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MEMBER ATTACHMENT AND UNION EFFECTIVENESS
IN ARTS AND ENTERTAINMENT

by

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We are engaged in a long-term project on labor relations in arts and entertainment in the United States, exclusive of professional sports. In this paper we suggest the strategically important variables that aid the unions listed in Table I to maintain membership support and that underpin their ability to be effective in their representational function.¹ This analysis will not apply in equal measure to every union and guild, but we believe that it addresses the situation in arts and entertainment as a whole.

Although we join arts and entertainment for purposes of this paper, we recognize that there exist important underlying differences. The arts, for example, include the notion of doing art for art's sake, in contrast to the largely commercial objectives of the entertainment sector. Yet, there also exist many points of overlap. Both sectors draw from the same talent pool, and many of the professionals and craftspersons cross between the two sectors in their struggle to earn a living and gain the professional recognition that can ensure a secure future. In both sectors, average income is low and unemployment is high, notwithstanding the existence of highly compensated stars, who shape the public perception of these industries. The bulk of arts and entertainment activity is impermanent and underfunded, and employment relationships are temporary and project oriented.²

There are no published studies that document membership trends of arts and entertainment unions. Any attempt to do so must deal with the fact that many individuals belong to more than one union and that these unions are characterized by multiple membership categories. Our own research indicates that between 1970 and 1988 the proportion of union members increased, although not every union shared in this growth. In some sectors, union concentration is very high. For example, a California Film Commission study concluded that virtually all of the 36,255 above-the-line employees who worked on feature films in 1988 were union members. Among below-the-line-workers, a lower but still significant 60 percent of the work was performed by union crews (KPMG Peat Marwick, 1988).

Our working hypothesis is that employee attachment to unionism and union effectiveness in arts and entertainment rest on the institutionalization of certain strategic practices and concepts which (1) respond to practical needs of employees, (2) generate interdependence between unions and employers, and (3) serve to sustain the arts and entertainment industries as a whole. We suggest that the unions' ability to maintain membership support and ensure their own effectiveness in the industry primarily results from their activities in respect to the issues of compensation arrangements, cooperation in bargaining, career enhancement, and contingent membership.

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Table I About Here

Unions in the performing arts - theater, dance, symphony, opera - mostly originated as part of the general expansion of craft unionism during the period of their formation (see Table I). Although no definitive historical studies have been done, we can assume that they formed for many of the same reasons - dismal working conditions and arbitrary treatment - that prompted unionization of other crafts. In entertainment - defined here as encompassing mainly broadcasting, motion picture, and television production - unions came later, following closely on the emergence of the requisite technologies. There is no significant occupational group - professional or craft - in arts and entertainment that has not been touched by a union, a guild or, at the very least, a non-bargaining quasi-union. The organizing impetus, and present day leadership, for most of the unions come from the elites within the covered occupations.

Although most of the unions fall under national jurisdiction, in practice, they adapt union rules and methods to the circumstances of particular occupational specialties and geographic areas. For example, the IATSE has twenty-three locals in Hollywood alone. These locals are jealous of their autonomy and jurisdiction. In contrast, the much newer film industry in Florida has one integrated local, covering all of the IATSE crafts.

Raymond Miles (1989) uses the term "new age business unionism" to refer to a system of industrial relations which can deal with the challenges emerging from contemporary systems of production. Among the characteristics Miles lists as hallmarks of successful unionism in the twenty-first century are geographically based unions, wage bargaining that focuses on obtaining a reasonable minimum wage, and fringe benefits that unions negotiate directly with benefit providers to increase the quality of programs. Unions would also work to cushion the effects of labor turnover by making benefits portable across jobs and by providing relocation loans and housing assistance.

Insofar as several of these features have been developing in arts and entertainment unions over the past three or four decades, we suggest that labor relations in the arts and entertainment industries are a forerunner of the sort of system Miles envisions. In addition, an AFL-CIO report by the Committee on the Evolution of Work (1985), explicitly recognizes that the traditional conception of union membership (i.e., that a collective bargaining agreement cover employees as a condition of union membership) and the union role in the employment relationship (i.e., negotiation and administration of a collective agreement on behalf of members of a bargaining unit) are in need of redefinition.

