Supplementary Material for:

"Triggering Ideological Thinking: How Elections Foster Coherence of Welfare State Attitudes"

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Contents

A Survey Data **1**

B Main Survey Items **2**

C Alternative Welfare Atttiude Measures **5**

D Measures of Cultural Attitudes **7**

E Variable Construction and Harmonization **9**

F Municipality Data **12**

G Linking Survey Data and Election Data **13**

H Descriptive Statistics **14**

I Zip Code-Municipality Match **15**

J References **16**

List of Figures

I.1 Estimations with Full Zip Code-Municipality Correspondence 15

List of Tables

A.1 Surveys Used 1
B.1 Items Used to Measure Ideological Self-Placement 2
B.2 Items Used to Measure Support for Redistribution 3
B.3 Items Used to Measure Tradeoff between Welfare Spending and Tax Cuts 4
C.1 Items Used to Measure Support for Spending on Unemployment Benefits 5
C.2 Items Used to Measure Attitudes toward the Generosity of Social Benefits 6
D.1 Anti-Immigration Attitudes 7
D.2 Crime Attitudes 8
H.1 Descriptive Statistics 14

A Survey Data

Table A.1: Surveys Used

No.	Survey name	Year	N	Municipality	Zip code	Documentation
1	Danish National Election Study 1990	1991	1,002	No	Yes	University of Aarhus (2014)
2	Danish National Election Study 1994	1994	2,021	Yes	No	University of Aarhus (2014)
3	Danish National Election Study 1998	1998	1,997	No	Yes	University of Aarhus (2014)
4	Opinion Formation, panel 1999-2002	1999-2002	4,268*	Yes	No	Togeby (n.d.)
5	Danish National Election Study 2001	2001-2002	2,015	Yes	Yes	University of Aarhus (2014)
6	Opinion Formation, May 2003	2003	886	Yes	No	Togeby (n.d.)
7	Danish National Election Study 2005	2005	2,264	No	Yes	University of Aarhus (2014)
8	Danish National Election Study 2007	2007-2008	3,985	Yes	Yes	University of Aarhus (2014)
9	European Social Survey round 4	2008-2009	1,609	Yes	No	European Social Survey (2010)
10	Danish National Election Study 2011	2011	2,078	Yes	Yes	University of Aarhus (2014)
11	Danish National Election Study 2015	2015	2,206**	Yes	No	Hansen and Stubager (2016)

Note: Excluded are respondents who either have no municipality id, live in the special territory of Christiansø, or cannot be matched with a municipality based on information about zip code of residence. A total of 55 respondents are exluded following these criteria.

*: First interviews only.

**: Completed interviews only.

B Main Survey Items

Table B.1: Items Used to Measure Ideological Self-Placement

Survey no.	Variable name	Question	Scale	Centrists identified?
1	V223	In politics, people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place yourself on this scale?	1 (left) - 10 (right)	No
2	V330	In politics, people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place yourself on this scale?	1 (left) – 10 (right)	No
3	V174	In politics, people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place yourself on this scale?	0 (left) – 10 (right)	Yes
4	V74, V183, V298, etc.	In politics, people sometimes talk of left and right. If we imagine a scale where the leftmost point is called 0 and the rightmost point is called 10, where would you place yourself on this scale?	0 (left) – 10 (right)	Yes
5	V187	In politics, people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place yourself on this scale?	0 (left) – 10 (right)	Yes
6	V62	In politics, people sometimes talk of left and right. If we imagine a scale where the leftmost point is called 0 and the rightmost point is called 10, where would you place yourself on this scale?	0 (left) – 10 (right)	Yes
7	V252	In politics, people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place yourself on this scale?	0 (left) – 10 (right)	Yes
8	V291	In politics, people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place yourself on this scale?	0 (left) – 10 (right)	Yes
9	lrscale	In politics, people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means the left and 10 means the right?	0 (left) – 10 (right)	Yes
10	V239	In politics, people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place yourself on this scale?	0 (left) – 10 (right)	Yes
11	V240	In politics, people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place yourself on this scale?	0 (left) – 10 (right)	Yes

