

The Future of Work in the Heart of America

How Our Changing Economy is Opening Up
New Opportunities for Organizing Workers
in the Heartland, Midwest and Northeast

National People's Action
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NATIONAL PEOPLE'S ACTION

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Introduction

Our economy has changed dramatically over the past 50 years. As corporations took good paying manufacturing jobs out of the country in the search for lower labor costs and standards, the low paying service sector exploded. As executive pay skyrocketed and the wealthy received tax cuts year after year, the real wages of everyone else stagnated, causing a sharp increase in income inequality between workers at the bottom and top. The decline of highly unionized industries and attacks on the right to organize have led to a severe decline in the percentage of workers who are covered by a union contract. Many low-wage workers lack good, stable jobs with benefits like health insurance, but earn too much to qualify for public services. The failure of a corporate-run and profit-driven economy to generate good jobs has led to an increase in the number of long-term unemployed workers, who disappear from official economic indicators (including the unemployment rate) as they become discouraged and stop looking for work.

As our economy has changed, so has the nature of our employment arrangements. Several decades ago, workers stayed with a company for most of their lives. Today's workers are more transient. Low-wage jobs of the past were entry level positions that allowed employees to develop skills and move into higher level positions. Today's jobs are dead ends. Large corporations avoid the responsibilities and costs of full-time employees (including employee benefits and adherence to labor laws) by contracting out the labor-intensive parts of their businesses. The contractors themselves often contract out work to other businesses, creating a complex web of sub-contracting that makes it difficult to connect those actually doing the work to those profiting at the top.¹

Many low-wage workers are not fully protected by traditional labor laws: guest workers, domestic workers, day laborers, tipped-minimum wage workers, farm workers, taxi drivers, workfare workers, and the formerly incarcerated. Some of these excluded sectors, such as domestic workers, are projected to grow rapidly over the coming years. Without full protections, these workers regularly experience wage theft, minimum wage violations, and overtime violations.²

Anti-worker state legislatures continue to weaken traditional collective bargaining rights, and a growing number of states are prohibiting union contracts for public employees or are passing "right to work" laws that make union membership optional, restricting their ability to collect dues and undercutting union power. Workers in "right to work" states earn lower wages and are less likely to receive health insurance or other benefits from their employers.³ In December 2012, Michigan became the 24th state to pass "right to work" laws.

This new landscape of low-wage work presents a challenge to develop new organizing models and strategies, but is also an opportunity to build a broader base of individuals who are connected by a common identity as contingent, detached, or excluded workers. National People's Action (NPA) is strategically poised to engage these workers. We have a membership base in regions such as the Heartland, Midwest and New England and have strong alliances with unions, excluded worker organizations, and community organizing groups.

NPA is committed to structural reform of the economy, and as such has adopted a 40-year long-term agenda with a clear vision of a new economy and the pathways that will lead to transformation. Because of our historically deep connections in communities of color and among low-wage workers in the Midwest and Heartland, our strong long-term alliances with unions and other worker organizations, and our long-term commitment to empowering and mobilizing workers as leaders of their own

organizations and movement, we are well positioned to advance low-wage worker organizing in key geographic areas.

This report looks at the current landscape of the low-wage workforce and worker organizing across the nation with a specific focus on seven states where NPA affiliates are building innovative worker organizing programs: Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New York, and Rhode Island. States with NPA affiliates but not represented in this analysis include Colorado, Illinois, Ohio and Wisconsin. Using information collected through quantitative analysis of Census and Department of Labor data and interviews with labor leaders, organizers, and researchers, we make recommendations on how NPA can organize low wage workers and build alliances with labor unions and excluded worker organizations at the scale needed to enact more just and equitable public and corporate policies at the state and national level.

Low-Wage Work in the United States

For decades, wages for workers have remained stagnant, even as executive pay and profits increased. During the recent recession, middle-wage jobs were hit hardest and have been the slowest to return. Instead, the occupations that are recovering the fastest are low-wage jobs: home health aides, retail salespersons, food preparation workers, and laborers.⁴ As higher paying work is replaced with low paying jobs, income inequality will continue to increase. The gap between top and bottom earners continues to widen dramatically, even as the largest employers of low-wage workers make huge profits.⁵

Here, we use the Current Population Survey (CPS) to look at how low-wage workers compare to the rest of the workforce groups of workers. A low-wage worker is defined as earning less \$11.90, or two thirds of the median wage. A poverty-wage worker is defined as earning less than \$10.75, which is the hourly wage necessary for to meet the poverty threshold for a household of four. A detailed description of the methodology and data used is provided in Appendix A. State level information is available in Appendix B.

How do poverty-wage workers compare to other workers?

- 23% of workers are low-wage (less than \$11.90 an hour) and 19% of workers earn poverty wages, or less than \$10.75 an hour,
- Low-wage workers are disproportionately female (60%), persons of color (13% Black, 21% Latino), and immigrants (23%).
- Only 7% of low-wage workers are covered by a union contract, compared with 16% of the rest of the workforce.
- Low-wage workers have completed less formal education, with only 44% having more than a high school degree, compared to 72% of other workers.⁶

What industries are low-wage workers employed in?

↑ Retail trade	17.5%
↑ Food services and drinking places	11.9%
↑ Health care services, except hospitals	8.3%
Educational services	7.0%
Administrative and support services	5.9%
Transportation and warehousing	3.7%
Social Assistance	3.6%
↑ Construction	3.6%

What are the most common low-wage occupations?

↑ Cashiers	4.56%
↑ Cooks	3.86%
↑ Retail salespersons	3.73%
↑ Waiters and waitresses	3.54%
↑ Nursing, psychiatric, and home health aides	3.47%
↑ Janitors and building cleaners	3.45%
Maids and housekeeping cleaners	2.98%
Driver/sales workers and truck drivers	2.53%
↑ Laborers and freight, stock, and material movers, hand	2.15%
↑ Personal and home care aides	2.15%
First-line supervisors/managers of retail sales workers	2.12%
Stock clerks and order fillers	2.07%
Secretaries and administrative assistants	1.97%
↑ Grounds maintenance workers	1.63%
↑ Customer service representatives	1.60%
Miscellaneous agricultural workers	1.43%
↑ Child care workers	1.28%
↑ Teacher assistants	1.23%
↑ Receptionists and information clerks	1.20%
↑ Food preparation workers	1.19%

Red arrows indicate industries and occupations that are projected to experience the most job growth between 2010 and 2020.⁷

Employers with the Most USDOL Complaints

The following employers received the most citations for wage and hour labor law violations from the Federal Department of Labor over the past five years. The total listed here includes violations of the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA), the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA), the Migrant and Seasonal Agricultural Worker Protection Act (MSPA), worker protections provided by temporary visa programs, and the prevailing wage requirements of the Davis-Beacon Act (DBA) and the Service Contract Act (SCA). Examples of such violations include failure to pay the minimum wage, failure to pay overtime wages, misclassifying employees as independent contractors, or denying leave to care for a sick family member. Please see Appendix A for more information about the data and methodology.

