

THE STATE OF THE UNIONS 2013:

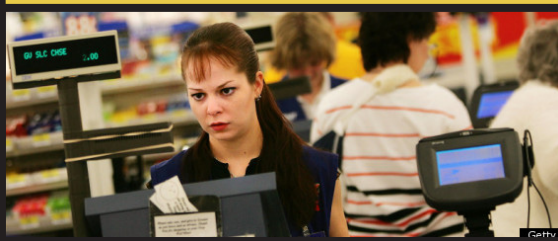
A PROFILE OF ORGANIZED LABOR IN
NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK STATE,
AND THE UNITED STATES

RUTH MILKMAN AND STEPHANIE LUCE

THE JOSEPH S. MURPHY INSTITUTE FOR WORKER EDUCATION AND LABOR STUDIES

AND THE CENTER FOR URBAN RESEARCH, CUNY GRADUATE CENTER

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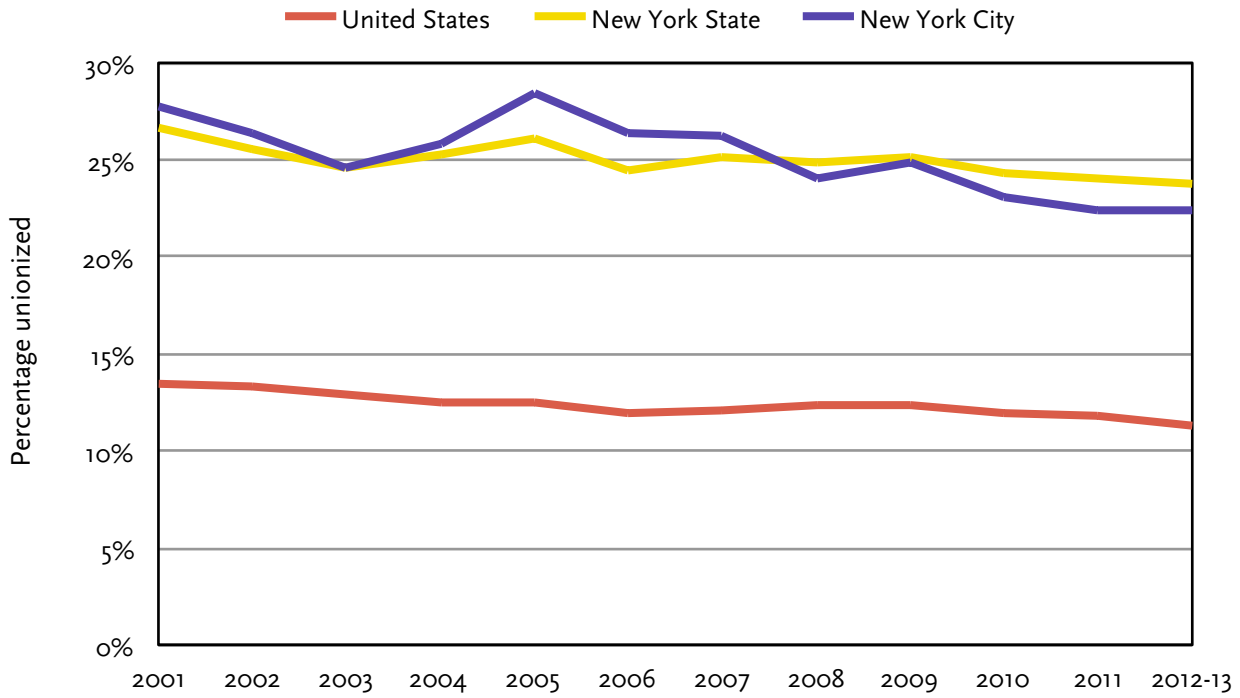
Organized labor in the United States has suffered sharp decline in numbers and influence in recent years. In addition to the challenges of an anemic economic recovery and persistent unemployment among many of their members, unions in many parts of the nation have faced unprecedented attacks on public-sector collective bargaining rights and aggressive demands for concessions from both public- and private-sector employers. In New York City, the vast majority of public-sector employees are currently working without contracts; the unions that represent them have been unable to win improvements in wages and benefits in the aftermath of the financial crisis of 2007-08, and inequality in income and wealth have reached levels not seen since the early twentieth century.

Relative to the nation as a whole, organized labor remains strong in New York City and State, although significant erosion has occurred in recent years, as Figure 1a shows. According to the U.S. Current Population Survey (CPS) data that serve as the primary basis of this report, nearly one-fourth (22.4 percent) of all wage and salary workers residing in New York City were union members in 2012-13, about the same as the figure a year earlier (22.3), but well below the 24.6 percent figure three years before.¹ The unionized share of the workforce was slightly higher

in New York State (23.7 percent) than in the city; indeed, 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 11.3 percent in 2012-13.² In absolute terms, New York State had more union members—almost 1.9 million—than any state except California, which has a far larger population. In 2012-13, there were about 729,500 union members in the five boroughs of New York City, representing almost two out of every five union members in the state.³

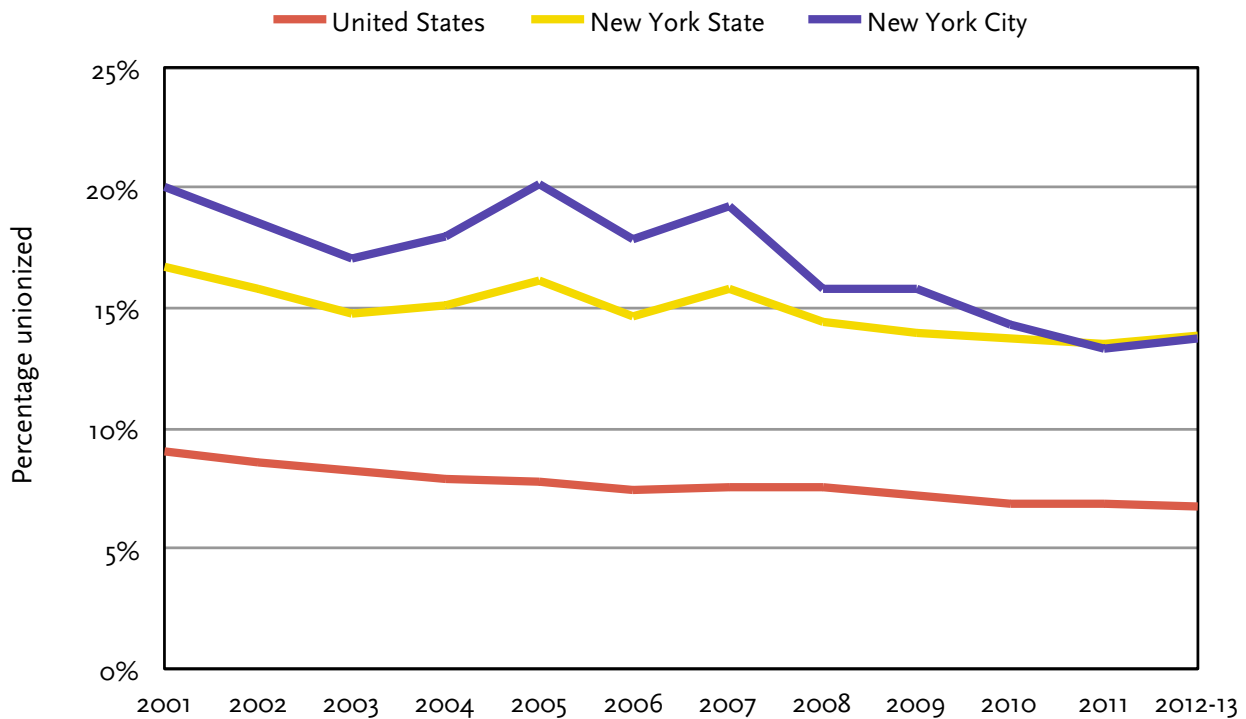
At the national and state level, and to an even greater extent in New York City, losses in union membership have been disproportionately concentrated in the private sector over the past decade (see Figures 1b and 1c).⁴ The Great Recession that began in late 2007 accelerated the long-term decline in private-sector unionization in the City. By contrast, in the public sector, union density has been relatively stable; in fact it increased slightly in New York City in 2011, although then fell back in 2012-13 (see Figure 1c). On the other hand, new organizing initiatives in low-wage industries like car washes and fast food restaurants have begun to focus the labor movement's attention on rebuilding unionism in the private sector. Much of this new organizing involves Latino and Black workers; in New York City both groups have higher unionization rates than (non-Hispanic) whites do (see page 5 for discussion).

FIGURE 1A. UNION DENSITY IN NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK STATE AND THE UNITED STATES, 2001 - 2013



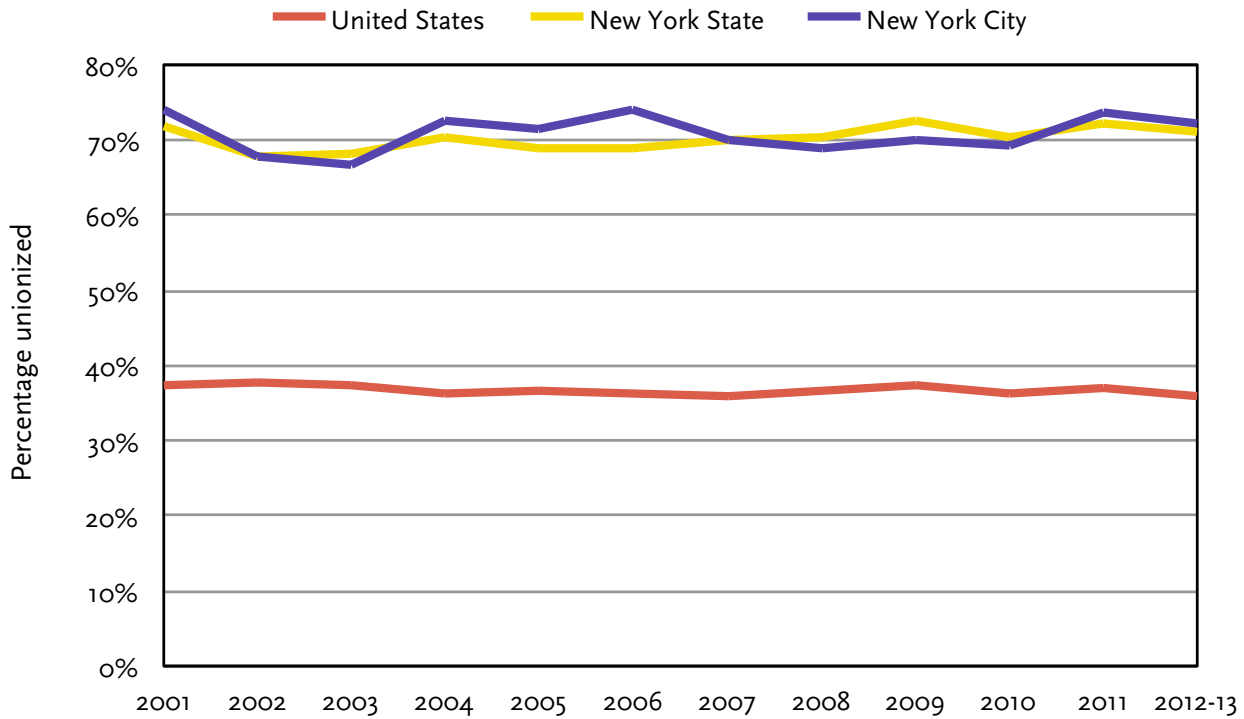
Percentages shown for 2012-13 include the 18 months from January 2012 to June 2013
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2001 - June 2013

