

# Party System Transformation and the Structure of Political Cleavages in Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands and Switzerland, 1967-2019

## Appendix

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**Party System Transformation and the Structure of Political Cleavages in  
Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Switzerland, 1967-2019**

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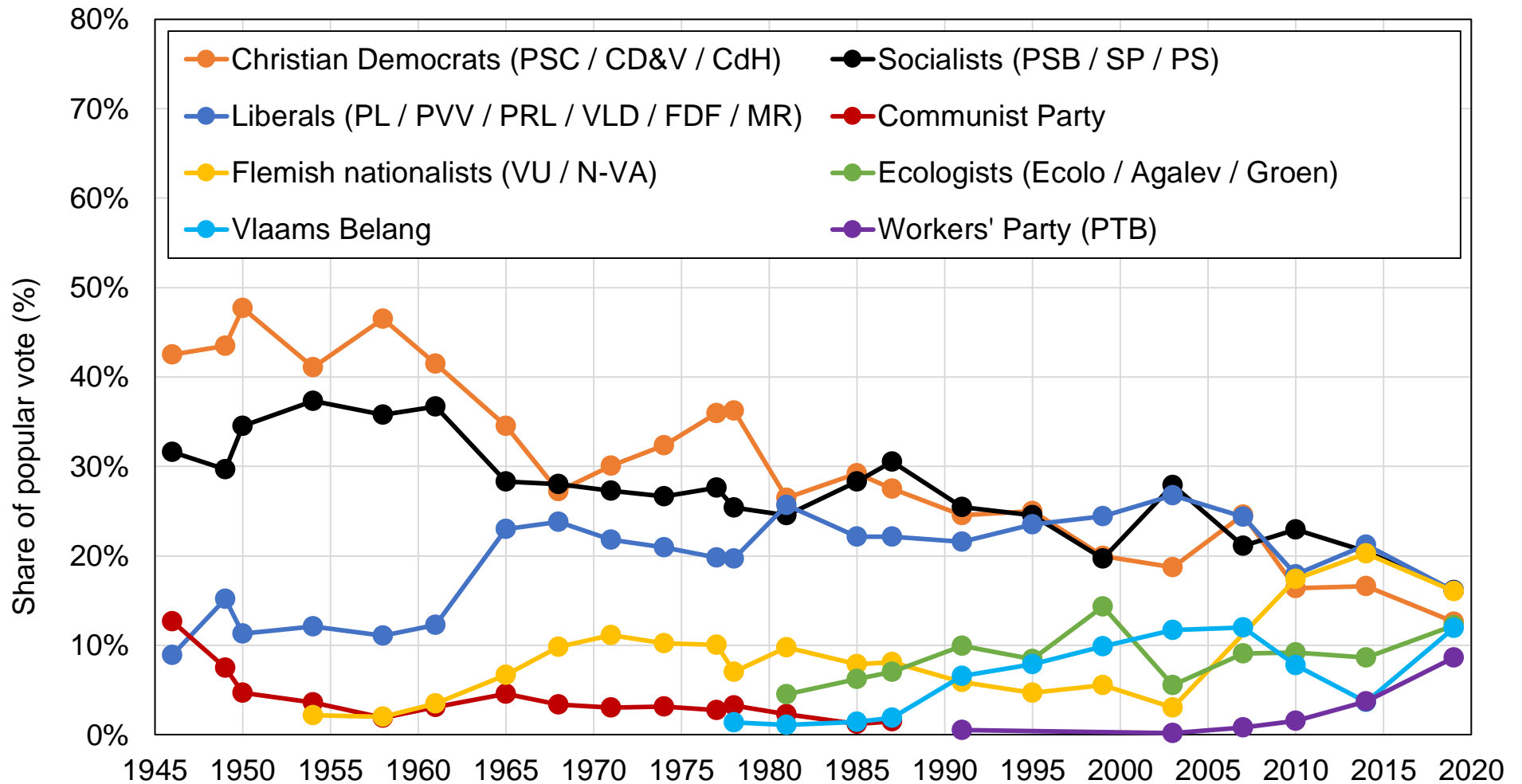
**Appendix**

This document supplements our working paper “Party System Transformation and the Structure of Political Cleavages in Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Switzerland, 1967-2019”. It contains all appendix tables and figures.

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<sup>†</sup> Carmen Durrer de la Sota, Amory Gethin: Paris School of Economics – World Inequality Lab. Clara Martínez-Toledano: Imperial College London – World Inequality Lab.

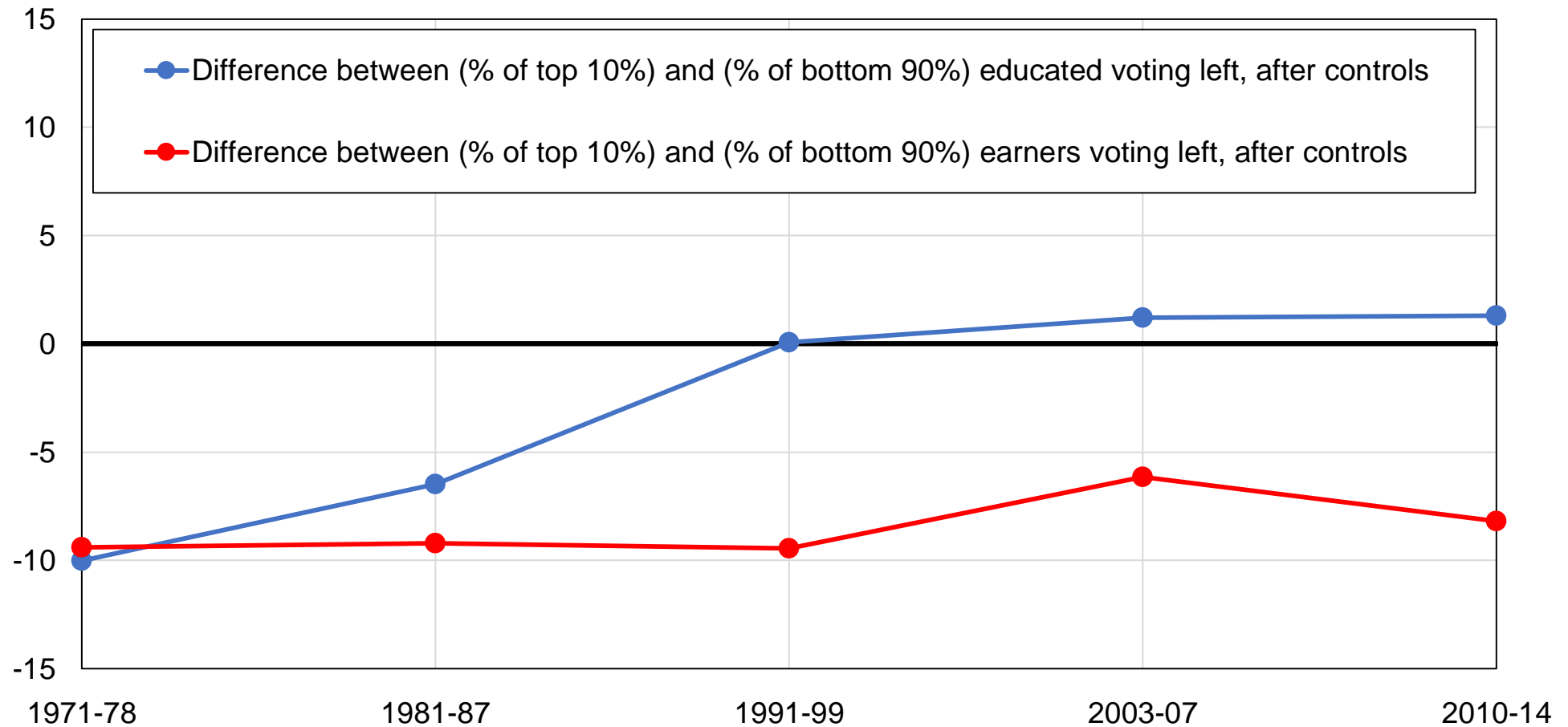
**Figure A1 - Election results in Belgium, 1946-2017**



**Source:** authors' computations using official election results.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Belgian political parties in federal elections between 1946 and 2017.

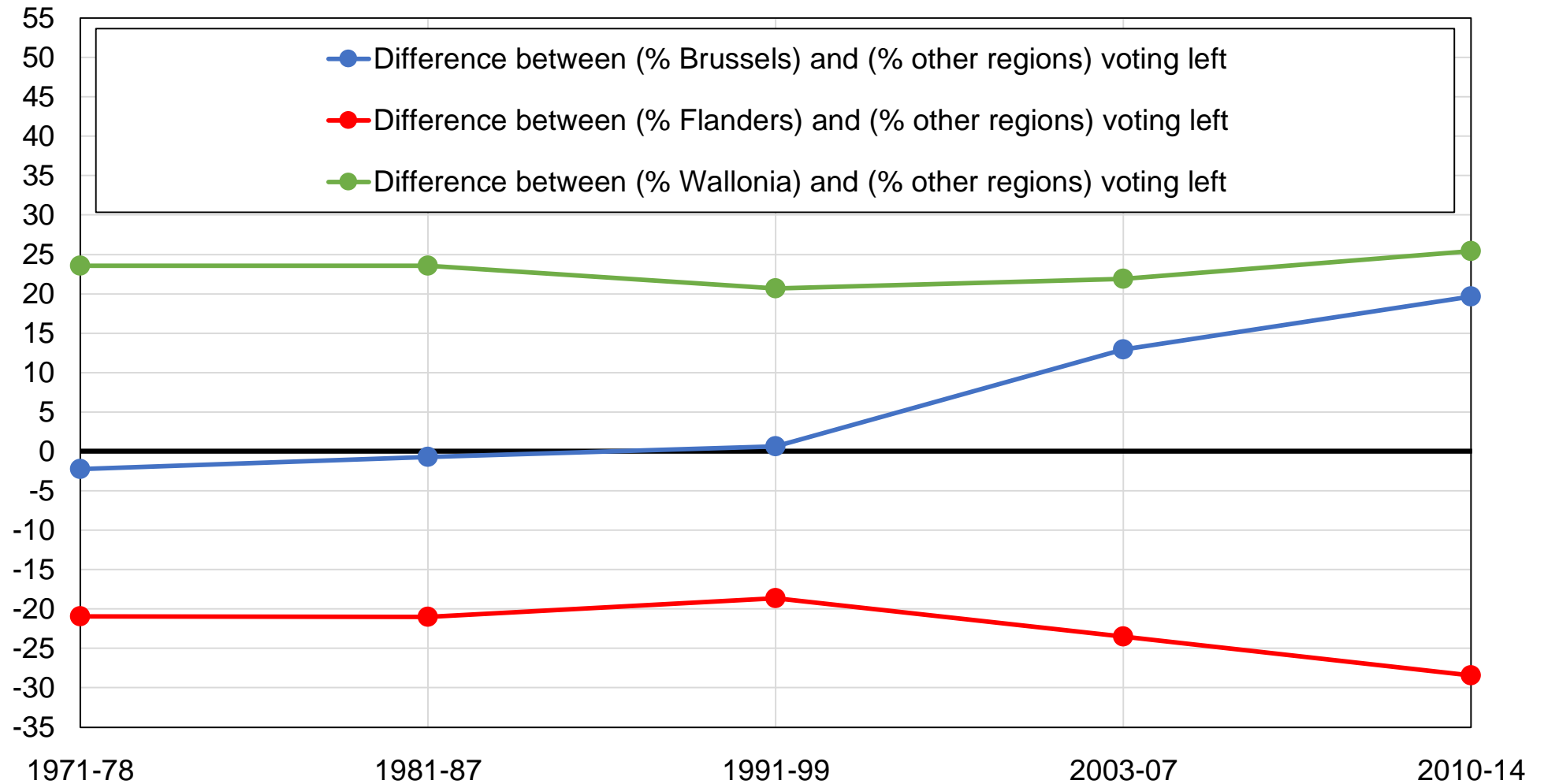
**Figure A2 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controls**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the support for Socialists / Ecologists among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controlling for income, education, age, gender, employment, marital status, religion, church attendance, region and first language.

**Figure A3 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among specific regions**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the bias of specific Belgian regions towards Socialists / Ecologists, after controlling for income, education, age, gender, employment, marital status, religion and church attendance.

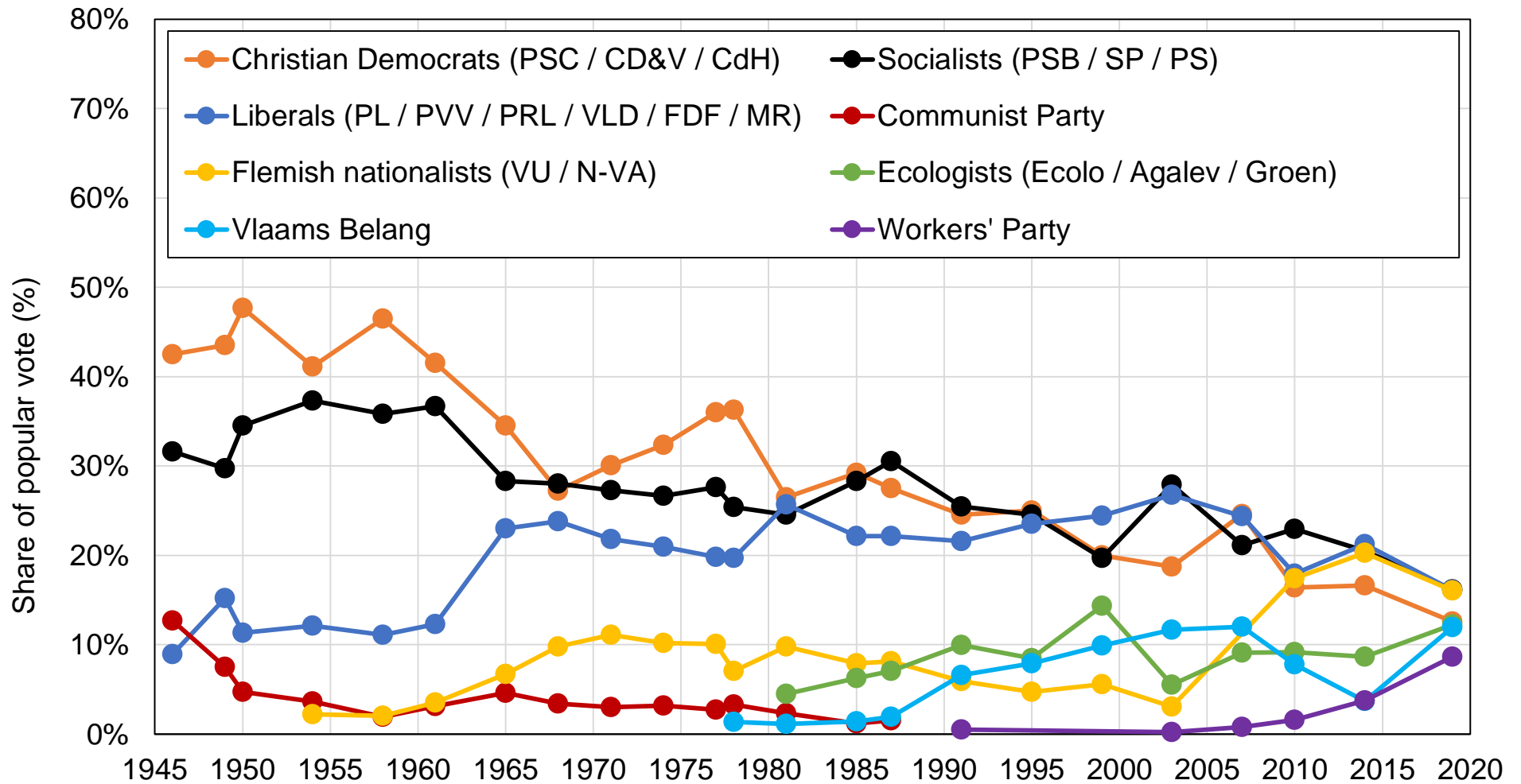
**Table A1 - The structure of political cleavages in Belgium, 2011-2014**

	Share of votes received (%)					
	PS / SP / PTB	Ecolo / Groen	VLD / MR	CD&V / CdH	N-VA	Vlaams Belang
<b>Overall vote share</b>	24%	9%	20%	20%	19%	3%
<b>Education</b>						
Primary	34%	3%	14%	20%	20%	4%
Secondary	27%	6%	18%	20%	20%	4%
Tertiary	16%	16%	25%	20%	18%	1%
<b>Income</b>						
Bottom 50%	30%	7%	17%	22%	16%	3%
Middle 40%	22%	11%	21%	18%	21%	3%
Top 10%	13%	11%	28%	17%	26%	2%
<b>Religion</b>						
No religion	25%	12%	20%	12%	22%	4%
Catholic	17%	5%	21%	34%	17%	2%
Protestant	30%	9%	12%	24%	18%	2%
Muslim	65%	7%	8%	13%	4%	0%
<b>Region</b>						
Brussels	35%	16%	26%	13%	2%	1%
Flanders	15%	8%	15%	24%	31%	5%
Wallonia	41%	10%	29%	14%	0%	0%
<b>Language</b>						
Dutch	12%	10%	15%	27%	32%	4%
French	36%	12%	34%	13%	1%	0%
Other	65%	4%	10%	13%	3%	5%

**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Notes:** the table shows the average share of votes received by the main political parties by selected individual characteristics over the 2011-2014 period. Vote shares by group are those reported in surveys and may not match exactly official election results.

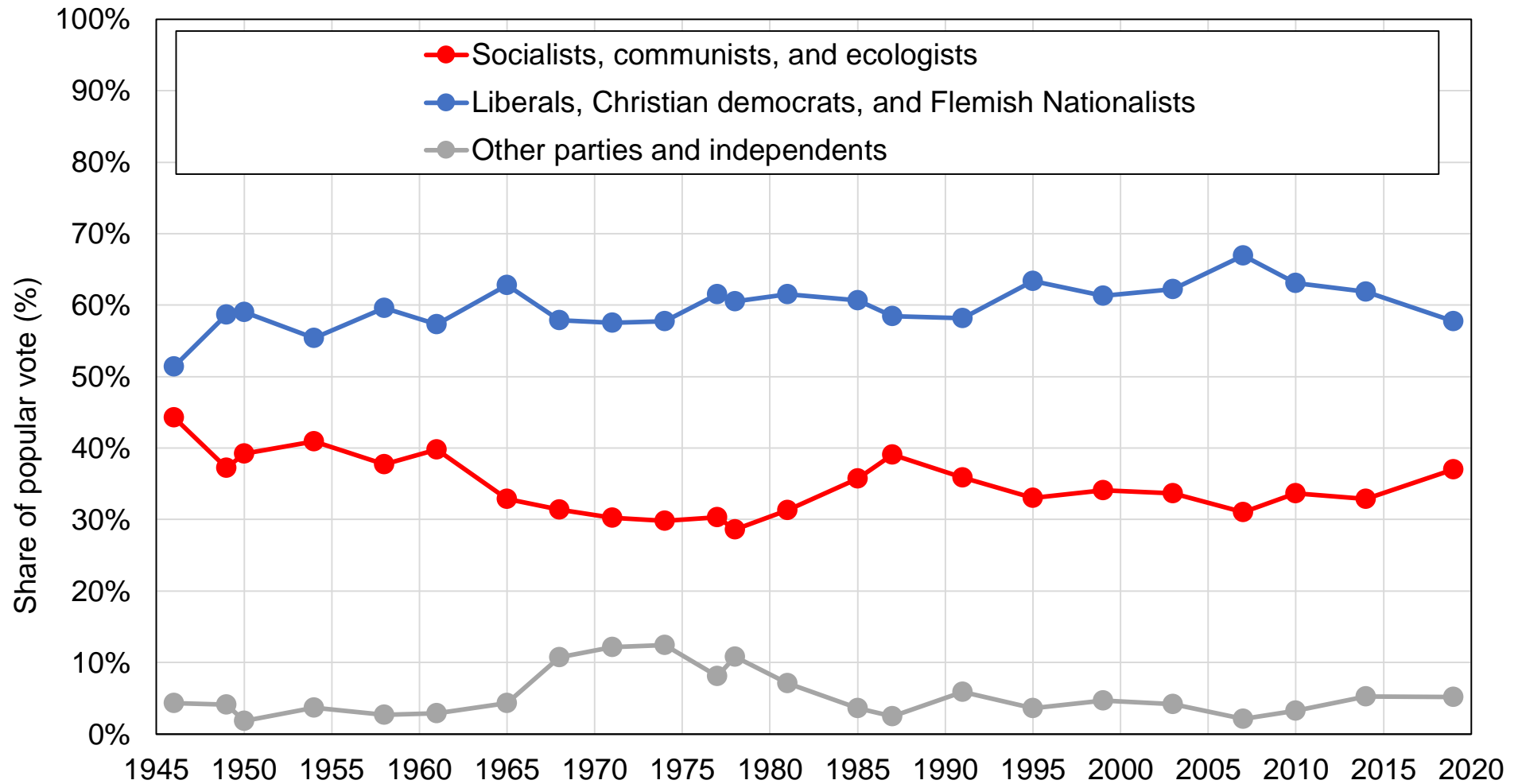
**Figure AA1 - Election results in Belgium, 1946-2017**



**Source:** authors' computations using official election results.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by selected Belgian political parties and groups of parties in federal elections between 1946 and 2017.

**Figure AA2 - Election results in Belgium by group, 1946-2017**

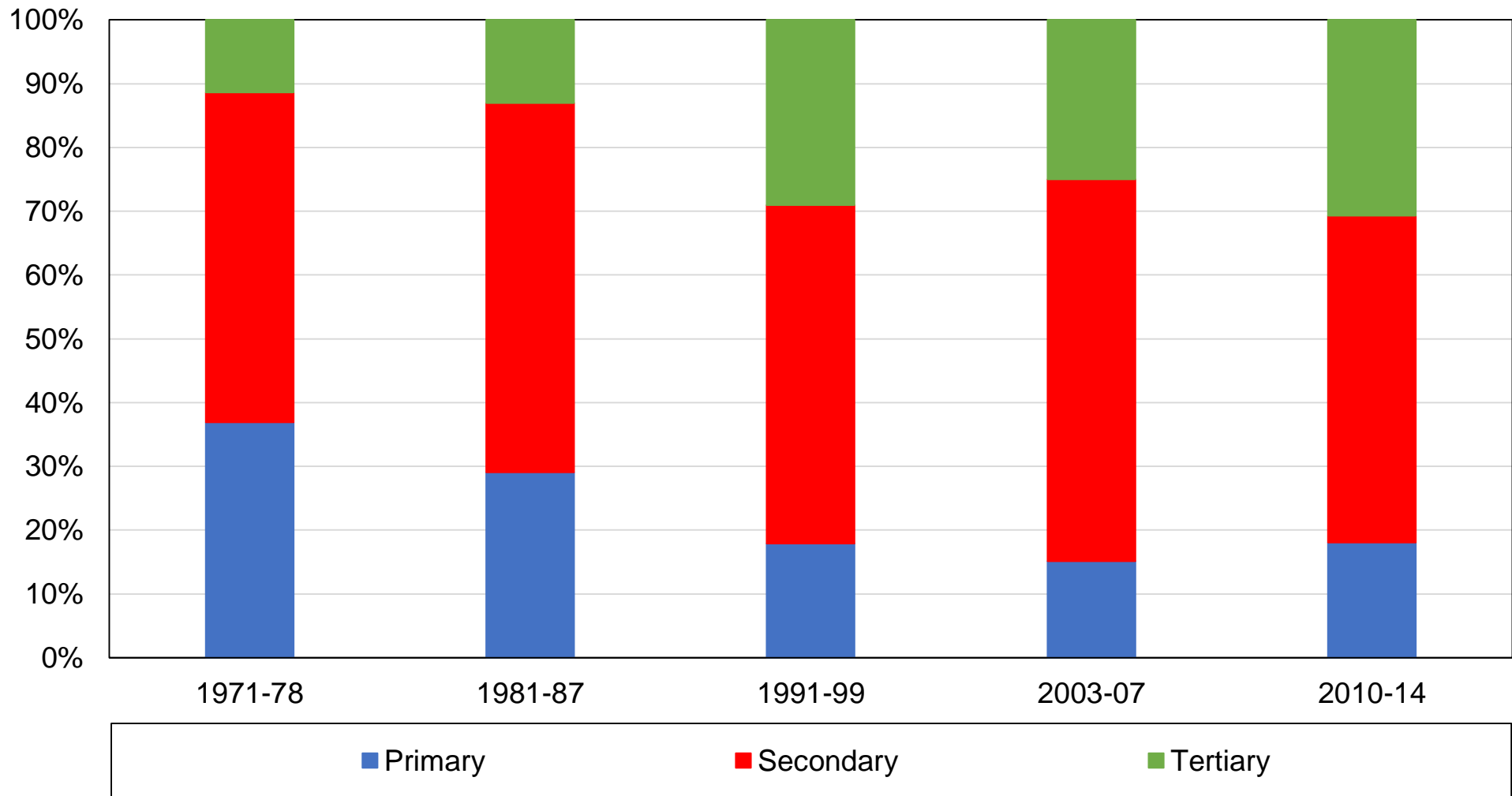


**Source:** authors' computations using official election results.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Belgian political parties in federal elections between 1946 and 2017.



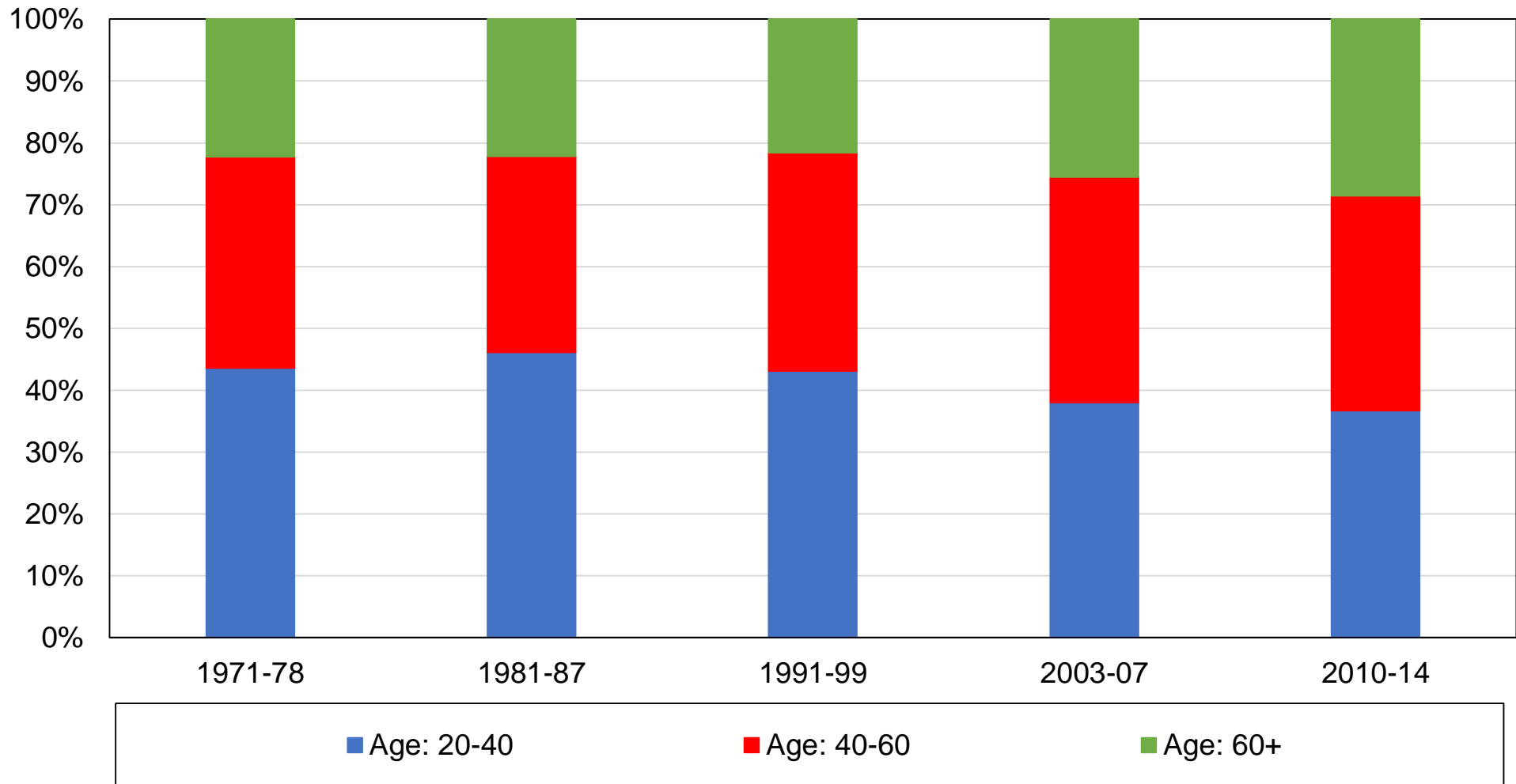
**Figure AA3 - The composition of the electorate by education level**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of the electorate by education level.

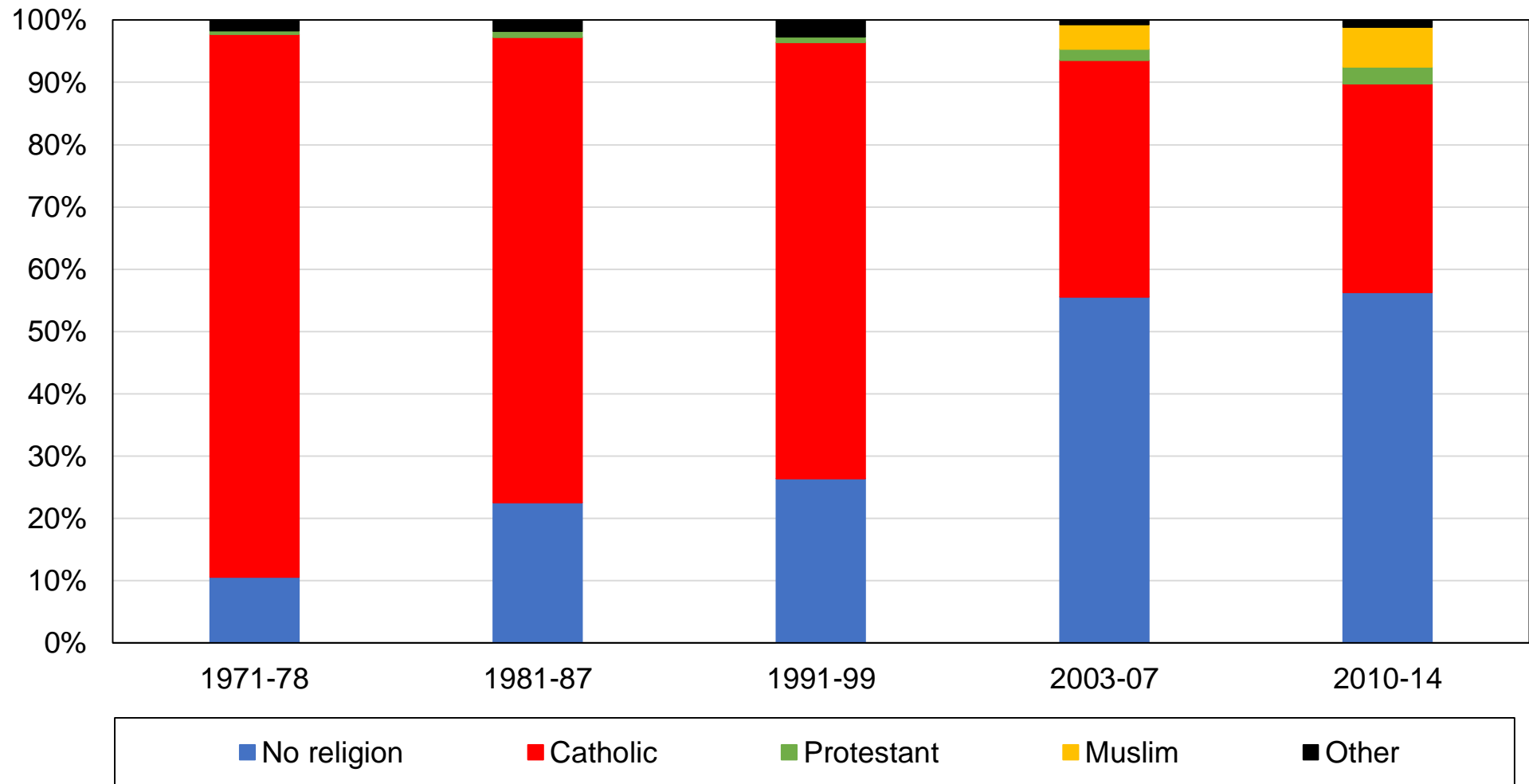
**Figure AA4 - The composition of the electorate by age group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of the electorate by age group.

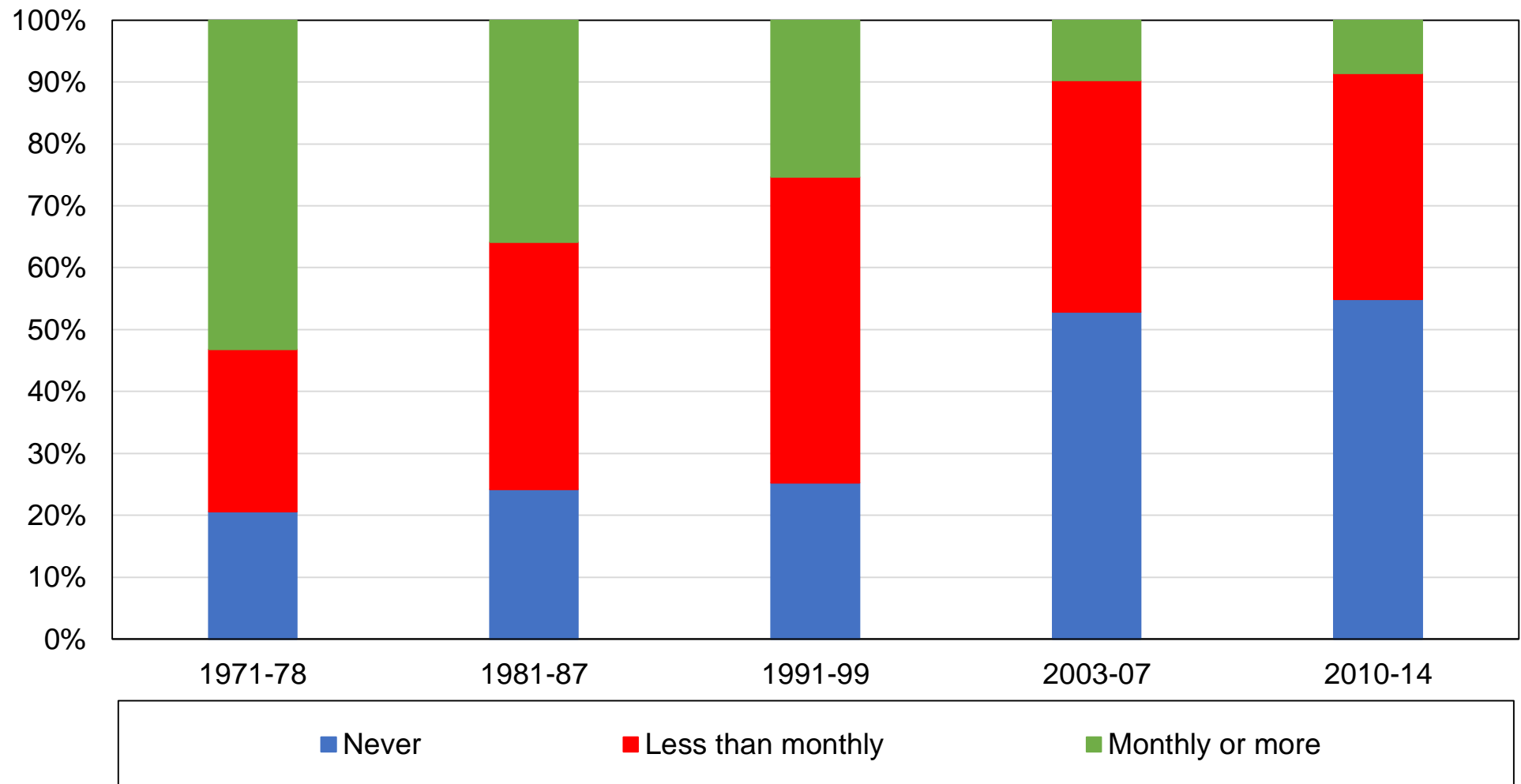
**Figure AA5 - The composition of the electorate by religion**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of the electorate by religious affiliation.

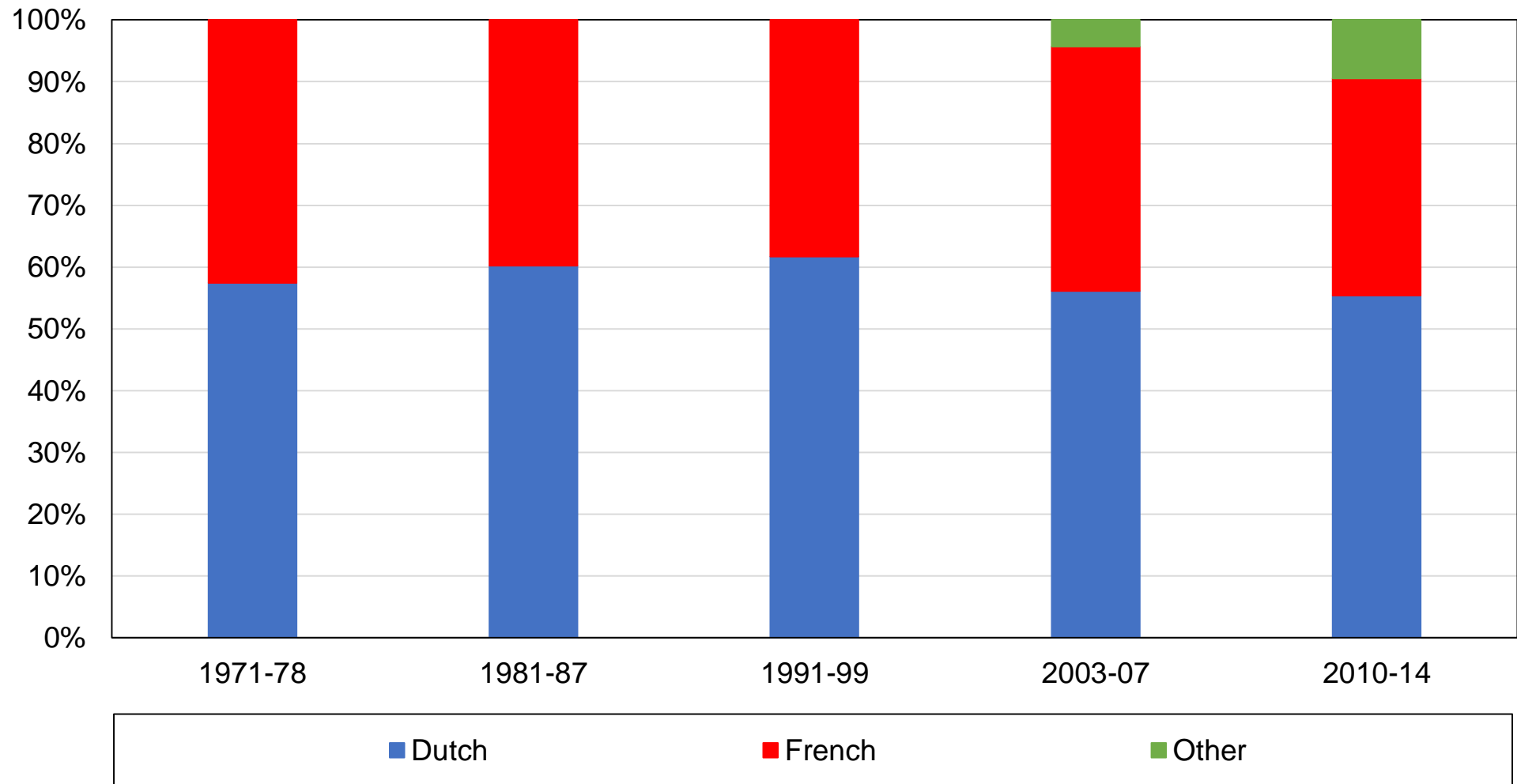
**Figure AA6 - The composition of the electorate by church attendance**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of the electorate by frequency of church attendance.

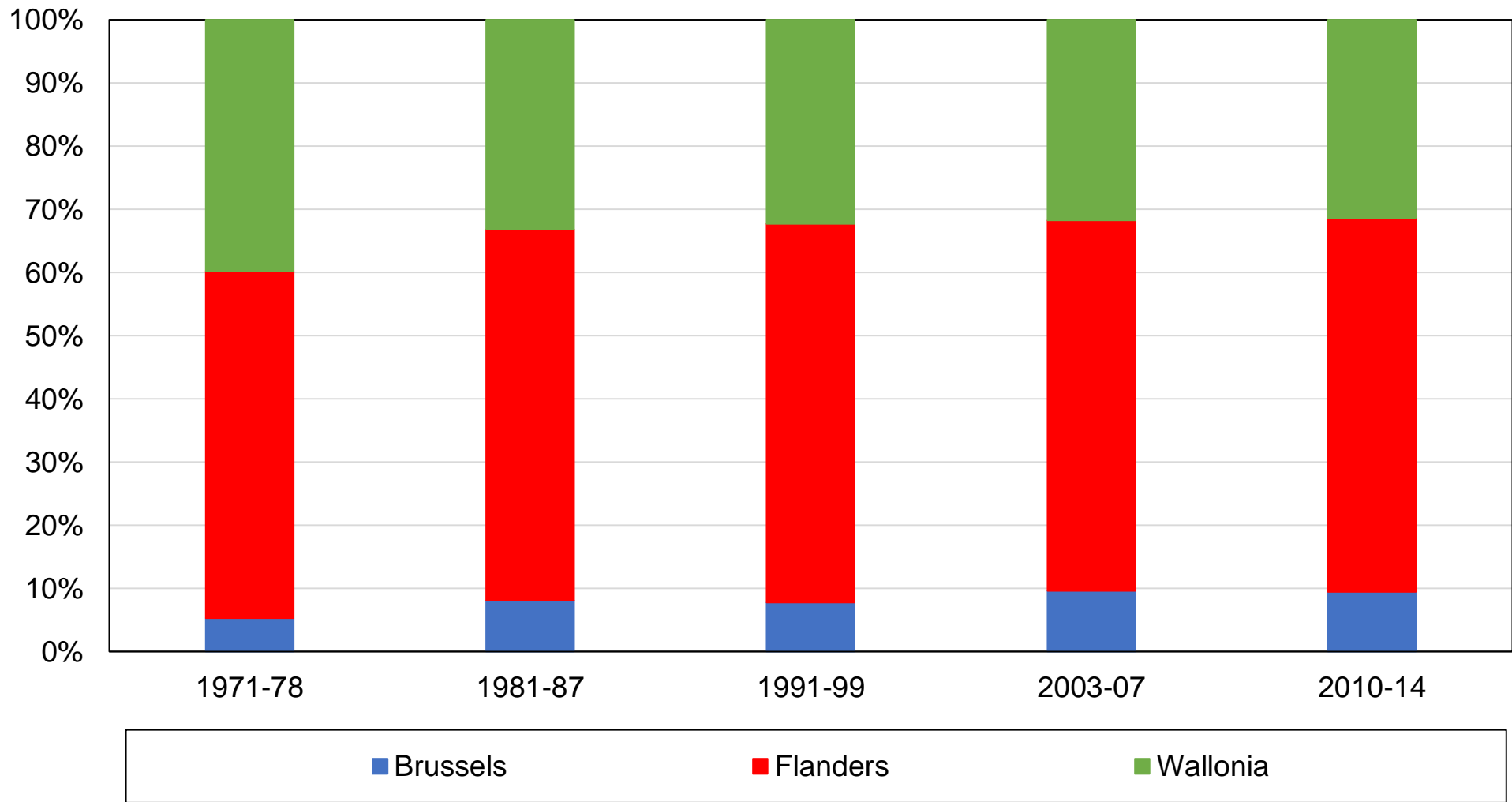
**Figure AA7 - The composition of the electorate by language**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of the electorate by language spoken at home.

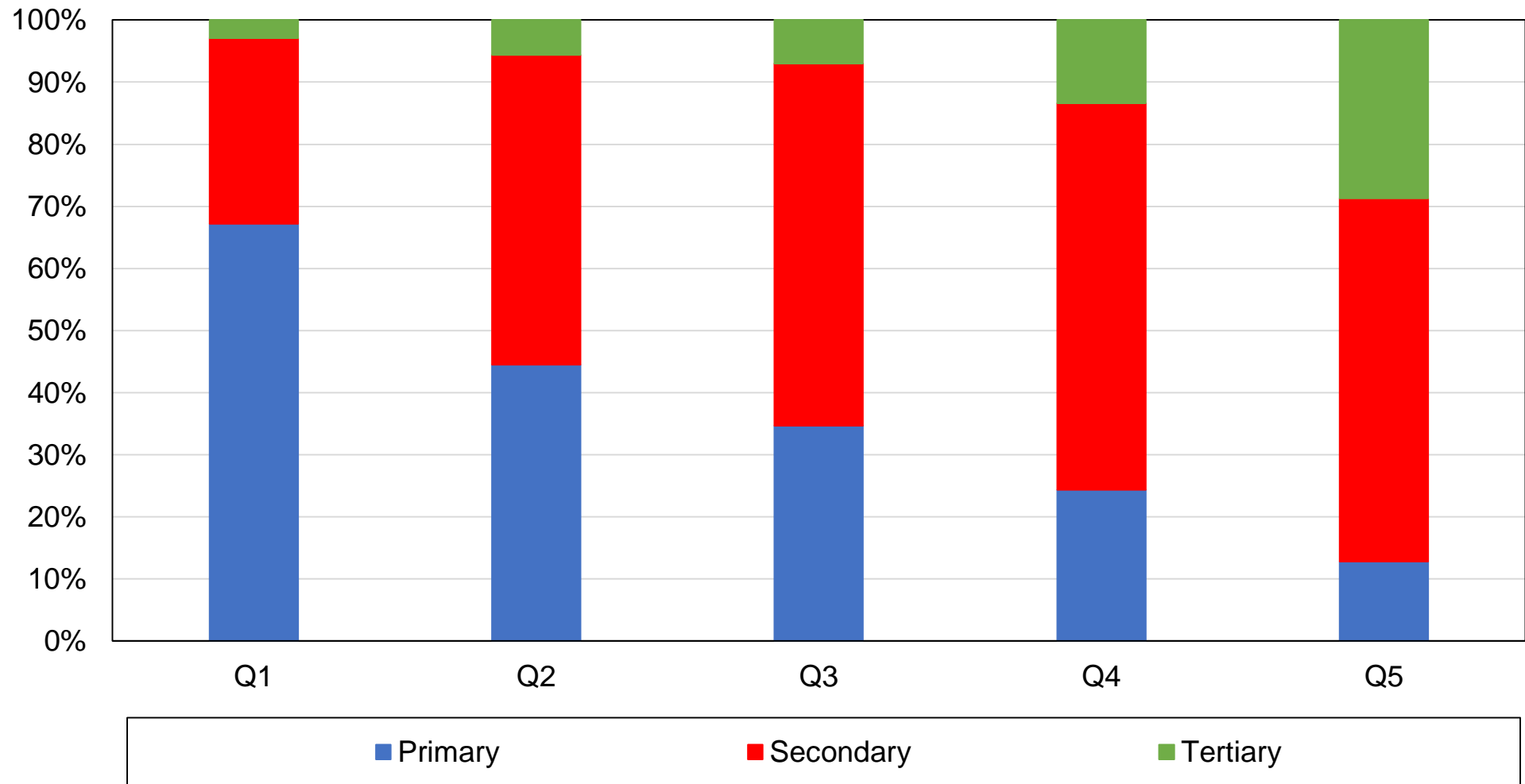
**Figure AA8 - The composition of the electorate by region**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of the electorate by region.

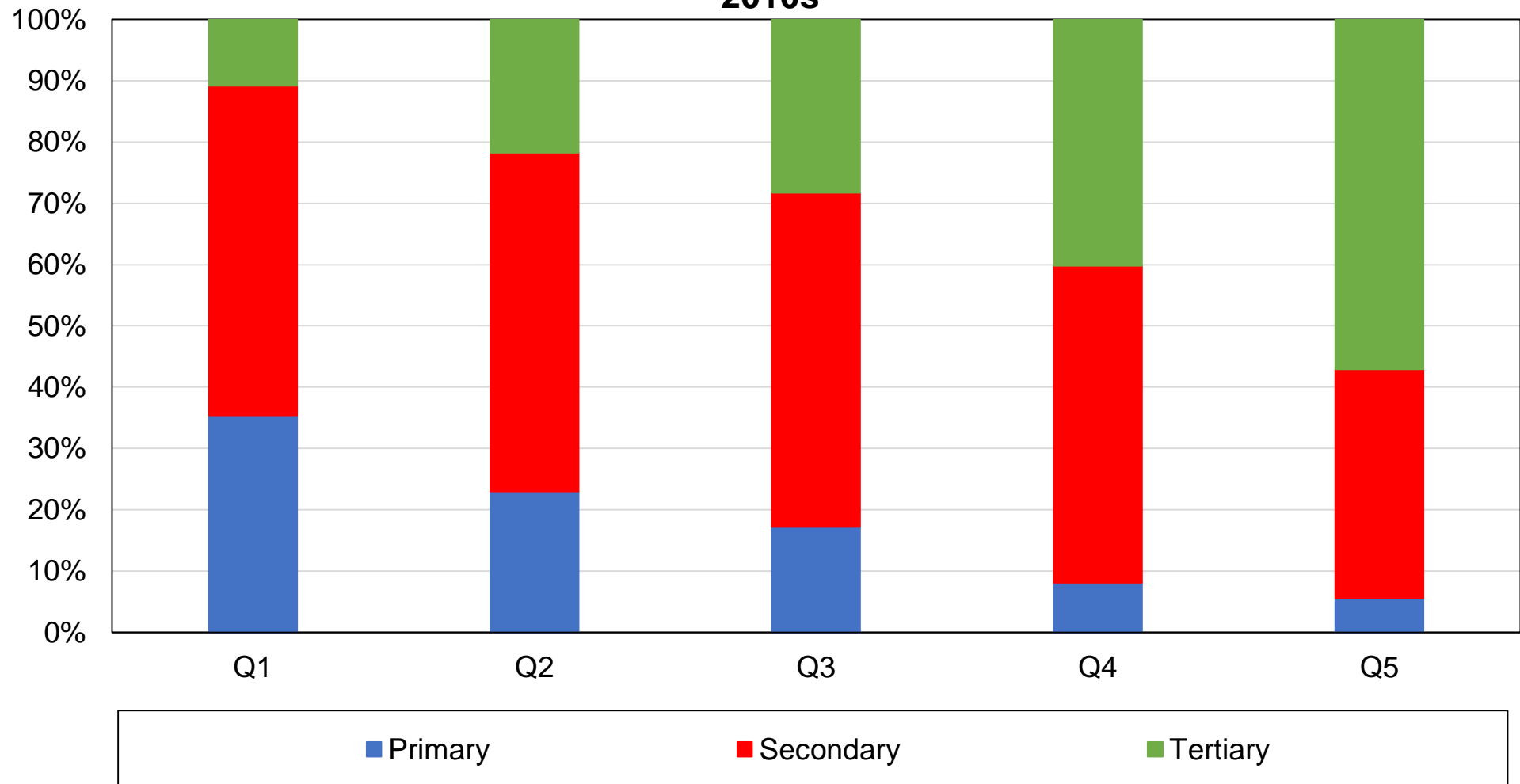
**Figure AA9 - Composition of income quintiles by education level, 1970s**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by education level in the 1970s.

**Figure AA10 - Composition of income quintiles by education level, 2010s**

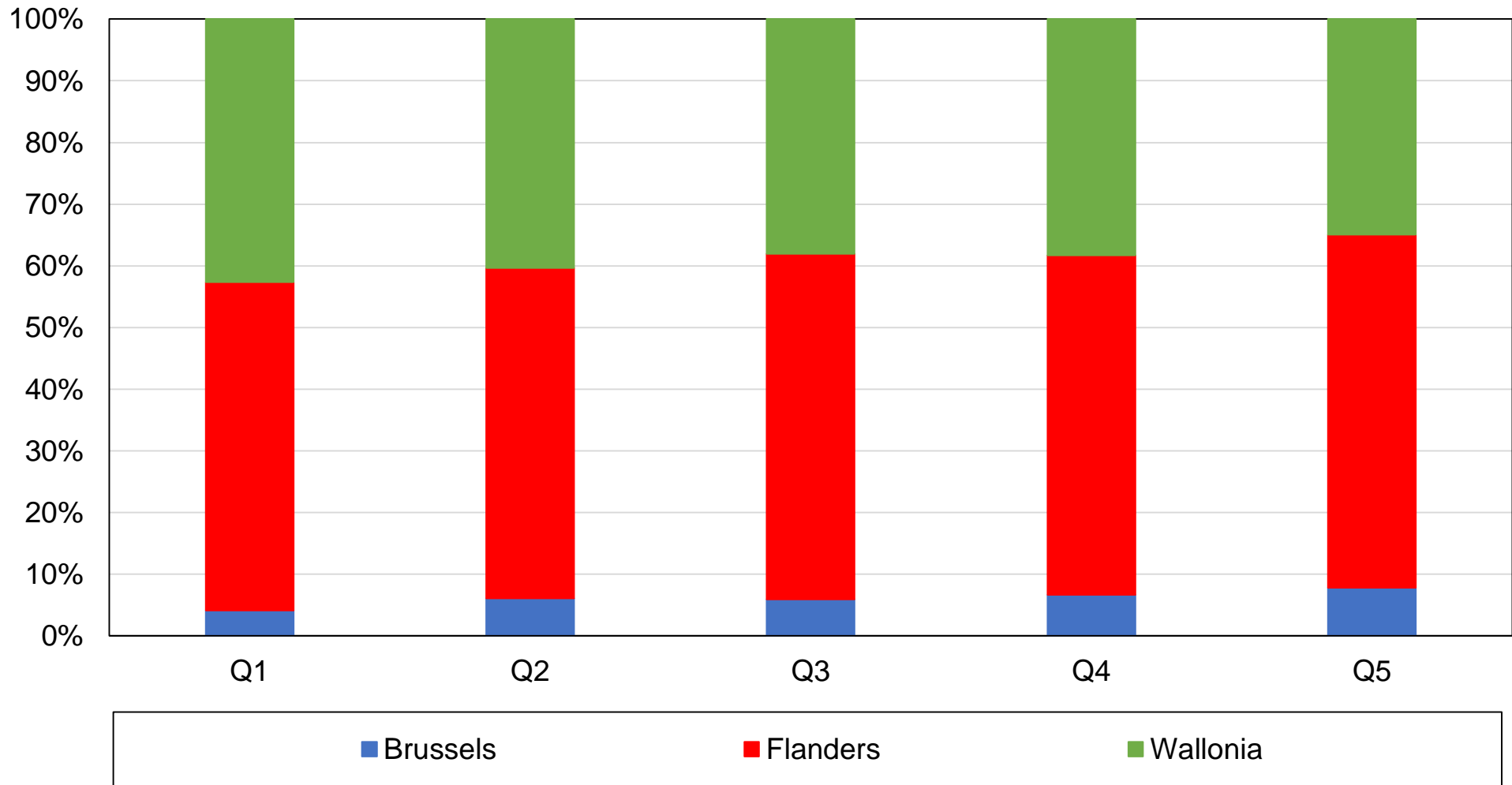


**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by education level in the 2010s.



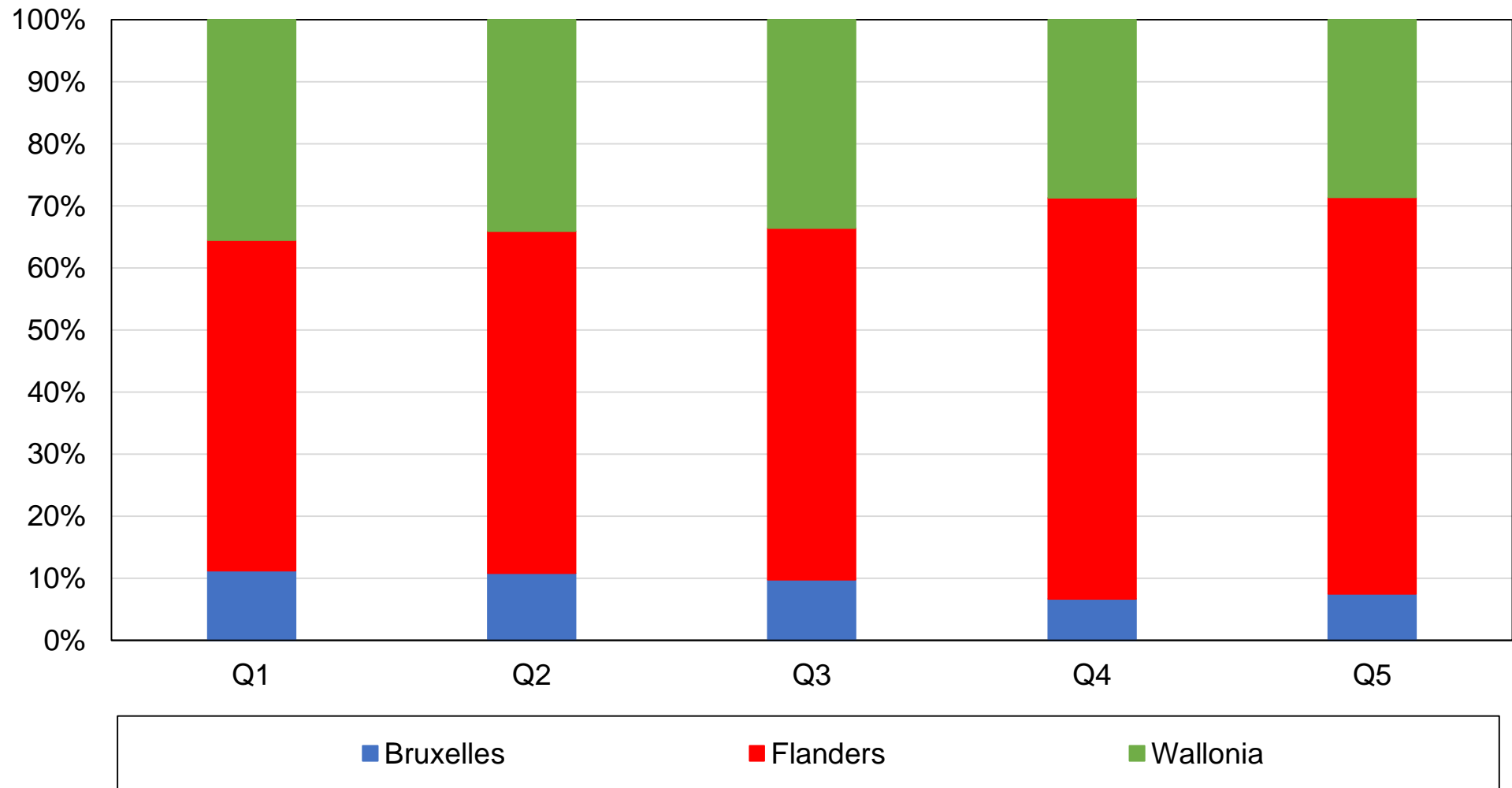
**Figure AA11 - Composition of income quintiles by region, 1970s**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by region in the 1970s.

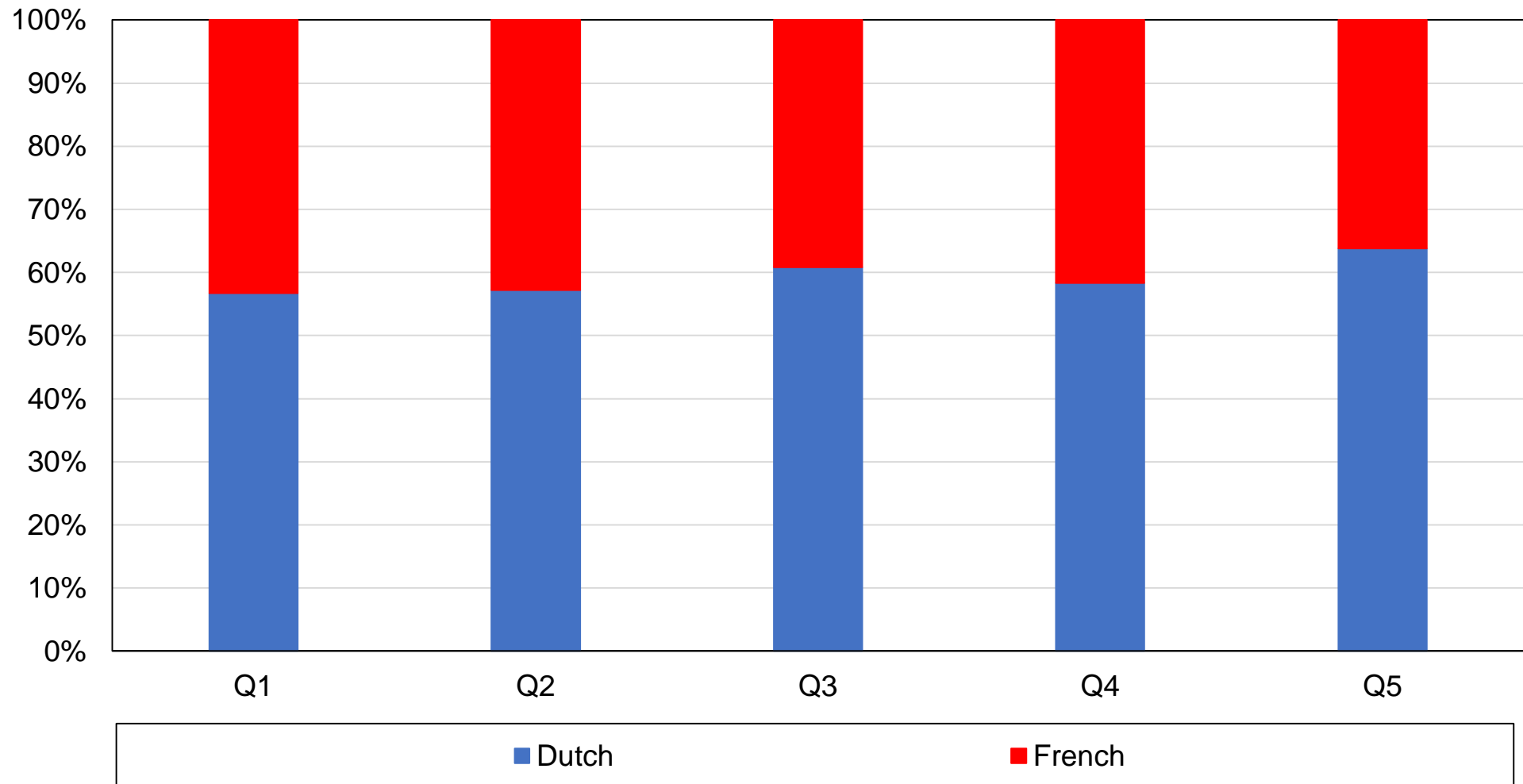
**Figure AA12 - Composition of income quintiles by region, 2010s**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by region in the 2010s.

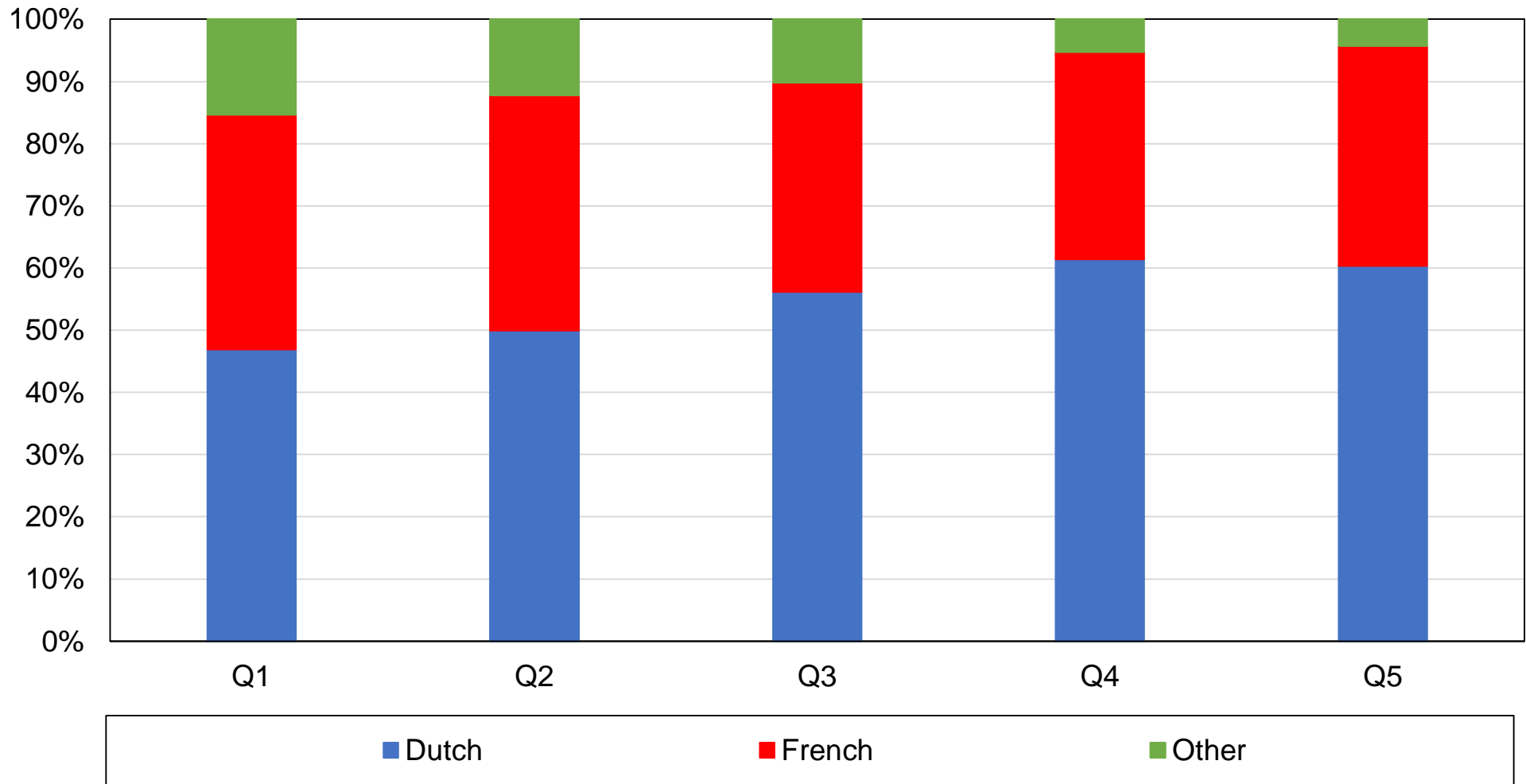
**Figure AA13 - Composition of income quintiles by first language, 1970s**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by language spoken at home in the 1970s.

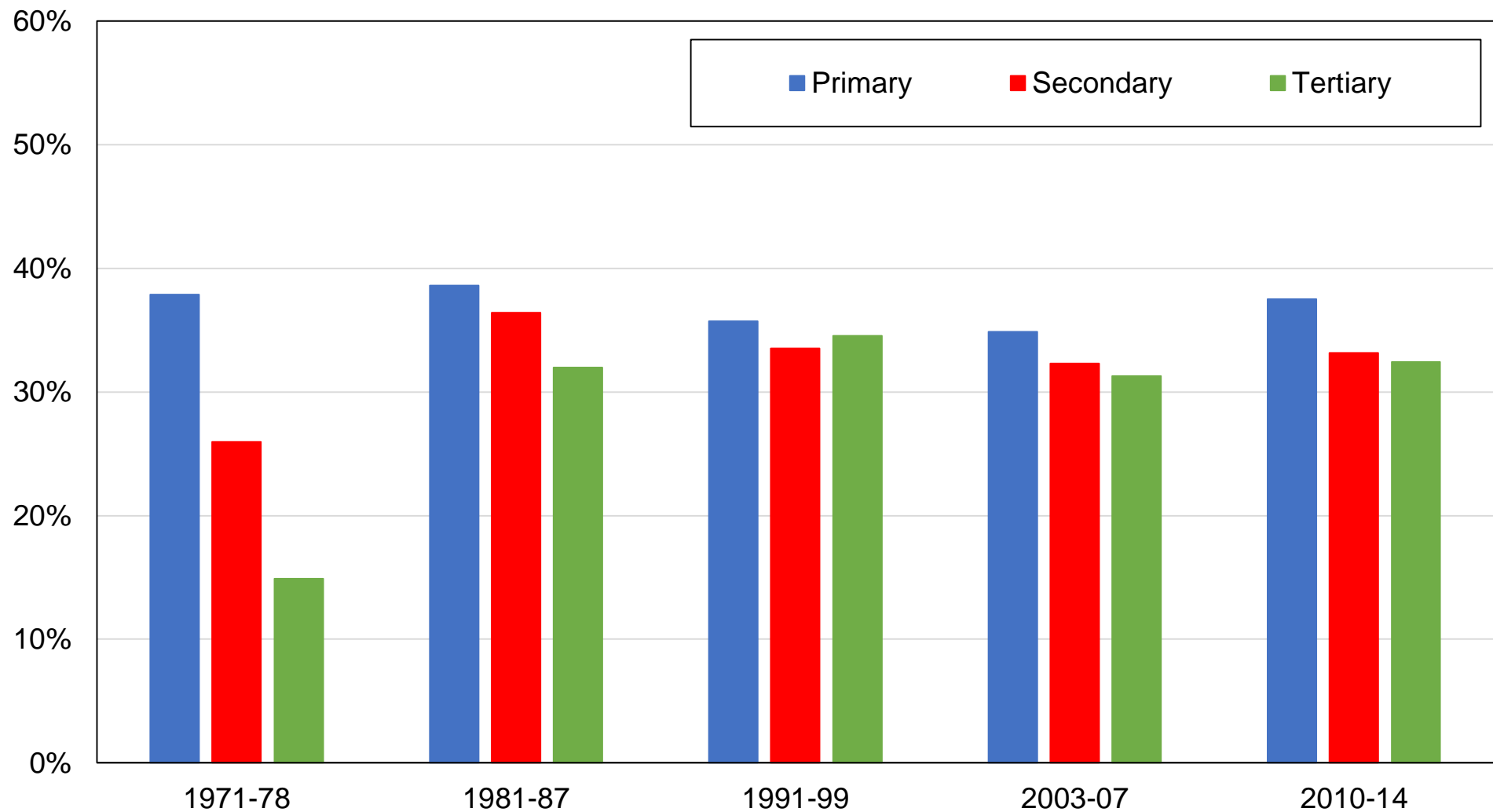
**Figure AA14 - Composition of income quintiles by first language, 2010s**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by language spoken at home in the 2010s.

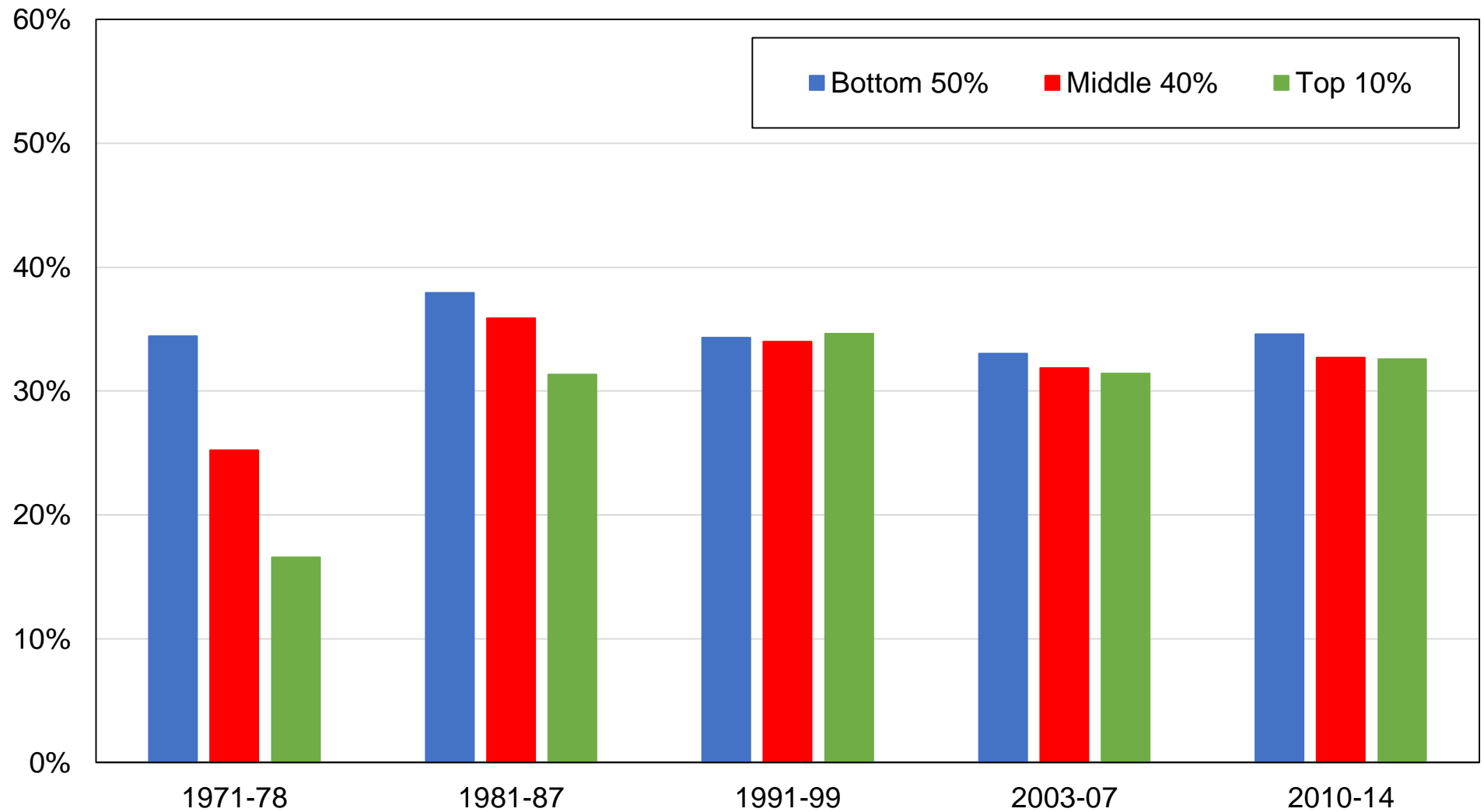
**Figure AB1 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by education level**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by education level.

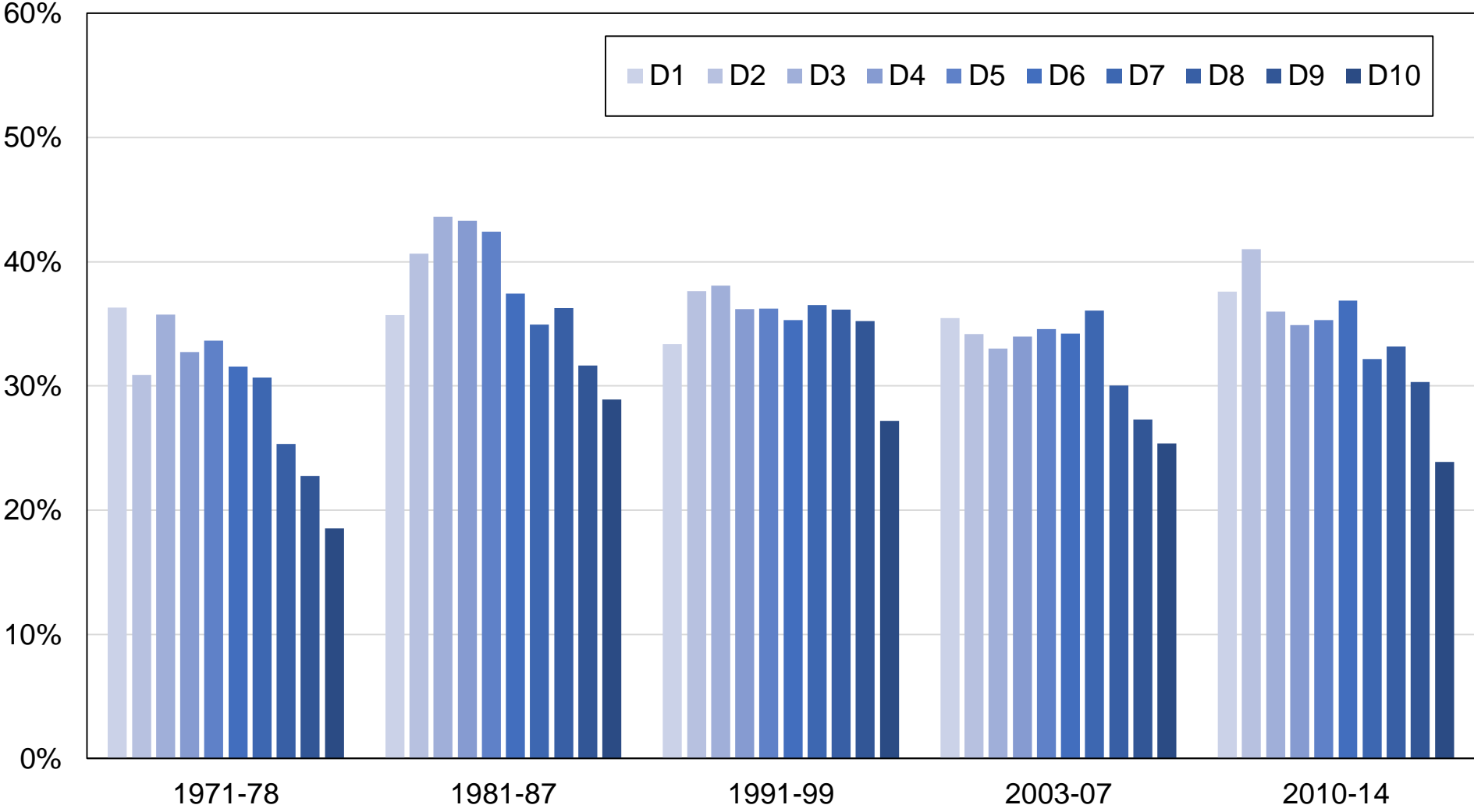
**Figure AB2 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by education group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by education group.

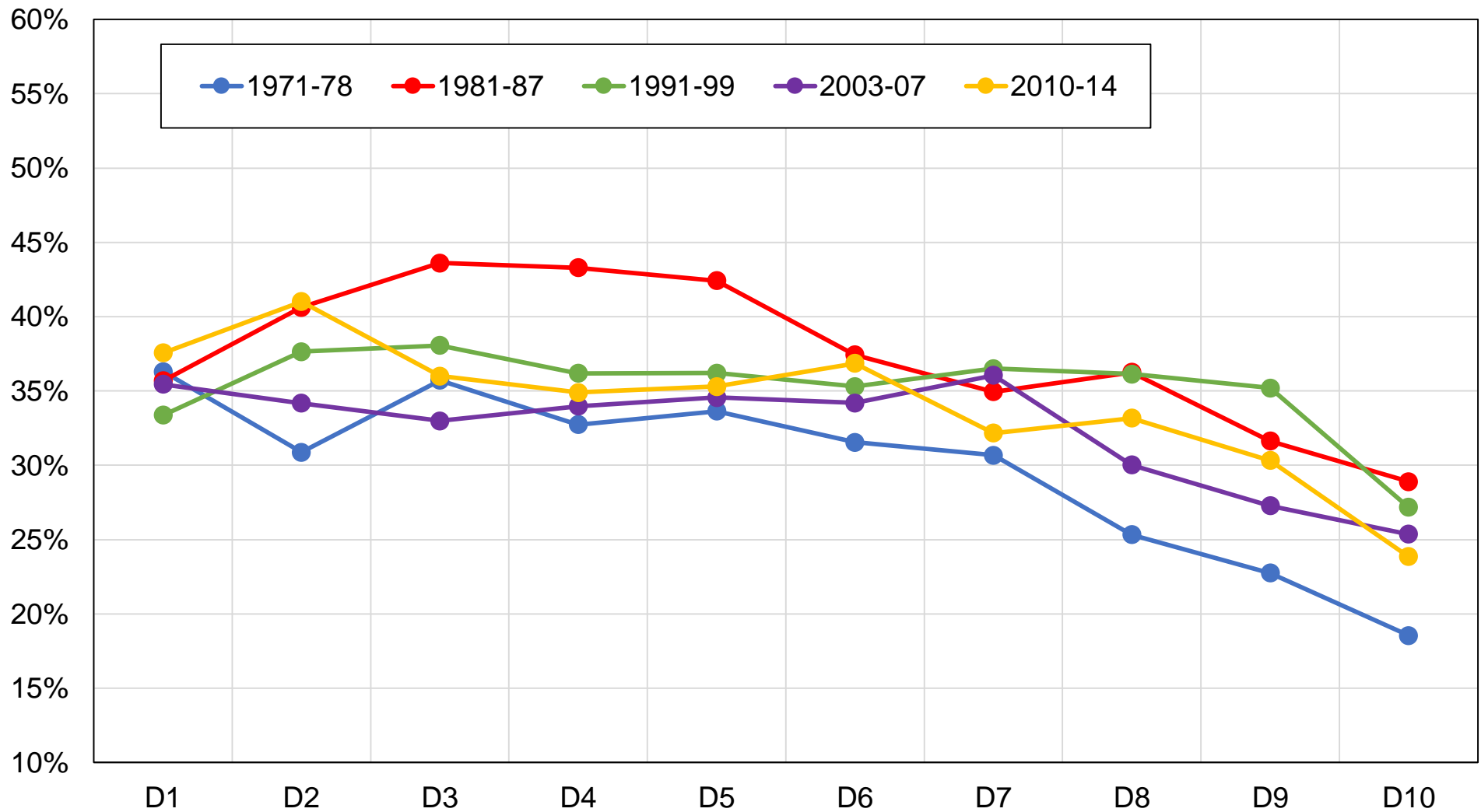
**Figure AB3 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by income decile**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income decile.

**Figure AB3b - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by income decile**

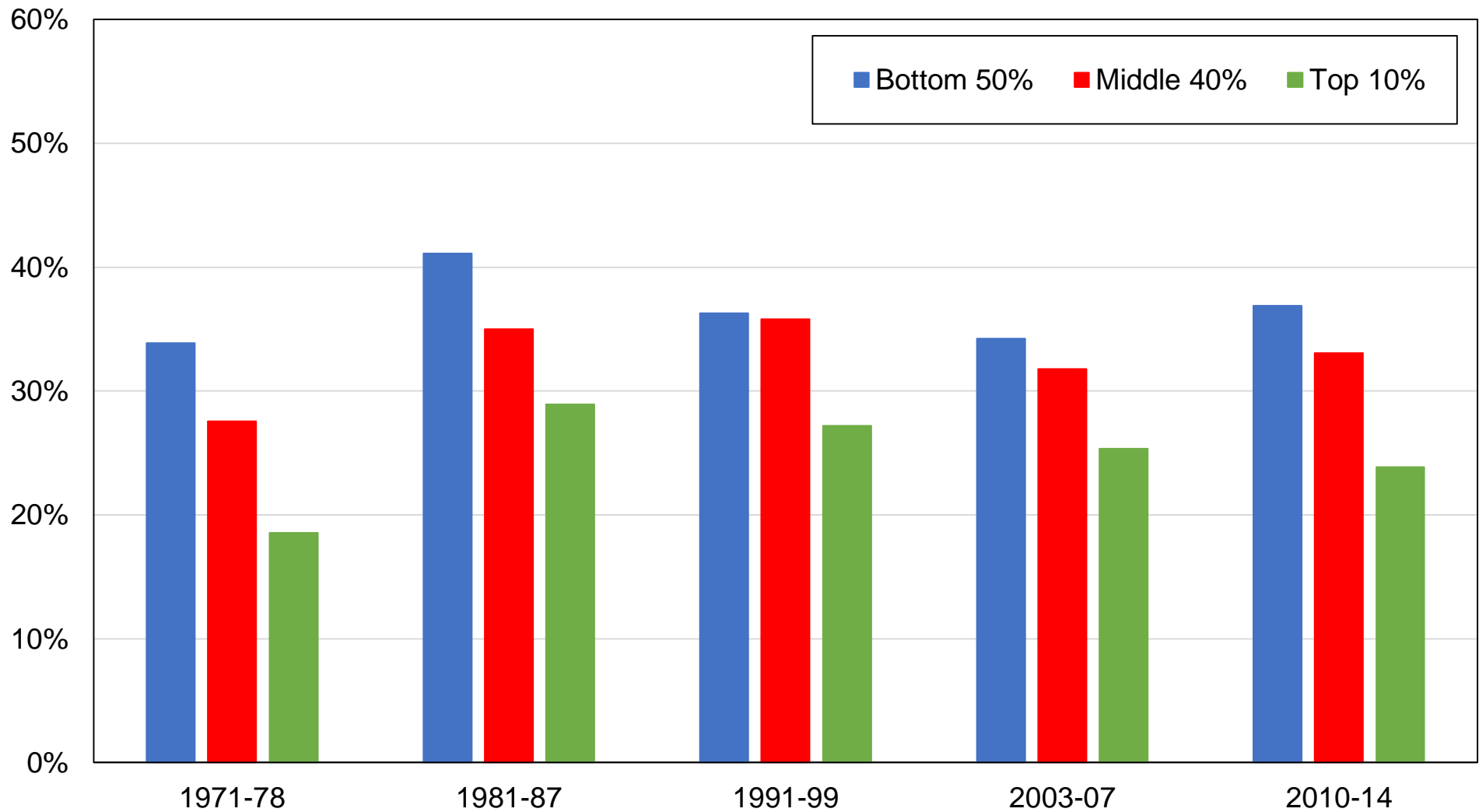


**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income decile.



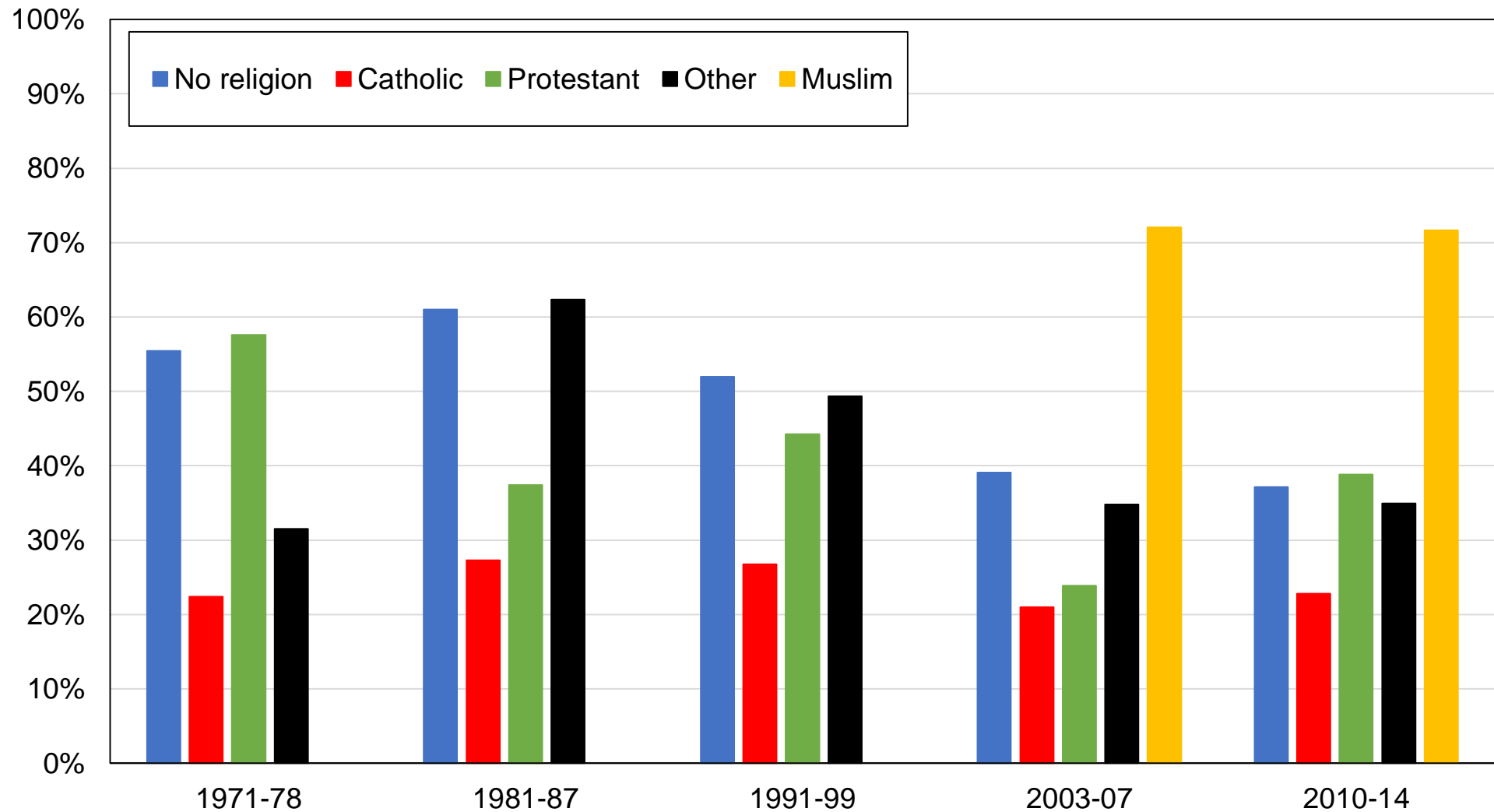
**Figure AB4 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by income group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income group.

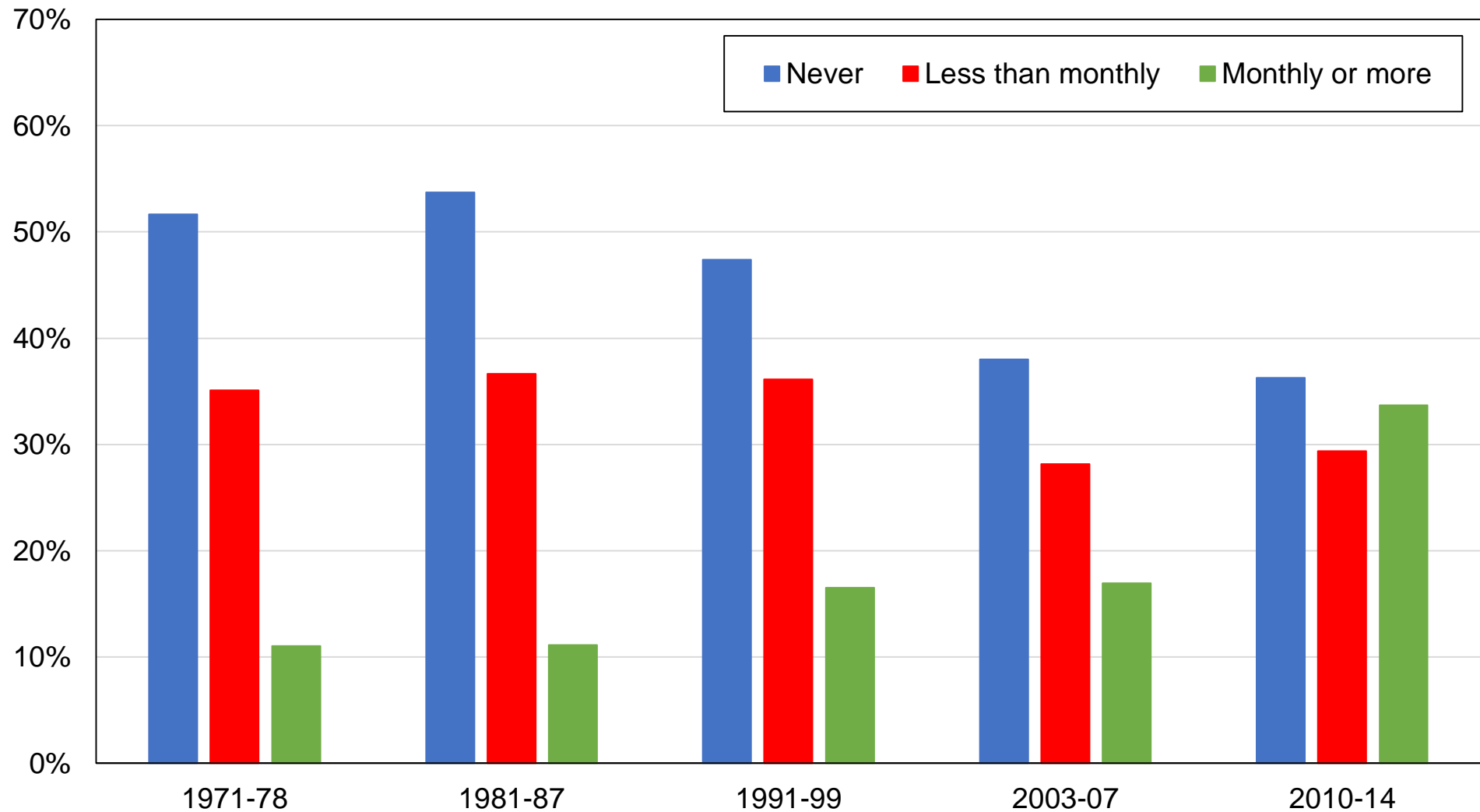
**Figure AB5 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by religious affiliation**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgium political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by religious affiliation.

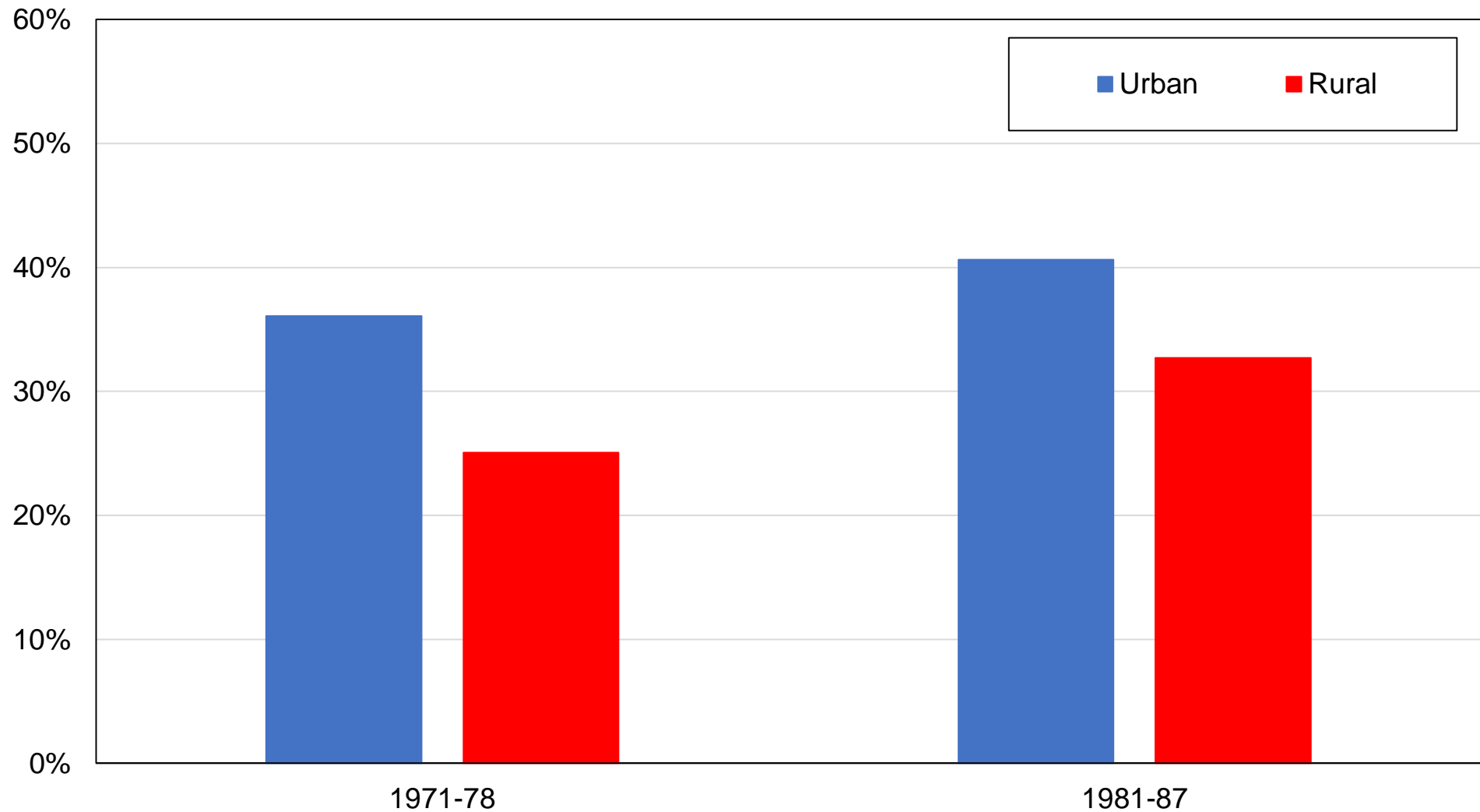
**Figure AB6 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by church attendance**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by frequency of church attendance.

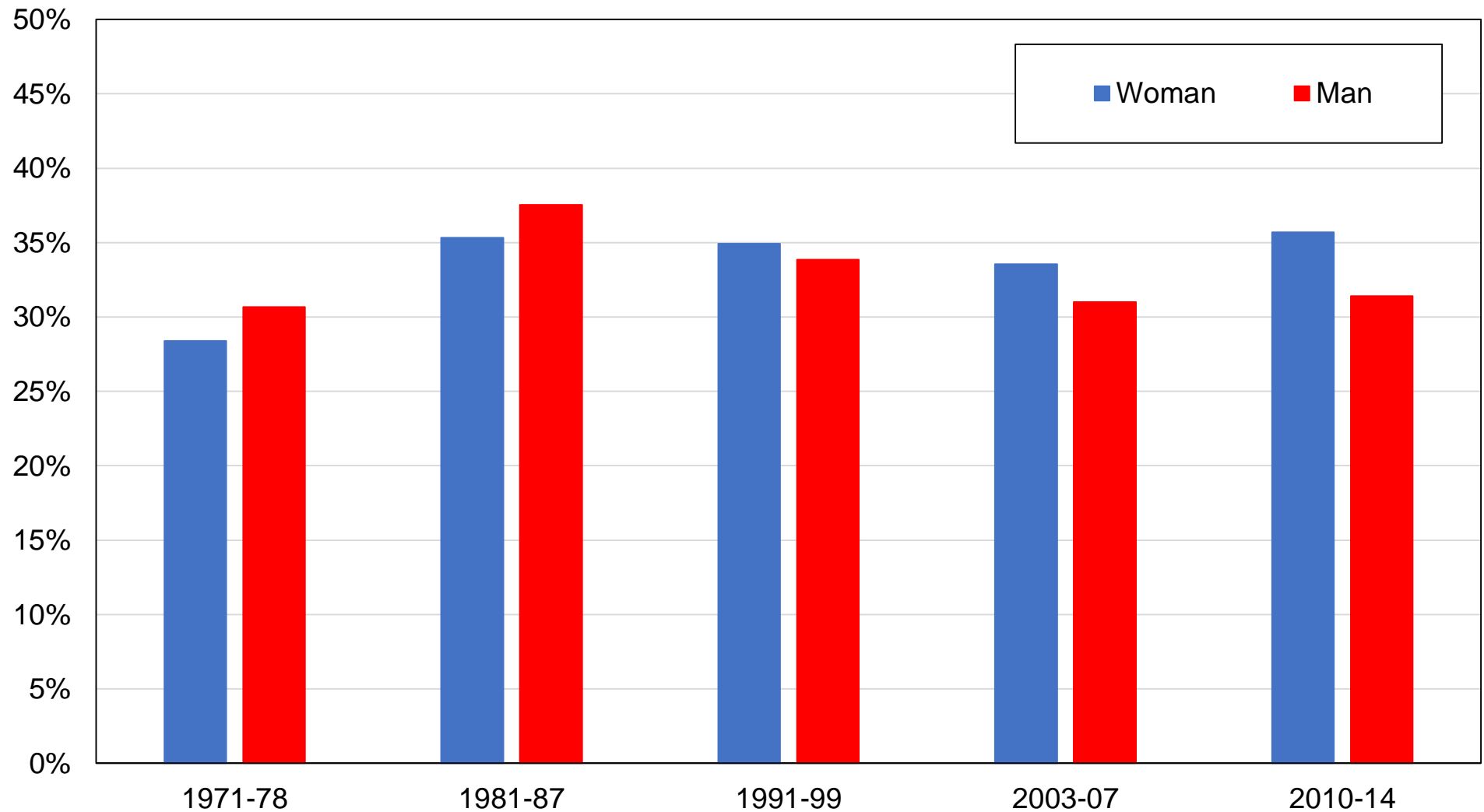
**Figure AB7 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by location**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by rural-urban location.

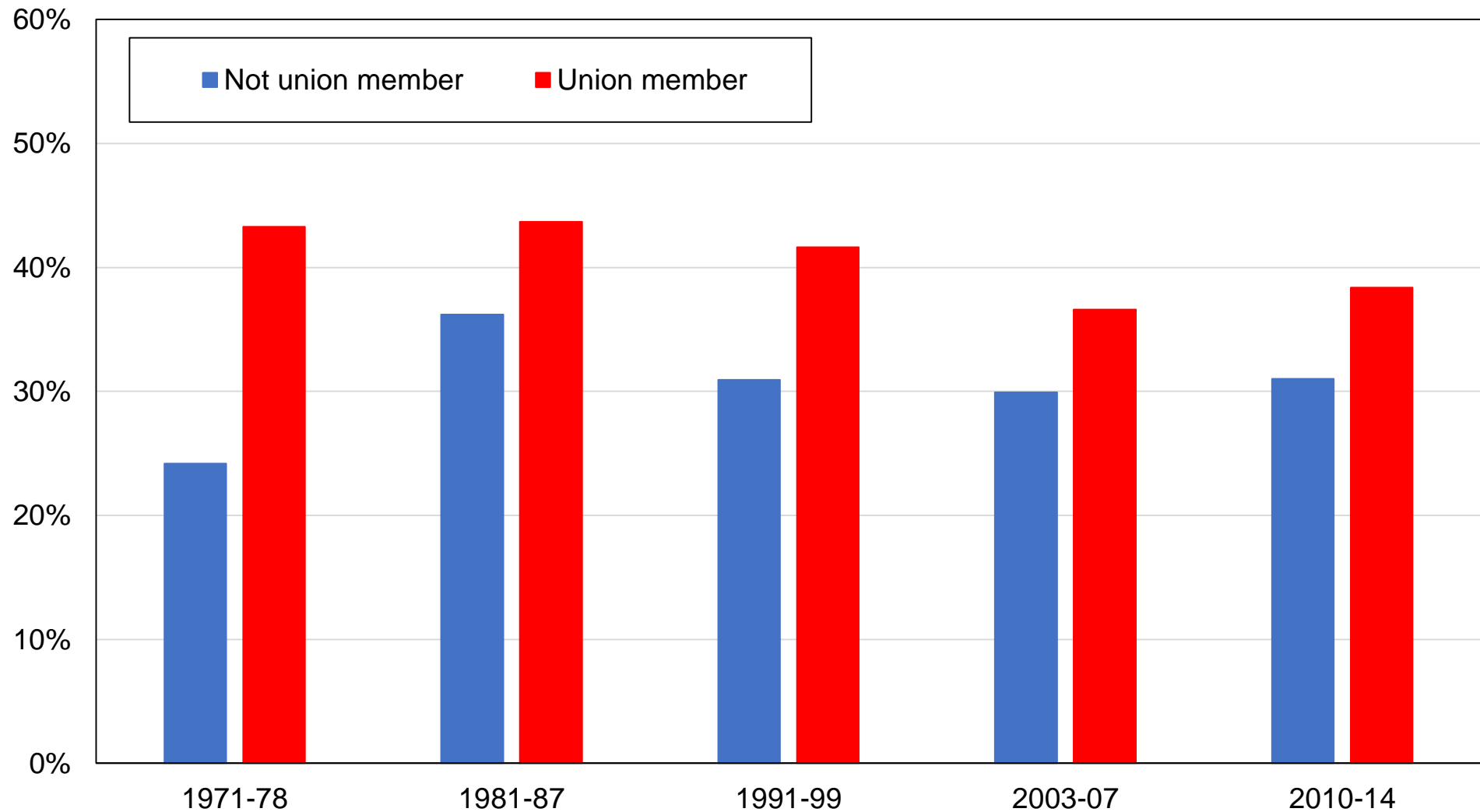
**Figure AB8 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by gender**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by gender.

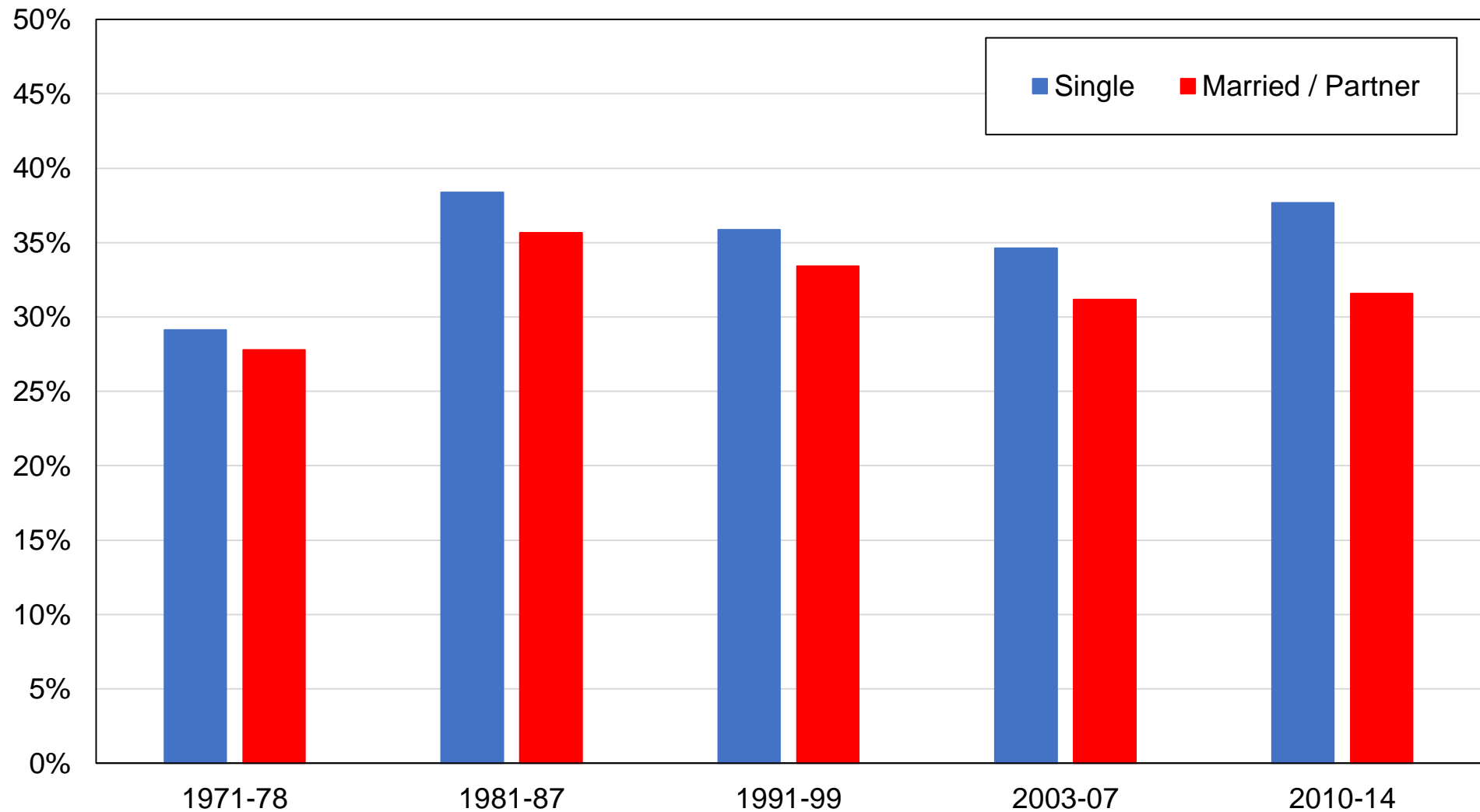
**Figure AB9 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by union membership**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by union membership status.

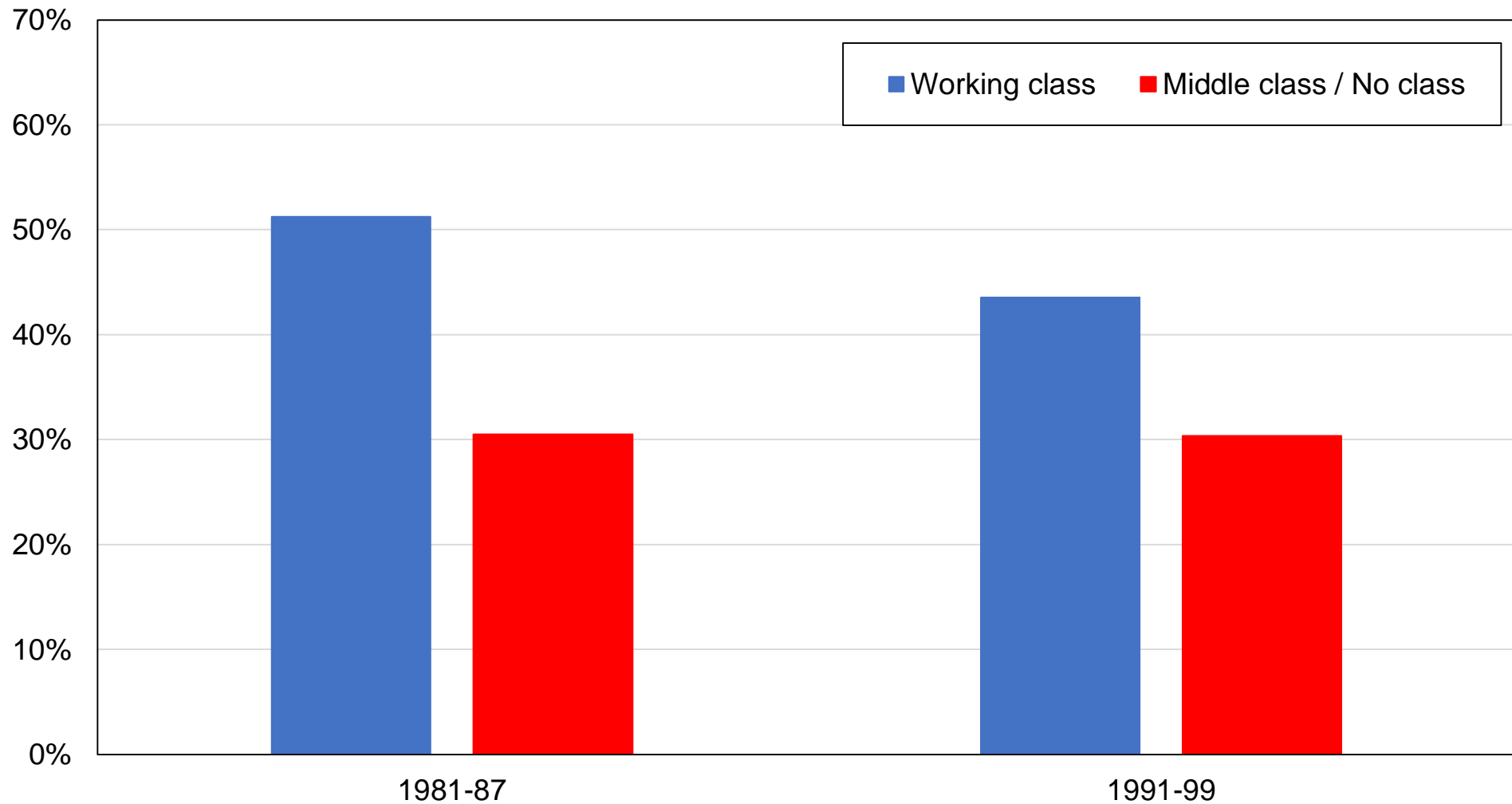
**Figure AB10 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by marital status**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by marital status.

**Figure AB11 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by perceived social class**

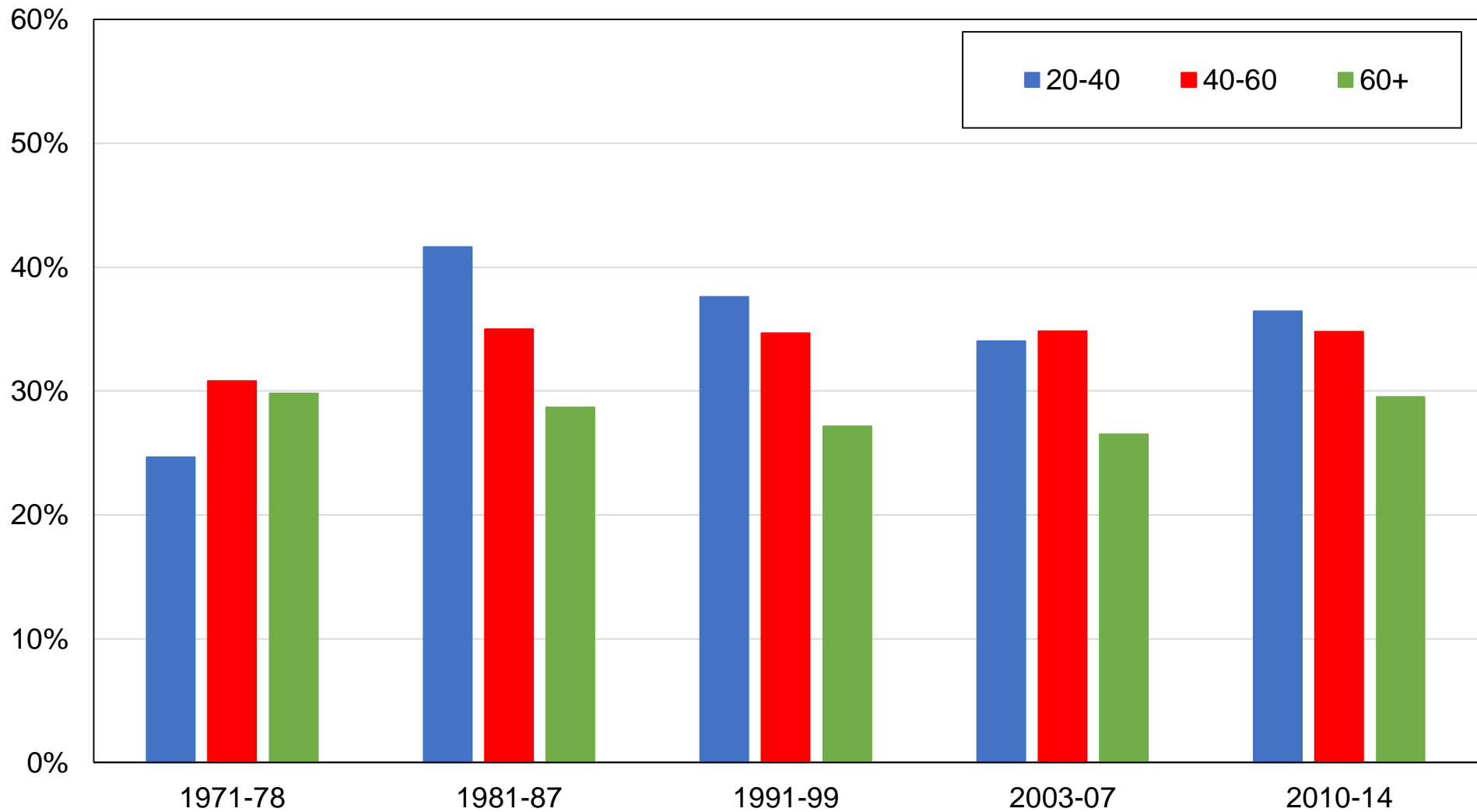


**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by self-perceived social class. Working class includes "lower class". Middle class includes "no class" and "upper class".



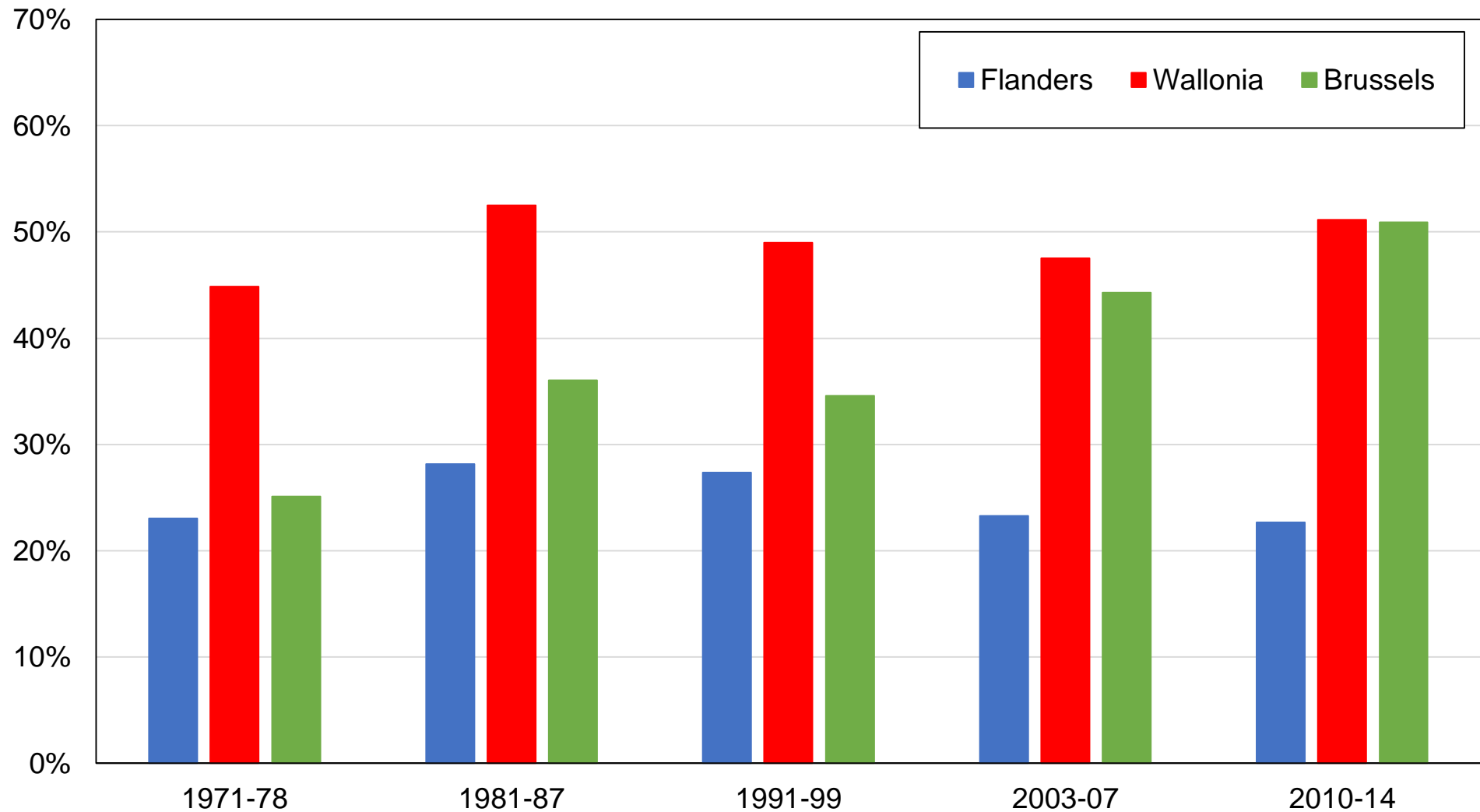
**Figure AB12 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by age group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by age group.

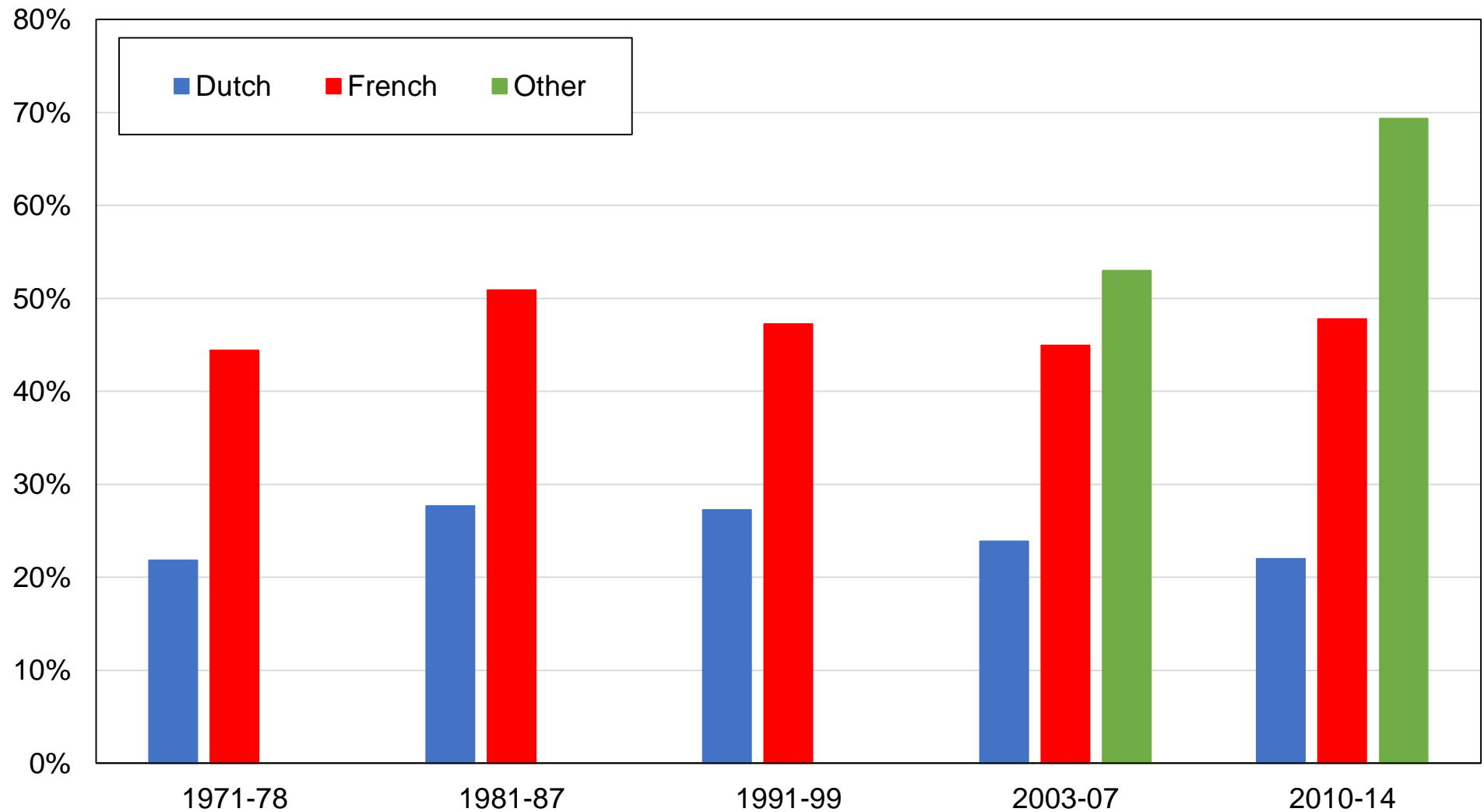
**Figure AB13 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by region**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by region.

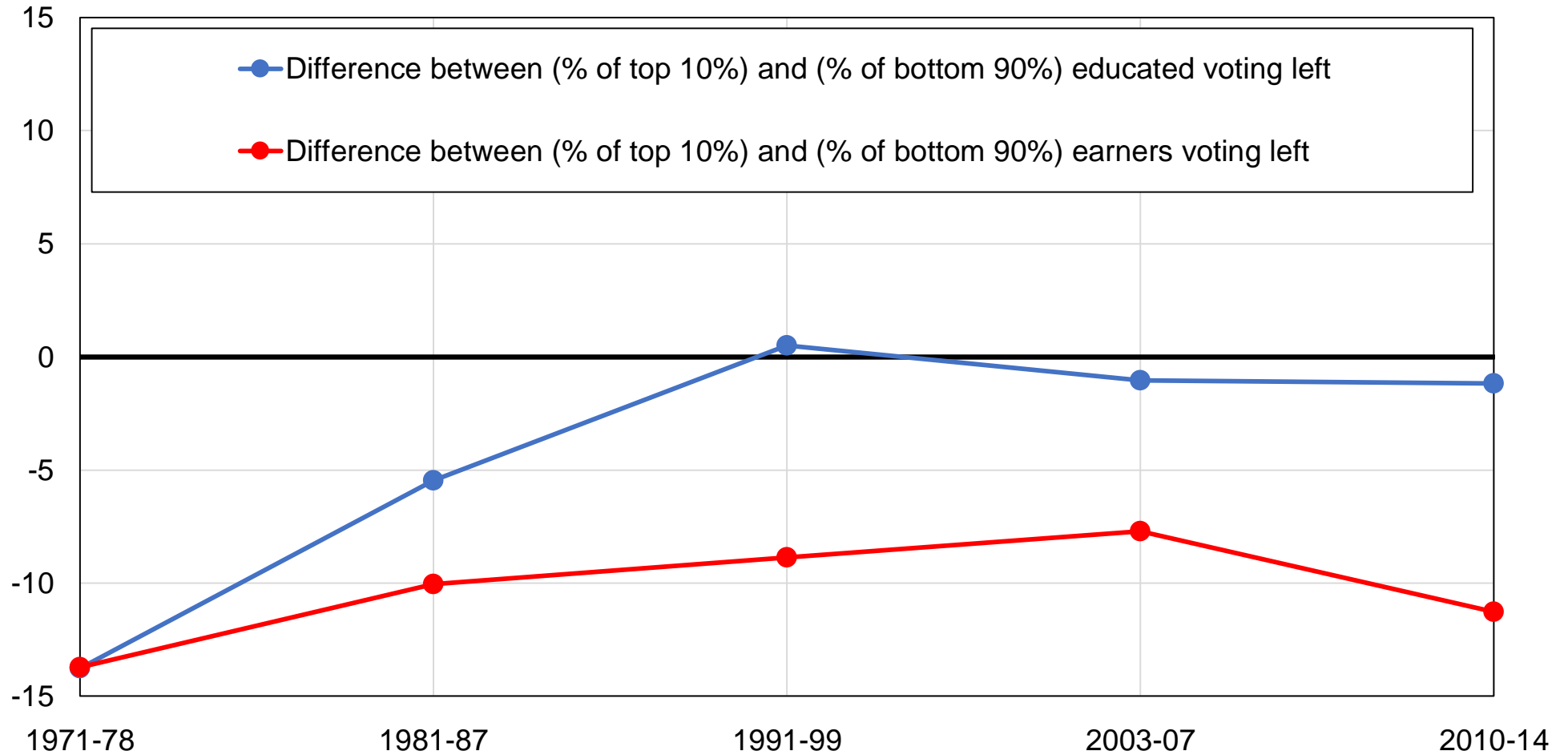
**Figure AB14 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by language**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by language.

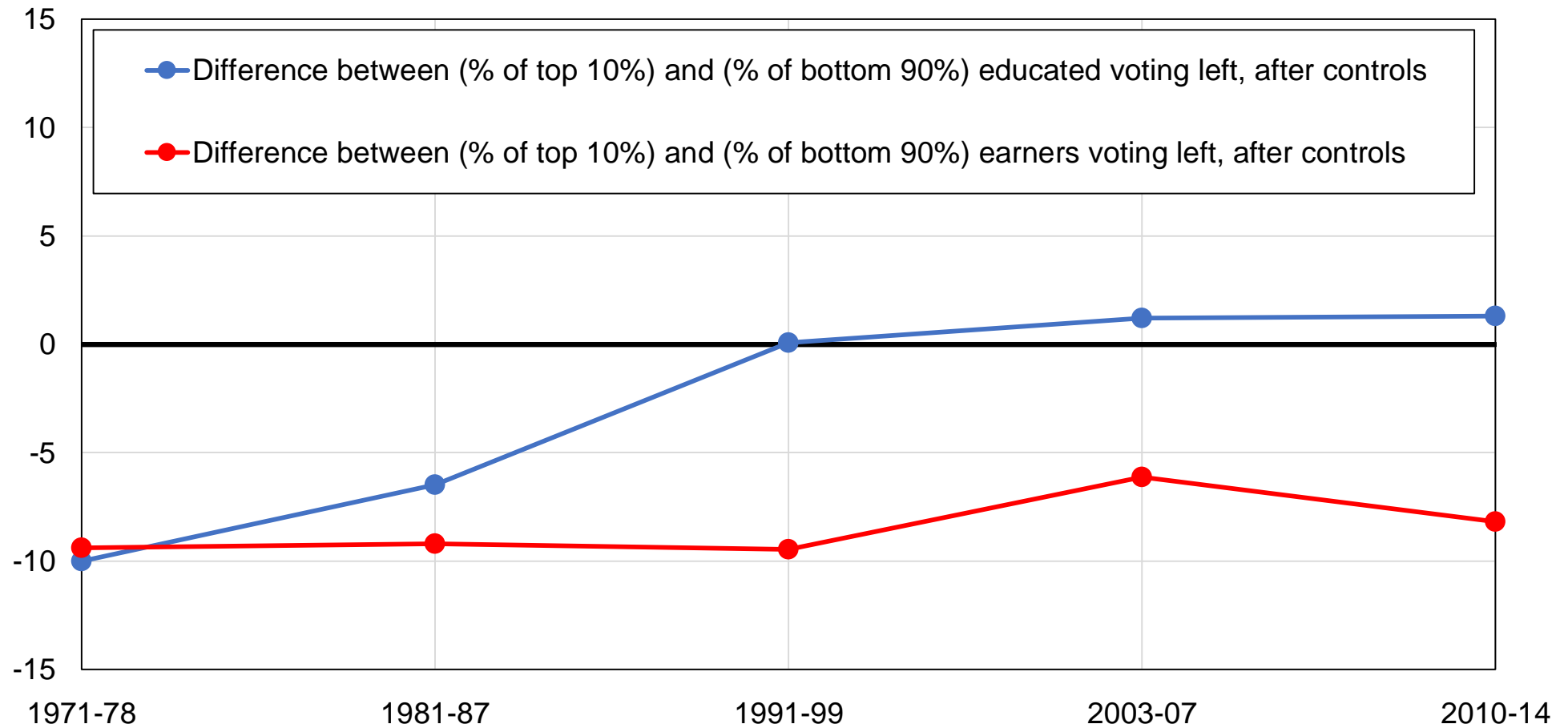
**Figure AC1 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among highest-educated and top-income voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the support for Socialists / Ecologists among highest-educated and top-income voters.

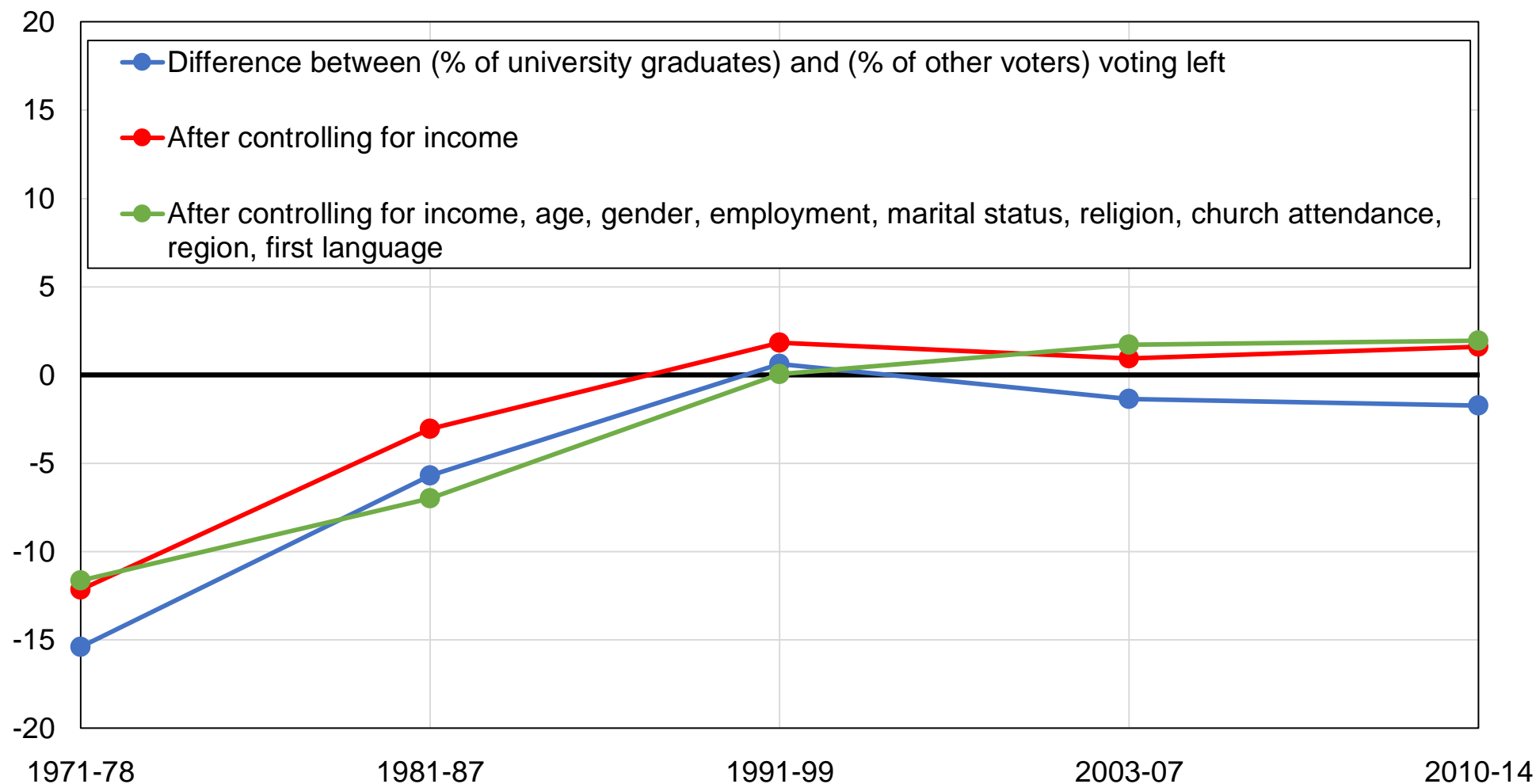
**Figure AC2 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controls**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the support for Socialists / Ecologists among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controlling for income, education, age, gender, employment, marital status, religion, church attendance, region and first language.

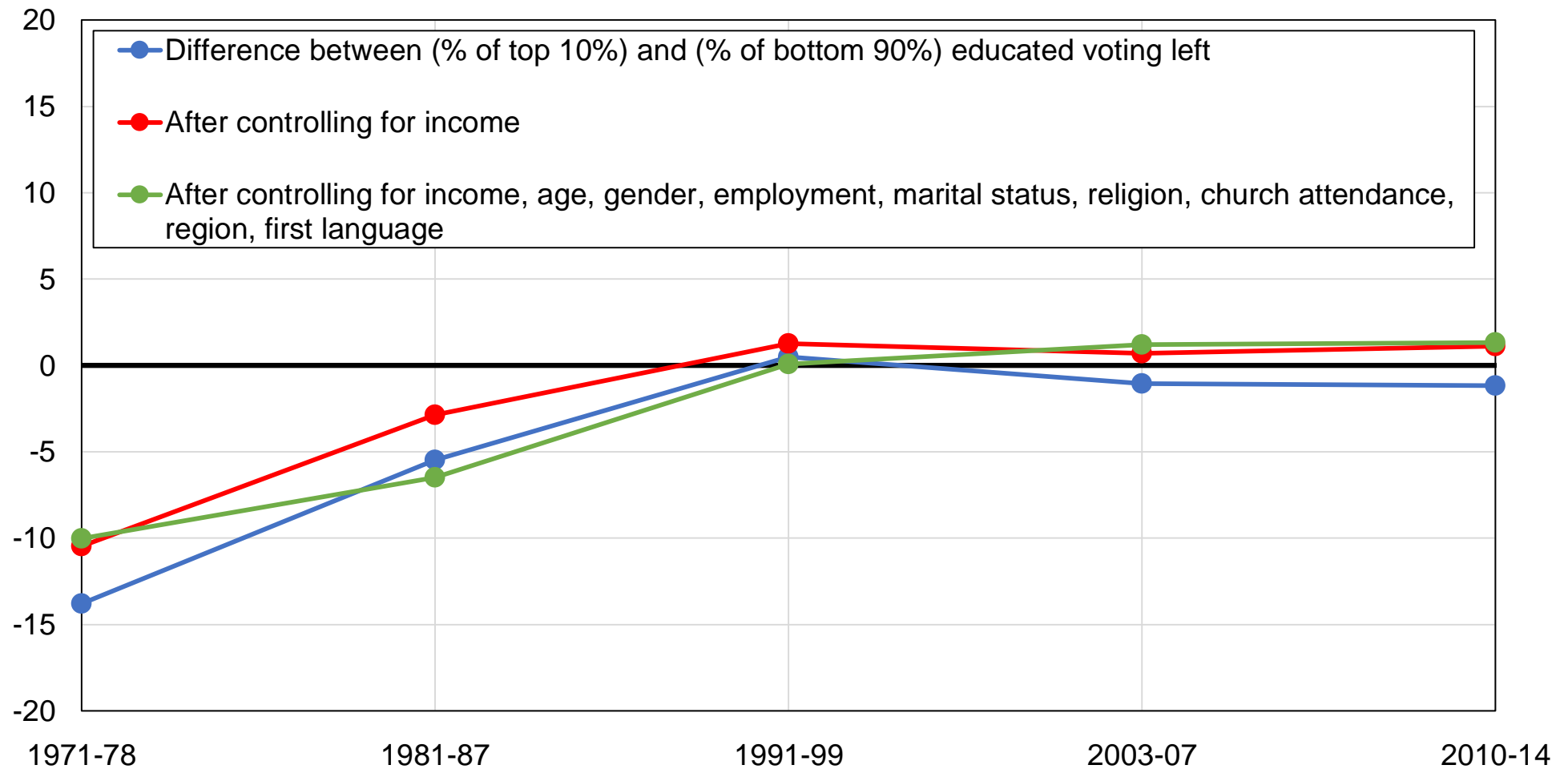
**Figure AC3 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among university graduates**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters voting for Socialists / Ecologists, before and after controlling for other variables.

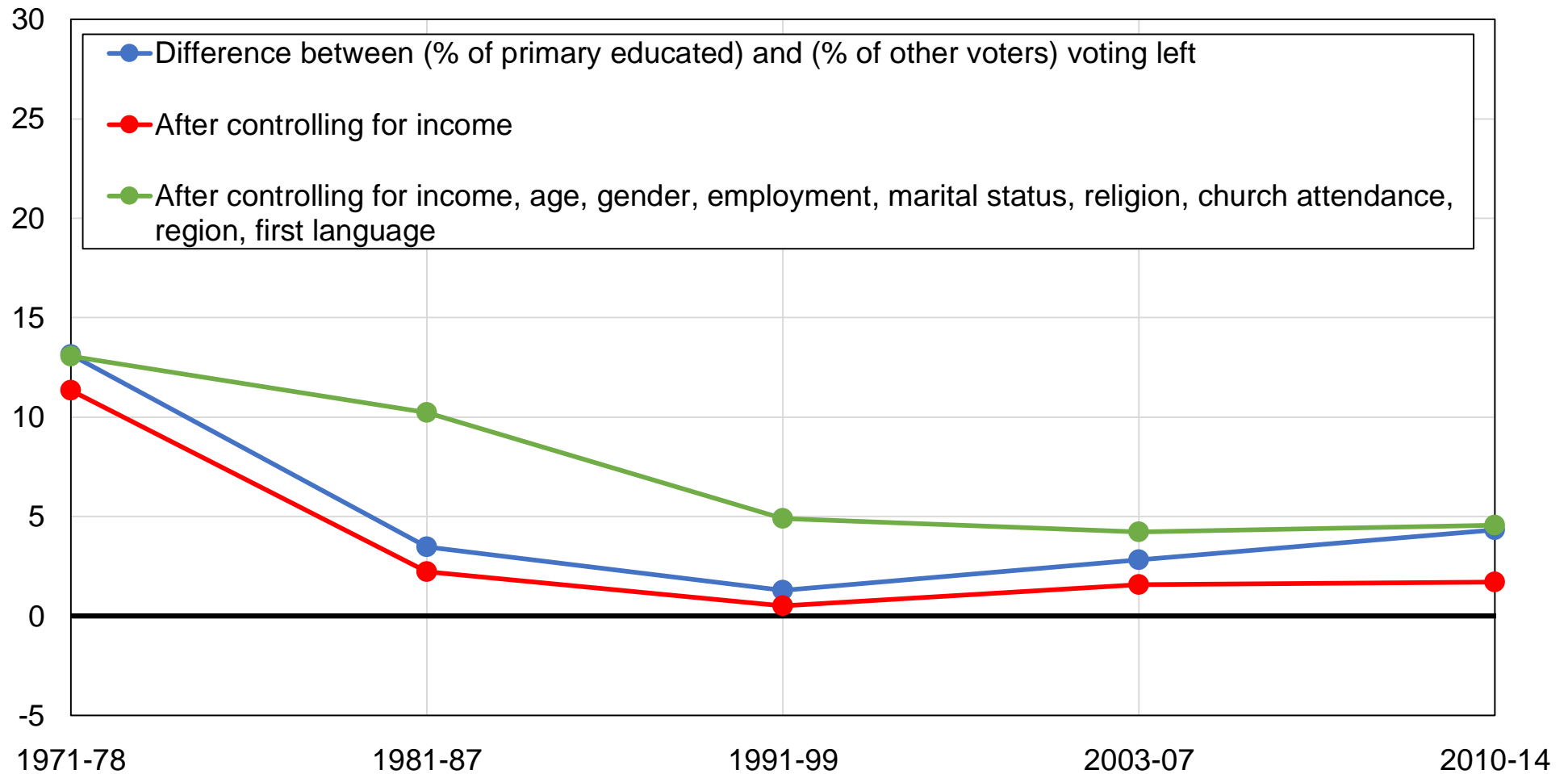
**Figure AC4 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among highest-educated voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of other voters voting for Socialists / Ecologists, before and after controlling for other variables.

**Figure AC5 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among primary-educated voters**

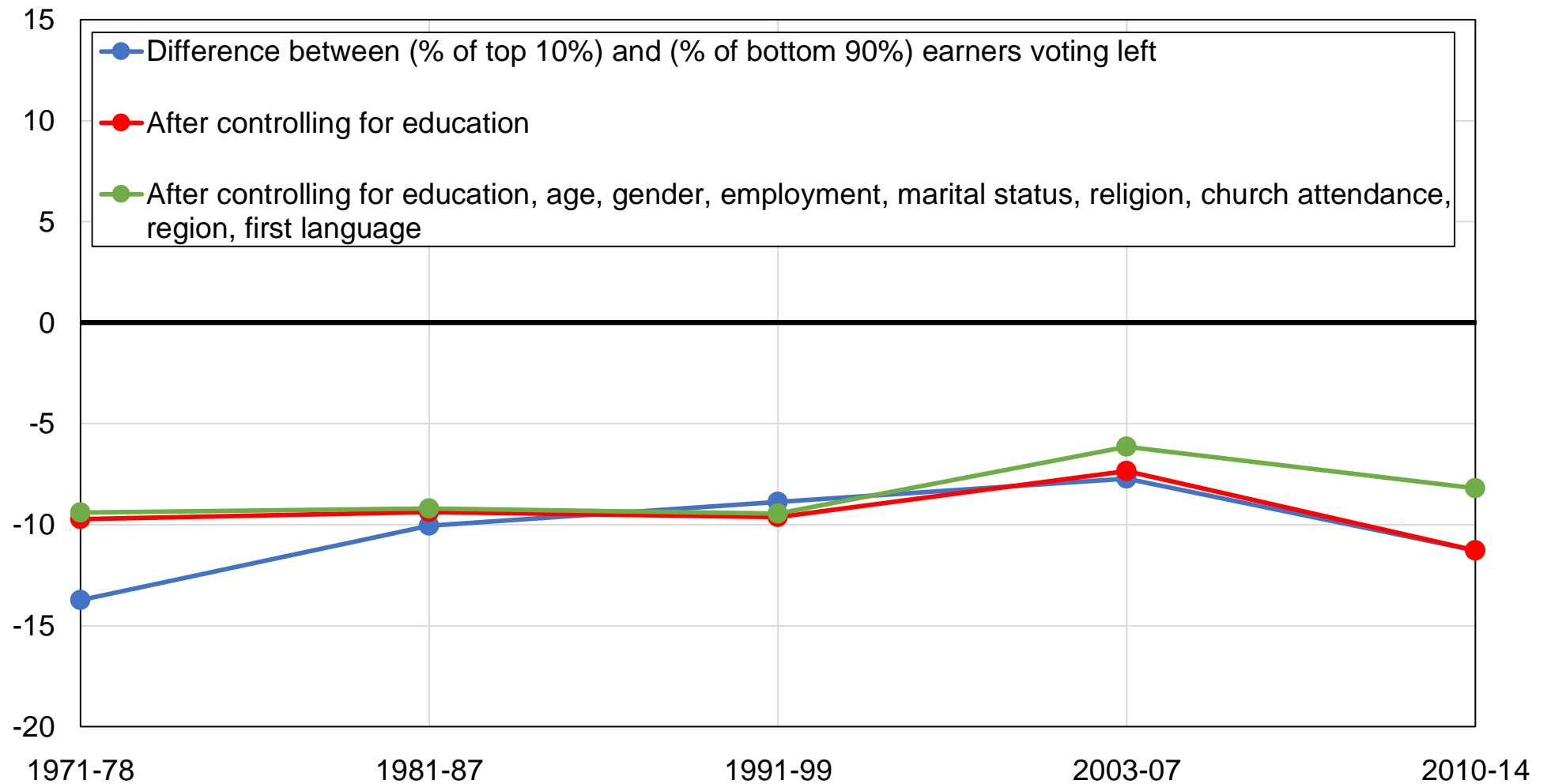


**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of primary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for Socialists / Ecologists, before and after controlling for other variables.



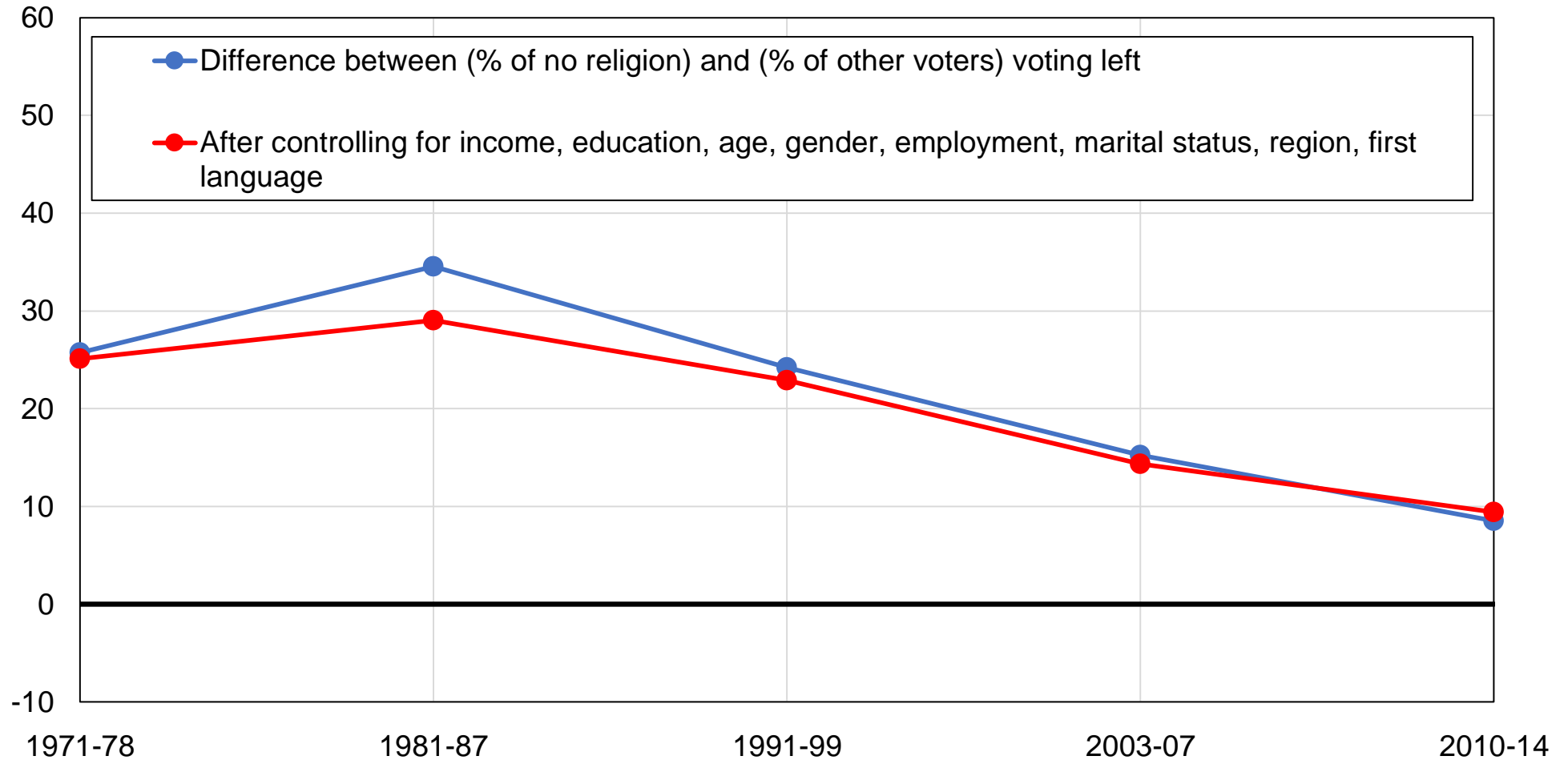
**Figure AC6 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among top-income voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for Socialists / Ecologists, before and after controlling for other variables.

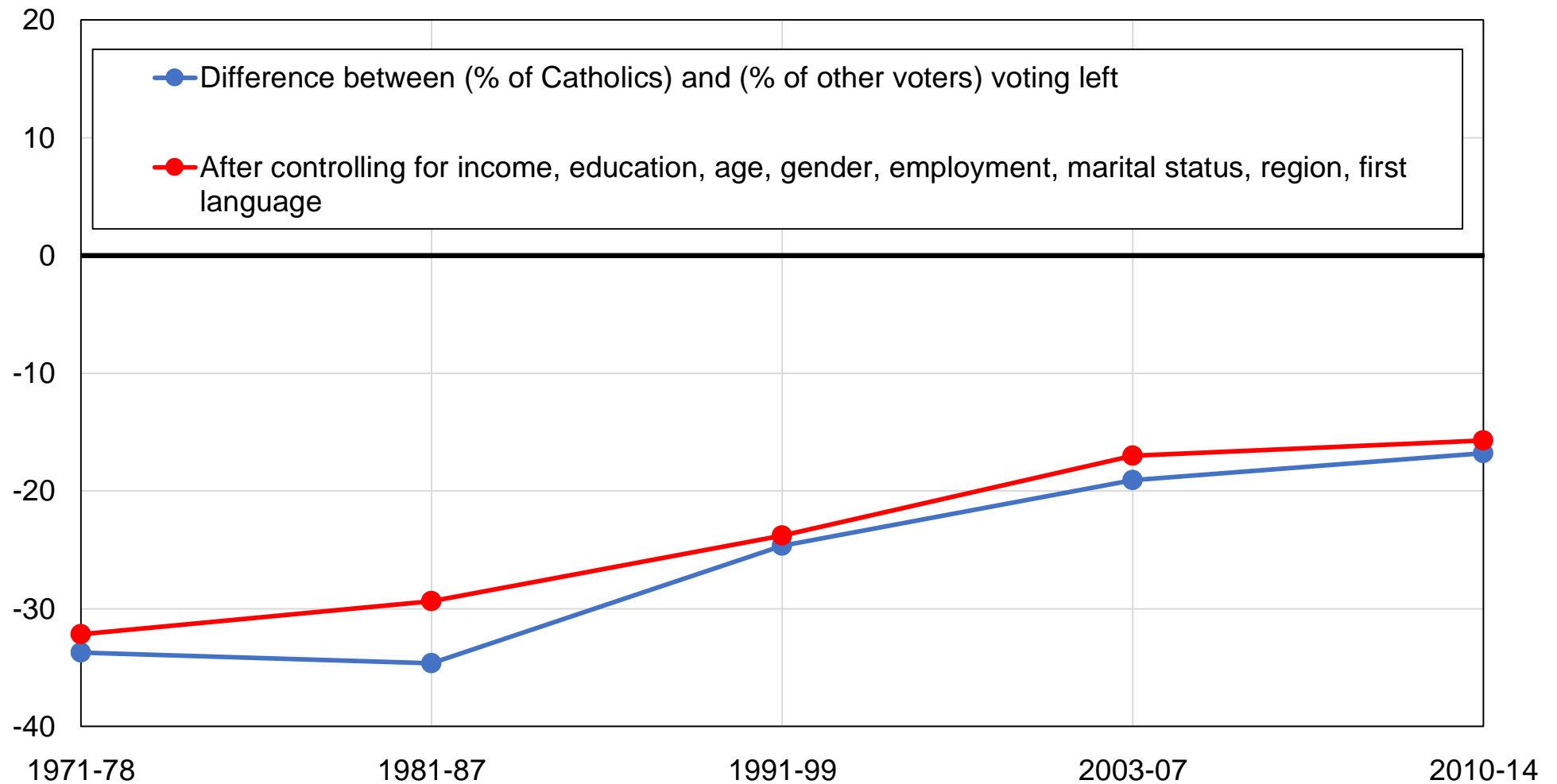
**Figure AC7 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among voters with no religion**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of voters declaring no religion and the share of other voters voting for Socialists / Ecologists, before and after controlling for other variables.

