

# The imperfect union: labor racketeering, corruption exposure, and its consequences

Miriam Venturini

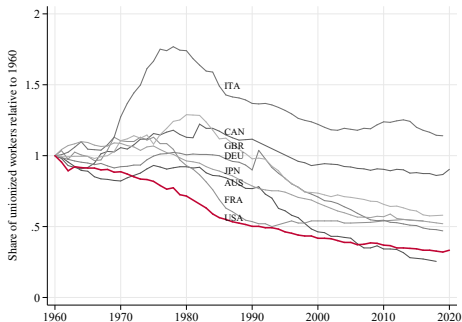
University of Zurich

August 29, 2023

- Exposing corruption
  - Institutions' reputation?

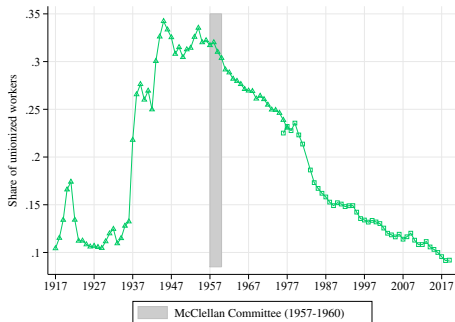
# Motivation

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  - Institutions' reputation?
- Unions in the US:
  - -63% decline in unionization (1960-2010)
  - already in the end of 1950s



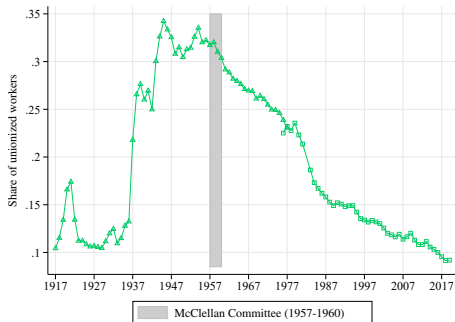
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  - already in the end of 1950s
  - What caused this decline?



- US Senate Investigative Committee: **McClellan Committee** (1957-1960)
  - corruption in US unions
  - large-scale shock [Gallup](#)

# Research question(s)

- Unions and politics:
  - mobilize workers/voters
  - campaign for workers' demands in public policy
- Did the McClellan investigation on corruption in US unions cause:
  - i Negative **reputation** shock?
  - ii Decline in **unionization**?
  - iii Lower **political mobilization**?
  - iv Lower ability to influence **public policy**?

Literature

- Labor racketeering
- McClellan Committee (1957-1960)
- Identifying variation
- Data
- Results DiD
  - News coverage
  - Unionization
  - Political mobilization
  - Policy-making
- Next steps

# Labor Racketeering

- Thefts and embezzlement:
  - membership fees
  - pension and welfare funds
- Extortion of employers by threatening:
  - strikes
  - picketing
  - workplace sabotage
- Bribes from employers to:
  - ignore terms of collective bargaining agreement (sweetheart deal)
  - prevent strikes (labor peace)
  - enforce employer cartels



# McClellan Committee (1957-1960)

Biggest national-level news shock about union corruption

news' graph

cloud

- Highly publicized
- Hearings on television
- US Senate Investigative Committee
- Landrum-Griffin Act (1959)



- Mainly investigated:
  - Teamsters
  - Bakery Workers Union
  - United Textile Workers
  - Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union
  - Transport Workers Union
  - International Longshoremen's Association

“A cancer that almost destroyed the American labor movement”

(D. Dubinsky)

## 1957 Committee's Report:

- The public has been seriously shaken by the Committee's revelations.
- Labor's stock and its influence has dipped sharply in both national and state legislative halls.
- Union organizing campaigns were postponed and the unions began to show poorer results in elections held by the NLRB.
- Push for Right-to-Work Laws (e.g. Indiana, California)

# Identifying variation(s)

## Hypothesis

McClellan Committee caused:

- unions' reputation ↓
- unionization ↓
- turnout in elections ↓
- pro-labor policy-making ↓

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  - b corrupted unions are located

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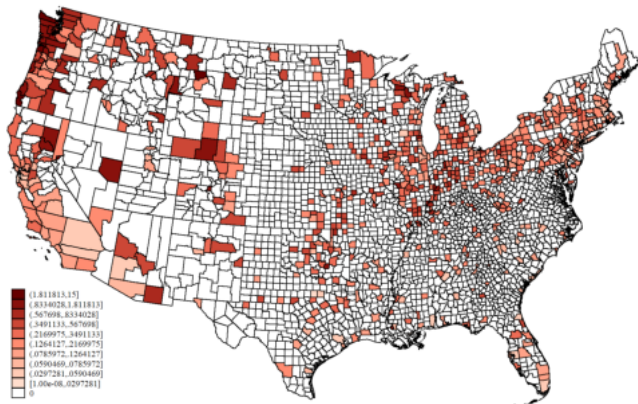
- unions' reputation ↓
- unionization ↓
- turnout in elections ↓
- pro-labor policy-making ↓

DiD: **big national shock to unions**

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- higher bite where:
  - a unions were initially stronger → bigger consequences
  - b corrupted unions are located → bigger or smaller consequences?

# Number of union locals in 1940 per 10k people

$$Y_{it} = \sum_t \beta_t \left( \frac{\text{Num locals}_{i,1940}}{10k \text{ people}_{i,1940}} \times \mathbb{1}[\text{year} = t] \right) + \alpha_i + \gamma_t + \varepsilon_{it} \quad (1)$$

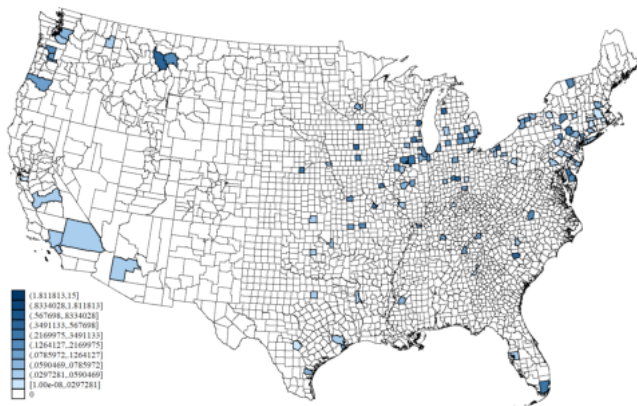


Data: Mapping American Social Movements Project (7 unions)

by union

# Number of investigated union locals per 10k people

$$Y_{it} = \sum_t \beta_t \left( \frac{\text{Num investigated locals}_i}{10k \text{ people}_{i;1950}} \times \mathbb{1}[\text{year} = t] \right) + \alpha_i + \gamma_t + \varepsilon_{it} \quad (2)$$



Data: McClellan Committee's reports

- **Investigations:**

- Investigated union locals from McClellan Committee's report

- **Union density (county level):**

- Mapping American Social Movements Project (1930s to 1949)
- Register of reporting labor organizations, U.S. Dep. of Labor (1960-90)
- NLRB certification elections (NLRB election reports, starting 1962)

- **News coverage and reputation:**

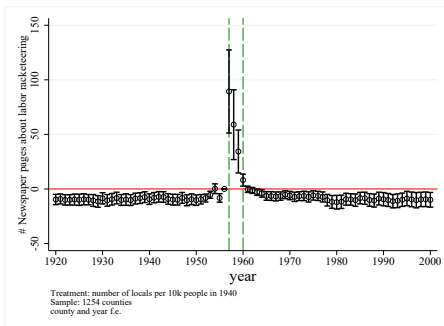
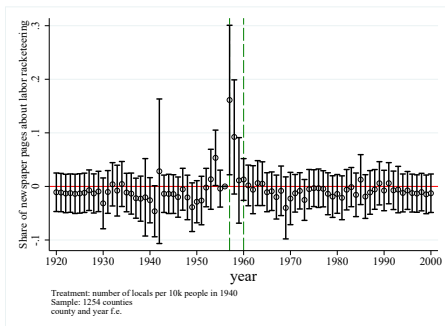
- Newspapers (newspaperarchive.com)

- **Political and policy outcomes:**

- Turnout
- Congress roll-call data
- Speeches of elected legislative members

# DiD (1) – News coverage

- **Treatment:** number of union locals per 10k people in 1940
- **Outcome:** share/number of newspaper pages on labor racketeering



