**Supplementary Information for “Demographic Divides in Canadian Voting, 1945–2023: The Canadian Vote Intention Dataset”**

Jack Lucas, University of Calgary

Tyler Romualdi, Western University

David A. Armstrong II, Western University

Elizabeth Goodyear-Grant, Queen’s University

1. Underrepresentation and Overrepresentation in Canadian Survey Research

Our survey weights allow us to better understand patterns of sampling in Canadian surveys over time. We report these patterns in figure SM.1. Orange cells in the figure are oversampled groups and purple cells are under-sampled groups. The figure suggest that younger Canadians are quite consistently under-sampled by survey researchers, and thus typically receive weights above 1 in our data. Middle-aged Canadians tend to be oversampled through most of the period. Canadians above 50 have been consistently oversampled after 2000. In terms of gender, we find that men were consistently oversampled in Canadian survey research until the 1990s. In recent years, however, women are consistently oversampled in survey research. Finally, we find that Ontario and British Columbia tend to be under-sampled relative to their population in Canadian survey research, while Atlantic Canada, Quebec, and the Prairies tend to be oversampled.

Age Categories

A graph of a number of bars

Description automatically generated with medium confidence

Gender

A graph showing the evolution of a number of bars

Description automatically generated with medium confidence

Region



Oversampled Undersampled

Figure SM.1: Underrepresentation and Overrepresentation, by Year and Group. Summary of general patterns of representation in samples over time. When cell is orange, it indicates that this group was oversampled relative to their presence in the population in that year. When cell is purple, it indicates that this group was undersampled relative to the population in that year.

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**Demographic Divides in Canadian Voting, 1945–2023: The Canadian Vote Intention**

**Dataset Technical Documentation and Codebook**

This document contains the codebook and technical information for the variables included in the Canadian Vote Intention Dataset.

* **source**: This variable describes the original source of the observation:

* + Gallup Canada (1945–2000): 521,190
  + Canadian Election Study (1965–2021): 125,534
  + Environics Focus Canada (1978–2013): 271,109
  + Pollara Perspectives Canada (1992–2002): 62,764
  + Consortium on Electoral Democracy (C-DEM) Democracy Checkup Studies (2019–2023): 39,042

* **survey\_id**: This variable provides the data file name for each of the 680 unique surveys in our dataset. These identifiers allow researchers to return to the original source to add data, check coding, or for any other use. All datasets are publicly available online except for the Pollara Perspectives Canada services, which are available upon request.

* **weight**: Survey weight, calculated annually on the basis of age, sex, and region populations from Statistics Canada. We recommend that this weight be used for any annual estimates from the data.

* **year**: Year in which the survey was completed. Please note that we do not have Gallup Canada surveys in 1946, 1947, 1948, 1950 and 1952. The Environics Focus Canada series ended in 2013, leaving 2014 as a “gap year” before the 2015 Canadian Election Study. Additionally, the C-DEM Democracy Checkup Studies—annual surveys conducted by the Canadian Election Study team in both election and non-election years—began in 2019. Consequently, no data is available for the years between the 2015 and 2019 general federal elections (2016, 2017 and 2018).

* **start\_date**: Date on which data collection began for the survey, recorded at whatever level of specificity was available (for example, month for earlier surveys, exact date for later surveys).

* **end\_date**: Date on which data collection ended for the survey, recorded at whatever level of specificity was available (for example, month for earlier surveys, exact date for later surveys).

* **survey\_date**: Respondent-level date of completion. Only available for CES and C-Dem data from 1984 onward. Note that in two-wave surveys (beginning in 1988), survey\_date is for the pre-election wave.

* **survey\_date\_post**: Respondent-level date of completion for post-election CES surveys.

* **survey\_mode**: Survey completion mode.

