

---

Miroslav Stanojević\*

## **SLOVENIAN TRADE UNIONS - THE BIRTH OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS IN POST-COMMUNISM**

### *ABSTRACT*

*This article examines changes that have occurred within organized labor over past decade (1989-1999). The analysis shows that in Slovenian post-communism the theory that crisis causes deunionization also holds up. Worker under severe pressure from unemployment do in fact leave their trade unions. The post-communist peculiarity in the process of deunionization was in the non-worker social groups leaving the unions more intensively. In the last ten years the uneven reduction in union membership meant a change in membership structure. At the end of the 1990s clearly defined labor organizations appeared in Slovenia.*

*Key words: trade unions, trade union membership, unemployment, post-communism*

In 1994 approximately 60% of the Slovenian workforce were members of trade unions (Toš, 1994; Stanojević, Omerzu, 1994). Four years later, trade union membership had fallen to just 42.8% of the active population (Toš, 1998).<sup>1</sup> In the past ten years, trade unions in Slovenia have lost between 100 and 200 thousand members, representing great change.

In the first part of this article I shall describe changes that have occurred within organized labor over the past decade (1989-1999). I shall attempt to describe the general decline in trade union membership, the redistribution of members between trade unions and the principle changes to membership structure in this period. I shall try to establish whether the decline in membership is concentrated or fragmented - who are leaving trade unions and who are remaining members.

In the second part of the article I shall present a detailed picture of Slovenian trade union restructuring in the context of the great transitional restructuring of the labor market over the last ten years. According to G. S. Bain and F. Elsheikh (1976), the key factors contributing to a reduction in negotiating power of trade unions and their loss of membership are economic recession in general and the resulting rise in unemployment

---

\* Miro Stojanović is Associate profesor in inustrial relations at the faculty of social sciences.

specifically (Poole, 1981: 130; Visser, 1994: 86-87). Because we in Slovenia are experiencing unemployment due partly to extensive restructuring of the labor market and partly to the effects of a deep recession in the first half of the last decade, I shall attempt to verify this theory in the context of organized labor in Slovenia. At first glance, the theory that a recession adversely affects trade union membership appears not to hold water in Slovenia's case as in the height of the crisis, trade union membership was exceptionally high and it only started to decrease as economic recovery got underway. Further study, however, would seem to indicate that the recession and pressure of unemployment has been the important, but not exclusive reason for deunionization in Slovenia. A complete analysis should provide an answer to the key question as to whether trade unions in Slovenia are in decline or whether, in spite of losing members, they are proliferating into relatively homogeneous interest organization. Are the changes that have occurred a sign of a crisis that will lead to the disappearance of trade unions altogether or are they, perhaps, merely manifestations of normalization, the forming of "normal" labor interest representation in a market economy.

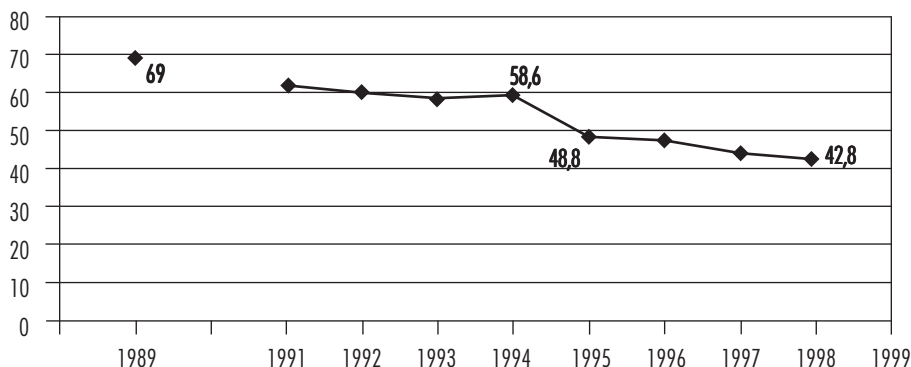
In spite of the fact that this article is not intended to be used in comparisons, I feel it necessary in this introduction to mention the theory that "deindustrialization" is the key reason for the decline of trade unions (Lash and Urry, 1987: 234; Hyman, 1994: 110-111) at the end of the 20th century. This probably holds up for the developed west where "deindustrialization" has occurred. In the most prosperous parts of the east, however, reindustrialization is underway. The same amount of deunionization in the two different contexts have different meanings. In the west, the population traditionally organized by trade unions has largely disappeared whereas in the east deunionization has meant the same population losing the protection of trade unions. I shall not deal here with the political and social consequences of deunionization in the context of reindustrialization. Slovenia is part of the story of the east and, although the most advanced society in transition, from the perspective of the developed center, it still remains on the periphery.

