“Learning Community Unionism in Canada: Towards a Labour Relations / Education Research Program”

Peter H. Sawchuk
OISE / University of Toronto

Abstract: This article reviews the literature on community unionism by first outlining the significance of the concept, then reviewing current empirical and conceptual development in the area. The article then advocates for the importance of educational research in the development of more detailed understanding how community unionism initiatives might be initiated, developed and sustained. It details the necessary components of a conceptual model and educational research program which could potentially fill this gap in Canada.

Introduction
As a basic rationale for the advocacy inherent in this paper below I outline how in Canada and elsewhere leading social economy scholars have demonstrated that sustainable economies with high quality work are closely related to participatory communities and civic engagement. Furthermore, additional scholars have specifically noted that labour unions can play a particularly important role in this relationship by working closely with communities. Thus new questions about labour relations defined by a focus on coalitions between communities and unions – or community unionism – have now emerged. In part these questions recognize the rapidly changing economic as well as cultural contexts of Canada’s major urban centers. However, despite the significance of these types of questions, in Canada there is limited empirical research on community unionism. Importantly, no research to date – either in Canada or the elsewhere – has sought to understand how this new form of labour relations is created and sustained from the perspective of adult educational processes.

The term community unionism focuses on the deep integration of labour unions and community combining traditional work-based issues with issues of community sustainability, quality of life and civic engagement. One way to frame this issue is that it represents a more expansive model of labour relations: that is, what comes onto the bargaining table to complement traditional quality of worklife issues are broader notions of the quality community life including, for example, attention to public services such as transportation, schools and child-care. This expansive model is unique in requiring more intensive employer, union, governmental and, particularly, community engagement.

It’s important to note, however, that to date the literature on community unionism has been largely descriptive rather than analytic. As an specifically educationally oriented response to this, in this article I begin by recommending the operationalization of the term community unionism with a focus on two key elements: 1) the changing character, skills and knowledge associated with social roles of community and labour union integration; and 2) the skill and knowledge involved in the formalization of these new roles in alternative policies and practices of new organizational forms. Together these elements refer to the core content of any community unionism initiative.
Below I go on to argue, however, that in paying attention to changing roles and their formalization, it is vital to explore the infrastructure of change as a *broader human learning process* referring especially to how this ‘learning content’ is developed, stored and transmitted. Thus, I advocate for attention to what I’ll refer to as the ‘educational capacities’ to develop and sustain community unionism drawing on cutting edge adult education theory to allow the sum of all (organized and informal; individual and collective; cognitive, emotional as well as social) activities resulting in specific forms of role-based skill and knowledge development to be analyzed. As vast as these broad phenomena obviously are, what research literature in the area of adult learning shows is, it is assessable, patterned, and subject to intervention.

My advocacy for paying specific forms of attention to the concept of community unionism builds on basic social economy observations regarding the inter-relations of economic activity, high quality jobs, community participation, and the mediating role of labour unions (see figure 1). It aligns with a general model of expanding economic-democratic representation as mediated by different models of unionism, community inclusion and labour relations (see figure 2 further below); here we see how different historical forms began to provide for democratic participation in the economy, evolving to become more inclusive over time.

The overall goal of the article is to discuss the literature and set the stage for research initiatives focusing on efforts to establish forms of community unionism including the viability, sustainability and effects of such efforts. More specifically, the objectives of the type of research program I recommend would draw on broad theories of formal and informal education to analyze and assess the learning activities that produce and sustain this emergent form of labour relations. Such a research program would focus on forms of knowledge, skill and adult learning processes which both establish and in turn formalize new social roles within both communities and unions. It would assess the barriers and supports for such learning practice such as information resources, material resources, enabling or disabling ideologies and relevant policies/procedures within communities and unions. Building from this, this research program could begin to answer the question: What...
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learning practices and educational capacities are specific to community unionism development in Canadian urban centres?