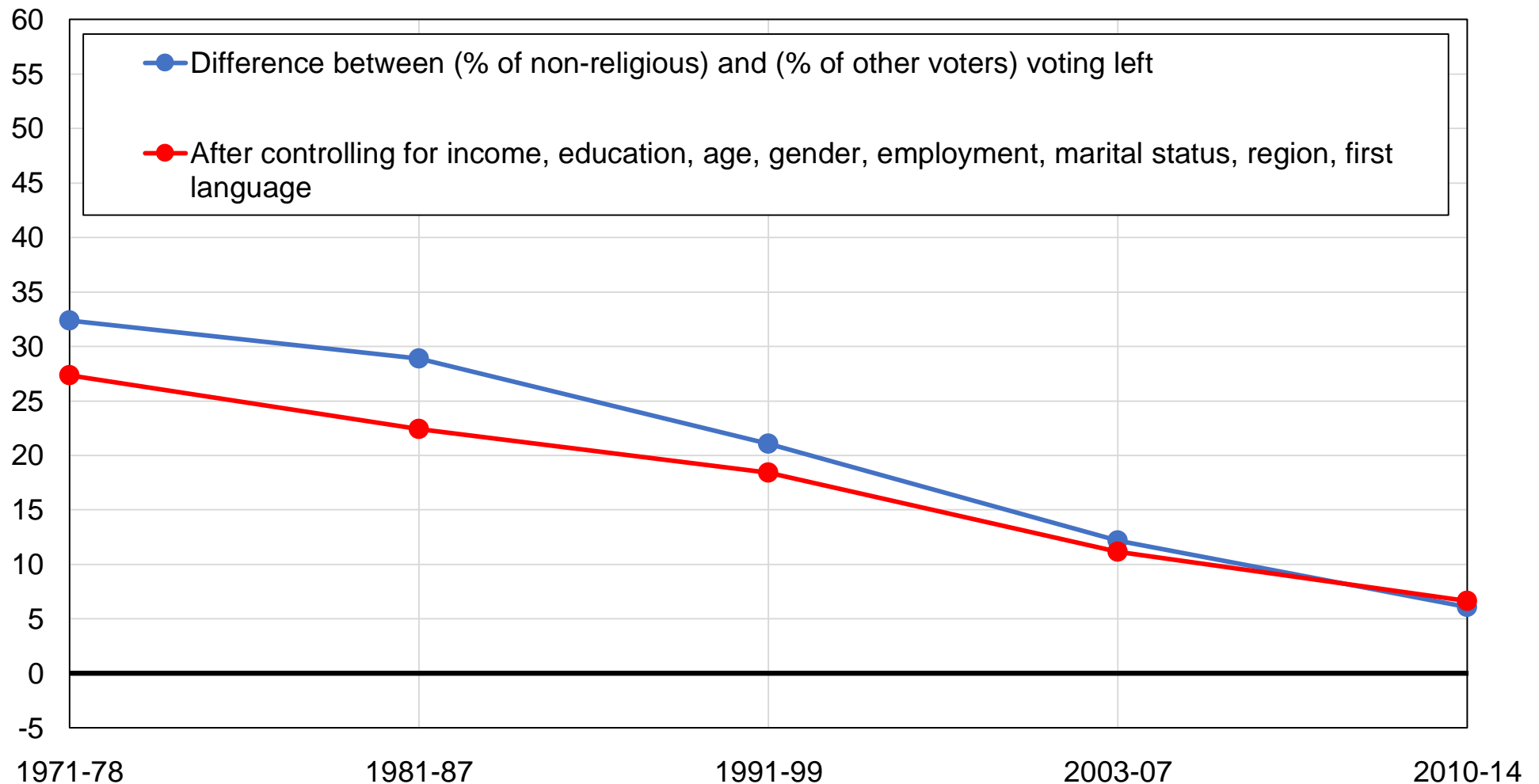
**Figure AC8 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among Catholics**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of Catholic voters and the share of other voters voting for Socialists / Ecologists, before and after controlling for other variables.

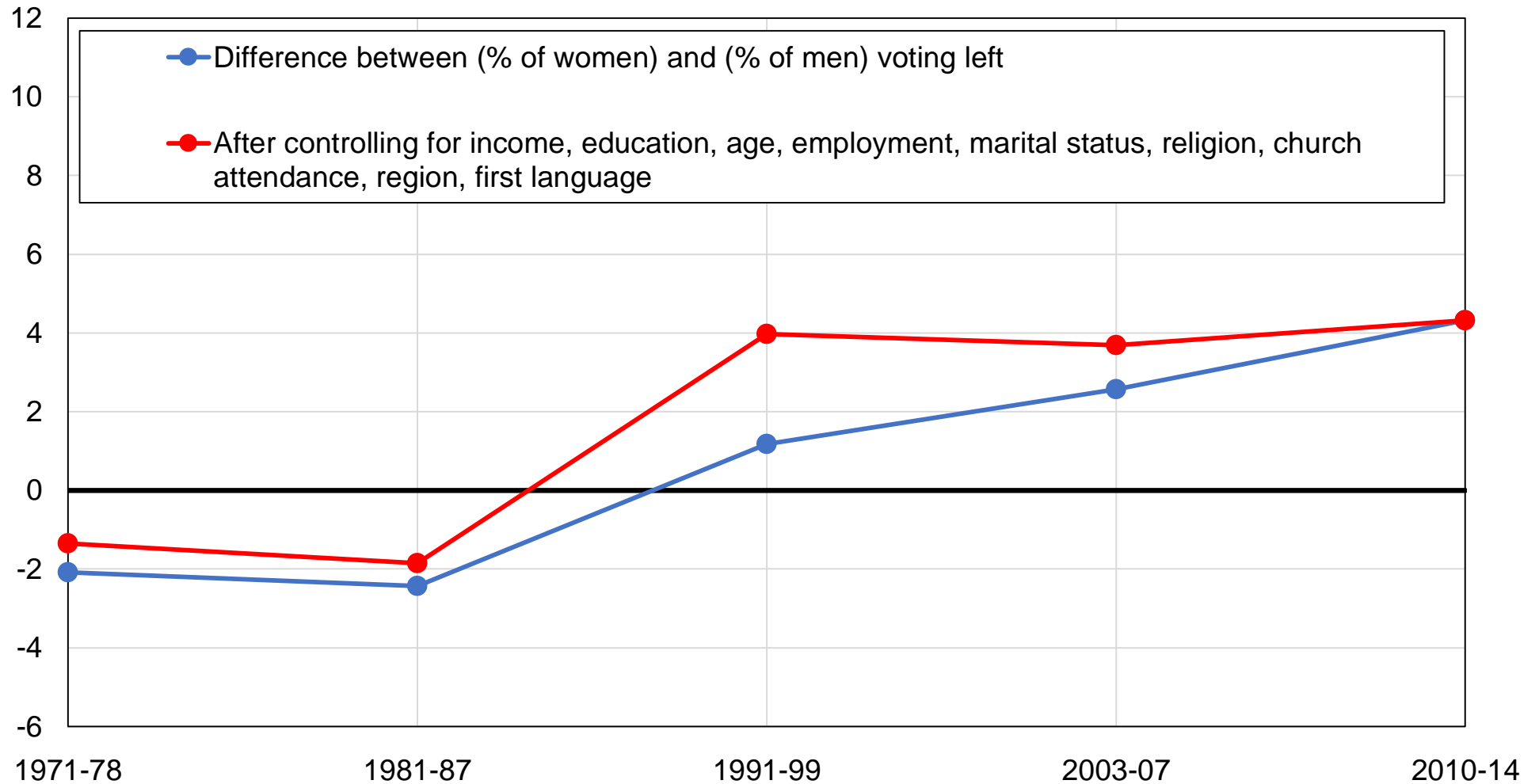
**Figure AC9 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among non-religious voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of voters never going to church and the share of other voters voting for Socialists / Ecologists, before and after controlling for other variables.

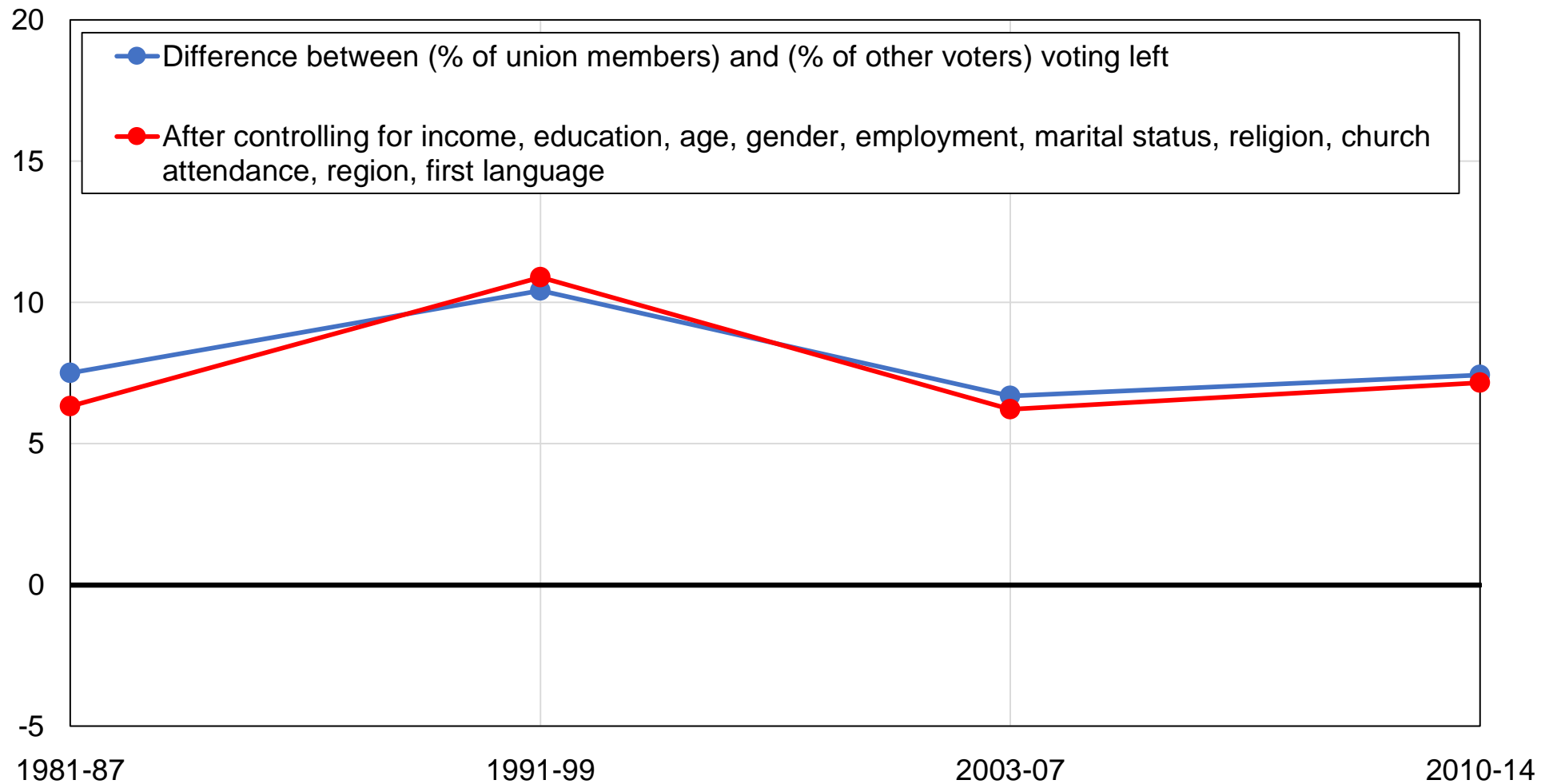
**Figure AC10 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among women**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for Socialists / Ecologists, before and after controlling for other variables.

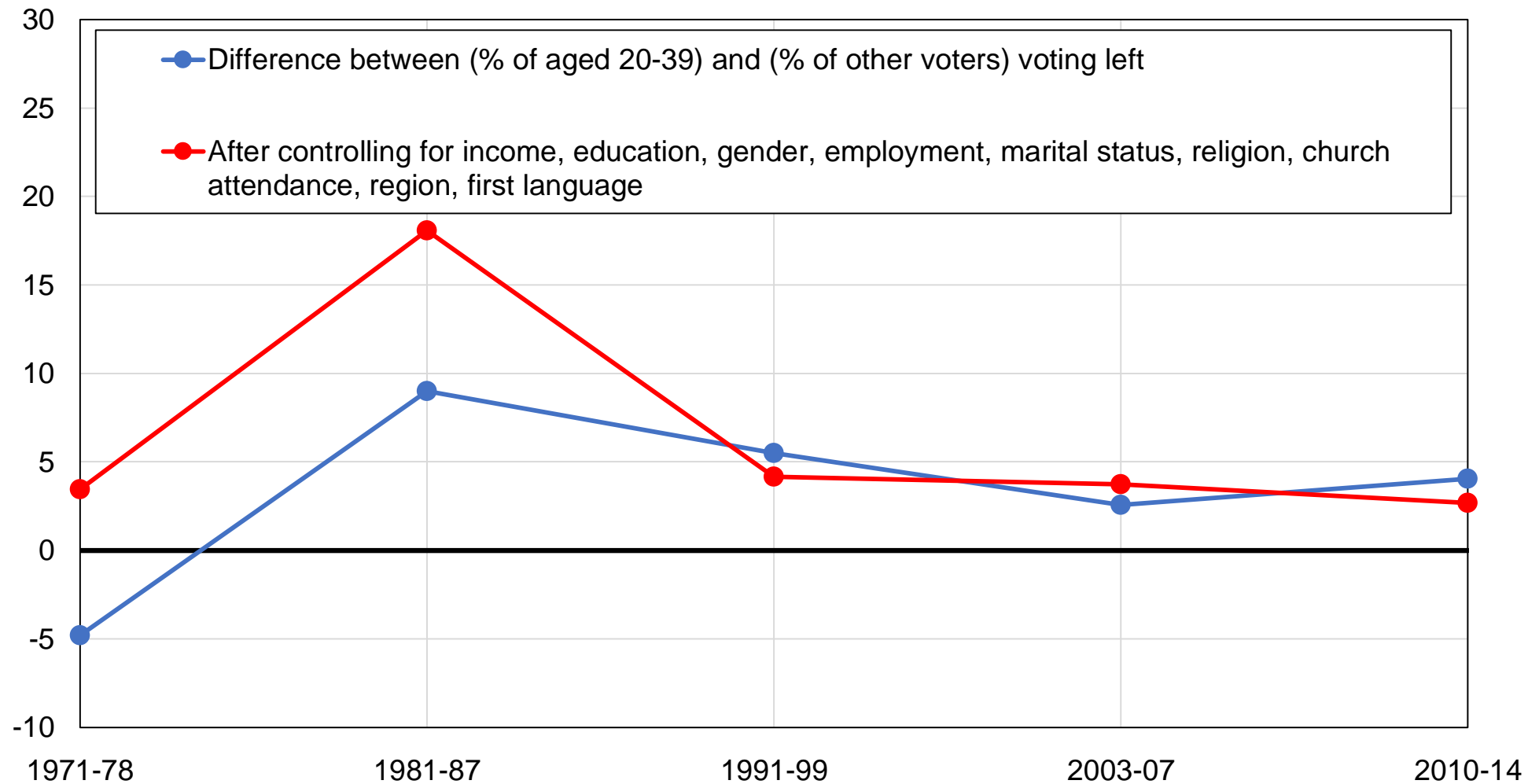
**Figure AC11 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among union members**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of union members and the share of other voters voting for Socialists / Ecologists, before and after controlling for other variables.

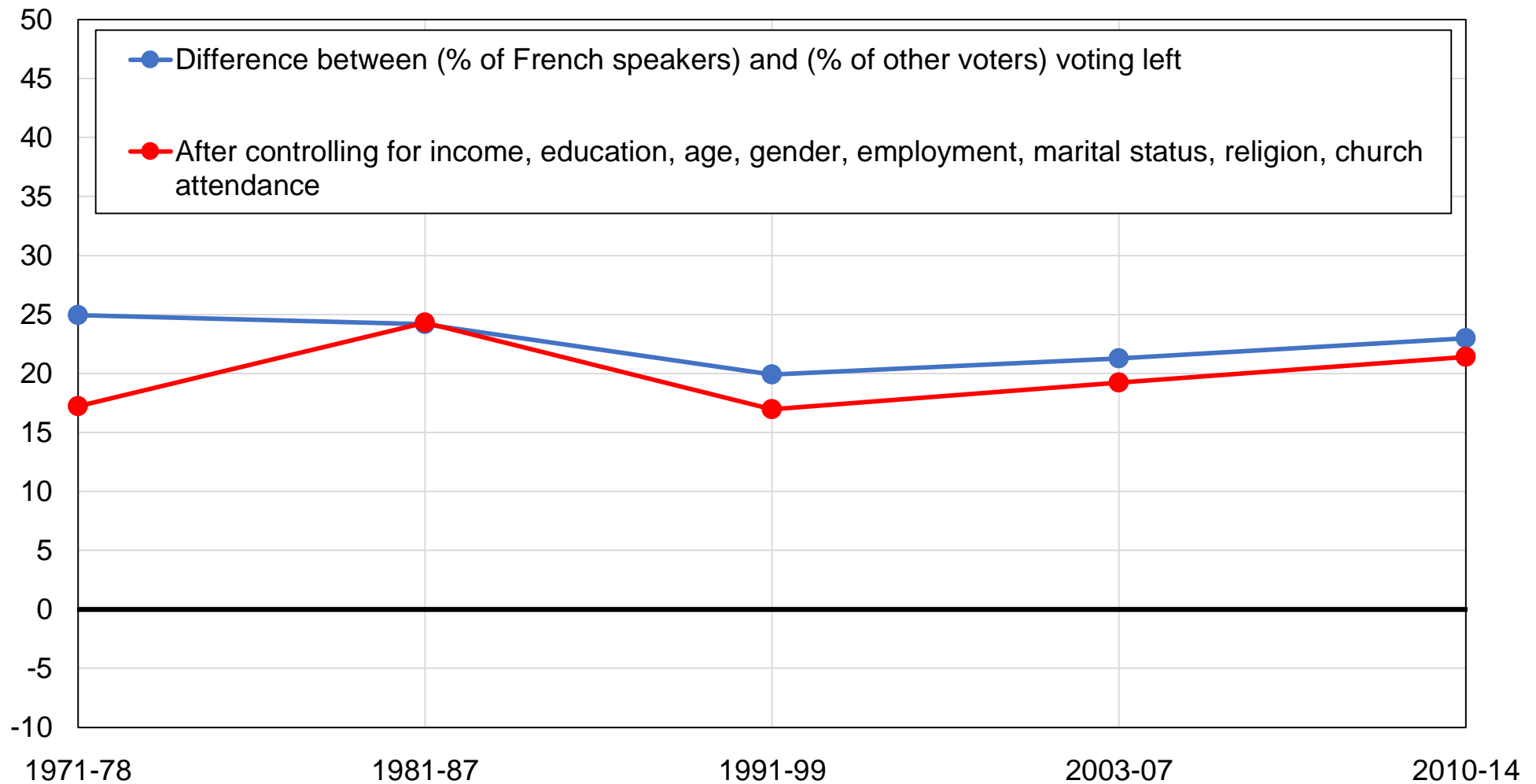
**Figure AC12 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among young voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of voters aged 20-39 and the share of voters older than 40 voting for Socialists / Ecologists, before and after controlling for other variables.

**Figure AC13 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among French speakers**

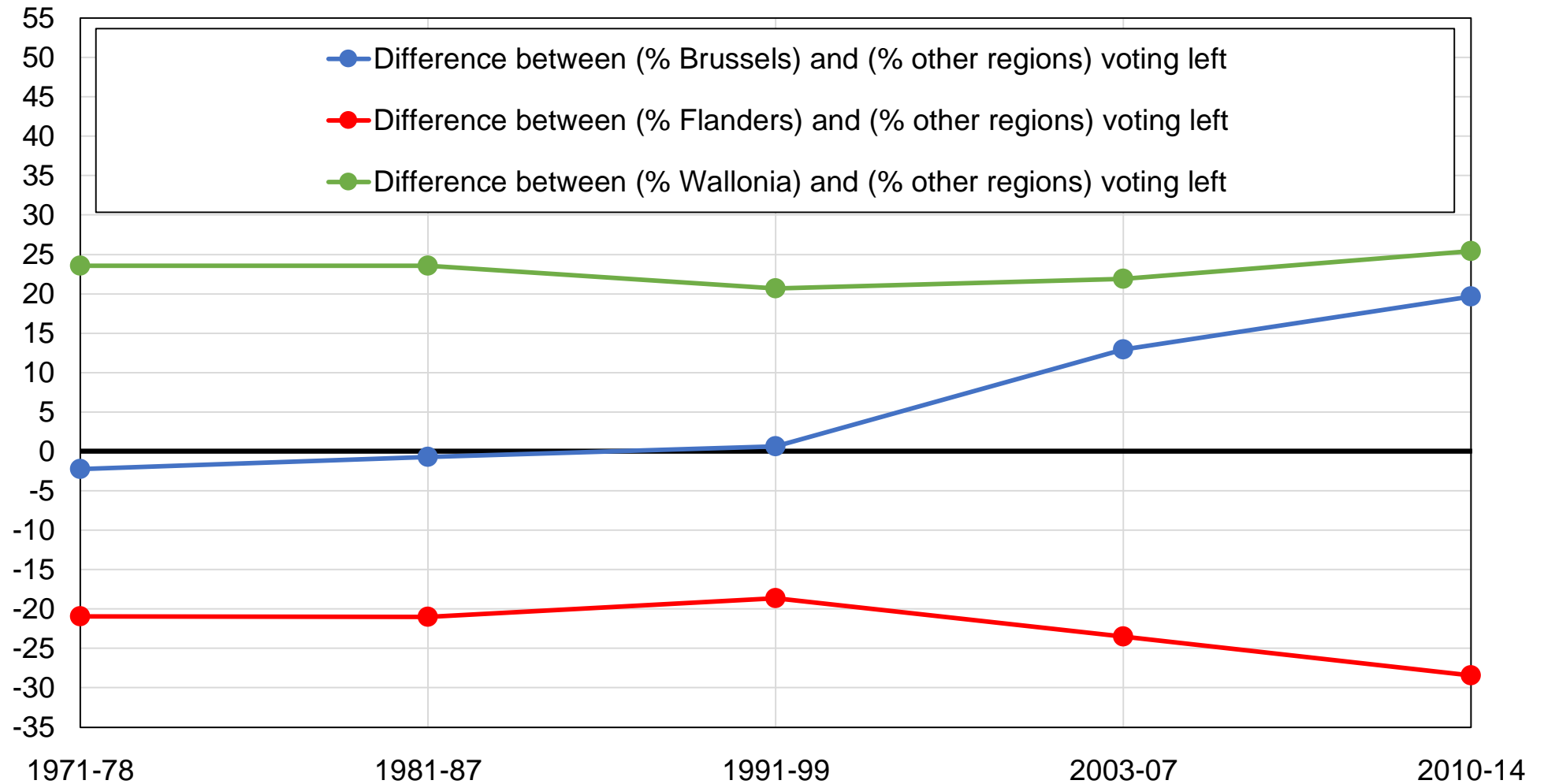


**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of French-speakers and the share of other voters voting for Socialists / Ecologists, before and after controlling for other variables.



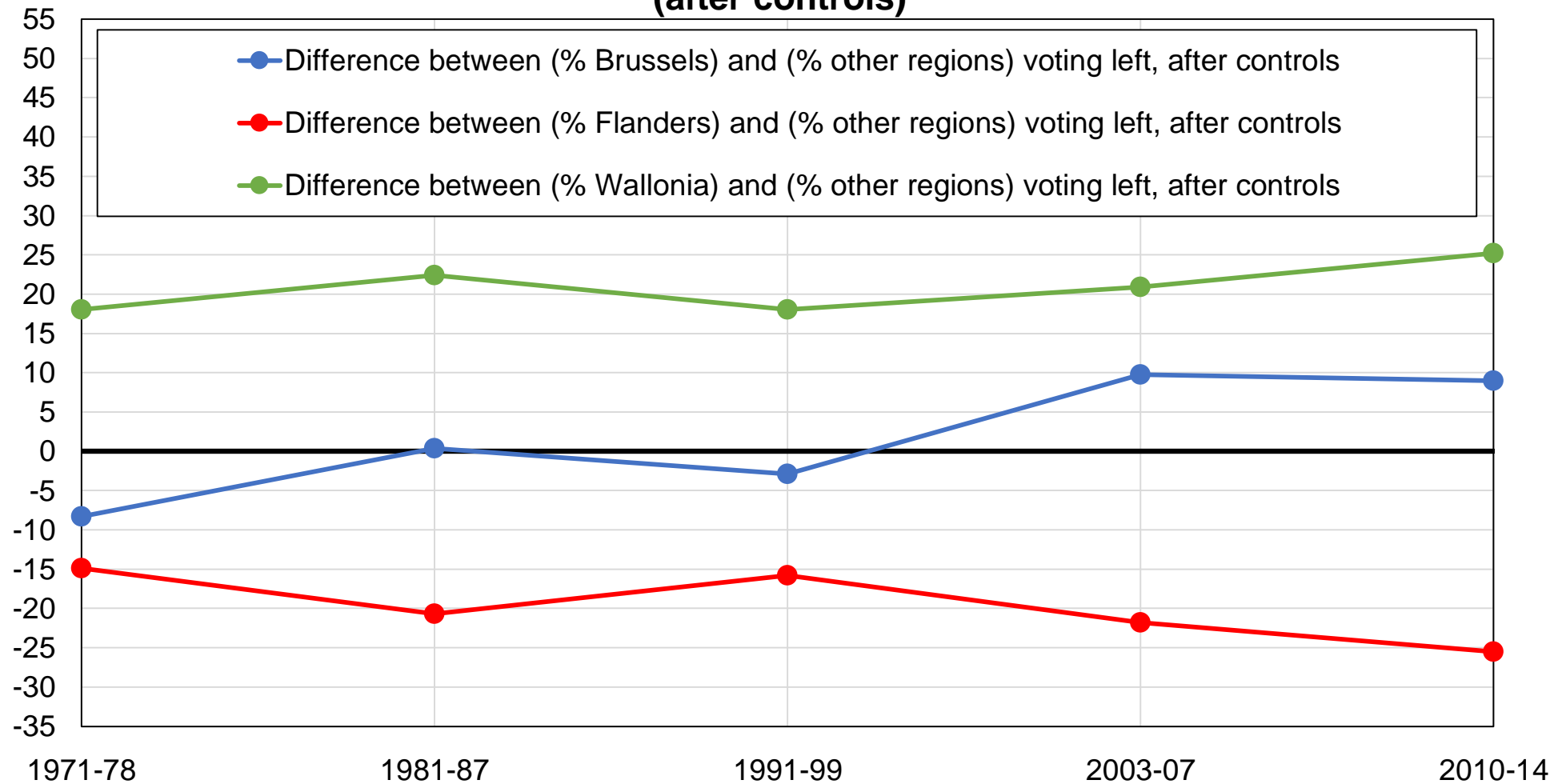
**Figure AC14 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among specific regions**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the bias of specific Belgian regions towards Socialists / Ecologists.

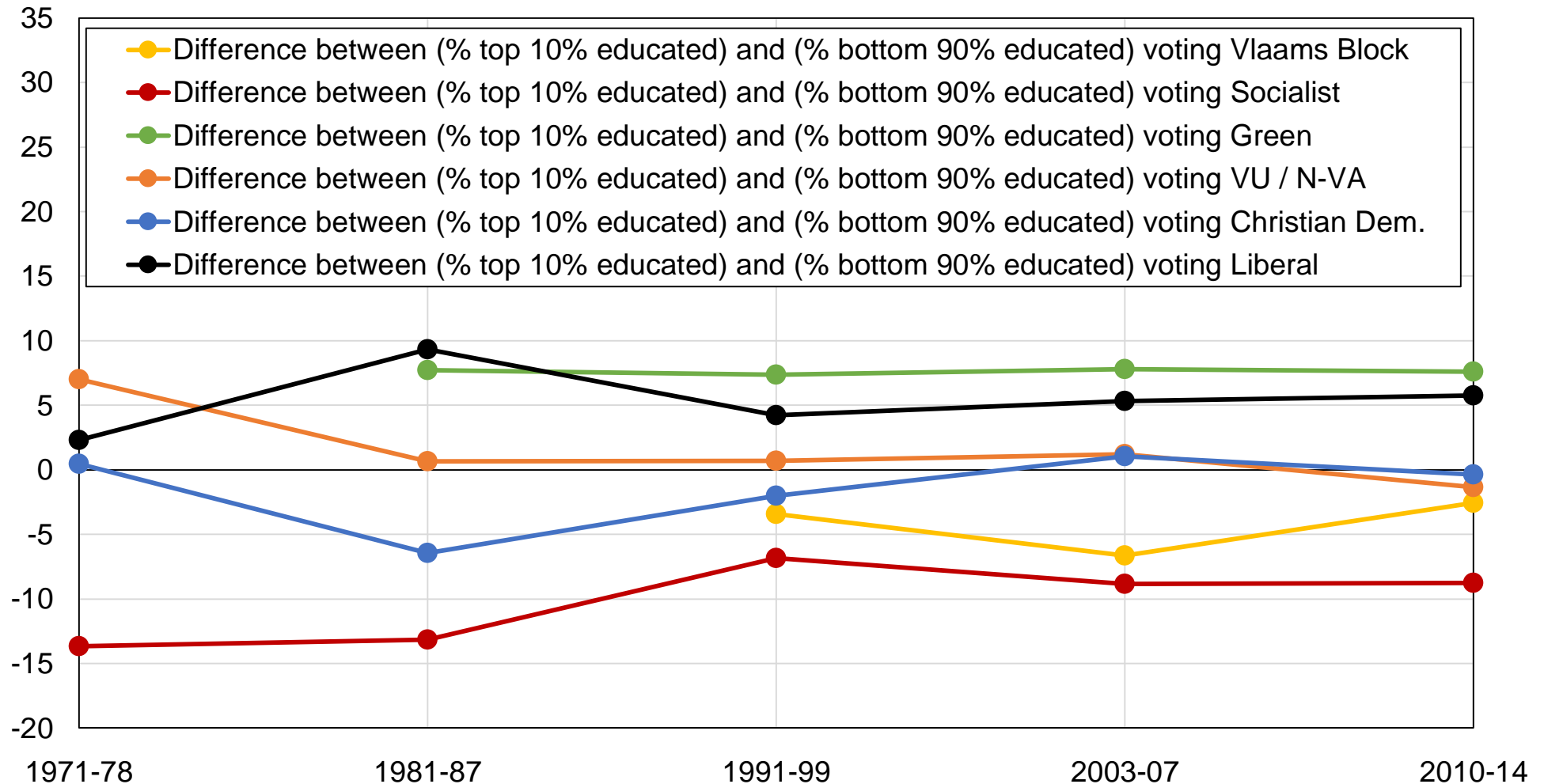
**Figure AC15 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among specific regions  
(after controls)**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the bias of specific Belgian regions towards Socialists / Ecologists, after controlling for income, education, age, gender, employment, marital status, religion and church attendance.

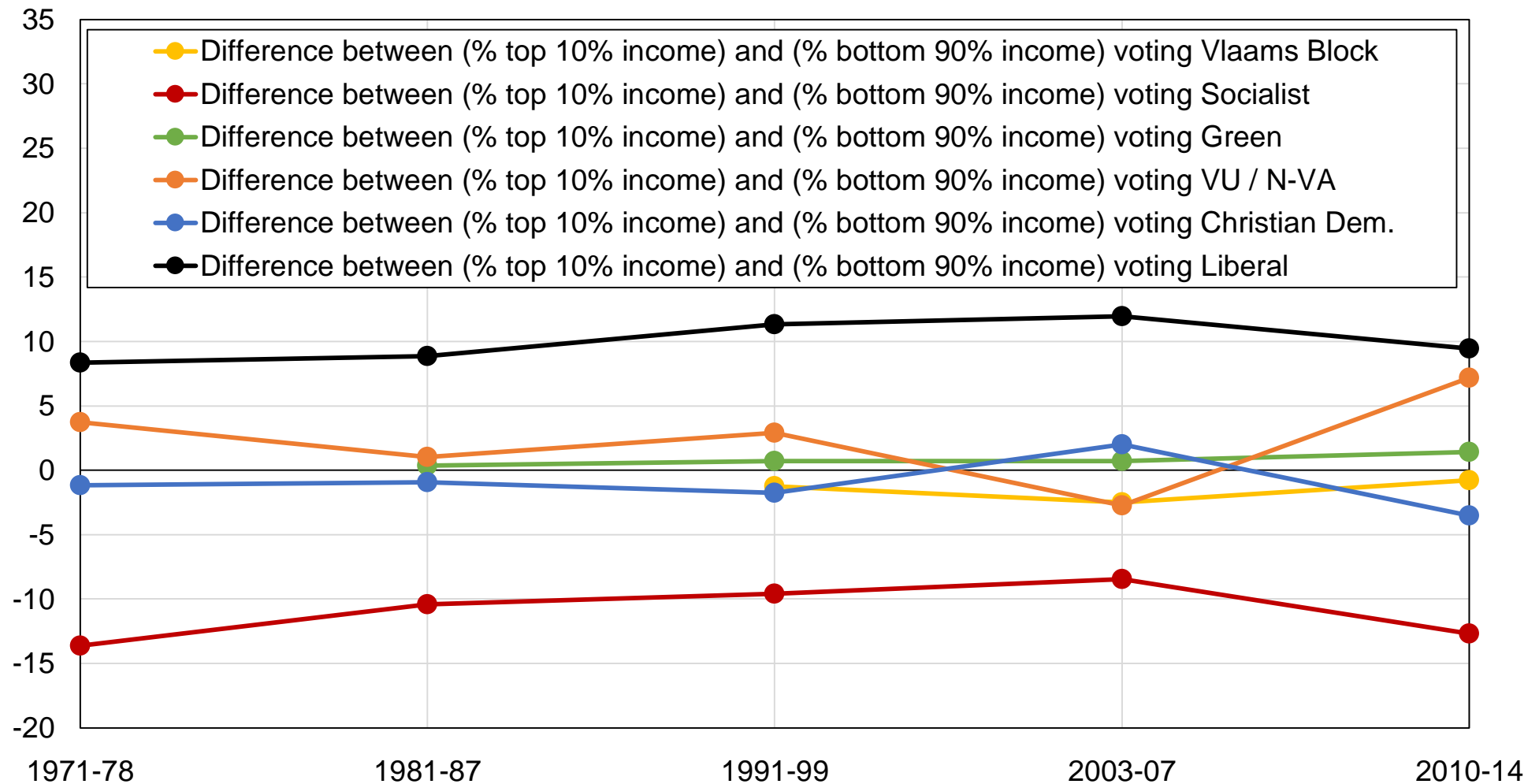
**Figure AC16 - The education cleavage in Belgium**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgium political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the bias of highest-educated voters towards Vlaams Block, Socialists, Greens, VU / N-VA, Christian Democrats, and Liberals.

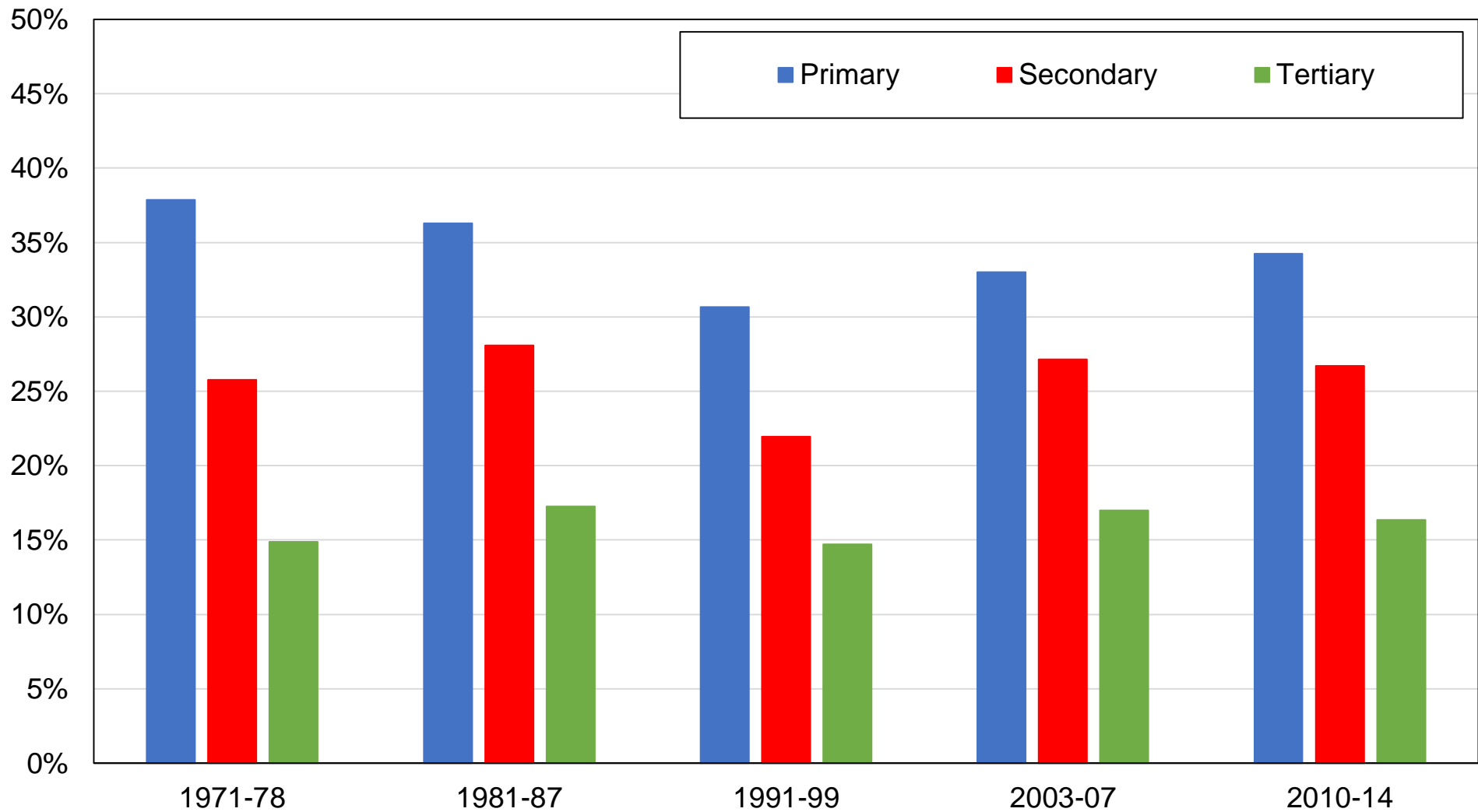
**Figure AC17 - The income cleavage in Belgium**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the bias of highest-educated voters towards Vlaams Block, Socialists, Greens, VU / N-VA, Christian Democrats, and Liberals.

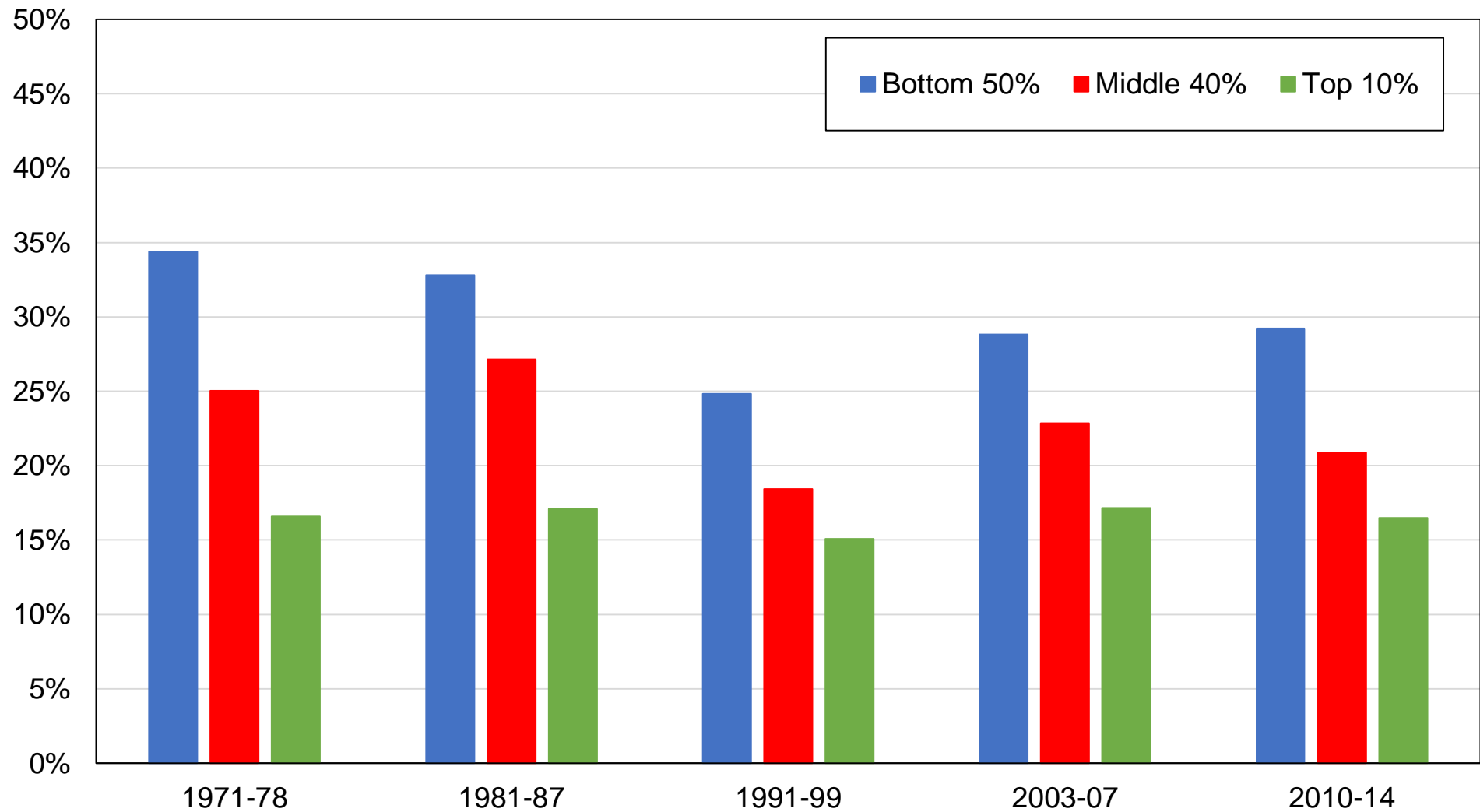
**Figure AD1 - Vote for PS / SP / PTB by education level**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the PS / SP / PTB by education level.

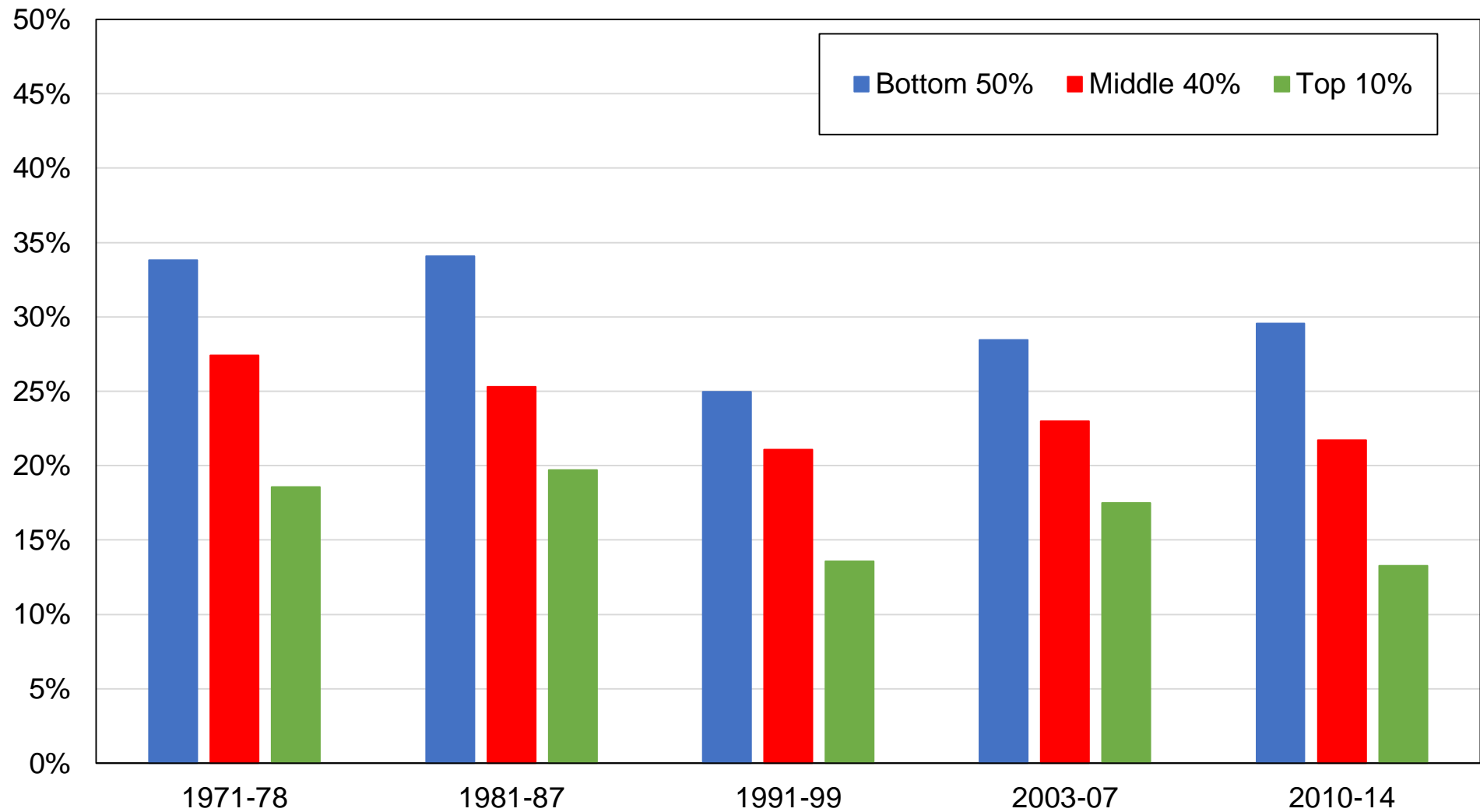
**Figure AD2 - Vote for PS / SP / PTB by education group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgium political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the PS / SP / PTB by education group.

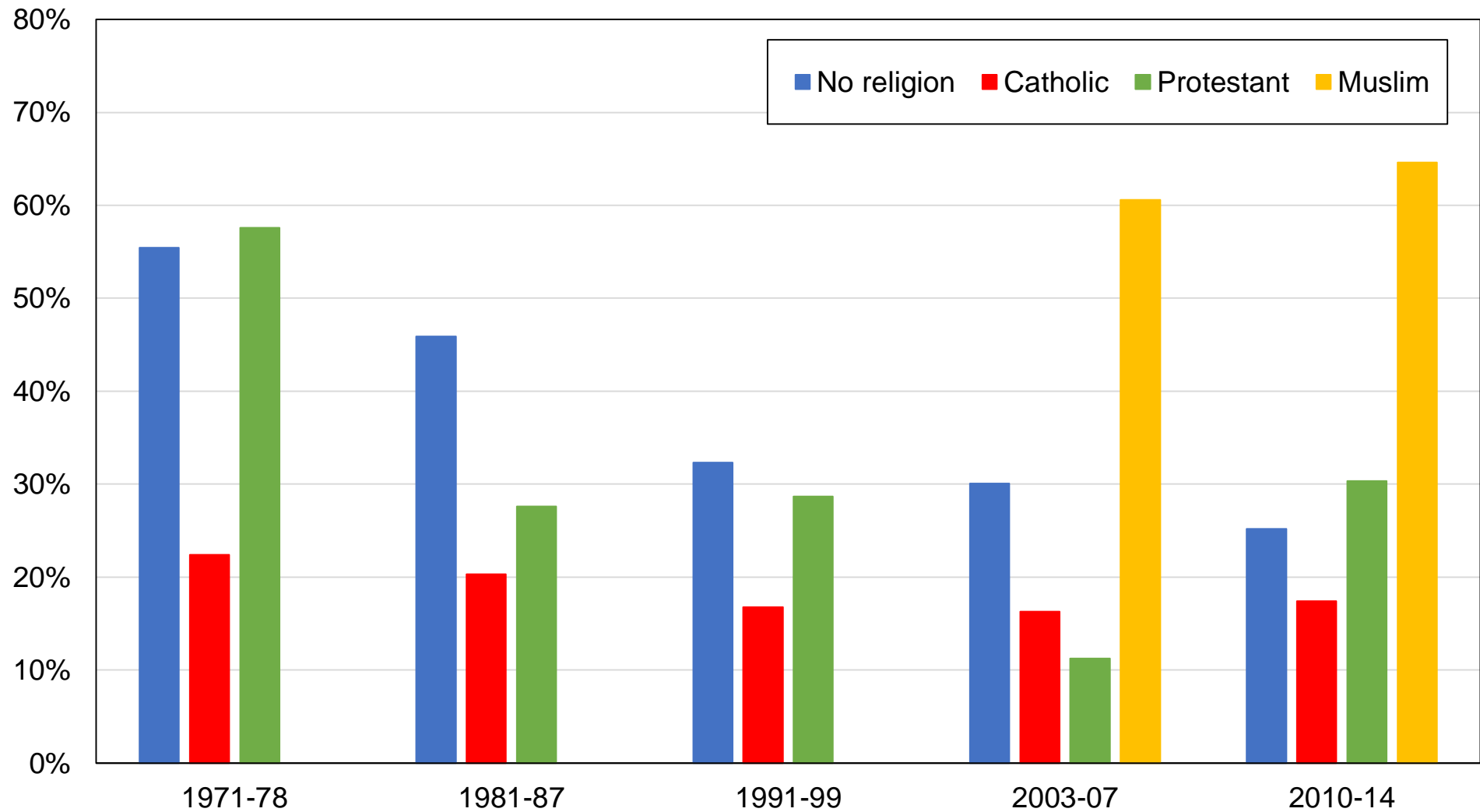
**Figure AD3 - Vote for PS / SP / PTB by income group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgium political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the PS / SP / PTB by income group.

**Figure AD4 - Vote for PS / SP / PTB by religious affiliation**

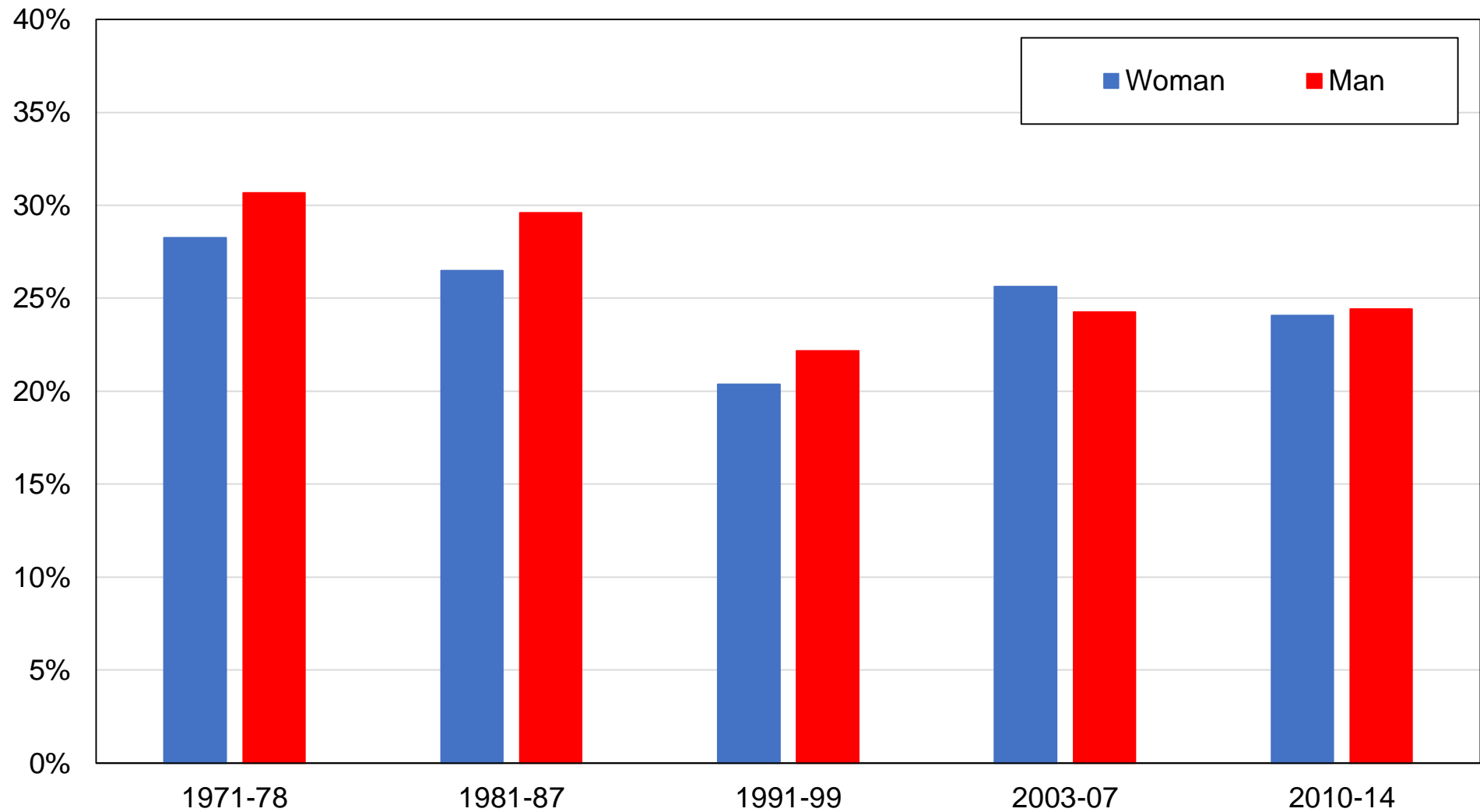


**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the PS / SP / PTB by religious affiliation.



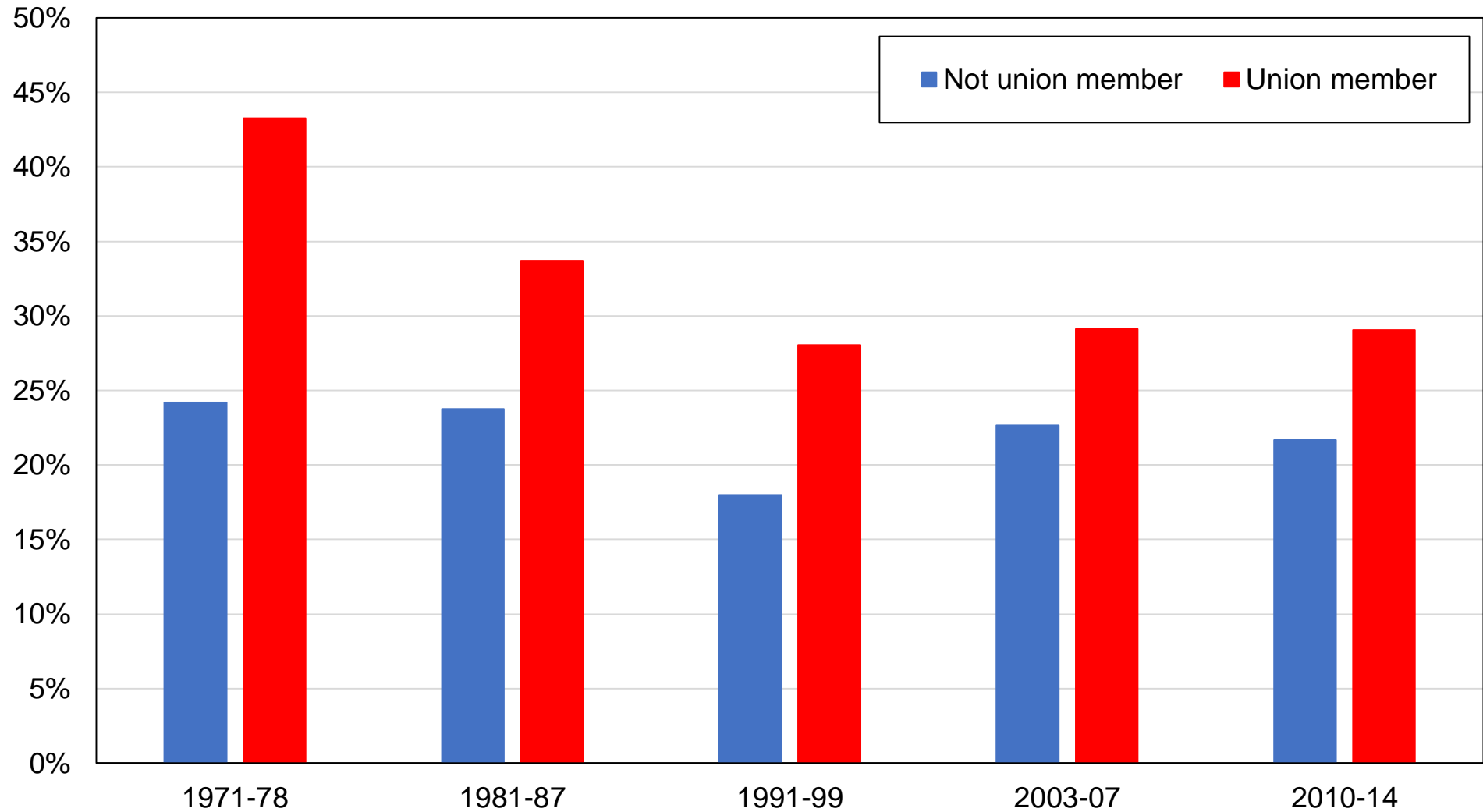
Figure AD5 - Vote for PS / SP / PTB by gender



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the PS / SP / PTB by gender.

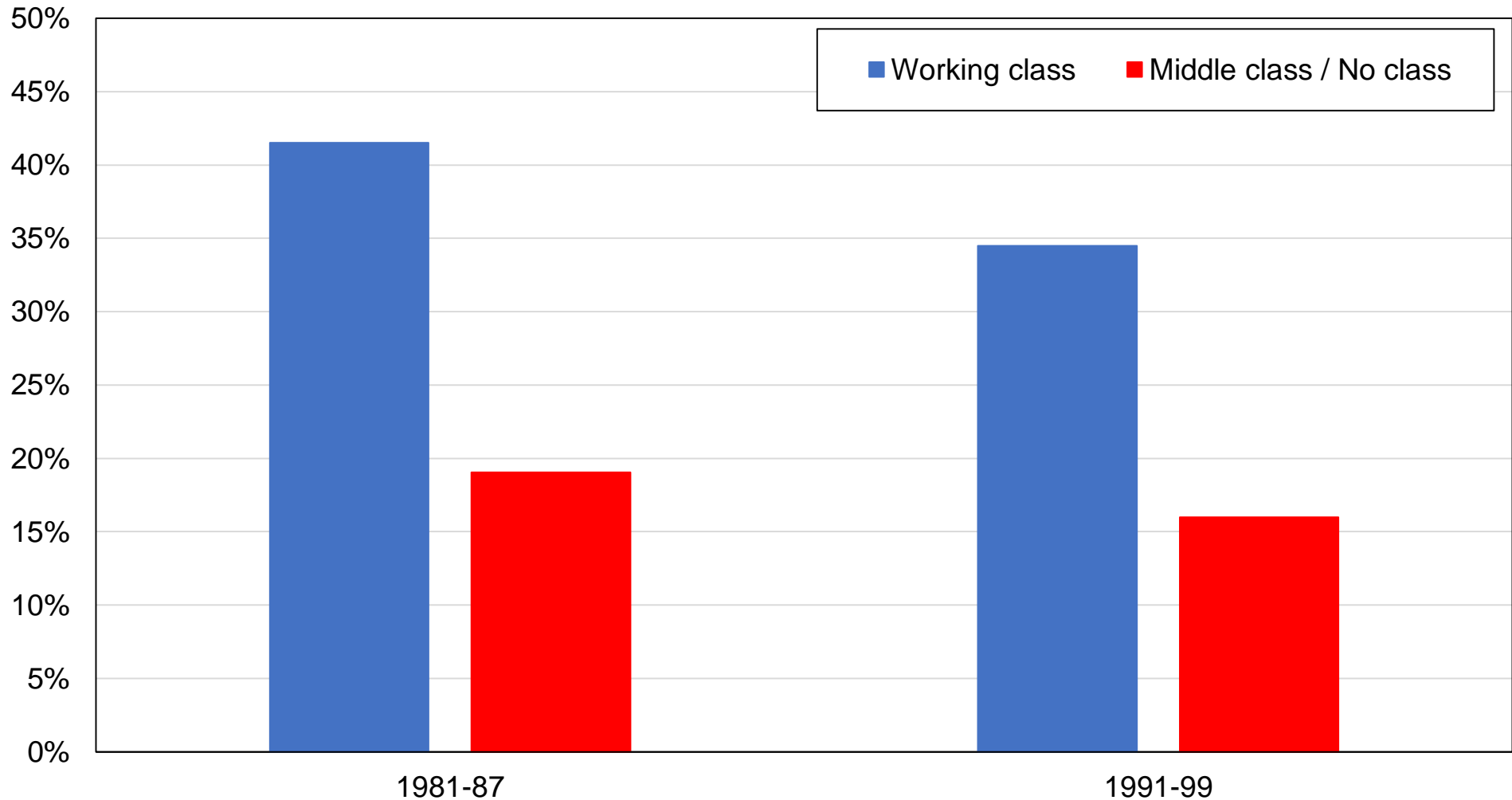
**Figure AD6 - Vote for PS / SP / PTB by union membership**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the PS / SP / PTB by union membership status.

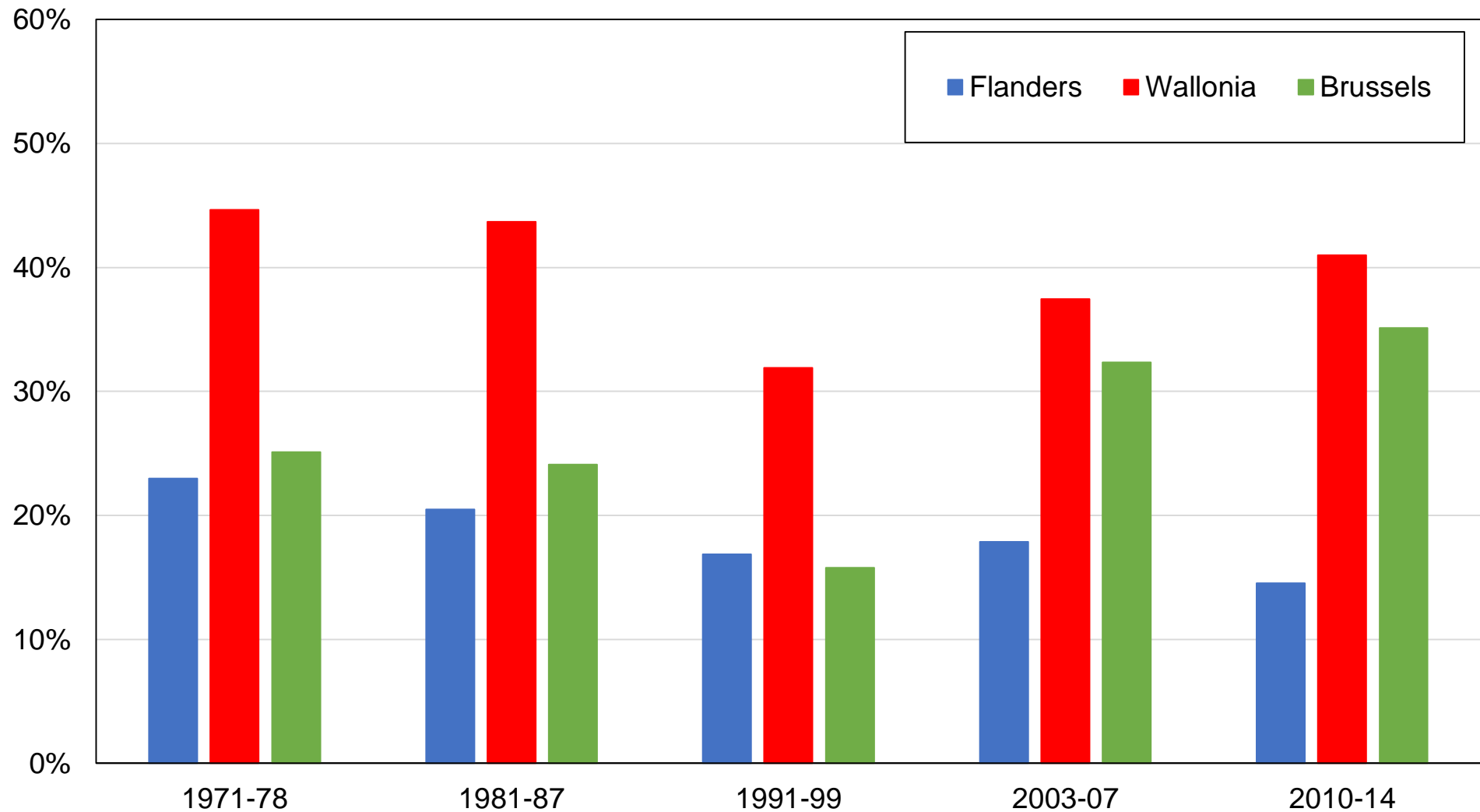
**Figure AD7 - Vote for PS / SP / PTB by perceived social class**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the PS / SP / PTB by self-perceived social class. Working class includes "lower class". Middle class includes "no class" and "upper class".

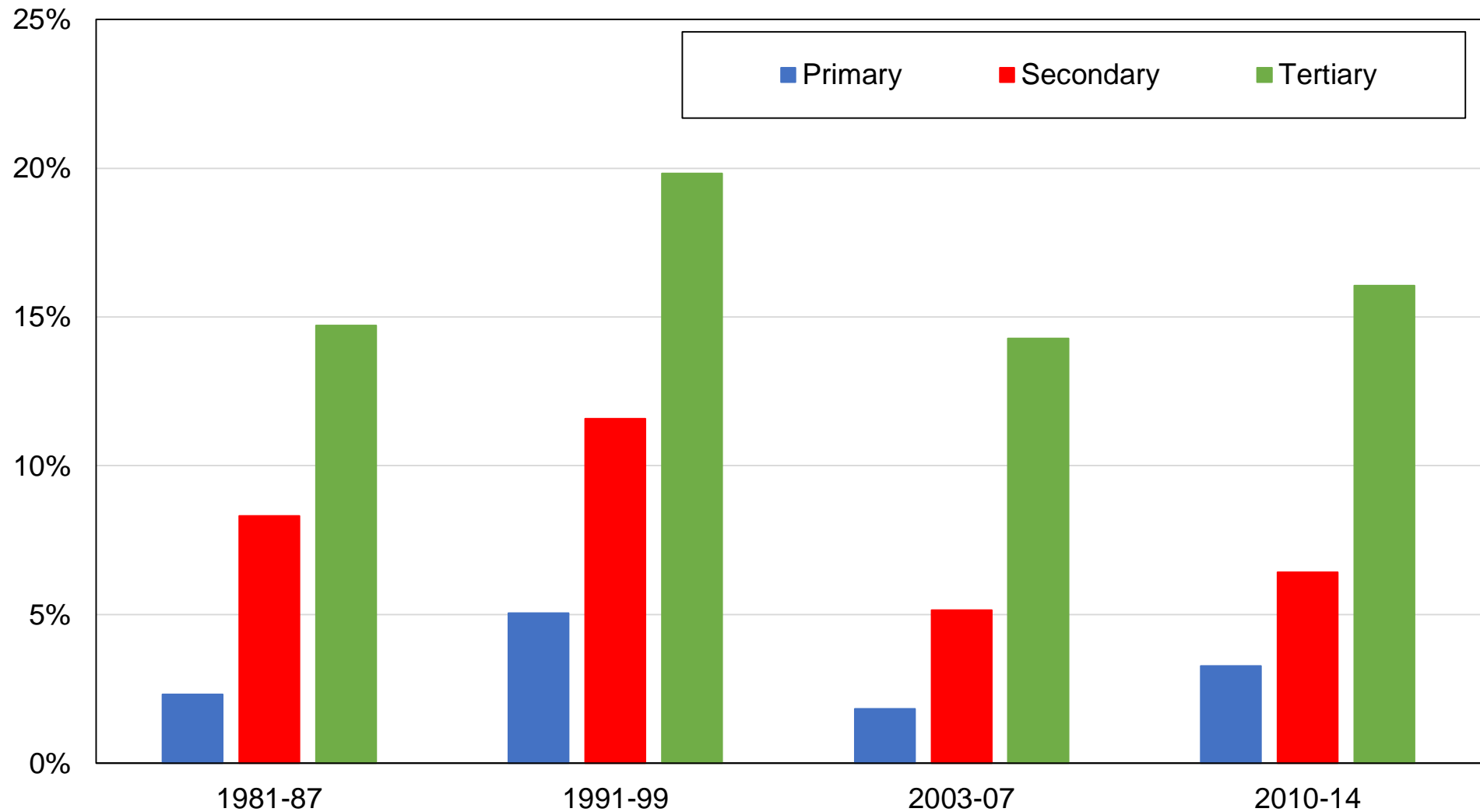
**Figure AD8 - Vote for PS / SP / PTB by region**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the PS / SP / PTB by region.

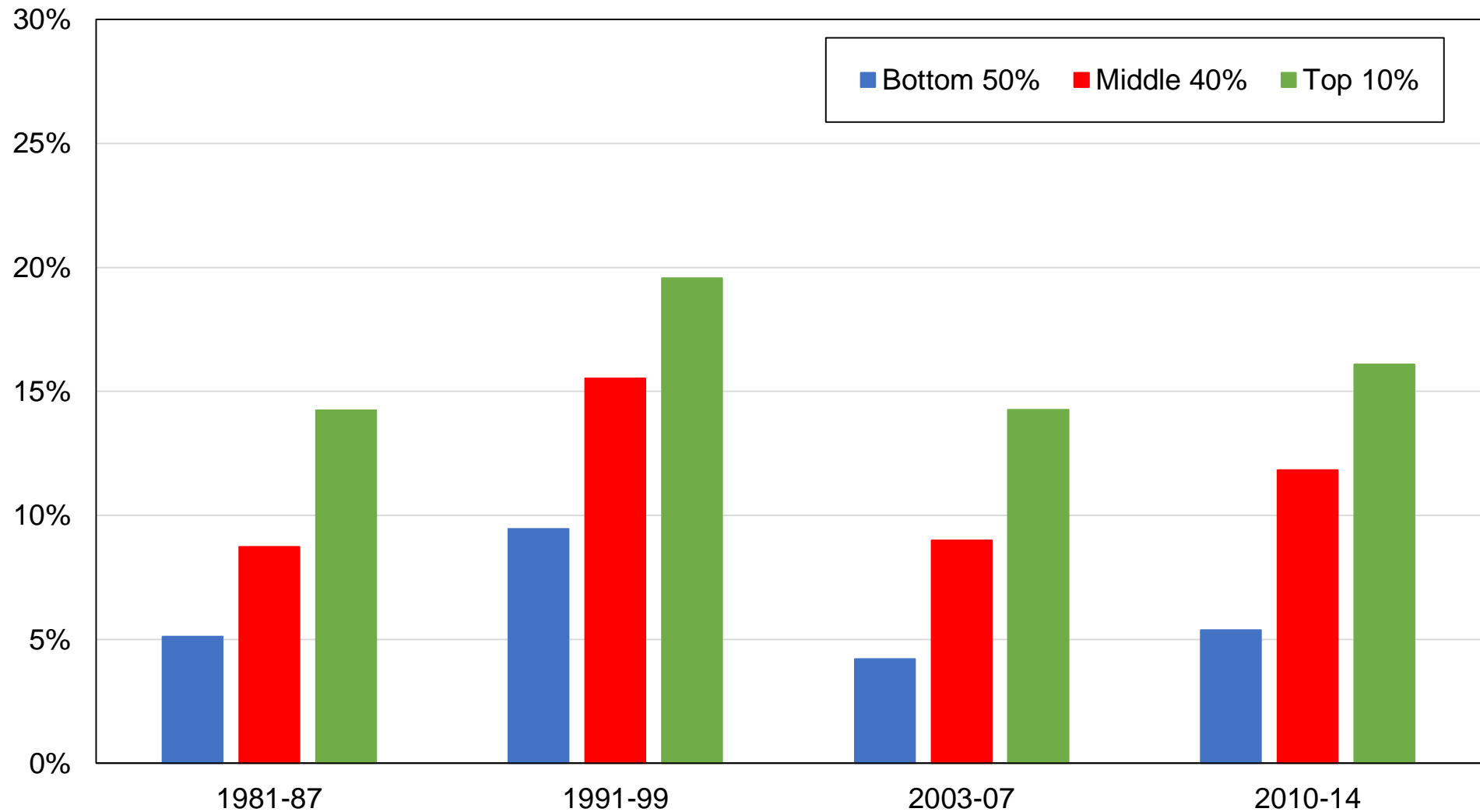
**Figure AD9 - Vote for Ecolo / Agalev / Groen by education level**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Ecolo / Agalev / Groen by education level.

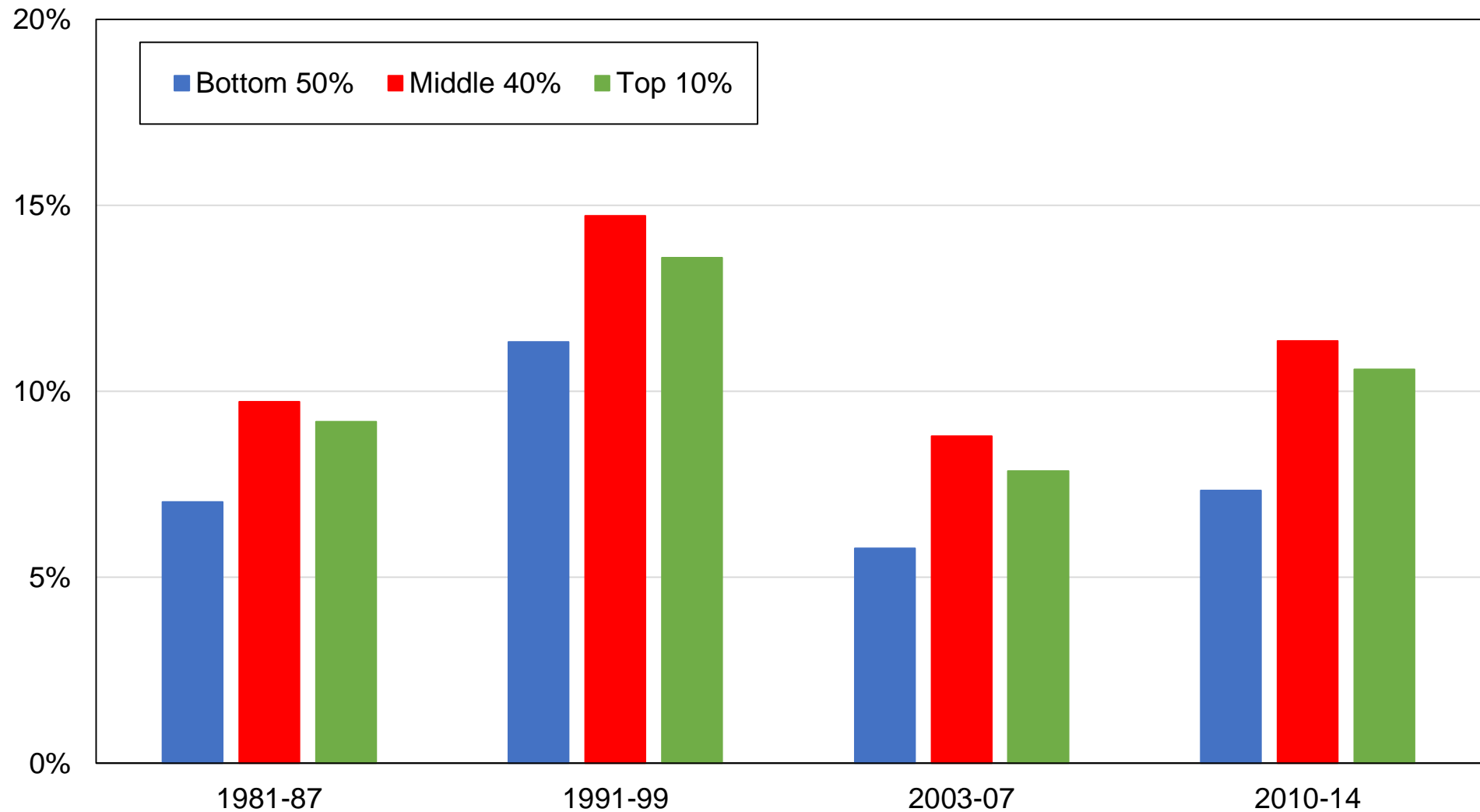
**Figure AD10 - Vote for Ecolo / Agalev / Groen by education group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Ecolo / Agalev / Groen by education group.

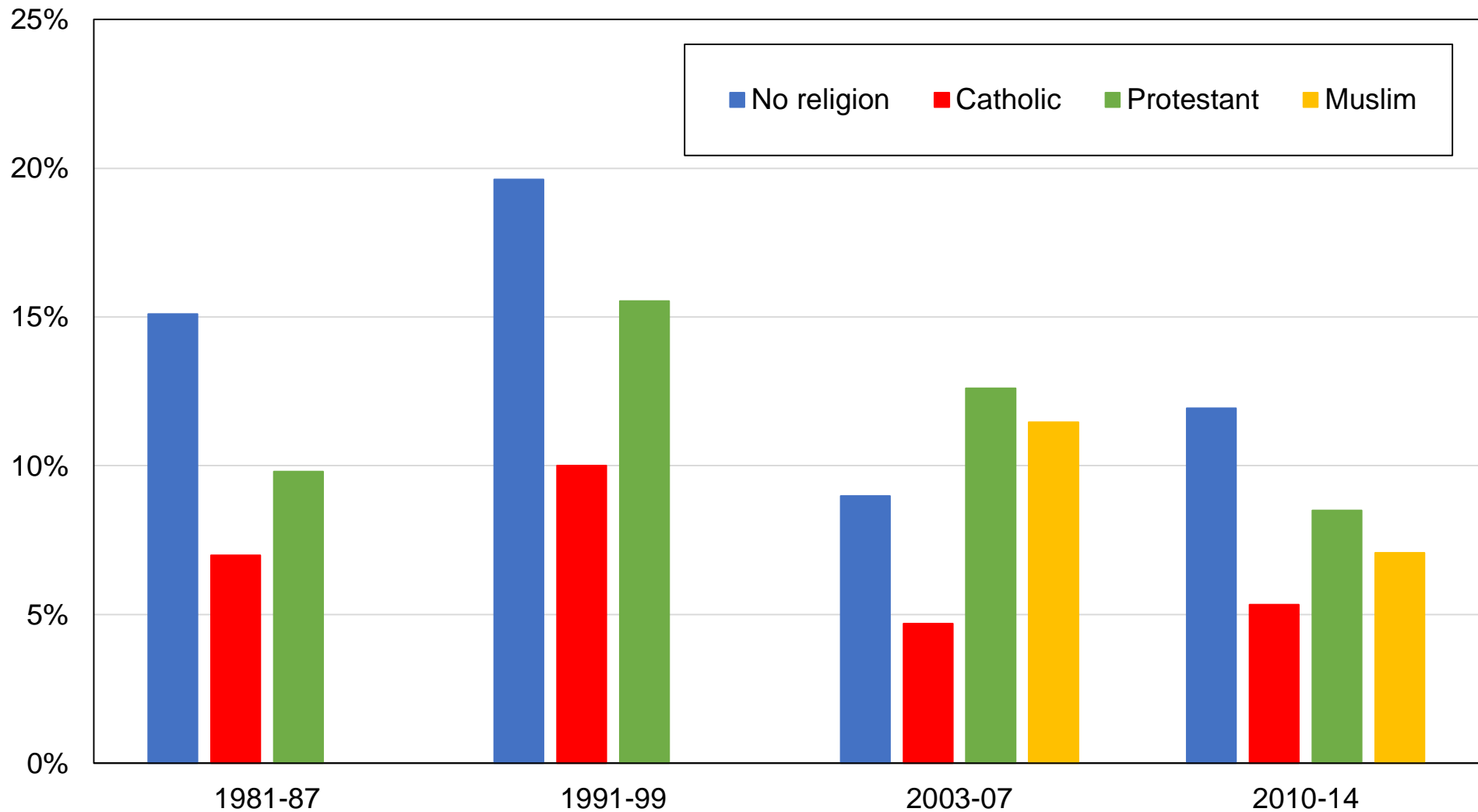
**Figure AD11 - Vote for Ecolo / Agalev / Groen by income group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Ecolo / Agalev / Groen by income group.

**Figure AD12 - Vote for Ecolo / Agalev / Groen by religious affiliation**

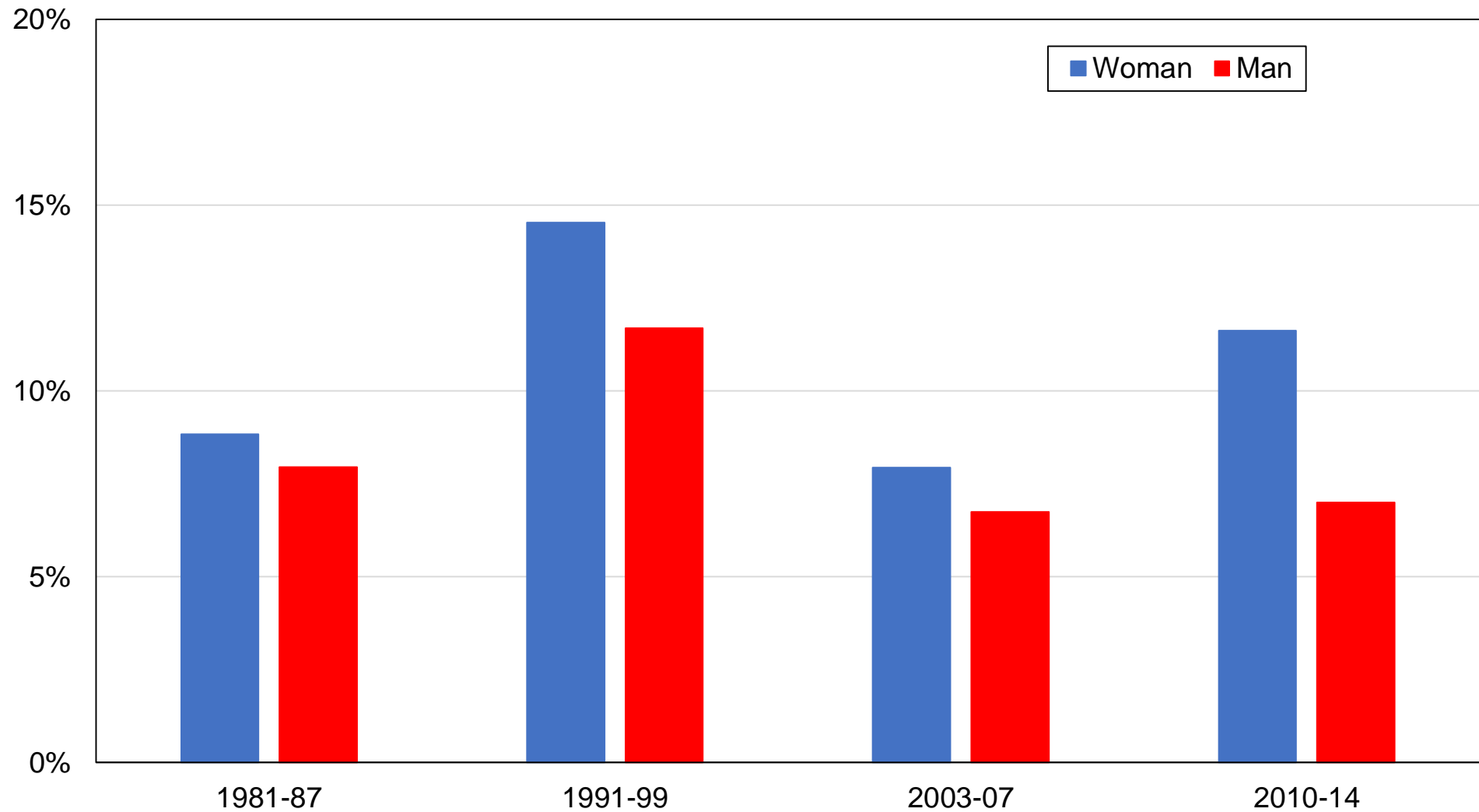


**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Ecolo / Agalev / Groen by religious affiliation.



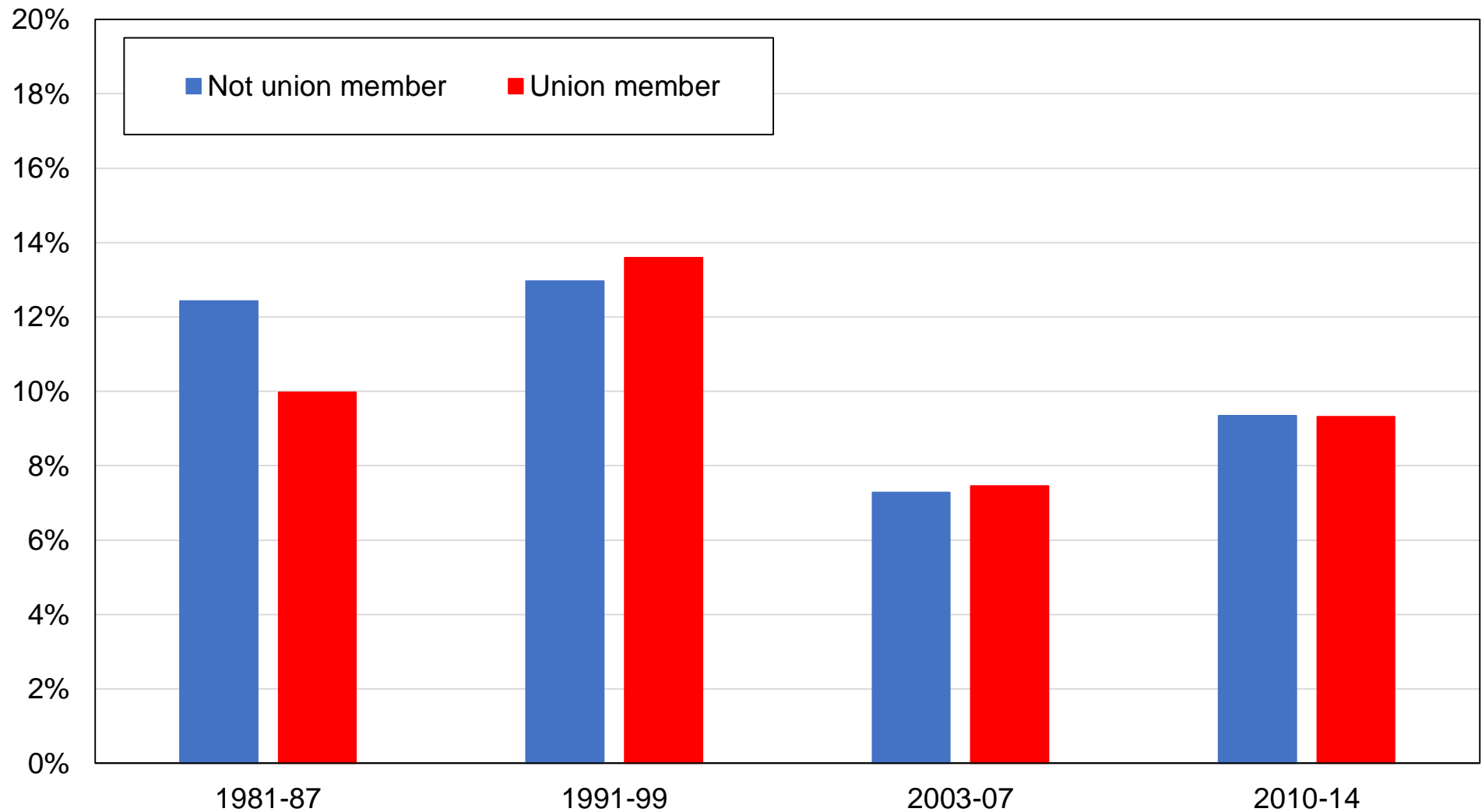
**Figure AD13 - Vote for Ecolo / Agalev / Groen by gender**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Ecolo / Agalev / Groen by gender.

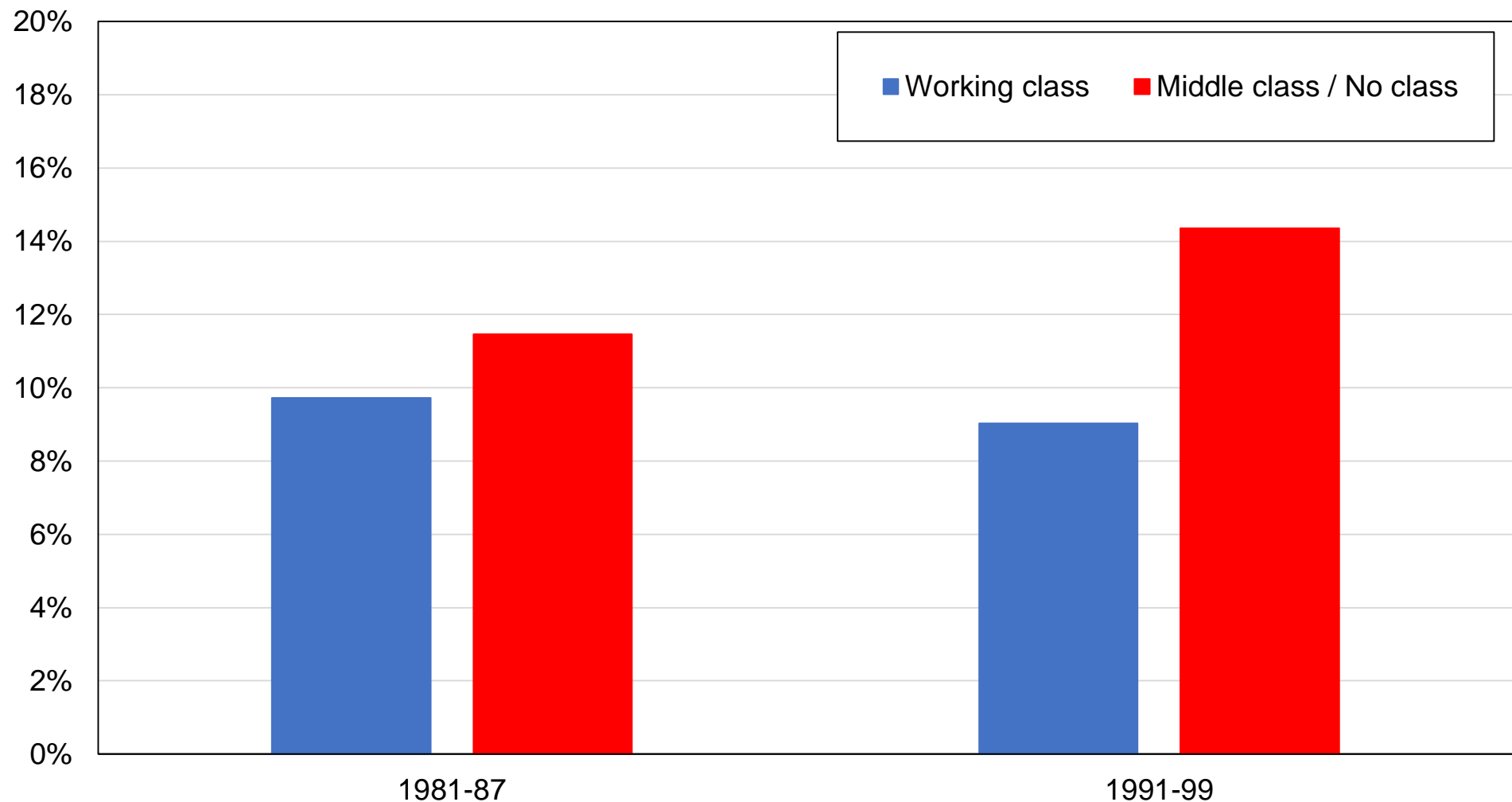
**Figure AD14 - Vote for Ecolo / Agalev / Groen by union membership**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Ecolo / Agalev / Groen by union membership status.

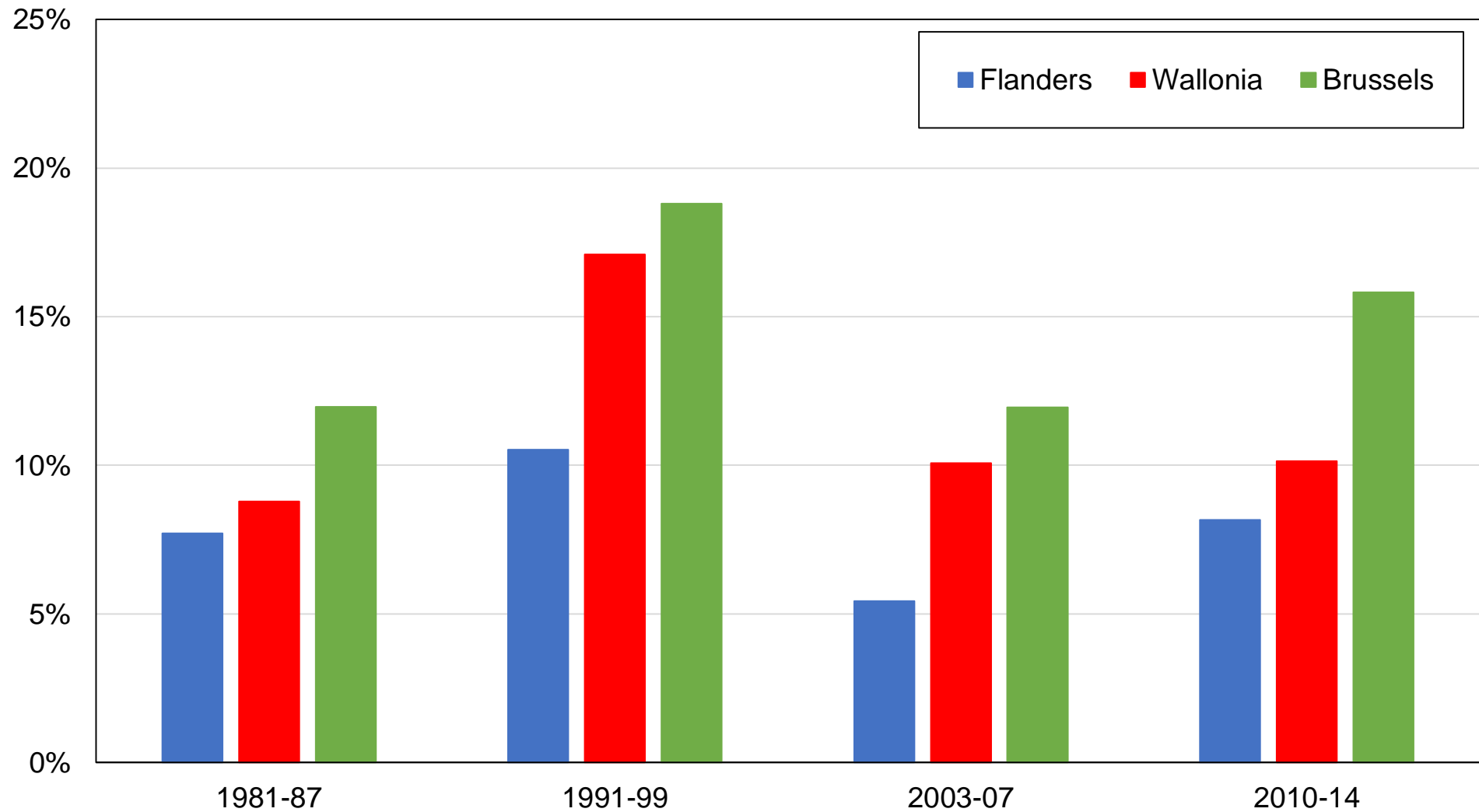
**Figure AD15 - Vote for Ecolo / Agalev / Groen by perceived social class**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Ecolo / Agalev / Groen by self-perceived social class. Working class includes "lower class". Middle class includes "no class" and "upper class".

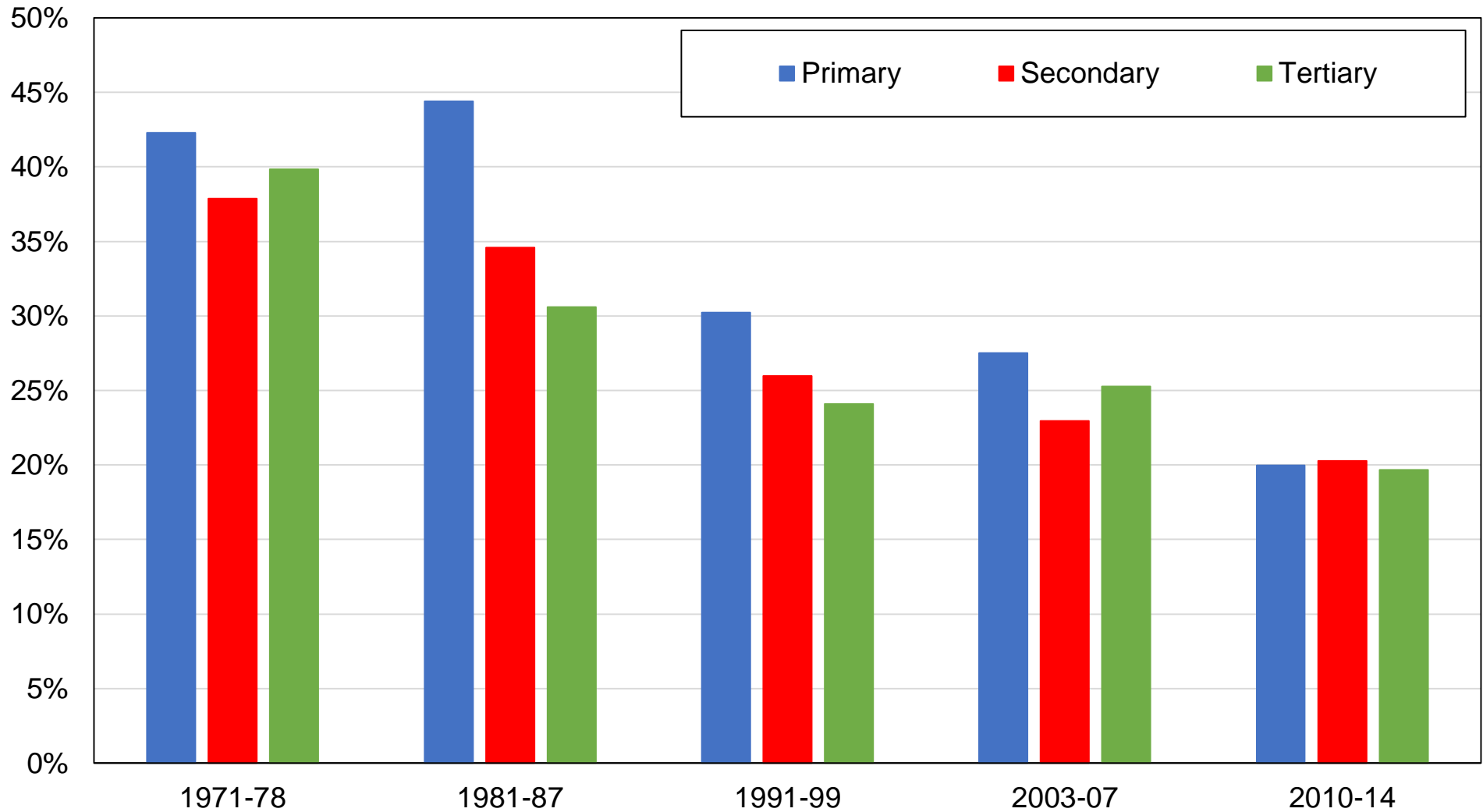
**Figure AD16 - Vote for Ecolo / Agalev / Groen by region**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Ecolo / Agalev / Groen by region.

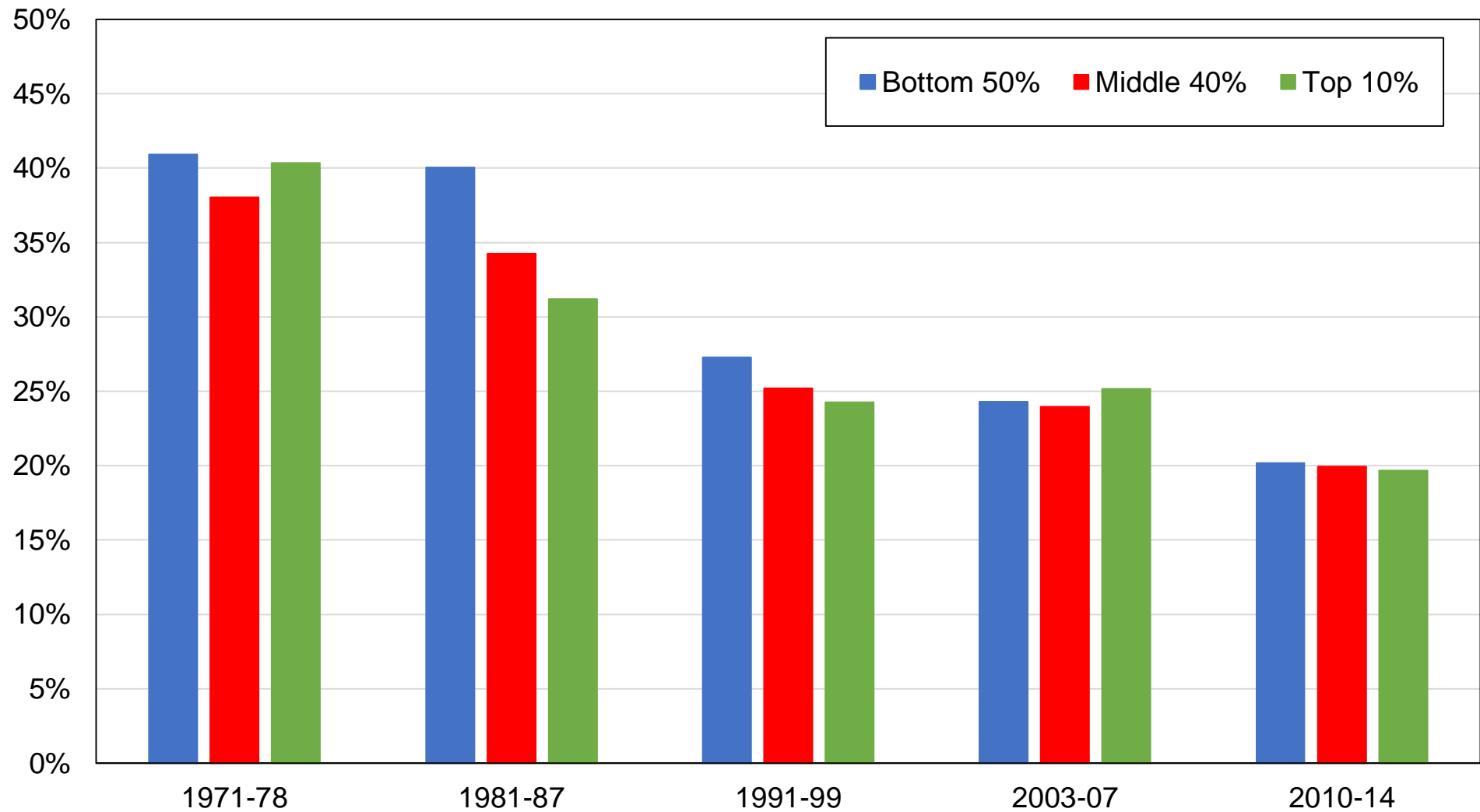
**Figure AD17 - Vote for PSC / CVP / CD&V / CdH by education level**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the PSC / CVP / CD&V / CdH by education level.

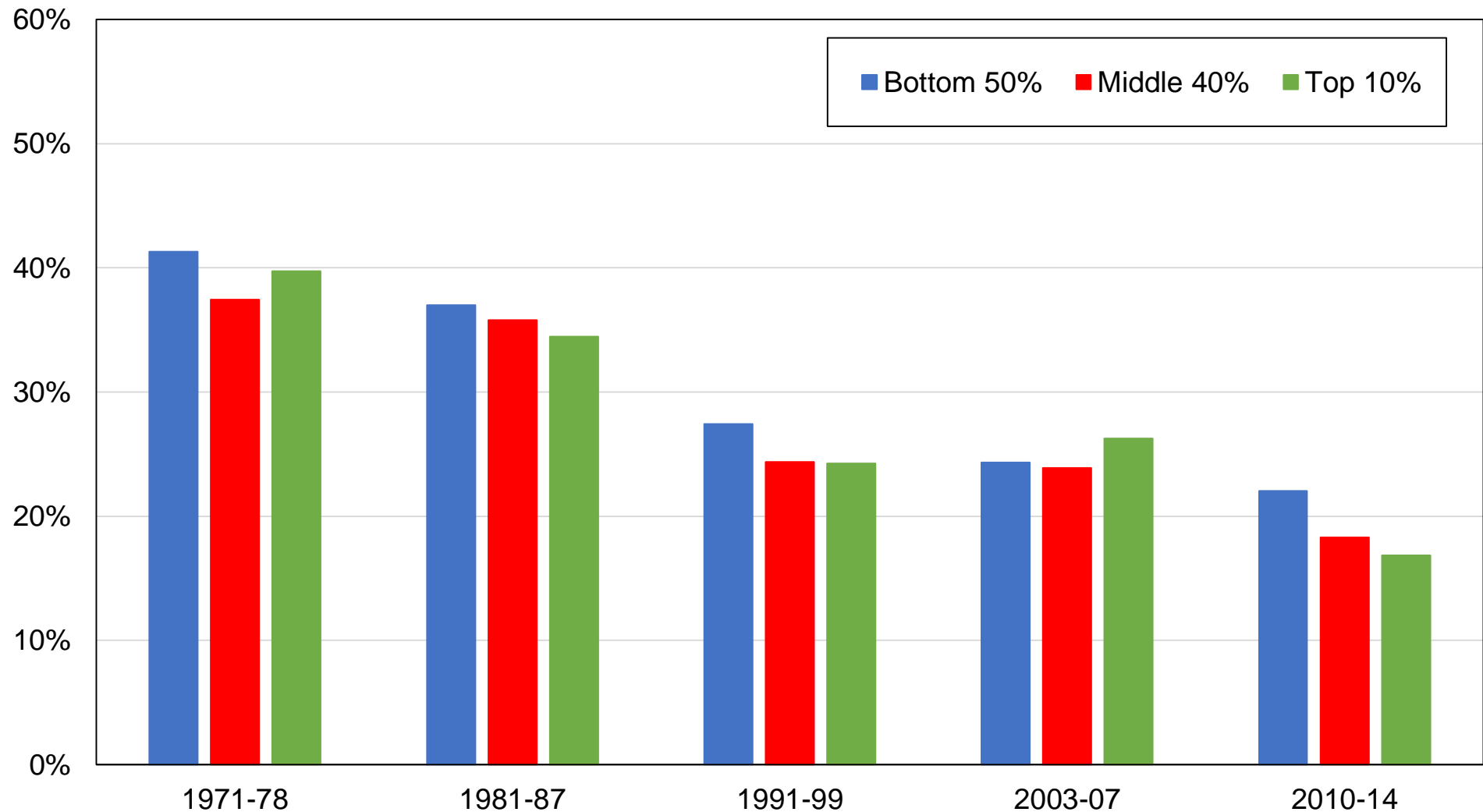
**Figure AD18 - Vote for PSC / CVP / CD&V / CdH by education group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the PSC / CVP / CD&V / CdH by education group.

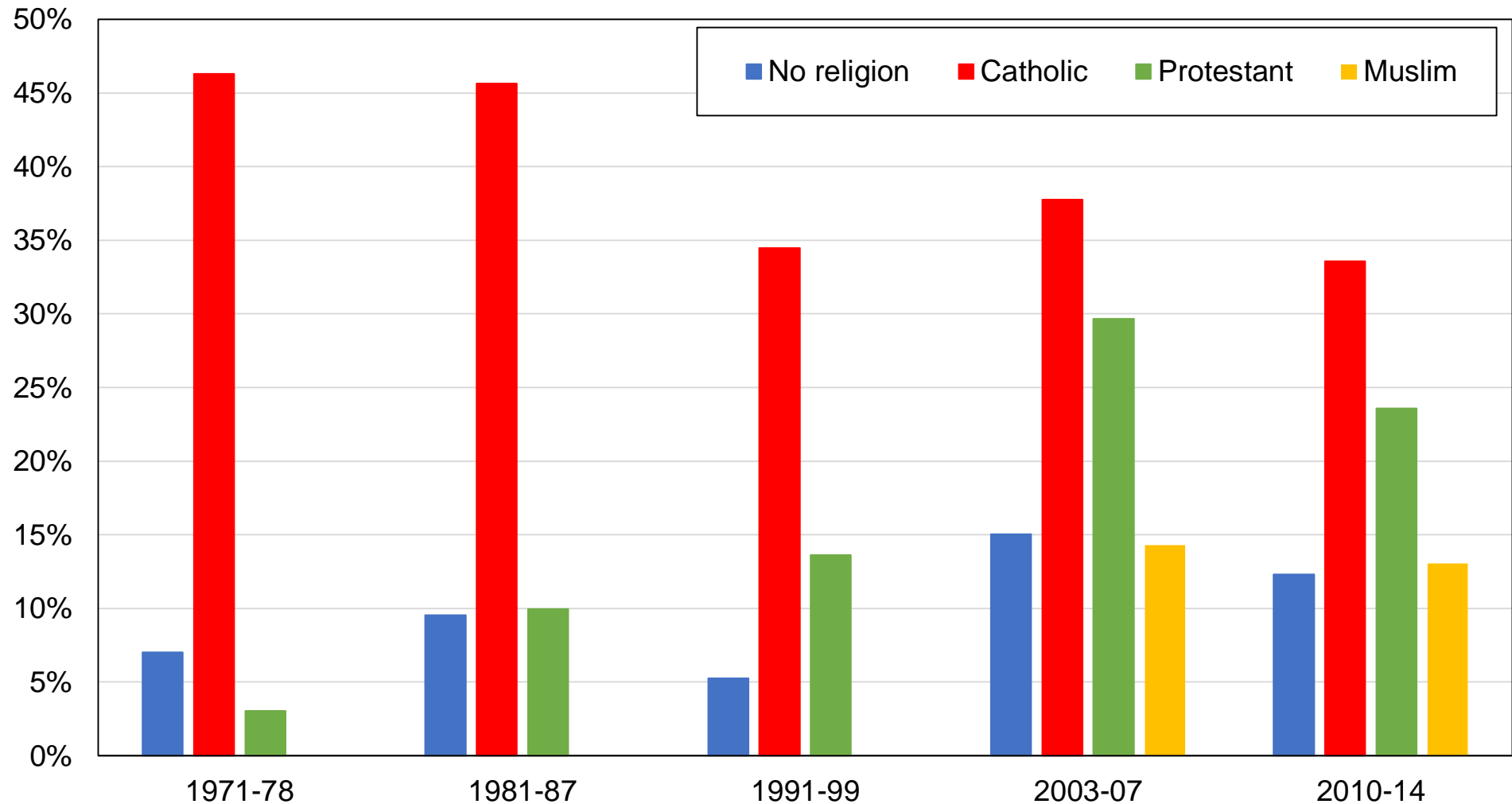
**Figure AD19 - Vote for PSC / CVP / CD&V / CdH by income group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the PSC / CVP / CD&V / CdH by income group.

**Figure AD20 - Vote for the PSC / CVP / CD&V / CdH by religious affiliation**

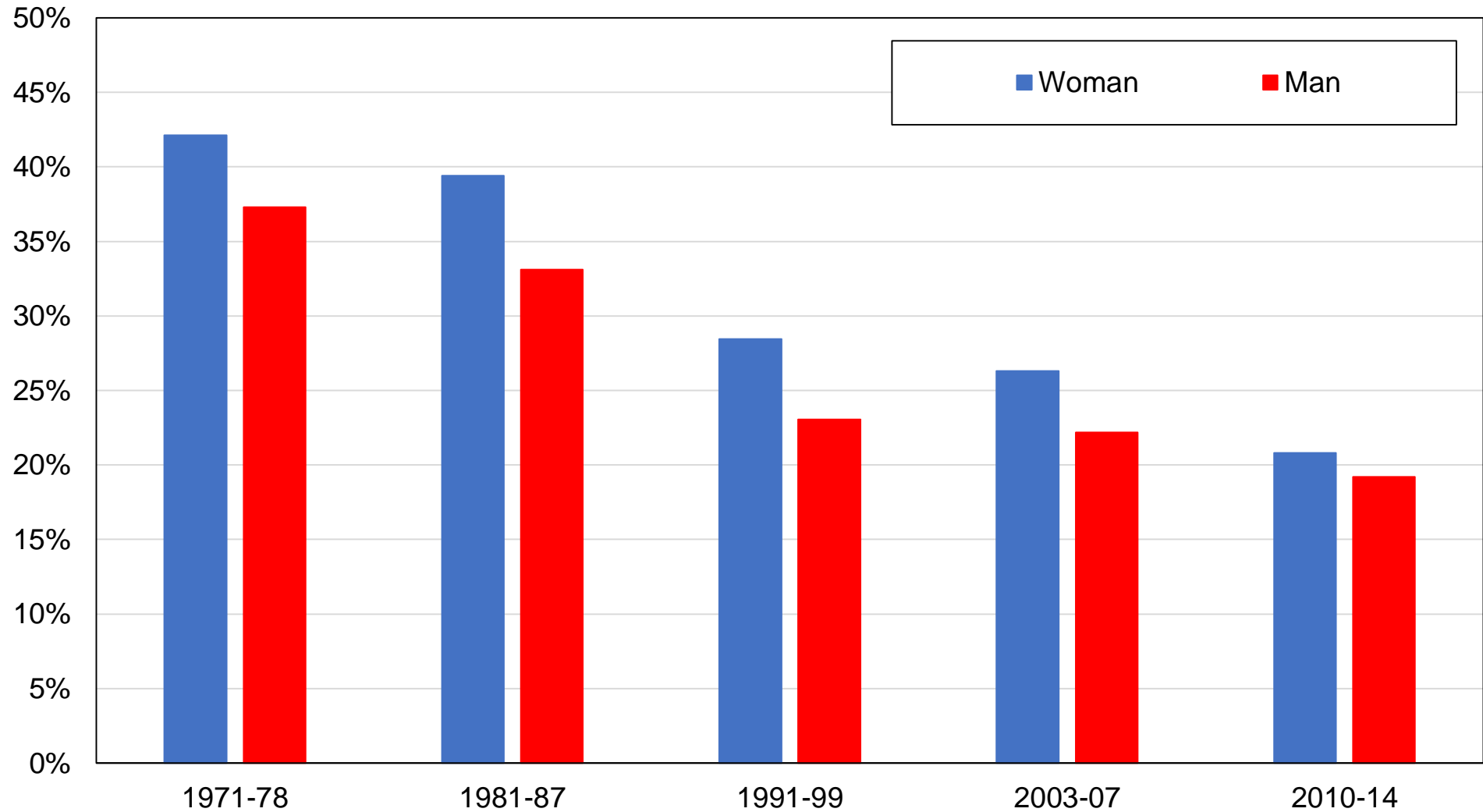


**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the PSC / CVP / CD&V / CdH by religious affiliation.



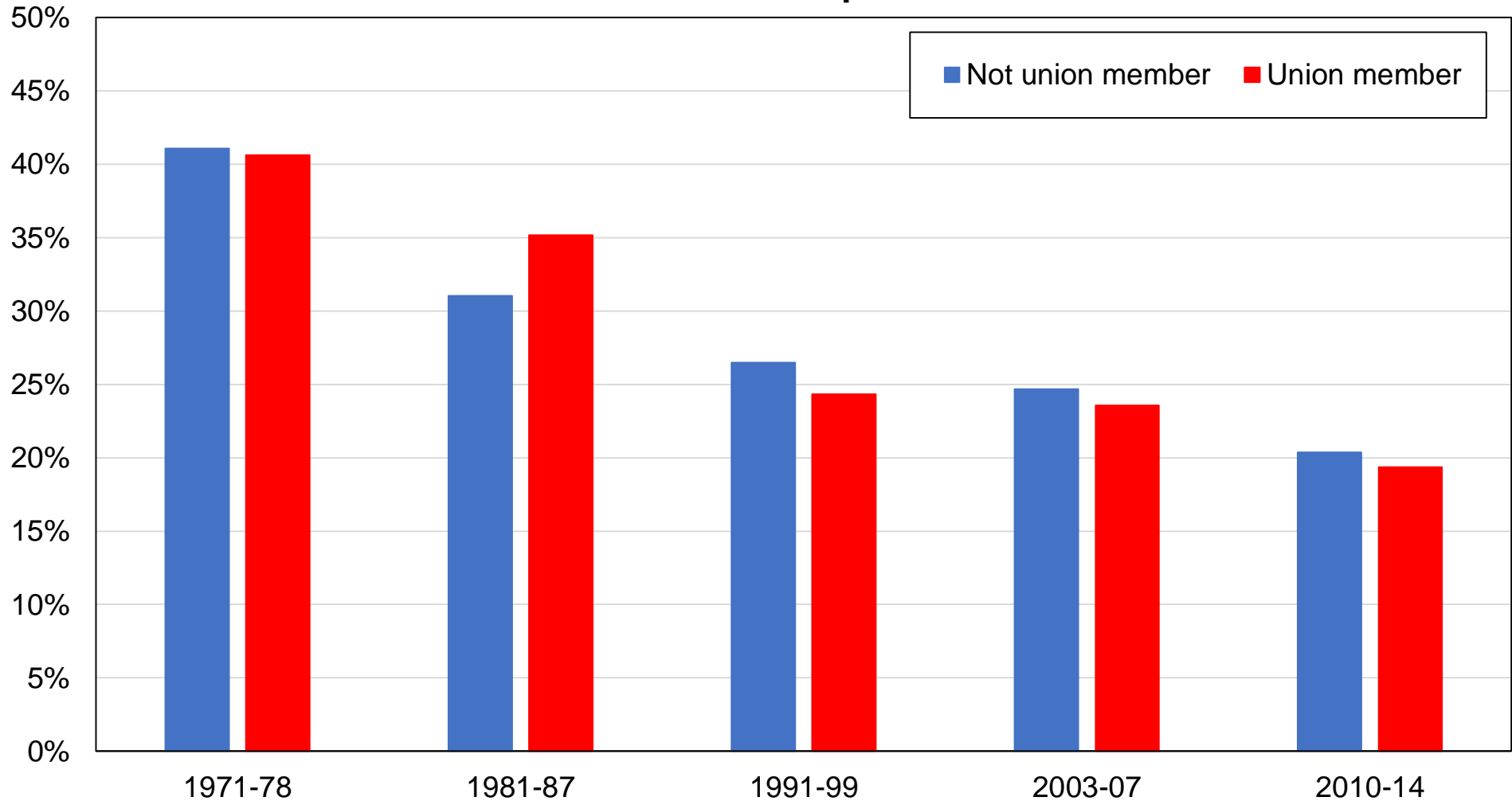
Figure AD21 - Vote for PSC / CVP / CD&V / CdH by gender



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the PSC / CVP / CD&V / CdH by gender.

**Figure AD22 - Vote for the PSC / CVP / CD&V / CdH by union membership**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the PSC / CVP / CD&V / CdH by union membership.

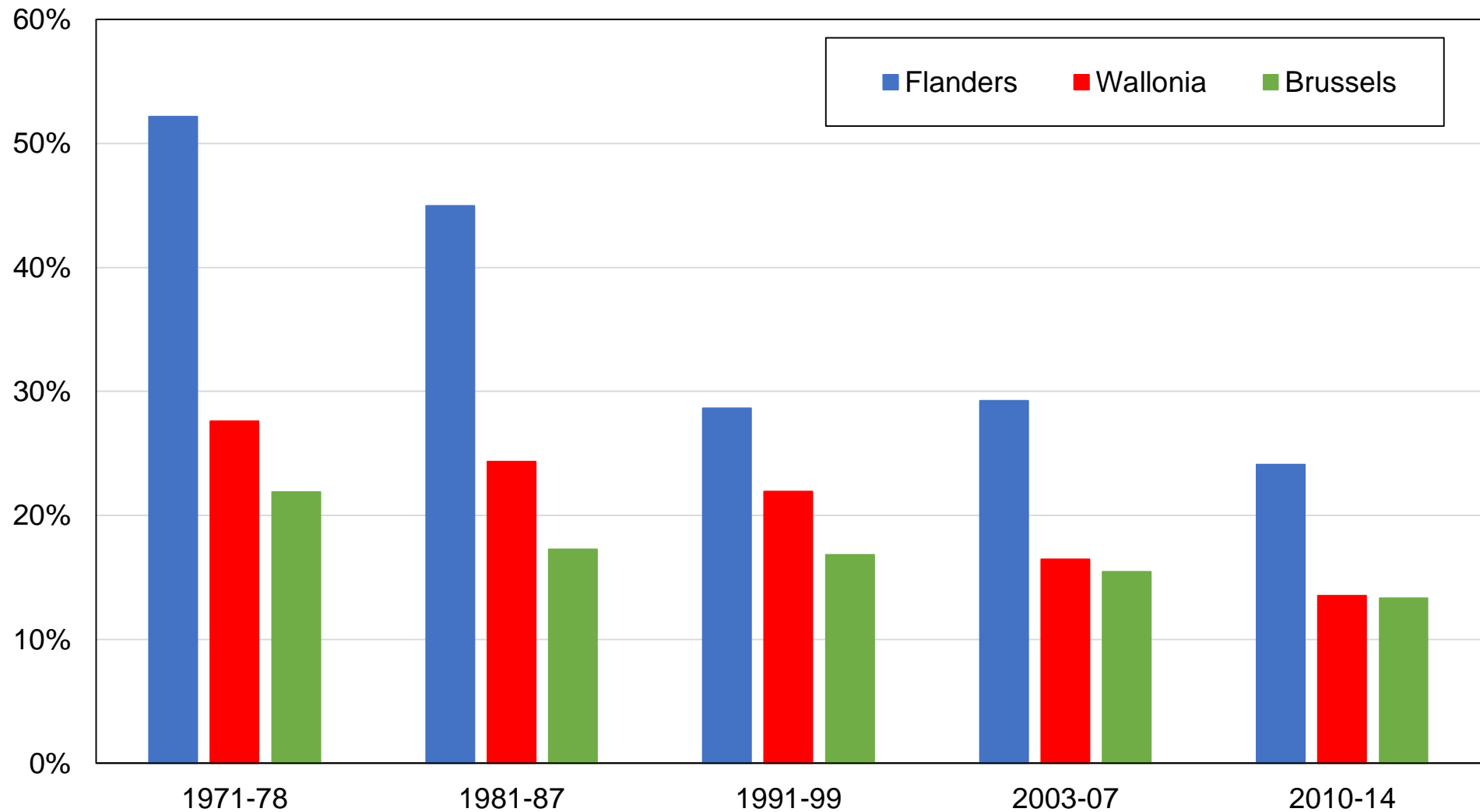
**Figure AD23 - Vote for PSC / CVP / CD&V / CdH by perceived social class**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the PSC / CVP / CD&V / CdH by self-perceived social class. Working class includes "lower class". Middle class includes "no class" and "upper class".

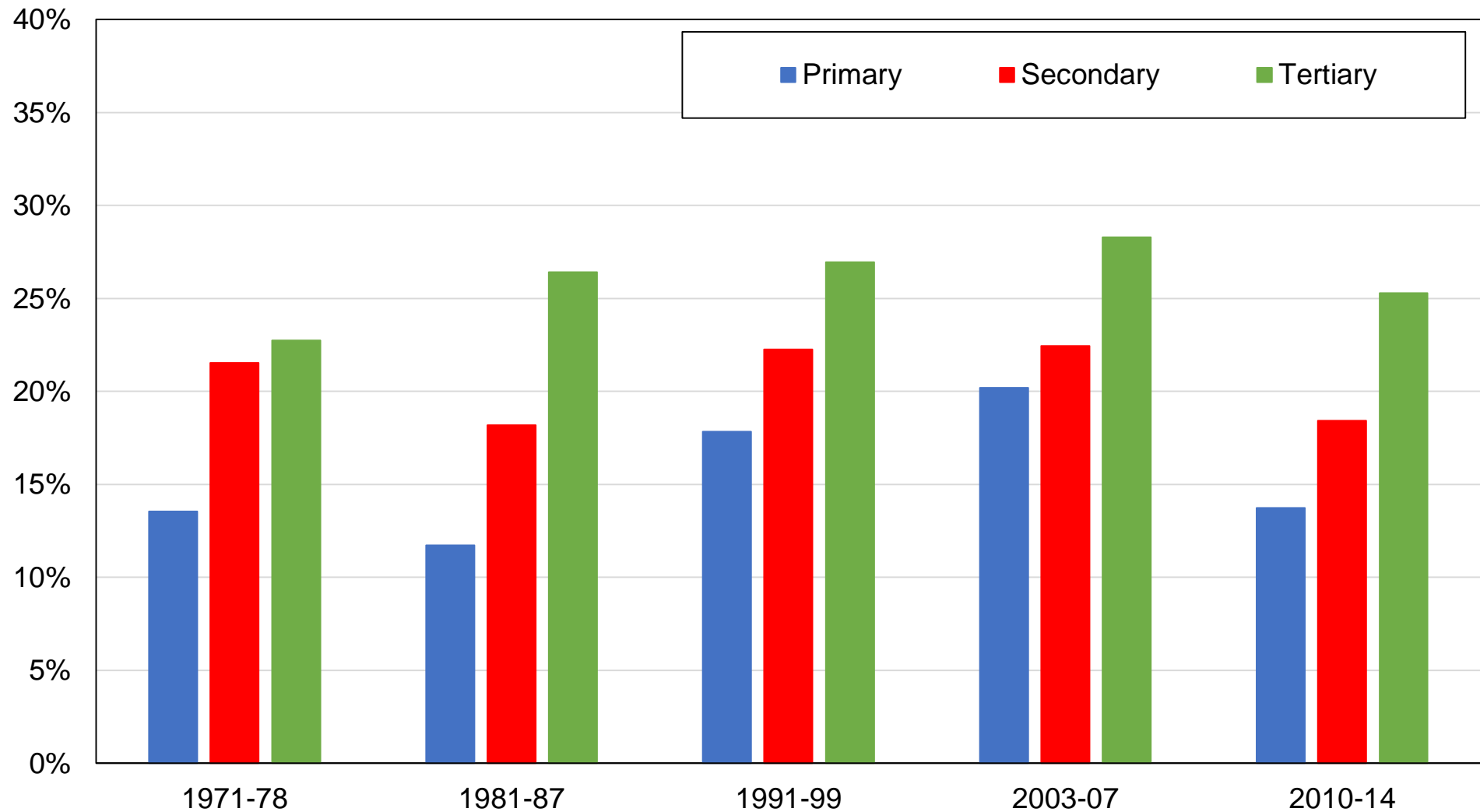
**Figure AD24 - Vote for PSC / CVP / CD&V / CdH by region**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the PSC / CVP / CD&V / CdH by region.

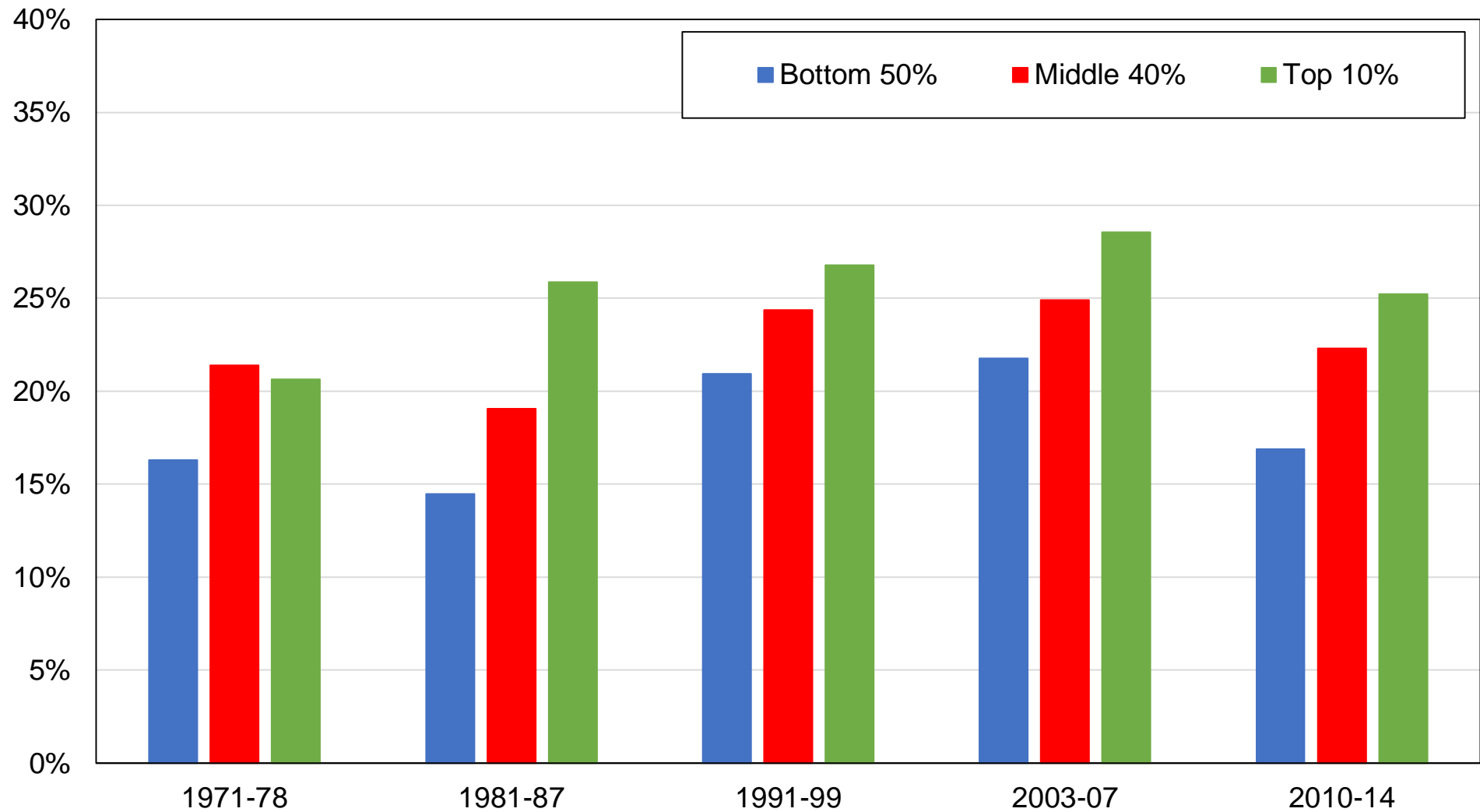
**Figure AD25 - Vote for PVV / VLD / Other liberals by education level**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by PVV / VLD / Other liberals by education level.

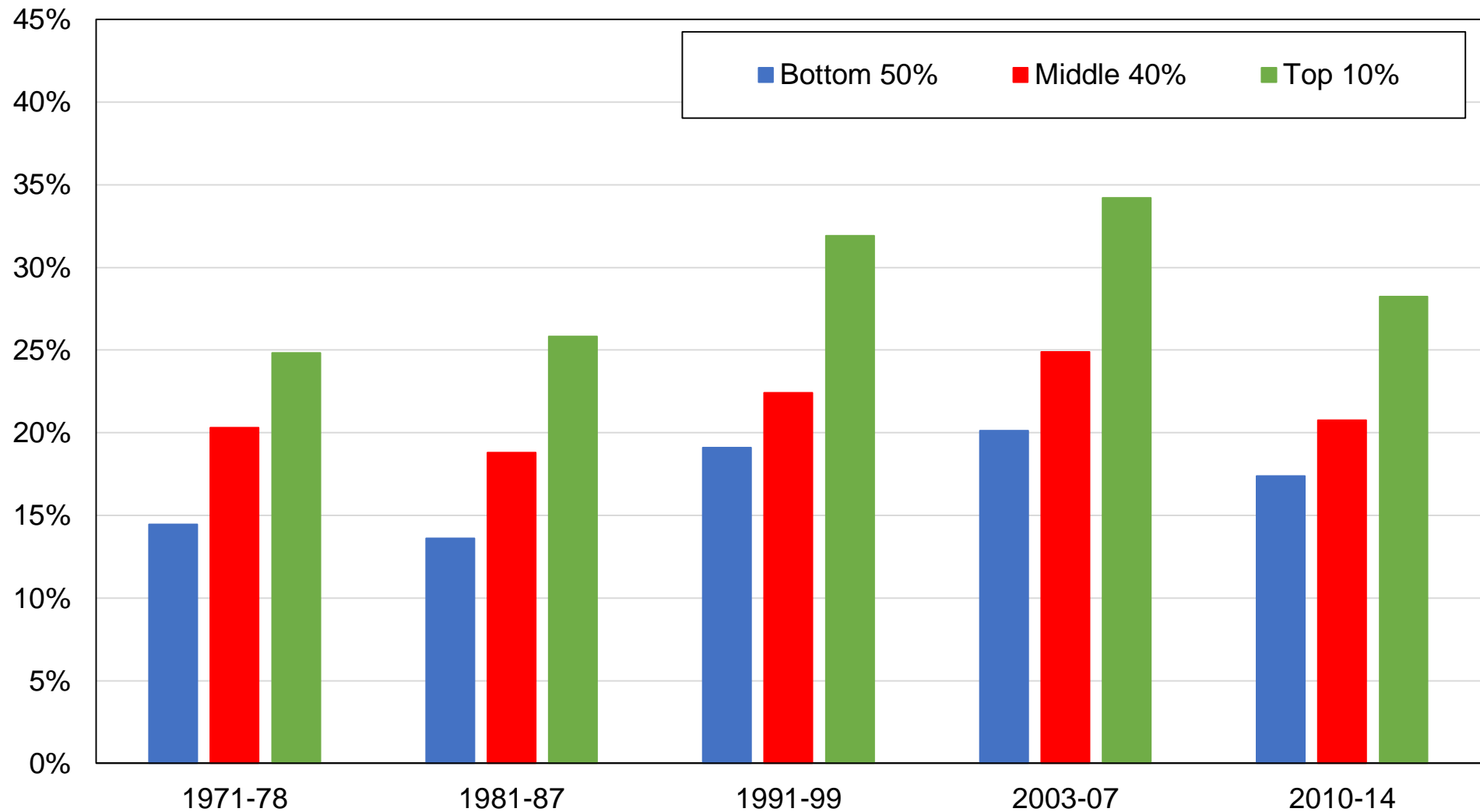
**Figure AD26 - Vote for PVV / VLD / Other liberals by education group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by PVV / VLD / Other liberals by education group.

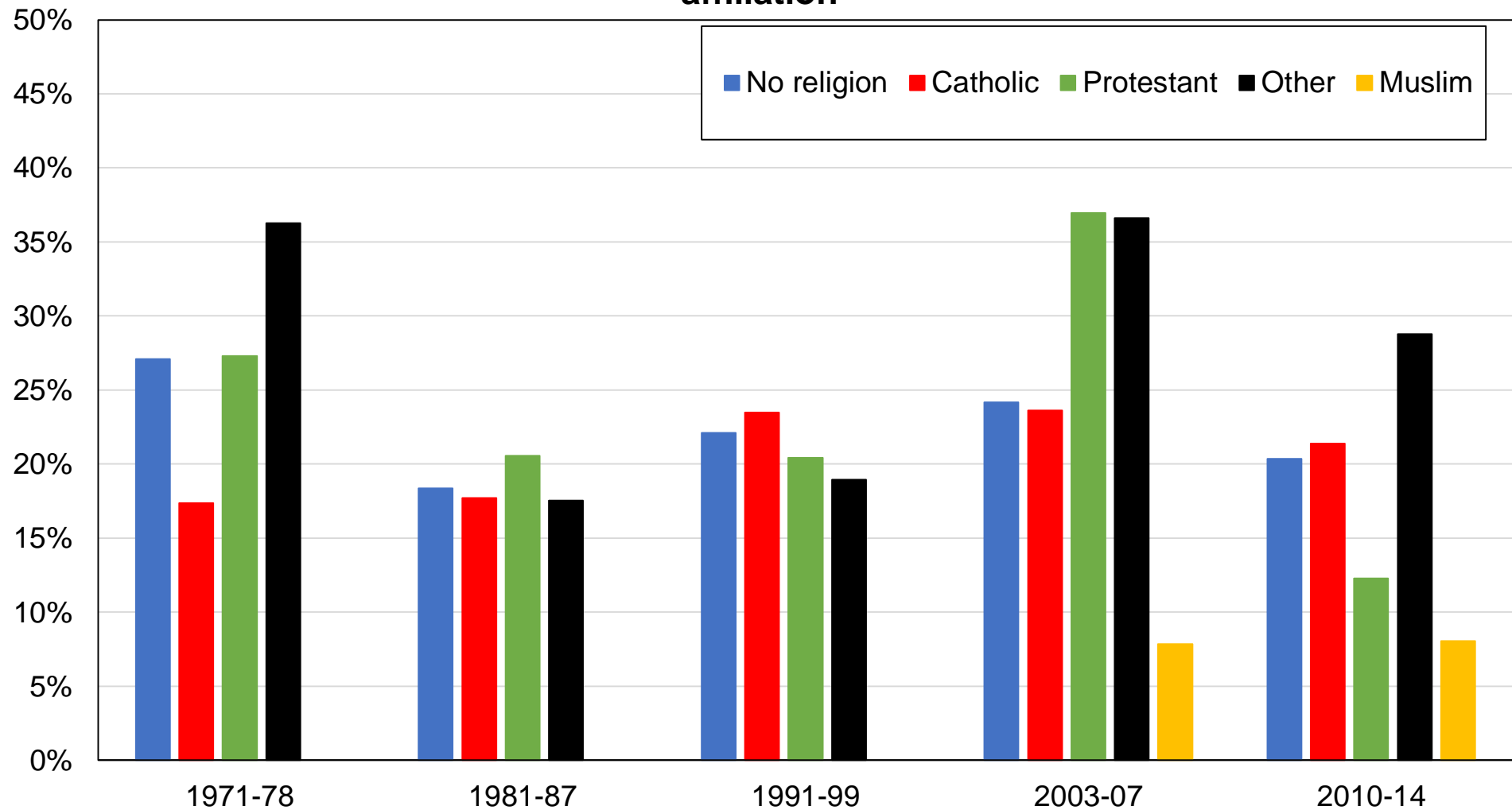
**Figure AD27 - Vote for PVV / VLD / Other liberals by income group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by PVV / VLD / Other liberals by income group.

**Figure AD28 - Vote for the PVV / VLD / Other liberals by religious affiliation**

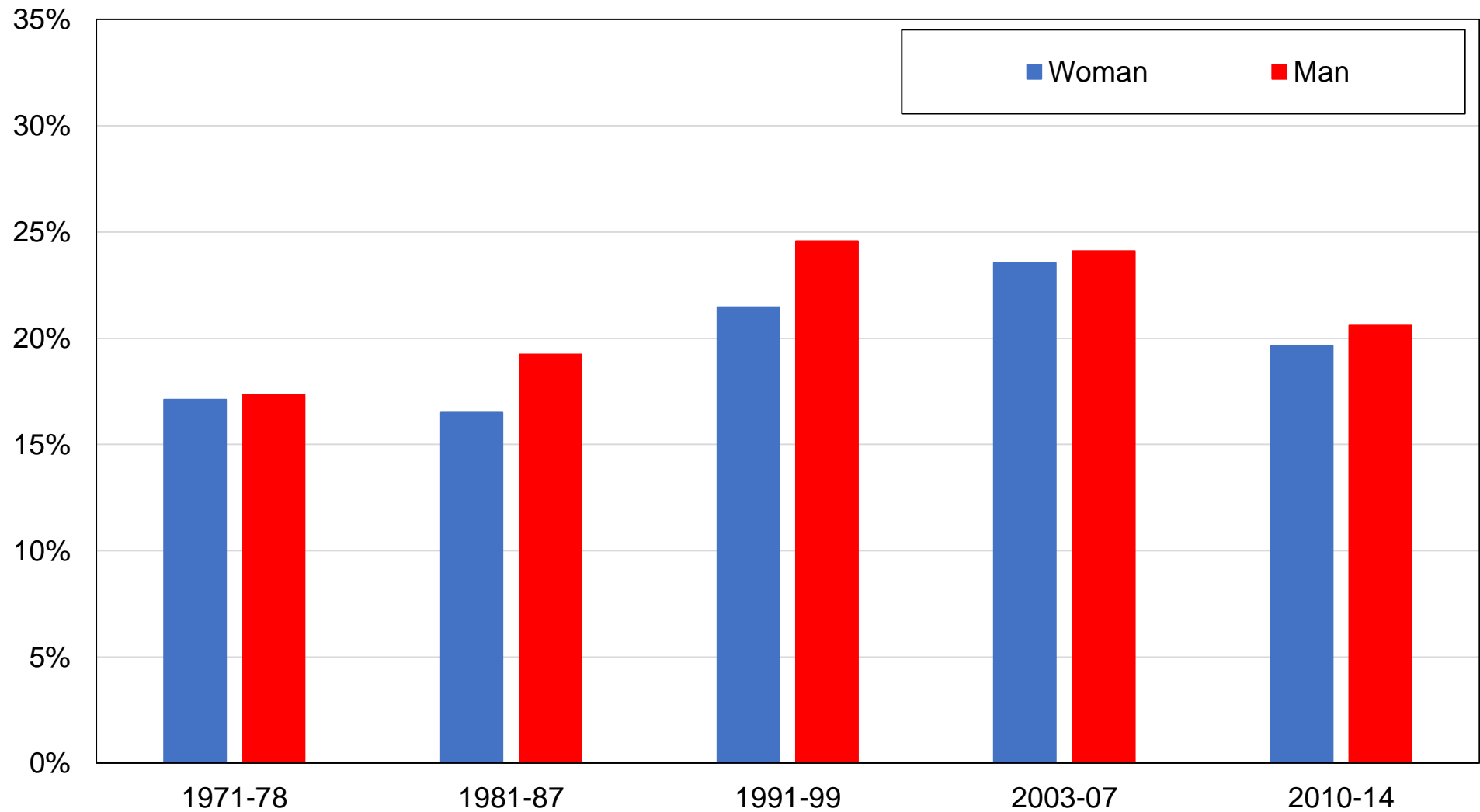


**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by PVV / VLD / Other liberals by religious affiliation.



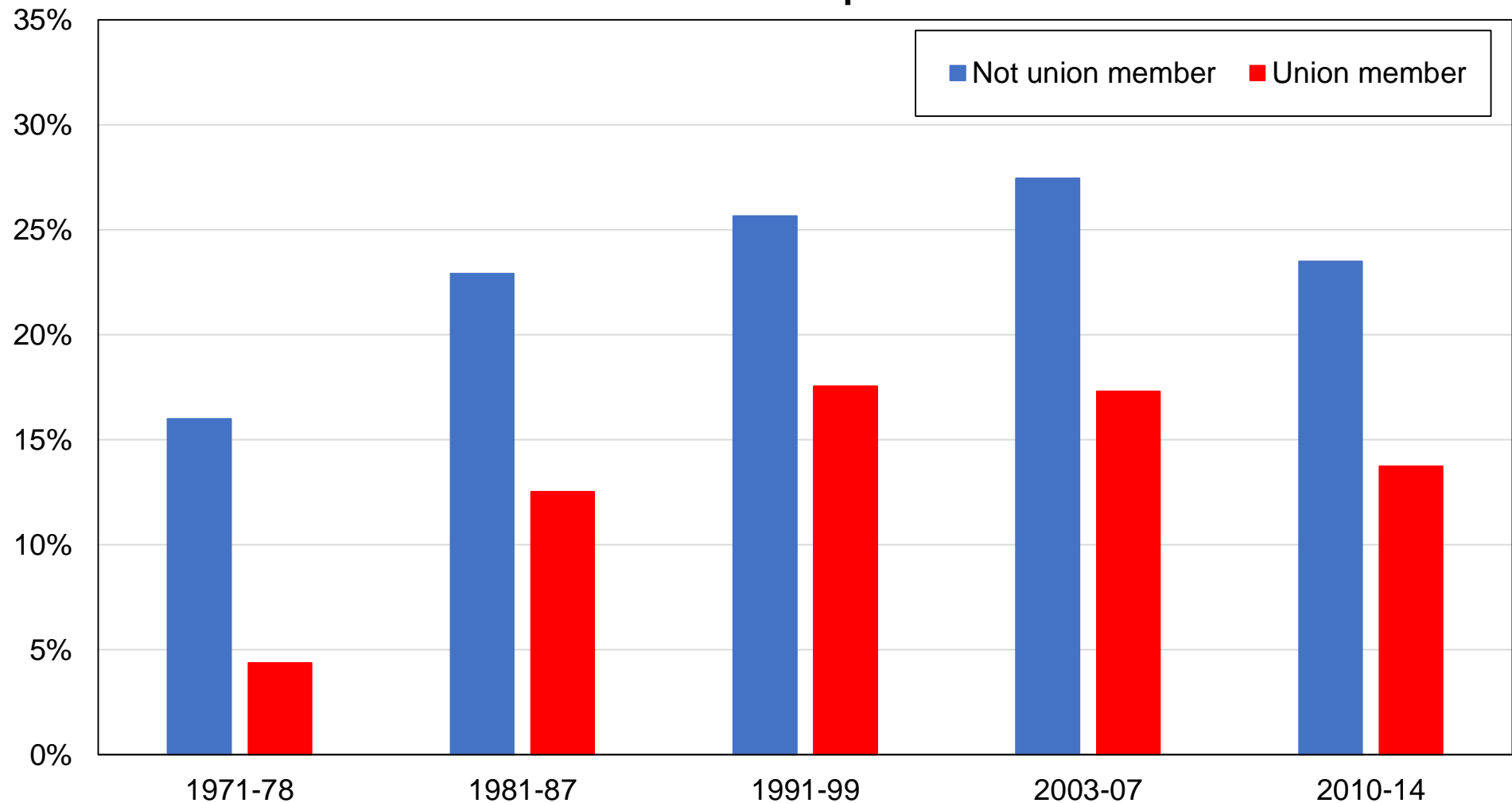
**Figure AD29 - Vote for PVV / VLD / Other liberals by gender**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by PVV / VLD / Other liberals by gender.

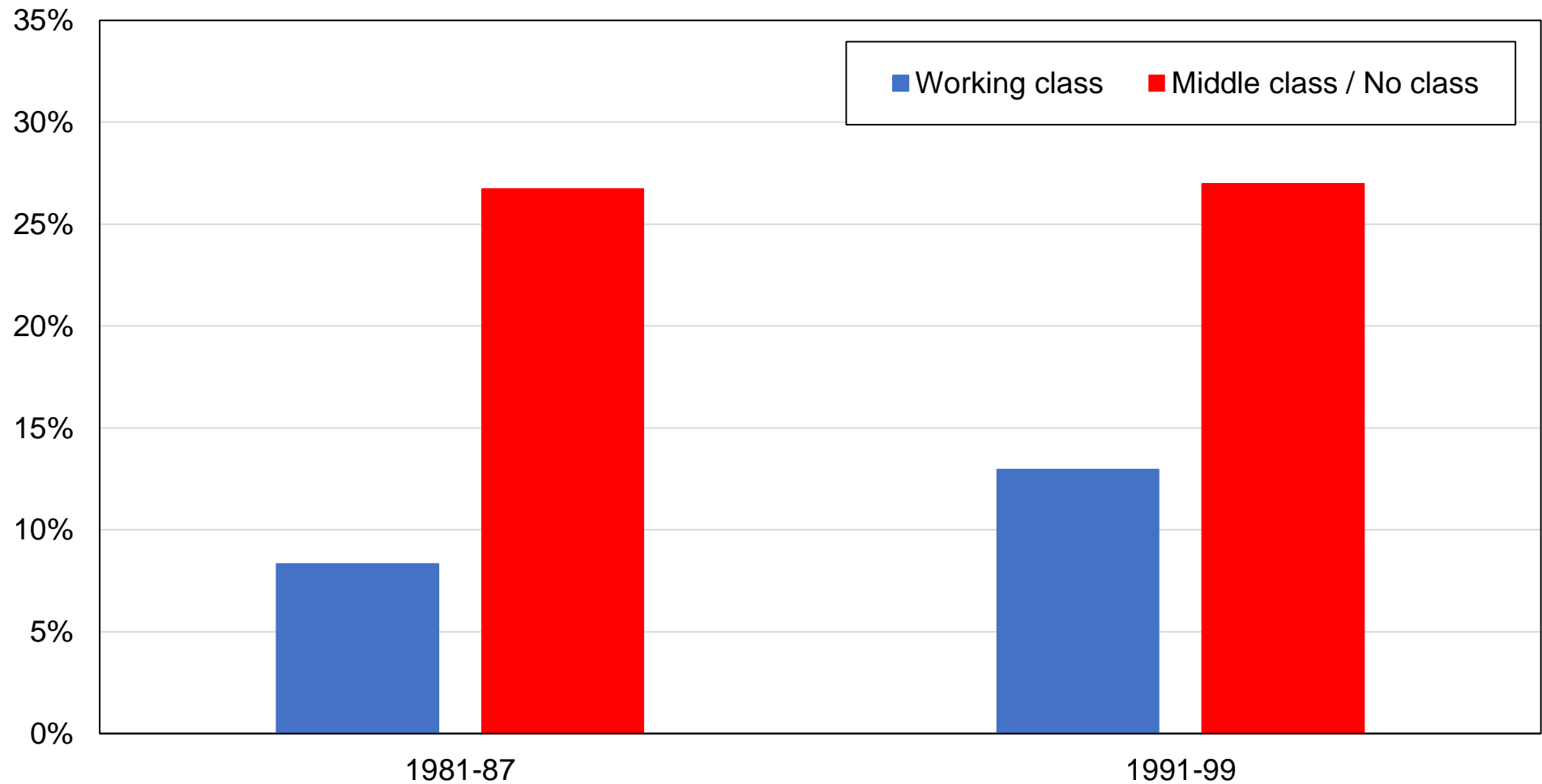
**Figure AD30 - Vote for the PVV / VLD / Other liberals by union membership**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by PVV / VLD / Other liberals by union membership status.

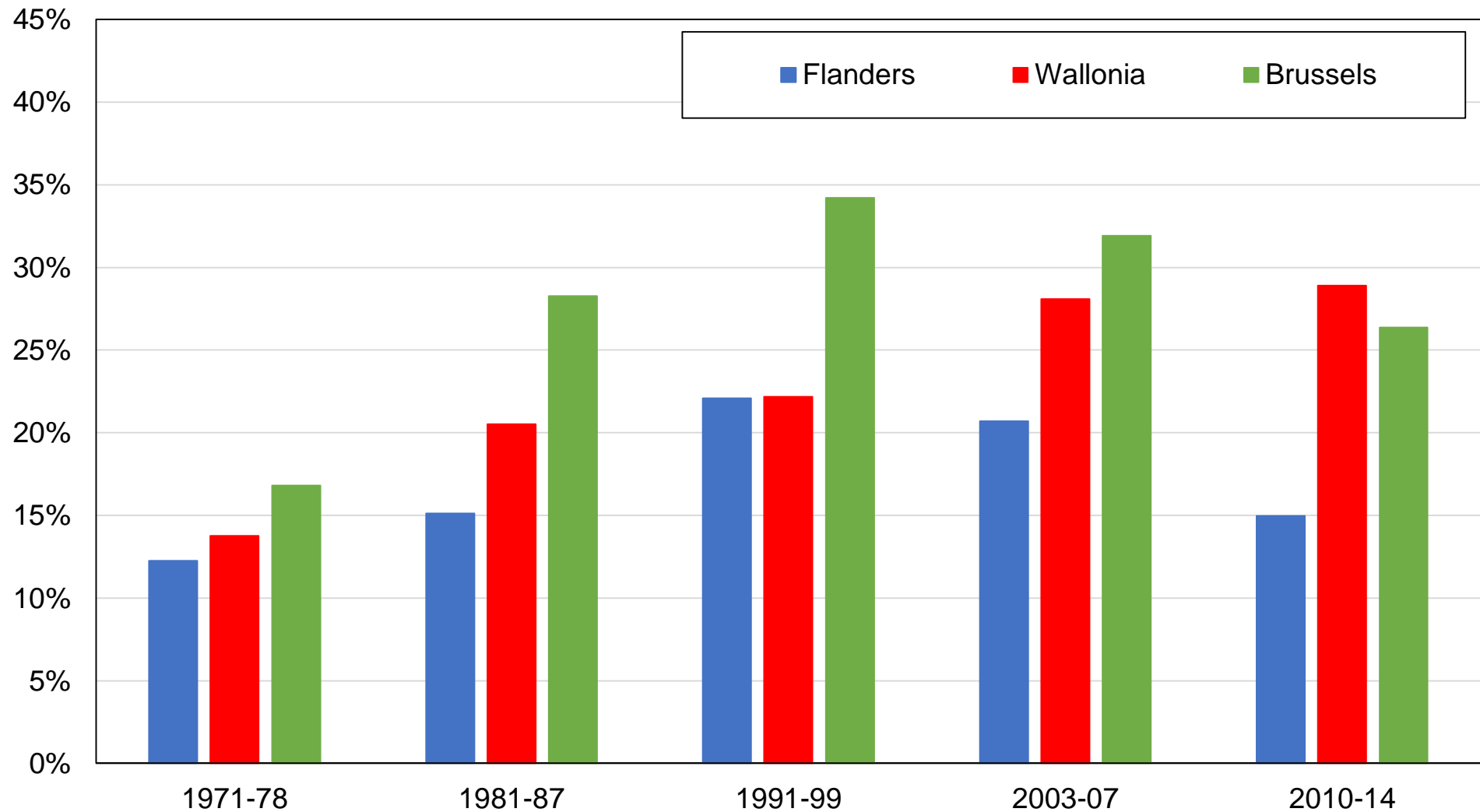
**Figure AD31 - Vote for PVV / VLD / Other liberals by perceived social class**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by PVV / VLD / Other liberals by self-perceived social class. Working class includes "lower class". Middle class includes "no class" and "upper class".

**Figure AD32 - Vote for PVV / VLD / Other liberals by region**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by PVV / VLD / Other liberals by region.

**Table AA1 - Survey data sources**

Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
1971	Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years	Gesis	2755
1974	Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years	Gesis	5327
1977	Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years	Gesis	5556
1978	Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years	Gesis	5017
1981	Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years	Gesis	5951
1985	Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years	Gesis	6113
1987	Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years	Gesis	10096
1991	Belgium General Election Study, 1991	DANS EASY	4511
1995	Belgium General Election Study, 1995	DANS EASY	3668
1999	Belgium General Election Study, 1999	DANS EASY	4239
2003	European Social Survey, 2004-2006	ESS	3576
2007	European Social Survey, 2008-2010	ESS	3464
2010	European Social Survey, 2012-2014	EVS	3638
2014	European Social Survey, 2016-2018	ESS	3533

**Source:** authors' elaboration. Gesis: Gesis – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences (<https://www.gesis.org/home>); DANS EASY: <https://easy.dans.knaw.nl>.

**Note:** the table shows the surveys used, the source from which these surveys can be obtained, and the sample size of each survey.

