What do Graduate Worker Unions Do?

John Fallon Jesse Meredith

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Abstract

In this paper, we ask how graduate student labor unions affect the production of doctoral degrees and the employment of graduate student workers. Leveraging a 2016 ruling that solidified grad workers' right to bargain collectively, we exploit recent advances in difference-in-differences methodology to answer these questions. We find a small delayed decline in doctoral production, with timing that lines up with reduced admissions. On employment, we don't find a statistically significant effect, but can rule out long-run declines of 10% or more. In estimating employment effects for specific job types we find extremely imprecise results, suggesting large variation in grad students' specific jobs that's not directly related to unionization.

Introduction

Universities occupy a unique position in the economy. They produce basic research that drives long-run growth and they train the workers who commercialize, apply, and extend that research. Graduate students sit at the center of both functions. They staff laboratories, co-author papers, teach undergraduates, and emerge as the next generation of scientists, engineers, and scholars. Changes in the conditions under which graduate students work therefore have the potential to affect not just the students themselves but the broader trajectory of research and human capital formation.

Graduate student unionization has expanded rapidly. By early 2024, approximately 150,000 graduate workers were represented by unions in the United States, up from roughly 64,000 in 2012 (Herbert et al, 2024). This growth, enabled by the 2016 *Columbia* NLRB decision and driven by rising cost-of-living pressures and shifts in the academic labor market, has produced contracts at dozens of research universities. Whether these changes improve or degrade the university's core functions is an open question. The empirical literature provides almost no guidance. Rogers, Eaton, & Voos (2013) noted that only two studies had systematically assessed

graduate union impacts at the time of their writing. A decade later, no causal study of graduate unionization's effects on admissions, research output, or career outcomes has been published.

This paper studies the effects of graduate student unionization on outcomes related to graduate students as employees. These include employee recruitment, retention, and job tasks. Followup work will focus on outcomes related to the accessibility of graduate education, the productivity of the research process, and the labor outcomes of unionized students.

We generally find null effects of unionization on student outcomes, in contrast with the media attention paid to unionization efforts and the immediate responses observed by the authors when students at Boston University unionized. We find suggestive evidence that unionized institutions award fewer PhDs stating a few years after union recognition in a manner consistent with smaller entering cohorts. We can rule out significant declines in the number of graduate students employed by unionizing institutions. We also observe point estimates with larger magnitude for effects on research employment than instructional employment, though with standard errors sufficient to prevent strong conclusions.

Literature & Conceptual Framework

The general literature on unions, organized influentially by Freeman & Medoff (1984) distinguishes two mechanisms through which collective bargaining operates. The *monopoly mechanism* raises wages above competitive levels, potentially reducing employment and distorting allocation. The *collective voice mechanism* provides a channel for workers to communicate preferences, reduce costly exit, and improve workplace governance. Empirically, both mechanisms operate simultaneously. Freeman and Medoff estimated that unions raised wages by 15-25%; more recent work finds a persistent but slightly smaller premium in the range of 10-20% (Farber et al, 2021). Unions also reduce turnover substantially, though the voice function appears to have weakened as union density has declined.

These findings provide useful priors, but they cannot be applied directly to graduate education. The university setting differs from a standard labor market in at least three ways.

First, graduate students are simultaneously workers and trainees. A TA teaching introductory economics is providing labor services, but she is also acquiring pedagogical skills. An RA running regressions is producing research output, but he is also learning econometrics. This dual role means that conditions of work are also conditions of human capital investment. When a union caps weekly hours or restructures RA assignments, it is changing both labor inputs and the training function.

Second, the employer's objective is not confined to profit maximization. Universities pursue a mixture of research prestige, teaching quality, and public mission, subject to budget constraints. This means the institutional response to higher labor costs may look very different from a firm's response. A firm facing higher wages reduces employment. A university facing higher stipends might reduce admissions, shift funding sources, substitute toward adjuncts, or simply

absorb the cost by reallocating from other budget lines. Which margin adjusts is an empirical question with no clear theoretical prediction.

Third, the output of the production process,trained researchers and STEM workers placed into the economy, generates externalities. A PhD who goes on to make a major scientific discovery produces social benefits greater than her private salary. If unionization changes the quality or quantity of PhD graduates, the welfare effects extend well beyond the university. This means that the standard welfare analysis of unions, which focuses on deadweight loss from wage distortions, understates the stakes.

The evidence relating to graduate student workers specifically is thin. Rogers and coauthors (2013) compare unionized and non-unionized PhD students across eight public universities and find that unionized students report higher faculty support, similar academic freedom, and better pay; their design speaks to how students experience unionization, not to how universities respond to it, and their data necessarily predate the organizing wave this paper studies. The remaining literature consists of cross-sectional compensation studies (Schenk, 2010, Liu, 2005) and a study of worker identity (Hong, 2026); Porter (2013) provides causal evidence for faculty unions only. We are aware of no causal study of unionization's effects on doctoral admissions or employment.

Given the prior work indicating that graduate worker unions tend to increase stipends, we expect unionization to be a shock to the university's labor costs. With this in mind, we expect that universities would attempt to reduce their graduate employee headcount (in line with the results in Frandsen (2021)). Universities have a wide array of options to do so. These include:

- Pushing existing students to graduate earlier than they would have otherwise.
- Pushing existing students out without a degree, which is analogous to firing
- Reducing graduate admissions. With entry lower than exit, the total headcount would fall over time. This is analogous to reduced hiring.
- Shifting towards hiring adjunct instructors and non-student research assistants.
- Shifting admissions towards more international students. This would be useful to the university if international students are more likely to be self-funded or funded by an institution in their home country.
- Reduced hiring of students outside of their funding guarentee.
- Increased grant-seeking. In fields where grants are ubiquitous, faculty may increase the amount they request to push the added cost of grad student workers onto the granting body. If fields where grant-seeking is not universal, unionization may incentivize grant seeking both by faculty (to push the cost of graduate research assistants off the department budget) and students (if funding from the university becomes scarce).

Notably, some of these options directly parallel ones available to employers in other sectors, such as reduced hiring or pulling in substitute workers. Others, such as graduation timing and grant seeking, are specific to the educational setting. This division opens up avenues of research

unavailable in other settings. At this stage, we focus on outcomes related to the number of graduate students and graduate student workers at a university.

Data & Setting

Unionization Years

We construct our roster of unionization events from three sources:

- A National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) roster of union elections. This roster covers elections at private-sector employers since 2007.
- The roster of graduate worker unions compiled by the National Center for the Study of Collective Bargaining in Higher Education and the Professions at Hunter College (Herbert et al, 2024). This roster included a note of when the union was recognized by the corresponding institution as a bargaining unit.
- A researcher-generated data set based on the roster of graduate worker unions present on Wikipedia (Wikipedia Contributors, 2026). This roster identifies the union covering graduate student workers at a given institution, and also indicates cases where a unionizing campaign is underway or where state law limits public-sector union activities. For these institutions, we searched the unions' websites for indications of when they began and searched for news accounts that indicate when the union started.

When assigning a unionization date to a college or university, we prioritize these data sets in the order above. Where there's an NLRB record of a successful election, the year of that election is used. Where such a record is absent, the year from the Hunter College roster is used. The researcher-gathered data are only used in cases where a union appears in neither the NLRB records nor the Hunter College roster. This priority order reflects the strengths and limitations of each data source. The NLRB records benefit from being tied to a specific event, a union election, but only go back to 2007 and exclude public-sector institutions. The Hunter College roster similarly leaves out some institutions covered by the Wikipedia roster. These cases are typically at public institutions in states where collective bargaining by public employees is restricted, and so the union is never officially recognized by the university. Table A1 in the appendix shows a selection of institutions, the year their graduate student workers formed a union, and indicators for which data sources they appear in.

