**The Labour Vote Revisited- Online Appendices**

**Appendix A- Regression Tables for Models Used in the Paper**

Note: These models show average marginal effects for the models in figures 3 and 4. Average marginal effects are used instead of coefficients because coefficients must be relative to one of the three parties.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Table A1: Impact of Demographics on Vote ROC 2021** | | | |
|  | **Liberal** | **Conservative** | **NDP** |
| Income | 0.006  (0.005) | 0.036\*\*\*\*  (0.005) | -0.041\*\*\*\*  (0.005) |
| Density (per 1000km) | 0.017\*\*\*\*  (0.003) | -0.031\*\*\*\*  (0.004) | 0.014\*\*\*\*  (0.003) |
| Atlantic | 0.123\*\*\*\*  (0.029) | -0.113\*\*\*\*  (0.026) | -0.010  (0.028) |
| West | -0.104\*\*\*\*  (0.015) | 0.057\*\*\*\*  (0.015) | 0.046\*\*\*  (0.015) |
| Woman/Nonbinary | 0.033\*\*  (0.015) | -0.083\*\*\*\*  (0.015) | 0.049\*\*\*  (0.015) |
| Age (Decades) | 0.035\*\*\*\*  (0.005) | 0.031\*\*\*\*  (0.005) | -0.066\*\*\*\*  (0.004) |
| Visible Minority | 0.216\*\*\*\*  (0.020) | -0.092\*\*\*\*  (0.023) | -0.124\*\*\*\*  (0.021) |
| College | 0.022  (0.018) | -0.003  (0.018) | -0.019  (0.018) |
| University Grad | 0.088\*\*\*\*  (0.017) | -0.041\*\*  (0.017) | -0.047\*\*\*  (0.016) |
| Union | 0.011  (0.018) | -0.078\*\*\*\*  (0.021) | 0.067\*\*\*\*  (0.018) |
| Francophone | 0.205\*\*\*\*  (0.041) | -0.151\*\*\*  (0.056) | -0.054  (0.053) |
| Pseudo R2 | 0.089 | | |
| Observations | 6598 | | |
| The table shows average marginal effects with standard errors in brackets. \* p<0.1, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\*\*\* p<0.001 | | | |

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Table A2: Impact of Demographics on Vote ROC 2019** | | | |
|  | **Liberal** | **Conservative** | **NDP** |
| Income | -0.006  (0.006) | 0.036\*\*\*\*  (0.006) | -0.030\*\*\*\*  (0.005) |
| Density (per 1000 km) | 0.022\*\*\*\*  (0.004) | -0.028\*\*\*\*  (0.004) | 0.006\*\*  (0.003) |
| Atlantic | 0.062\*\*  (0.031) | -0.056\*  (0.030) | -0.006  (0.025) |
| West | -0.152\*\*\*\*  (0.017) | 0.146\*\*\*\*  (0.018) | 0.006  (0.016) |
| North | 0.085  (0.191) | 0.070  (0.179) | -0.155\*\*\*\*  (0.045) |
| Woman/Nonbinary | 0.039\*\*  (0.016) | -0.109\*\*\*\*  (0.017) | 0.071\*\*\*\*  (0.014) |
| Age (Decades) | 0.017\*\*\*  (0.006) | 0.018\*\*\*  (0.006) | -0.036\*\*\*\*  (0.005) |
| Visible Minority | 0.099\*\*\*\*  (0.028) | -0.058\*\*  (0.028) | -0.041\*  (0.021) |
| College | 0.009  (0.020) | -0.019  (0.021) | 0.011  (0.018) |
| University Grad | 0.107\*\*\*\*  (0.019) | -0.089\*\*\*\*  (0.019) | -0.018  (0.017) |
| Union | 0.017  (0.020) | -0.091\*\*\*\*  (0.020) | 0.074\*\*\*\*  (0.018) |
| Francophone | 0.173\*\*\*\*  (0.043) | -0.116\*\*\*  (0.044) | -0.058\*  (0.034) |
| Pseudo R2 | 0.073 | | |
| Observations | 5572 | | |
| The table shows average marginal effects with standard errors in brackets. \* p<0.1, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\*\*\* p<0.001 | | | |

