
SECTION 2

HR Master's Programs in Industrial Relations and in Industrial and Organizational Psychology

Although HR programs exist in business schools, public administration departments, adult education departments, and virtually any department that wishes to call itself HR and does not encounter resistance from other departments in the university, two of the most recognized and strongest academic programs with HR content are in industrial relations (IR; housed within or outside business schools) and in industrial and organizational psychology (I/O; housed within psychology departments). These two programs focus primarily on Master's and PhD level education. Chapters 3 and 4 introduce the reader to MA and MS educational programs in HR within IR and I/O psychology. Familiarity with each type of program will provide insights into the similarities and differences between HRM graduates from IR programs and those from I/O psychology programs. As well, familiarity with these two programs will enable the reader to evaluate HRM graduate programs in business schools.

In Chapter 3, Fossum focuses on HR Master's programs in industrial relations. He starts his chapter by stating, "If IR Master's programs did not

currently exist, in today's environment it's unlikely that one would be invented." Noting that understanding of the current state of IR Master's programs entails tracing the development of the IR field, his chapter first identifies the events, conditions, and actors that were instrumental for the development of IR and HRM programs. He then addresses the changing emphasis in the field and the current state of IR programs. Among Fossum's conclusions is the following: "Although HRM content of IR programs has increased, I think it's unlikely that IR programs will morph into HRM programs." He gives six reasons for this statement.

In Chapter 4, Klein, DeRouin, Salas, and Stagl focus on HR Master's I/O programs in psychology departments. They examine the extent to which graduate training in I/O prepares professionals to work in the field of HR. Through select interviews with HR professionals and a review of relevant literature on HR and I/O education, the authors develop five themes describing the disconnects between what is taught in, and what is desired from, I/O Master's-level programs in HR. Before they present their five themes, they briefly discuss training, education, and career opportunities for Master's-level I/O psychologists.

The Origins, Development, and Current State of Professional Master's Programs in Industrial Relations

3

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Professional Master's degrees in industrial relations (IR) have been offered for over 60 years. As a field of inquiry and problem-solving, IR has been around for over 100 years. Like the issues it studies, the IR field is in constant ferment, with changing boundaries, new directions, issues emerging or becoming dormant, driven and defined by the academics and practitioners who study employment or implement new solutions to achieve their organizations' goals.

If IR Master's programs did not currently exist, in today's environment it's unlikely that one would be invented. The corporatist approach to employment that was advocated by the academics who founded the programs no longer exists. This approach emphasized a tripartite understanding of employment involving employers, employees and their representatives, and public policy. It emphasized the institutional setting that governs employment. Now, new Master's programs focusing on employment issues and problems would emphasize either human resource

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management (HRM) within employers or labor studies (LS) for union advocacy. Both are distinctly more micro-oriented than IR. If a Master's program continues to include industrial or labor relations in its degree title, it indicates that its faculty and constituent groups continue to support an understanding of the tripartite nature of employment for graduates to perform well in fulfilling demanding employment responsibilities. The market test of whether this approach is still valid is whether recruiters prefer to hire graduates from these programs.

In order to understand the current state of professional IR Master's programs, it is necessary to trace the development of the IR field, particularly during the periods in which professional Master's programs were initiated. It is also important to differentiate between the ways in which universities institutionalized the IR field and when and where degree programs were begun and internally located.

The development and maintenance of these programs is a function of their geographic location; their internal and external champions; the importance and quality of the research they produce; and their ability to construct, modify, and deliver a curriculum that is seen by students and employers as a better alternative for meeting their needs for developing or utilizing human capital than non-IR programs.

This chapter identifies the events, conditions, and actors that were instrumental for the development of IR Master's programs, the differences between approaches to professional development in IR and HRM programs, the changing emphasis in the field over time in relation to changes in the overall employment environment, and the current state of IR programs.

Universities' Role in the Specialization and Application of Knowledge

The modern Western research university is an evolutionary product of almost 1,000 years. From its initial roots in philosophy, theology, and history, new lines of inquiry and specialization were developed as the depth of knowledge increased and new methods were developed.

The development of economic theory in the 18th century (Smith, 1776/1976) was the genesis of the social science disciplines. As economics developed, the classical school elaborated the primary theoretical framework that underlies modern economics, i.e., the assumption that individuals make rational decisions among alternatives to maximize their utility, and that the use of resources in production will be a function of their relative costs and the value that they add. An institutional school also developed explaining how the various actors in an economy interact and how regulation can help markets overcome imperfections in information.

The systematic study of human behavior began in the 19th century. Beside observing and classifying behavior and its consequences, instruments were developed to measure latent traits. Relationships between these measures and actual behaviors enabled the estimation of construct- and criterion-related validity for the first time. With the mobilization that followed the U.S. entry into World War I, measures developed by psychologists were applied to more accurately classify what would be the optimal assignments for new recruits given the numbers of positions in various military jobs that were necessary to operate an armed force. Following the successful application of testing in World War I to improve performance, its use was extended more widely in employment. As a result, industrial psychology became a permanent applied branch of the broader discipline of psychology. Over time, advances in basic theory, measurement, and areas of behavioral inquiry have been added to the applied repertoire of industrial psychology as they have relevance.

While industrial psychology was developing, the field of sociology emerged. The study of organizations, the stratification of society and mobility within it, and the accumulation and exercise of power in hierarchical relationships were focuses of theory development and research.

These three disciplines—economics, psychology, and sociology—were the parents of the IR field. Presently, in most universities all three of these disciplines are usually located in a college of liberal arts or social sciences. But before the 1960s, many economics departments were housed in business schools, because the business schools had evolved from increasingly successful applications of economics to business problems.

THE DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH OF PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE U.S.

Even before the American Revolution, private colleges had been established by religious bodies whose primary interest was the training of theologians and pastors. As the nation expanded and technology became more complex, an increasing demand emerged for higher education and the development of applied fields.

As the social science disciplines were being created by academics in Western universities, a watershed event took place that quickly affected the breadth and scope of public higher education in the U.S. In 1862, the Morrill Act was passed to foster the development of public state universities to provide broadly accessible and low-cost education in agriculture, engineering, classical liberal arts, and other applied fields. The act designated tracts of public land in each state from which the proceeds from their sale would pay for the establishment and support of public universities. The land-grant universities devoted relatively more resources to applied fields than the existing private universities, particularly in their development of agriculture and engineering degree programs and outreach activities.

The Development and Increasing Prevalence and Magnitude of Labor Problems in the U.S.

In the last three decades of the 19th century, vast entrepreneurial empires in natural resources, railroads, steel, and other basic industries were established. Owners of successful firms in these industries became incredibly rich. At the same time, employment conditions in mines, railway construction, steel, and textiles were very onerous. A ready supply of unskilled and unsophisticated labor was available from the increasing flow of immigrants from Europe. There were no laws and regulations to protect workers, and their political and economic bargaining power was low.

