

**Testimony of Chris Neale, Director of the NYC Workforce Development Board,
Mayor's Office of Workforce Development, before the
New York City Council Committee on Civil Service and Labor**

**Hearing on the Labor Movement in New York City after President Trump
Resolutions 5820 and 5862**

April 19, 2017

Introduction

Good morning, Chairman Miller, and members of the Committee on Civil Service and Labor. I am Chris Neale, Director of the NYC Workforce Development Board. The NYC Workforce Development Board is a federally mandated board whose members are appointed by the Mayor. I am staff to the Board and also part of the Mayor's Office of Workforce Development, an office established by the Mayor to serve as the coordinating entity for the City's workforce initiatives.

I work closely with a number of City agencies, including the Department for the Aging ("DFTA"), the Department of Small Business Services ("SBS"), and the Department of Youth and Community Development ("DYCD"). Several colleagues from these agencies are present today and will be available for Q&A. I am also joined today by my colleague from the Department of Consumer Affairs ("DCA"), Liz Vladeck (Deputy Commissioner, Office of Labor Policy and Standards), who will speak later to worker protection and labor union issues under the Trump Administration.

Thank you for inviting us to testify today. The primary focus of my testimony will be to describe several training and employment programs funded by the U.S. Department of Labor ("USDOL") that benefit New Yorkers, which could be at risk due to the Trump Administration's proposal to cut USDOL's overall budget by 21%. USDOL funds a number of programs nationally that help individuals prepare for and connect to jobs. The City of New York received nearly \$70 million in total this year from USDOL for employment programs serving three groups of New Yorkers: **youth, adults, and seniors.**

As you are well aware, the Trump Administration proposed its “skinny budget” on March 16, which included a proposal to cut USDOL funding overall by 21%. But there is a lot of uncertainty about what will ultimately be in the federal budget. Nonetheless, the Mayor plans to fight these proposed cuts, which would unfairly target our fellow New Yorkers – many of them low-income.

1. Employment Programs for Youth

The City of New York received more than \$24 million this year from USDOL for two youth employment programs: the In-School Youth and Out-of-School Youth programs. Both programs are funded by the federal Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act (“WIOA”) and managed by DYCD.

The **In-School Youth program** provides year-round services to high school juniors and seniors who meet certain eligibility requirements. In-School Youth services are provided by community-based organizations in all five boroughs of New York City. These programs help young people graduate from high school, pursue college education, and develop career goals. Services include counseling, tutoring, leadership activities, a guaranteed paid summer work experience, and others.

The **Out-of-School Youth program** is a year-long program for youth between the ages of 16 and 24 who are not working and not in school. These “disconnected” young people upgrade their job skills and find permanent work. The program offers occupational skills training in many industries, including construction, food service, tourism, healthcare, and retail. The program also provides High School Equivalency preparation and support services, and aims ultimately to connect young adults to jobs or college. Participants also receive 12 months of follow-up services after completing the program. Out-of-School Youth programs are operated by community-based organizations in all five boroughs of New York City. The WIOA law recognizes the importance of serving disconnected young adults: it stipulates that at least 75% of youth program funds be spent on out-of-school youth.

Together, these two USDOL-funded programs will enroll and serve more than 2,600 young adults this year. They will positively impact the lives of young adults like Jessica Piccinnini. Jessica enrolled in an Out-of-School Youth program on a track to earn a Microsoft Office User Specialist certification.

She was shy around her peers in the program, but loved writing, and really blossomed in a work readiness session in which the participants wrote a job description for themselves. But she struggled with the certification exam, failing it three times. Jessica kept at it, however, and finally passed. She then landed her first job as a Customer Service Representative at Stop and Shop earning \$11 per hour, and is able to apply a number of skills she learned during her training program to her job. Cuts to these programs would impact disconnected youth the most and mean that some youth like Jessica could lose the opportunity to build their confidence and find a job.

We don't yet know what level of funding USDOL youth programs will have in the federal budget. But regardless of what happens, the de Blasio Administration is unwavering in its commitment to continue to build on our progress serving young people and families. With the strong support of the City Council, over the past few years, practically every program area that DYCD operates – from COMPASS and School's Out NYC after school programs, Beacon and Cornerstone community centers, the Summer Youth Employment Program, and Runaway and Homeless Youth shelter beds – has seen increased investment under Mayor de Blasio.

2. Employment Programs for Adults

The City of New York received more than \$41 million this year from USDOL for adult employment programs, funded by the federal Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act ("WIOA") and managed by SBS. SBS uses WIOA funds for two main purposes: training New Yorkers and connecting them to jobs.

SBS invests WIOA funding in training programs that align with employers' needs, and help New Yorkers to enter and advance in sectors driving New York City's economy. These include sectors such as healthcare, industrial and manufacturing, construction, food service and hospitality, technology, and media and entertainment. The Workforce1 Career Centers annually connect more than 4,000 New Yorkers to training.

SBS also operates a network of 20 Workforce1 Career Centers throughout the five boroughs with WIOA funding. These centers provide recruitment services for New York City employers and

connect jobseekers 18 years of age or older to available employment opportunities. Supporting the Mayor's focus on quality jobs, Workforce1 connects New Yorkers to employment opportunities in fast-growing industries with real opportunities for advancement. The Workforce1 Centers utilize recruitment expertise, industry knowledge, and skill-building workshops to match qualified candidates to positions with their employer partners. Annually, the Workforce1 Career Centers connect 25,000 New Yorkers to jobs.

Earlier this year, the Workforce1 Healthcare Career Center – a specialized center with industry expertise in healthcare – worked closely with Centers Plan for Healthy Living, the second largest Managed Long-Term Care provider in New York State. This employer was facing severe challenges finding appropriately qualified Registered Nurses. But the Healthcare Center successfully sourced, screened, and referred a number of qualified Registered Nurses to the employer. The result was phenomenal: 21 individuals got hired over the course of just one month as Registered Nurses, earning between \$74,000 and \$86,000 per year. Moreover, the employer was thrilled to fill so many positions so quickly.

We cannot be certain how USDOL adult employment programs will be funded in the federal budget. But any cuts to their funding would mean fewer New York City jobseekers and employers able to share in the success of recruitment efforts like the Registered Nurses hired by the Centers Plan for Healthy Living.

3. Employment Programs for Seniors

The City of New York received more than \$4.3 million from USDOL this year to support the Senior Community Service Employment Program ("SCSEP"), managed by the Department for the Aging ("DFTA"). The Trump Administration's budget proposes to eliminate SCSEP entirely.

SCSEP is an employment and training program targeted to low-income seniors aged 55 or older. This year, DFTA has served nearly 500 seniors through the program. A major component of SCSEP is paid community service: participants offer their talents to organizations such as senior centers, City agencies and community-based nonprofit organizations. The ultimate goal is to prepare seniors for

jobs. When they transition to full-time jobs, participants earn an average of \$14 per hour in a variety of positions, such as Certified Nursing Assistant, Customer Service Representative, Bookkeeper, and Manager.

SCSCEP makes a powerful impact in New York City on the lives of seniors like Jose Roman. At age 60, Jose found himself with bills mounting and under incredible pressure to find a job. He enrolled in the SCSEP program and found a highly supportive staff at DFTA. Jose didn't want just a job – he wanted an opportunity in which he could really grow professionally. However, he went on interview after interview without a call back, facing intense disappointment. But the DFTA staff helped him hone his interview skills, which ultimately helped him land a position as a Patient Navigator at Urban Health Plan. He is now earning nearly \$18 per hour and will have access to great benefits – including health insurance, vacation days, and a 401k – once he passes his probationary period in May.

DFTA has served older adults through SCSEP for more than 25 years. The program remains critically important because older New Yorkers are living longer than ever before, and many turn to DFTA for help to secure a continuing role in the workforce. Low-income seniors rely on the program for training, income and help finding a job. The program is a lifeline for participants because it helps them cover their living expenses, like food and housing. That support, in turn, helps protect seniors from more serious issues, like food insecurity, rental arrears, and homelessness. The program helps seniors stay economically viable in this expensive city. They are relying on SCSEP to gain employment and to survive. Without SCSEP, seniors like Jose Roman would not have this support.

Conclusion

As I have described, the Trump Administration's budget proposes cuts that could impact critical employment programs in our City. But the de Blasio Administration plans to fight these cuts that would put everyday New Yorkers – youth, adults, and seniors – in the crosshairs, depriving them of valuable programs that would help them prepare for and connect to a job to support their families.

Thank you.

**Testimony of Liz Vladeck, Deputy Commissioner of Department of Consumer Affairs for
the Office of Labor Policy & Standards before the
New York City Council Committee on Civil Service and Labor**

**Hearing on Labor Movement in New York City after President Trump,
Resolutions 5820 and 5862**

Thank you, Chairman Miller and Members, for the opportunity to offer testimony today. Our Mayor, the Speaker, and all of you, have shown great leadership in pursuing policies and laws that ensure workers in New York City, particularly the most vulnerable, can care for themselves and their families. Through the collaborative efforts of the Administration and the Council, the Department of Consumer Affairs' ("DCA") Office of Labor Policy and Standards ("OLPS"), which I direct in my role as a DCA Deputy Commissioner, has been established as a dedicated voice in City government for workers in New York City. Together, we have demonstrated the City's commitment to building on its historic role of serving as a laboratory for new, progressive policies. OLPS takes very seriously our mandate: to enforce key workplace laws and rules; to educate workers, employers, and the public about local, state and federal workplace protections; and to conduct original research and use it to advance new policy initiatives that are responsive to a changing economy.

I'm glad to be on this panel today with Director Neale. I would also like to acknowledge the work of our colleagues at the Office of Labor Relations ("OLR"), which represents the Mayor in the conduct of labor relations between the City of New York and the labor unions representing City employees. Under Mayor de Blasio, the City's commitment to collective bargaining with its own workforce has never been stronger. According to OLR, 90 percent of City employees are represented by a union (a total of 337,000 employees in 144 bargaining units). When the Mayor took office, every City collective bargaining agreement ("CBA") was expired. The

Administration has since entered into agreements covering 99.57% of the City's represented workforce and is on track to achieve \$3.4 billion in a landmark labor management health savings agreement that made the first significant changes to the health plans since 1982. The Administration's achievements include negotiating nine-year CBAs for more than 140,000 employees who had not received any wage increases since 2008 and seven-year CBAs for most of the more than 200,000 employees who had not received any wage increases since 2010. More than 100 hundred CBAs were overwhelmingly ratified by union membership and hailed as fiscally responsible by the City's fiscal monitors. Further, the City has worked with our unions to establish wellness programs, joint funds for child and elder care programs, and to create additional education and training opportunities for early education workers.

These are examples of policies that we in New York City know are critical to both protect working families and grow our economy. In contrast to these forward-looking policies, I would like to note some of our concerns about how new federal government priorities could negatively impact enforcement of important workers' rights laws, and discuss the threat posed by right-to-work legislation pending in Congress.

I know that Director Neale from the Mayor's Office of Workforce Development has discussed how the President's proposed budget could negatively impact workers and their families. In addition to slashing resources, there are many ways that the federal administration could hurt workers when it comes to critical workplace standards. The Trump administration's actions on immigration have already had a terrible impact on immigrant workers in our communities. Other harmful actions that the executive branch could pursue unilaterally include: 1) Decreased federal

enforcement dollars to police wage and hour and health and safety violations; 2) Changing priorities that shift enforcement efforts away from vulnerable workforces, where violations can multiply; 3) The recent rollback of the Fair Pay and Safe Workplaces Executive Order (E.O. 13673), that had previously made it more difficult for habitual labor and employment law violators to get federal contracts;ⁱ and 4) Appointments to key leadership roles of individuals with anti-worker and anti-labor agendas (though organizing by stakeholders around the country defeated this administration's first nominee for Labor Secretary, Andrew Puzder, there are still numerous critical positions left to fill.)

Additionally, problematic legislative initiatives, such as the proposed repeal of the federal Davis-Bacon Act, which requires payment of a prevailing wage on federally-funded public works projects, could also pose serious harm to workers and their families.ⁱⁱ Other legislation of concern is a pending National "Right to Work" Act,ⁱⁱⁱ which would undermine unions' ability to organize around the country, and which I'd like to address now. Under current federal law, unions representing private-sector workers must represent all of an employer's employees. But some state right-to-work laws allow workers not to pay dues to the union, even though the union must still represent them, leading to what is known as the "free rider" problem. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. had this to say about Right to Work laws back in 1961:

In our glorious fight for civil rights, we must guard against being fooled by false slogans, such as 'right to work.' It is a law to rob us of our civil rights and job rights. Its purpose is to destroy labor unions and the freedom of collective bargaining by which unions have improved wages and working conditions of everyone...Wherever these laws have been passed, wages are lower, job opportunities are fewer and there are no civil rights.^{iv}

In other words, and despite its misleading shorthand, right-to-work legislation does nothing to enhance the rights of workers. Instead, a 2015 study by the Economic Policy Institute ("EPI")

found that wages in right-to-work states laws are 3.1 percent lower than those in non-right-to-work states;^v meaning that, on average, full-time salaried workers were earning \$1,558 less per year in right-to-work states compared to other states.^{vi} A 2011 EPI study found that the rate of employer-sponsored health insurance is 2.6 percent lower and the rate of employer-sponsored pensions is 4.8 percent lower in right-to-work states.^{vii} If these conditions were national, two million fewer workers would have employer-sponsored health insurance and 3.8 million fewer workers, employer-sponsored pensions.^{viii}

It is also clear that right-to-work laws undermine unions. Union membership has fallen by 40 percent in Wisconsin since 2010, following the passage of right-to-work laws there.^{ix} Weakening unions threatens workers' incomes, as unionization typically raises wages and improves working conditions. A 2012 EPI study determined that union membership raises compensation of unionized workers by 13.6 percent.^x Unions also benefit women and workers of color. Female union members are paid over thirty percent more than female workers who are not members of a union.^{xi} The pay gap is smaller between men and women in unions than it is between men and women who are not in unions.^{xii} Workers of color benefit disproportionately from union representation, as well. When compared to their counterparts who are not in unions, black workers receive 17.3% more in wages, Hispanic workers receive 23.1% more, and Asian workers receive 14.7% more. Right-to-work laws chip away at all of these benefits for workers.^{xiii}

An argument that is often proffered in support of right-to-work laws is that they bolster employment, competition, and wages. Numerous rigorous studies have found that this is, in fact,

not the case. These studies have shown that right-to-work laws do little to boost employment rates or attract higher-wage manufacturing jobs.^{xiv} Studies and surveys of the manufacturing industry do not indicate that having right-to-work laws is a factor in location decisions.^{xv} Instead, there is evidence that “higher-wage, higher-tech manufacturers” are “drawn to states with “strong education systems, strong research universities, good digital infrastructure and other features....”^{xvi}

Higher wages, infrastructure, strong education; these are all among New York City’s economic commitments under Mayor de Blasio. Our Administration views collaborative relationships with business and labor as critical to sustained, equitable economic growth. That’s why, both in the City’s relationship to its own workforce, and in terms of general minimum labor standards, we have pursued policies that make New York City a leading example of progressive and innovative legislation and other initiatives that benefit working people and strengthen the economy. Unions were major proponents of the New York City Paid Sick Time Law, which OLPS enforces, and which has had a major positive impact on working conditions for non-union and union workers alike. Labor unions have also advocated for increases in the state minimum wage and for the Mayor’s groundbreaking proposed “Fair Workweek” legislation, which, as you know, the Administration is working hard with the Council to move forward. At OLPS, we know that unions help provide important protections, from filing complaints on behalf of aggrieved workers to helping identify problem industries. Because we know that unionization results in important benefits and protections for workers, we oppose attacks on unions and threats to workers’ ability to organize, such as the false slogan of “right to work.” Under Mayor de

Blasio's leadership, we are proud to of the City's record pursuing policies that improve conditions for and empower working people and the organizations that represent them.

ⁱ Revocation of Federal Contracting Executive Orders, Exec. Order No. 13782, 82 Fed. Reg. 15607 (March 27, 2017).

ⁱⁱ Davis-Bacon Repeal Act, H.R. 743, 115th Cong. (2017).

ⁱⁱⁱ H.R. 785, 115th Cong. (2017); S. 545, 115th Cong. (2017).

^{iv} Martin Luther King on "right to work," Economic Policy Institute (Apr. 4, 2011), http://www.epi.org/publication/martin_luther_king_on_right_to_work.

^v This is when controlling for a "full set of worker characteristics and state labor market conditions." Elise Gould & Will Kimball, Economic Policy Institute, Briefing Paper No. 395, "Right-to-Work" States Still Have Lower Wages 2 (2015).

^{vi} *Id.*

^{vii} Elise Gould & Heidi Shierholz, Economic Policy Institute, Briefing Paper No. 299, The Compensation Penalty of "Right-to-Work" Laws 2 (2011).

^{viii} *Id.*

^{ix} Molly Beck, Union membership down nearly 40 percent since Act 10, Wisconsin State Journal, Jan. 27, 2017, http://host.madison.com/wsj/news/local/govt-and-politics/union-membership-down-nearly-percent-since-act/article_60c1bb7e-3ae3-57d0-b4b3-a9aa46f0e59f.html.

^x Lawrence Mishel & Matthew Walters, Economic Policy Institute, Issue Brief No. 342, Unions, Inequality, and Faltering Middle-Class Wages 1 (2012).

^{xi} Elise Gould, Jessica Schieder, & Kathleen Geier, Economic Policy Institute, What is the gender pay gap and is it real? 23 (2016).

^{xii} *Id.*

^{xiii} Lawrence Mishel & Matthew Walters, Economic Policy Institute, Issue Brief No. 342, Unions, Inequality, and Faltering Middle-Class Wages 4 (2012).

^{xiv} Elise Gould & Will Kimball, Economic Policy Institute, Briefing Paper No. 395, "Right-to-Work" States Still Have Lower Wages 8 (2015) (internal citations omitted).