[newspaperarchive.com](https://www.newspaperarchive.com)

controls

map

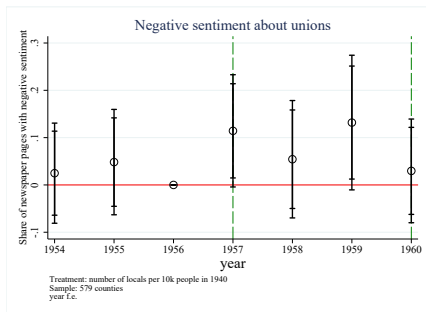
table

number

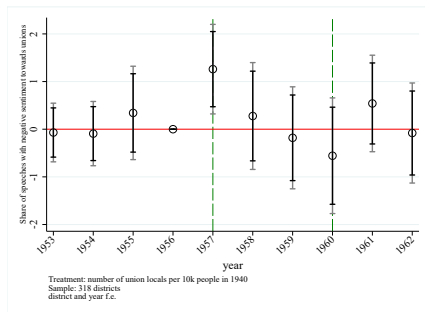
# Sentiment towards unions

- **Treatment:** number of union locals per 10k people in 1940
- **Outcome:**

Share of **newspaper pages** with negative sentiment towards unions



Share of **congresspersons' speeches** with negative sentiment towards unions



# Unionization (NLRB certification elections 1963)

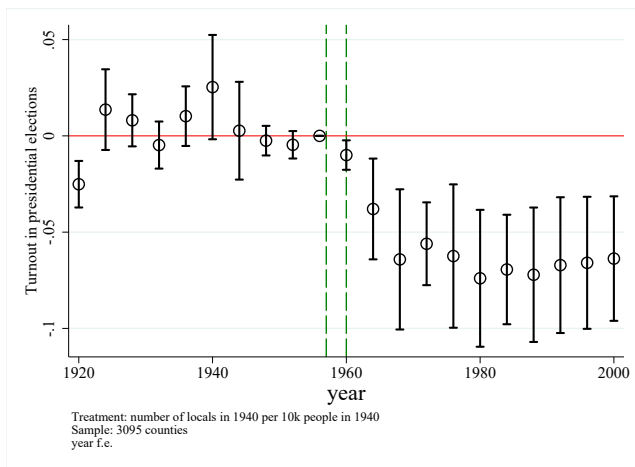
	Share of votes for union			Share of elections won		
	(1) News	(2) Unions 1940	(3) Interaction	(4) News	(5) Unions 1940	(6) Interaction
Share union news on racketeering	-0.222* [0.115]		-0.006 [0.185]	-0.226 [0.234]		0.262 [0.352]
Num. locals / 10k pop. 1940		-0.039* [0.022]	0.130 [0.191]		-0.120*** [0.035]	0.471 [0.338]
Share union news on racketeering × Num. locals / 10k pop. 1940			-1.127** [0.560]			-2.466** [0.934]
Mean Y	0.51	0.52	0.51	0.56	0.53	0.56
Counties (N)	83	202	83	83	202	83

Note: 7 unions

Number of elections

# DiD (1) – Political mobilization

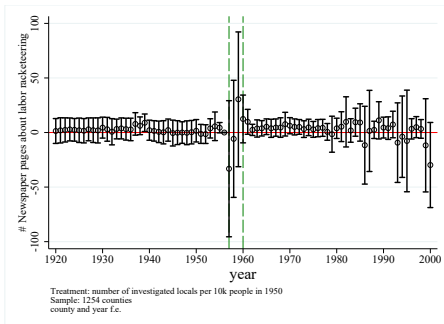
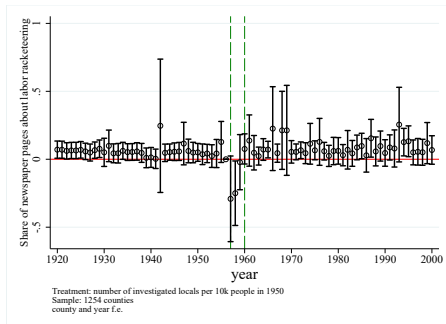
- **Treatment:** number of union locals per 10k people in 1940
- **Outcome:** turnout in presidential elections





# DiD (2) – News coverage

- **Treatment:** number of investigated locals per 10k people in 1950
- **Outcome:** share/number newspaper pages about labor racketeering



newspaperarchive.com

table

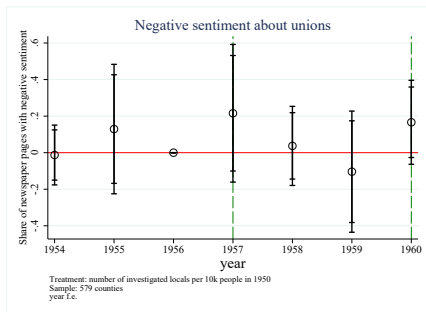
controls

number

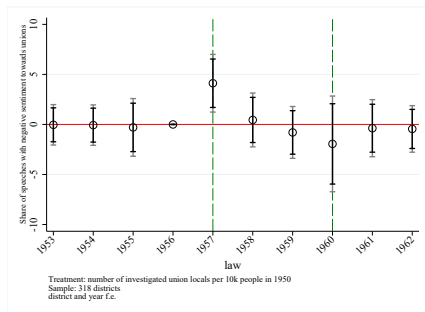
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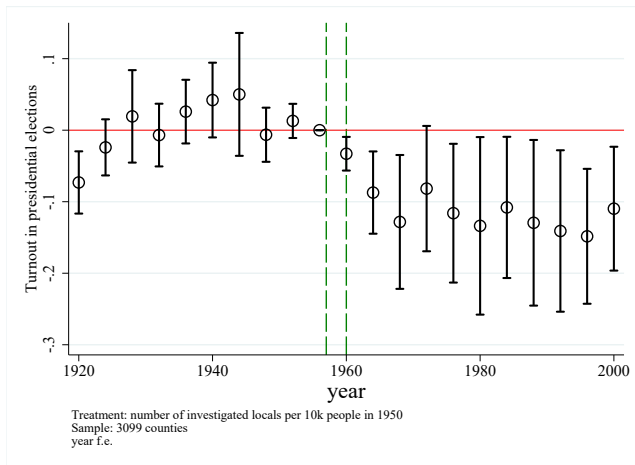
	Share of votes for union			Share of elections won		
	(1) News	(2) Unions 1940	(3) Interaction	(4) News	(5) Unions 1940	(6) Interaction
Share union news on racketeering	-0.082* [0.047]		-0.078 [0.049]	-0.129* [0.077]		-0.115 [0.082]
Investigated locals / 10k pop. 1950		-0.067 [0.111]	0.008 [0.152]		-0.023 [0.189]	0.166 [0.174]
Share union news on racketeering × Investigated locals / 10k pop. 1950			-0.371 [0.418]			-1.226* [0.742]
Mean Y	0.54	0.54	0.54	0.56	0.55	0.56
Counties (N)	374	1137	374	374	1137	374

Note: all unions

Number of elections

## DiD (2) – Political mobilization

- **Treatment:** number of investigated locals per 10k people in 1950
- **Outcome:** turnout in presidential elections



# Additional results and next steps

## Additional results

- Congress roll-call, support for minimum wage minimum wage
  - Unions' presence: lower support for minimum wage in the short-term
  - Investigated locals: higher support for minimum wage

## Preliminary: TV ownership and signal

- Higher newspaper coverage (# pages) newspapers
- Lower number of union locals p.c. union locals
- Lower turnout turnout

## More about unions' outcomes:

- Digitize unions' representation election data (more years)
- Extend/improve sentiment analysis on newspaper content

## This paper

- **Studies** the consequences of the McClellan Committee: a large-scale investigation of corruption in US labor unions
- **Shows** that
  - unions' mobilization capacity was affected by the investigation
  - this effect was at least partially mediated by a large reputation shock

## What do we learn?

- Investigations about corruption in institutions may disrupt their ability to fulfill their function
- The McClellan Committee plausibly contributed to unions' decline in the US

## APPENDIX

- **Corruption revelation and institutions' reputation**

- Guriev, Melnikov, Zhuravskaya (2021), Alsan and Wanamaker (2017), Lowes and Montero (2021), Aassve et al. (2018), Ares and Hernández (2017), Ferraz and Finan (2008), Chong et al. (2021)

→ [Unions](#)

- **Labor Racketeering**

- Mastrobuoni, Matranga, Martinez (2022)

→ [Reputation effect, wide-spread consequences](#)

