How the Workers' Rights Amendment Passed in Illinois

A Political Analysis

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Executive Summary

In November 2022, a majority of Illinois voters approved the Workers' Rights Amendment, which guarantees the fundamental right of workers to unionize and bargain collectively. The Amendment passed with 2.2 million votes. Of all the ballots cast, the vote was 53.4 percent yes to 37.6 percent no, with 9.0 percent not voting.

The Workers' Rights Amendment prevents lawmakers from passing laws that interfere with, negate, or diminish the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively.

- The Amendment bans in perpetuity so-called "right-to-work" laws, which limit union resources, reduce worker earnings, decrease health insurance coverage, and reduce voter turnout.
- The Amendment prevents laws like Wisconsin's "Act 10," which prohibited public sector workers from negotiating over health insurance and staffing, cut worker pay, and led to declines in union membership.
- The Amendment protects labor market outcomes in Illinois, where workers earn more, have higher health insurance coverage, and suffer fewer on-the-job fatalities than states with "right-to-work" laws.

The Workers' Rights Amendment performed well in Democratic-leaning constituencies, but not strong enough to succeed without bipartisan support.

- Of the 4.1 million ballots cast by all voters during the election, 3.8 million voted on the constitutional question specifically, representing a response rate of 91.0 percent.
- Among those voting on the Amendment question itself, 64.1 percent of the Chicago area voted yes and 50.2 percent of the rest of Illinois ("Downstate") voted yes.
- The Amendment earned nearly 151,000 more votes Downstate than Governor JB Pritzker.
- The Amendment garnered the most support in counties with high shares of union members, average household incomes between $75,000 and $99,999, and high racial and ethnic diversity.
- The Amendment most overperformed Governor Pritzker in counties with more Republican-leaning union members relative to counties with more Democratic-leaning union members.

An analysis of county-level data from the Illinois State Board of Elections, the U.S. Census Bureau, the Illinois AFL-CIO, and the Illinois Education Association shows how the Workers' Rights Amendment passed in Illinois.

- The Amendment won a majority of votes on the question in 32 of the state's 102 counties, but these counties accounted for 84 percent of all voters and 88 percent of the yes vote in favor the Amendment.
- A 10 percentage-point increase in Governor JB Pritzker's share of the vote in the gubernatorial election increased the yes vote share on the Amendment question by 7.2 percentage points.
- A 10 percentage-point increase in the share of residents who are union members increased the Amendment's yes vote share by 6.2 percentage points.
- A $1,000 decrease in average household income was associated with a 0.2 percentage point rise in the Amendment's yes vote share—demonstrating that working-class counties were more likely to vote yes.
- The yes vote also increased with higher shares of military veterans and households with children.

Other states may consider efforts to pass similar constitutional protections in upcoming years.

- 71 percent of Americans approve of labor unions, the highest level in six decades.
- 90 percent of Republican lawmakers in Illinois who voted for the Amendment legislation won their elections in 2022 compared to just 76 percent of those who voted against it.
- States that resemble Illinois—those which lean Democratic, have high unionization rates, and have large shares of middle-class voters—may be the most likely to introduce measures in upcoming years.

The Workers' Rights Amendment represents a bipartisan victory in Illinois. While the Amendment performed well in Democratic counties, it outpaced Governor Pritzker in rural, Republican-leaning, and white working-class communities. The data reveal that union members, military veterans, households with children, and households with middle-class incomes were the primary drivers of the Amendment's success.

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Introduction

In the November 2022 midterm election, a majority of Illinois voters approved the Workers' Rights Amendment. The Workers' Rights Amendment guarantees the fundamental right of workers to unionize and bargain collectively in Illinois. In December 2022, Governor JB Pritzker signed an official proclamation announcing its passage after the certification of the election (*NBC5 Chicago*, 2022). The Amendment added Section 25 to the Illinois Constitution (ILGA, 2023). This includes the following text:

> *"Employees shall have the fundamental right to organize and to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing for the purpose of negotiating wages, hours, and working conditions, and to protect their economic welfare and safety at work. No law shall be passed that interferes with, negates, or diminishes the right of employees to organize and bargain collectively over their wages, hours, and other terms and conditions of employment and work place safety, including any law or ordinance that prohibits the execution or application of agreements between employers and labor organizations that represent employees requiring membership in an organization as a condition of employment."*

The Workers' Rights Amendment elevates Illinois as one of the most pro-union states in the nation. The Amendment effectively bans in perpetuity so-called "right-to-work" laws, which weaken unions by requiring them to provide services and representation for free to workers who do not pay dues. It also blocks any future legislation that would limit the items over which public sector employees can bargain, similar to Wisconsin's Act 10, passed in 2011, and Iowa's House File 291, passed in 2017 (Marley, 2021; Petroski & Pfannenstiel, 2017). These laws in neighboring Wisconsin and Iowa prohibited unions representing most public sector workers from negotiating over health insurance, staffing, and working conditions and limited their wage growth to the rate of inflation—which resulted in significant pay cuts for workers and disempowered unions, leading to large declines in union membership (Marley, 2021; Petroski & Pfannenstiel, 2017).[1] Finally, the Amendment applies to any worker in an employer-employee relationship in Illinois, including those not covered by the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA), such as agricultural workers (Sheridan, 2022). Independent contractors who are classified as employees for federal and state taxes, including Social Security taxes and unemployment insurance contributions, *may* be newly covered by the Amendment (LeBre, Pusch, & Yevzelman, 2022; Sheridan, 2022).

The Workers' Rights Amendment is stronger than constitutional provisions that protect collective bargaining rights in three other U.S. states. New York State's constitution states that "labor of human beings is not a commodity" and that "employees shall have the right to organize and to bargain collectively through representatives of their choosing" (NY DOS, 2022). Missouri's constitution also declares "that employees shall have the right to organize and to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing" (MO SOS, 2022). Hawaii's constitution asserts that persons in private employment and public employment "shall have the right to organize for the purpose of collective bargaining" (HI LRB, 2022). None of these three state constitutions includes an explicit reference to workplace safety and none bans so-called "right-to-work" provisions and "Act 10"-style labor restrictions.

To become enshrined in the Illinois Constitution, the Workers' Rights Amendment had to meet two major benchmarks. First, in order to appear on the ballot, the Amendment needed to pass with at least a 60 percent vote in each chamber of the Illinois General Assembly. In May 2021, the Amendment passed the Illinois State Senate with 49 yes votes (83 percent) to 7 no votes and 3 not voting. The vote was bipartisan, with a majority of Senate Republicans (11 Republican State Senators) voting yes. Five days later, the Amendment passed the

[1] "Public safety employees," such as police officers and firefighters, are exempt from these anti-union state laws.

Illinois House of Representatives with 80 yes votes (68 percent) to 30 no votes, and another 8 abstaining, voting "present," or not voting due to excused absences. The vote was again bipartisan, with 9 Republican State Representatives joining 71 Democratic State Representatives in support (Ballotpedia, 2022a).

Second, from Illinois voters, passage of a constitutional amendment requires either 60 percent approval from those voting on the question *or* a majority (50 percent plus one) of all voters who cast ballots in the election. A pre-election poll of 1,000 likely voters by *WGN*, *The Hill*, and Emerson College conducted in October 2022 found that it was "headed towards approval" through the majority criterion, with 53.7 percent of likely voters saying they planned to vote yes, 29.8 percent planning to vote no, and 16.4 percent saying they were still undecided (Bradley & Muck, 2022).

In November 2022, the Workers' Rights Amendment passed with 58.7 percent approval on the question itself and 53.4 percent yes votes among all ballots cast (Figure 1). Of the 4.1 million ballots cast by all voters during the election, 3.8 million voted on the constitutional amendment specifically, representing a response rate of 91.0 percent.[2] In total, more than 2.1 million Illinois residents voted yes on the Amendment compared to fewer than 1.6 million who voted no. Of those choosing to vote on the ballot question itself, Illinois residents voted 58.7 percent yes to 41.3 percent no. The vote among all Illinois voters was 53.4 percent yes and 37.6 percent no, with 9.0 percent not voting on the Amendment (State Board of Elections, 2022). The yes vote won by +17.4 points on the question and by +15.9 points among all ballots cast (Figure 1).

FIGURE 1: VOTES ON THE WORKERS' RIGHTS AMENDMENT IN ILLINOIS, SHARES OF QUESTION RESPONSES AND BALLOTS CAST, 2022

2022 General Election Results: Illinois	Votes on Question	Ballots Cast
Total Registered Voters	8,115,751	8,115,751
Total Votes	3,768,928	4,142,642
Turnout Rate	46.4%	51.0%
Share of Ballots Cast	90.9%	--
Yes Votes	2,212,999	2,212,999
No Votes	1,555,929	1,555,929
Yes Share	**58.7%**	**53.4%**
No Share	**41.3%**	**37.6%**
Not Voting Share	**--**	**9.0%**
Net Yes Percent	**+17.4%**	**+15.9%**

Source(s): Authors' analysis of Illinois' *Official Canvas* of the General Election on November 8, 2022 (State Board of Elections, 2022). Note that there is a small discrepancy in the *Official Canvas*, with the document reporting that there were 4,144,126 total ballots cast in one section, but 4,142,642 total ballots cast in the "Constitutional Amendment Proposal" section. This analysis uses the total ballots cast reported in the Amendment results.

Report Methodology

This report, conducted jointly by the Illinois Economic Policy Institute (ILEPI) and the Project for Middle Class Renewal (PMCR) at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, analyzes the success of the Workers' Rights Amendment. The report first presents related academic and policy research that was released prior to the Amendment's passage before discussing the public messaging and fundraising totals of both its proponents and opponents. The report subsequently evaluates the Amendment's county-level performance

[2] Note that there is a small discrepancy in the *Official Canvas* of the General Election on November 8, 2022 by the State Board of Elections (State Board of Elections, 2022). The document reports that there were 4,144,126 total ballots cast on page ii but in the "Constitutional Amendment Proposal" section on page 4, the reported total is 4,142,642, a minor difference of 1,484 ballots (-0.04 percent fewer) that does not affect the results. This analysis uses the total ballots cast reported in the Amendment results.

against demographic, educational, household, economic, and union density factors and explores which had statistically significant impacts on its passage. The analysis uses county-level data because there were no individual-level exit polls or post-election surveys of union members on the Amendment vote.

Modern voting theories have relied on citizens' personal attributes and attitudes as the standard determinants of electoral turnout and vote choice. The literature on personal attributes suggests the best predictors of voting are socioeconomic resources such as education, wealth, homeownership, and occupational status (Wolfinger & Rosenstone, 1980; Leighley & Nagler, 1992; Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995). Demographic characteristics including race, gender, and age are also typically examined (Oliver & Ha, 2007; Campbell, 2013). Geography is another variable that has been dissected to understand elections (Pearson-Merkowitz & Lang, 2016). Furthermore, political ideology and party affiliation are regularly presented as explanatory variables for individual voter outcomes (Green, Palmquist, & Schickler, 2002).

In addition to individual characteristics, social networking and group identity have been explored to assess voter choice (Barreto & Francisco, 2009; Pietryka & DeBats, 2017). Friends, family, and coworkers have been found to influence how people decide to vote (Ryan, 2011; Sinclair, 2012; Sokhey & McClurg, 2012). Membership in labor unions has often been examined to explain voter decisions (Delaney, Masters, & Schwochau, 1988; Bruno, 2000; Radcliff, 2001; Leighley & Nagler, 2007; Lamare, 2010; Francia, 2012; Kerrissey & Schofer, 2013; Li, Lamare, & Bruno, 2022).

The report thus examines the following eight (8) county-level voter variables: geography, racial or ethnic background, level of educational attainment, household type, socioeconomic characteristics, military veteran status, union density, and party affiliation. Geography is measured three ways. First, the "Chicago area" includes the seven-county jurisdiction as determined by the Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning (CMAP) and the rest of Illinois is characterized by the colloquial term "Downstate." Second, counties are distinguished by population size over or under 100,000 people. Third, a variable for population density is constructed by dividing the number of residents by the county's area in square miles. Racial and ethnic backgrounds include the shares of residents who are Black or African American, Hispanic or Latinx, and white. Level of educational attainment is the percent of the population age 25 years and older with bachelor's degrees or more. Household type is the percent of married-couple households and those with at least one child under 18 years old living at home. Socioeconomic characteristics include the average household income in a county as well as the percentage of households falling within three annual income brackets: less than $75,000, between $75,000 and $99,999, and $100,000 or more. The employment rate of the adult population and the share of workers employed in the public sector are also considered. Union density is union members as a share of the total population in each county. Finally, party affiliation is determined by the percent of the county that voted for Governor JB Pritzker, which is compared to the share of the population that voted yes to the Workers' Rights Amendment constitutional question.

The analysis uses certified election results from Illinois State Board of Elections' *Official Canvas* of the November 8, 2022 General Election and economic, social, housing, and demographic data from the U.S. Census Bureau through the 2020 *American Community Survey* (ACS) five-year estimates (State Board of Elections, 2022; Census, 2022). It also incorporates aggregated residency counts of union members by county from the Illinois AFL-CIO and the Illinois Education Association (Illinois AFL-CIO, 2022; IEA-NEA, 2022). Additionally, the report includes an ordinary least squares (OLS) regression, an advanced statistical technique that explores the actual and unique impact of specific variables on the county-level yes share of votes on the Workers' Rights Amendment. This technique determines which factors had statistically significant effects on the yes share of the amendment. Finally, the report discusses implications for other states before a concluding section recaps key findings.

Background Research Related to the Workers' Rights Amendment

Economic research has established a strong connection between unionization and good, middle-class jobs. On average, union households earn between 10 percent and 20 percent more than nonunion households—an income premium that has been consistent since the 1930s (Farber et al., 2018; Schmitt, 2008; Card, 1992). In 2021, union members in Illinois earned 15 percent more than their nonunion counterparts did. This differential was 4th-highest union wage premium in the United States (Manzo & Bruno, 2022). Additionally, the U.S. Department of Labor reports that 95 percent of union workers have access to health care coverage, 95 percent have access to retirement plans, and 92 percent have access to paid sick leave. By contrast, just 69 percent of nonunion workers have health care access, 69 percent have retirement plan access, and 77 percent have paid leave (BLS, 2022). Labor unions give workers a voice, "creating publicly valuable outcomes relating to work" through collective bargaining (Budd, 2014).

Union membership, however, has gradually declined in the United States, driven by the spread of so-called "right-to-work" laws. A "right-to-work" law prohibits unions and employers from voluntarily including union security clauses in privately negotiated contracts. This government regulation permits and incentivizes free riding among workers in bargaining units, who can receive all the services and benefits of collective bargaining—such as higher wages, better benefits, and legal representation—without paying anything for them. Requiring unions to represent and provide services to free riders reduces the resources they have available to advocate for workers and organize new workers, leading to declines in union membership (Hogler, Shulman, & Weiler, 2004; Davis & Huston, 1993). As of 2022, the overall union membership rate was under 6 percent in the 27 states with so-called "right-to-work" laws and 15 percent in the 23 states, plus the District of Columbia, which support collective bargaining—including 13 percent in Illinois (Figure 2).

FIGURE 2: STATE UNION MEMBERSHIP RATE IN ILLINOIS VS. STATES BY LABOR POLICY, ALL WORKERS, 2022

Union Membership Rate by State (2021)	Union Membership Rate	Illinois Difference
Illinois	**13.1%**	--
States with So-Called "Right-to-Work" Laws	5.6%	**+7.5%**
States that Support Collective Bargaining	14.6%	**-1.5%**
United States of America	10.1%	**+3.0%**

Source(s): "Union Members – 2022" by the Bureau of Labor Statistics at the U.S. Department of Labor (BLS, 2023). NOTE: The "States that Support Collective Bargaining" group includes Illinois. Numbers may not sum perfectly do rounding.

By limiting union resources, "right-to-work" laws have consistently been shown to reduce worker earnings by an average of between 2 percent and 4 percent and worsen economic inequality (Manzo & Bruno, 2021; VanHeuvelen, 2020; Manzo & Bruno, 2017; Gould & Kimball, 2015; Shierholz & Gould, 2011; Lafer, 2011; Stevans, 2009). "Right-to-work" laws also lower the share of workers with health insurance coverage by between by 3 percentage points and 5 percentage points and with employer-sponsored pension plans by up to 8 percentage points (Manzo & Bruno, 2021; Shierholz & Gould, 2011). At the same time, job growth is no higher in these states, after accounting for other important factors (Jones & Shierholz, 2018; Manzo & Bruno, 2017; Collins, 2014; Eren & Ozbeklik, 2011). In fact, in 2021, West Virginia Governor Jim Justice, a Republican, lamented that passage of a "right-to-work" law in 2016 failed to either create jobs or attract businesses to his state (McElhinny, 2021).

These anti-union laws have palpable electoral consequences. In a seminal 2018 study, researchers compared counties in states that support collective bargaining rights with border counties in states with so-called "right-to-work" laws (Feigenbaum, Hertel-Fernandez, & Williamson, 2018). "Right-to-work" laws were found to reduce turnout in federal and state elections by between 2 percentage points and 3 percentage points,

reduce union political contributions by up to 3 percent, and reduce "get-out-the-vote" (GOTV) contact to middle-class Americans by 11 percentage points. Furthermore, they reduce the share of Congressmen and Congresswomen who come from blue-collar occupations by as much as 3 percentage points. Unions increase political engagement and involvement among middle-class workers. By hampering unions, "right-to-work" laws weaken the voice of middle class (Feigenbaum, Hertel-Fernandez, & Williamson, 2018).

Prior to November 2022 midterm election, there was only one analysis conducted on the potential impacts of passing the Workers' Rights Amendment on workers and the economy in Illinois (Manzo, Dunn, & Bruno, 2022). The report by the Illinois Economic Policy Institute and the Project for Middle Class Renewal at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign found that union workers in Illinois earned 14 percent more in annual incomes, were 9 percentage points more likely to have health insurance coverage, and were 3 percentage points less likely to be below poverty. As a result, union members in Illinois contributed more towards state income taxes and were less likely to rely on government assistance programs. Additionally, compared to their counterparts in "right-to-work" states, Illinois workers—including both union members and nonunion workers—earned 15 percent higher incomes, were 5 percentage points more likely to have health insurance coverage, were 2 percentage points more likely to own their homes, and were 32 percent less likely to suffer on-the-job workplace fatalities. Economic outcomes for Illinois' construction workers, police officers and firefighters, and teachers fared especially well compared to their peers in states with so-called "right-to-work" laws. As a result, the Amendment would protect billions of dollars in labor income, prevent thousands of Illinois workers from losing their health insurance coverage, and promote safe workplaces—solidifying Illinois' labor market competitiveness (Manzo, Dunn, & Bruno, 2022).

Workers' Rights Amendment Messaging and Fundraising of Proponents and Opponents

The proponents' campaign largely relied on positive messages about workers. The Vote Yes for Workers' Rights committee website included arguments about promoting safety, protecting essential workers like nurses and firefighters, and building an economy that works for everyone by "guaranteeing the rights to join together to negotiate for pay raises and creating good-paying jobs" (WRA, 2023). In an opinion piece published just before Labor Day, Tim Drea, President of the Illinois AFL-CIO and Chair of the Vote Yes for Workers' Rights committee, argued that the Amendment would put "more money in the pockets of working people," protect the ability of first responders to fight for better training and equipment on the job, and ensure that workers can raise safety concerns without fear of retaliation (Drea, 2022).

Proponents leveraged the consequences of recent political and judicial events as well. In the beginning of the campaign, proponents reminded voters that former Governor Bruce Rauner oversaw a two-year budget impasse during which he sought to weaken unions and called for the enactment of a statewide "right-to-work" law or local "right-to-work" ordinances. This led proponents to argue that voting yes on the Amendment would remove collective bargaining rights from the whims of politicians and "prevent any future governor or legislature from exacting a similar harm on the hardworking people of Illinois" (Drea, 2022; Poulos, 2021). Then, during the campaign in June 2022, the U.S. Supreme Court voted 6-3 to overturn the landmark 1973 *Roe v. Wade* ruling that established a constitutional right to privacy that protected women's access to abortion services in most cases. In overturning *Roe*, the *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization* case upended a five decades-long precedent and effectively left women's reproductive healthcare rights up to the states and territories. In Illinois, the proponents of the Workers' Rights Amendment reminded voters that they have no constitutional rights in the workplace, where they spend a significant portion of their lives. The Amendment would put the right to collective bargaining above politics and "work as a backstop" in the event that the U.S. Supreme Court, a future U.S. Congress, or a future state legislature seeks to take away current labor standards and protections (Poulos, 2022; Sheridan, 2022). In the

end, one of the proponents' closing messages to voters was that a yes vote on the Amendment would be a vote for themselves: "it's what workers like you deserve, and this… is our chance to vote for ourselves and ensure that workers across Illinois know that we're all in this together" (Devaney, 2022).

The opponents of the Workers' Rights Amendment were organized around the Vote No on Amendment 1 committee, which was directly tied to the right-wing Illinois Policy Institute (IPI) and its 501(c)(4), Illinois Policy Action.[3] In addition to the IPI, the Illinois Chamber of Commerce and the Illinois Manufacturers' Association voiced opposition to the measure (Ballotpedia, 2022a). The opponents made three main claims throughout the campaign. First, they argued that Illinois workers did not need the Amendment because "private-sector workers are already protected under the National Labor Relations Act" (i.e. the Amendment was preempted by the NLRA) and only public-sector workers would benefit, which would "expand government union boss power" (Smith, 2022a). Second, opponents claimed that the Amendment was "a property tax hike in disguise" because it would allow public sector unions to bargain over new topics such as "economic welfare" (Smith, 2022b).[4] Even though economic research has shown that union members have a positive "net fiscal impact" on public budgets—meaning that they contribute more in taxes than they receive from government programs—the opponents largely attempted to frame the debate as a tax issue (Sojourner & Pacas, 2018). Third, in a debate during the gubernatorial campaign, Republican candidate Darren Bailey—who opposed the measure—argued that it would cause businesses to leave the state and said, "unions, stay in your lane and everything will be fine. … Leave mom-and-pop and private businesses alone" (Keck, 2022).

The proponents of the Amendment had a significant fundraising advantage. According to the Reform for Illinois' Sunshine Database, the Vote Yes for Workers' Rights committee raised $16.5 million from 206 different labor unions, organizations, and individuals—including $12.9 million (79 percent) raised from the first donation in March 2020 through Labor Day 2022 (Illinois Sunshine, 2022a). By contrast, the Vote No on Amendment 1 committee raised $3.0 million, which was just 18 percent as much as the Vote Yes for Workers' Rights committee. The $3.0 million came from just five individuals and organizations, including $2.0 million from billionaire Dick Uihlein and $1.0 million from the Government Accountability Alliance, which is the legal name of the 501(c)(4) Illinois Policy Action. Additionally, all $3.0 million was raised *after* Labor Day 2022 (Illinois Sunshine, 2022b).

County-Level Political Analysis of the Workers' Rights Amendment

This section assesses the county-level performance of the Workers' Rights Amendment. The analysis uses certified election results from Illinois State Board of Elections' *Official Canvas* of the November 8, 2022 General Election (State Board of Elections, 2022). It also includes county-level economic, social, housing, and demographic data from the U.S. Census Bureau through the 2020 *American Community Survey* (ACS) five-year estimates (Census, 2022).[5] Due to small sample sizes, Census data was not available for five Illinois counties: Calhoun, Gallatin, Hardin, Pope, and Scott. Consequently, statistical analyses on the correlations between Census data and the Workers' Rights Amendment vote shares are based on 97 of the states' 102 counties.

[3] The Chair of the Illinois Policy Institute, John Tillman, and its President, Matt Paprocki, respectively served as the Chair and Treasurer of the Vote No on Amendment 1 campaign.

[4] This claim was based on trends in both home price appreciation and property tax rates over the previous decade *before* the Amendment was in effect (Allred, 2022). The data showed that "there would be no projected change" in property taxes (Miller, 2022).

[5] While 2021 *American Community Survey* data (five-year estimates) are now available, only 2020 ACS data was available at the time of the 2022 midterm election (Census, 2022).

There were six races voted on by all Illinois residents: U.S. Senator, Governor and Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, Secretary of State, Comptroller, and Treasurer (Figure 3). Democratic candidates won all six races with between 2.2 million and 2.3 million votes and vote shares of between 54.3 percent and 57.1 percent. Governor JB Pritzker and Lieutenant Governor Juliana Stratton, who run on the same ticket in Illinois, received the 3rd-most votes of these six candidates (2.25 million), behind Comptroller Susana Mendoza (2.33 million) and Senator Tammy Duckworth (2.33 million). Governor Pritzker and Lieutenant Governor Stratton also received nearly the same number of votes (2.25 million) as the statewide average for Democrats in these six races (2.26 million). The gubernatorial ticket, hereafter referred to simply by using Pritzker at the top of the ticket, can represent the middle-of-the-road Democratic support in the State of Illinois.

FIGURE 3: VOTES IN STATE AND FEDERAL ELECTIONS IN ILLINOIS, WINNER'S VOTES AND TOTAL VOTES IN EACH RACE, 2022

2022 General Election Winners: Illinois	Statewide Race	Votes for Candidate	Total Votes in Race	Vote Share
Tammy Duckworth (Democrat)	U.S. Senator	2,329,136	4,096,896	56.8%
JB Pritzker* (Democrat)	Governor*	2,253,748	4,104,636	54.9%
Kwame Raoul (Democrat)	Attorney General	2,219,420	4,083,552	54.4%
Alexi Giannoulias (Democrat)	Secretary of State	2,220,713	4,090,948	54.3%
Susana Mendoza (Democrat)	Comptroller	2,331,714	4,085,184	57.1%
Michael Frerichs (Democrat)	Treasurer	2,206,434	4,064,361	54.3%
Average Statewide Winner (Democrat)	**Six Races**	**2,260,194**	**4,087,596**	**55.3%**
Workers' Rights Amendment (Question)	Amendment	2,212,999	3,768,928	58.7%
Workers' Rights Amendment (Ballots Cast)	Amendment	2,212,999	4,142,642	53.4%

Source(s): Authors' analysis of Illinois' *Official Canvas* of the General Election on November 8, 2022 (State Board of Elections, 2022).
*NOTE: "Governor" indicates the race for the Governor and Lieutenant Governor, who run on the same ticket in Illinois; the Democratic candidates were Governor JB Pritzker and Lieutenant Governor Juliana Stratton.

By Geography

The Workers' Rights Amendment received slightly fewer votes statewide than Pritzker but ran ahead of the Governor in much of the state (Figure 4). The Amendment received 2.21 million votes, including 1.48 million in the seven-county Chicago metropolitan area and more than 731,000 votes in the rest of Illinois, often referred to as "Downstate" (CMAP, 2022). This means that two-thirds of the Amendment's yes votes (67.0 percent) came from the Chicago area and one-third came from Downstate (33.0 percent). By contrast, 1.67 million of Pritzker's votes were in the Chicago area (74.3 percent) and about 580,000 were from Downstate (25.7 percent). A majority of voters who answered the constitutional question voted yes in the Chicago area (64.1 percent) and Downstate (50.2 percent), including in the suburban counties outside of Cook County (54.7 percent) and in the 13 Downstate counties that have at least 100,000 residents (55.6 percent). In comparison, Pritzker only received majority support in the Chicago area (65.3 percent).

While the Workers' Rights Amendment received its highest levels of support in Cook County and the collar counties, it significantly outperformed Governor Pritzker outside of the Chicago area (Figure 5). The Amendment earned nearly 151,000 more votes Downstate than Pritzker, including nearly 105,000 more votes in counties with fewer than 100,000 people. A comparison of the yes share of votes on the Amendment itself to Pritzker's share of votes reveals that, while the constitutional question ran +3.8 points ahead of Pritzker statewide, it was +12.5 points ahead of the gubernatorial ticket in Downstate counties, with the largest differential in the most rural communities (+16.4 points). On the other hand, the Amendment underperformed in the Chicago area, receiving almost 192,000 fewer votes than Governor Pritzker, including 151,000 fewer in Cook County. The yes vote share on the Amendment also ran -1.2 points behind the Pritzker vote share in the Chicago area. The Chicago area, however, had the largest drop-off in ballots cast in the

governor's race and ballots cast for or against the Amendment. Whereas the total number of votes on the Amendment represented 94.6 percent of the ballots cast for governor Downstate, it was 90.2 percent in the Chicago area, including 88.3 percent in Cook County (Figure 5).

FIGURE 4: WORKERS' RIGHTS AMENDMENT VOTES VS. GOVERNOR PRITZKER'S VOTES, BY GEOGRAPHY, 2022

Geographic Area	Number of Counties	Workers' Rights Amendment			Gubernatorial Election		
		Yes Votes	Total Votes	Yes Percent	Pritzker Votes	Total Votes	Pritzker Percent
Statewide	**102**	**2,212,999**	**3,768,928**	**58.7%**	**2,253,748**	**4,104,636**	**54.9%**
Chicago Area Total	7	1,481,952	2,311,570	64.1%	1,673,562	2,564,012	65.3%
Cook County (Includes Chicago)	1	914,239	1,274,334	71.7%	1,065,445	1,442,785	73.8%
Collar Suburban Counties	6	567,713	1,037,236	54.7%	608,117	1,121,227	54.2%
Downstate Total	95	731,047	1,457,358	50.2%	580,186	1,540,624	37.7%
Counties with ≥100,000 People	13	416,346	749,408	55.6%	370,062	790,892	46.8%
Counties with <100,000 People	82	314,701	707,950	44.5%	210,124	749,732	28.0%

Source(s): Authors' analysis of Illinois' *Official Canvas* of the General Election on November 8, 2022 (State Board of Elections, 2022). The Chicago Area is defined as the seven-county jurisdiction of the Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning (CMAP, 2022).

FIGURE 5: METRICS ON WORKERS' RIGHTS AMENDMENT PERFORMANCE VS. GOVERNOR PRITZKER, BY GEOGRAPHY, 2022

Counties by Geographic Area	Yes Votes on Amendment vs. Pritzker Votes	Yes Percent (to Question) vs. Pritzker Percent	Amendment Total Votes as Share of Total Votes in Governor's Race	Amendment Yes vs. Total Votes in Governor's Race
Statewide	**-40,749**	**+3.8%**	**91.8%**	**53.9%**
Chicago Area Total	-191,610	-1.2%	90.2%	57.8%
Cook County	-151,206	-2.1%	88.3%	63.4%
Collar Suburban Counties	-40,404	+0.5%	92.5%	50.6%
Downstate Total	+150,861	+12.5%	94.6%	47.5%
Counties with ≥100,000 People	+46,284	+8.8%	94.8%	52.6%
Counties with <100,000 People	+104,577	+16.4%	94.4%	42.0%

Source(s): Authors' analysis of Illinois' *Official Canvas* of the General Election on November 8, 2022 (State Board of Elections, 2022). The Chicago Area is defined as the seven-county jurisdiction of the Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning (CMAP, 2022).

FIGURE 6: METRICS ON WORKERS' RIGHTS AMENDMENT PERFORMANCE VS. GOVERNOR PRITZKER'S, BY GEOGRAPHY, 2022

County-Level Win Rates of Workers' Rights Amendment and Governor Pritzker, Actual and Calculated Metrics	Number of Counties	Share of Counties
Amendment Yes Votes Were Majority of Total Votes on Question	32	31.4%
Amendment Yes Votes Were Majority of Ballots Cast	18	17.6%
Pritzker Votes Were Majority of Total Gubernatorial Election Votes	8	7.8%
Pritzker Voters Were Plurality of Total Gubernatorial Election Votes	12	11.8%
Amendment Yes Votes Were Majority of Total Gubernatorial Election Votes	21	20.6%

Source(s): Authors' analysis of Illinois' *Official Canvas* of the General Election on November 8, 2022 (State Board of Elections, 2022).

Ultimately, the Amendment won a majority of votes on the question in 32 of the state's 102 counties, including Illinois' most populous (i.e., vote-rich) counties (Figure 6). These large counties accounted for 84 percent of all voters and 88 percent of the yes vote in favor the Amendment.[6] The Amendment crossed the

[6] In descending order by total ballots cast, the counties that voted in favor of the Workers' Rights Amendment were Cook (1,458,127 ballots cast), DuPage, Will, Lake, Kane, McHenry, Madison, St. Clair, Winnebago, Sangamon, Champaign, McLean, Peoria, Rock Island,

majority-of-ballots threshold in 18 of the 102 counties, which accounted for 65 percent of all voters and 72 percent of the yes vote in favor of the Amendment. In comparison, Governor Pritzker only won 12 counties, of which just eight were outright majorities and four were pluralities. If the Amendment were measured against the total number of votes in the gubernatorial election, it would have reached majorities in 21 counties, which is 13 more than Governor Pritzker.

By Race, Education, and Household Characteristics

Both the Workers' Rights Amendment and Governor Pritzker received majority support in Illinois' most racially and ethnically diverse counties (Figure 7). Among counties that had available data and in which at least 10 percent of residents are Black or African American, the Amendment received a 66.3 percent yes vote share and Pritzker earned 65.0 percent of the vote. Among counties in which at least 10 percent of residents are Hispanic or Latinx, the Amendment received a 63.1 percent yes vote share and Pritzker won 63.2 percent of the vote. On the other hand, in counties that are at least 90 percent white non-Hispanic, the Amendment garnered 41.9 percent yes votes and Pritzker received just 25.8 percent of the vote. Despite its strong performance in more diverse counties, the Amendment most overperformed Pritzker in the least diverse counties. In Illinois counties where white residents comprise 90 percent or more of the total population, the Amendment got 64,000 more votes and ran +16.1 points ahead of the Governor.

FIGURE 7: WORKERS' RIGHTS AMENDMENT VOTES VS. PRITZKER'S VOTES, BY COUNTY'S RACE OR ETHNICITY SHARES, 2022

Counties by Racial or Ethnic Share of Population	Number of Counties	Workers' Rights Amendment		Gubernatorial Election		Yes to Amendment Question vs. Pritzker	
		Yes Votes	Yes Percent	Pritzker Votes	Pritzker Percent	Vote Difference	Percent Difference
All Counties (Statewide)	**102**	**2,212,999**	**58.7%**	**2,253,748**	**54.9%**	**-40,749**	**+3.8%**
≥90% White Counties	50	184,250	41.9%	120,518	25.8%	+63,732	+16.1%
<90% White Counties	47	2,024,725	61.0%	2,131,230	58.8%	-106,505	+2.2%
≥10% Black Counties	16	1,310,205	66.3%	1,425,000	65.0%	-114,795	+1.3%
<10% Black Counties	81	898,770	50.3%	826,748	43.4%	+72,022	+6.9%
≥10% Hispanic Counties	16	1,631,570	63.1%	1,801,266	63.2%	-169,696	-0.1%
<10% Hispanic Counties	81	577,405	49.2%	450,482	36.2%	+126,923	+13.0%

Source(s): Authors' analysis of Illinois' *Official Canvas* of the General Election on November 8, 2022 and the 2020 *American Community Survey* (five-year estimates) from the U.S. Census Bureau (State Board of Elections, 2022; Census, 2022). NOTE: Census data includes 97 counties because data was unavailable for five Illinois counties (Calhoun, Gallatin, Hardin, Pope, and Scott).

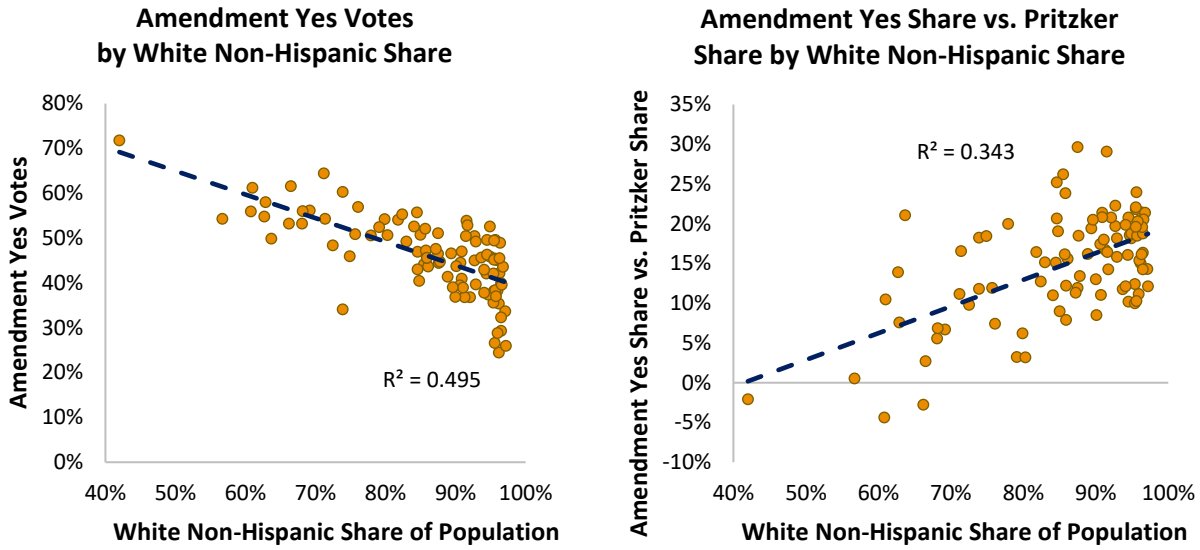
Figures 8 through 10 use the county-level data to visually depict this phenomenon. As the share of residents who are white non-Hispanic rises, the yes vote on the constitutional question decreased. But compared to Governor Pritzker's vote share, the Amendment fared relatively better as a county's share of residents who are white increases (Figure 8). Figures 9 and 10 show the opposite. As the shares of residents who are Black and Hispanic rise, the yes vote on the Amendment increased, but underperformed Pritzker. The deficit between Pritzker and the constitutional question was weak—almost nonexistent—among counties that are at least 10 percent Black but exhibited a stronger correlation in the counties that are at least 10 percent Hispanic.

Military veterans are statistically the most likely demographic group to be unionized in Illinois. In 2021, one out of every four employed veterans (25.8 percent) was unionized, nearly double the state's overall union

Kendall, LaSalle, Macon, Kankakee, DeKalb, Vermilion, Whiteside, Grundy, Knox, Jackson, Stephenson, Fulton, Montgomery, Saline, Mercer, Massac, Putnam, and Alexander (1,727 ballots cast).

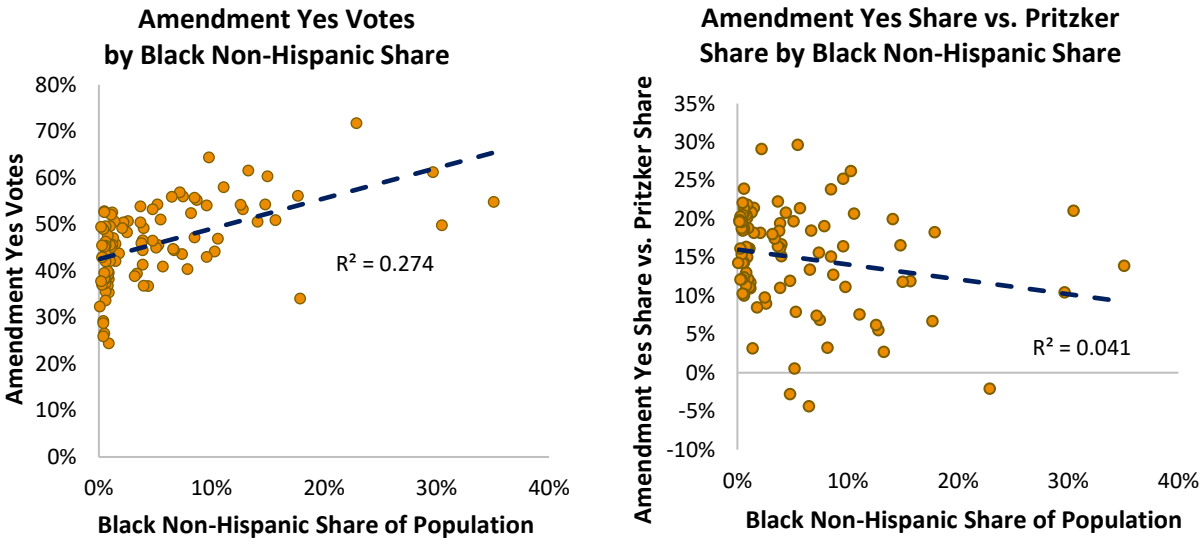
membership rate (Manzo & Bruno, 2022). This has been true for the better part of the last decade. In 2013, for example, military veterans were 23.3 percent unionized in Illinois (Manzo, Bruno, & Parks, 2014). The Workers' Rights Amendment did disproportionately well in Illinois counties with higher shares of military veterans (Figure 11). While there was effectively no correlation between the veteran percent and yes votes on the question, the Amendment's yes share significantly outpaced Governor Pritzker's vote share as veterans comprise a larger portion of each county's population.

FIGURE 8: AMENDMENT PERFORMANCE AND WHITE NON-HISPANIC SHARE, COUNTY-LEVEL RELATIONSHIPS, 2022



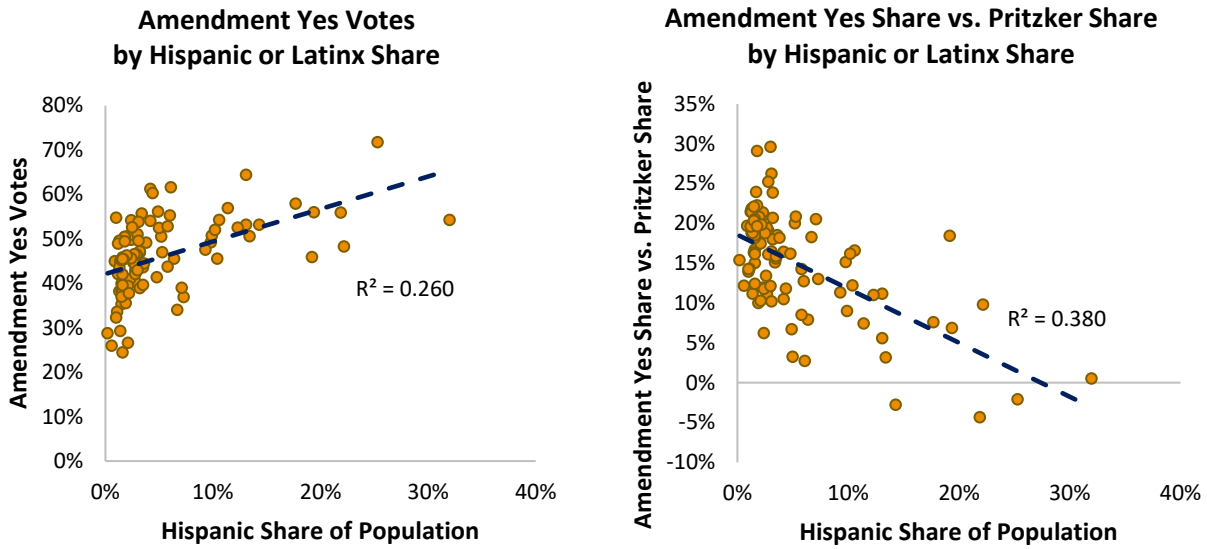
Source(s): Authors' analysis of Illinois' *Official Canvas* of the General Election on November 8, 2022 and the 2020 *American Community Survey* (five-year estimates) from the U.S. Census Bureau (State Board of Elections, 2022; Census, 2022).

FIGURE 9: AMENDMENT PERFORMANCE AND BLACK NON-HISPANIC SHARE, COUNTY-LEVEL RELATIONSHIPS, 2022



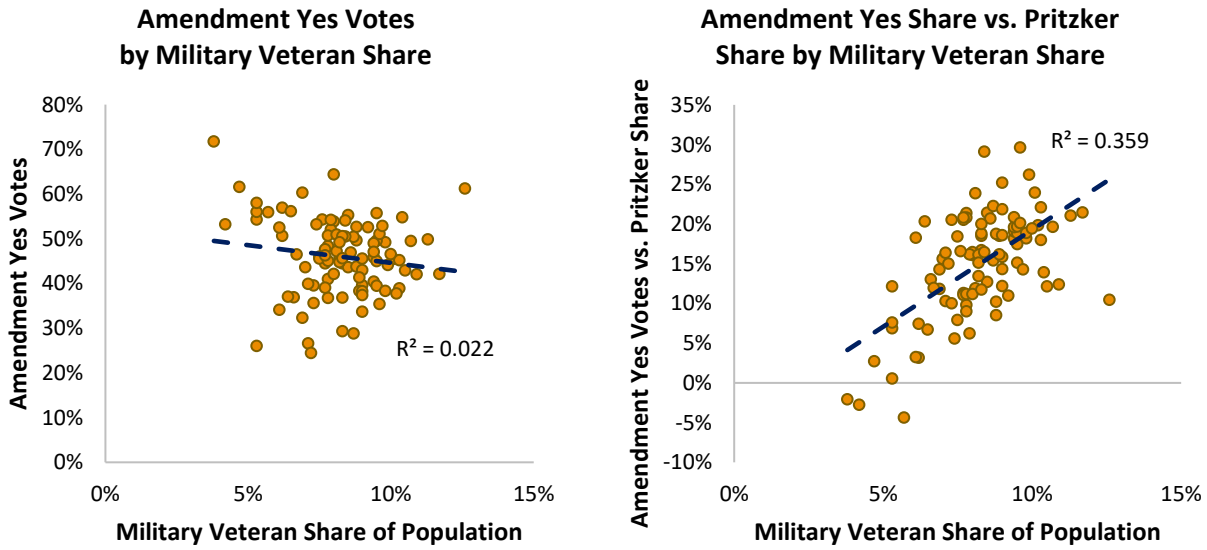
Source(s): Authors' analysis of Illinois' *Official Canvas* of the General Election on November 8, 2022 and the 2020 *American Community Survey* (five-year estimates) from the U.S. Census Bureau (State Board of Elections, 2022; Census, 2022).

FIGURE 10: AMENDMENT PERFORMANCE AND HISPANIC OR LATINX SHARE, COUNTY-LEVEL RELATIONSHIPS, 2022



Source(s): Authors' analysis of Illinois' *Official Canvas* of the General Election on November 8, 2022 and the 2020 *American Community Survey* (five-year estimates) from the U.S. Census Bureau (State Board of Elections, 2022; Census, 2022).

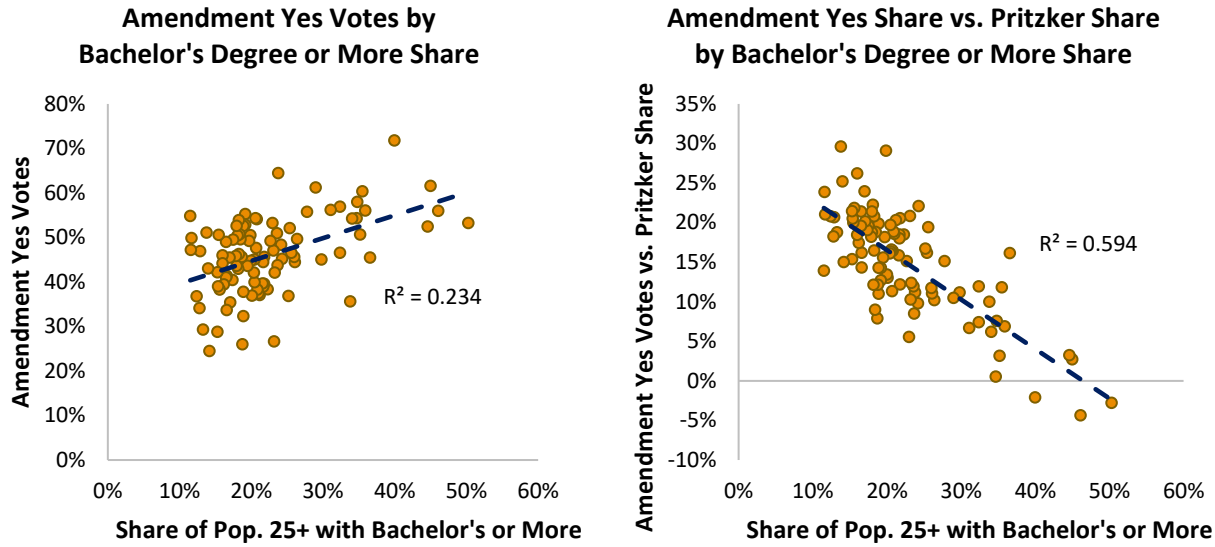
FIGURE 11: AMENDMENT PERFORMANCE AND MILITARY VETERAN SHARE, COUNTY-LEVEL RELATIONSHIPS, 2022



Source(s): Authors' analysis of Illinois' *Official Canvas* of the General Election on November 8, 2022 and the 2020 *American Community Survey* (five-year estimates) from the U.S. Census Bureau (State Board of Elections, 2022; Census, 2022).

One of today's defining political trends has been the shift of college-educated voters towards the Democratic Party and the movement of non-college-educated white voters into the Republican fold (e.g., Elwood-Dieu, Piper, & Jin, 2022; Pew, 2020; Silver, 2016). In the context of the Workers' Rights Amendment vote in Illinois, educational attainment does appear to matter. Counties with higher shares of the population age 25 years and older with bachelor's degrees or more were correlated with higher yes votes on the Amendment. However, the Amendment yes share appreciably underperformed the Pritzker share in the most highly educated counties (Figure 12).

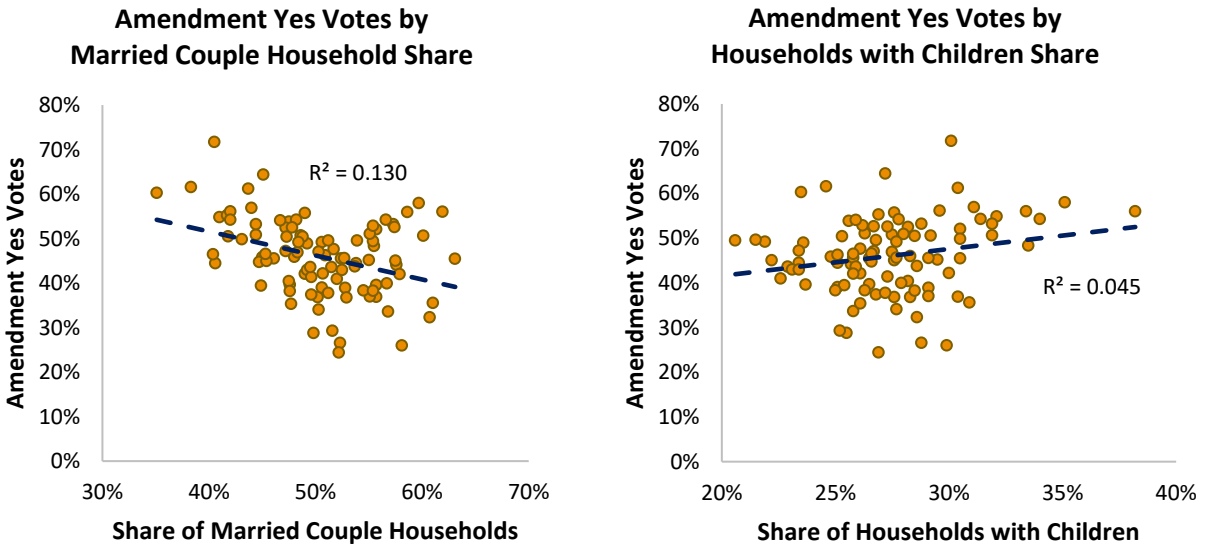
FIGURE 12: AMENDMENT PERFORMANCE AND BACHELOR'S DEGREE OR MORE SHARE, COUNTY-LEVEL RELATIONSHIPS, 2022



Source(s): Authors' analysis of Illinois' *Official Canvas* of the General Election on November 8, 2022 and the 2020 *American Community Survey* (five-year estimates) from the U.S. Census Bureau (State Board of Elections, 2022; Census, 2022).

As an example, DuPage County has the highest level of educational attainment, with 50.3 percent of people ages 25 and older having bachelor's degrees, master's degrees, or professional or doctoral degrees. By contrast, only 11.6 percent of people ages 25 or older in Perry County have bachelor's degrees or higher. In DuPage County, yes garnered 53.2 percent of the vote among those answering the constitutional question and Pritzker won 56.0 percent of the vote, a difference of -2.8 points relative to the Governor. In Perry County, the yes share on the Amendment was 47.2 percent while the Pritzker share was 23.3 percent, a difference of +23.8 points relative to the Governor.

FIGURE 13: AMENDMENT PERFORMANCE AND HOUSEHOLDS WITH MARRIED COUPLES AND WITH CHILDREN, COUNTY-LEVEL, 2022



Source(s): Authors' analysis of Illinois' *Official Canvas* of the General Election on November 8, 2022 and the 2020 *American Community Survey* (five-year estimates) from the U.S. Census Bureau (State Board of Elections, 2022; Census, 2022).

Figure 13 measures county-level votes in favor of the Amendment against two household characteristics: the share of married-couple households in the county and the share of households with at least one child under the age of 18 years old. As shown, these household characteristics appear weakly correlated with a higher or lower yes vote on the Workers' Rights Amendment.

By Socioeconomic Characteristics

The Workers' Rights Amendment received the most overall support from middle-income counties but outperformed in working-class communities (Figure 14). Fully 1.29 million of the 2.12 million yes votes on the Amendment (58.3 percent) came from counties with average household incomes of at least $75,000 but less than $100,000 annually.[7] In these counties, the Amendment received 64.9 percent of the vote. Meanwhile, yes got 54.6 percent of the Amendment's vote in the seven richest counties and 47.8 percent in the counties where household incomes averaged less than $75,000 per year. However, the middle-income and high-income counties essentially tracked the Pritzker share, while low-income counties netted the Amendment about 94,000 more votes than the Governor, contributing to a vote differential of +14.9 points.

FIGURE 14: WORKERS' RIGHTS AMENDMENT VOTES VS. PRITZKER'S VOTES, BY COUNTY'S MEAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME, 2022

Counties by Average Household Income	Number of Counties	Workers' Rights Amendment		Gubernatorial Election		Yes to Amendment Question vs. Pritzker	
		Yes Votes	Yes Percent	Pritzker Votes	Pritzker Percent	Vote Difference	Percent Difference
All Counties (Statewide)	**102**	**2,212,999**	**58.7%**	**2,253,748**	**54.9%**	**-40,749**	**+3.8%**
Less than $75,000	66	343,495	47.8%	249,047	32.8%	+94,448	+14.9%
Between $75,000-$99,999	24	1,291,021	64.9%	1,389,975	63.2%	-98,954	+1.7%
$100,000 or More	7	574,459	54.6%	612,726	53.9%	-38,267	+0.7%

Source(s): Authors' analysis of Illinois' *Official Canvas* of the General Election on November 8, 2022 and the 2020 *American Community Survey* (five-year estimates) from the U.S. Census Bureau (State Board of Elections, 2022; Census, 2022). NOTE: Census data includes 97 counties because data was unavailable for five Illinois counties (Calhoun, Gallatin, Hardin, Pope, and Scott).

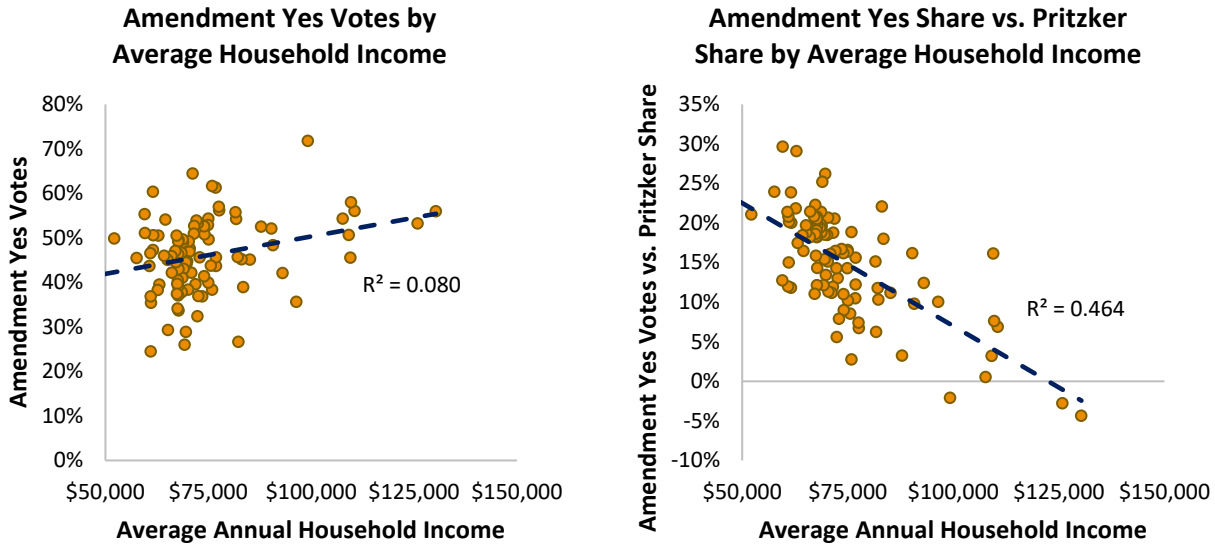
While Figure 14 reports aggregated vote totals and shares for counties by average household income, Figure 15 graphically illustrates the county-by-county correlations. In general, the Amendment did slightly better in counties with higher average household incomes, but the yes share of votes on the Amendment declined as county-level incomes rises (Figure 15). Higher-income counties tend to have more white-collar professionals in legal, finance, sales, and tech careers who are least likely to be union members in Illinois, while middle-income and working-class counties tend to have more blue-collar workers in construction, transportation, and production occupations with higher unionization rates (Manzo & Bruno, 2022).

The average household income in a county is very correlated with employment rates. When a higher proportion of the population aged 18 years or older is employed, average household income increases. Figure 16, which displays the Amendment's performance by county-level employment rates, shows that the share of the adult population with at least one job was not related to the overall yes vote on the Amendment question. However, counties with lower employment rates broke more favorably for the Workers' Rights Amendment than Governor Pritzker (Figure 16). Kendall County, for instance, has the state's highest employment rate, with 69.5 percent of adult residents having at least one job. Governor Pritzker won Kendall County with a 49.1 percent plurality of the vote. The Amendment received 56.0 percent of the vote in Kendall, a difference of +6.9 points. In rural Vermilion County along the Indiana border, the adult employment rate is

[7] Note that, according to the 2020 *American Community Survey*, the average household income in Illinois was $95,115 but the median household income was just $68,428 (Census, 2022).

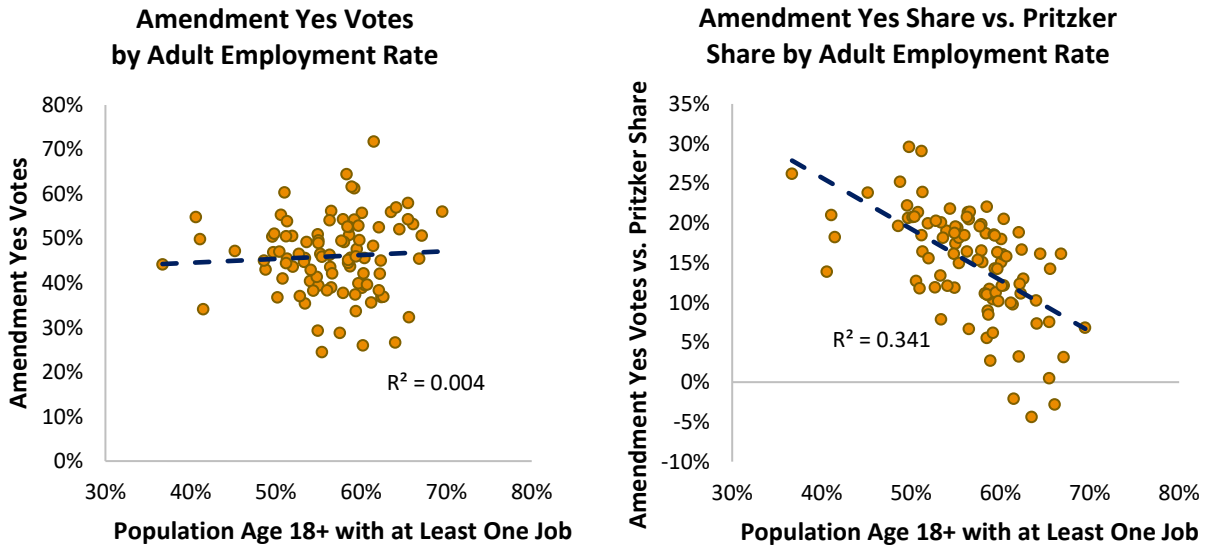
much lower at 51.9 percent, Pritzker lost with just 30.5 percent of the vote, and the Amendment received a majority, 50.5 percent, from those voting on the question—a yes vote differential of +20.0 points.[8]

FIGURE 15: AMENDMENT PERFORMANCE AND AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD INCOME, COUNTY-LEVEL RELATIONSHIPS, 2022



Source(s): Authors' analysis of Illinois' *Official Canvas* of the General Election on November 8, 2022 and the 2020 *American Community Survey* (five-year estimates) from the U.S. Census Bureau (State Board of Elections, 2022; Census, 2022).

FIGURE 16: AMENDMENT PERFORMANCE AND ADULT EMPLOYMENT RATE, COUNTY-LEVEL RELATIONSHIPS, 2022



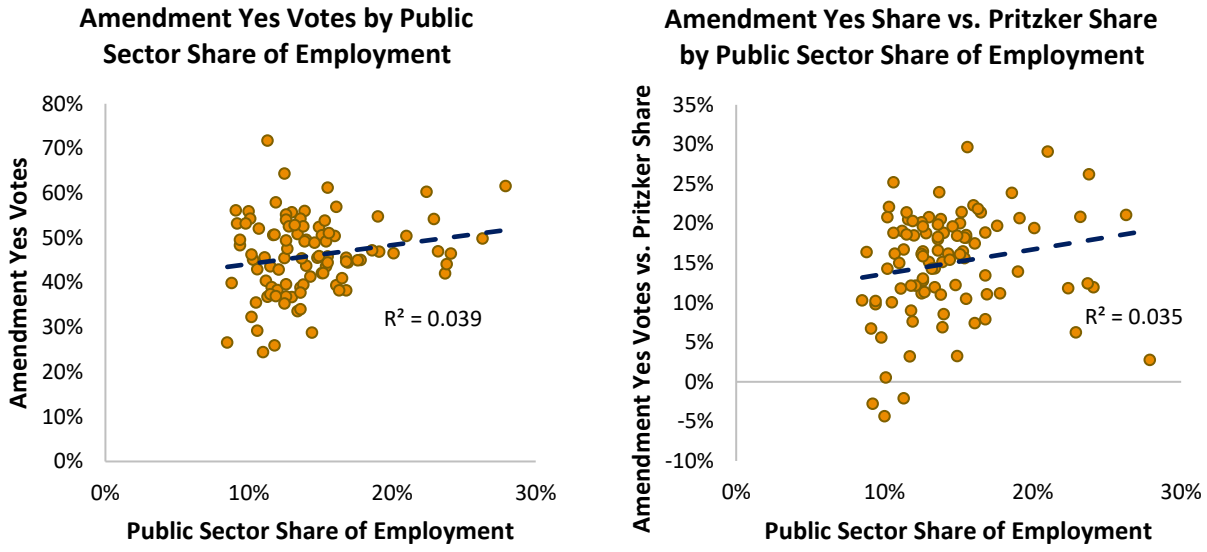
Source(s): Authors' analysis of Illinois' *Official Canvas* of the General Election on November 8, 2022 and the 2020 *American Community Survey* (five-year estimates) from the U.S. Census Bureau (State Board of Elections, 2022; Census, 2022).

With the opposition claiming that the Amendment would only benefit unions representing public sector workers, performance in counties with higher shares of workers employed by state, federal, and local government bodies is merited (Figure 17). Based on the 2020 *American Community* Survey data, the public

[8] See the Appendix for additional information.

sector share of employment ranges from 8.5 percent in Effingham County to 27.9 percent in Champaign County.[9] In general, there was no association between a county's public sector share of employment and its vote on the Workers' Rights Amendment. The Amendment neither overperformed Governor Pritzker in counties with higher proportions of workers employed by the public sector nor underperformed Governor Pritzker in counties with lower proportions of workers in government jobs.

FIGURE 17: AMENDMENT PERFORMANCE AND PUBLIC SECTOR SHARE OF EMPLOYMENT, COUNTY-LEVEL RELATIONSHIPS, 2022



Source(s): Authors' analysis of Illinois' *Official Canvas* of the General Election on November 8, 2022 and the 2020 *American Community Survey* (five-year estimates) from the U.S. Census Bureau (State Board of Elections, 2022; Census, 2022).

By Union Density

The Illinois AFL-CIO and Illinois Education Association (IEA-NEA) each provided proprietary summary data on affiliated union members sorted by their county of residence. The dataset includes the vast majority of dues-paying union members in the state. In total, there were more than 962,000 union members affiliated with the Illinois AFL-CIO and the IEA-NEA living in all 102 Illinois counties in 2022.[10]

Because workers may live in one county but work in another, county-level union membership rates cannot be estimated confidently with this data. However, an indirect measure of union density can be calculated by dividing total Illinois AFL-CIO and IEA-NEA membership in each county by its total civilian population.[11] Moreover, people go to polling locations in the counties where they live—not those where they work—so the Workers' Rights Amendment may have been expected to receive more yes votes in counties with the

[9] In the Chicago area, it ranges from 9.2 percent in DuPage County to 13.9 percent in Kendall County.

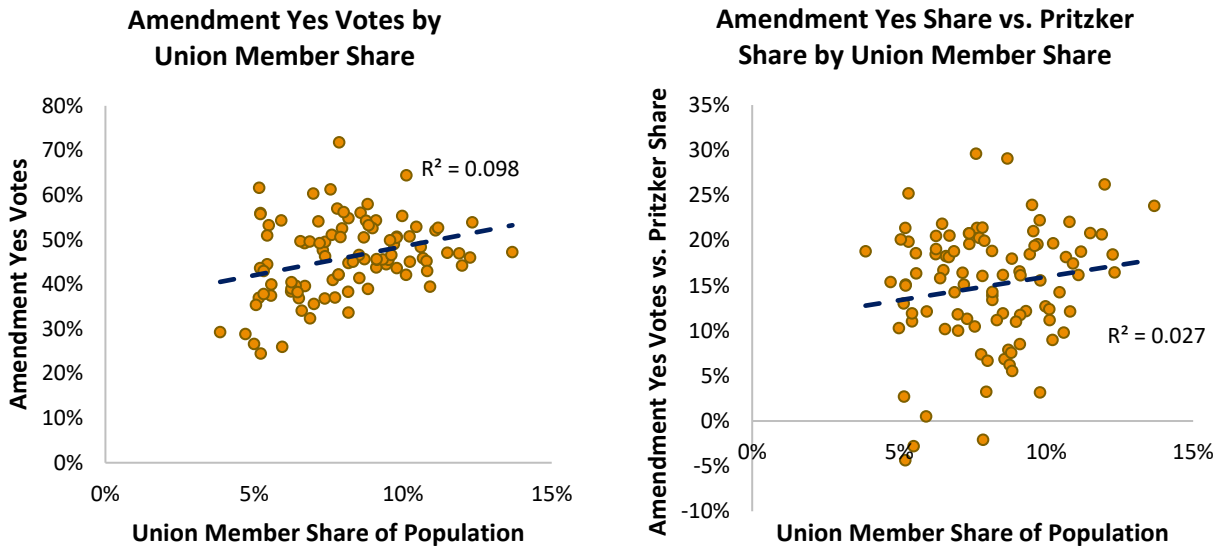
[10] Note that this is different from estimates from the *Current Population Survey* released by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS). That dataset shows that there are only about 735,000 union members in Illinois' workforce (BLS, 2023). The Illinois AFL-CIO and IEA-NEA report about 227,000 more members than the official government data. This difference is because the BLS only reports the union membership status of *employed* workers. However, people can still be dues-paying union members if they are retired or unemployed. As an example, operating engineers who are temporarily not working after completing road construction projects or during the winter months when road construction is not feasible are still considered union members in the Illinois AFL-CIO's data but would not be counted in the official BLS survey.

[11] Note that the calculation is 2022 data on union members living in a county from the Illinois AFL-CIO and IEA-NEA divided by 2020 civilian population data from the *American Community Survey* (five-year estimates) released by the U.S. Census Bureau.

most union households rather than those with the most union workers. Although the 2020 *American Community Survey* by the U.S. Census Bureau may have significantly undercounted Illinois' total population, the data is still used in this analysis (Hill et al., 2022; Ramos & Armentrout, 2022). Accordingly, the 926,000-plus union members represent 7.7 percent of Illinois' reported civilian (non-institutionalized) population. Note that this estimate *includes* people who are unemployed and out of the labor force altogether (e.g., retirees, students, and stay-at-home parents). County-level union member shares range from 3.9 percent in Edwards County to 13.7 percent in Perry County. In the Chicago area, union members account for between 5.2 percent of the population in Lake County and 8.8 percent in Will County.

Union membership is correlated with *both* a higher vote share on the Workers' Rights Amendment and an overperformance relative to Governor Pritzker (Figure 18). While the simple correlations are more weakly related than the previously-analyzed factors, they both move in the same direction. As the share of the county's population with union memberships rises, the share of yes votes on the Amendment question increased and the vote surplus over Pritzker grew.

FIGURE 18: AMENDMENT PERFORMANCE AND UNION MEMBER SHARE OF POPULATION, COUNTY-LEVEL RELATIONSHIPS, 2022



Source(s): Authors' analysis of Illinois' *Official Canvas* of the General Election on November 8, 2022 and 2022 dues-paying union members to the Illinois AFL-CIO and Illinois Education Association (IEA-NEA) by county (State Board of Elections, 2022; Illinois AFL-CIO, 2022; IEA-NEA, 2022).

Statistical Analyses

Figure 19 uses correlation coefficients to identify general associations between the yes share of votes on the Workers' Rights Amendment question and each demographic, educational, household, socioeconomic, and union density characteristic. This is effectively a summary table of the previous visual graphs. Additionally, Figure 19 includes correlation coefficients on the relationship between each factor and Governor JB Pritzker's share of the total vote in the gubernatorial election across Illinois' counties. In social science research, a correlation coefficient of less than 0.3 indicates a "weak" or "no" relationship, a correlation coefficient of between 0.3 and 0.5 is considered a "moderate" relationship, and a correlation coefficient of greater than 0.5 represents a "strong" relationship—with the two variables most likely to be causally related (Turkmen, 2013; Cohen, 1992). For example, the county-level correlation coefficient between the yes share of votes on the Amendment and the Pritzker vote share in the governor's race is +0.88, which indicates that they were strongly related to one another (Figure 19).

The results show the factors that were most associated with yes votes on the Workers' Rights Amendment (Figure 19). The success of the Workers' Rights Amendment was strongly linked with a county's racial and ethnic demographics, with higher shares of Black residents (+0.52) and Hispanic residents (+0.51) increasing the yes vote share and higher shares of white residents (-0.70) decreasing the yes vote share. The success of the Workers' Rights Amendment was moderately linked with the share of the population aged 25 years and older with bachelor's or advanced degrees (+0.48), population density (+0.43), and the share of the population who are union members (+0.39) in a county.

Governor Pritzker's vote share was strongly linked with six of the factors and moderately linked with three (Figure 19). The county-level characteristic that was most positively correlated with Pritzker's vote share was the share of the population who is 25 years or older with bachelor's degrees or higher (+0.73). Race and ethnicity were factors too, with higher shares of Black residents (+0.46) and Hispanic residents (+0.66) associated with more votes for Pritzker and a higher share of white residents (-0.78) associated with fewer votes for Pritzker. Two other strong correlations with the Governor's vote were population density (+0.57) and average household income (+0.54), meaning that more populous and higher-income counties were most likely to vote for Governor Pritzker. The other moderate correlations were with the adult employment rate (+0.34) and the veteran share of the population (-0.41).

Figure 19 also reveals which factors may have contributed to an overperformance or underperformance of the Workers' Rights Amendment relative to Governor JB Pritzker (Figure 19). Pritzker did better than the Amendment in counties with higher population density, higher shares of Hispanic residents, higher shares of people with bachelor's degrees or more, higher average household incomes, and higher employment rates. The Amendment did better than Pritzker in counties with higher shares of Black residents, military veterans, and union members.

FIGURE 19: CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS – VARIABLES WITH WORKERS' RIGHTS AMENDMENT VOTES AND PRITZKER'S VOTES, 2022

County-Level Correlation Coefficients for Potentially Important Variables	Amendment Yes Percent (to Question)	Pritzker's Share of Governor's Race
Amendment Yes Percent & Pritzker's Share	+0.880	+0.880
Population Per Square Mile	+0.435	**+0.572**
White, Non-Hispanic Share	**-0.704**	-0.778
Black, Non-Hispanic Share	**+0.523**	+0.458
Hispanic or Latinx Share	+0.510	**+0.663**
Military Veteran Share	**-0.149**	-0.411
Age 25+ with Bachelor's Degrees or More	+0.484	**+0.726**
Married-Couple Households	-0.361	**-0.244**
Households with Children	+0.050	**+0.140**
Average Household Income	+0.282	**+0.543**
Employment Rate of Adults 18+	+0.060	**+0.343**
Public Sector Share	**+0.198**	+0.036
Union Members Per 100 Population	**+0.385**	+0.154

Source(s): Authors' analysis of Illinois' *Official Canvas* of the General Election on November 8, 2022, the 2020 *American Community Survey* (five-year estimates) from the U.S. Census Bureau, and 2022 dues-paying union members to the Illinois AFL-CIO by county (State Board of Elections, 2022; Census, 2022; Illinois AFL-CIO, 2022; IEA-NEA, 2022). NOTE: Bolded coefficients show which was more positively related (more positive is closer to zero in the case of negative numbers).

Finally, Figure 20 uses a statistical technique called an ordinary least squares (OLS) regression to explore the actual and unique impact of each of these variables on the county-level yes share of votes on the Workers' Rights Amendment. This technique helps describe "how much" a factor was responsible for increasing or

decreasing the yes vote. The analysis finds that six of the above factors had statistically significant effects on the yes share of the vote on the Amendment question (Figure 20).

First, support for the Workers' Rights Amendment was linked with support for Governor JB Pritzker. However, while the success of the Amendment was associated with the Governor's performance, it was not a one-to-one relationship. A 10 percentage-point increase Pritzker's vote share in a county statistically increased the Amendment's yes vote share by 7.2 percentage points. This indicates that the Amendment required support from Illinois residents who did not vote for Pritzker, largely independents and Republicans.[12]

The second-most important factor was the share of a county's residents who are union members. The findings reveal that a 10 percentage-point increase in the share of residents who are dues-paying union members was statistically associated with a 6.2 percentage point increase in the county's yes share of the vote on the Workers' Rights Amendment. This is likely due both to organizing and get-out-the-vote (GOTV) canvassing by unions as well as to union households voting to protect their economic and personal safety interests.

