Supplemental Appendix for:

Labor Unions and White Democratic Partisanship

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Supplemental Appendix A

Descriptive Statistics

Cumulative ANES

Please note that many of these variables are categorical in the statistical analyses in the main paper. They are all coded as being continuous here. These descriptive statistics (based on unweighted ANES data) are only for white respondents (created from **VCF0105b**) and include various years from 1970 to 2016.

Table A1: Cumulative ANES Descriptive Statistics

	Obs	Variable	Mean	Std dev	Min	Max
1	34467	Party ID (Democratic direction)	4.042	2.043	1.000	7.000
2	25488	Party FT Rating (Dem - Rep)	-0.080	39.835	-97.000	97.000
3	34546	Union household	0.194	0.395	0.000	1.000
4	34707	Female	0.545	0.498	0.000	1.000
5	38783	Homeowner	0.714	0.452	0.000	1.000
6	34648	Married	0.601	0.490	0.000	1.000
7	34520	Age group	2.539	1.023	1.000	4.000
8	34444	Education	2.682	0.940	1.000	4.000
9	31079	Income	2.991	1.115	1.000	5.000
10	34552	Church attendance	2.780	1.585	1.000	5.000
11	34567	Religious group affiliation	1.794	1.109	1.000	5.000
12	34733	Region	2.511	1.012	1.000	4.000
13	44002	Union HH status (0 = Nobody; 1=R; 2=Not R)	0.281	0.604	0.000	2.000

Detail on Variable Coding

Cumulative ANES

The data and codebook for the Cumulative American National Election Study (CANES for short), is available from the following website (`https://electionstudies.org/project/anes-time-series-cumulative-data-file/`). Below, I describe how each variable was created and how they are coded.

- Party ID

  Created from **VCF0301**

  Coded so that 1 = Strong Republican; 2 = Weak Republican; 3 = Lean Republican; 4 = Independent; 5 = Lean Democrat; 6 = Strong Democrat

- Party FT Rating

  Created by subtracting the Republican Party feeling thermometer (**VCF0224**) from the Democratic Party feeling thermometer (**VCF0218**)

  Ranges from -97 to +97; with higher values indicating affect for the Democratic Party over the Republican Party

- White

  Created from **VCF0105b**

  Coded so that 1 = White; 0 = Non White

- Union household

  Created from **VCF0127**

  Coded so that 1 = Someone is household belong to a union; 0 = Nobody in household belongs to a union

- Female

  Created from **VCF0104**

  Coded so that 1 = female; 0 = male

- Homeowner

  Created from **VCF0146**

  Coded so that 1 = Own a home; 0 = Do not own a home

- Married

  Created from **VCF0147**

  Coded so that 1 = Married; 0 = Not married

- Age group

  Created from **VCF0101**

  Coded so that 1 = 18-29; 2 = 30-44; 3 = 45-64; 4 = 65 and older

- Education

  Created from **VCF0110**

  Coded so that 1 = High school or less; 2 = High school diploma; 3 = Some college; 4 = College degree

- Income

  Created from **VCF0114**

  Coded so that 1 = Percentile 0-16; 2 = Percentile 17-33; 3 = Percentile 34-67; 4 = Percentile 68-95; 5 = Percentile 96-100; 6 = Refused to report income

- Church attendance

  Created from **VCF0130**

  Coded so that 1 = Never; 2 = A few times per year; 3 = Once or twice a month; 4 = Almost every week; 5 = Every week

- Religious group

  Created from **VCF0128**

  Coded so that 1 = Protestant; 2 = Catholic; 3 = Jewish; 4 = Other/None

- Region

  Created from **VCF0112**

  Coded so that 1 = Northeast; 2 = Midwest; 3 = South; 4 = West

- Union Household Status status

  Created from **VCF0127b**

  Coded so that 0 = Nobody in the household; 1 = The respondent; 2 = Someone other than the respondent

- Parental Partisanship

  Created from **VCF0306** and **VCF0307**

  Coded so that 0 = Neither parent was a Democrat; 1 = Either the respondent's father or mother was a Democrat