- **Unions and political participation**

- Fourinaies (2021), Freeman (2003), Gallego (2010), Radcliffe and Davis (2000), Leighley and Nagler (2007), Kerrissey and Schfoer (2013), Jake Rosenfeld (2010)

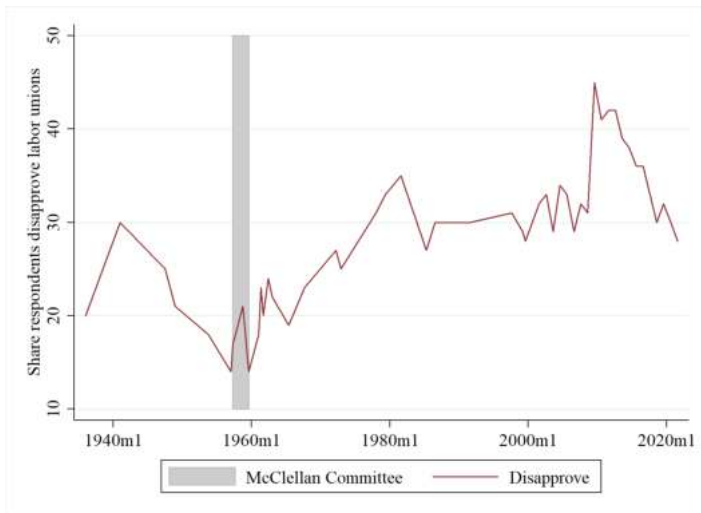
→ [McClellan committee as shock to unions](#)

- **Unions and economic outcomes**

- Farber, Herbst, Kuziemko, Naidu (2021), Freeman (1976), Freeman and Medoff (1985), Doucouliagos, Freeman, Laroche (2017)



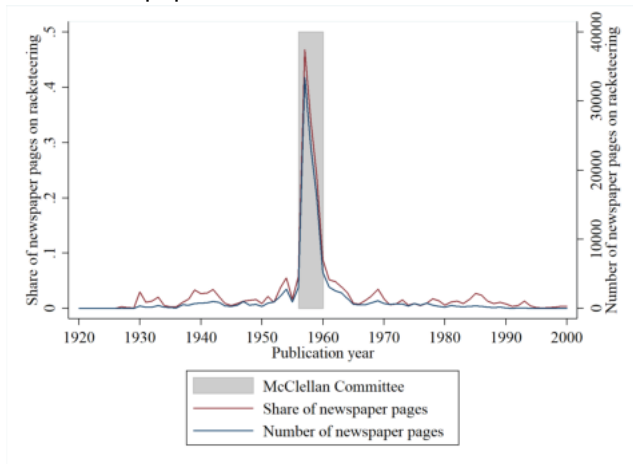
# Gallup: Do you disapprove of labor unions?



[back](#)

# Big national-level news shock

- Discussed in newspapers



newspaperarchive.com

[example](#)

[labor racketeering](#)

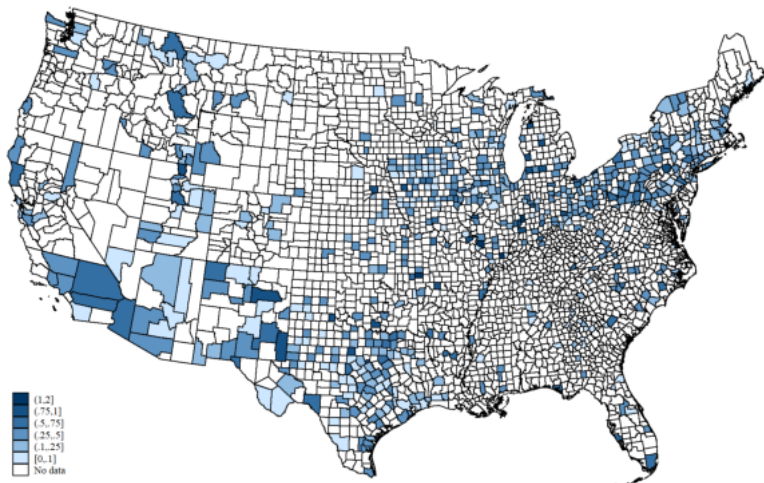
[union racketeering](#)

[union mafia](#)

[back](#)



# Newspapers - Spatial variation McClellan 1957-1960



newspaperarchive.com

back

# DiD tables

	Labor racketeering share newspaper pages		Turnout	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
$\frac{\text{Num. locals}}{10k \text{ people}} \times \text{McClellan}$	0.0962** (0.0486)		-0.0547*** (0.0181)	
$\frac{\text{Num. investigated locals}}{10k \text{ people}} \times \text{McClellan}$		-0.207** (0.0851)		-0.127* (0.0656)
Observations	21290	21290	59898	59905
Mean Y	0.041	0.041	0.57	0.57
Number of Counties	1186	1186	3011	3012

Clustered standard errors in parentheses (county-level) \* $p < 0.1$ ; \*\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

(1)-(2) McClellan = 1 if year  $\in \{1957, 1958, 1959, 1960\}$

(3)-(4) McClellan = 1 if year  $\geq 1957$

[back \(news 1\)](#)

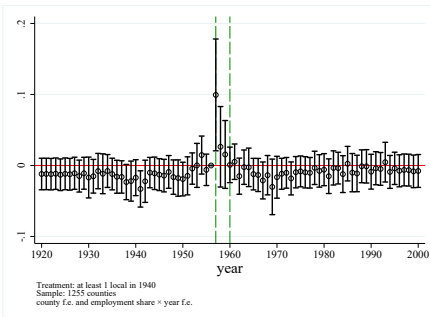
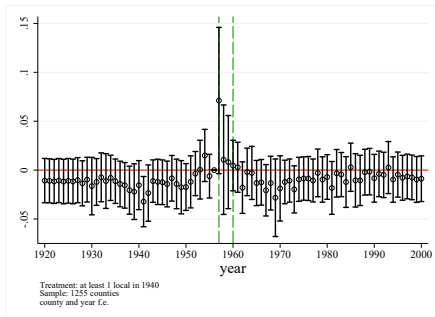
[back \(news 2\)](#)

[back \(turnout 1\)](#)

[back \(turnout 2\)](#)

# DiD (1) – Newspapers

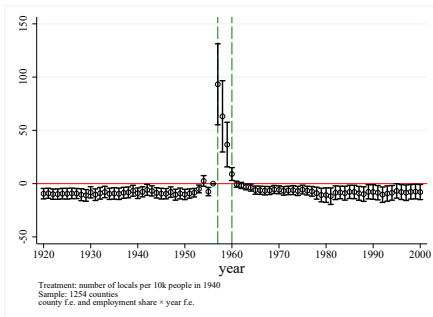
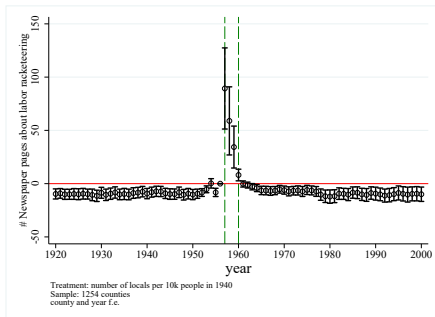
- **Treatment:** at least 1 union local in 1940



[back](#)

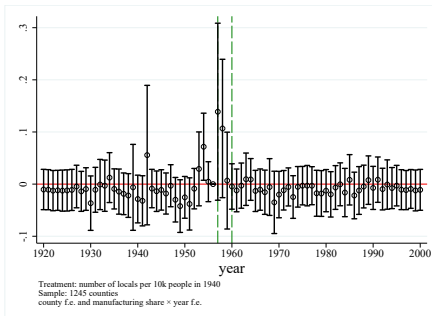
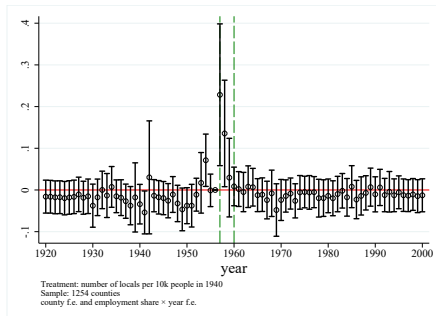
# DiD (1) – Newspapers (number of pages)

