

Building Regional Capacity: The New Alliance Process in Pennsylvania

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This article offers a summary of events and circumstances surrounding the implementation of the AFL-CIO's New Alliance program in Pennsylvania. Focusing on the challenges involved in establishing and operating the state's five new Area Labor Federations (ALFs), the article documents the emerging success of Pennsylvania's ALFs in building the capacity for and strategically-minded use of local and regional power by and for the state-wide labor movement's affiliates and their allies.

As the 1990s drew to a close, labor movement visionaries were working to develop a new organizational plan that would revitalize and expand the power and influence of America's unions in the new century. A reenergized and growing labor movement would require a rejuvenated capacity to mobilize union members and their allies on a sustained basis and in the communities where they lived and worked. It would require a new commitment to building and strengthening locally based coalitions, both among organized labor and with community allies. And it would mean reestablishing organized labor's ability to act as a champion of the community's interest and the articulator of a better future for society. The plan that emerged, dubbed the New Alliance, specified both this vision and a strategy for using the AFL-CIO's state and local labor bodies to help bring it to fruition.

Regionally-based cross-union labor bodies, like the central labor councils (CLCs) found in many American communities, should be the natural vehicles for carrying out the work envisioned by the New Alliance. Yet at the close of the 20th century, most CLCs—especially those outside of large cities—had little capacity to wield significant power and influence. Hampered by limited funding and the less-than-wholly committed affiliation and participation of local unions, many CLCs had insufficient resources to pay

for staffing or expansive tactical programming. They had instead to rely almost entirely on the volunteer and 'over-time' efforts of delegates from their local affiliates.

Recognizing this situation to be the case in Pennsylvania, leaders of the New Alliance process in the Keystone State sought to change it by reorganizing the state's AFL-CIO structure to pool and coordinate shared resources among labor councils that were too small, too isolated, and/or too under-resourced on their own to sustain the programming needed to advance labor's agenda at the local, regional, and national levels. Together with a renewed commitment by national unions to encourage their locals to affiliate with, participate in, and enhance the financial resources of their local labor bodies, a new Area Labor Federation (ALF) structure would allow for the hiring of trained staff to execute programming and serve the needs of associated CLCs in building up their own organizations. This paper summarizes the promising outcomes of the New Alliance process witnessed during the first two-and-one-half years of its implementation in Pennsylvania.

The AFL-CIO's New Alliance Program

Officially launched at its 1999 convention, the national AFL-CIO's New Alliance program called for a remapping of the federation's state and local bodies, whose structures had not been rethought since their original design over half a century earlier. The New Alliance is a state-based process that convenes and is in turn directed by the leaders of the AFL-CIO and key unions in a particular state. Through the New Alliance planning process, the state's labor movement builds a vision for where it wants to be,

articulates the type of programming that it wants to pursue, and identifies the cross-union capacities that it needs to fulfill its vision and program.

New York was the first state to establish a New Alliance process, acting almost immediately after the national convention's endorsement of the program. When the Pennsylvania New Alliance process was initiated several years later, the New York experience served as a compelling model. In his paper on New York's New Alliance initiative, Jeff Grabelsky explains that the creation of area labor federations was the organizational innovation that drove the process there. The state's reorganization plan called for the consolidation of twenty-five CLCs into five area labor federations. "The basic idea," says Grabelsky, "was to create central bodies whose jurisdictions included enough union members—judged to be about 100,000—so that sufficient resources could be generated by per capita dues to support and sustain well-funded, well-staffed, functional ALFs." The result, he finds, was the creation of "central bodies with a greater functional capacity than the existing CLCs had exhibited" and the development and implementation of "more meaningful programmatic work" than had been previously accomplished.¹

The Creation of Area Labor Federations in Pennsylvania

In Pennsylvania, the New Alliance process was not undertaken in earnest until early 2005, when a New Alliance Drafting Committee composed of leaders from the state federation, existing central labor councils, and unions with a significant presence around the state initiated a nine month long process of meetings and deliberations. The drafting committee was co-chaired by AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Richard Trumka, a former

president of the United Mine Workers with deep Pennsylvania roots, and James English, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Steel Workers, another major union in the state. By 2005 signs of real progress and even greater promise had emerged in New York, encouraging labor leaders in neighboring Pennsylvania to adopt the New York model as a guide to reorganization there. The Pennsylvania plan was ratified at a New Alliance Convocation of the state's local unions in November of 2005. Then began the work of establishing and operating the state's new area labor federations.