The unions in arts and entertainment have responded creatively to many of the conditions suggested in the AFL-CIO study as root causes for decline of employee interest in unionism and deterioration of the union role. The generally favorable appraisal that we give to these unions does

not derive from evidence that these unions are powerful in the traditional sense of exercising control over work rules and job opportunities, or from their having negotiated pattern setting salary rates for their members. Perhaps two or three of the unions in Table I - SAG for example - might fit the definition of a powerful union in its jurisdiction. Unions in arts and entertainment are effective, relevant, and valued by the workers in the industry without being powerful in the sense of being able to impose their will on employers, through strikes.³

The industry leadership in arts and entertainment that guides relations with unions may be portrayed as a set of concentric circles. In the center stand the major employers (major studios in film and TV, Broadway producers in the theater, etc.), companies whose economic success and artistic leadership make them the leaders of the industry. Although the composition of the inner core changes over time because of mergers and takeovers, it remains remarkably stable in terms of size and the percentage of artistic or entertainment product. These core organizations dominate the industry trade associations and negotiate the collective contracts that set the pattern for the industry. Although contract negotiations may be contentious, the major employers accept the unions as an integral part of the industry governance structure.

As the distance from the core increases, the less acceptance there is of the union role. The organizations are smaller, less stable and less unionized. There will also be greater variety in their management styles and creative content. Many of the organizations are niche seekers. They are likely to perceive negotiated work rules as too restrictive and labor costs as too high. They may hire nonunion crews or seek pay rate or work rule waivers from the unions. At the outer fringes, employers seek to remain nonunion if at all possible to keep costs down. The unions, in turn, devote substantial energy and resources to dealing with disputes involving these fringe operators and use the experience to impress on their members the value of a union to ensure employer adherence to minimum employment standards.

The core employers and the unions negotiate collective agreements which articulate the basic standards - contracts that provide a significant role for unions in both scope and depth of participation in decision-making. At the same time, the unions realize that because of the existence of many marginal employers, they must adjust the industry standards as they interact with the marginal organizations. Out of this practice come such things as agreements which tie compensation at least in part to the size of the employer's budget, or to the number of seats in a theater, variances that are proxies for ability to pay. It means that workers in marginal organizations may receive reduced wages, but at least they retain health insurance and the marginal producers are prevented from going into bankruptcy.

The unions in Table I have a finely honed responsibility toward their members. They were established to deal with real work problems and that has remained their preoccupation. In their early days the unions were preoccupied with jurisdictional issues and with gaining basic

protections for members: health and medical protection, grievance procedures, job security. These bread and butter concerns have remained core functions. After basic protections were obtained, the unions representing professional employees quickly sought ways to deal with such concerns as creative control over product, opportunities for professional growth, and protection from over-or abusive exposure.

While devoting their attention to solving practical membership problems, the unions have not shied away from entering into arrangements which link their interests and those of management. This interdependence is not synonymous with such fashionable terms as union-management cooperation, win-win bargaining, and the like. Strikes and conflict, as well as cooperation and harmony, have been hallmarks in most segments of arts and entertainment. By interdependence we mean that there exists a web of relationships and governance activity between unions and employers that would make it difficult for major employers to function at all without the union as an active participant. Although this role is not performed to an equally important degree by every union in Table I, it is characteristic of unionism in arts and entertainment as a whole. It can be seen in such activities as administration of compensation, the audition and casting process, the roster system, merging of the employee and managerial roles (e.g, the dancer who is also the choreographer; the actor who is also the producer or director; and the role of agents in individual contract negotiations). There also exist union administered grievance systems to settle union-management disputes. Compared with many other industries, the traditional union - management divisions have become blurred.

Much of the arts industry - as distinct from entertainment, which is predominantly commercial - operates in the nonprofit and public sectors. In the nonprofit arts, a constant for employers and unions alike is the income gap made famous by the pioneering studies of Baumol and Bowen (1966) and the shifting and uncertain role of government support. The unions join in common cause with employers to expand the volume of arts activities, and in that way expand the revenue base. In the commercial sectors, changing technology and keeping American entertainment product dominant in the global market are key contemporary challenges.

By and large the unions no longer fight new technology; they seek to gain a share of the revenue for their members from expanded markets made possible by technology. Unions and employers cooperate in such areas as popularizing arts and entertainment through trade shows, honors, awards, and the like. They also cooperate in education and programs to promote marketing. The trust fund pioneered by the American Federation of Musicians provides paid job opportunities for musicians, but it also enlarges the public appreciation of the classical arts and in that way expands the opportunities for paid employment.

