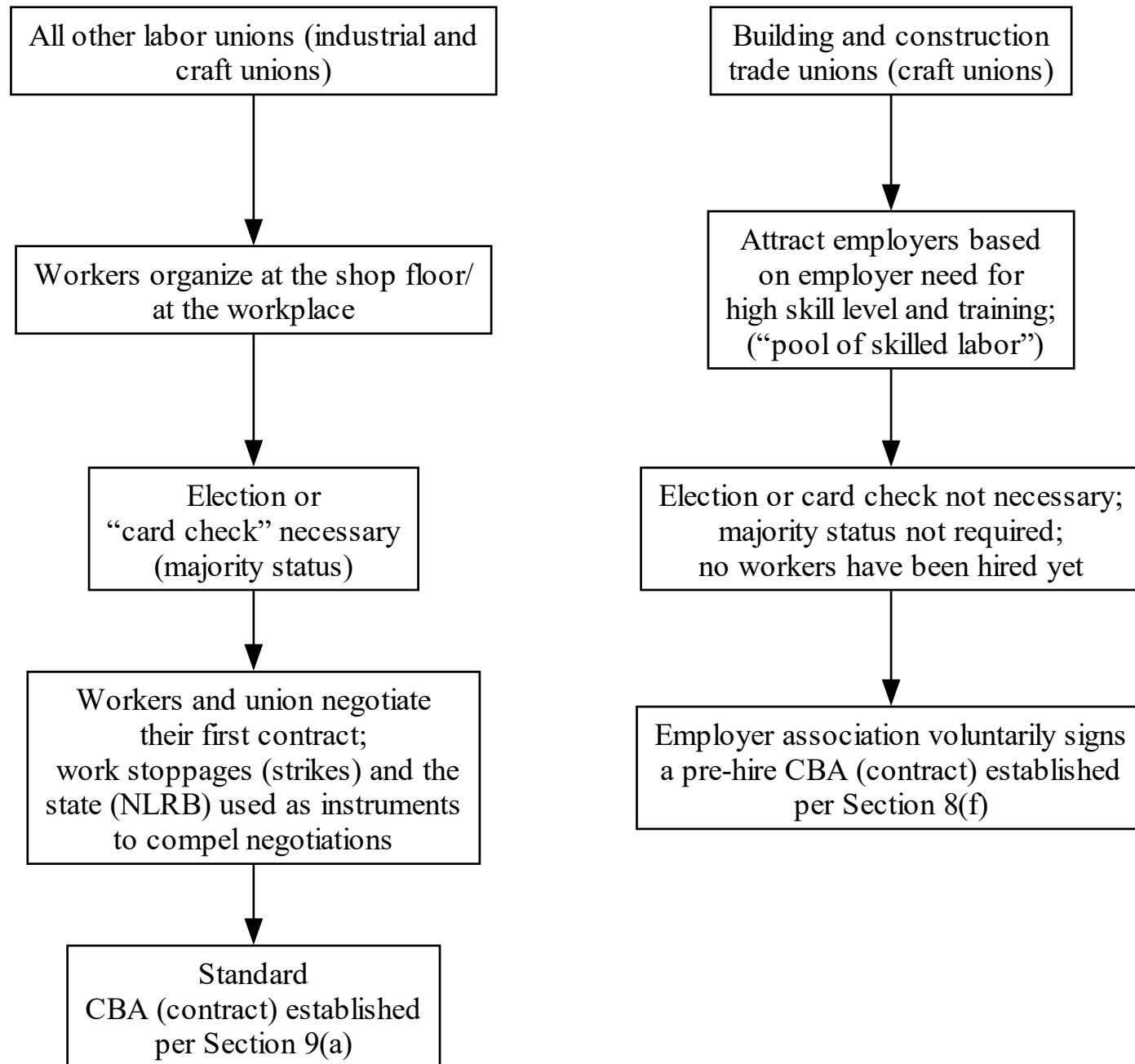
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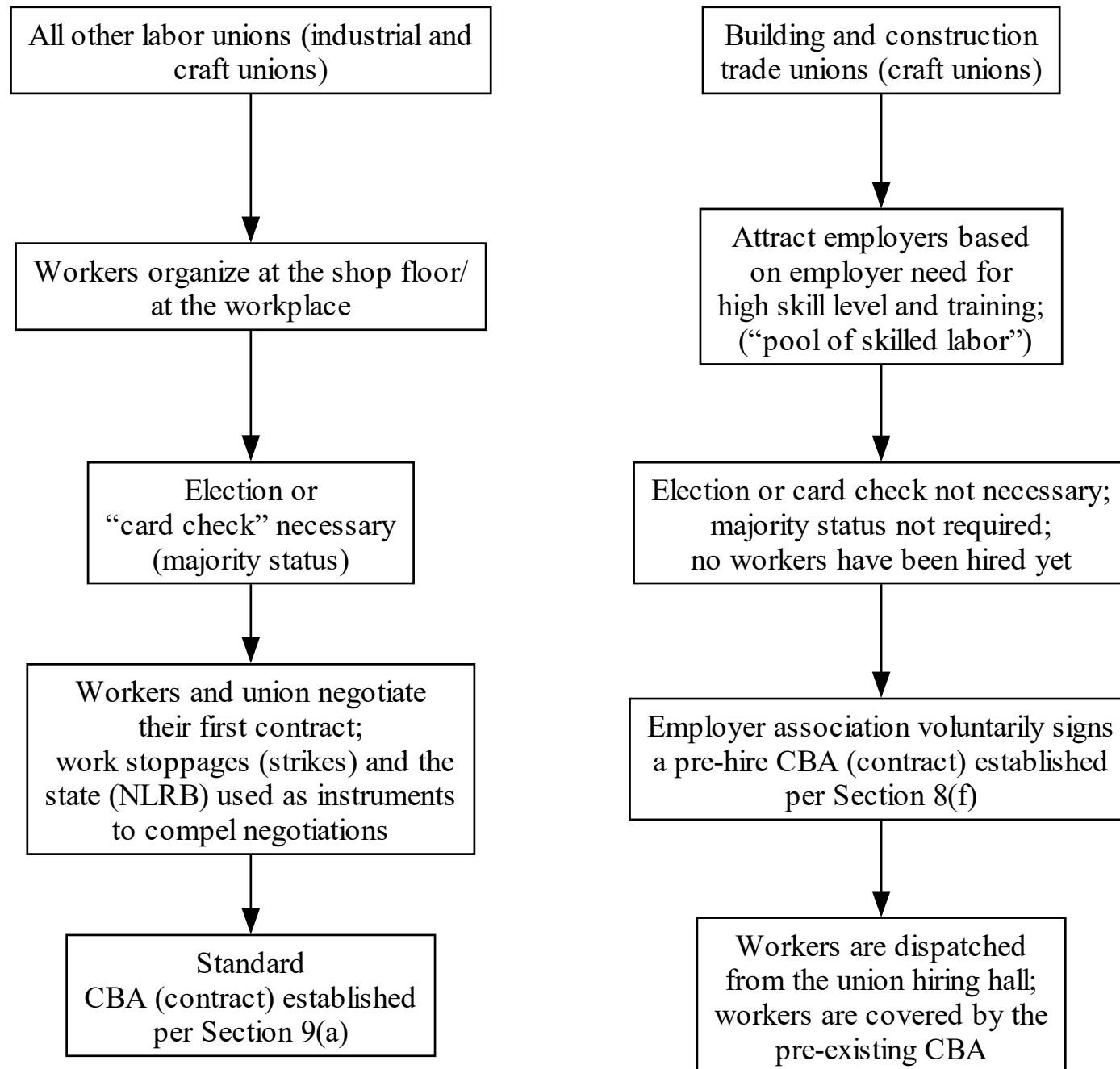
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Union Organizing Paths: Comparison