^{xv} *Id.* (citing 28th Annual Survey of Corporate Executives: Availability of Skilled Labor New Top Priority, Area Development Magazine (2014)).

^{xvi} *Id.* (citing Robert Atkinson & Nager Adams, Information Technology and Innovation Foundation, The 2014 State Economy Index: Benchmarking Economic Transformation in the States (2014)).

Testimony of Dr. Ruth Milkman for the New York City Council Civil Service and Labor Committee Hearing on “The Labor Movement in New York City after President Trump” April 19, 2017

The full implications of the election of Donald Trump and the current U.S. Congress for organized labor are not yet entirely clear, but there are many indications that the hard-won gains of the nation’s labor movement will soon face unprecedented threats. That prospect is particularly important for New York City, which is the nation’s most highly unionized U.S. city.

In 2015-16, 25.5 percent of all wage and salary workers living in the City’s five boroughs were union members, up from 21.5 percent in 2012, and more than double the national average. In striking contrast to the national trend of steady decline in private-sector union density (the proportion of all employed workers who are union members), union density has risen modestly in New York City’s private sector during the recovery from the Great Recession, and the City’s private-sector union density (18.6% in 2015-16) is about three times the national level. The public-sector unionization rate in New York City is also exceptionally high, 71.3% in 2015-16, double the national rate (35.7%).¹

The potential threats to unions emanating from Washington D.C. include a proposed national “right to work” law, which would amend the 1935 National Labor Relations Act to prohibit the union shop (in which all workers in a bargaining unit must join the union after being hired) all over the country, not only in individual states as is currently the case. The prospects of passage for that proposed amendment are far from certain, however. What is far more likely is that the National Labor Relations Board will have a conservative majority by the end of 2017, when three of its five members will be Trump appointees. That will soon lead to rulings far more hostile to union rights than those issued in the Obama years.

Even more certain is that the recent appointment of Judge Gorsuch to the U.S. Supreme Court will lead to a major decision affecting public-sector unions across the nation. The timely death of Antonin Scalia led to a split Supreme Court decision in the 2016 *Friedrichs vs. California Teachers Association*, but virtually all concerned expect a different outcome on this issue now that SCOTUS has a conservative majority. A series of cases are current wending their way to the Supreme Court with the same basic thrust, the most likely of which to come before the Court first is *Janus vs. AFSCME*, a case brought by a group of Illinois public employees and litigated by the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation. Like *Friedrichs*, *Janus* poses a direct threat to public-sector unions here in New York City as well as nationally.

¹ For more details see Ruth Milkman and Stephanie Luce, *The State of the Unions 2016: A Profile of Organized Labor in New York City, New York State and the United States* (The Joseph S. Murphy Institute for Worker Education and Labor Studies, CUNY, Sept. 2016), available at: http://media.wix.com/ugd/90d188_4d0b9810fada46c782b1642f0e46960e.pdf

Current law allows public-sector unions to collect “agency fees” from non-members who are covered by collective bargaining agreements. Such fees are intended to cover the costs of union representation on behalf of these non-members. (The law requires unions to bargain and otherwise represent all members of the bargaining unit, not only those workers who choose to become members.) If, as is widely expected, *Janus* is decided in favor of the plaintiffs, agency fees will be prohibited by law.

Although it is impossible to fully predict the effects of this, we can determine the current number of agency fee payers in key unions from public records. Here are a few examples from the City’s public sector unions. In DC 37, AFSCME, there are 19,400 agency fee payers, who make up 16.5% of the total bargaining unit. In TWU local 100, there are 4,924, or 11.7% of the total membership. In my own union, PSC-CUNY, there are 3,652 agency fee payers, or 13.8% of the membership. *Janus* could not only mean that these workers’ fees will be eliminated but, in addition, an unknown number of current members may no longer be members once they learn that they are no longer obliged to pay anything for union representation. In Wisconsin, where state legislation restricting public-sector collective bargaining was passed in 2011, public-sector union density has fallen precipitously, from 50.3% in 2011 to 22.7% in 2016.

There are other issues as well. Republicans in Congress already have introduced bills that would make it easier to fire workers with union sympathies, and to repeal the Davis-Bacon Act, which requires paying prevailing wages for federally-funded construction projects. In addition, a variety of new threats to immigrant workers, who make up almost half of the City’s workforce, are looming. And the proposed cuts to the U.S. Department of Labor’s budget proposed by the Trump administration now threaten to weaken federal enforcement of existing wage and hour laws, which was significantly strengthened under the previous administration.

New York City and its labor movement have much at stake in this new political era. I hope the Committee will continue to monitor these developments and take appropriate actions.

Testimony for New York City Council

Committee on Civil Service and Labor

Wednesday, April 19, 2017

Introduction:

Good morning Chairman Miller and members of the Committee.

My name is Marni von Wilpert. I serve as an Associate Labor Counsel at the Economic Policy Institute. EPI is a think tank that studies the economy and how government policies affect the lives and well-being of America's workers. EPI believes that every working person deserves a good, safe job with fair pay, affordable health care, and retirement security.

At EPI, we are tracking the labor and employment policies coming out of the White House, Congress, and federal agencies. We are committed to monitoring policy actions as they unfold and assessing their impact to reveal whether policymakers are working for – or undermining – a fair economy.

I am here today to support the City Council Resolution affirming New York City's workers' rights to collectively bargain, and the Resolution urging Congress to vote against proposed national right to work legislation.

Strong unions and collective-bargaining rights foster a vibrant middle class. For example, collective-bargaining helps working women gain economic self-sufficiency and narrows the gender wage gap. And collective-bargaining is an important tool for fueling wage growth for both low- and middle-wage workers. The decline in collective bargaining rights has contributed to an era of persistent wage stagnation in our country.

Attack on Private-Sector Collective Bargaining: National Right to Work Legislation

Republicans in the House and Senate have introduced so-called “National Right to Work” legislation. [H.R. 785 Rep. King (R-IA) / S. 545 Sen. Paul (R-KY)]. These bills would reverse the gains unionization has brought to workers by undermining unions' collective-bargaining strength.

The so-called “right-to-work” (RTW) laws are misleadingly named. They do not produce any guarantee of employment for people ready and willing to work. Instead, what these laws do is eliminate the requirement that employees who chose not to become

union members still pay a fee for their fair-share of the union's collective-bargaining costs. RTW creates a clear incentive for workers to be free-riders – by getting the benefits of collective-bargaining without having to pay for it. For example, RTW laws entitle employees to the benefits of a union contract—including the right to have the union take up their grievances if their employer abuses them—without paying their fair share of the cost. It is a blatant strategy to starve unions.

RTW laws do not protect employee rights. Instead, they take away the right of employees to democratically decide by majority vote how to fund their collective efforts to improve wages and working conditions. Under already-existing federal law, no one can be forced to join a union as a condition of employment, and the Supreme Court has made clear that workers cannot be forced to pay any portion of union dues used for political activities. All this law does is weaken unions by encouraging free-riders, which in turn, lowers wages and benefits of both union and non-union workers alike. For example, wages in RTW states are consistently lower than those in non-RTW states.¹ National RTW legislation would lower wages for New York City's workers in the private sector, and it should be opposed.

Attack on Public Sector Collective-Bargaining

In the public sector, there is a similar attack on collective-bargaining playing out in the courts. In 2016, Public-sector workers had a union membership rate (34.4 percent), more than five times higher than that of private-sector workers (6.4 percent). In 2016, 7.1 million employees in the public sector belonged to a union. And New York continues to have the highest union membership rate (23.6 percent) in the country.²

In *Abood v. Detroit Board of Education*, 431 U.S. 209 (1977), the Supreme Court upheld the use of fair-share fees in public-sector unions against a challenge based on the First Amendment. The Court held that public-sector employees who are hired in unionized agencies do not need to become members of the union, but they must pay their fair-share of dues to cover the union's collective-bargaining costs, since they benefit from the collective-bargaining agreement with the employer. But the fair-share fees can only be great enough to cover the cost of the union's activities in administering the collective-bargaining agreement. Non-union members may opt-out of paying any portion of fees that go to the union's political activities.

In 2016, the Supreme Court heard oral argument in *Friedrichs v. California Teachers Association*, 136 S.Ct. 1083 (2016), which, among other things, addressed whether *Abood* should be overruled and public-sector fair-share fee arrangements invalidated

¹ Elise Gould and Will Kimball, “*Right-to-Work*” States Still Have Lower Wages (2015), available at, <http://www.epi.org/publication/right-to-work-states-have-lower-wages/>

² Bureau of Labor Statistics, Union Members Survey (January 26, 2017), available at, <https://www.bls.gov/news.release/union2.nr0.htm>

under the First Amendment. On March 29, 2016, the Supreme Court affirmed *Abood* by an equally divided, 4-4 split.

Organizations including the National Right to Work Foundation have continued litigating challenges to public-sector unions' fair-share fee requirements. One of those cases, *Janus v. AFSCME*, (7th Cir.) (Docket No. 16-3638), may be heard in the Supreme Court's upcoming fall term. A Supreme Court decision that undermines public-sector unions' collective-bargaining strength would be detrimental to workers, as well as to state and local governments. In public-sector right-to-work states, public employees earn lower wages and compensation than comparable private sector employees.³ Those lower wages may impede local governments' ability to recruit and retain highly skilled employees to serve in government.

This attack on collective bargaining in both the private and public sectors would particularly harm high-road states like New York – which continues to have the highest union membership rate in the nation – and municipalities like New York City, that strive to create an economy that works for everyone.

Trump's and Congress' Actions on Labor

President Trump and congressional Republicans are advancing an agenda that favors corporate interests ahead of workers' well-being and wages. For example, Congress and the President have used a legislative tool called the Congressional Review Act to nullify Obama-era regulations that were put in place to protect workers' basic rights to a safe workplace and a fair day's pay.

On March 27, President Trump signed a Congressional Review Act resolution to nullify the Fair Pay and Safe Workplaces rule. (H.J. Res. 37/S.J. Res. 12). That rule required federal contractors to disclose their violations of labor and employment protections, including protections for wage and hour requirements, safety and health, collective bargaining, family medical leave, and civil rights protections, and directed that such violations be considered when awarding federal contracts. In addition, the rule mandated that contractors provide each worker with written notice of basic information including wages, hours worked, overtime hours, and whether the worker is an independent contractor or employee. Finally, the rule prohibited contractors from requiring workers to sign pre-dispute arbitration agreements for discrimination, harassment, or sexual assault claims.

³ See generally, Jeffrey Keefe, *Eliminating fair share fees and making public employment "right-to-work" would increase the pay penalty for working in state and local government* (2015), available at, <http://www.epi.org/publication/eliminating-fair-share-fees-and-making-public-employment-right-to-work-would-increase-the-pay-penalty-for-working-in-state-and-local-government/>

Currently, there is no effective system to ensure that taxpayer dollars are not awarded to contractors who violate basic labor and employment protections. As a result, the federal government awards billions of dollars in contracts to companies that break the law. This rule would have helped ensure that federal contracts (and taxpayer dollars) are not awarded to companies with track records of labor and employment law violations.

On April 3, President Trump signed a Congressional Review Act resolution to nullify an OSHA recordkeeping rule regarding OSHA's ability to enforce an employer's statutory duty to maintain accurate workplace injury and illness records. (H.J. Res. 83 / S.J. Res. 27). Failure to keep injury records means that employers, OSHA, and workers cannot learn from past mistakes, and makes it harder to prevent the same tragedies from happening to others in the future. As the New York Committee for Occupational Safety and Health found, construction deaths have been on the rise in New York City as the number of OSHA inspections has gone down. Furthermore, the federal effort to undermine unions will hurt worker safety in New York City, since evidence from OSHA and the New York Committee for Occupational Safety and Health shows that unionized construction sites are far safer than non-unionized sites.

And on April 6, the Department of Labor announced a 3-month delay in the final rule on Occupational Exposure to Crystalline Silica in the construction industry, which established a new permissible exposure limit for construction workers. Studies have linked exposure to silica to lung cancer, silicosis, chronic obstructive pulmonary disease, and kidney disease. About 2.3 million workers are exposed to respirable crystalline silica in their workplaces, including 2 million construction workers who drill, cut, crush, or grind silica-containing materials such as concrete and stone. OSHA estimates that the rule will save over 600 lives and prevent more than 900 new cases of silicosis each year. Delaying this health and safety rule needlessly puts construction workers' lives at risk, and is unfair to responsible employers who do not cut corners with their workers' health and safety.

Conclusion

Perhaps the most worrying aspect of Trump's attack on workers' rights is how much of it is happening in the dark, behind closed doors.

Trump says publicly that he wants to create jobs by rebuilding America's infrastructure – but then quietly signed legislation eviscerating the Fair Pay/Safe Workplace and OSHA recordkeeping regulations, which would have protected workers' pay, health and safety on the very jobs Trump promised to create.

Trump says publicly that construction workers are the backbone of America - but then quietly authorizes the Department of Labor to delay enforcement of the Silica rule, a rule that would protect over 2 million of those same workers from lung cancer-causing silica dust.

Trump says publicly that he is fighting for workers who have been left behind, but then quietly installs senior staff in the Department of Labor who have lobbied for years to bring down Davis-Bacon prevailing wage laws, which if repealed, would suppress those workers' already-stagnated wages.

At EPI, we are committed to paying close attention not just to what Trump says, but also shining a spotlight on what he does. Despite his campaign promises to help working people, President Trump's actual agenda advances policies that would do little to reverse the stagnant wage growth and rising inequality that have left so many behind.

By delaying and overturning rules that benefit workers, and advancing wage-reducing right-to-work legislation, the Trump administration and congressional Republicans' actions have shown that they do not value the lives and well-being of working people.

**Testimony of
Arthur Cheliotas, President
New York Administrative Employees
Local 1180,
Communications Workers of America, AFLCIO**



**Before the New York City Council
Committee on Civil Service and Labor
Regarding**

“Resolutions Urging Congress to vote against proposed "right-to-work" legislation and Affirming the right to collectively bargain for workers in the City of New York.”

April 19, 2017

Good Morning Chairman Miller and Committee Members. My name is Arthur Cheliotis and I am the President of CWA Local 1180. I thank you and this committee for the opportunity to testify here today on behalf of our membership in support of Resolutions Urging Congress to vote against proposed "right-to-work" legislation and affirming the right to collectively bargain for workers in the City of New York.

Labor Unions are organized workers demanding democracy in our workplaces, in our communities and in our nation. Workers organized in unions serve as the equalizer against intimidation and exploitation by the rich and powerful. Organizing skills learned by unionized workers are easily applied to issues in the communities where they live ensuring active civic participation. Most times if there is a tenants, home-owners or block association a union activist helped form it.

The Labor movement took children out of the mines and factories and put them in schools. Social Security, civil rights, Medicare, came with the support and leadership of American Labor. Unions raised wages, shortened hours, provided pensions and health benefits for their members and all Americans by setting standards all employers had to meet to attract good workers. Union members set these standards and became the backbone of the middle class.

Today labor unions support campaigns such as the "Fight for \$15", Immigrant rights, Equal pay for women, LGBTQ rights and Medicare for all.

The decline of the middle class in last 30 years has shown us that when the 1% attack and wound Labor Unions all American workers bleed. If you think Labor unions are irrelevant today then ask why greedy corporations spend billions trying to destroy them?

American workers suffered tougher times but they still challenged unjust laws with industrial strife in the never ending struggle for social and economic justice. They made an important breakthrough in the depths of the depression when in 1935, Congress passed the National Labor Relations Act, which reads, in the first section:

" It is declared to be the policy of the United States to eliminate the causes of certain substantial obstructions to the free flow of commerce and to mitigate and eliminate these obstructions when they have occurred by encouraging the practice and procedure of collective bargaining and by protecting the exercise by workers of full freedom of association, self- organization, and designation of representatives of their own choosing, for the purpose of negotiating the terms and conditions of their employment or other mutual aid or protection." -- 29 USC § 151 (NLRA, Sec 1)

According to the NLRA, lack of bargaining power by the workers prevents competitive wage rates and conditions within and between industries. The NLRA also lists some areas in which **experience has proven** how to safeguard the flow of commerce and promote the friendly adjustment of disagreements over wages/conditions/etc. **According to the policy of the United States of America, the solution is to promote unions and collective bargaining.**

In 1962, President Kennedy addressed this for federal public sector workers. **His Executive Order number 10988 established that the United States of America, as the employer of thousands of federal workers in the public sector recognized their right to organize into a labor union and bargain collectively. Many of the same reasons cited by the NLRA for private employers were given as reasons that public employees should have the right to bargain collectively. That was 55 years ago, this past January.**

This year is also the 50 year anniversary of NY State's Taylor Law. This law finally gave public sector workers in the state of NY the right to join a union and bargain collectively; and it also promoted friendly adjustments of disputes by restricting the right to strike in exchange for a continuation of conditions while bargaining, mediating, fact-finding, and (finally) agreement.

This progression of labor policy has been the result of an understanding that to promote the peaceful adjustment of disputes is better than allowing disagreements to turn into frustrations and finally strife. And these policies are also designed to balance the power between employee and employer, **recognizing that individual employees cannot match the power of the employer without the ability to**

associate collectively. This concept is not unique to employment policy, as we have other associations that are designed for the same collective purposes: tenant associations, community boards, etc.

Today, you will hear (or have heard) comparisons between states that have high density of union membership, versus low density. These statistics are not in dispute. **When unions are stronger; union-workers have better wages, pensions, and working conditions; but union wages and benefits set the standard for non-union-workers as well.** All employer must then offer better wages, pensions and working conditions. This has a multiplier effect that allows more people to purchase goods and services, buy homes and pay rents and pay more in taxes. **Legislation is created to protect workers and the environment, and universal services are promoted; there are fewer strikes and less violence; industries thrive; there is more workplace safety and fewer workers' compensation claims; service to customers or the public is superior; the middle class is sustained and provides the economic engine to keep the economy going.**

In addition to that, having a strong union movement acts to level out many workplace issues of inequality. **When you have a union there is less racial inequality, less gender inequality, and less inequality in all other forms. And having a strong union empowers people to seek out and achieve upward mobility.** For example, our union supports our members with tuition assistance at the Murphy Institute of CUNY. It is soon to be a School of Labor and Urban Studies of CUNY.

