

**How Employers Recruit Their Workers into Politics –
And Why Political Scientists Should Care**

Alexander Hertel-Fernandez
Harvard University
ahertel@fas.harvard.edu
www.hertelfernandez.com

Supplementary Materials

Supplementary Material 1: 2015 Worker Survey Summary

16% of workers reported that the top managers in their main job made it clear which political candidates they prefer, and 14% of workers reported that they had specific contact with their managers about politics. 25% of workers answered affirmatively to either question, which is my estimate of the prevalence of employer mobilization.

The following table reports the share of contacted workers reporting different types of information from their managers or supervisors.

Type of Information	Share of Contacted Workers Reporting Information
Policy issue or bill	36%
Turning out to vote	31%
Registering to vote	22%
Presidential candidates	20%
State government candidates	18%
Contacting a legislator	15%
House candidates	10%
Senate candidates	10%
Donating to a legislator	7%
Other	25%

SSRS OMNIBUS SURVEY METHODOLOGY

SSRS Omnibus is a national, weekly, dual-frame bilingual telephone survey designed to meet standards of quality associated with custom research studies. Each weekly wave of the SSRS Omnibus consists of 1,000 interviews, of which 500 are obtained with respondents on their cell phones, and approximately 35 interviews completed in Spanish. All SSRS Omnibus data are weighted to represent the target population.

Sample Design

The SSRS Omnibus sample is designed to represent the adult U.S. population (including Hawaii and Alaska). SSRS Omnibus uses a fully-replicated, stratified, single-stage, random-digit-dialing (RDD) sample of landline telephone households, and randomly generated cell phone numbers.¹ Sample telephone numbers are computer generated and loaded into on-line sample files accessed directly by the computer-assisted telephone interviewing (CATI) system.

Respondent Selection

Within each landline household, a single respondent is selected through the following selection process: First, interviewers ask to speak with the youngest adult male/female at home. The term “male” appears first for a random half of the cases and “female” for the other randomly selected half. If there are no men/women at home during that time, interviewers ask to speak with the youngest female/male at home.

Cell phones are treated as individual devices and the interview may take place outside the respondent's home; therefore, cell phone interviews are conducted with the person answering the phone.

Spanish Language Sample

To facilitate proper representation of the Hispanic population, approximately 35 interviews are conducted weekly in Spanish. Each week, bilingual interviewers contact those households dispositioned as language barriers the previous week. Thus, the Spanish sample is, in effect, a subsample of the regular landline and cell phone RDD sampling frames.

Sample Control/Field Period

Interviewing for each SSRS Omnibus survey is conducted over a five-day period, from Wednesday through Sunday, thus including weekdays and weekends. Sample telephone numbers are displayed directly on each interviewer's screen. Based on the result of the call, the interviewer either begins the questionnaire introduction or dispositions that particular sample number by entering an appropriate call result code. The result of every attempt is stored for each sample telephone number. Consequently, a full sample disposition can be quickly produced following the completion of each survey.

Supplementary Material 2: 2014-5 Firm Survey Descriptives

Industry	Share of Firms Responding to Survey
Agriculture	1.0%
Mining	1.0%
Construction	8.8%
Manufacturing	11.8%
Wholesale trade	2.8%
Retail trade	7.3%
Transportation/utilities	4.0%
Information	6.3%
Financial activities	8.8%
Professional/business services	23.3%
Education/health services	10.5%
Leisure/hospitality	5.8%
Other services	9.0%
Firm Size (in US)	
2 to 4	20.9%
5 to 9	16.2%
10 to 19	11.2%
20 to 49	11.0%
50 to 99	7.8%
100 to 199	7.4%
200 to 249	2.7%
250 to 499	5.5%
500 to 999	4.5%
1,000 or more	12.7%

This table shows the distribution of the 2014 firm survey participants by job title and firm size.

	< 1,000 workers	≥ 1,000 workers
Chairman/Board Member	1%	0%
Partner/Owner	46%	2%
President/CEO/COO	15%	3%
CFO/Controller/Treasurer	6%	2%
CIO/CTO	1%	3%
Executive VP	4%	5%
VP	4%	14%
General Manager	5%	8%
Director/Department Head	11%	43%
Manager/Senior Manager	7%	22%
Totals	100%	100%

YOUgov PANEL METHODOLOGY

The YouGov panel, a proprietary opt-in survey panel, is comprised of 1.2 million U.S. residents who have agreed to participate in YouGov’s Web surveys. Panel members are recruited by a number of methods to help ensure diversity in the panel population. Recruiting methods include Web advertising campaigns (public surveys), permission-based email campaigns, partner sponsored solicitations, telephone-to-Web recruitment (RDD based sampling, and mail-to-Web recruitment (voter registration based sampling).

By utilizing different modes of recruitment continuously over time, this ensures that hard-to-reach populations will be adequately represented in survey samples. To be a YouGov panelist a respondent must complete a double opt-in procedure where they are informed of our privacy policy and agree to receive survey invitations.

Panelists are profiled on basic socioeconomic demographics, political attitudes and behavior, health status and consumer behavior. The information panelists provide YouGov about themselves with regard to their address are verified through our CASS system and panelists who provide us with name and voting address are matched to public voter rolls for surveys that require registered voters and vote turnout data. These steps allow us to flag and exclude panelists who chose not to provide verifiable information.

Participants are not paid to join the YouGov panel, but do receive incentives through a generous loyalty program to take individual surveys. The YouGov Panel Management team ensures the quality and health of the panel by removing panelists who speed through surveys or answer in ways that are determined to be obviously not genuine.

We run a survey of Senior Decision Makers from companies with between 1 and 250 employees. The sample is balanced to gain usable numbers of businesses in each size band and across

several sectors. The recruiting is done by targeting specific respondents on our panel that have identified as senior managers.



Worker Survey on Employer Mobilization

(EMPLOYED FT//PT)

EM-01. Are you self employed?

- 1 Yes (SKIP TO NEXT INSERT)
- 2 No
- 9 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no answer

EM-01a. Do you usually work the same schedule each week, or not?
(READ LIST IF NECESSARY)

PROBE FOR CORRECT "NO" RESPONSE)

- 1 Yes, you work the same schedule each week
- 2 No, you do not work the same schedule each week – you set your work schedule
- 3 No, you do not work the same schedule each week – your employer sets work schedule
- 4 No, you do not work the same schedule each week – You and your employer set schedule, but you have more control
- 5 No, you do not work the same schedule each week – You and your employer set schedule, but your employer has more control
- 6 No, you do not work the same schedule each week – You and your employer set schedule with equal control
- 9 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no answer

EM-03. Do you supervise anyone at your main job?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 9 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no answer

EM-04. To what extent, if at all, do you worry about the possibility of losing your main job?
(READ LIST)

(ROTATE 1-4/4-1)

- 1 Worry a great deal
- 2 Worry some extent
- 3 Worry a little
- 4 Don't worry at all
- 9 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no answer

EM-05. Are you a member of a union or teachers association?

(IF NO) Have you ever been a member of a union or teachers association?

- 1 Currently a member
- 2 Once a member, but not now
- 3 Never a member
- 9 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no answer

EM-07. About how many employees does your employer have across all locations that your employer operates?

Just give your best estimate.

- 1 1-49
- 2 50-199
- 3 200-499
- 4 500 or more
- 9 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no answer

EM-10. Thinking about the conversations you have with your co-workers, what are the political views of most of your co-workers?

(READ LIST)

(ROTATE 1-5/5-1)

- 1 Extremely liberal
- 2 Somewhat liberal
- 3 Moderate
- 4 Somewhat conservative
- 5 Extremely conservative
- 9 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no answer

EM-12. Do the top managers in your main job make it clear which political candidates or party they prefer? (READ LIST)

- 1 Yes, very clear
- 2 Yes, somewhat clear
- 3 No
- 9 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no answer

EM-13. I am going to ask you about specific situations where your managers and supervisors may have contacted you about politics or political issues, such as contacting you about voting, political candidates, or public policies. Have you ever...?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 9 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no answer

(SCRAMBLE A-I; J always last)

- a. Received an email from a manager or supervisor about politics
- b. Received a letter from a manager or supervisor about politics
- c. Received a phone call from a manager or supervisor about politics
- d. Seen a posting on a company website about politics
- e. Had a meeting with a manager or supervisor about politics
- f. Been asked to attend a political event by a manager or supervisor
- g. Been asked to volunteer for a political campaign by manager or supervisor
- h. Received message with your paycheck about politics
- i. Seen posters or flyers in your office about politics
- j. Had any other contact with manager or supervisor about politics (NOT SPECIFIED)

(IF EM-12=1 OR 2 or EM-13a-j=YES TO ANY)

EM-14. How often has a manager or supervisor in your main job contacted you about politics or political issues? (READ LIST)

- 1 About once every week
- 2 About once every month
- 3 Several times per year
- 4 One time per year or less
- 9 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no answer

(IF EM-12=1 OR 2 or EM-13a-j=YES TO ANY)

EM-16. What did your manager or supervisor mention to you when they contacted you about politics or political issues?

Did your manager or supervisor mention...? (INSERT ITEM)

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 9 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no answer

(SCRAMBLE A-I; J always last)

- a. Information about registering to vote
- b. Information about turning out to vote on Election Day
- c. Information about a presidential candidate
- d. Information about a political candidate for the US House of Representatives
- e. Information about a political candidate for the US Senate
- f. Information about a political candidate for state government
- g. Information about a bill or a policy
- h. Information about contacting a lawmaker
- i. Information about donating to a political candidate
- j. Other kinds of political information (NOT SPECIFIED)

(IF EM-12=1 OR 2 or EM-13a-j=YES TO ANY)

EM-17. What issues did your manager or supervisor mention to you when they contacted you about politics?
Did your manager or supervisor mention (INSERT ITEM)?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no answer

(SCRAMBLE A-H)

- a. The environment
- b. Taxes
- c. Regulation
- d. Trade and competing with other countries
- e. Health Care
- f. Education and Training
- g. Unions
- h. Employment and jobs
- i. Any other Issue (NOT SPECIFIED)

(IF EM-12=1 OR 2 or EM-13a-j=YES TO ANY)

EM-19. When your manager or supervisor contacted you about political issues, what were the political views of your manager or supervisor's message?
(READ LIST)

- 1 Extremely liberal
- 2 Somewhat liberal
- 3 Moderate
- 4 Somewhat conservative
- 5 Extremely conservative
- 9 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no answer

(IF EM-12=1 OR 2 or EM-13a-j=YES TO ANY)

(ROTATE VERBIAGE IN PARENS)

EM-20. How much did you (agree) or (disagree) with the messages that your manager or supervisor provided to you about politics or political issues?

- 1 Strongly agree
- 2 Somewhat agree
- 3 Neither agree nor disagree
- 4 Somewhat disagree
- 5 Strongly disagree
- 9 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no answer

(IF EM-16c,d,e,f,h,i=YES TO ANY)
(ROTATE VERBIAGE IN PARENS)

EM-21. Were the political candidates discussed by your manager or supervisor mostly (Democrats), mostly (Republicans), or were the political candidates evenly divided between the two parties?
(READ LIST)

- 1 All Democrats
- 2 Mostly Democrats
- 3 Evenly split between the parties
- 4 Mostly Republicans
- 5 All Republicans
- 9 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no answer

(IF EM-12=1 OR 2 or EM-13a-j=YES TO ANY)

EM-22. Did the political information you received from your manager or supervisor change your mind about politics or voting? Did the information...?
(READ LIST)

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 9 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no answer

(SCRAMBLE A-G; H always last)

- a. Make you more likely to register to vote
- b. Make you more likely to turn out to vote on election day
- c. Make you more likely to vote for a particular candidate
- d. Make you more likely to volunteer for a political campaign
- e. Make you more likely to change your mind about a particular issue
- f. Make you more likely to contact a lawmaker about an issue
- g. Make you more likely to donate to a political candidate
- h. Information had other effect (NOT SPECIFIED)

(ASK IF EM-22c,d,f,g=YES TO ANY)

(ROTATE VERBIAGE IN PARENS)

EM-23. Did your manager or supervisor's information make you (more) or (less) likely to support your manager or supervisor's preferred political candidates? Would that be much (more/less) likely or somewhat (more/less) likely?

- 1 Much more likely
- 2 Somewhat more likely
- 3 Somewhat less likely
- 4 Much less likely
- 9 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no answer

(IF EM-12=1 OR 2 or EM-13a-j=YES TO ANY)

EM-24. How comfortable or uncomfortable are you with the contact you had with your manager or supervisor about politics and political issues?

(ROTATE 1-5/5-1)

- 1 Very comfortable
- 2 Somewhat comfortable
- 3 Neither comfortable nor uncomfortable
- 4 Somewhat uncomfortable
- 5 Very uncomfortable
- 9 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no answer

(IF EM-12=1 OR 2 or EM-13a-j=YES TO ANY)

EM-25. When your manager or supervisor discussed politics or political issues with you, did your manager or supervisor ever...?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 9 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no answer

(SCRAMBLE ROTATE)

- a. Mention changing or cutting worker hours because of politics
- b. Mention changing or cutting jobs because of politics
- c. Mention closing offices or plants because of politics

(IF EM-12=1 OR 2 or EM-13a-j=YES TO ANY)

EM-26. In your own words, please tell me anything you remember about the messages about politics or political issues you received from your managers or supervisors. For instance, do you remember how you received the message, what issues the message discussed, or which political candidates your managers and supervisors mentioned?

PROBE ALL RESPONSES FOR CLARITY AND TO THE NEGATIVE)
WHAT DO YOU REMEMBER ABOUT THAT? WHAT ELSE DO YOU
RECALL, ETC...

- 1 Answer given
- 9 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no answer

(IF EM-05=1 OR 2)

EM-27. Has a union ever contacted you about politics or political issues, such as voting, political candidates, or legislation? Have you ever...?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 9 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no answer

(SCRAMBLE A-H)

- a. Received an email from a union about politics
- b. Received a letter from a union about politics
- c. Received a phone call from a union about politics
- d. Seen a posting on a union website about politics
- e. Had a meeting with a union about politics
- f. Been asked to attend a political event by a union
- g. Been asked to volunteer for a political campaign by a union
- h. Seen posters or flyers from a union about politics
- i. Had any other contact with a union about politics (NOT SPECIFIED)

(IF EM-27=YES TO ANY)

EM-29. What issues did the union mention to you when they contacted you about politics? Did they mention (INSERT ITEM)?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 9 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no answer

(SCRAMBLE A-H)

- a. The environment
- b. Taxes
- c. Regulation
- d. Trade and competing with other countries
- e. Health care
- f.. Education and training
- g. Unions
- h. Employment and jobs
- i. Any other issue (NOT SPECIFIED)

(IF EM-27=YES TO ANY)

EM-32. Did the political information you received from the union change your mind about politics or voting? Did the (

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 9 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no answer

(SCRAMBLE A-G)

- a. Information make you more likely to register to vote
- b. Information make you more likely to turn out to vote on election day
- c. Information make you more likely to vote for a particular candidate
- d. Information make you more likely to volunteer for a political campaign
- e. Information make you more likely to change my mind about a particular issue
- f. Information make you more likely to contact a lawmaker about an issue
- g. Information make you more likely to donate to a political candidate
- h. Information have any other effect (NOT SPECIFIED)

EM-33. In which INDUSTRY is your main job?
(READ LIST ONLY IF NECESSARY: Pick a category that best matches your employer's products or services.)

- 01 Construction
- 02 Education
- 03 Financial activities, insurance, or real estate
- 04 Health care
- 05 Information technology
- 06 Leisure and hospitality, including arts, entertainment, and recreation
- 07 Manufacturing
- 08 Natural resources and mining (such as agriculture and forestry)
- 09 Professional, scientific, technical services, and management
- 10 Public administration, including federal, state, and local government
- 11 Transportation and warehouses
- 12 Utilities
- 13 Wholesale or retail
- 96 Other industry (NOT SPECIFIED)
- 99 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no answer

EM-34. In which OCCUPATION is your main job?
(READ LIST ONLY IF NECESSARY: Pick a category that best matches the kind of work you do in your main job.)

- 01 Architecture and engineering
- 02 Arts, design, entertainment, sports, and the media
- 03 Business and financial operations
- 04 Building and grounds cleaning and maintenance
- 05 Community and social services
- 06 Computers and mathematical
- 07 Construction and mining
- 08 Education, training, and libraries
- 09 Farming, fishing and forestry
- 10 Food preparation and serving
- 11 Health care practitioners, such as doctors or nurses
- 12 Health care support staff
- 13 Installation, maintenance, and repair
- 14 Legal services
- 15 Life, physical, and social sciences
- 16 Management
- 17 Military
- 18 Office and administrative support
- 19 Personal care and service
- 20 Protective services
- 21 Sales and related to sales
- 22 Production
- 23 Transportation and material moving
- 96 Other occupation (NOT SPECIFIED)
- 99 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no answer

EM-35. In which state do you work in your main job? If you work in multiple states, please give the state in which you spend the most time.

(INSERT STATE LIST)

(IF EM-12=3 OR 9 AND EM-13a-j=NO TO ALL)

EM-36. Imagine that the managers and supervisors at your main job encouraged you to vote for particular political candidates. How likely or unlikely would you be to support the candidates that the managers and supervisors at your job had endorsed?

(READ LIST)

- 1 Very likely
- 2 Somewhat likely
- 3 Neither likely nor unlikely
- 4 Somewhat unlikely
- 5 Very unlikely
- 9 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no answer

(ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS IN PARENS)

EM-38. Currently, employers are permitted to campaign for political candidates in the workplace. That is, employers can send messages to workers, post flyers, and hold mandatory meetings to endorse political candidates for the presidency, Congress, and state government. Do you think that this kind of campaigning by employers in the workplace (should be limited by law), or (should remain unlimited)?

- 1 Should remain unlimited
- 2 Should be limited by law
- 9 (DO NOT READ) Don't know/no answer

YouGov December/January Wave Survey

Q1 [check boxes, can select multiple]: Recent polling has found that workers consistently report that employers are the most credible source of information about political issues affecting the workplace, and a number of employers have begun to contact their workers with information about politics and elections in recent years.

To the best of your knowledge, has your firm ever contacted its workers about the following political issues? Select all options that apply to your firm.

- Information about registering to vote (1)
- Information about turning out to vote on Election Day (2)
- Information endorsing a political candidate (3)
- Information about a presidential candidate (4)
- Information about a political candidate for the US House of Representatives (5)
- Information about a political candidate for the US Senate (6)
- Information about a political candidate for state government (7)
- Information about a specific issue or piece of legislation (8)
- Information about contacting a legislator about an issue (9)
- Information about donating to a political candidate (10)
- Other kinds of political information (11)

Q2 [radio buttons]: In general, how difficult is it for your firm to fill job openings for non-management positions?

- Very difficult to fill non-management openings (1)
- Somewhat difficult (2)
- Neither difficult nor easy (3)
- Somewhat easy (4)
- Very easy to fill non-management openings (5)

Q3 [radio buttons]: According to surveys by the American Management Academy, many employers report monitoring workers' emails and other Internet usage. How frequently, if at all, does your company monitor workers' email, social media, and other Internet activities?

- Never monitor email, social media, and internet usage (1)
- Sometimes monitor email, social media, and internet usage (2)
- Frequently monitor email, social media, and internet usage (3)
- Always monitor email, social media, and internet usage (4)

Q4 [text boxes]: Businesses engage in politics in a variety of ways, including forming political action committees, buying political advertisements, hiring lobbyists, and joining business associations. Thinking about your firm's political activities, which of the following have been most effective at changing public policy? Please rank the following activities in descending order of how effective you think they are in changing government policy, where a "1" indicates your firm's MOST EFFECTIVE activity. Leave blank any options that are irrelevant to your firm.

- _____ Contacting workers about voting (1)
- _____ Contacting workers about policy issues (2)
- _____ Contacting workers about other forms of political participation (3)
- _____ Making campaign contributions to political candidates (4)
- _____ Buying political issue advertisements during elections (5)
- _____ Hiring lobbyists or political consultants (6)
- _____ Working with the Business Roundtable (7)
- _____ Working with the US Chamber of Commerce (8)
- _____ Working with the American Legislative Exchange Council (9)
- _____ Working with the National Federation of Independent Business (10)
- _____ Working with another business association (11)

YouGov September Wave Survey

Q1 [check boxes, can select multiple]: Recent polling has found that workers consistently report that employers are the most credible source of information about political issues affecting the workplace, and a number of employers have begun to contact their workers with information about politics and elections in recent years.

To the best of your knowledge, has your firm ever contacted its workers about the following political issues? Select all options that apply to your firm.

- Information about registering to vote (1)
- Information about turning out to vote on Election Day (2)
- Information endorsing a political candidate (3)
- Information about a presidential candidate (4)
- Information about a political candidate for the US House of Representatives (5)
- Information about a political candidate for the US Senate (6)
- Information about a political candidate for state government (7)
- Information about a specific issue or piece of legislation (8)
- Information about contacting a legislator about an issue (9)
- Information about donating to a political candidate (10)
- Other kinds of political information (11 – If selected, show text box; prompt “What information?”)

Q2 [check boxes, can select multiple; show only if response to Q1]: When your firm contacted its workers about politics or political issues, which issues did your firm discuss with workers? Select all options that apply to your firm.

- The environment (1)
- Taxes (2)
- Regulation (3)
- Trade (4)
- Health care (5)
- Education and training (6)
- Unions (7)
- Employment and jobs (8)
- Any other issue (9 – If selected, show text box; prompt “Which issue?”)

Q3 [check boxes, can select multiple; show only if response to Q1]: When your firm contacted its workers about politics or political issues, what were the goals your firm hoped to achieve? Select all options that apply to your firm.

- Pass legislation (1 – If selected, show check box options A. “At the state or local level”; B. “At the federal level”)
- Stop legislation (2 – If selected, show check box options A. “At the state or local level”; B. “At the federal level”)
- Pass state ballot initiative or referendum (3)
- Stop state ballot initiative or referendum (4)
- Pass a regulation (5 – If selected, show check box options A. “At the state or local level”; B. “At the federal level”)
- Stop a regulation (6 – If selected, show check box options A. “At the state or local level”; B. “At the federal level”)
- Support a political candidate (7 – If selected, show options A. “Candidate for state or local office”; B. “Candidate for the House”; C. “Candidate for the Senate”; D. “Candidate for the presidency”)
- Oppose a political candidate (8 – If selected, show options A. “Candidate for state or local office”; B. “Candidate for the House”; C. “Candidate for the Senate”; D. “Candidate for the presidency”)
- Educate workers (9)
- Other (10 – If selected, show text box; prompt “What goals?”)

Q4 [check boxes, can select multiple; show only if response to Q1]: Many firms target the political information they provide to workers. When your firm contacted its workers about politics or political issues, did your firm target the workers who received political information? Select all the options that apply to your firm.

- Targeted by workers’ past engagement in political activities (1)
- Targeted by workers’ voter registration or turnout record (2)
- Targeted by workers’ position, division, or occupation (3)
- Targeted by workers’ residence (4)
- Targeted by location of store, office, plant, or factory (5)
- Targeted by workers’ demographic characteristics, including age or race (6)
- Targeted in another way (7 – If selected, show text box; prompt “How did you target workers?”)

Q5 [check boxes, can select multiple; show only if response to Q1]: Does your firm use software to contact your workers about politics or political issues? Select all the options that apply to your firm.

- Use software from the Business-Industry Political Action Committee (BIPAC) (1)
- Use software from another business association or organization (2 – If selected, show text box; prompt “Which organization?”)
- Use software designed in-house (3)

Q6 [radio buttons, can only select one; show only if response to Q1]: Compared to five years ago (2010), would you say that your firm’s communications to its workers about politics and political information are more frequent, less frequent, or about the same frequency? Just give your best estimate.

- More frequent (1)
- About the same (2)
- Less frequent (3)

Q7 [radio buttons, can only select one]: Are any of the workers at your firm represented by a union?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q8 [radio buttons, can only select one]: Is your firm publicly traded?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)
- Not applicable (3)