THE STATE OF THE UNIONS 2019

A PROFILE OF ORGANIZED LABOR IN NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK STATE, AND THE UNITED STATES

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rganized labor in the United States has suffered sharp decline in numbers and influence in recent years. In addition to the challenges of the prolonged recovery from the Great Recession, anti-union groups have launched aggressive attacks on public-sector collective bargaining rights. Their signal achievement was the U.S. Supreme Court June 2018 decision in the Janus v. AFSCME case, which prohibits public-sector unions from collecting "fair share" or "agency" fees from non-members, although the precise extent of the decision's impact is not yet clear. In the private sector, where the national unionization rate has fallen to record lows, rising health care costs and ongoing employer demands for concessions have made it difficult for many unions to win improvements in wages and benefits, especially since the financial crisis of 2007-08. Inequalities in income and wealth have continued to skyrocket, reaching levels not seen since the early twentieth century.

Organized labor remains much stronger in New York City and State than in the nation as a whole; indeed, overall unionization rates in those jurisdictions have been relatively stable over the 2010s, in contrast to steady erosion on the national level, as Figure 1a shows. Over the past few years, however, density declined in both the City and State. It remains to be seen whether this is a temporary setback or a more enduring trend.

Over one-fifth (21.4 percent) of all wage and salary workers residing in the five boroughs of New York City were union members in 2018-19, a decline from the 24 percent level that held nearly steady from 2013-2016, but similar to the 2012 level (21.5 percent), according to the U.S. Current Population Survey (CPS) data that serve as the primary basis of this report.¹ The unionized share of the workforce was similar in New York City and New York State (21.8 percent). New York ranks first in union density among the nation's fifty states, with a unionization rate more than double the U.S. average of 10.5 percent in 2018-19.² In absolute terms, New York State had more union members — 1.8 million — than any state except California, which has a far larger population. In 2018-19, there were about 774,000 union members residing in the five boroughs of New York City, representing 42.6 percent of all union members in the State.³

In recent decades, losses in union membership have been disproportionately concentrated in the private sector (see Figures 1b and 1c), a trend that accelerated after the Great Recession.⁴ By contrast, in the public sector, union density had been relatively stable, but in the United States and New York State (but not in the City), it has declined slightly over the past few years (see Figure 1c). After a period of

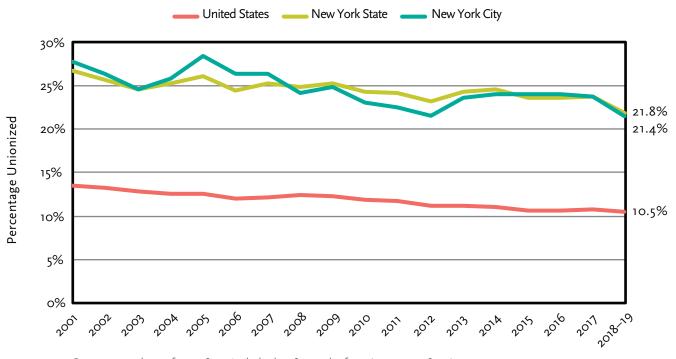
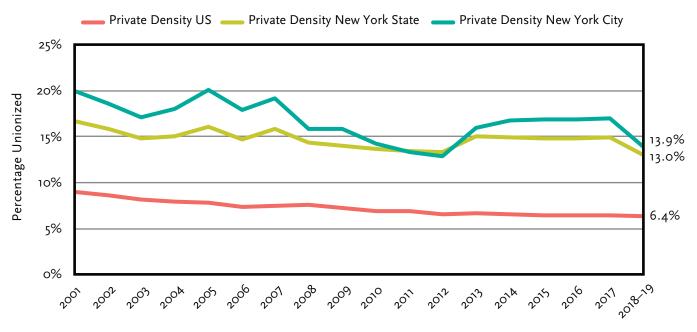


FIGURE 1A. UNION DENSITY IN NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK STATE AND THE UNITED STATES, 2001–19

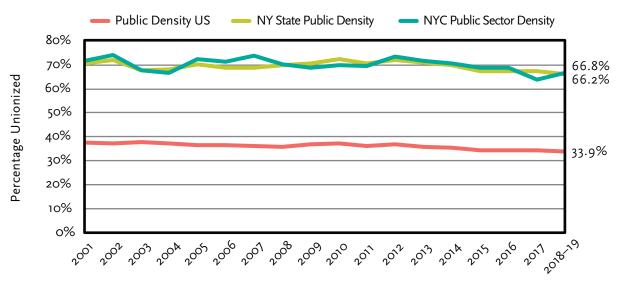
Percentages shown for 2018–19 include the 18 months from January 2018 to June 2019 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2001–June 2019

FIGURE 1B. PRIVATE-SECTOR UNION DENSITY IN NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK STATE AND THE UNITED STATES, 2001–19



Percentages shown for 2018–19 include the 18 months from January 2018 to June 2019 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2001–June 2019

FIGURE 1C. PUBLIC-SECTOR UNION DENSITY IN NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK STATE AND THE UNITED STATES, 2001–19



Percentages shown for 2018-19 include the 18 months from January 2018 to June 2019 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2001–June 2019

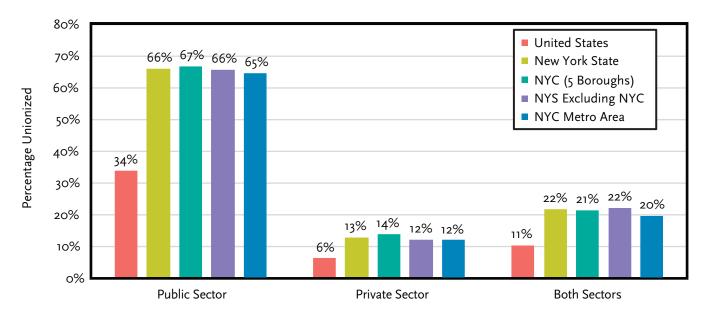


FIGURE 2. UNION DENSITY, BY SECTOR, NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK STATE AND THE UNITED STATES, 2018–19

Percentages shown for 2018–19 include the 18 months from January 2018 to June 2019 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2018–June 2019

A REPORT CARD ON NEW YORK WORKERS SINCE THE GREAT RECESSION: JOB GROWTH, WAGE STAGNATION, AND DECLINING UNION STRENGTH

A decade after the Great Recession of 2008, employment has rebounded sharply in New York City, the metropolitan area, and New York State. However, the new jobs are disproportionately concentrated in low-wage industries, especially in the private sector. Unionized workers earn more than their non-union counterparts, but the gap has narrowed and in many sectors unionization has declined.

Job Growth

Figure B1 compares employment levels in 2008 and 2018, drawing on data from the Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages (QCEW). Employment levels rose over the decade, growing 10 percent in the State, 13 percent in the New York City Metropolitan Area, and 19 percent in the City.

The employment growth in the City spans all five boroughs, and was particularly strong in the Bronx (42 percent), Brooklyn (60 percent), and Queens (40 percent). Manhattan saw only a 4 percent increase in employment.

Stagnant Wages

However, in regard to the *quality* of jobs, the situation is far less rosy, with little improvement over the decade, especially in New York City and the metropolitan area.^a Real earnings (that is, adjusted for inflation) have stagnated since 2008. As Table B1 shows (again drawing on QCEW data), average annual earnings increased only 2 percent (adjusted for inflation) for workers in New York City from 2008 to 2018, and by only 3 percent in the metropolitan area. The state as a whole fared better, with an earnings rise of 7 percent over the decade.

The average figures, however, obscure the fact that earnings have been particularly weak in the private sector. In New York City, private-sector real earnings actually declined by 1 percent between 2008 and 2018. By contrast, in the public sector they rose 20 percent at the state level and 28 percent at the city level (see Table B1).

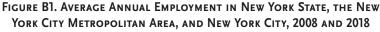
TABLE B1: AVERAGE ANNUAL EARNINGS (INFLATION-Adjusted) by Sector, New York State, the New York City Metropolitan Area, and New York City, 2008 and 2018

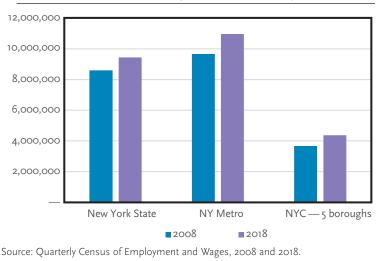
	2008	2018	Change, 2008–18
New York State	\$68,345	\$72,901	7%
Private	\$70,395	\$73,476	4%
Public	\$58,202	\$69,645	20%
New York Metro	\$75,322	\$77,909	3%
Private	\$77,206	\$78,310	1%
Public	NA	\$75,341	NA
NYC—5 boroughs	\$90,975	\$92,639	2%
Private	\$96,106	\$94,689	-1%
Public	\$61,818	\$79,065	28%

Source: Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages, 2008 and 2018. Note: New York Metro Area figures for 2018 are preliminary estimates.

