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Historical Political Cleavages and Post-Crisis Transformations in Italy, Spain, Portugal and Ireland, 1953-2020

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Appendix

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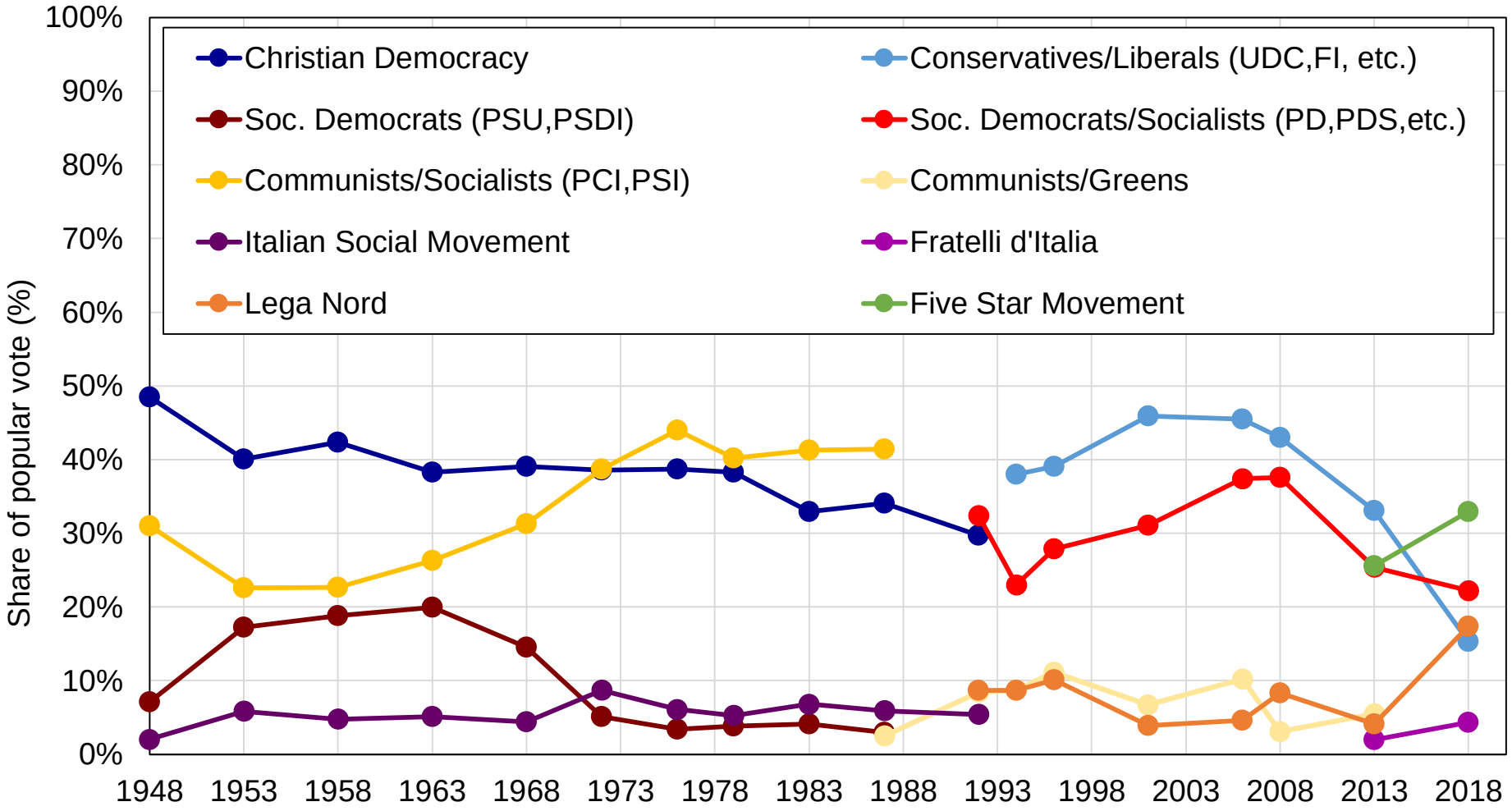
Abstract

This document supplements our working paper "Historical Political Cleavages and Post-Crisis Transformations in Italy, Spain, Portugal and Ireland, 1953-2020". It contains all appendix tables and figures.

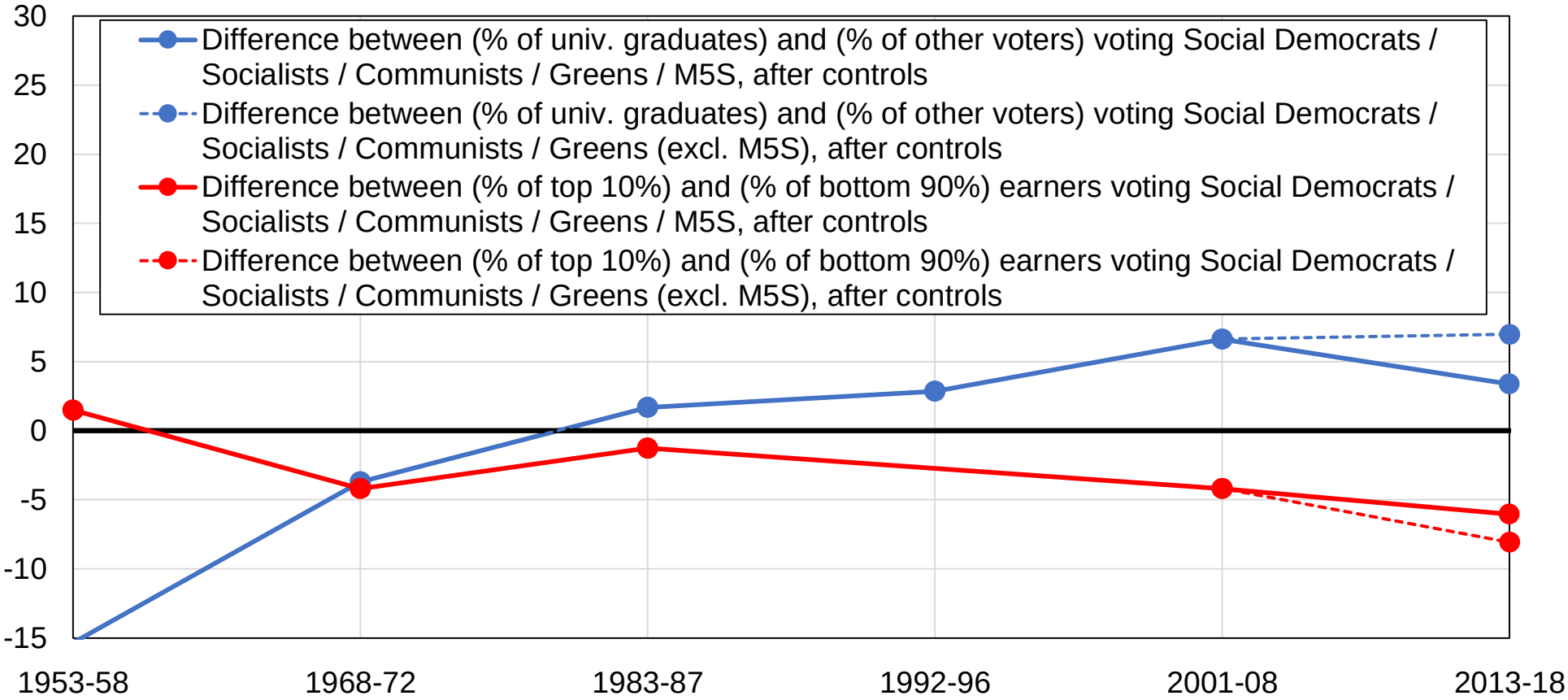
* Luis Bauluz: University of Bonn; Amory Gethin, Marc Morgan: Paris School of Economics – World Inequality Lab; Clara Martínez-Toledano: Imperial College London. We thank Kevin Cunningham, Federico Curci, Carmen Durrer, Javier Padilla, Thomas Piketty, Aidan Regan, and Paolo Santini for their useful comments.

Figure A1 - Election results in Italy, 1948-2018



Source: authors' computations using official election results.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Italian political parties in general elections between 1948 and 2018.

Figure A2 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among university graduates and top income earners in Italy, after controls



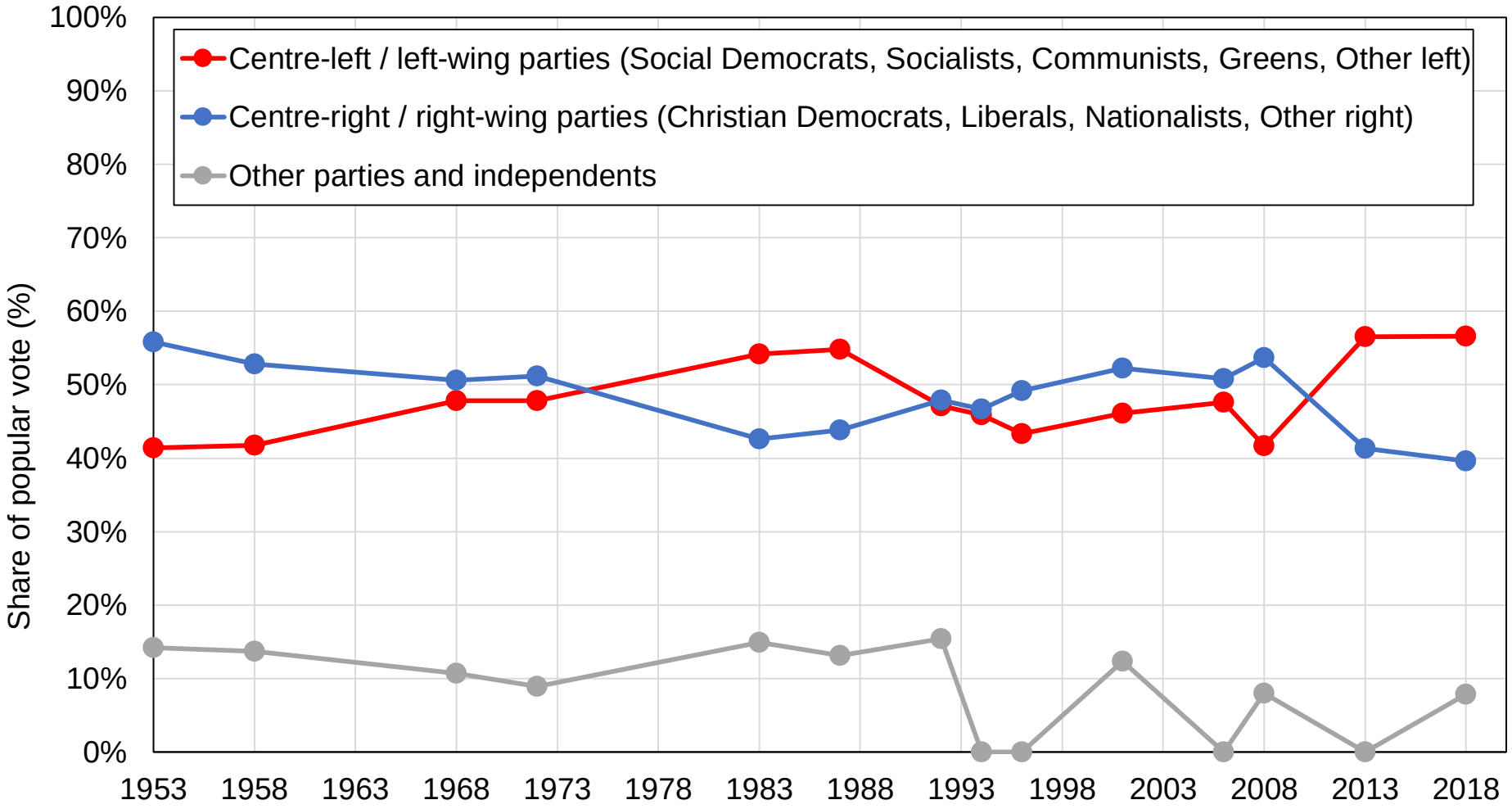
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and top-income voters and the share of other voters voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, after controlling for age, gender, religious affiliation, religiosity, employment and marital status, union membership, perceived social class, urban-rural location and region.

Table A1 - The structure of political cleavages in Italy, 2018					
	Share of votes received (%)				
	Socialists / Soc. Democrats	Lega	Conservatives / Liberals	Fratelli d'Italia	M5S
Education					
Primary	16%	29%	19%	1%	33%
Secondary	24%	22%	7%	5%	38%
Tertiary	34%	14%	10%	7%	30%
Income					
Bottom 50%	33%	18%	9%	5%	31%
Middle 40%	24%	20%	8%	6%	38%
Top 10%	12%	28%	12%	4%	42%
Age					
20-40	28%	16%	8%	5%	39%
40-60	25%	21%	9%	5%	35%
60+	32%	23%	10%	6%	26%
Religion					
Never	33%	16%	7%	3%	36%
Less than monthly	23%	25%	8%	8%	34%
Monthly or more	20%	17%	7%	10%	45%
Region					
North	30%	29%	9%	4%	24%
Center	28%	18%	9%	7%	33%
South	23%	8%	8%	6%	51%
Islands	22%	8%	11%	6%	51%

Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

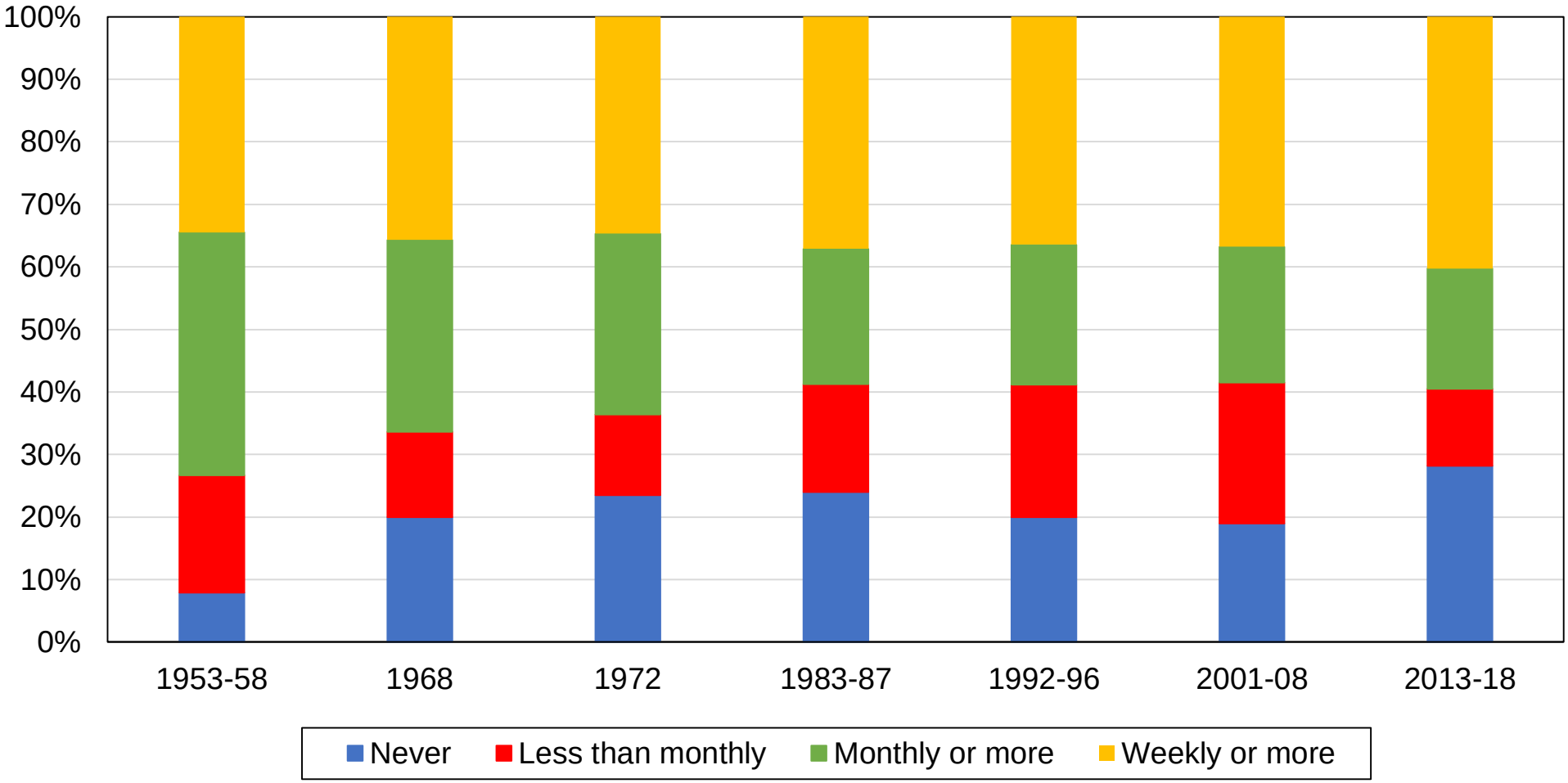
Notes: the table shows the average share of votes received by the Socialists/Social Democrats/Green, New Communists, Lega, Christian Democrats/Liberals, Fratelli d'Italia and the 5 Stars Movement over the 2018 period.

Figure AA1 - Election results by groups in Italy, 1968-2018



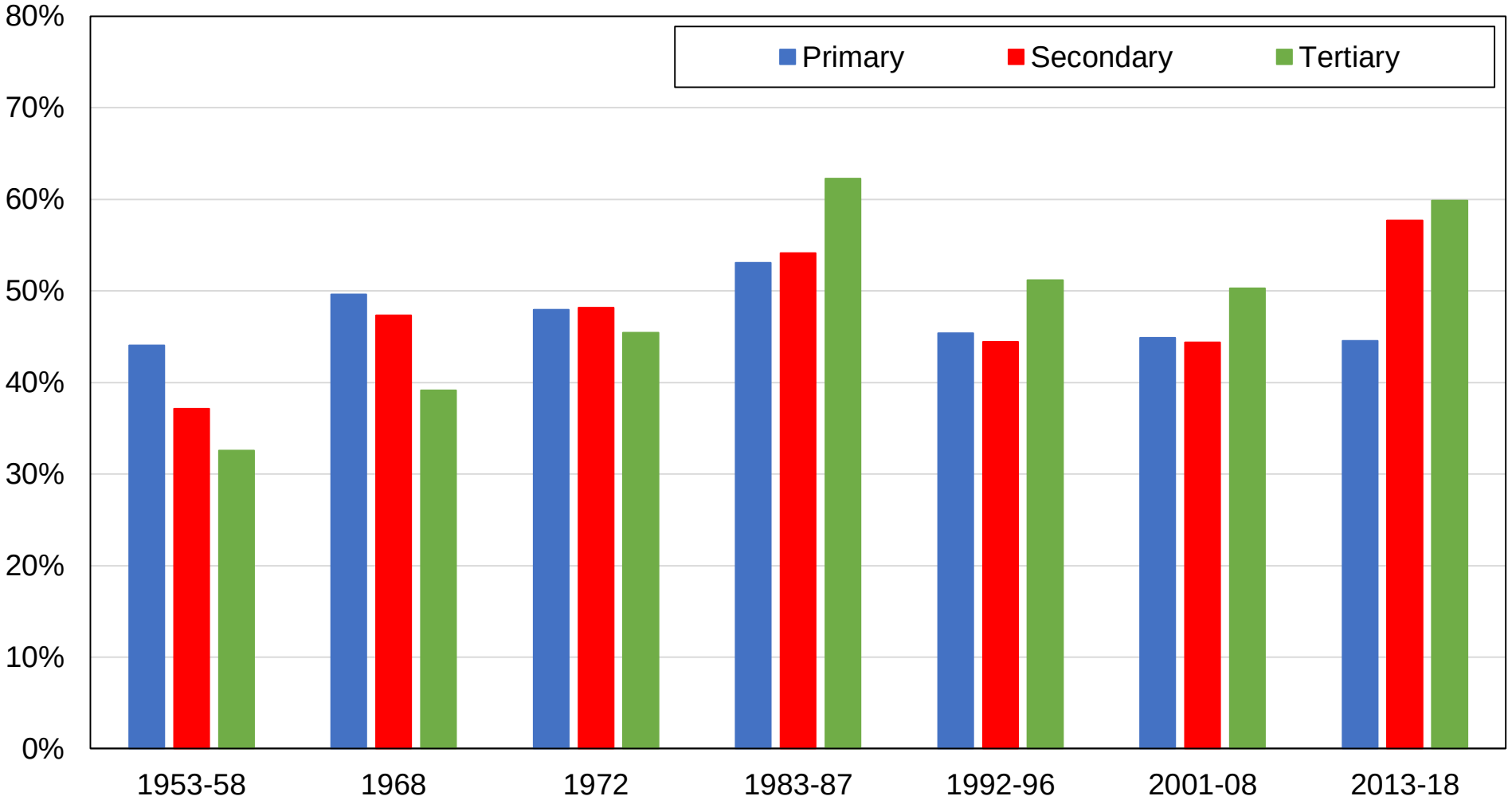
Source: authors' computations using official election results.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Italian political parties in presidential elections between 1968 and 2018.

Figure AA2 - Composition of the electorate by church attendance



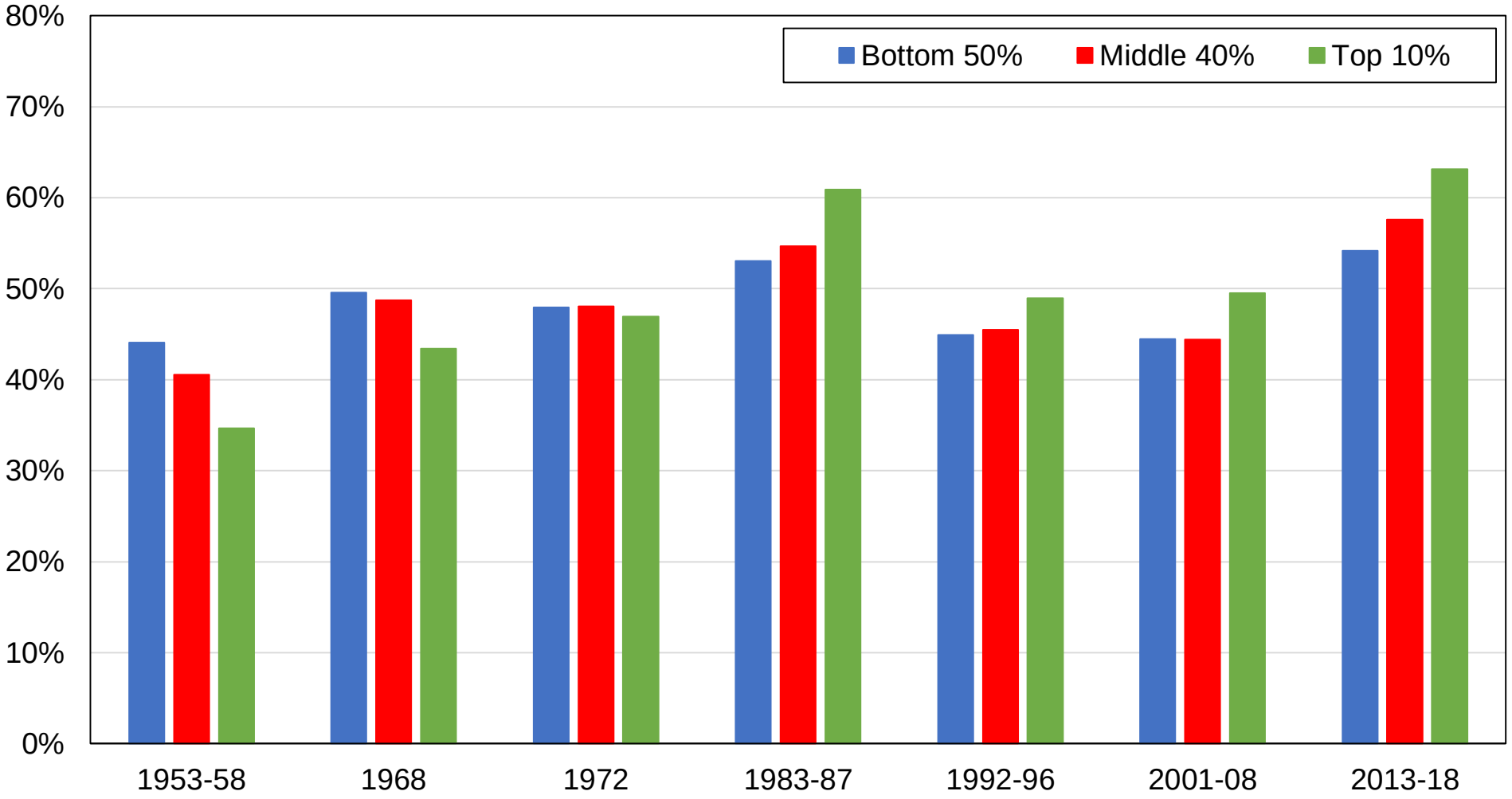
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the distribution of church attendance of the Italian adult population and its evolution over time since the 1950s.

Figure AB1 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S by education level in Italy



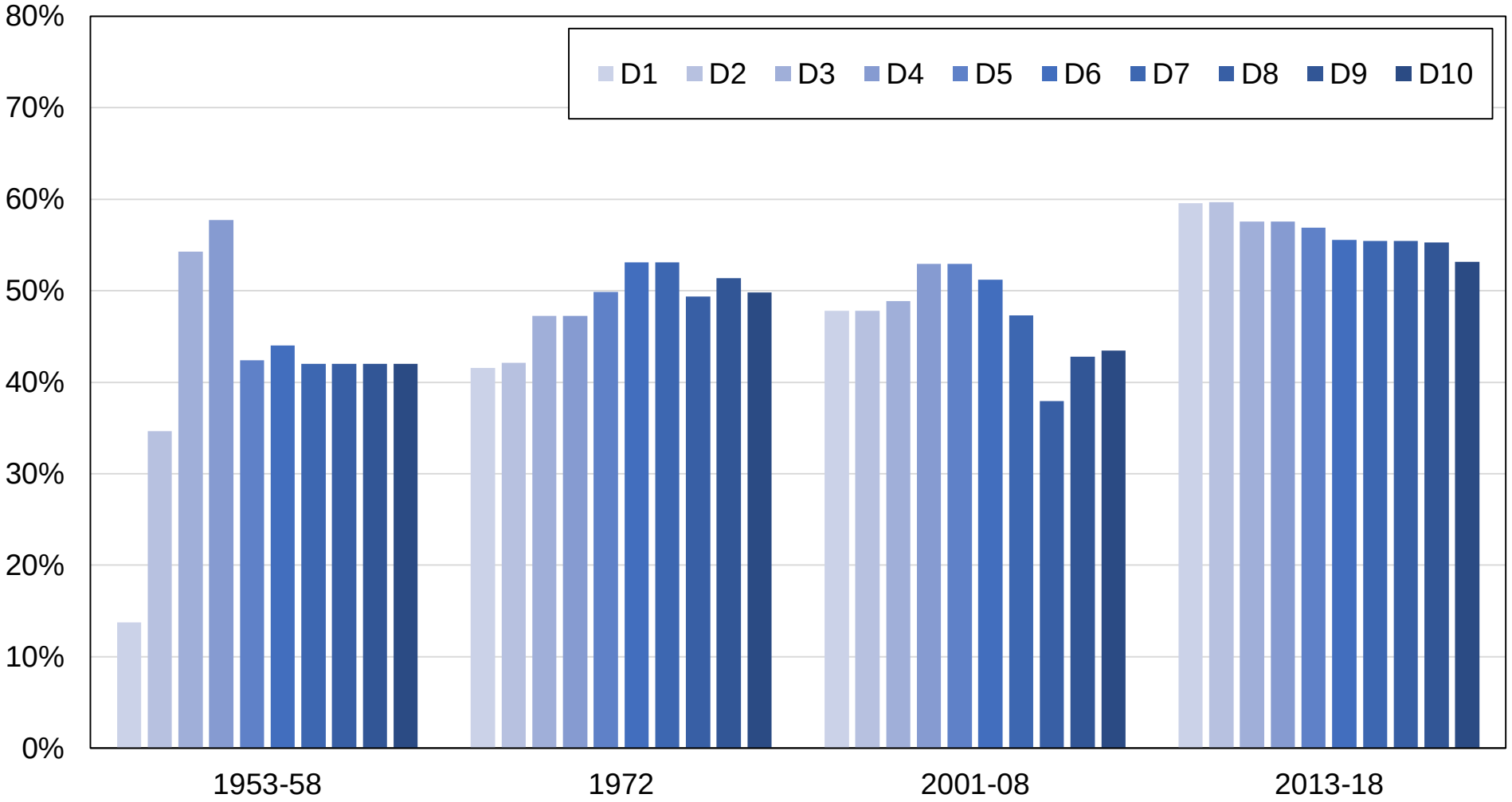
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by education level.

Figure AB2 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S by education group in Italy



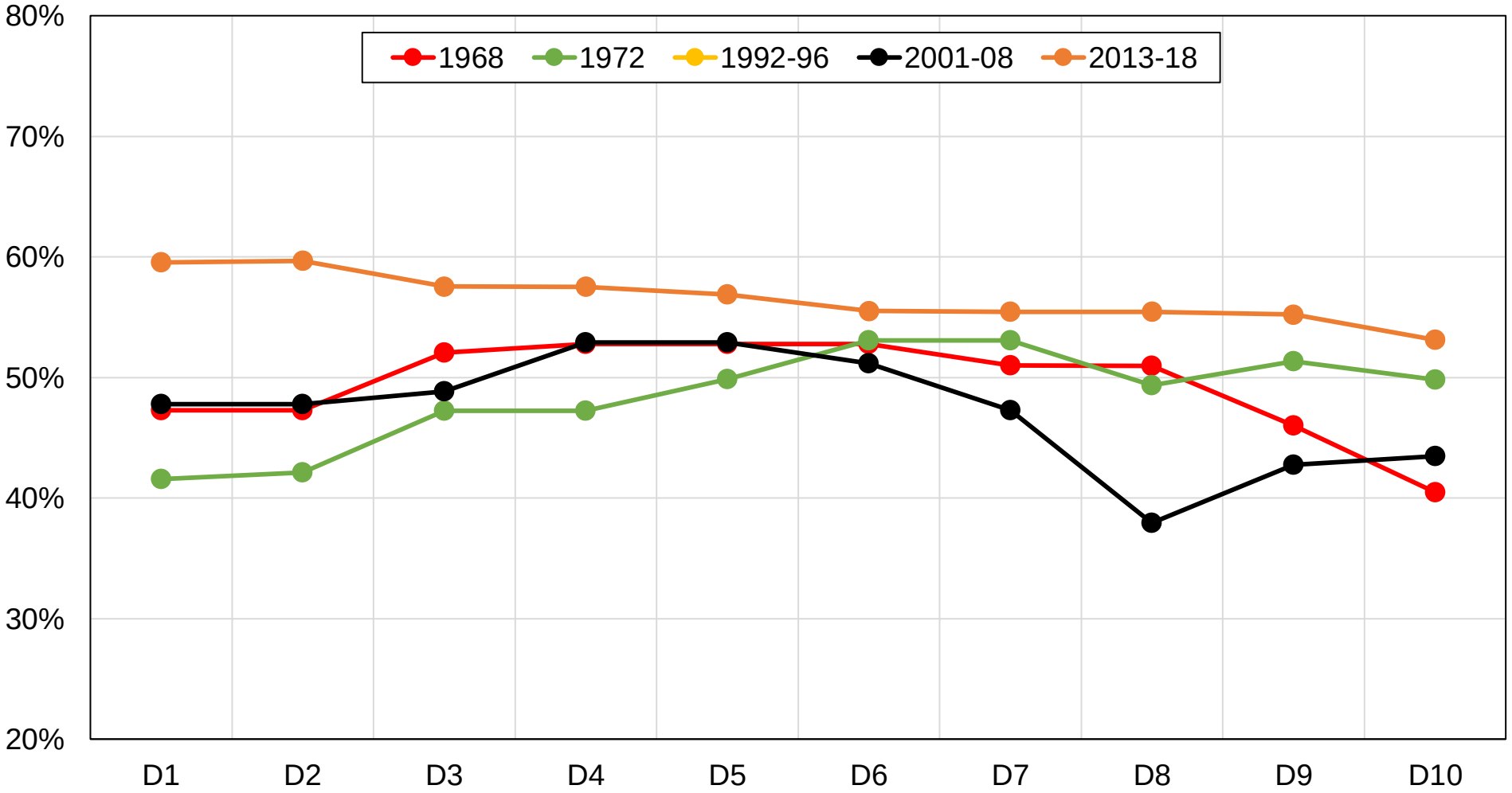
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by education group.

Figure AB3 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S by income decile in Italy (bars)



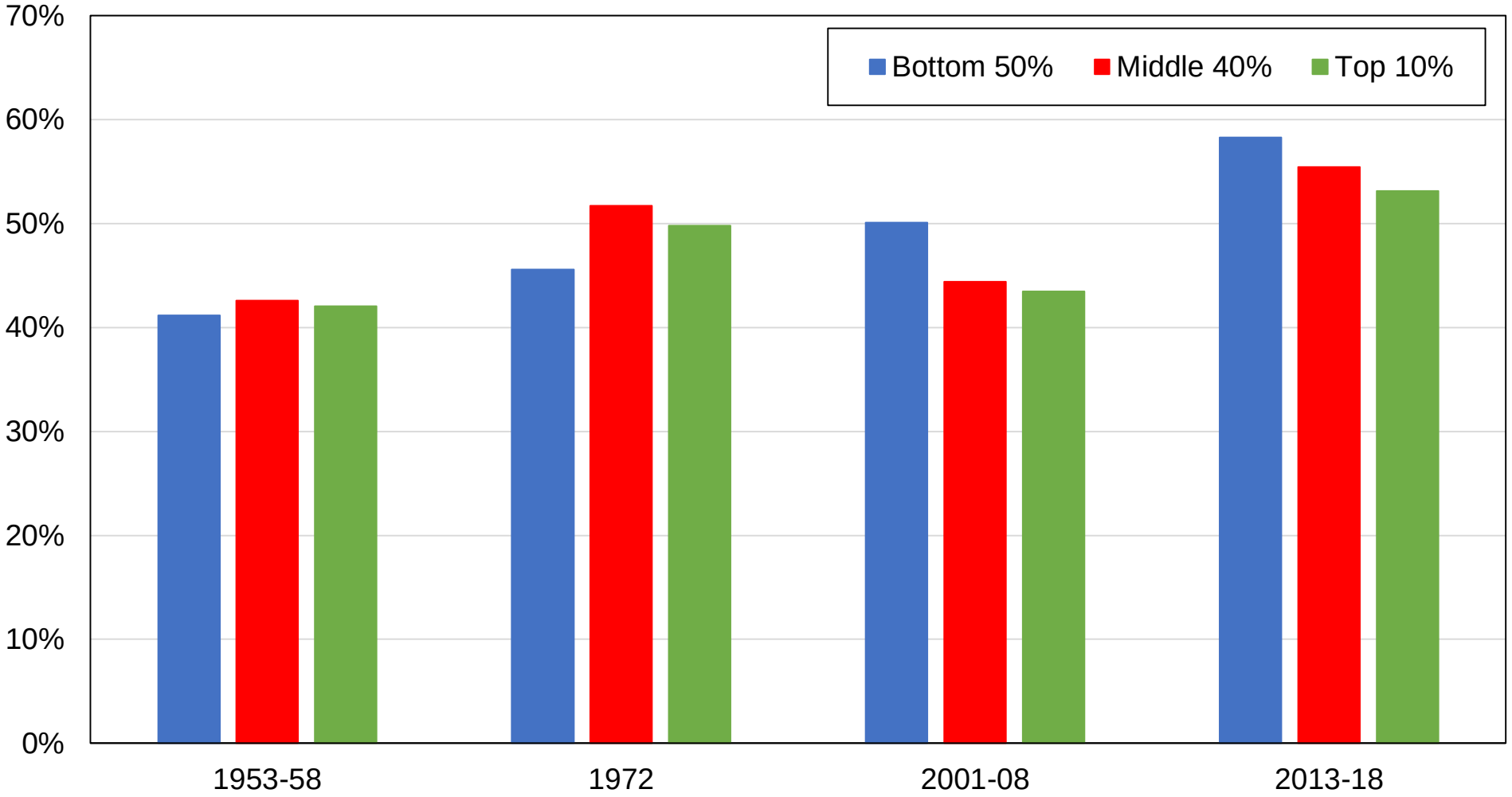
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income decile.

Figure AB4 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S by income decile in Italy (lines)



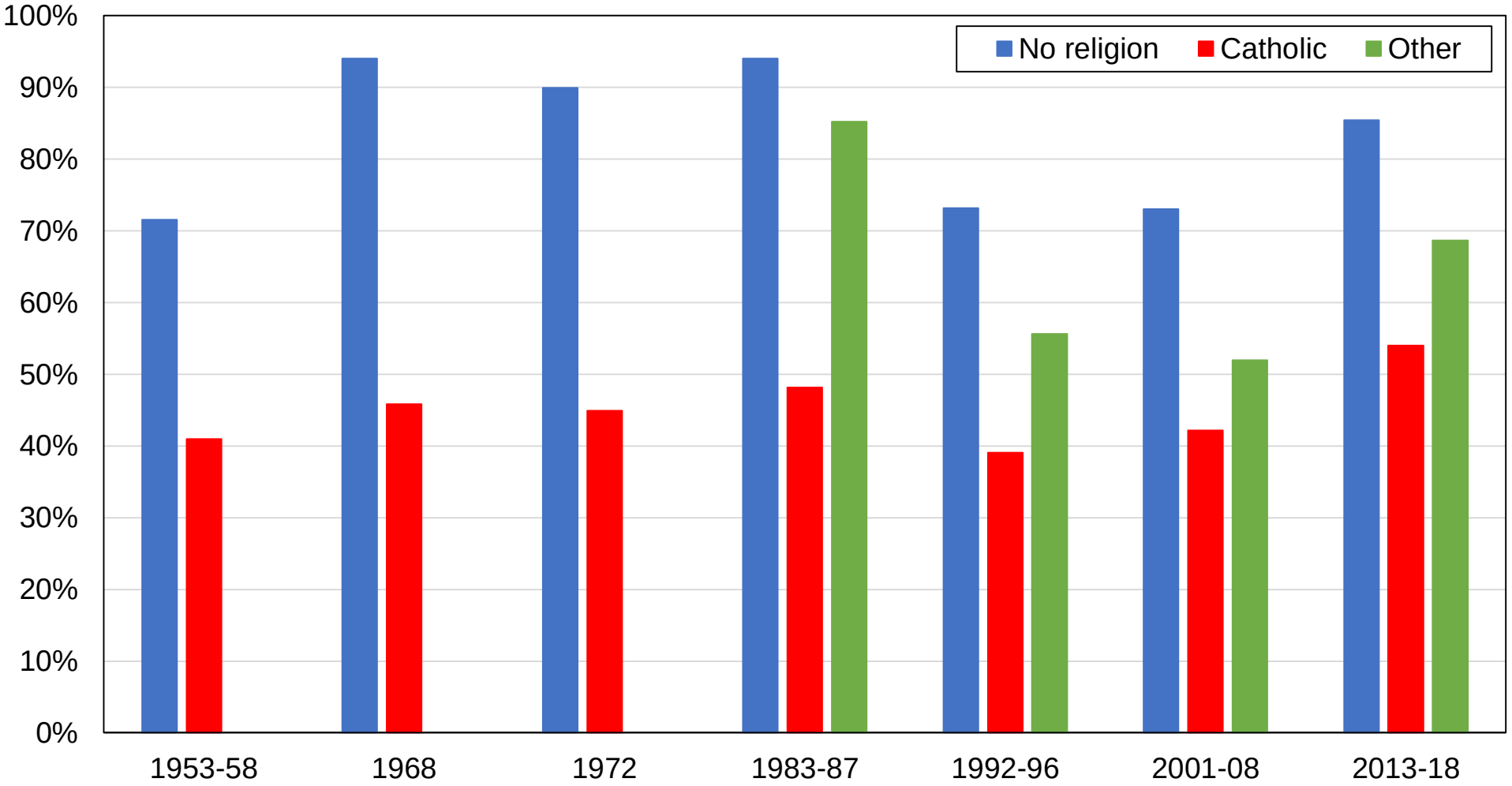
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income decile.

Figure AB5 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S by income group in Italy



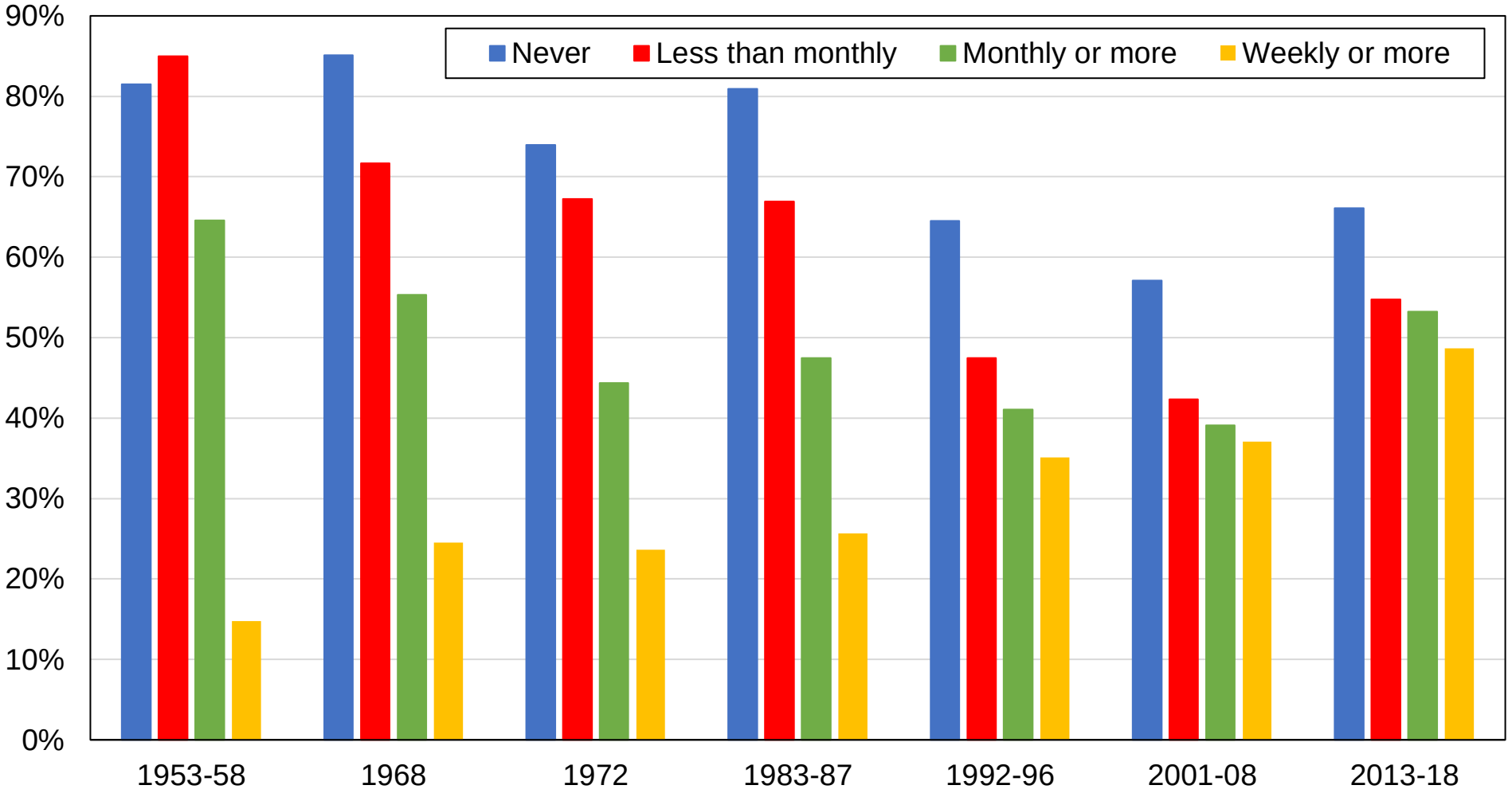
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income group.

Figure AB6 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S by religious affiliation in Italy



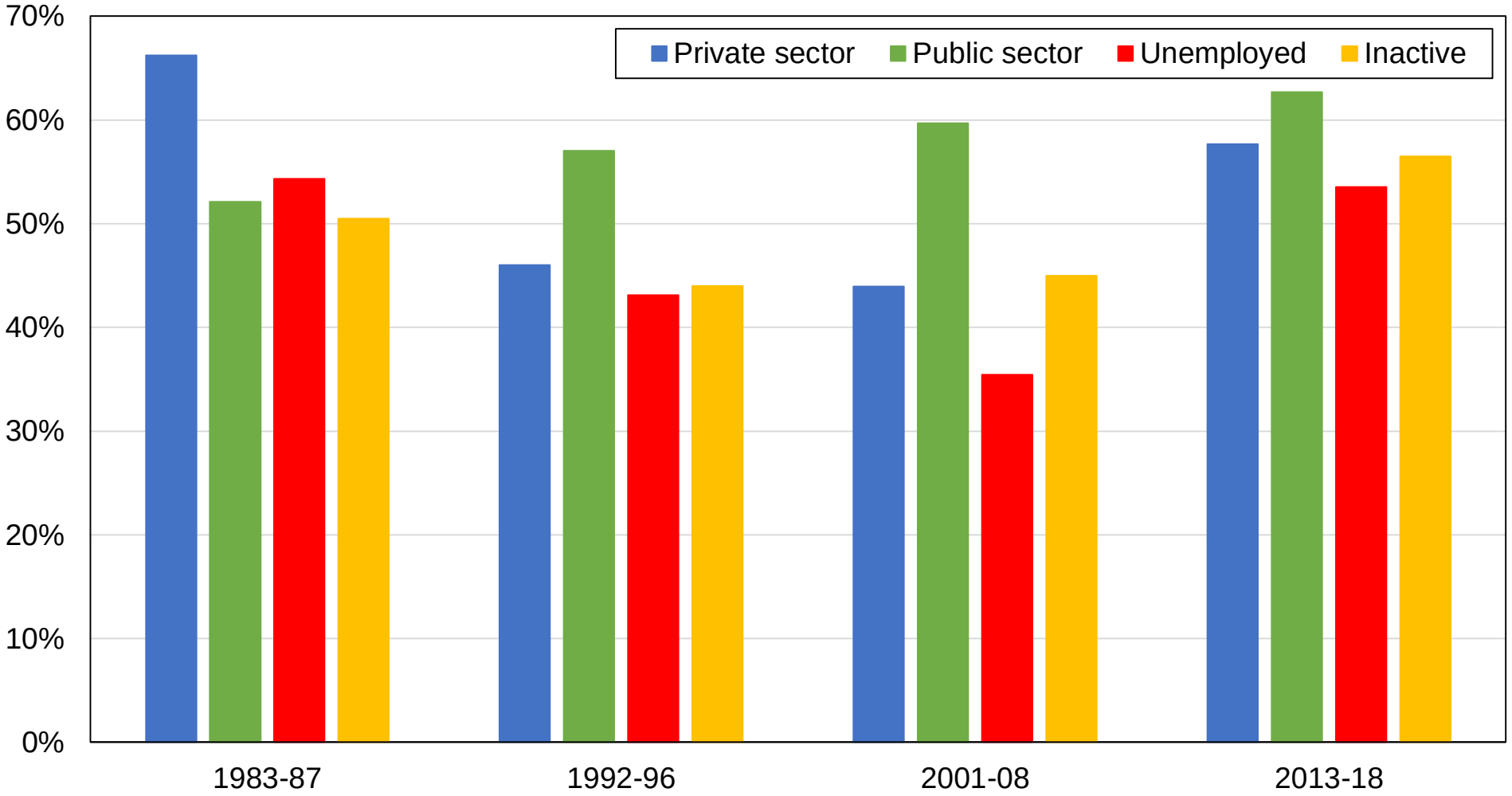
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by religious affiliation.

Figure AB7 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S by church attendance in Italy



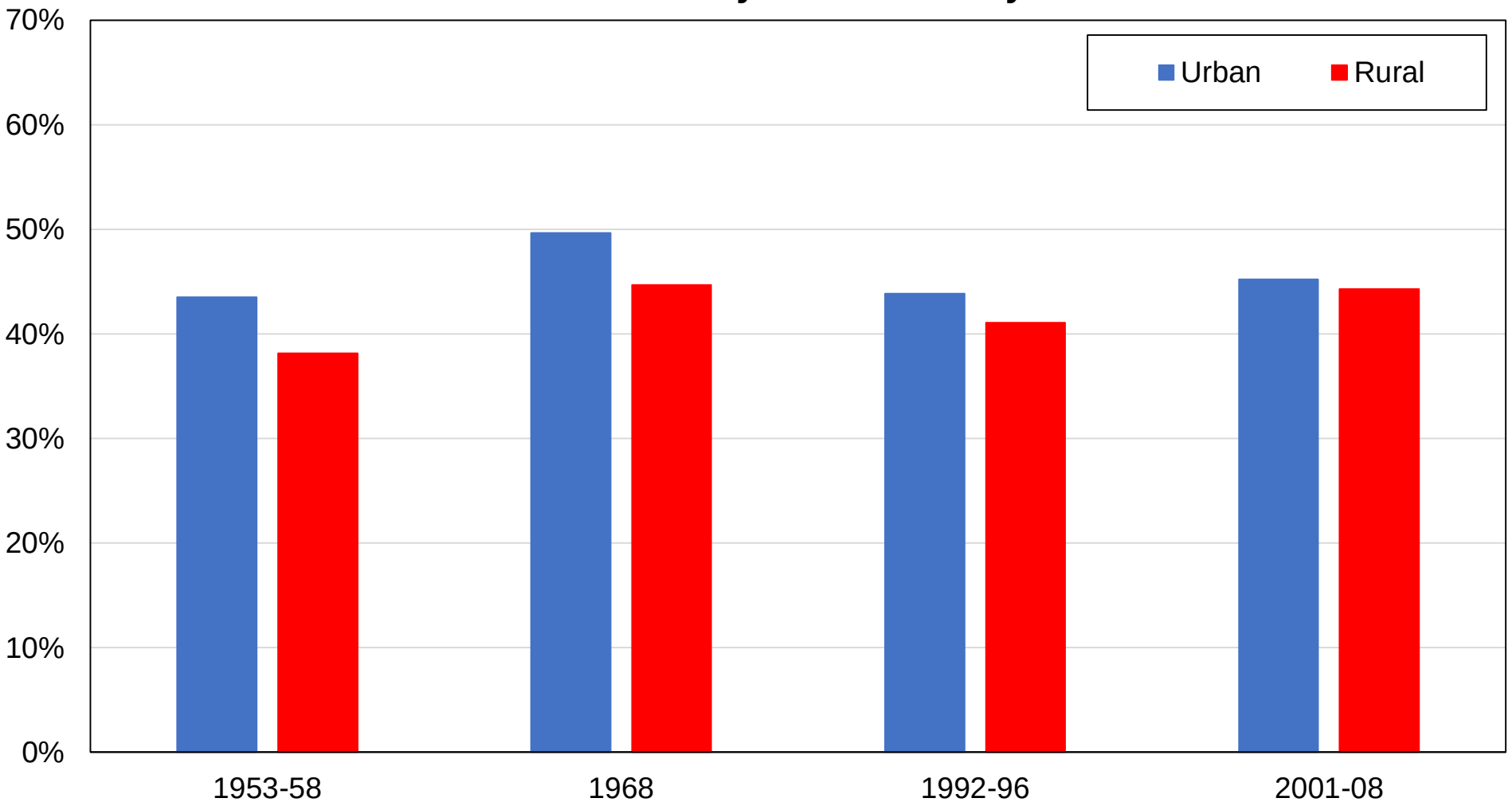
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by frequency of church attendance.

Figure AB8 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S by occupation in Italy



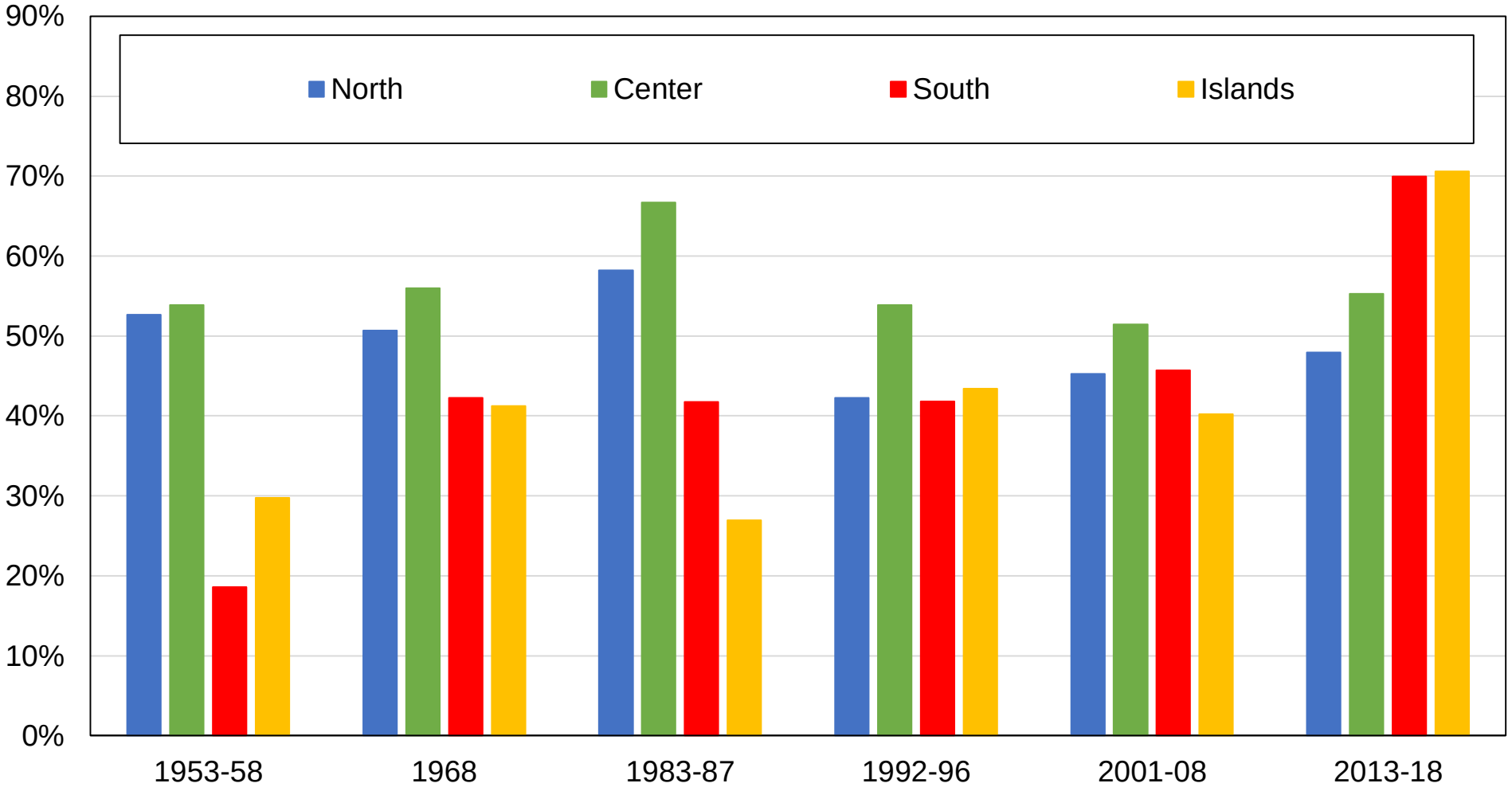
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by occupation.

Figure AB9 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S by location in Italy



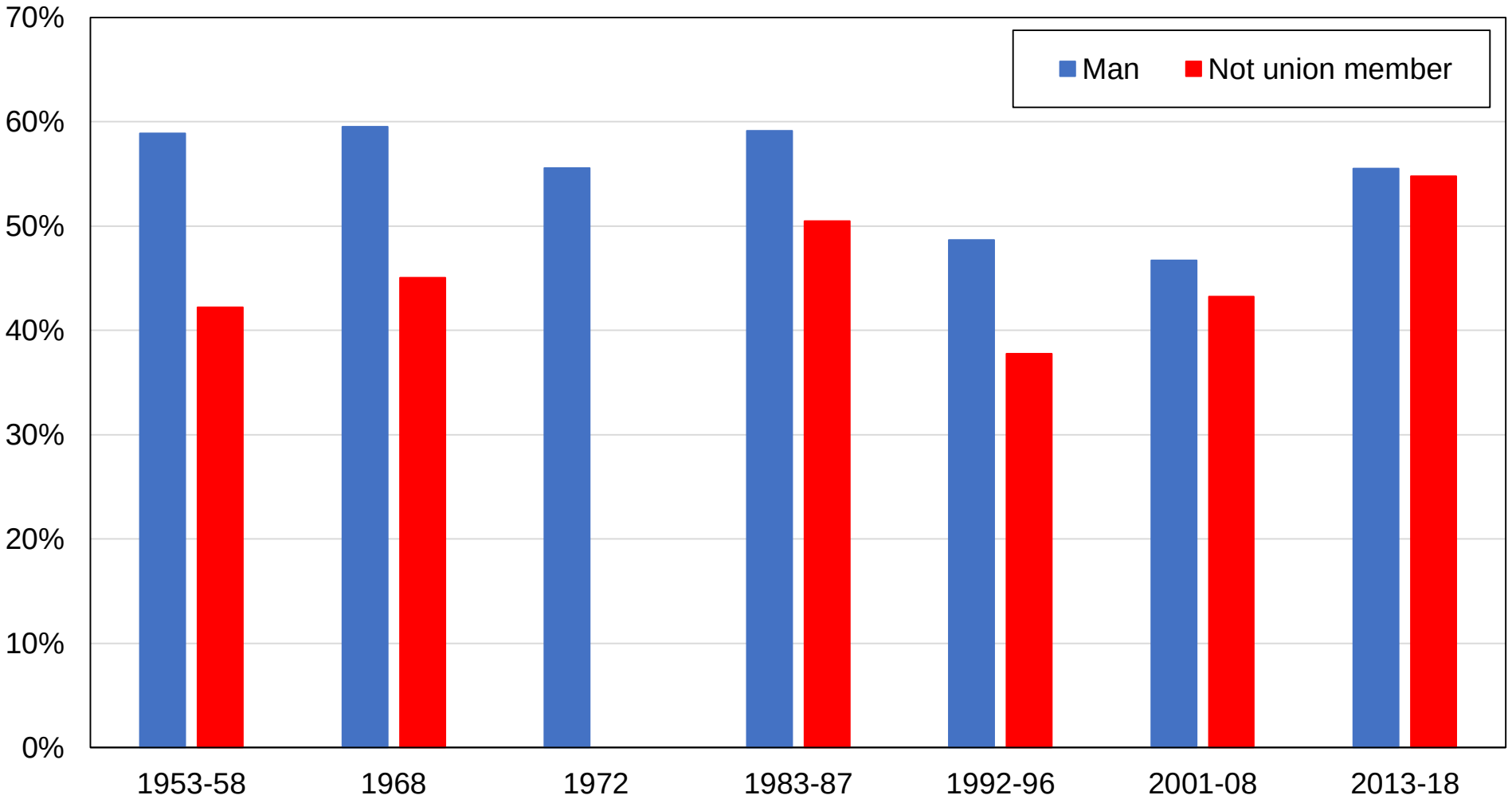
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by rural-urban location.

