

The Union Effect:

Raising Standards for Workers Across Washington

August 2019

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Executive Summary

The Union Effect: Raising Standards for Workers Across Washington, a Washington State Labor Education and Research Center study, presents clear evidence for the first time how unions raise workers' wages and benefits, reduce the use of public benefits, and lift standards for Washington workers. Top-level findings include:

Unions raise workers' living standards, improve pensions and health insurance coverage, reduce income disparities, race and gender inequalities. In Washington, workers covered by a union contract:

- Earn on average 7.2 percent more than comparable non-union workers—an additional \$3,500 more per year;
- Are 20 percent more likely to receive employer health care coverage;
- Are 37 percent more likely to covered by a retirement plan;
- Are 24 percent less likely to live in a household with a member enrolled in a public safety net program, reducing the number of people on public benefits.

In Washington, unions contribute to justice by reducing gaps for workers facing race and gender discrimination, among other groups:

- Workers of color in unions earn 6 percent more (10 percent more in low-wage jobs), have a 21 percent greater likelihood of health insurance and a 45 percent greater likelihood of pension coverage;
- Women union workers earn 6 percent more (10 percent more in low-wage jobs), have a 14 percent greater likelihood of health insurance and a 37 percent greater likelihood of pension coverage;
- Immigrant workers in unions have a 43% greater likelihood of health insurance and a 77% greater likelihood of pension coverage.

An estimated 94,000 more Washington workers have health care coverage and 142,000 more have retirement security due to collective bargaining. **The Union Effect** demonstrates how unions positively impact Washington State's economy and worker well-being by raising statewide earnings by an estimated \$1.83 billion annually, and by ensuring 94,000 more workers have health care insurance and 142,000 more are enrolled in employment-based retirement plans.

Washington unions also have a positive effect on family economic sustainability, by

improving living standards, income, pension and health coverage, and reducing the number of household members on public assistance programs.

Twenty percent of Washington workers are unionized—one of the highest rates of union coverage in the nation (the national average is 12 percent).

Washington policy makers should consider the combined positive impact on our communities, on family financial sustainability, and on the cost of taxpayer-funded safety net programs when considering the real public benefit provided by unions and workforce union rights.



Introduction

Numerous national studies¹ show that union coverage has a positive effect not only on union workers, but on nonunion workers, and on our communities. This research is largely based on national evidence, and there are significant regional differences in unionization rates, economic conditions, education, and labor standards.

To determine if unionization in Washington provides the same benefit, the Labor Education and Research Center sponsored this research project, working with a researcher from the University of Washington Department of Geography.

The Union Effect: Raising Standards for Workers Across Washington builds on prior work by Ken Jacobs, Sarah Thomason and Annette Bernhardt at the University of California and Mark Brenner and Lina Stepick at the University of Oregon Labor Education and Research Center.²

This research examines how union coverage affects wages, employee health insurance, retirement coverage, and whether workers live in households where a member is enrolled in a major public assistance program.

The Union Effect report uses the US Census Current Population Survey (CPS) micro data for 2014 to 2018 and uses statistical regression modeling to measure variables including union status, age, race, education levels, region, and industry to compare Washington unionized workers to similar non-union workers. (See Appendix for more on study methodology.)

Do Unions Make a Difference?

Extensive research establishes that unions raise wages and improve employee benefits through collective bargaining and by raising industry and occupational standards. The same studies reveal unions help reduce income disparities and inequalities for workers of color and for women.³



National research also reveals that the positive impacts of unions are highest for lower wage workers. Unions produce larger wage gains for low-wage occupations compared to higher paying occupations.⁴

Research has also found that strong unions are a key factor in reducing income inequality in the U.S. The decline in union density has been credited with 20 percent of the increase in income inequality for women workers and 30 percent of the increase in income inequality men in recent years.⁵

The advantages of working under a union contract extend far beyond wages. Union workers are more likely to have employer-provided health insurance and their employers pay for a much bigger share of their health insurance. Union workers are also more likely to have an employer-provided defined benefit pension and union workers have much higher participation rates in employer-provided retirement plans. They are more likely to have paid vacation, sick leave and holidays.⁶

Several studies demonstrate that union coverage results in workplaces with better safety records and fewer safety violations. Union protections also appear to lead to the more accurate reporting of injuries and safety violations.⁷

All these advantages reduce the likelihood that union families will have financial security and less need to access safety net programs.

