

# THE STATE OF THE UNIONS 2021

## A PROFILE OF ORGANIZED LABOR IN NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK STATE, AND THE UNITED STATES

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THE CUNY SCHOOL OF LABOR AND URBAN STUDIES

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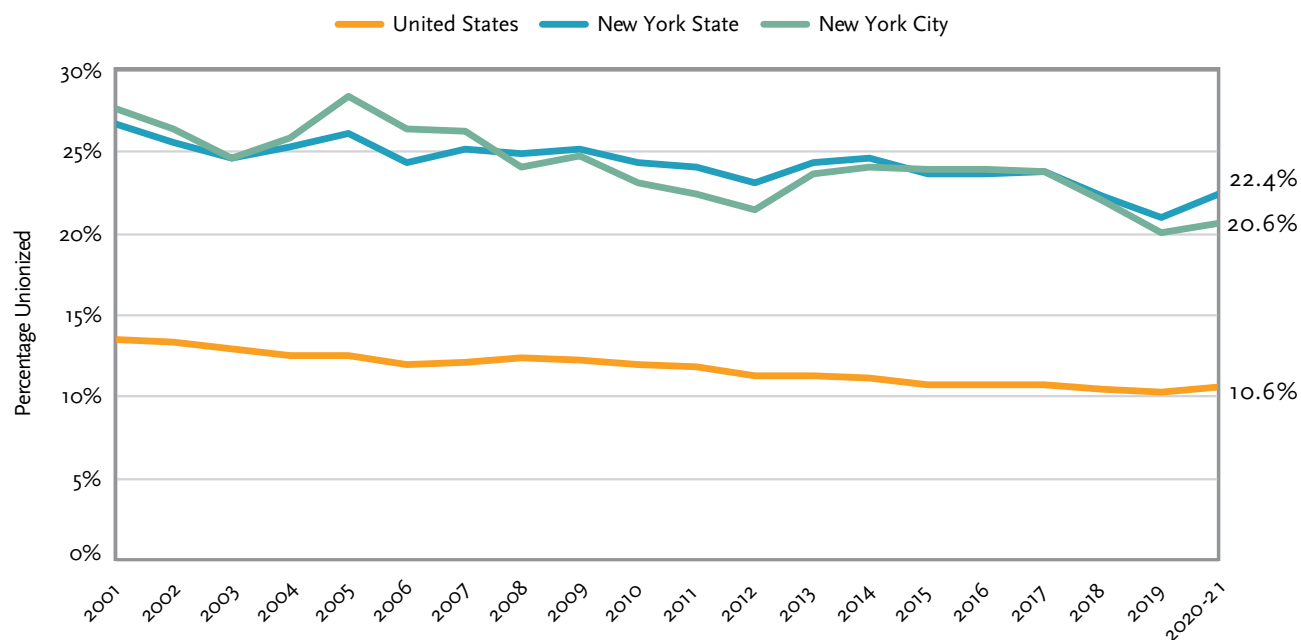
Organized labor in the United States has suffered sharp decline in numbers and influence in recent years. Following the long, slow recovery from the Great Recession, anti-union groups launched aggressive attacks on public-sector collective bargaining rights, culminating in the U.S. Supreme Court 2018 decision in *Janus v. AFSCME*, which prohibits public-sector unions from collecting “fair share” or “agency” fees from non-members. In the private sector, where unionization rates have fallen to record lows, rising health care costs and employer demands for concessions have added to the problems that unions face, even as inequalities in income and wealth have continued to rise. The COVID-19 pandemic has compounded these formidable challenges, as millions of U.S. workers suffered furloughs or layoffs, and others left the labor force entirely to care for children who remained at home while schools and childcare centers were closed. This huge crisis has had little effect on overall patterns of unionization, however, since both unionized and nonunion sectors were impacted by the economic downturn.

Organized labor has long been, and remains, much stronger in New York City and State than in the nation. Overall unionization rates in both the City and State have been relatively stable over the past decade, in contrast to steady erosion on the national

level, as Figure 1a shows. Over one-fifth (20.6 percent) of all wage and salary workers residing in the five boroughs of New York City were union members in 2020-21, a decline from the 24 percent level that held nearly steady from 2013-2016, according to the U.S. Current Population Survey (CPS) data that serve as the primary basis of this report.<sup>1</sup> The unionized share of the workforce was slightly higher in New York State (22.4 percent). New York ranks first in union density among the nation’s largest states, with a unionization rate more than double the U.S. average of 10.6 percent in 2020-21, and ranks second overall among all states (Hawaii’s union density is the nation’s highest, at 23.7 percent in 2020).<sup>2</sup> In absolute terms, New York State had more union members—1.7 million—than any state except California, which has a far larger population. In 2020-21, there were about 642,000 union members residing in the five boroughs of New York City, accounting for 37.7 percent of all union members in the State.<sup>3</sup>

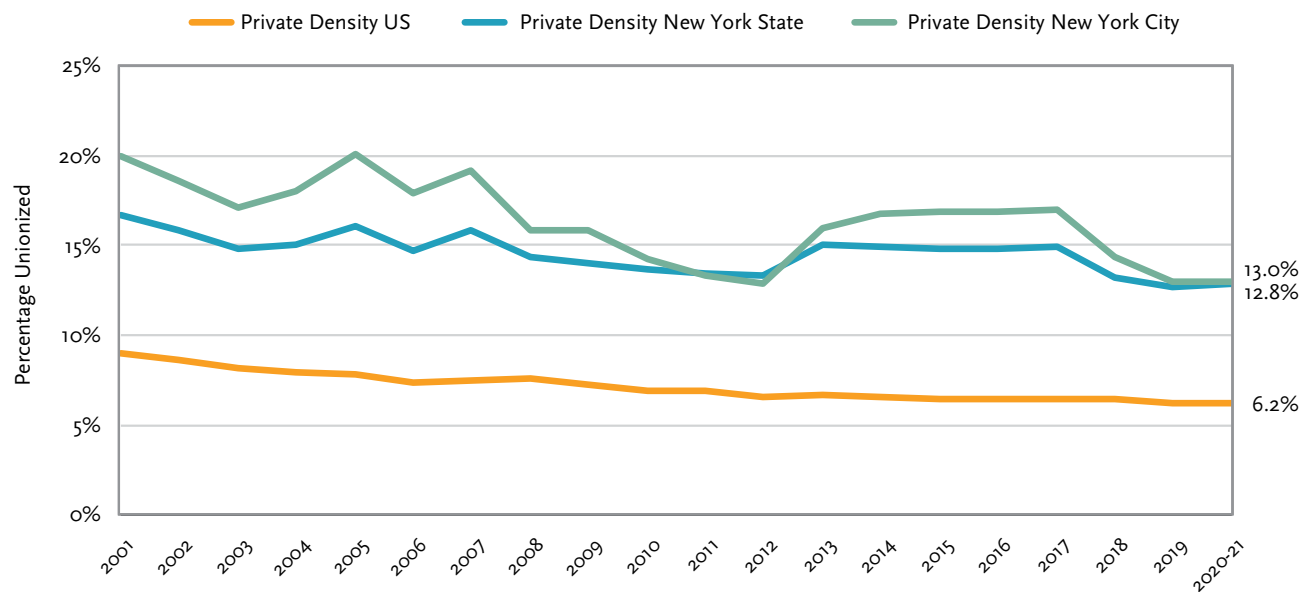
In recent decades, losses in union membership have been disproportionately concentrated in the private sector in the City, State and nation alike (see Figures 1b and 1c).<sup>4</sup> After a period of stability from 2013 to 2017, the decline of private-sector density resumed in the City and State, and then stabilized again after 2019; meanwhile in the nation as a whole there was slow but steady erosion from 2013

**FIGURE 1A. UNION DENSITY IN NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK STATE AND THE UNITED STATES, 2001-2021**



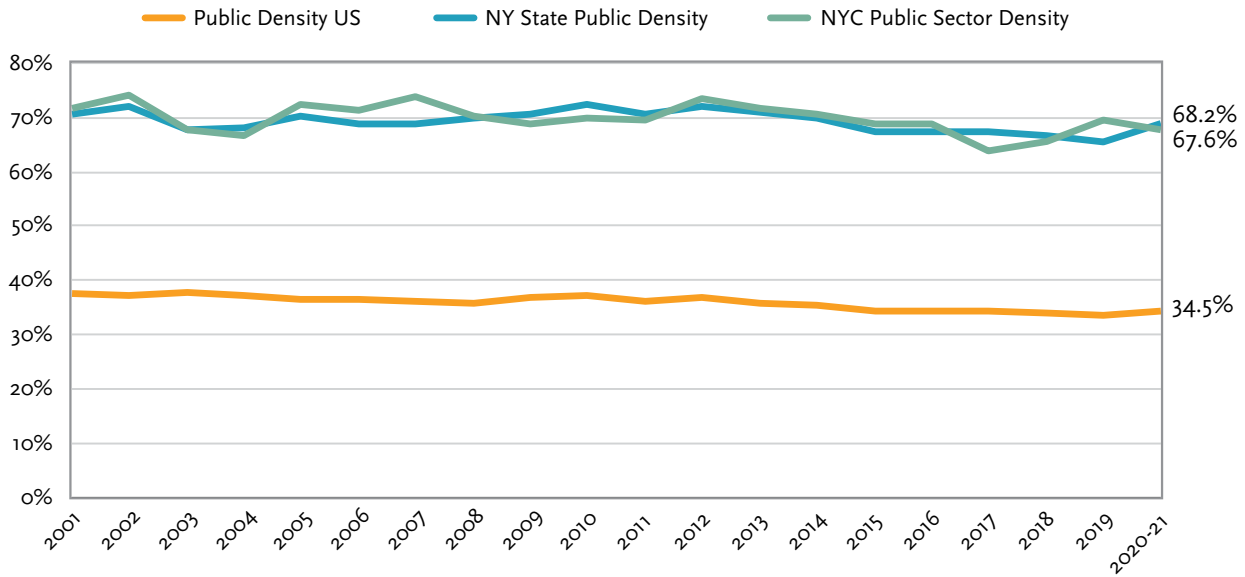
Percentages shown for 2020-21 include the 18 months from January 2020 to June 2021.  
Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2001—June 2021.

**FIGURE 1B. PRIVATE-SECTOR UNION DENSITY IN NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK STATE AND THE UNITED STATES, 2001 - 2021**



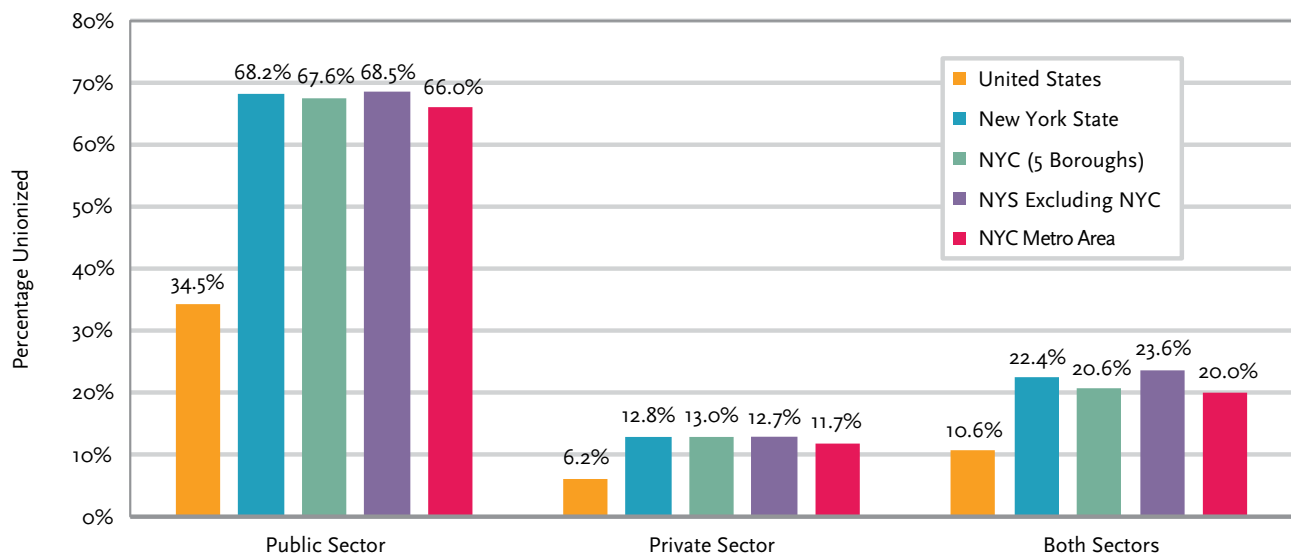
Percentages shown for 2020-21 include the 18 months from January 2020 to June 2021.  
Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2001—June 2021.

