Online appendix for: Affluence and influence in a social democracy

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Appendix A: Policy areas

Table A1: Most constested policy proposals across income levels, by policy area

	Policy	Support among income groups (%)				
		Poor (P10)	Middle (P50)	Affluent (P90)	P90-P10	Adopted after 4 years?
Economy						
1983	Prioritise Norwegians when hiring	72	66	46	-26	NO
1982	Government bail-out of businesses	61	55	37	-24	YES
1984	Ban private hospitals	69	58	45	-24	NO
1982	Inflation adjusted NRK fee	6	20	30	+24	NO
1986	Increase national budget	59	54	35	-23	YES
1990	Gas fee	19	26	41	+22	NO
1988	1988 Bill on income regulation	67	54	46	-22	YES
1989	Government decides wage level	91	75	70	-21	YES
1983	Reduce tax on high incomes	17	25	37	+21	YES
1977	Wage equalization fund	45	35	25	-20	NO
Moral						
1992	Apply for EU membership	25	41	63	+38	YES
1990	EEA Agreement	69	87	95	+27	YES
2007	Military troops to Southern Afghanistan	37	52	56	+18	NO
2004	Apply for EU membership	47	55	65	+18	NO
1978	Withdraw troops from Lebanon	53	34	35	-18	NO
1978	Traffic control cameras	83	70	65	-18	NO
1984	Information office for PLO in Norway	32	38	49	+17	YES
1980	Leave NATO	33	12	17	-16	NO
2003	Full military participation in Iraq	38	28	22	-16	NO
2007	Withdraw troops from Afghanistan	51	51	35	-16	NO
Foreign/security						
1972	Allow liquor serving on Saturdays	44	66	82	+38	YES
1972	Allow liquor serving on hollidays	38	54	74	+36	YES
1978	No homosexual doctors	50	36	18	-32	NO
1978	Allow homosexuals teachers	43	59	72	+29	YES
1970	Re-criminalize intoxication in public	72	59	43	-28	NO
1982	The Wine Monopoly closed on Saturdays	67	63	39	-28	NO
1970	Ban "strong beer" from grocery stores.	55	42	28	-27	NO
1966	Allow Norwegian Riksmål in offical grammar	60	73	87	+27	NO
1978	Allow homosexuals priests	44	59	70	+26	NO
1988	Forcefully isolate people with AIDS	54	42	28	-26	NO
Other						
1988	Second nationwide TV-channel	47	74	75	+27	YES
1993	Merging of municipalities	25	34	51	+26	NO
1988	No main airport in Hurum	59	47	34	-25	NO
1988	Ban TV3 in Norway	39	16	14	-25	NO
2013	Impact assessment in LoVeSe	51	59	73	+22	NO
1979	Oil search north of the 62nd latitutde	41	53	63	+22	YES
1989	No main airport in Hurum	89	81	67	-22	YES
2006	Prevent MP spending on social events	76	66	55	-21	NO
1989	Limit on car use, 10.000 km/year/houshold	50	34	30	-20	NO
1981	Other broadcasters than NRK	59	69	77	+18	YES

Table A2: Coding of policy areas (n in full dataset / n in dataset used in letter)

Economic policy (162/110)	Moral policy; value issues (212/164)	Foreign/Security policy (134/68)	Other issues (95/55)
economic welfare (35/20)	abortion (14/13)	bilateral relations (9/7)	climate (26/10)
fees (14/14)	adoption (5/4)	EU (37/9)	decentralization (7/3)
government intervention in economy (16/15)	age limits (2/1)	foreign aid (21/9)	energy (10/5)
labor market (25/22)	alchohol (34/34)	foreign operations (8/8)	environment (9/3)
oil fund (2/2)	animal welfare (2/2)	international sports (4/4)	infrastructure (6/5)
pensions (7/7)	beggars (4/1)	military (24/14)	other regulation (5/5)
privatization (12/6)	children (3/3)	NATO (13/7)	political system (15/8)
spending (12/5)	crime (9/7)	police authority (6/1)	sports (4/4)
subsidies (10/7)	death penalty (4/4)	surveillance (10/7)	television (13/12)
tax (29/12)	drugs (3/2)	terrorism (2/2)	
	euthanasia (6/4)		
	gender (8/7)		
	GMO (3/0)		
	HIV/AIDS (11/11)		
	homosexuality (16/10)		
	immigration (6/3)		
	language (4/4)		
	other moral (8/7)		
	pornography (4/0)		
	prostitution (6/6)		
	religion (22/9)		
	school (23/18)		
	tobacco (11/10)		
	treatment (2/2)		
	violent sport (2/2)		

Table A3: Policy reponsiveness when preferences diverege, by policy area.