Although public-sector earnings growth appears strong, that impression is misleading insofar as it reflects the aging of the publicsector workforce, especially at the State level. Statewide public-sector employment fell by 2 percent from 2008 to 2018, so that few new workers (who typically have the lowest earnings) were hired. Indeed, the mean age of the State's public-sector workers rose from 44 to 46 over the decade.^b

> Another revealing dimension of the earnings picture involves variations in job loss and job growth by industry. In the State and City alike, relatively high-wage sectors like manufacturing, utilities, wholesale trade, and finance saw job losses. Although not all jobs in these industries pay high wages, in all of them average annual earnings were above the annual living wage for a family





See p. 23 for the endnotes to this section.

of four in 2018.³ In contrast, new jobs are concentrated in industries where average annual earnings were below the living wage in 2018: health care and social assistance, accommodation and food services, and retail trade. In New York City (the five boroughs), over half (53 percent) of new jobs created from 2008 to 2018 were in industries with average earnings below the living wage.^c In the State, a whopping 81 percent of new job growth in this period was in industries where average pay was less than a living wage.^d Table B2 provides more detail on job growth by detailed industry for New York City, highlighting (in bold) those in which 2018 average annual pay was below the living wage for the area.

TABLE B2. JOBS CREATED BETWEEN 2008 AND 2018 AND Average 2018 Annual Earnings, New York City

Industry	2008 to 2018	Earnings
Ambulatory Health Care Services	144,856	\$44,811
Food Services and Drinking Places	118,510	\$31,519
Professional and Technical Services	69,421	\$135,354
Administrative and Support Services	64,828	\$63,471
Educational Services	50,348	\$73,737
Social Assistance	38,622	\$32,733
Other Information Services	30,963	\$183,537
Food and Beverage Stores	18,735	\$29,299
Motion Picture & Sound Recording Ind	17,691	\$105,965
Personal and Laundry Services	16,989	\$33,223

Sources: Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages 2008 and 2018; MIT Living Wage Calculator 2019.

Declining Unionization

The earnings stagnation since 2008 reflects declining or flat union density in New York City and State over the decade.^d There are a few sectors where this was not the case, however. For example, density increased significantly in the metropolitan area and in the State for the "Professional and Technical Services" industry, although because the 2008 unionization rate in this industry was low to begin with, in 2018 it remained below average. Union density also rose modestly in construction, educational services, administration and waste services, and accommodation and food services during the 2008-18 period.

However, unionization growth in those industries, and in the private sector as a whole, was too modest to have a significant impact on wages. This reflects the fact that the union earnings premium (the difference between union members' and non-union workers' earnings) has declined in many industries in recent years. Yet on average, more union workers than non-union workers earn a living wage, despite flat or declining union density. Table B3 shows the share of workers (excluding managers) who earn less than a living wage for the New York City metropolitan area. Just under 44 percent of union workers in the area earned a living wage, whereas only 34 percent of non-union workers did. The union-nonunion gap is greatest in leisure and hospitality, construction, social assistance, education, and transportation and utilities — industries with relatively strong union density. In industries with low union density, like finance, professional services, and wholesale and retail trade, a greater share of non-union workers than union workers earned a living wage.

One exception to this pattern is public administration, where union density is high but the union-nonunion gap in workers receiving a living wage is small. This is because public-sector collective bargaining agreement gains impact all workers, regardless of union membership. The other exception is hospitals, where once again high density does not result in a larger share of union members earning a living wage — perhaps because key hospital occupations (doctors, nurses and administrators) are paid high wages regardless of union status. For nurses, this may reflect hospital managers' efforts to keep unions out.

TABLE B3. PROPORTION OF NON-SUPERVISORY WORKERSwith Earnings Above the Living Wage, by UnionStatus, New York Metropolitan Area, 2014-18

Industry	Percentage of Workers with Earnings Above the Living Wage			
	Non-Union	Union	Difference	
Construction	28.2	49.5	76%	
Manufacturing	38.2	34.9	-9%	
Wholesale and retail trade	21.4	13.9	-35%	
Transportation and utili	21.9	31.6	44%	
Information	57.7	57.1	-1%	
Financial activities	56.4	40.0	-29%	
Professional and business services	47.8	31.9	-33%	
Educational services	40.8	59.9	47%	
Hospitals	47.1	46.3	-2%	
Healthcare services	26.6	24.2	-9%	
Social assistance	21.3	31.5	48%	
Leisure and hospitality	12.6	30.2	140%	
Public admin.	48.2	48.6	1%	
Total	34.2	43.7	28%	

Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2014–2018 merged file.

stability from 2015 to 2017, private-sector density dipped modestly in New York City and State, while in the nation as a whole, it has held steady.

Geographical Variation in Union Density

Figure 2 shows the 2018-19 private- and public-sector union density levels for the United States, New York State, New York City, upstate New York (excluding the five boroughs of New York City), and the larger New York City metropolitan "Combined Statistical Area."⁵ These are the five entities for which we present detailed data in this report.

By way of background, however, we begin with some summary figures for additional geographical areas. Figure 3 shows the 2018–19 density figures for the state, the New York City metropolitan area, and the next three largest metropolitan areas in the state, namely Albany-Schenectady-Troy, Buffalo-Niagara Falls,

and Rochester.⁶ In each of the geographical entities for which 2018-19 data are available, unionization levels were consistently higher in the public than in the private sector, and in New York State public-sector density was 66.2 percent, nearly double the national average (33.9 percent). The New York City metropolitan area had a slightly lower level (64.7 percent) than the state average, followed by the Albany-Schenectady-Troy area (63.7 percent). Private-sector union density was lower across the board, but in this sector, New York State had a 13.0 unionization rate, more than double the national average of 6.4 percent in 2018-19. As Figure 3 shows, the two metropolitan areas for which data are available (the New York City and the Buffalo-Niagara Falls metropolitan area) private-sector density was nearly double the national rate. The large public-private sector differential, combined with the fact that the Capital District has a disproportionate

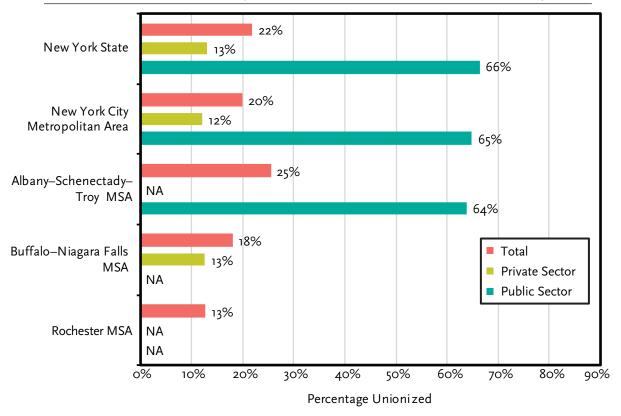


FIGURE 3. UNION DENSITY BY SECTOR, NEW YORK STATE AND SELECTED METROPOLITAN AREAS, 2018–19

share of public-sector employment, helps to explain why overall union density is higher in the Albany-Schenectady-Troy metropolitan area than in all the other areas shown in Figure 3.⁷

Within New York City, as Figure 4 shows, union density varies across the five boroughs, with substantially higher levels of unionization among residents of the "outer boroughs" than among those living in Manhattan in 2018–19. The highest private-sector union density level in the city is that for the population of the Bronx, followed by Brooklyn. In regard to the public sector, unfortunately the CPS sample size is too small to assess inter-borough variations, except to note that in Brooklyn, as Figure 4 shows, public-sector density is slightly above the city-wide level, while in Queens it is somewhat lower.⁸

Union Membership by Age, Earnings, and Education

Unionization rates are much higher for older than younger workers. As Figure 5 shows, they are highest for workers aged 55 years or more, somewhat lower for those aged 25–54, and far lower for those aged 16–24. This pattern reflects the limited extent of union organizing among new labor market entrants. In addition, as Figure 6 shows, unionized jobs typically provide workers with higher wages than non-union jobs do. Higher wages, in turn, are strongly associated with lower turnover, skewing the unionized workforce to include a disproportionate share of older workers. In addition, unionized jobs typically offer more job security than nonunion jobs, further reducing turnover and thus further contributing to the relatively higher average age of unionized workers.