Context

Since the 1970s, urban labor markets in North America have undergone profound restructuring. Immigration, de-industrialization, and the expansion of service sector employment have significantly altered the urban landscape… The rise of contingent work, or precarious employment, challenges traditional forms of trade unionism, and has opened the way for new initiatives, including community unionism. (Black 2005, pp.24-25)

As a starting point, research on social economy in Canada and elsewhere offers important explanations of the trends that Black introduces above providing a broad rationale for the importance of this proposal. Leading social economy scholars have demonstrated that sustainable economies with high quality work are inter-related with participatory communities and civic engagement (e.g. Polanyi 1957; Granovetter 1985; Daly and Cobb 1994; Putnam 2000; Shiva 1989; Vaillancourt and Jetté 1997; Waring 1999; Shragge and Fontan 2000). Extending this work, others have gone on to note that in fact labour unions can play a particularly important role in this relationship (Freeman and Medoff, 1984; Rogers, 1993; Gordon 1999). The evidence for the role of unions in Canada in terms of a healthy society, an expansive social safety net and healthy, participatory communities with strong orientation towards a broad social wage is clear: “unions significantly reduce wage inequality among men, reduce the gender wage gap, and significantly reduce overall wage inequality and poverty… Relative earnings equality, in turn, underpins much more egalitarian and inclusive societies” (Jackson 2004, p.126-127). Thus, as a vastly under-researched component of adult education, labour studies, industrial relations as well as social economy and urban public policy scholarship, questions concerning the collaboration between unions and community groups can be seen as addressing crucial concerns of social and economic life in Canada today.

As further context for my argument in this article, it is important to recognize that across the globe the proportion of union members has stagnated, and in some places declined over the last few decades. Canada has not been excluded from these trends. With the emergence of globalized economic activity, however, until recently the focus of creative responses on community level activity has tended to take a backseat. Not surprisingly, as Black’s (2005) initial comments indicate, communities have experienced loss of sustainability, destabilization and polarization (e.g. Swift 1995, Forrester 1998, Putnam 2000, Ehrenreich 2002). In Canada specifically, while union membership has increased steadily since the 1940s, overall union density (union members as a percent of non-agricultural paid workers) has declined from 37.8 percent in the early 1980s to 30.8 percent in 2004, recently dropping below the 30% mark for the first time in decades. At the same time, strong evidence (e.g. Murray and Kumar 2003; Murray 2004; Jackson 2004) shows that, in fact, many more workers (almost double) actually want to join a union. All of this points toward the need for innovation in models of unionism, community development, and labour relations. Two other
related factors are also important to consider here. First, elaborating on Black’s observations, in Canada the new economy features fragmentation of traditional large-scale workplaces and increasing non-standard employment affecting both community life and the practices of unions. Combined with this, high immigration and the overwhelming trend toward urban settlement suggest that cities may be a key area in which to explore and experiment with new forms of community and labour union collaboration (cf. Mercer 1995; Ley 1999; Bourne and Rose 2001; Cranford and Ladd 2003; Cranford, Vosko and Zukewich 2003).

Against this backdrop, we see that community unionism represents a potentially important new form of labour relations in Canada that can support broad economic and social development. Community unionism in this context constitutes a reaching out of both community groups and union structures toward one another; a process that invariably entails significant ‘cultural shock’ as those partially (and often wholly) unfamiliar with each other meet. The concept fundamentally challenges both unions and communities to change; that is, to learn new ways to relate and mutually constitute one another.

Figure 2: Expanding Economic Rights of Labour Relations Development in Canada
However, before moving on, to understand the significance of community unionism it helps to briefly place it against a backdrop of other forms of union practice throughout North America and elsewhere (Figure 2). These forms of practice can be characterized as follows: craft unionism established in the late 19th century (based on organizing workers within specific skilled occupations); industrial unionism established in the early 20th century (based on organizing unskilled and semi-skilled workers); service unionism established in the post World War II period (based on servicing unionized workers exclusively); and, social unionism established intermittently throughout the 19th and 20th century (based on an orientation toward unionized and non-unionized, employed and unemployed citizens). In fact, the contemporary notion of community unionism appears to combine several of these elements with its emphasis on organizing members and non-members alike, across the web of different communities of union and non-union groups. A rough developmental trend can be seen here, while it is important to note that all forms have and continue to co-exist. Roughly speaking, however, forms of unionism have tended to define membership in an increasingly expansive way over time: from the more exclusive concerns of craft unionism and service unionism through to industrial unionism and beyond. Moreover, earlier periods of nascent community unionism and periods of expansive inclusivity have tended to mark significant orientation toward notions of the social wage, and occasionally broader visions of social safety nets.