**Table AA2 - Complete descriptive statistics by decade**

	1971-78	1981-87	1991-99	2003-07	2010-14
Age: 20-40	44%	46%	43%	38%	37%
Age: 40-60	34%	32%	35%	36%	35%
Age: 60+	22%	22%	22%	26%	29%
Education: Primary	37%	29%	18%	15%	18%
Education: Secondary	52%	58%	53%	60%	51%
Education: Tertiary	11%	13%	29%	25%	31%
Employment status: Employed	50%	45%	53%	46%	47%
Employment status: Unemployed	2%	7%	0%	6%	5%
Employment status: Inactive	48%	48%	47%	48%	48%
Marital status: Married or with partner	71%	68%	70%	61%	61%
Religion: No religion	11%	23%	26%	56%	56%
Religion: Catholic	87%	75%	70%	38%	33%
Religion: Protestant	1%	1%	1%	2%	3%
Religion: Muslim	0%	0%	0%	4%	6%
Religion: Other	2%	2%	3%	1%	1%
Church attendance: Never	21%	24%	25%	53%	55%
Church attendance: Less than monthly	26%	40%	49%	37%	36%
Church attendance: Monthly or more	53%	36%	25%	10%	9%
Gender: Man	48%	48%	49%	49%	49%
Subjective class: Middle class		64%	68%		
Language: Dutch	57%	60%	62%	56%	55%
Language: French	43%	40%	38%	40%	35%
Language: Other	0%	0%	0%	4%	9%
Region: Brussels	5%	8%	8%	10%	9%
Region: Flanders	55%	59%	60%	59%	59%
Region: Wallonia	40%	33%	32%	32%	31%

**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the table shows descriptive statistics by decade for selected available variables.

**Table AA3 - The structure of political cleavages in Belgium, 2011-2014**

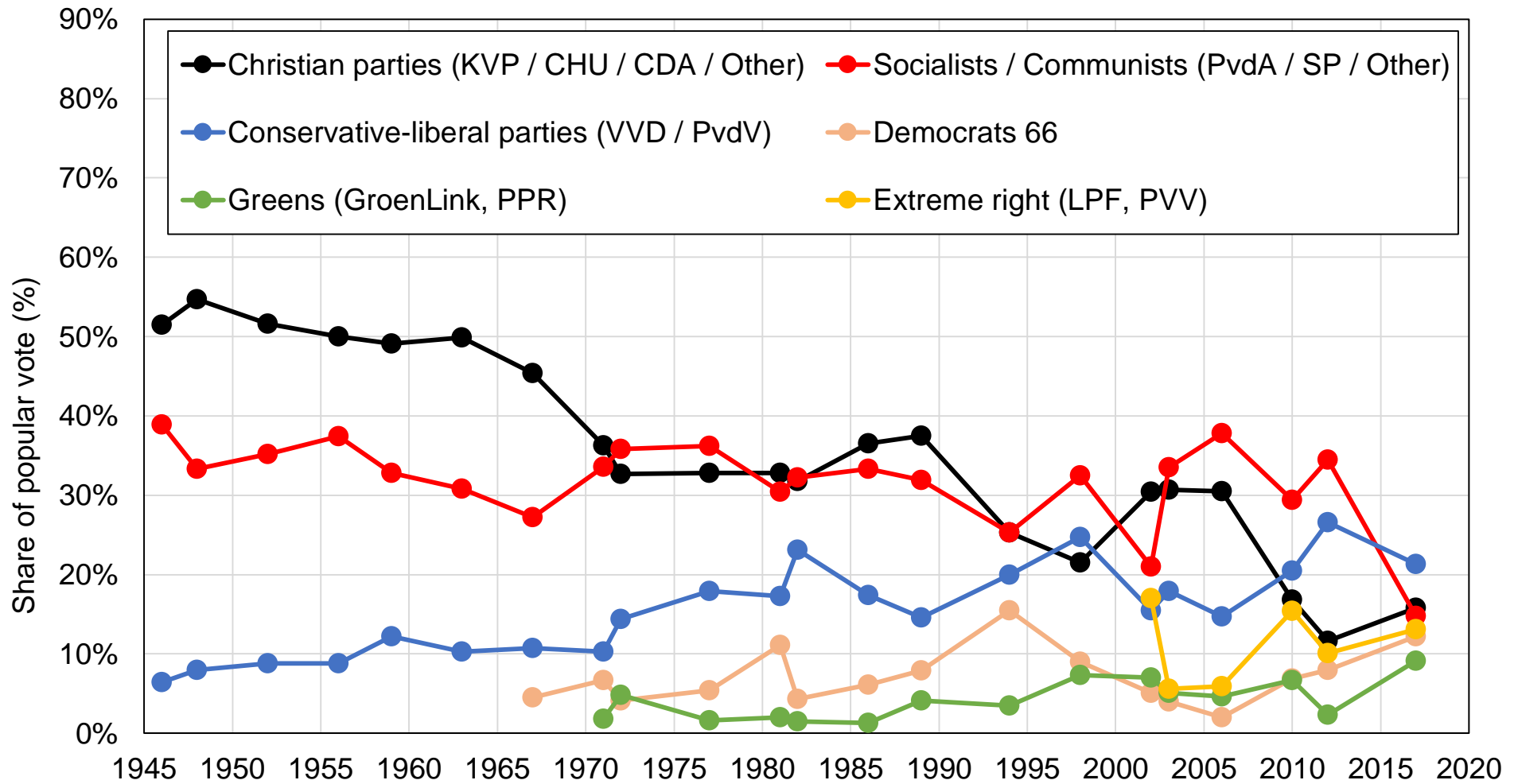
	Share of votes received (%)					
	PS / SP / PTB	Ecolo / Groen	VLD / MR	CD&V / CdH	N-VA	Vlaams Belang
<b>Overall vote share</b>	24%	9%	20%	20%	19%	3%
<b>Education</b>						
Primary	34%	3%	14%	20%	20%	4%
Secondary	27%	6%	18%	20%	20%	4%
Tertiary	16%	16%	25%	20%	18%	1%
<b>Income</b>						
Bottom 50%	30%	7%	17%	22%	16%	3%
Middle 40%	22%	11%	21%	18%	21%	3%
Top 10%	13%	11%	28%	17%	26%	2%
<b>Religion</b>						
No religion	25%	12%	20%	12%	22%	4%
Catholic	17%	5%	21%	34%	17%	2%
Protestant	30%	9%	12%	24%	18%	2%
Muslim	65%	7%	8%	13%	4%	0%
<b>Church attendance</b>						
Never	25%	11%	21%	13%	21%	4%
Less than monthly	22%	8%	20%	26%	19%	2%
Monthly or more	30%	3%	14%	39%	10%	2%
<b>Region</b>						
Brussels	35%	16%	26%	13%	2%	1%
Flanders	15%	8%	15%	24%	31%	5%
Wallonia	41%	10%	29%	14%	0%	0%
<b>Language</b>						
Dutch	12%	10%	15%	27%	32%	4%
French	36%	12%	34%	13%	1%	0%
Other	65%	4%	10%	13%	3%	5%

**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

**Notes:** the table shows the average share of votes received by the main political parties by selected individual characteristics over the 2011-2014 period. Vote shares by group are those reported in surveys and may not match exactly official election results.



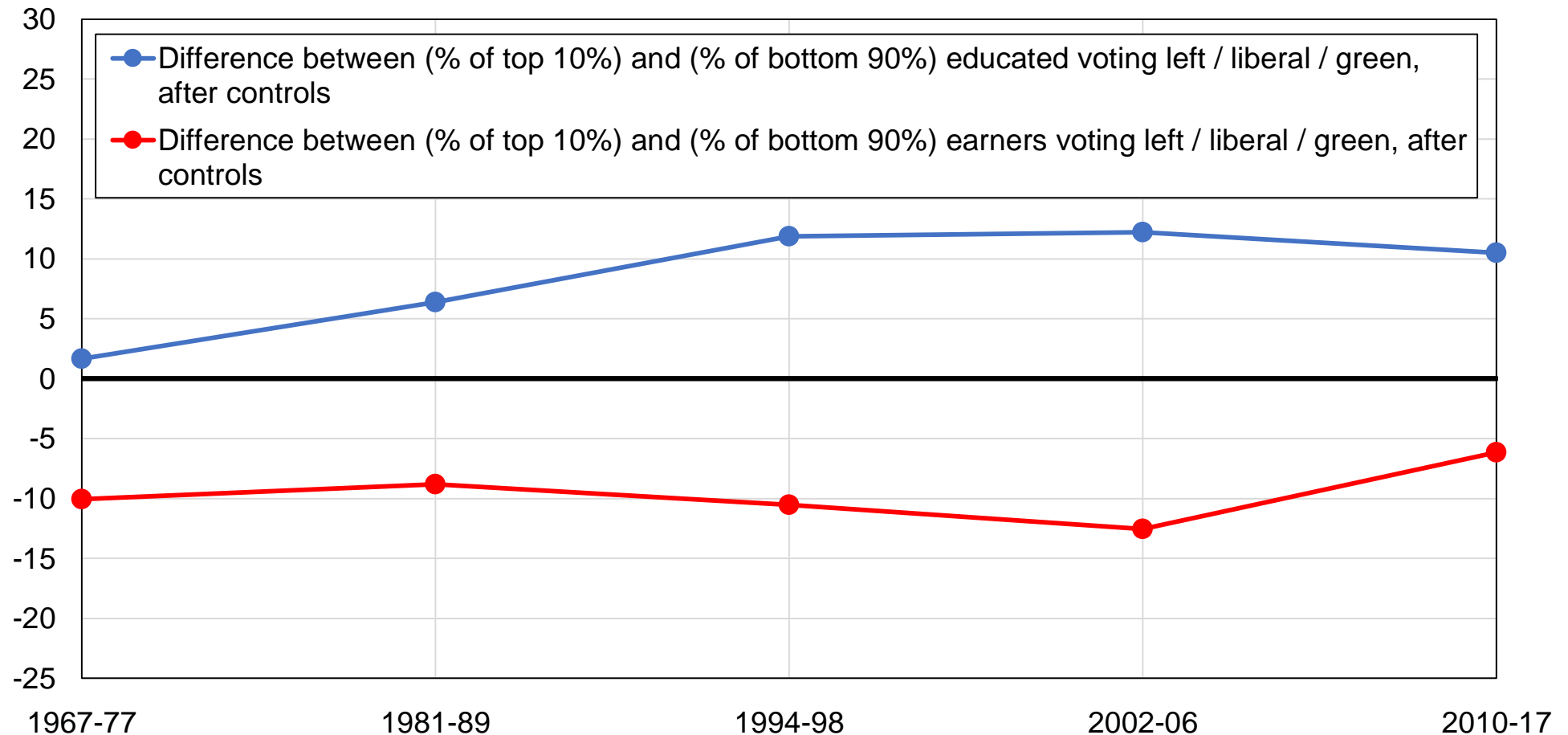
**Figure B1 - Election results in the Netherlands, 1946-2017**



**Source:** author's computations using official election results.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Dutch political parties in general elections between 1946 and 2017.

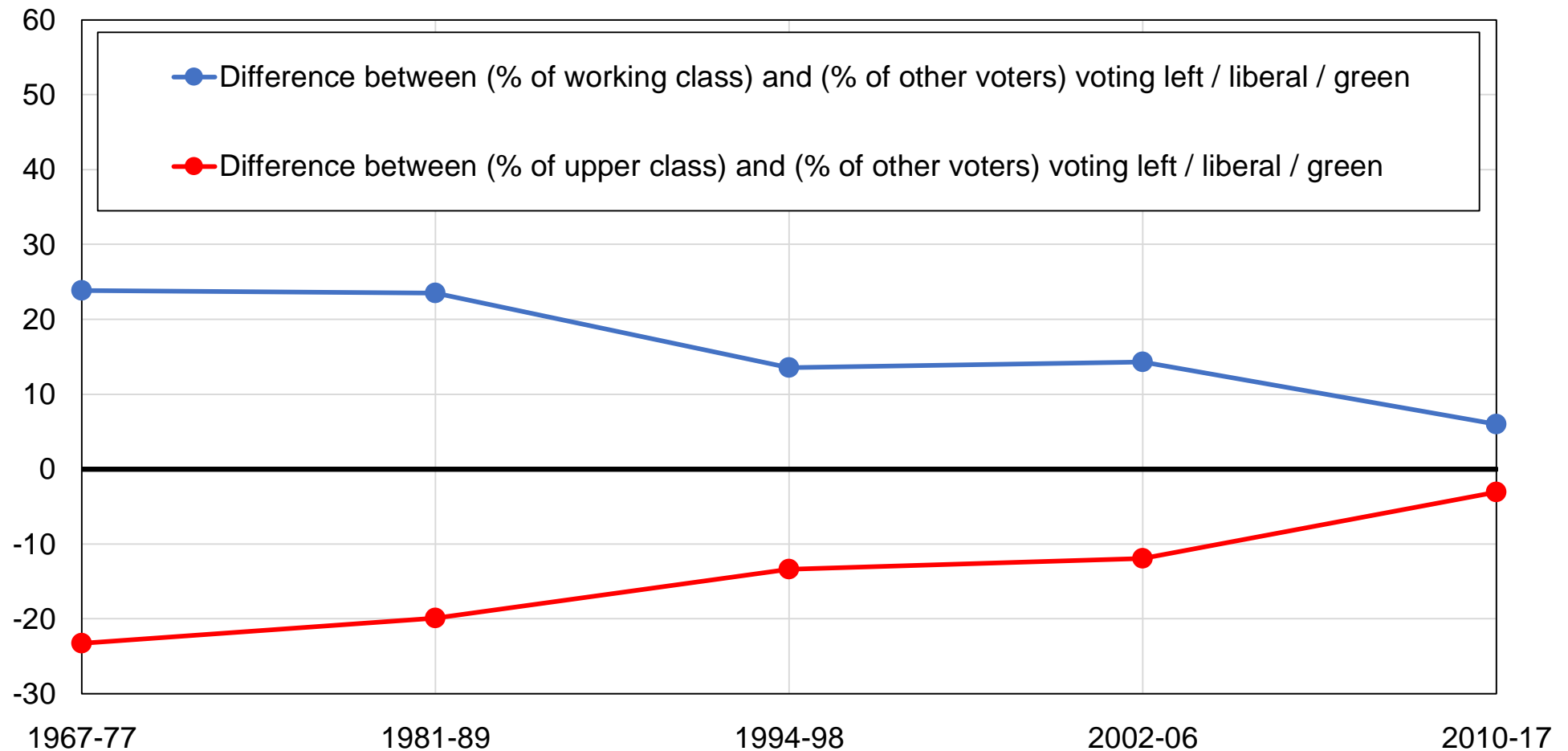
**Figure B2 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among highest-educated and top-income voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the support for left / liberal / green parties among highest-educated and top-income voters after controlling for income, education, age, gender, employment, marital status, religious affiliation, church attendance, region, rural-urban location, union membership, and self-perceived social class.

**Figure B3 - The decline of class cleavages in the Netherlands**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the relative support of self-perceived working-class and upper-class voters towards left / liberal / green parties, after controlling for income, education, age, gender, employment, marital status, religious affiliation, church attendance, region, rural-urban location, and union membership.

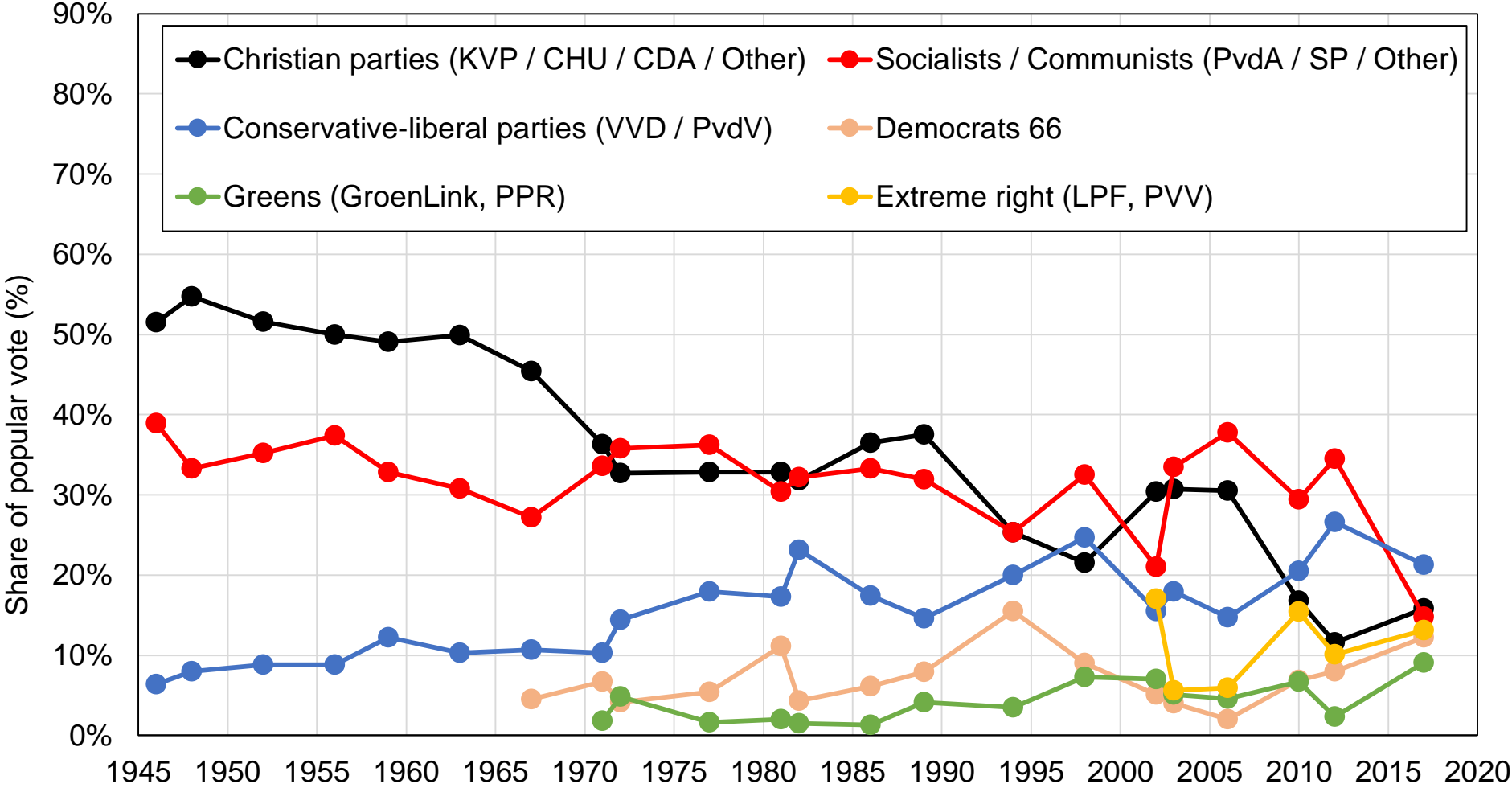
**Table B1 - The structure of political cleavages in the Netherlands, 2010-2017**

	Share of votes received (%)						
	<b>SP</b>	<b>PvdA</b>	<b>GL</b>	<b>D66</b>	<b>CDA</b>	<b>VVD</b>	<b>PVV</b>
<b>Overall vote share</b>	10%	17%	7%	10%	12%	24%	10%
<b>Education</b>							
Primary	13%	21%	3%	3%	17%	13%	20%
Secondary	11%	15%	4%	7%	13%	26%	11%
Tertiary	5%	16%	10%	17%	9%	28%	3%
<b>Income</b>							
Bottom 50%	12%	18%	6%	7%	13%	18%	13%
Middle 40%	7%	16%	7%	12%	11%	28%	8%
Top 10%	3%	12%	6%	15%	12%	39%	6%
<b>Social class</b>							
Working	16%	22%	5%	3%	10%	9%	24%
Upper working	14%	22%	4%	4%	12%	17%	13%
Middle	9%	15%	6%	10%	14%	25%	9%
Upper middle	3%	13%	9%	17%	9%	36%	4%
Upper	3%	9%	4%	23%	8%	45%	2%
<b>Location</b>							
Very rural	9%	16%	4%	7%	20%	24%	9%
Rural	9%	14%	4%	9%	17%	25%	10%
Medium	8%	15%	5%	8%	12%	29%	11%
Urban	10%	16%	7%	10%	10%	23%	11%
Very urban	8%	21%	10%	14%	6%	21%	10%
<b>Religion</b>							
No religion	11%	18%	7%	12%	5%	27%	12%
Catholic	10%	14%	3%	7%	24%	25%	12%
Protestant	4%	8%	5%	5%	27%	19%	5%
Muslim	4%	48%	7%	6%	3%	14%	0%

**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Notes:** the table shows the average share of votes received by the main political parties by selected individual characteristics over the 2010-2017 period. Vote shares by group are those reported in surveys and may not match exactly official election results.

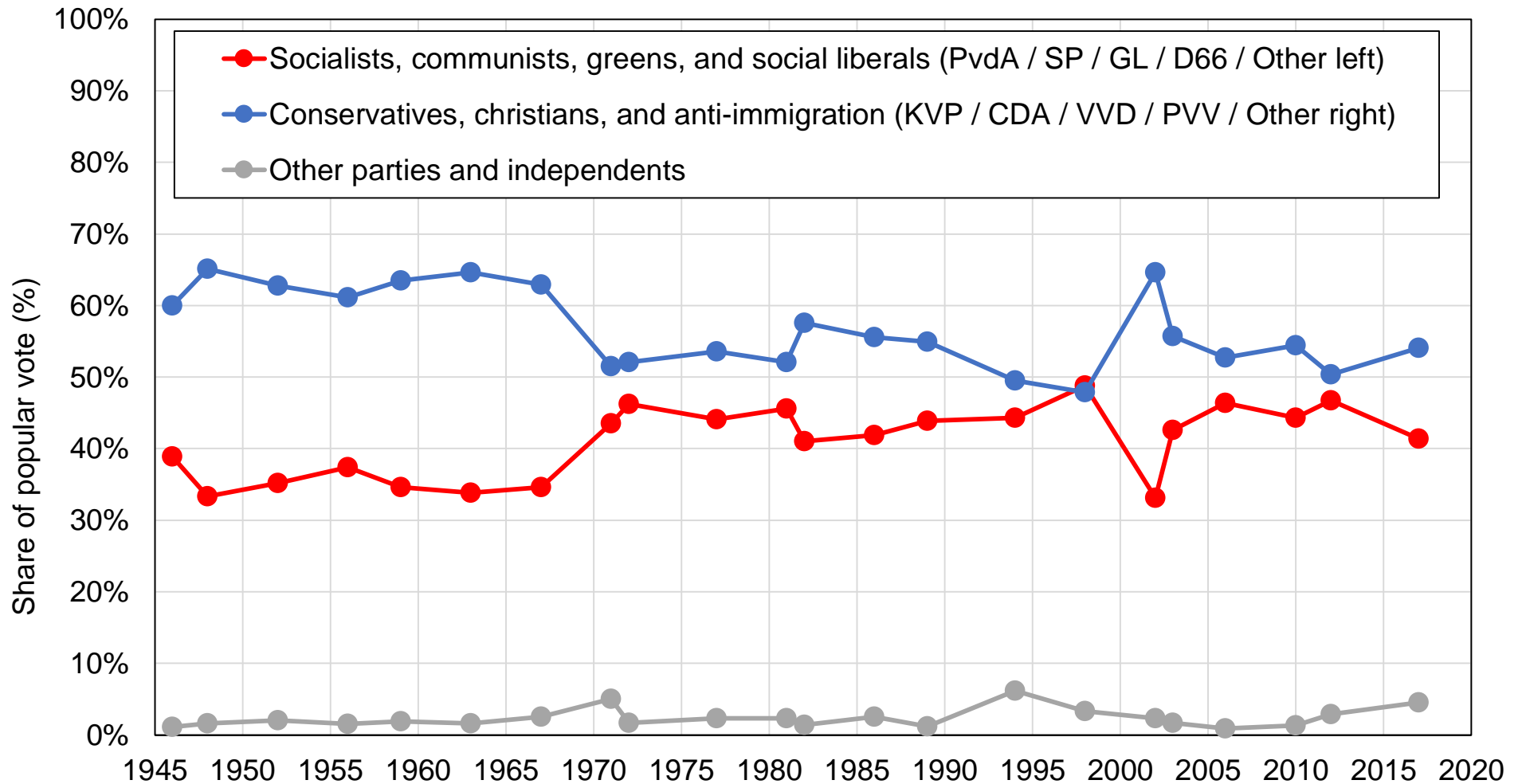
**Figure BA1 - Election results in the Netherlands, 1946-2017**



**Source:** author's computations using official election results.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Dutch political parties in federal elections between 1946 and 2017.

**Figure BA2 - Election results in the Netherlands by group**



**Source:** author's computations using official election results.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Dutch political parties in federal elections between 1946 and 2017.

**Figure BA3 - The composition of the electorate by education**

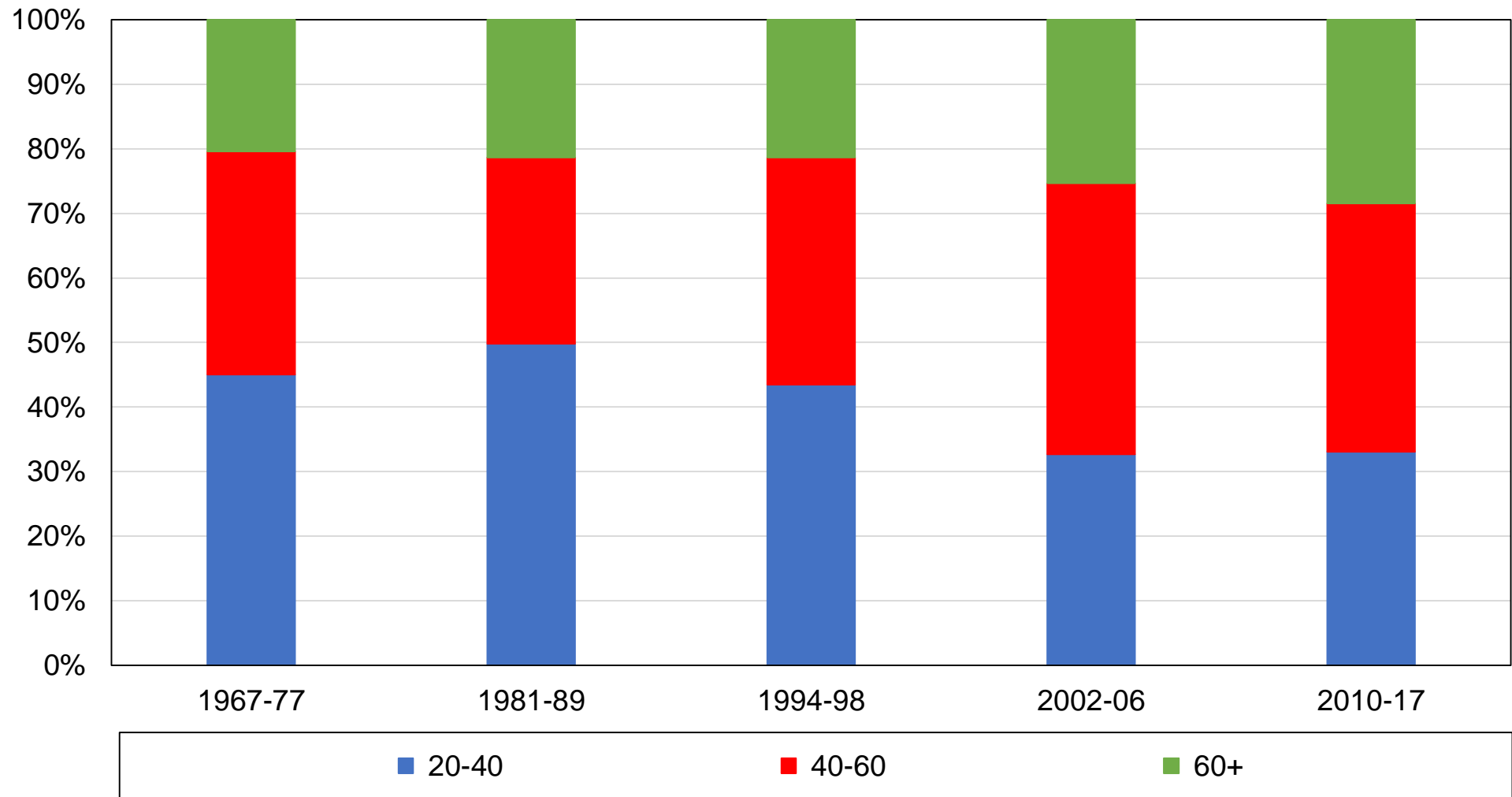


**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of the electorate by education level.



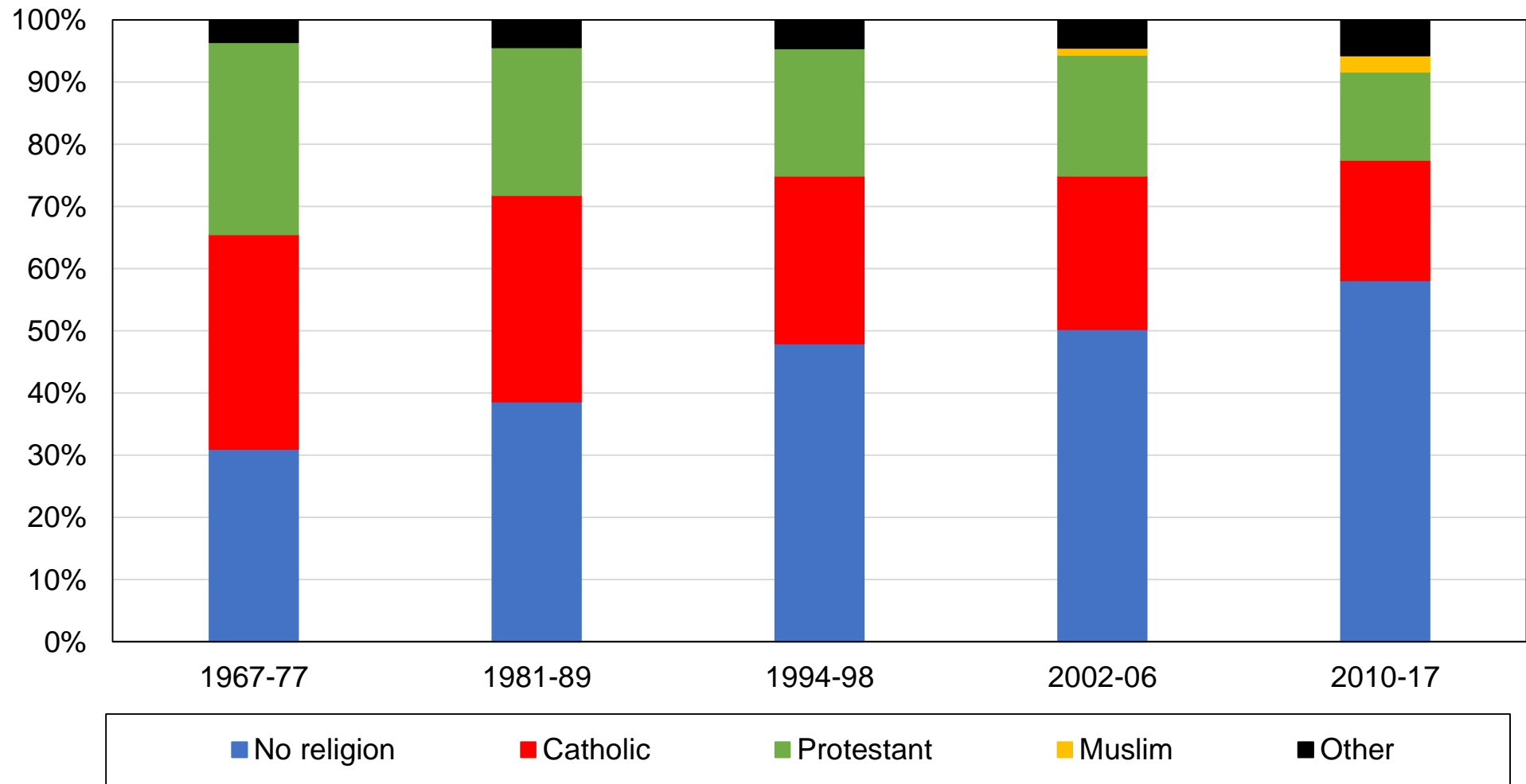
**Figure BA4 - The composition of the electorate by age**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of the electorate by age group.

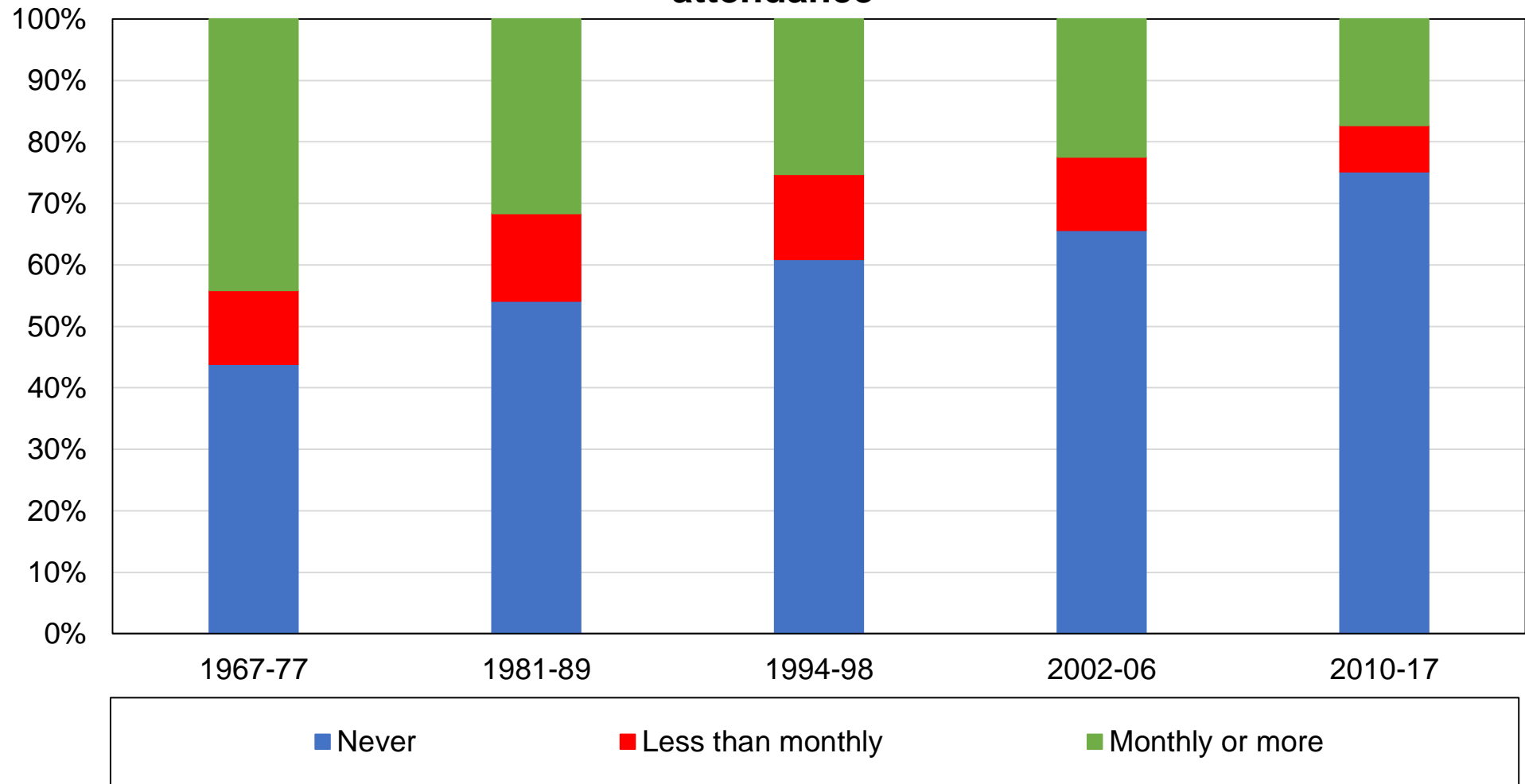
**Figure BA5 - The composition of the electorate by religion**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of the electorate by religious affiliation.

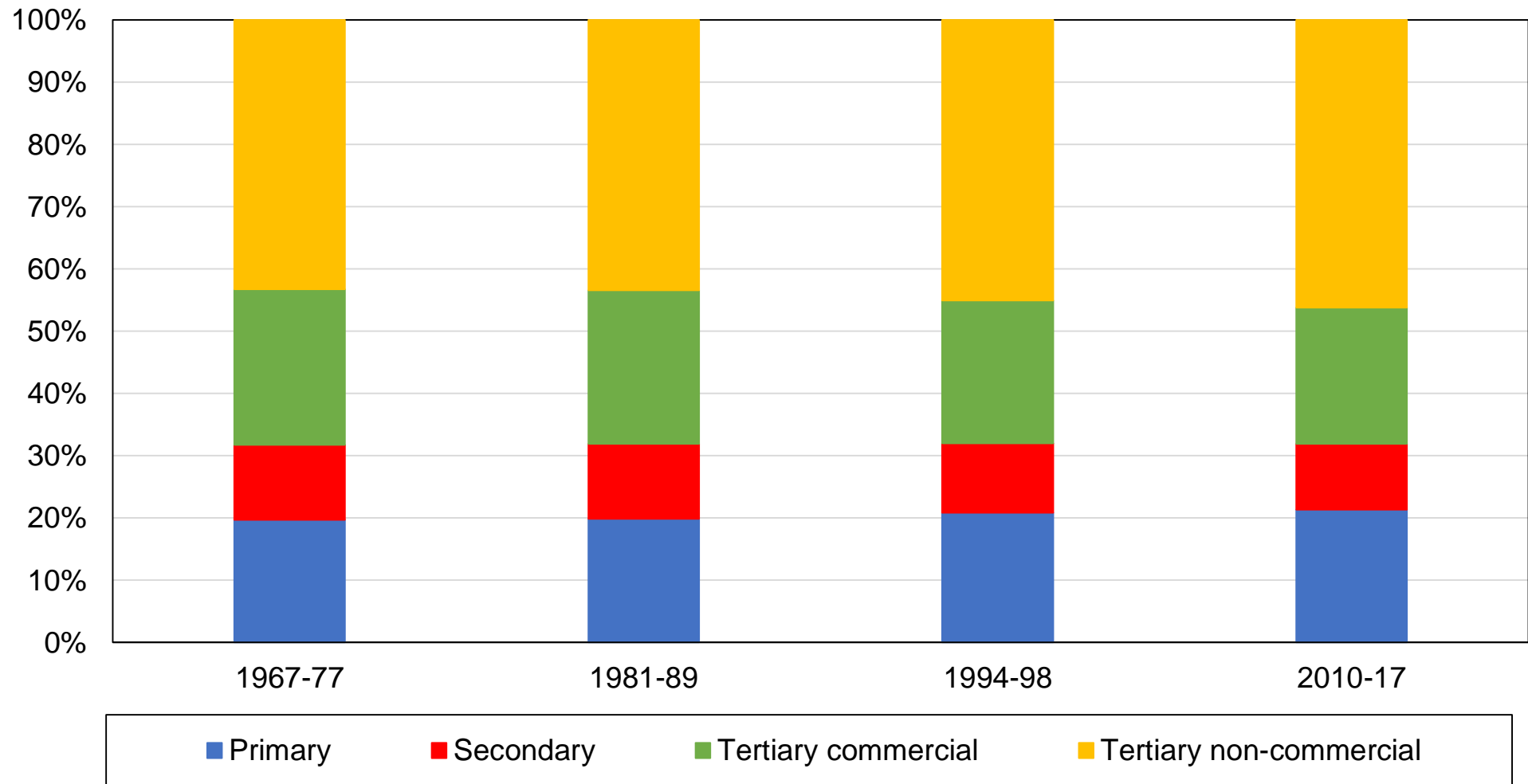
**Figure BA6 - The composition of the electorate by church attendance**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of the electorate by frequency of church attendance.

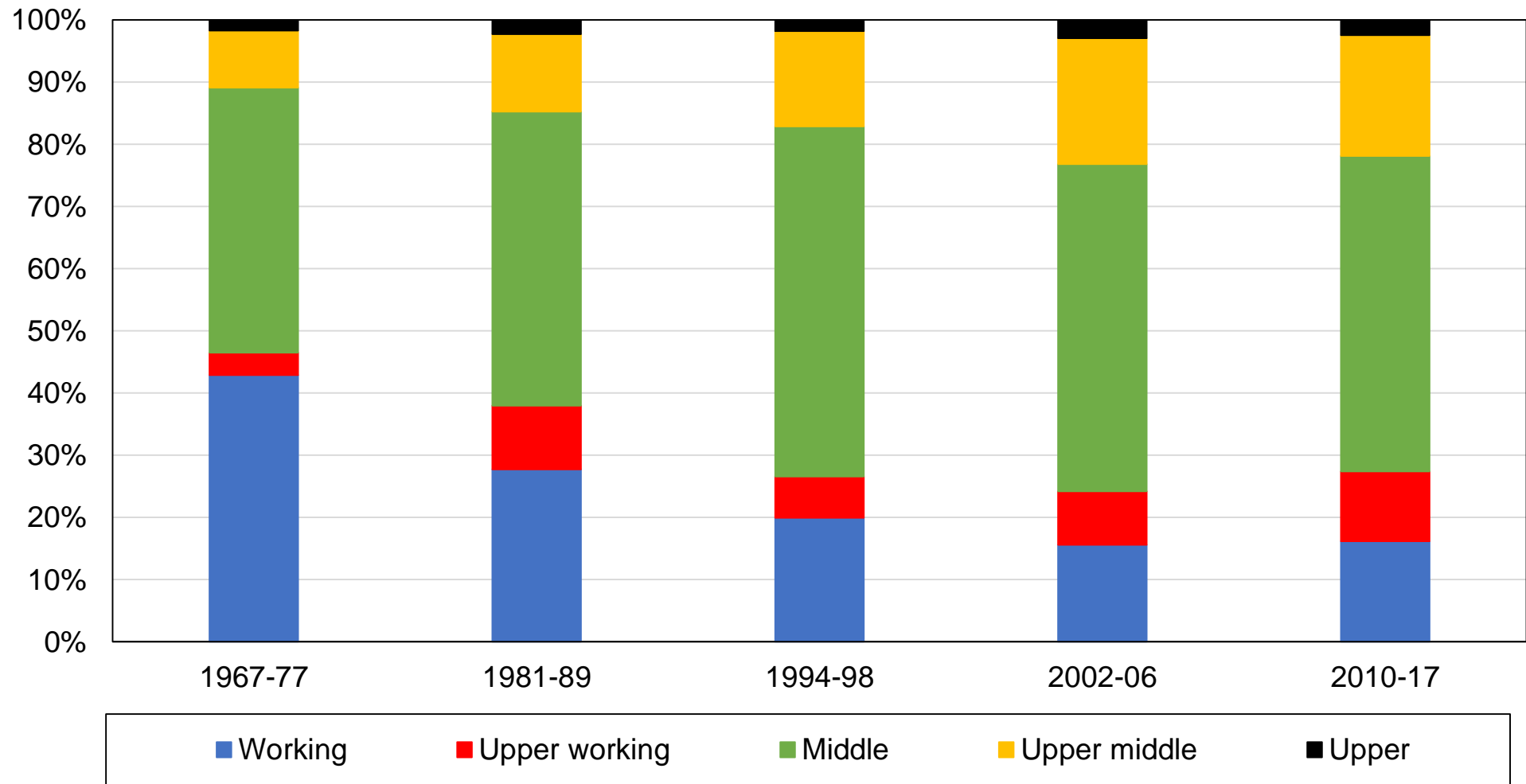
**Figure BA7 - The composition of the electorate by industry**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of the electorate by industry of employment.

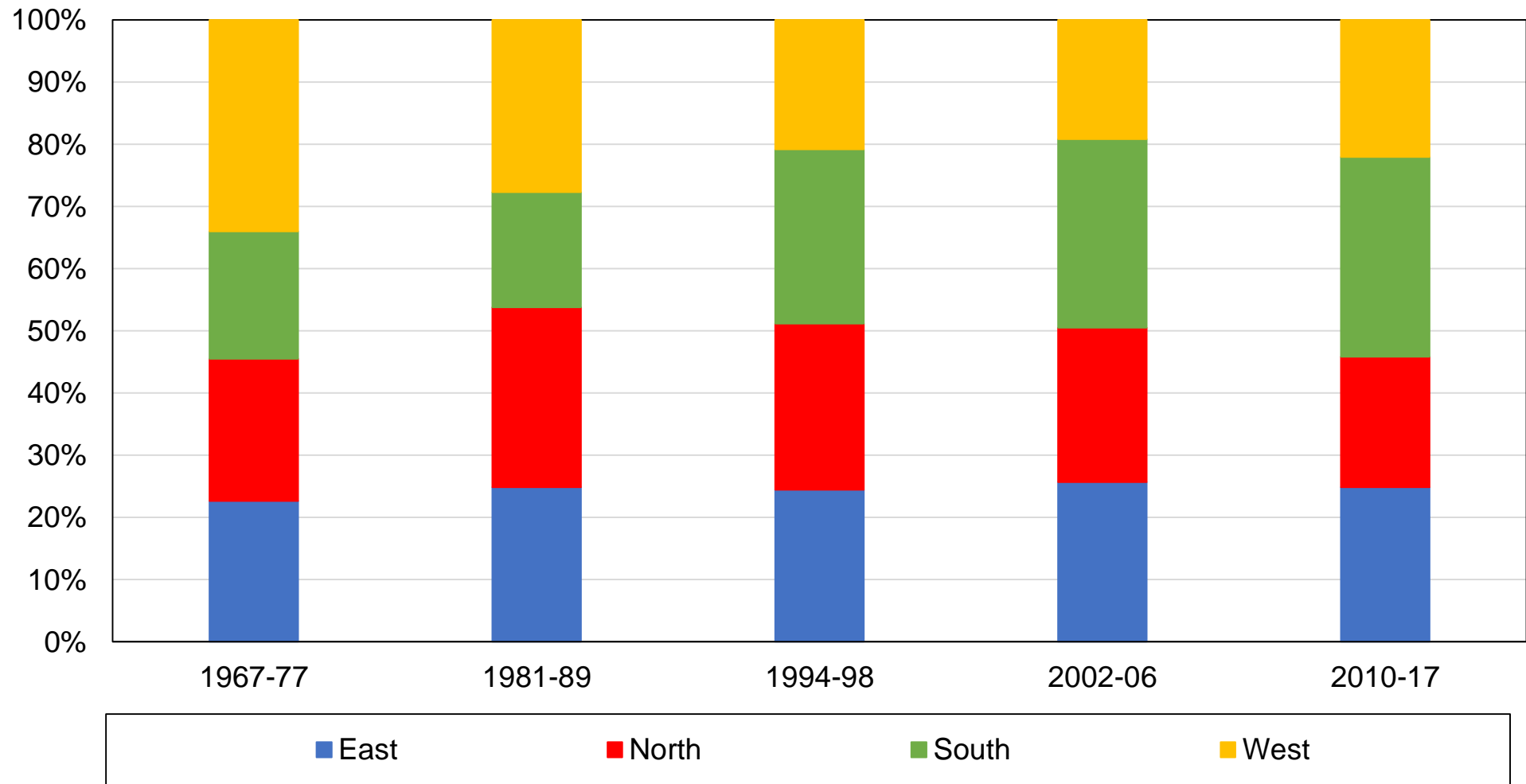
**Figure BA8 - The composition of the electorate by perceived class**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of the electorate by self-perceived social class.

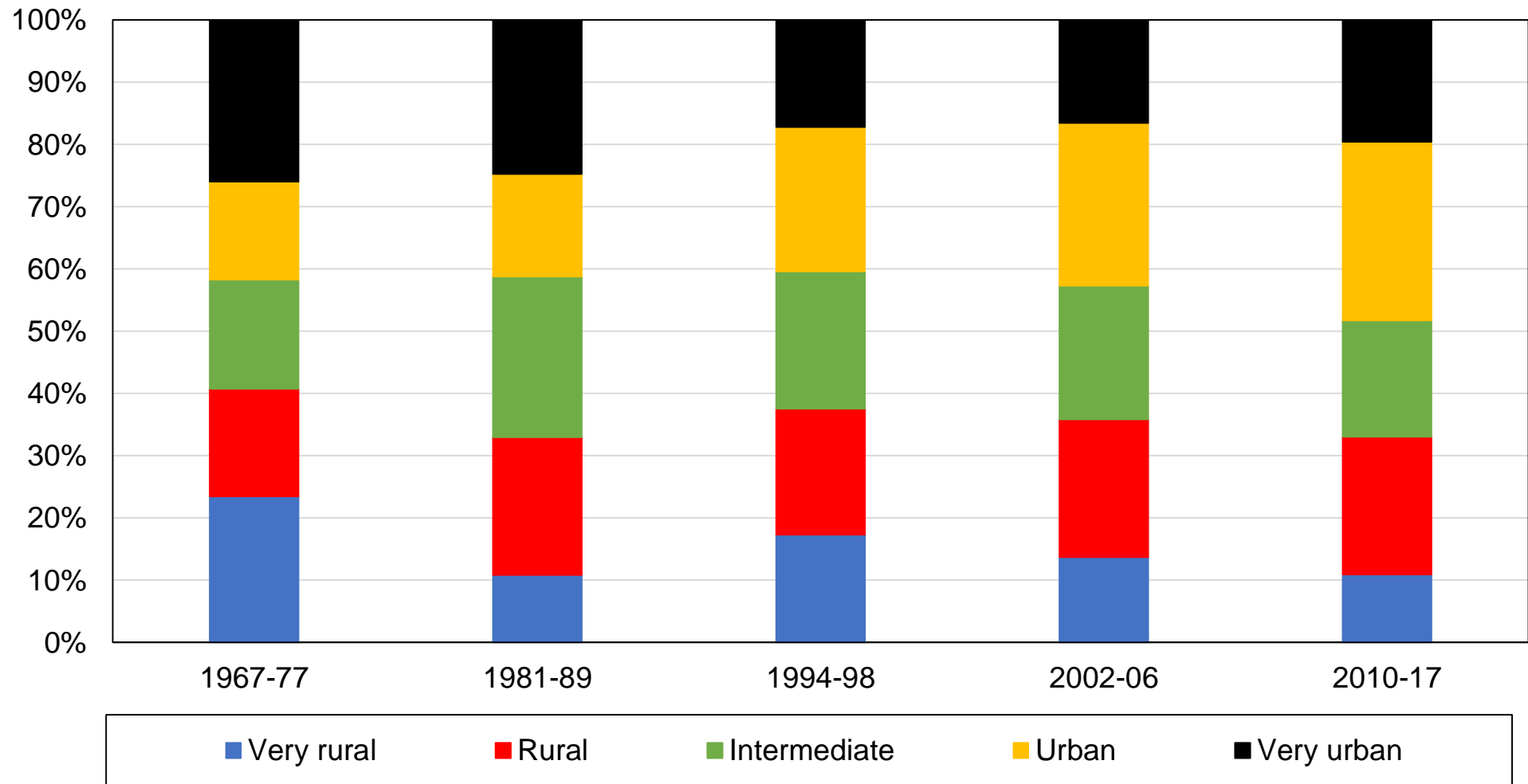
**Figure BA9 - The composition of the electorate by region**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of the electorate by region.

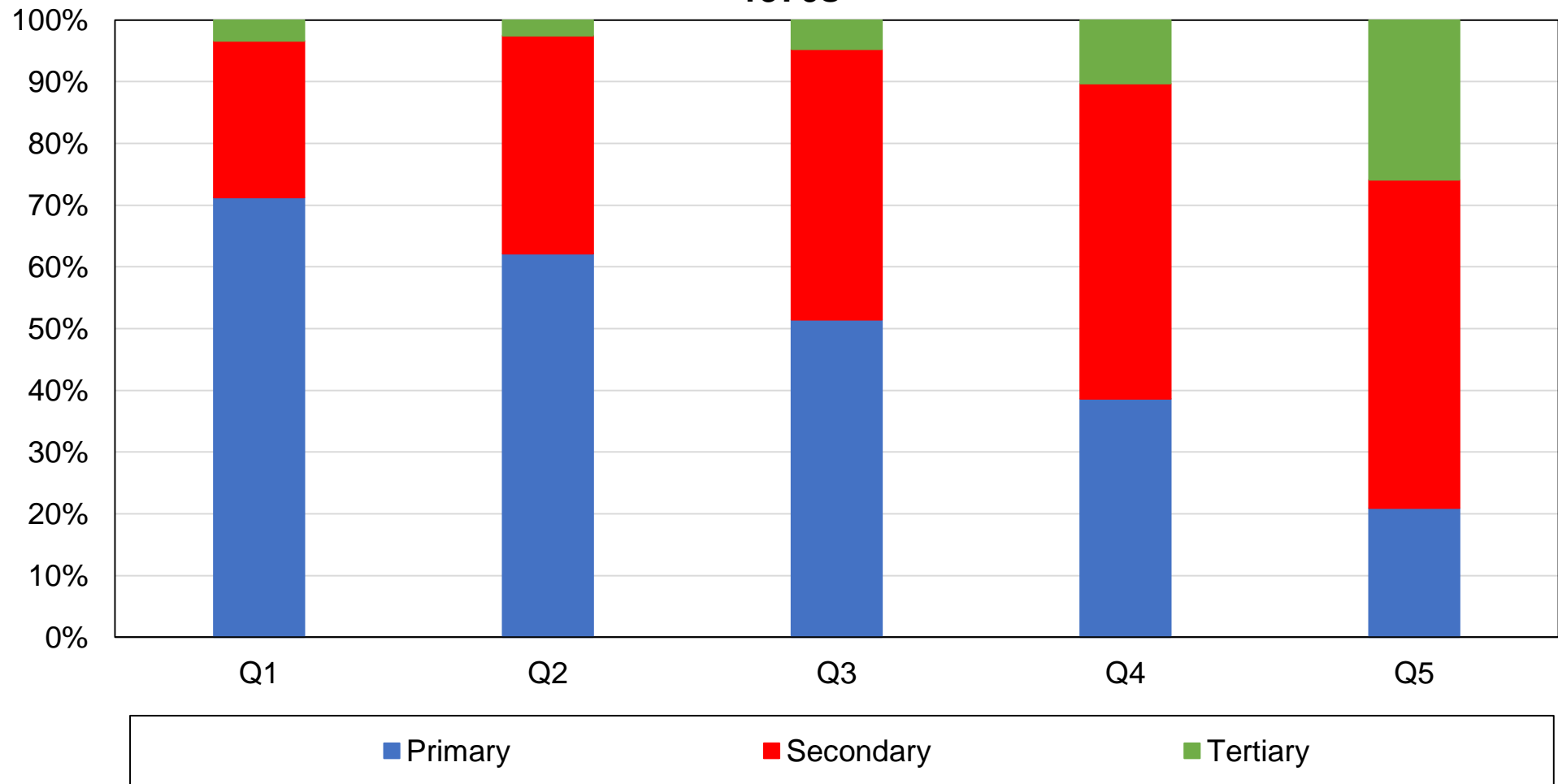
**Figure BA10 - The structure of the electorate by rural-urban location**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of the electorate by rural-urban location.

**Figure BA11 - Composition of income quintiles by education level, 1970s**

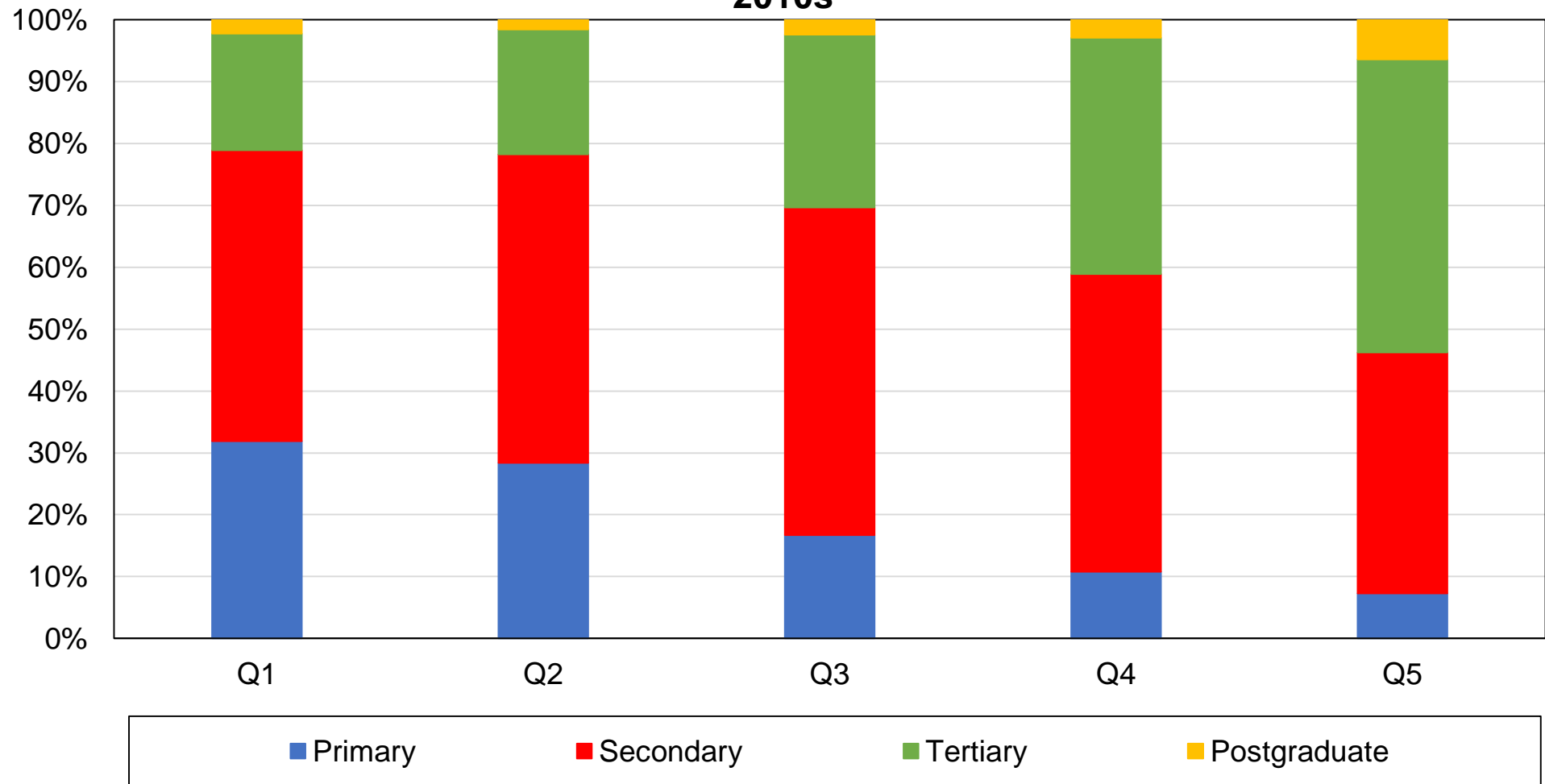


**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by education level in the 1970s.



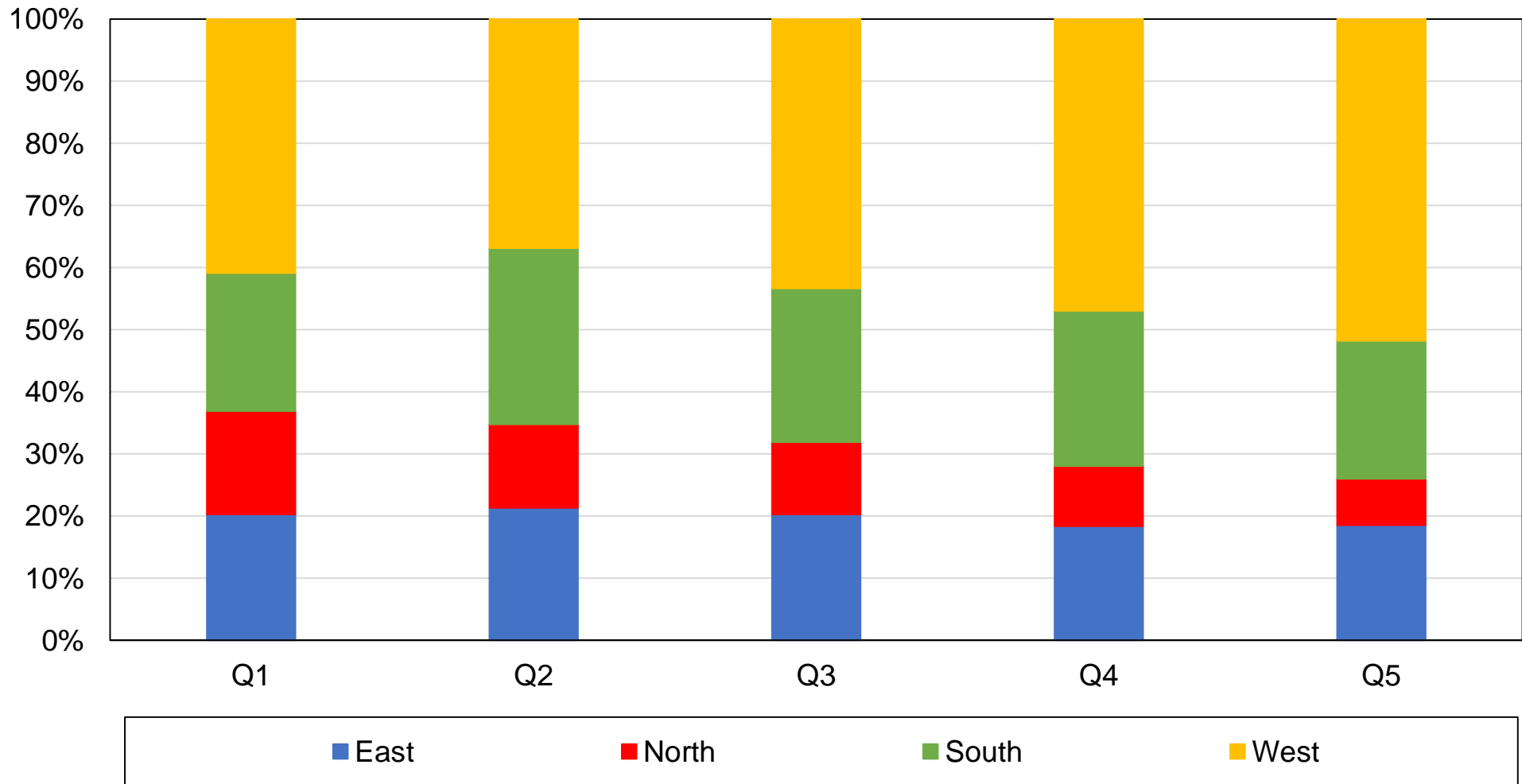
**Figure BA12 - Composition of income quintiles by education level, 2010s**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by education level in the 2010s.

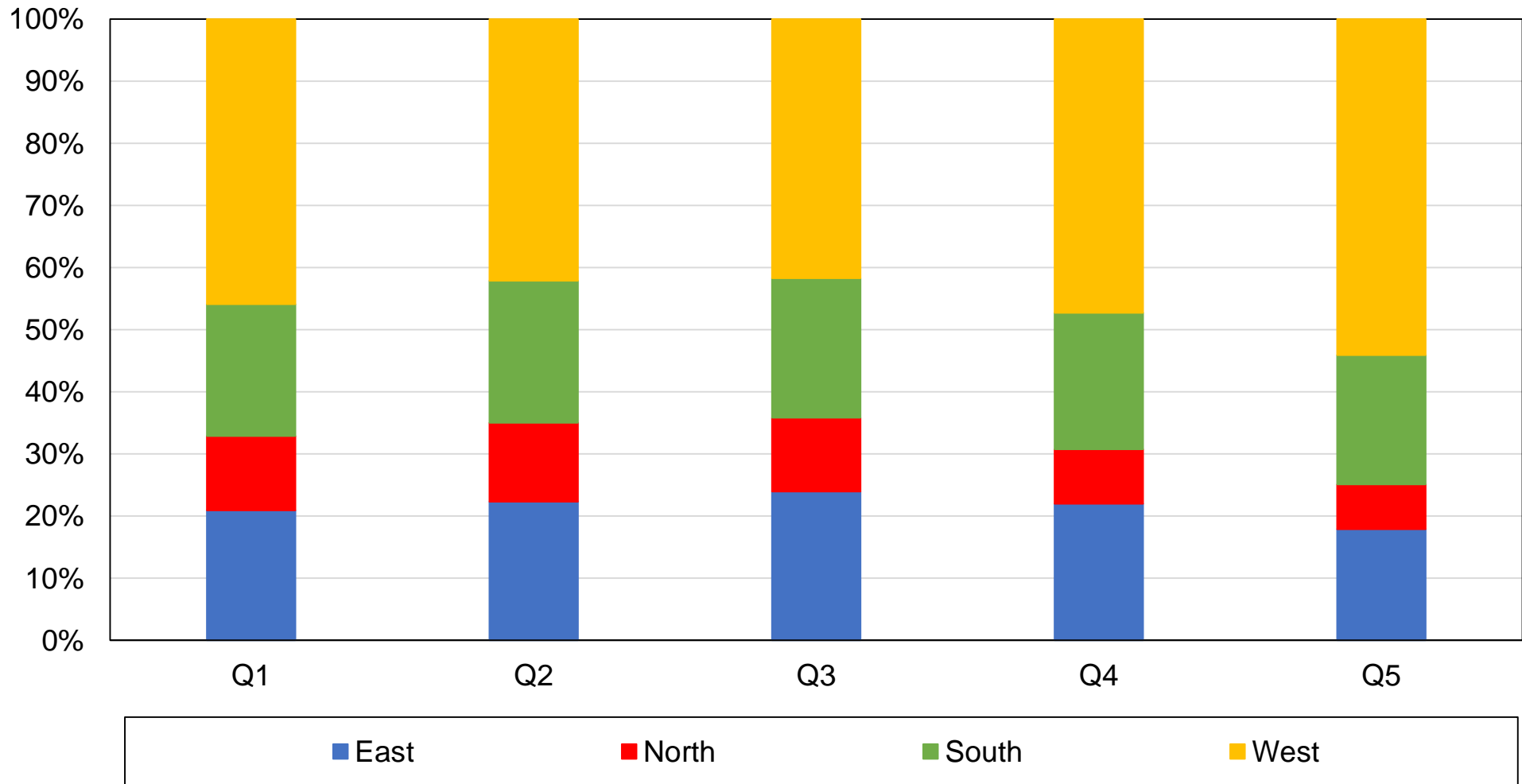
**Figure BA13 - Composition of income quintiles by region, 1970s**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by region in the 1970s.

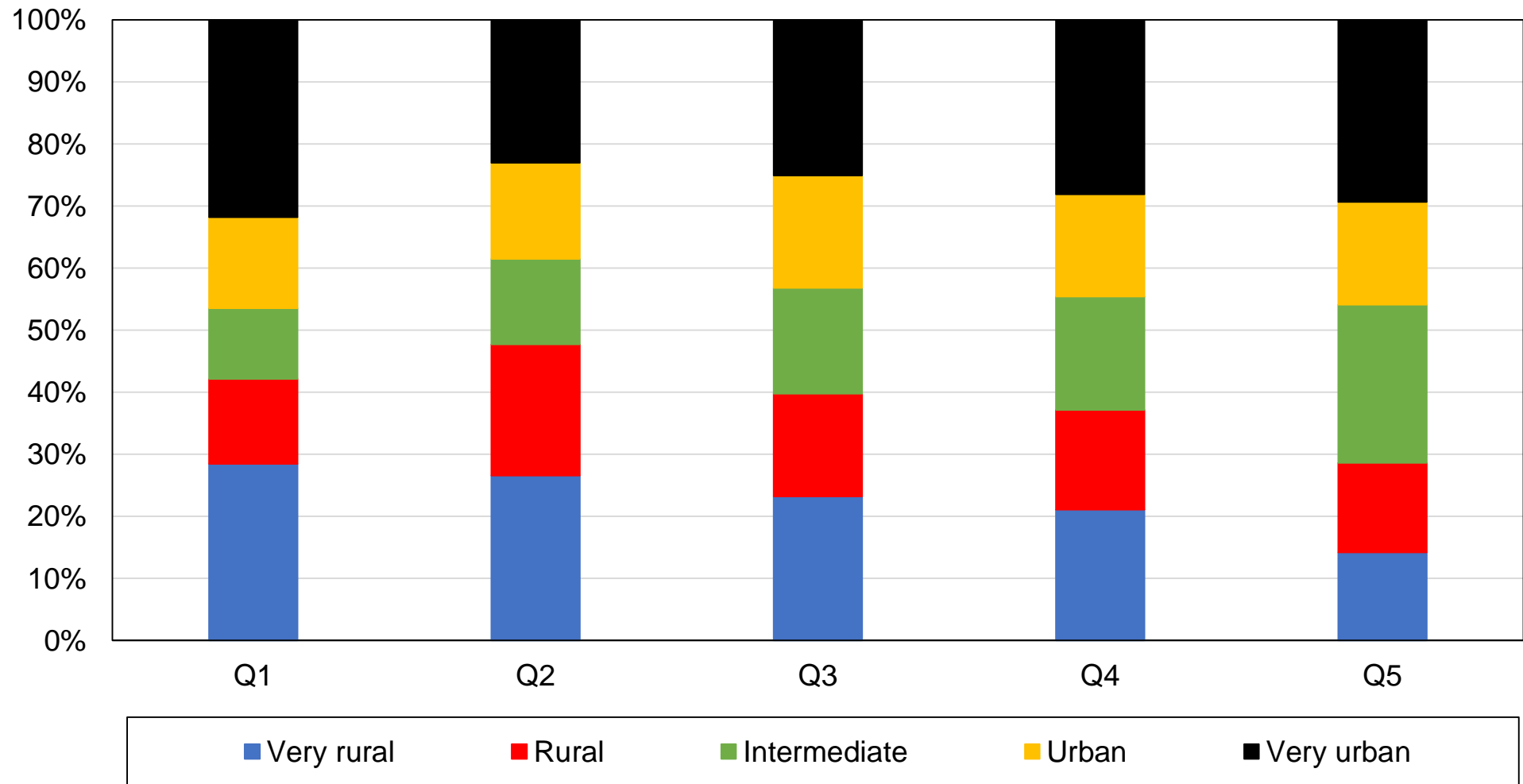
**Figure BA14 - Composition of income quintiles by region, 2010s**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by region in the 2010s.

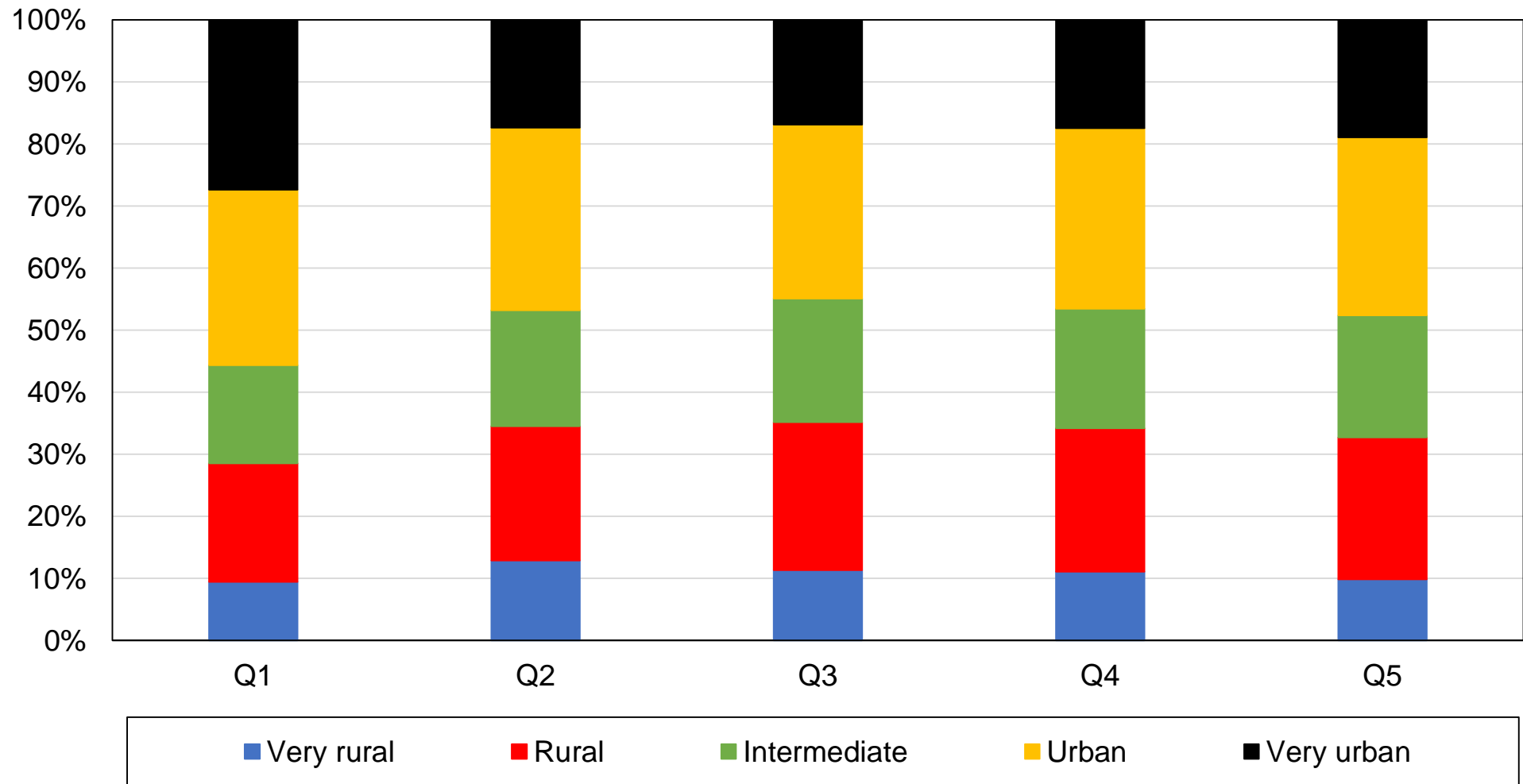
**Figure BA15 - Composition of income quintiles by location, 1970s**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by location in the 1970s.

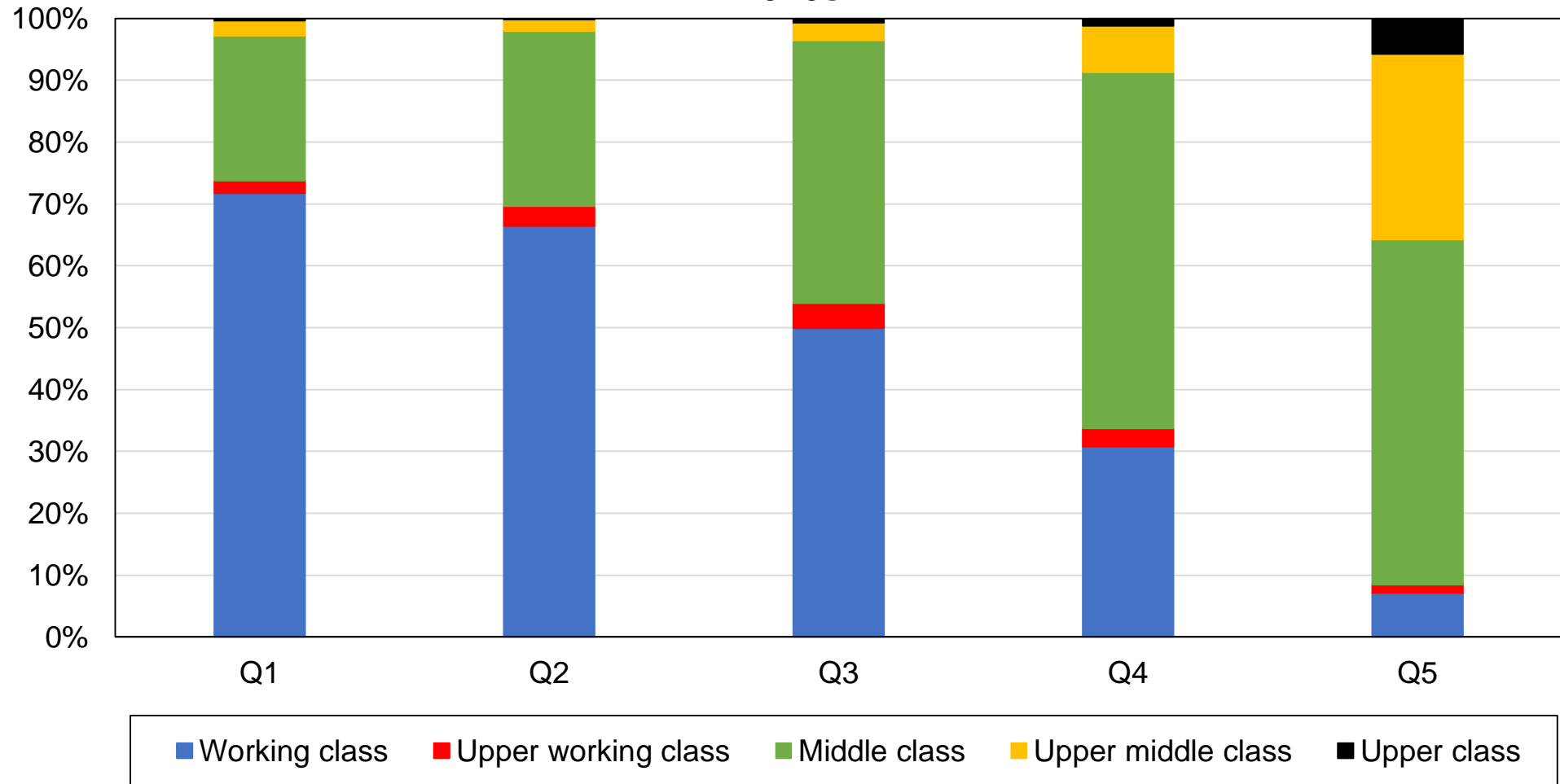
**Figure BA16 - Composition of income quintiles by location, 2010s**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by location in the 2010s.

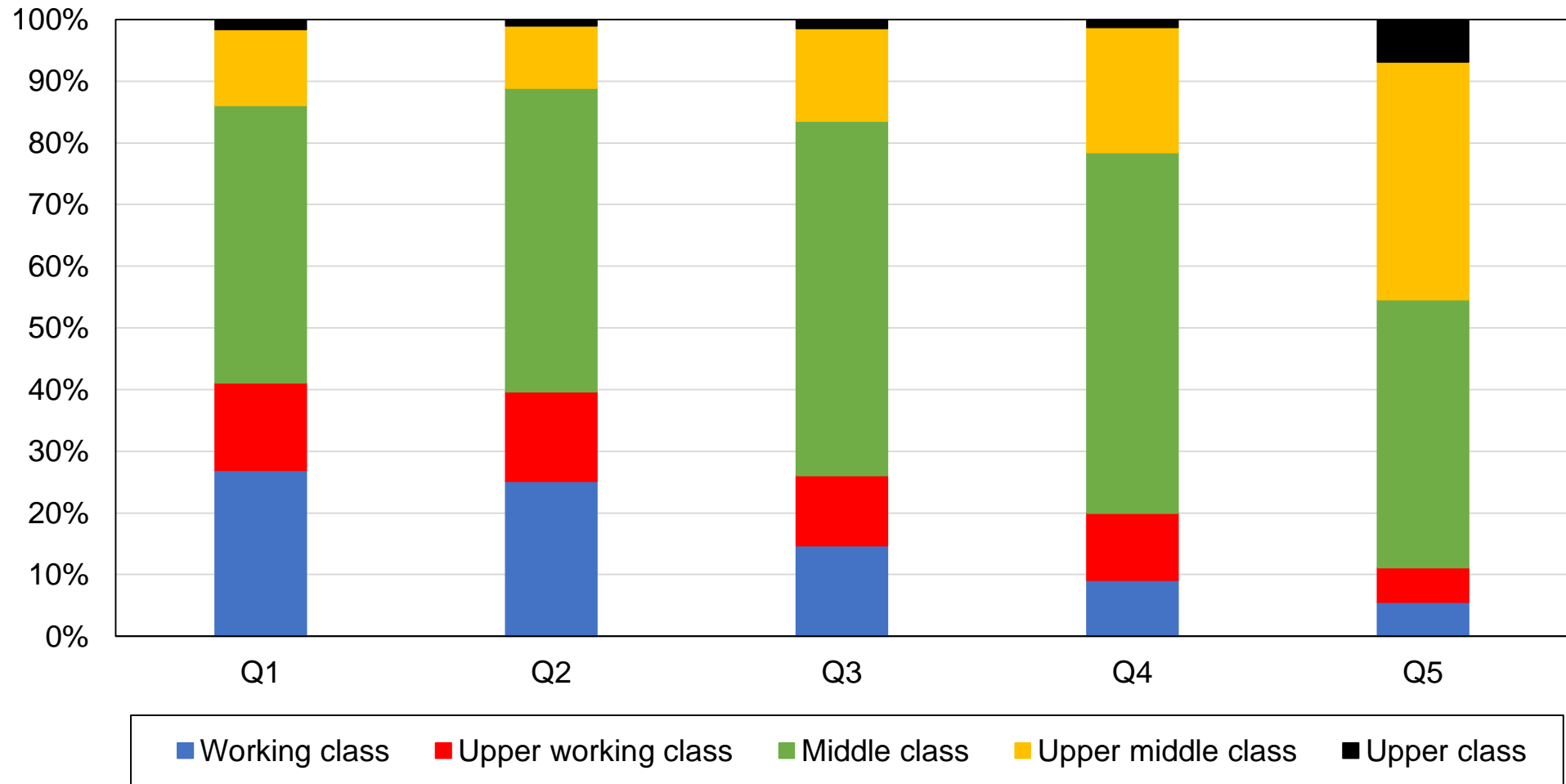
**Figure BA17 - Composition of income quintiles by perceived class, 1970s**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by subjective social class in the 1970s.

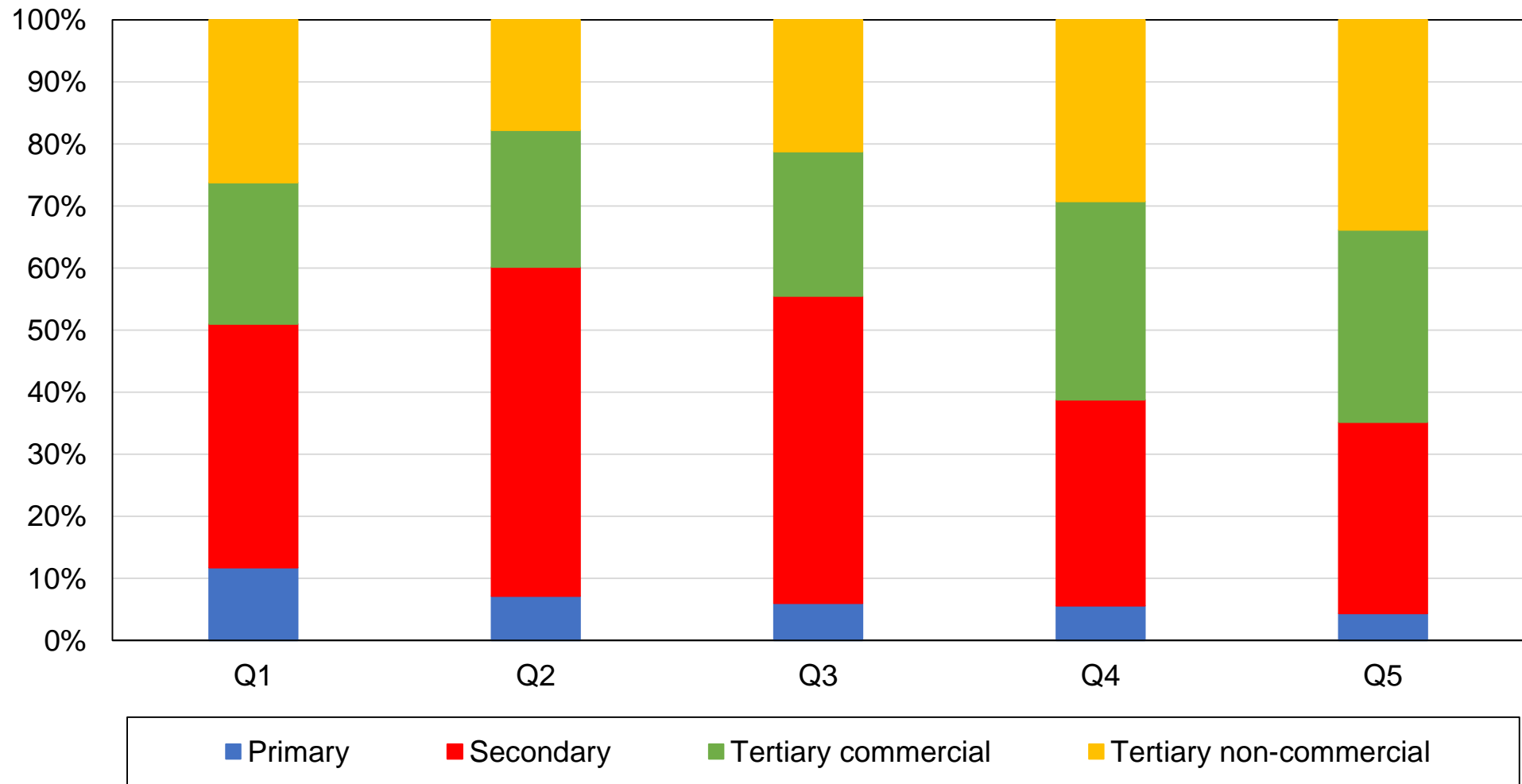
**Figure BA18 - Composition of income quintiles by perceived class, 2010s**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by subjective social class in the 2010s.

**Figure BA19 - Composition of income quintiles by industry, 1970s**

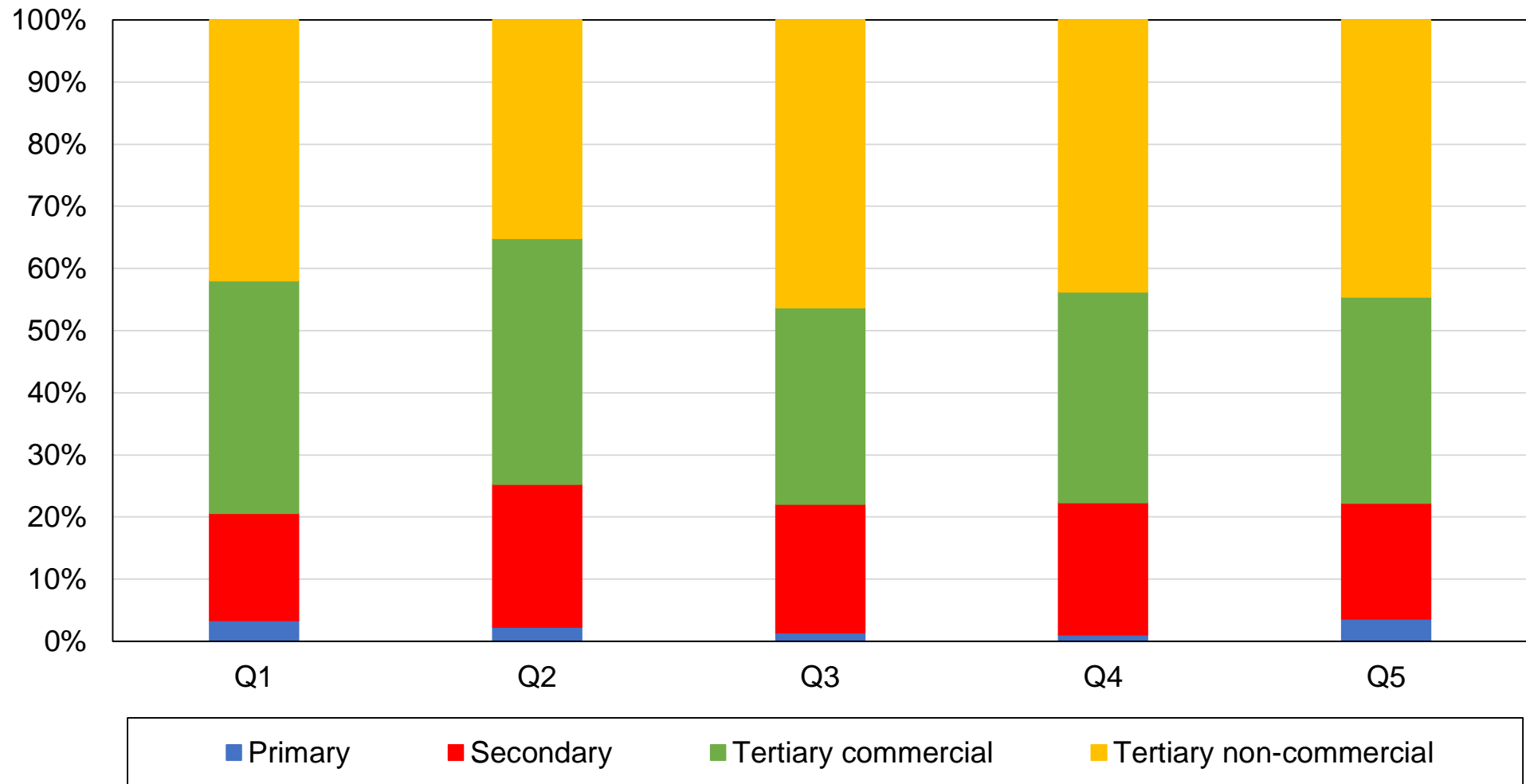


**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by industry of employment in the 1970s.



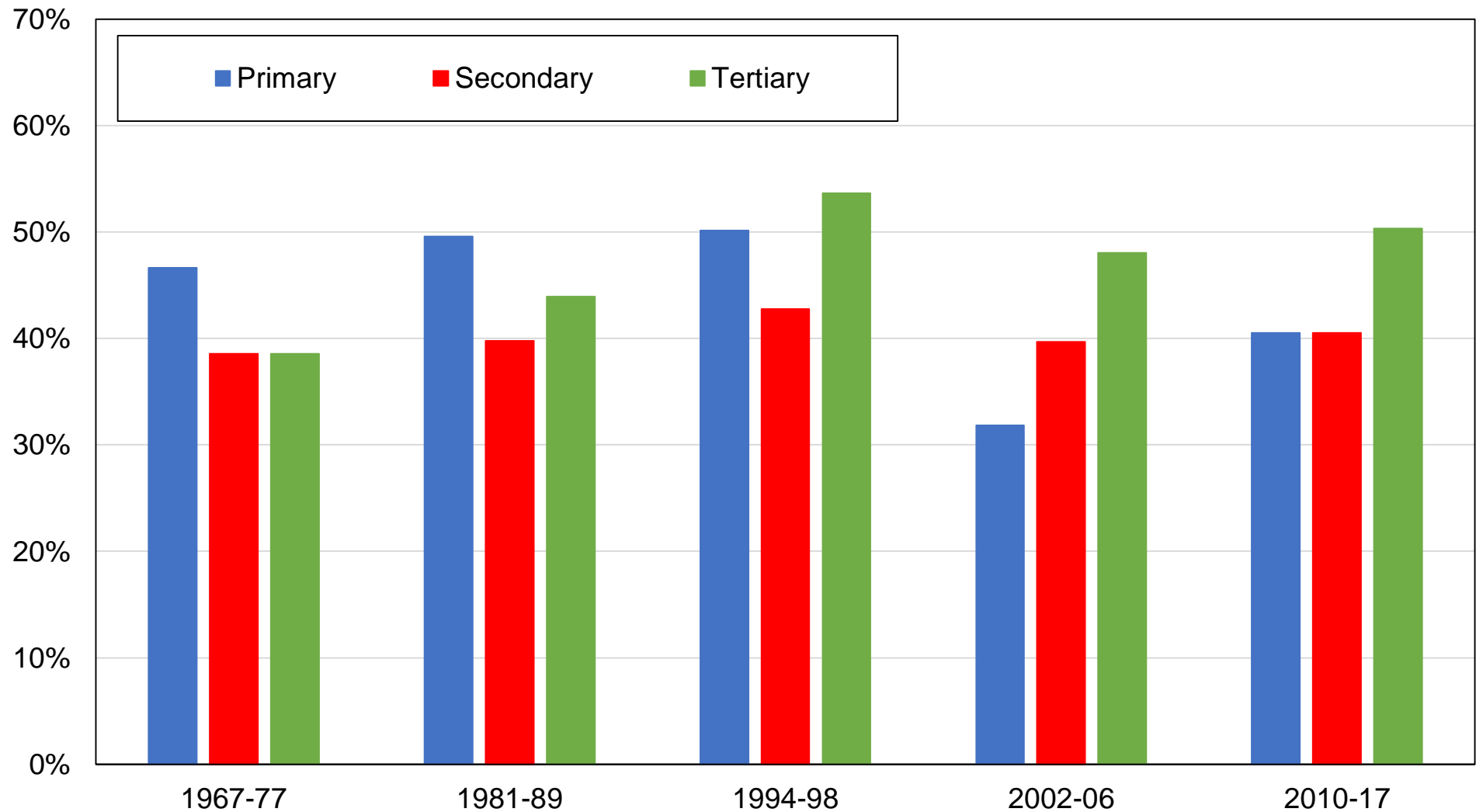
**Figure BA20 - Composition of income quintiles by industry, 2010s**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by industry of employment in the 2010s.

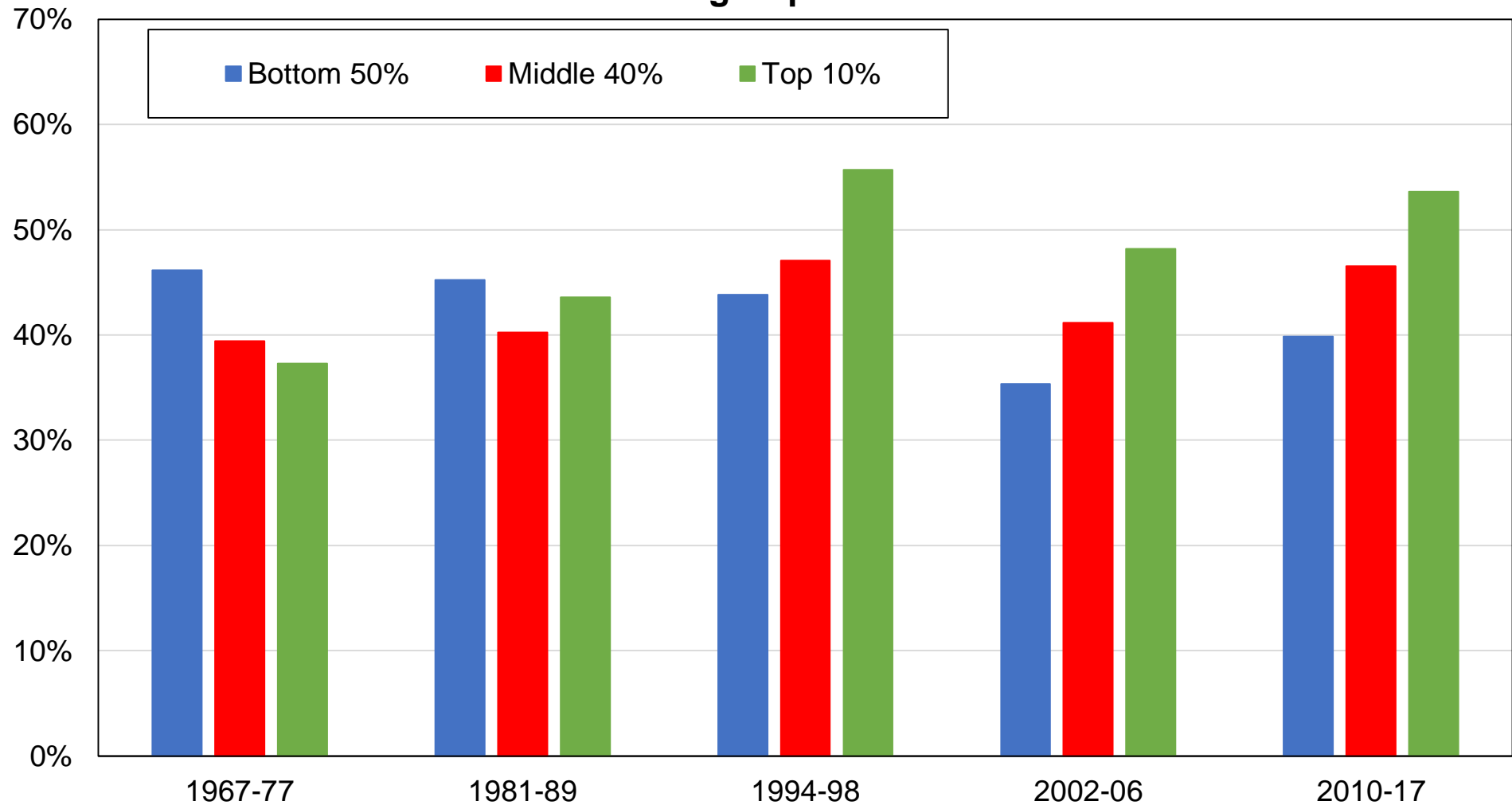
**Figure BB1 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by education level**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left / liberal / green parties by education level.

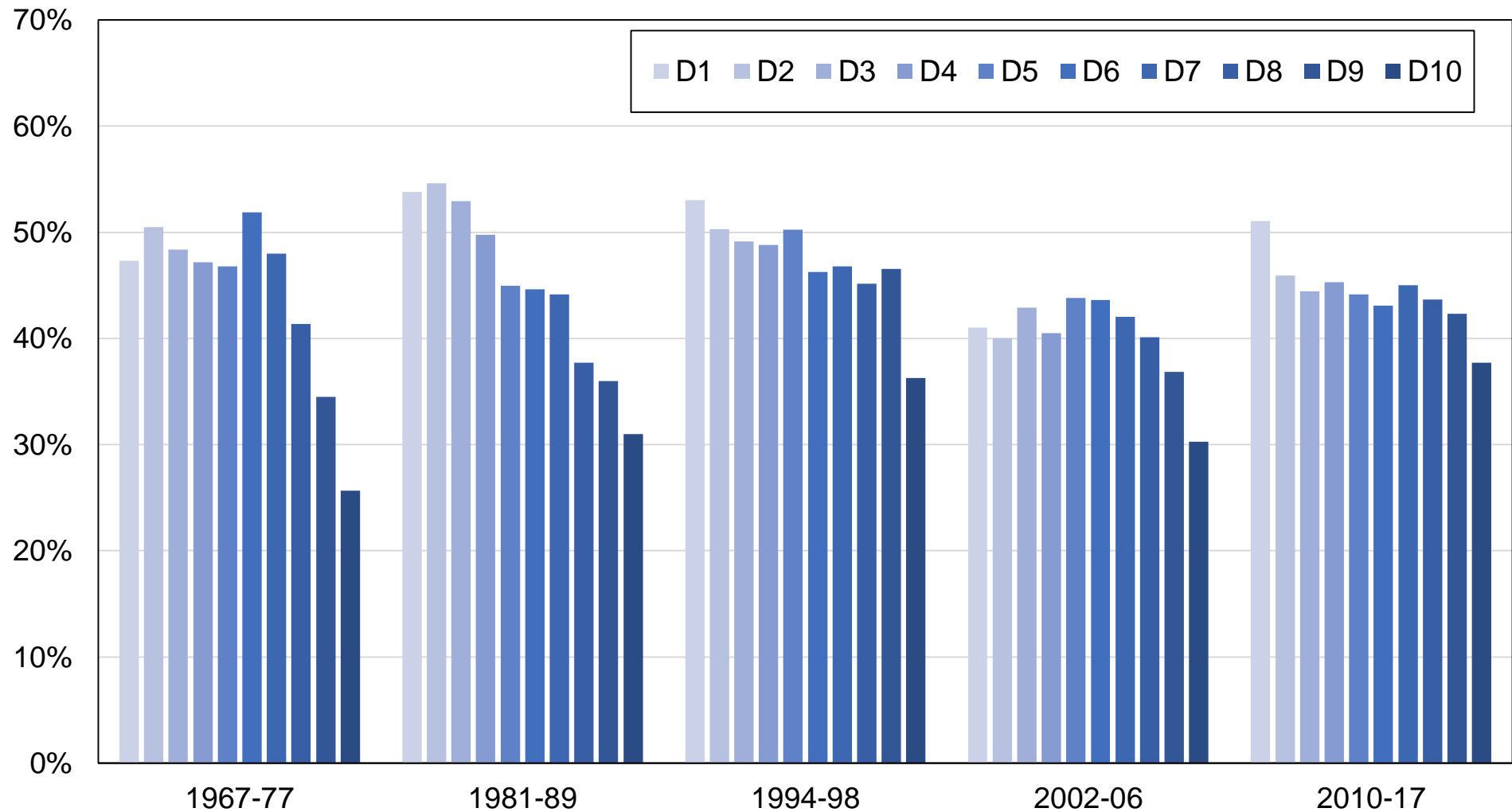
**Figure BB2 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by education group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left / liberal / green parties by education group.

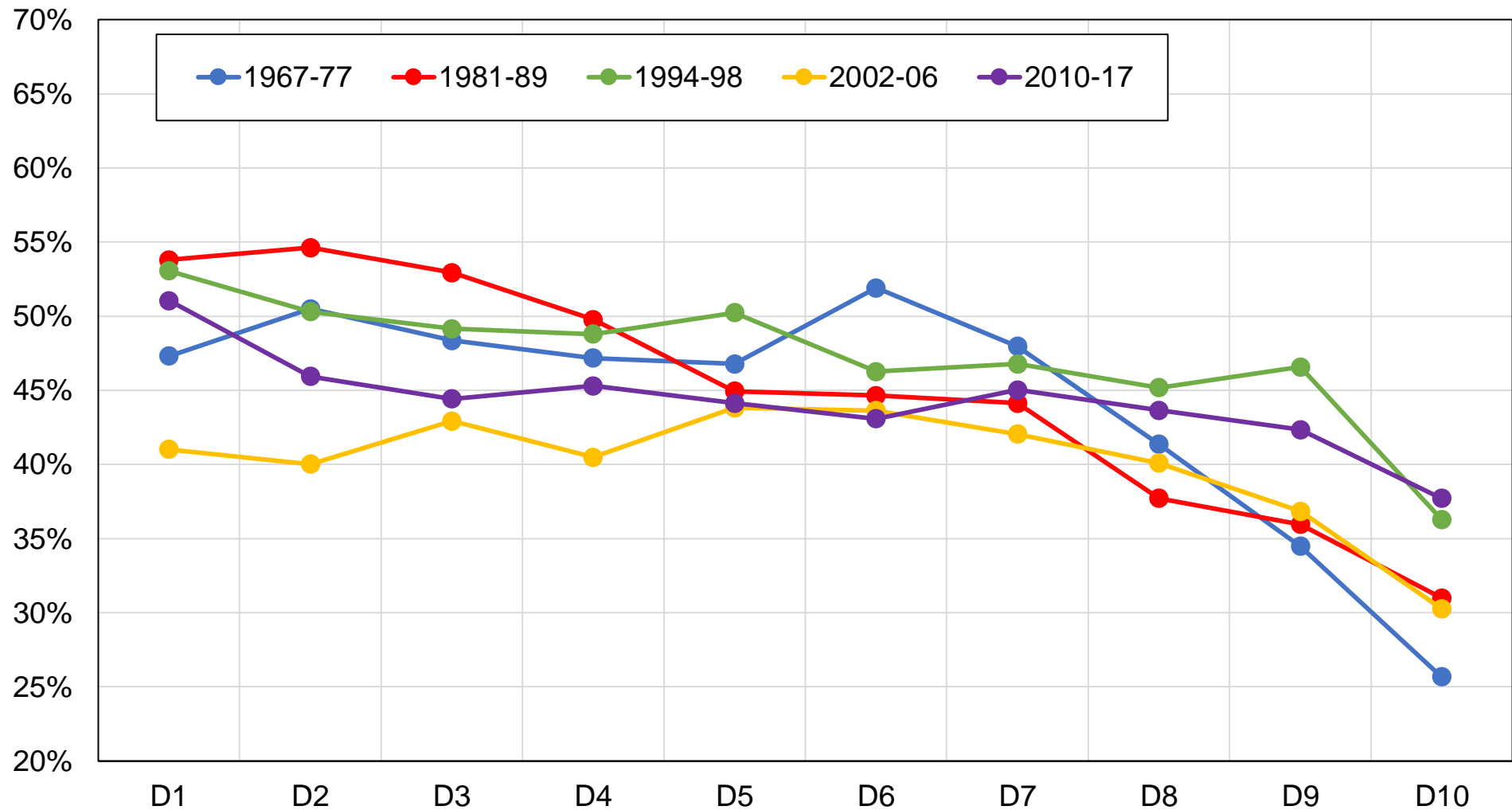
**Figure BB3 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by income decile**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left / liberal / green parties by income decile.

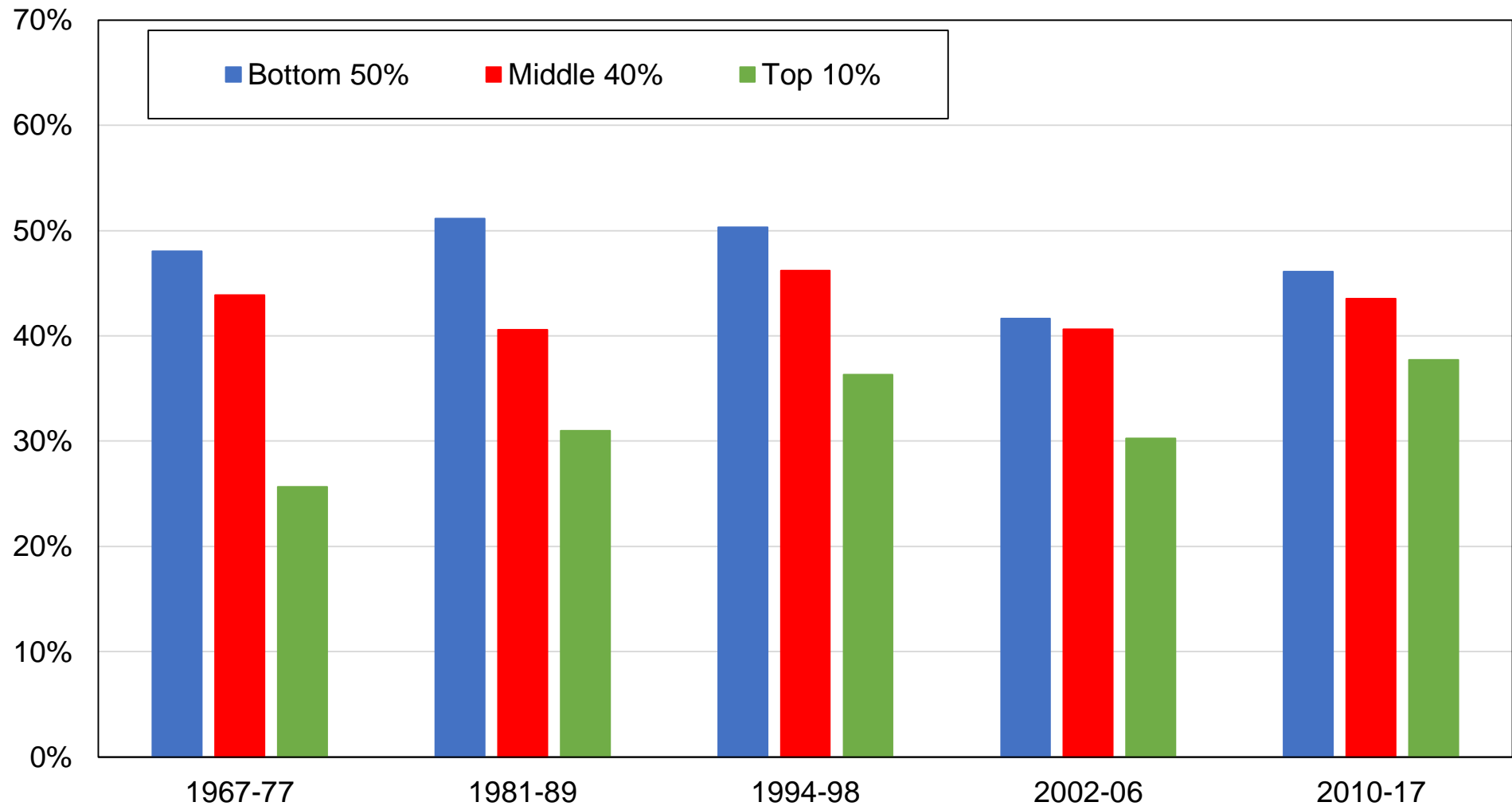
**Figure BB3b - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by income decile**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left / liberal / green parties by income decile.

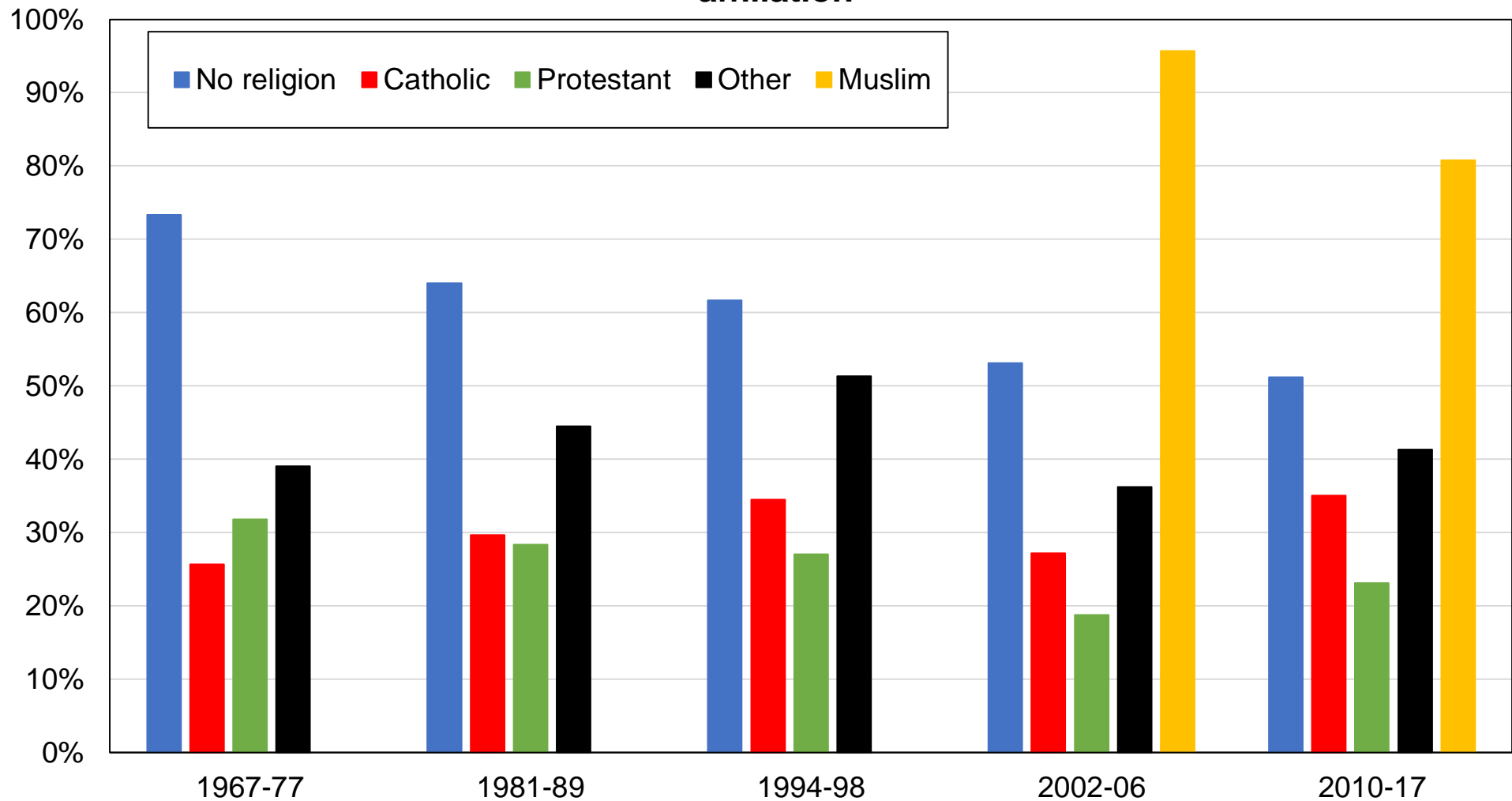
**Figure BB4 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by income group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left / liberal / green parties by income group.

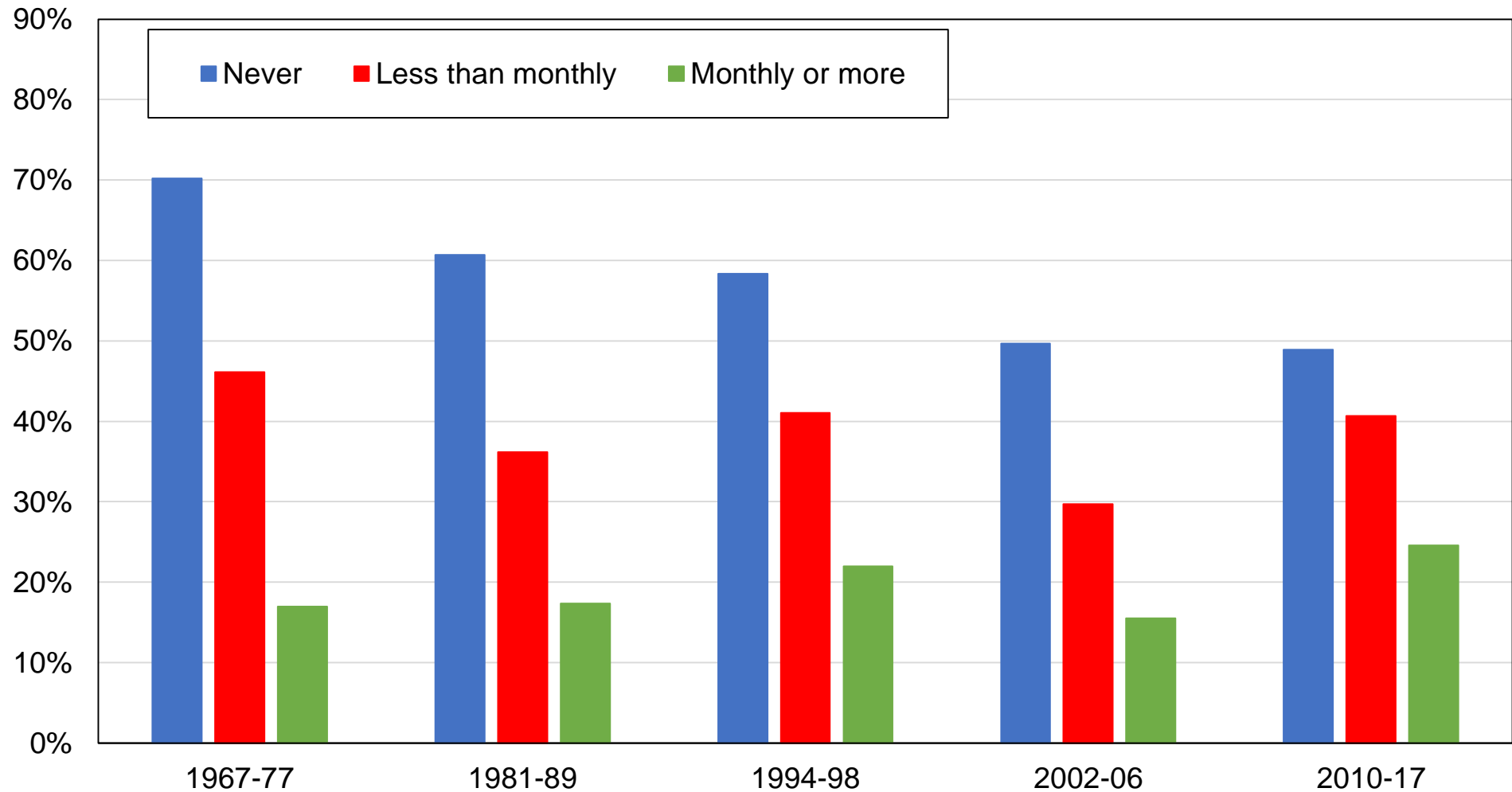
**Figure BB5 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by religious affiliation**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left / liberal / green parties by religious affiliation.

**Figure BB6 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by church attendance**

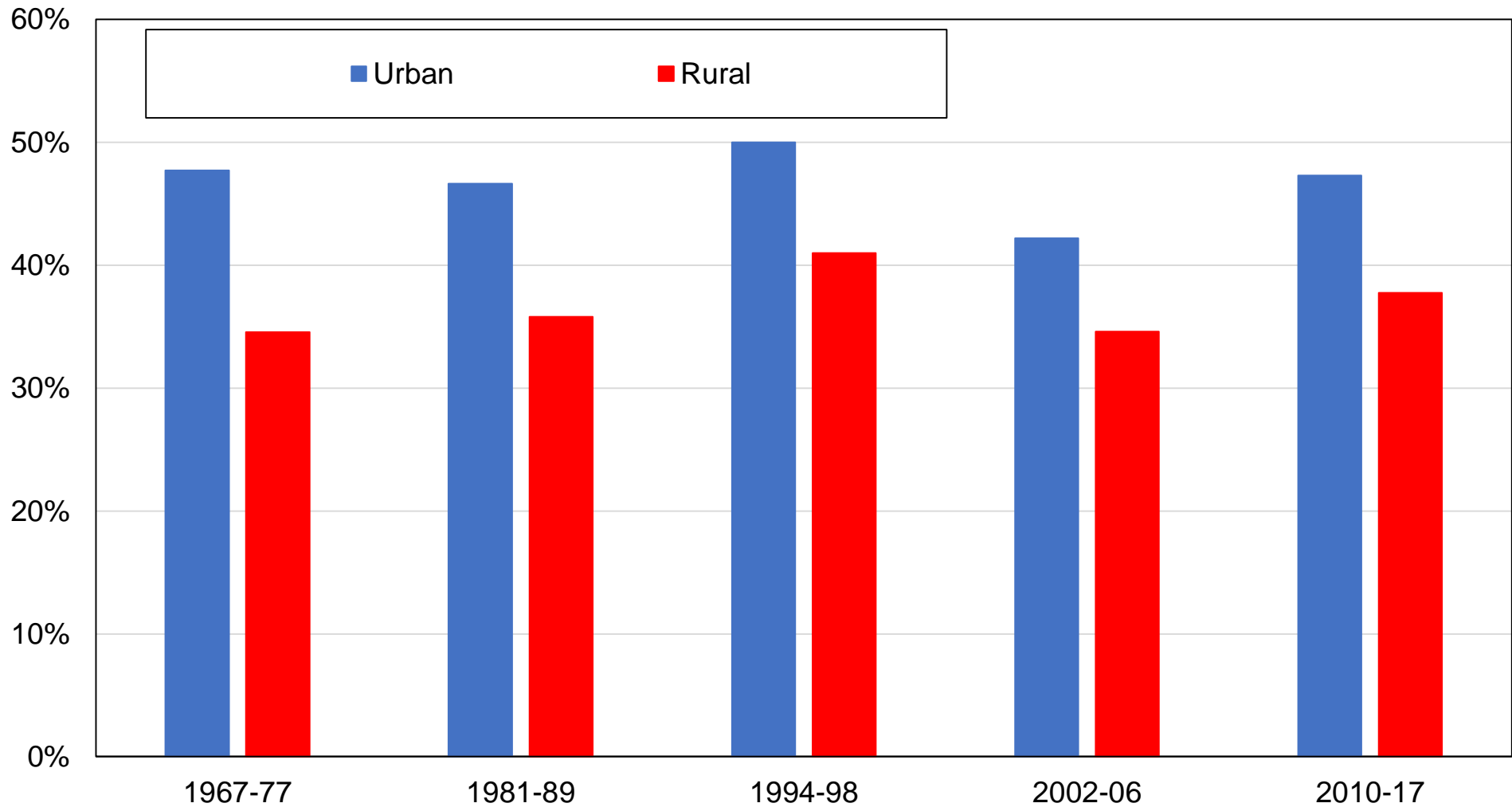


**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left / liberal / green parties by frequency of church attendance.



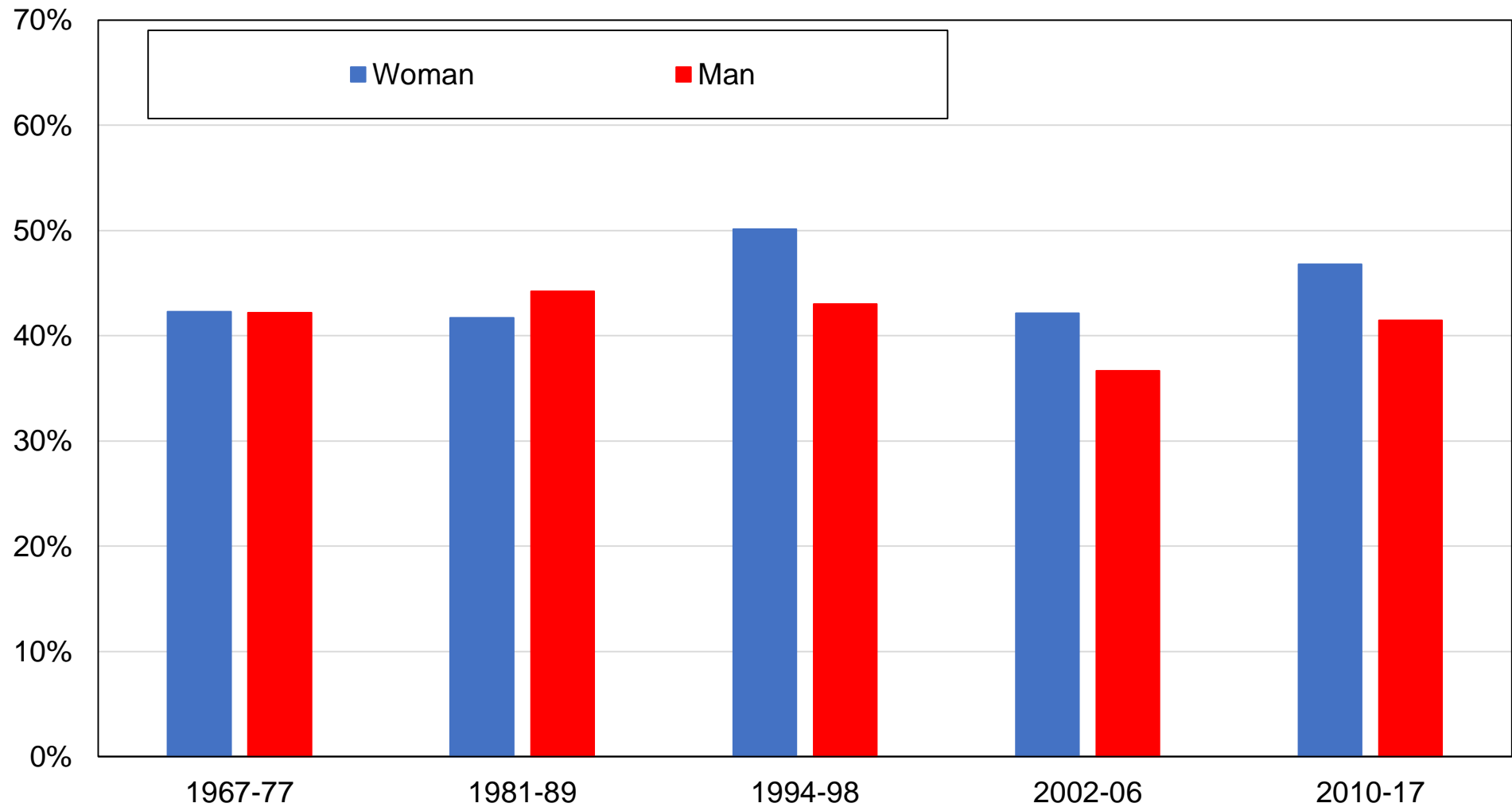
**Figure BB7 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by location**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left / liberal / green parties by rural-urban location.

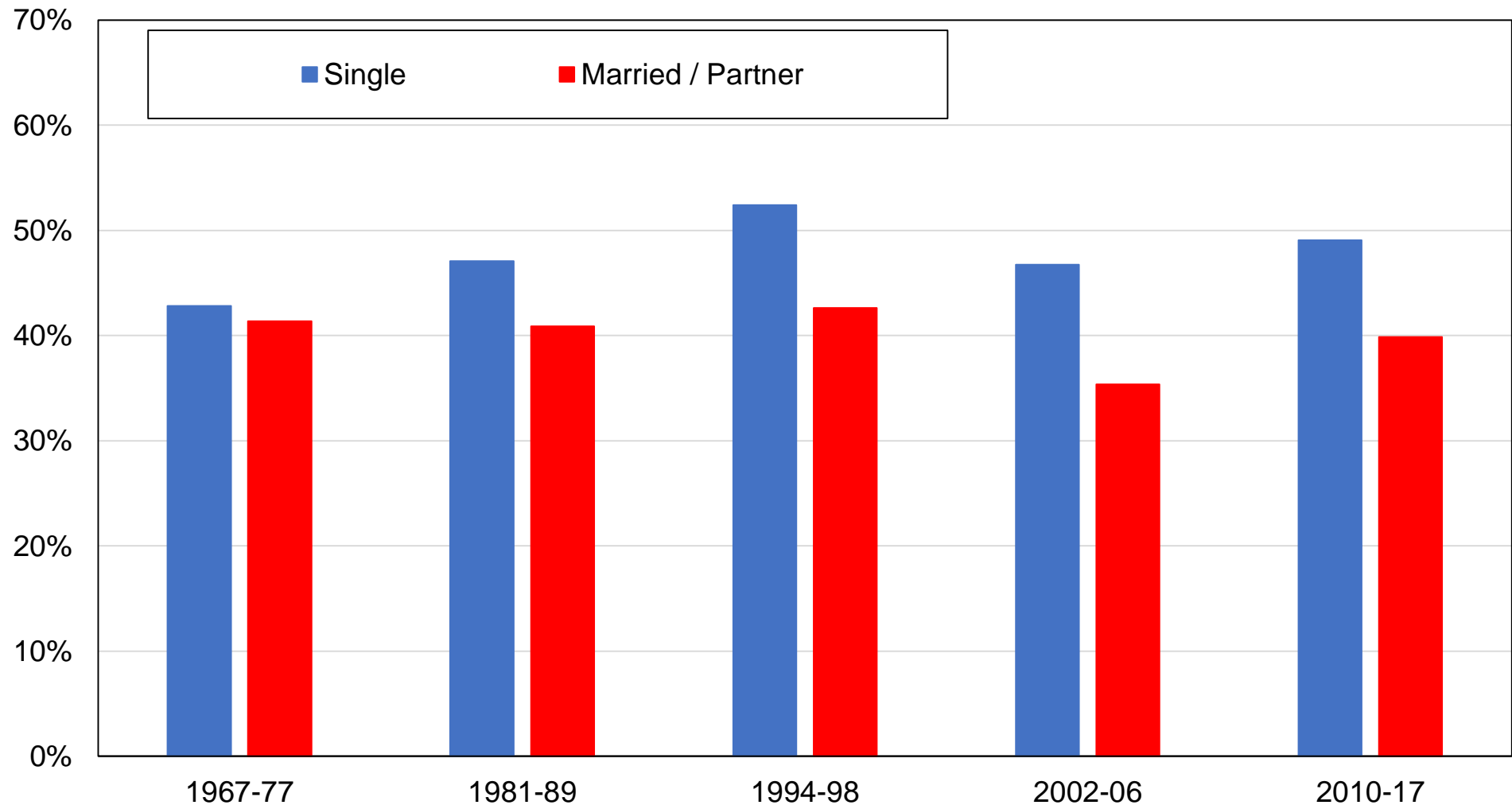
**Figure BB8 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by gender**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left / liberal / green parties by gender.

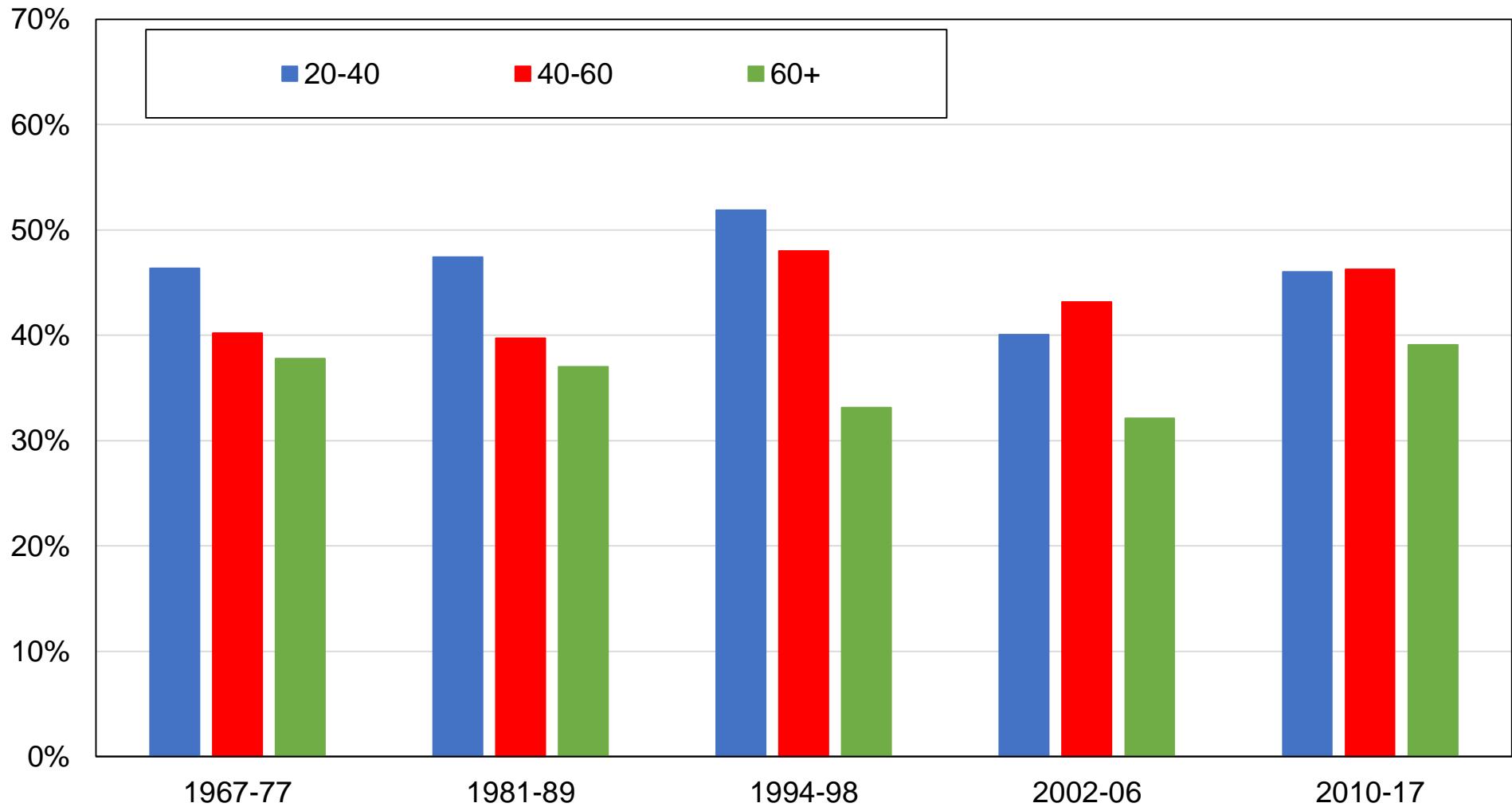
**Figure BB9 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by marital status**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left / liberal / green parties by marital status.

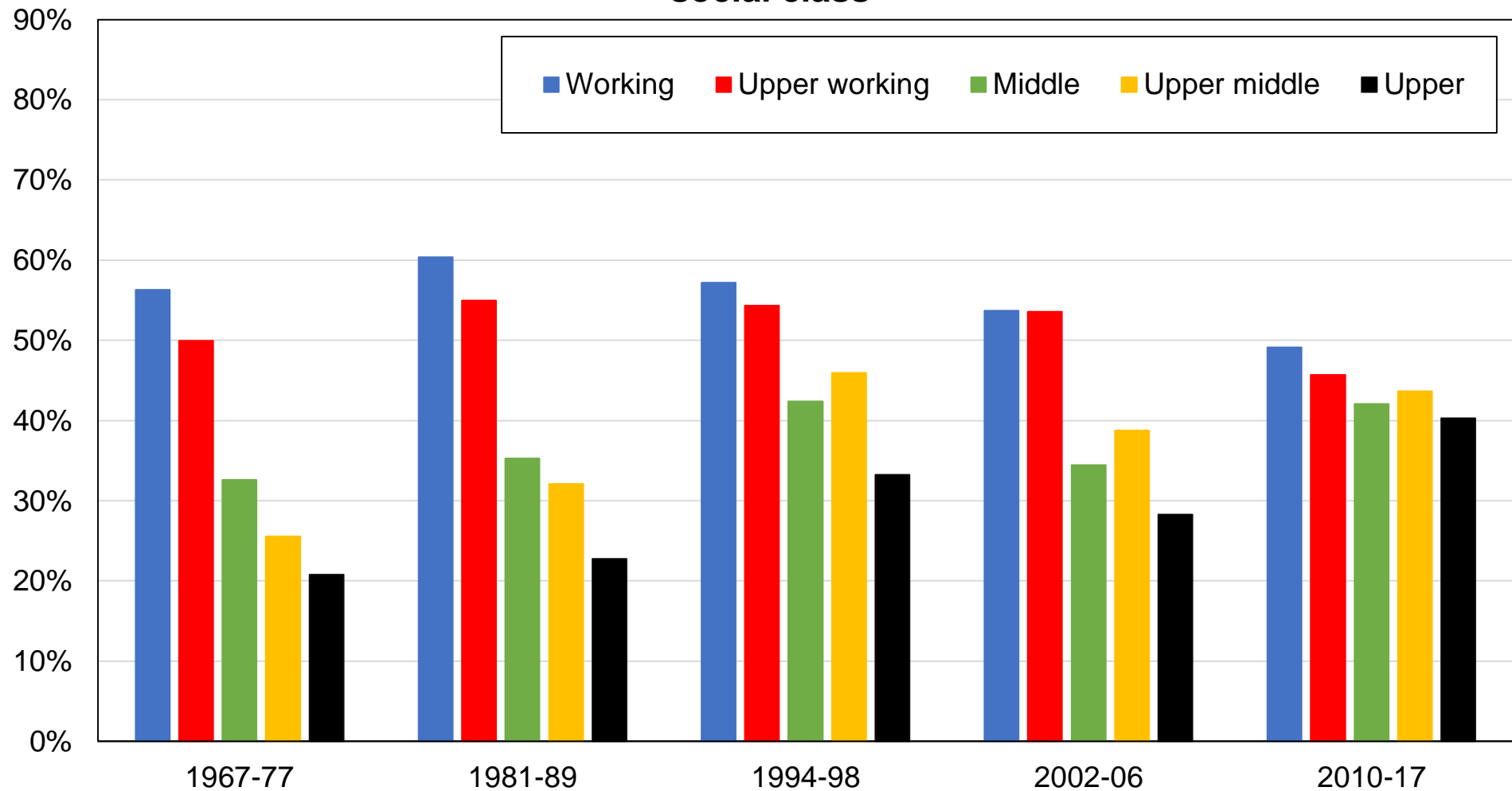
**Figure BB10 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by age**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left / liberal / green parties by age group.

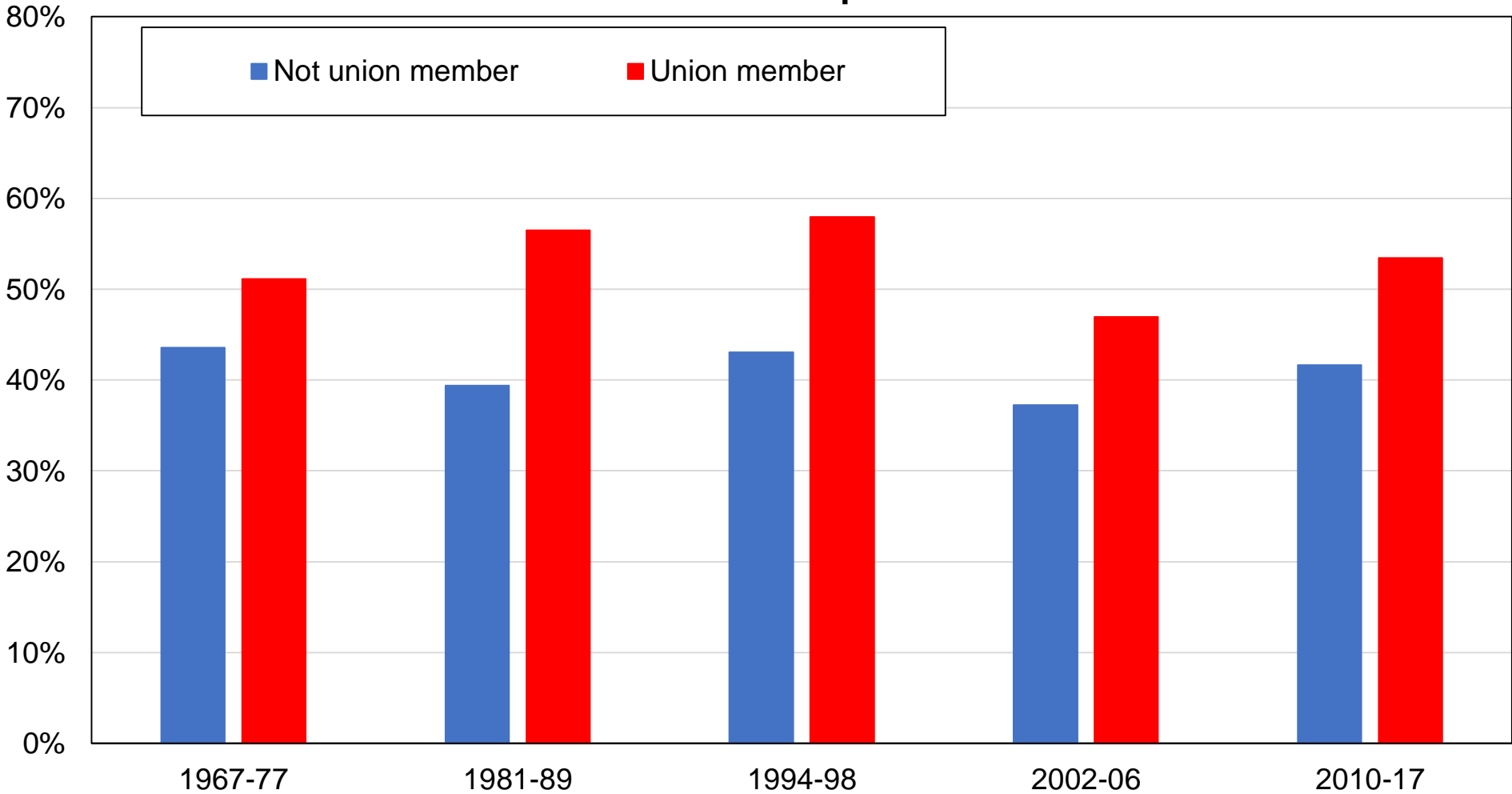
**Figure BB11 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by perceived social class**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left / liberal / green parties by self-percieved social class.

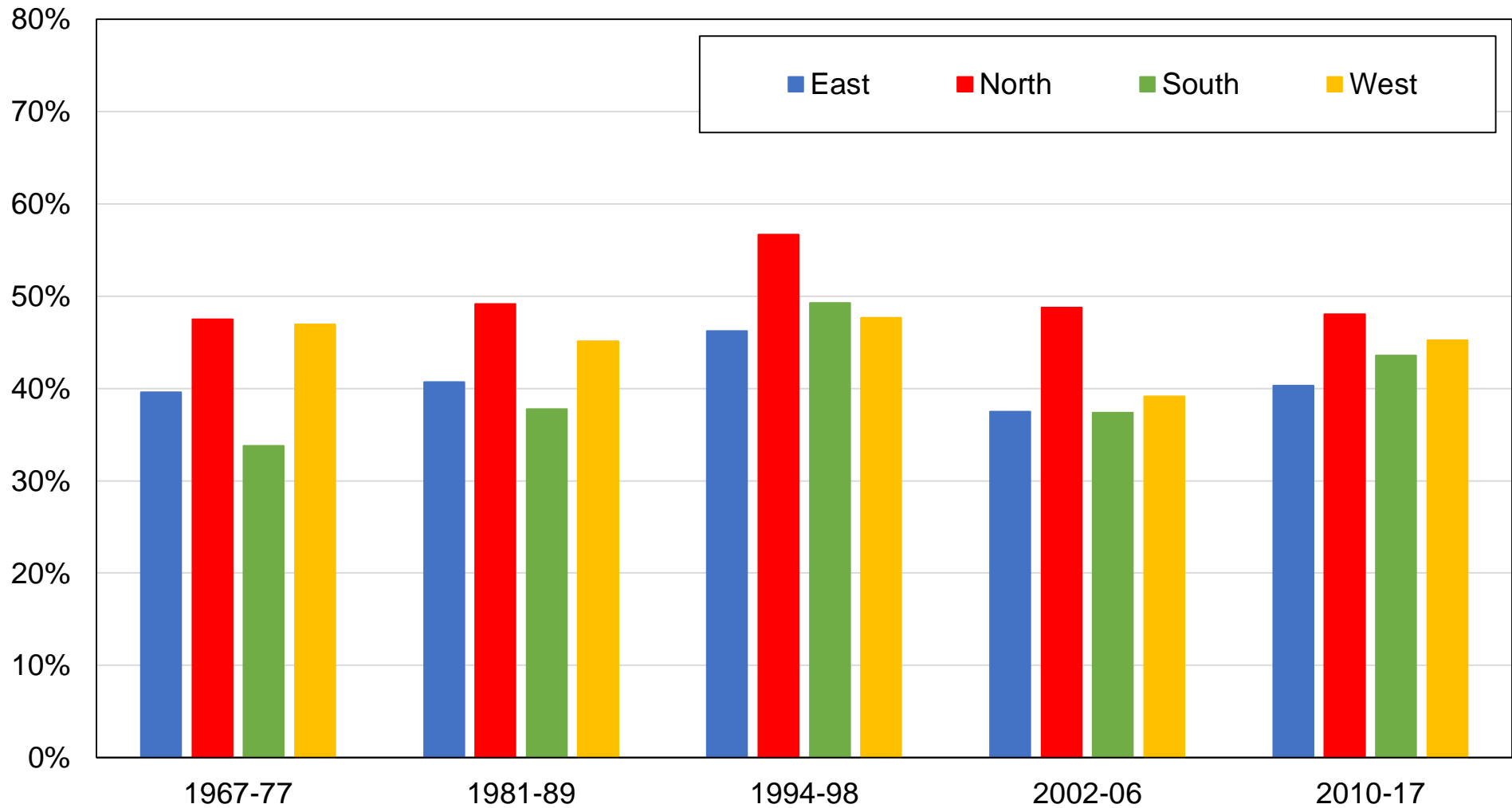
**Figure BB12 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by union membership**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left / liberal / green parties by union membership status.

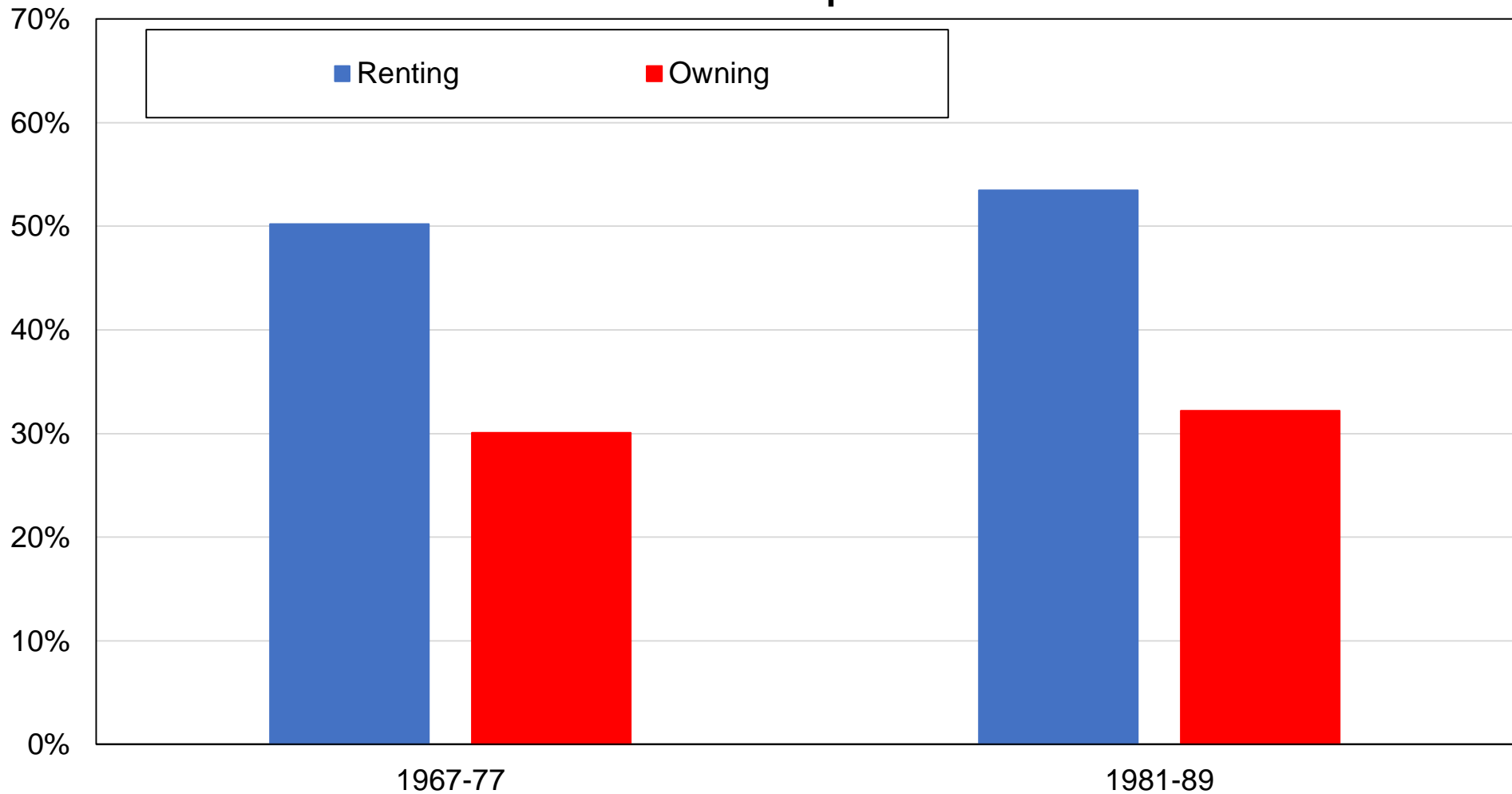
**Figure BB13 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by region**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left / liberal / green parties by region.

**Figure BB14 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by home ownership**

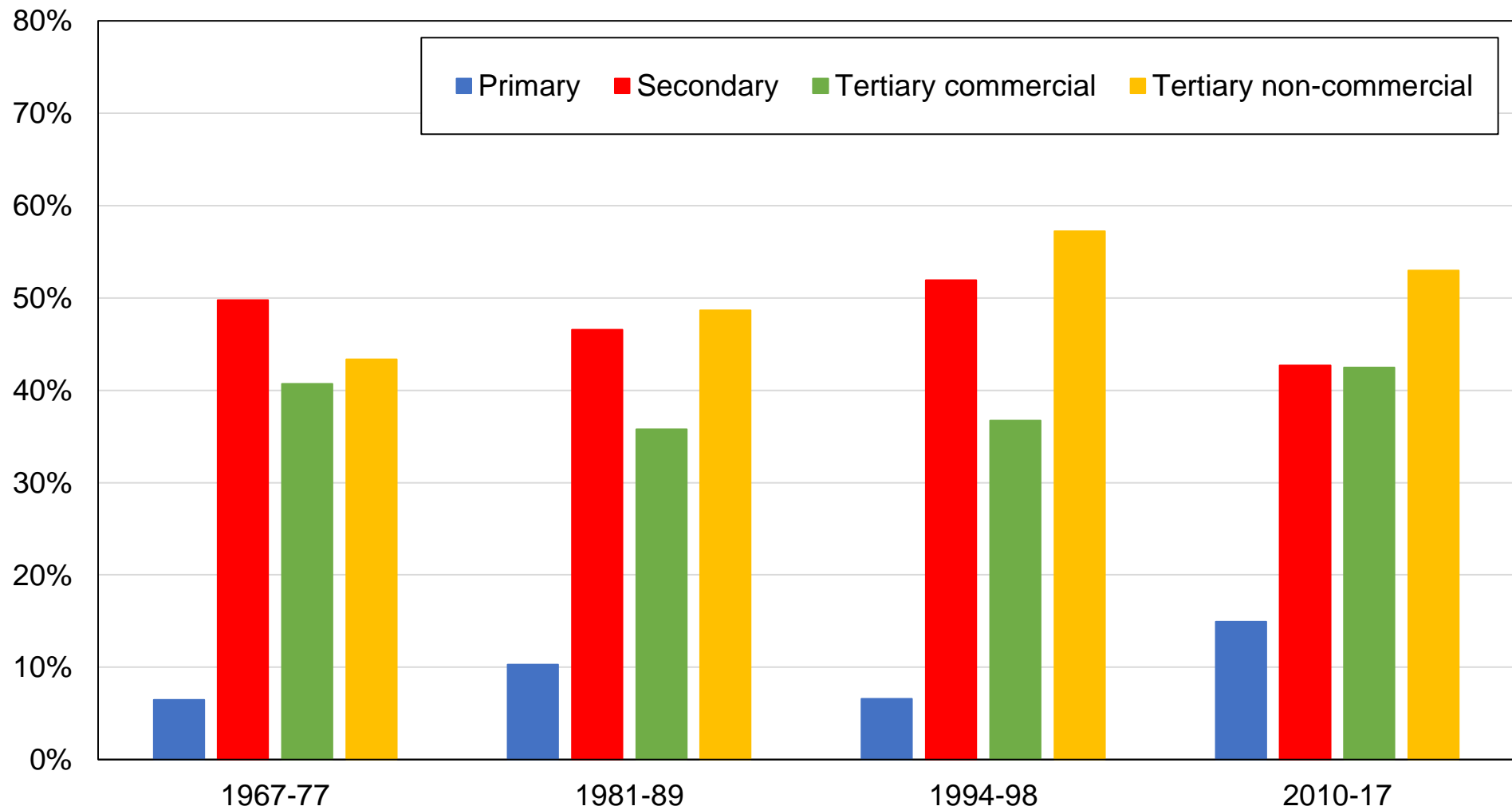


**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left / liberal / green parties by homeownership status.



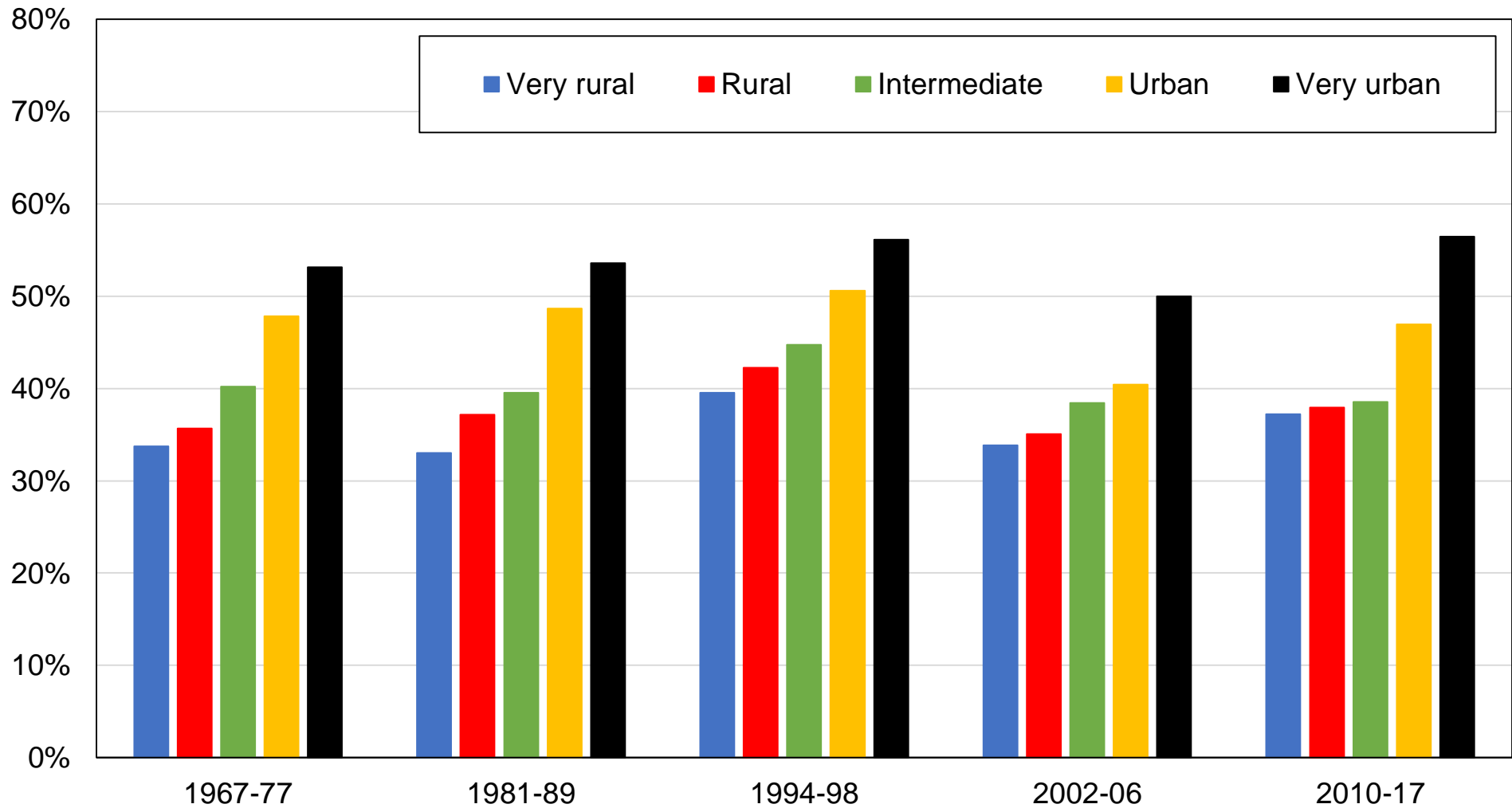
**Figure BB15 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by industry**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left / liberal / green parties by industrial affiliation.