Pennsylvania's plan, like New York's, called for the creation of five new ALFs; only the Philadelphia Labor Council remained unaffiliated with one of these confederations of CLCs, as its pre-existing size and capacity made it the functional equivalent of an ALF, albeit one covering a more compact geographical area. On the other side of the state, Pittsburgh's Allegheny County Labor Council joined with two nearby CLCs to create the Southwest Pennsylvania ALF. In the Philadelphia suburbs, five county-wide CLCs joined together to create the Southeast Pennsylvania ALF. The rest of the state was divided into three geographically expansive area federations: the Central Pennsylvania ALF encompassed 17 counties and five CLCs, including the Harrisburg Area CLC along with the Lancaster CLC on the east and the Johnstown Regional CLC on the west; the Northeast Pennsylvania ALF, encompassing six central labor councils and 21 counties, included the Greater Scranton and Greater Wilkes-Barre CLCs as well as the Lehigh Valley CLC, which covered the Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton metropolitan area; and finally, the Northwest Pennsylvania ALF stretched from Erie County at its top to Westmorland County--nestled between Pittsburgh and Johnstown--at its bottom, encompassing 19 counties and ten CLCs. (See Figure 1 for a

map of Pennsylvania's ALF regions.) All told, then, 29 of the state's 30 central labor council bodies had become confederated into one of the five new area labor federations established by Pennsylvania's New Alliance initiative.

Insert PA ALF Map about here.

The New Alliance reorganization aimed not to displace the central labor councils, but to establish area bodies with sufficient resources to support the councils and allow them to carry out effective programs. On their own the all-volunteer councils had little capacity. However, as part of an area labor federation, the councils were no longer being asked to move an agenda on their own, but to work as part of a team with a shared agenda and access to staffing and other resources needed to move that agenda. Therefore, as part of the reorganization process the New Alliance initiative had to confront the question of greater resources.

Establishing a Stronger Resource Base

Up to this point, the CLCs had received funding for operations and programming directly from their affiliated unions, with payments based on the number of their affiliates' members who lived and/or worked in the CLC's geographical area. Local unions were not compelled to affiliate with a CLC, and even those who were affiliates did not always make the full contribution called for by their membership numbers.

After the New Alliance was implemented, affiliates were instructed to make their payments directly to the ALFs while indicating the particular CLCs with which they

wished to continue their affiliations. The ALFs would then redistribute funds back to the individual CLCs, with amounts depending on whether and how their constituent CLCs were participating in the coordinated programming of the confederated body. And, of course, the ALFs were expected to retain a portion of affiliate contributions in order to pay for staffing needs and other tactical expenses associated with the rejuvenated and expanded mobilization strategies they were created to effectuate.

In many cases, local unions were now asked to make higher per capita payments, and to an unfamiliar labor body that was often more distantly situated and perhaps seemingly less directly linked to their interests and concerns. This, plus the natural ‘push back’ that accompanies organizational change, led to some initial losses of CLC/ALF funding sources, whether measured in terms of a declining number of local union affiliations or of lower reported membership numbers on which basis affiliates were expected to make their per capita contributions.