	Employer	Industry	Wage and Hour Violations	Backwages Paid
1	Wal-Mart	Retail trade	91,127	\$36,200,000
2	Cinnabon	Food manufacturing	53,064	\$2,554
3	Cingular Wireless	Telecommunications	27,994	\$5,596,651
4	Manpower	Administrative and support services	20,565	\$4,976,800
5	Teleperformance USA	Administrative and support services	15,868	\$1,960,043
6	Standard Parking	Personal and laundry services	12,521	\$1,135
7	Subway	Food services and drinking places	12,191	\$2,088,292
8	McDonald's	Food services and drinking places	11,252	\$1,117,808
9	Harley Davidson	Retail trade	9,148	\$429,467
10	Tyson	Poultry processing	8,901	\$6,534
11	IHOP	Food services and drinking places	8,377	\$1,916,780
12	ITT Technical Institute	Educational services	8,148	\$50,296
13	Pilgrim's Pride	Food manufacturing	7,806	\$1,151,636
14	Care All Homecare Services	Health care services , except hospitals	7,057	\$85,977
15	Nestle USA	Food manufacturing	7,029	\$5,931,105
16	Cheddar's	Food services and drinking places	6,450	\$367,416
17	Journey's	Retail trade	6,450	\$1,483
18	Humana	Insurance	6,334	\$1,534,807
19	Correctional Medical Services	Health care services , except hospitals	6,039	\$19,912
20	Sbarro	Food services and drinking places	5,515	\$0
21	Florida Hospital South	Hospitals	5,352	\$973,442
22	The Krystal Company	Food services and drinking places	5,000	\$0
23	ConAgra Foods	Food manufacturing	4,655	\$25,725
24	University of Phoenix	Educational services	4,602	\$4,779,640
25	AKAL Security	Administrative and support services	4,432	\$3,731,592
26	Convergys	Professional and Technical services	4,154	\$666,922
27	Stater Bros. Markets	Retail trade	4,104	\$500,908
28	SSM Health Care - St. Louis	Hospitals	4,015	\$1,738,133
29	KBR	Construction	3,868	\$1,525,425
30	Quik Trip	Retail trade	3,820	\$747,729

Low-Wage Industries

Data from the Current Population Survey and the Federal Department of Labor’s Wage and Hour Division and OSHA enforcement is used to profile industries that have a large number of low-wage workers and a poor record of following labor laws. These sectors are also ones in which NPA affiliates either currently organizing workers or are exploring the possibility of doing so. Industries are first compared in terms of average wages and wage distribution and then profiled individually.

Average Hourly Wage

Food service and drinking places	\$11.98
Retail	\$14.60
Administrative and support services	\$16.09
Health care services, besides hospitals	\$20.14
Transportation and warehousing	\$20.46
Construction	\$21.12

Wage Distribution

■ Below \$10 an hour
 ■ \$10 to \$20 an hour
 ■ \$20 to \$30 an hour
 ■ Over \$30 an hour

Food service and drinking places



Retail



Administrative support services



Health care services, besides hospitals



Transportation and warehousing



Construction



Retail

Retail is the second largest industry in the country, employing nearly 10% of all workers.⁸ These employees work for department stores, grocery stores, pharmacies, clothing stores, liquor stores, hardware stores, auto parts stores, office supply stores, sporting goods stores, and gas stations, among others. Retail stores employ more low-wage workers than any other industry (17%) and a large percentage of their employees are low-wage workers (39%). The retail sector is expected to grow steadily over the next five years.⁹

Union membership among retail workers remains low. However, campaigns to organize workers at the nation's largest retailer, Wal-mart, have recently picked up momentum. In the fall of 2012, workers staged coordinated walk-outs at 28 store locations in 12 different states.¹⁰

Hourly Wages

Industry average for all employees: \$14.60
Percentage of workers who earn low wages: 39%
Percentage of workers who earn poverty wages: 33%

Labor Law Violations

Comes in third place for the industry with the most wage and hour violations, and paid a total of \$115,000,000 in back wages over the last five years, and comes in 13th place for most health and safety violations. Some of the worst offenders are Wal-Mart, Harley Davidson, and Journey's Shoe Stores.

Occupations of Low Wage Workers

Retail Salesperson: 22.%
Cashiers¹¹: 20%
First-line supervisors/managers of retail sales worker: 12%
Stock clerks and order fillers: 10%

Union representation

5.2% of all retail workers are covered by a union contract. 4.2% of low-wage retail workers are covered by a union contract.

Food services and drinking places

Food services employs 4% of all workers, and is the second largest employer of low wage workers (12%). Most food service employees are low wage workers (66%), a higher proportion than any other industry. The average hourly wage of low wage food service workers is actually below the federal minimum wage of \$7.25 an hour.

While workers in this industry have a very low rate of union membership, new organizing in the fast food industry has captured national attention. In collaboration with several other groups, New York Communities for Change kicked off a campaign in the fall of 2012 to organize workers at McDonald's, Taco Bell, Domino's, and other fast food restaurants across New York City.¹² Momentum in growing, with fast food workers in nearly 60 cities walking off the job in protest of low wages in August 2013.¹³

Hourly Wages

Industry average for all employees: \$11.98

Percentage of workers who earn low wages: 66%

Percentage of workers who earn poverty wages: 60%

Labor Law Violations

Comes in first place for the most wage and hour violations, and paid a total of \$137,000,000 in back wages over the last five years. Some of the worst offenders include Cinnabon, Subway, McDonald's, IHOP, Cheddar's, Sbarro, and Sonic. This industry has low levels of health and safety violations.

Occupations of Low Wage Workers

Waitstaff: 27%

Cooks: 22%

Cashiers: 7%

Food preparation: 7%

Food service managers: 6%

Union representation

2.1% of all food service workers are covered by a union contract. Only 1.5% of low-wage food service workers are covered by a union contract.

Health Care Services, Besides Hospitals

This industry includes home health care services, nursing and residential homes, and doctors' offices. It is the third largest industry in the country, employing 7% of all workers, and is projected to be the fastest growing industry over the next five years.¹⁴ Much of this growth is likely due to the increasing demand for care workers for children, the elderly, and those with disabilities or illnesses. Personal aides and home health aides are two of the fastest growing occupations, as well as some of the lowest paid. This industry is the third largest employer of low wage workers (8%). Low wage workers make up almost a fifth of the health care services workforce.

Union membership rates are low in this industry. However, care workers are increasingly organized, using innovative strategies outside of the traditional collective bargaining model to win better wages and working conditions. Domestic Workers United has passed a Domestic Workers' Bill of Rights law in New York State and is looking to pass similar legislation in other states while in the Spring of 2013, Minnesota passed legislation allowing for child care and home health-care workers to form unions.

