THE STATE OF THE UNIONS 2018:

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

RUTH MILKMAN AND STEPHANIE LUCE
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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 most important achievement to date 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 extent of its 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. Inequality in income and wealth has continued to skyrocket, reaching levels not seen since the early twentieth century.

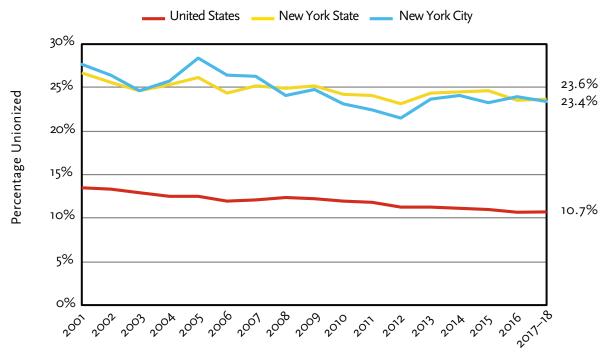
Organized labor remains much stronger in New York City and State than in the nation as a whole; indeed, overall unionization rates in those jurisdictions have been fairly stable over the 2010s, in contrast to steady erosion on the national level, as Figure 1a shows. Over the past few years, however, density has declined slightly in the City and State.

It remains to be seen whether this is a temporary setback or a more enduring trend.

Nearly one-fourth (23.4 percent) of all wage and salary workers residing in the five boroughs of New York City were union members in 2017-18, only slightly below the 2014 figure of 24.1 percent, according to the U.S. Current Population Survey (CPS) data that serve as the primary basis of this report. The unionized share of the workforce was similar in New York State (23.6 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 10.7 percent in 2017-18.2 In absolute terms, New York State had more union members—just under 2 million—than any state except California, which has a far larger population. In 2017-18, there were about 869,000 union members residing in the five boroughs of New York City, representing 43.8 percent of all union members in the State.3

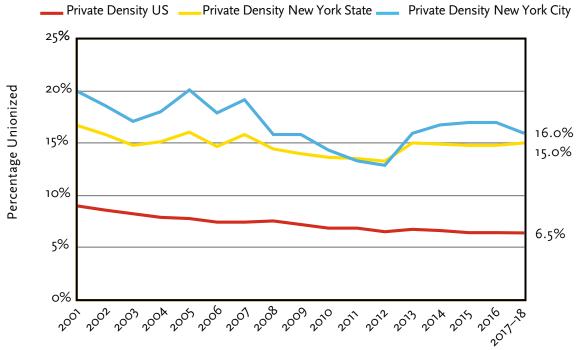
In recent decades, losses in union membership have been disproportionately concentrated in the private sector (see Figures 1b and 1c).⁴ By contrast, in the public sector, union density has been relatively stable in the U.S. and State, although it has declined slightly in the City (see Figure 1c). In a striking deviation from this pattern, private-sector density has increased in New York City between 2012 and 2016,

FIGURE 1a. UNION DENSITY IN NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK STATE AND THE UNITED STATES, 2001–18



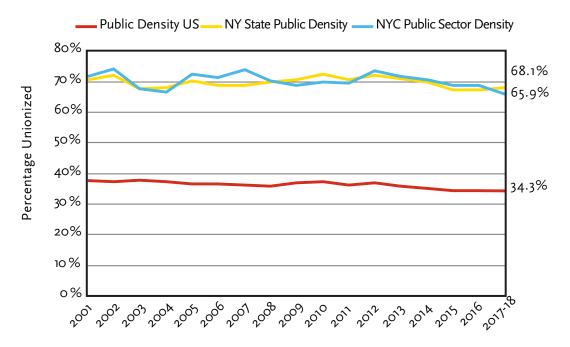
Percentages shown for 2017–18 include the 18 months from January 2017 to June 2018 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2001–June 2018

FIGURE 1B. PRIVATE-SECTOR UNION DENSITY IN NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK STATE AND THE UNITED STATES, 2001–18



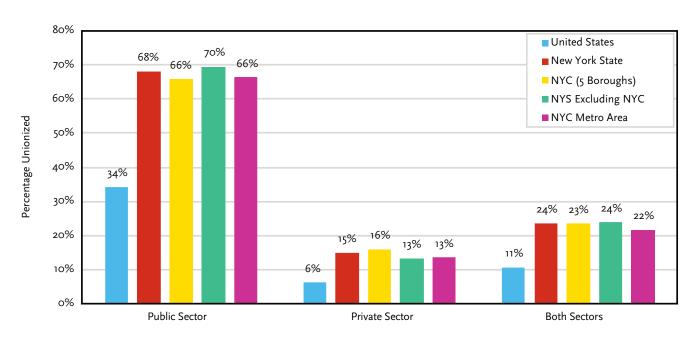
Percentages shown for 2017–18 include the 18 months from January 2017 to June 2018 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2001–June 2018

FIGURE 1c. PUBLIC-SECTOR UNION DENSITY IN NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK STATE AND THE UNITED STATES, 2001–18



Percentages shown for 2017–18 include the 18 months from January 2017 to June 2018 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2001–June 2018

FIGURE 2. UNION DENSITY, BY SECTOR, NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK STATE AND THE UNITED STATES, 2017–18



Percentages shown for 2017–18 include the 18 months from January 2017 to June 2018 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2017–June 2018

SPOTLIGHT: PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS AND THEIR UNIONS

Teachers in four "Red" states launched large-scale strikes in the spring of 2018. Starting in West Virginia on February 22, and soon after that in Oklahoma, Arizona and North Carolina, these walkouts made national headlines. The teachers struck not only to improve their own compensation, which was much lower in these states than in most of the country, but also to win larger budget allocations for public schools in their districts, which austerity politics had dramatically reduced in recent years. The teacher walkouts won broad public support and ultimately succeeded in extracting major concessions from all four state governments.

These dramatic events brought attention to an occupation that accounts for an outsized share of overall union membership in the United States. In 2017-18, teachers made up 16 percent of all U.S. union members, 14 percent of those in New York State, and 9 percent of those in New York City.¹ (The lower figure for the City reflects the fact that, as discussed elsewhere in this report, its overall unionization rate is higher than in any other major U.S. city; organized labor retains strength in many employment sectors in the City, in contrast to the nation as a whole.) Teachers make up an even larger share of public-sector workers than of union members: they account for 19

percent of public sector employment in the United States and New York State, and 13 percent in New York City.