FIGURE 1B. PRIVATE-SECTOR UNION DENSITY IN NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK STATE AND THE UNITED STATES, 2001 - 2013



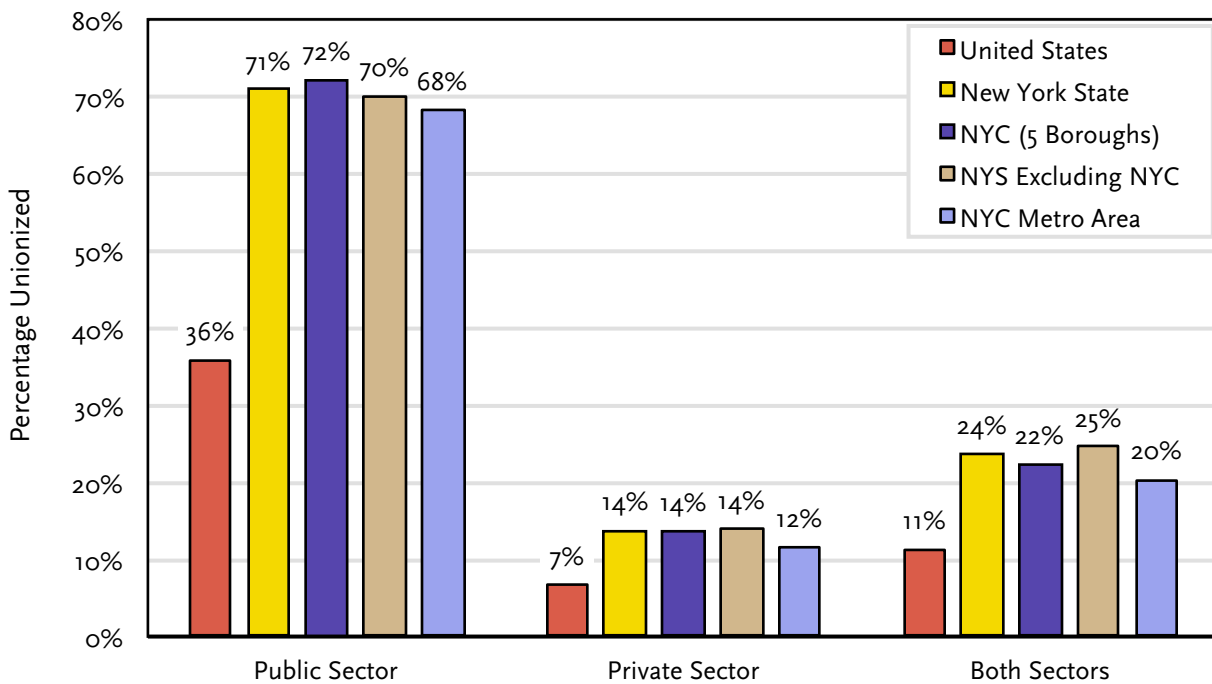
Percentages shown for 2012-13 include the 18 months from January 2012 to June 2013
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2001 - June 2013

FIGURE 1c. PUBLIC-SECTOR UNION DENSITY IN NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK STATE AND THE UNITED STATES, 2001 - 2013



Percentages shown for 2012-13 include the 18 months from January 2012 to June 2013
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2001 - June 2013

FIGURE 2. UNION DENSITY, BY SECTOR, NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK STATE AND THE UNITED STATES, 2012-13



Percentages shown for 2012-13 include the 18 months from January 2012 to June 2013
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2012 - June 2013

Geographical Variation in Union Density

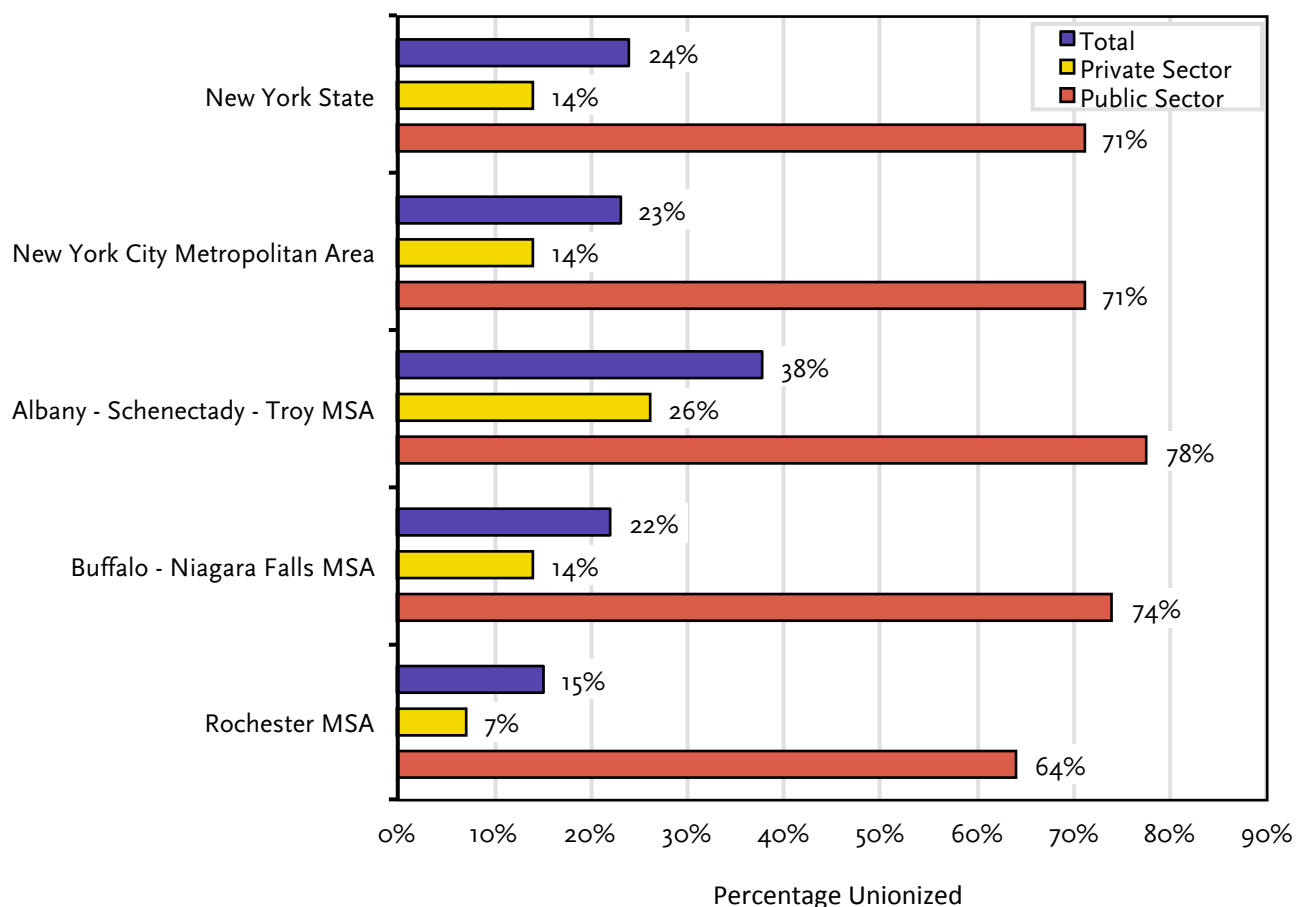
Figure 2 shows the 2012-13 private- and public-sector union density levels for the United States overall, New York State, New York City, upstate New York (excluding the five boroughs of New York City), and the larger New York City metropolitan “Combined Statistical Area.”⁵ These are the five entities 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 2012-13 private- and public-sector density figures for the state, the New York City metropolitan area, and the next three largest metropolitan areas in the state.⁶ 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 (35.9 percent), with well over two-thirds of public-sector workers unionized in all but one of these metropolitan areas (Rochester). Private-sector union density was lower across the board, but in this sector too, New York State generally exceeded the national average of 6.7 percent for 2012-13. As Figure 3 shows, that was not only the case in the State as a whole—where private-sector density was double the national level—but also in three of its four largest metropolitan areas. The one exception is the Rochester metropolitan area, where private-sector density was 6.8 percent, similar to the national average, in 2012-13 (and where public-sector density was also lower than in the other metropolitan areas shown).

The large public-private sector differential, combined with the fact that the Capital District has a

FIGURE 3. UNION DENSITY BY SECTOR, NEW YORK STATE AND SELECTED METROPOLITAN AREAS, 2012-13



Percentages shown for 2012-13 include the 18 months from January 2012 to June 2013
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2012 - June 2013

NEW YORK CITY UNION MEMBERSHIP'S DISTINCTIVE DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

The popular stereotype of a union member is a white male wearing a hardhat, but in fact such workers are a minority of unionists today. In 2012-13, Blacks, Latinos and women made up the vast majority of union members—especially in New York City, where only 18 percent of all union members are white men. Given the economic advantages of union membership—higher pay and more fringe benefits—this means that New York City's labor movement helps to limit inequality by race, ethnicity and gender. The same thing is true upstate and nationally, although to a lesser degree.

New York is not only the most highly unionized of the nation's large cities, but its labor movement has a unique demographic profile. As Figure D1 shows, more than three-quarters (77 percent) of the city's union members were Black, Latino and/or female in 2012-13. This is a much greater share than in the rest of New York State (58 percent) or in the nation as a whole (59 percent), although in all three cases a majority of union membership today is made up of these demographic groups.

Fully 60 percent of the city's union members are Black or Latino (including both U.S. and foreign-born workers). Blacks make up 32 percent of the city's union members, compared to 8 percent upstate and 13 percent nationally. Another 28 percent of New York City's union members are Latino, compared to 9 percent in the rest of New York State and 14 percent nationally.