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Table A3: Impact of Demographics on Vote ROC 2015** | | | |
|  | **Liberal** | **Conservative** | **NDP** |
| Income | 0.007  (0.007) | 0.039\*\*\*\*  (0.007) | -0.046\*\*\*\*  (0.007) |
| Density (per 1000 km) | 0.001  (0.005) | -0.018\*\*\*  (0.005) | 0.017\*\*\*\*  (0.004) |
| Atlantic | 0.156\*\*\*\*  (0.029) | -0.158\*\*\*\*  (0.023) | 0.002  (0.024) |
| West | -0.122\*\*\*\*  (0.020) | 0.039\*  (0.020) | 0.083\*\*\*\*  (0.018) |
| Woman | 0.066\*\*\*\*  (0.019) | -0.074\*\*\*\*  (0.018) | 0.008  (0.016) |
| Age (Decades) | -0.015\*\*  (0.006) | 0.028\*\*\*\*  (0.006) | -0.014\*\*  (0.006) |
| Visible Minority | 0.146\*\*\*\*  (0.035) | -0.075\*\*  (0.032) | -0.071\*\*\*  (0.026) |
| College | -0.018  (0.024) | 0.028  (0.025) | -0.010  (0.022) |
| University Grad | 0.057\*\*  (0.022) | -0.059\*\*\*  (0.022) | 0.002  (0.019) |
| Union | -0.001  (0.021) | -0.071\*\*\*  (0.020) | 0.073\*\*\*\*  (0.020) |
| Francophone | 0.166\*\*\*\*  (0.045) | -0.157\*\*\*\*  (0.032) | -0.009  (0.039) |
| Pseudo R2 | 0.054 | | |
| Observations | 3366 | | |
| The table shows average marginal effects with standard errors in brackets. \* p<0.1, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\*\*\* p<0.001 | | | |

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Table A4: Impact of Demographics on Vote ROC 2011** | | | |
|  | **Liberal** | **Conservative** | **NDP** |
| Income | 0.031\*\*  (0.013) | 0.002  (0.016) | -0.033\*\*  (0.014) |
| Density (per 1000 km) | 0.019\*\*  (0.008) | -0.029\*\*  (0.012) | 0.010  (0.011) |
| Atlantic | 0.068  (0.053) | -0.032  (0.055) | -0.036  (0.048) |
| West | -0.165\*\*\*\*  (0.034) | 0.111\*\*  (0.044) | 0.054  (0.041) |
| Woman | -0.010  (0.033) | -0.037  (0.039) | 0.048  (0.035) |
| Age (Decades) | 0.026\*  (0.015) | -0.031\*  (0.016) | 0.005  (0.013) |
| Visible Minority | 0.195\*\*  (0.085) | -0.162\*\*  (0.078) | -0.033  (0.077) |
| College | -0.028  (0.043) | -0.048  (0.052) | 0.076  (0.047) |
| University Grad | 0.034  (0.039) | -0.089\*  (0.046) | 0.055  (0.041) |
| Union | -0.023  (0.033) | -0.104\*\*\*  (0.039) | 0.127\*\*\*\*  (0.035) |
| Francophone | 0.134\*  (0.078) | -0.091  (0.081) | -0.044  (0.072) |
| Pseudo R2 | 0.070 | | |
| Observations | 743 | | |
| The table shows average marginal effects with standard errors in brackets. \* p<0.1, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\*\*\* p<0.001 | | | |

