

THE STATE OF THE UNIONS 2014:

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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AND THE CENTER FOR URBAN RESEARCH, CUNY GRADUATE CENTER

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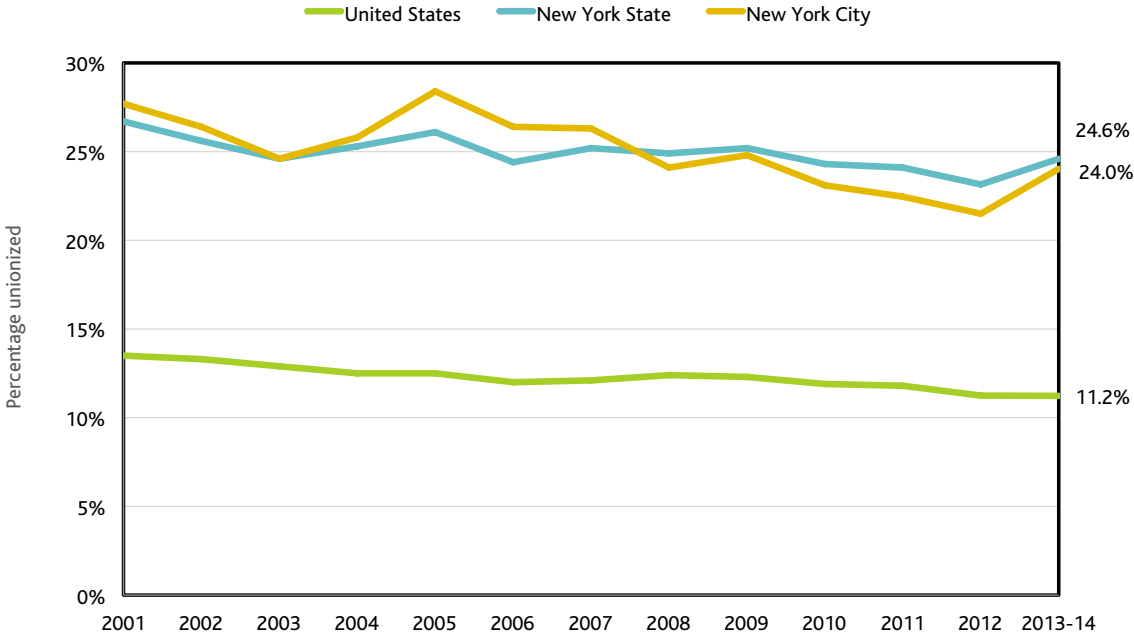
Organized labor in the United States has suffered sharp decline in numbers and influence in recent years. In addition to the challenges of an anemic economic recovery and persistent unemployment among many of their members, unions in many parts of the nation have faced unprecedented attacks on public-sector collective bargaining rights and aggressive demands for concessions from both public- and private-sector employers. In New York City, many 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; indeed, unions have had a modest rebound in the last year, reversing a pattern of steady erosion during the previous several 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 (24.0 percent) of all wage and salary workers residing in the five boroughs of New York City were

union members in 2013-14, up from 21.5 percent in 2012.¹ The unionized share of the workforce was slightly higher in New York State (24.6 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 2013-14.² In absolute terms, New York State had more union members – almost 2 million – than any state except California, which has a far larger population. In 2013-14, there were about 812,000 union members in the five boroughs of New York City, representing roughly two out of every five union members in the state.³

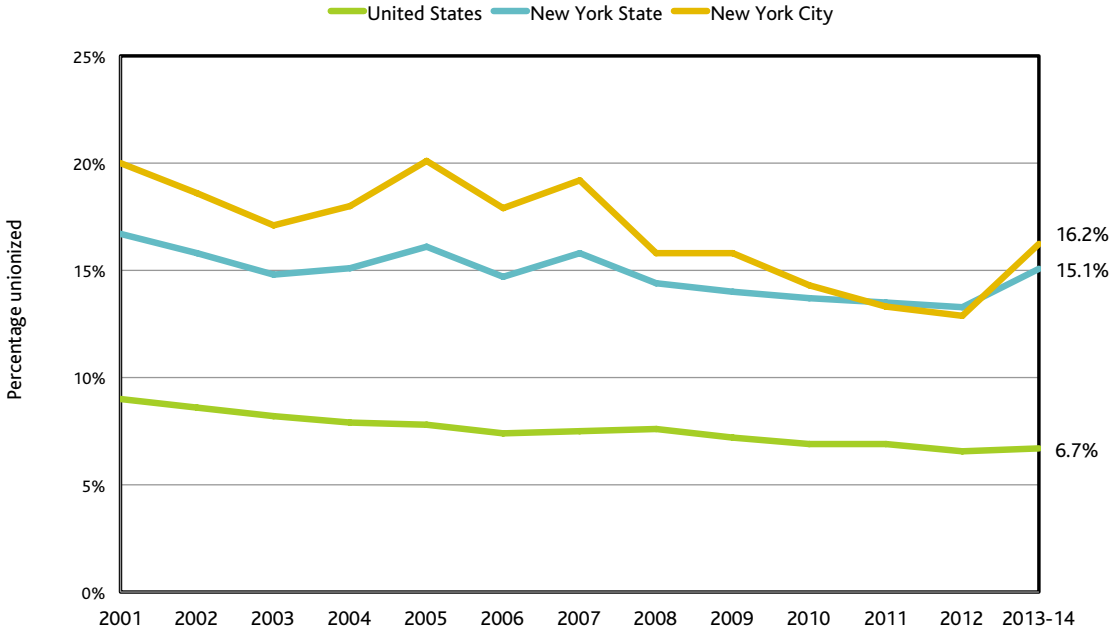
In recent years, losses in union membership have been disproportionately concentrated in the private sector (see Figures 1b and 1c), a trend that accelerated after 2007 as the Great Recession unfolded.⁴ By contrast, in the public sector, union density has been relatively stable (see Figure 1c). In a striking deviation from this pattern, private-sector density has increased modestly in New York City and State since our last report a year ago, reflecting the gradual recovery of employment in unionized industries hard hit by the recession, like construction and hotels. (See p. 5 for discussion.) Meanwhile, public

Figure 1a. Union Density in New York City, New York State and the United States, 2001 - 2014



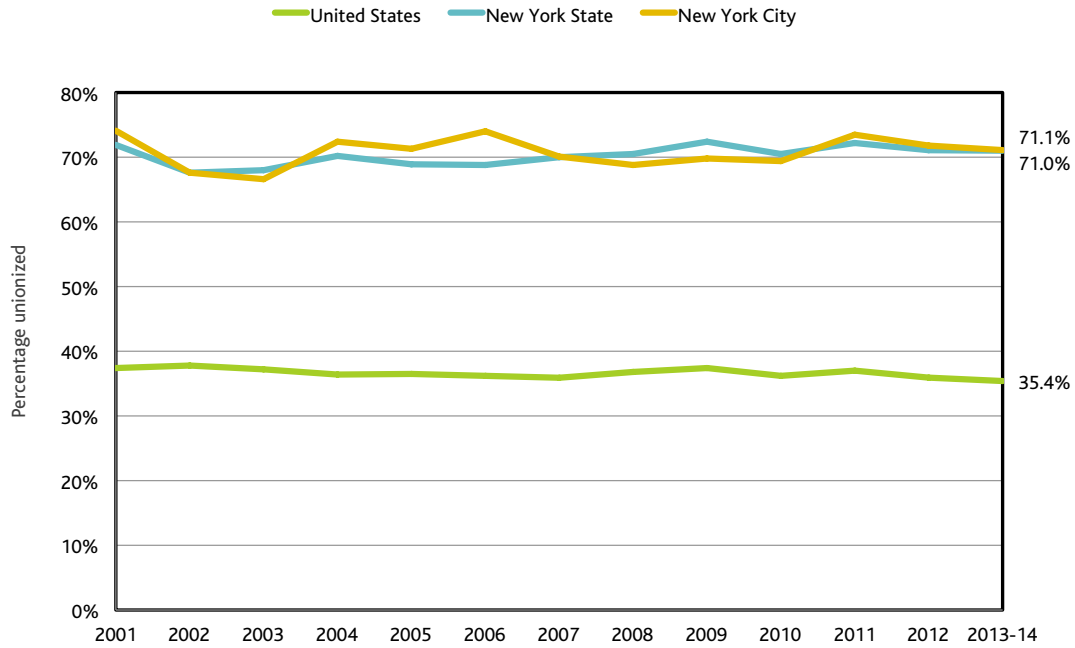
Percentages shown for 2013-14 include the 18 months from January 2013 to June 2014.
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2001 - June 2014.