Unions began to develop after the Civil War, with the earliest unions being more interested in politics than collective bargaining. But in 1883, a group of skilled worker unions, with pragmatic goals to improve the wages and employment conditions of their members through collective bargaining, banded together to form the American Federation of Labor (AFL).

Between about 1880 and 1915, especially in Pennsylvania, Idaho, and Colorado, radical unions and both private and public militias engaged in increasingly escalating conflict. The economic power of miners was difficult to sustain during strikes because in most cases they were required to live in employer-provided housing in remote mining towns, and industrial action inevitably led to threats of eviction unless tenants went back to work.

In manufacturing, increasing capital intensity made it more important for employers to avoid work stoppages because opportunity costs would increase continuously during a strike. Employers used Pinkerton detectives, private armies, and court injunctions to quash any incipient union activity, and were largely successful outside of the railroad industry.

Then in 1913, Henry Ford revolutionized manufacturing by introducing the assembly line. "Fordism" rapidly deskilled manufacturing jobs and reduced production costs, allowing automobiles to be priced within the means of the mass market. Although Ford made news by implementing the \$5 daily wage—substantially above competition—it was not an altruistic action, but rather a strategy to ensure a steady stream of applicants, reduce worker power, and enable the implementation of draconian internal discipline.

THE LUDLOW MASSACRE AND ITS PROGENY

In 1914, the tragic results of another episode in the recurring armed skirmishes between employers and employees in the mining industries shocked the nation and pricked the conscience of a prominent capitalist, John D. Rockefeller. Rockefeller owned the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company

located in southeastern Colorado. Miners struck the company in 1913. As usual, an escalating spiral of violence ensued. Miners established a large tent colony in Ludlow where they lived with their families. In April 1914, Colorado national guardsmen rode into the camp. The miners grabbed their guns and took to the hills to divert the militia and to defend themselves. Some of the militia members pursued the miners while others strafed the camp with machine guns and later burned the tents and furnishings, indiscriminately killing hundreds in the process. Public outrage followed, a great deal directed personally at Rockefeller for his perceived hypocrisy for extolling Christian religious beliefs while tacitly permitting violent repressive tactics. As time went on, the Rockefeller Foundation and Clarence Hicks, a Rockefeller industrial relations executive, were instrumental in establishing employer organizations and funding university efforts to reduce and peacefully deal with industrial conflict.

Post-World War I: The Developing Study and Practice of Industrial Relations

Academics had been increasingly interested in employment problems from the advent of the 20th century. Kaufman (1993) has extensively examined the development of the IR field and notes that in its early stages the field was highly inclusive in terms of the types of problems to study and the disciplines that could contribute to solving problems and developing knowledge (Social Science Research Council, 1928). Early IR research units were established at Princeton and Pennsylvania, the former as an adjunct to the economics department, the latter as a unit within the Wharton School of business.

Kaufman (1993) identified two predominant developing approaches to IR during the 1920s, which he labeled the personnel management (PM) approach and the institutional labor economics (ILE) approach. The PM school originated among practitioners and was concerned with efficiency issues. The approach emphasized consistency in practice and attention to employee motivation and work design (Taylor, 1911). The ILE school consisted primarily of labor economists who argued that employers would not be able to implement progressive practices unless labor problems were ameliorated at the industry and economy levels. Thus, institutions and regulations needed to be developed in order for PM to have an additive effect.

Three employer-sponsored organizations were founded: the National Industrial Conference Board (NICB) in 1916, the American Management Association (AMA) in 1923, and Industrial Relations Counselors (IRC) in 1926 (Kaufman, 2003). These three completed research studies, provided training on employment issues for supervisors and managers, published practitioner-oriented books and manuals, provided consulting services on

employment issues (particularly relating to unions), and basically adopted a PM approach to IR. On the academic front, in addition to Princeton and Wharton, Clarence Hicks helped to establish IR research units at Stanford, Michigan, MIT, and Cal Tech (Hicks, 1941). Of these, none is a land-grant university and only one is public.

EVOLVING INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS PROBLEMS FOLLOWING WORLD WAR I

During World War I, employees experienced a period of rising wages and increased interests in unionization. But several forces dampened the advance of unionization: the AFL's lack of interest in organizing the unskilled industrial workforce, a continuing surplus of unskilled immigrant laborers that permitted the implementation of the "drive system" (under which workers essentially owed their jobs to strict obedience to their supervisors who, in turn, were continually pressured to increase productivity), the lack of institutions guaranteeing the rights of employees to organize and bargain, and the development and implementation of welfare capitalism by some large employers (see Jacoby, 1997). The PM school's advocacy of increasing attention to moral values and worker welfare seemed to be gaining traction among larger employers with skilled workforces.

But the deepening economic disaster of the Great Depression brought the ILE school to the ascendancy. Its argument that the loci of employment problems were primarily at the industry and total economy levels seemed to be validated by the downward spiral of wages and employment practices as employers tried to cope with the continually worsening economic situation.

The 1930s saw the largest number of employment laws and regulations enacted during any single period in the U.S. These laws were aimed at enhancing income security and the ability to unionize. For the first time, unskilled employees had guaranteed rights to organize and a new set of labor unions under the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) umbrella that immediately went to work to secure them.

The Norris-LaGuardia Act prohibited federal courts from enjoining a set of union activities that were defined to be, *per se*, legal. The Wagner Act designated collective bargaining as the preferred method for resolving industrial conflict and provided mechanisms for determining whether a majority of employees in an enterprise favored unionization. It created the National Labor Relations Board to resolve conflicts over representation and to prohibit employers from intimidating or threatening employees in their exercise of rights to organize and collectively bargain.

During the 1920s and 1930s, there were a few employers who introduced some degree of employee representation through company unions or employee committees (Jacoby, 1989). Others improved economic benefits

and job security through higher-than-market wages, profit-sharing plans, the introduction of pension plans, and the development of internal labor markets. However, with the passage of the Wagner Act, company-sponsored unions and other similar representation plans were prohibited. The “exclusive representation” requirements in the Wagner Act guaranteed unions the rights to represent all employees in a bargaining unit if it won an election, but left employees without a guaranteed voice if it lost, thus encouraging an adversarial relationship between employers and unions in a “winner-take-all” contest. For the most part, conflict between employers, employees, and their unions reescalated during the 1930s. How the conflict would ultimately have been decided will never be known because World War II intervened.