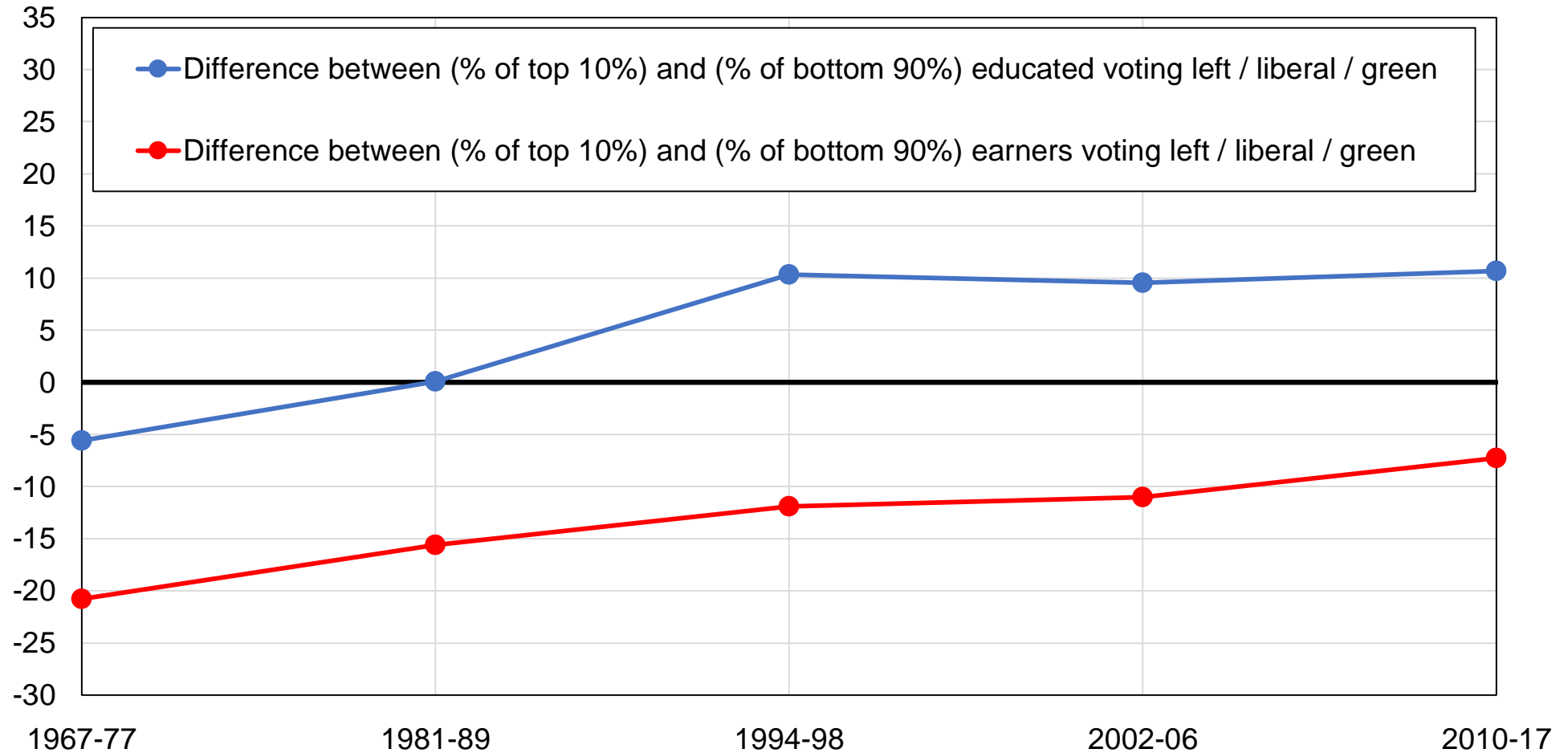
**Figure BB16 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by location**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left / liberal / green parties by rural-urban location.

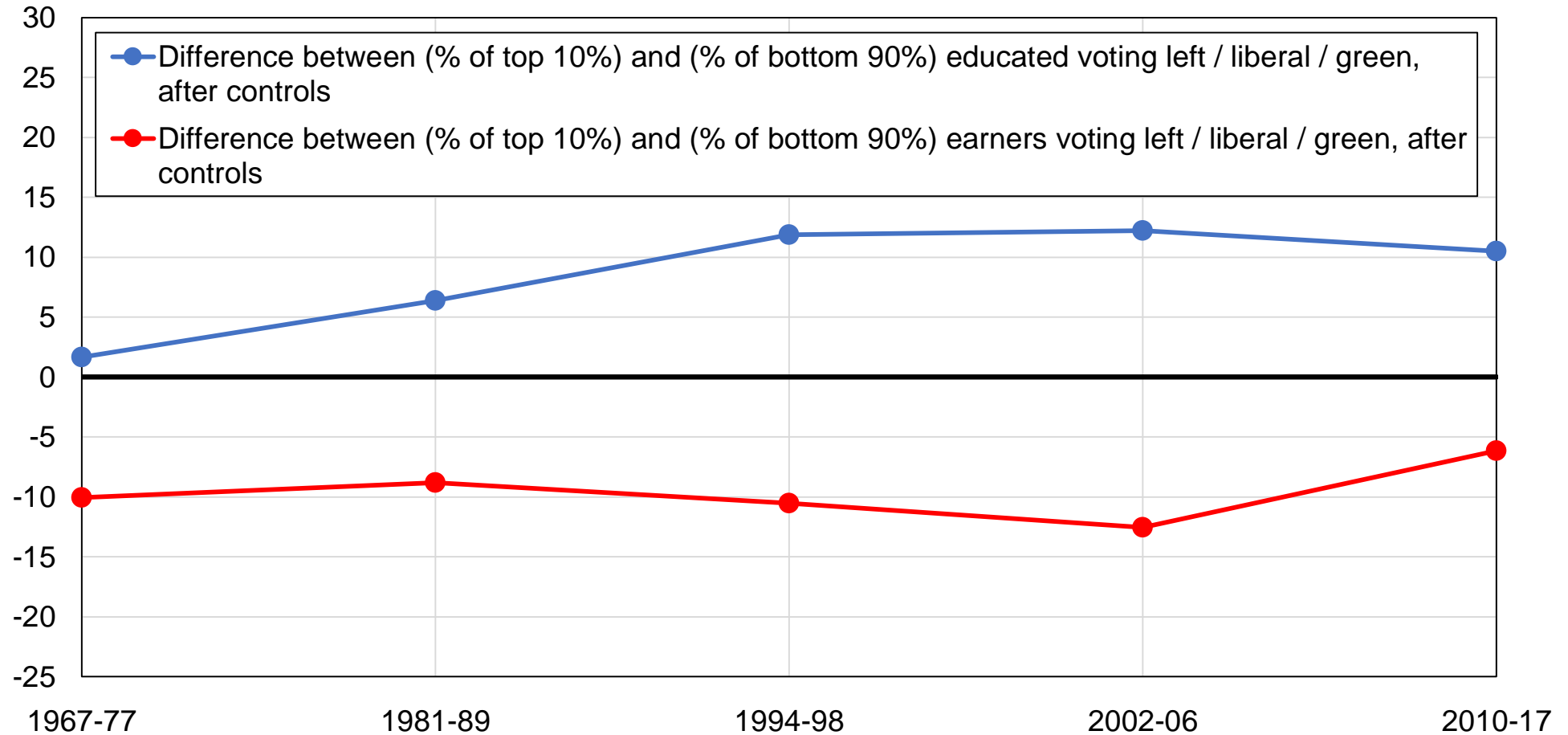
**Figure BC1 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among highest-educated and top-income voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the support for left / liberal / green parties among highest-educated and top-income voters.

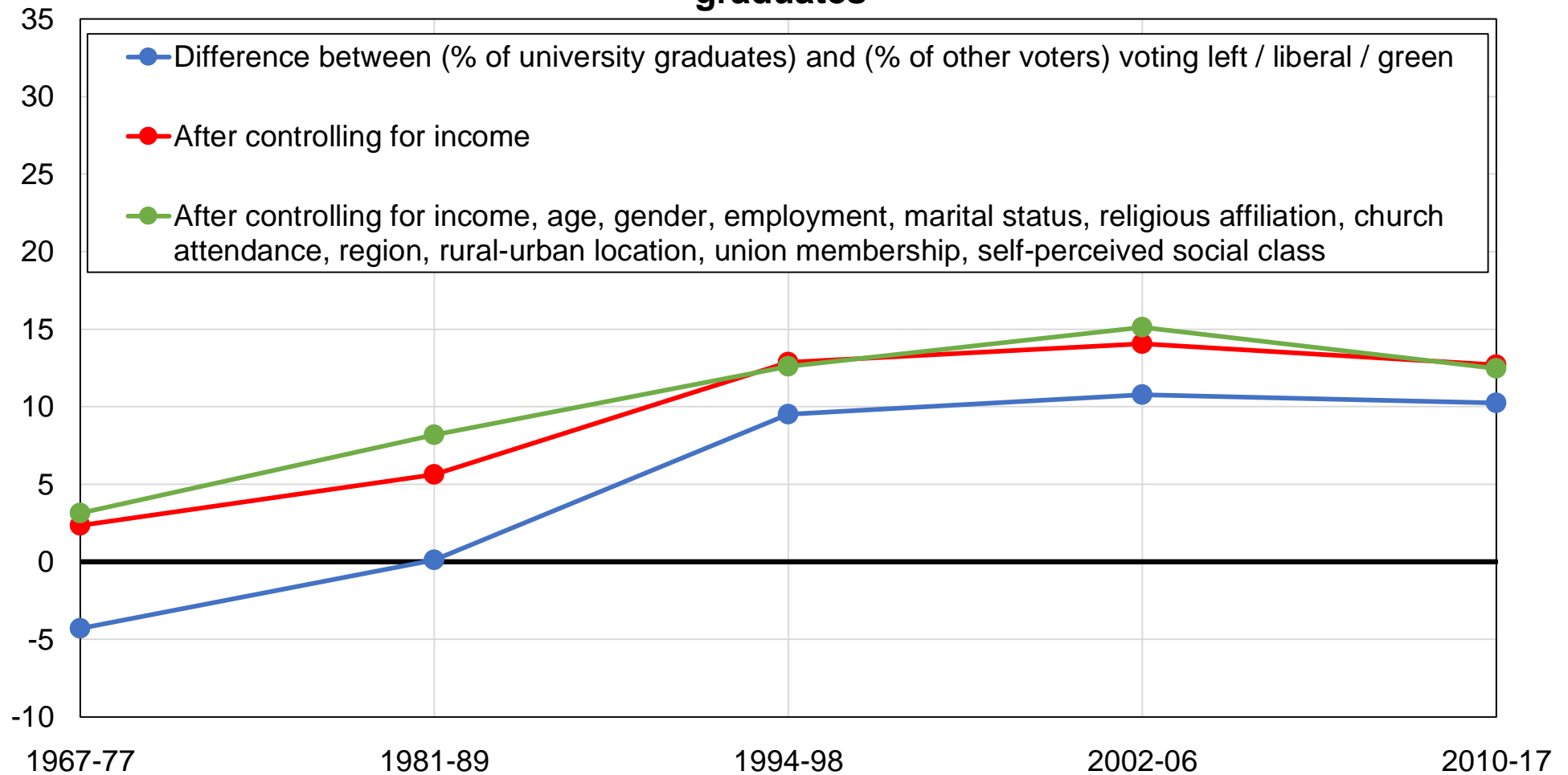
**Figure BC2 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among highest-educated and top-income voters (after controls)**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the support for left / liberal / green parties among highest-educated and top-income voters after controlling for income, education, age, gender, employment, marital status, religious affiliation, church attendance, region, rural-urban location, union membership, and self-perceived social class.

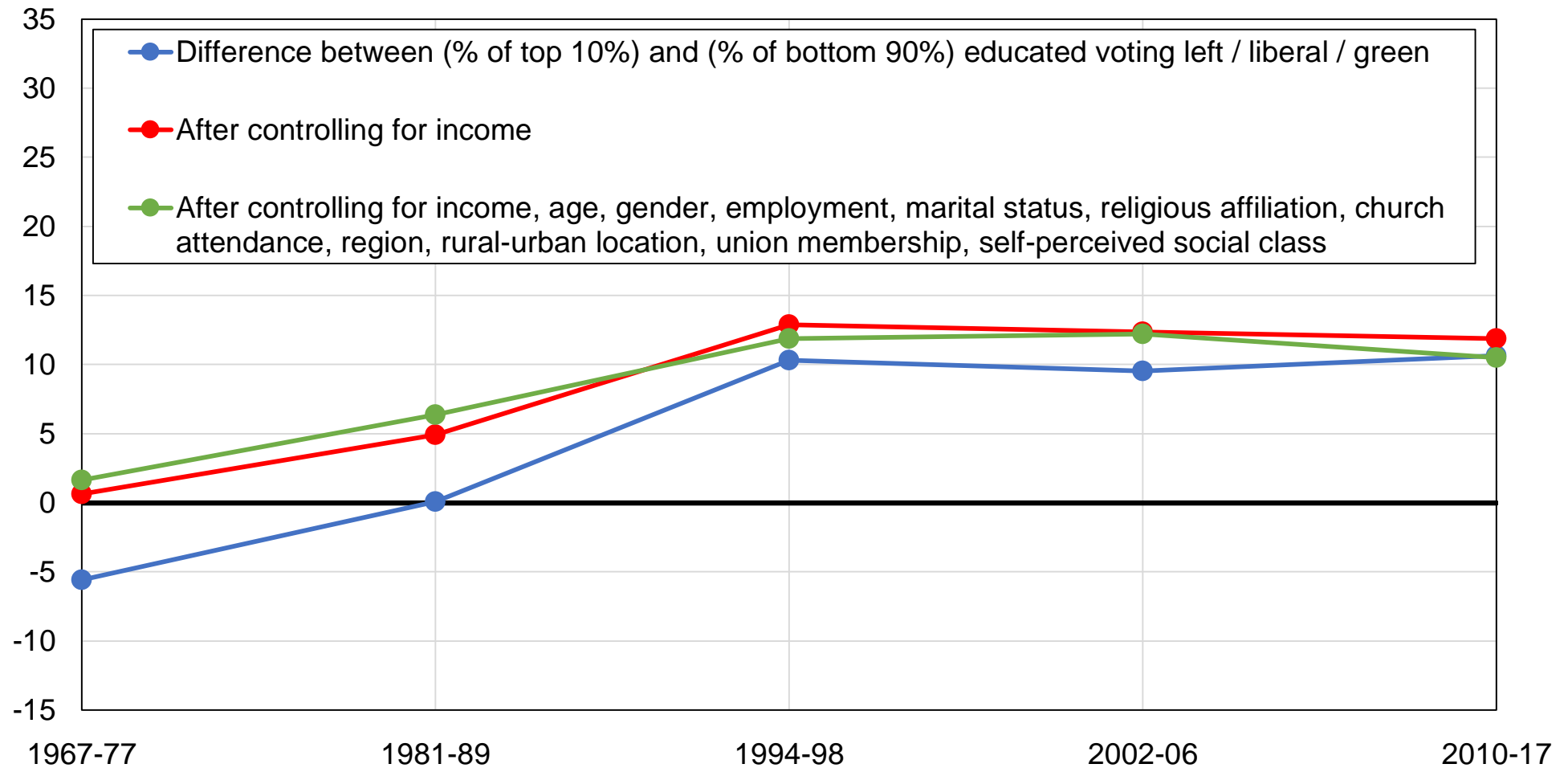
**Figure BC3 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among university graduates**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters voting for left / liberal / green parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

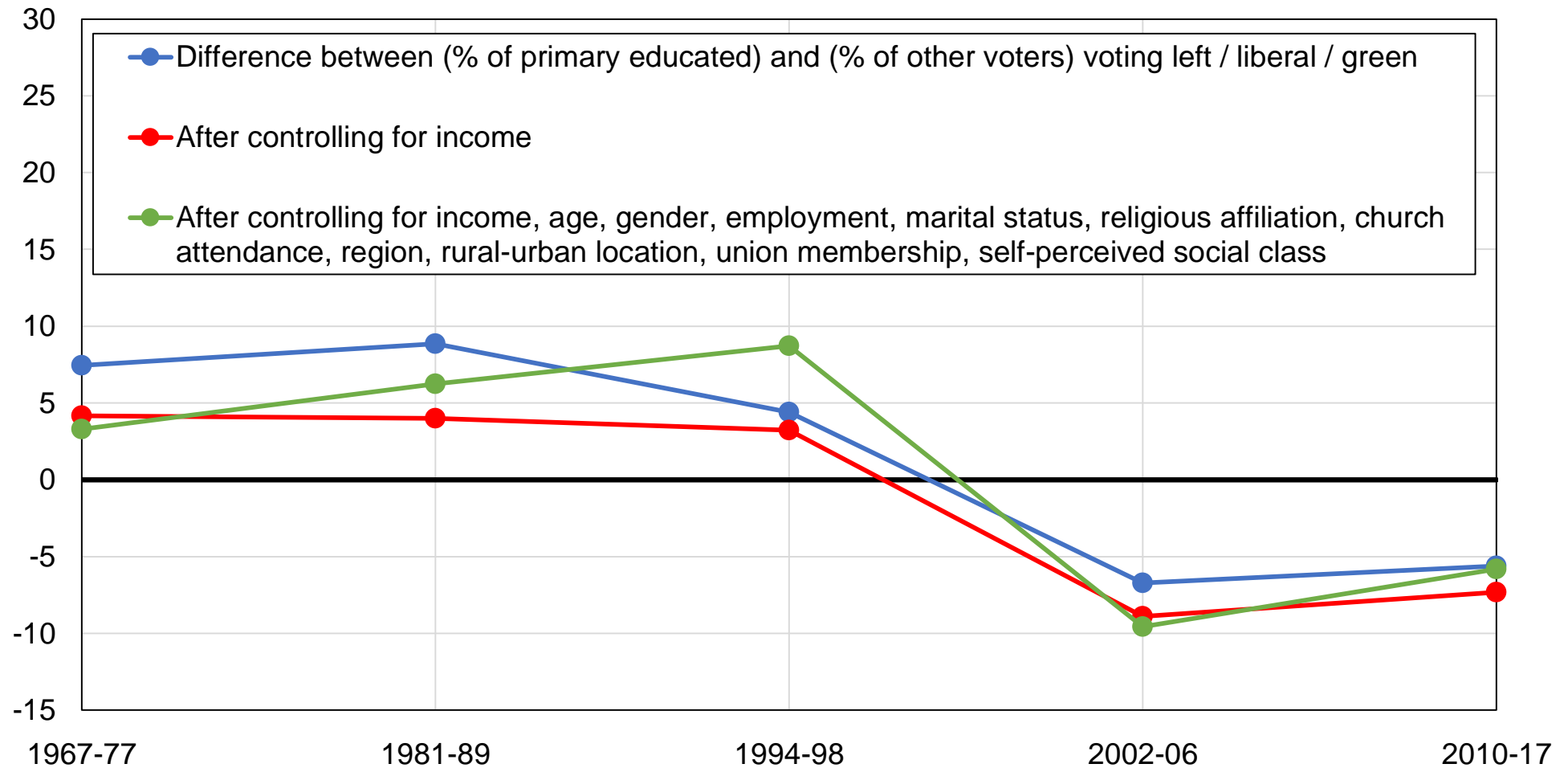
**Figure BC4 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among highest-educated voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left / liberal / green parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

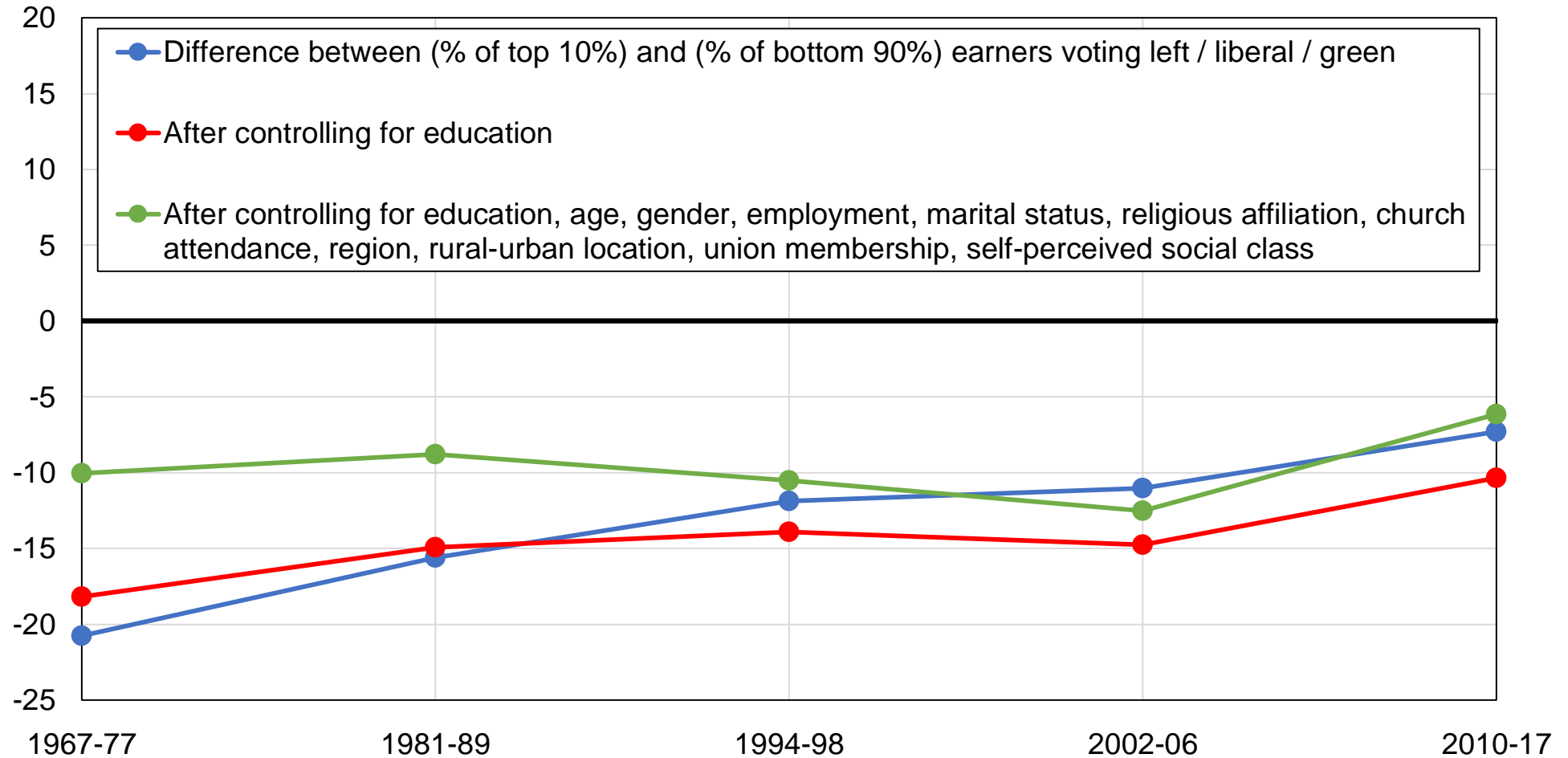
**Figure BC5 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among primary educated voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of primary educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left / liberal / green parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

**Figure BC6 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among top-income earners**

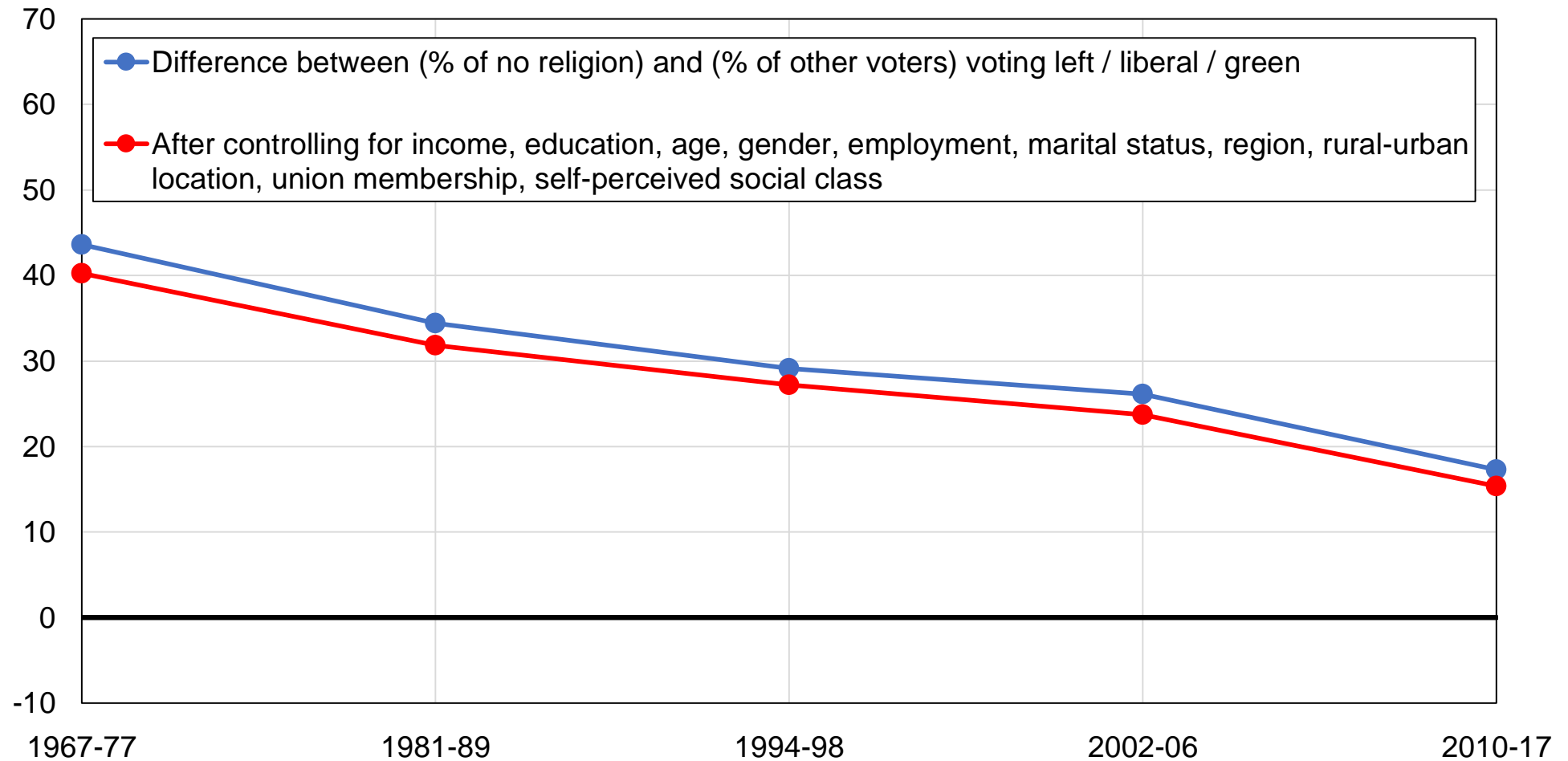


**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for left / liberal / green parties, before and after controlling for other variables.



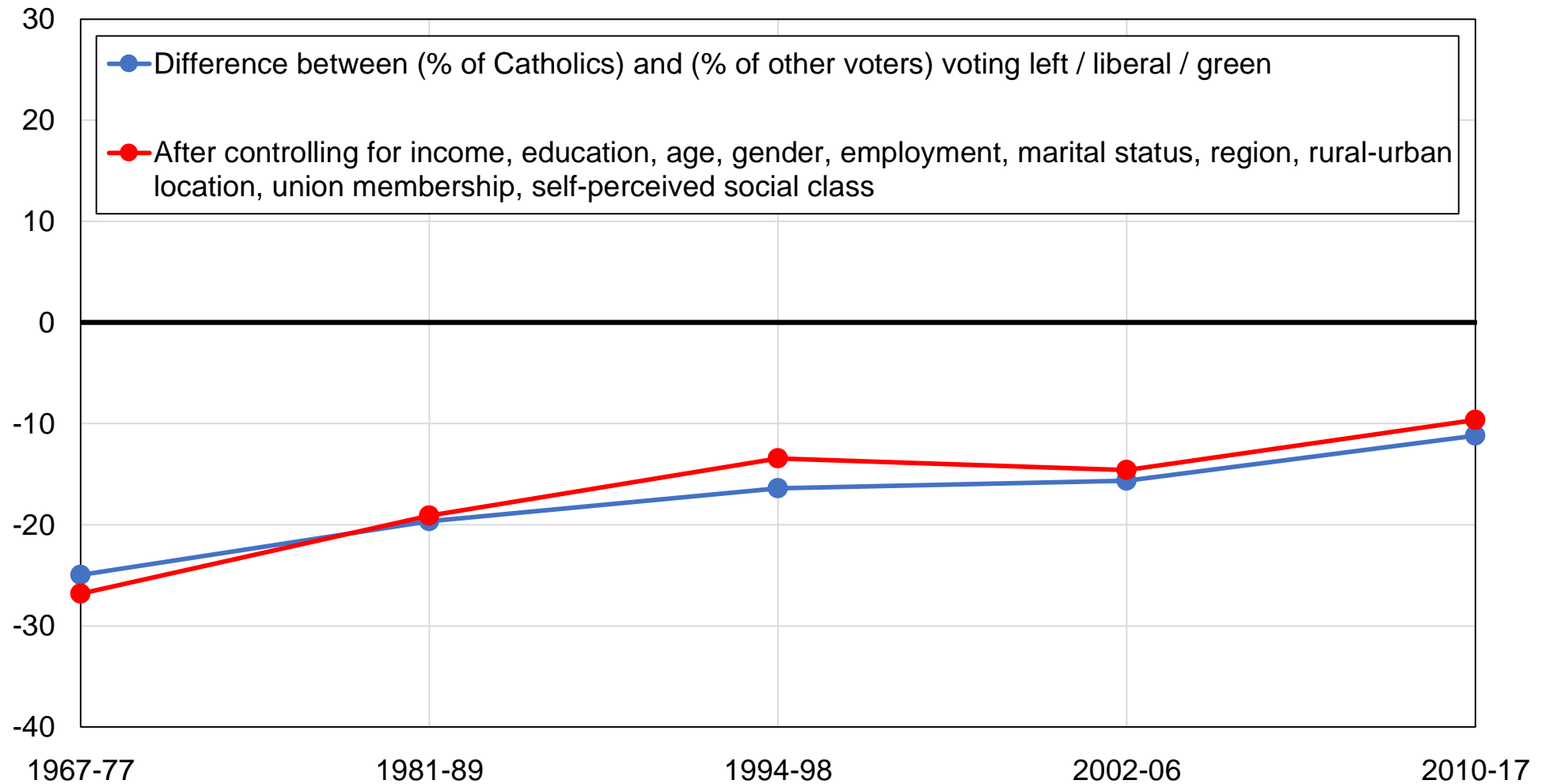
**Figure BC7 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among voters with no religion**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of voters declaring no religion and the share of other voters voting for left / liberal / green parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

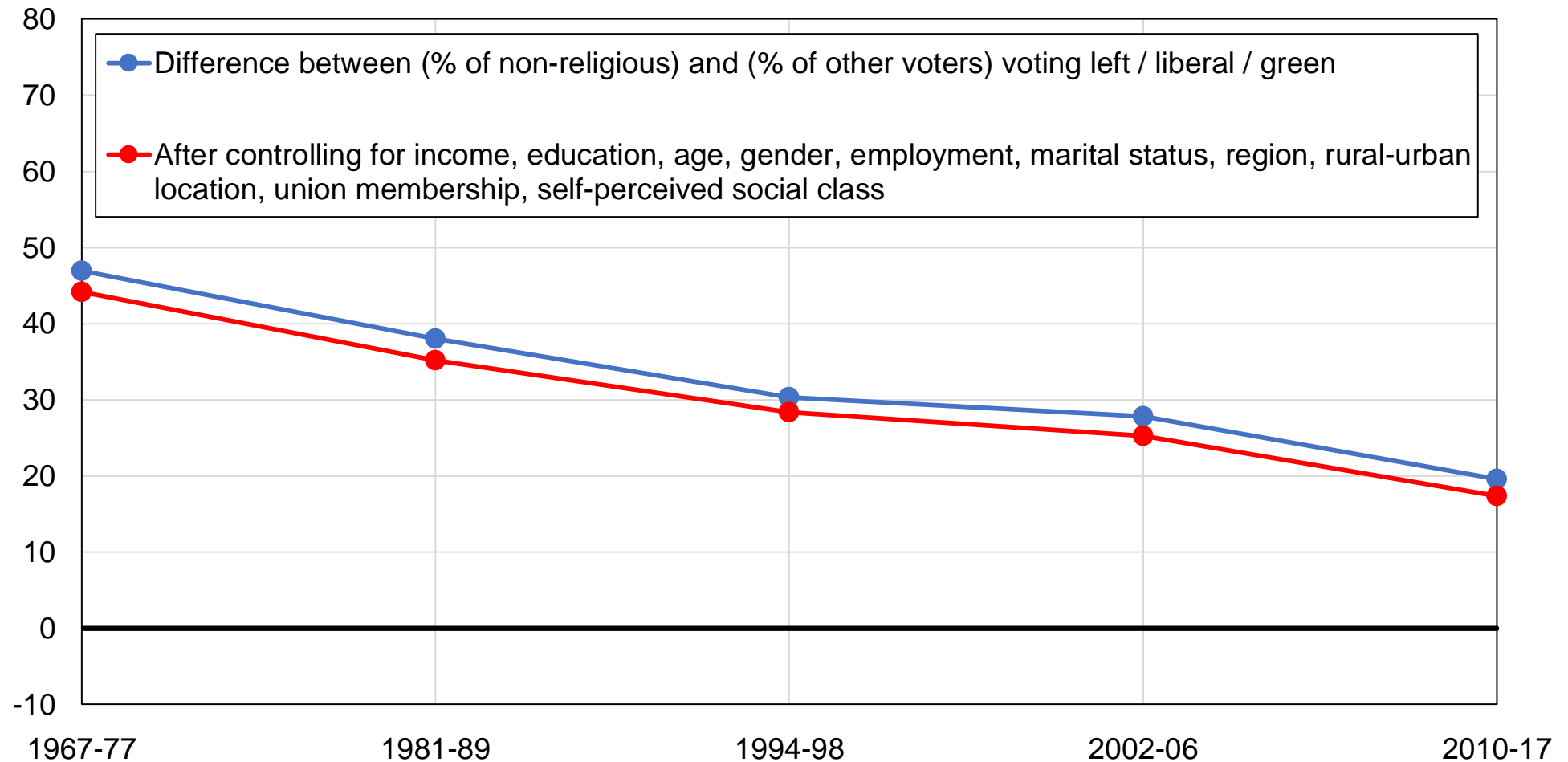
**Figure BC8 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among Catholics**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of Catholic voters and the share of other voters voting for left / liberal / green parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

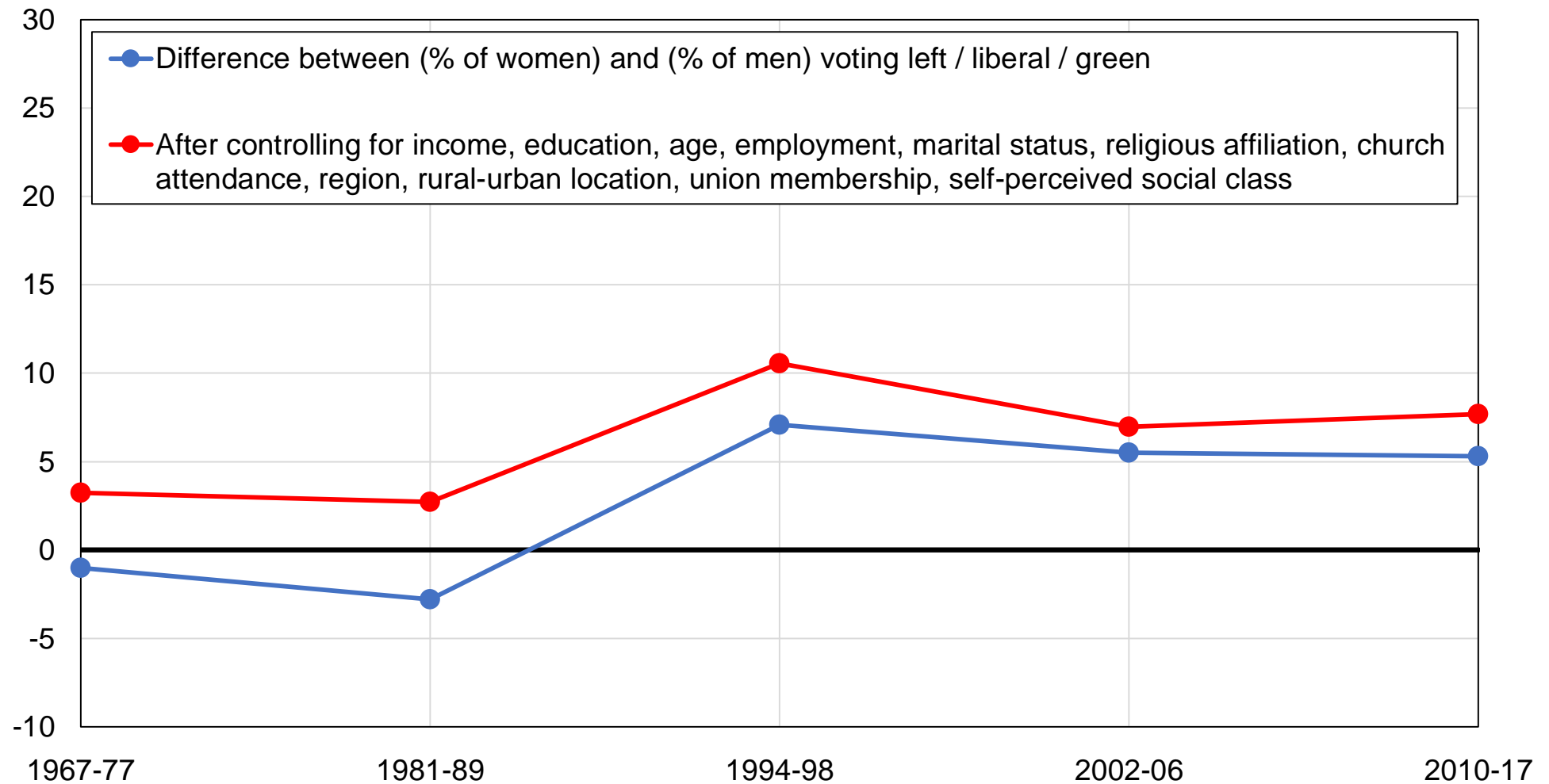
**Figure BC9 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among non-religious voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of voters never going to church and the share of other voters voting for left / liberal / green parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

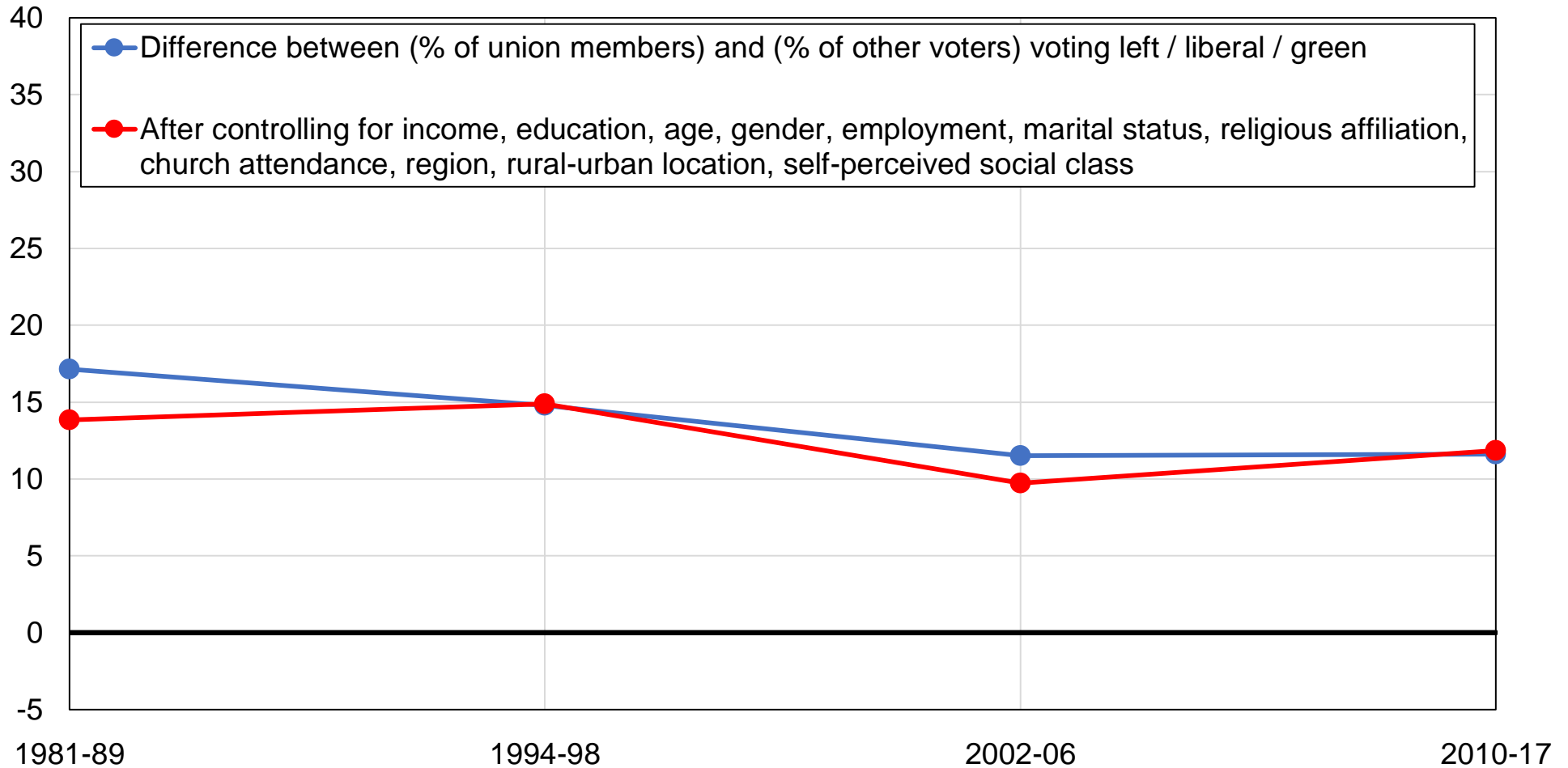
**Figure BC10 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among women**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for left / liberal / green parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

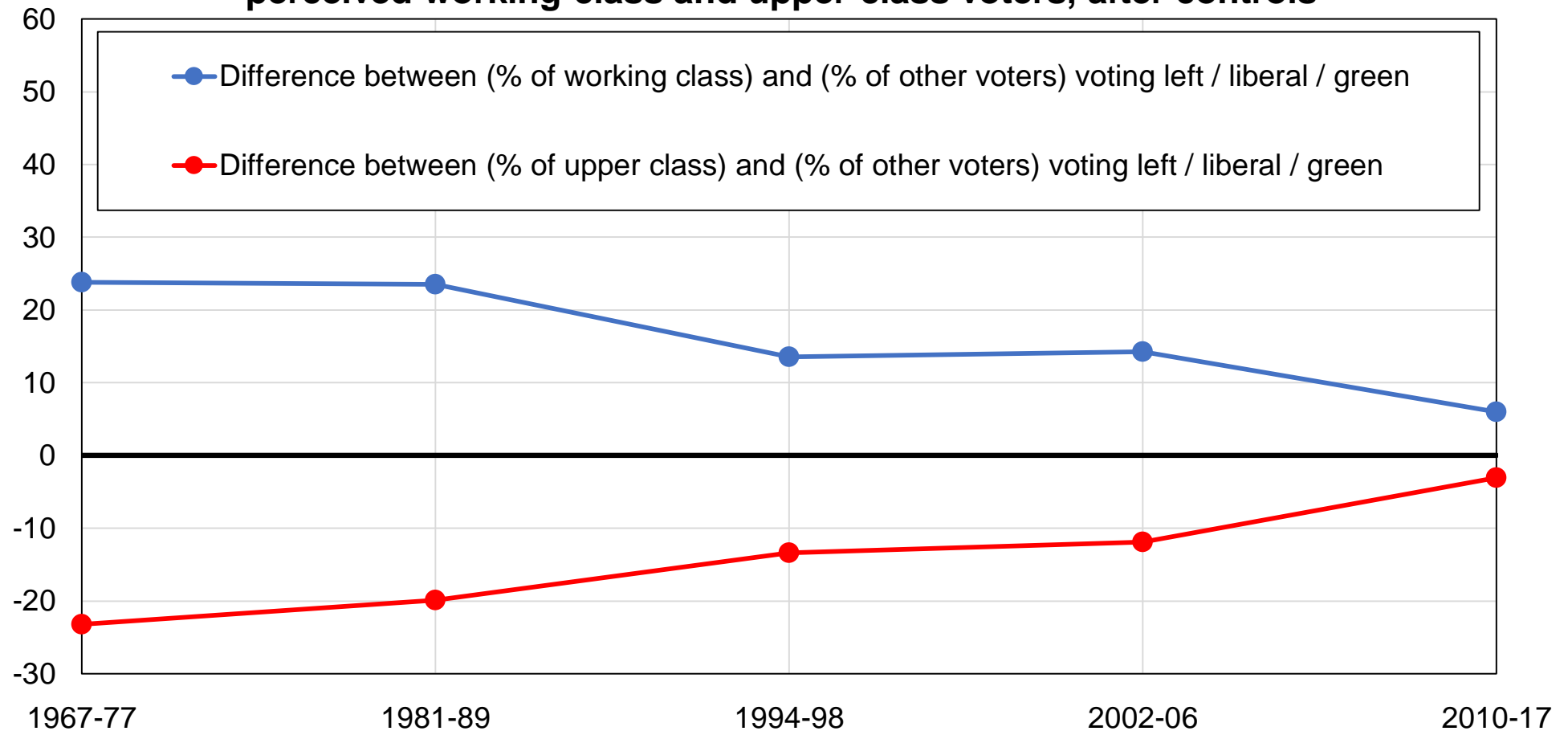
**Figure BC11 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among union members**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of union members and the share of other voters voting for left / liberal / green parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

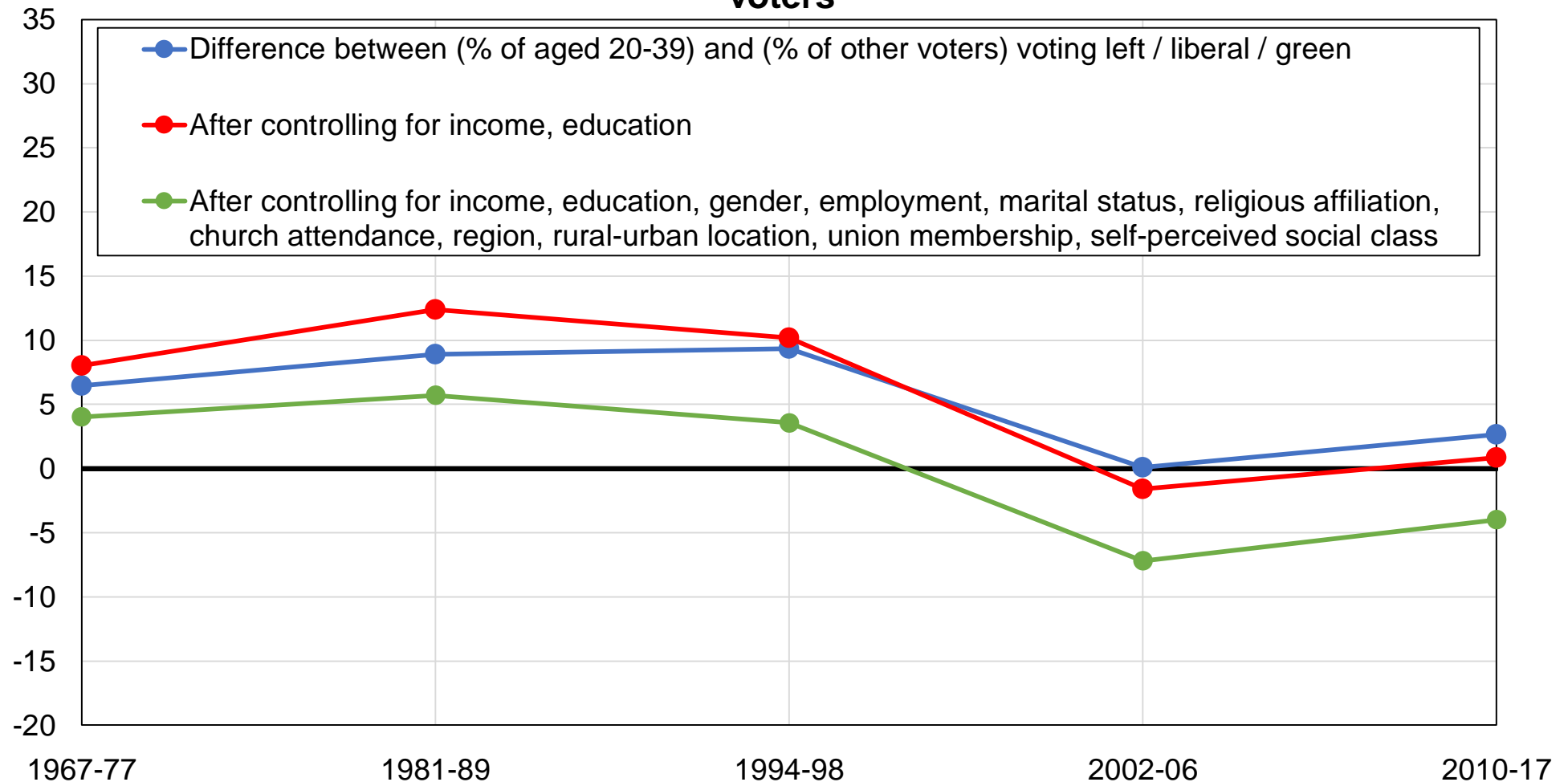
**Figure BC12 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among self-perceived working-class and upper-class voters, after controls**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the bias of self-perceived working class and upper class voters towards left / liberal / green parties, after controlling for income, education, age, gender, employment, marital status, religious affiliation, church attendance, region, rural-urban location, and union membership.

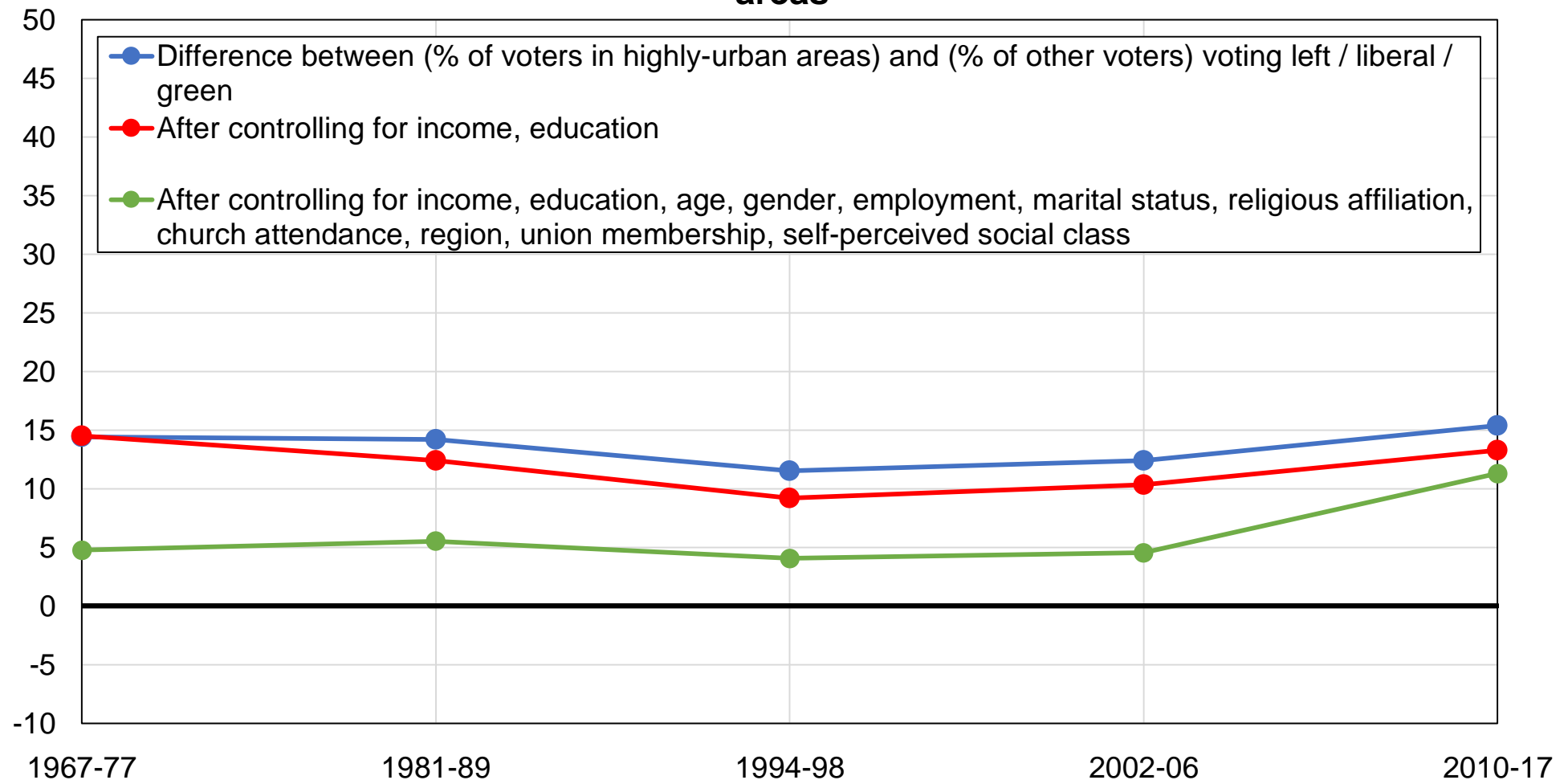
**Figure BC13 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among young voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of voters aged 20-39 and the share of voters older than 40 voting for left / liberal / green parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

**Figure BC14 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among urban areas**

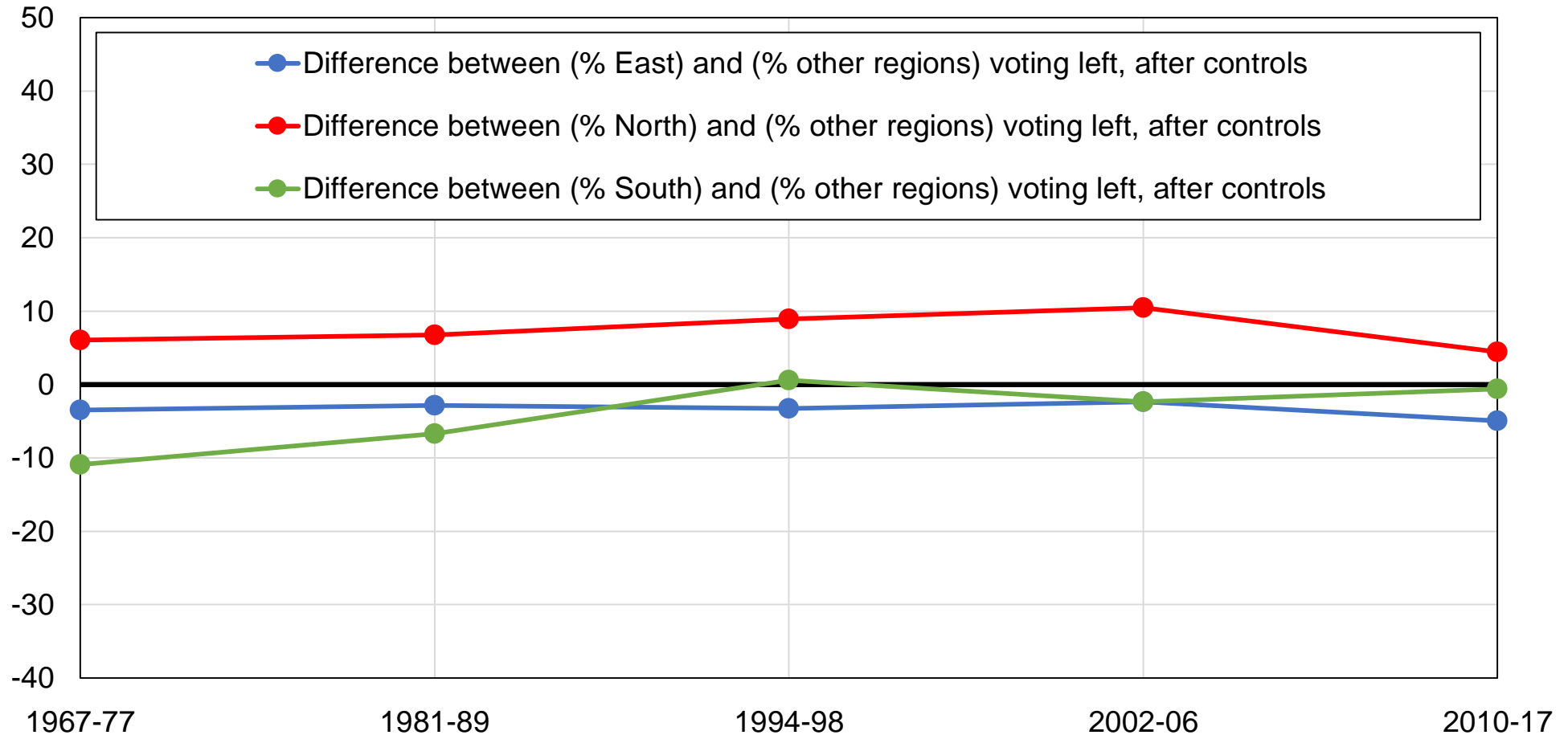


**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of voters in highly-urban areas and the share of other voters voting for left / liberal / green parties, before and after controlling for other variables.



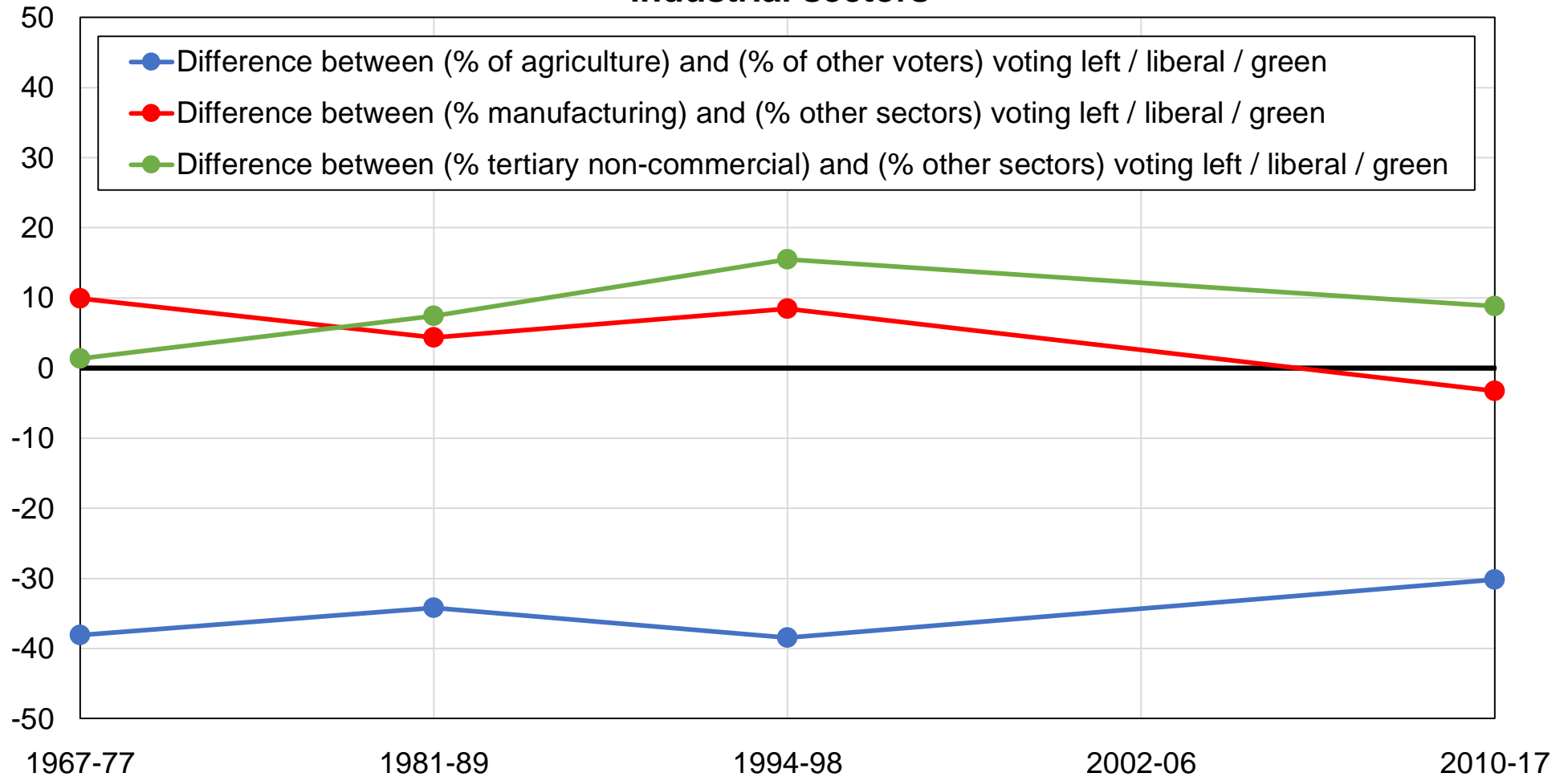
**Figure BC15 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among specific regions**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the bias of Dutch regions towards left / liberal / green parties, after controlling for income, education, age, gender, employment, marital status, religious affiliation, church attendance, rural-urban location, union membership, and self-perceived social class.

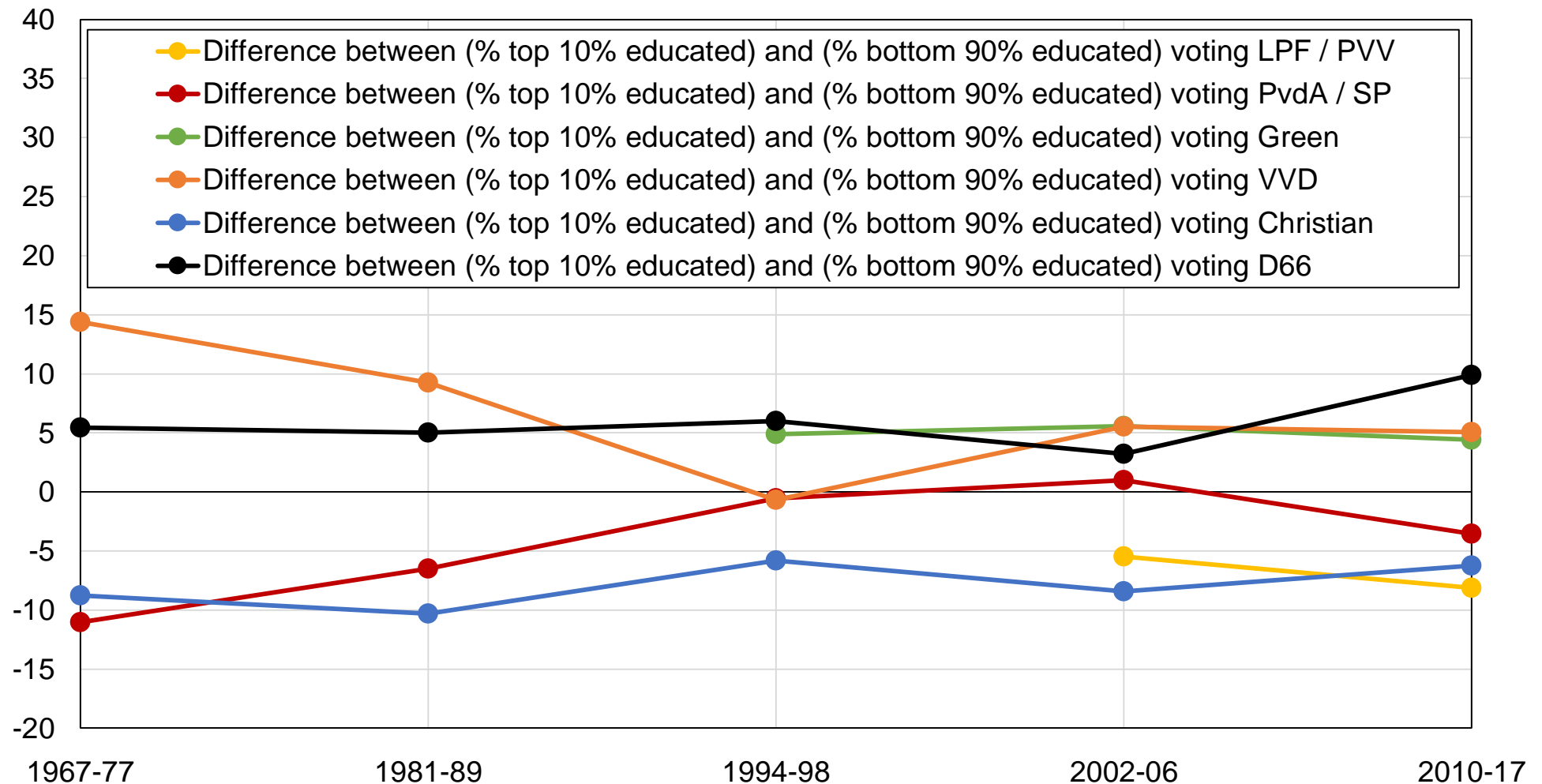
**Figure BC16 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among specific industrial sectors**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the bias of voters with specific industrial affiliations towards left / liberal / green parties.

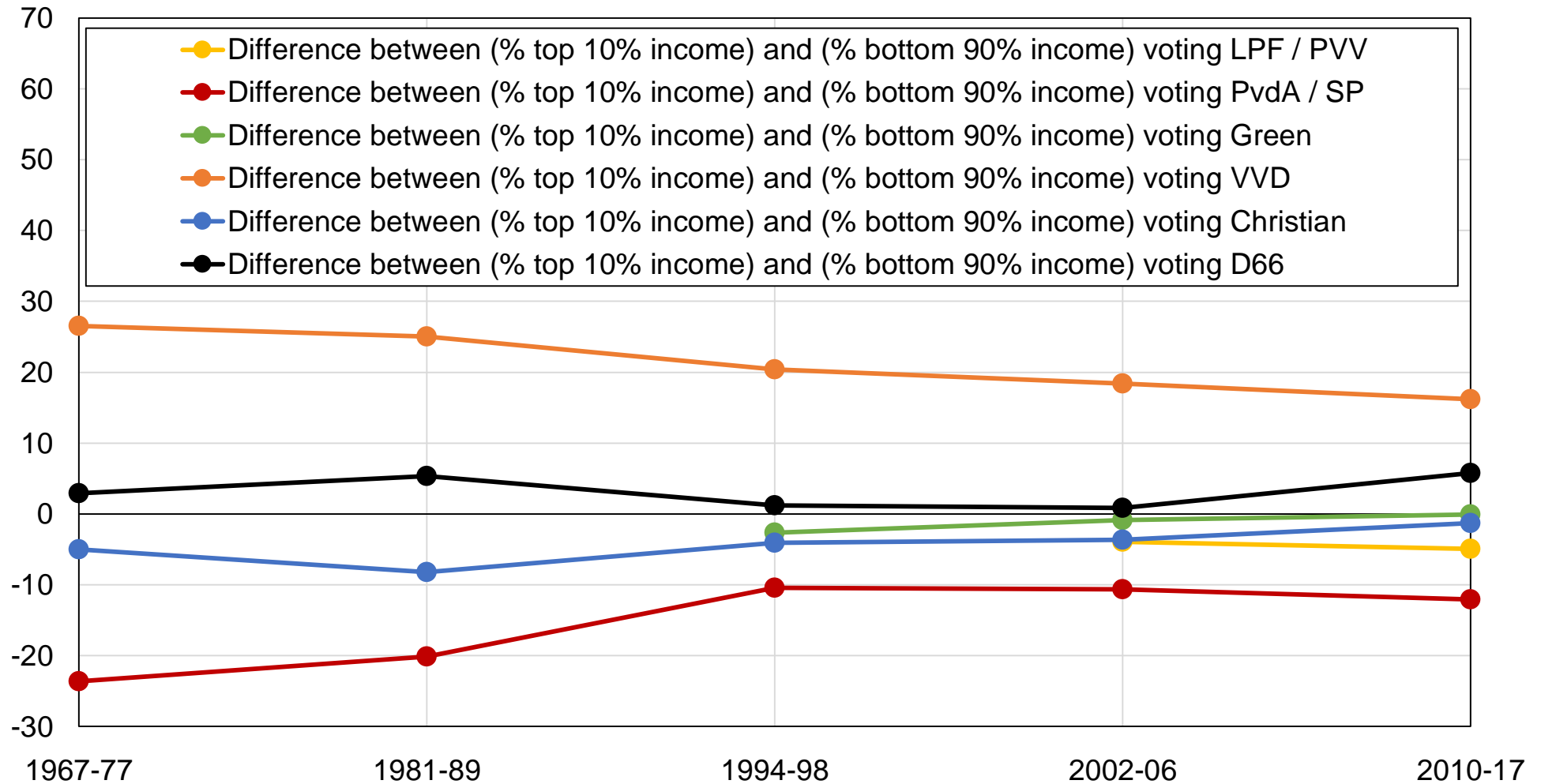
### Figure BC17 - The education cleavage in the Netherlands



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the bias of highest-educated voters towards LPF / PVV, PvdA / SP, Green, VVD, Christian Democrats, D66.

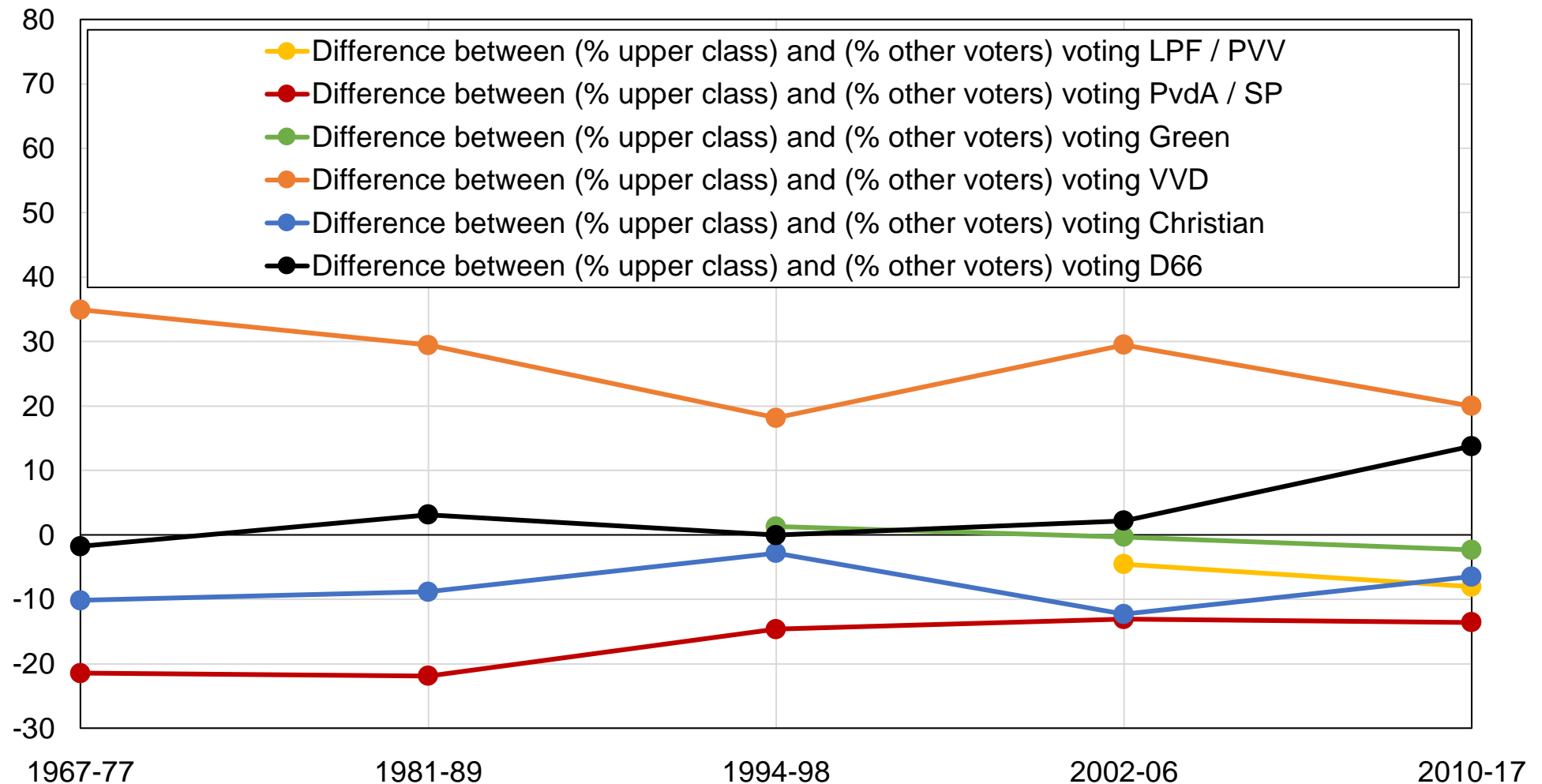
**Figure BC18 - The income cleavage in the Netherlands**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the bias of top-income voters towards LPF / PVV, PvdA / SP, Green, VVD, Christian Democrats, D66.

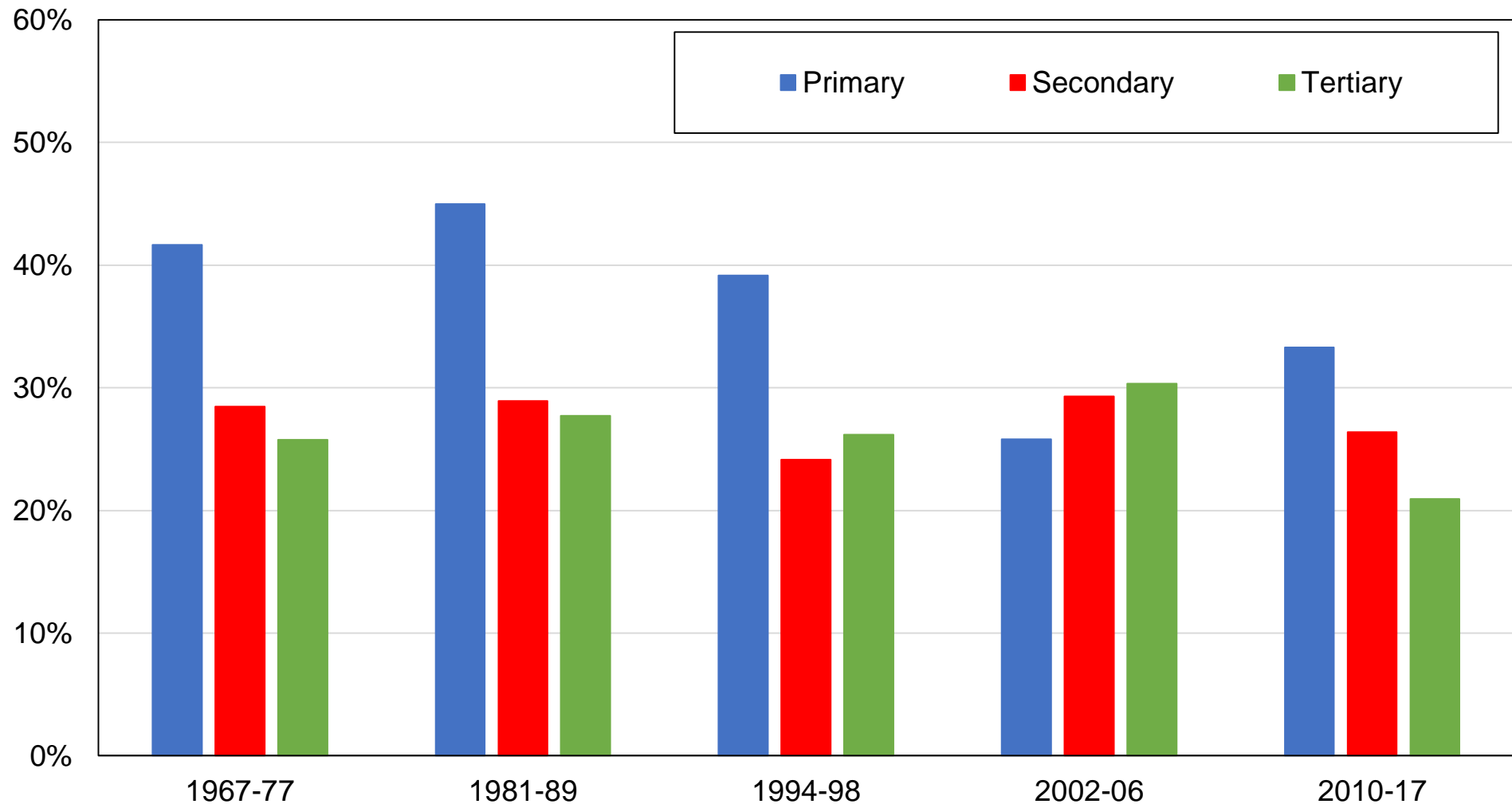
**Figure BC19 - Class cleavages in the Netherlands**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the bias of self-percieved upper class voters towards LPF / PVV, PvdA / SP, Green, VVD, Christian Democrats, D66.

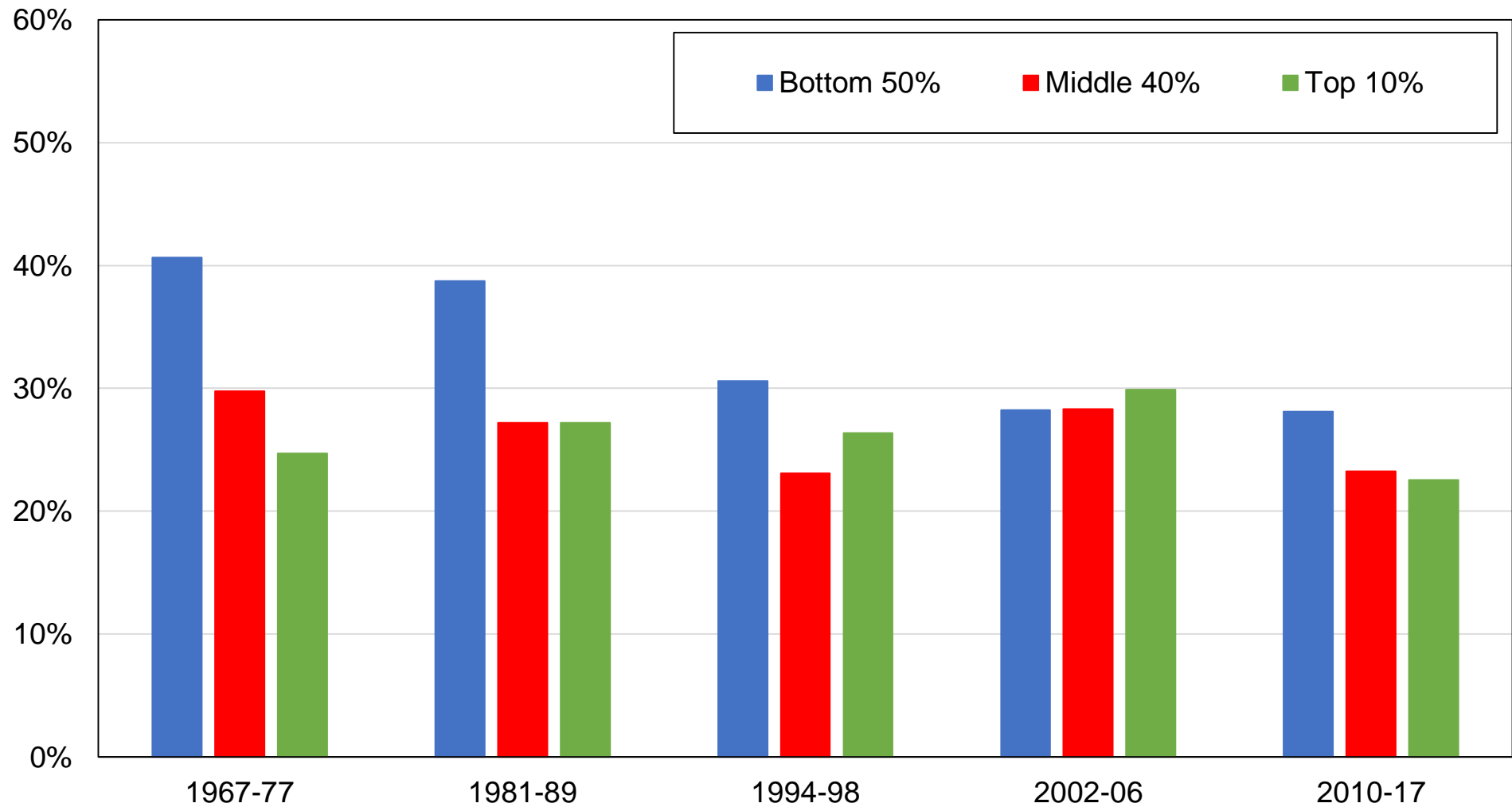
**Figure BD1 - Vote for left-wing parties by education level**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party (PvdA) and the Socialist Party (SP) by education level.

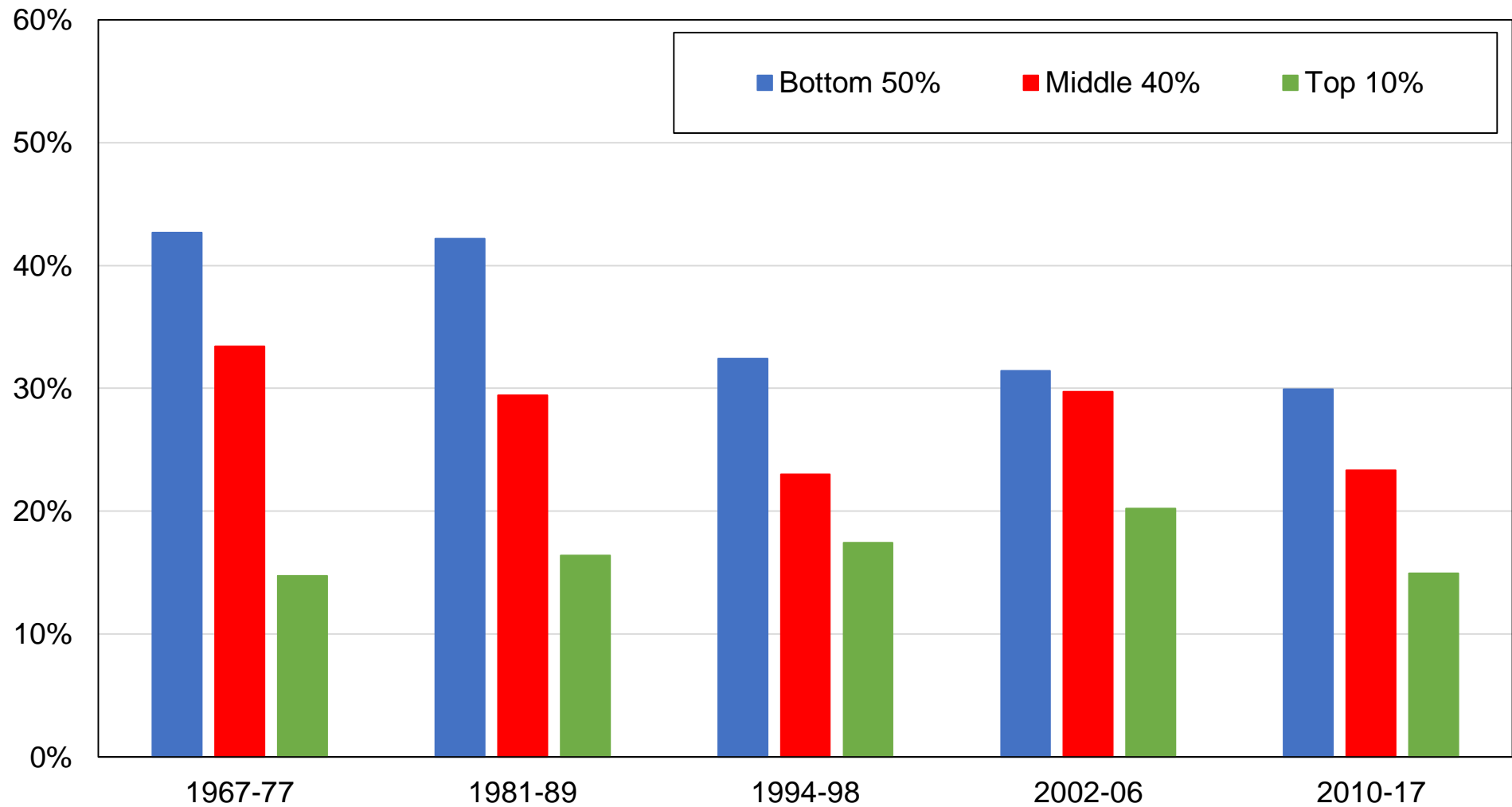
**Figure BD2 - Vote for left-wing parties by education group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party (PvdA) and the Socialist Party (SP) by education group.

**Figure BD3 - Vote for left-wing parties by income group**

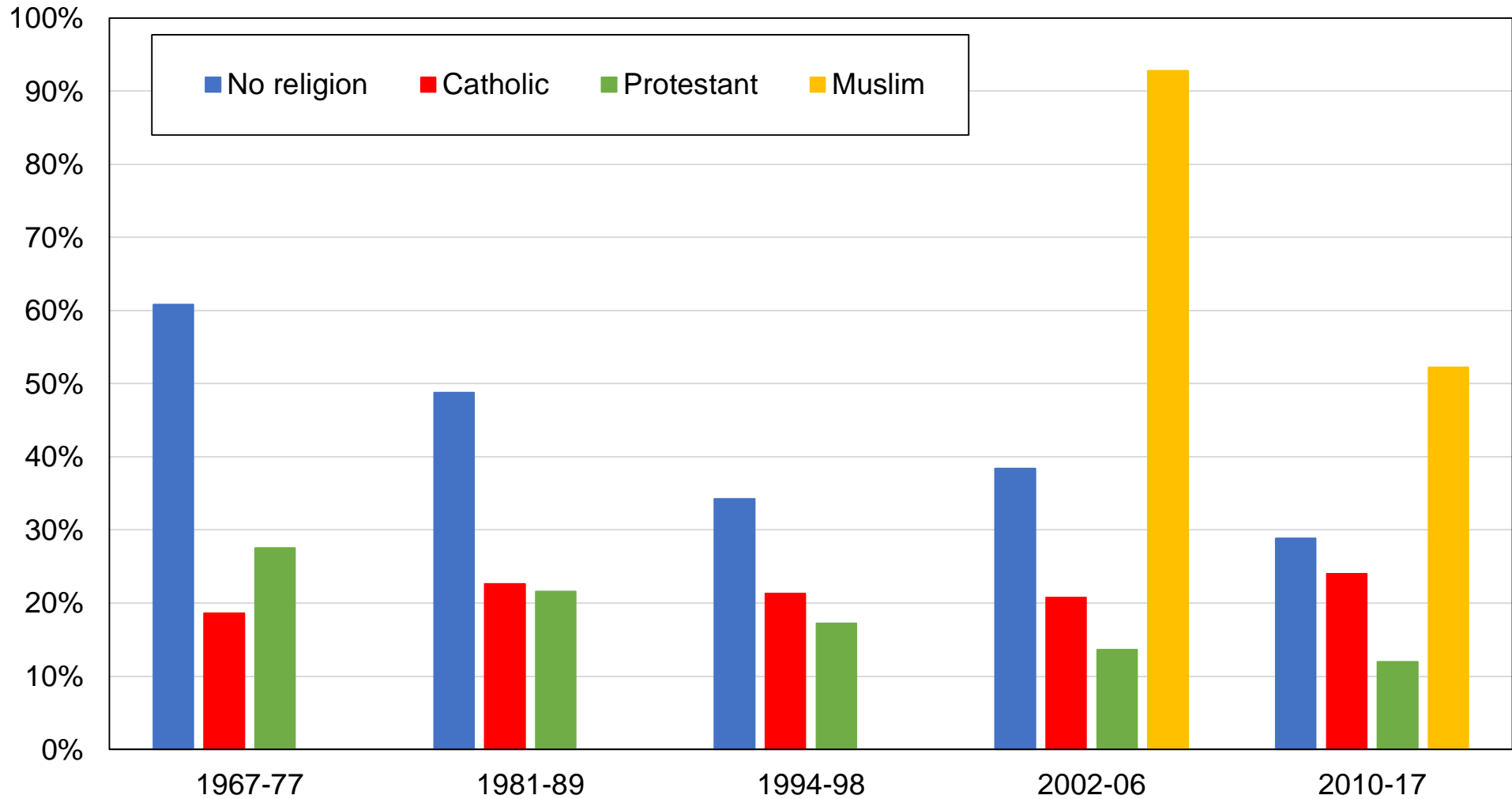


**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party (PvdA) and the Socialist Party (SP) by income group.



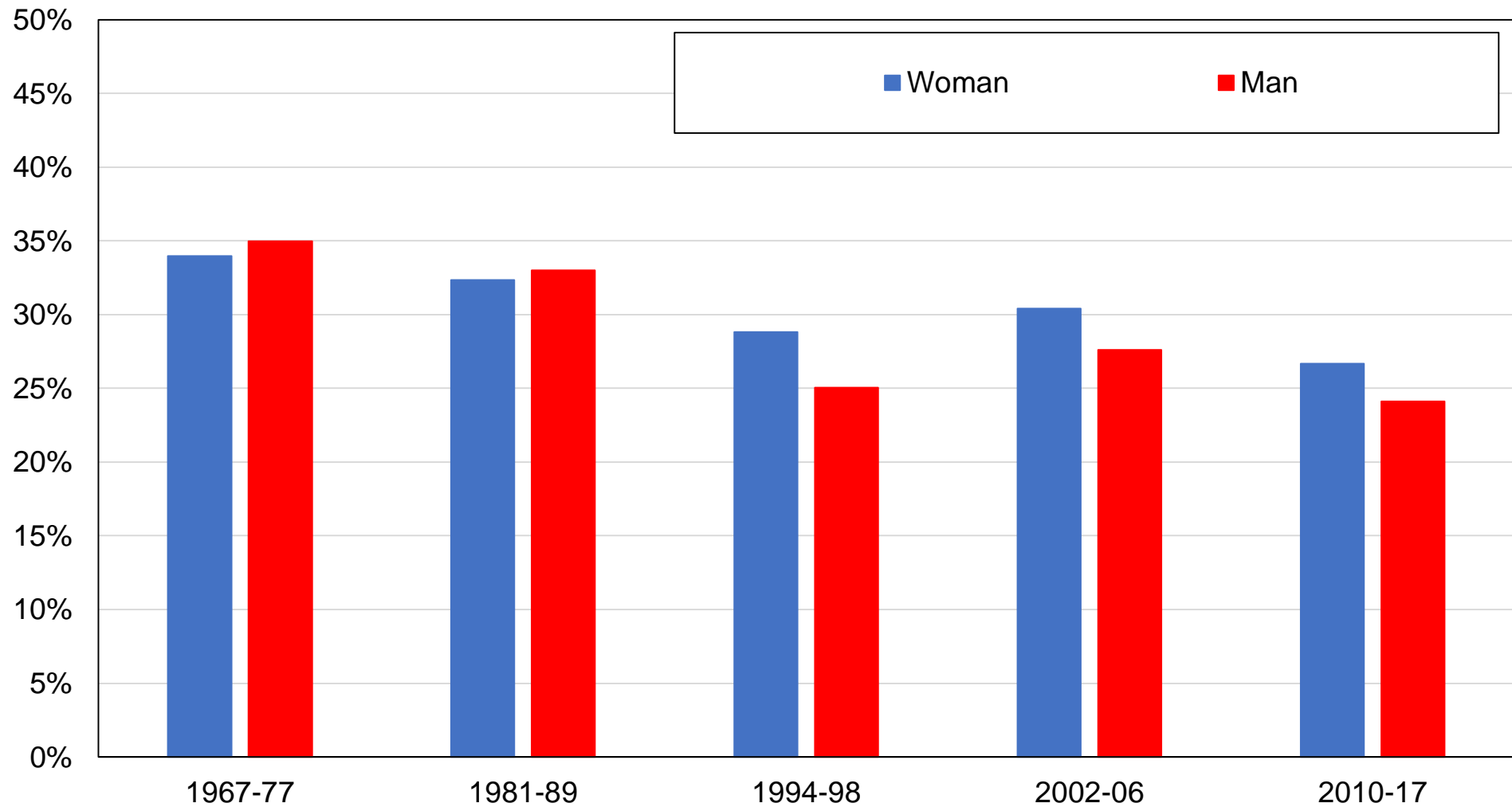
**Figure BD4 - Vote for left-wing parties by religious affiliation**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party (PvdA) and the Socialist Party (SP) by religious affiliation.

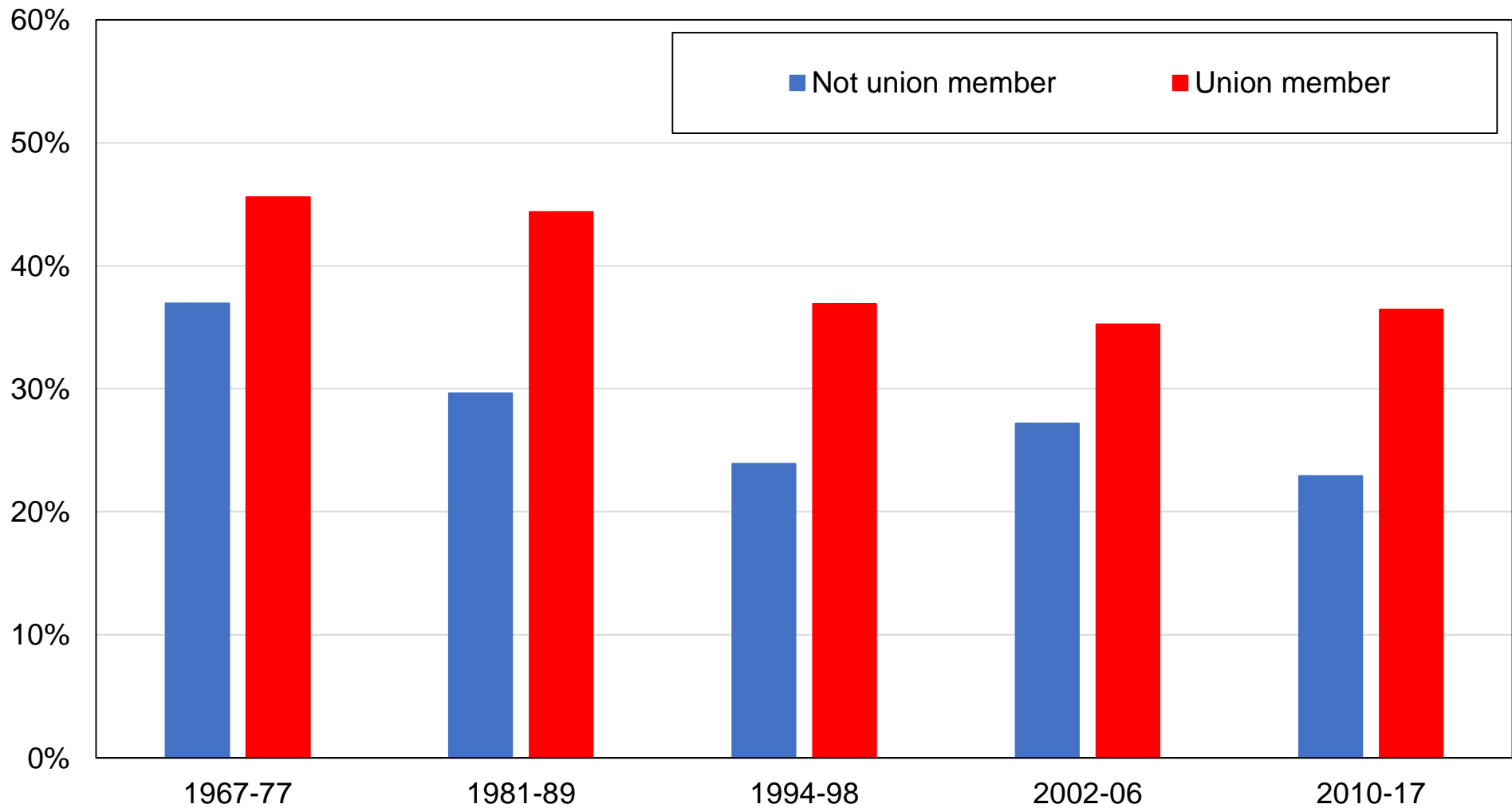
**Figure BD5 - Vote for left-wing parties by gender**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party (PvdA) and the Socialist Party (SP) by gender.

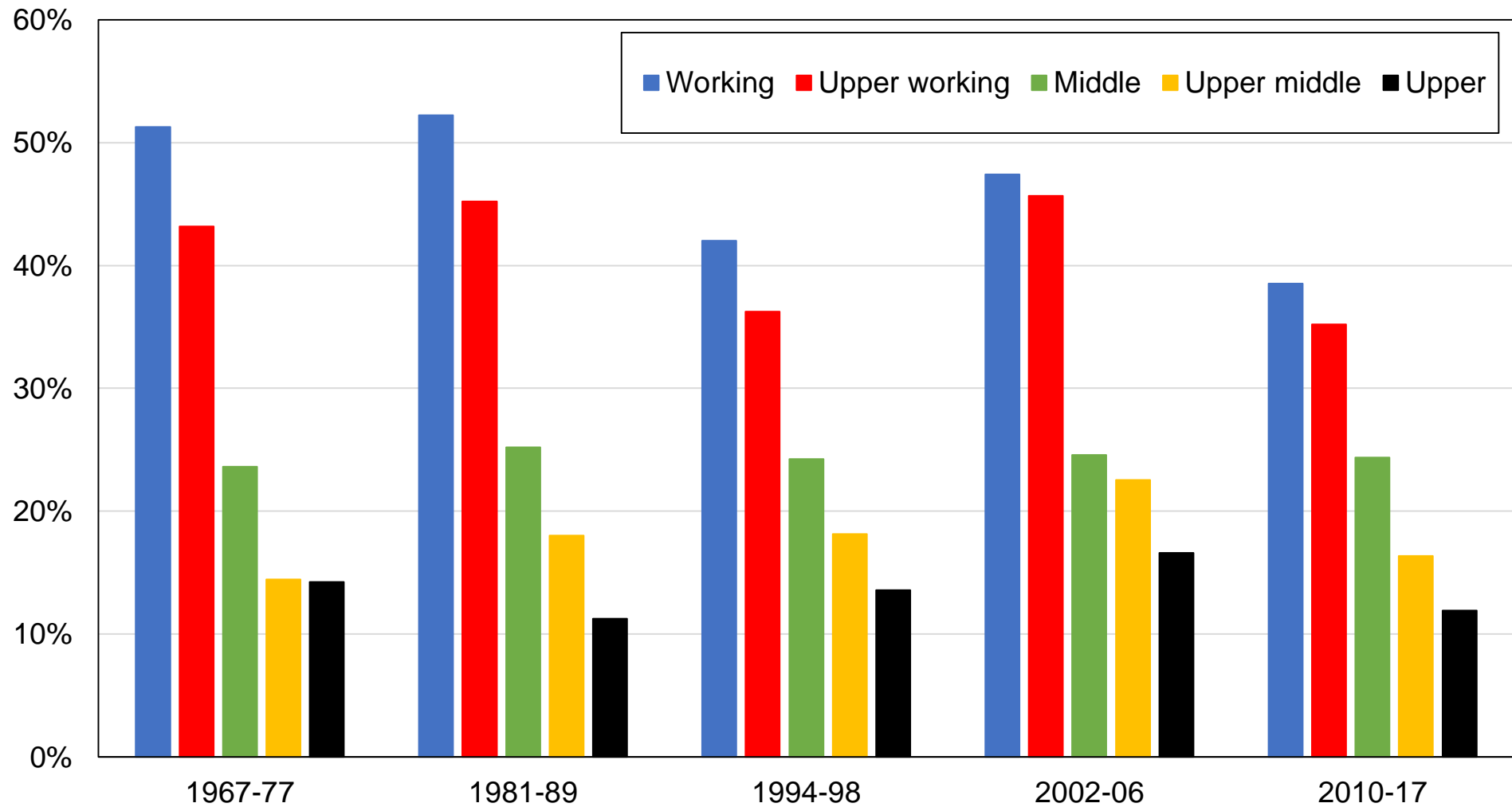
**Figure BD6 - Vote for left-wing parties by union membership**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party (PvdA) and the Socialist Party (SP) by union membership status.

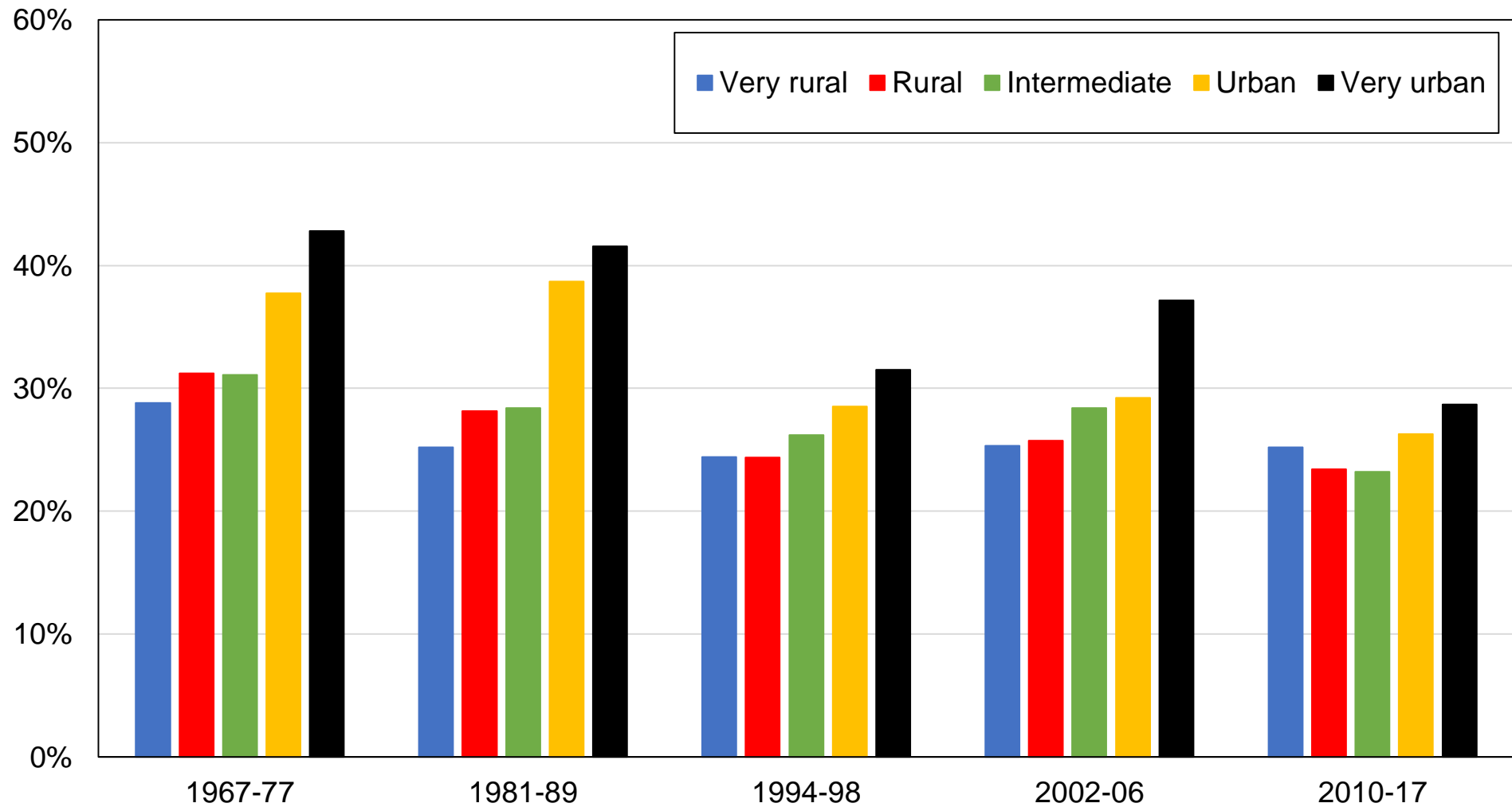
**Figure BD7 - Vote left-wing parties by self-perceived social class**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party (PvdA) and the Socialist Party (SP) by self-perceived social class.

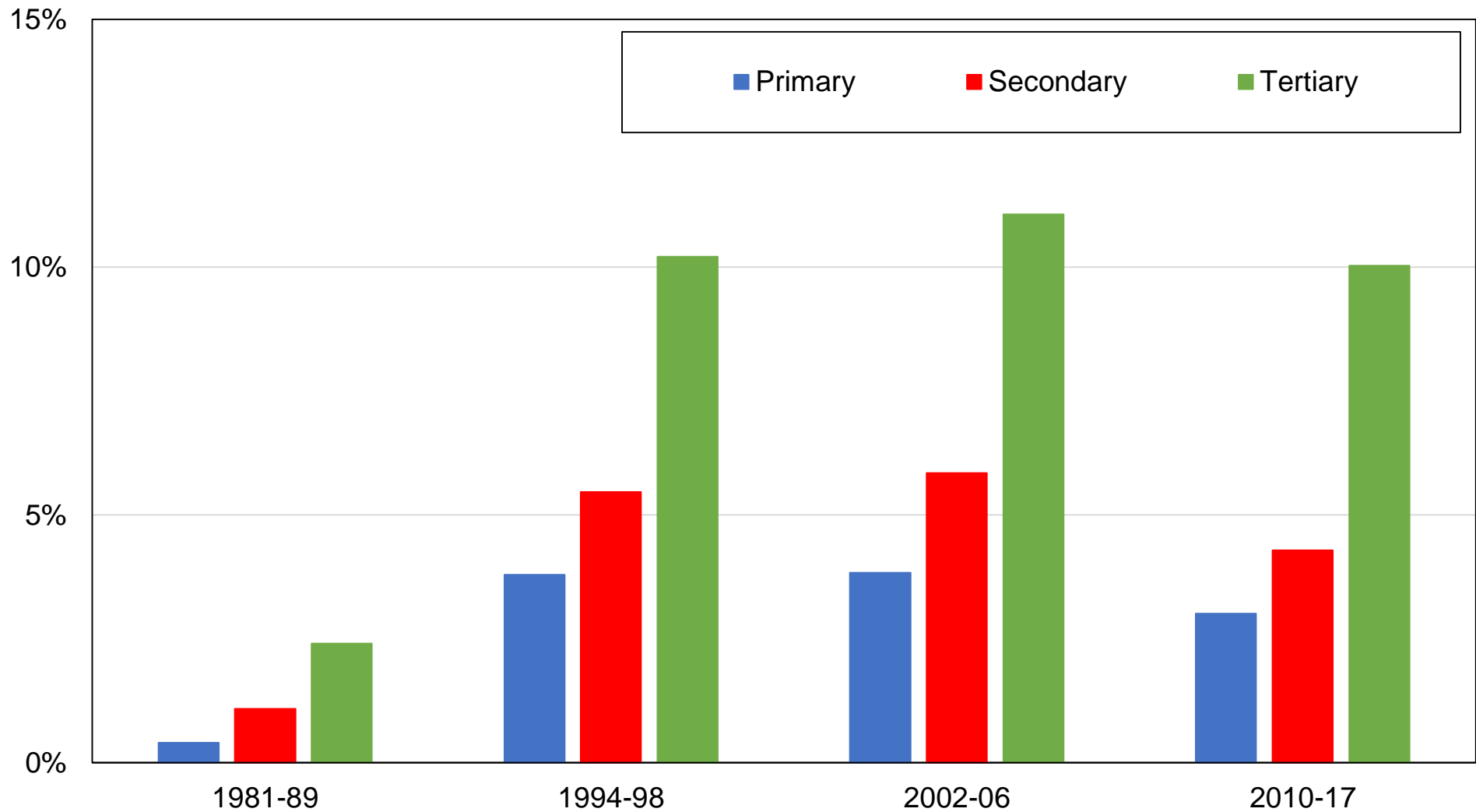
**Figure BD8 - Vote for left-wing parties by location**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party (PvdA) and the Socialist Party (SP) by rural-urban location.

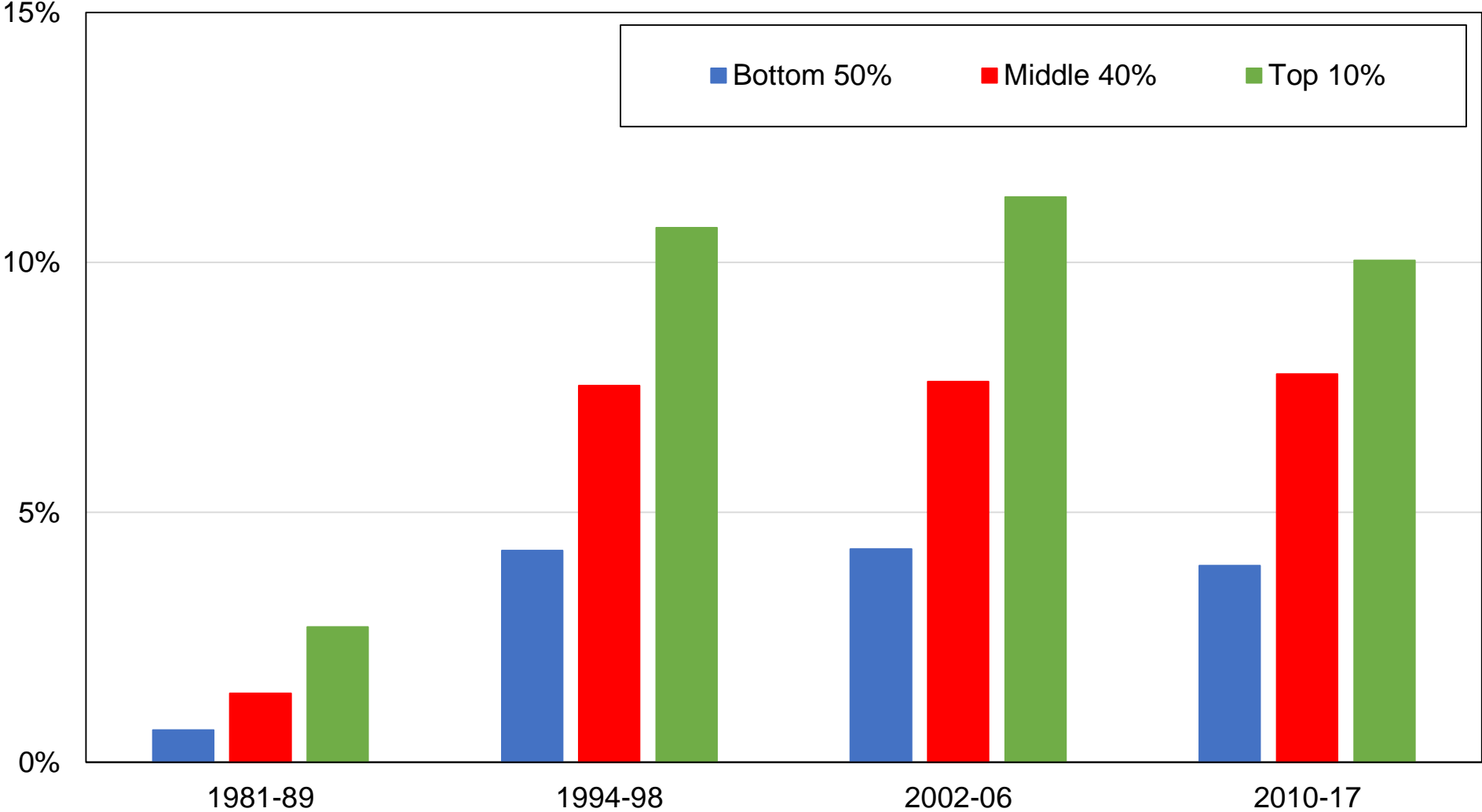
**Figure BD9 - Vote for GroenLinks by education level**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the GroenLinks (ecologists) by education level.

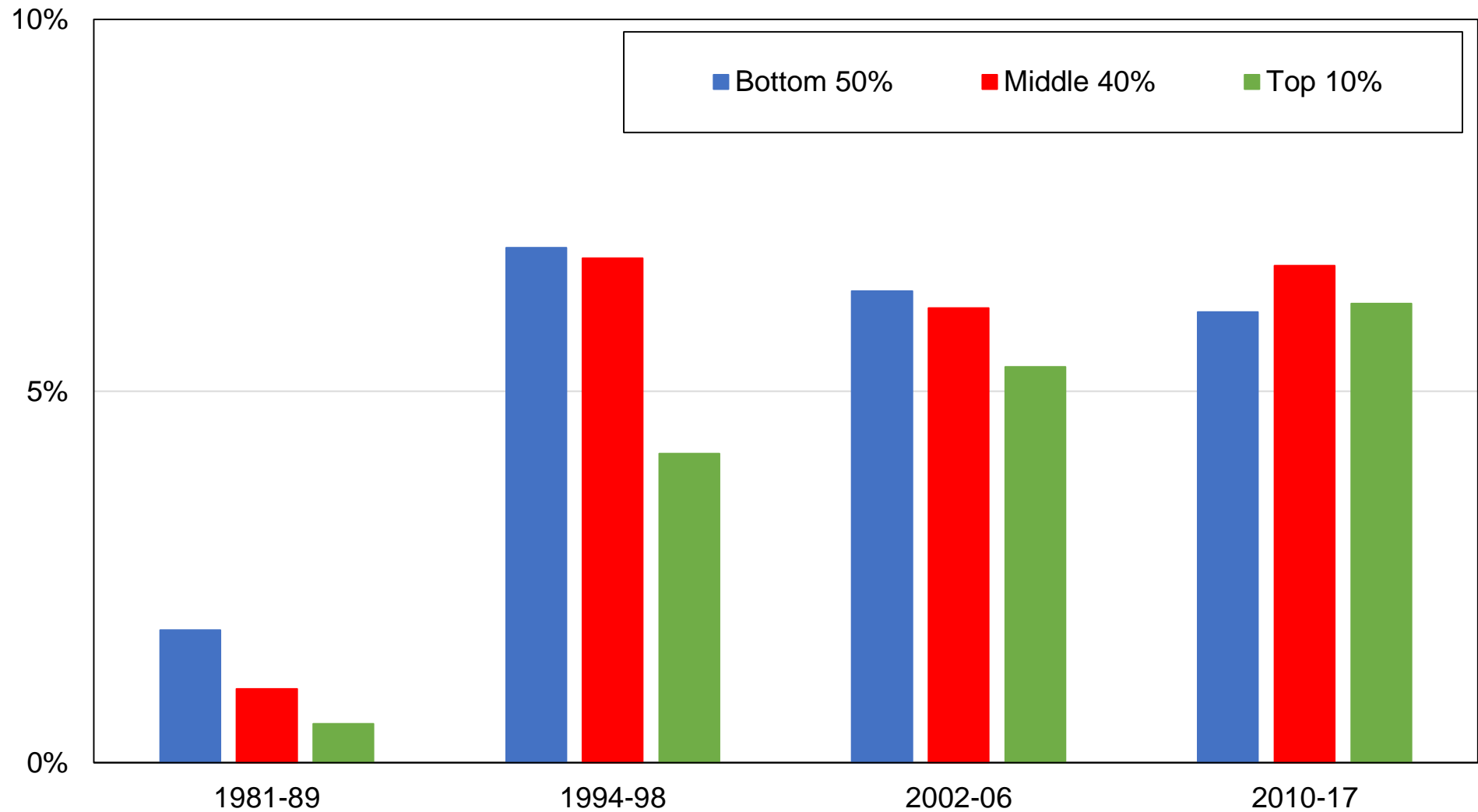
**Figure BD10 - Vote for GroenLinks by education group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the GroenLinks (ecologists) by education group.

**Figure BD11 - Vote for GroenLinks by income group**

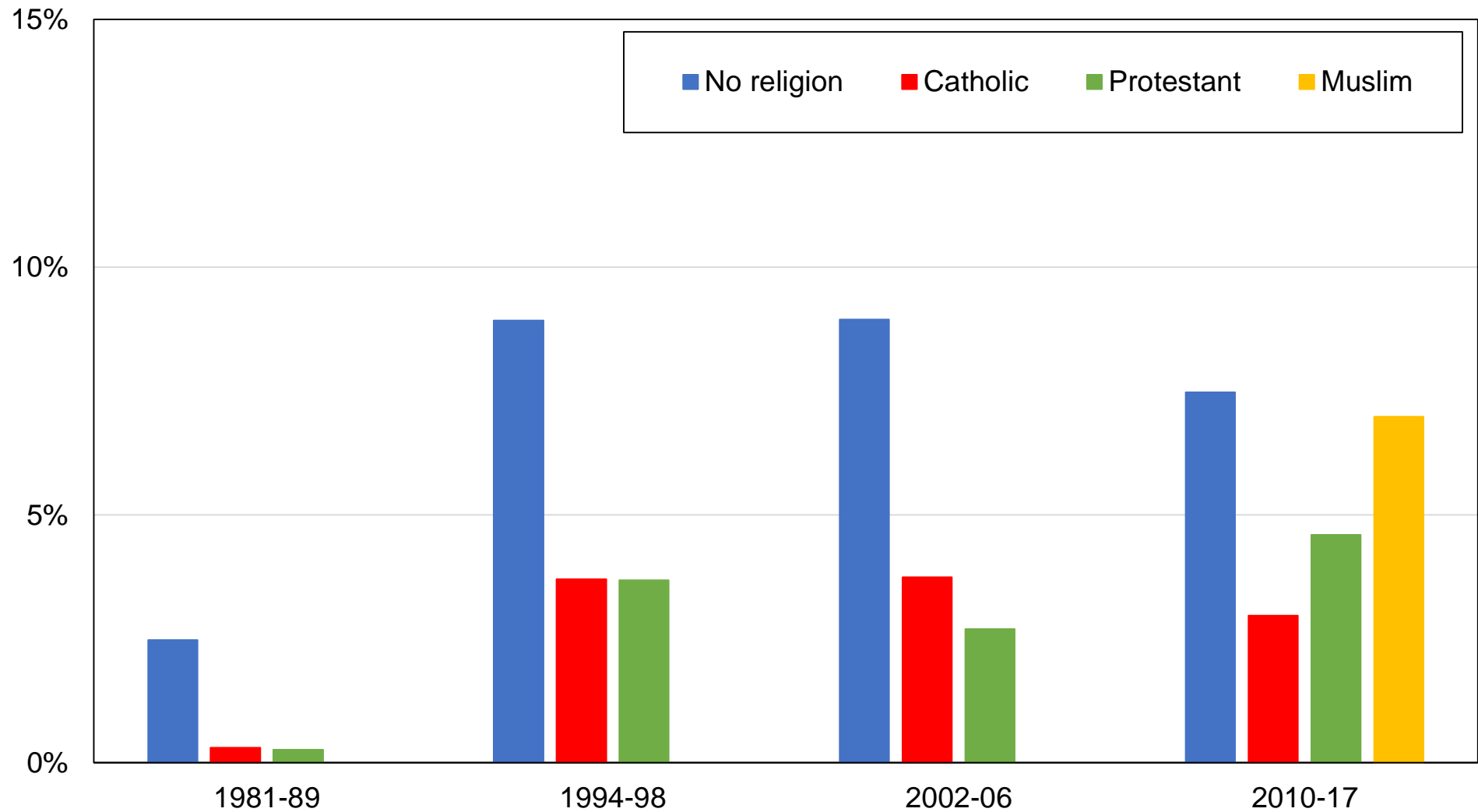


**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the GroenLinks (ecologists) by income group.



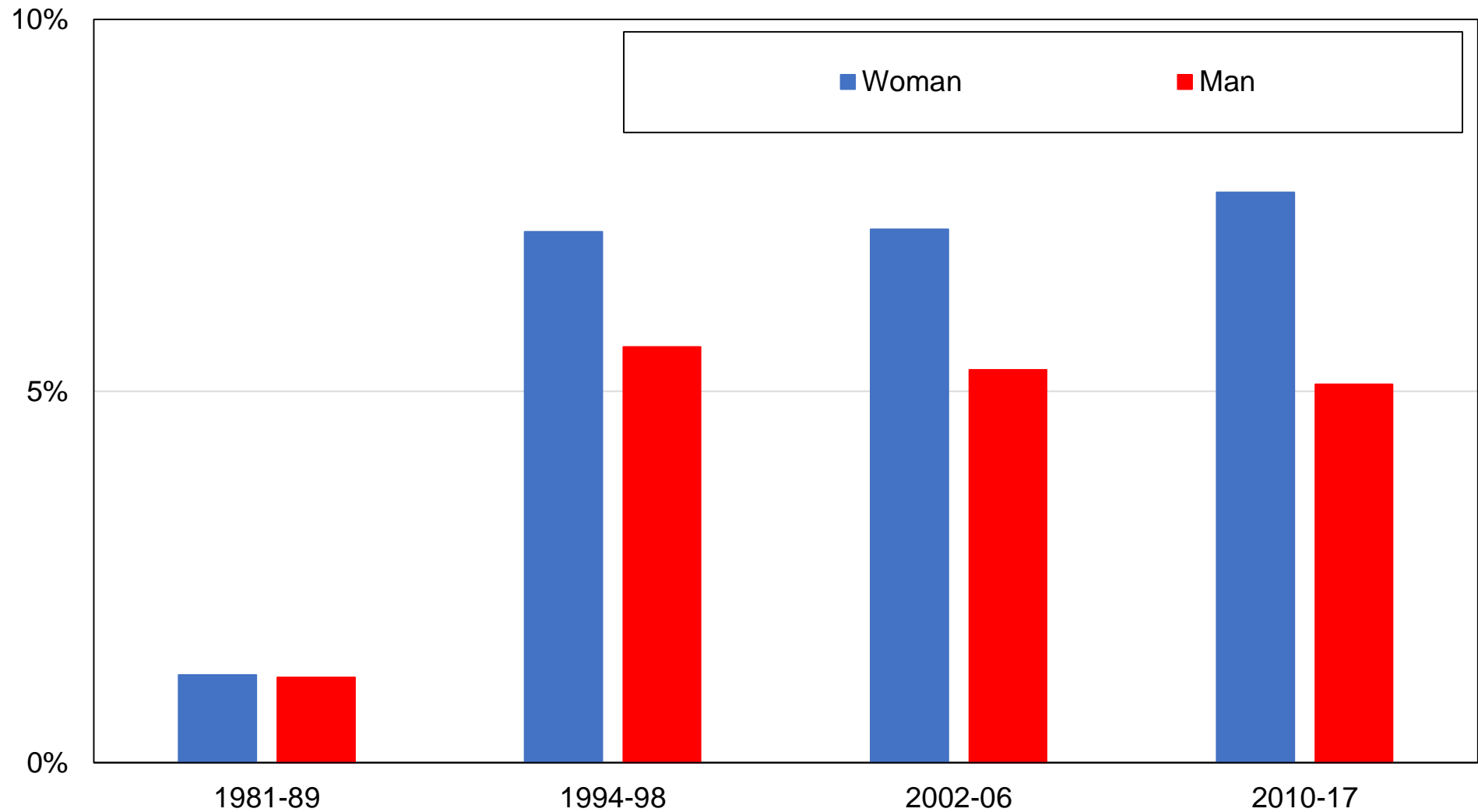
**Figure BD12 - Vote for GroenLinks by religious affiliation**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the GroenLinks (ecologists) by religious affiliation.

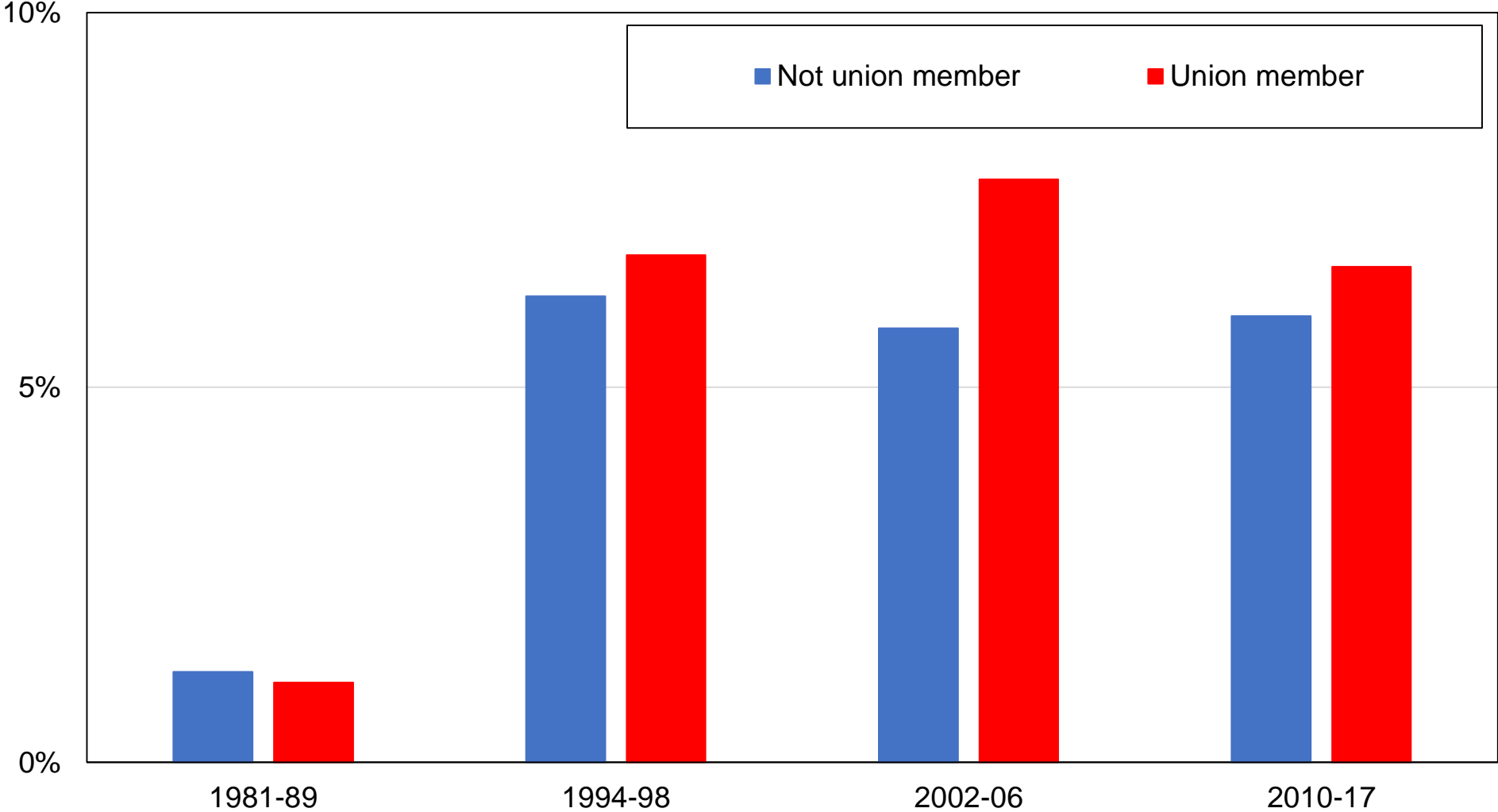
**Figure BD13 - Vote for GroenLinks by gender**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the GroenLinks (ecologists) by gender.

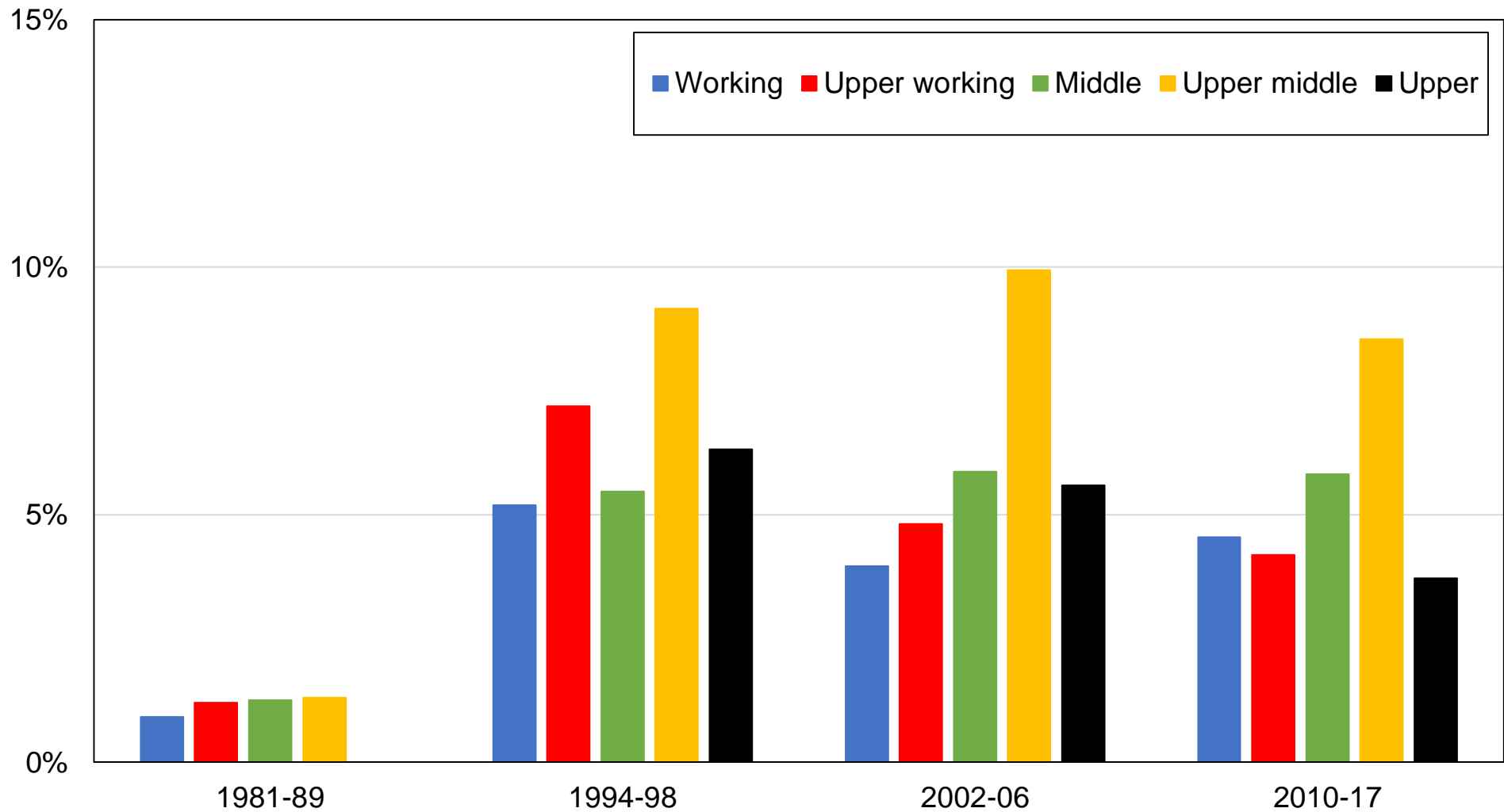
**Figure BD14 - Vote for GroenLinks by union membership**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the GroenLinks (ecologists) by union membership status.

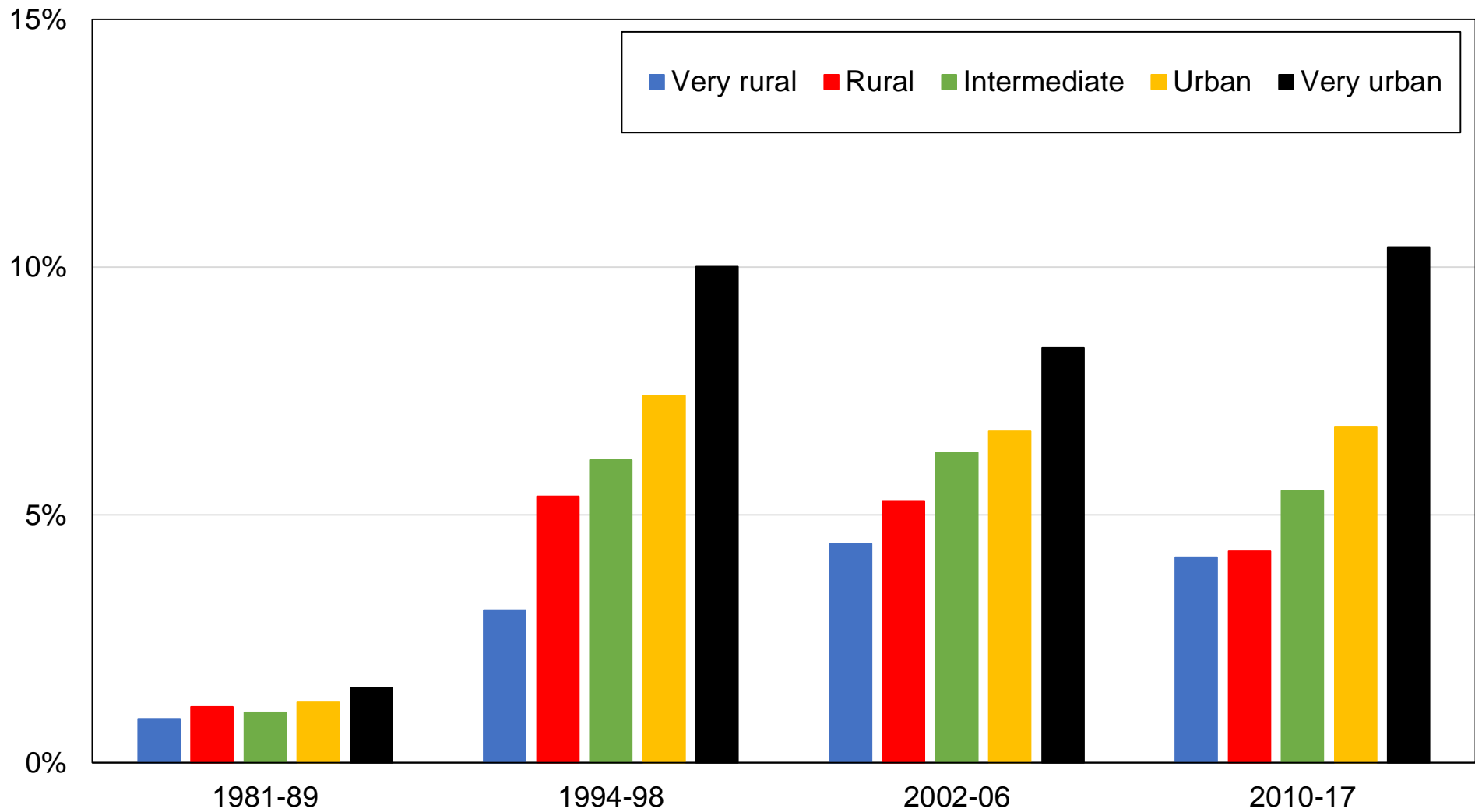
**Figure BD15 - Vote for GroenLinks by perceived class**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the GroenLinks (ecologists) by self-percieved social class.

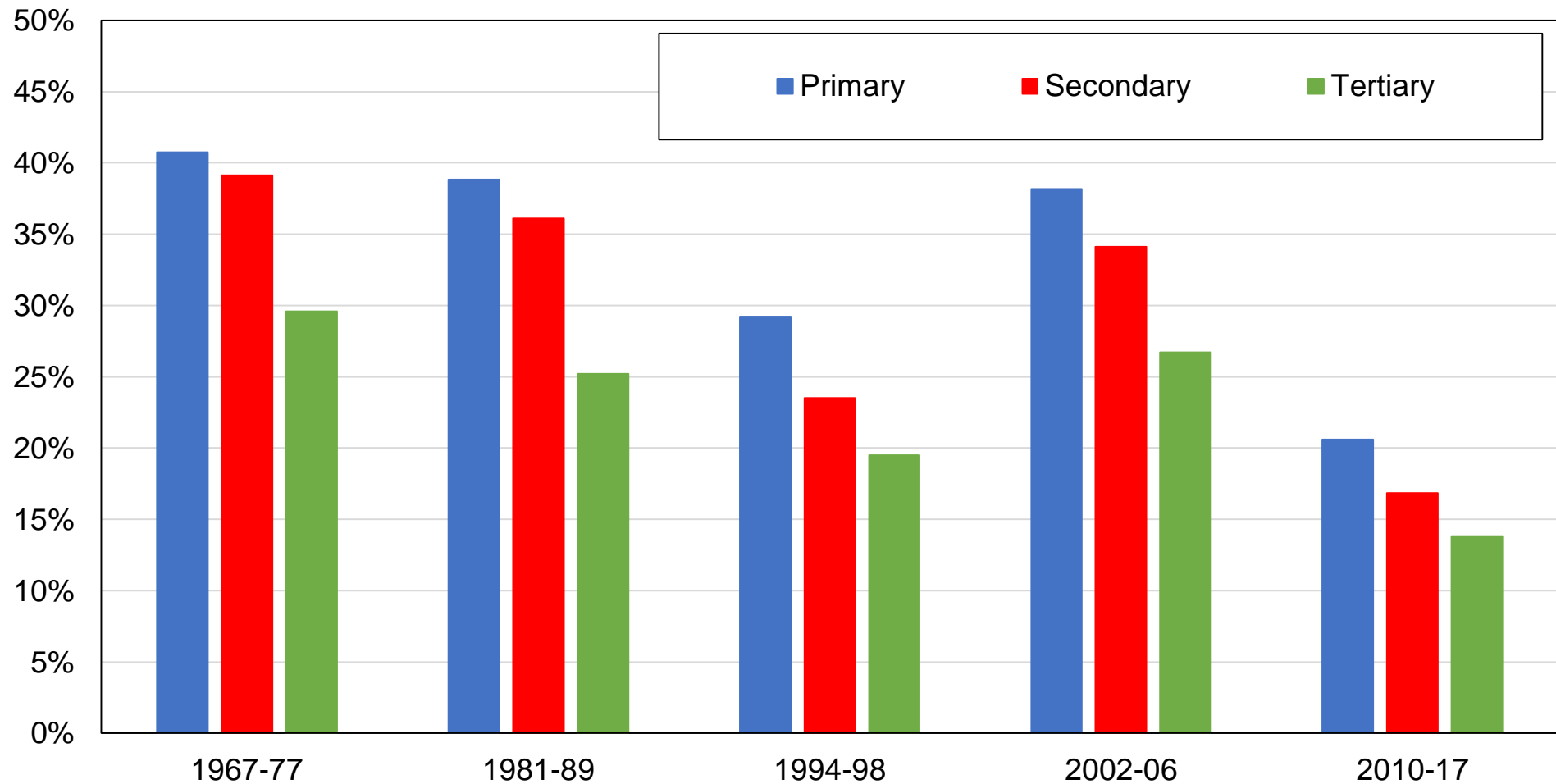
**Figure BD16 - Vote for GroenLinks by location**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the GroenLinks (ecologists) by rural-urban location.

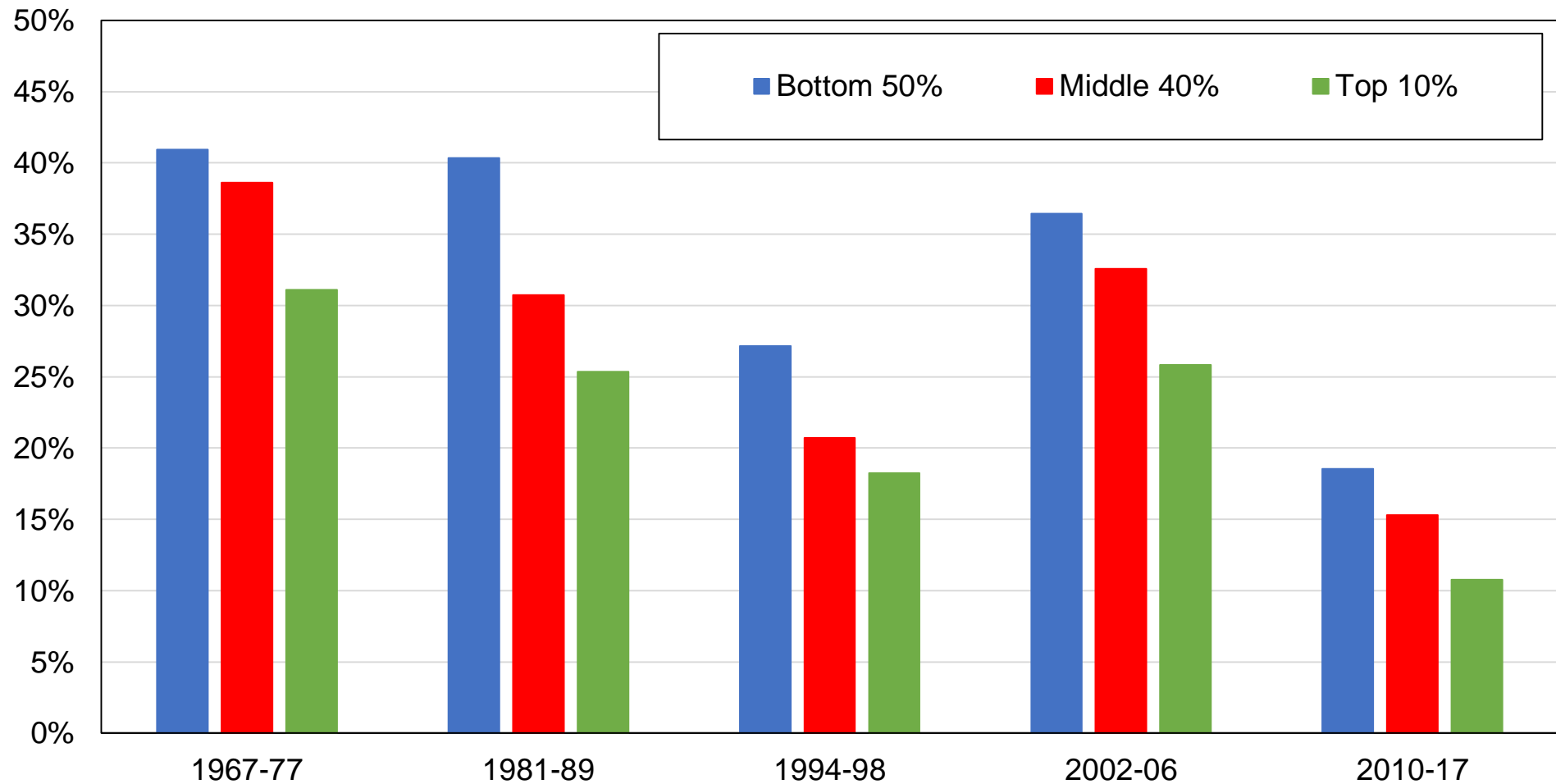
**Figure BD17 - Vote for Christian-democratic parties by education level**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA), Christian Historical Union (CHU), Christian Union (CU), Catholic People's Party (KVP), Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP), Reformed Political League (GPV), and Reformatory Political Federation (RPF) by education level.

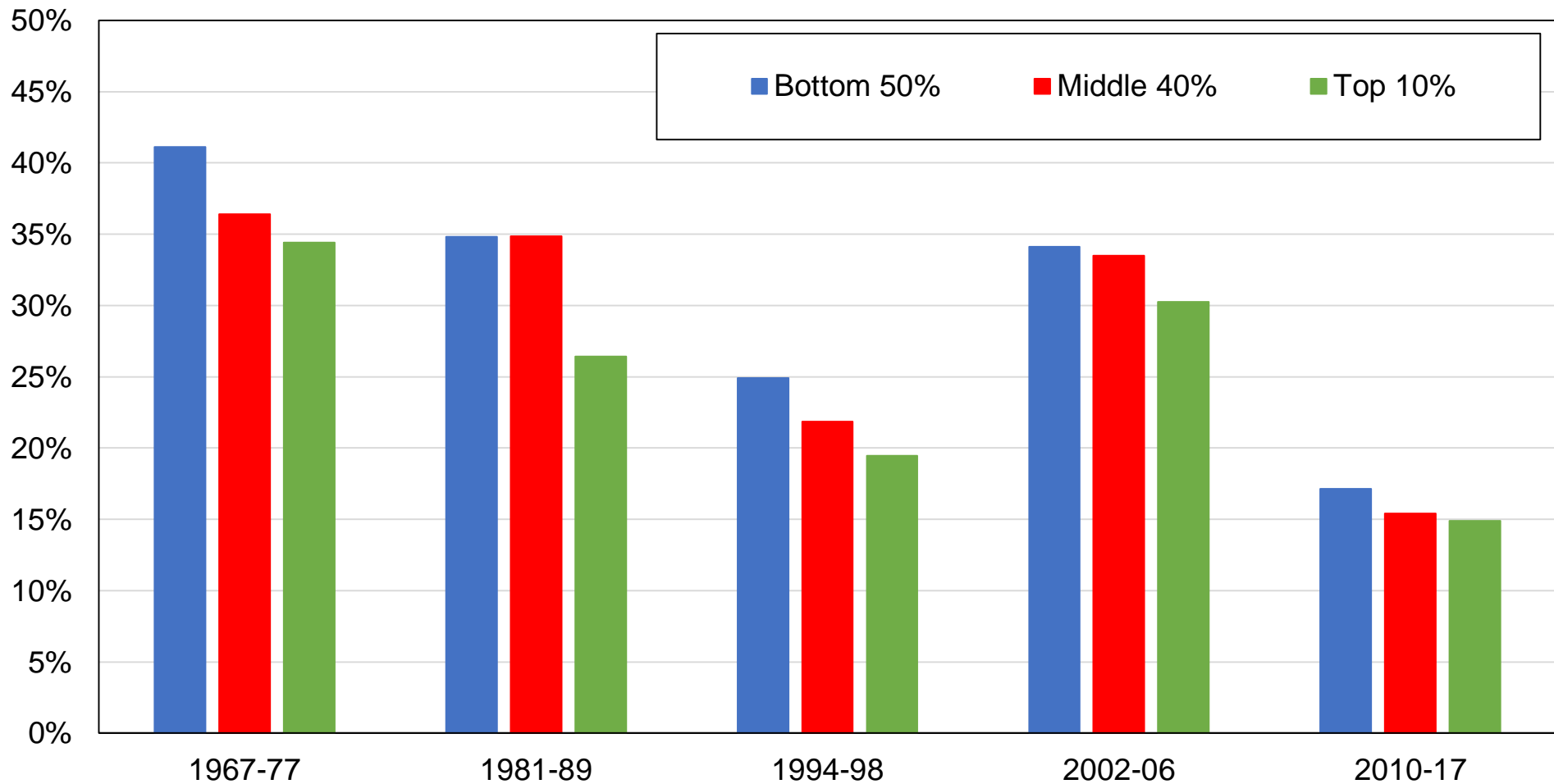
**Figure BD18 - Vote for Christian-democratic parties by education group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA), Christian Historical Union (CHU), Christian Union (CU), Catholic People's Party (KVP), Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP), Reformed Political League (GPV), and Reformatory Political Federation (RPF) by education group.

**Figure BD19 - Vote for Christian-democratic parties by income group**

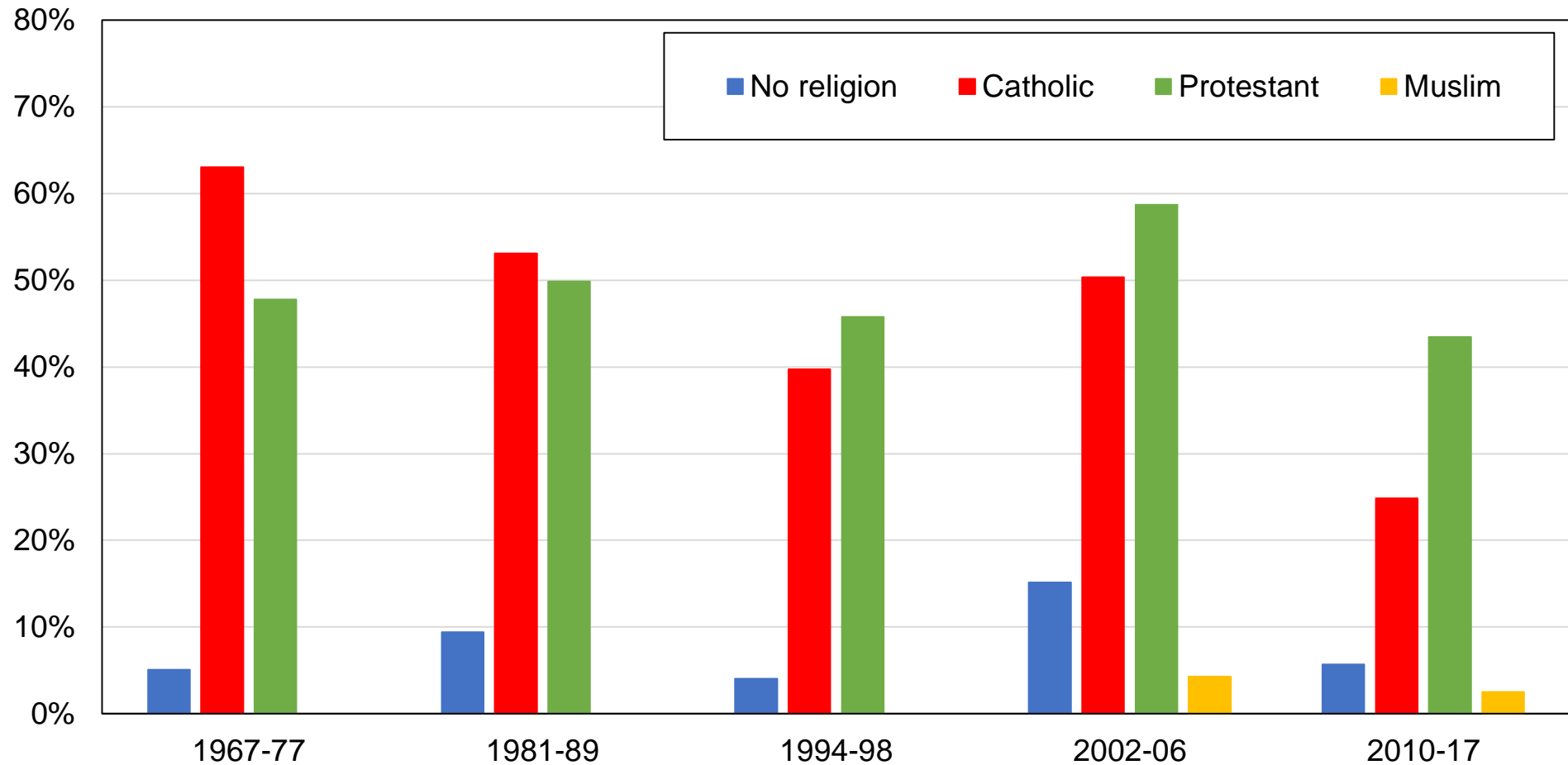


**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA), Christian Historical Union (CHU), Christian Union (CU), Catholic People's Party (KVP), Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP), Reformed Political League (GPV), and Reformatory Political Federation (RPF) by income group.



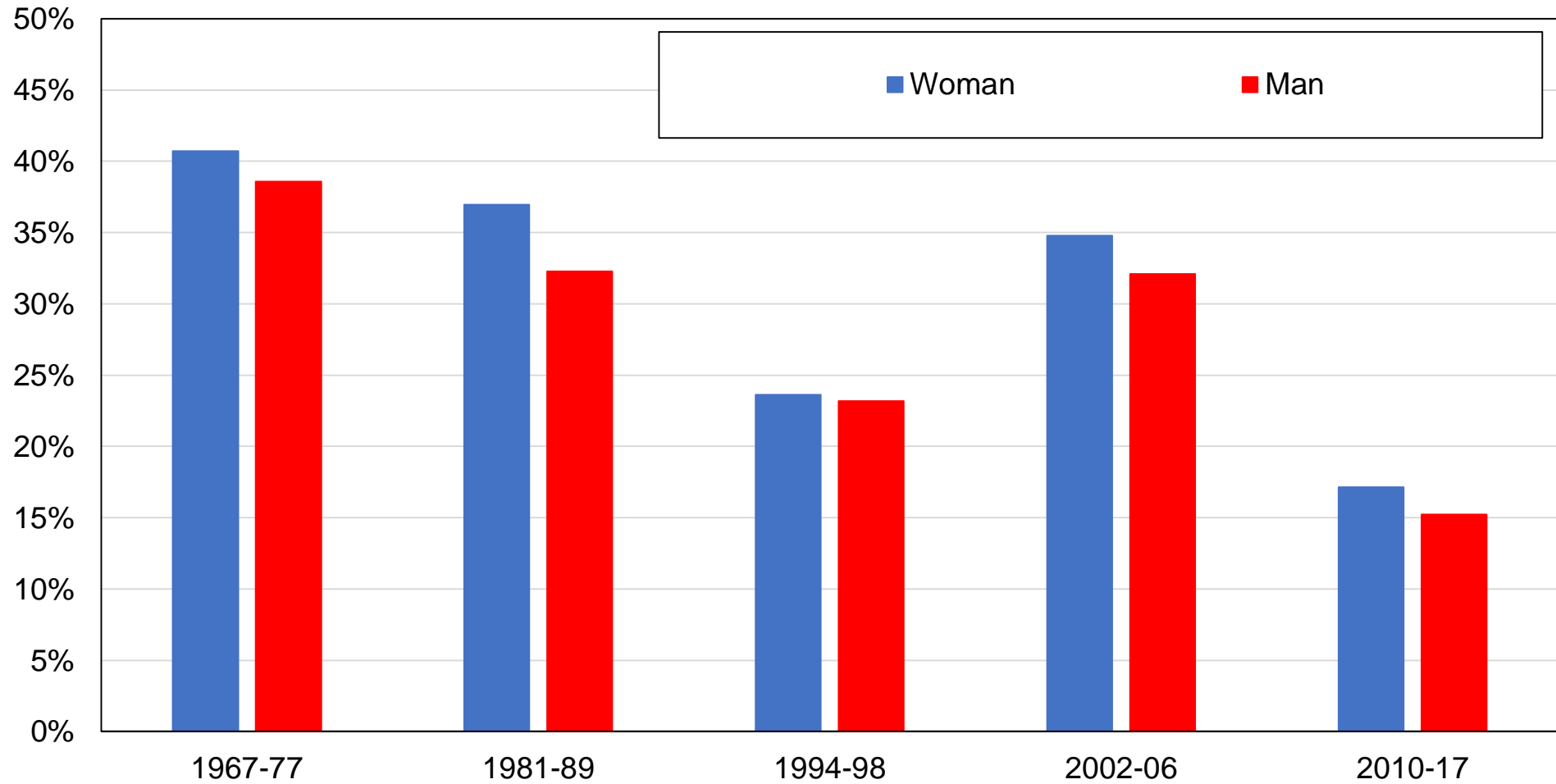
**Figure BD20 - Vote for Christian-democratic parties by religious affiliation**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA), Christian Historical Union (CHU), Christian Union (CU), Catholic People's Party (KVP), Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP), Reformed Political League (GPV), and Reformatory Political Federation (RPF) by religious affiliation

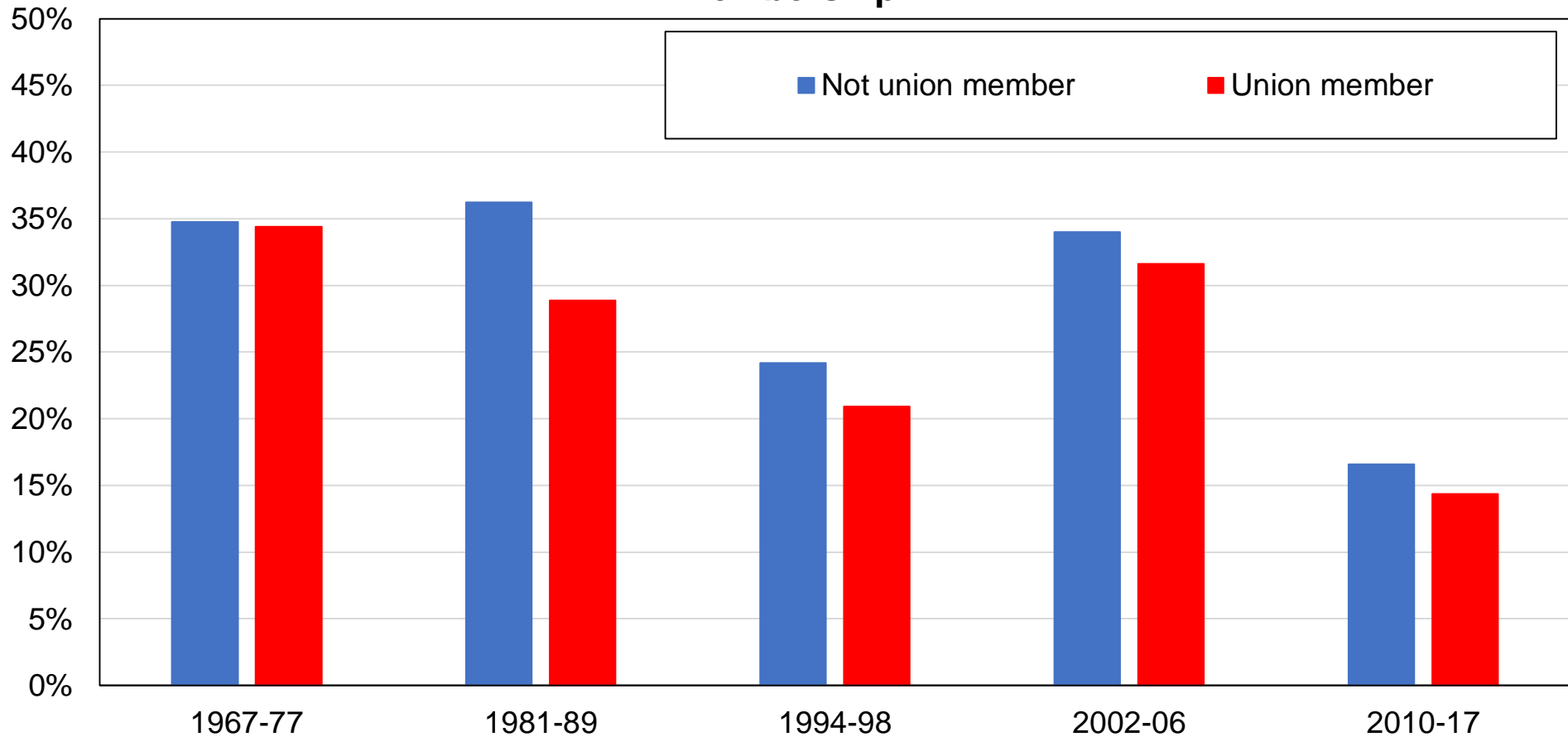
**Figure BD21 - Vote for Christian-democratic parties by gender**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA), Christian Historical Union (CHU), Christian Union (CU), Catholic People's Party (KVP), Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP), Reformed Political League (GPV), and Reformatory Political Federation (RPF) by gender.