Figure 1b. Private-Sector Union Density in New York City, New York State and the United States, 2001 - 2014



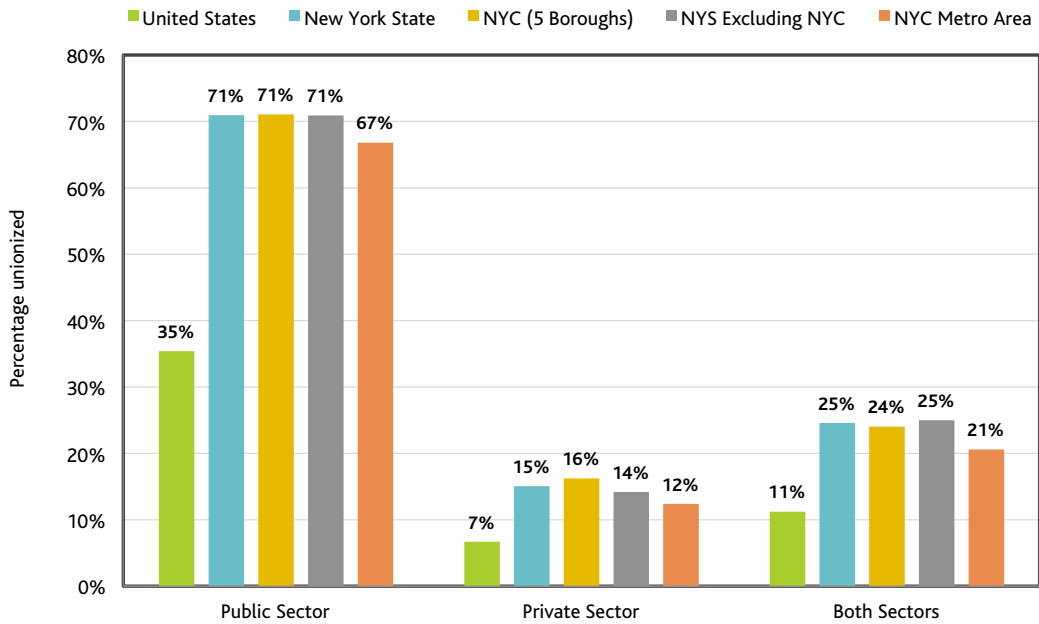
Percentages shown for 2013-14 include the 18 months from January 2013 to June 2014.
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2001 - June 2014.

Figure 1c. Public-Sector Union Density in New York City, New York State and the United States, 2001 - 2014



Percentages shown for 2013-14 include the 18 months from January 2013 to June 2014.
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2001 - June 2014.

Figure 2. Union Density, by Sector, New York City, New York State and the United States, 2013-14



Percentages shown for 2013-14 include the 18 months from January 2013 to June 2014.
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2013 - June 2014.

sector density has declined slightly in the City, and is unchanged from the previous year in the State.

Geographical Variation in Union Density

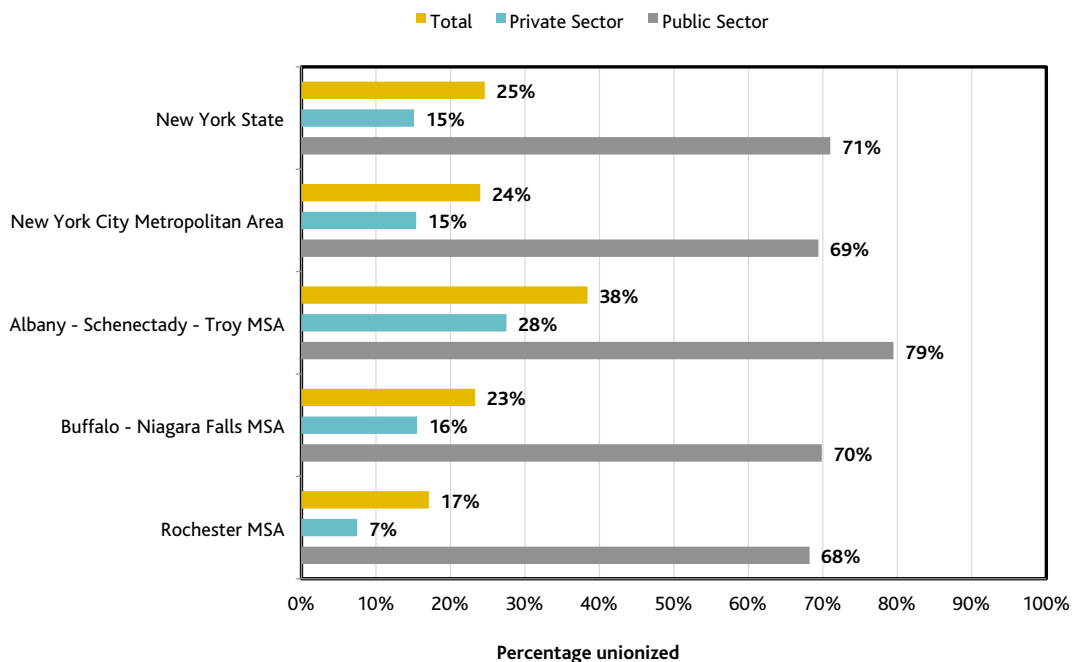
Figure 2 shows the 2013-14 private- and public-sector union density levels for the United States overall, New York State, New York City, upstate New York (excluding the five boroughs of New York City), and the larger New York City metropolitan “Combined Statistical Area.”⁵ These are the five entities 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 2013-14 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 (35.4 percent), with well over two-thirds of public-sector workers unionized in all of them. Private-sector union density was lower across the board, but in this sector too, New York State greatly exceeded the national average of 6.7 percent for 2013-14. 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 7 percent, just above the national average (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 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

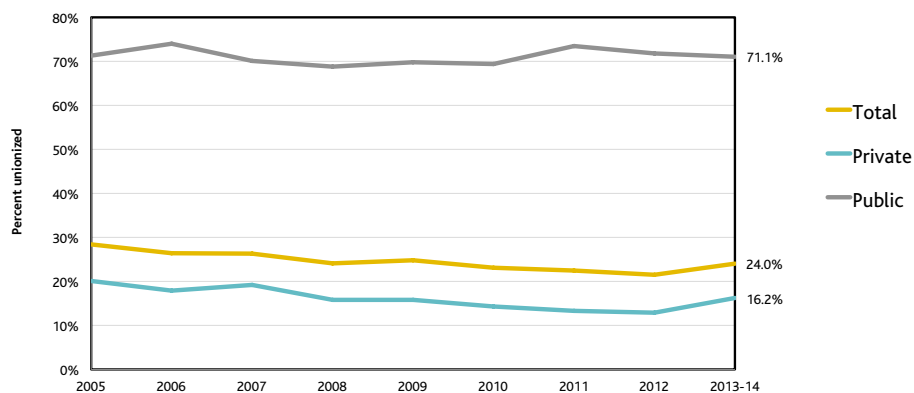
Figure 3. Union Density by Sector, New York City and Its Boroughs, 2013-14



Percentages shown for 2013-14 include the 18 months from January 2013 to June 2014. Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2013 - June 2014.

REVERSING PREVIOUS TREND, UNION DENSITY ROSE IN NEW YORK CITY IN 2013-14

Figure D1. Union Density in New York City, 2005-2014



Percentages shown for 2013-14 include the 18 months from January 2013 to June 2014.
Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2005-2014.

In 2005, 28.4 percent of New York City's population residents were union members. Over the next seven years, as Figure D1 shows, the City's unionization rate declined steadily, hitting a low of 21.5 percent in 2012. Since then, however, the rate has increased, reaching 24.0 percent for the 18-month period from January 2013 to June 2014, inclusive. Although it remains lower than before the Great Recession, union density in New York City has rebounded in this period.

This recent rise in New York City unionization has been almost entirely concentrated in the private sector. Although there have been modest fluctuations in public sector membership over recent years, the 2013-14 level (71.1 percent) is slightly below the 2012 figure (71.3 percent) and nearly identical to that for 2005 (71.3 percent). By contrast, the City's private-sector union density rose from 12.9 percent in 2012 to 16.2 percent in 2013-14. It is still well below the 2005 rate (20.1 percent) but nevertheless a striking reversal of the long-term trend.