For example, after the Northwest ALF was formed, local union affiliations fell for each one of its ten CLCs, in some cases quite precipitously. Since then, however, successful outreach efforts undertaken by the ALF’s field staff and executive board—and perhaps as well some pressure put on particular local unions by their respective internationals—have brought many former affiliates back into the fold while attracting more than 70 new locals which had not been affiliated with a CLC at the time of the ALF’s formation. As of mid-2008, two-and-one-half years later, nine of the ten CLCs comprising the Northwest ALF have a greater number of affiliates than they did just prior to the establishment of the ALF. All together, the Northwest ALF and its constituent

CLCs have seen the number of local union affiliations grow from 171 in the immediate aftermath of the ALF's formation to more than 250 by the middle of 2008.²

While the Beaver-Lawrence CLC has experienced significant growth in its local union affiliations over the last two-plus years, it is the one CLC in the Northwest ALF that is still not back to its pre-New Alliance affiliate numbers. Eric Hoover, Vice-President of IBEW Local 201, which is headquartered in Beaver County, admits that opinions remain 'mixed' among area locals about the ALF, particularly as to the required size and flow of affiliate contributions to and through the ALF. But he points as well to the new possibilities created by the presence and availability of aptly-trained and highly energetic ALF field staff, both in facilitating the work of the CLC and in offering valuable services to its affiliated locals. "[The ALF's] Rosann Barker helped my local build a web-site," he says; "we can now keep our members better informed about the progress of ongoing contract negotiations, defusing rumors and highlighting the issues we are currently dealing with."³

Building the Capacity of Member Labor Councils

The purpose of assembling greater resources into the area labor federation was not that federation staff would simply do all the work necessary to running effective programs. Rather the ALFs were to help member labor councils develop their capacities so that, along side the ALF staff, they could become more active and effective participants in carefully coordinated programs.

For example, the Northwest ALF's two paid staff have made particular efforts to build-up the CLCs in their confederation, offering assistance in creating newsletters,

web-sites, and computer-based record keeping, while identifying opportunities for enrolling new affiliates along with strategies for attracting increased delegate participation at CLC meetings. Jack Fisher, a recently installed president of the Erie-Lawrence CLC, which had been the locus of some resistance when the ALF was first formed, speaks highly of his experience in working with the Northwest ALF and its staff: “They reach out, offer their help, ask for feedback...they keep us informed of what’s new and offer their assistance in implementing the programs we run.”⁴ Most fundamentally, by attending and participating themselves at CLC meetings, the ALF’s staff have served as conduits of information regarding ‘best practices’ observed among constituent local councils and, of course, on the roles that CLC delegates and their unions can play in mobilizing to fill the ranks and spread the message of the political and educational programs established to advance the labor movement’s agenda.

On the other side of the state, the Northeast ALF was undertaking a special effort to rebuild its Five County CLC, which had been in decline for some time and had fallen into crisis in early 2007 when poor health forced the resignation of its president and no one stepped into the breach. After reaching out to existing affiliates, recruiting new delegates from among them, and bringing at least two new union locals into the council, the Northeast ALF oversaw the installation of a new slate of officers for the CLC later that year. Furthermore, in meeting the need to train the rebuilt CLC’s new officers and delegates, the ALF developed and published a Delegate Training Guide, making it then available to its other CLCs as well for their use in orienting new officers, delegates, and affiliates.

Electoral Program

Electoral work has traditionally been the bread and butter role for central labor councils. Enhancing the ability to effect such mobilizations is indeed a key purpose for the ALFs, and the evidence from Pennsylvania suggests that purpose is being fulfilled. The first major test came quickly in 2006, when two-term incumbent Republican Senator Rick Santorum was up for reelection. Working in concert with *Labor 2006*, the state's new ALFs and their CLCs worked diligently to organize labor-to-labor walks, rallies, workplace leafletting, phone banks and get-out-the-vote campaigns in support of Democrat Bob Casey, who had established a strong record of support for labor and its causes while serving as Pennsylvania's Auditor General and later Treasurer.

