**Appendix:**

**The Changing Nature of Class Voting in Canada, 1965–2019**

**Appendix**

**A1 Descriptive Statistics**

**A2 Attitudinal policy variable questions**

**A3 Class Voting in Canada over time (Alternative Figure 1)**

**A4 Coefficients from Quebec and Rest of Canada OLS models predicting party vote by the working class (Alternative Figure 2)**

**A5 OLS Regression Results of Working-Class Vote, 1993-2019 for Quebec only**

**A1 Descriptive Statistics**

For the categorical variables (Class, Religion, Region, and Income) we provide the mean and standard deviation of each category within the variable, so the means can be interpreted as percentages.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Variable** | **Observations** | **Mean** | **Std. Dev.** |
| (Class) Professional | 7,111 | 0.2467555 | 0.4311307 |
| (Class) Managers | 4,109 | 0.1425845 | 0.3496547 |
| (Class) Routine Non-Manual | 7,766 | 0.2694844 | 0.4436996 |
| (Class) Working-Class | 5,741 | 0.1992158 | 0.3994176 |
| (Class) Self-Employed | 4,091 | 0.1419599 | 0.349015 |
| Age | 51,583 | 47.53169 | 17.07638 |
| Male | 52,808 | 0.4813286 | 0.499656 |
| Degree | 51,015 | 0.2350289 | 0.424021 |
| (Religion) None | 7,517 | 0.1490847 | 0.3561755 |
| (Religion) Catholic | 21,151 | 0.4194879 | 0.4934801 |
| (Religion) Protestant | 19,255 | 0.3818845 | 0.4858533 |
| (Religion) Other | 2,498 | 0.0495428 | 0.2170007 |
| (Region) East | 7,541 | 0.1432534 | 0.3503344 |
| (Region) Quebec | 13,197 | 0.2506981 | 0.4334191 |
| (Region) Ontario | 15,331 | 0.2912369 | 0.4543367 |
| (Region) West | 16,572 | 0.3148116 | 0.4644452 |
| (Income) 1 | 8,182 | 0.1704583 | 0.3760389 |
| (Income) 2 | 10,421 | 0.2171042 | 0.4122784 |
| (Income) 3 | 10,236 | 0.21325 | 0.409607 |
| (Income) 4 | 8,989 | 0.1872708 | 0.3901328 |
| (Income) 5 | 10,172 | 0.2119167 | 0.4086704 |
| Union | 44,544 | 0.349542 | 0.4768307 |
| Redistribution | 26,597 | 0.763752 | 0.248011 |
| Market Liberalism | 30,243 | 0.492548 | 0.279086 |
| Moral Traditionalism | 30,208 | 0.410905 | 0.324837 |
| Immigration Rates | 31,223 | 0.572383 | 0.341206 |
| NDP | 38,122 | 0.1631341 | 0.3694929 |
| Liberal | 38,122 | 0.3622842 | 0.4806667 |
| Conservative | 38,122 | 0.3741409 | 0.4839066 |
| Bloc | 38,122 | 0.0537747 | 0.2255756 |
| NDP vs Right | 20,482 | 0.3036325 | 0.459837 |
| Liberal vs Right | 28,074 | 0.4919498 | 0.4999441 |
| Bloc vs Right | 16,313 | 0.1256666 | 0.3314834 |

**A2 Attitudinal policy variable questions**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Variable** | **Question(s)** | **Year(s)** |
| Market Liberalism | * Government should leave it entirely to the private sector to create jobs. | 1993–2019 |
| * People who don't get ahead should blame themselves not the system. | 1993–2019 |
| Moral Traditionalism | * Society would be better off if more women stayed home with their children. | 1993–2019 |
| * Gays and lesbians should be allowed to get married | 1993–2015 |
| * How much do you think should be done for Gays & Lesbians | 2019 |
| Redistribution | * How much should be done to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor in Canada | 1993–2019 |
| Immigration  Rates | * Do you think Canada should admit: more immigrants, fewer immigrants, or about the same | 1993–2019 |

**A3 Class Voting in Canada over time**

Histogram

Description automatically generated

Figure A3a: Effect of social class on party vote, with self-employed and controls, 1979-2019.

Chart, histogram

Description automatically generated

Figure A3b: Effect of social class on party vote, with no controls, and with no self-employed, 1965-2019.

**A4 Working Class Party Voting for Quebec and Rest of Canada (ROC)**

**Quebec**

Chart

Description automatically generated

*Coefficients from rest of Canada (ROC) OLS models predicting party vote by working class, with key class-related controls for age, degree, gender, income, region, religion, and union status.*

**Rest of Canada**

Chart

Description automatically generated

*Coefficients from Quebec OLS models predicting party vote by working class, with key class-related controls for age, degree, gender, income, religion, and union status.*

**A5 OLS Logistic Regression Results of Working-Class Vote for Quebec**

**Table A5a: OLS Regression of Working-Class Vote for Bloc Québécois, 1993-2019**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Bloc | | |
|  | 1990s | 2000s | 2010s |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) |
| Age | -0.003 | -0.003 | -0.002 |
|  | (0.003) | (0.004) | (0.005) |
| Male | 0.032 | -0.145 | -0.181 |
|  | (0.086) | (0.106) | (0.177) |
| Income | -0.000 | 0.049 | -0.006 |
|  | (0.038) | (0.037) | (0.052) |
| Degree | -0.035 | -0.025 | 0.276 |
|  | (0.164) | (0.138) | (0.168) |
| Union | 0.293\*\*\* | -0.092 | 0.130 |
|  | (0.085) | (0.090) | (0.115) |
| (Religion) None | *(ref)* | *(ref)* | *(ref)* |
|  |  |  |  |
| (Religion) Cath. | 0.155 | -0.020 | -0.380\*\* |
|  | (0.283) | (0.145) | (0.141) |
| (Religion) Prot. | -0.075 | -0.191 | -0.521 |
|  | (0.363) | (0.218) | (0.504) |
| (Religion) Other | 0.030 |  | -0.416 |
|  | (0.386) |  | (0.502) |
| Redistribution | -0.209 | -0.271 | 0.101 |
|  | (0.146) | (0.169) | (0.233) |
| Market Lib. | -0.140 | -0.457\*\* | 0.036 |
|  | (0.146) | (0.150) | (0.242) |
| Immigration | 0.014 | 0.082 | 0.132 |
|  | (0.123) | (0.166) | (0.161) |
| Traditionalism | 0.006 | -0.218+ | -0.158 |
|  | (0.151) | (0.129) | (0.213) |
| Constant | 0.123 | 0.717\* | 0.849\* |
|  | (0.354) | (0.287) | (0.402) |
| *Fixed Effects* | Year | Year | Year |
| *N* | 152 | 155 | 96 |
| *R2* | 0.24 | 0.16 | 0.18 |
| *Adjusted R2* | 0.17 | 0.08 | 0.03 |

Table A5a: OLS models predicting Bloc Québécois vote of the working class, with key class-related controls for age, gender, income, region, religion, and union status.

**Table A5b: OLS Regression of Working-Class Vote for National Parties in Quebec, 1993-2019**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | NDP | | | Liberal | | | Conservative | | |
|  | 1990s | 2000s | 2010s | 1990s | 2000s | 2010s | 1990s | 2000s | 2010s |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| Age | -0.000 | 0.003 | -0.005 | -0.001 | 0.001 | 0.010\*\* | 0.007\* | -0.001 | -0.002 |
|  | (0.001) | (0.002) | (0.005) | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.004) |
| Male | -0.010 | 0.068 | 0.118 | -0.103 | 0.048 | 0.049 | 0.054 | 0.039 | 0.015 |
|  | (0.015) | (0.049) | (0.181) | (0.077) | (0.075) | (0.129) | (0.073) | (0.093) | (0.157) |
| Income | -0.011+ | 0.003 | -0.003 | 0.014 | -0.074\*\* | -0.009 | 0.002 | 0.035 | 0.018 |
|  | (0.006) | (0.017) | (0.053) | (0.033) | (0.026) | (0.038) | (0.032) | (0.032) | (0.046) |
| Degree | 0.113\*\*\* | -0.070 | -0.043 | 0.091 | 0.093 | -0.068 | -0.159 | -0.043 | -0.165 |
|  | (0.028) | (0.063) | (0.172) | (0.146) | (0.098) | (0.123) | (0.139) | (0.120) | (0.150) |
| Union | 0.001 | 0.039 | 0.012 | -0.237\*\* | -0.010 | 0.046 | -0.043 | 0.046 | -0.188 |
|  | (0.015) | (0.041) | (0.118) | (0.076) | (0.064) | (0.084) | (0.072) | (0.079) | (0.103) |
| (Religion) None | *(ref)* | *(ref)* | *(ref)* | *(ref)* | *(ref)* | *(ref)* | *(ref)* | *(ref)* | *(ref)* |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (Religion) Cath. | 0.024 | -0.141\* | 0.163 | 0.344 | 0.057 | 0.085 | -0.196 | 0.072 | 0.133 |
|  | (0.048) | (0.066) | (0.144) | (0.251) | (0.103) | (0.103) | (0.239) | (0.126) | (0.125) |
| (Religion) Prot. | -0.023 | -0.188+ | 0.651 | 0.736\* | 0.335\* | -0.284 | -0.289 | 0.052 | 0.155 |
|  | (0.062) | (0.100) | (0.516) | (0.322) | (0.155) | (0.368) | (0.307) | (0.191) | (0.448) |
| (Religion) Other | -0.018 |  | 0.116 | 0.390 |  | 0.496 | -0.050 |  | -0.195 |
|  | (0.066) |  | (0.513) | (0.343) |  | (0.366) | (0.327) |  | (0.446) |
| Redistribution | 0.001 | -0.009 | -0.383 | -0.096 | 0.187 | 0.088 | 0.306\* | 0.114 | 0.194 |
|  | (0.025) | (0.077) | (0.238) | (0.129) | (0.120) | (0.170) | (0.123) | (0.148) | (0.207) |
| Market Lib. | -0.027 | 0.006 | -0.195 | 0.002 | 0.134 | 0.005 | 0.176 | 0.326\* | 0.154 |
|  | (0.025) | (0.069) | (0.247) | (0.130) | (0.107) | (0.177) | (0.124) | (0.131) | (0.215) |
| Immigration | -0.008 | -0.087 | 0.126 | -0.015 | -0.168 | -0.291\* | -0.013 | 0.177 | 0.034 |
|  | (0.021) | (0.076) | (0.165) | (0.109) | (0.118) | (0.118) | (0.104) | (0.145) | (0.143) |
| Traditionalism | -0.023 | -0.033 | -0.163 | 0.126 | 0.151 | 0.235 | -0.156 | 0.079 | 0.086 |
|  | (0.026) | (0.059) | (0.218) | (0.134) | (0.091) | (0.156) | (0.128) | (0.112) | (0.190) |
| Constant | 0.076 | 0.093 | -0.117 | -0.050 | 0.280 | -0.005 | 0.474 | -0.168 | 0.274 |
|  | (0.060) | (0.131) | (0.411) | (0.315) | (0.204) | (0.294) | (0.300) | (0.250) | (0.358) |
| *Fixed Effects* | Year | Year | Year | Year | Year | Year | Year | Year | Year |
| *N* | 152 | 155 | 96 | 152 | 155 | 96 | 152 | 155 | 96 |
| *R2* | 0.17 | 0.09 | 0.20 | 0.15 | 0.21 | 0.30 | 0.15 | 0.15 | 0.10 |
| + *p* < 0.1, \* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001 | | | | | | | | | |

Table A5b: OLS models predicting national party voting of the working class, with key class-related controls for age, gender, income, region, religion, and union status.