Institutionalization of Practices and Concepts

Arts and entertainment generate an extraordinarily diverse range of economic circumstances and organizational product, which shape the structure and behavior of the unions. Table II summarizes the institutionalized effects of the strategies unions have adopted in four areas. They help to keep each generation of new entrants into the labor force committed to unionism, generate interdependence with the employers, and promote industry growth.

Table II About Here

Compensation

Negotiated pay packages are complex and tailored to the specific circumstances of relatively small aggregations of workers. They suggest a deliberate attempt to shape compensation arrangements to the needs of a diverse membership in a decentralized industry structure. Each union has its philosophy of compensation. We can illustrate their overall thrust by examining the entertainment industry pay arrangements which the Alliance of Motion Picture and Television Producers negotiates with the DGA, WGA, SAG, and IATSE. A three-tiered compensation system operates to provide a basic minimum pay rate; a framework for negotiation of personal services contracts; and an industrywide system of supplemental payments, i.e., residuals.

At the center of every basic agreement is a schedule of minimum compensation rates. Generally speaking, once a worker has been hired, payment of the minimum compensation is not contingent on the quality of his or her contribution, or on the success of the final product in the marketplace. This is part of the front-end money that all producers must have available. Most below-the-line workers are paid at the minimum wage rates, which constitute the industry's standard "union scale." For the above-the-line workers, however, only the junior workers receive the minimum scale.

Personal service contracts between individual artists and employers recognize that certain individuals have market value greater than the collectively defined standards even though their productivity depends on the collaborative efforts of their coworkers (Jones, 1991). The negotiation of personal service contracts is the highly practiced domain of the artists' agents and producers' attorneys. It is the ultimate symbol of having made it in the industry and the details are highly individualized.

Personal service contracts take three main forms. First, a fixed compensation element typically replaces the basic agreement's minimum rates with rates that reflect the worker's higher market value. Second, producers frequently must also offer contingent compensation, usually in the form of a percentage of net profits, gross receipts, merchandise sales, and the like, or as a promise to hire the worker in a similar capacity for any sequels. Perquisites are a third form of

compensation. These most commonly take the form of "location amenities," such as special travel and housing provisions when working away from the studio.

The personal service contract is also a vehicle for resolving issues peculiar to motion picture and television production and its various classes of workers. Among writers, the transfer of ownership of their literary work is a key element of the labor bargain. The personal service contract is used to specify exactly what will be written (e.g., a "treatment," a "screenplay"); which rights are being transferred (e.g., the right to serialize, to publish in a secondary form); and the consideration paid for each. Among directors, "creative control" is an important issue, and their personal contracts aim to secure rights beyond those contained in their basic agreement. For example, directors often obtain approval of hiring decisions regarding their key collaborators (such as cinematographer, editor) in exchange for making some part of their compensation contingent on the rapid completion of the project. Among actors, the control of one's image is a critical concern, and actors' personal service contracts frequently specify items such as the size and placement of names on the screen or in advertisements, and approval of wardrobe persons or hairdressers.

The third element in this three-tiered compensation system is residual compensation. Residuals are additional payments to workers for the exhibition of an entertainment product in a medium other than the one for which it was originally created, or for its re-use within the same medium. Residuals (also known as "re-use fees," "new use fees," "royalties," or "supplemental contributions") became a major bargaining issue in the 1950s, when commercial television created the possibility for the transfer of theatrical motion pictures to a new medium. While television offered producers a new market for the sale of existing products, workers viewed the transfer of existing entertainment products as an alternative to the production of new material and contemplated a potential loss of employment opportunities. Actors also feared that widespread re-use of their images would devalue those images in the public eye and so reduce demand for their individual talents. Similar arguments have been advanced with each new technological advance (such as cable television or videocassette).

The unions have two fundamental objectives in bargaining over residuals: (1) to obtain residual payments for each new market into which entertainment products are transferred; and (2) to obtain the most generous compensation possible for that transfer. But negotiating the contract is just the beginning of the unions' involvement - they also assume the major responsibility for administering the highly complex residual payment provisions, including researching, auditing, and enforcing payments by producers inclined to defraud workers. The complaints of some employers that residuals constitute an attack on private property rights and an unacceptable incursion into managerial prerogatives are muted by the reality that the industry has lived with and thrived on residuals for almost forty years.