Unions also benefit non-union workers because union collective bargaining influences wages and benefits for non-union workers across industries and regions.⁸

Part 1

Economic Impacts of Union Coverage in Washington

Finding 1: Unions Raise Washington Workers' Wages by \$1.8 billion

Union workers have higher average earnings than non-union workers. We estimate that workers covered by a union contract in Washington earn 7.2 percent more on average than similar non-union workers, (\$26.11 vs. \$24.35 per hour).¹

We estimate that union workers in Washington earn on average an additional \$3,500 more per year than similar non-unionized workers. This results in an additional \$1.83 billion in earnings for workers covered by collective bargaining agreements in Washington and a boost to the state's economy.

Union Advantage Grows Outside Seattle

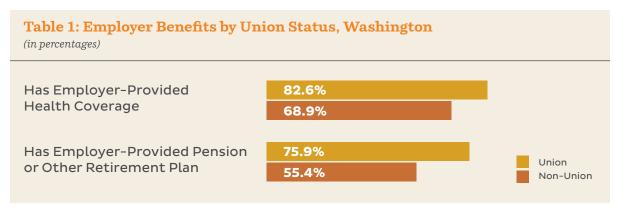
In the Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue metro area, union workers earn an average of \$2,100 additionally per year, totaling \$610 million. The union advantage is even stronger outside the Seattle metro area. We estimate that outside the Seattle metro area, union workers in the rest of Washington State earn an average of \$4,900 additionally per year, totaling \$1.17 billion in additional earnings.

Finding 2: Unions Increase Access to Health Insurance and Pensions

Unions have a strong positive effect on health insurance and pension coverage. Table 1 below presents the findings of the union impact on employer-sponsored health care and retirement plan. Each is reported as a percentage probability (likelihood). Union coverage is linked with increased access to both key employer benefits. We estimate

¹Analysis controlled for industry and demographic characteristics. See Appendix 1 for full methodology.

union members are 20 percent more likely to have health insurance, and 37 percent more likely to have access to a pension or retirement plan than similar nonunion workers.² See Table 1.



 $Source: Author's \ analysis \ of \ 2014-2018 \ Current \ Population \ Survey, \ Annual \ Social \ and \ Economic \ Supplement.$

We estimate that 94,000 more workers in Washington have health insurance through their employer, with a conservatively-estimated annual value of \$556 million.⁹ We estimate 142,000 more Washington workers are offered retirement plans as a result of collective bargaining in Washington, with an estimated annual value of \$844 million.¹⁰

Unions also negotiate higher-quality insurance coverage—a recent national study found that union employers pay 77.4 percent more (per work hour) toward their employees' health coverage than comparable nonunion employers.¹¹ The U.S. Department of Labor estimates the median health insurance deductible for union members nationally is \$500, compared to \$1,500 for nonunion employers.¹²

Why High Quality Benefits Matter

Access to high-quality health insurance plans is a critical element in ensuring lowwage workers can actually afford to use their health insurance without triggering huge deductibles, and preventing financial crises and medical debt for low-wage families.¹³ The high percentage of union workers receiving retirement benefits is important because most union members receive traditional defined benefit pensions, not the less-secure 401(k)-style defined contribution plans. Results from the National

² Analysis controlled for industry and demographic characteristics. See Appendix 1 for full methodology.

