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THE STATE OF NEW YORK UNIONS 2017

August 21, 2017

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	4
1. NYS, NYC and Suburbs	6
2. Accounting for the Trends	10
3. Age Differences	11
4. Gender, Race and Ethnicity	12
5. Immigration	15
6. Public vs. Private	17
7. Industry Densities	19
8. Do Unions Raise Wages?	21
9. Summary and Concluding Remarks	22
Tables	25
Notes	34

The State of New York Unions 2017

by Gregory DeFreitas and Bhaswati Sengupta

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The disappearance of industrial working class jobs and the pay paralysis in those surviving have fueled fierce political and economic debate of late. While most of that debate has focused on the roles of globalization, automation and immigration, recent economic research points to the special importance of deunionization. The steepest declines in real earnings since 1979 have hit nonunion, non-college-educated men. Over the same time span, the fraction of such workers with union membership has plunged by two-thirds, from 38 percent in 1979 to just 11 percent now. That fall in union representation is the single most powerful driver of wage inequality and stagnation trends for middle-wage men.¹

Across the country today, only 1 in 10 of all employees, and just 1 in 15 private sector workers is still a union member. Between 1979 and 2015, the number of private sector union members was cut in half to 7.6 million. And it fell another 110,000 last year. Working people covered by union contracts still average higher wages and benefits than do otherwise comparable non-union employees. But their shrinking membership rates and bargaining power erode union compensation standards, and thereby also weaken the pressure on nonunion employers to improve their workers' pay.

A better understanding of these broad national trends requires a closer look at their regional components. A decade ago, we wrote the first detailed description of the major characteristics of and trends in recent unionization in the New York Metropolitan Area, the nation's largest metro labor market.² This report updates these findings with empirical analysis conducted on large microdata sets from the U.S. Census Bureau's Current Population Surveys.³ We trace changes in union membership just before, during and since the Great Recession, with separate analyses by sex, age, race, ethnicity, immigration status and industry.

Among the key highlights of our findings are:

- New York State leads the nation in unionization: it is now the sole state with over one-fifth of its workforce in unions. And the downstate New York Metropolitan Area today has the highest union membership rate of all the country's large metro regions. Of its wage and salary employees, 21.4 per cent are in unions – over twice the national average outside New York.
- Union membership has increased in both New York City and its suburbs since the Great Recession. The

number of New York City residents in labor unions has reached nearly 876,000 – a 9.4 percent increase since the recession. Today, 24.8 percent of New York wage and salary workers belong to a union. Long Island experienced a much smaller 0.6 percent increase in union membership; its 302,868 union members account for a nearly identical 24.5 percent of all employees.

- However, both the city’s and the suburb’s unions have not regained members fast enough to recover their pre-recession levels, resulting in a net decline over the past decade in the unionized share of workers (nearly two percentage points less in the city; one percentage point lower on the Island).
- Underlying the trends in union membership are often dramatic variations in unions’ fortunes among workers differentiated by age, gender, race and ethnicity, immigrant status, hours of work, public-private sector, and industry. We found that New York City’s Millennials – by far the largest single age group – are more than twice as likely as their cohort nationwide to be union members (19.6 percent vs. 9.2 percent) and now account for nearly one in four of all the city’s union members. And New Yorkers in their late teens/early twenties are over three times as likely as youth elsewhere to have union protections today.
- New female union workers accounted for two-thirds of the post-recession rise in union membership in New York City, and women are now a majority of the city’s union members. While the city’s membership rate has fallen among men to 23.9 percent today, the female rate has moved from 24 up to 25.7 percent over the same period. On Long Island, new female union workers accounted for 61 percent of the net increase in membership since the recession. Union contracts now cover 25.9 percent of men and 24.2 percent of women workers – and the gap between them has been cut in half since the late 1990s.
- African American women in New York City are more likely than any other demographic group, male or female, to hold jobs with union representation. The black female union density rate of nearly 42 per cent is followed by that of African American men (37.2 per cent), Latina women (26.8 per cent), and Latino men (25 per cent). In fact, white non-Hispanic men today account for only 15 per cent of New York City’s unionized work force. On Long Island, the white male union share is nearly three times as large (42 per cent), but a growing majority of its union workers are now women and minority men.
- Over two-fifths of all union members in the city are immigrants. Moreover, the foreign-born accounted for one-third of all new unionization since the last recession. Naturalized immigrant citizens have a higher union membership rate (31 percent) than either US-born citizens (25 percent) or non-citizen migrants (6 percent). Long Island immigrants are a far smaller fraction of the work force, with lower union density than the native-born. But the number of immigrant citizens in unions rose nine percent since the Great Recession.
- The public sector now accounts for 37 percent of New York City union members and has a density twice the national average. On Long Island, 71 percent of its more than 237,000 public sector workers are in unions, a membership rate that has held fairly steady over the past decade. The Long Island public sector represents a

larger proportion of the resident population’s jobs than in the city. And it accounts for the majority of all Long Island residents in a union job. Among working class New York City residents in full-time jobs, union members earn 18 percent higher median hourly and weekly wages. Median pay of Long Island union members today is over 50 percent above that of their nonunion neighbors. The union pay advantage exceeds 20 percent in construction, manufacturing, transportation and utilities, leisure and hospitality and public administration.

NYS, NYC & Its Suburbs

New York State has long had a higher share of its workforce represented by labor unions than any other state. That was certainly not true when state-by-state unionization figures were first regularly published a half-century ago. In 1964, 29.3 per cent of American workers nationwide were union members – a rate nearly two and one-half times higher than today. In 35 states, the union membership rates (or “membership density”) was over 20 per cent and in 16 of those it exceeded 30 per cent. New York’s rate of 35.5 per cent only put it in 13th place in the mid-1960s, far behind top-ranked Michigan where 44.8 per cent of the work force was unionized.⁴

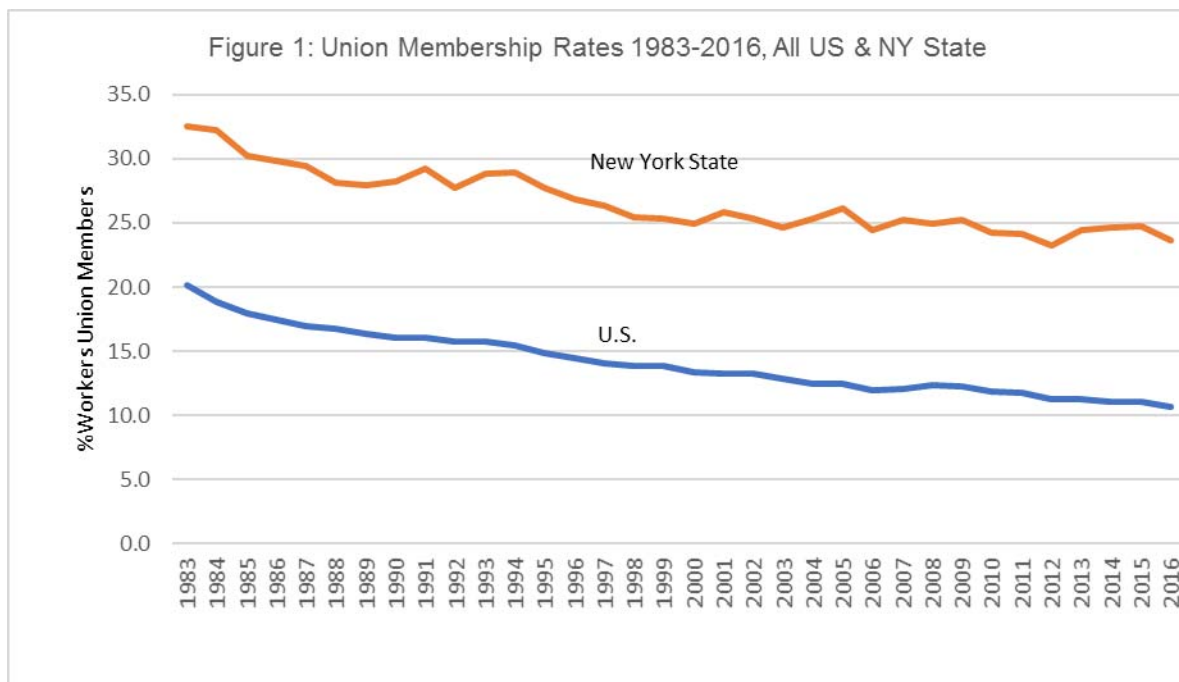


Fig. 1 Sources: US Bureau of Labor Statistics (2017) and Hirsch, Macpherson and Vroman (2001; 2017).

Although New York, like nearly all other states, has experienced marked declines in union density since at least the sixties, the pace of that erosion has generally been slower than elsewhere. In the 20 years after 1964, while the national union membership rate dropped over 10 percentage points to 19.1 per cent, New York’s rate fell

less than one-third as much, to 32.3 per cent. As Figure 1 shows, the state's membership density fell more rapidly from the early 1980s through the mid-1990s. But, starting in 1983, New York has had a higher rate of union membership than any state in all but 5 of the 34 years through 2016 (and every year of the past 10). Over the last two decades, as national union density continued to shrink, the state's density held relatively steady at 25 to 26 percent until the Great Recession. In the last pre-recession year (2007), 2.06 million New Yorkers were union members (25.2 percent density). By the trough year 2012, the state's wage/salary job count had plunged by 217,000 and union membership was down to 1.84 million (23.2 percent). Then rapid recovery began that more than replaced the total number of lost jobs by 2015 and raised union membership and density to 24.7 percent, very close to pre-recession levels. However, as the expansion matured in 2016, the state's job growth turned anemic and the number of union employees sank by nearly 100,000.