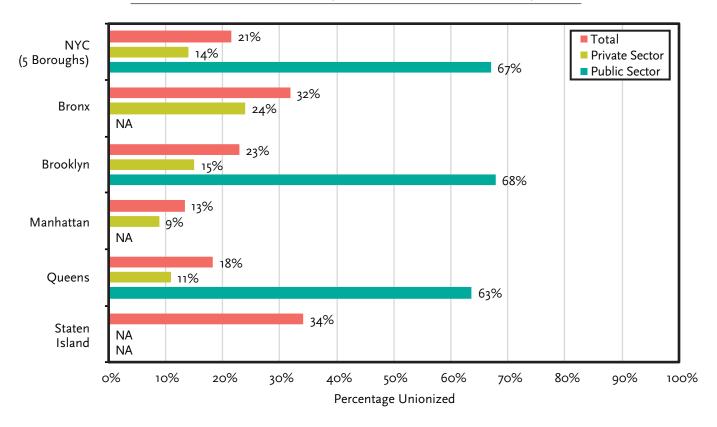


FIGURE 4. UNION DENSITY BY SECTOR, NEW YORK CITY AND ITS BOROUGHS, 2018–19

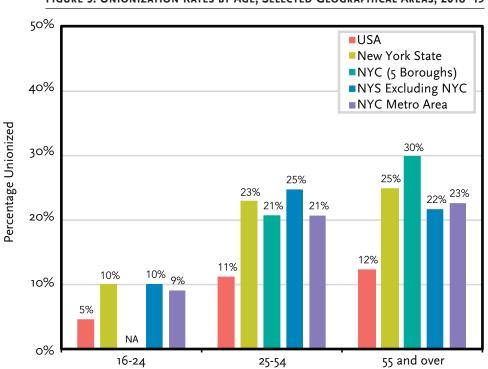
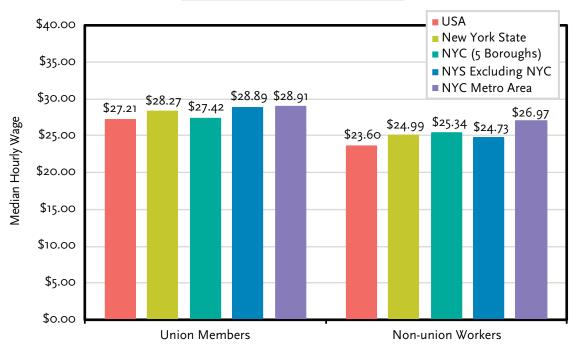


FIGURE 5. UNIONIZATION RATES BY AGE, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2018–19

NA = Sample size is insufficient to generate reliable estimates. See footnote 1 in the text. Percentages shown for 2018–19 include the 18 months from January 2018 to June 2019 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2018–June 2019





Figures reflect preliminary estimates, in 2019 dollars.

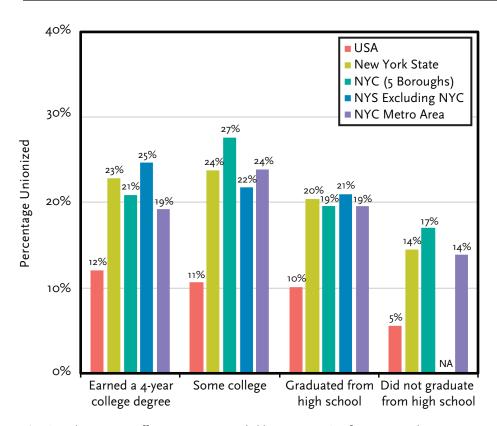
Wages shown for 2018–19 include the 18 months from January 2018 to June 2019 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2018–June 2019 Figure 7 shows that—contrary to popular belief—in both upstate New York and the United States, the more education workers have, the higher their unionization rate tends to be. Whereas decades ago the archetypal union member was a blue-collar worker with limited formal education, today mid-level professionals in fields like education and public administration are more likely to be unionized than virtually any other group of workers (as discussed further below).

However, the traditional pattern is still in evidence in the five boroughs of New York City and in the New York City metropolitan area (and to a lesser extent in New York State as a whole), where high school graduates and workers with some college (but not a four-year college degree) have higher unionization rates than college graduates do. This reflects the high union density of New York City's transportation and health care industries (see below), both of which employ large numbers of workers with high school and two-year college degrees.

Industry Variation in Unionization Rates

In 2018-19 more than half (54.0 percent) of all unionized workers in the United States were in three basic industry groups: educational services, health care and social assistance, and public administration. In New York City and State, those three industry groups account for an even larger majority of all unionized workers (57.0 percent and 61.8 percent, respectively). All three of these industry groups include vast numbers of public sector jobs (although in health care the majority of workers are in the private sector, as are about one-third of those in education). Moreover, in contrast to many traditional union strongholds, all three of these industries include relatively large numbers of college-educated workers.





As Table 1 shows, the composition of union membership in New York City, and to a lesser degree in the state as well, deviates in other respects from the national pattern. Manufacturing accounts for less than one percent of union membership in the five boroughs, and only 1.4 percent in the New York City metropolitan area as a whole. In contrast, finance, insurance and real estate (FIRE) and professional and business services account for a larger share of the total than is the case elsewhere in the nation.

Table 2 shows the composition of wage and salary employment by industry group for the same five geographical entities for which the composition of union membership is presented in Table 1. Comparing the two tables reveals that, for most industry groups, the share of union membership deviates greatly from the share of employment. Industry groups with high union density, such as educational services, or transportation and utilities, make up a much larger share of union membership than of employment. By contrast, wholesale and retail trade, and the leisure and hospitality industry group, account for a far more substantial share of employment than of union membership.

Figure 8 depicts the industry group data in a different format, showing unionization rates by industry (as opposed to the share of the unionized workforce in each industry group, as shown in Table 1) for the City, the metropolitan area, the State, and the nation. Unionization rates vary widely across the twelve industry groups shown. Everywhere education, public administration, and transportation and utilities are the most highly unionized industry groups. In New York City, the next most unionized industry group is health care and social assistance. By contrast, in the United States as a whole, the unionization rate for that industry group is only slightly above average. The other outstanding high-density industry group is construction, which has a higher unionization rate than health care and social assistance in all the geographic jurisdictions shown except for New York City. At the other extreme, union density is consistently low—in the single digits—in wholesale and retail trade, and in finance, insurance and real estate, regardless of geography.

Because these industry group data are highly aggregated, however, they obscure the complexity of the City, State and nation's extremely uneven patterns

USA	New York State	NYS Excl. NYC	NYC (5 Boroughs)	NYC Metro Area
7.9%	6.4%	7.6%	4.6%	7.3%
9.3%	2.9%	4.4%	0.9%	1.4%
5.4%	3.4%	3.5%	3.2%	3.9%
12.3%	10.9%	9.0%	13.4%	12.8%
2.0%	2.2%	1.7%	2.8%	2.6%
1.5%	3.0%	1.7%	4.8%	3.2%
3.1%	4.8%	3.6%	6.4%	4.8%
28.1%	28.7%	34.3%	21.1%	28.4%
11.4%	18.9%	15.8%	23.2%	17.7%
3.0%	3.5%	2.3%	5.3%	3.9%
1.2%	1.2%	0.9%	1.7%	1.5%
14.5%	14.2%	15.3%	12.7%	12.4%
100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
54.0%	61.8%	65.3%	56.9%	58.5%
	7.9% 9.3% 5.4% 12.3% 2.0% 1.5% 3.1% 28.1% 11.4% 3.0% 1.2% 14.5% 100.0%	USA State 7.9% 6.4% 9.3% 2.9% 5.4% 3.4% 12.3% 10.9% 2.0% 2.2% 1.5% 3.0% 3.1% 4.8% 28.1% 28.7% 11.4% 18.9% 3.0% 3.5% 1.2% 1.2% 14.5% 14.2%	USA State NYC 7.9% 6.4% 7.6% 9.3% 2.9% 4.4% 5.4% 3.4% 3.5% 12.3% 10.9% 9.0% 2.0% 2.2% 1.7% 1.5% 3.0% 1.7% 3.1% 4.8% 3.6% 28.1% 28.7% 34.3% 11.4% 18.9% 15.8% 3.0% 3.5% 2.3% 1.2% 1.2% 0.9% 14.5% 14.2% 15.3% 100.0% 100.0% 100.0%	USAStateNYC(5 Boroughs)7.9%6.4%7.6%4.6%9.3%2.9%4.4%0.9%5.4%3.4%3.5%3.2%12.3%10.9%9.0%13.4%2.0%2.2%1.7%2.8%1.5%3.0%1.7%4.8%3.1%4.8%3.6%6.4%28.1%28.7%34.3%21.1%11.4%18.9%15.8%23.2%3.0%3.5%2.3%5.3%1.2%1.2%0.9%1.7%14.5%14.2%15.3%12.7%100.0%100.0%100.0%100.0%