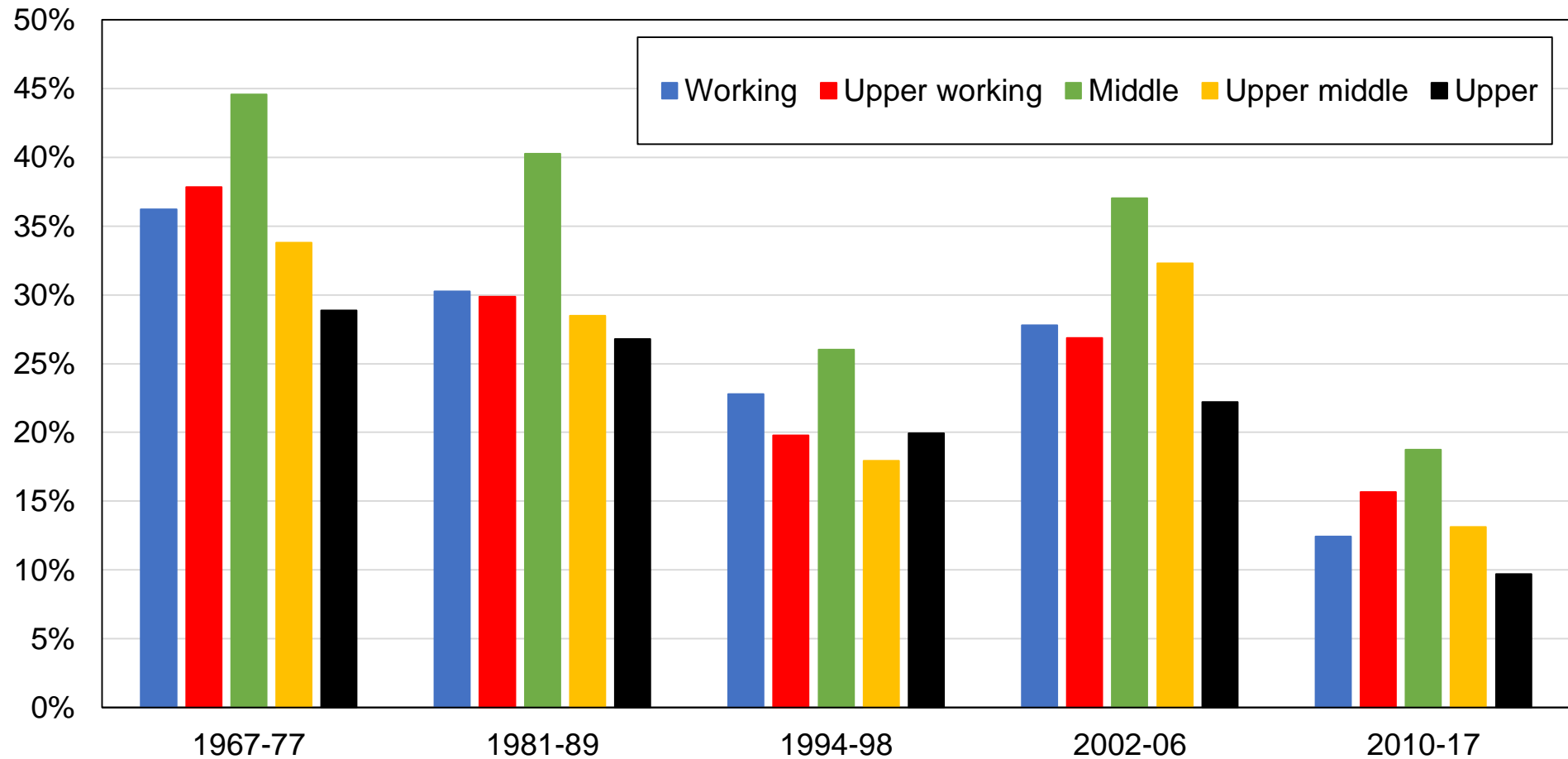
**Figure BD22 - Vote for Christian-democratic parties by union membership**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA), Christian Historical Union (CHU), Christian Union (CU), Catholic People's Party (KVP), Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP), Reformed Political League (GPV), and Reformatory Political Federation (RPF) by union membership status.

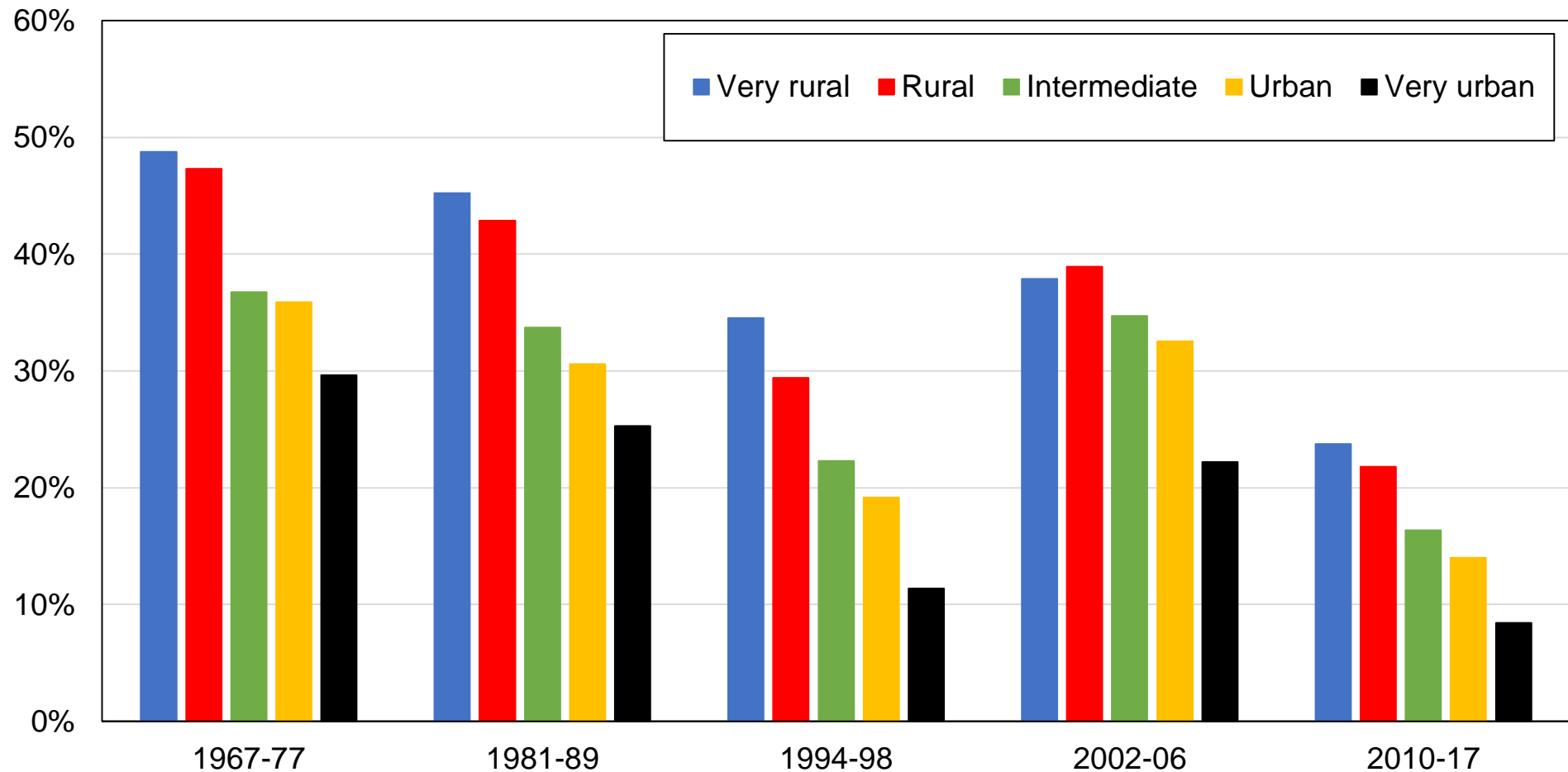
**Figure BD23 - Vote for Christian-democratic parties by self-perceived social class**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA), Christian Historical Union (CHU), Christian Union (CU), Catholic People's Party (KVP), Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP), Reformed Political League (GPV), and Reformatory Political Federation (RPF) by self-perceived social class.

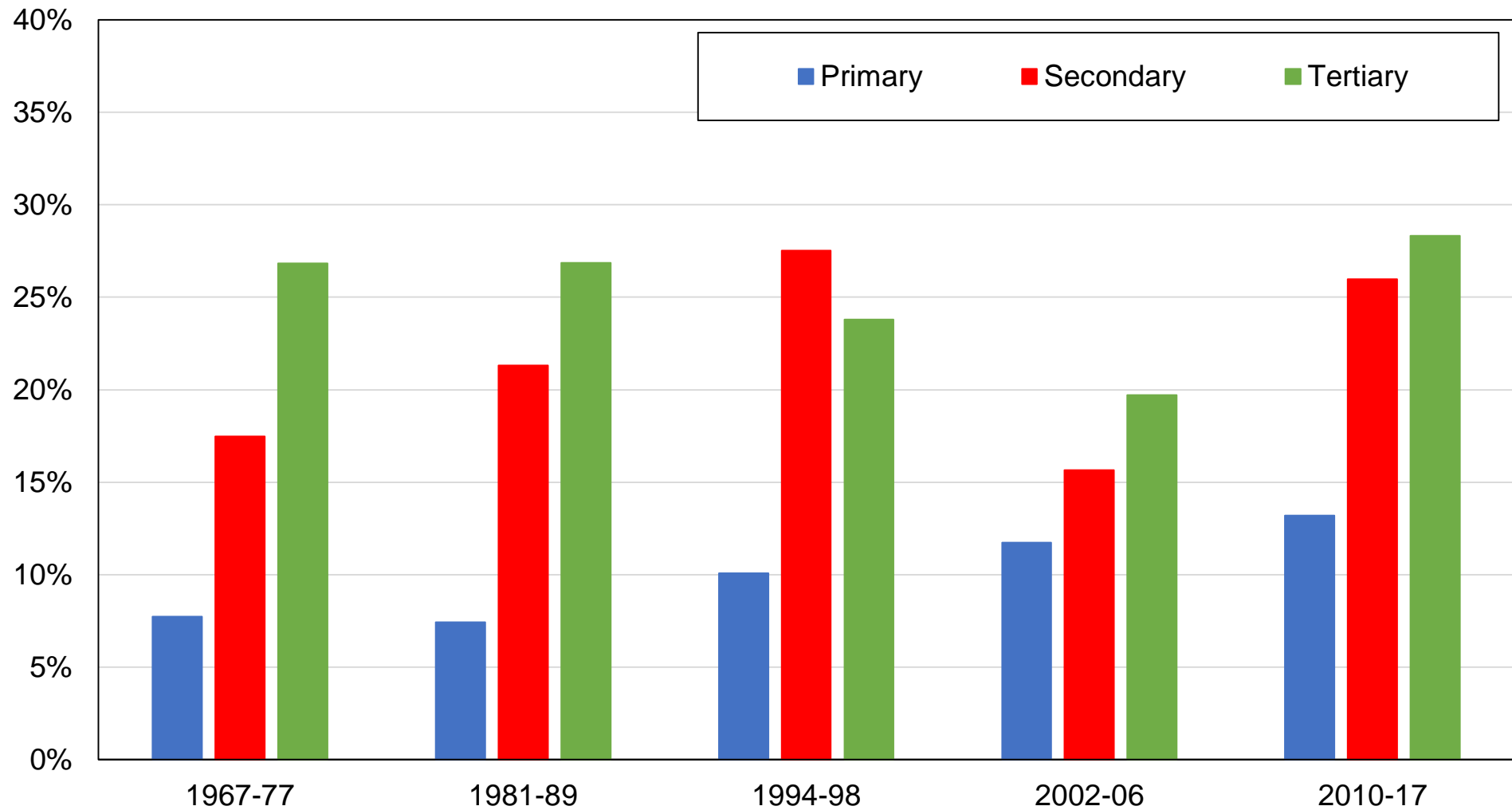
**Figure BD24 - Vote for Christian-democratic parties by location**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA), Christian Historical Union (CHU), Christian Union (CU), Catholic People's Party (KVP), Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP), Reformed Political League (GPV), and Reformatory Political Federation (RPF) by rural-urban location.

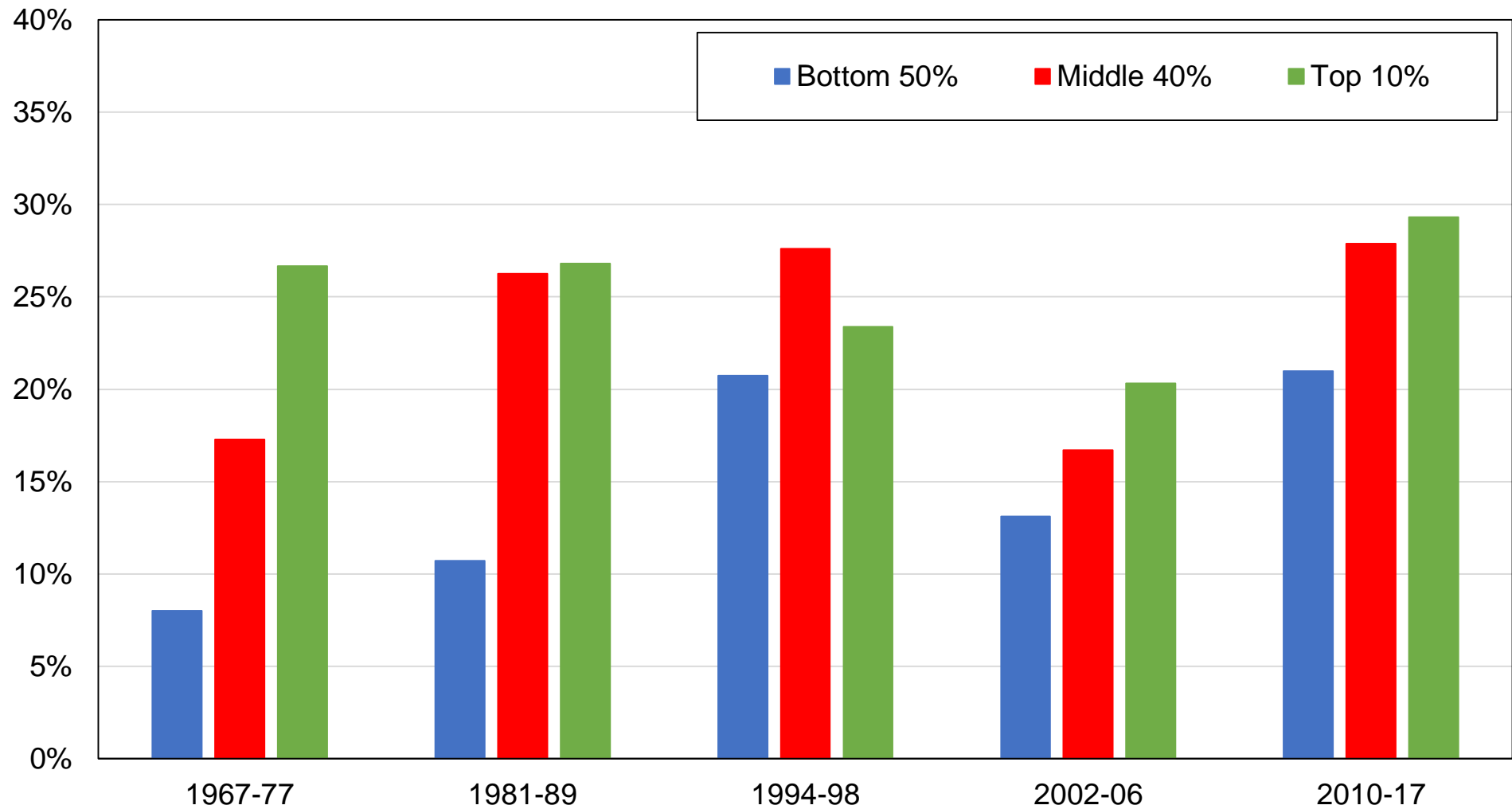
**Figure BD25 - Vote for the liberals by education level**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD) by education level.

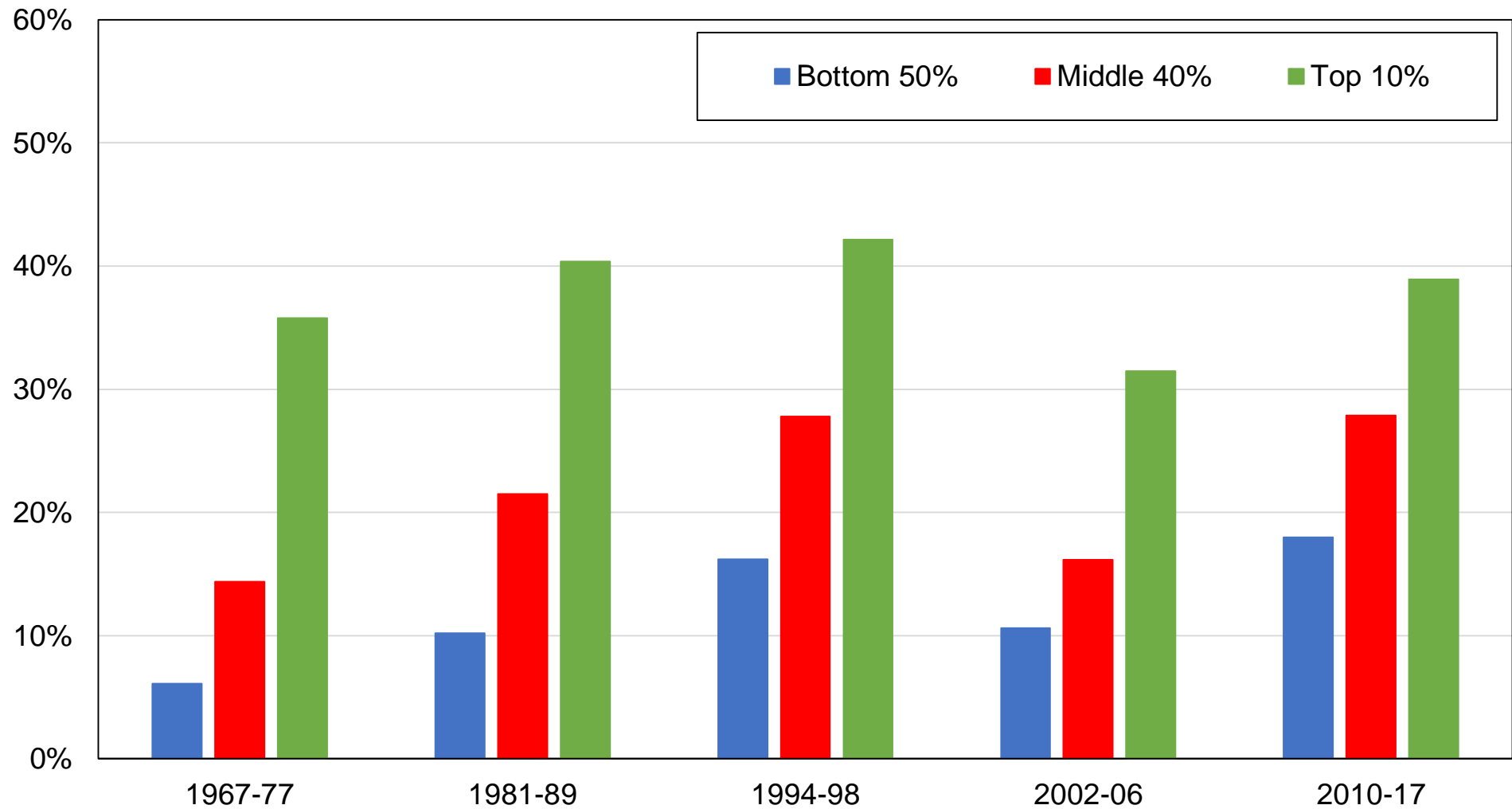
**Figure BD26 - Vote for the liberals by education group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD) by education group.

**Figure BD27 - Vote for the liberals by income group**

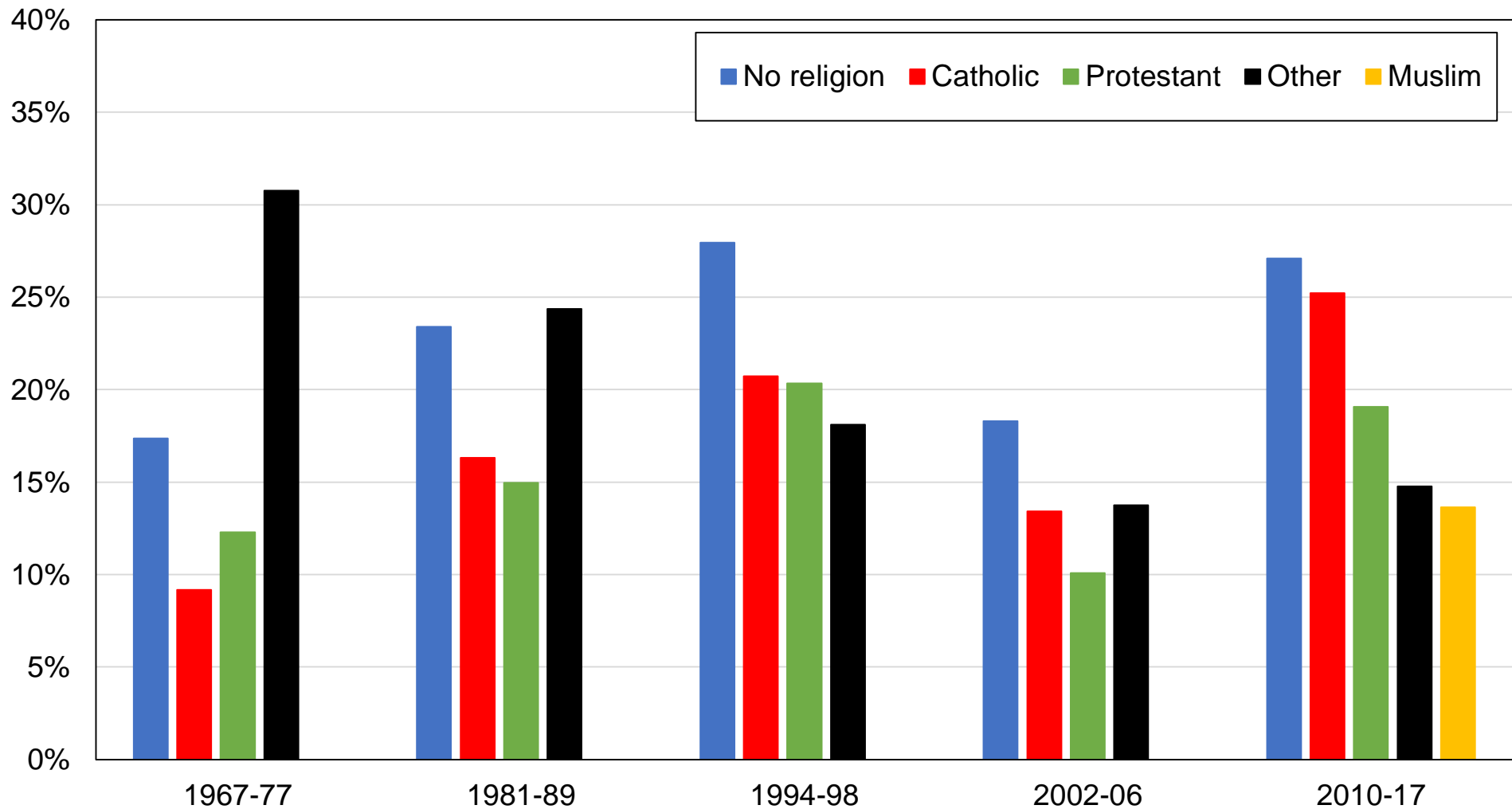


**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD) by income group.



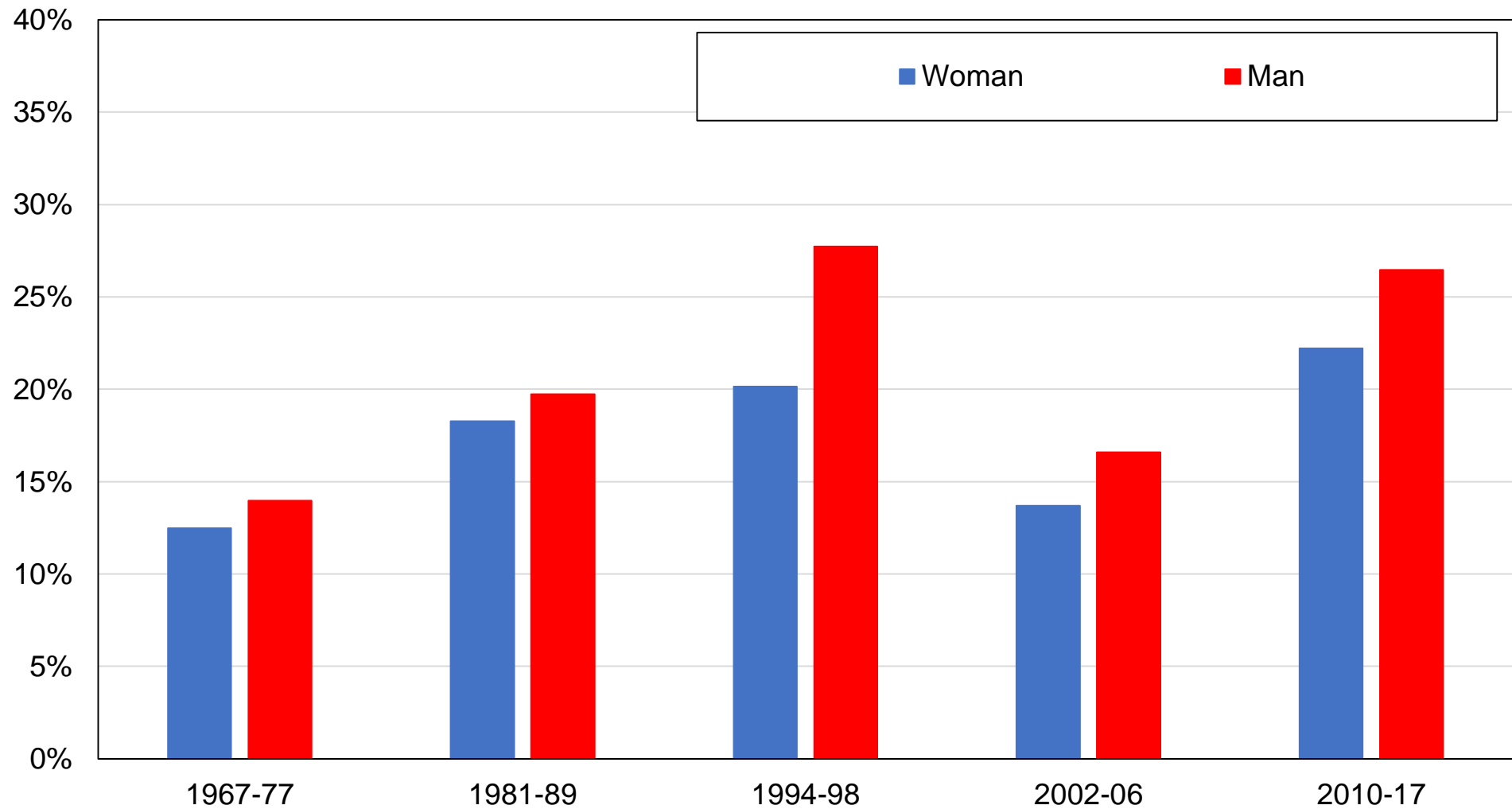
**Figure BD28 - Vote for the liberals by religious affiliation**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD) by religious affiliation.

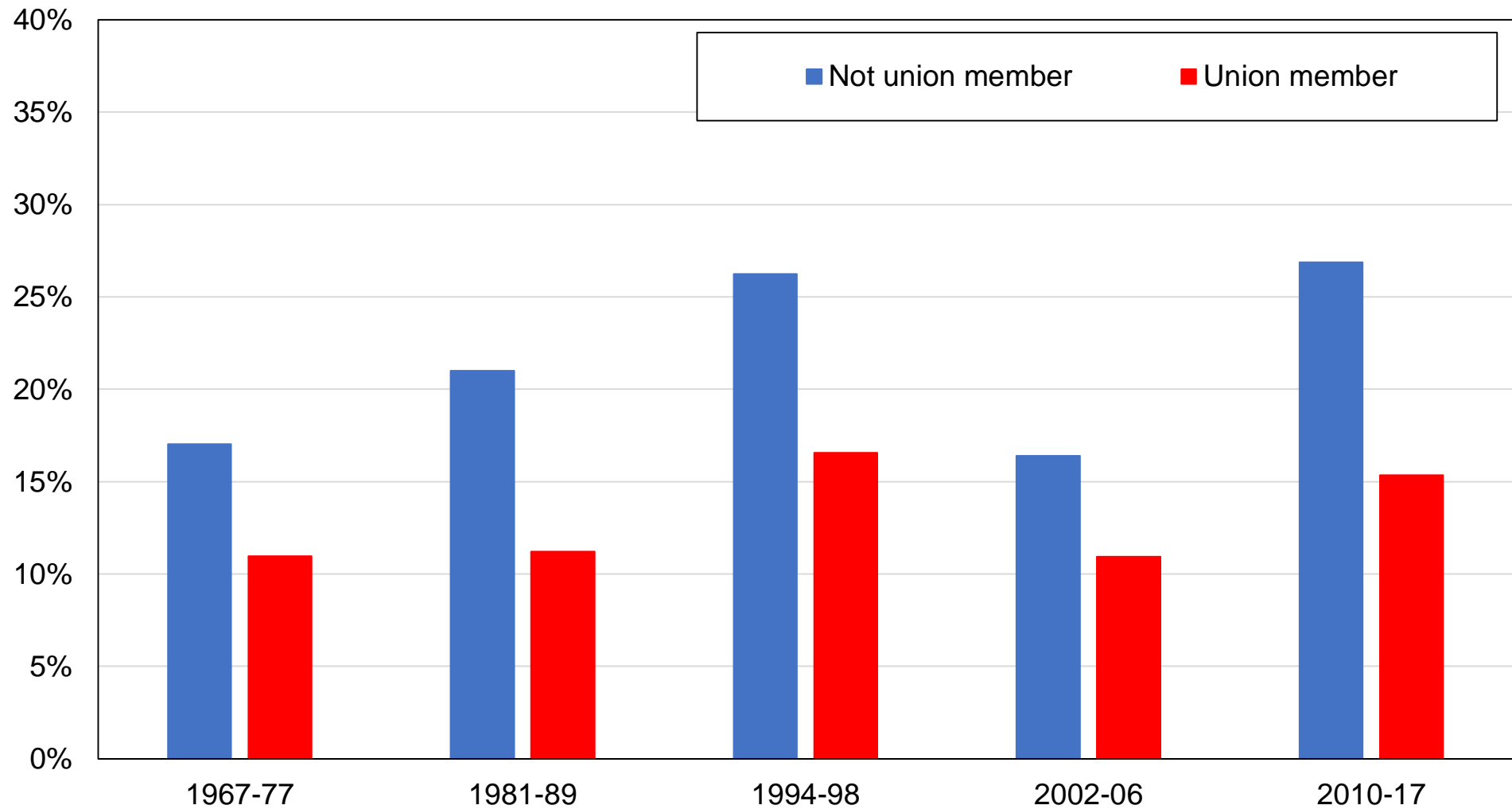
**Figure BD29 - Vote for the liberals by gender**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD) by gender.

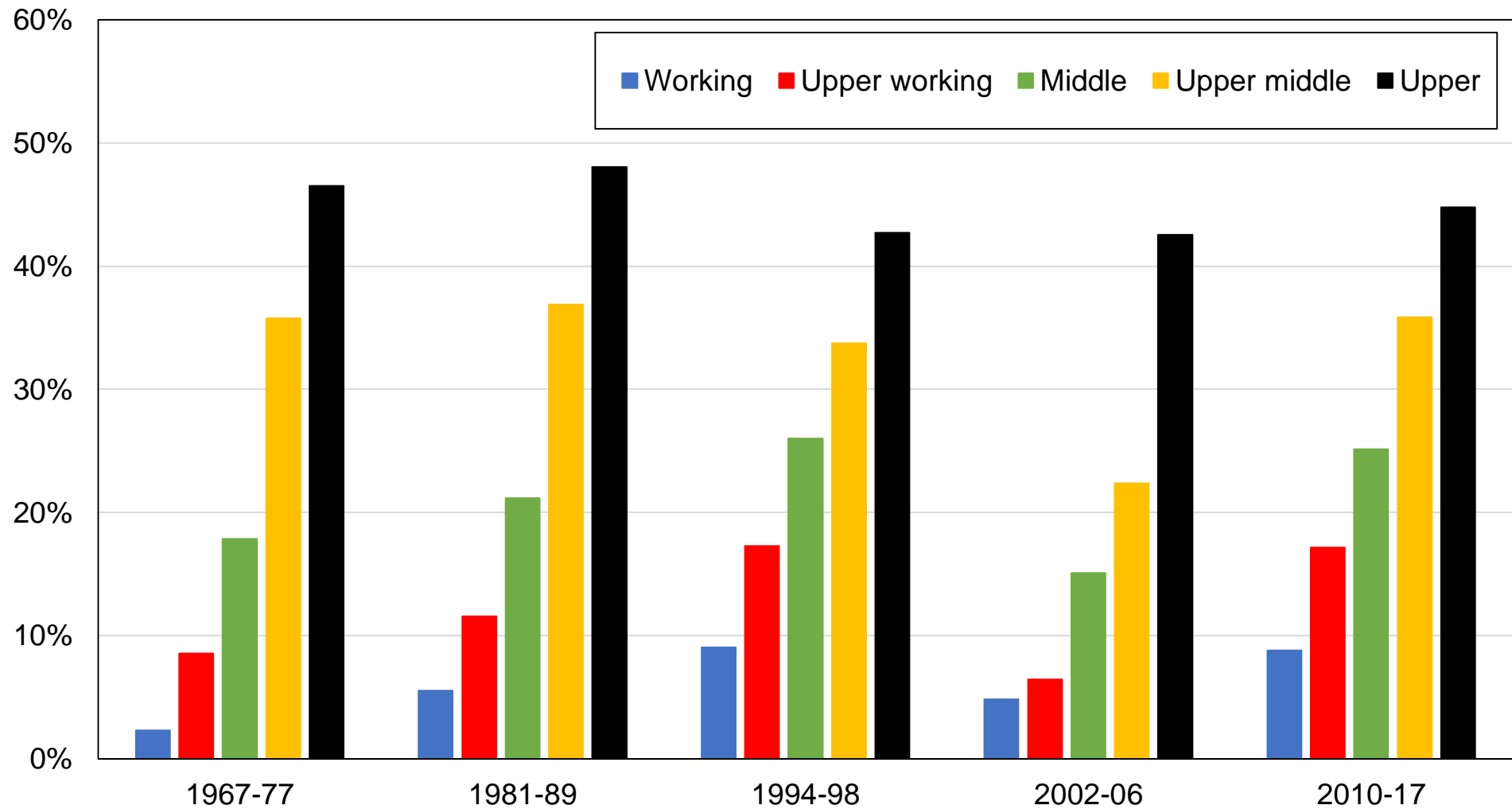
**Figure BD30 - Vote for the liberals by union membership**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD) by union membership status.

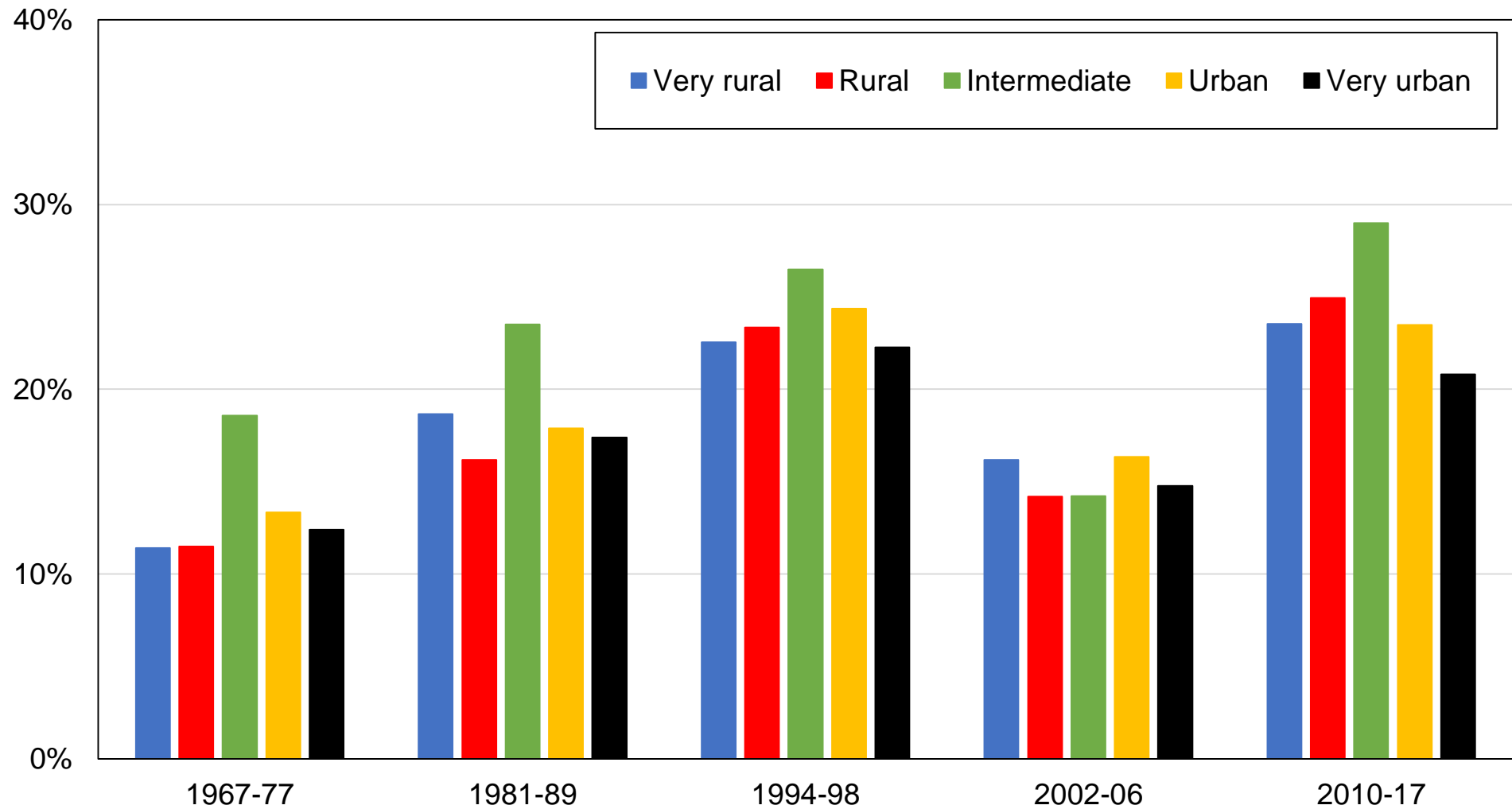
**Figure BD31 - Vote for the liberals by self-perceived social class**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD) by self-percieved social class.

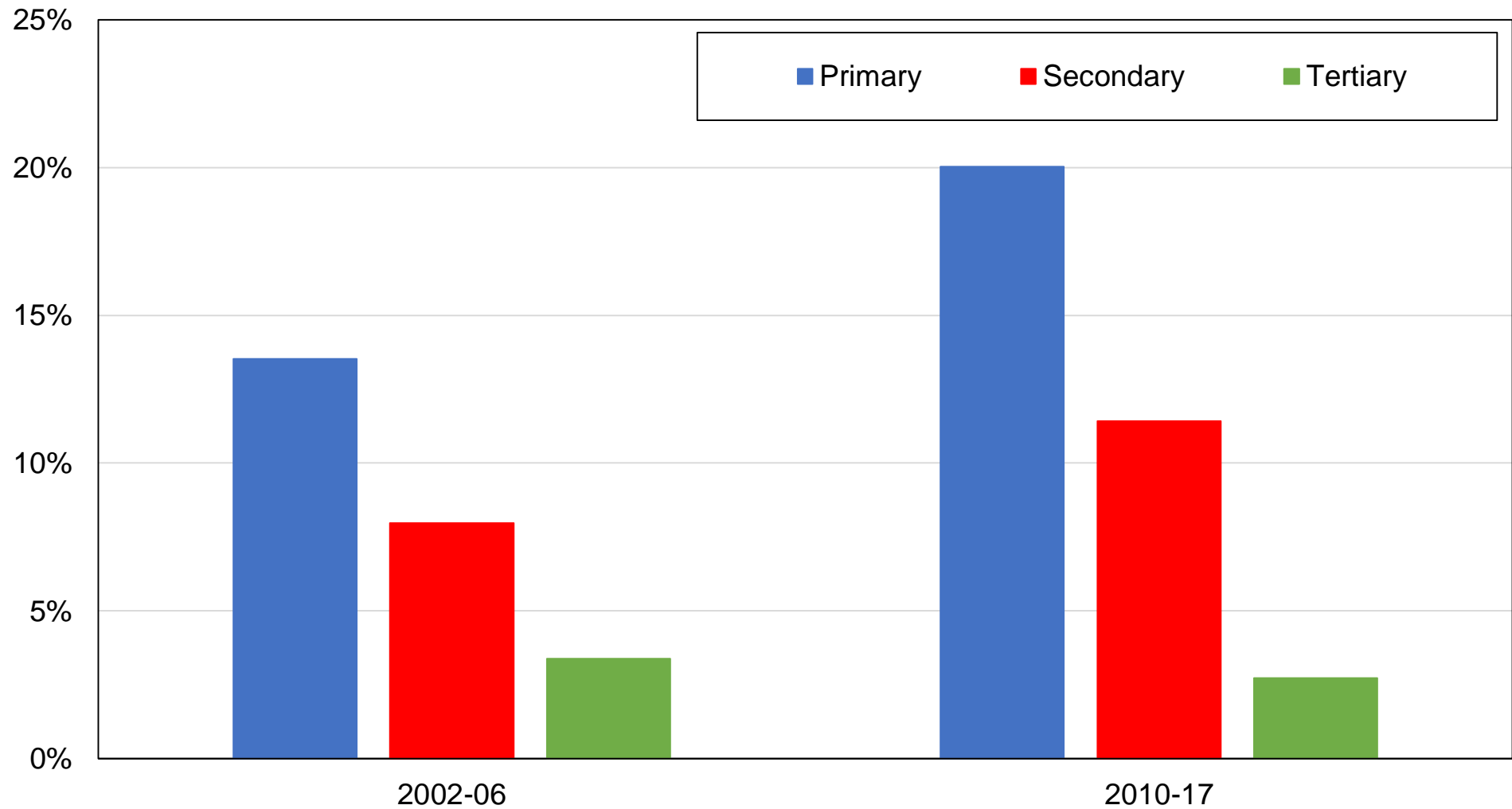
Figure BD32 - Vote for the liberals by location



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD) by rural-urban location.

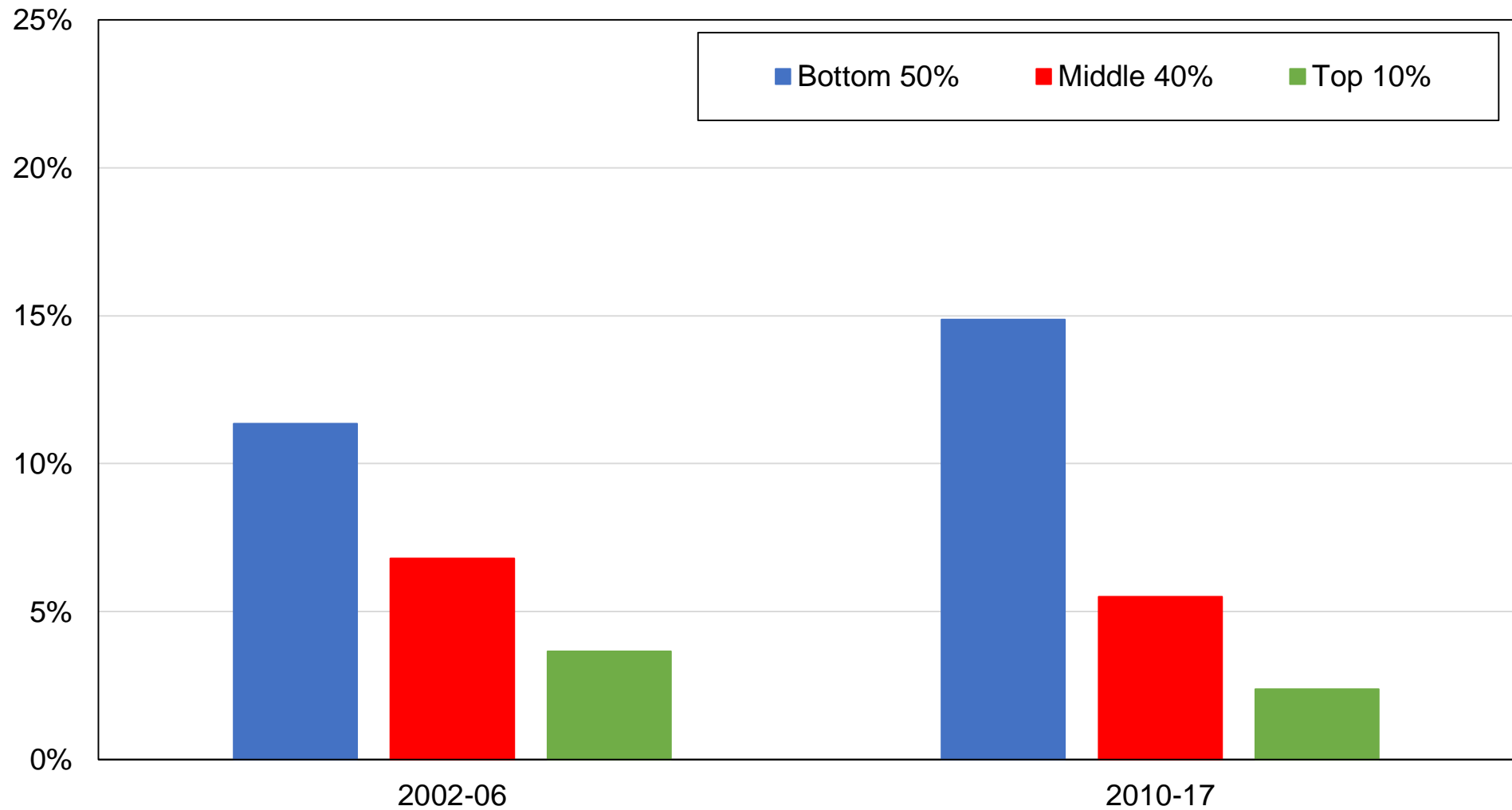
**Figure BD33 - Vote for far-right parties by education level**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Party for Freedom (PVV), and Pim Fortuyn List (LPF) by education level.

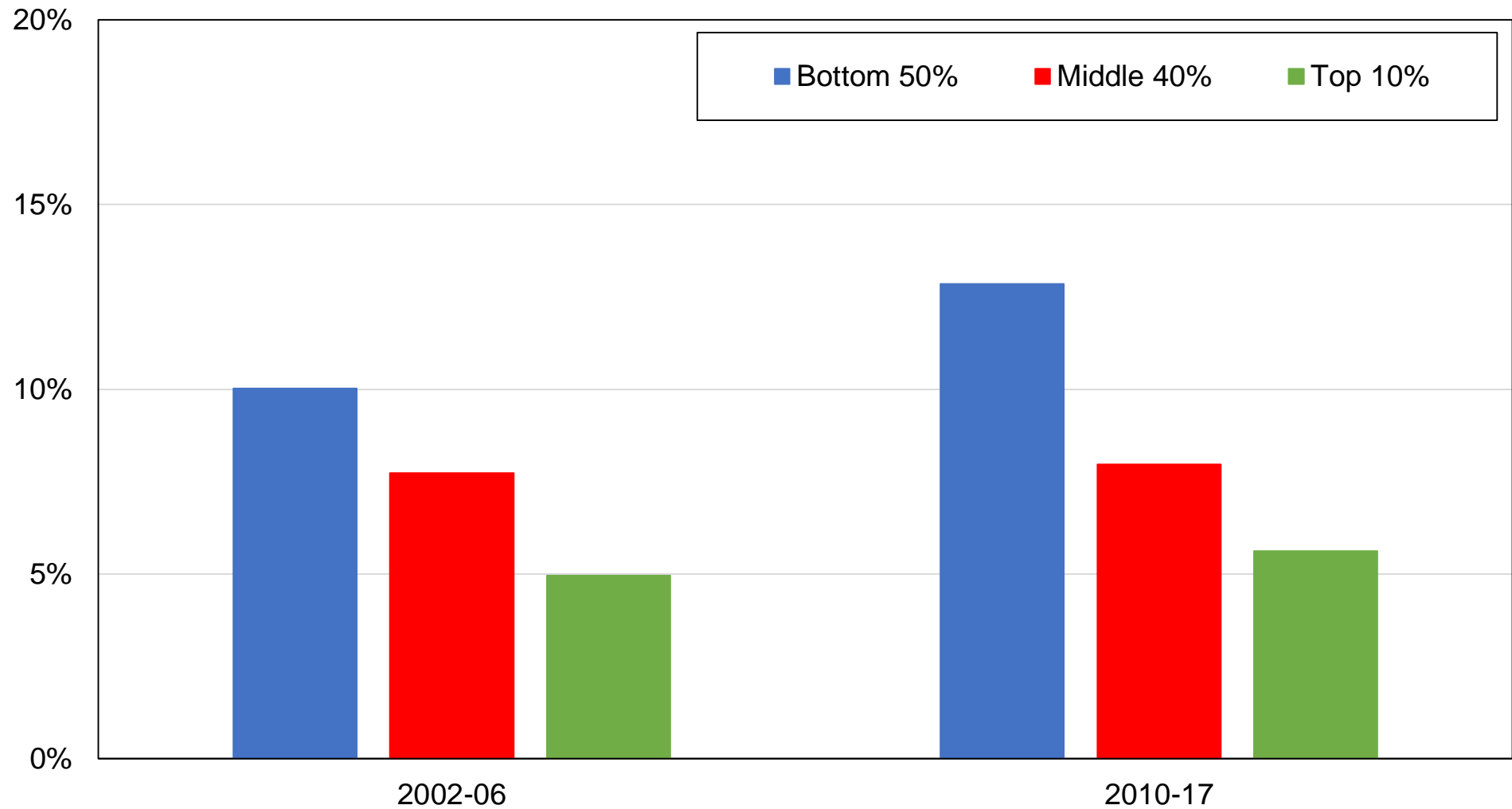
**Figure BD34 - Vote for far-right parties by education group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Party for Freedom (PVV), and Pim Fortuyn List (LPF) by education group.

**Figure BD35 - Vote for far-right parties by income group**

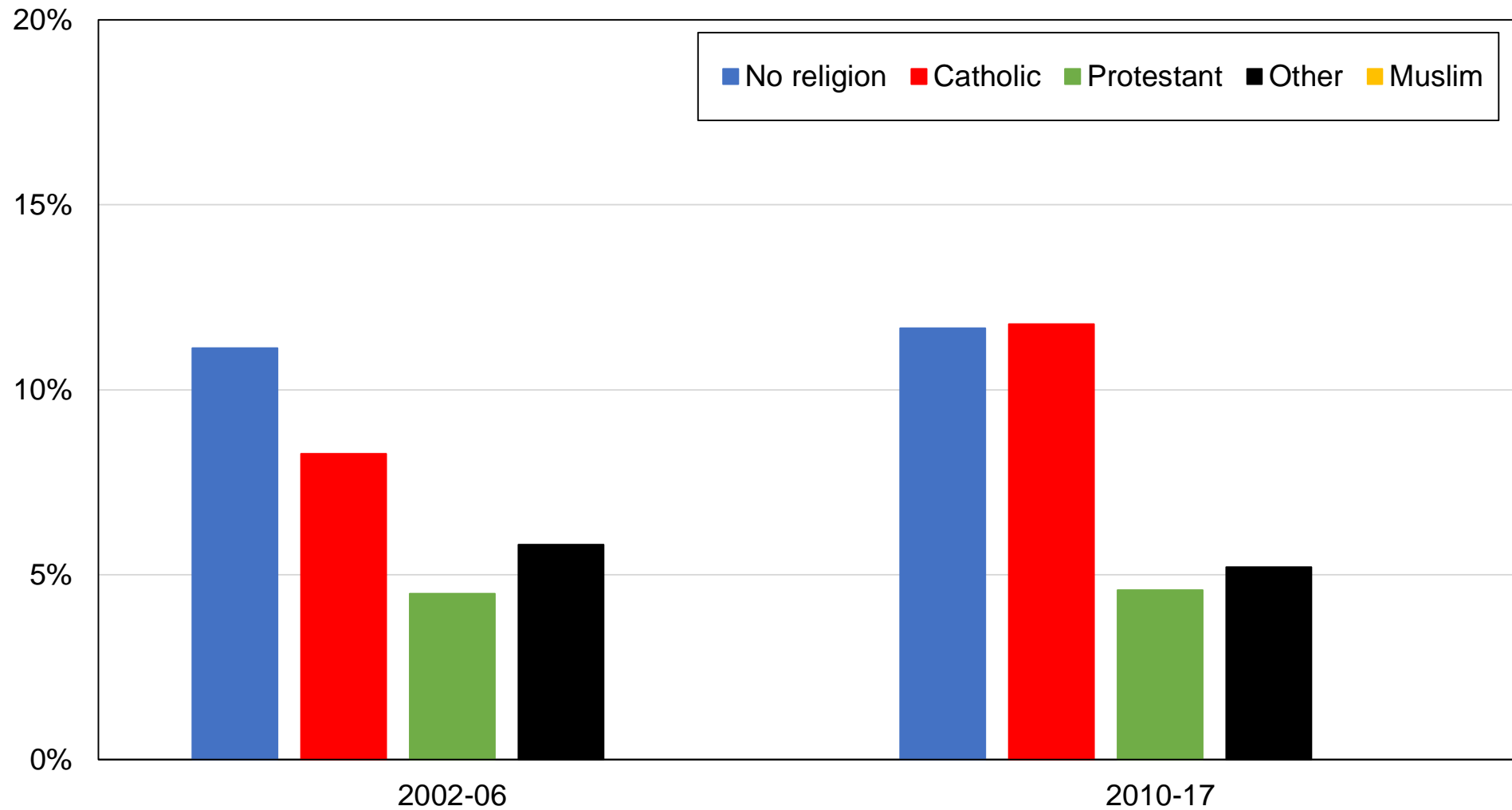


**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Party for Freedom (PVV), and Pim Fortuyn List (LPF) by income group.



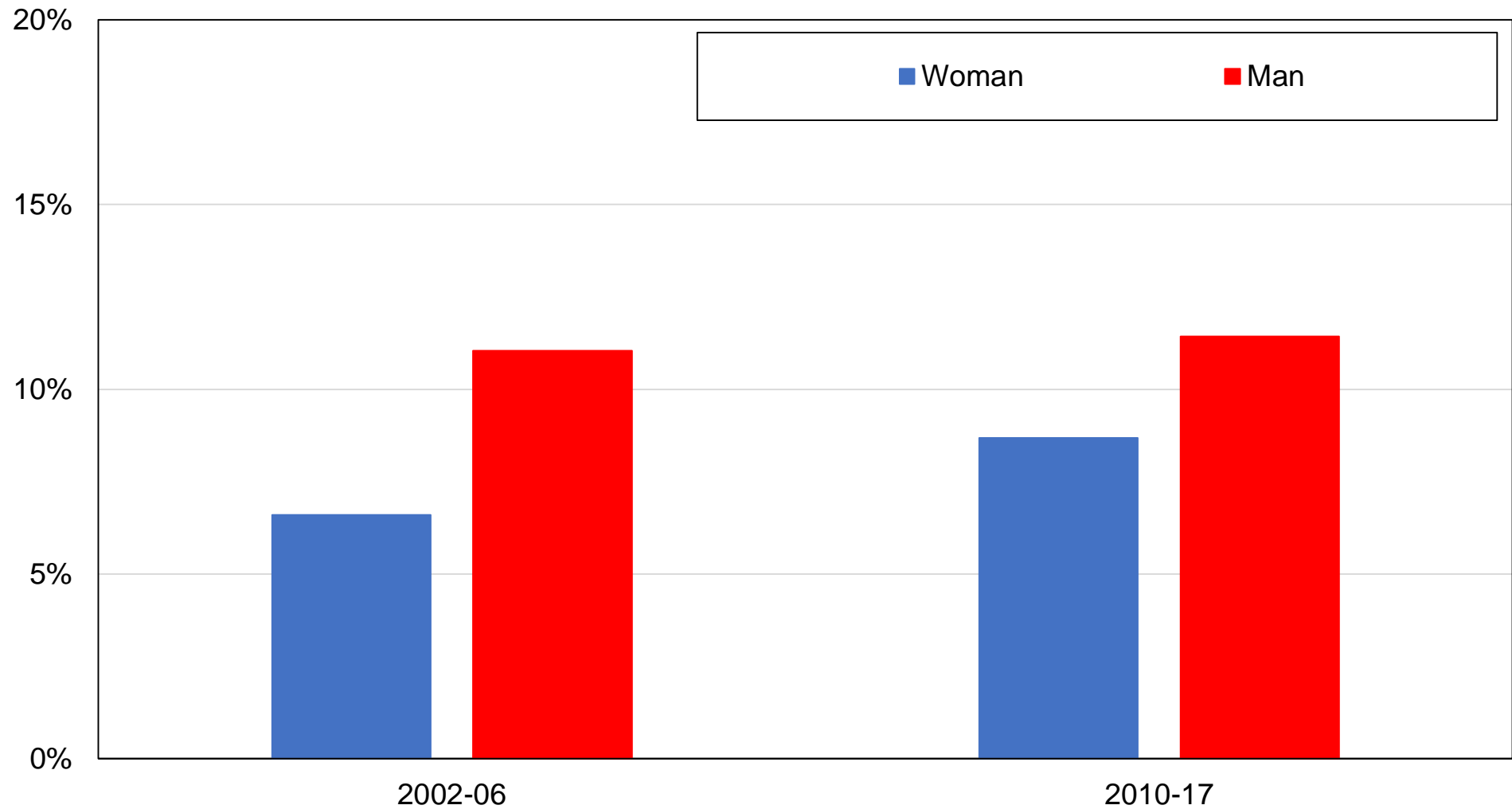
**Figure BD36 - Vote for far-right parties by religious affiliation**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Party for Freedom (PVV), and Pim Fortuyn List (LPF) by religious affiliation.

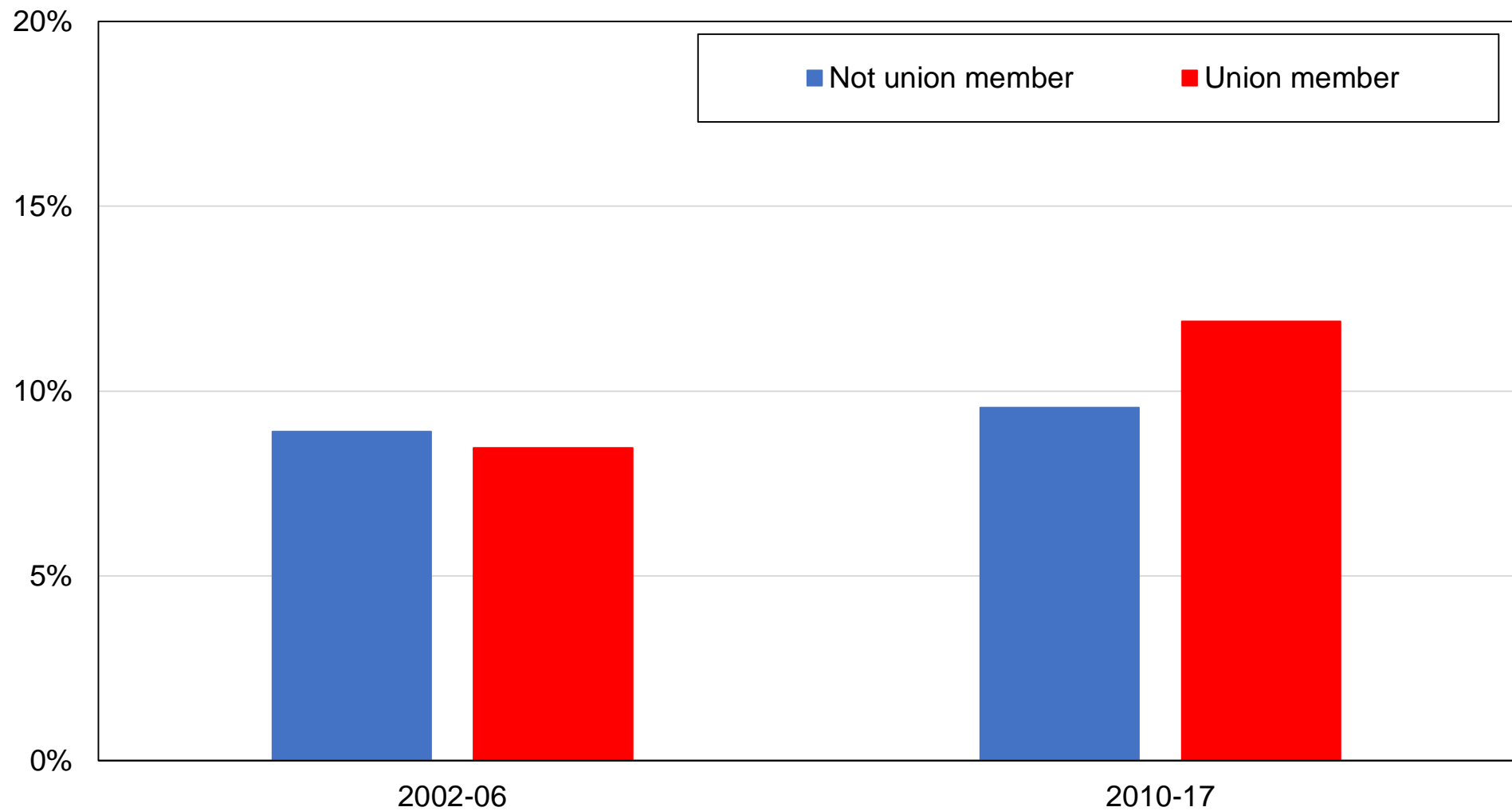
**Figure BD37 - Vote for far-right parties by gender**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Party for Freedom (PVV), and Pim Fortuyn List (LPF) by gender.

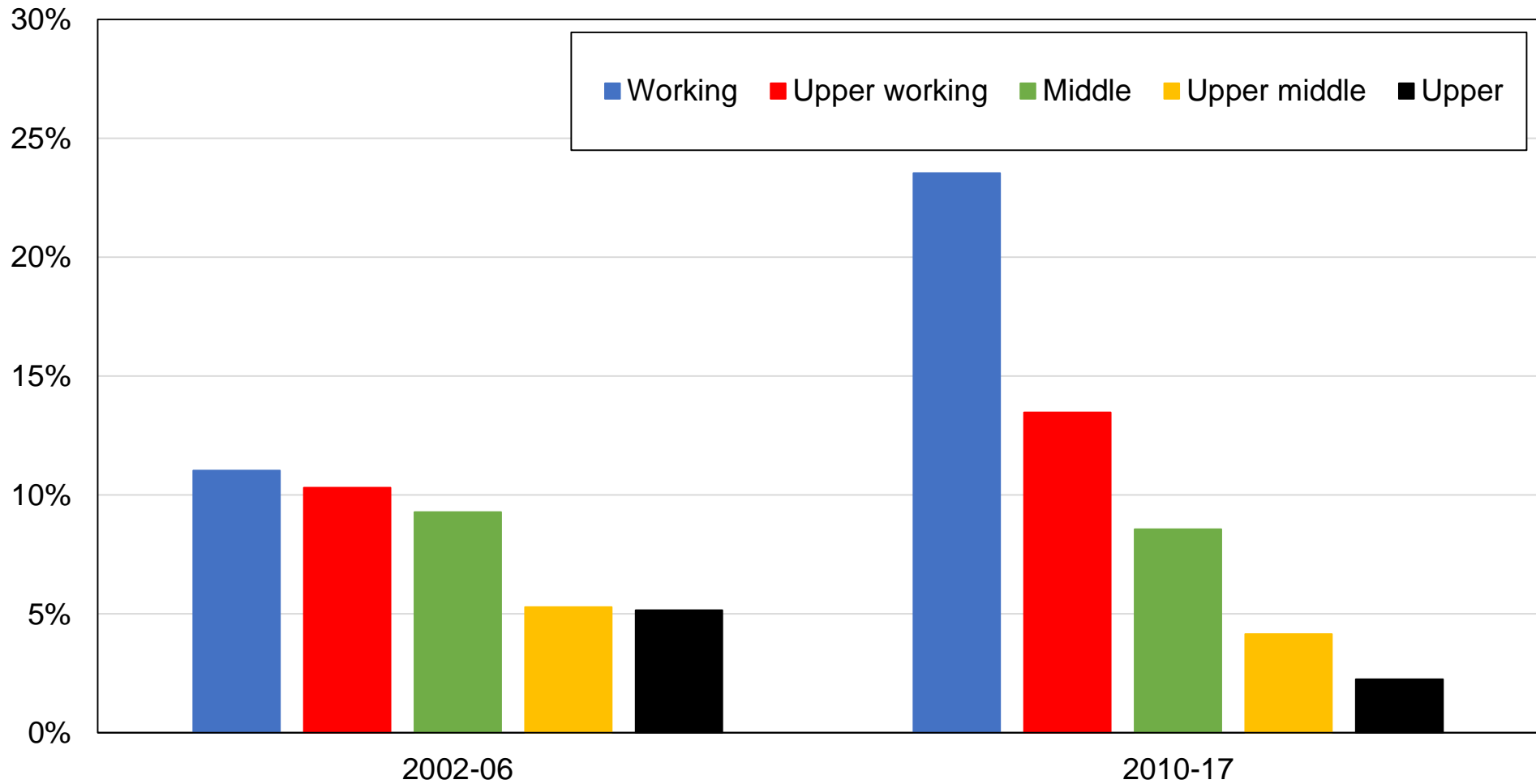
**Figure BD38 - Vote for far-right parties by union membership**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Party for Freedom (PVV), and Pim Fortuyn List (LPF) by union membership status.

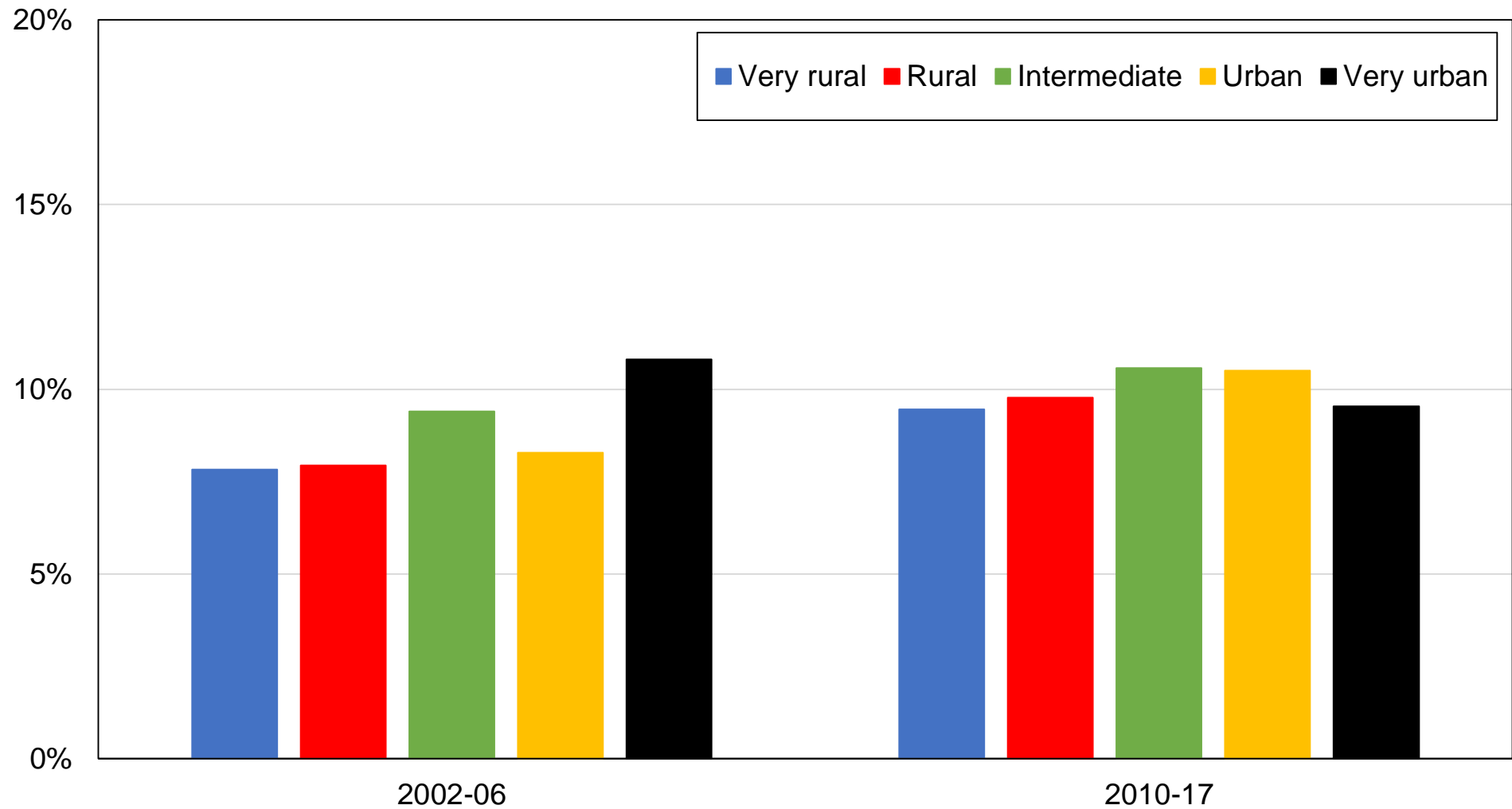
**Figure BD39 - Vote for far-right parties by self-perceived social class**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Party for Freedom (PVV), and Pim Fortuyn List (LPF) by self-perceived social class.

**Figure BD40 - Vote for far-right parties by location**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Party for Freedom (PVV), and Pim Fortuyn List (LPF) by rural-urban location.

**Table BA1 - Survey data sources**

Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
1967	Dutch parliamentary election studies	DANS EASY	2495
1971	Dutch parliamentary election studies	DANS EASY	2495
1972	Dutch parliamentary election studies	DANS EASY	1526
1977	Dutch parliamentary election studies	DANS EASY	1856
1981	Dutch parliamentary election studies	DANS EASY	2305
1982	Dutch parliamentary election studies	DANS EASY	1541
1986	Dutch parliamentary election studies	DANS EASY	1630
1989	Dutch parliamentary election studies	DANS EASY	1754
1994	Dutch parliamentary election studies	DANS EASY	1812
1998	Dutch parliamentary election studies	DANS EASY	2101
2002	Dutch parliamentary election studies	DANS EASY	1524
2006	Dutch parliamentary election studies	DANS EASY	2521
2010	Dutch parliamentary election studies	DANS EASY	2621
2012	Dutch parliamentary election studies	DANS EASY	1677
2017	Dutch parliamentary election studies	DANS EASY	3283

**Source:** authors' elaboration. DANS EASY: <https://easy.dans.knaw.nl>.

**Note:** the table shows the surveys used, the source from which these surveys can be obtained, and the sample size of each survey.

**Table BA2 - Complete descriptive statistics by decade**

	1967-77	1981-89	1994-98	2002-06	2010-17
Age: 20-40	45%	50%	43%	33%	33%
Age: 40-60	35%	29%	35%	42%	38%
Age: 60+	20%	21%	21%	25%	28%
Education: Primary	50%	27%	18%	31%	19%
Education: Secondary	41%	56%	60%	48%	47%
Education: Tertiary	10%	17%	22%	17%	31%
Education: Postgraduate	0%	0%	0%	5%	3%
Employment status: Employed	51%	49%	52%	62%	60%
Employment status: Inactive	49%	51%	48%	38%	40%
Marital status: Married or with partner	78%	65%	58%	63%	52%
Religion: No religion	31%	39%	48%	50%	58%
Religion: Catholic	35%	33%	27%	25%	19%
Religion: Protestant	31%	24%	21%	19%	14%
Religion: Muslim	0%	0%	0%	1%	3%
Religion: Other	4%	4%	5%	5%	6%
Church attendance: Never	44%	54%	61%	66%	75%
Church attendance: Less than monthly	12%	14%	14%	12%	8%
Church attendance: Monthly or more	44%	32%	25%	22%	17%
Gender: Man	53%	48%	49%	50%	49%
Subjective class: Working	43%	28%	20%	16%	16%
Subjective class: Upper working	4%	10%	7%	9%	11%
Subjective class: Middle	43%	47%	56%	53%	51%
Subjective class: Upper middle	9%	12%	15%	20%	19%
Subjective class: Upper	2%	2%	2%	3%	2%
Home ownership: Yes	38%	47%			
Region: East	20%	20%	21%	22%	21%
Region: North	12%	12%	11%	11%	11%
Region: South	25%	25%	23%	22%	22%
Region: West	43%	43%	45%	46%	46%
Rural-urban: Very rural	23%	11%	17%	14%	11%
Rural-urban: Rural	17%	22%	20%	22%	22%
Rural-urban: Medium	18%	26%	22%	21%	19%
Rural-urban: Urban	16%	16%	23%	26%	29%
Rural-urban: Very urban	26%	25%	17%	16%	20%
Union membership: Yes	22%	20%	23%	23%	19%

**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the table shows descriptive statistics by decade for selected available variables.

**Table BA3 - The structure of political cleavages in the Netherlands, 2010-2017**

	Share of votes received (%)						
	<b>SP</b>	<b>PvdA</b>	<b>GL</b>	<b>D66</b>	<b>CDA</b>	<b>VVD</b>	<b>PVV</b>
<b>Overall vote share</b>	10%	17%	7%	10%	12%	24%	10%
<b>Education</b>							
Primary	13%	21%	3%	3%	17%	13%	20%
Secondary	11%	15%	4%	7%	13%	26%	11%
Tertiary	5%	16%	10%	17%	9%	28%	3%
<b>Income</b>							
Bottom 50%	12%	18%	6%	7%	13%	18%	13%
Middle 40%	7%	16%	7%	12%	11%	28%	8%
Top 10%	3%	12%	6%	15%	12%	39%	6%
<b>Social class</b>							
Working	16%	22%	5%	3%	10%	9%	24%
Upper working	14%	22%	4%	4%	12%	17%	13%
Middle	9%	15%	6%	10%	14%	25%	9%
Upper middle	3%	13%	9%	17%	9%	36%	4%
Upper	3%	9%	4%	23%	8%	45%	2%
<b>Location</b>							
Very rural	9%	16%	4%	7%	20%	24%	9%
Rural	9%	14%	4%	9%	17%	25%	10%
Medium	8%	15%	5%	8%	12%	29%	11%
Urban	10%	16%	7%	10%	10%	23%	11%
Very urban	8%	21%	10%	14%	6%	21%	10%
<b>Religion</b>							
No religion	11%	18%	7%	12%	5%	27%	12%
Catholic	10%	14%	3%	7%	24%	25%	12%
Protestant	4%	8%	5%	5%	27%	19%	5%
Muslim	4%	48%	7%	6%	3%	14%	0%
<b>Church attendance</b>							
Never	10%	18%	7%	12%	7%	27%	12%
Less than monthly	10%	18%	5%	6%	23%	23%	10%



Monthly or more	4%	11%	3%	4%	29%	13%	4%
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**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Notes:** the table shows the average share of votes received by the main political parties by selected individual characteristics over the 2010-2017 period. Vote shares by group are those reported in surveys and may not match exactly official election results.

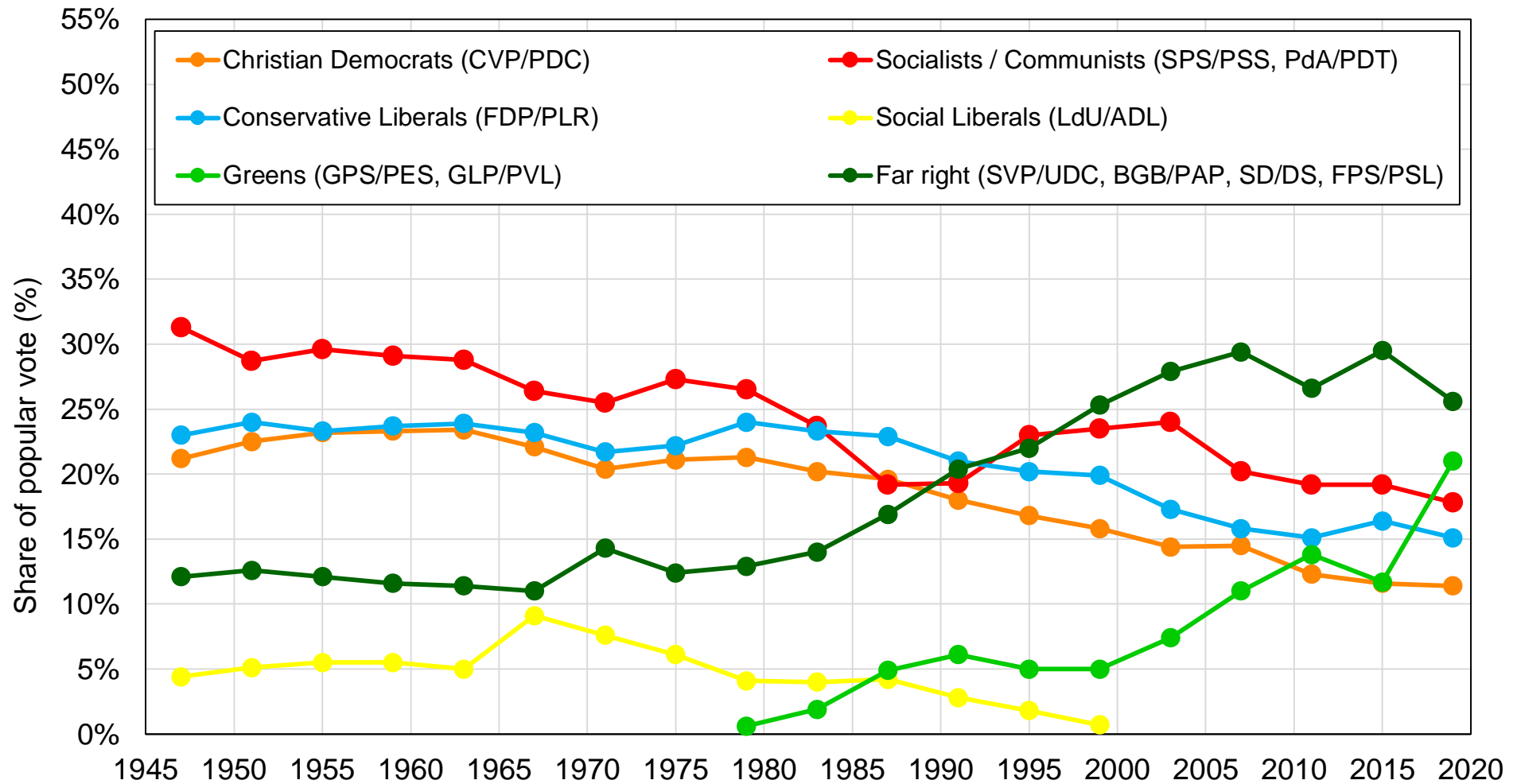
**Table BA4 - The structure of political cleavages in the Netherlands, 1967-1977**

	Share of votes received (%)			
	<b>PvdA</b>	<b>D66</b>	<b>CDA</b>	<b>VVD</b>
<b>Overall vote share</b>	35%	8%	39%	13%
<b>Education</b>				
Primary	42%	5%	40%	8%
Secondary	28%	10%	38%	17%
Tertiary	26%	13%	28%	27%
<b>Income</b>				
Bottom 50%	43%	5%	40%	6%
Middle 40%	33%	10%	35%	14%
Top 10%	15%	11%	33%	36%
<b>Social class</b>				
Working	51%	5%	35%	2%
Upper working	43%	7%	37%	9%
Middle	24%	9%	43%	18%
Upper middle	14%	11%	32%	36%
Upper	14%	7%	29%	47%
<b>Location</b>				
Very rural	29%	5%	47%	11%
Rural	31%	4%	46%	11%
Medium	31%	9%	36%	19%
Urban	38%	10%	35%	13%
Very urban	43%	10%	29%	12%
<b>Religion</b>				
No religion	61%	12%	5%	17%
Catholic	19%	7%	63%	9%
Protestant	28%	4%	45%	12%
<b>Church attendance</b>				
Never	59%	11%	8%	18%
Less than monthly	35%	11%	31%	19%
Monthly or more	13%	4%	67%	8%

**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

**Notes:** the table shows the average share of votes received by the main political parties by selected individual characteristics over the 1967-1977 period. Vote shares by group are those reported in surveys and may not match exactly official election results.

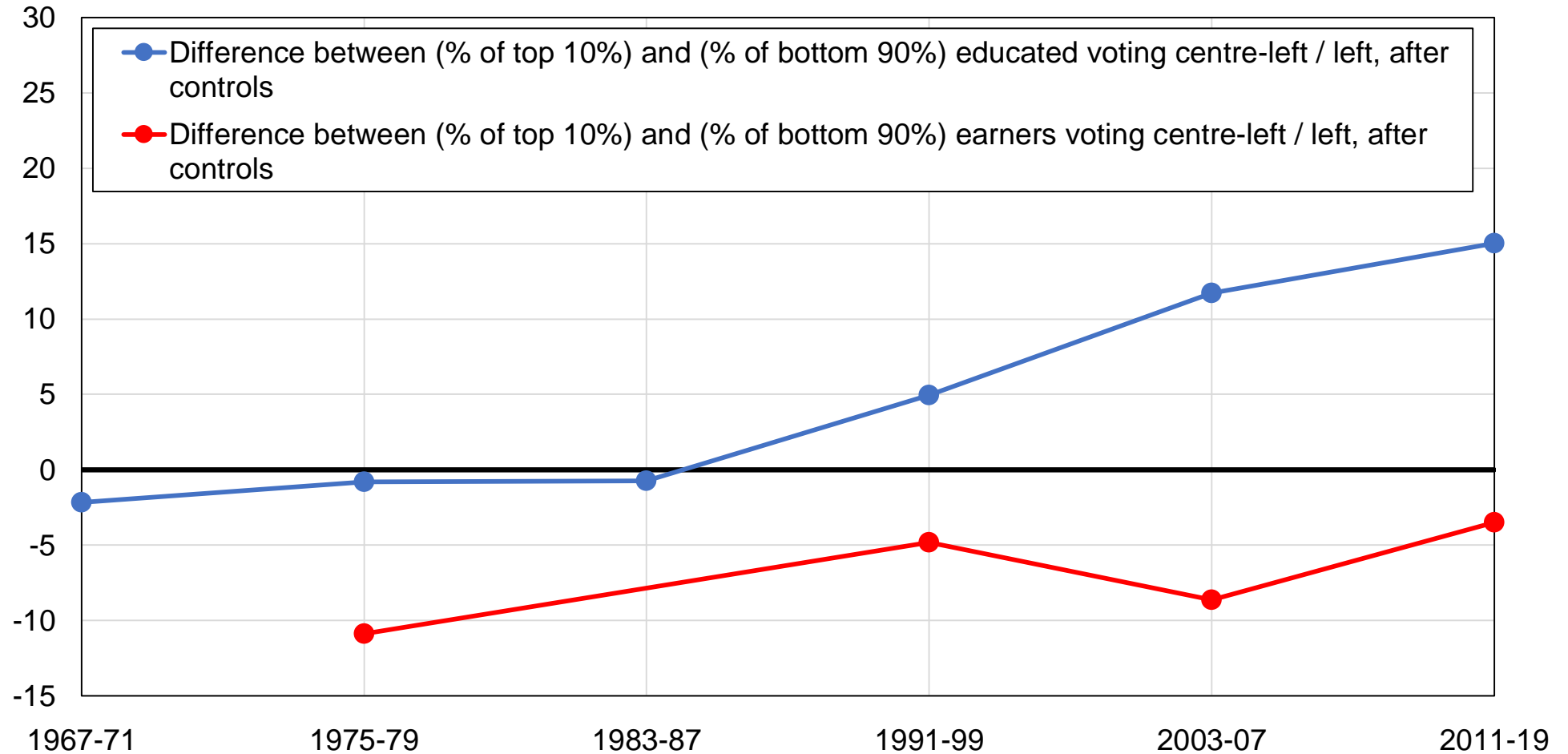
**Figure C1 - Election results in Switzerland, 1947-2019**



**Source:** author's computations using official election results.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Swiss political parties in federal elections between 1947 and 2019.

**Figure C2 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other center-left among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controls**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the support for centre-left / left-wing parties among highest-educated and top-income voters after controlling for income, education, age, gender, employment, marital status, religious affiliation, region, home ownership, and union membership status.

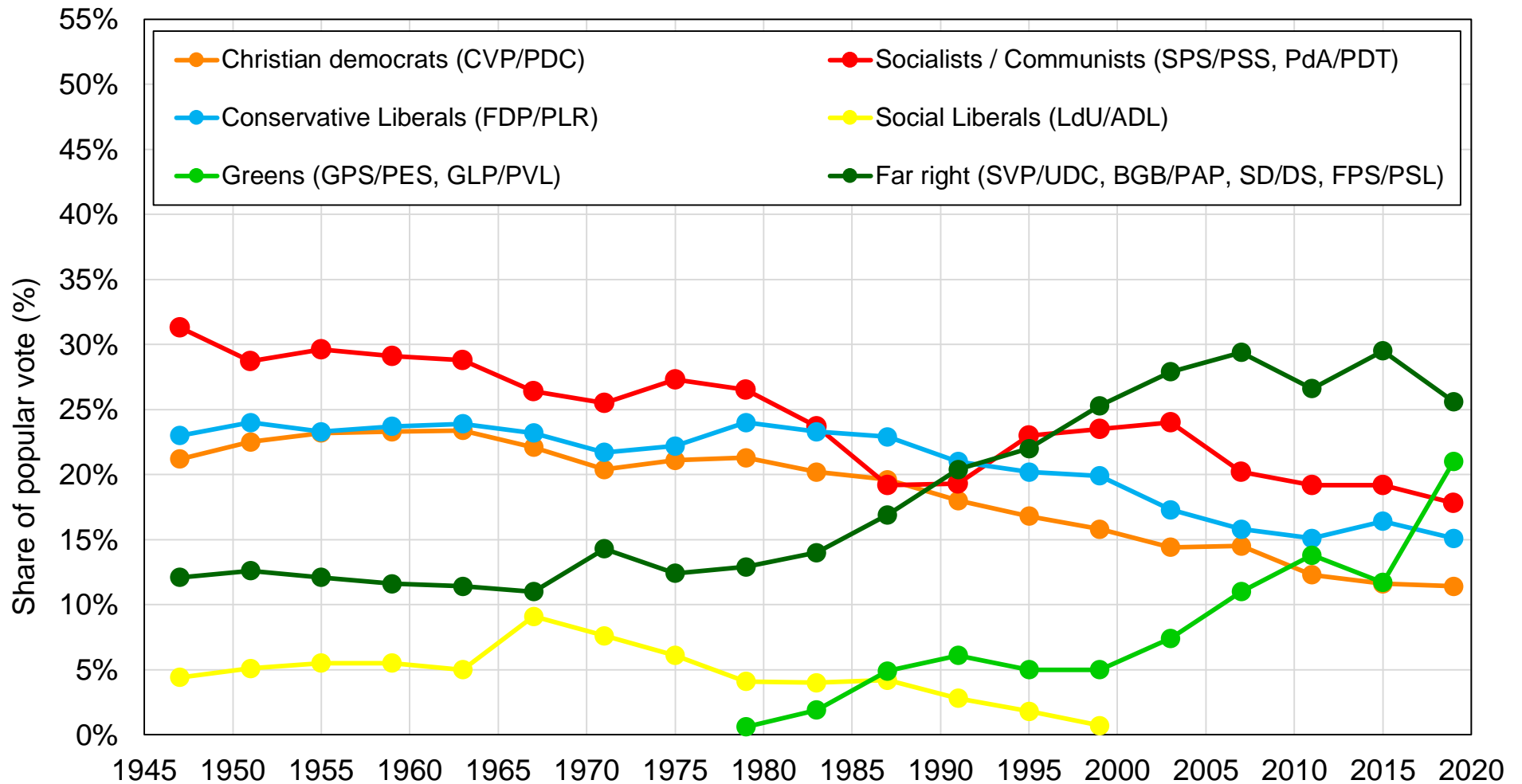
**Table C1 - The structure of political cleavages in Switzerland, 2011-2019**

	Share of votes received (%)				
	<b>Left wing</b> SPS/PSS PdA/PDT	<b>Christ. Democrats</b> CVP/PDC	<b>Cons.-Liberals</b> FDP/PRD	<b>Greens</b> GPS/PES GLP/PVL	<b>Far right</b> SVP/UDC FPS/PSDL SD/DS
<b>Overall vote share</b>	20%	12%	17%	15%	25%
<b>Education</b>					
Primary	17%	19%	12%	8%	33%
Secondary	18%	11%	16%	13%	29%
Tertiary	26%	11%	20%	23%	10%
<b>Income</b>					
Bottom 50%	20%	12%	12%	12%	30%
Middle 40%	21%	11%	18%	16%	21%
Top 10%	15%	12%	26%	21%	19%
<b>Region</b>					
German	19%	11%	15%	15%	27%
French	25%	13%	22%	15%	18%
Italian	18%	19%	25%	7%	14%
<b>Location</b>					
Urban	25%	9%	17%	19%	19%
Rural	16%	13%	17%	12%	29%

Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Notes: the table shows the average share of votes received by the main political parties by selected individual characteristics over the 2011-2019 period. Vote shares by group are those reported in surveys and may not match exactly official election results.

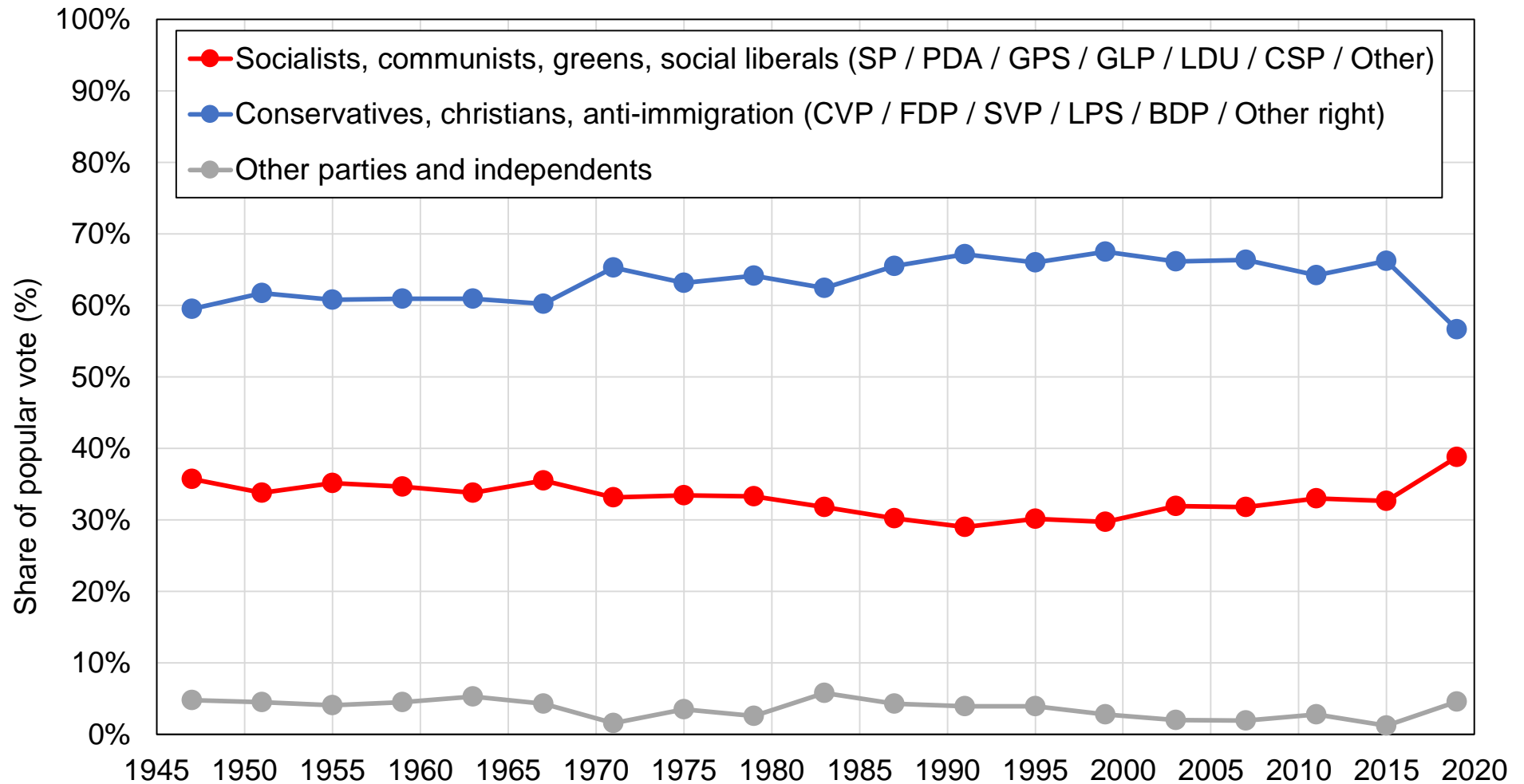
**Figure C1 - Election results in Switzerland, 1947-2019**



**Source:** author's computations using official election results.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Swiss political parties in federal elections between 1947 and 2019.

**Figure CA2 - Election results in Switzerland by group, 1947-2019**

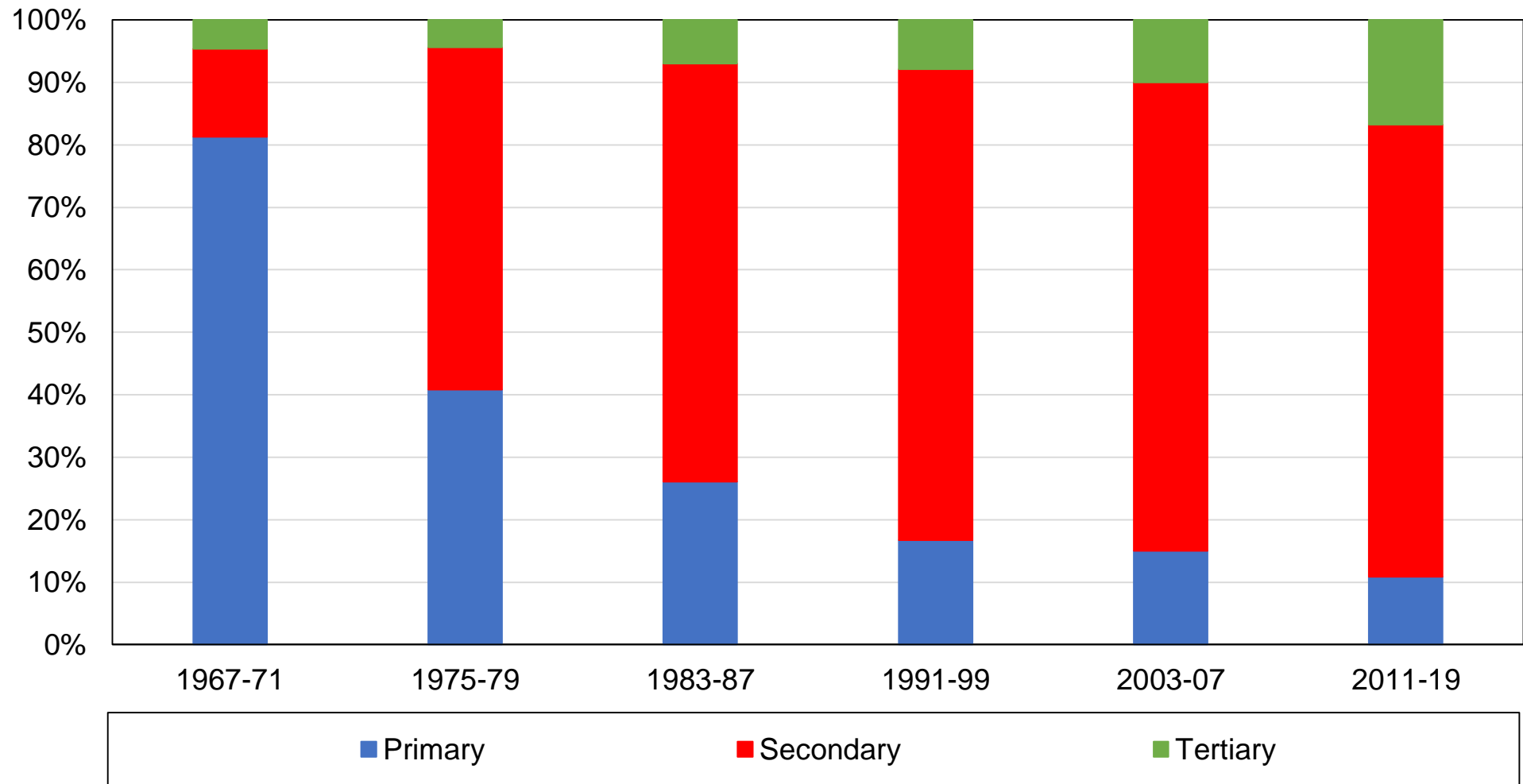


**Source:** author's computations using official election results.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Swiss political parties in federal elections between 1947 and 2019.



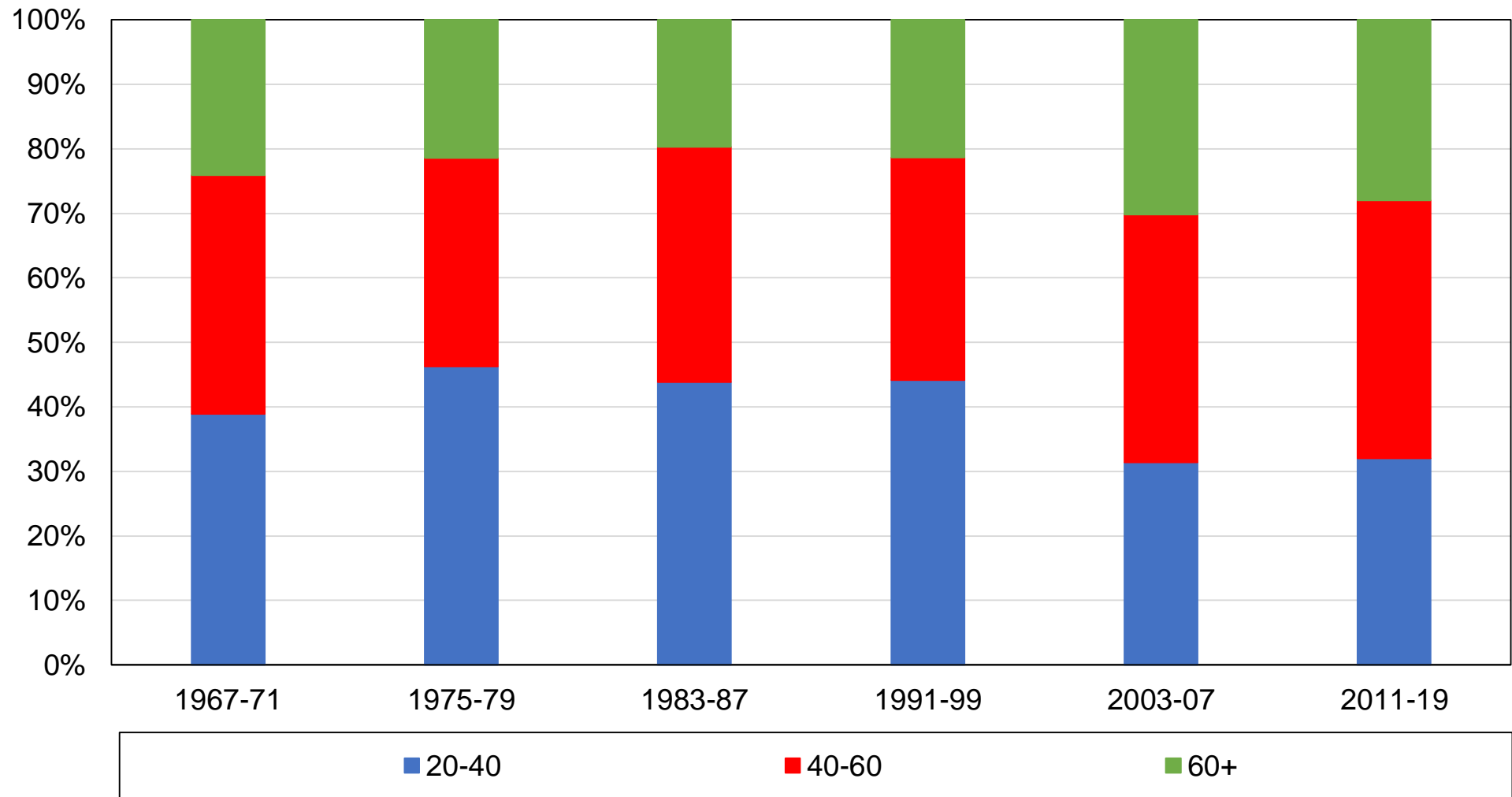
**Figure CA3 - The composition of the electorate by education**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the distribution of education levels in the Swiss adult population and its evolution over time. 'Tertiary' education only refers here to university studies. Higher vocational education is grouped with 'Secondary'.

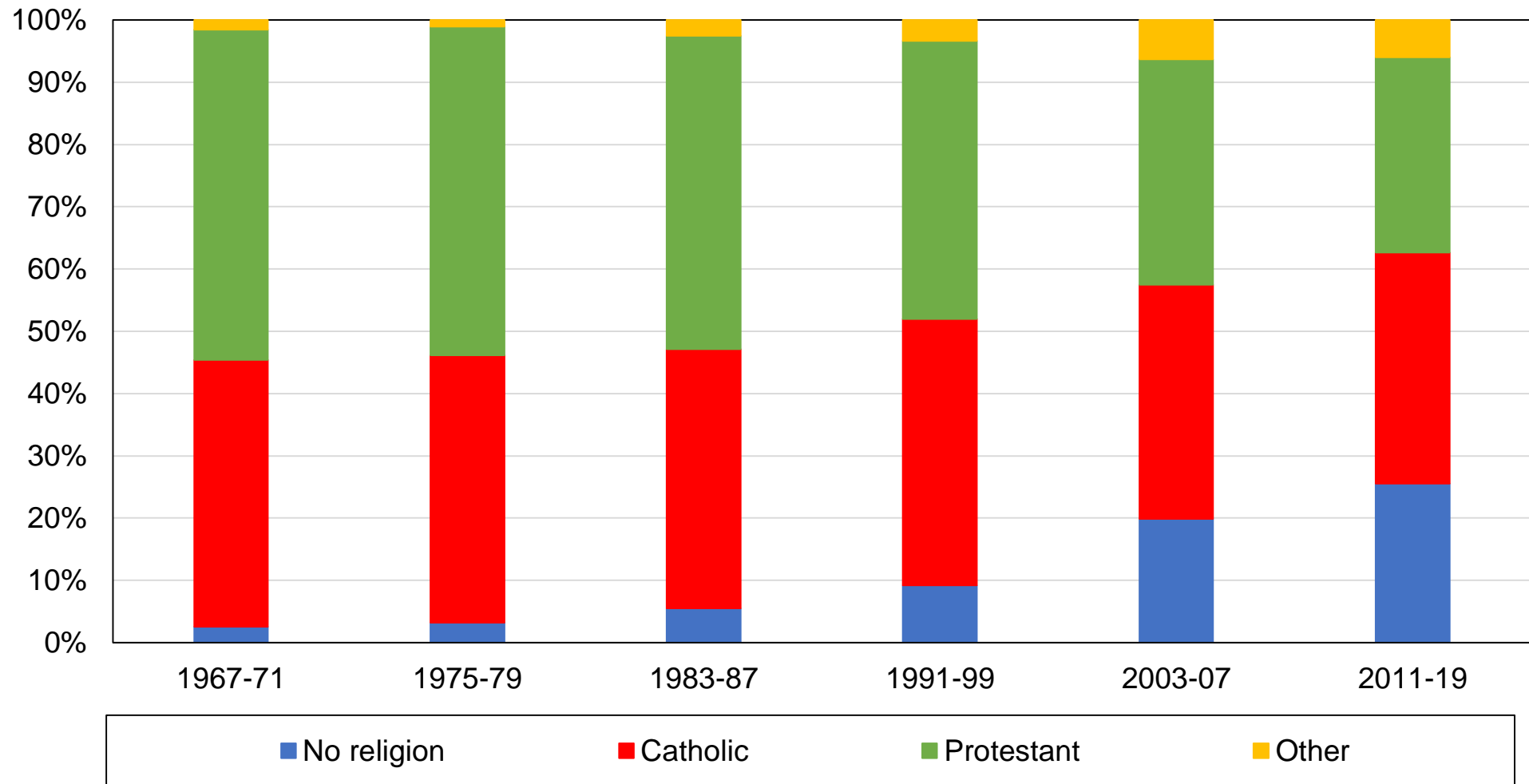
**Figure CA4 - The composition of the electorate by age**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the distribution of age groups in the Swiss adult population and its evolution over time.

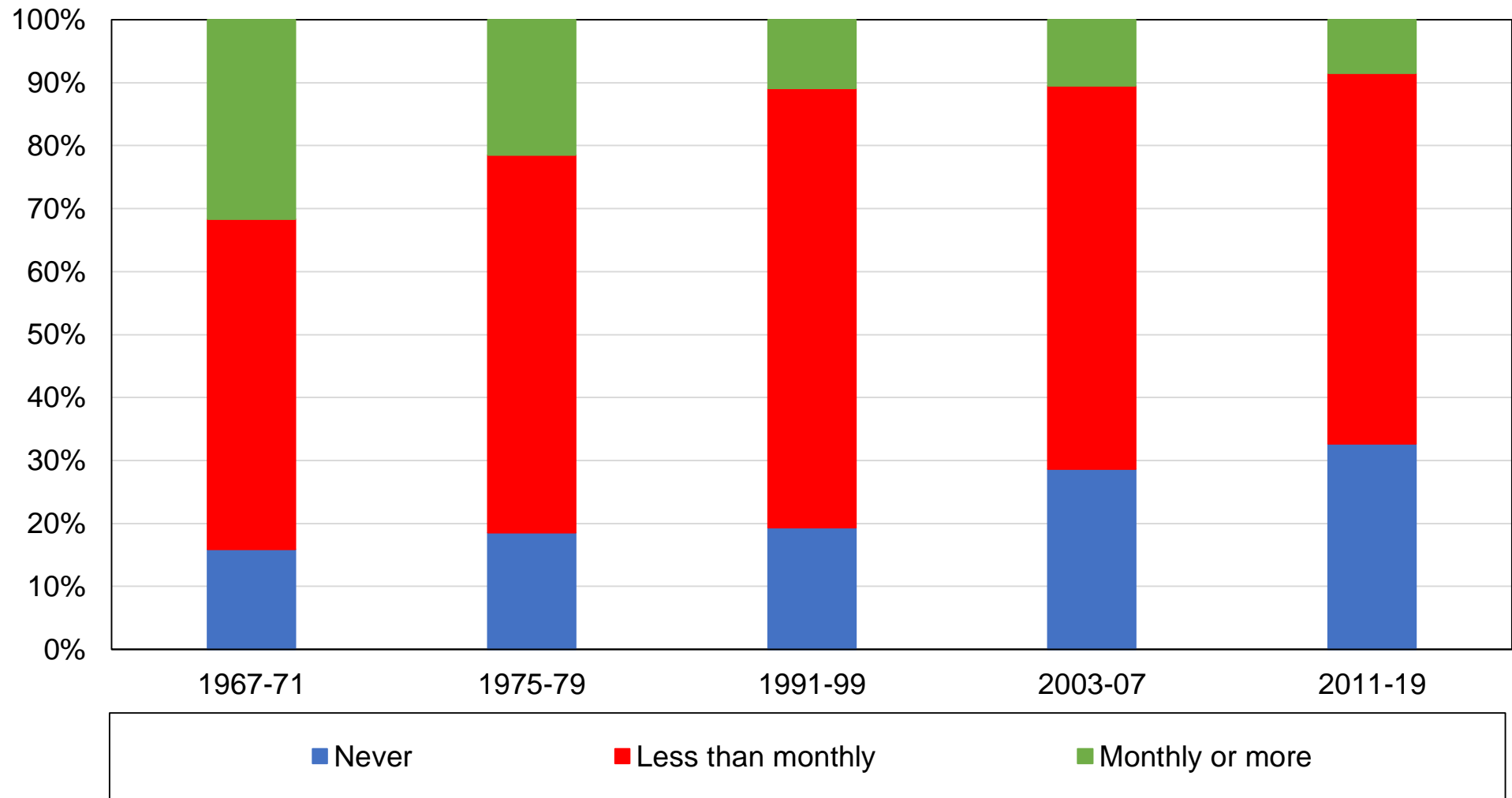
**Figure CA5 - The composition of the electorate by religion**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the distribution of religious affiliation in the Swiss adult population and its evolution over time.

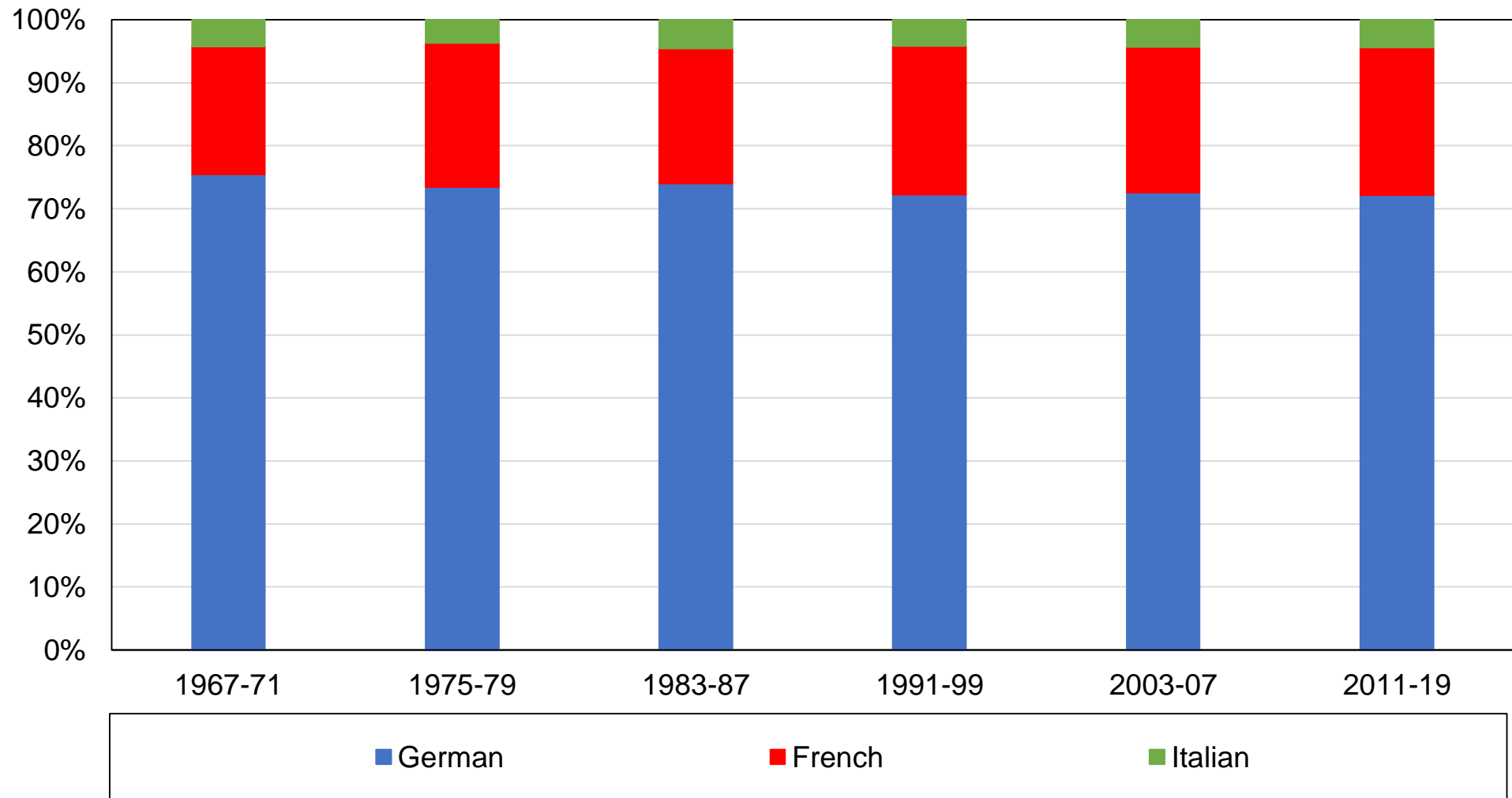
**Figure CA6 - The composition of the electorate by church attendance**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the distribution of church attendance in the Swiss adult population and its distribution over time.

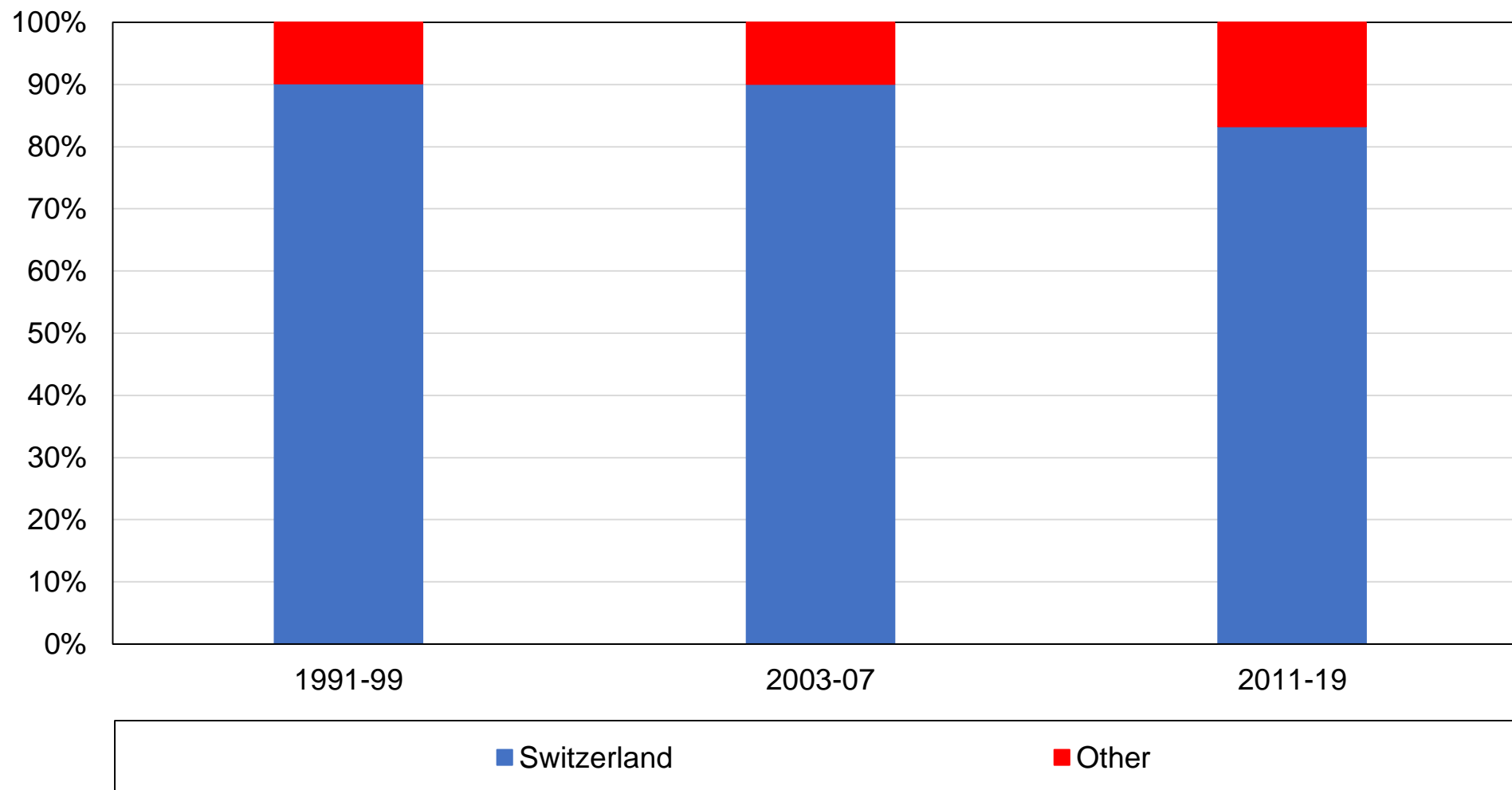
**Figure CA7 - The composition of the electorate by linguistic region**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the distribution the Swiss adult population by linguistic region and its distribution over time.

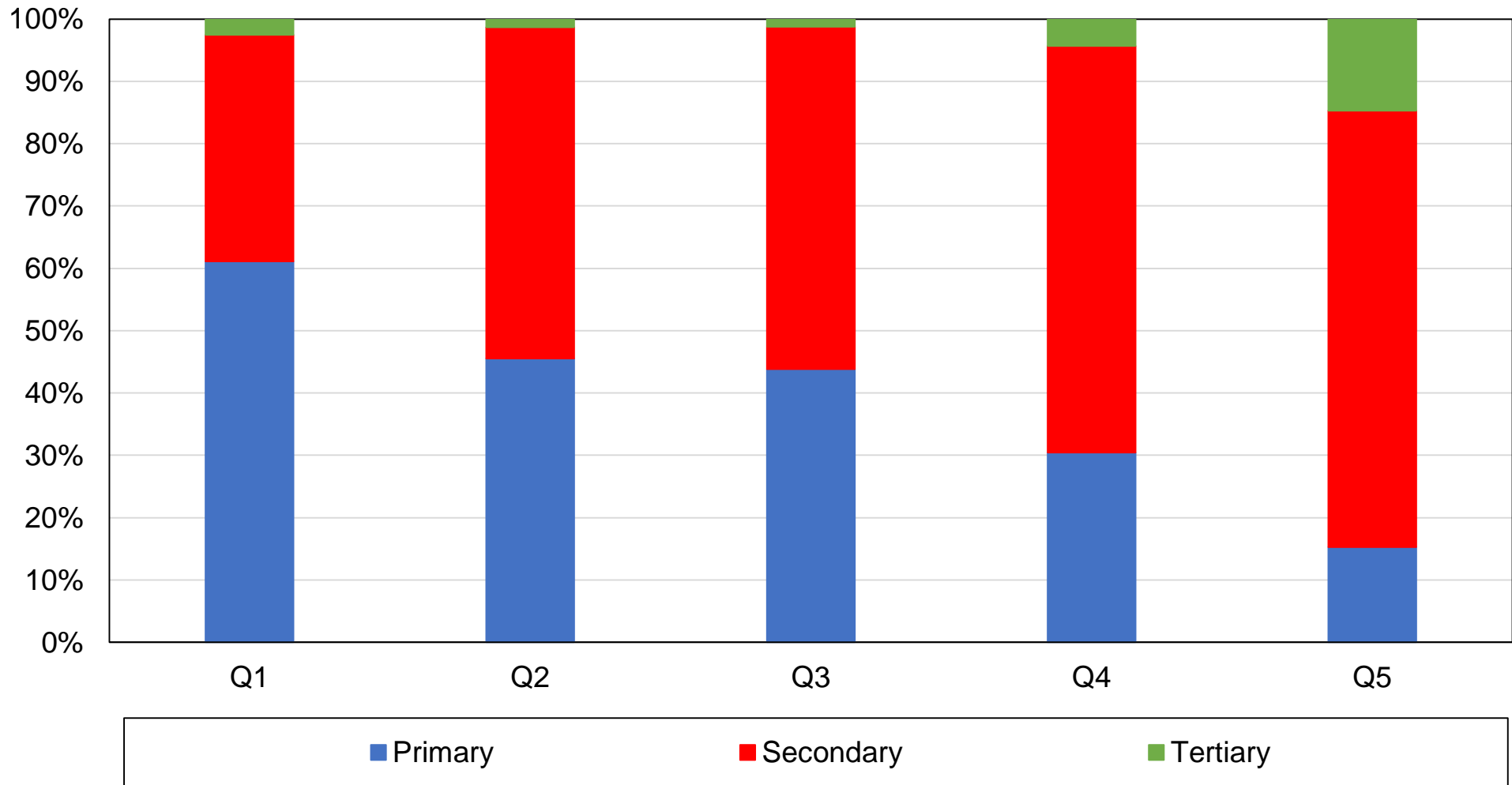
**Figure CA8 - The composition of the electorate by country of birth**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the distribution of the Swiss adult population by country of birth and its evolution over time.

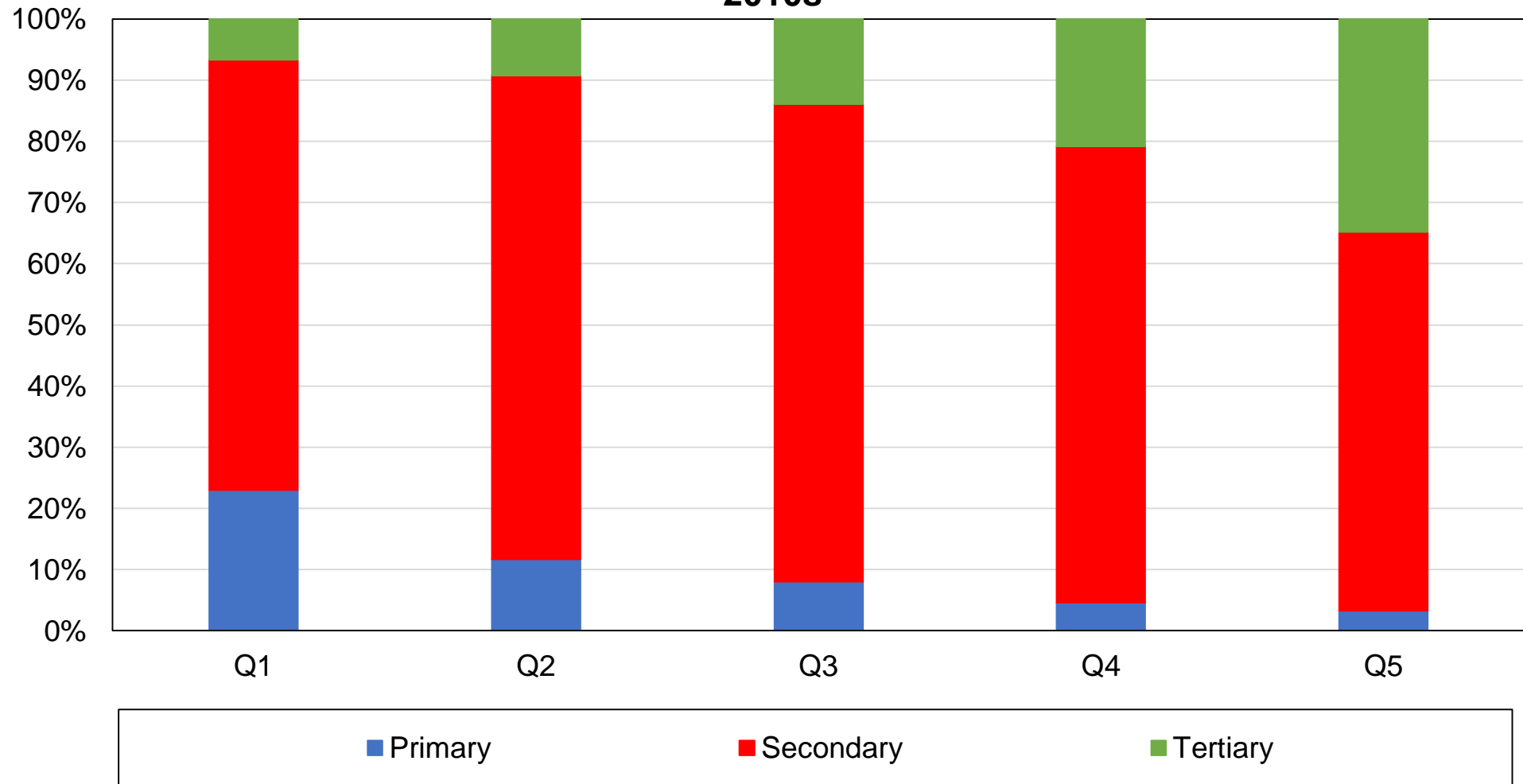
**Figure CA9 - Composition of income quintiles by education level, 1970s**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the distribution of education level by income quintile in the Swiss adult population in the 1970s.

**Figure CA10 - Composition of income quintiles by education level, 2010s**

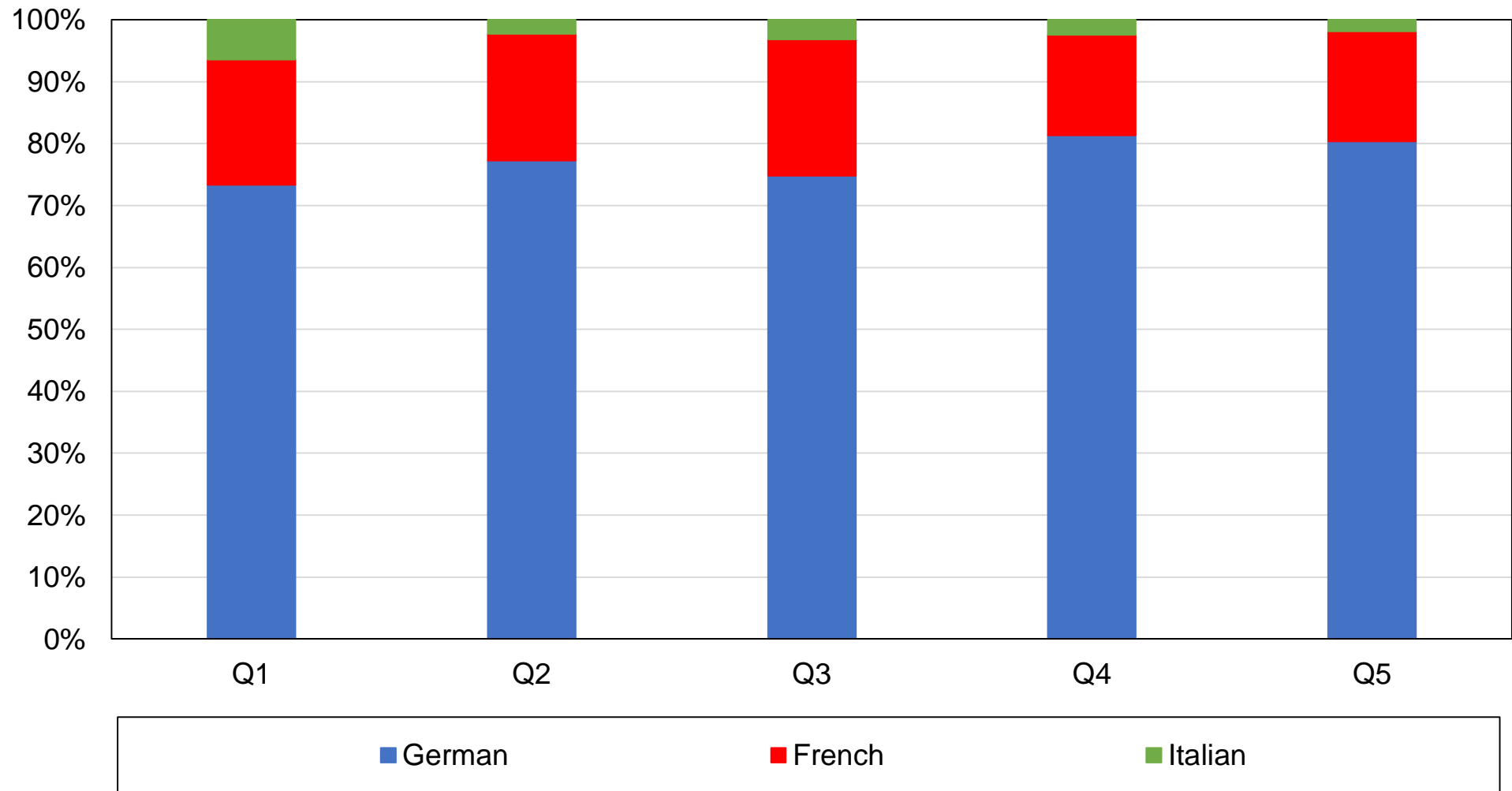


**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the distribution of education level by income quintile in the Swiss adult population in the 2010s.



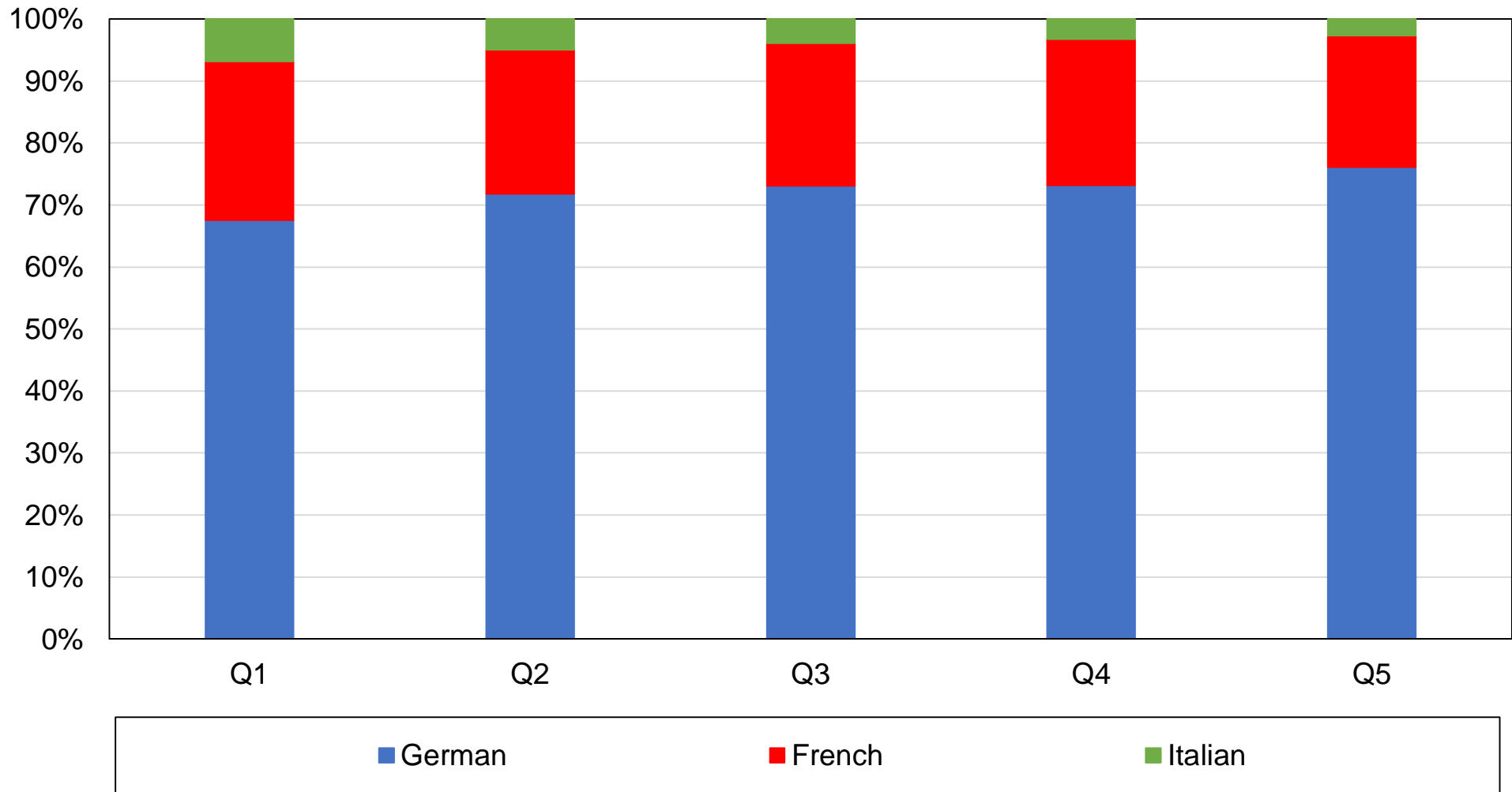
**Figure CA11 - Composition of income quintiles by region, 1970s**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the distribution of linguistic regions by income quintile in the Swiss adult population in the 1970s.

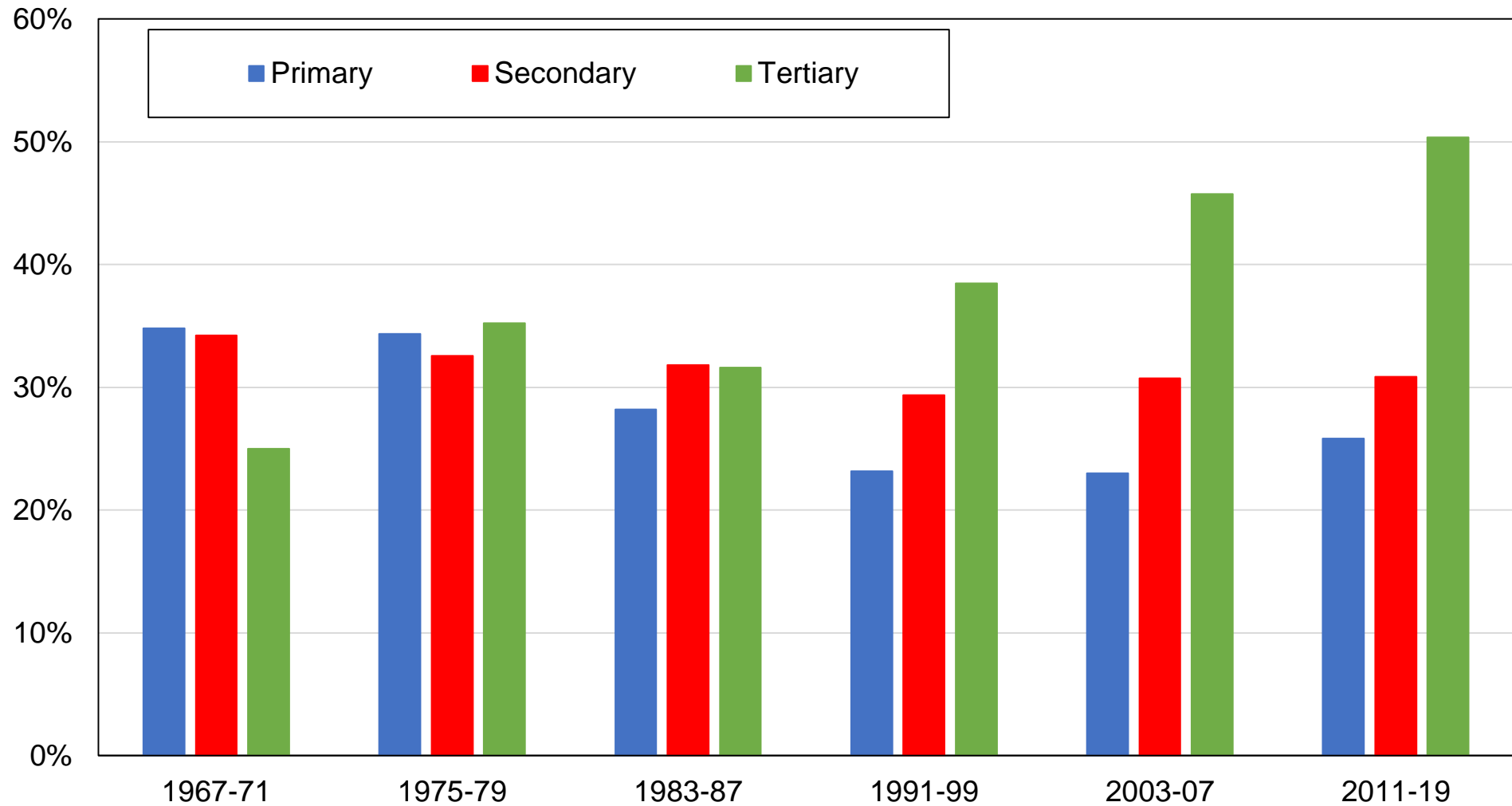
**Figure CA12 - Composition of income quintiles by region, 2010s**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the distribution of linguistic regions by income quintile in the Swiss adult population in the 2010s.

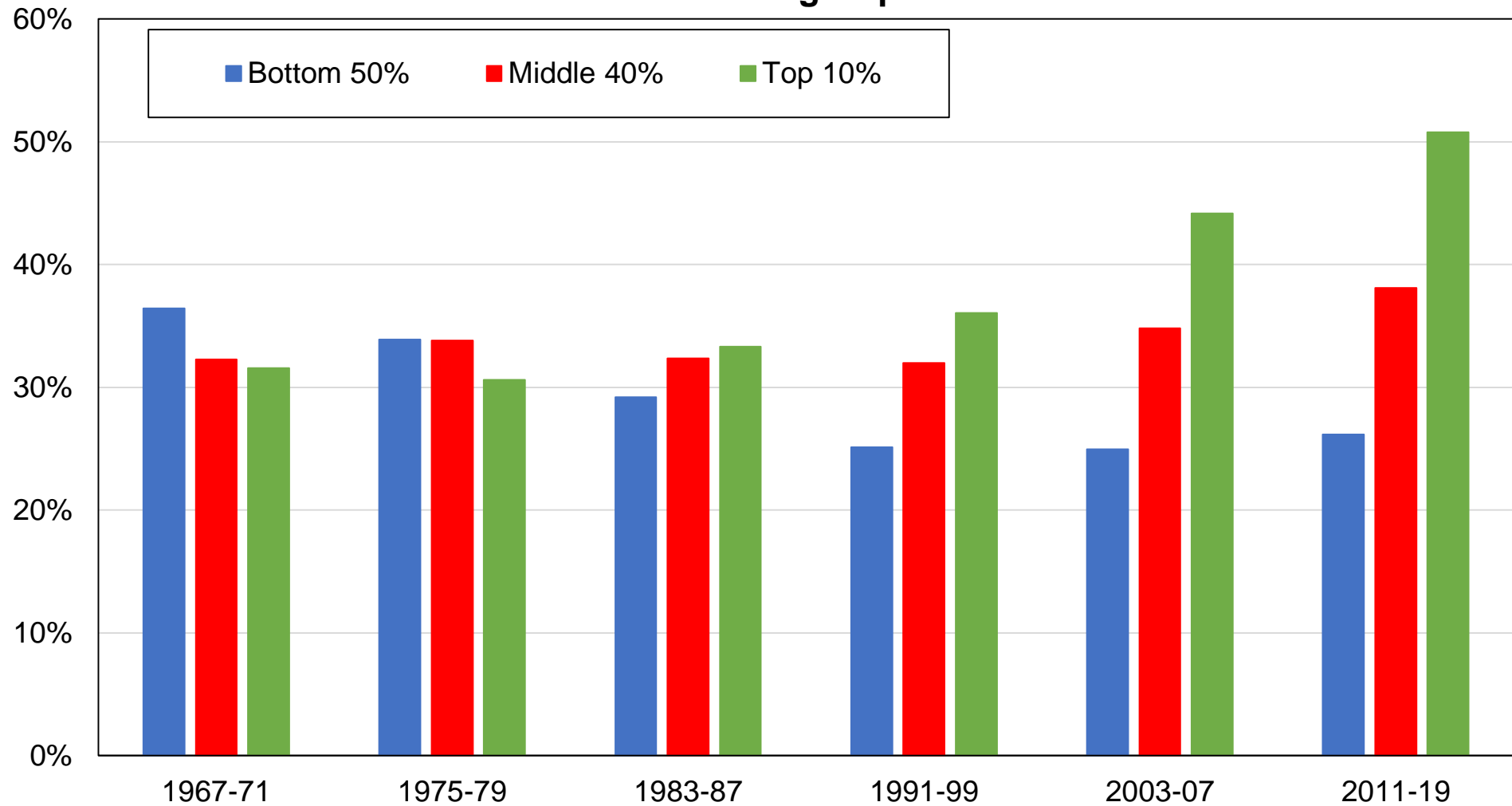
**Figure CB1 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by education level**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by centre-left / left-wing parties by education level.

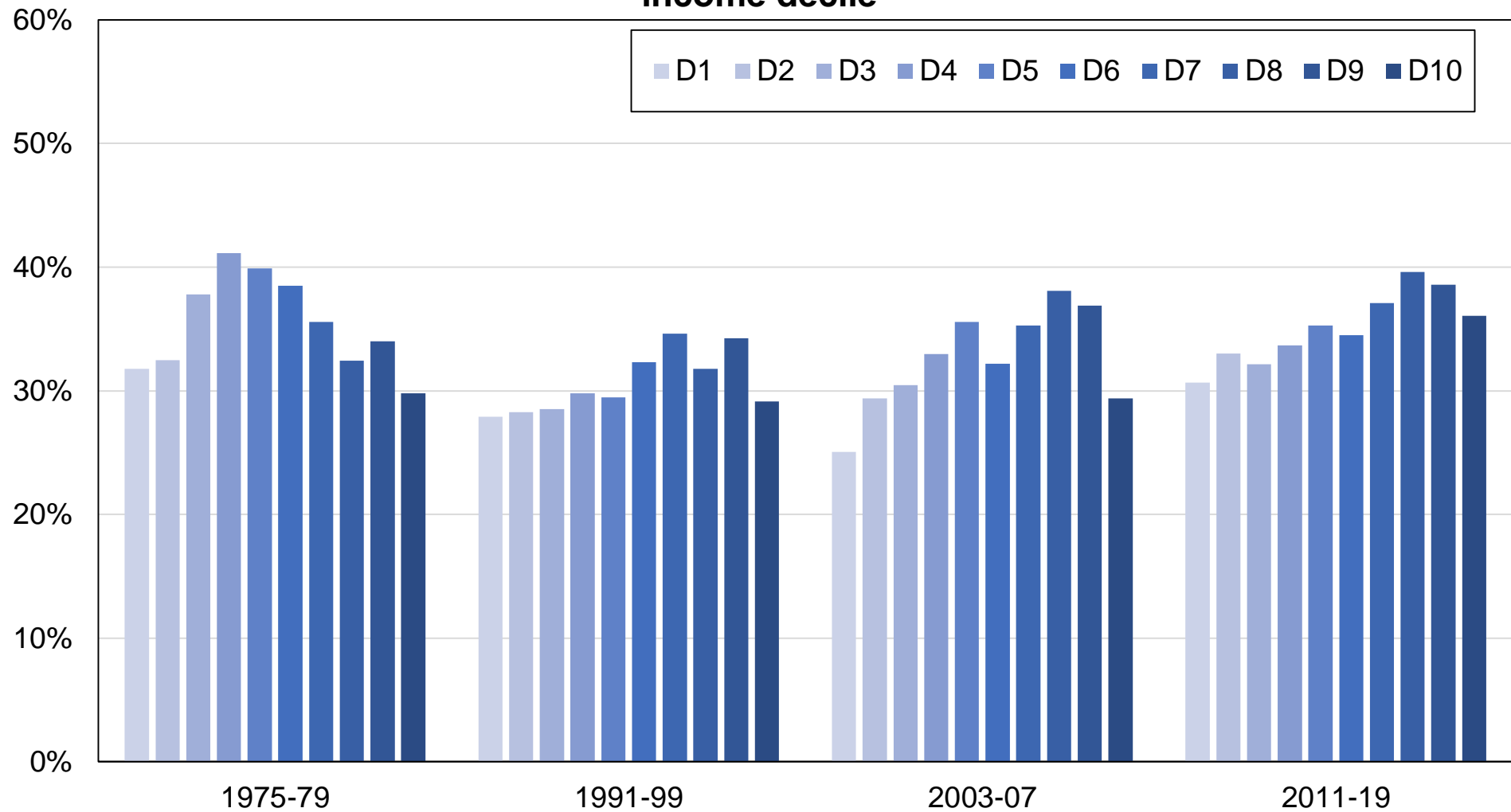
**Figure CB2 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by education group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by centre-left / left-wing parties by education group.

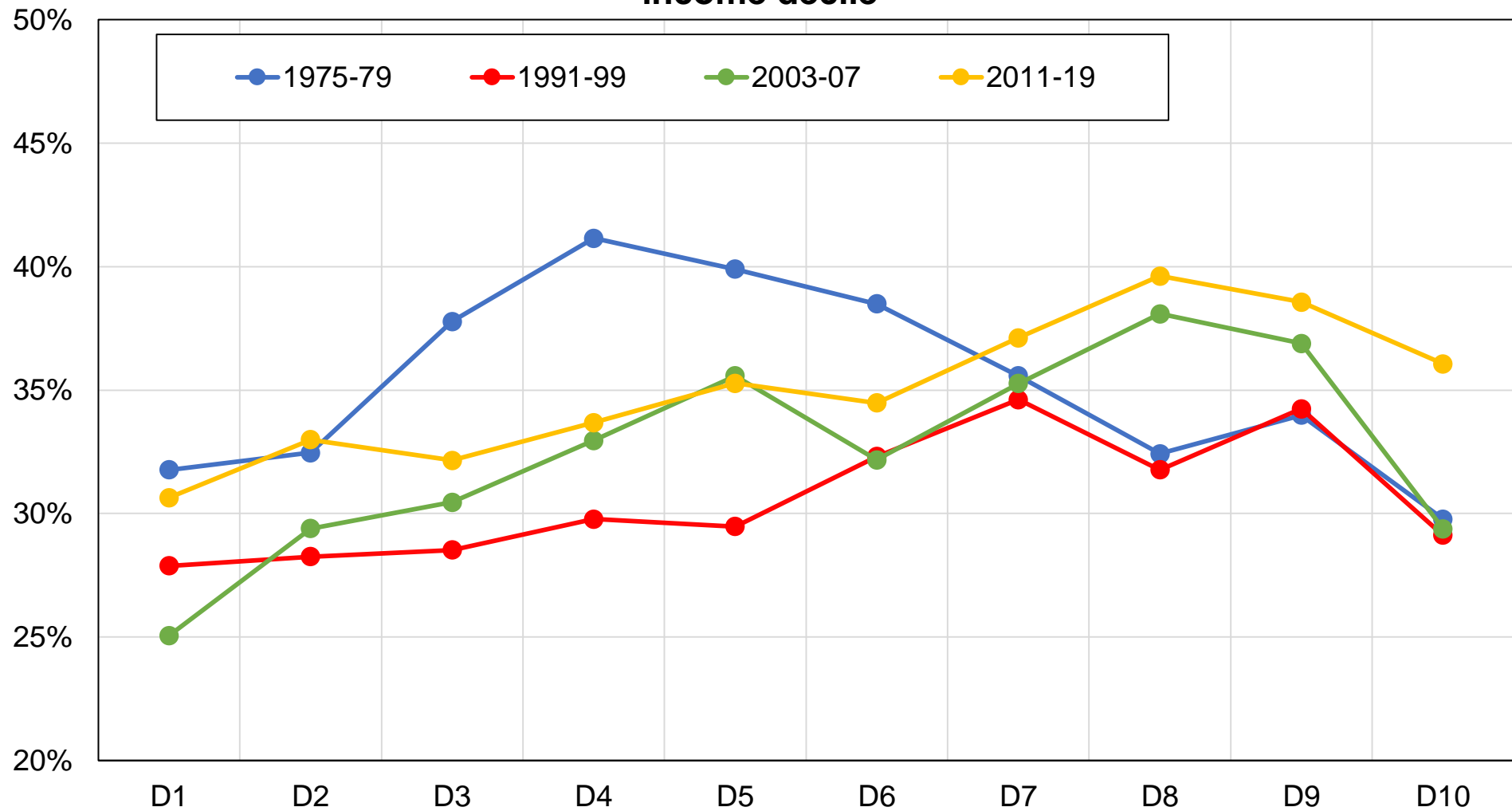
**Figure CB3 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by income decile**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by centre-left / left-wing parties by income decile.

**Figure CB3b - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by income decile**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by centre-left / left-wing parties by income decile.

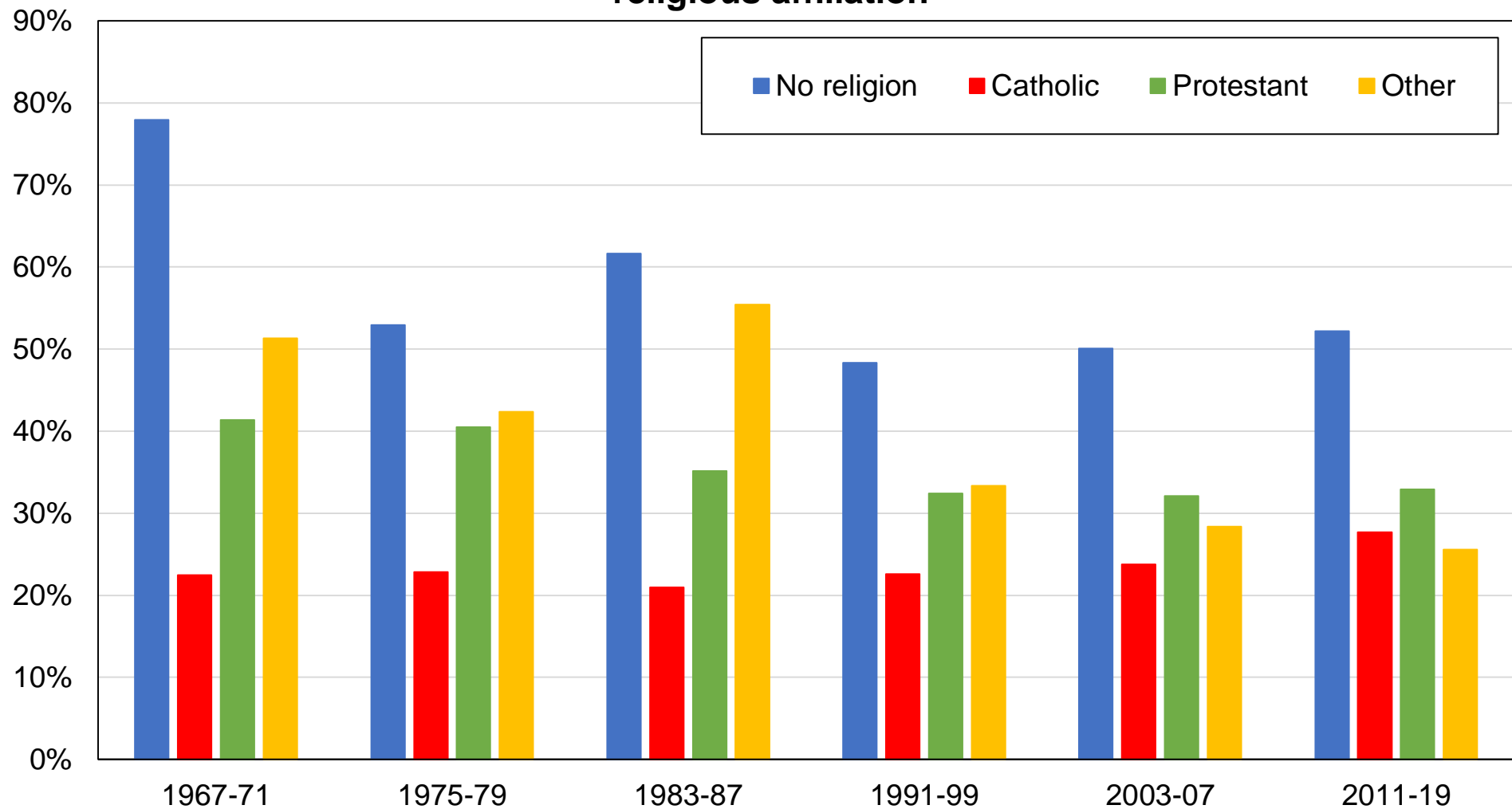
**Figure CB4 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by income group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by centre-left / left-wing parties by income group.