Very quickly, employment in America underwent radical changes. Unemployment disappeared as millions of men entered military service. Manufacturing was retooled to support the war effort, aggregate demand rose quickly, and shortages of materials developed. Prices and wages rapidly increased. Rationing, wage and price controls, and no-strike regulations were quickly implemented. Women were rapidly recruited into the workforce, with many quickly learning to perform jobs that were previously exclusively reserved for men. Because wages were controlled, the only way that many employers could attract employees in a tight labor market was to develop and implement a variety of benefit programs. In unionized situations a variety of benefits such as pensions, vacations, and health insurance were negotiated. Because unions were forbidden to strike during the war, dispute resolution methods to deal with conflicts were developed. Many young academics from the social sciences were recruited to work in the War Labor Board. Arbitration was quickly expanded to cover intracontract disputes within labor agreements as well as its previous use for other types of contract disputes. The way in which employment problems were dealt with was consistent with the approach of the ILE school.

Even though there was substantial regulation, strong public support of the war effort, and no-strike requirements, industrial tension grew and several major strikes took place in defiance of the requirements. It was quite likely that the end of the war and the return to a peacetime economy would simply shift the focus of the conflict from the Axis powers to domestic employers and unions.

Postwar Industrial Relations and the Academy

Nineteen forty-six witnessed the greatest incidence of strikes America has ever experienced. Between August 1945 (when World War II finally ended in the Pacific) and August 1946, there were over 4,600 strikes involving almost 5 million workers who were idled for nearly 120 million workdays (approximately 1.62% of all available workdays in the economy). It was

clear that chaos would ensue unless additional institutions and rules were created to deal with industrial conflict. The sophistication of the parties—both labor and management—would also have to quickly increase. Congress passed the Taft-Hartley amendments to the Wagner Act establishing symmetrical responsibilities for both labor and management by defining a set of union unfair labor practices to complement those already in place that regulated employer conduct, creating the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service to provide assistance to deadlocked negotiators in reaching agreements, and providing mechanisms for the president to temporarily stop strikes and engage settlement procedures in situations where the security of the nation was threatened.

These changes came less than a dozen years after the Wagner Act. Both employers and unions had yet to develop substantial experience with negotiations and conflict resolution. But a cadre of young academics had gained experience and expertise in arbitrating disputes for the War Labor Board. When they returned to their universities following the war, they began to put in place programs to train practitioners, educate students, and conduct research in the collective bargaining process. Kaufman (1993) noted that within three years of the end of World War II new industrial relations units were started at Cornell (statutory college), Chicago, Minnesota, California-Berkeley, Yale, Illinois, Rutgers, Wisconsin, New York University, and Hawaii. Of these, seven were public and three were private, contrary to the previous mix of one public and six private. Additionally, several Catholic schools started programs, including Rockhurst, Loyola (Chicago), Manhattan, Seton Hall, and St. Joseph's (Philadelphia).

Employment had become substantially more complicated in the 20 years between 1928 and 1948. Employers now needed to comply with a host of regulations that didn't previously exist. Rapid and thorough unionization in basic industries spelled the end of the drive system's effectiveness. Managers and specialists with IR expertise were increasingly in demand. Universities that had begun IR programs responded to this demand by conducting and publishing research on industrial conflict and its resolution, developing curricula to be taught at the undergraduate and graduate levels, and providing practitioner-oriented training to employers and union representatives to better enable them to successfully negotiate and administer labor agreements.

ESTABLISHING THE INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

As individual universities developed their specific programs, faculty members from several programs organized the Industrial Relations Research Association (IRRA) in 1947 to promote and disseminate applied research on collective bargaining and other employment issues. The IRRA strongly promoted the education of practitioners. It developed and

sponsored local chapters in many locations across the U.S. and Canada and actively recruited practitioners from both employers and organized labor to join the organization as full members.

The IRRA's founders represented several social science disciplines, primarily economics, sociology, and political science, but its primary focus and its leadership came from the ILE school. It was several years after its founding before it was led for a year by someone with a strong connection with the PM school, Dale Yoder.

Several of the presidents of the IRRA during its first 20 years later became highly influential university leaders or public policy makers. Clark Kerr (1954) was the first president of the University of California system. John Dunlop (1960) was secretary of labor during part of Gerald Ford's term as president. Edwin Young (1965) served several years as the president of the University of Wisconsin system. George Shultz (1968) was first secretary of labor and later secretary of state in the Reagan administration. Ray Marshall (1977) was secretary of labor during the Carter administration. There is probably no other association of academics that has had such a large number of significant appointed public policy positions relative to its size.

THE LOCATION OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN THE UNIVERSITY STRUCTURE

Because IR is a multidisciplinary applied field, it had no clearly identifiable home or boundary as a discipline would. The organizational placement, structure, and programs that developed in each university were largely the result of the location of the disciplinary homes or financially responsible units to which the associated faculty were or had been permanently assigned. In addition, the activities of IR units varied across universities. The range of activities that might be undertaken by these units generally included research, degree programs in IR, and outreach activities to meet labor or employer needs.

The programs begun before World War II concentrated on applied research to address employment problems. Initially, many programs were attached to economics departments. Over time as the institutional labor economists that founded the programs retired, they were replaced by neo-classical labor economists who did not share the same problem-solving orientation toward research and opposed the extension of regulation as the most salient remedy for employment problems. The same occurred with jointly appointed faculty from other social science disciplines. As they retired or moved elsewhere, they were frequently not replaced by faculty members who had the same interests because the home departments made decisions that would support current disciplinary emphases or innovative new areas. Thus, programs that had not developed their own schools, institutes, or departments were increasingly at risk.

Following World War II, undergraduate IR majors and Master's degree programs were developed by industrial relations units in several universities with support from the Rockefeller Foundation, particularly in the public and private universities that initiated work in the field during that period. There were large differences across universities in the institutional arrangements surrounding these programs. At Cornell, a New York state statutory school was created within the mostly endowed university (Cornell, having been designated the land-grant university for the State of New York, also housed its agriculture school and some other applied units). At Illinois an Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations was created as a free-standing unit. At Wisconsin an Industrial Relations Research Institute was developed that reported to the dean of the College of Liberal Arts and was staffed by jointly appointed faculty from several disciplines across the colleges of business, liberal arts, and law. Rutgers established the Institute of Management and Labor Relations. California-Berkeley established an Institute of Industrial Relations, which had a primarily research and outreach charter. Minnesota's Industrial Relations Center was housed in the business school.

Over time, free-standing programs that offered degrees were more likely to survive because they were not subject to changes in a college's strategy and had built a growing alumni constituency. They do not face a situation in which a dean can reallocate faculty lines between departments and in which their yearly budgets are largely determined outside of their units. The leaders of most of the IR institutes and degree programs were ILE faculty.

