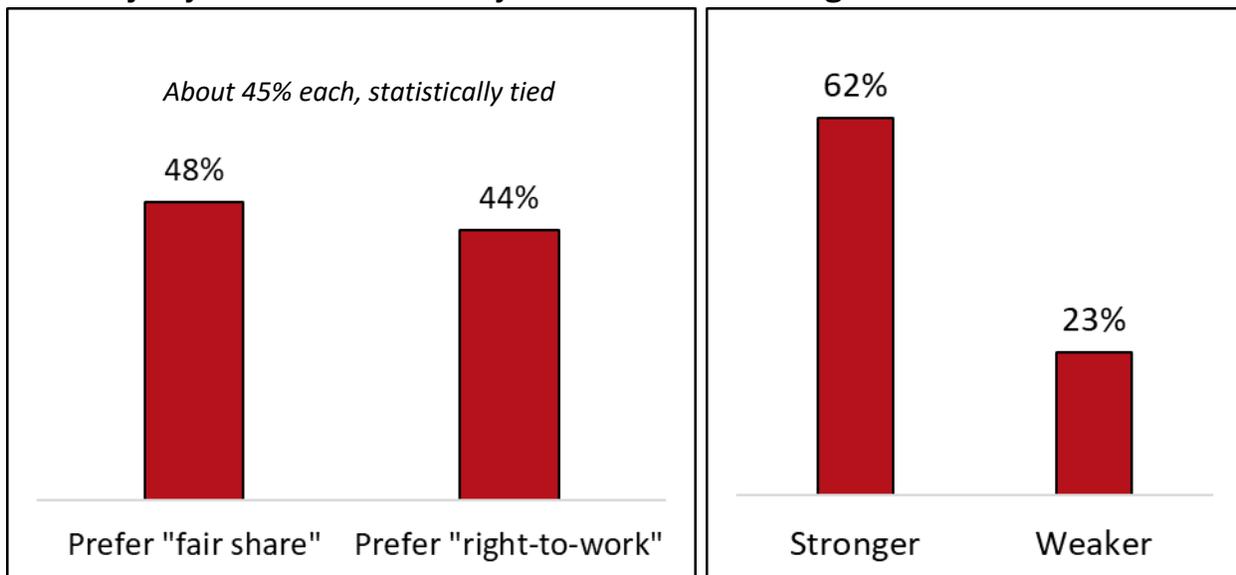


What do Americans think about labor unions and “right-to-work” policies?

Findings from the APM Research Lab’s
APM Survey

June 13, 2018

Americans are tied in their preference for “fair share” versus “right-to-work” policies, but a majority think that the country is better off with stronger unions



Source: APM Survey (May 30 – June 3, 2018). See report for question wording.
N=1,009 Americans age 18 or older; overall margin of error = +/-3.7 percentage points.

Executive Summary

The Supreme Court's forthcoming decision in *Janus versus American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, Council 31* is expected to make a "right-to-work" policy, which allows public sector workers covered by union-negotiated contracts to opt out of paying any union dues, the law of the land. This threatens a key source of union revenues for those unions operating in the 22 states that have not enacted "right-to-work" laws.

Thus, the decision in *Janus* carries big implications for organized labor, especially for the public sector, where one-third of all employees are unionized.

In light of *Janus*, this APM Survey, conducted by cellphone and landline with 1,009 American adults from May 30 to June 3, 2018, offers a timely look at Americans' support of "right-to-work" policy versus a "fair share" approach to unionization, which requires all workers covered by union-negotiated contracts to pay at least some dues. In addition, this survey provides a rare look at the reasons Americans give for supporting one policy over the other, in their own words.

Finally, this survey places those specific policy preferences in context of Americans' more general preferences for either weaker or stronger unions and offers unique insight into how opinions are related to a household's direct experience with union membership.

Key findings concerning "right-to-work" policies:

- **Americans are evenly split in their preference for "right-to-work" as opposed to "fair share" union policy.**
 - When asked to choose between the two, about 45 percent chose each option, with the remainder unsure.
- A "right-to-work" approach is favored by 50 percent or more of those with high school diplomas or less education, those without direct union membership experience either themselves or from others in their home, Republicans, and those living in the South.
 - The most popular reasons for supporting "right-to-work" policies have to do with freedom of choice, with nearly 50 percent of "right-to-work" supports saying things like *"I think it should be left up to the individual. They should have choices,"* and *"Why should somebody force someone to do what they don't want to do?"*
 - Less commonly-expressed reasons include the expense of union dues, the ineffectiveness of some unions, and personal distaste for unions.

- Only a small minority, about 3 percent, expressly indicate preference for “right-to-work” policy based on political differences with unions. This is notable because *Janus* challenges “fair share” policies on the basis that requirements to pay dues are, in effect, compelling contributions to politically-motivated actions, which thereby violates the First Amendment’s guarantee of free speech.
- A “fair share” approach is favored by about 60 percent of those who have direct union experience themselves or through a household member, Democrats, and those living in North Eastern states.
 - Additionally, “fair share” is preferred by at least 50 percent of non-Hispanic Whites, those with at least some college education, those living outside of the South, and those living in states that have not adopted “right-to-work” legislation.
 - The most popular reasons given by those favoring “fair share” policies include a belief that workers who benefit from union contracts should pay something in return. For example: *“If you are going to benefit from it, you should pay into it.”*

Key findings concerning support for weaker or stronger labor unions:

- **A majority of Americans (62%) indicate that stronger unions would be better for the country while less than one-quarter of Americans indicate a preference for weaker unions.**
- Stronger unions are preferred by at least three-quarters of Latinos and African Americans, Democrats, and those favoring “fair share” as opposed to “right-to-work” policies.
 - In addition, stronger unions are preferred by at least two-thirds of women, those age 18-44, those with a high school diploma or less, and those with annual household incomes below \$50,000.
- Weaker unions are preferred by at least one-third of those with annual household incomes of \$75,000 or more, Republicans, and those favoring “right-to-work” policies over a “fair share” approach to unionization.
 - Notably, even among these groups, about half indicated support for stronger unions.
 - Even among Republicans—the only group we found where support for weaker unions was more common than support for stronger unions—more than 40 percent supported stronger unions.