The industrial mode of organizing (left) and the construction mode of organizing (right).^a

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^aDOL (n.d.). *WORK Center - Unions 101*. U.S. Department of Labor. URL: <http://www.dol.gov/general/workcenter/unions-101>; NLRB (n.d.). *The NLRB Process*. National Labor Relations Board. URL: <https://www.nlr.gov/resources/nlr-process>.

Do unions align politically with the industry they work in?

Do unions with petrochemical work align politically with the petrochemical industry?

Not necessarily.

- The United Association (UA) of Plumbers and Pipefitters (Building Trades) and OCAW/USW have taken very different political stances regarding clean energy transition.
- OCAW/USW has embraced a “Just Transition” from dirty to clean energy.⁸
 - “Just Transition”: workers affected by the closure of plants, refineries, etc. are offered a safety net while transitioning to another career.
- The UA supports petrochemical industry-friendly policies.⁹

The UA **does** use voluntary pre-hire agreements, while the OCAW/USW **does not**.

⁸Les Leopold (2007). *The Man Who Hated Work and Loved Labor*. White River Junction, Vt: Chelsea Green Pub. Company. ISBN: 978-1-933392-63-9 978-1-933392-64-6.

⁹Sean Sweeney (2017). “Standing Rock Solid with the Frackers: Are the Trades Putting Labor’s Head in the Gas Oven?” In: *New Labor Forum* 26.1, pp. 94–99. ISSN: 1095-7960. JSTOR: 26420047. URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26420047> (visited on 04/07/2024); *The Next Infrastructure Challenge* (May 14, 2015). *The Next Infrastructure Challenge: Conversation with Sean McGarvey*. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r891KwockYY>.