Casey's 17+ point margin of victory was the largest such margin by a challenger over an incumbent U.S. senator in more than 25 years, and he was only the second Pennsylvania Democrat to win a senatorial election in the last 44 years.⁵ Southwest ALF chair Jack Shea attributes no small part of Casey's remarkable success to the vigorous and well coordinated support of the Pennsylvania labor movement and to the particular roles played by ALF staff and constituents.⁶

But electoral success in 2006 was not limited to the senatorial race. In Shea's own backyard, upstart challenger Jason Altmire overcame long odds to defeat a three-term U.S. House incumbent, bringing with him appropriate expertise and a commitment to work with labor and its allies to address the crisis in the American health care system. Altmire acknowledges the crucial role played by Pennsylvania's AFL-CIO and its affiliated bodies in his 2006 campaign and of course looks forward to their continued support in 2008 as "the people who make the difference."⁷

Labor's backing in three other 2006 congressional district races helped Democratic challengers unseat Republican incumbents; furthermore, the State Democratic party was able with local union support to win control of the Pennsylvania House for the first time since 1994. Building on that success, ALF-coordinated electoral efforts yielded fruit in the off-year elections of 2007. For example, the Southeast Pennsylvania (suburban Philadelphia) ALF coordinated over 500 volunteers from 15 internationals and 24 locals to knock on over 80,000 doors, send out 80,000 pieces of mail, and make 15,000 phone calls, boasting that the labor-backed--and victorious--candidates for State Supreme Court received more votes from within their coverage area than from those associated with any other ALF. The Southeast ALF is now exceptionally well geared up to mobilize for the 2008 political season. In addition to having an executive director responsible for implementing the political and educational programs developed by the AFL-CIO and an executive assistant to coordinate financial flows and communications to and for its CLCs, the Southeast ALF has a deputy political director and has obtained the services of two release staff from affiliated unions as well as several summer interns to work in the *Labor 2008* campaign. At the same time, this ALF has generated an ongoing process of communication and interaction among its staff, its constituent labor councils, and the area's elected officials at all three levels of government. Having been instrumental, for example, in electing freshman Congressman Joe Sestak, one of the three successful incumbent busters in 2006, the ALF has lobbied him successfully to oppose the Columbia Free Trade Deal; it has also taken steps to publicize Sestak's support for legislation favorable to labor and working families in working to strengthen his upcoming bid for reelection in 2008.⁸

On the local elections front, the Northeast ALF and its United Schuylkill CLC mobilized over 30 union locals in backing the successful 2007 bids of two union members for seats on the county commission. Their double victory in a county where registered Republican voters outnumber Democrats by a significant margin marked the first time in 37 years that Democrats had won the two-seat majority on the Schuylkill County Commission. Lessons learned during its *Labor 2006* campaign paid dividends for the ALF in 2007; victories earned during both 2006 and 2007 bode well for the election in 2008 and beyond.

Legislative Campaigns

Greater involvement in legislative efforts grows naturally with increased electoral capacity. Pennsylvania's ALF's have demonstrated new legislative capacity in campaigns that stretch from national AFL-CIO efforts to local concerns.

In 2007, the state's labor movement distinguished itself by leading the nation in the number of local government resolutions passed in support of the Employee Free Choice Act (EFCA), the monumental though as yet unpassed piece of labor legislation that promises to change the landscape on which union organizing battles are waged. All together, more than 30 city councils and/or county commissions throughout Pennsylvania have passed such resolutions, due in large part to related educational and political campaigns orchestrated through the state's local labor bodies. The Northwest ALF has led the way in this regard, working together with its CLCs and affiliated locals to get thirteen resolutions passed within its coverage area. The Northeast ALF, too, worked hard and successfully in this regard, winning EFCA-endorsing resolutions or

proclamations from the Wilkes-Barre City Council, the Luzerne County Board of Commissioners, the Allentown City Council, the Lackawanna County Board of Commissioners and the mayors of Pottsville and Allentown.⁹

The Northeast ALF has in many ways set the standard for Pennsylvania in its efforts to become an ‘agenda driven’ organization, using its strategic planning process to design and implement its programs. This ALF’s “2008 Progress Report” reflects its particular attention to the goal of implementing programming that addresses matters of specific concern within its region and among its affiliates, including contract campaigns, petition drives, organizing efforts, and legislative issues. “By incorporating local matters into our overall Strategic Plan,” the report notes, “we were successful in growing our organization and Central Labor Councils in these early stages [of our development].”