* + (1) Face-to-face
  + (2) Online
  + (3) Telephone
  + (4) Unknown
* **vote\_intention**: The item used to measure individuals’ vote intention. The question generally asks, “If a federal election were held today, which party do you think you would vote for?” Given the period covered in the dataset, the vote intention variable captures the emergence, dissolution, or rebranding of different major and minor federal parties throughout Canadian history. We have also created distinct codes for voters intending to “spoil their ballot” (95) and “abstain from voting” (96). Because these questions are asked inconsistently over time, we recommend that these be excluded, along with the “ineligible to vote” (97) and “not stated/refused to answer” (98) before proceeding with any analysis. Lastly, for researchers interested in comparing decided versus undecided voters, we have included a separate category for “undecided” voters (99).

* + (1) Liberal
  + (2) PC / Conservative
  + (3) CCF / NDP
  + (4) Social Credit / Creditiste
  + (5) Labour Progressive
  + (6) Bloc Québécois
  + (7) Bloc Populaire
  + (8) Reform / Alliance
  + (9) Other Party (Examples: Union Nationale, Independent, Parti Nationaliste, Libertarian, Rhinoceros Party, Confederation of Regions, Party of Canada, The Western Canada Concept, Marijuana Party, People’s Party of Canada, ‘Another Party’)
  + (10) Green Party
  + (95) Spoiled Ballot
  + (96) Does Not Vote
  + (97) Ineligible to Vote
  + (98) Not Stated / Refused / Multiple
  + (99) Undecided / Don’t Know

* **vote\_choice**: The availability of this variable is generally limited to federal election years, except in cases when polls asked respondents how they voted in the previous federal election. It follows the same coding conventions as vote\_intention:

* + (1) Liberal
  + (2) PC / Conservative
  + (3) CCF / NDP
  + (4) Social Credit / Creditiste
  + (5) Labour Progressive
  + (6) Bloc Québécois
  + (7) Bloc Populaire
  + (8) Reform / Alliance
  + (9) Other Party (Examples: Union Nationale, Independent, Parti Nationaliste,

Libertarian, Rhinoceros Party, Confederation of Regions Party of Canada, The Western Canada Concept, Marijuana Party, People’s Party of Canada, ‘Another Party’)

* + (10) Green Party
  + (95) Spoiled Ballot
  + (96) Does Not Vote
  + (97) Ineligible to Vote
  + (98) Not Stated / Refused / Multiple
  + (99) Undecided / Don’t Know

* **province**: We have coded this variable to follow provincial census codes. This variable is generally available in all survey sources, with the exception of a small number of surveys that only contain a region indicator. Please note that the territories appear in the data only in the most recent iterations of the Canadian Election Study and C-DEM Democracy Checkup surveys.

* + (10) Newfoundland and Labrador
  + (11) Prince Edward Island
  + (12) Nova Scotia
  + (13) New Brunswick
  + (24) Quebec
  + (35) Ontario
  + (46) Manitoba
  + (47) Saskatchewan
  + (48) Alberta
  + (59) British Columbia
  + (60) Yukon
  + (61) Northwest Territories
  + (62) Nunavut

* **region**: This variable includes information about the respondent’s region of residence, again following coding protocols from Statistics Canada. Please note the “Atlantic” code encompasses Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. The “Prairies” code includes Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. “North” comprises respondents from Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut. The coding for this variable is as follows:

* + (1) Atlantic
  + (2) Quebec
  + (3) Ontario
  + (4) Prairies
  + (5) British Columbia
  + (6) North

* **com\_500**: This variable indicates whether the respondent lives in a community with more than 500,000 residents. To the best of our knowledge, this variable was recorded by the interviewer. The variable is consistently available from 1965 to 1991 but is generally absent after the 1988 Canadian Election Study (except for 1989–1991). For the 2015, 2019, and 2021 Canadian Election Studies, as well as the 2019–2022 C-DEM Democracy Checkup surveys, we manually constructed the com\_500 variable by identifying the population size of the municipality in which the respondent resided. Given the binary nature of this variable, the coding is as follows:

* + (0) No, the respondent doesn’t live in a community with a population >500,000
  + (1) Yes, the respondent lives in a community with a population >500,000
* **com\_100**: This variable indicates whether the respondent lives in a community with more than 100,000 residents. To the best of our knowledge, this variable was recorded by the interviewer. The variable is consistently available from 1945 to 2022. Given the com\_100 variable is also binary, the coding follows the same protocol as com\_500:

* + (0) No, the respondent doesn’t live in a community with a population >100,000
  + (1) Yes, the respondent lives in a community with a population >100,000

* **gender**: Respondent’s gender. Please note that only the most recent Canadian Election Studies (2019 and 2021) and the C-DEM Democracy Checkups surveys (2019–2023) have asked about gender identity beyond the binary options.

* + (0) Man
  + (1) Woman
  + (2) Non-binary / Other gender identity

* **age**: This variable is a continuous measure of the respondent’s age, either calculated from the respondent’s year of birth or provided directly. In Gallup surveys, age is available in this format for the 1945–1951 and 1974–2000 surveys. In the remainder of the data, age is consistently asked as a continuous measure.

* **age\_cats**: This variable represents general age categories. In Gallup surveys from 1952 to 1973, detailed age data were replaced by age categories. From 1953 to 1970, the categories were 21–29, 30–39, 40–49, and above 50. From 1971 to 1973, the categories were 18–20, 21–29, 30–39, 40–49, and above 50. In 1974, the “above 50” category was split into 50–59 and above 60. To ensure consistency across the entire time span, we developed a general age category variable with the following coding:

* + (1) 18–29
  + (2) 30–49
  + (3) 50+

* **religion**: This variable is the respondent’s religion. It’s important to note that religion was asked somewhat more sporadically in the Gallup surveys, particularly in the earlier years. The response options also evolved over time, with a “none” or “no religious preference” option introduced in 1978. Additionally, we observed that the codebook for religion in some Gallup surveys from the early 1970s did not always align with the values in the raw data files. Without careful attention to this discrepancy, Catholic and Jewish respondents were sometimes assigned incorrect values. During our diagnostic testing, we identified significant spikes in the proportion of Jewish respondents around 1973. Upon further investigation, we discovered this issue in the original codebook and corrected the coding to ensure that the proportions of Jewish and Catholic respondents aligned with census data from that period. Lastly, to ensure consistency across the dataset, we collapsed detailed religious information into simplified categories that cover the entire period. Further details on our decisions to consolidate specific religions (or denominations) into broader categories are provided below.
  + (1) Catholic (Roman Catholic; Ukrainian Catholic; Apostolic)
  + (2) Protestant (United Church; Anglican; Presbyterian; Baptist; Lutheran;

Pentecostal; Salvation Army; Mennonite; Evangelical; Christian Reformed; Christian; Church of Christ; Christian Alliance; Protestant (unspc.); Other Protestant; 7th day Adventist; Church of Nazarene; Disciples of Christ; Brethren; Free Methodist; Nondenominational; Worldwide Church; German Church of God;

Christian Science; Zwingli; Church of God)

* + (3) Jewish (Jewish)
  + (4) “Other” (Greek Orthodox; Jehovah Witness; Mormon/L.D.S.; Muslim; Hindu; Sikh; Buddhist; Unitarian; Spiritualist; Hutterite; Swedenborgian; Christadelphian; Wicca; Native/Tribal Beliefs; Religious Movement)
  + (5) None (None; Agnostic; Atheist; No Regular Attendance)
  + (97) Refused / Wildcode
  + (99) Don’t know / Prefer not to answer

* **degree**: This variable indicates whether the respondent has a university degree. In Gallup, there are important coding changes to be aware of with this variable. One occurred between 1961 and 1962. Prior to 1962, the education attainment question appears to have been coded for the category reached, whether or not it was completed. After 1962, the coding categories shifted to include “some university” along with “graduated university.” The second change was in 1993, when the education question was split into two parts: the first asked about school attended, and the second asked whether the respondent graduated. This question structure resulted in an overall increase of the people reporting graduation from university. In the Canadian Election Study, the 1965 education variable is reported as “years of schooling,” ranging from “no schooling” to “30 years.” For our coding, we classified respondents with 17 or more years of schooling as having a degree based on a careful review of census proportions from that period. In the 1968 Canadian Election Study, however, the original documentation for the years of school attended has garbled responses. We could, however, locate the original coding and documentation from the 1968 ICPSR codebook. For this year, we classified respondents who had attended university for three or more years as having a degree. Importantly, we did not count teachers’ college or nursing programs equivalent to a degree at this time. We recommend that researchers keep these coding changes in mind when interpreting long-term trends related to education in the data. The coding for this variable is as follows:

* + (0) No university degree.
  + (1) University education (bachelor’s degree or above).

* **union\_household**: This variable indicates whether the respondent or someone in their household is a union member. Typically, the proportions for this question are expected to be considerably higher than census data, as it asks whether anyone in the respondent’s household is a union member. The coding for this variable is as follows:

* + (0) No, union member in household
  + (1) Yes, union member in household

* **occupation**: This variable is the respondent’s occupation, following Evans and Tilley (2017) via recent Canadian research by Richard Johnston. We caution researchers that the categories for this variable are less stable over time and across survey sources, particularly for categories such as “Armed Forces,” “Retired” and “Student.” Also, the exact meaning of some categories (such as “Managers, Executives, Business Owners”) depends, in part, on the range of occupations included in the original data. For these reasons, focusing on change *within* categories over time is potentially more promising than focusing on voting preference gaps *across* categories. The coding for this variable is as follows:

* + (1) Managers, Executives, Business Owners
  + (2) Professional
  + (3) Routine Non-Manual
  + (4) Working Class
  + (5) Armed Forces
  + (6) Farmer and Fisherman
  + (7) Retired
  + (8) Unemployed
  + (9) Student
  + (99) Other (includes “housewife” and “homemaker”)

* **language**: This variable indicates the respondent’s language. In Gallup surveys, the language question (referred to as mother tongue) changed significantly in 1960. Before 1960, the response options were “English,” “French” or “Both.” Starting in 1960, the “Both” option was dropped and “Other” was added. In other datasets, like the Canadian Election Studies, many surveys asked respondents both their mother tongue (the language learned as a child and still spoken today) and the language spoken most often at home. These variables had the same response options across time, so we combined both mother tongue and language spoken at home into a single language variable to maximize the sample size across survey years (when both variables are available, as is the case for 4 per cent of observations, we use language spoken at home). Below, we describe some of the additional languages labeled as “Other” and provide the coding for the variable.

* + (1)“French”
  + (2) “English”
  + (3) “English and French (Both)”
  + (4) “Other” (Arabic; Chinese; Croatian/Serbian; Czech/Slovak; Danish;

Finnish/Estonian; Ethiopian; German; Greek; Indian/Hindi/Gujarti; Pakistani/Punjabi/Urdu; Italian; Japanese; Hungarian/Magyar; Latvian/Lithuanian; Netherlandic; Dutch; Philippine/Tagalog; Polish; Portuguese; Russian; Scandinavian; Semitic; Spanish; Ukrainian; Vietnamese; Jewish/Yiddish/Hebrew; Korean; Lebanese; Yugoslavian; Native Indian/Inuit; Polish + Ukrainian; Polish; Romanian; Finnish + Swedish; English + Native Indian; Czech + Croatian; Bulgarian; First Nation; Other Western European; Spanish/Portuguese; Other Eastern European; Tamil; Other Asian Language; Other African Language; Southern European; Northern European; South Asian; East Asian; Vietnamese; Somalian.

* (98) “Refused”
* (99) “Don’t Know”

* **language\_var**: This variable records which of the two source variables (mother tongue vs. language spoken at home) was used for each observation.
  + (1) Language spoken at home
  + (2) Mother tongue