**FIGURE 1c. PUBLIC-SECTOR UNION DENSITY IN NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK STATE AND THE UNITED STATES, 2001 - 2021**



Percentages shown for 2019-20 include the 18 months from January 2020 to June 2021.  
Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2001 — June 2021.

**FIGURE 2. UNION DENSITY, BY SECTOR, NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK STATE AND THE UNITED STATES, 2020-21**



Percentages shown for 2020-21 include the 18 months from January 2020 to June 2021.  
Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2020 — June 2021.

## GENDER, UNION MEMBERSHIP, AND JOB LOSSES IN THE COVID-19 ECONOMIC DOWNTURN

The COVID-19 pandemic and the resulting lockdowns generated vast job losses across the United States. The New York City metropolitan area, where the pandemic's impact was felt earlier than in the rest of the country, suffered especially deep job losses in 2020. There the decline in employment among women workers was greater than among men—in sharp contrast to the Great Recession, which hit men's employment harder.

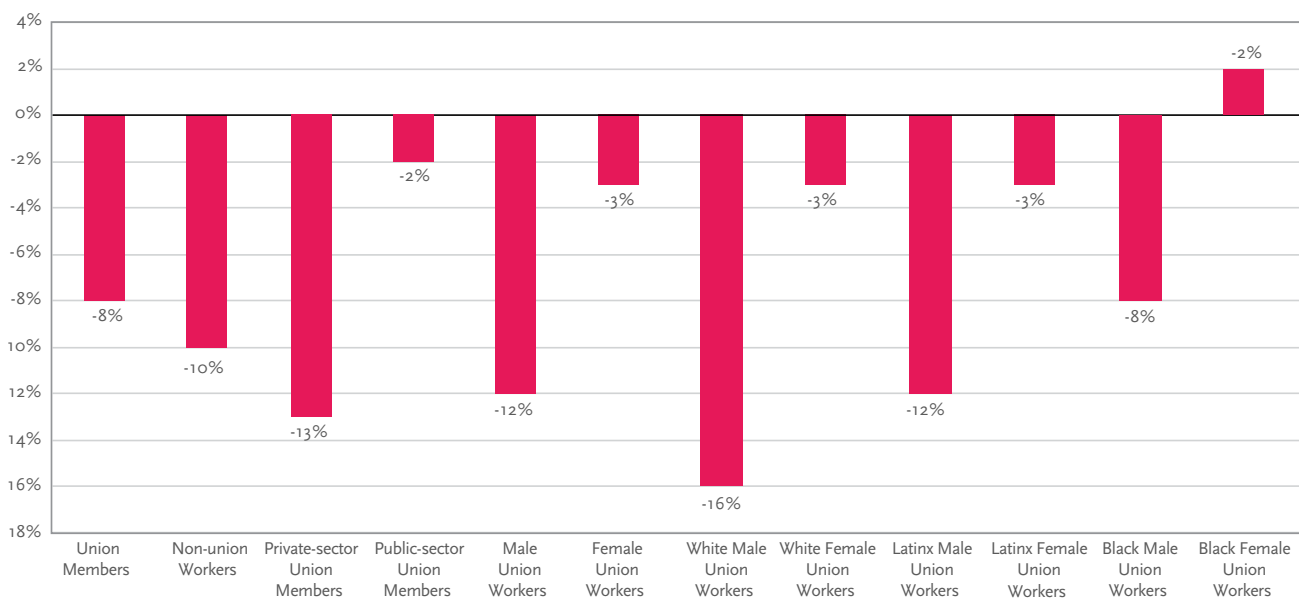
In the 2020 “she-cession,” occupations and industries in which women predominate—such as hospitality and retail—declined especially sharply, whereas during the Great Recession, and most other economic downturns over the past century, male-dominated sectors like construction were impacted most. Another novel feature of the COVID-19 economic crisis was the effect of the gender disparity in parenting responsibilities on employment. Mothers were more likely than fathers to leave the labor force as schools and child-care centers closed their doors in response to the pandemic.

These developments have been widely documented.<sup>1</sup> However, little attention has been devoted to comparing the impact of the COVID-19 economic downturn on unionized and nonunion workers, or to how unionization interacts with gender inequalities. That is our focus here.

Both union members and nonunion workers suffered deep employment declines in 2020, but the drop was somewhat smaller for union members, reflecting the fact that unionized workers generally have more job security than their nonunion counterparts as well as the fact that highly unionized industries were often less impacted by the downturn. This has been explored by other researchers at the national level.<sup>2</sup> In the United States as a whole, employment fell by 7 percent between 2019 and 2020 for nonunion workers, but by only 2 percent among union members. In the New York City metropolitan area, the gap was substantially narrower, as Figure B1 shows: employment fell by 10 percent between 2019 and 2020 among nonunion workers, compared to 8 percent among union members.<sup>3</sup> This may reflect the fact that in 2020 the pandemic hit the New York area much harder than many other parts of the nation.

As Figure B1 shows, unions helped to insulate women workers, in particular, from the broader “she-cession” in which overall job losses for women exceeded those for men. Indeed, for unionized workers in the New York City metropolitan area, the pandemic's impact on employment was far less extensive for women than for men. The number of employed male union members fell 12 percent between 2019 and 2020. But among employed women union members the decline was

**FIGURE B1. EMPLOYMENT LOSSES BETWEEN 2019 AND 2020 BY UNION MEMBERSHIP, GENDER AND RACE/ETHNICITY, NYC METROPOLITAN AREA**



See p. 21 for the endnotes to this section.

only one-fourth that size, or 3 percent, as Figure B1 shows. In the United States as whole, the gender gap was similar: employment declined 5 percent for male union members and 1 percent among female union members.

This disparity reflects the overrepresentation of women in public-sector employment: in the New York City metropolitan area, women were 55 percent of all workers in the public sector in 2019, prior to the pandemic, while only 47 percent of workers in the private sector that year were female. Moreover, employment declined relatively modestly in the area's highly-unionized public sector, by only 5 percent between 2019 and 2020. In the less-unionized private sector, in contrast, the decline was double that magnitude, or 10 percent. For union members, the gap between the public and private sectors was even wider: employment declined 13 percent among private-sector union members in the New York City metropolitan area, but only 3 percent among public-sector female union members.

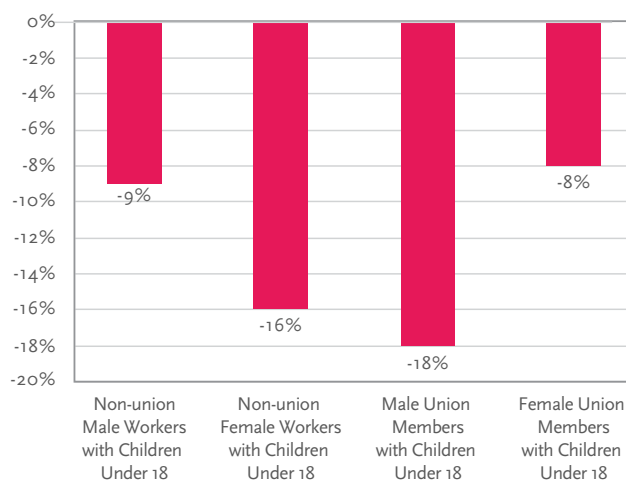
This gender disparity was especially pronounced for white union members: while employment among the area's white male union members fell 16 percent between 2019 and 2020, for white female union members it was only 3 percent. The gender gap among Latinx union members was nearly as great: employment fell 12 percent for Latinx male union members, but only 3 percent among Latinx female union members.

By contrast, among Blacks, the number of employed male union members fell 8 percent, or half the rate for white unionized men (16 percent); while the employment of Black female women members rose by 2 percent. This reflects the fact that Black workers are dramatically overrepresented in public-sector employment in the New York metropolitan area: in 2019, 12 percent of all public-sector workers were Black, compared to 3 percent of all private-sector workers. Black women are especially concentrated in public-sector employment: In 2019, 18 percent of employed Black women in the New York City metropolitan area were in the public sector, an even higher share than for women workers overall, 15 percent of whom were in the public sector.

As Figure B2 shows, among nonunionized women workers in the New York City metropolitan area who had children under age 18 in their households, employment fell by 16 percent from 2019 to 2020. In contrast, for nonunion men with children under 18 the decline was a more modest 9 percent. This finding is generally consistent with the national pattern: for nonunion women with children under 18, employment fell 9 percent, and for their male counterparts, by only 6 percent. And in the United States as a whole, female union members with children under 18 experienced a 4 percent employment decline, compared to 3 percent for male union members with children under 18.

However, as Figure B2 shows, among union members in the New York City metropolitan area, the opposite was true: employment fell by 8 percent among women union members

**FIGURE B2. EMPLOYMENT LOSSES BETWEEN 2019 AND 2020 BY UNION MEMBERSHIP, GENDER, AND PRESENCE OF CHILDREN UNDER 18 IN HOUSEHOLD, NYC METROPOLITAN AREA**



with children, while for male union members employment declined more than twice that amount: 18 percent. This probably reflects patterns of occupational segregation rather than gender disparities in parenting responsibilities. Unionized male workers in the New York City metropolitan area are concentrated in industries like construction and transportation, where employment among union members declined by 13 and 25 percent, respectively, between 2019 and 2020. Those two industries alone accounted for 29 percent (13 percent in construction and 16 percent in transportation) of all the area's unionized male workers with children at home in 2019.

By contrast unionized women are far more concentrated in public-sector jobs. Public administration and education accounted for 63 percent of all female union members with children under 18 in the New York City metropolitan area in 2019. In both these industries, and especially in education (which alone accounted for 51 percent of all unionized women with children in 2019), layoffs were relatively rare during the pandemic, particularly in regions where schools are highly unionized like the New York metropolitan area.

In summary, unionized women workers in the New York City metropolitan area suffered fewer job losses than their nonunion counterparts during the economic crisis tied to the COVID-19 pandemic. This is especially surprising in the context of the pandemic's impact on the labor market as a whole, where employment declines were greater for women than for men. Moreover, in contrast to the national trend in which mothers disproportionately withdrew from the labor market with school and childcare center closures, in the New York City metropolitan area, women union members with children suffered a smaller employment decline than nonunion women did.



to 2020-21. By contrast, in the public sector, union density has been relatively stable over time; indeed, despite the 2018 *Janus* decision, by 2020-21 density exceeded the 2018 level in all three geographical jurisdictions (see Figure 1c).

## Geographical Variation in Union Density

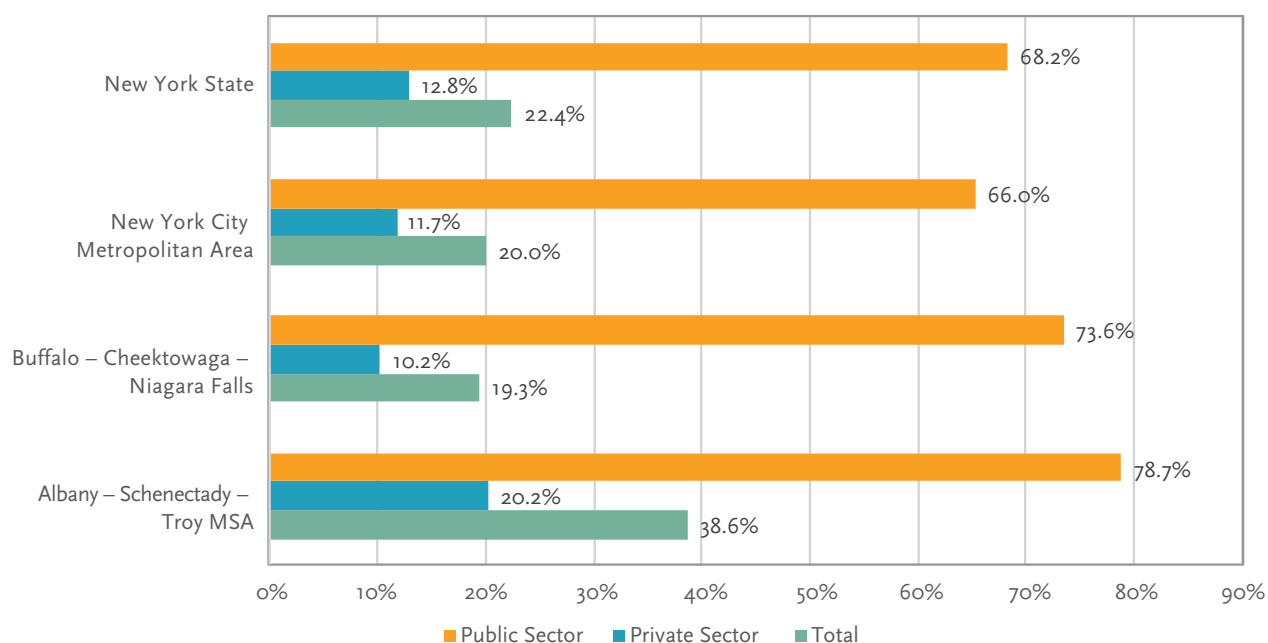
Figure 2 shows the 2020-21 private- and public-sector union density levels for the United States, New York State, New York City, upstate New York (excluding the five boroughs of New York City), and the larger New York City metropolitan “Combined Statistical Area.”<sup>5</sup> These are the five entities for which we present detailed data in this report.