As Figure D1 shows, another 17 percent of New York City's union membership is made up of women from other ethnic and racial groups (whites, Asians and others). That group

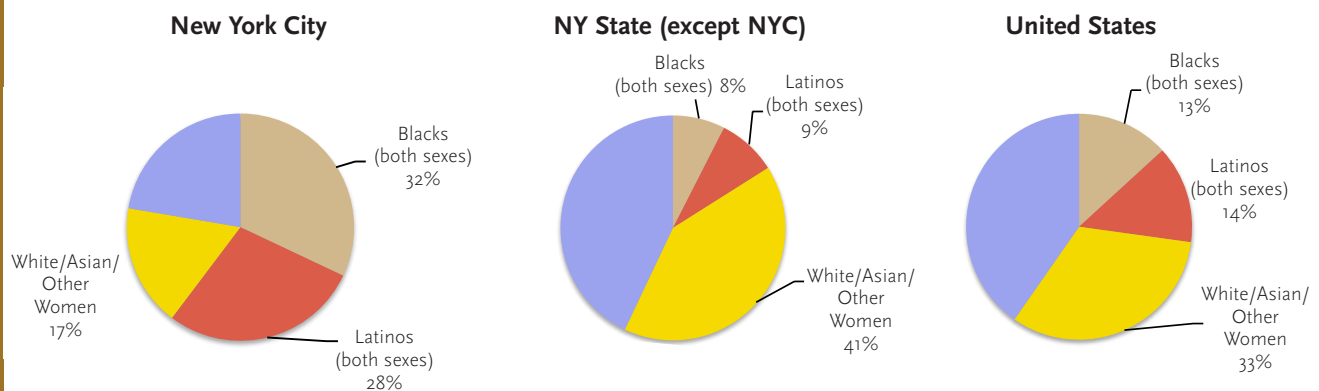
makes up a higher proportion—41 percent—of total union membership in upstate New York and in the United States as a whole, where the figure is 33 percent.

Of course, the racial and ethnic composition of its union membership reflects the fact that New York City's workforce includes far larger proportions of Latinos and Blacks than the rest of New York State and the nation. But New York City's Black and Latino unionization rates are also higher than those of the nation or upstate, as Figure 10 (page 14) shows. Upstate, Blacks and Whites have similar unionization rates (26 percent); but Latinos have a lower rate of 21 percent. Similarly, the national Black unionization rate (13 percent) is only slightly higher than that among whites (12 percent); both are higher than the rate for Latinos (10 percent). By contrast, in New York City, 33 percent of Black workers are unionized, the highest rate for any major racial/ethnic group. Latinos are next with about one in four (24 percent) unionized. By contrast, the white unionization rate is only 19 percent and the Asian rate is an even lower 12 percent in New York City.

Women are also more highly unionized in New York City than elsewhere, as Figure 9 (page 14) shows. Nearly one-fourth (24 percent) of the city's women workers are unionized, compared to 21 percent of men. In the rest of the State, the unionization rate for men (26 percent) is higher than that of women (23 percent). Nationally, too, the rate is slightly higher for men (12 percent) than women (11 percent).

If future attacks on organized labor are successful, these data suggest, the workers who will be hurt the most are Blacks, Latinos and women.

FIGURE D1. SHARES OF UNION MEMBERSHIP FOR SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC GROUPS, 2012-13.



Percentages shown for 2012-13 include the 18 months from January 2012 to June 2013
Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2001 - June 2013

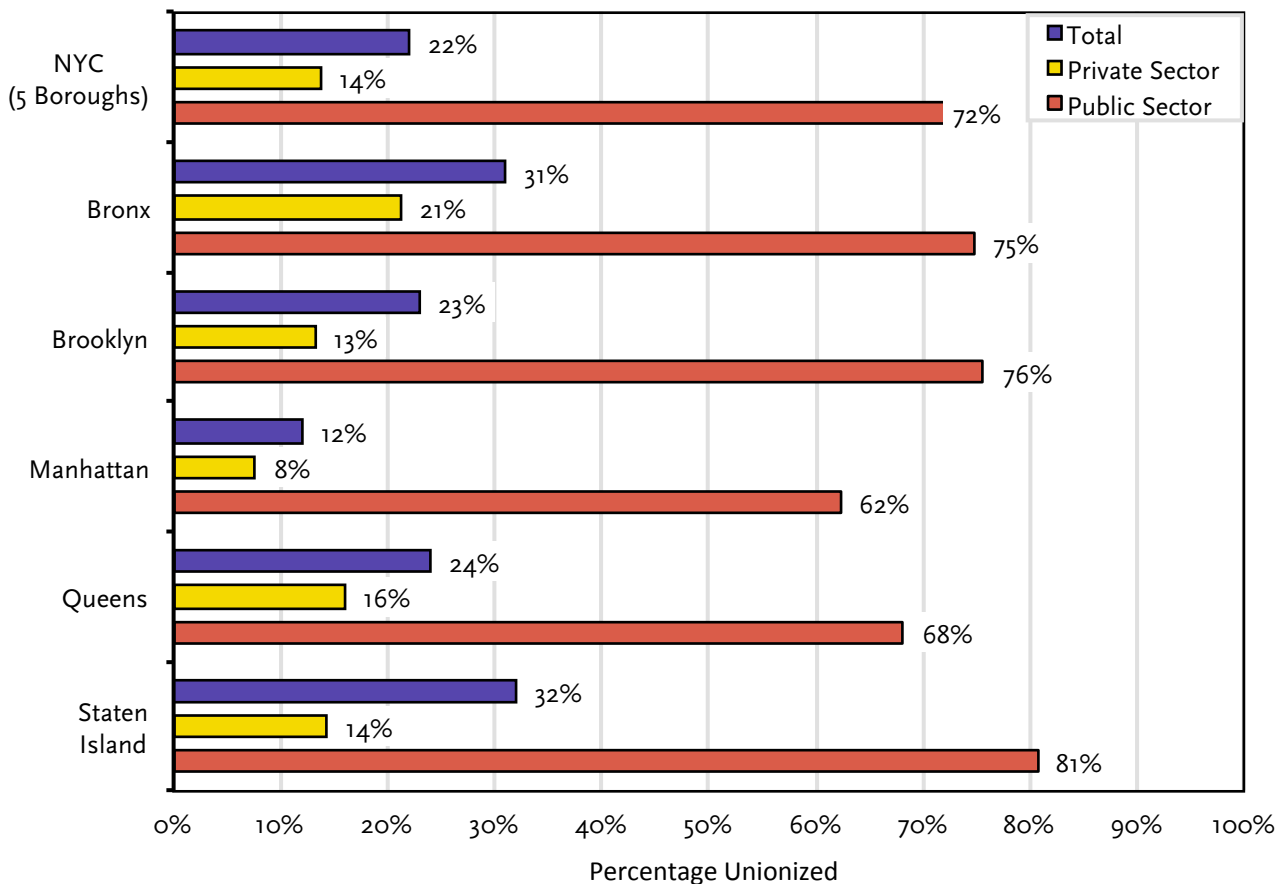
disproportionate share of public-sector employment, helps to explain why union density is higher in the Albany-Schenectady-Troy metropolitan area than in the other areas shown in Figure 3. As is typical of metropolitan areas that surround state capitals in highly unionized states, private-sector union 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 2012-13. The population of Staten Island has the highest union density levels in the city, closely followed by the Bronx. Given CPS sample size limitations, unfortunately we cannot analyze these inter-borough variations in more detail.⁸

Union Membership By Age, Earnings, and Education

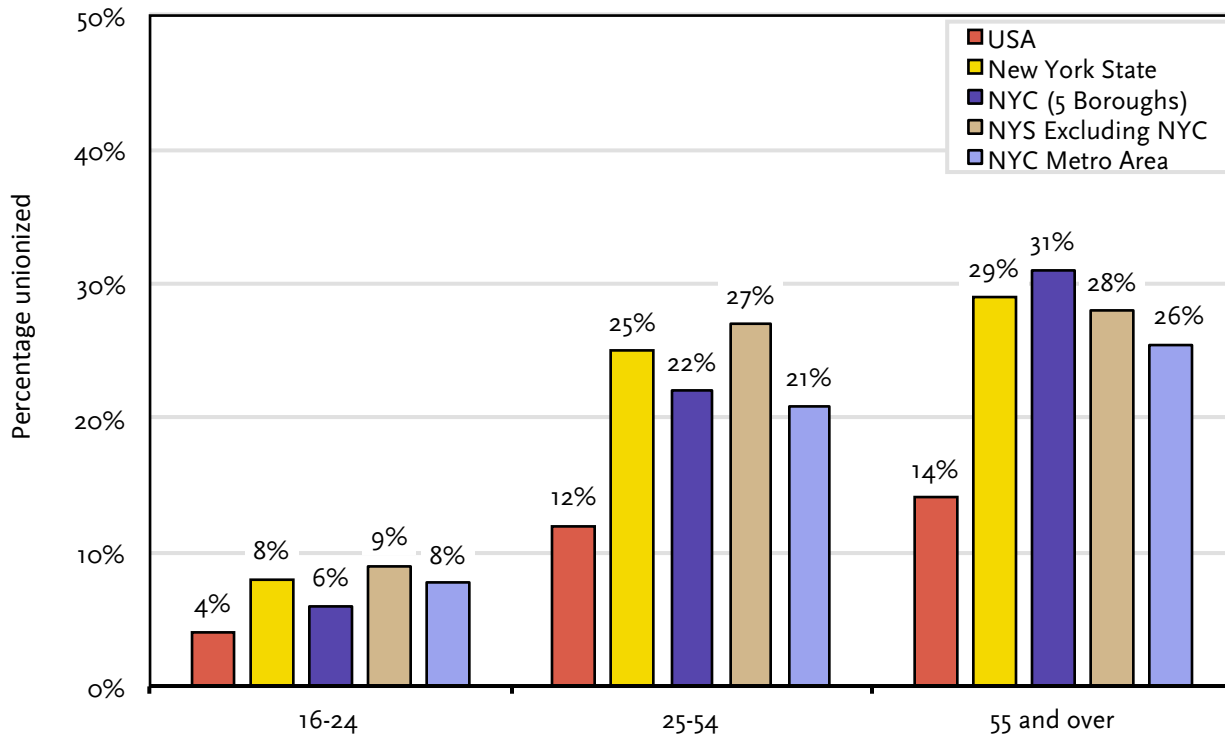
Unionization rates are much higher for older than younger workers. As Figure 5 shows, they are highest for workers aged 55 years or more, somewhat lower for those aged 25-54, and far lower—by a factor of about three relative to the 55+ group—for those aged 16-24. This pattern is consistent across all the geographical entities shown, reflecting 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 nonunion 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,