- Place of Residence

  Created from **VCF0111**

  Coded so that 1 = Urban; 2 = Suburban; 3 = Rural

Youth Socialization Panel, 1965 HS seniors tracked in 1973, 1982, and 1997

The data and codebook are available from the following website (`https://www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/ICPSR/studies/4037`). I loaded the SPSS dataset into RStudio and then exported it to Stata 15 for data analysis. The sample is restricted to whites (identified based on the variable **V232**)

- Party ID - 1997

  Created from **V5754**

  Coded so that 1 = Strong Republican; 2 = Weak Republican; 3 = Lean Republican; 4 = Independent; 5 = Lean Democrat; 6 = Weak Democrat; 7 = Strong Democrat

- Party ID - 1965

  Created from **V84**

  Coded so that 1 = Strong Republican; 2 = Weak Republican; 3 = Lean Republican; 4 = Independent; 5 = Lean Democrat; 6 = Weak Democrat; 7 = Strong Democrat

- Union household through adulthood (1973-1997)

  Created from **V728**, **V2238**, and **V6300**

  Coded so that 1 = Union household in 1973, 1982, and 1997; 0 = Non union household in 1973, 1982 and 1997

- Joined a union between 1973 and 1982

  Created from **V729** and **V2238**

  Coded so that 1 = Went from being a non-union member in 1973 to being a union member in 1982 and 0 = Was a non-union member in both 1973 and 1982

- RTW state - 1973

  Created from **V5008**

  Coded so that 1 = Lives in a right to work state in 1973 and 0 = Do not live in a right to work state in 1973

- RTW state - 1982

  Created from **V5007**

  Coded so that 1 = Lives in a right to work state in 1982 and 0 = Do not live in a right to work state in 1982

2006-2012 CCES

The data and codebook are available from the following website (`https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/26451`).

- Party ID

  Created from **pid7**

  Coded so that 1 = Strong Republican; 2 = Weak Republican; 3 = Lean Republican; 4 = Independent; 5 = Lean Democrat; 6 = Weak Democrat; 7 = Strong Democrat

- Democrat

  Created from **pid7**

  Coded so that 1 = Democrat; 0 = Pure Independent/Republican

- White

  Created from **race**

  Coded so that 1 = White; 0 = Non White

- Current union member

  Created from **union**

  Coded so that 1 = Currently a union member; 0 = not a current union member

- Never a union member

  Created from **union**

  Coded so that 1 = Never been a union member and 0 = have been a current union member

- Female

  Created from **gender**

  Coded so that 1 = Female; 0 = Male

- Region

  Created from **state_pre**

  Based on the four U.S. Census regions

- State

  Created from **state_pre**

  Follows the FIPS (1-56) coding scheme

- College

  Created from **educ**

  Coded so that 1 = Four year college degree; 0 = Less than a college degree

- Public sector worker

  Created from **employer_category**

  Coded so that 1 = Private sector worker; 0 = Not a public sector worker

- Private sector worker

  Created from **employer_category**

  Coded so that 1 = Private sector worker; 0 = Not a private sector worker

- Married

  Created from **marriage_status**

  Coded so that 1 = married; 0 = not married

- Homeowner

  Created from **home_owner**

  Coded so that 1 = Own home; 0 = Do not own home

- Age Group

  Created from **age**

  Coded so that 1 = 18-29; 2 = 30-44; 3 = 45-64; 4 = 65+

- Education - three category

  Created from **educ**

  Coded so that 1 = High school or less; 2 = Some college; 4 = Four year college degree

- Income

  Created by combining **family_income_old** and **family_income**

  Coded so that 1 = 0-20K; 2 = 20K-40K; 3 = 40K-60K; 4 = 60K-100K; 5 = Over 100K

- Attend Church Weekly

  Created by combining **church_attendence_06_07** and **church_attendence**

  Coded so that 1 = Attend church once a week or more; 0 = Do not attend church that frequently

- Protestant

  Created by combining **religion_06** and **religion**

  Coded so that 1 = Protestant; 0 = Not a Protestant

2010-2012 CCES Panel Study

The data and codebook are available from the following website (`https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi%3A10.7910/DVN/24416`).