Table B.2: Items Used to Measure Support for Redistribution

Survey no.	Variable name	Question	Scale	Scale reversed?
1	V215	In politics, one should strive to provide all people with the same economic conditions, regardless of education and employment	1 (totally agree) – 5 (totally disagree)	Yes
2	V211	What do you think about this task: To reduce differences in income between rich and poor?	1 (the government should definitely have the responsibility) – 4 (the government should definitely not have the responsibility)	Yes
3	V132	In politics, one should strive to provide all people with the same economic conditions, regardless of education and employment	1 (totally agree) – 5 (totally disagree)	Yes
4	V64, V173, V288, etc.	1 means that differences in income and wealth are too big, 3 means that they are acceptable, and 5 means that the differences could be much larger than they are today. Where would you place yourself?	1 (differences are too big) – 5 (differences could be much larger than they are today)	Yes
5	V132	In politics, one should strive to provide all people with the same economic conditions, regardless of education and employment	1 (totally agree) – 5 (totally disagree)	Yes
6	V53	1 means that differences in income and wealth are too big, 3 means that they are acceptable, and 5 means that the differences could be much larger than they are today. Where would you place yourself?	1 (differences are too big) – 5 (differences could be much larger than they are today)	Yes
7	V197	In politics, one should strive to provide all people with the same economic conditions, regardless of education and employment	1 (totally agree) – 5 (totally disagree)	Yes
8	V233	In politics, one should strive to provide all people with the same economic conditions, regardless of education and employment	1 (totally agree) – 5 (totally disagree)	Yes
9	gincdif	The government should take measures to reduce differences in income levels	1 (agree strongly) – 5 (disagree strongly)	Yes
10	V194	In politics, one should strive to provide all people with the same economic conditions, regardless of education and employment	1 (totally agree) – 5 (totally disagree)	Yes
11	V189	In politics, one should strive to provide all people with the same economic conditions, regardless of education and employment	1 (totally agree) – 5 (totally disagree)	Yes

Table B.3: Items Used to Measure Tradeoff between Welfare Spending and Tax Cuts

Survey no.	Variable name	Question	Scale	Scale reversed?
1	V170	What do you think about a proposal to prioritize safety for everyone, even if it means that taxes remain higher in Denmark than in most other countries?	0 (Very bad proposal) – 10 (Very good proposal)	No
2	V240	If, in the long term, it becomes possible to cut taxes, what would you prefer: A: Lower taxes, or B: Improved public service?	1 (prefer A) - 2 (prefer B)	No
3	V112	If, in the long term, it becomes possible to cut taxes, what would you prefer: A: Lower taxes, or B: Improved public service?	1 (prefer A) - 2 (prefer B)	No
4	V39, V148, V263, etc.	The tax burden should be reduced, even if it may lead to cuts in welfare benefits	1 (totally agree) – 4 (totally disagree)	No
5	V112	If, in the long term, it becomes possible to cut taxes, what would you prefer: A: Lower taxes, or B: Improved public service?	1 (prefer A) - 2 (prefer B)	No
6	V29	The tax burden should be reduced, even if it may lead to cuts in welfare benefits	1 (totally agree) – 4 (totally disagree)	No
7	V180	If, in the long term, it becomes possible to cut taxes, what would you prefer: A: Lower taxes, or B: Improved public service?	1 (prefer A) - 2 (prefer B)	No
8	V217	If, in the long term, it becomes possible to cut taxes, what would you prefer: A: Lower taxes, or B: Improved public service?	1 (prefer A) - 2 (prefer B)	No
9	ditxssp	If the government had to choose between increasing taxes and spending more on social benefits and services, or decreasing taxes and spending less on social benefits and services, which should they do?	0 (government should lower taxes a lot and spend much less on social benefits and services) – 10 (government should increase taxes a lot and spend much more on social benefits and services)	No
10	V175	If, in the long term, it becomes possible to cut taxes, what would you prefer: A: Lower taxes, or B: Improved public service?	1 (prefer A) - 2 (prefer B)	No
11	V173	If, in the long term, it becomes possible to cut taxes, what would you prefer: A: Lower taxes, or B: Improved public service?	1 (prefer A) - 2 (prefer B)	No