- **Outcome:** number of newspaper pages



back

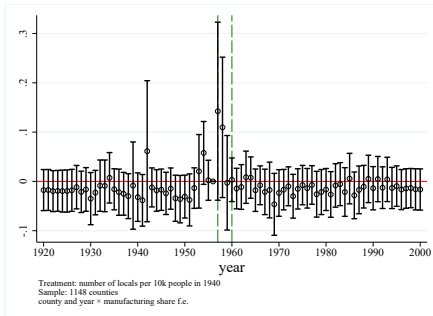
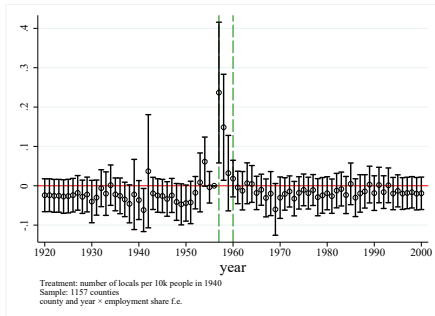
# DiD (1) – Newspapers + controls



[back](#)



# DiD (1) – Reputation + controls (no investigated)



back

# AFL-CIO News

Vol. 1      Office at 1000 New York Building, 10th Floor, New York 17, N.Y. Phone: MU 2-1200 and MU 2-1201.      Saturday, September 29, 1956      No. 43

## Labor Kicks Off 34-State Registration Drive Oct. 1

### Mitchell's Job Claims Unmasked

The enthusiastic claims Sec. of Labor James P. Mitchell made on behalf of the Republican Administration's claimed benefits for workers in his Labor Day report to Pres. Eisenhower, have been laid and laid shoddy by the Democratic National Committee.



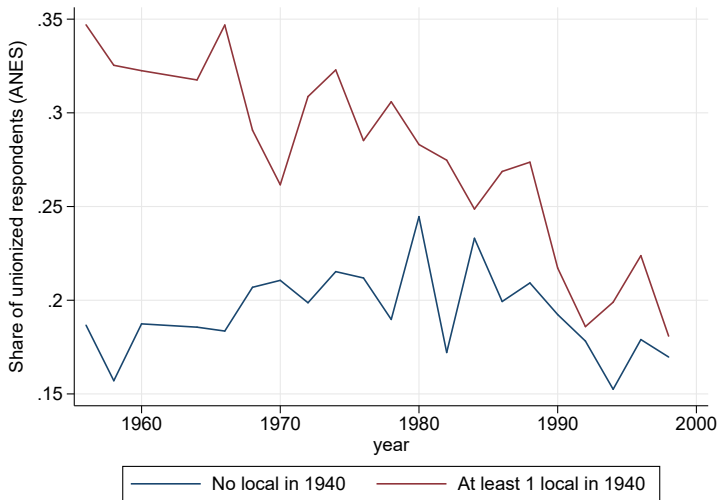
### All Unions Alerted By COPE

Labor's all-out drive to "register the unregistered" gets rolling Monday.

An intensive campaign to make "every union member a registered voter" will be kicked off in 34 states across the nation Oct. 1 by the AFL-CIO.

[back](#)

# Raw data – Unionization (suggestive)



# Number of NLRB certification elections 1963

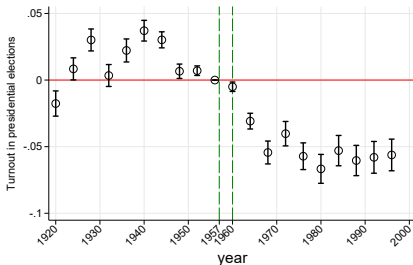
	Number of union elections		
	(1) News	(2) Unions 1940	(3) Interaction
Share union news on racketeering	-0.227 [0.143]		0.142 [0.118]
Num. locals / 10k pop. 1940		0.257*** [0.092]	2.080*** [0.748]
Share union news on racketeering × Num. locals / 10k pop. 1940			-4.221** [1.645]
Mean Y	0.33	0.13	0.33
Counties (N)	613	3098	613

Note: 7 unions

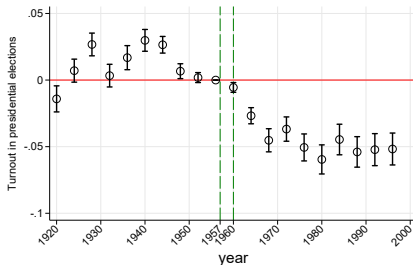
[back](#)

# DiD (1) – Turnout in presidential elections

- **Treatment:** at least 1 union local in 1940



Treatment: any CIO local in 1940  
Sample: CIO locals, 3012 counties  
f.e. Lyear

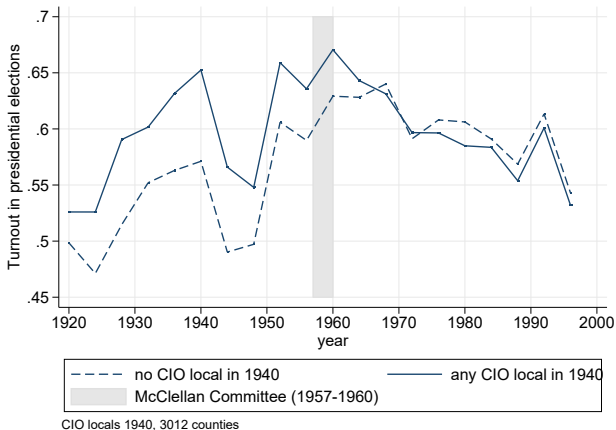


Treatment: any CIO local in 1940  
Sample: CIO locals, 3011 counties  
f.e. Lyear#c.share\_emp

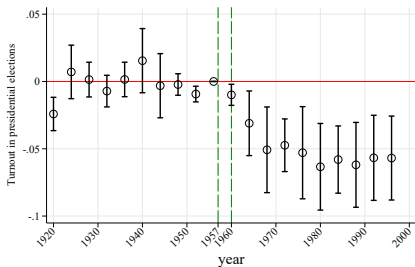
[back](#)

# DiD – Turnout in presidential elections

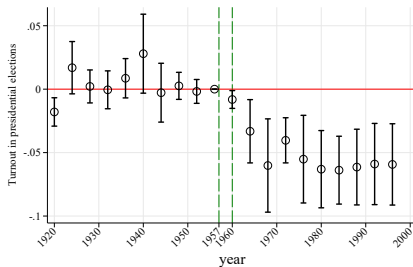
- **Treatment:** any CIO local in 1940



# DiD (1) – Turnout in presidential elections + controls



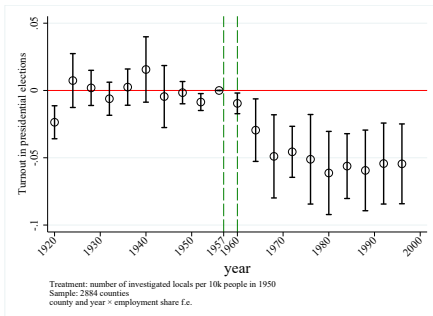
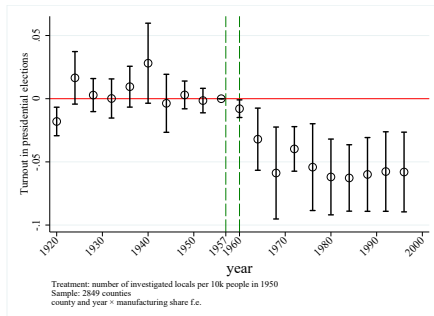
Treatment: number of locals per 10k people in 1940  
Sample: 3011 counties  
county f.e. and employment share  $\times$  year f.e.



Treatment: number of locals per 10k people in 1940  
Sample: 2976 counties  
county f.e. and manufacturing share  $\times$  year f.e.

