

THE STATE OF THE UNIONS 2022

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

RUTH MILKMAN AND JOSEPH VAN DER NAALD



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Since our last report appeared in September 2021, organized labor has attracted a great deal of public and media attention, on a scale not seen for many decades. The focus on “essential workers” at the peak of the COVID-19 pandemic, along with a pervasive labor shortage and widespread discontent among younger workers, have led many to turn to unions to advance their interests. The month of October 2021 was dubbed “Strike-tober” thanks to a series of large and successful strikes by long-unionized workers at John Deere, Kellogg’s and elsewhere. Soon afterward, workers at high-profile companies like Amazon, Starbucks and Apple—won union representation elections. Public support for unions also has swelled, with 68 percent of respondents to a 2021 Gallup poll indicating that they approved of labor unions, the highest level since 1965.¹

Some of the most dramatic union wins occurred in New York: the first Starbucks stores where unionization votes succeeded in 2021 were in Buffalo, and the warehouse where the independent Amazon Labor Union famously won an election in April 2022 is in the New York City borough of Staten Island. More generally, as pages 4-9 below document, New York City leads the nation in the recent wave of union organizing.

And yet, these developments have failed to reverse the long-term decline in organized labor’s share of the U.S. labor force, a decline that has continued steadily over recent decades—especially in the private sector where the dramatic events of the past year took place. As Figure 1 shows, unionization rates have relentlessly fallen, even in the past year and a half. In the private sector, union density is at a record low, despite the spate of recent union organizing successes that have captured so much attention.

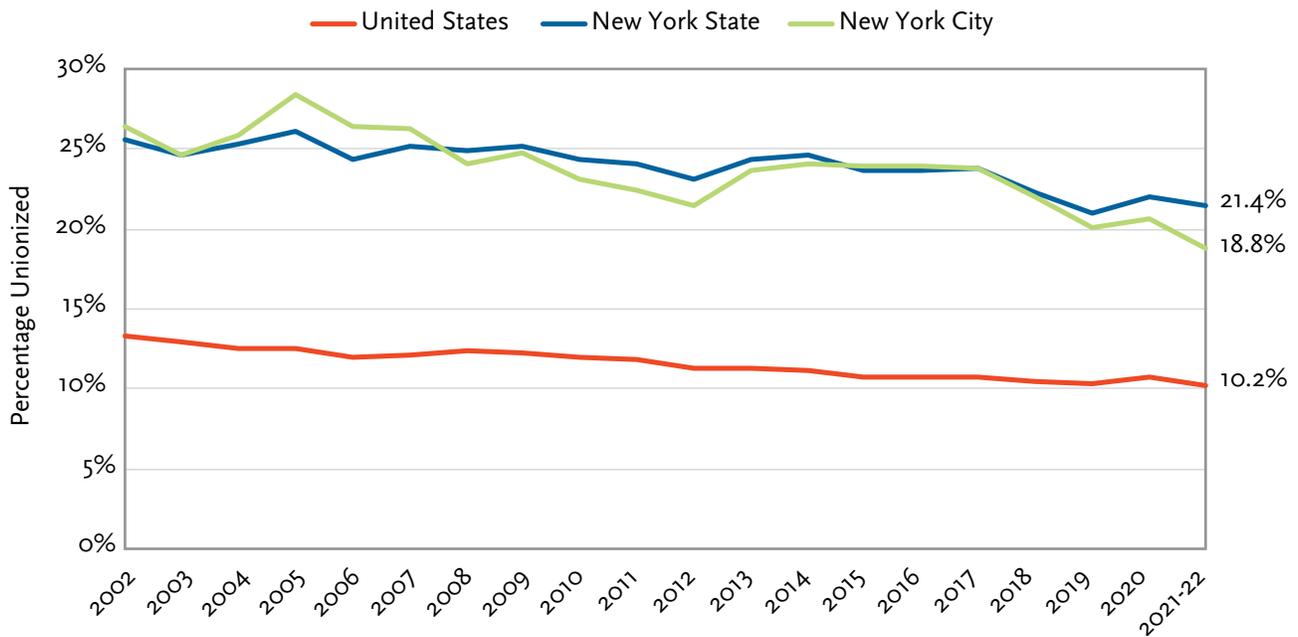
The problem is one of scale. Although unions have won elections at over 200 Starbucks stores across the nation at this writing (and many more elections are pending), each store is of modest size, and the total number of employees affected is miniscule relative to the overall labor force. Even the 8,325 workers covered by the vote at the Staten Island warehouse comprise a tiny fraction of the nation’s labor force, which totals over 160 million workers. Moreover, the vast majority of private-sector employers—including Amazon and Starbucks—remain intransigently opposed to unionization; since the 2010s anti-union attacks have penetrated the public sector as well, culminating in the 2018 U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Janus vs. AFSCME*, which prohibits public-sector unions from collecting “fair share” or “agency” fees from non-members.

Organized labor has long been much stronger in New York City and State than in the nation. As Figure 1a shows, overall unionization rates in both the City and State have been relatively stable over the past decade, in contrast to their steady erosion on the national level. But the nearly one-fifth (18.8 percent) of all wage and salary workers residing in the five boroughs of New York City who were union members in 2021-22 reflect 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.² Whether that is a temporary setback or the harbinger of a longer-term trend remains to be seen. The unionized share of the workforce in New York State has been more stable, and in 2021-22 it stood at 21.4 percent. New York still ranks first in union density among the nation's largest states, with a unionization rate more than double the U.S. average of 10.2 percent in 2021-22, and it ranks second among all states (Hawaii's

union density is the nation's highest, at 22.4 percent in 2021).³ In absolute terms, New York State had more union members—1.68 million—than any state except California, which has a far larger population. In 2021-22, there were about 623,000 union members residing in the five boroughs of New York City, accounting for 37.1 percent of all union members in the State.⁴

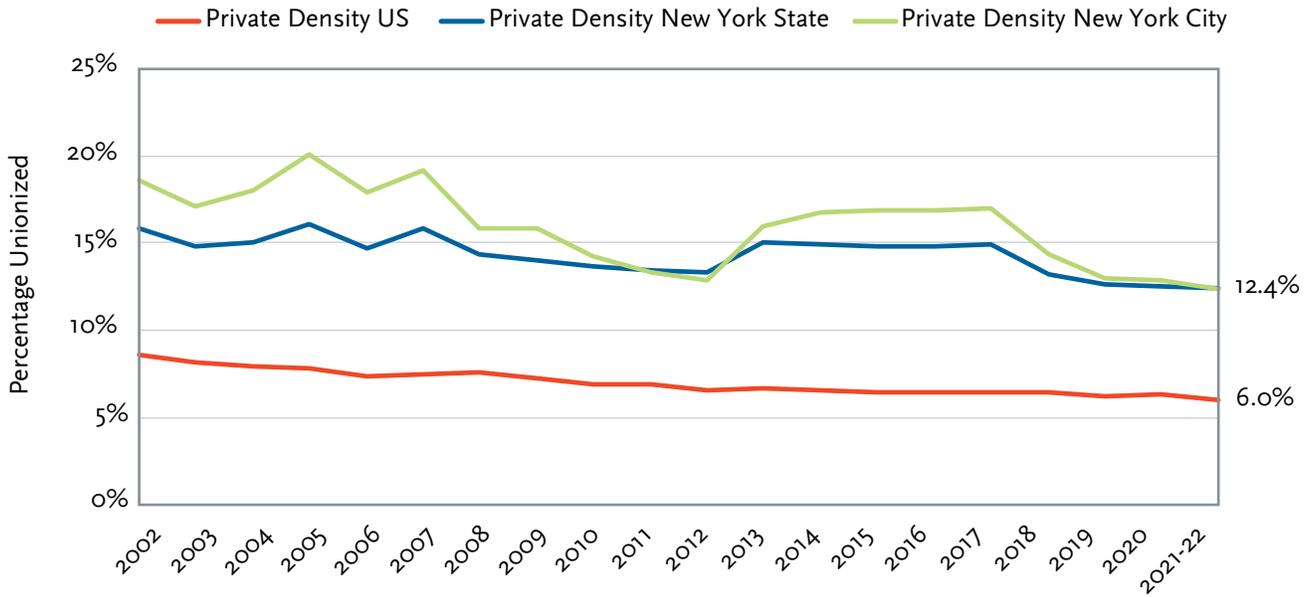
In recent decades, losses in union membership have been disproportionately concentrated in the private sector in the City, State and nation alike (see Figures 1b and 1c).⁵ After a period of stability from 2013 to 2017, private-sector density resumed its decline in both the City and State, while in the nation as a whole there was slow but steady erosion from 2013 to 2021-22. By contrast, in the public sector, union density has been relatively stable. However, perhaps reflecting a delayed effect of the *Janus* decision—it has fallen in all three geographical entities over the past year, and the decline was especially steep in New York City (see Figure 1c).

FIGURE 1A. UNION DENSITY IN NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK STATE AND THE UNITED STATES, 2002-2022



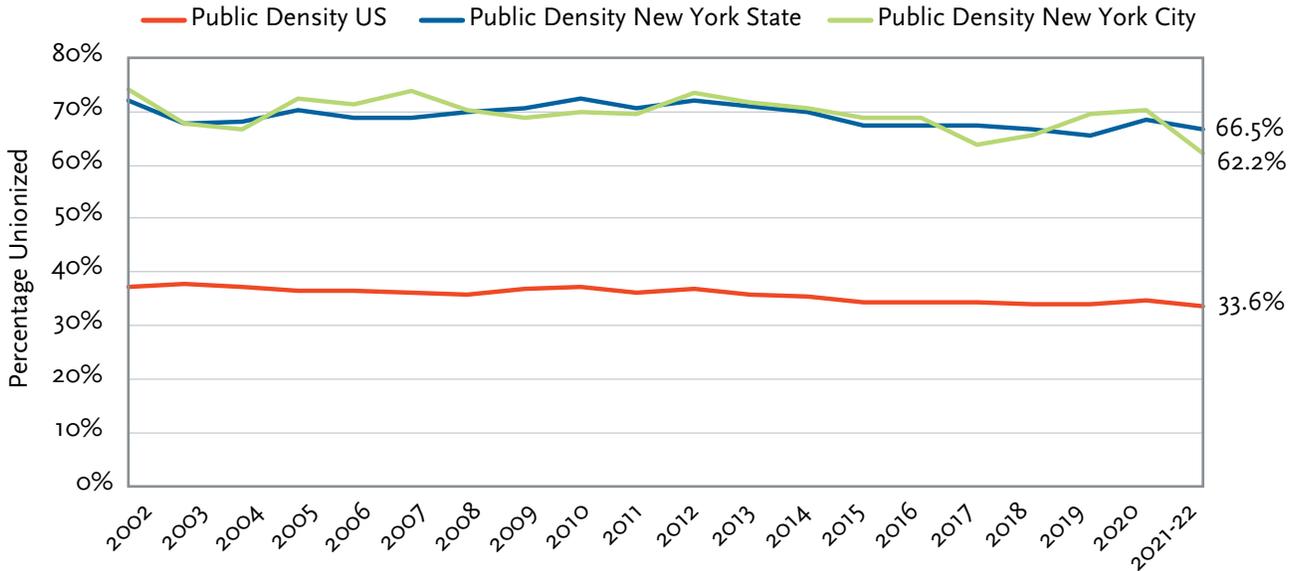
Percentages shown for 2021-22 include the 18 months from January 2021 to June 2022.
Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2001—June 2022.

FIGURE 1B. PRIVATE-SECTOR UNION DENSITY IN NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK STATE AND THE UNITED STATES, 2002 - 2022



Percentages shown for 2020-21 include the 18 months from January 2021 to June 2022.
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2002—June 2022.

FIGURE 1C. PUBLIC-SECTOR UNION DENSITY IN NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK STATE AND THE UNITED STATES, 2002 - 2022



Percentages shown for 2021-22 include the 18 months from January 2021 to June 2022.
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2002—June 2022.

NEW YORK CITY LEADS THE 2021–22 UNION ORGANIZING SURGE

Since our September 2021 report, private-sector union organizing has surged in cities across the United States, accompanied by extensive media coverage. The new wave of labor activism, which took most observers by surprise, reflects several recent developments. The COVID-19 pandemic raised public awareness of “essential workers” and the injustices they face, intensifying pre-existing concern about skyrocketing inequality. The U.S. public has become increasingly sympathetic to labor unions in the past few years, and that sentiment is even more widespread among young adults.¹ The pandemic also affected the self-awareness of workers themselves, making them more receptive to organizing—another development particularly widespread among the young. At the same time, it generated an acute labor shortage that shifted the balance of power between workers and employers: if workers know that it is not difficult to find another job, they tend to be less easily intimidated and more willing to take the risks involved in unionizing.