Compensation Survey indicate that 74 percent of union workers with a retirement plan have a defined benefit plan, compared to only 15 percent of non-union workers.¹⁴ This is doubly important for low and moderate wage families because their Social Security earnings will be low, and they will not have substantial savings that higher-income earners can rely on for retirement.

A third key benefit where union workers have an advantage is paid leave. In the private sector, almost nine out of ten (89 percent) union members nationally get paid vacation and holidays, compared to 75 percent of non-union workers. There is also a union advantage with paid sick leave -87 percent of unionized workers have this benefit, compared with 69 percent of nonunion workers.¹⁵

Finding 3: Unions Reduce Safety Net Usage

The economic security advantages that union contracts provide to Washington workers also affect family economic security.

This economic security means that union households are less likely to be dependent on public safety net programs. This includes the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC), the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), the National School Lunch Program (NSLP), the Low-Income Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP) the Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP), and Medicaid.

We estimate that unions decrease by 24 percent the likelihood that a worker is in a family where at least one member is enrolled in a public safety net program, compared to similar non-union workers. See Table 2.

Table 2: Public Safety Net Program Utilization by Union Status, Washington (in percentages)			
	Union	Non-union	Percentage Difference
Family Member Enrolled in Public Safety Net Program	15.6	20.4	-23.8

Source: Author's analysis of 2014-2018 Current Population Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplement.

Part 2

Union Status, Equity and Discrimination Issues

The Union Effect: Raising Standards for Workers Across Washington demonstrates a clear union advantage in worker wages and benefits, and in fighting poverty. Unions also reduce the need for public benefit programs for working Washington residents. But how does the union advantage translate for specific groups of workers? This section looks more closely at the impacts of union coverage on key workforce populations.

Finding 4: Unions lessen gender and racial wage gaps

We estimate that all major groups of Washington workers with unequal access to employment opportunity have higher wages and a higher likelihood of pension and health insurance coverage when compared to similar nonunion workers.³ This finding includes women workers, workers of color, foreign-born workers, and workers at all educational levels through college.

The Union Effect is even stronger in low-wage industries (below the state median wage) such as retail, hospitality and food service, and food processing where women workers, workers of color and immigrant workers are concentrated. See Appendix 2 for a complete list of median wages by industry.

Workers of Color

For workers of color, union status results in a 6 percent higher wage in all industries, and a 10 percent advantage in low-wage industries. See Tables 3 and 4. Union coverage results in a 21 percent greater likelihood of health insurance and a 45 percent greater likelihood of pension coverage. See Table 5.

³ Analysis controlled for industry and demographic characteristics. See Appendix 1 for full methodology.

Table 3: Average Hourly Wages (in 2018 dollars) across All Industries,by Population Subgroup and Union Status (in dollars and percentages)

Subgroup	Non-un	ion	Union
White	\$25.01	7.4%	\$26.90
Workers of Color	\$22.20	6.1%	\$23.55
Men	\$25.97	7.6%	\$27.96
Women	\$22.47	6.2%	\$23.88
U.Sborn	\$24.67	6.9%	\$26.37
Foreign-born	\$22.00	9.5%	\$24.08
Less than High School Education	\$15.16	19.8%	\$18.16
High School Education	\$19.70	12.1%	\$22.08
Some College/Vocational Education	\$21.82	7.8%	\$23.51
College	\$29.38	2.9%	\$30.22

Source: Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages and authors' analysis of Current Population Survey Merged Outgoing Rotation Groups

Women Workers

For women workers, union status also results in a 6 percent higher wage in all industries, and a 10 percent advantage in low-wage industries. Women workers with union coverage have a 14 percent greater likelihood of health insurance and a 37 percent greater likelihood of pension coverage.

Immigrant Workers

Immigrant (foreign-born) workers benefit substantially from union status. Their participation results in a 10 percent higher wage in all industries, and a 13 percent advantage in low-wage industries. We estimate union coverage for immigrant workers results in a 43 percent greater likelihood of health insurance coverage and a 77 percent greater likelihood of pension coverage.