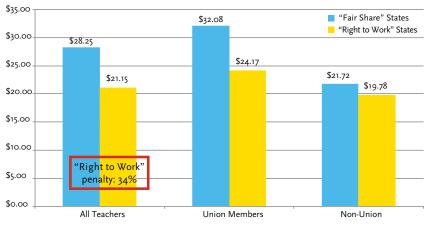
Two large national unions represent public school teachers in the United States: the National Education Association (NEA), which currently has 2.7 million active members, and the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), with 1.2 million active members.² Although public school teachers make up the majority of the members of these unions, both the NEA and AFT also represent other workers in the education sector (including higher education) and in the case of the AFT, a variety of other

public-sector employees as well. In some jurisdictions, including New York State, the two organizations jointly represent teachers: the 445,000-member New York State United Teachers (NYSUT) is affiliated with both the NEA and AFT. New York City's United Federation of Teachers (UFT), which is part of NYSUT but has no direct affiliation with the NEA, has 122,700 active members, 75,000 of whom are public school teachers in the City.³

The NEA and AFT are among the largest unions in the U.S. labor movement that now confront the challenges created by the U.S. Supreme Court's June 2018 decision in the *Janus v. AFSCME* case, which prohibits all public-sector unions from collecting "fair share" or "agency" fees from non-members to cover the costs of collective bargaining and contract administration. Prior to *Janus*, 22 states (including New York) allowed unions to collect such fees, while 28 prohibited the practice under state "right to work" (RTW) laws. The experience of RTW states suggests what might face teachers' unions nationwide in the post-*Janus* era.

As Figure B1 shows, teacher earnings in "fair share" (FS) and "right to work" (RTW) states differ substantially. Average (mean) hourly earnings for teachers in RTW states were 34 percent less than in FS states in 2017-18. Even

FIGURE B1. PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS' HOURLY EARNINGS IN "FAIR SHARE" AND "RIGHT TO WORK" STATES, 2017–18.



Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2017–June 2018.

- 1 These figures include preschool, kindergarten, elementary, middle and secondary school teachers as well as special education teachers. They exclude school administrators, postsecondary teachers, librarians and teacher assistants.
- 2 Retirees are not included in these figures, all of which are for 2017 and from the Office of Labor-Management Standards, U.S.
- Department of Labor, File Number 000-012 for AFT and File Number 000-342 for NEA, available at https://www.dol.gov/olms/
- 3 The NYSUT overall figure is for 2017 from File Number 070-581 from the Office of Labor-Management Standards. The 75,000 figure for teachers is from: http://www.uft.org/who-we-are/union-basics

among teachers who were not union members, wages were 10 percent lower in RTW states. In both RTW and FS states, moreover, teachers who were union members earned more than non-union teachers: on average, over \$10 per hour more (or 48 percent) in FS states and over \$4 more (22 percent) in RTW states. These pay differences could narrow in the coming years as the full effects of *Janus* take shape; on the other hand, the figures shown do not reflect the effects of the 2018 strikes (which all took place in RTW states).

The CPS data shown in Figure B1 are expressed as hourly earnings. Another data source is the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics' Occupational Employment Statistics reports. Those data, which are computed as annual earnings suggest a slightly smaller disparity than the one shown in Table B2: in May 2017, salaries for teachers averaged \$65,977 per year in FS states, and \$51,463 in RTW states.4

A different angle on what may lie ahead in the post-Janus era is suggested by the decline in union density that took place in Wisconsin after the passage of that state's 2011 "Budget Repair Bill," which dramatically restricted public-sector union rights. As Table B1 shows, the state's public-sector unionization rate was cut by more than onehalf after the law's enactment, from 47.1 percent in 2011-12 to 23.1 percent in 2017-18 (with the lowest point reached in 2016-17); for teachers the rate fell by more than one-third, from 76.2 to 45.6 percent.

Table B1. Public School Teacher and Total Public-Sector Unionization Rates, Wisconsin, 2011–18.

Year	Pubic School Teacher Unionization Rate	Total Public Sector Unionization Rate
2011-12	76.2%	47.1%
2012-13	68.3%	37.3%
2013-14	63.5%	34.4%
2014-15	48.4%	29.0%
2015-16	47.2%	26.1%
2016-17	47.0%	22.8%
2017-18	45.6%	23.1%

Note: Each row in the table is an average rate for an 18-month period: all 12 months of the first year mentioned and January through June, inclusive, of the second year mentioned.

To be sure, the provisions of the 2011 Wisconsin law went even further than *Janus* in restricting the rights of public-sector unions, and thus Table B1 may represent a "worst case scenario." Moreover, during the period shown in the table, Republicans held a majority in both houses of the state legislature and Republican Governor Scott Walker was exceptionally hostile to labor unions. In states like

New York, where Democrats have much greater political influence and where the political climate is relatively union-friendly, the impact of *Janus* is likely to be less severe.

Indeed, New York State enacted legislation, signed into law by Governor Cuomo in April 2018, designed to limit the impact of the *Janus* ruling. Under this law, public-sector employers must notify the relevant union whenever there are new hires, provide the union with detailed contact information for the workers involved, and allow them to meet with a union representative during normal working hours during their first month of work. The new law also permits unions to limit some union membership benefits to workers who elect not to pay dues.

In addition, just after the *Janus* decision was announced, the Governor issued an Executive Order that bars state agencies from disclosing employees' personal contact information in response to Freedom of Information Act requests, in an effort to block anti-union organizations from contacting individual union members.

Among teachers the impact of *Janus* will be disproportionally felt by women: nationally, 78 percent of teachers are female; the figures are even higher in New York State (80 percent) and New York City (83 percent). And although the percentage of teachers who are white is higher than the white proportion of the labor force as a whole, a substantial share of teachers is non-white: 24 percent nationally, 25 percent in New York State, and fully 43 percent in New York City.

The AFT and NEA are currently urging teachers to "recommit" to organized labor, with some success, even as the conservative groups that financed the *Janus* case are actively reaching out to teachers to inform them that they can stop paying dues without losing pay or benefits. Whether the impact of *Janus* will inspire teachers in New York or elsewhere in the country to follow the pattern set by those who struck in West Virginia and other Red States in 2018 remains to be seen. But an unprecedented number of teachers, mostly women, have chosen to run for political offices on the state and local level this year.⁵ All these developments suggest that educators are likely to remain in the spotlight in the coming months and years.

- 4 The OES data are obtained from employer payroll reports, while the CPS is a household survey which asks workers about their weekly earnings and usual hours worked. CPS data is generally weaker on earnings; many workers do not report their earnings at all and others may report inaccurately. OES data are available at: https://www.bls.gov/oes/#data
- 5 See https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/14/us/politics/teachers-unions-supreme-court.html and http://prospect.org/article/teacher-paradox-educators-organize-under-fire

but then fell slightly after that; in the State it has been flat.