FIGURE 4. UNION DENSITY BY SECTOR, NEW YORK CITY AND ITS BOROUGHS, 2012-13



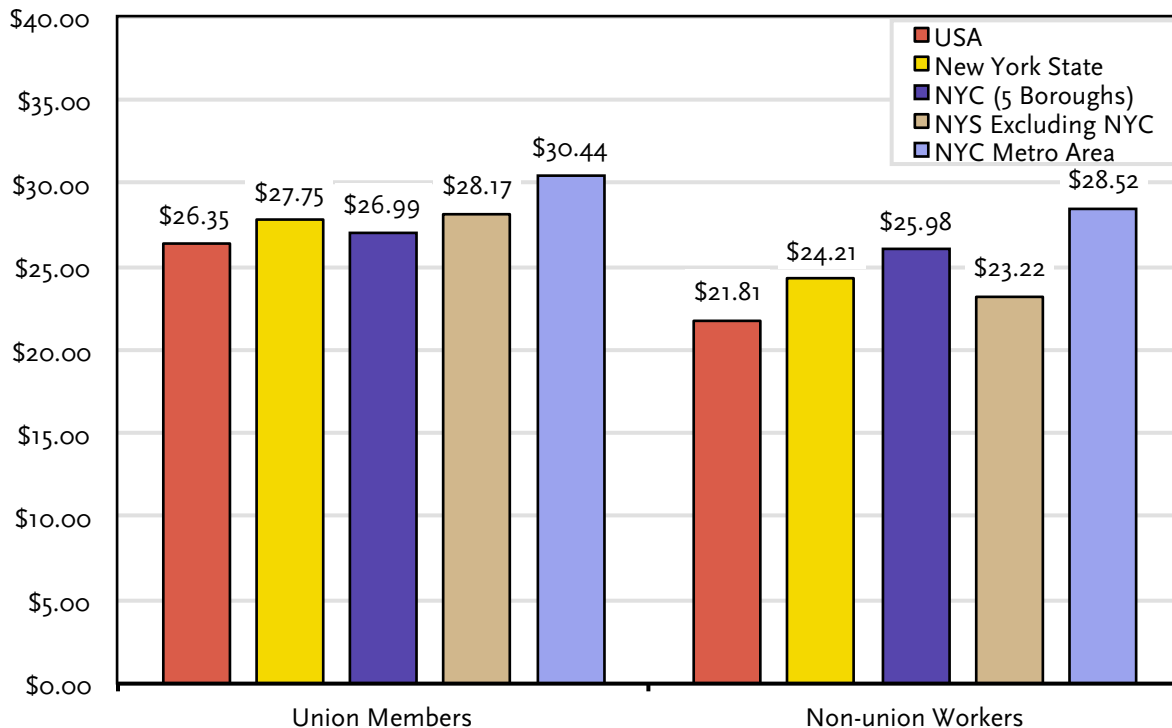
NOTE: Several values reflect subgroups with fewer than 100 observations. See footnote 1 for details. Percentages shown for 2012-13 include the 18 months from January 2012 to June 2013
Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2012 - June 2013

FIGURE 5. UNIONIZATION RATES BY AGE, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2012-13



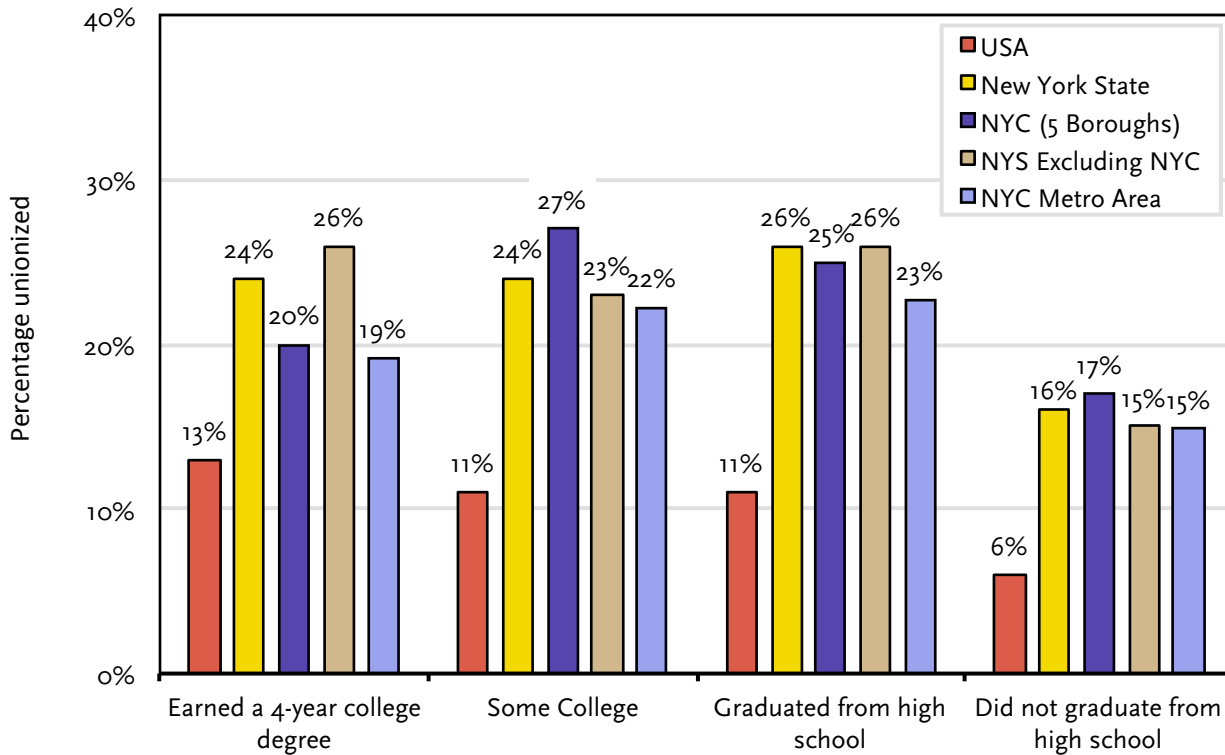
Percentages shown for 2012-13 include the 18 months from January 2012 to June 2013
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2012 - June 2013

FIGURE 6. MEAN WEEKLY EARNINGS, UNION MEMBERS AND NON-UNION WORKERS, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2012-13



Figures reflect preliminary estimates, in 2013 dollars.
 Percentages shown for 2012-13 include the 18 months from January 2012 to June 2013
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2012 - June 2013

FIGURE 7. UNIONIZATION RATES BY EDUCATION, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2012-13



Percentages shown for 2012-13 include the 18 months from January 2012 to June 2013
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2012 - June 2013

further reducing turnover and thus contributing to the relatively higher average age of unionized workers.

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 to a lesser degree in the New York City metropolitan area, where high school graduates have substantially higher unionization rates than college graduates do, and where workers with some college (but not a four-year college degree) have the highest rates of all. 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

As Table 1 shows, more than half (54.3 percent) of all unionized workers in the United States are 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 greater proportion of all unionized workers (61.1 percent and 60.8 percent, respectively). All three of these industry groups are comprised predominantly of public sector jobs (although the health care component of “health care and social assistance” is largely in the private sector) and all three include relatively large numbers of college-educated workers.

**TABLE 1: COMPOSITION OF UNION MEMBERSHIP BY INDUSTRY GROUP,
FOR SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS IN NEW YORK AND THE UNITED STATES, 2012-13**

| Industry Group | USA | New York State | NYS Excl. NYC | NYC (5 Boroughs) | NYC Metro Area |
|------------------------------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|------------------|----------------|
| Construction | 6.6% | 5.4% | 6.7% | 3.4% | 5.5% |
| Manufacturing | 9.8% | 4.0% | 6.2% | 0.5% | 2.3% |
| Wholesale and retail trade | 6.0% | 5.1% | 6.4% | 2.9% | 5.6% |
| Transportation and utilities | 12.8% | 11.1% | 10.7% | 11.7% | 12.3% |
| Information services | 1.9% | 2.1% | 2.1% | 1.9% | 2.2% |
| Finance, insurance and real estate | 1.5% | 3.6% | 1.6% | 6.6% | 3.8% |
| Professional and business services | 2.7% | 3.7% | 2.4% | 5.8% | 3.8% |
| Educational Services | 27.9% | 26.4% | 30.2% | 20.3% | 26.0% |
| Health Care and Social Assistance | 11.4% | 19.8% | 14.6% | 28.1% | 19.4% |
| Leisure and Hospitality | 2.7% | 3.2% | 1.9% | 5.2% | 3.3% |
| Other Services | 1.1% | 1.1% | 1.2% | 0.8% | 0.7% |
| Public administration | 15.0% | 14.6% | 15.9% | 12.7% | 15.0% |
| Other | 0.6% | 0.1% | 0.1% | 0.0% | 0.1% |
| TOTAL | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |

NOTE: Totals may not sum due to rounding.

**TABLE 2: COMPOSITION OF WAGE AND SALARY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY GROUP,
FOR SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS IN NEW YORK AND THE UNITED STATES, 2012-13**

| Industry Group | USA | New York State | NYS Excl. NYC | NYC (5 Boroughs) | NYC Metro Area |
|------------------------------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|------------------|----------------|
| Construction | 5.2% | 4.8% | 5.0% | 4.5% | 4.7% |
| Manufacturing | 11.0% | 7.4% | 10.0% | 3.7% | 6.7% |
| Wholesale and retail trade | 14.3% | 13.4% | 14.8% | 11.4% | 13.4% |
| Transportation and utilities | 5.3% | 5.3% | 5.1% | 5.6% | 5.9% |
| Information services | 2.2% | 2.9% | 2.5% | 3.4% | 3.3% |
| Finance, insurance and real estate | 6.7% | 8.8% | 6.6% | 12.1% | 44.0% |
| Professional and business services | 10.3% | 11.0% | 9.6% | 12.9% | 12.2% |
| Educational Services | 10.0% | 10.7% | 12.4% | 8.3% | 9.9% |
| Health Care and Social Assistance | 14.1% | 16.5% | 15.9% | 17.3% | 15.6% |
| Leisure and Hospitality | 9.6% | 9.3% | 8.1% | 11.1% | 9.0% |
| Other Services | 4.5% | 4.4% | 3.8% | 5.2% | 4.4% |
| Public administration | 5.3% | 5.3% | 5.8% | 4.7% | 4.9% |
| Other | 1.7% | 0.3% | 0.6% | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| TOTAL | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |

NOTE: Totals may not sum due to rounding.

As Table 1 shows, the composition of union membership in New York City (both in the five boroughs and in the larger metropolitan area), and to a lesser degree in the state as well, differs in some other respects from the national pattern. Manufacturing accounts for a far smaller share of union membership in New York than nationally, especially in the City, while finance, insurance and real estate (FIRE) and professional and business services account for a larger share of the total than 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 and public administration are the most highly unionized industry groups, as noted above, followed by the transportation and utilities industry group. 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 this industry group is only slightly above average, and below the rate for construction. At the other extreme, union density is consistently low—in the single digits—for wholesale

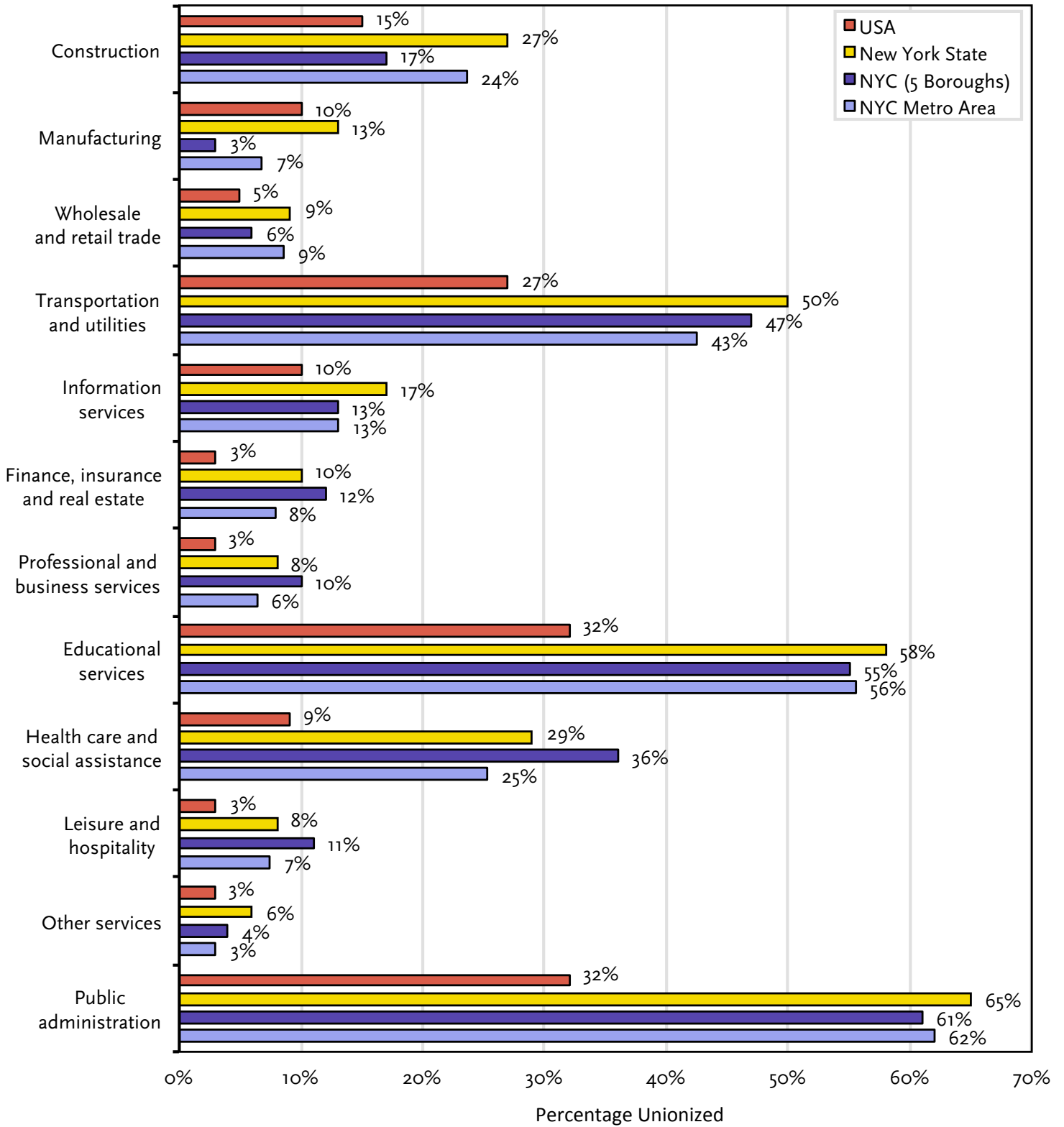
and retail trade, and for “other services,” regardless of geography.

Because these industry group data are highly aggregated, they obscure the complexity of the City, State and nation’s extremely uneven patterns of unionization by industry. The limited sample size of the CPS constrains our ability to capture that complexity for 2012-13. For this reason, we created a different dataset that consolidates CPS data over a much longer period, the ten and a half years from January 2003 to June 2013, inclusive.⁹ This 126-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, the unionization rates derived from this dataset differ somewhat from those shown in Figure 8 for 2012-13.¹⁰

Table 3 summarizes the 2003-2013 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. The few exceptions include food manufacturing and couriers and messengers, both of which had higher density in the State than in the nation as a whole, but more limited unionization in New York City; and retail grocery stores, in which the City lags behind both the State and the nation, reflecting the fact that unlike the rest of the country, New York City proper has vast numbers of small specialty retail food stores, very few of which are unionized. The City also has a lower density rate than the State or the nation for “other transportation.”

In 11 of the 41 industries shown, 2003-13 unionization rates were above 35 percent in New York City: utilities, air transportation, bus service and urban transit, postal service transportation, wired and other telecommunications, elementary and secondary schools, hospitals, nursing care facilities, home health care services, hotels, and public administration. With the exception of hotels, these industries also had rates at or above 30 percent in the State. In the case of air transportation and postal service

FIGURE 8. UNIONIZATION RATES BY INDUSTRY GROUP, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2012-13



Percentages shown for 2012-13 include the 18 months from January 2012 to June 2013
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2012 - June 2013

TABLE 3. UNIONIZATION RATES BY INDUSTRY, NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK STATE, AND THE UNITED STATES, 2003-2013

| Industry | New York City (5 boroughs) | New York State | United States |
|--|-------------------------------|----------------|---------------|
| TOTAL (All Industries) | 24.8% | 25.0% | 12.1% |
| Agriculture and mining | NA | 3.5% | 4.6% |
| Utilities | 61.5% | 56.5% | 29.0% |
| Construction | 26.4% | 29.9% | 15.4% |
| Food manufacturing | 8.9% | 17.7% | 15.9% |
| Textile and apparel manufacturing | 9.6% | 12.9% | 4.6% |
| Paper products and printing | 22.5% | 15.0% | 13.3% |
| Other manufacturing | 12.3% | 16.3% | 11.2% |
| Wholesale grocery and beverages | 13.2% | 18.2% | 11.0% |
| Other wholesale trade | 8.3% | 6.8% | 3.2% |
| Retail grocery stores | 13.8% | 24.9% | 19.1% |
| Pharmacy and drug stores | 8.8% | 6.7% | 4.9% |
| Department and discount stores | 14.8% | 6.2% | 2.6% |
| Other retail trade | 4.9% | 4.3% | 2.0% |
| Air transportation | 44.2% | 47.2% | 44.2% |
| Truck transportation | 15.9% | 20.1% | 10.4% |
| Bus service and urban transit | 76.2% | 64.5% | 41.6% |
| Postal service (transportation) | 78.1% | 80.6% | 64.3% |
| Couriers and messengers | 34.1% | 37.4% | 29.2% |
| Other transportation | 20.9% | 34.1% | 37.7% |
| Newspaper, periodical and book publishing | 9.0% | 13.2% | 7.2% |
| Motion pictures and video | 19.0% | 15.6% | 12.6% |
| Radio, television and cable broadcasting | 17.6% | 16.2% | 7.7% |
| Wired and other telecommunications | 39.6% | 37.1% | 18.9% |
| Other information services | NA | 31.8% | 17.5% |
| Finance, insurance and real estate | 12.4% | 9.2% | 2.5% |
| Building and security services | 24.5% | 15.9% | 4.8% |
| Other management and professional services | 3.5% | 3.7% | 1.8% |
| Elementary and secondary schools | 67.7% | 69.6% | 42.4% |
| Other educational services | 24.8% | 29.9% | 13.7% |
| Offices of physicians and other health providers | 9.3% | 4.8% | 2.2% |
| Hospitals | 50.1% | 40.2% | 14.5% |
| Nursing care facilities | 43.6% | 31.2% | 8.4% |
| Home health care services | 38.3% | 31.4% | 9.0% |
| Child day care services | 16.5% | 10.2% | 3.3% |
| Other health care and social assistance | 30.0% | 25.2% | 9.4% |
| Performing arts, museums, and sports | 19.7% | 23.8% | 12.1% |
| Amusement, gambling and recreation | 6.3% | 5.5% | 5.0% |
| Hotels | 35.5% | 20.9% | 7.9% |
| Restaurants, food service & drinking places | 3.0% | 2.6% | 1.3% |
| Other private-sector service industries | 8.5% | 6.9% | 3.1% |
| Public administration | 63.1% | 66.7% | 32.1% |

Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2003-June 2013

transportation, the high unionization rates are the product of national-level collective bargaining, but for the other nine industries they reflect union strength in local and regional labor markets.

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 overall was 13.8 percent in the 2003-13 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 less than 15 percent, some major Manhattan department stores are unionized "wall to wall." These data also fail to capture the differences among industry segments within construction, in which commercial construction is far more unionized than its residential counterpart in the City, 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.¹¹ 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 2012-13 unionization rate for women in New York City was higher than that of men, as Figure 9 shows.

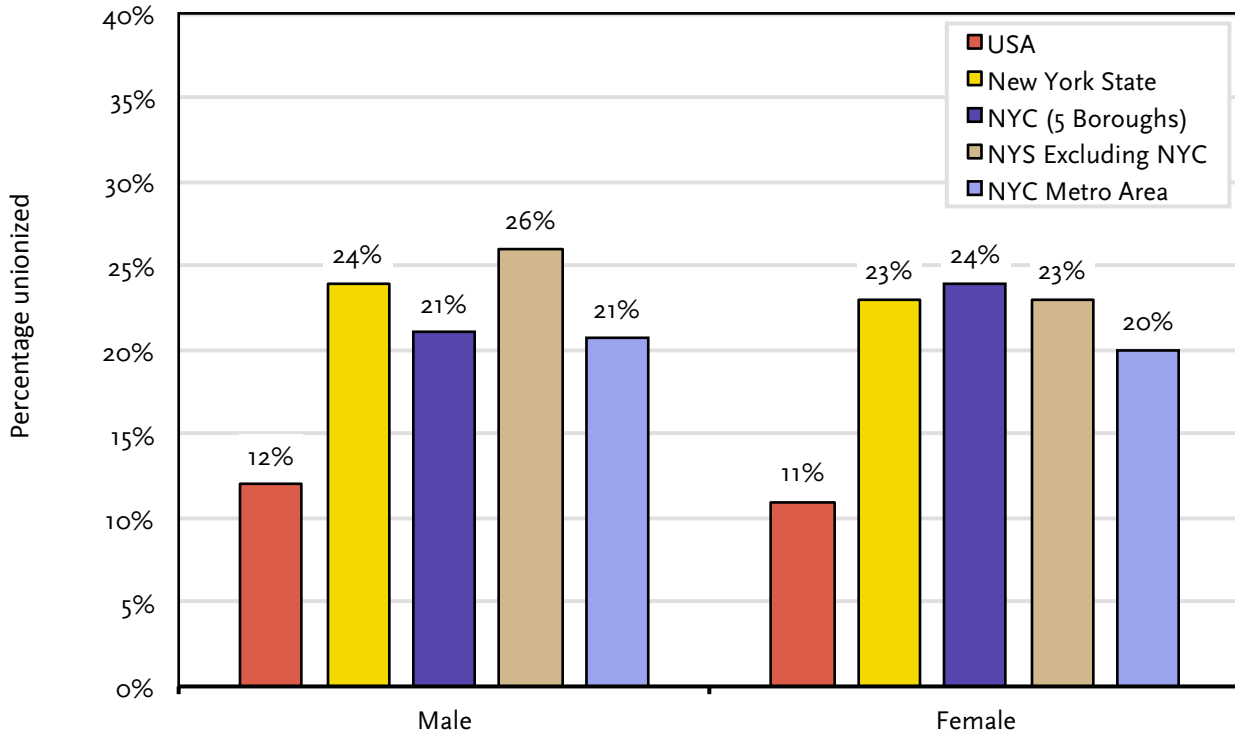
The male unionization rate was slightly greater than that of females in 2012-13 for the other geographical areas shown in Figure 9, but the gender gap is relatively small.