	Effect (logit coeffi-cient)	Standard error	Predicted probability of policy change at 20% support	Predicted probability of policy change at 80% support	Relative change in proba-bility	N
Economy						
Poor (P10)	0.64*	0.33	0.17	0.54	3.2	49
Affluent (P90)	0.85*	0.47	0.15	0.65	4.4	49
Moral						
Poor (P10)	-0.25	0.27	0.33	0.2	0.6	99
Affluent (P90)	0.59**	0.26	0.14	0.46	3.3	99
Foreign/Security						
Poor (P10)	0.29	0.35	0.22	0.39	1.7	52
Affluent (P90)	0.93**	0.36	0.11	0.62	5.6	52
Other						
Poor (P10)	0.23	0.39	0.25	0.39	1.5	35
Affluent (P90)	0.97**	0.46	0.1	0.61	6.4	35

Note:
Bivariate logistic regression models (rows). The dependent variable is a dichotomous measure of whether or not the policy change was adopted within four years of the time of the survey question. Included are policy proposals where preferences diverege between the 90th and 10th income percentiles. To ensure an acceptable sample size in each domain (around 50 or more where possible), the cutoff-point for inclusion was set to 8 points for economic and moral issues, and 4 points for foreign policy and 'other' issues (due to the lower n on the latter two topics). The lower threshold for the latter two could pose a challenge for comparison if it showed equal responsiveness, however, since it already shows highly unequal responsiveness, we can be fairly certain that this would not change much with a higher threshold. The same, of course, applies to moral issues. The effect size for the poor on economic policy remained essentially the same at higher cut-off points (b=0.62, se=0.33 at 10p; b=0.58, se=0.37 at 12p). The results are also robust to an alternative model specification, as reported in Table A4 below.*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A4: Alternative specification for estimating unequal responsiveness by policy area

	Effect (OLS coefficient)	Standard error	p-value	N
Economy				
Affluent minus poor	-0.09	0.41	0.835	110
Moral				
Affluent minus poor	0.71***	0.21	0.001	164
Foreign/Security				
Affluent minus poor	1.48***	0.43	0.001	68
Other				
Affluent minus poor	1.34***	0.47	0.006	55

Note:
OLS regression models (rows). Alternative specification, as proposed by Schakel, Burgoon and Hakhverdian (2020, 154-155). The dependent variable is a dichotomous measure of whether or not the policy change was adopted within four years of the time of the survey question. The independent variable 'Affluent minus poor' was calculated by taking (% support of P90) minus (% support of P10). A positive coefficient means that policy is biased towards the preferences of the affluent, while a negative coefficient means that policy is biased towards the preferences of the poor. All models include controls for overall policy support. See Schakel, Burgoon and Hakhverdian (2020) for details about this method. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Appendix B: Cutoff-points for preference divergence