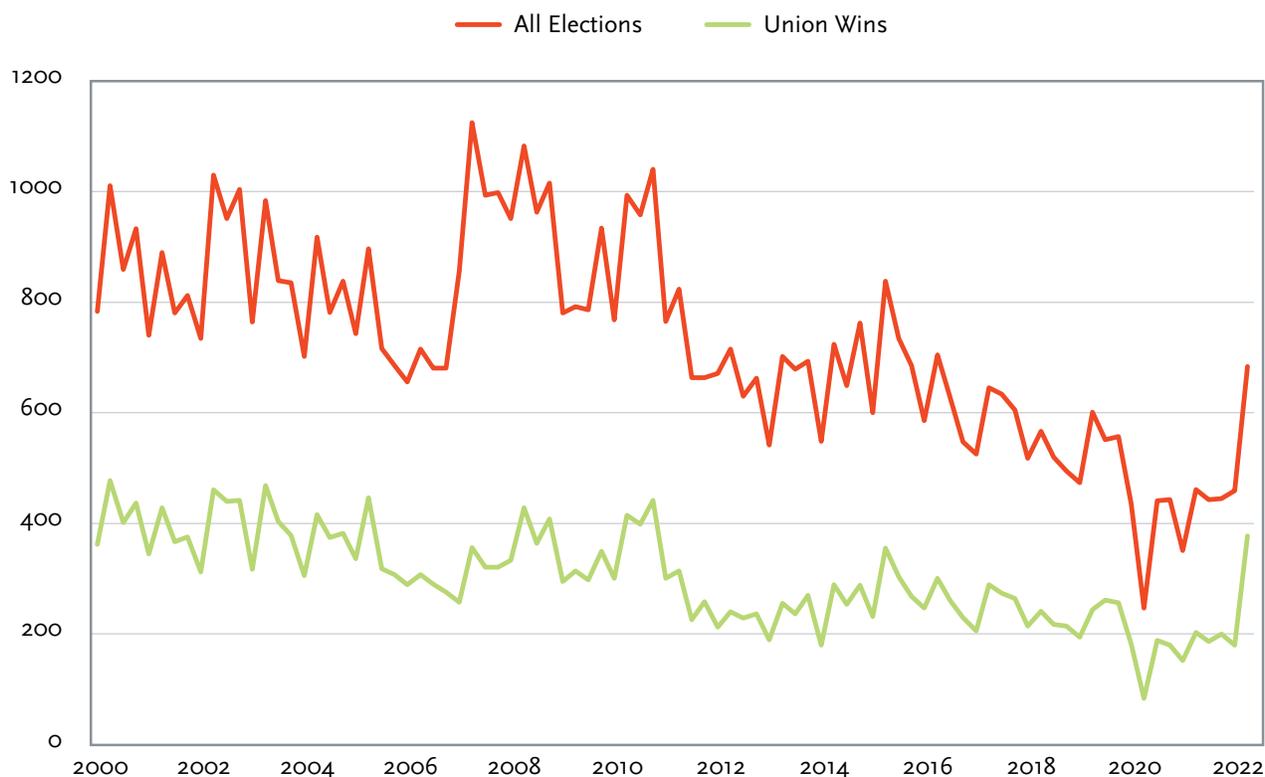
Another critical factor contributing to the surge in labor activism is the emergence of a new generation of progressive college-educated Millennials and Gen-Zers. In the aftermath of the Great Recession, many of them mobilized in social movements like Occupy Wall Street and Black Lives Matter, as well as Bernie Sanders’ presidential campaigns. Young progressives have also increasingly embraced union organizing. That began before the pandemic, as unionization grew among journalists, graduate student workers and adjunct faculty, and staffers at nonprofit organizations, for example. What these occupations have in common is that, while requiring college education (or more), they provide precarious and poorly compensated employment. The growth of unionism in these

fields during the 2010s did not attract much attention, but that changed dramatically in 2021 and 2022, when union drives targeting iconic companies like Amazon, Starbucks, and Apple riveted both the media and the larger public. These efforts, led by young, college-educated workers, have won hundreds of union representation elections, despite substantial employer opposition.

Nevertheless (as documented in detail in the main body of this report), the scale of this new wave of organizing has been insufficient to reverse the long-term downward trend in private-sector union density. To do so would require far more extensive, large-scale efforts. Labor market turnover, along with the continual process of new jobs being created and others destroyed, make it difficult even to maintain existing union density; increasing it is an even more daunting challenge.² Even the success of the Amazon Labor Union (ALU) in Staten Island, New York, which won a union representation election involving 8,325 workers, pales in comparison to the U.S. labor force of over 160 million.³

Historically, organized labor has expanded not incrementally but in waves, as in the 1930s. Some of the recent successful unionization campaigns have inspired other workers to replicate their efforts—the spread of the Starbucks Workers Union to hundreds of locations following its initial December 2021 win in Buffalo, New York is a textbook example. Yet employer opposition to unionization (especially at Amazon and Starbucks) remains a formidable obstacle, and U.S. labor law enables employers to use a variety of delaying tactics to stave off formal union recognition and to prolong the process of negotiating a collective bargaining agreement, even after unions win representation elections. It is not impossible that the

FIGURE B1. UNION WINS IN CERTIFIED NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD REPRESENTATION ELECTIONS, AND TOTAL NUMBER OF ELECTIONS, UNITED STATES, JANUARY 2000-JUNE 2022



Source: Recent NLRB Election Results from <https://unionelections.org/>.

Note: These are quarterly data. Union wins are those certified following an NLRB election; voluntary recognitions are not included.

2021-22 organizing successes are the early stages of a major labor upsurge, but so far, that remains a distant prospect.

Figure B1 reveals the modest scale of the recent uptick in U.S. unionization, relative to the recent past. The Figure summarizes national data on recent union representation elections from the records of the U.S. National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), the federal agency that administers the 1935 National Labor Relations Act (NLRA), the nation's bedrock labor law. The NLRA governs union-management relations in most private-sector U.S. companies (key exceptions include the railroad and airline industries, which are covered by the

1926 Railway Labor Act; public-sector workers as well as agricultural and domestic service workers are excluded entirely from the NLRA). The analysis below (but not Figure B1) also takes into account cases where employers voluntarily grant recognition to unions as the legal collective bargaining representative for employees under the NLRA.⁴

Figure B1 puts the spike in NLRB election activity that took place in early 2022 into context. Although new union organizing efforts fell sharply during the initial phases of the pandemic, as can be seen in the 2020 data in Figure B1, the level of activity in 2022 substantially exceeded the period immediately before the pandemic; indeed, it was

higher than at any time since 2016. Moreover, 2022 saw a spike not only in the total number of elections, but also in the share of elections that unions won. In 2022, the union win rate was higher than any time since the last quarter of 2010. Still, the number of elections is far smaller than it was decades ago. As recently as 1977, there were over 8000 union elections, over ten times the number in 2022.⁵

New York's Leading Role

One feature of the new labor activism that has attracted little notice is the leading role of New York City. Measured as a share of the labor force, more workers were newly unionized in New York City in the 18 months from January 2021 to June 2022 than in any of the other urban areas shown in Figure B2. New York City also leads the nation in the share of all organizing efforts that resulted in union recognition during the recent wave of organizing, as Figure B3 shows. Even before these new developments, as is documented in the main body of this report, New York City's private-sector unionization rate was roughly double the national average.

The largest and most significant single recent New York City union organizing win was the ALU's election victory in Staten Island, the outcome of which was announced on April 1, 2022. There were 8,325 workers in this bargaining unit.⁶ The ALU won the election in a vote of 2,654 to 2,131, with only 67 challenged ballots. However, Amazon has disputed the results in an NLRB proceeding, the final resolution of which has yet to be determined at this writing.

As Figure B2 reveals, New York City led the nation in the share of the wage and salary labor force that won union recognition from January 2021 to June 2022. The ALU accounts for almost half the total, but even if the ALU is omitted, New York City is still the nation's leader in the share of the labor force that was newly unionized in this

period. Without the ALU, to be sure, New York City is only slightly ahead of Seattle (King County, where both Amazon and Starbucks are headquartered); by this metric, both New York and Seattle have a commanding lead over Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles and San Francisco—all of which have a strong union presence relative to the rest of the nation.

As Figure B3 shows, New York City is also the national leader in the share of all bargaining units in which a union won an NLRB election or obtained voluntary recognition from the employer (as is permitted under the NLRA) from January 2021 to June 2022.⁷ Seattle once again is a close second; indeed its election win rate in this period exceeded that of New York City. New York was the national leader here despite the fact that there were only 6 Starbucks shops among the 135 union election wins there (compared to 7 Starbucks shops among Seattle's smaller number—86—of newly organized units). Seattle, however, had far fewer voluntary recognitions than New York did. Indeed, as Figure B3 shows, the share of organizing efforts that led to voluntary union recognition is much higher in New York City than in any of the other urban areas shown.⁸

Public and media attention has focused disproportionately on unionization efforts at iconic companies like Amazon, Apple and Starbucks. But extensive organizing has also occurred in other private-sector settings during the 2021-22 period, as Figure B4 reveals. That Figure lists the top 13 unions (measured by the number of newly unionized workers) in New York City and the United States. Nationally, the number of workers organized by the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) alone was higher than the number organized by the ALU (although no other union comes close to the ALU number in New York City).

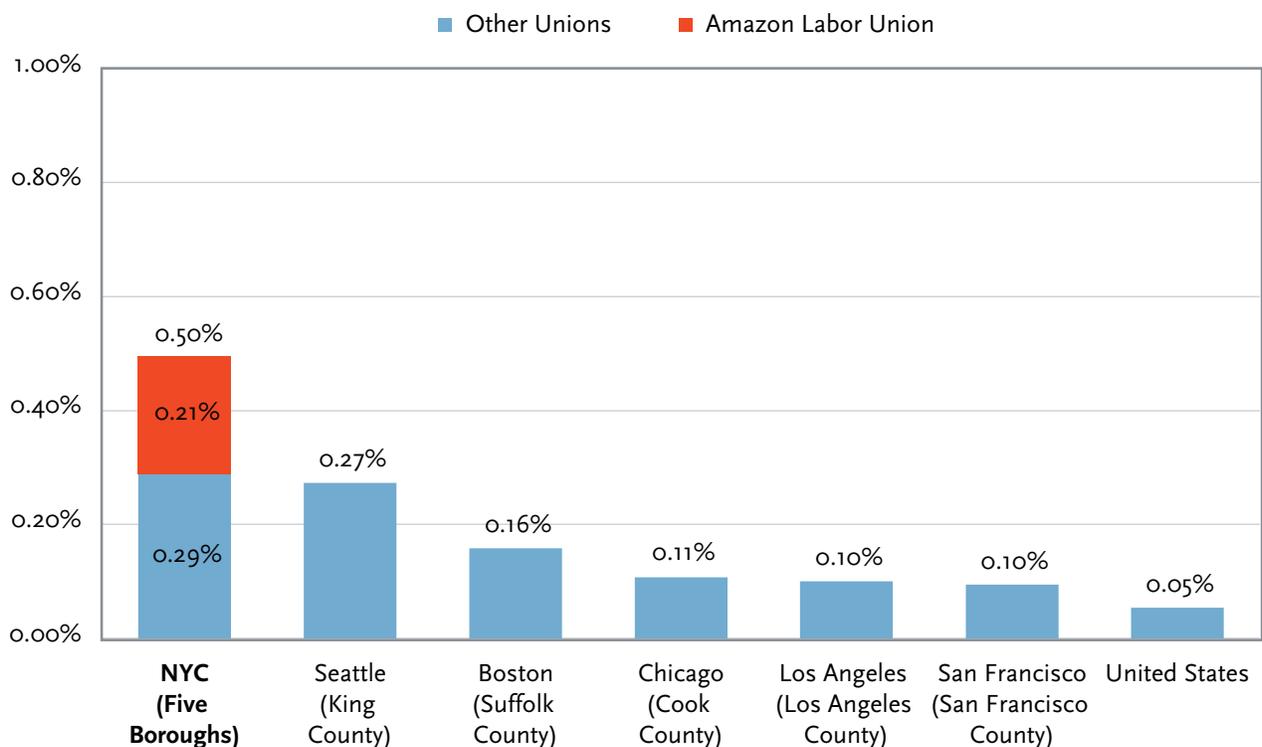
New York is different from the nation as a whole in other respects as well. SEIU's presence there is

extensive and long established, which helps explain why that union’s number of newly organized workers was relatively modest in 2021-22 in the City. (As the Appendix to this report notes, SEIU currently has an estimated 264,104 members in New York City, although this includes some public-sector members, a group not considered in this analysis.)

