**When Do Mass Labor Strikes Reshape the Public?**

**New Findings and a Research Agenda for Political Science**

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**Appendices for Online Publication**

**Appendix A: Survey Methodology and Balance**

From May 1 to June 7, 2019, Qualtrics fielded the online survey on a sample of respondents recruited to match the demographic targets specified in the manuscript. The survey recruitment material did not mention the strikes or labor action but instead advertised an academic survey from the author’s institution. Table A1 below documents the similarity between survey respondents and the 2017-2018 Current Population Survey (for demographic targets) and the 2016 Cooperative Congressional Election Study (for political targets).

**Table A1: Survey Demographics and Targets**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Demographics from Current Population Survey (2017-2018)** | | | |
|  | **Target**  **(%)** | **Survey (%)** | **Survey**  **- Target (pp)** |
| Female | 52.11 | 53.09 | 0.98 |
| Hispanic | 11.67 | 12.62 | 0.96 |
| Age: 18-29 | 20.80 | 21.20 | 0.40 |
| Age: 30-41 | 19.54 | 19.80 | 0.26 |
| Age: 42-53 | 19.51 | 18.67 | -0.84 |
| Age: 54-64 | 20.23 | 19.67 | -0.57 |
| Age: 65+ | 19.92 | 20.66 | 0.75 |
| White | 82.68 | 80.60 | -2.08 |
| Black | 8.86 | 9.10 | 0.24 |
| American Indian | 0.40 | 0.53 | 0.13 |
| Asian American | 5.91 | 4.25 | -1.66 |
| High School or Less | 35.20 | 34.62 | -0.58 |
| Some College | 23.36 | 25.45 | 2.09 |
| College | 23.91 | 23.26 | -0.66 |
| Graduate Degree | 17.53 | 16.68 | -0.85 |
|  |  |  |  |
| **Political Characteristics from Cooperative Congressional Election Study (2016)** | | | |
|  |  |  |  |
| Strong Democrat | 24.13 | 17.28 | -6.85 |
| Not very strong Democrat | 12.99 | 10.63 | -2.36 |
| Lean Democrat | 13.77 | 14.15 | 0.38 |
| Independent | 21.44 | 31.76 | 10.32 |
| Lean Republican | 10.06 | 9.57 | -0.49 |
| Not very strong Republican | 7.74 | 6.58 | -1.16 |
| Strong Republican | 9.87 | 10.03 | 0.16 |
|  |  |  |  |
| Liberal | 30.39 | 36.94 | 6.55 |
| Moderate | 39.76 | 33.22 | -6.54 |
| Conservative | 29.85 | 29.83 | -0.02 |
|  |  |  |  |
| Attend local political meetings (such as school board or city council) | 13.11 | 8.7 | -4.41 |
| Put up a political sign (such as a lawn sign or bumper sticker) | 16.48 | 10.96 | -5.52 |
| Work for a candidate or campaign | 6.33 | 4.72 | -1.61 |

**Appendix B: Survey Instrument**

Complete survey text for the items used in this study is available in the replication materials for this paper.

**Appendix C: Distance to Other Stores Placebo Checks**

The figure below documents the lack of a correlation between distance to the nearest other large retail chain or grocery store and the frequency with which respondents reported shopping at Stop & Shop and whether respondents reported a strike in their local community. These stores include Target, Walmart, Trader Joe’s, Market Basket, and Whole Foods. If anything, respondents closer to other stores are *less* likely to have reported strikes in their local community. The binned scatter plots adjust for state fixed effects.

**Figure C1: Distance to Nearest Other Grocery or Big Box Store, Frequency of Shopping at Stop & Shop (Left) and Self-Reported Strike Exposure (Right)**



**Appendix D: Control Variable Definitions**

Below, I summarize the coding of the control variables included in Table 2 and 3 regressions.

* *Age*, coded continuously in years.
* *Race*, coded as five binary indicators for white, Black, American Indian, Asian, and other, with white as the excluded category.
* *Hispanic ethnicity*, coded as a binary variable.
* *Gender*, coded as binary indicators for male, female, and other, with male as the excluded category.
* *Employment status*, coded as a binary indicator for currently employed.
* *Education*, coded as binary indicators for no college, some college, college, or more than college, with no college as the excluded category.
* *Total family income*, coded as binary indicators for quartiles, with the lowest quartile as the excluded category.
* *Political ideology*, coded as binary indicators for seven categories ranging from very liberal to very conservative, with very liberal as the excluded category.
* *Partisanship*, coded as binary indicators for seven categories ranging from strong Republican to strong Democrat, with strong Republican as the excluded category.
* *Current union membership,* coded as binary indicator.
* *Having a close friend or family member in a union*, coded as binary indicator.

**Appendix E: Examining Individual Actions Taken Supporting the Strikes**

In the manuscript I report the correlation between strike exposure and an aggregate index of behavioral support for the Stop & Shop strikes. In Figure E1, I show these correlations broken out by each individual item in the index. Each coefficient comes from a separate 2SLS regression that includes the control variables defined in the main text as well as state fixed effects and applies robust standard errors. I show 95% confidence intervals. Figure E1 shows that strike exposure is most strongly related to boycotting Stop & Shop, telling others to boycott Stop & Shop, and bringing food to striking workers.

**Figure E1: 2SLS Estimates of the Effect of Strike Exposure on Different Forms of Actions Taken in Support of the Stop & Shop Strike**

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*Notes*: Second-stage 2SLS coefficients on strike exposure, instrumented by distance to the nearest Stop & Shop store in miles. Regressions control for individual demographic controls as well as state fixed effects. 95% confidence intervals shown.

**Appendix F: Examining Workplace Action Interest**

In the manuscript I report the correlation between strike exposure and an aggregate index of interest in workplace actions, applied to individuals who report being employed. In Figure F1, I show these correlations broken out by each individual item in the workplace action index. Each coefficient comes from a separate 2SLS regression that includes the control variables defined in the main text as well as state fixed effects and applies robust standard errors, restricted to employed respondents. I show 95% confidence intervals. Figure F1 shows that strike exposure is related to interest in working together with coworkers to address workplace issues—but not other items in the index.

**Figure F1: 2SLS Estimates of the Effect of Strike Exposure on Interest in Workplace Actions, Among Employed Respondents**

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*Notes*: Second-stage 2SLS coefficients on strike exposure, instrumented by distance to the nearest Stop & Shop store, with 95% confidence intervals shown. Regressions control for individual demographic controls as well as state fixed effects. Robust standard errors applied. Only employed individuals included in these regressions.

**Appendix G: Stop & Shop Locations and Survey Respondents**

In Figure G1, I map survey respondents (top) and Stop & Shop store locations (bottom), with slight jittering for readability.

**Figure G1: Stop & Shop Locations and Survey Respondents**

 