Many of the graduate programs that are in operation today were initiated during the late 1940s and 1950s. From the end of the war through the mid-1950s, the unionized workforce grew in both absolute and relative size until somewhat more than one-third of U.S. employees belonged to or were represented by a labor union. From the late 1940s through the end of the 1960s, unionized employment relations followed a corporatist approach in which unions, employers, and the state jointly determined economic outcomes. Basically, the bargain permitted wages to increase at the same rate as productivity grew. Under this regime, inflation was modest and workers achieved real wage gains. At the same time, employers made reasonable profits but did not maximize profits. Practices initiated among unionized employers quickly spread to nonunion employers so there was increasing uniformity in employment conditions. Employment costs had essentially been taken out of competition. Thus, managers and specialists involved with employment needed expertise in how to operate the system within a set of institutionalized rules.

Most of the developing programs emphasized subjects of primary interest to the ILE school, such as collective bargaining, labor market institutions and regulation, contract administration, mediation and arbitration, and employment security programs. Subjects from the PM school were usually in the minority, but most often emphasized personnel administration and classical management and organization theory. Whereas both the

ILE and PM schools initially forwarded an inclusive perspective regarding issues and methods of research that would be included in IR, Kaufman (1993) noted that both went their own ways, with the ILE school, in particular, equating IR with employment problems in unionized environments, and the PM school adopting an approach that eventually evolved toward the present-day HRM approach.

The Evolution of IR Graduate Degree Programs Over the Past 30 Years

By 1974, there were 19 programs offering Master's degrees in industrial relations (Herman, 1974). Table 3.1 displays the names of the schools. Of these, 15 are public comprehensive universities. The program at Cornell is located in a New York state statutory school. Three are private, and of those, two are Catholic. Including Cornell, seven are in land-grant institutions. Five are located west of the Mississippi River.

Table 3.1 U.S. Graduate Programs in Industrial Relations in 1974

Alabama, University of	Michigan State University
American University	Minnesota, University of
Chicago, University of	North Texas State University
Cincinnati, University of	Rutgers University
Colorado, University of	St. Francis College
Cornell University	Oregon, University of
Illinois, University of (Champaign-Urbana)	Temple University
Iowa State University	Utah, University of
Loyola University (Chicago)	Wisconsin, University of (Madison)
Massachusetts, University of	

Source: Adapted from Herman, 1974.

Moving forward a decade to 1984, there were 25 Master's programs, as shown in Table 3.2. Eight of the programs that were offered in 1974 were not in existence in 1984 (Alabama, American, Chicago, Colorado, Massachusetts, North Texas State, Oregon, and Utah). Fourteen new programs had been created (Cleveland State, Georgia State, Indiana University of Pennsylvania [IUP], Kansas, New Haven, New York Institute of Technology [NYIT], Ohio State, Pace, Purdue, South Carolina, Wayne State, West Virginia College of Graduate Studies, West Virginia University, and Winthrop College). Of these 25, 20 are public. Of the 20 public programs, 10 are located at land-grant universities. Only Iowa State and Kansas are west of the Mississippi River. Thus, the public-private, land

Table 3.2 U.S. Graduate Programs in Industrial Relations in 1984

Cincinnati, University of	Ohio State University
Cleveland State University	Pace University
Cornell University	Purdue University
Georgia State University	Rutgers University
Illinois, University of (Champaign-Urbana)	St. Francis College
Indiana University of Pennsylvania	South Carolina, University of
Iowa State University	Temple University
Kansas, University of	Wayne State University
Loyola University (Chicago)	West Virginia College of Graduate Studies
Michigan State University	West Virginia University
Minnesota, University of	Winthrop College
New Haven, University of	Wisconsin, University of (Madison)
New York Institute of Technology	

Source: Adapted from Herman, 1984.

grant-non land grant mix was essentially unchanged from 1974, but the mix was substantially more eastern.

In 2007, 23 years later, there are 13 programs. Since the 1984 publication, three new programs have appeared (Penn State, Rhode Island, and University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee), whereas 15 programs no longer offer an IR degree or have ceased to exist (Georgia State, Iowa State, Kansas, Loyola, New Haven, Pace, Purdue, Rutgers,¹ St. Francis, South Carolina, Temple, Wayne State, West Virginia College of Graduate Studies,² Winthrop, and the University of Wisconsin-Madison). Of the 15 programs that stopped offering IR degrees between 1984 and 2005, six were located in states where union representation of employees is below the U.S. average. Of those that remain, *none* is located in a state with below U.S. average union representation. Only one of the private schools (NYIT) continues to offer an IR Master's degree. Of the 13 public programs, seven are in land-grant universities. Over the 31-year period between 1974 and 2005, only two programs based in land-grant universities were shut down: Iowa State and Wisconsin-Madison.³

Of the programs that ceased to operate, none was a freestanding unit prior to its termination. Most were housed in either economics departments or business schools. Within economics, as ILE scholars retired, they were routinely replaced by neoclassical economists (some in labor, some in other areas) who had little interest in institutional approaches in general and IR in particular. The others were in business schools. In those situations, names and emphases were often changed to eliminate industrial or employee relations from the title of the program, and as faculty who had primary interests in collective bargaining retired or left, they were not replaced or were replaced with new faculty whose interests were in HRM.

There are currently only six Master's programs that include IR or a similar name in their program or unit title that have relatively more than 75 full-time equivalent students: Cornell, Illinois, Michigan State, Minnesota, Ohio State, and Rutgers. All also have doctoral programs. All of the programs at land-grant universities have or did have attached outreach programs that provided services to labor or employer constituencies. Of the six, Cornell, Illinois, and Rutgers are in freestanding units.⁴ Michigan State's program is within the School of Labor and Industrial Relations, which is a unit within the College of Social Sciences. Both the Minnesota and the Ohio State programs are located in departments within their universities' business schools, but they were originally created through multidisciplinary efforts and had already operated outreach activities before their permanent locations were determined. With the exception of Michigan State and Ohio State, all of these IR programs were created within 10 years of the end of World War II. Table 3.3 identifies the homes of all current IR Master's programs, the year each was established, the number of full-time equivalent students, the number of full-time tenured or tenure-track faculty with primary assignments in the degree program, and the number of semester credits required to complete each program. The six programs with the largest number of IR Master's students (Cornell, Illinois, Michigan State, Minnesota, Ohio State, and Rutgers) produce over 70% of the total.

Table 3.3 U.S. Graduate Programs in Industrial Relations in 2007

<i>School</i>	<i>Year Established</i>	<i>FTE Students</i>	<i>FTE Core T/TT Faculty</i>	<i>Semester Hours in Program</i>
Cincinnati, University of (Liberal Arts)	1975	50	2	53
Cleveland State University (Business)	1982	52	4.5	34
Cornell University ¹ (freestanding)	1944	100 ¹	50	48
Illinois, University of (freestanding)	1946	150	13	48
Indiana University of Pennsylvania (Business)	1977	50	5	42
Michigan State University (Social Science)	1966	125	17	36
Minnesota, University of (Business)	1953	170	13.75	48
New York Institute of Technology (Business)	1978	52	3	42
Ohio State University (Business)	1976	82	3.5	51
Penn State University (Liberal Arts)	1995	16	8	37
Rhode Island, University of (freestanding)	1983	20	2	39
Rutgers University (freestanding)	1976	90	12	39
West Virginia, University of (Business)	1957	42	4	42
Wisconsin-Milwaukee, University of (College of Letters and Science and School of Business)	1983	45	3	36

1. Cornell also enrolls approximately 650 undergraduate ILR majors.

ILE or PM: Which Paradigm Prevails?