[back](#)

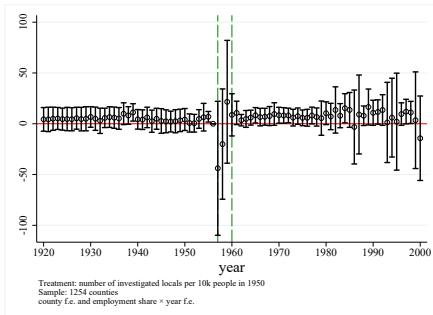
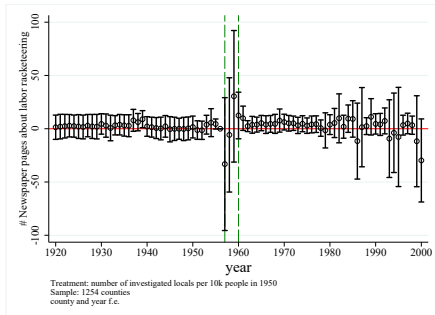
# DiD (1) – Turnout + controls (no investigated)



[back](#)

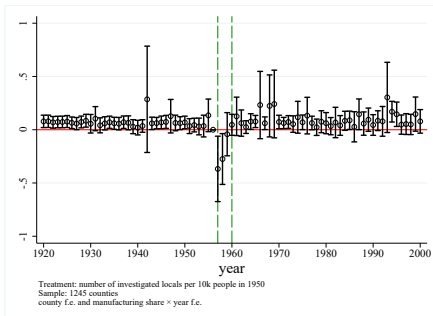
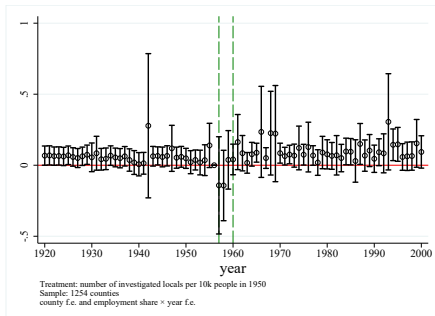


# DiD (2) – Reputation (number of pages)



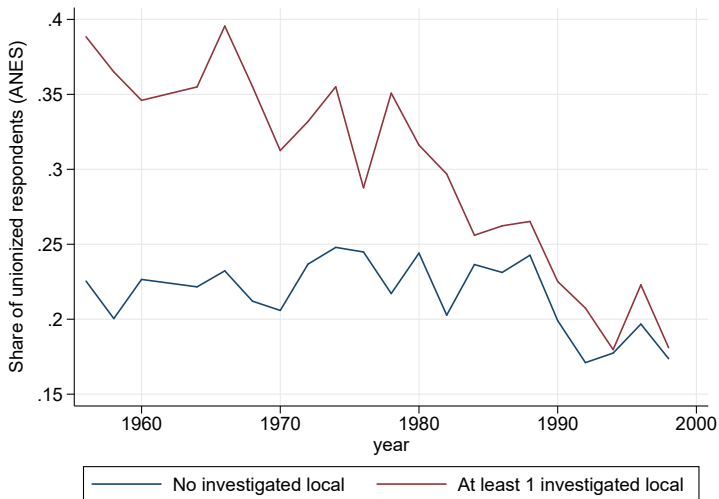
back

# DiD (2) – Reputation + controls



[back](#)

# Raw data – Unionization (suggestive)



# Number of NLRB certification elections 1963

	Number of union elections		
	(1) News	(2) Unions 1940	(3) Interaction
Share union news on racketeering	-4.219*** [1.622]		-2.024 [1.302]
Investigated locals / 10k pop. 1950		31.473* [18.939]	105.218*** [36.708]
Share union news on racketeering × Investigated locals / 10k pop. 1950			-167.018 [110.163]
Mean Y	5.43	2.01	5.43
Counties (N)	613	3101	613

Note: all unions

back

# Unionization (NLRB certification elections 1963)

	Share of votes for union			Share of elections won		
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Share union news on racketeering	-0.222* [0.115]		-0.220* [0.122]	-0.226 [0.234]		-0.172 [0.251]
Investigated locals / 10k pop. 1950		0.164 [0.145]	0.037 [0.280]		0.377 [0.299]	0.425 [0.339]
Share union news on racketeering × Investigated locals / 10k pop. 1950			1.563 [2.062]			0.174 [4.156]
Mean Y	0.51	0.52	0.51	0.56	0.53	0.56
Counties (N)	83	201	83	83	201	83

Note: 7 unions

back

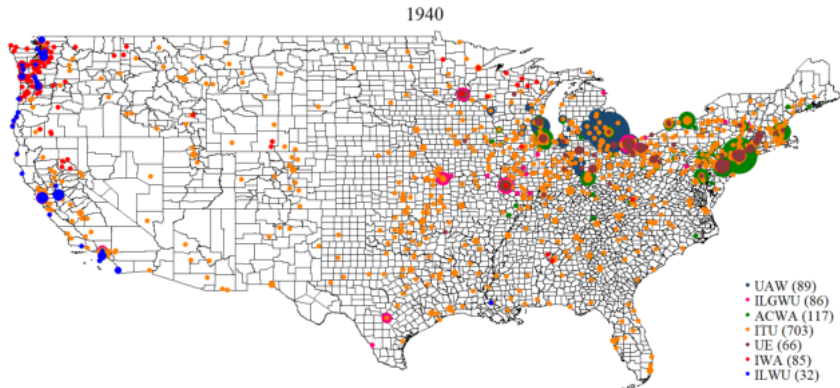
# Number of NLRB certification elections 1963

	Number of union elections			Union elections / 10k pop.		
	(1) News	(2) Unions 1940	(3) Interaction	(4) News	(5) Unions 1940	(6) Interaction
Share union news on racketeering	-0.227 [0.143]		0.028 [0.123]	0.007 [0.013]		0.009 [0.013]
Investigated locals / 10k pop. 1950		2.791 [1.825]	11.104*** [4.232]		0.039 [0.031]	0.080* [0.043]
Share union news on racketeering × Investigated locals / 10k pop. 1950			-21.283* [11.512]			-0.212* [0.120]
Mean Y	0.33	0.13	0.33	0.02	0.02	0.02
Counties (N)	613	3101	613	613	3101	613

Note: 7 unions

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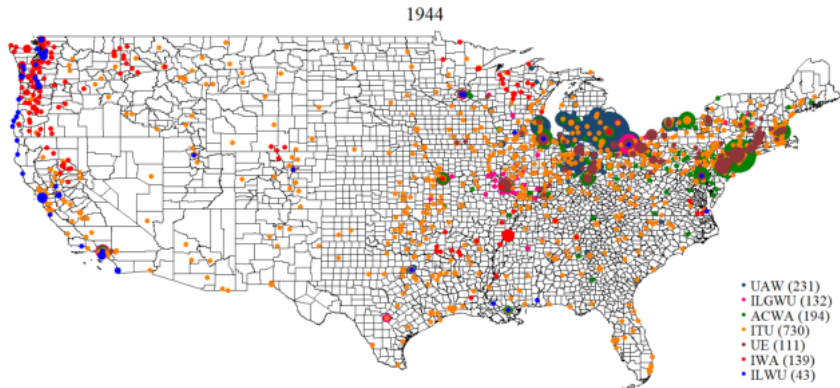
# Union locals in 1940



Data: Mapping American Social Movements Project

[back DID \(1\)](#)

# Union locals in 1944

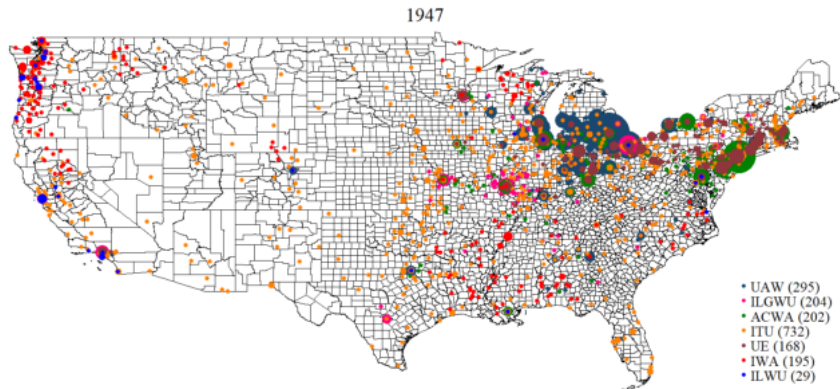


Data: Mapping American Social Movements Project

[back DID \(1\)](#)



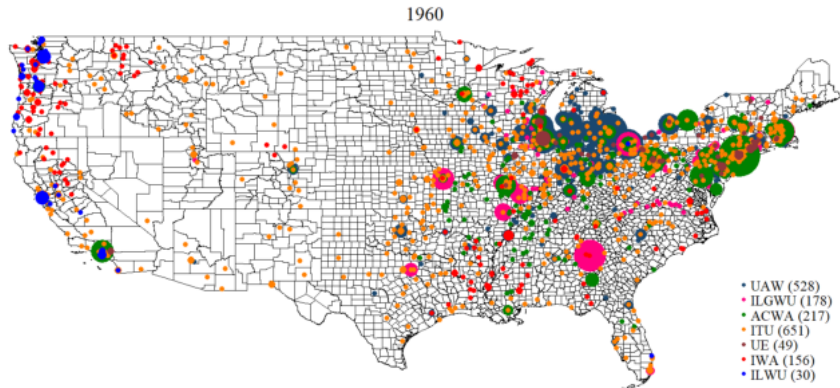
# Union locals in 1947



Data: Mapping American Social Movements Project

[back DID \(1\)](#)