## **1. Changes to the Slovenian Trade Union Scene Over the Period 1989 - 1999**

### **1.1. Decline in trade union membership**

Over the last ten years, trade union membership has continually fallen. The dynamics of this trend are shown in Figure 1.

**Figure 1**  
**Level of trade union membership, 1989 - 1999 (in %)**



Source: Toš, N. et al: *SJM 1989-1998*

*N=2040 (89), 2078 (91), 1049(92), 1044(93), 1037(94), 1016 (95), 1024(96), 2007(97), 1008(98).*

Until approximately half way through the ten year transitional period, decline in trade union membership was very gradual - about 2% p.a. Compared to 1989, membership was about 10% less in 1994. (69% in 1989 compared to 58.6% in 1994).

The second half of the ten year period saw a drop in trade union membership from 58.6% in 1994 to 42.8% in 1998. In one year alone (1994-1995), unions lost 10% of their membership - equal to the entire loss of the previous five years. After 1995, the trend slowed again to a steady decline of 2% p.a.

The general picture of decline in trade union membership requires a closer look at the starting point, middle and end of the cycle. Comparing data from these three points, I shall attempt to find a. the redistribution of members among trade unions and b. the changes in trade union membership structure in the whole ten year period. All data is derived from public opinion surveys (Toš, 1989-1998) combined with data from research carried out in 1994 (Stanojević & Omerzu, 1994).

## **1.2. Redistribution of membership among trade unions - concentration and/or fragmentation?**

What do the two researches (Toš, 1994 and Stanojević, Omerzu, 1994) tell us? What were the principle characteristics of the trade union scene in the middle of the last decade?

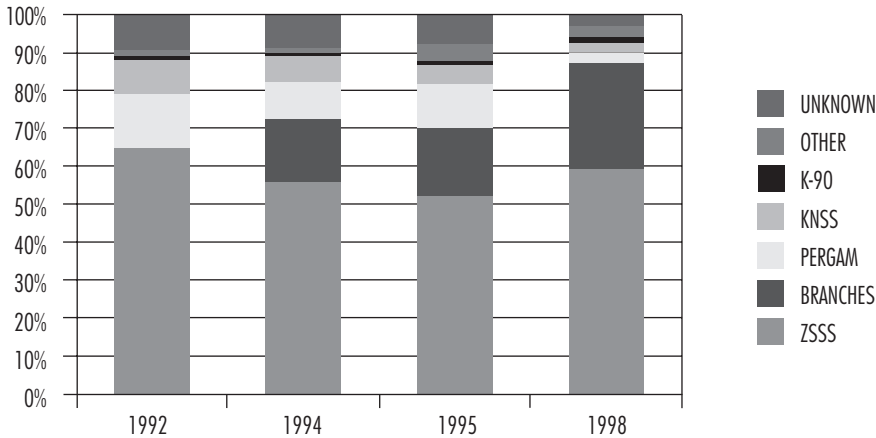
In 1994, the trade union scene was dominated by the "old reformed" trade union, ZSSS, who represented 50% of trade union members who identified with the confederation and 20% of its membership identifying with their industrial sector organizations.

The second largest union was PERGAM with 12.5% of trade union members. At that time it was close to the third largest union, the only large opposition union, KNSS, with 10.8% of members.

The fourth largest union, K-90, was very small in comparison to the three largest unions.

In 1994, the remaining 10-15% of trade union members weakly identified with the union movement. Membership was out of habit and apparently did not perceive the important organizations as serving their interest.

**Figure 2**  
**Redistribution of membership among trade unions in Slovenia 1992-1998.**



Source: Toš, N. et al: *SJM 1992, 1994, 1995 & 1998*; Stanojević & Omerzu 1994.

From the combined results of the two researches, we can form quite a clear picture of the distribution of membership between trade unions in 1994. Comparing this picture to data from the public opinion surveys collected at the beginning of the 1990s, that from 1995 and at the end of the ten year period, a main features of membership redistribution between trade unions over the last decade can be identified.