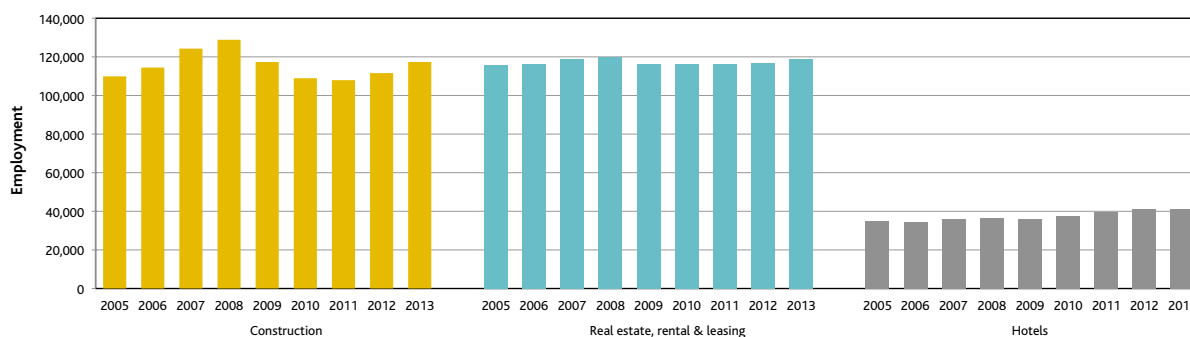
What drove this sudden reversal of fortune? In large part, it reflects the economic rebound of key sectors of the economy that suffered dramatic employment losses during the Great Recession. The most important such sector is construction, a highly unionized industry in which employment virtually collapsed during the recession, and which remained depressed for years after the start of the anemic recovery, but is now again showing signs of life. In that industry, the unionization

rate increased from 18 percent in calendar year 2012 to 25 percent in 2013-14. Although for several years before the recession, unionization in construction was trending downward, and union decline was accelerated by the economic downturn, the recent data reported here suggest that the unionized sector has now begun to recover. As Figure D2 shows, there was substantial employment growth in construction in 2013.⁷

There was also a significant increase (from 11 to 16 percent) in the rate of unionization in the "finance, insurance and real estate" (FIRE) industry. Almost none of the workers in the finance and insurance industries are unionized, but one sub-component of FIRE, the "real estate, rental and leasing" industry, includes janitors and building cleaners as well as baggage porters, bellhops and concierges, many of whom are union members. This may also reflect growth in the ranks of unionized hotel workers. As Figure D2 also shows, during the recession employment declined (albeit much less than in construction) in both the hotel industry and the real estate, rental and leasing industry during the recession, and in both it has recently begun to recover.

Unionization rates change under a variety of circumstances. In this instance, it appears that the 2013-14 resurgence of private-sector unionism in New York City was due to growth in historically unionized industries, particularly construction.

Figure D2. Total Employment in Construction, Real Estate, Rental & Leasing, and Hotels, New York City, 2005 to 2013



Note: 2013 data are preliminary. Data for hotels include only Manhattan and Staten Island.
Source: Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages, 2005 - 2013.

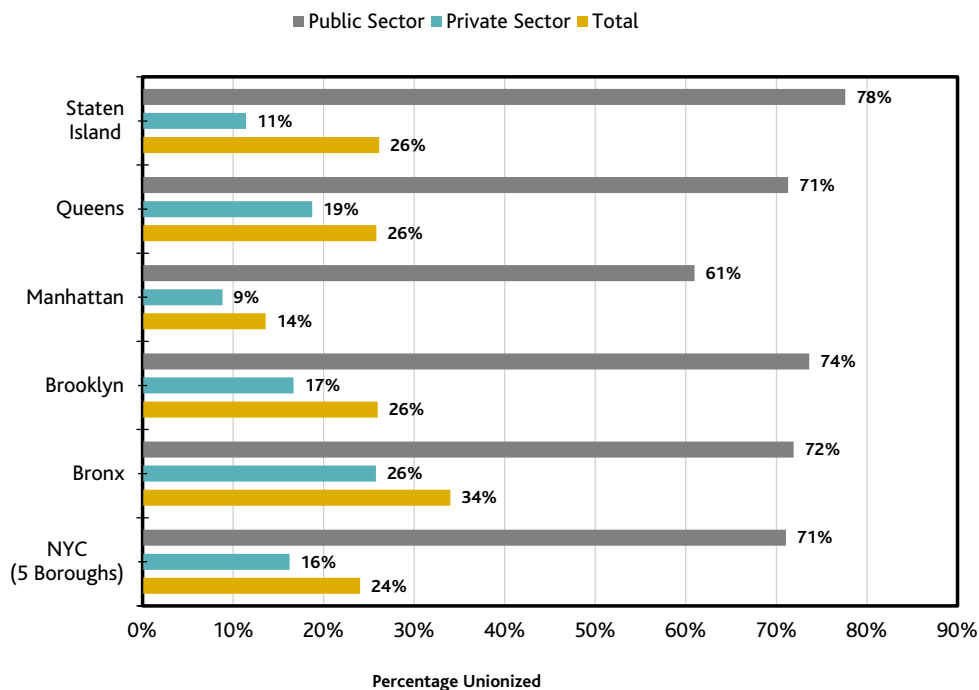
metropolitan areas that surround state capitals in highly unionized states, private-sector union density is also substantially higher in Albany-Schenectady-Troy than in any other area shown in Figure 3.8

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 2013-14. The highest private-sector union density level in the city is that for the population of the Bronx; in the case of public-sector unionization there is less variation, but Staten Island is the leader. Given CPS sample size limitations, unfortunately we cannot analyze these inter-borough variations in more detail.⁹

Union Membership by Age, Earnings, and Education

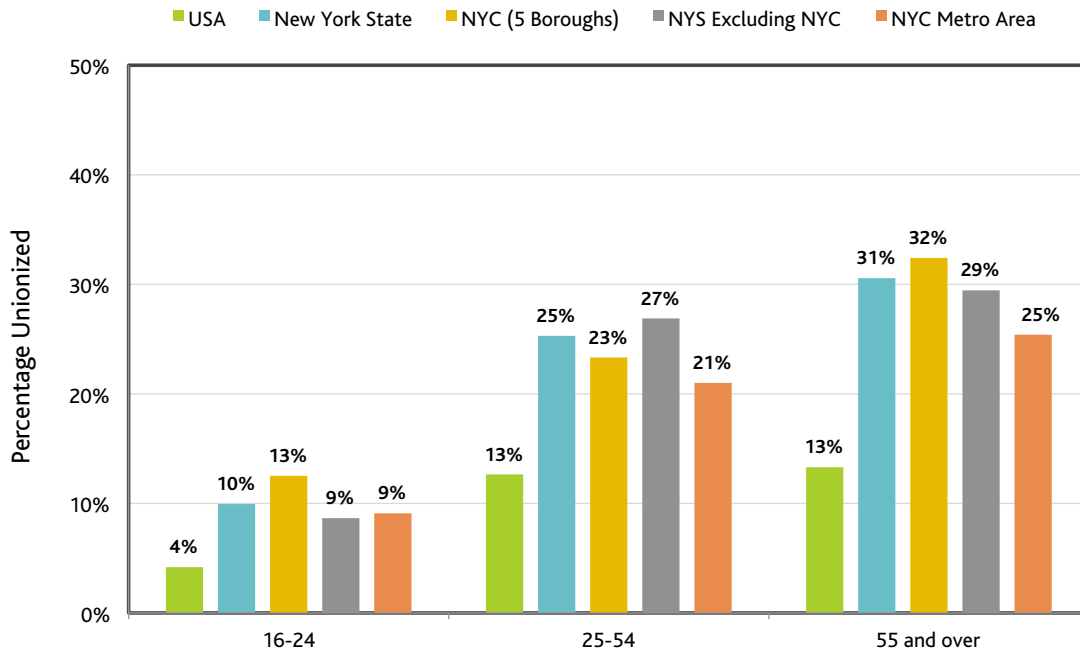
Unionization rates are much higher for older than younger workers. As Figure 5 shows, they are highest for workers aged 55 years or more, somewhat lower for those aged 25-54, and far lower – by a factor of about three relative to the 55+ group – for those aged 16-24. This pattern is consistent across 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 earnings 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 non-union jobs, further reducing turnover and thus further

Figure 4. Union Density By Sector, New York City and Its Boroughs, 2013-14



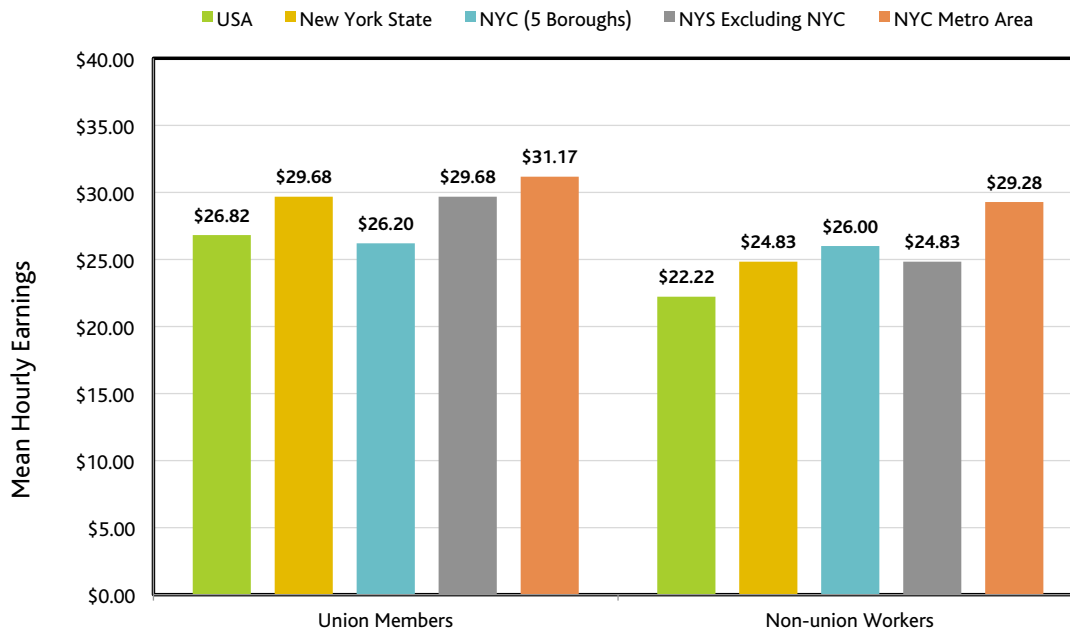
NOTE: Several values reflect subgroups with fewer than 100 observations. See endnote 1. Percentages shown for 2013-2014 include the 18 months from January 2013 to June 2014. Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2013-June 2014.