Geographical Variation in Union Density

Figure 2 shows the 2017-18 private- and public-sector union density levels for the United States overall, 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." These are the five entities for which we present detailed data in the bulk of this report.

By way of background, however, we begin with some summary figures for additional geographical areas. Figure 3 shows the 2017-18 private- and public-sector density figures for the state, the New York City metropolitan area, and the next two largest metropolitan areas in the state. In each of these regions, unionization levels were consistently higher in

the public than in the private sector, and consistently higher than the national public-sector average (34.3 percent), ranging from 67.6 percent in the Buffalo-Niagara Falls metropolitan area to 73.4 percent in the Albany-Schenectady-Troy area. Private-sector union density was lower across the board, but in this sector too, New York State greatly exceeded the national average of 6.5 percent for 2017-18. As Figure 3 shows, that was not only the case in the State as a whole—where private-sector density was more than double the national level—but also in its three largest metropolitan areas.

The large public-private sector differential, combined with the fact that the Capital District has a disproportionate share of public-sector employment, helps to explain why overall union density is higher in the Albany-Schenectady-Troy metropolitan area than in the other areas shown in Figure 3. As is typical of

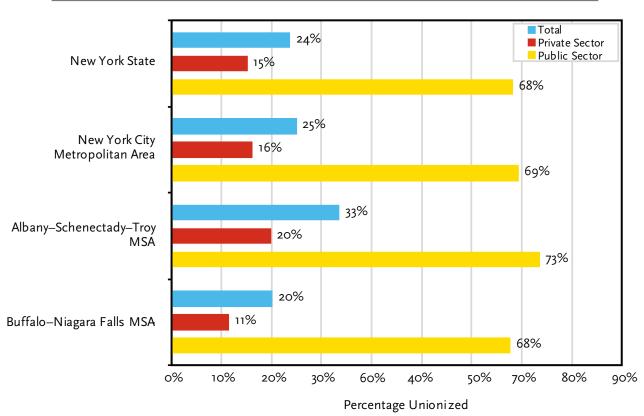


FIGURE 3. UNION DENSITY BY SECTOR, NEW YORK STATE AND SELECTED METROPOLITAN AREAS, 2017–18

Percentages shown for 2017–18 include the 18 months from January 2017 to June 2018 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2017–June 2018

metropolitan areas that surround state capitals in highly unionized states, private-sector union density is also substantially higher in Albany-Schenectady-Troy than in any other area 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 2017-18. The highest private-sector union density level in the city is that for the population of the Bronx. 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 and Queens, as Figure 4 shows, public-sector density is similar to the city-wide level, while it is slightly higher in the Bronx.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. Because higher wages are strongly associated with lower turnover, this tends to generate an older workforce. 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.

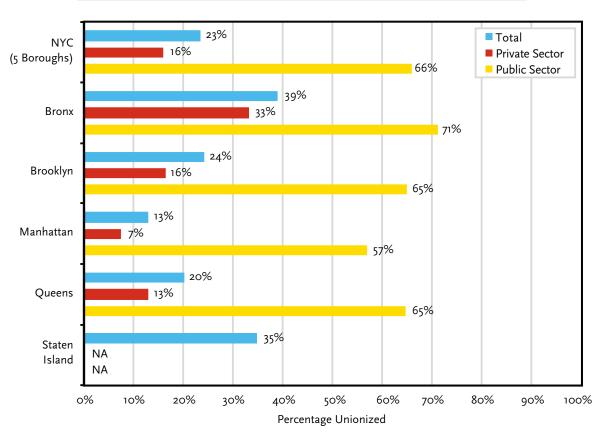
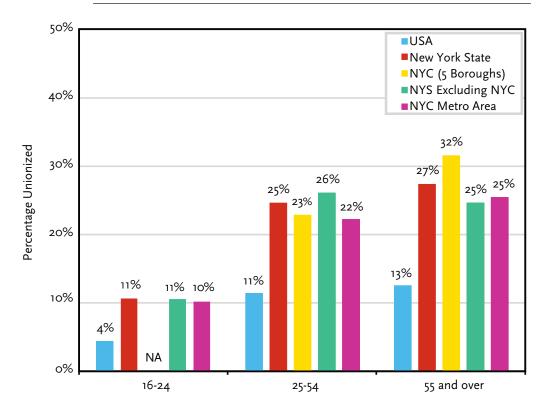


FIGURE 4. UNION DENSITY BY SECTOR, NEW YORK CITY AND ITS BOROUGHS, 2017–18

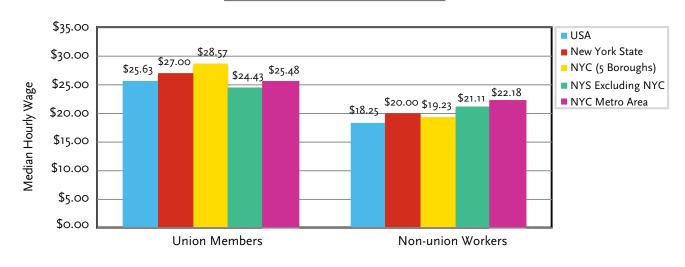
NA = Sample size is insufficient to generate reliable estimates. See footnote 1 in the text. Percentages shown for 2017–18 include the 18 months from January 2017 to June 2018 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2017–June 2018

FIGURE 5. UNIONIZATION RATES BY AGE, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2017–18



NA = Sample size is insufficient to generate reliable estimates. See footnote 1 in the text. Percentages shown for 2017–18 include the 18 months from January 2017 to June 2018 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2017–June 2018

FIGURE 6. MEDIAN HOURLY WAGE, UNION MEMBERS AND NON-UNION WORKERS, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2017–18



Figures reflect preliminary estimates, in 2017 dollars.

Wages shown for 2017–18 include the 18 months from January 2017 to June 2018 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2017–June 2018

Figure 7 shows that—contrary to popular belief—in both New York State 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 documented in detail 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, 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 (discussed below), both

of which employ large numbers of workers with high school and two-year college degrees.

Industry Variation in Unionization Rates

In 2017-18 more than half (53.8 percent) of all unionized workers in the United States were in three basic industry groups: educational services, health care and social assistance, and pubic administration. In New York City and State, those three industry groups account for an even larger majority of all unionized workers (57.7 percent and 60.7 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). And in contrast to many traditional union strongholds, all three of these industries include relatively large numbers of college-educated workers.