FIGURE 20: OLS REGRESSION – IMPACT OF VARIABLES ON THE YES SHARE OF THE WORKERS' RIGHTS AMENDMENT QUESTION, 2022

County-Level Regression Analysis: Impact on Amendment Yes Percent (to Question)	Independent Impact	Standard Error
10% Increase in Pritzker's Vote Share	**+7.196%*** **	**(0.628%)**
10% Increase in Union Members Share of Population	**+6.176%*** **	**(1.953%)**
100 Person Increase in Population Per Square Mile	+0.001%	(0.001%)
10% Increase in White, Non-Hispanic Share	-0.021%	(0.023%)
10% Increase in Black, Non-Hispanic Share	-0.027%	(0.024%)
10% Increase in Hispanic or Latinx Share	-0.027%	(0.024%)
10% Increase in Military Veteran Share	+0.089%***	(0.025%)
10% Increase in Share of Age 25+ with Bachelor's Degrees or More	+0.014%	(0.011%)
10% Increase in Married-Couple Households	+0.010%	(0.010%)
10% Increase in Households with at Least One Child Under 18	+0.045%***	(0.013%)
$1,000 Increase in Average Household Income vs. State Average	-0.226%***	(0.062%)
10% Increase in Employment Rate of Adults 18+	-0.030%***	(0.009%)
10% Increase in Public Sector Share of Employment	-0.007%	(0.010%)
Sample Size (*N*=)	97	
R^2	0.911	

Source(s): Authors' analysis of Illinois' *Official Canvas* of the General Election on November 8, 2022, the 2020 *American Community Survey* (five-year estimates) from the U.S. Census Bureau, and 2022 dues-paying union members to the Illinois AFL-CIO by county (State Board of Elections, 2022; Census, 2022; Illinois AFL-CIO, 2022; IEA-NEA, 2022). Three asterisks (***) indicate significance at the 99-percent confidence level. Two asterisks (**) indicate significance at the 95-percent confidence level. One asterisk (*) indicates significance at the 90-percent confidence level.

Two other factors were positively associated with higher yes shares of the vote on the Amendment. A 10 percentage-point increase in the military veteran share of a county's population was statistically associated with a 0.09 percentage point increase in the Amendment's yes vote. Additionally, a 10 percentage-point increase in the share of a county's households with children was related to another 0.05 percentage-point

[12] Extrapolated further, if a county was evenly divided—50 percent to 50 percent—between voters selecting the Democratic candidate and the Republican candidate for governor, the split would add about +36 points to the yes vote on the amendment, all else equal. The amendment would need to add +14 points or more from independents, Republicans, and other voters in order to reach a majority in the county.

gain in the yes vote. These relationships are after accounting for other factors, like the racial and ethnic makeup of a county and its share of married-couple households.

There were two economic factors that caused support for the Workers' Rights Amendment to drop. First, a 10 percentage-point increase in a county's adult employment rate correlated with a small 0.03 percentage-point decrease in the Amendment's yes vote. Second, a $1,000 increase in the average household income in a county—compared to the state average of about $95,100 per year—was statistically associated with a 0.2 percentage point decrease in the yes share of the vote on the Amendment. These associations are *after* accounting for the vote share of JB Pritzker, who tended to win counties with the highest employment rates and highest household incomes. Note that the inverse is also true in these regressions: as county employment rates and average household incomes marginally decrease, the yes share of the vote on the Amendment increased. The results indicate that, in the most affluent counties, there were relatively more Pritzker voters who voted against the Amendment while in working-class and middle-class counties, there were relatively more people who did not vote for Pritzker but who did vote for the Amendment.

Five of the factors had no unique and independent effect on the yes share of the vote on the Amendment in Illinois counties. These include the public sector share of the workforce, the population per square mile, the share of households with married couples, the share of people with bachelor's degrees or higher, and the racial or ethnic background of residents.

It is important to be aware that many of these variables are interrelated. For example, voters with bachelor's degrees tended to vote for Governor Pritzker, per the correlation coefficients in Figure 19. Similarly, counties with high shares of Black residents are also tended to vote for Governor Pritzker at higher rates but also have lower household incomes on average due to socioeconomic conditions and structural factors. As a result, education and race have no separate impact on top of (or in addition to) the other statistically significant factors. In other words, while variables like race, education, marital status, and public sector employment are important to consider, the regression suggests that other factors like union membership, veteran status, and income level were much more determinative in the success of the Workers' Rights Amendment.

Bipartisanship and "Split Ticket" Voting Downstate

The Workers' Rights Amendment performed well in Democratic counties and among Democratic-leaning constituencies, but not strong enough to succeed without bipartisan support. The Amendment could not have won without support from Downstate residents, likely registered Republicans, who did not vote for Governor Pritzker (Figure 21). The Amendment needed about 2.07 million yes votes for passage, representing 55.0 percent of the 3.77 million responses to the question. It earned 2.21 million yes votes—enough to clear the win threshold by about 142,000 votes—including about 731,000 yes votes from Downstate.

FIGURE 21: HYPOTHETICAL CHANGE IN AMENDMENT VOTES WITH DOWNSTATE'S YES SHARE MATCHING THE PRITZKER SHARE, 2022

How the Amendment Passed (4,142,642 Total Ballots Cast)	Total Votes	Actual Yes Percent	Pritzker Percent	Actual Yes Votes	If *Downstate* Matched Pritzker
Chicago Area	2,311,570	64.1%	65.3%	1,481,952	1,481,952
Downstate	1,457,358	50.2%	37.7%	731,047	548,829
Statewide Total	3,768,928	58.7%	54.9%	2,212,999	2,030,781
Majority Threshold	2,071,321	55.0%	--	2,071,321	2,071,321
Amendment Win or Loss	--	--	--	**+141,678**	**-40,540**
Amendment Passes	--	--	--	**Yes**	**No**

Source(s): Authors' analysis of Illinois' *Official Canvas* of the General Election on November 8, 2022 (State Board of Elections, 2022). The Chicago Area is defined as the seven-county jurisdiction of the Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning (CMAP, 2022).

However, assuming the following conditions prevailed, a different outcome would have occurred. If the Amendment achieved the same level of support in the Chicago area, the drop-off in votes on the constitutional question versus all ballots cast remained the same, and the yes share of the vote matched the Pritzker share (from 50.2 percent down to 37.7 percent), then the Amendment would have only received about 549,000 votes from Downstate communities. Therefore, the Amendment would have received 2.03 million votes, about 41,000 shy of the 50 percent plus one threshold, and would have lost (Figure 21).

The constitutional question outperformed the Pritzker vote in every Downstate county except one—Champaign County (State Board of Elections, 2022). For example, in very conservative and rural Effingham County in south central Illinois, 78.6 percent of voters voted for the Republican Party in the last presidential election and just 16.3 percent voted for Governor Pritzker in 2022. Yet 26.6 percent said yes to the Amendment, a larger vote proportion than any Democratic candidate for President not named Barack Obama has received since 2004. With less than 2 percent of its population non-white, it is highly probable that at least one-quarter of the county's white, rural Republicans approved the measure protecting workers' rights. This pattern was repeated across Downstate Illinois. Vermilion County is located along the eastern border of Illinois, roughly 95 miles south of Chicago. In the last presidential election, 65.6 percent of its residents—who are over 80 percent white—voted against the Democratic candidate. Pritzker got 30.5 percent of their vote in 2022. Despite the clear Republican Party preference, 50.5 percent of voters favored the Amendment. Adams County, positioned on the western central border of the state, cast only 20.1 percent for Pritzker in 2022. However, the total number of county voters—about 93 percent white—who affirmed the Amendment (36.8 percent) was nearly twice as high as those voting for the incumbent Democratic governor. One more example is Massac County. Situated at the far southern edge of Illinois near Kentucky, the county has been reliably Republican since 2000, has the distinction of being the only county in Illinois to vote against Barack Obama in both of his presidential runs and his 2004 Senate bid, and only cast 21.4 percent of its votes for Pritzker. But a majority—51.0 percent—of voters in the county approved the constitutional question.

This "split ticket" voting on the Governor's race and the Amendment could be explained by social identity theory (Tajfel, 1974; Shayo, 2009; Garand, Qi, & Magaña, 2022; Baccini & Weymouth, 2021). The union vote most likely contributed to the bipartisan nature of county voting outcomes. This effect is more apparent in Downstate counties where the Amendment did better than Pritzker and may have been a reaction to voters' lived experiences during the Rauner Administration. Governor Rauner was viewed as an "existential threat" by union leaders and frequently spoke about undermining labor (Li, Lamare, & Bruno, 2022). Meanwhile, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Indiana adopted so-called "right-to-work" laws weaking unions and both Iowa and Wisconsin implemented draconian restraints on public sector workers' collective bargaining rights. Then, in the June 2018 *Janus v. American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, Council 31, et al.* decision, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned decades of established labor law precedent and imposed new barriers on organizing by bringing "right-to-work" conditions to public sector workplaces across the United States. Illinois' union members likely grasped that they were not immune from political attacks on collective bargaining. Union members may have perceived threats coming from "out-groups" to their economic and safety interests and recognized that their strength as individuals was bolstered by their "in-group" status as union members.

Figure 22 includes summary data on the partisan lean of union members across Illinois. County-level data was provided by the Illinois AFL-CIO from the Vote Choice Index (VCI) model, a predictive model built by a Washington, D.C.-based data analytics firm called Catalist that primarily provides voter information to Democratic pollsters, researchers, and campaigns. Catalist's voter file includes information regarding each individual union member's turnout records in elections dating back to the 2000s, political ideology, voter registration length, income group, age, gender, marital status, housing situation, and a proprietary vote propensity score based on responses to unique survey items covering a variety of political and social issues.

Introduced in 2014, the VCI is "based on actual voting behavior, factoring in longitudinal demographics and precinct-level election results," and scores voters on a scale of 0 to 100, with those between 0 and 30 most likely to vote for Republicans and those between 70 and 100 most likely to vote for Democrats in competitive, two-party races (Catalist, 2022). The measures are highly correlated with scores generated by other sources and methods (Rhodes and Schaffner, 2017).

While the majority of union members in Illinois reside in the Chicago area, union density is higher in Downstate communities (Figure 22). There are 7.3 dues-paying union members per 100 civilian residents in the Chicago area and 8.5 union members per 100 population Downstate. According to the Voter Choice Index model, there are 25 Downstate counties where Democratic-leaning union members outnumber Republican-leaning union members and 65 Downstate counties where the opposite is true. Note that although there are more counties in which Republican-leaning union members outnumber Democratic-leaning union members, these also tend to be lesser-populated counties. Nevertheless, in the Downstate counties with more Democratic-leaning union members than Republican-leaning union members, the Workers' Rights Amendment outperformed Governor Pritzker by +9.4 points. In the Downstate counties with more Republican-leaning union members than Democratic-leaning union members, the Amendment outperformed Pritzker by +16.4 points. The results suggest that, although many Republican union members may have voted for Pritzker's rival, they also leaned into their union cards and supported the Workers' Rights Amendment.

FIGURE 22: AMENDMENT PERFORMANCE VS. GOVERNOR PRITZKER, BY GEOGRAPHY AND UNION VOTERS' PARTY AFFILIATION, 2022

Geographic Area *and* Voter Choice Index (VCI) Political Affiliation of Union Members	Number of Counties	Union Members	Members Per 100 Population	Ratio of Union Voters	WRA Yes Vote	Pritzker Percent	WRA Yes vs. Pritzker Vote
Chicago Area	7	612,001	7.3	8.51 D to 1 R	64.1%	65.3%	**-1.2%**
Downstate*	90	350,311	8.5	1.07 D to 1 R	50.2%	37.8%	**+12.4%**
More Democratic-Leaning	25	206,544	8.5	1.99 D to 1 R	55.4%	46.1%	**+9.4%**
More Republican-Leaning	65	143,778	8.4	2.42 R to 1 D	43.5%	27.1%	**+16.4%**

Source(s): Authors' analysis of Illinois' *Official Canvas* of the General Election on November 8, 2022 (State Board of Elections, 2022). The Chicago Area is defined as the seven-county jurisdiction of the Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning (CMAP, 2022). Democratic-leaning union members, Republican-leaning union members, and the "Ratio of Union Voters" are all determined by the proprietary Voter Choice Index (VCI) model provided to researchers by the Illinois AFL-CIO and built by Catalist (Catalist, 2022). *NOTE: "Downstate" only includes 90 counties because Census data was unavailable for five Illinois counties (Calhoun, Gallatin, Hardin, Pope, and Scott).

To be clear, the Worker's Rights Amendment would not have passed without the majorities and large numbers of voters in Cook County and the collar counties in the Chicago area. Registered Democrats in these jurisdictions and Downstate strongly backed the measure. However, the Workers' Rights Amendment was bipartisan, outpacing Governor Pritzker in rural, less affluent counties with high shares of white residents. This means that the Amendment did better among white working-class voters from rural communities that have been drifting away from the Democratic Party (Potts, 2022). Statistical analysis reveals that union members, military veterans, households with children, and households with middle-class incomes were the primary drivers of the Amendment's success.

Implications of the Workers' Rights Amendment's Passage for Other States

Public approval of labor unions is at its highest level in six decades. Fully 71 percent of Americans approve of labor unions, including 89 percent of Democrats, 68 percent of independents, and 56 percent of Republicans (McCarthy, 2022). At the same time, a majority of Americans, 59 percent, say the long-term decline in the share of workers represented by unions has been "bad" for the country compared to 39 percent who say that it has been "good," a net "bad" of -19 points (Van Green, 2022). This includes 71 percent of Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents and 40 percent of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents.

In the Illinois General Assembly, the Workers' Rights Amendment passed with a bipartisan vote of 49-7 in the Senate and 80-30 in the House of Representatives. The path to the ballot involved 11 Senate Republicans and 9 House Republicans voting yes, while 7 Senate Republicans and 30 House Republicans voted no (Figure 23). Of the 20 Republicans who voted to put the Amendment on the ballot, 19 sought re-election and one State Representative was a candidate for State Senator. Two lost in the Republican primary in June 2022 (Rep. David Welter and Rep. Mark Luft). The other 18 Republican members who made it to the General Election won their elections (90 percent). By contrast, of the 37 Republicans who voted against the Amendment legislation, 34 ran again in 2022, including two State Representatives who ran for State Senate and four who ran statewide—for Governor (Sen. Darren Bailey), Lieutenant Governor (Rep. Avery Bourne), Secretary of State (Rep. Dan Brady), and Treasurer (Rep. Tom Demmer). Only 26 of these Republicans won their elections (76 percent).[13] If those who ran statewide and lost are excluded, 26 out of 30 won their races (87 percent). Finally, five of the six House Republicans who did not vote on the Amendment won re-election (83 percent).[14] In summary, Republican lawmakers who voted for the Amendment legislation fared better in 2022 than those who did not, further underscoring its bipartisan appeal.

FIGURE 22: ELECTORAL SUCCESS OF REPUBLICAN STATE LAWMAKERS WHO VOTED FOR AND AGAINST THE AMENDMENT, 2022

2022 General Election Performance of Republican State Lawmakers Who Voted For or Against Putting the Workers' Rights Amendment on the Ballot in May 2021	Voted Yes to (For) Amendment	Voted No to (Against) Amendment	Voted Present or Was Excused
Total GOP State Senators and State Representatives	20	37	6
Sought Election in General Assembly or Statewide	20	34	6
Won Republican Primary in June 2022	18	33	6
Won General Election in November 2022	18	26	5
Win Percent of Those Seeking Any Elected Office	**90.0%**	**76.5%**	**83.3%**

Source(s): Authors' analysis of "Illinois Amendment 1, Right to Collective Bargaining Measure (2022)" by Ballotpedia and Illinois' *Official Canvas* of the General Election on November 8, 2022 (Ballotpedia, 2022a; State Board of Elections, 2022). NOTE: The 34 lawmakers who voted no to the amendment but ran for elected office again in 2022 include Sen. Darren Bailey, Rep. Avery Bourne, Rep. Dan Brady, and Rep. Tom Demmer, who respectively ran for Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, and Treasurer.

Other states may consider efforts to pass similar measures to counter the spread of constitutional amendments mandating "right-to-work" conditions. A total of 10 states have constitutional amendments that allow workers to receive all the benefits and services of union membership for free without paying dues or "fair share" fees: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Kansas, Mississippi, Nebraska, Oklahoma, South Dakota, and Tennessee (NCSL, 2022). Tennessee passed its Right-to-Work Amendment in November 2022 by

[13] Rep. Avery Bourne lost in the June primary as gubernatorial candidate Richard Irvin's running mate.

[14] Rep. Keith Wheeler voted Present on the amendment and lost re-election in November 2022.

a vote of 69.8 percent yes to 30.2 percent no (Ballotpedia, 2022b).[15] In contrast to these 10 states, just four guarantee a right to collective bargaining: Hawaii, Missouri, New York and now Illinois.

Figure 24 shows states that most closely resemble Illinois along three dimensions: the partisan lean according to the 2022 Cook Partisan Voting Index (PVI), the 2022 unionization rate, and the 2020 average household income. The first group of states all lean between 1 percentage point and 9 percentage points more Democratic than Illinois and have union membership rates that are close to or exceed Illinois—between 2 percentage points below and 9 percentage points above. Two of these states, Hawaii and New York, already have collective bargaining protections in their constitutions. The second group are four states that all have higher unionization rates than Illinois but also have equal or lower Democratic partisan leans. Based the partisan, union density, and income fundamentals, these states may be the most likely to consider introducing measures similar to the Workers' Rights Amendment in upcoming years (Figure 24).

FIGURE 24: STATES MOST SIMILAR TO ILLINOIS BY PARTISAN LEAN, UNIONIZATION RATE, AND AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD INCOME

State	Cook PVI, 2022	Unionization Rate, 2022	Household Income, 2020
Illinois	**D+7**	**13.1%**	**$95,115**
Group 1	>IL	>IL or ≈IL	Mixed vs. IL
California	D+13	16.1%	$111,622
Hawaii	D+14	21.9%	$107,348
Maryland	D+14	11.6%	$114,236
Massachusetts	D+15	12.7%	$115,964
New York	D+10	20.7%	$105,304
Rhode Island	D+8	16.1%	$92,427
Vermont	D+16	12.1%	$83,767
Washington	D+8	18.0%	$103,669
Group 2	≤IL	>IL	Mixed vs. IL
Connecticut	D+7	14.2%	$115,337
Minnesota	D+1	14.2%	$96,814
New Jersey	D+6	14.9%	$117,868
Oregon	D+6	15.5%	$88,137

Source(s): Authors' analysis using data on each state's 2022 Partisan Voting Index by Cook Political Report, "Union Members – 2022" by the Bureau of Labor Statistics at the U.S. Department of Labor, and 2020 average household income by the U.S. Census Bureau (Cook Political Report; BLS, 2023; Census, 2022).

[15] The Tennessee Constitution now states: "*It is unlawful for any person, corporation, association, or this state or its political subdivisions to deny or attempt to deny employment to any person by reason of the person's membership in, affiliation with, resignation from, or refusal to join or affiliate with any labor union or employee organization*" (Ballotpedia, 2022b).

Conclusion

The Workers' Rights Amendment guarantees the fundamental right of all workers to bargain collectively and prevents the state from passing laws that weaken unions. The data show that the Amendment received bipartisan support, passing by a net of more than 17 points on the question and nearly 16 points among all ballots cast. While it performed well in Democratic counties, it outpaced Governor Pritzker in rural and white working-class communities. Statistical analysis reveals that union members, military veterans, households with children, and households with middle-class incomes were the primary drivers behind the Amendment's success. Republican-leaning union members may have been especially important to the Amendment's relative overperformance Downstate. With public approval of unions at its highest level in six decades and Republican lawmakers who voted for the Amendment having greater electoral success than those who voted against it, other states may consider efforts to adopt similar measures in the years to come.

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Appendix

TABLE A: WORKERS' RIGHTS AMENDMENT VOTES VS. GOVERNOR PRITZKER'S VOTES, BY ALL 102 COUNTIES, 2022

County or Geography	Yes Votes on Workers' Rights Amendment (Question)	Pritzker Vote Share in Governor's Race	Amendment Yes vs. Total Votes in Governor's Race
Illinois (Statewide)	**58.7%**	**54.9%**	**53.9%**
Chicago Area Total	64.1%	65.3%	57.8%
Cook	71.7%	73.8%	63.4%
DuPage	53.2%	56.0%	48.8%
Kane	54.3%	53.7%	53.4%
Kendall	56.0%	49.1%	53.8%
Lake	55.9%	60.3%	50.7%
McHenry	50.6%	47.5%	46.8%
Will	58.0%	50.4%	52.7%
Downstate Total	50.2%	37.7%	47.5%
Adams	36.8%	20.1%	34.8%
Alexander	54.8%	40.9%	47.4%
Bond	44.4%	26.0%	41.7%
Boone	48.3%	38.5%	46.5%
Brown	34.1%	15.8%	33.1%
Bureau	47.6%	36.3%	45.7%
Calhoun	48.6%	24.4%	43.2%
Carroll	49.2%	31.0%	46.8%
Cass	45.9%	27.5%	43.7%
Champaign	61.6%	58.9%	58.7%
Christian	45.8%	27.7%	43.8%
Clark	39.6%	19.0%	37.5%
Clay	28.8%	13.4%	27.0%
Clinton	38.9%	20.9%	36.4%
Coles	44.5%	33.4%	42.6%
Crawford	41.0%	19.6%	38.8%
Cumberland	32.3%	18.1%	31.5%
De Witt	42.1%	26.0%	39.8%
DeKalb	56.9%	49.5%	54.5%
Douglas	36.9%	23.9%	35.5%
Edgar	43.6%	22.2%	41.1%
Edwards	29.3%	10.5%	27.4%
Effingham	26.6%	16.3%	25.1%
Fayette	36.8%	16.0%	33.7%
Ford	39.6%	23.8%	38.4%
Franklin	45.4%	21.5%	42.8%
Fulton	53.8%	37.4%	51.9%
Gallatin	48.0%	19.9%	41.9%
Greene	42.1%	20.7%	40.2%
Grundy	52.0%	35.9%	51.3%
Hamilton	37.0%	16.7%	32.2%
Hancock	38.3%	19.8%	36.4%
Hardin	47.8%	16.9%	42.8%
Henderson	49.4%	29.8%	43.5%
Henry	43.7%	35.2%	36.1%
Iroquois	39.0%	18.5%	37.9%
Jackson	60.3%	48.5%	57.7%
Jasper	26.0%	13.8%	25.2%
Jefferson	40.4%	21.4%	38.2%
Jersey	45.2%	23.1%	41.4%
Jo Daviess	49.6%	39.4%	45.6%

County or Geography *(Continued)*	Yes Votes on Workers' Rights Amendment (Question)	Pritzker Vote Share in Governor's Race	Amendment Yes vs. Total Votes in Governor's Race
Johnson	44.1%	17.9%	42.7%
Kankakee	54.3%	37.7%	51.6%
Knox	55.2%	42.5%	52.8%
LaSalle	50.7%	41.7%	48.9%
Lawrence	43.0%	17.8%	39.7%
Lee	45.6%	37.7%	43.0%
Livingston	41.3%	25.2%	39.7%
Logan	43.6%	28.0%	41.8%
Macon	50.9%	39.0%	47.8%
Macoupin	49.6%	30.8%	45.8%
Madison	55.7%	40.6%	50.6%
Marion	39.4%	22.0%	35.7%
Marshall	42.9%	30.8%	40.6%
Mason	49.0%	29.4%	46.2%
Massac	51.0%	21.4%	48.6%
McDonough	46.5%	34.6%	44.6%
McLean	52.4%	49.2%	50.3%
Menard	42.1%	29.7%	40.1%
Mercer	52.6%	33.9%	49.7%
Monroe	45.5%	29.3%	42.9%
Montgomery	50.4%	28.2%	46.9%
Morgan	44.7%	31.3%	43.7%
Moultrie	39.9%	23.6%	38.3%
Ogle	45.6%	33.4%	43.9%
Peoria	56.1%	49.5%	55.1%
Perry	47.2%	23.3%	45.9%
Piatt	45.0%	33.9%	43.8%
Pike	38.2%	16.4%	36.8%
Pope	39.0%	18.0%	35.9%
Pulaski	49.8%	28.8%	41.3%
Putnam	52.8%	38.6%	49.7%
Randolph	46.9%	26.2%	43.6%
Richland	37.4%	18.8%	35.7%
Rock Island	64.4%	53.2%	62.1%
Saline	50.4%	21.4%	47.1%
Sangamon	54.2%	48.0%	50.7%
Schuyler	45.0%	25.3%	42.1%
Scott	36.3%	17.9%	34.1%
Shelby	33.6%	19.3%	31.9%
St. Clair	61.2%	50.8%	57.7%
Stark	46.3%	25.5%	43.4%
Stephenson	54.1%	37.6%	51.2%
Tazewell	45.6%	33.9%	44.1%
Union	47.0%	26.2%	43.2%
Vermilion	50.5%	30.5%	47.9%
Wabash	37.8%	17.9%	35.8%
Warren	49.2%	34.1%	47.6%
Washington	38.3%	19.4%	36.1%
Wayne	24.4%	9.4%	23.3%
White	35.3%	15.2%	33.8%
Whiteside	52.5%	41.6%	50.2%
Williamson	46.5%	27.1%	43.8%
Winnebago	53.2%	47.7%	50.2%
Woodford	35.6%	25.6%	33.5%

Source(s): Authors' analysis of Illinois' *Official Canvas* of the General Election on November 8, 2022 (State Board of Elections, 2022).