By way of background, however, we begin with a brief look at some additional geographical areas. Figure 3 shows the 2020-21 density figures for the State, the New York City metropolitan area, and the second and third largest metropolitan areas in the State, namely Albany-Schenectady-Troy and Buffalo-Cheektowaga-Niagara Falls.<sup>6</sup> In all these geographical entities, unionization levels were consistently higher

in the public than in the private sector. In New York State public-sector density was 68.2 percent, nearly double the national average of 34.5 percent. The New York City metropolitan area had a slightly lower level of public-sector density (67.7 percent) than the state average, while the Albany-Schenectady-Troy area had a much higher one (78.7 percent). The Buffalo-Cheektowaga-Niagara Falls was slightly above average, at 73.6 percent.

Private-sector union density was lower across the board, but in this sector New York State had a 12.8 unionization rate, double the national average of 6.2 percent in 2020-21. Figure 3 shows the three metropolitan areas in the State for which data are available (the New York City, Albany-Schenectady-Troy, and Buffalo-Cheektowaga-Niagara Falls metropolitan areas). In the New York City metropolitan area private-sector density was 13.6 percent, more than double the national rate. Albany-Schenectady-Troy had a substantially higher rate of 20.2 percent, but Buffalo-Cheektowaga-Niagara Falls’ private-sector rate was a relatively low 10.2 percent. The large public-private sector differential,

**FIGURE 3. UNION DENSITY BY SECTOR, NEW YORK STATE AND SELECTED METROPOLITAN AREAS, 2020-21**



Percentages shown for 2020-21 include the 18 months from January 2020 to June 2021.  
Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2020—June 2021.



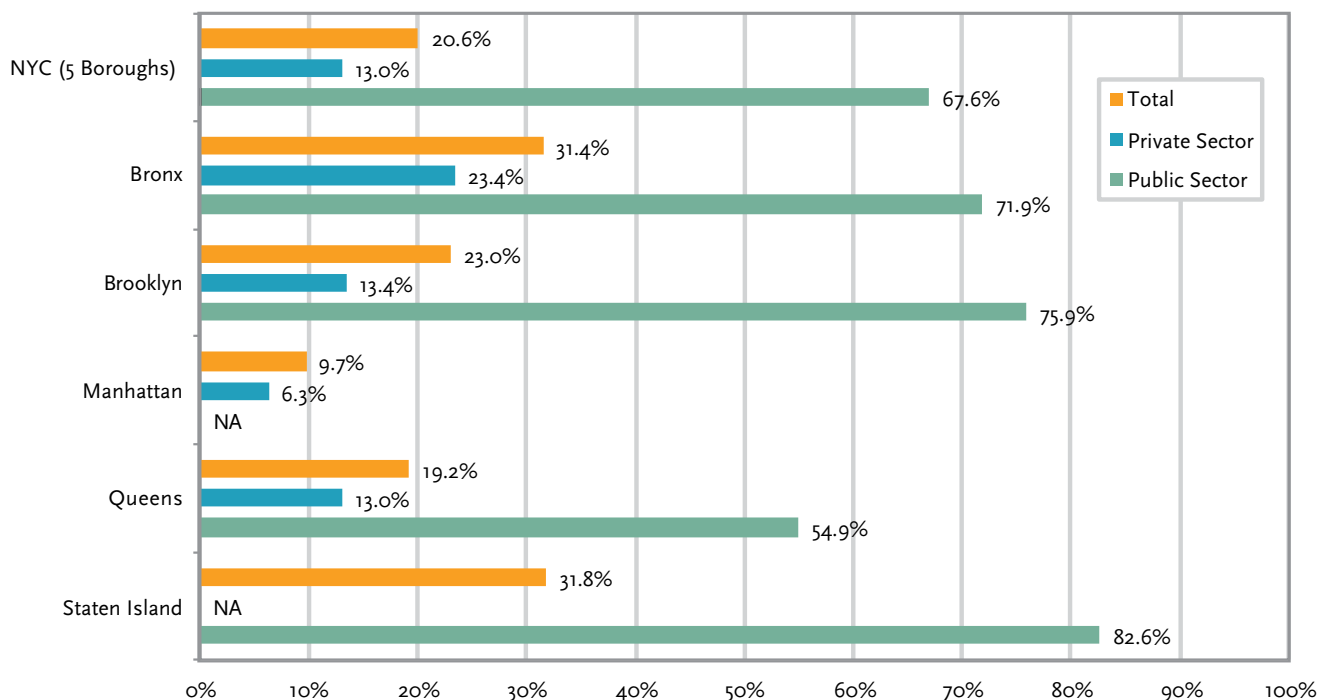
combined with the fact that the Capital District has a disproportionate share of public-sector employment, helps to explain why overall union density is higher in the Albany-Schenectady-Troy metropolitan area than in all the other areas shown in Figure 3.

Within New York City, as Figure 4 shows, union density varies across the five boroughs, with substantially higher unionization levels among residents of the “outer boroughs” than among those living in Manhattan in 2020-21. Unfortunately, the CPS sample size is too small to fully disaggregate the private and public sector rates in Manhattan and Staten Island. The highest private-sector union density level among the four outer boroughs is in the Bronx, followed by Brooklyn. In regard to the public sector, as Figure 4 shows, public-sector density is slightly above the city-wide average in Brooklyn and the Bronx, while in Queens it is somewhat lower.

## Union Membership by Age, Earnings, and Education

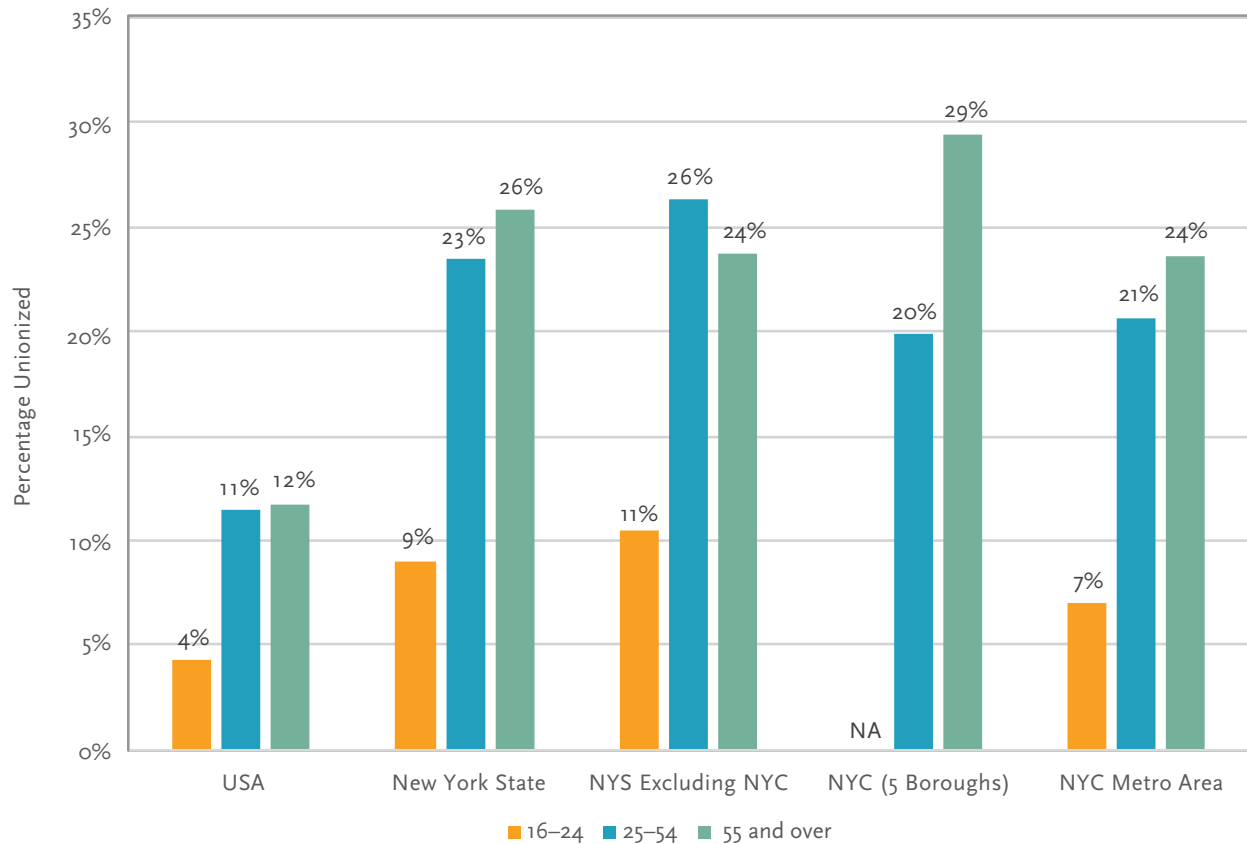
Unionization rates are much higher for older than younger workers. As Figure 5 shows, in all the geographical entities shown except for upstate New York, the rates are highest for workers aged 55 years or more, somewhat lower for those aged 25-54, and far lower for those aged 16-24. (In upstate New York the rate is highest for those 25-54 years old.) This pattern reflects the limited extent of union organizing among new labor market entrants. In addition, as Figure 6 shows, unionized jobs typically provide workers with higher wages than non-union jobs do. Higher wages, in turn, are strongly associated with lower turnover, skewing the unionized workforce to include a disproportionate share of older workers. In addition, unionized jobs typically offer more job security than nonunion jobs, further reducing turnover and thus

**FIGURE 4. UNION DENSITY BY SECTOR, NEW YORK CITY AND ITS BOROUGH, 2020-21**



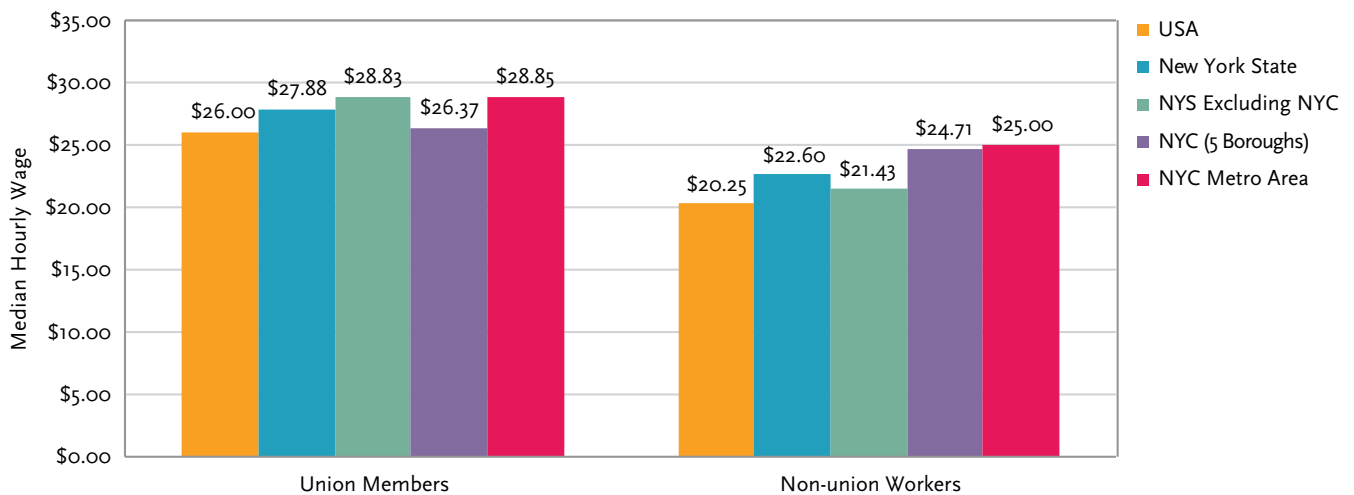
NA = Sample size is insufficient to generate reliable estimates. See footnote 1 in the text.  
 Percentages shown for 2020-21 include the 18 months from January 2020 to June 2021.  
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2020—June 2021.

