

APPENDIX – INTENDED FOR ONLINE PUBLICATION

APPENDIX - A

This appendix reports alternative specifications of the main models presented in the manuscript, which serve as robustness tests for our findings. In particular, we used an alternative measure for the socio-economic status of respondents. Instead of using education, we created a dummy variable that groups respondents in each wave into two categories: on the one hand, working class (manual workers in the industrial and agricultural sector) and unemployed people (coded as 0); and, on the other, all the other respondents (coded as 1). Model 1A in Table A1 replicates Model 3 of Table 2 in the main text; Model 2A in Table A1 replicates Model 4 of Table in the main text; finally, Model 3A in Table A1 replicates Model 5 of Table 3 in the main text.

Even when using the occupational class of respondents as a measure of SES, we note a significant increase in the turnout gap between low and high occupational classes over time (see Model 1A and Figure 1A). This trend is confirmed even when we incorporate control variables into our model (as shown in Model 2A). Additionally, we observe that this declining trend is moderated by the role of trade union membership: while the turnout gap has significantly increased over time among non-unionized individuals, the same does not apply to unionized individuals. In the latter case, individual turnout has declined at the same pace over time among both low and high occupational classes (as illustrated in Figure 2A). These results, overall, align with the main findings presented in the manuscript.

Table 1A – Logistic regression. DV: Self-reported turnout

	Model 1A Replication of Model 3, Table 2	Model 2A Replication of Model 4, Table 2	Model 3A Replication of Model 5, Table 3
Main effects			
Occupational class: High vs. Low	-28.43*** (6.978)	-26.27** (8.596)	-29.93** (9.188)
Time (Linear term)	-0.0374*** (0.00246)	-0.0336*** (0.00367)	-0.0302*** (0.00384)
Trade Union Membership (1=Yes)		0.661*** (0.0687)	45.56* (19.22)
Age class			
18-34		Baseline	Baseline
35-54		0.366*** (0.0573)	0.360*** (0.0574)
55+		-0.0443 (0.0582)	-0.0399 (0.0582)
Sex (1=Female)		-0.210*** (0.0474)	-0.201*** (0.0474)
Interest in politics (1=Yes)		0.873*** (0.0544)	0.883*** (0.0545)
Church attendance		-0.224*** (0.0168)	-0.224*** (0.0168)
Region			
North		Baseline	Baseline
Centre		0.0782 (0.0644)	0.0836 (0.0644)
South		-0.232*** (0.0511)	-0.223*** (0.0511)
Second vs. First Republic		-0.284** (0.0938)	-0.311** (0.0948)
Interaction terms			
Occupation * Time	0.0143*** (0.00348)	0.0131** (0.00429)	0.0150** (0.00459)
Occupation * Trade union membership			28.54 (26.45)
Trade union membership * Time			-0.0223* (0.00959)
Occupation * Trade union membership * Time			-0.0144 (0.0132)
Constant	76.33*** (4.931)	69.51*** (7.305)	62.52*** (7.641)
<i>N</i>	21182	13888	13888
Pseudo <i>R</i> ²	0.017	0.076	0.078

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Figure 1A - Predicted probabilities of turning out by occupational class (95% CIs). *Note:* estimates are derived from Model 1A, Table 1A.