For this project, we record unions at colleges and universities that cover graduate students in teaching or research roles. Unions at other institutions (e.g. research labs), covering other roles, or that only cover part of the graduate student body are excluded.[1]

[1]The latter restriction includes the unusual case where a single department or school within a university unionizes. For example, at Yale University some specific departments held union election in 2018 prior to the general unionization in 2023.

Outcomes and University Characteristics

We draw our outcome variables from the Integrated Postsecondary Education System (IPEDS). In particular, we pulled data over the spring and summer of 2026 reflecting the period from the 2001-02 school year to the 2024-25 school year. As such, our analysis is restricted to institutions represented in IPEDS

Summary

Table 1 lists the campuses for which we observe unionization dates. An inspection of the unionization years shows a wide range, with the earliest occurring in the 1960s and the latest observed unionizations occurring in 2024. Figure 1 shows the distribution of graduate student unionizations over time, with a marker for the *Columbia* decision in 2016. The mass of unionizations since 2016 allow for use of post-2001 data for difference-in-differences analysis with limited loss of precision.

Table 2 displays the Carnegie classifications of unionized and non-unionized institutions. From these results, we can tell that unionization is primarily a phenomenon among R1 and R2 research universities. As such, the results shown later in this paper will be on a sample restricted to R1 and R2 institutions.

Table 3 shows summary statistics across campuses, disaggregated between campuses that never unionize and ones that ever have a graduate worker union. There is notable imbalance that campuses with unions tend to have more graduate students and more graduate student workers. This is conceptually unsurprising, and lines up with the observed

Methods

This paper relies on a staggered difference-in-differences method, drawing on insight from Athey & Imbens (2022) and Callaway & Sant'Anna (2021). The core specification is given in Equation 1 below.

Equation 1: $Y_{i,t} = \Sigma_{g=-10}^{5} D_{i,t,g} + J_i + H_{t,g}$

Where $Y_{i,t}$ is the outcome for institution i in period t, J_i incorporates institution fixed effects, $H_{t,g}$ are year/unionization cohort fixed effects.

In the analysis below, we impose two restrictions for clarity. First, the sample is limited to private R1/R2 universities. As we have shown, unions are almost exclusively a phenomenon of R1 and R2 universities, and including other institutions would yield a poor comparison. Furthermore, the 2016 *Columbia* decision only applied to private employers.

- Institutions where a grad worker union was regognized prior to 2015 are excluded.

Assumptions

There are a few assumptions required to interpret the outcomes from this analysis as causal.

- No Anticipation: This assumption motivates our focus on union elections and recognition as the treatment times, rather than the initial contract. Though a university's labor costs might not change until a contract is signed, the writing would be on the wall as soon as the graduate workers vote to unionize.
- Persistent Treatment: In our analysis, we assume that a unionized institution remains unionized for the entire study period. In constructing our data set, we found no indication that de-unionization occurred with any frequency. Herbert and coauthors (2023) found that margins of victory in graduate worker union elections were roughly 75% from 2013-2019 and 91% in 2022-23. These margins suggest a breadth of support that would frustrate attempts to dissolve the union.

- Common Counterfactual Trends: We suppose that in the absence of unionization, both unionizing and never-unionized institutions would experience the same trends in the outcome variables.

Results

Main Models

As noted above, all analyses shown here are restricted to R1 and R2 universities.

Figure 2 shows the effect of unionization on the number of doctorate degrees awarded by the unionizing institution. While none of the post-period point estimates are different from 0 at the 5% level, the overall trend is clear. A null effect seems unlikely under these results, and we can rule out significant increases in doctoral completions. Notably, the apparent pre trend from T=-5 to T=-1 does not continue into the treatment period. This suggests that the observed trend is not a continuation of pre-unionization trends.

That the effect takes a couple of years to manifest is informative when considering institutions' responses to unionization. If institutions responded to unionization by pushing students to graduate earlier, we'd expect an increase in doctorates awarded soon after unionization. Similarly, if institutions pushed students out without a degree, perhaps by raising the standards on prospectuses, then we'd see an immediate decline. if a PhD typically takes 5 or more years, the delayed effect suggests that institutions' margin of response is early in the doctoral process. The observed results are consistent with departments trying to reduce their graduate headcount through either reduced admissions or higher standards on early exams.

Figure 3 shows the effect of unionization on the number of graduate student employees at the institution. The post-treatment point estimates are consistently above 0. However, the confidence intervals are wide enough that we can't confidently claim that in any particular year

there's an increase in employment. However, substantial decreases in the graduate workforce would be unlikely to generate the observed pattern. If unionization efforts increased wages for graduate student workers, we would expect to see downward pressure on employment. Results inconsistent with large job losses suggest that something else is going on: either the standard labor demand model doesn't apply, there's a countervailing labor supply model, the negotiated contract includes mandatory employment provisions, or something else.

One possibility I would note here is that the outcome is for *grad student* workers, not *PhD student* workers. As such, an increase in MA students hired as teaching or research aides would yield the observed pattern. However, we believe that this is unlikely to be the case. In analyzing the NLRB election records, we can observe the bargaining unit that would be covered by the union, and these elections are almost uniformly for graduate workers rather than PhD workers. As such, both MA and PhD student workers would be subject to the same shock, and so unionization would not automatically make MA student labor than PhD student labor.

Figures 4 and 5 show the effects on graduate student employment, disaggregated into research roles and instructional roles. The results on instructional roles show substantial volatility, with the possibility of an increase immediately following unionization. Employment in these roles also shows some movement years before unionization. Substantial increases, substantial decreases, or no effect are all consistent with the estimated effects. Though it is interesting that the two types of employment at first glance appear to exhibit different patterns, the standard errors are large enough that we cannot say with confidence that the different employment types respond differently.

At this point, we shift attention to the effects of graduate student unionization on other types of employees. If graduate student workers get more expensive, other workers may get relatively cheaper, including undergraduate research assistants, postdoctoral researchers, and contract instructors.

Figure 6 considers the effects of graduate student unionization on the number of full-time research staff members without faculty status. This would include postdoctoral scholars and full-time post-bachelors research assistants, while leaving out graduate students (who are part time) as well as faculty researchers. We can rule out large declines in research staff, and see evidence for an increase in their employment a few years after unionization. Following the earlier results indicating that universities reduce their graduate student headcount, this result is consistent with departments hiring postdocs or full-time research assistants to fill the gap in the researcher labor force.

In Figures 7 and 8 we show the effects of unionization on employment of non-tenure-track faculty and faculty on a short-term contract respectively. Here, short-term refers to a contract of 1 year or less. Regarding non-tenure-track faculty, we see estimated effects clustered around 0, and with a higher degree of precision than most of the results we've seen so far. Thus, we can rule out substantial effects of unionization on the employment of teaching-track faculty. Regarding short-contract faculty, we see consistently negative effects, and statistical significance in the two years immediately following unionization. If graduate workers successfully bargained for

higher pay, this shift away from contract instructors could indicate short-term belt tightening in the period after stipends increased and before the graduate headcount is trimmed. Such a short-term response would also match the shift in estimated effects towards zero three years after unionization.