TABLE 1: COMPOSITION OF UNION MEMBERSHIP BY INDUSTRY GROUP, FOR SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS IN NEW YORK AND THE UNITED STATES, 2018-19

TABLE 2: COMPOSITION OF WAGE AND SALARY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY GROUP, FOR SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS IN NEW YORK AND THE UNITED STATES, 2018-19

Industry Group	USA	New York State	NYS Excl. NYC	NYC (5 Boroughs)	NYC Metro Area
Construction	7.2%	6.3%	6.9%	5.5%	6.5%
Manufacturing	9.9%	5.7%	8.0%	2.6%	4.8%
Wholesale and retail trade	13.1%	11.5%	12.7%	10.1%	11.6%
Transportation and utilities	5.5%	6.1%	4.8%	7.9%	7.1%
Information services	1.8%	2.4%	1.7%	3.3%	2.9%
Finance, insurance and real estate	6.6%	7.9%	6.9%	9.2%	9.3%
Professional and business services	12.2%	12.8%	11.4%	14.7%	14.2%
Educational Services	9.1%	10.8%	11.9%	9.4%	10.3%
Health Care and Social Assistance	13.5%	16.5%	16.3%	16.8%	15.3%
Leisure and Hospitality	9.6%	10.0%	9.0%	11.2%	9.1%
Other Services	4.9%	4.6%	3.9%	5.6%	5.0%
Public administration	4.6%	4.5%	5.2%	3.7%	3.7%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

of unionization by industry. The limited sample size of the CPS restricts our ability to capture that complexity for 2018-19. For this reason, we created a different dataset that consolidates CPS data over a much longer period, the eleven and a half years from January 2008 to June 2019, inclusive. This 138-month blend provides a much larger sample size, permitting a far more disaggregated analysis of industry variations. Because of the longer time span represented in the data, however, the unionization rates derived from this dataset differ somewhat from those shown in Figure 8 for 2018–19.⁹

Table 3 summarizes the 2008–2019 data for 41 industry groups, showing unionization rates in the New York City metropolitan area, New York State, and the United States as a whole. For almost all of these industries, both the metropolitan area and the State had far higher union density than in the nation as a whole in this period. The only exceptions are residual categories: in "other transportation" the metropolitan area and the State have a lower density rate than the nation, while in "other manufacturing" the metropolitan area lags behind the nation as a whole.

In 13 of the 41 industries shown, 2008–2019 unionization rates were above 25 percent in the New York City metropolitan area: utilities, construction, retail grocery stores, air transportation, bus service and urban transit, postal service (transportation), couriers and messengers, "other information services," elementary and secondary schools, hospitals, nursing care facilities, home health care services, and public administration. With the exception of retail grocery stores and nursing care facilities, these industries also had rates at or above 25 percent in the State. "Other transportation," as well as wired and other telecommunications, and "other educational services" were well above that threshold in the State (but not in the metropolitan area). In the case of air transportation and postal service transportation, these high unionization rates are the product of national-level collective bargaining, while for the other industries they reflect union strength in local and regional labor markets.

Union contracts may no longer set the wage standard for the New York workforce as a whole, but they often do so in key industries like hospitals, nursing care facilities, and telecommunications, as well as in

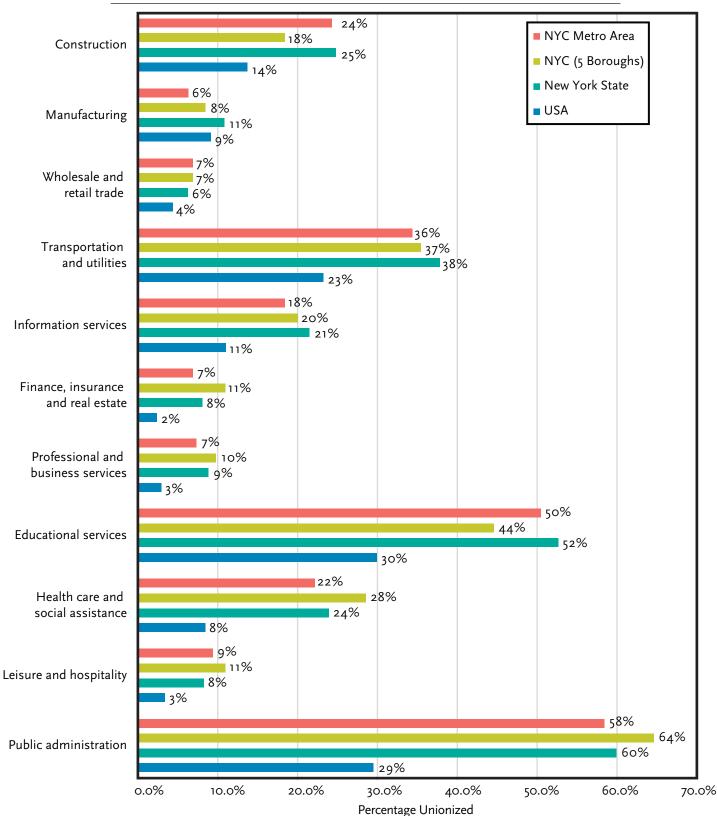


FIGURE 8. UNIONIZATION RATES BY INDUSTRY GROUP, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2018–19

Industry	New York Metro	New York State	United States
TOTAL (All Industries)	21.0%	23.9%	11.3%
Agriculture and mining	NA	NA	3.7
Utilities	45.8	52.9	26.1
Construction	26.7	29.4	14.9
Food manufacturing	8.9	12.2	13.6
Textile and apparel manufacturing	NA	NA	3.2
Paper products and printing	NA	21.6	12.4
Other manufacturing	7.5	13.9	9.5
Wholesale grocery and beverages	16.0	16.9	9.2
Other wholesale trade	5.6	6.8	2.8
Retail grocery stores	26.0	20.5	16.2
Pharmacy and drug stores	NA	9.0	4.6
Department and discount stores	7.4	6.5	2.6
Other retail trade	4.5	4.4	1.9
Air transportation	43.0	42.1	39.7
Truck transportation	15.5	19.6	9.2
Bus service and urban transit	59.8	64.1	40.0
Postal service (transportation)	73.5	76.0	64.6
Couriers and messengers	29.8	31.9	26.8
Other transportation	24.9	28.0	31.2
Newspaper, periodical and book publishing	7.9	9.5	5.2
Motion pictures and video	16.8	NA	11.8
Radio, television and cable	14.7	NA	7.0
Wired and other telecommunication	23.0	33.0	15.6
Other information services	31.2	27.1	17.7
Finance, insurance and real estate	7.7	9.3	2.6
Building and security services	14.6	16.5	4.8
Other management and professional services	3.5	5.3	2.0
Elementary and secondary schools	64.5	68.9	40.4
Other educational services	23.8	27.3	13.1
Offices of physicians and other health providers	4.6	5.9	2.4
Hospitals	37.4	40.0	14.0
Nursing care facilities	27.2	30.2	7.2
Home health care services	28.7	29.2	8.1
Child day care services	11.5	12.2	3.6
Other health care and social assistance	20.9	23.7	9.3
Performing arts, museums and sports	20.8	21.7	11.6
Amusement, gambling and recreation	6.8	6.0	5.1
Hotels and accommodation	24.4	21.9	7.6
Restaurants, food service & drinking places	3.4	3.0	1.5
Other services	6.4	7.2	3.0
Public administration	60.2	65.3	31.3

NA = Sample size is insufficient to generate reliable estimates. See footnote 1 in the text. Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, January 2008–June 2019.

public-sector industries like transit, education, home health care (the unionized portion of which is publicly funded) and public administration.

That said, the portrait of industry-specific unionization rates in Table 3 fails to capture some important points of differentiation. A notable example is the differences among construction industry segments: commercial construction is far more unionized than its residential counterpart in the metropolitan area, the State and the nation alike.