I used the following variable in the cross-tab analysis in Table 4 from the main paper.

- White (created from **race_10**)
- RTW state (created from **inputstate_10** and **inputstate_12**)
- Union status (created from **union_10** and **union_12**)

Supplemental Appendix B

Table B1

This is associated with Table 2 in the main paper.

Table B1: Unions and White Partisanship by Household Status

	(1) Party ID (High = Dem)		(2) Party FT (Dem - Rep)	
Non union (Ref.)				
Union member	0.772***	(0.038)	11.564***	(0.897)
Union household only	0.494***	(0.046)	9.583***	(1.178)
Female	0.267***	(0.026)	5.964***	(0.597)
Married	-0.153***	(0.029)	-4.045***	(0.678)
Homeowner	-0.105***	(0.030)	-2.924***	(0.720)
18-29 (Ref.)				
30-44	0.110***	(0.035)	2.887***	(0.820)
45-64	0.204***	(0.037)	4.668***	(0.889)
65 and older	0.135***	(0.045)	4.592***	(1.047)
Less than high school (Ref.)				
High school diploma	-0.352***	(0.051)	-11.940***	(1.475)
Some college	-0.596***	(0.056)	-14.654***	(1.552)
College degree	-0.468***	(0.059)	-9.143***	(1.597)
0-16 income (Ref.)				
17-33 income	0.024	(0.047)	0.007	(1.136)
34-67 income	-0.165***	(0.044)	-5.074***	(1.067)
68-95 income	-0.362***	(0.049)	-7.855***	(1.178)
96-100 income	-0.872***	(0.068)	-14.442***	(1.566)
Never church (Ref.)				
Church few times a year	-0.200***	(0.037)	-3.284***	(0.886)
Church once/twice a month	-0.258***	(0.046)	-5.362***	(1.072)
Church almost every week	-0.407***	(0.048)	-9.448***	(1.072)
Church every week	-0.581***	(0.038)	-14.899***	(0.894)
Protestant (Ref.)				
Catholic	0.730***	(0.032)	9.566***	(0.709)
Jewish	1.620***	(0.074)	26.373***	(1.780)
Other/None	0.489***	(0.041)	10.815***	(0.943)
Northeast (Ref.)				
Midwest	0.098***	(0.036)	2.749***	(0.839)
South	0.316***	(0.037)	-0.441	(0.872)
West	0.132***	(0.040)	2.445***	(0.916)
Constant	4.631***	(0.089)	18.245***	(1.986)
Year Fixed Effects	Yes		Yes	
Observations	30,004		22,967	
R-squared	0.102		0.100	

Note: Dependent variables range from 1-7 (model 1) and range from -97 to +97 (model 2). Source is the Cumulative ANES, survey weights applied. Party ID (model 1) years range from 1970-2016. Party FT (model 2) years range from 1978-2016. OLS coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed.

Table B2

This is associated with Figure 2 in the main paper.

Table B2: The Union-Party Relationship Over Time

	(1) 1960s	(2) 1970s	(3) 1980s	(4) 1990s	(5) 2000s	(6) 2010s
Union household	0.391***	0.315***	0.267***	0.354***	0.324***	0.343***
	(0.057)	(0.046)	(0.049)	(0.076)	(0.079)	(0.105)
Constant	0.040	-0.140***	-0.236***	-0.173***	-0.209***	-0.347***
	(0.028)	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.041)
Observations	2,736	4,252	3,832	2,164	2,557	1,688

Note: Dependent variables are Democratic party identification (0 vs. 1). Source is the Cumulative ANES, survey weights applied. To maximize over-time comparability, only presidential election years (from 1964-2016) and in-person survey respondents are examined. Probit coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed.

Table B3

This is associated with the "Robustness of Findings" section in the main paper.