Secondary Analysis

One factor that could impact both unionization and graduate worker employment is an institution's financial health. The directions of these effects are conceptually ambiguous. One one hand, an institution with a strong balance sheet would be better able to bear the costs of higher stipends than one just scraping by, which may encourage unionization if the upside seems higher. On the other hand, financial difficulties could prompt students to unionize as a protective measure against funding cuts. Similarly an institution flush with cash would be better able to absorb the cost of increased stipends, but would also be readily able to shift their staffing towards adjunct instructors and postdoctoral researchers.

In figures 9 through 12, we begin to explore these relationships. To generate these tables, we run the same general model as in the primary analysis, but now controlling for the institution's unrestricted net assets. The results of these models generally suggest the same conclusions as in the main analysis.

Robustness Checks

Natural Logarithm

One feature of the inverse hyperbolic sine function is that the set of valid inputs includes 0. In comparison with the more conventional natural logarithm, this raises the question of whether the two methods yield different results. Observations with value 0 for the outcome could arise from intermittent reporting to IPEDS or true variation in the outcome.[2] Figures 10 through 13 run the same models as in the main results, only on the natural logarithm of the dependent variable rather than the inverse hyperbolic sine. The results for doctoral completions and total graduate employment are similar between the two specifications. The role-specific employment counts appear somewhat different. Recall that in the models using the inverse hyperbolic sine, the estimated effects of unionization were generally negative, but with standard errors wide enough to permit substantial increases, large decreases, or no effect. In the models using the natural logarithm, the estimated effects on instructional and research employment are somewhat positive. However, the standard errors in each case are large enough that we cannot

[2]The cases where the outcome is 0 seem to include both true 0s and false ones. For example, Loyola University of Chicago does not report any graduate workers in research roles. Given that the graduate worker's union at Loyola specifically mentions students on research assistantships on their website, it seems likely that the true number is greater than 0 (Loyola Graduate Workers' Union, n.d.). In contrast, Texas Christian University has years in which it reports that the number of grad workers in instructional roles equals the total number of graduate student workers, consistent with having zero graduate workers in research roles.

say with confidence that the estimates are different. It is noteworthy that under the natural logarithm, long-run decreases of more than 10% are unlikely to yield the observed trends in the data. Future revisions of this paper will explore this difference further.

Conclusion

The past decade has seen a large upswing un union activity among graduate student workers. These students organize to bargain with their institutions for higher pay, better working conditions, and more robust labor protections. With this in mind, we consider union election and recognition as a shock to the institution's expected labor costs. In estimating the effect on the quantity of labor hired, we find a surprising lack of effect. Though we can't null out a null effect, long-run declines in grad student employment of 10% or more would be inconsistent with our results. In addition, we find suggestive evidence that unionized institutions slowly shrink their doctoral student body. Overall, our results suggest that despite the energy surrounding unionization and bargaining efforts, the effects are modest relative to year-to-year fluctuations.

However, the shringing doctoral student body and steady graduate employment present a possible contradiction. If there are fewer students to hire, how could the number of student employees not decline? Future work will explore this relationship and other avenues for universities to respond to unionization.

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Tables and Figures

Table 1: Observed Unions

Institution	Union Year
University of Alabama	2019
Auburn University	2020
University of Alaska	2023
University of Arizona	2020
University of Arkansas	1966
California Institute of Technology	2024
California State University-Long Beach	2026
California State University-Sacramento	2025
University of Southern California	2023
University of Connecticut	2014
Wesleyan University	2024
Yale University	2023
American University	2017
George Washington University	2024
Georgetown University	2018
Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University	1997

Florida State University	1980
University of Florida	1980
University of South Florida	1979
Columbus State University	2021
Emory University	2023
Georgia Institute of Technology	2018
Georgia Southern University	2018
Georgia State University	2018
University of Georgia	2016
University of Hawaii at Manoa	2023
University of Chicago	2023
University of Illinois, Chicago	2004
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign	2002
Illinois State University	2018
Loyola University Chicago	2017
Northwestern University	2023
University of Illinois, Springfield	2005
Southern Illinois University, Carbondale	2006
Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville	2019
Indiana University-Bloomington	2019
University of Iowa	1995
University of Kansas	1995
University of Louisville	2022
University of Maine	2023
Johns Hopkins University	2023
University of Maryland, College Park	2023
Boston College	2017
Boston University	2022
Brandeis University	2017
Clark University	2022
Harvard University	2018
University of Massachusetts, Lowell	1994
University of Massachusetts, Amherst	1990
University of Massachusetts, Boston	2000
Massachusetts Institute of Technology	2022
Northeastern University	2023
University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth	2023
Tufts University	2017
Worcester Polytechnic Institute	2022
Central Michigan University	2009
University of Michigan	1974
Michigan State University	2001

Wayne State University	1998
Western Michigan University	2006
University of Minnesota	2023
Saint Louis University	2024
Washington University in St. Louis	2016
Montana State University	2012
Dartmouth College	2023
University of New Hampshire	2024
New Jersey Institute of Technology	2010
Princeton University	2022
New Mexico State University	2022
Alfred University	2024
Columbia University	2016
Cornell University	2023
Fordham University	2022
Icahn School of Medicine at Mount Sinai	2024
The New School	2017
New York University	2024
Stony Brook University	2008
Syracuse University	2023
Duke University	2023
Oregon Health & Science University	2019
Oregon State University	1999
University of Oregon	1977
Portland State University	2016
Point Park University	2004
Temple University	2001
Brown University	2018
University of Rhode Island	2002
East Tennessee State University	2003
Texas A&M University-College Station	2026
University of Texas at Austin	2025
Virginia Commonwealth University	2021
University of Virginia	2020
Washington State University	2022
University of Washington	2004
Western Washington University	2023
University of Wisconsin-Madison	1969
Stanford University	2023
Kennesaw State University	2018

Table 1B: Carnegie Classification & Union Status - 2024

	R1 Universities	R2 Universities	Other	Total
No Union	80	106	5600	5786
Ever Unionized	65	23	10	98
Total	145	129	5610	5884

Most Selective colleges have an undergraduate admissions rate under 15%. Extremely Selective colleges have an undergraduate admissions rate between 15 and 35%. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

R1 & R2 Universities, Observations from 2002 to 2024 * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