In contrast, as Figure B4 shows, the United Auto Workers (UAW), which actively recruits graduate student workers and adjuncts, as well as staffers in museums and nonprofit organizations (both of which have a disproportionate footprint in New

York City), has been particularly active in the City in this period. Similarly, the NewsGuild and the Writers Guild of America (WGA), both of which focus on organizing journalists, have a strong presence in New York, reflecting the fact that it is home to a disproportionate share of the nation’s newspapers, online news outlets, and magazines. The Communication Workers of America (CWA) and the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (RWDSU) also are disproportionately active in New York City. Neither the NewsGuild, WGA, nor CWA are among the national top 13 list shown in Figure B4; RWDSU is affiliated with the United

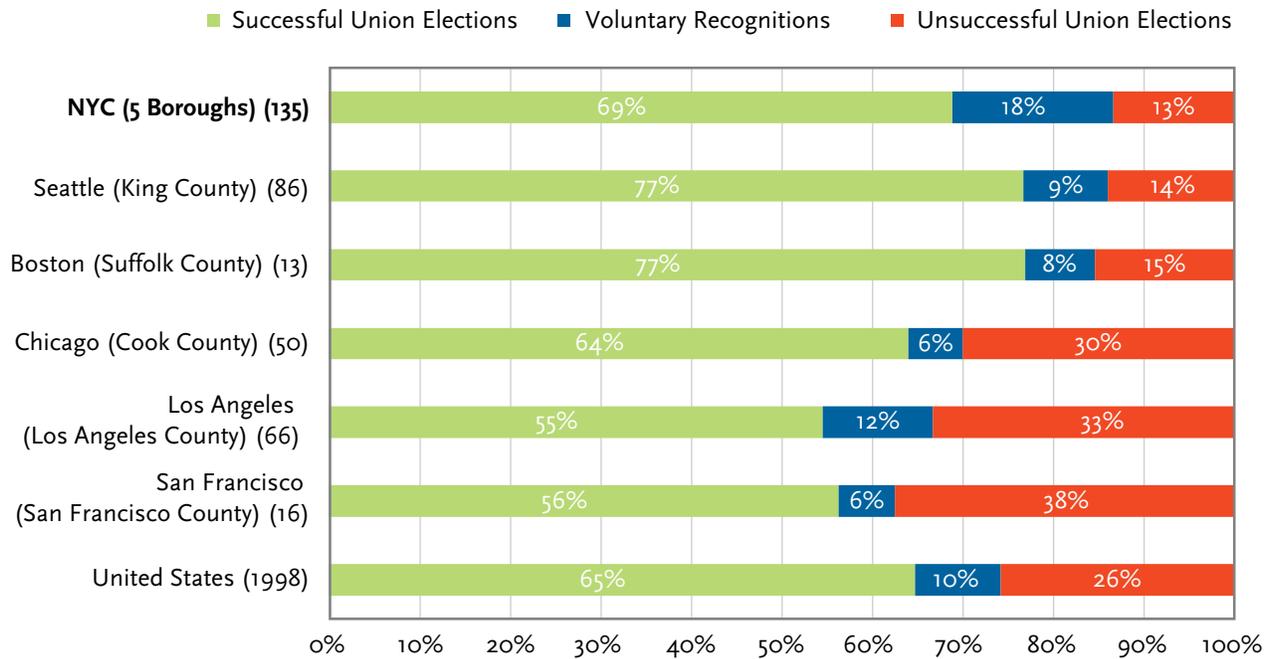
FIGURE B2. NEWLY ORGANIZED PRIVATE-SECTOR UNION MEMBERS AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE WAGE AND SALARY LABOR FORCE, NEW YORK CITY, SELECTED OTHER URBAN AREAS, AND THE UNITED STATES, JANUARY 2021–JUNE 2022



Sources: NLRB Recent Election Results from <https://unionelections.org/>; Voluntary Recognitions Submitted to the NLRB from <https://github.com/labordata/nlr-voluntary-recognitions>; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Labor Force data from <https://www.bls.gov/lau/>.

Note: The number of newly organized union members for each geographical entity shown is the sum total of all eligible voters in collective bargaining units for which one of the following occurred: (a) the unit was certified following an NLRB election; (b) the employer voluntarily recognized the unit and notified the NLRB; or (c) the majority of those eligible in the unit voted in favor of the union in an NLRB election opened after January 1, 2021 and still open as of July 30, 2022. The denominator is the total wage and salary workforce in each geographical entity in June 2022, as reported by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

FIGURE B3. SUCCESSFUL UNION ELECTIONS AND VOLUNTARY RECOGNITIONS AS A PERCENTAGE OF ALL PRIVATE-SECTOR ORGANIZING ATTEMPTS, NEW YORK CITY, SELECTED OTHER URBAN AREAS, AND THE UNITED STATES, JANUARY 2021–JUNE 2022



Source: NLRB Recent Election Results from <https://unionelections.org/>; Voluntary Recognitions Submitted to the NLRB from <https://github.com/labordata/nlr-voluntary-recognitions>.

Note: The data shown include all National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) elections and voluntary recognitions from January 2021–June 2022. Numbers in parentheses next to or under each geographical entity refer to the total number of unionization attempts (whether the union or the employer prevailed), including voluntary recognitions. Successful union elections are those in which the unit was certified following an NLRB election, or, in petitions opened after January 1, 2021 and still open as of July 30, 2022, a majority of those eligible voted in favor of the union. Unsuccessful union elections include (a) those closed due to a certificate of results, in which a majority of those eligible voted against union representation, (b) those dismissed by the NLRB, and (c) petitions open as of July 30, 2022, in which a majority of those eligible voted against union representation. Not included here are: (a) union withdrawals of petitions for an election, and (b) open petitions in which the number of challenged ballots would have a determinative effect on the election outcome.

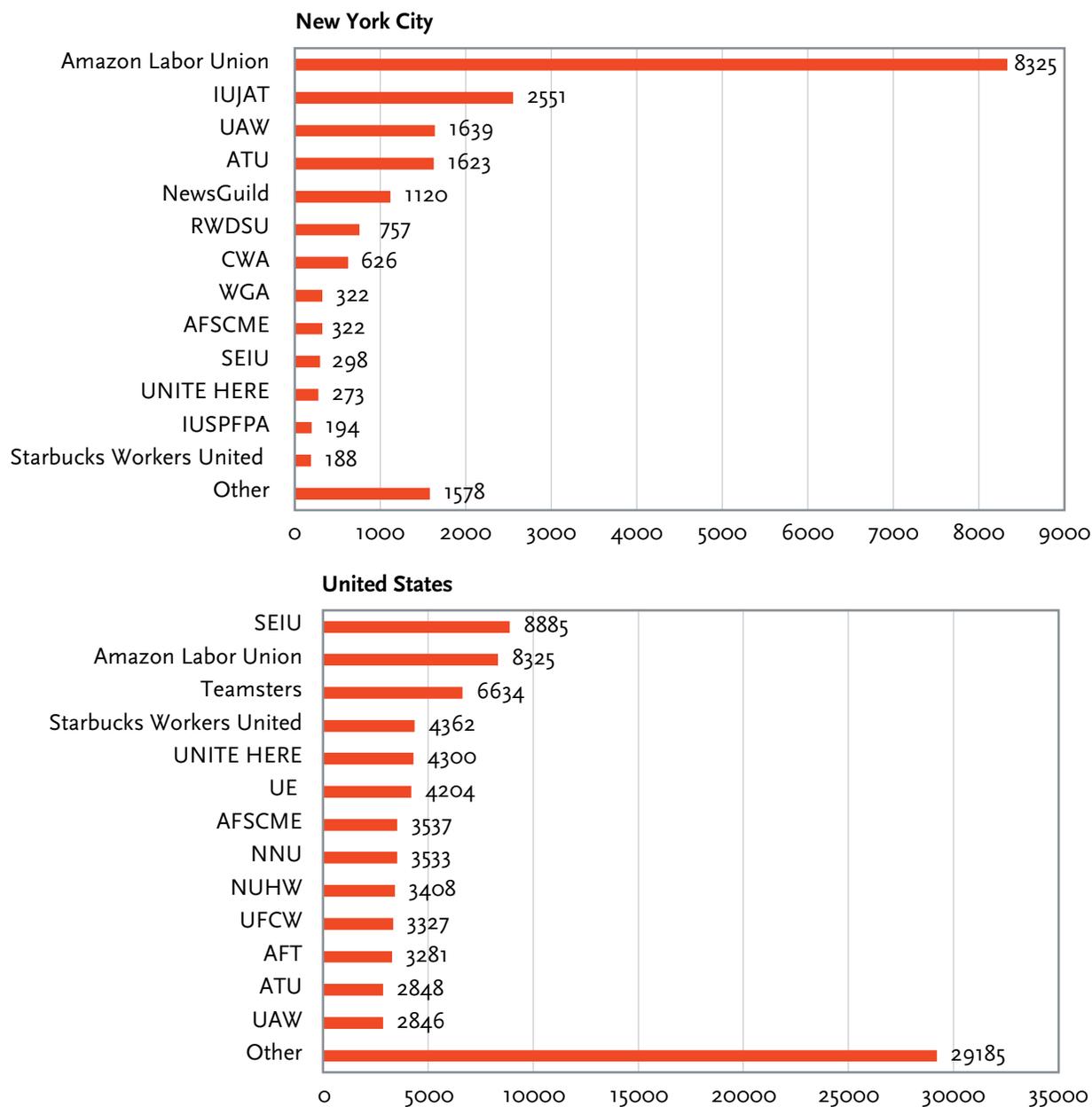
Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW), which does make that cut. In contrast, while Starbucks Workers United (part of the SEIU-affiliated Workers United) ranks fourth on the national level, it ranks as thirteenth in New York City in terms of the number of new workers unionized.

Both in the City and in the nation, many of the unions listed in Figure B4 have been actively organizing the unorganized for decades, long before the recent surge of labor activism—albeit without

garnering much attention from the media or the public until recently. Nevertheless, as noted above, these ongoing efforts— together with the higher-profile ones at companies like Starbucks, Amazon and Apple—have yielded a total number of newly organized workers that is still too small to move the needle on either the nation’s or New York City’s overall level of private-sector union density.

See page 25 for notes.

FIGURE B4. NEW UNION MEMBERS BY NATIONAL AFFILIATE, NEW YORK CITY AND THE UNITED STATES, JANUARY 2021-JUNE 2022



Sources: National Labor Relations Board, Recent Election Results, see <https://unionelections.org/>; Voluntary Recognitions Submitted to the National Labor Relations Board, see <https://github.com/labordata/nlr-voluntary-recognitions>.

Note: Data shown are for the 13 unions with the largest number of newly organized union members in the period from January 2021 to June 2022, inclusive, for New York City and the United States. “Other” is the sum of newly organized members from the remaining unions. These data include both workers unionized through successful NLRB elections and those for whom unions obtained voluntary recognition.

Union acronyms (in alphabetical order): American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); American Federation of Teachers (AFT); Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU); Communication Workers of America (CWA); International Union of Journeymen and Allied Trades (IUJAT); International Union, Security, Police and Fire Professionals of America (IUSPFPA); National Nurses United (NNU); National Union of Healthcare Workers (NUHW); Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (RWDSU); Service Employees International Union (SEIU); United Auto Workers (UAW); United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE); United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW); Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees and the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union (UNITE HERE); and Writers Guild of America (WGA).

Geographical Variation in Union Density

Figure 2 shows the 2021-22 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.”⁶ These are the five entities for which we present detailed data in this report.