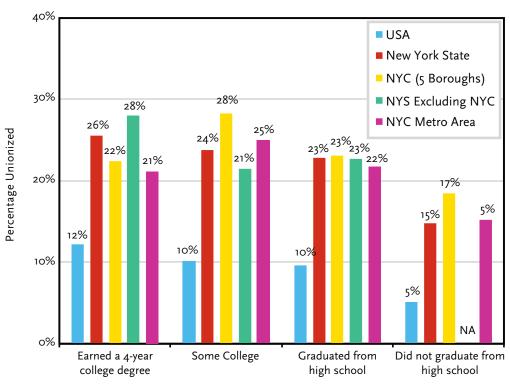


FIGURE 7. UNIONIZATION RATES BY EDUCATION, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2017–18

NA = Sample size is insufficient to generate reliable estimates. See footnote 1 in the text. Percentages shown for 2017–18 include the 18 months from January 2017 to June 2018 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2017–June 2018

As Table 1 shows, the composition of union membership in the New York City metropolitan area, and to a lesser degree in the state as well, deviates in other respects from the national pattern. Manufacturing accounts for such a small share of union membership that the CPS sample size is too small to estimate it precisely, while 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 employed 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, as well as in the larger metropolitan area and New York State, 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, across all the geographic jurisdictions shown. 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

TABLE 1: COMPOSITION OF UNION MEMBERSHIP BY INDUSTRY GROUP, FOR SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS IN NEW YORK AND THE UNITED STATES, 2017–2018

Industry Group	USA	New York State	NYS Excl. NYC	NYC (5 Boroughs)	NYC Metro Area
Construction	8.1%	6.2%	6.5%	5.9%	7.4%
Manufacturing	9.2%	NA	5.4%	NA	NA
Wholesale and retail trade	5.6%	4.2%	4.2%	NA	4.9%
Transportation and utilities	12.1%	9.7%	8.5%	11.3%	11.3%
Information services	2.0%	2.2%	NA	NA	2.6%
Finance, insurance and real estate	1.7%	3.1%	NA	NA	3.0%
Professional and business services	3.0%	5.1%	4.4%	6.0%	4.8%
Educational services	27.7%	27.3%	32.8%	20.2%	27.3%
Health care and social assistance	11.5%	19.5%	14.6%	25.9%	19.1%
Leisure and hospitality	3.0%	4.0%	NA	5.9%	4.3%
Other services	1.1%	NA	NA	NA	NA
Public administration	14.6%	13.9%	15.7%	11.6%	11.9%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

NOTE: Totals may not sum to 100% due to rounding.

Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2017-June 2018

TABLE 2: COMPOSITION OF WAGE AND SALARY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY GROUP, FOR SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS IN NEW YORK AND THE UNITED STATES, 2017-2018

Industry Group	USA	New York State	NYS Excl. NYC	NYC (5 Boroughs)	NYC Metro Area
Construction	6.0%	5.4%	5.2%	5.8%	5.9%
Manufacturing	10.7%	6.5%	9.0%	3.3%	5.4%
Wholesale and retail trade	13.6%	11.8%	13.2%	10.0%	11.6%
Transportation and utilities	5.5%	5.8%	5.0%	6.8%	6.5%
Information services	1.9%	2.4%	1.9%	3.0%	2.9%
Finance, insurance and real estate	6.7%	8.3%	7.4%	9.6%	9.8%
Professional and business services	11.0%	11.2%	10.2%	12.5%	12.7%
Educational services	9.9%	11.9%	13.1%	10.3%	11.3%
Health care and social assistance	14.1%	17.5%	17.2%	17.9%	16.1%
Leisure and hospitality	9.5%	9.2%	7.9%	10.7%	8.6%
Other services	4.4%	4.2%	3.5%	5.0%	4.5%
Public administration	5.2%	5.4%	5.6%	5.0%	4.7%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

NOTE: Totals may not sum to 100% due to rounding.

Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2017–June 2018

of unionization by industry. The limited sample size of the CPS restricts our ability to capture that complexity for 2017-18. For this reason, we created a different dataset that consolidates CPS data over a much longer period, the fifteen and a half years from January 2003 to June 2018, inclusive.⁹ This 186-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 2017-18.¹⁰

Table 3 summarizes the 2003-2018 data for 41 industry groups, showing unionization rates in the five boroughs of New York City, New York State, and the United States as a whole. For almost all of these industries, both New York City and New York State had far higher union density than in the United States as a whole in this period. One notable exception is retail grocery stores, in which the City lags behind the State and has a unionization rate only slightly higher than in the nation. This reflects the fact that unlike the rest of the country, New York City has vast numbers

of small specialty retail food stores, very few of which are unionized. In contrast, the unionization rate in the City's department and discount stores is over five times the national average. Yet the City and State alike have a lower density rate than the nation for "other transportation."

In 9 of the 41 industries shown, 2003-2018 unionization rates were above 33 percent in New York City: utilities, service and urban transit, postal service (transportation), wired and other telecommunications, elementary and secondary schools, hospitals, nursing care facilities, hotels and accommodation, and public administration. With the exception of nursing care facilities, these industries also had rates at or above 33 percent in the State. Air transportation, as well as paper products and printing were well above that threshold in the State (but not in the City). In the case of air transportation and postal service transportation, the high unionization rates are the product of national-level collective bargaining, but for the other industries they reflect union strength in local and regional labor markets.

27% Construction NΑ 27% 15% NA Manufacturing NΑ NΑ 9% 9% Wholesale and retail trade 8% 4% NYC Metro Area ■ NYC (5 Boroughs) Transportation and utilities 39% New York State 40% 24% USA Information services NA 21% 11% 7% Finance, insurance and real estate 9% 3% 8% Professional and business services 11% 52% **Educational services** 54% 30% Health care and social assistance 26% 9% 11% 13% Leisure and hospitality 10% 3% 55% Public administration 61% 30% 20.0% 50.0% 0.0% 10.0% 30.0% 40.0% 60.0% 70.0%

FIGURE 8. UNIONIZATION RATES BY INDUSTRY GROUP, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2017–18

Percentage Unionized NA = Sample size is insufficient to generate reliable estimates. See footnote 1 in the text. Percentages shown for 2017–18 include the 18 months from January 2017 to June 2018 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2017–June 2018

Table 3. Unionization Rates by Industry, New York City, New York State, and the United States, 2003–18