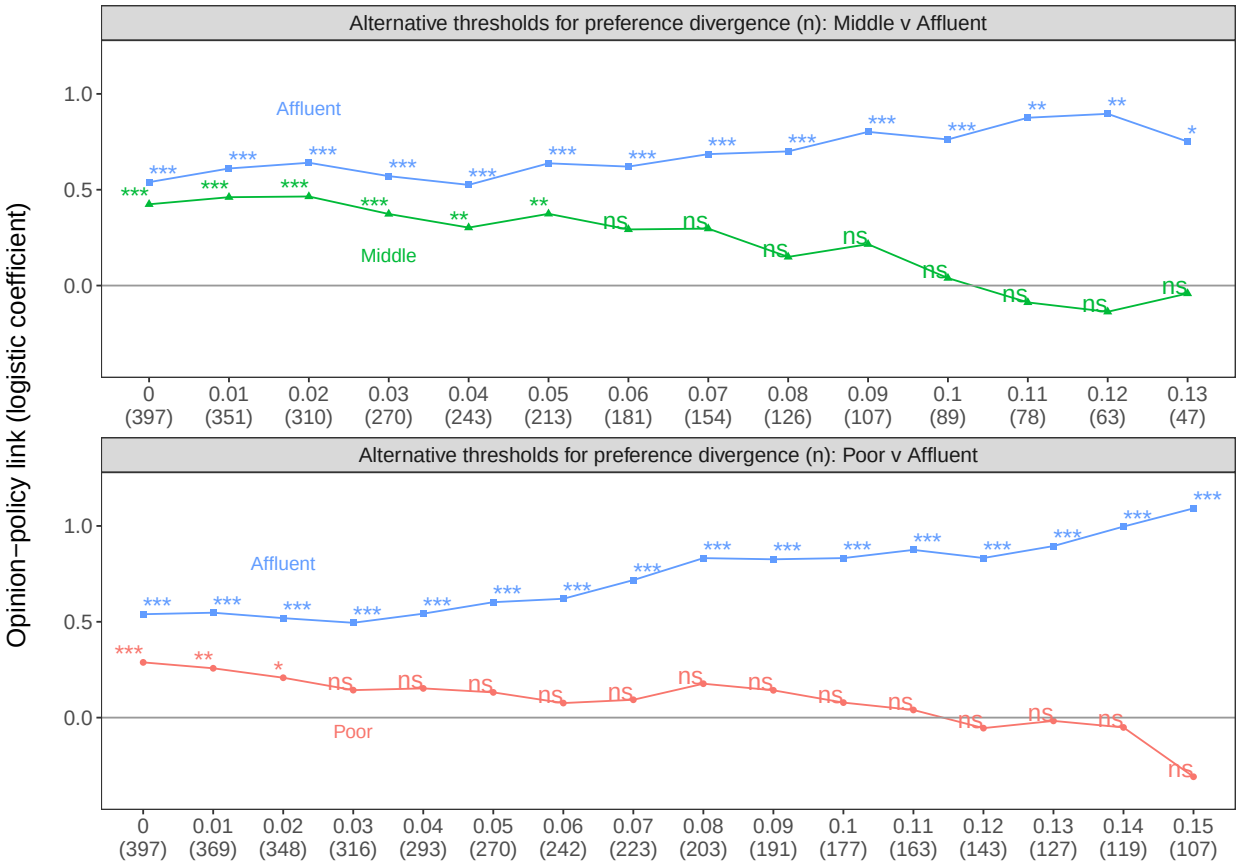

Figure B1: Alternative cutoff-points for the preference divergence between income groups.*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Appendix C: Is unequal responsiveness conditioned by time and issue salience?

To check whether inequality has increased over time I simply split the sample of proposals where preferences diverge into two: those before 1985 and those after (this creates two almost equally sized samples). The results are quite similar in the two samples with respect to the overall conclusion. To check whether inequality is lower on more salient issues, I extracted all the survey items that had a 'don't know' response option. Salience was then measured using the percentage of respondents answering 'don't know' (or equivalents) to the survey

item, under the assumption that salient issues have a lower share of such responses. I again split the sample into two: those with less than 13% 'don't know's', and those with more than 13% (two almost equally sized samples). Unequal responsiveness was even larger in the high salience sample than in the low salience sample of, suggesting no extra influence for the less-well off on highly salient matters.

Table C1: Policy reponsiveness when preferences diverege (>10p), by time period.

	Effect (logit coeffi-cient)	Standard error	Predicted probability of policy change at 20% support	Predicted probability of policy change at 80% support	Relative change in proba-bility	N
1966-1984						
Poor (P10)	-0.03	0.24	0.36	0.34	1	83
Affluent (P90)	0.6**	0.25	0.2	0.57	2.9	83
1985-2014						
Poor (P10)	0.23	0.28	0.21	0.33	1.6	94
Affluent (P90)	1.27***	0.38	0.06	0.67	11.6	94

Note:
Bivariate logistic regression models (rows). The dependent variable is a dichotomous measure of whether or not the policy change was adopted within four years of the time of the survey question. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table C2: Policy reponsiveness when preferences diverege (>10p), by issue salience.