C Alternative Welfare Atttiude Measures

Table C.1: Items Used to Measure Support for Spending on Unemployment Benefits

Survey no.	Variable name	Question	Scale	Scale reversed?
1	V182	The government spends too much, an appropriate amount, or too little on unemployment benefits?	1 (too much) – 3 (too little)	No
2	V223	Unemployment benefits?	1 (the government spends too much) – 3 (the government spends too little)	No
3	V96	Unemployment benefits?	1 (the government spends too much) – 3 (the government spends too little)	No
4	V58, V168, V283, etc.	Do you think that the government spends too much, an appropriate amount, or too little on unemployment benefits?	1 (too much) – 3 (too little)	No
5	V97	Unemployment benefits?	1 (the government spends too much) – 3 (the government spends too little)	No
6	V48	Do you think that the government spends too much, an appropriate amount, or too little on unemployment benefits?	1 (too much) – 3 (too little)	No
7	V167	Unemployment benefits?	1 (the government spends too much) – 3 (the government spends too little)	No
8	V202	Unemployment benefits?	1 (the government spends too much) – 3 (the government spends too little)	No
9	-	-	-	-
10	V168	Unemployment benefits?	1 (the government spends too much) – 3 (the government spends too little)	No
11	V166	Unemployment benefits?	1 (the government spends too much) – 3 (the government spends too little)	No

Note: '-' indicates that no question has been found suitable.

Table C.2: Items Used to Measure Attitudes toward the Generosity of Social Benefits

Survey no.	Variable name	Question	Scale	Scale reversed?
1	V212	Too many people receive social benefits without actually needing it	1 (totally agree) – 5 (totally disagree)	No
2	V294	Too many people receive social benefits without actually needing it	1 (totally agree) – 5 (totally disagree)	No
3	V136	Too many people receive social benefits without actually needing it	1 (totally agree) – 5 (totally disagree)	No
4	V51, V160, V275, etc.	Too many people receive social benefits without actually needing it	1 (totally agree) – 5 (totally disagree)	No
5	V136	Too many people receive social benefits without actually needing it	1 (totally agree) – 5 (totally disagree)	No
6	V40	Too many people receive social benefits without actually needing it	1 (totally agree) – 5 (totally disagree)	No
7	V201	Too many people receive social benefits without actually needing it	1 (totally agree) – 5 (totally disagree)	No
8	V237	Too many people receive social benefits without actually needing it	1 (totally agree) – 5 (totally disagree)	No
9	-	-	-	-
10	V200	Too many people receive social benefits without actually needing it	1 (totally agree) – 5 (totally disagree)	No
11	V194	Too many people receive social benefits without actually needing it	1 (totally agree) – 5 (totally disagree)	No

Note: '-' indicates that no question has been found suitable.

D Measures of Cultural Attitudes

Table D.1: Anti-Immigration Attitudes

Survey no.	Variable name	Question	Scale	Scale reversed?
1	V219	Immigration represents a threat to our national identity	1 (totally agree) – 5 (totally disagree)	Yes
2	V277	Immigration represents a threat to our national identity	1 (totally agree) – 5 (totally disagree)	Yes
3	V120	Immigration represents a serious threat to our national identity	1 (totally agree) – 5 (totally disagree)	Yes
4	V86, V421, V751, V1088	Immigration represents a serious threat to our national identity	1 (totally agree) – 4 (totally disagree)	Yes
5	V122	Immigration represents a serious threat to our national identity	1 (totally agree) – 5 (totally disagree)	Yes
6	V75	Immigration represents a serious threat to our national identity	1 (totally agree) – 4 (totally disagree)	Yes
7	V188	Immigration represents a serious threat to our national identity	1 (totally agree) – 5 (totally disagree)	Yes
8	V224	Immigration represents a serious threat to our national identity	1 (totally agree) – 5 (totally disagree)	Yes
9	imueclt	Denmark's cultural life is generally undermined or enriched by people coming to live here from other countries	0 (cultural life undermined) – 10 (cultural life enriched)	Yes
10	V186	Immigration represents a serious threat to our national identity	1 (totally agree) – 5 (totally disagree)	Yes
11	V180	Immigration represents a serious threat to our national identity	1 (totally agree) – 5 (totally disagree)	Yes