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. Blacks are the most highly unionized group in the nation, in New York State as well as in New York City, largely because of their disproportionately high representation in public-sector employment. This effect is further amplified in New York City because of the highly unionized transit sector, in which Blacks are also overrepresented. Although this is not the case for the other geographical areas represented in Figure 10, in New York City, Latinos had the second highest unionization rate among the racial/ethnic groups shown in 2012-13, higher than that of the City's non-Hispanic whites. (For further discussion see page 5.)

Immigrants and Unionization

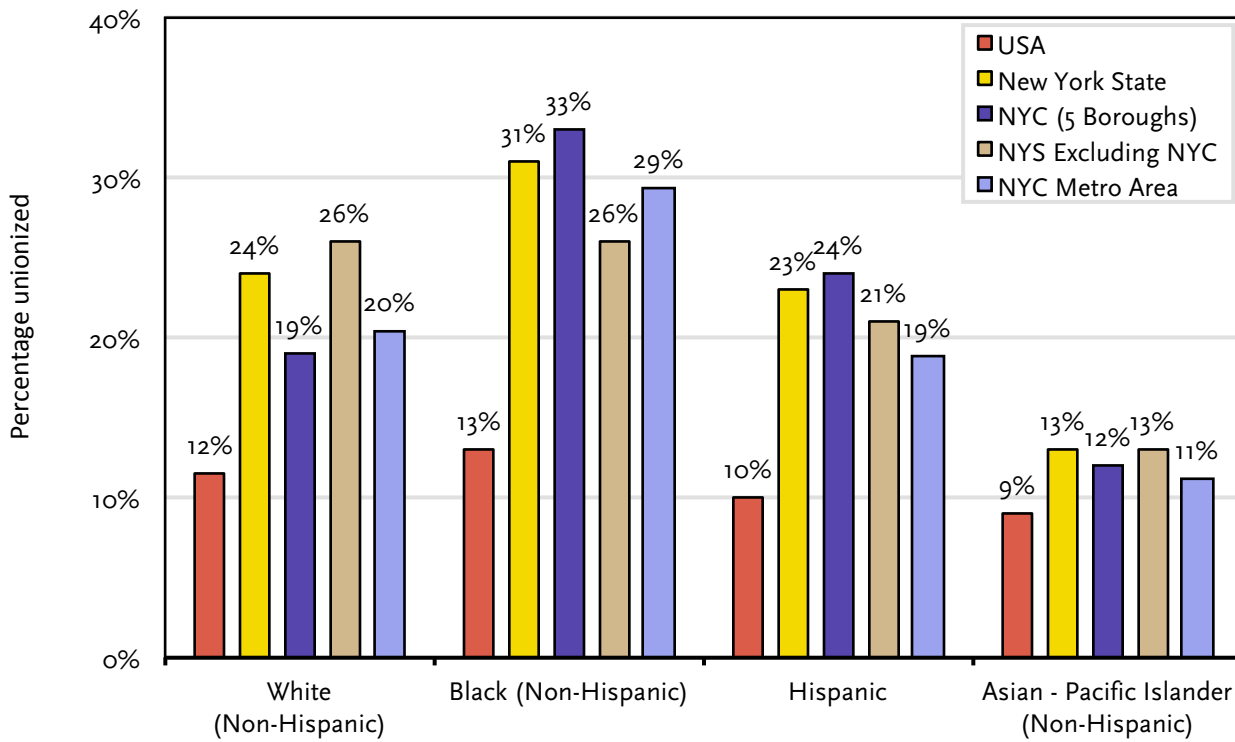
Unionization rates vary with nativity as well. As Figure 11 shows, in 2012-13 U.S.-born workers were more highly unionized than foreign-born workers, regardless of geography, once again reflecting the fact that relatively few foreign-born workers are employed in the highly unionized public sector. However, in New York City, the gap was much narrower than in the rest of the state or in the nation in 2012-13, when the foreign-born unionization rate was only one percentage point lower than that of the U.S. born. In addition, workers born in the U.S. territory of Puerto Rico—a substantial population group in both New York City and the rest of the state—are highly unionized.¹² Their unionization rate is in fact consistently higher than that of Blacks. Puerto Rican-born workers (all of whom are U.S. citizens) are highly overrepresented in public sector employment. In contrast, the foreign-born are underrepresented in that segment of the workforce, especially among those who have arrived in the United States recently.

FIGURE 9. UNIONIZATION RATES BY GENDER, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2012-13



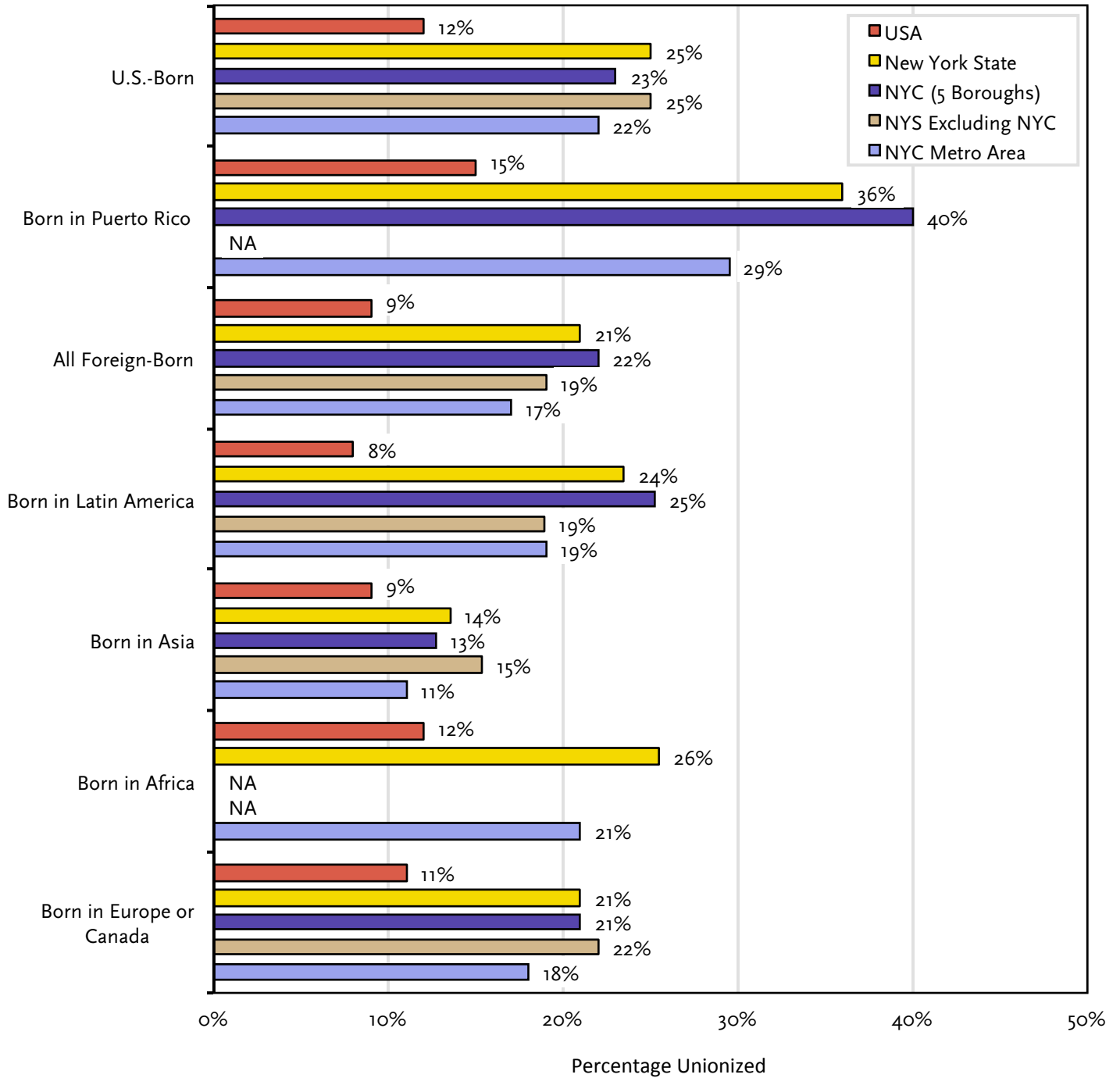
Percentages shown for 2012-13 include the 18 months from January 2012 to June 2013
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2012- June 2013

FIGURE 10. UNIONIZATION RATES BY RACE AND ETHNICITY, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2012-13



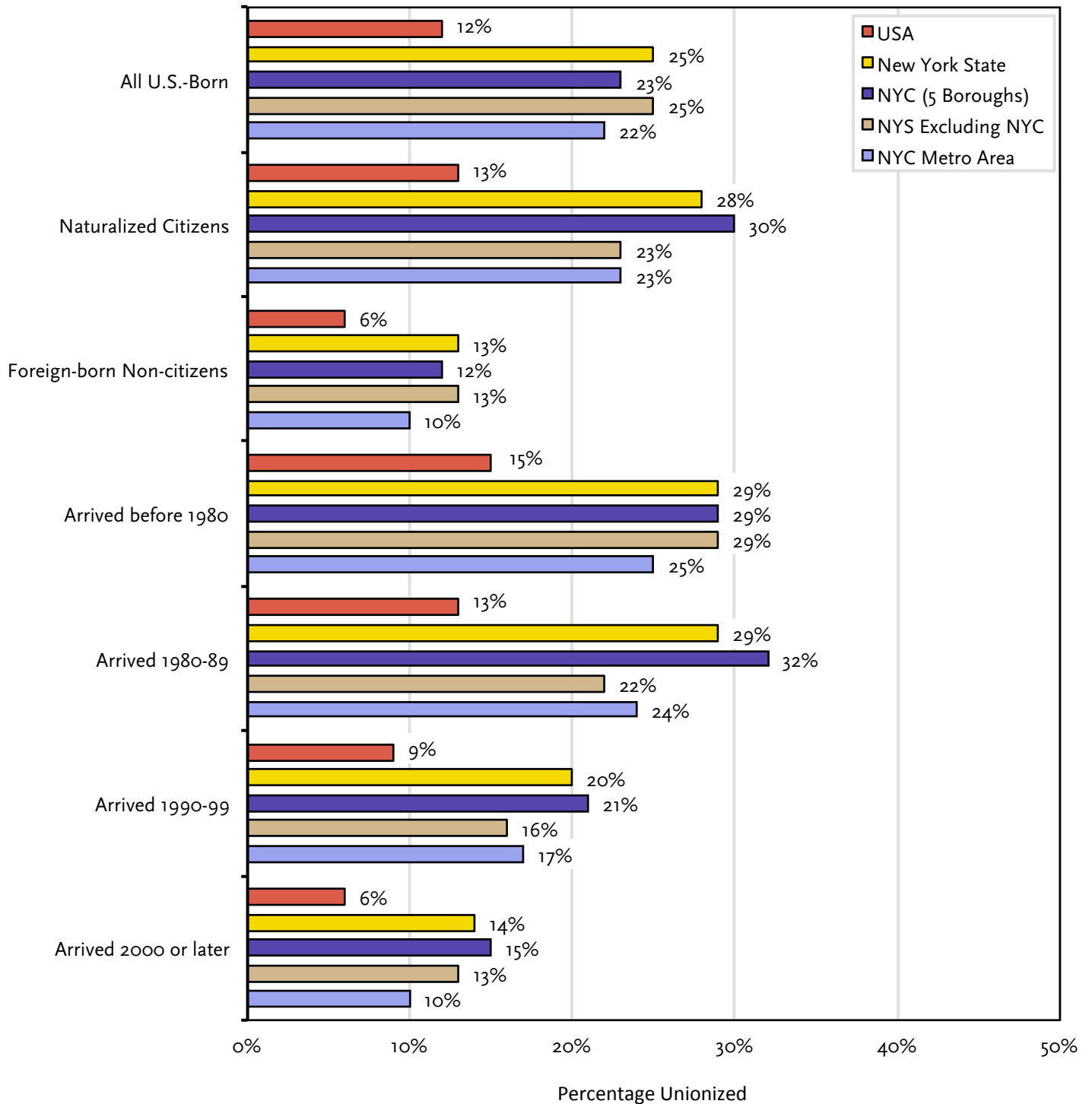
Percentages shown for 2012-13 include the 18 months from January 2012 to June 2013
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2012 - June 2013