**Figure CB5 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by religious affiliation**

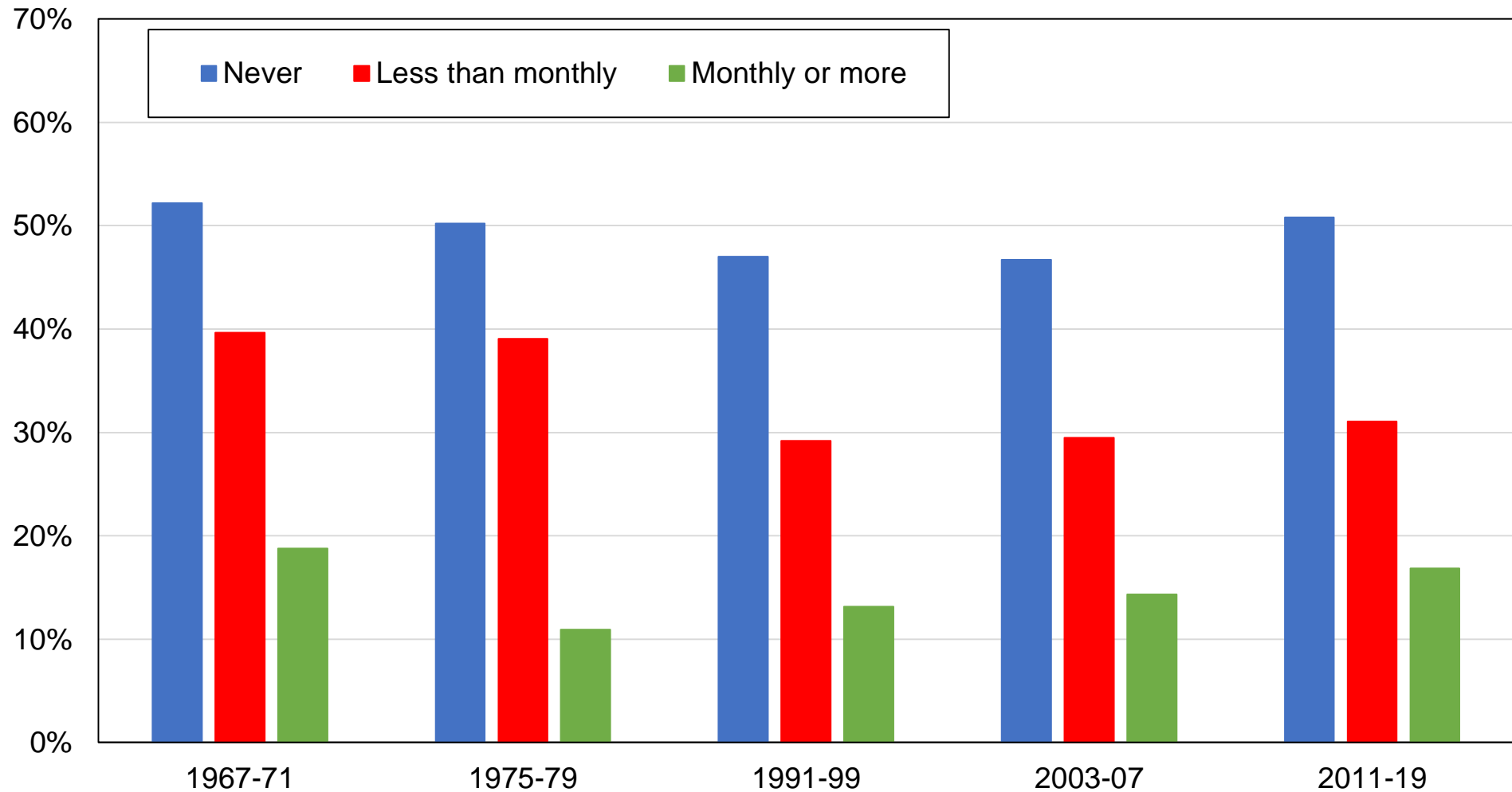


**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by centre-left / left-wing parties by religious affiliation.



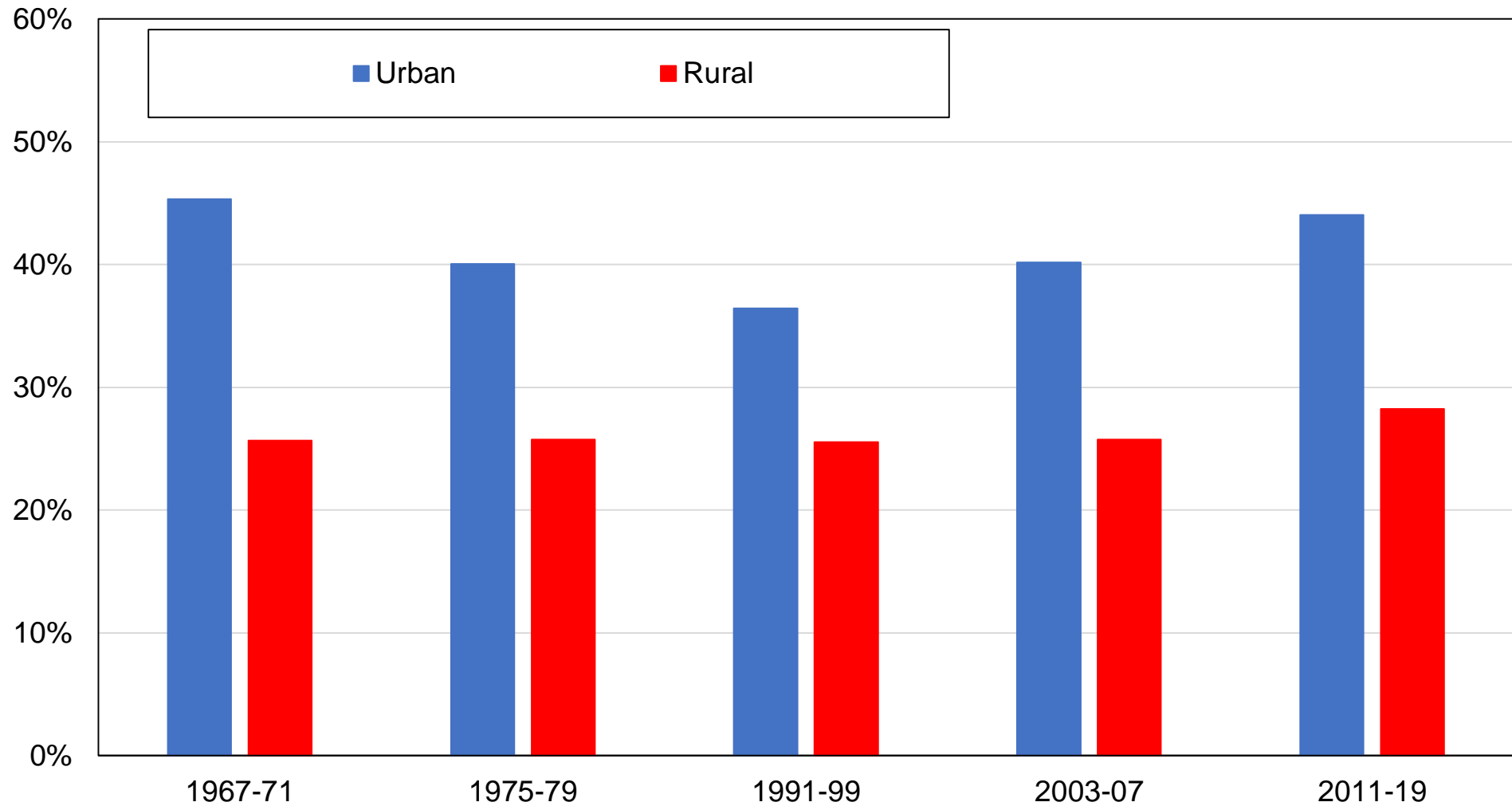
**Figure CB6 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by church attendance**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by centre-left / left-wing parties by frequency of church attendance.

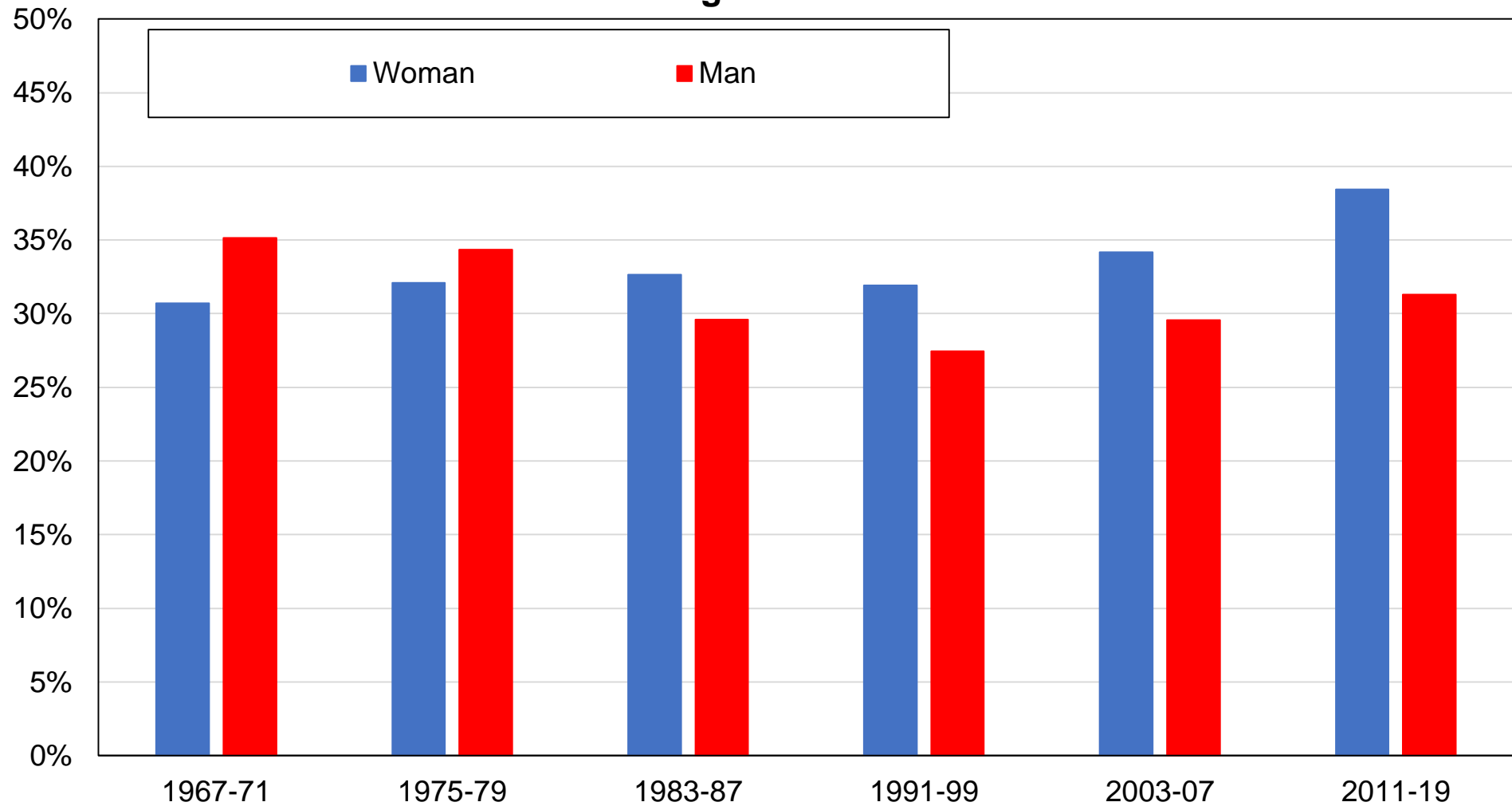
**Figure CB7 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by location**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by centre-left / left-wing parties by rural-urban location.

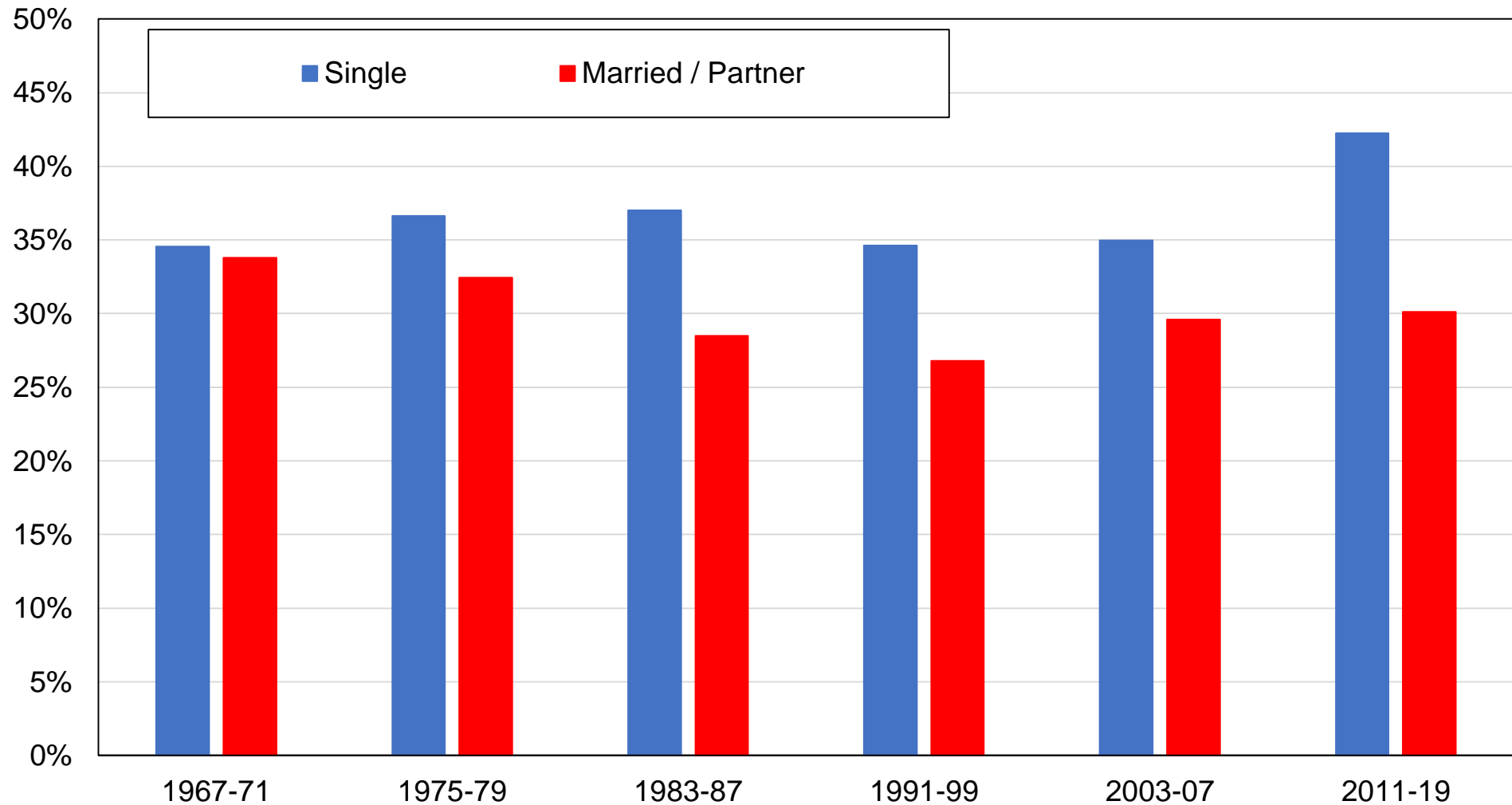
**Figure CB8 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by gender**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by centre-left / left-wing parties by gender.

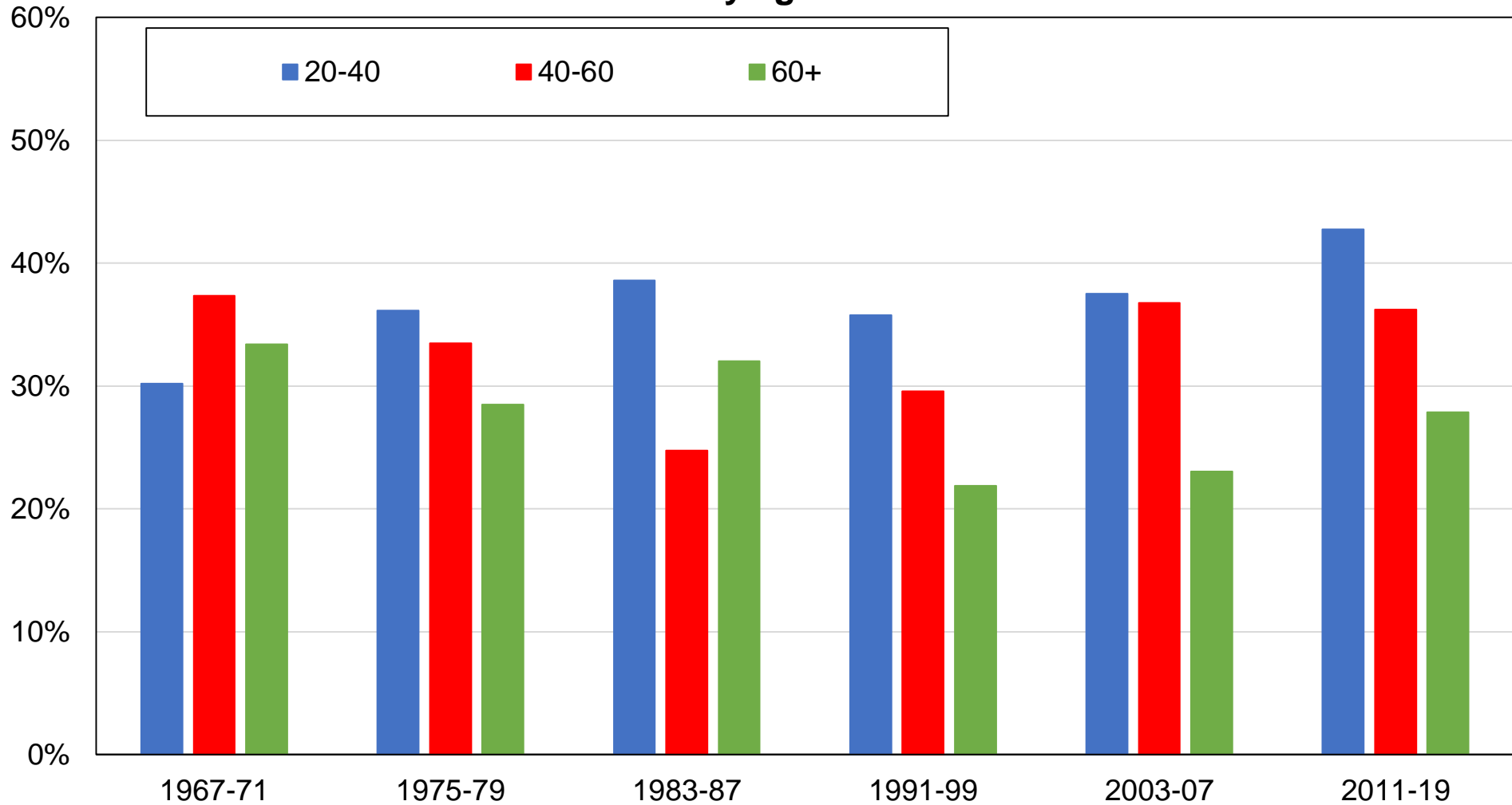
**Figure CB9 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by marital status**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by centre-left / left-wing parties by marital status.

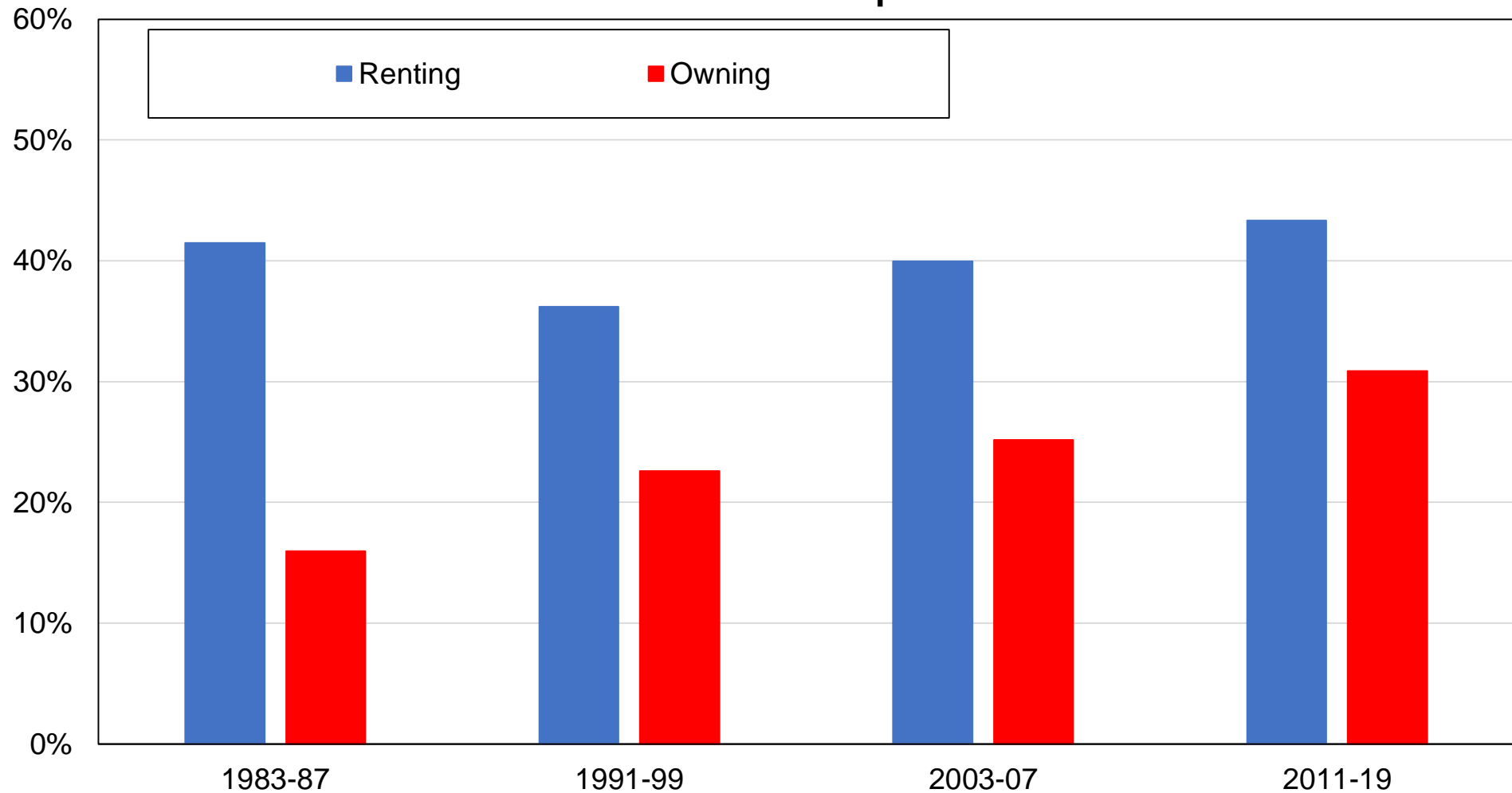
**Figure CB10 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left  
by age**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by centre-left / left-wing parties by age group.

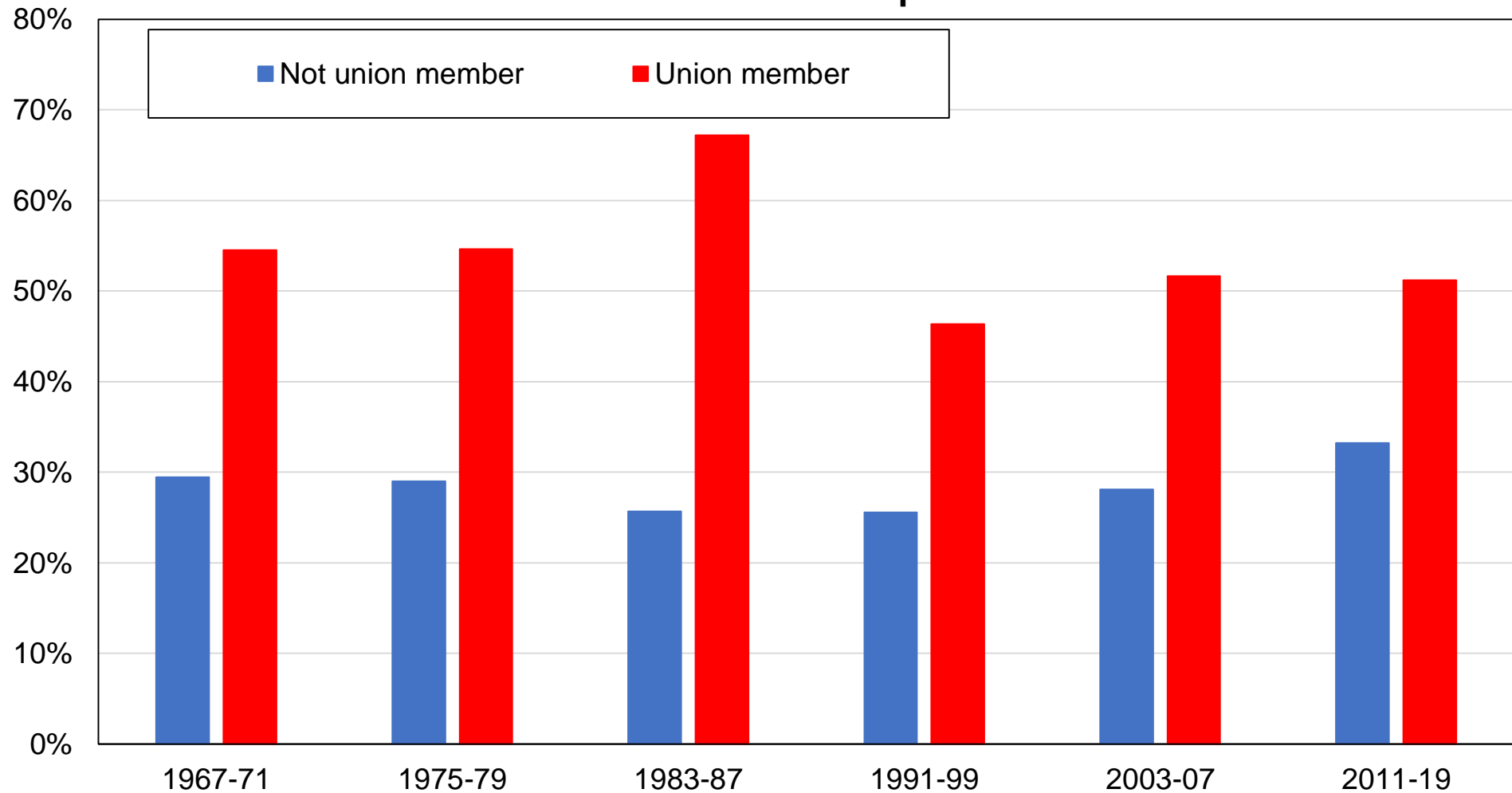
**Figure CB11 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by homeownership**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by centre-left / left-wing parties by homeownership status.

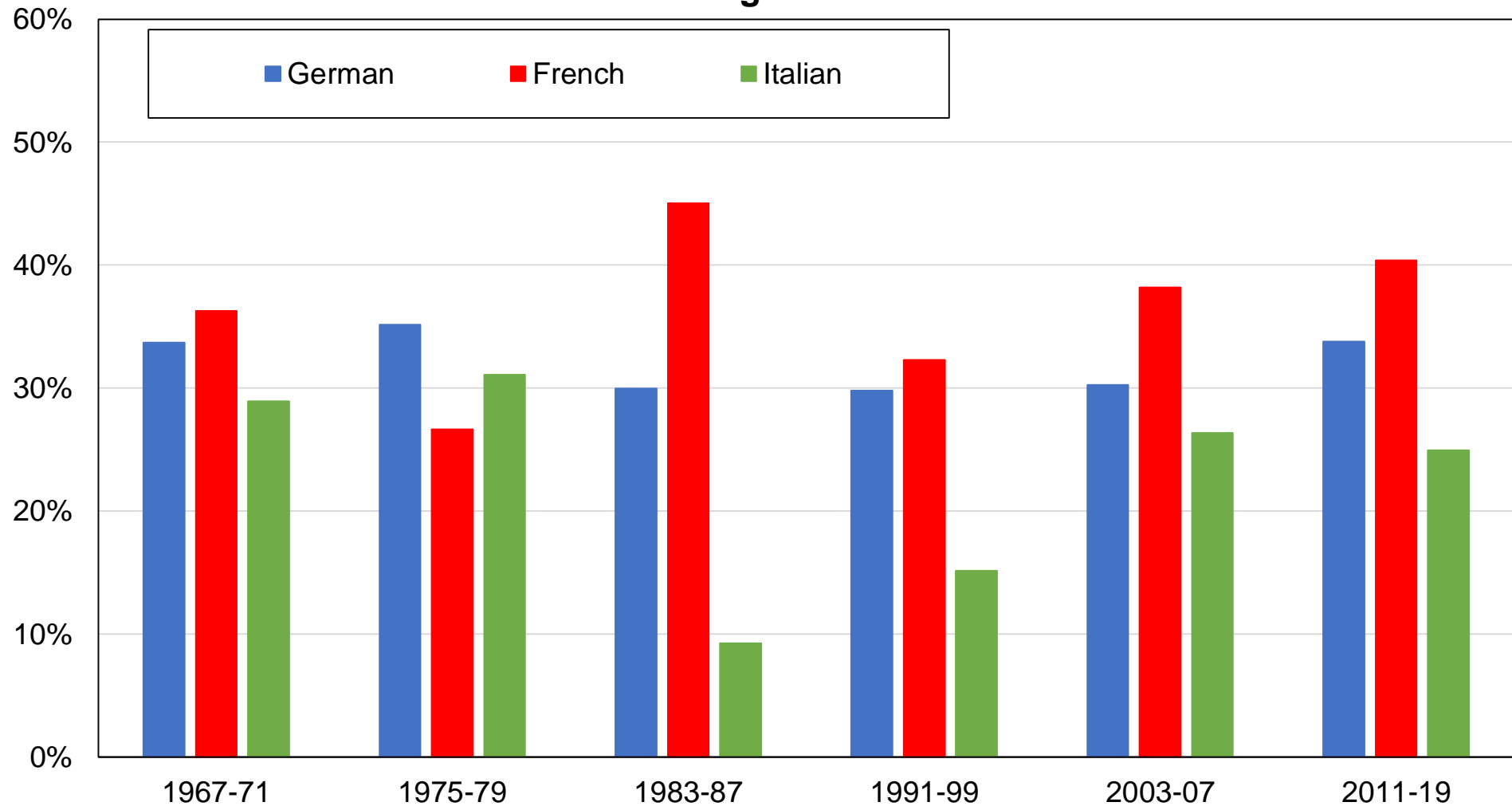
**Figure CB12 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by union membership**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by centre-left / left-wing parties by union membership status.

**Figure CB13 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by region**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by centre-left / left-wing parties by linguistic region.



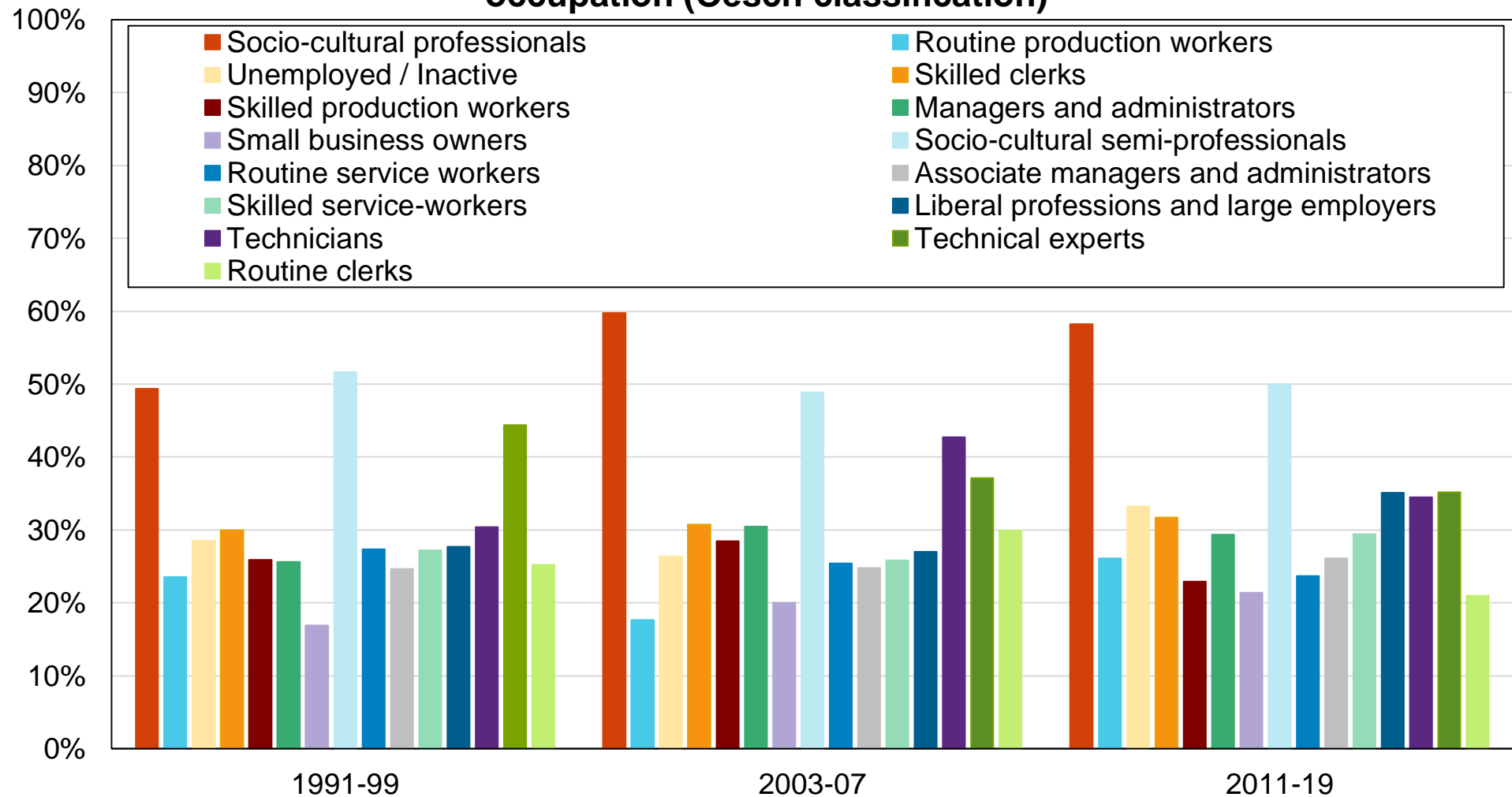
**Figure CB14 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by occupation (Kriesi classification)**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by centre-left / left-wing parties by occupation (Kriesi classification).

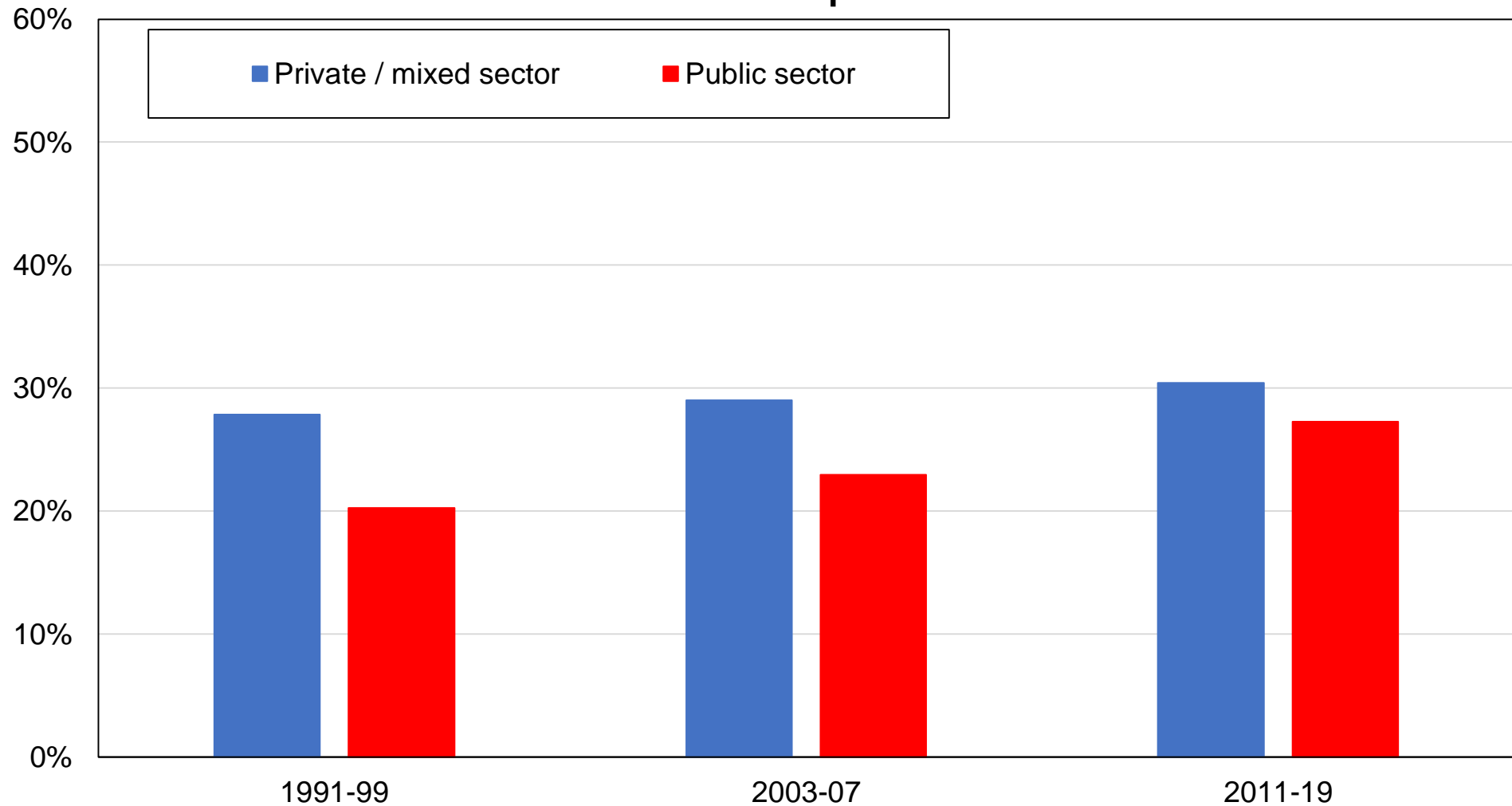
**Figure CB15 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by occupation (Oesch classification)**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by centre-left / left-wing parties by occupation (Oesch classification).

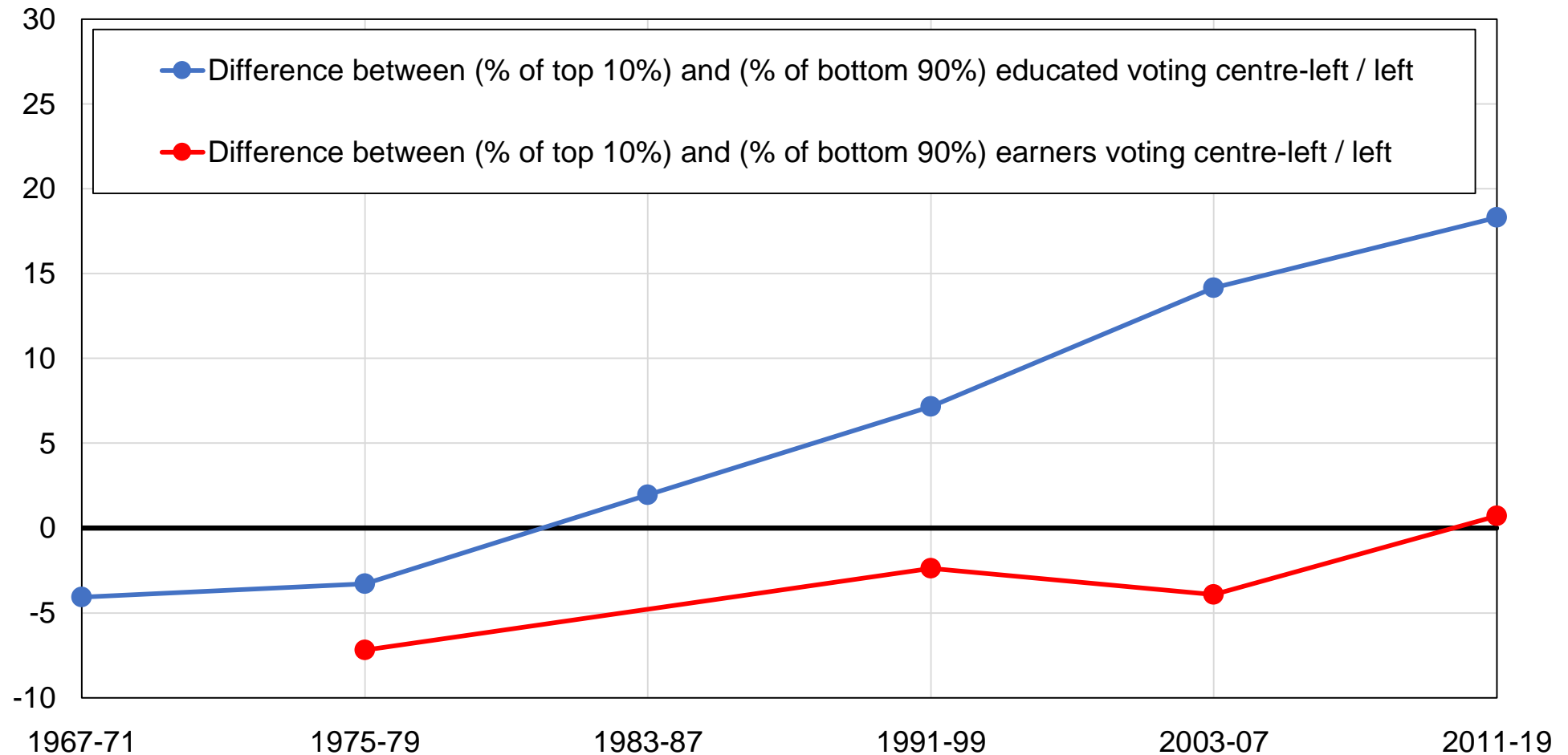
**Figure CB16 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by sector of occupation**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by centre-left / left-wing parties by sector of occupation.

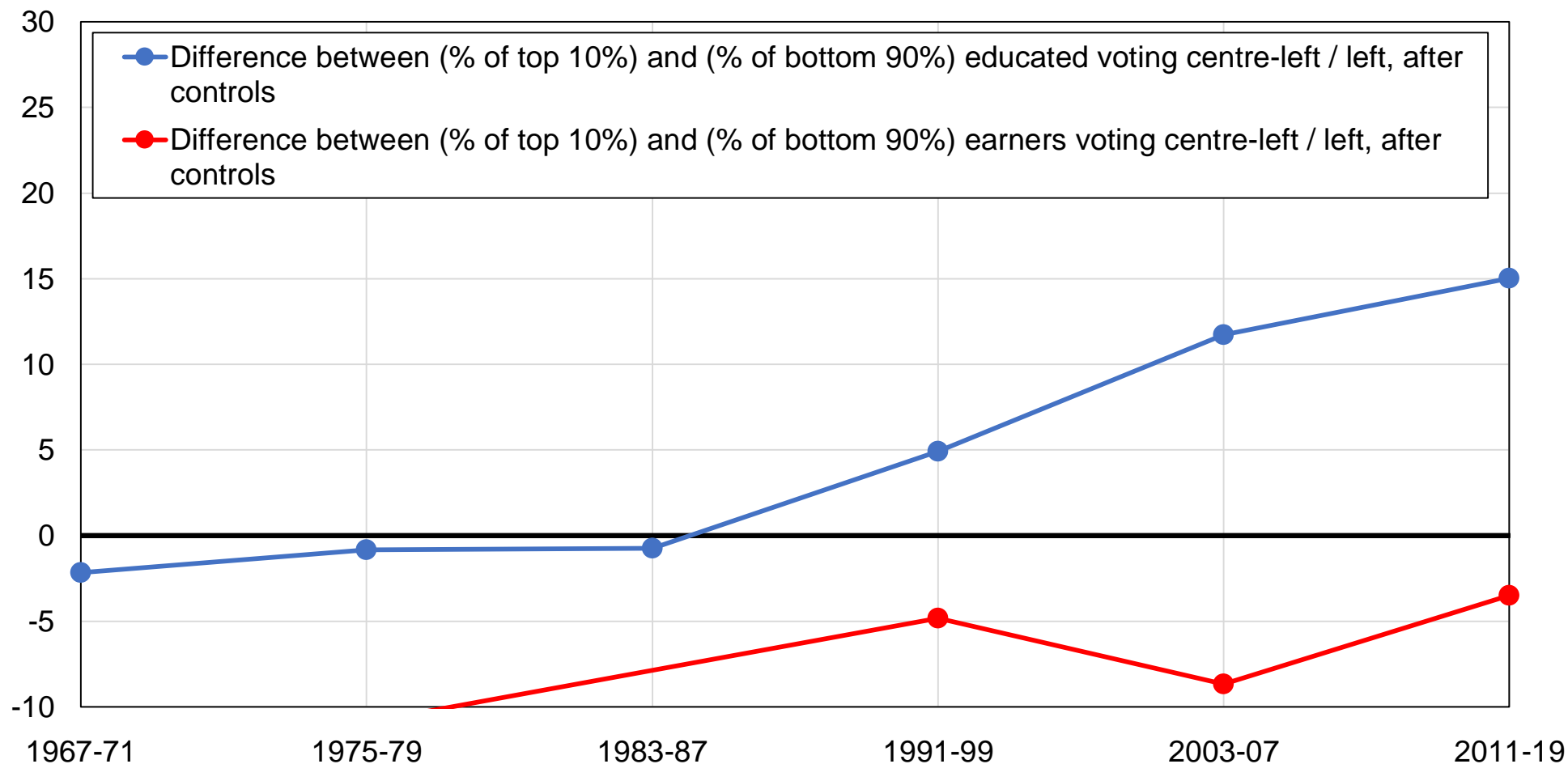
**Figure CC1 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among highest-educated and top-income voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the support for centre-left / left-wing parties among highest-educated and top-income voters.

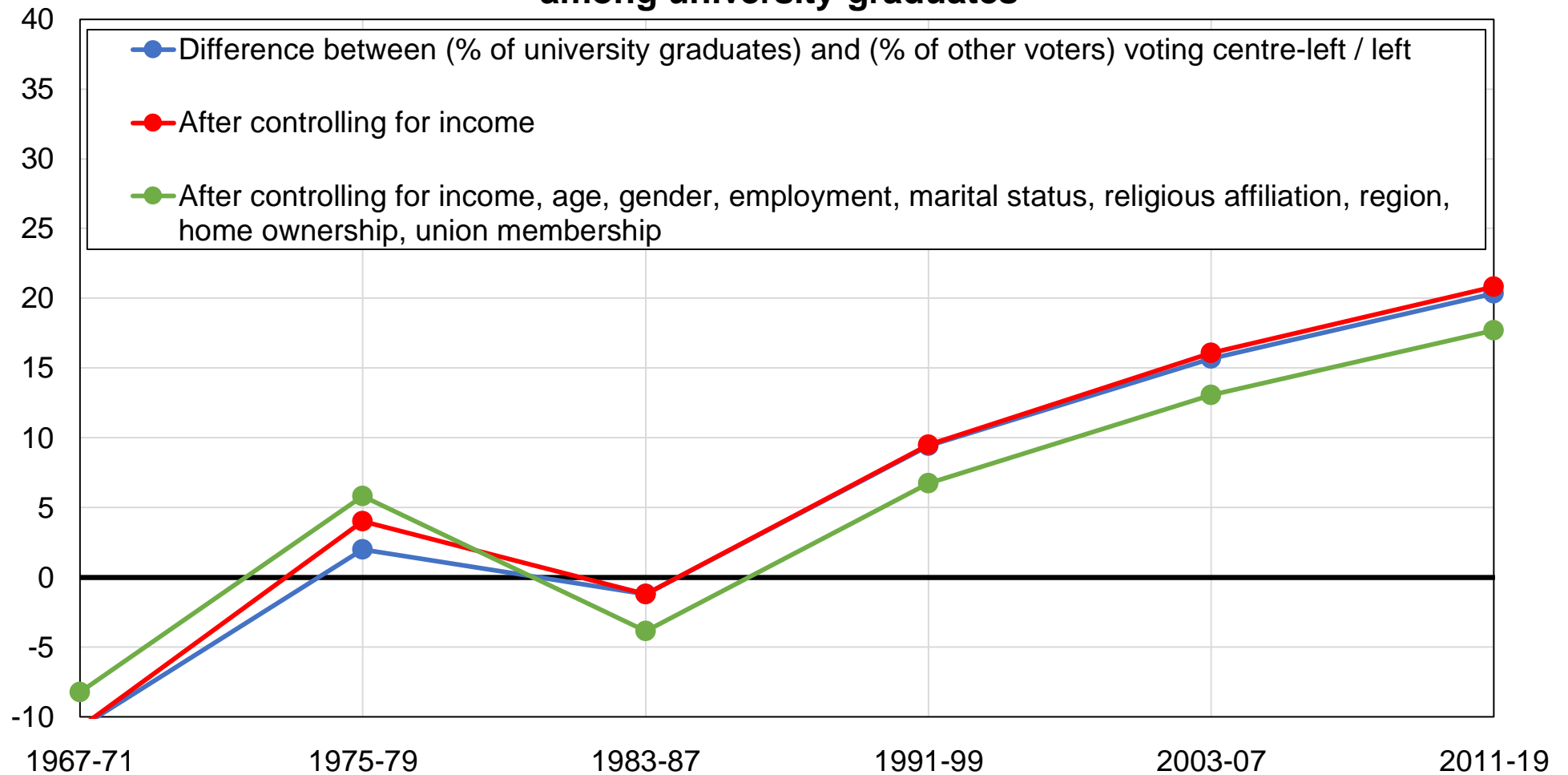
**Figure CC2 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controls**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the support for centre-left / left-wing parties among highest-educated and top-income voters after controlling for income, education, age, gender, employment, marital status, religious affiliation, region, home ownership, and union membership status.

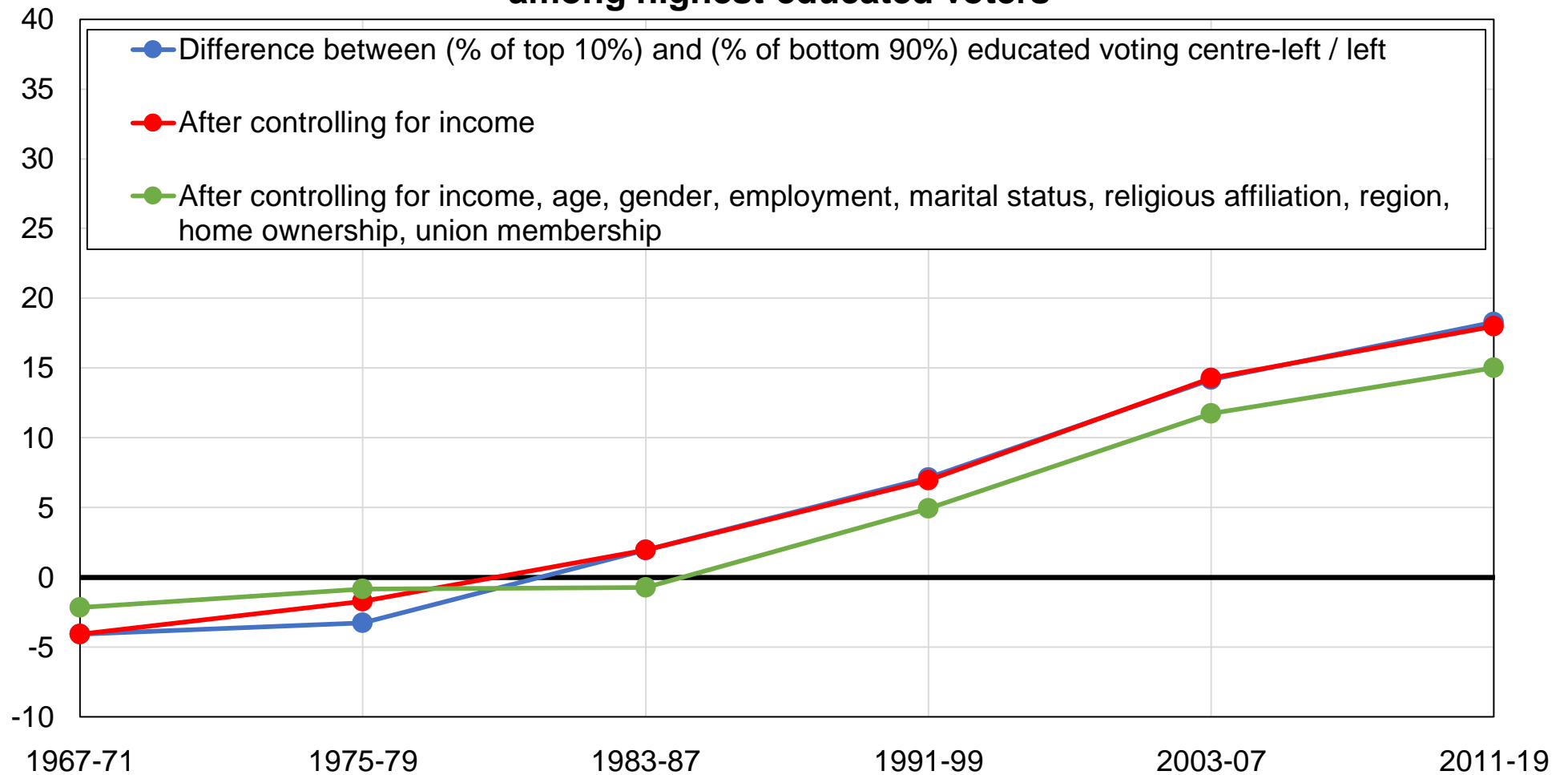
**Figure CC3 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among university graduates**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters voting for centre-left / left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

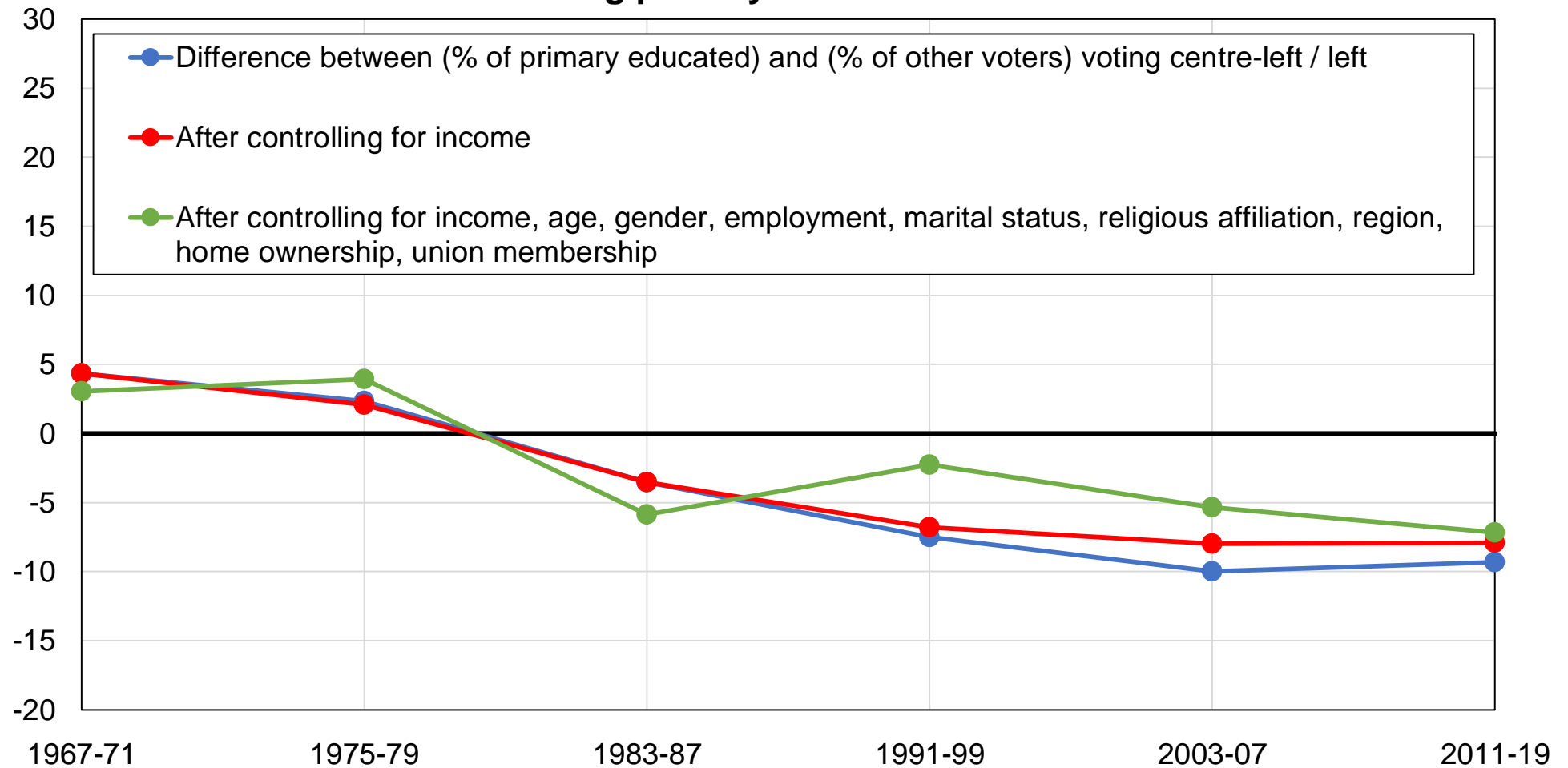
**Figure CC4 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among highest-educated voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of other voters voting for centre-left / left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

**Figure CC5 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among primary-educated voters**

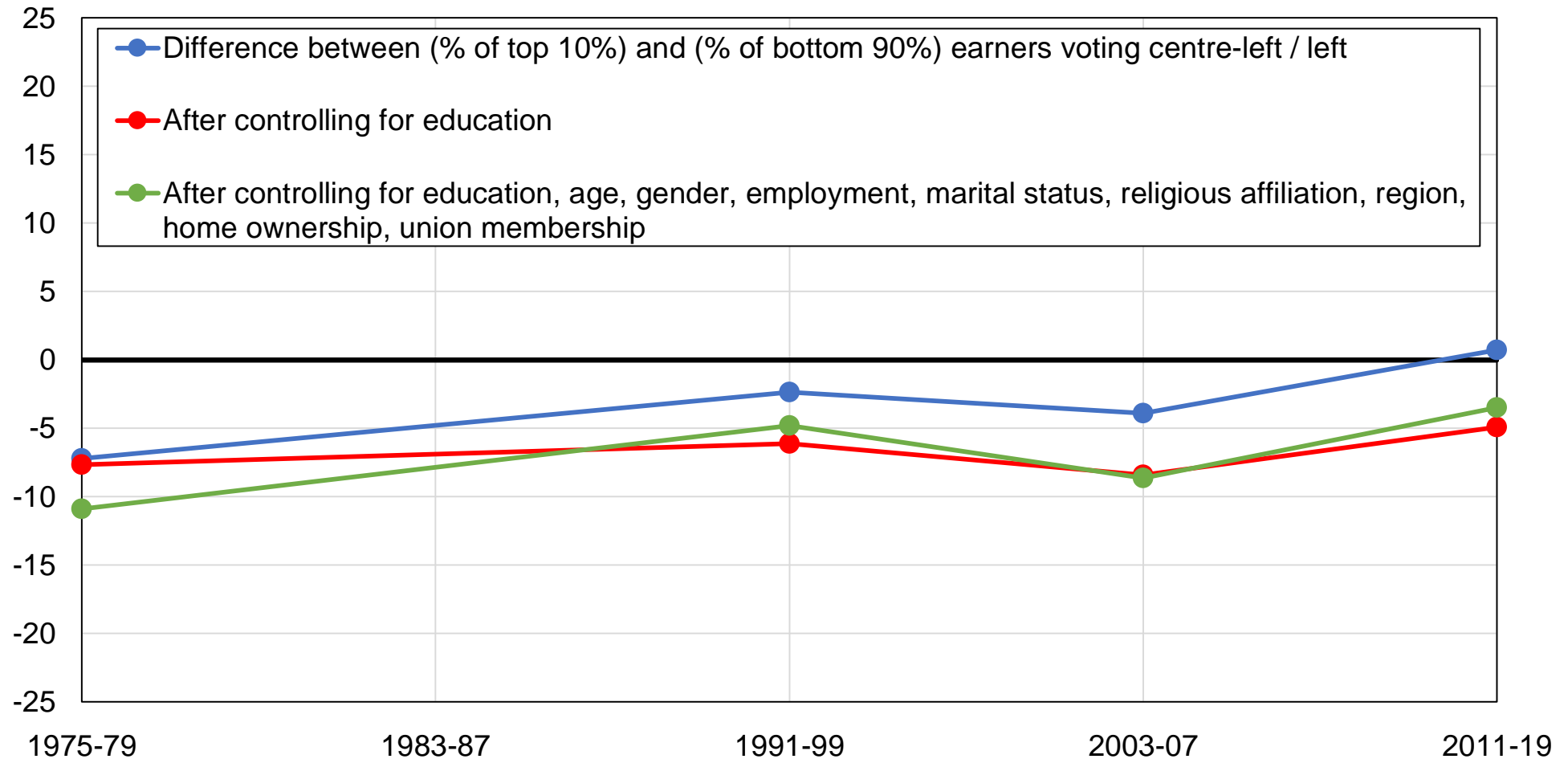


**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of primary educated voters and the share of other voters voting for centre-left / left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.



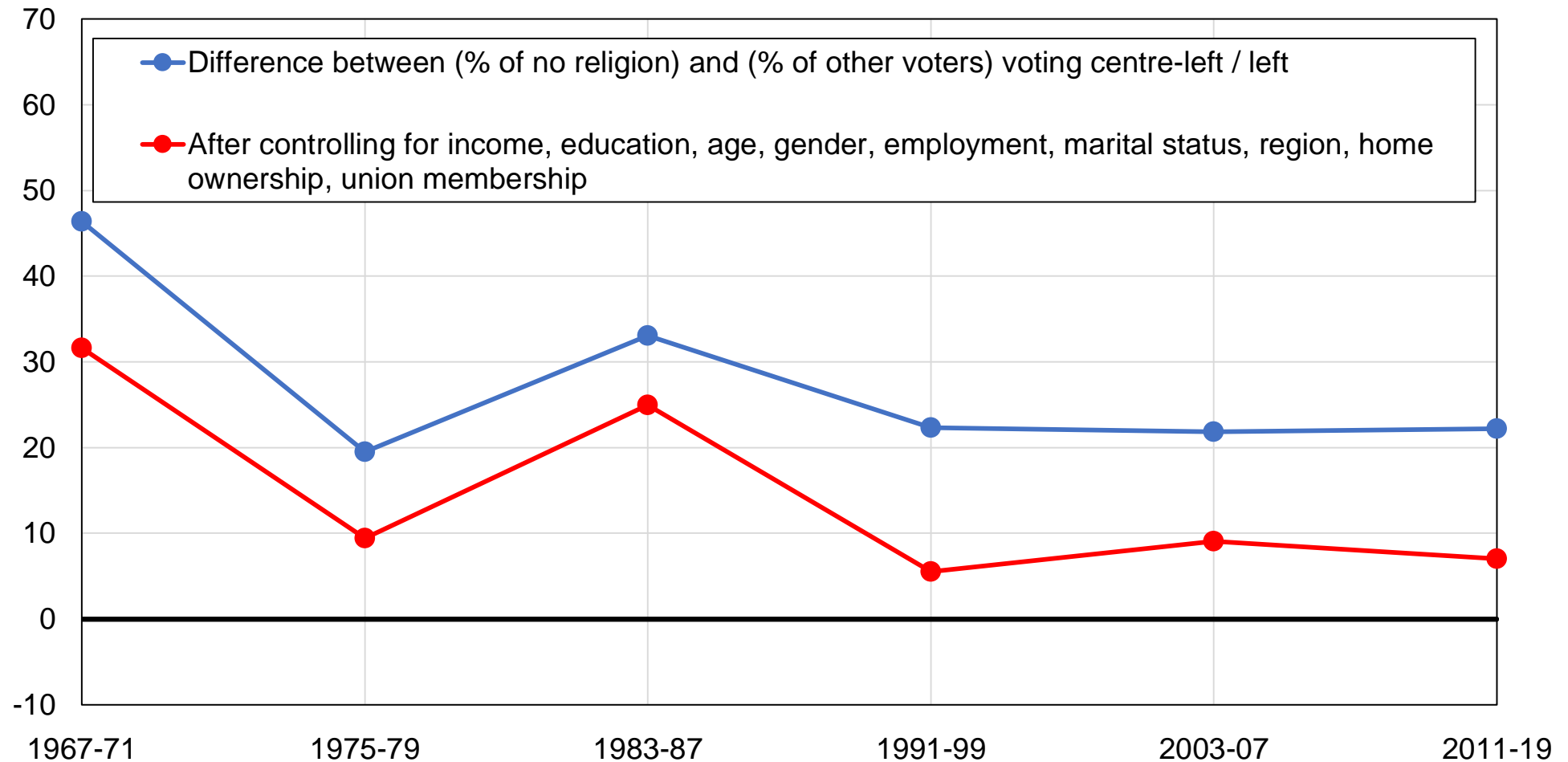
**Figure CC6 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among top-income voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for centre-left / left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

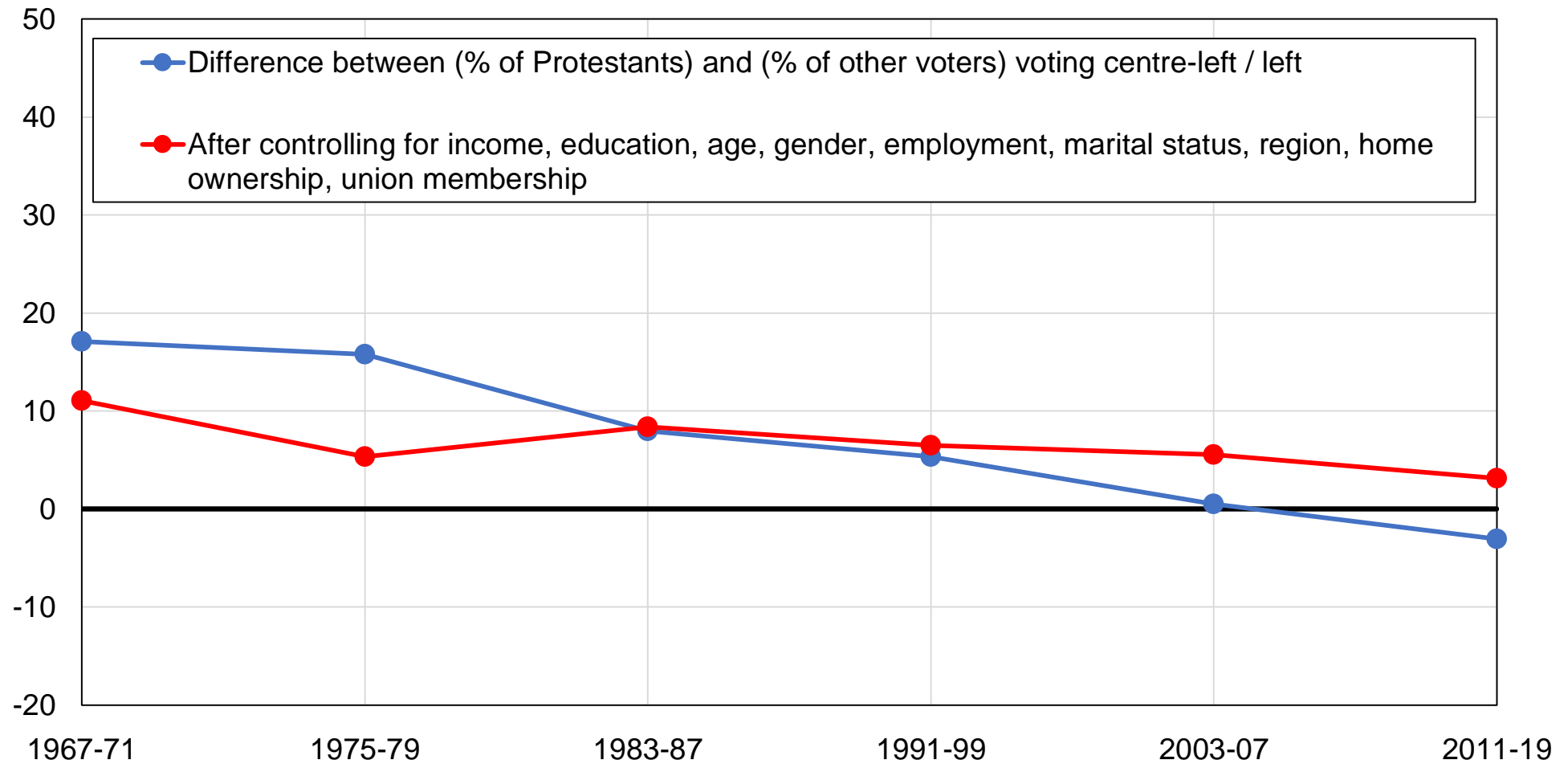
**Figure CC7 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among voters with no religion**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of voters declaring no religion and the share of other voters voting for centre-left / left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

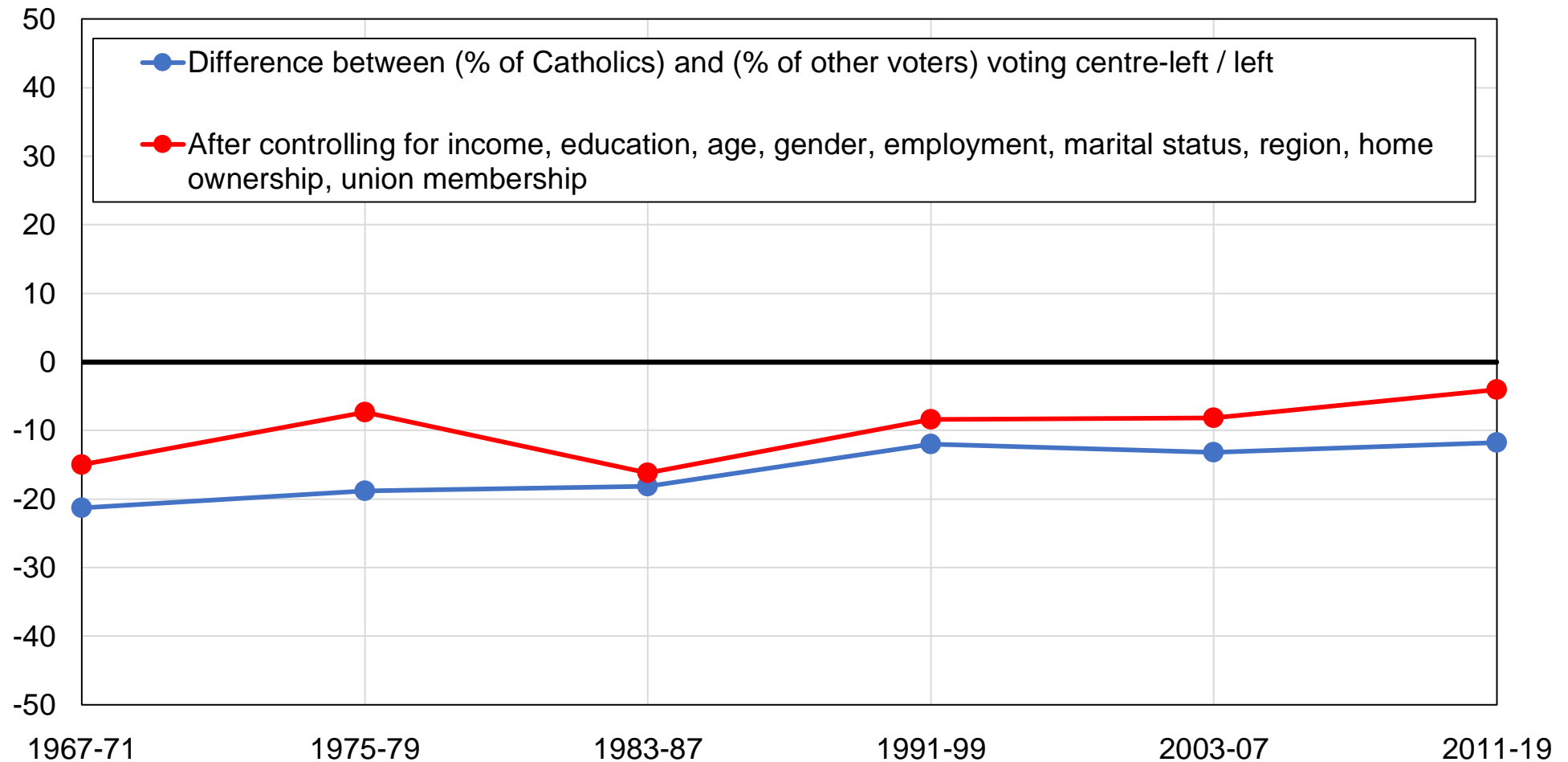
**Figure CC8 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among Protestants**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of Protestant voters and the share of other voters voting for centre-left / left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

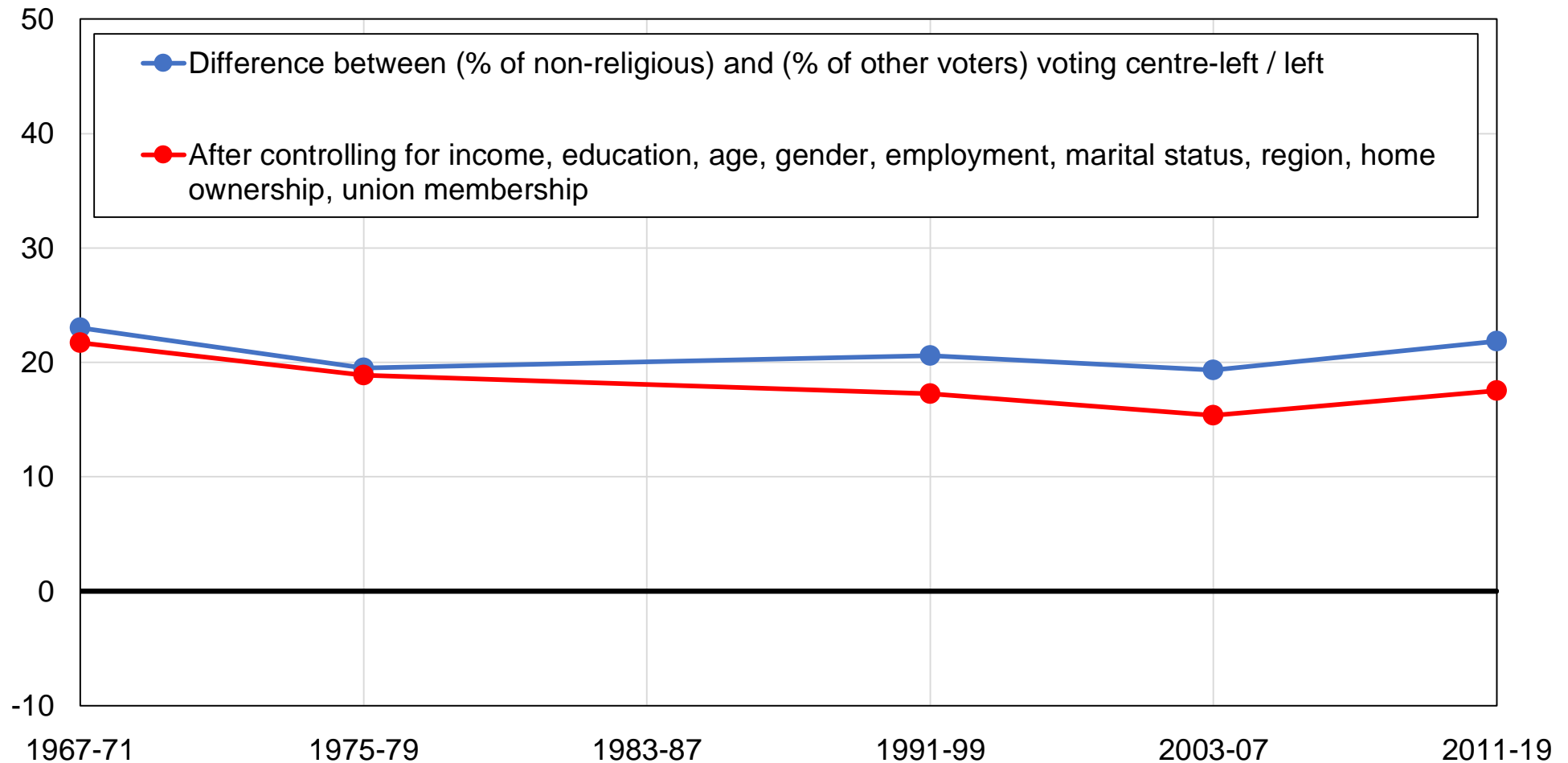
**Figure CC9 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among Catholics**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of Catholic voters and the share of other voters voting for centre-left / left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

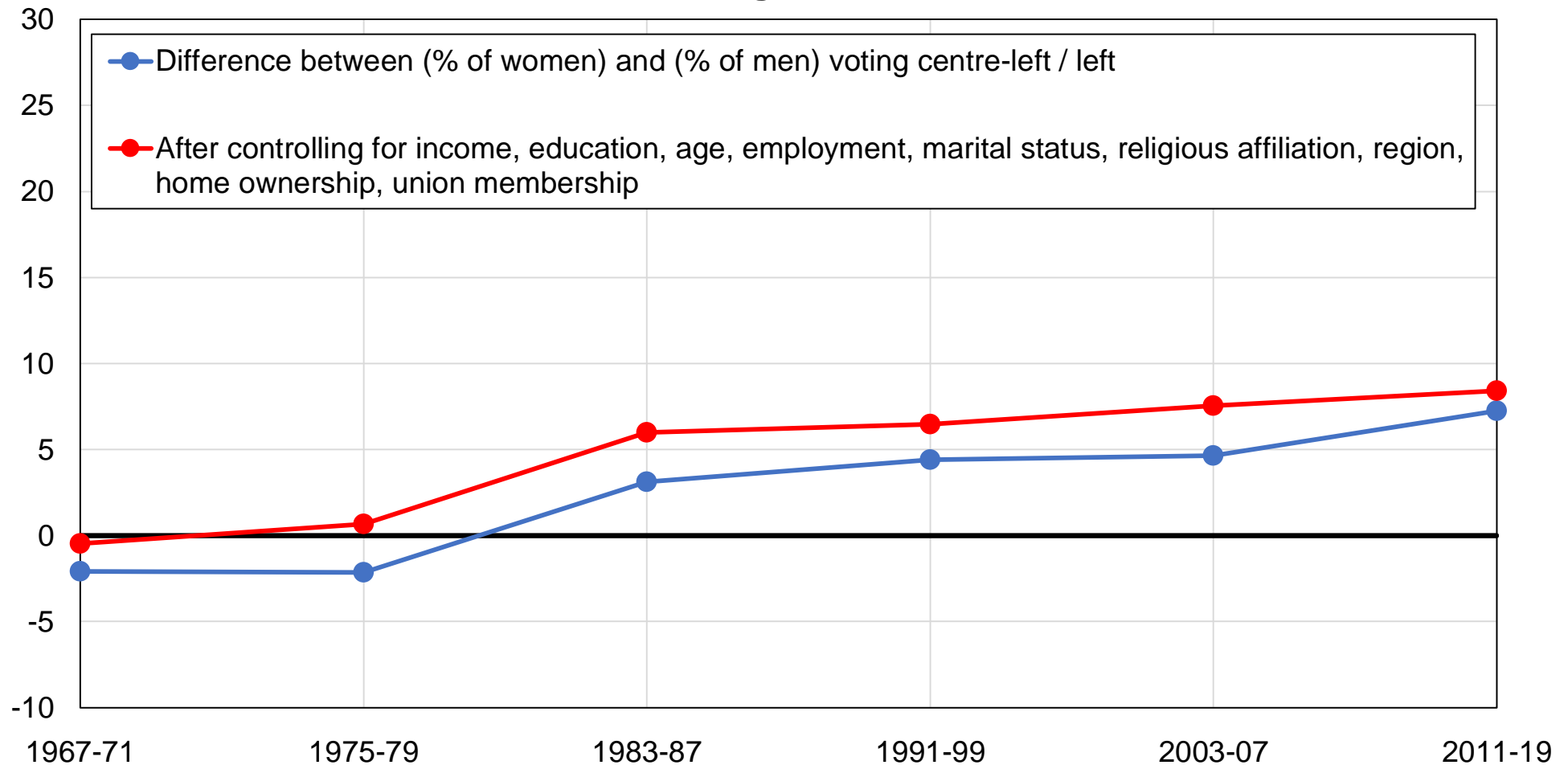
**Figure CC10 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among non-religious voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of voters never going to church and the share of other voters voting for centre-left / left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

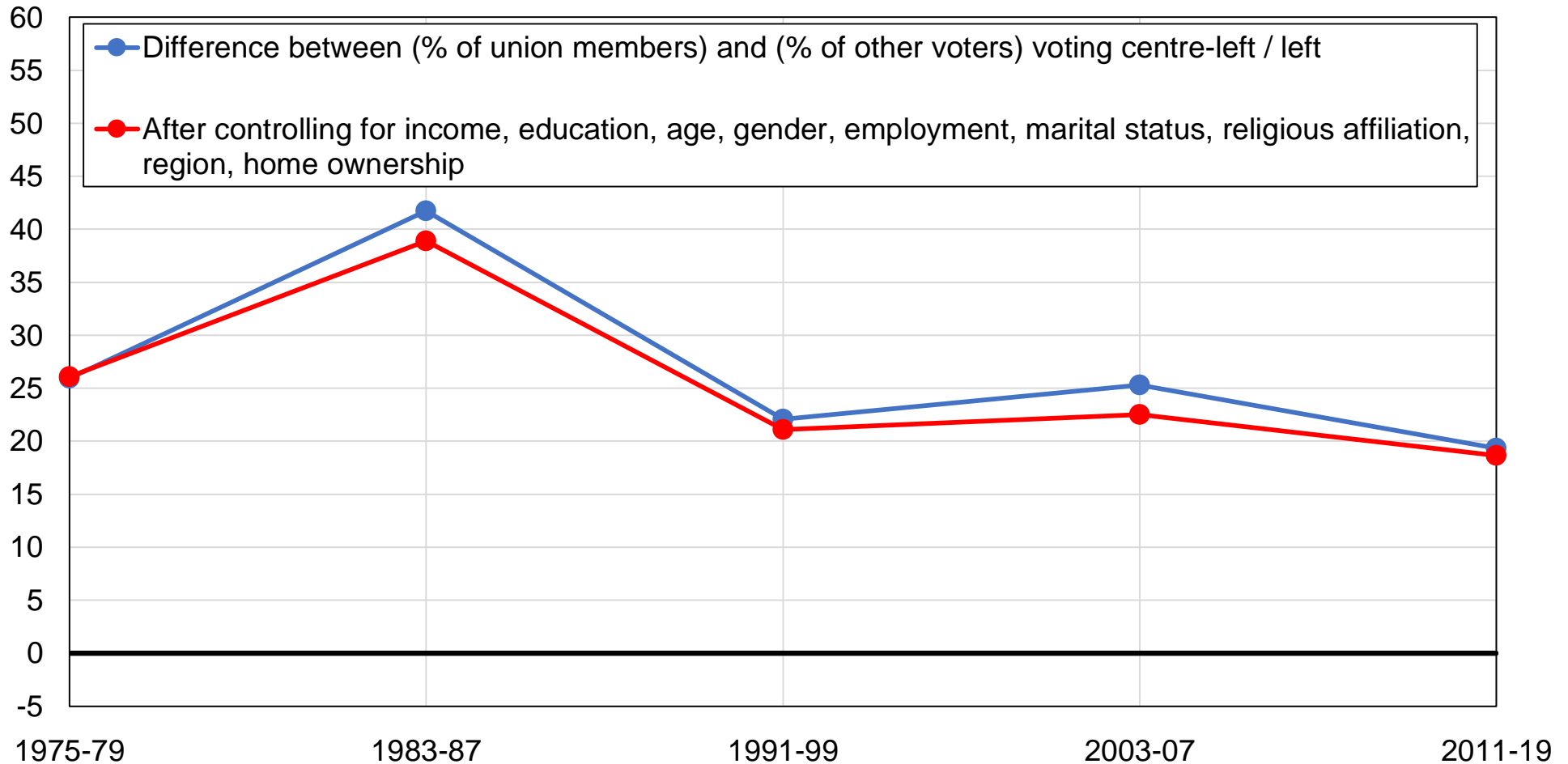
**Figure CC11 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among women**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for centre-left / left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

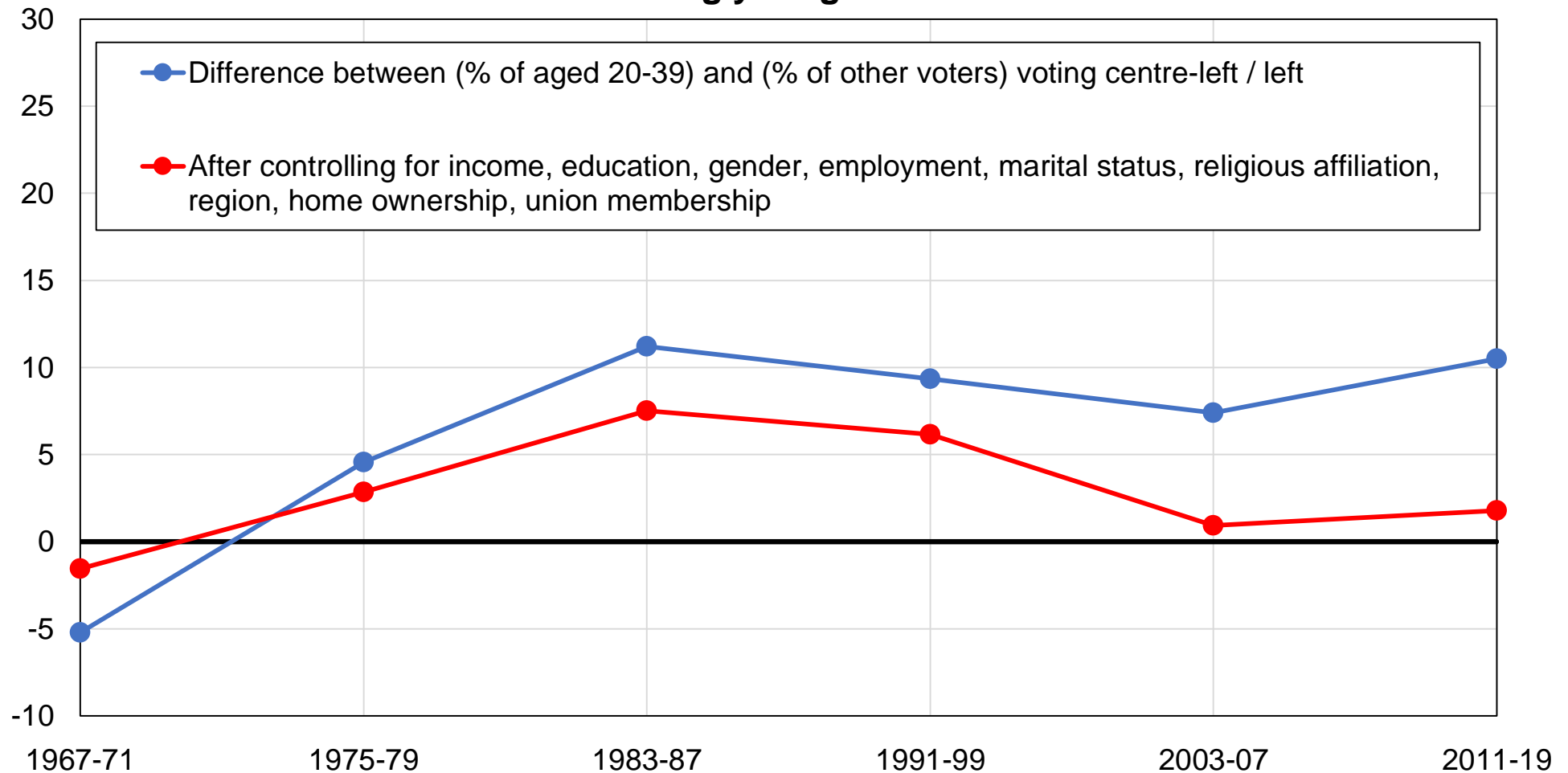
**Figure CC12 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among union members**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of union members and the share of other voters voting for centre-left / left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

**Figure CC13 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among young voters**

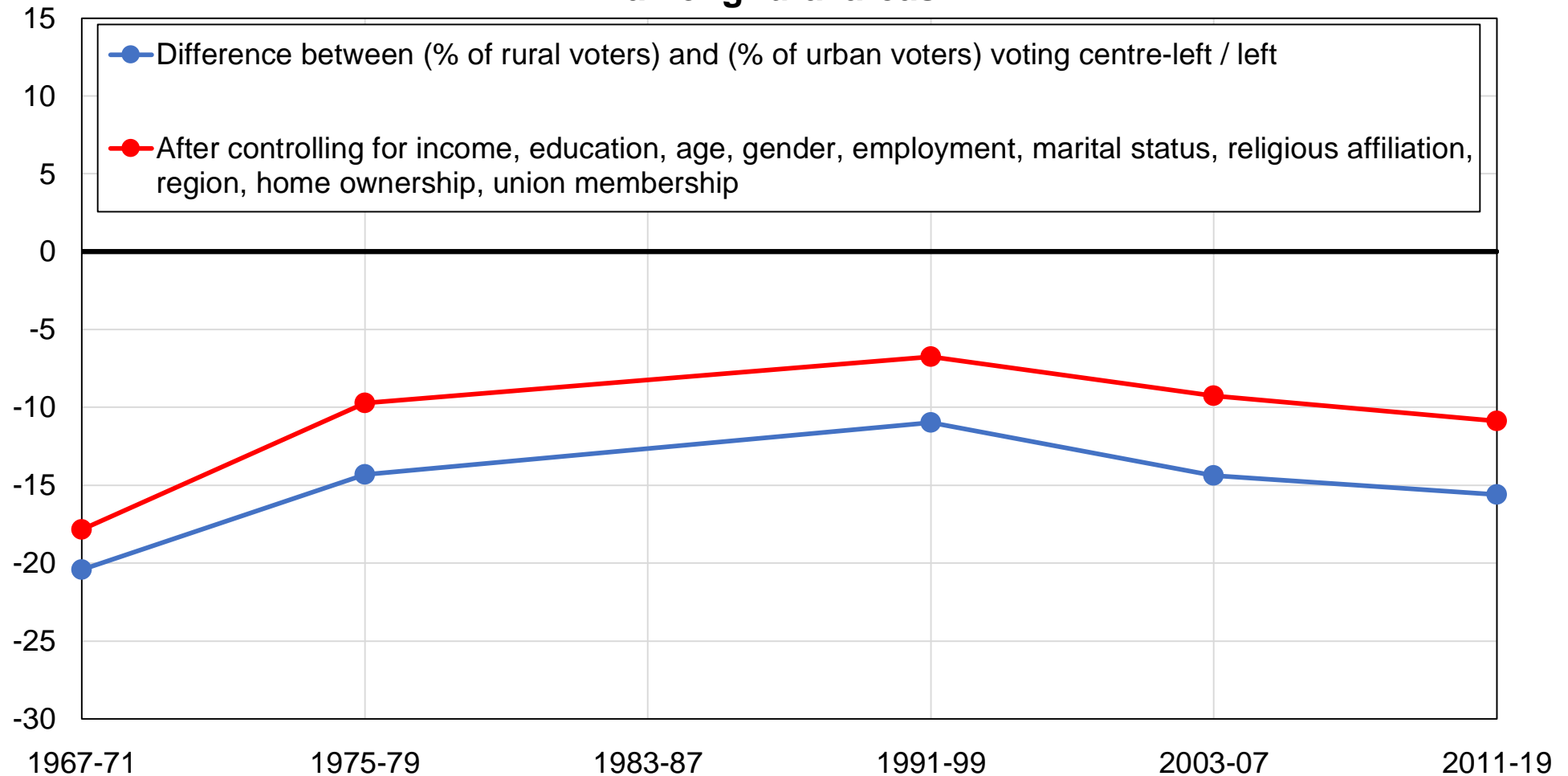


**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of voters aged 20-39 and the share of voters older than 40 voting for centre-left / left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.



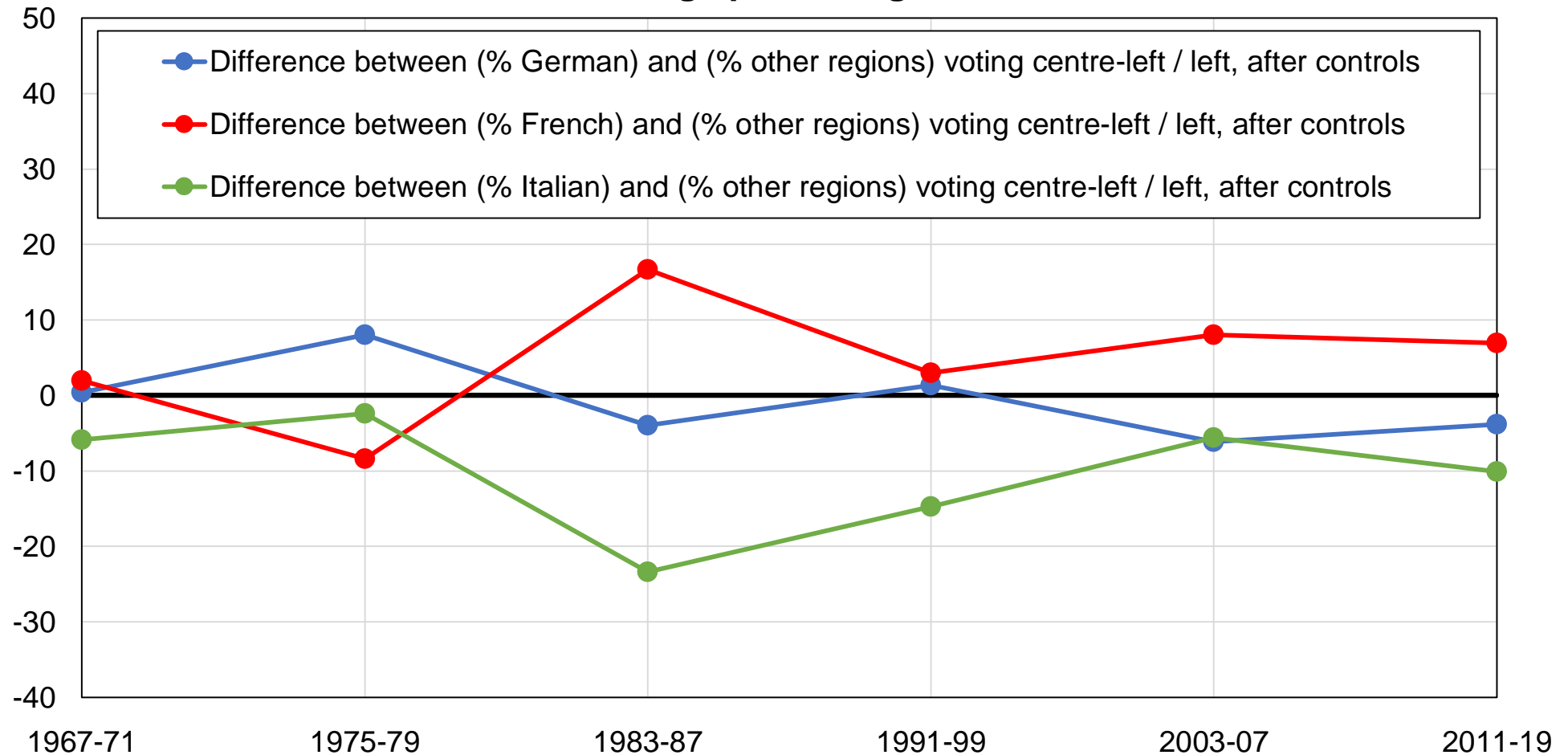
**Figure CC14 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among rural areas**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of voters in rural areas and the share of voters in urban areas voting for centre-left / left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

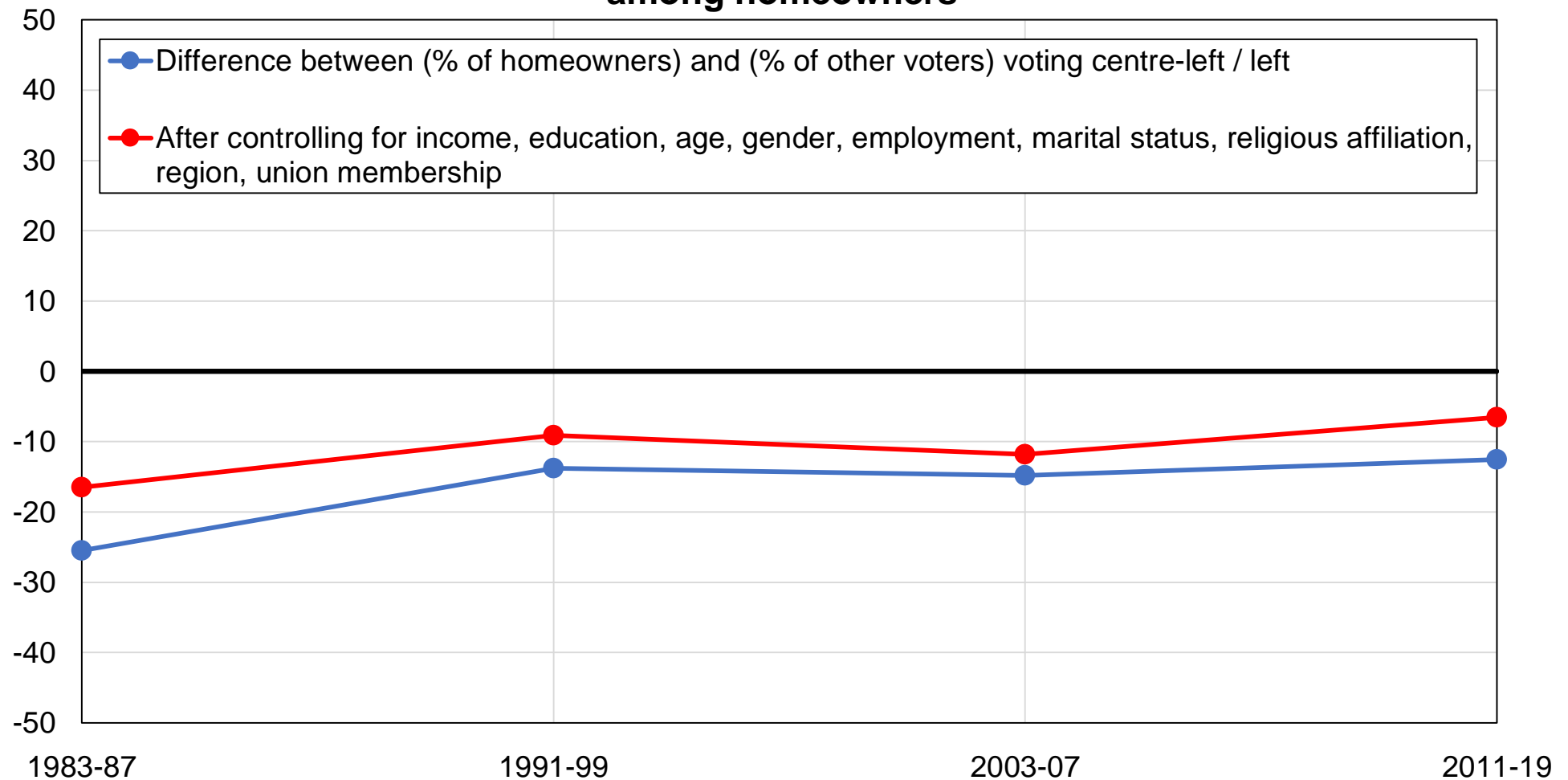
**Figure CC15 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among specific regions**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the bias of Swiss linguistic regions towards Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left, after controlling for income, education, age, gender, employment, marital status, religious affiliation, home ownership, and union membership.

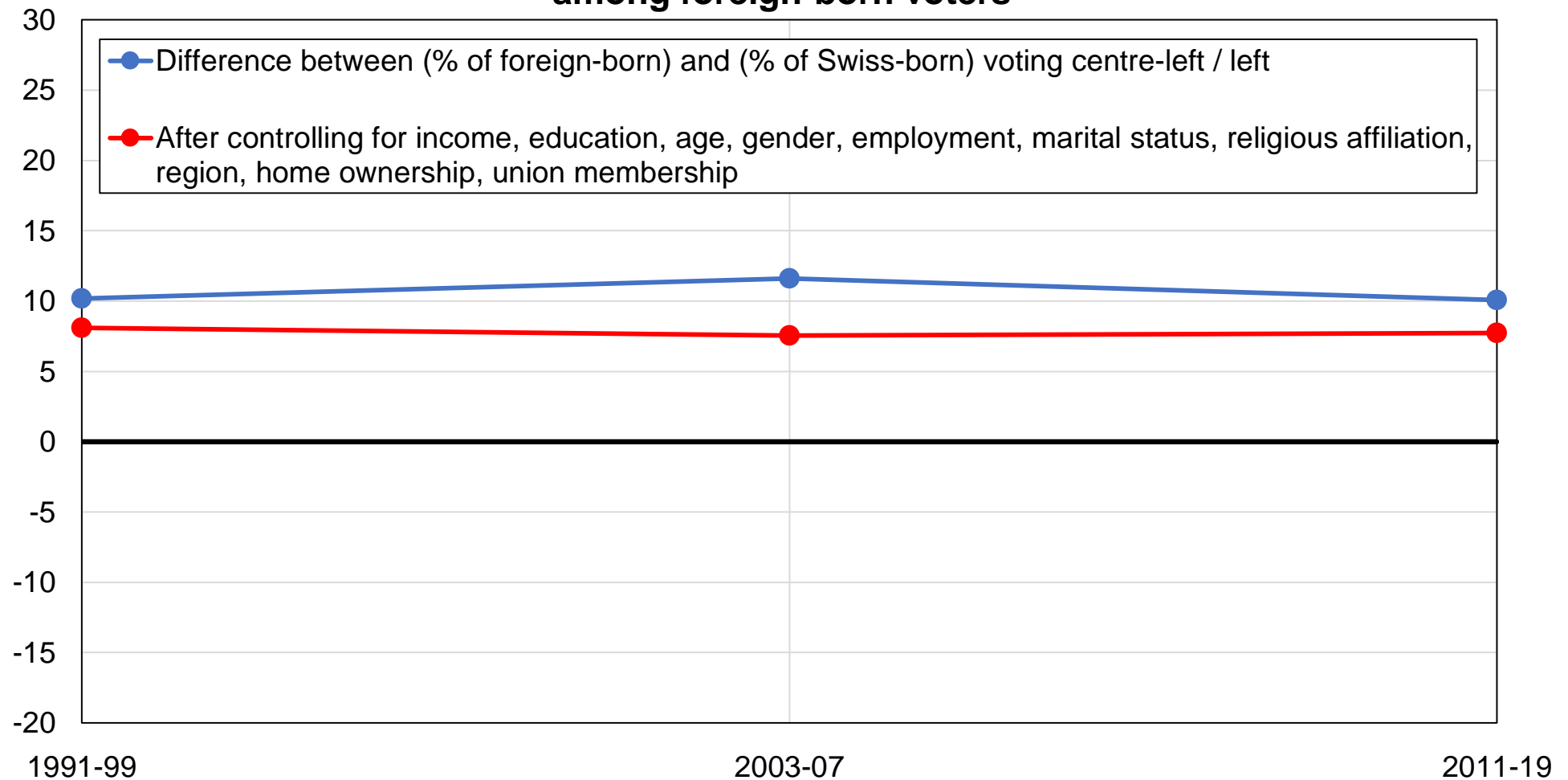
**Figure CC16 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among homeowners**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of homeowners and the share of other voters voting for centre-left / left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

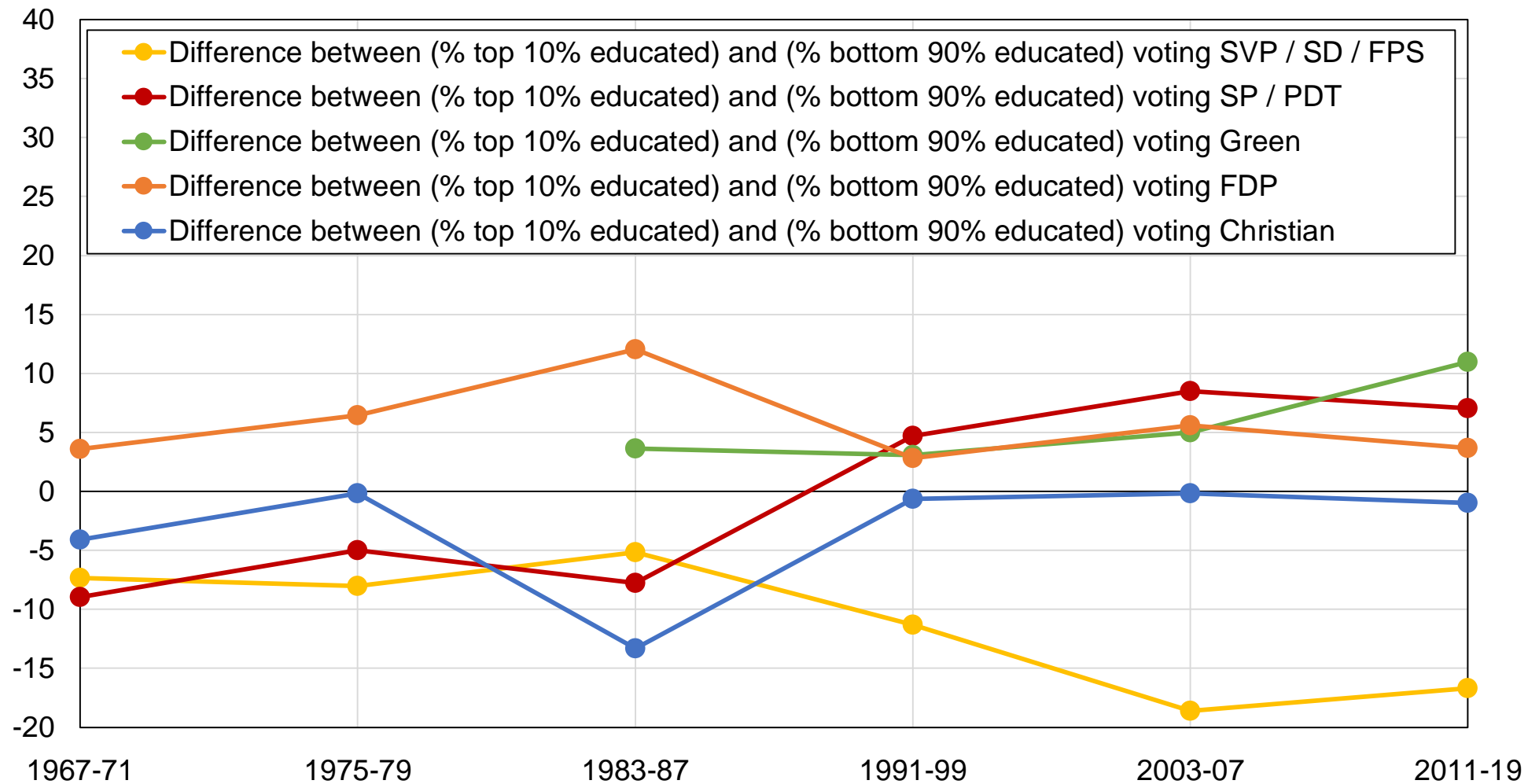
**Figure CC17 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among foreign-born voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of foreign-born voters and the share of Swiss-born voters voting for centre-left / left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

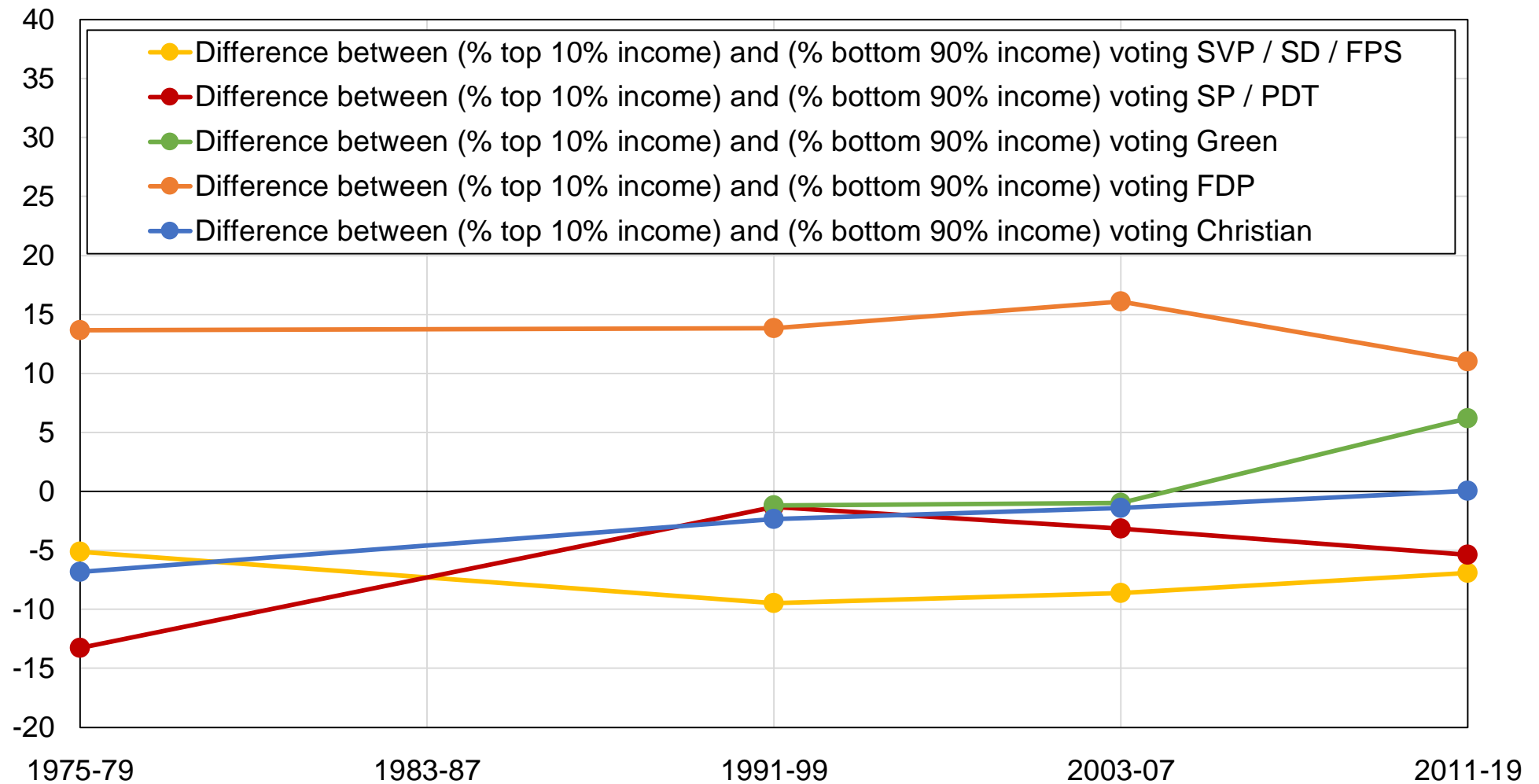
**Figure CC18 - The education cleavage in Switzerland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the bias of highest-educated voters towards SVP / SD / FPS, SP / PDT, Greens, FDP.

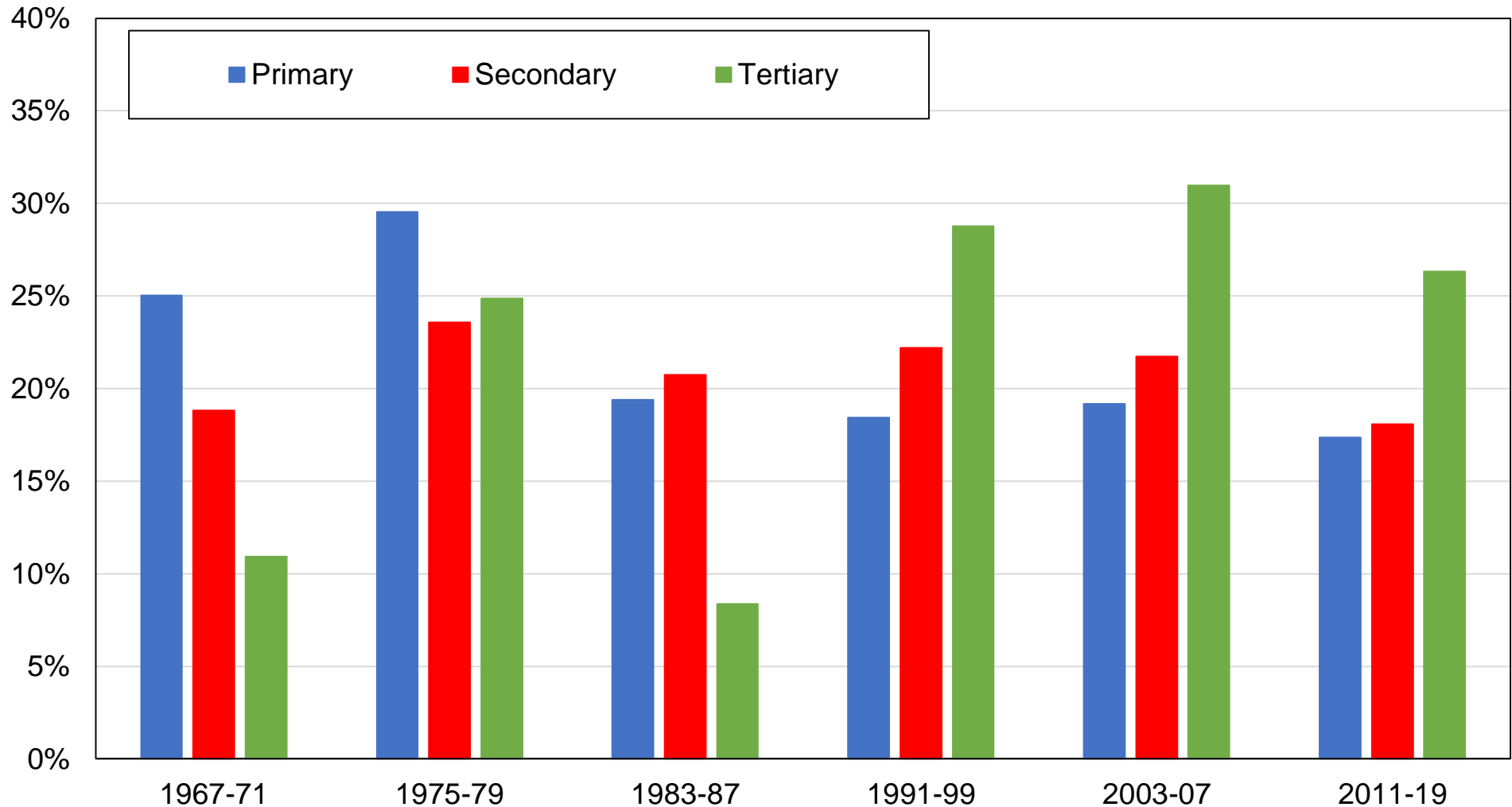
**Figure CC19 - The income cleavage in Switzerland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the bias of top-income voters towards SVP / SD / FPS, SP / PDT, Greens, FDP.

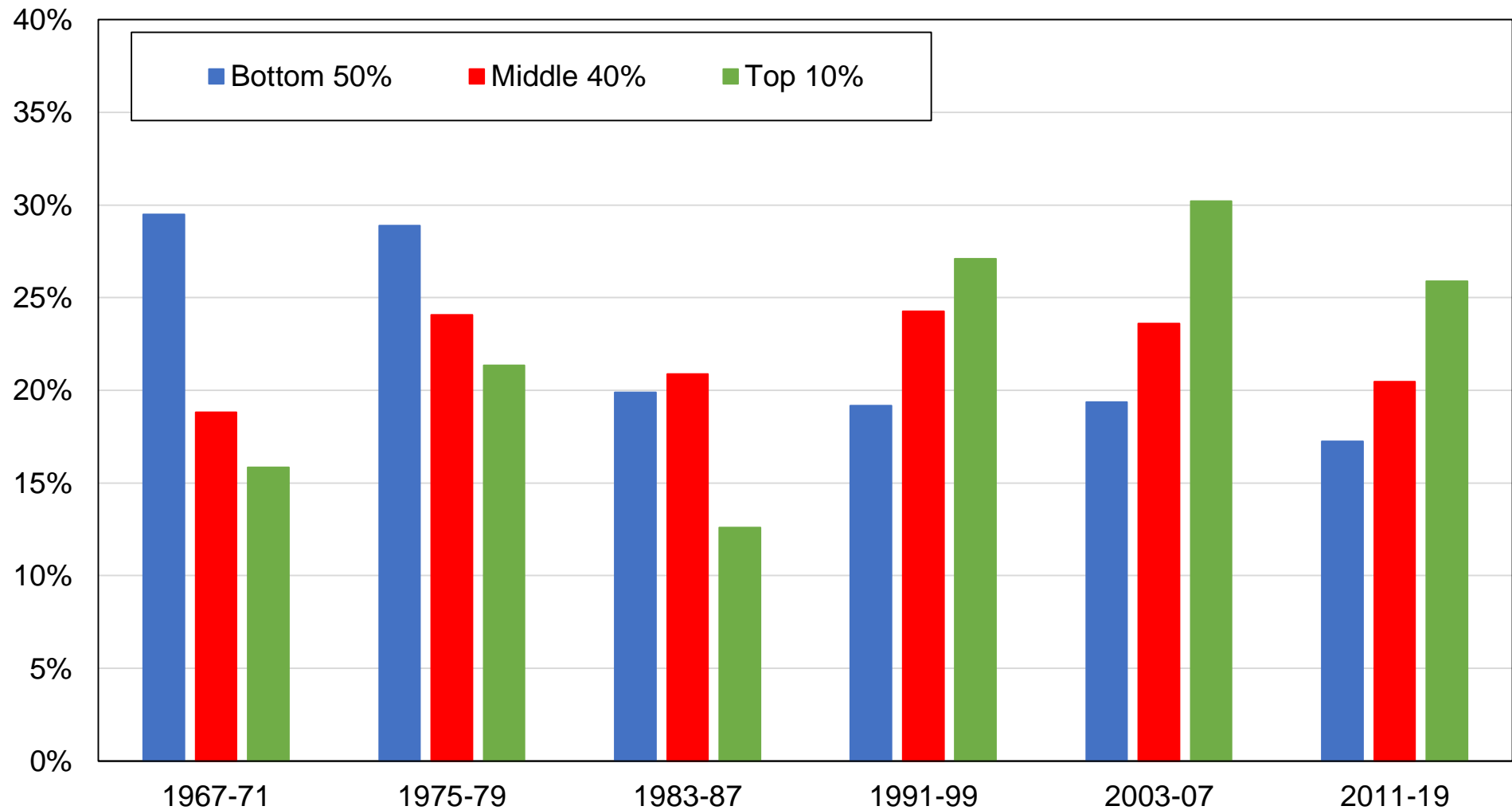
**Figure CD1 - Vote for left-wing parties by education level**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party (SPS / PSS) and Party of Labor (PdA / PdT) by education level.

**Figure CD2 - Vote for left-wing parties by education group**

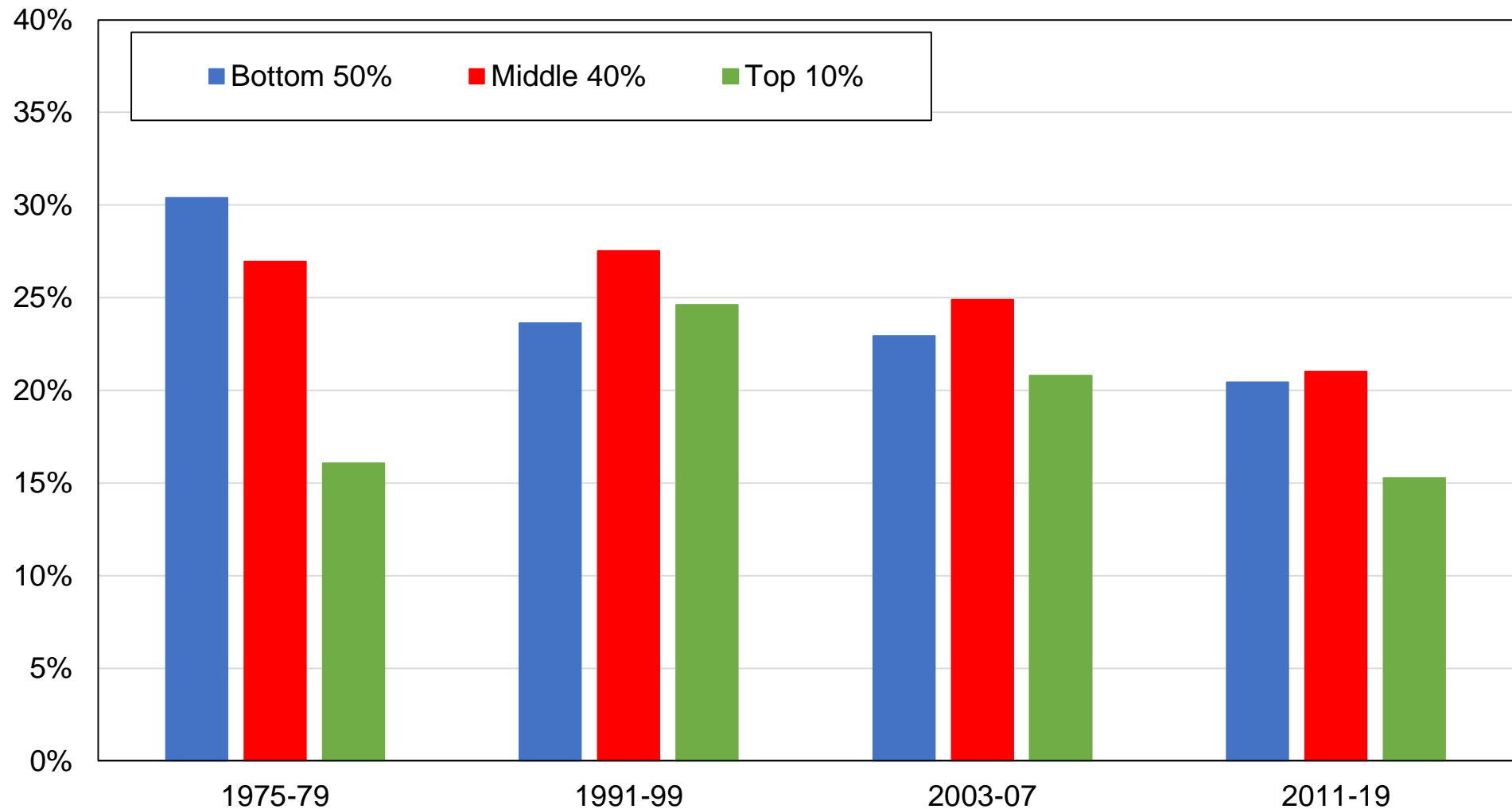


**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party (SPS / PSS) and Party of Labor (PdA / PdT) by education group.



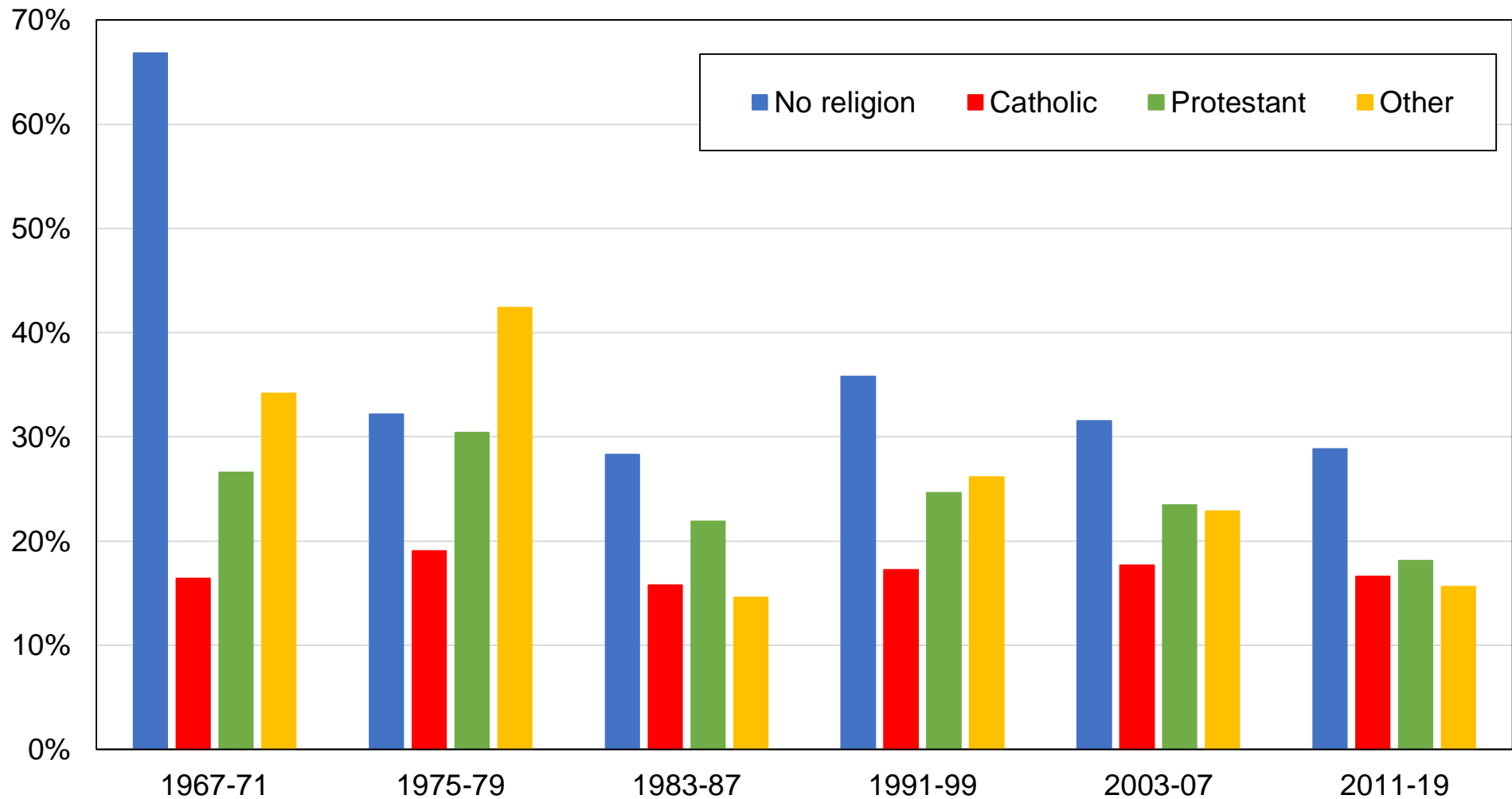
**Figure CD3 - Vote for left-wing parties by income group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party (SPS / PSS) and Party of Labor (PdA / PdT) by income group.

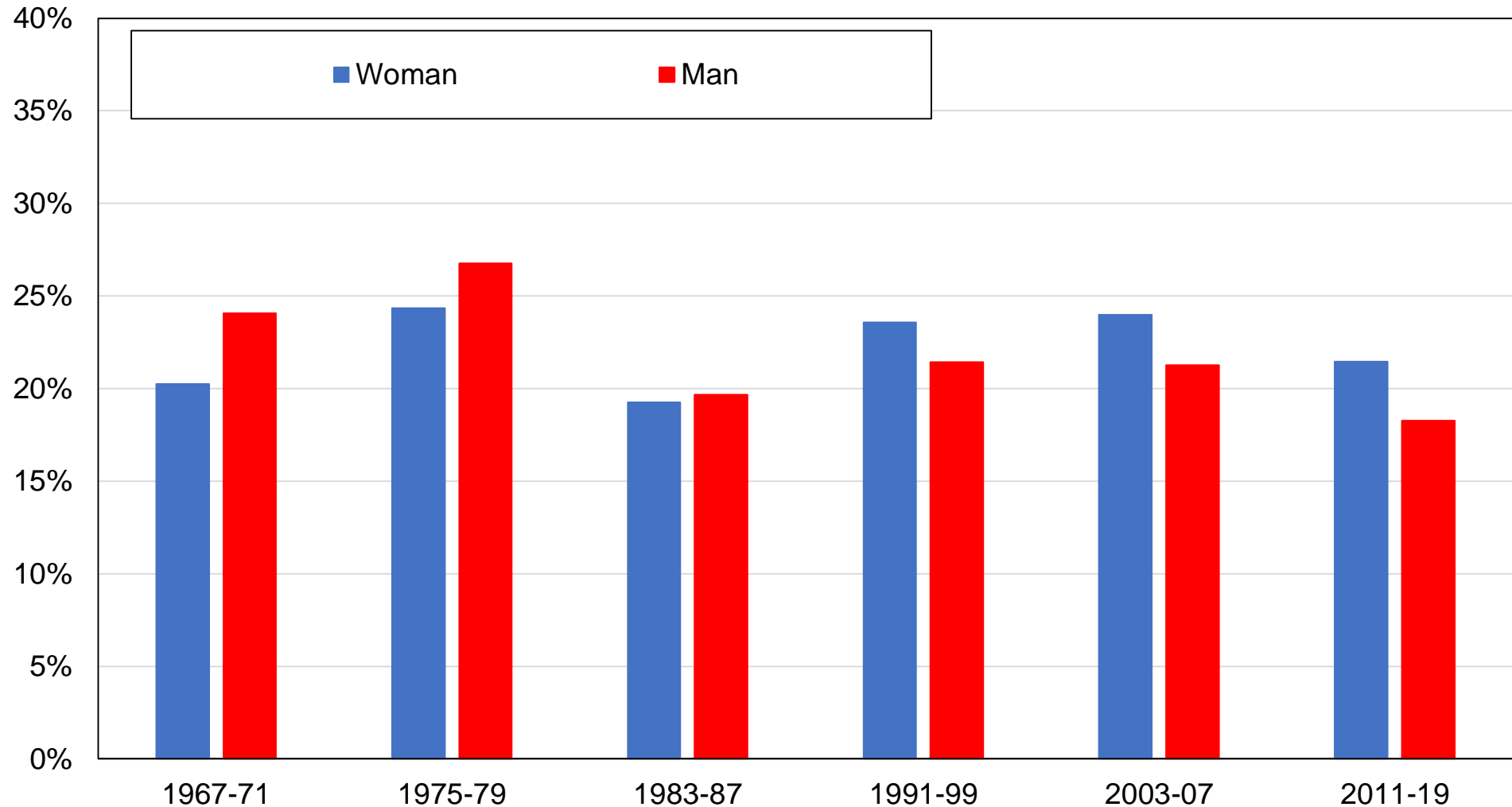
**Figure CD4 - Vote for left-wing parties by religious affiliation**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party (SPS / PSS) and Party of Labor (PdA / PdT) by religious affiliation.

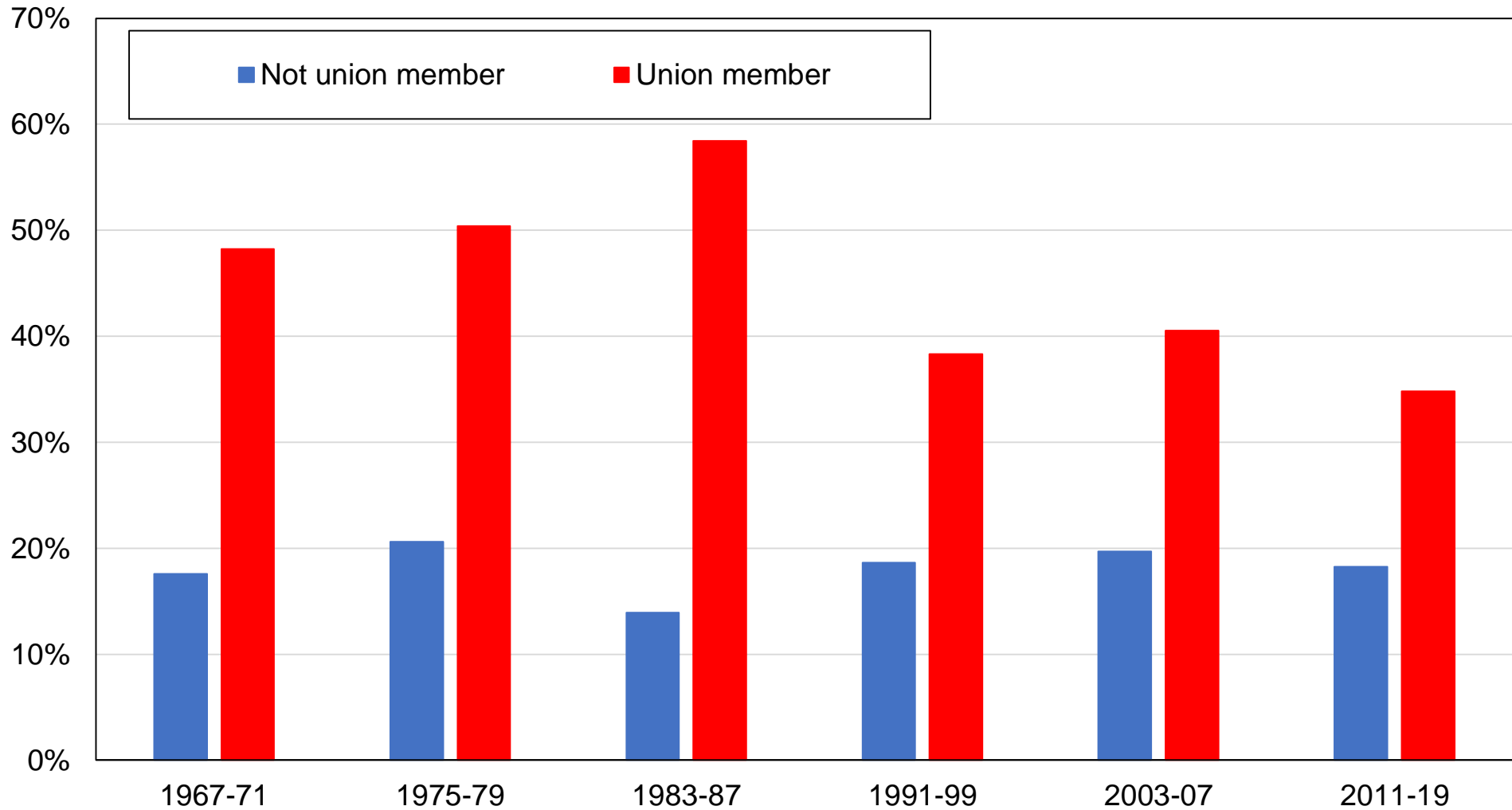
**Figure CD5 - Vote for left-wing parties by gender**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party (SPS / PSS) and Party of Labor (PdA / PdT) by gender.

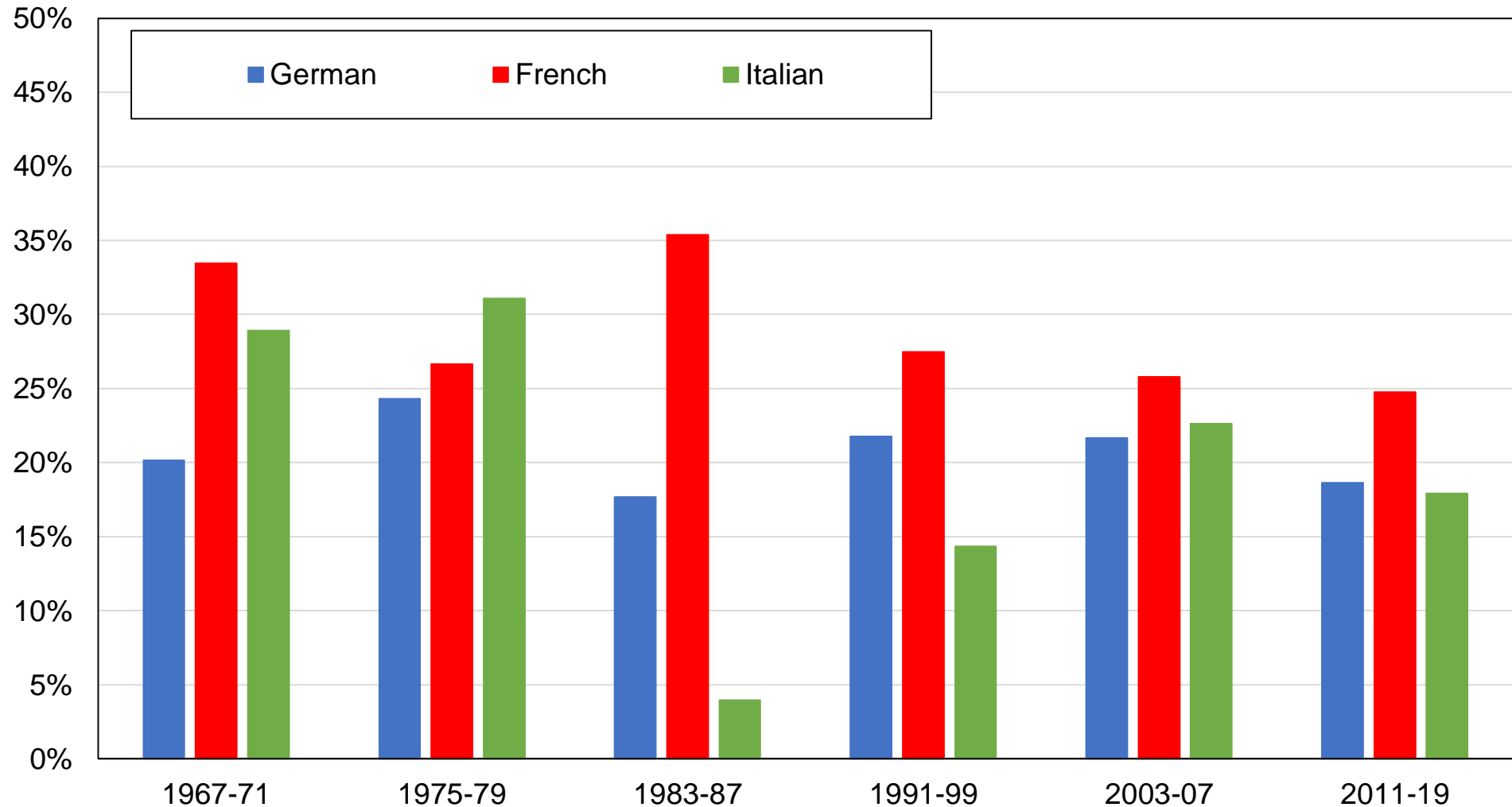
**Figure CD6 - Vote for left-wing parties by union membership**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party (SPS / PSS) and Party of Labor (PdA / PdT) by union membership status.

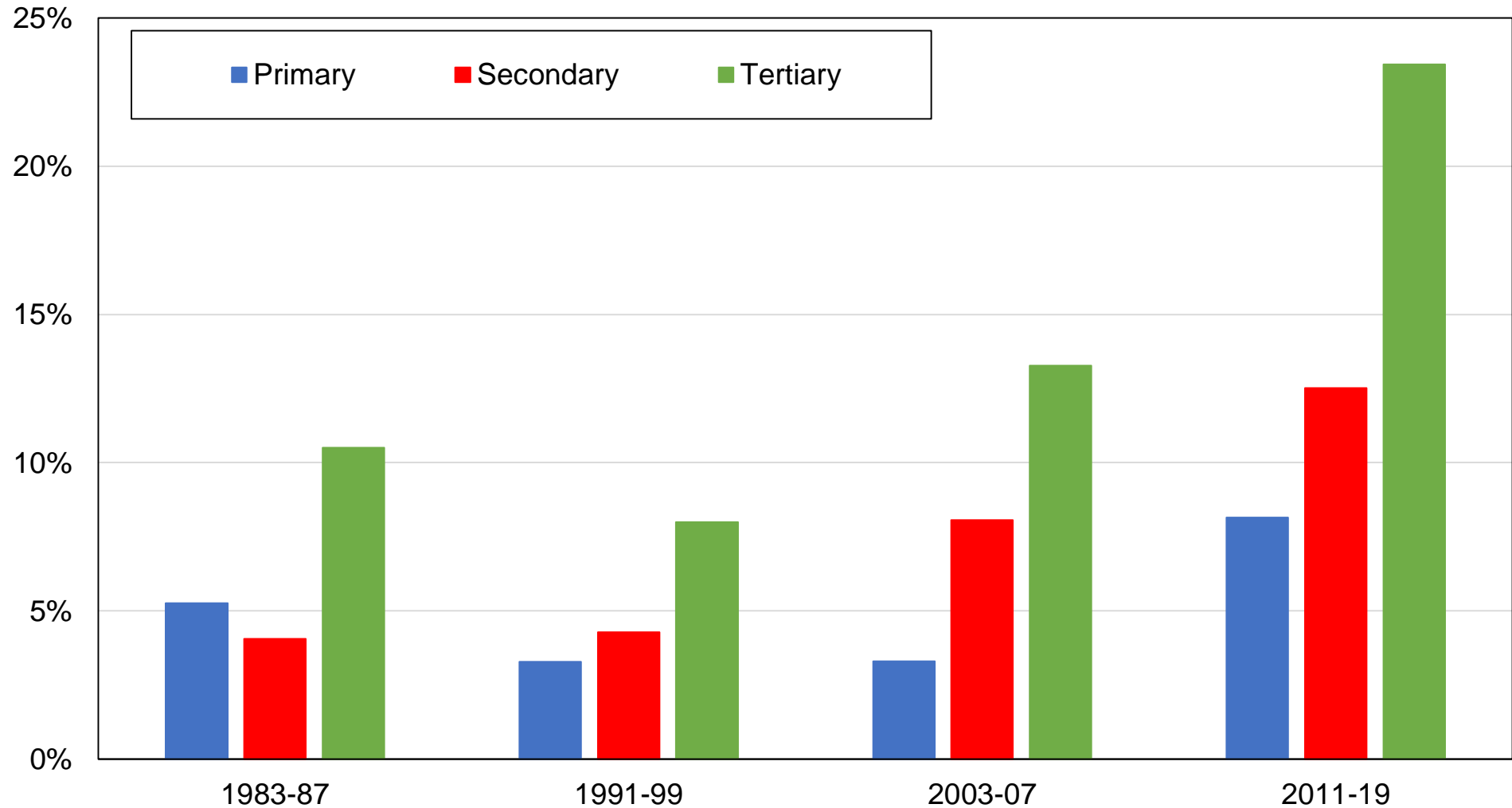
**Figure CD7 - Vote for left-wing parties by region**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party (SPS / PSS) and Party of Labor (PdA / PdT) by linguistic region.

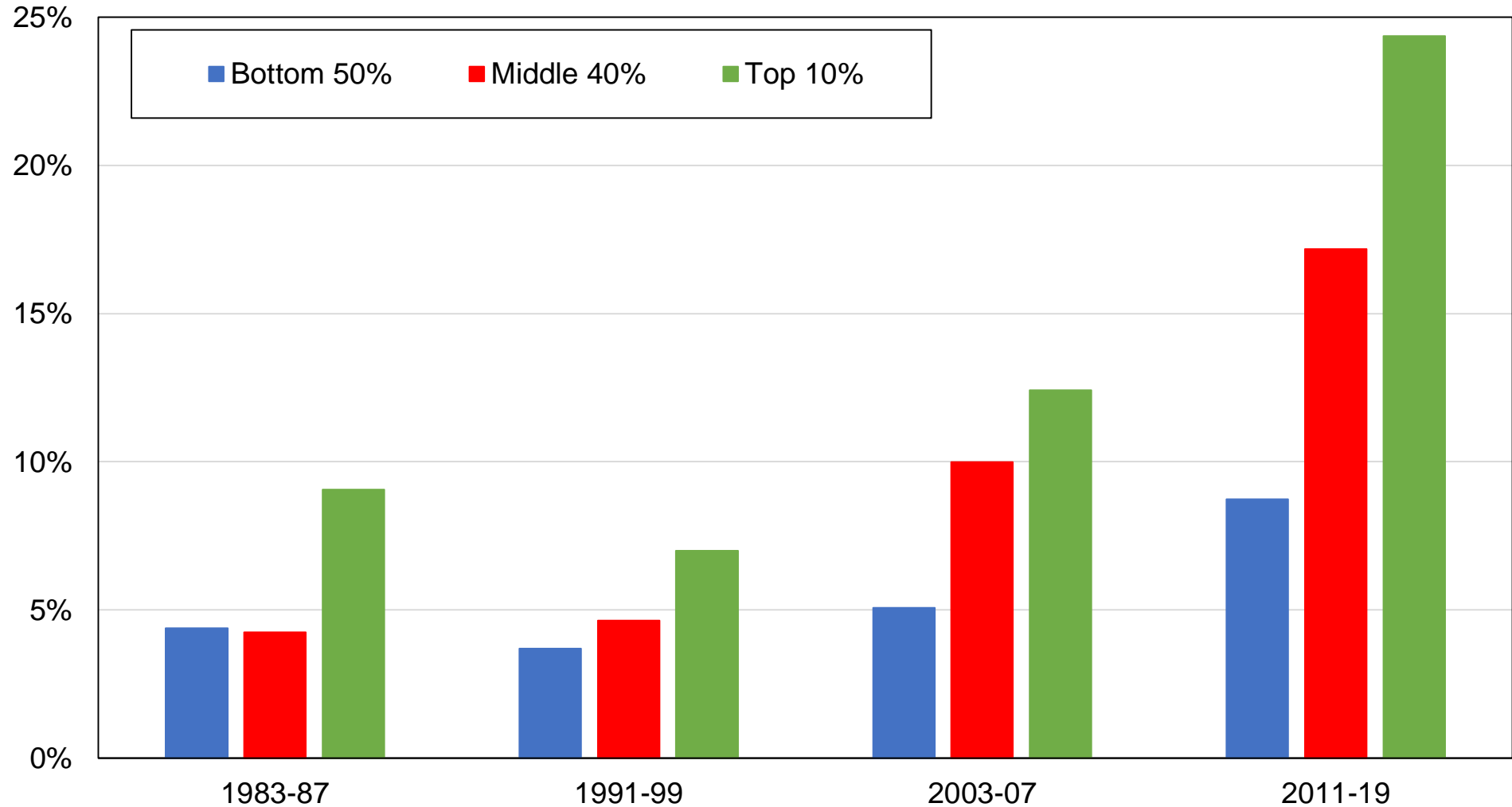
**Figure CD8 - Vote for green parties by education level**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Green Party (GPS / PES) and Green Liberal Party (GLP / PVL) by education level.

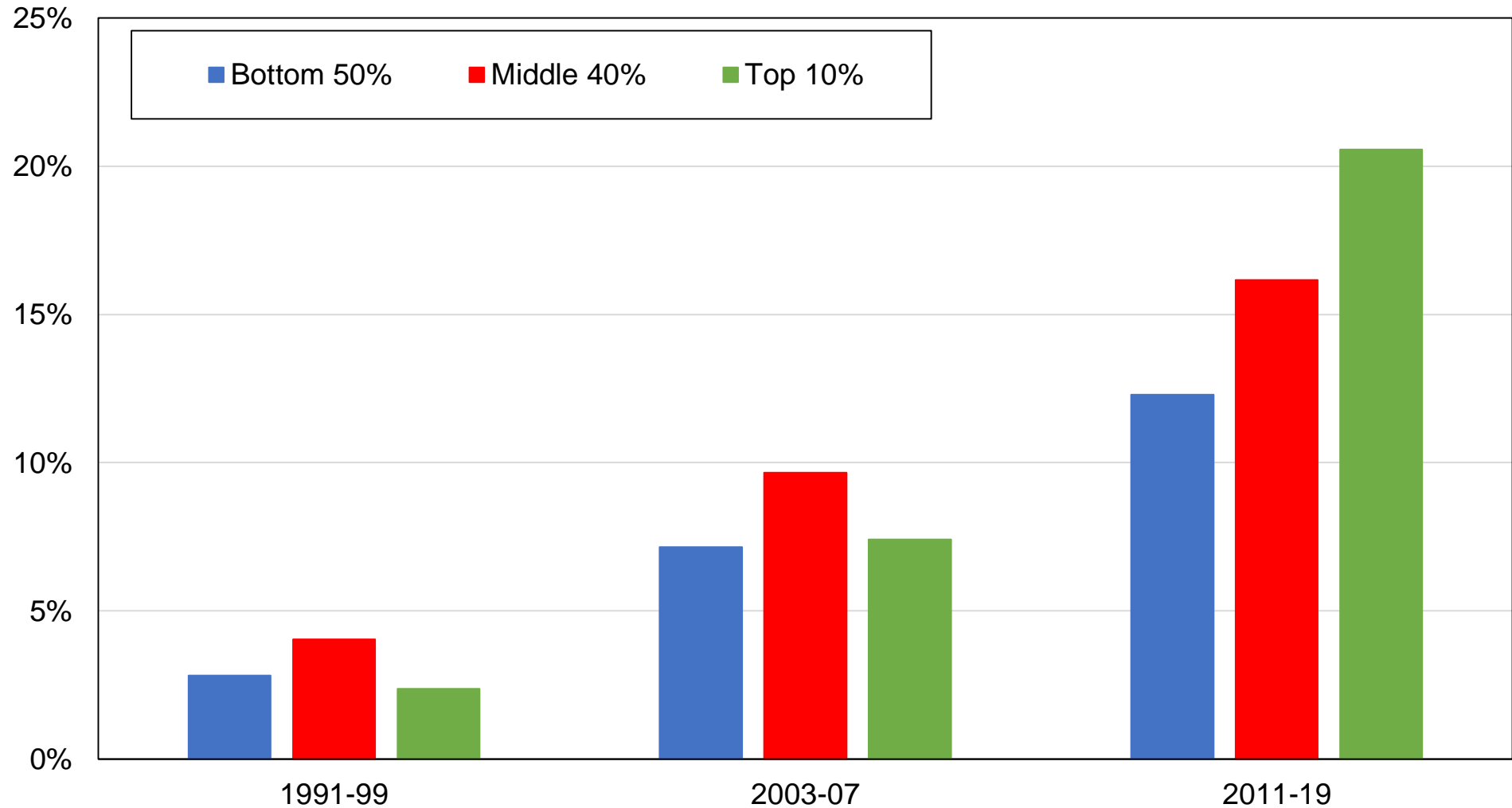
**Figure CD9 - Vote for green parties by education group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Green Party (GPS / PES) and Green Liberal Party (GLP / PVL) by education group.

**Figure CD10 - Vote for green parties by income group**

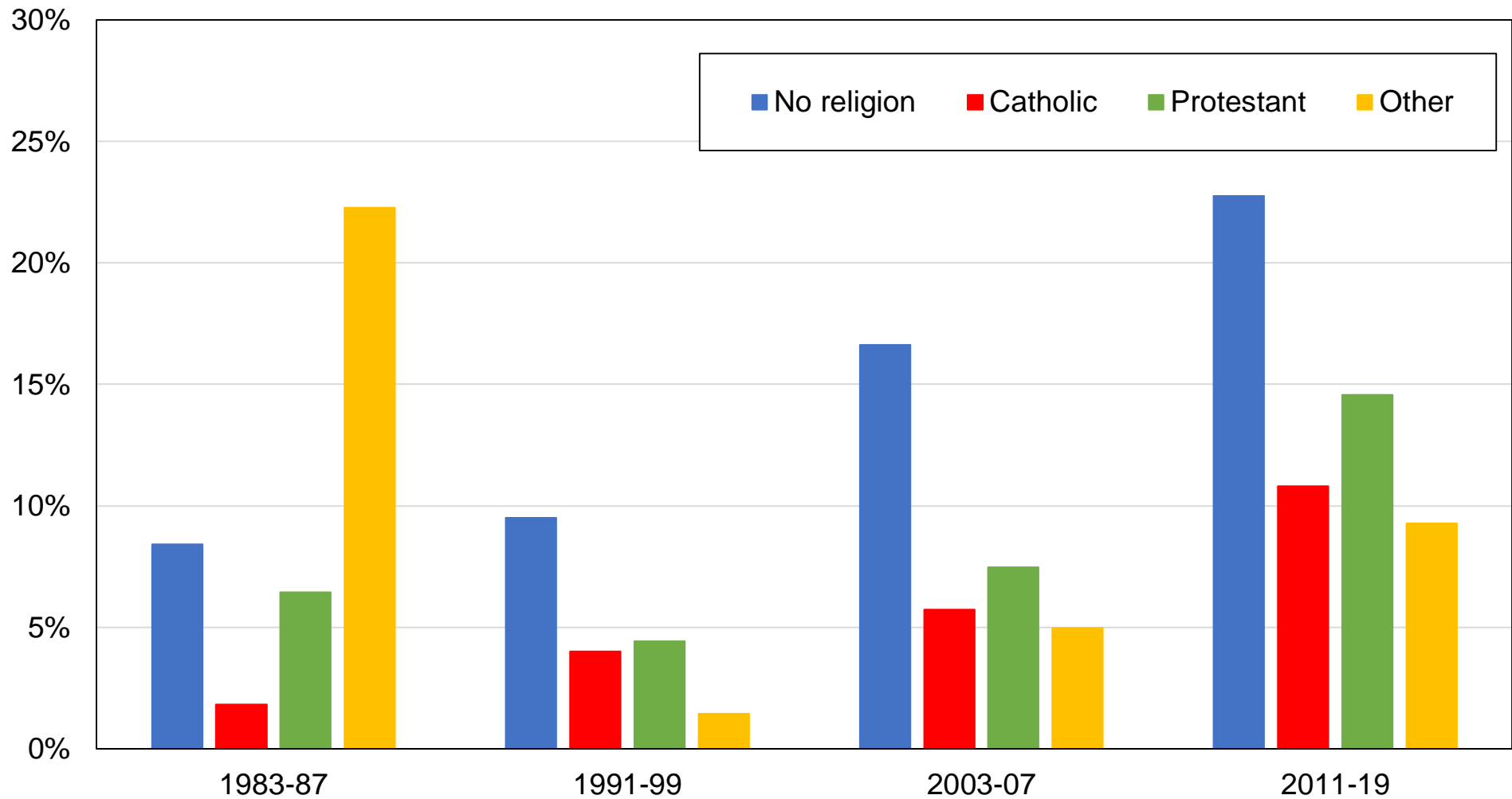


**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Green Party (GPS / PES) and Green Liberal Party (GLP / PVL) by income group.