You are also going to hear, today, about the devastating effects that might befall us, if we weaken unions in NYC, or State, or USA. These horror stories are also not in dispute. The results will likely begin with the weakening of union structure and leadership; there will be less revenue coming in because people who benefit from the services will no longer be willing to pay for what they can get for free. As the money dries up, so do the benefits; there will be a reduction of services to members, such as tuition assistance, direct representation, and bargaining power. **Our ability to research and hire experts to uncover the data needed to support our members will diminish. As we win fewer cases, and achieve less in each contract, the downward spiral begins.** All of the benefits I listed before will be lost; wages will be diminished, people will not be able to live in the same neighborhoods, or buy the same items, there will be short-cuts on safety, and discipline instead of training, and unions will not be able to adjust the grievances in a peaceful way. Some may think that will be a good thing – and maybe it will save a couple of dollars for a short time. **But when the frustration level becomes untenable, it will likely manifest in a worker explosion. And the depression of wages can be observed in the 27 other states that have right-to-work laws on the books.**

In NY, we have a rich history regarding the evolution of the policy and laws that I mentioned earlier. The National Labor Relations Act, is also known as The Wagner Act, after its author, Senator Robert R. Wagner, of New York. Jack Kennedy was brother to another US Senator from NY. And George W. Taylor was the chair of the commission formed by Governor Nelson Rockefeller to enact such changes. So we ask that you remain mindful of our ancestors when deciding to vote affirmatively to protect workers' rights in NYC. Let's keep the progress going; not halt it or roll it back.

There are two resolutions being considered today; **one establishes the right of NYC workers to collectively bargain, the other asks Congress to vote against any right-to-work legislation proposed. These are no-brainers.** We have been fortunate in NY to have benefitted from our strong constitutional protections of our public pensions and our right to education, healthcare, and many other items. **We have also benefitted from a long history of collective bargaining and all of the benefits associated with it. And we are fortunate that NY has opted out of federal right-to-work provisions; that allows us to protect our workers and promote the sustainability of the middle class and upward mobility of our citizens.** Please allow us to continue this practice despite the fact that another New Yorkers, who is in the White House, does not support NY workers.

Thank you to Chairman I. Danek Miller and sponsors of this legislation for proposing these resolutions.

Testimony of Kuba J. Brown
Business Manager/Financial Secretary IUOE Local 94

Before New York City Council Committee

For

Civil Service and Labor

I. Daneek Miller

Chairperson

Wednesday, April 19, 2017

Good morning Chairperson Miller and members of the Committee. For those who I haven't met, my name is Kuba Brown and I am the Business Manager of the International Union of Operating Engineers Local 94-94A-94B. I want to thank you for this opportunity to speak to you on behalf of the more than 6,000 men and women I represent in IUOE Local 94, as well as all working men and women – union and non-union alike.

The members of our union operate the most sophisticated commercial and residential buildings in the world. We also operate power plants and work in hotel engine rooms as well New York City public schools. Through collective bargaining they have guaranteed wages, vacations and holidays, have a defined benefit pension plan, health insurance, and an employer funded training fund.

In addition, our union has been able to create annuity and sick funds, as well as a college scholarship fund for our members. Just as importantly, our business agents are available to represent our members anytime a dispute arises with management.

We have been able to develop and grow these programs and provide representation because of the dues our members pay to their union. Dues are the lifeblood of organized labor. And right now unions all across the country are seeing their ability to collect dues disappear.

Having it taken away by the devilishly misnamed "Right to Work" laws. The reality is they should be named Theft of Services laws. Under Right to Work, members are "free" to refuse to pay dues, fair-share, or agency fees but may not be denied any of the rights and protections enjoyed by all other union members.

There are already 28 Right to Work states. The six most recent added since 2011 when Wisconsin Governor Scott Walker with the support of his legislature used a budget amendment to destroy the teachers and other public employee unions.

Even as we watched each of those states turn on their unions, we convinced ourselves "well, it can't happen in New York."

I'm sure the union workers in Michigan, Indiana and West Virginia all once strong union states thought the same thing until it happened and their union brothers and sisters in those states stopped paying their dues.

I admit Right to Work would be a very hard sell in New York. However, in November the New York ballot will include a referendum calling for a Constitutional Convention. If approved who knows if Right to Work or other anti-labor positions will be discussed.

What concerns me right now is that anti-labor forces backed by the Koch brothers are now pushing national Right to Work legislation in Congress. That bill now has more than 20 co-sponsors.

If Right to Work becomes the law of the land it will not only be the death knell for unions, but for the middle class. The numbers don't lie. Let's start in Wisconsin: according to a University of Michigan study since 2011 total teacher compensation in Wisconsin has dropped 8% or \$6,500, and according to the federal Bureau of Labor Statistics the percentage of union members in the state has dropped from 15.2 in 2009 to 8.1 in 2016.

Nationally, 10.7 percent of the workforce or 14.6 million workers were represented by unions. By contrast, in 1983 when the BLS conducted its first count, 20.1 percent of American workers or 17.7 million men and women were union workers.

If anyone isn't convinced a union card matters, according to that same BLS report weekly earnings of nonunion workers was \$802, or 80-percent of those in unions whose average weekly earnings were \$1,004. Those are only the wage earnings and do not include the health and welfare, pension, sick days, vacations, union representation and other benefits.

So in November, families including many life-long union families frustrated by having to work for lower wages, if they found work at all, voted Donald Trump who promised to fight for the American worker and "Make America Great Again!"

It may be great for the billionaire in his cabinet and Koch Brothers, for the workers not so much.

- Along with its Right to Work legislation Congress has quietly voted to nullify two of President Obama's labor regulations: the Fair Pay and Safe Workplace Rule, which requires federal contractors and subcontractors to disclose any labor law violations that occurred during the previous three years; and the OSHA regulation requiring employers to maintain accurate injury and illness records
- While President Trump promised a "Yugh" trillion dollar infrastructure program, in recent days he has made the plan contingent on health care and tax reform; he even talked about public-private partnerships and changes to the Davis-Bacon Act which insures workers on these projects are paid the prevailing wage.
- His appointment of Neil Gorsuch to the Supreme Court will almost certainly lead to a rehearing of Friedrichs vs California Teachers Association which would permit public employees to stop paying union dues or agency fees.

As we used to say when I was growing up in Brooklyn "talk is cheap." And what is happening in Washington right now is putting the future of the middle class and this great country in jeopardy.

Thank you for this opportunity to speak out here today.



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INTERNATIONAL UNION
CTW, CLC

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New England District 615

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www.seiu32bj.org

Testimony of Kyle Bragg, Secretary Treasurer, SEIU 32BJ

New York City Council - Committee on Civil Service and Labor

Resolutions T2017-5820 & T2017-5862

April 19 2017

Good morning Committee Chair Miller and Committee members and thank you for the opportunity to testify here today in support of these resolutions.

My name is Kyle Bragg and I am Secretary Treasurer of 32BJ SEIU. Our union represents over 163,000 property services workers including over 85,000 members here in New York City. 32BJ members are cleaners, janitors, security officers, window cleaners, airport workers and other building service workers.

Our members' lives reflect the experience of tens of millions of Americans. We hail from 64 different countries and speak 28 different languages but we are united by our belief that everyone who goes to work should be able to support their family and build a decent and healthy life.

Collective bargaining has long been the instrument that has turned this belief into a reality for working people all across our country. By uniting their voices at the bargaining table, generations of Americans have won fair wages and benefits that allowed them to enter the middle class.

32BJ is proud to be part of New York City's strong labor tradition. For more than 80 years we have fought for and won contracts for our members that have raised industry standards by guaranteeing workers a livable wage, health insurance for their families and a chance at a secure retirement through quality pension plans.

Access to collective bargaining has recently opened to door to a better future for thousands of airport workers in New York City's major transit hubs. Workers campaigned for three years to win the union on the job and a contract that delivered job security, improved training and safer work conditions.

Laws that undermine the ability of workers to stand together and collectively bargain serve only to perpetuate the power imbalance that exists in our economy and deny working people a fair share of the prosperity they help to create. At this time of growing inequality there is no more important measure that governments at all levels can take then guaranteeing collective bargaining rights for all workers.

On behalf of 32BJ members I applaud the council for moving these resolutions and urge all members to pass them with their strongest support.

Testimony of District Council 37, AFSCME, AFL-CIO before the New York City Council Committee on Civil Service and Labor - Oversight Hearing In Support of Resolutions Against National Right to Work Legislation and In Support of New York City's Right to Bargain Collectively With Unions Representing Its Employees Wednesday, April 19, 2017

Mr. Chairman and Members of this Committee, I am Barbara Ingram-Edmonds, Director of Field Operations of District Council 37, AFSCME, AFL-CIO. District Council 37 represents over 125,000 employees in the various agencies, authorities, boards and corporations of the City of New York. I am here on behalf of Executive Director Henry Garrido.

DC37 supports the two resolutions under consideration by this Committee for the following reasons.

This Council is well aware of the litigation that is headed to the United States Supreme Court under the caption, *Janus v. AFSCME*, which repeats the arguments raised in *Friedrichs v. California Teachers Association*. To recap some of the salient points of the arguments of the proponents in favour of right to work, public sector bargaining is inherently political, payment of agency fees by nonmember agency fee payers is compelled subsidy of political speech, and nonmembers are not free-riders. These points are used to claim that agency fees violate the First Amendment rights to free speech and freedom of association.

The proponents of right to work favour that unions that are exclusive representatives provide all the benefits of collective bargaining - negotiations of contracts, administration of grievances and representation in grievance proceedings for all workers in the unit, whether or not all of them are contributing to the financial support of the Union.

Overall DC37 maintains that the exclusive representation of all workers in a bargaining unit does not violate the First Amendment and promotes labor peace. Moreover, the collection of agency fees does not violate the First Amendment and negates the risk of free-riders. It also ensures that the union is able to meet its obligations to all members of the bargaining unit. That is, be a strong advocate across the table in negotiating contracts for wages, salaries, fringe benefits and other terms and conditions of employment; provide representation in grievance administration and contract administration and in other matters under the collective bargaining law. Without contributions from all covered employees, unions are not able to meet all the obligations the law demands.

We also support the right of states and municipalities to bargain with exclusive representatives of their employees for this creates labor peace. It promotes workforce management and productivity.

Thank you for providing me with this opportunity to speak today in support of these resolutions that seek to ensure harmonious labor relations between labor and management, and protect working people, and our labor unions which play a vital role in our workplaces, communities and families throughout New York City and our nation each and every day.

Testimony Patrick Purcell, GNY LECET
Committee Labor & Civil Service
Topic Oversight: The Labor Movement in New York City After President Trump
Date Wednesday, April 19, 2017

Good morning, my name is Patrick Purcell and I am the Executive Director of the Greater New York Laborers-Employers Cooperation and Education Trust (GNY LECET). Thank you for the opportunity to submit testimony on behalf of our 15,000 members of the Mason Tenders District Council and 1,500 signatory contractors on the ramifications the Republican's national right to work legislation and President's proposed Department of Labor (DOL) budget cuts will have on our members.

In these uncertain times, there is one thing that should remain constant but is currently under threat from Republicans in Congress: our member's livelihoods. Starting in Wisconsin and spreading like wildfire, we have seen an increasing number of states pass right to work laws that severely limit the growth and collective bargaining power of unions. With Republicans in Congress now pushing a national right to work bill, it is more important than ever that our allies locally and in Congress speak out against this middle death sentence.

In addition to our member's jobs being at risk, their very safety and welfare on the job is as well with the President's proposed budget cuts to the Department of Labor. In construction, we rely heavily on DOL and their Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) to set and enforce stringent construction training and safety standards for workers. With the epidemic of construction fatalities currently in New York City, budget cuts would cripple this much-needed oversight for our industry and countless more workers at direct risk of harm, and even death, on the job.

As New York City continues to work on improving the lives of and protecting working people, we must also do everything in our power to advocate against national right to work legislation and the President's proposed DOL budget cuts.

Thank you, Council Member Miller, for today's hearing and for ensuring working people in New York City always receive the support and funding they need from our federal government.



THE STATE OF THE UNIONS 2016:

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

RUTH MILKMAN AND STEPHANIE LUCE

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

SEPTEMBER 2016



THE STATE OF THE UNIONS 2016:

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

RUTH MILKMAN AND STEPHANIE LUCE

Organized labor in the United States has suffered a sharp decline in numbers and influence in recent years. In addition to the challenges of an anemic economic recovery and persistent unemployment among union members, in many parts of the nation anti-union groups have launched aggressive attacks on collective bargaining rights, especially in the public sector. And in the private sector, where the national unionization rate has fallen to record lows, rising health care costs and employer demands for concessions have made it difficult for many unions to win improvements in wages and benefits, especially since the financial crisis of 2007-08. Inequality in income and wealth has continued to grow, reaching levels not seen since the early twentieth century.

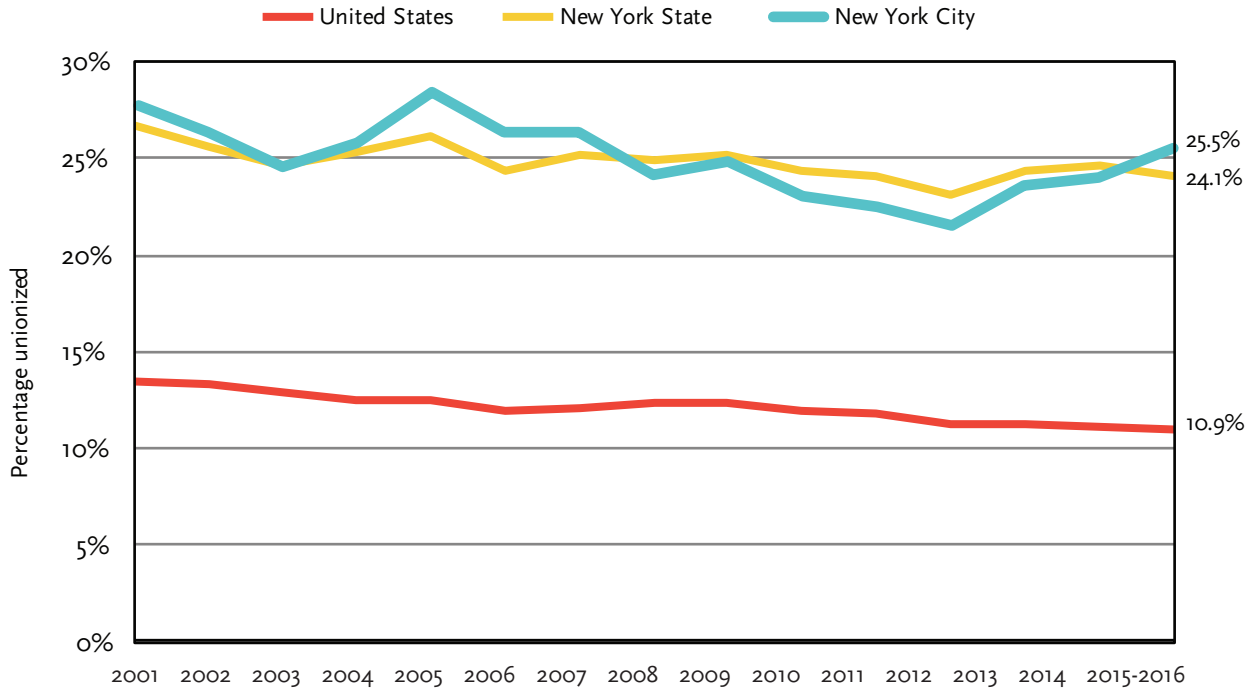
Organized labor is much stronger in New York City and State than in the nation as a whole; indeed, unionization rates in those jurisdictions have enjoyed a modest rebound over the last three years, reversing a longstanding pattern of steady erosion, as Figure 1A shows. Since our 2015 report, moreover, two new pieces of labor legislation have been passed, both strongly promoted by organized labor. One of these measures will raise the minimum wage to \$15 an hour, first in the City, and eventually in the rest of the State. (See pp. 4-5 of this report for an in-depth

analysis.) The second law created a paid family leave program for private-sector employees throughout New York State. Both measures will be phased in gradually over the next few years, so their impact has not yet been felt. Nevertheless they are impressive achievements that will greatly enhance the well-being of New York workers.