Throughout the ten year period, ZSSS maintained its dominant position on the Slovenian trade union scene with between 50% and 70% of the unionized population. It was highest at the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s with 70% of membership, approached 50% in the middle of the ten year period and climbed back to 60% at the end.

Among other trade unions, the most important in the first half of 1990s were PERGAM and KNSS. Membership of KNSS gradually declined whilst that of PERGAM was stable. Both covered 20% of the unionized population. Data from 1998 shows that it was these two unions that lost most members after 1995. In 1998, PERGAM, KNSS and K-90 had approximately the same share of union membership. Each covered 3 to 4% of the unionized population meaning their joint membership declined from 20% to about 10% of total union membership.

Characteristic of the 1990s was the growth of industrial unions within organized labor. Their appearance was recorded by the research in 1994 (Stanojević & Omerzu). Up until then, most of these unions were formally within ZSSS. In 1995, Toš identified

a growth in the membership share of “other unions” with almost one third of union members opting for industrial unions. Some of these unions remained formally under ZSSS, some became autonomous. Compared with the leading trade unions (ZSSS, PERGAM, KNSS, K-90), these new industrial unions lost far few members over the ten year period studied and their share of all members rose.

A fourth important characteristic was the tendency for people not knowing what union they belonged to disappear (from 10% to 3%). This reflected the stronger identification of the remaining memberships with their organizations.

*To summarize:* within the trend of declining membership over the ten year period studied, when there was a reduction in membership of almost 40%, the old reformed ZSSS preserved its leading position, with more than 50% of all union members throughout the 10 years. The biggest losers were PERGAM and KNSS. Their strong position at the beginning of the 1990s was eroded by the growth of industrial unions. These were the only “winners” of the past decade as, not only did their share of total union membership rise, but they also did not lose their own membership. None of the new unions grew to be as large as PERGAM or KNSS (covering not more than 3-4% membership) but together these smaller unions account for almost 40% of total trade union membership. *Two phenomena were identified on the Slovenian union scene - the concentration of membership in ZSSS on the one hand and the fragmentation into industrial unions on the other.*

### 1.3. Changes in membership structure

According to Toš (SJM surveys), 81.7% of those in 1989 declaring themselves as white collar workers were trade union members. The level of unionization among blue collar workers was 72.7%. After nine years unionization of both categories declined significantly (48.6% white collar workers and 54% blue collar workers).

Data on job positions show a clearer picture of union membership structure.

The public opinion surveys divided job positions into four categories, three management (higher management, middle management and supervisory) and one non-management.

**Table 1**  
**Union membership by job position (in %)**

Position	1989	1992	1994	1995	1998
higher management	77.0	19.7	4.4	17.1	10.8
middle management	84.6	56.0	64.9	54.2	37.0
supervisory	-	65.0	58.3	68.6	50.8
non-management	74.1	67.1	69.5	59.1	53.0

Source: Toš, N. et al: *SJM 1989, 1992, 1994, 1995 and 1998*

In 1989 all, of course, were in trade unions. Figures from 1992 show that trade unions were not for higher management as their membership fell from 77% to 19.7%. In 1998 only 10.8% remained union members. Middle management also quit the unions in large numbers (from 84.6% in 1989 to 37% in 1998). The smallest decline in union membership was observed among non-management and supervisors. More than 50% in both cases remained members of trade unions. Trade unions changed from being indistinct associations of administrators and administrated, management and non-management to associations for subordinates.

The picture of changes in union membership structure is further clarified by changes observed in education structure. The public opinion surveys identified four educational categories - primary school, vocational school, high school and university. At the beginning of the ten year period unionization among employees with all levels of education was high but even higher among those most qualified. Between 1989 and 1992 this relationship changed significantly with 50 to 60% membership among the more educated and 60 to 70% among those with less formal education. This relationship held through to 1994.

**Table 2**  
**Unionisation among four educational categories (in %)**

Education	1989	1992	1994	1995	1998
primary school	72.7	68.4	66.9	68.3	51.9
vocational school	70.6	63.2	67.5	58.6	51.0
high school	76.5	58.9	58.1	47.4	27.8
university	81.3	53.6	60.5	46.6	42.1

*Source: Toš, N. et al: SJM 1989, 1992, 1994, 1995 and 1998*

In 1998 51.9% of employees with primary school education were union members, 51% with vocational school, 27.8% with high school and 42.0% with university education. Compared to data from 1989, trade unions lost most members from employees with high school and university education. Although those with less education also left the trade unions, their numbers when compared to those with higher education were large enough to mean they came to dominate the trade union scene at the end of the ten year period.<sup>2</sup>

We can conclude, therefore, that trade unions are losing members from all categories of education but less from the less educated. This has led to a significant change in trade union membership structure.