Understanding Community Unionism:
A Review of Forms of Practice, Research and Conceptualization

Generally speaking, the term community unionism has been defined as the deep integration of labour union and community needs, strategies and activities combining traditional work-based issues with issues of community sustainability, quality of life and civic engagement. What comes onto the bargaining table, for example, are issues such as quality of work-life alongside the quality of community life and social inclusion involving issues of public services such as youth training, transportation and child-care. These are issues that necessarily require employer and union as well as community and governmental engagement. As such, the term defines a unique expansion of existing labour relations models. Descriptive reports on dimensions of community unionism include, for example, the use by some unions, at various historical periods in Canada and the US, of ‘associate member’ status to allow people who fall outside the legal definition of a bargaining unit to formally participate in union activities; or, the case of the Fédération des Travailleurs et Travailleuses du Québec Solidarity Fund which expands the legitimate economic role of union members (as collective investors); or, the case of the Los Angeles Bus Rider’s Union whose membership was based a broad community of interest to do with transportation issues using public awareness campaigns and governmental lobbying initiatives; or, the recent reports out of Boston of partnerships amongst such groups as the Greater Boston Inter-faith Organization, the Neighbor to Neighbor Coalition, the Association of Community Organization for Reform Now, the Greater Boston Central Labor Council, the Service Employees International Union, the International Union of Electrical Workers/Communication Workers of America and the American Federation of Labor, as well as multiple levels of state and city government.
As distinct from these types of general examples of initiatives, in academic research on the topic, the concept of community unionism has emerged from several distinct points of origin. This includes researchers focusing on human geography, sociology, labour studies, participatory action research methods, adult education and community organizing. This also includes scholars questioning the relevance of the orthodoxy of traditional labour relations models which are premised on either relations between unions / business, or relations between unions / business / government. With these discussions have emerged larger questions of the organizational form of labour unions in relation to the communities where unionized members and non-unionized members live together. Paul Jarley’s recent work (2004) explicitly attempts to theorize 'social capital unionism' which offers important resources for assessing social networks that sustain participation. As Clawson (2003) has noted, "[l]abour must do more than simply build alliances, it must fuse with these movements such that it is no longer clear [for example] what is a labour issue, a women's issue or an immigrant issue" (p.21). In Canada, leading researchers such as Yates (e.g. 2002, 2004), Kumar and Murray (e.g. 2002), Murray (e.g. 2001) are among those who have expanded discussion of labour relations significantly to include the role of communities.

Beyond this, however, the conceptualization of community unionism becomes quite blurry. In 1998 Tufts described the concept as “embryonic”, and this appears to have changed only marginally since. The available research has recently, however, offered a strong preliminary set of writings from which to initiate a coherent research program. In North America, publications by Voss and Fantasia (2004), Bacharach, Bamberger and Sonnenstuhl (2001), Wills and Sims (2004), Cranford and Ladd (2003), Tufts (1998), Reiss (2004), Nissen (2004), Milkman (2000) as well as earlier foundational research by Banks (1991-92) and Brecher and Costello (1990, 1998) describe specific methods that unions have begun to utilize to involve communities. Given that much of this research began from union-based initiatives, much of it shows a tendency to view the community as a resource for unions rather than a fully integrated partner. This view lingers in documentation of, for example, the process of organizing workers (e.g. Banks 1991-92; Greer 1996; Needleman 1998), campaigns for first contracts amongst unionized workers (e.g. Green 1990; Kingsolver 1989; Juravich and Bronfenbrenner 1999), activities of city-based labour councils (e.g. Dean 1996; Sneiderman 1996; Gapasin and Wial 1998; Acuff 1999; McLewin 1999), and strategies for coping with workplace closures (e.g. Haines and Klein 1982; Lynd 1983; Hathaway 1993). More recent research has offered stronger analyses of the diverse notion of community itself as it began to document the complex nature of coalition building (e.g. Nissen 1993; Peterson 2000-01), coalitions between unions and church groups (e.g. Bole 1998; Peters and Merrill 1998; Russo and Corbin 1999), coalitions between unions and environmental groups (Leonard and Nauth 1990; Braden 1993; Kellman 1994; Reiss 2005), and coalitions between union and ethnic/racial groups (e.g. Kelly 1999; Blackwell and Rose 1999). Research of the last two to three years, however, seems to have seriously challenged the view of “community as resource for unions” and includes Leavitt and Lingafelter (2005) description of community-union cooperation on housing issus in Los Angeles and San Bernadino; Hall and Shaefer (2004) on coalitions for health care; Rhomberg and Simmons (2005) on coalitions for action on low-income workers in Connecticut; Brooks (2005) on child-care issues in Illinois; Worthen and Haynes (2003) on building linkages
between ethnic minority youth and the construction trades in Chicago; and, Devinatz (2006) historical analysis of community unionism movements for the urban and rural poor in the Atlanta area. With or without this crucial shift, however, Nissen’s detailed meta-analysis of the community unionism literature in 2004 – with some minor exceptions such as the work of Cranford and Tufts – remains roughly accurate: the research is of mixed quality, a good deal of it is journalistic and strictly descriptive, and that it lacks orientation to prior conceptual development, operationalization and research design.