Just over one-fourth (25.5 percent) of all wage and salary workers residing in the five boroughs of New York City were union members in 2015-16, up from 21.5 percent in 2012, according to the U.S. Current Population Survey (CPS) data that serve as the primary basis of this report.¹ The unionized share of the workforce was only slightly lower in New York State (24.1 percent) than in the City. New York ranks first in union density among the nation's fifty states, with a unionization rate more than double the U.S. average of 10.9 percent in 2015-16.² In absolute terms, New York State had more union members—just under 2 million—than any state except California, which has a far larger population. In 2015-16, there were about 901,000 union members residing in the five boroughs of New York City, representing 45.3 percent of all union members in the State.³

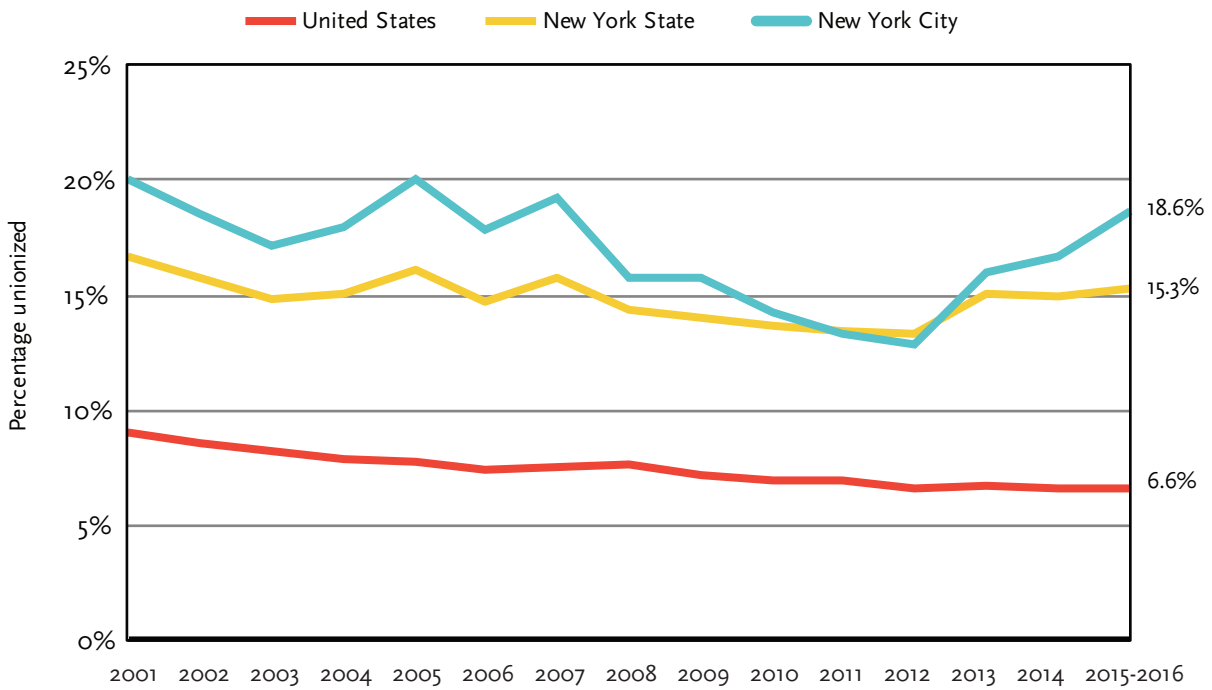
In recent years, there have been slow but steady losses in private-sector union membership at the national level (see Figures 1B and 1C), even before the Great Recession.⁴ By contrast, in the public sector,

FIGURE 1A. UNION DENSITY IN NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK STATE AND THE UNITED STATES, 2001-2016



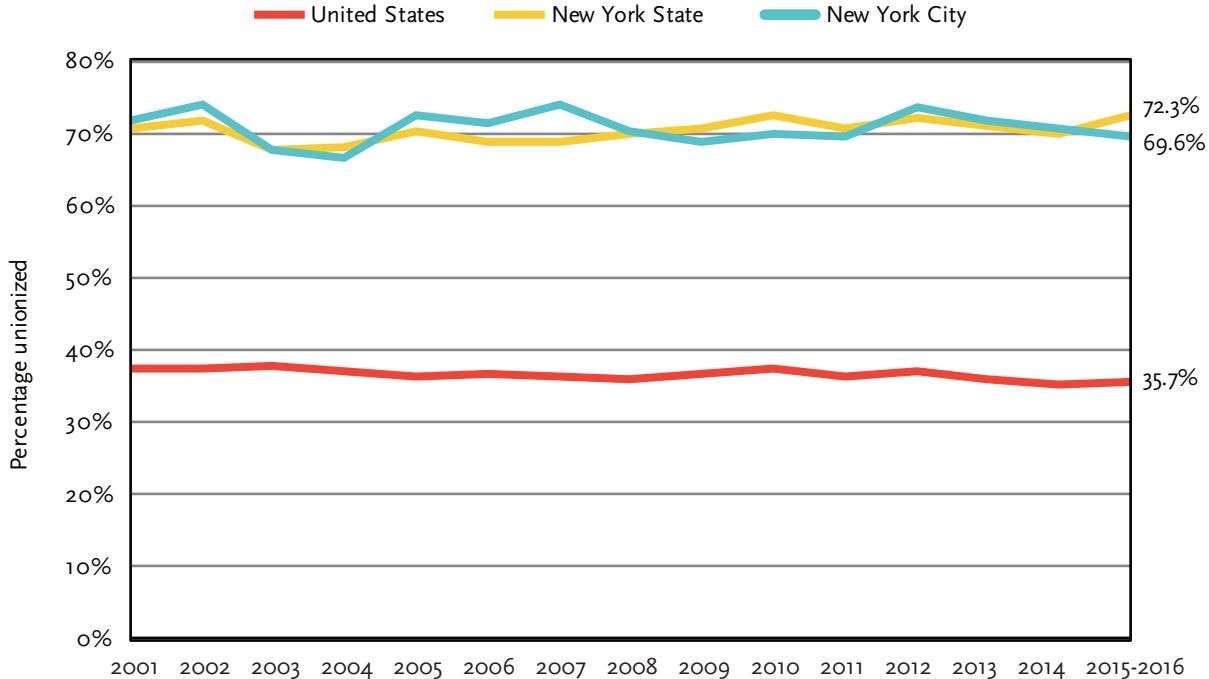
Percentages shown for 2015-16 include the 18 months from January 2015 to June 2016
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2001 – June 2016

FIGURE 1B. PRIVATE-SECTOR UNION DENSITY IN NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK STATE AND THE UNITED STATES, 2001-16



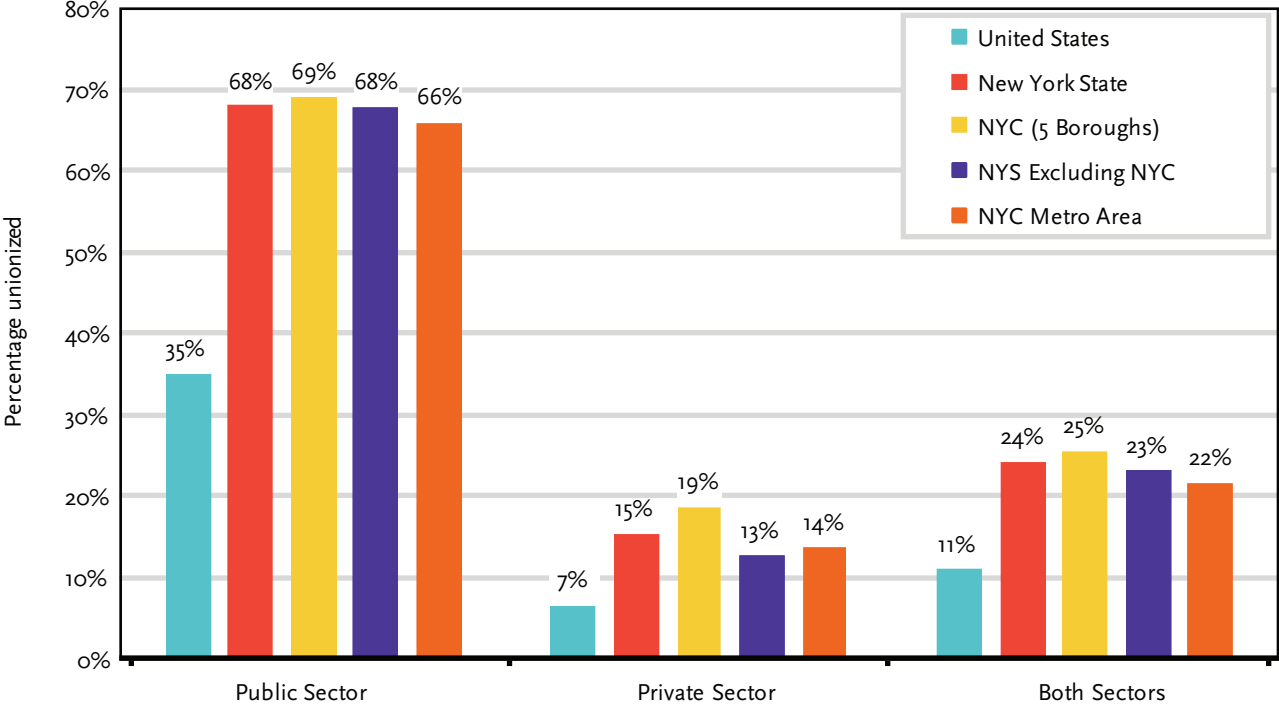
Percentages shown for 2015-16 include the 18 months from January 2015 to June 2016
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2001 – June 2016

FIGURE 1c. PUBLIC-SECTOR UNION DENSITY IN NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK STATE AND THE UNITED STATES, 2001-16



Percentages shown for 2015-16 include the 18 months from January 2015 to June 2016
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2001 – June 2016

FIGURE 2. UNION DENSITY, BY SECTOR AND SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2015-16



Percentages shown for 2015-16 include the 18 months from January 2015 to June 2016
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2015 – June 2016

THE IMPACT OF NEW YORK STATE'S 2016 MINIMUM WAGE LAW: PROJECTIONS TO 2020

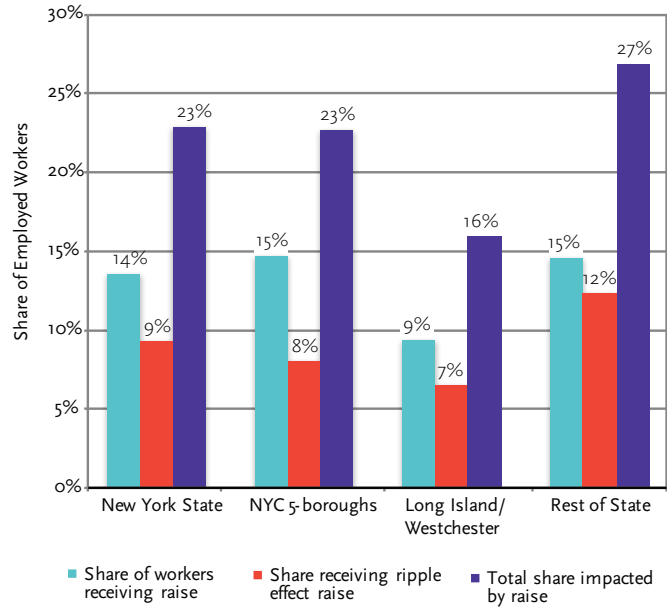
On April 4th, 2016, New York State increased its minimum wage. For the first time, the state will set minimum wages by region. Large employers (11 or more employees) in New York City will be required to pay \$15 per hour by 2018; small employers have until 2019 to reach \$15. The minimum wage in Long Island and Westchester County will be phased in to reach \$15 per hour by 2021. The rest of the state will phase-in increases to \$12.50 by 2020, after which the state Department of Labor will establish a schedule under which the rates will eventually reach \$15 per hour (including \$10 per hour for all tipped workers).¹

Because the higher wage is phased-in over several years, its eventual value will not be the 2016 equivalent of \$15 per hour due to inflation. However, the raises are still significant and will raise the minimum to the highest point in state history, even for upstate.

We begin with estimates of the total number of workers who will be impacted by the minimum wage increase.² Statewide, we project that the minimum wage increase will directly benefit approximately 1.1 million workers across the state by 2020, or 13.6 percent of all employed individuals. Another 765,705, who currently earn up to 40 percent above the new minimum, will likely receive “ripple effect” wage increases as a result of the new law. Altogether almost one in four (23 percent) of workers in the State will receive a raise due to the higher rates.

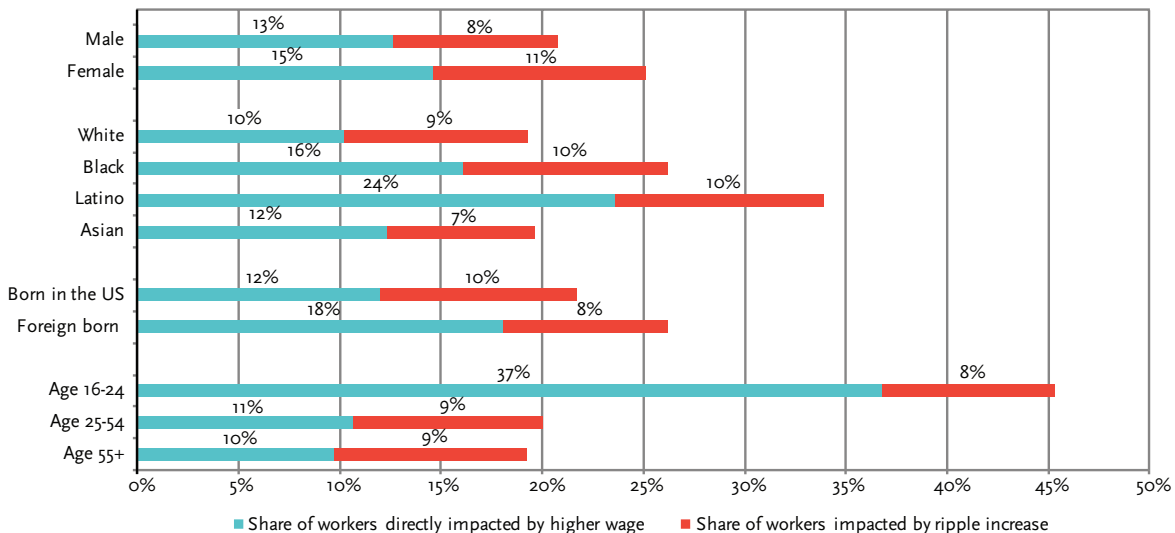
The impact varies by region, as Figure B1 shows. Although the wage rate in upstate New York will only reach \$12.50 by 2020, because current wages there are disproportionately low, the law will have the greatest impact there, directly benefiting almost 27 percent of all workers. The impact will be lowest in Long Island/Westchester, where average wages are higher at present. But even there, about 16 percent of wages in that region will receive a direct or indirect raise.

FIGURE B1. SHARES OF WORKERS IMPACTED BY THE INCREASED MINIMUM WAGE BY 2020, BY REGION



The impact of the higher wage also varies by demographic group. As Figure B2 shows, it will disproportionately benefit female, African American, Latino, immigrant, and young workers—all of whom are overrepresented at the bottom of the labor market. Almost one-quarter of Latino workers will be directly affected. When we include ripple effect increases, over one-quarter of African American workers, and more than one-third of Latino

FIGURE B2. WORKERS IMPACTED BY RAISE, AS A PROPORTION OF DEMOGRAPHIC CATEGORY



workers, will benefit. Although the minimum wage increase will disproportionately affect young workers, it would be wrong to assume that only teenagers will be impacted. Only 5 percent of those receiving direct raises are teenagers (ages 16 to 18). The median age of workers directly affected by the minimum wage increase is 33.

As Figure B3 shows, the raises will disproportionately affect private-sector workers, one-quarter of whom will receive a direct or indirect raise. Only 6 percent of public sector workers will be directly impacted, as wages tend to be higher there already; however, 9 percent will receive ripple effect increases. Although the bulk of unionized workers currently earn relatively high wages, the new law will benefit some of them as well. Over 156,000 union members will receive direct wage increases, and another 167,000 ripple effect increases. In total, 16 percent of union members will benefit.

As Figure B4 shows, employees in two large low-wage industries, namely leisure and hospitality, and wholesale and retail trade will be most impacted by the raise. In the former, almost 40 percent will receive a raise, and in the latter, approximately 37 percent. Health services is another industry that will be disproportionately impacted. The increase will have more limited effects on public administration; finance, insurance and real estate; educational services; and professional services. Still, even in these industries, well over 10 percent of workers will benefit.

1 New York State Department of Labor, "Minimum Wage." <http://www.labor.ny.gov/workerprotection/laborstandards/workprot/minwage.shtml>

2 These projections of the numbers of workers impacted by the State's new minimum wage law take inflation into account, adjusting the 2020 rates the law mandates using the New York State Budget Office's own Consumer Price Increase "Consensus Forecast Report" projection, according to which the \$15 rate mandated for New York City in 2020 will be about \$13.80 in 2016 dollars; the \$14 rate for Long Island and Westchester will be about \$12.88 in 2016 dollars; and the \$12.50 rate for the rest of the State will be about \$11.50 in 2016 dollars. (See <http://www.budget.ny.gov/pubs/press/2016/econRevForecastConf/ConsensusForecastReportFY17.pdf>). Because of limitations in the Current Population Survey (CPS) data on which these projections rely, it is not possible to take all aspect of the new law into account. For this reason, we excluded tipped workers from this analysis. We also excluded self-employed workers, who are not covered by the new law. The law exempts certain managerial and professional occupations and also allows employers to pay teenaged workers a sub-minimum wage for up to 90 days. We did not take these factors into account in these projections, including all workers who currently earn less than the rates the new law requires (except for tipped and self-employed workers, as noted). Our projections of ripple effects assume that workers earning up to 40 percent of the new minimum wage will be affected, following Robert Pollin and Jeannette Wicks-Lim, "A \$15 U.S. Minimum Wage: How the Fast-Food Industry Could Adjust Without Shedding Jobs." PERI Working Paper No. 373 (University of Massachusetts-Amherst, 2015).