**Table 3**  
**Educational structure of Slovenian union membership in 1989, 1992 and 1998**

Education	1989	1992	1998
primary school	21.3	24.3	29.8
vocational school	28.8	31.3	40.8
high school	31.6	29.6	22.5
University	18.3	14.8	6.8

*Source: Toš, N. et al: SJM 1989, 1992, 1998; Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Results of Surveys 1996 (Remarks: changes in union structure is approximation only as data is derived from data on the educational structure of employees for 1995 and the level of union membership by category in 1989, 1992 and 1998).*

In 1989 the educational structure of trade unions faithfully followed that among employees. In 1992 a trend was noticed of growth in the share of less educated members.

Then their share was 55.6%. In 1998 those members with primary or vocational school education prevailed - 70.6% of all union members. The unions attracted mostly less educated members.

Data presented to now suggest that trade unions in Slovenia have become labor organizations. A closer look at trade union membership by salary scales shows that trade unions consist of only certain categories of workers. The worse paid, marginalized workers are leaving. In 1992 trade union membership was highest among employees with the lowest pay (66%) whereas by the end of the ten year period the worse paid were worse unionized (29.1%) - compared to other better paid categories.<sup>3</sup>

In presenting changes to trade union membership structure, it is necessary to mention two more distinctive characteristics. Over the last ten years trade union membership has grown younger with those over 60 leaving and those younger than 30 have not been leaving any faster than members of middle age. The other peculiarity is the high level of unionization of women employees. In 1989 the levels of unionization among men and women were approximately the same (73.6% men and 75.8% women). In the first half of the ten year period more men left the unions than women (20% of male union members). In the second half of the decade more women left. At the end of the ten year period studied, union membership stood at 44.3% men and 50.2% women.

Changes in the Slovenian trade union scene have three basic characteristics.

First, there was a very gradual decline in trade union membership in the first years of transition and the increasing level of deunionization in the second half of the ten year period, after 1994.

Second, there was a trend towards concentration and fragmentation. More than half the membership is concentrated in the reformed ZSSS union and the other half among numerous other unions, mostly industrial unions.

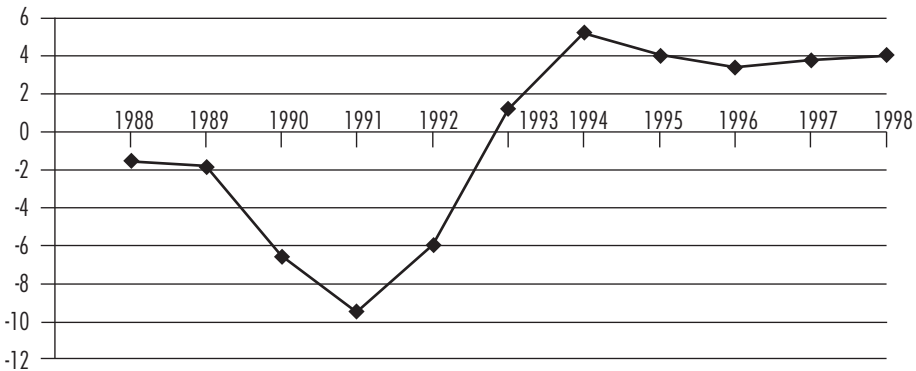
Third, from organizations unselectively representing all “working people”, trade unions in Slovenia have definitely changed into organizations representing workers. In the last ten years managers and the well educated and higher paid employees have left along with the least paid, marginalized groups of workers.

## 2. The Crisis and Deunionization

### 2.1. Who has been under the greatest pressure?

Between 1988 and 1992, Slovenia had a negative growth in BDP. The lowest point was reached in 1991. This data reflected the severe economic crisis experienced by Slovenia at the end of the 1980's and beginning of the 1990s. Many workers were made redundant during this period and many more forced to take early retirement. In 1993 the negative trend changed and growth has been between 3 and 5% ever since.

