Data ordering process, descriptions of, and full references to datasets, and full survey questions

The Class Ceiling in Politics

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Ordering the data:

The data is ordered in two steps. First the data order needs to pass the ethics review. These are submitted through one of the regional ethics board. Detailed instructions on the process itself is provided here:

https://etikprovningsmyndigheten.se/en/

In the next step, a data request is submitted to Statistics Sweden and this agency does both a judicial clearance of the order and provides the price of the order. Information about this process can be found here:

https://www.scb.se/en/services/ordering-data-and-statistics/ordering-microdata/

Once the data has been processed, it can be accessed via Statistics Sweden's access servers. These are accessible from Sweden, the EU, and some other countries.

The paper uses data from the following sources of proprietary data than has to be ordered via the process describe above:

Administrative Data sets

Ordered via the process described above. Documentation of all data sources and data sources available at https://metadata.scb.se/mikrodataregister.aspx

1. **LISA**, Statistics Sweden's longitudinal integration database for health insurance and labour market studies (1990—2019). Variables are usually ordered in groups:
    - Labor market participation: indicator for employment, information of income from student support.
    - Information about the individual's largest source of labor income: earnings, occupation, industrial sector, organization and workplace ID-codes.
    - Education: level and graduation year.
2. **FoB**, census carried out every fifth year between 1960 and 1990. Includes information on municipality of residence, occupation, civil status, education, sector of work and socioeconomic class. (1960 to 1990)
3. **IoT**, income and tax register. Includes annual earnings and sources of income between starting in 1968. Used in years before LISA is available. (1968 to 1989)
4. **RTB,** Extract from the total population register containing demographics: sex at birth, birth year, and birth region for all permanent residents in the sample period (1968—2020).
5. **Jobbregistret.** Includes as sources of income exceeding 100 see in each year. Order data on income, organizational number and industry sector for each income source.
6. **Data on politicians**: Not an official data set with documentation. Maintain by the democracy unit at Statistics Sweden. The following data should be ordered to replicate our

analysis: List number, ballot rank, party, preference votes, municipality, electoral precinct, electoral district, information on being elected or not, and municipality. (1973 to 2018)

Survey Based Data Sets

1. National Society, Opinion and Media survey (SOM)

References

Göteborgs universitet, SOM-institutet (2022). Den nationella SOM-undersökningens kumulativa dataset 1986-2020. Svensk nationell datatjänst. Version 10. https://doi.org/10.5878/qs00-6t05. Ordered via Swedish National Data Service (https://snd.se/en)

These annual population surveys are carried out by the SOM Institute in the University of Gothenburg's Department of Government. The sample for the national survey is a random selection of people aged 16–85 listed as living in Sweden drawn from the national tax agency register. Selected individuals receive information about the survey, as well as the survey itself, by standard mail to their home. Reminders are sent by mail and sometimes by text message. The survey can be completed on paper or online by logging onto a digital platform using a code provided with the survey.

The net response rate for the national SOM surveys is usually around 50%. Given that respondents do not self-select into the survey and occasionally cannot even be reached at their official addresses, the 50% response rate is high from an international perspective.

The national SOM survey is mainly financed by means of collaboration. Researchers from all across the country, as well as public organizations and Swedish authorities, collaborate to include research questions in addition to the SOM Institute's own. This process optimizes the data collection process without burdening the Swedish population with many different surveys.

The SOM survey contains occupation codes according to the classification scheme used by the official government statistics, which allows us to apply the same classification of EGP categories. It also contains a categorization of self-reported social class.

Survey questions

Occupation group

Which of the following groups do you belong to or did you use to belong to?

Response categories

White-collar worker
White-collar worker with personnel responsibilities
White-collar worker with company management responsibilities
Blue-collar worker
Blue-collar worker with personnel responsibilities
Farmer with no employees
Farmer with one or more employees
Business owner with no employees
Business owner with 1–9 employees
Business owner with 10 or employees
Never held an paid job

Labor market situation

Which of the following groups do you currently belong to?

Response categories

Working for pay
Active labor market program/labor market education
Unemployed
Retired
Early retirement/disability pension
Student
Other/Unpaid work in the household

Party
Which party to you prefer today?

Response categories
Left Party
Social Democrats
Center Party
Liberal Party
Conservative Party
Christian Democrats
Environmental Party
Sweden Democrats
Feminist Initiative
Pirate Party
New Democracy
The Health Care Party
Other party

Left-right ideology
It is sometimes said that political opinions can be placed on a scale from left to right. Where would you place yourself on a scale like that?