Hourly Wages

Industry average for all employees: \$20.14
Percentage of workers who earn low wages: 26%
Percentage of workers who earn poverty wages: 21%

Labor Law Violations

Comes in fifth place for the most wage and hour violations of any industry and paid a total of \$88,000,000 in back wages over the last five years. Some of the worst offenders: Care All Homecare Services, Correctional Medical Services. While the Health Care Services industry overall has low levels of health and safety violations, nursing care facilities in particular have a high number of health and safety violations and a high rate of workplace injury and illness.

Occupations of Low Wage Workers

Nursing, psychiatric, and home health aides: 32%
Personal and home care aides: 13%
Receptionists and information clerks: 5%
Dental Assistants: 4%
Maids and housekeeping cleaners: 4%

Union representation

7.1% of all health services workers are covered by a union contract. 6.1% of low wage health services workers are covered by a union contract.

Administrative and Support Services

The administrative and support services industry includes temporary worker agencies, security guards, and landscaping services. Many contingent workers fall within this industry because they are employed by a temporary agency, even though the work that they do might otherwise be classified as health care, retail, or transportation and warehousing. This industry employs 3% of all US workers, and 6% of low wage workers. Nearly a third of all workers in this industry are low wage. It is projected to be one of the fastest growing industries over the next five years, adding the most number of jobs to the economy.¹⁵

Hourly Wages

Industry average for all employees: \$16.09
Percentage of workers who earn low wages: 40%
Percentage of workers who earn poverty wages: 34%

Labor Law Violations

Comes in second place for the most wage and hour violations and paid a total of \$177,000,000 in back wages over the last five years. Worst offenders include Manpower, Teleperformance USA, AKAL Security, Convergys, STARTECH, Inc, St James Security, and Superior Protection Inc. The industry has low levels of health and safety violations.

Occupations of Low Wage Workers

Grounds maintenance worker: 18%
Janitors and building cleaners: 17%
Security guards: 13%
Maids and housekeeping cleaners: 8%
Customer service representatives: 4%
Laborers and freight, stock, and material movers, hand: 4%

Union representation

4.5% of all administrative and support workers are covered by a union contract. 3.2% of low wage administrative and support workers are covered.

Construction

The construction industry employs 5% of all workers and 4% of low wage workers. Slightly less than 10% of all construction workers are low wage, while 19% are high wage. Construction has been hit hard by the recession and housing crisis and has a very high unemployment rate.

Hourly Wages

Industry average for all employees: \$21.12
Percentage of workers who earn low wages: 16%
Percentage of workers who earn poverty wages: 12%

Labor Law Violations

Comes in fourth place for the most wage and hour violations, and paid \$187,000,000 in back wages over the last five years, the most of any industry. Also has by far the most health and safety violations of any industry. Worst offenders include KBR, Inc, and Williams Brothers Construction Co.

Occupations of Low Wage Workers

Construction laborers: 23%
Carpenters: 14%
Painters, construction, and maintenance: 8%
Drywall installers, ceiling tile installers, and tapers: 4%
Pipelayers, plumbers, pipefitters, and steamfitters: 4%

Union representation

While 17.6% of all construction workers are covered by a union contract, only 6.2% of low wage construction workers are covered.

Transportation and Warehousing

Transportation and warehousing includes airlines, railways, truck transport, buslines, taxi services, couriers and messengers, private postal service, and warehousing. This industry employs 5% of all US workers, and 4% of low wage workers. 19% of all workers in this industry are low wage. Forecasts predict that overall this industry will experience only modest growth over the next decade. One exception could be warehousing, which has grown more quickly in recent years. The warehousing industry has also restructured to use a large number of temporary workers. Many workers whose labor is actually performed for warehousing companies are classified as working in the “Administration and Support Services” industry, which includes temporary and staffing agencies. These workers are not included in the analysis below. Because temporary workers generally earn lower wages and are less likely to be unionized than permanent workers, the true average wages could be lower and the true percentage of workers that earn low wages could be higher than estimated here.

In response to low wages, job instability, poor working conditions, and a lack of benefits, warehousing workers have started organizing. Warehouse Workers United, for example, has begun putting pressure on warehousing companies and retailers to require that their distribution center contractors follow labor laws and provide a living wage.¹⁶

Hourly Wages

Industry average for all employees: \$20.46

Percentage of workers who earn low wages: 19%

Percentage of workers who earn poverty wages: 15%

Labor Law Violations

Comes in ninth place for the most wage and hour violations, 12th place for the most health and safety violations, and paid a total of \$59,888,736 in back wages over the last five years.

Occupations of Low Wage Workers

Driver/sales workers and truck drivers: 27%

Laborers and freight, stock, and material movers, hand: 8%

Taxi drivers and chauffeurs: 7%

Bus drivers: 7%

Postal service mail carriers: 3%

Union representation

33.3% of all transportation and warehousing workers are covered by a union contract, and 19.4% of low-wage transportation and warehousing workers are covered. This is the largest proportion of unionized low-wage workers of any industry covered in this report.

Contingent Workers

Contingent workers are defined as those who do not have traditional employment arrangements, which are full-time, long-term positions with the same employer. It includes temporary workers, independent contractors, and part-time workers. In a 2006 report, the Government Accountability Office (GAO) estimates that 31 percent of the workforce, or 42.6 million individual workers, are in contingent work arrangements. Many of these workers are excluded from labor laws regarding the minimum wage, overtime, discrimination and harassment, and unemployment insurance. A much smaller percentage of contingent workers have employer-provided health insurance or pensions compared to traditional workers, and generally earn lower wages.¹⁷ Oftentimes employers misclassify workers as independent contractors when in reality they should be considered employees. Worker misclassification results in the loss of higher wages and benefits for workers and lost tax revenue for the government.

Although the number of contingent workers has increased, the proportion of the workforce that is contingent stayed constant at 31 percent between 1995 and 2005.¹⁸ However, it does appear that there are particular industries where the use of contingent workers is on the rise, and some segments of contingent workers are growing rapidly.¹⁹

The use of temporary workers, either directly or through employment agencies, has increased, especially among occupations that involve manual labor.²⁰ Temporary worker agencies are predicted to be one of the fastest growing industries between 2010 and 2020.²¹

Several studies suggest that particular industries are more frequently contracting out major parts of their business to contractors, also referred to as “domestic outsourcing.” Many of these industries, such as home health care, retail, warehousing, and janitorial and building services, are also some of the largest employers of low-wage workers.²²

What industries employ temporary workers?

Manufacturing	28.5%
Trade, transportation, and utilities	14.6%
Professional and business services	12.5%
Health care and social assistance	11.4%
Financial activities	9.2%
Information	5.9%

From Dey, Houseman, and Polivka, “What Do We Know About Contracting Out in the United States?” *Labor in the New Economy*. University of Chicago Press, 2010.