Union Membership Demographics

The patterns of unionization by industry have a powerful effect on the demographics of unionism, because males and females, as well as workers of various racial and ethnic origins, are unevenly distributed across industries.¹⁰ For example, educational services, as well as health care and social assistance, which have very high unionization rates, rely disproportionately on female workers. This helps to explain why the 2018-19 unionization rates for women in New York City and State were higher than that of men, as Figure 9 shows. The male unionization rate was slightly greater than that of females in 2018–19 in upstate New York and in the nation as a whole, but even in those jurisdictions the gender gap is relatively small by historical standards.

Unionization rates also vary by race and ethnicity, as Figure 10 shows. Like the gender dynamic, this too reflects differential racial and ethnic patterns of employment across industries. African Americans are the most highly unionized group across all five geographical entities, in large part reflecting their disproportionately high representation in public-sector employment. This effect is further amplified in New York City because of the size of the highly unionized transit sector, in which African Americans are overrepresented. Although this is not the case for the other geographical areas shown in Figure 10, in New York City, Hispanics had the second highest unionization rate among the racial/ethnic groups shown in 2018–19, higher than that of non-Hispanic whites. In

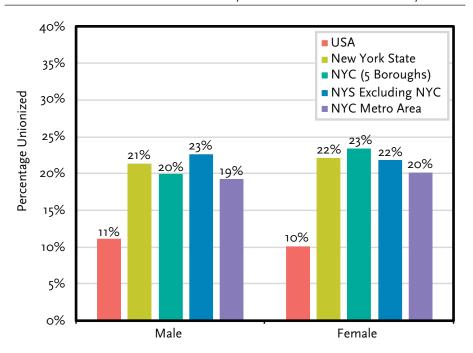


FIGURE 9. UNIONIZATION RATES BY GENDER, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2018–19

Percentages shown for 2018–19 include the 18 months from January 2018 to June 2019 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2018–June 2019 the New York City metropolitan area, whites had a slightly higher unionization rate than Hispanics did, while in New York State, the rates for Hispanics and whites were equal.

Immigrants and Unionization

Unionization rates also vary with nativity, as Figure 11 shows. In 2018-19 U.S.-born workers were more highly unionized than foreign-born workers, regardless of geography, due to the fact that relatively few foreign-born workers are employed in the highly unionized public sector.

As Figure 12 shows, however, foreign-born workers are by no means a homogenous group. The unionization rates of naturalized U.S. citizens and of immigrants who arrived in the United States before 1990, are higher than that of U.S.-born workers, regardless of geography, except that naturalized citizens lag slightly behind the U.S.-born in the New York City metropolitan area. Foreign-born non-citizens and recent immigrants, by contrast, have very low rates of unionization. Most recent immigrants are relatively young, and as noted above, few younger workers are union members, regardless of nativity. Moreover, the most recent immigrants are disproportionately likely to be employed in informal-sector jobs that tend to have very low unionization rates.¹¹ Over time, however, these data suggest, immigrant workers often move up into sectors of the labor market where unions are present.

Figure 13 shows that unionization rates for foreignborn workers vary much less within the public and private sectors than between them. Even foreign-born workers who arrived in the U.S. during or after 1990, whose overall unionization rates are generally low (as Figure 12 shows), had 2018-19 public-sector unionization rates of 72.0 percent in New York State, 69.0 percent in the New York City metropolitan area, and 28.6 percent in the nation as a whole.

Relatively few noncitizens and recently arrived immigrants work in the public sector, however. Only

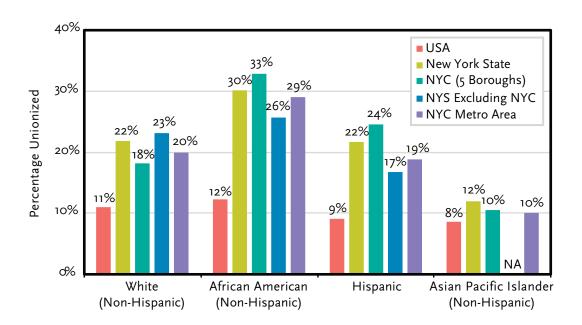


FIGURE 10. UNIONIZATION RATES BY RACE AND ETHNICITY, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2018–19

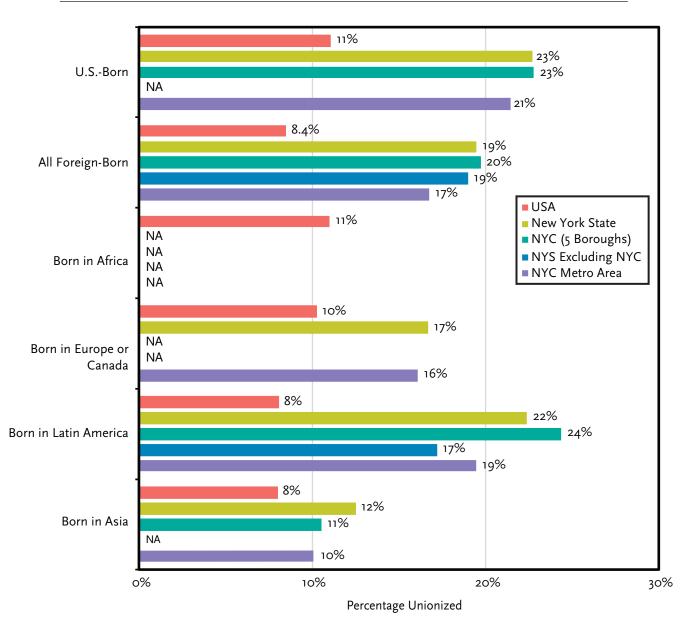


FIGURE 11. UNIONIZATION RATES BY SELECTED PLACES OF BIRTH, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2018–19

5.2 percent of all foreign-born noncitizens in the United States, and only 6.9 percent of all foreign-born workers who arrived in or after 1990, were employed in the public sector in 2018-19. By contrast, 14.6 percent of the nation's U.S.-born workforce was in the public sector. As a result, the high level of public-sector unionization for noncitizen and recently arrived immigrants does little to boost their overall unionization rate. And as the bottom half of Figure 13 shows, in the private sector, unionization rates are consistently lower for all groups, regardless of citizenship status or date of arrival.

Table 4 offers a closer look at patterns of immigrant unionization by national origin. Due to the limited sample size of the CPS, for this purpose we used the dataset (described above) that includes CPS data from January 2008 through June 2019. Table 4 presents unionization rates for immigrants from various countries and regions for that period, for foreign-born wage and salary workers living in the New York City metropolitan area, New York State, and the nation.¹² (It should be noted that because they are based on multiple years, the data in Table 4 differ from those shown in Figures 11, 12 and 13; since unionization declined between 2008 and 2019, the rates shown in Table 4 are consistently higher than the comparable rates in 2018-19.)

Table 4 reveals that unionization rates vary widely among immigrants by place of birth. There are a number of reasons for this. One involves date of arrival; as Figure 12 shows, immigrants who have been in the United States for an extended period are more likely to be unionized than recent arrivals. Similarly, naturalized citizens are more likely to be unionized than non-citizen immigrants (as Figure 12 also shows). The case of Mexican immigrants is an extreme one in this respect; as recent arrivals—especially in New York—few of whom are citizens and many of whom are unauthorized, they have the lowest unionization rate of any group shown in Table 4.¹³ At the other end of the spectrum, workers born in the Philippines, Italy, or in the Caribbean are more likely to have arrived decades ago and to have become citizens.

Notably, workers born in the U.S. territory of Puerto Rico—a substantial population group in the New York metropolitan area and the State, have higher unionization rates in those jurisdictions than mainland U.S-born workers.¹⁴ African immigrants (especially those from Ghana) also have very high unionization rates, reflecting their disproportionately high levels of educational attainment and authorized status, which combine to offer them access to jobs in highly unionized sectors like health care.

It is striking that several of the immigrant nationalities shown in Table 4 have unionization rates that exceed those of U.S.-born workers. In the New York City metropolitan area, that is the case for those born in Italy, the Philippines, Barbados, Haiti, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, "other Caribbean," Guyana and Ghana. Immigrant workers from all of these countries tend to be overrepresented in highly unionized industries. For example, 46.8 percent of Filipino immigrants, 39.3 percent of the Haitian-born, 40.5 of the Jamaican-born, 31.2 of the Trinidadians, and 26.6 percent of the Guyana-born workers in the New York City metropolitan area are employed in the highly unionized health care and social assistance group; by contrast, that industry group employs only 15.6 percent of the metropolitan area's U.S.-born workers. Similarly, immigrants from Barbados, Trinidad, Columbia, Haiti, as well as "other Africa," are overrepresented in the highly unionized transportation industry, which helps account for their overall high unionization rates. The specifics are a bit different for immigrants in New York State and in the United States as a whole, but in those jurisdictions as well, the varying unionization rates among the groups shown in Table 4 are closely correlated with their distribution across industries, which have a wide range of union density levels (see Figure 8 and Table 3), as well as with their dates of arrival and citizenship status.