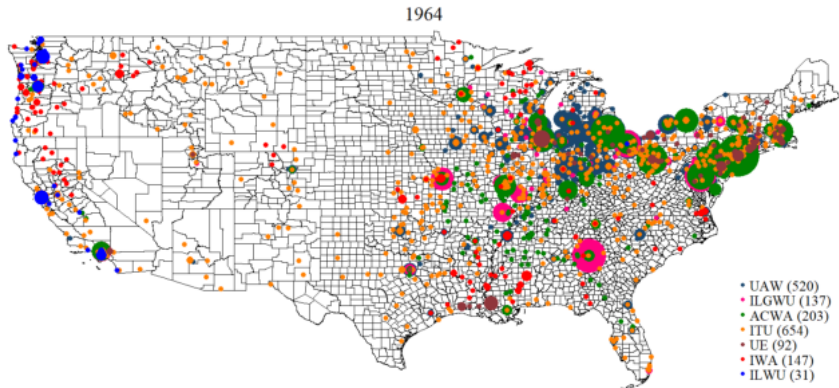
# Union locals in 1960



Data: Mapping American Social Movements Project

[back DID \(1\)](#)

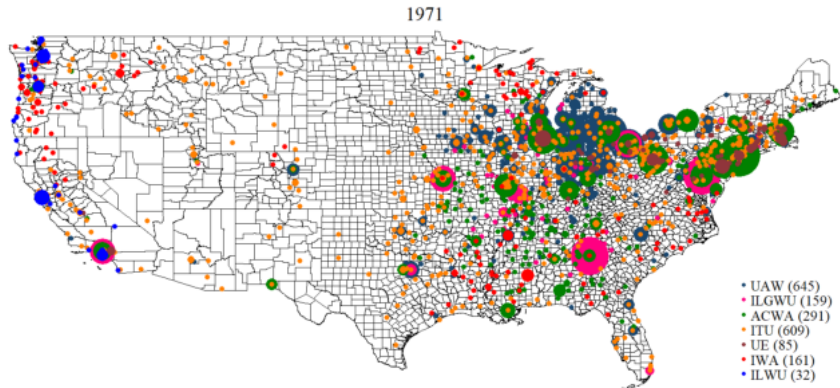
# Union locals in 1964



Data: Mapping American Social Movements Project

[back DID \(1\)](#)

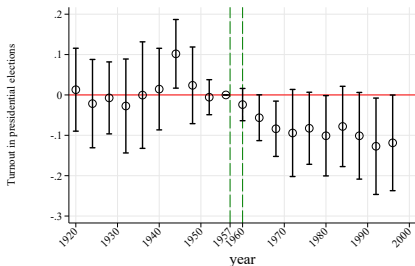
# Union locals in 1971



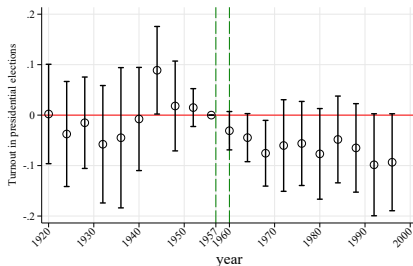
Data: Mapping American Social Movements Project

[back DID \(1\)](#)

# DiD (2) – Turnout in presidential elections + controls



Treatment: number of investigated locals per 10k people in 1950  
Sample: 651 counties  
county f.e. and employment share  $\times$  year f.e.



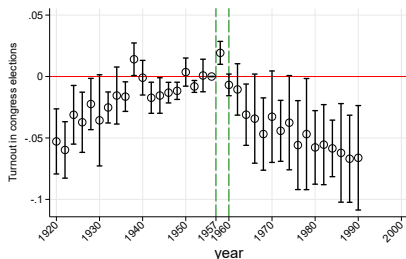
Treatment: number of investigated locals per 10k people in 1950  
Sample: 651 counties  
county f.e. and manufacturing share  $\times$  year f.e.

[back](#)

# Turnout in congressional elections

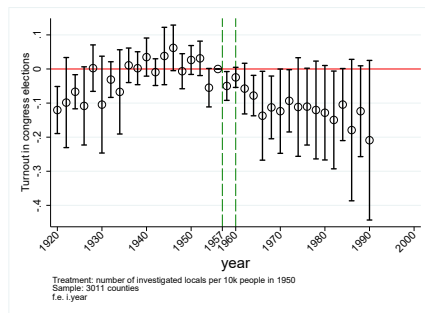
- **Outcome:** Turnout in congressional elections
- **Treatment:**

Num. locals per 10k people



Treatment: number of CIO locals per 10k people in 1940  
Sample: CIO locals, 3012 counties  
f.e. 1/year

Num. investigated locals per 10k people



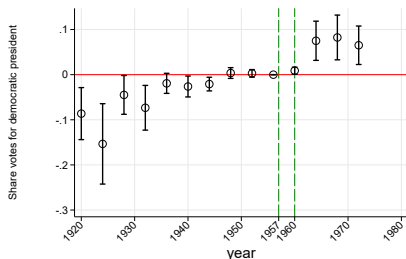
Treatment: number of investigated locals per 10k people in 1950  
Sample: 3011 counties  
f.e. 1/year

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# Vote share for democrat presidential candidate

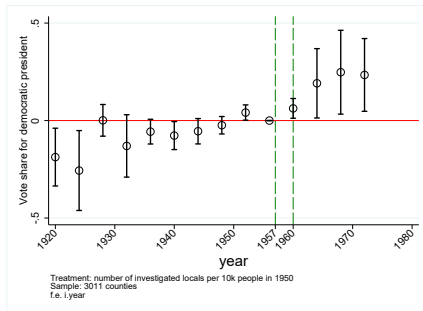
- **Outcome:** Democrat president vote share
- **Treatment:**

Num. locals per 10k people



Treatment: number of CIO locals per 10k people in 1940  
Sample: CIO locals, 3012 counties  
f.e. 1/year

Num. investigated locals per 10k people



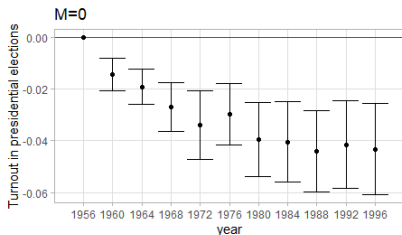
Treatment: number of investigated locals per 10k people in 1950  
Sample: 3011 counties  
f.e. 1/year

[back](#)

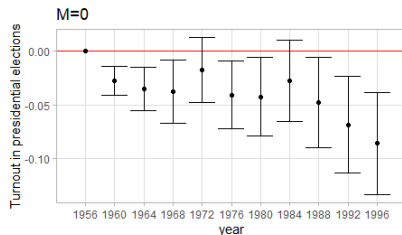
# Honest DiD – Rambachan and Roth (2020)

- **Outcome:** Turnout in presidential elections
- **Treatment:**

Num. locals per 10k people



Num. investigated locals per 10k people



[back \(1\)](#)

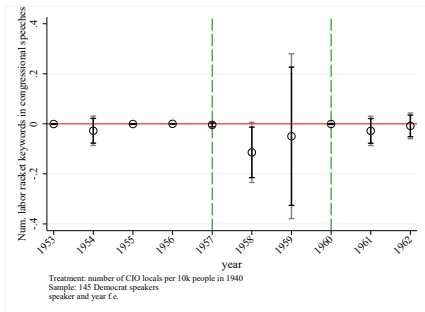
[back \(2\)](#)



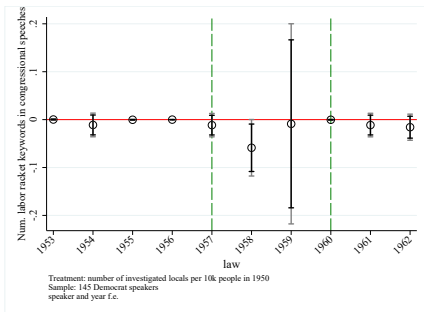
# Congress speeches about racketeering – Democrats

- **Outcome:** Num. of congress speeches mentioning labor racketeering (long-serving Democrat congressmen)
- **Treatment:**