**FIGURE 5. UNIONIZATION RATES BY AGE, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2020-21**



NA = Sample size is insufficient to generate reliable estimates. See footnote 1 in the text.  
 Percentages shown for 2020-21 include the 18 months from January 2020 to June 2021.  
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2020—June 2021.

**FIGURE 6. MEDIAN HOURLY WAGE, UNION MEMBERS AND NON-UNION WORKERS, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2020-21**



Figures reflect preliminary estimates, in 2020 dollars.  
 Wages shown for 2020-21 include the 18 months from January 2020 to June 2021.  
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2020—June 2021.

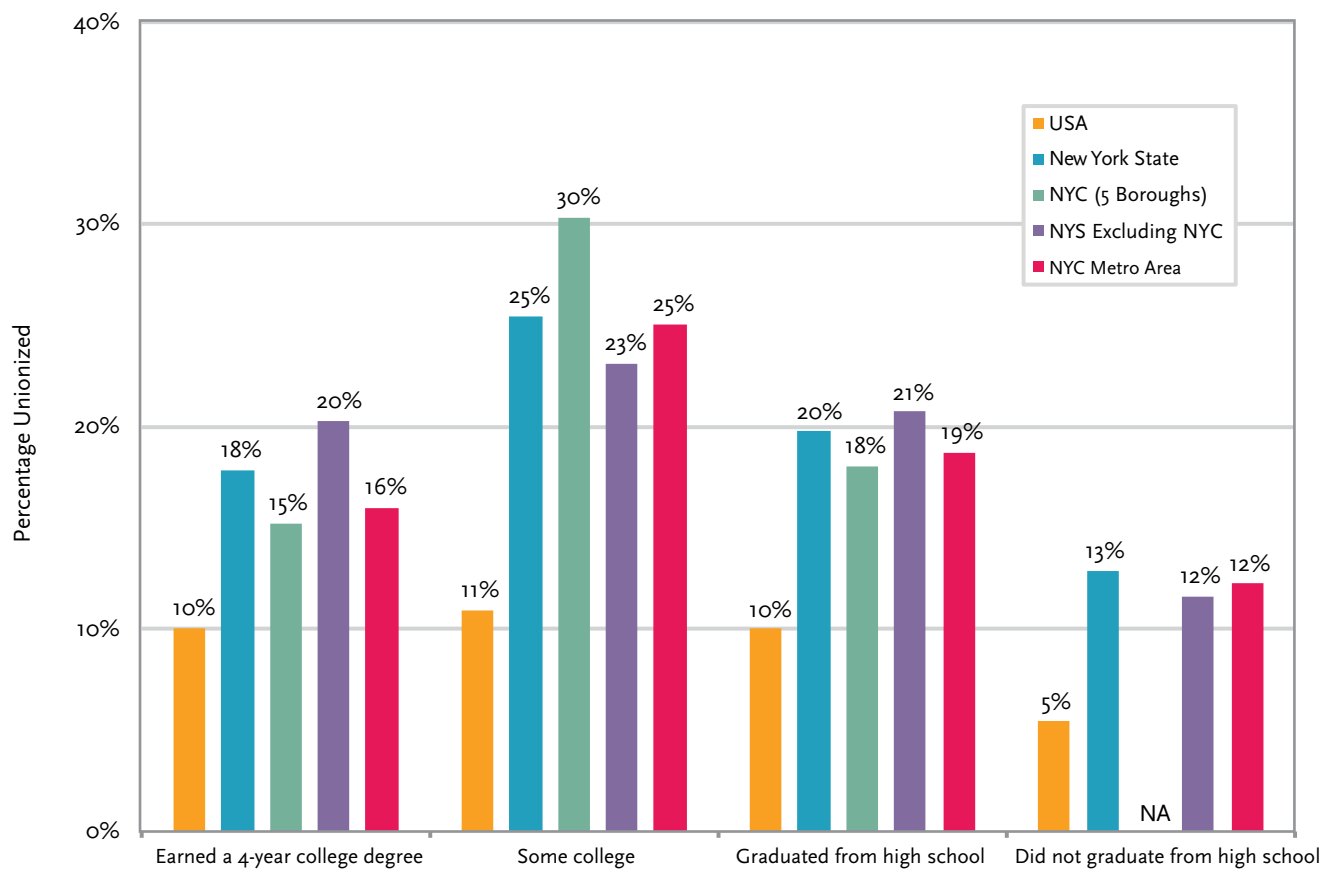
further contributing to the relatively higher average age of unionized workers.

Figure 7 shows that—contrary to popular belief—in all five geographical entities shown, college-educated workers have higher unionization rates than those with less education. The group with “some college”—education beyond high school but short of attaining a four-year degree—have the highest rates. Decades ago, the archetypal union member was a blue-collar worker with limited formal education. But college attendance rates have increased steadily over time, and today mid-level professionals in fields like education and public administration—most of whom have attended college—are more likely to be unionized than any other group of workers (as discussed further below).

## Industry Variation in Unionization Rates

In 2020-21 more than half (56.0 percent) of all unionized workers in the United States were in three basic industry groups: educational services, health care and social assistance, and public administration, as Table 1 shows. In New York City and State, those three industry groups account for an even larger majority of all unionized workers (60.9 percent and 63.5 percent, respectively). All three of these industry groups include vast numbers of public-sector jobs (although in health care the majority of workers are employed in the private sector, as are about one-third of those in education). Moreover, in contrast to many traditional union strongholds, all three of these industries include relatively large numbers of college-educated workers.

**FIGURE 7. UNIONIZATION RATES BY EDUCATION, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2020-21**



NA = Sample size is insufficient to generate reliable estimates. See footnote 1 in the text.

Percentages shown for 2020-21 include the 18 months from January 2020 to June 2021.

Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2020—June 2021.

As Table 1 also shows, the composition of union membership in New York City, and to a lesser degree in the State as well, deviates in other respects from the national pattern. Manufacturing accounts for a miniscule proportion of union membership in the five boroughs and in the New York City metropolitan area (so small that the sample size makes it impossible to specify precise figures). In contrast, finance, insurance and real estate (FIRE) and professional and business services account for a larger share of the total in the New York City metropolitan area, and to a lesser degree statewide, than is the case elsewhere in the nation.

Table 2 shows the composition of wage and salary employment by industry group for the same five geographical entities for which the composition of union membership is presented in Table 1. Comparing the two tables reveals that, for most industry groups, the share of union membership deviates greatly from the share of employment. Industry groups with high union density, such as educational services, or

transportation and utilities, make up a much larger share of union membership than of employment. By contrast, wholesale and retail trade, and the leisure and hospitality industry group, account for a far more substantial share of employment than of union membership.

Figure 8 depicts the industry group data in a different format, showing unionization rates by industry (as opposed to the share of the unionized workforce in each industry group, as shown in Table 1) for the City, the metropolitan area, the State and the nation. Unionization rates vary widely across the eleven industry groups shown. In all four of the geographic jurisdictions shown, education, public administration, and transportation and utilities are the most highly unionized industry groups. In New York City, the next most unionized industry group is health care and social assistance, followed by construction. By contrast, in the United States as a whole, the unionization rate for health care and social assistance is only slightly above average. Outside New York City,

**TABLE 1: COMPOSITION OF UNION MEMBERSHIP BY INDUSTRY GROUP, FOR SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS IN NEW YORK AND THE UNITED STATES, 2020-21**

Industry Group	USA	New York State	NYS Excl. NYC	NYC (5 Boroughs)	NYC Metro Area
Construction	7.9%	6.6%	7.2%	6.2%	8.0%
Manufacturing	8.5%	3.4%	4.6%	NA	NA
Wholesale and retail trade	5.7%	4.6%	5.4%	NA	5.1%
Transportation and utilities	12.7%	10.1%	9.7%	11.1%	12.3%
Information services	1.4%	2.1%	NA	NA	2.4%
Finance, insurance and real estate	1.5%	2.5%	NA	NA	3.2%
Professional and business services	2.9%	3.4%	2.8%	NA	3.4%
Educational services	29.4%	31.5%	32.9%	26.4%	30.6%
Health care and social assistance	10.4%	15.4%	12.6%	20.6%	15.0%
Leisure and hospitality	2.0%	2.3%	NA	NA	2.1%
Other services	1.0%	1.5%	NA	NA	NA
Public administration	16.2%	16.6%	18.3%	14.0%	14.6%
TOTAL	99.5%	99.9%	93.4%	78.3%	96.6%
TOTAL of education, health and public administration	56.0%	63.5%	63.8%	60.9%	60.2%

NOTE: Totals may not sum due to rounding.

NA = Sample size is insufficient to generate reliable estimates. See footnote 1 in the text.

Percentages shown for 2020-21 include the 18 months from January 2020 to June 2021.

Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2020 - June 2021.

**TABLE 2: COMPOSITION OF WAGE AND SALARY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY GROUP, FOR SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS IN NEW YORK AND THE UNITED STATES, 2020-21**

Industry Group	USA	New York State	NYS Excl. NYC	NYC (5 Boroughs)	NYC Metro Area
Construction	7.4%	6.7%	7.0%	6.1%	7.2%
Manufacturing	9.9%	5.5%	7.5%	2.6%	5.2%
Wholesale and retail trade	13.3%	12.1%	12.8%	10.8%	11.8%
Transportation and utilities	5.9%	5.9%	5.3%	6.5%	6.5%
Information services	1.6%	2.5%	1.7%	3.7%	2.7%
Finance, insurance and real estate	6.9%	8.8%	7.4%	10.9%	10.4%
Professional and business services	12.8%	13.1%	11.9%	14.9%	14.7%
Educational services	9.3%	11.6%	12.8%	10.5%	10.9%
Health care and social assistance	11.6%	13.4%	13.7%	13.2%	12.2%
Leisure and hospitality	9.5%	9.8%	8.7%	11.0%	9.0%
Other services	4.9%	5.2%	4.9%	5.8%	5.1%
Public administration	4.8%	5.0%	5.7%	4.0%	4.1%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

NOTE: Totals may not sum due to rounding.

NA = Sample size is insufficient to generate reliable estimates. See footnote 1 in the text.

Percentages shown for 2020-21 include the 18 months from January 2020 to June 2021.

Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2020 - June 2021.