Over the last 40 years there has been a plethora of label and content changes in courses and programs. Some are cosmetic and some are in response to the fact that the employment relationship has changed markedly. IR, labor relations, and employee relations are used to identify courses and programs far less frequently. Personnel is barely in the lexicon anymore, and HRM is ubiquitous. This is probably to be expected given that IR (or HRM for that matter) is not a discipline, but rather the study of a set of issues or problems connected with employment. The shift in emphasis is ultimately driven by the evolving pattern of demand for graduates of employment-oriented graduate programs. In the 20 years following the passage of the Wagner Act, labor unions became an increasingly important actor in the employment relationship, with approximately a third of the workforce covered by collective bargaining agreements, including virtually complete coverage of blue-collar production workers outside of the South. Over the following 50 years, unionization declined to cover approximately an eighth of the workforce, with perhaps one-twelfth of the private-sector workforce covered. The decline can be traced to a number of factors. It is primarily due to the relative increase in demand for employees with intellectual skills and abilities and the relative shift in industrial employment from goods to services. Secondary factors include the relative reduction in unionized employment due to globalization, the relative expansion of manufacturing in the generally anti-union South together with contraction in the generally pro-union North, the increasingly hard line that employers have taken in opposing union organizing and demanding contract concessions (Freedman, 1979, 1983), and the decrease in competition to organize and bargain for employees that resulted following the merger of the AFL and CIO in 1955.

As the 1970s were ending, employers began to opt out of the corporatist approach and seized the initiative in dealing with or avoiding unions. Politicians were decreasingly interested in intervening in labor-management conflict, so two legs of the corporatist stool collapsed. Employers' interests in specialists and managers in employment activities now shifted from accommodation and compliance with regulations to efficiency and profitability. How employment practices were implemented was now seen as a source of competitive advantage rather than a set of uniform processes across employers, supported by regulations that applied to all, that would take labor out of competition.

Several forces combined to change employment practices. First, the oil shocks in the 1970s focused attention on efficiency for both producers and consumers. In the short run, foreign goods were already more efficient and could meet consumers' needs more quickly than American operations could redesign and retool. Second, consumers recognized that besides being more efficient, many of the foreign goods were of substantially higher quality

relative to price than what American producers built. Third, the rate of return to shareholders was at an unacceptable level. Inflation was rampant, and the stock market had been wallowing for almost 15 years.

The 1980s saw the end of the capital-labor accords (Gordon, 1997), the flattening of organizational structures, increasing decentralization, and the redesign of work and pay programs (Kochan, Katz, & McKersie, 1986). For employers, this meant that the demand for IR program graduate skills shifted from functional depth to problem-solving flexible generalist. The ability to understand business problems and to identify employment practices that contributed to firm performance was predicted to become increasingly important for IR graduates (Fossum, 1987). More responsibility for organizational change and consulting support to line managers was important. Less emphasis was placed on compliance and more on accommodating and promoting diversity.

The changes in emphasis in the field are apparent from the topics emphasized in mainstream personnel and HR texts that have been broadly used in these programs. Bear in mind that the texts were written by authors whose feet were generally in the PM (HRM) camp rather than in the ILE faction. Even so, the change in emphasis from a corporatist approach toward an organizational effectiveness or firm performance approach is apparent. The focus is increasingly shifted toward practices that are of benefit to the employer and away from those that are primarily oriented toward employee welfare.

Table 3.4 shows the changes in topics in Dale Yoder's personnel management text from its original edition in 1942 to its sixth edition in 1970 (Yoder, 1942, 1970). Although Yoder's text clearly reflects a corporatist perspective in the sixth edition, the shift from a labor problems approach in the original edition toward a PM (HRM) approach in the sixth edition is quite clear. Also included are the chapter titles of a personnel text widely adopted in MBA programs between 1960 and 1980 by Strauss and Sayles (1960, 1980).

A third part of Table 3.4 shows the chapter titles in the first editions of two widely adopted texts from 1974 and 1980 (Glueck, 1974; Heneman, Schwab, Fossum, & Dyer, 1980), and the chapter titles from a currently widely adopted text (Noe, Hollenbeck, Gerhart, & Wright, 2006). A comparison of the amount of coverage in Yoder's 1970 edition with these three shows how the IR influence has declined. In Yoder (1970), there was a four-chapter section on union-management relations topics. In Glueck (1974), unions were included as part of the environment close to the beginning, followed by a chapter on collective bargaining and group representation close to the end. In Heneman et al. (1980), there was a two-chapter section related to union-management relations near the end of the book. In Noe et al. (2006), there is one chapter near the end under a "Special Topics in HRM" section. The shift in emphasis over the 35-year period moves unions from an endogenous factor in the employment

Table 3.4 Evolution of Textbooks

<i>Personnel Management and Industrial Relations</i>	
<i>First Edition</i>	<i>Sixth Edition</i>
Introduction (formal organizations)	Part I—Policy and Theory in Manpower Management
Background of Personnel Administration (history)	Introduction—The Management of People
Approaches to the Study of Industrial Relations (approaches of various disciplines, especially social sciences)	Management Goals and Policies
Statistical Tools for Personnel Administration	Management's Theory Base
Job Analysis, Description, and Classification	Theories of Work
Recruitment and Sources	Part II—Organization and Administration
Selection (debunking conventional wisdom)	Theories of Organization
Selection (tests and measurements)	Major Problems in Organization
Training for Industry	Administration: Styles of Leadership and Direction
Industrial Unrest	Part III—Staffing
Working Hours	Manpower Management Planning
Service Rating (performance appraisal)	Staffing Requirements
Wage Plans	Manpower Resources: Personnel Appraisals
Wage Policies	Sources and Recruitment
Promotion and Transfer	Selection Policy and Programs
The Health of Employees	Part IV—Training and Development
Interest and Morale	Development of Human Resources
Employment and Unemployment	Employee and Supervisor Development
Employment Stabilization	Manager Development
Employee Representation	Part V—Labor Relations Management
Collective Bargaining (history and organizations)	Union Theory, Policy, and Practice
Collective Bargaining (institutions and processes)	U.S. Labor Relations Policy
Personnel Services	Current Labor Relations Guidelines
Personnel Administration in the Public Service	Negotiation and Contract Administration
Personnel Records	Part VI—Maintaining Commitment
Personnel Research	Commitment and Morale
	Employee Communications
	Financial Rewards: Theory and Practice
	Wage and Salary Administration
	Employee Benefits and Services
	Part VII—Audits and Research
	Auditing Manpower Management
	Research in Manpower Management

Source: Dale Yoder, *Personnel Management and Industrial Relations*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1942; and 6th edition, 1970.