Num. locals per 10k people



Num. investigated locals per 10k people

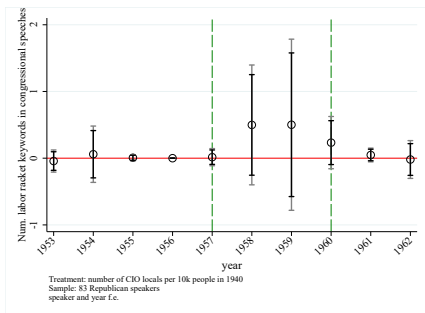


[back](#)

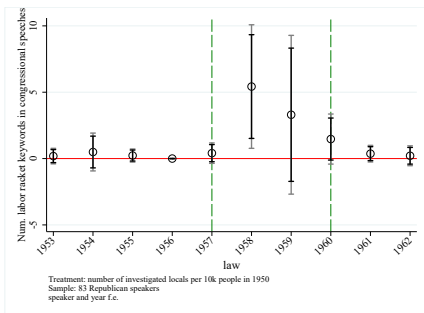
# Congress speeches about racketeering – Republicans

- **Outcome:** Num. of congress speeches mentioning labor racketeering (long-serving Republican congressmen)
- **Treatment:**

Num. locals per 10k people



Num. investigated locals per 10k people

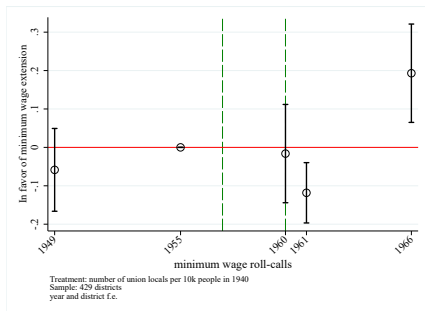


[back](#)

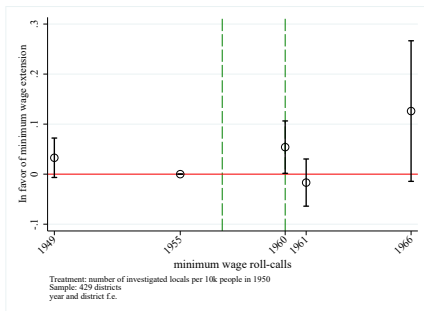
# Labor-friendly policy-making

- **Outcome:** Support for minimum wage extension
- **Treatment:**

Num. locals per 10k people



Num. investigated locals per 10k people



poster policies

congress

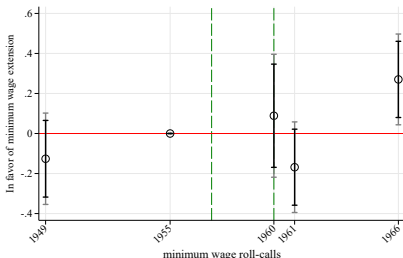
democratic vote share

back

# Labor-friendly policy-making (long-serving)

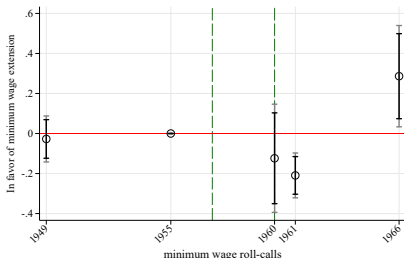
- **Outcome:** Support for minimum wage extension (long-serving congressmen)
- **Treatment:**

Num. locals per 10k people



Treatment: number of CIO locals per 10k people in 1940  
Sample: 92 congresspersons  
congressperson and year f.e.

Num. investigated locals per 10k people



Treatment: number of investigated locals per 10k people in 1940  
Sample: 92 congresspersons  
congressperson and year f.e.

poster policies

congress

democratic vote share

back

# Unions' pro-labor policies

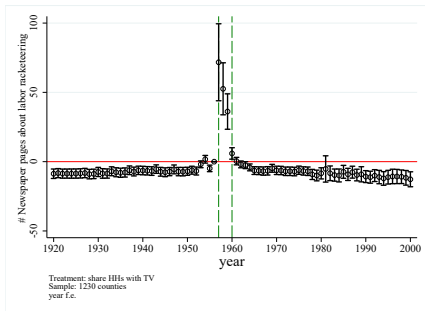


[back](#)

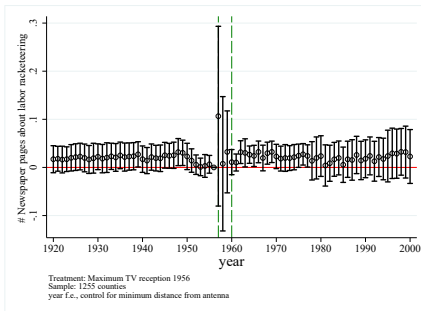
# TV and newspapers

- **Outcome:** Number of newspaper pages on labor racketeering
- **Treatment:**

Share of HHs owning TV



Maximum tv signal

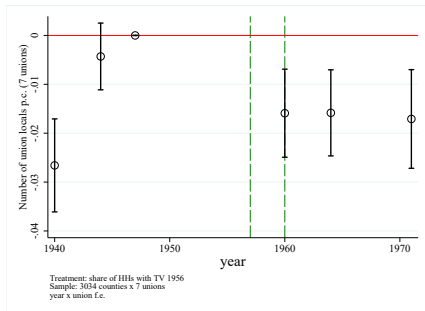


[back](#)

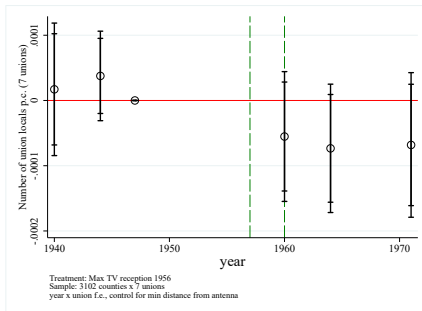
# TV and union locals

- **Outcome:** Number of union locals per capita
- **Treatment:**

Share of HHs owning TV



Maximum tv signal

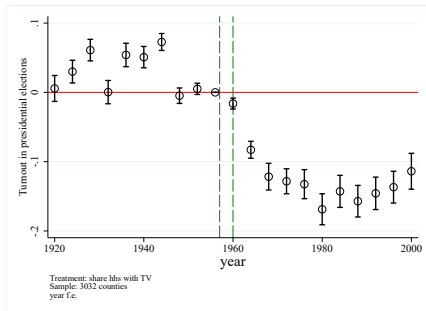


[back](#)

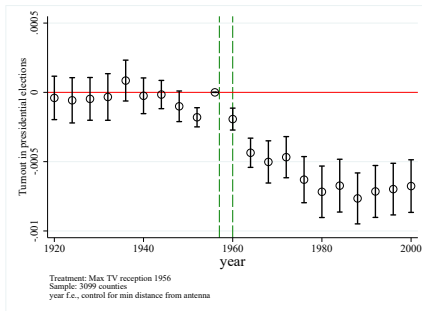
# TV and turnout

- **Outcome:** Turnout in presidential elections
- **Treatment:**

Share of HHs owning TV



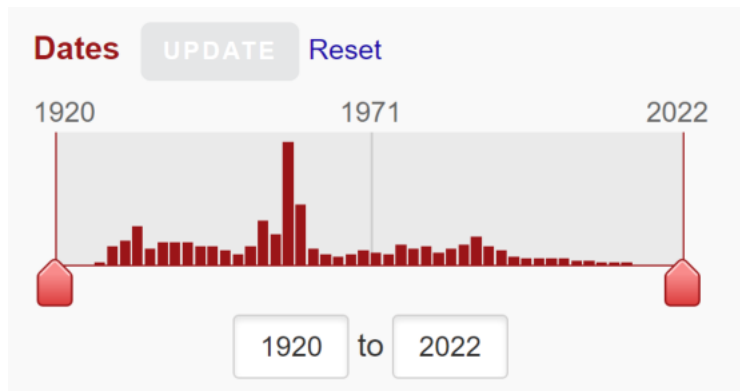
Maximum tv signal



[back](#)

