Prior to entering the archival and preservation field, I spent the majority of my professional career in film and television production as a union member in IATSE Local 161, working as a Production Coordinator. I had become used to affordable access to healthcare and clear wage structures thanks to the union, and I will be forever grateful for all my local and national have done for me and others working in production. Outside of production, however, unionization is not as prevalent in other industries and professions, and cultural heritage institutions are no exception. Instagram accounts such as @changethemuseum and @abetterguggenheim highlight unsuitable working conditions for museum workers as well as discriminatory practices by upper management, which have only been exacerbated by the covid-19 pandemic. I found accounts of directors and senior staff retaining their 6-figure incomes while support staff had been laid off¹ and other stories of art handlers in Houston museums being pressured to install works during the dangerous deep freeze and power outage the state had suffered in February 2021.²

I find this incredibly troubling to see these practices occurring in my prospective field and sadly ironic that while my former industry prides itself on such powerful pro-labor traditions, those entrusted and committed to preserving these works remain largely

¹ @changethemuseum, "Instagram Post," https://www.instagram.com/p/CLxLJ8tlESI/
² @changethemuseum, "Instagram Post," https://www.instagram.com/p/CLkHa0PIHCU/
unorganized and unrepresented. While this paper by no means offers a one-size-fits-all fix for every institution, hopefully, by providing some historical context, the current state of unions in these fields, and listing some resources presently at laborers’ disposal, it can be used as a call to action and engender ideas of where to take this reinvigorated labor movement in a correct direction. While there is still much work to be done, seeing facility workers at companies like Amazon try to organize and graduate school laborers at New York University strike for better working pay and benefits during this time of civil and political unrest mimics movements of the past (upon which I will expand) and provides a great platform to continue a national labor movement.

The history of librarian unionization appears to be the most well documented of the three types of institutions in terms of providing a cohesive chronology of events across the United States. We have Herbert Biblo to thank for beginning this work in the 1970s in his article “Librarians and Trade Unionism: A Prologue” in Library Trends, in which he follows the history of unions in libraries dating back to the early twentieth century. He shows how the movement happened in three waves at the time of his writing, starting around World War I, when the first union that included library employees, the Federal Labor Union no. 14632, chartered by the American Federation of Labor (AFL), began in 1914, and the employees of the Library of Congress first reported joining in 1916. Along with the Library of Congress, library unions were said to have appeared in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Unfortunately, these union
numbers began to decline by 1930 for various reasons, but Biblo attributes as rampant nationalism as a key factor.³

The next wave came in 1934, during the Great Depression, starting in Butte, Montana, where over a 15-year period, more than a dozen library unions were started. Biblo finds it important to note, “that almost all the attempts to build library unions were in the major metropolitan areas. Larger libraries had the built-in social organization that encouraged organization,” and that it “was almost wholly a public library movement.” Unfortunately, the 1950s, characterized by McCarthyism, was generally hostile environment for unions, and so while there were some prototypes and false starts, librarian unionization did not really take hold until the third wave of the 1960s.⁴

Biblo characterized this wave as having stronger footing than the previous two describing the era as very pro-union. He states, “This period, beginning in the early 1960s, was a period of ferment: Radical antiwar activities occurred on the campuses from whence new librarians came, radical librarians and library students rose at the Atlantic City ALA conference, the feminist movement developed, professional unions were becoming more acceptable, and teachers, nurses and doctors joined unions.” This coupled with the fact that many states, as well as President Kennedy, passed laws enabling workers to bargain collectively provided sound stability for unions to form.⁵ While Biblo seemingly hints at it, I think it is incredibly important to recognize a through line through these three waves. Each is a story of economic hardships

⁵ Biblo, "Librarians and Trade Unionism: A Prologue," 423.
and civil unrest helping fuel these movements, from World War I, to the Great Depression, to the Civil Rights movement, something to note for later in this paper when looking at the current situation in 2021.