The Origins, Development, and Current State of Professional Master's Programs 57

Personnel: The Human Problems of Management

<i>First Edition</i>	<i>Fourth Edition</i>
Part I—The Components of the Personnel Problem	Part I—Individuals and Their Jobs
Meaning of Work	The Meaning of Work: Employee Needs and Satisfactions
Technology and Job Satisfaction	Motivating People to Work
Work Groups and Informal Organizations	Innovations in Job Design and Scheduling
The Impact of the Union	Part II—Groups, Supervisors, and Unions
Part II—Supervision	Supervisory Behavior: Balancing Structure and Support
Motivating People to Work	Group Behavior: Organization Consequences
General Supervision	The Supervisor as a Group Leader
The Supervisor's Use of Authority	The Impact of the Union
The Supervisor and the Group	Part III—Managerial Skills
Part III—Supervisory Skills	Communications: The Information Transmission Process
Communications	Communications: The Problem Solving Process
Interviewing: The Fine Art of Listening	Introducing Change: The Managerial Issues
Conference Leadership	Using Discipline for Effective Performance
Introducing Change	Part IV—Structure
Discipline	Decision-making and Organization Levels
Part IV—Organization	Information Flows Through the Hierarchy
The Impact of Hierarchy on Human Relations	Organization Design: Alternative Structures
The Supervisor: Man in the Middle	Managing the Personnel Function
The Impact of Specialization on Human Relations	Part V—Employee Development and Protection
Minimizing the Human Problems of Large Organizations	Manpower Planning
Personnel as a Staff Function	Selection Techniques
Part V—Manpower and Employee Development	Learning, Training, and Behavior Modification
Recruitment and Selection Policies	Minority Employment and Affirmative Action Programs
Promotion, Transfer, and Seniority Policy for Non-Managerial Employees	Women and Management
Technical Training	Employee Health and Safety
Management Development	Part VI—Management and Organization Development
Performance Evaluation	Managerial Career Planning
Management Training	Performance Appraisal & MBO
Part VI—Incentives for Effective Performance	Organization Development and Managerial Training
Wage and Salary Administration	Part VII—Compensation
Work Measurement Techniques	Wage and Salary Administration
Individual Incentive Systems	Employee Benefit Programs
Incentives for Group Participation	Incentives and Performance Standards
Safety	Organizationwide Participation and Productivity Sharing
Service and Benefit Programs	Part VIII—Conclusion
Part VII—Management's Responsibilities	Personnel Challenges and the Future
Management's Responsibilities in Dealing With People	

Source: From George Strauss and Leonard Sayles, *Personnel: The Human Problems of Management*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1960; 4th edition, 1980.

(Continued)

(Continued)

<i>Glueck</i>	<i>Heneman, Schwab, Fossum, and Dyer</i>
Part I—Introduction	Part I—Personnel/Human Resource Management and Its Environment
Personnel Administration: An Introduction (model, history)	Overview and Model of Personnel/Human Resource Management
People and Personnel (aptitudes, personality, motivation)	External Influences (labor markets, laws, EEO)
Environment and Personnel (unions, locations, work)	Part II—Analyzing Individuals and Jobs
Part II—Determining Personnel Needs	Individuals in the Organization (ability and motivation)
Employment Planning (job design, descriptions, satisfaction)	Job Analysis and Design
Part III—Attracting, Selecting and Assigning Personnel	Part III—Assessing Personnel/Human Resource Management Outcomes
Attracting Personnel	Employee Performance
Selection of Personnel	Employee Satisfaction, Length of Service, and Attendance
Orientation of Personnel	Part IV—Personnel Planning
Part IV—Career Development—I	Personnel Planning
Career Development and Counseling	Part V—External Staffing
Employee Evaluation and Promotion	Personnel Recruitment
Part V—Career Development—II	External Staffing Concepts
Employee Training	External Staffing Processes
Selection and Evaluation of Managers	Part VI—Internal Staffing and Development
Managerial Obsolescence and Development	Internal Staffing and Career Management
Part VI—Direct Compensation	Employee and Organization Development
Financial Compensation	Part VII—Compensation
Part VII—Indirect Compensation	Pay-Setting Processes
Employee Benefits and Services	Benefits
Retirement and Pensions	Impacts of Pay on Employees
Employee Health and Safety	Part VIII—Labor Relations
Part VIII—Personnel and Groups of Employees	Labor Unions
Affirmative Action Plans	Labor-Management Relations
Collective Bargaining and Group Representation	Part IX—Safety, Health, and Hours
Part IX—Control of Human Performance	Occupational Safety and Health
Discipline and the Difficult Employee	Hours of Work
Evaluation and Research of Personnel Administration	An Integration

Source: Glueck, 1974; Heneman, 1980.

Human Resource Management: Gaining a Competitive Advantage

Human Resource Management: Gaining a Competitive Advantage (introduction and staging)

Part I—The Human Resource Environment

Strategic Human Resource Management

The Legal Environment: Equal Employment Opportunity and Safety

The Analysis and Design of Work

Part II—Acquisition and Preparation of Human Resources

Human Resource Planning and Recruitment

Selection and Placement

Training

Part III—Assessment and Development of HRM

Performance Management

Employee Development

Employee Separation and Retention

Part IV—Compensation of Human Resources

Pay Structure Decisions

Recognizing Employee Contributions with Pay

Employee Benefits

Part V—Special Topics in Human Resource Management

Collective Bargaining and Labor Relations

Managing Human Resources Globally

Strategically Managing the Human Resource Function

Source: Raymond Noe, John Hollenbeck, Barry Gerhart, and Patrick Wright, *Human Resource Management: Gaining a Competitive Advantage*, 5th ed., Burr Ridge, IL: McGraw-Hill-Irwin, 2006.

relationship to an exogenous factor seen as having a decreasing effect on employment outcomes for both employers and employees. The consignment of collective bargaining to a special-topics grouping suggests that professional knowledge and skill in labor relations are no longer seen as necessary for a successful professional career in employment.