Table B3: Probit and OLS Models of Labor Unions and White Partisanship

	(1) Party ID (7-Point)		(2) Democrat (0 vs. 1)	
Union household	0.652***	(0.031)	0.366***	(0.021)
Female	0.241***	(0.025)	0.173***	(0.017)
Married	-0.161***	(0.029)	-0.117***	(0.019)
Homeowner	-0.106***	(0.030)	-0.073***	(0.021)
18-29 (Ref.)				
30-44	0.119***	(0.035)	0.085***	(0.025)
45-64	0.215***	(0.037)	0.185***	(0.026)
65 and older	0.144***	(0.045)	0.176***	(0.029)
Less than high school (Ref.)				
High school diploma	-0.352***	(0.051)	-0.162***	(0.034)
Some college	-0.597***	(0.056)	-0.240***	(0.037)
College degree	-0.465***	(0.059)	-0.112***	(0.038)
0-16 income (Ref.)				
17-33 income	0.024	(0.047)	0.052*	(0.031)
34-67 income	-0.167***	(0.044)	-0.044	(0.029)
68-95 income	-0.367***	(0.049)	-0.145***	(0.032)
96-100 income	-0.882***	(0.068)	-0.449***	(0.047)
Never church (Ref.)				
Church few times a year	-0.199***	(0.037)	-0.090***	(0.026)
Church once/twice a month	-0.257***	(0.046)	-0.123***	(0.031)
Church almost every week	-0.409***	(0.047)	-0.200***	(0.031)
Church every week	-0.582***	(0.038)	-0.311***	(0.025)
Protestant (Ref.)				
Catholic	0.731***	(0.032)	0.427***	(0.021)
Jewish	1.623***	(0.074)	1.013***	(0.057)
Other/None	0.488***	(0.041)	0.242***	(0.028)
Northeast (Ref.)				
Midwest	0.098***	(0.036)	0.082***	(0.025)
South	0.316***	(0.037)	0.191***	(0.025)
West	0.130***	(0.040)	0.138***	(0.027)
Constant	4.645***	(0.089)	0.025	(0.060)
Year Fixed Effects	Yes		Yes	
Observations	30,017		30,017	
R-squared/Pseudo R^2	0.101		0.054	

Note: Dependent variables are dichotomous (model 1) and range from 1-7 (model 2). Source is the Cumulative ANES, survey weights applied. Years range from 1970-2016. OLS (model 1) and probit (model 2) coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed.

Table B4

This is associated with the "Robustness of Findings" section in the main paper.

Table B4: Labor Unions and White Partisanship, Controlling for Parental Partisanship

	(1) Party ID (High = Dem)		(2) Party FT (Dem - Rep)	
Union household	0.545***	(0.045)	10.042***	(1.231)
Either parent a Democrat	1.711***	(0.042)	20.077***	(1.058)
Female	0.099***	(0.038)	3.291***	(1.016)
Married	-0.081*	(0.045)	0.080	(1.204)
Homeowner	-0.097**	(0.046)	-3.732***	(1.272)
18-29 (Ref.)				
30-44	-0.080	(0.051)	1.981	(1.344)
45-64	-0.020	(0.054)	3.246**	(1.460)
65 and older	-0.176**	(0.070)	5.281***	(1.865)
Less than high school (Ref.)				
High school diploma	-0.319***	(0.067)	-5.067**	(2.413)
Some college	-0.665***	(0.078)	-8.399***	(2.612)
College degree	-0.513***	(0.082)	-5.228*	(2.673)
0-16 income (Ref.)				
17-33 income	0.048	(0.074)	-1.028	(2.088)
34-67 income	-0.111*	(0.067)	-5.473***	(1.893)
68-95 income	-0.329***	(0.074)	-9.984***	(2.057)
96-100 income	-0.787***	(0.105)	-16.052***	(2.555)
Never church (Ref.)				
Church few times a year	-0.174***	(0.058)	-2.589*	(1.563)
Church once/twice a month	-0.127*	(0.073)	-4.487**	(1.968)
Church almost every week	-0.232***	(0.077)	-5.249***	(1.979)
Church every week	-0.277***	(0.063)	-8.688***	(1.687)
Protestant (Ref.)				
Catholic	0.586***	(0.049)	6.975***	(1.262)
Jewish	1.309***	(0.101)	15.192***	(2.438)
Other/None	0.331***	(0.076)	7.352***	(1.956)
Northeast (Ref.)				
Midwest	0.073	(0.053)	2.523*	(1.376)
South	0.412***	(0.055)	3.266**	(1.431)
Northeast	0.153**	(0.062)	3.481**	(1.578)
Constant	3.609***	(0.120)	-1.607	(3.295)
Year Fixed Effects	Yes		Yes	
Observations	8,716		4,333	
R-squared	0.274		0.169	