Other findings:

- This apparent inconsistency in a specific policy preference widely expected to weaken unions by diminishing their revenues and more general support for unions is fairly common:
 - Half of those who favor a “right-to-work” approach to unions, where each worker covered by union contract is given the latitude to opt out of paying any union dues, indicate that the U.S. would be better off if unions were stronger.
 - About 14 percent of those who prefer the “fair share” approach to unionization, where all workers covered by union contracts pay at least some dues, indicate that the country would be better off if unions were weaker.
 - This apparent inconsistency is strongest among African-Americans and Latinos, as well as those with less education and those from lower income households. A large majority—two thirds or more—of each of these groups indicates preference for stronger unions, while at the same time about half of each group supports “right-to-work” policies.
 - This suggests a desire—perhaps motivated by economic hardship for some—for workers to benefit from both avoiding paying dues that reduce their paychecks and the increased pay and benefits that might accompany stronger unionization.
- Consistent with Bureau of Labor Statistics data, this survey found that roughly 12 percent of full-time workers claimed union membership.
 - In addition, we found that the reach and impact of unionization on Americans far exceeds the five percent of all adults who are currently union members; 40 percent of respondents indicate that either they themselves or some other household member had been a union member at some time.

Survey methods and question wording

The survey was conducted May 30 to June 3, 2018 via telephone—60 percent cell phone and 40 percent landline—with 1,009 adult Americans. Thirty-six of the interviews were conducted in Spanish, the rest in English. The survey’s overall margin of error is +/-3.7 percentage points at the 95 percent confidence level.¹

The specific questions put to the public in this survey were:

1. Labor unions negotiate the wages and benefits for all workers covered by union contracts. In some states, workers covered by union contracts are required to pay at least some union dues, even if they choose not to be full union members. However, in other states workers can decide for themselves whether or not to pay union dues. Which is closer to your view?
 - A. All workers covered by union contracts should pay at least some union dues, OR
 - B. Each worker covered by a union contract should be allowed to decide for themselves whether or not to pay dues
2. Why do you feel that way?
3. In general, do you think the U.S. would be better off if labor unions were stronger or weaker?
4. (If respondent is employed full-time) Are you currently a member of a labor union?
5. Have you or anyone in your household EVER been a member of a labor union?

In questions one and three the sequence of the underlined sections and their corresponding answer categories were rotated to address any possible order effects. Question two is an open-ended question with no pre-determined answer categories offered to respondents.

Interviewers were instructed to accept the first response given by survey respondents and probe for clarity. Responses were then coded into similar categories for purposes of analysis.

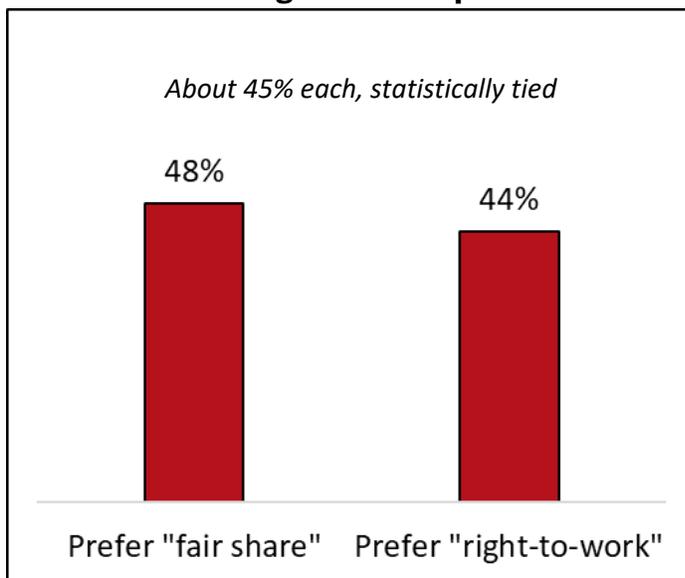
Questions four and five were added to a standard list of demographic questions, including age, gender, education, race and ethnicity, marital status, income, and employment status. These questions and others are used in the analysis. See the Appendix 1 for details about the characteristics of the sample, as well as a comparison between union and non-union households.

“Right-to-work” versus “fair share” policy preferences

Like the Supreme Court before the appointment of Justice Gorsuch, the American public is evenly split on its views concerning “right-to-work” policies. Just under half indicate that a “fair share” approach, where all workers covered by union contracts must pay at least some dues, is closer to their view. A statistically tied proportion of Americans prefer a “right-to-work” approach, allowing each worker to decide for themselves whether to pay any such dues.

Eight percent opted out of answering this question, most indicating that they did not know which of the two options they prefer. This is not surprising given the relative complexity of the issue.

Americans are evenly split in their preferences for “fair share” and “right to work” policies



Question: “...Which is closer to your view? All workers covered by union contracts should pay at least some union dues, OR each worker covered by a union contract should be allowed to decide for themselves whether or not to pay dues,” noted respectively as “fair share” and “right-to-work.” The sequence of these options was rotated for different respondents to avoid possible order effects.

Source: APM Survey (May 30 – June 3, 2018). N=1,009 Americans age 18 or older; overall margin of error = +/-3.7 percentage points. “Don’t know” responses are not shown in this graph.

Who favors which policy?

Preferences for “fair share” versus “right-to-work” approaches do not split along some of the demographic lines where we might expect. Men and women have similar views and there is little variation by age or household income.

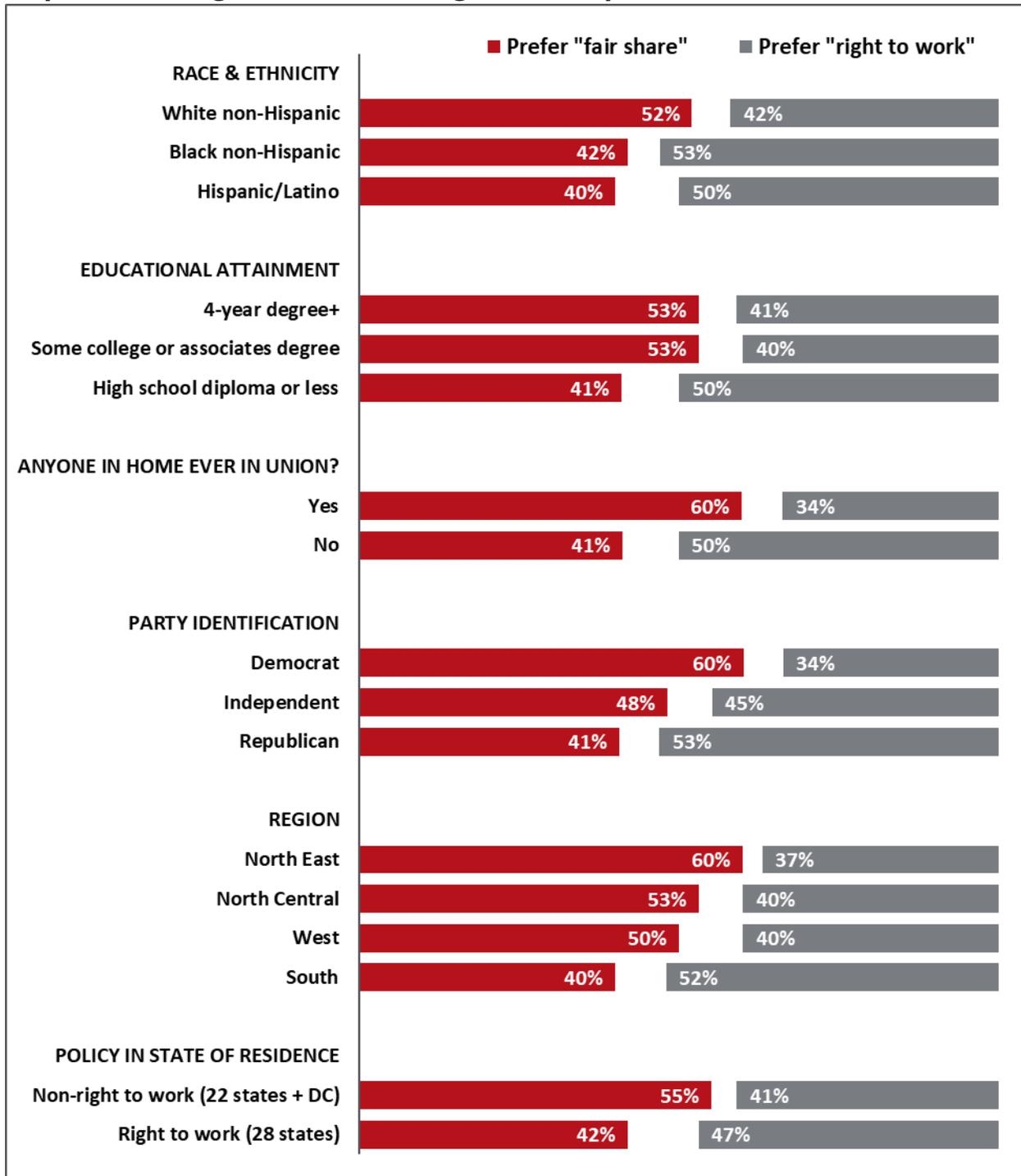
The only variation on union policy preference by race or ethnicity that we are able to detect in this survey is that a higher proportion of Whites support the “fair share” approach than is the case among Latinos. Those with high school diplomas or less education are somewhat more likely to favor “right-to-work” policies than are those with some college or more education (see graph below).

Forty percent of respondents, including the five percent who indicated that they are currently union members, live in households that have a direct history of union involvement. Those with a history of union involvement are 1.5 times more likely to favor the view that everyone covered by a union contract should pay at least some union dues.

A similarly large difference in opinions exists between Democrats and Republicans. Well over half of Democrats favor the “fair share” approach while over half of Republicans prefer “right-to-work.” The preferences of Independents fall squarely in between those collectively reported by Democrats and Republicans.

There is some difference in opinion by region of the country, with those from Southern states being more likely to favor a “right-to-work” approach to unions than those in the North East, North Central, or Western regions of the country.² Perhaps more to the point, those in “right-to-work” states are considerably less likely to voice support for a “fair share” approach than are those living in states that have not enacted “right-to-work” laws.

Proportion favoring “fair share” and “right-to-work” policies in U.S.



Question: "...Which is closer to your view? All workers covered by union contracts should pay at least some union dues, OR each worker covered by a union contract should be allowed to decide for themselves whether or not to pay dues," noted respectively as "fair share" and "right-to-work." The sequence of these options was rotated for different respondents to avoid possible order effects.

Notes: States included in each region are listed in the end notes. "Don't know" responses are not shown.

Source: APM Survey (May 30 – June 3, 2018). N=1,009 Americans age 18 or older; overall margin of error=+/-3.7%.

Reasons given for supporting “fair share” and “right-to-work” policies

After asking respondents to choose which was closer to their view, “All workers covered by union contracts should pay at least some union dues, or, Each worker covered by a union contract should be allowed to decide for themselves whether or not to pay dues,” we asked, “Why do you feel that way?” Interviewers recorded the answers verbatim, and these answers were then coded into categories for purpose of analysis.

“Fair share”

About half of those favoring “fair share” indicated that workers covered by union contracts should pay at least some dues in return for the union-negotiated benefits they receive. That includes the 29 percent of respondents who referred to benefits in a general way, such as:

If you are going to benefit from it, you should pay into it.

I am a union member. I have paid the dues all my life. They should pay the dues because in the long run, they get the benefits.

Nothing is free. You have to pay something to receive benefits.

Another 18 percent were more specific about the benefits offered by unions, including mentioning the role unions play in protecting and fighting for employees:

If you will receive representation from a union, then you need to pay.

They are getting the benefits from the wages of the union they got, so they should pay toward that. They are the getting the benefit of the program, like wage increases and laws regarding overtime, so they should pay part of that.

I'm a retired teacher. I know what it is like to have a union. Teacher's contracts or associations negotiate for us, and we need to pay our share.

Fifteen percent of those favoring a “fair share” policy toward unions offered an argument related to the idea of freedom of choice, stating that workers who choose to work in jobs covered by a union contract should pay the required dues. Examples include:

Your choice to work there so you should have to pay something.

If you are going to get a job that is a union job, then you should pay union dues. If you are not going to work for a union, then you should not have to pay in to it.

If they choose the job, they should accept it. They should accept that the job has a union, so they have to support it.

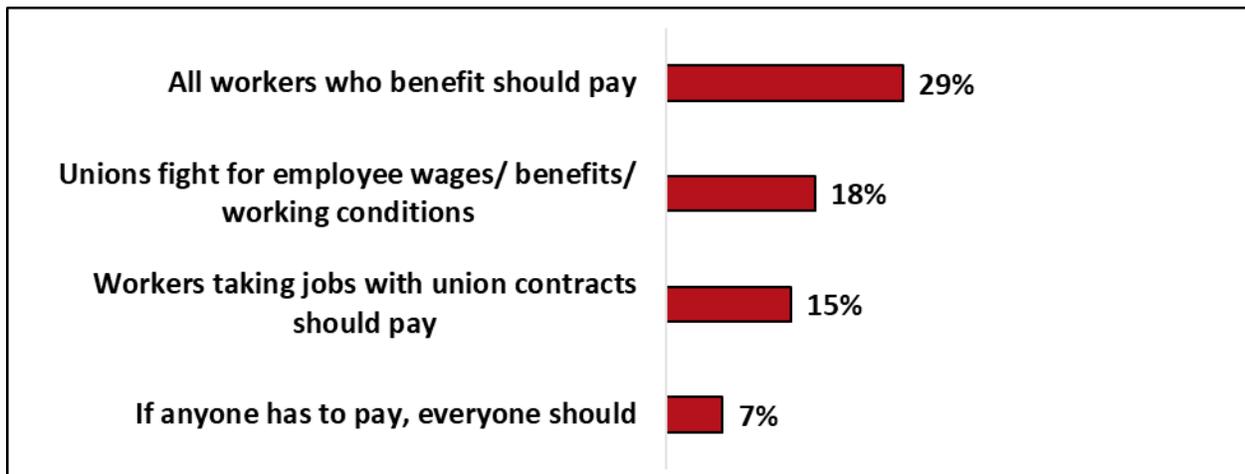
Finally, seven percent explicitly mentioned a sense of fairness:

If they don't, they will be free riders. They are riding into somebody else's money.

If some members have to pay for it, I think all will have to pay to be fair.

Other categories of responses that were less common ranged from unions' needs to generate revenue to some people simply stating that they favor "fair share" because of their union membership.

Reasons given by those favoring "fair share" include finding value in union-negotiated benefits and services



Source: APM Survey (May 30 – June 3, 2018). N=488 respondents favoring a "fair share" policy.

"Right-to-work"

Nearly half of those favoring a "right-to-work" approach give a reason having to do with freedom of choice. For example:

I think it should be left up to the individual. They should have choices.

Why should somebody force someone to do what they don't want to do?

It is their choice to pay union dues. If the union is not doing them any good, they should not be asked to support it. If the union is doing well, they will voluntarily support it.

The other half give a wide variety of reasons. About five percent indicate that dues can be costly and hard to afford ("I worked in a union my whole life. I knew some people who couldn't afford to pay the dues"). Another five percent indicate that they would not want to pay since unions are not effective ("Because I was covered by [a] union but they didn't do anything for us, they didn't do us any good"). Yet another five percent say that they favor "right-to-work" because they are opposed to unions ("I don't believe in unions").

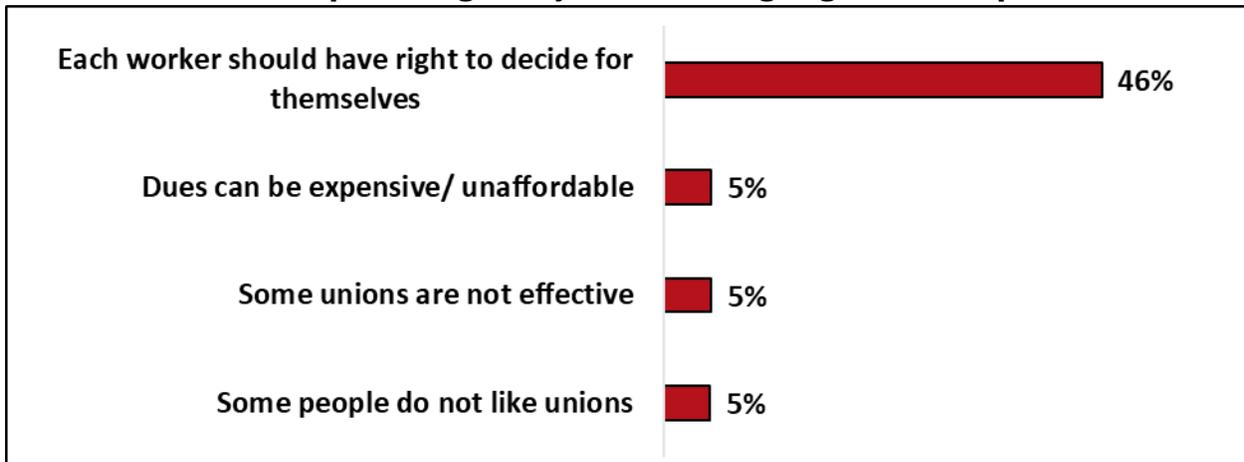
About three percent expressly indicated preference for “right-to-work” policy based on the political differences with unions that motivated the freedom of speech basis of the *Janus versus AFSCME* case, for example:

Because the unions give to a political party they may not agree with.

Unions are useless liberal Democrats.

Other answer categories with fewer than five percent of responses included charges of unions mismanaging their money and corruption.

Freedom of choice is top reason given by those favoring “right to work” policies

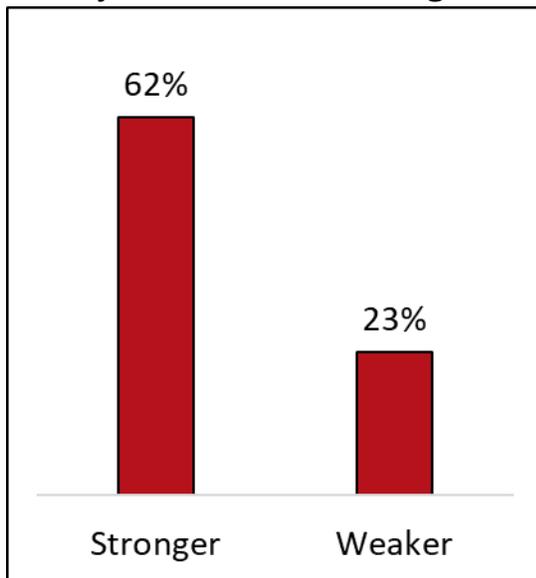


Source: APM Survey (May 30 – June 3, 2018). N= 442 respondents favoring a “right to work” policy.

Are stronger or weaker unions better for America?

Just over 60 percent of Americans think the country would be better off if labor unions were stronger. Just under one-quarter indicate that the U.S. would be better off with weaker unions. The remaining fifteen percent opted out of answering this question, most of whom indicated that they simply did not know whether stronger or weaker unions were better for the country.

A majority of Americans think that the country is better off with stronger unions



Question: "In general, do you think the U.S. would be better off if labor unions were stronger or weaker?" The sequence of these options was rotated for different respondents to avoid possible order effects.

Source: APM Survey (May 30 – June 3, 2018). N=1,009 Americans age 18 or older; overall margin of error = +/-3.7 percentage points. "Don't know" responses are not shown in this graph.

Who favors stronger and weaker unions?

As shown in the graph below, somewhat higher proportion of women than men indicate that stronger unions would be better for the country. Younger Americans are more likely to favor stronger unions than are those in the traditional retirement years. A similar split exists by education: about two-thirds of those with an associate's degree or less education favor stronger unions, compared with about half of those with a four-year degree or more education.

There are more dramatic differences in opinion along lines of race and income. Although the survey included only 72 non-Hispanic Blacks and only 114 Hispanics, the preferences of both

groups are so heavily in favor of stronger unions that tests of statistical significance clearly point to a divergence between their opinions and those expressed by non-Hispanic Whites.

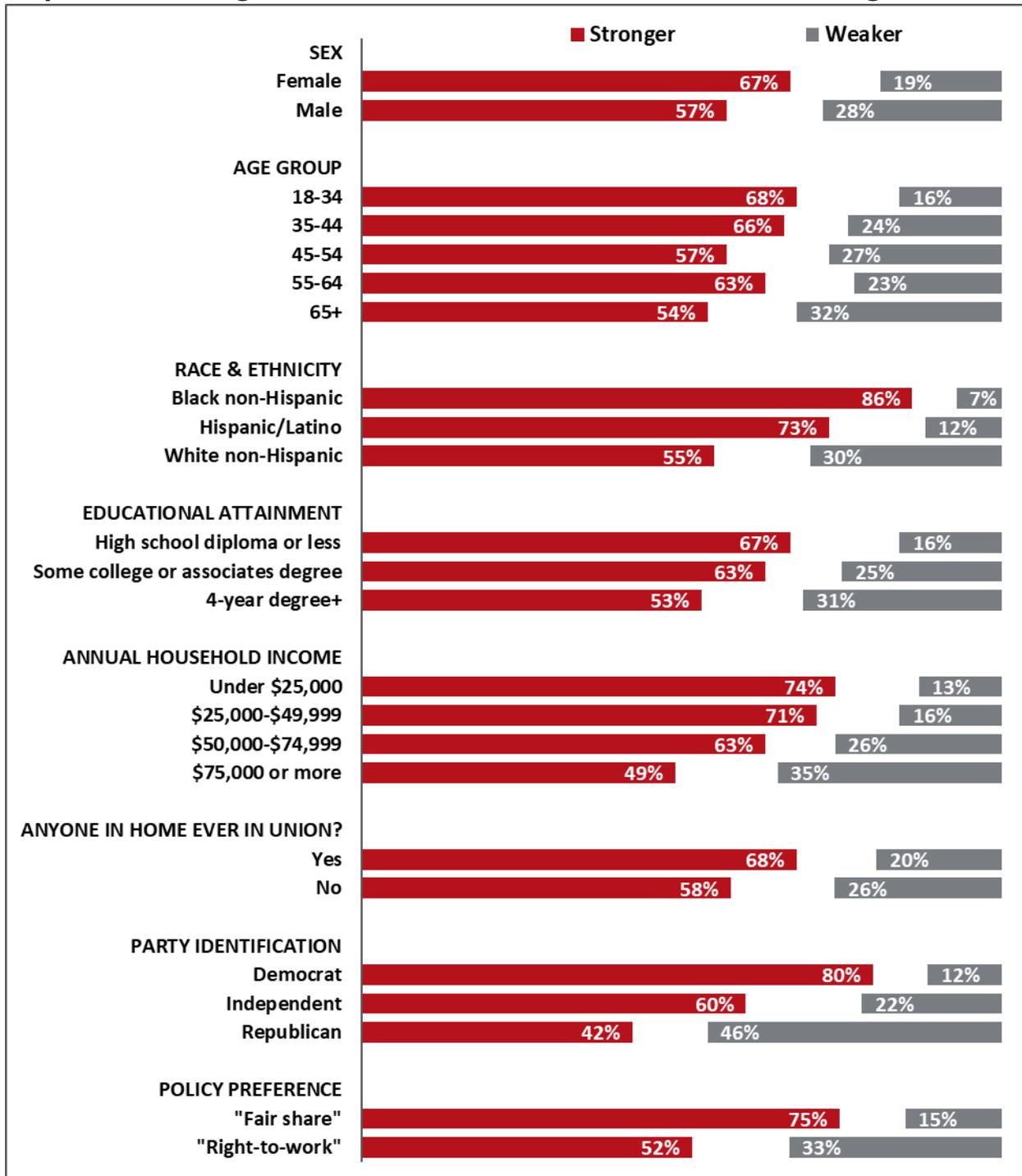
Those from lower-income households, defined as earning less than \$25,000 annually, are about 1.5 times more likely to prefer stronger unions than those from households earning \$75,000 or more per year.

As shown in the graph, there are differences in opinion between those from households with and without first-hand experience as union members. More than two-thirds of those from households with union experience favor stronger unions compared with less than 60 percent of non-union households. A more dramatic split exists along political lines, with 80 percent of Democrats supporting stronger unions, twice as high as the proportion of Republicans supporting stronger unions.

The difference along political lines is even more dramatic than the difference between the two groups made up of those who indicate preferring a “fair share” approach to unions as opposed to those preferring “right-to-work.” In a seeming contradiction, a slim majority of those favoring the “right-to-work” approach, which allows those with union contracts to opt out of paying dues, also favor stronger unions.

Somewhat curiously, there are not measurable differences between region of the country or residence in “right-to-work” versus other states on the question of whether weaker or stronger unions would be better for the country.

Proportion indicating the U.S. would be better off if labor unions were stronger or weaker



Question: "In general, do you think the U.S. would be better off if labor unions were stronger or weaker?" The sequence of these options was rotated for different respondents to avoid possible order effects.

Notes: States included in each region are listed in the end notes. "Don't know" responses are not shown.

Source: APM Survey (May 30 – June 3, 2018). N=1,009 Americans age 18 or older.

Appendix 1: Characteristics of survey sample, households with a history of union membership, and others

	<i>Number of respondents^a</i>	All	From union households ^b	From non-union households
<i>Unweighted N</i>	1,009	1,009	431	567
<i>Weighted N, used for analysis</i>	--	1,009	399	597
SEX				
Male	529	49%	49%	48%
Female	480	51%	51%	52%
AGE GROUP				
18-34	208	31%	22%	36%
35-44 ^b	99	14%	11%	16%
45-54	136	15%	16%	15%
55-64	227	19%	24%	16%
65+	326	20%	26%	16%
RACE & ETHNICITY				
White non-Hispanic	730	63%	67%	60%
Black non-Hispanic	72	11%	11%	12%
Hispanic/Latino	114	16%	11%	19%
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT				
High school diploma or less	309	39%	33%	43%
Some college or associates degree	276	28%	33%	26%
4-year degree	419	32%	33%	31%
ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME				
Under \$25,000	212	22%	15%	26%
\$25,000-\$49,999	234	23%	27%	20%
\$50,000-\$74,999	157	16%	16%	15%
\$75,000 or more	317	31%	34%	29%
REGION^c				
North East	200	18%	23%	14%
North Central	224	21%	27%	17%
South	362	38%	27%	45%
West	223	24%	23%	24%
PARTY IDENTIFICATION				
Democrat	313	31%	33%	30%
Independent	398	40%	42%	39%
Republican	239	22%	20%	23%

^a *Unweighted. Other columns show weighted results.*

^b *Includes those who are current union members as well as those who indicated that either themselves or someone else in their household had been a union member at some time.*

^c *See End Notes for definition of regions. Source: APM Survey (May 30 – June 3, 2018).*

Appendix 2: Background

At issue in *Janus versus American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, Council 31* is whether the Supreme Court should overrule precedent set in its 1977 case *Abood versus the Detroit Board of Education*. In *Abood*, the Court let stand a Michigan statute which permits local government unions to charge fees to all employees covered by union-negotiated contracts.³

Now Mark Janus, an employee of the Illinois Department of Healthcare and Family Services, and his lawyers claim that the “fair share” dues he is compelled to pay to the union that negotiated the terms of his contract, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), amounts to an infringement on his constitutionally guaranteed rights to free speech.

The Supreme Court deadlocked four-to-four on a similar case two years earlier, just after Justice Scalia died.⁴ But, with President Trump’s appointment of Neil Gorsuch, the Court is expected to overturn *Abood*. The implications of the ruling are wide-ranging; National Public Radio’s Nina Totenberg has characterized it this way:

“For the unions, this is a dagger pointed at their hearts because, if you’ve ever been a member of a union you know that you automatically pay your dues. Well, if you don’t have to automatically pay your dues how many people will not pay them because, well it’s a way to save a few hundred bucks a year. And, then, the fewer people that are members of the union, and paid members of the union, the higher the dues become... it’s a dagger pointed at their heart.”⁵

Janus is most consequential for areas of the country that have not enacted so-called “right-to-work” policies that allow workers to opt out of paying “fair share” dues. While 28 states have enacted “right-to-work” legislation, the remaining 22 have not. Collectively, “right-to-work” states have far lower union membership, with 6.3 percent unionized, compared with 15.4 percent unionized in the other states plus Washington D.C. (next table).

Union membership, by state

Right-to-work states	Year statute enacted	Union members (a)	Non-right-to-work states and D.C.	Union members (a)
Michigan	2012	15.6%	New York	23.8%
Nevada	1952	12.7%	Hawaii	21.3%
West Virginia	2016	11.0%	Washington	18.8%
Kentucky	2017	9.6%	Alaska	18.1%
Indiana	2012	8.9%	Connecticut	16.9%
Missouri	2017	8.6%	New Jersey	16.2%
Wisconsin	2015	8.3%	Rhode Island	16.0%
Nebraska	1947	8.2%	California	15.5%
Kansas	1958*	7.8%	Minnesota	15.3%
Alabama	1953	7.4%	Illinois	15.0%
Iowa	1947	7.1%	Oregon	14.9%
Wyoming	1963	6.2%	Ohio	12.5%
Tennessee	1947	5.7%	Massachusetts	12.4%
Florida	1943	5.6%	Pennsylvania	12.0%
Oklahoma	2001	5.5%	Montana	11.9%
Mississippi	1954	5.3%	Maine	11.5%
South Dakota	1947	5.3%	New Hampshire	11.2%
Arkansas	1947	5.1%	Vermont	11.1%
North Dakota	1947	5.1%	Maryland	10.8%
Idaho	1985	4.8%	Delaware	10.6%
Texas	1993	4.7%	District of Columbia	9.8%
Virginia	1947	4.6%	Colorado	9.5%
Louisiana	1976	4.4%	New Mexico	6.8%
Georgia	1947	4.0%		
Arizona	1947	4.0%		
Utah	1955	3.9%		
North Carolina	1947	3.4%		
South Carolina	1954	2.6%		
"right-to-work" states (all)		6.3%	Non-right-to-work states + D.C. (all)	15.4%

(a) Data refer to members of a labor union or an employee association similar to a union.

NOTE: Data refer to the sole or principal job of full- and part-time wage and salary workers. All self-employed workers are excluded, both those with incorporated businesses as well as those with unincorporated businesses.

* Kansas did not enact "right-to-work" via statute, but, like eight other states, has adopted a "right-to-work" constitutional amendment.

Source: APM Research Lab analysis of data from Bureau of Labor Statistics

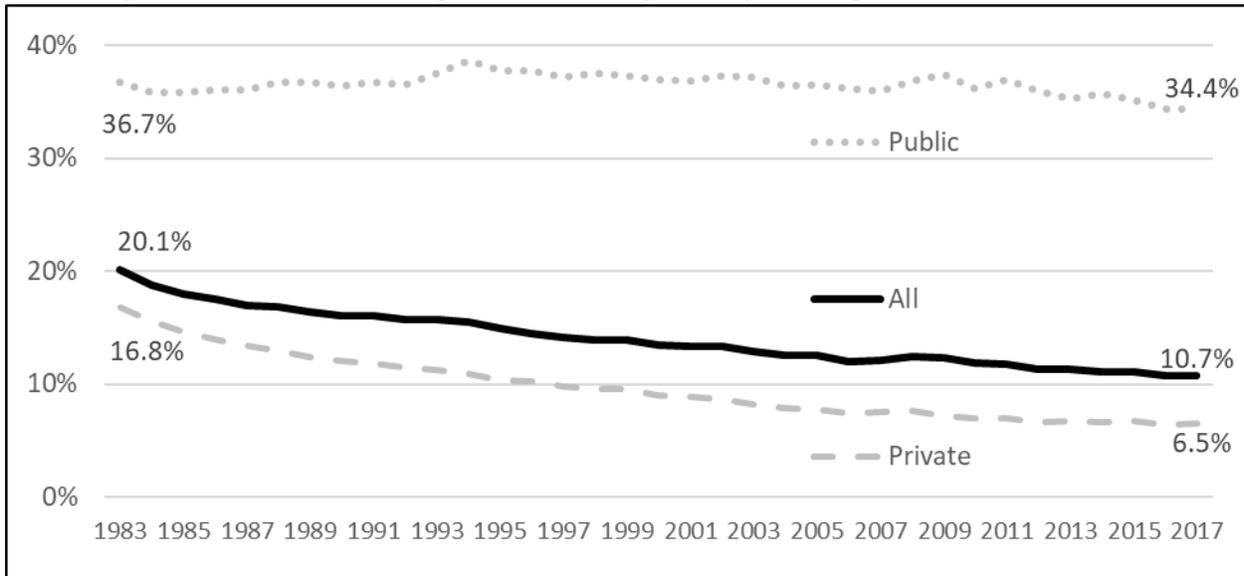
(<https://www.bls.gov/news.release/union2.t05.htm>) and National Conference of State Legislatures

(<http://www.ncsl.org/research/labor-and-employment/right-to-work-laws-and-bills.aspx>)

Trends in union membership

Union membership has been on the decline for several years. The *Janus* decision is specifically tied to public sector unions—which have enjoyed a higher rate of unionization—and less union attrition than has been the case in the private sector. In fact, of the nation’s 14.8 million union members in 2017, nearly half (7.2 million) are public sector employees. Over time, the new precedent set by *Janus* is likely to impact both public and private sector unionization.

The proportion of workers who are union members has nearly halved over the past four decades, but union membership has held fairly steady in the public sector



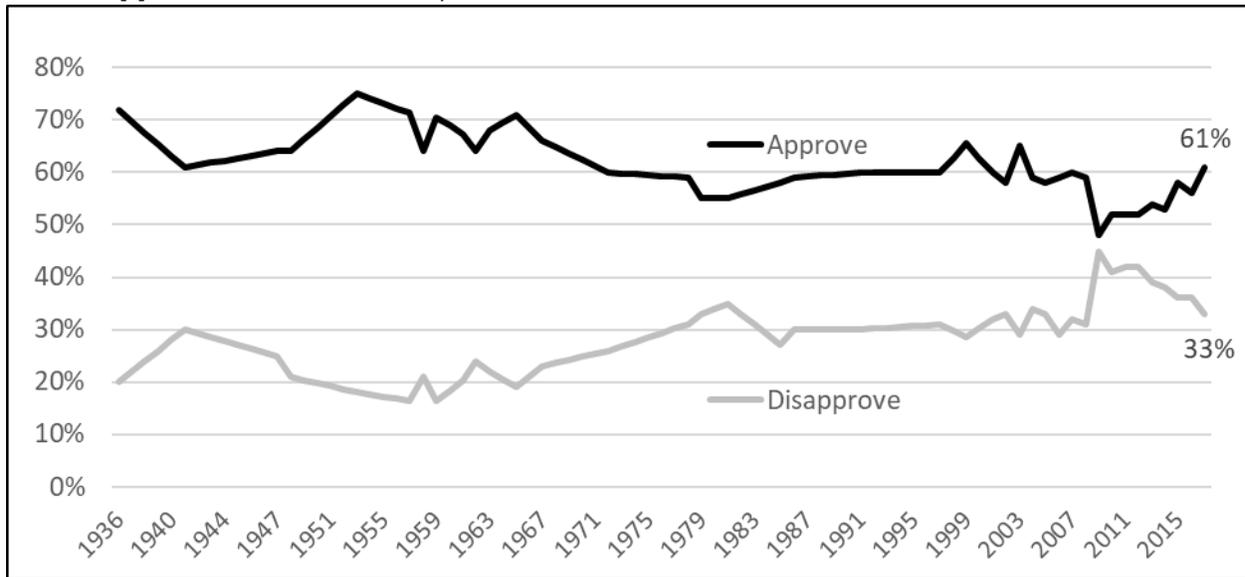
Note: Percent of employed wage and salary workers who are members of unions or an employee association similar to a union.

Source: APM Research Lab analysis of data from Bureau of Labor Statistics (<https://www.bls.gov/webapps/legacy/cpslutab3.htm>).

What previous surveys tell us about public opinion related to unions

Gallup regularly asks Americans whether they approve or disapprove of labor unions. Approval ratings have ranged from a high of 75 percent in the mid-1950s to a low of 48 percent in 2009. In Gallup’s 2017 survey on this topic 61 percent of American adults indicated approval of labor unions (see next graph). That same poll found that 39 percent would prefer unions to have “more influence,” compared with 30 percent preferring the “same amount” and 28 percent preferring “less influence” than they have today.⁶

Public approval of labor unions, 1936-2017



Source: APM Research Lab analysis of data from Gallup (<http://news.gallup.com/poll/12751/labor-unions.aspx>).

Similarly, a more recent survey conducted by Pew Research found that 55 percent of American adults had a favorable view of labor unions. Pew also found that just over half see the long-term decline in union membership as “mostly bad” for working people, compared with just over one-third seeing the trend as “mostly good.”⁷

In addition, Gallup has occasionally included questions about “right-to-work” policies in their national polls. Most recently, in 2014, 71 percent indicated they would vote for a “right-to-work” law in their state. That same poll found that only 37 percent would personally prefer unions to have “less influence” than they had at that time, which is a likely outcome of “right-to-work” policies.⁸ Thus, while unions have generally received favorable ratings in the polls, polls have also indicated support for the “right-to-work” policies that are typically opposed by unions.

In a recent example of the public’s conflicting feelings toward unions, an online poll conducted in April following a series of teachers strikes found that two-thirds of Americans approve of teachers’ unions, and a virtually identical proportion agree that unions make it harder to fire bad teachers. Like other surveys, this poll, conducted by Ipsos for National Public Radio, found that opinions varied along party lines, with Democrats overwhelmingly supportive of unions and Republicans mixed or opposing unions, depending on the specific question.⁹

End Notes

¹ Note that design effects are not explicitly accounted for in the margins of error provided for this study; instead we mitigate for potential design effects by truncating weights at a maximum of 4.0 and a minimum of 0.25. For additional details about the survey's methods, see <https://ssrs.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/SSRS-Omnibus-Methodology-2018.pdf>.

² **North Central:** Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota (not included), Missouri, North Dakota, Nebraska, Ohio, South Dakota, Wisconsin. **North East:** Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont. **South:** Alabama, Arkansas, Washington DC, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia. **West:** Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wyoming.

³ See <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/431/209/>.

⁴ Friedrichs versus California Teachers Association. See <http://www.scotusblog.com/case-files/cases/friedrichs-v-california-teachers-association/>.

⁵ From the *First Monday's* podcast, "Robots in Ireland" (the cited quote comes at 19 minutes and 5 seconds into the podcast; <http://www.scotusblog.com/2018/03/ot2017-16-robots-ireland/>).

⁶ See <http://news.gallup.com/poll/12751/labor-unions.aspx>.

⁷ See <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/06/05/more-americans-view-long-term-decline-in-union-membership-negatively-than-positively/>.

⁸ Gallup's question wording: "Some states have passed right-to-work or open shop laws that say each worker has the right to hold his job in a company, no matter whether he joins a labor union, or not. If you were asked to vote on such a law, would you vote for it, or against it?" See <http://news.gallup.com/poll/12751/labor-unions.aspx>.

⁹ See <https://www.npr.org/sections/ed/2018/04/26/604117045/npr-ipsos-poll-most-americans-support-teachers-right-to-strike>.

About the APM Survey

The APM Survey is a national survey of Americans age 18 or older, conducted by the APM Research Lab. This APM Survey was funded with internal resources. It was not conducted on behalf of, or in conjunction with, any other entity or initiative beyond the survey's partners.

Those interested in partnering with the APM Research Lab on future iterations of the APM Survey are encouraged to contact us through the channels below.

The partners and key contacts that helped identify and refine topics and questions for this APM Survey include: Evelyn Larrubia at [Marketplace](#), Kristen Muller and Megan Garvey at [Southern California Public Radio](#), and Nancy Cassutt and Mike Edgerly at [Minnesota Public Radio News](#). This survey was conducted as a part of a national omnibus survey conducted by [SSRS](#) of Glen Mills, Pennsylvania.

This report was jointly authored by Craig Helmstetter, Andi Egbert, and Kassira Absar of the APM Research Lab.

About the APM Research Lab: Bringing Facts into Focus

The APM Research Lab is a division of American Public Media aimed at informing the public by producing credible research- and analysis-based content. Our mission is to foster an engaged democracy by inspiring curiosity, inquiry and discussion through fact-driven, credible research and analysis. Values: Independent, Useful, Informative, Non-partisan.

The APM Research Lab conducts research projects of all types — surveys, demographic analyses, literature reviews, and more — and informs the work of partner organizations and the broader public through traditional reports, as well as infographics, blog posts, interactives, presentations, and other platforms.

In addition to philanthropic support and partnership, we are happy to entertain requests for proposals and other contractual inquiries related to research and analysis.



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