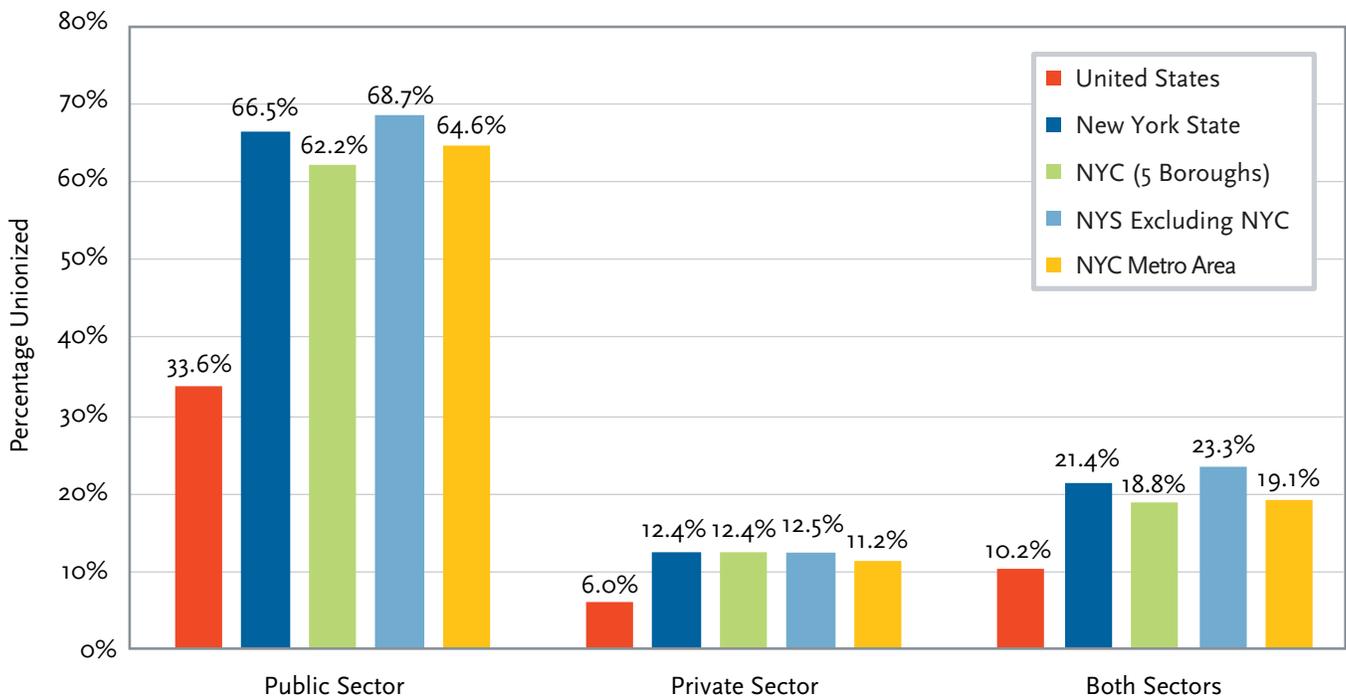
By way of background, however, we begin with a brief look at some smaller geographical areas. Figure 3 shows the 2021-22 density figures for the State, the New York City metropolitan area, as well as the second and third largest metropolitan areas in the State, namely Albany-Schenectady-Troy and Buffalo-Cheektowaga-Niagara Falls.⁷ In New York State public-sector density was 66.5 percent, nearly double the national average of 33.6 percent. The New York

City metropolitan area had a slightly lower level of public-sector density (64.6 percent).

Private-sector union density was consistently lower than in the public sector. In New York State the private-sector unionization rate was 12.4, more than double the national average of 6.0 percent in 2021-22, as Figure 3 shows. Similarly, in the New York City metropolitan area private-sector density was 11.2 percent, almost double the national rate. Unfortunately the CPS sample size is too small to reliably estimate the public- and private-sector rates for the other two metropolitan areas shown.

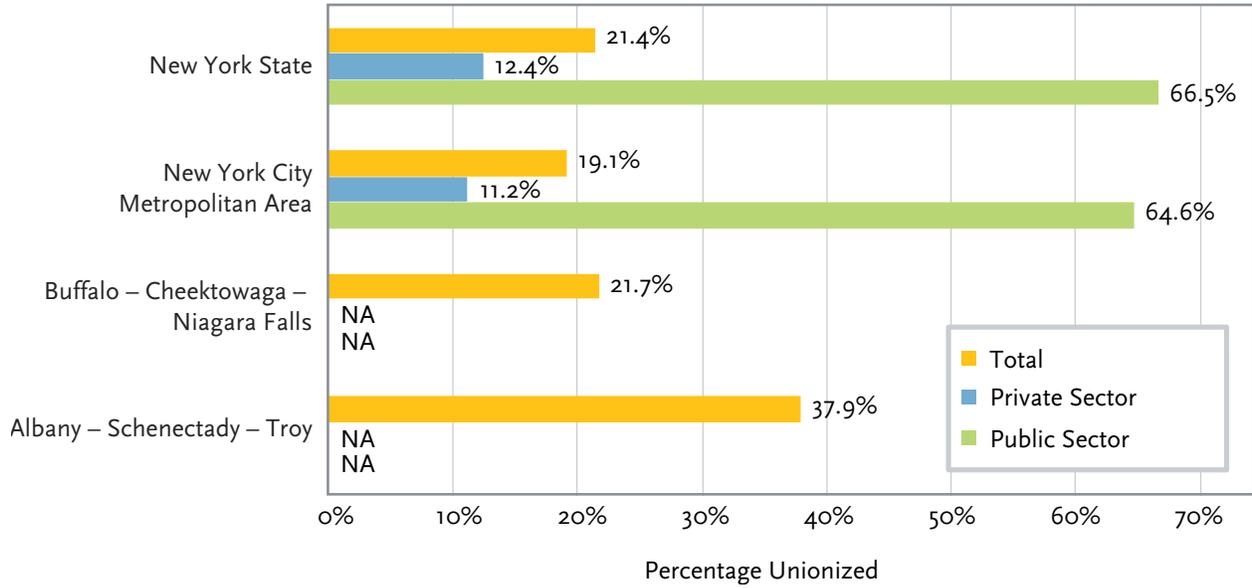
As Figure 4 shows, union density varies across New York City’s five boroughs. Unfortunately, the CPS sample size is too small to estimate the private- and public-sector rates, or the overall unionization rates, in Manhattan and Staten Island.

FIGURE 2. UNION DENSITY, BY SECTOR, NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK STATE AND THE UNITED STATES, 2021-22



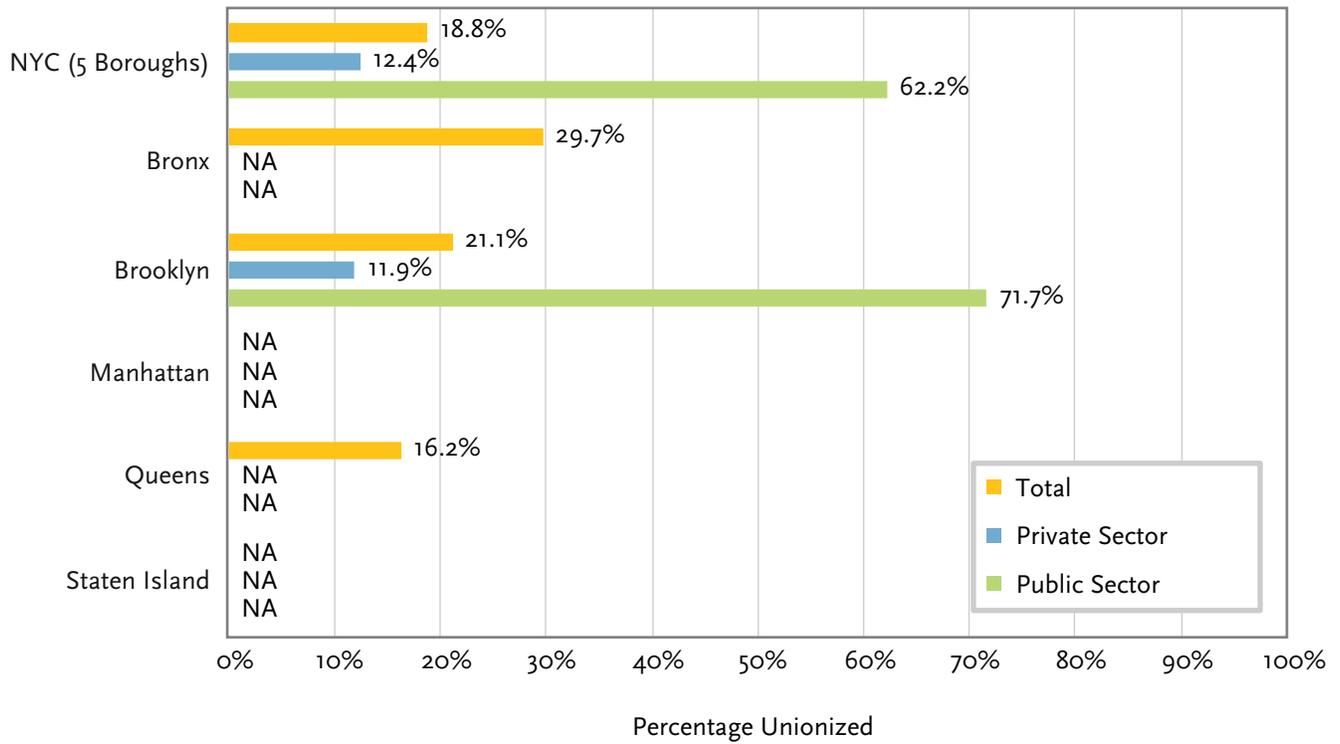
Percentages shown for 2021-22 include the 18 months from January 2021 to June 2022.
Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2002—June 2022.

FIGURE 3. UNION DENSITY BY SECTOR, NEW YORK STATE AND SELECTED METROPOLITAN AREAS, 2021-22



NA = Sample size is insufficient to generate reliable estimates. See footnote 1 in the text.
 Percentages shown for 2021-22 include the 18 months from January 2021 to June 2022.
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2002—June 2022.

FIGURE 4. UNION DENSITY BY SECTOR, NEW YORK CITY AND ITS BOROUGHS, 2021-22



NA = Sample size is insufficient to generate reliable estimates. See footnote 1 in the text.
 Percentages shown for 2021-22 include the 18 months from January 2021 to June 2022.
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2002—June 2022.

Union Membership by Age, Earnings, and Education

Although young workers have been the main protagonists of the recent organizing successes at Starbucks and Amazon, overall unionization rates remain much higher for older workers. As Figure 5 shows, the national 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. (The CPS sample size for the youngest group is too small to generate reliable estimates for the subnational geographical units shown in the Figure.) Nationwide and in upstate New York, the rates are equal for 25-54-year-old workers and those aged 55 and older. This pattern reflects the limited extent of union organizing among recent labor market entrants over recent decades (notwithstanding the events of the past year). In addition, as Figure 6 shows, unionized jobs typically provide workers with higher wages than non-union jobs do. Higher wages are strongly associated with lower turnover, which ultimately skews 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 contributing to the 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—consistently have the highest rates. In contrast, workers who lack high-school degrees now have the very lowest rates of unionization. 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 in the 21st century 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).

Recent union organizing in the private sector has also disproportionately involved college-educated workers in sectors like journalism, higher education, museums and other non-profits.