In the latest 2016 government survey, 1.94 million of the state's 8.2 million wage and salary employees, or 23.6 per cent, said that they were union members. That means that New Yorkers now have a union membership rate that is below the 2015 level, but still over twice the current national average of 10.7 per cent. In fact, no other state now has a rate above 20 per cent.⁵

The influence of unions is greater than suggested by their membership figures, not least because unions represent some employees who report in surveys that they are covered by union contracts but are not union members. For example, 133,000 workers said their job had union coverage, in addition to the 1.94 million New Yorkers who identify as union members. Hence, the state's broader union coverage rate (or "coverage density") was 25.2 per cent. Nationwide, 16.3 million workers were covered by union contracts, accounting for 12 per cent of wage and salary employees. But using coverage rather than membership rates alters neither New York's state ranking, nor the trends plotted in Figure 1.

The state's economic engine and population center is the New York City metropolitan area, particularly the city and Long Island. How does union density in downstate New York compare to that in other large metro areas? In Table 1, we present our estimates of union membership and broader union coverage figures in the country's 15 most populous metropolitan regions. In 2014-16, an average of 1.82 million of the New York metro area's 8.5 million wage and salary workers were union members. With 21.4 per cent of its workforce in unions, New York ranked first among the largest metro areas. Of the others, only Riverside-San Bernardino had membership density even close to 20 percent. It was followed in the top five by San Francisco, Seattle, and Chicago. New York's unionization rate was over twice the non-New York metro average. New York also ranked far above others by the broader coverage measure: 22.7 percent of the metro area's workers were represented by a union at work, compared to the national average outside New York (11.6 percent).

Within the metro area, 847,960 of New York City's 3.5 million employed residents were union members in 2016: a membership density of 23.6 percent. Another 54,647 non-members told interviewers that their job

was covered by a collective bargaining contract, so a total of 25.5 per cent were represented by a union. Among working Long Islanders in 2016, 328,593 had union coverage (25.6 per cent), of whom 304,298 (23.5 per cent) were union members (a 23.7 percent membership rate). Insofar as some of the latter may well be commuters whose New York City jobs offer union coverage, these estimates may understate union density among the city's employers. But the same may be true to some extent for suburban areas, as reverse commuting of the city's residents to jobs on Long Island and elsewhere continues to become more common.

Table 1: Union Membership & Coverage Rates in Largest Metro Areas, 2014-2016

Metropolitan Area	Employment	Covered by Union		Membership Rate	Coverage Rate
		Members	Non-Members		
New York-Northern NJ-Long Island NY-NJ-PA	8,511,706	1,824,224	103,979	21.4	22.7
Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	4,214,391	609,678	32,174	14.5	15.2
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	3,314,268	161,669	48,964	4.9	6.4
Washington DC/MD/VA	2,926,740	241,651	47,693	8.3	9.9
Houston-Baytown-Sugar Land, TX	2,782,483	126,887	29,093	4.6	5.6
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE	2,621,345	348,704	25,353	13.3	14.3
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach, FL	2,494,132	156,650	29,134	6.3	7.4
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	2,454,692	102,467	21,880	4.2	5.1
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	2,140,816	351,544	24,075	16.4	17.5
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	1,955,540	272,620	20,536	13.9	15.0
Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	1,818,349	89,550	22,016	4.9	6.1
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	1,782,914	257,543	17,957	14.4	15.5
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	1,735,386	273,909	23,119	15.8	17.1
Riverside-San Bernardino, CA	1,585,543	313,308	26,377	19.8	21.4
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	831,347	106,013	9,303	12.8	13.9

Note: "Coverage Rate" equals the sum of all union members plus workers who (though not officially union members) hold jobs represented by a labor union, as a share of total employment.

Table 1 Source: Authors' analysis of microdata on wage & salary workers, 16 & older, from CPS Outgoing Rotation Group Earners Files (CPS-ORG) and B. Hirsch & D. Macpherson, *Union Membership & Coverage Database from the CPS*: www.unionstats.com.

These findings reveal that New York City residents account for nearly 47 percent of the entire state's union members. Has this numeric importance been reflected in similar union density trends over time? For each year from 1995 through 2016, we plotted our estimates of annual union membership rates for New York City and Long Island residents in Figure 2.

It appears that the overall state trends in unionization in Figure 1 have been markedly influenced by the roughly similar trend followed in the city. From a 1986 density of 35.5 per cent, the city's union membership fell to 30 per cent of the workforce in 1995, then dropped further to a low of 25 per cent in 2000. As the local job market slowly revived after the 2001 recession, union membership rose to an average of 27 percent in 2004-

06 (Table 2). But in only the first year of the Great Recession (2008), union density dropped sharply to 24.1 percent. And it plunged to a low of 21.5 percent by 2012. With the city’s strong job recovery since then (averaging 2.8 percent/year in 2010-15), the fraction of unionized New Yorkers rose to 26.3 percent by 2015, close to the immediately pre-recession average. However, in 2016, the city’s job growth slowed sharply and the number of employed union members fell by 90,446 (-9.6 percent).⁶ This brought the membership density down to 24 percent.

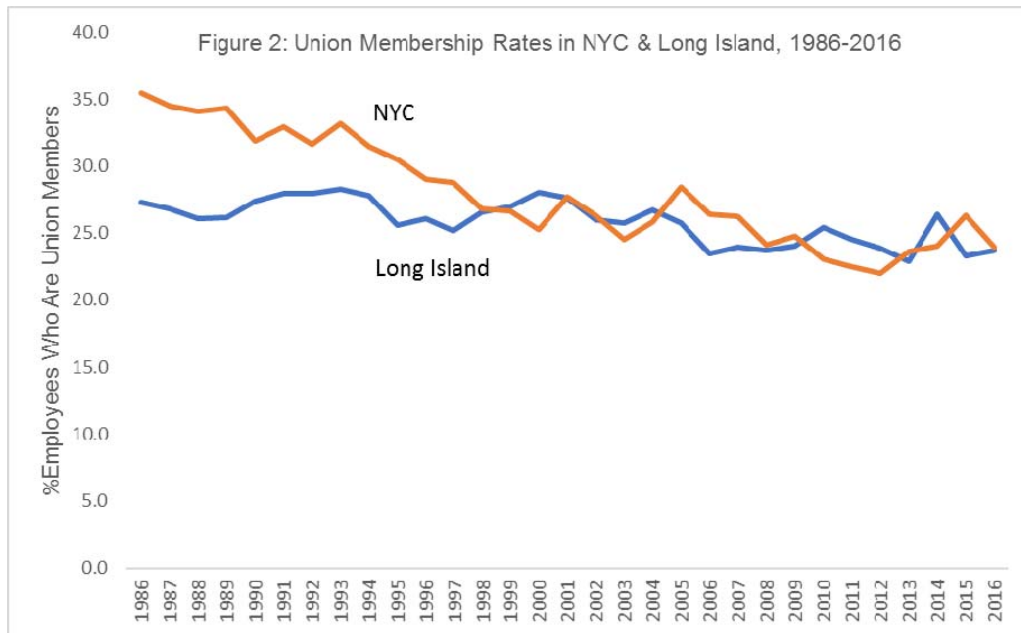


Fig. 2 Source: Authors’ analysis of US Census Bureau Current Population Survey (CPS-ORG) microdata files, 1986 to 2017. Samples limited to wage and salary workers aged 16 and over. Union membership rates are percentages of workers each year who report union membership.

In contrast, Long Island’s union membership density has over the same period followed a generally more stable pattern than the state or the city. Union density actually rose slightly from about 26 to 27 per cent in the mid-1980s to 28 percent in the early 1990s. After dipping in 1995 to 1997, the Long Island rate rose to 27 percent in 1999 – the first year in the series that Long Islanders had a higher unionization rate than the city (26.6 per cent). In the immediate pre-recession period 2004-06, an average of 25.3 percent of the workforce was a union member. The density fell during the core recession years 2008-10 to 24.4 percent, then bottomed out at a low of 22.9 percent in 2013. In 2016, the number of union members increased by over 26,000. This more than matched local employment growth, nudging the fraction in unions up slightly from 23.3 in 2015 to 23.7 percent last year (Table 2). So, these cyclical fluctuations have brought the NYC and Long Island union densities back to near-parity.

Accounting for Recent Trends

What accounts for the patterns in local union density traced above? A large body of social science research on union membership patterns has for years been exploring a variety of possible explanatory factors, mostly at the national level.⁷ A systematic study of the full set of such possible explanatory factors is well beyond the scope of this first paper. But we can take some exploratory steps by investigating in more detail recent changes in the main component parts of the New York area's unionized work force. To make this possible requires more data than single-year survey samples.

Even with the large national sample size of our Current Population Survey data source, the CPS metro-level subsamples are generally not large enough for a single year to yield statistically significant estimates on many narrowly defined demographic or economic subgroups. Recognizing this, we only used single-year data so far for city-wide or metro-wide estimates of union membership and coverage densities (Figure 2). In order to have large enough data samples for reliable estimates of more detailed analysis of specific age, racial, or job groupings in the New York metro area, we pooled the CPS data into three-year groupings: a) 2004, 2005, 2006; b) 2008, 2009, 2010; and c) 2014, 2015, 2016. The first and last of these three time-periods have the advantage that they correspond to business cycle peaks, while the second covers the Great Recession period. We are thereby able to make peak-to-peak comparisons that minimize possible confounding influences from cyclical variations. In most of this analysis, we focus on the proportion of wage and salary employees who report union membership; the slightly higher union coverage measure follows its patterns closely.