Examination of the compensation arrangements negotiated by the entertainment unions leaves little doubt that, despite their elitist pretensions, they are as oriented toward the bread and butter issues as any AFL-CIO affiliate. What distinguishes them is that they have seized the opportunity to enlarge the parameters of bargaining over pay and have been willing to share in the risks of the entertainment industry by not requiring all compensation to be loaded at the front end. Union members invest substantial personal capital in the products they create and, like other professionals, they want to participate in the economic gains that are the fruits of their labor.

Cooperation in Bargaining

Cooperation in bargaining encompasses both cooperative activity among unions and between unions and employers. Unions in arts and entertainment are seldom in a position to use the strike weapon effectively, but this has not kept them from being successful in the union-management relationship. They cooperate among themselves to gain leverage in their individual bargaining with employers and to deal with problems that transcend the capacity of a single union to deal with effectively. The Department of Professional Employees (DPE), has made notable contributions in these regards.

The DPE was created in 1977 to serve all AFL-CIO affiliated professional unions. In 1987 it created an Arts, Entertainment, and Media Industry Committee, with fifteen member unions, to focus more attention on the common concerns of unions in arts and entertainment, including cooperation with below-the-line unions to better address industrywide problems. Much of what the DPE does is of as much concern to employers as it is to the unions. Through its research and educational programs (on immigration issues and copyright, for example), its lobbying activities in Washington (funding for the NEA, for example), and its interaction with federal agencies on matters affecting the industry it has become a key player, along with employer associations, in promoting a financially viable and expanding arts and entertainment sector.

Sharing in the gains of new technology provides a case in point of how cooperation has served the interests of both employers and employees. Instead of merely fighting over the distribution of additional revenue sources created by the technology, unions and employers, with considerable assistance from the DPE, are jointly addressing the problem of misappropriation of technology made possible by the vastly increased capacity to copy valuable TV programs and prerecorded videocassette tapes. The industry as a whole loses many millions of dollars annually through uncompensated copying. Accordingly, if unions tried to make up for reduced incomes and lost opportunities simply by gaining concessions from employers, they would meet with strong resistance from an industry also deprived of its rightful revenues. Unions and employers have joined together to uncover and police this unauthorized infringement and to lobby Congress for protective legislation. Although the DPE does not engage directly in collective bargaining, its communications, research, and advisory roles serve to a considerable extent as an augmentation of

individual union bargaining and supplement it on matters which concern arts and entertainment as a whole.

A distinctive feature of the arts is that most of the performing groups are nonprofit organizations. In this sector, and in public sector arts organizations as well, it is not always clear who the real, ultimate management is (Faine, 1986). Faine, in what he called cooperative bargaining, has identified the operation of a two-stage bargaining process. His thesis is that increasingly it will be necessary for unions and management in the nonprofit arts sector to cooperatively approach boards of directors or other ultimate funding sources to conclude contracts that the principal negotiators, because of shared experiences and artistic values, are able to agree on but cannot fund. In a sense it puts management and labor on the same side of the bargaining table. This kind of bargaining will only work where there exists open sharing of information and where there is a willingness to set aside parochial interests in favor of larger artistic and institutional survival considerations. It is still an open question whether the model of management and unions as cooperators instead of adversaries can become the dominant model of labor relations in nonprofit organizations, but the preponderance of recent evidence points in that direction. In the commercial sectors of arts and entertainment there is also growing evidence of increased cooperation between unions and major employers in bargaining, not because there is uncertainty about where ultimate management authority resides, but because of foreign competition and the proliferation of operators who wish to remain nonunion.

Career Enhancement

Few individuals in arts and entertainment spend an entire career within the industry; even fewer devote an entire career to a single organization. Exceptions would be such professionals as symphony musicians and museum curators. It was not always so. For example, until about 1950, the film industry followed a mass production method, with most employees - top to bottom - under contract to a single studio. Starting in the 1950s the labor force became casualized as the industry shifted from the heralded studio system to flexible specialization.