Figure 5. Unionization Rates by Age, Selected Geographical Areas, 2013-14



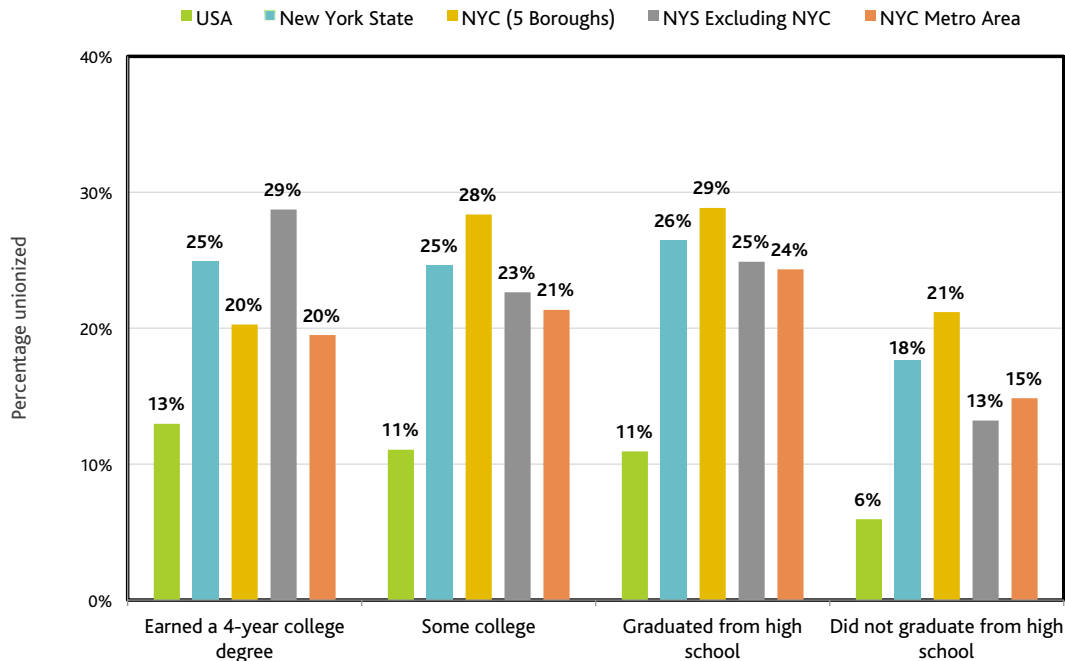
Percentages shown for 2013-14 include the 18 months from January 2013 to June 2014.
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2013 - June 2014.

Figure 6. Mean Hourly Earnings, Union Members and Non-Union Workers, Selected Geographical Areas, 2013-14



Figures reflect preliminary estimates, in 2013 dollars.
 Percentages shown for 2013-14 include the 18 months from January 2013 to June 2014.
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2013 - June 2014.

Figure 7. Unionization Rates by Education, Selected Geographical Areas, 2013-14



Percentages shown for 2013-14 include the 18 months from January 2013 to June 2014.
Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2013 - June 2014.

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 higher unionization rates than workers with some college (but not a four-year college degree) have rates nearly as high. 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 (53.6 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 (58 percent and 60.3 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.

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,

Table 1: Composition of Union Membership by Industry Group, for Selected Geographical Areas in New York and the United States, 2013-14

Industry Group	USA	New York State	NYS Excl. NYC	NYC (5 Boroughs)	NYC Metro Area
Construction	7.4%	6.0%	7.0%	4.4%	6.5%
Manufacturing	10.0%	4.9%	6.7%	2.3%	3.0%
Wholesale and retail trade	5.6%	5.1%	5.9%	4.0%	5.7%
Transportation and utilities	12.8%	9.6%	9.3%	10.2%	10.4%
Information services	1.9%	2.2%	1.9%	2.5%	2.4%
Finance, insurance and real estate	1.6%	4.1%	1.6%	7.8%	5.2%
Professional and business services	2.6%	3.8%	2.9%	5.2%	3.9%
Educational services	27.5%	26.0%	30.5%	19.5%	26.5%
Health care and social assistance	11.3%	19.3%	14.9%	25.7%	18.4%
Leisure and hospitality	2.8%	2.8%	1.5%	4.7%	3.1%
Other services	1.2%	1.1%	1.3%	1.0%	0.8%
Public administration	14.8%	15.0%	16.5%	12.8%	14.1%
Other	0.5%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

NOTE: Totals may not sum due to rounding.

SOURCE: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2013-June 2014

Table 2: Composition of Wage and Salary Employment by Industry Group, for Selected Geographical Areas in New York and the United States, 2013-14

Industry Group	USA	New York State	NYS Excl. NYC	NYC (5 Boroughs)	NYC Metro Area
Construction	5.4%	4.8%	5.3%	4.2%	4.9%
Manufacturing	11.1%	7.3%	9.7%	3.9%	6.6%
Wholesale and retail trade	14.1%	13.1%	14.2%	11.5%	12.2%
Transportation and utilities	5.3%	5.3%	5.0%	5.8%	5.6%
Information services	2.2%	3.0%	2.6%	3.5%	3.4%
Finance, insurance and real estate	6.8%	8.9%	7.0%	11.5%	10.1%
Professional and business services	10.4%	11.4%	9.9%	13.5%	13.0%
Educational services	9.9%	10.8%	12.3%	8.8%	10.3%
Health care and social assistance	14.1%	17.1%	16.2%	18.3%	16.1%
Leisure and Hospitality	9.6%	8.7%	8.0%	9.6%	8.1%
Other services	4.4%	4.1%	3.6%	4.7%	4.2%
Public administration	5.2%	5.3%	5.7%	4.7%	4.6%
Other	1.7%	0.3%	0.4%	0.0%	0.1%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

NOTE: Totals may not sum due to rounding.

SOURCE: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2013-June 2014

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.

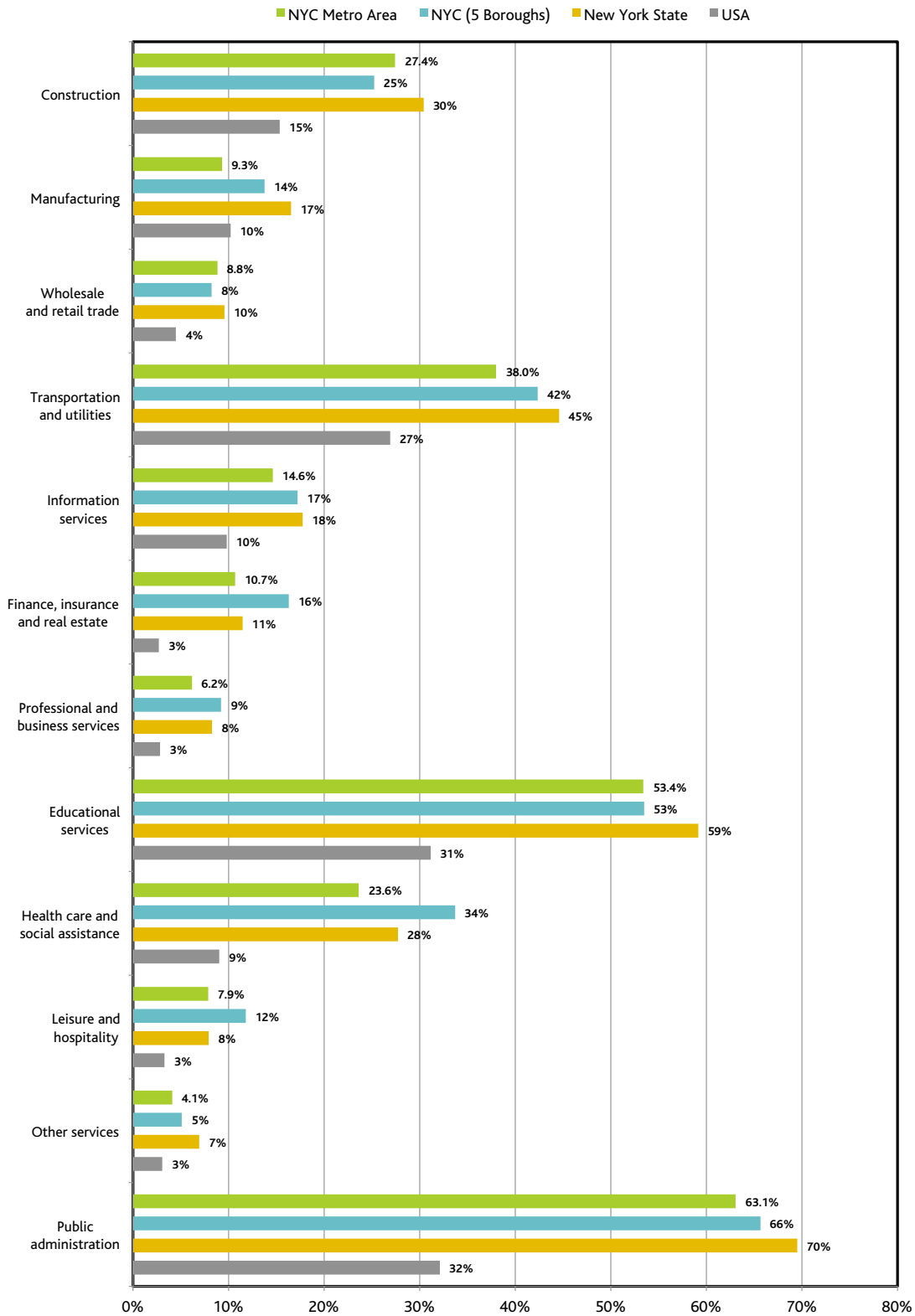
Because these industry group data are highly aggregated, they obscure the complexity of the City, State and nation’s extremely uneven patterns of unionization by industry. The limited sample