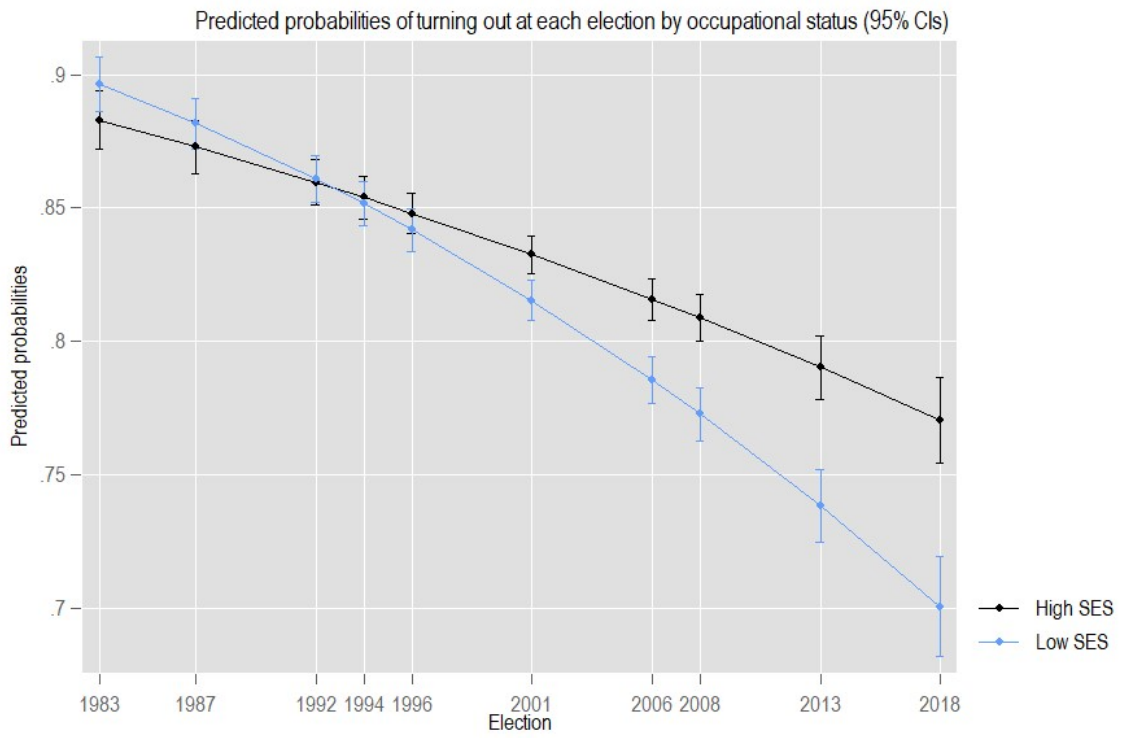
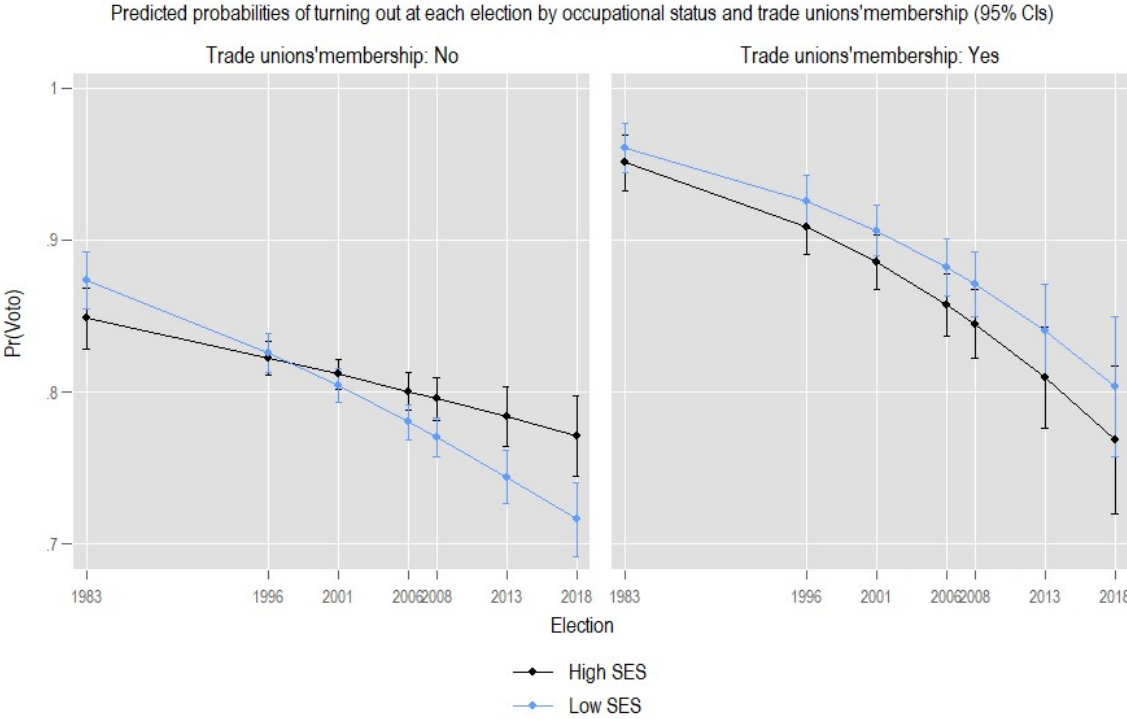


Figure 2A - Predicted probabilities of turning out by occupational class and trade unions' membership (95% CIs). *Note:* estimates are derived from Model 3A, Table 1A.



APPENDIX - B

Table 1B replicates Model 5 from Table 3 in the main text, imputing missing values for trade unions’ membership and interest in politics. The missing data have been imputed using multiple-imputation estimates generated by the “mi” (multiple-imputation) suite in Stata 14. Imputations for each ITANES wave are based on available information, including age, gender, education, church attendance, region of residence, and self-reported turnout.

The results presented in Table 1B are consistent with the main findings in the main text. Specifically, Figure 1B illustrates the predicted gap between highly educated and less educated individuals among non-unionized (left-hand panel) and unionized respondents (right-hand panel) (the figure is derived from Model 1B in Table 1B). As clearly visible in the figure, the gap has significantly increased over time among non-unionized respondents, while it has remained relatively stable among unionized respondents.

Table 1B – Logistic regression, with imputed data for trade unions’ membership and interest in politics. DV: Self-reported turnout. *Note:* Results are based on multiple-imputation estimates (N. imputations=10). Missing data are imputed based on: age, gender, education, church attendance, region of residence, and self-reported turnout. The results have been estimated relying on the “mi” package in Stata.

	Model 1B Replication of Model 5, Table 3
<i>Main effects</i>	
Education: High vs. Low	-26.46** (9.249)
Time (Linear term)	-0.0409*** (0.0037)
Trade Union Membership (1=Yes)	18.67 (20.13)
Age class	
18-34	Baseline
35-54	0.367*** (0.0501)
55+	-0.075

	(0.0522)
Sex (1=Female)	-0.124** (0.0415)
Interest in politics (1=Yes)	0.789*** (0.0558)
Church attendance	-0.205*** (0.0141)
Region	
North	Baseline
Centre	-0.0461 (0.0546)
South	-0.360*** (0.0440)
Second vs. First Republic	-0.060 (0.077)
Interaction terms	
Education * Time	0.0134** (0.0046)
Education * Trade union membership	21.64 (31.18)
Trade union membership * Time	-0.0089 (0.010)
Education * Trade union membership * Time	-0.011 (0.016)
Constant	83.71*** (7.324)
<hr/> <i>Obs.</i>	20294
<hr/> N. Imputations	10

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Figure 1B – Predicted gap between high vs. low educated people among non-unionized and unionized respondents (95% CIs).

Average marginal effects of education at each election (95% CIs)

