

## Appendix

Here we present models with alternative neighbor definitions, a dependent variable of total union density, and alternative time periods. We see from these model specifications that our principal findings regarding the role of spatial diffusion and economics and the much more modest effects of governmental policy are generally consistent across these additional model specifications.

**Table 2.**

Spatial Model of Private Sector Union Density, 1983-2014.

Covariate	5 Nearest Neighbor Model	15 Nearest Model
Spatial Lag	0.75 *** (0.02)	0.81 *** (0.02)
4 Democratic President <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.28 ** (0.10)	-0.25 * (0.11)
4 Congress Percent Democratic <sub>t-1</sub>	0.02 * (0.01)	0.02 * (0.01)
State Left Power <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.19 (0.16)	-0.32 (0.17)
GSP Growth <sub>t-1</sub>	0.35 (1.14)	0.97 (1.22)
Unemployment <sub>t-1</sub>	0.14 *** (0.02)	0.14 *** (0.02)
Manufacturing, Percent GSP <sub>t-1</sub>	9.61 *** (1.10)	7.66 *** (1.14)
Proportion Non-White <sub>t-1</sub>	-5.44 *** (1.01)	-5.51 *** (1.07)
Log State	0.62	1.59 ***
Population <sub>t-1</sub>	(0.39)	(0.42)

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

Table 3.

Spatial Model of Private Sector Union Density Including Right-to-Work Laws, 1983-2014.

Covariate	Contiguous Neighbor Model	10 Nearest Model
Spatial Lag	0.72 *** (0.02)	0.80 *** (0.02)
4 Democratic President <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.29 ** (0.10)	-0.26 * (0.11)
4 Congress Percent Democratic <sub>t-1</sub>	0.02 * (0.01)	0.02 * (0.01)
State Left Power <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.26 (0.16)	-0.24 (0.16)
GSP Growth <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.21 (1.14)	0.79 (1.18)
Unemployment <sub>t-1</sub>	0.14 *** (0.02)	0.14 *** (0.02)
Manufacturing, Percent GSP <sub>t-1</sub>	9.48 *** (1.08)	7.51 *** (1.12)
Proportion Non-White <sub>t-1</sub>	-4.18 *** (1.02)	-6.11 *** (1.06)
Log State Population <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.35 (0.39)	1.57 *** (0.40)
Right to Work <sub>t-1</sub>	0.32 (0.27)	0.19 (0.28)

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

Table 4.

Spatial Model of Private Sector Union Density Including Right-to-Work Laws, 1983-2014.

Covariate	5 Nearest	15
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	Neighbor Model	Nearest Model
Spatial Lag	0.75 *** (0.02)	0.81 *** (0.02)
4 Democratic President <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.29 ** (0.10)	-0.25 * (0.11)
4 Congress Percent Democratic <sub>t-1</sub>	0.02 * (0.01)	0.02 * (0.01)
State Left Power <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.18 (0.16)	-0.31 (0.17)
GSP Growth <sub>t-1</sub>	0.19 (1.14)	0.88 (1.22)
Unemployment <sub>t-1</sub>	0.14 *** (0.02)	0.14 *** (0.02)
Manufacturing, Percent GSP <sub>t-1</sub>	9.54 *** (1.10)	7.63 *** (1.15)
Proportion Non-White <sub>t-1</sub>	-5.75 *** (1.03)	-5.69 *** (1.09)
Log State Population <sub>t-1</sub>	0.63 (0.39)	1.59 *** (0.41)
Right to Work <sub>t-1</sub>	0.44 (0.27)	0.24 (0.29)

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

Table 5.

Spatial Model of Total Union Density, 1983-2014.

Covariate	Contiguous Neighbor Model	10 Nearest Model
Spatial Lag	0.65 ***	0.78 ***

	(0.02)	(0.02)
4 Democratic President <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.25 * (0.11)	-0.19 (0.11)
4 Congress Percent Democratic <sub>t-1</sub>	0.02 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
State Left Power <sub>t-1</sub>	0.29 (0.16)	0.25 (0.16)
GSP Growth <sub>t-1</sub>	-2.49* (0.18)	-1.69 (1.17)
Unemployment <sub>t-1</sub>	0.13 *** (0.02)	0.11 *** (0.02)
Manufacturing, Percent GSP <sub>t-1</sub>	10.69 *** (0.12)	7.89 *** (1.11)
Proportion Non-White <sub>t-1</sub>	-3.86 *** (0.04)	-4.03 *** (1.03)
Log State Population <sub>t-1</sub>	-1.05 ** (0.41)	0.49 (0.40)

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

Table 6.

Spatial Model of Total Union Density, 1983-2014.

Covariate	5 Nearest Model	15 Nearest Model
Spatial Lag	0.71 *** (0.02)	0.80 *** (0.02)
4 Democratic President <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.23 * (0.10)	-0.17 (0.11)
4 Congress Percent Democratic <sub>t-1</sub>	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)

State Left Power <sub>t-1</sub>	0.33* (0.16)	0.19 (0.16)
GSP Growth <sub>t-1</sub>	-1.90 (0.16)	-1.59 (1.19)
Unemployment <sub>t-1</sub>	0.11 *** (0.02)	0.10 *** (0.02)
Manufacturing, Percent GSP <sub>t-1</sub>	10.50 *** (0.12)	7.53 *** (1.12)
Proportion Non-White <sub>t-1</sub>	-4.43 *** (0.02)	-3.67 *** (1.04)
Log State Population <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.10 (0.40)	0.76 (0.41)

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

Table 7.

Spatial Model of Total Union Density Including Right-to-Work Laws, 1983-2014.

