Supplemental Appendix for:

Public Attitudes Toward Organized Labor

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Replication data and Stata code will be made publicly available in the Harvard Dataverse (`https://dataverse.harvard.edu/`)

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Variable Coding & Creation

National Union Membership

Data on national union density from 1917 to 2021 was obtained from two sources. The first was the Economic Policy Institute (EPI), which supplied data from 1917-2017. These data are available at the following link `https://www.epi.org/publication/labor-day-2019-collective-bargaining/`. Data for 2018-2021 was obtained from `https://www.unionstats.com/`. At the time of this writing, 2021 was the most recently available year of data on union membership.

Public Approval vs. Disapproval of Labor Unions

Data on public opinion toward labor unions was obtained from Gallup at the following `https://news.gallup.com/poll/12751/labor-unions.aspx`. This question was asked in most years (but not all) from 1936-2022. Missing years are not included in the graph (see Figure 2 in the main paper). In years where the question was asked multiple times, e.g., in February, September, and November of a particular years, I average responses (of approve and disapprove) to calculate a mean value for that particular year.

2020 ANES

I used the February 10, 2022 version of the 2020 ANES. The codebook and data are publicly available at the following link (`https://electionstudies.org/data-center/2020-time-series-study/`).

- Feeling Thermometer: Labor Unions

  Created from V202162

  Ranges 0-100 (coldest feelings → warmest feelings)

- Labor Union Household

  Created from V201544

  0 = Non union household; 1 = Union household

- Labor Union Affiliation Status

  Created from V201544 and V201545

  0 = Neither in a union household nor a union member; 1 = Union household resident but not a union member; 2 = Union member

- Female

  Created from V201600

  0 = Identify as male; 1 = Identity as female

- White

  Created from V201549x

  0 = Race/ethnicity is non-White; 1 = Race/ethnicity is White, non-Hispanic

- Millennial/Gen Z

  Created by subtracting respondents' age (V201507x) from 2020

  0 = Born before 1980; 1 = Born 1980 or later

- College

  Created from V201511x

  0 = Less than a 4-year college degree; 1 = 4-year college degree or higher

- Married

  Created from V201508

  0 = Not married; 1 = Married

- Homeowner

  Created from V201581 and V201582

  0 = Do not own a home; 1 = Own a home (outright or paying mortgage)

- Income $100K+

  Created from V201617x

  0 = Family income less than $100,000; 1 = Family income $100,000 or higher

- Public Sector Employee

  Created from V201529

  0 = Do not work for/did not work for the government; 1 = Work for/worked for the government

- Attend Church Weekly

  Created from V201452

  0 = Never attend church or attend less than once a week; 1 = Attend church/religious services weekly or more than once a week

- Live in an Urban Area

  Created from V202355

  0 = Live in a rural area/small town/suburb; 1 = Live in a city

- RTW State

  Created from V203000

  0 = State has not enacted anti-union right-to-work legislation; 1 = State has anti-union right-to-work legislation. Based on data from the following link (`https://www.ncsl.org/research/labor-and-employment/right-to-work-laws-and-bills.aspx`).

- Democrat

  Created from V201231x

  0 = Identify as a Republican (strong, weak, or lean) or an Independent; 1 = Identify as a Democrat (strong, weak, or lean)

2021 GSS

The 2021 GSS cross-sectional codebook and data are publicly available at the following link (`https://gss.norc.org/get-the-data/stata`).

- Labor Union Attitudes

  Created from TRDUNIO1

  Agree = strongly agree/agree; Neutral = neither agree nor disagree; Disagree = disagree/strongly disagree

- Labor Union Affiliation

  Created from UNION

  0 = Neither R nor anyone in their household belongs to a union; 1 = Respondent is a union member or resides in a household with other union members

VSG Panel Study

The codebook and data for the Voter Study Group (VSG) panel are publicly available at the following link (`https://www.voterstudygroup.org/data`). Unfortunately, this survey did not ask about union affiliation and union attitudes in the exact same panel wave. Union attitudes were queried in January, 2019 and the closest corresponding wave in which union affiliation was measured was November, 2019. While not ideal, this is unlikely to meaningfully affect the results and reflects a small degree of measurement error.

- Labor Union Attitudes

  Created from econpolicy_union_2019Jan

  Support = strongly support/somewhat support; Neutral = neither support nor oppose; Oppose = strongly oppose/somewhat oppose

- Labor Union Affiliation

  Created from laborunionmember_2019Nov

  0 = No one in my household belongs to a union; 1 = Yes, I personally belong to a union/I do not belong to a union but another member of my household does

Cumulative ANES

I used the September 16, 2022 version of the Cumulative ANES. The codebook and data are publicly available at the following link (`https://electionstudies.org/data-center/anes-time-series-cumulative-data-file/`). As discussed in the main paper, I use data from 1988-2016 (presidential election years only).

- Presidential Vote Choice

  Created from VCF0704

  0 = Voted for the Republican presidential nominee; 1 = Voted for the Democratic presidential nominee

- Presidential Candidate Feelings

  Created by subtracting the feeling thermometer rating of the Republican Party nominee (VCF0426) from the feeling thermometer rating of the Democratic Party nominee (VCF0424)

  Ranges from -97 to +97

- Labor Union Affect (Feeling Thermometer: Labor Unions)

  Created from VCF0210 (coldest feelings $\rightarrow$ warmest feelings)

  Re-scaled to range from 0 to 1

- Partisanship

  Created from VCF0301 (Strong Democrat $\rightarrow$ Strong Republican)

  Re-scaled to range from 0 to 1

- Ideology

  Created from VCF0803 (moderate/middle of the road/don't know/haven't thought much are all coded at the midpoint). Extremely liberal → Extremely conservative.

  Re-scaled to range from 0 to 1

- Egalitarianism

  Created by combining VCF9013, VCF9016, VCF9017, and VCF9018 into an additive index (lowest egalitarianism → highest egalitarianism)

  Re-scaled to range from 0 to 1

- Traditionalism

  Created by combining VCF0851, VCF0852, VCF0853, and VCF0854 into an additive index (lowest traditionalism → highest traditionalism)

  Re-scaled to range from 0 to 1

- State Fixed Effects

  Created from VCF0901a

  51 dummy variables (AL - WY + DC)

- Year Fixed Effects

  Created from VCF0004

  8 dummy variables (1988, 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012, 2016)