Differences and Similarities Between Programs

Table 3.5 displays the courses offered within and across the 14 current programs (Rutgers included). To create this table, I reviewed the course offerings for each program as posted on its current Web site. I made a list of all of the offerings across all of the schools. There is a lot of “customization” in course titles between schools. In constructing the table, I collapsed categories into similar topics if only one program gave a particular course (except in cases where the course was required). In some programs, more than one course is required or offered in a given area. I have made no notation of that in the table. In the table, *R* means *required*, *DE* means *department (or program)*

Table 3.5 Comparison of Current IR Program Course Requirements

	Cincinnati	CSU	Cornell	U-IL	IU-PA	Mich St.	U-MN	NYIT	Ohio St.	Penn St.	U-RI	Rutgers	WSU	U-WV	U-W-Mke
Alternative Dispute Resolution Arbitration	OE						DE	DE	DE	DE					DE
Benefits	DE	OE	DE	DE	R	DE	DE	DE		R(IR)				DE	
Business Strategy and HR	DE	DE	DE	DE	DE	R	R		R		DE		OE	R	OR
Collective Bargaining	DE	OE	R	R	R	R	R				R		DE	R	R
Comparative HR			DE	DE											
Comparative IR	DE	DE	DE	DE	DE	DE	DE	DE	DE	DE	DE(L)		DE	DE	OE
Compensation	DE	R	DE	DE	DE	R	R	DE	R		R(HR)		OE	R	DE
Diversity	DE	DE	DE	DE	DE	DE	DE	DE	R	DE	DE(L)		DE	DE	OE
Economics of Firm Performance			DE	DE		DE	DE								R
Employment Relations	DE	DE		R								R(L)			
Employment (Labor) Law	R	R	R	DE	R	R	DE	OR	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
EEO/AA			DE	DE			OE							R	
Ethics	DE			DE			DE							DE	
Financial Accounting			DE	DE		OE					R-E			R	
High Performance Work Systems			DE	DE	DE						R(H)				
History and Foundations of HRM								R							
History and Foundations of IR			DE	DE					R	R	R(HR)				
HR and Business Functions	DE							R				R(H)			
HR Information Systems	DE	R	DE	DE	DE	DE	OR	OR	R		DE(H)			R	
Industrial/Organizational Psychology		OE	OE	DE	OE										OE

	Cincinnati	CSU	Cornell	U-IL	IU-PA	Mich.St.	U-MN	NYIT	Ohio St.	Penn St.	U-RI	Rutgers	WSU	U-WV	U-W-Mke
International HR	DE		DE	DE		DE	DE	DE				R(H)	DE	DE	DE
Introduction to HRM and/or IR		R	R			DE	DE	R					OR		OR
Labor Economics	R	R	R	DE		R	DE	OR	R	R		R	R		OR
Labor History and Labor Movements		DE	DE		DE	DE	DE		DE	DE		DE(L)			OE
Labor-Management Conflict			DE		DE								OR	DE	
Labor Unions	DE		DE	R			DE	DE	DE	R(IR)		R(H)	DE		
Metrics	DE		DE			R	OR								OE
Negotiation	DE		DE	DE	DE	DE			R					DE	OE
Organization Theory and Organizational Behavior	R		R	DE		R	R	R	R					DE	OE
Organizational Development	DE	DE	DE		DE	DE	OE		R			DE(H)	OE	R	OE
Performance Management		R		DE										R	
Personnel Economics			DE				OE								
Public Sector HRM		OE		R				DE	DE	DE			DE		OE
Public Sector IR	DE	DE	DE	DE			DE	DE	DE	R(IR)		DE(L)	DE	DE	DE
Research Methods	R		DE	R	R	R	R	OR	R	R		R	OR		DE
Sociology of Work and Organization		OE	DE							DE			OE		
Staffing and Selection	DE	R	DE	DE	DE	R	R	DE	R			R(H)		R	R
Statistics			R	R		R	R		R			R(H)			R
Training and Development	DE	R	DE	DE	DE	DE	R	DE	R			R(H)		R	

Source: From George Strauss and Leonard Sayles, Personnel: The Human Problems of Management, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1960; 4th edition, 1980.

Note: Cincinnati = University of Cincinnati; CSU = Cleveland State University; Cornell = Cornell University; U-IL = University of Illinois; IU-PA = Indiana University of Pennsylvania; Mich St. = Michigan State University; U-MN = University of Minnesota, NYIT = New York Institute of Technology; Ohio St. = Ohio State University; Penn St. = Pennsylvania State University; U-RI = University of Rhode Island; Rutgers = Rutgers University; WSU = Washington State University; WSU = Wayne State University; U-WV = University of West Virginia; U-W-Mke = University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

elective, OR means required course offered by another department or program, and OE means elective offered by another department. Rutgers has two programs, one oriented toward HRM and the other toward LS. Those courses that are HRM oriented have an (*H*) following, whereas LS-oriented courses have an (*L*). The same logic holds for the Rhode Island program.

There are some differences across programs in the extent to which courses are required. Ohio State and Rutgers have the largest proportion of courses that are required. Otherwise, approximately half to two-thirds of the credits necessary to graduate are in required courses. All of the programs require evidence of a certain level of skill in statistics or additional statistics courses as part of the program requirements. Most also have a research methods requirement. Most programs require microeconomics and general psychology as prerequisites for admission.

Beyond statistics and research methods, the courses that are required or included in the curriculum by two-thirds or more of the programs include collective bargaining, compensation, employment or labor law, human resource information systems, international HR, labor economics, organizational development, public-sector IR, staffing and selection, and training and development. Of these, the proportional mix between ILE and PM approaches is about even. Labor economics is generally taught from a neo-classical perspective, however.

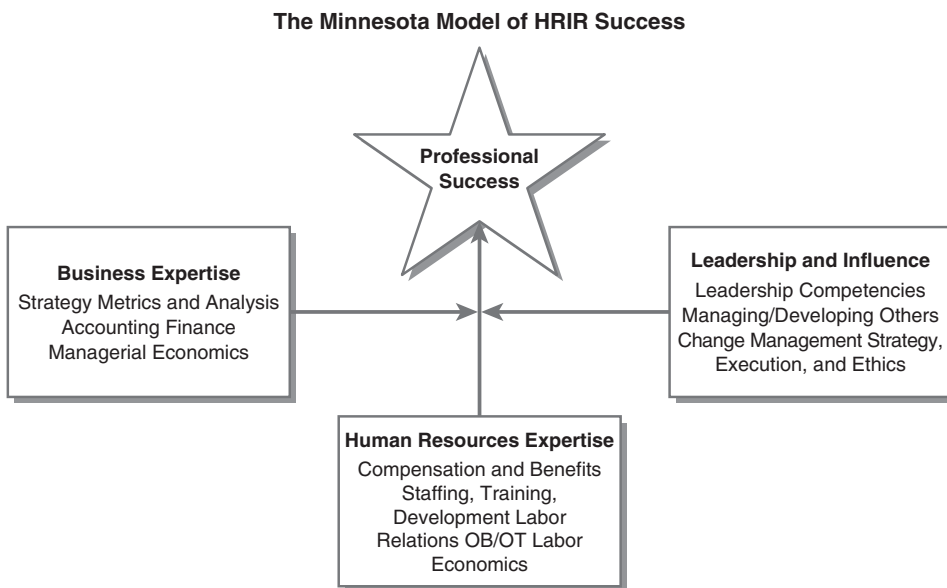
Other courses that are required or offered by seven or more programs include arbitration, benefits, business strategy and HR, comparative IR, diversity, labor history and labor movements, labor unions, negotiations, organizational behavior, and public-sector HRM. Increasing numbers of programs are requiring some work in business-related areas (particularly accounting and financial analysis). Where programs are located outside of business schools this may require that they build their own courses because of difficulties in enrolling in MBA courses—especially if tuition differentials exist. On the other hand, it is important to avoid content dilution simply to maintain the production of credits within the program.