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Table A5: Impact of Demographics on Vote ROC 2008** | | | |
|  | **Liberal** | **Conservative** | **NDP** |
| Income | 0.042\*\*\*  (0.015) | 0.009  (0.018) | -0.051\*\*\*  (0.016) |
| Density (per 1000 km) | 0.024\*\*  (0.011) | -0.040\*\*  (0.016) | 0.015  (0.012) |
| Atlantic | 0.069  (0.067) | -0.131\*\*  (0.063) | 0.062  (0.059) |
| West | -0.212\*\*\*\*  (0.040) | 0.102\*\*  (0.048) | 0.109\*\*  (0.042) |
| Woman | -0.002  (0.038) | -0.042  (0.044) | 0.044  (0.037) |
| Age (Decades) | 0.001  (0.016) | 0.020  (0.018) | -0.021  (0.016) |
| Visible Minority | 0.233\*\*\*  (0.074) | -0.141\*  (0.079) | -0.092  (0.062) |
| College | 0.025  (0.049) | -0.031  (0.058) | 0.006  (0.052) |
| University Grad | 0.132\*\*\*  (0.044) | -0.125\*\*  (0.052) | -0.007  (0.045) |
| Union | -0.053  (0.038) | -0.132\*\*\*  (0.043) | 0.185\*\*\*\*  (0.037) |
| Francophone | 0.251\*\*\*  (0.094) | -0.131  (0.097) | -0.121\*  (0.066) |
| Pseudo R2 | 0.119 | | |
| Observations | 535 | | |
| The table shows average marginal effects with standard errors in brackets. \* p<0.1, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\*\*\* p<0.001 | | | |

Note: These models show average marginal effects for the models in figure 4. Average marginal effects are used instead of coefficients because coefficients must be relative to one of the three parties.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Table A6: Effect on Vote Choice** | | | |
|  | **Liberal** | **Conservative** | **NDP** |
| Public Sector | 0.046  (0.036) | -0.015  (0.023) | -0.031\*\*  (0.015) |
| NDP Union | -0.112\*\*\*\*  (0.021) | 0.011  (0.009) | 0.101\*\*\*\*  (0.019) |
| Construction Union | -0.012  (0.060) | 0.229\*\*\*\*  (0.018) | -0.217\*\*\*\*  (0.045) |
| Atlantic | 0.061  (0.079) | -0.159\*\*\*\*  (0.041) | 0.098  (0.101) |
| West | -0.109\*\*\*  (0.035) | -0.063  (0.042) | 0.172\*\*  (0.077) |
| North | -0.088  (0.065) | -0.199  (0.143) | 0.288\*\*\*\*  (0.080) |
| Woman | -0.017  (0.051) | -0.080\*\*\*\*  (0.015) | 0.097\*\*  (0.048) |
| Non-Binary | 0.455  (0.379) | -0.218  (0.305) | -0.237  (0.274) |
| Age | 0.067\*\*\*\*  (0.017) | 0.025\*\*\*\*  (0.006) | -0.092\*\*\*\*  (0.018) |
| Income | 0.009  (0.007) | 0.008\*\*  (0.003) | -0.017\*\*\*\*  (0.004) |
| University | 0.108\*  (0.055) | -0.183\*\*\*\*  (0.012) | 0.075  (0.066) |
| Below Bachelor Post-Secondary | -0.012  (0.031) | 0.088\*\*\*\*  (0.016) | -0.076  (0.048) |
| January Response | 0.004  (0.003) | -0.053\*\*\*\*  (0.001) | 0.049\*\*\*\*  (0.004) |
| April Response | -0.029\*\*\*  (0.010) | 0.026\*\*\*\*  (0.005) | 0.003  (0.011) |
| R2 | 0.135 | | |
| Observations | 1159 | | |
| The table shows average marginal effects with standard errors in brackets. \* p<0.1, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\*\*\* p<0.001 | | | |

**Appendix B- Results For Separate Models for Each Wave of the Survey**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Table B1: Effect on Vote Choice (September Wave)** | | | |
|  | **Liberal** | **Conservative** | **NDP** |
| Public Sector | 0.110\*\*  (0.053) | -0.057  (0.071) | -0.053  (0.067) |
| NDP Union | -0.128\*\*  (0.053) | 0.090  (0.068) | 0.039  (0.076) |
| Construction Union | 0.179  (0.094) | 0.176  (0.114) | -0.354\*\*  (0.137) |
| Atlantic | -0.021  (0.067) | -0.115  (0.091) | 0.136\*  (0.081) |
| West | -0.140\*\*\*  (0.043) | -0.045  (0.051) | 0.186\*\*\*\*  (0.052) |
| North | 0.198  (0.245) | -0.341  (0.214) | 0.143  (0.279) |
| Woman | -0.108\*\*  (0.043) | -0.073  (0.054) | 0.181\*\*\*  (0.053) |
| Non-Binary | -0.329\*\*\*\*  (0.034) | 0.269  (0.240) | 0.060  (0.240) |
| Age | 0.082\*\*\*\*  (0.014) | 0.009  (0.018) | -0.091\*\*\*\*  (0.020) |
| Income | 0.014  (0.012) | 0.016  (0.013) | -0.030\*\*  (0.013) |
| University | 0.187\*\*\*\*  (0.052) | -0.030  (0.090) | -0.157  (0.099) |
| Below Bachelor Post-Secondary | 0.110\*\*  (0.053) | 0.216\*\*  (0.096) | -0.325\*\*\*  (0.099) |
| R2 | 0.155 | | |
| Observations | 578 | | |
| The table shows average marginal effects with standard errors in brackets. \* p<0.1, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\*\*\* p<0.001 | | | |

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Table B2: Effect on Vote Choice (January Wave)** | | | |
|  | **Liberal** | **Conservative** | **NDP** |
| Public Sector | 0.029  (0.064) | 0.016  (0.060) | -0.045  (0.074) |
| NDP Union | -0.100  (0.072) | 0.091  (0.069) | 0.009  (0.073) |
| Construction Union | -0.110  (0.151) | 0.212\*  (0.110) | -0.102  (0.173) |
| Atlantic | 0.048  (0.099) | 0.023  (0.107) | -0.071  (0.135) |
| West | -0.161\*\*\*  (0.047) | 0.002  (0.059) | 0.159  (0.058) |
| North | -0.178  (0.187) | -0.100  (0.240) | 0.278\*  (0.154) |
| Woman | -0.005  (0.049) | -0.109\*\*  (0.056) | 0.115\*  (0.062) |
| Non-Binary | -0.272\*\*\*\*  (0.036) | -0.366\*\*\*\*  (0.038) | 0.637\*\*\*\*  (0.039) |
| Age | 0.046\*\*  (0.020) | 0.027  (0.023) | -0.073\*\*\*  (0.026) |
| Income | -0.006  (0.013) | 0.036\*\*  (0.015) | -0.030\*  (0.015) |
| University | 0.107  (0.105) | -0.132  (0.095) | 0.025  (0.130) |
| Below Bachelor Post-Secondary | 0.043  (0.103) | 0.134  (0.101) | -0.178  (0.130) |
| R2 | 0.122 | | |
| Observations | 565 | | |
| The table shows average marginal effects with standard errors in brackets. \* p<0.1, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\*\*\* p<0.001 | | | |

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Table B3: Effect on Vote Choice (April Wave)** | | | |
|  | **Liberal** | **Conservative** | **NDP** |
| Public Sector | 0.091\*\*  (0.037) | -0.058  (0.073) | -0.033  (0.075) |
| NDP Union | -0.131\*\*\*  (0.049) | 0.023  (0.075) | 0.108  (0.075) |
| Construction Union | -0.064  (0.087) | 0.272\*\*\*  (0.105) | -0.208  (0.137) |
| Atlantic | -0.026  (0.049) | -0.182  (0.113) | 0.208\*\*  (0.103) |
| West | -0.058\*  (0.033) | -0.035  (0.057) | 0.094  (0.059) |
| North | -0.107  (0.134) | -0.130  (0.202) | 0.236  (0.160) |
| Woman | -0.000  (0.035) | -0.078  (0.067) | 0.079  (0.067) |
| Non-Binary | 0.781\*\*\*\*  (0.042) | -0.396\*\*\*\*  (0.034) | -0.384\*\*\*\*  (0.049) |
| Age | 0.079\*\*\*\*  (0.011) | 0.038\*  (0.022) | -0.116\*\*\*\*  (0.023) |
| Income | 0.014  (0.009) | 0.009  (0.012) | -0.022\*  (0.013) |
| University | 0.146\*\*\*  (0.053) | -0.187  (0.120) | 0.041  (0.119) |
| Below Bachelor Post-Secondary | 0.014  (0.050) | 0.073  (0.114) | -0.087  (0.112) |
| R2 | 0.183 | | |
| Observations | 579 | | |
| The table shows average marginal effects with standard errors in brackets. \* p<0.1, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\*\*\* p<0.001 | | | |

**Appendix C- Analysis Using Only Committed (and not Leaning) Respondents**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Table C1: Effect on Vote Choice (Excluding Leaners)** | | | |
|  | **Liberal** | **Conservative** | **NDP** |
| Public Sector | 0.090\*\*\*\*  (0.010) | -0.039\*\*  (0.018) | -0.051\*\*\*\*  (0.012) |
| NDP Union | -0.082\*\*\*  (0.027) | 0.008  (0.007) | 0.074\*\*  (0.034) |
| Construction Union | 0.034  (0.095) | 0.158\*\*\*\*  (0.013) | -0.192\*\*  (0.090) |
| Atlantic | 0.025  (0.056) | -0.149\*\*\*  (0.053) | 0.124\*\*\*  (0.037) |
| West | -0.084\*\*\*\*  (0.024) | -0.083  (0.054) | 0.168\*\*  (0.070) |
| North | -0.143\*\*\*  (0.053) | -0.236\*\*  (0.120) | 0.378\*\*\*\*  (0.067) |
| Woman | -0.024  (0.043) | -0.108\*\*\*\*  (0.008) | 0.131\*\*\*  (0.050) |
| Non-Binary | 0.500  (0.362) | -0.233  (0.313) | -0.267  (0.232) |
| Age | 0.078\*\*\*\*  (0.011) | 0.028\*\*\*\*  (0.007) | -0.106\*\*\*\*  (0.015) |
| Income | 0.011\*\*  (0.005) | 0.016\*\*\*\*  (0.001) | -0.027\*\*\*\*  (0.005) |
| University | 0.154\*\*\*\*  (0.022) | -0.217\*\*\*\*  (0.001) | 0.064\*\*\*  (0.021) |
| Below Bachelor Post-Secondary | 0.036  (0.028) | 0.045\*\*\*\*  (0.005) | -0.081\*\*\*  (0.025) |
| January Response | 0.003  (0.004) | -0.062\*\*\*\*  (0.003) | 0.059\*\*\*\*  (0.005) |
| April Response | 0.005  (0.005) | 0.015  (0.009) | -0.020\*\*  (0.009) |
| R2 | 0.148 | | |
| Observations | 1078 | | |
| The table shows average marginal effects with standard errors in brackets. \* p<0.1, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\*\*\* p<0.001 | | | |

**Appendix D- Analysis Without Weighting by Union Sector**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Table D1: Effect on Vote Choice** | | | |
|  | **Liberal** | **Conservative** | **NDP** |
| Public Sector | 0.046  (0.031) | -0.021  (0.025) | -0.025\*\*\*\*  (0.006) |
| NDP Union | -0.117\*\*\*\*  (0.027) | 0.035\*\*\*\*  (0.007) | 0.082\*\*\*\*  (0.029) |
| Construction Union | -0.013  (0.078) | 0.255\*\*\*\*  (0.028) | -0.242\*\*\*  (0.075) |
| Atlantic | 0.055  (0.085) | -0.133\*\*  (0.053) | 0.079  (0.075) |
| West | -0.102\*\*\*  (0.033) | -0.055  (0.057) | 0.157\*  (0.088) |
| North | -0.087  (0.067) | -0.194  (0.154) | 0.281\*\*\*  (0.089) |
| Woman | -0.028  (0.050) | -0.069\*\*\*\*  (0.005) | 0.097\*  (0.052) |
| Non-Binary | 0.393  (0.382) | -0.128  (0.304) | -0.265  (0.241) |
| Age | 0.070\*\*\*\*  (0.015) | 0.030\*\*\*\*  (0.007) | -0.100\*\*\*\*  (0.019) |
| Income | 0.011\*\*  (0.005) | 0.011\*\*\*\*  (0.002) | -0.022\*\*\*\*  (0.003) |
| University | 0.128\*\*\*  (0.039) | -0.162\*\*\*\*  (0.021) | 0.034  (0.060) |
| Below Bachelor Post-Secondary | 0.015  (0.010) | 0.098\*\*\*\*  (0.027) | -0.112\*\*\*  (0.035) |
| January Response | 0.006  (0.007) | -0.057\*\*\*\*  (0.001) | 0.052\*\*\*\*  (0.008) |
| April Response | -0.015\*\*  (0.007) | 0.019\*\*\*  (0.007) | -0.003  (0.011) |
| R2 | 0.129 | | |
| Observations | 1159 | | |
| The table shows average marginal effects with standard errors in brackets. \* p<0.1, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\*\*\* p<0.001 | | | |

**Appendix E- Survey Questionnaire**

QProv- In which province or territory do you live?

Q1- Are you currently a member of a labour union?

Yes, a primarily private sector union

Yes, a primarily public sector union

Q2- Which labour union are you a member of?

A drop down menu with 157 unions was provided as well as an option for a respondent to indicate a union other than those in the menu.

Q3- How satisfied would you say you are with how your union represents your interests at your job?

Very satisfied

Somewhat satisfied

Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied

Somewhat dissatisfied

Very dissatisfied

Don't know/No response

Q4A- If your union endorsed a candidate or a political party in a federal election, would the endorsement make you...

Much less likely to support that candidate/political party

Somewhat less likely to support that candidate/political party

Have no impact on my voting intention

Somewhat more likely to support that candidate/political party

Much more likely to support that candidate/political party

Don't know/No response

Q4B- If your union endorsed a candidate or a political party in a provincial/territorial election, would the endorsement make you...

Much less likely to support that candidate/political party

Somewhat less likely to support that candidate/political party

Have no impact on my voting intention

Somewhat more likely to support that candidate/political party

Much more likely to support that candidate/political party

Don't know/No response

Q4C- If your union endorsed a candidate/or a political party in a municipal election, would the endorsement make you...

Much less likely to support that candidate/political party

Somewhat less likely to support that candidate/political party

Have no impact on my voting intention

Somewhat more likely to support that candidate/political party

Much more likely to support that candidate/political party

Don't know/No response

Federal\_Vote- If a federal election were held tomorrow, which party would you vote for?

Fed\_Leaning- Even if you do not have a firm idea, are you leaning towards a party?

Fed\_Leaning\_Vote- As it stands, towards which party are you leaning?

Prov\_Vote- If a provincial election were held tomorrow, which party would you vote for?

Prov\_Leaning- Even if you do not have a firm idea, are you leaning towards a party?

Prov\_Leaning\_Vote- As it stands, towards which party are you leaning?

QGENDER- What is your gender?

Male

Female

A transgender male

A transgender female

Non-binary

No response

QAGE- What is your age?

18-34

35-44

45-54

55-64

65 or greater

No response

QINC- What is your annual household income from all sources before taxes?

Less than $10,000

$10,000-$19,999

$20,000-$29,999

$30,000-$39,999

$40,000-$49,999

$50,000-$59,999

$60,000-$79,999

$80,000-$99,999

$100,000-$119,999

$120,000-$159,999

$160,000-$219,999

$220,000 or more

Don't know / No response

QEDUC- What is the highest level of schooling that you have completed?

Grade 8 or less

Some high school

High School diploma or equivalent

Registered Apprenticeship or other trades certificate or diploma

College, CEGEP or other non-university certificate or diploma

University certificate or diploma below bachelor's level

Bachelor's degree

Post graduate degree above bachelor's level

No response