Figure AB10 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S by region in Italy



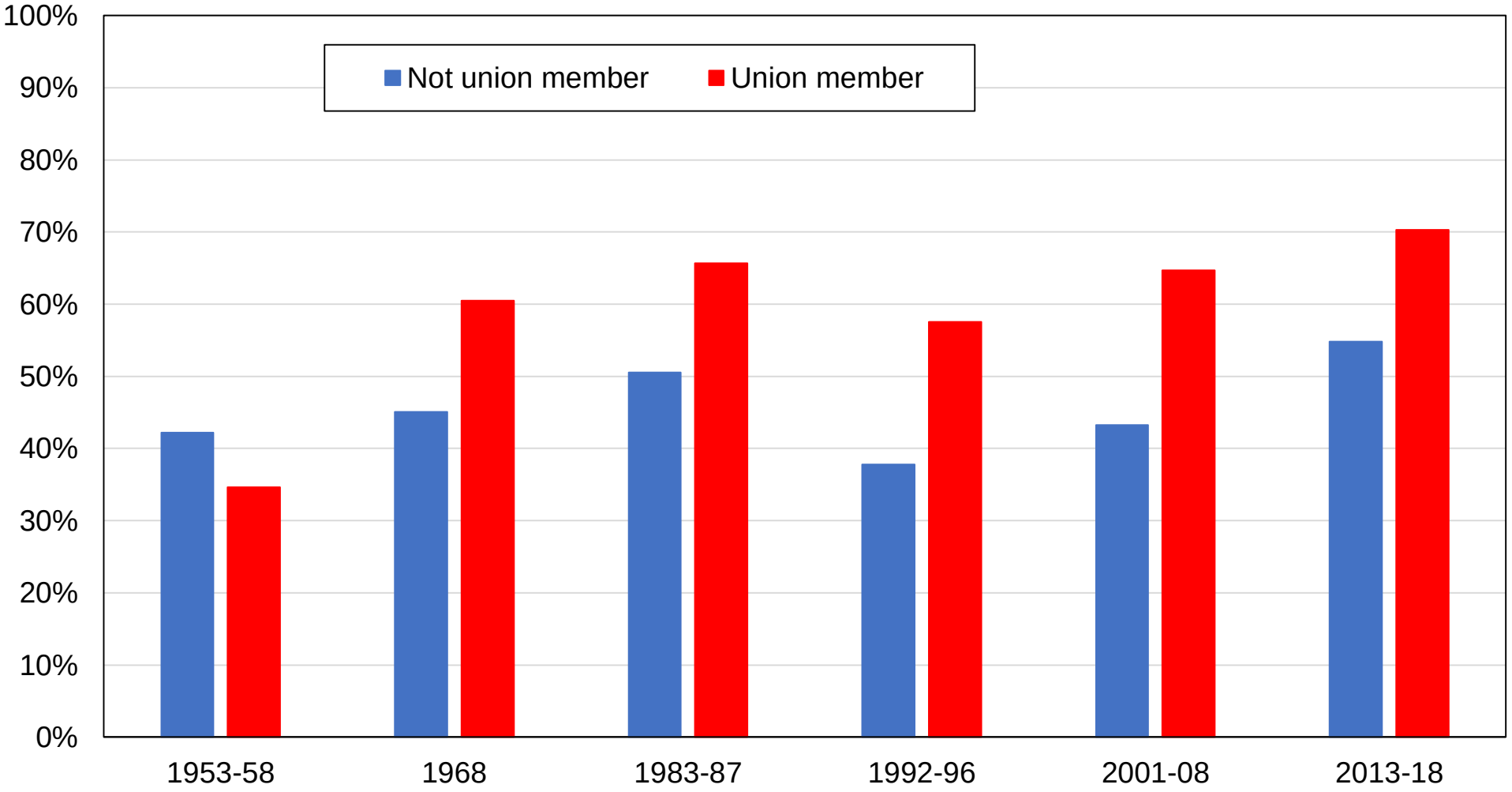
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by state of residence.

Figure AB11 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S by gender in Italy



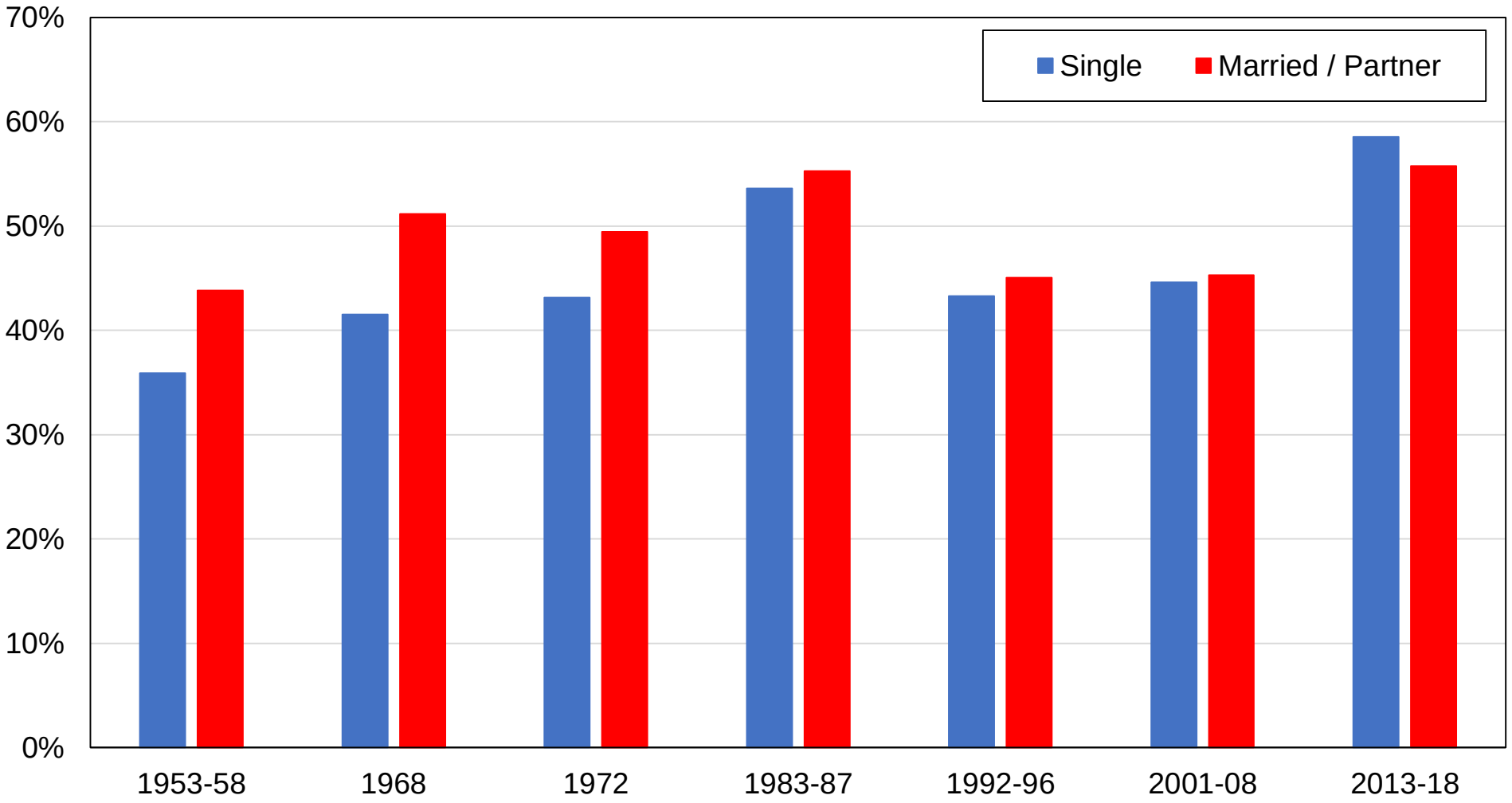
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by gender.

Figure AB12 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S by union membership in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by union membership status.

Figure AB13 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S by marital status in Italy

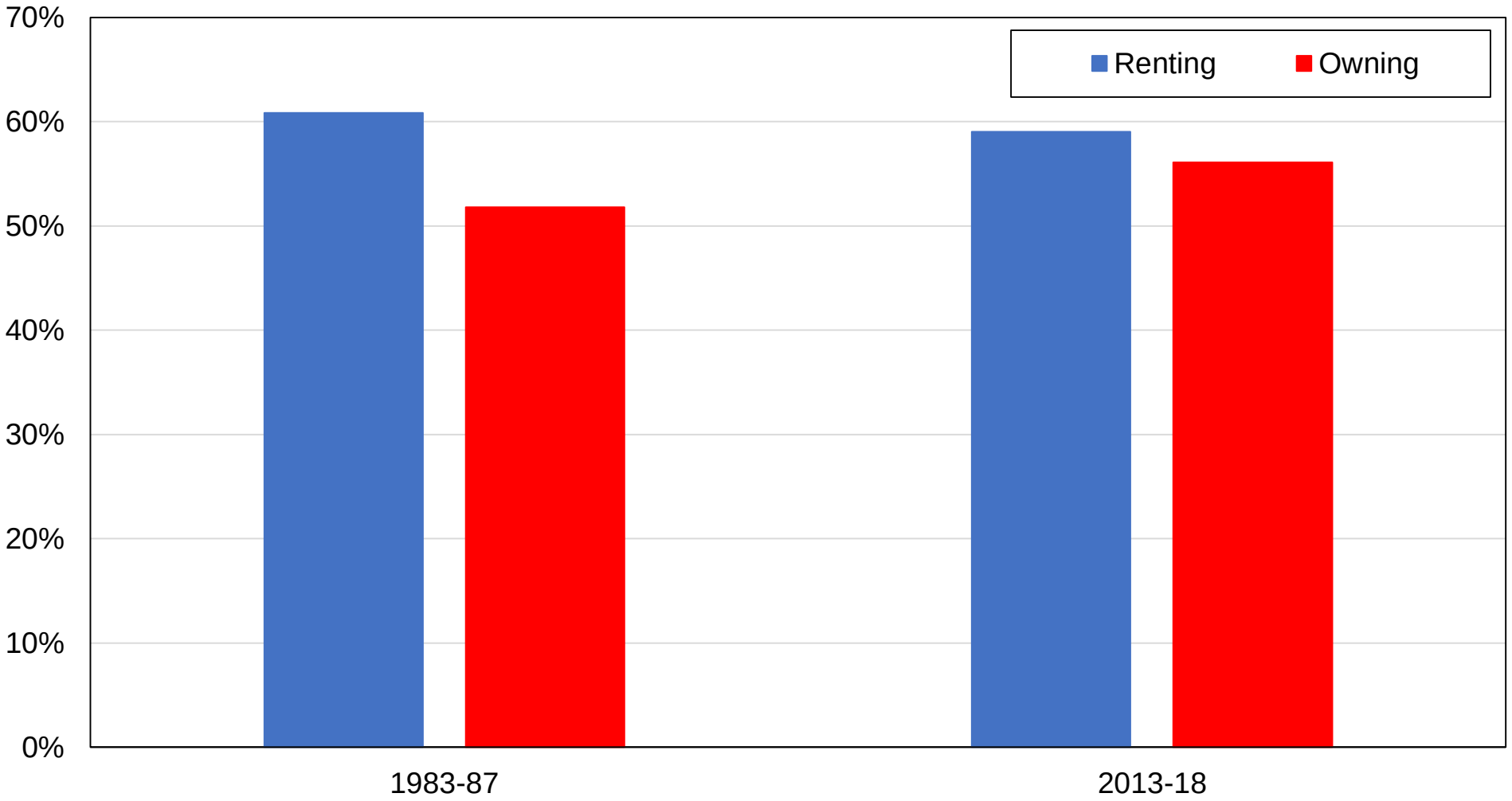


Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by marital status.

Figure AB14 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S by perceived social class in Italy

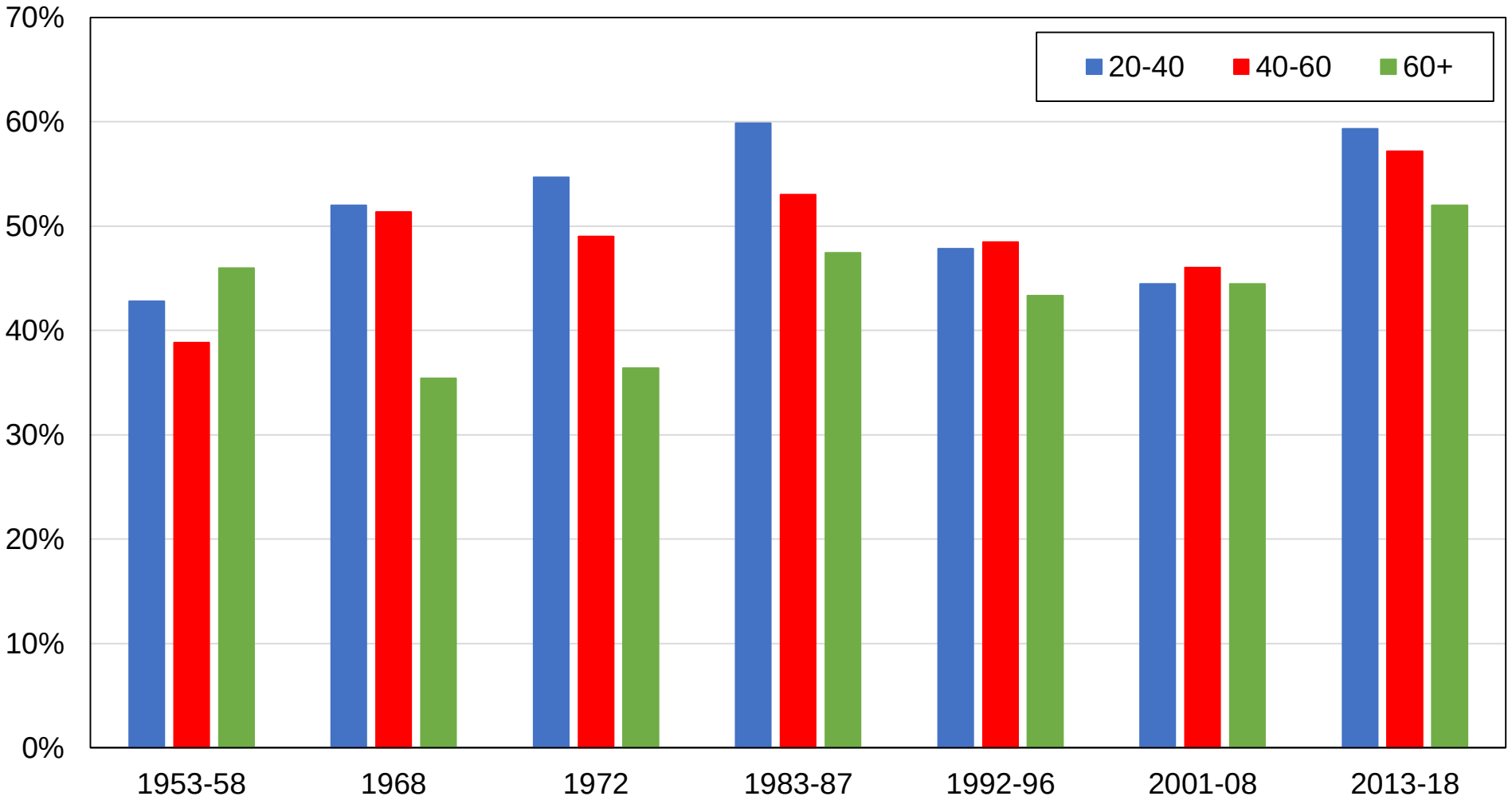
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by self-perceived social class. Working class includes "lower class". Middle class includes "no class" and "upper class".

Figure AB15 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S by home status



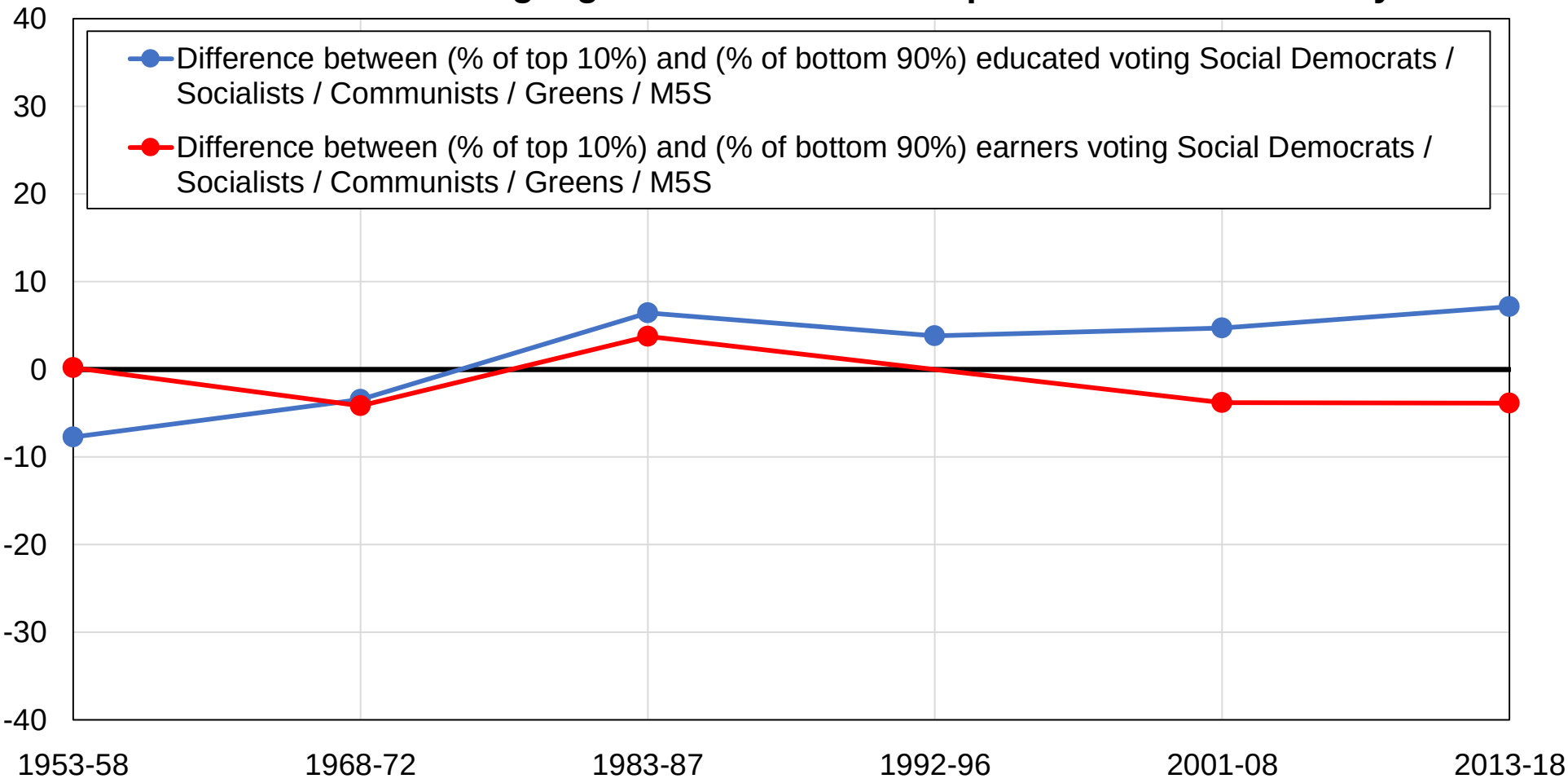
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by home ownership status.

Figure AB16 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S by age group in Italy



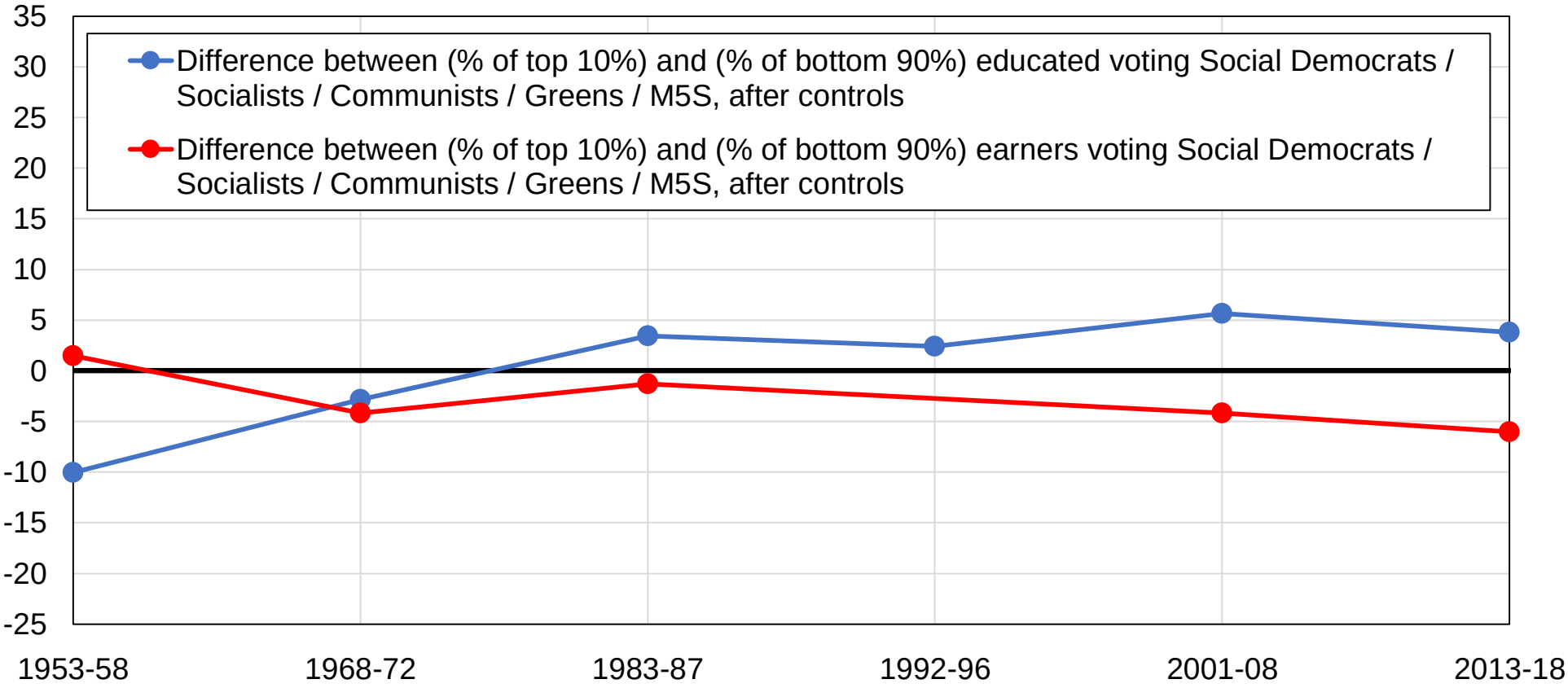
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by home ownership status.

Figure AB17 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among highest-educated and top income earners in Italy



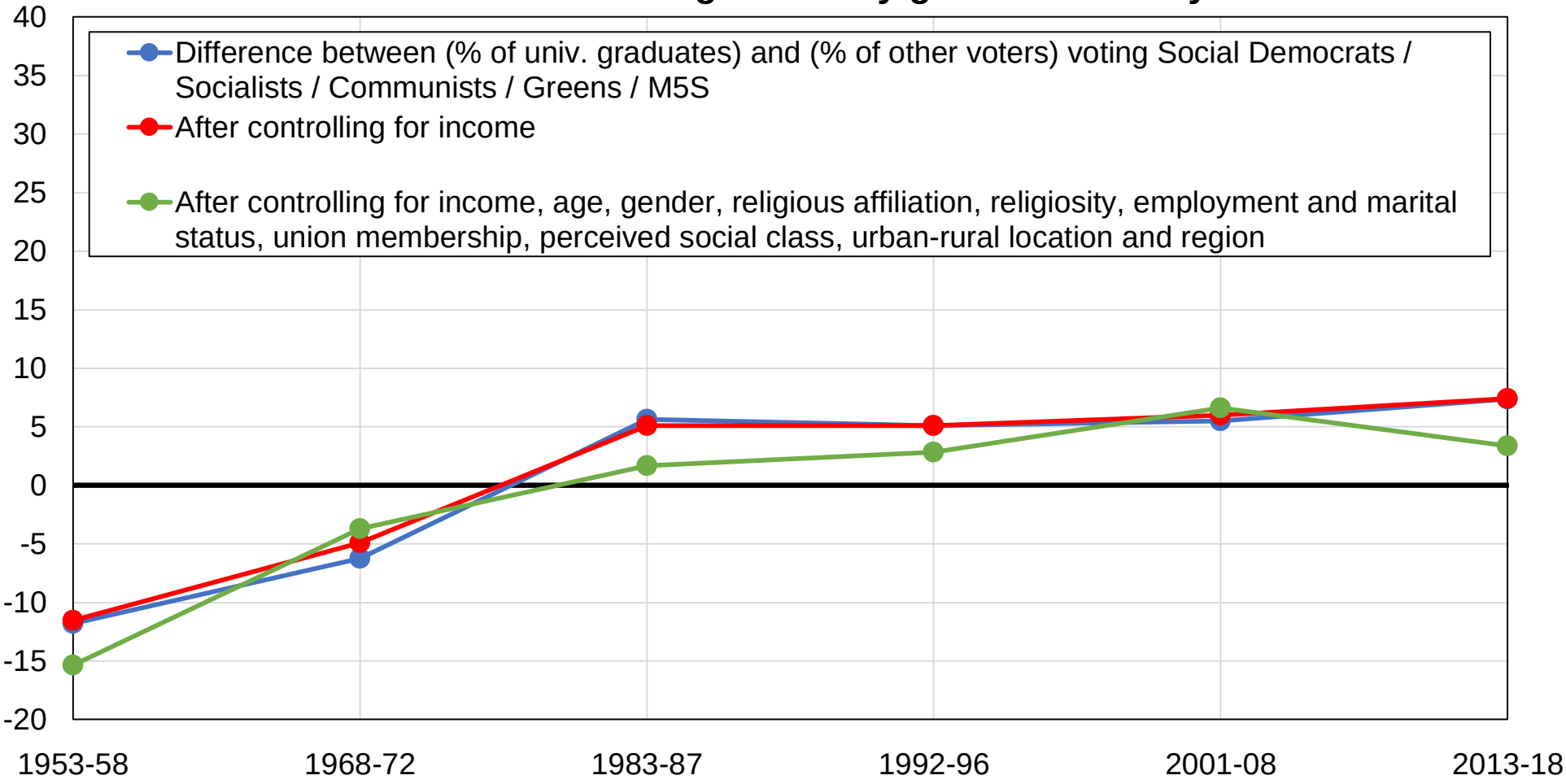
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated and top income voters and the share of other voters voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, before controlling for other variables.

Figure AB18 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among highest-educated and top income earners in Italy, after controls



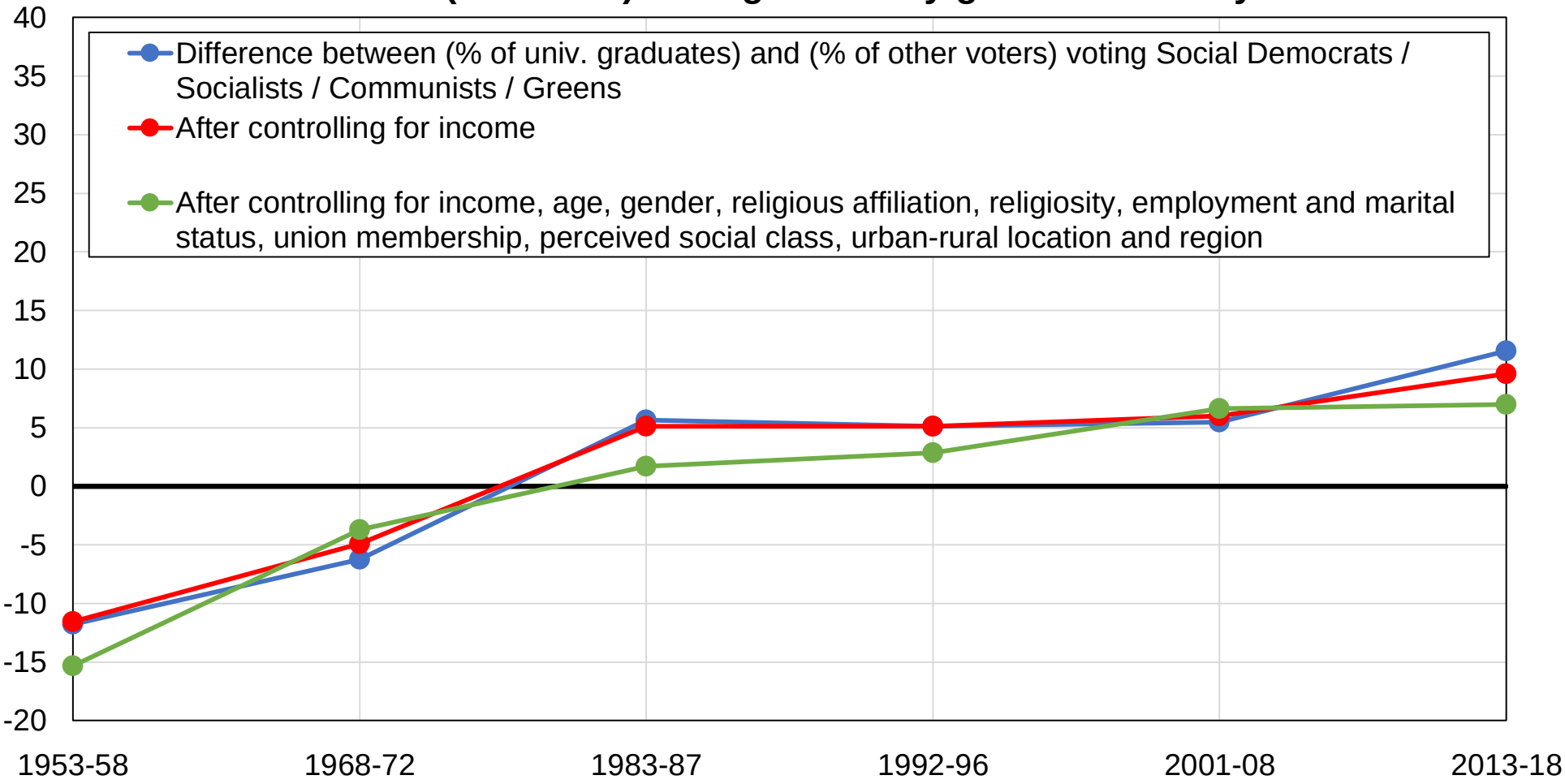
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated and top income voters and the share of other voters voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, after controlling for age, gender, religious affiliation, religiosity, employment and marital status, union membership, perceived social class, urban-rural location and region.

Figure AB19 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among university graduates in Italy



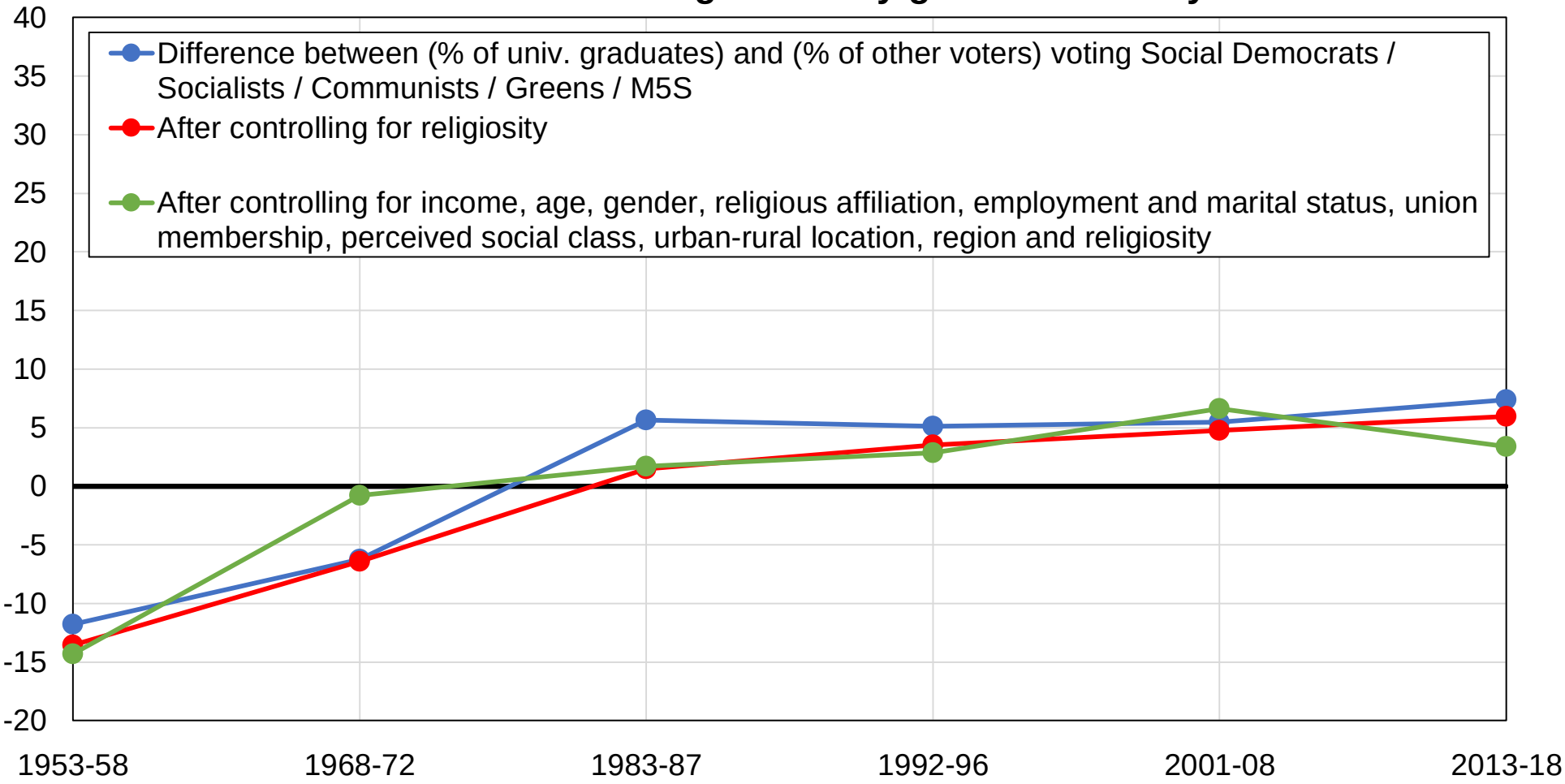
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure AB20 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens (excl. M5S) among university graduates in Italy



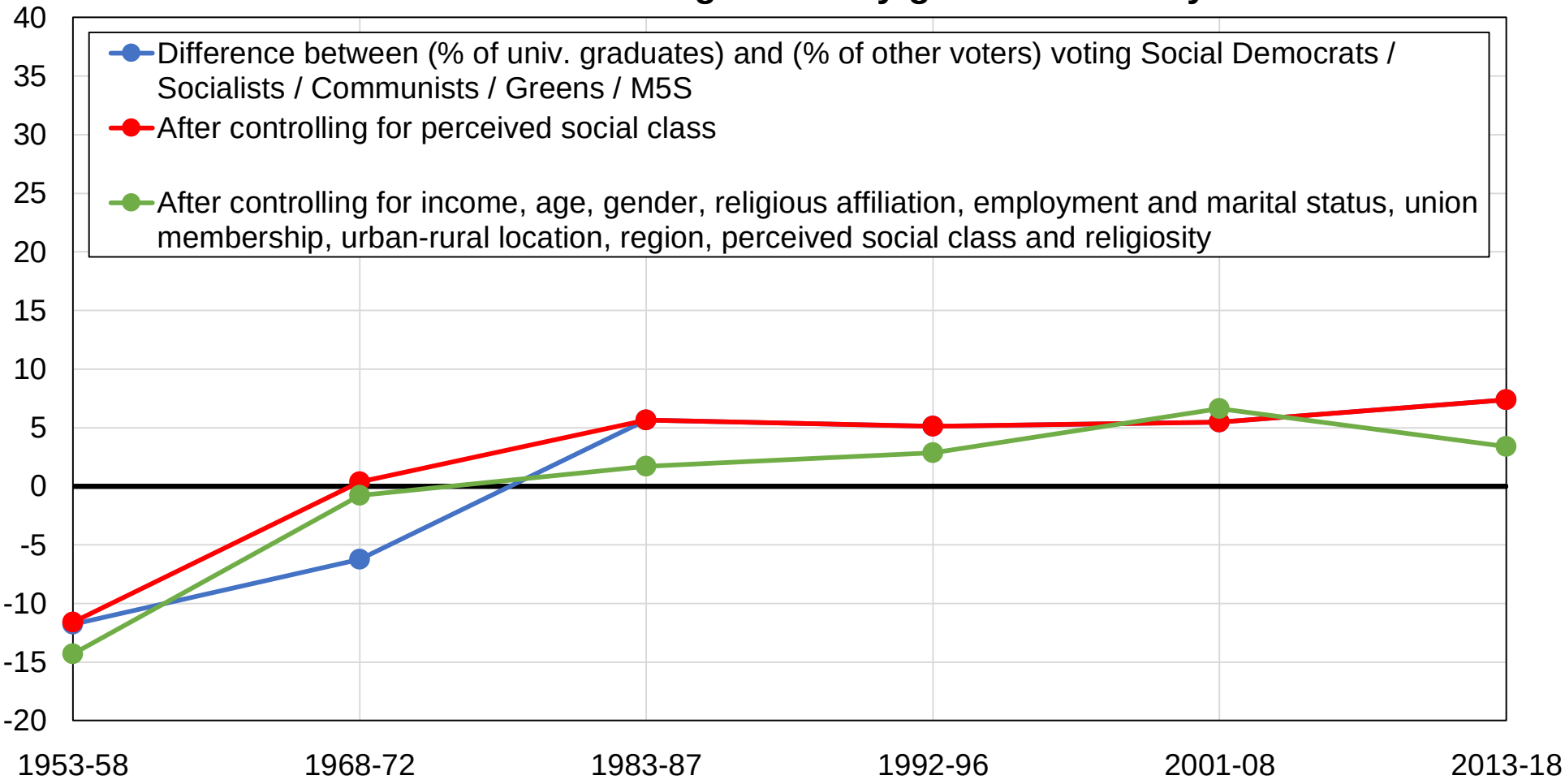
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens excluding 5 Starts Movement, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure AB21 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among university graduates in Italy



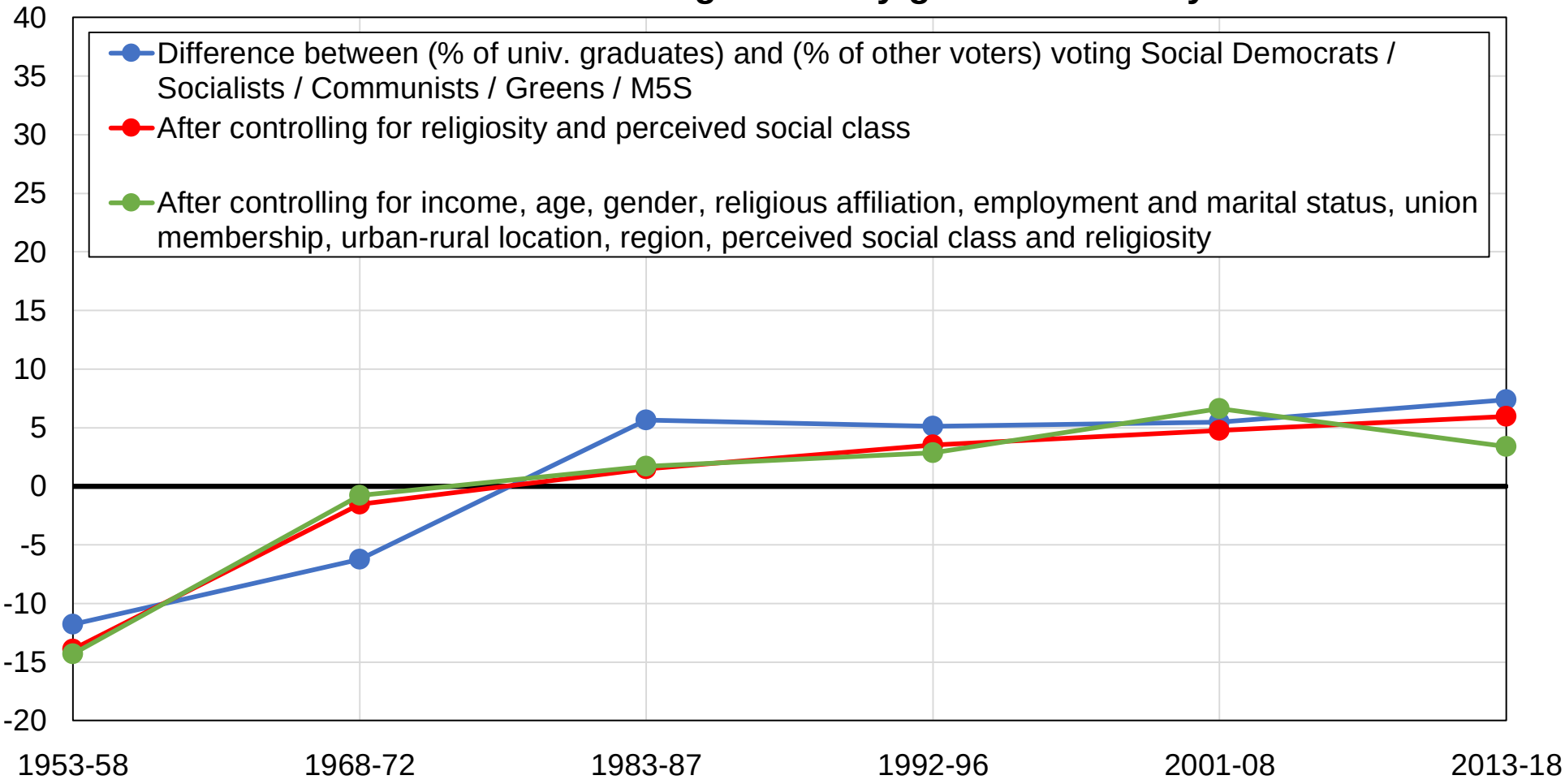
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure AB22 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among university graduates in Italy



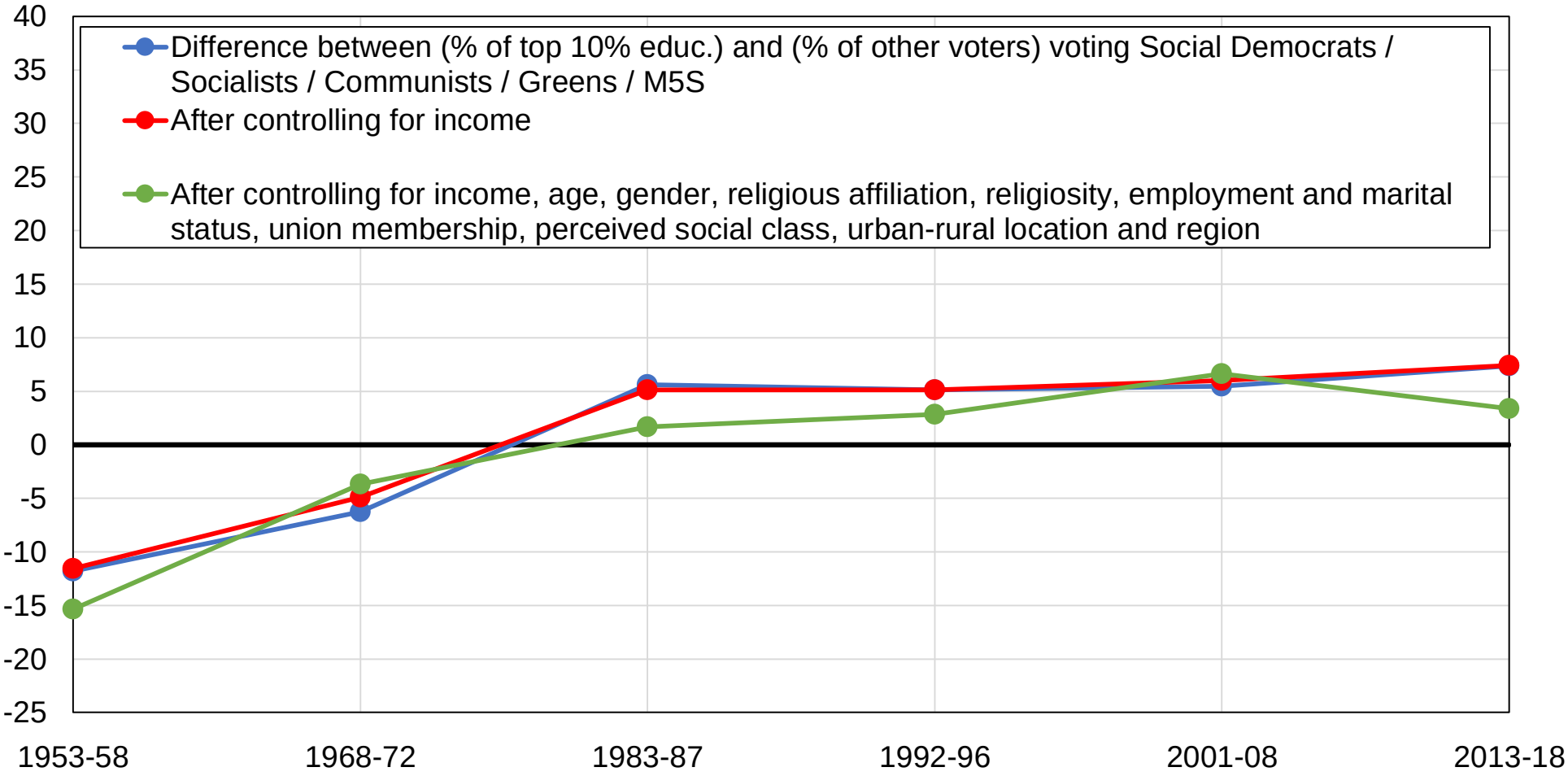
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure AB23 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among university graduates in Italy



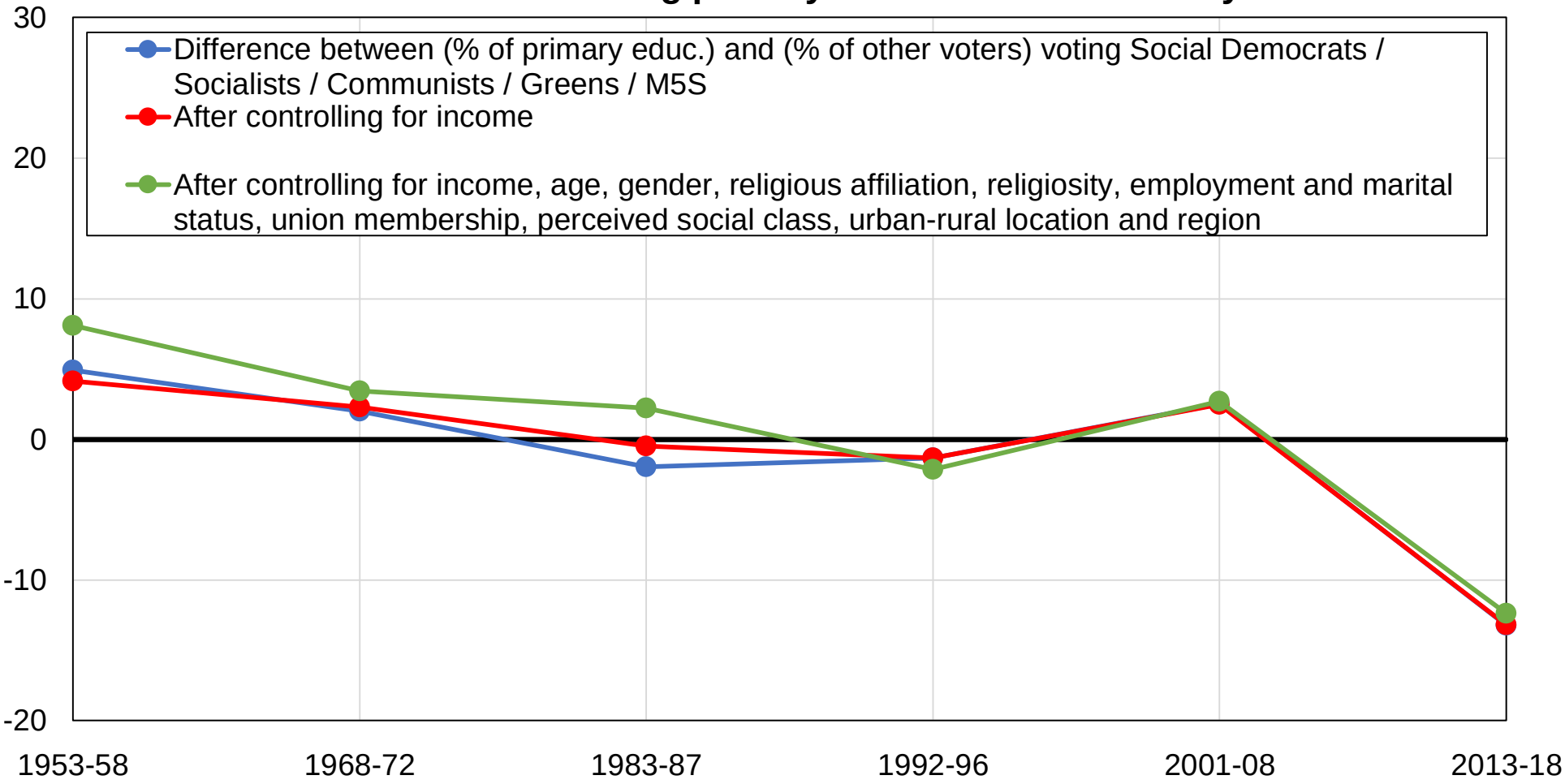
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure AB24 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among highest-educated voters in Italy



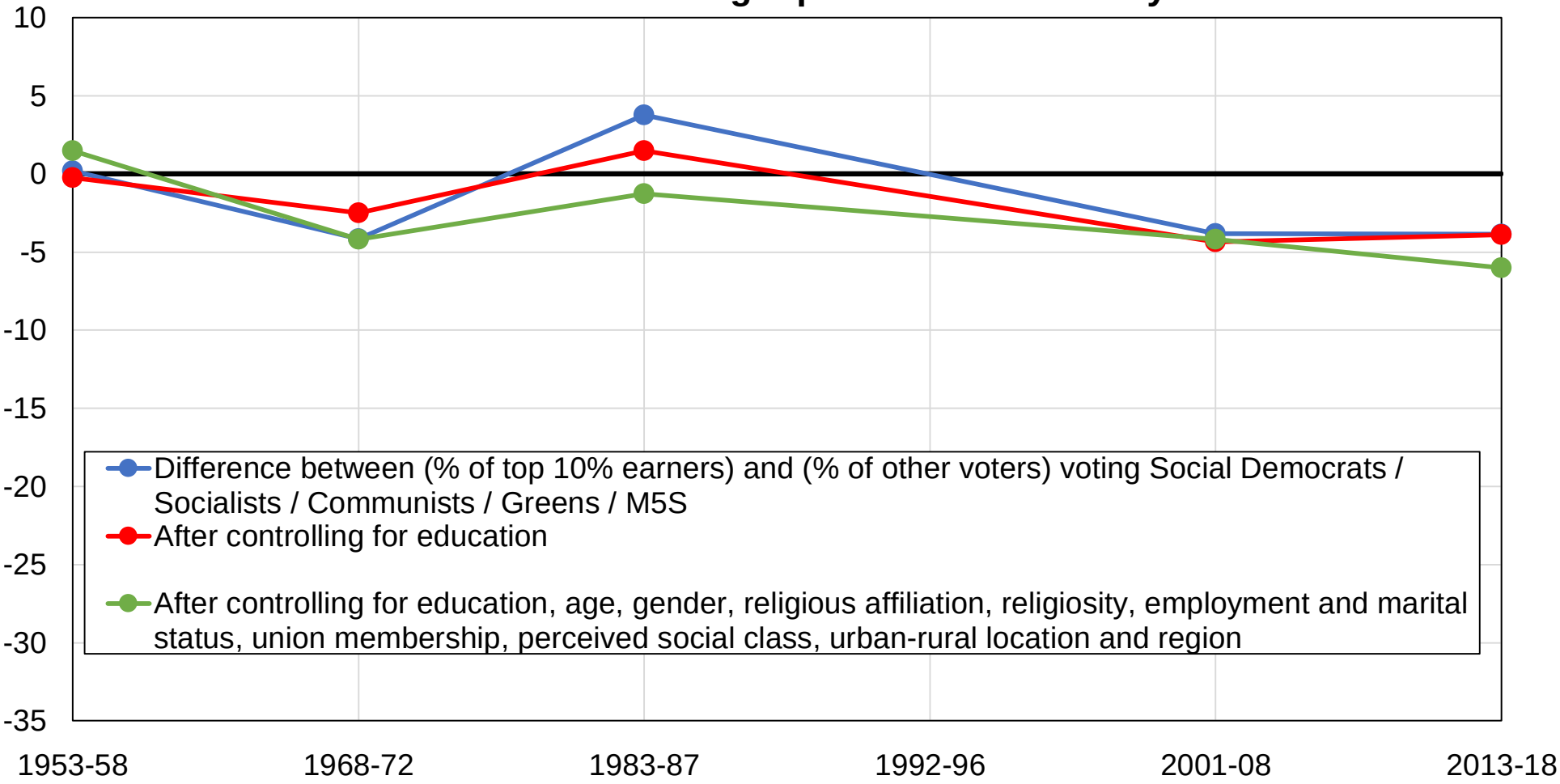
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of other voters voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure AB25 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among primary-educated voters in Italy



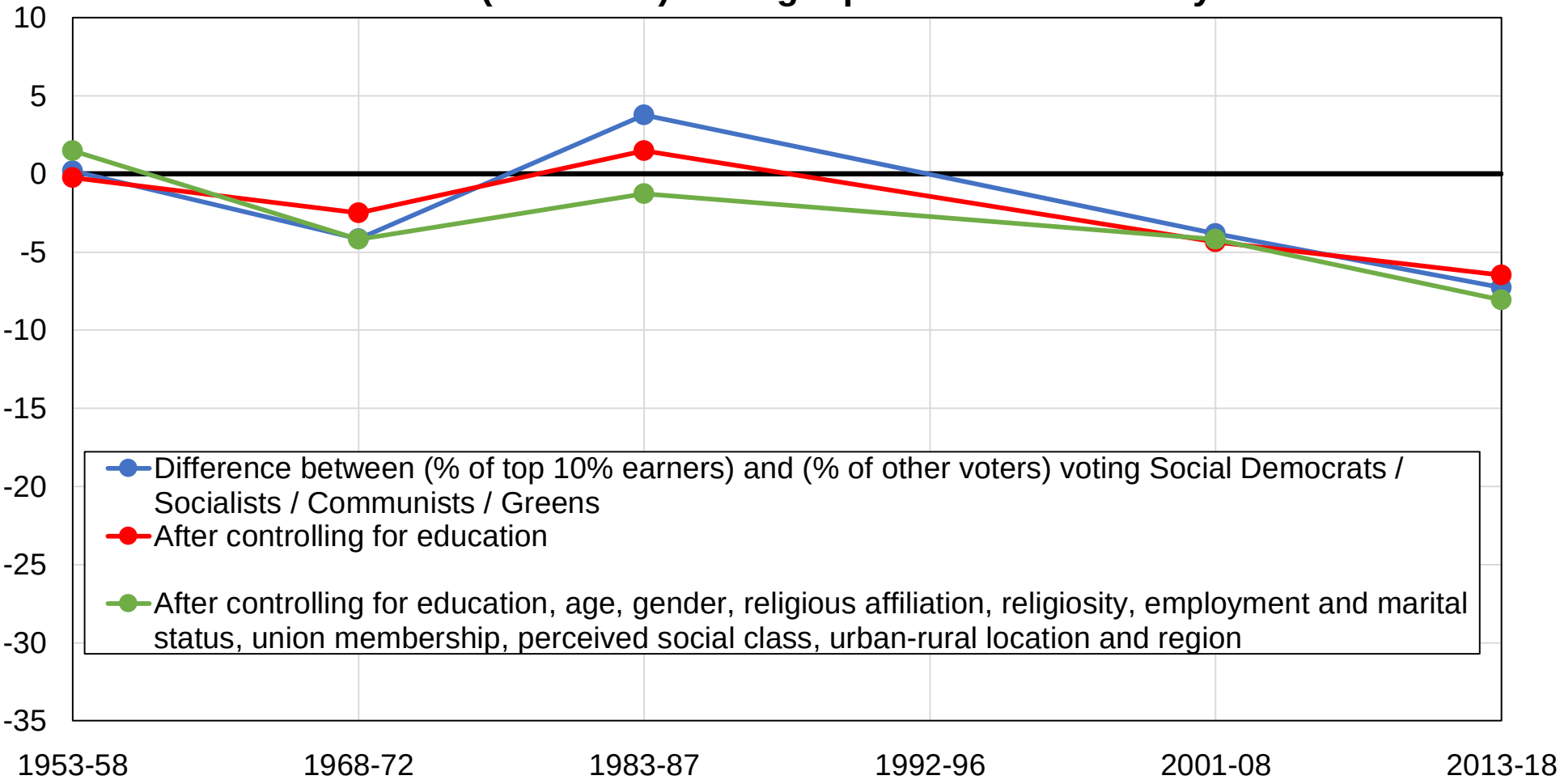
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of primary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure AB26 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among top 10% earners in Italy