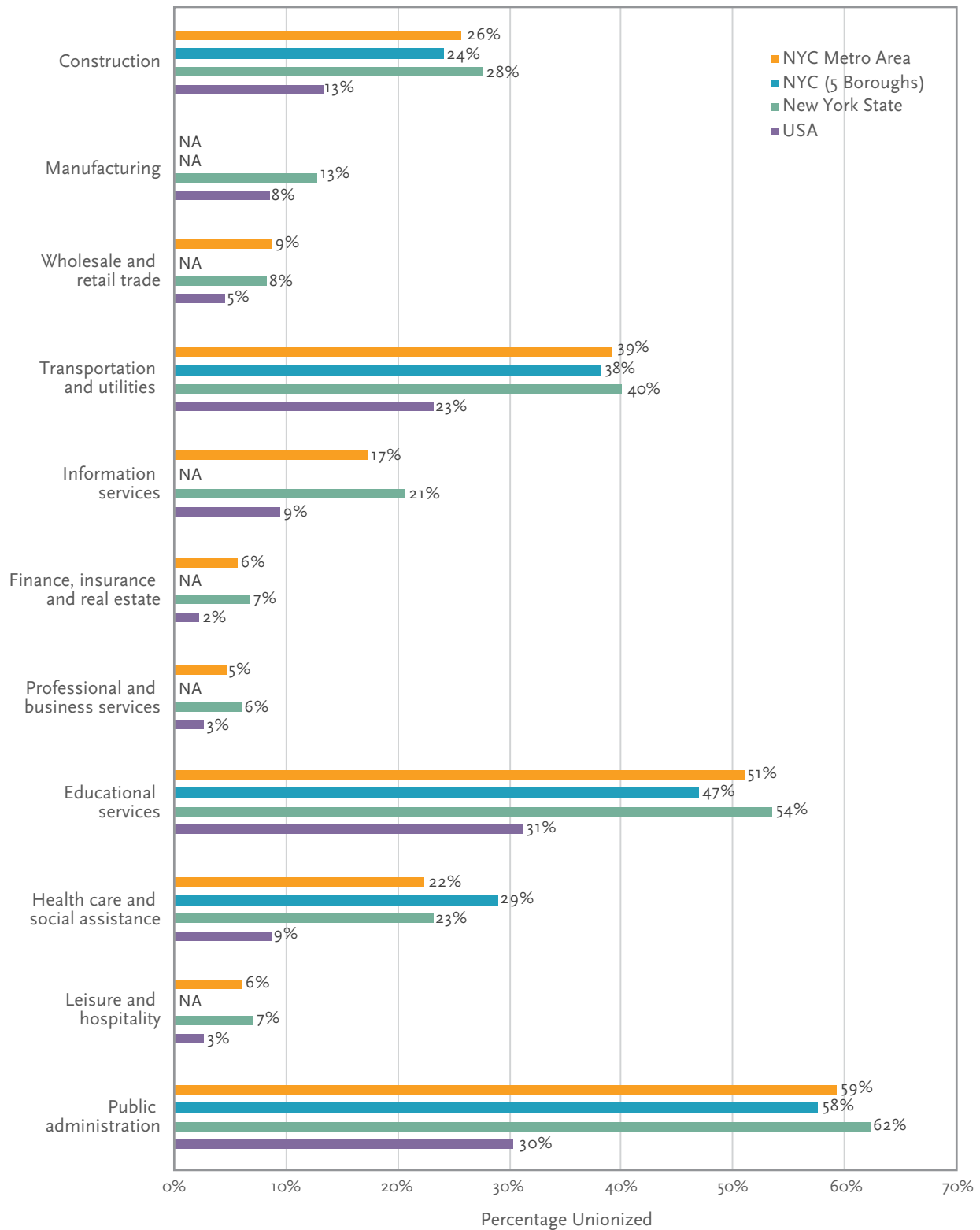
the other outstanding high-density industry group is construction, which has a higher unionization rate than health care and social assistance in the other three geographical entities shown in Figure 8. At the other extreme, regardless of geography, union density is consistently low—in the single digits—in wholesale and retail trade; leisure and hospitality; and in finance, insurance and real estate.

Because these industry group data are highly aggregated, however, they obscure the complexity of the City, State and nation's extremely uneven patterns of unionization by industry. The limited sample size of the CPS restricts our ability to capture that complexity for 2020-21. For this reason, we created a different dataset that consolidates CPS data over a much longer period, the eleven and a half years from January 2009 to June 2021, inclusive. This 150-month blend provides a much larger sample size, permitting a far more disaggregated analysis of industry variations. Because of the longer time span represented in the data, however, the unionization rates derived from this dataset differ somewhat from those shown in Figure 8 for 2020-21.<sup>7</sup>

Table 3 summarizes the 2009-2021 data for 41 industry groups, showing unionization rates in the New York City metropolitan area, New York State, and the United States as a whole. For almost all the industry groups shown for which data are available, the State had far higher union density than in the nation as a whole in this period. The two exceptions are food manufacturing and the residual category “other transportation”; in both cases the rates were only slightly lower in the State than in the nation. In the New York City metropolitan area, unionization rates for these two industries were even lower than in the State, and there were two additional industries with unionization rates below the national average: paper products and printing; and another residual category: “other manufacturing.”

In 14 of the 41 industries shown, 2009-2021 unionization rates were at least 25 percent in the New York City metropolitan area: utilities; construction; retail grocery stores; air transportation; bus service and urban transit; postal service (transportation); couriers and messengers; “other information services”; elementary and secondary schools; hospitals; nursing

**FIGURE 8. UNIONIZATION RATES BY INDUSTRY GROUP, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2020-21**



NA = Sample size is insufficient to generate reliable estimates. See footnote 1 in the text.

Percentages shown for 2020-21 include the 18 months from January 2020 to June 2021.

Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2020—June 2021.

**TABLE 3. UNIONIZATION RATES BY INDUSTRY, NEW YORK CITY METROPOLITAN AREA,  
NEW YORK STATE, AND THE UNITED STATES, 2009-2021**

Industry	New York Metro	New York State	United States
TOTAL (All Industries)	20.8%	23.6%	11.1%
Agriculture and mining	NA	NA	3.6
Utilities	45	50	25
Construction	26	29	14
Food manufacturing	8	12	13
Textile and apparel manufacturing	NA	NA	3.1
Paper products and printing	10.3	23.5	12.2
Other manufacturing	7.4	13.6	9.1
Wholesale grocery and beverages	15.5	16.5	8.8
Other wholesale trade	5.2	6.8	2.7
Retail grocery stores	25.1	20.7	15.8
Pharmacy and drug stores	9.5	9.5	4.5
Department and discount stores	7.3	6.3	2.6
Other retail trade	NA	NA	2.0
Air transportation	43.1	40.1	39.2
Truck transportation	14.9	20.3	8.9
Bus service and urban transit	59.9	63.5	40.3
Postal service (transportation)	74.0	77.1	64.2
Couriers and messengers	29.5	30.8	24.8
Other transportation	24.0	26.1	29.8
Newspaper, periodical and book publishing	6.7	7.6	4.7
Motion pictures and video	17.1	16.8	12.5
Radio, television and cable	16.3	18.6	7.1
Wired and other telecommunication	22.6	32.5	14.9
Other information services	30.4	25.0	16.9
Finance, insurance and real estate	7.7	9.2	2.5
Building and security services	14.0	15.8	4.9
Other management and professional services	3.4	5.3	1.9
Elementary and secondary schools	63.6	68.0	40.3
Other educational services	24.3	27.3	12.8
Offices of physicians and other health providers	5.0	6.3	2.6
Hospitals	36.1	38.6	13.8
Nursing care facilities	28.0	30.1	7.0
Home health care services	27.0	27.7	7.7
Child day care services	10.4	11.7	3.6
Other health care and social assistance	21.2	23.4	9.1
Performing arts, museums and sports	25.8	31.0	12.9
Amusement, gambling and recreation	14.2	13.9	7.0
Hotels and accommodation	22.5	20.1	7.3
Restaurants, food service & drinking places	3.2	2.9	1.4
Other services	6.3	7.2	2.9
Public administration	60.1	65.0	31.1

NA = Sample size is insufficient to generate reliable estimates. See footnote 1 in the text.

Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2020 - June 2021.



care facilities; home health care services; performing arts, museums and sports; and public administration. With the exception of retail grocery stores, these industries also had rates at or above 25 percent in the State. “Other transportation” and “other educational services” were well above that threshold in the State (but not in the metropolitan area). In the case of air transportation and postal service transportation, these high unionization rates are the product of national-level collective bargaining, while for the other industries they reflect union strength in local and regional labor markets.

Union contracts may no longer set the wage standard for the New York workforce as a whole, but they often do so in key industries like hospitals, nursing care facilities and telecommunications, as well as in public-sector industries like transit, education, home

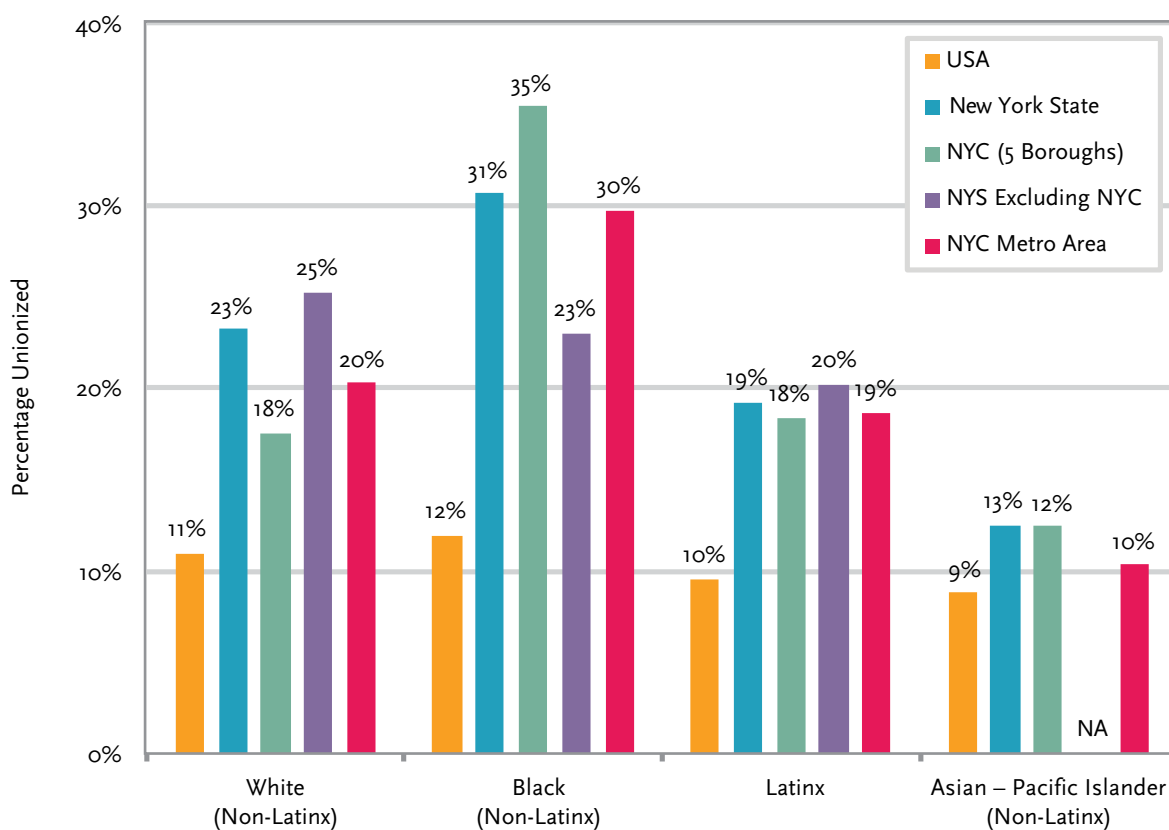
health care (the unionized portion of which is publicly funded) and public administration.

That said, the portrait of industry-specific unionization rates shown in Table 3 fails to capture some important points of differentiation. A notable example is the differences among construction industry segments: commercial construction is far more unionized than its residential counterpart in the metropolitan area, the State and the nation alike.

## Union Membership Demographics

The patterns of unionization by industry have a powerful effect on the demographics of unionism because males and females, as well as workers of various racial and ethnic origins, are unevenly distributed across industries.<sup>8</sup> For example, educational services, as well as health care and social assistance,

**FIGURE 9. UNIONIZATION RATES BY RACE AND ETHNICITY, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2020-21**



NA = Sample size is insufficient to generate reliable estimates. See footnote 1 in the text.

Percentages shown for 2020-21 include the 18 months from January 2020 to June 2021.

Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2020—June 2021.

both of which have very high unionization rates, disproportionately employ female workers. This helps to explain why the 2020-21 unionization rates for women in New York City and in the New York metropolitan area were higher than that of men, as Figure 9 shows. The male unionization rate was slightly greater than that of females in 2020-21 in upstate New York and in the nation as a whole, but even in those jurisdictions the gender gap is relatively small by historical standards.