We analyzed microdata from the Outgoing Rotation Group files of the CPS. The CPS is the monthly national survey conducted for the BLS on random samples of 50,000 to 65,000 households nationwide. The survey questionnaire asks about a rich variety of demographic, geographic and employment-related matters. Sampled households are interviewed once each month for four consecutive months. One year later, each of these "rotation groups" is again interviewed for a final four consecutive months. Crucially for our study, among the questions asked of all wage and salary employees (excluding the self-employed) are union membership and coverage. We utilized the CPS-ORG for all the years through 2016. The data set is not, of course, without limitations: in particular, it identifies only county of residence, which may differ from the county where the respondent works. We adopted the now-standard methodology employed in a series of state-level and metropolitan-level research papers by Barry Hirsch and David Macpherson.⁸

Age Differences

Millennials are today by far the single largest age group in New York City's workforce. Numbering over one million in 2014-2016, they account for a full 30 percent of the city's working residents, well above their national workforce share (23 percent). As Table 2 shows, with the recession, the number in unions fell (by nearly 5,300) as did their share of young workers (from 21 down to 18.9 percent). But since then membership has jumped over five times the earlier losses (+27,552), raising their density rate to 19.6 percent. At that rate, New York's Millennials are more than twice as likely as their cohort nationwide (9.2 percent) to be union members. The 205,000 members ages 25 to 34 now account for nearly one in four of the city's entire union work force (Table 2).

Among major age groups in New York City, the newest working people aged 16 to 24 have the lowest rate of union membership: 13.4 per cent in 2014-16 – less than half the rate of the city's adults 35 and over (Table 2). Of course, school enrollment sharply lowers the workforce activity of this cohort, now just one-tenth of all working residents. Still, 30 years earlier when the youth working population was just as numerous, over 17 percent of them had union cards.⁹ By the late 1990s, that rate had slipped to 13 per cent. During the Great Recession, it fell to 11.3 percent. But since then both the number of 16-to-24-year-old union workers and their membership rate has recovered to slightly exceed the pre-recession 2004-2006 levels: the number in unions rose (by nearly 8,000) as did their membership rate. Compared to the national density for youth – 4.4 percent – New Yorkers in their late teens/early twenties are over three times as likely to have union protections today.

On Long Island, Millennials are barely half the share of the resident workforce as in the city. The aging of the Island's population and ongoing exodus of young graduates has sparked growing concern in business and government over the area's economic future. And its effects on union membership is concerning to labor as well. In 2004-06, there were over 64,000 union members ages 25 to 34, accounting for over one-fourth of all union workers (Table 3). Since then their number has fallen to 48,314 and their share has dropped to 16 percent of all members. Their density rate is down as well, from nearly 28 percent to 24.3 percent. It is highly likely that this has contributed to the pay paralysis afflicting so many of the region's Millennials.¹⁰

As downtown, Long Island's youngest workers ages 16 to 24 are least likely to be in a union (Table 3): just under ten per cent of the youngest workers have union membership today, less than half the local average. Still, the fraction unionized has risen since the recession years, from 8.4 percent in 2010 to 9.8 percent six years later. And it is over twice the national youth rate.

Low youth unionization rates are common across the country. Nationwide, the youth rate has dropped by over half from 9.1 percent in 1983, the first year in which the BLS began collecting annual membership rates by

age group. Today, the 816,000 young union members under 25 (over 900,000 fewer than in 1983) account for just over 5 percent of all union members. With the population aged 16 to 24 projected to increase its share of the work force in coming years, these figures could signal serious problems for unions' future growth prospects.

Does the low rate of current union membership among young workers reflect weaker pro-union and/or stronger anti-union sentiments among youth? Young workers have been the hardest hit by the general wage declines of the past two decades. In fact, while the wage gap between youth and adult workers has widened in many advanced countries, it has grown far more in the U.S. than in others.¹¹ And the declining affordability of higher education and health insurance over this same period has left more and more college-bound students little choice but to hold down jobs, both before and during college. All these trends could arguably enhance the attraction of union protections for the young.

In fact, a number of public opinion surveys have found generally positive youth attitudes toward unions. Nationwide, a majority of Americans, especially youth, tell pollsters that they side with labor unions against employers. Of the respondents of all ages to a national Pew Research poll in mid-2013, 51 percent said that they had a favorable view of unions. This represents a marked rise in pro-union sentiment from just a few years earlier. And youth are the most pro-union of any age group: 61 percent of Millennials 18 to 29 years old view unions favorably, compared to only about half of those ages 30 to 64.¹²

What then explains the disconnect between the fact that youth generally express stronger pro-union attitudes than adults and the seemingly contradictory low unionization rates of young people? The nature of the jobs that most youth find and of the firms that hire them appear to account for a large share of the explanation. First, their jobs are more likely to be entry-level, low-skill and often part-time or temporary positions in small businesses – all characteristics long associated with low union density. Secondly, since recent job growth has been dominated by firms in the traditionally nonunion service sector, youth have more and more only found entry jobs in such nonunion industries.¹³ Also, large numbers of youth jobs today have little choice but to work for wealthy and notoriously anti-union employers like Wal-Mart and McDonalds, with long histories of spending freely on legal talent and management consultants to punish or fend off any union organizing.

Finally, many unions have long neglected organizing young workers, failed to give them leadership roles, and sacrificed their interests in favor of protecting senior employees' pay, benefits and job security.¹⁴

Gender, Race & Ethnicity

Are gender gaps as evident in unionization as they are in other aspects of employment? Across the country, the majority of union members and leaders today are still men. But decades of rising female labor force participation and union activism have narrowed these gaps. As of 2016, women represent 48 percent of the workforce and 47 percent of all union members. The sex difference in union membership rates has shrunk from

a 10-percentage point gap in 1983 to just one percentage point lower female density today: 11.2 percent of working men and 10.2 percent of women are now in unions nationwide.

However, union membership numbers and rates have been falling for both sexes in recent decades. In the last pre-recession year 2007, 8.8 million men (13 percent of male workers) and 6.9 million women (11.1 percent) were in unions. Even after a decade of job recovery, nearly one million fewer males and 236,000 fewer women are union members today. In just the past year, membership totals slumped by -75,000 among men and by -166,000 among women.

Unlike the national pattern, in New York City, both male and female union membership now outnumbers the pre-recession levels. As shown in Table 4, there are now 441,962 female union members in the city – some 17,200 more than a decade ago. Male membership rose by a more modest 2,450 (to a total of 431,573). That is, the more rapid growth of female membership, accounting for nearly 88 percent of the city’s union growth, has just made women the majority of New York’s union members.

Figure 3 Union Density by Gender, Race and Ethnicity, 2014-16, New York City

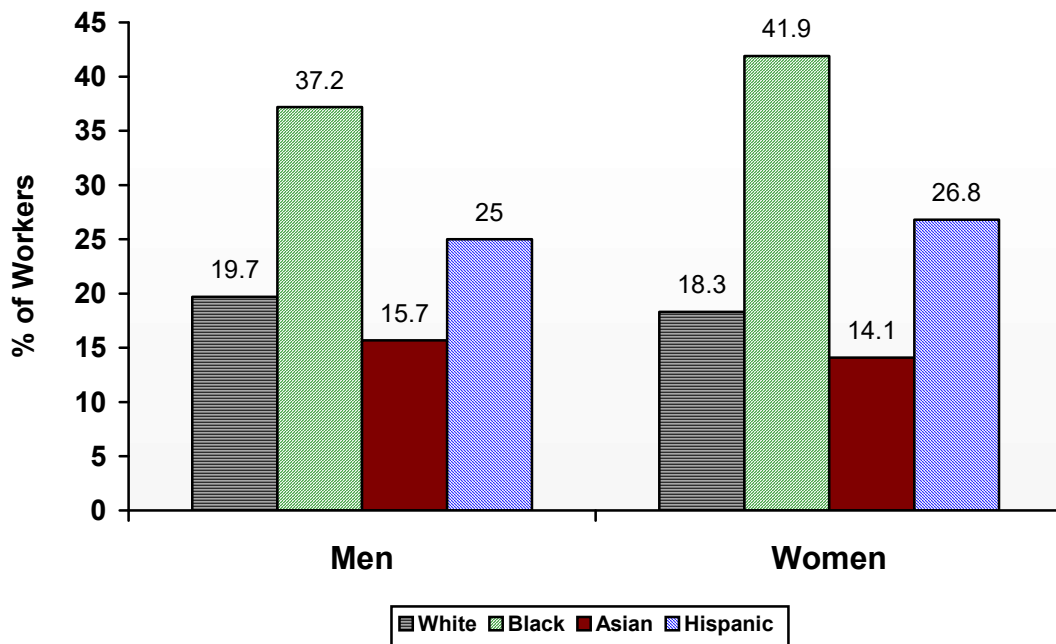
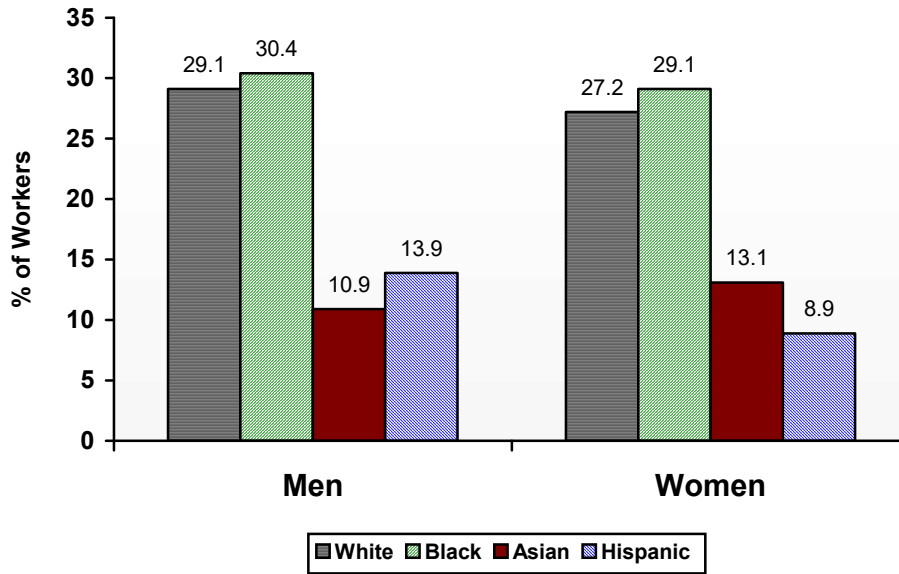


Figure 4 Long Island Union Density, by Gender, Race & Ethnicity, 2014-2016



The growing number of female union members in the city is the result of increases in Hispanic and Asian union women large enough to more than offset a slight decline in non-Hispanic black membership. Nearly three-fourths of the additional women unionists were Hispanic, and most of the rest were Asian. But because the numbers of people employed increased more rapidly than the number in unions, the Hispanic and Asian union densities are lower than a decade ago.