Table D.2: Crime Attitudes

Survey no.	Variable name	Question	Scale	Scale reversed?
1	V220	Violent crimes should to be punished much harsher than they are today	1 (totally agree) – 5 (totally disagree)	Yes
2	V283	Violent crimes should to be punished much harsher than they are today	1 (totally agree) – 5 (totally disagree)	Yes
3	V126	Violent crimes should to be punished much harsher than they are today	1 (totally agree) – 5 (totally disagree)	Yes
4	V67, V176, V291, etc.	1 means that law and order should be maintained by giving harsher punishments, and 5 means that milder punishments should be given and that criminality should instead be prevented. Where would you place yourself?	1 (maintain law and order by giving harsher punishments) – 5 (milder punishments and prevent criminality)	Yes
5	V127	Violent crimes should to be punished much harsher than they are today	1 (totally agree) – 5 (totally disagree)	Yes
6	V55	1 means that law and order should be maintained by giving harsher punishments, and 5 means that milder punishments should be given and that criminality should instead be prevented. Where would you place yourself?	1 (maintain law and order by giving harsher punishments) – 5 (milder punishments and prevent criminality)	Yes
7	V193	Violent crimes should to be punished much harsher than they are today	1 (totally agree) – 5 (totally disagree)	Yes
8	V229	Violent crimes should to be punished much harsher than they are today	1 (totally agree) – 5 (totally disagree)	Yes
9	hrshsnt	People who break the law should be given much harsher sentences than they are these days	1 (agree strongly) – 5 (disagree strongly)	Yes
10	V189	Violent crimes should to be punished much harsher than they are these days	1 (totally agree) – 5 (totally disagree)	Yes
11	V184	Violent crimes should to be punished much harsher than they are these days	1 (totally agree) – 5 (totally disagree)	Yes

E Variable Construction and Harmonization

Ideological Self-Placement

The variable is normalized to a 0–1 range (0 indicating the most left-wing position, and 1 indicating the most right-wing position). Leftists, centrists, and rightists are defined as [0;0.5[, 0.5, and]0.5;1], respectively.

Support for Redistribution, Welfare Spending, Spending on Unemployment Benefits, and the Generosity of Social Benefits

The variables are normalized to a 0–1 range with 1 indicating the most pro-welfare attitude.

Anti-Immigration and Crime Attitudes

The variables are normalized to a 0–1 range with 1 indicating the most right-wing attitude.

Average Deviation of Party Left-Right Placements

The average absolute deviation of each respondent's placement of Danish political parties on the left-right scale from the mean placement of the parties based on the whole sample (Aldrich et al. 2018). The variable is rescaled, so that it runs from 0 (totally accurate) to 1 (totally inaccurate). This variable, used as an inverse measure of political sophistication, is available for survey 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 10, and 11.

Left- and Right-Wing Party Identification

Party identification is measured as parliamentary voting intention or expressed support for or feeling attached to a party. The parties are divided into left- and right-wing parties following the same classification used in the article to measure local left- and right-wing majorities (Damgaard 2000; Kurrild-Klitgaard, Klemmensen, and Pedersen 2008; Kosiara-Pedersen and Kurrild-Klitgaard 2019)[1] as well as the Parliaments and governments database (Döring and Manow), resulting in left- and right-wing party identification. Defined as left-wing parties are the Social Democrats, the Social Liberal Party, Socialist People's Party, Red-Green Alliance, the Alternative, Common Course, Greens, Minority Party, Humanist Party, Communist Party of Denmark, Socialist Workers Party, and Left Socialists. Right-wing parties are the Conservatives, the Liberal Party, Danish People's Party, Liberal Alliance, Progress Party, and Justice Party. The variable is available for all surveys, except survey 2.

[1] However, viewed over the entire period, the list of left- and right-wing parliamentary parties to vote or express support for in the surveys are longer than the list of left- and right-wing parties getting elected in local elections.

Covariates

Age

Age is measured numerically in all surveys except survey 1 in which a 17-category question is available. I have transformed the categorical age variable into a numerical one by calculating the average age among all persons in the population falling into the specific age group using administrative data from Statistics Denmark. This results in some measurement error. However, since the age groups are relatively small, the error should be negligible, and the approach allows me to model one common age variable numerically.

Sex

A variable for male is used: (0) female, (1) male, and (99) don't know/will not answer/not accessible.

Upper Secondary Education

The harmonized variable has the following categories: (0) no upper secondary education, (1) completed upper secondary education, and (99) don't know/will not answer/not accessible.

Higher Education

The harmonized variable has the following categories: (0) no higher education, (1) completed higher education, and (99) don't know/will not answer/not accessible.