FIGURE 11. UNIONIZATION RATES BY SELECTED PLACES OF BIRTH, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2012-13



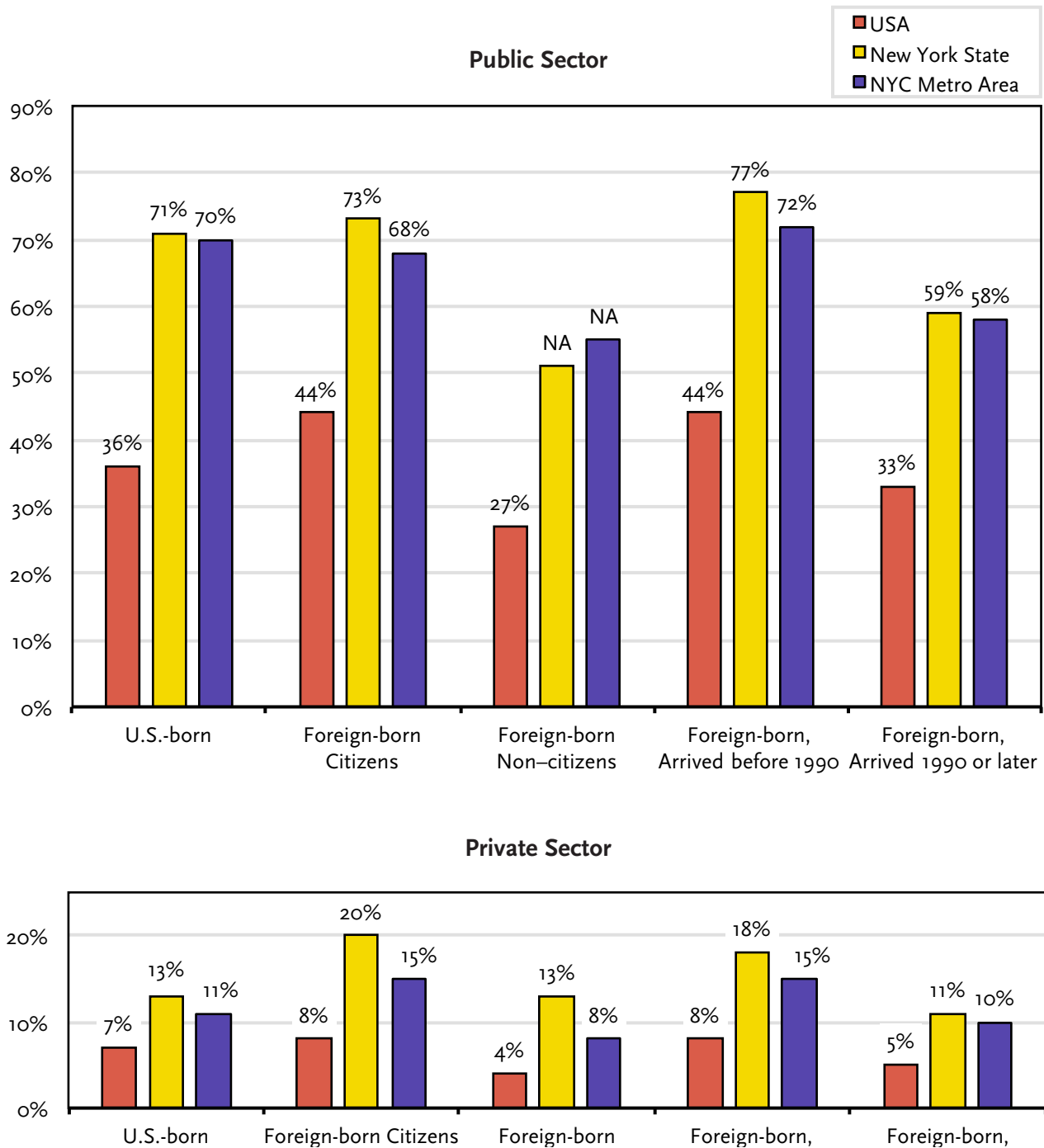
NA = Sample size is insufficient to generate reliable estimates. See footnote 1 in the text.
 Percentages shown for 2012-13 include the 18 months from January 2012 to June 2013
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2012 - June 2013

FIGURE 12. UNIONIZATION RATES BY NATIVITY, CITIZENSHIP STATUS, AND DATE OF ARRIVAL IN THE UNITED STATES, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2012-13



Percentages shown for 2012-13 include the 18 months from January 2012 to June 2013
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2012 - June 2013

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, 2012-13



NA = Sample size is insufficient to generate reliable estimates. See footnote 1 in the text.
 Note: Percentages shown for 2012-13 include the 18 months from January 2012 to June 2013
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2012 - June 2013

As Figure 12 shows, however, foreign-born workers are by no means a homogenous group. The 2012-13 unionization rate of naturalized U.S. citizens, and that of immigrants who arrived in the United States before 1990, are comparable to or higher than those of U.S.-born workers. More recent arrivals, by contrast, have extremely low rates of unionization. These newcomers are relatively young, and as noted above, few younger workers are union members, regardless of nativity. Moreover, the most recent immigrants are disproportionately employed in informal-sector jobs that have relatively low unionization rates.¹³ Over time, however, these data suggest that many immigrant workers manage to move up in the labor market, 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. after 1990, whose overall unionization rates are generally low (as Figure 12 shows), had 2012-13 public-sector unionization rates of 59 percent in New York State, 58 percent in the New York City metropolitan area, and 33 percent in the nation as a whole.

Relatively few noncitizens and recently arrived immigrants work in the public sector, however. Only 9.1 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 2012-13. By contrast, 16.0 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 to June 2013. 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 (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 2013 the rates shown in Table 4 are consistently higher than the comparable rates in 2012-13.)

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 any group shown in Table 4.¹⁵ At the other end of the spectrum, Italian-born workers, as well as those born 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 the case of New York City, that is the case for those born in Italy, the Philippines, Honduras, Barbados, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Colombia, Guyana and Ghana. Typically workers from these nationality groups are overrepresented in highly unionized industries. Thus for example, 42 percent of all Italian-born workers in the city are employed in education, health care and social assistance and construction (compared to 30 percent of all U.S. born workers in the city). For several other nationality groups, overrepresentation in the health care and social assistance sector largely accounts for their high unionization rates: 44 percent of Filipino immigrants, 24 percent of Dominican-born,

TABLE 4. UNIONIZATION RATES FOR FOREIGN-BORN WORKERS BY PLACE OF BIRTH, NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK STATE, AND THE UNITED STATES, 2003-2012

| | Place of Birth | New York City (five boroughs) | New York State | United States |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------|---------------|
| EUROPE | Italy | 32.0% | 31.7% | 20.4% |
| | Great Britain and Ireland | 23.5% | 24.0% | 10.7% |
| | Other Western Europe | 12.8% | 18.2% | 11.5% |
| | Russia | 19.2% | 18.2% | 9.7% |
| | Poland | 18.5% | 21.4% | 13.3% |
| | Ukraine | 19.9% | 18.9% | 11.1% |
| | Other Eastern Europe | 23.7% | 23.2% | 10.5% |
| | ASIA | Middle East | 19.4% | 18.6% |
| China (including Hong Kong) | | 10.3% | 11.1% | 8.3% |
| Bangladesh | | 13.2% | 12.8% | 8.1% |
| India | | 18.6% | 20.5% | 6.0% |
| Pakistan | | 20.7% | 21.0% | 8.8% |
| Philippines | | 31.3% | 30.3% | 18.3% |
| Korea | | 6.7% | 6.8% | 7.0% |
| Other Southeast Asia | | 18.4% | 16.7% | 9.5% |
| Other Asia | | 19.8% | 16.3% | 8.5% |
| LATIN AMERICA | Mexico | 4.6% | 6.6% | 6.8% |
| | El Salvador | 15.9% | 12.7% | 8.1% |
| | Honduras | 28.5% | 20.0% | 6.1% |
| | Other Central America | 33.6% | 24.8% | 7.7% |
| | Barbados | 29.2% | 29.4% | 26.1% |
| | Dominican Republic | 29.5% | 27.9% | 18.3% |
| | Haiti | 42.9% | 40.9% | 17.0% |
| | Jamaica | 37.7% | 35.4% | 20.5% |
| | Trinidad and Tobago | 28.8% | 29.1% | 18.4% |
| | Other Caribbean | 31.5% | 31.2% | 10.2% |
| | Colombia | 28.7% | 24.6% | 9.6% |
| | Ecuador | 18.7% | 17.1% | 12.1% |
| | Guyana | 30.0% | 28.6% | 21.6% |
| | Other South America | 18.8% | 18.4% | 7.7% |
| | AFRICA | Ghana | 43.1% | 41.4% |
| Other Africa | | 27.1% | 25.2% | 10.8% |
| | Other foreign-born | 19.4% | 19.3% | 10.2% |
| | U.S. (except Puerto Rico) | 25.7% | 25.6% | 12.6% |
| | Puerto Rico | 40.3% | 34.2% | 17.1% |

Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2003-June 2012

39 percent of the Haitian-born, 40 percent of the Jamaican-born, 30 percent of the Guyana-born, and 32 percent of the 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 percent of the city's U.S. born workers. Similarly, immigrants from Barbados, Bangladesh, Colombia, Ghana, Haiti, and Pakistan 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 varied distribution across industries, which differ in union density levels (see Figure 8), as well as 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.

In New York City and State, unionization levels are far higher than in other parts of the nation—about double the national average. 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 double the 2012-13 level (13.7 percent) level, and statewide the figure was 24.0 percent as recently as 1983 (compared to 13.8 percent in 2012-13).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 reached a record high. 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 precipitous drop in private-sector density is among the factors that have threatened to undermine that tradition in recent years. Although thus far public-sector density in the City has been preserved intact, in the wake of the fiscal crises generated by the recent economic downturn, public-sector unions have been increasingly on the political defensive. In addition, as we noted above, they have been unable to negotiate new contracts for several years, which means that their members have not

received any increases in pay or benefits since the Great Recession began.