In the years since the last recession, new female union workers accounted for two-thirds of the post-recession rise in union membership in New York City (+75,101). We found that, while the city’s membership rate in this period among men has been unchanged at 24 percent, the female rate has moved from 24 up to 25.7 percent over the same period. African American women in New York City are more likely than any other demographic group, male or female, to hold jobs with union representation (Figure 3). The black female union density rate of nearly 42 per cent is followed by that of African American men (37.2 per cent), Latina women (26.8 per cent), and Latino men (25.5 per cent), In fact, non-Hispanic white men today account for only 15 per cent of New York City’s unionized work force.

On Long Island, new female union workers accounted for 61 percent of the small net increase (+1,944) in post-recession membership (Table 5). The white male union share of the Island’s unionists is over twice as large (42 per cent) as downtown, but a growing majority of its union workers are now women and minority men. As seen in Figure 4, the highest rate of union membership of the main racial/ethnic groups is among black non-Hispanic men (30.4 percent), closely followed by African American women and white non-Hispanic men (29.1 percent), white non-Hispanic women (27.2), Spanish origin men (13.9), Asian men (13.1) and women (10.9),

and Hispanic women (8.9). The top union ranking of black men corresponds to the national pattern, but their NY metro membership rate is two to three times higher than the nationwide average (14 percent).

Over the last decade, union membership rates have increased among white male and female Long Islanders, and now stand at 29.1 and 27.2 percent, respectively. This has happened even as the number of whites in unions has actually fallen among men (by over 13,000) and only increased slightly among women (by 3,000). Since these declines have been dwarfed by the drop in employment of aging white baby boomers (-88,753, or -9.3 percent), the net effect has been to push up the work force share of white union members. A more hopeful sign for union leaders may be the increased number of both male and females union members since 2006.

Immigration

A majority of New York City residents and a growing minority of its suburban neighbors are foreign born or the children of recent immigrants. While there is widespread recognition of the many economic, social and cultural benefits of multinational immigration, the past year has seen reignited controversies over possible job and wage competition with native-born working class residents. A once-common stereotype held that most recent immigrants were so desperate and docile that they would accept the most derisory pay and working conditions without complaint. This was said to be even more the case with the undocumented, eager to avoid detection and deportation. Critics pointed to some major recent organizing drives in which many immigrants, including the undocumented, have played leading roles. Among these are successful campaigns to unionize office building cleaners (SEIU's "Justice for Janitors"), health care aides, limousine drivers and food service workers ("Fight For \$15)."¹⁵

In New York City, our findings show that the current foreign-born work force numbers some 1.54 million today, over two-fifths of all wage and salary employees resident in the city (Table 6). The majority of employed immigrants (55.5 percent) are now naturalized citizens. Over the decade since 2006, their numbers grew by over 95,000. In the same years, New York's resident working population of non-citizen immigrants (typically more recent arrivals, some undocumented) went in the opposite direction: it shrank by some 48,442 (-6.6 percent). At least two possible causes of this exodus were the Great Recession's lost job openings and the stepped-up deportation policy aimed at the undocumented in these years. But if the recession spurred out-migration of some of the foreign born, it only temporarily slowed a surge of U.S.-born migrants to New York from other parts of the region and the country. Its native-born work force grew over the decade by 300,381, a nearly 18 percent growth rate.

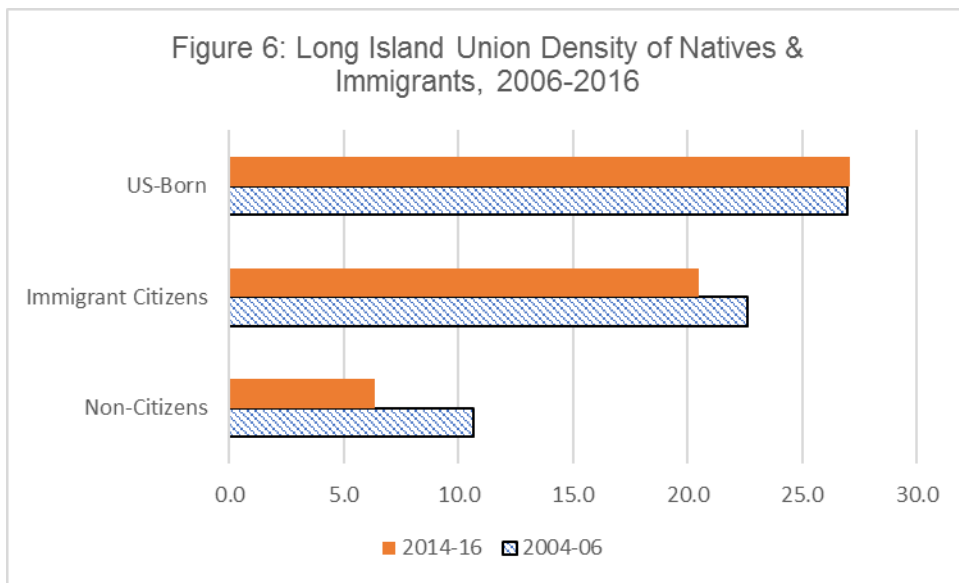
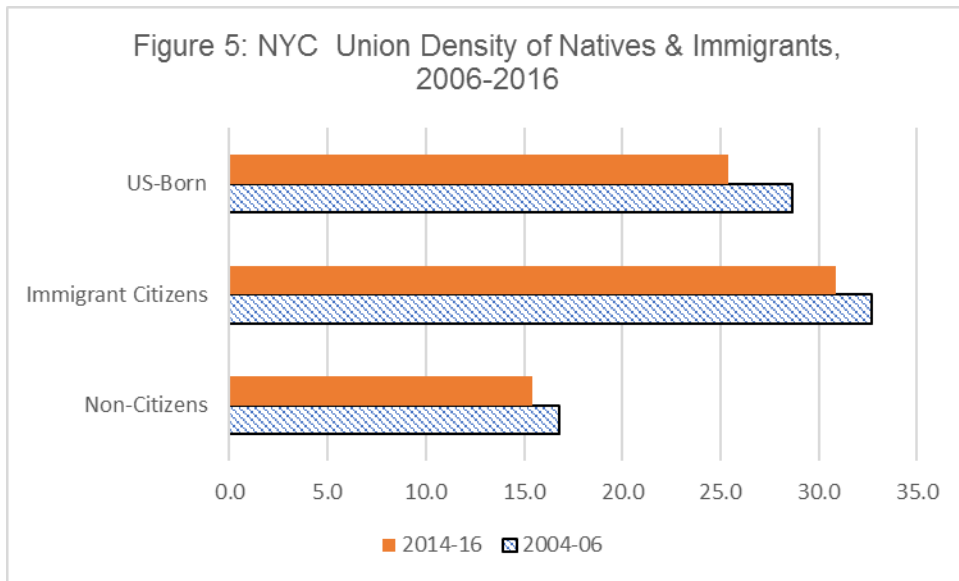
In 2004-2006, just before the recession, one in three of the city's immigrant citizens, nearly 17 percent of non-citizens and 28.6 percent of U.S.-born resident workers was a union member. All three groups had declines

in their membership numbers and rates in the recession years. In the recovery that followed both naturalized citizens and the native-born workers have exceeded their pre-recession membership volumes: today the former have over 263,000 in unions, the latter have 507,355. Immigrants accounted for one-third of the post-recession recovery in union membership. But membership fell by 17,305 (-2.4 percent) among noncitizen immigrant over the decade. Still, the 368,630 immigrant union members today account for two out of five of all the city's union members.

For foreign- and native-born city residents alike, union membership has not kept pace with the past decade's employment growth. This is reflected in the lower union densities of each group today compared with the mid-sixties. But since the recession, the native-born density has been stable at one-fourth and immigrants with citizenship have recovered about half their pre-recession rate. Naturalized citizens now have a higher union membership rate (31 percent) than either US-born workers (25.4 percent) or non-citizen migrants. The latter have union density (15.4 percent) that is half that of immigrant citizens.

Long Island immigrants are a far smaller fraction of the work force (21.5 percent) than downtown, but their share of employment has jumped from its 18.2 percent level a decade ago. Of the 265,488 immigrant workers now resident on the Island, 61 percent are naturalized U.S. citizens. In fact, the foreign born have been the only source of employment growth: the number of immigrant workers has risen by 37,123 in the same decade that U.S.-born employment has receded by -55,735. The exodus of Millennials and retirement of the Island's aging baby boomers explain much of this.

The slight decline in the number of native-born employees has been matched by modest reductions in the number with union membership. Thus, the same fraction (27 percent) of native residents are in unions today as 10 years ago. Among immigrants with U.S. citizenship, employment has increased at a faster pace than unionization. So today the number of such immigrants in unions, at 33,118, accounts for a somewhat smaller share of these workers (20.5 percent) than a decade ago. Of the Island's unionized work force today, an average of one in eight members is an immigrant.



Public and Private Industry Sectors

There has long been a sharp national divergence between union membership trends in different sectors of the economy. As recently as 1973 nearly one in four workers nationwide was a union member in both the private and public sectors. Since then, private sector coverage has dropped to just 6.4 per cent in 2016. But in the public sector, over five times as large a share of the work force (34.4 per cent in 2016) have union coverage, a density rate that eroded little until the last few years.