Occupation

The harmonized variable has the following categories: (1) employed, (2) self-employed, (3) unemployed, (4) student, (5) others not in the labor force, (6) other occupations, and (99) don't know/no answer.

Income

I generate a harmonized variable for gross household income with the following four categories: (1) 0–299,999 DKK, (2) 300,000–499,999 DKK, (3) 500,000 DKK or more, and (99) don't know/will not answer/not accessible. Survey 4, 6, and 9 do not contain questions about gross household income. Instead, they ask about gross *personal* income and/or *net* household income. Using administrative income data for the whole population from Statistics Denmark, I convert these gross personal and net household incomes into gross household incomes by estimating the range of the respective intervals. Specifically, the gross household income corresponding to the endpoints of the (personal or net) income intervals used in the surveys are estimated using the median gross household income for people with that income ($\pm$100 DKK) in the population in the particular year.

For survey 4, 6, and 9 as well as survey 1, not all of the gross household income intervals match the harmonized aggregated categories listed above perfectly. In that case, I have calculated—again using population data—which of the harmonized income categories most of the people within the original income interval fall into and assigned the respondents to that category.

Of course, this income harmonization produces some measurement error, but due to the aggregation, it should be modest.

F Municipality Data

Election Data

Municipality election results in terms of seat distributions are from Statistics Denmark (table VALGK3X and VALGK3). As described in the article, to get bloc majority status and seat share, the parties are divided into a left- and right-wing bloc following the conventional ordering of the parties (Damgaard 2000; Kurrild-Klitgaard, Klemmensen, and Pedersen 2008; Kosiara-Pedersen and Kurrild-Klitgaard 2019). Left-wing paries are the Social Democrats, the Danish Social Liberal Party, Socialist People's Party, Red-Green Alliance, and the Alternative. The right-wing bloc consists of the Liberal Party, the Conservatives, the Progress Party, the Danish People's Party, the Liberal Alliance, and the New Right. After 2001, seats for the Progress Party are not reported separately, so here I rely on Statistics Denmark's detailed statistical reports ("statistiske efterretninger") (Statistics Denmark 2006; 2010; 2014). Running variables are constructed by centering bloc seat at the 50% majority cutoff.

Municipality Variables Used in Balance Tests

To test for sorting at the municipality level, I inspect several municipality characteristics in the period 1989-2013. I use election year data on population size, proportion aged 0-29 years, proportion non-western immigrants and descendants, and average family income. All data are from Statistics Denmark.[2] In addition, I construct lagged bloc majority variables to assess whether a majority in the last term helps winning a narrow victory. Finally, I use a variable for whether the municipality is an old, now amalgamated, municipality. Proportion non-western immigrants and descendants is missing for the new amalgamated municipalities in 2005, average family income is missing for all municipalities in 1989, and lagged majorities are missing for all municipalities in 1989 (the first year in the time series) and for Bornholm in 2001 and the other amalgamated municipalities in 2005 (these were the first elections for these new municipalities).

[2]See table BEF1A, BEF1A07, FOLK1A, BEF3, KRBEF3, FOLK1C, INDKF122, IB923, IA923, and INDKF11A.

G Linking Survey Data and Election Data

Survey data and election data are linked using municipality of residence[3] and interview year so that the seat distribution in the municipality that the respondent lives in at the time of interview is merged with survey responses. If the respondent is interviewed after an election has taken place but before the newly elected municipal council has been formally constituted, which happens approximately one and a half months later, the respondent is assigned to the current seat distribution. However, this only involves 51 respondents.

[3]For some respondents, zip code is used instead. See section on zip code-municipality match.