FIGURE B3. SHARES OF WORKERS IMPACTED BY THE INCREASED MINIMUM WAGE BY 2020

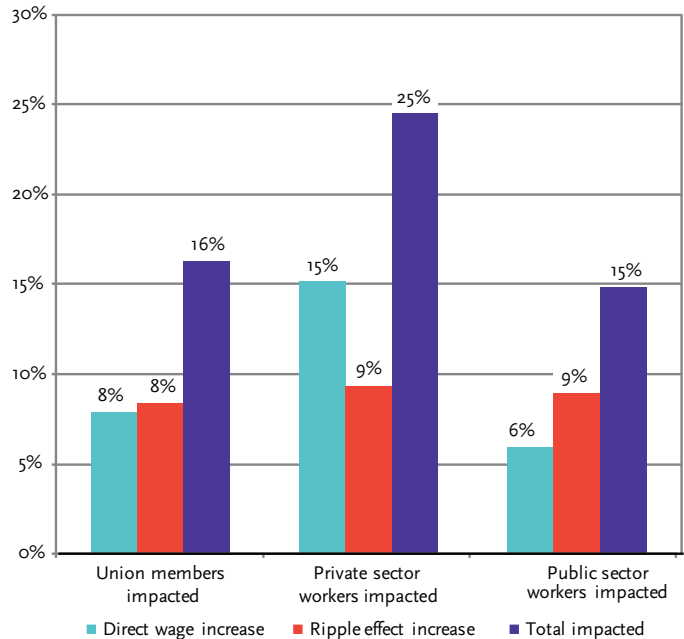
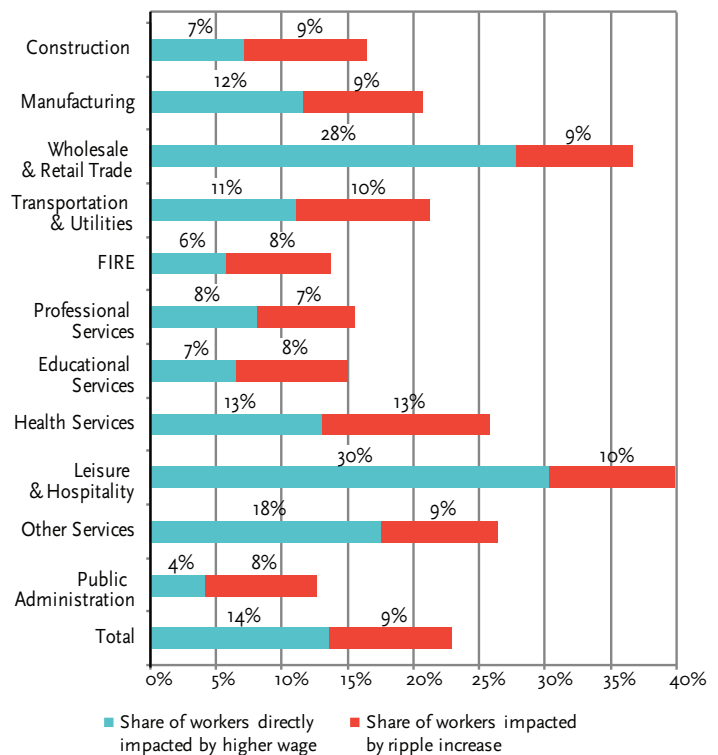


FIGURE B4. SHARE OF WORKERS COVERED BY WAGE INCREASE, BY INDUSTRY



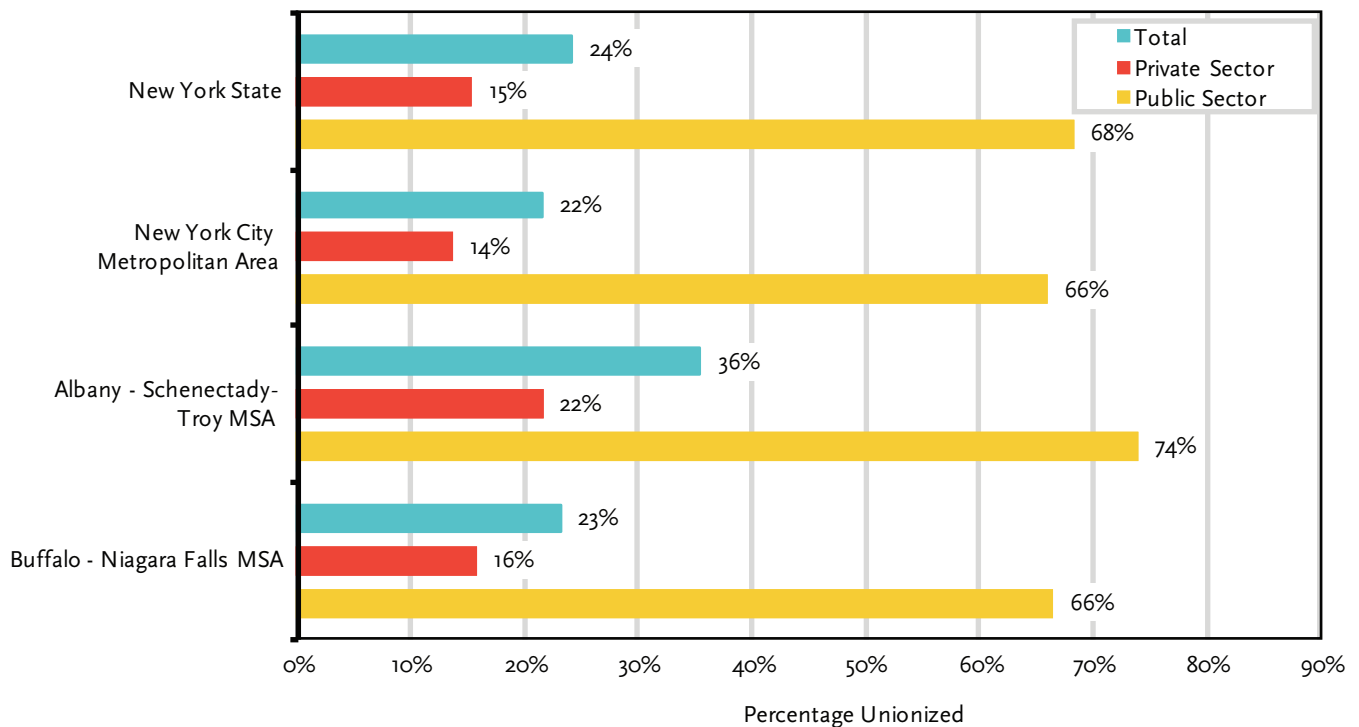
union density has been relatively stable (see Figure 1C). In a striking deviation from the national pattern, private-sector density has increased in New York City and State over the past three years, reflecting, in part, the steady recovery of employment in unionized industries hard hit by the recession, like construction and hotels. Density also increased in health care, and even more in transportation and utilities. Meanwhile, public-sector density has declined slightly in the City (although not the State) relative to previous years.

Geographical Variation in Union Density

Figure 2 shows the 2015-16 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 2015-16 private- and public-sector density figures for the state, the New York City metropolitan area, and the next two largest metropolitan areas in the state.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 (35.0 percent), ranging from 65.9 percent in the New York City metropolitan area to 73.9 percent in the Albany-Schenectady-Troy area. Private-sector union density was lower across the board, but in this sector too, New York State greatly exceeded the national average of 6.6 percent for 2015-16. 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 its three largest metropolitan areas.

FIGURE 3. UNION DENSITY BY SECTOR, NEW YORK STATE AND SELECTED METROPOLITAN AREAS, 2015-16



Percentages shown for 2015-16 include the 18 months from January 2015 to June 2016
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2015 – June 2016

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 metropolitan areas that surround state capitals in highly unionized states, private-sector union density is also substantially higher in Albany-Schenectady-Troy than in any other area shown in Figure 3.⁷

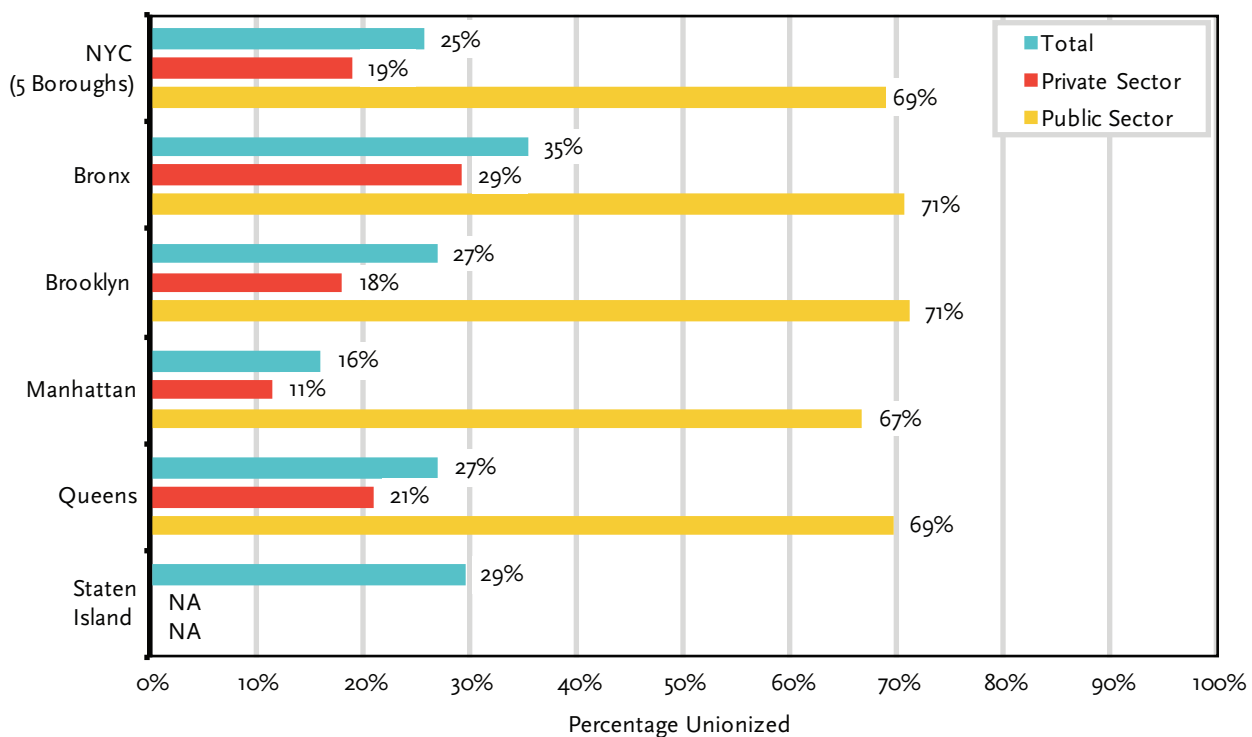
Within New York City, as Figure 4 shows, union density varies across the five boroughs, with substantially higher levels of unionization among residents of the outer boroughs than among those living in Manhattan in 2015-16. The highest private-sector union density level in the city is that for the population of the Bronx; in the case of public-sector unionization there is less variation, but Brooklyn and the Bronx have slightly higher rates than the other

three boroughs. Given CPS sample size limitations, unfortunately we cannot analyze these inter-borough variations in more detail.

Union Membership by Age, Earnings, and Education

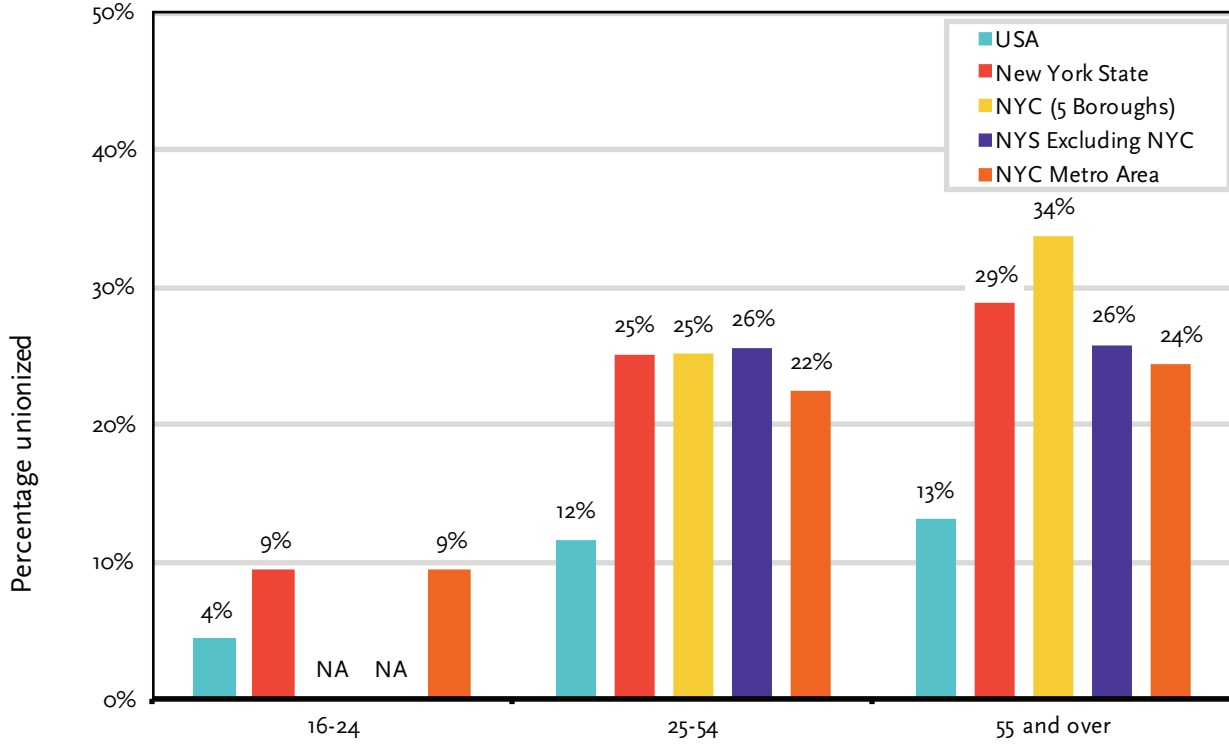
Unionization rates are much higher for older than younger workers. As Figure 5 shows, they are highest for workers aged 55 years or more, somewhat lower for those aged 25-54, and far lower for those aged 16-24. This pattern reflects the limited extent of union organizing among new labor market entrants. In addition, as Figure 6 shows, unionized jobs typically provide workers with higher wages than non-union jobs do. Because higher wages are strongly associated with lower turnover, this tends to generate an older workforce. In addition, unionized jobs typically offer more job security than nonunion jobs, further

FIGURE 4. UNION DENSITY BY SECTOR, NEW YORK CITY AND ITS BOROUGHS, 2015-16



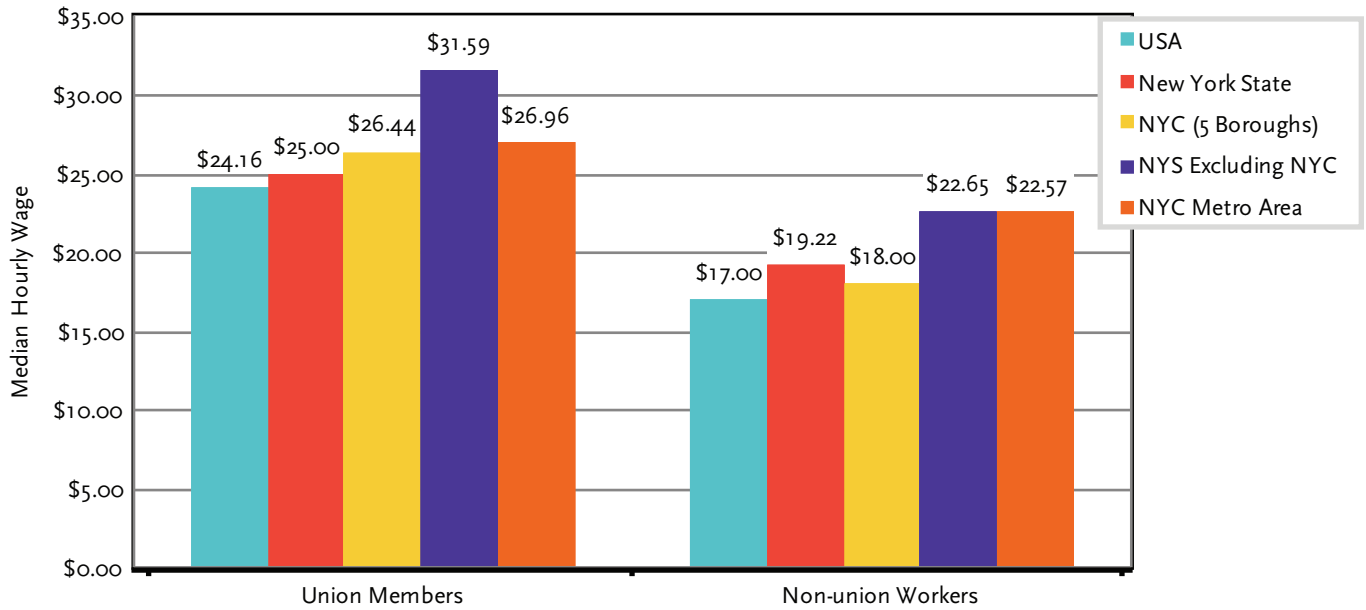
NOTE: Several values reflect subgroups with fewer than 100 observations. See footnote 1 for details. Percentages shown for 2015-16 include the 18 months from January 2015 to June 2016
Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2015 – June 2016

FIGURE 5. UNIONIZATION RATES BY AGE, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2015-16



Percentages shown for 2015-16 include the 18 months from January 2015 to June 2016
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2015– June 2016

FIGURE 6. MEDIAN HOURLY EARNINGS, UNION MEMBERS AND NON-UNION WORKERS, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2015-16



Figures reflect preliminary estimates, in 2015 dollars.
 Percentages shown for 2015-16 include the 18 months from January 2015 to June 2016
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2015 – June 2016

reducing turnover and thus further 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).