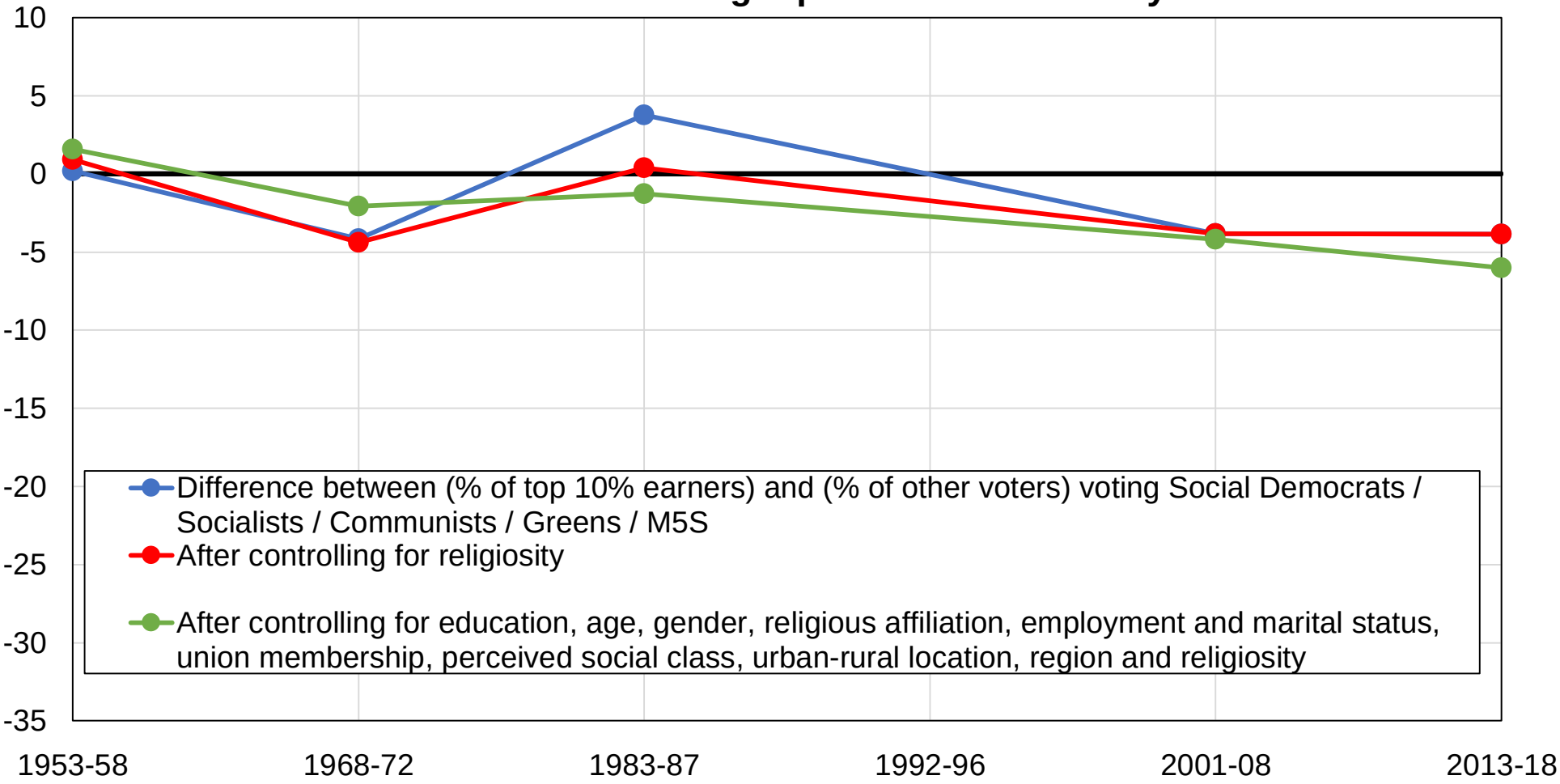
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure AB27 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens (excl. M5S) among top 10% earners in Italy



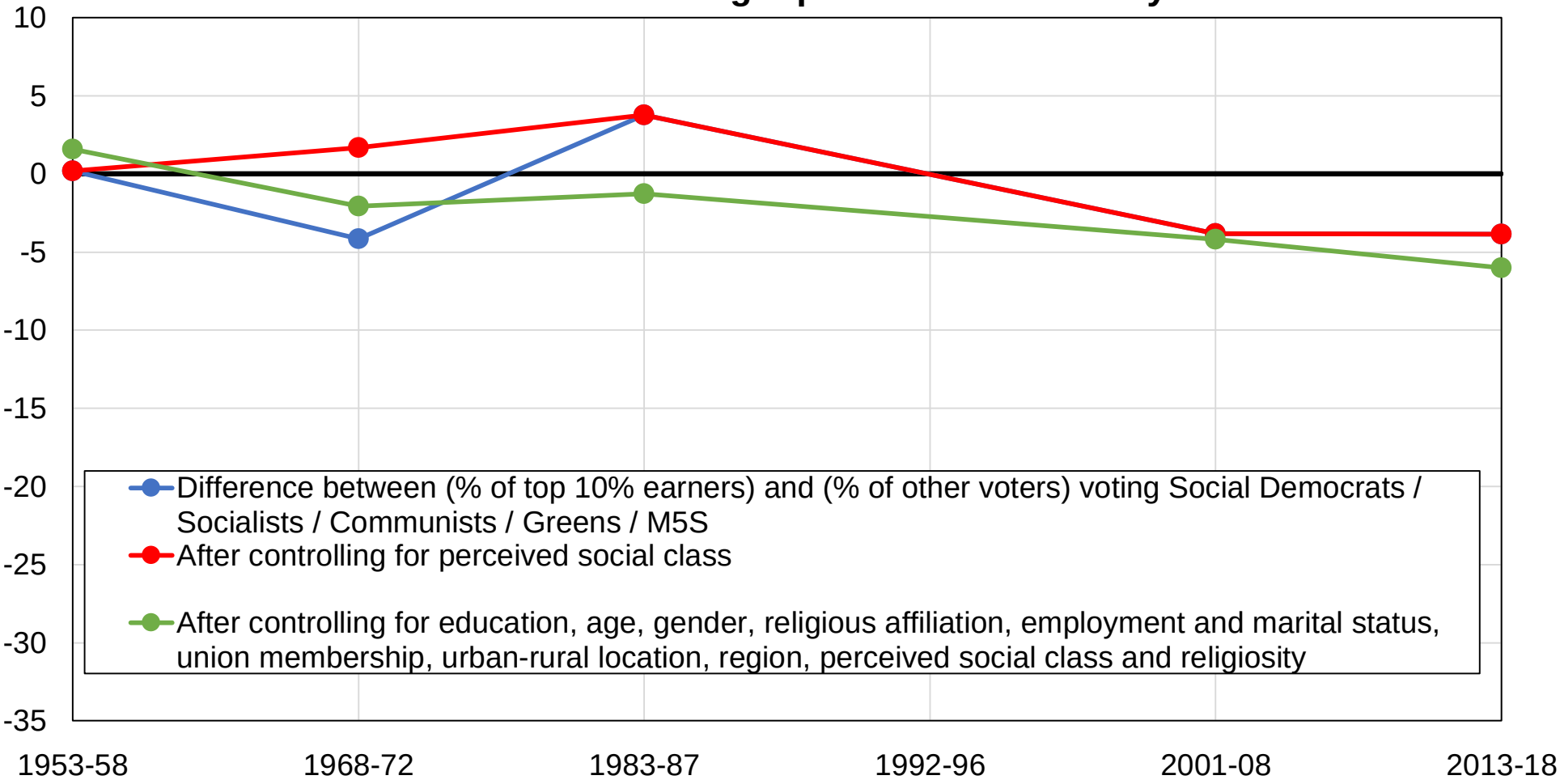
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens excluding 5 Star Movement, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure AB28 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among top 10% earners in Italy



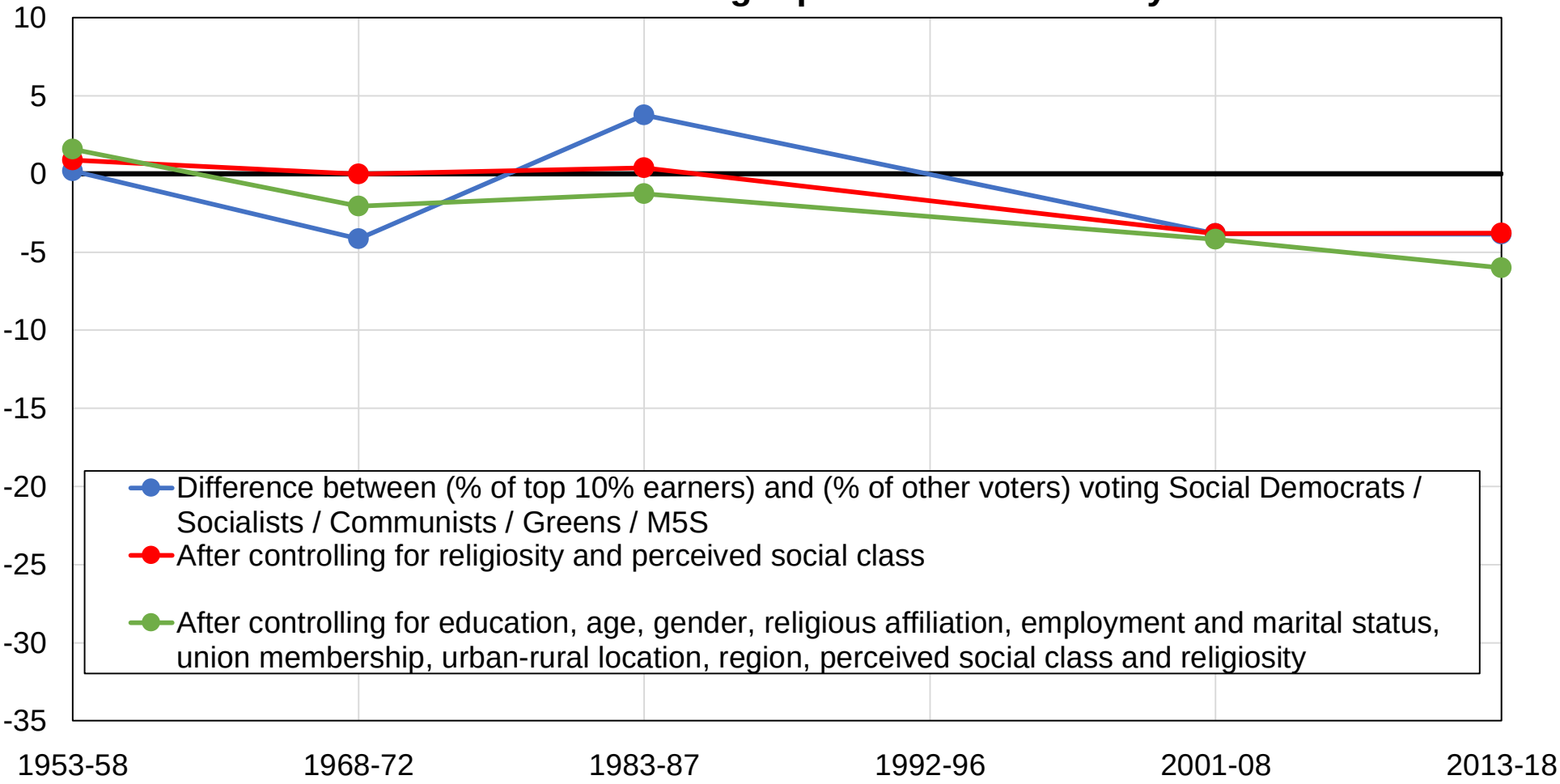
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure AB29 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among top 10% earners in Italy



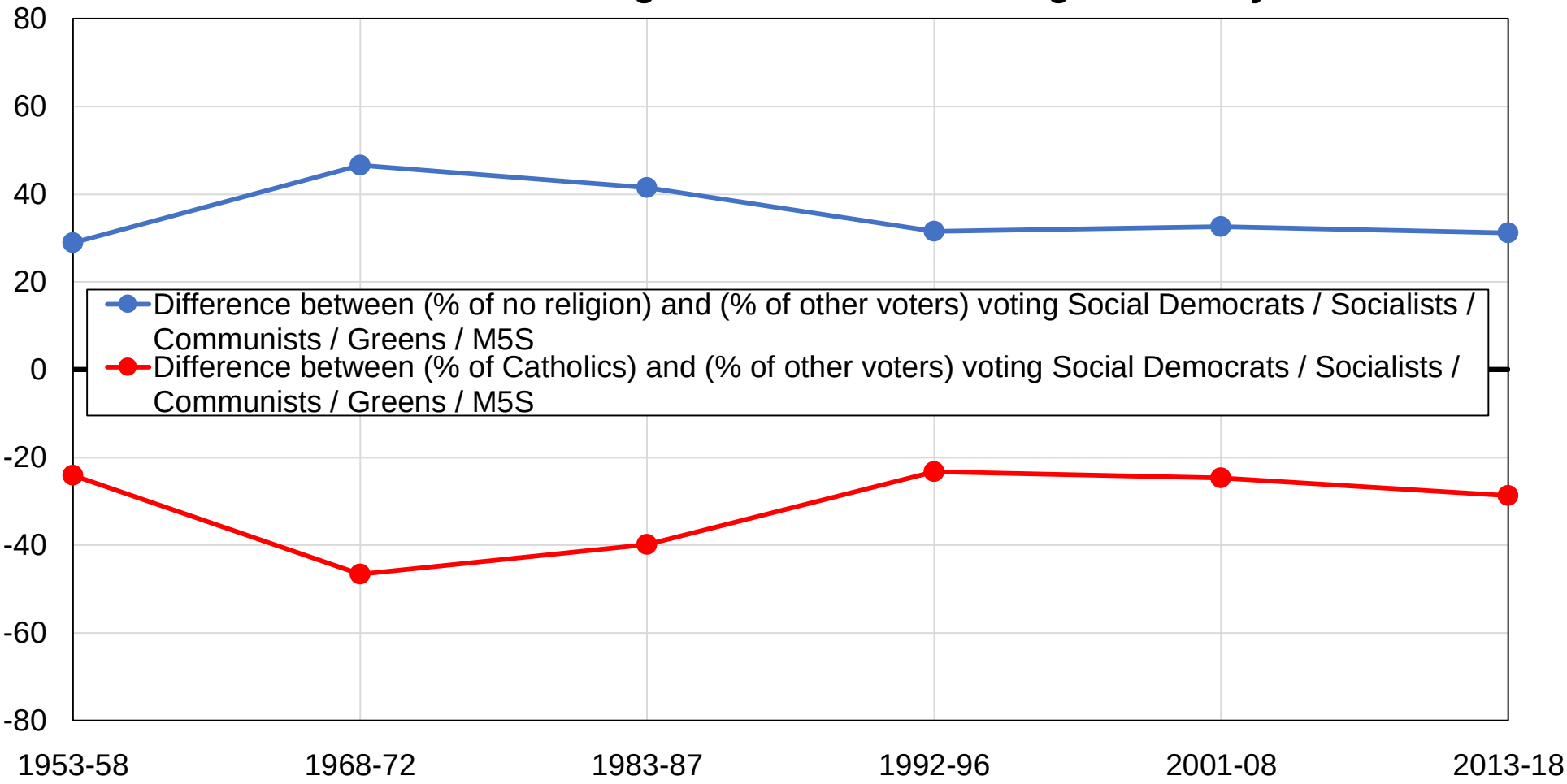
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure AB30 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among top 10% earners in Italy



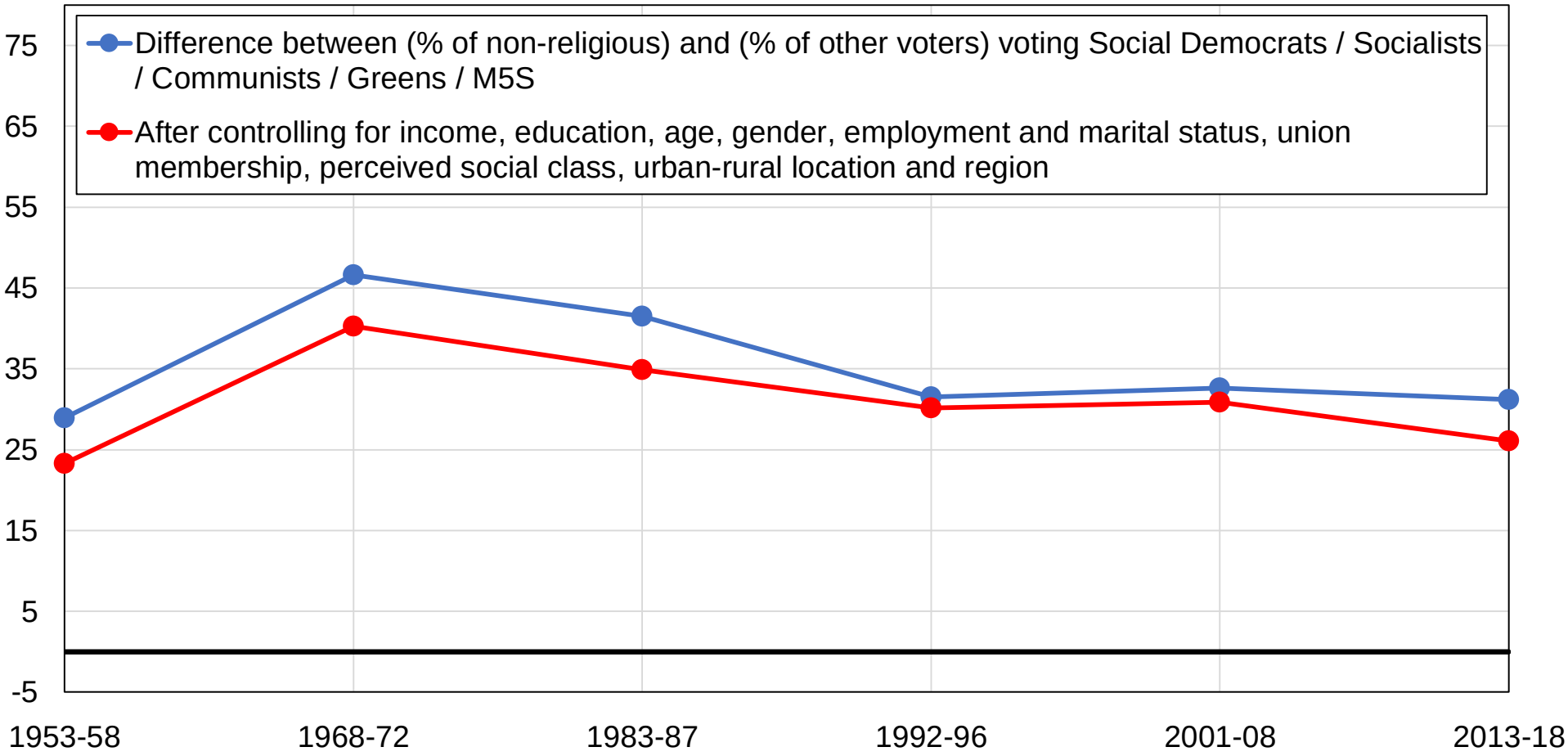
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure AB31 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among Catholics and non-religious in Italy



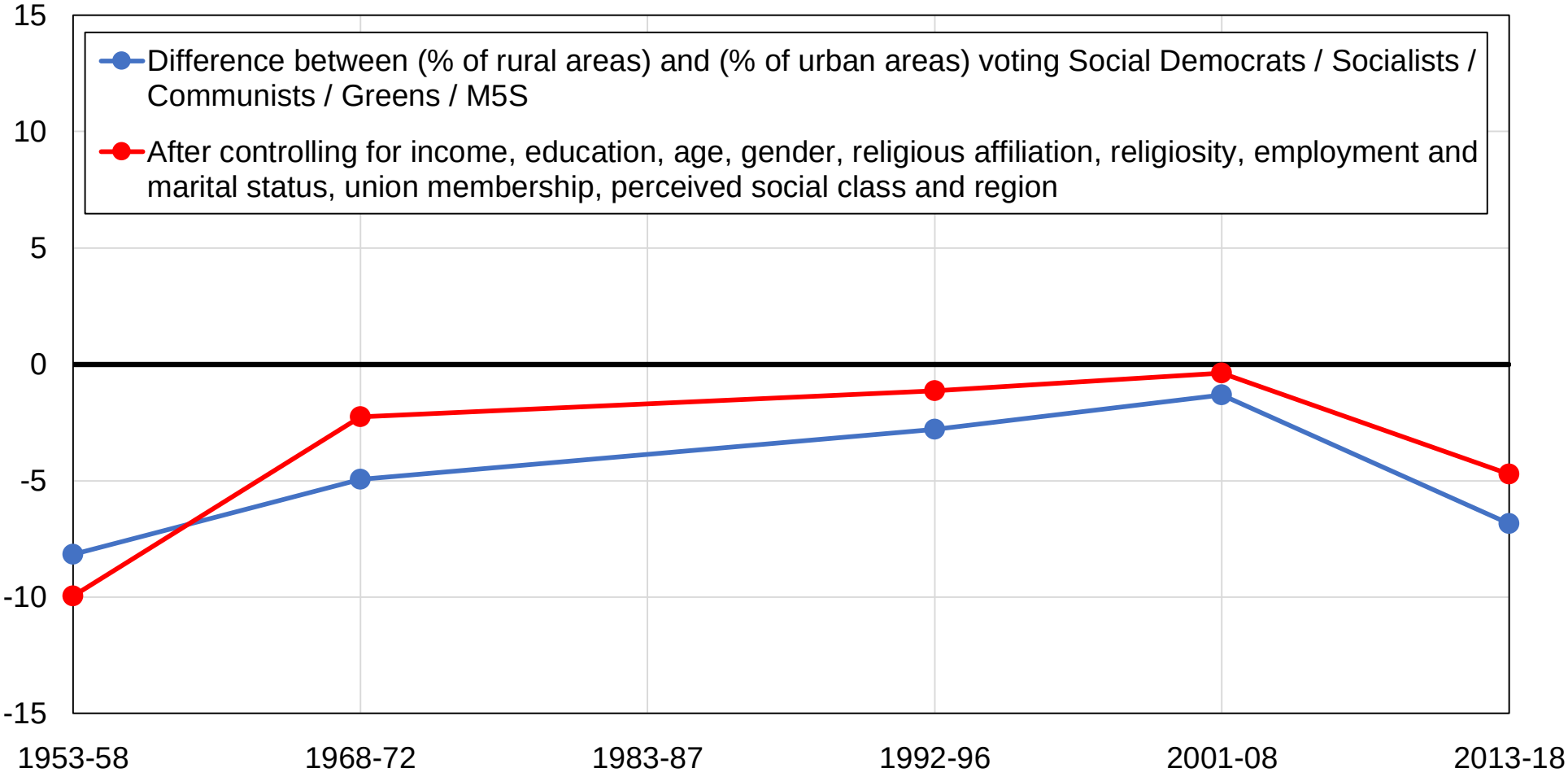
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters declaring no religion and the share of other voters voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, as well as the same difference between Catholics and others voters.

Figure AB32 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among the non-religious in Italy



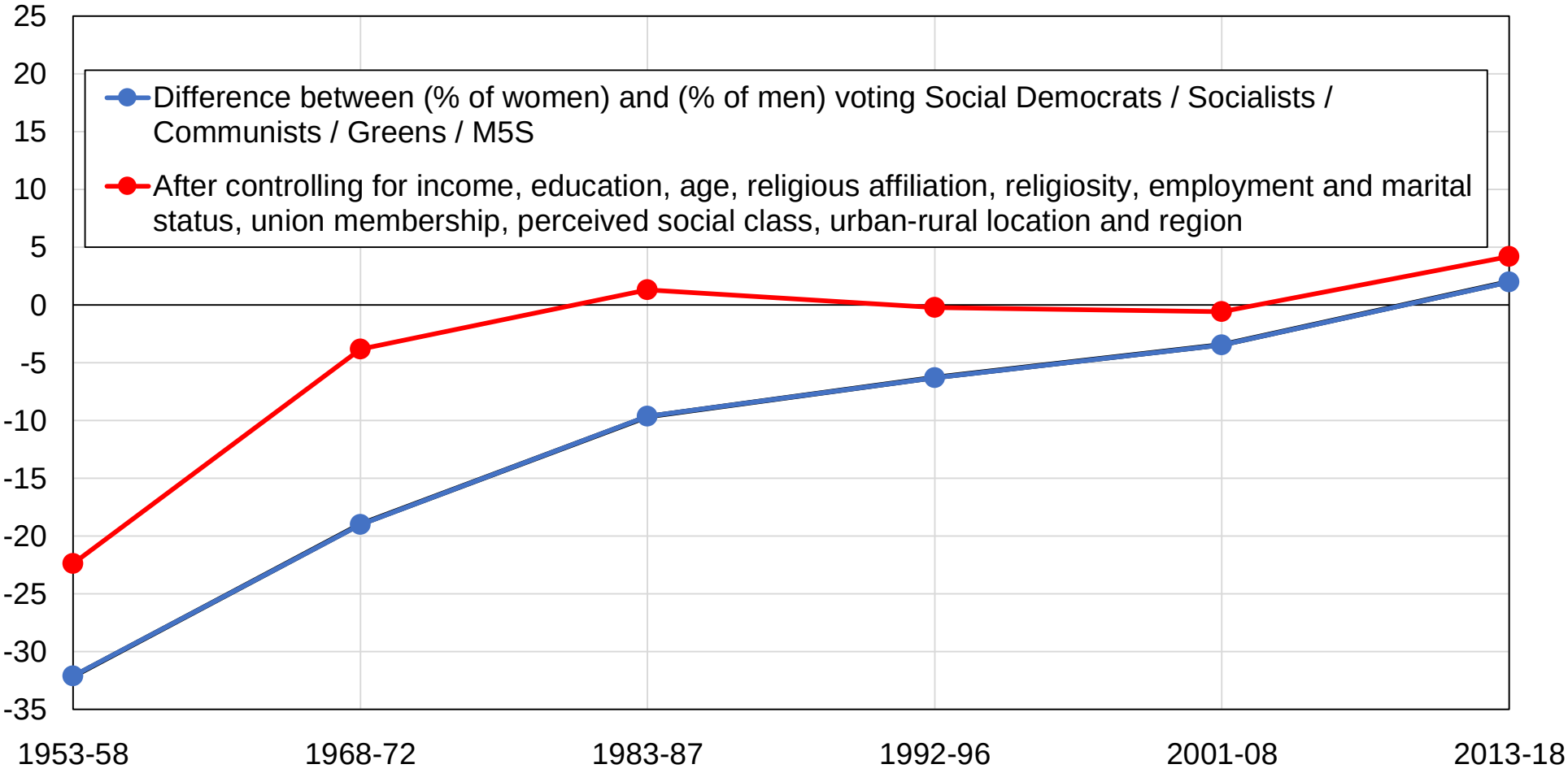
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters never going to church and the share of other voters voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure AB33 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among rural areas in Italy



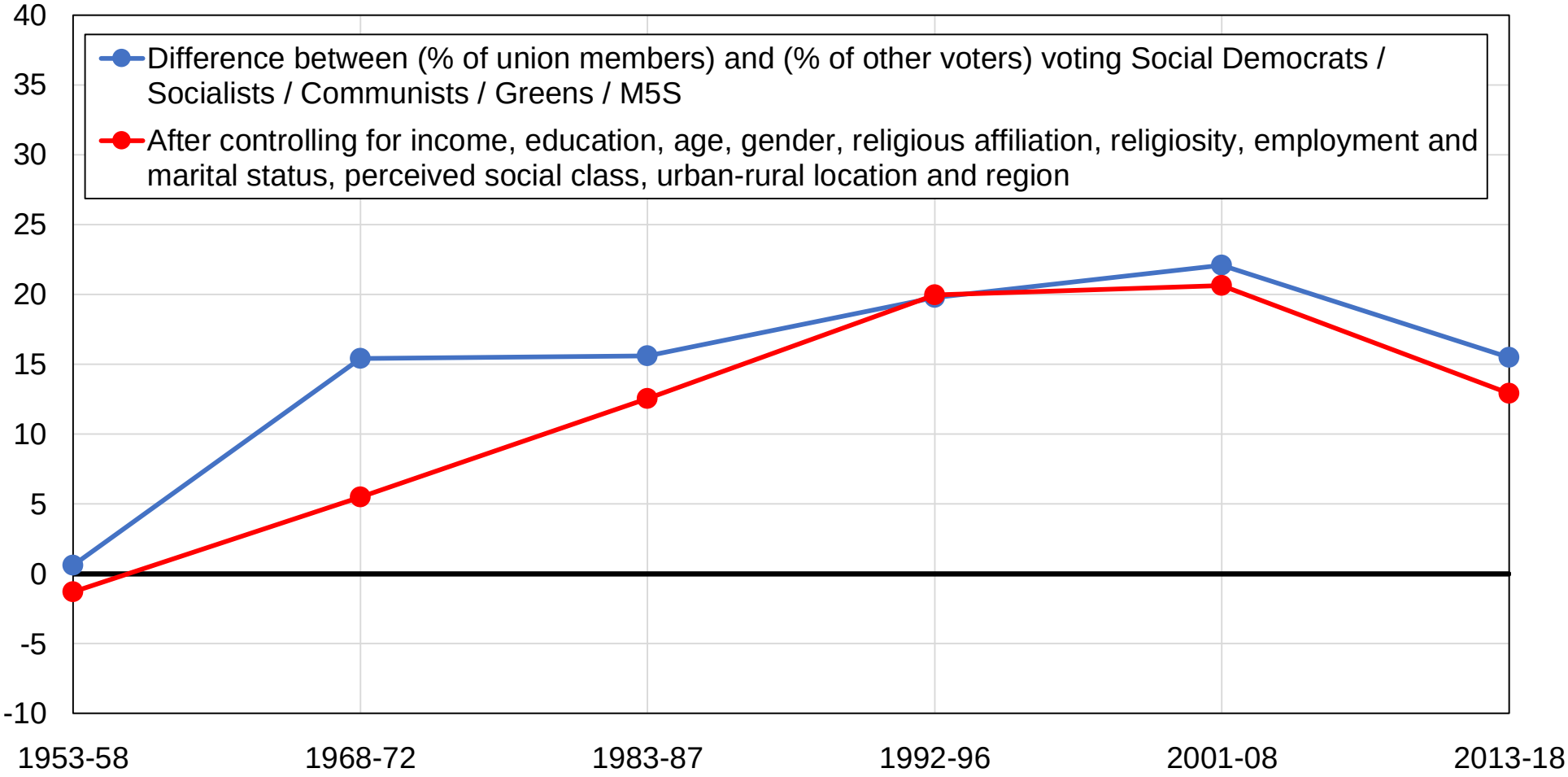
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of rural areas and the share of urban areas voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure AB34 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among women in Italy



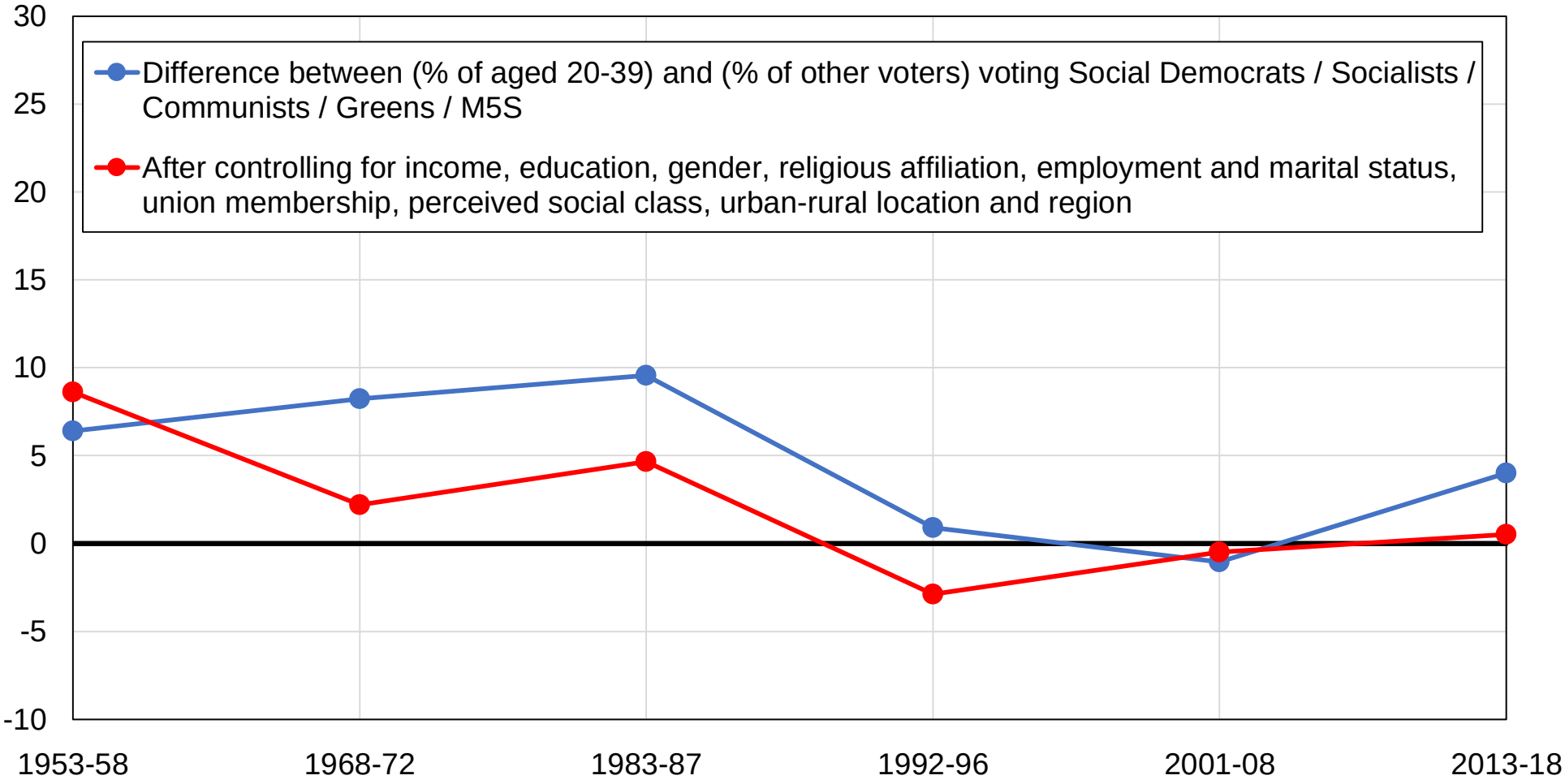
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure AB35 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among union members in Italy



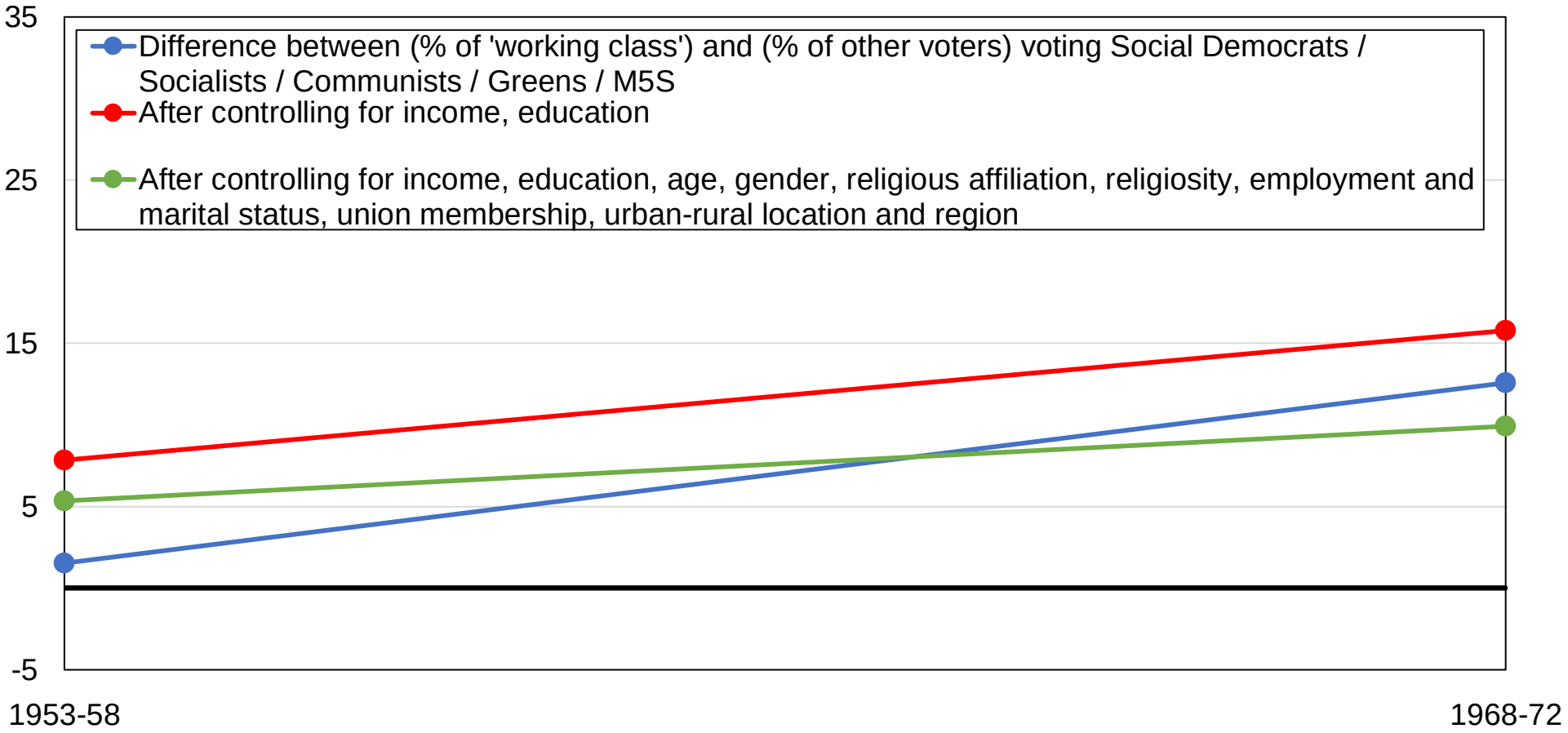
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of union members and the share of other voters voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure AB36 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among young voters in Italy



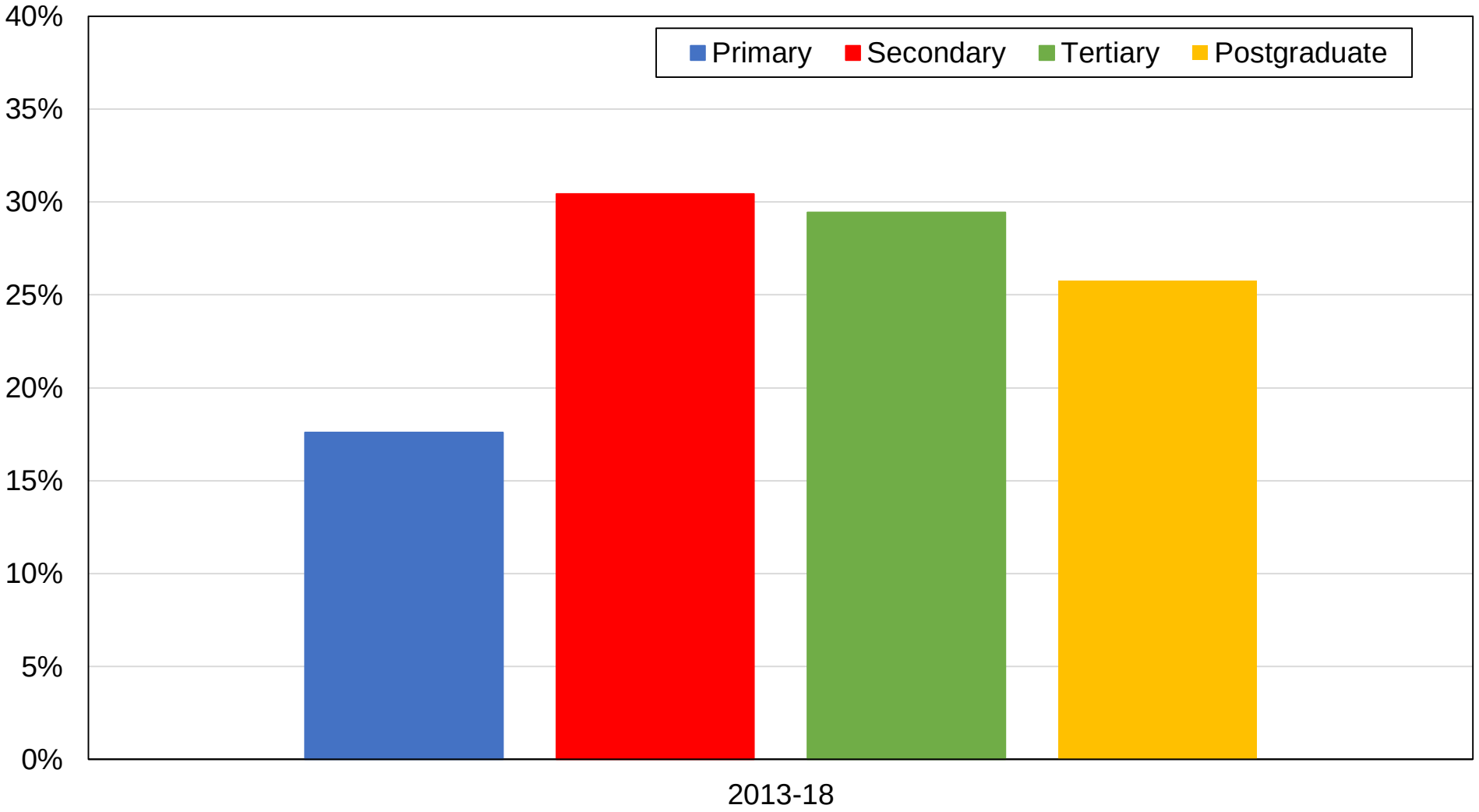
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters aged 20-39 and the share of voters older than 40 voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure AB37 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among the working class in Italy



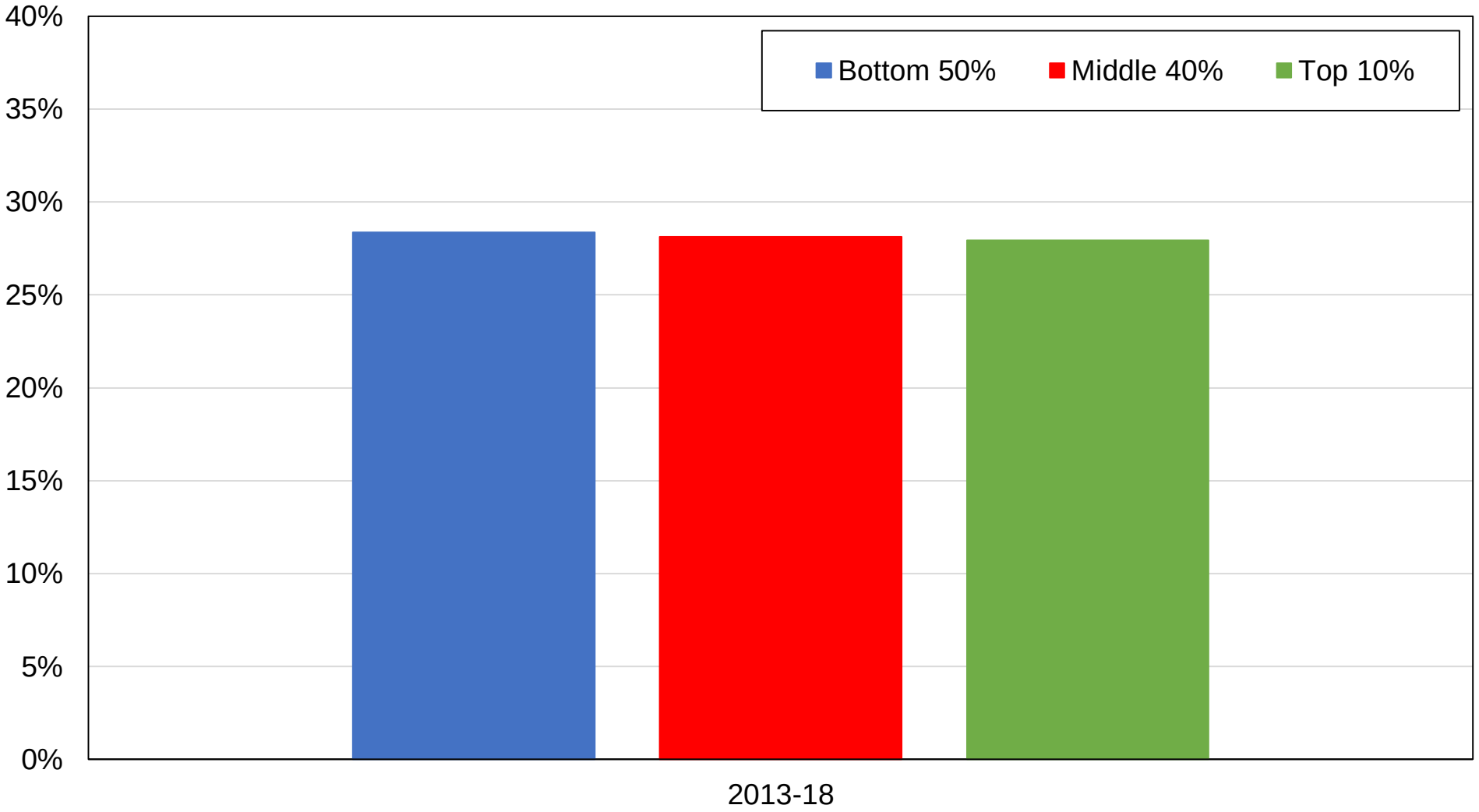
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters perceiving themselves as "working class" and the share of other voters perceiving themselves as "middle class" of "no class" voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure AC1 - Vote for Five Star Movement by education level in Italy



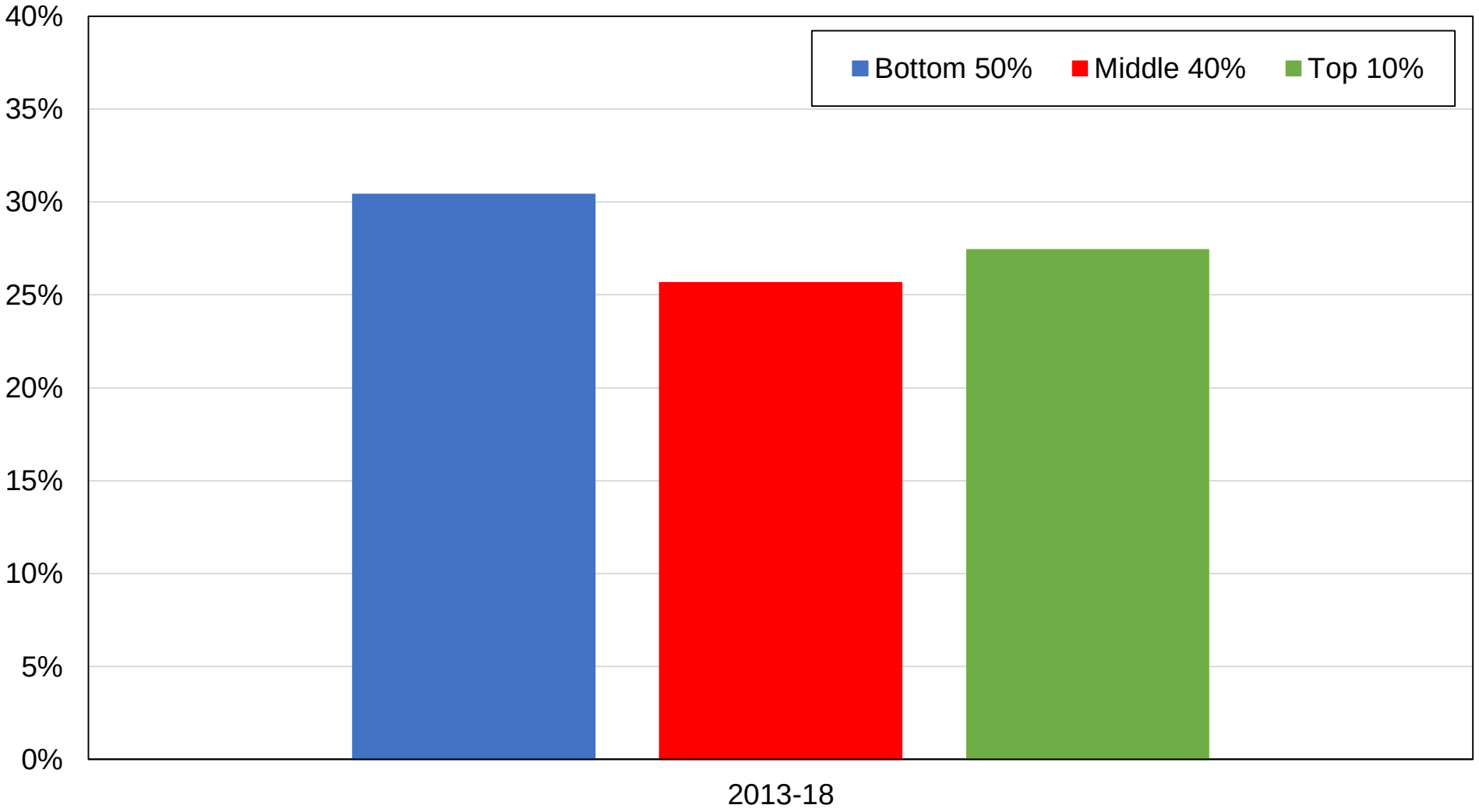
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Five Star Movement by education level.

Figure AC2 - Vote for Five Star Movement by education group in Italy



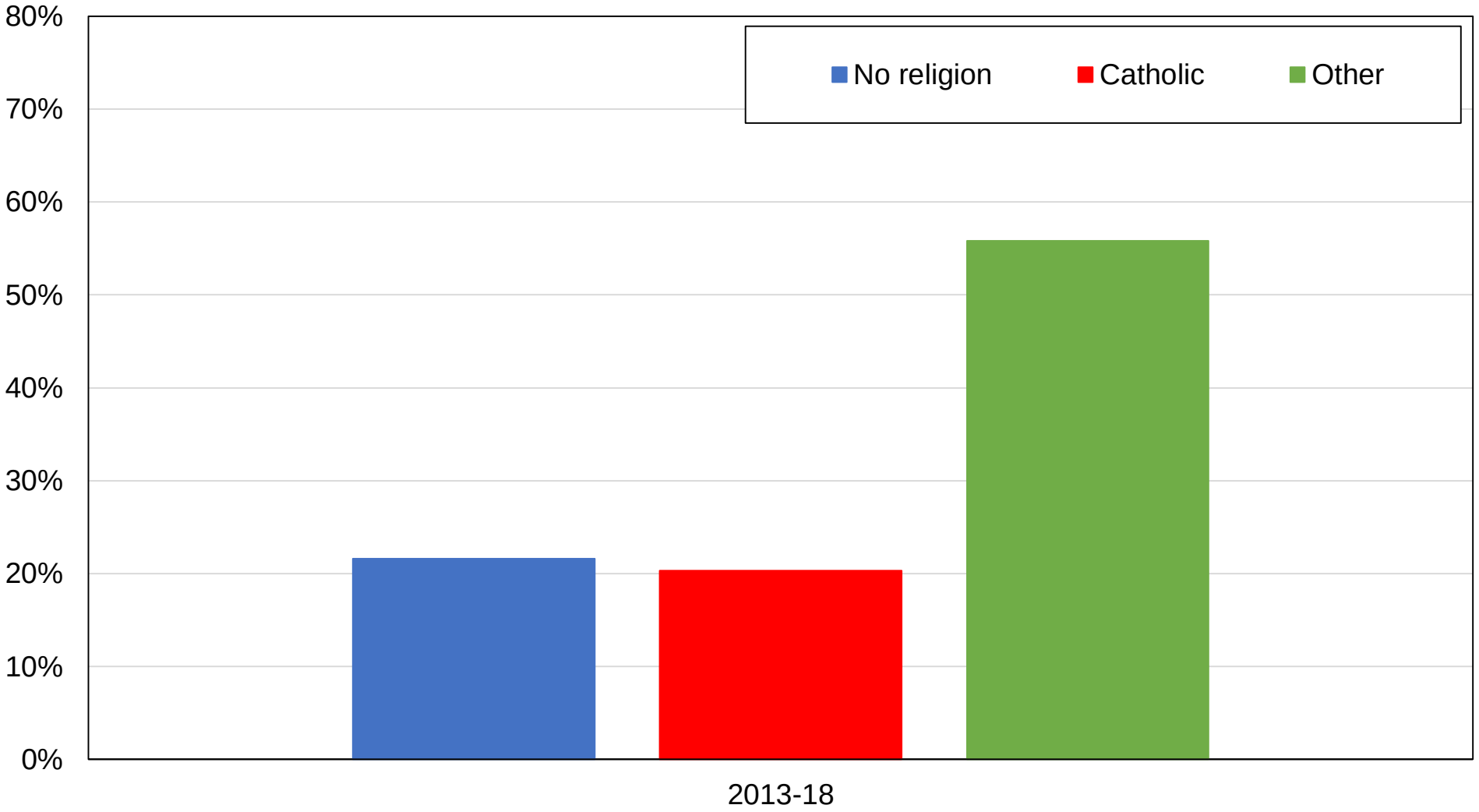
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Five Star Movement by education group.

Figure AC3 - Vote for Five Star Movement by income group in Italy



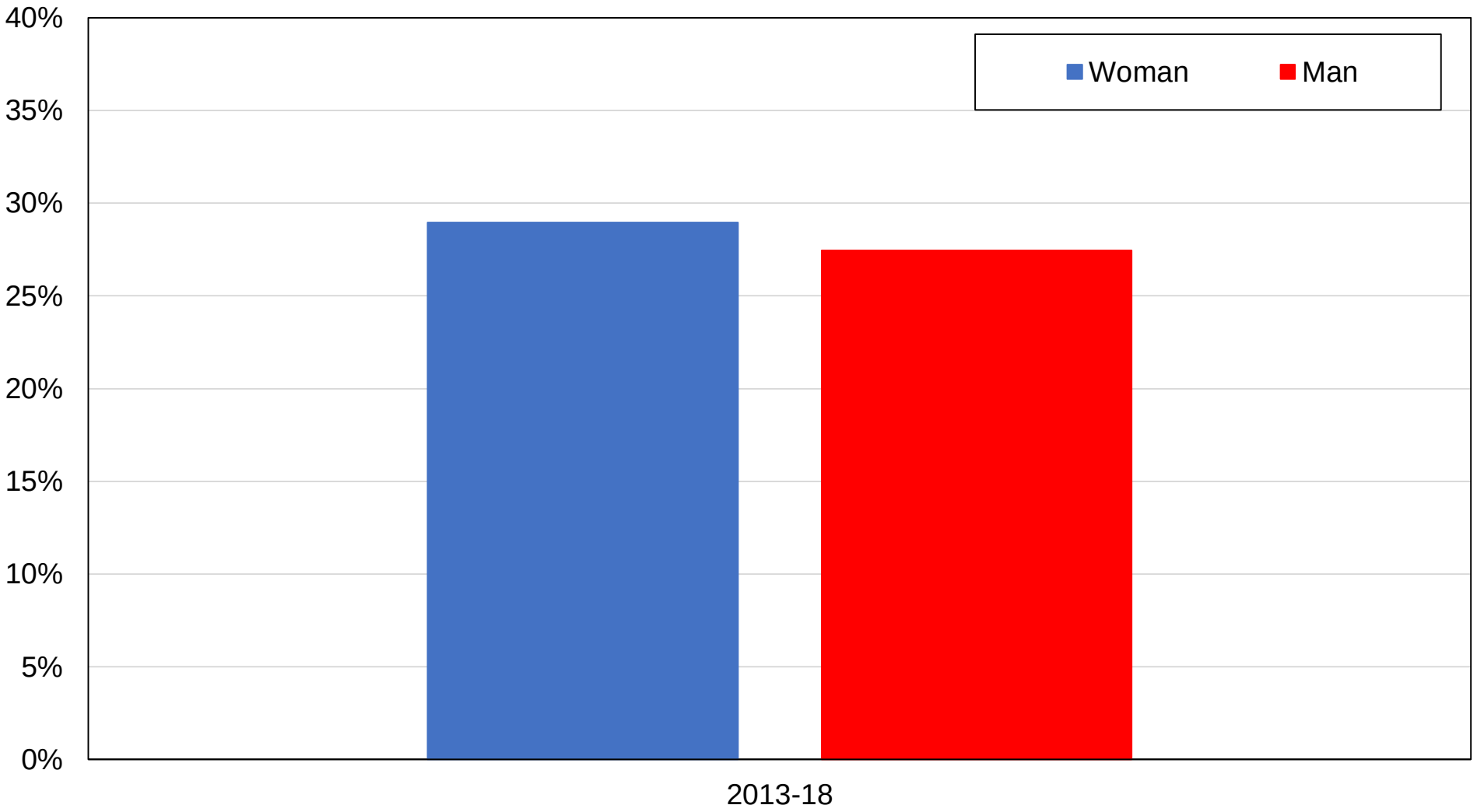
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Five Star Movement by income group.

Figure AC4 - Vote for Five Star Movement by religious affiliation in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Five Star Movement by religious affiliation.

Figure AC5 - Vote for Five Star Movement by gender in Italy

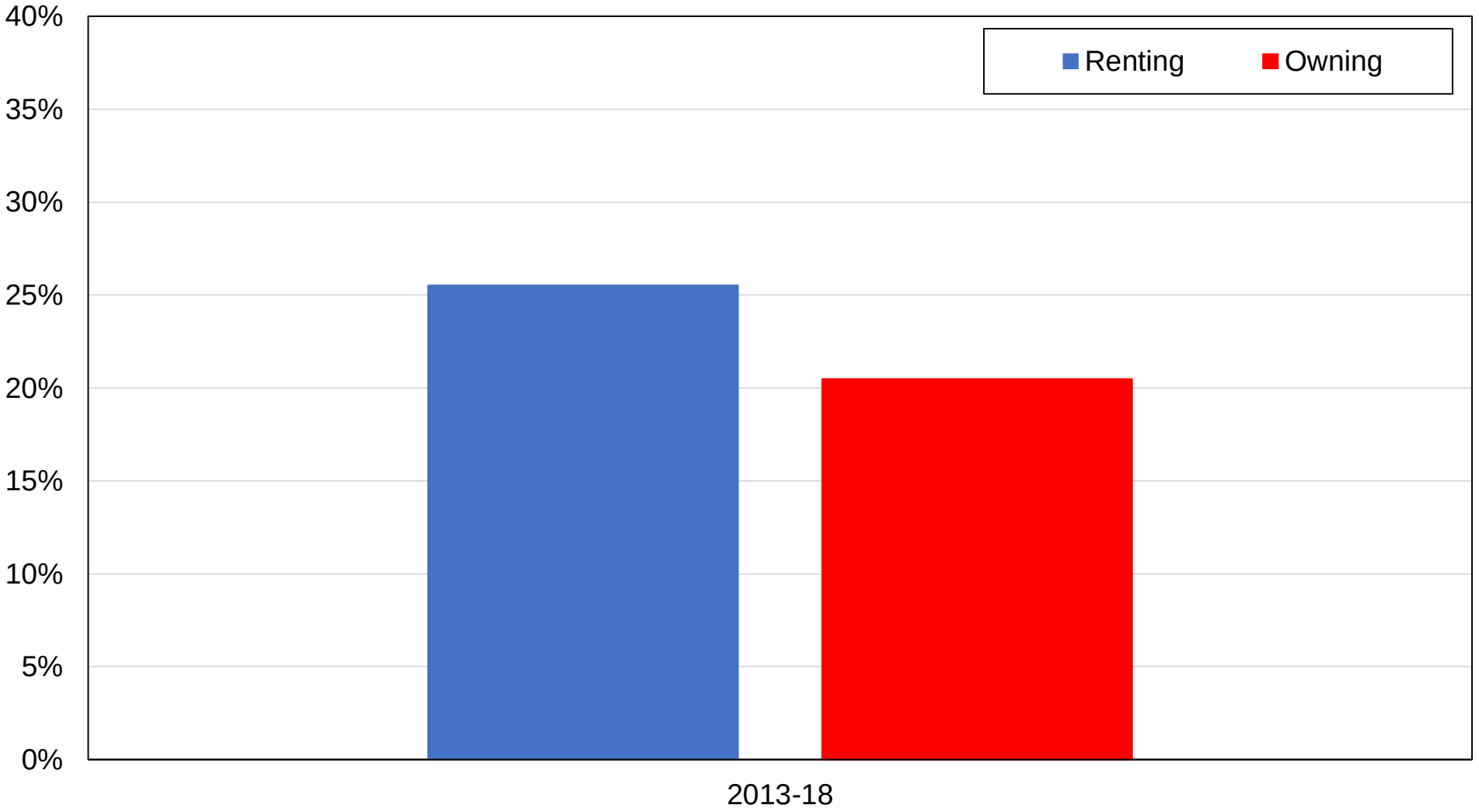


Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Five Star Movement by gender.

Figure AC6 - Vote for the Five Star Movement by union membership in Italy

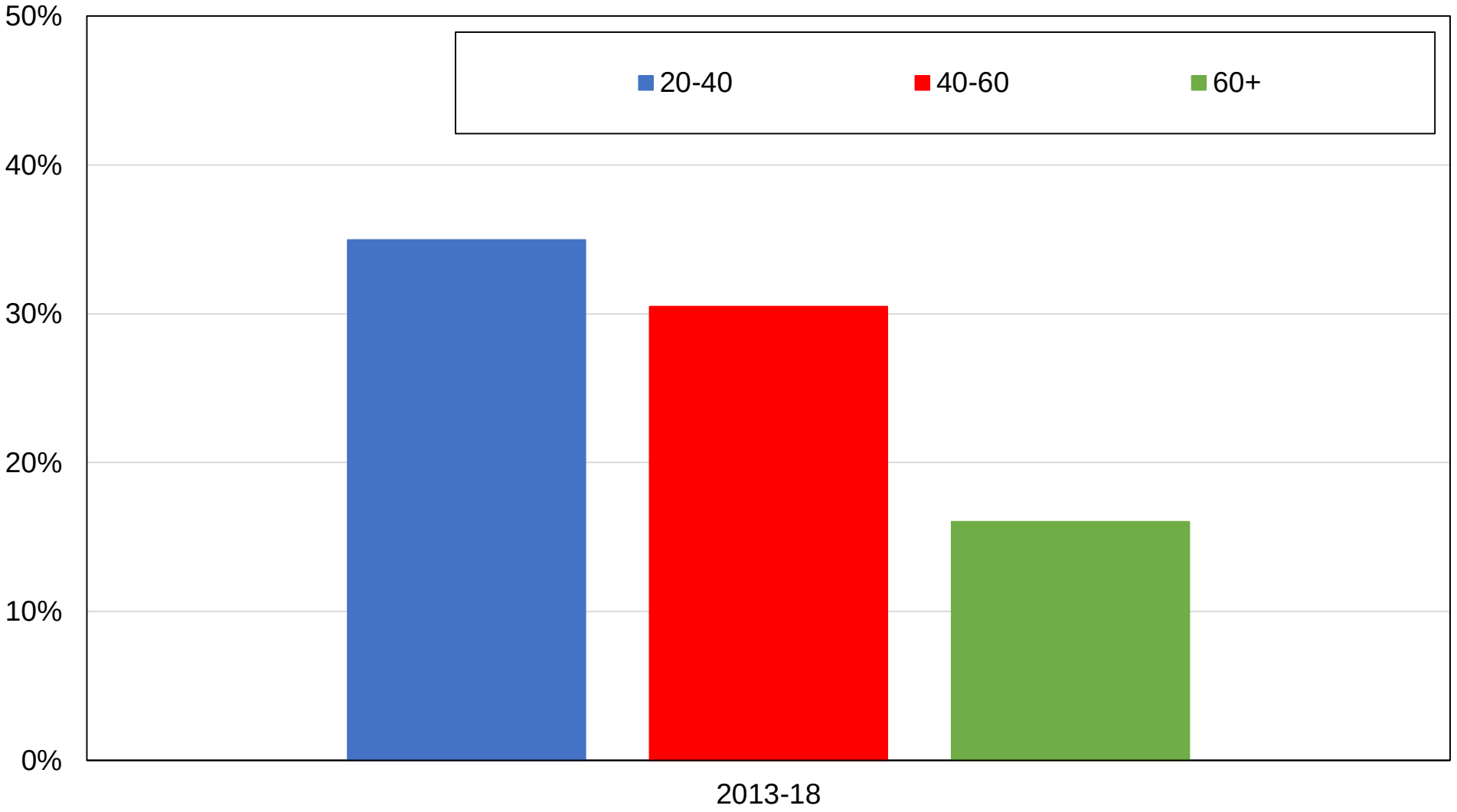
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Five Star Movement by union membership status.

Figure AC7 - Vote for Five Star Movement by home status in Italy



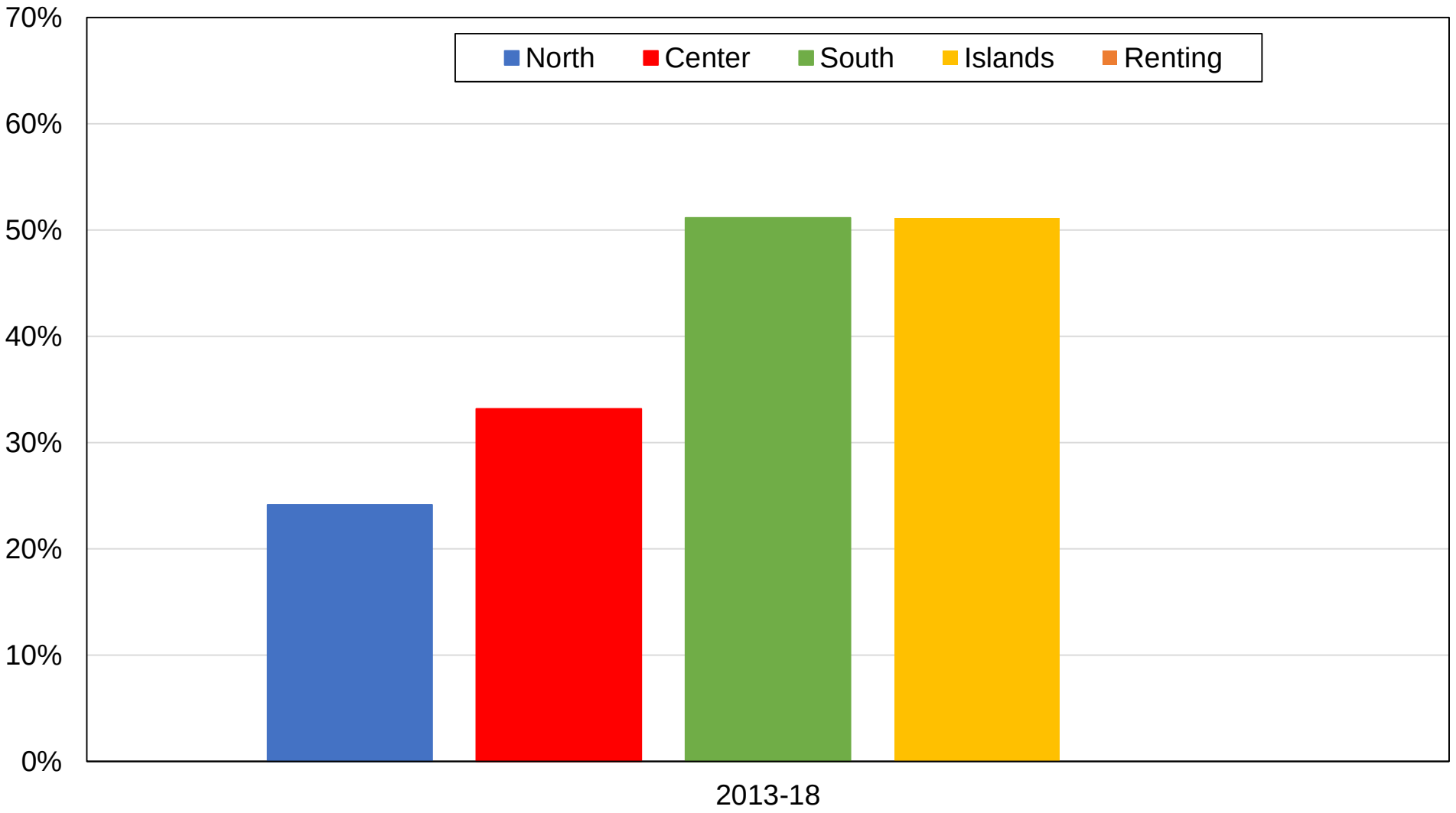
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Five Star Movement by home ownership status.

Figure AC8 - Vote for Five Star Movement by age in Italy



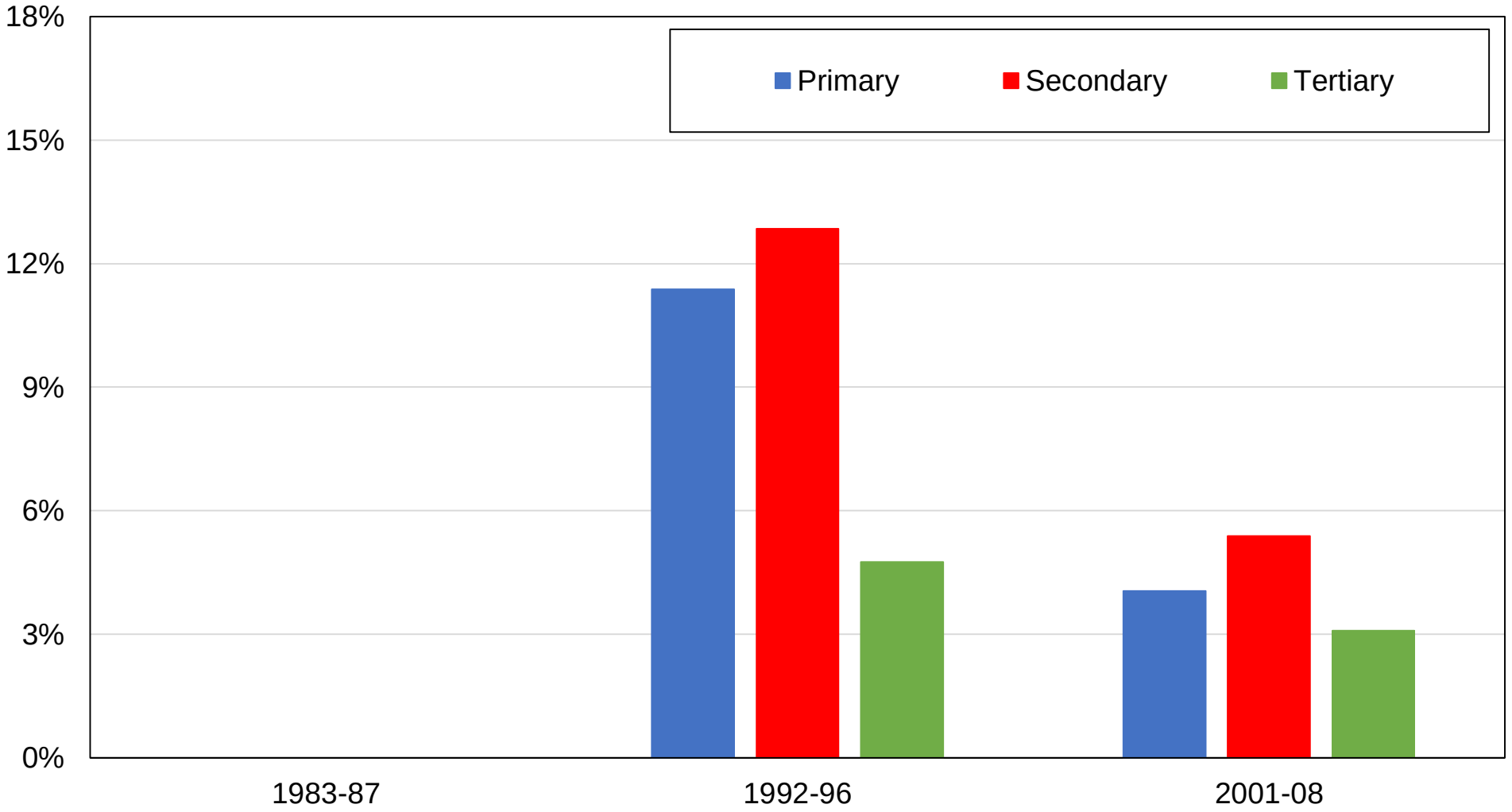
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Five Star Movement by age.

Figure AC9 - Vote for Five Star Movement by region in Italy



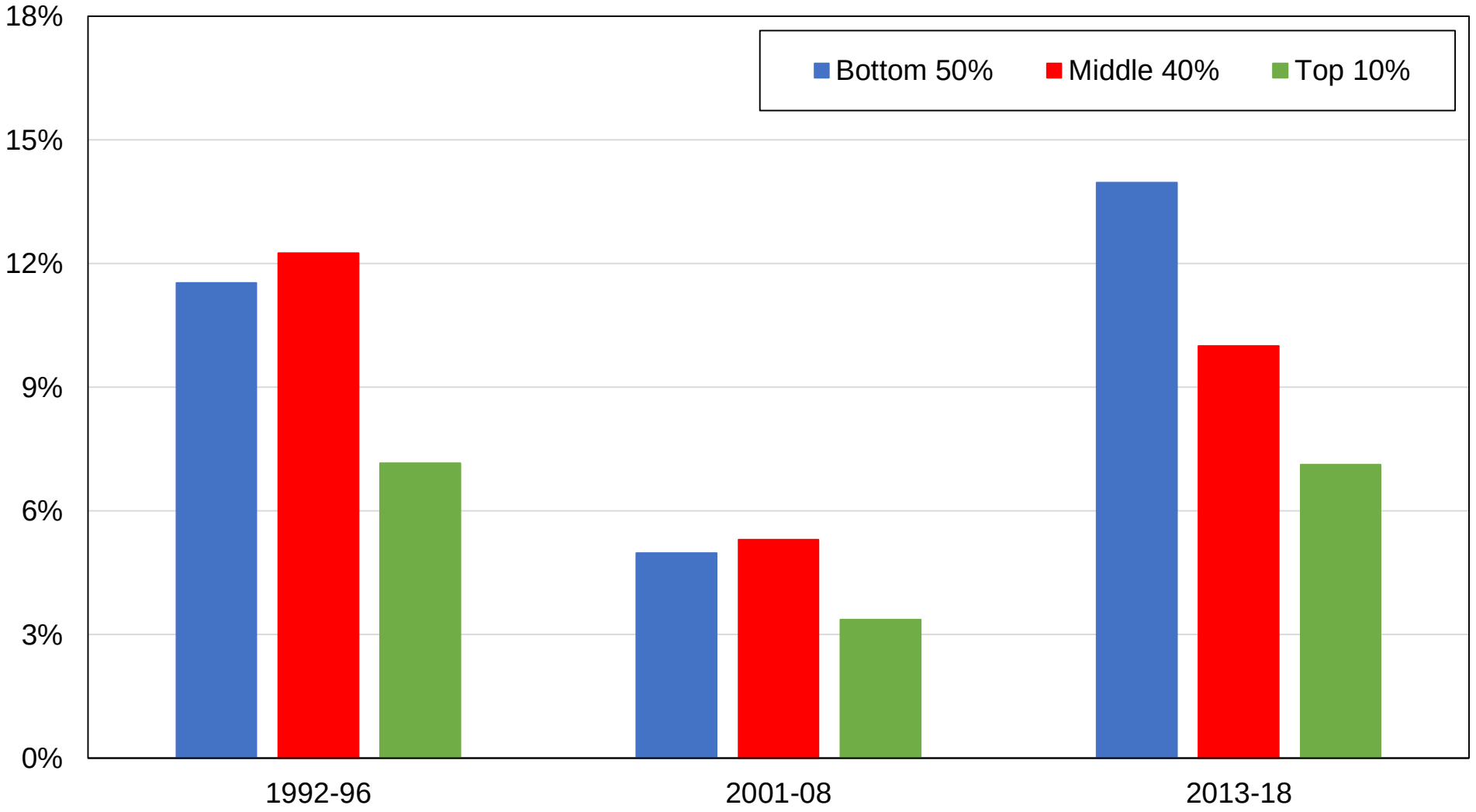
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Five Star Movement by region.

Figure AC10 - Vote for Lega Nord by education level in Italy



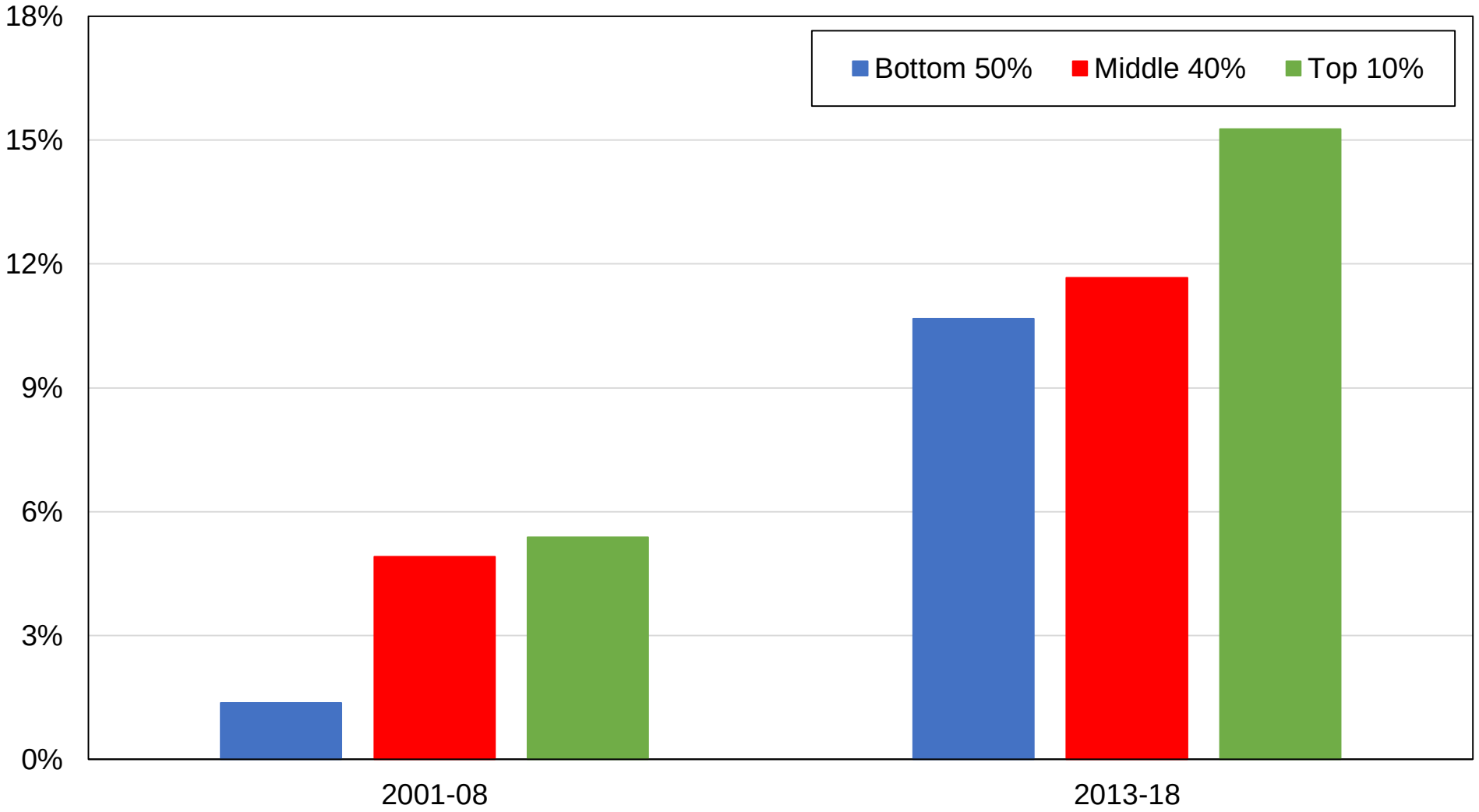
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Lega Nord by education level. Note that no interviewee with only primary education reports having voted to Lega over the decade 2013-18.

Figure AC11 - Vote for Lega Nord by education group in Italy



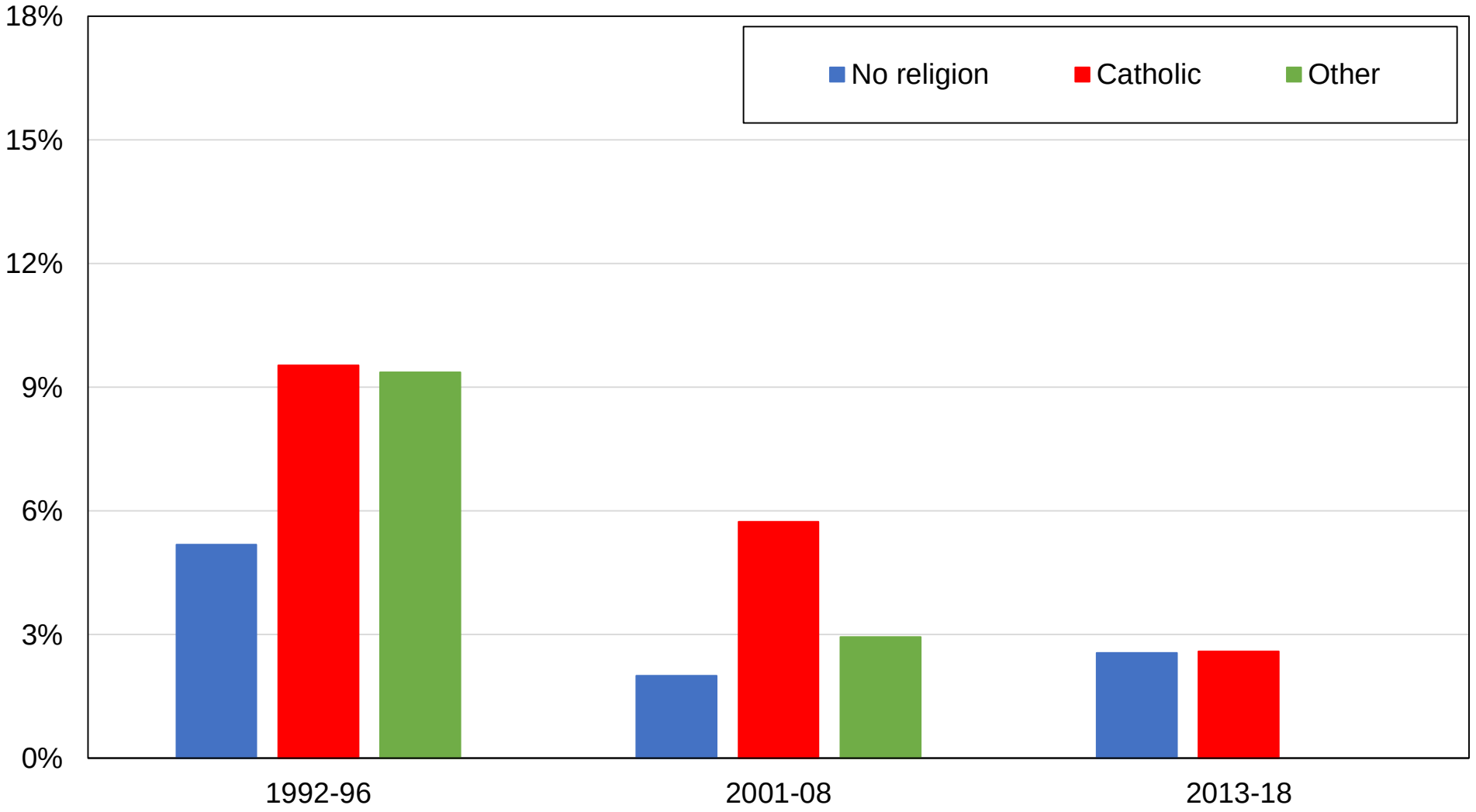
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Lega Nord by education group.

Figure AC12 - Vote for Lega Nord by income group in Italy



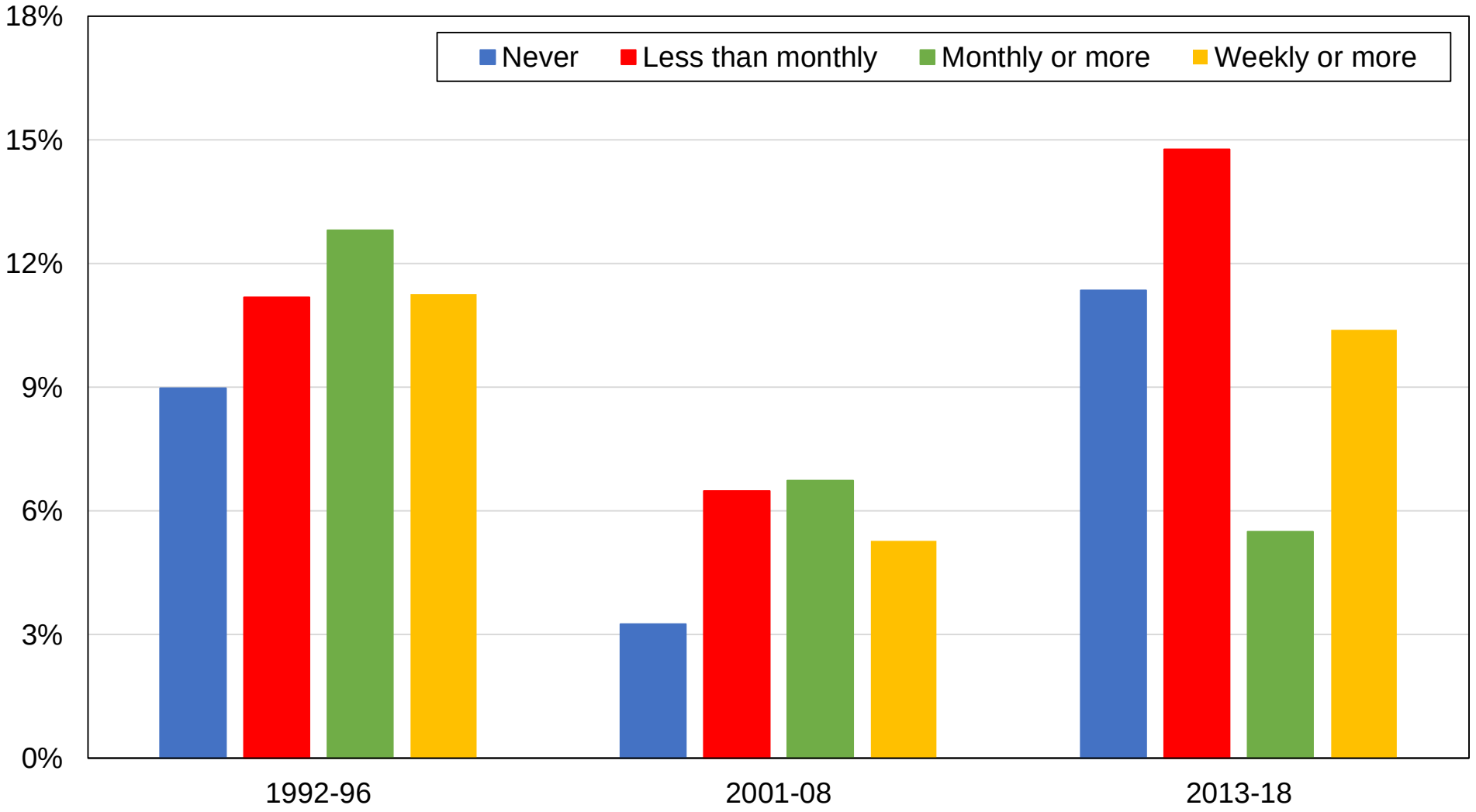
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Lega Nord by income group.

Figure AC13 - Vote for Lega Nord by religious affiliation in Italy



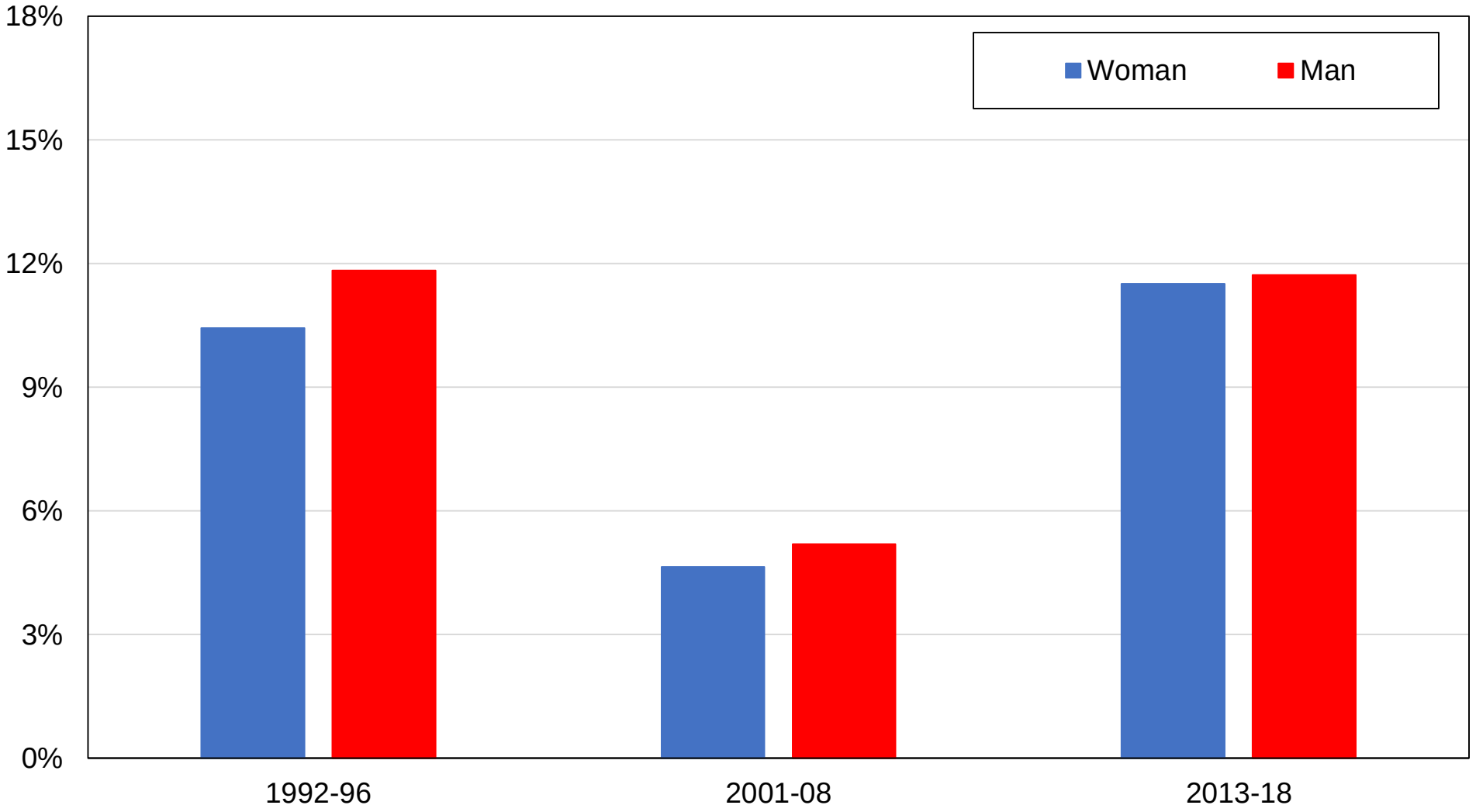
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Lega Nord by religious affiliation.

Figure AC14 - Vote for Lega Nord by religiosity in Italy



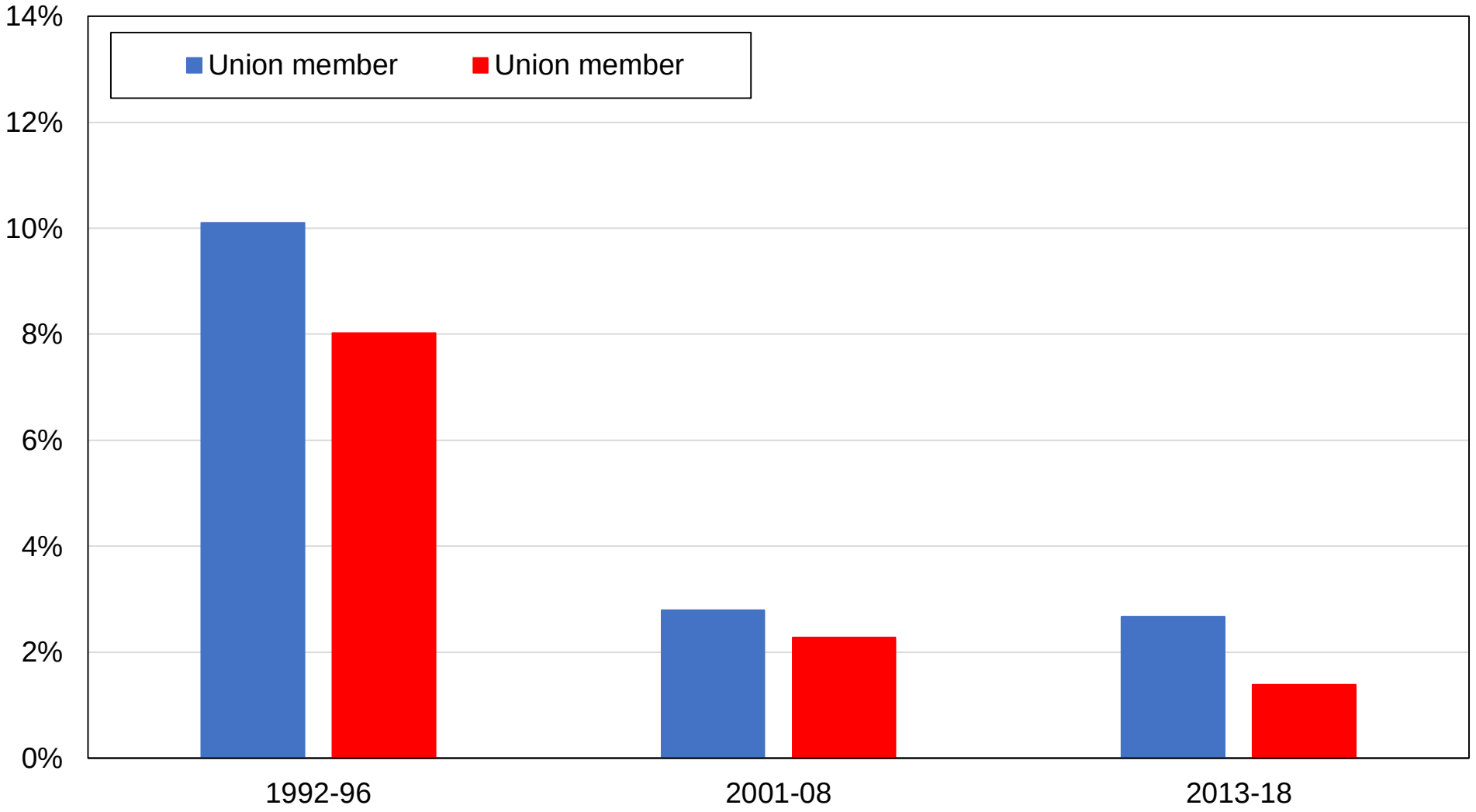
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Lega Nord by church attendance.

Figure AC15 - Vote for Lega Nord by gender in Italy



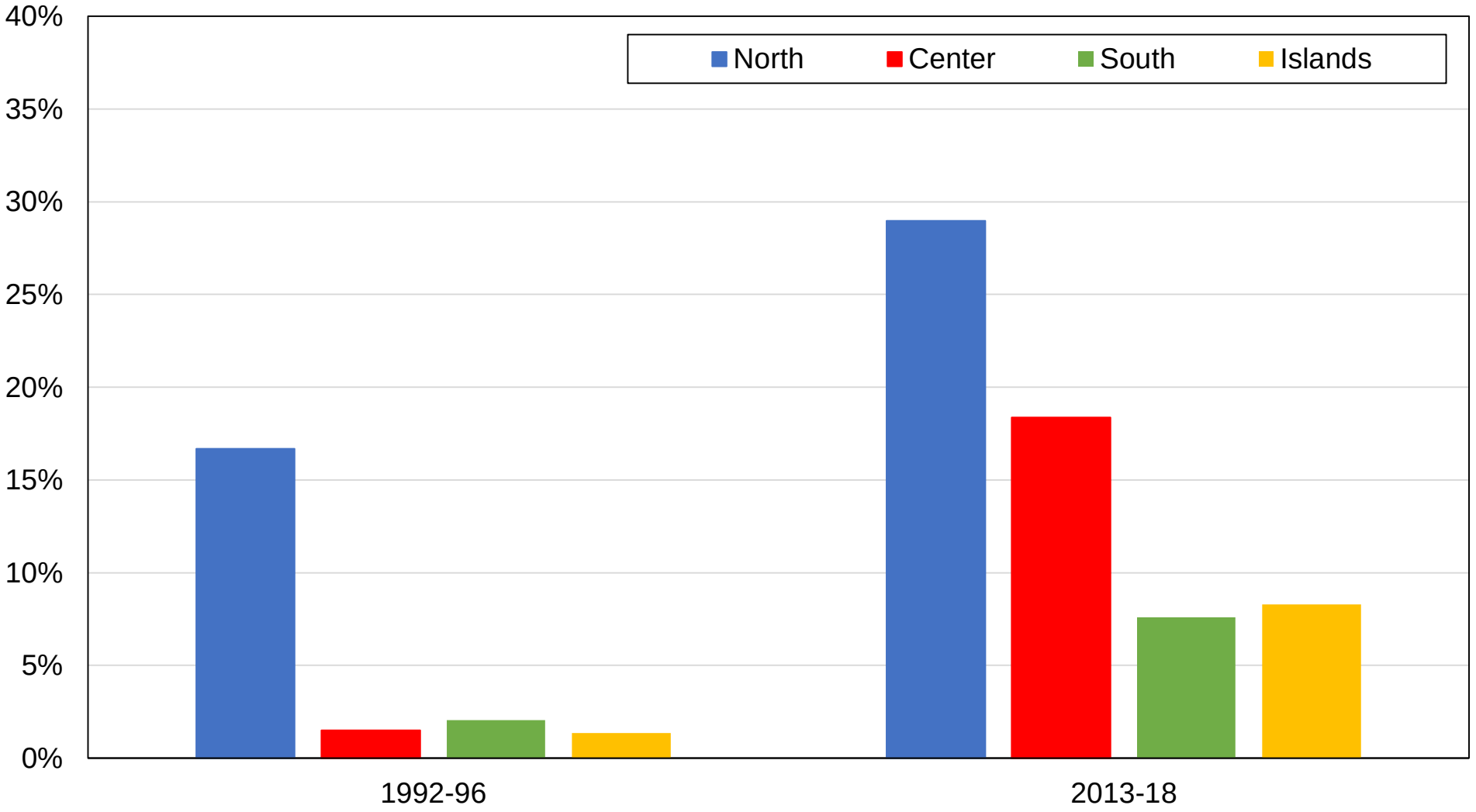
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Lega Nord by gender.

Figure AC16 - Vote for Lega Nord by union membership in Italy



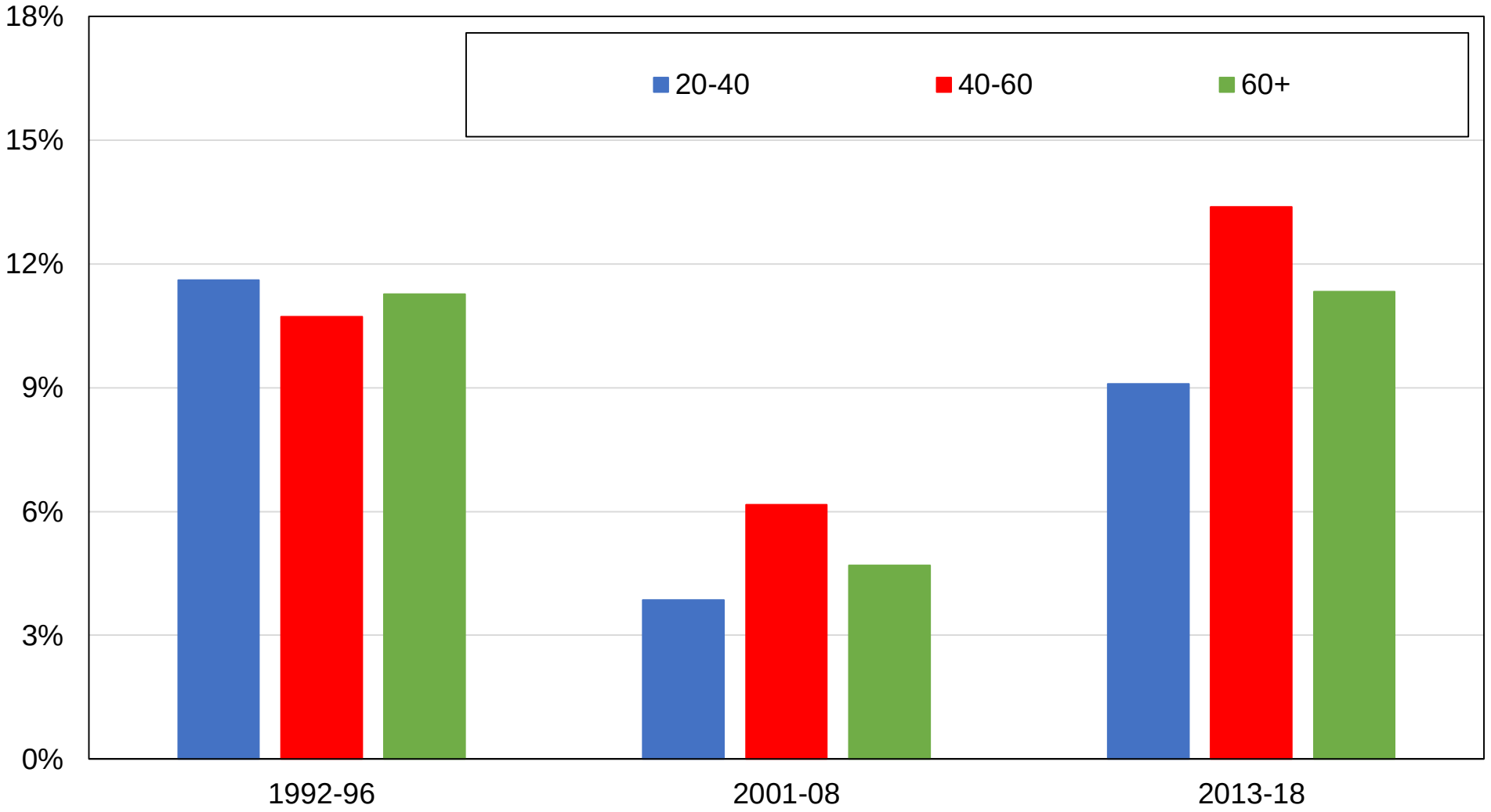
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Lega Nord by union membership status.

Figure AC17 - Vote for Lega Nord by region in Italy



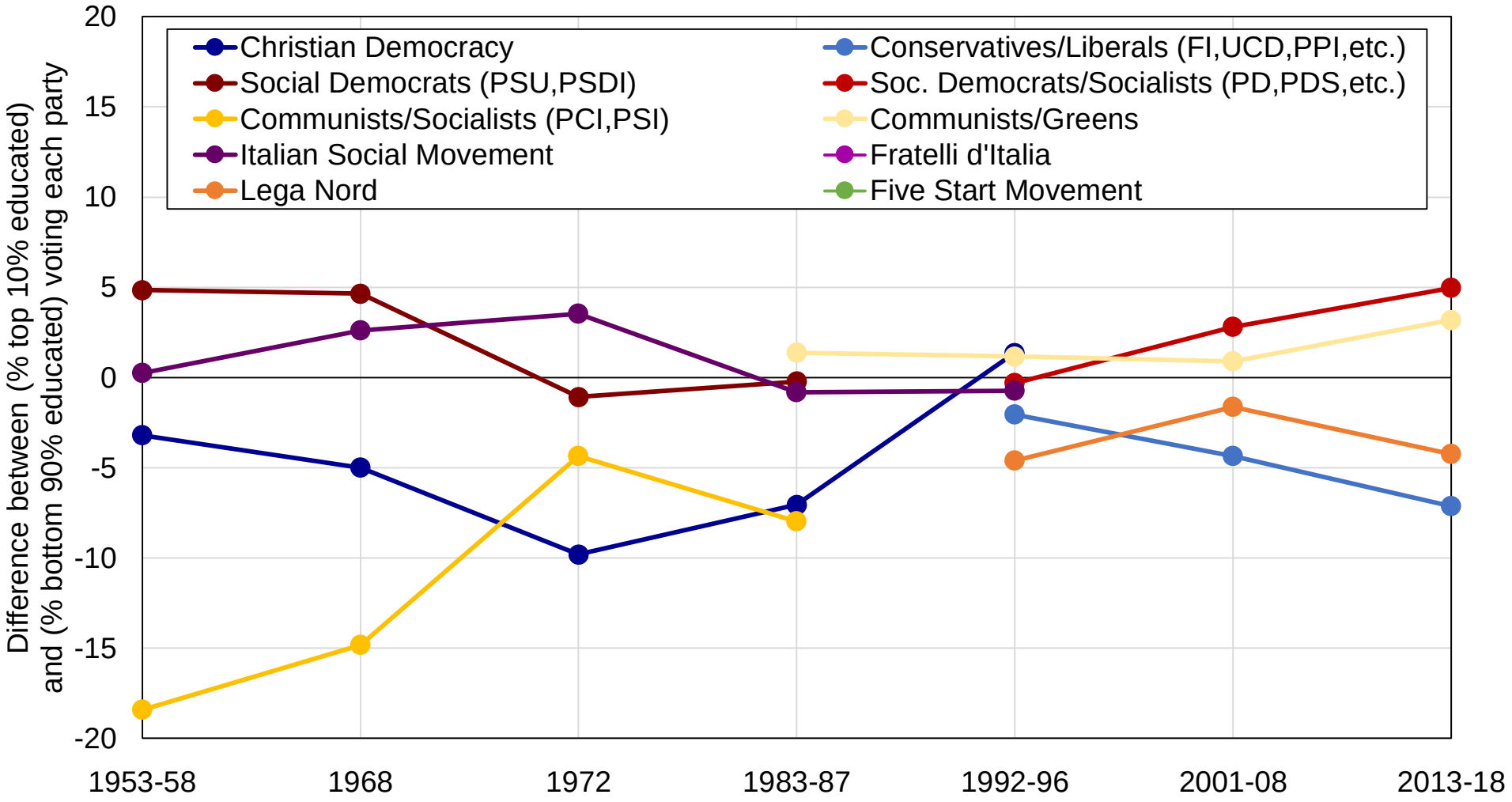
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Lega Nord by region.

Figure AC18 - Vote for Lega Nord by age in Italy



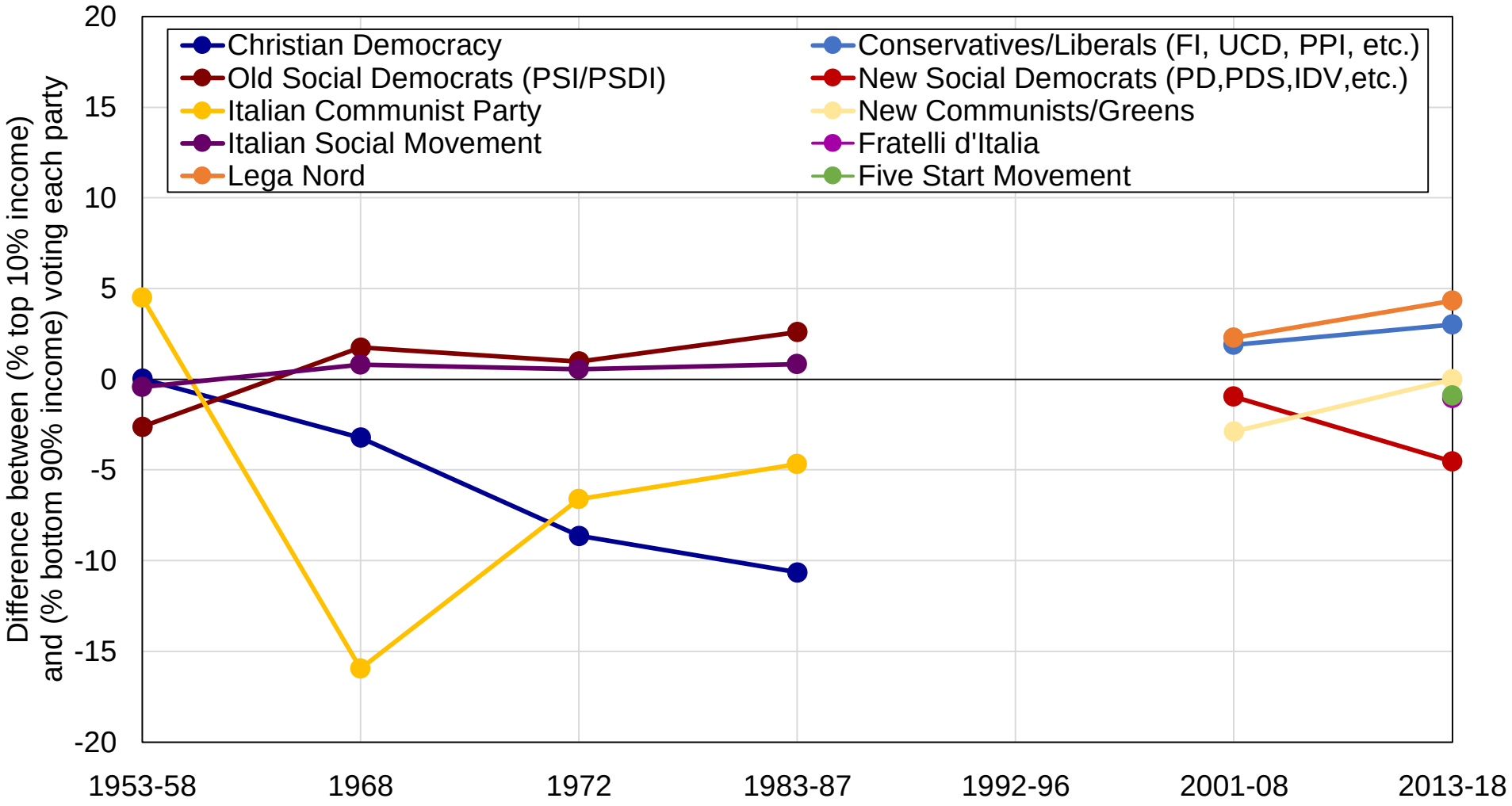
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Lega Nord by age.

Figure AC19 - The education cleavage in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italy political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the bias of highest-educated voters towards the most relevant Italian parties.

Figure AC20 - The income cleavage in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italy political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the bias of top income voters towards the most relevant Italian parties.

Figure AC21 - Vote for left-wing parties by education level

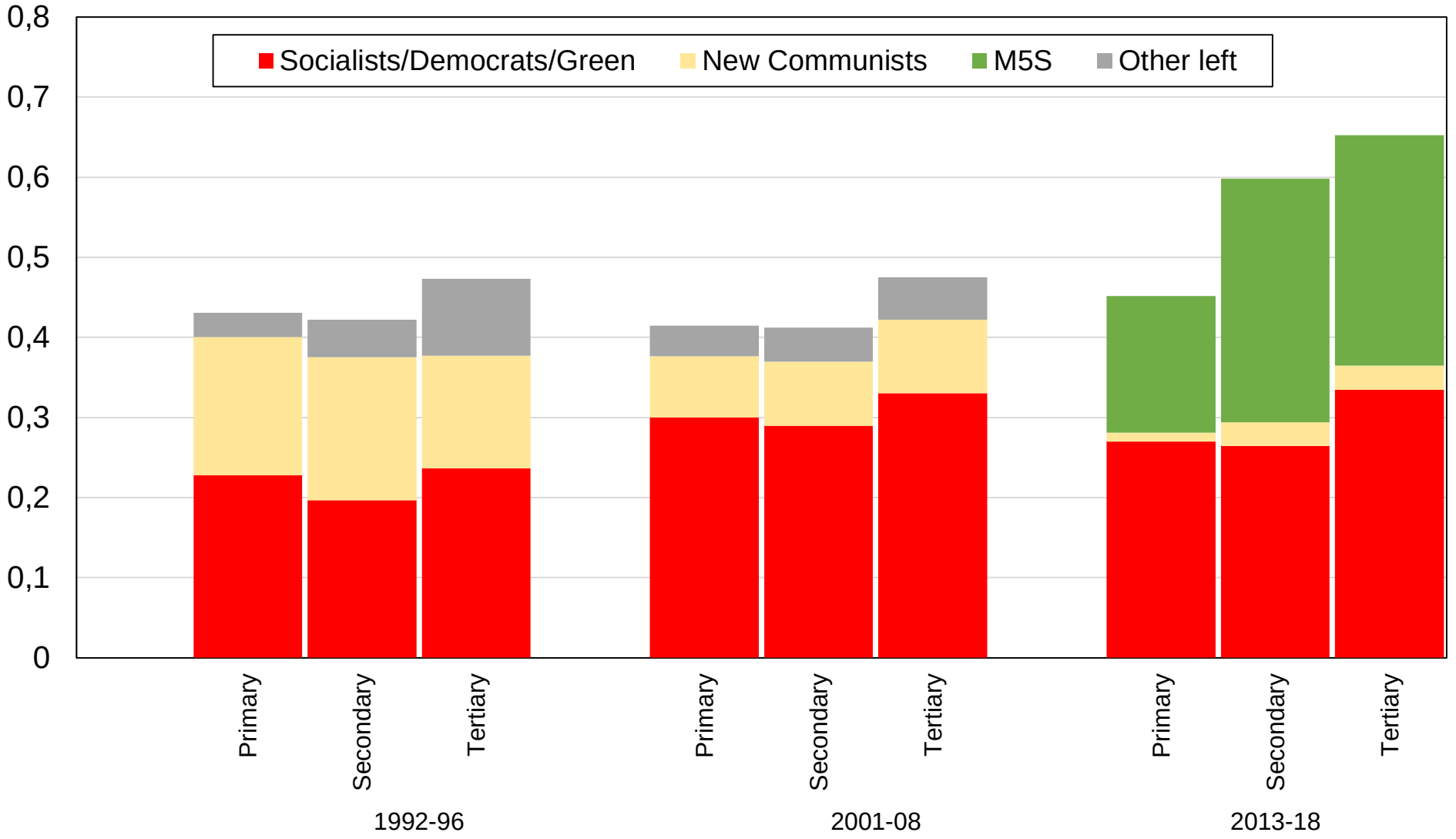


Figure AC22 - Vote for left-wing parties by income group in Italy

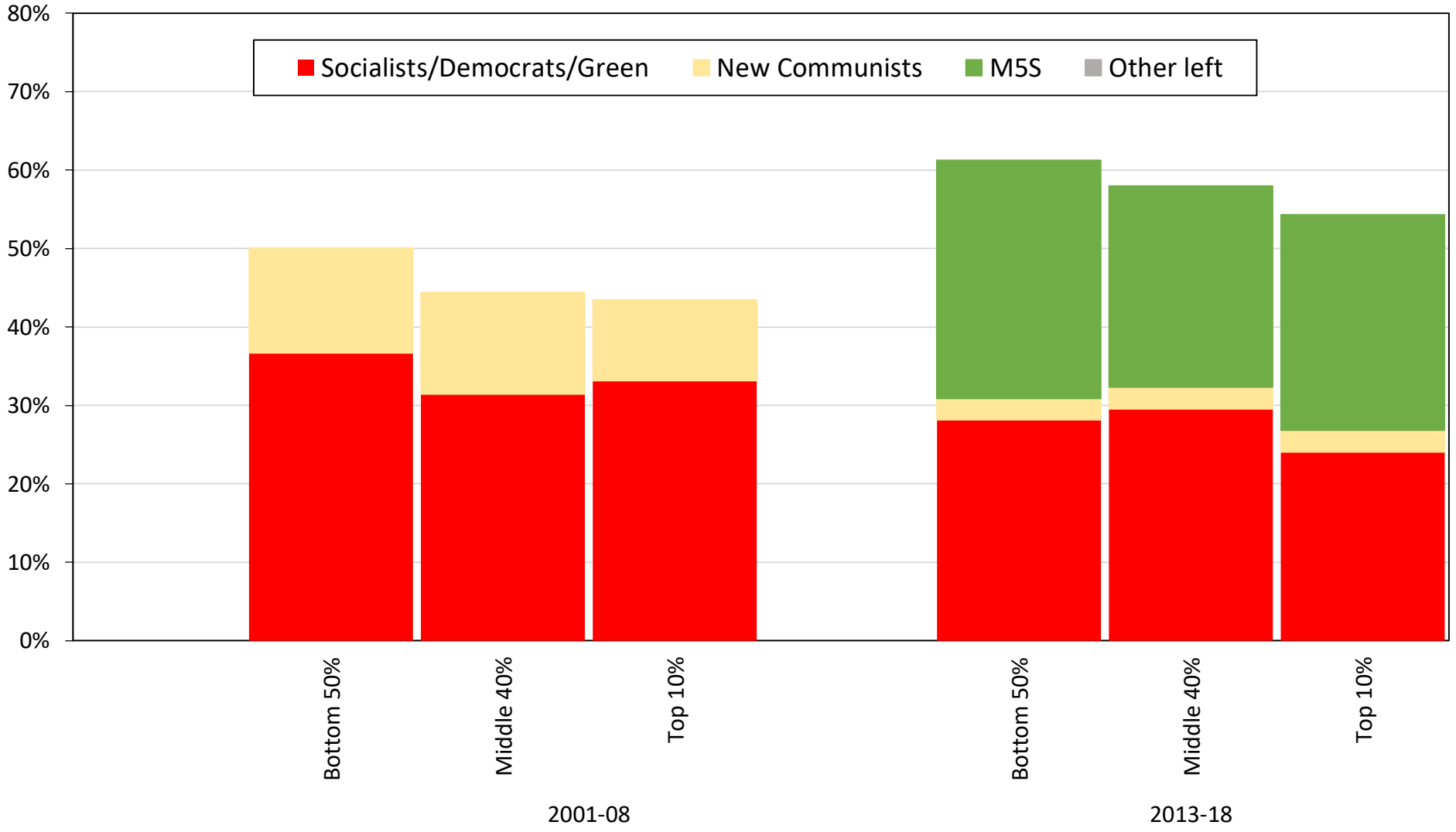


Figure AC23 - Vote for right-wing parties by education level

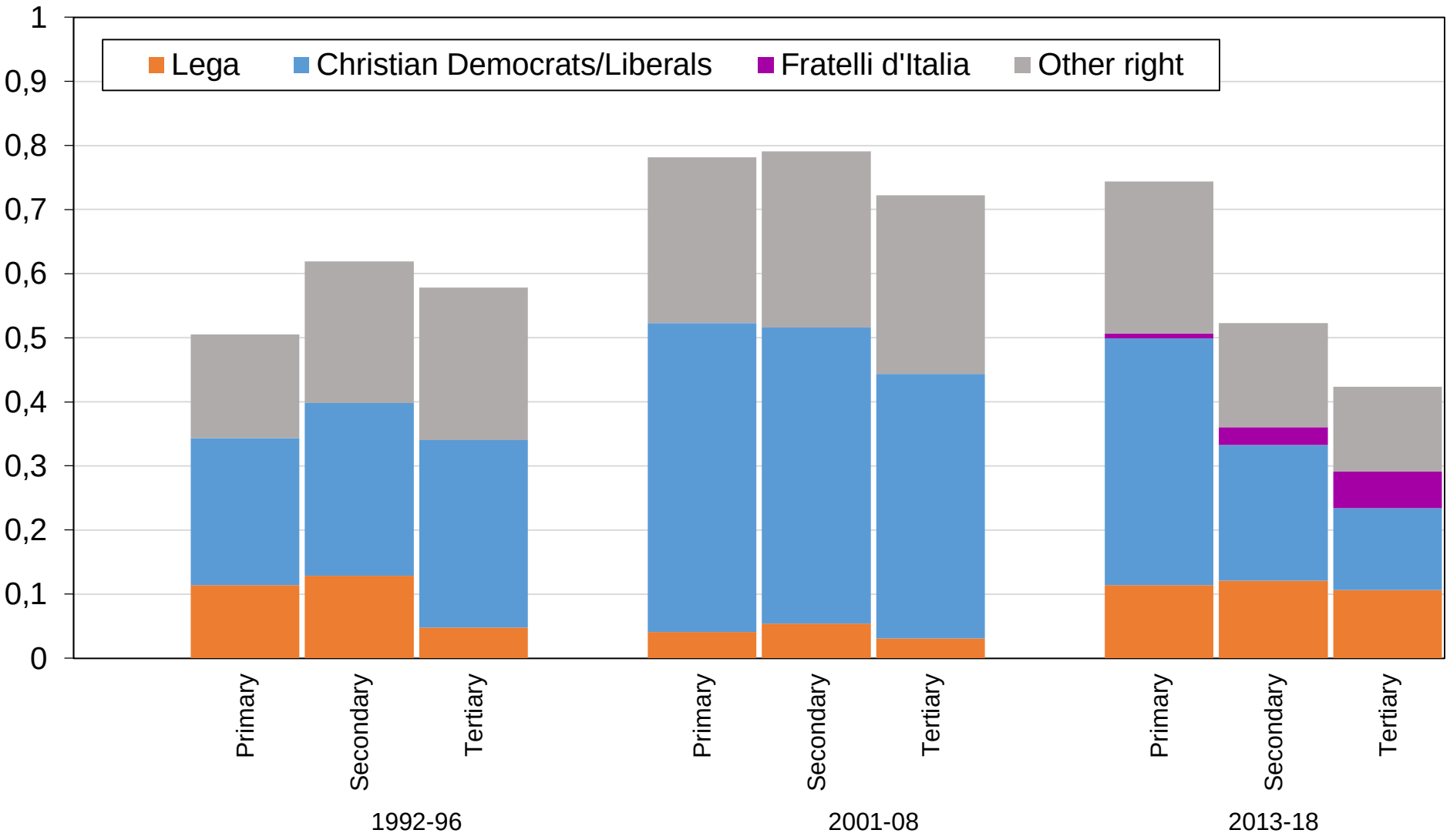


Figure AC24 - Vote for right-wing parties by income group in Italy

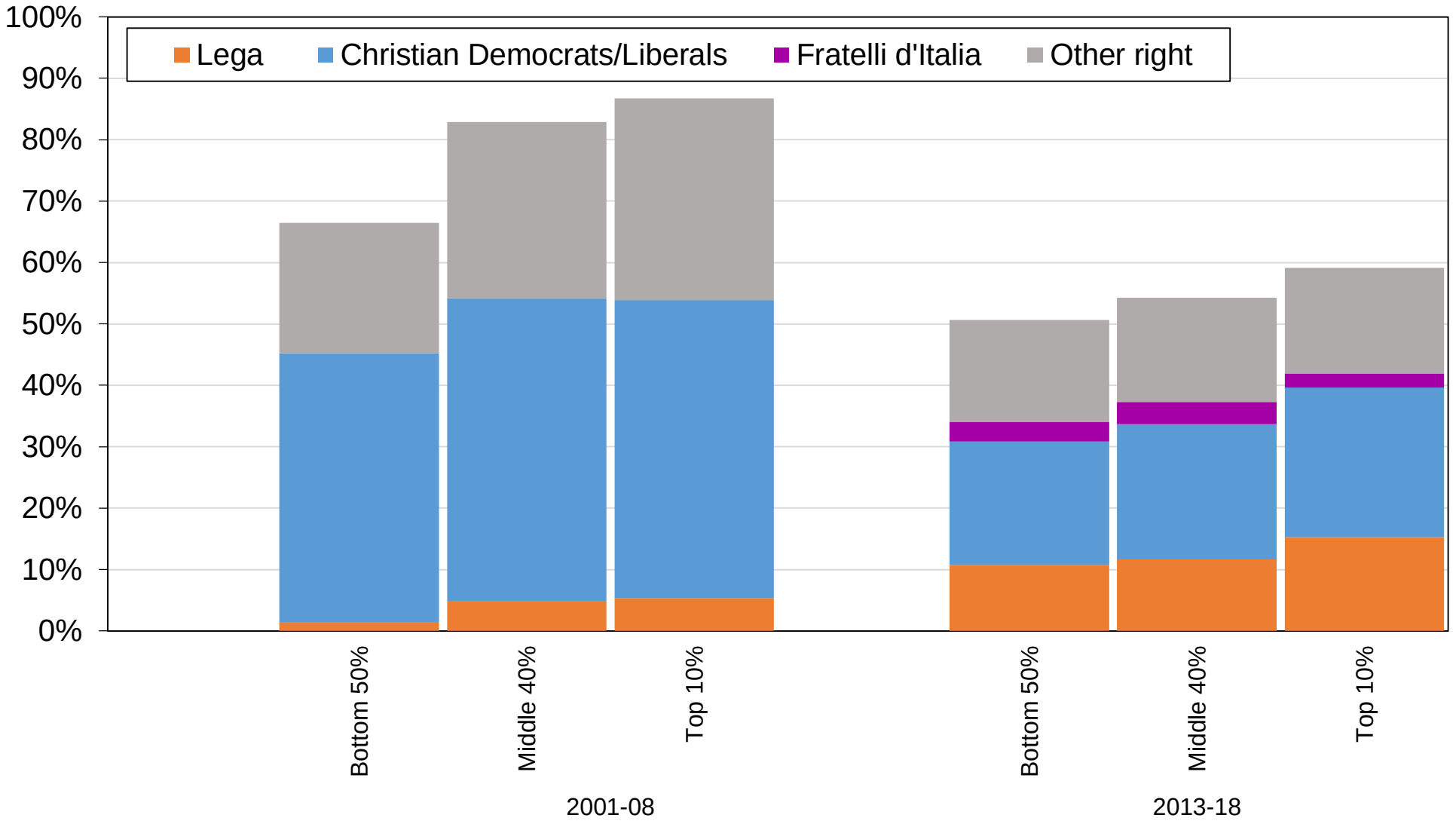


Figure AC25 - Vote by party and education group in Italy, 2018

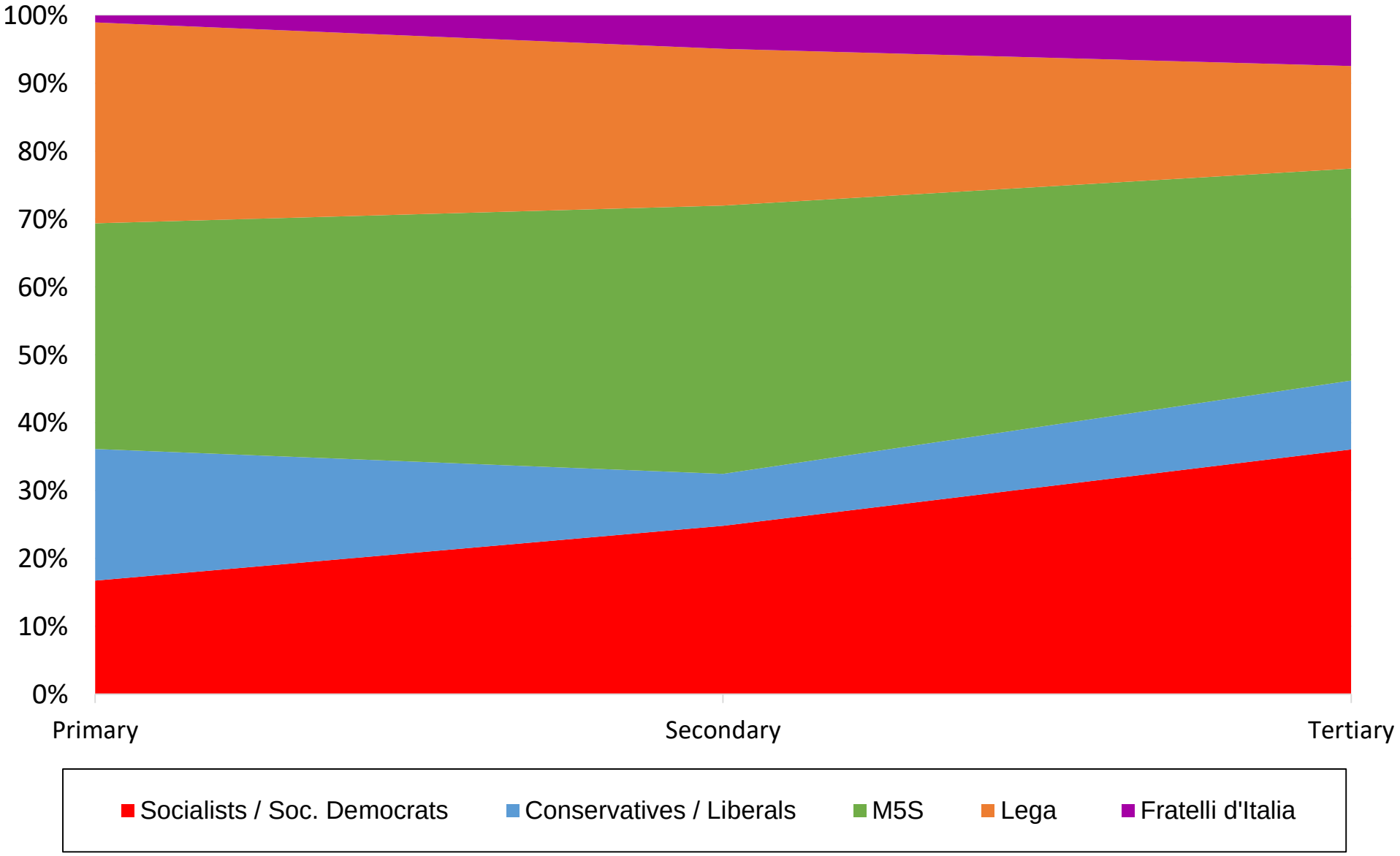


Figure AC26 - Vote by party and income group in Italy, 2018

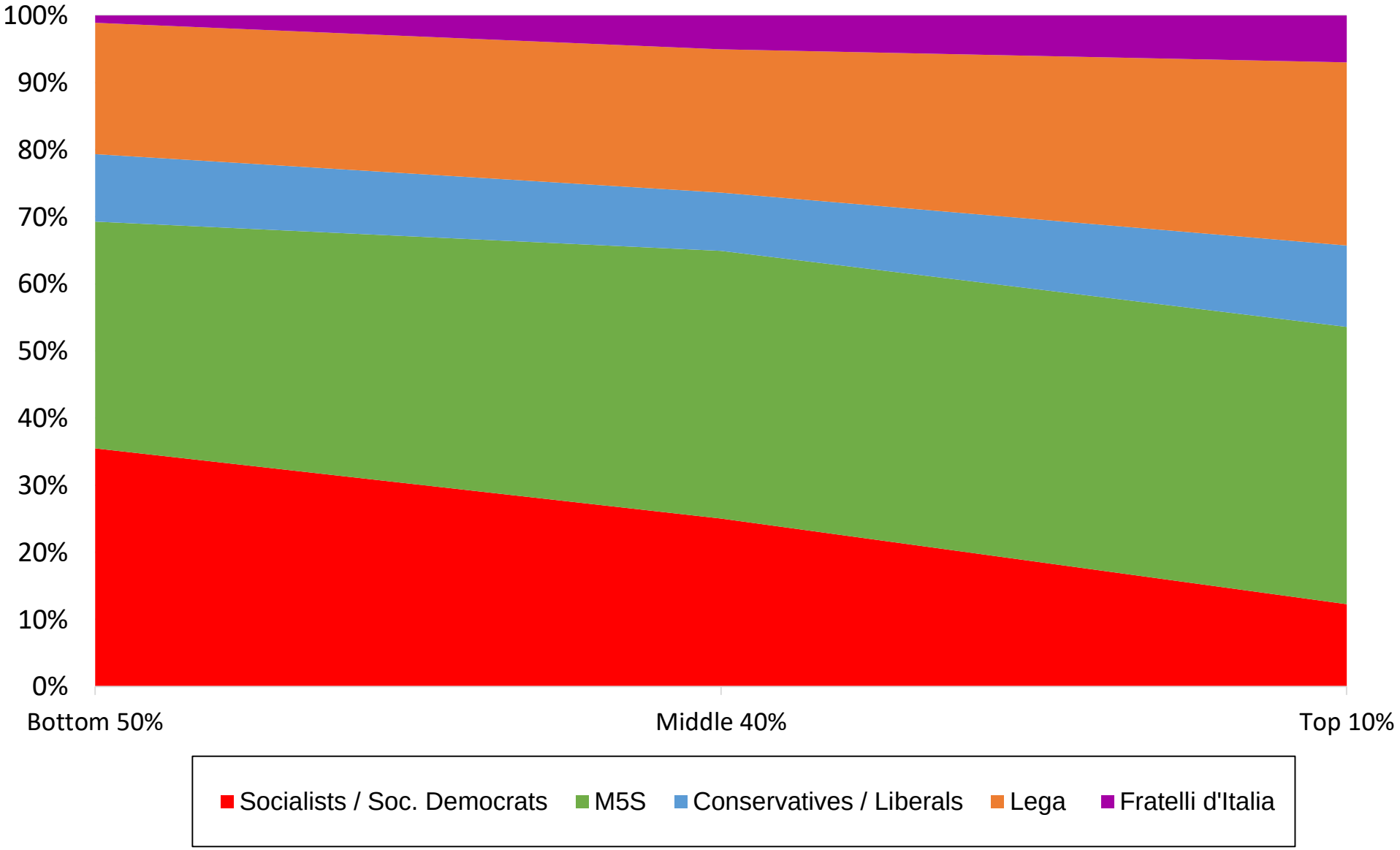


Figure AC27 - Vote by party and age group in Italy, 2018

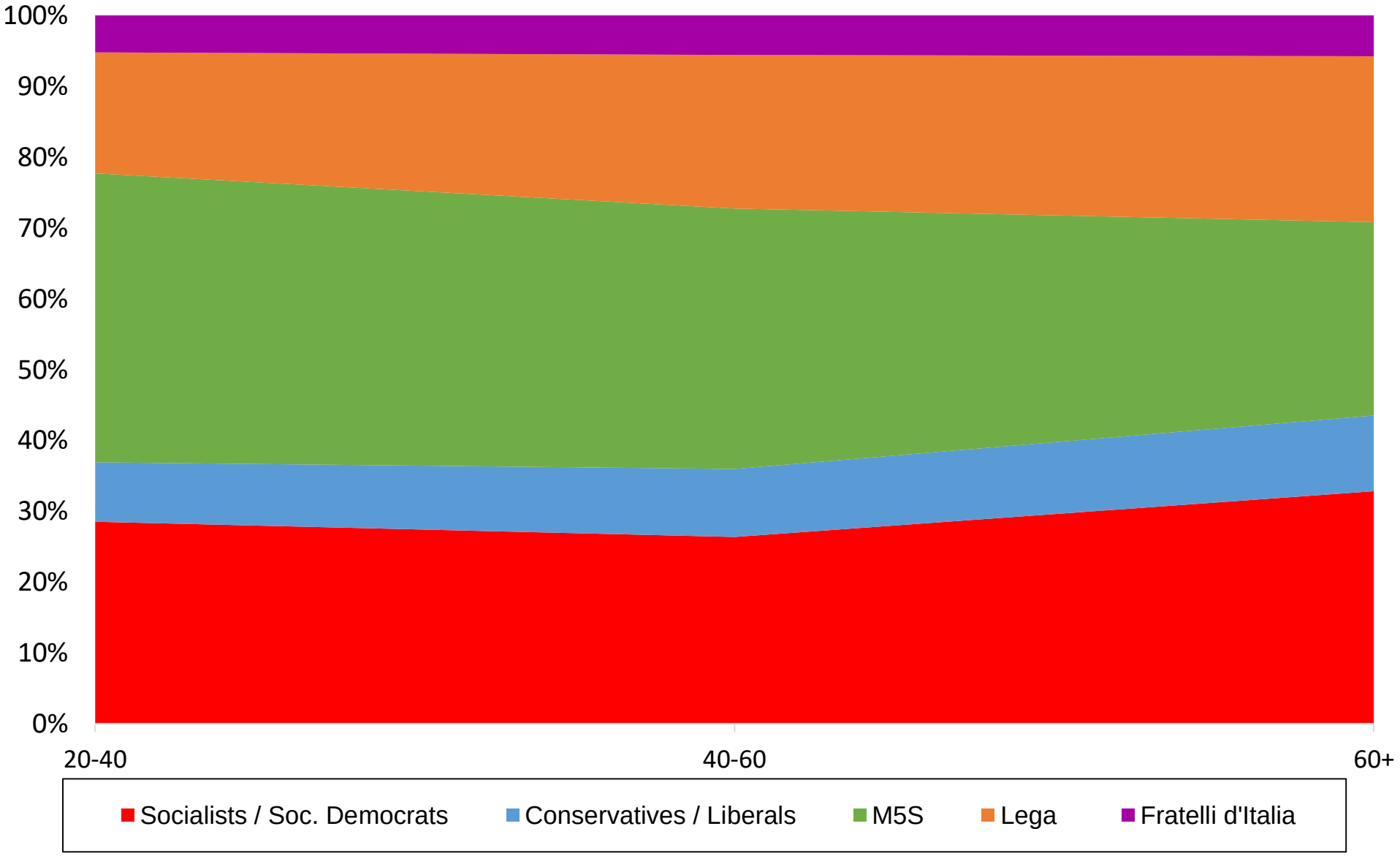


Figure AC28 - Vote by party and region in Italy, 2018

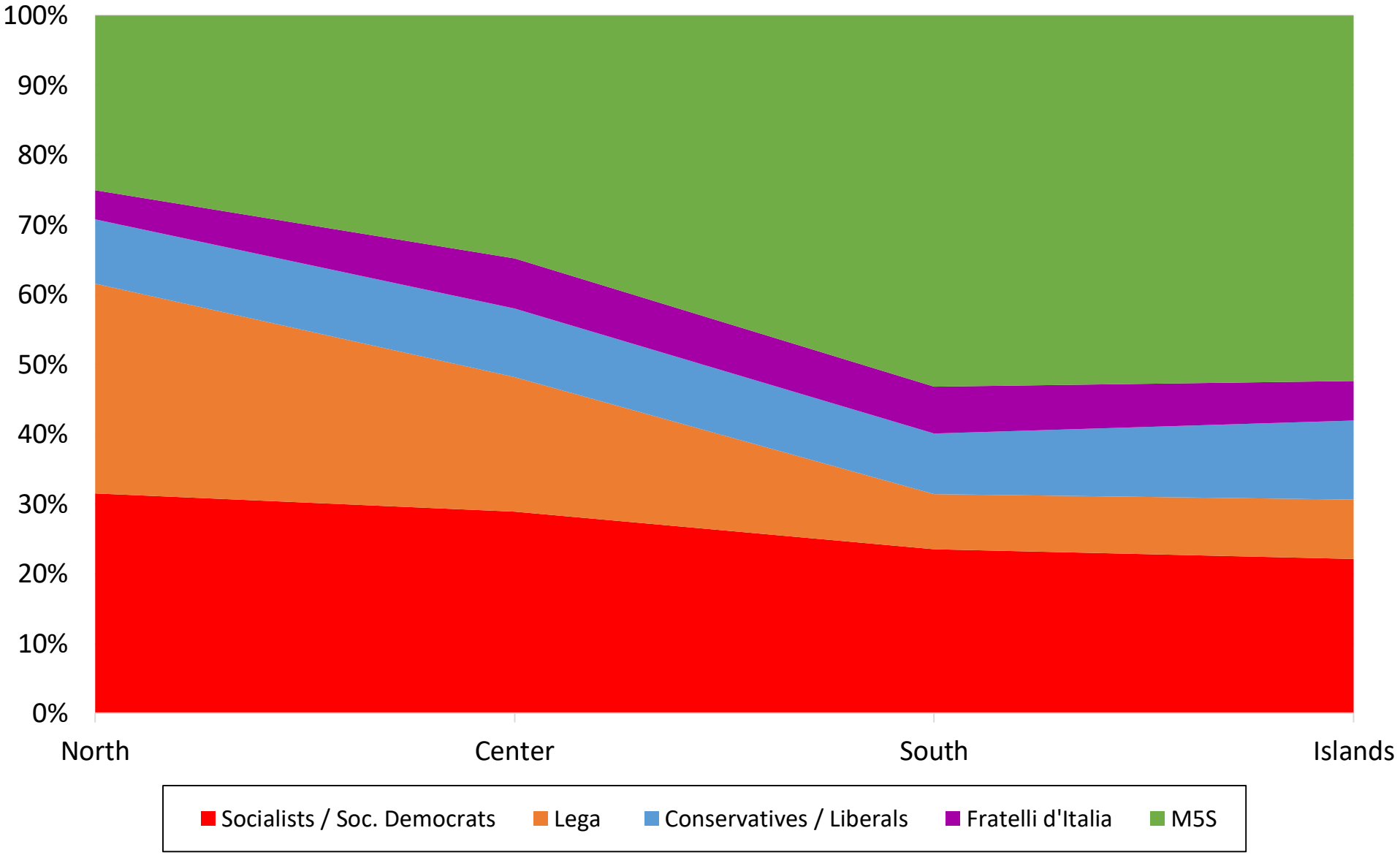


Table AD1 - Survey data sources in Italy

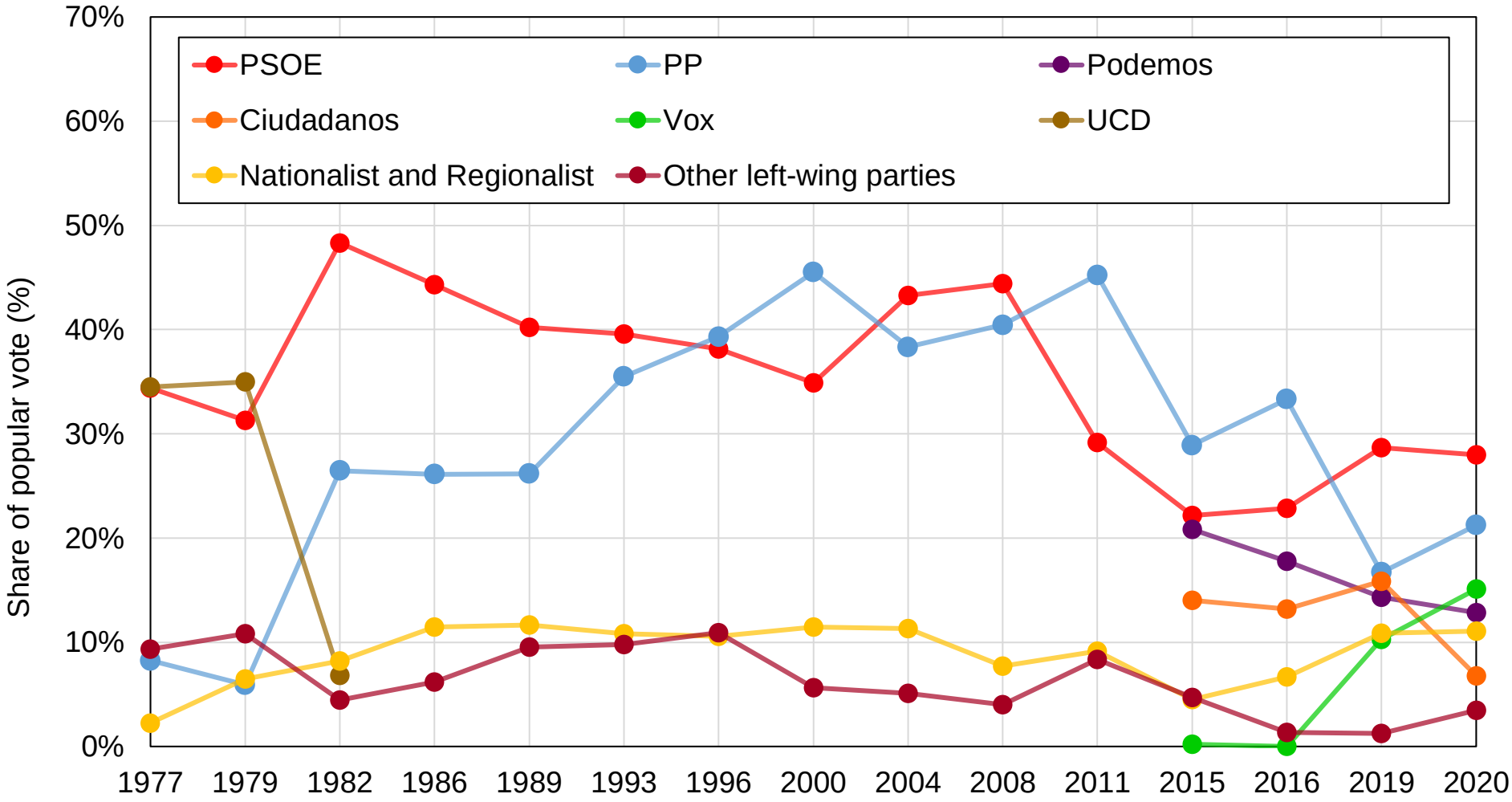
Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
1960	ter-university Consortium for Political and Social Researc	ICPSR	995
1968	Italian National Election Studies	ITANES	2500
1972	Italian National Election Studies	ITANES	1841
1985	Italian National Election Studies	ITANES	2074
1990	Italian National Election Studies	ITANES	1500
1992	Italian National Election Studies	ITANES	1181
1994	Italian National Election Studies	ITANES	2600
1996	Italian National Election Studies	ITANES	2502
2001	Italian National Election Studies	ITANES	3209
2006	Italian National Election Studies	ITANES	4016
2008	Italian National Election Studies	ITANES	3000
2013	Italian National Election Studies	ITANES	1508
2018	Italian National Election Studies	ITANES	2573

Source: author's elaboration. ICPR: available from https://www.icpsr.umich.edu/web/ICPSR/studies/7201/summary#. ITANES: available from http://www.itanes.org/en/.

Table AD2 - Complete descriptive statistics by decade in Italy							
	1953-58	1968	1972	1983-87	1992-96	2001-08	2013-18
Age: 20-40	53%	40%	36%	42%	47%	37%	31%
Age: 40-60	34%	41%	39%	36%	35%	36%	44%
Age: 60+	13%	19%	25%	22%	18%	28%	25%
Subjective class: Not working class	72%	33%	20%				
Education: Primary	69%	75%	71%	30%	37%	19%	15%
Education: Secondary	26%	20%	25%	62%	52%	72%	60%
Education: Tertiary	5%	5%	4%	7%	11%	8%	24%
Employment status: Employed	54%	53%	49%	48%	45%	46%	57%
Employment status: Unemployed	3%	2%	2%	5%	34%	4%	10%
Employment status: Inactive	43%	44%	49%	47%	21%	50%	33%
Home ownership: Yes				67%			83%
Marital status: Married or with partne	68%	73%	73%	44%	64%	61%	69%
Region: North	48%	45%		49%	48%	46%	46%
Region: Center	19%	20%		20%	18%	20%	21%
Region: South	22%	23%		23%	23%	23%	22%
Region: Islands	10%	12%		9%	11%	11%	11%
Religion: No religion	1%	4%	6%	5%	7%	5%	6%
Religion: Catholic	99%	96%	94%	84%	79%	91%	91%
Religion: Other	0%	0%	0%	11%	13%	3%	3%
Church attendance: Never	7%	7%	8%	17%	14%	17%	30%
Church attendance: Less than montl	11%	29%	33%	32%	27%	25%	33%
Church attendance: Monthly or more	27%	20%	18%	23%	28%	29%	15%
Church attendance: Weekly or more	55%	44%	41%	29%	30%	29%	23%
Gender: Man	49%	52%	49%	49%	49%	48%	47%
Union membership: Yes	6%	17%		21%	26%	13%	9%

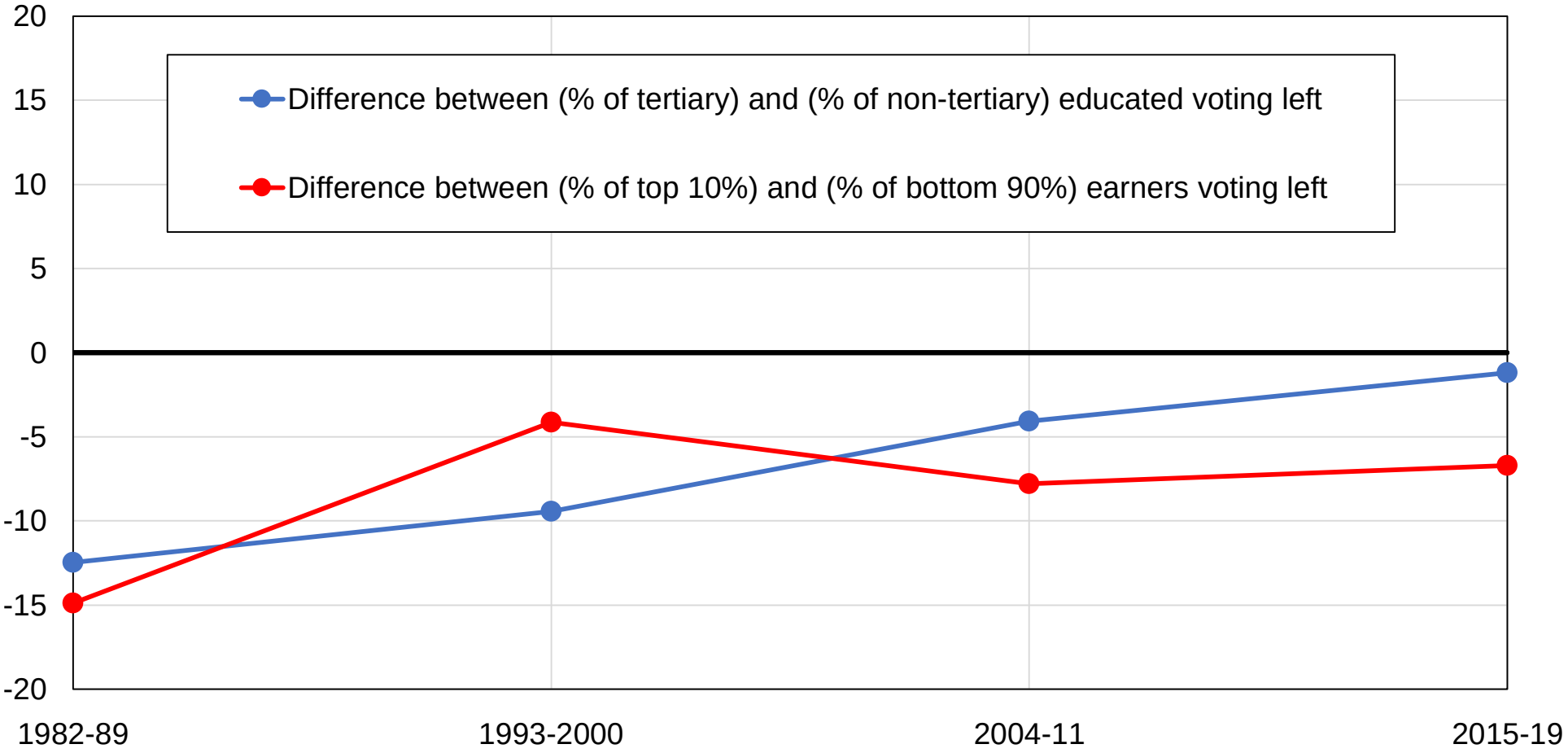
Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.
Note: the table shows descriptive statistics by decade for selected available variables.

Figure B1 - General election results in Spain, 1977-2019



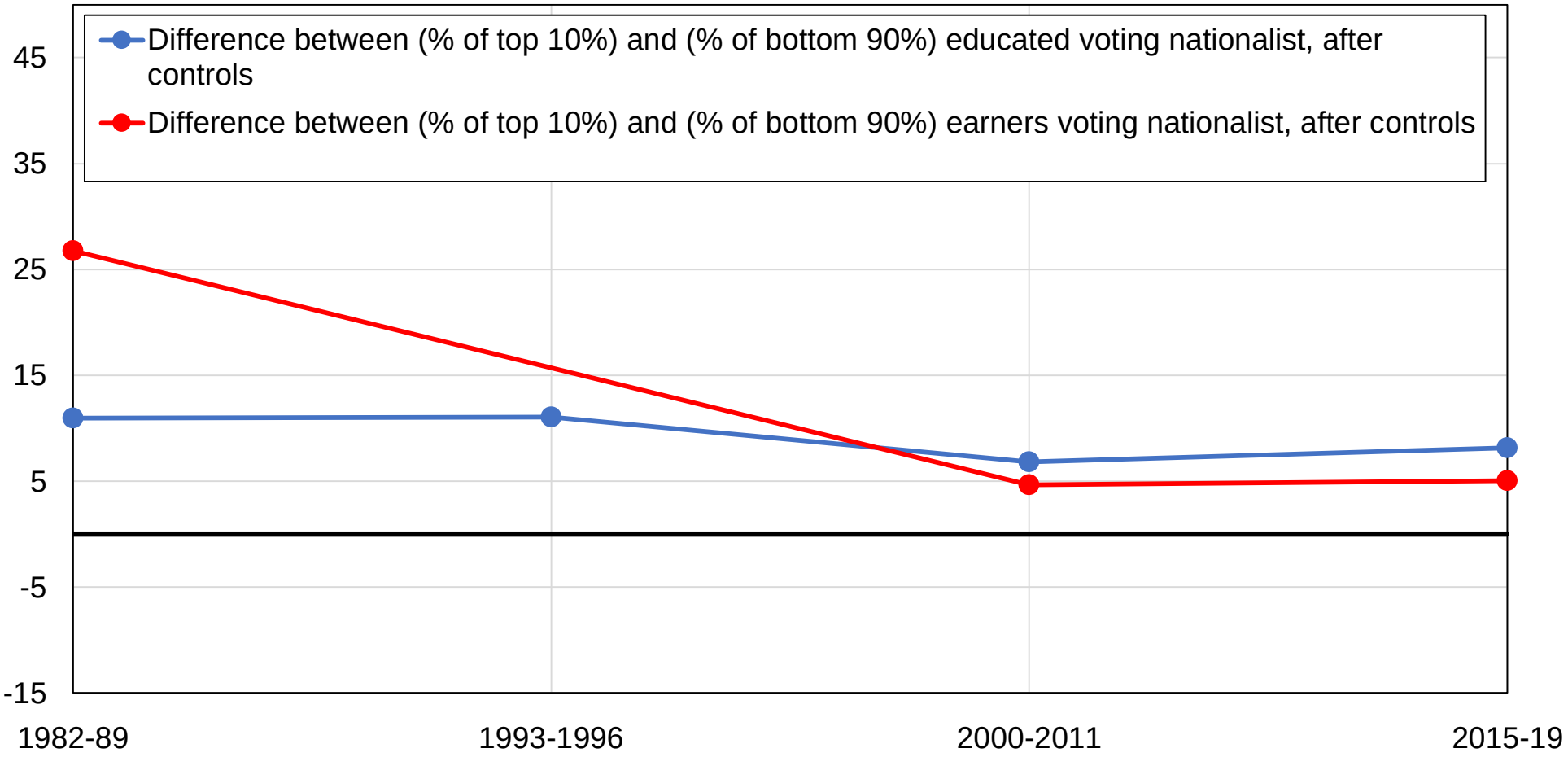
Source: author's computations using official election results.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the main Spanish political parties in all general elections between 1977 and 2019.

Figure B2 - Vote for the left among highest-educated and top-income voters in Spain, after controls



Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the support for left-wing parties among tertiary-educated and top-income voters, after controlling for age, gender, employment and marital status, religious affiliation, region, religiosity, self-employment status, union membership, subjective social class, rural-urban location and sector.

Figure B3 - Nationalist vote among highest-educated and top-income voters in Catalonia, after controls



Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the support for nationalist parties among highest-educated and top-income voters after controlling for income, education, age, gender, employment and marital status, religious affiliation, region, religiosity, self-employment status, union membership, subjective social class, rural-urban location

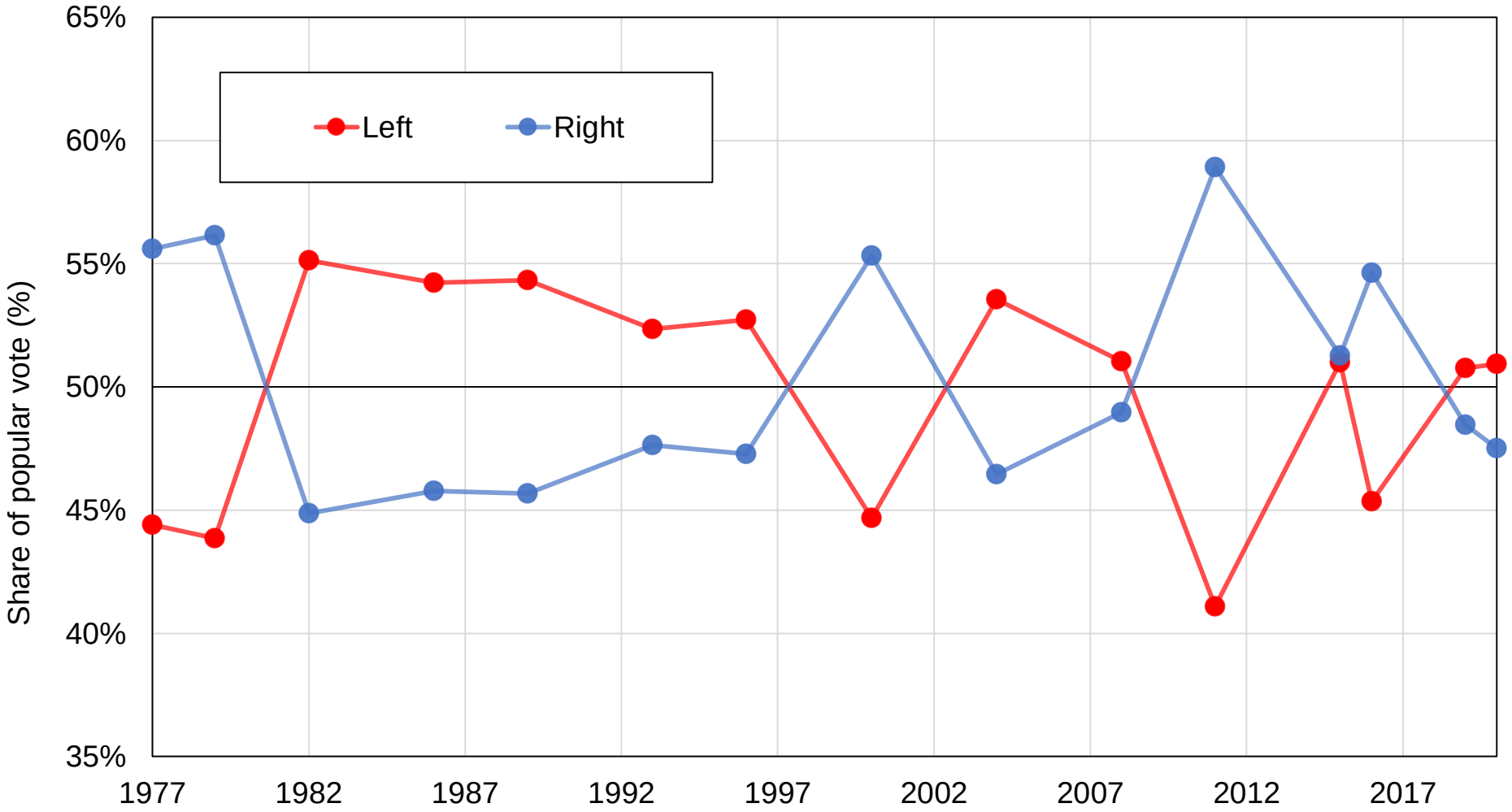
Table B1 - The structure of political cleavages in Spain, 2019

	Share of votes received (%)					
	Podemos	**PSOE**	**Ciudadanos**	**PP**	**Vox**	**Nationalist parties**
Education						
Primary	7%	38%	7%	32%	5%	8%
Secondary	16%	27%	11%	16%	16%	10%
Tertiary	20%	22%	15%	17%	9%	12%
Postgraduate	18%	20%	21%	17%	5%	19%
Income						
Bottom 50%	13%	35%	9%	23%	11%	6%
Middle 40%	17%	26%	13%	15%	14%	10%
Top 10%	15%	20%	14%	16%	15%	17%
Age						
20-40	23%	21%	14%	11%	17%	8%
40-60	15%	28%	13%	16%	13%	11%
60+	7%	35%	7%	31%	7%	11%
Location						
Urban area	15%	28%	12%	18%	13%	10%
Rural area	6%	30%	8%	28%	10%	13%
Religion						
Catholic	6%	30%	13%	26%	15%	7%
Other	17%	39%	9%	10%	9%	11%
No religion	35%	24%	8%	4%	7%	17%

Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.

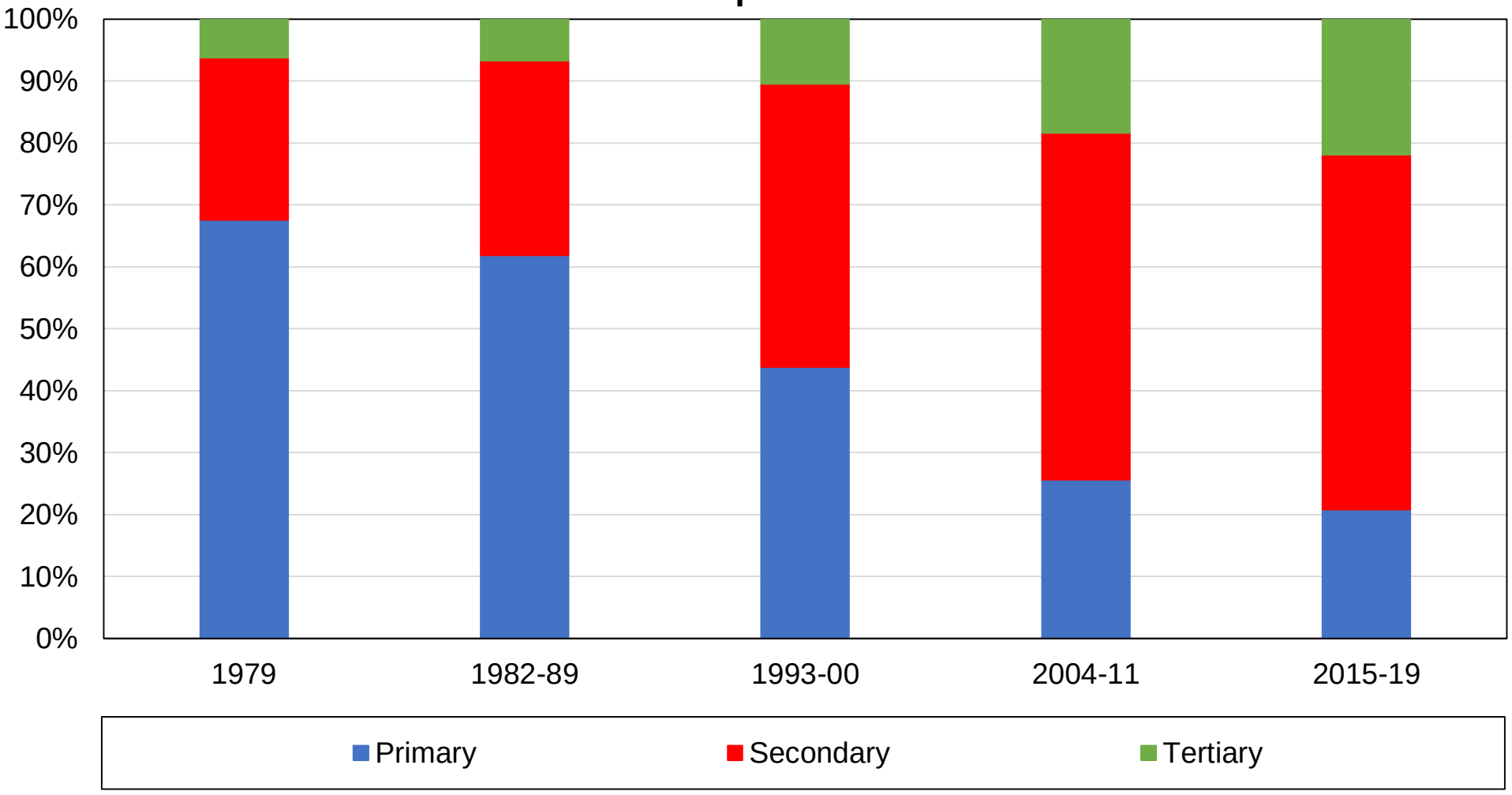
Notes: the table shows the average share of votes received by the main political parties by selected individual characteristics in the two 2019 elections.

Figure BA1 - General election results in Spain by group, 1977-2019



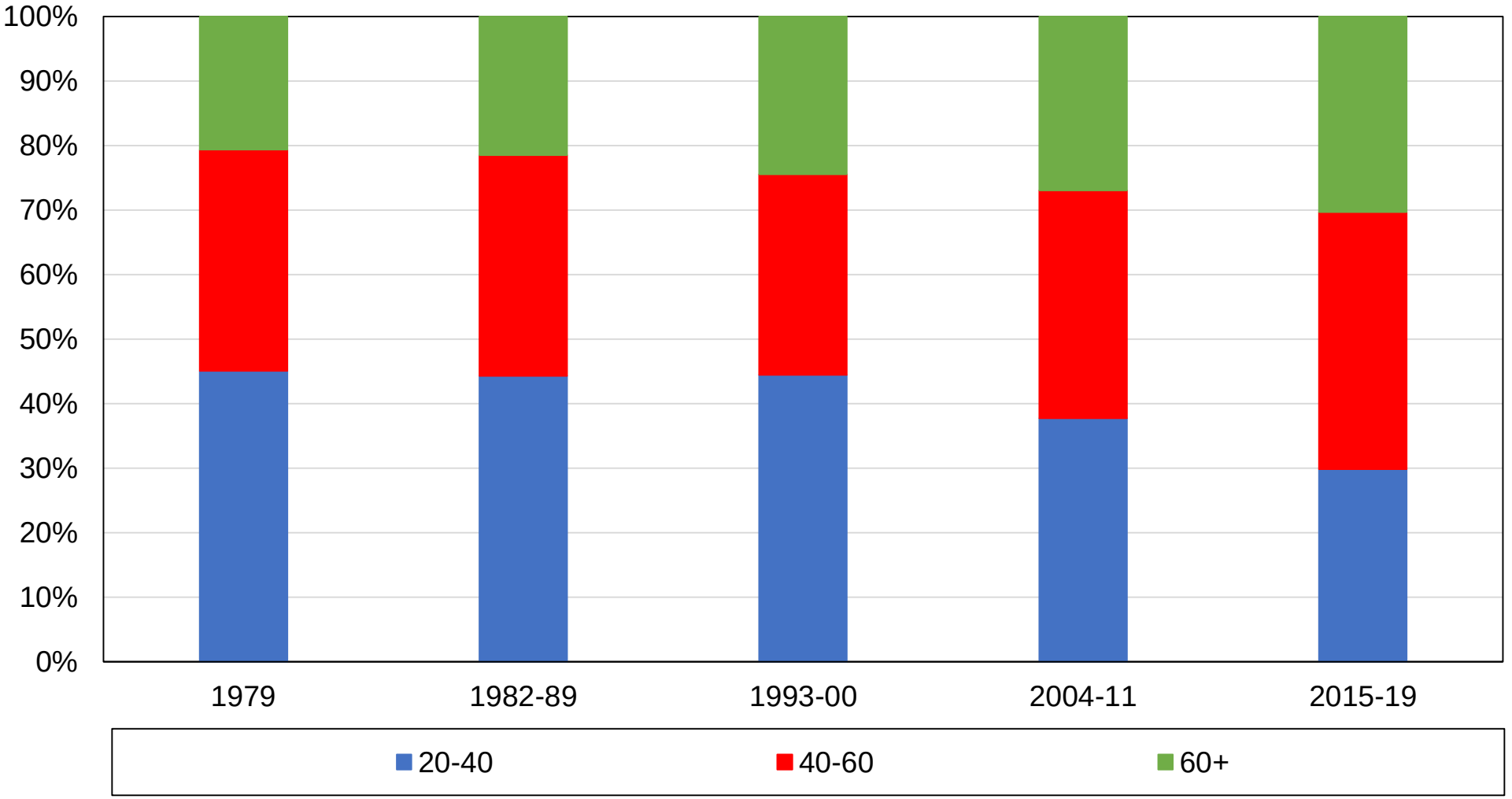
Source: author's computations using official election results.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing and center to right-wing parties in all Spanish general elections between 1977 and 2019.

Figure BA2 - The composition of the electorate by education level in Spain



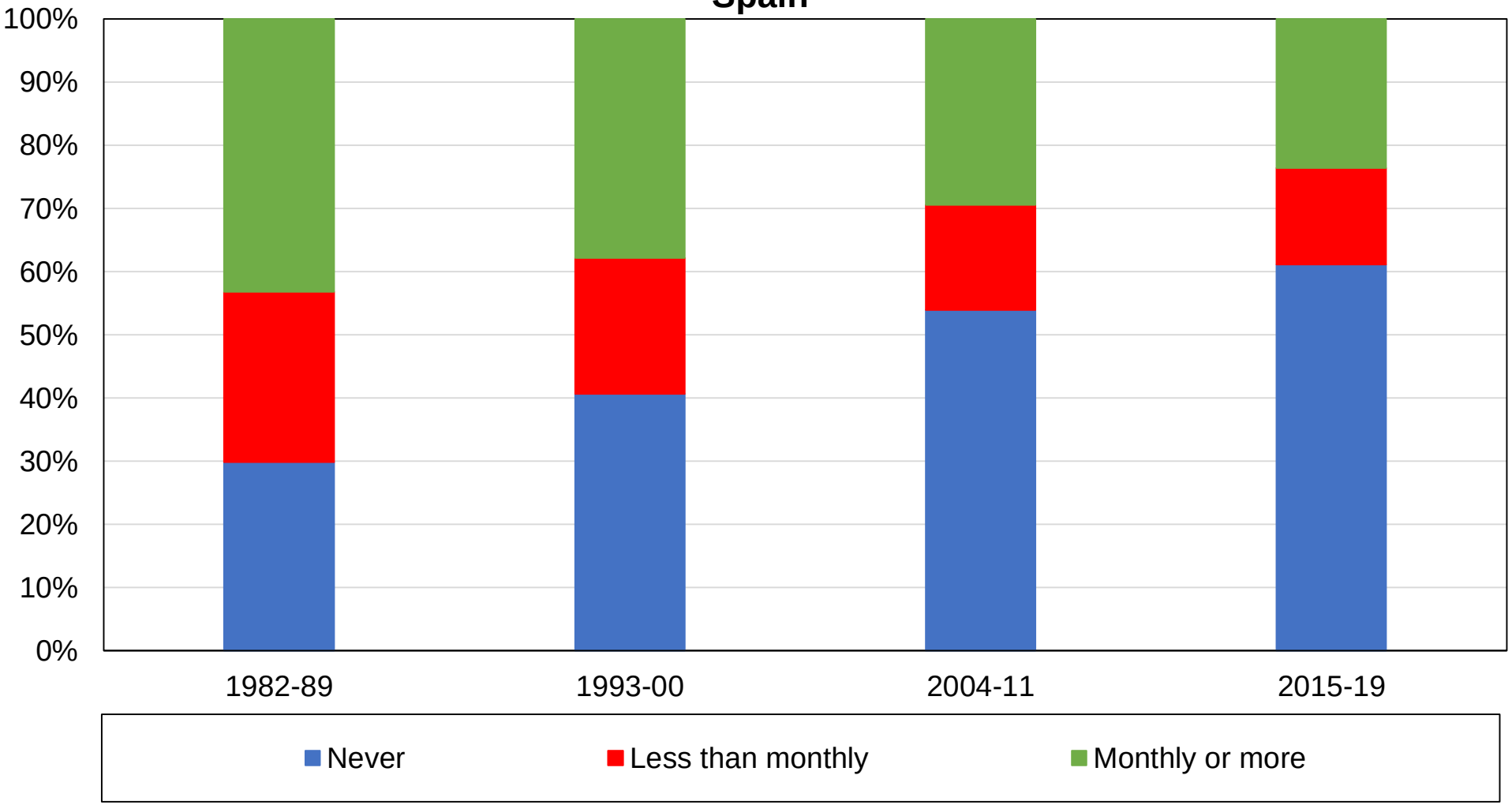
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by education level.

Figure BA3 - The composition of the electorate by age group in Spain



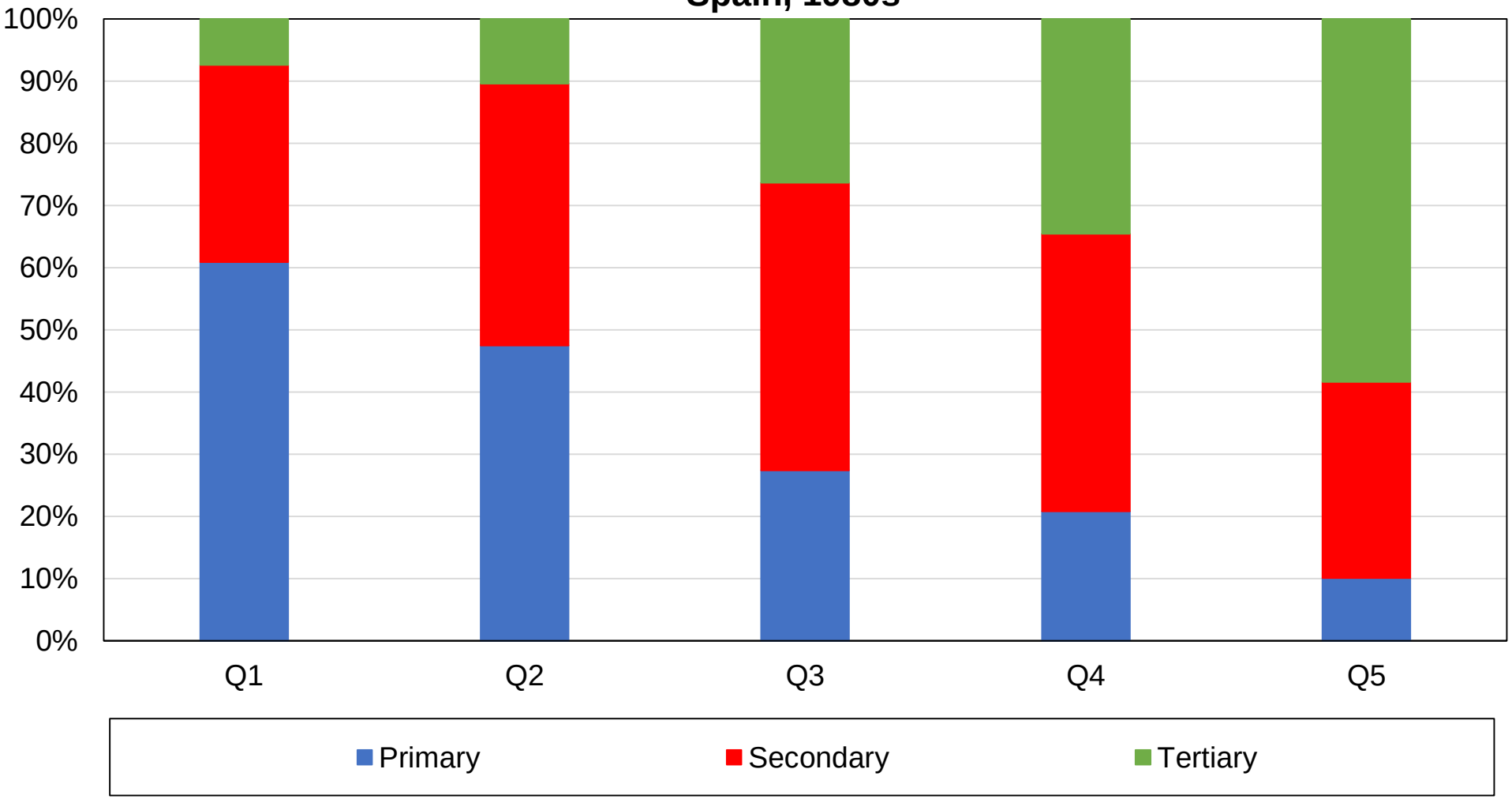
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by age group.

Figure BA4 - The composition of the electorate by church attendance in Spain



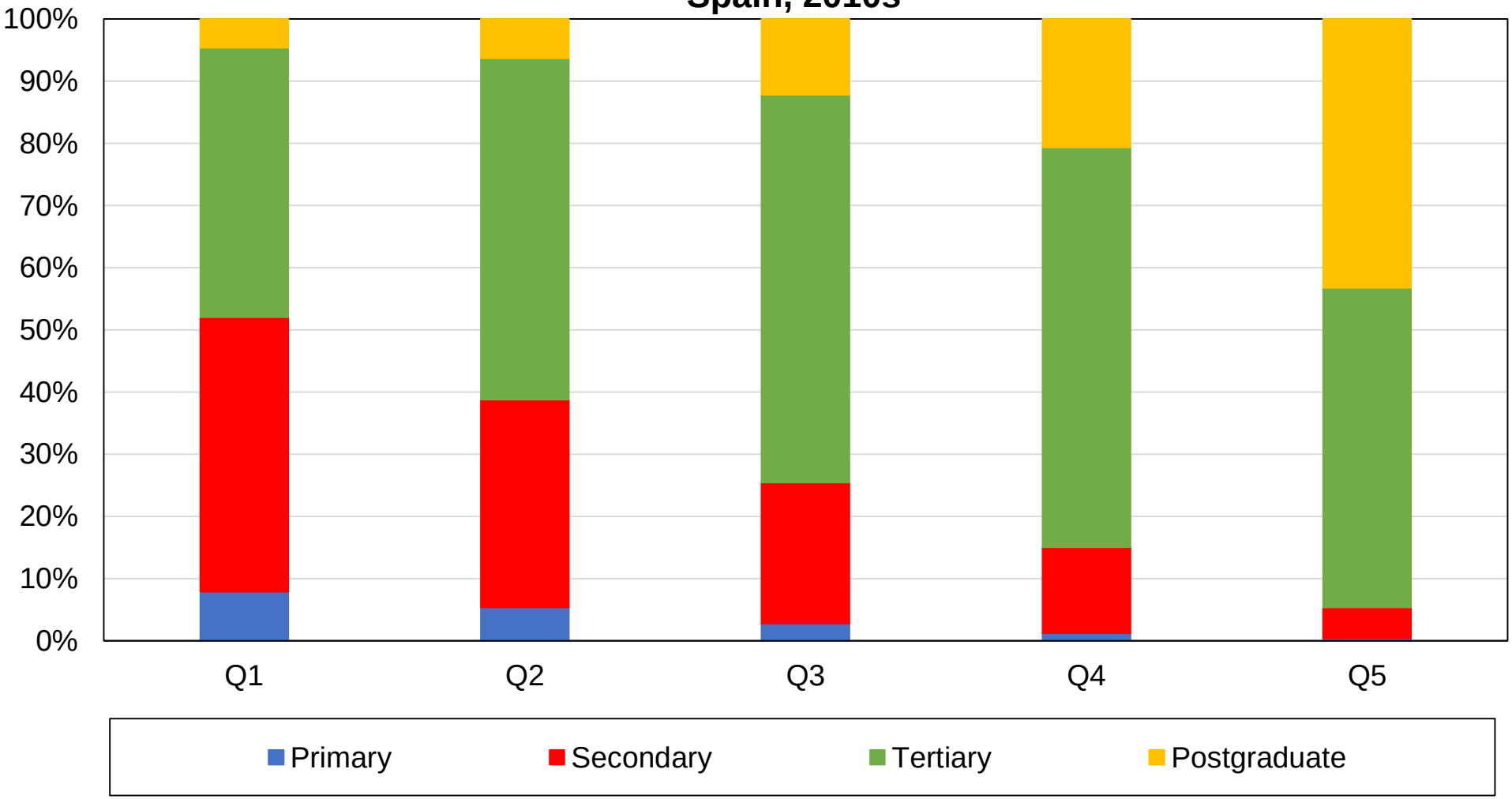
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by church attendance.

Figure BA5 - The composition of income quintiles by education level in Spain, 1980s



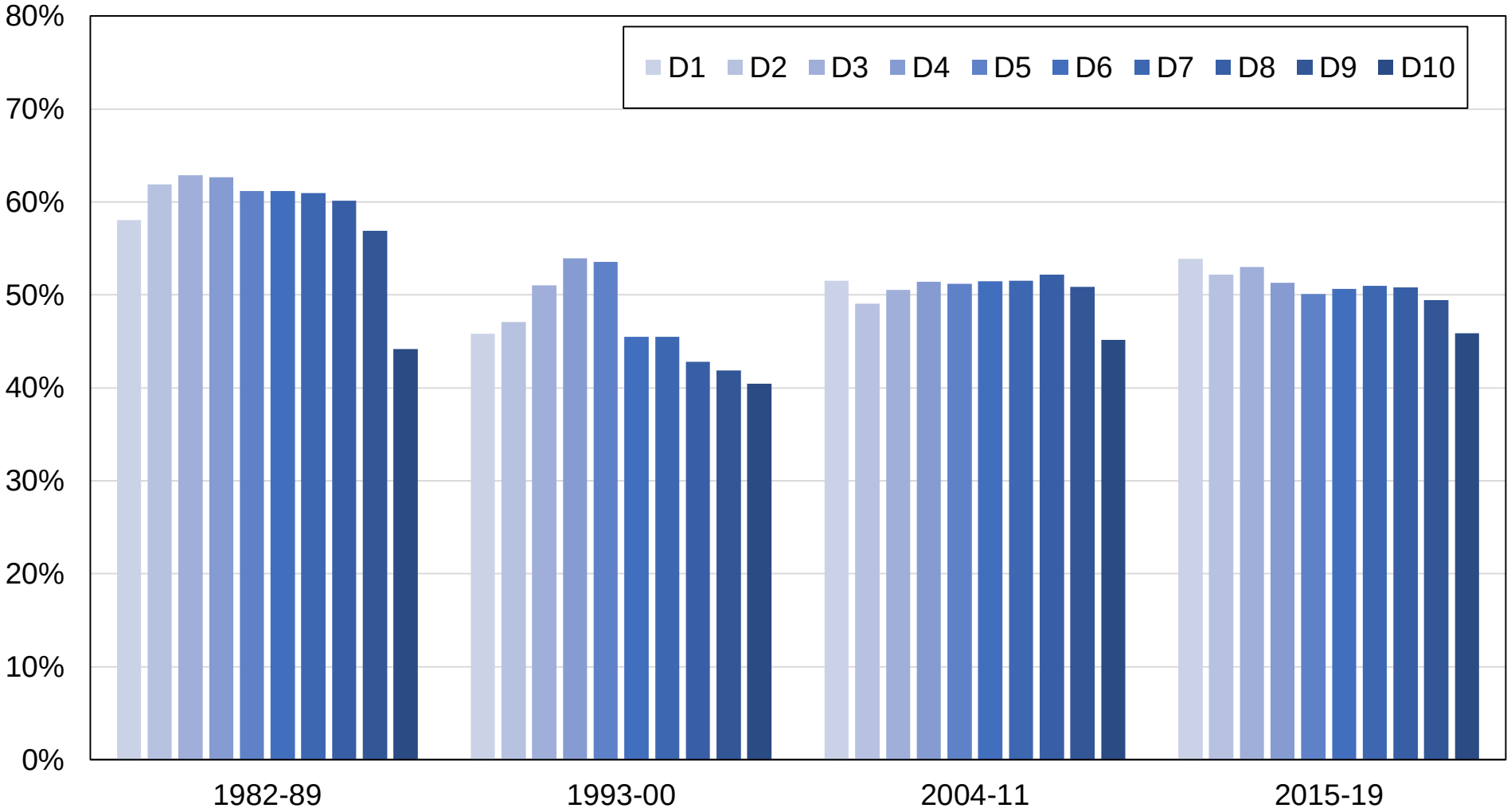
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by education level in the 1980s.

Figure BA6 - The composition of income quintiles by education level in Spain, 2010s



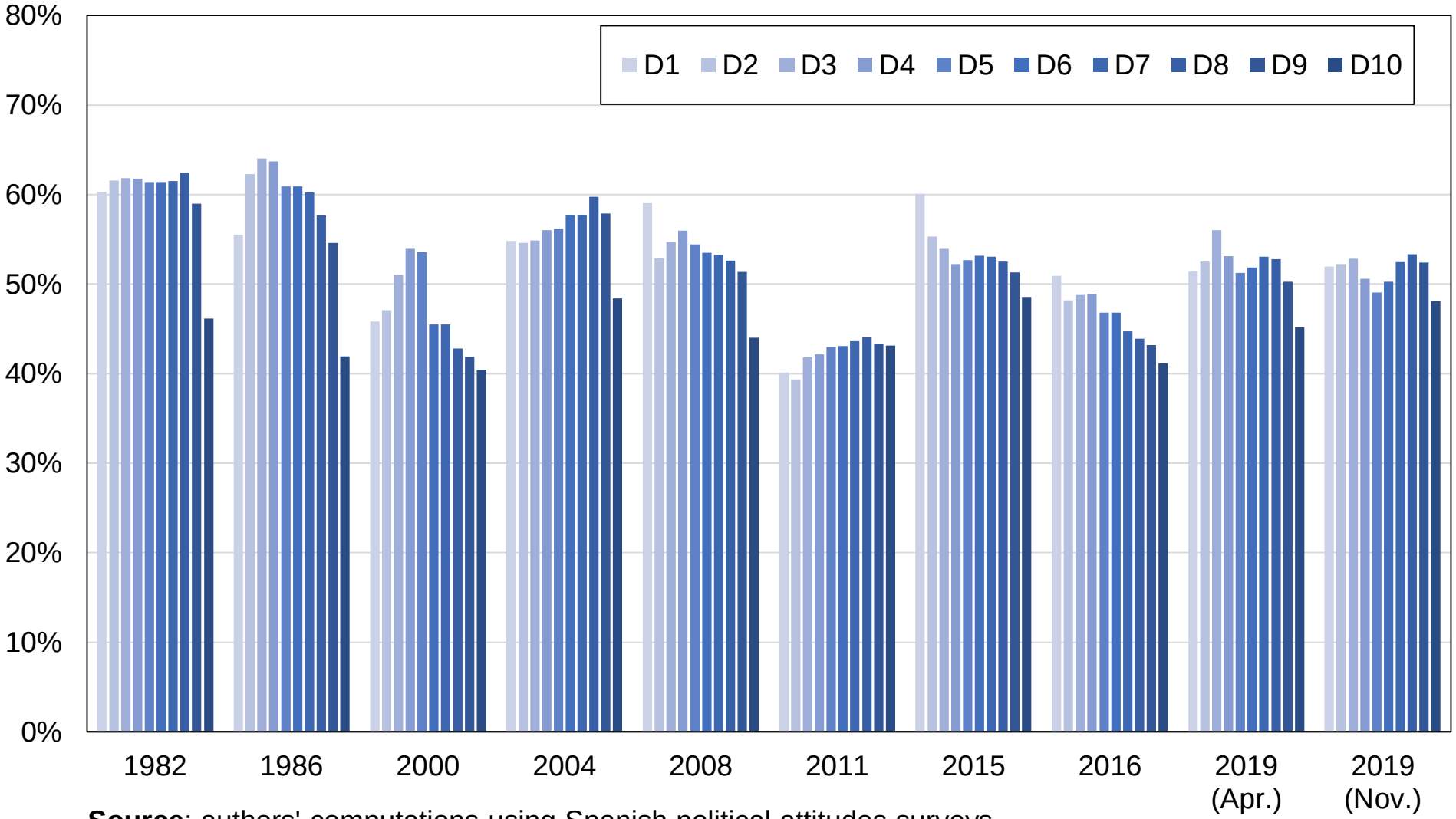
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by education level in the 2010s.

Figure BB1 - Vote for the left by income decile in Spain



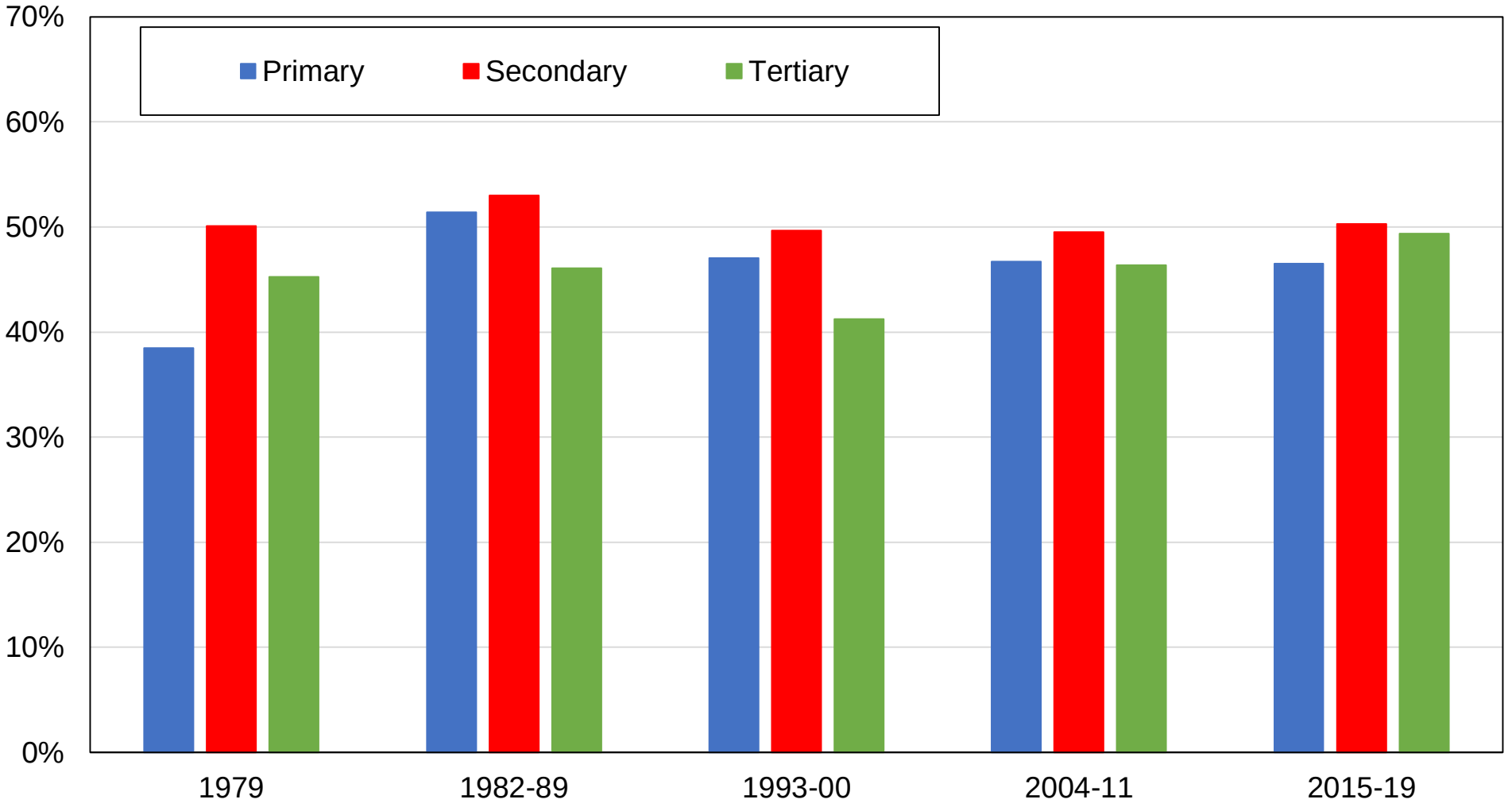
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income decile. In the 1993-2000 decade, income is only available in 2000.

Figure BB2 - Vote for the left by income decile in Spain (yearly)



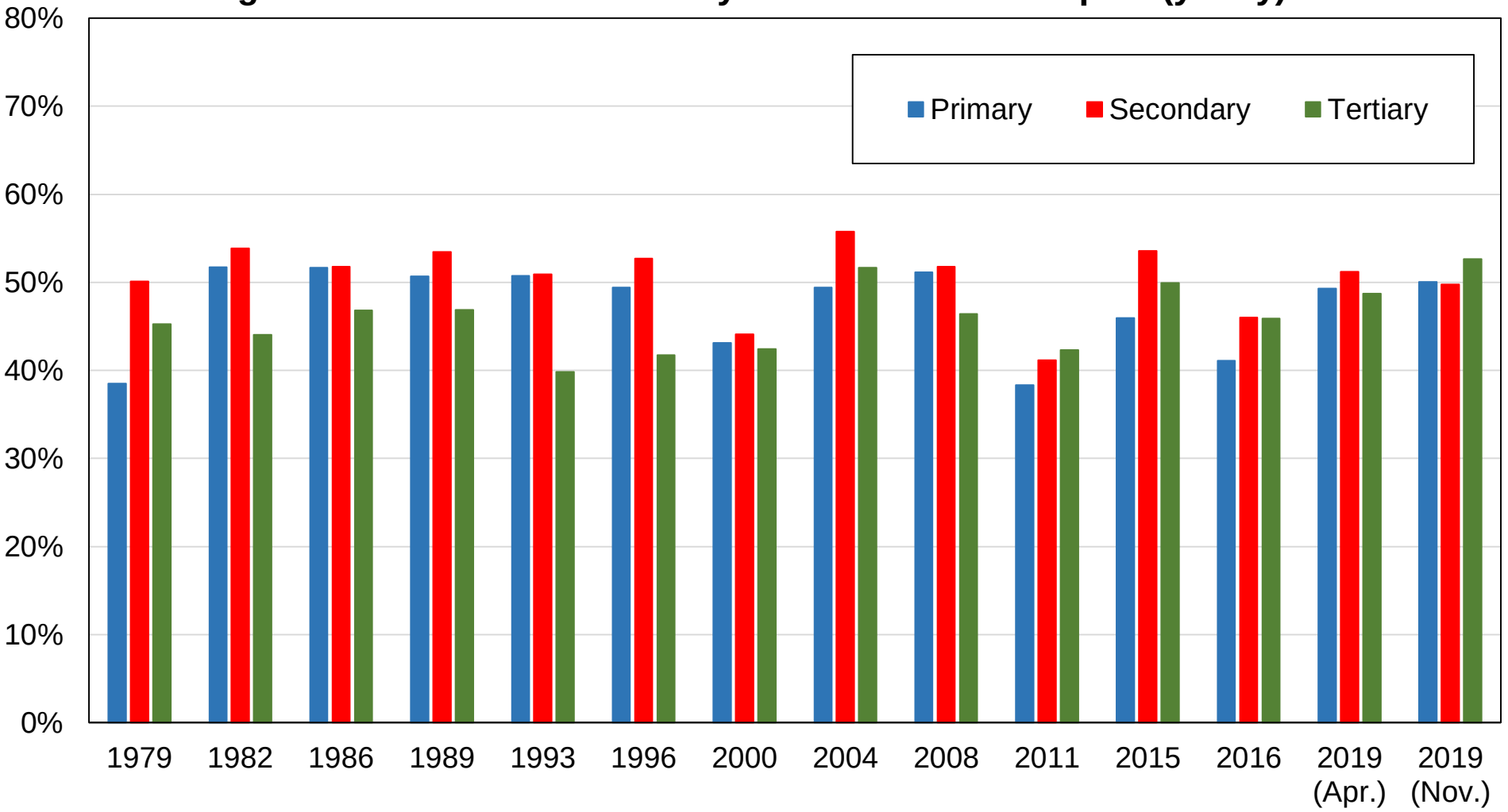
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income decile.

Figure BB3 - Vote for the left by education level in Spain



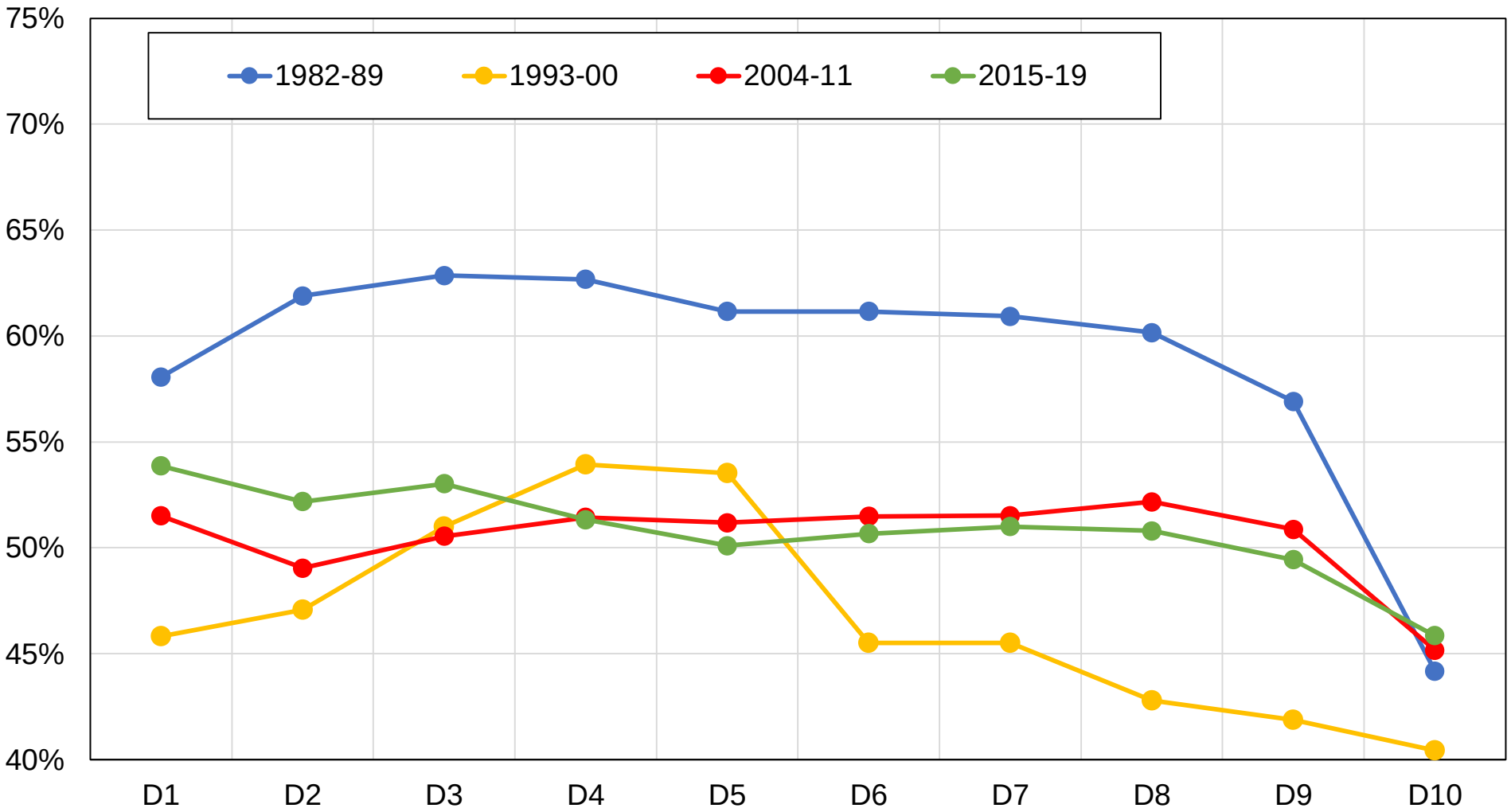
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by education level.

Figure BB4 - Vote for the left by education level in Spain (yearly)



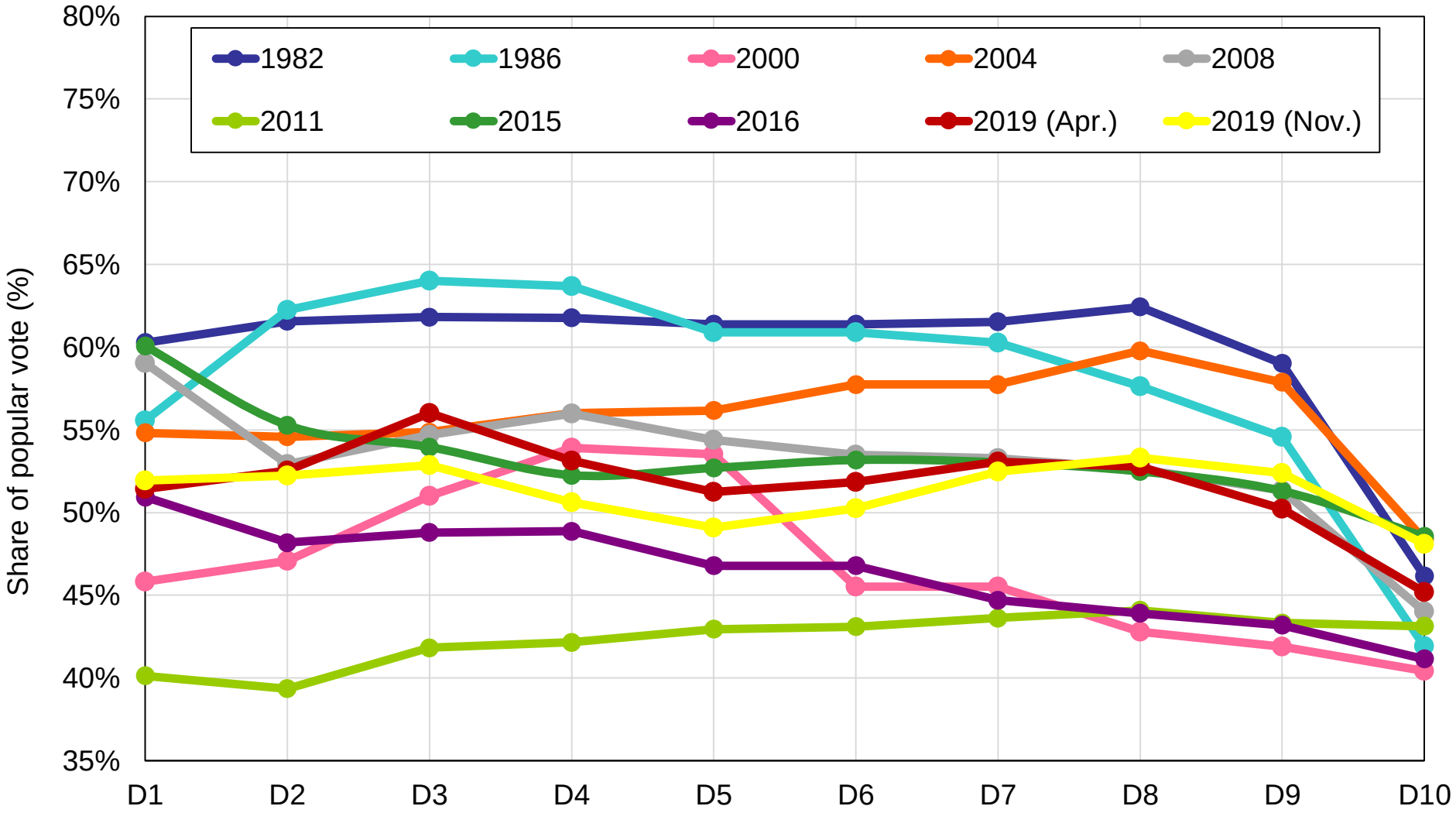
Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys 1979-2019 (general elections).
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by education level.

Figure BB5 - Vote for the left by income decile in Spain



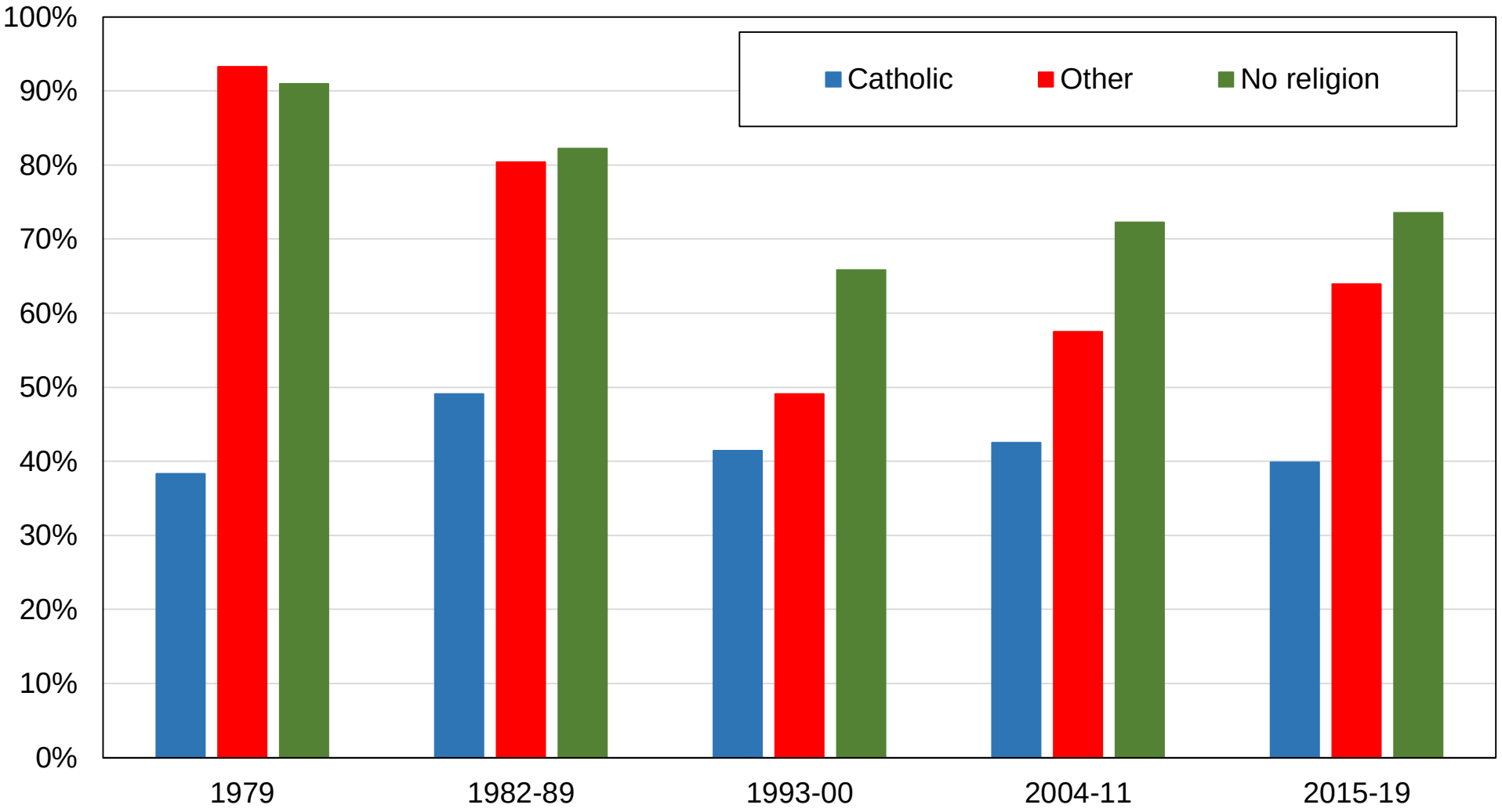
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income decile. In the 1993-2000 decade, income is only available in 2000.

Figure BB6 - Vote for the left by income decile in Spain (yearly)



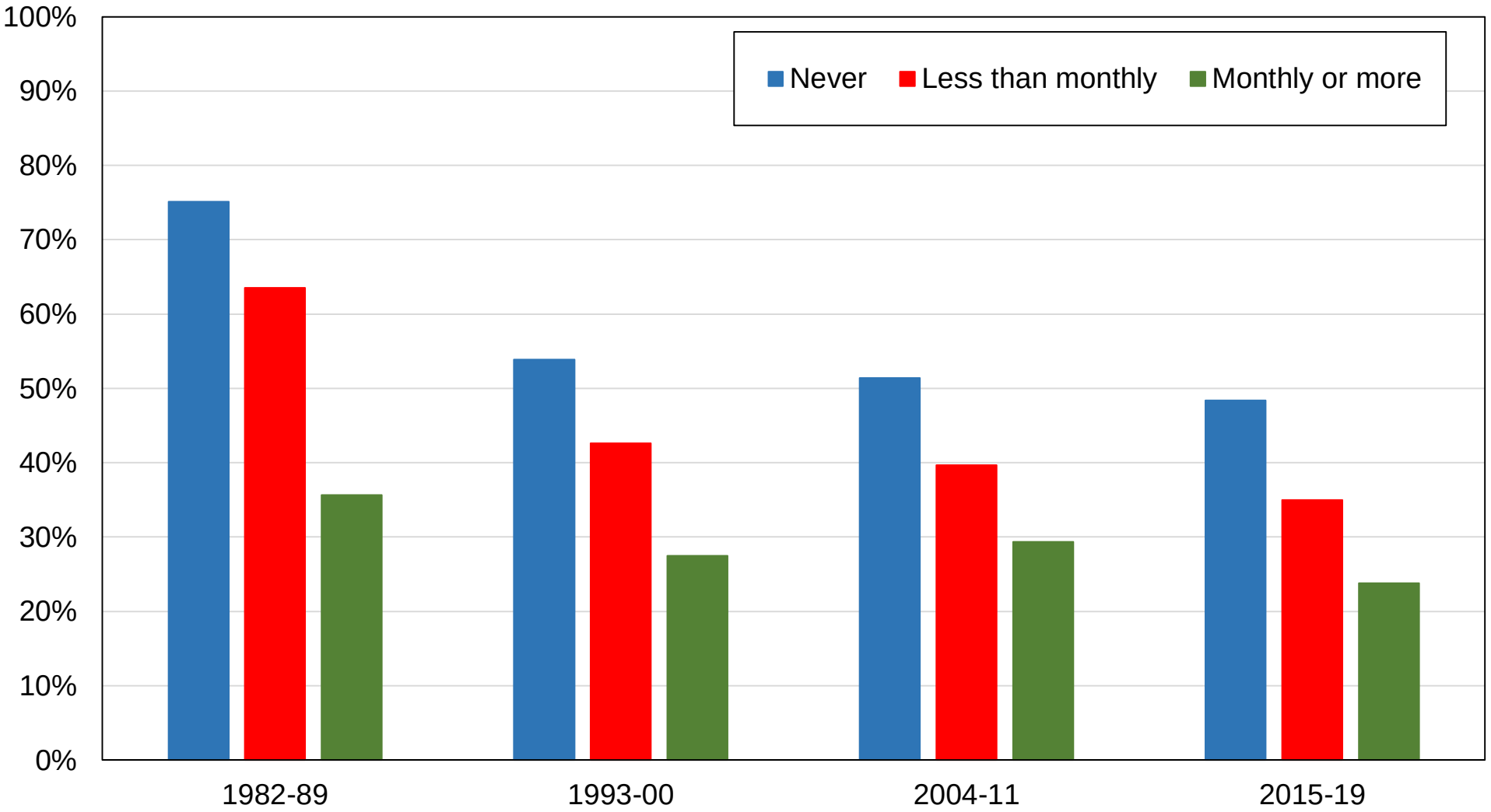
Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys 1982-2019 (general elections).
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income decile.

Figure BB7 - Vote for the left by religious affiliation in Spain



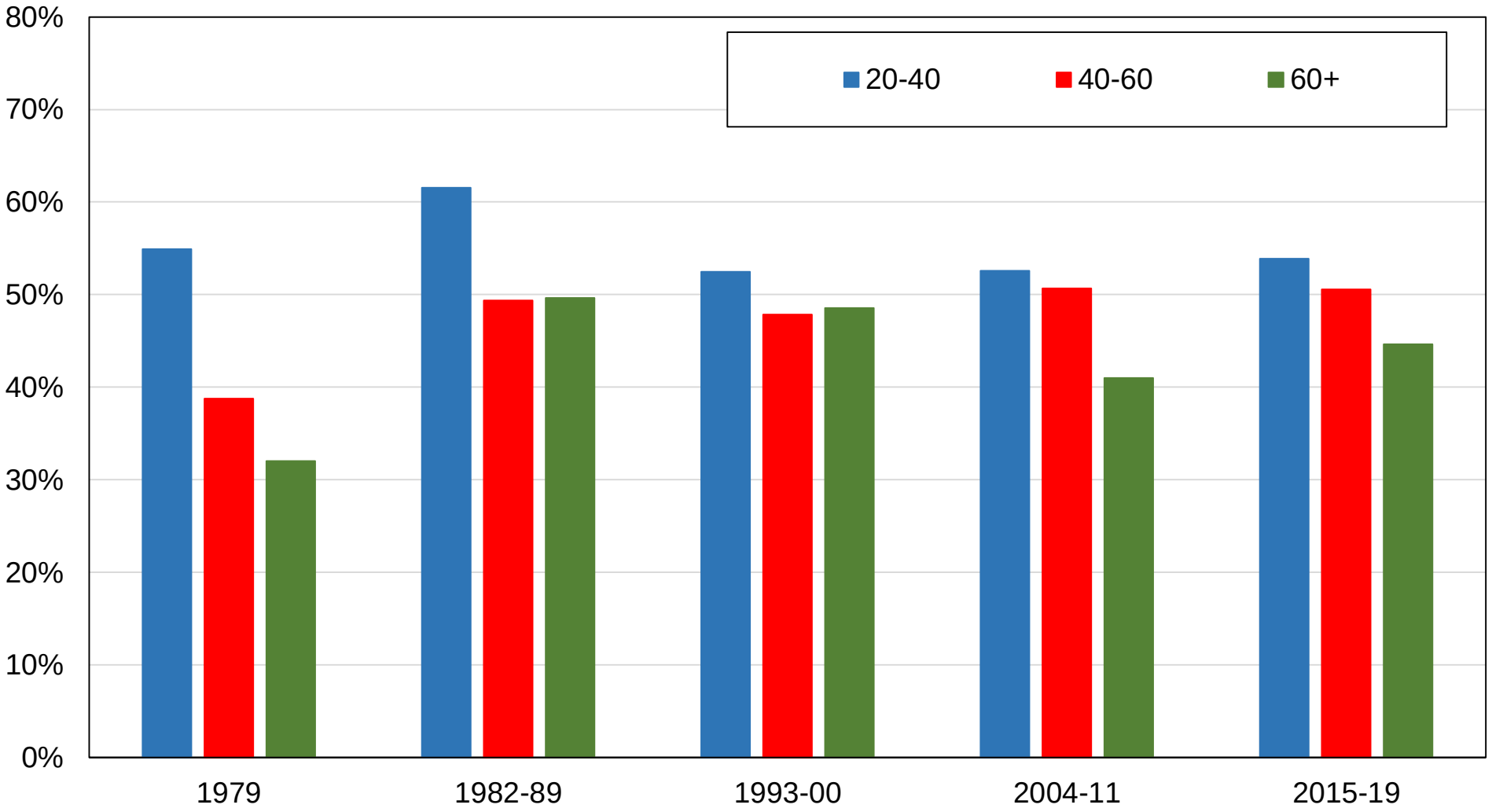
Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys 1979-2019 (general elections).
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by religious affiliation.

Figure BB8 - Vote for the left by church attendance in Spain



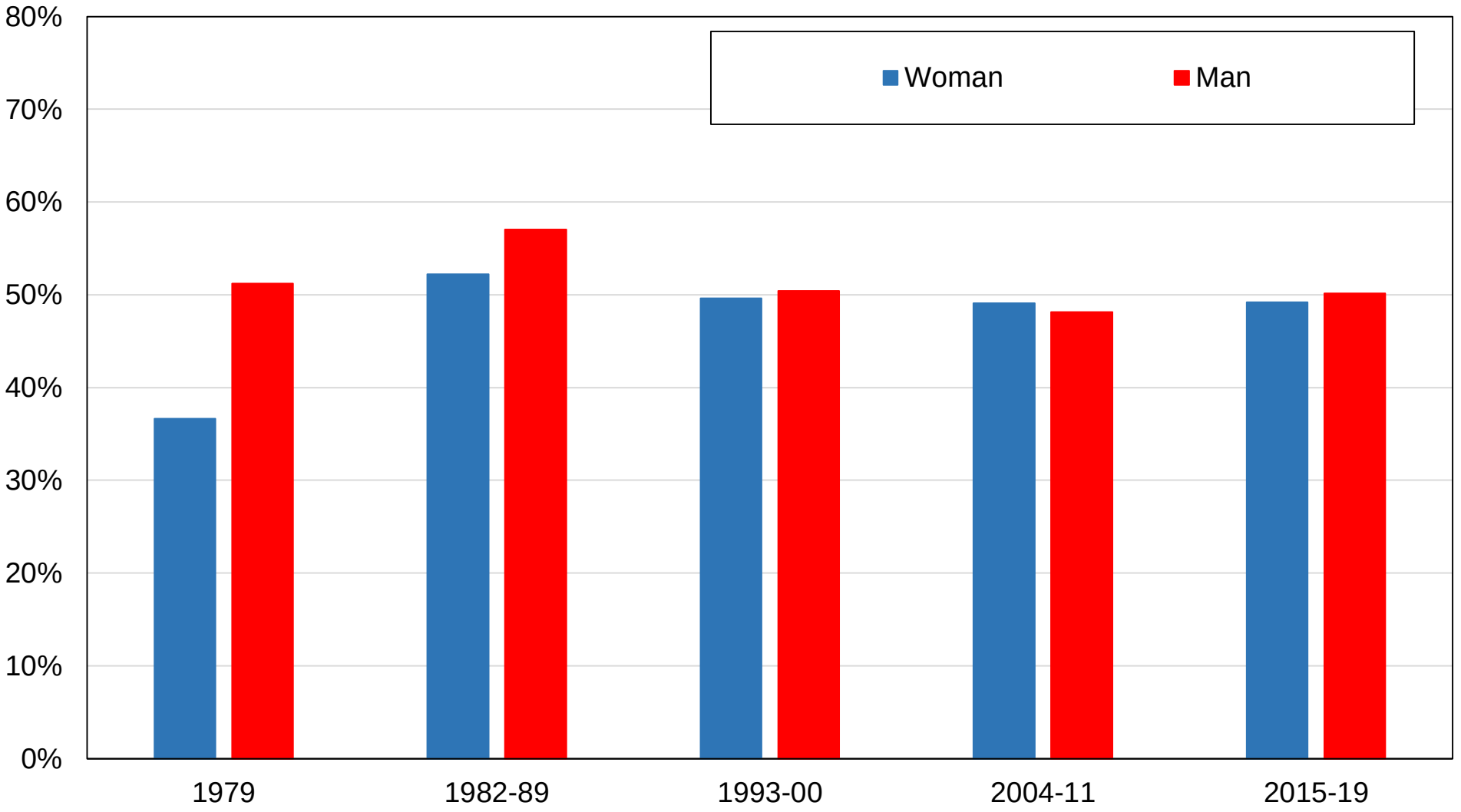
Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys 1982-2019 (general elections).
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by frequency of church attendance.

Figure BB9 - Vote for the left by age group in Spain



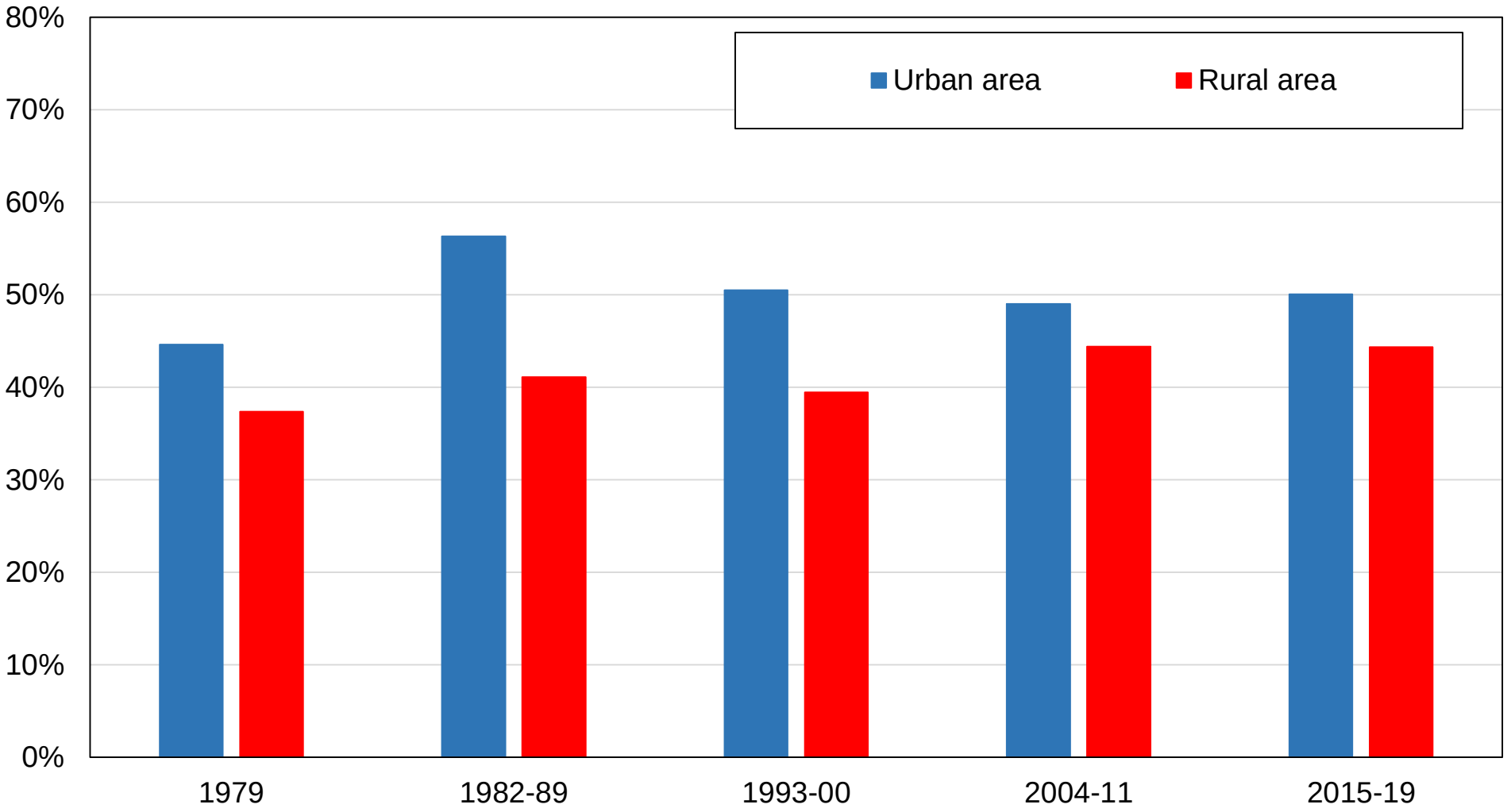
Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys 1979-2019 (general elections).
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by age group.

Figure BB10 - Vote for the left by gender in Spain



Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys 1979-2019 (general elections).
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by gender.

Figure BB11 - Vote for the left by location in Spain

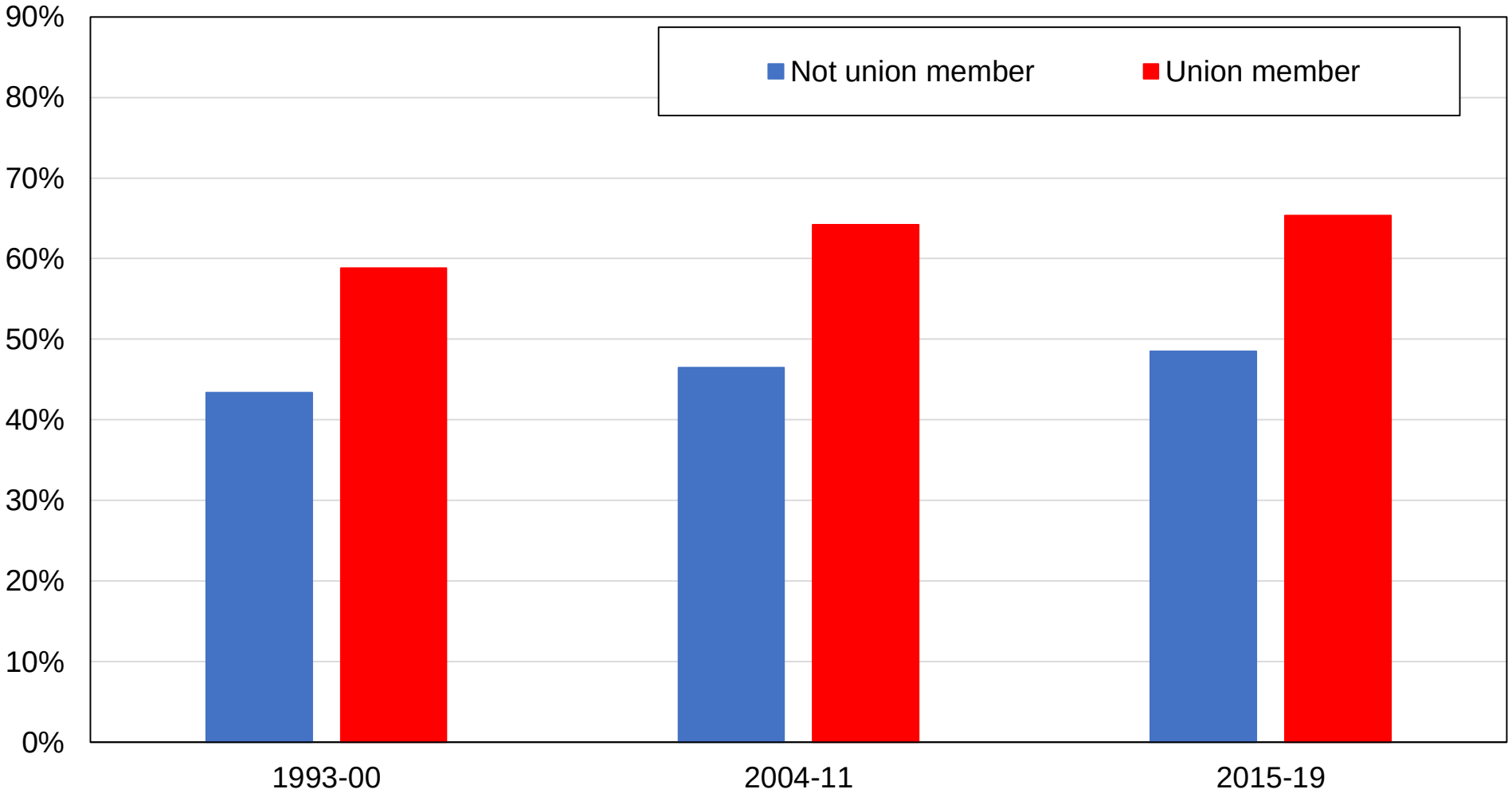


Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys 1979-2019 (general elections).
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by rural-urban location.

Figure BB12 - Vote for the left by employment type in Spain

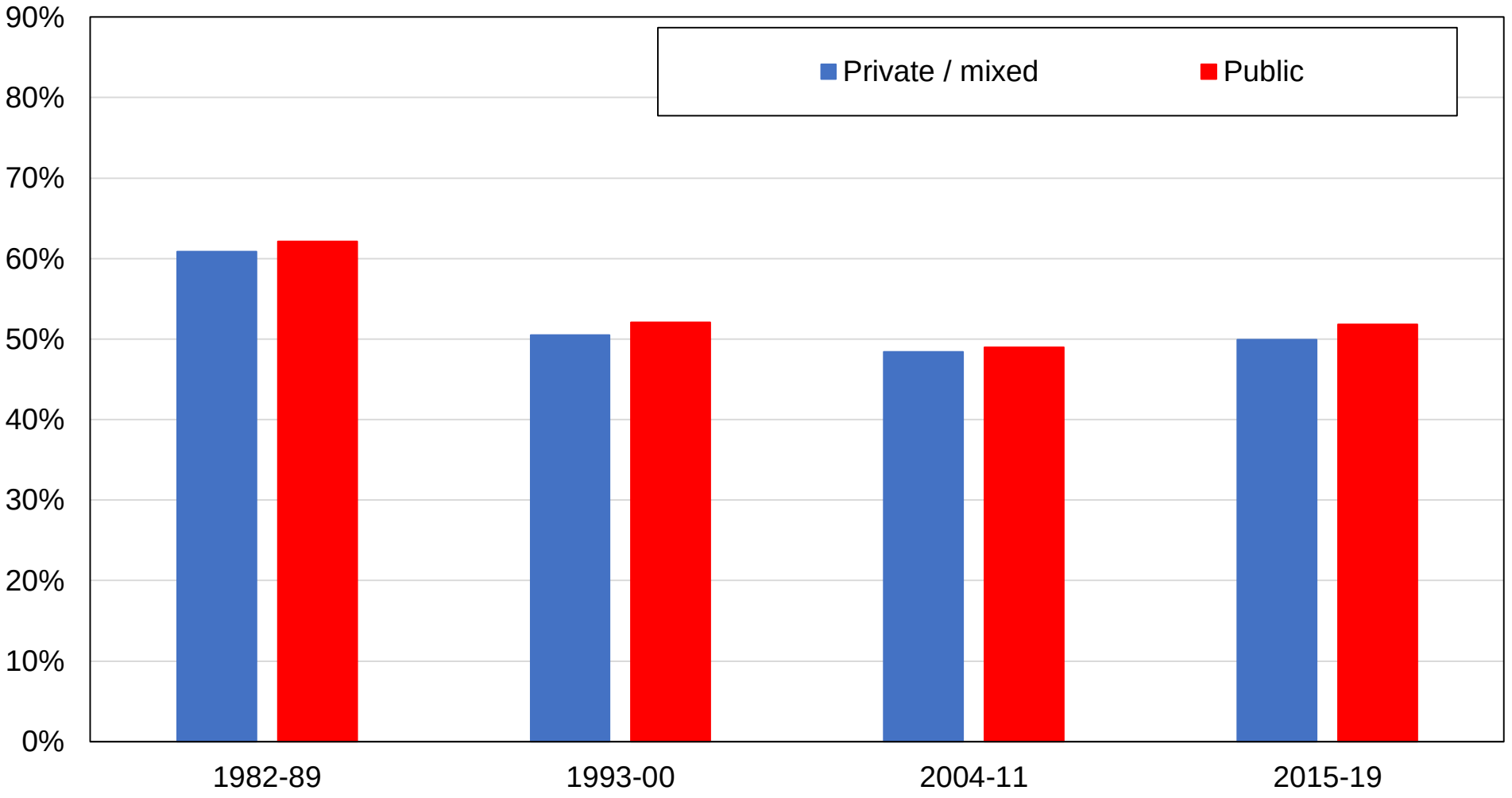
Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys 1979-2019 (general elections).
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by employment type.

Figure BB13 - Vote for the left by union membership in Spain



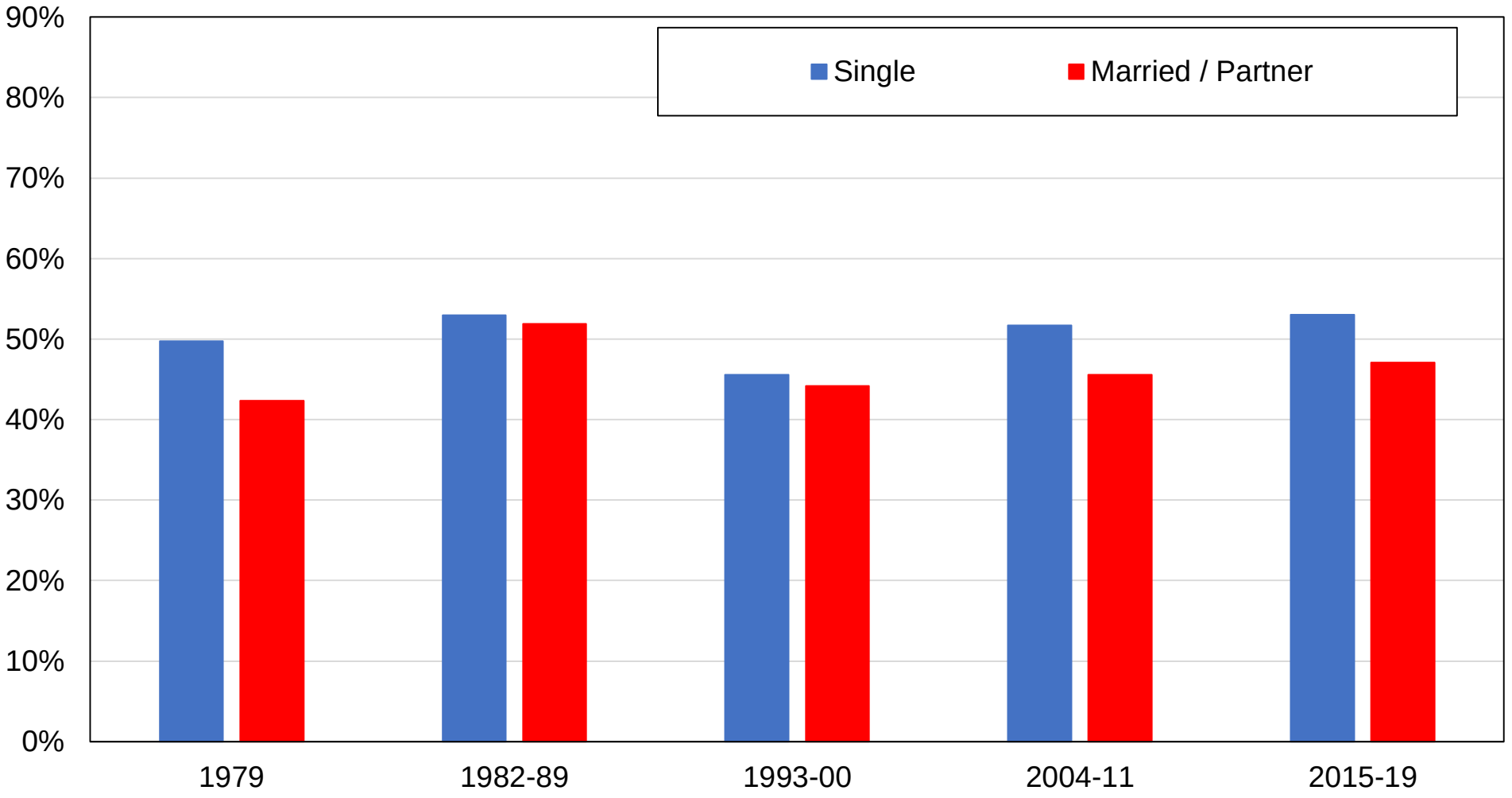
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by union membership status.

Figure BB14 - Vote for the left by sector of occupation in Spain



Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by sector of occupation.

Figure BB15 - Vote for the left by marital status in Spain

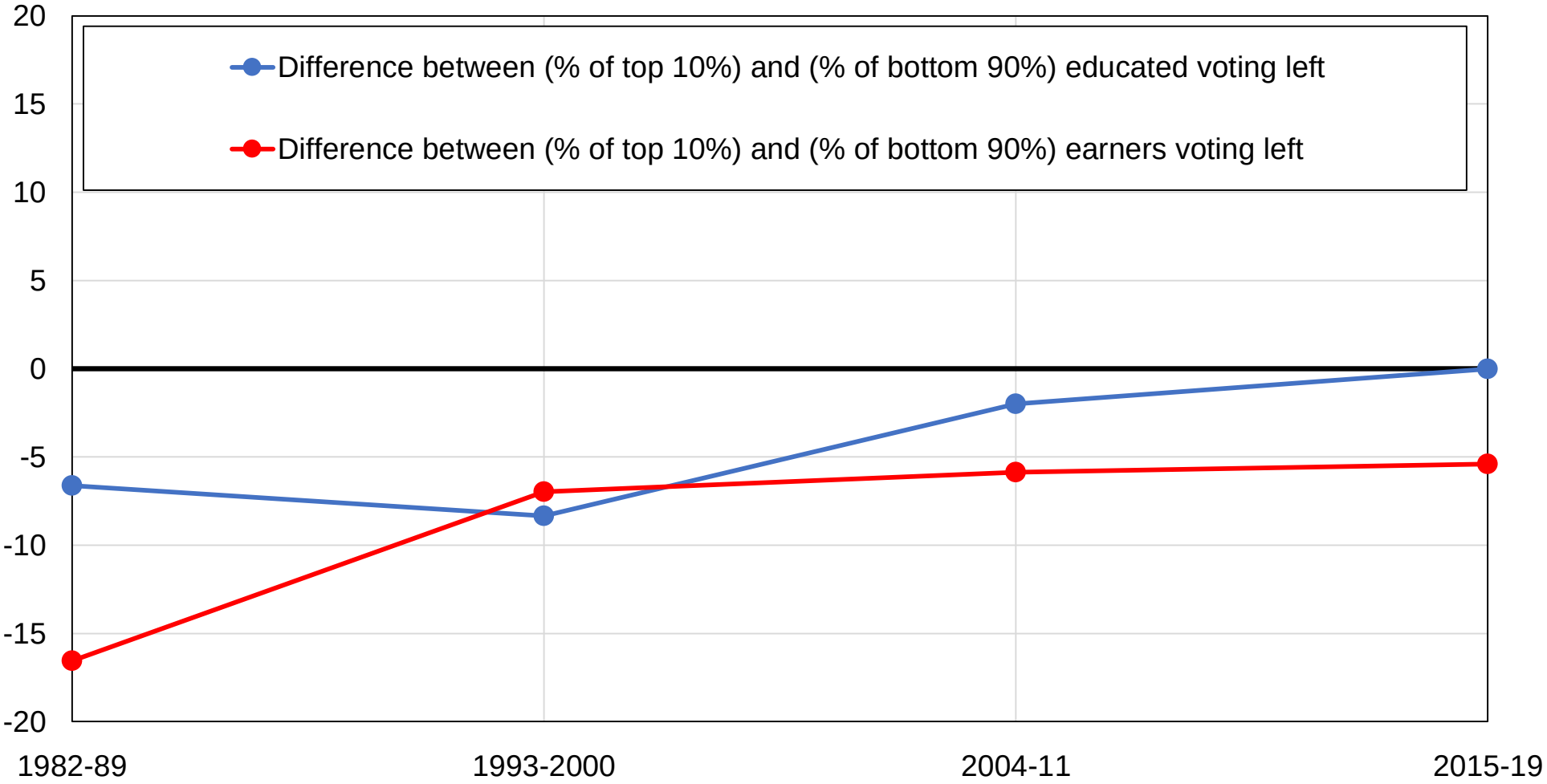


Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by marital status.