How does New York compare with these national patterns? New York State has the highest rate of public sector union membership of any state: Our findings for the New York Metropolitan Area in Table 7 reveal a similarly enormous public-private density gap, but substantially higher union membership locally in both

sectors. New York City in the late 1980s averaged 486,530 public sector jobs representing about 18.4 percent of all wage and salary positions. Over 78 percent of them had union coverage, nearly twice the national average. The early 1990s brought a recession, a new Republican mayor, and a decline in the public sector union jobs, lowering the density rate to 72.7 per cent.

Total private sector employment rose by some quarter of a million new jobs by the end of the 1990s, but none of them were in the steadily shrinking unionized manufacturing industries. The result was a decline in private sector union density from 27.7 to 20 per cent by the late 1990s. It declined again (to 15.3 percent) during the Great Recession, but since then has rebounded to 17.7 percent.

Robust private sector job growth out of the 2001 recession lowered the public share of total city jobs down to 15.3 per cent by 2004-2006, 3 percentage points lower than two decades earlier. Increased federal government positions in the city did raise the public sector head count to more than 527,000 residents during the recession years. But since then cuts at both the federal and particularly at local levels have pushed that total down by 40,569 jobs. Today the public sector's share of resident employment is down to 13.8 percent (Table 8).

Here as in most of the country, local government jobs are the most highly unionized. As Table 8 shows, that subsector has lost 32,679 employees since the recession years. Since nearly 85 percent of those job losses were unionized, this drove down the city's overall public sector union membership rate to 68.9 percent in 2014-2016. Still, the public sector today accounts for 37 percent of New York union members and has a density twice the national average.

Local government employment and union density may well be on the rise again, if the ambitious hiring plans of Mayor Bill deBlasio are fully realized. Since his election in 2014, substantial new hiring of full-time staff has been announced or implemented in most major agencies, including: police and correction officers, sanitation, administrative services and information technology. The police, correction and sanitation unions, as well as District Council 37, have all begun to benefit from this hiring. Likewise, his promised introduction of universal pre-K has expanded the paraprofessional teaching ranks, to the benefit of the United Federation of Teachers.¹⁶

On Long Island today, 71 percent of its more than 237,000 public sector workers are in unions, a membership rate that has held fairly steady over the past decade. The Long Island public sector represents a larger proportion (19.2 percent vs. 13.8 percent) of the resident population's jobs than in the city. And it accounts for the majority (54.3 percent) of all Long Island residents in a union job. But in both parts of the region, job trends in local government appear to have been crucial to the broader sector's path. Since the late 2000s, there are 13,955 fewer local government employees. That explains most of the overall shrinkage of the public sector in this period.

Since nearly nine out of ten of the Island's local government job losses were in unions, the union density of

that subsector dipped over a percentage point to 72.3 percent. Thanks to the offsetting effects of some increased unionization of federal staff and a steeper decline in jobs than in union employees, the overall public sector union density rate is actually marginally higher than during the recession years.

The unionization gap between public and private sector jobs is even wider on Long Island than downtown. Public sector union membership rose from two-thirds of all wage/salary employment in the late 1980s to 73 percent by 2004-2006, while over the same period the union share of private sector workers dropped from 18 to 12.9 per cent. Private sector density fell even more during the Great Recession, but has since rebounded (to 13.5 percent) in the job recovery.

So it is clear that unusually high union density in the New York metro area, as in the state, reflects less its above-average private sector density than its relatively large public sector and its far above-average union density in government jobs. In this it bears some similarity with the next two most unionized states – Alaska and Hawaii – despite otherwise quite dissimilar industry structures.

Industry-Specific Density Differentials

How have recent changes in unionization varied by industry? The top five major industries with the highest union membership rates in New York City as of 2014–16 were: Public Administration (60.5 per cent), Education Services (49 percent), Transportation and Utilities (42.3), Health Services (36.6) and Construction (29.1). See Table 9 for a full set of industry densities. In Figure 7, we show the changes in membership rates from 2004–06 to 2014–16 in each industry.

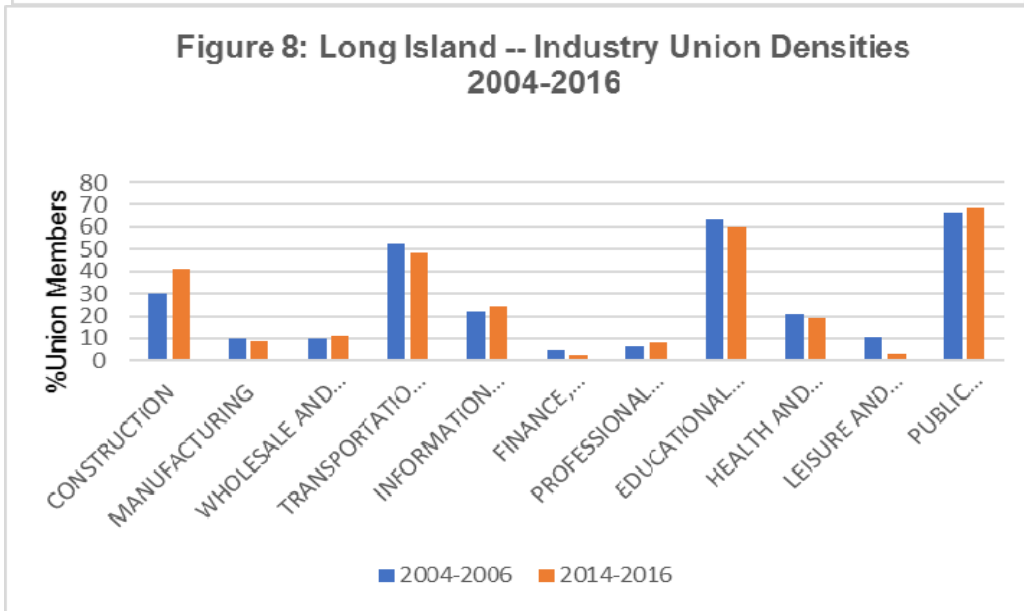
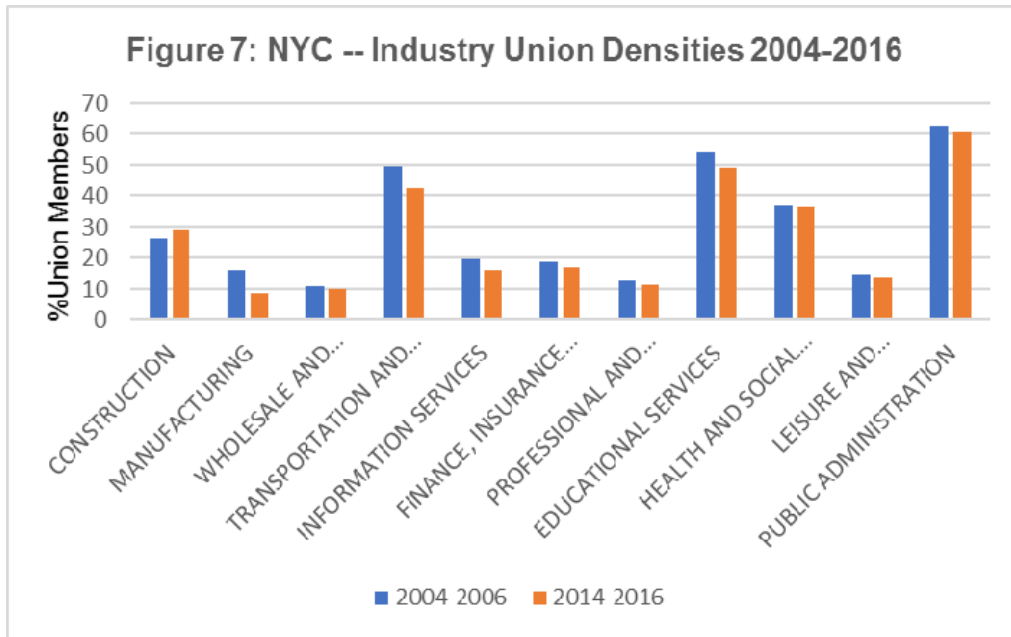
Except for two industries, construction and health care, modest declines in the fraction of workers in unions was common. The union membership rate in construction rose even faster than did employment as the housing recession receded, rising nearly three percentage points to 29.1 percent. Still, only 200,000 city residents make their living as construction workers, just 5.7 percent of all employment. So it has limited ability to affect citywide union density when there are declines in other industries.

Health care is a different story: with over 604,000 workers, it is now the city's largest single employer, accounting for 17.1 percent of all residents' jobs. It alone now has five times as many workers as manufacturing and over four times as high a union density (39 per cent in health care, 8.7 per cent in manufacturing). Job growth, or at least stability, in health, education and public administration has been a stabilizing force for local union membership, counterbalancing much of the decline in other sectors.

Long Island has a ranking of the top five industries with the highest union membership somewhat similar to downtown, as of 2014–16: Public Administration (68.2 per cent), Education Services (59.8), Transportation and Utilities (48.0), Construction (41.0) and Information (24.6). Health Care, the Island's largest employer, is

the sixth-most unionized industry, with a membership rate (19.2 percent) about half that in the city. Though construction was down by 21,238 fewer residents employed, its union coverage was only reduced by 1,381 residents.

By far the largest change in union density was in construction, where over two-fifths of Long Islanders are now union members, up from 30 percent a decade ago. Since only 5.1 percent of residents are employed in the industry, its higher density alone could not prevent a small decline in the overall density rate since 2006. But more modest improvements in union membership in public administration, trade, information and business/professional services partially offset declines elsewhere.



Do Unions Raise Wages?