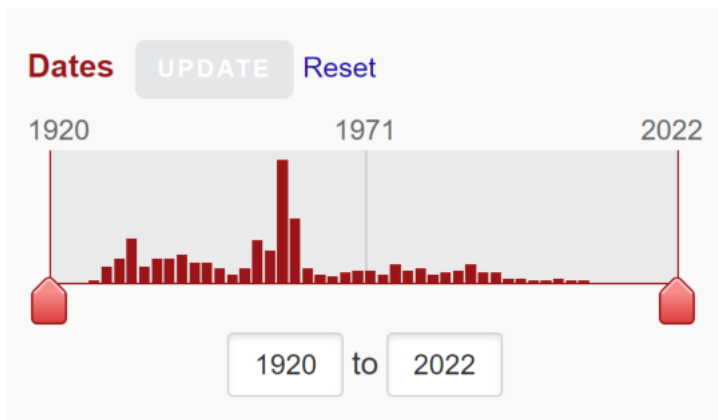


# Newspapers - "union" and "racketeering"



- 153,546 records for Union Mafia from 1920 - 2022
- 150,571 records for Union Racketeering from 1920 - 2022
- 139,671 records for Labor Racketeering from 1920 - 2022

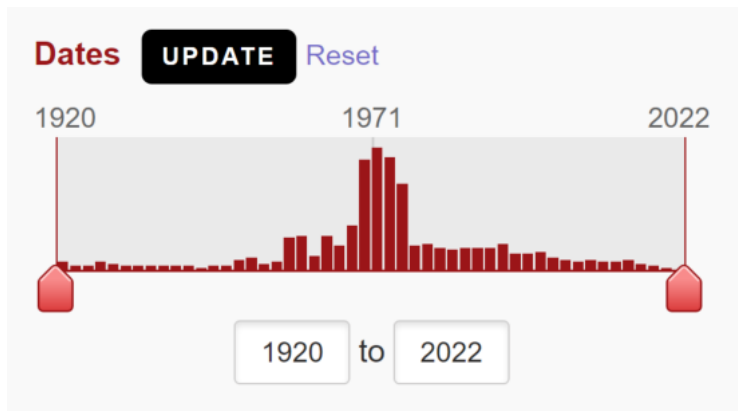
# Newspapers - "labor" and "racketeering"



- 153,546 records for Union Mafia from 1920 - 2022
- 150,571 records for Union Racketeering from 1920 - 2022
- 139,671 records for Labor Racketeering from 1920 - 2022

# Newspapers - “union” & “mafia”

newspaperarchive.com: (“union” & “mafia”)



- 153,546 records for Union Mafia from 1920 - 2022
- 150,571 records for Union Racketeering from 1920 - 2022
- 139,671 records for Labor Racketeering from 1920 - 2022

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## Effective Liaison in Upper Echelons

# Cosa Nostra-Union Link Seen by Crime Fighter

WASHINGTON—The chief of the federal government's organized crime unit charged Wednesday that the Teamsters and the East Coast seapowermen's unions are linked with each other and the Cosa Nostra.

Henry E. Petersen, chief of the Justice Department's organized crime action, which coordinates the government's investigation into crime rings, made the statement during a discussion session at a national conference on crime control.

**No Formal Ties**  
His statement was to be delivered at a closed, 10-minute explanation of the government's program against organized crime to a group of 80 newsmen.

Petersen said that four or five years ago, Sen. John McClellan's (D-Ar.) Senate Rackets Committee was very interested about reports of a possible merger between the Teamsters and the International Longshoremen's Assn. (I.L.A.).

"No formal merger took place," he said, "but I know of a mutual certainty that this organization exists."

Furthermore, he said, "In the upper echelons, they have more than an effective liaison. They have the I.L.A. the East Coast, and the Teamsters."

He determined that it should not exist," he said.

Speaking to a group that included a large delegation of press officers and a concentration of whom have attributed their union to court domination.

their business, and influence, combined to be referred to as a "union" or "organization," compared to the basis of organization.

Blame Co-

Organized crime groups are organized upon the basis of which it exists, a coalition and operates in one of the activities if the

## Ike Attacks Labor Rackets, Suggests Laws

AUGUSTA, Ga. (AP)—President Eisenhower Thursday branded labor racketeering "an abomination which must be eliminated." He called for ousting leaders "who abuse power and trust."

To help wipe out "corruption on the part of a few in the labor field, he urged Congress to pass laws to protect all union funds, including an estimated 25 billion dollars so far contributed to labor organization health and welfare programs.

AFTER a 90-minute conference here with Secretary of Labor Mitchell, the President asked for swift enactment of legislation to require:

1. Registration, reports to the government and public dis-



ROBERT LeFEVRE

## Shipping at Union, Mafia Mercy

Last September the news came out. Atlantic and gulf ports of the United States are dominated by the Longshoremen's Union and by the Mafia. For the first time the American public was told by means of the news media that the ports are riddled with corruption, graft, payoffs and extortion. The Marlon Brando movie "On the Waterfront" of the 1950's, which revealed the whole sordid character of dock payoffs, hiring hall rackets, and so on, has at last surfaced in non-fiction. Included in the discovery that many of the top executives of leading steamship lines are involved.

the docks, dock workers, and so on. And in the midst of the news was the fascinating fact that top ranked business leaders were right in the middle of the swindle.

One of the reporters covering the story asked this question? How could a top business executive knowingly sit down in a board room with known criminals and agree to pay hundreds of thousands of dollars in shakedown extortion and for work never performed? The answer given was that it was the cheapest way out. The union and the Mafia have shipping so completely at their mercy that it

a few good men in the electronic media who call the shots the way they are. But the bulk of the media in this country is so biased in favor of unions that the public has been shutchanged on the facts for years.

Naturally, when a businessman goes public, he anticipates that the public's sense of fair play and decency will surface in his favor. But thanks to the news bias from coast to coast, if the disorder and destruction was union or Mafia made, you could count on the press either turning a cold shoulder, or frankly, you could expect the businessman to be ridiculed, sneered

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# Measure news about corrupted unions

- More keywords (e.g. *cosa nostra* & union, racket & union, mob & union, organized crime & union)

$$CorruptUnionNews_{jt} = \frac{\sum n_{jt} \times \mathbb{1}[Union \text{ and } Racket]}{\sum n_{jt} \times \mathbb{1}[Union]} \quad (3)$$

$$CorruptUnionNews_{ct} = \frac{1}{J_{ct}} \sum_{j=1}^{J_{ct}} \frac{Circulation_{jct}}{Circulation_{ct}} \times CorruptUnionNews_{jt} \quad (4)$$

- newspaper  $j$ , county  $c$ , time  $t$

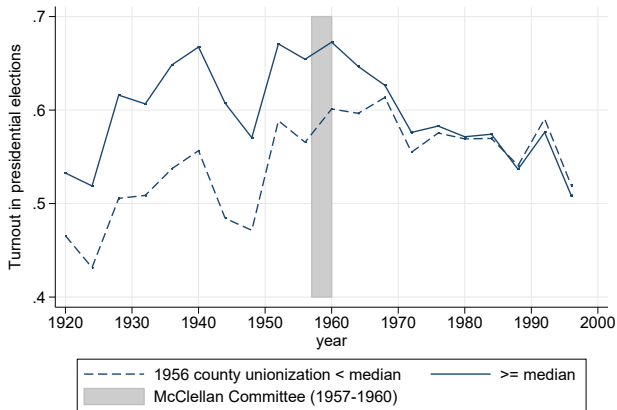
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# Mapping American Social Movements



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# DiD – high vs low union membership (1956) ANES

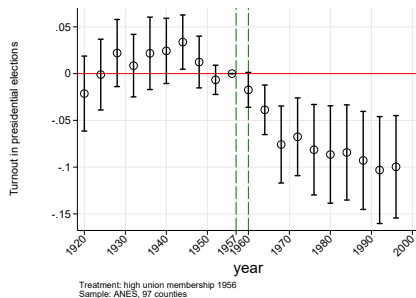


ANES sample, 97 counties

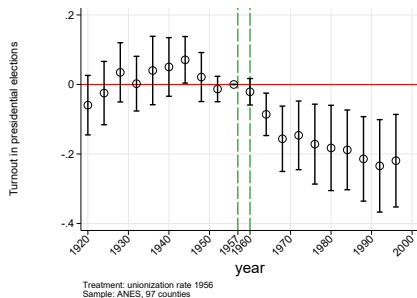
Treatment = 1 if unionization rate in 1956  $\geq$  median

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# DiD – high vs low union membership (1956) ANES



(1) Dummy



(2) Continuous treatment

(1) Treatment = 1 if unionization rate in 1956  $\geq$  median

(2) Treatment = unionization rate in 1956

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