Note: Dependent variables range from 1-7 (model 1) and range from -97 to +97 (model 2). Source is the Cumulative ANES, survey weights applied. Party ID (model 1) years = 1970, 1972, 1976, 1978, 1980, 1988, and 1992. Party FT (model 2) years = 1978, 1980, 1988, and 1992. OLS coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed.

Table B5

This is associated with the "Robustness of Findings" section in the main paper.

Table B5: Labor Unions and White Partisanship, Controlling for Place of Residence

	(1) Party ID (High = Dem)		(2) Party FT (Dem - Rep)	
Union household	0.671***	(0.033)	11.002***	(0.748)
Urban (Ref.)				
Suburban	-0.217***	(0.037)	-4.948***	(0.804)
Rural	-0.150***	(0.039)	-3.968***	(0.859)
Female	0.200***	(0.028)	5.641***	(0.591)
Married	-0.060*	(0.032)	-0.697	(0.694)
Homeowner	-0.068**	(0.034)	-1.488**	(0.747)
18-29 (Ref.)				
30-44	0.131***	(0.037)	3.619***	(0.797)
45-64	0.237***	(0.040)	6.037***	(0.882)
65 and older	0.113**	(0.050)	6.329***	(1.074)
Less than high school (Ref.)				
High school diploma	-0.274***	(0.053)	-8.812***	(1.422)
Some college	-0.567***	(0.059)	-11.901***	(1.519)
College degree	-0.522***	(0.062)	-9.850***	(1.559)
0-16 income (Ref.)				
17-33	-0.011	(0.053)	-1.508	(1.170)
34-67	-0.182***	(0.049)	-6.692***	(1.072)
68-95	-0.434***	(0.054)	-11.383***	(1.193)
96-100	-1.033***	(0.077)	-19.065***	(1.579)
Never church (Ref.)				
Church a few times a year	-0.174***	(0.041)	-2.625***	(0.924)
Church once/twice a month	-0.177***	(0.051)	-3.402***	(1.106)
Church almost every week	-0.314***	(0.054)	-7.076***	(1.119)
Church every week	-0.421***	(0.043)	-11.247***	(0.941)
Protestant (Ref.)				
Catholic	0.850***	(0.034)	10.265***	(0.729)
Jewish	1.649***	(0.078)	23.434***	(1.743)
Other/None	0.386***	(0.048)	7.062***	(1.016)
Northeast (Ref.)				
Midwest	0.114***	(0.039)	2.856***	(0.835)
South	0.579***	(0.040)	4.016***	(0.873)
West	0.207***	(0.044)	3.233***	(0.942)
Constant	4.499***	(0.097)	14.769***	(2.074)
Year Fixed Effects	Yes		Yes	
Observations	21,530		14,591	
R-squared	0.108		0.105	

Note: Dependent variables range from 1-7 (model 1) and range from -97 to +97 (model 2). Source is the Cumulative ANES, survey weights applied. Party ID (model 1) years = 1970-2000. Party FT (model 2) years = 1978-2000. OLS coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed.

Table B6

This is associated with the "Robustness of Findings" section in the main paper.