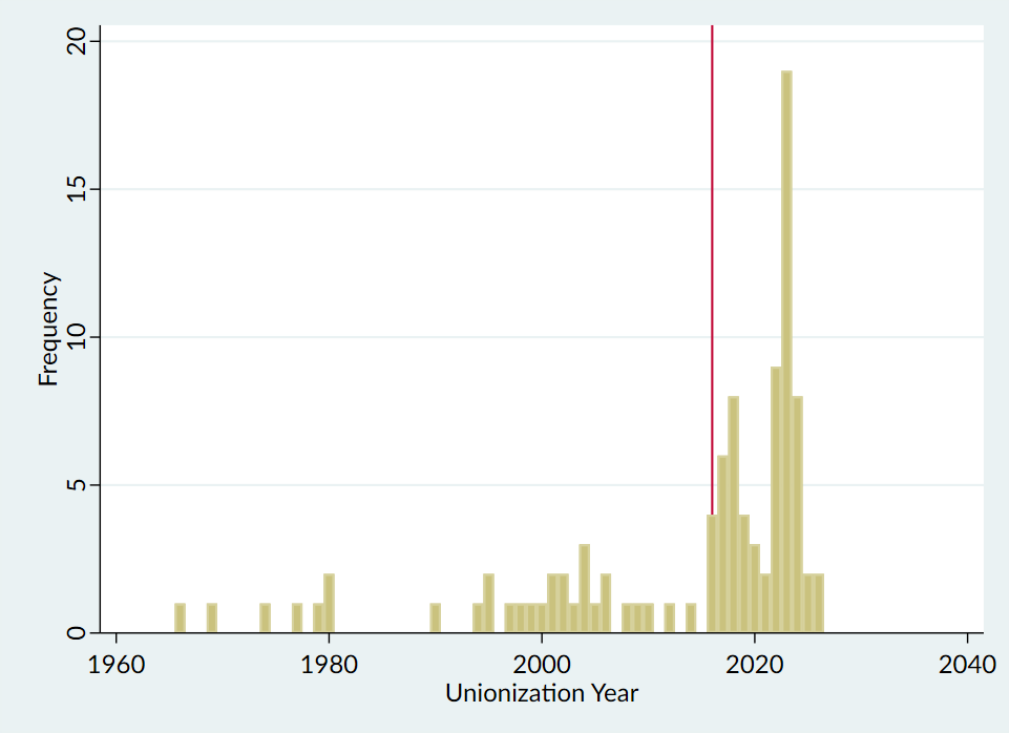


Figure 1: Unionization Timing

Main Analysis

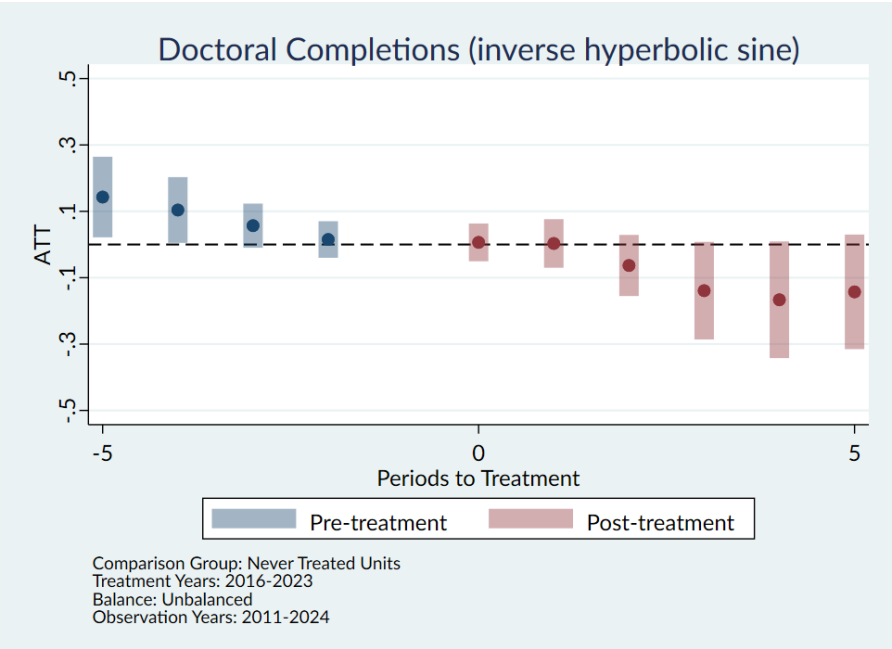


Figure 2: Effects of Unionization on Doctorate Degrees Awarded

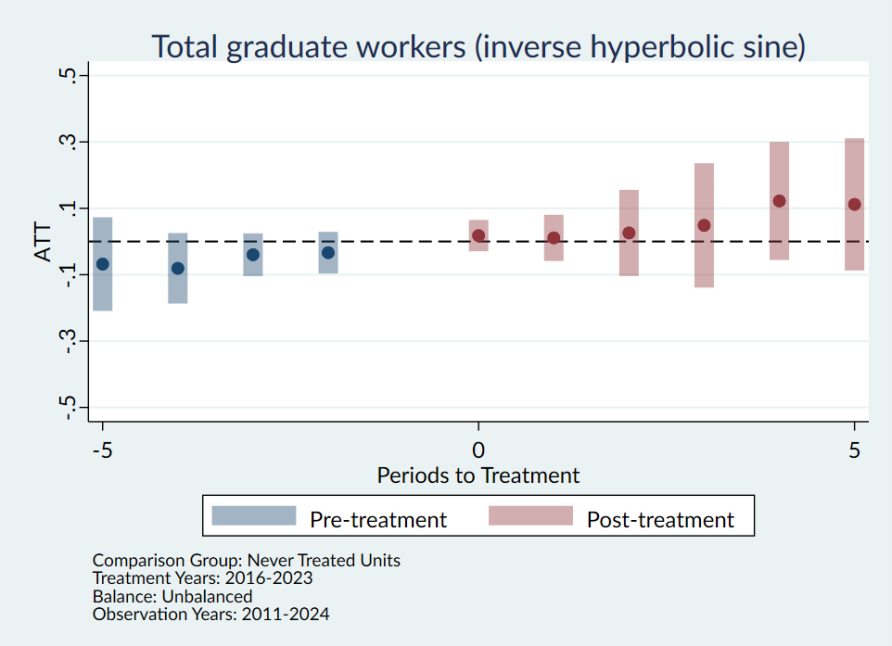


Figure 3: Effects of Unionization on Graduate Student Employment

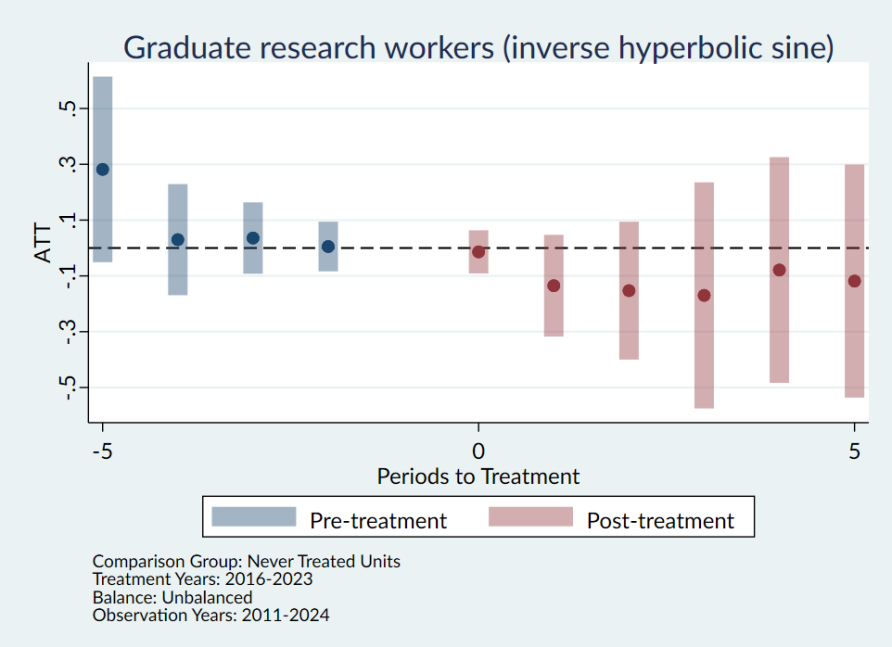


Figure 4: Effects of Unionization on Graduate Student Employment in Research Roles