As many millions of workers nationwide have lost union coverage in recent years, how have those surviving union members fared in their earnings relative to nonunion workers? The BLS each year publishes gross median weekly earnings figures for union and nonunion wage and salary workers subdivided by sex, age, race/ethnicity, industry, occupation and other characteristics. In its latest 2016 estimates, overall median weekly earnings were: \$1,004 for union members and \$802 for nonunion employees; that is, the median union employee has a 25.2 percent pay premium over nonunion workers. Among women, both union and nonunion workers earn less than the median male employee, but the gender gap is much narrower among female union members. The union/nonunion earnings differential among women is 32.1 percent, well above the 18 percent male union premium.

As the union presence in the nation's workplaces has contracted, the union pay advantage has tended to diminish. A decade ago, the gross overall union/nonunion median earnings differential was five percentage points higher than today's 25.2 percent, and the differential among men (23.7 percent) was similarly higher than now.¹⁷ In light of that national trend, how do union and nonunion pay compare today in the region with still-high union density: New York?

In Tables 11 and 12, we present our earnings findings on all wage and salary workers in New York City and Long Island. Like the standard BLS analysis, we use CPS samples of full-time wage and salary workers, excluding all incorporated or unincorporated self-employed. But we go beyond the BLS measures in providing both median weekly and hourly wage figures. Among full-time New York City workers in the most recent years, the median hourly wage was \$21.98 for union members, compared to \$21.04 for those lacking union coverage. That is, the gross union-nonunion hourly wage differential appears to be a modest 4.5 percent. The differential in weekly pay is also positive but low: 2.9%

On Long Island, in contrast, the differential is sizable: 28.5 percent in favor of union workers. Median union hourly pay is \$1,200, far above the \$961 nonunion median. In weekly earnings, Long Island union members average 24.9 percent higher wages than nonunion workers.

Table 12 presents median wages by individual industry. To ensure adequate sample size for reliable estimates, we pooled New York City and Long Island employees. The gross hourly pay differential is especially high and positive in construction, transportation, education and leisure and hospitality. (It is highest in Other Services, but that group's subsample is relatively small and the estimate must be viewed with caution). But the estimated pay differentials in finance, insurance, real estate (the FIRE sector) and professional and business services are quite large, negative values, seeming to show far higher nonunion pay.

The fact that the latter industries share high proportions of very high-paid managerial and professional jobs raises the possibility that the pay differentials largely reflect comparisons of such nonunion elites with relatively small numbers of unionized workers in low-wage occupations. So we reran our estimates on a broadly “working class” subsample in which all managerial and professional occupations were excluded. The results are in Tables 14 and 15. Among working class New York City residents in full-time jobs, union members earn 18 percent higher median hourly and weekly wages – far higher union pay premia than in the broader sample. Median pay of Long Island union members today is over 50 percent above that of their nonunion neighbors. Likewise, the results by sex are quite different: union men earn 32 percent higher pay at the median than nonunion men, while female union members earn 8 – 10 percent higher wages than nonunion women.

The union pay advantage in most industries in the metro area is also generally higher in the non-managerial work force. It exceeds 20 percent on construction, manufacturing, transportation and utilities, leisure and hospitality and public administration.

Of course, skill, experience, occupational, firm size and many other factors besides union coverage could be behind such wage differences. If, for example, union members are more likely to be older, more skilled and living in generally higher wage labor markets, then those factors may explain more of their pay advantage than does their union membership. Without controls for such factors, the explanatory power of unions could be overstated. On the other hand, one could underestimate unions’ independent pay effects if they influence nonunion employers to pay higher wages too.¹⁸ A rich empirical literature of mostly national data samples has long shown that, even after adjusting for all such factors, union members tend to earn higher wages (as well as more fringe benefits) than otherwise-similar nonunion employees. We intend detailed investigation of local union-nonunion pay differentials in future work.

Summary and Concluding Remarks

The erosion of working class job and income prospects has recently been the focus of unprecedented political and economic controversy. Decades of shrinking union membership rates and bargaining power in much of the country have played a central role in this depressing trend, especially for non-college-educated workers. And it is not only union members that suffer. Economic research shows that when union compensation standards are threatened, this also weakens the pressure on nonunion employers to improve their workers’ pay.

This study investigates the latest trends in unionization through original empirical analysis of large U.S. Census Bureau microdata sets. The principal direction and characteristics of union coverage nationwide are compared with the case of the New York Metropolitan Area, the nation’s largest metro labor market. To make statistically reliable estimates of detailed components of these trends, we relied on multiyear samples with

adequate numbers of observations for reliable statistical estimates of specific worker groups, industries, etc. We pooled data as follows: a) 2004, 2005, 2006 (“pre-recession years”); b) 2008, 2009, 2010 (“Great Recession years”); and c) 2014, 2015 and 2016 (“post-recession recovery”). We trace changes in union membership just before, during and since the Great Recession, with separate analyses by sex, age, race, ethnicity, immigration status and industry.

Among the key highlights of our findings are that, first, New York State leads the nation in unionization: it is now the sole state with over one-fifth of its workforce in unions. And the downstate New York Metropolitan Area today has the highest union membership rate of all the country’s large metro regions. Of its wage and salary employees, 21.4 per cent are in unions – over twice the national average outside New York.

Within the metro area, we found that union membership has increased in both New York City and its suburbs since the Great Recession. The number of New York City residents in labor unions has reached nearly 876,000 – a 9.4 percent increase since the recession. Today, 24.8 percent of New York wage and salary workers belong to a union. Long Island experienced a much smaller 0.6 percent increase in union membership; its 302,868 union members account for a nearly identical 24.5 percent of all employees.

However, both the city’s and the suburb’s unions have not regained members fast enough to recover their pre-recession levels, resulting in a net decline over the past decade in the unionized share of workers (nearly two percentage points less in the city; one percentage point lower on the Island).

Underlying the trends in union membership are often dramatic variations in unions’ fortunes among workers differentiated by age, gender, race and ethnicity, immigrant status, hours of work, public-private sector, and industry. We found that New York City’s Millennials – by far the largest single age group – are more than twice as likely as their cohort nationwide to be union members (19.6 percent vs. 9.2 percent) and now account for nearly one in four of all the city’s union members. And New Yorkers in their late teens/early twenties are over three times as likely as youth elsewhere to have union protections today.

New female union workers accounted for two-thirds of the post-recession rise in union membership in New York City, and women are now a majority of the city’s union members. While the city’s membership rate has fallen among men to 23.9 percent today, the female rate has moved from 24 up to 25.7 percent over the same period. On Long Island, new female union workers accounted for 61 percent of the net increase in membership since the recession. Union contracts now cover 25.9 percent of men and 24.2 percent of women workers – and the gap between them has been cut in half since the late 1990s.

African American women in New York City are more likely than any other demographic group, male or female, to hold jobs with union representation. The black female union density rate of nearly 42 per cent is followed by that of African American men (37.2 per cent), Latina women (26.8 per cent), and Latino men (25 per cent). In fact, white non-Hispanic men today account for only 15 per cent of New York City’s unionized

work force. On Long Island, the white male union share is nearly three times as large (42 per cent), but a growing majority of its union workers are now women and minority men.

Over two-fifths of all union members in the city are immigrants. Moreover, the foreign-born accounted for one-third of all new unionization since the last recession. Naturalized immigrant citizens have a higher union membership rate (31 percent) than either US-born citizens (25 percent) or non-citizen migrants (6 percent). Long Island immigrants are a far smaller fraction of the work force, with lower union density than the native-born. But the number of immigrant citizens in unions rose nine percent since the Great Recession.

The public sector now accounts for 37 percent of New York City union members and has a density twice the national average. On Long Island, 71 percent of its more than 237,000 public sector workers are in unions, a membership rate that has held fairly steady over the past decade. The Long Island public sector represents a larger proportion of the resident population's jobs than in the city. And it accounts for the majority of all Long Island residents in a union job. The relative stability of the highly unionized public sector in New York continues to serve as an important counteracting force against dramatic declines in total union density of the sort so common nationwide.

Finally, we found still-substantial gross median wage gaps between union and nonunion employees. Among working class New York City residents in full-time jobs, union members earn 18 percent higher median hourly and weekly wages. Median pay of Long Island union members today is over 50 percent above that of their nonunion neighbors. The union pay advantage exceeds 20 percent in construction, manufacturing, transportation and utilities, leisure and hospitality and public administration.

The relative strength and stability of the union workforce in New York may face new challenges in the near future. The new administration in Washington seems likely to seek a national "right-to-work" law that would impose costly new burdens on unions to provide full legal and bargaining services even to non-dues-paying workers. The 2016 expansion of overtime pay coverage and new work safety standards are among other union measures now under threat. How these challenges are met will depend crucially on the ability of organized labor and its allies to translate its still-sizable economic power into a political movement to save workers' union protections.

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TABLES

Table 2: NYC Unionization Rates by Age Group, 2004-2016					
2004-2006					
NYC	Employment	Covered by Union		Membership Rate	Coverage Rate
		Members	Non-Members		
AGE					
16-24	347,483	45,159	4,145	13.0	14.2
25-34	871,297	182,697	10,569	21.0	22.2
35-44	804,232	222,705	7,547	27.7	28.6
45-54	674,950	219,019	10,873	32.4	34.1
55-64	384,483	157,877	6,279	41.1	42.7
65 & up	103,059	28,877	1,536	28.0	29.5
TOTAL	3,185,504	856,334	40,949	26.9	28.2
2008-2010					
	Employment	Covered by Union		Membership Rate	Coverage Rate
		Members	Non-Members		
AGE					
16-24	347,231	39,294	3,292	11.3	12.3
25-34	938,218	177,407	14,896	18.9	20.5
35-44	736,712	168,022	16,657	22.8	25.1
45-54	739,091	223,540	20,858	30.2	33.1
55-64	457,833	164,345	9,062	35.9	37.9
65 & up	119,321	28,276	3,528	23.7	26.7
TOTAL	3,338,405	800,884	68,293	24.0	26.0
2014-2016					
	Employment	Covered by Union		Membership Rate	Coverage Rate
		Members	Non-Members		
AGE					
16-24	353,733	47,284	4,680	13.4	14.7
25-34	1,043,904	204,959	19,646	19.6	21.5
35-44	764,266	185,486	9,972	24.3	25.6
45-54	707,959	220,037	11,039	31.1	32.6
55-64	493,055	161,996	9,206	32.9	34.7
65 & up	169,863	56,224	1,528	33.1	34.0
TOTAL	3,532,780	875,985	56,071	24.8	26.4

Notes: Estimates are based on wage and salary workers, ages 16 and above.