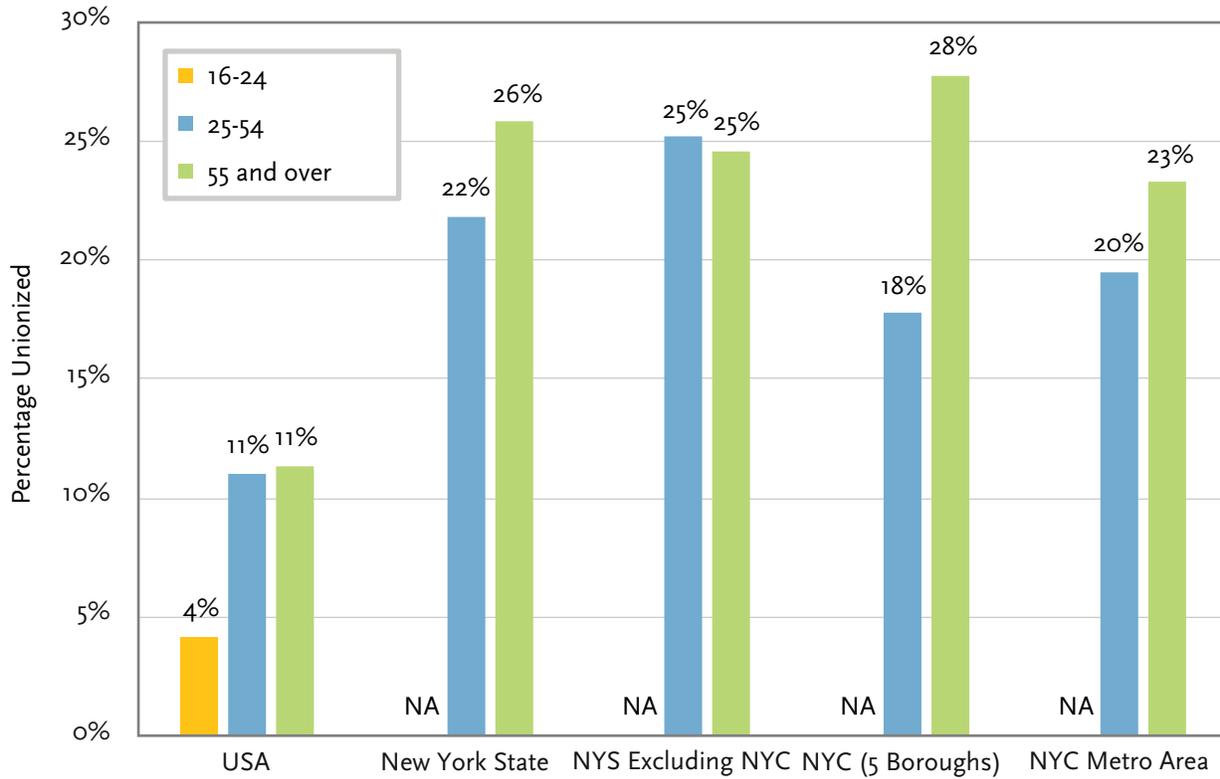
Industry Variation in Unionization Rates

In 2021-22 more than half (54.9 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 share of unionized workers (58.5 percent and 60.7 percent, respectively). All three of these industry groups include large 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). It is also noteworthy that, in contrast to many traditional union strongholds, all three of these industries include relatively large numbers of college-educated workers.

Table 1 also shows that the composition of union membership in New York City, and to a lesser degree in the State, 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 CPS sample size makes it impossible to specify precise figures, which unfortunately is also the case for many of the other industries shown). By contrast, in New York City, the share of union membership accounted for by the health care and social assistance industry group is double its share in the nation.

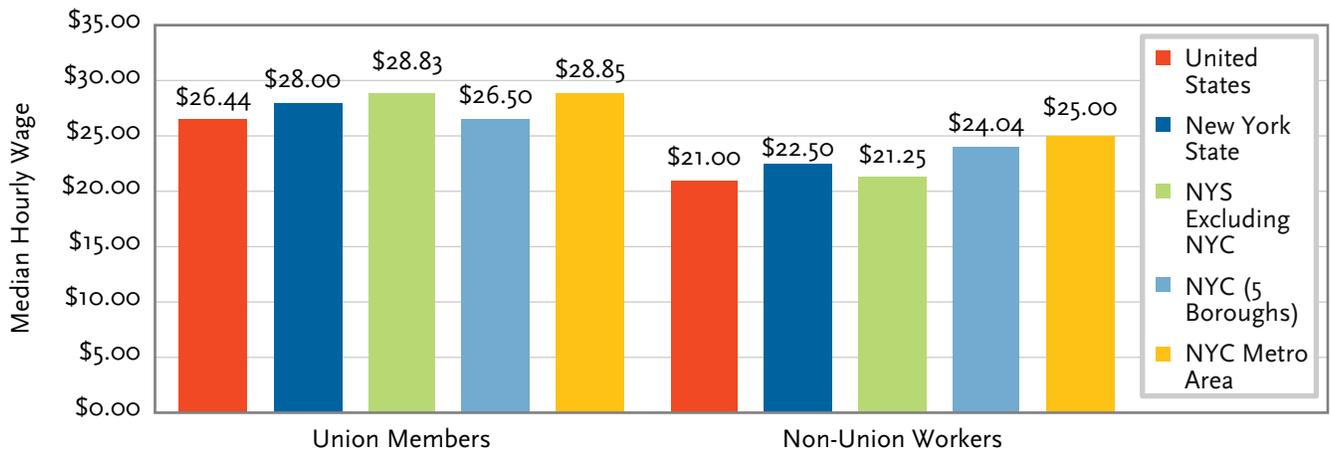
Table 2 shows the composition of wage and salary employment by industry group for the same five geographical entities for which the composition of union membership is presented in Table 1. Comparing the two tables reveals that, for most industry groups, the share of union membership deviates greatly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

FIGURE 5. UNIONIZATION RATES BY AGE, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2021-22



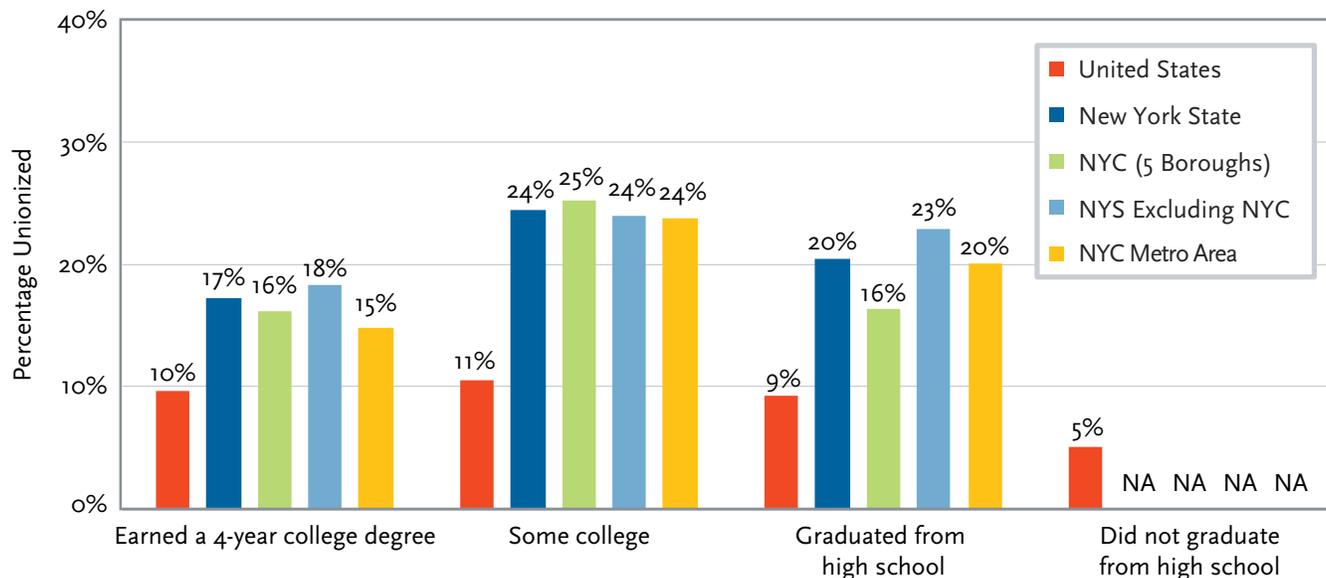
NA = Sample size is insufficient to generate reliable estimates. See footnote 1 in the text.
 Percentages shown for 2021-22 include the 18 months from January 2021 to June 2022.
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2002—June 2022.

FIGURE 6. MEDIAN HOURLY WAGE, UNION MEMBERS AND NON-UNION WORKERS, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2021-22



Figures reflect preliminary estimates, in 2021 dollars.
 Wages shown for 2021-22 include the 18 months from January 2021 to June 2022.
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2021—June 2022.

FIGURE 7. UNIONIZATION RATES BY EDUCATION, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2021-22



NA = Sample size is insufficient to generate reliable estimates. See footnote 1 in the text.
 Percentages shown for 2021-22 include the 18 months from January 2021 to June 2022.
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2021 — June 2022.

TABLE 1: COMPOSITION OF UNION MEMBERSHIP BY INDUSTRY GROUP, FOR SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS IN NEW YORK AND THE UNITED STATES, 2021-22

Industry Group	USA	New York State	NYS Excl. NYC	NYC (5 Boroughs)	NYC Metro Area
Construction	8.2%	7.5%	NA	NA	8.7%
Manufacturing	8.1%	NA	NA	NA	NA
Wholesale and retail trade	5.5%	NA	NA	NA	NA
Transportation and utilities	12.7%	10.7%	10.2%	NA	13.4%
Information services	1.6%	NA	NA	NA	NA
Finance, insurance and real estate	1.6%	NA	NA	NA	NA
Professional and business services	3.1%	NA	NA	NA	NA
Educational services	29.2%	28.9%	32.6%	22.4%	27.5%
Health care and social assistance	10.2%	16.5%	12.7%	22.9%	15.5%
Leisure and hospitality	2.5%	NA	NA	NA	NA
Other services	1.3%	NA	NA	NA	NA
Public administration	15.5%	15.3%	16.6%	13.2%	14.2%
TOTAL	99.4%	78.8%	72.2%	58.5%	79.3%
TOTAL of education, health and public administration	54.9%	60.7%	61.9%	58.5%	57.2%

NOTE: Total for the USA column does not add to 100% due to rounding; for the other geographical areas shown, totals include only industry groups for which reliable data are available.

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

Percentages shown for 2021-22 include the 18 months from January 2021 to June 2022.

Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2021 - June 2022.

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. Regardless of geographic jurisdiction, 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, which is also relatively highly unionized in the New York City metropolitan area and in New York State. By contrast, in the United States as a whole, the unionization rate for health care and social assistance is only slightly above the private-sector average. Outside New York City, the other

outstanding high-density industry is construction, which has a higher unionization rate than health care and social assistance in the other three geographical entities shown in Figure 8 (whereas in New York City the sample size for construction is too small to permit a reliable estimate). 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's, State's and nation's extremely uneven industry patterns of unionization. The limited sample size of the CPS restricts our ability to capture that complexity for 2021-22. For this reason, we created a different dataset that consolidates CPS data over a much longer period, the twelve-and-a-half years from January 2010 to June 2022, 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

TABLE 2: COMPOSITION OF WAGE AND SALARY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY GROUP, FOR SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS IN NEW YORK AND THE UNITED STATES, 2021-22

Industry Group	USA	New York State	NYS Excl. NYC	NYC (5 Boroughs)	NYC Metro Area
Construction	7.7%	6.5%	7.0%	5.8%	6.7%
Manufacturing	9.8%	5.8%	8.1%	2.6%	5.2%
Wholesale and retail trade	13.2%	11.9%	12.9%	10.6%	11.6%
Transportation and utilities	6.4%	6.1%	6.0%	6.3%	6.8%
Information services	1.7%	2.5%	NA	3.9%	2.9%
Finance, insurance and real estate	6.9%	8.3%	7.2%	9.8%	9.5%
Professional and business services	12.9%	14.2%	12.2%	17.0%	15.6%
Educational services	9.1%	10.7%	11.7%	9.5%	10.1%
Health care and social assistance	11.6%	13.9%	13.7%	14.3%	13.2%
Leisure and hospitality	9.3%	9.3%	8.6%	10.4%	8.8%
Other services	4.8%	5.2%	4.8%	5.6%	5.0%
Public administration	4.8%	5.0%	5.6%	4.1%	4.3%
TOTAL	98.0%	99.6%	97.8%	99.9%	99.8%

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 2021-22 include the 18 months from January 2021 to June 2022.

Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2021 - June 2022.

dataset differ somewhat from those shown in Figure 8 for 2021-22.⁸

Table 3 summarizes the 2010-2022 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, in this period the State had far higher union density than the nation as a whole. The only exception is the residual category “other transportation”; in which the rate was slightly lower in the State than in the nation. In the New York City metropolitan area, the unionization rate for this industry was even lower than in the State. One other industry in the metropolitan area had a unionization rate below the national average: “other manufacturing,” another residual category.

In 11 of the 41 industries shown for which sample sizes are sufficiently large to permit reliable estimates, 2010-2022 unionization rates were at least 25 percent in the New York City metropolitan area: utilities; construction; air transportation; bus service and urban transit; postal service (transportation); couriers and messengers; elementary and secondary schools; hospitals; nursing care facilities; home health care services; and public administration. These same 11 industries also had rates at or above 25 percent in New York State. Union density in “other transportation,” “wired and other telecommunication,” “other educational services,” and “performing arts, museums and sports” was also above the 25 percent 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 still 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.