Industry	New York City (5 boroughs)	New York State	United States
TOTAL (All Industries)	23.4%	23.6%	10.7%
Agriculture and mining	NA	NA	3.1
Utilities	53.5	48.0	24.6
Construction	24.0	27.2	14.6
Food manufacturing	NA	17.3	11.5
Textile and apparel manufacturing	NA	5.8	2.2
Paper products and printing	NA	37.2	13.8
Other manufacturing	9.2	10.9	8.8
Wholesale grocery and beverages	NA	17.8	7.8
Other wholesale trade	NA	7.6	2.8
Retail grocery stores	6.8	16.3	14.5
Pharmacy and drug stores	NA	9.4	4.7
Department and discount stores	19.5	9.0	3.5
Other retail trade	7.6	5.1	1.9
Air transportation	29.9	37.5	36.0
Truck transportation	NA	25.2	8.9
Bus service and urban transit	64.9	59.2	34.5
Postal service (transportation)	88.7	81.4	62.9
Couriers and messengers	16.9	35.2	24.3
Other transportation	21.5	21.4	22.4
Newspaper, periodical and book publishing	NA	0.0	4.7
Motion pictures and video	NA	9.8	12.0
Radio, television and cable	26.0	27.2	8.2
Wired and other telecommunication	50.8	47.7	16.1
Other information services	NA	24.1	22.3
Finance, insurance and real estate	9.3	8.8	2.6
Building and security services	21.9	17.6	4.4
Other management and professional services	6.6	8.1	2.2
Elementary and secondary schools	57.9	67.7	38.4
Other educational services	26.6	24.2	12.5
Offices of physicians and other health providers	12.2	6.4	2.9
Hospitals	51.9	38.9	13.4
Nursing care facilities	37.9	30.3	7.2
Home health care services	28.1	25.2	7.4
Child day care services	19.4	16.0	3.3
Other health care and social assistance	24.3	21.0	9.1
Performing arts, museums and sports	21.5	24.7	11.2
Amusement, gambling and recreation	NA NA	7.6	4.9
Hotels and accommodation	45.0	36.3	7.9
Restaurants, food service and drinking places	5.4	4.2	1.6
Other services	8.0	6.7	2.8
Public administration		61.4	
auministration	54.5	01.4	30.2

Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2003-June 2018.

Union contracts may no longer set the wage standard for the City's workforce as a whole, but they often do so in such key sectors of the urban economy as hotels, hospitals, nursing care, and telecommunications, as well as in public sector industries like transit, education, home health care (the unionized portion of which is publicly funded) and public administration.

That said, the detailed portrait of industry-specific unionization rates in Table 3 fails to capture some important points of differentiation. For example, although union density in New York City retail grocery stores averaged only 6.8 percent in the 2003-18 period, nearly all traditional supermarkets in the city are unionized. Similarly, while overall density for department and discount stores in New York City as a whole was 19.5 percent, several major Manhattan department stores are unionized "wall to wall." These data also fail to capture the differences among industry segments within construction; commercial construction is far more unionized than its residential counterpart in the City, the State

and the nation alike, and because the denominator for the construction industry includes white collar workers like managers and engineers, union density is somewhat understated.

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." For example, educational services, as well as health care and social assistance, which have very high unionization rates, rely disproportionately on female workers. So do retail industries like drug stores and department stores, hotels, child day care services, and finance, insurance and real estate. These patterns help explain why the 2017-18 unionization rates for women in New York City and throughout the State were higher than that of men, as Figure 9 shows. The male unionization rate was slightly greater than that of females in 2017-18 for the

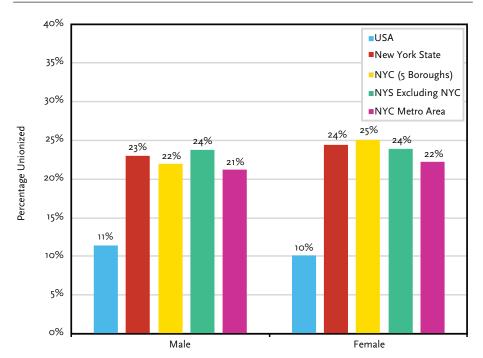


FIGURE 9. UNIONIZATION RATES BY GENDER, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2017–18

Percentages shown for 2017–18 include the 18 months from January 2017 to June 2018 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2017–June 2018

nation as a whole, but 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 2017-18, higher than that of non-Hispanic whites. In 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 shows. In 2017-18 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. Notably, workers born in the U.S. territory of Puerto Rico—a substantial population group in New York City and the State are as unionized as mainland U.S.-born workers (although the CPS sample size is too small to specify unionization rates for Puerto Ricans in New York). 12 Puerto Rican-born workers (all of whom are U.S. citizens), like African Americans, are highly overrepresented in public sector employment. In contrast, the foreign-born are underrepresented in that segment of the labor force, especially those who arrived in the United States recently.

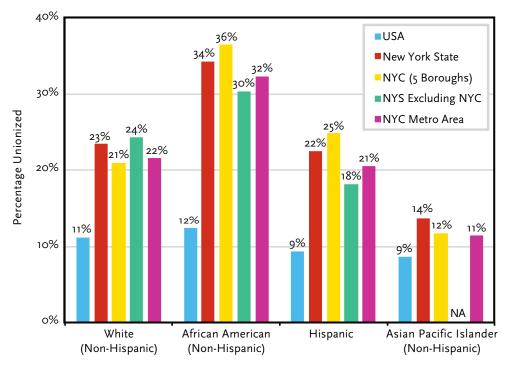
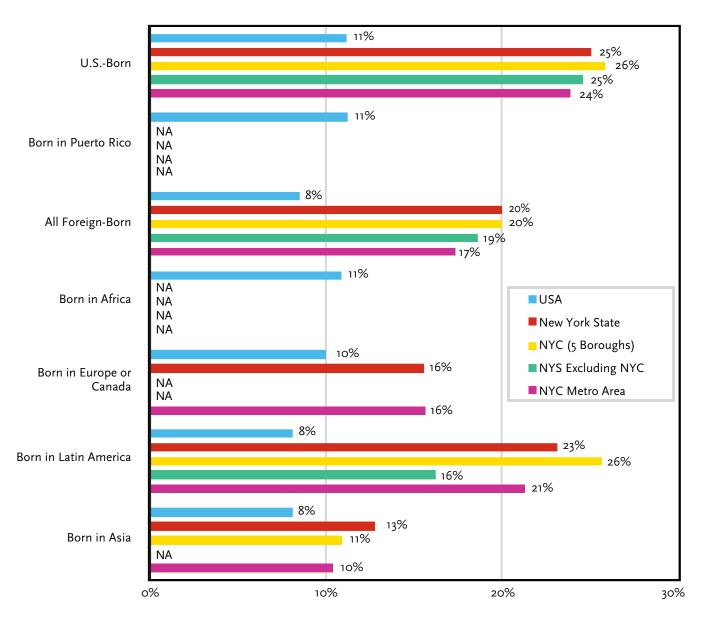


Figure 10. Unionization Rates by Race and Ethnicity, Selected Geographical Areas, 2017–18

NA = Sample size is insufficient to generate reliable estimates. See footnote 1 in the text. Percentages shown for 2017–18 include the 18 months from January 2017 to June 2018 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2017–June 2018





NA = Sample size is insufficient to generate reliable estimates. See footnote 1 in the text. Percentages shown for 2017–18 include the 18 months from January 2017 to June 2018 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2017–June 2018

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 slightly higher than that of U.S.-born workers, regardless of geography. Foreign-born noncitizens 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.¹³ Over time, however, these data suggest, many immigrant workers may move up into sectors where unions are present.

