WHAT DO UNIONS DO FOR WOMEN?

At a time when union membership has been declining overall, a new report by IWPR, *What Do Unions Do for Women*, shows that the number of women who are union members has continued to increase. As a result, women are currently 37 percent of organized labor’s membership -- a higher percentage than at any time in the U.S. labor movement’s history. Thus the face of unionism in the U.S. is changing, even though much of the research on unions continues to focus on men. IWPR research shows that union membership is important for women because membership or coverage under a collective bargaining agreement is associated with higher wages and longer job tenure, as well as a smaller pay gap between women and men.

Trends in Union Membership

Overall, since 1980, both the absolute number of union workers and the proportion of the U.S. workforce that is unionized has fallen. Among women, however, union membership has nearly kept pace with the rapidly growing female labor force, and the absolute number of women union members has continued to grow. The proportion of women workers who are union members increased from 16.3 percent in 1965 to 19.3 percent in 1975 and then fell to 14 percent in 1990 (See Figure 1). Approximately 7.4 million women were union members or represented by unions in 1992.

In contrast the proportion of male workers in unions fell from 39 percent in 1965 to 22 percent in 1990. About 11 million men had union representation in 1992.

Figure 1. Trends in Union Membership

![Figure 1](image-url)
Who are the Union Women?

The number of union women is growing as unionization has shifted to areas such as teaching, nursing, and the public sector where women work in disproportionate numbers. IWPR's research also shows that unionization has increased among better educated and higher-wage women.

**Industry and Occupation.** While male union members are predominately blue collar workers in manufacturing, construction, and public utilities, women in unions are predominately white collar workers in service industries (see Table 1). Professional and technical workers are the largest single group of women union members.

**Education.** Among union members, women are more likely than men to be college educated, while men are more likely to be high school graduates (see Table 1).

This mapping illustrates the changing face of unions as women become a higher proportion of membership. It shows the movement of union membership from blue collar to white collar occupations, from manufacturing to professional specialty industries, and from high school to college-educated workers.

**Impacts of Unionization**

**Increased Wages.** Union membership or coverage by a collective bargaining agreement is associated with higher wages for women. Unionized women earned an average of $2.50 more per hour than non-unionized women. This was equivalent to a union wage premium of 38 percent. When differences between unionized and non-unionized women workers, such as education, are taken into account, the union wage premium is 90 cents or about 12 percent (see Figure 2). This wage difference is reasonably certain to be due to unionization alone.

**Table 1: Where are the Union Workers?**
(Union Members Working at Least Seven Months), 1987

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>Women (in %)</th>
<th>Men (in %)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BY OCCUPATION</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative Support</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue Collar</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional/Technical</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BY INDUSTRY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance/Trade</td>
<td>100*</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining/Construction</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Administration</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Utilities</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BY FIRM SIZE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 25 Employees</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between 25 &amp; 99 Employees</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At least 100 Employees</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BY EDUCATION LEVEL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than High School</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School Diploma</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College or More</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* May not add to 100 because of rounding.


**Relative Benefits for Women of Color.**

Unions benefit minority women, particularly African-Americans and Hispanics, at least as much as white women. The union wage premium, slightly more than the $2.50 gained by white women, represents a premium of about 45 percent for women of color. Controlling for all other factors, women of color who are unionized earn 87 cents or 13 percent more than non-unionized women. Although all
workers benefit from union representation, unions increase wages more at the low end than at the high end of the income distribution.

**Decreased Pay Gap.** There is a smaller pay gap between male and female workers in a unionized workforce ($2.77 per hour) than in a non-unionized workforce ($3.45 per hour, see Figure 2). Unionized women earned 75 cents for every dollar earned by unionized men, while non-unionized women earned 68 cents for every dollar earned by non-unionized men.

**Increased Job Tenure.** Unionization is also associated with greater job tenure. Unionized women workers have twice as many years on the job as non-union workers. Among low-wage workers, union women have three more years of job tenure than non-union women. When the effect of union membership on years of job tenure is controlled statistically for differences in other factors that might affect tenure, unions increase job tenure by about one year or 20 percent, and increase tenure more (in percentage terms) for low-wage women workers than for high-wage women workers.

Labor law reform that increases women’s ability to organize and to bargain collectively as well as increased voice for women within unions are necessary if the current 86 percent of women who are not organized or represented by collective bargaining agreements are to benefit from the increased wages, pay equity, and job security that unionization can bring.

**Figure 2. What Unions Do For Sex Equity, 1987**

![Bar chart showing wage differences between union and non-union workers for women and men.](chart)

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*The Institute for Women’s Policy Research is an independent, nonprofit research institute dedicated to conducting and disseminating research that informs public policy debates affecting women. This fact sheet is based on the report, *What Do Unions Do for Women?* by Roberta Spalter-Roth, Heidi Hartmann, and Nancy Collins, with the assistance of Jill Braunstein. The data are for the 1987 calendar year and are from the U.S. Bureau of the Census’ Survey of Income and Program Participation. The full report is available from IWPR for $10.00 (less 20 percent discount for IWPR members). This project was funded by the Women’s Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor. Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent the official position or policy of the U.S. Department of Labor. This “Research-in-Brief” was prepared by Jill Braunstein, Lois Shaw, and Robin Dennis in March 1994.*
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