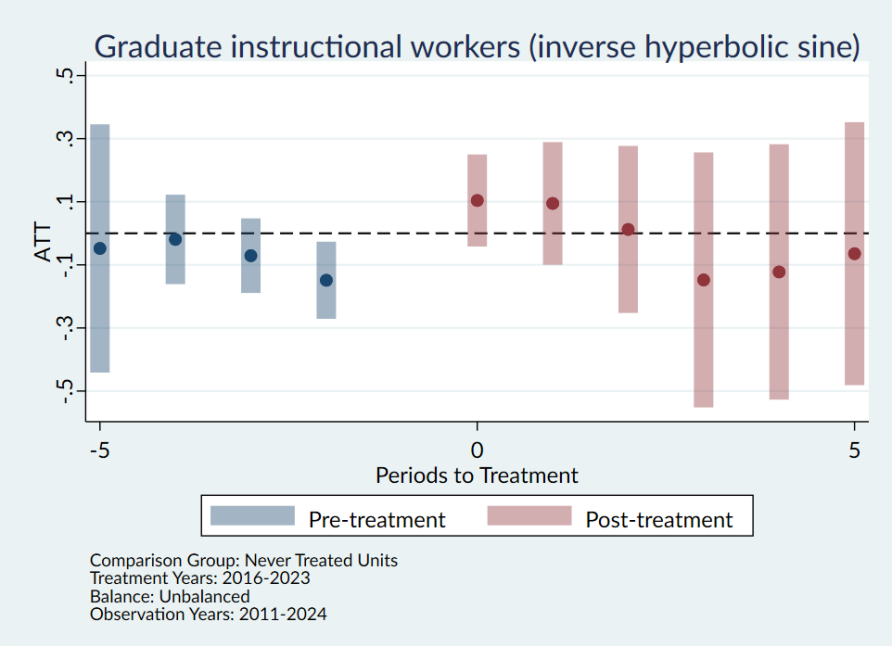


Figure 5: Effects of Unionization on Graduate Student Employment in Instructional Roles