Career patterns for above- and below-the-line workers have many similarities. Above-the-line workers are characterized by a highly developed professional identity as performers, directors, writers, and so on. And the notion of craft is still deeply imbedded in the below-the-line workers. The casual nature of the labor market for most jobs in arts and entertainment focuses the attention of unions on career development. It is quite common, for example, in commercial theater for organizations to be formed to produce a particular play or to make a particular film or video. They often disband as soon as the play closes or business associated with production is completed. Jobs tend to be of an ad hoc and short-term nature. Performers and supportive personnel rarely work for the same organization for an extended period of time. The constant changing of jobs places employees in a vulnerable position. Thus unions, in collaboration with employers, have assumed

responsibility for providing a broad range of services to members that protects them against various hazards of the labor market and enhances their attachment to the union and to the industry: job referrals, assistance in establishing eligibility for unemployment insurance or other benefits, transitional loan fund programs, job placement activity including auditions, training programs, and so on. For many of these reasons, as Moskow as pointed out (1970), "...most unions in the performing arts rarely try to organize new members; instead the potential member seeks out the union" (p. 68).

Unions have all adopted programs to encourage access of newcomers to gain experience, and for the exceptionally talented to move to the head of the line when the most desirable work opportunities are handed out. This tactic sometimes collides with a strong impulse to reserve the most desirable opportunities to those who accumulated the greatest seniority. Problems are especially acute at two points in the career cycle: gaining entry into the craft or profession and ensuring opportunity for union members in a labor market in which large numbers of job seekers are willing to work for little or no compensation to gain secure employment.

For workers at the extreme upper tier of the labor market, few professional challenges remain. Nonetheless, in the past several years a practice has developed which allows these workers to push themselves to even higher levels of achievement. Talent agents have begun to "bundle" star actors, writers, and directors into packages, such that a producer wanting to secure the services of one must hire all. In practice, this leads to the development of creative teams who move together among projects. The unions are somewhat ambivalent about this practice. On the one hand, this practice tends to increase the compensation of the highest paid workers, and union contracts governing worker-agent relations facilitate the practice. Conversely, as a larger share of project budgets goes to the top tier of workers, other workers on the same projects find that their compensation potential is restricted.

Contingent Union Membership

In industries characterized by frequent shifts in the volume and type of employment, unions cannot be credible representatives of worker interests unless they can facilitate workers' mobility within the labor force. The unions representing stage, screen, and television workers have developed several institutions and practices toward this end.

Chief among these is a dues structure where payments are indexed to income. Dues for DGA and WGA members, for example, are levied as a flat percentage of their annual income from union-covered employment (between 1 and 1.5 percent). In practice, this leaves the cost of union activity to be borne mainly by the cadre of successful workers, imposing only a small burden on the many marginal workers. This practice inspired animosity among the highest tier of writers during the 1987 WGA strike, leading to a small group breaking ranks with the union. All of the unions also have simplified the procedures for "honorable withdrawal" of membership, which

allows suddenly unemployed workers to pay nominal or no dues until they are rehired, at which point the full rights and obligations of union membership may be automatically reinstated. The AFM also has a membership category for music students, which allows neophytes to begin their working careers under the union banner, and the DGA has a mentoring program aimed at film school students. This system responds to the practical needs of employees for a dues structure that fluctuates with their employment fortunes.

Table III About Here

The fact that many creative workers seek employment in a variety of venues and even in a variety of positions engenders another set of institutions and practices which generates significant union-employer interdependence. Because many workers hold membership in more than one union, the unions and employers must cooperate to determine which contract and working rules will be administered; this has even led to joint collective bargaining in the case of SAG and AFTRA for television actors. Also, the various guilds must cooperate to apportion dues for workers who perform multiple tasks on a project.

Finally, the pension funds and health and welfare funds are managed such that interruptions of employment are treated liberally with respect to vesting and benefit eligibility. Moreover, unemployed workers' access to health insurance is guaranteed through self-payment provisions that are written into the collective bargaining agreement. This contributes to the overall vitality of the arts and entertainment sector as a whole by promoting a healthy workforce and by encouraging workers to continue seeking even marginal employment as a way of renewing their vestment in the special benefit funds.

In sum, unions in arts and entertainment have learned that serving the practical day-to-day interests of their members and maintaining member support are enhanced when they and the employers have a strong joint governance system and when both parties view their own interests as closely linked to the well-being of the arts and entertainment industry as a whole.