Thus despite New York City and State's unusually high density levels—the highest of any major U.S. city and the highest of any state—this is a period of profound challenges 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 2012 and the first six months of 2013. We created a merged data set from the 18 monthly surveys conducted from January 2012 to June 2013, inclusive; the 2012-13 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, 2013), pp. 2-6. 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 the earlier years are from our September 2010, 2011 and 2012 reports, based on CPS data for January 2009-June 2010, January 2010-June 2011, and January 2011-June 2012, respectively, 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 2013.

3. An estimated 729,574 union members resided in New York City's five boroughs in 2012-13, while the statewide total is estimated at 1,885,710. 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/rvcps03.pdf>.) As a result, the data shown in Figures 1a, 1b and 1c for 2003-2013 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): Dutchess, Nassau, Orange, Putnam, Rockland, Suffolk, Ulster and Westchester Counties, New York; Bergen, Essex, Hudson, Hunterdon, 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. The only metropolitan areas (based on 2003 Census area definitions) outside of New York State for which Hirsch and MacPerson report greater 2012 union density than the New York-Newark-NY -NJ-PA CSA were the Honolulu, HI MSA and the Sacramento-Arden-Arcade-Roseville MSA, both of which include the state capitals of highly unionized states. See Hirsch and MacPherson 2013, pp. 38-49. Note that smaller MSAs are not included due to small sample sizes.

8. For the Manhattan and Staten Island, the values shown for the public sector are based on fewer than

100 observations (for Manhattan, N=82 and for Staten Island, N=64) so these data points should be interpreted with caution.

9. The CPS methodology changed 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 Rican are likely to be older, all else equal, which further contributes to their higher unionization rate. In addition, the number of observations in the 2012-13 dataset for

respondents born in Puerto Rico are slightly below our standard threshold of 100 (81 for New York City and 97 for the New York City metropolitan area, and should therefore be interpreted cautiously.

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

14. Table 4 only includes nationalities for which there are 100 or more observations in the 2003-13 dataset.

15. The CPS data do not include information on immigration status. Note that Mexicans have much higher unionization rates in the United States as a whole, reflecting the fact that in many other parts of the country the Mexican-born population includes many individuals who arrived decades ago and many who have become naturalized citizens.

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% 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 is compiled from a variety of sources and indicates the number of members claimed by individual unions with jurisdiction over New York City-based workplaces. Unlike the U.S. Current Population Survey data that serve as the basis for the rest of this report, the membership numbers shown below reflect unionized *jobs* in New York City, not 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 the report (the latter figure is 729,500) 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 live in the surrounding suburban areas. In addition, some unions may inflate their membership numbers, and unions with broader geographical jurisdictions may not know precisely how many of their members are employed within the City. Moreover, many of the unions listed, especially those in sectors like

transportation, building 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 often oscillate between jobs in the City and those in other locations. All these factors help account for the larger total in the table below than in the body of this report. There is also a factor operating 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 individuals 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 LM-2/3/4 forms and other sources by Luke Elliott. Thanks to Ed Ott for assistance with this effort as well.

| UNION NAME | Reported Membership |
|--|---------------------|
| Amalgamated Transit Union ^{a, c} | 15,274 |
| American Association of University Professors | 445 |
| American Federation of Government Employees | 7,943 |
| American Federation of Musicians ^b | 7,392 |
| American Federation of School Administrators - Council of Supervisory Associations | 6,238 |
| American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees ^c | 123,159 |
| American Federation of Teachers ^c (includes 16,645 members of PSC-CUNY and 124,577 in the NYC UFT) | 157,596 |
| American Postal Workers Union | 7,929 |
| Associated Actors and Artistes of America ^b | 18,845 |
| Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers International Union ^c | 1,805 |
| Benefit Fund Staff Association | 611 |
| Brotherhood of Security Personnel | 309 |
| Building and Construction Trades Department ^b | 160 |
| Civilian Technicians Association | 35 |
| Communication Workers of America ^{a, c} | 29,665 |
| Evelyn Gonzalez Union | 116 |
| Fordham Law School Bargaining Committee | 80 |
| Graphic Artists Guild ^b | 838 |
| Hearst International Employees Association | 153 |
| Hot and Crusty Workers Association ^d | 23 |
| Hotel Maintenance Carpenters Valet and Utility Workers | 714 |

| UNION NAME | Reported Membership |
|---|---------------------|
| Hunts Point Police Benevolent Association | 32 |
| Independent School Transportation Workers Association | 300 |
| Industrial Workers of the World | 60 |
| International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees | 18,583 |
| International Association of Bridge, Structural, Ornamental and Reinforcing Iron Workers ^b | 5,816 |
| International Association of Fire Fighters ^a | 8,942 |
| International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Allied Workers ^b | 883 |
| International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers ^e | 10,551 |
| International Brotherhood of Boilermakers ^b | 553 |
| International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers ^b | 33,679 |
| International Brotherhood of Teamsters ^c | 52,000 |
| International Federation of Professional and Technical Engineers | 142 |
| International Longshoremen's Association ^c | 2,805 |
| International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftworkers ^b | 7,654 |
| International Union of Elevator Constructors ^b | 2,491 |
| International Union of Journeymen and Allied Trades ^b | 34,756 |
| International Union of Operating Engineers ^b | 17,907 |
| International Union of Painters and Allied Trades ^b | 7,307 |
| Jewish Committee Staff Organization | 91 |
| Kingsbrook Jewish Medical Center Staff Association | 16 |
| Laborers' International Union of North America ^b | 17,613 |
| League of International Federated Employees ^c | 600 |
| Local One Security Officers | 692 |
| Maritime Trades Department Port Council | 38 |
| Metal Trades Department ^b | 20 |
| Mount Sinai Pharmacy Association | 98 |
| National Air Traffic Controllers Association | 154 |
| National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees | 1,359 |
| National Association of Letter Carriers | 7,322 |
| National Labor Relations Board Union | 81 |
| National Postal Mail Handlers Union ^c | 1,693 |
| National Production Workers Union | 49 |
| National Treasury Employees Union | 3,084 |
| National Union of Labor Investigators | 110 |
| Neergaard Employees Association | 8 |
| New York Professional Nurses Association | 863 |
| New York State Federation of Physicians and Dentists | 105 |
| New York State Nurses Association ^e | 23,903 |
| Newspaper and Mail Deliverers Union | 872 |
| Novelty Production Workers | 2,217 |
| Office and Professional Employees International Union ^c | 1,500 |
| Operative Plasterers' and Cement Masons' International Association ^b | 1,303 |
| Organization of Staff Analysts ^a | 4,617 |
| Organization of Union Representatives | 12 |
| Patrolmen's Benevolent Association ^a | 23,802 |
| Police Fraternal Order (Independent Union) | 425 |
| Postal and Federal Employees Alliance | 361 |
| Professional Association of Holy Cross High School | 55 |
| Professional Dieticians of New York City | 37 |

| UNION NAME | Reported Membership |
|---|---------------------|
| Restaurant Workers Union 318 | 170 |
| Screen Actors Guild & American Federation of Television and Radio Artists ^{b, c} | 35,000 |
| Security Alliance Federation of Employees | 33 |
| Service Employees International Union ^{a, c} (includes 130,000 NYC members in SEIU 1199 and 70,000 in SEIU Local 32B-J) | 216,156 |
| Sheet Metal Workers International Association ^b | 3,387 |
| Special Patrolman Benevolent Association | 200 |
| Stage Directors and Choreographers ^b | 2,569 |
| Taxi Workers Alliance ^f | 15,000 |
| Teacher Representatives Union | 1 |
| Transport Workers Union ^a | 46,242 |
| UNITE HERE ^c | 29,596 |
| United Association of Plumbers and Pipefitters ^b | 11,776 |
| United Auto Workers ^e | 13,885 |
| United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners ^{b, c} | 15,351 |
| United Construction Trades and Industrial Employees Union ^b | 443 |
| United Food and Commercial Workers International Union ^c (includes 9,154 members in the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union) | 16,289 |
| United Nations International School Staff Association | 213 |
| United Production Workers Union | 2,042 |
| United Steelworkers | 561 |
| United Transportation Union | 177 |
| United Uniformed Workers of New York ^{d, g} | 125,000 |
| United Union of Roofers, Waterproofers and Allied Workers ^b | 1,005 |
| Utility Workers of New York ^c | 7,100 |
| Workers United ^c | 10,000 |
| Writers Guild of America ^b | 2,100 |
| TOTAL | 1,231,187 |

^aPublic sector unions are not required to file LM-2/3/4 forms, although some do so; in cases where forms were not available, membership data were obtained directly from the union.

^bData 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.

^cThe 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.

^dThese data were obtained from media reports.

^ePrecise membership estimates for these unions are not available. The figures shown are likely to be inflated because they include some members employed outside New York City.

^fThe Taxi Workers Alliance is affiliated with the AFL-CIO, but its members are independent contractors and thus not eligible for union membership under current U.S. labor law.

^gThis includes the following unions: Assistant Deputy/Deputy Wardens Association; Bridge and Tunnel Officers Benevolent Association; Captains Endowment Association; Correction Captains Association; Correction Officers' Benevolent Association; Detectives Endowment Association; United Sanitationmen's Association (IBT); Lieutenants Benevolent Association; NYC Detective Investigators Association; NYS Court Officers Association; Police Benevolent Association MTA; Port Authority Detectives Endowment Association; Port Authority Lieutenants Benevolent Association; Port Authority Police Benevolent Association; Sanitation Officers Association (SEIU); Sergeants Benevolent Association; Superior Officers Benevolent Association - Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority; Uniformed Fire Alarm Dispatchers Benevolent Association; and Uniformed Fire Officers Association.

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 Murphy Institute

The Joseph S. Murphy Institute for Worker Education and Labor Studies was established over twenty years ago with the support of the late CUNY Chancellor Joseph S. Murphy. The Institute, part of CUNY's School of Professional Studies, conducts strategic research, organizes public forums and conferences, and publishes the journal *New Labor Forum*. The Institute's worker education program offers a wide variety of undergraduate and graduate courses and degree programs designed to meet the academic and career advancement needs of working adults and union members in the New York City area.

About the Center for Urban Research

Working with the City University of New York Graduate Center's faculty and students, the Center for Urban Research organizes basic research on the critical issues that face New York and other large cities in the U.S. and abroad; collaborates on applied research with public agencies, non-profit organizations, and other partners; and holds forums for the media, foundations, community organizations and others about urban research at The Graduate Center of the City University of New York.

About the New York City Labor Market Information Service

From Data to Information to Intelligence

New York City's policy makers and practitioners engaged in workforce development, education, and economic development operate within a dynamic and complex labor market. The New York City Labor Market Information Service (NYCLMIS) develops research and tools that help them make sense of the labor market and make informed decisions that benefit their constituents as well as New York City's economy as a whole. The NYCLMIS also serves to raise public awareness of critical employment-related issues facing New York City. The NYCLMIS began in 2008 as a joint initiative of the New York City Workforce Investment Board and the City University of New York (CUNY) and is housed at the Center for Urban Research at the CUNY Graduate Center.



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