H Descriptive Statistics

Table H.1: Descriptive Statistics

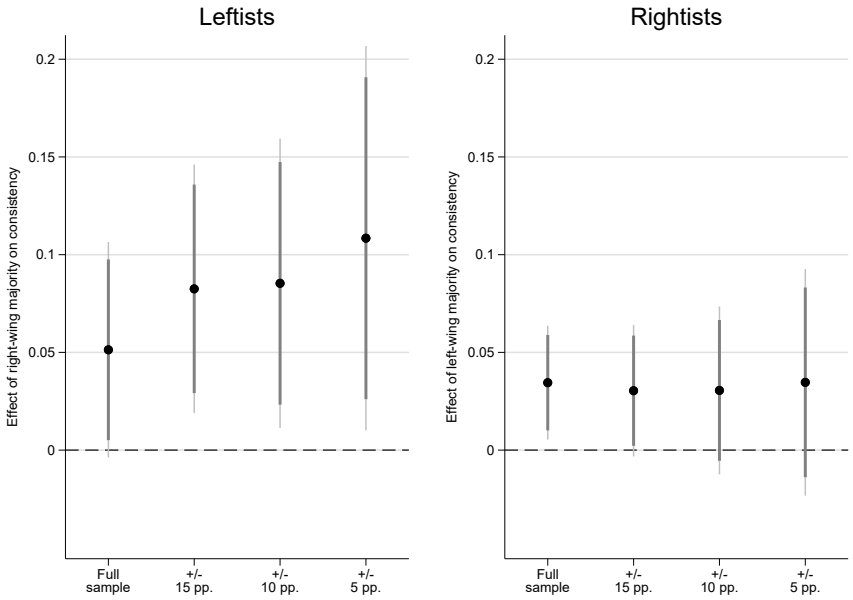
Variable	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Support redistribution	22,994	0.49	0.32	0	1
Support welfare spending	23,021	0.62	0.44	0	1
Left-right self-placement	22,545	0.54	0.23	0	1
Left-wing	22,545	0.34	0.47	0	1
Centrist	22,545	0.20	0.40	0	1
Right-wing	22,545	0.46	0.50	0	1
Right-wing party running variable	23,991	-4.23	12.40	-50	31.82
Right-wing party majority	23,991	0.35	0.48	0	1
Left-wing party running variable	23,991	-1.64	14.20	-44.12	34.21
Left-wing party majority	23,991	0.49	0.50	0	1
Age	23,979	47.02	16.70	15	106
Male	23,986	0.51	0.50	0	1
Upper secndary education	23,420	0.35	0.48	0	1
Higher education	23,471	0.35	0.48	0	1
Employed	23,527	0.56	0.50	0	1
Self-employed	23,527	0.06	0.24	0	1
Unemployed	23,527	0.04	0.20	0	1
Student	23,527	0.09	0.29	0	1
Not in the labor force	23,527	0.24	0.43	0	1
Other occupations	23,527	0.00	0.04	0	1
Income: 0–299,999 DKK	20,351	0.35	0.48	0	1
Income: 300,000–499,999 DKK	20,351	0.32	0.47	0	1
Income: 500,000 DKK or more	20,351	0.33	0.47	0	1
Support unemployment spending	18,937	0.50	0.27	0	1
Support social benefits	20,654	0.36	0.32	0	1
Anti-immigration attitudes	19,726	0.45	0.38	0	1
Crime attitudes	23,424	0.77	0.30	0	1
Avg. dev. of party l-r placements	15,284	0.14	0.09	0.01	0.78

Note: N = number of observations. SD = standard deviation. Min = minimum. Max = maximum. Respondents without a municipality ID living in zip codes in which 80 percent or less of the inhabitants are inhabitants in the largest municipality are excluded (see section on zip code-municipality match). Non-substantive answers are set to missing here.

I Zip Code-Municipality Match

Survey 1, 3, and 7 do not contain a municipality identifier, so here I use zip code of residence to assign respondents to the municipality in which the largest proportion of the zip code's total population lives (see Hjorth 2017 for a similar approach). To get information on how the Danish population is nested in municipalities and zip codes over the period, I rely on national registry data from Statistics Denmark. For most respondents, the correspondence is perfect or near-perfect. However, some zip codes are nested in several municipalities, which gives a more uncertain assignment procedure and therefore larger measurement error and attenuation bias. To reduce this bias, I require that more than 80 percent of zip code inhabitants are inhabitants in the municipality. By this, I disregard 340 respondents. Alternatively, if full correspondence is required, 3,337 respondents are dropped, which—while eliminating attenuation bias—reduces statistical power and potentially induces sampling bias. However, as shown in Figure I.1, the main results are substantively unchanged if a 100%-correspondence criterion is used instead.

Figure I.1: Estimations with Full Zip Code-Municipality Correspondence



Note: RDD estimates without respondents whose municipality id is based on divided zip codes. Thick and thin error bars represent 90 and 95 percent confidence intervals, respectively.

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