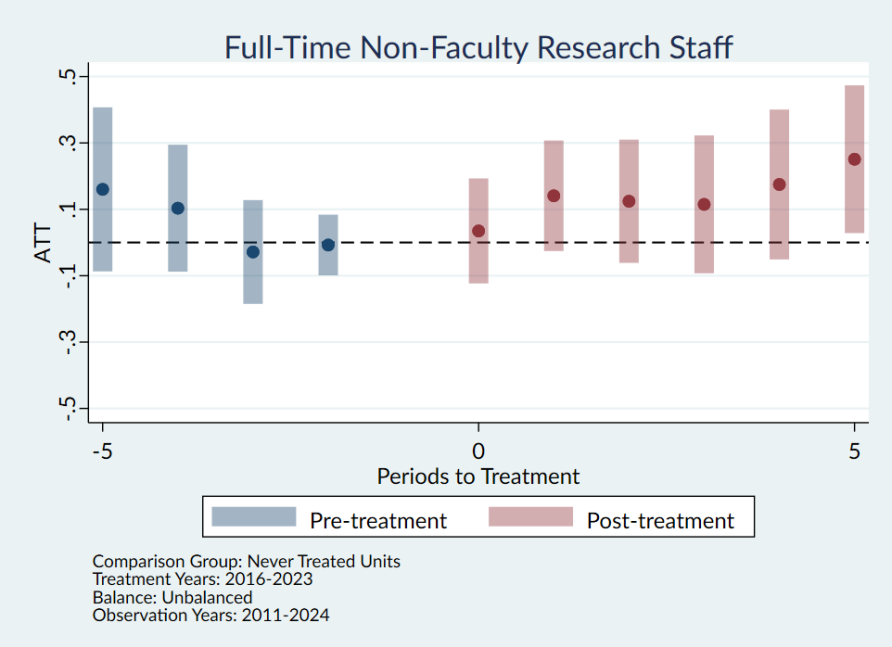


Figure 6: Effects of Unionization on Non-Faculty Research Staff

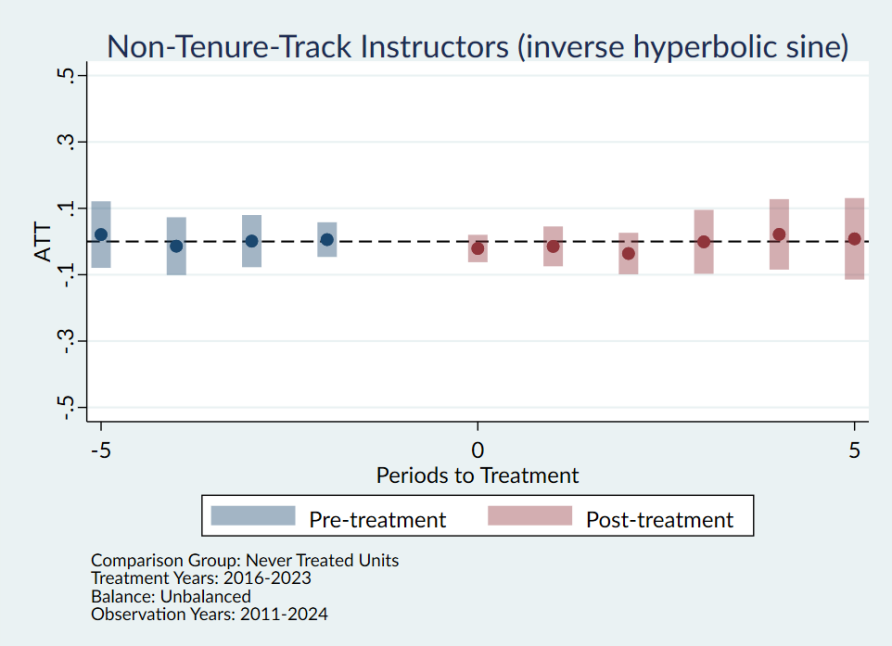


Figure 7: Effects of Unionization on Non-Tenure-Track Instructors

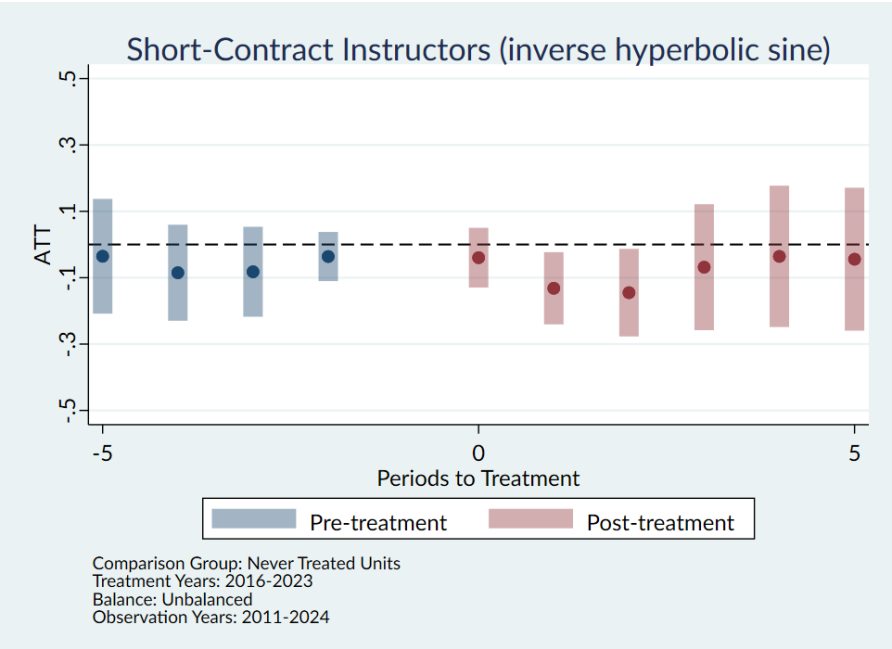


Figure 8: Effects of Unionization on Short-Contract Instructors

Secondary Analysis

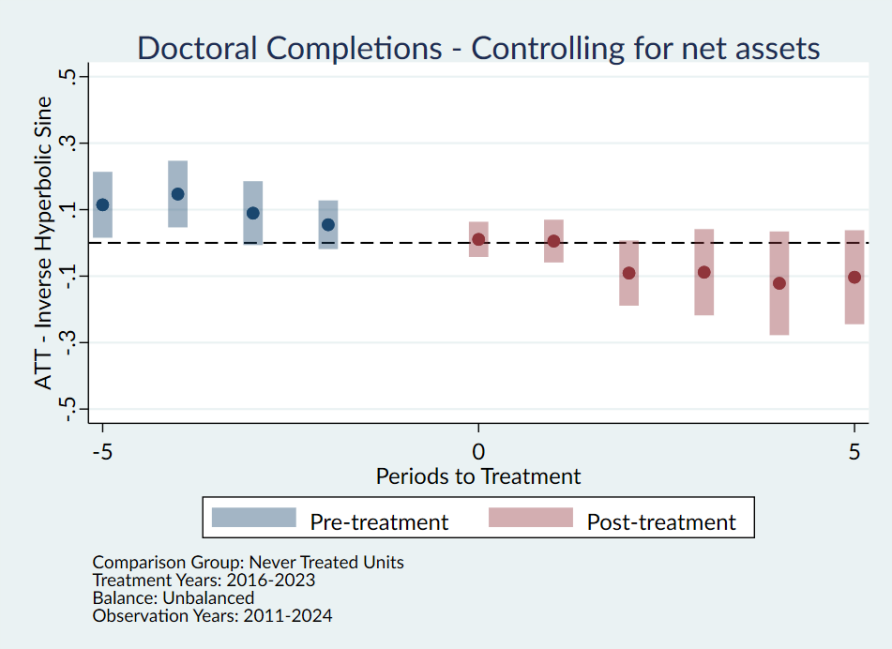


Figure 9: Effects of Unionization on Doctorate Degrees Awarded

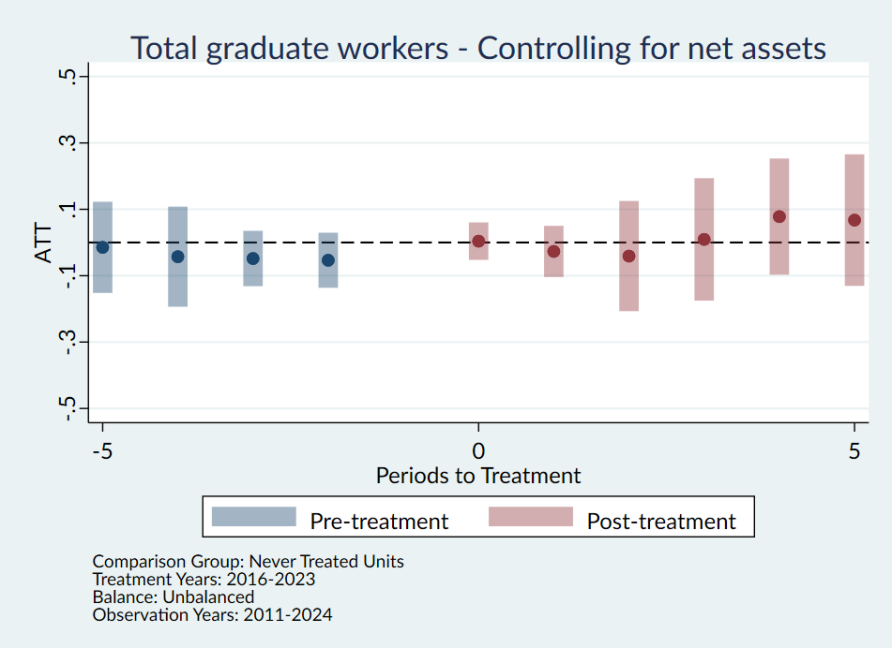


Figure 10: Effects of Unionization on Graduate Student Employment

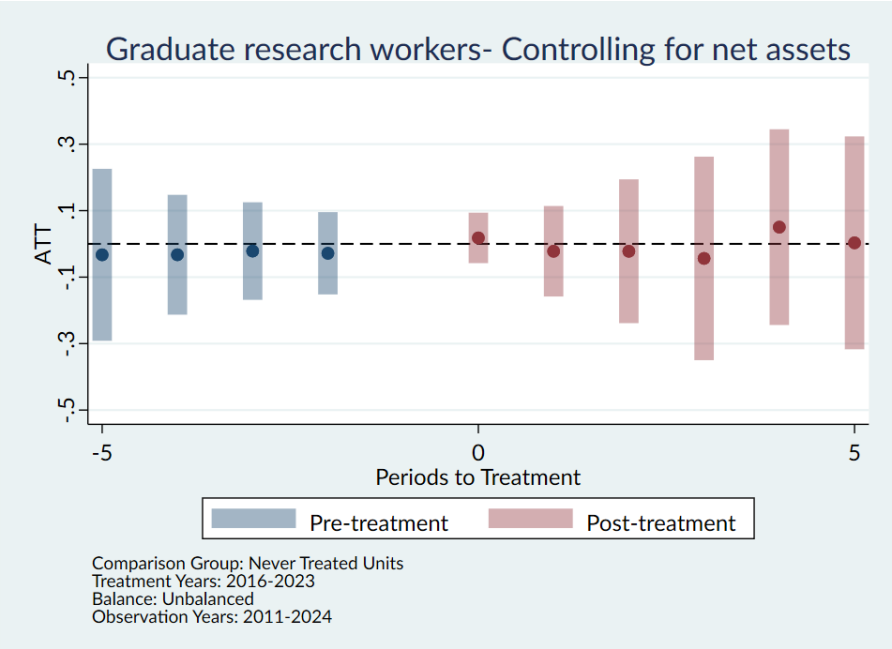


Figure 11: Effects of Unionization on Graduate Student Employment in Research Roles

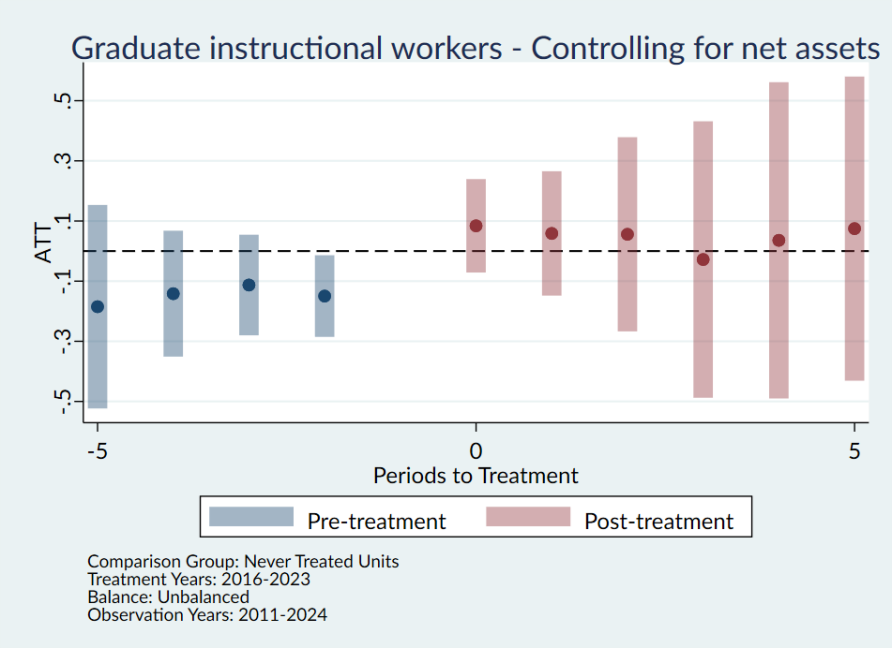


Figure 12: Effects of Unionization on Graduate Student Employment in Instructional Roles