Table B6: Labor Unions and White Partisanship, Controlling for Public Sector Employment

	Party ID (High = Dem)	
Current union member	0.632***	(0.068)
Public sector employee	0.003	(0.054)
Female	0.348***	(0.039)
Married	-0.320***	(0.044)
Homeowner	-0.169***	(0.049)
18-29 years old (Ref.)		
30-44 years old	0.020	(0.068)
45-64 years old	-0.052	(0.061)
65 and older	-0.005	(0.070)
High school or less (Ref.)		
Some college	-0.067	(0.051)
College degree	0.360***	(0.053)
Less than $20,000 (Ref.)		
20-40K	0.015	(0.077)
40-60K	-0.085	(0.082)
60-80K	-0.085	(0.080)
80-100K	-0.061	(0.089)
Attend church weekly	-0.979***	(0.048)
Protestant	-0.680***	(0.043)
Northeast (Ref.)		
Midwest	-0.077	(0.059)
South	-0.204***	(0.057)
West	-0.194***	(0.059)
Constant	4.570***	(0.095)
Observations	22,988	
R-squared	0.130	

Note: Dependent variables range from 1-7. Source is the Pooled 2006-2012 Cumulative CCES, survey weights applied. OLS coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed.

Table B7

This is associated with the "Robustness of Findings" section in the main paper.

Table B7: Labor Unions and White Partisanship by Educational Attainment

	(1) HS or Less PID (High = Dem)		(2) Some College PID (High = Dem)		(3) College PID (High = Dem)	
Union household	0.638***	(0.042)	0.611***	(0.065)	0.615***	(0.070)
Female	0.072**	(0.036)	0.264***	(0.048)	0.461***	(0.050)
Married	-0.036	(0.041)	-0.351***	(0.056)	-0.210***	(0.060)
Homeowner	-0.099**	(0.042)	-0.140**	(0.059)	-0.170**	(0.066)
18-29 (Ref.)						
30-44	0.164***	(0.049)	0.100	(0.064)	0.059	(0.076)
45-64	0.328***	(0.049)	0.129*	(0.071)	0.106	(0.084)
65 and older	0.269***	(0.058)	0.092	(0.091)	-0.008	(0.100)
0-16 income (Ref.)						
17-33 income	-0.092	(0.057)	0.087	(0.097)	0.379***	(0.141)
34-67 income	-0.343***	(0.056)	-0.013	(0.086)	0.184	(0.122)
68-95 income	-0.584***	(0.065)	-0.184**	(0.092)	0.053	(0.124)
96-100 income	-1.320***	(0.120)	-0.554***	(0.136)	-0.420***	(0.139)
Never church (Ref.)						
Church a few times a year	-0.130**	(0.051)	-0.243***	(0.075)	-0.370***	(0.081)
Church once/twice a month	-0.140**	(0.065)	-0.334***	(0.089)	-0.454***	(0.098)
Church almost every week	-0.263***	(0.069)	-0.516***	(0.093)	-0.581***	(0.093)
Church every week	-0.375***	(0.053)	-0.652***	(0.076)	-0.964***	(0.080)
Protestant (Ref.)						
Catholic	0.814***	(0.044)	0.621***	(0.063)	0.685***	(0.067)
Jewish	1.411***	(0.155)	1.396***	(0.148)	1.782***	(0.105)
Other/None	0.203***	(0.059)	0.482***	(0.076)	0.900***	(0.082)
Northeast (Ref.)						
Midwest	0.224***	(0.050)	0.092	(0.073)	-0.104	(0.076)
South	0.518***	(0.051)	0.247***	(0.075)	-0.047	(0.077)
West	0.243***	(0.060)	0.014	(0.076)	-0.035	(0.077)
Constant	4.261***	(0.104)	4.309***	(0.188)	4.008***	(0.212)
Year Fixed Effects	Yes		Yes		Yes	
Observations	14,801		7,560		7,656	
R-squared	0.082		0.093		0.159	

Note: Dependent variables range from 1-7. Source is the Cumulative ANES, survey weights applied. Years range from 1970-2016. OLS coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed.

Table B8

This is associated with Figure 3 in the main paper.