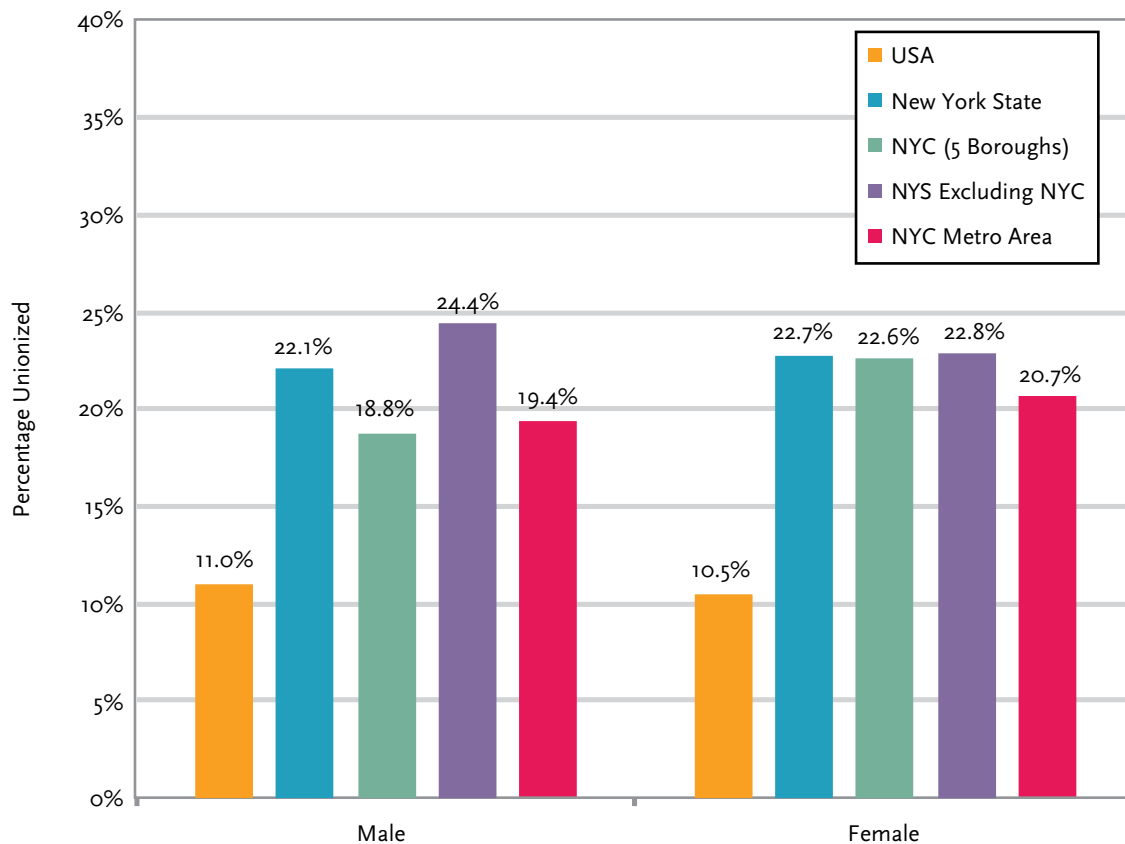
Unionization rates also vary by race and ethnicity, as Figure 10 shows. Like the gender dynamic, this too reflects differential racial and ethnic patterns of employment across industries. Blacks are the most highly unionized group in four of the five geographical entities, in large part reflecting their disproportionately high representation in public-sector employment. This effect is further amplified in New York City because of the size of the highly unionized transit sector, in which

Blacks are overrepresented. Although this is not the case for the other geographical areas shown in Figure 10, in New York City, Latinx workers' unionization rate was equal to that of non-Latinx whites in 2020-21. In the other four jurisdictions shown, however, whites had a slightly higher unionization rate than their Latinx counterparts did.

Notably, workers born in the U.S. territory of Puerto Rico—a substantial population group in the New York metropolitan area and the state, have higher unionization rates than mainland U.S.-born workers. In 2020-21, 13 percent of all Puerto Rico-born workers in the United States were unionized, a higher rate than for any other racial or ethnic group.<sup>9</sup>

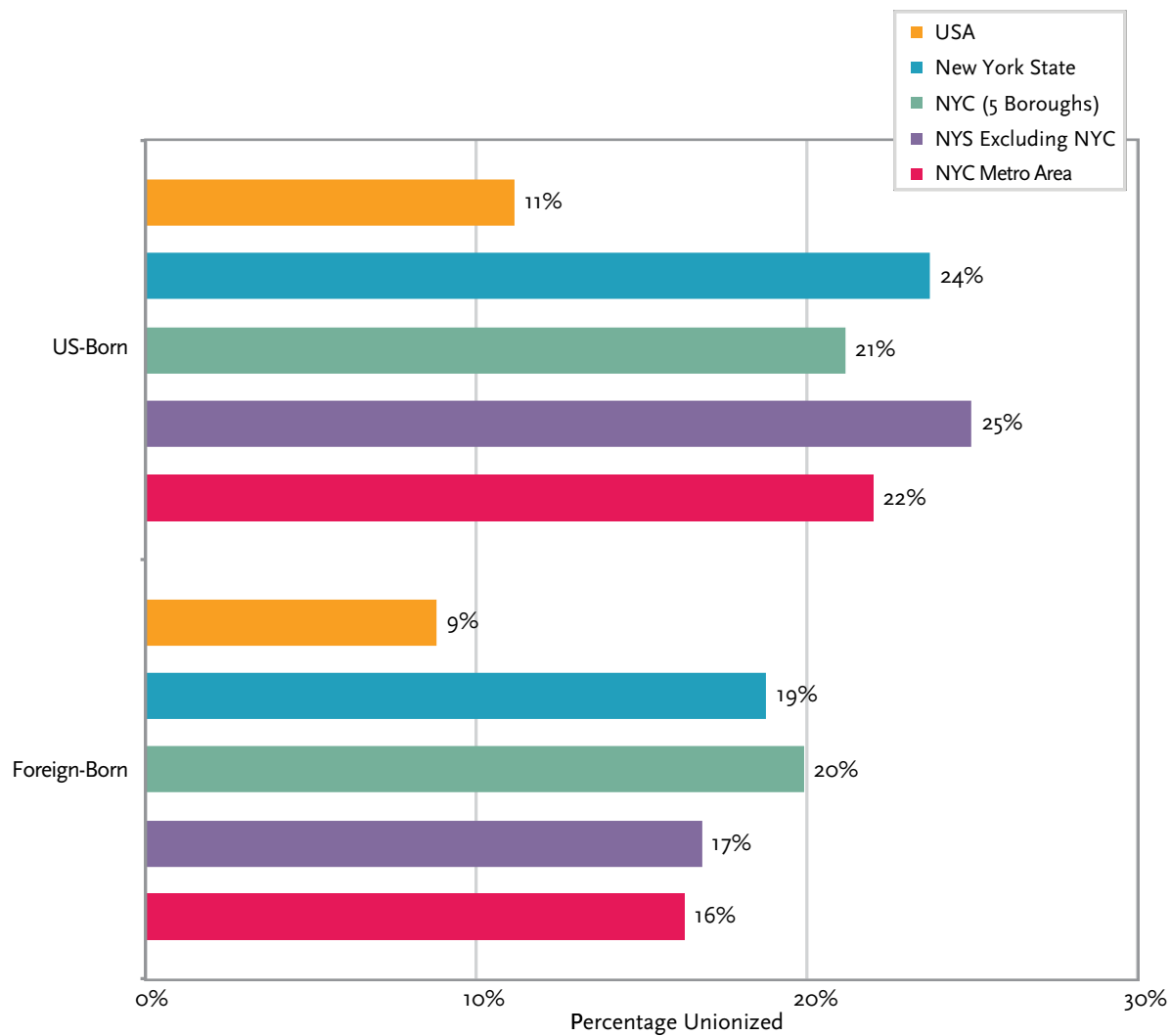
Unionization rates also vary with nativity, as Figure 11 shows. In 2020-21, foreign-born workers' unionization rate was only slightly below that of U.S.-born workers in New York City. The gap between these two groups was wider in the other geographical areas

**FIGURE 10. UNIONIZATION RATES BY GENDER, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2020-21**



Percentages shown for 2020-21 include the 18 months from January 2020 to June 2021.  
Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2020—June 2021.

**FIGURE 11. UNIONIZATION RATES BY NATIVITY, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2020-21**



Percentages shown for 2020-21 include the 18 months from January 2020 to June 2021.  
Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2020—June 2021.

shown, however, reflecting the fact that relatively few foreign-born workers are employed in the highly unionized public sector. New York City is different from the other geographical entities shown because it has a large concentration of immigrants who arrived in the United States decades ago, many of whom are naturalized U.S. citizens; those in this group are far more likely to be union members than recent arrivals.

More generally, as Figure 12 shows, foreign-born workers are not a homogenous group. The unionization rates of naturalized U.S. citizens are higher than that of U.S.-born workers, in three of the five geographical entities shown, and naturalized citizens have the same unionization rate as their U.S.-born counterparts in upstate New York. Only in the New York City metropolitan area is the rate for the U.S.-born higher than that of naturalized citizens. Foreign-born non-citizens, by contrast, have very low rates of unionization. They typically are relatively recent arrivals, and most are also relatively young; as noted above, few younger workers are union members, regardless of nativity. Moreover, noncitizen immigrants are disproportionately likely to be employed in informal-sector jobs, which tend to have very low unionization rates. Over time, however, many immigrants can move into sectors of the labor market where unions are present. That is especially the case for those who are naturalized citizens.

Figure 13 shows that unionization rates for foreign-born workers vary much less within the public and private sectors than between them, regardless of citizenship status. Relatively few noncitizens are employed in the public sector, however. Only 5.1 percent of all foreign-born noncitizens in the United States were employed in the public sector, compared to 18.6 percent of U.S. born workers. Thus, the high level of public-sector unionization among noncitizens does little to boost their overall unionization rate. And as the bottom half of Figure 13 shows, private-sector unionization rates are consistently lower for all groups, regardless of citizenship status.

## Conclusion

Actively recruiting new members into the ranks of the labor movement, as many dedicated labor organizers have sought to do in recent years, is the primary means by which unions themselves can act to increase the unionization level. Indeed, this is one key counterweight to the downward trend in organized labor's influence. Yet many factors that the labor movement cannot control also critically influence the level of union density. All else equal, if employment declines in a highly unionized sector of the economy or expands in a non-union (or weakly unionized) sector, union density will fall. The best-known example of this is the steady decline of manufacturing, a former union stronghold, over the past few decades, along with the expansion of private-sector service industries where unions have historically been weak; indeed, these combined trends have been a major driver of the general erosion of union density. Conversely, if employment expands in a highly unionized sector or declines in a non-union or weakly unionized one, the overall level of density will increase. Privatization and subcontracting, both of which often involve a shift from union to non-union status for affected workers, further complicate the picture in some settings. Over the long term, given the “churning” effects of employment shifts and (in non-recessionary periods) normal labor market growth and turnover, simply to maintain union density at a given level requires a great deal of new organizing; and to increase density requires far more extensive effort.

As we have seen, in recent years New York City and State's unionization levels have been far higher than in other parts of the nation—about double the national average. However, this was not the case in the mid-20th century, when unionization was at its peak: In 1953, 34.4 percent of New York State's workers were unionized, only slightly above the 32.6 percent national level.<sup>10</sup> Although since then organized labor has more than held its own in New York relative to the nation, in absolute terms unions have lost considerable ground in both the City and State over the

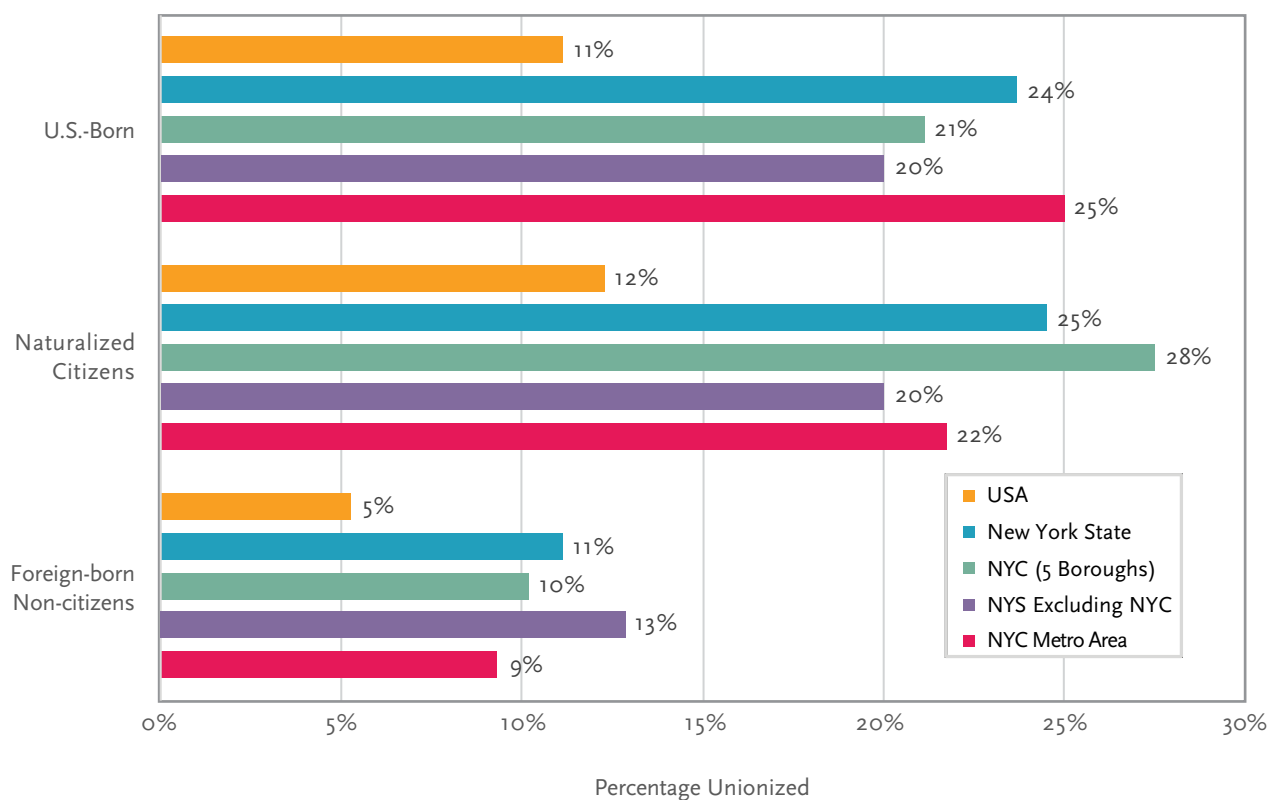
past few decades especially in the private sector. As recently as 1986, New York City's private-sector union density was 25.3 percent, nearly twelve percentage points above the 2020-21 level (13.0 percent) level, and statewide the figure was 24.0 percent as recently as 1983 (compared to 12.8 percent in 2020-21).<sup>11</sup>

As union strength in the private sector has declined, the ratio of public—to private-sector unionization in New York City and State has soared to record highs. In the City in particular, where the Great Recession accelerated the decline in private-sector density, that ratio is of serious concern. In labor's glory days, a strongly unionized private sector helped foster a social-democratic political culture in New York City.<sup>12</sup> The decline in private-sector density is among the factors that have threatened to undermine that tradition in recent years. Although thus far public-sector density in the City has been preserved

intact, even there (albeit to a much lesser extent than in the rest of the nation) public-sector unions have been increasingly on the political defensive in recent years. They were unable to negotiate new contracts for several years after the Great Recession; although that was remedied in the early years of the de Blasio administration. For years that impasse deprived most City workers of significant increases in compensation.