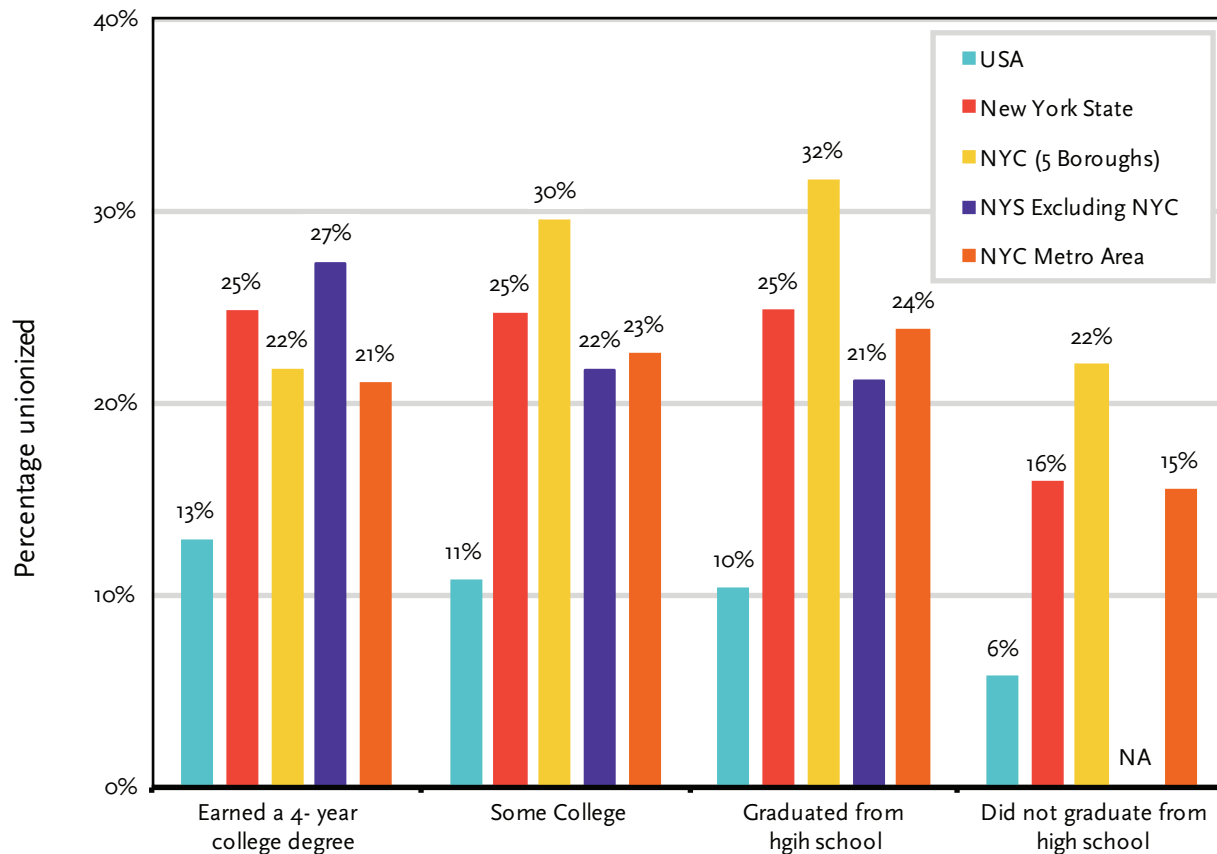
However, the traditional pattern is still in evidence in the five boroughs of New York City and in the New York City metropolitan area, where workers with some college (but not a four-year degree) have higher unionization rates than college graduates do, and high school graduates have the highest rates

of all. This reflects the high union density of New York City’s transportation and health care industries (discussed below), both of which employ large numbers of workers with high school and two-year college degrees.

Industry Variation in Unionization Rates

More than half (54.4 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 also account for a majority of all unionized workers (53.1 percent and 59.1 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” also includes many

FIGURE 7. UNIONIZATION RATES BY EDUCATION, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2015-16



Percentages shown for 2015-16 include the 18 months from January 2015 to June 2016

Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2015– June 2016

private-sector workers), 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, 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 is the case elsewhere in the nation.

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

Figure 8 depicts the industry group data in a different format, showing unionization rates by industry (as opposed to the share of the unionized workforce employed in each industry group, as shown in Table 1) for the City, the metropolitan area, the State, and the nation. Unionization rates vary widely across the twelve industry groups shown. Everywhere education, public administration, and transportation and utilities are the most highly unionized industry groups. In New York City, as well as in the larger metropolitan area and New York State, the next most unionized industry group is health care and social assistance. By contrast, in the United States as a whole, the unionization rate for that industry group is only slightly above average. The other outstanding high-density industry group is construction, across

all the geographic jurisdictions shown. At the other extreme, union density is consistently low—at most 10 percent—for wholesale and retail trade, and for “other services,” regardless of geography.

Because these industry group data are highly aggregated, however, they obscure the complexity of the City, State and nation’s extremely uneven patterns of unionization by industry. The limited sample size of the CPS restricts our ability to capture that complexity for 2015-16. For this reason, we created a different dataset that consolidates CPS data over a much longer period, the thirteen and a half years from January 2003 to June 2016, inclusive.⁸ This 162-month blend provides a much larger sample size, permitting a far more disaggregated analysis of industry variations. Because of the longer time span represented in the data, the unionization rates derived from this dataset differ somewhat from those shown in Figure 8 for 2015-16.⁹

Table 3 summarizes the 2003-2016 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 substantially higher union density than in the United States as a whole in this period. One notable exception is retail grocery stores, in which the City lags both the State and the nation, reflecting the fact that unlike the rest of the country, New York City has vast numbers of small specialty retail food stores, very few of which are unionized. The City and State alike have a somewhat lower density rate than the nation does for “other transportation.” In a few other industries for which reliable data are not available for the City, due to their low levels of employment there—namely textile and apparel manufacturing; food manufacturing; newspaper, periodical and book publishing; and wholesale grocery and beverages—the national union density rate exceeds that in New York State.

In 13 of the 41 industries shown, 2003-16 unionization rates were at or above 33 percent in New York City: utilities, air transportation, bus service and

**TABLE 1: COMPOSITION OF UNION MEMBERSHIP BY INDUSTRY GROUP,
FOR SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS IN NEW YORK AND THE UNITED STATES, 2015-16**

Industry Group	USA	New York State	NYS Excl. NYC	NYC (5 Boroughs)	NYC Metro Area
Construction	7.3%	6.9%	6.4%	6.7%	7.0%
Manufacturing	9.2%	3.0%	1.6%	1.0%	4.6%
Wholesale and retail trade	5.8%	4.5%	5.1%	4.1%	4.9%
Transportation and utilities	12.3%	9.9%	11.2%	10.7%	9.2%
Information services	1.6%	2.0%	2.3%	2.1%	2.0%
Finance, insurance and real estate	1.8%	4.3%	4.5%	7.8%	1.4%
Professional and business services	3.0%	4.9%	5.0%	6.6%	3.5%
Educational Services	28.4%	24.9%	26.7%	16.8%	31.7%
Health Care and Social Assistance	11.6%	20.0%	19.5%	26.2%	15.0%
Leisure and Hospitality	3.0%	3.6%	3.9%	6.0%	1.5%
Other Services	1.2%	1.8%	1.6%	1.9%	1.6%
Public administration	14.4%	14.2%	12.3%	10.1%	17.5%
Other	0.5%	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%	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, 2015 – June 2016

**TABLE 2: COMPOSITION OF WAGE AND SALARY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY GROUP,
FOR SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS IN NEW YORK AND THE UNITED STATES, 2015-16**

Industry Group	USA	New York State	NYS Excl. NYC	NYC (5 Boroughs)	NYC Metro Area
Construction	5.6%	5.0%	5.1%	5.7%	4.5%
Manufacturing	10.9%	6.7%	6.3%	3.5%	9.1%
Wholesale and retail trade	14.0%	12.4%	12.3%	11.0%	13.5%
Transportation and utilities	5.3%	5.4%	6.2%	6.2%	4.9%
Information services	2.0%	2.9%	3.4%	3.4%	2.5%
Finance, insurance and real estate	6.7%	9.4%	10.2%	11.9%	7.6%
Professional and business services	10.6%	10.8%	12.5%	12.8%	9.2%
Educational Services	10.0%	10.9%	10.7%	8.7%	12.6%
Health Care and Social Assistance	14.1%	17.0%	16.3%	17.7%	16.5%
Leisure and Hospitality	9.6%	9.1%	7.9%	9.7%	8.7%
Other Services	4.4%	4.6%	4.4%	5.0%	4.3%
Public administration	5.1%	5.4%	4.7%	4.5%	6.1%
Other	1.6%	0.4%	0.0%	0.1%	0.6%
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, 2015 – June 2016

urban transit, postal service transportation, other transportation, wired and other telecommunications, elementary and secondary schools, hospitals, nursing care facilities, home health care services, other health care and social assistance, hotels and accommodation, and public administration. With the exception of hotels and accommodation, nursing care facilities, and other health care and social assistance, these industries also had rates at or above 33 percent in the State. Construction was also above that threshold in the State (but not in the City). In some industries, like air transportation and postal service transportation, the high unionization rates are the product of national-level collective bargaining, but for most of the other industries the high rates 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 key private-sector industries such as hotels and accommodation, 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 averaged 10.3 percent in the 2003-16 period, nearly all traditional "legacy" supermarkets in the city are unionized. These data also fail to capture the differences among industry segments within construction; commercial construction is far more unionized than its residential counterpart in the City, the State and the nation alike.

Union Membership Demographics

The patterns of unionization by industry have a powerful effect on the demographics of unionism, because males and females, as well as workers of various racial and ethnic origins, are unevenly distributed across industries.¹⁰ For example, educational

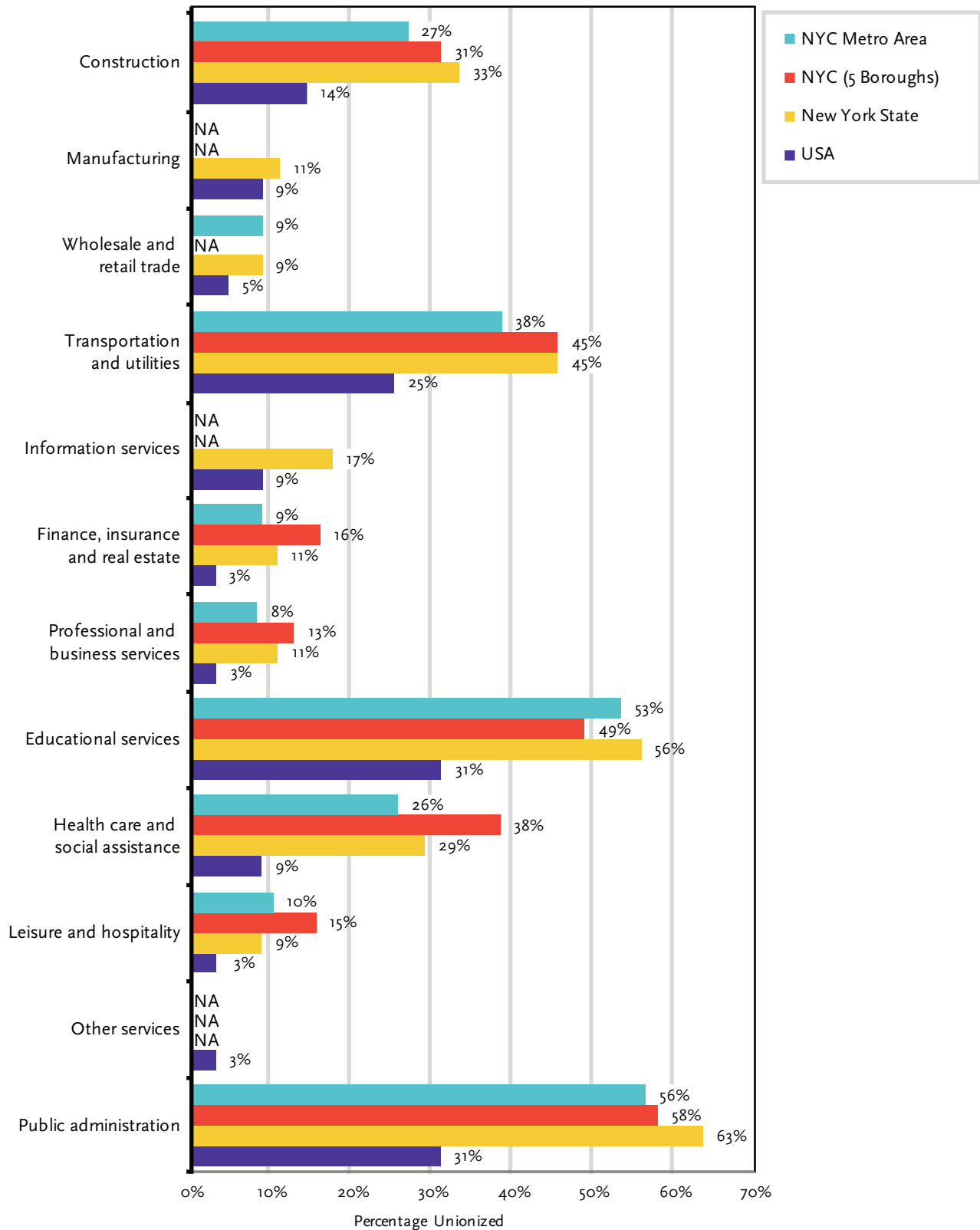
services, as well as health care and social assistance, which have very high unionization rates, rely disproportionately on female workers. So do retail industries like drug stores and department stores, hotels, child day care services, and finance, insurance and real estate. These patterns help explain why the 2015-16 unionization rate for women in New York City and State was slightly higher than that of men, as Figure 9 shows. On the other hand, the male unionization rate was slightly greater than that of females in 2015-16 for the nation as a whole. In all these cases the gender gap is relatively small, and in upstate New York and the New York City metropolitan area, 2015-16 unionization rates were equal for women and men. This represents a significant change from the past, and reflects both the growth of female labor force participation and the disproportionately high unionization level in the public sector, in which employment is female-dominated.

Unionization rates also vary by race and ethnicity, as Figure 10 shows. Like the gender dynamic, this too reflects differential racial and ethnic patterns of employment across industries. African Americans are the most highly unionized group across all five geographical entities, in large part reflecting their disproportionately high representation in public-sector employment. This effect is further amplified in New York City because of the highly unionized transit sector, in which African Americans are also overrepresented. Although this is not the case for the other geographical areas shown in Figure 10, in New York City, Hispanics had the second highest unionization rate among the racial/ethnic groups shown in 2015-16, higher than that of non-Hispanic whites; in New York State and in the New York City metropolitan area, the rates for Hispanics and whites were equal.

Immigrants and Unionization

Unionization rates also vary with nativity, as Figure 11 shows. In 2015-16 U.S.-born workers were more highly unionized than foreign-born workers, regardless of geography, due in large part to the fact that relatively

FIGURE 8. UNIONIZATION RATES BY INDUSTRY GROUP, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2015-16



Percentages shown for 2015-16 include the 18 months from January 2015 to June 2016
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2015 – June 2016

few foreign-born workers are employed in the highly unionized public sector. However, in New York City, the gap has nearly closed: the foreign-born unionization rate is now only one percentage point below that of the U.S. born; in New York State, the gap is only three percentage points. In addition, workers born in the U.S. territory of Puerto Rico—a substantial population group in New York City and the rest of the state—are quite highly unionized.¹¹ Their unionization rate is in fact consistently greater than or equal to that of African Americans (compare Figure 10). This largely reflects the fact that Puerto Rican-born workers (all of whom are U.S. citizens), like African Americans, are highly overrepresented in public sector employment. In contrast, the foreign-born are underrepresented in that segment of the labor force, especially those who arrived in the United States most recently.

As Figure 12 shows, however, foreign-born workers are by no means a homogenous group. The unionization rates of naturalized U.S. citizens and of immigrants who arrived in the United States before 1980 are substantially higher than that of U.S.-born workers, for all the geographical units shown. 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.¹² Over time, however, these data suggest that many immigrant workers manage to move up in the labor market, into sectors where unions are present.

Figure 13 shows that unionization rates for foreign-born workers vary much less *within* the public and private sectors than between them. Even foreign-born workers who arrived in the U.S. in or after 1990, whose overall unionization rates are generally low (as Figure 12 shows), had 2015-16 public-sector unionization rates of 60.5 percent in New York State, 55.7 percent in the New York City metropolitan area, and 29.3 percent in the nation as a whole.

Relatively few noncitizens and recently arrived immigrants work in the public sector, however. Only 5.1 percent of all foreign-born noncitizens in the United States, and 14.0 percent of all foreign-born workers who arrived in or after 1990, were employed in the public sector in 2015-16. By contrast, 16.8 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, private-sector unionization rates are consistently lower than in the public sector for all groups, regardless of citizenship status or date of arrival.

Table 4 offers a closer look at patterns of immigrant unionization by national origin. Due to the limited sample size of the CPS, for this purpose we used the dataset (described above) that includes CPS data from January 2003 to June 2016. 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.¹³ (Note that because they are based on multiple years, the data in Table 4 differ from those shown in Figures 11, 12 and 13; since unionization declined between 2003 and 2016 the rates shown in Table 4 are consistently higher than those in 2015-16.)