Figure 13 shows that unionization rates for foreign-born 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 2017-18 public-sector unionization rates of 59.6 percent in New York State, 59.4 percent in the New York City metropolitan area, and 29.3 percent in the nation as a whole.

Relatively few noncitizens and recently arrived immigrants work in the public sector, however. Only 5.6 percent of all foreign-born noncitizens in the United States, and only 7.8 percent of all foreign-born workers who arrived in or after 1990, were employed in the public sector in 2017-18. By contrast, 15.3 percent of the overall U.S. workforce was in the public sector. As a result, the high level of public-sector unionization for these particular immigrant groups does little to boost their overall unionization rate. 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.

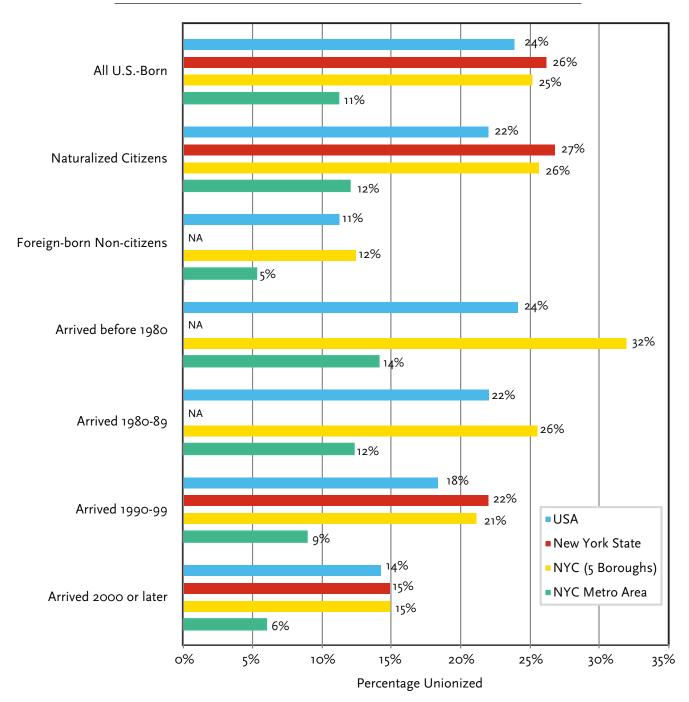
Table 4 offers a closer look at patterns of immigrant unionization by national origin. Due to the limited sample size of the CPS, for this purpose we used the

dataset (described above) that includes CPS data from January 2003 through June 2018. Table 4 presents unionization rates for immigrants from various countries and regions for that period, for foreign-born wage and salary workers living in New York City, New York State, and the nation.¹⁴ (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 2003 and 2018 the rates shown in Table 4 are consistently higher than the comparable rates in 2017-18.)

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 in New York City is an extreme one in this respect; as recent arrivals to the city, few of whom are citizens and many of whom are unauthorized, they have the lowest unionization rate of almost any group shown in Table 4 (the exceptions are immigrants from Great Britain and Ireland, elsewhere in Western Europe, and China). 15 At the other end of the spectrum, workers born in the Philippines or in the Caribbean are more likely to have arrived decades ago and to have become citizens.

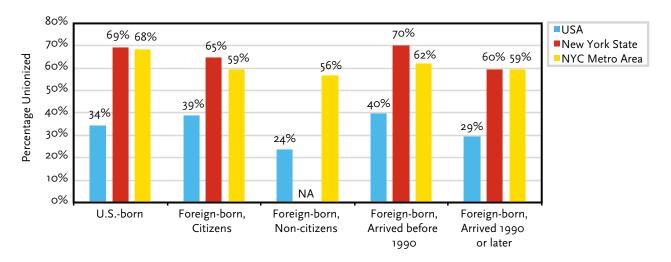
It is striking that several of the immigrant nationalities shown in Table 4 have unionization rates that exceed those of U.S.-born workers. In New York City, that is the case for those born in Ukraine, the Philippines, Haiti, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, other Caribbean, Colombia, Guyana and Ghana. Typically workers from these nationality groups are overrepresented in highly unionized industries. Thus for example, overrepresentation in the health care and social assistance sector largely accounts for the high unionization rates of several nationality groups: 44.1 percent of Filipino immigrants, 41.6 percent of

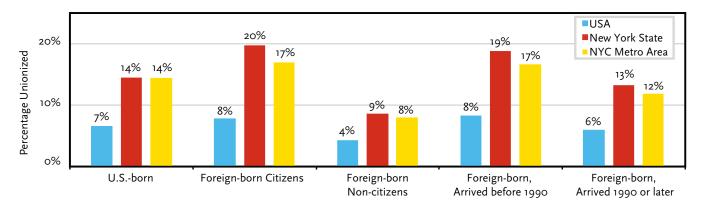
FIGURE 12. UNIONIZATION RATES BY NATIVITY, CITIZENSHIP STATUS, AND DATE OF ARRIVAL IN THE UNITED STATES, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2017–18



NA = Sample size is insufficient to generate reliable estimates. See footnote 1 in the text. Percentages shown for 2017–18 include the 18 months from January 2017 to June 2018 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2017–June 2018

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, 2017–18





NA = Sample size is insufficient to generate reliable estimates. See footnote 1 in the text.

Note: Percentages shown for 2017–18 include the 18 months from January 2017 to June 2018

Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2017–June 2018

Table 4. Unionization Rates for Foreign-born Workers by Place of Birth, New York City, New York State, and the United States, 2003–18

	Place of Birth	New York City (5 boroughs)	New York State	United States
EUROPE	Italy	9.0	10.8	12.4
	Great Britain and Ireland	6.2	8.0	8.3
	Other Western Europe	6.5	14.8	8.5
	Russia	22.4	23.4	10.0
田	Poland	6.6	13.5	14.1
	Ukraine	29.3	25.9	14.1
	Other Eastern Europe	23.7	23.6	10.5
	Middle East	NA	4.9	7.6
	China (including Hong Kong)	5.7	7.2	6.4
	Bangladesh	NA	15.2	7.0
	India	9.4	17.4	5.1
ASIA	Pakistan	NA	7.1	3.8
	Philippines	50.3	38.4	15.4
	Korea	NA	NA	8.1
	Other Southeast Asia	15.1	12.9	7.4
	Other Asia	NA	11.5	8.1
	Mexico	7.3	7.1	6.2
	El Salvador	NA	3.4	6.7
	Honduras	NA	25.3	5.0
	Other Central America	14.4	14.2	6.4
	Barbados	23.2	23.2	13.3
<u>S</u>	Dominican Republic	25.8	26.0	17.5
LATIN AMERICA	Haiti	39.0	42.1	12.3
A Z	Jamaica	46.0	37-9	18.5
\subseteq	Trinidad and Tobago	27.6	25.8	17.4
	Other Caribbean	28.3	25.7	6.9
	Columbia	27.8	26.5	10.5
	Ecuador	19.8	17.5	11.7
	Guyana	40.0	37-9	25.8
	Other South America	24.7	18.5	8.7
AFRICA	Ghana	81.3	59.6	17.3
AFF	Other Africa	21.0	27.9	10.1
	Other foreign-born	11.1	16.2	10.4
	U.S. (except Puerto Rico)	26.2	25.2	11.2
	Puerto Rico	32.7	40.0	11.2

Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2003–June 2018.

the Haitian-born, 41.7 percent of the Jamaican-born, 30.7 percent of the Guyana-born, and 27.0 percent of the other African-born workers in New York City are employed in the highly unionized health care and social assistance industry group; by contrast that industry group employs only 14.3 percent of the city's U.S. born workers. Similarly, immigrants from Colombia, Haiti, Pakistan, and Africa are overrepresented in the highly unionized transportation industry, which helps to account for their relatively 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 general 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.

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.

Unionization levels have been more stable in New York City and State, and are 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.16 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, nearly ten percentage points above the 2017-18 level (17.2 percent) level, and statewide the figure was 24.0 percent as recently as 1983 (compared to 15.0 percent in 2017-18).17

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. 18 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 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 has been remedied to a great extent under the de

Blasio administration, for years many did not receive significant increases in pay or benefits. The recent U.S. Supreme Court decision in the *Janus v. AFSCME* case threatens to have profound effects on public-sector union density throughout the nation. Although recent State legislation offers some advantages in this regard for New York's workers, nevertheless this presents a serious challenge for public sector unions in the City and State as well as 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—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 2017 and the first six months of 2018. We created a merged data set from the 18 monthly surveys conducted from January 2017 to June 2018, inclusive; the 2017-18 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.: Bureau of National Affairs, 2018), pp. 1-8. 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 and 2017 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, and January 2016-June 2017 respectively.

Those earlier reports are available at http://www.ruth-milkman.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 2018.

3 An estimated 869,131 union members resided in New York City's five boroughs in 2017-18, while the statewide total is estimated at 1,984,589. 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 2003-2016 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. The data in Figure 3 should be interpreted with caution, however, as sample sizes fall below the threshhold of 100 observations per cell mentioned in endnote 1 above.

7 The only metropolitan areas (based on 2003 Census area definitions) outside of New York State for which Hirsch and MacPerson report greater 2017 union density than the New York-Newark-NY -NJ-PA CSA were the Albany-Schenectady NY MSA, Colorado Springs, CO MSA, the Buffalo-Niagara Falls NY MSA, and the Syracuse NY MSA. See Hirsch and MacPherson 2018, pp. 38-49. Note that smaller metropolitan areas are not included due to small sample sizes.

8 For both the Bronx and Manhattan, the values shown for the public sector are based on fewer than 100 observations, and for Manhattan this is also the case for the private sector, so these data points should be interpreted with caution. For Staten Island the number of observations is even lower and thus the data are not reliable enough to report here.

9 The CPS methodology changed substantially in January 2003, making it impractical to include data from before that date.

10 Since unionization has declined somewhat since 2003 (see Figure 1a-c), the results of this analysis slightly overestimate the actual levels of density for each industry shown in Table 3.

11 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.

¹² Puerto Ricans born on the U.S. mainland cannot be separately identified in these data. Those born in Puerto Rico are likely to be older, all else equal, which further contributes to their higher unionization rate.

13 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.

14 Table 4 only includes nationalities for which there are 100 or more total observations, and at least 50 union members, in the 2003-18 dataset.

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

16 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.

17 The 1986 private-sector figure is 25.3 percent 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

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

Appendix*

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

For a variety of reasons, the total number of union members in New York City shown in the table below is higher than the CPS figure cited on page 1 of this report (869,000). 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, several of the unions listed, especially those

in sectors like construction and entertainment, have many 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 larger than the CPS estimate cited above. One other factor operates in the opposite direction, however: 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 in this table were compiled from the most recent available LM-2/3/4 forms (typically from 2017) and other sources by Joseph van der Naald. Thanks to Ed Ott for assistance with this effort.

UNION NAME	Reported Membership
Amalgamated Transit Union ^{a, c}	15,872
American Association of University Professors	674
American Federation of Government Employees ^c	8,844
American Federation of Musicians ^b	7,735
American Federation of School Administrators — Council of Supervisory Associations	6,452
American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees ^c	141,294
American Federation of Teachers ^c (includes 20,705 members of PSC-CUNY and 122,709 in the NYC UFT)	156,218
American Postal Workers Union	8,163
Anti-Defamation League Staff Association	153
Associated Actors and Artistes of America ^b (includes 19,800 members of Actors Equity Association; 1,108 members of the American Guild of Musical Artists; and 35,995 members of SAG-AFTRA)	57,166
Association of Surrogates and Supreme Court Reporters Within the City of New York ^a	193
Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers International Union ^c	1,370
Benefit Fund Staff Association	555
Brotherhood of Security Personnel	19
Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen	62
Building and Construction Trades Department ^b	150
Citywide Association of Law Assistants of the Civil, Criminal and Family Courts in the City of New York ^a	247