It is worth noting that by far the bulk of the available literature on community unionism is American. This is in part an expression of a particularly intense sense of crisis in US urban centres. Nevertheless issues of community/union cooperation and community unionism are now rising in importance in Canadian cities for many of the reasons outlined above. However, to date there is only a slim body of empirical, social scientific research on the topic. As response to the critique offered by Nissen (2004) and building on the prior conceptual development offered by researchers such as Jarley (2004), in the article I advocate for components of a specific future research program. I argue that this research program must first operationalize the community unionism concept in terms of the core content that defines change initiatives with specific attention to concepts of learning and human development.

This operationalization would necessarily focuses on two core elements of any human change initiative: 1) the changing character, skills and knowledge associated with the distinct social roles which support community and labour union integration; and 2) the otherwise distinct skill and knowledge involved in the formalization of these new roles in alternative policies and practices. These social roles or identities are rooted in multiple institutions and groups such as specific immigrant communities, church groups, women’s groups, and diverse forms of youth culture. Of course, unions themselves incorporate and sustain particular social roles and identities as well. In particular, different forms of unionism discussed above offer distinctive roles and have formalized these roles over time in unique ways. In all cases, however, these roles and formalization activities are mediated by a specific matrix of historically established, institutional, cultural, community and communicative infrastructure which must be fully understood if progressive intervention is to be accomplished. Moreover, these elements of role definition, development, integration, change and formalization are represented by specific forms of skill and knowledge and as such form the core content of community unionism initiatives. Thus, the associated questions that the type of research program I’m advocating here must also entertain include how it is that this specific content is developed, stored and transmitted through complex human learning processes.

**The Role of Education: A Conceptual Approach to Understanding Learning in Community Unionism**

Therefore, beyond the operationalization of community unionism and the specific concern for the Canadian context, what is unique to the type of research program advocated here is that it requires placing front and centre analysis of the human learning as the foundation for building and sustaining attempts at community unionism. In this regard, the topic of lifelong learning, unions, community and work has been a particular focus of members of the Centre
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for the Study of Education and Work (CSEW – University of Toronto) over the past ten years. This research has centered around the need to expand both conceptions of learning and conceptions of work. In other words, it is argued that adequate analyses of learning must take into account both its organized and informal forms, and likewise adequate analyses of economic life must take into account the overlapping spheres of paid work, home and community life. Drawing on Livingstone (1999), in Sawchuk (e.g. 2000, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c, 2004, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2006d, in press\(^a\), in press\(^b\)) as well as Livingstone and Sawchuk (2004), the notion of the "learning iceberg" has been documented and developed. This metaphor is used to point out that the learning processes that are most visible are the organized educational programs (the tip of the iceberg), but that underlying this tip there is an enormous amount of informal learning taking place that is just as fundamental to the knowledge building necessary for change initiatives. Prior research of this type has partially set the stage for the type of research program on community unionism suggested with developed theories of the relationship among organized learning and learning in everyday life amongst marginalized social groups. Moreover, this research conceptualizes ‘educational capacities’ as a diverse phenomenon with cognitive, emotional as well as social, cultural and participatory dimensions to allow the sum of all (organized and informal) activities resulting in individual and collective skill and knowledge development to be analyzed. As vast as this phenomenon obviously is, what key research in the area of adult learning shows is, it is assessable, patterned, and subject to intervention.

In order to effectively analyze the full range of learning practice and educational capacities a range of factors must be taken into account. Assessment of these different factors, in turn, supports an analysis of community unionism with a host of secondary research questions which can be broken down into two distinct sets of concerns.