**Figure 3**  
**BDP growth levels (in %)**



Sources: *Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia; Bilten Banke Slovenije (August 1996); ZMAR (Autumn report 1998).*

The working population declined during the first five years of transition. Certain studies indicate the reduction between 1991 and 1993 to have been 12% (Trbanc, 1994: 64). At the end of this period which coincided with the first minimal positive growth since 1988, unemployment, according to ILO standards, reached 9.1% (Ignjatović, 1995: 130; Pirher, 1994: 51) which has not changed significantly since.



**Table 4**  
**Unemployment rate 1992-1998 (in%)**

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998*
Registered	13.3	15.4	14.2	14.5	14.4	14.8	14.3
ILO standards	8.3	9.1	9.1	7.4	7.3	7.4	7.7

\* estimate

Sources: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia; ZMAR estimates.

What kind of pressure did unemployment have on different groups of employees over the last ten years?

I shall attempt to explain the pressures of unemployment on different categories of employees by comparing statistical data on the share of key groups within the structure of employees and in the structure of those being made redundant. Where the share of certain groups in the structure of those made redundant is greater than their share in the structure of employees, these groups experienced the greatest above average pressure from unemployment and vice versa.

I shall use the occupational and educational structure of employees from 1995 as a basis from which I shall derive the shift in the structure of those made redundant in 1992, 1994, 1995 and 1997. This data I shall compare with changes in the structure of trade union membership presented in the first part of the article.

According to data from the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia (results of a 1996 survey), the most important occupational groups among those employed was<sup>4</sup> “plant and machine operators” (21.1%), “technicians” (18.1%), “craft and related trades workers” (14.7%), “clerks” (12.4%), “services and sales” (11.8%) and “professionals” (10.3%). The classical manual worker group “machine operators” is the strongest in Slovenia (21.1%). In combination with the group “elementary occupations” - non-skilled workers (6.4%) the share of what we understand as classical labor is a strong 27.5%.<sup>5</sup>

A comparison of the occupational structure of employees with the occupational structure of the population in 1992, 1994, 1995 and 1997 who lost their jobs shows the following:

- (i) The most important category within classical labor, the occupational group “machine operators” was not under severe pressure in 1992 as their structure in those made redundant was the same as that in those employed. From 1994 pressure on the group grew and in 1997 their share among those made redundant was 11.6% higher than their share in those employed.
- (ii) If data on “machine operators” is added to with data on “elementary occupations” the position of the whole working population is seen to have worsened significantly. Unskilled workers were, among all groups, especially at the beginning and end of the period, under most pressure as their share among those made redundant

was twice as high in 1992 than their share in the structure of those employed and one times higher in 1997.

- (iii) Among occupational groups that had a greater than 10% share in the structure of those employed in 1995, people were affected as were those in the group “craft and related trades workers”. At the end of the period, pressure on the group was at its greatest as in 1997 their share among those made redundant was 100% greater than their share in the structure of those employed.

**Table 5**  
**Educational structure of employees (1995) and the share of different educational categories among those made redundant in 1992, 1994, 1995 and 1997 (in %)**

Education	Share of employed (1995)	Made redundant			
		1992	1994	1995	1997
Without primary school (1)	N=536 4.7	9.4	8.1	4.3	-
Primary school (2)	N=2286 20.1	24.3	24.2	25.0	28.6
Shortened curriculum (3)	N=391 3.4	4.5	4.8	5.7	8.2
Vocational school (4)	N=3184 27.9	33.7	33.1	37.1	53.1
high school (5)	N=3229 28.3	24.8	27.4	24.3	10.2
University (6)	N=1769 15.4	3.5	2.4	3.6	-
Total	100	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: LFS (Labor Force Surveys) 1993,1995,1996, 1998, Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Ljubljana

According to Labor Force Survey from 1995, the most important three groups in the educational structure of those employed were employees with primary school education (20.1%), with vocational education (27.9%) and with high school education (28.3%). A fourth group comprising all with university education accounted for 15.4% of employees. This compared well with the categories from the public opinion surveys providing data for the unionization of these categories presented earlier in the article.