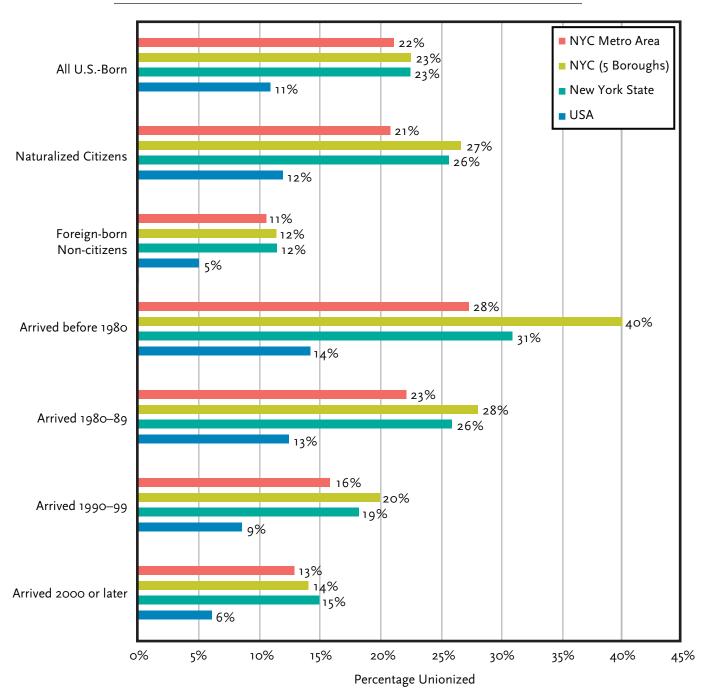
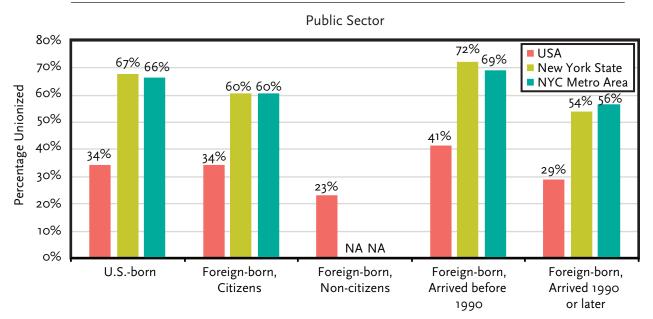


FIGURE 12. UNIONIZATION RATES BY NATIVITY, CITIZENSHIP STATUS, AND DATE OF ARRIVAL IN THE UNITED STATES, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2018–19

Figure 13. Public and Private Sector Unionization by Nativity, Citizenship Status and Date of Arrival, United States, New York State, and New York Metropolitan Area, 2018–19



Private Sector

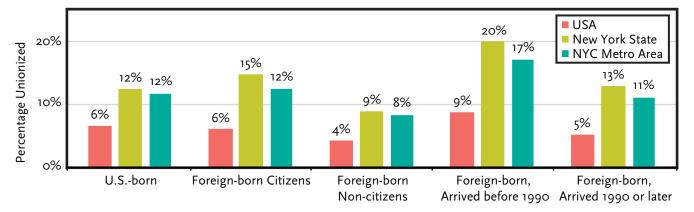


Table 4. Unionization Rates for Foreign-born Workers by Place of Birth, New York City, New York State, and the United States, 2008–2019

	Place of Birth	New York Metro Area	New York State	United States
	Italy	28.2	30.7	17.0
	Great Britain and Ireland	13.4	14.7	8.8
	Other Western Europe	14.5	16.3	10.4
EUROPE	Russia	16.8	17.7	8.9
	Poland	17.8	18.3	13.2
	Ukraine	19.3	22.0	12.4
	Other Eastern Europe	17.0	19.0	9.9
	Middle East	NA	NA	8.3
	China (including Hong Kong)	8.0	8.9	7.4
	Bangladesh	14.8	14.9	8.8
	India	10.8	19.5	5.4
ASIA	Pakistan	NA	NA	7.5
	Philippines	24.0	31.6	16.9
	Korea	NA	NA	7.7
	Other Southeast Asia	12.6	11.0	8.8
	Other Asia	10.3	13.1	8.2
	Mexico	5.7	6.7	6.4
	El Salvador	9.4	10.5	7.9
	Honduras	15.0	NA	5.2
	Other Central America	14.6	20.3	7.0
	Barbados	39.1	38.2	28.2
S	Dominican Republic	22.8	27.3	16.8
MERICA	Haiti	33.4	36.3	15.0
IN AI	Jamaica	32.8	36.0	18.9
LAT	Trinidad and Tobago	30.0	32.3	19.3
	Other Caribbean	28.1	32.0	8.7
	Columbia	19.8	23.0	10.3
	Ecuador	14.2	16.9	11.6
	Guyana	29.2	31.0	22.9
	Other South America	12.8	15.9	7.3
S	Ghana	37.5	40.6	16.6
AFRICA	Other Africa	20.6	25.7	10.6
	Other foreign-born	13.7	16.9	10.2
	U.S. (except Puerto Rico)	22.8	25.0	11.8
	Puerto Rico	30.9	34.5	13.9

Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2008-June 2019.

Conclusion

Actively recruiting new members into the ranks of the labor movement, as many dedicated labor organizers have sought to do in recent years, is the primary means by which unions themselves can act to increase the unionization level. Indeed, this is one key counterweight to the downward trend in organized labor's influence. Yet many factors that the labor movement cannot control also critically influence the level of union density. All else equal, if employment declines in a highly unionized sector of the economy or expands in a non-union (or weakly unionized) sector, union density will fall. The best-known example of this is the steady decline of manufacturing, a former union stronghold, over the past few decades, along with the expansion of private-sector service industries where unions have historically been weak; indeed, these combined trends have been a major driver of the general erosion of union density. Conversely, if employment expands in a highly unionized sector or declines in a non-union or weakly unionized one, the overall level of density will increase. Privatization and subcontracting, both of which often involve a shift from union to non-union status for affected workers, further complicate the picture in some settings. Over the long term, given the "churning" effects of employment shifts and (in non-recessionary periods) normal labor market growth and turnover, simply to maintain union density at a given level requires a great deal of new organizing; and to increase density requires far more extensive effort.

As we have seen, in recent years New York City and State's unionization levels have been far higher than in other parts of the nation—about double the national average. However, this was not the case in the mid-20th century, when unionization was at its peak: In 1953, 34.4 percent of New York State's workers were unionized, only slightly above the 32.6 percent national level. Although since then organized labor has more than held its own in New York relative to the nation, in absolute terms unions have lost considerable ground in both the City and State over the past few decades, especially in the private sector. As recently as 1986, New York City's private-sector union density was 25.3 percent, over ten percentage points above the 2018-19 level (13.9 percent), and statewide the figure was 24.0 percent as recently as 1983 (compared to 13.0 percent in 2018-19).¹⁶

As union strength in the private sector has declined, the ratio of public- to private-sector unionization in New York City and State has soared to record highs. In the City in particular, where the Great Recession accelerated the decline in private-sector density, that ratio is of serious concern. In labor's glory days, a strongly unionized private sector helped foster a social-democratic political culture in New York City.¹⁷ The decline in private-sector density is among the factors that have threatened to undermine that tradition in recent years. Although thus far publicsector density in the City has been largely preserved intact, even there (albeit to a much lesser extent than in the rest of the nation) public-sector unions have been increasingly on the political defensive. They were unable to negotiate new contracts for several years in the wake of the Great Recession; although that was remedied in the early years of the de Blasio administration, for years many did not receive significant increases in pay or benefits. Although early indicators suggest a modest impact, it is still possible that the recent U.S. Supreme Court decision in the Janus v. AFSCME case will have profound effects on publicsector union density throughout the nation.

More generally, even taking into account New York City and State's unusually high union density levels — the highest of any major U.S. city and the highest of any state except for Hawaii — this is a difficult period for organized labor. For the time being, however, New York's unions continue to offer significant protection to a diverse population of workers in both the City and State, including middle-class teachers and other professionals, as well as a substantial segment of women, racial-ethnic minorities, and immigrants in both professional and nonprofessional jobs.