The first set of issues to consider revolves around learning content. In terms of content, as noted above, the operationalization of community unionism serves as the starting point with its focus on social roles and the formalization of social roles. Research questions emerging from this set of concerns would likely include: What is the pre-existing nature of the social roles in communities and unions in specific locations and sectors? What are the knowledge and skill forms associated with emergent social roles in a community unionism campaign? What knowledge and skills are required in the process of formalization of these social roles in both union and community life?

The second set of issue that must be considered deals with the learning process. Following the work of Illeris (2002; see also Sawchuk 2003, 2006a, 2006b), a comprehensive account of the learning process requires attention to the three key dimensions of human developmental processes: the cognitive, the emotional and the social. In this sense, intervention tools that do not orient to the interactive character across all three dimensions risk irrelevance. Cognitive processes of information processing emerging out of the Piagetian and neo-Piagetian psychological traditions including issues of adaptation and assimilation must be assessed. Likewise, learning analysis must also include an account of emotional processes of learning and development including identity, interests, desires, fears and defense mechanisms as related to the Freudian and various hybrid Freudian traditions (critical theory, post-structuralism). At the same time each of these processes are not simply individual phenomenon. As various social psychological (e.g. G. H. Mead) and cultural historical (e.g.
L.S. Vygotsky) traditions have indicated, they are shaped by the surrounding context which is social, political, historical as well as material. This context is interactive in two senses: in terms of interaction with people as well as in terms of interaction with things such as objects, environments, and even rules, policies, languages and ideologies. Each of these three dimensions shape each other. Finally, as indicated earlier, reflecting the concerns of Jarley (2004) to investigate what he refers to as ‘social capital unionism’, it’s important to note that all of these processes take place within and across both organized educational and training settings as well as outside them in everyday life through conversation, consumption of information as well as media, meetings, marches, protests, campaigns and so on. Key secondary research questions that recognized a concern for the learning process in these ways might focus on the following: the relationship between prior knowledge (or cognitive schema) and experience that challenges this knowledge; the relationship between prior role identification and the desire, fear and emotional defense processes involved in new forms of identity; and, the forms of social interaction, participation and use of resources that are socially conditioned.

Taken together the type of research program I advocate for in this article would support a more coherent possibility for producing detailed assessments of interest to both academics and activists across multiple groups. This assessment focuses on the full range of learning taking place in the lives of individuals which can, in turn, be combined to profile the overall further collective dimensions of the educational capacities of a particular community unionism initiative or campaign more than the sum of the individual forms of learning and development.

**How to Proceed? Further Comments on Research Methods**

To realize this type of research program careful attention will have to paid to both broad consultation and prior research methods with specific attention to the field of education and adult learning.

I’ve argued that the research on community unionism is relatively underdeveloped conceptually, while in Canada specifically it is also relatively underdeveloped empirically. Thus the appropriate methods for proceeding would necessarily have to be those suitable to both exploration and ongoing direct consultation with the relevant communities and representative organizations.

There are two key approaches that have been recently developed that are useful to note. First, there is an emerging partnership between the Centre for the Study of Education and Work (CSEW – OISE/University of Toronto) and the United Way of Canada (see Manchee 2006) to establish a working group on community-union-academic relations. Coordinated through the work of D’Arcy Martin at the CSEW and Janice Manchee at the United Way, efforts are underway to construct a viable organizational structure to sustain collaborations nationally, and to generate new research. Second, there is the specific focus on qualitative research undertaken amidst available ‘hot spots’ of community unionism activity. One example that seems particularly relevant is the current UNITE-HERE hotel workers campaign in Toronto (currently coordinated across several US cities as well), but there may be others in Canada as well. In terms of research outcomes, exploratory qualitative research such as interviewing and direct observation would be the strongest way to establish a firm
foundation (qualitative, quantitative and comparative) for broader research work, consultation and action going forward. However, both dimensions of action identified here remain important.