Subgroup	Non-un	ion	Union
White	\$21.17	5.7%	\$22.40
Workers of Color	\$17.57	9.8%	\$19.30
Men	\$21.08	1.5%	\$21.39
Women	\$19.50	10.4%	\$21.53
U.Sborn	\$20.53	5.4%	\$21.65
Foreign-born	\$18.27	13.3%	\$20.71
Less than High School Education	\$12.58	17.2%	\$14.74
High School Education	\$16.12	6.3%	\$17.15
Some College/Vocational Education	\$18.43	3.8%	\$19.12
College	\$26.70	11.8%	\$29.84

Table 4: Average Hourly Wages across (in 2018 dollars) across Low-Wage Industries, by Population Subgroup and Union Status (in dollars and percentages)

 $Source: Quarterly\ Census\ of\ Employment\ and\ Wages\ and\ authors'\ analysis\ of\ Current\ Population\ Survey\ Merged\ Outgoing\ Rotation\ Groups$

Helping Workers with Fewer Years of Education

Workers with less than a college degree also benefit substantially from union status. Workers with a high school or less education receive a 20 percent higher wage than similar nonunion workers across all industries, and a 17 percent advantage in low-wage industries. Their economic security benefits from a 35 percent greater likelihood of health insurance and a 42 percent greater likelihood of pension coverage.

While workers with some college or vocational training receive better wages (8 percent higher) than nonunion workers, they mostly benefit from a huge bump in health insurance coverage (a 41 percent increased likelihood of coverage) and a 53 percent greater likelihood of pension coverage. A key example is the excellent health, welfare and pension plans offered to union construction workers through joint union/management trust funds.

Group	Has Employer-Provided Health Coverage		Has Employer-Provided Pension or Other Retirement Plan			
	Non- union	Union	Increased likelihood	Non- union	Union	Increased likelihood
White	70.9	85.0	19.9	55.8	76.6	37.5
Workers of Color	60.3	73.2	21.4	50.6	73.2	44.7
Men	69.4	86.1	24.1	58.7	78.5	33.6
Women	68.8	78.6	14.3	53.2	73.0	37.3
U.Sborn	71.0	81.7	15.1	57.8	75.7	30.8
Foreign- born	61.4	87.5	42.5	43.8	77.5	76.8
High School or Less	57.9	78.0	34.8	51.7	73.6	42.5
Some College/ Vocation	63.1	89.0	41.0	50.0	76.7	53.4
College Degree	84.1	82.1	-2.4	64.4	77.4	20.2

Table 5: Employer Benefits by Population Subgroup by Union Status,Washington (in percentages)

Source: Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages and authors' analysis of Current Population Survey Merged Outgoing Rotation Groups

Immigrant workers have a 43% greater likelihood of health insurance and a 77% greater likelihood of pension coverage with union coverage. The percentage gains in health insurance and pension/retirement plan coverage with union representation are significantly higher than the wage gains on a percentage basis, providing these workers with important health care and retirement security.

This reflects how strongly labor union members value these benefits in the collective bargaining process and the higher percentages of union representation in the public sector, where high union membership has secured health insurance and pension benefits.

Finding 5: Unions Cover More Workers in Washington State

Over 670,000 Washington workers (20 percent) are covered by union contracts, compared to 12 percent nationally.¹⁶ We estimate that more than half (54 percent) of Washington public sector workers and 12 percent of private sector workers are covered by union contracts. Overall, 46 percent of union workers are in the public sector. See Table 6.