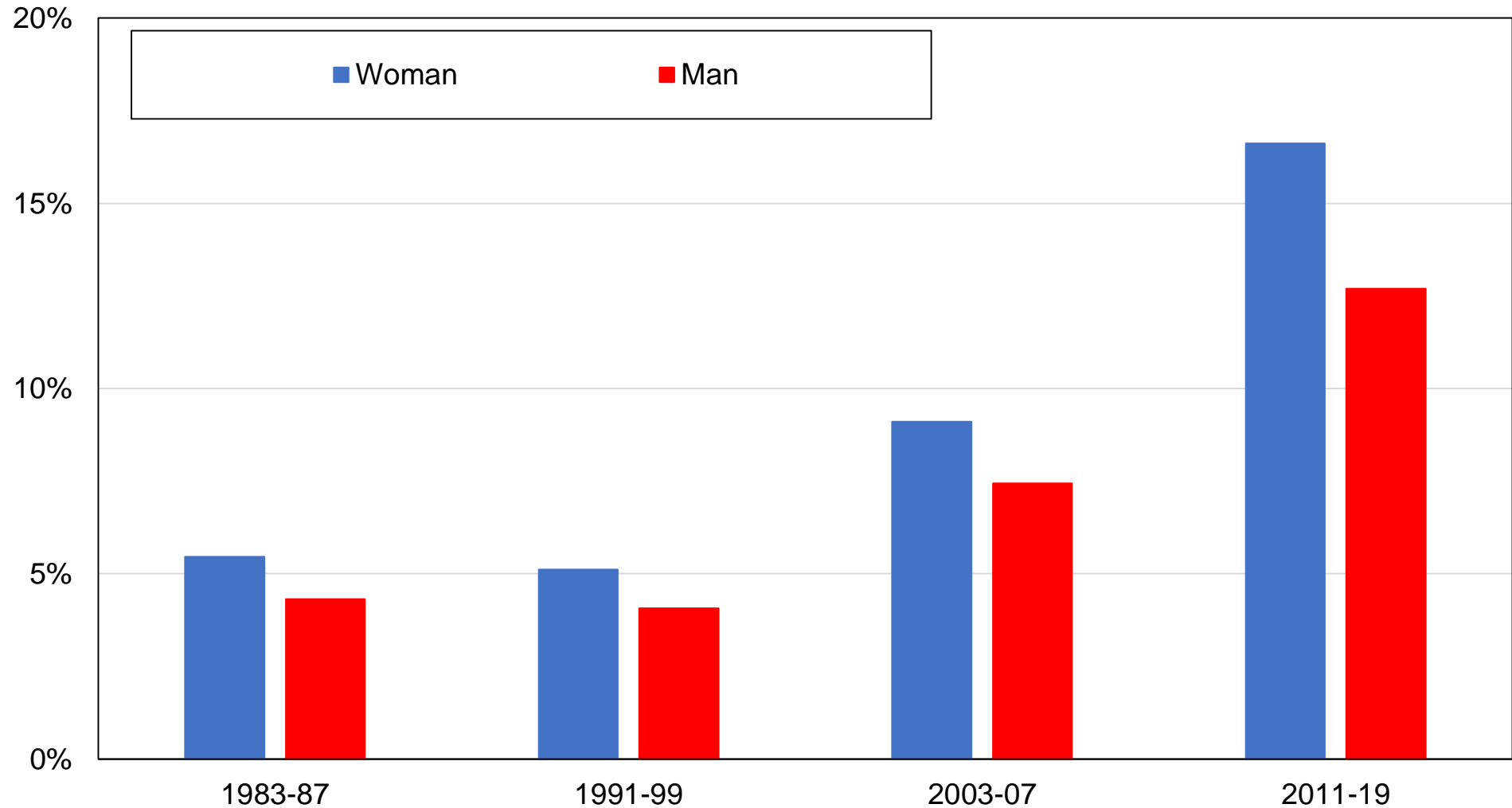
**Figure CD11 - Vote for green parties by religious affiliation**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Green Party (GPS / PES) and Green Liberal Party (GLP / PVL) by religious affiliation.

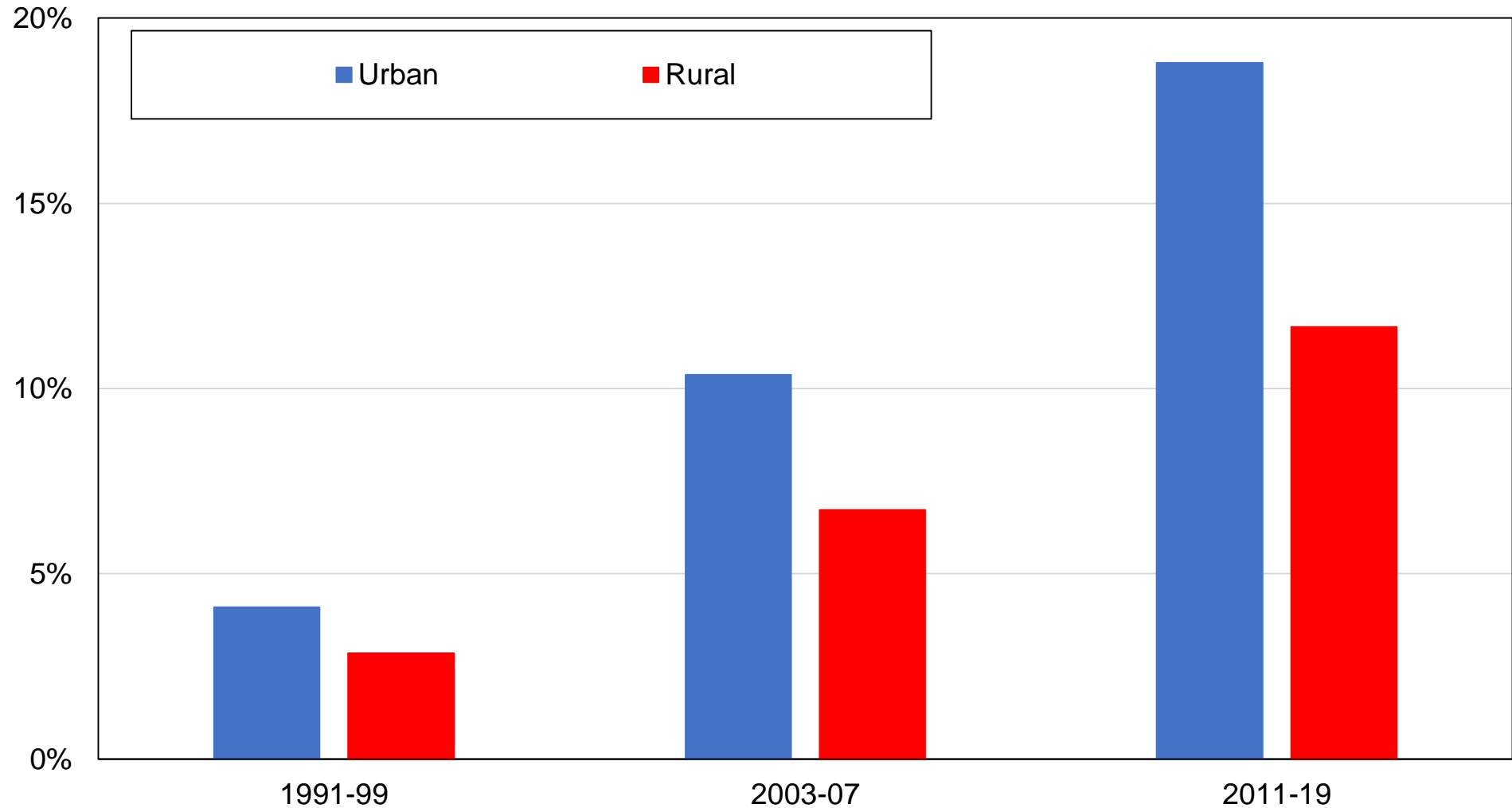
**Figure CD12 - Vote for green parties by gender**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Green Party (GPS / PES) and Green Liberal Party (GLP / PVL) by gender.

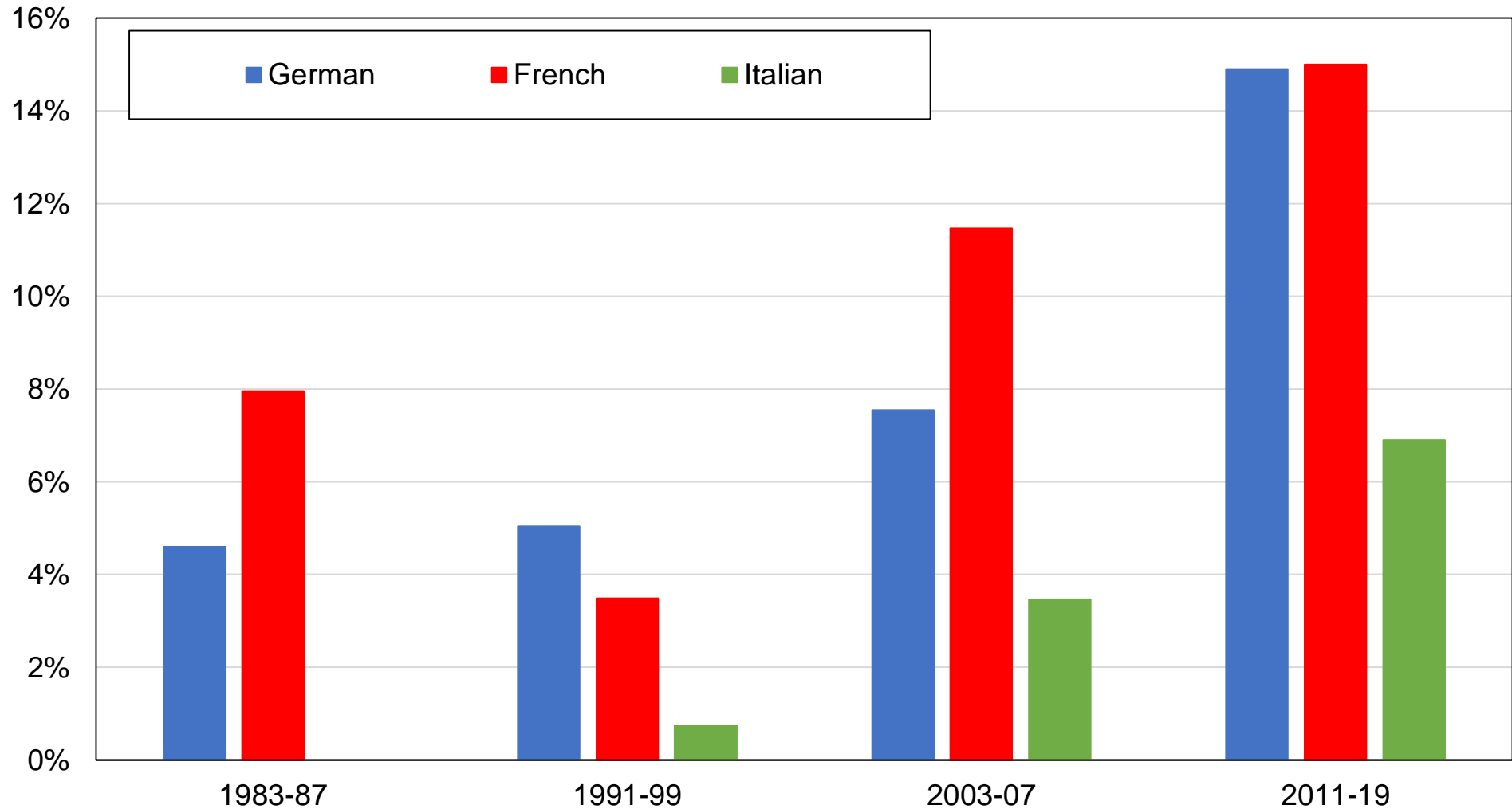
**Figure CD13 - Vote for green parties by union membership**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Green Party (GPS / PES) and Green Liberal Party (GLP / PVL) by union membership status.

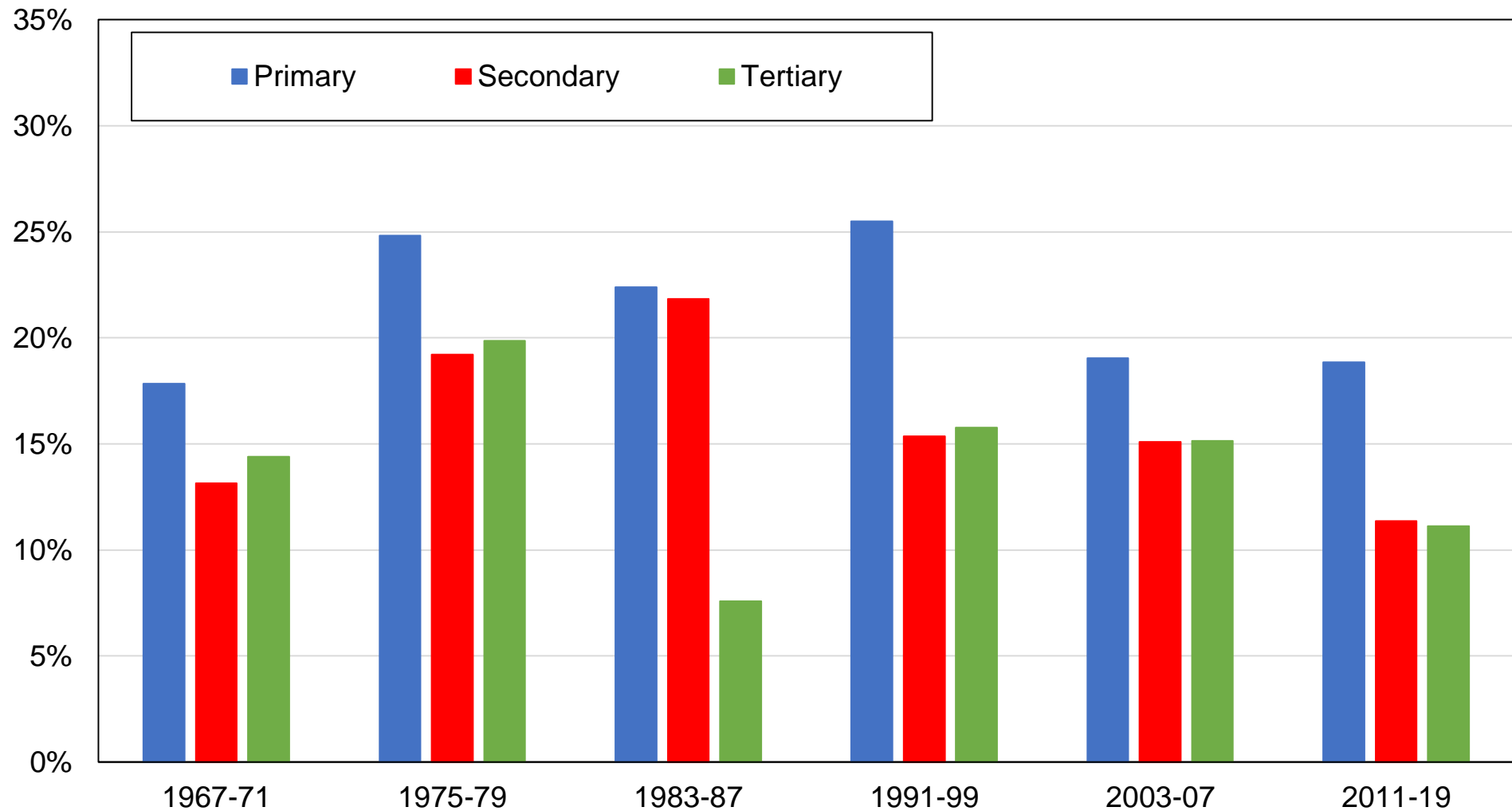
**Figure CD14 - Vote for green parties by region**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Green Party (GPS / PES) and Green Liberal Party (GLP / PVL) by linguistic region.

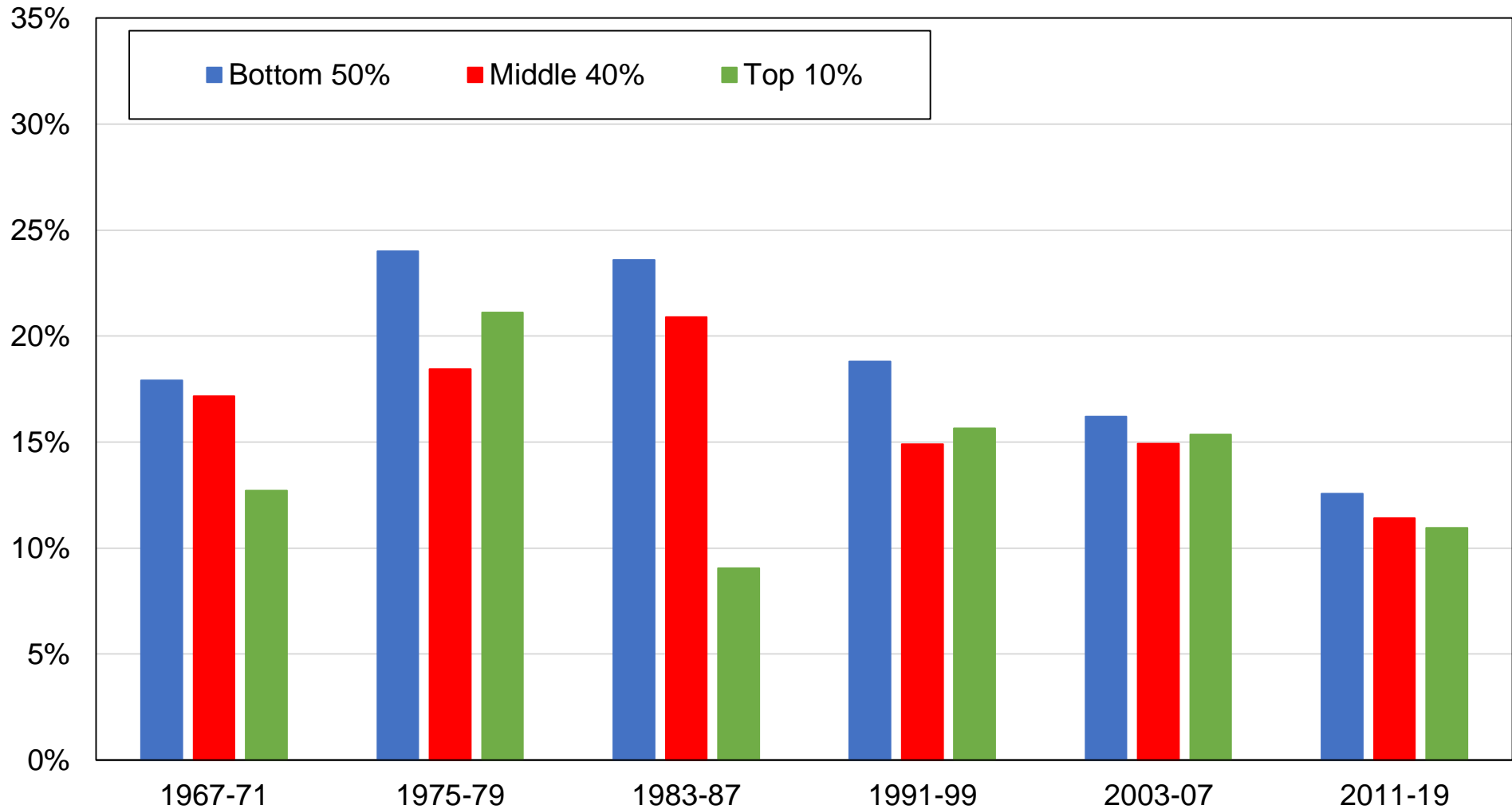
**Figure CD15 - Vote for the Christian Democrats by education level**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic People's Party (CVP / PDC) by education level.

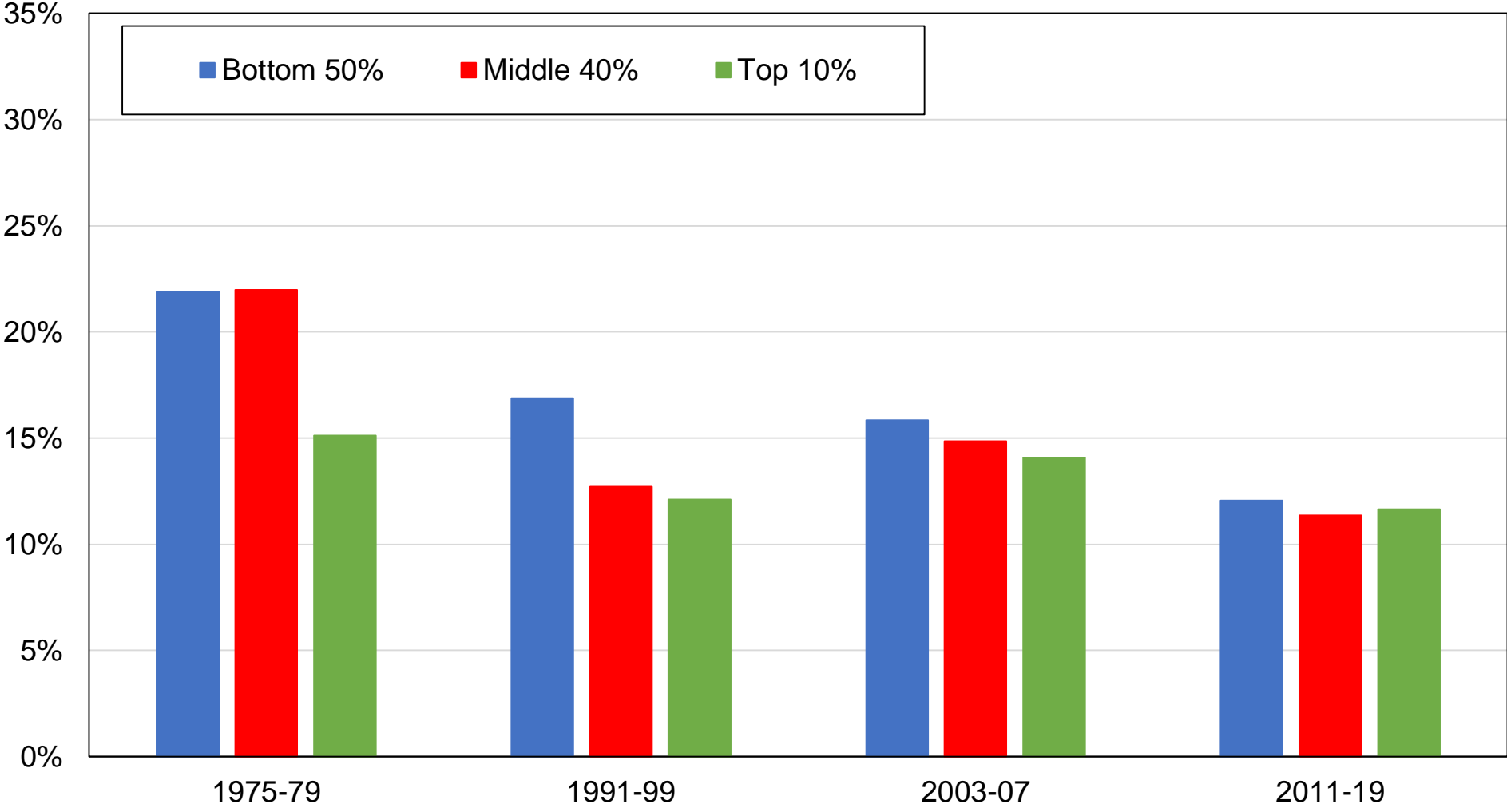
**Figure CD16 - Vote for the Christian Democrats by education group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic People's Party (CVP / PDC) by education group.

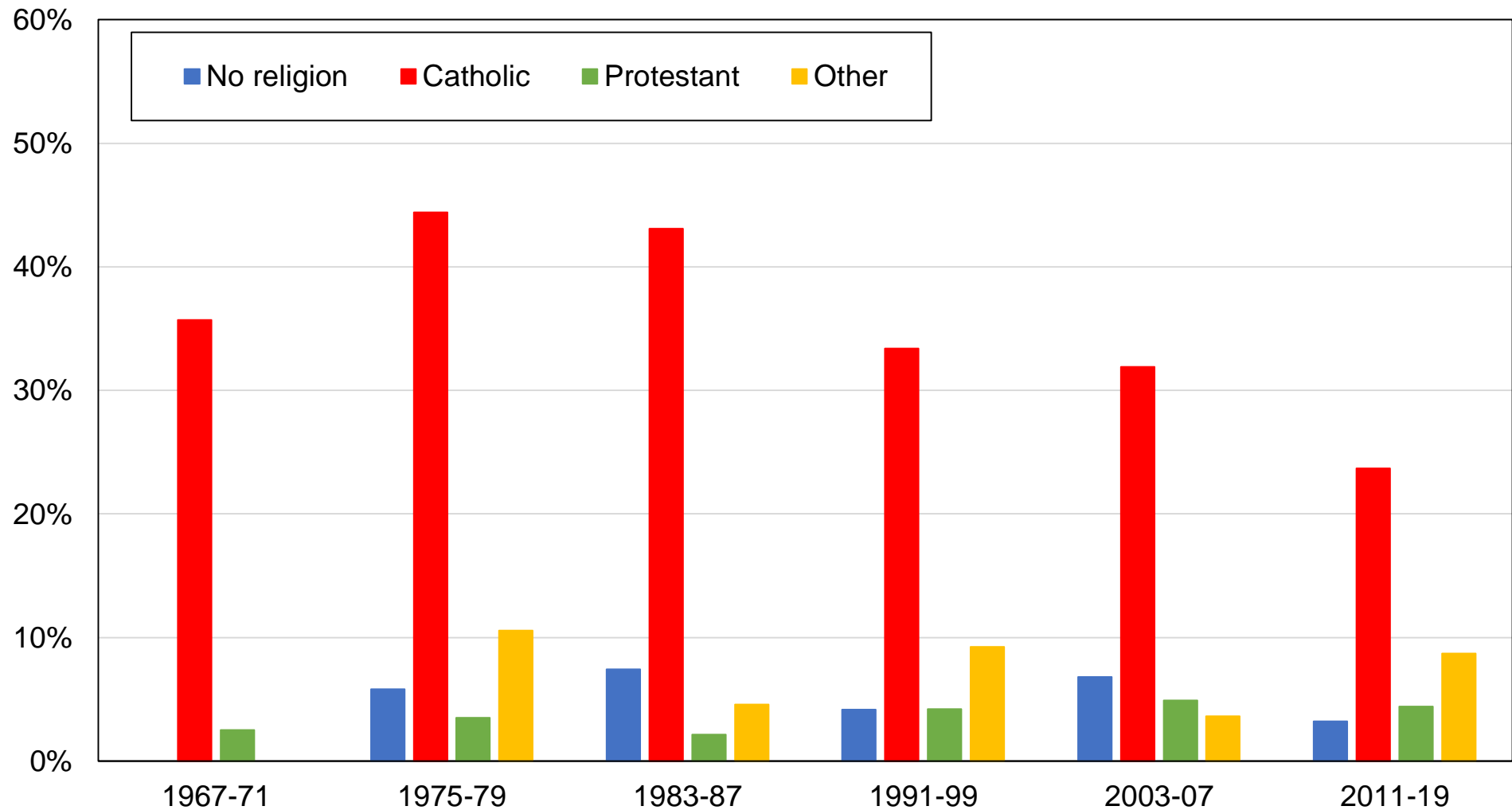
**Figure CD17 - Vote for the Christian Democrats by income group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic People's Party (CVP / PDC) by income group.

**Figure CD18 - Vote for the Christian Democrats by religious affiliation**

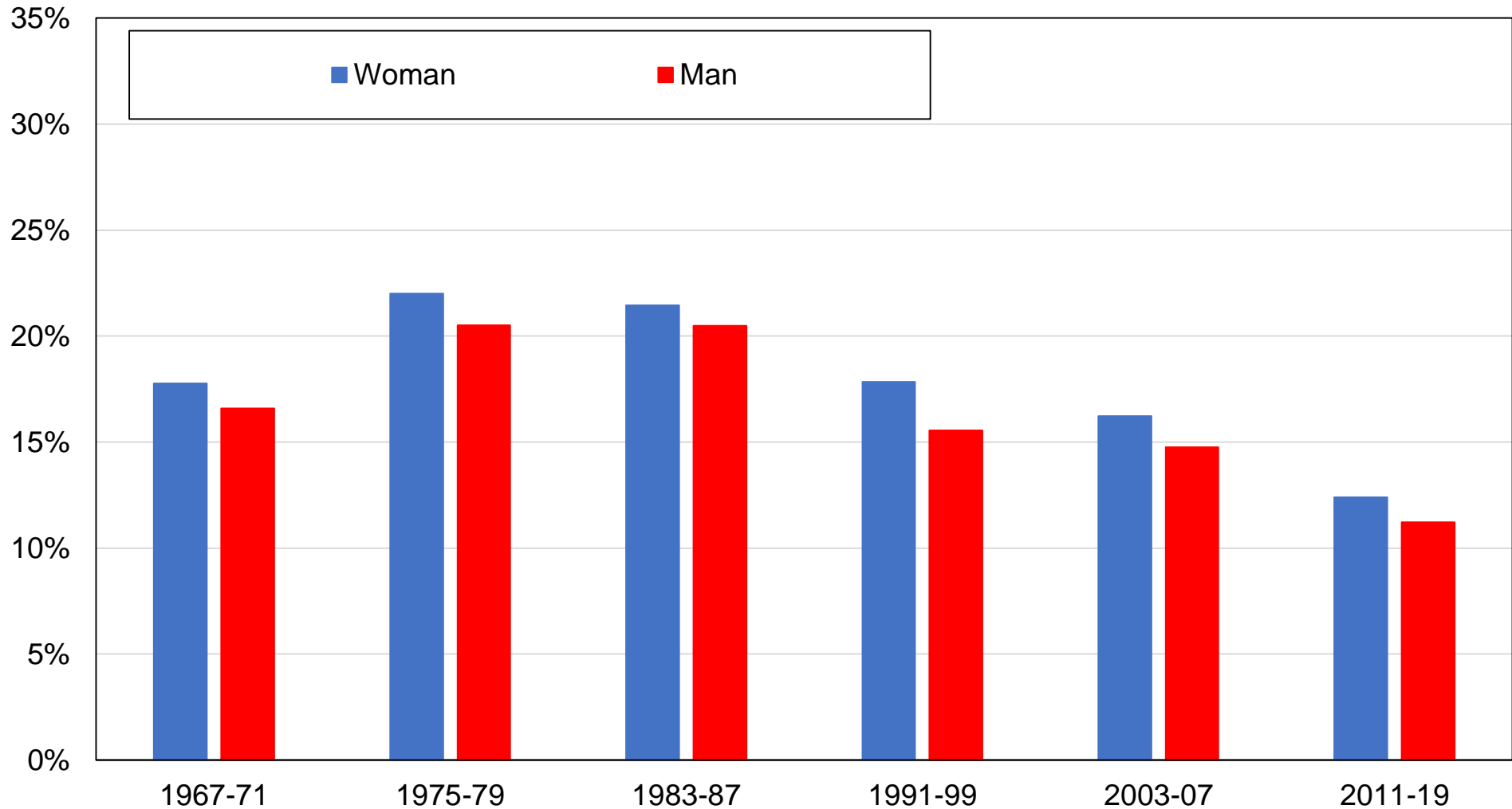


**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic People's Party (CVP / PDC) by religious affiliation.



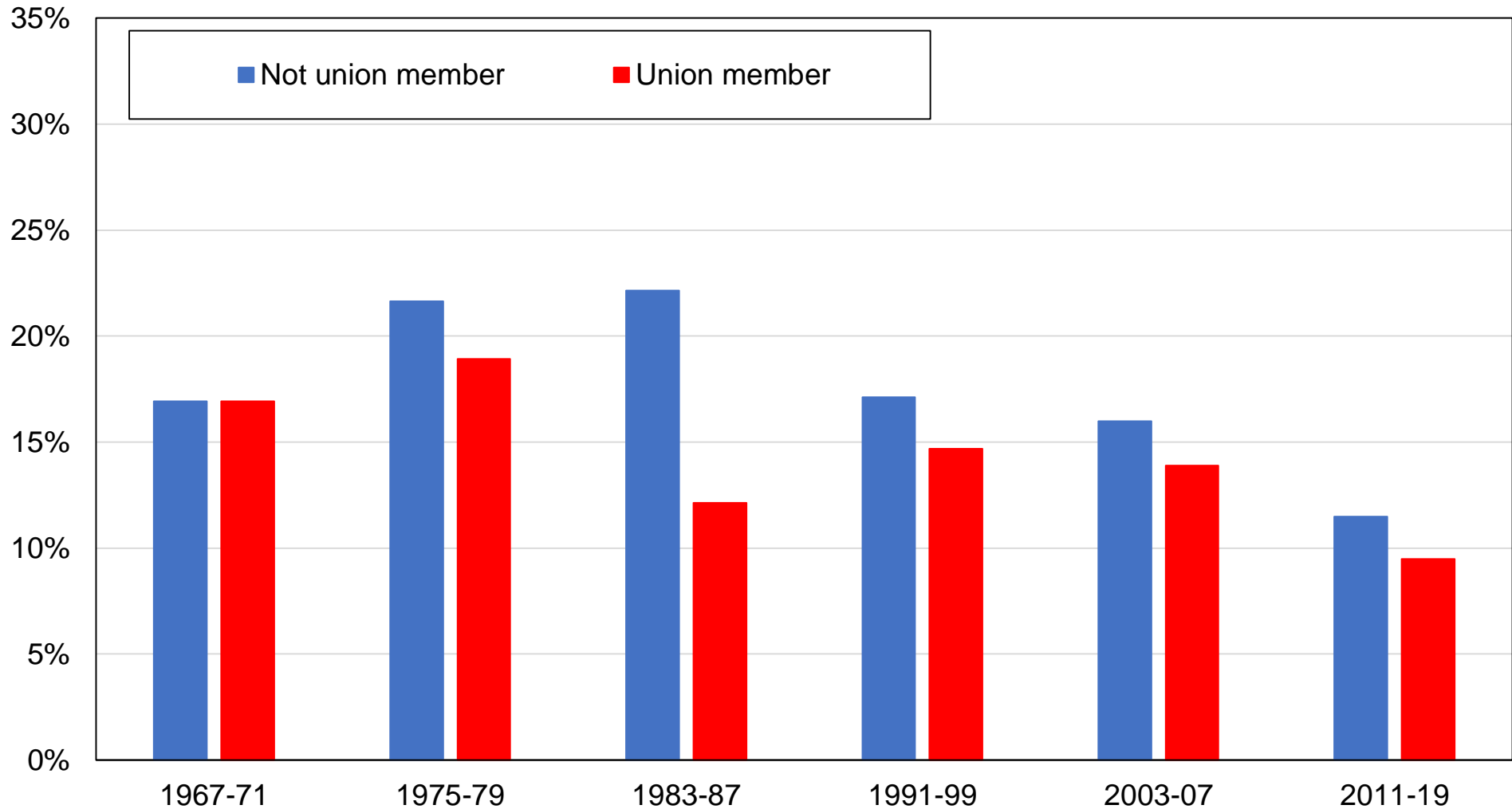
**Figure CD19 - Vote for the Christian Democrats by gender**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic People's Party (CVP / PDC) by gender.

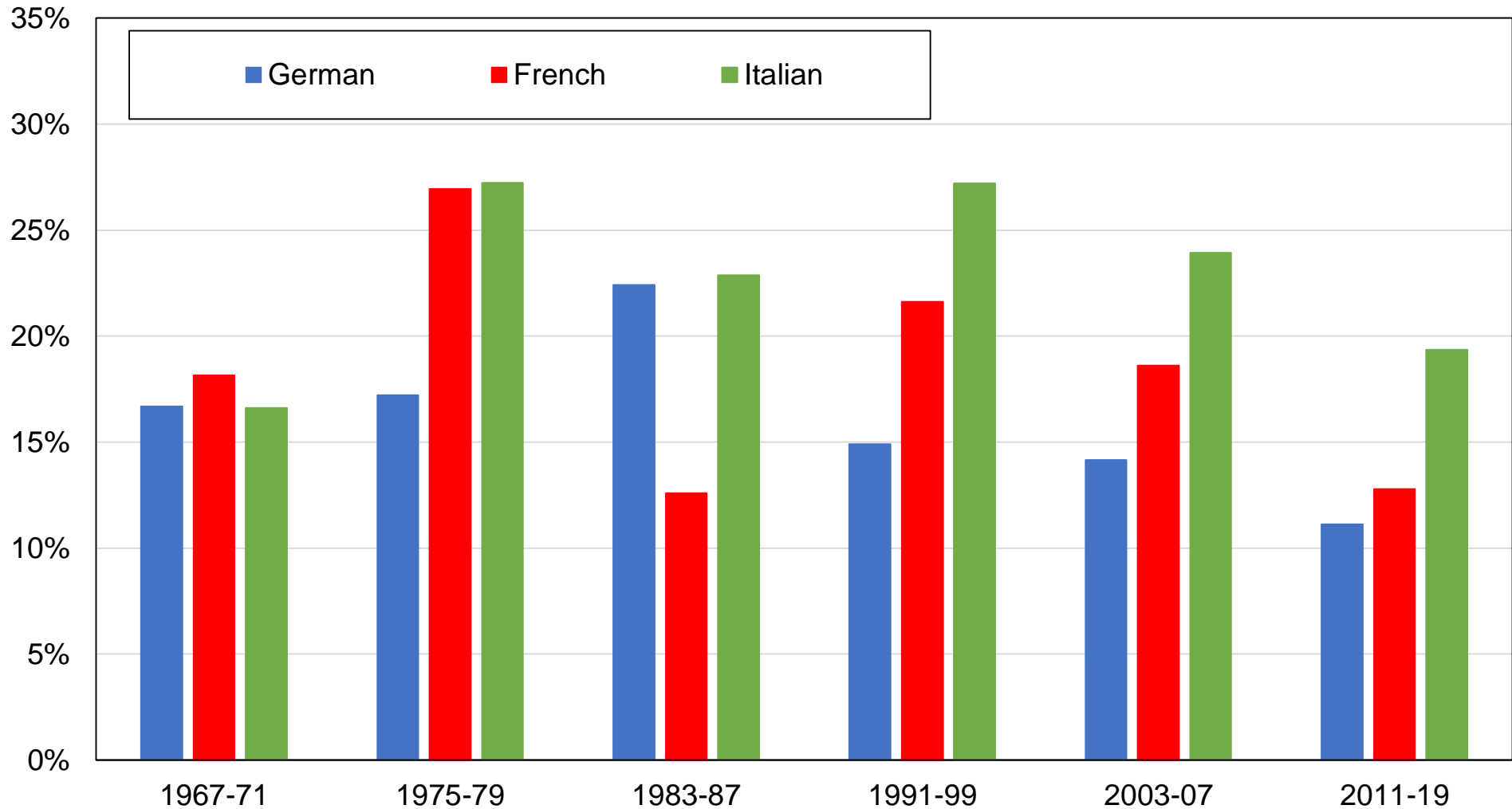
**Figure CD20 - Vote for the Christian Democrats by union membership**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic People's Party (CVP / PDC) by union membership status.

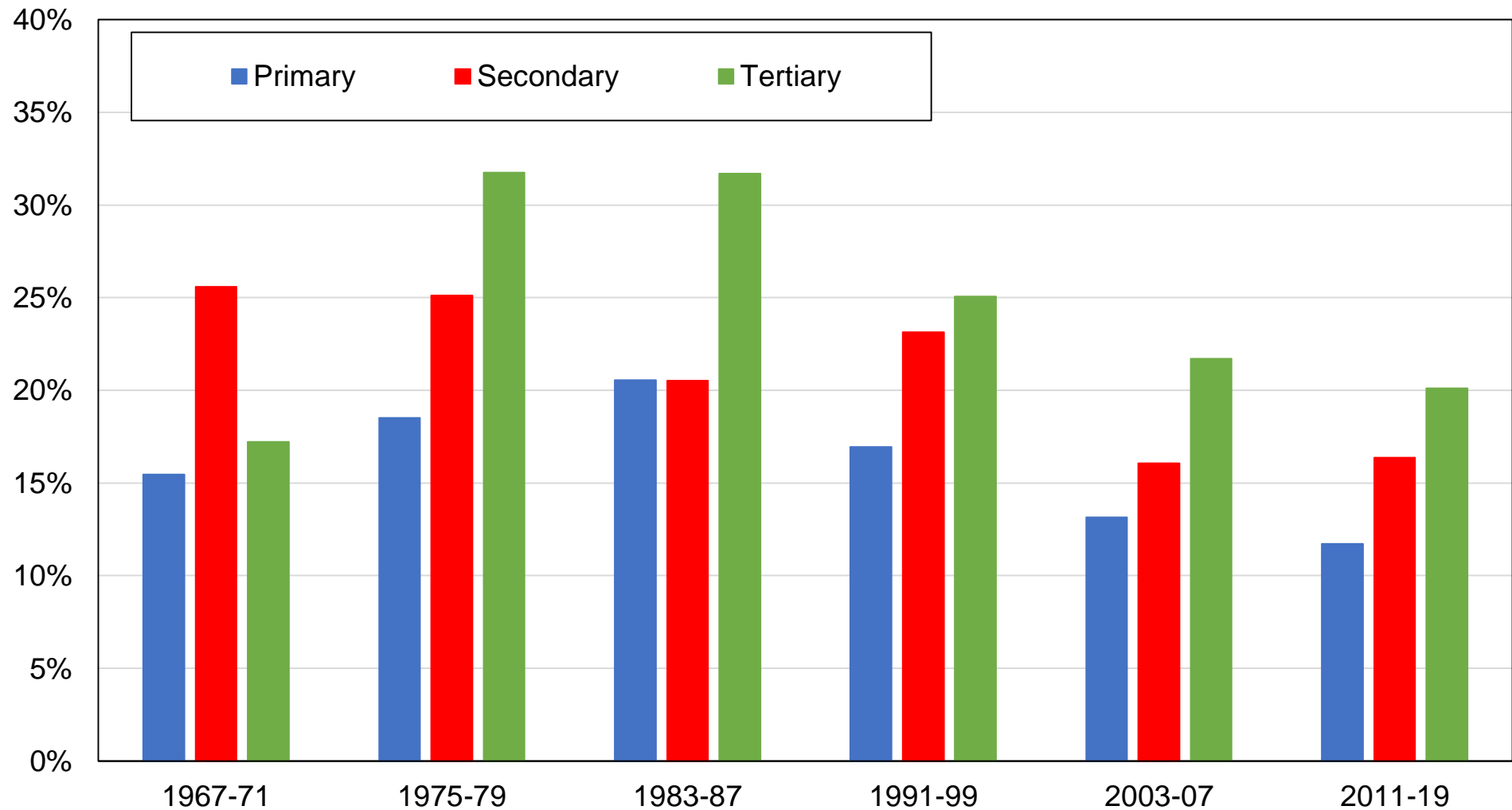
**Figure CD21 - Vote for the Christian Democrats by region**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic People's Party (CVP / PDC) by linguistic region.

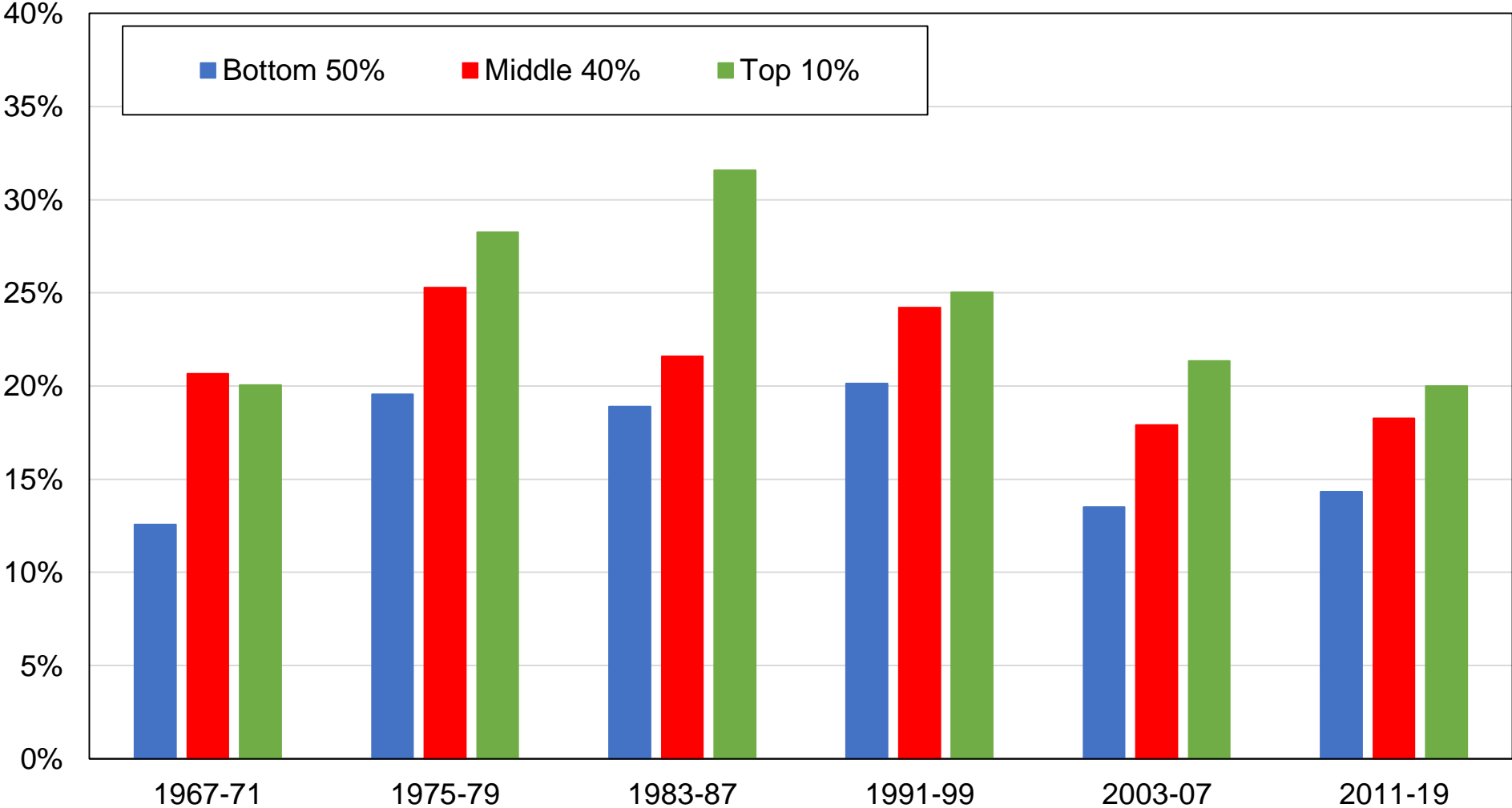
**Figure CD22 - Vote for the Liberals by education level**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Free Democratic Party (FDP / PRD) by education level.

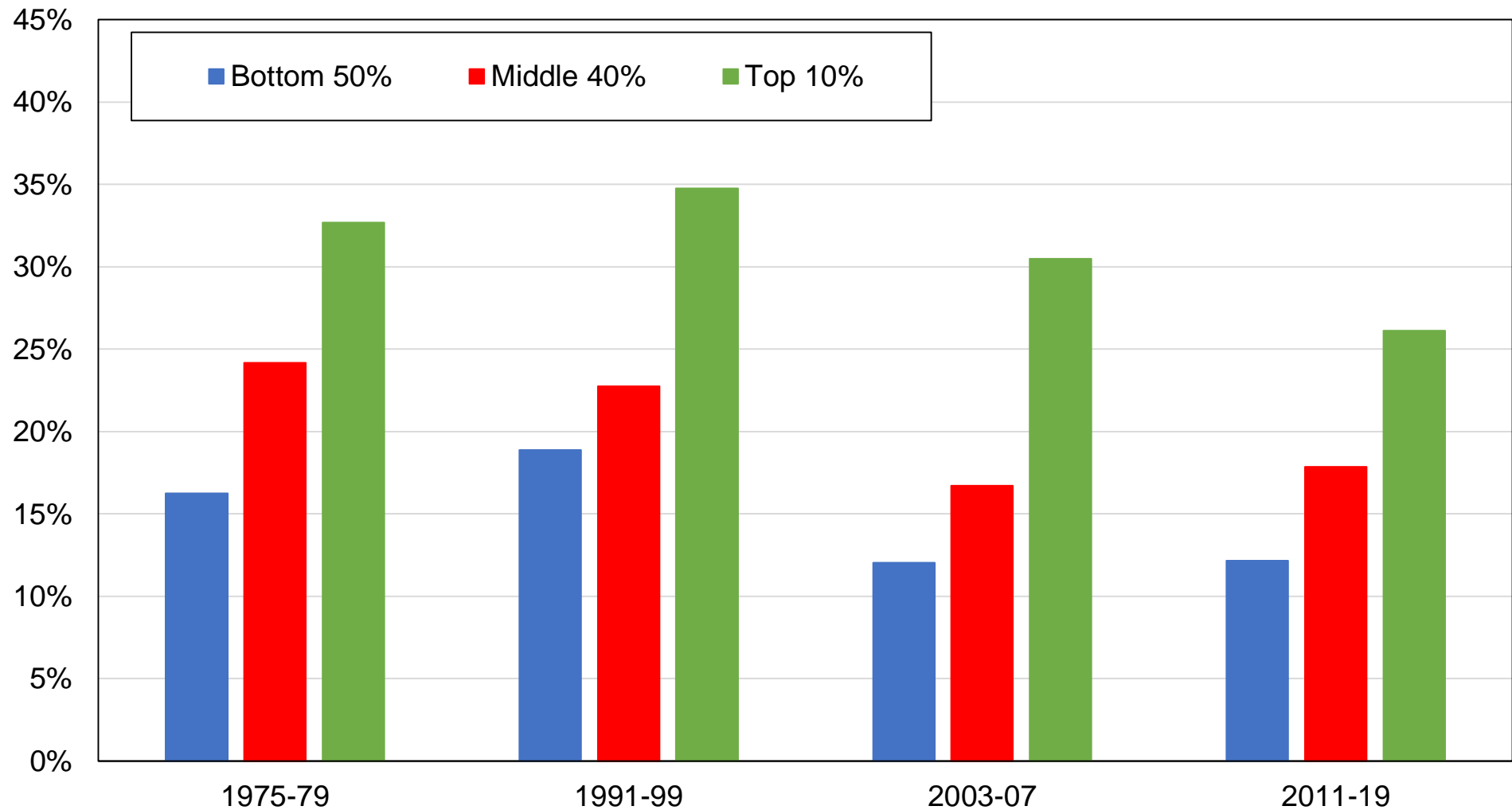
**Figure CD23 - Vote for the Liberals by education group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Free Democratic Party (FDP / PRD) by education group.

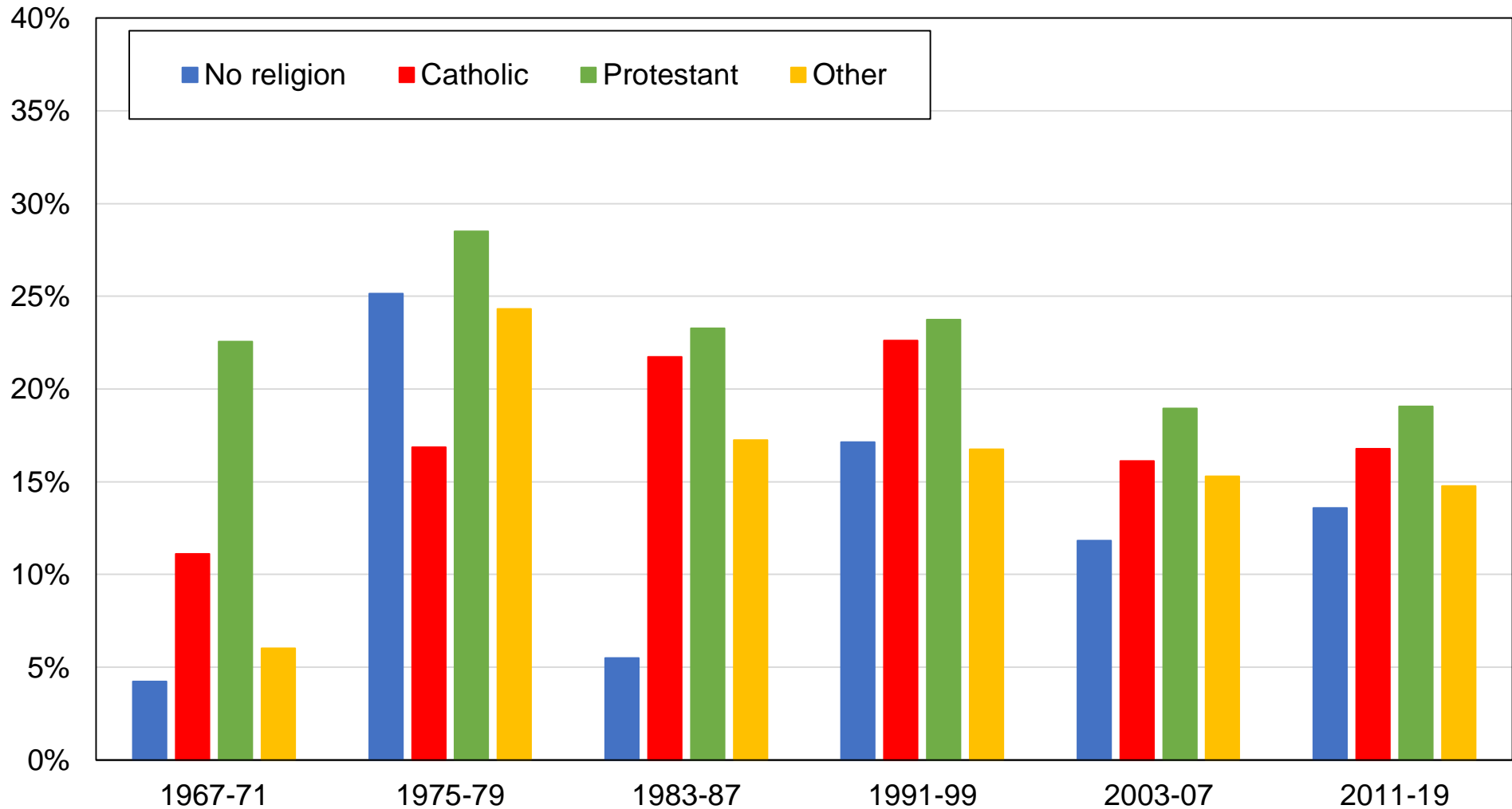
**Figure CD24 - Vote for the Liberals by income group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Free Democratic Party (FDP / PRD) by income group.

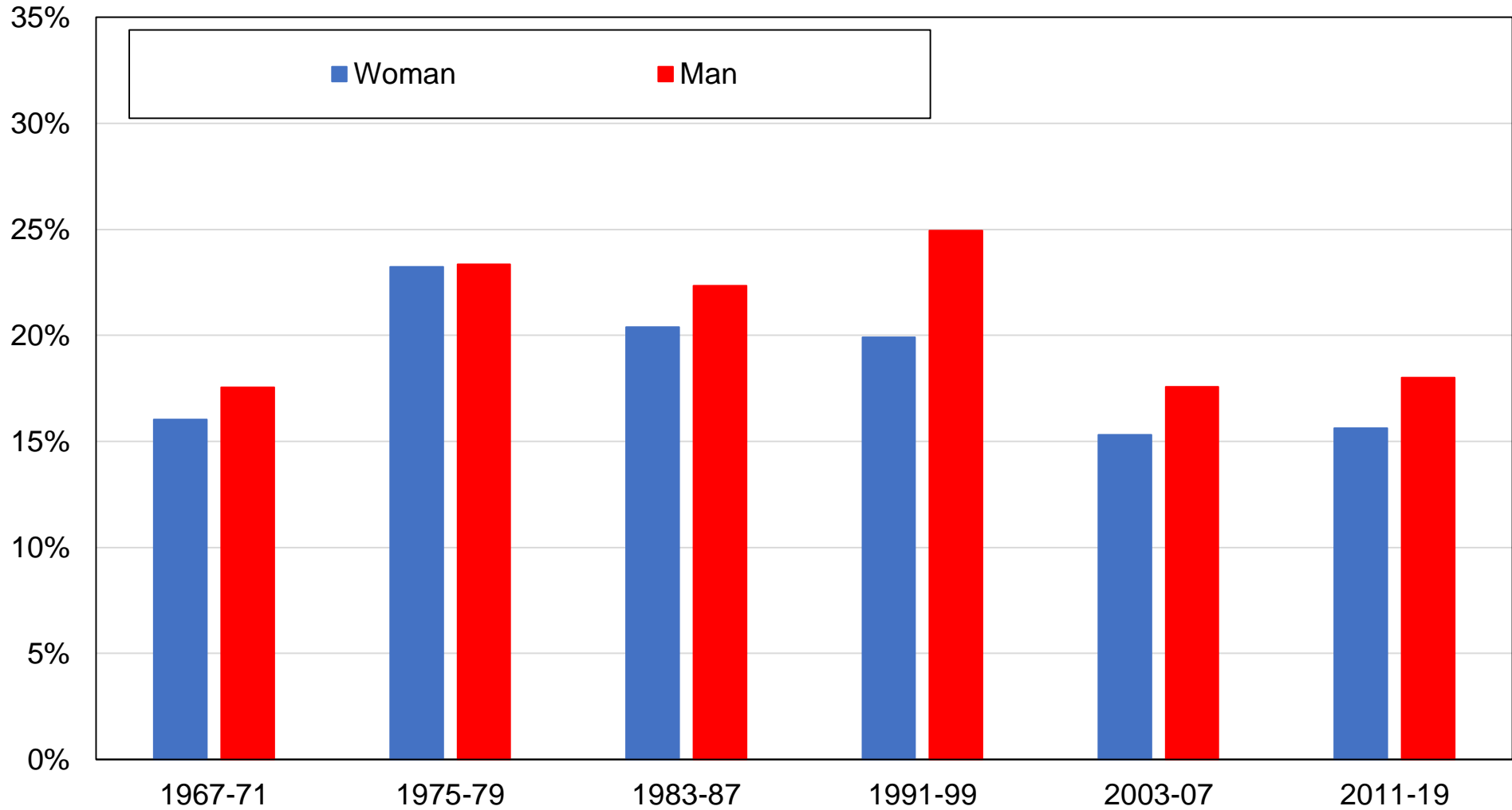
**Figure CD25 - Vote for the Liberals by religious affiliation**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Free Democratic Party (FDP / PRD) by religious affiliation

**Figure CD26 - Vote for the Liberals by gender**

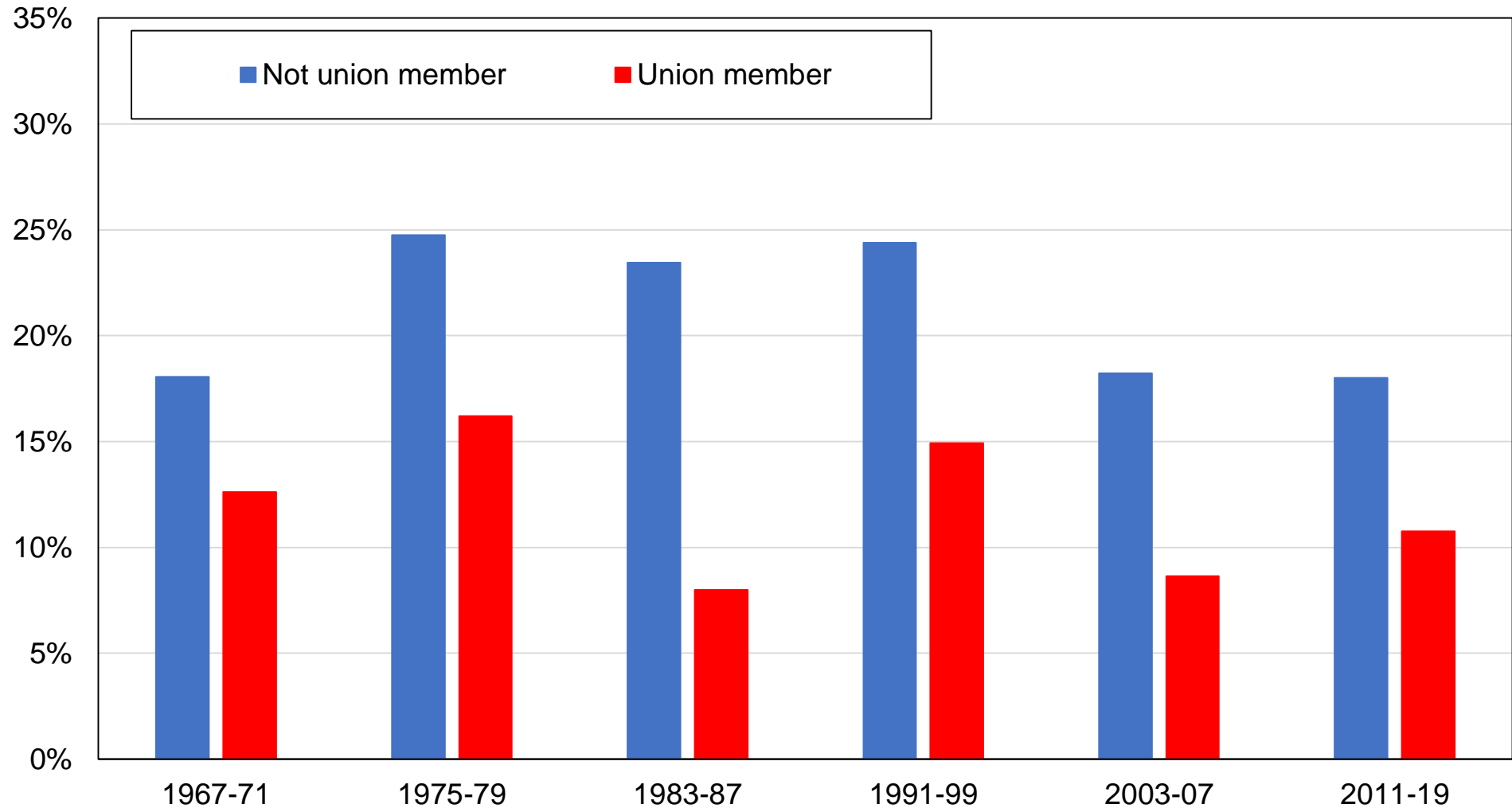


**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Free Democratic Party (FDP / PRD) by gender.



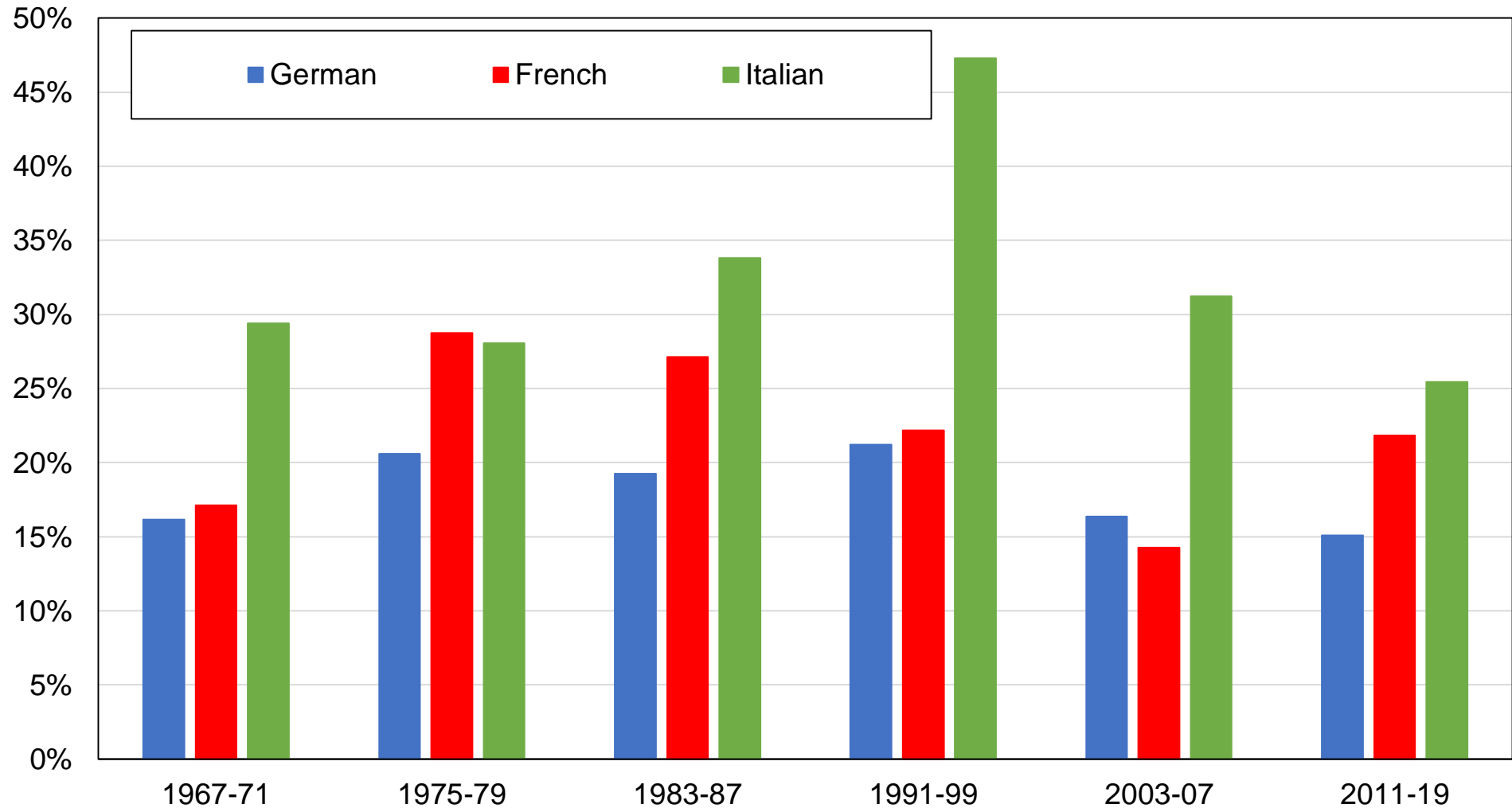
**Figure CD27 - Vote for the Liberals by union membership**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Free Democratic Party (FDP / PRD) by union membership status.

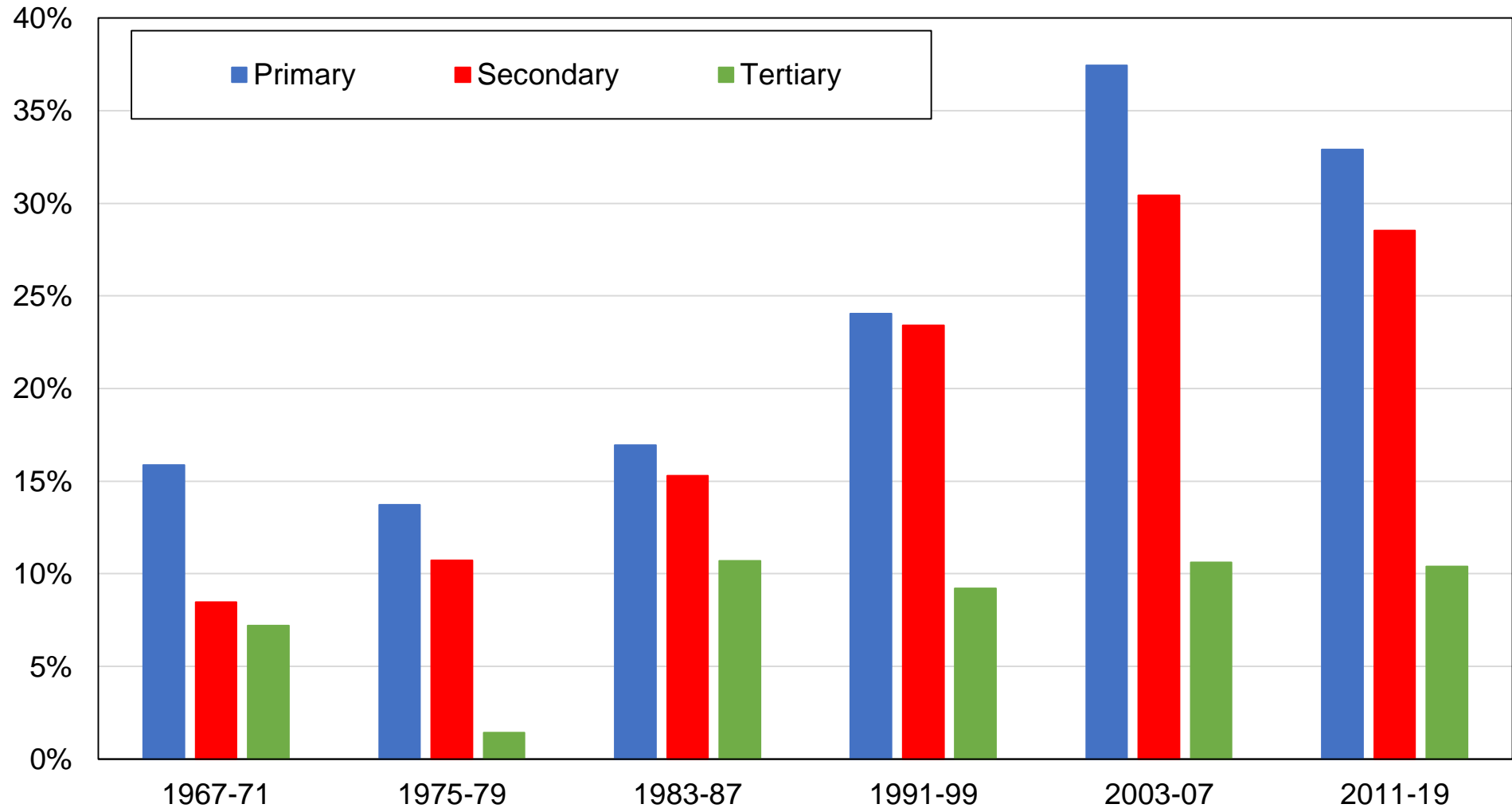
**Figure CD28 - Vote for the Liberals by region**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Free Democratic Party (FDP / PRD) by linguistic region.

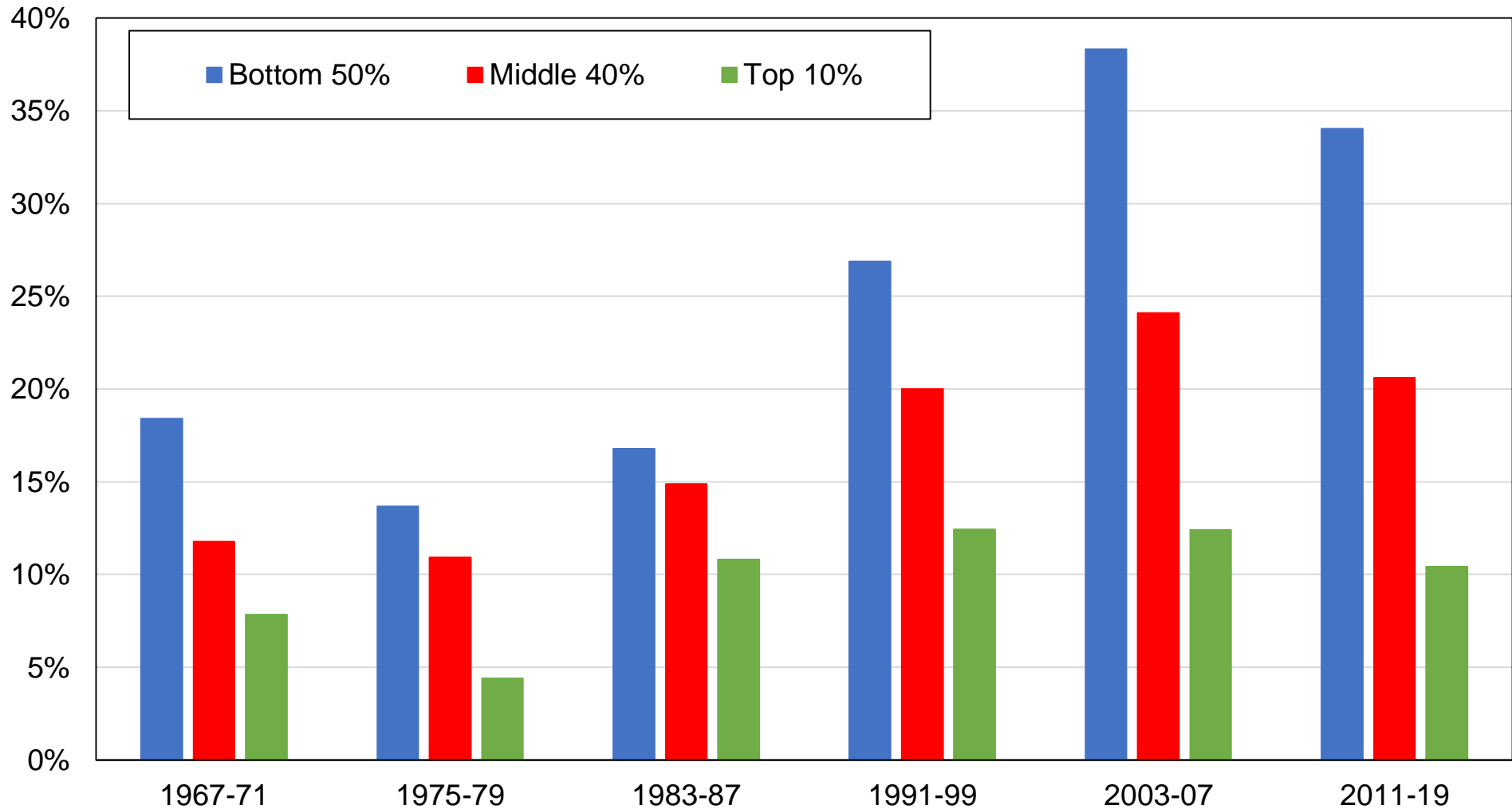
**Figure CD29 - Vote for far-right parties by education level**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Swiss People's Party (SVP / UDC), Swiss Democrats (SD / DS), and Freedom Party (FPS / PSL) by education level.

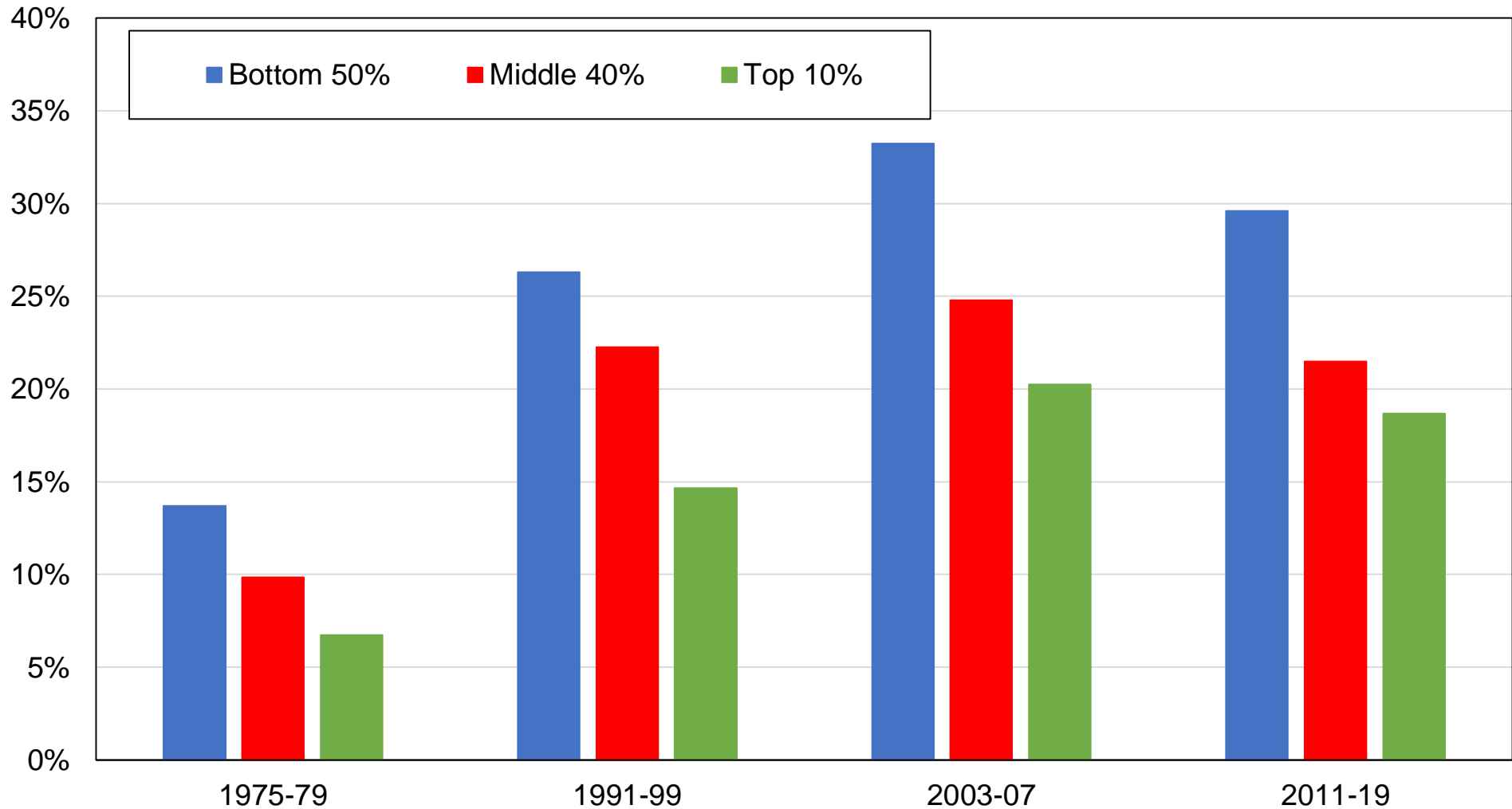
**Figure CD30 - Vote for far-right parties by education group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Swiss People's Party (SVP / UDC), Swiss Democrats (SD / DS), and Freedom Party (FPS / PSL) by education group.

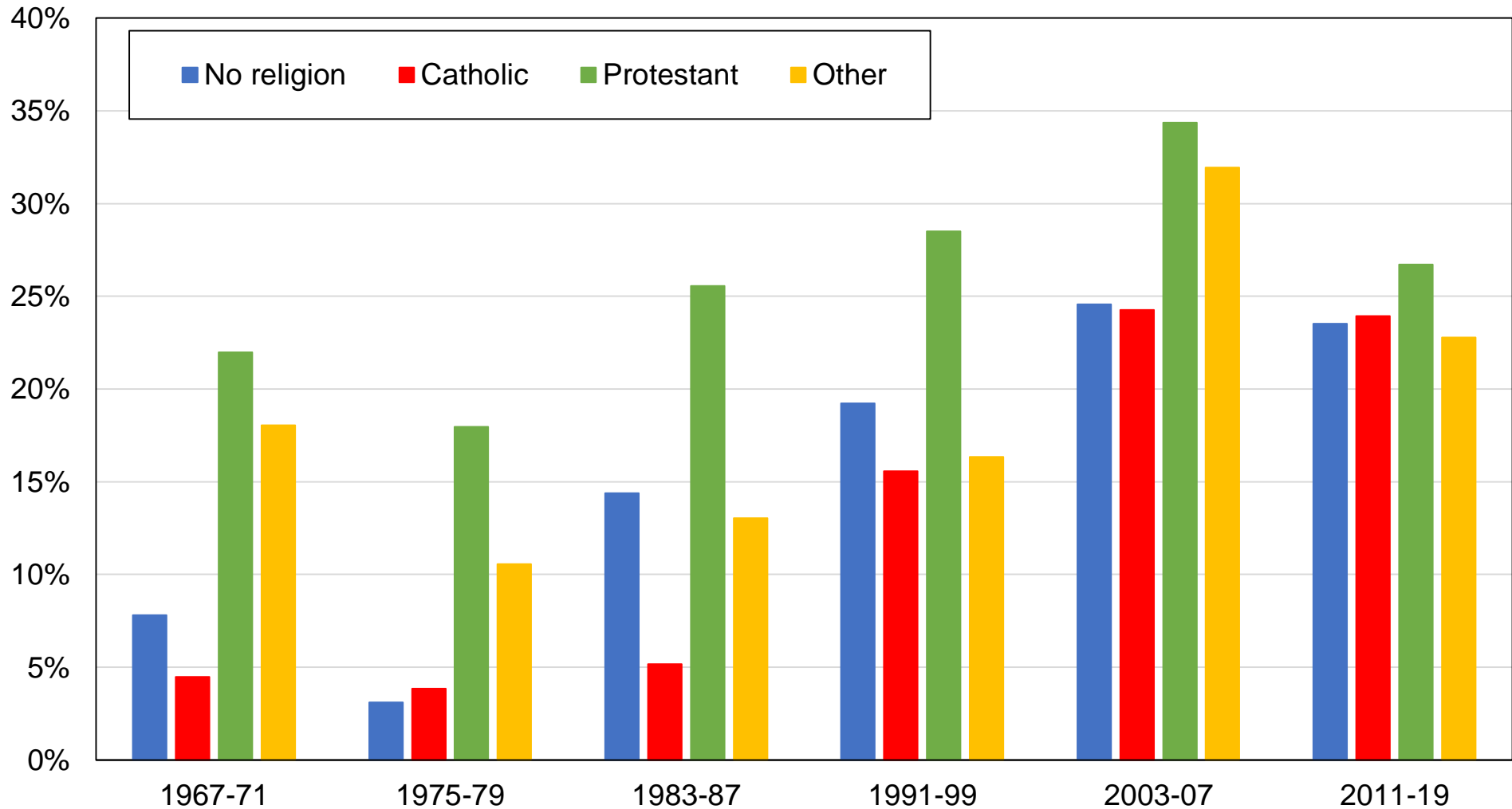
**Figure CD31 - Vote for far-right parties by income group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Swiss People's Party (SVP / UDC), Swiss Democrats (SD / DS), and Freedom Party (FPS / PSL) by income group.

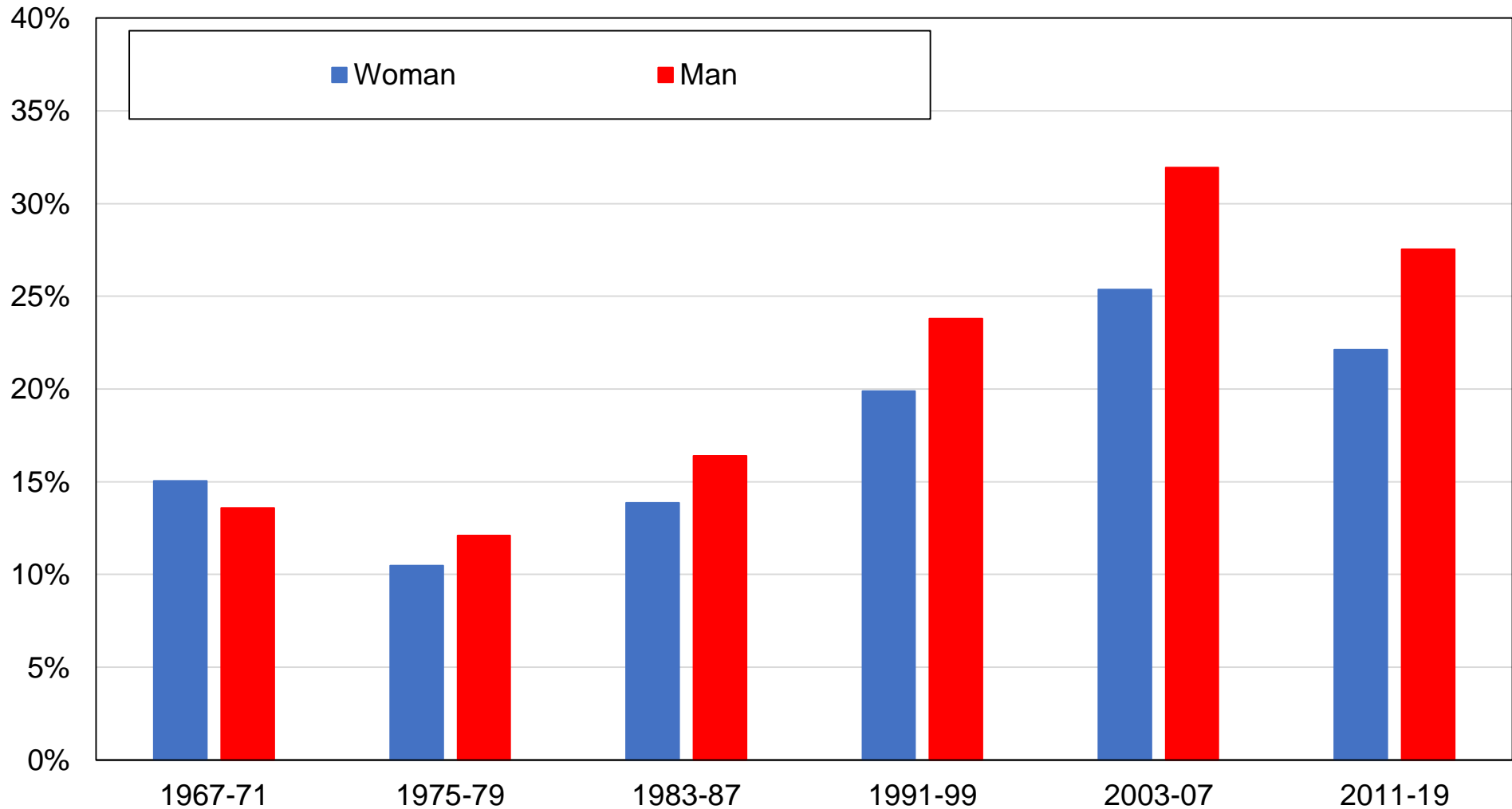
**Figure CD32 - Vote for far-right parties by religious affiliation**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Swiss People's Party (SVP / UDC), Swiss Democrats (SD / DS), and Freedom Party (FPS / PSL) by religious affiliation.

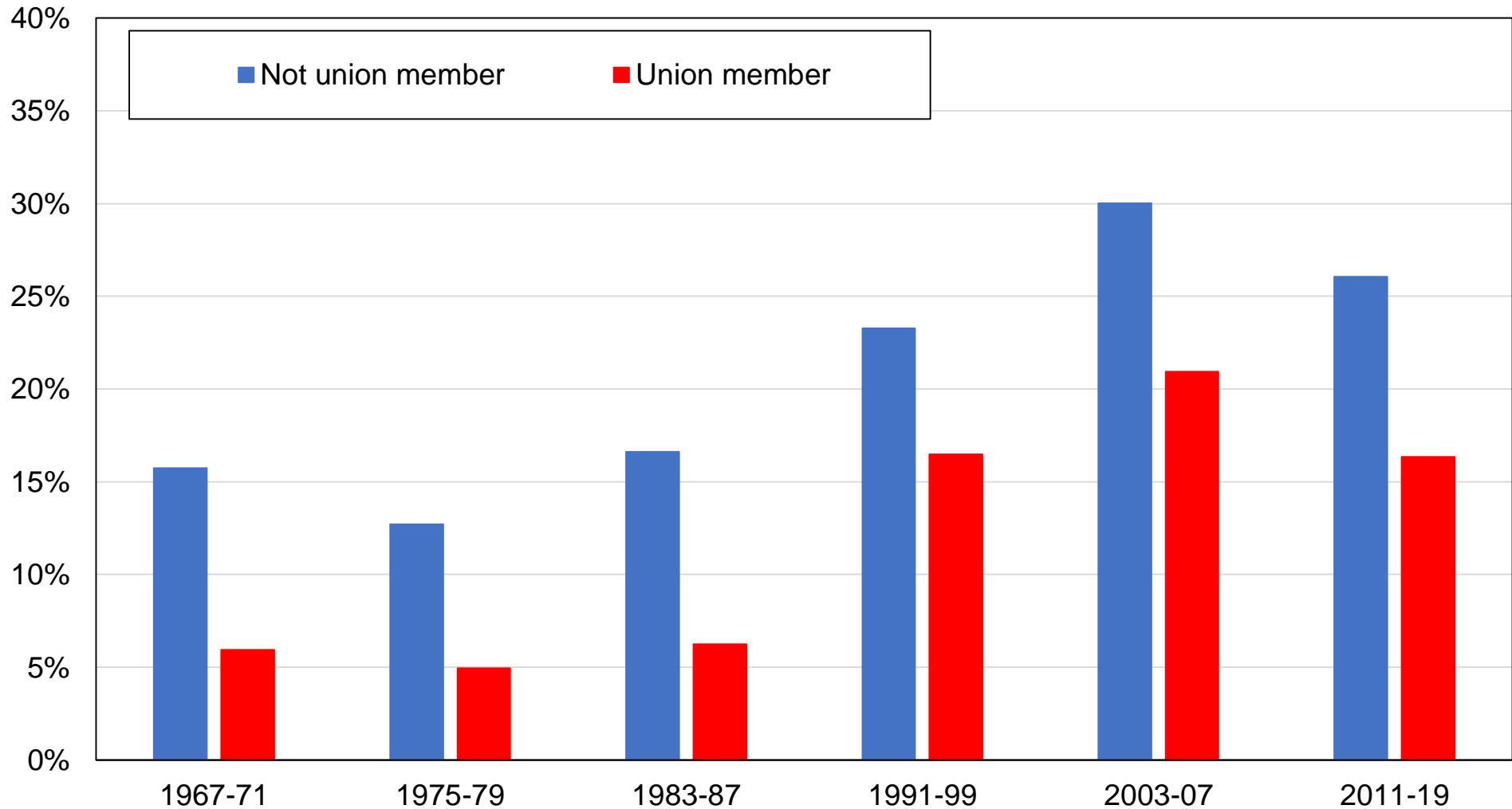
**Figure CD33 - Vote for far-right parties by gender**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Swiss People's Party (SVP / UDC), Swiss Democrats (SD / DS), and Freedom Party (FPS / PSL) by gender.

**Figure CD34 - Vote for far-right parties by union membership**

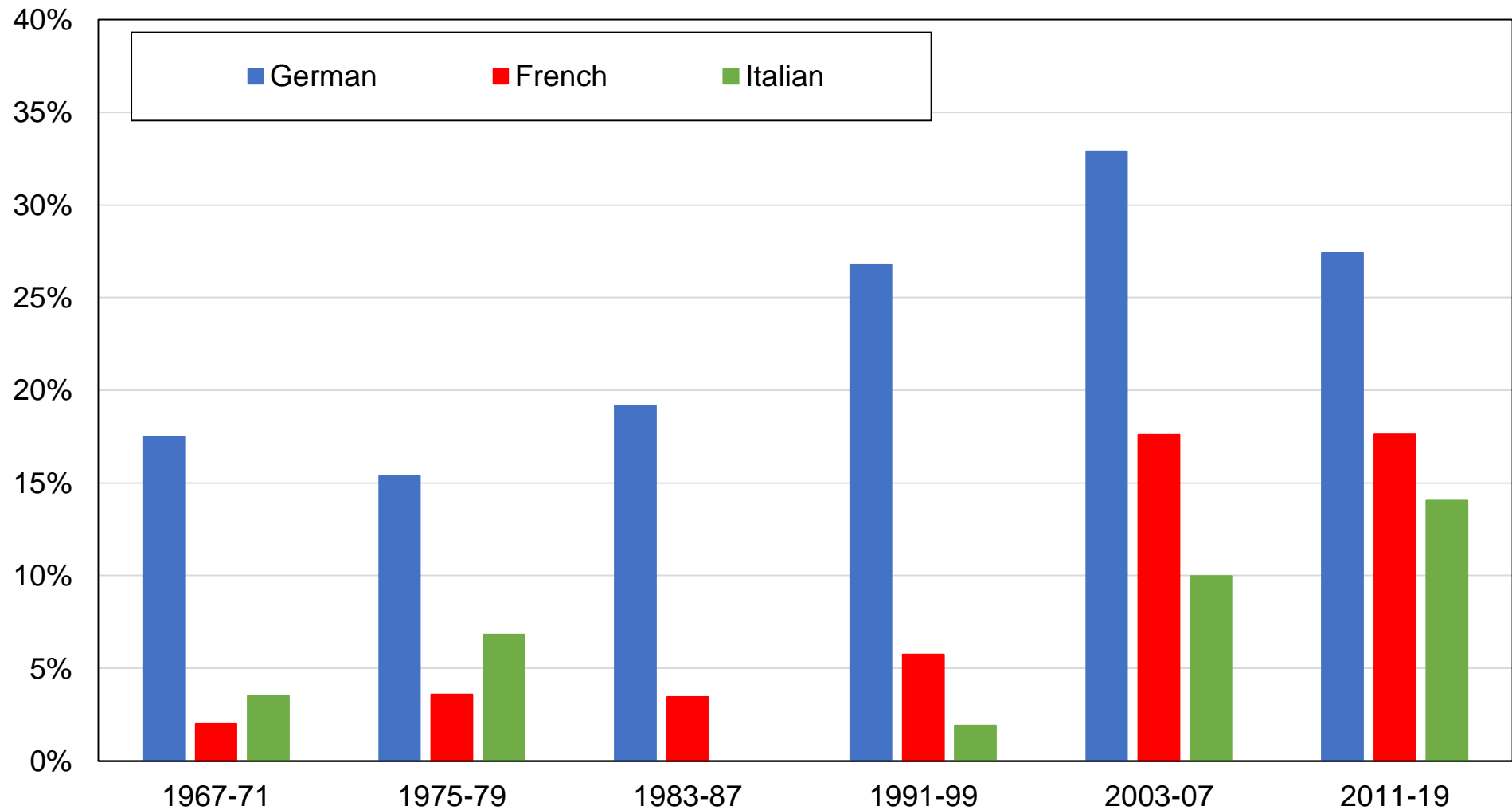


**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Swiss People's Party (SVP / UDC), Swiss Democrats (SD / DS), and Freedom Party (FPS / PSL) by union membership status.



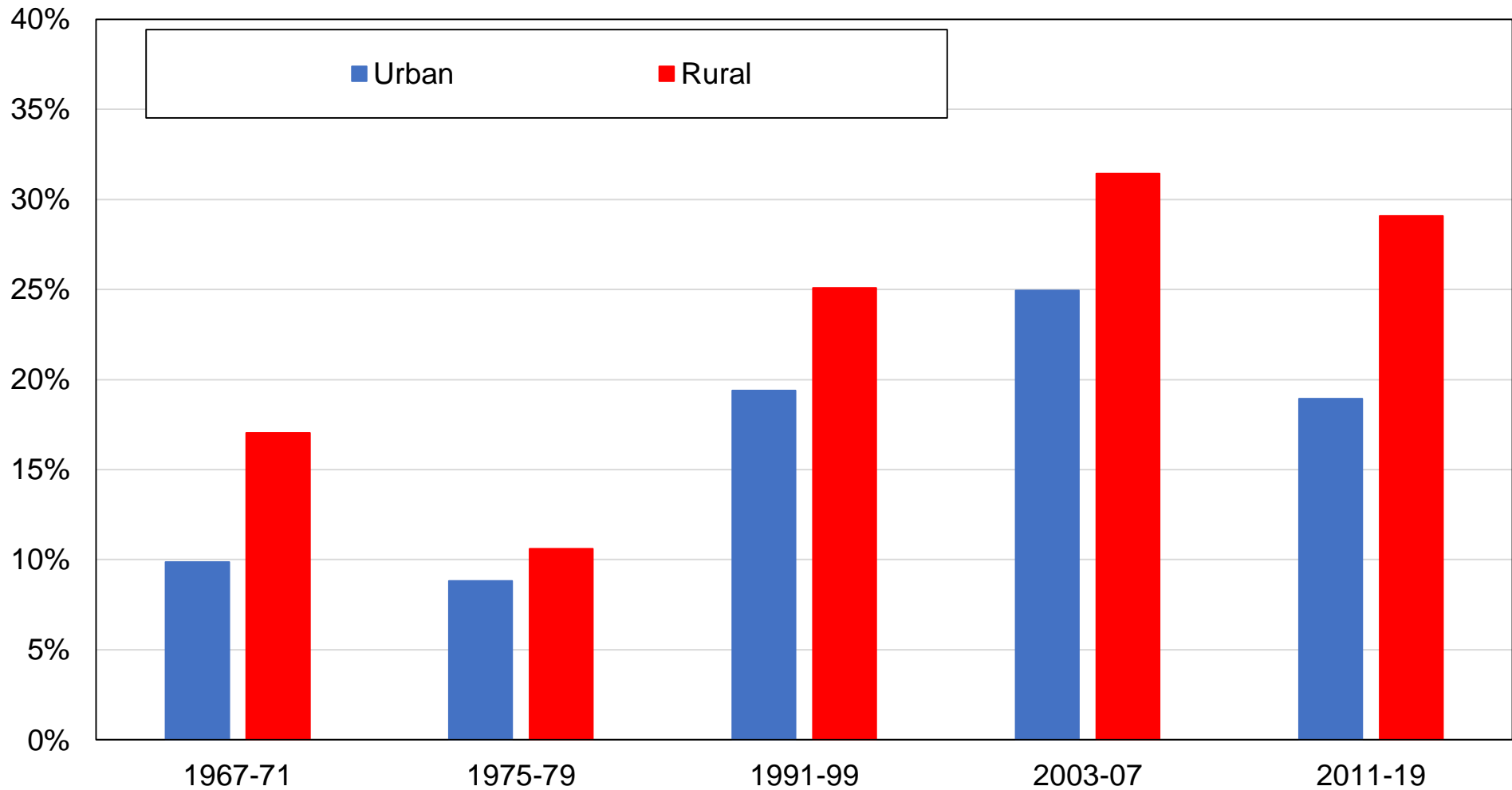
**Figure CD35 - Vote for far-right parties by region**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Swiss People's Party (SVP / UDC), Swiss Democrats (SD / DS), and Freedom Party (FPS / PSL) by linguistic region.

Figure CD36 - Vote for far-right parties by location



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Swiss People's Party (SVP / UDC), Swiss Democrats (SD / DS), and Freedom Party (FPS / PSL) by rural-urban location.

**Table CA1 - Survey data sources**

Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
1967	Swiss national election studies, 1971 (previous vote)	FORS	1917
1971	Swiss national election studies	FORS	1917
1975	Swiss national election studies	FORS	1253
1979	Swiss national election studies	FORS	1002
1983	Swiss national election studies, 1987 (previous vote)	FORS	1001
1987	Swiss national election studies	FORS	1001
1991	Swiss national election studies	FORS	1002
1995	Swiss national election studies	FORS	7561
1999	Swiss national election studies	FORS	3258
2003	Swiss national election studies	FORS	5891
2007	Swiss national election studies	FORS	4392
2011	Swiss national election studies	FORS	4391
2015	Swiss national election studies	FORS	5337
2019	Swiss national election studies	FORS	6664

**Source:** authors' elaboration. FORS: <https://forscenter.ch/projects/selects/>

**Note:** the table shows the surveys used, the source from which these surveys can be obtained, and the sample size of each survey.

**Table CA2 - Complete descriptive statistics by decade**

	1967-71	1975-79	1983-87	1991-99	2003-07	2011-19
Age: 20-40	39%	46%	44%	44%	31%	32%
Age: 40-60	37%	32%	36%	34%	38%	40%
Age: 60+	24%	21%	20%	21%	30%	28%
Education: Primary	81%	41%	26%	17%	15%	11%
Education: Secondary	14%	55%	67%	75%	75%	72%
Education: Tertiary	5%	4%	7%	8%	10%	17%
Employment status: Employed	58%	51%	60%	64%	59%	61%
Employment status: Unemployed	0%	1%	0%	1%	1%	2%
Employment status: Inactive	42%	48%	40%	35%	40%	38%
Marital status: Married or with partner	71%	71%	61%	54%	52%	53%
Religion: No religion	3%	3%	6%	9%	20%	26%
Religion: Catholic	43%	43%	42%	43%	38%	37%
Religion: Protestant	53%	53%	50%	45%	36%	31%
Religion: Other	2%	1%	3%	3%	6%	6%
Church attendance: Never	16%	19%		19%	29%	33%
Church attendance: Less than monthly	52%	60%		70%	61%	59%
Church attendance: Monthly or more	32%	22%		11%	11%	9%
Rural-urban: Rural areas	55%	47%		61%	60%	58%
Sector: Public				32%	34%	33%
Gender: Man	46%	46%	48%	46%	43%	48%
Country of birth: CH				90%	90%	83%
Country of birth: Other				10%	10%	17%
Home ownership: Yes			35%	38%	47%	50%
Region: German	75%	73%	74%	72%	73%	72%
Region: French	20%	23%	21%	24%	23%	23%
Region: Italian	4%	4%	5%	4%	4%	4%
Union membership: Yes	14%	14%	9%	17%	14%	10%

**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the table shows descriptive statistics by decade for selected available variables.

Table CA3 - The structure of political cleavages in Switzerland, 2011-2019

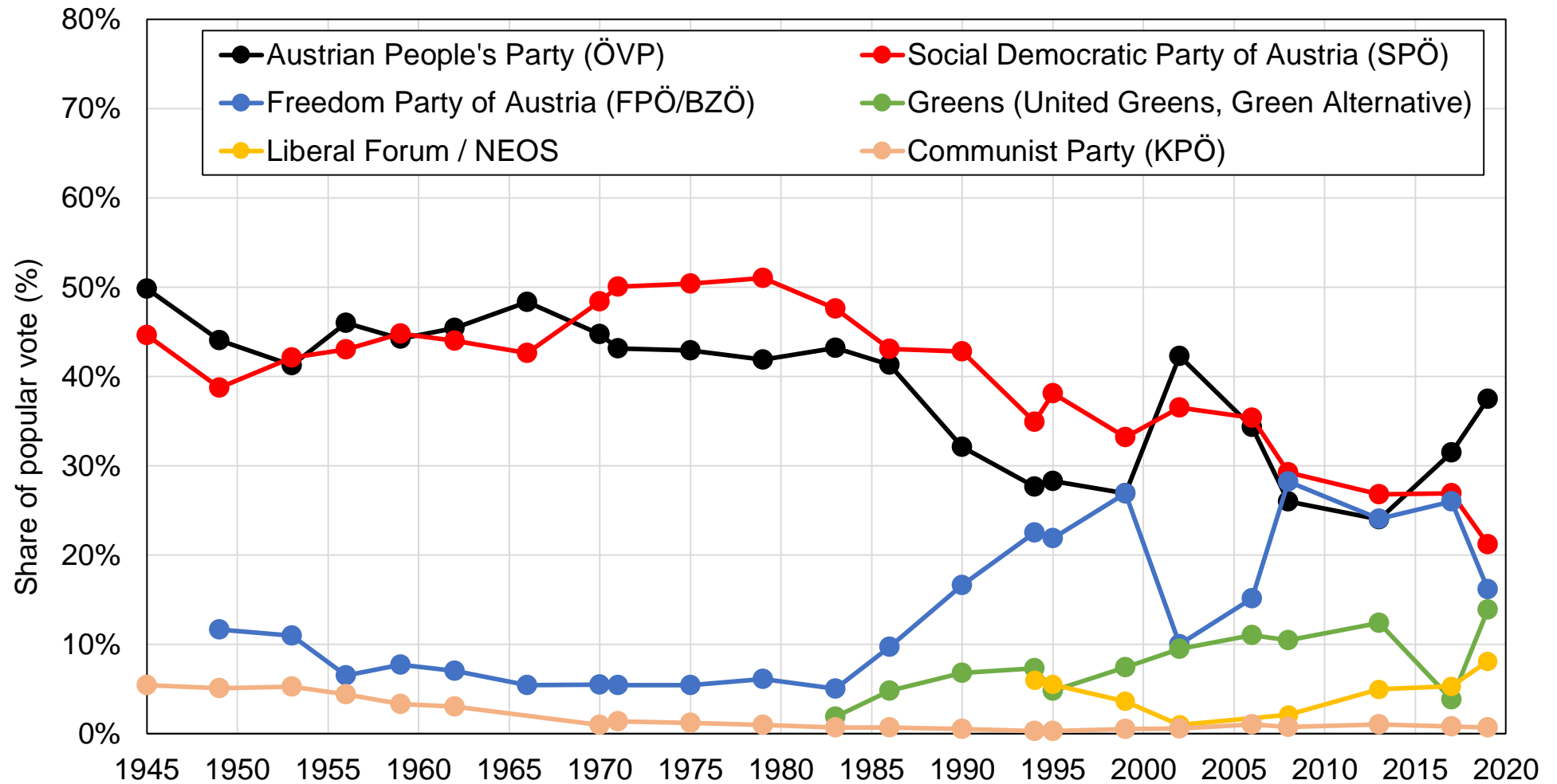
	Share of votes received (%)				
	SPS / PDA	CVP	FDP	GPS / GLP	SVP / FPS / SD
<b>Overall vote share</b>	20%	12%	17%	15%	25%
<b>Education</b>					
Primary	17%	19%	12%	8%	33%
Secondary	18%	11%	16%	13%	29%
Tertiary	26%	11%	20%	23%	10%
<b>Income</b>					
Bottom 50%	20%	12%	12%	12%	30%
Middle 40%	21%	11%	18%	16%	21%
Top 10%	15%	12%	26%	21%	19%
<b>Region</b>					
German	19%	11%	15%	15%	27%
French	25%	13%	22%	15%	18%
Italian	18%	19%	25%	7%	14%
<b>Location</b>					
Urban	25%	9%	17%	19%	19%
Rural	16%	13%	17%	12%	29%
<b>Religion</b>					
No religion	29%	3%	14%	23%	24%
Catholic	17%	24%	17%	11%	24%
Protestant	18%	4%	19%	15%	27%
Other	16%	9%	15%	9%	23%
<b>Church attendance</b>					
Never	28%	4%	15%	22%	23%
Less than monthly	18%	13%	19%	13%	26%
Monthly or more	11%	28%	12%	6%	20%
<b>Occupation (Oesch classif.)</b>					
Associate managers and administrators	16%	11%	24%	10%	25%
Routine service workers	18%	16%	12%	4%	37%
Technical experts	19%	13%	22%	16%	16%

Socio-cultural semi-professionals	33%	12%	9%	17%	13%
Technicians	25%	9%	10%	9%	25%
Small business owners	15%	15%	16%	6%	37%
Skilled production workers	17%	13%	14%	5%	36%
Skilled clerks	19%	13%	18%	13%	26%
Socio-cultural professionals	33%	8%	16%	24%	8%
Liberal professions and large employers	21%	10%	24%	14%	22%
Unemployed / Inactive	20%	12%	20%	13%	22%
Managers and administrators	18%	11%	24%	11%	24%
Skilled service-workers	21%	9%	16%	7%	31%
Routine production workers	20%	19%	8%	6%	33%
Routine clerks	13%	23%	3%	7%	38%

Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Notes: the table shows the average share of votes received by the main political parties by selected individual characteristics over the 2011-2019 period. Vote shares by group are those reported in surveys and may not match exactly official election results.

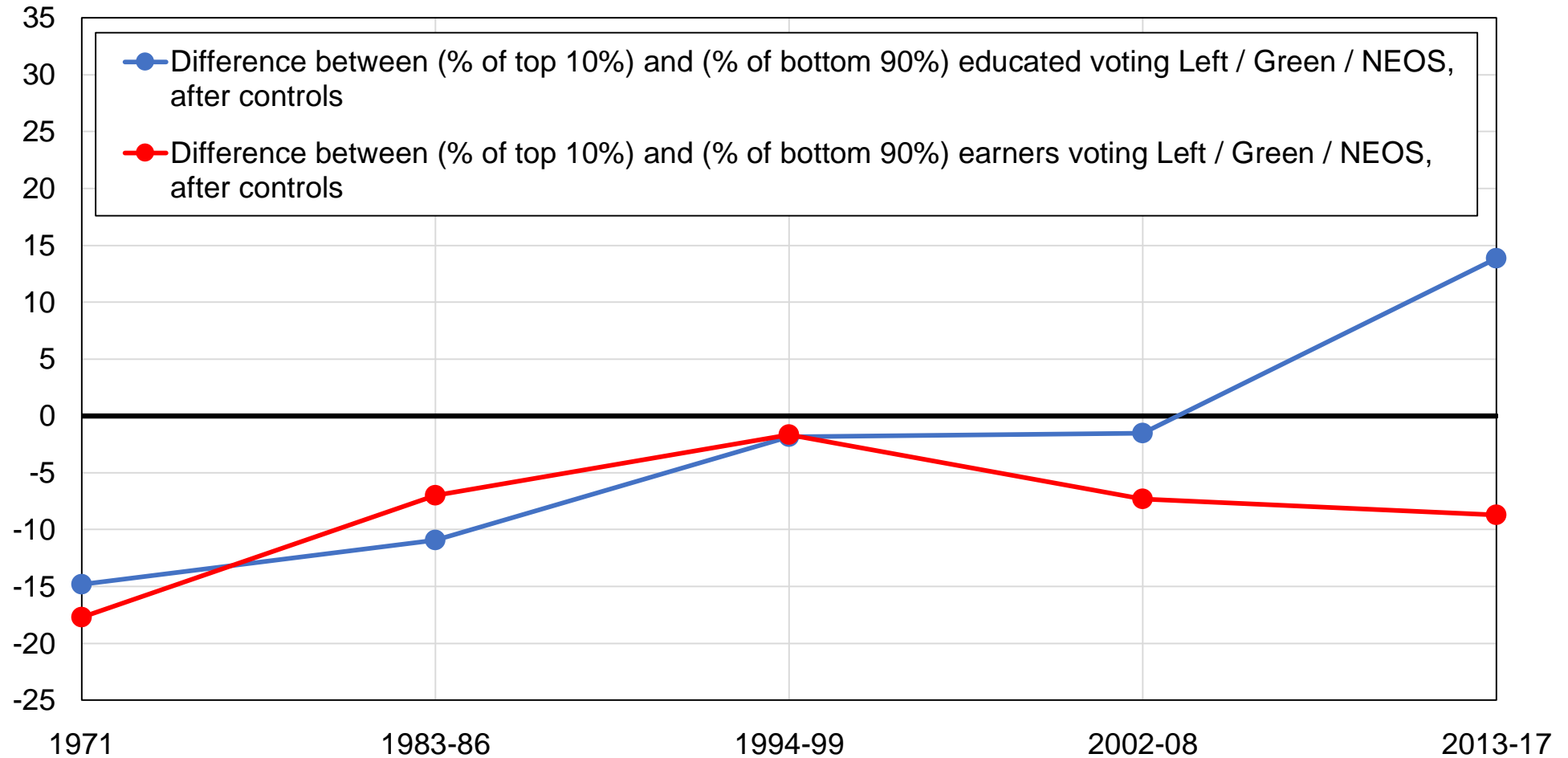
**Figure D1 - Election results in Austria, 1945-2019**



**Source:** authors' computations using official election results.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Austrian political parties in legislative elections between 1945 and 2019.

**Figure D2 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controls**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the support for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controlling for other variables.



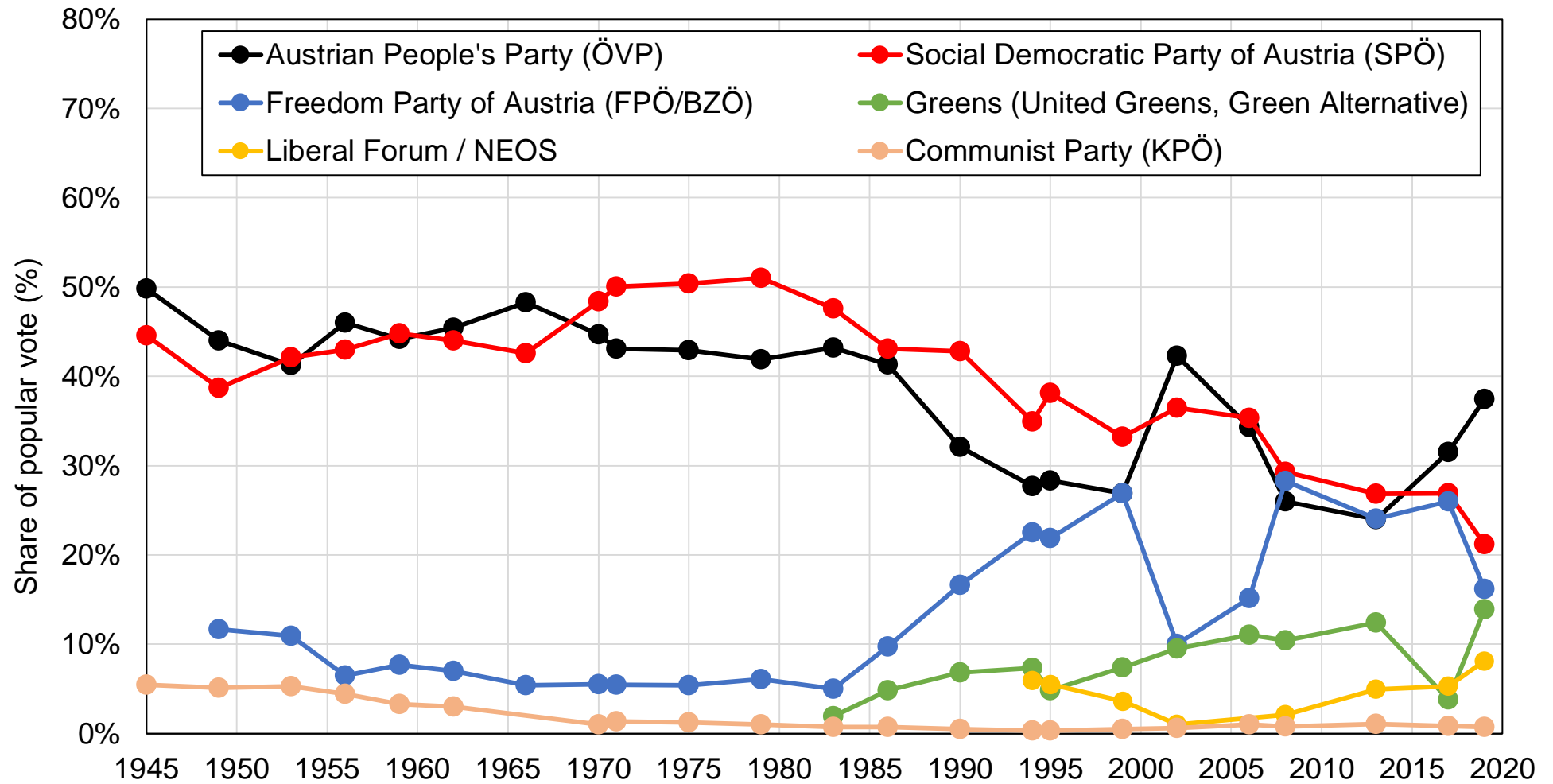
**Table D1 - The structure of political cleavages in Austria, 2013-2017**

	Share of votes received (%)				
	SPO / KPO	Greens	NEOS	OVP	FPO / BZO
<b>Overall vote share</b>	29%	9%	6%	32%	22%
<b>Education</b>					
Primary	33%	5%	4%	31%	25%
Secondary	29%	7%	5%	31%	26%
Tertiary	26%	21%	11%	34%	5%
<b>Income</b>					
Bottom 50%	35%	6%	5%	27%	23%
Middle 40%	27%	11%	6%	32%	22%
Top 10%	20%	12%	8%	43%	14%
<b>Location</b>					
Urban	33%	11%	7%	26%	20%
Rural	25%	7%	4%	37%	25%
<b>Religion</b>					
No religion	38%	14%	8%	13%	21%
Catholic	24%	8%	5%	39%	23%
Protestant	35%	10%	7%	25%	23%
Muslim	66%	2%	18%	10%	4%

**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Notes:** the table shows the average share of votes received by the main political parties by selected individual characteristics over the 2013-2017 period. Vote shares by group are those reported in surveys and may not match exactly official election results.

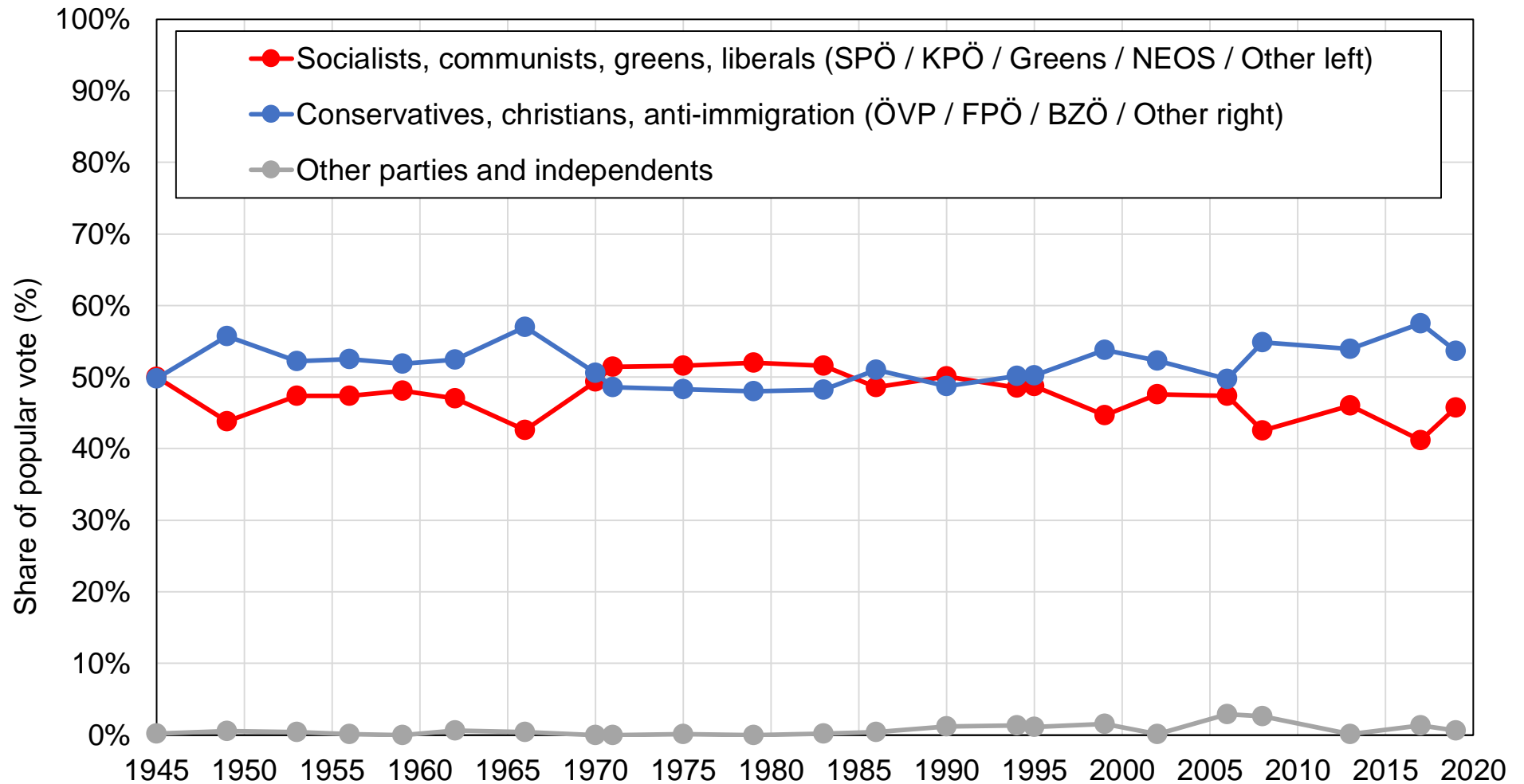
### Figure DA1 - Election results in Austria, 1945-2019



**Source:** authors' computations using official election results.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Austrian political parties in legislative elections between 1945 and 2019.

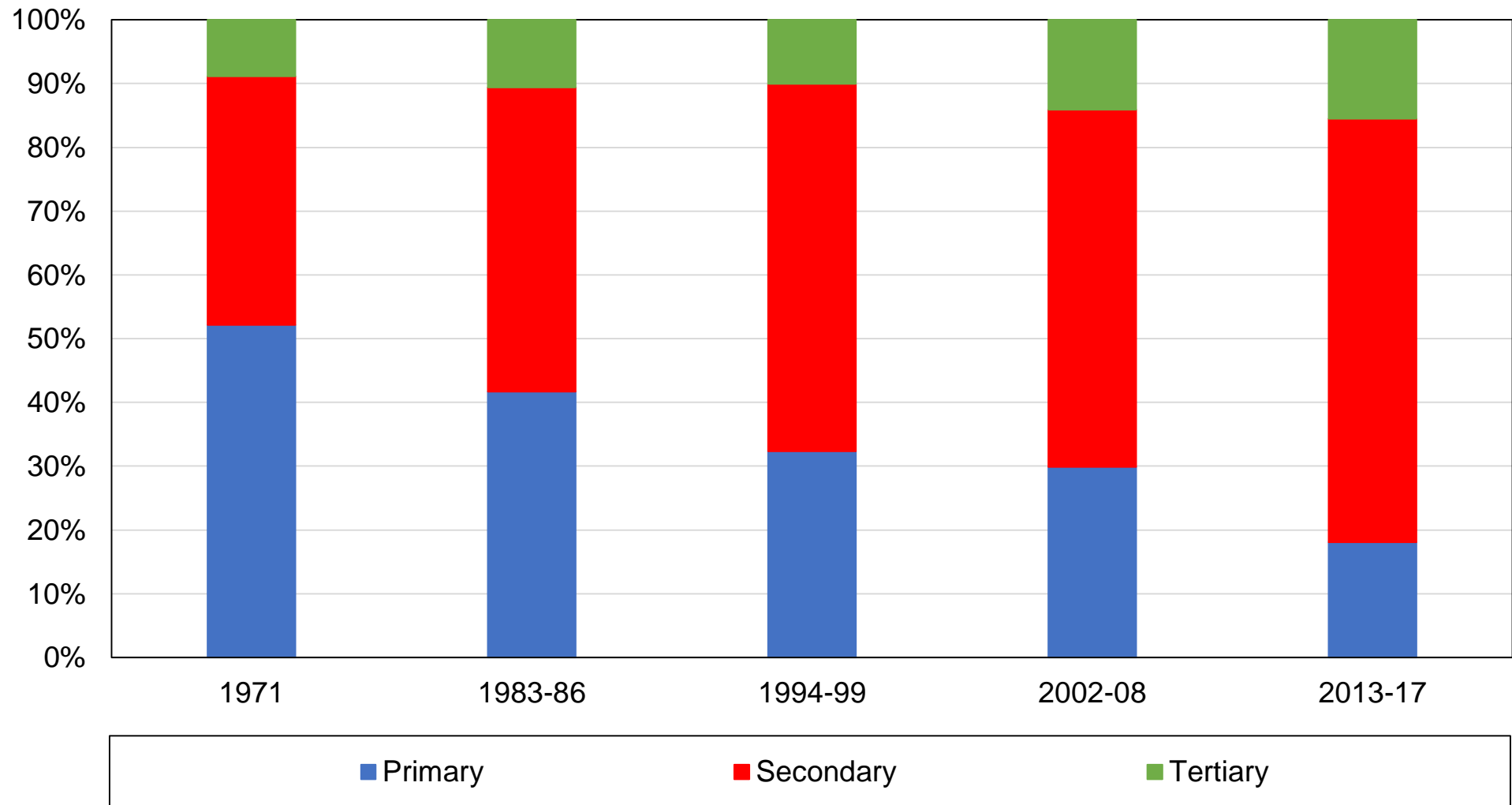
**Figure DA2 - Election results in Austria by group, 1945-2019**



**Source:** authors' computations using official election results.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Austrian political parties in legislative elections between 1945 and 2019.

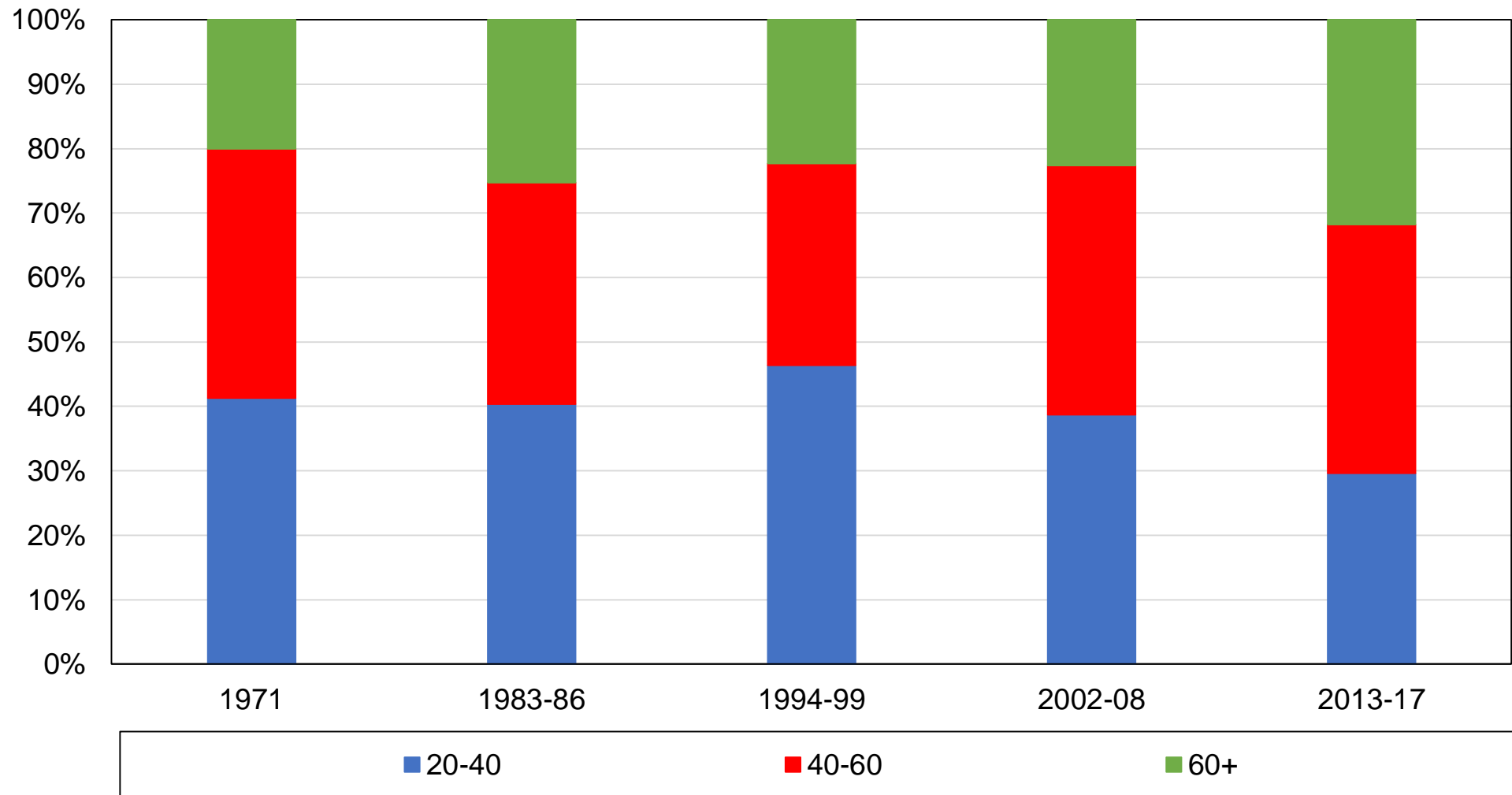
**Figure DA3 - The composition of the electorate by education level**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of the electorate by education level.

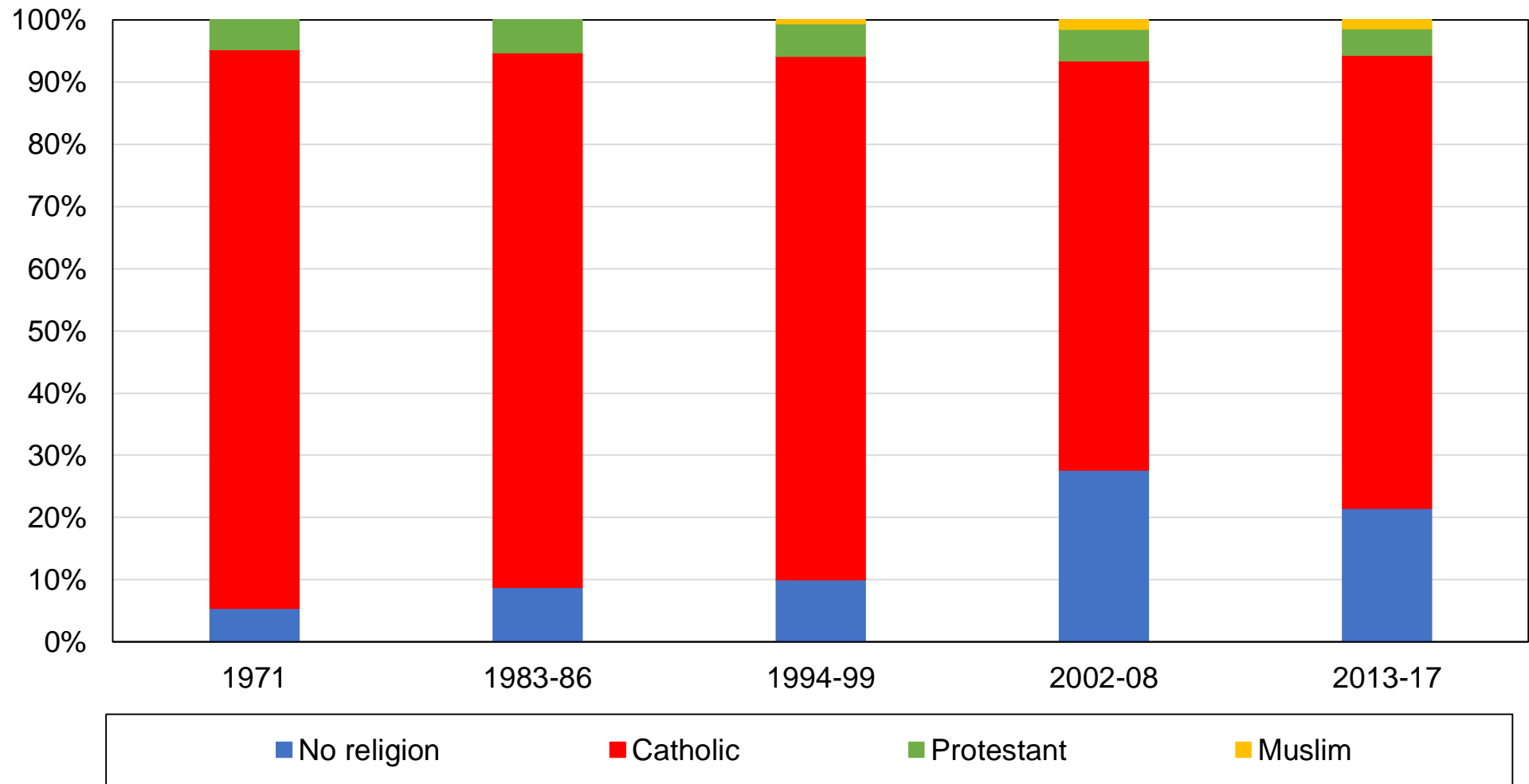
**Figure DA4 - The composition of the electorate by age group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of the electorate by age group.

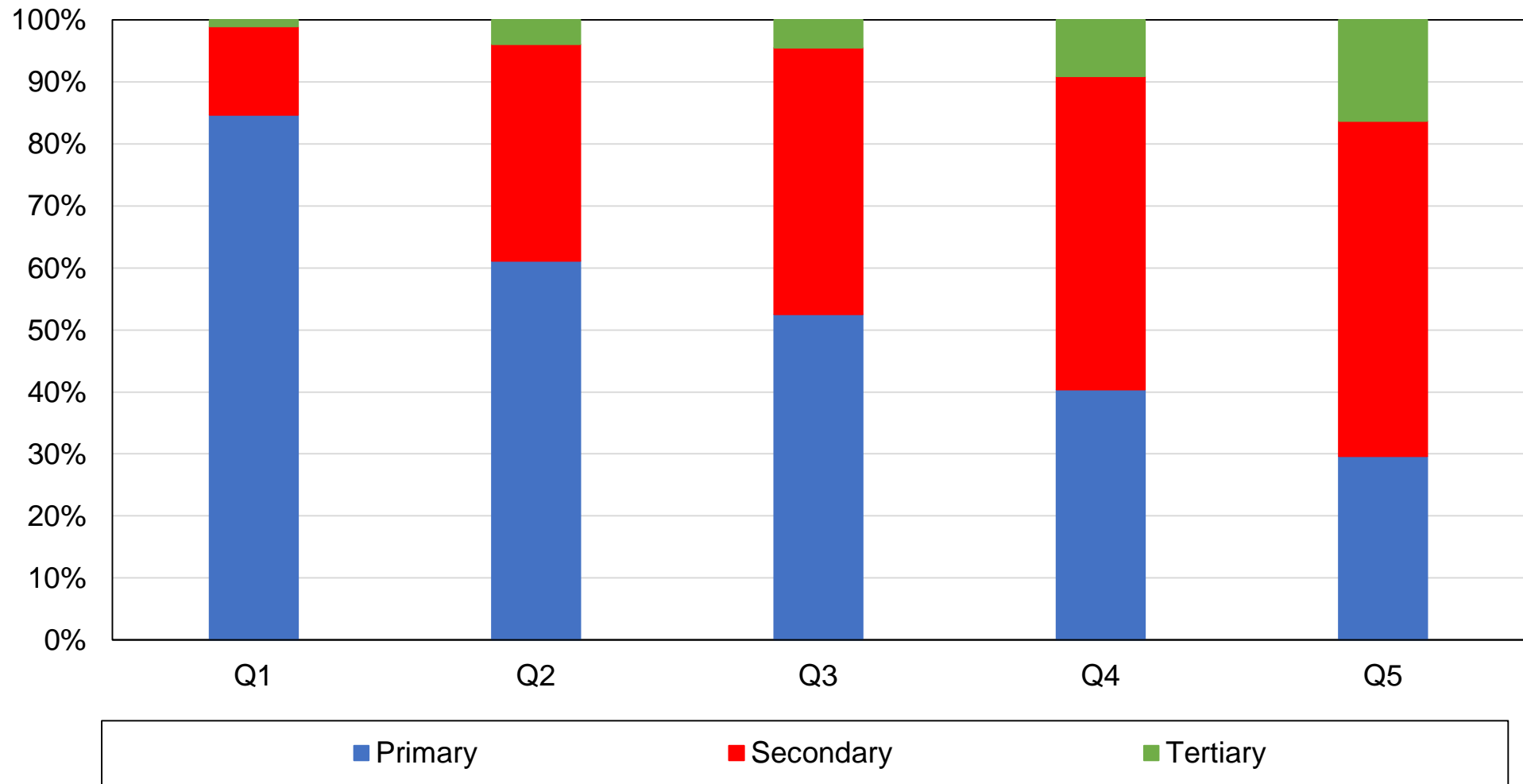
**Figure DA5 - The composition of the electorate by religion**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of the electorate by religious affiliation.

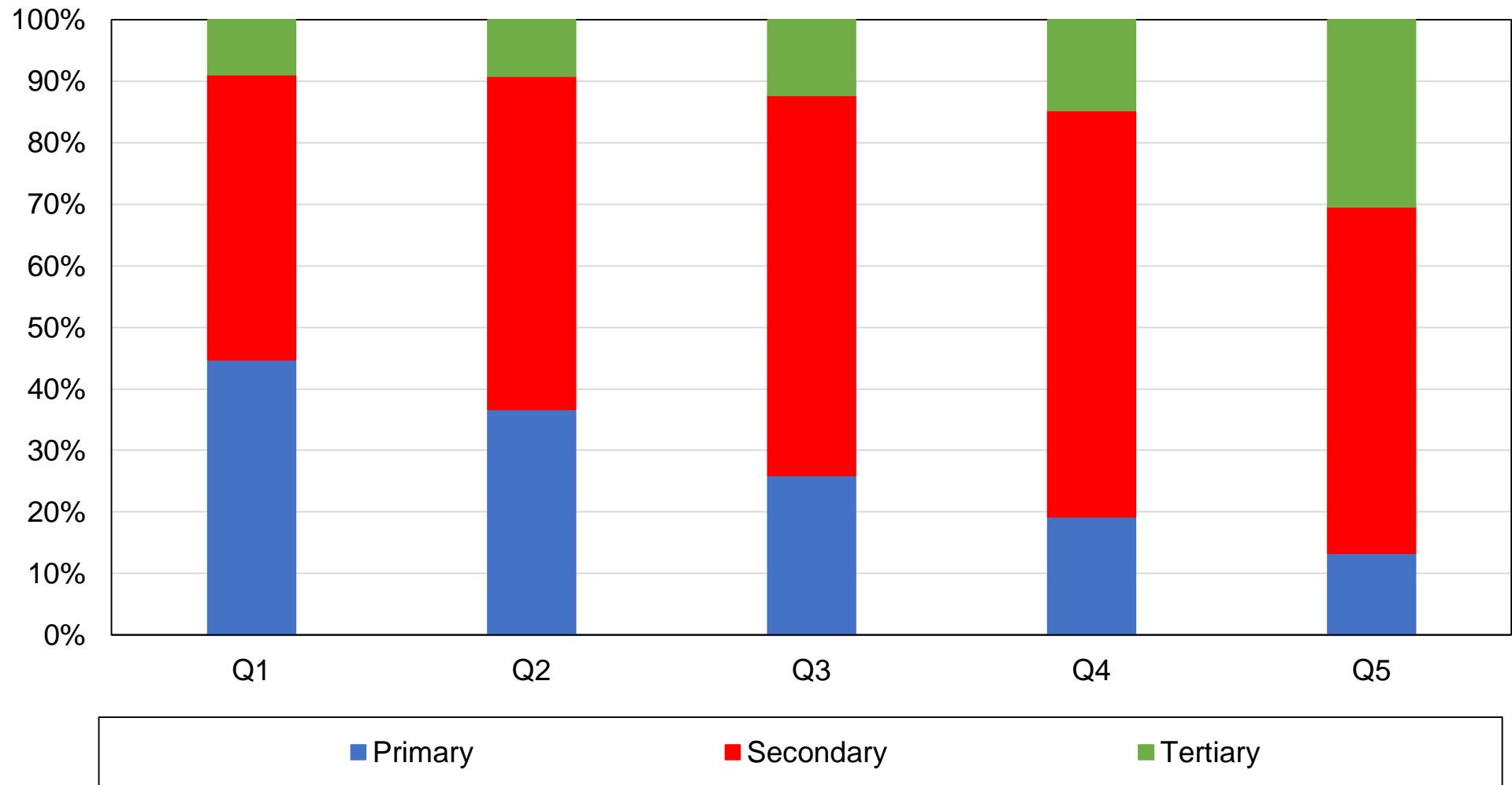
**Figure DA6 - Composition of income quintiles by education level, 1970s**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by education level in the 1970s.

**Figure DA7 - Composition of income quintiles by education level, 2010s**

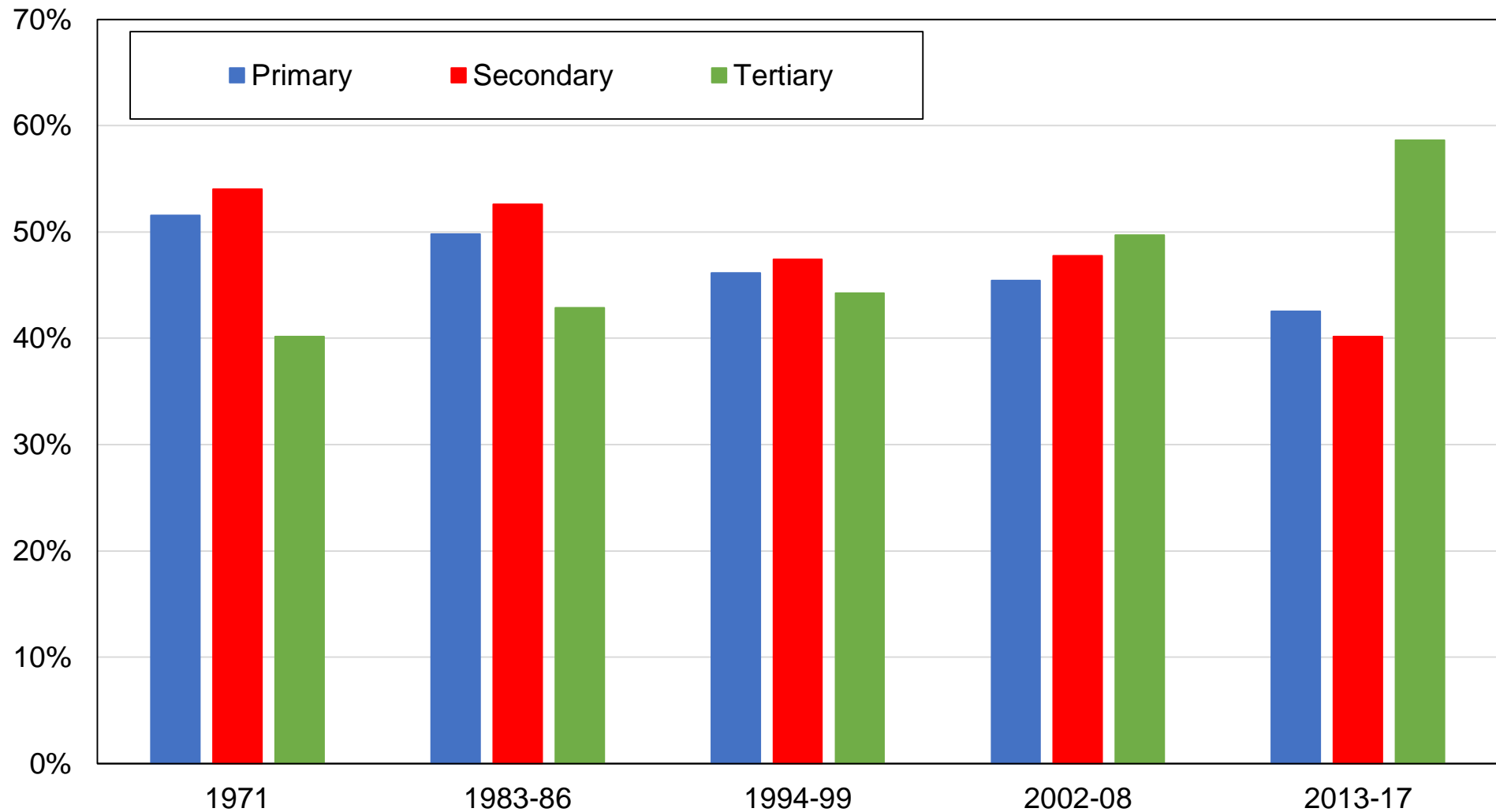


**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by education level in the 2010s.



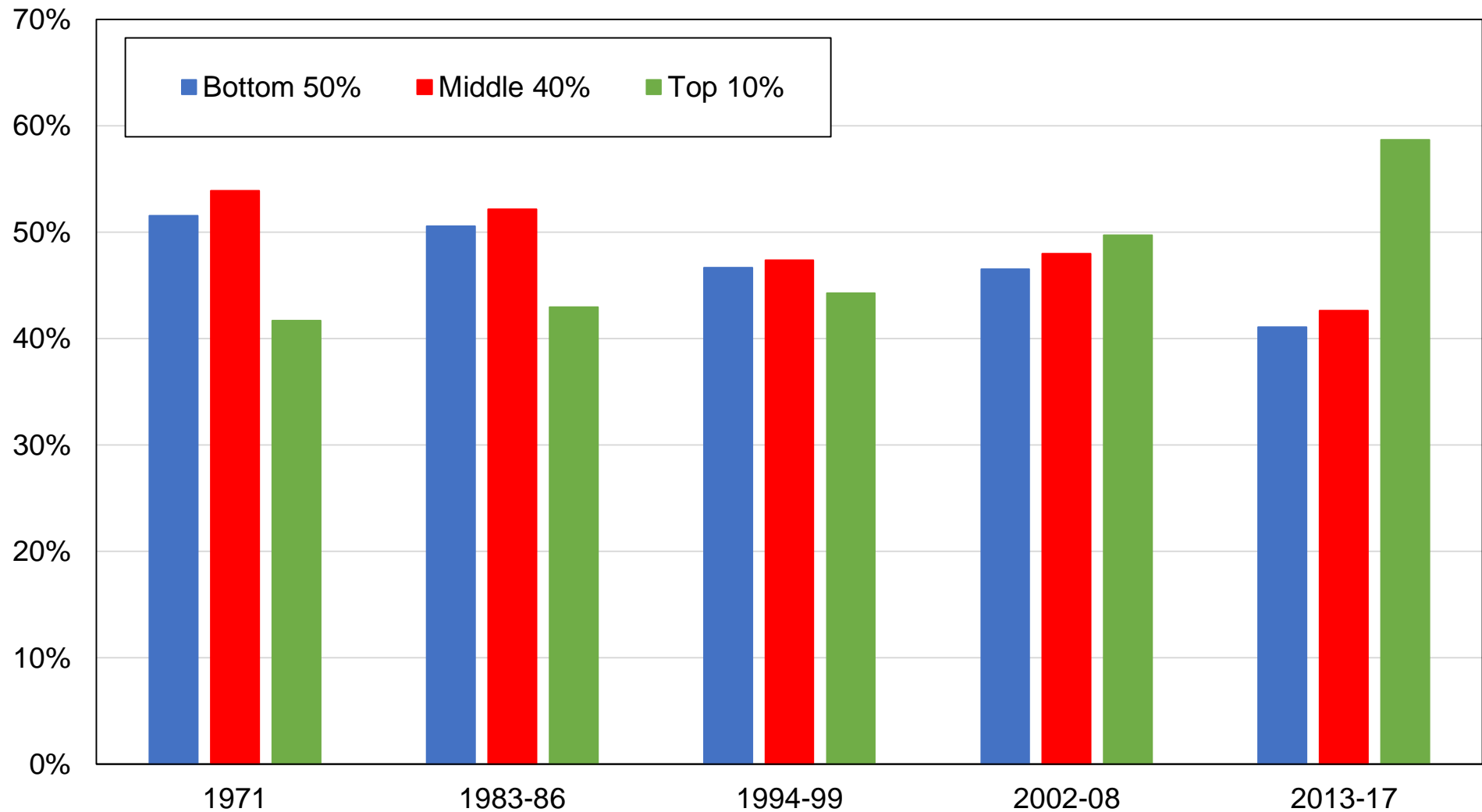
**Figure DB1 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by education level**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by education level.

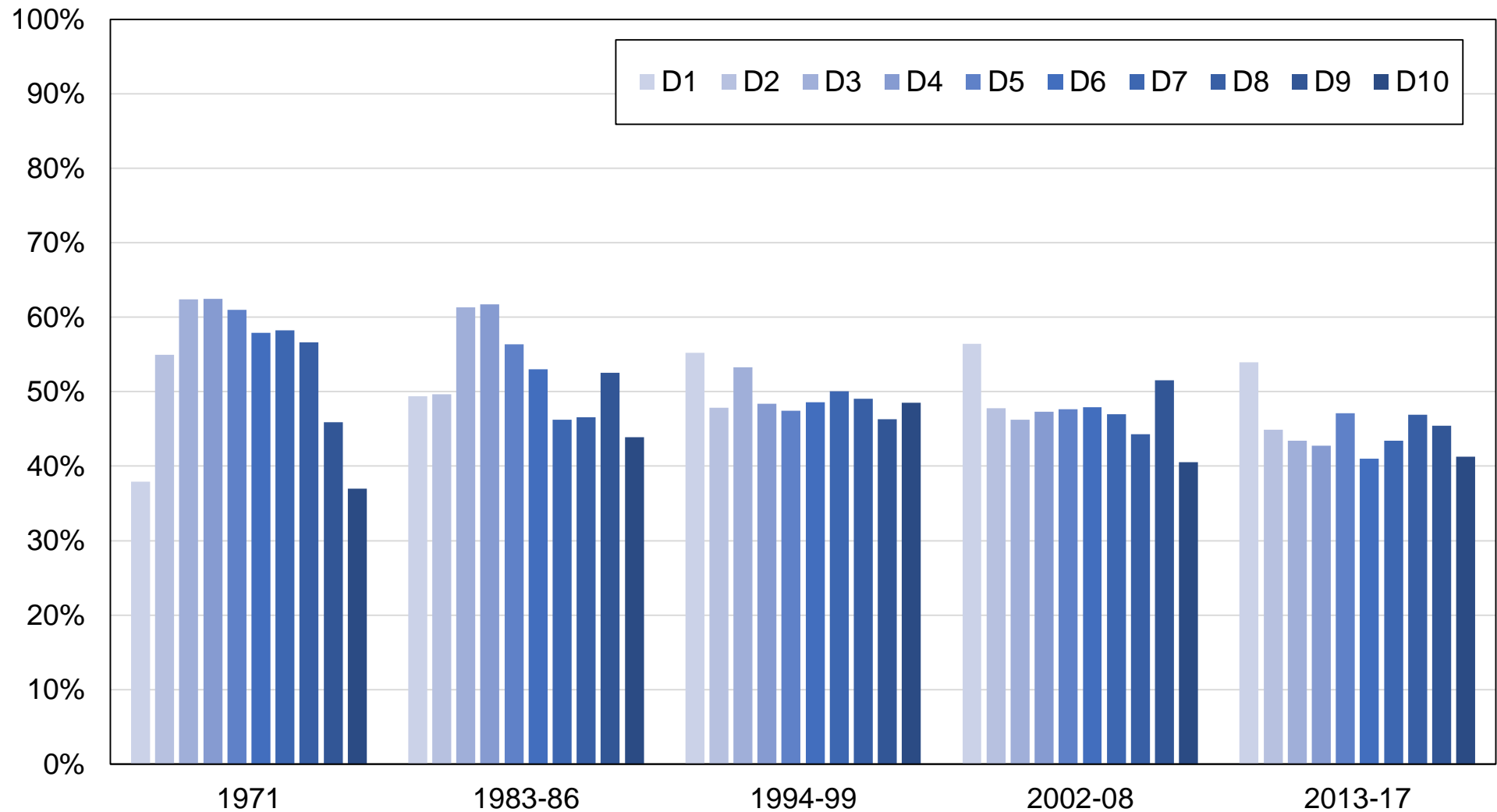
**Figure DB2 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by education group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by education group.

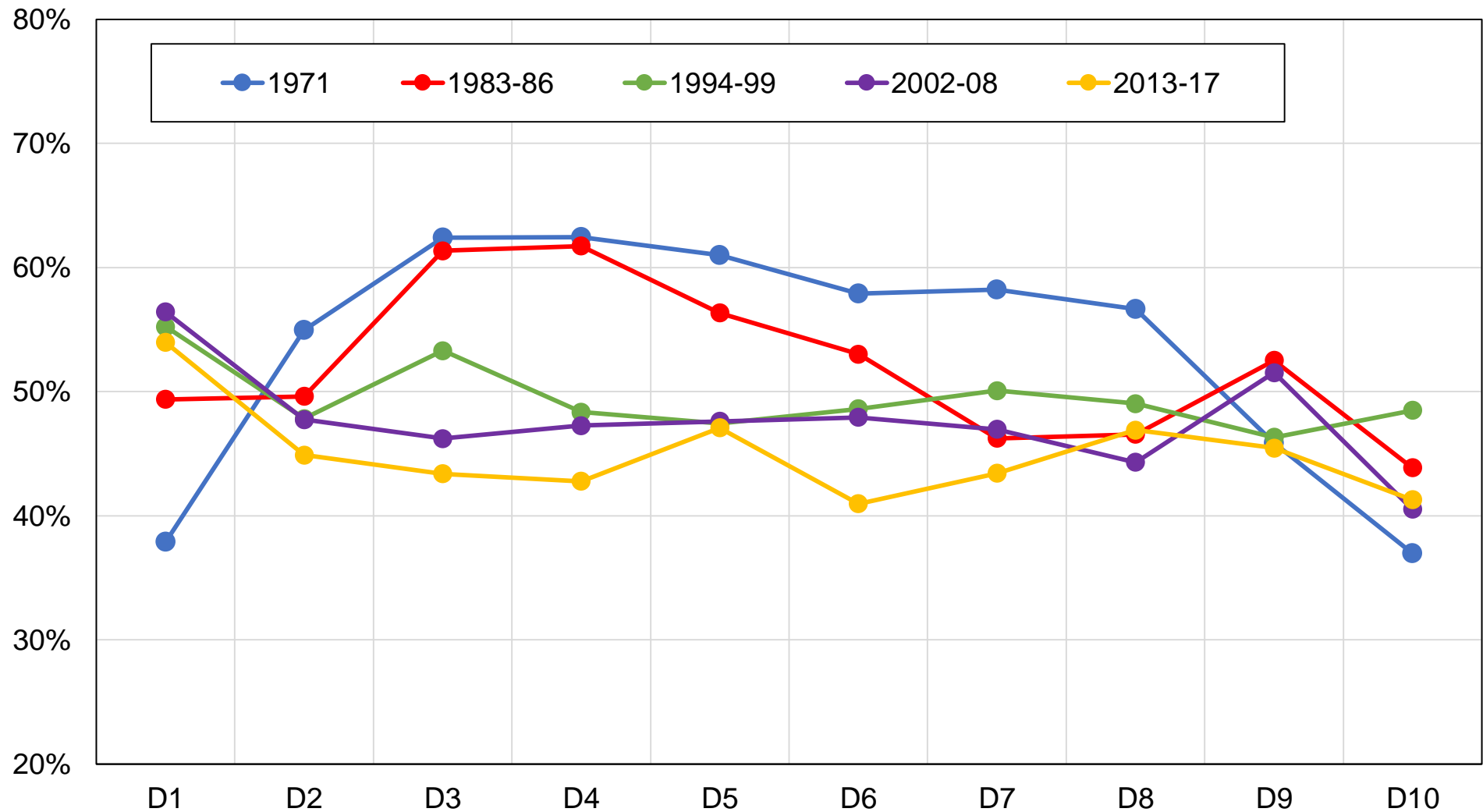
**Figure DB3 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by income decile**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by income decile.