In fact, there are a variety of research-based initiatives we could look at, notably those involving the field of social economy, but to ground this discussion a bit more concretely, it may be worthwhile to take a moment to review the types of educational research I and members of the CSEW have specifically undertaken in the area of learning and social movements. A research instrument such as the ‘learning life history’ tool that we have developed may be particularly useful. This instrument focuses on activity associated with a particular topic area or goal (e.g. computer literacy skills of manufacturing workers, or union intervention in company training policy/procedures). It uses open-ended questioning broken into four sections: a) life history context of the interviewee; b) experiences, skills and knowledge development within organized educational activities; and c) experiences, skills and knowledge development within any and all informal learning activities keying off of interviewee’s description of ‘critical incidences’ in their own development. Together these three sections allow a comprehensive mapping of current practices upon which initiatives including community unionism must necessarily depend. In turn, the individual profiles of skill and knowledge development can then be combined to generate an overall analysis of collective institutional ‘educational capacity’ associated with a specific initiative or campaign. Experience in this type of analysis indicates it’s best to break interview data collection into two sessions. The first focuses on parts a) and b) and is aimed at both establishing rapport and organizing specific interview probes, in particular for parts c), where the collection of data on ‘informal learning’ is challenging given the fact it is often difficult for interviewees to effectively characterize skill and knowledge development that may be unplanned and may have occurred in the course of broad forms of participation. Interviews will be transcribed and analyzed thematically using qualitative data analysis software. Interviewees will be encouraged to review their own transcript for further consideration and confirmation of information. Following this, our practice has been to directly engage in local consultation, oriented by a basic Participatory Action Research frame, in order to both interpret the findings but also to apply findings to specific change initiatives (see Livingstone and Sawchuk 2004).

Conclusions
This brief article has provided a discussion of the significance of the concept of community unionism for labour studies researchers and beyond. In it I began with a broad ‘social economy’ rationale for studying community unionism in Canada today, and then moved onto a review of the current empirical and theoretical literature in the area. What’s clear is that this topic is emergent. Publication, particularly in the US, has accelerated over the last three to five years and has now reached a critical mass from which several useful, coherent research programs and partnerships could be developed.

In the second half of the article I advocate specifically for one particular focus within an overall research program on community unionism in Canada. This focuses on learning and education. I’ve argued that, ultimately, individual and collective human development is at the centre of any form of social change, but that it is often challenging
to assess and characterize these forms of development. For this reason, I offered a concise example of what such research would have to attend to in terms of core research questions followed by some specific comments on research methods.

In Canada, the timing of such research and consultation initiatives could not be more appropriate. With union density largely stagnant and with emerging challenges in Canadian urban centers specifically but throughout the country, the issues of expanding the social wage and strengthening the national social safety net have now more than ever taken centre stage. Investigations into community and union relations, the learning content and processes are fundamental if we’re to effectively respond with these types of concerns in mind.

Contact: Peter H. Sawchuk, CSEW – OISE/University of Toronto
(psawchuk@oise.utoronto.ca)

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This article reviews the literature on community unionism by first outlining the significance of the concept, then reviewing current empirical and conceptual development in the area. In Canada, these increases include a doubling of post-secondary education completion over the past generation, a six-fold increase in adult education participation since the early 1960s, and even-larger increases in the amount of informal learning that adults do on their own (see Livingstone, 2001). In 1998, the first national survey of informal learning activities found that Canadians on average are spending about 15 hours per week in informal learning activities. Bruce Spencer Research Coordinator, Learning Labour: A PLAR Project Centre for Work and Community Studies Athabasca University Primary Researchers: Derek Briton and Winston Gereluk Secondary Researcher: Dyllis Collier Advice and Support provided by Ken Collier and Jeff Taylor. This project was funded by: New Approaches for Lifelong Learning (NALL), Human Resource Development Canada (HRDC), and Athabasca University. However, unions in Canada generally design their education programs using the adult education framework, which shows that they truly understand how workers learn best. Rather than taking the approach in which all of the knowledge is invested in the instructor, so that all the student has to do is listen and be passive, union education instead cherish active learners who share as much about their experiences and knowledge as the course topic is explored. - Labour Studies: This type of learning means to widen the awareness of unionists of the context and nature of labour unionism. A functioning labour relations system relies on strong trade unions able to effectively mobilize solidarity. Melvyn Dubofsky warned that stressing workers' individual rights and to romanticize the heroic rank and file compared to autocratic union leaders is to threaten the survival of trade unionism itself. In evaluating internal disciplinary actions, the British Colombia Labour Relations Board offered the following frequently cited passage. As the RWDSU’s Canadian leadership moved towards independence and began discussing a merger with the USW, the International union imposed trusteeship on the rogue Southern Ontario locals through a process outlined in the union constitution.