Contingent Workers in the US

Category of Worker	% of Total US Workforce	Total Number of Workers	% with Family Income Below \$20,000
Agency temporary workers	0.9%	1,217,000	28%
Direct-hire temporary workers	2.1%	2,972,000	18%
On-call workers/day laborers	2.0%	2,736,000	21%
Contract company workers	0.6%	813,000	11%
Independent contractors	7.4%	10,342,000	11%
Self-employed workers	4.4%	6,125,000	8%
Part-time workers	13.2%	18,360,000	19%

From “Employment Arrangements: Improved Outreach Could Help Ensure Proper Worker Classification.” United States Government Accountability Office, Report to the Ranking Minority Member, Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions, US Senate, July 2006.

Long-term Unemployed

As a result of the recession, the number of long-term unemployed individuals, or those who have been unemployed for more than 27 weeks, has increased. Currently 4.2 million people are long-term unemployed, representing 37% of all the unemployed.²³ When measured as those who have been out of work and looking for work for at least six months, the long-term unemployed made up 11.4% of the unemployed in 2000, and 43.7% of the unemployed in 2011. Black workers are disproportionately long-term unemployed (almost 50% of unemployed Black workers are long-term unemployed), as are older workers (52% of unemployed workers between 45 and 54 are long-term unemployed, and that number jumps to 55% for those 55 and over).²⁴ Young workers make up almost 19.5 percent of the long-term unemployed, even though they only represent 13.9 percent of the workforce. However, they are more likely than older workers to be rehired after a period of unemployment.²⁵

Periods of long-term unemployment take a toll on the physical and mental health of workers as well as increasing their financial instability, as they exhaust savings and become more likely to have utilities shut off or to lose a home through foreclosure.²⁶

The true number of long-term unemployed is not completely captured by the unemployment rate. About 800,000 workers are currently considered “discouraged,” meaning they have stopped actively looking for a job and are no longer counted in the unemployment rate (but would accept a job if one was available.)²⁷

Although the unemployment rate overall is slowly decreasing as the economy begins to recover, many long-term unemployed workers will likely struggle to find jobs in the near future as this group is generally the last to be re-hired after a recession.²⁸ Studies show that long-term unemployment is caused by a lack of demand for labor – and thus a shortage of jobs – and is not caused by a mismatch of employer needs and worker skills or the presence of unemployment benefits and other social safety net programs.²⁹

Innovative Worker Organizing Models

The changing structure of low-wage work has long term implications for organizing. Traditionally, the collective bargaining model focuses on a particular group of workers in the same geographic workplace over a period of time. However, today's workers don't necessarily stay at one workplace long-term. The direct management might not be at the top of the supply chain with real control to determine wages, and the complexity of work arrangements makes enforcement difficult. Contractors or sub-contractors who are the targets of organizing drives often shutdown temporarily, opening back up under another name or at a separate location.³⁰ A new approach is emerging across the country, with innovative organizing that has adapted to the changing structure of low-wage work.

Worker Centers & Wage Theft Campaigns

Worker centers began forming in immigrant and Black communities in the 1970s and 1980s to deal with workplace related issues, with a new wave of centers opening in the 2000s.³¹ These centers are generally community based and provide direct services to workers such as helping them file complaints through state and federal agencies. Many groups who have a worker center style organizing model focus their efforts on wage theft by assisting workers in recouping back wages from employers and fighting for increased enforcement.

Several NPA affiliates currently house workers centers, including Sunflower Community Action in Kansas, and Fuerza Laboral in Rhode Island. The organizing model that is emerging from more than two decades of worker center organizing combines worker organizing with a statewide power approach, bringing workers into relationship with constituencies that can together contest for power at the municipal, county and state level.

Community and Labor Partnerships

Many unions are looking to adapt their strategies in response to current work structures and relationships. Often this involves partnerships with community organizing groups, presenting opportunities to form alliances. Around the country, unions, workers' centers, and community organizations are experimenting with new organizing models. Some continue to use a collective bargaining strategy, but through partnerships with unions and community organizations. Community/labor collaborations are developing in particular in the care, hospitality, and construction industries.³⁴

Non-collective Bargaining Strategies

Collective bargaining itself has become a limited strategy both because of the erosion of collective bargaining rights, and the more transitory and decentralized nature of low-wage work. Many low-wage workers, such as contract, temporary, domestic or agriculture workers, do not have formal collective bargaining rights. In response, some groups are developing strategies outside of the collective bargaining framework, moving negotiations up from the direct employer level to a geographic area, the top of the supply chain, or city or state government.

Recommendations

Taking into consideration the shifting nature of low-wage work, the lessons learned from innovative worker organizing experiments, and NPA's strengths, we recommend the following steps to advance new organizing with low-wage workers. By bringing new constituencies into their organizations, this new organizing will strengthen the state level power building strategies of affiliates. Expanded worker organizing is an essential part of long-term efforts in each state to build enough power to shift control of government from corporations and the very wealthy to workers, the middle class and the public. As statewide organizations and alliances build power with workers, we will generate the power to win on jobs and worker justice at the national level.

Build Local Power By Growing a New Membership Base

Support Affiliates to Organize New Sectors of Workers

Individual affiliates should begin organizing efforts by focusing on specific constituencies of workers to build a new base of members, expanding their power and ability to move issues on the state level and address issues related to that workforce. Affiliates could focus on specific industries or occupations or on low-wage workers in general, reinforcing a common identity as contingent, excluded, or long-term unemployed workers. This new base of members could be engaged in campaigns directly related to their employment, or on non-workplace issues that impact low-wage workers. These additional issues include municipal, county and statewide public policies like raising the minimum wage, corporate tax transparency and corporate tax reform that insures that corporations and the wealthy pay their fair share, rethinking and rebuilding the safety net, and more. NPA sees a direct connection between organizing works at scale in new ways and changing public policy.

Strengthen Alliances & Innovate

Coordinate With Allies to Develop New Worker Organizing Models

By coordinating efforts with other community organizing networks, excluded worker organizations, and labor organizations, NPA can play a significant and strategic role in advancing the worker justice movement. NPA has affiliates in areas such as the Midwest and Heartland, and could bring an important new base to the worker justice movement and new energy to organized labor. NPA is engaged with the National Domestic Workers Alliance, National Guestworkers Alliance, and Jobs With Justice in a dialogue about how to move forward with new models of worker organizing nationally and is mapping where labor allies overlap geographically with NPA affiliates in order to connect at the local and state levels.

Bring NPA's Direct Action Organizing Expertise to the Worker Justice Movement

National Campaigns Targeting Particular Employers or Industries

NPA has a strong reputation for effective direct action that results in public and corporate policy change. Bringing these skills and tactics to the worker justice movement, NPA could convince particular employers or industries to change their business practices by pressuring them directly or the banks that provide their financing.

Appendix A: Data and Methodology

The 2012 Wage and Hour Investigative Support and Reporting Database (WHISARD) database from the Federal Department of Labor was used to find the employers and industries with the most federal wage and hour violations and back wages paid. OSHA data was used to find the employers and industries with the most health and safety violations, and employer names and addresses were retrieved by looking up individual inspection numbers through the OSHA website. While these were useful sources for identifying employers and industries with recorded Federal violations, it is by no means a complete picture. The Federal Department of Labor is not the only avenue through which employees seek to resolve workplace issues and report labor law violations. They also file complaints with local or state agencies, take their employers to court, or organize collectively and negotiate directly with their employer. As a result, the federal data provided represents only one portion of total violations. Additionally, data was not available on the number of workers each business employs, making it impossible to calculate a per-worker violation rate. This means that a large company with a low per-employee violation rate could appear higher up on the list of worst offenders than a small company with a high per-employee violation rate.