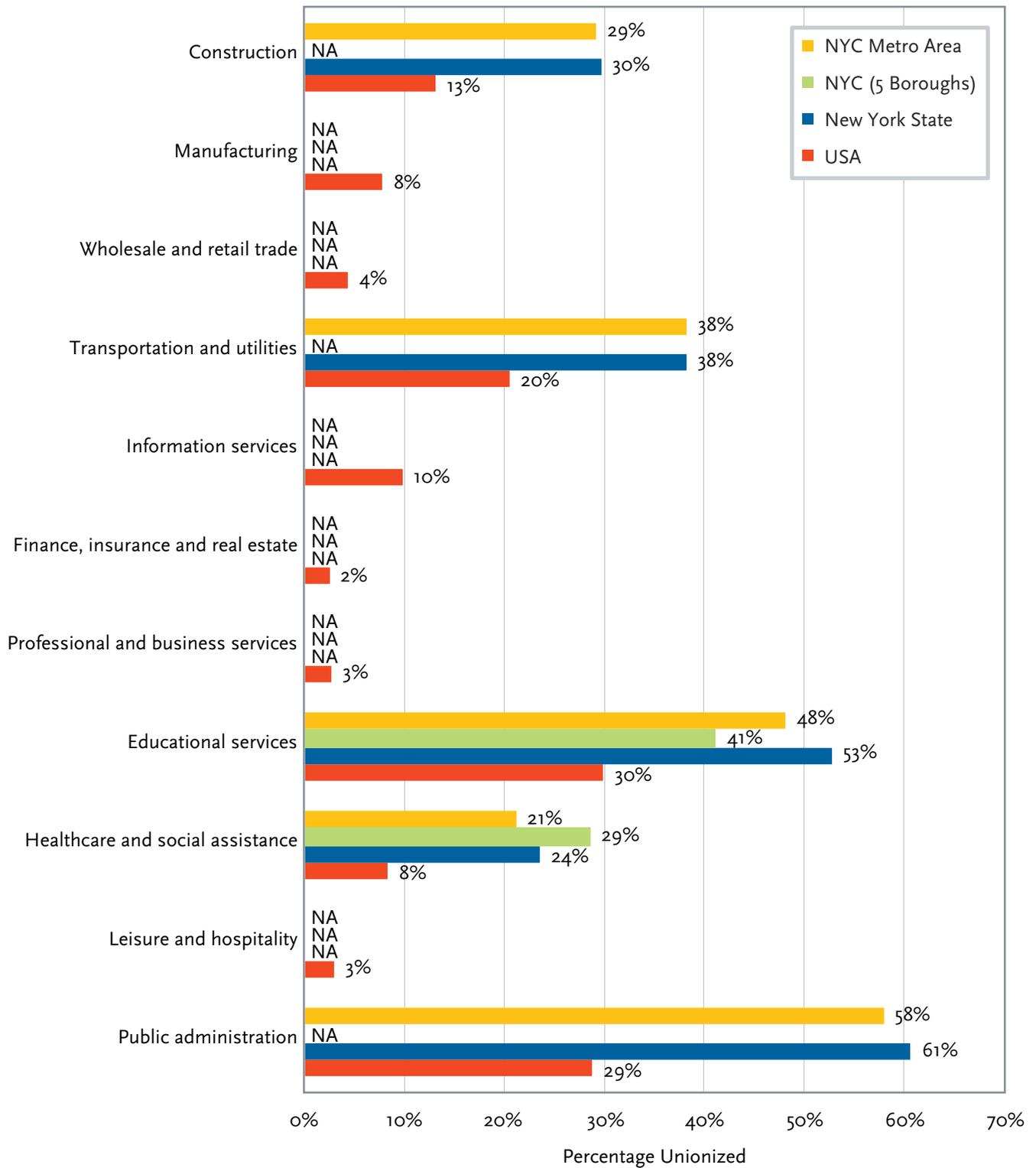
That said, the portrait of industry-specific unionization rates shown in Table 3 fails to capture some important points of differentiation. A notable example is the differences among construction industry segments: commercial construction is far more unionized than its residential counterpart in the metropolitan area, the State and the nation alike. Similarly, while traditional supermarkets are still highly unionized, most other types of retail grocery stores are not.

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.⁹ For example, educational services, as well as health care and social assistance, both of which have very high unionization rates, disproportionately employ female workers. This helps to explain why the 2021-22 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 2021-22 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 reflects differential racial and ethnic patterns of employment across industries. Blacks are the most highly unionized group in three of the five geographical entities shown, in large part reflecting their disproportionately high representation in public-sector employment. This effect is further amplified in New York City—where the Black unionization rate is almost double that of whites—because of the size of the highly unionized transit sector, in which Blacks are overrepresented. Similarly, in New York City, Latinx workers’ unionization rate was higher than that of non-Latinx whites in 2021-22; but in the other

FIGURE 8. UNIONIZATION RATES BY INDUSTRY GROUP, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2021-22



NA = Sample size is insufficient to generate reliable estimates. See footnote 1 in the text.
 Percentages shown for 2021-22 include the 18 months from January 2021 to June 2022.
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2021—June 2022.

TABLE 3. UNIONIZATION RATES BY INDUSTRY, NEW YORK CITY METROPOLITAN AREA, NEW YORK STATE, AND THE UNITED STATES, 2010-2022

Industry	New York Metro	New York State	United States
TOTAL (All Industries)	20.5%	23.2%	10.9%
Agriculture and mining	NA	NA	3.6
Utilities	45.2	48.4	24.8
Construction	26.3	28.8	14.2
Food manufacturing	NA	NA	12.7
Textile and apparel manufacturing	NA	NA	3.2
Paper products and printing	NA	NA	12
Other manufacturing	7.2	12.9	8.9
Wholesale grocery and beverages	NA	NA	8.5
Other wholesale trade	NA	NA	2.7
Retail grocery stores	24.8	20.6	15.6
Pharmacy and drug stores	NA	NA	4.5
Department and discount stores	NA	NA	2.6
Other retail trade	NA	NA	1.9
Air transportation	42.8	40.5	38.9
Truck transportation	NA	20.5	8.7
Bus service and urban transit	59.4	62.7	40.2
Postal service (transportation)	75.3	78.8	64
Couriers and messengers	29.1	31.0	23.3
Other transportation	23.9	25.8	28.8
Newspaper, periodical and book publishing	NA	NA	4.8
Motion pictures and video	NA	NA	12.8
Radio, television and cable	NA	19.6	7.4
Wired and other telecommunication	22.5	32.2	14.5
Other information services	NA	NA	17.2
Finance, insurance and real estate	7.7	9.2	2.5
Building and security services	13.9	15.5	5.0
Other management and professional services	3.5	5.2	1.9
Elementary and secondary schools	63.2	67.6	39.9
Other educational services	23.9	26.6	12.8
Offices of physicians and other health providers	NA	6.3	2.6
Hospitals	35.2	38.1	13.7
Nursing care facilities	26.8	29.2	6.7
Home health care services	26.2	26.7	7.5
Child day care services	NA	12.4	3.5
Other health care and social assistance	20.6	22.9	9.0
Performing arts, museums and sports	NA	31.2	12.8
Amusement, gambling and recreation	11.7	10.0	6.1
Hotels and accommodation	22.5	19.9	7.2
Restaurants, food service & drinking places	3.2	3.1	1.4
Other services	6.2	7.1	2.9
Public administration	59.3	64.1	30.7

NA = Sample size is insufficient to generate reliable estimates. See footnote 1 in the text.
Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2010 - June 2022.

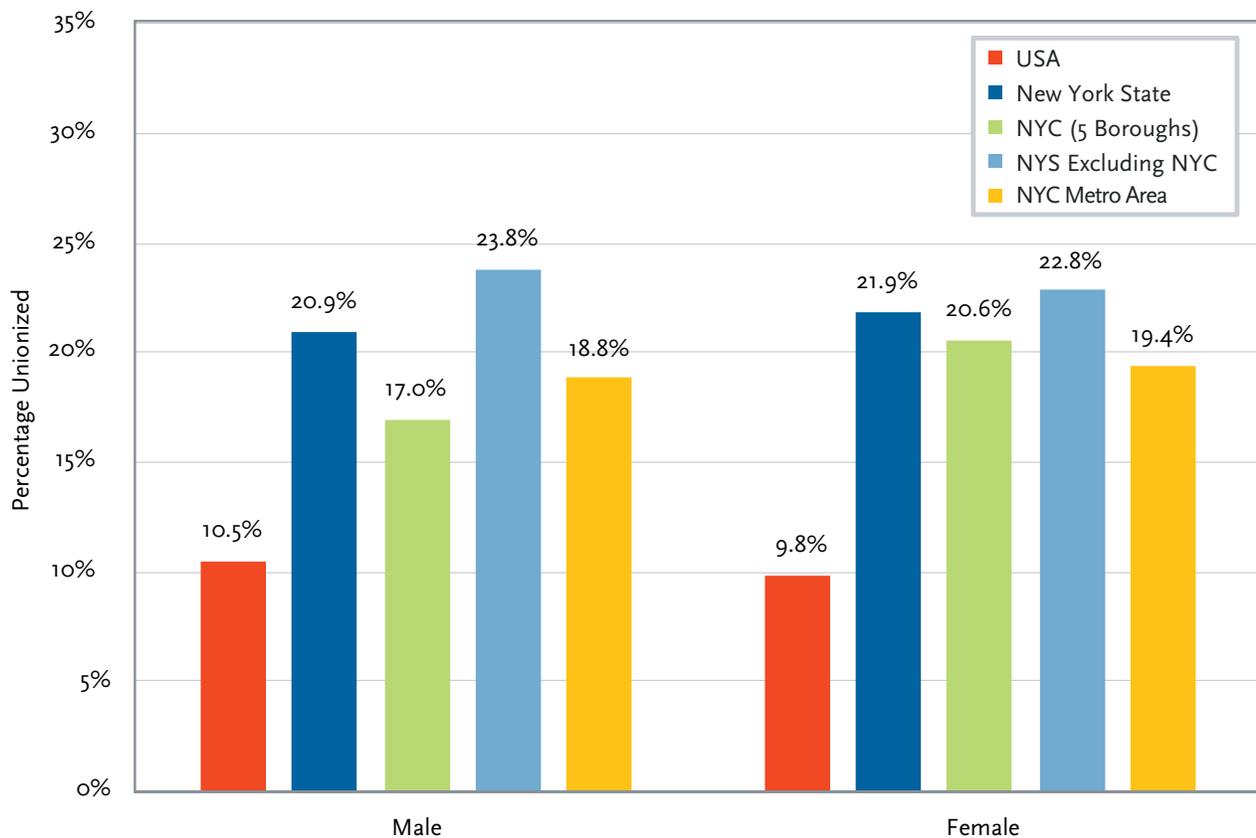
four jurisdictions shown, whites had a slightly higher unionization rate than their Latinx counterparts did.

Unionization rates vary with nativity as well, as shown in Figure 11. In 2021-22, 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 four geographical areas 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; immigrants in this group are far more likely than

recent arrivals to be union members.

More generally, as Figure 12 shows, foreign-born workers are not a homogenous group. In New York City, the unionization rate of naturalized U.S. citizens is higher than that of U.S.-born workers, and naturalized citizens have the same unionization rate as their U.S.-born counterparts in the New York City metropolitan area, the State, and the nation. 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, younger workers are less likely to be union members than older ones, regardless of nativity. Moreover, noncitizen immigrants are disproportionately employed in informal-sector jobs, which have

FIGURE 9. UNIONIZATION RATES BY GENDER, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2021-22



Percentages shown for 2021-22 include the 18 months from January 2021 to June 2022.
Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2021—June 2022.