Biblo’s work was offered as a prologue, a jumping off point, to further help document the unionization trends in libraries, however, as Kathleen de la Peña McCook details in her paper “Unions in Public and Academic Libraries,” “after the 1980s the literature and reporting of public library unionism declined. Public sector unions came under much duress after the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) strike in 1981 and the Reagan testing of the strength of the labor movement.”6

Luckily, McCook helps pick up where Biblo left off documenting portions of the librarian labor movement, noting that during the 1980s and 1990s, the American Library Associated did concern itself with he equitable pay for library staff, however did not focus or provide a forum for topics suround organized labor and unions. This changed in 2001 with the formation of the ALA Allied Professional Association (ALA-APA), a companion organization to the ALA, whose mission was to help develop support for unions. McCook emphasizes the benefits of belonging to a union at this time in the early 2000s citing an AFL-CIO report stating that, “2006 US union library workers earned almost 21% more than their non-union counterparts.”7

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7 McCook, "Unions in Public and Academic Libraries."
That brings us today, 2021. The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that 14.3 million laborers in the United States were part of a union, about 10.8% of the workers.\(^8\) Comparatively, the rate of union membership in libraries was 20.8% of 184,500 librarians, 36,250 library technicians, and 87,000 library assistants. It is also important to note that in 2017 the rate was 26.2%, and the Department for Professional Employees believes this steep decline in rates is due to a relatively small sample size, rather than members leaving the union, so this 20.8% could very well be higher. According to the same report, library union members enjoyed an average 38% increase in pay over their non-union counterparts, while assistants earned 48% more, both of which most likely received some sort of retirement or health insurance benefits,\(^9\) up from the 21% found in 2006.

Unlike the world of libraries, the history of unionization in museums is much less documented, but Maida Rosenstein, President of the United Auto Worker’s Local 2110, was able to provide a comprehensive oral history in an interview with N+1 Magazine of her union, which most famously represents the workers of the Museum of Modern Art. UAW Local 2110 began as an organization named District 65, founded in the 1940s, which represented many white collar works, which was eventually divvied up in the local unions of the UAW. Rosenstein was working at Columbia when many of the staff recognized that the maintenance and security workers were receiving better benefits than those who worked in the office, and so they decided to join the union. After the establishment of the UAW, many of the employees of

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MoMA organized and joined in the 1970s and have been a member ever since. Mirroring the sentiments of Biblo, Rosenstein thinks the establishment of such a strong union is a “legacy owed to the civil rights movement and to the women’s movement that this happened.” Today the UAW has a division titled “Technical, Office, and Professional Workers” which represents approximately 50,000 employees in higher education, and 100,000 white collar workers’ in total.\(^{10}\) Bloomberg Law offers some fairly current labor statistics from 2012 stating that “only about 12.1 percent of all museum employees belong to a union and 12.6 percent are covered by some sort of labor contract,” and that “more than 40 U.S. museums have unions, with Los Angeles’ Museum of Tolerance being the last to unionize before the New Museum, in May 2017. There are about 31,000 archivists, curators, and museum workers in the U.S.”\(^{11}\) Troubling numbers even when compared to unions within libraries with their 20% membership rate. That being said, there has been a shift since then towards more labor organization.

The movement of unionization in museums does not lie solely with MoMA, however. In recent years there has been a bigger push for unionization within the field of museum work, most likely due to prevalent working conditions listed in anonymous accounts such as @changethemuseum and as Rosenstein puts it, “white-collar workers are struggling over basic issues like money and benefits, because people may work in offices, and they may work for very prestigious employers, but it doesn’t mean they’re being paid well.”\(^{12}\) In a 2020 blog post by Kenneth Quinnell at the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

\(^{10}\) N+1, 2015, [https://nplusonemag.com/issue-21/labor-letters/getting-serious/](https://nplusonemag.com/issue-21/labor-letters/getting-serious/).
\(^{12}\) Smith and Wallender, "Museum Workers Draw Up Union Contracts to Combat Low Pay."
(AFL-CIO), he lists how workers had chosen to unionize at institutions such as the Carnegie Museum in Pittsburgh, the workers at Walker Art Center in Minneapolis, and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. It appears a lot of this movement can be attributed to information sharing amongst workers from like-minded organizations.

The choice to unionize at The New Museum in New York’s Lower East Side is well documented by various articles on artnet.com, detailing how the workers at The New Museum had reached out for advice from UAW 2110 at MoMA, who gladly provided help in contract negotiations, which was led by Maida Rosenstein. This push for organization led to the New Museum joining Local 2110 as well, with a wide majority of the staff voting in favor, citing low pay and a lack of an avenue for professional problems to be addressed.