The Evolving IR Degree Program

Most of the IR graduate degree programs have substantially restructured over the last 30 years. Currently, only Cornell, IUP, Penn State, Rhode Island, and Rutgers have programs that either emphasize or enable a student to develop a concentration that would be oriented toward employment by a labor union. Of these, IUP, Penn State, and Rhode Island place a majority of their emphasis on topics that are more oriented to industrial relations from a union's perspective. The large majority of Cornell's graduates are oriented toward HRM careers. Its ability to offer a large number of labor-oriented courses is related to the large faculty size necessary to offer its very large undergraduate program.

As compared to faculty in disciplinary programs who discover new knowledge that may lead to future applications, faculty in applied programs most often study and evaluate current practice to test theories most often developed in disciplines. Curricula in applied programs respond to two things: the research and teaching skills and interests of its current faculty, and the changing patterns of employer demands for their graduates.

All programs have some required courses, and most identify one or more tracks or emphases for students, but most do not project an explicit model of what they are offering or trying to develop. Rutgers, Ohio State, and Minnesota are probably the most explicit. Rutgers and Ohio State have the programs with the greatest proportion of required courses in their curricula. Rutgers has also basically divided the HR and IR students, with only a few courses required by both programs. For many years, Minnesota has based its curriculum on an explicit model aimed at developing generalists. Early in 2005, its faculty developed a significant revision to its Master's program consistent with the model shown in Figure 3.1. This revision goes beyond the modification, elimination, or introduction of courses to broaden the base for learning to include extracurricular and work opportunities and experiences. Because many Master's students have little or no significant experience in human resources and industrial relations either as



The Minnesota Model is a partnership between faculty, students, and the broader HRIR community. The faculty and the HRIR community provide learning opportunities; students are responsible for developing their critical competencies through these learning opportunities in and out of the classroom.

Figure 3.1 The Minnesota Model of HRIR Success

Source: Adapted from The Minnesota Model of HRIR Success Model, developed by Theresa Glomb, John Budd, and Connie Wanberg.

undergraduates or in any previous employment and few have explicitly worked to develop leadership competencies, the revised program offers opportunities for students to enhance learning transfer through a variety of noncourse, noncredit activities. These include internship and part-time opportunities during summers and the two academic years of the program, the availability of alumni mentors and the opportunity during the second year to be a mentor to a first-year student, volunteer consultancies on HRM projects with public-sector and nonprofit organizations, and opportunities to attend professional development programs designed for practitioners.

The revisions also reorient the quantitative methods courses toward the design and evaluation of metrics and expand the economic analysis focus to emphasis managerial economics, accounting, and finance. More attention is paid to organizational and work-unit problem-solving through courses on change management, strategy, and ethics.

In general, IR programs are increasing the business-oriented content in their programs, either by recommending MBA program electives or by building more accounting, finance, operations, and marketing into their courses. More programs are offering HRM strategy courses that have explicit business content linkages. At the same time, some IR faculty are looking at employment and work more introspectively (Budd, 2004) and are developing ethics courses or other more in-depth explorations about what the relationships between employers, employees, and the society should be.

Although the emphasis in IR programs has moved increasingly toward HRM, they can be distinguished from HRM programs by their continuing attention to the role of public policy in employment, the desirability of a need for balance between employer and employee interests in the employment relationship, and ethical issues in the employment relationship. IR programs will continue to flourish to the extent that they maintain a problem-solving approach, identifying emerging employment issues and crafting solutions that improve the outcomes of all of the actors in the employment relationship—the same pragmatic, nondoctrinaire approach they took when they were first developed.

Conclusion

Although the HRM (PM) content of IR programs has increased, I think it is unlikely that IR programs will morph into HRM programs. There are several reasons for this conclusion.

1. IR programs include faculty members from several disciplines. Disciplinary interests in staffing will prevent the elimination of a multidisciplinary approach. Disciplinary survival trumps program survival at the margin. Self-interest will prevail.

2. There will continue to be a demand for students who have developed skills in collective bargaining negotiations and administration or for students who at least understand the goals and operations of labor unions. These programs are best able to supply this need.
3. Many of the IR programs include outreach activities in addition to their degree programs. Thus, they deal with opposing constituencies, one that favors HRM approaches and one that favors ILE approaches. Neither trusts the other very much. By their continued presence, outreach activities strengthen a program's position in a land-grant university and also require the program to include a diversity of viewpoints on employment.
4. The increasing inclusion of international and comparative courses in HRM and IR in IR program curricula enhances the importance of ILE approaches. Much of the study in this area aims to acquaint students with global institutional differences and how they influence employment practices and employee outcomes. More attention is paid to "what if" questions as they relate to public policy on employment.
5. From a market demand standpoint, although most students are hired by employers who operate using an explicit HRM approach, the evidence thus far suggests that for many of the nation's largest employers, HR-IR Master's programs that have evolved in what were originally IR programs remain the preferred source for hiring high-potential future HR professionals.
6. Understanding business problems and relating IR and HRM to business strategies requires a working knowledge of economic and financial analysis. These are available in MBA programs, but top-quality MBA programs require that students have several years of general business experience to be admitted. Thus, most MBA students' aspirations are beyond what employers are offering in HRM development programs. All else being equal, an employer will prefer an IR program graduate to an HRM program graduate because the IR student is much more likely to have been taught by at least some economists.

Notes

1. Between 1984 and 2007, Rutgers divided its programs into separate Master's in human resource management and labor studies. Collective bargaining subjects are no longer required of HRM students, and HRM is no longer required of LS students. Its HRM program, offered in the evening, is among the largest in both absolute numbers and full-time equivalents.

2. West Virginia College of Graduate Studies was merged into West Virginia University between 1984 and 2005.

3. Rutgers is a land-grant university. As Note 1 noted, its program was bifurcated into two separate programs that continue to operate. Thus, it is not included in the set that “shut down.”
4. Rutgers’s programs are also located in a freestanding unit.

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