FIGURE 10. UNIONIZATION RATES BY RACE AND ETHNICITY, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2021-22

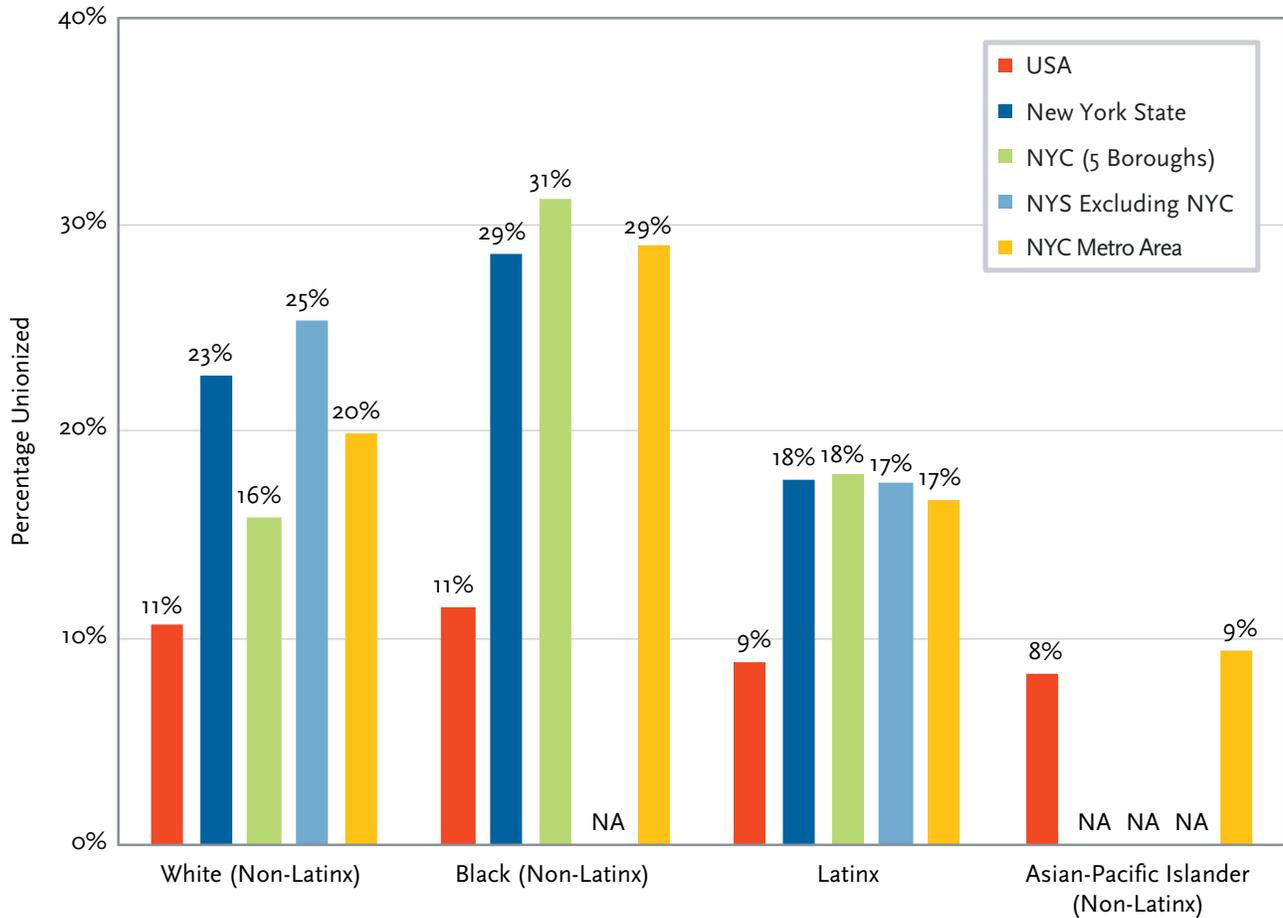
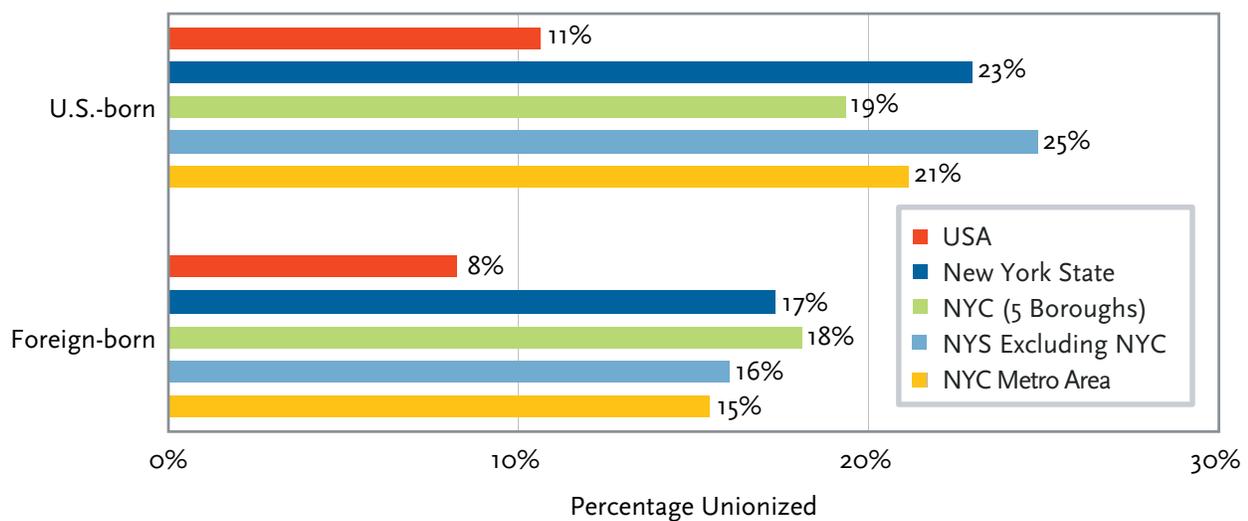


FIGURE 11. UNIONIZATION RATES BY NATIVITY, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2021-22



very low unionization rates. Over time, however, many immigrants are able to move into sectors of the labor market where unions are present. That is especially common among 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 4.4 percent of all foreign-born noncitizens in the United States were employed in the public sector, compared to 14.4 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 potential counterweight to the downward trend in organized labor's influence, although only if it is scaled up to a high level. As noted in the introduction to this report, the new organizing of the past year has not been of sufficient scale to make a difference in the overall picture, despite the intensive media and public attention it has attracted.

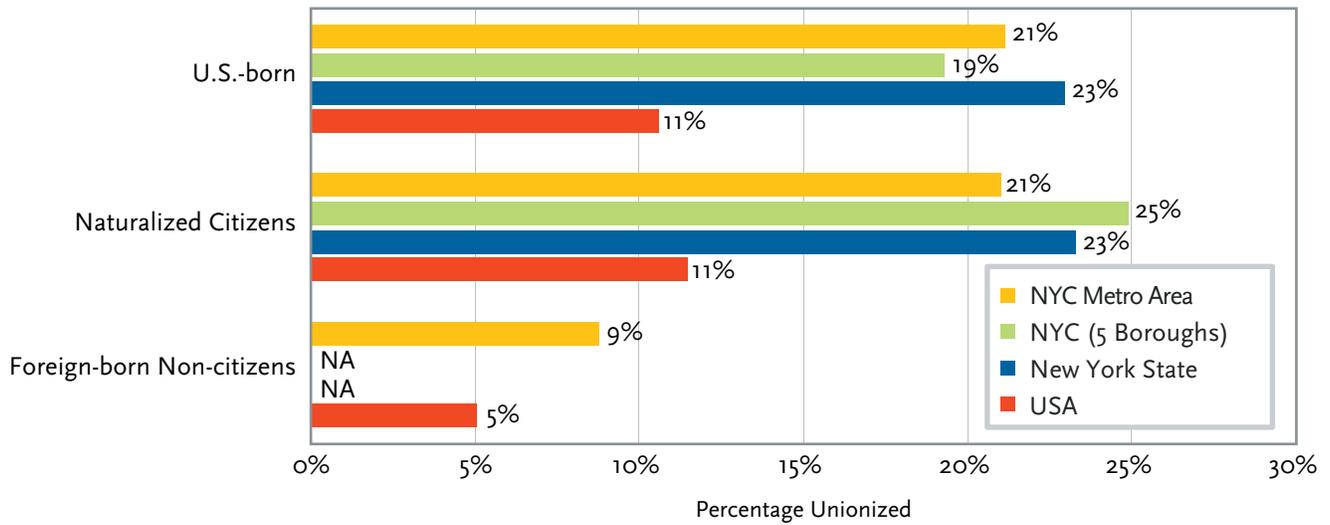
Moreover, many factors that the labor movement cannot control also critically influence the level of union density. All else equal, if employment declines in a highly unionized sector of the economy or expands in a non-union (or weakly unionized) sector, union density will fall. The best-known example 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 even more extensive effort. Indeed, this is why the 2021-22 uptick in union organizing has not impacted the overall density rates.

As we have seen, New York City and State's unionization levels have been far higher than in other parts of the nation in recent years, roughly double the national average. However, this was not the case in the mid-20th century, when U.S. unionization was at its all-time peak. In 1953, 34.4 percent of New York State's workers were unionized, only slightly above the 32.6 percent national level.¹⁰ 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 2021-22 level (12.4 percent), and statewide the figure was 24.0 percent as recently as 1983 (compared to 12.4 percent in 2021-22).¹¹

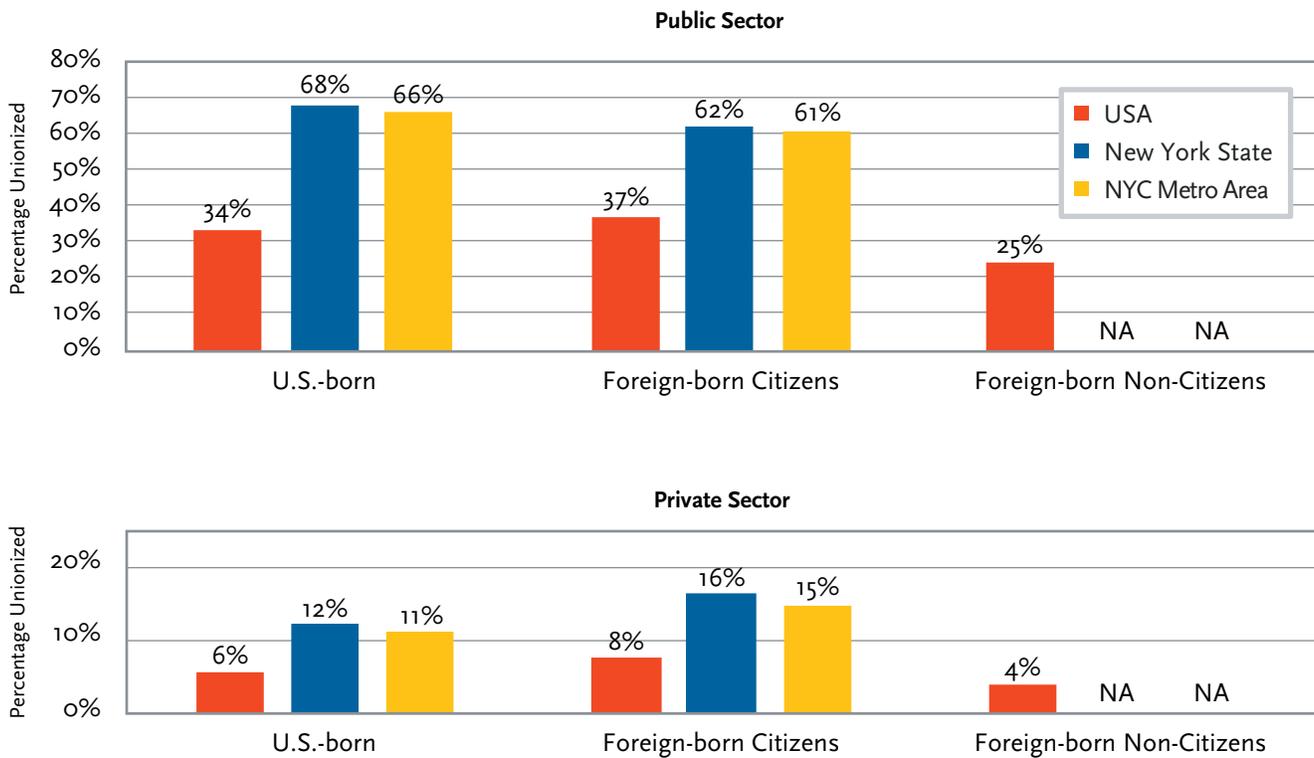
As union strength in the private sector has ebbed, the ratio of public- to private-sector unionization in New York City and State has soared to record highs. That ratio has potentially serious implications. In labor's glory days, a strongly unionized private sector helped foster a social-democratic political culture in New York City.¹² The decline in private-sector density is among the factors that have threatened to undermine that tradition in recent years. Even in the public sector unions in New York have lost some ground and have been increasingly on the political defensive in recent

FIGURE 12. UNIONIZATION RATES BY NATIVITY AND CITIZENSHIP STATUS, SELECTED GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS, 2021-22



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, 2021-22



NA = Sample size is insufficient to generate reliable estimates. See footnote 1 in the text.
 Percentages shown for 2021-22 include the 18 months from January 2021 to June 2022.
 Source: U.S. Current Population Survey, Outgoing Rotation Group, 2021—June 2022.

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, with longer-term consequences.

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 organized labor continues to

face daunting challenges. Still, 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. And the recent surge of interest in organizing and the growth in public support for organized labor may also augur well for the coming years.

Notes

1 <https://news.gallup.com/poll/354455/approval-labor-unions-highest-point-1965.aspx>

2 This report (apart from the Appendix) is based on analysis of the U.S. Current Population Survey (CPS) Outgoing Rotation Group data for calendar year 2021 and the first six months of 2022. We created a merged data set from the 18 monthly surveys conducted from January 2021 to June 2022, inclusive; the 2021-22 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 where Hirsch and Macpherson post annual updates (in contrast to 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, 2020 and 2021 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, January 2019-June 2020, and January 2020-June 2021 respectively. These earlier reports are available at <https://www.ruthmilkman.info/reports>.

3 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

4 An estimated 623,240 union members resided in New York City's five boroughs in 2021-22, while the statewide total is estimated at 1,679,499. 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.

5 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 2003-2022 are not strictly comparable to those for 2001 and 2002.

6 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/wp-content/uploads/legacy_drupal_files/omb/bulletins/2009/09-01.pdf.

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

8 Since unionization has declined somewhat since 2010 (see Figure 1a-c), the results of this analysis overestimate the actual levels of density for each industry shown in Table 3.

9 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.

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 unionstats.com. 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.

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

Notes for Special Feature

¹ See <https://news.gallup.com/poll/354455/approval-labor-unions-highest-point-1965.aspx> and <https://www.employerlaborrelations.com/2018/11/15/the-rise-of-millennials-and-their-potential-support-for-labor-unions/>

² As one authoritative analysis put it two decades ago, “To balance off the loss of members due to the normal birth and death of firms and changes in employment in union and nonunion workplaces and maintain its... share of the private workforce, unions must add about 500,000 new members annually. To add a point of density, unions must organize close to 1 million new members.” See Richard B. Freeman, “The Road to Union Renaissance in the U.S.,” (2002) available at: <https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.202.8096&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

³ <https://www.bls.gov/news.release/empsit.to1.htm>

⁴ The analysis below is based on NLRB election results data provided by Kevin Reuning, available at <https://unionelections.org/> and data on voluntary recognitions submitted to the NLRB, obtained by Forest Gregg through Freedom of Information Act Requests, available at <https://github.com/labordata/nlrb-voluntary-recognitions>. We thank Reuning and Gregg for compiling these data and permitting us to draw on them.

⁵ See <https://ericdirnbach.medium.com/decline-and-fall-union-election-trends-and-the-failing-nlrb-strategy-1e2263f3f59b>

⁶ The NLRB defines a “bargaining unit” as “a group of two or more employees who share a community of interest and may reasonably be grouped together for purposes of collective bargaining. The determination of what is an appropriate unit for such purposes is, under the Act, left to the discretion of the NLRB.” Supervisors are excluded from all bargaining units under the law; in some contexts other workers may also be excluded. See <https://www.nlrb.gov/sites/default/files/attachments/basic-page/node-3024/basicguide.pdf>

⁷ The data presented in Figure B3 on voluntary recognitions include only those formally reported to the NLRB. Under the NLRA, a union or an employer may notify the NLRB of a voluntary recognition agreement; however, neither party is required to do so. Thus the data shown may understate the extent of voluntary recognitions.

⁸ There were 24 cases of voluntary recognition in New York City, six of which were home care agencies (technically in the private sector but with wage rates largely determined by Medicaid) organized by the IUJAT-affiliated Home Healthcare Workers of America. Another six cases of voluntary recognition in the City involved progressive non-profits (including the Industrial Workers of the World, New Immigrant Community Empowerment, and Avodah), and two bookstores catering to the progressive community. In all these cases, which make up half of the New York City voluntary recognitions, employers had far less incentive to resist unionization than is typically the case.

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 623,000 cited in the body 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. 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 many 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 error is likely to be greater in the opposite direction.)

*The data in this table were compiled from the most recent available LM-2/3/4 forms (typically from 2021) and other sources by Joseph van der Naald. Thanks to Ed Ott for assistance with this effort.

UNION NAME	Reported Membership
Amalgamated Transit Union ^c	14,219
American Association of University Professors ^c	674
American Federation of Government Employees ^c	6,502
American Federation of Musicians ^b	5,906
American Federation of School Administrators — Council of Supervisory Associations	6,502
American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees ^c	85,462
American Federation of Teachers ^{a, c} (includes 21,207 members of PSC-CUNY and 122,901 in the NYC UFT)	155,152
American Postal Workers Union	8,249
American Train Dispatchers Association ^a	225
Anti-Defamation League Staff Association	143
Associated Actors and Artistes of America ^{b, c} (includes 17,593 members of Actors Equity Association; 683 members of the American Guild of Musical Artists; and 38,368 members of SAG-AFTRA)	56,723
Association of Commuter Rail Employees ^a	271
Association of Legislative Employees ^a	132
Association of Surrogates and Supreme Court Reporters Within the City of New York ^a	262
Bakery, Confectionery, Tobacco Workers and Grain Millers International Union ^c	1,347
Benefit Fund Staff Association	490
Brotherhood of Security Personnel	19
Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen	62
Building and Construction Trades Department ^b	136
Citywide Association of Law Assistants of the Civil, Criminal and Family Courts ^a	304

UNION NAME	Reported Membership
Civilian Technicians Association	12
Communication Workers of America ^{a, c} (includes 2,050 members of the NewsGuild of New York)	28,063
Co-Op City Police Benevolent Association	71
Court Attorneys Association of the City of New York ^a	195
EMS Superior Officers Association ^a	40
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	31
Independent Association of Legal Workers	4
Independent Guard Union	9
Industrial Workers of the World	482
International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees ^{b, c}	22,343
International Association of Bridge, Structural, Ornamental and Reinforcing Iron Workers ^b	7,791
International Association of Fire Fighters ^a	8,205
International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Allied Workers ^b	990
International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers ^a	9,620
International Association of Sheet Metal, Air, Rail, and Transportation Workers ^{a, b}	7,130
International Brotherhood of Boilermakers ^b	546
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers ^b	25,189
International Brotherhood of Teamsters ^c	53,625
International Brotherhood of Trade Unions	73
International Federation of Professional and Technical Engineers	125
International Longshoremen's Association	1,614
International Organization of Masters, Mates & Pilots – Atlantic Maritime Group ^c	1,450
International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftworkers ^b	8,672
International Union of Elevator Constructors ^b	3,059
International Union of Journeymen and Allied Trades ^b	30,385
International Union of Operating Engineers ^{a, b}	21,506
International Union of Painters and Allied Trades ^{a, b}	6,816
International Union of Police Associations ^a	105
Kingsbrook Jewish Medical Center Staff Association	5
Laborers' International Union of North America ^b	19,133
Laundry Workers Association	6
League of International Federated Employees	935
Local One Security Officers	785
Major League Baseball Players Association ^c	89
Marine Engineers Beneficial Association ^a	130
Maritime Trades Department Port Council	24
Metal Trades Department ^b	20
MTA Commanding Officers Association ^a	28
Mount Sinai Pharmacy Association	120
National Air Traffic Controllers Association	159
National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees	564

UNION NAME	Reported Membership
National Association of Letter Carriers	10,998
National Association of Transportation Supervisors ^a	4,767
National Basketball Players Association ^c	32
National Labor Relations Board Union	48
National Postal Mail Handlers Union ^c	1,720
National Treasury Employees Union	3,340
National Writers Union ^{c, e}	225
New York City Deputy Sheriffs' Association ^a	141
New York Professional Nurses Association	1,221
New York State Correctional Officers and Police Benevolent Association ^a	733
New York State Court Clerks Association ^a	1,316
New York State Court Officers Association ^a	1,367
New York State Federation of Physicians and Dentists	40
New York State Law Enforcement Officers Union ^a	23
New York State Nurses Association	27,669
Newspaper and Mail Deliverers Union	429
International Union of Allied Novelty and Production Workers ^c	1,126
Office and Professional Employees International Union ^c	6,655
Operative Plasterers' and Cement Masons' International Association ^b	1,107
Organization of Staff Analysts ^a	3,384
Organization of Union Representatives	3
Patrolmen's Benevolent Association ^a	23,062
Police Benevolent Association of New York State ^a	51
Police Benevolent Association of the New York State Troopers ^a	204
Postal and Federal Employees Alliance	366
Professional Association of Holy Cross High School	47
Professional Dieticians of New York City Presbyterian	49
Restaurant Workers Union 318	31
Safety Professionals of America	6
Security Alliance Federation of Employees	165
Service Employees International Union ^{a, c} (includes 158,077 NYC members in 1199SEIU; 85,000 members in SEIU Local 32B-J ^c ; and 5,573 members in Workers United)	264,104
Special Patrolman Benevolent Association	70
Stage Directors and Choreographers ^{b, c}	787
St. John's Preparatory Teachers Association	33
Taxi Workers Alliance ^e	30,000
Transport Workers Union ^a	46,324
Uniformed Sanitation Chiefs Association ^a	69
Union of Automotive Technicians ^a	50
UNITE HERE ^d	26,358
United Association of Plumbers and Pipefitters ^b	15,067
United Auto Workers ^c	12,885
United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners ^{b, c}	18,986
United Food and Commercial Workers International Union ^d (includes 11,888 members in the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union)	50,934

UNION NAME	Reported Membership
United Nations International School Staff Association	225
United Production Workers Union	1,292
United Steelworkers ^d	2,605
United Uniformed Workers of New York ^{a, f}	34,441
United Union of Roofers, Waterproofers and Allied Workers ^b	1,458
United University Professions ^a	2,456
Utility Workers Union of America	7,084
Women's National Basketball Players Association ^c	12
Writers Guild of America ^b	2,876
TOTAL	1,211,745

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 (2022), from Freedom of Information Law (FOIL) requests to the Office of the State Comptroller's Office (2022) and the Metropolitan Transit Authority (2022), from the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey (2022), or from Combined Continuing Disclosure Filings relating to the Metropolitan Transit and Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authorities (2022).

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 (or a portion of it) 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: 5,435 members in the Detectives Endowment Association; 4,329 members in the Sergeants Benevolent Association; 1,652 members in the Lieutenants Benevolent Association; 6,334 members in the Correction Officers Benevolent Association; 6,403 members in the Sanitation Workers Local 831; 2,489 members in the Uniformed Fire Officers Association; 1,206 members in the Sanitation Officers Local 444; 98 members in the Assistant Deputy Wardens - Deputy Wardens Association; 719 members in the Captains Endowment Association; 647 members in the Correction Captains Association; 308 members in the NYC Detective Investigators Association; 1,054 members in the NYS Supreme Court Officers Association; 92 members in the Port Authority Detectives Endowment Association; 98 members in the Port Authority Lieutenants Benevolent Association; 1,650 members in the Port Authority Police Benevolent Association; 230 members in the Port Authority Sergeants Benevolent Association; 198 members in the Uniformed Fire Alarm Dispatchers Benevolent Association; 338 members in the Bridge and Tunnel Officers Benevolent Association; 1,042 members in the Police Benevolent Association MTA; and 119 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 2022.

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://olmsapps.dol.gov/olpdr/>

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

SLU was established in 2018, as an outgrowth of CUNY's Murphy Institute. The School offers undergraduate and graduate degrees in Labor Studies and Urban Studies designed to meet the needs of working adults as well as traditional-age college students who seek to learn more about the challenges confronting poor and working class populations in the workplace and in the community. It also collaborates with other units of CUNY to offer a range of college-credit programs designed to give workers the academic and technical skills they need for professional advancement. Its faculty includes distinguished scholars in the social sciences as well as expert practitioners in government, labor, and public service. In addition to its academic programs, SLU sponsors research, organizes forums and conferences, and publishes the journal *New Labor Forum*.