What explains why these unions organize differently?

Institutional

- United Association (UA)
 - Apprenticeship and training as a “bargaining chip.”
 - Prehire agreements are the norm.
 - Institutional/structural features shaped the mode of organizing that the BT adopted.¹⁰
 - They could have chosen a different mode.
 - They became a junior partner to capital because of how they chose to organize.
- OCAW/USW
 - Never became a junior partner to capital — relationship antagonistic.¹¹

¹⁰Richard Schneirov (1993). *Pride and Solidarity: A History of the Plumbers and Pipefitters of Columbus, Ohio, 1889-1989*. Ithaca, N.Y: ILR Press. 189 pp. ISBN: 978-0-87546-307-0 978-0-87546-306-3.

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OCAW/USW vs. UA

Occupational context

- United Association (UA)
 - The pre-hire agreement made it possible for workers to change employers and keep the same wages and benefits.
 - The hiring hall formed as an institution.
- OCAW/USW
 - Same plant entire career.

Political context

- United Association (UA)
 - Did not have Communist Party or socialist connections.
- OCAW/USW
 - Historically had Communist Party members.¹²

¹²Les Leopold (2007). *The Man Who Hated Work and Loved Labor*. White River Junction, Vt: Chelsea Green Pub. Company. ISBN: 978-1-933392-63-9 978-1-933392-64-6, pp. 81–85.

The Line Between Worker and Owner

- United Association (UA)¹³
 - Construction firms are small.
 - Union members as worker-owners — infrequent, but it happens.¹⁴
- OCAW/USW¹⁵
 - Members are always wage workers.
 - Employers are usually large multinationals.

¹³Richard Schneirov (1993). *Pride and Solidarity: A History of the Plumbers and Pipefitters of Columbus, Ohio, 1889-1989*. Ithaca, N.Y: ILR Press. 189 pp. ISBN: 978-0-87546-307-0 978-0-87546-306-3.

¹⁴Brown Plumbing (n.d.). *Executive Summary*. brown3plumbing. URL: <https://www.brown3plumbing.com/executive-summary>.

¹⁵Les Leopold (2007). *The Man Who Hated Work and Loved Labor*. White River Junction, Vt: Chelsea Green Pub. Company. ISBN: 978-1-933392-63-9 978-1-933392-64-6.

Machinists (IAM) vs. Building Trades

Do craft unions that organize the way that industrial unions do support more progressive policies?

Yes. The Machinists union supports single-payer healthcare.

- The Machinists (IAM), while in the AFL, faced challenges similar to those faced by the industrial unions.¹⁶
- Example: IAM District Lodge 751.
 - Aerospace work at Boeing (essentially manufacturing).
 - Highly skilled craft workers but organized via the industrial union path.
 - No prehire agreements or hiring hall.

¹⁶John McCann (1989). *Blood in the Water: A History of District Lodge 751 of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers*. Olympia, Washington: District Lodge 751, IAM.

Machinists (IAM) and Longshore Workers (ILWU)

Craft Union Poaching by the IAM

The Machinists international union has maintained a craft union orientation like the building trades.

- Inter-union conflict with the Longshore Workers Union (ILWU).
 - “Union Turf Wars Expected to Heat Up”¹⁷
 - Jurisdictional disputes between Longshore Union (ILWU) and Machinists (IAM) at ports along the West Coast.
 - This is characteristic of craft unionism; sometimes called “poaching.”
 - Anti-solidaristic (insofar as they are committed to inter-union competition).
- **Despite this, the international union supports progressive policies.**
 - Listed as a supporter at Labor for Single-Payer Healthcare.¹⁸
 - No Building Trades union is listed as a supporter.

¹⁷Bill Mongelluzzo (Mar. 6, 2014). “Union Turf Wars Expected to Heat Up”. In: *Journal of Commerce*. URL: https://joc.com/article/union-turf-wars-expected-heat_20140306.html.

¹⁸*Labor Campaign - Affiliates* (n.d.). URL: <https://www.laborforsinglepayer.org/about/affiliates>.

Conclusion

The Building Trades and OCAW/USW have work in the same industry.

- Building Trades.
 - Pre-hire agreements.
 - Industry-friendly politics.
- OCAW/USW.
 - Organizes workers at the workplace.
 - Supports the creation of green jobs.

The Building Trades unions and the Machinists are both craft unions.

- The Building Trades
 - Pre-hire agreements.
 - No national Building Trades unions support the Labor Campaign for Single-Payer Healthcare.
- The Machinists.
 - Organizes workers at the workplace.
 - Labor Campaign for Single-Payer Healthcare supporter.

The key distinction between these unions is the way in which they organize workers.

Unions that organize workers to compel the employer to negotiate support more progressive policies than unions that voluntarily negotiate with employers.