A particular legislative issue taken up by the Northeast ALF is concerned with Pennsylvania’s Act 47 of 1987, known as the Financially Distressed Municipalities Act. After the City of Scranton was declared ‘distressed’ in 1992, Act 47 allowed for a ‘recovery process’ that led to cuts in health benefits and cost-of-living increases along with layoffs among city workers represented by several local unions. Since that time, these unions had lobbied their local state legislators unsuccessfully in seeking to obtain a sunset provision that would impose a timetable for a municipality’s eventual removal from ‘distressed’ status.

The Northeast ALF’s field representative worked with affected unions and the Greater Scranton CLC to devise a mobilization strategy and to bring the issue to the attention of other CLCs in the federation, asking for their help in lobbying their own local legislators; sponsoring legislative visits in connection with this issue has become part of

the ALF's subsequent strategic plans. Although the Act remains unamended to date, the battle remains ongoing for the ALF, and the efforts it has expended on the issue thus far have yielded near term benefits in forging an experience of regionally-based solidarity and power building among the organization's CLCs while establishing a procedural basis for implementing other regional programming directed at legislative issues.¹⁰

One of these subsequent initiatives, adopted in the ALF's 2007-08 strategic plan, is a program to mobilize support for Pennsylvania Senate Bill 835, the "Ban Mandatory Overtime Act." The bill, a priority piece of legislation for the ALF's healthcare affiliates, would outlaw forced overtime for direct care workers in Pennsylvania hospitals and nursing homes. Once again, ALF staff worked to spread the word and facilitate a broad grassroots lobbying effort among its affiliates and in the community at large. Building upon the mobilization process and political connections developed during the EFCA campaign, the Northeast ALF was again successful in getting endorsements of the bill from the Wilkes-Barre City Council and the mayors of Pottsville and Allentown.¹¹

Assisting Affiliates

One of the specific purposes for establishing area labor federations was to create an organizational framework within which union organizing drives and contract campaigns could receive the expanded and coordinated support of union members and other potential allies in the communities where the campaigns were taking place. The Northeast ALF stood out in this respect as well, helping to marshal public support for an SEIU local engaged in a (successful) first contract battle at Pocono Medical Center and assisting in similar fashion the California Nurses Association, recently merged with the

Pennsylvania Association of Staff Nurses and Allied Professionals, in their first contract campaign at CMC Hospital in Scranton. The ALF also served via its E-activist Network and overall communications coordinating capacity in helping to sustain a 15 week UNITEHERE strike in Allentown, bringing picket line support to the Lehigh Valley area from CLC affiliates in Scranton, Schuylkill and beyond. The federation and its Lehigh Valley CLC also engaged in community outreach efforts on behalf of two local organizing drives, one of which reached a successful conclusion.

Other Pennsylvania ALFs have acted similarly as well. For example, the Southeast ALF organized two demonstrations in support of a steelworkers organizing drive at a specialty mill in Reading. And the Northwest ALF has worked with its healthcare affiliates to mount rallies and carry out other programs orchestrated to counter union-busting attempts at area hospitals and nursing homes. This ALF is also working with one of its CLCs to replicate the “organizers’ roundtable” that is already in place in the Erie-Crawford CLC; this program brings organizers from various affiliates together to meet, share leads, and explore how they might work together to build up the ranks of organized labor in the area.