Table 6: Union Coverage in Washington (in percentages) 17

Category	Overall Percentage	Public Sector	Private Sector
All workers	19.3	54.3	12.4
Men	19.8	54.8	14.5
Women	18.6	53.9	9.7
18-24	9.5	25.9	7.9
25-34	15.4	52.2	10.6
35-44	19.7	57.3	12.4
45-54	23.9	59.6	14.4
55-64	25.6	54.9	16.5
Asian (not Hawaiian/Pacific Isl.)	13.5	48.8	9.4
Black	22.8	58.2	14.2
Latinx	14.8	55.9	10.3
Other	12.8	9.8	14.0
White	20.8	57.1	13.0
U.S. born	20.5	54.4	13.0
Foreign born	13.5	53.0	9.9
Less than H.S. education	10.1	33.5	9.0
High school graduate	19.2	47.9	15.6
Some college/assoc./vocational	21.0	53.0	14.7
Bachelor's degree	16.6	53.2	9.0
Advanced degree	25.2	62.6	8.4

Source: Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages and authors' analysis of Current Population Survey Merged Outgoing Rotation Groups

Conclusions

Across the board, union membership is associated with households that are better off, have increased access to employer benefits, and are less likely to be living in a household with a family member enrolled in a safety net program.

Unions clearly lessen gender and racial wage gaps by providing major gains for women, for workers of color, and for foreign-born workers. Unions also provide major benefits for workers living outside the Seattle Metro area and for workers with fewer years of education. Unions provide these groups of workers, who have lacked opportunity or traditionally been excluded from high wage employment, with better wages and good benefits. *The Union Effect* is even stronger in low-wage industries such as retail, hospitality and food service, and food processing.

In addition, there is national evidence that union representation produces significant gains for non-union workers as well, by setting regional and industry-wide standards which increase pressure on non-union employers to offer higher wages and benefits to compete for skilled workers.

The Union Effect demonstrates how unions positively impact Washington State's economy and worker well-being by raising statewide earnings by an estimated \$1.83 billion annually, and by ensuring 94,000 <u>more</u> workers have health care insurance and 142,000 <u>more</u> are enrolled in employment-based retirement plans.

Washington unions also have a positive effect on family economic sustainability, by improving living standards, income, pension and health coverage, and reducing the number of household members on public assistance programs.

Washington has the third highest union density in the nation, with 20 percent of Washington workers are unionized (the national average is 12 percent).

Washington policy makers should consider the combined positive impact on our communities, on family financial sustainability, and on the cost of taxpayer-funded safety net programs when considering the real public benefit provided by unions and workforce union rights.

The Union Effect: Raising Standards for Workers Across Washington demonstrates that results in Washington mirror the same gains found by earlier studies in California and Oregon. All three states have union shop laws that provide union members with additional resources for collective bargaining and the ability to influence labor standards legislation, which will be the focus of a future report from the Labor Education and Research Center.



Appendix 1

Data and Methods

Data

This report uses Current Population Study (CPS) for the State of Washington. For hourly wage estimates, we use the Economic Policy Institute CPS Outgoing Rotation Group (ORG) files. For estimates of health and retirement benefits and low-income status, we use the IPUMS CPS Annual Social and Economic Supplement (ASEC). In both cases, we pool five years of data, 2014 to 2018. In each analysis, the sample is restricted to employed wage and salary workers age 18 to 64 who live in Washington State. A union worker is someone who has membership in a union or is covered by a union contract.

Wage estimates

To estimate the adjusted union wage premium, we use ordinary least squares regression of log wages on union status. We include controls for age, age squared, two-digit industry, two-digit occupation, education, race (white/person of color), gender, marital status, nativity, year and region within Washington (Seattle Metro area or Rest of state). Using results from this analysis, we construct annual earnings estimates for union workers based on their actual hourly wage and their predicted hourly wage in the counterfactual scenario where they were not in a union. By comparing the actual hourly wages to counterfactual non-union hourly wages, we estimate the adjusted union wage premium. To estimate total additional dollars paid to workers as the result of a union contract, we multiply the difference between actual and counterfactual wages by the total number of union workers in the state.

Estimates of benefits, public safety net program and low-income status

To estimate health and retirement benefits, public safety net program usage and low-income status, we use logit regressions. We include controls for age, age squared, major industry, education, race (white/person of color), gender, marital status and year. In each analysis, we take the marginal effect for union workers, estimated with and without the estimated union effect, and report the percentage difference.