size of the CPS restricts our ability to capture that complexity for 2013-14. For this reason, we created a different data set that consolidates CPS data over a much longer period, the eleven and a half years from January 2003 to June 2014, inclusive.¹⁰ This 138-month blend provides a much larger sample size, permitting a far more disaggregated analysis of industry variations. Because of the longer time span represented in the data, the unionization rates derived from this data set differ somewhat from those shown in Figure 8 for 2013-14.¹¹

Table 3 summarizes the 2003-2014 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. Another exception is 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 10 of the 41 industries shown, 2003-14 unionization rates were above 33 percent in New York City: utilities, bus service and urban transit, postal service, 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 and nursing care facilities, these industries also had rates at or above 33 percent in the State; air transportation was also well above that threshold in the State (but not in the City). In the case of air transportation and postal service, the high unionization rates are the product of national-level collective bargaining, but

Figure 8. Unionization Rates by Industry Group, Selected Geographical Areas, 2013-14



Percentages shown for 2013-14 include the 18 months from January 2013 to June 2014.
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2013 - June 2014.

Table 3. Unionization Rates by Industry, New York City, New York State, and the United States, 2003-2014

Industry	New York City (5 boroughs)	New York State	United States
TOTAL (All Industries)	24.5%	24.7%	11.8%
Agriculture and mining	NA	4.3%	4.3%
Utilities	49.7%	54.4%	27.9%
Construction	27.4%	30.6%	15.5%
Food manufacturing	5.8%	13.6%	15.0%
Textile and apparel manufacturing	14.5%	13.9%	4.0%
Paper products and printing	20.9%	23.6%	12.7%
Other manufacturing	14.6%	15.8%	10.5%
Wholesale grocery and beverages	19.6%	18.3%	10.0%
Other wholesale trade	10.3%	8.1%	3.0%
Retail grocery stores	13.0%	24.0%	17.7%
Pharmacy and drug stores	11.8%	9.5%	4.9%
Department and discount stores	13.7%	5.9%	2.6%
Other retail trade	4.7%	3.9%	1.9%
Air transportation	32.6%	43.7%	42.9%
Truck transportation	14.7%	17.9%	10.2%
Bus service and urban transit	75.2%	65.0%	42.5%
Postal service	72.9%	74.2%	63.8%
Couriers and messengers	24.4%	29.7%	29.1%
Other transportation	24.8%	33.2%	37.0%
Newspaper, periodical and book publishing	10.0%	12.8%	6.7%
Motion pictures and video	21.4%	18.6%	11.5%
Radio, television and cable broadcasting	20.9%	16.3%	7.4%
Wired and other telecommunications	38.7%	36.6%	17.5%
Other information services	NA	29.3%	19.1%
Finance, insurance and real estate	14.3%	10.4%	2.6%
Building and security services	20.1%	14.3%	4.5%
Other management and professional services	4.7%	4.5%	1.9%
Elementary and secondary schools	67.3%	69.8%	41.3%
Other educational services	24.2%	28.2%	13.4%
Offices of physicians and other health providers	8.2%	5.2%	2.2%
Hospitals	47.1%	40.0%	14.4%
Nursing care facilities	41.0%	29.6%	7.5%
Home health care services	41.3%	34.6%	9.1%
Child day care services	13.2%	10.9%	3.2%
Other health care and social assistance	27.8%	24.4%	9.3%
Performing arts, museums, and sports	21.4%	22.6%	12.1%
Amusement, gambling and recreation	8.8%	6.5%	4.9%
Hotels	34.0%	21.8%	7.7%
Restaurants, food service & drinking places	3.7%	2.8%	1.4%
Other private-sector service industries	7.6%	7.0%	3.1%
Public administration	65.0%	68.2%	32.0%

Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2003-June 2014.

for the other industries they reflect union strength in local and regional labor markets.

Union contracts may no longer set the wage standard for the 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 13.0 percent in the 2003-14 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 only 13.7 percent, some major Manhattan department stores are unionized "wall to wall." These data also fail to capture the differences among industry segments within construction; for example, commercial construction is far more unionized than its residential counterpart (including the affordable housing sector) 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.¹² 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 2013-14 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 2013-14 for the other geographical areas shown in Figure 9, but the gender gap is relatively small.

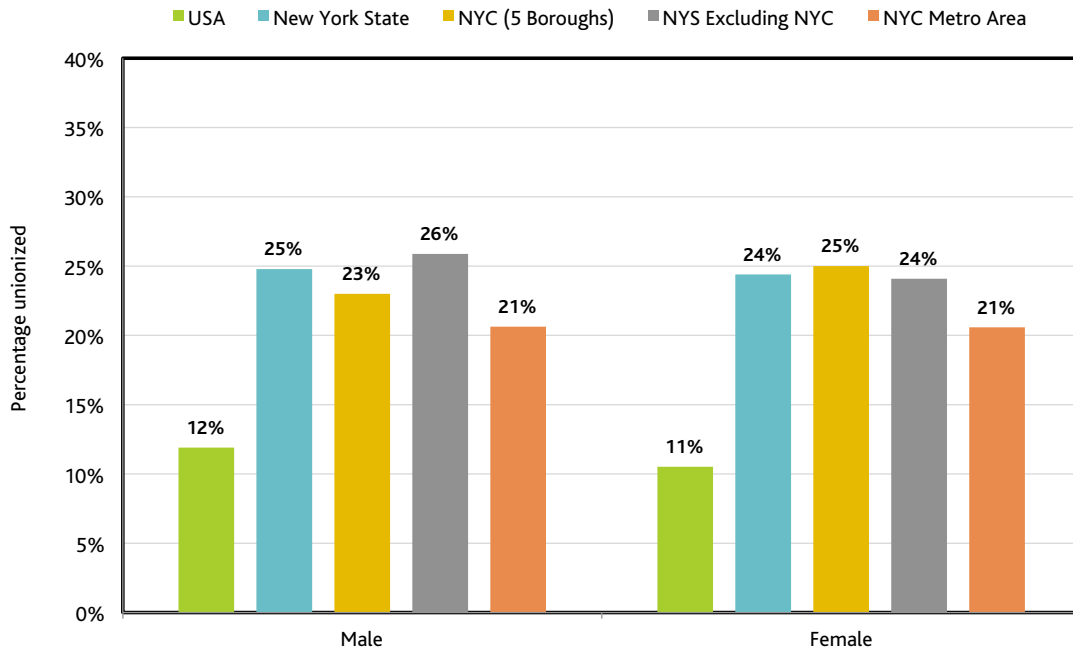
Unionization rates also vary by race and ethnicity, as Figure 10 shows. Like the gender dynamic, this too reflects differential racial and ethnic patterns of employment across industries. Blacks are the most highly unionized group in the nation, in New York State as well as in New York City, largely 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 shown in Figure 10, in New York City, Latinos had the second highest unionization rate among the racial/ethnic groups shown in 2013-14, higher than that of non-Hispanic whites.

Immigrants and Unionization

Unionization rates vary with nativity as well. As Figure 11 shows, in 2013-14 U.S.-born workers tend to be 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. However, in New York City, the gap has closed: the foreign-born unionization rate is now virtually equal to that of the U.S. born.¹³ 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.¹⁴ 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 arrived in the United States recently.