Membership rates equal percentage of employed workers who are union members. Coverage rates are percentage of employed workers who are covered by union or employee association contract.

Table entries are averages of the respective three-year period.

Source: In this and following tables, authors' estimates are from microdata in CPS (ORG) Files.

Table 3: Long Island Unionization Rates by Age Group, 2004-2016

2004 - 2006					
L.I.	Employment	<u>Covered by Union</u>		Membership Rate	Coverage Rate
		Members	Non-Members		
AGE					
16-24	157,906	14,237	726	9.0	9.5
25-34	230,428	64,088	2,847	27.8	29.0
35-44	340,900	93,833	5,813	27.5	29.2
45-54	291,311	83,346	3,755	28.6	29.9
55-64	172,254	53,776	2,919	31.2	32.9
65 & up	63,320	8,170	498	12.9	13.7
TOTAL	1,256,119	317,450	16,558	25.3	26.6
2008-2010					
	Employment	<u>Covered by Union</u>		Membership Rate	Coverage Rate
		Members	Non-Members		
AGE					
16-24	160,485	13,401	1,219	8.4	9.1
25-34	227,269	58,276	2,321	25.6	26.7
35-44	309,085	78,374	4,214	25.4	26.7
45-54	302,103	93,701	3,338	31.0	32.1
55-64	186,100	48,187	3,349	25.9	27.7
65 & up	48,267	8,985	617	18.6	19.9
TOTAL	1,233,310	300,924	15,059	24.4	25.6
2014-2016					
	Employment	<u>Covered by Union</u>		Membership Rate	Coverage Rate
		Members	Non-Members		
AGE					
16-24	142,359	13,997	1,395	9.8	10.8
25-34	198,722	48,314	1,544	24.3	25.1
35-44	274,261	81,195	1,607	29.6	30.2
45-54	299,631	90,881	5,515	30.3	32.2
55-64	246,470	53,867	3,687	21.9	23.4
65 & up	76,063	14,614	688	19.2	20.1
TOTAL	1,237,506	302,868	14,437	24.5	25.6

**Table 4: Unionization Rates by Race, Gender and Ethnicity,
New York City, 2004 - 2016**

	FEMALES			MALES		
	Employment	Union Members	Union Density	Employment	Union Members	Union Density
2004-2006						
White	556,713	109,209	19.6	637,072	159,439	25.0
Black	420,547	175,776	41.8	335,236	117,209	35.0
Asian	174,071	30,553	17.6	239,233	38,318	16.0
Other	14,405	5,886	40.9	12,466	1,941	15.6
All Non-Hspn	1,165,735	321,425	27.6	1,224,008	316,907	25.9
Hispanic	365,928	103,336	28.2	429,833	114,666	26.7
TOTAL	1,531,663	424,761	27.7	1,653,841	431,573	26.1
2008-2010						
White	577,488	114,902	19.9	647,230	142,382	22.0
Black	440,561	152,436	34.6	320,505	114,432	35.7
Asian	211,322	29,308	13.9	262,523	28,648	10.9
Other	8,655	1,976	22.8	8,689	2,796	32.2
All Non-Hspn	1,238,026	298,622	24.1	1,238,948	288,258	23.3
Hispanic	399,959	93,722	23.4	461,473	120,283	26.1
TOTAL	1,637,985	392,343	24.0	1,700,420	408,541	24.0
2014-2016						
White	610,289	111,840	18.3	654,395	128,825	19.7
Black	414,704	173,583	41.9	336,186	124,980	37.2
Asian	239,281	35,148	14.7	280,264	44,059	15.7
Other	20,153	5,460	27.1	17,262	4,165	24.1
All Non-Hspn	1,284,427	326,031	25.4	1,288,108	302,028	23.4
Hispanic	432,200	115,931	26.8	528,046	131,995	25.0
TOTAL	1,716,626	441,962	25.7	1,816,154	434,023	23.9

Note: The White, Black, Asian and Other racial study samples here are all non-Hispanic. People who self-identify their ethnicity as Hispanic may be of any race.

**Table 5: Unionization Rates by Race, Gender and Ethnicity,
Long Island, 2004 - 2016**

	FEMALES			MALES		
	Employment	Union Members	Union Density	Employment	Union Members	Union Density
2004-2006						
White	472,916	112,895	23.9	478,955	138,308	28.9
Black	54,555	17,107	31.4	44,712	12,229	27.4
Asian	28,072	2,343	8.3	28,182	7,603	27.0
Other	2,556	495	19.4	3,193	887	27.8
All Non-Hsp	558,098	132,841	23.8	555,042	159,027	28.7
Hispanic	68,997	10,967	15.9	73,982	14,615	19.8
TOTAL	627,095	143,807	22.9	629,023	173,643	27.6
2008-2010						
White	449,959	112,979	25.1	436,334	125,640	28.8
Black	50,655	11,219	22.1	39,754	12,530	31.5
Asian	31,634	6,844	21.6	39,199	5,099	13.0
Other	2,673	967	36.2	2,539	908	35.8
All Non-Hsp	534,921	132,009	24.7	517,825	144,176	27.8
Hispanic	74,376	6,447	8.7	106,188	18,293	17.2
TOTAL	609,297	138,455	22.7	624,013	162,469	26.0
2014-2016						
White	430,408	112,086	27.2	432,710	125,713	29.1
Black	60,391	15,842	29.1	53,192	16,189	30.4
Asian	39,512	5,178	13.1	43,823	4,786	10.9
Other	4,788	521	10.9	6,493	3,518	54.2
All Non-Hsp	535,099	133,628	25.0	536,218	150,207	28.0
Hispanic	72,337	6,016	8.9	93,852	13,018	13.9
TOTAL	607,436	139,644	23.0	630,070	163,225	25.9

Note: The White, Black, Asian and Other racial study samples here are all non-Hispanic. People who self-identify their ethnicity as Hispanic may be of any race.

Table 6: Immigrant & Native-Born Workers' Union Membership Rates, 2004-2016

New York City									
	2004-2006			2008-2010			2014-2016		
	Employment	Union Members	Union Density	Employment	Union Members	Union Density	Employment	Union Members	Union Density
Foreign Born, Citizen	757,389	247,771	32.7	797,981	234,046	29.3	852,727	263,109	30.9
Foreign Born, Non Citizen	732,117	122,826	16.8	748,167	110,297	14.7	683,675	105,521	15.4
Native Born, Citizen	1,695,998	485,737	28.6	1,792,258	456,542	25.5	1,996,379	507,355	25.4
TOTAL	3,185,504	856,334	26.9	3,338,405	800,884	24.0	3,532,781	875,985	24.8

Long Island									
	2004-2006			2008-2010			2014-2016		
	Employment	Union Members	Union Density	Employment	Union Members	Union Density	Employment	Union Members	Union Density
Foreign Born, Citizen	132,816	29,981	22.6	137,588	30,468	22.1	161,785	33,118	20.5
Foreign Born, Non Citizen	95,549	10,193	10.7	118,761	12,080	10.2	103,703	6,590	6.4
Native Born, Citizen	1,027,754	277,277	27.0	976,961	258,377	26.4	972,019	263,161	27.1
TOTAL	1,256,119	317,450	25.3	1,233,310	300,924	24.4	1,237,506	302,868	24.5

Table 7: Union Density Rates by Sector of Employment, NYC & Long Island 2004-2016

	PUBLIC SECTOR			PRIVATE SECTOR			
	Employment	Union Members	Union Density	Employment	Union Members	Union Density	
New York City	2004-2006	486,583	352,926	72.5	2,698,921	503,408	18.7
	2008-2010	527,136	366,040	69.4	2,800,234	427,894	15.3
	2014-2016	486,567	335,306	68.9	3,046,213	540,679	17.7
Long Island	2004-2006	272,652	190,834	70.0	983,467	126,617	12.9
	2008-2010	255,608	180,555	70.6	970,874	115,756	11.9
	2014-2016	237,152	168,274	71.0	1,000,354	134,594	13.5

**Table 8: Union Density Rates in NYC & Long Island Public Sector
by Government Level, 2004-2016**

	<u>NEW YORK CITY</u>			<u>LONG ISLAND</u>		
	Employment	Members	Union Density	Employment	Members	Union Density
<u>2004-2006</u>						
Federal	59,522	31,348	52.7	31,222	18,331	58.7
State	72,785	49,316	67.8	47,198	32,366	68.6
Local	354,276	272,261	76.8	194,233	140,137	72.1
TOTAL	486,582	352,926	72.5	272,652	190,834	70.0
<u>2008-2010</u>						
Federal	84,825	37,776	44.5	28,009	14,112	50.4
State	74,224	45,965	61.9	40,260	28,679	71.2
Local	368,088	282,300	76.7	187,340	137,764	73.5
TOTAL	527,136	366,040	69.4	255,608	180,555	70.6
<u>2014-2016</u>						
Federal	67,812	31,915	47.1	29,081	19,128	65.8
State	83,346	48,773	58.5	34,687	23,814	68.7
Local	335,409	254,618	75.9	173,385	125,331	72.3
TOTAL	486,567	335,306	68.9	237,152	168,274	71.0