Comparison of educational structure of the employed with that of the population losing jobs in 1992, 1994, 1995 and 1997 due to redundancies shows the following:

- (i) Between the four large groups, the strongest pressure was experienced over the whole ten year period by those employees with vocational school education as their share among those made redundant was constantly higher than their share of those employed. There was a 5 to 6% difference in 1992 and 1994, 9% difference in 1995 and 25.2% difference (or 100% higher) in 1997.
- (ii) A constant but less severe pressure was felt by those with primary school education - a 4-5% positive difference in between their share of those employed and their share of those made redundant to 1995 and a good 8% difference in 1997.
- (iii) To 1995 the group not completing primary school were under severe pressure. In 1992 their share among those made redundant was 100% greater than their share of those employed (9.4% difference). This was reduced to 4.3% difference in 1995. This group experienced most pressure at the beginning of the ten year period, which disappeared at its end.
- (iv) The pressure on those with a shortened curriculum actually increased. It had about the same share among employed as those not completing primary school and in 1997 experienced the kind of pressure this group did at the beginning of the ten year period.
- (v) Compared to the above mentioned groups, those with high school education suffered less pressure in 1995 and practically none in 1997. Until 1995 their share among those made redundant was approximately the same or just a little under their share of those employed. In 1992 they had a 24.8% share among those made redundant, 1994 27.4% and 1995 24.3%. Pressure on this group declined dramatically in 1997. There were now only 10.2% of those made redundant in this group.
- (vi) Among those most educated, redundancies were very few and practically no pressure due to unemployment was felt.

*To conclude:* Among the large groups, the most severe pressure from unemployment was experienced by the classical labor groups (the lowest educated, “machine operators” and “unskilled workers”). Among the largest groups in educational structure, the worst pressure was felt by those employees with two or three years vocational schooling. Among the four largest groups, pressure on this group increased greatest to 1997. To 1995 those with high school education experienced some pressure but this disappeared in the second half of the ten year period. The most educated did not suffer pressure from unemployment.

## **2.2. Pressure from unemployment and deunionization: who remained in the unions?**

What does what has been identified as “pressure” say about the nature of the deunionization we have witnessed over the last ten years?

1. Among classical labor (groups of employees with primary schooling and vocational schooling) not only was their great pressure due to unemployment but union membership decreased between 1989 and 1998 by 20.8 and 19.6%.

2. At the same time, among groups suffering the least pressure, unionization radically decreased. Trade union membership of employees with high school education suffered a 48.7% decrease and of those with university education, 39%.
3. We found that within the labor unions, most membership was lost from the worst paid groups of employees who probably were the least educated, unskilled workers. This marginal group suffered the worse from pressure of unemployment.

A very rough comparison between identified pressure due to unemployment and changes in the levels of trade union membership over the ten year period studied, shows that in Slovenia unions lost most members from groups under least pressure from unemployment on the one hand and those who were under the worst pressure from unemployment on the other. The link between less pressure from unemployment and deunionization is most evident from the category of employees with high school education. In the period when those in this group were under pressure from unemployment they remained unionized and when the pressure of unemployment disappeared they started leaving the unions.

In short, over the last ten years unions lost most members from the non-worker (better educated, middle and higher management groups) where there was no pressure from unemployment and marginal workers who were under extreme pressure. The core labor groups (those with vocational schooling, machine operators) who were under severe pressure from unemployment remained union members.

### 3. Conclusions

From theories of G.S Bain and F. Elsheikh, 1976, crisis and pressure from unemployment affects the decline of union membership. At first glance, changes in trade union membership in Slovenia over the ten year period studied would seem to go against this theory as union membership in Slovenia was highest during the time of worst crisis and quickly declined as economic growth picked up.

What is behind this apparent shift from the theory?

1. We can say that the key cause of the unusual dynamics and the intensity of deunionization is hidden in the nature of unions under socialism. Under the previous system, unions in Slovenia at the start of the period studied were indistinct associations of all social categories. To be strictly accurate, they were not (yet) trade unions. The source of the post-socialist peculiarity in the process of deunionization was in the non-worker social groups leaving the unions. This is the real basic characteristic of the process of ten years deunionization in Slovenia: formal deunionization in which unions lost categories of labor who, due to their positions in the social division of labor, no longer identified with trade unions.
2. If when we consider the mass deunionization in post-socialism, we discount the non-worker groups that are normally weakly unionized in market economies or use other forms of looking after their interests, then the ten year trend of deunionization

better fits the theory. This clearer picture shows that in post-socialism the theory that crisis causes deunionization also holds up. Workers under severe pressure from unemployment do in fact leave their trade unions. The above identified post-socialist peculiarity meant that those not under any pressure from unemployment left the unions more intensively. In the last ten years the uneven reduction in union membership meant a change in membership structure. Indistinct associations of different social groups, gradually changed into groups of organized labor.