Figure BB16 - Vote for the left by subjective social class in Spain

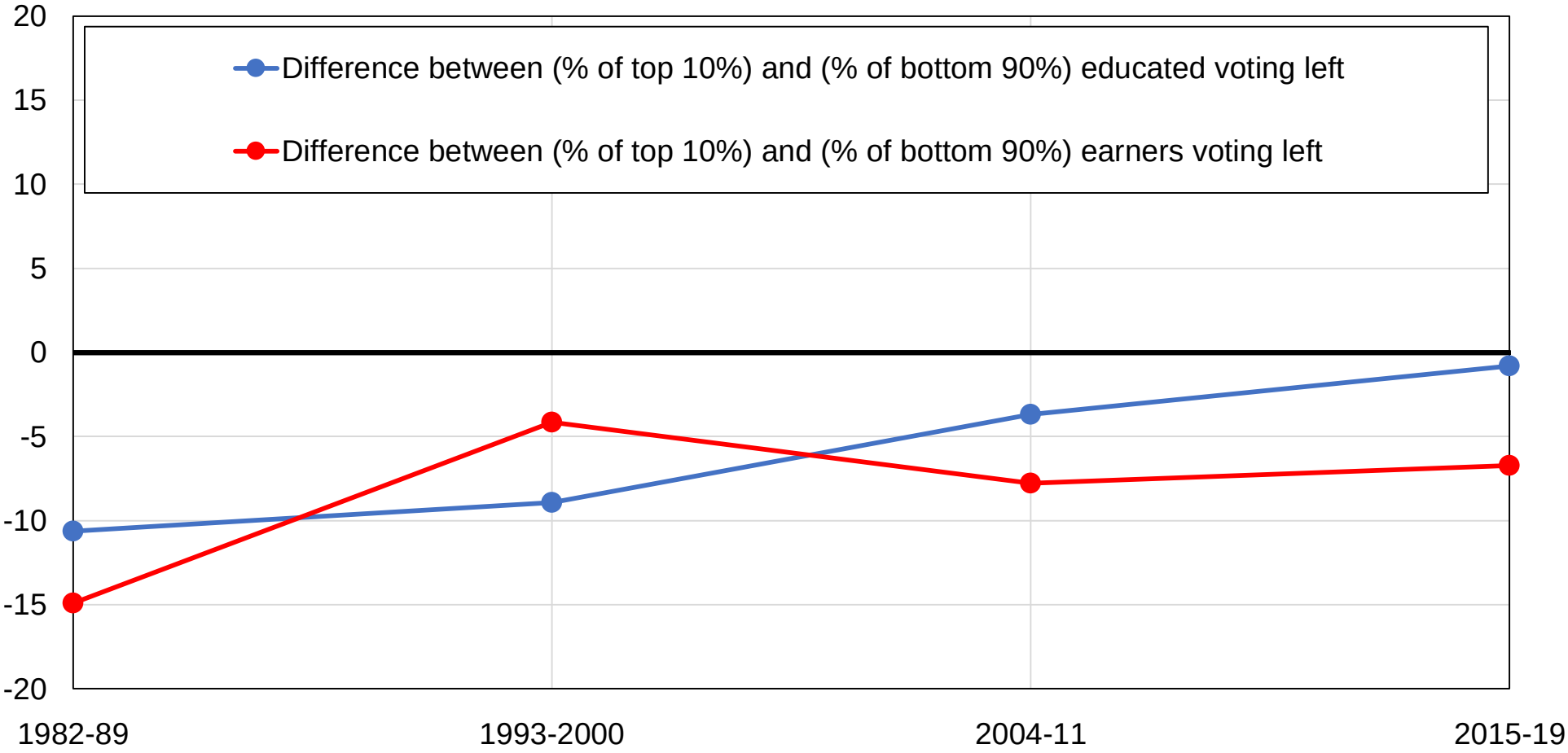
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by subjective social class.

Figure BB17 - Vote for the left among highest-educated and top-income voters in Spain, before controls



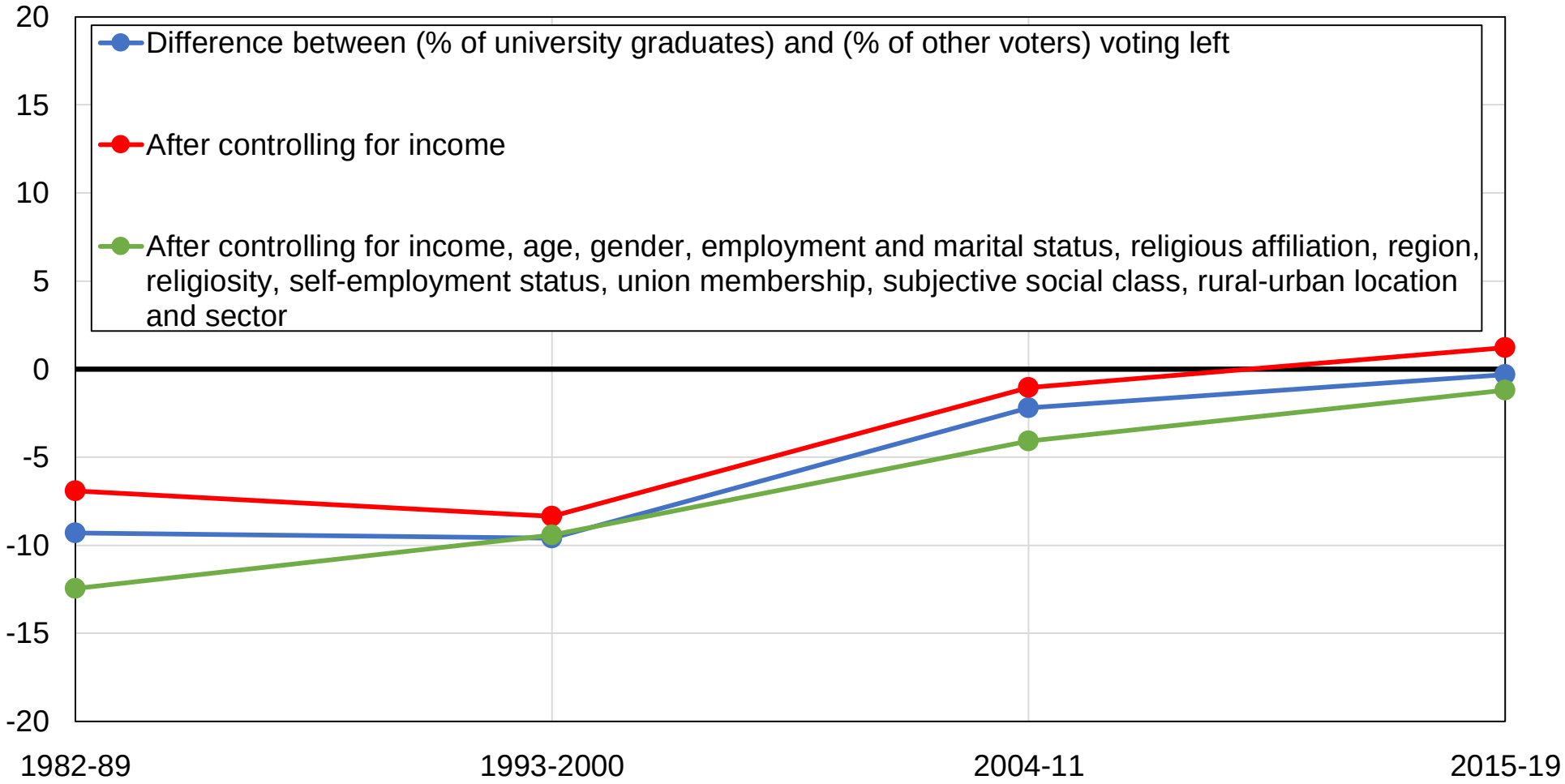
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the support for left-wing parties among highest-educated and top-income voters.

Figure BB18 - Vote for the left among highest-educated and top-income voters in Spain, after controls



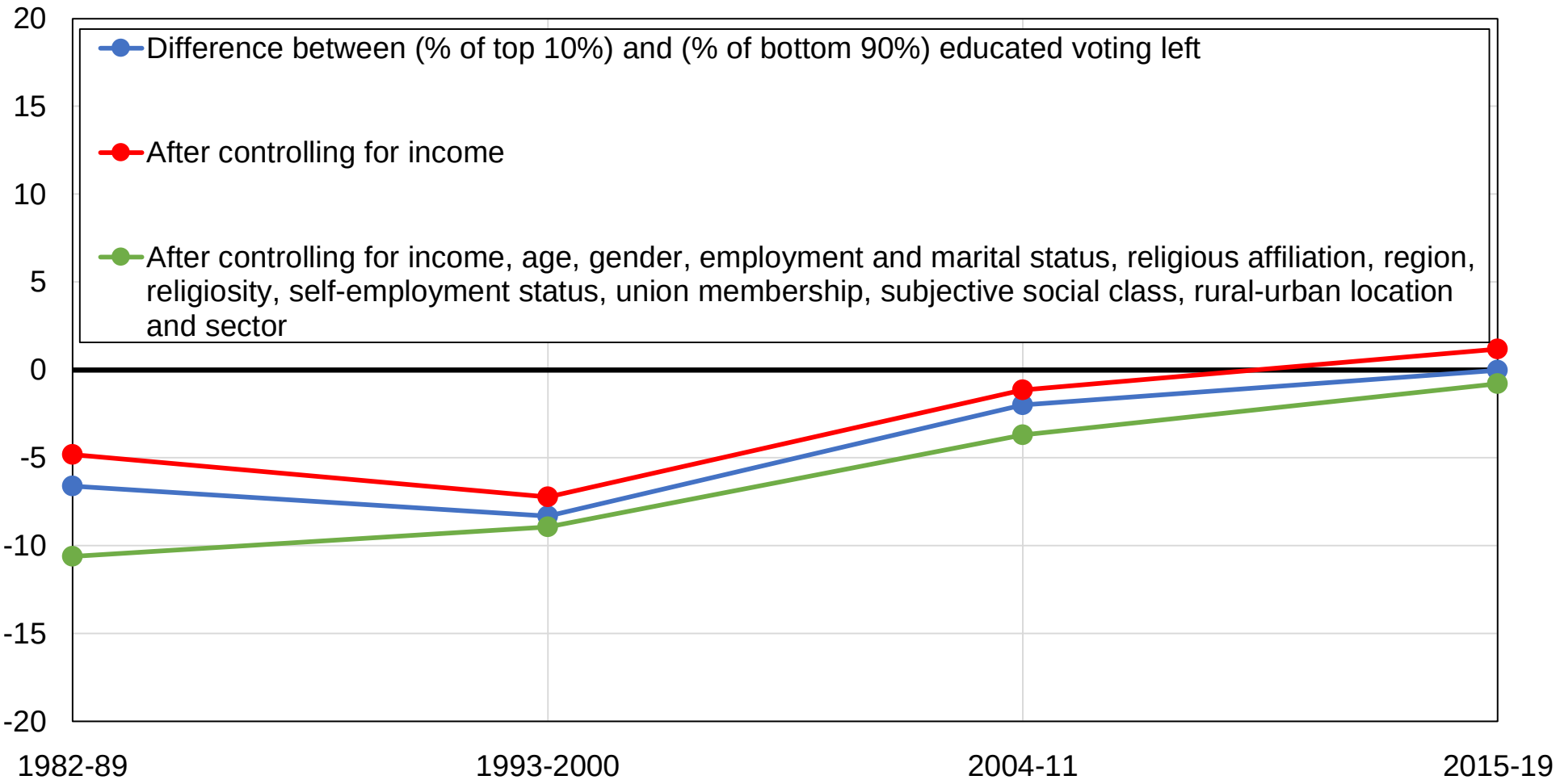
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the support for left-wing parties among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controlling for age, gender, employment and marital status, religious affiliation, region, religiosity, self-employment status, union membership, subjective social class, rural-urban location and sector.

Figure BB19 - Vote for the left among university graduates in Spain



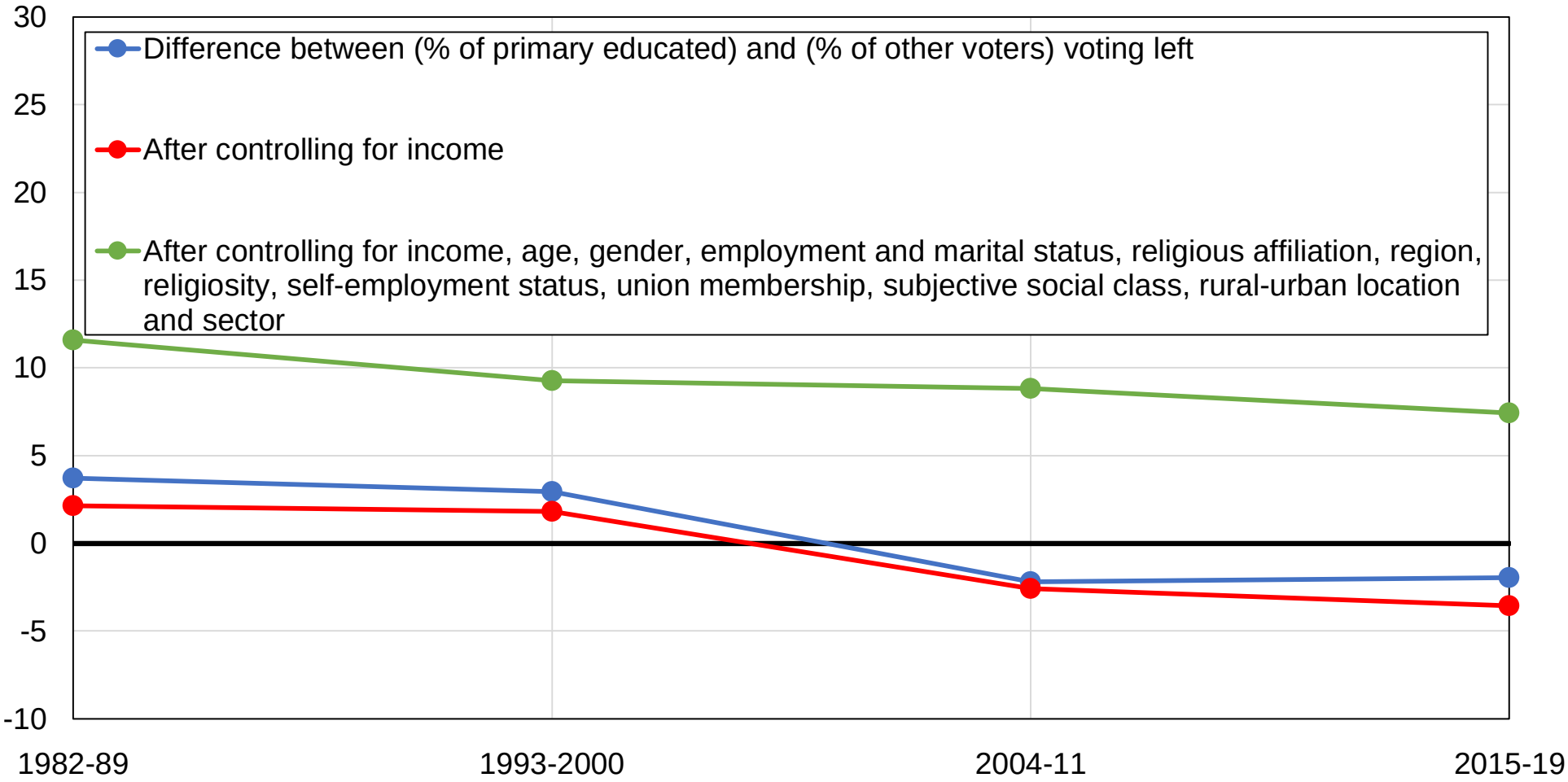
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure BB20 - Vote for the left among highest-educated voters in Spain



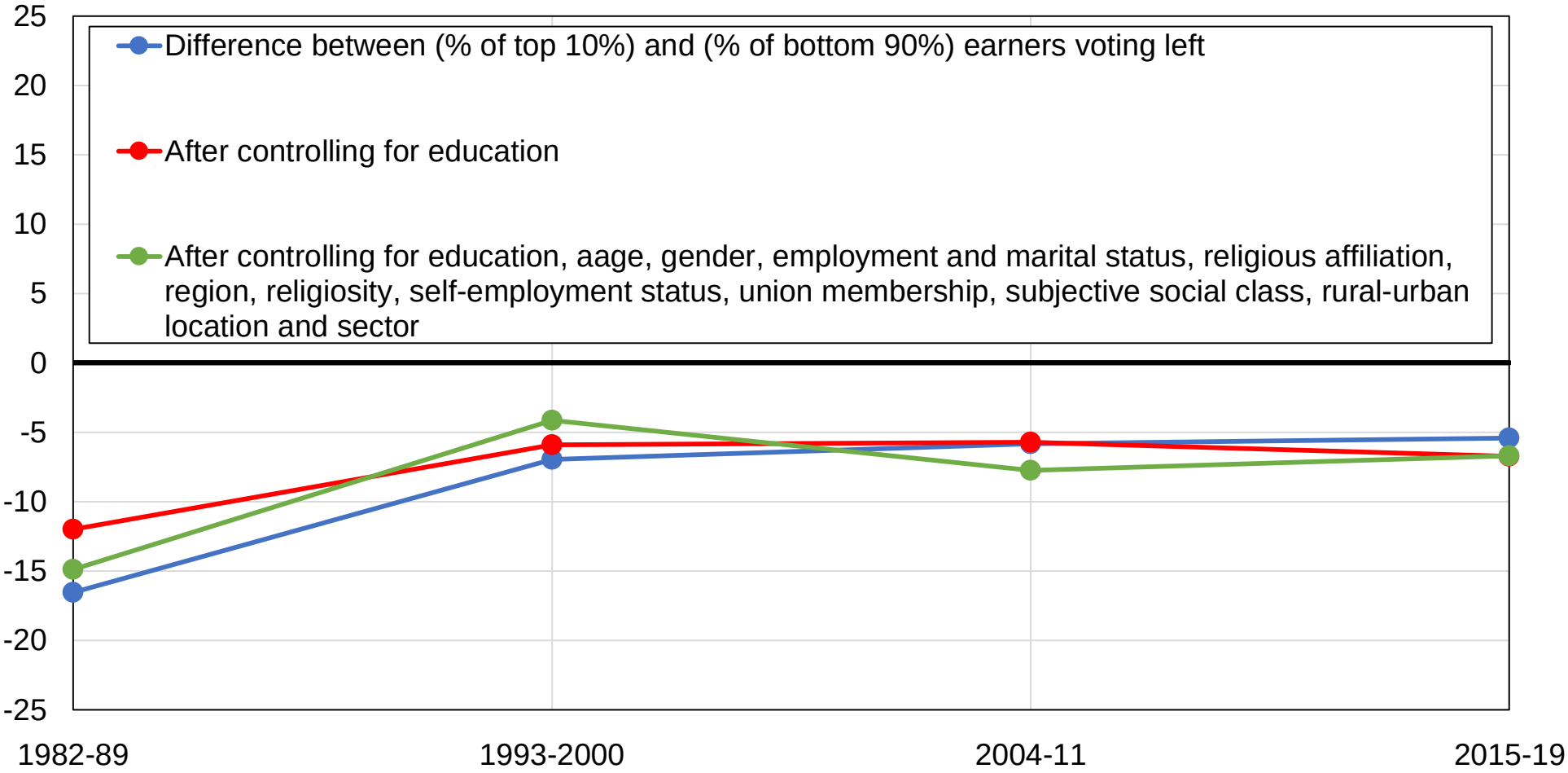
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure BB21 - Vote for the left among primary-educated voters in Spain



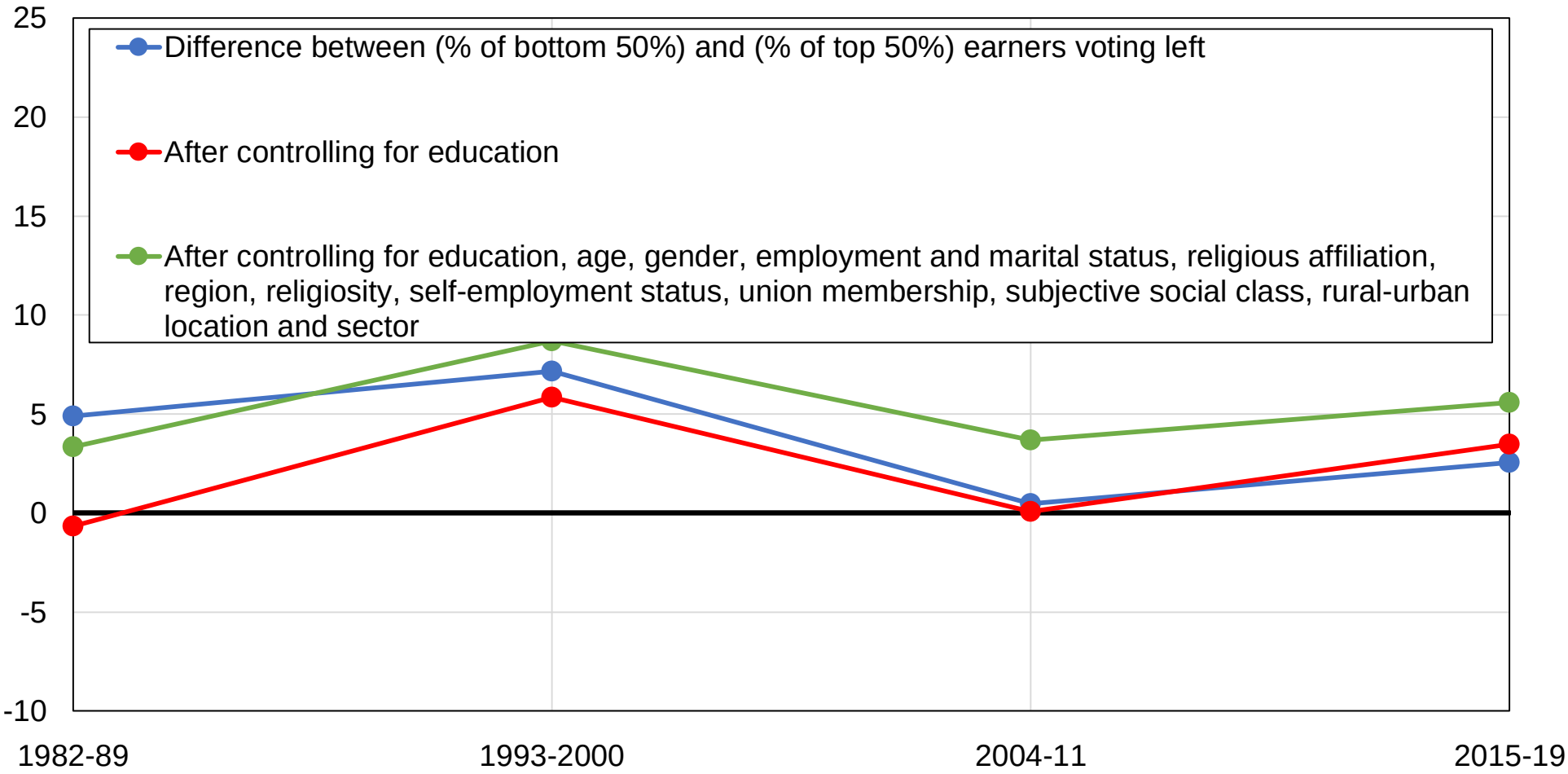
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of primary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure BB22 - Vote for the left among top-income voters in Spain



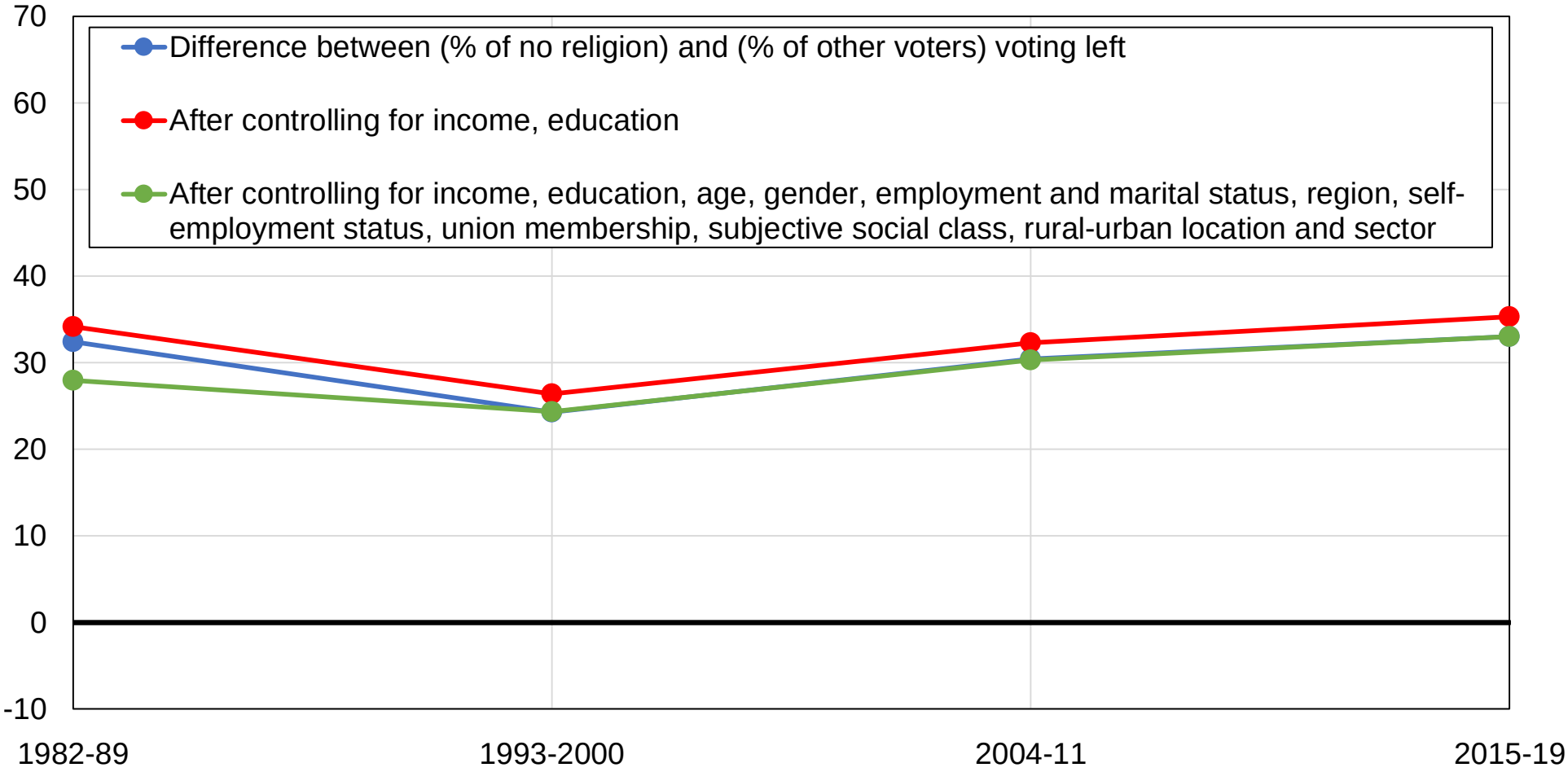
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure BB23 - Vote for the left among low-income voters in Spain



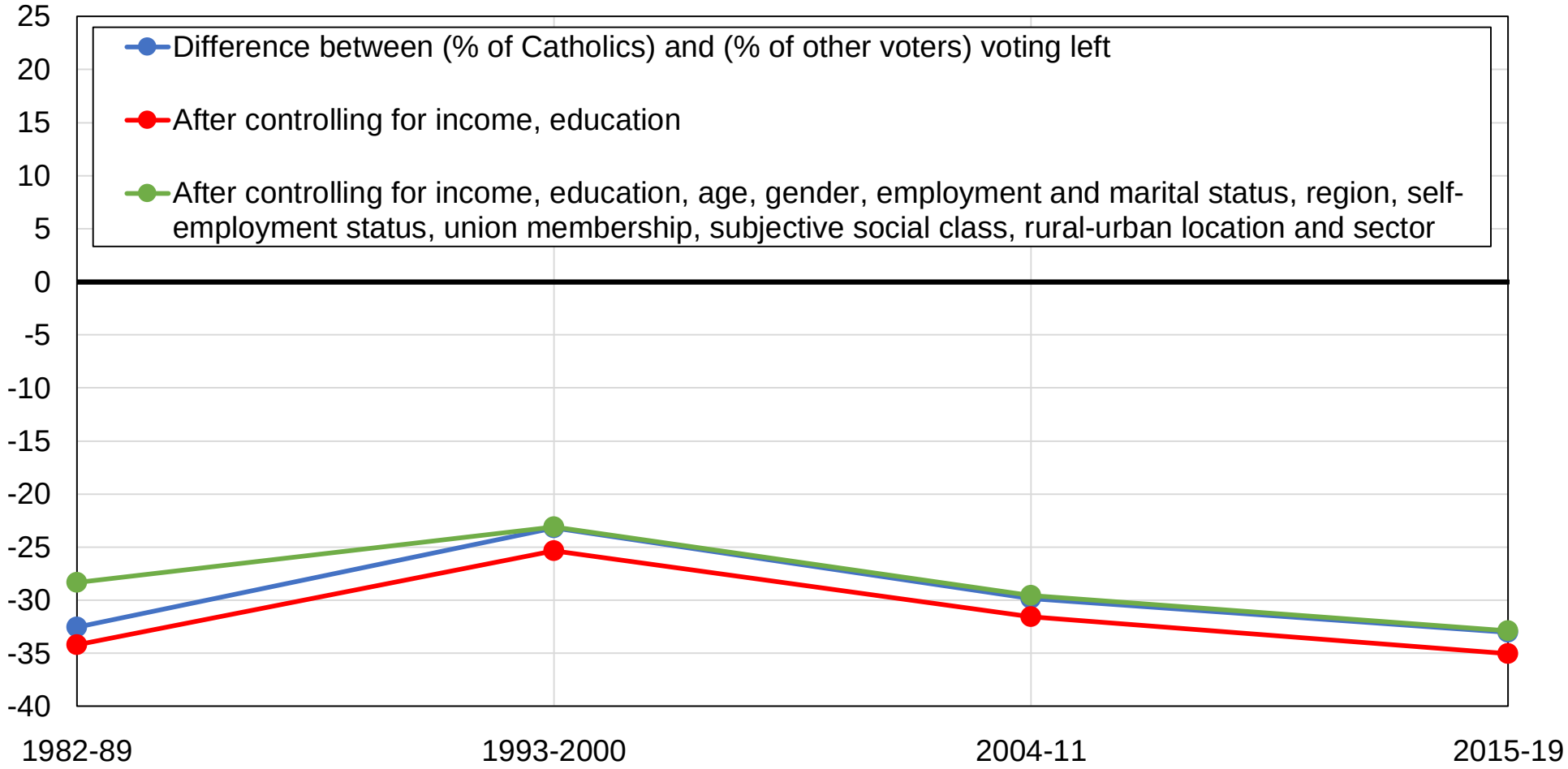
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure BB24 - Vote for the left among voters with no religion in Spain



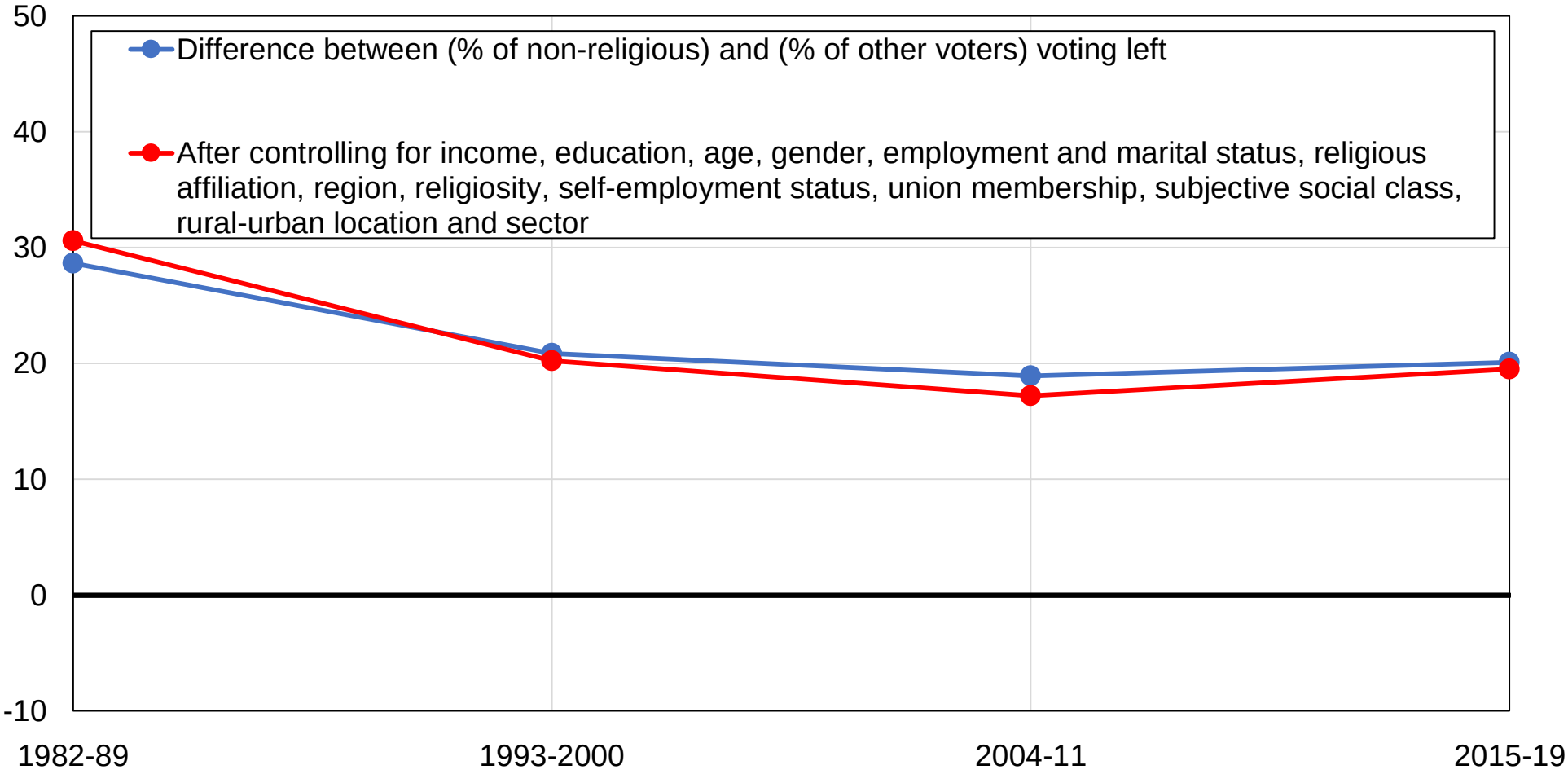
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters declaring no religion and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure BB25 - Vote for the left among Catholics in Spain



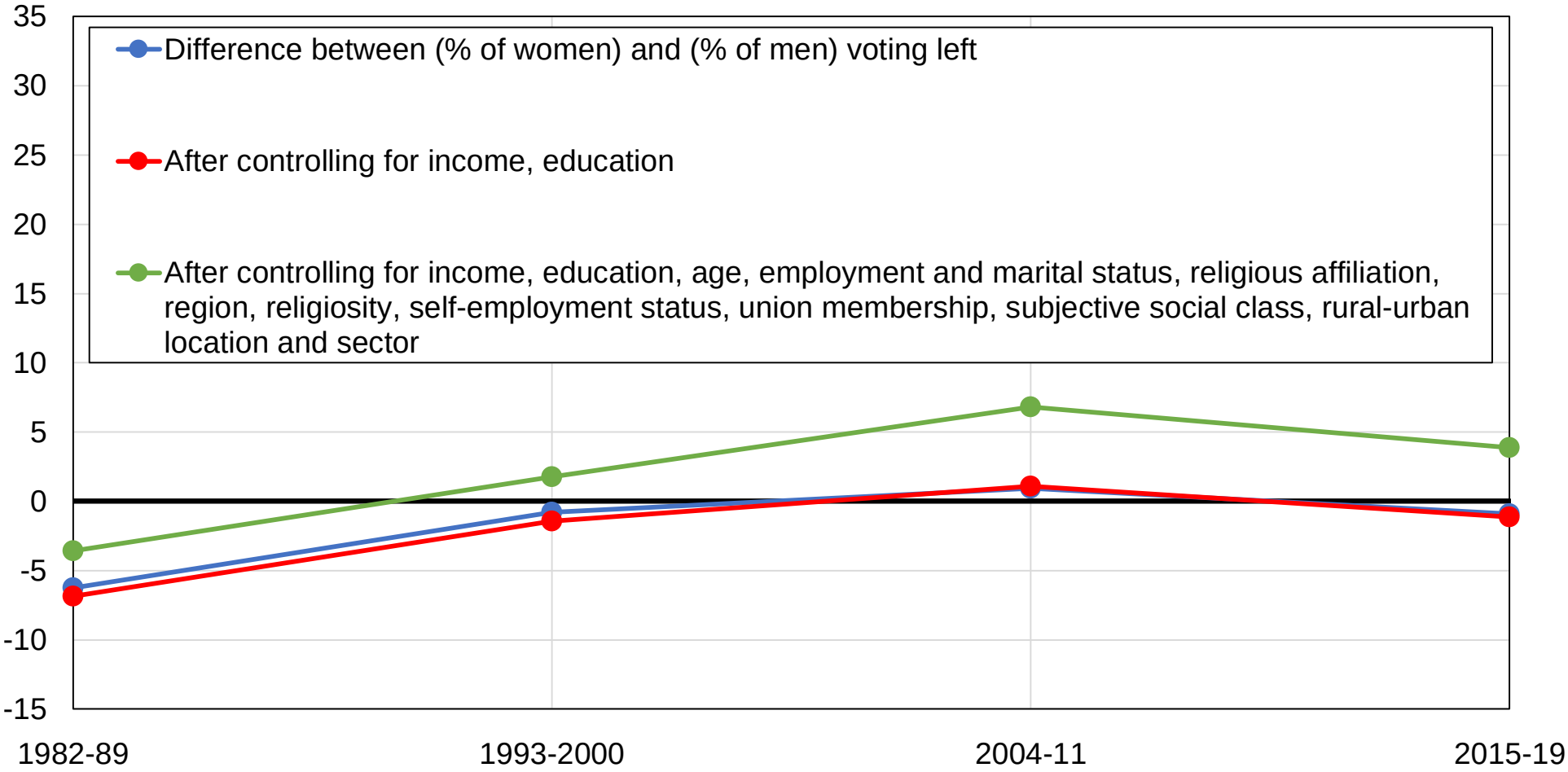
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of Catholic voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure BB26 - Vote for the left among non-religious voters in Spain



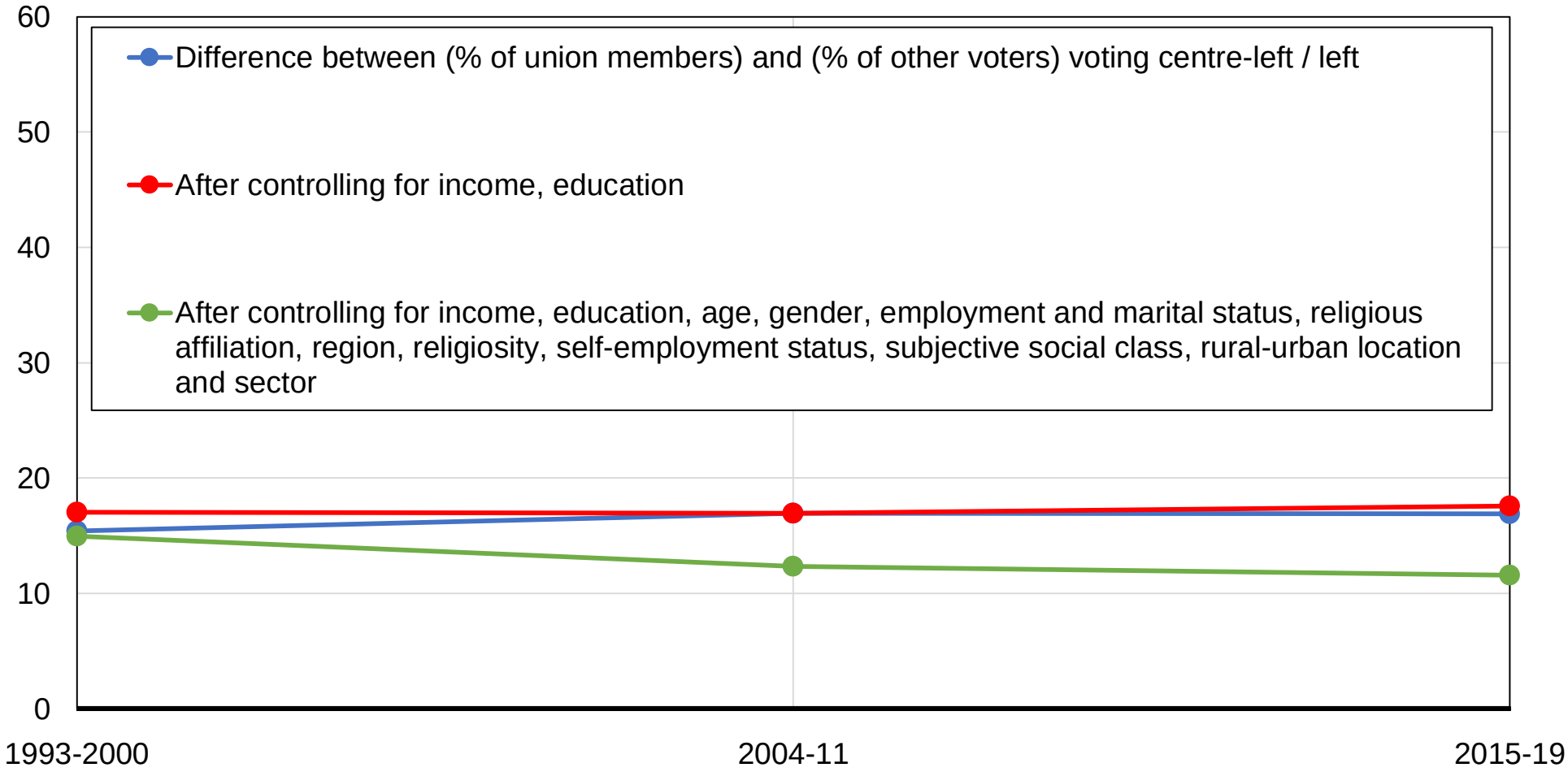
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters never going to church and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure BB27 - Vote for the left among women in Spain



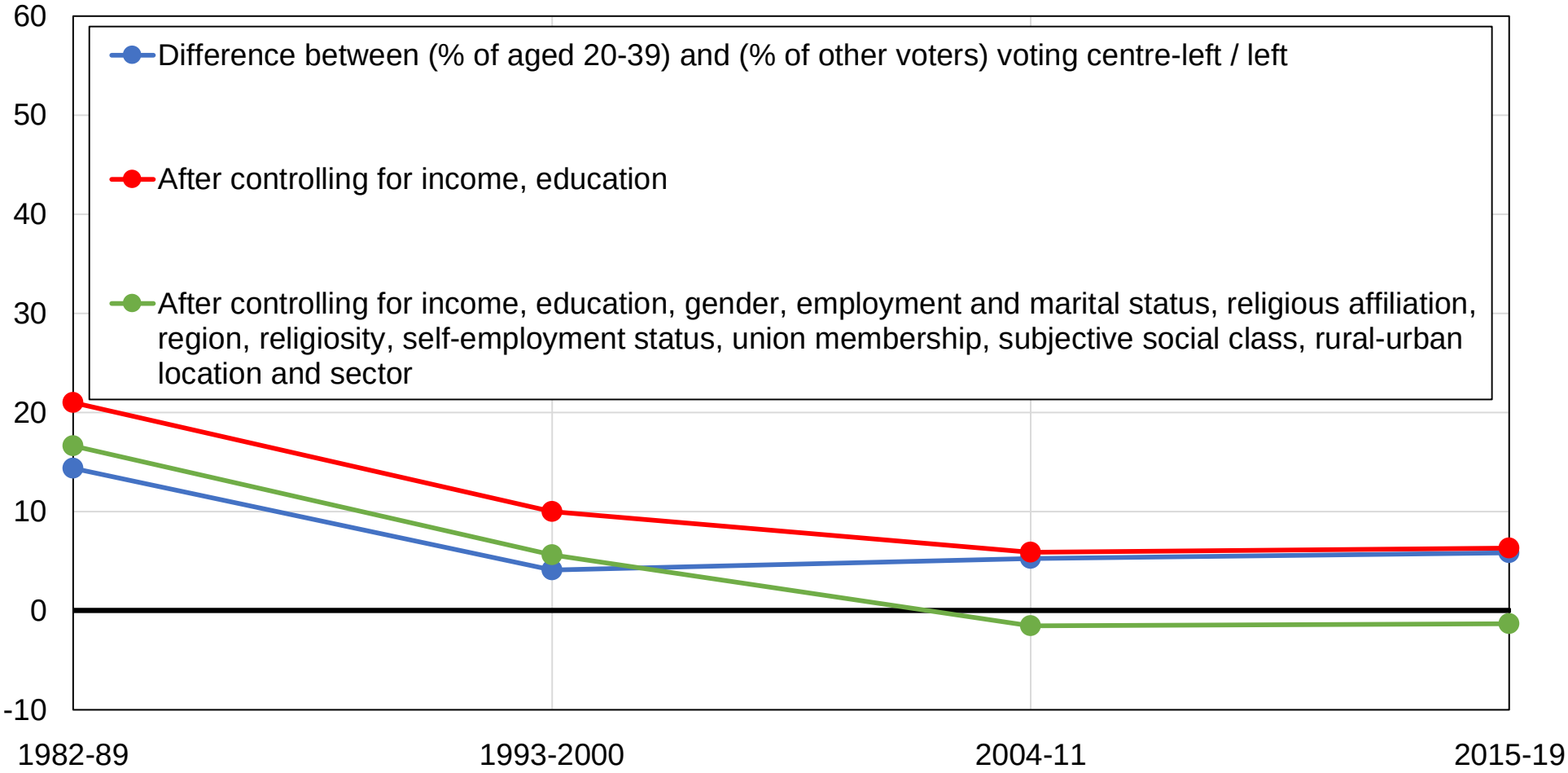
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure BB28 - Vote for the left among union members in Spain



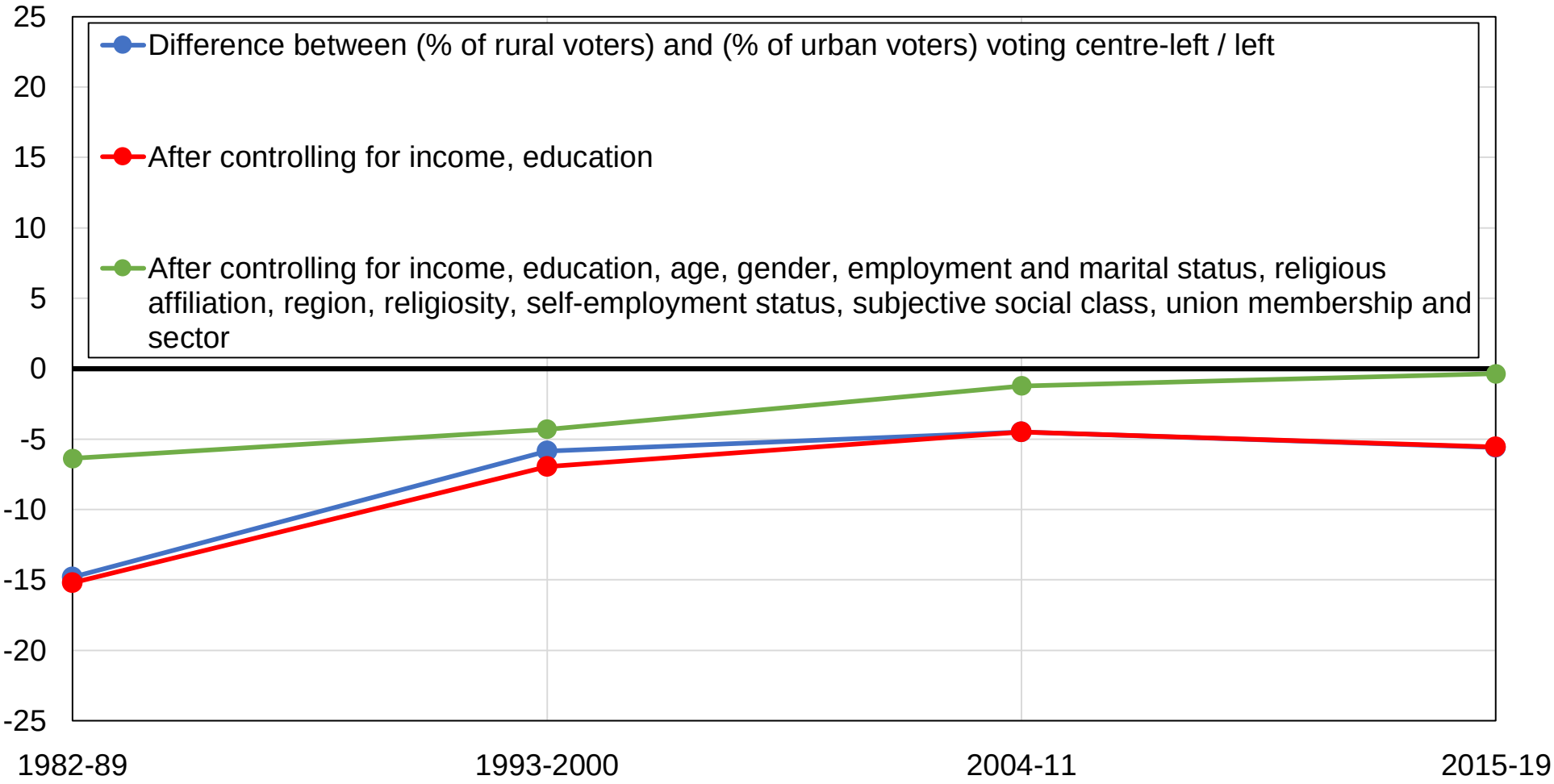
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of union members and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure BB29 - Vote for the left among young voters in Spain



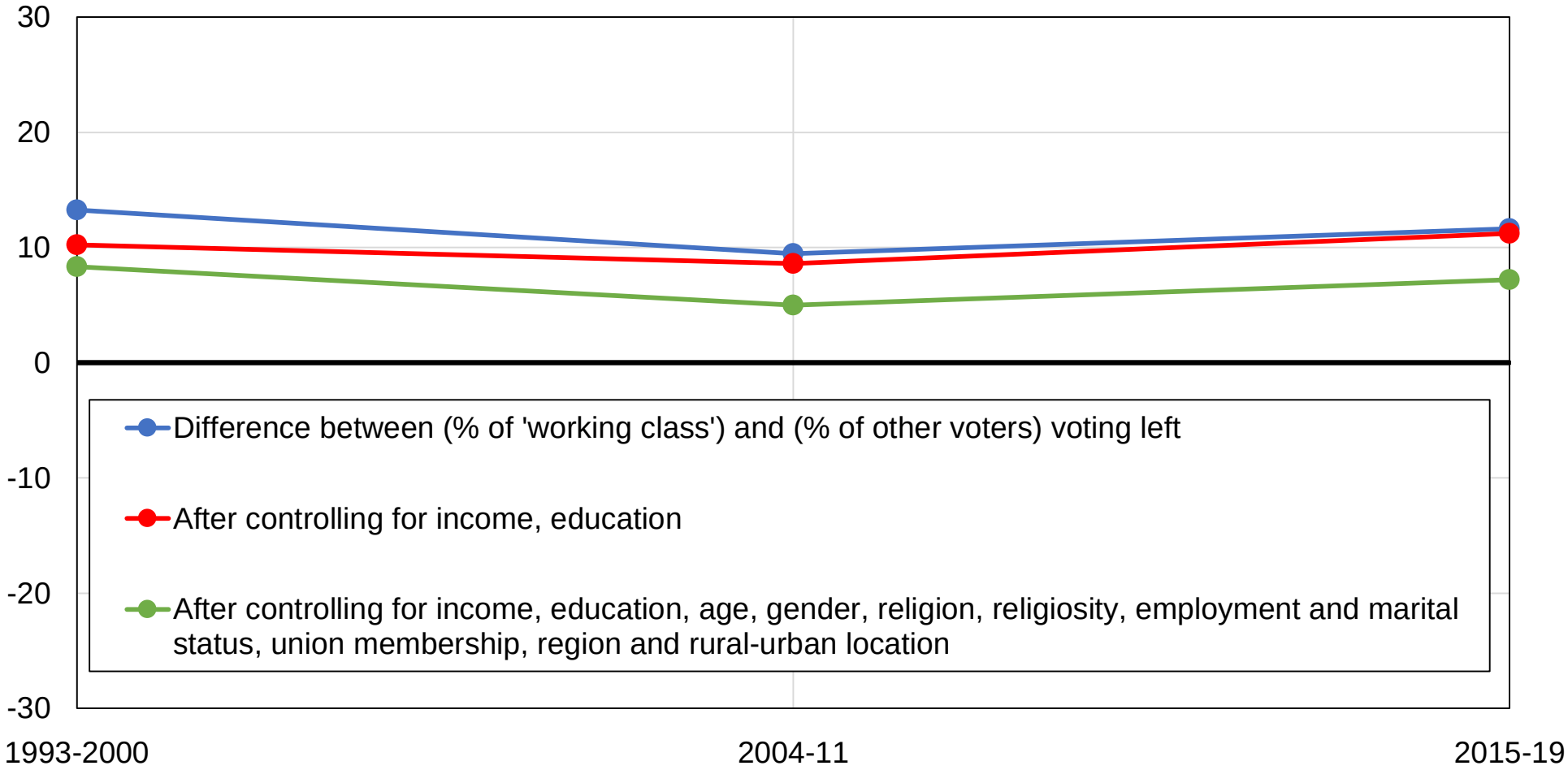
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters aged 20-39 and the share of voters older than 40 voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure BB30 - Vote for the left among rural areas in Spain



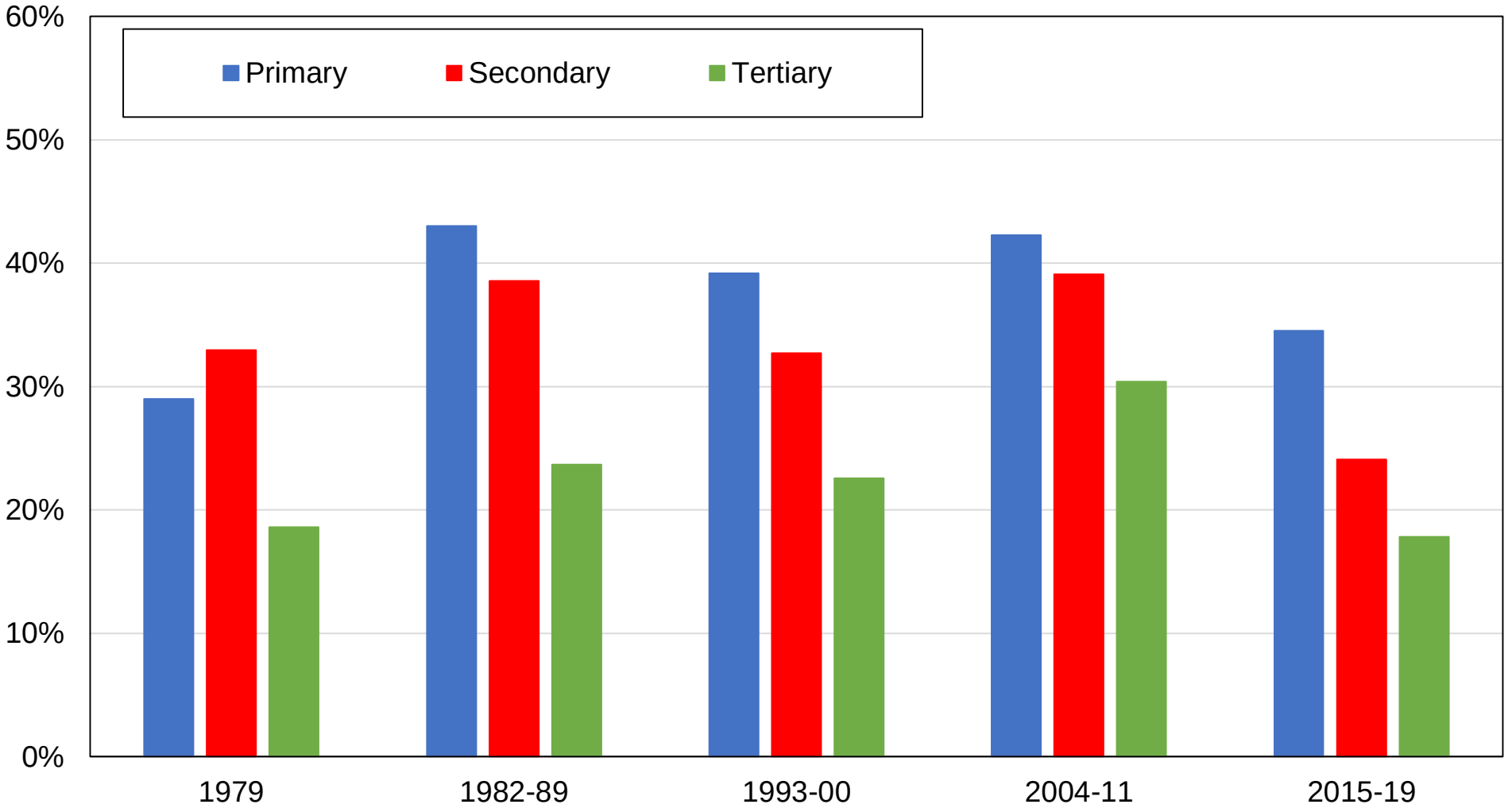
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters in rural areas and the share of voters in urban areas voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure BB31 - Vote for the left among the working class in Spain



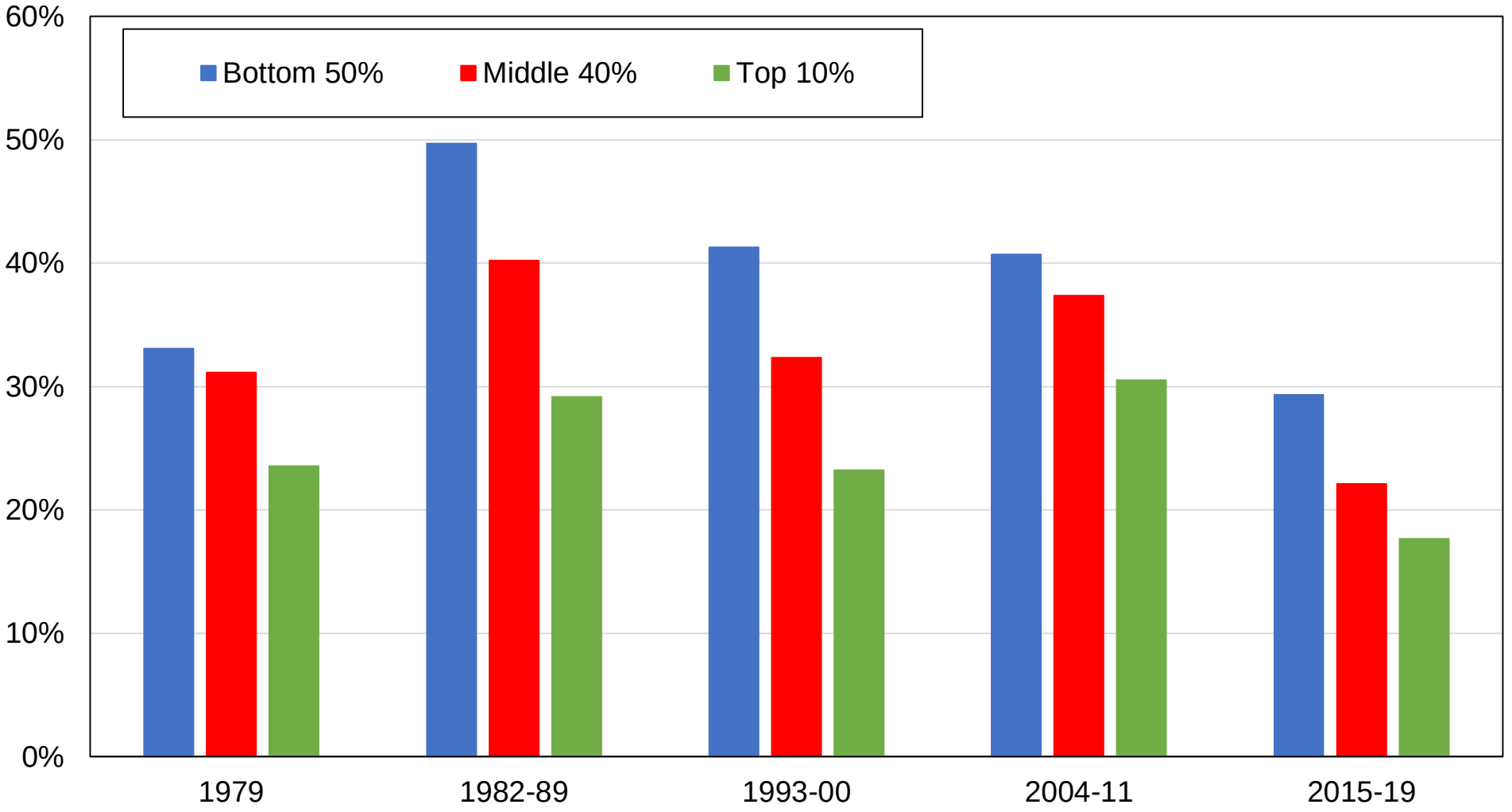
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters perceiving themselves as "working class" and the share of other voters perceiving themselves as "middle class" or "no class" voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure BC1 - Vote for PSOE by education level in Spain



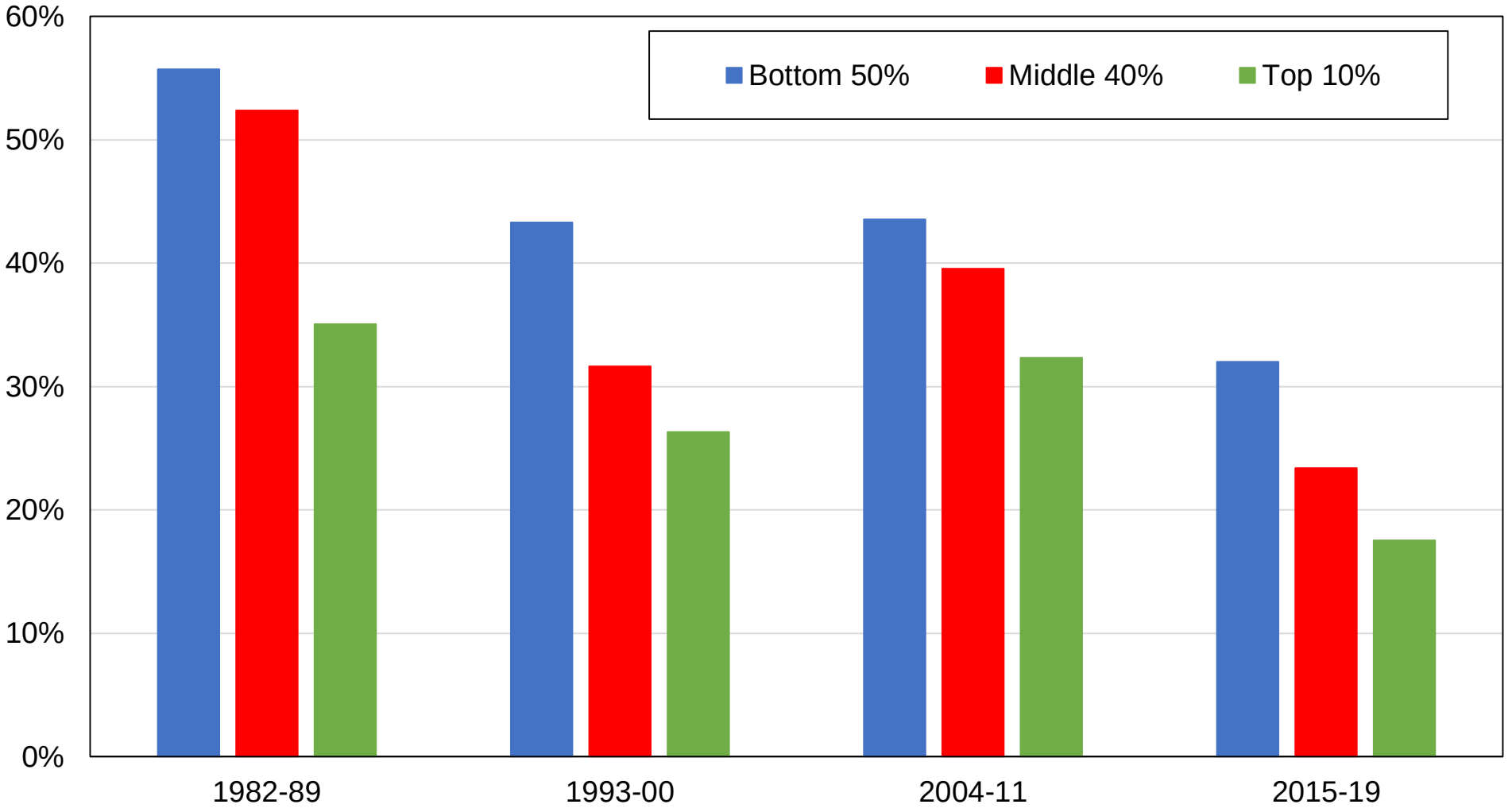
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Spanish Socialist Worker's Party (PSOE) by education level.