Table 9: NYC -- Union Density by Industry, 2004-2016		
INDUSTRY	2004-2006	2014-2016
CONSTRUCTION	26.3	29.1
MANUFACTURING	16.0	8.7
WHOLESALE AND RETAIL TRADE	11.1	10.0
TRANSPORTATION AND UTILITIES	49.6	42.3
INFORMATION SERVICES	19.7	15.9
FINANCE, INSURANCE AND REAL ESTATE	18.6	16.8
PROFESSIONAL AND BUSINESS SERVICES	13.0	11.6
EDUCATIONAL SERVICES	54.2	49.0
HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICES	37.0	36.6
LEISURE AND HOSPITALITY	14.4	13.8
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	62.3	60.5

Table 10: Long Island -- Union Density by Industry, 2004-2016		
INDUSTRY	2004-2006	2014-2016
CONSTRUCTION	30.0	41.0
MANUFACTURING	10.0	8.6
WHOLESALE AND RETAIL TRADE	9.8	11.4
TRANSPORTATION AND UTILITIES	52.5	48.0
INFORMATION SERVICES	22.0	24.6
FINANCE, INSURANCE AND REAL ESTATE	4.7	2.9
PROFESSIONAL AND BUSINESS SERVICES	6.1	8.0
EDUCATIONAL SERVICES	63.4	59.8
HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICES	20.9	19.2
LEISURE AND HOSPITALITY	10.6	3.3
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	66.7	68.2

**Table 11: Median Earnings of All Full-Time Workers,
By Union Membership, Age and Sex: 2014-2016**

	Hourly Wage	Weekly Earnings		Union Pay Premium [%]		
	Non-Union	Union	Non-Union	Union	Hourly	Weekly
NYC	\$21.04	\$21.98	\$850	\$875	0.045	0.029
LONG ISLAND	23.35	30.00	961	1200	0.285	0.249
Age						
20-29	17.30	19.23	692	760	0.112	0.098
30-44	23.56	25.24	962	1,002	0.071	0.042
45-64	23.06	25.00	923	1,000	0.084	0.083
Sex						
Male	22.9	24.0	961	962	0.049	0.001
Female	20.0	24.0	800	960	0.202	0.200

Table 11 Note: All self-employed workers are excluded from wage & salary sample.

**Table 12: Median Earnings of All Full-Time Workers,
By Union Membership & Industry: 2014-2016**

NYC & Long Island <i>Industry</i>	Hourly Wage		Weekly Earnings		Union Pay Premium [%]	
	Non-Union	Union	Non-Union	Union	Hourly	Weekly
CONSTRUCTION	\$18.98	\$25.27	\$720	\$1,000	0.332	0.389
MANUFACTURING	20.65	22.47	850	923	0.088	0.086
WHOLESALE AND RETAIL TRADE	17.03	15.63	673	600	-0.082	-0.109
TRANSPORTATION AND UTILITIES	18.68	22.52	750	923	0.205	0.231
INFORMATION SERVICES	32.39	28.88	1,384	1,154	-0.108	-0.166
FINANCE, INSURANCE, REAL ES	29.71	21.89	1,346	865	-0.263	-0.357
PROFESSIONAL AND BUSINESS	26.74	18.49	1,135	760	-0.309	-0.330
EDUCATIONAL SERVICES	26.25	31.59	1,057	1,250	0.203	0.183
HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICES	20.00	21.00	800	808	0.050	0.010
LEISURE AND HOSPITALITY	14.17	17.69	560	700	0.248	0.250
OTHER SERVICES	16.85	25.30	640	1,038	0.502	0.622
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	26.27	25.32	1,057	1,057	-0.036	0.000

**Table 13: Median Earnings in Working Class Occupations by Age, Sex & Union Status:
Full-time Non-Managerial, Non-Professional, 2014-2016**

	Hourly Wage		Weekly Earnings		Union Pay Premium	
	Non-Union	Union	Non-Union	Union	Hourly	Weekly
NYC	\$15.16	\$17.97	\$600	\$706	0.185	0.176
LONG ISLAND	16.83	25.27	654	1003	0.502	0.534
Age						
20-29	13.61	13.93	520	557	0.024	0.071
30-44	15.69	19.46	635	771	0.241	0.215
45-64	17.49	21.51	692	846	0.230	0.223
Sex						
Male	16.2	21.4	650	865	0.321	0.331
Female	15.1	16.4	577	634	0.084	0.099

Table 13 Note: All self-employed workers are excluded from wage & salary sample.

**Table 14: Median Earnings in Working Class Occupations by Industry & Union Status:
Full-time Non-Managerial, Non-Professional, 2014-2016**

NYC & Long Island	Hourly Wage		Weekly Earnings		Union Pay Premium	
<i>Industry</i>	Non-Union	Union	Non-Union	Union	Hourly	Weekly
CONSTRUCTION	\$17.30	\$25.27	\$680	\$1,000	0.461	0.471
MANUFACTURING	15.60	20.42	615	855	0.309	0.389
WHOLESALE AND RETAIL TRADE	15.00	13.92	577	551	-0.072	-0.045
TRANSPORTATION AND UTILITIES	17.18	22.27	698	900	0.296	0.290
INFORMATION SERVICES	20.92	24.03	827	961	0.148	0.162
FINANCE, INSURANCE AND REAL ES	21.25	20.22	894	800	-0.049	-0.105
PROFESSIONAL AND BUSINESS SEF	15.38	17.00	600	680	0.105	0.133
EDUCATIONAL SERVICES	19.23	20.86	700	730	0.085	0.043
HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICES	14.42	14.57	550	570	0.010	0.036
LEISURE AND HOSPITALITY	12.14	16.83	480	640	0.385	0.333
OTHER SERVICES	14.15	15.92	540	787	0.125	0.458
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	19.43	24.33	769	963	0.252	0.253

NOTES

- ¹ Rosenfeld, Jake, Patrick Denise and Jennifer Laird. 2016. *Union Decline Lowers Wages of Nonunion Workers* (8/30): www.epi.org;
- Western, Bruce and Jake Rosenfeld. 2011. "Unions, Norms and the Rise in US Wage Inequality," *American Sociological Review* 76: 513-57.
- ² DeFreitas, G. and B. Sengupta, "The State of New York Unions 2007," *Regional Labor Review* (Fall 2007). See also our more recent DeFreitas. and Sengupta, "The State of New York Unions 2012," *Regional Labor Review* (Fall 2012). For alternative estimates based on smaller samples and lacking separate analysis for Long Island, see: Milkman, Ruth and Laura Braslow. Sept. 2016. *The State of the Unions 2016*: www.urbanresearch.org.
- ³ This article is an extract of the full report, which contains additional tables and technical material. A pdf copy can be downloaded from the working papers section of the website: www.hofstra.edu/cld.
- ⁴ Hirsch, Barry T., David A. Macpherson and Wayne G. Vroman. 2001. "Estimates of Union Density by State," *Monthly Labor Review*, 124 (7), July: 51–55. Accompanying 1964–2016 data online at B. Hirsch & D. Macpherson, *Union Membership & Coverage Database from the CPS*: www.unionstats.com.
- ⁵ U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2017. "Union Membership in New York and New Jersey – 2016," *BLS Press Release* (3/02/17), www.bls.gov/ro2 Over half of all the country's union members are concentrated in just seven states: New York, California, Illinois, Michigan, New Jersey, Ohio and Pennsylvania.
- ⁶ Note that the widely reported BLS payroll job figures (based on employer reports and not limited to NYC residents) are not directly comparable to resident employment estimates (from the CPS household surveys of residents) reported by the BLS and NYS Labor Dept. And the latter are not strictly comparable to the wage and salary workers in the CPS-ORG subsample (that alone includes union information) of our study.
- ⁷ See for example the analysis and economic studies cited in: Bennett, James and Bruce Kaufman. 2001. *The Future of Private Sector Unionism in the US*, Armonk, NY: ME Sharpe; Bronfenbrenner, Kate, et al. (ed). 1998. *Organizing to Win: New Research on Union Strategies*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press; and the studies cited therein.
- ⁸ See, for example, Hirsch, Barry T and David A. Macpherson. 2002. "Union Membership and Coverage Database from the Current Population Survey: Note," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 56 (2), January: 349–54; Hirsch, Barry T and David A. Macpherson. 2003. "Union Membership and Coverage Database from the Current Population Survey: Note," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 56 (2), January: 349–54. See our technical appendix in the full report for more details.
- ⁹ DeFreitas and Sengupta, op. cit. 2007).
- ¹⁰ See DeFreitas, G. 2016. "Millennials in the Long Island Job Market: Underpaid and Underemployed," *Regional Labor Review* (Fall 2016).
- ¹¹ See DeFreitas 2016, *ibid*. See also the international comparisons in DeFreitas, Gregory (ed). 2008. *Young Workers in the Global Economy: Job Challenges in North America, Europe and Japan*, Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.
- ¹² Pew Research Center, *Favorable Views of Business, Labor Rebound* (6/27/2013): www.people-press.org.
- ¹³ Freeman, Richard B. and James Medoff. 1984. *What Do Unions Do?* New York: Basic Books..
- ¹⁴ See the case studies of youth in unionized low-wage jobs in Tannock, Stuart. 2001. *Youth At Work: The Unionized Fast-food and Grocery Workplace*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- ¹⁵ See, for example, the accounts in DeFreitas, Gregory. 2001. "Can Unions Win at Region-wide Low-wage Organizing? An Interview with Hector Figueroa of Justice for Janitors," *Regional Labor Review*, 4 (1), Fall.
- ¹⁶ Goodman, J. David. 2016. "Now Hiring: Under deBlasio, New York's Government Grows to Record Level," *NY Times* (10/11/2016).
- ¹⁷ U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2008. "Union Members in 2007," *BLS Press Release*: www.bls.gov
- ¹⁸ See evidence of this in Rosenfeld, Denise and Laird, *op. cit*.