Notes

1. This report (apart from the Appendix) is based on analysis of the U.S. Current Population Survey (CPS) Outgoing Rotation Group data for 2018 and the first six months of 2019. We created a merged data set from the 18 monthly surveys conducted from January 2018 to June 2019, inclusive; the 2018-19 data discussed here and shown in the figures and tables below are the averages for those 18 months. All results are calculated using the CPS unrevised sampling weights, for employed civilian wage and salary workers aged 16 and over. We followed the sample definition and weighting procedures described in Barry T. Hirsch and David A. Macpherson, Union Membership and Earnings Data Book (Washington D.C., 2019). To ensure reliability, given the limitations of the CPS dataset, we report unionization rates only for subgroups that have a minimum of 100 observations, unless otherwise noted. Rates for subgroups that fall below this threshold are labeled NA (not available). The New York City figures for earlier years are from our September 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017 and 2018 reports, based on CPS data for January 2009-June 2010, January 2010- June 2011, January 2011-June 2012, January 2012-June 2013, January 2013-June 2014, January 2014-June 2015, January 2015-June 2016, January 2016-June 2017, and January 2017-June 2018 respectively. Those earlier reports are available at http://www.ruthmilkman.info/rm/ Policy_Reports.html

2. "Union density" denotes the proportion of all wage and salary workers who are union members in a region, occupation, or industry. For the state rankings, see Hirsch and Macpherson 2019.

3. An estimated 774,352 union members resided in New York City's five boroughs in 2018-19, while the statewide total is estimated at 1,819,287. The CPS data on which these estimates are based rely on respondents' self-reports as to whether or not they are union members. (Respondents who indicate that they are not union members are also asked whether they are covered by a union contract, but the analysis in this report does not include those who replied affirmatively to that question.) The geographical data in the CPS (and in this report) refer to respondents' place of residence—not the location of their workplaces. Since many workers commute from other areas to their jobs in the city, this makes the data for the five boroughs of New York City a rather imperfect approximation of the extent of unionization in the city. Some sections of this report present data on union members residing in the wider New York metropolitan area, but that group includes many individuals who are employed outside New York City.

4. In January 2003, methodological changes were made in the CPS (for details, see http://www.bls.gov/cps/rvcpso3. pdf.) As a result, the data shown in Figures 1a, 1b and 1c for 2003-2019 are not strictly comparable to those for 2001 and 2002.

5. Throughout this report, unless otherwise indicated, we use the term "New York metropolitan area" to denote the New York-Newark-Bridgeport NY-NJ-CT-PA Combined Statistical Area (CSA), based on the CSA definitions introduced in 2003. The New York-Newark-Bridgeport CSA includes the following counties (in addition to the five boroughs of New York City proper): Duchess, Nassau, Orange, Putnam, Rockland, Suffolk, Ulster and Westchester Counties, New York; Bergen, Essex, Hudson, Hunterton, Mercer, Middlesex, Monmouth, Morris, Ocean, Passaic, Somerset, Sussex and Union Counties, New Jersey; Litchfield, New Haven and Fairfield Counties, Connecticut. The CSA also includes Pike County, Pennsylvania, but that is not included in our dataset. For details, see http://www. whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/omb/assets/omb/ bulletins/fy2009/09-01.pdf

6. These are "Metropolitan Statistical Areas" based on the 2003 U.S. Census (OMB) area definitions.

7. There are only a few metropolitan areas (based on 2003 Census area definitions) for which Hirsch and Macpherson report greater 2018 union density than the New York-Newark-NY-NJ-PA CSA. They are: the Albany-Schenectady NY CSA, the Buffalo-Cheektowaga-Niagara Falls NY MSA, the Colorado Springs, CO MSA , the Honolulu, HI MSA, the Modesto, CA MSA, the Seattle-Tacoma WA CSA, the Syracuse NY MSA and the Toledo OH MSA. See Hirsch and Macpherson 2019, pp. 38-49.

8. For both the Bronx and Manhattan in the public sector, and for Staten Island in both the public and private sectors, the number of observations in the CPS is too small and unreliable to report here.

9. Since unionization has declined somewhat since 2008 (see Figure 1a-c), the results of this analysis slightly overestimate the actual levels of density for each industry shown in Table 3.

10. Given the nation's winner-take-all union representation system, and the fact that a relatively small proportion of present-day union membership is the product of recent organizing, the demographic makeup of union membership mainly reflects the demographic makeup of employment in highly unionized industries and sectors. Although unionized workers are more likely than their nonunion counterparts to express pro-union attitudes, this is typically a consequence rather than a cause of union affiliation. See Richard B. Freeman and Joel Rogers, *What Workers Want* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), pp. 68-77. Moreover, individual workers seldom have the opportunity to make independent decisions about union affiliation. Instead, unionization occurs when entire workplaces (or occasionally, entire industries) are organized, and once established, unionization in those workplaces tends to persist over time. Later, as a result of workforce turnover and de-unionization, strongly pro-union workers may be employed in non-union settings, and workers with little enthusiasm for organized labor may find themselves employed in union shops.

11. Recent immigrants are also disproportionately employed in professional services nationally, although this is not the case for New York State and in New York City.

12. Table 4 only includes nationalities for which there are 100 or more total observations, and at least 50 union members, in the 2008-19 dataset.

13. The CPS data do not include information on immigration status.

14. Puerto Ricans born on the U.S. mainland cannot be separately identified in the CPS data. Those born in Puerto

Rico are likely to be older, all else equal, further contributing to their high unionization rate.

15. See Leo Troy, *Distribution of Union Membership among the States*, 1939 and 1953 (National Bureau of Economic Research, 1957), available at http://www.nber.org/ chapters/c2688.pdf . In 1939 the figures were 23.0 percent for New York State and 21.5 for the nation. Figures for New York City union membership levels during these years, unfortunately, are not available.

16. The 1986 private-sector figure is 25.3% for the New York PMSA (NYC's five boroughs as well as Putnam, Westchester and Rockland Counties). This and the 1983 statewide figure can be found at http://unionstats.gsu. edu/ See also Gregory DeFreitas and Bhaswati Sengupta, "The State of New York Unions 2007," (Hofstra University Center for the Study of Labor and Democracy, 2007), which includes 1980s data, available at https://www.hofstra.edu/ pdf/cld_stateofnyunions2007.pdf

17. See Joshua B. Freeman, *Working-Class New York* (New York: The New Press, 2000).

Notes for the "Report Card on New York Workers Since the Great Recession (pp. 4-5)

a U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, merged files for 2004-2008 and 2014–2018.

b We used the living wage rate for a two-adult, two-child family, as estimated by Dr. Amy Glasmier and the MIT Living Wage Calculator. Rates are adjusted by geographic area. See http://livingwage.mit.edu/

c A 2017 report by the Office of the New York City Comptroller found similar results: while the City had substantial job growth since the recession, pay levels were stagnant because new jobs were concentrated in lowerwage sectors. This report also documents an increase in part-time work and self-employment in certain sectors. See New York City Comptroller, 2017. "New York City's Labor Market: Evidence From The Recent Expansion." https:// comptroller.nyc.gov/reports/new-yorkcitys-labor-marketevidence-from-the-recent-expansion/

d We used the New York City metropolitan area living wage rate for a family of four for the New York City comparison, and the rate for Albany County for the New York State comparison.

e We used two merged files of Current Population Survey data to compare union density in these periods: 2004–2008 (60 months) and 2014-2018 (60 months).

Appendix*

The table below is compiled from a variety of sources and indicates the number of members claimed by individual unions with jurisdictions in New York City-based workplaces. Unlike the Current Population Survey (CPS) data that serve as the basis for the rest of this report, the membership numbers below show the number of unionized jobs in New York City—whereas the CPS data indicate the number of City residents who are union members.

For a variety of reasons, the total number shown in the table is higher than the CPS figure cited on page 1 of this report (774,00) for the number of union members in New York City. Perhaps the most important factor here is that many union members who are employed in the City are commuters who live in the surrounding suburbs. In addition, some unions may inflate their membership numbers, and unions with broader geographical jurisdictions do not always know precisely how many of their members are employed in the City. Moreover, many of the unions listed, especially those in sectors like construction and entertainment, have large numbers of members whose employment is irregular and for whom unemployment is common. Even when they are employed, workers in these sectors may oscillate between jobs in the City and jobs in other places. All these factors help account for the fact that the total shown in the table below is greater than the CPS estimate cited above. Another factor operates in the opposite direction: since the CPS is a household survey that relies on responses from individuals, it is likely to include numerous cases of unionized workers who are unaware of the fact that they are members of labor organizations, potentially leading to an undercount. (It is also possible that some individual respondents to the CPS believe they are union members when in fact they are not, but in all likelihood the greater error is in the opposite direction.)