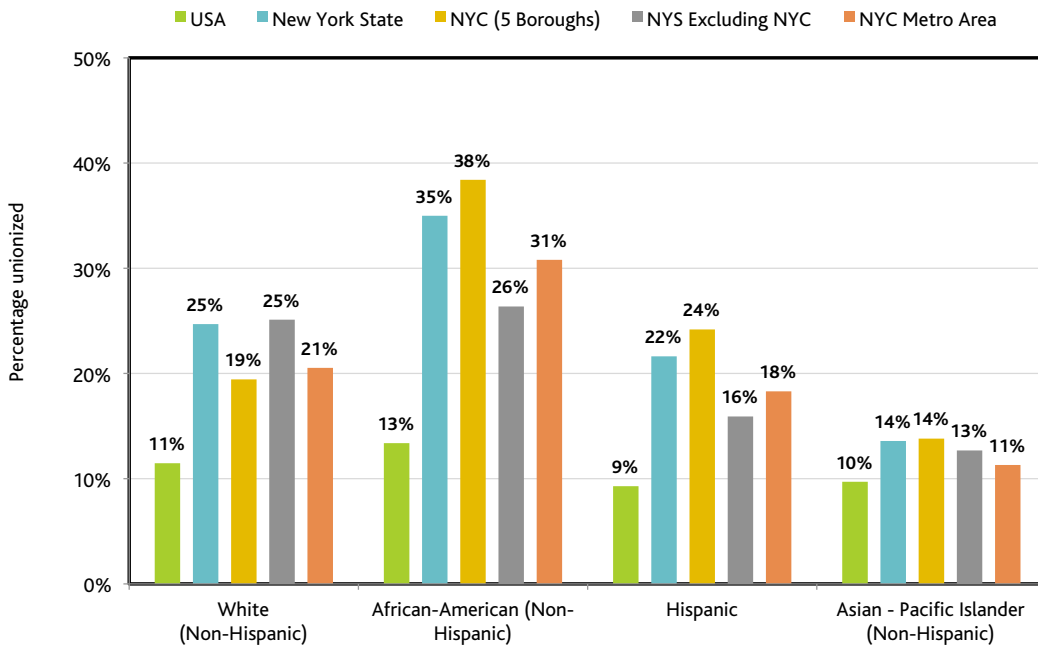
As Figure 12 shows, however, foreign-born workers are by no means a homogenous group. Nationally

Figure 9. Unionization Rates by Gender, Selected Geographical Areas, 2013-14



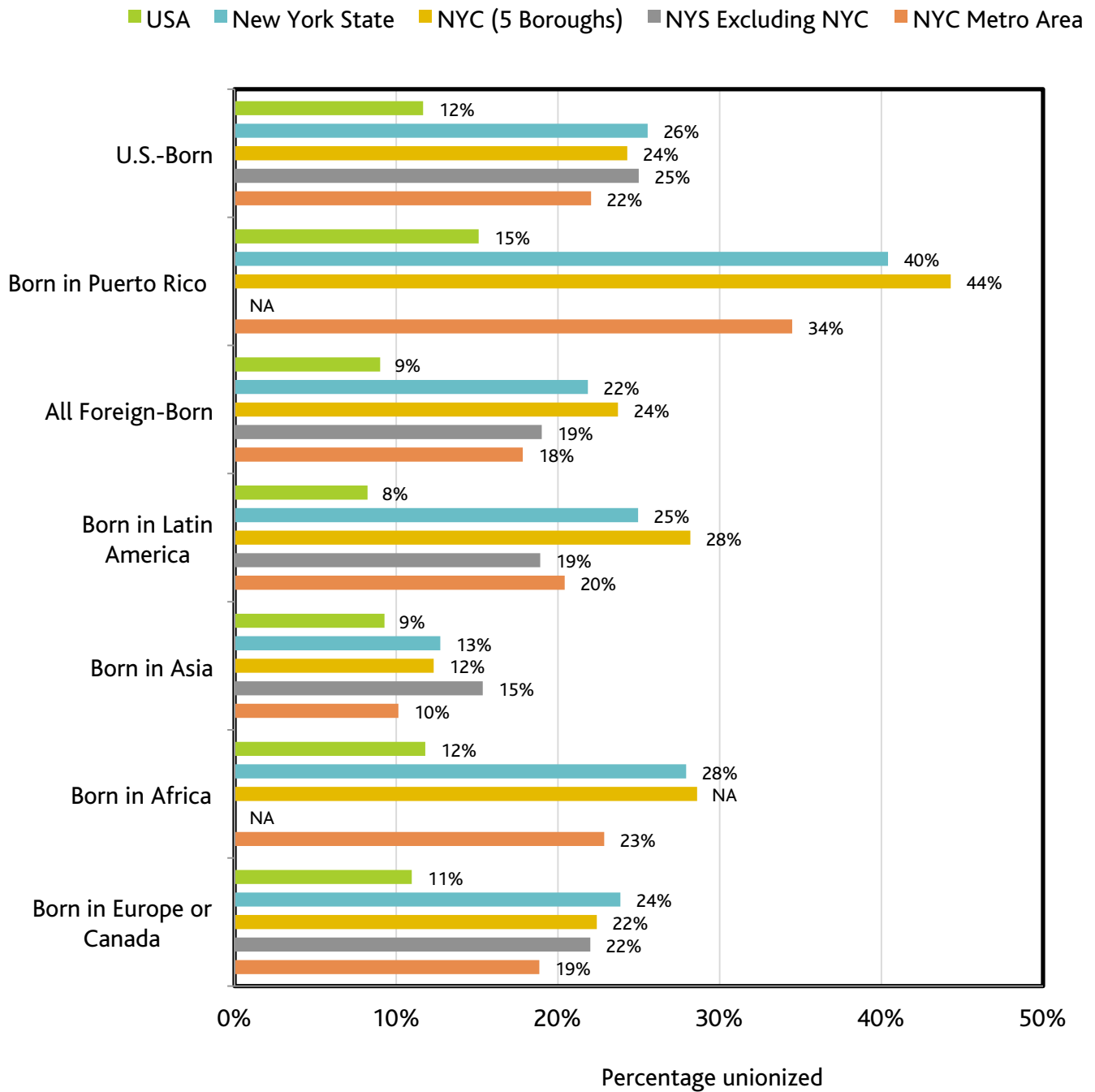
Percentages shown for 2013-14 include the 18 months from January 2013 to June 2014.
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2013 - June 2014.

Figure 10. Unionization Rates by Race and Ethnicity, Selected Geographical Areas, 2013-14



Percentages shown for 2013-14 include the 18 months from January 2013 to June 2014.
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2013 - June 2014.

Figure 11. Unionization Rates by Selected Places of Birth, Selected Geographical Areas, 2013-14



NA = Sample size is insufficient to generate reliable estimates. See endnote1.
 Percentages shown for 2013-14 include the 18 months from January 2013 to June 2014.
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2013 - June 2014.

and in New York City and State, the 2013-14 unionization rates of naturalized U.S. citizens and of immigrants who arrived in the United States before 1990 are substantially higher than that of U.S.-born workers (although this is not true for upstate New York). Recent immigrants, 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.¹⁵ Over time, however, these data suggest that many immigrant workers do 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. in or after 1990, whose overall unionization rates are generally low (as Figure 12 shows), had 2013-14 public-sector unionization rates of 57 percent in New York State, 55 percent in the New York City metropolitan area, and 28 percent in the nation as a whole.

Relatively few noncitizens and recently arrived immigrants work in the public sector, however. Only 5.2 percent of all foreign-born noncitizens in the United States, and only 7.3 percent of all foreign-born workers who arrived in or after 1990, were employed in the public sector in 2013-14. By contrast, 15.8 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.

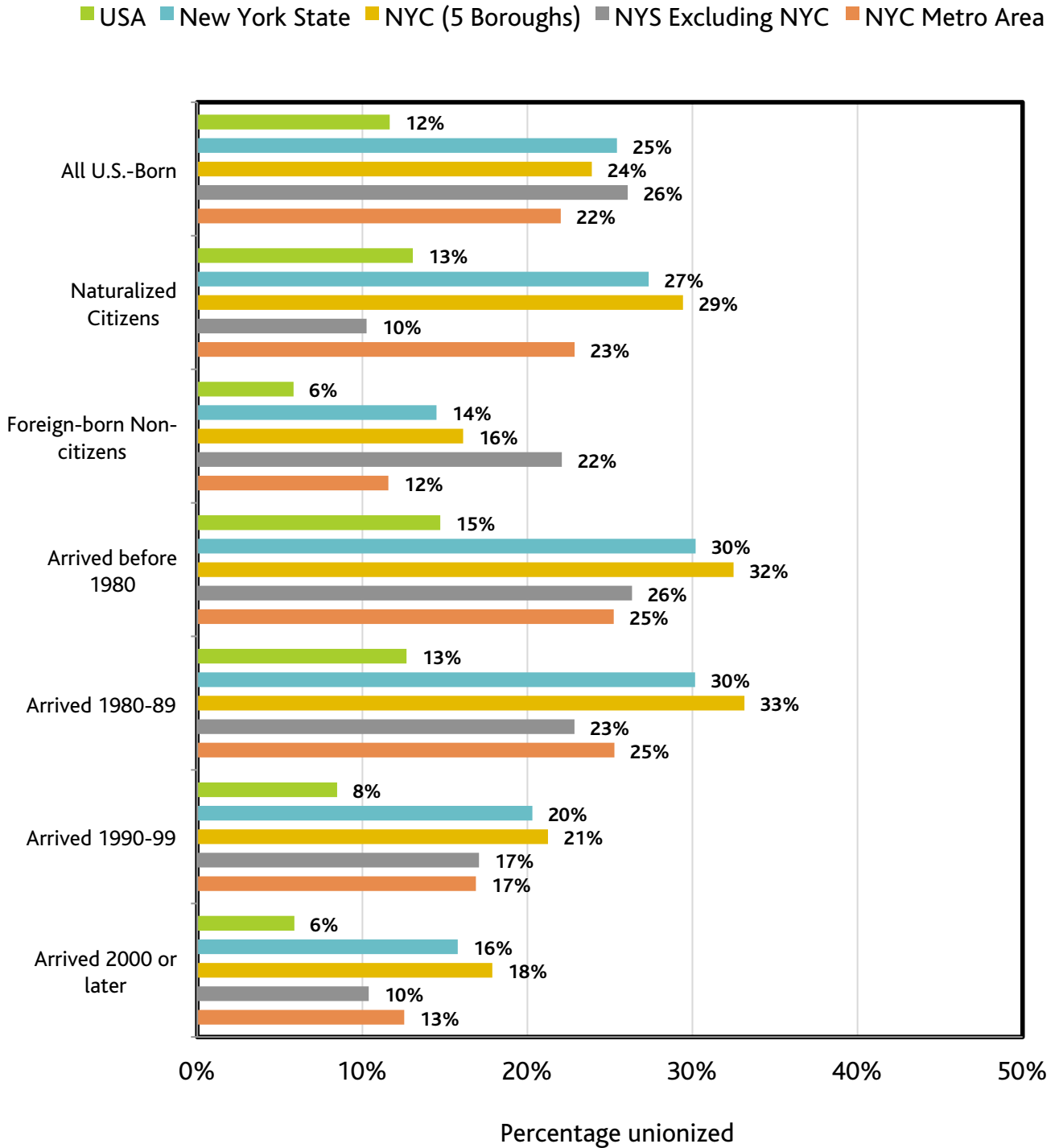
Table 4 offers a closer look at patterns of immigrant unionization by national origin. Due to the limited sample size of the CPS, for this purpose we used the data set (described above) that includes

CPS data from January 2003 to June 2014. 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.¹⁶ (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 2013-14.)

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 second lowest unionization rate of any group shown in Table 4. (The rate for Koreans, who are often self-employed or employed by co-nationals in small businesses, is slightly lower.)¹⁷ 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 New York City, that is the case for those born in Italy, Pakistan, 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, 40 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

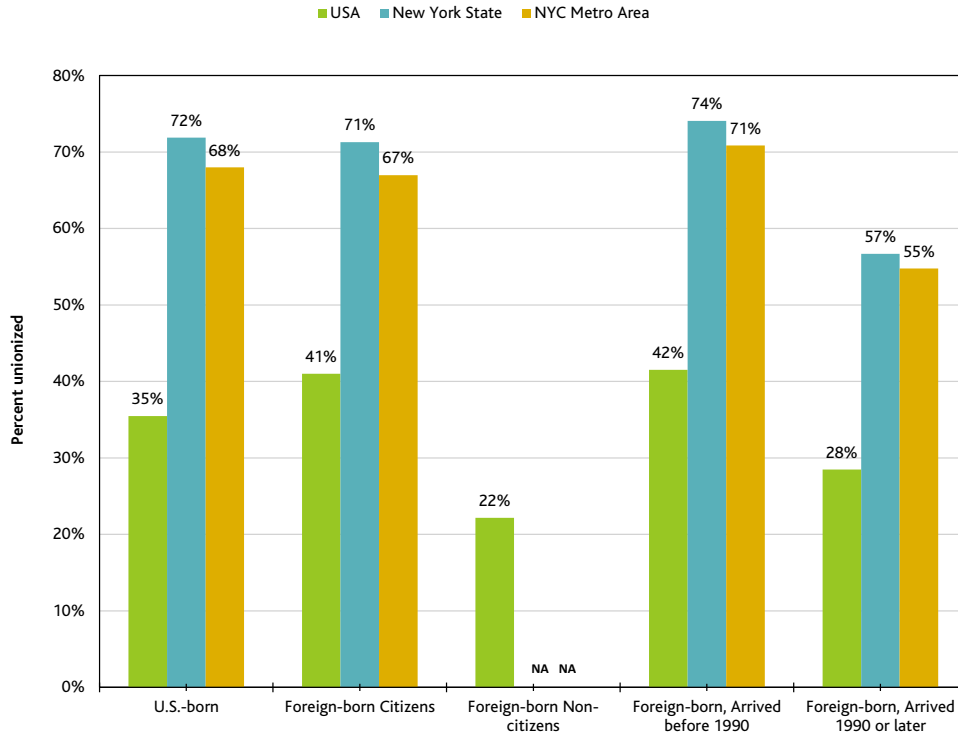
Figure 12. Unionization Rates by Nativity, Citizenship Status, and Date of Arrival in the United States, Selected Geographical Areas, 2013-14



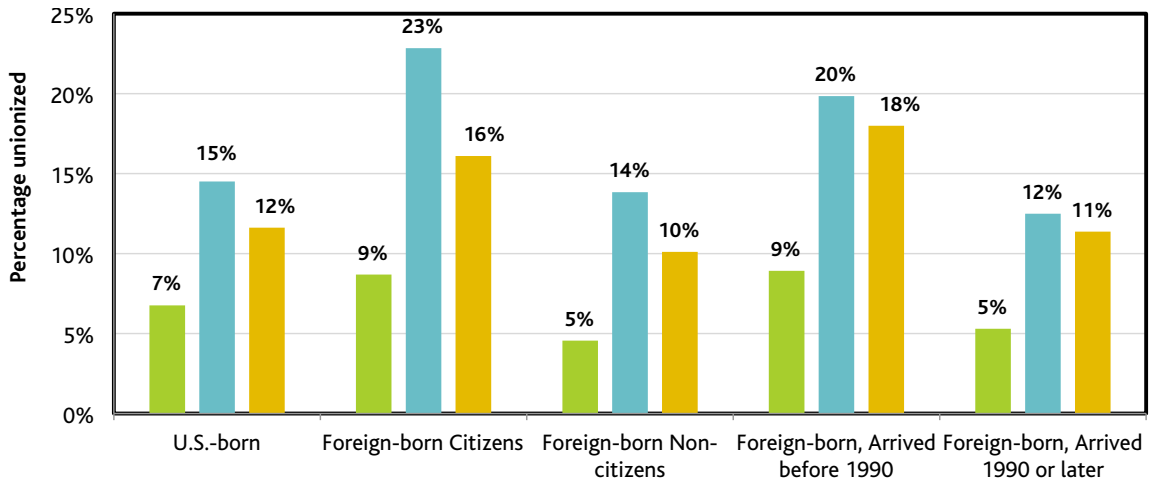
Percentages shown for 2013-14 include the 18 months from January 2013 to June 2014.
Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2013 - June 2014.

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, 2013-14

Public Sector



Private Sector



NA = Sample size is insufficient to generate reliable estimates. See endnote 1.
 Percentages shown for 2013-14 include the 18 months from January 2013 to June 2014.
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2013 - June 2014.

Table 4. Unionization Rates for Foreign-born Workers by Place of Birth, New York City, New York State, and the United States, 2003-2014

	Place of Birth	New York City (five boroughs)	New York State	United States
EUROPE	Italy	36.8%	32.9%	18.9%
	Great Britain and Ireland	18.7%	21.9%	9.6%
	Other Western Europe	13.3%	21.7%	12.1%
	Russia	20.0%	20.1%	9.5%
	Poland	17.6%	19.1%	12.4%
	Ukraine	24.8%	23.6%	12.7%
	Other Eastern Europe	22.9%	22.1%	10.1%
ASIA	Middle East	14.2%	18.1%	12.3%
	China (including Hong Kong)	10.3%	10.8%	8.4%
	Bangladesh	16.2%	14.6%	9.0%
	India	16.6%	17.6%	5.3%
	Pakistan	29.4%	25.6%	9.2%
	Philippines	32.7%	30.5%	17.4%
	Korea	4.3%	7.3%	7.6%
	Other Southeast Asia	10.2%	9.1%	9.1%
LATIN AMERICA	Other Asia	12.9%	11.0%	8.6%
	Mexico	4.6%	6.0%	6.5%
	El Salvador	19.2%	13.8%	8.3%
	Honduras	36.5%	22.8%	6.1%
	Other Central America	36.1%	25.8%	7.0%
	Barbados	31.8%	31.3%	23.0%
	Dominican Republic	28.3%	26.5%	16.8%
	Haiti	44.9%	40.3%	16.5%
	Jamaica	40.8%	38.2%	20.2%
	Trinidad and Tobago	28.9%	28.4%	18.1%
	Other Caribbean	32.4%	32.5%	9.3%
	Columbia	28.4%	22.9%	10.0%
	Ecuador	16.4%	15.6%	11.4%
AFRICA	Guyana	31.4%	29.8%	22.5%
	Other South America	18.4%	16.8%	8.1%
	Ghana	34.3%	36.5%	16.3%
	Other Africa	29.1%	28.0%	11.3%
	Other foreign-born	17.7%	17.6%	10.0%
	U.S. (except Puerto Rico)	25.1%	25.5%	12.2%
	Puerto Rico	42.1%	36.3%	16.7%

Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2003-June 2014

nationality groups, overrepresentation in the health care and social assistance sector largely accounts for their high unionization rates: 41 percent of Filipino immigrants, 24 percent of Dominican-born, 44 percent of the Haitian-born, 42 percent of the Jamaican-born, 27 percent of the Guyana-born, and 22 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 15 percent of the city's U.S. born workers. Similarly, immigrants from Barbados, Bangladesh, 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), 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. That is precisely what lifted the New York City and State unionization rates in the past year, as the highly unionized construction sector and the hotel industry began to rebound from the Great Recession. 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 have increased recently, and even before that were 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.¹⁸ 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 2013-14 level (16.2 percent) level, and statewide the figure was 24.0 percent as recently as 1983 (compared to 15.1 percent in 2013-14).¹⁹

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.²⁰ The decline 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 crisis generated by the recent economic downturn, 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 is now in the process of being remedied under the new mayoral administration, many public sector workers have not received any increases in pay or benefits for several years.

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 period of profound challenges for organized labor. The 2014 U.S. Supreme Court decision, *Harris v. Quinn*, is only the most recent example. 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. The recent increases, however modest, in unionization rates and the resumption of contract bargaining in the public sector, offer a basis for cautious optimism.

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 2013 and the first six months of 2014. We created a merged data set from the 18 monthly surveys conducted from January 2013 to June 2014, inclusive; the 2013-14 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, 2014), pp. 2-6. To ensure reliability, given the limitations of the CPS data set, 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 and 2013 reports, based on CPS data for January 2009-June 2010, January 2010-June 2011, January 2011-June 2012 and January 2012-June 2013, 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 2014.

3. An estimated 811,902 union members resided in New York City's five boroughs in 2013-14, while the statewide total is estimated at 2,099,791. 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 data set. 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. For additional detail on the increase in construction jobs, see the New York City Construction Outlook Update report from the New York Building Congress, available at: <http://www.buildingcongress.com/outlook/>.

8. The only metropolitan areas (based on 2003 Census area definitions) outside of New York State for which Hirsch and Macpherson report greater 2013 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 2014, pp. 38-49. Note that smaller MSAs are not included due to small sample sizes.

9 For the Bronx, Manhattan and Staten Island, the values shown for the public sector are based on fewer than 100 observations (for the Bronx, N=96, for Manhattan, N=91 and for Staten Island, N=47) so these data points (especially Staten Island) should be interpreted with caution.

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

11. 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.

12. 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 non-union 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.

13. This statement should be qualified: adding another decimal point, the unionization rate for the foreign-born was 23.7 percent, just below the 24.3 percent for U.S.-born workers.

14. 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 2013-14 data set for respondents born in Puerto Rico are below our standard threshold of 100 (84 for New York City and 61 for the New York City metropolitan area, and should therefore be interpreted cautiously.

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

16. Table 4 only includes nationalities for which there are 100 or more observations in the 2003-14 data set, with the exception of the New York City data for Pakistan (N=98) and Honduras (N=97).

17. 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.

18. 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.

19. 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.

20. 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 812,000) 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 the most recent available LM-2/3/4 forms (typically 2013) and other sources by Luke Elliott-Negri. Thanks to Ed Ott for assistance with this effort as well.

Union Name	Reported Membership
Alliance for Economic Justice	19
Amalgamated Transit Union ^{a, c}	15,111
American Association of University Professors	452
American Federation of Government Employees	7,865
American Federation of Musicians ^b	7,306
American Federation of School Administrators - Council of Supervisory Associations	6,098
American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees ^c	122,376
American Federation of Teachers ^{c, d}	153,604
(includes 16,857 members of PSC-CUNY and 123,847 members of the NYC UFT)	
American Postal Workers Union	8,175
Associated Actors and Artistes of America ^b	55,957
(includes 18,588 members of Actors Equity Association; 1,186 members of the American Guild of Musical Artists; and 36,104 members of SAG-AFTRA)	
Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers International Union ^c	1,515
Benefit Fund Staff Association	611
Brotherhood of Security Personnel	99

Building and Construction Trades Department ^b	160
Civilian Technicians Association	8
Communication Workers of America ^{a, c}	30,368
Evelyn Gonzalez Union	98
Fordham Law School Bargaining Committee	80
Furniture Liquidators of New York	10
Graphic Artists Guild ^b	784
Hearst International Employees Association	117
Hot and Crusty Workers Association	22
Hotel Maintenance Carpenters Valet and Utility Workers	718
Hunts Point Police Benevolent Association	34
Independent School Transportation Workers Association	300
Independent Guard Union	9
Industrial Workers of the World	60
International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees ^b	18,757
International Association of Bridge, Structural, Ornamental and Reinforcing Iron Workers ^b	7,904
International Association of Fire Fighters ^a	8,742
International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Allied Workers ^b	882
International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers ^d	10,149
International Brotherhood of Boilermakers ^b	551
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers ^b	29,024
International Brotherhood of Teamsters ^c	55,000
International Federation of Professional and Technical Engineers	143
International Longshoremen's Association ^c	2,703
International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftworkers ^b	7,321
International Union of Elevator Constructors ^b	2,539
International Union of Journeymen and Allied Trades ^b	36,894
International Union of Operating Engineers ^b	17,496
International Union of Painters and Allied Trades ^b	7,086
Jewish Committee Staff Organization	95
Kingsbrook Jewish Medical Center Staff Association	16
Laborers' International Union of North America ^b	17,238
League of International Federated Employees ^c	710
Local One Security Officers	580
Maritime Trades Department Port Council	37
Metal Trades Department ^b	20
Mount Sinai Pharmacy Association	98
National Air Traffic Controllers Association	152

National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees	784
National Association of Letter Carriers	7,559
National Labor Relations Board Union	95
National Postal Mail Handlers Union ^c	1,693
National Production Workers Union	49
National Treasury Employees Union	3,174
National Union of Labor Investigators	103
Neergaard Employees Association	8
New York Professional Nurses Association	1076
New York State Federation of Physicians and Dentists	90
New York State Nurses Association ^d	24,307
Newspaper and Mail Deliverers Union	789
Novelty Production Workers	2,140
Office and Professional Employees International Union ^c	13,756
Operative Plasterers' and Cement Masons' International Association ^b	1,179
Organization of Staff Analysts ^a	4,617
Organization of Union Representatives	11
Patrolmen's Benevolent Association ^a	22,777
Police Fraternal Order (Independent Union)	425
Postal and Federal Employees Alliance	397
Professional Association of Holy Cross High School	52
Professional Dieticians of New York City	40
Restaurant Workers Union 318	125
Security Alliance Federation of Employees	62
Service Employees International Union ^{a, c}	255,194
(includes 158,724 NYC members in SEIU 1199; 70,000 members in SEIU Local 32B-J; and 10,000 members in Workers United)	
Sheet Metal Workers International Association ^b	3,499
Special Patrolman Benevolent Association	200
Stage Directors and Choreographers ^b	2,643
Taxi Workers Alliance ^e	18,000
Transport Workers Union ^a	45,620
UNITE HERE ^c	30,997
United Association of Plumbers and Pipefitters ^b	13,677
United Auto Workers ^d	10,781
(includes 306 members of the National Writers Union ^e)	
United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners ^{b, c}	16,935
United Food and Commercial Workers International Union ^c	15,665

(includes 11,327 members of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union)	
United Nations International School Staff Association	218
United Production Workers Union	2,025
United Steelworkers	559
United Transportation Union	190
United Uniformed Workers of New York ^{a, f}	125,000
United Union of Roofers, Waterproofers and Allied Workers ^b	1,017
Utility Workers of New York ^c	7,100
Writers Guild of America ^b	2,100
TOTAL	1,272,821

^aUnder the 1959 Landrum-Griffin Act and the 1978 Civil Service Reform Act, private-sector, postal and federal employee unions are required to file LM-2, LM-3 or LM-4 forms. Other public sector unions are not required to file such documents, and in those cases 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.

^dPrecise membership estimates for one or more locals in this union are not available. The figures shown may be inflated because they include a limited number of members employed outside New York City.

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

^fThis 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 (in most cases 2013) 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-five 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 Information to Intelligence

New York City Labor Market Information Service (NYCLMIS), is the go-to place for timely, action-oriented intelligence about New York City's labor market. NYCLMIS conducts research studies, provides training and strategic consultation, and holds forums that raise awareness around work-related issues. The researchers, industry experts, and policy professionals that staff NYCLMIS help education and workforce development practitioners and policy makers make informed decisions so that they can help jobseekers to achieve success in the labor market. 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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