Table B8: Aggregate Union Membership and White Macropartisanship, 1964-2018

	(1) Union Membership (%)	(2) Democratic ID (%)
Lagged Democratic ID	0.029	0.106
	(0.036)	(0.187)
Lagged Union Membership	0.941***	0.563***
	(0.033)	(0.144)
Constant	-0.935	29.223***
	(1.142)	(6.239)
Observations	27	27
R-squared	0.992	0.772

Note: All of the lagged variables are measured two years prior. Union membership is measured for all races; partisanship is only measured for whites. Data ranges from 1964-2018, even years only. Source are the ANES and CCES (for partisanship) and the CPS (for union membership). OLS coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed.

Table B9

This is associated with Figure 4 in the main paper.

Table B9: Partisanship Does Not Predict Whites' Decision to Join a Union, 1973-1982

	Joined a Union (0 vs. 1)
Democratic party ID (1973)	0.009
	(0.164)
Right to work state	-0.615*
	(0.325)
Democrat × RTW	0.143
	(0.470)
Constant	-1.305***
	(0.117)
Observations	570

Note: Dependent variable is whether the respondent joined a union between 1973 and 1982 (joined a union vs. remained a non union member). Source is the 1965-1997 Youth Socialization Panel (ICPSR 4037). Sample is restricted to whites who did not move from a Non RTW to a RTW state (or vice versa) between 1973 and 1982. Observations from Louisiana are omitted. Probit coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed.

Table B10

This is associated with Footnote 20 on page 20 of the main paper.

Table B6: Labor Unions and White Partisanship by Employment Sector

	(1) Private Sector PID (High = Dem)		(2) Public Sector PID (High = Dem)	
Current union member	0.639***	(0.092)	0.690***	(0.102)
Female	0.330***	(0.043)	0.443***	(0.090)
Married	-0.287***	(0.048)	-0.482***	(0.106)
Homeowner	-0.168***	(0.053)	-0.191	(0.124)
18-29 (Ref.)				
30-44	-0.001	(0.073)	0.136	(0.180)
45-64	-0.098	(0.065)	0.198	(0.169)
65 and older	-0.096	(0.076)	0.454**	(0.189)
High school or less (Ref.)				
Some college	-0.071	(0.055)	-0.065	(0.148)
College degree	0.354***	(0.057)	0.360**	(0.141)
0-20K (Ref.)				
20-40K	0.041	(0.081)	-0.199	(0.239)
40-60K	-0.087	(0.089)	-0.146	(0.227)
60-100K	-0.090	(0.086)	-0.115	(0.228)
Over 100K	-0.066	(0.096)	-0.091	(0.240)
Attend church weekly	-0.992***	(0.052)	-0.907***	(0.110)
Protestant	-0.652***	(0.047)	-0.824***	(0.102)
Northeast (Ref.)				
Midwest	-0.130**	(0.063)	0.266*	(0.157)
South	-0.257***	(0.062)	0.148	(0.145)
West	-0.220***	(0.065)	0.016	(0.139)
Constant	4.625***	(0.102)	4.269***	(0.287)
Observations	18,874		4,114	
R-squared	0.125		0.163	

Note: Dependent variables range from 1-7. "Current union member"(1) is compared to "never a union member" (0). Source is the Pooled 2006-2012 Cumulative CCES, survey weights applied. OLS coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed.

Table B11

This is associated with Footnote 20 on page 20 of the main paper.