Covariate	Contiguous Neighbor Model	10 Nearest Model		
Spatial Lag	0.65 *** (0.02)	0.78 *** (0.02)		
4 Democratic President <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.25 * (0.11)	-0.20 (0.11)		
4 Congress Percent Democratic <sub>t-1</sub>	0.02 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)		
State Left Power <sub>t-1</sub>	0.30 (0.16)	0.26 (0.16)		
GSP Growth <sub>t-1</sub>	-2.58 * (0.18)	-1.74 (1.17)		
Unemployment <sub>t-1</sub>	0.13 ***	0.11		

	(0.02)	*** (0.02)		
Manufacturing, Percent GSP <sub>t-1</sub>	10.67 *** (0.12)	7.88 *** (1.11)		
Proportion Non-White <sub>t-1</sub>	-4.03 *** (0.06)	-4.14 *** (1.05)		
Log State Population <sub>t-1</sub>	-1.05 ** (0.40)	0.49 (0.40)		
Right to Work <sub>t-1</sub>	0.23 (0.28)	0.15 (0.28)		

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

Table 8.

Spatial Model of Total Union Density Including Right-to-Work Laws, 1983-2014.

Covariate	5 Nearest Neighbor Model	15 Nearest Model
Spatial Lag	0.71 *** (0.02)	0.80 *** (0.02)
4 Democratic President <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.23 * (0.10)	-0.17 (0.11)
4 Congress Percent Democratic <sub>t-1</sub>	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
State Left Power <sub>t-1</sub>	0.34 * (0.16)	0.20 (0.16)
GSP Growth <sub>t-1</sub>	-2.02 (1.16)	-1.67 (1.19)
Unemployment <sub>t-1</sub>	0.11 *** (0.02)	0.11 *** (0.02)

Manufacturing, Percent GSP <sub>t-1</sub>	10.46 *** (0.12)	7.50 *** (1.12)
Proportion Non- White <sub>t-1</sub>	-4.67 *** (1.04)	-3.83 *** (1.06)
Log State Population <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.10 (0.39)	0.76 (0.41)
Right to Work <sub>t-1</sub>	0.33 (0.27)	0.23 (0.28)

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

Table 9.

Spatial Model of Total Union Density, 1977-2014.

Covariate	Contiguous Neighbor Model	10 Nearest Model
Spatial Lag	0.78 *** (0.01)	0.85 *** (0.01)
4 Democratic President <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.07 (0.10)	-0.05 (0.11)
4 Congress Percent Democratic <sub>t-1</sub>	0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)
State Left Power <sub>t-1</sub>	0.16 (0.19)	0.29 (0.20)
Unemployment <sub>t-1</sub>	0.09 *** (0.02)	0.09 *** (0.02)
Manufacturing, Percent GSP <sub>t-1</sub>	9.70 *** (1.08)	8.97 *** (1.13)
Log State Population <sub>t-1</sub>	-1.31 *** (0.30)	0.29 (0.31)

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

Table 10.

Spatial Model of Total Union Density, 1977-2014.

Covariate	5 Nearest Model	15 Nearest Model
Spatial Lag	0.79 *** (0.01)	0.86 *** (0.01)
4 Democratic President <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.04 (0.11)	-0.04 (0.11)
4 Congress Percent Democratic <sub>t-1</sub>	0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)
State Left Power <sub>t-1</sub>	0.23 (0.20)	0.22 (0.21)
Unemployment <sub>t-1</sub>	0.09 *** (0.02)	0.09 *** (0.02)
Manufacturing, Percent GSP <sub>t-1</sub>	11.52 *** (0.14)	9.12 *** (1.17)
Log State Population <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.60 (0.31)	0.46 (0.32)

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

Table 11.

Spatial Model of Total Union Density Including Right-to-Work Laws, 1977-2014.

Covariate	Contiguous Neighbor Model	10 Nearest Model
Spatial Lag	0.78 *** (0.01)	0.85 *** (0.01)
4 Democratic President <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.06 (0.10)	-0.05 (0.11)
4 Congress Percent Democratic <sub>t-1</sub>	0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)



State Left Power <sub><i>t</i>-1</sub>	0.14 (0.19)	0.26 (0.20)
Unemployment <sub><i>t</i>-1</sub>	0.09 *** (0.02)	0.09 *** (0.02)
Manufacturing, Percent GSP <sub><i>t</i>-1</sub>	9.79 *** (1.08)	9.07 *** (1.13)
Log State Population <sub><i>t</i>-1</sub>	-1.25 *** (0.31)	0.37 (0.31)
Right to Work <sub><i>t</i>-1</sub>	-0.36 (0.30)	-0.49 (0.32)

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

Table 12.

Spatial Model of Total Union Density Including Right-to-Work Laws, 1977-2014.

Covariate	5 Nearest Model	15 Nearest Model	
Spatial Lag	0.79 *** (0.01)	0.86 *** (0.01)	
4 Democratic President <sub><i>t</i>-1</sub>	-0.04 (0.11)	-0.04 (0.11)	
4 Congress Percent Democratic <sub><i>t</i>-1</sub>	0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	
State Left Power <sub><i>t</i>-1</sub>	0.21 (0.20)	0.20 (0.21)	
Unemployment <sub><i>t</i>-1</sub>	0.09 *** (0.02)	0.09 *** (0.02)	
Manufacturing, Percent GSP <sub><i>t</i>-1</sub>	11.60 *** (0.14)	9.20 *** (1.17)	
Log State Population <sub><i>t</i>-1</sub>	-0.54 (0.31)	0.53 (0.33)	

Right to Work <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.36	-0.41	(0.33)
	(0.31)	(0.33)	

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .