

### References

- American Speech-Language-Hearing Association. (2010). *Working for change: A guide for speech-language pathologists and audiologists in schools*. American Speech-Language-Hearing Association. <https://www.asha.org/siteassets/uploadedFiles/Working-Change-Schools-SLPs-Audiologists-Guide.pdf>
- Anderson, K. P., Cowen, J. M., & Strunk, K. O. (2019). The impact of teacher labor market reforms on student achievement: Evidence from Michigan. *Education Finance and Policy*, 1-43. [https://doi.org/10.1162/edfp\\_a\\_00351](https://doi.org/10.1162/edfp_a_00351)
- Anzia, S. F., & Moe, T. M. (2014). Collective bargaining, transfer rights, and disadvantaged schools. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 36(1), 83-111. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0162373713500524>
- Argys, L. M., & Rees, D. I. (1995). Unionization and school productivity: a reexamination. *Research in Labor Economics*, 14, 49-68.
- Ashby, S. K., & Bruno, R. (2016). *A fight for the soul of public education: The story of the Chicago teachers strike*. ILR Press.
- Baron, E. J. (2018). The effect of teachers' unions on student achievement in the short run: Evidence from Wisconsin's Act 10. *Economics of Education Review*, 67, 40-57. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econedurev.2018.09.003>
- Blanc, E. (2019). *Red state revolt: The teachers' strikes and working-class politics*. Brooklyn, NY: Verso Books.
- Brunner, E., Hyman, J., & Ju, A. (2020). School finance reforms, teachers' unions, and the allocation of school resources. *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 102(3), 473-489. [https://doi.org/10.1162/rest\\_a\\_00828](https://doi.org/10.1162/rest_a_00828)

- Brunner, E. J., & Squires, T. (2013). The bargaining power of teachers' unions and the allocation of school resources. *Journal of Urban Economics*, 76, 15–27.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jue.2013.01.003>
- Cameron, D. (2008). *Educational conflict in the sunshine state: The story of the 1968 statewide teacher walkout in Florida*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Education.
- Chingos, M. M., & Peterson, P. E. (2011). It's easier to pick a good teacher than to train one: Familiar and new results on the correlates of teacher effectiveness. *Economics of Education Review*, 30(3), 449-465. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econedurev.2010.12.010>
- Choi, Y., & Chung, I. H. (2016). Voice effects of public sector unions on turnover: Evidence from teacher contracts. *Public Personnel Management*, 45(2), 213-233.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0091026016645063>
- Cowen, J. M. (2009). Teacher unions and teacher compensation: New evidence for the impact of bargaining. *Journal of Education Finance*, 35(2), 172–193.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/40704384>
- Cowen, J. M., & Strunk, K. O. (2015). The impact of teachers' unions on educational outcomes: What we know and what we need to learn. *Economics of Education Review*, 48, 208-223.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econedurev.2015.02.006>
- Dillman, D. A., Smyth, J. D., & Christian, L. H., (2014). *Internet, mail, and mixed-mode surveys: The tailored design method* (3rd ed.). New York: Wiley.
- DiSalvo, D. (2015). *Government against itself: Public union power and its consequences*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Eberts, R. W., & Stone, J. A. (1986). Teacher unions and the cost of public education. *Economic Inquiry*, 24(4), 631-643. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1465-7295.1986.tb01838.x>

- Fallon, K. A., & Katz, L. A. (2008). Augmentative and alternative communication and literacy teams: Facing the challenges, forging ahead. *Seminars in Speech and Language*, 29(2) 112-119. <https://doi.org/10.1055/s-2008-1079125>
- Figlio, D. N. (2002). Can public schools buy better-qualified teachers? *ILR Review*, 55(4), 686-699. <https://doi.org/10.1177/001979390205500407>
- Florida Department of Education. (n.d.) *Public schools/districts*. Florida Department of Education. [https://web03.fldoe.org/Schools/schoolmap\\_text.asp](https://web03.fldoe.org/Schools/schoolmap_text.asp)
- Frandsen, B. R. (2016). The effects of collective bargaining rights on public employee compensation: Evidence from teachers, firefighters, and police. *ILR Review*, 69(1), 84-112. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0019793915603068>
- Freeman, R. B., & Han, E. S. (2012). The war against public sector collective bargaining in the U.S. *Journal of Industrial Relations*, 54(3), 386–408. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022185612442279>
- Freeman, R. B., & Medoff, J. L. (1984). *What do unions do?* New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Gearin, B., Petscher, Y., Stanley, C., Nelson, N. J., & Fien, H. (2022). Document analysis of state dyslexia legislation suggests likely heterogeneous effects on student and school outcomes. *Learning Disability Quarterly*, 45(4), 267-279. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0731948721991549>
- Gilens, M., & Page, B. I. (2014). Testing theories of American politics: Elites, interest groups, and average citizens. *Perspectives on Politics*, 12(3), 564-581. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592714001595>
- Goldhaber, D. (2006). *Are teachers unions good for students?* In J. Hannaway, & A. Rotherham (Eds.), *Collective bargaining in education* (pp. 141–158). Cambridge, MA: Harvard

Education Press.

Goldhaber, D., DeArmond, M., Player, D., & Choi, H. J. (2008). Why do so few public school districts use merit pay? *Journal of Education Finance*, 262-289.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/40704329>

Goldhaber, D., Lavery, L., Theobald, R., D'Entremont, D., & Fang, Y. (2013). Teacher collective bargaining: Assessing the internal validity of partial independence item response measures of contract restrictiveness. *Sage Open*, 3(2), 2158244013489694.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244013489694>

Goldstein, D. (2014). *The teacher wars: A history of America's most embattled profession*. Anchor Books.

Greenhalgh, P. (2012, June 1). *Unions' role in advocacy*. The ASHA Leader.

<https://doi.org/10.1044/leader.IN2.17072012.38>

Grissom, J. A., & Strunk, K. O. (2012). How should school districts shape teacher salary schedules? Linking school performance to pay structure in traditional compensation schemes. *Educational Policy*, 26(5), 663-695.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0895904811417583>

Guthery, S. (2018). The influence of teacher unionization on educational outcomes: A summarization of the research, popular methodologies and gaps in the literature. *The William & Mary Educational Review*, 5(1), 14.

<https://scholarworks.wm.edu/wmer/vol5/iss1/14>

Han, E. S., & Keefe, J. (2022). Teachers' unions: Engaging teachers and improving student achievement in states that prohibit collective bargaining. *Educational Policy*, 36(2), 407-439. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0895904820901476>

- Han, E. S., & Maloney, T. N. (2021). Teacher unionization and student academic performance: Looking beyond collective bargaining. *Labor Studies Journal*, 46(1), 43-74.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0160449X19883373>
- Han, E. S., & Maloney, T. N. (2022). Teachers' unionization, socioeconomic status, and student performance in the United States. *American Journal of Education*, 128(2), 281-325. <https://doi.org/10.1086/717673>
- Hart, C. M., & Sojourner, A. J. (2015). Unionization and productivity: Evidence from charter schools. *Industrial Relations: A Journal of Economy and Society*, 54(3), 422-448.  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/irel.12097>
- Hartney, M., & Flavin, P. (2011). From the schoolhouse to the statehouse: Teacher union political activism and U.S. State education reform policy. *State Politics & Policy Quarterly*, 11(3), 251–268. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1532440011413079>
- Harwood, I. A., Gapp, R., & Stewart, H. (2015). Cross-check for completeness: Exploring a novel use of Leximancer in a grounded theory study. *The Qualitative Report*, 20(7), 1029-1045. <https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2015.2191>
- Henig, J. R. (2013). *The end of exceptionalism in American education: The changing politics of school reform*. Harvard Education Press.
- Henig, J. R., Hula, R. C., Orr, M., & Pedescleaux, D. S. (1999). *The color of school reform: Race, politics, and the challenge of urban education*. Princeton University Press.
- Hertel-Fernandez, A. (2018). Policy feedback as political weapon: Conservative advocacy and the demobilization of the public sector labor movement. *Perspectives on Politics*, 16(2), 364-379. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592717004236>
- Hess, F. M., & Leal, D. L. (2005). *School house politics: Expenditures, interests and*

- competition in school board elections*. In W. G. Howell (Ed.), *Beseiged: School boards and the future of education politics* (p. 228–253). Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Hoffman L. M., Ireland M., Hall-Mills S., & Flynn P. (2013). Evidence-based speech-language pathology practices in schools: Findings from a national survey. *Language, Speech, and Hearing Services in Schools, 44*(3), 266–280. [https://doi.org/10.1044/0161-1461\(2013/12-0041\)](https://doi.org/10.1044/0161-1461(2013/12-0041))
- Hoxby, C. M. (1996). How teachers' unions affect education production. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics, 111*(3), 671-718. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2946669>
- Hoxby, C. M., & Leigh, A. (2004). Pulled away or pushed out? Explaining the decline of teacher aptitude in the United States. *American Economic Review, 94*(2), 236-240. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3592889>
- Hsieh, H. F., & Shannon, S. E. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qualitative Health Research, 15*(9), 1277–1288. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732305276687>
- Iafrate-Bellini, P. (2000). Sometimes one voice does make A difference: Utilizing union negotiations to manage caseload. *Perspectives on School-Based Issues, 1*(1), 2-4. <https://doi.org/10.1044/sbi1.1.2>
- Iafrate-Bellini, P., Green, C. M., & Kuhles, N. L. (2010). School funding advocacy, grants, grant writing, and ASHA's school finance committee. *Perspectives on School Based Issues, 11*(1), 15-20. <https://doi.org/10.1044/sbi11.1.15>
- Janus v. AFSCME, Council 31, 138 S. Ct. 2448, 2458 (2018).
- Johnson, S. M., Donaldson, M. L., Munger, M. S., Papay, J. P., & Qazilbash, E. K. (2009).

- Leading the local: Teachers union presidents chart their own course. *Peabody Journal of Education*, 84(3), 374-393. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01619560902973605>
- Johnson, S. M., Kraft, M. A., & Papay, J. P. (2012). How context matters in high-need schools: The effects of teachers' working conditions on their professional satisfaction and their students' achievement. *Teachers College Record*, 114(10), 1-39.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/016146811211401004>
- Kalkhoff, N. L., & Collins, D. R. (2012). Speech-language pathologist job satisfaction in school versus medical settings. *Language, Speech, and Hearing Services in Schools*, 43(20), 164-175. [https://doi.org/10.1044/0161-1461\(2011/11-0007\)](https://doi.org/10.1044/0161-1461(2011/11-0007))
- Katz L. A., Maag A., Fallon K. A., Blenkarn K, Smith M. K. (2010). What makes a caseload (un)manageable? School-based speech-language pathologists speak. *Language, Speech, and Hearing Services in Schools*, 41(2), 139–151. [http://doi:10.1044/0161-1461\(2009/08-0090\)](http://doi:10.1044/0161-1461(2009/08-0090))
- Leximancer. (2020). Leximancer. <https://www.leximancer.com>
- Lott, J., & Kenny, L. W. (2013). State teacher union strength and student achievement. *Economics of Education Review*, 35, 93-103.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econedurev.2013.03.006>
- Lovenheim, M. F. (2009). The effect of teachers' unions on education production: Evidence from union election certifications in three midwestern states. *Journal of Labor Economics*, 27(4), 525–587. <https://doi.org/10.1086/605653>
- Lovenheim, M. F., & Willén, A. (2019). The long-run effects of teacher collective bargaining. *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, 11(3), 292-324.  
<https://doi.org/10.1257/pol.20170570>

- Lugo, V. A., Wood, C., & Farquharson, K. (2022). Advocacy engagement and self-efficacy of school-based speech-language pathologists. *Language, Speech, and Hearing Services in Schools*, 53(2), 479-493. [https://doi.org/10.1044/2021\\_LSHSS-21-00137](https://doi.org/10.1044/2021_LSHSS-21-00137)
- Lyon, M. A. (2021). Heroes, villains, or something in between? How “right to work” policies affect teachers, students, and education policymaking. *Economics of Education Review*, 82, 102105. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econedurev.2021.102105>
- Lyon, M. A. (2022). Current Perspectives on teacher unionization, and what they’re missing. *Educational Policy*, 1-24. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08959048221103798>
- Lyon, M. A., & Henig, J. R. (2019). Blurring lines? How locally based collaborations handle the redistribution/development tradeoff. *Urban Affairs Review*, 55(4), 1100-1124. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1078087417740704>
- Marianno, B. D. (2021). A negotiated disadvantage? California collective bargaining agreements and achievement gaps. *Educational Researcher*, 50(7), 451-462. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X211006357>
- Marianno, B. D., Bruno, P., & Strunk, K. O. (2021). The effect of teachers’ union contracts on school district efficiency: Longitudinal evidence from California. *SAGE Open*, 11(1), 2158244020988684. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244020988684>
- Marianno, B. D., & Strunk, K. O. (2018). The bad end of the bargain? Revisiting the relationship between collective bargaining agreements and student achievement. *Economics of Education Review*, 65, 93-106. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econedurev.2018.04.006>
- Matsudaira, J. D., & Patterson, R. W. (2017). Teachers’ unions and school performance: Evidence from California charter schools. *Economics of Education Review*, 61, 35-50. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econedurev.2017.09.005>



McCarthy, J. (2022, August 30). *U.S. approval of labor unions at highest point since 1965*.

Gallup. <https://news.gallup.com/poll/398303/approval-labor-unions-highest-point-1965.aspx>

McDougall, C., & Ryan, M. (2018, November 1). *Oklahoma school-based clinicians walk out for fair salaries, restored education funding*. The ASHA Leader.

<https://doi.org/10.1044/leader.SOS.23112018.38>

Milkman, M. (1997). Teachers' unions, productivity, and minority student achievement. *Journal of Labor research*, 18(1), 137-150.

Moe, T. M. (2009). Collective bargaining and the performance of public schools. *American Journal of Political Science*, 53(1), 156–174.

<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2008.00363.x>

Moe, T. M. (2011). *Special interest: Teachers unions and America's public schools*. Brookings Institution Press.

Moe, T. M. (2015). Vested interests and political institutions. *Political Science Quarterly*, 130(2), 277-318. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43828574>

National Center for Education Statistics. (2021, May). *Characteristics of public school teachers*. U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences.

<https://nces.ed.gov/programs/coe/indicator/clr>

National Council on Teacher Quality. (2019, January). *Collective bargaining laws*. National Council on Teacher Quality. <https://www.nctq.org/contract-database/collectiveBargaining>

Osborne-Lampkin, L. T., Cohen-Vogel, L., Feng, L., & Wilson, J. J. (2017). Researching collective bargaining agreements: Building conceptual understanding in an era of

- declining union power. *Educational Policy*, 32(2), 152-188.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0895904817745378>
- Owen, W. F. (1984). Interpretive themes in relational communication. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 70(3), 274-287. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00335638409383697>
- Paglayan, A. S. (2019). Public-sector unions and the size of government. *American Journal of Political Science*, 63(1), 21-36. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12388>
- Qualtrics. (2020). Qualtrics. <https://www.qualtrics.com/>
- Ravitch, D. (2007). Why teacher unions are good for teachers—and the public. *American Educator*, 30(4), 6. <https://www.aft.org/periodical/american-educator/winter-2006-2007/why-teacher-unions-are-good-teachers-and>
- Reardon, S. F., & Raudenbush, S. W. (2006). A partial independence item response model for surveys with filter questions. *Sociological Methodology*, 36(1), 257-300.  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9531.2006.00181.x>
- Rose, H., & Sonstelie, J. (2010). School board politics, school district size and the bargaining power of teachers' unions. *Journal of Urban Economics*, 67, 438–450.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jue.2010.01.001>
- Rosenberg, S., Silva, E., & Farkas Duffet Research Group (2012). *Trending toward reform: Teachers speak on unions and the future of the profession*. Education Sector.  
<https://www.air.org/sites/default/files/publications/REPORT-TeacherSurvey3f.pdf>
- Roth, J. (2017). *Union reform and teacher turnover: Evidence from Wisconsin's Act 10*. Harvard Kennedy School. [https://scholar.harvard.edu/files/jroth/files/roth\\_act10\\_20190329.pdf](https://scholar.harvard.edu/files/jroth/files/roth_act10_20190329.pdf)
- Strunk, K. O. (2011). Are teachers' unions really to blame? Collective bargaining agreements and their relationships with district resource allocation and student performance in

California. *Education Finance and Policy*, 6(3), 354-398.

[https://doi.org/10.1162/EDFP\\_a\\_00039](https://doi.org/10.1162/EDFP_a_00039)

Strunk, K. O., Cowen, J. M., Goldhaber, D., Marianno, B. D., Kilbride, T., & Theobald, R.

(2018). It is in the contract: How the policies set in teachers' unions' collective bargaining agreements vary across states and districts. *Educational Policy*, 32(2), 280-312. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0895904817741546>

Strunk, K. O., Cowen, J., Goldhaber, D., Marianno, B. D., Theobald, R., & Kilbride, T. (2021).

Public school teacher contracts and state-level reforms: assessing changes to collective bargaining restrictiveness across three states. *American Educational Research Journal*, 59(3), 538-573. <https://doi.org/10.3102/00028312211048950>

Strunk, K. O., & Reardon, S. (2010). Measuring union strength: A partial independence item response approach to measuring the restrictiveness of teachers' union contracts. *Journal of Educational and Behavioral Statistics*, 35(6), 629-670.

<https://doi.org/10.3102/1076998609359790>

Ward, V., West, R., Smith, S., McDermott, S., Keen, J., Pawson, R., & House, A. (2014). The role of informal networks in creating knowledge among health-care managers: a prospective case study. *Health Services and Delivery Research*, 2(12).

<https://doi.org/10.3310/hsdr02120>

West, K. L., & Mykerezzi, E. (2011). Teachers' unions and compensation: The impact of collective bargaining on salary schedules and performance pay schemes. *Economics of Education Review*, 30(1), 99-108. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econedurev.2010.07.007>

Wheelan, C. (2010). *Introduction to public policy*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company.

Winkler, A. M., Scull, J., & Zeehandelaar, D. (2012). *How strong are U.S. teacher unions? A*

*state-by-state comparison*. Thomas B. Fordham Institute.

<https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED537563.pdf>

Winters, J. V. (2011). Teacher salaries and teacher unions: A spatial econometric approach.

*Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 747–764.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/001979391106400406>