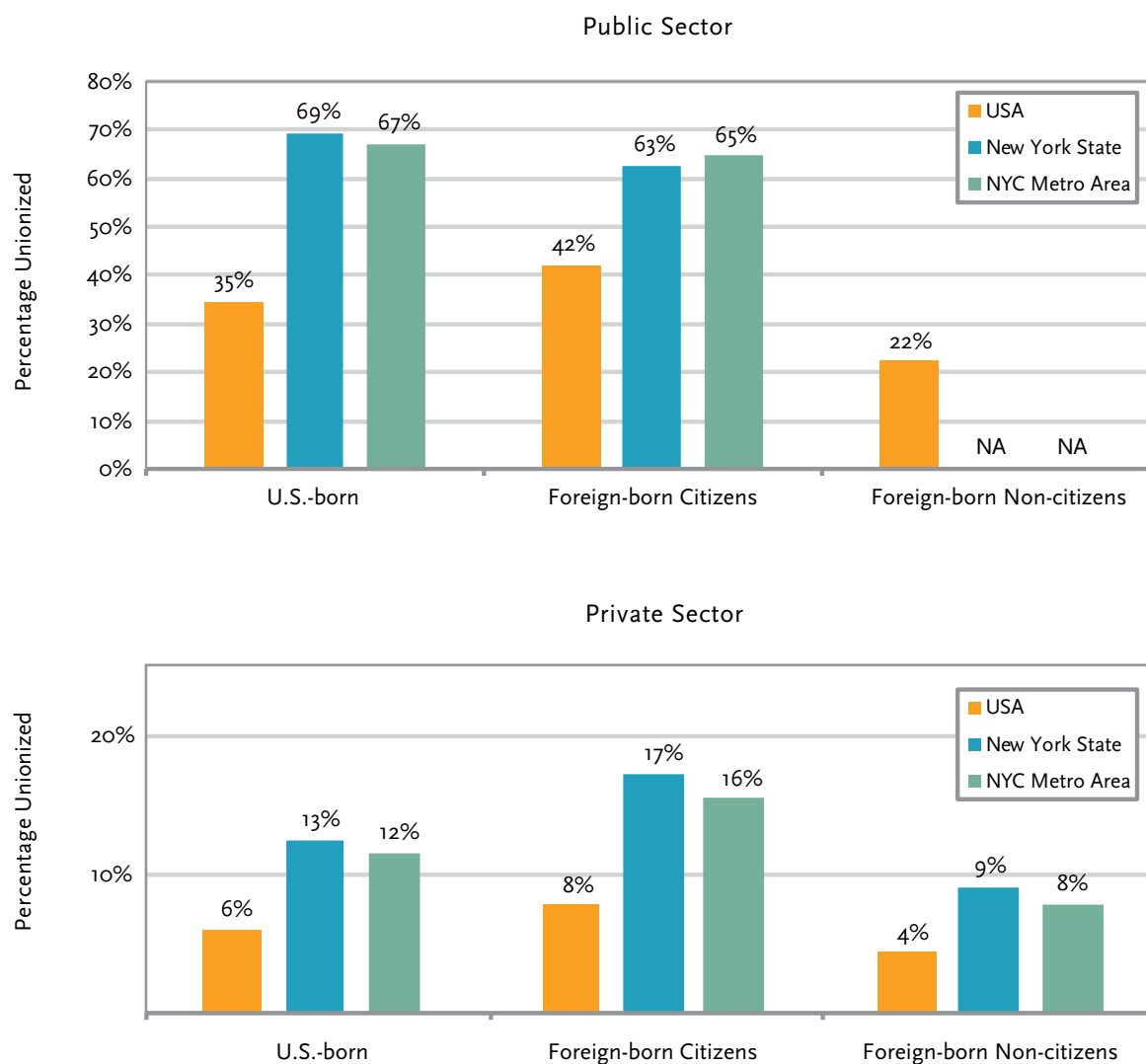
More generally, even taking into account New York City and State's unusually high union density levels the highest of any major U.S. city and the second highest of any state this is a difficult period for organized labor. Still, for the time being, unions continue to offer substantial protection to a diverse population of workers in the City and State, including teachers and other professionals, as well as large numbers of women, racial-ethnic minorities, and immigrants in both professional and nonprofessional jobs.

**FIGURE 12. UNIONIZATION RATES BY NATIVITY AND CITIZENSHIP STATUS, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2020-21**



NA = Sample size is insufficient to generate reliable estimates. See footnote 1 in the text.  
 Percentages shown for 2020-21 include the 18 months from January 2020 to June 2021.  
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2020—June 2021.

**FIGURE 13. PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTOR UNIONIZATION RATES BY NATIVITY AND CITIZENSHIP STATUS, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2020-21**



NA = Sample size is insufficient to generate reliable estimates. See footnote 1 in the text.  
 Percentages shown for 2020-21 include the 18 months from January 2020 to June 2021.  
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2020—June 2021.

## Notes

1 This report (apart from the Appendix) is based on analysis of the U.S. Current Population Survey (CPS) Outgoing Rotation Group data for 2020 and the first six months of 2021. We created a merged data set from the 18 monthly surveys conducted from January 2020 to June 2021, inclusive; the 2020-21 data discussed here and shown in the figures and tables below are the averages for those 18 months. All results are calculated using the CPS unrevised sampling weights, for employed civilian wage and salary workers aged 16 and over. We followed the sample definition and weighting procedures described in Barry T. Hirsch and David A. Macpherson, *Union Membership and Earnings Data Book* (Washington D.C., 2019). See also [unionstats.com](http://unionstats.com) which Hirsch and Macpherson update annually (unlike the *Data Book* which was discontinued after 2019). To ensure reliability, given the limitations of the CPS dataset, we report unionization rates only for subgroups that have a minimum of 100 observations, unless otherwise noted. Rates for subgroups that fall below this threshold are labeled NA (not available). The New York City figures for earlier years are from our September 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019 and 2020 reports, based on CPS data for January 2009-June 2010, January 2010-June 2011, January 2011-June 2012, January 2012-June 2013, January 2013-June 2014, January 2014-June 2015, January 2015-June 2016, January 2016-June 2017, January 2017-June 2018, January 2018-June 2019, and January 2019-June 2020 respectively. These earlier reports are available at <http://www.ruthmilkman.info/reports>.

2 Union density denotes the proportion of all wage and salary workers who are union members in a region, occupation, or industry. For the state rankings, see [unionstats.com](http://unionstats.com).

3 An estimated 642,450 union members resided in New York City's five boroughs in 2020-21, while the statewide total is estimated at 1,702,453. The CPS data on which these estimates are based rely on respondents self-reports as to whether or not they are union members. (Respondents who indicate that they are not union members are also asked whether they are covered by a union contract, but the analysis in this report does not include those who replied affirmatively to that question.) It is important to note that all geographical data in the CPS (and in this report) refer to respondents' place of residence which often differs from the location of their workplaces. Since many workers commute from other areas to their jobs in the city, this makes the data for the five boroughs of New York City an imperfect approximation of the extent

of unionization in the city. Some sections of this report present data on union members residing in the wider New York metropolitan area, but that group includes many individuals who are employed outside New York City.

4 In January 2003, methodological changes were made in the CPS (for details, see <http://www.bls.gov/cps/rvcps03.pdf>). As a result, the data shown in Figures 1a, 1b and 1c for 2003-2020 are not strictly comparable to those for 2001 and 2002.

5 Throughout this report, unless otherwise indicated, we use the term New York metropolitan area to denote the New York-Newark-Bridgeport NY-NJ-CT-PA Combined Statistical Area (CSA), based on the CSA definitions introduced in 2003. The New York-Newark-Bridgeport CSA includes the following counties (in addition to the five boroughs of New York City proper): Dutchess, Nassau, Orange, Putnam, Rockland, Suffolk, Ulster and Westchester Counties, New York; Bergen, Essex, Hudson, Hunterdon, Mercer, Middlesex, Monmouth, Morris, Ocean, Passaic, Somerset, Sussex and Union Counties, New Jersey; Litchfield, New Haven and Fairfield Counties, Connecticut. The CSA also includes Pike County, Pennsylvania, but that is not included in our dataset. For details, see <https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/whitehouse.gov/files/omb/bulletins/2009/09-01.pdf>.

6 These are Metropolitan Statistical Areas based on the 2003 U.S. Census (OMB) area definitions.

7 Since unionization has declined somewhat since 2009 (see Figure 1a-c), the results of this analysis slightly overestimate the actual levels of density for each industry shown in Table 3.

8 Given the nation's winner-take-all union representation system, and the fact that a relatively small proportion of present-day union membership is the product of recent organizing, the demographic makeup of union membership primarily reflects the demographic makeup of employment in highly unionized industries and sectors. Although unionized workers are more likely than their nonunion counterparts to express pro-union attitudes, this is typically a consequence rather than a cause of union affiliation. See Richard B. Freeman and Joel Rogers, *What Workers Want* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), pp. 68-77. Moreover, individual workers seldom have the opportunity to make independent decisions about union affiliation. Instead, unionization occurs when entire workplaces (or occasionally, entire industries) are organized, and once established, unionization in those workplaces tends to persist over time. Later, as a result of workforce turnover and de-unionization, strongly pro-union workers may be



employed in non-union settings, and workers with little enthusiasm for organized labor may find themselves employed in union shops.

9 Puerto Ricans born on the U.S. mainland cannot be separately identified in the CPS data. Those born in Puerto Rico are likely to be older, all else equal, further contributing to their high unionization rate. Both groups of Puerto Ricans (those born on the mainland and those born in the territory of Puerto Rico) are U.S. citizens.

10 See Leo Troy, *Distribution of Union Membership among the States, 1939 and 1953* (National Bureau of Economic Research, 1957), available at <http://www.nber.org/chapters/c2688.pdf>. In 1939 the figures were 23.0 percent for New York State and 21.5 for the nation. Figures for New

York City union membership levels during these years, unfortunately, are not available.

11 The 1986 private-sector figure is 25.3% for the New York PMSA (NYC's five boroughs as well as Putnam, Westchester and Rockland Counties). This and the 1983 statewide figure can be found at <http://unionstats.gsu.edu/>. See also Gregory DeFreitas and Bhaswati Sengupta, *The State of New York Unions 2007* (Hofstra University Center for the Study of Labor and Democracy, 2007), which includes 1980s data, available at [https://www.hofstra.edu/pdf/cld\\_stateofnyunions2007.pdf](https://www.hofstra.edu/pdf/cld_stateofnyunions2007.pdf).