Demographic and economic information about low-wage workers is generated from the Current Population Survey (CPS), a monthly survey conducted by the Census Bureau. The 2011 Merged Outgoing Rotation Groups dataset was downloaded from the National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER) and includes those surveys which asked earnings related information for each month of the year. The analysis includes all non-self employed workers for pay between 25 and 65 years of age. A low-wage worker is defined as earning less than \$11.90 an hour, which is two thirds of the median wage. A poverty wage worker is defined as earning less than \$10.75, which is the hourly wage necessary to meet the 2011 poverty threshold for a household of four, working full time (40 hours a week) year round (52 weeks).

The data used in this analysis can be explored further through an interactive website created with Tableau Public. Access the report website at <http://npa-us.org/futureofwork>.

Appendix B: Low-Wage Work in NPA Affiliate States

Iowa

NPA Affiliate: Iowa Citizens for Community Improvement

Statewide organization with campaigns including farming and the environment, immigrant rights, a fair economy, and clean elections. In the past year, Iowa CCI has recovered over \$30,000 in back-wages through worker organizing.

	Low-wage workers	All other workers
Union member***	5.1%	15.1%
Covered by a union***	6.3%	18.3%
Latino***	6.6%	3.3%
White***	91.0%	96.0%
Black***	3.4%	1.6%
Asian	2.4%	1.6%
Female***	61.1%	45.7%
Non-citizen***	6.7%	2.9%
Foreign born***	9.3%	5.7%
Veteran**	5.4%	8.0%
Metropolitan area***	54.8%	63.6%
Less than high school***	11.6%	3.6%
High school graduate***	38.4%	27.6%
Some college**	37.2%	32.6%
Bachelor's degree***	10.6%	24.1%

Stars indicate that the difference between the two groups is significant at the ten percent (*), five percent (**), and one percent (***) confidence levels.

Unemployment rate ³⁷	5.1%
Average wage	\$19.15
% of jobs that are low-wage	24.8%
% of jobs that are poverty-wage	20.0%

Industries that Employ the Most Low-wage Workers

1. Retail trade	19.3%
2. Food services and drinking places	11.6%
3. Health care services , except hospitals	9.1%
4. Educational services	7.6%
5. Administrative and support services	6.3%
6. Social assistance	4.9%
7. Hospitals	4.0%
8. Transportation and warehousing	3.3%
9. Wholesale trade	2.9%
10. Food manufacturing	2.7%

Employers with the Most Wage and Hour Violations

	Employer	Industry	Violations	Backwages
1	T Bell Detasseling LLC	Farm Labor Contractors and Crew Leaders	1413	\$0
2	Applebee's	Full-Service Restaurants	765	\$194,550
3	Osceola Foods/Hormel Foods Corporation	Meat Processed from Carcasses	715	\$102,288
4	EDS - Electronic Data Systems Corp.	Other Computer Related Services	587	\$107,060
5	Oakland Foods	Perishable Prepared Food Manufacturing	352	\$20,465
6	Nuckolls Concrete Services, Inc./ Oldcastle Materials	Highway, Street, and Bridge Construction	280	\$230,190
7	Care Initiatives	Nursing Care Facilities	276	\$20,865
8	Sioux-Preme Packing Co.	Animal (except Poultry) Slaughtering	271	\$19,160
9	Ameristar Casino Council Bluffs, Inc	Gambling Industries	221	\$192
10	REM Iowa Developmental Services	Vocational Rehabilitation Services	216	\$21,972

NPA Affiliate: Sunflower Community Action

Statewide organization with campaigns on immigrant rights, worker justice, education, and fair lending. Won more than \$1,000,000 in awards for victims of wage theft and wrongful injury since 2009 and served as catalyst for a bill in the Kansas legislature that would create more incentive for employers to treat workers fairly.

	Low-wage workers	All other workers
Union member***	2.8%	10.9%
Covered by a union***	4.0%	14.1%
Latino***	15.1%	4.2%
White**	86.5%	90.2%
Black**	7.8%	5.0%
Asian*	3.8%	2.2%
Female***	61.0%	45.8%
Non-citizen***	11.9%	2.9%
Foreign born***	16.5%	6.8%
Veteran	7.2%	8.4%
Metropolitan area***	56.1%	68.7%
Less than high school***	14.3%	2.9%
High school graduate***	35.8%	19.1%
Some college**	34.2%	29.4%
Bachelor's degree***	11.3%	29.9%

Stars indicate that the difference between the two groups is significant at the ten percent (*), five percent (**), and one percent (***) confidence levels.

Unemployment rate	5.7%
Average wage	\$18.65
% of jobs that are low-wage	24.1%
% of jobs that are poverty-wage	19.0%

Industries that Employ the Most Low-wage Workers

1. Retail trade	15.7%
2. Food services and drinking places	11.7%
3. Health care services , except hospitals	9.5%
4. Educational services	9.1%
5. Administrative and support services	5.0%
6. Social assistance	4.2%
7. Construction	3.8%
8. Hospitals	3.8%
9. Transportation and warehousing	3.2%
10. Public Administration	2.8%

Employers with the Most Wage and Hour Violations

	Employer	Industry	Violations	Backwages
1	American Eagle Outfitters, Inc.	Clothing Stores	2007	\$118,111
2	National Health Care Discount	Telemarketing Bureaus and Other Contact Centers	1239	\$90,868
3	AVP	Parking Lots and Garages	1155	\$221,317
4	Q.C. Financial Services	Consumer Lending	785	\$126,136
5	Olathe Medical Center	General Medical and Surgical Hospitals	723	\$106,382
6	Quick Cash	Consumer Lending	644	\$392,952
7	Ree's Contract Service, Incorporated	Security Guards and Patrol Services	529	\$35,855
8	Seaborn Healthcare, Inc	Pharmacies and Drug Stores	485	\$779,542
9	Sonic	Limited-Service Restaurants	433	\$25,636
10	IHOP	Full-Service Restaurants	394	\$84,019

Michigan

NPA Affiliate: Michigan United

Statewide coalition of community, labor, and faith organizations working towards immigration reform, affordable housing preservation, foreclosure prevention, and economic and environmental justice.

	Low-wage workers	All other workers
Union member***	10.9%	22.1%
Covered by a union***	11.9%	23.0%
Latino***	5.9%	2.8%
White***	78.3%	86.9%
Black***	15.4%	8.1%
Asian	3.0%	3.6%
Female***	65.7%	45.6%
Non-citizen***	6.7%	3.4%
Foreign born***	12.9%	8.7%
Veteran***	2.4%	6.4%
Metropolitan area***	81.0%	85.9%
Less than high school***	12.1%	2.3%
High school graduate***	39.0%	25.6%
Some college	33.4%	30.3%
Bachelor's degree***	11.7%	24.6%

Stars indicate that the difference between the two groups is significant at the ten percent (*), five percent (**), and one percent (***) confidence levels.