Robustness Checks

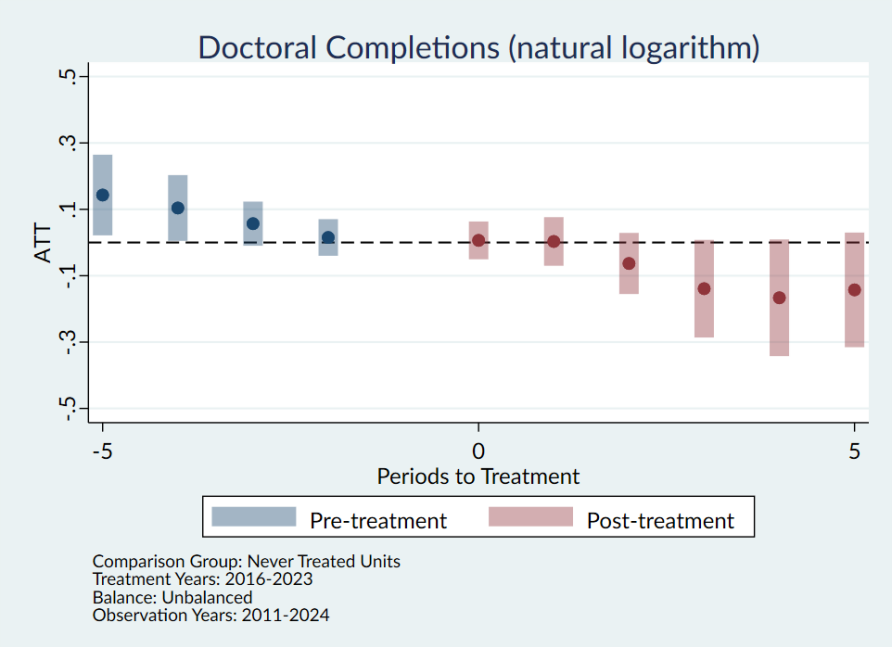


Figure 13: Effects of Unionization on Doctorate Degrees Awarded

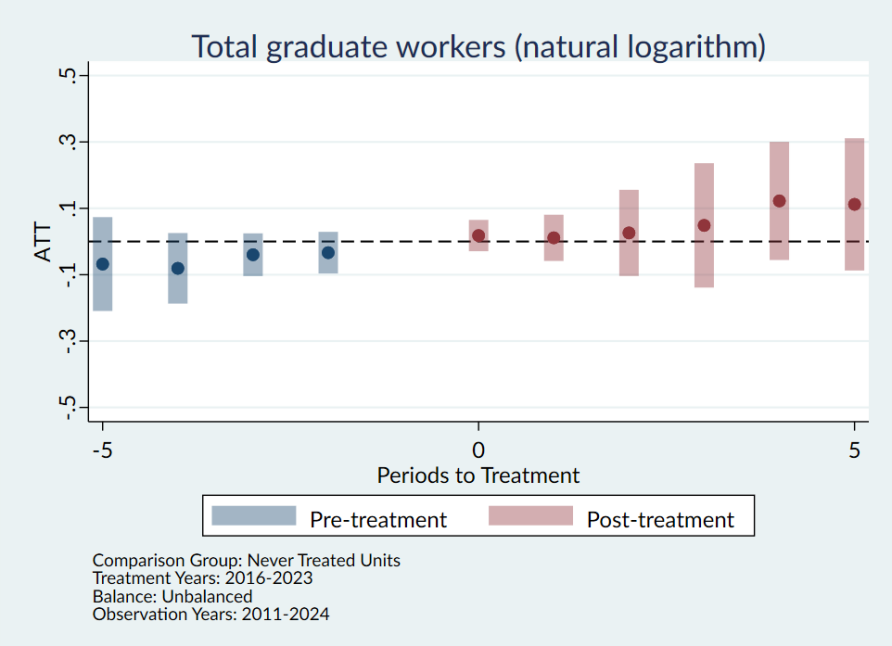


Figure 14: Effects of Unionization on Graduate Student Employment

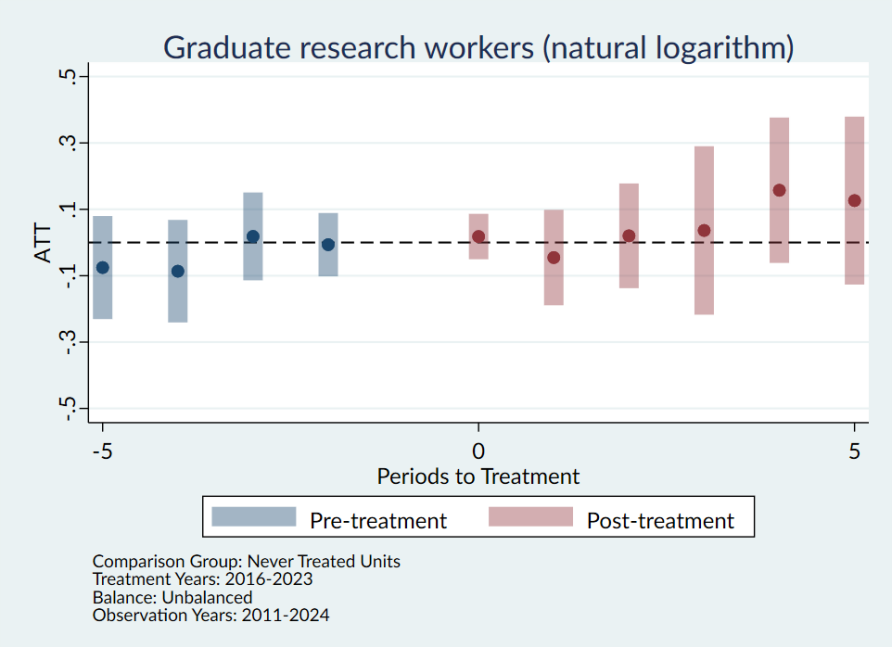


Figure 15: Effects of Unionization on Graduate Student Employment in Research Roles

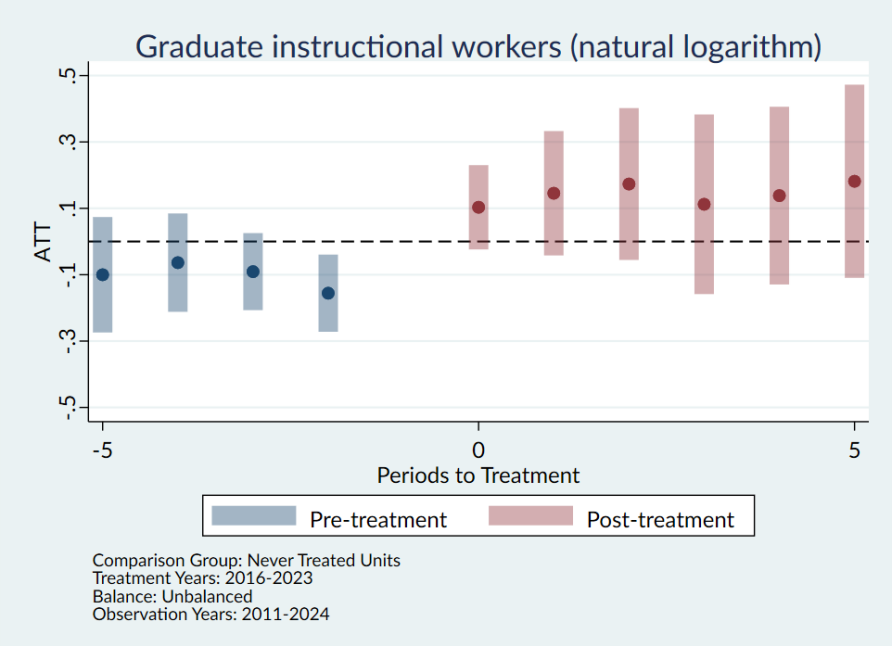


Figure 16: Effects of Unionization on Graduate Student Employment in Instructional Roles

Appendix

Appendix A: Supplemental Tables

Table 2: Table A1 - Unionization Data Sources

Institution Name	Unionization Year	Present in Screened NLRB Election Records	Present in Hunter College Records	Present in Researcher-Gathered Data
American University	2017	X	X	X
Boston University	2022	X	X	X
Brandeis University	2017	X	X	X
Clark University	2022	X	X	X
Columbia University	2016	X	X	X
Cornell University	2023	X	X	X

Institution Name	Unionization Year	Present in Screened NLRB Election Records	Present in Hunter College Records	Present in Researcher-Gathered Data
Dartmouth College	2023	X	X	X
Duke University	2023	X	X	X
Emory University	2023	X	X	X
Fordham University	2022	X	X	X
Johns Hopkins University	2023	X	X	X
Loyola University Chicago	2017	X	X	X
Massachusetts Institute of Technology	2022	X	X	X
New York University	2024	X	X	X
Northwestern University	2023	X	X	X
Stanford University	2023	X	X	X
The New School	2017	X	X	X
Tufts University	2017	X	X	X
University of Chicago	2023	X	X	X
University of Southern California	2023	X	X	X
Worcester Polytechnic Institute	2022	X	X	X
Yale University	2023	X	X	X
Boston College	2017	X		X
George Washington University	2024	X		X
Northeastern University	2023	X		X

Institution Name	Unionization Year	Present in Screened NLRB Election Records	Present in Hunter College Records	Present in Researcher-Gathered Data
Saint Louis University	2024	X		X
University of Pennsylvania	2024	X		X
Alfred University	2024	X		
Associated Students Inc., California State University Long Beach	2026	X		
Associated Students of California State University, Sacramento	2025	X		
California Institute of Technology	2024	X		
Charles Drew University of Medicine and ScienceÂ	2008	X		
Icahn School of Medicine at Mount Sinai	2024	X		
Montefiore Medical Center/Albert Einstein College of Medicine	2008	X		
Mount Holyoke College	2009	X		
NYU Tandon School of Engineering (NYU Polytechnic)	2015	X		

Institution Name	Unionization Year	Present in Screened NLRB Election Records	Present in Hunter College Records	Present in Researcher-Gathered Data
Nazareth College of Rochester	2018	X		
Nazareth University	2025	X		
New York Film Academy Ltd.	2024	X		
Northshore University Hospital at Plainview	2009	X		
Northwell Health - Staten Island University Hospital	2018	X		
Point Park University	2004	X		
Princeton University	2022	X		
Robert Wood Johnson University Hospital Rahway	2017	X		
Tenet Healthsystem SL, Inc. d/b/a St. Louis University Hospital	2012	X		
Wesleyan University	2024	X		
Brown University	2018		X	X
Florida A&M University	1997		X	X
Florida State University	1980		X	X
Georgetown University	2018		X	X

Institution Name	Unionization Year	Present in Screened NLRB Election Records	Present in Hunter College Records	Present in Researcher-Gathered Data
Harvard University	2018		X	X
Illinois State University	2018		X	X
Michigan State University	2001		X	X
Montana State University	2012		X	X
New Jersey Institute of Technology	2010		X	X
New Mexico State University	2022		X	X
Oregon Health & Science University	2019		X	X
Oregon State University	1999		X	X
Portland State University	2016		X	X
Southern Illinois University, Carbondale	2006		X	X
Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville	2019		X	X
State University of New York	1993		X	X
Syracuse University	2023		X	X
Temple University	2001		X	X
University of Alaska	2023		X	X
University of Connecticut	2014		X	X
University of Florida	1980		X	X

Institution Name	Unionization Year	Present in Screened NLRB Election Records	Present in Hunter College Records	Present in Researcher-Gathered Data
University of Illinois, Chicago	2004		X	X
University of Illinois, Springfield	2005		X	X
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign	2002		X	X
University of Iowa	1995		X	X
University of Kansas	1995		X	X
University of Massachusetts, Amherst	1990		X	X
University of Massachusetts, Boston	2000		X	X
University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth	2023		X	X
University of Massachusetts, Lowell	1994		X	X
University of Michigan	1974		X	X
University of Minnesota	2023		X	X
University of New Mexico	2021		X	X
University of Oregon	1977		X	X
University of Rhode Island	2002		X	X
University of South Florida	1979		X	X
University of Washington	2004		X	X

Institution Name	Unionization Year	Present in Screened NLRB Election Records	Present in Hunter College Records	Present in Researcher-Gathered Data
Washington State University	2022		X	X
Wayne State University	1998		X	X
Western Michigan University	2006		X	X
Western Washington University	2023		X	X
California State University	2004		X	
Pardee Rand Graduate School	2023		X	
Research Foundation of SUNY, College of Environmental Science and Forestry	2023		X	
Research Foundation of SUNY, Stony Brook	2008		X	
University of California	1999		X	
University of Maine System	2023		X	
Arizona State University	2020			X
Auburn University	2020			X
California State University System	2004			X
Central Michigan University	2009			X

Institution Name	Unionization Year	Present in Screened NLRB Election Records	Present in Hunter College Records	Present in Researcher-Gathered Data
Chattanooga State Community College	2003			X
City University of New York	2017			X
Columbus State University	2021			X
East Tennessee State University	2003			X
Georgia Institute of Technology	2018			X
Georgia Southern University	2018			X
Georgia State University	2018			X
Indiana University - Bloomington	2019			X
Kennesaw State University	2018			X
Rutgers University	1972			X
Stony Brook University	2008			X
Texas A&M	2026			X
University of Alabama	2019			X
University of Arizona	2020			X
University of Arkansas	1966			X
University of California system	2000			X
University of Georgia	2016			X

Institution Name	Unionization Year	Present in Screened NLRB Election Records	Present in Hunter College Records	Present in Researcher-Gathered Data
University of Hawai'i at Mānoa	2023			X
University of Louisville	2022			X
University of Maine	2023			X
University of Maryland, College Park	2023			X
University of New Hampshire	2024			X
University of Texas at Austin	2025			X
University of Virginia	2020			X
University of Wisconsin-Madison	1969			X
Virginia Commonwealth University	2021			X
Washington University in St. Louis	2016			X