UNION NAME	Reported Membership
Civilian Technicians Association	24
Communication Workers of America ^{a, c}	27,981
Court Attorneys Association of the City of New York ^a	222
Evelyn Gonzalez Union	200
Faculty Interest Committee of Ethical Culture Fieldston School	275
Fordham Law School Bargaining Committee	80
Furniture Liquidators of New York	10
Graphic Artists Guild ^b	612
Hearst International Employees Association	82
Hunts Point Police Benevolent Association	40
Independent School Transportation Workers Association	275
Independent Guard Union	9
Industrial Workers of the World	79
International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees ^{b, c}	20,092
International Association of Bridge, Structural, Ornamental and Reinforcing Iron Workers ^b	7,724
International Association of Fire Fighters ^a	8,312
International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Allied Workers ^b	989
International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers ^e	12,901
International Brotherhood of Boilermakers ^b	454
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers ^b	28,534
International Brotherhood of Teamsters ^c	55,100
International Brotherhood of Trade Unions	102
International Federation of Professional and Technical Engineers	111
International Longshoremen's Association	1,763
International Organization of Masters, Mates & Pilots—Atlantic Maritime Group ^c	1,800
International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftworkers ^b	8,528
International Union of Elevator Constructors ^b	2,654
International Union of Journeymen and Allied Trades ^b	38,368
International Union of Operating Engineers ^{a, b}	18,902
International Union of Painters and Allied Trades ^{a, b}	5,360
International Union of Police Associations ^a	103
Jewish Committee Staff Organization	102
Kingsbrook Jewish Medical Center Staff Association	6
Laborers' International Union of North America ^b	20,421
League of International Federated Employees	892
Local One Security Officers	548
Major League Baseball Players Association ^c	87
Maritime Trades Department Port Council	25
Metal Trades Department ^b	20
Mount Sinai Pharmacy Association	110
National Air Traffic Controllers Association	150
National Amalgamated Workers Union	73
National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees	583

UNION NAME	Reported Membership
National Association of Letter Carriers	8,581
National Basketball Players Association ^c	39
National Labor Relations Board Union	72
National Postal Mail Handlers Union ^c	1,450
National Treasury Employees Union	3,287
Neergaard Employees Association	9
New York Professional Nurses Association	1,190
New York State Correctional Officers and Police Benevolent Association ^a	851
New York State Court Clerks Association ^a	1,522
New York State Federation of Physicians and Dentists	70
New York State Law Enforcement Officers Union ^a	21
New York State Nurses Association	25,347
Newspaper and Mail Deliverers Union	577
International Union of Allied Novelty and Production Workers	2,694
Office and Professional Employees International Union ^c	7,208
Operative Plasterers' and Cement Masons' International Association ^b	1,458
Organization of Staff Analysts ^a	3,649
Organization of Union Representatives	12
Patrolmen's Benevolent Association ^a	23,810
Police Benevolent Association of the New York State ^a	80
Police Benevolent Association of the New York State Troopers ^a	249
Postal and Federal Employees Alliance	365
Professional Association of Holy Cross High School	42
Professional Dieticians of New York City Presbyterian	47
Restaurant Workers Union 318	100
Safety Professionals of America	18
Service Employees International Union ^{a, c} (includes 156,296 NYC members in SEIU 1199 ^c ; 84,758 members in SEIU Local 32B-J ^c ; and 10,600 members in Workers United ^c)	265,426
Sheet Metal Workers International Association ^b	5,613
Special Patrolman Benevolent Association	140
Stage Directors and Choreographers ^{b, c}	799
St. John's Preparatory Teachers Association	35
Taxi Workers Alliance ^e	21,000
Transport Workers Union ^a	52,827
Union of Automotive Technicians ^a	50
UNITE HERE ^c	35,244
United Association of Plumbers and Pipefitters ^b	14,789
United Auto Workers ^d (includes 300 members of the National Writers Union ^e)	12,867
United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners ^{b, c}	20,219
United Food and Commercial Workers International Union ^c	32,844
(includes 12,195 members in the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union)	
United Nations International School Staff Association	218

UNION NAME	Reported Membership
United Production Workers Union	2,386
United Steelworkers	355
United Uniformed Workers of New York ^{a, f}	125,000
United Union of Roofers, Waterproofers and Allied Workers ^b	1,197
United University Professions ^a	3,236
Utility Workers Union of America ^c	8,499
Writers Guild of America ^b	2,206
TOTAL	1,357,568

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, and thus membership data were obtained directly from the union, from the New York City Independent Budget Office, or from a Freedom of Information Law (FOIL) request to the Office of the New York State Comptroller.

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 they 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, the number shown was obtained directly from the union.

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: 5,569 members in the Detectives Endowment Association; 4,664 members in the Sergeants Benevolent

Association, 1,682 members in the Lieutenants Benevolent Association, 9,578 members in the Correction Officers Benevolent Association, 6,248 members in the Sanitation Workers Local 831; 2,604 members in the Uniformed Fire Officers Association; 1,203 members in the Sanitation Officers Local 444; 137 members in the Assistant Deputy Wardens-Deputy Wardens Association; 744 members in the Captains Endowment Association; 851 members in the Correction Captains Association; 289 members in the NYC Detective Investigators Association; 1,100 members in the NYS Supreme Court Officers Association; 92 members in the Port Authority Detectives Endowment Association; 88 members in the Port Authority Lieutenants Benevolent Association; 1,691 members in the Port Authority Police Benevolent Association; 213 members in the Port Authority Sergeants Benevolent Association; 181 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 (2018).

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, the above data are extracted 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 http://www.dol.gov/olms/regs/compliance/rrlo/lmrda.htm

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

RUTH MILKMAN holds a Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of California, Berkeley. She is Distinguished Professor of Sociology at the CUNY Graduate Center and Research Director of the The CUNY School of Labor and Urban Studies. Her recent books include L.A. Story: Immigrant Workers and the Future of the U.S. Labor Movement (2006), Unfinished Business: Paid Family Leave and the Future of U.S. Work-Family Policy (2013, co-authored with Eileen Appelbaum); New Labor in New York: Precarious Workers and the Future of the Labor Movement (2014, co-edited with Ed Ott) and most recently, On Gender, Labor and Inequality (2016).

STEPHANIE LUCE holds an M.A. in Industrial Relations and a Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of Wisconsin, Madison. She is Professor of Labor Studies at the The CUNY School of Labor and Urban Studies, and a member of the graduate faculty in Sociology at the CUNY Graduate Center. She is the author of *Fighting for a Living Wage* (2004) and co-editor (with Jennifer Luff, Joseph A. McCartin and Ruth Milkman) of *What Works for Workers: Public Policies and Innovative Strategies for Low-Wage Workers* (2014). Her most recent book is *Labor Movements: Global Perspectives* (2014).

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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*.