Delayed Success in Central Pennsylvania

Against the backdrop of successful mobilizations and programming shared by several of the state’s area labor federations, the immediate experience of the Central Pennsylvania ALF was less impressive. It was not until October of 2007, nearly two years after the New Alliance Convocation, that the Central PA ALF managed to find a suitable executive director and elect a board of officers.

Since then, however, the federation has striven to make up for lost time, hiring an additional professional staff person and getting to work on implementing programs (e.g., mobilizing to broadcast the AFL-CIO's "An Economy that Works for All" presentation) while building up connections with and across its CLCs and the local unions that are their affiliates or potential affiliates. There is now and finally some real evidence of success in Central Pennsylvania, as the ALF's recent organization building efforts have brought in new per capita payments from more than 5,000 additional local union members via new affiliations, full affiliations, or reaffiliations, including some associated with a return to affiliation of locals from the Change To Win unions.¹² The Central Pennsylvania ALF expects by the end of 2008 to have passed the combined average monthly membership of some 55,000 that its constituent CLCs had enrolled before the New Alliance Convocation in 2005. "Our first real test," says new ALF chair Mary Schwanger, "will be what we can achieve during *Labor 2008*. ... But it already appears that Central PA is going to play a big part in winning Pennsylvania for the labor endorsed candidates."¹³

The Next Stage?

The overall evidence from the Pennsylvania New Alliance experience thus far suggests that Ms. Schwanger's optimism is not misplaced. While there may be some damage to repair stemming from the state's hotly contested presidential primary, the recent electoral success of the Pennsylvania labor movement and its constituent bodies, along with the experience gained in mounting the campaigns that led to that success, point to the likelihood of further success in the coming fall. And if such success is felt sufficiently around the country, it will open up a new era of legislative possibility and

politicking, with a renewed push for passage of the Employee Free Choice Act high on labor's agenda and the national debate on how to reform America's health care system brought to full throttle.

In two and-one-half years of experience with the New Alliance, the Pennsylvania labor movement has gone from a situation characterized by its less than fully engaged labor councils to a network of area labor federations and their constituent councils able to engage effectively in the traditional work assigned, at least in theory, to such bodies: electoral action, legislative campaigns, and affiliate support work. Such a transformation is valuable in and of itself. But, will it also lead to further and transformative developments?

The originators of the New Alliance idea looked beyond the successful implementation of electoral and legislative campaigns. They envisioned the creation of regionally-based building blocks within a labor movement able to lead a broad-based challenge to the status quo – a movement able to articulate an alternative agenda in pursuit of regional economic development that benefits the entire community and able as well to forge a new governing coalition that can move such an agenda forward. As Bruce Colburn, Scott Reynolds and David Reynolds¹⁴ have noted:

Developing a sustained program for building systematic agendas and power presents many challenges. ...[L]eaders need to be able to take the successes and failures of ...initial work and build toward new levels of activity ...[leading to] a fuller ability to elect governing majorities as well as push clear legislative agendas. ...[L]eaders need to be able to take a pilot campaign--such as a living wage effort¹⁵--which allows them to enter economic policy debates and turn it into a much deeper and long-term plan to build a labor-community voice and vision in regional economic policy debates. ...[S]pecific actions need to develop in the context of long-term planning for strategic power.

Six years into the New Alliance process in New York, Jeff Grabelsky's "Progress Report" found some examples of ALF-led community coalitions and economic development work that, along with growing political influence, had moved the New York labor movement further in the direction of building and exercising regional power.¹⁶ Pennsylvania's New Alliance initiative does not appear to have generated any such examples as of yet, but ALF leaders are well aware that there is much more potential to be unleashed. Southeast ALF executive board chair Steven Sarno speaks tellingly:¹⁷

I'm proud of how we've positioned ourselves over the last two years. People are now turning to us to ask for our help in getting things done. Right now we're flexing our muscles in the 2008 electoral campaign, but our focus will change moving beyond November. We'll keep holding our elected officials accountable, but we'll also be reaching out and becoming more involved in community coalitions devoted to improving the lot of working families. We'll be joining community groups as an organization and looking for opportunities to help new community-based groups emerge as effective actors in bringing about progressive change.