Appendix 2

List of Industries, by Median Wage

(Note: The overall median hourly wage/salary in the state of Washington is \$20.89)

NAICS 2 Digit Code	Industry	Median Wage	Below Median
11	Agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting	13.40	YES
21	Mining	28.26	NO
23	Construction	23.40	NO
31	Food, animal processing/manufacturing	16.29	YES
32	Wood processing/manufacturing	23.35	NO
33	Manufacturing	29.36	NO
42	Wholesale trade	21.19	NO
44	Retail trade	16.00	YES
48	Logistics, warehousing, transportation	21.27	NO
51	Information	31.96	NO
52	Finance	25.00	NO
53	Real estate and rental	22.08	NO
54	Professional, scientific and technical	37.41	NO
55	Management	17.60	YES
56	Administrative and support and waste	16.68	YES
61	Education	23.83	NO
62	Health care and social assistance	20.43	YES
71	Arts, entertainment and recreation	15.00	YES
72	Accommodation and food services	11.81	YES
81	Other services	16.53	YES
92	Public administration	26.34	NO
221	Utilities	33.99	NO
928	Military	26.52	NO

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Notes

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⁴ See Freeman and Medoff (1984), Shierholz et al. (2012), and Schmitt (2008).

⁵ See Western and Rosenfeld (2011).

⁶ See Bivens et al. (2017) for details of the union impact on employer-provided benefits. For pension plans, see BLS *Employee Benefits in the US 2018*, https://www.bls.gov/news.release/pdf/ebs2.pdf

⁷ See Miller et al. (2013) and Morantz (2013) on the impact of unions on workplace safety, See Amick et al. (2015) on how unions improve safety reporting.

⁸ See Jacobs and Thomason on union status and social safety net programs (2018). See Mishel and Walters on the ways unions benefit non-union workers, (2003).

⁹ Author's calculations based on average cost of health insurance coverage (\$6,875) less union employees' 14 percent premium share. Actual benefit value is significantly higher because some employees have more expensive family coverage. Sources: Kaiser Family Foundation, *Employer Health Insurance Benefits 2018*, www.kff.org/health-costs/report/2018employer-health-benefits-survey/, BLS, Employee Benefits in the US 2018 cited above.

¹⁰ Author's calculations using average cost of union defined benefit pensions, estimates of union members pension coverage, and average Washington work hours. Sources: BLS, *Trends in employer costs for defined benefit plans*, Feb. 2016, Bivens, et al, 2017, Washington ESD/BLS *Hours and Earnings Estimates*, 2018.

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¹⁵ See Bivens, et al. (2017) for more details on paid leave, including sick, vacation and holiday leave.

¹⁶ According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), 20.5% of the Washington workforce was covered by a union contract in 2017-18. (https://www.bls.gov/news.release/union2.t05.htm), compared to 11.7% of the employed national workforce. *BLS Economic News Release*, Jan. 18, 2019. Articles accessed July 1, 2019. (https://www.bls.gov/news.release/pdf/union2.pdf).

¹⁷ Based on the average of 2014-2018. The BLS estimates 20.5 percent overall union coverage for Washington in 2018.

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Teamster Local 117 – cover photo - Teamster Local 117 members at work UFCW Local 21 - page 2 and page 12 Cement Masons & Plasterers Local Union 528 - page 15



About the Washington Labor Education and Research Center

The mission of the Washington State Labor Education and Research Center is to deliver high-quality education, training programs and research relevant to the working women and men of Washington State. The Labor Center builds the skills, confidence and knowledge workers need to improve their work lives and their communities, and promote a just economy through collective action. As a unique program within higher education in the state, we use the best practices of adult education and applied research to serve our dynamic and diverse labor force, including the new Rights at Work Washington website (www.RightsatWorkWA.org).

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