3. It was noticed that in the second half of the ten year period studied sectors of organized labor began to appear that manifested in the described fragmentation of a part of the union scene. Types of organization appeared that included employees from certain traditional industries and also those representing so-called white collar workers.

The identified three-tier transformation of unions reflects the wider transition process (and these probably are also determinants). Formal deunionization is a manifestation of leaving socialism. As transition is not just leaving socialism but also the inclusion of processes that could not be included in the context of a non-market economy, formal deunionization hides the unionization of classical labor - an expansion of the process of delayed modernization. And, finally, the unionization of certain new social categories manifested in partial fragmentation of the union scene that contains elements of post-industrialization or post-modernism.

Within the three-tier process, the most impressive factor is the hidden unionization in post-socialism. Socialism set up elements of modernism that in the post-socialism market economy are maturing into modern structures. In the last ten years work in Slovenia has been reorganized according to interests. At the end of the 1990s there are labor organizations whose membership and infrastructure overcomes all previous forms of representation of workers interest in Slovenia. Such strong clearly defined labor organizations have never existed in the history of Slovenia.

*Acknowledgements: I am grateful to colleagues from the Slovenian Public Opinion Pool Centre (CJMMK) for their help in preparing data for tables and figures, especially to Živa Filej and Rebeka Falle.*

## NOTES

1. Comparisons show the result as not being so bad. From the perspective of the numbers of unions in the west, its quite an achievement and for some an incredible high level of unionization. Some comparable societies in the east are at approximately the same level (the Czech Republic) or they are confronted with essentially greater union membership decline (Hungary and Poland). In spite of this perspective suggesting that nothing unusual is happening within Slovenian union scene as deunionization is a general post-modern trend although unions in Slovenia have lost 40% of their members since the start of the transition process.
2. In this category an about-face occurred. In 1989 every fourth member of the group was not in a union.

3. At the end of the ten year period more than half of moderately paid employees are trade union members. After 1994 union membership within the two best paid groups never exceeded 50%.
4. The Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia allocates employees into ten occupational groups: 1. Legislators and managers; 2. Professionals; 3. Technicians; 4. Clerks; 5. Services and sales workers; 6. Agricultural and fishery workers; 7. Craft and related trades workers; 8. Plant and machine operators; 9. Elementary occupations and 10. Armed forces.
5. In comparison to the European average, the share in structures of the two largest groups are larger. The share of technicians is comparable to the share of employees in Germany but nowhere in Europe are there so many machine operators (average is 9.9%).

## REFERENCES

- Bain, G. S. and Elsheikh, F. (1976): *Union Growth and the Business Cycle*, Oxford: Blackwell  
Bilten Banke Slovenije, Avgust 1996
- Hyman, R. (1994): 'Changing Trade Union Identities and Strategies', in R. Hyman & A. Ferner (ed.) *New Frontiers in European Industrial Relations*, pp. 108-139. Oxford: Blackwell
- Ignjatović, M. (1995): *Politika zaposlovanja v postmodernem obdobju razvitih družb - primerjalni pristop*, Ljubljana FDV (unpublished research)
- Lash, S. and Urry, J. (1987). *The End of Organized Capitalism*, Cambridge: Polity Press
- LFS (Labor Force Surveys) 1993,1995,1996, 1998, Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Ljubljana
- Pirher, S. (1994): 'Mednarodna primerjava brezposelnosti'; in: *Zaposlovanje, Približevanje Evropi*, ed. S. Pirher and I. Svetlik, Ljubljana: FDV
- Poole, M. (1981): *Theories of Trade Unionism: A Sociology of Industrial Relation*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul
- Visser, J. (1994): 'European Trade Unionism: the Transition Years', in R. Hyman & A. Ferner (ed.) *New Frontiers in European Industrial Relations*, pp. 80-107. Oxford: Blackwell
- Stanojević, M. and Omerzu, M. (1994): 'Javnomnenjske podobe sindikatov', *Družboslovne razprave* 17-18:120-140
- Results of Surveys, Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, No 675, Ljubljana
- Toš, N. et al: *SJM 1989 - 1998, Public Opinion Surveys*, Faculty of Social Sciences, Ljubljana: CJMMK
- Trbanc, M. (1994): 'Ocene mesečnih stopenj brezposelnosti po kriterijih mednarodne organizacije dela', in: *Zaposlovanje, Približevanje Evropi*, ed. S. Pirher and I. Svetlik, Ljubljana: FDV  
ZMAR, Autumn report 1998