¹There exist certain other organizations not included in Table I which played a significant role at one time but have either fallen onto hard times or serve a very narrow membership. An example of the first type is the Screen Extras Guild whose jurisdiction is moving to the Screen Actors Guild. An example of the second type is the Society of Stage Directors and Choreographers.

²A 1980 survey indicated that singers, actors, and musicians were likely to have, on average, over seven employers in a year.

³Actors Equity, for example, has called only three strikes in its almost eighty year history.

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Table I

The Core Unions in Arts and Entertainment

Core Unions	Primary Jurisdiction	Membership*	
		1970	1988
Above-The-Line Unions: Professionals/Performers			
American Federation of Television and Radio Artists (AFTRA/1937)	Performers in live and taped television	24,000	63,000
Actors' Equity Association (Equity/1913)	Performers and stage managers in live theatre	15,000	37,000
The American Federation of Musicians (AFM/1896)	Live and recorded performers on musical instruments and live vocalists who sing in nightclubs	300,000	209,088
American Guild of Musical Artists (AGMA/1936)	Live performances of opera, dance and choral music.	3,500	5,600
American Guild of Variety Artists (AGVA/1939)	Variety artists in musical revues, industrial shows, ice capades, cabaret, theme parks, travelling shows, and night-clubs.	3,012	5,500
Directors Guild of America (DGA/1959)	Directors, assistant directors, unit production managers in films and in live and taped television	3,650	8,680

Table I Cont'd.

Screen Actors Guild (SAG/1933)	All individuals whose performances are recorded on film and all performers in made-for television films and music videos	25,000	69,000
Writers Guild of America-East (WGA-East/1954)	Radio, television and film writers who live east of the Mississippi	1,500	3,030
Writers Guild of America-West (WGA-West/1954)	Radio, television and film writers who live west of the Mississippi	2,846	6,200
Below-The-Line Unions: Craft and Technicians			
International Alliance of Theatrical and Stage Employees & Motion Picture Machine Operators (IATSE/1893)	Support personnel in film, television, theatre, and other live performances including concerts	63,000	60,000
National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians (NABET/1933)	Technical and related personnel in radio and television broadcasting, video and sound recording, and film	8,640	12,000

* Membership figures were obtained directly from the unions, and wherever possible checked against studies conducted by government or private research agencies. For additional details, please contact the senior author.

Table II
Effects of Union Concepts and Practices on Member Attachment

Bases of Member Attachment Union Concepts and Practices	Respond to Practical Needs of Members	Promote Union-Management Interdependence	Sustain Arts and Entertainment as a whole	
Compensation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Basic minimum wages -Portable benefits -Pay augmentation through individual bargaining 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Joint administration of compensation system 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Waivers for marginal producers -Performance trust funds -Pay tied to product revenues 	
Cooperation in bargaining	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Ad hoc resolution of work problems -Reciprocity agreements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Peer relationship and shared governance -Generous use of sidebar agreements to accommodate special cases -Full financial disclosure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Joint union-employer programs to address threats to productivity and competitiveness -Educational and research programs -Expand industry revenue base 	
Career enhancement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Protection of creative and intellectual property -Talent development and showcasing -Protection of creative standards -Bundling of talent 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Apprenticeship programs -Encouragement of "hyphenation" -Tenure and peer review committees -Adherence to labor standards (e.g., education of child actors) -Credit committees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Honors and awards to highlight achievements -Waiver of union rules for benefit performances (e.g., Comic Relief) -Affirmative action programs and research 	
Contingent membership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -"Honorable withdrawal" -Multiple union memberships -Dues based on earnings 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Student memberships 	

Table III
Overlapping Memberships Among Performing Arts Unions

	<u>Percent Also Reporting Membership in:</u>		
	AFTRA	Equity	SAG
<u>Primary Union Membership</u>			
AFTRA	--	58	65
Equity	38	--	44
SAG	61	64	--

Source: Ruttenberg, Friedman, Kilgannon, Guchess & Associates, Inc., "Working and Not Working in the Performing Arts: A Survey of Employment, Underemployment, and Unemployment among Performing artists in 1980," report for the Labor Institute for Human Enrichment and the AFL-CIO Department of Professional Employees, 1980.