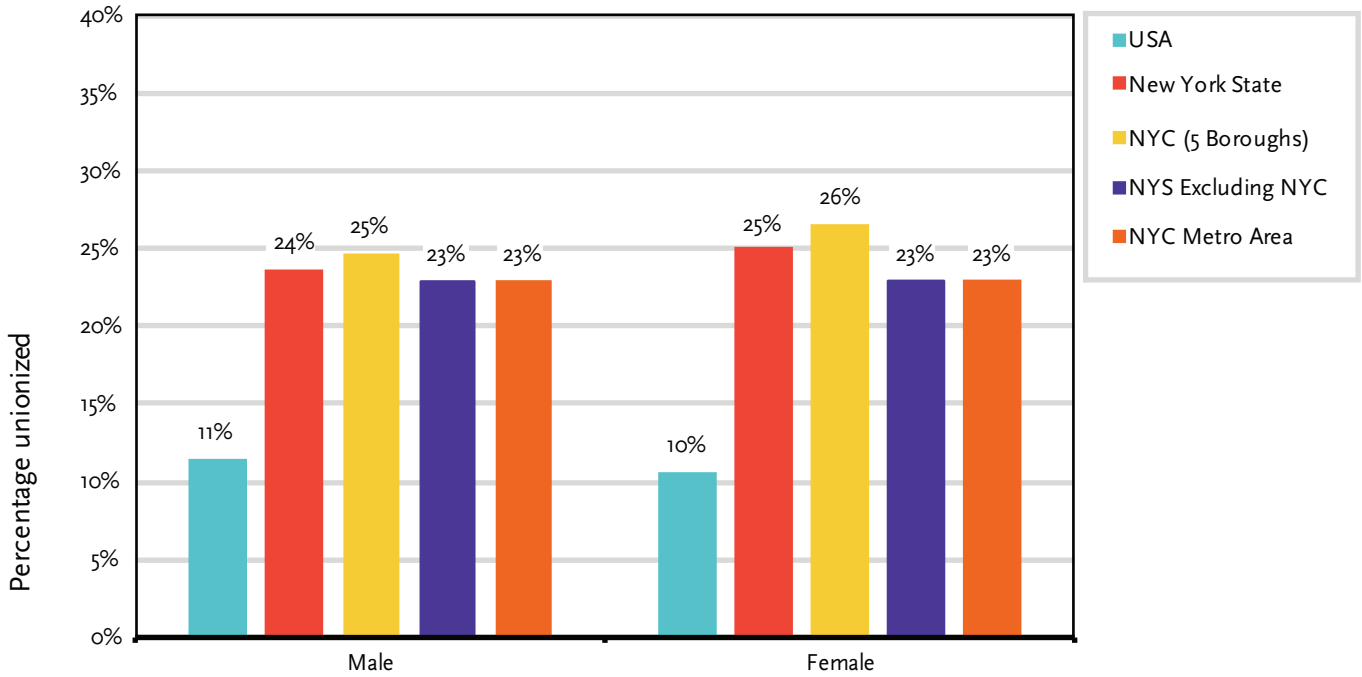
Table 4 reveals that unionization rates vary widely among immigrants by place of birth. There are a number of reasons for this. One involves date of arrival; as Figure 12 shows, immigrants who have been in the United States for an extended period are more likely to be unionized than recent arrivals. 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 State is an extreme one in this respect; as recent arrivals to the area, few of whom are citizens and many of whom are unauthorized, they have the lowest unionization rate of any group in the State (see Table 4).¹⁴ At the other end of the spectrum, Italian-born workers, as well as those born in the

TABLE 3. UNIONIZATION RATES BY INDUSTRY, NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK STATE, AND THE UNITED STATES, 2003-2016

Industry	New York City (5 boroughs)	New York State	United States
TOTAL (All Industries)	25.5%	24.1%	12.0%
Agriculture and mining	NA	NA	5.1
Utilities	68.0	56.9	28.8
Construction	30.0	33.1	15.6
Food manufacturing	NA	6.0	15.6
Textile and apparel manufacturing	NA	2.3	4.7
Paper products and printing	NA	19.4	13.9
Other manufacturing	8.6	11.0	10.6
Wholesale grocery and beverages	NA	8.2	10.3
Other wholesale trade	NA	4.7	3.0
Retail grocery stores	10.3	19.7	17.7
Pharmacy and drug stores	NA	14.0	4.3
Department and discount stores	NA	3.7	2.2
Other retail trade	10.9	6.7	1.8
Air transportation	37.8	44.1	43.7
Truck transportation	NA	22.4	10.0
Bus service and urban transit	64.6	57.5	37.6
Postal service (transportation)	78.1	73.6	63.7
Couriers and messengers	21.7	32.6	30.3
Other transportation	33.0	34.3	39.9
Newspaper, periodical and book publishing	NA	6.6	7.0
Motion pictures and video	NA	21.1	11.5
Radio, television and cable	NA	13.7	7.0
Wired and other telecommunication	36.3	36.1	19.4
Other information services	NA	25.2	16.7
Finance, insurance and real estate	16.6	11.0	2.3
Building and security services	32.4	22.8	4.8
Other management and professional services	6.2	6.4	1.9
Elementary and secondary schools	65.4	69.1	42.5
Other educational services	19.1	23.0	13.5
Offices of physicians and other health providers	13.0	9.8	2.1
Hospitals	45.0	36.2	13.5
Nursing care facilities	52.7	32.3	7.3
Home health care services	43.0	37.1	7.2
Child day care services	26.2	14.6	3.1
Other health care and social assistance	33.0	26.6	8.4
Performing arts, museums and sports	28.7	25.6	11.7
Amusement, gambling and recreation	NA	9.1	5.1
Hotels and accommodation	42.3	25.0	9.7
Restaurants, food service & drinking places	6.2	4.0	1.3
Other services	9.8	9.2	3.0
Public administration	58.0	63.3	30.5

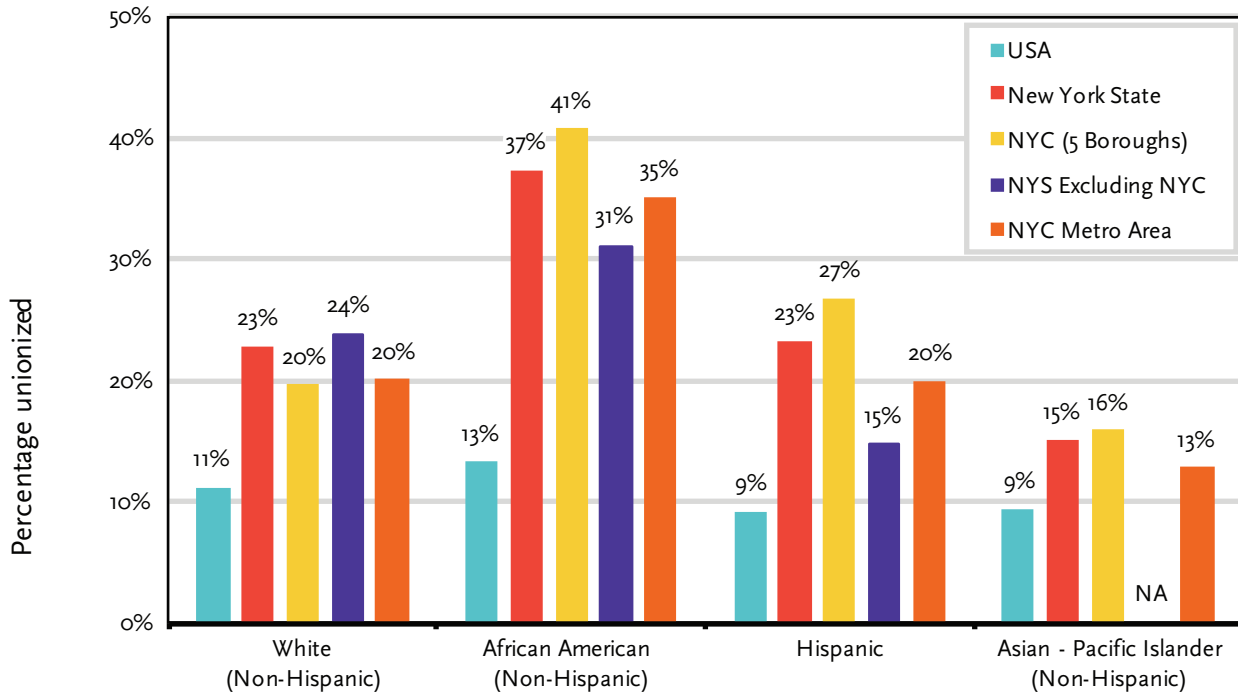
Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2003-June 2016.

FIGURE 9. UNIONIZATION RATES BY GENDER, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2015-16



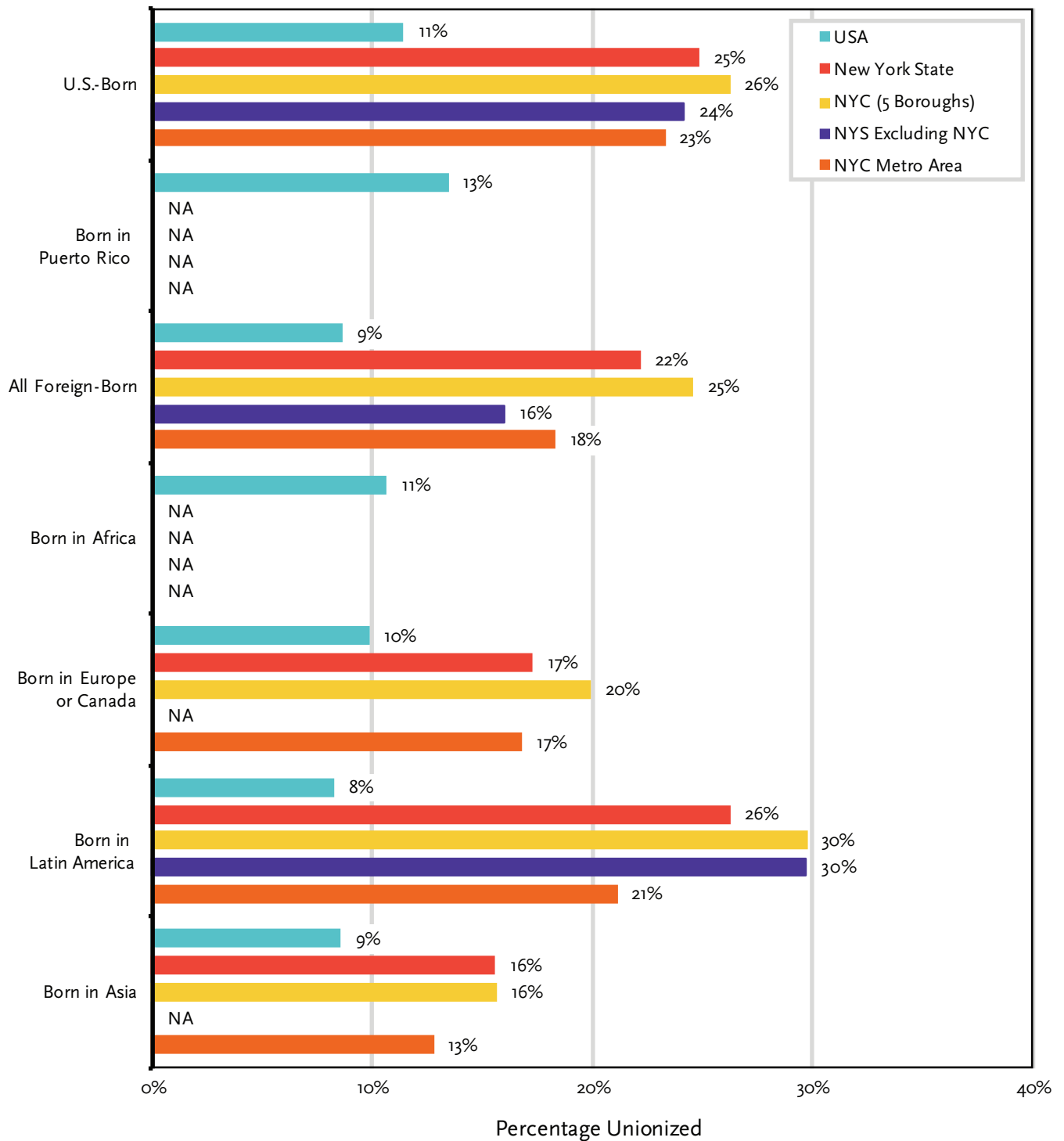
Percentages shown for 2015-16 include the 18 months from January 2015 to June 2016
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2015– June 2016

FIGURE 10. UNIONIZATION RATES BY RACE AND ETHNICITY, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2015-16



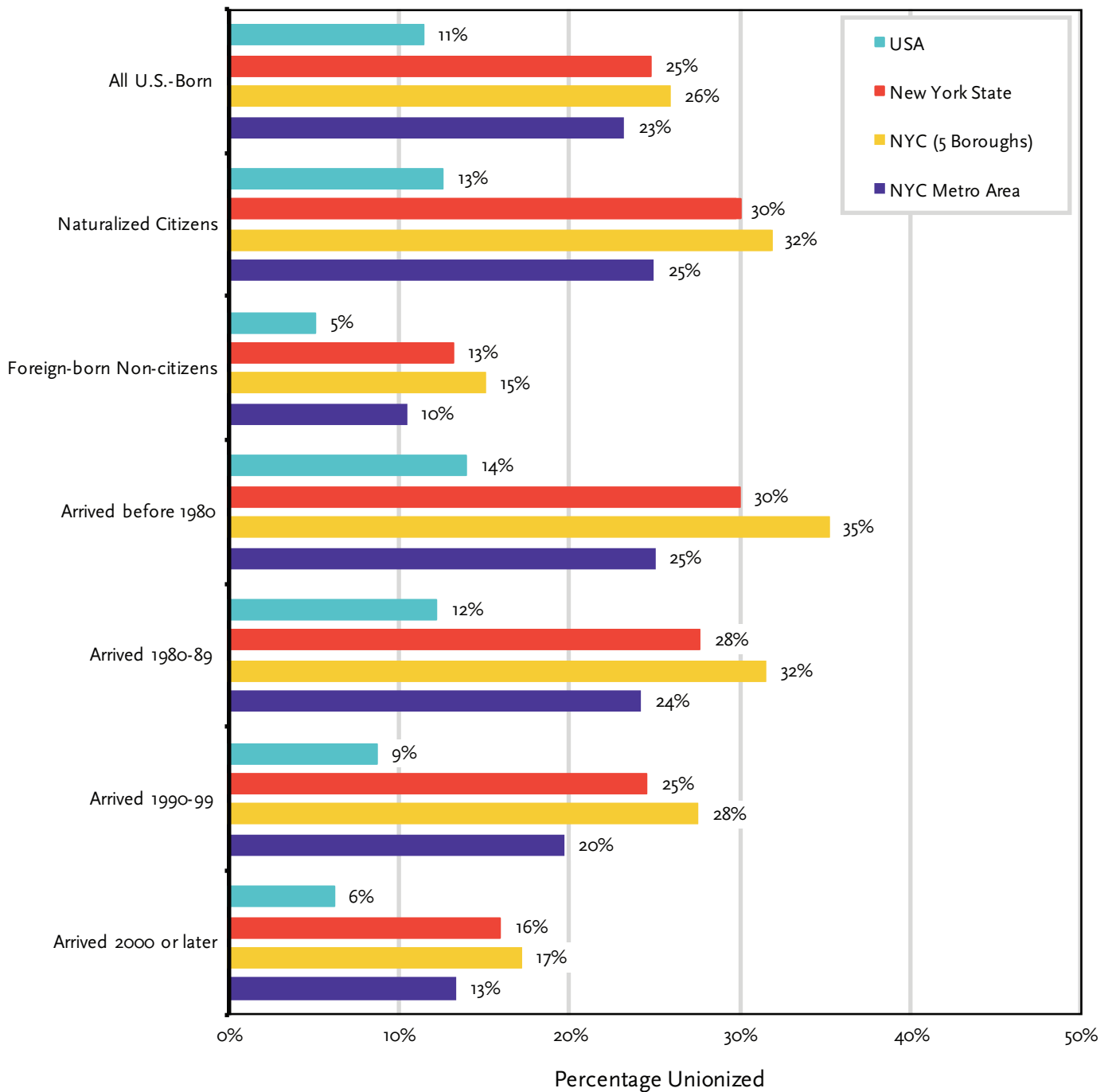
Percentages shown for 2015-16 include the 18 months from January 2015 to June 2016
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2015 – June 2016

FIGURE 11. UNIONIZATION RATES BY SELECTED PLACES OF BIRTH, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2015-16



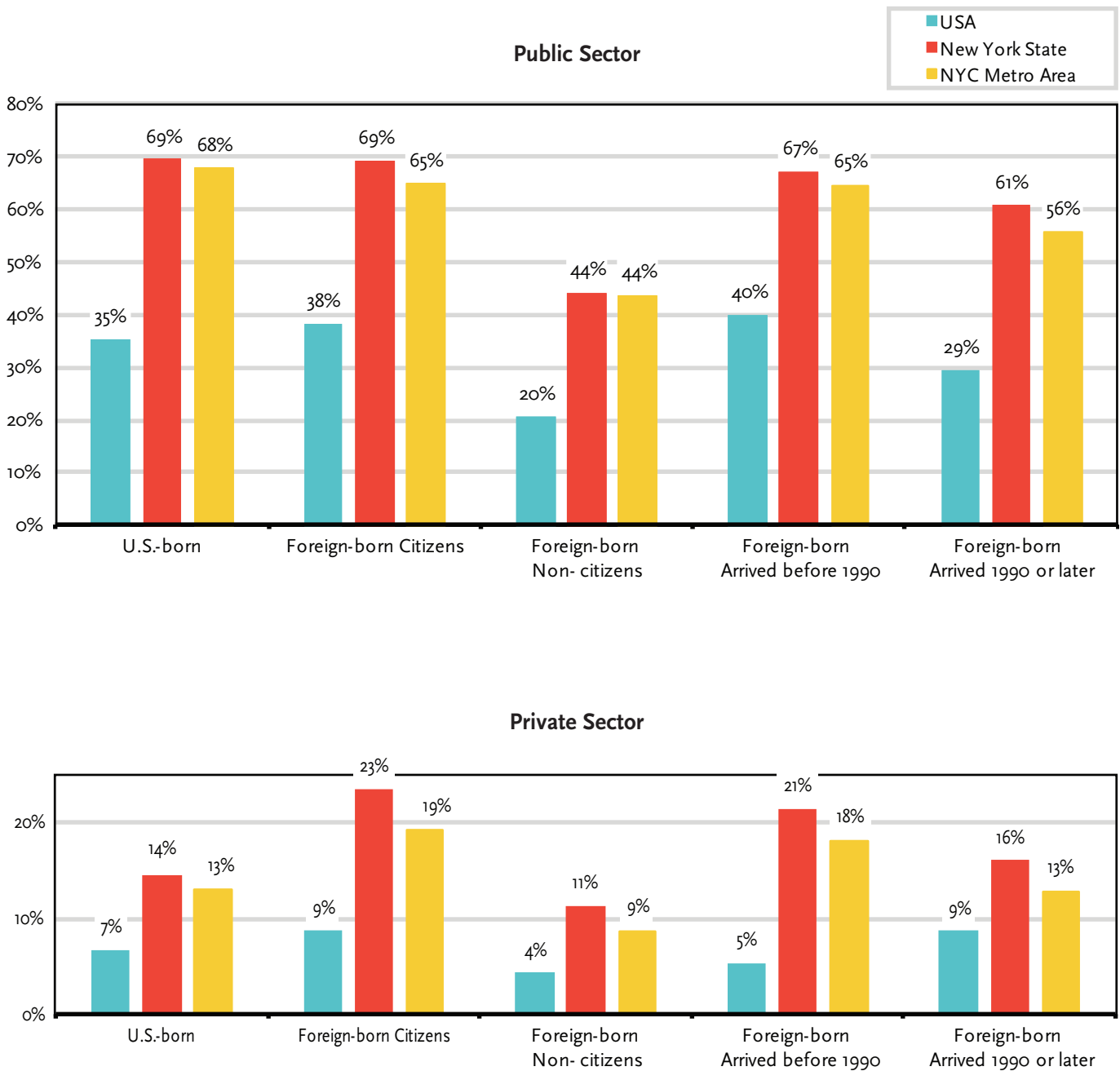
NA = Sample size is insufficient to generate reliable estimates. See footnote 1 in the text.
 Percentages shown for 2015-16 include the 18 months from January 2016 to June 2016
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2016 – June 2016