The New Museum then found themselves paying it forward to visitor center workers at the Marciano Art Foundation (MAF) when they decided to unionize. It is easy to recognize this domino affect taking place as more and more of the museum labor force reaches out to other institutions to help themselves unionize. As Wagley puts it, “This kind of information sharing has been critical to the formation of museum unions.” In addition to already unionized workers helping organize labor at other institutions, salary sharing has played an important part in the movement.

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16 Wagley, "Museum Workers Across the Country are Unionizing. here's what's Driving a Movement that's been Years in the Making."
17 Corbett and Halperin, "In a Landslide Decision, Employees at the New Museum Vote to Unionize."
as well. In another article at artnet.com, Eileen Kinsella brings to light a spreadsheet which museum workers have utilized to shed light on salaries given at various institutions to help bring parity to the field\(^\text{18}\) (something that structured union contracts would provide). This is not dissimilar to a spreadsheet that I had come across reporting pay across various cultural heritage institutions. These are no doubt powerful tools which can be used to combat inequity.

Finally, the history of unionization proves to be even murkier as many different types of institutions can have archives, private, public, corporate, non-profit, community driven, governmental, etc, and due to this I was unable to find much documentation regarding the matter. However, I was able to gain some insight into the history of the union at WGBH, now GBH, a public broadcasting company based in Boston, MA, whose union is extended to those working in the archive. WGBH’s previous union, AEEF-CWA Local 1300, was formed in the early 1970s after a dispute between producer Don Fouser and management over the content created for the program *The Nader Report*. After Fouser’s removal, the union was formed. The old local 1300’s website remains today, again citing the social upheaval of the 1970s as the key impetus for the formation of the union.\(^\text{19}\) According to a staff member I interviewed at GBH (who will remain anonymous), in the late 80s at least half of the staff at WGBH were in the union, but those numbers unfortunately dwindled under new management starting in the late 2000s.

Citing an anti-union sentiment from the new management and economic pressures of the 2008 crash, the numbers had dwindled to approximately 250 employees (or 30% of the total staff) by

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2012 when the union had to renegotiate its contract. According to then President of Local 1300 Jordan Weinstein it “[was] not the agreement that we wanted,” and accounts from one person I interviewed who was working there at the time stated that, basically, “the contract gave us [the union] the right to exist.” However, they found this concession to be of the utmost importance since “as long as we can exist for long term, [we can] try again [for a better contract] the next time we negotiate.”

Luckily, a few years after this contract, Local 1300 decided to join the much larger organization, Communication Workers of America Local 1400, which represents laborers in Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont, and California. With this new association, the employees at GBH had access to better negotiators, which was greatly beneficial. “We got a much better contract in 2020,” says an employee I spoke to. Again, GBH is not specifically an archive in the sense that the libraries and museums I have talked about are their own entities, however, when asked if all the workers from different trades at GBH, including the archivists, felt equally represented, I received a resounding “yes.”

So, this is a brief, messy history of unionization in museums, libraries, and archives, and while there are undoubtedly countless more instances of workers in these fields organizing into unions, this hopefully provides a broad picture of the overall movement and highlights similarities between each institution. The question is, where to go from here? The reason as to why unionization is preferred is overtly apparent. Across all institutions, there has been a

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resounding increase in workplace quality, benefits, and salaries when workers have chosen to organize. A concrete example of this is GBH’s 2020 contract side by side highlighting the provisions they had gained such as guaranteed holidays, stable wage increases, and better severance packages. Before looking into next steps, I think it is very important to recognize the current era we are in, and why now is the time to push to bolster union membership.

The last four years, characterized by continually growing inequality, rampant racism and sexism, and overall low quality of life for the average America, coupled with a global pandemic, brings to mind much of the social upheaval seen in the 1960s. Bilbo had recognized that when the general population is politically motivated for policy change, the public opinion for unionization is much more accepting. With unsafe working conditions for frontline workers during the pandemic and the Black Lives Matter protests at the forefront of the national conversation, it is no wonder we are seeing more and more workers trying to unionize. So, this should be a call to be unrelenting for not only establishing new unions, but also retaining and strengthening ones that already exist. However, Biblo witnessed this organization in the 1960s and 70s a decade before Reagan and the public once again turned against organized labor, and so it is important to recognize the problems and inherent weaknesses faced when trying to form unions in libraries, archives, and museums.

One weakness Biblo recognized even in the 70s was that “the splintering of librarians into so many different national and local unions hinders the development of library unionism as

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21 CWA Local 1400, *WGBH Side by Side*, [2020]).
a factor within the profession.”22 There are a myriad of national and local union organizations that represent librarians, museum workers and archivists, which highlight this splintered nature in the field. I was able to chat with Kathleen de la Peña McCook, who brought to light that even the public library system in New York, consisting of three separate entities, the New York Public Library, the Brooklyn Public Library, and the Queens Library, each have their own union, despite all existing in the same metropolitan area. To further stress this point, in the blog post previously mentioned by the AFL-CIO regarding unionization in museums, we see museum workers becoming members of the United Steelworkers, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, United Auto Workers, and the Machinists, again highlighting the fact that although many of these workers seem to have the same expertise, and are finding the same reasons to unionize, they are all joining different nationals and locals. I believe there is strength in numbers and while it is heartening to see heavy hitters like the UAW and the CWA stepping in, I think it would benefit the cultural heritage field greatly to fly under one banner. However, it is important to acknowledge, that no two cultural heritage institutions are the same.

As McCook pointed out, “Public library workers’ unionization issues are very situational and different greatly from library to library. Much depends on the larger context of unionization in a government jurisdiction. If there is an overall organizing unit of government employees—AFSCME or SEIU-- then library workers often organize as locals of larger units. While one library might divide workers between librarians and clerical and support workers, another might

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combine them into one local.”23 It seems that a lot of this splintering is caused by regional and institutional needs, which in turn can cause various groups of workers to seek out different unions or build one from the ground up.

One of the greatest problems, which Rosenstein discussed in her interview with N+1, was how hard it is to organize white collar workers. She cites an anonymous letter found in a 1957 issue of Harper's Magazine titled “Why White Collar Workers Can’t be Organized” summarizing the article in two points. The first being “in blue-collar industries, people tend to talk about themselves as belonging to a certain kind of industry rather than referring to the position they hold. So they’ll say, ‘I work in coal’ or ‘I work in steel,’ whereas white-collar workers refer to their skills: ‘I’m a stenographer,’ ‘I’m a file clerk.’”24 To say “I work in museums” or “I work in libraries” is too broad of a statement, as the amount of different positions staffed by each can vary greatly, from art handlers, to book binders, to security, to installation technicians. Finding a one size fits all union can prove to be a difficult task. The second notion Rosenstein presents is that there is “a certain kind of meritocratic ideal holds in white-collar workplaces,”25 something that presents itself more as a cultural problem rather than a logistical one. I think the sense of paying one’s dues to get ahead in their career is instilled in American work culture, especially from an upper management perspective, and a lack of empathy for staff lower than them perpetuates this. This leads into another problem where many union members are lured out of the union due to better pay.

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25 N+1.
I came across this practice many times. First, the way GBH pay scale works, that at some point, even in the archive, to make a certain amount of money, you become disqualified from the union, decreasing the union membership numbers. At the New Museum’s vote to organize, 10 ballots were unopened due to them being deemed “ineligible” since they were considered “supervisors” by the museum itself. “Removing people from the bargaining unit is a tactic to weaken a union by making it smaller, and also easier for management to promote people out of it faster,” says Dana Kopel in the article. Rosenstein reinforces this notion, saying that many workers do not have the “ability to move up without moving out,” within an institution, so when presented the opportunity, it is no wonder people would leave a union for career advancement.

These seem to be some of the greater issues facing unionization in these cultural institutions, but nothing insurmountable. It is important to look at the tools already at the laborers and unions disposable, and also come up with newer idea to bolster membership and strengthen organizations.

One of the most powerful tools for organization we have seen is an open line of communication, as seen with UAW 2110’s growth into various institutions. I spoke with an anonymous employee and union member at NYU’s Bobst Library who also highlighted the importance of interorganizational discussions, stating how NYU’s library union Local 3882, has a great relationship with the clerical unions at both Columbia and Yale, Local 1199, and have

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supported each other throughout the years. It is this openness that keeps them strong, stating that years ago 3882 was an open shop, actively seeking new members, with a focus on education on organized labor to help show the benefits of being in a union. It was through informational phone calls and “basic schmoozing” at union events that helped keep 3882 connected and in the know. However, I believe that there are impediments to this open line of communication, and there is a need to bolster the pro-labor message. As we saw with the rampant anti-labor practices exhibited by Amazon to strike down organization in Alabama in one of the fulfillment facilities, or New York University’s reluctance to grant quality of life improvements to their student laborer’s benefits and wages, there are powerful entities looking to quash this movement, and so certain platforms should be established to help push these issues to the forefront.

During my research for this paper, I noticed that there does not appear to be an easily accessible database listing every current library, archive, or museum union. At the time of McCook’s paper in 2010, she noted that “There is no single source that lists all unions in which librarians participate,” which still holds somewhat true to this day. While the ALA-APA does provide resources for wage growth and organization, I could not find a directory listing all the library unions found in the US. There does exist a website UnionFacts.com, which offers union profiles of what they deem to be the “single most comprehensive database of information

about labor unions in the United States,” however when exploring it I found two key factors as major detractions to be a helpful tool for those in museums, libraries, and archives in need for such a resource. Most notably, this website is not tailored to specifically museums, libraries, or archives (each of which I think should have their own directory), and secondly, as we have seen, many of these institutions have paired with organizations that might not fully describe what they do, notably the United Auto Workers or United Steelworkers. This could serve as a point of confusion for less informed people looking to unionize, unable to find “museum unions” as they are nestled deep within the recesses of this website. This brings me to my next point, which while lofty, should be something to consider.

While great gains and help have come from many unions, for which labor in the cultural heritage field should be thankful, I find it a shame that there is no overarching national organization representing these fields much like film and television. Although a decidedly condescending and glib statement, the words of Richard Armstrong, the Guggenheim’s director, resonate to this point when he stated, “I do not want to work with a third party who has very limited experience in the museum field, and whose membership is largely in the heating and air-conditioning and construction industries.” It is not that I do not think that the present unions these laborers belong to is not representing them properly, more that to help bolster a national movement, it could benefit the fields to have their own unions with clearly defined roles and job descriptions. The way IATSE is set up is as a national organization with smaller locals that represent different types of labor in different parts of the country, and

within each local these positions are divided up even more granularly, allowing for some career advancement. For instance, my union, Local 161, represents the “white collar workers” of east coast production, which includes coordinators, assistant coordinators, accountants, and script supervisors. However, many set workers are in their own unions such as Local 52, for grips and electrics, while 600 represents the camera department. Again, within each local there are delineations for each job title, which hierarchies and pay scales for the specific role. While I am no in position to delineate these positions within libraries, archives, and museums due to my own lack of experience in the field, I do not see why a national council a la the “Library Union Round Table” (a short lived committee founded to help organize labor within libraries of which Biblo was very fond)\(^{32}\) could come together for each type of cultural institution, identify positions, job titles, and responsibilities that exist within each, and create structured hierarchies of these positions, establishing room for growth within the institution as well as pay scales. Again, it is important to note that no two institutions are the same with regards to needs as well as financial backing, and to address this each union could create specific contracts for each museum, library, and archive, much like how IATSE creates different contracts for different studios as well as individual shows.

An additional benefit to creating a national union, is that this could allow workers to easily move from institution to institution, as well as help an organization in need of staff by checking the member roster and availability list held by the union, again something utilized by

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IATSE. This could help alleviate the stresses that are saddled with contract and temporary work, something that appears to be very prevalent in the cultural heritage workplace.

In conclusion, there is much work that needs to be done with regards to driving up union numbers and creating an easier path for organization. While my suggestions come from the production point of view, the organization and strength I saw within IATSE was quite admirable, and I think there is much that can be learned from even more information sharing. I believe that librarians, archivists, and museum are highly specialized laborers with easily definable skills and job requirements (just see Pablo Helguera’s humorous take on job roles in *The Pablo Helguera Manual of Contemporary Art*), and with some effort these could be organized into a structured plan to create a much larger, powerful, and representative union. That is not to say that what resources exist today are not doing a good job. I am very happy to see the ALA-APA was established with the focus on librarian organization, that museum workers are finding homes with a variety of strong unions, and that archives at places such are GBH are making headway into better contracts. Laborers seem to be harnessing the zeitgeist of the 2020s for good, and just need to keep up this momentum, and remember, as I heard time and time again from various talks and articles, “any union is better than no union.”
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