Dave Antle, executive board chair of the Northeast ALF, echoes Sarno's sentiments in speaking of his goal to solidify and broaden a network of community-based partnerships. "With continued growth, and following an agenda-driven process, we can become a better partner for the community and a more diverse movement along the way." Antle speaks as well of the need for more and better communication among the ALFs themselves. "We need to establish a state-wide ALF association, to work together, particularly on legislative campaigns that require the exercise of cross-regional power."¹⁸

The New Alliance in Pennsylvania is currently less than three years old. In another three years, with strategically minded leadership like that of Steven Sarno and Dave Antle, and along with the continually growing support and participation of affiliates and their members, there is ample reason to hope and expect that Pennsylvania's labor

federations will have taken substantial and productive steps into the processes and arenas crucial for building lasting political and economic power.

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Endnotes

1. Jeff Grabelsky, "A New Alliance in New York State: A Progress Report on the Labor Movement's Re-structuring, Capacity Building, and Programmatic Work," *WorkingUSA*, Vol. 10 (March 2007), pp. 13-14.
2. These affiliation numbers are taken from the response of the Northwest Pennsylvania Area Labor Federation to an AFL-CIO survey of Pennsylvania ALFs, Spring 2008: "Has your ALF seen an increase in local union affiliations since the New Alliance?"
3. Telephone interview with Eric Hoover, June 24, 2008.
4. Telephone interview with Jack Fisher, June 25, 2008.
5. Harris Wofford was the only other Democrat during this period to serve in the U.S. Senate, having been appointed and subsequently elected in 1991 to fill the unexpired term of deceased Republican Senator John Heinz. Wofford then lost to Rick Santorum shortly thereafter in the general election of 1994.
6. Telephone interview with Jack Shea, June 10, 2008.
7. Seth Michaels, "Working America and Allies Rally to Demand Better Health Care Policies," June 6, 2008, AFL-CIO NOW BLOG, <http://blog.aflcio.org/2008/06/06/working-america-and-allies-rally-to-demand-better-health-care-policies/>.
8. Report of the Southeastern PA Area Labor Federation to the Pennsylvania New Alliance Coordinating Committee, May 29, 2008.

9. 2008 Progress Report: Northeast Pennsylvania Area Labor Federation, AFL-CIO, presented to the Pennsylvania New Alliance Coordinating Committee, May 2008. This document is the source of much of the information that follows.

10. The ALF's efforts in this regard also led to the affiliation of Scranton's firefighters (IAFF Local 60), one of the affected locals, with the Greater Scranton CLC.

11. In similar fashion, the Northwest ALF and its CLCs were successful in persuading county commissioners in their area, which has been decimated by trade-related job losses, to pass resolutions in opposition to 'fast-track' trade authorization for President Bush.

12. As Grabelsky points out in the case of New York (pp. 22-3), the national split in 2005 distracted local leaders and disrupted the work of its ALFs and CLCs. The 2005 timing of Pennsylvania's New Alliance initiative was then particularly unfortunate in this regard, making the already difficult process of organizational change take place in an atmosphere of secessionist impulse and general confusion as to affiliation protocols for the Change To Win locals.

13. "Report of the Central PA Area Labor Federation to the Coordinating Committee," May 2008.

14. Bruce Colburn, Scott Reynolds, and David Reynolds, "Reflections on New Alliance Across the Country," *WorkingUSA*, Vol. 10 (March 2007), p. 129.

15. Notably, no such living-wage campaigns have been reported by Pennsylvania's area labor federations.

16. Grabelsky, 2007, pp. 18-19.

17. Telehome interview with Steven Sarno, August 20, 2008.

18. Telephone interview with Dave Antle, August 19, 2008.