Unemployment rate	9.1%
Average wage	\$19.54
% of jobs that are low-wage	23.1%
% of jobs that are poverty-wage	20.0%

Industries that Employ the Most Low-wage Workers

1. Retail trade	20.0%
2. Food services and drinking places	11.4%
3. Health care services , except hospitals	8.7%
4. Educational services	7.0%
5. Administrative and support services	5.7%
6. Transportation equipment manuf.	4.9%
7. Social assistance	4.7%
8. Hospitals	4.6%
9. Agriculture	3.1%
10. Construction	2.4%

Employers with the Most Wage and Hour Violations

	Employer	Industry	Violations	Backwages
1	Mount Clemens General Hospital	General Medical and Surgical Hospitals	2083	\$907,247
2	Ruby Tuesday	Full-Service Restaurants	1885	\$65,201
3	Corporate Security Solutions	Security Guards and Patrol Services	1513	\$431,407
4	Android Industries, L.L.C.	Automobile and Light Duty Motor Vehicle Manufacturing	1447	\$168,783
5	Double JJ Resort Ranch	Hotels (except Casino Hotels) and Motels	898	\$299,000
6	Ryan Regional Correctional Facility	State Correctional Institutions	720	\$51,073
7	Progressive Security	Security Guards and Patrol Services	578	\$44,092
8	Big Boy	Full-Service Restaurants	576	\$22,629
9	Knight Protective Service	Security Guards and Patrol Services	542	\$458,148
10	Main St. Pub	Limited-Service Restaurants	520	\$36,265

NPA Affiliate: TakeAction Minnesota

Statewide organization with over 26 community, faith, and labor member organizations working towards social, racial, and economic justice.

	Low-wage workers	All other workers
Union member***	5.7%	20.0%
Covered by a union***	6.0%	20.9%
Latino***	9.8%	2.8%
White***	85.6%	92.7%
Black***	8.3%	3.8%
Asian**	4.3%	2.6%
Female***	60.2%	48.6%
Non-citizen***	10.1%	2.9%
Foreign born***	15.9%	7.4%
Veteran**	3.1%	6.3%
Metropolitan area***	68.0%	75.9%
Less than high school***	14.9%	1.8%
High school graduate***	31.5%	18.1%
Some college	35.4%	33.9%
Bachelor's degree***	15.6%	32.0%

Stars indicate that the difference between the two groups is significant at the ten percent (*), five percent (**), and one percent (***) confidence levels.

Unemployment rate	5.8%
Average wage	\$21.31
% of jobs that are low-wage	17.7%
% of jobs that are poverty-wage	13.9%

Industries that Employ the Most Low-wage Workers

1. Retail trade	15.6%
2. Food services and drinking places	13.9%
3. Health care services , except hospitals	10.3%
4. Educational services	6.7%
5. Administrative and support services	6.0%
6. Transportation and warehousing	3.4%
7. Social assistance	3.4%
8. Food manufacturing	3.2%
9. Agriculture	2.9%
10. Arts, entertainment, and recreation	2.6%

Employers with the Most Wage and Hour Violations

	Employer	Industry	Violations	Backwages
1	Hennepin County Medical Center	General Medical and Surgical Hospitals	974	\$128,973
2	SuMik Transfer	Specialized Freight (except Used Goods) Trucking, Long-Distance	489	\$46,847
3	U.S. Bank	Monetary Authorities-Central Bank	465	\$140,788
4	Quicksilver Express Courier, Inc	Local Messengers and Local Delivery	460	\$197,320
5	National Floor Maintenance	Janitorial Services	435	\$152,312
6	DECO Security Services	Security Guards and Patrol Services	374	\$45,558
7	Russ Davis Wholesale	General Line Grocery Merchant Wholesalers	313	\$21,479
8	Financial Recovery Services	Collection Agencies	299	\$133,209
9	General Security Services Corporation (GSSC)	Security Guards and Patrol Services	295	\$182,109
10	Cyclone Communications	Cable and Other Program Distribution	256	\$22,697

Missouri

NPA Affiliate: GrassRoots Organizing (GRO)

Statewide organization with campaigns on health care, worker's rights, utilities, and housing reforms.

	Low-wage workers	All other workers
Union member***	5.7%	13.6%
Covered by a union***	6.5%	15.6%
Latino***	4.4%	2.1%
White***	82.1%	90.3%
Black***	13.2%	7.3%
Asian	1.9%	1.4%
Female***	64.3%	46.6%
Non-citizen***	5.3%	1.8%
Foreign born**	6.9%	4.3%
Veteran**	5.0%	7.8%
Metropolitan area***	73.1%	84.2%
Less than high school***	18.3%	3.1%
High school graduate***	36.6%	27.3%
Some college	32.6%	29.5%
Bachelor's degree***	9.2%	23.7%

Stars indicate that the difference between the two groups is significant at the ten percent (*), five percent (**), and one percent (***) confidence levels.

Unemployment rate	6.9%
Average wage	\$18.72
% of jobs that are low-wage	22.6%
% of jobs that are poverty-wage	18.5%

Industries that Employ the Most Low-wage Workers

1. Retail trade	19.5%
2. Health care services , except hospitals	11.8%
3. Food services and drinking places	8.8%
4. Administrative and support services	8.0%
5. Educational services	5.3%
6. Hospitals	4.0%
7. Social assistance	4.0%
8. Transportation and warehousing	3.8%
9. Construction	3.6%
10. Public Administration	2.9%

Employers with the Most Wage and Hour Violations

	Employer	Industry	Violations	Backwages
1	SSM Health Care - St. Louis	General Medical and Surgical Hospitals	4015	\$1,738,133
2	George's Processing, Inc	Broilers and Other Meat Type Chicken Production	3148	\$1,245,257
3	Accent	Telephone Call Centers	1361	\$234,178
4	St. Anthony's Medical Center	General Medical and Surgical Hospitals	1132	\$292,403
5	Liberty Hospital	General Medical and Surgical Hospitals	1037	\$282,167
6	Client Services	Collection Agencies	926	\$230,397
7	ThyssenKrupp Stahl Company	Aluminum Extruded Product Manufacturing	735	\$75,572
8	Premium Retail Services	All Other General Merchandise Stores	703	\$240,014
9	Convergys	Telephone Call Centers	676	\$47,685
10	Bellefontaine Habilitation Center	State Group Homes for Mentally and Physically Handicapped	673	\$392,125

NPA Affiliates:

Community Voices Heard (CVH) is in NYC, Westchester County and the Hudson Valley, with campaigns on welfare and workforce development, public housing, sustainable communities, and participatory budgeting. **VOCAL-NY** builds power among people affected by HIV/AIDS, drug use and mass incarceration to create healthy and just communities.

PUSH Buffalo is a local membership-based community organization fighting to make affordable housing a reality on Buffalo’s West Side.

	Low-wage workers	All other workers
Union member***	17.3%	29.0%
Covered by a union***	18.6%	31.4%
Latino***	22.6%	12.2%
White***	69.5%	78.2%
Black***	19.5%	13.3%
Asian**	9.3%	7.6%
Female***	58.5%	47.9%
Non-citizen***	22.0%	9.3%
Foreign born***	39.7%	24.2%
Veteran***	2.9%	4.7%
Metropolitan area***	89.8%	92.7%
Less than high school***	18.8%	3.8%
High school graduate***	39.1%	23.9%
Some college	25.8%	24.0%
Bachelor’s degree***	12.2%	27.3%

Stars indicate that the difference between the two groups is significant at the ten percent (*), five percent (**), and one percent (***) confidence levels.

Unemployment rate	8.7%
Average wage	\$22.04
% of jobs that are low-wage	20.4%
% of jobs that are poverty-wage	19.2%

Industries that Employ the Most Low-wage Workers

1. Retail trade	15.9%
2. Food services and drinking places	11.6%
3. Health care services , except hospitals	8.9%
4. Educational services	7.1%
5. Social assistance	6.0%
6. Transportation and warehousing	5.5%
7. Administrative and support services	5.3%
8. Hospitals	4.1%
9. Personal and laundry services	4.0%
10. Public Administration	3.3%

Employers with the Most Wage and Hour Violations

	Employer	Industry	Violations	Backwages
1	Cablevision	Cable and Other Subscription Programming	2387	\$400,999
2	Unity Hospital	General Medical and Surgical Hospitals	1545	\$684,309
3	Washington Mutual Bank	Other Depository Credit Intermediation	1352	\$404,983
4	Frontier Telephone	Wired Telecommunications Carriers	1240	\$386,836
5	Erie County Medical Center	Local Hospitals	1194	\$335,169
6	Global Home Loans & Finance, Inc.	Mortgage and Nonmortgage Loan Brokers	1098	\$660,630
7	Rochester General Hospital	General Medical and Surgical Hospitals	1089	\$882,824
8	Tara Cares	Nursing Care Facilities	948	\$81,299
9	Dunkin Donuts	Limited-Service Restaurants	890	\$645,121
10	The Resource Center	Residential Mental Retardation Facilities	884	\$186,920

Ohio

NPA Affiliates:

AMOS Project is a federation of congregations in greater Cincinnati.

Mahoning Valley Organizing Collaborative is a broad-based organization in Ohio's Mahoning, Trumbull and Columbiana Counties.

Northeast Ohio Alliance for Hope (NOAH) is a broad-based community organization in East Cleveland that unites area residents, block clubs, churches, social service agencies, and nonprofits.

Communities United for Action (CUFA) is a city-wide, multi-issue community organization, which brings together organizations and communities across Cincinnati.

	Low-wage workers	All other workers
Union member***	6.4%	18.1%
Covered by a union***	7.1%	19.6%
Latino***	6.4%	1.8%
White***	83.2%	89.5%
Black***	13.6%	8.1%
Asian	1.5%	1.4%
Female***	60.7%	46.1%
Non-citizen***	6.5%	1.2%
Foreign born***	9.3%	3.6%
Veteran**	5.4%	7.4%
Metropolitan area***	72.5%	78.3%
Less than high school***	13.5%	2.9%
High school graduate***	42.9%	33.3%
Some college**	32.1%	28.2%
Bachelor's degree***	8.0%	22.2%

Stars indicate that the difference between the two groups is significant at the ten percent (*), five percent (**), and one percent (***) confidence levels.

Unemployment rate	9.1%
Average wage	\$19.54
% of jobs that are low-wage	24.2%
% of jobs that are poverty-wage	19.9%

Industries that Employ the Most Low-wage Workers

1. Retail trade	18.8%
2. Food services and drinking places	12.4%
3. Health care services , except hospitals	8.6%
4. Administrative and support services	6.6%
5. Educational services	6.6%
6. Hospitals	3.7%
7. Social assistance	3.5%
8. Transportation and warehousing	3.4%
9. Professional and Technical services	3.1%
10. Construction	2.8%

Employers with the Most Wage and Hour Violations

	Employer	Industry	Violations	Backwages
1	DCS Sanitation Management, Inc.	Administrative and support services	1212	\$67,919
2	Commonwealth Industries, Inc.	Wholesale trade	957	\$580,326
3	Cable Express	Broadcasting (except internet)	948	\$990,523
4	Papa John's Pizza	Food services and drinking places	871	\$24,101
5	Teleperformance USA	Administrative and support services	849	\$226,132
6	Win Wholesale, Inc.	Wholesale trade	839	\$1,557,933
7	Metropark	Retail trade	800	\$118,389
8	Freight Handlers, Inc.	Transportation and warehousing	788	\$508,214
9	Champion Windows	Primary metals and fabricated metal products	715	\$717,138
10	The Davey Tree Expert Company	Administrative and support services	678	\$44,319

NPA Affiliate: Fuerza Laboral

A worker organization with campaigns against wage theft, defending injured workers, and for immigration reform. Has recovered almost \$1 million in back wages since 2006 and passed legislation limiting temp agency abuses and protecting workers from wage theft.

	Low-wage workers	All other workers
Union member***	8.1%	23.0%
Covered by a union***	8.3%	23.6%
Latino***	17.9%	6.1%
White***	83.2%	92.0%
Black***	11.1%	4.0%
Asian	3.9%	3.0%
Female***	63.5%	50.8%
Non-citizen***	14.6%	4.3%
Foreign born***	28.4%	12.6%
Veteran***	2.4%	6.3%
Metropolitan area	100.0%	100.0%
Less than high school***	20.1%	5.4%
High school graduate***	34.3%	22.5%
Some college	26.9%	25.5%
Bachelor's degree***	15.1%	28.6%

Stars indicate that the difference between the two groups is significant at the ten percent (*), five percent (**), and one percent (***) confidence levels.

Unemployment rate	10.4%
Average wage	\$20.91
% of jobs that are low-wage	19.5%
% of jobs that are poverty-wage	16.0%

Industries that Employ the Most Low-wage Workers

1. Retail trade	18.3%
2. Food services and drinking places	12.7%
3. Health care services , except hospitals	11.4%
4. Administrative and support services	7.2%
5. Educational services	7.0%
6. Hospitals	3.7%
7. Social assistance	3.7%
8. Personal and laundry services	3.7%
9. Miscellaneous manufacturing	3.3%
10. Construction	2.8%

Employers with the Most Wage and Hour Violations

	Employer	Industry	Violations	Backwages
1	Memorial Hospital of Rhode Island	General Medical and Surgical Hospitals	590	\$166,202
2	American Power Conversion	All Other Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services	354	\$240,304
3	Heritage Healthcare Services, Inc.	Nursing Care Facilities	292	\$3,540
4	Elmhurst Extended Care Facility, Inc.	Nursing Care Facilities	270	\$236,739
5	CRG Sevices, Inc.	Recyclable Material Merchant Wholesalers	240	\$70,000
6	St. Antoine Residence	Nursing Care Facilities	226	\$66,893
7	Ballard's Inn	Full-Service Restaurants	225	\$103,825
8	Cortland Place Health Care Center	Nursing Care Facilities	213	\$107,067
9	A Plus Asbestos Abatement Contractor, Inc.	All Other Specialty Trade Contractors	196	\$74,941
10	SCG	Investigation, Guard, and Armored Car Services	183	\$110,755

Endnotes

¹ Interview with Cathy Ruckelshaus, National Employment Law Project, June 29, 2012.

² United Workers Congress. <http://www.excludedworkers.org/about/background>

³ Shierholz, Heidi and Elise Gould. "The compensation penalty of "right-to-work" laws." Economic Policy Institute. February 17, 2011. <http://www.epi.org/publication/bp299/>.

⁴ National Employment Law Project. "The Low-Wage Recovery and Growing Inequality." August 2012.

⁵ National Employment Law Project. "Big Business, Corporate Profits, and the Minimum Wage." July 2012.

⁶ Current Population Survey, 2011 Merged Outgoing Rotation Group File, NBER. For each characteristic in this section, the difference between low-wage workers and other workers is statistically significant at the one percent confidence level.

⁷ Bureau of Labor Statistics. "Occupations with the largest job growth." http://www.bls.gov/emp/ep_table_104.htm. and Bureau of Labor Statistics. "Industry employment and output projections to 2020." www.bls.gov/opub/mlr/2012/01/art4full.pdf.

⁸ Current Population Survey, 2011 Merged Outgoing Rotation Group File, NBER, is used for all calculations in this section involving average industry wage, proportion of workers in each industry, proportion of workers who earn low or poverty wages, and most common occupations. As described in the Appendix A: Data and Methodology section, the dataset includes only workers between 25 and 65 who are not self-employed. The 2012 Wage and Hour Investigative Support and Reporting Database (WHISARD) is used to calculate the number of labor law violations per industry.

⁹ Loprest, Pamela and Josh Mitchell. "Labor Market and Demographic Analysis: A National Picture of Short-term Employment Growth by Skill." *Urban Institute*. May 2012.

¹⁰ Greenhouse, Steven. "Wal-mart Labor Protests Grow, Organizers Say." *New York Times*. October 9, 2012. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/10/business/organizers-say-wal-mart-labor-protests-spread.html?ref=walmartstoresinc&r=0>.

¹¹ Here I list the most common occupations of low-wage workers in the industry, or who earn less than \$11.90 an hour. Some individuals may have the same occupation, but work in different industries. Cashiers appear in both "Retail" and "Food Services" and child care workers appear in "Educational Services" and "Social Assistance." In these cases, the individuals are not double counted, but are classified into different industries according to their type of employer. For example, a child care worker employed by a school might be classified under Educational Services, while a child care worker employed by a non-profit organization might be classified under Social Assistance.

¹² Greenhouse, Steve. "In Drive to Unionize, Fast Food Workers Walk Off the Job." *New York Times*. November 28, 2012. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/11/29/nyregion/drive-to-unionize-fast-food-workers-opens-in-ny.html>

¹³ <http://tv.msnbc.com/2013/09/02/can-the-fast-food-strikes-revive-american-labor-unions/>

¹⁴ Loprest, Pamela and Josh Mitchell. "Labor Market and Demographic Analysis: A National Picture of Short-term Employment Growth by Skill." *Urban Institute*. May 2012.

¹⁵ Loprest, Pamela and Josh Mitchell. "Labor Market and Demographic Analysis: A National Picture of Short-term Employment Growth by Skill." *Urban Institute*. May 2012.

¹⁶ Medina, Jennifer. "As California Warehouses Grow, Labor Issues are a Concern." *New York Times*. July 22, 2012. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/23/us/in-california-warehouse-industry-is-expanding.html?pagewanted=all>

¹⁷ "Employment Arrangements: Improved Outreach Could Help Ensure Proper Worker Classification." United States Government Accountability Office, Report to the Ranking Minority Member, Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions, US Senate, July 2006.

¹⁸ This supplement has not been conducted since 2005, making it difficult to know if this trend has continued, or if the proportion of contingent workers is growing. Also, some types of contingent workers are more difficult to estimate than others. For example, contracted workers seem to be significantly underestimated because workers often do not know that they are contracted out, or it is unclear who the work is ultimately being done for.

¹⁹ “Employment Arrangements: Improved Outreach Could Help Ensure Proper Worker Classification.” United States Government Accountability Office, Report to the Ranking Minority Member, Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions, US Senate, July 2006, and Matthew Dey, Susan Houseman, and Anne Polivka. “What Do We Know About Contracting Out in the United States? Evidence from Household and Establishment Surveys.” *Labor in the New Economy*. University of Chicago Press, 2010.

²⁰ Dey, Matthew, Susan Houseman, and Anne Polivka. “What Do We Know About Contracting Out in the United States? Evidence from Household and Establishment Surveys.” *Labor in the New Economy*. University of Chicago Press, 2010.

²¹ Henderson, Richard, “Industry employment and output projections to 2020,” *Monthly Labor Review*, January 2012.

²² “Chain of Greed: How Walmart’s Domestic Outsourcing Produces Everyday Low Wages and Poor Working Conditions for Warehouse Workers.” *National Employment Law Project*, June 2012.

²³ Bureau of Labor Statistics. July 2013. <http://www.bls.gov/news.release/empsit.nr0.htm>

²⁴ The State of Working America. *Economic Policy Institute*, 2012. www.stateofworkingamerica.org

²⁵ Ilg, Randy, “Long-term unemployment experience of the jobless.” *Issues in Labor Statistics*. June 2010. http://www.bls.gov/opub/ils/summary_10_05/long_term_unemployment.htm

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³⁰ Interview with Cathy Ruckelshaus, *National Employment Law Center*, June 29, 2012.

³¹ Fine, Janice. *Worker Centers: Organizing Communities at the Edge of the Dream*. Cornell University Press, 2006.

³² Interview with Andrew Friedman, Center for Popular Democracy, formerly at Make the Road New York, August 9, 2012.

³³ Interview with Justin McBride, director of the CLEAN Carwash campaign, September 13, 2012, and www.cleancarwashla.org/

³⁴ Interview with Harmony Goldberg, June 14, 2012.

³⁵ www.domesticworkers.org

³⁶ Interview with Sarita Gupta, Jobs with Justice, August 6, 2012.

³⁷ All state unemployment statistics are from Bureau of Labor Statistics, October 2012. <http://www.bls.gov/ro1/unempne.htm> or http://www.bls.gov/xg_shells/ro5xg02.htm#rate.