*The data below were compiled from the most recent available LM-2/3/4 forms (in most cases 2018) and other sources by Joseph van der Naald. Thanks also to Ed Ott for assistance with this effort.

UNION NAME	Reported Membership
Amalgamated Transit Union ^{a. c}	14,725
American Association of University Professors	691
American Federation of Government Employees ^c	8,719
American Federation of Musicians ^b	7,682
American Federation of School Administrators—Council of Supervisory Associations	6,699
American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees ^c	142,714
American Federation of Teachers ^c (includes 23,037 members of PSC-CUNY and 124,980 in the NYC UFT)	160,438
American Postal Workers Union	7,909
Anti-Defamation League Staff Association	135
Associated Actors and Artistes of America ^b (includes 20,009 members of Actors Equity Association; 1,022 members of the American Guild of Musical Artists; and 36,528 members of SAG-AFTRA)	57,826
Association of Surrogates and Supreme Court Reporters Within the City of New York ^a	324
Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers International Union ^c	1,337
Benefit Fund Staff Association	560
Brotherhood of Security Personnel	19
Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen	67
Building and Construction Trades Department ^b	150
Citywide Association of Law Assistants of the Civil, Criminal and Family Courts ^a	362
Civilian Technicians Association	24

Communication Workers of America ¹⁴ 29,001Court Alternitys Association of the City of New York ¹ 297Faculty Interest Committee of Elimical Culture Fieldston School285Forcham Law School Bargaining Committee80Furnture Liquidators of New York10Caphe Artists Guild ¹⁴ 101Independent Guard Union8Independent Guard Union8International Employees Association79Independent Guard Union8International Association of Bridge, Structural, Ornamental and Reinforcing Iron Workers ⁵ 7,852International Association of Heat and Frest Insulators and Alled Warkers ⁶ 1,019International Association of Machinists and Aller Warkers ⁶ 1,019International Association of Machinists and Allerd Warkers ⁶ 1,019International Association of The Relin Relin Artific Structural357International Association of Structural, Ornamental Aud Transportation Workers ⁶ 1,019International Association of Machinists and Allerd Warkers ⁶ 1,019International Brotherhood of Teatural Workers ⁶ 357International Brotherhood of Teatural Workers ⁶ 351International Brotherhood of Teatural Workers ⁶ 1,319International Brotherhood of Teatural Workers ⁸ 1,319International Jong-Incruenci Massociation1,311International Jong-Incruenci Massociation1,311International Jong of Porestional and Technical Engineers1,319International Brotherhood of Teatural Verson2,326International Moni of Poresting Engineers ¹	UNION NAME	Reported Membership
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UNION NAME	Reported Membership
National Labor Relations Board Union	65
National Postal Mail Handlers Union ^c	1,838
National Treasury Employees Union	2,942
Neergaard Employees Association	9
New York Professional Nurses Association	1,215
New York State Correctional Officers and Police Benevolent Association ^a	308
New York State Court Clerks Association ^a	1,500
New York State Court Officers Association ^a	1,546
New York State Federation of Physicians and Dentists	70
New York State Law Enforcement Officers Union ^a	29
New York State Nurses Association	27,114
Newspaper and Mail Deliverers Union	538
International Union of Allied Novelty and Production Workers	2,797
Office and Professional Employees International Union	7,891
Operative Plasterers' and Cement Masons' International Association ^b	1,371
Organization of Staff Analystsª	3,419
Organization of Union Representatives	12
Patrolmen's Benevolent Association ^a	24,644
Police Benevolent Association of New York State ^a	70
Police Benevolent Association of the New York State Troopers ^a	243
Postal and Federal Employees Alliance	375
Professional Association of Holy Cross High School	43
Professional Dieticians of New York City Presbyterian	48
Restaurant Workers Union 318	100
Safety Professionals of America	14
Service Employees International Union ^{a, c} (includes 191,528 NYC members of SEIU 1199 ^c ; 87,871 members of SEIU Local 32B-J ^c ; and 10,700 members of Workers United ^c)	304,235
Special Patrolman Benevolent Association	80
Stage Directors and Choreographers ^{b, c}	852
St. John's Preparatory Teachers Association	35
Taxi Workers Alliance	22,000
Transport Workers Union ^a	57,297
Union of Automotive Technicians ^a	52
UNITE HERE ^c	35,527
United Association of Plumbers and Pipefitters ^b	15,034
United Auto Workers ^c (includes 253 members of the National Writers Union ^e)	9,943
United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners ^{b, c}	19,458
United Food and Commercial Workers International Union ^c (includes 12,195 members of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union)	32,983
United Nations International School Staff Association	236
United Production Workers Union	2,412
United Steelworkers	353

UNION NAME	Reported Membership
United Uniformed Workers of New York ^{a, f}	125,000
United Union of Roofers, Waterproofers and Allied Workers ^b	1,389
United University Professions ^a	2,984
Utility Workers Union of America ^c	8,348
Writers Guild of America ^b	2,831
TOTAL	1,412,668

a Under the Landrum-Griffin Act (1959) and Civil Service Reform Act (1978) private-sector, postal and federal employee unions are required to file LM-2/3/4 forms. Public sector unions not covered by these acts are not required to file such records, however. For them, membership data were obtained directly from union staff, from the New York City Independent Budget Office (2019), from a Freedom of Information Law (FOIL) request to the Office of the State Comptroller's Office (2019), or from the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey (2019).

b Data for these unions include some members working outside New York City. It is impossible to obtain precise data for those employed in the city, because the occupations these unions represent are not tied to stable workplaces; rather workers are hired for specific projects which are typically, but not always, located in the five boroughs of the city. Therefore New York City data for this union may be overstated.

c The membership figures for this union are available in LM2/3/4 forms. However, because the union's geographical jurisdiction extends beyond the five boroughs of New York City, estimates of the portion of the membership inside the City were obtained directly from union staff.

d Precise membership estimates for one or more of the locals in this union are not available. The figures shown are likely to be inflated because they include some members employed outside New York City.

e This union has dues-paying members, but does not currently have collective bargaining rights.

f This includes the following unions, some of which may have members working outside New York City: 5,825 members in the Detectives

Endowment Association; 4,520 members in the Sergeants Benevolent Association, 1,735 members in the Lieutenants Benevolent Association, 9,227 members in the Correction Officers Benevolent Association, 6,606 members in the Sanitation Workers Local 831; 2,887 members in the Uniformed Fire Officers Association; 1,257 members in the Sanitation Officers Local 444; 129 members in the Assistant Deputy Wardens-Deputy Wardens Association; 803 members in the Captains Endowment Association; 870 members in the Correction Captains Association; 327 members in the NYC Detective Investigators Association; 1,135 members in the NYS Supreme Court Officers Association; 92 members in the Port Authority Detectives Endowment Association; 87 members in the Port Authority Lieutenants Benevolent Association; 1,733 members in the Port Authority Police Benevolent Association; 214 members in the Port Authority Sergeants Benevolent Association; 225 members in the Uniformed Fire Alarm Dispatchers Benevolent Association; as well as the Bridge and Tunnel Officers Benevolent Association; Police Benevolent Association MTA; and Superior Officers Benevolent Association-Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority. The aggregate number (125,000) was obtained from a 2013 media report; the numbers for individual unions in the coalition were obtained from the New York City Independent Budget Office, the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey Employee Payroll information directory, or from the union directly and are current (2019).

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, data are drawn from the most recent LM-2, LM-3 and LM-4 forms that private-sector unions are required to submit annually to the U.S. Department of Labor, available at https://olms.dol-esa.gov/olpdr/

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About The CUNY School of Labor and Urban Studies (SLU)

SLU was established in 2018, as an outgrowth of CUNY's Murphy Institute. The School offers undergraduate and graduate degrees in Labor Studies and Urban Studies designed to meet the needs of working adults as well as traditional-age college students who seek to learn more about the challenges confronting poor and working class populations in the workplace and in the community. It also collaborates with other units of CUNY to offer a range of college-credit programs designed to give workers the academic and technical skills they need for professional advancement. Its faculty includes distinguished scholars in the social sciences as well as expert practitioners in government, labor, and public service. In addition to its academic programs, SLU sponsors research, organizes forums and conferences, and publishes the journal *New Labor Forum*.