FIGURE 12. UNIONIZATION RATES BY NATIVITY, CITIZENSHIP STATUS, AND DATE OF ARRIVAL IN THE UNITED STATES, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2015-16



Percentages shown for 2015-16 include the 18 months from January 2015 to June 2016
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2015 – June 2016

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, 2015-16



NA = Sample size is insufficient to generate reliable estimates. See footnote 1 in the text.
 Note: Percentages shown for 2015-16 include the 18 months from January 2015 to June 2016
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2015 – June 2016

Caribbean and the Philippines, 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, Ukraine, India, the Philippines, other Central America, Barbados, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, other Caribbean, Colombia, Guyana, other South America, and Ghana. Typically workers from these nationality groups are overrepresented in highly unionized industries. Thus for example, 31.7 percent of all Italian-born workers in the City are employed in education, health care and social assistance and construction (compared to 29.8 percent of all U.S.-born workers in the city). For several other nationality groups, overrepresentation in the health care and social assistance sector largely accounts for their high unionization rates: 42.1 percent of Filipino immigrants, 21.5 percent of Dominican-born, 41.3 percent of the Haitian-born, 38.9 percent of the Jamaican-born, 27.4 percent of the Guyana-born, and 29.2 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 15.0 percent of the city's U.S.-born workers. Similarly, immigrants from Barbados, Bangladesh, Colombia, Haiti, Pakistan, and Africa are overrepresented in the highly unionized transportation industry, which helps to account for their relatively high unionization rates. The specifics are a bit different for immigrants in New York State and in the United States as a whole, but in general the varying unionization rates among the groups shown in Table 4 are closely correlated with their distribution across industries, which have a wide range of union density levels (see Figure 8 and Table 3), as well as with their dates of arrival and citizenship status.

Conclusion

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

In New York City and State, unionization levels have increased recently, and even before that they were far higher than in other parts of the nation—about double the national average. However, this was not the case in the mid-20th century, when unionization was at its peak: In 1953, 34.4 percent of New York State's workers were unionized, only slightly above the 32.6 percent national level.¹⁵ Although since then organized labor has more than held its own in

TABLE 4. UNIONIZATION RATES FOR FOREIGN-BORN WORKERS BY PLACE OF BIRTH, NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK STATE, AND THE UNITED STATES, 2003-2016

	Place of Birth	New York City (5 boroughs)	New York State	United States
EUROPE	Italy	35.7%	30.1%	14.6%
	Great Britain and Ireland	NA	10.0	8.4
	Other Western Europe	13.0	13.9	9.9
	Russia	20.8	16.7	8.0
	Poland	9.4	13.4	11.0
	Ukraine	33.1	30.3	14.3
	Other Eastern Europe	19.3	18.6	9.5
ASIA	Middle East	NA	8.1	4.3
	China (including Hong Kong)	11.0	11.3	6.3
	Bangladesh	NA	NA	10.0
	India	30.5	29.4	5.5
	Pakistan	NA	NA	6.5
	Philippines	34.6	30.2	15.3
	Korea	NA	NA	8.0
	Other Southeast Asia	NA	12.7	9.5
Other Asia	10.2	10.9	8.0	
LATIN AMERICA	Mexico	NA	8.4	6.2
	El Salvador	NA	8.1	6.8
	Honduras	NA	17.6	4.8
	Other Central America	26.7	20.6	7.7
	Barbados	51.5	51.4	34.7
	Dominican Republic	28.2	26.9	15.6
	Haiti	47.3	42.3	18.0
	Jamaica	39.5	37.8	16.8
	Trinidad and Tobago	49.1	43.5	20.0
	Other Caribbean	45.2	44.3	9.2
	Colombia	26.0	21.6	10.7
	Ecuador	13.7	16.8	11.7
	Guyana	32.3	27.5	19.1
Other South America	32.9	24.2	7.7	
AFRICA	Ghana	28.5	29.4	16.5
	Other Africa	23.7	25.4	10.1
	Other foreign-born	19.0	14.4	9.9
	U.S. (except Puerto Rico)	25.9	24.8	11.4
	Puerto Rico	45.9	41.9	13.4

Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2003-June 2016.

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 2015-16 level (17.8 percent) level, and statewide the figure was 24.0 percent as recently as 1983 (compared to 15.3 percent in 2015-16).¹⁶

As union strength in the private sector has declined, the ratio of public- to private-sector unionization in New York City and State has soared to record highs. In labor's glory days, a strongly unionized private sector helped foster a social-democratic political culture in New York City.¹⁷ The decline in private-sector density is among the factors that have threatened to undermine that tradition in recent years. Although thus far public-sector density in the State has been preserved intact, there has been a significant decline in the City. Moreover, in New York City (albeit to a much lesser extent than in the rest of the nation) public-sector unions have been increasingly on the political defensive. They were unable to negotiate new contracts for several years in the wake of the Great Recession; although that has been remedied to a great extent under the de Blasio administration, for years many did not receive significant increases in pay or benefits.

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. 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 2015 and the first six months of 2016. We created a merged data set from the 18 monthly surveys conducted from January 2015 to June 2016, inclusive; the 2015-16 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, 2016), pp. 1-8. To ensure reliability, given the limitations of the CPS dataset, we report unionization rates only for subgroups that have a minimum of 100 observations, and a minimum of 50 observations for union members, unless otherwise noted. Rates for subgroups that fall below this threshold are labeled NA (not available). The New York City figures for earlier years are from our September 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014 and 2015 reports, based on CPS data for January 2009-June 2010, January 2010-June 2011, January 2011-June 2012, January 2012-June 2013, January 2013-June 2014, and January 2014-June 2015 respectively. Those reports are available at http://www.ruthmilkman.info/rm/Policy_Reports.html

2 "Union density" denotes the proportion of all wage and salary workers who are union members in a region, occupation, or industry. For the state rankings, see Hirsch and Macpherson 2016.

3 An estimated 901,238 union members resided in New York City's five boroughs in 2015-16, while the statewide total is estimated at 1,988,119. 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 2003-2014 are not strictly comparable to those for 2001 and 2002.

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

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

7 The only metropolitan areas (based on 2003 Census area definitions) outside of New York State for which Hirsch and MacPherson report greater 2015 union density than the New York-Newark-NY -NJ-PA CSA were the Colorado Springs, CO MSA, the Fresno-Madera, CA CSA and the Topeka, KS MSA (the latter is the a state capital). See Hirsch and MacPherson 2015, pp. 38-49. Note that smaller MSAs are not included due to small sample sizes.

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

9 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.

10 Given the nation’s winner-take-all union representation system, and the fact that a relatively small proportion of present-day union membership is the product of recent organizing, the demographic makeup of union membership mainly reflects the demographic makeup of employment in highly unionized industries and sectors. Although unionized workers are more likely than their nonunion counterparts to express pro-union attitudes, this

is typically a consequence rather than a cause of union affiliation. See Richard B. Freeman and Joel Rogers, *What Workers Want* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), pp. 68-77. Moreover, individual workers seldom have the opportunity to make independent decisions about union affiliation. Instead, unionization occurs when entire workplaces (or occasionally, entire industries) are organized, and once established, unionization in those workplaces tends to persist over time. Later, as a result of workforce turnover and de-unionization, strongly pro-union workers may be employed in non-union settings, and workers with little enthusiasm for organized labor may find themselves employed in union shops.

11 Puerto Ricans born on the U.S. mainland cannot be separately identified in these data. Those born in Puerto Rico are likely to be older, all else equal, which further contributes to their higher unionization rate. Because the number of observations in the 2015-16 dataset for respondents born in Puerto Rico falls below our threshold of 50, Figure 11 does not include figures for the other geographical jurisdictions this group.

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

13 Table 4 only includes nationalities for which there are 100 or more total observations and 50 union members or more in the 2003-16 dataset.

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

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

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

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

Appendix*

The table below is compiled from a variety of sources and indicates the number of members claimed by individual unions with jurisdictions over New York City-based workplaces. Unlike the Current Population Survey (CPS) data that serve as the basis for the rest of this report, the membership numbers below show the number of unionized jobs in New York City — not the number of City residents who are union members.

For a variety of reasons, the total number shown in the table is higher than the CPS figure cited on page 1 of this report (901,000) 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 are commuters who live in the surrounding suburbs. In addition, some unions may inflate their membership numbers, and unions with broader geographical jurisdictions do not always know precisely how many of their members are employed in the City. Moreover, many of the unions listed, especially those in sectors like construction

and entertainment, have large numbers of members whose employment is irregular and for whom unemployment is common. Even when they are employed, workers in these sectors may oscillate between jobs in the City and those in other locations. All these factors help account for the larger total in the table below, compared to the CPS estimate cited above. 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 individual respondents to the CPS believe they are union members when in fact they are not, but in all likelihood the greater error is in the opposite direction.)

*The data in this table were compiled from the most recent available LM-2/3/4 forms (typically from 2015) 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}	17,067
American Association of University Professors	477
American Federation of Government Employees	8,899
American Federation of Musicians ^b	8,046
American Federation of School Administrators— Council of Supervisory Associations	6,159
American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees ^c	127,194
American Federation of Teachers ^c (includes 18,488 members of PSC-CUNY and 117,424 in the NYC UFT)	147,492
American Postal Workers Union	7,662
Associated Actors and Artistes of America ^b (includes 18,902 members of Actors Equity Association; 1,127 members of the American Guild of Musical Artists; and 31,555 members of SAG-AFTRA)	51,654
Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers International Union ^c	1,487
Benefit Fund Staff Association	605
Brotherhood of Security Personnel	104
Building and Construction Trades Department ^b	160
Civilian Technicians Association	5

UNION NAME	Reported Membership
Communication Workers of America ^{a, c}	29,217
Evelyn Gonzalez Union	96
Fordham Law School Bargaining Committee	80
Furniture Liquidators of New York	10
Graphic Artists Guild ^b	744
Hot and Crusty Workers Association ^d	23
Hunts Point Police Benevolent Association	37
Independent School Transportation Workers Association	325
Independent Guard Union	9
Industrial Workers of the World	43
International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees ^b	19,315
International Association of Bridge, Structural, Ornamental and Reinforcing Iron Workers ^b	5,964
International Association of Fire Fighters ^a	8,427
International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Allied Workers ^b	952
International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers ^e	10,749
International Brotherhood of Boilermakers ^b	498
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers ^b	29,640
International Brotherhood of Teamsters ^c	55,000
International Federation of Professional and Technical Engineers	126
International Longshoremen's Association ^c	1,263
International Organization of Masters, Mates & Pilots ^c	200
International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftworkers ^b	6,906
International Union of Elevator Constructors ^b	2,513
International Union of Journeymen and Allied Trades ^b	35,232
International Union of Operating Engineers ^b	17,413
International Union of Painters and Allied Trades ^b	7,166
Jewish Committee Staff Organization	98
Kingsbrook Jewish Medical Center Staff Association	7
Laborers' International Union of North America ^b	17,292
League of International Federated Employees ^c	897
Local One Security Officers	520
Maritime Trades Department Port Council	24
Metal Trades Department ^b	20
Mount Sinai Pharmacy Association	100
National Air Traffic Controllers Association	152
National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees	719
National Association of Letter Carriers	8,260
National Labor Relations Board Union	80
National Postal Mail Handlers Union ^c	1,785
National Treasury Employees Union	3,244
National Union of Labor Investigators	92
Neergaard Employees Association	9
New York Professional Nurses Association	1,216

UNION NAME	Reported Membership
New York State Federation of Physicians and Dentists	70
New York State Nurses Association	25,063
Newspaper and Mail Deliverers Union	694
Novelty Production Workers	2,439
Office and Professional Employees International Union ^c	9,789
Operative Plasterers' and Cement Masons' International Association ^b	881
Organization of Staff Analysts ^a	5,000
Organization of Union Representatives	13
Patrolmen's Benevolent Association ^a	24,155
Postal and Federal Employees Alliance	363
Professional Association of Holy Cross High School	49
Professional Dieticians of New York City	45
Restaurant Workers Union 318	100
Security Alliance Federation of Employees	41
Service Employees International Union ^{a, c} (includes 150,138 NYC members in SEIU 1199; 70,000 members in SEIU Local 32B-J; and 10,000 members in Workers United)	246,080
Sheet Metal Workers International Association ^b	3,359
Special Patrolman Benevolent Association	200
Staff Association of the General Board of Global Ministries	53
Stage Directors and Choreographers ^b	2,841
St. John's Preparatory Teachers Association	33
Taxi Workers Alliance ^f	19,250
Transport Workers Union ^a	48,819
UNITE HERE ^c	32,041
United Association of Plumbers and Pipefitters ^b	13,945
United Auto Workers ^e (includes 220 members of the National Writers Union ^f)	11,063
United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners ^{b, c}	17,077
United Food and Commercial Workers International Union ^c (includes 8,951 members in the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union)	17,421
United Nations International School Staff Association	228
United Production Workers Union	2,091
United Steelworkers	529
United Uniformed Workers of New York ^{a, g} (includes 5,243 members in the Detectives Endowment Association; 4,670 members in the Sergeants Benevolent Association, 1,630 members in the Lieutenants Benevolent Association, 8,928 members in the Correction Officers Benevolent Association, 6,179 members in the Sanitation Workers Local 831; 2,493 members in the Uniformed Fire Officers Association, and 1,194 members in the Sanitation Officers Local 444).	125,000
United Union of Roofers, Waterproofers and Allied Workers ^b	1,098
Utility Workers of New York ^c	8,494
Writers Guild of America ^b	2,100
TOTAL	1,263,917

^a Under the Landrum-Griffin Act (1959) and Civil Service Reform Act (1978) private-sector, postal and federal employee unions are required to file LM-2/3/4 forms. Public sector unions not covered by these acts are not required to file such records, and thus membership data were obtained directly from the union.

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

^c The membership figures for this union are available in LM2/3/4 forms. However because the union's geographical jurisdiction extends beyond the five boroughs of New York City, the number shown was obtained directly from the union.

^d This organization had 23 members at the start of 2016, but the owners of the establishment for which they work closed the operation in February.

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

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

^g In addition to those listed above, this number includes the following unions, which may also have some members outside the city limits: Assistant Deputy/Deputy Wardens Association; Bridge and Tunnel Officers Benevolent Association; Captains Endowment Association; Correction Captains 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; Superior Officers Benevolent Association - Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority; and Uniformed Fire Alarm Dispatchers Benevolent Association. The aggregate number (125,000) was obtained from a 2013 media report; the numbers for individual unions in the coalition were obtained from the New York City Independent Budget Office and are current (2016).

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, the above data are extracted from the most recent LM-2, LM-3 and LM-4 forms that private sector unions are required to submit annually to the U.S. Department of Labor, available at <http://www.dol.gov/olms/regs/compliance/rrlo/lmrda.htm>

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ABOUT THE MURPHY INSTITUTE

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

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

[]

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: _____

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Renee Sampson

Address: 1540 York Ave #177 NYC 10028

I represent: the NYC office of Labor Relations

Address: 40 Rectr St, 4th Fl NYC 10006

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

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I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: _____

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: MELANIE HART

Address: 110 WILLIAMS ST

I represent: NYC DEPT SMALL BUSINESS SERVICE

Address: _____

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

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I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____
 in favor in opposition

Date: 4-19-17

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: ~~JOHN T~~ JOHN T O'MALLEY

Address: 6 HARRISON ST

I represent: CWA 1180

Address: _____



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**THE COUNCIL
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Appearance Card

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in favor in opposition

Date: _____

Name: Arthur Chester (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: 6 Harrison St.

I represent: CWA 1180

Address: 6 Harrison St.

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: _____

Name: Broth Milman (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: _____

I represent: The Murphy Institute

Address: _____

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Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: _____

Name: Kuba Brown (PLEASE PRINT)

Address: Local 94

I represent: BLISS I UOE Local 94

Address: _____

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Date: _____

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Marni von Wilpert

Address: 1225 Eye Street NW, Washington DC 20009

I represent: Economic Policy Institute

Address: 1225 Eye St. NW Washington D.C.

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

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Date: _____

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Jose Pinedo

Address: 1541 Williamsbridge Rd

I represent: 3285

Address: 25 W. 18 St.

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: 4/19/17

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Barbara Ingram-Edmonds

Address: 125 Barclay Street NY NY 10007

I represent: Director of Field Services, DC 37

Address: _____

**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: _____

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Chris Neale

Address: _____

I represent: NYC Mayor's Office of

Address: Workforce Development

253 Broadway

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**THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK**

Appearance Card

I intend to appear and speak on Int. No. _____ Res. No. _____

in favor in opposition

Date: _____

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name: Liz Vladek, Deputy Commissioner

Address: 412 Broadway, New York, NY 10004

I represent: OLPS, Dept. of Consumer Affairs

Address: _____

Please complete this card and return to the Sergeant-at-Arms