	Effect (logit coefficient)	Standard error	Predicted probability of policy change at 20% support	Predicted probability of policy change at 80% support	Relative change in probability	N
Low salience (% 'Don't knows' > 13)						
Poor (P10)	0	0.43	0.3	0.3	1	47
Affluent (P90)	0.67*	0.35	0.14	0.52	3.6	47
High salience (% 'Don't knows' < 13)						
Poor (P10)	0.2	0.36	0.18	0.27	1.5	49
Affluent (P90)	1.58**	0.62	0.03	0.7	24.5	49

Note:
Bivariate logistic regression models (rows). The dependent variable is a dichotomous measure of whether or not the policy change was adopted within four years of the time of the survey question. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Appendix D: Analyses with academic survey data included

When examining whose support affects the probability of a policy proposal being adopted, the choice of which policy proposals to include in the dataset is clearly of importance. Gilens' (2012) approach was to use archived survey data originally from commercial pollsters such as "Harris, Gallup, CBS, and *Los Angeles Times*" (Gilens 2012, 57; his emphasis). In Gilens' own words, his sample "constitutes a broadly defined group of policies that plausibly represent the range of issues that were on the public agenda over this time period (...). To the extent that news media and survey organizations tailor their questions to the more prominent policy issues of the day, the set of questions I collected should reflect at least in a loose way the set of concerns that the federal government and the American public were grappling with" (Gilens 2012, 56).

Hence, the rationale is that pollsters tend to ask about relatively salient issues at the time when they are on the public agenda. This is arguably crucial with respect to the 4-year coding window employed in Gilens' research design. This window assumes that the initial date of the question has some substantive meaning. And to the degree that Gilens is correct in his assessment of pollsters asking about salient issues at the time when they are most debated, it has. Therefore, it seems that government would have a fair opportunity to act within a 4-year period after the question was posed.

The simplest way to approximate Gilens' research design in a country like Norway, would be to go the same kinds of sources, that is, pollsters asking survey questions often on behalf of newspapers, and collect survey items for the dataset. And indeed, this is exactly what I have done for the dataset analyzed in the research letter (n=397, excluding constitutional issues and half-adopted proposals).

Additionally however, like two of the three other studies that have used Gilens' research design in other countries, I collected survey items from what we might call academic surveys, such as election studies and surveys made by research centers. While survey items from these sources might satisfy Gilens' criteria pertaining to the content of the question (such as being specific and unconditional), it is important to recognize that the decision by the original surveyor to pose the question hardly follows the sort of logic described above. Questions in such surveys *could* of course be asked based on salience in current debates, but often they are based on more fundamental social science research interests, and specific priorities are usually at the discretion of the researchers administrating the survey. Furthermore, standard "core" policy questions are often asked repeatedly with fixed time intervals for decades. At least this is the case for the Norwegian academic surveys presented below (the Norwegian Election Studies and the Norwegian Citizen Panel). This suggests that policy questions from these sources cannot be expected to reflect "the range of issues that were on the public agenda" for a given time period, in the same way as Gilens' polling data.

Empirically, the academic and commercial survey data are somewhat different. Look-

ing at Table D1 we see, just as expected, that the academic surveys repeat the same questions twice as often as the commercial (42 percent non-unique vs. 21 percent in the commercial), and that they contain three times as many "gradual" questions ("reduce", "increase", "expand", etc.) as the commercial (36 percent vs. 12 percent). The latter could be important since these proposals clearly have a lower threshold for getting adopted than other proposals (e.g. any increase, no matter how small, would count as adoption of a proposal about increasing the number of soldiers in Afghanistan).

When combining the academic and commercial survey data, the results show somewhat less unequal responsiveness across income groups when using a 10 percentage point cutoff for preference divergence (see Table D3). However, when using multiple different cutoffs, the overall pattern is quite similar to the results without the academic data (cf. Figure D1 and Figure B1).

Table D1: Differences and similarities between commercial and academic survey data

	Data source	
	Commercial survey	Academic survey
N (policy propals)	431	172
Mean support P10	0.47	0.49
Mean support P50	0.46	0.48
Mean support P90	0.46	0.48
Mean absolute support distance (P10,P90)	0.11	0.09
Share of policies adopted	0.25	0.25
Share of gradual questions ('reduce', 'increase', 'expand', etc.)	0.12	0.36
Share of proposals asked about more than once	0.21	0.42

Table D2: Policy responsiveness by income, when including the data from academic surveys (Norwegian Election studies 1969-2013, and the Norwegian Citizen Panel 2013-2014; not included in the data presented in the main maunscript).

	Effect (logit coefficient)	Standard error	Predicted probability of policy change at 20% support	Predicted probability of policy change at 80% support	Relative change in probability	N
All	0.53***	0.09	0.15	0.43	2.9	557
Income percentile						
P10	0.41***	0.09	0.17	0.39	2.3	557
P30	0.45***	0.09	0.16	0.4	2.5	557
P50	0.5***	0.09	0.15	0.41	2.7	557
P70	0.56***	0.09	0.14	0.44	3.1	557
P90	0.61***	0.09	0.13	0.46	3.4	557

Note:
Bivariate logistic regression models (rows). The dependent variable is a dichotomous measure of whether or not the policy change was adopted within four years of the time of the survey question. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table D3: Policy responsiveness when preference diverege by more than 10 points, when including data from academic surveys.

	Effect (logit coefficient)	Standard error	Predicted probability of policy change at 20% support	Predicted probability of policy change at 80% support	Relative change in probability	N
Poor vs. affluent						
Poor (P10)	0.27	0.16	0.22	0.37	1.7	231
Affluent (P90)	0.96***	0.2	0.1	0.62	6	231
Middle vs. affluent						
Middle (P50)	0.43*	0.25	0.18	0.42	2.3	137
Affluent (P90)	0.98***	0.27	0.1	0.63	6.3	137

Note:
Bivariate logistic regression models (rows). The dependent variable is a dichotomous measure of whether or not the policy change was adopted within four years of the time of the survey question. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

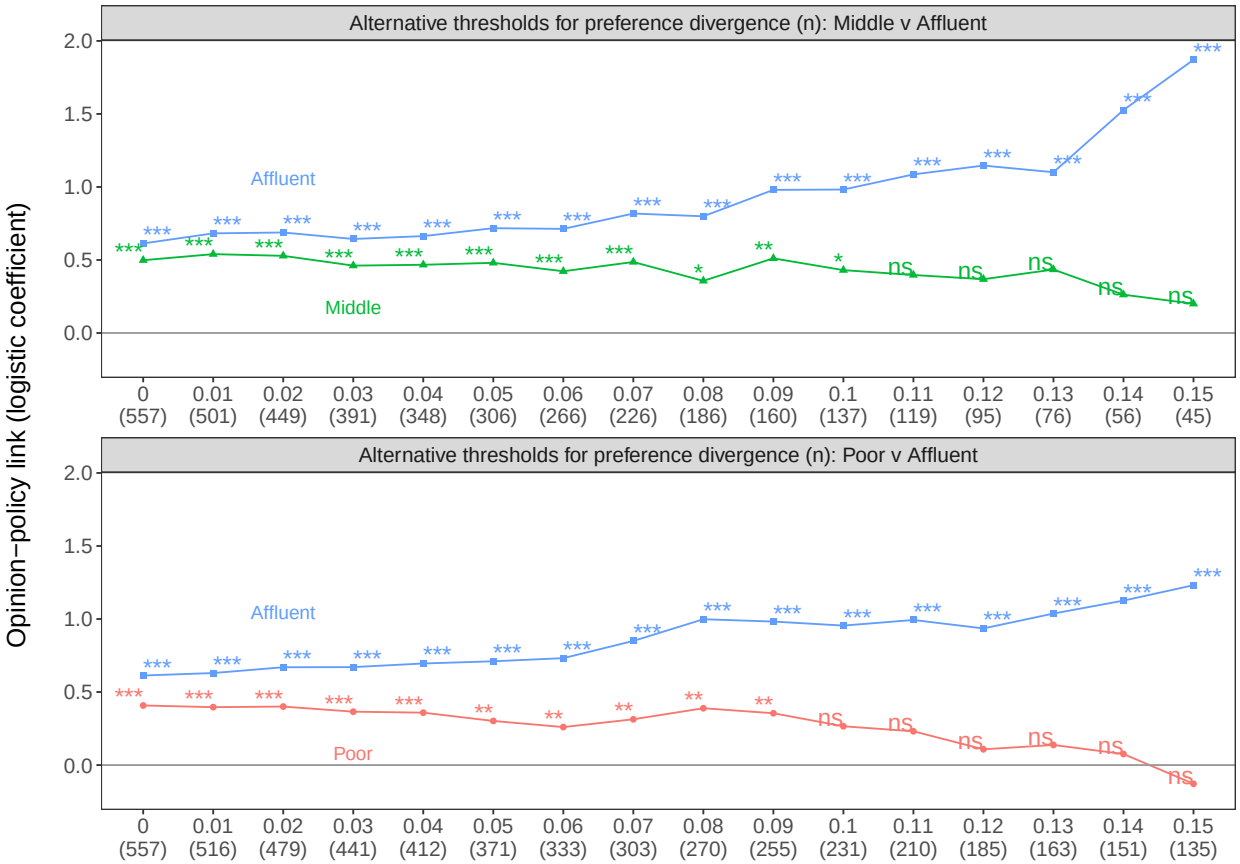

Figure D1: Alternative cutoff-points for the preference divergence between income groups, when including the academic survey data.*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Appendix E: The role of education

In order to impute the preferences of income/education combinations I ran OLS regression models based on a variance/covariance matrix for each policy question. Just like Gilens' data, my data has an aggregate structure which lacks information about the covariance between income and education; information that is necessary to estimate the joint effect of the two on policy support. Gilens calculated the covariance between education and income for the period under investigation using the General Social Survey. For Norway, I calculated the covariance over time using the Norwegian Election Studies, since this is the only Norwegian surveyor (to the best of my knowledge) asking about income and education all the way back

to the 1960's. I calculated the covariance between household income and education in each election study from 1965 to 2013. Since the survey is only performed in tandem with elections, I imputed the covariances for the in-between years using locally estimated scatterplot smoothing (LOESS). I then had all the information required to impute the preferences of income/education percentile based on OLS regressions on a variance/covariance matrix for each question.

One issue that arose was that since both Gilens and I use logit-transformed percentages in the analysis, imputed values cannot exceed 1 or go below 0 (if that is the case they cannot be logit-transformed). If the imputed percentages were based on logistic regression this would not be a problem, but since they are based on OLS on a variance/covariance matrix they can, theoretically, go outside the 0-1 range. On 8 proposals in my dataset, this is the case for one or more of the income/education combinations. One solution here would be to just drop these observations. However, this would not be wise, for the very reason that these are proposals where one or more of the income/education groups are very strongly opposed or in favor (that is why they have a predicted support slightly below 0 or above 1). In order to include these observations in the models, before logit-transforming them, I recoded the ones below 0 to 0,0001 and those above 1 to 0,9999. This way they are registered as the ones with the strongest (weakest) support for the relevant group, but still within the 0-1 range. As a robustness check I also ran the models while excluding these observations; results were basically unchanged. I also ran the models without logit-transforming the percentages so that negative values and values above 1 could be included. Also here results were essentially the same.

Table E1: Policy responsiveness to income/education percentile.

	Effect (logit coefficient)	Standard error	Predicted probability of policy change at 20% support	Predicted probability of policy change at 80% support	Relative change in probability	N
Education P10						
Income P10	-0.03	0.09	0.3	0.29	0.9	265
Income P50	0.01	0.12	0.29	0.3	1	265
Income P90	0.18	0.11	0.25	0.35	1.4	265
Education P50						
Income P10	0.09	0.14	0.27	0.32	1.2	265
Income P50	0.3*	0.15	0.21	0.39	1.8	265
Income P90	0.47***	0.14	0.18	0.44	2.5	265
Education P90						
Income P10	0.43***	0.16	0.19	0.43	2.3	265
Income P50	0.59***	0.16	0.15	0.49	3.2	265
Income P90	0.54***	0.13	0.16	0.47	2.8	265

Note:
Bivariate logistic regression models (rows) for 9 combinations of education and income percentile. The support among an income/education combination is the logit-transformed imputed percentage of respondents favoring the policy change in that income/education combination. Included are policy proposals with minimum 10 point preference divergence between the 90th and 10th income percentiles or 90th and 10th education percentiles. The dependent variable is a dichotomous measure of whether or not the policy change was adopted within four years of the time of the survey question. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Appendix F: Data collection and imputation

Survey items for the dataset were selected based on the selection criteria used by Gilens (see Gilens 2012, 57-60). Consequently, if a question used a Likert scale, it was dicotomized to support/oppose. If a question asked about a policy already in place, responses were reversed so as to indicate support for repealing said policy. Conditional questions were not included.

Also, some survey question have been asked multiple times. Identical questions were included in the dataset as long as they were asked in different calender years.

The dataset consists of survey items originally from five commercial survey companies (TNS Gallup AS, Opinion, MMI (now Ipsos), ACNielsen, and Respons Analyse AS), as well from two academic surveys (The Norwegian Election Study, and the Norwegian Citizen Panel). The commercial survey items were extracted from the opinion poll archive maintained by the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (https://www.nsd.no/meningsmalingsarkivet/search, accessed 25 January 2021).

In coding which policies were adopted by government, the main sources used were the legislative archive Lovdata, and the archive of Norwegian newspapers at Retriever. About half of the data were coded by myself; the other half was coded by a research assistant.

I here describe how the preferences of income groups where imputed. The exact same procedure was followed with regards to education. In order to determine the level of support for each policy proposal among different economic groups, I broke down responses to each survey item by the household income variable used in the relevant survey. However, herein lies a challenge: Different surveys use different cut-off points and numbers of categories for their income variables. This was solved using a 3-step procedure proposed by Gilens (Gilens 2012, 61), which entails the following for each of the survey items: First, the survey's income variable is standardized, by replacing each income category with a percentile score, indicating where on the income distribution respondents in that income group is placed. This score is determined by calculating the share of respondents in each income group, and choosing the percentile midpoint for each group. Second, a logistic regression model is specified, with support for the policy proposal in the survey (1/0) as the dependent variable, and two independent variables: the new standardized income variable, and the same variable squared (to allow for a curve linear relationship between income and probability of supporting the policy). Finally, this model is used to impute the probability of supporting the policy for the desired income percentiles.

Appendix G: Responsiveness by gender

Table G1: Policy responsiveness by gender

	Effect (logit coefficient)	Standard error	Predicted probability of policy change at 20% support	Predicted probability of policy change at 80% support	Relative change in probability	N
All issues						
Men	0.47***	0.11	0.16	0.41	2.6	395
Women	0.36***	0.1	0.18	0.38	2.1	395
When preferences diverge						
Men	0.88***	0.32	0.15	0.67	4.5	98
Women	0.29	0.24	0.28	0.46	1.7	98
Economic policy, preferences diverge between rich and poor						
Men	0.67	0.45	0.16	0.55	3.4	48
Women	1.02**	0.43	0.11	0.67	6.2	48

Note:
Bivariate logistic regression models (rows). The dependent variable is a dichotomous measure of whether or not the policy change was adopted within four years of the time of the survey question. Rows 3 and 4 based on the set of issues where the preference distance between men and women is larger than 10 points. Rows 5 and 6 based on the set of issues where the preference distance between the 10th and 90th income percentile is larger than 8 points (cf. Table A3).*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01 *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Appendix H: Demography

Since most of the original polls used when creating my data contained little demographic information besides income, education and gender, Table H1 reports information about survey demography in three waves of the Norwegian National Election Studies that contain information about immigration and some other variables, spread out over the time period of the dataset. The first two waves ask if the repondent was raised abroad, while the third asks

Table H1: Survey demography

Statistic	1965	1989	2013
% Women	49.5	49.6	50.1
% With only primary, lower secondary, or no education	76.1	54.9	9.2
% Married	77.6	60.7	49.7
% Born/raised abroad	0.9	0.9	5.1
Mean age	47.0	43.3	47.7

Note:
Source: Norwegian National Election Studies.

if the respondent was born abroad. Notice the low shares in the first two waves, which are similiar to population stats (provided by the statistics bureau of the Norwegian government) on foreign born citizens around the same time period (1.5% in 1970, 3.4% in 1989, 11.7% in 2013; source: https://www.ssb.no/statbank/table/05182/, accessed 28 July 2021).

With regards to the analysis interacting income and education (see in particular Figure 3 in the manuscript, and Section E here), it is helpful to have some information on the prevalence and characteristics of these groups in the population. Hence, I have included two tables based on registry data for Norwegian citizens, using the platform *microdata.no* (a service provided jointly by the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD) and the Norwegian government's statistics bureau; accessed October 5, 2021). Table H2 shows the joint distribution of income and education in the Norwegian population. While the analysis in the manuscript uses policy support at specific percentiles (i.e. points in a distribution), in order to get a sense of the prevalence of different income/education combinations, we must use some set of brackets. Education is difficult to bracket in the microdata because the education variable only consists of eight categories. However, it is possible to get three groups of roughly equal size if we define the first as *incomplete upper secondary or lower* (37%), the second as *completed upper secondary* (30%), and the third as *higher educated (with or*

without degree) (34%). The income variable is easier to work with (since it measures the exact numeric personal annual income) and can be split into terciles. As expected, the most common combinations are high income/high education (18 percent), and low income/low education (19.4 percent). Less common are the combinations high income/low education (4.9 percent) and low income/high education (5.9 percent).

To get a better sense of what sort of people are at the high/low and low/high combinations of income and education, Table H3 provides information on the occupational distribution of these groups. When it comes to the people with high education, but low income, they are most clearly overrepresented among sales and service workers (38%, vs. 23% in the overall population), under which the largest sub-category is personal care workers (17%, vs. 11%). They are also overrepresented among professionals (29%, vs. 26%), and particularly so within the sub-category teachers (13%, vs. 7%). The people with low education, but high income are overrepresented among managers (15%, vs. 9%), but also quite overrepresented among plant and machine operators (17%, vs. 6%). Despite some differences from the overall population, however, it is clear that both of these groups are quite heterogeneous. It therefore appears unlikely that such differences would be driving much of the reported effects. If anything, one could expect the overrepresentation of managers in the high income/low education group to give them more influence. Still, the opinion-policy link for this group is rather weak.

Table H2: Combinations of income and education in the Norwegian population

	Income			
	Low	Middle	High	Sum
Education				
Low	19.4	12.5	4.9	36.7
Middle	8.0	11.2	10.5	29.7
High	5.9	9.6	18.0	33.6
Sum	33.3	33.3	33.3	100.0

Note:
Entries are percentages of total population. Source: microdata.no. Registry data for 4,250,361 individuals. Low, middle, and high education refer to 'incomplete upper secondary or lower', 'completed upper secondary', and 'higher educated (with or without degree)' respectively. Low, middle, and high income refer to the bottom, middle, and top income tercile.

Table H3: Occupational distribution for different combinations of income and education

	Percent who hold occupation (%)		
	Population	High edu, low inc	Low edu, high inc
Occupation (ISCO-08)			
Managers	8.9	1.8	15.0
Professionals	25.5	28.6	8.7
Technicians and associate professionals	14.7	11.4	18.6
Clerical support workers	6.7	8.5	10.3
Service and sales workers	22.5	37.6	13.9
Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	0.7	0.7	1.2
Craft and related trades workers	8.3	1.3	10.2
Plant and machine operators, and assemblers	6.3	1.9	16.6
Elementary occupations	4.8	7.2	4.9
Armed forces and unspecified	1.4	1.1	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note:
Source: microdata.no. Registry data for 2,420,335 individuals who are currently registered with an occupation. Low and high education refer to 'incomplete upper secondary or lower' and 'higher educated (with or without degree)' respectively. Low and high income refer to the bottom and top income tercile.

Appendix I: Data access

The data included in the replication materials at Harvard Dataverse include all but the original survey data files used to construct the opinion-policy dataset analyzed in the paper, as well as some of the tables in the appendix. The original survey data for the opinion policy dataset are subject to restricted access, and cannot be shared in the Dataverse. Researchers who want to replicate the construction of the finalized dataset can get access to all the original survey files by contacting the data provider Sikt - Norwegian Agency for Shared Services in Education and Research (email: bestilledata@sikt.no). Researchers should then request access to all the datasets listed in the document "Names of policy survey items, by dataset name" in the replication materials.

The data used for Tables H2 and H3 come from microdata.no, an online database of registry data on Norwegian citizens. It is fairly simple to gain access to the database as long as you are affiliated with a Norwegian university: "Researchers, PhD- and master's students at Norwegian universities, colleges, researchers at approved research institutions in Norway, and employees in ministries and directorates can access microdata.no. Access for end users is arranged by the campuses / institutions / employers themselves after having signed an institutional access contract with microdata.no. The institution sends e-mail to microdata@ssb.no and requests access. It is not necessary to apply. Everyone who meets the requirements gets access." (source: https://www.microdata.no/en/bli-bruker/). However, as of 1 June 2022 there is not yet a way for scholars based in foreign universities to access the database: "microdata.no is working with access solutions for users at international universities and research institutions." The raw data on microdata.no cannot, for privacy reasons, be exported. They must be analyzed using the online analysis tool. Within this analysis tool, it is possible to create and save code scripts. The replication materials include the code necessary to recreate Tables H2 and H3.

The data for Table H1 is from the Norwegian National Election Surveys. These are part of the original survey data material for the finalized dataset and can be accessed as

described above.

References

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