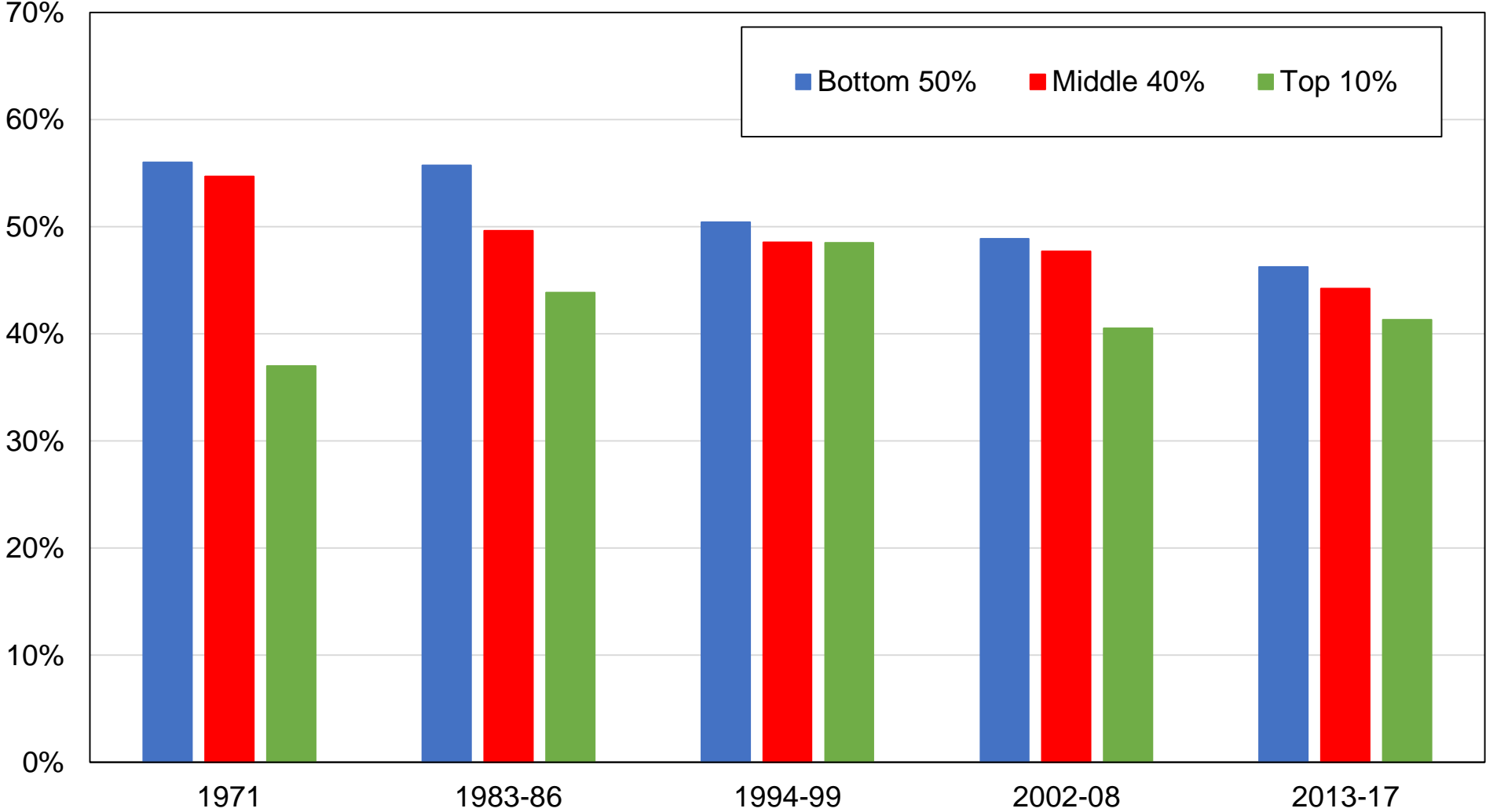
Figure DB3b - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by income decile



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by income decile.

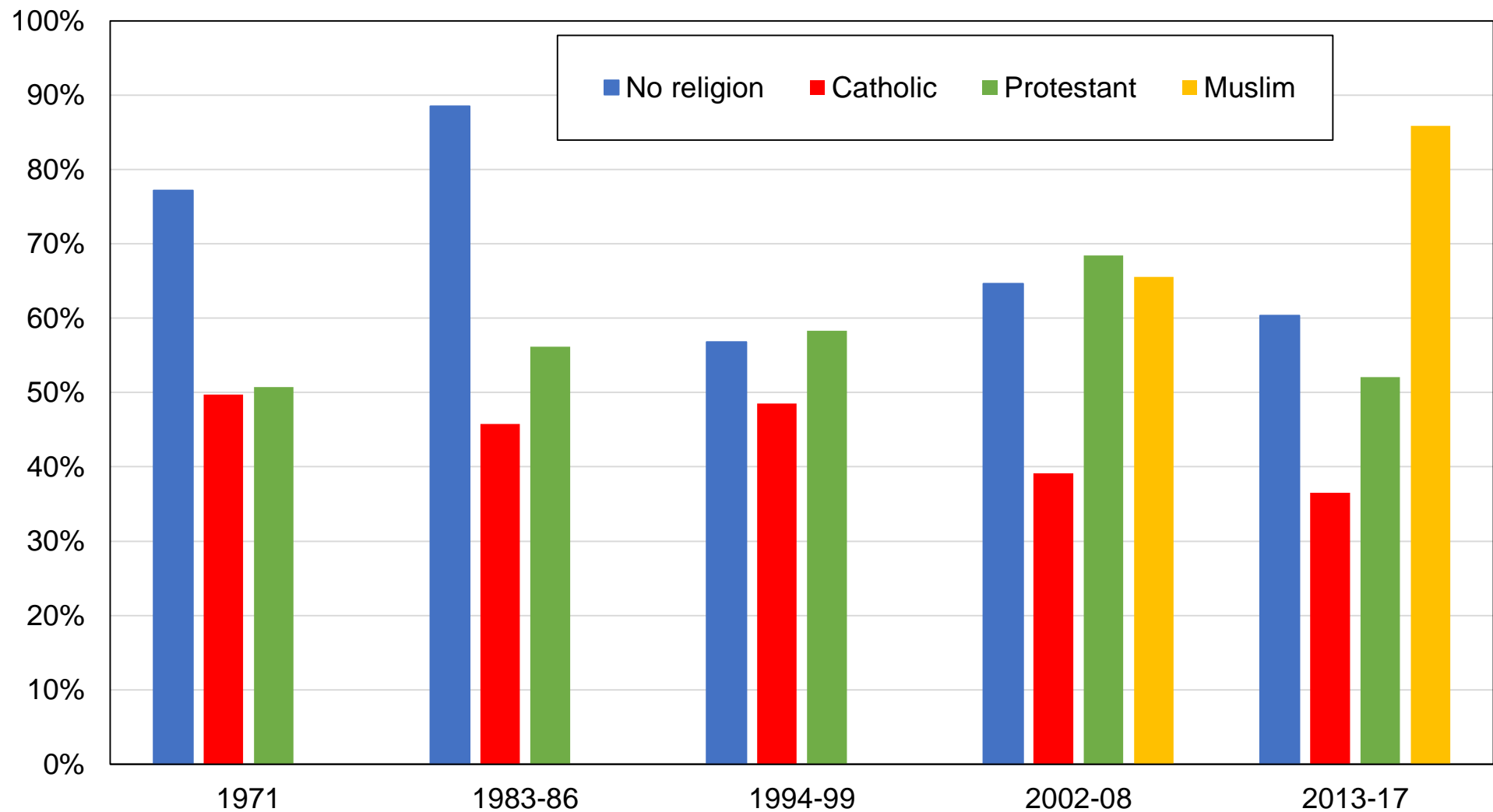
**Figure DB4 - Vote SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by income group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by income group.

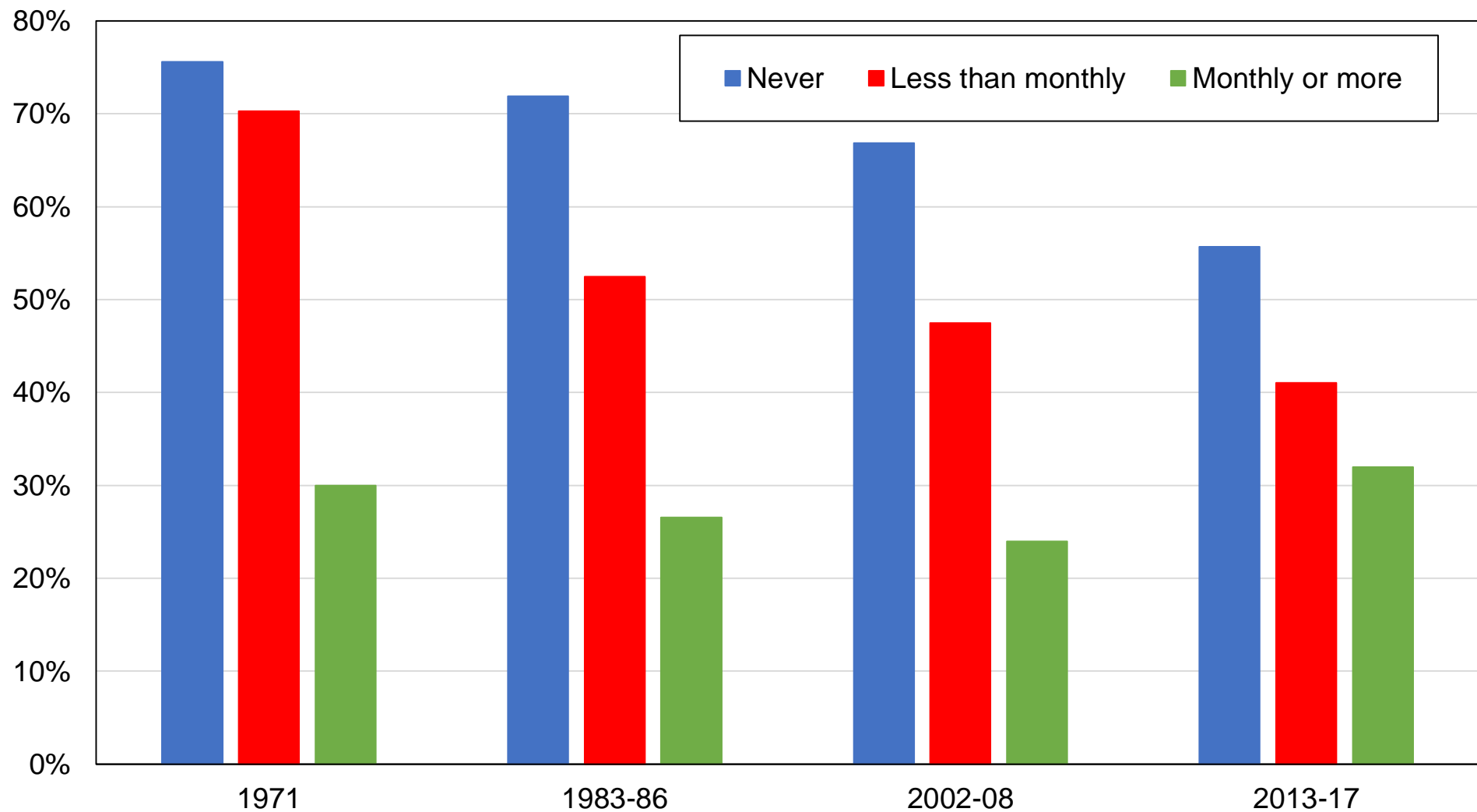
**Figure DB5 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by religious affiliation**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by religious affiliation.

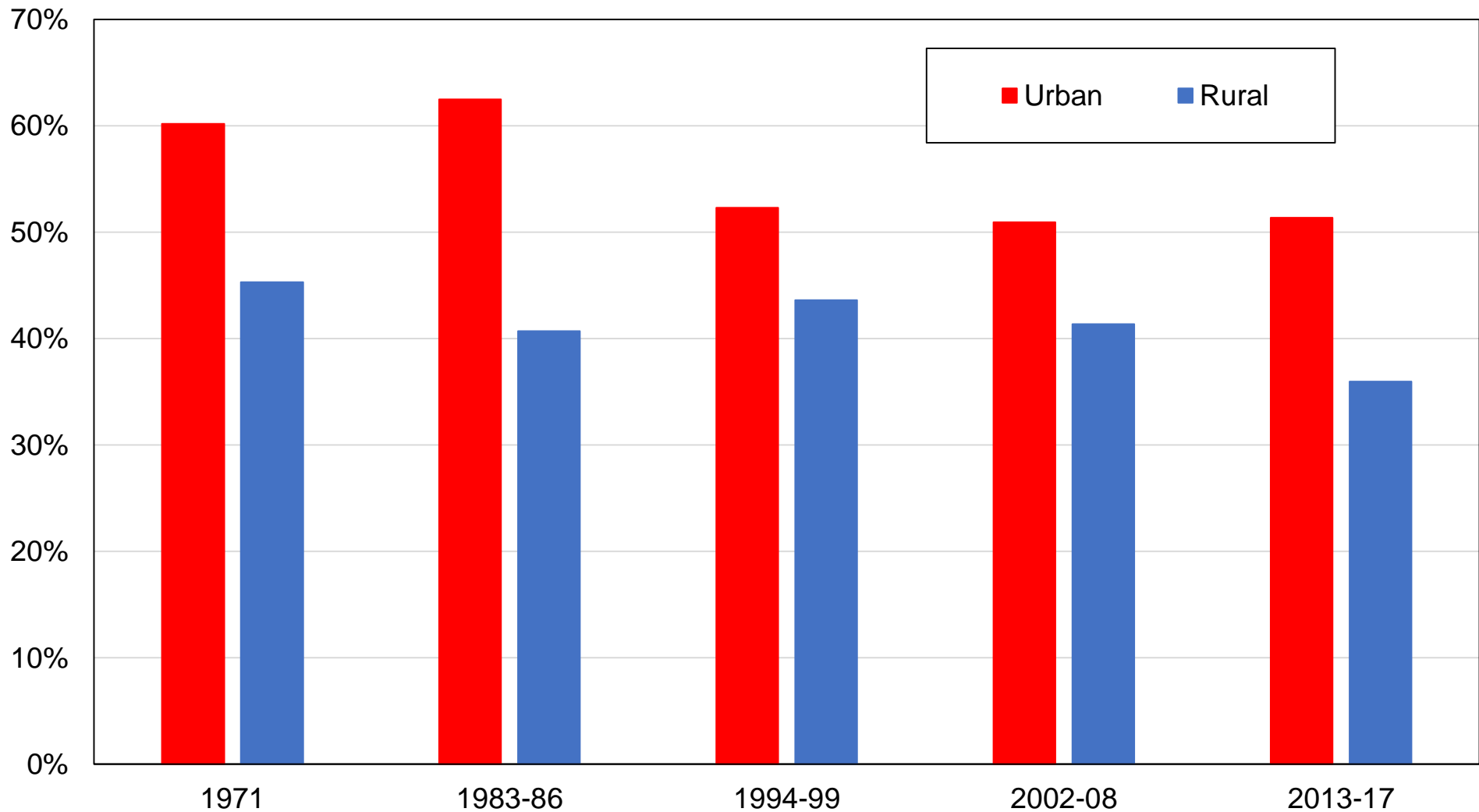
**Figure DB6 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by church attendance**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by frequency of church attendance.

**Figure DB7 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by location**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by rural-urban location.



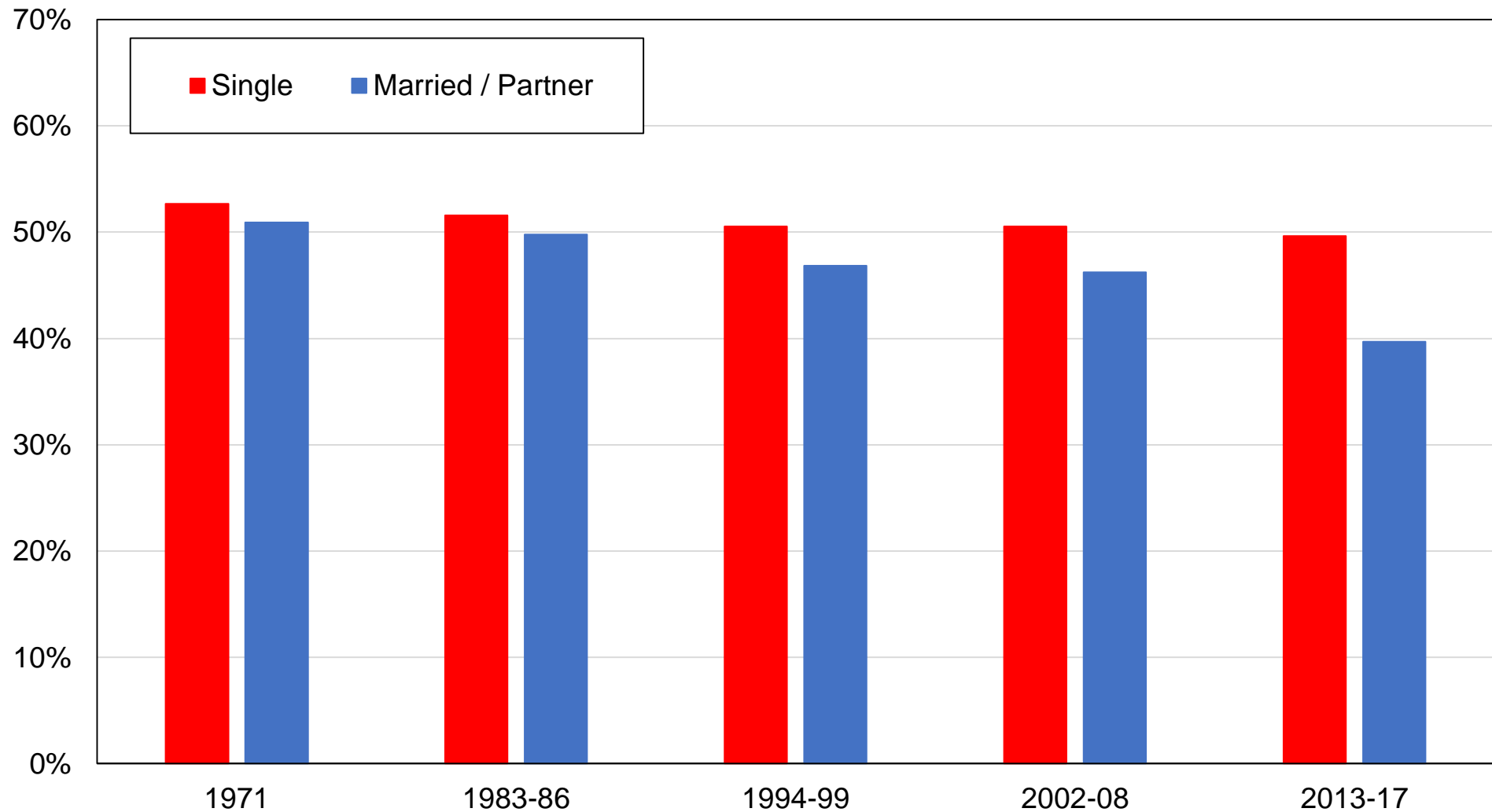
**Figure DB8 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by gender**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by gender.

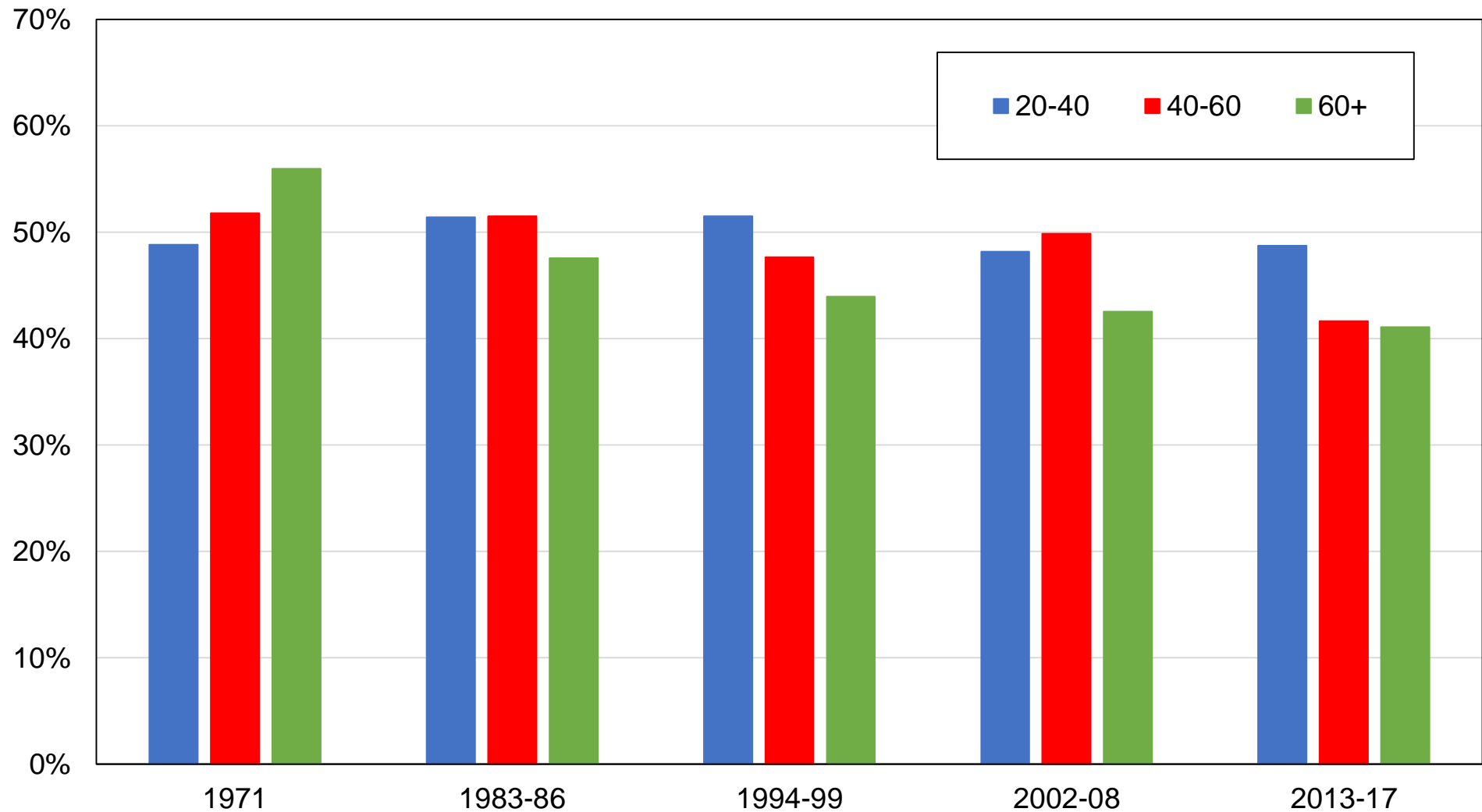
**Figure DB9 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by marital status**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by marital status.

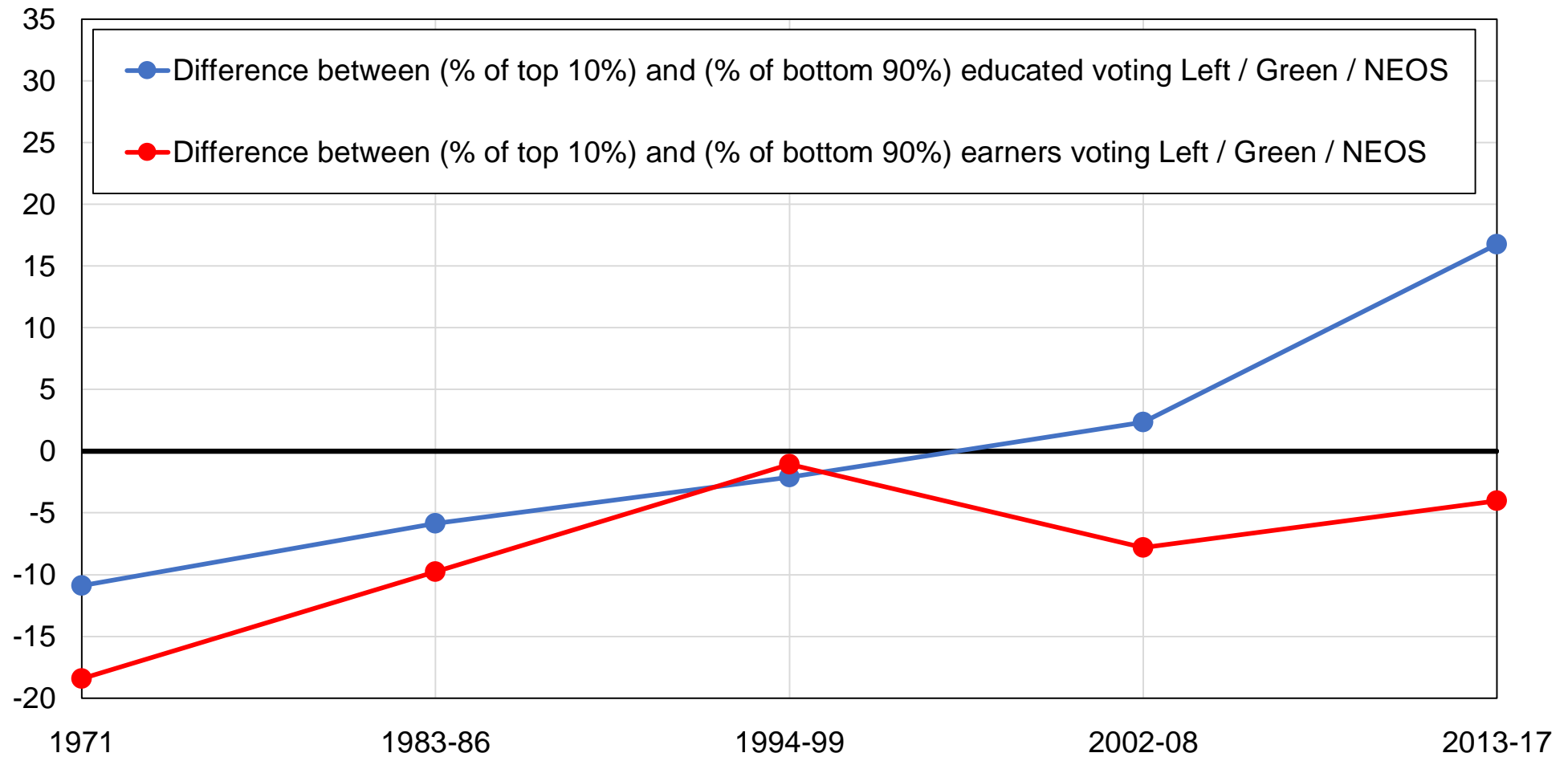
**Figure DB10 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by age**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by age group.

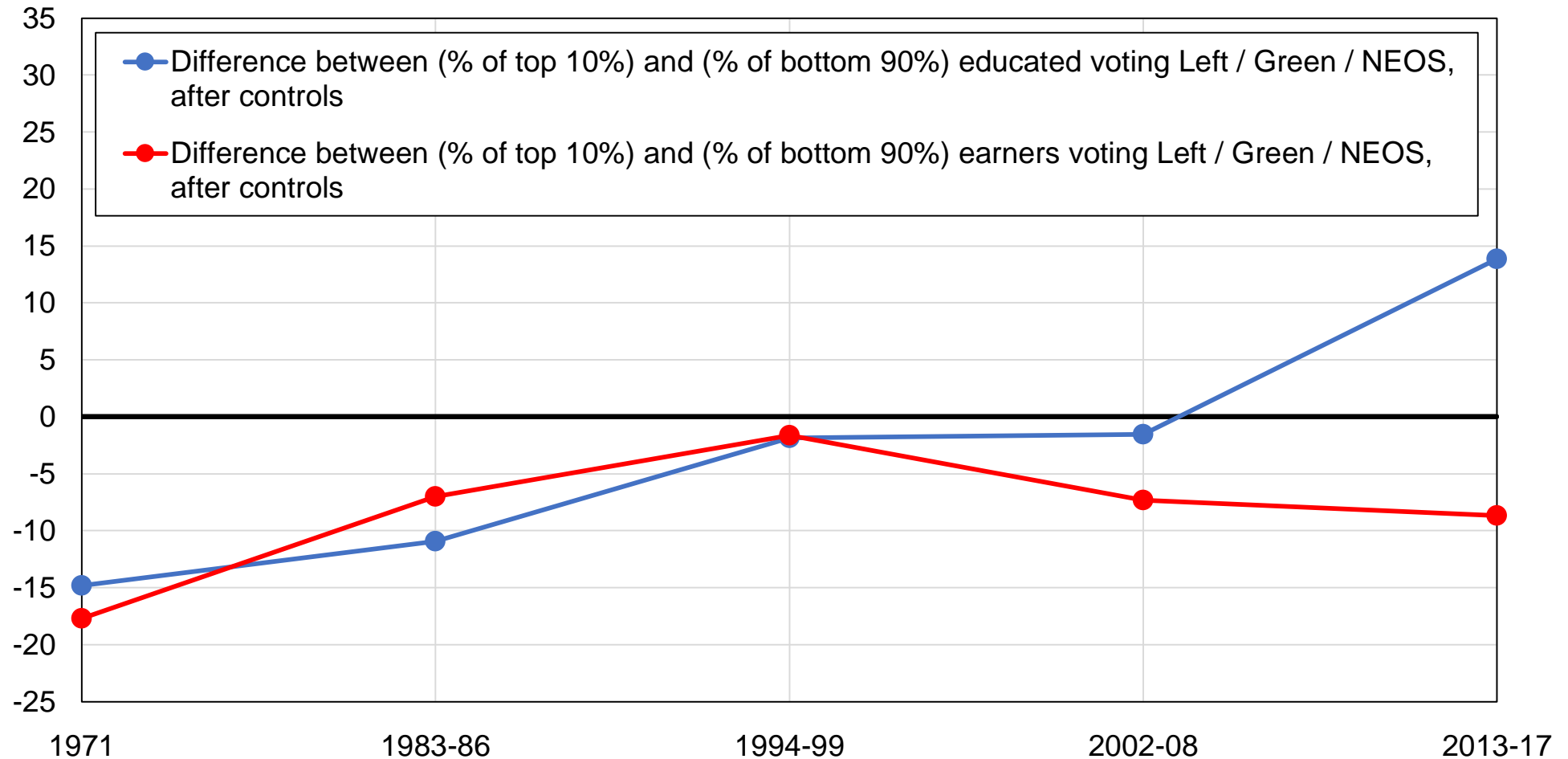
**Figure DC1 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS among highest-educated and top-income voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the support for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS among highest-educated and top-income voters.

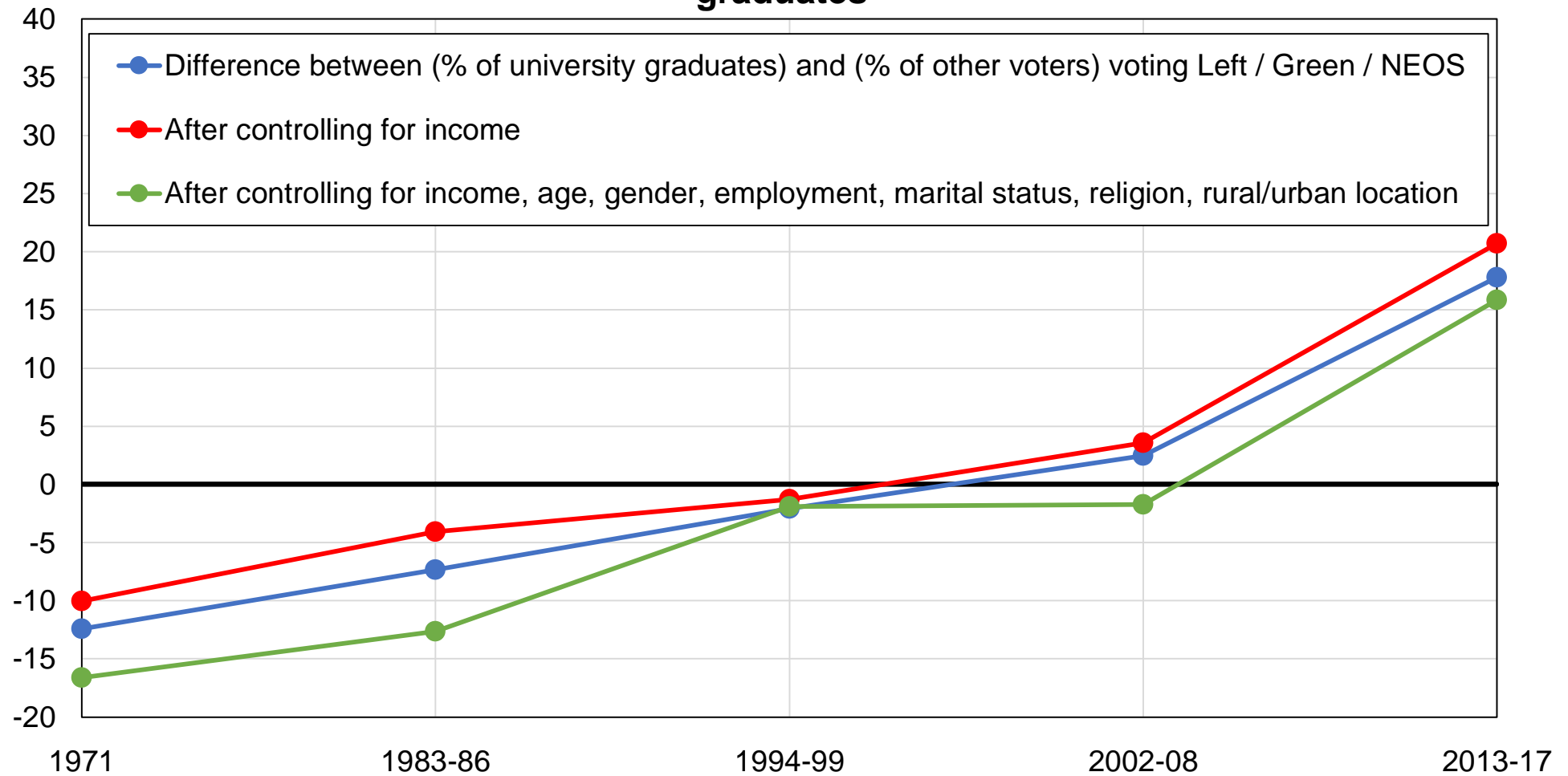
**Figure DC2 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controls**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the support for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controlling for other variables.

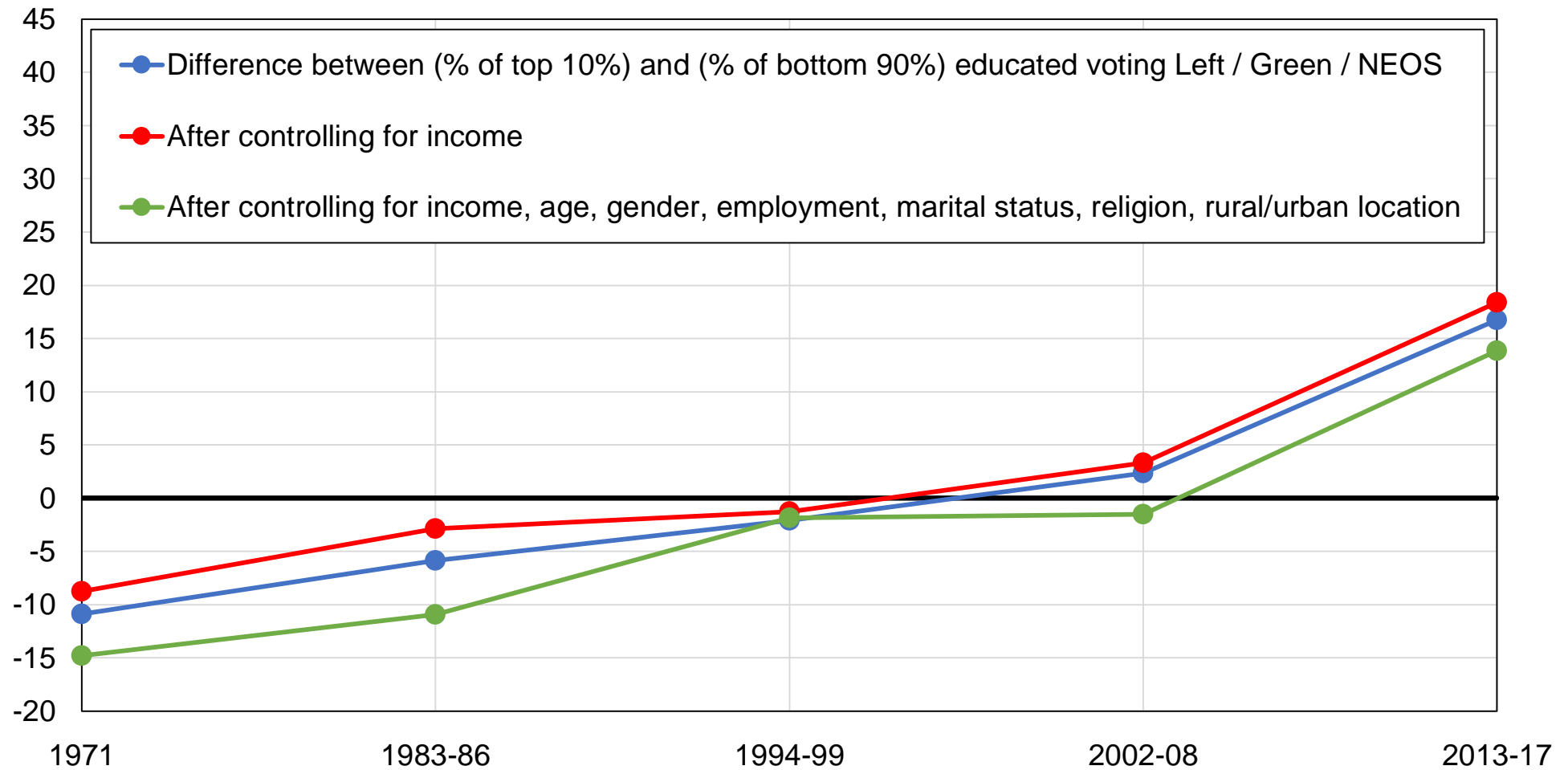
**Figure DC3 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS among university graduates**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters voting for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS, before and after controlling for other variables.

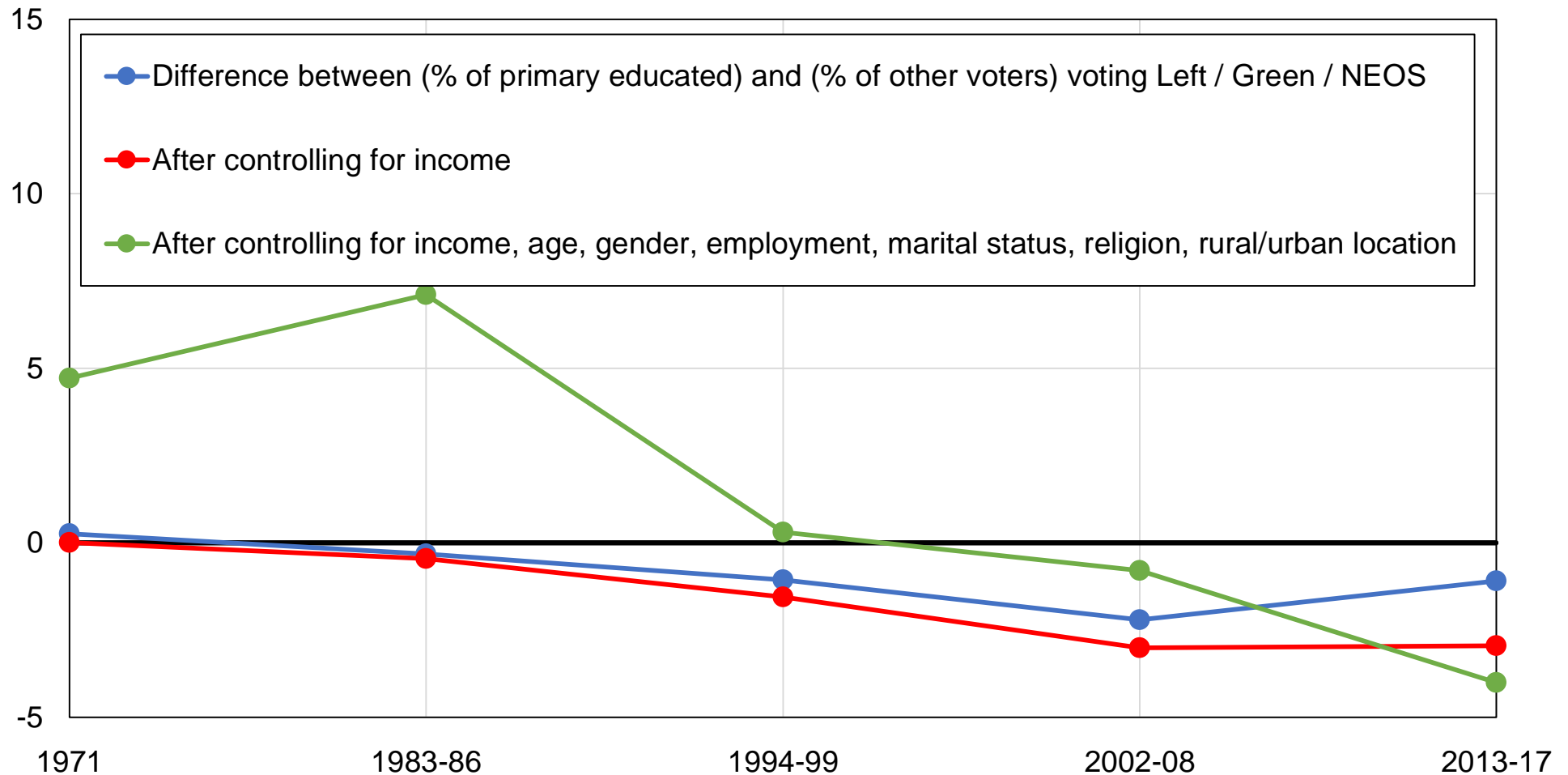
**Figure DC4 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS among highest-educated voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of other voters voting for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS, before and after controlling for other variables.

**Figure DC5 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS among primary-educated voters**

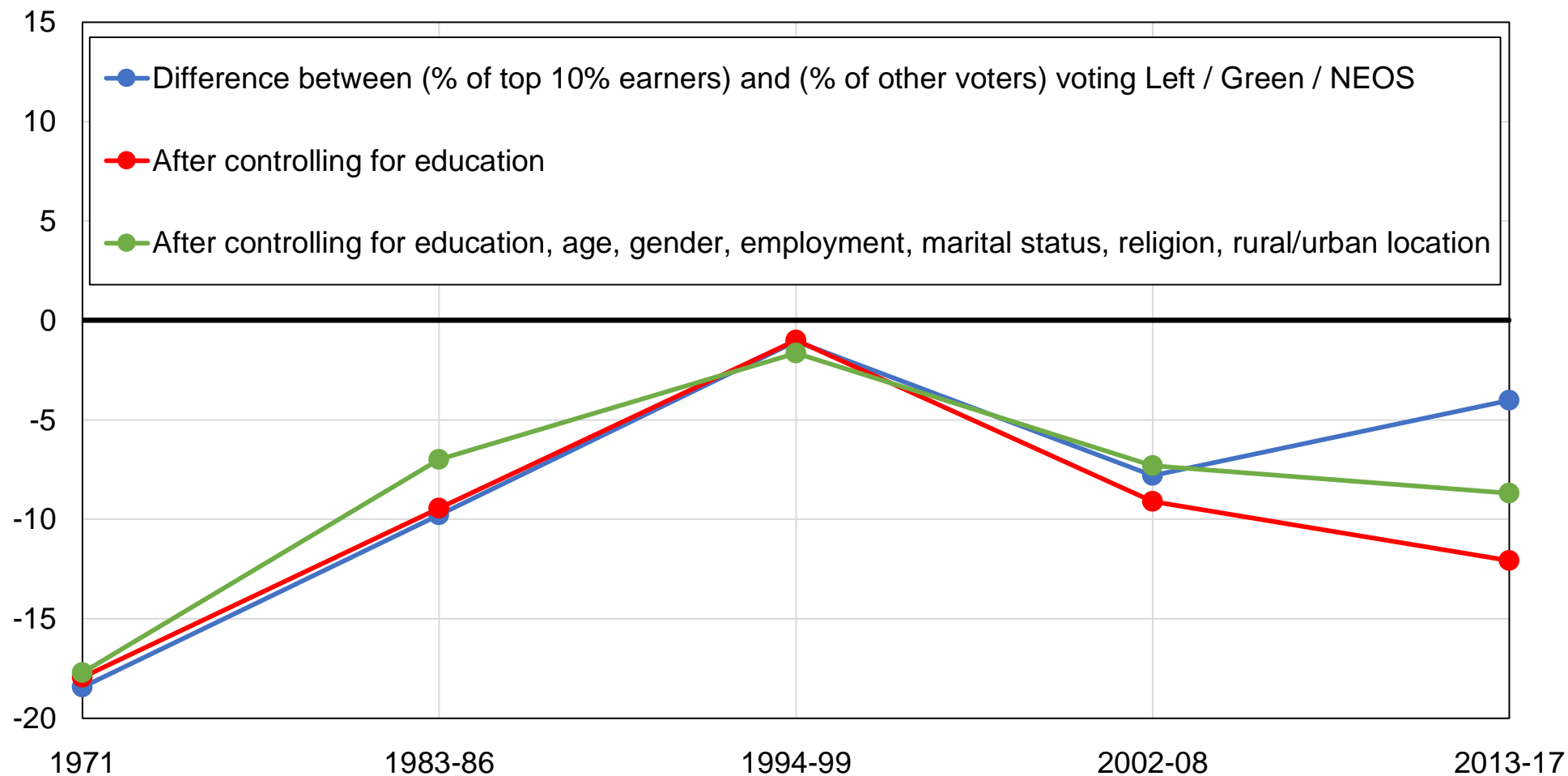


**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of primary educated voters and the share of other voters voting for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS, before and after controlling for other variables.



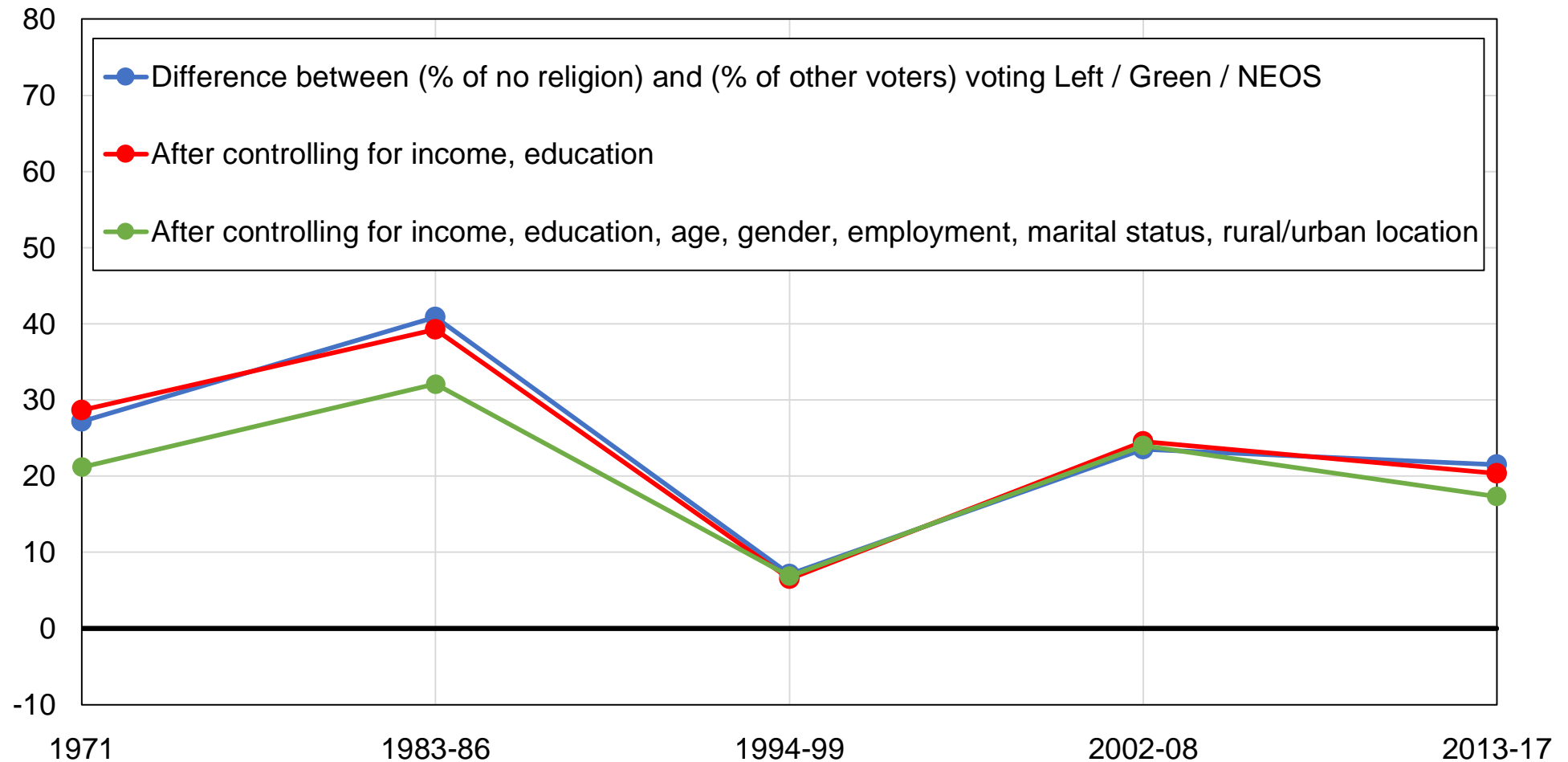
**Figure DC6 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS among top-income voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS, before and after controlling for other variables.

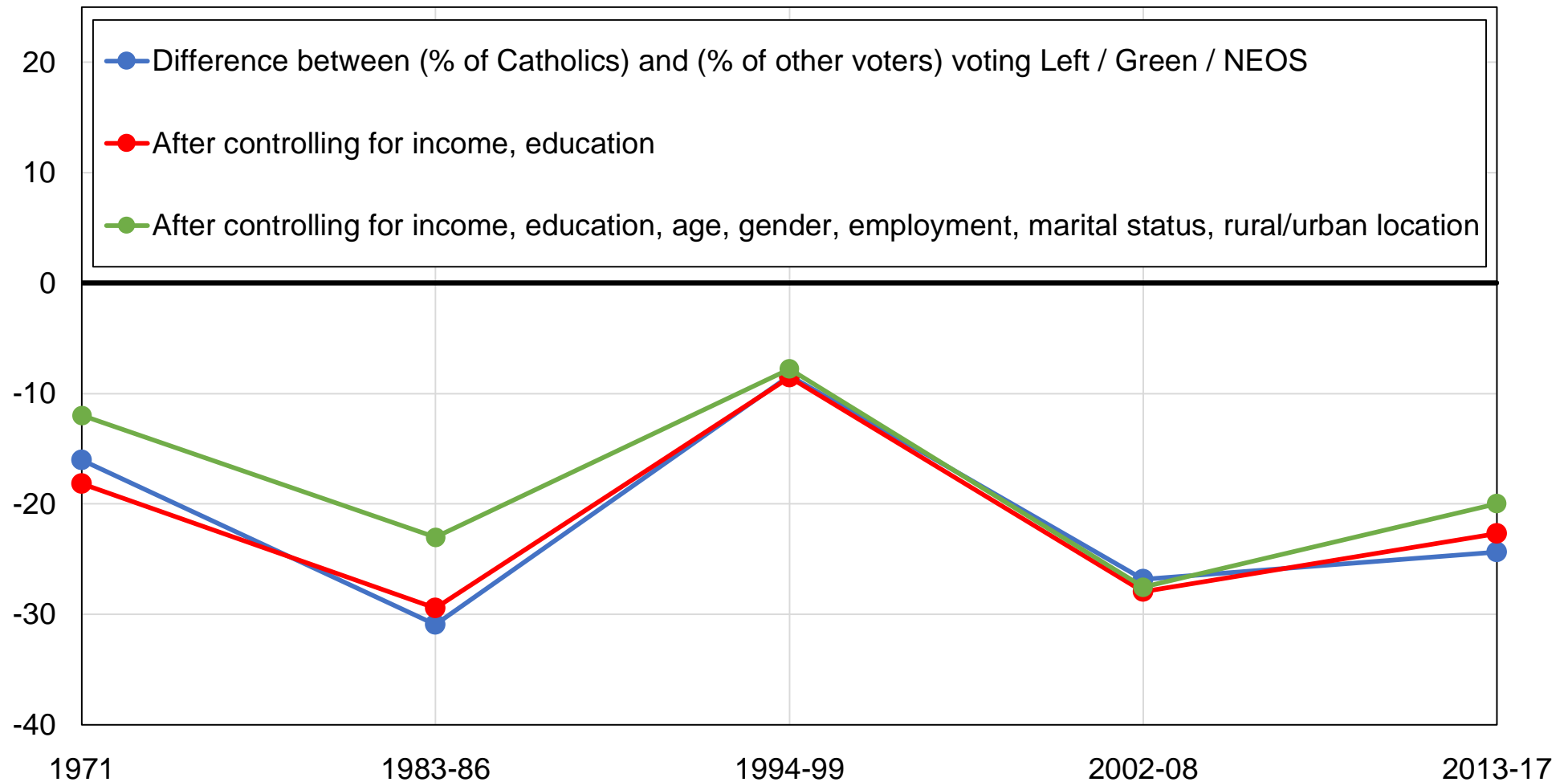
**Figure DC7 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS among voters with no religion**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of voters declaring no religion and the share of other voters voting for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS, before and after controlling for other variables.

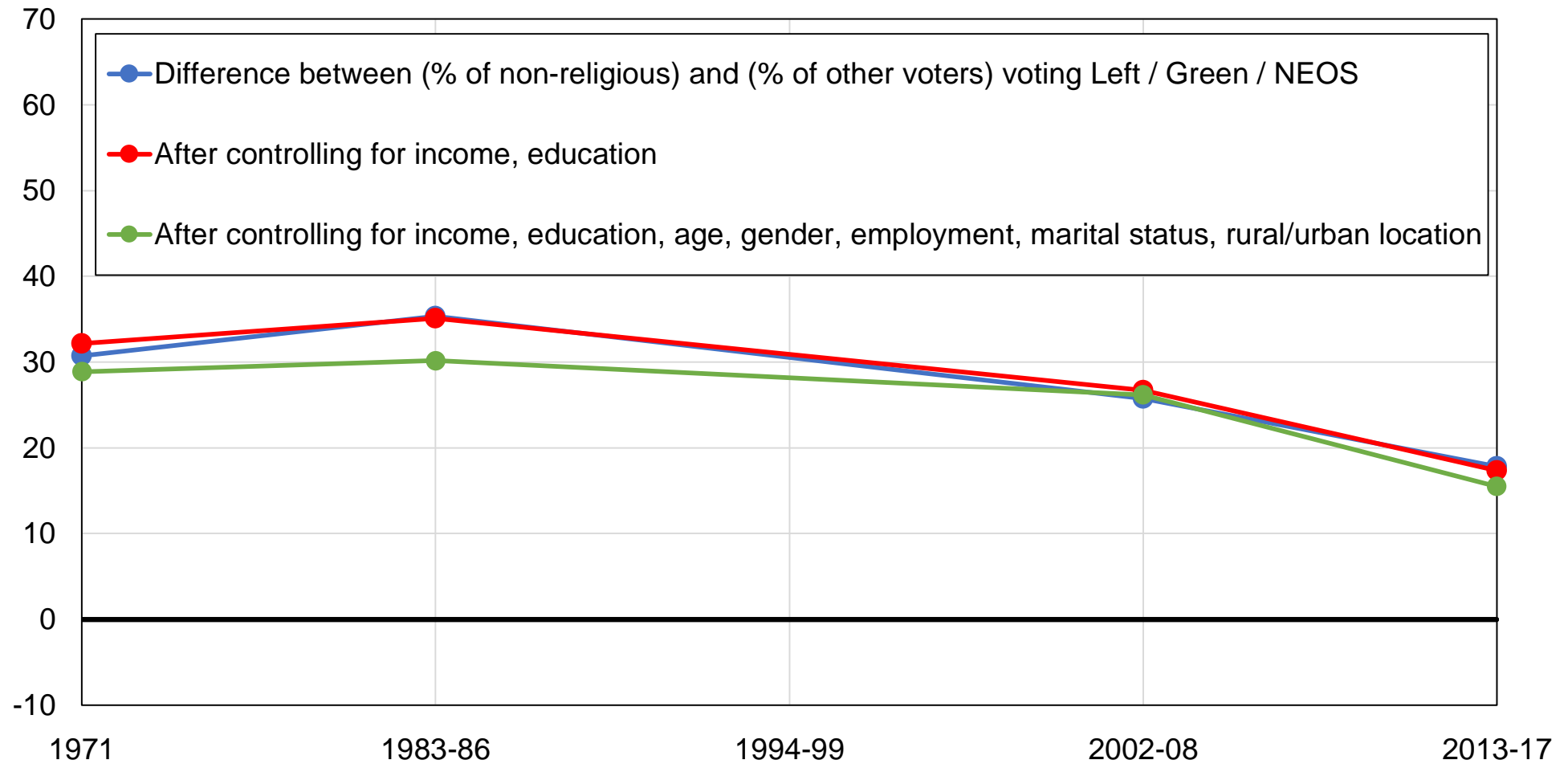
**Figure DC8 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS among Catholics**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of Catholic voters and the share of other voters voting for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS, before and after controlling for other variables.

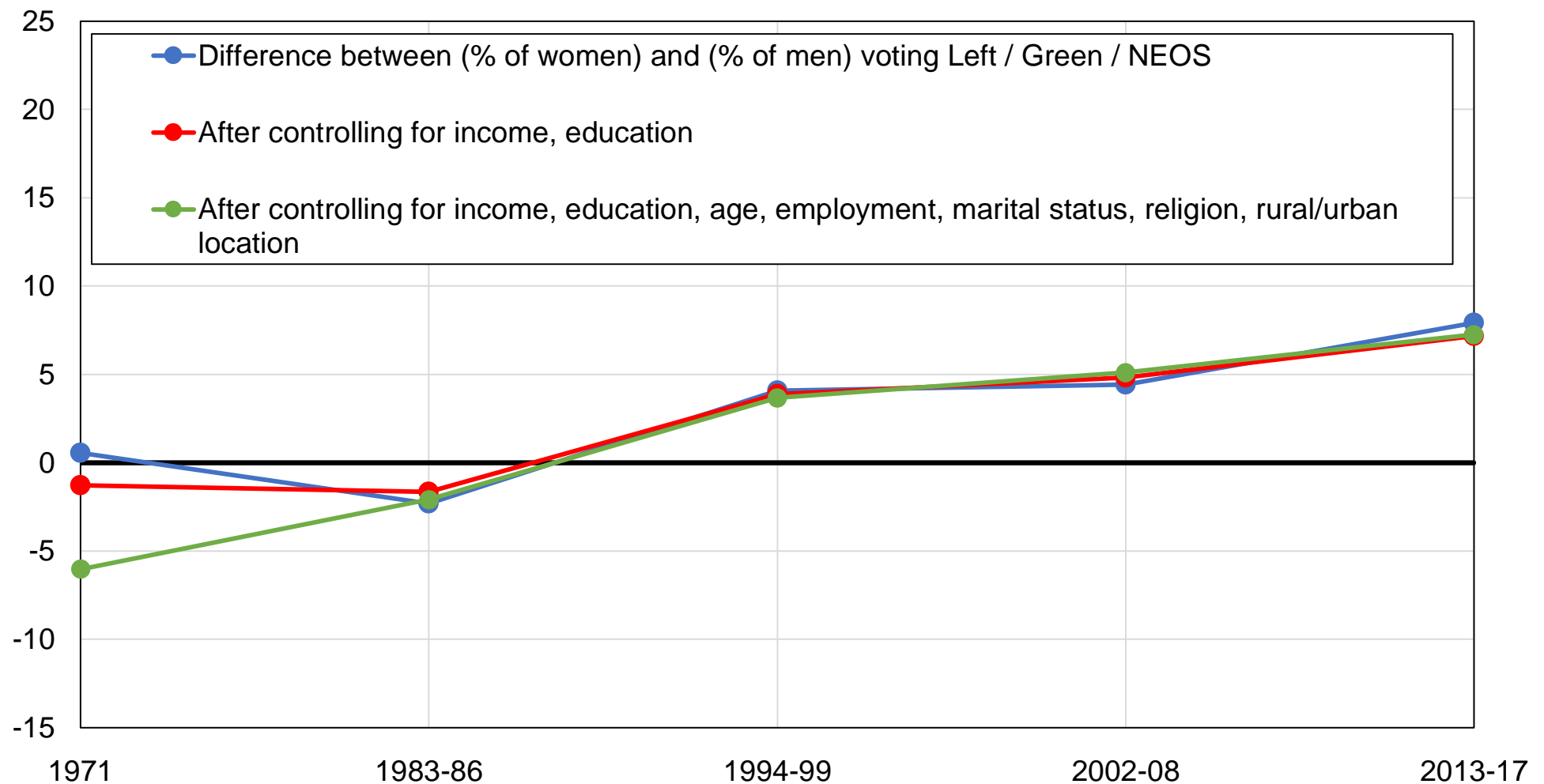
**Figure DC9 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS among non-religious voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of voters never going to church and the share of other voters voting for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS, before and after controlling for other variables.

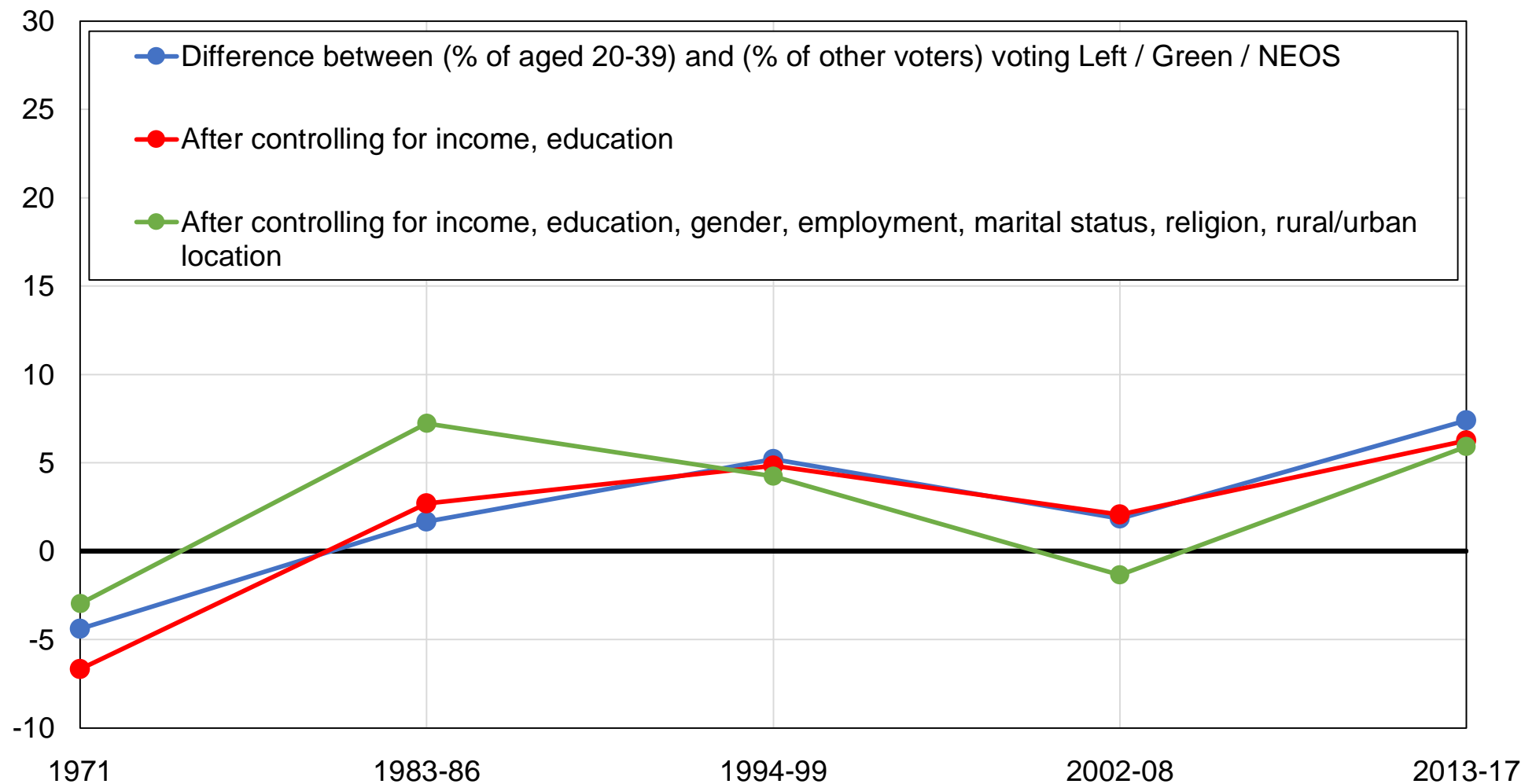
**Figure DC10 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS among women**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS, before and after controlling for other variables.

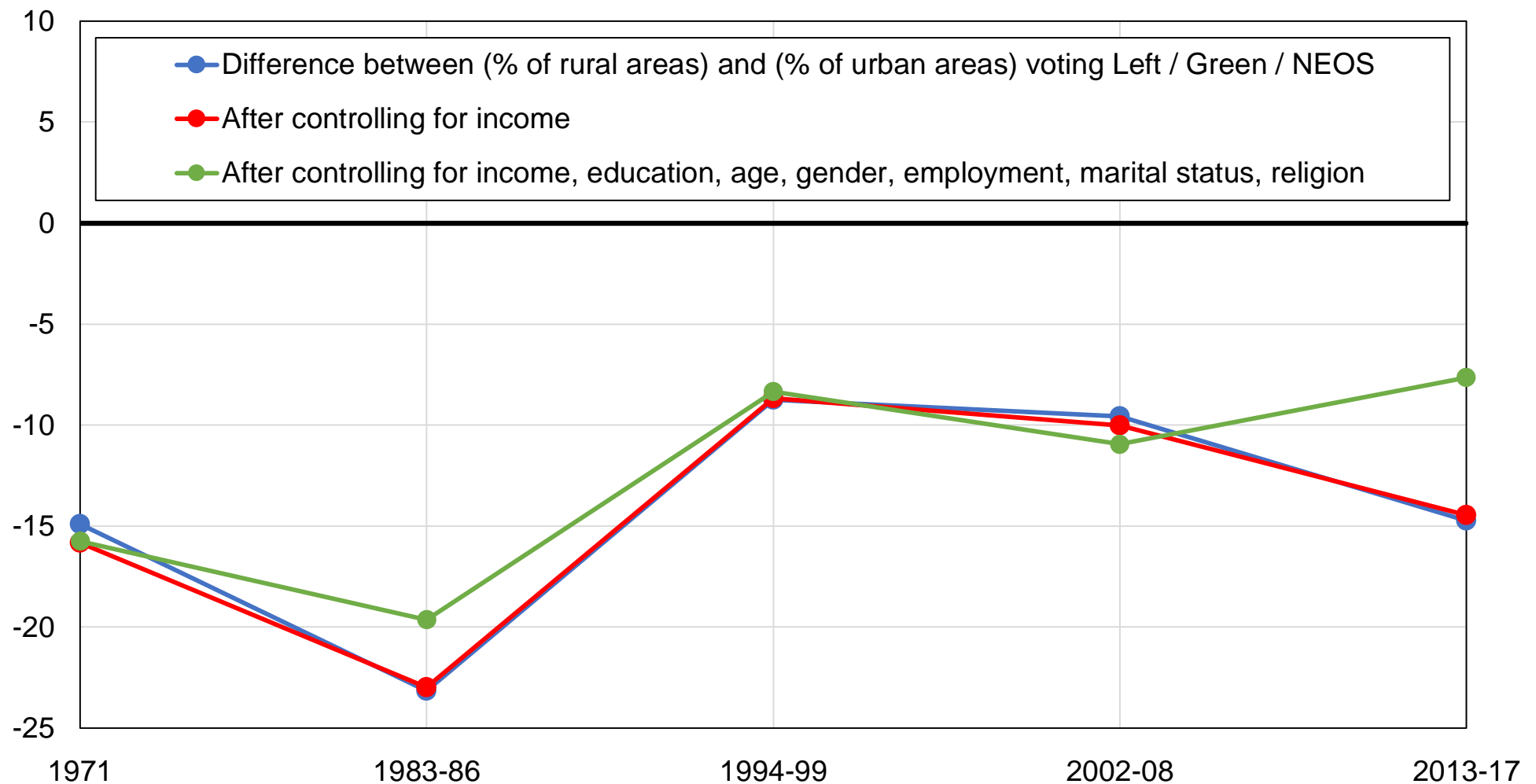
**Figure DC11 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS among young voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of voters aged 20-39 and the share of voters older than 40 voting for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS, before and after controlling for other variables.

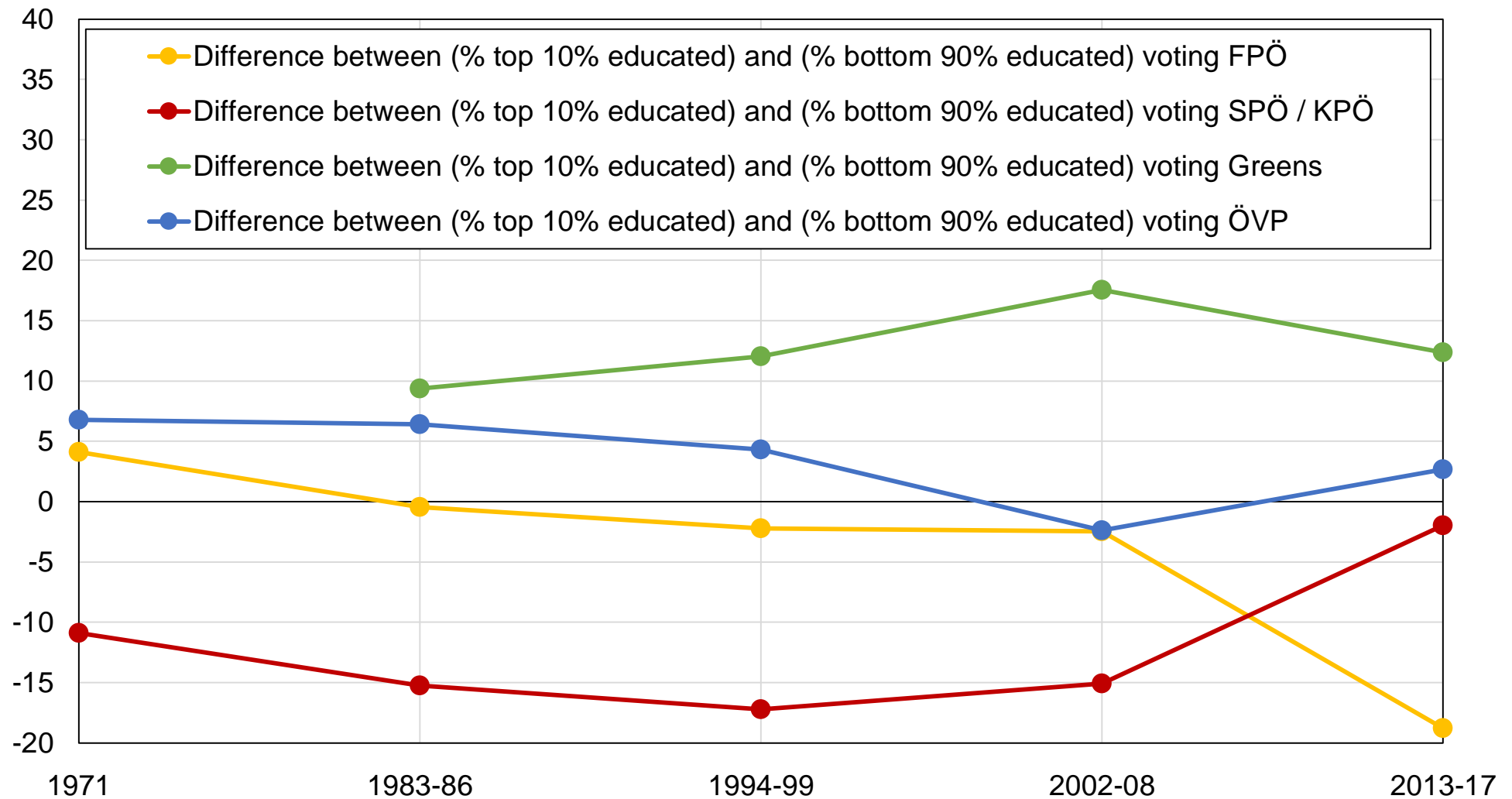
**Figure DC12 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS among rural areas**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of rural areas and the share of urban areas voting for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS, before and after controlling for other variables.

**Figure DC13 - The education cleavage in Austria**

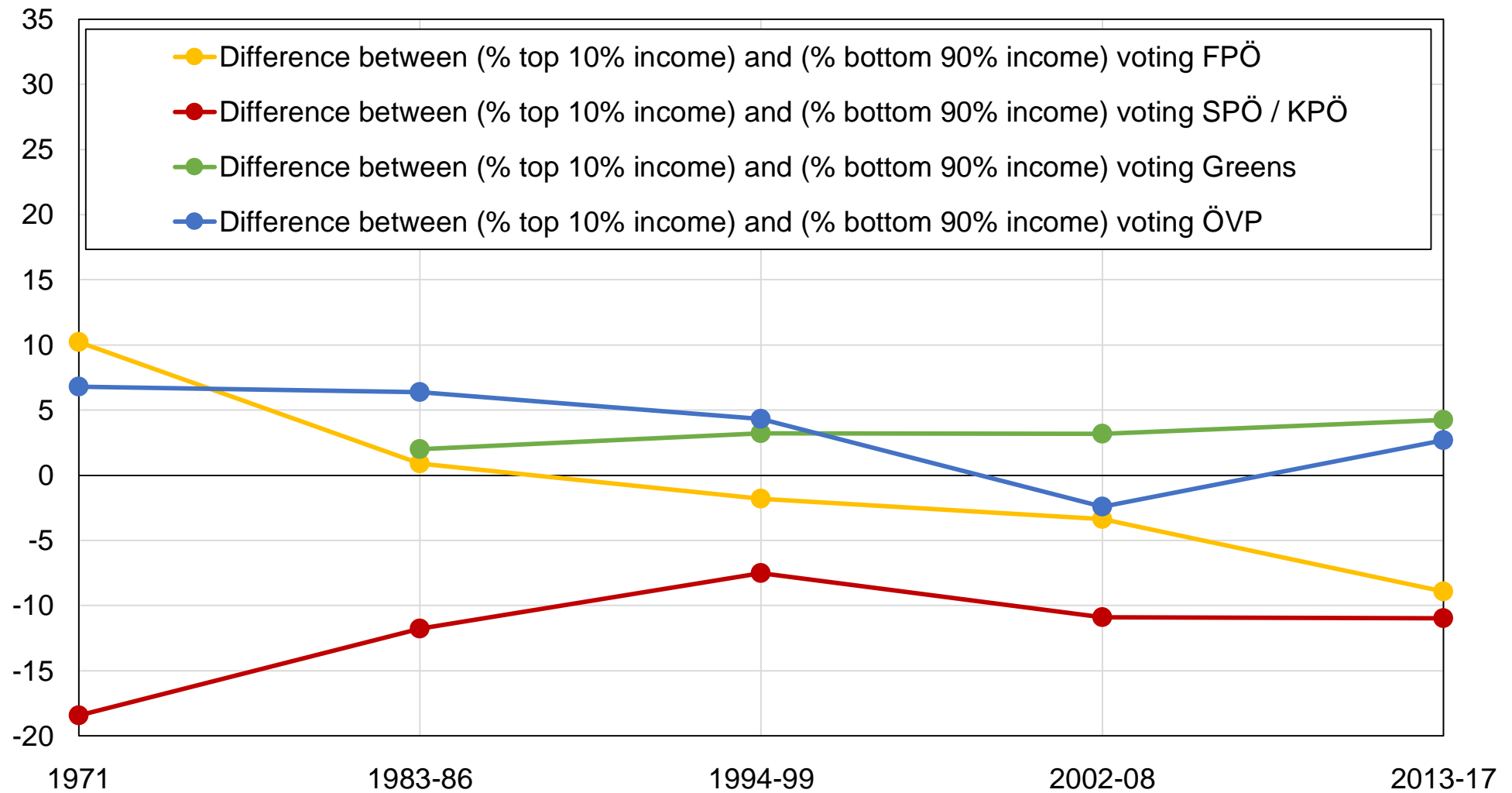


**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the bias of highest-educated voters towards the FPÖ, SPÖ/KPÖ, Greens, and ÖVP.



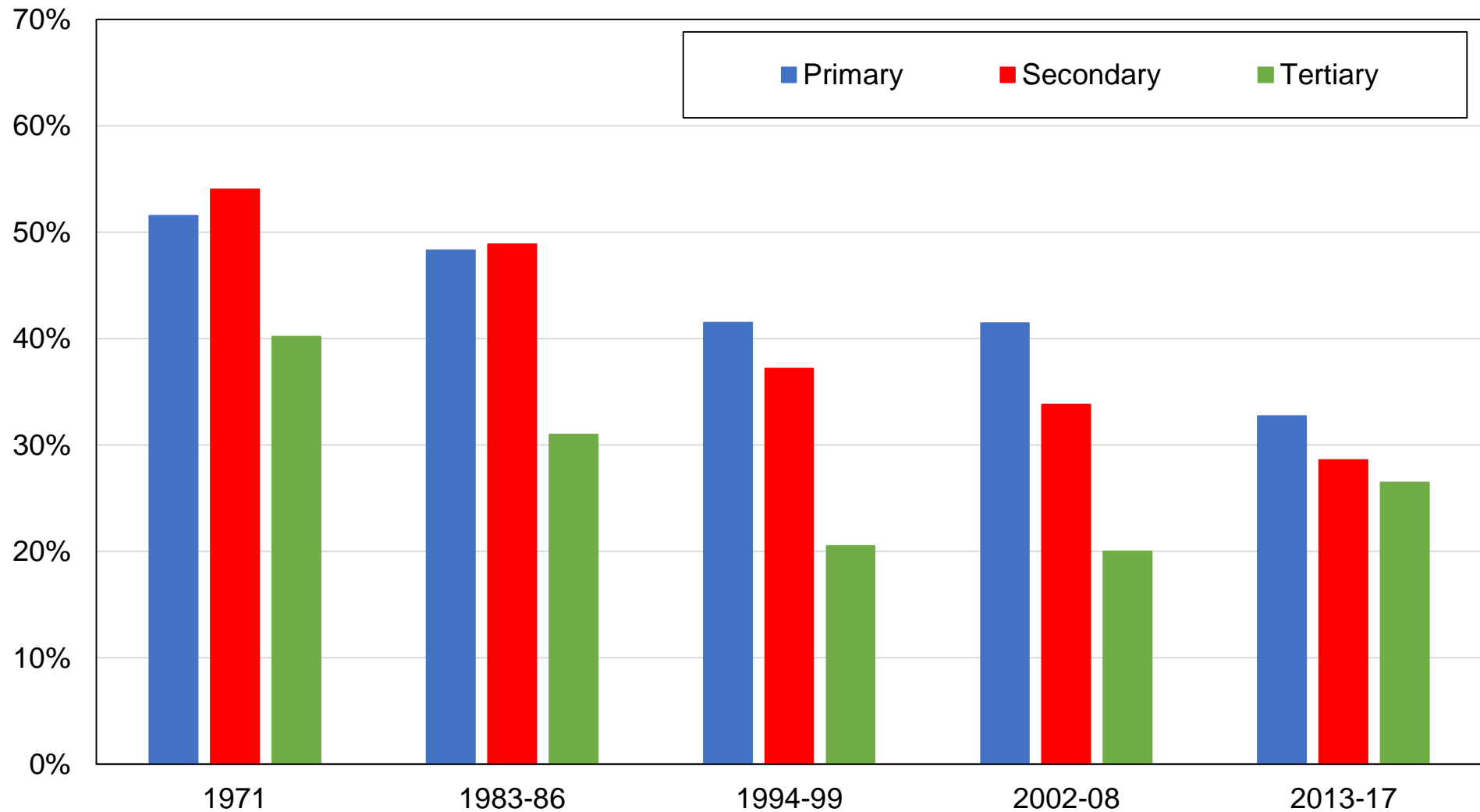
**Figure DC14 - The income cleavage in Austria**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the bias of top-income voters towards the FPÖ, SPÖ/KPÖ, Greens, and ÖVP.

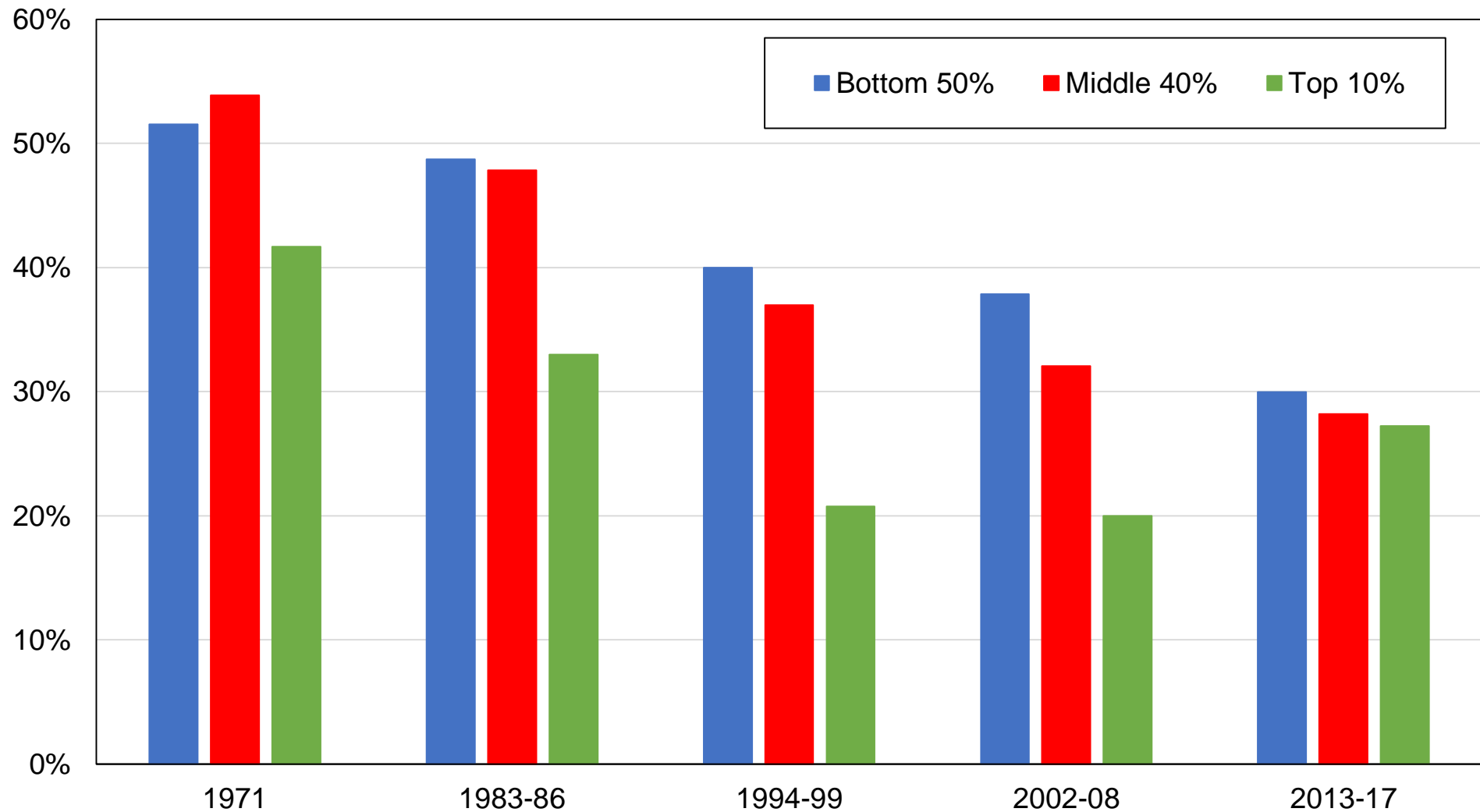
**Figure DD1 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ by education level**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the SPÖ / KPÖ by education level.

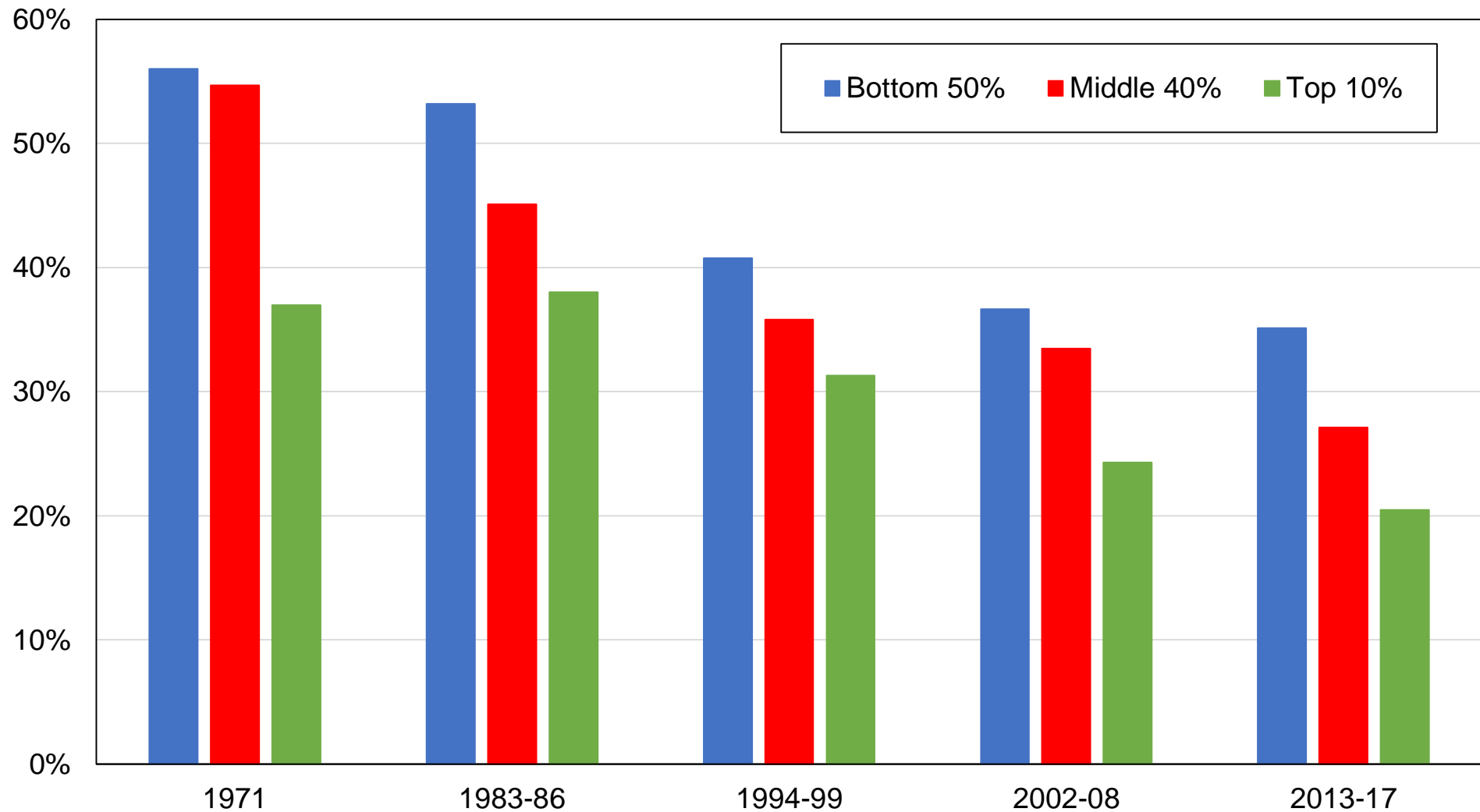
**Figure DD2 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ by education group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the SPÖ / KPÖ by education group.

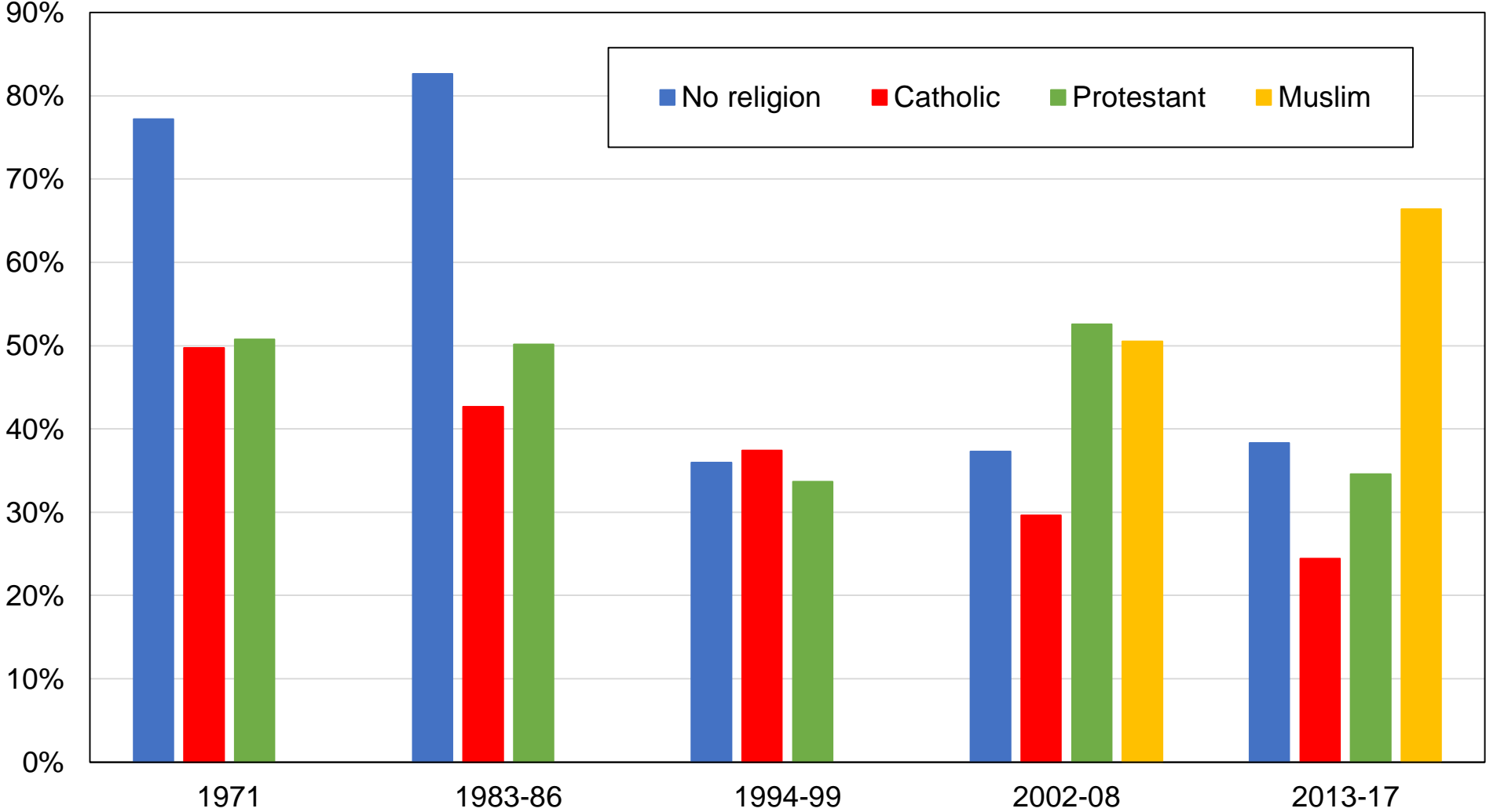
Figure DD3 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ by income group



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the SPÖ / KPÖ by income group.

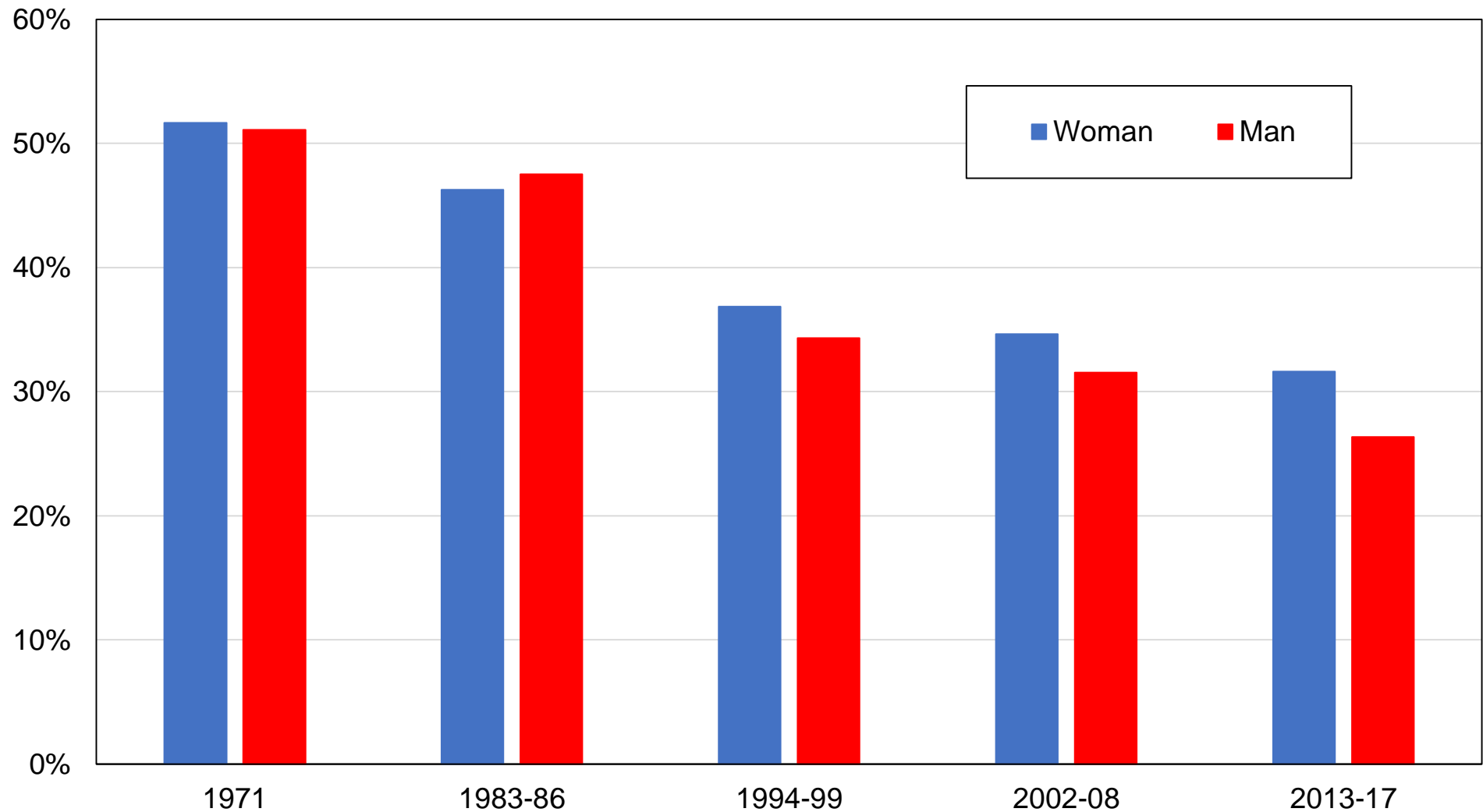
Figure DD4 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ by religious affiliation



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the SPÖ / KPÖ by religious affiliation.

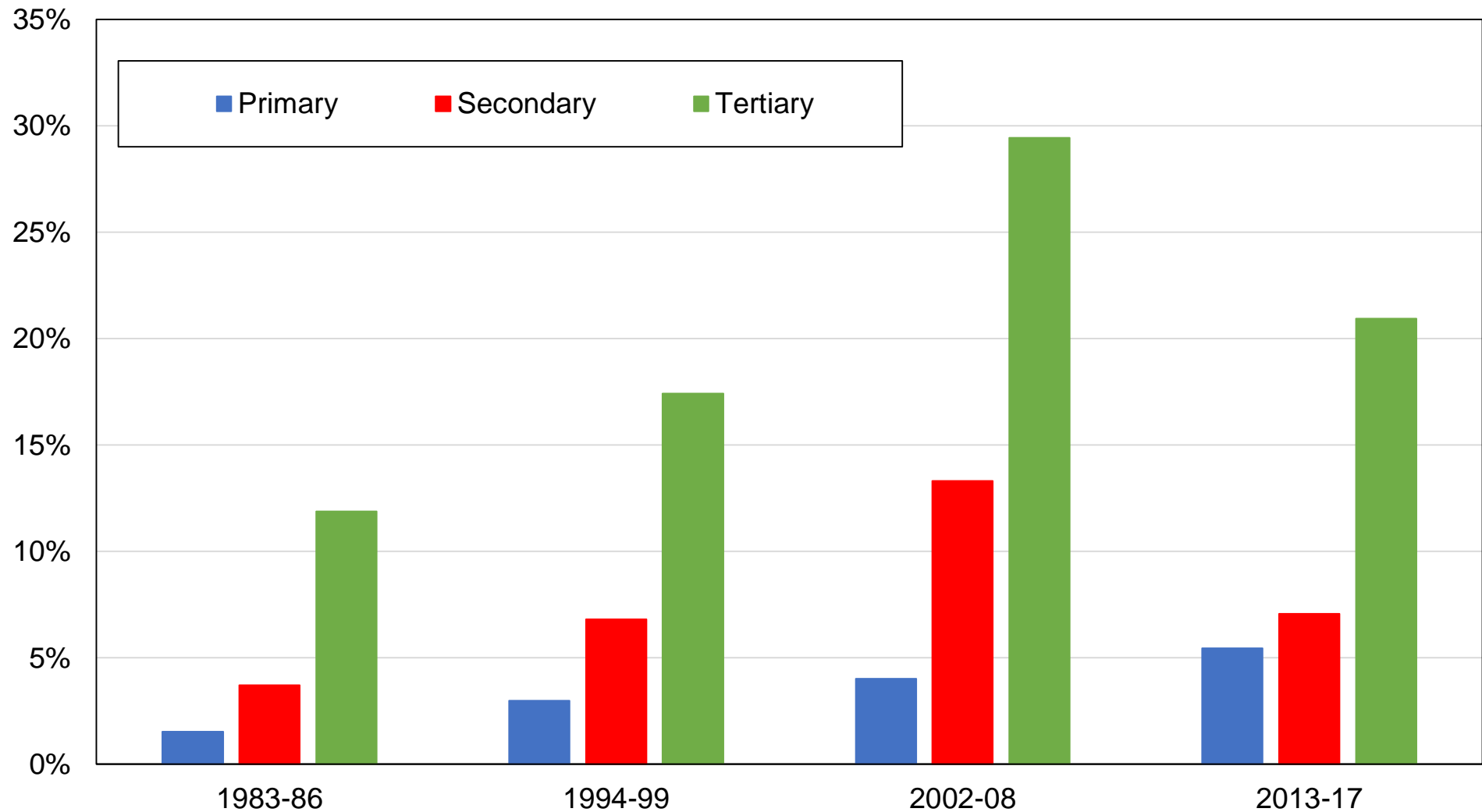
Figure DD5 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ by gender



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the SPÖ / KPÖ by gender.

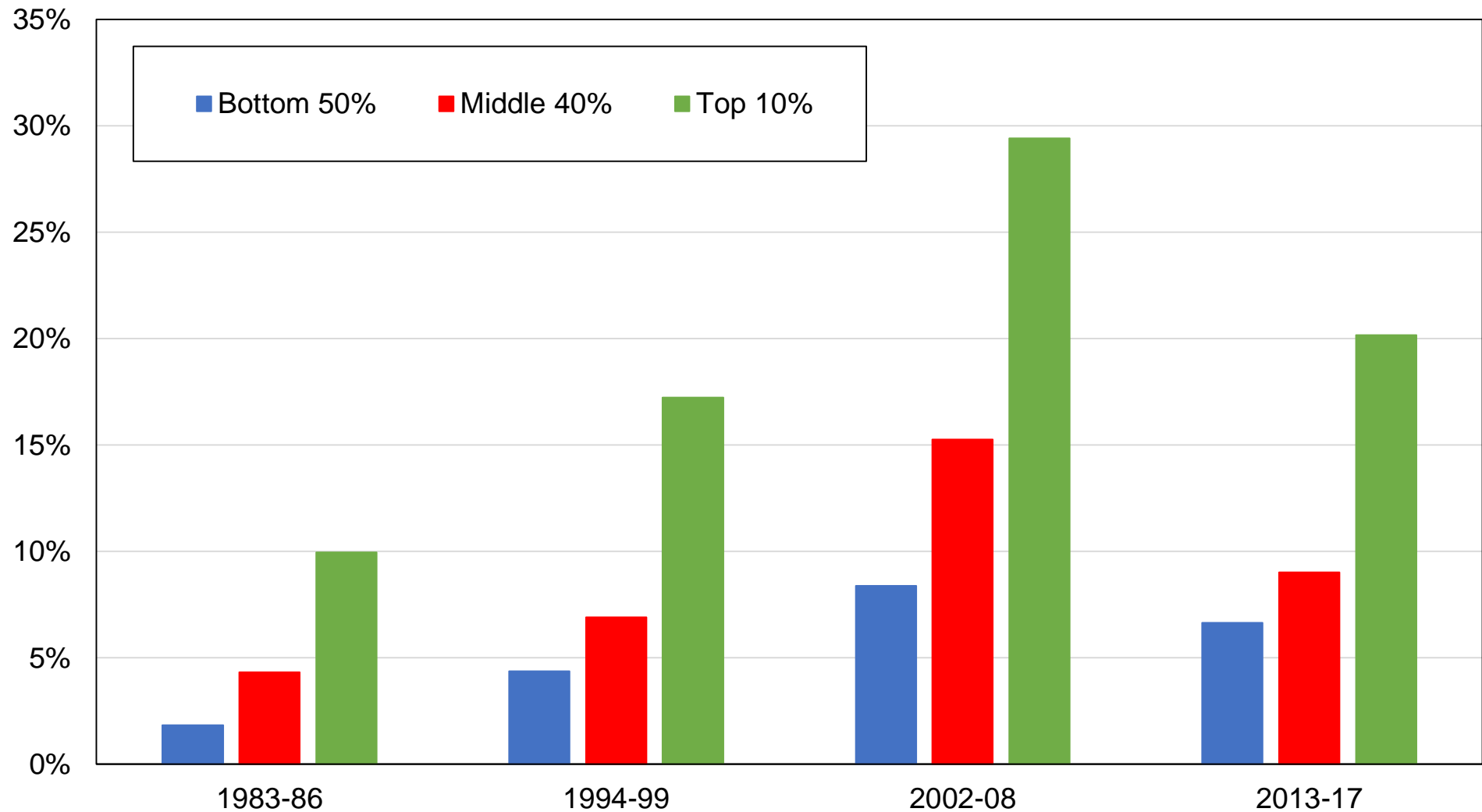
**Figure DD6 - Vote for Greens by education level**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Greens by education level.

**Figure DD7 - Vote for Greens by education group**

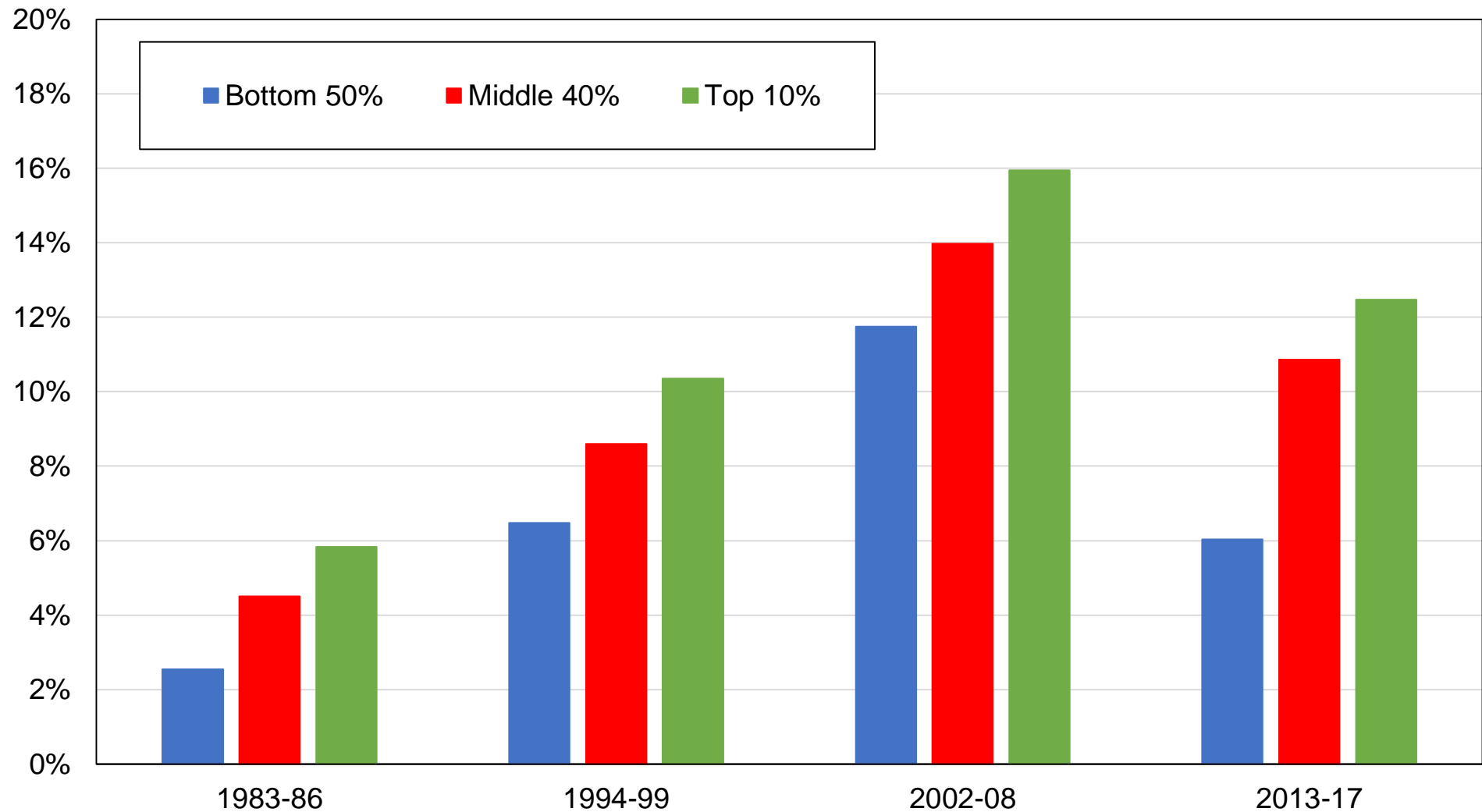


**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Greens by education group.



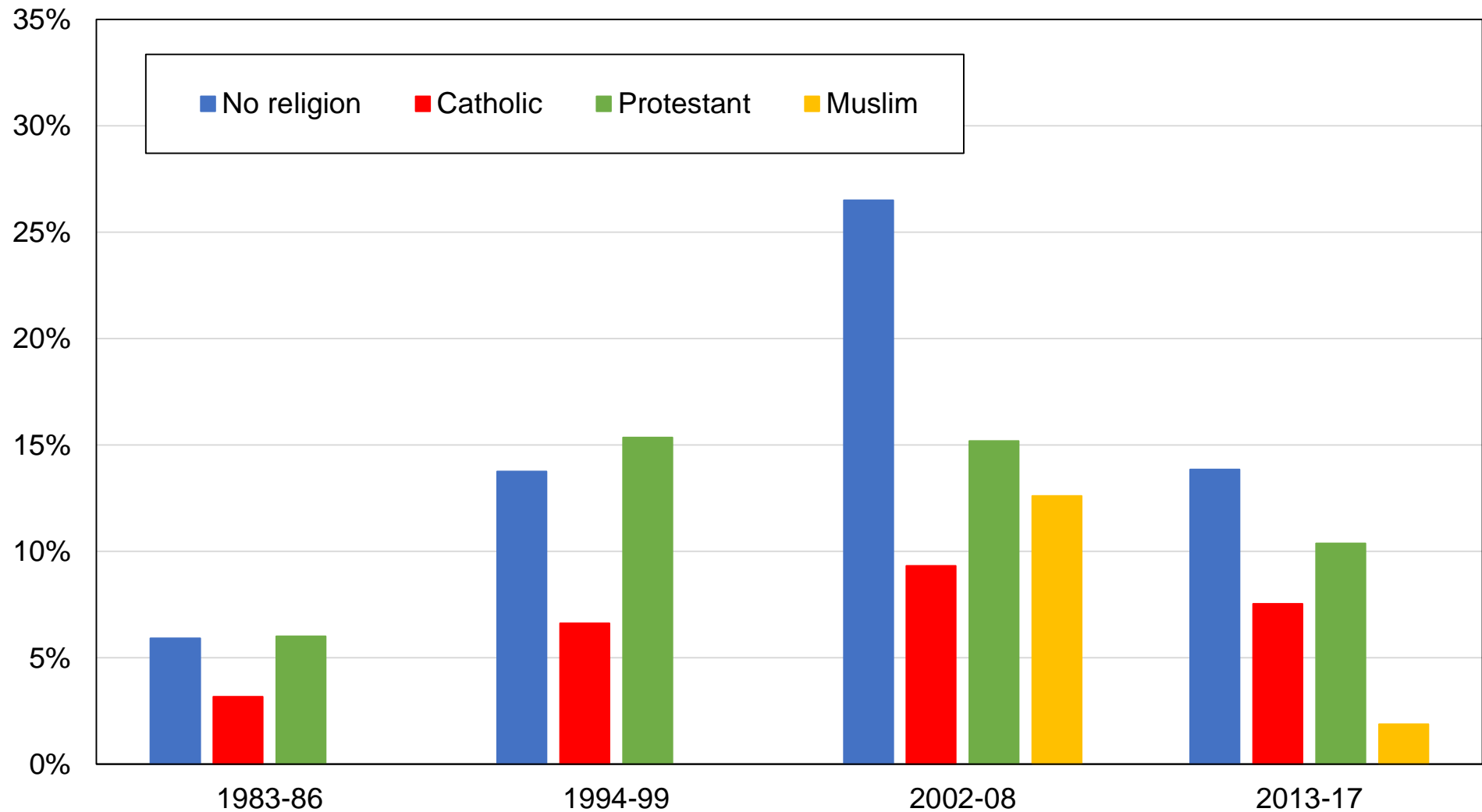
**Figure DD8 - Vote for Greens by income group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Greens by income group.

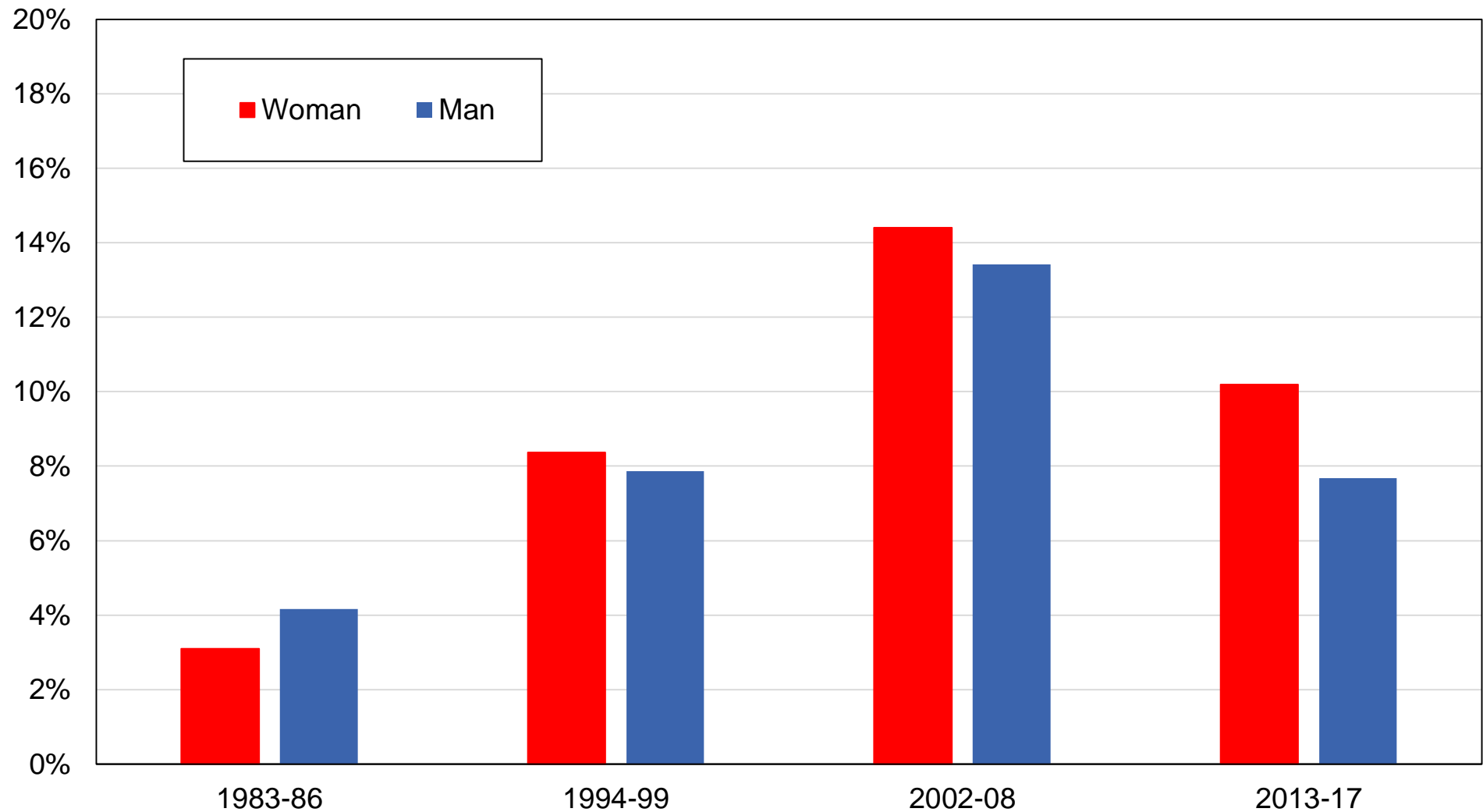
**Figure DD9 - Vote for Greens by religious affiliation**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Greens by religious affiliation.

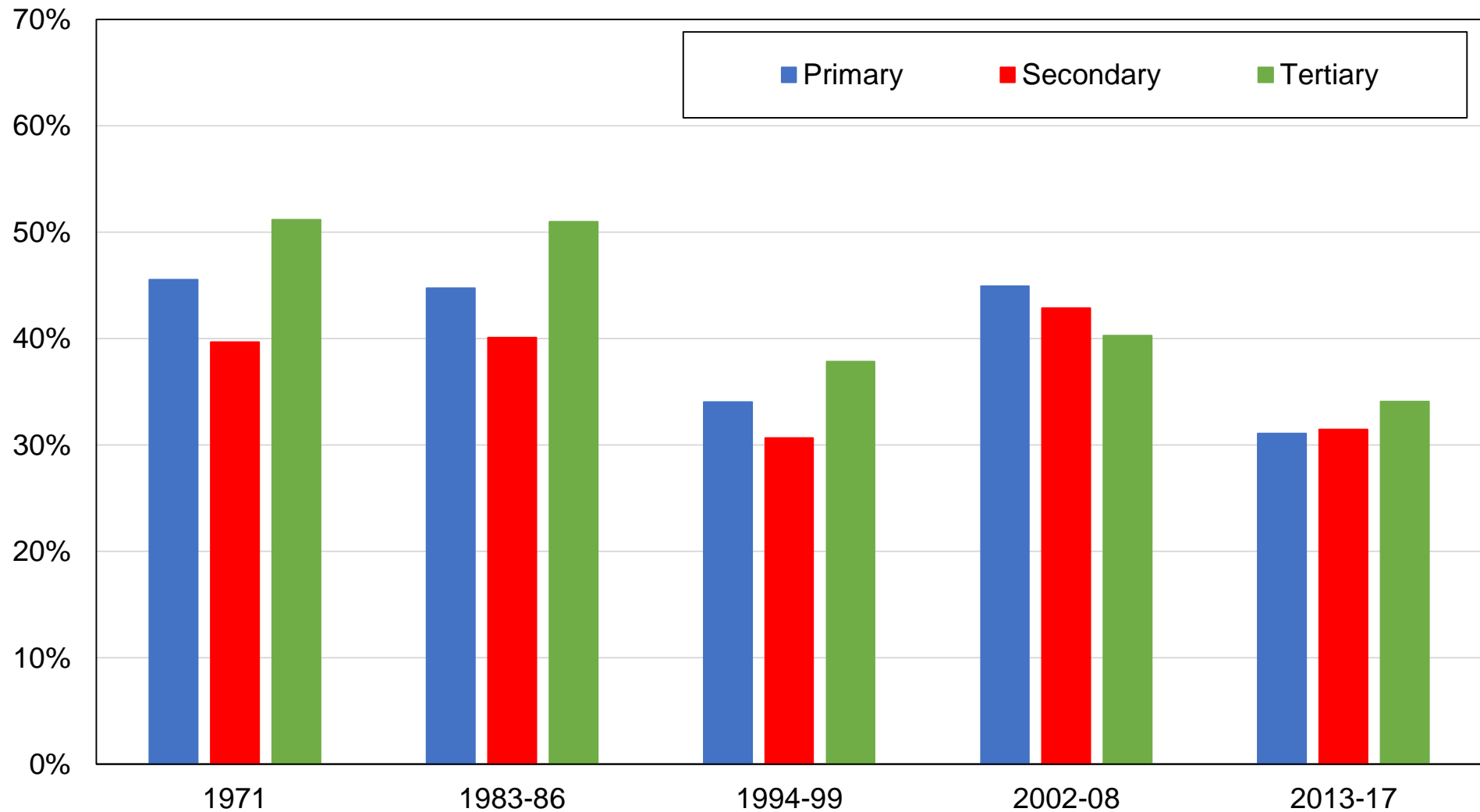
**Figure DD10 - Vote for Greens by gender**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Greens by gender.

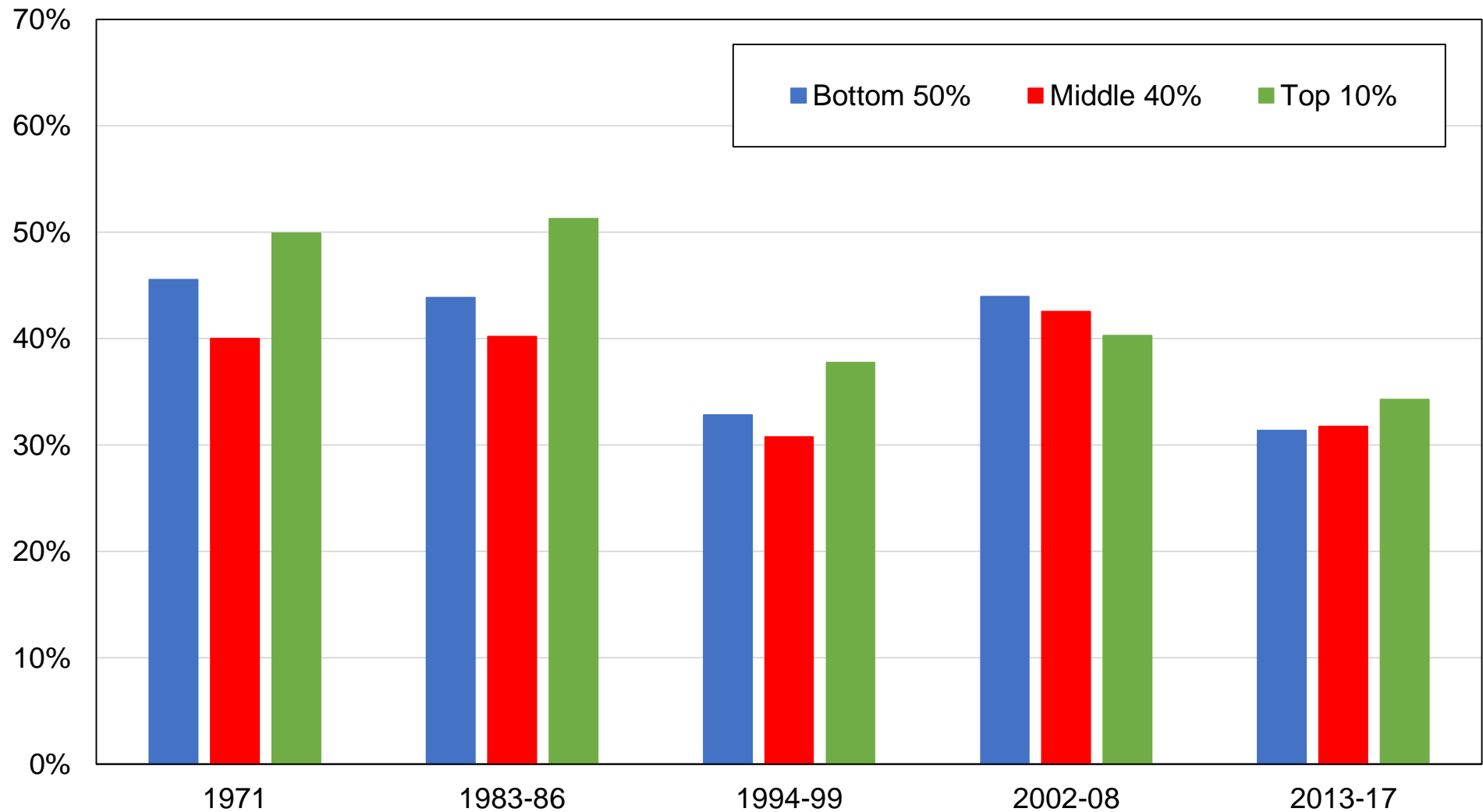
Figure DD11 - Vote for ÖVP by education level



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the ÖVP by education level.

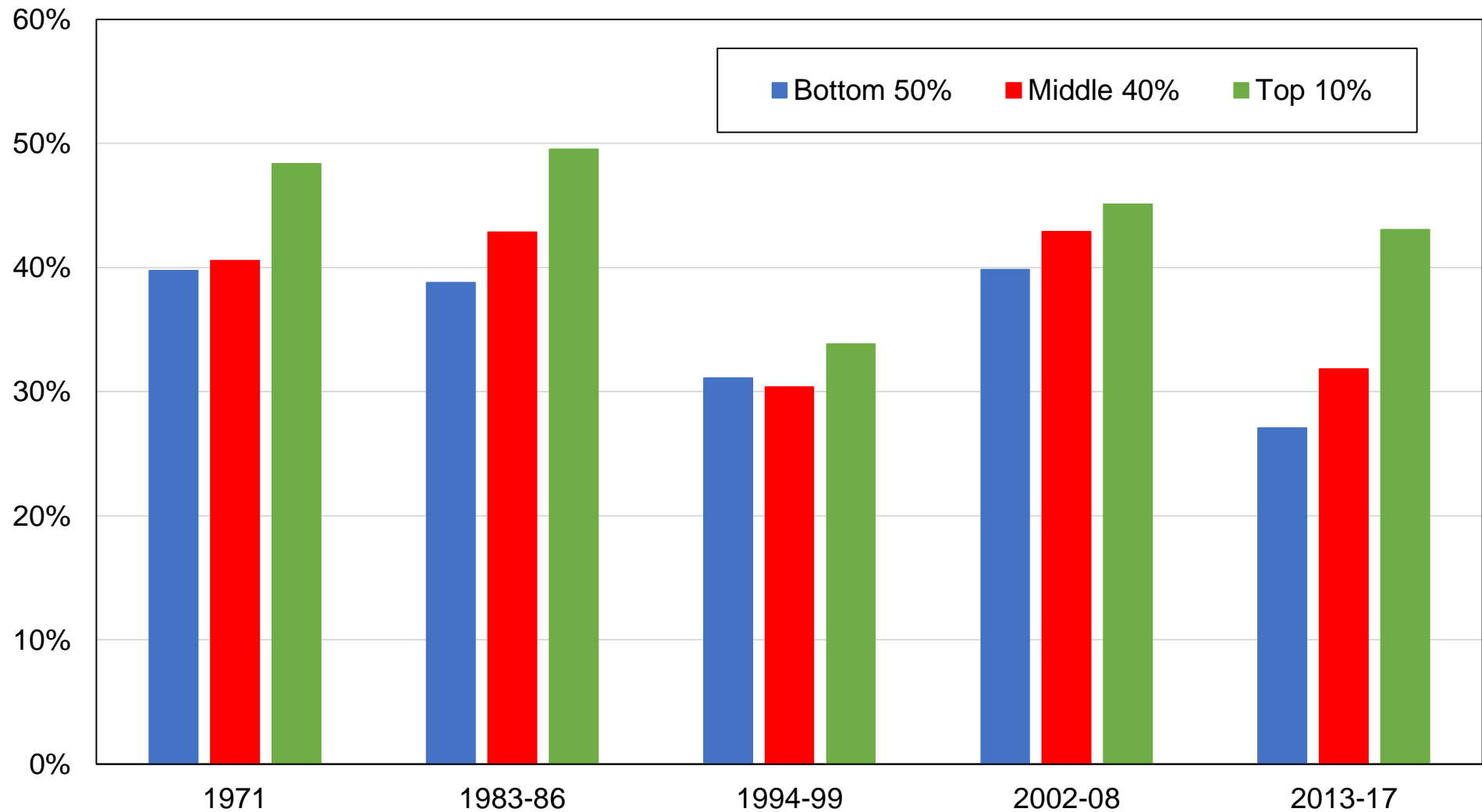
**Figure DD12 - Vote for ÖVP by education group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the ÖVP by education group.

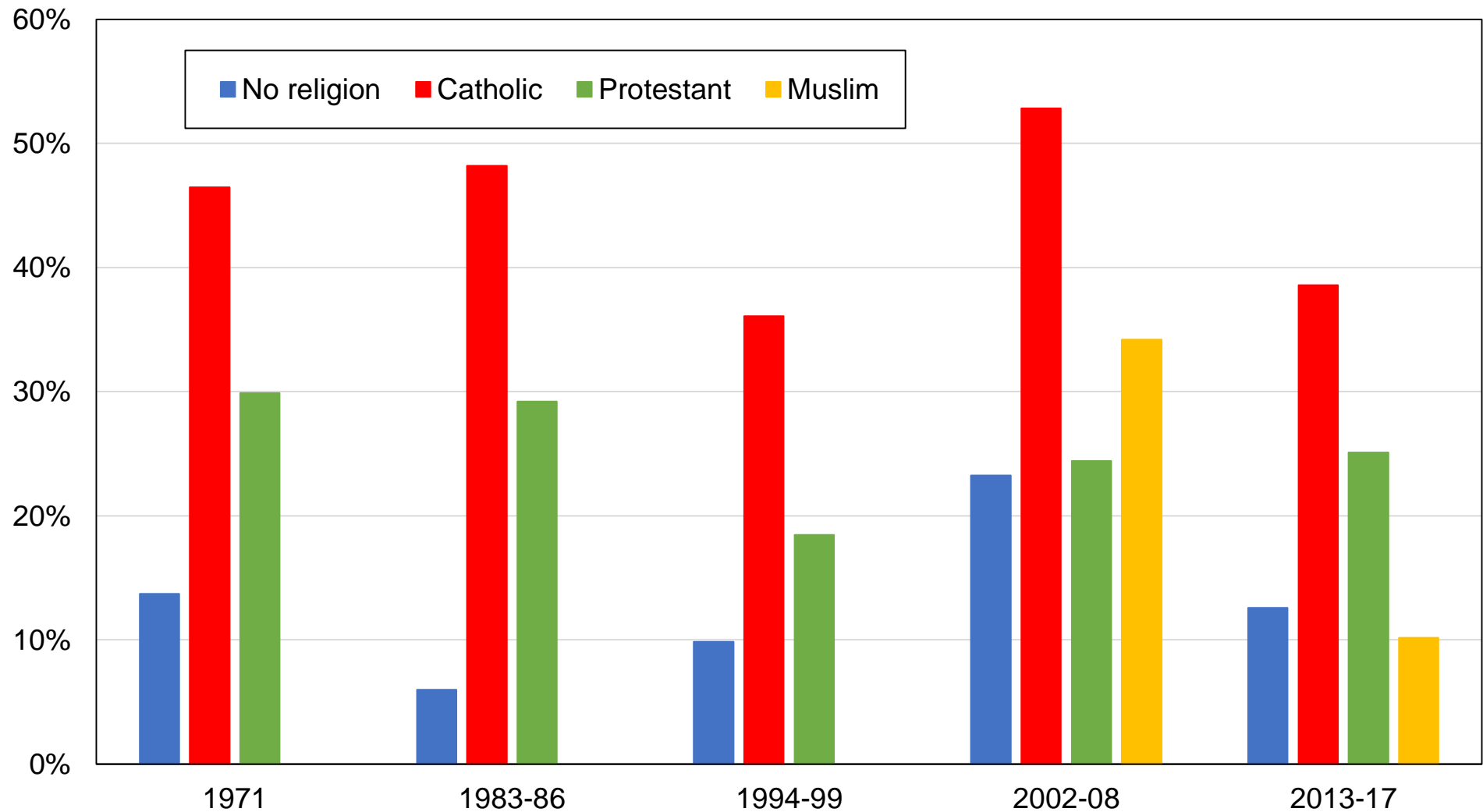
**Figure DD13 - Vote for ÖVP by income group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the ÖVP by income group.

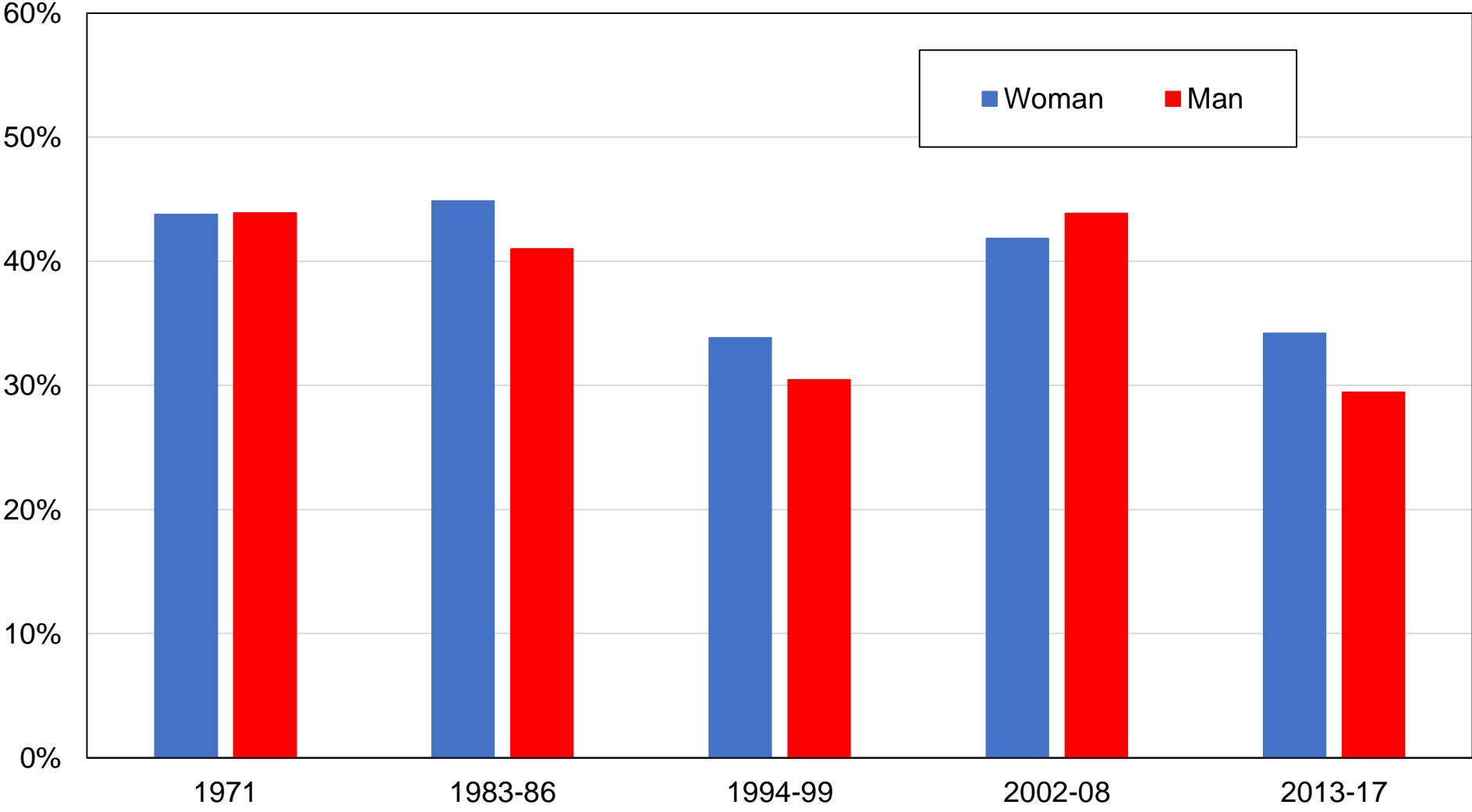
**Figure DD14 - Vote for ÖVP by religious affiliation**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the ÖVP by religious affiliation.

Figure DD15 - Vote for ÖVP by gender

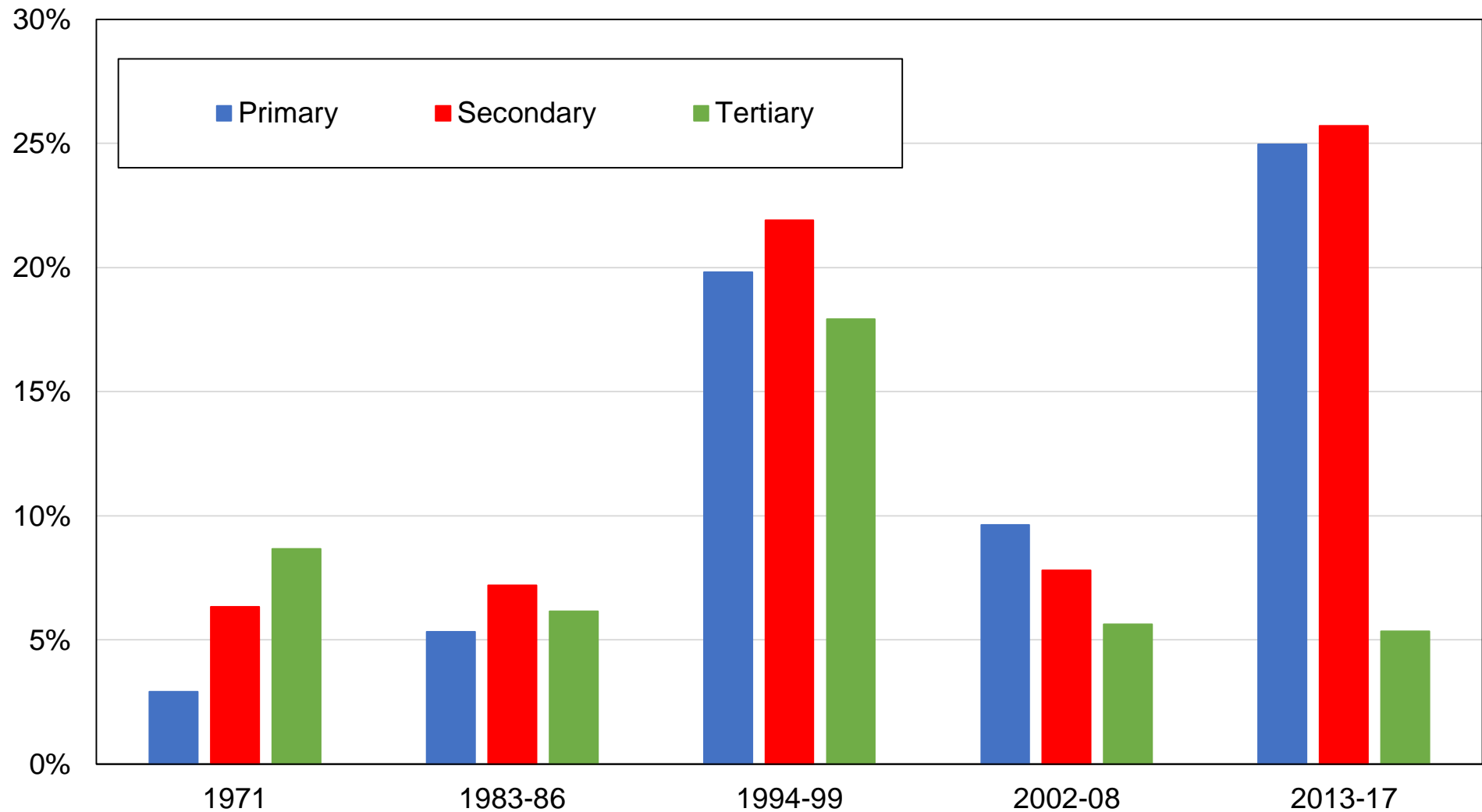


**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the ÖVP by gender.



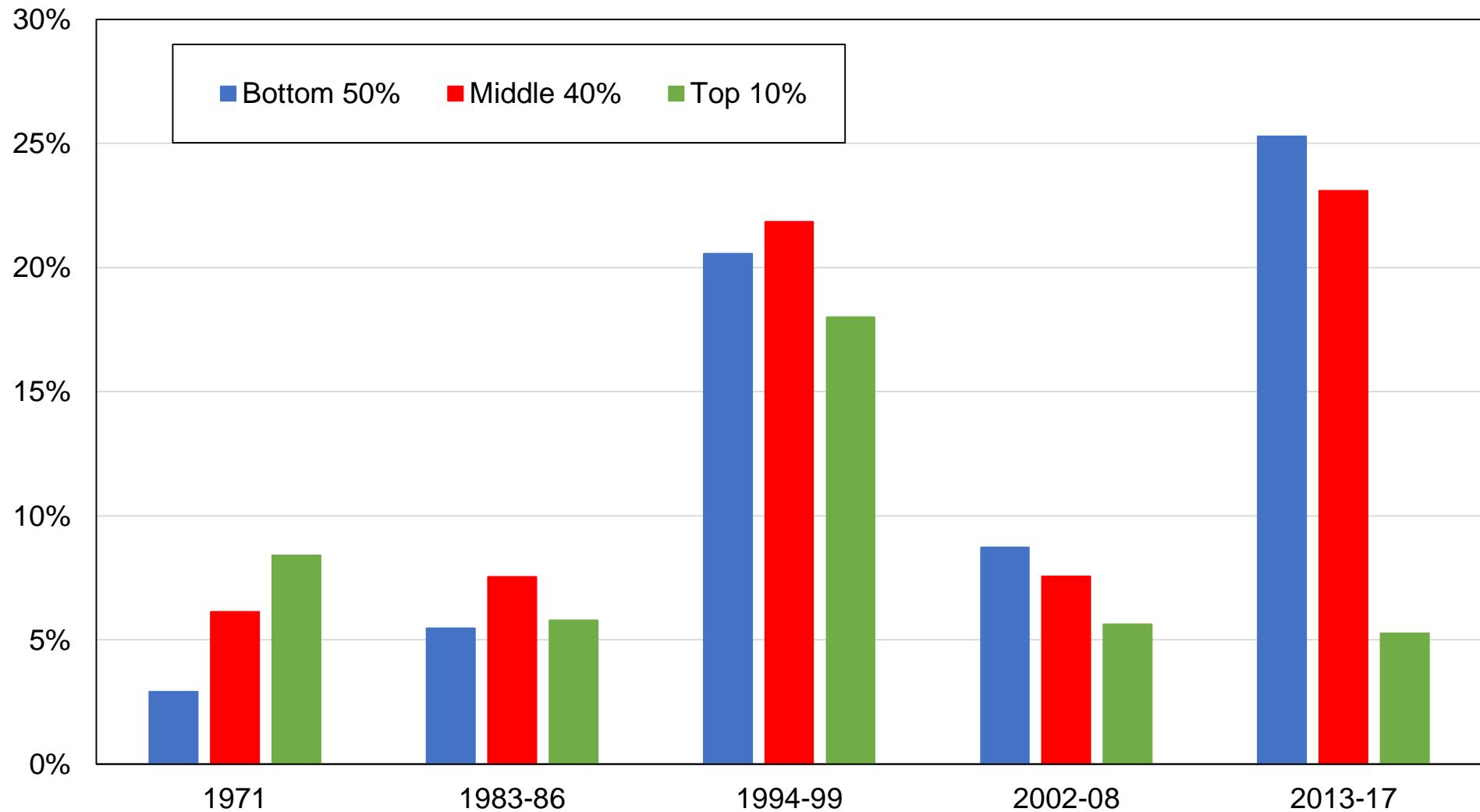
**Figure DD16 - Vote for FPÖ by education level**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the FPÖ by education level.

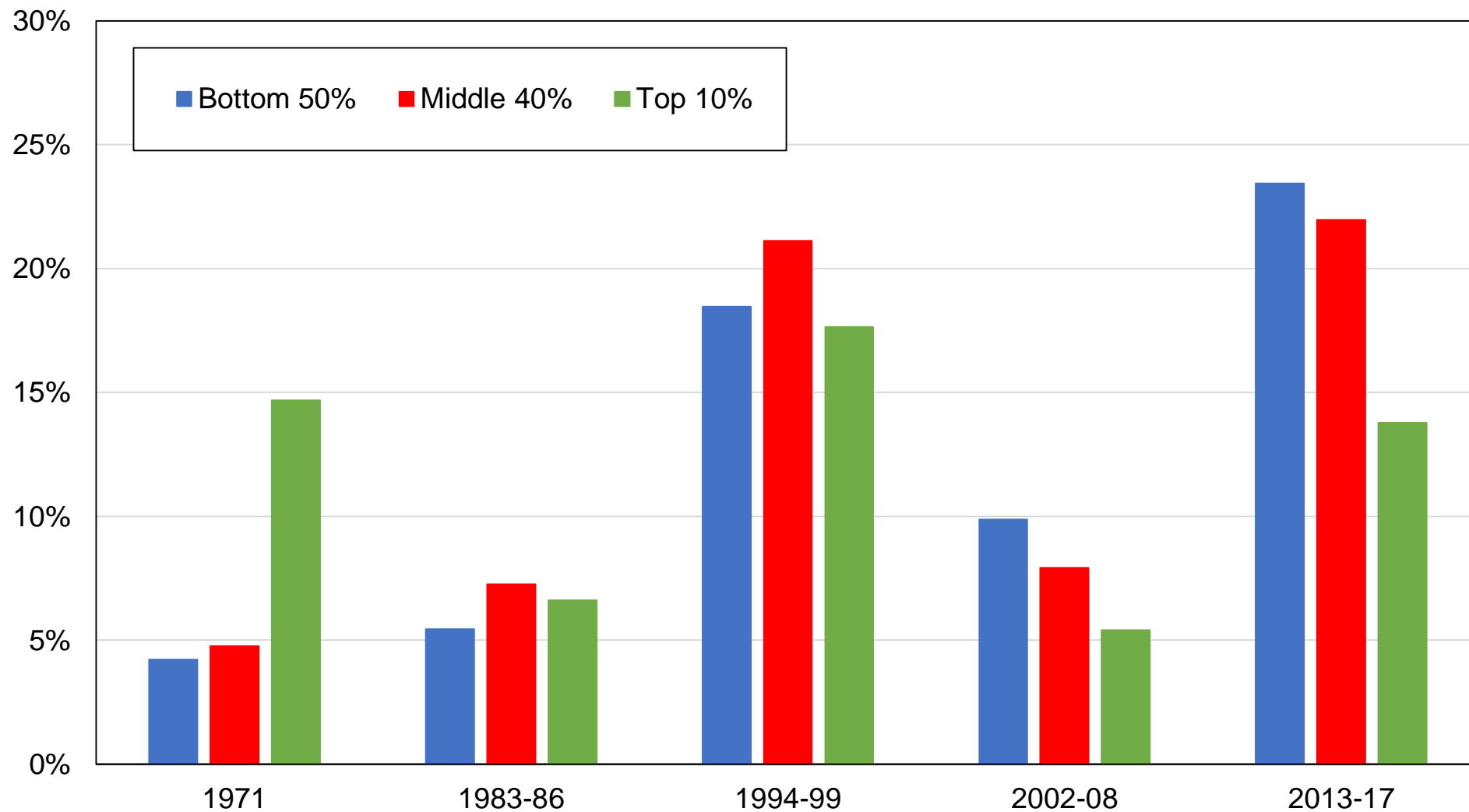
**Figure DD17 - Vote for FPÖ by education group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the FPÖ by education group.

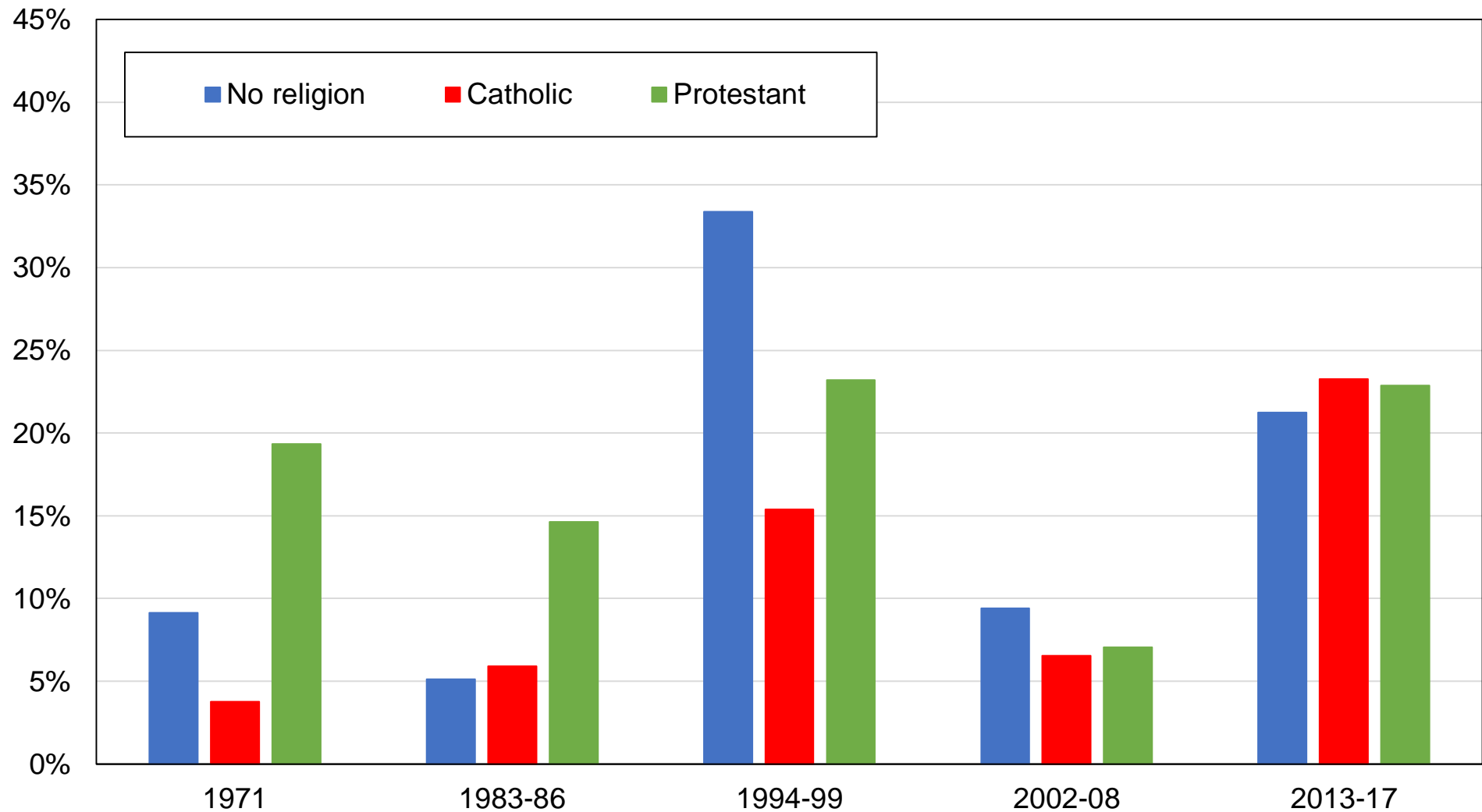
**Figure DD18 - Vote for FPÖ by income group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the FPÖ by income group.

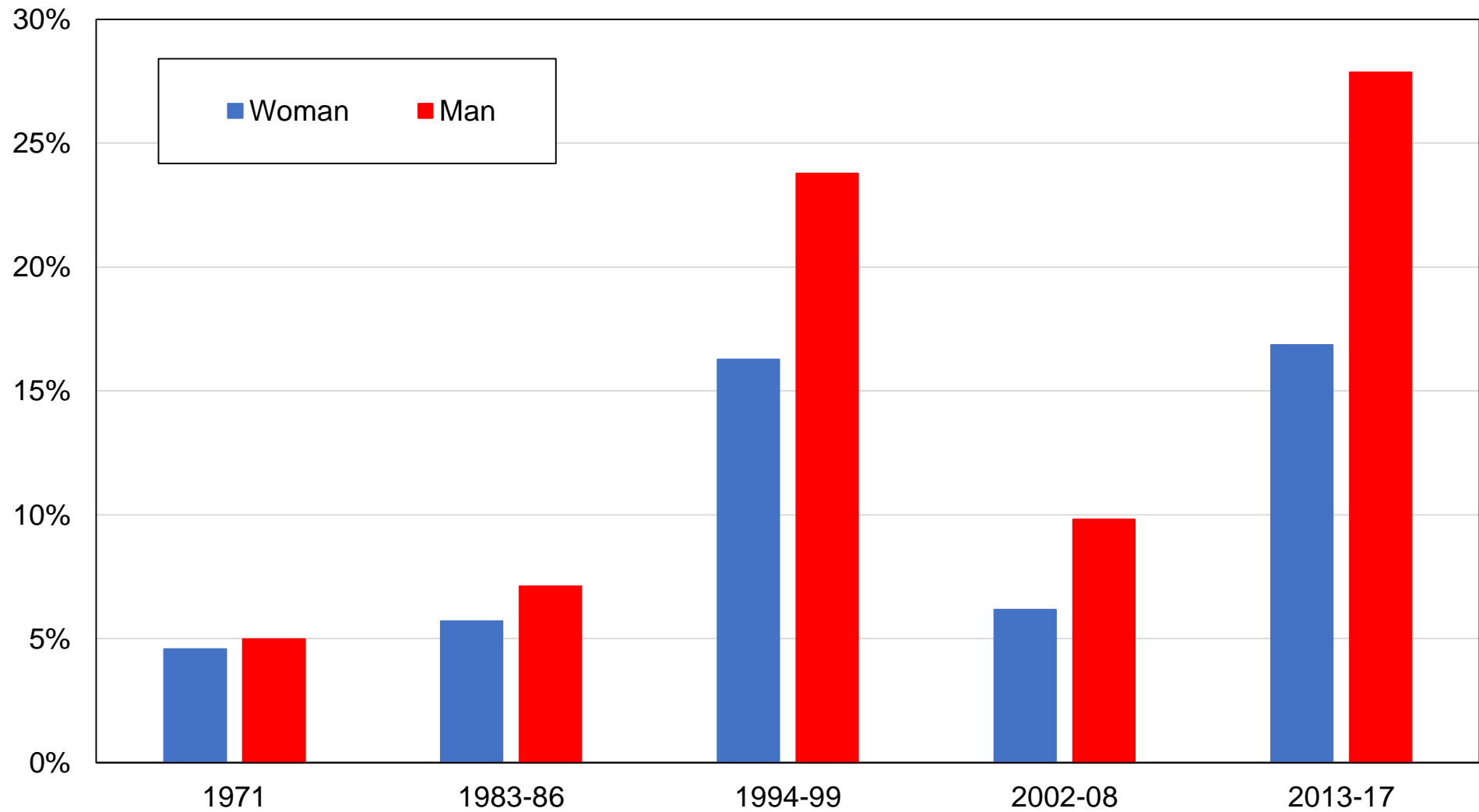
**Figure DD19 - Vote for FPÖ by religious affiliation**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the FPÖ by religious affiliation.

Figure DD20 - Vote for FPÖ by gender



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the FPÖ by gender.

**Table DA1 - Survey data sources**

Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
1971	International social mobility and politics file	ISMP	1585
1983	International social mobility and politics file	ISMP	987
1986	International social mobility and politics file	ISMP	2969
1994	Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years	GESIS	5145
1995	Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years	GESIS	7327
1999	Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years	GESIS	7095
2002	European social survey and Eurobarometers	ESS	8591
2006	European social survey	ESS	2405
2013	Comparative study of electoral systems	CSES	1000
2017	Comparative study of electoral systems	CSES	1203

**Source:** authors' elaboration. Gesis: Gesis – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences

(<https://www.gesis.org/home>). ESS: <https://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/>. CSES: <https://cses.org/>.

**Note:** the table shows the surveys used, the source from which these surveys can be obtained, and the sample size of each survey.

**Table DA2 - Complete descriptive statistics by decade**

	1971	1983-86	1994-99	2002-08	2013-17
Age: 20-40	41%	40%	46%	39%	30%
Age: 40-60	39%	34%	31%	39%	39%
Age: 60+	20%	25%	22%	23%	32%
Education: Primary	52%	42%	32%	30%	18%
Education: Secondary	39%	48%	58%	56%	66%
Education: Tertiary	9%	11%	10%	14%	16%
Employment status: Employed	57%	47%	55%	53%	55%
Employment status: Unemployed	0%	0%	3%	3%	1%
Employment status: Inactive	43%	53%	42%	44%	45%
Marital status: Married or with partner	68%	62%	53%	62%	60%
Religion: No religion	5%	9%	10%	27%	21%
Religion: Catholic	89%	85%	83%	65%	71%
Religion: Protestant	5%	5%	5%	5%	4%
Religion: Muslim	0%	0%	1%	1%	1%
Religion: Other	1%	1%	2%	1%	3%
Church attendance: Never	16%	39%		25%	32%
Church attendance: Less than monthly	33%	26%		57%	46%
Church attendance: Monthly or more	51%	35%		18%	22%
Rural-urban: Rural areas	59%	53%	47%	45%	50%
Gender: Man	41%	45%	48%	48%	50%

**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the table shows descriptive statistics by decade for selected available variables.

**Table DA3 - The structure of political cleavages in Austria, 2013-2017**

	Share of votes received (%)				
	SPO / KPO	Greens	NEOS	OVP	FPO / BZO
<b>Overall vote share</b>	29%	9%	6%	32%	22%
<b>Education</b>					
Primary	33%	5%	4%	31%	25%
Secondary	29%	7%	5%	31%	26%
Tertiary	26%	21%	11%	34%	5%
<b>Income</b>					
Bottom 50%	35%	6%	5%	27%	23%
Middle 40%	27%	11%	6%	32%	22%
Top 10%	20%	12%	8%	43%	14%
<b>Location</b>					
Urban	33%	11%	7%	26%	20%
Rural	25%	7%	4%	37%	25%
<b>Religion</b>					
No religion	38%	14%	8%	13%	21%
Catholic	24%	8%	5%	39%	23%
Protestant	35%	10%	7%	25%	23%
Muslim	66%	2%	18%	10%	4%
<b>Church attendance</b>					
Never	37%	11%	7%	16%	24%
Less than monthly	27%	10%	5%	32%	25%
Monthly or more	23%	4%	5%	52%	15%

**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

**Notes:** the table shows the average share of votes received by the main political parties by selected individual characteristics over the 2013-2017 period. Vote shares by group are those reported in surveys and may not match exactly official election results.