12 See Joshua B. Freeman, *Working-Class New York* (New York: The New Press, 2000).

## Notes for “Gender, Union Membership, and Job Losses in the Covid-19 Economic Downturn” (pp. 4-5)

1 See Ella Koeze, “A Year Later, Who is Back to Work and Who Is Not?” *New York Times*, March 9, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/03/09/business/economy/covid-employment-demographics.html?searchResultPosition=3>; Megan Cassella, “The Pandemic Drove Women Out of the Workforce. Will They Come Back?”, *Politico*, July 22, 2021, <https://www.politico.com/news/2021/07/22/coronavirus-pandemic-women-workforce-500329>, and for details about New York City, Economic Development Department, New York City, “A Crisis for Working Women and Mothers,” May 2021, [https://women.nyc/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/2021-ChildcareInnovation-SOTE\\_report.pdf](https://women.nyc/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/2021-ChildcareInnovation-SOTE_report.pdf)

2 See Celine McNicholas, Heidi Shierholz, and Margaret Poydock, “Union Workers Had More Job Security during the Pandemic, but Unionization Remains Historically Low,” Economic Policy Institute, Jan. 22, 2021, <https://files.epi.org/pdf/218638.pdf>

3 This analysis compares 2019 (January to December) to 2020 (January to December) annual Current Population Survey data, rather than the 18-month data file for 2020-21 we refer to in the rest of this report, to assess the impact of the pandemic on employment.

## Appendix\*

The table below is compiled from a variety of sources and indicates the number of members claimed by individual labor unions with jurisdictions in New York City-based workplaces. Unlike the Current Population Survey (CPS) data that serve as the basis for the rest of this report, which estimate the number of New York City *residents* who are union members, the data in this Appendix show the number of unionized *jobs* in New York City.

For a variety of reasons, the total number of union members in New York City shown in the table below is higher than the CPS-based estimate of 642,000 cited on page 1 of this report. Perhaps the most important factor causing this discrepancy is that many union members who are employed in the City are commuters who live in the surrounding suburbs. In addition, some unions may inflate their membership numbers, and unions with broader geographical jurisdictions do not always know precisely how many of their members are

employed in the City. Moreover, many of the unions listed, especially those in sectors like construction and entertainment, have large numbers of members whose employment is irregular and for whom unemployment is common. Even when they are employed, workers in these sectors may oscillate between jobs in the City and jobs in other locations. All these factors help account for the fact that the total shown in the table below is greater than the CPS estimate cited above. Another factor operates in the opposite direction: since the CPS is a household survey that relies on responses from individuals, it is likely to include numerous cases of unionized workers who are unaware of the fact that they are members of labor organizations, potentially leading to an undercount. (It is also possible that some individual respondents to the CPS believe they are union members when in fact they are not, but the greater error is likely to be in the opposite direction.)

\*The data in this table were compiled from the most recent available LM-2/3/4 forms (typically from 2020) and other sources by Joseph van der Naald. Thanks to Ed Ott for assistance with this effort.

UNION NAME	Reported Membership
Amalgamated Transit Union <sup>c</sup>	14,753
American Association of University Professors <sup>c</sup>	625
American Federation of Government Employees <sup>c</sup>	8,085
American Federation of Musicians <sup>b</sup>	7,185
American Federation of School Administrators — Council of Supervisory Associations	6,551
American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees <sup>c</sup>	84,017
American Federation of Teachers <sup>a, c</sup> (includes 25,849 members of PSC-CUNY and 125,436 in the NYC UFT)	164,514
American Postal Workers Union	8,476
American Train Dispatchers Association <sup>a</sup>	223
Anti-Defamation League Staff Association	139
Associated Actors and Artistes of America <sup>b</sup> (includes 18,637 members of Actors Equity Association; 472 members of the American Guild of Musical Artists; and 37,161 members of SAG-AFTRA)	56,359
Association of Commuter Rail Employees <sup>a</sup>	271
Association of Surrogates and Supreme Court Reporters Within the City of New York <sup>a</sup>	285
Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers International Union <sup>c</sup>	1,363
Benefit Fund Staff Association	509
Brotherhood of Security Personnel	19
Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen	62
Building and Construction Trades Department <sup>a</sup>	136
Citywide Association of Law Assistants of the Civil, Criminal and Family Courts <sup>a</sup>	351
Civilian Technicians Association	19

UNION NAME	Reported Membership
Communication Workers of America <sup>a, c</sup> (includes 2,050 members of the NewsGuild of New York)	27,870
Co-Op City Police Benevolent Association	72
Court Attorneys Association of the City of New York <sup>a</sup>	223
Court Officers Benevolent Association of Nassau County <sup>a</sup>	11
EMS Superior Officers Association <sup>a</sup>	43
Faculty Interest Committee of Ethical Culture Fieldston School	285
Fordham Law School Bargaining Committee	80
Furniture Liquidators of New York	10
Harper Collins Sales Association	33
Independent Association of Legal Workers	4
Independent Guard Union	9
Industrial Workers of the World	470
International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees <sup>b, c</sup>	21,755
International Association of Bridge, Structural, Ornamental and Reinforcing Iron Workers <sup>b</sup>	7,656
International Association of Fire Fighters <sup>a</sup>	8,213
International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Allied Workers <sup>a</sup>	996
International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers <sup>a</sup>	9,986
International Association of Sheet Metal, Air, Rail, and Transportation Workers <sup>a, b</sup>	8,594
International Brotherhood of Boilermakers <sup>b</sup>	590
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers <sup>b</sup>	27,137
International Brotherhood of Teamsters <sup>c</sup>	53,625
International Brotherhood of Trade Unions	86
International Federation of Professional and Technical Engineers	103
International Longshoremen's Association	1,916
International Organization of Masters, Mates & Pilots—Atlantic Maritime Group <sup>c</sup>	1,100
International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftworkers <sup>b</sup>	8,615
International Union of Elevator Constructors <sup>b</sup>	2,896
International Union of Journeymen and Allied Trades <sup>b</sup>	28,522
International Union of Operating Engineers <sup>a, b</sup>	21,463
International Union of Painters and Allied Trades <sup>a, b</sup>	6,710
International Union of Police Associations <sup>a</sup>	100
Kingsbrook Jewish Medical Center Staff Association	5
Laborers' International Union of North America <sup>b</sup>	19,652
League of International Federated Employees	767
Local One Security Officers	659
Major League Baseball Players Association <sup>c</sup>	92
Marine Engineers Beneficial Association <sup>a</sup>	123
Maritime Trades Department Port Council	26
Metal Trades Department <sup>b</sup>	17
MTA Commanding Officers Association <sup>a</sup>	22
Mount Sinai Pharmacy Association	120
National Air Traffic Controllers Association	161
National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees	634
National Association of Letter Carriers	11,031

UNION NAME	Reported Membership
National Association of Transportation Supervisors <sup>a</sup>	4,683
National Basketball Players Association <sup>c</sup>	34
National Labor Relations Board Union	50
National Postal Mail Handlers Union <sup>c</sup>	1,924
National Treasury Employees Union	3,116
National Writers Union <sup>c, e</sup>	264
New York City Deputy Sheriffs' Association <sup>a</sup>	126
New York Professional Nurses Association	1,309
New York State Correctional Officers and Police Benevolent Association <sup>a</sup>	795
New York State Court Clerks Association <sup>a</sup>	1,539
New York State Court Officers Association <sup>a</sup>	1,524
New York State Federation of Physicians and Dentists	50
New York State Law Enforcement Officers Union <sup>a</sup>	27
New York State Nurses Association	26,459
Newspaper and Mail Deliverers Union	454
International Union of Allied Novelty and Production Workers <sup>c</sup>	329
Office and Professional Employees International Union <sup>c</sup>	8,402
Operative Plasterers' and Cement Masons' International Association <sup>b</sup>	1,026
Organization of Staff Analysts <sup>a</sup>	3,243
Organization of Union Representatives	5
Patrolmen's Benevolent Association <sup>a</sup>	23,176
Police Benevolent Association of New York State <sup>a</sup>	75
Police Benevolent Association of the New York State Troopers <sup>a</sup>	233
Postal and Federal Employees Alliance	414
Professional Association of Holy Cross High School	45
Professional Dieticians of New York City Presbyterian	25
Restaurant Workers Union 318	41
Safety Professionals of America	14
Service Employees International Union <sup>a, c</sup> (includes 180,563 NYC members in 1199SEIU <sup>c</sup> ; 85,000 members in SEIU Local 32B-J <sup>c</sup> ; and 10,000 members in Workers United <sup>c</sup> )	291,240
Special Patrolman Benevolent Association	80
Stage Directors and Choreographers <sup>b, c</sup>	789
St. John's Preparatory Teachers Association	30
Taxi Workers Alliance <sup>c</sup>	26,000
Transport Workers Union <sup>a</sup>	52,314
Uniformed Sanitation Chiefs Association <sup>a</sup>	70
Union of Automotive Technicians <sup>a</sup>	51
UNITE HERE <sup>d</sup>	29,439
United Association of Plumbers and Pipefitters <sup>b</sup>	15,254
United Auto Workers <sup>c</sup>	10,431
United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners <sup>b, c</sup>	18,318
United Food and Commercial Workers International Union <sup>c</sup> (includes 12,350 members in the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union)	32,306
United Nations International School Staff Association	228

UNION NAME	Reported Membership
United Production Workers Union	2,257
United Steelworkers <sup>d</sup>	2,628
United Uniformed Workers of New York <sup>a, f</sup>	35,016
United Union of Roofers, Waterproofers and Allied Workers <sup>b</sup>	1,485
United University Professions <sup>a</sup>	2,568
Utility Workers Union of America <sup>c</sup>	7,378
Women's National Basketball Players Association <sup>c</sup>	12
Writers Guild of America <sup>b</sup>	2,044
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,235,744</b>

a Under the Landrum-Griffin Act (1959) and Civil Service Reform Act (1978) private-sector, postal and federal employee unions are required to file annually LM-2/3/4 forms with the U.S. Department of Labor, which report on their current membership (as well as other data). Public sector unions not covered by these acts are not required to file such forms, and thus some of the membership data were obtained directly from the unions, from the New York City Independent Budget Office (2021), from Freedom of Information Law (FOIL) requests to the Office of the State Comptroller's Office (2020) and the Metropolitan Transit Authority (2021), from the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey (2021), or from Combined Continuing Disclosure Filings relating to the Metropolitan Transit and Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authorities (2021).

b Data for these unions include some members working outside New York City. It is impossible to obtain precise data for those employed in the City, because the occupations they represent are not tied to stable workplaces; rather workers are hired for specific projects which are typically, but not always, located in the five boroughs. As a result New York City data for these unions may be overstated.

c The membership figures for this union are available in LM2/3/4 forms. However because the union's geographical jurisdiction extends beyond the five boroughs of New York City, the number shown was obtained directly from the union.

d Precise membership estimates for one or more of the locals in this union are not available. The figures shown are likely to be inflated because they include some members employed outside New York City.

e This union has dues paying members, but does not currently have collective bargaining rights.

f This includes the following unions, some of which may have members working outside New York City: 5,205 members in the Detectives Endowment Association; 4,301 members in the Sergeants Benevolent Association; 1,586 members in the Lieutenants Benevolent Association; 7,560 members in the Correction Officers Benevolent Association; 6,016 members in the Sanitation Workers Local 831; 2,492 members in the Uniformed Fire Officers Association; 1,200 members in the Sanitation Officers Local 444; 117 members in the Assistant Deputy Wardens —Deputy Wardens Association; 690 members in the Captains Endowment Association; 733 members in the Correction Captains Association; 304 members in the NYC Detective Investigators Association; 1,075 members in the NYS Supreme Court Officers Association; 84 members in the Port Authority Detectives Endowment Association; 89 members in the Port Authority Lieutenants Benevolent Association; 1,782 members in the Port Authority Police Benevolent Association; 214 members in the Port Authority Sergeants Benevolent Association; 189 members in the Uniformed Fire Alarm Dispatchers Benevolent Association; 397 members in the Bridge and Tunnel Officers Benevolent Association; 841 members in the Police Benevolent Association MTA; and 141 members in the Superior Officers Benevolent Association —Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority. The numbers for individual unions in the coalition were obtained directly from the unions, from the New York City Independent Budget Office, the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey Employee Payroll Information Directory, and from Combined Continuing Disclosure Filings relating to the Metropolitan Transit and Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authorities; all are for 2021.

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, the above data are extracted from the most recent LM-2, LM-3 and LM-4 forms that private-sector unions are required to submit annually to the U.S. Department of Labor, available at <https://olms.dol-esa.gov/olpdr/>

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## ABOUT THE CUNY SCHOOL OF LABOR AND URBAN STUDIES (SLU)

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