Response categories
Clearly on the left
Somewhat to the left
Neither left nor right
Somewhat to the righ
Clearly on the right

Cut the size of the public sector
Below is a list of political proposals that have been discussed recently. What is your opinion on each one of them? – Reduce the size of the public sector

Response categories
Very good proposal
Pretty good propsal
Neither good nor bad proposal
Pretty bad proposal
Very bad proposal

Growupp
Where did you, your father and your other, mainly grow up? – You

Response categories
A rural area in Sweden
A small city in Sweden
A large city in Sweden

Stockholm, Gothenburg or Malmö
Another Nordic country
Another European country
A country outside of Europe
A country outside of the Nordics

2. The Regional SOM survey in Western Sweden (Väst-SOM)

Ordered via Swedish National Data Service (https://snd.se/en)

References

Göteborgs universitet, SOM-institutet (2006). Den västsvenska SOM-undersökningen 1996. Svensk nationell datatjänst. Version 1.0. https://doi.org/10.5878/002736

Göteborgs universitet, SOM-institutet (2001). Den västsvenska SOM-undersökningen 1997. Svensk nationell datatjänst. Version 1.0. https://doi.org/10.5878/002466

Göteborgs universitet, SOM-institutet (2008). Den västsvenska SOM-undersökningen 1998. Svensk nationell datatjänst. Version 1.0. https://doi.org/10.5878/002467

Göteborgs universitet, SOM-institutet (2006). Den västsvenska SOM-undersökningen 1999. Svensk nationell datatjänst. Version 1.0. https://doi.org/10.5878/002521

Göteborgs universitet, SOM-institutet (2008). Den västsvenska SOM-undersökningen 2000. Svensk nationell datatjänst. Version 1.0. https://doi.org/10.5878/002522

Göteborgs universitet, SOM-institutet (2005). Den västsvenska SOM-undersökningen 2001. Svensk nationell datatjänst. Version 1.0. https://doi.org/10.5878/002523

Göteborgs universitet, SOM-institutet (2006). Den västsvenska SOM-undersökningen 2002. Svensk nationell datatjänst. Version 1.0. https://doi.org/10.5878/002524

Göteborgs universitet, SOM-institutet (2006). Den västsvenska SOM-undersökningen 2003. Svensk nationell datatjänst. Version 1.0. https://doi.org/10.5878/002418

This annual survey is sent to a random sample of the population living in Western Sweden. It is carried out by the SOM Institute together with the regional authority of Västra Götaland. The method is largely the same as for the national SOM survey: a postal survey is sent to respondents with information on how to respond by mail or online. The age range is slightly wider than the national SOM survey, 16–90. Social class is measured as in the national SOM survey.

5D. The Swedish local and regional council survey 2012 (KOLFU)

1. White-collar worker
2. White-collar worker with personnel responsibilities
3. White-collar worker with company management responsibilities
4. Blue-collar worker
5. Blue-collar worker with personnel responsibilities
6. Farmer with no employees
7. Farmer with one or more employees
8. Business owner with no employees
9. Business owner with 1–9 employees
10. Business owner with 10 or employees
11. Home maker
12. Retiree
13. Retiree with disability insurance
14. Student
15. Unemployed

Retirement is a separate category, which prevents us from including retired people in the analysis. We also exclude those who answered stay-at-home spouse, early retirement, unemployed, or "other." About one-fourth (24%) of elected local councilors in the remaining sample define themselves as working class (categories 4 and 5).

Survey questions

Nascent political ambition
Would you consider taking on a political appointment in the municipality for the party you sympathize with?

Response categories
Yes
No

Political interest
How interested are you in politics in general?"

Response categories
Very interested
Pretty interested
Not so interested
Not at all interested

Friendship with local politician
Are you friends or acquaintances with at least one local politician?

Response categories
Yes
No

3. The Swedish local and regional council survey 2012 (KOLFU)

Ordered via Swedish National Data Service (https://snd.se/en)

References
Karlsson, David, & Gilljam, Mikael. (2014). Partier, representationsprinciper och bilder av den svenska demokratin. In David Karlsson & Mikael Gilljam (Eds.), Svenska politiker. Om folkvalda i riksdag, landsting och kommun (pp. 281-301). Stockholm: Santérus. doi:10.1177/001041400003300607

Gothenburg University sent this survey to all municipal and regional councilors in 2012. The response rate was 80%. We drop regional politicians and politicians from parties not represented in parliament. Social class was self-reported in response to the question "Apart from your political appointment, what is your main occupation?" with the following options:

Survey questions

Self-reported social class
Apart from your political appointment, what is your main occupation?

Response categories
White-collar worker
White-collar worker with personnel responsibilities
White-collar worker with company management responsibilities
Blue-collar worker
Blue-collar worker with personnel responsibilities
Farmer with no employees
Farmer with one or more employees
Business owner with no employees
Business owner with 1–9 employees
Business owner with 10 or employees
Home maker
Retiree
Retiree with disability insurance
Student
Unemployed

Progressive political ambition
For how long do you wish to remain a municipal councilor?

Response categories
Less than this election period
To the end of this election period
One more period after this one
Several periods more

4. The Swedish local and regional council survey 2017 (KOLFU)

Ordered via Swedish National Data Service (https://snd.se/en)

References
Karlsson, David 2017. Kommun- och Landstingsfullmäktigeundersökningen (KOLFU) 2017. Gothenburg University.

Gothenburg university conducted this survey using the same method as KOLFU 2012; they obtained a response rate of 67%. We link this wave of the survey to the administrative data using scrambled personal ID codes, which allows us to use the exact same definition of social class as in the paper's main analysis.

Survey questions

Current appointments (Q01)
Are you an elected politician in the following political bodies?

Response categories
The municipal council

The regional council
Both the municipal and regional council
I have left my position(s)

Left-right ideology
It is sometimes said that political opinions can be placed on a scale from left to right. Where would you place yourself on a scale like that?

Response categories
1. Clearly to the left
2. _
3. _
4. _
5. Neither left nor right
6. _
7. _
8. _
9. _
10. Clearly to the right

Cut the size of the public sector
Below is a list of political proposals that have been discussed recently. What is your opinon on each one of them? – Reduce the size of the public sector

Response categories
Very good proposal
Pretty good propsal
Neither good nor bad proposal
Pretty bad proposal
Very bad proposal

5. The Swedish work environment survey (AMU)

Maintained by Statistics Sweden and ordered via the process described above.
References
Documentation available at https://www.scb.se/hitta-statistik/statistik-efter-amne/arbetsmarknad/arbetsmiljo/arbetsmiljoundersokningen/

Survey questions (see also Appendix Table W3)

Flexible work conditions 1
Do you generally have opportunities to set your own work times?

Response categories
Yes, I have schedule flexibility (defined as schedule without pre-specified start or end times)
Yes, I have a relatively free schedule
No, I generally cannot affect my own work times

Flexible work conditions 2
Do you have split work shifts, i.e., scheduled shifts with an unpaid break of several hours in the middle?

Response categories
Yes

No

Flexible work conditions 3
What fraction of your regular work hours do you usually work from home?

Response categories
All my time or the great majority of my time
3–4 days per week
1–2 days per week
A couple of hours per week
I do not work from home

Flexible work conditions 4
What type of work hours do you usually have? Do you have….(mark only one answer)
Response categories
Daytime work (between about 0600 and 1800)
Evening work (between about 1800 and 2200)
Nighttime work (between about 2200 and 0600)
Shift work, two shifts
Shift work, three shifts
Work according to varying schedule

6. The Swedish labor force survey (AKU)

Maintained by Statistics Sweden and ordered via the process described above.
Documentation available at: ***https://www.scb.se/hitta-statistik/statistik-efter-amne/arbetsmarknad/arbetskraftsundersokningar/arbetskraftsundersokningarna-aku/***

Statistics Sweden administers the monthly Swedish workforce survey (AKU) to a representative sample of the population aged 15–74. This is the official survey used to collect information about the development of the country's labor market, for example to calculate the official unemployment rate. It typically has 10,000–15,000 respondents each month.

6.1. Survey questions

Union 1
Are you a member of a unions?
Response categories:
Yes
No
Do not know
Do not want to answer

Union 2
What union are you a member of?
Response categories
List of union in menu

Free text if union not available in list.
Do not know
Do not want to answer

7. Swedish national election studies

We do not use the raw data from the Swedish nation election studies, but instead rely on the aggregate statistics provided by Hedberg (2020). He defines the class variable based on self-reported occupation in all years except 2018, when self-reported class is used. While we do not have access to the exact coding scheme, the groupings identified in the text as underpinning the working-class definition are identical to the 7-category EGP classification used in our main analysis.[1]

1. Survey Datasets

5A.

5B. National Society, Opinion and Media survey (SOM)[2]

5C. The Regional SOM survey in Western Sweden[3]

5E. The Swedish local and regional council survey (KOLFU 2017)

5F. The Swedish work environment survey (AMU)

See Section W3.3 below.

5G. The Swedish labor force survey (AKU)

[1] For more information about the surveys, see: https://www.scb.se/en/finding-statistics/statistics-by-subject-area/democracy/general-elections/referenda-election-study/produktrelaterat/more-information/facts-about-the-election-study/.
[2] This subsection reports information from https://www.gu.se/en/som-institute/the-som-surveys/method. For more details, see Falk et al. (2021).
[3] Methodological details (in Swedish) in report 2023:5 of the SOM-institute (Den västsvenska SOM-undersökningen 2022 - En metodöversikt).