Table B11: Labor Unions and White Partisanship by Region

	(1) Northeast PID (High = Dem)		(2) Midwest PID (High = Dem)		(3) South PID (High = Dem)		(4) West PID (High = Dem)	
Current union member	0.465***	(0.066)	0.727***	(0.061)	0.761***	(0.083)	0.666***	(0.068)
Female	0.381***	(0.046)	0.444***	(0.039)	0.315***	(0.034)	0.333***	(0.042)
Married	-0.286***	(0.053)	-0.276***	(0.045)	-0.360***	(0.039)	-0.482***	(0.048)
Homeowner	-0.269***	(0.056)	-0.194***	(0.050)	-0.064	(0.044)	-0.205***	(0.051)
18-29 (Ref.)								
30-44	0.002	(0.078)	-0.050	(0.063)	0.036	(0.059)	-0.023	(0.072)
45-64	-0.036	(0.073)	0.012	(0.059)	0.103*	(0.055)	-0.017	(0.066)
65 and older	0.070	(0.088)	0.037	(0.075)	-0.067	(0.066)	0.051	(0.079)
High school or less (Ref.)								
Some college	0.089	(0.057)	0.001	(0.046)	0.012	(0.040)	0.059	(0.053)
College degree	0.538***	(0.058)	0.264***	(0.049)	0.351***	(0.043)	0.471***	(0.056)
0-20K (Ref.)								
20-40K	0.111	(0.089)	-0.146**	(0.067)	-0.068	(0.060)	-0.147*	(0.079)
40-60K	-0.118	(0.093)	-0.249***	(0.072)	-0.256***	(0.065)	-0.210**	(0.086)
60-100K	-0.157*	(0.093)	-0.367***	(0.073)	-0.341***	(0.064)	-0.175**	(0.084)
Over 100K	-0.296***	(0.102)	-0.331***	(0.081)	-0.410***	(0.069)	-0.170*	(0.088)
Attend church weekly	-0.898***	(0.061)	-0.901***	(0.045)	-0.792***	(0.039)	-1.225***	(0.050)
Protestant	-0.567***	(0.053)	-0.668***	(0.040)	-0.680***	(0.036)	-0.674***	(0.046)
Constant	4.523***	(0.100)	4.635***	(0.077)	4.381***	(0.074)	4.610***	(0.091)
Observations	14,745		21,183		30,260		17,718	
R-squared	0.093		0.115		0.105		0.148	

Note: Dependent variables range from 1-7. "Current union member"(1) is compared to "never a union member" (0). Source is the Pooled 2006-2012 Cumulative CCES, survey weights applied. OLS coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed.

Table B12

This is associated with Footnote 20 on page 20 of the main paper.

Table B12: Labor Unions and White Partisanship by Gender and Education

	(1) M/NC PID (High = Dem)		(2) M/C PID (High = Dem)		(3) F/NC PID (High = Dem)		(4) F/C PID (High = Dem)	
Current union member	0.681***	(0.054)	0.667***	(0.070)	0.637***	(0.068)	0.769***	(0.079)
Married	-0.347***	(0.045)	-0.507***	(0.054)	-0.307***	(0.034)	-0.395***	(0.055)
Homeowner	-0.131***	(0.048)	-0.161**	(0.064)	-0.177***	(0.036)	-0.242***	(0.063)
18-29 (Ref.)								
30-44	-0.156**	(0.064)	0.044	(0.088)	0.069	(0.049)	0.117	(0.075)
45-64	-0.125**	(0.060)	-0.034	(0.084)	0.118***	(0.045)	0.245***	(0.072)
65 and older	-0.155**	(0.075)	-0.014	(0.090)	0.056	(0.055)	0.391***	(0.095)
0-20K								
20-40K	-0.126*	(0.070)	0.166	(0.143)	-0.076	(0.046)	0.077	(0.111)
40-60K	-0.311***	(0.075)	0.001	(0.136)	-0.195***	(0.051)	-0.005	(0.110)
60-100K	-0.375***	(0.072)	0.041	(0.131)	-0.311***	(0.052)	0.064	(0.108)
Over 100K	-0.427***	(0.079)	0.071	(0.131)	-0.452***	(0.062)	0.038	(0.112)
Attend church weekly	-0.769***	(0.049)	-0.837***	(0.053)	-1.018***	(0.035)	-1.078***	(0.057)
Protestant	-0.667***	(0.042)	-0.816***	(0.049)	-0.583***	(0.032)	-0.802***	(0.051)
Constant	4.699***	(0.069)	4.672***	(0.138)	4.806***	(0.048)	5.092***	(0.101)
Observations	22,604		15,497		33,022		12,783	
R-squared	0.106		0.134		0.102		0.136	

Note: Dependent variables range from 1-7. M = male. F = female. NC = non college. C = college. "Current union member"(1) is compared to "never a union member" (0). Source is the Pooled 2006-2012 Cumulative CCES, survey weights applied. OLS coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed.