

# Teacher Unionization and Student Academic Performance: Will the Weakening of Teachers' Unions Harm the Middle Class and Intensify Inequality?

Eunice Han and Thomas N. Maloney Department of Economics, University of Utah

Prepared for the Federal Reserve System Community Development Research Conference on "Renewing the Promise of the Middle Class," Washington, DC, May 9-10, 2019

## Direct Effects of Organized Labor on Inequality and the Middle Class

- Levy and Temin 2007 Declining unionism has contributed to reduced bargaining power and rising inequality.
- Farber et al 2018 Unions reduce inequality by raising relative wages of the less skilled.
- Freeman et al 2015 Children of union members experience more upward mobility than do children of non-union members.



## "Indirect Effects" of Teachers' Unions on Inequality and the Middle Class

- After the Supreme Court's decision on Janus vs. AFSCME (2018) and as other limitations on teachers' unions grow, what are the likely effects on educational outcomes of students?
- Might these effects vary by "class"?



### How Do Teachers' Unions Affect Student Outcomes?

- Positive Effects
  - Increasing resources, attracting and retaining good teachers through better pay and working conditions
  - Professional engagement and "voice" effects
- Negative Effects
  - Increasing costs, reducing flexibility



### Identifying "Class"-Specific Effects of Teachers' Unions on Student Outcomes

- Outcome Measure: District-level test score averages, grades 3-8, from Stanford Education Data Archive (SEDA), 2008-09 and 2012-13
- "Class" Measure: SES index from SEDA, based on district income, education, poverty, unemployment, female headship, and SNAP receipt indicators. Districts classed as high (top 25%), middle (middle 50%), and low (bottom 25%) SES

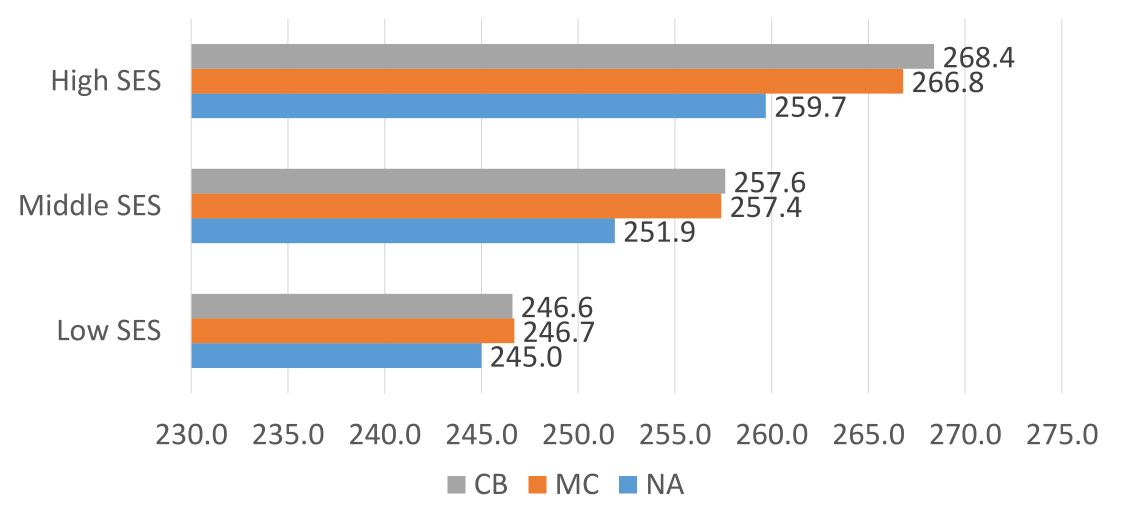


## Identifying "Class"-Specific Effects of Teachers' Unions on Student Outcomes (2)

- District-level measures of union presence from School and Staffing Survey (SASS). Three categories:
  - Collectively bargained contract in place (CB)
  - "Meet and Confer" agreement in place (MC)
  - Neither a CB nor a MC agreement in place (NA)

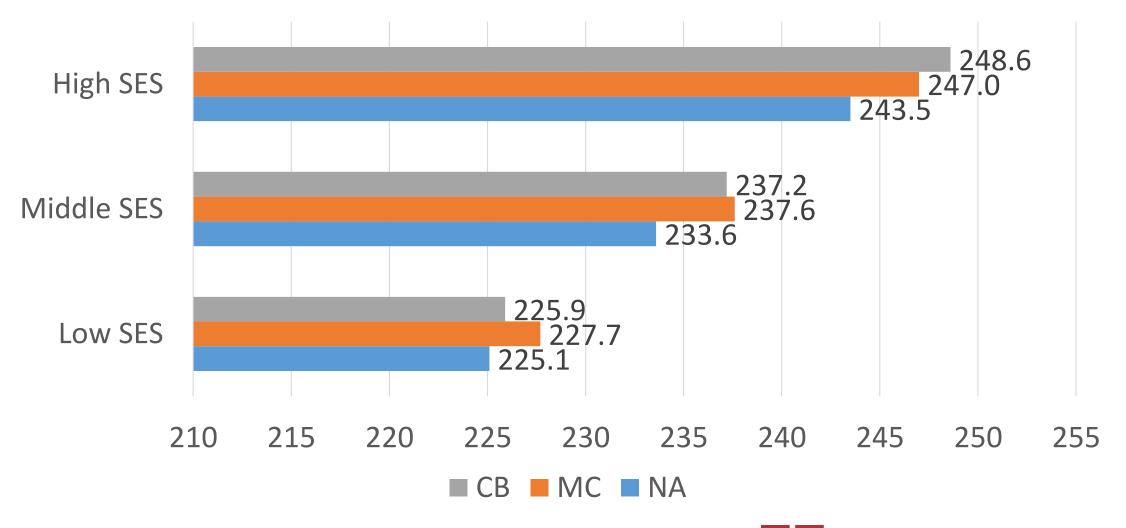


#### Math Scores by SES and Union Status





#### English Scores by SES and Union Status





#### Selected Characteristics of Districts by Class

	Low SES	Mid SES	High SES
% CB	44.9	63.3	74.6
% MC	10.1	12.7	12.0
% NA	45.0	24.0	13.4
Poverty Rate	28.0	13.5	5.1
Median HH Income	\$38,594	\$57,913	\$92,757
Unemployment Rate	6.1	4.3	3.1
Female Headship	35.3	22.2	14.7
% College Grads	16.2	21.9	40.0



#### Differences by Union Status Within Class

Within each SES class, CB and MC districts

- >Serve more white/fewer African American students
- ➤ Have higher revenue per pupil
- > Have fewer students on free/reduced price lunch programs

than do NA districts.



## After adjusting for school and community characteristics, we find

- CB status is associated with higher test scores for both Math and English in mid-SES districts, and MC status is associated with higher English scores in these districts.
- MC status may be associated with higher scores in low-SES districts (some 0 effects, some positive).
- CB and MC status are not associated with higher (or lower) scores in high-SES districts.



### How might we interpret our "class" and MC results?

- The marginal benefit of union presence may be smaller in districts that are otherwise well resourced.
- Teacher "voice/engagement" effects may be most visible where resources are not abundant but also not too scarce.



#### Implications?

- For research on unions:
  - Studies that don't account for positive union effects even in the absence of a formal contract may understate union impacts.
- For inequality, mobility, and the middle class:
  - ➤ Weakening teachers' unions may widen school achievement differentials between high- and middle or low-SES districts.
  - In the post-Janus era, it may be valuable to support institutional structures that provide teachers with voice and engagement even if formal union arrangements aren't achieved.