Figure BC2 - Vote for PSOE by education group in Spain



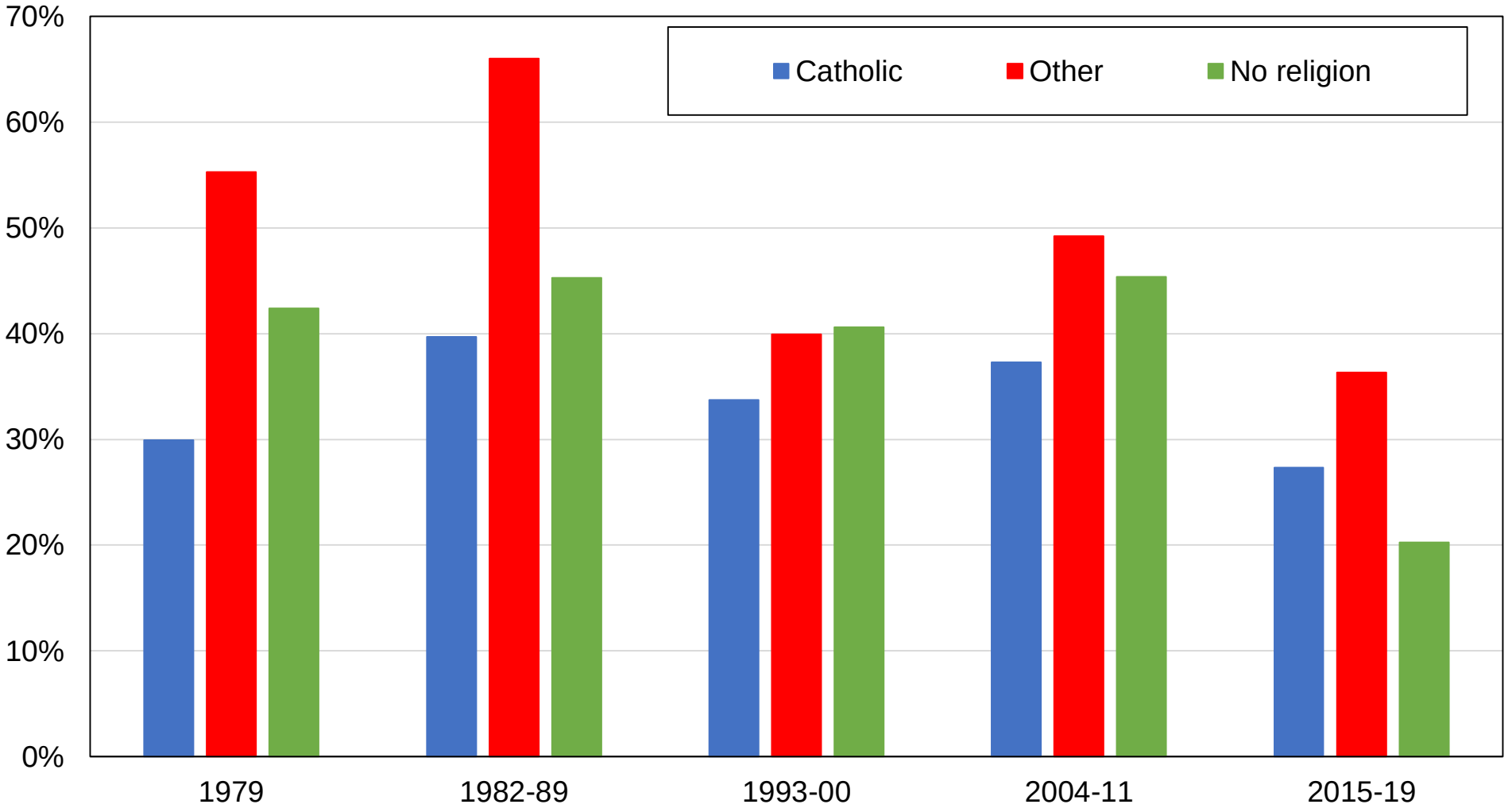
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Spanish Socialist Worker's Party (PSOE) by education group.

Figure BC3 - Vote for PSOE by income group in Spain



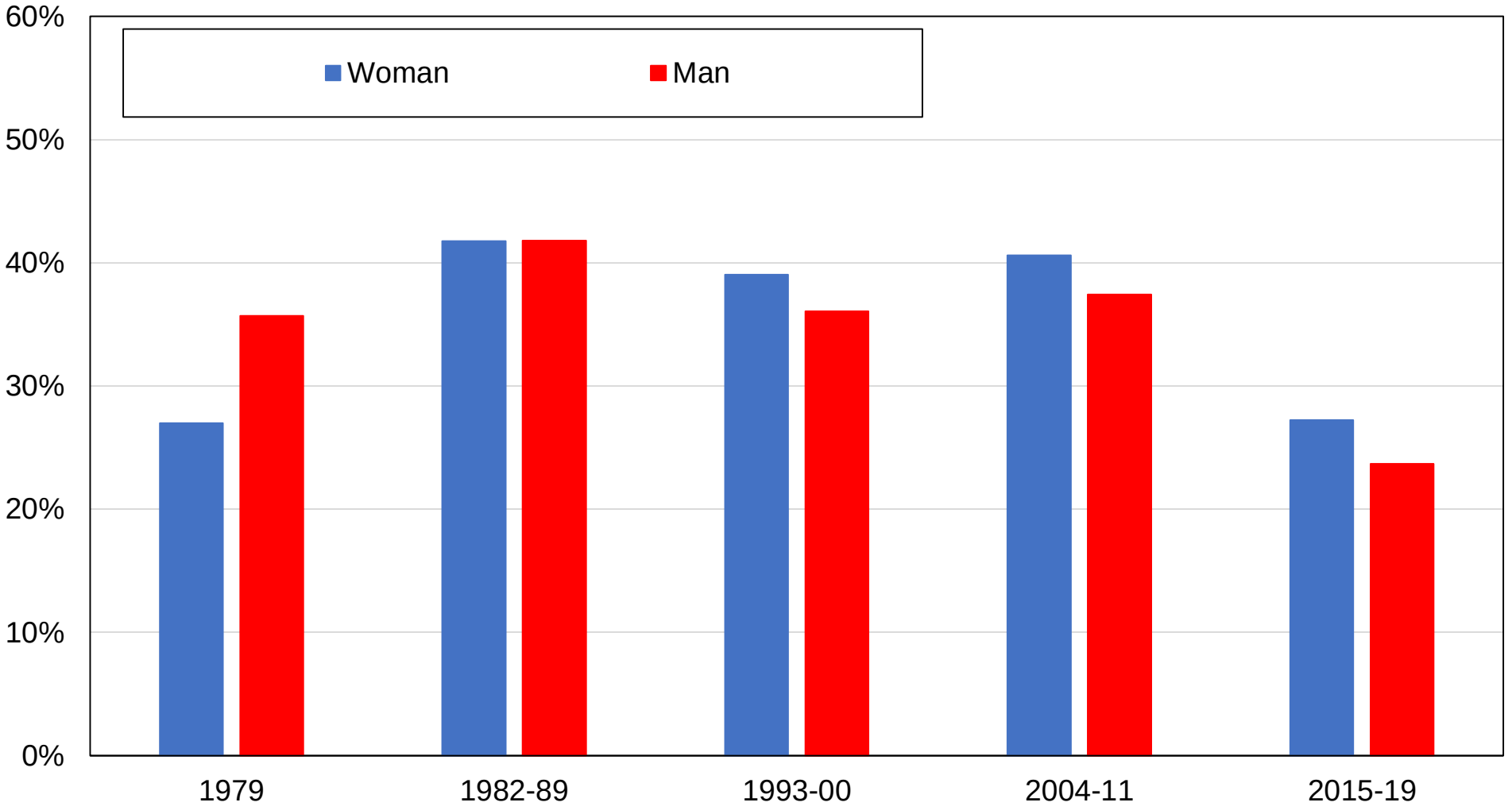
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Spanish Socialist Worker's Party (PSOE) by income group..

Figure BC4 - Vote for PSOE by religious affiliation in Spain



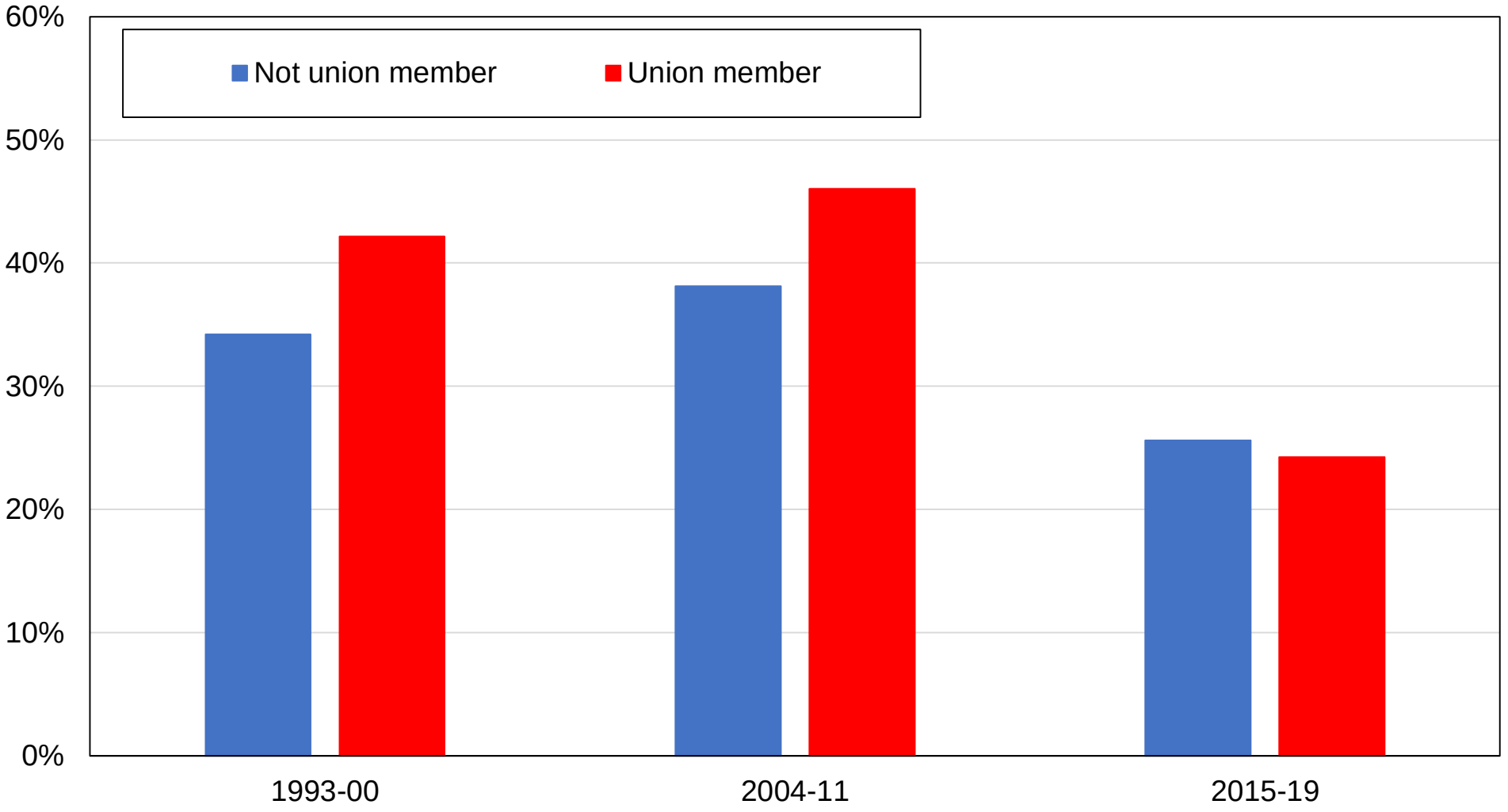
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Spanish Socialist Worker's Party (PSOE) by religious affiliation.

Figure BC5 - Vote for PSOE by gender in Spain



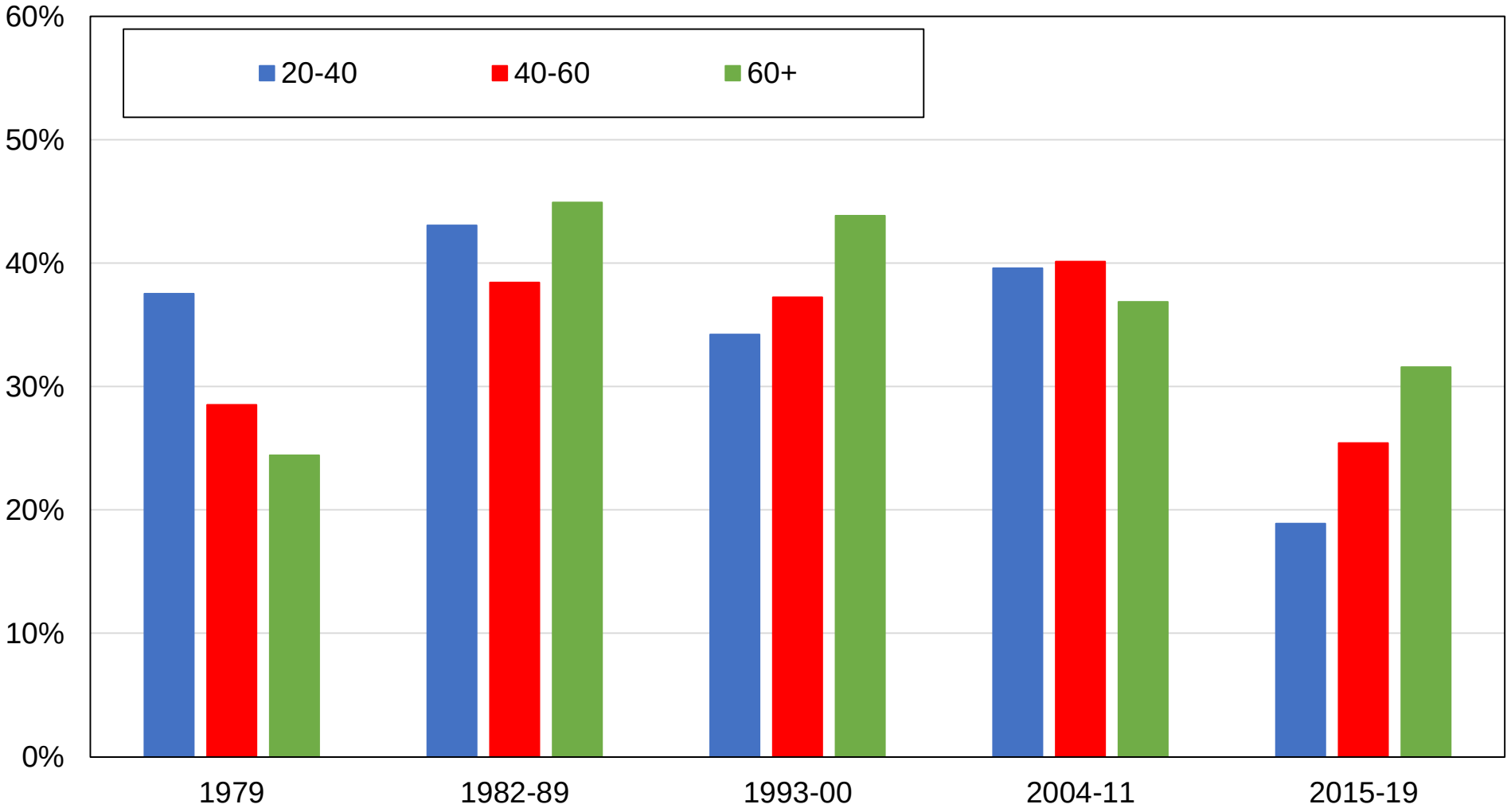
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Spanish Socialist Worker's Party (PSOE) by gender.

Figure BC6 - Vote for PSOE by union membership in Spain



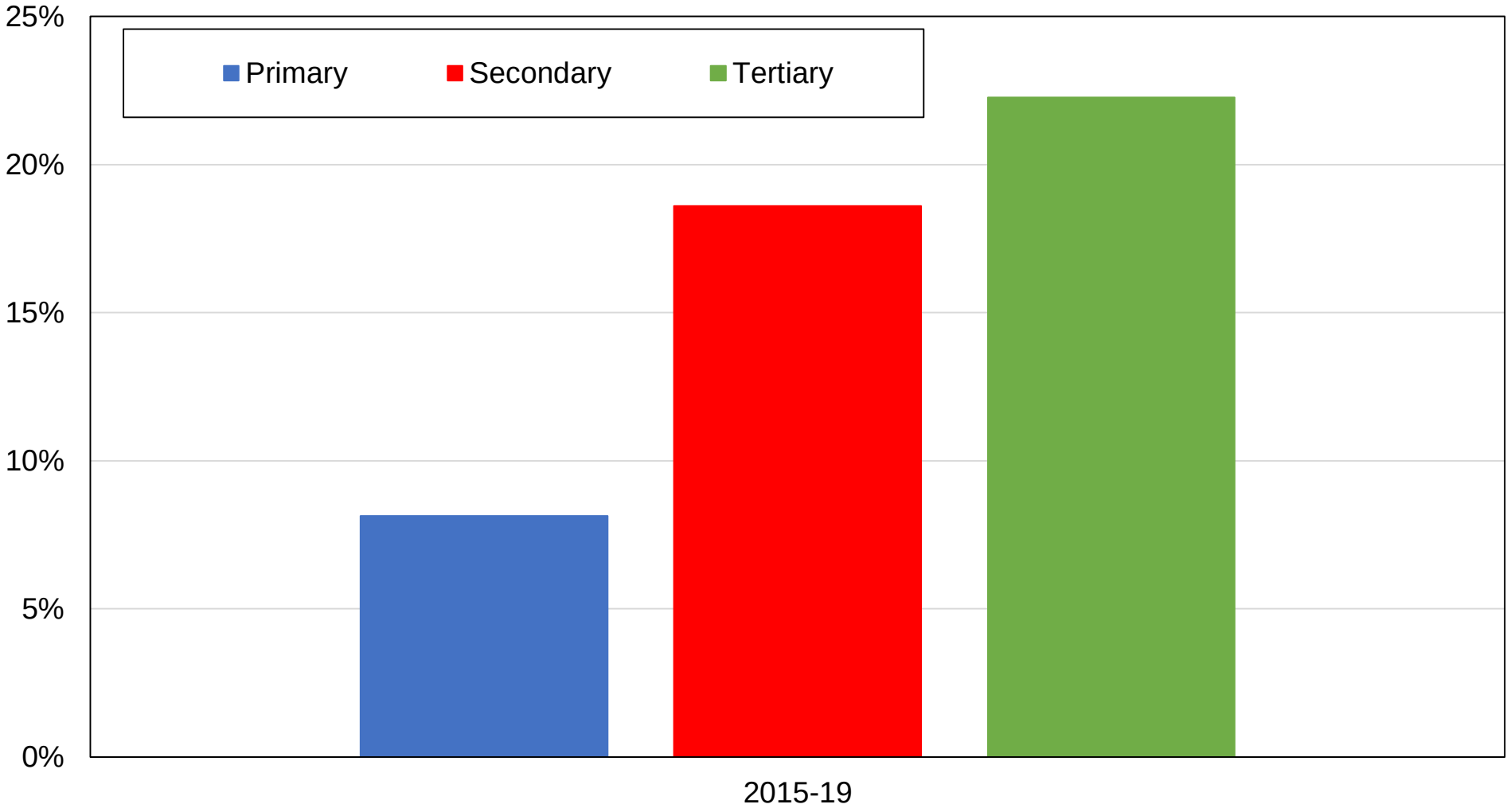
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Spanish Socialist Worker's Party (PSOE) by union membership status.

Figure BC7 - Vote for PSOE by age group in Spain



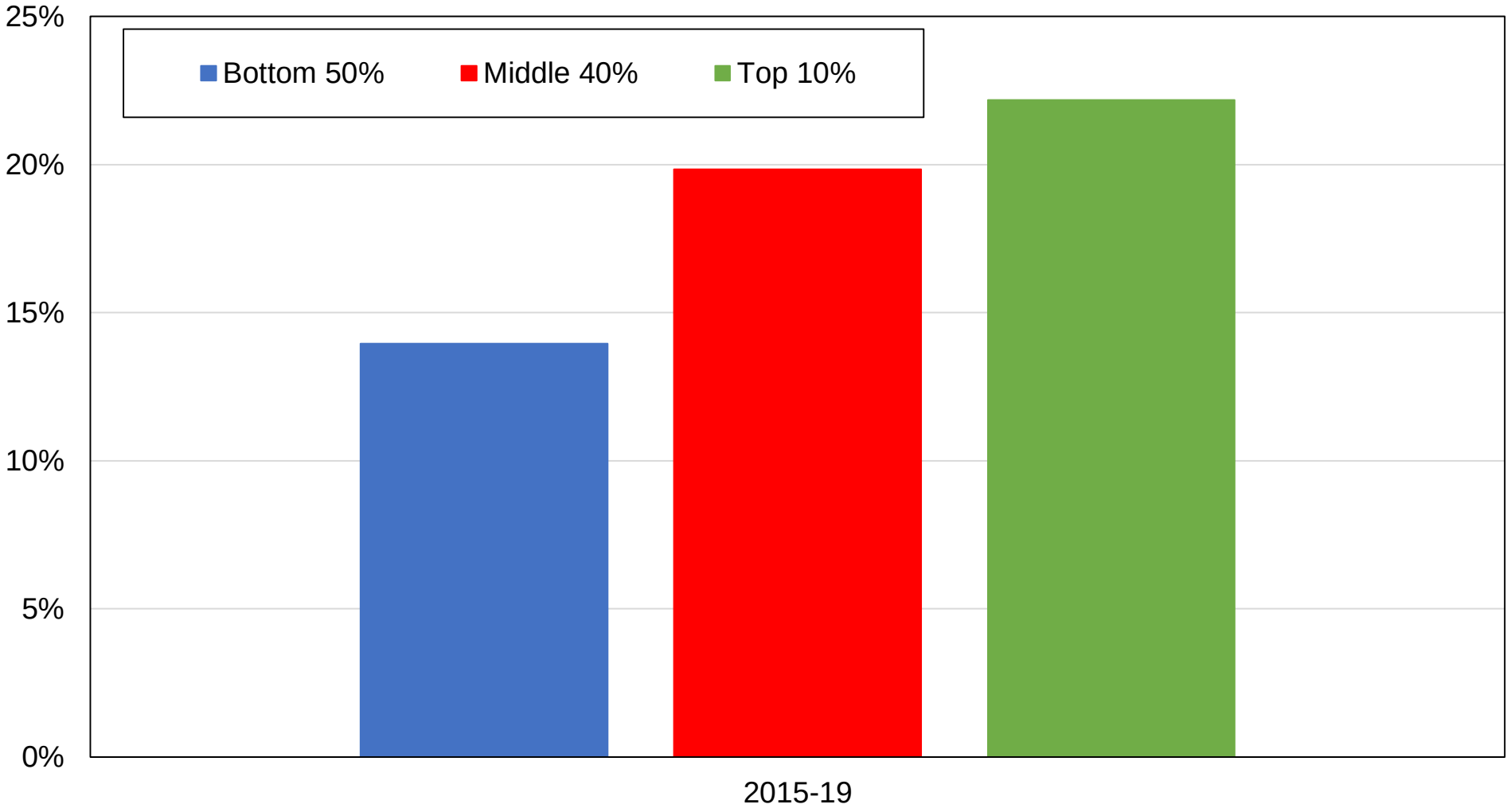
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Spanish Socialist Worker's Party (PSOE) by age group.

Figure BC8 - Vote for Podemos by education level in Spain



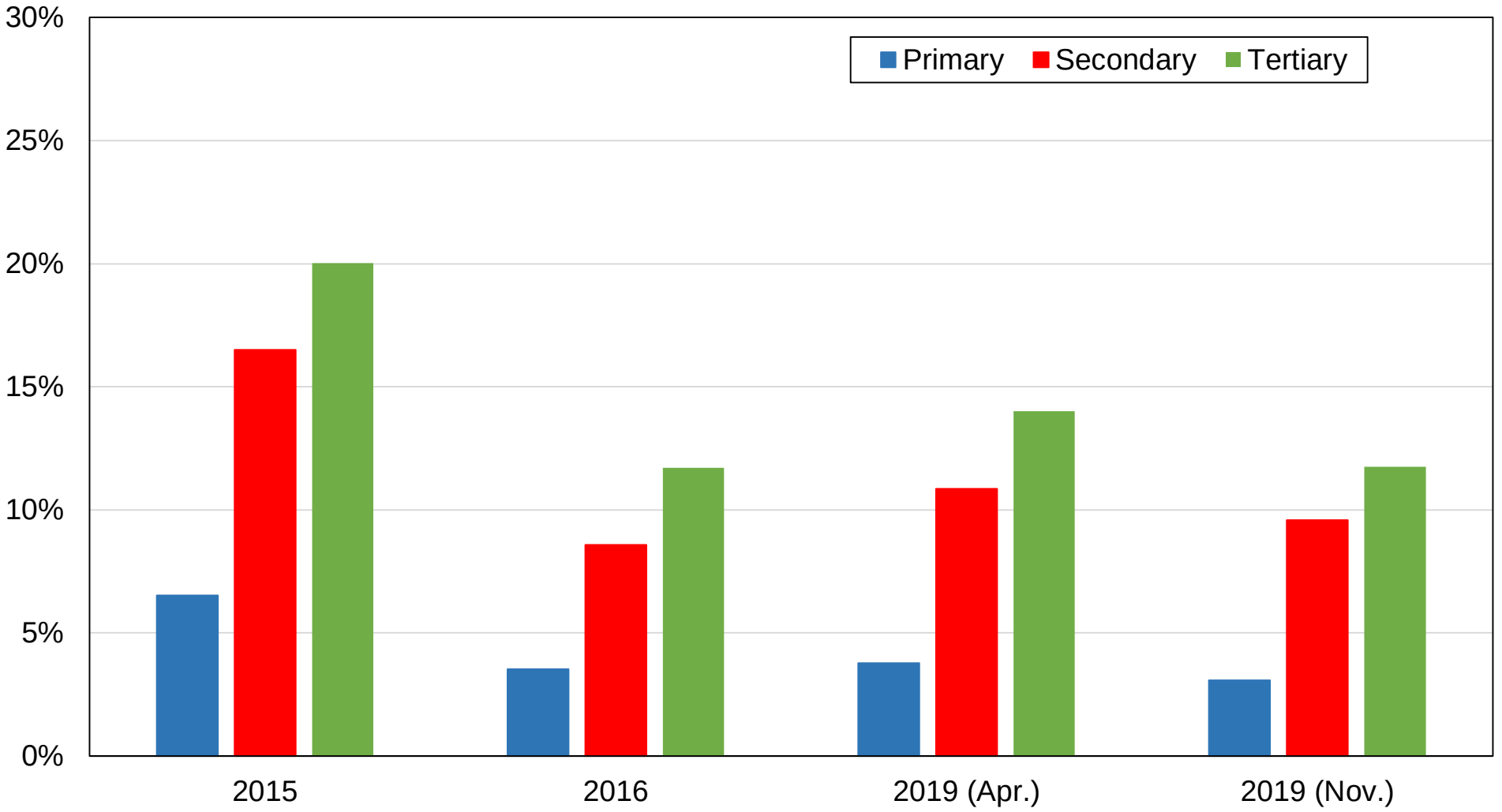
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Podemos and its allies by education level.

Figure BC9 - Vote for Podemos by education group in Spain



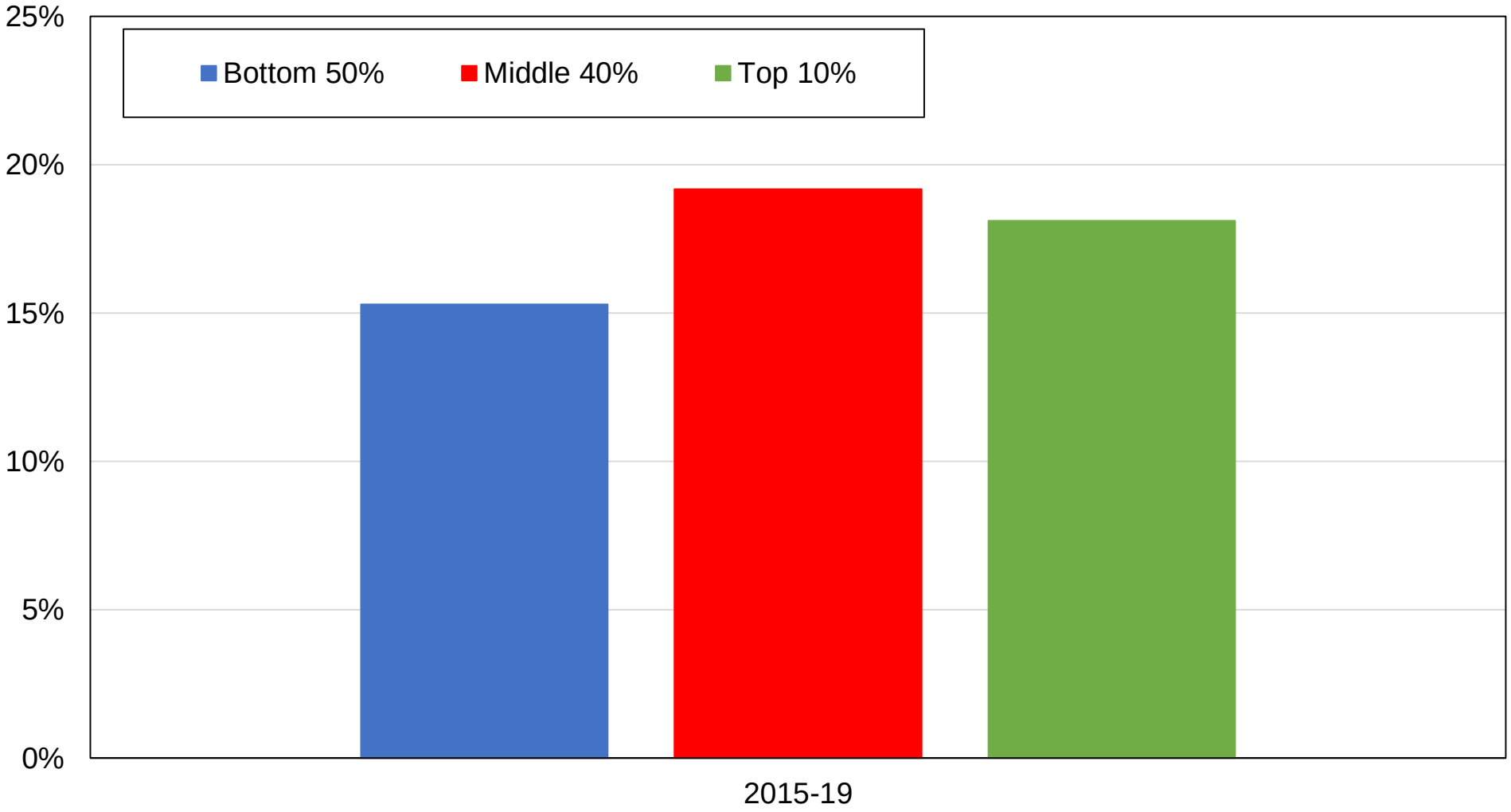
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Podemos and its allies by education group.

Figure BC10 - Vote for Podemos by education level in Spain (yearly)



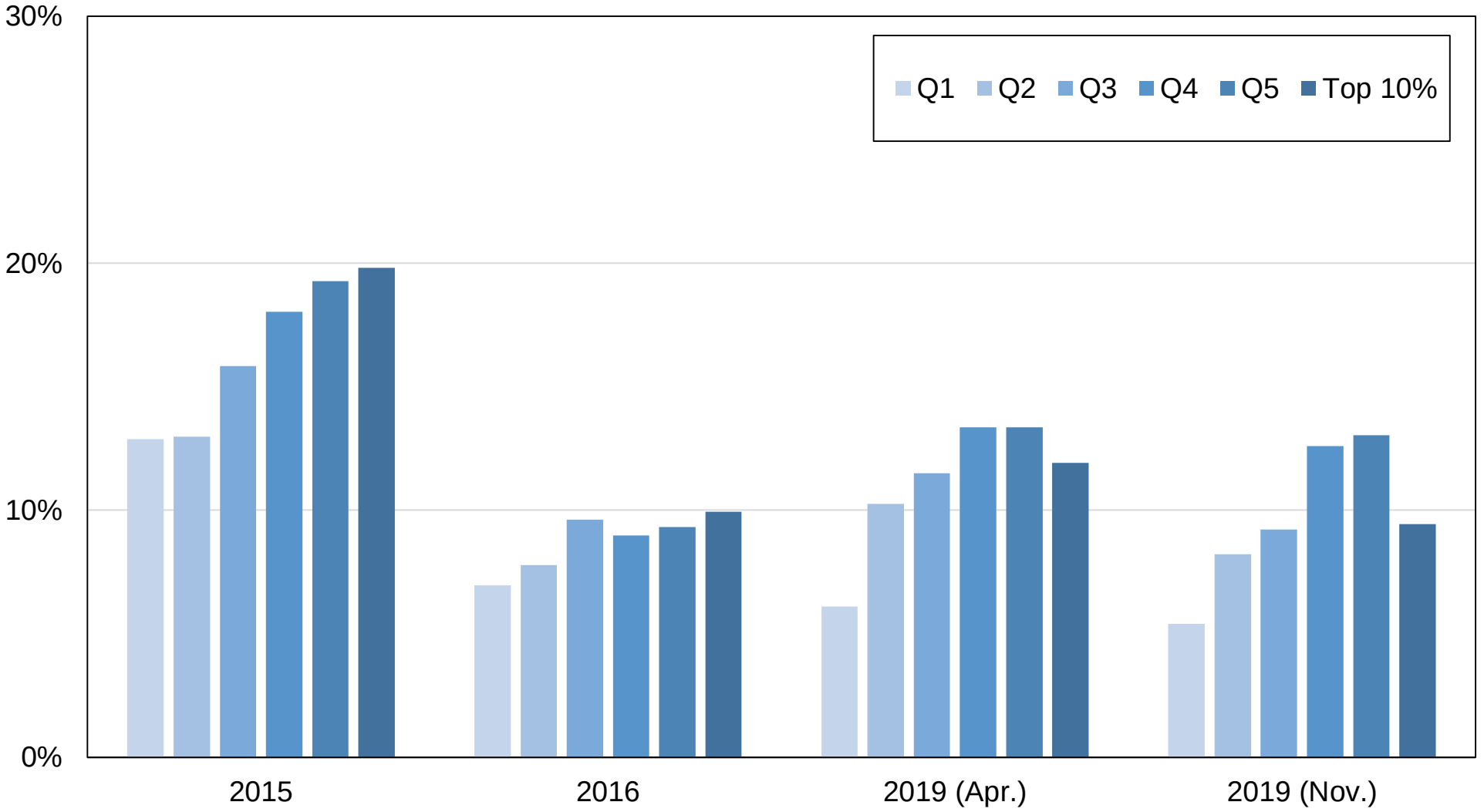
Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys 2015-2019 (general elections).
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Podemos and its allies by education level.

Figure BC11 - Vote for Podemos by income group in Spain



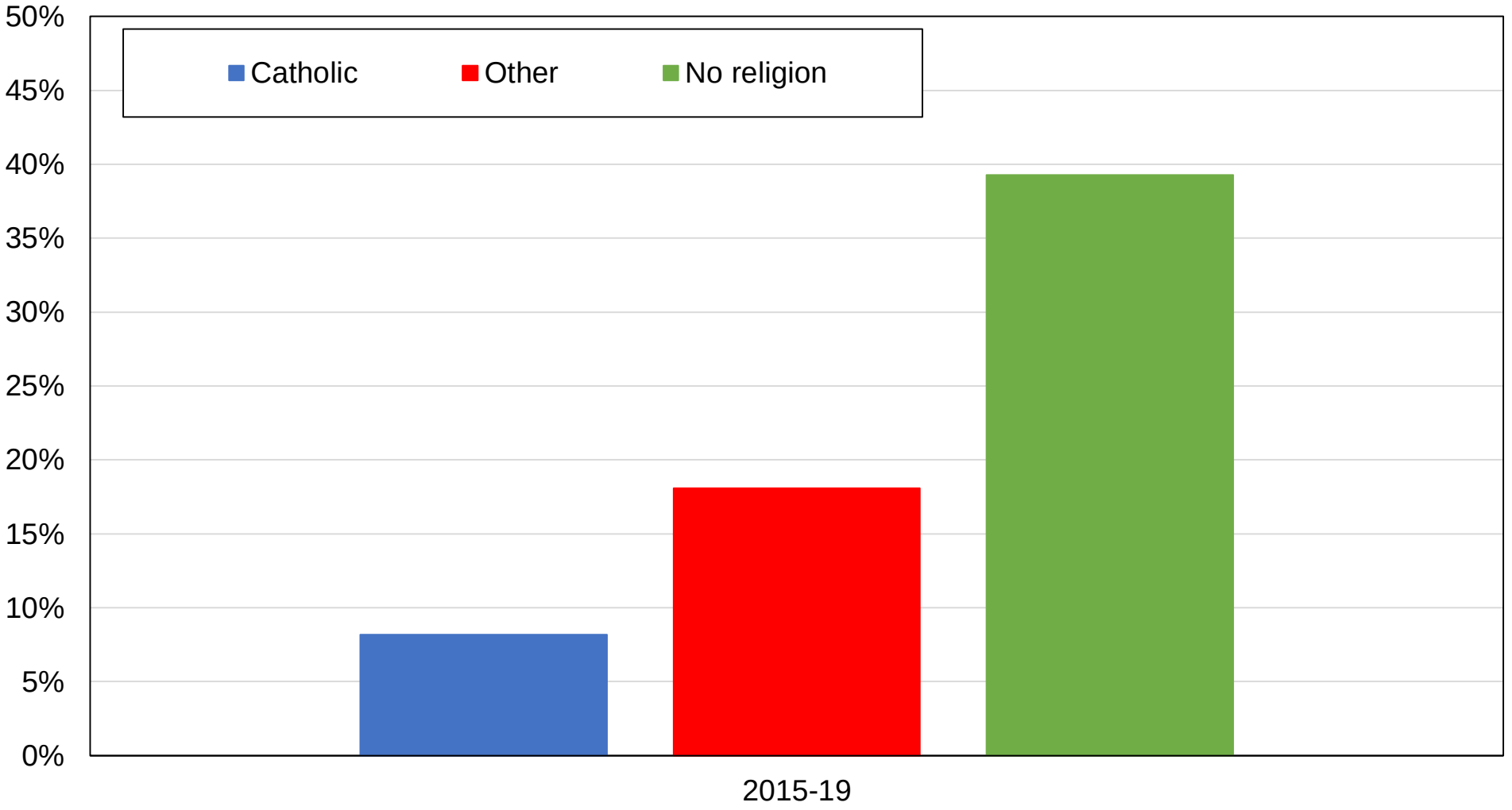
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Podemos and its allies by income group.

Figure BC12 - Vote for Podemos by income group in Spain (yearly)



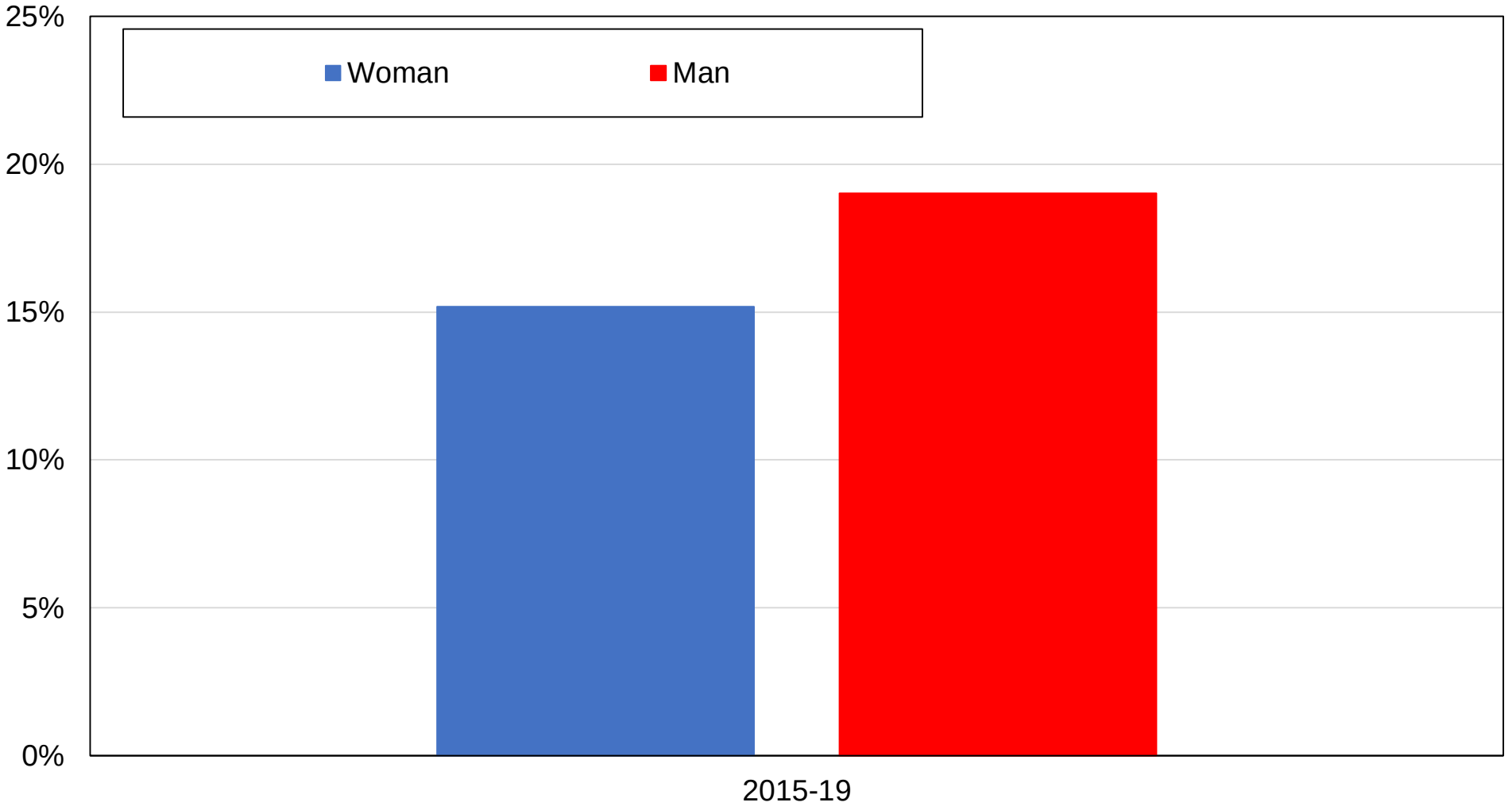
Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys 2015-2019 (general elections).
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Podemos and its allies by income group.

Figure BC13 - Vote for Podemos by religious affiliation in Spain



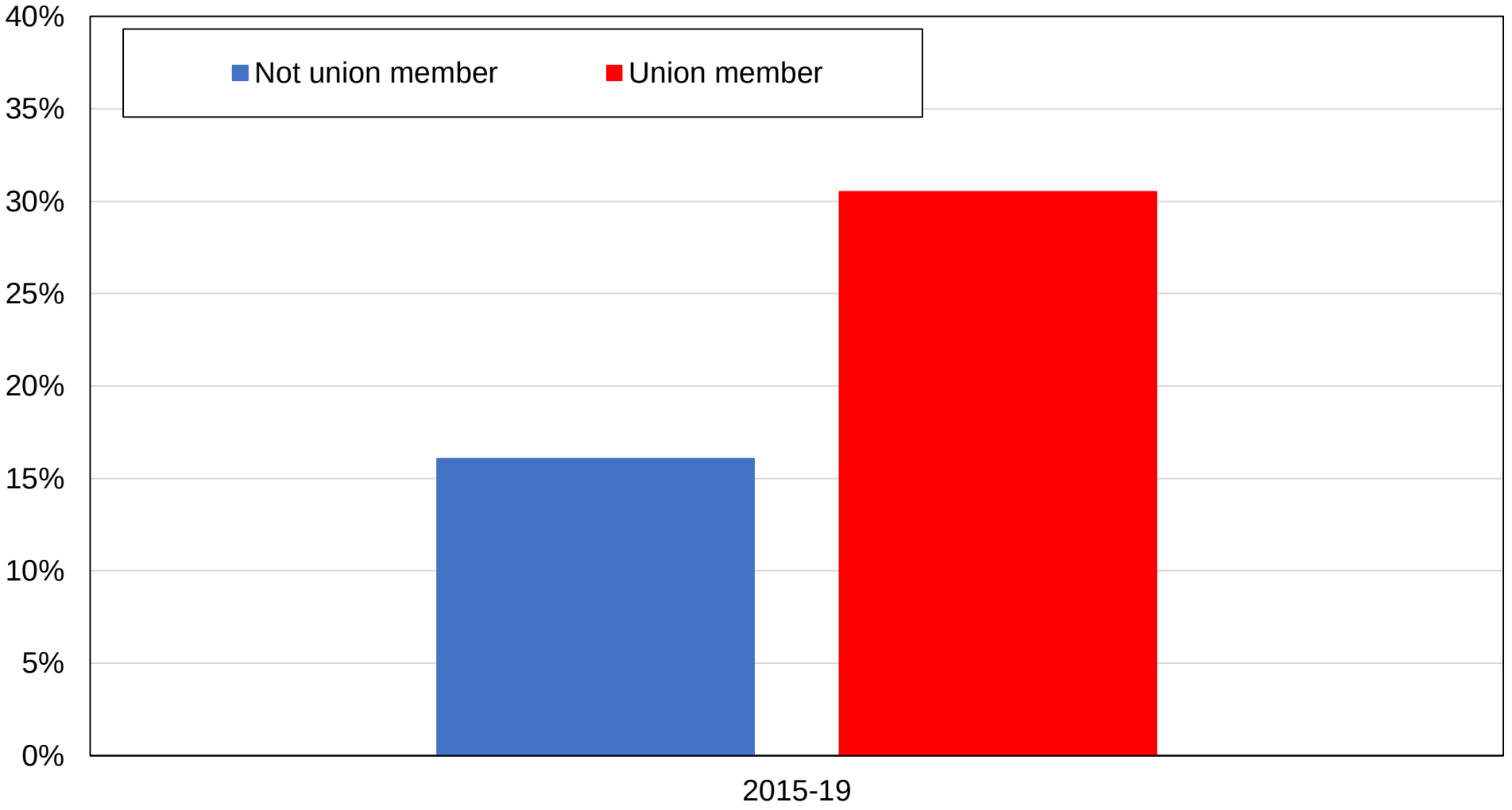
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Podemos and its allies by religious affiliation.

Figure BC14 - Vote for Podemos by gender in Spain



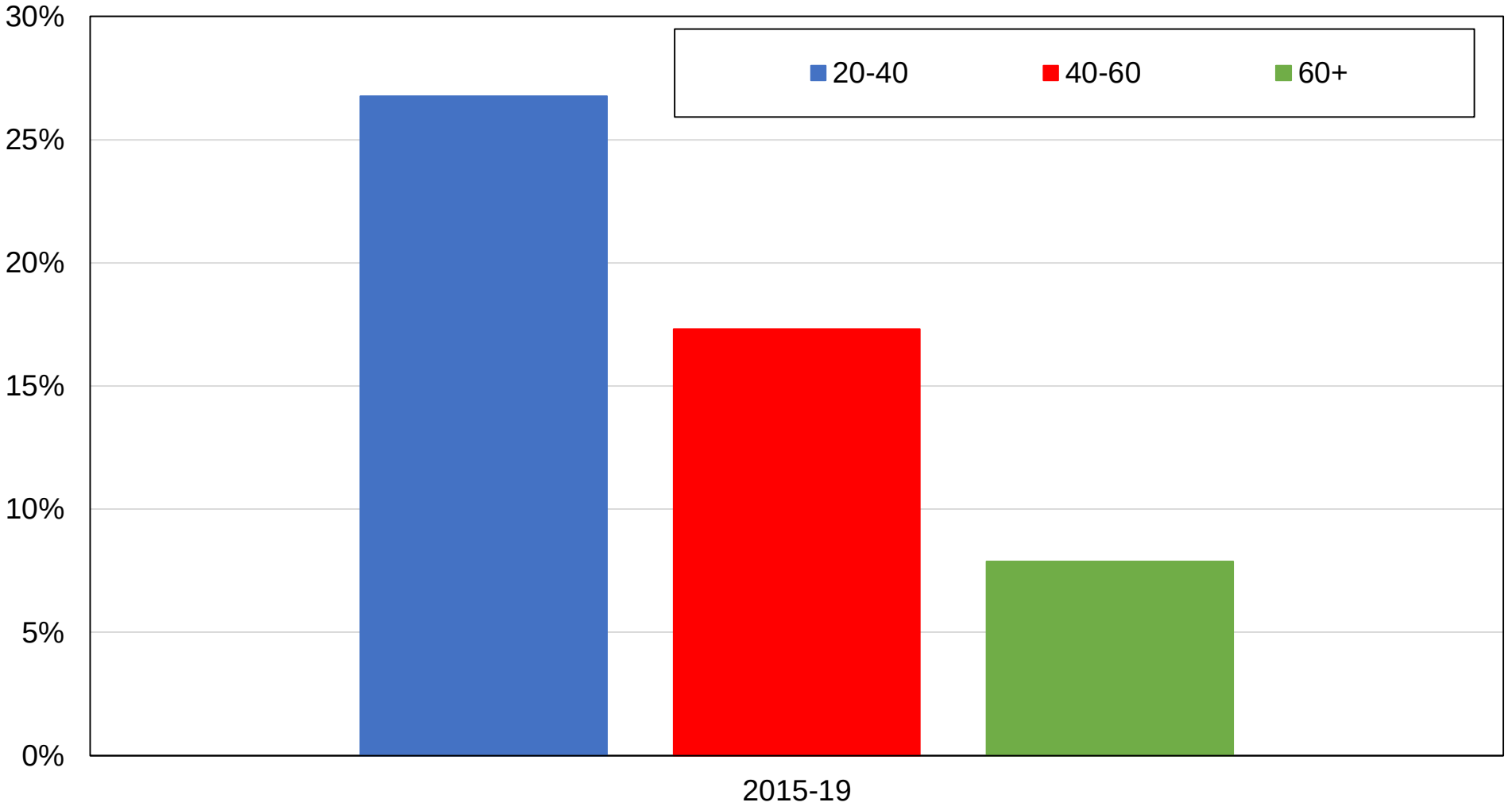
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Podemos and its allies by gender.

Figure BC15 - Vote for Podemos by union membership in Spain



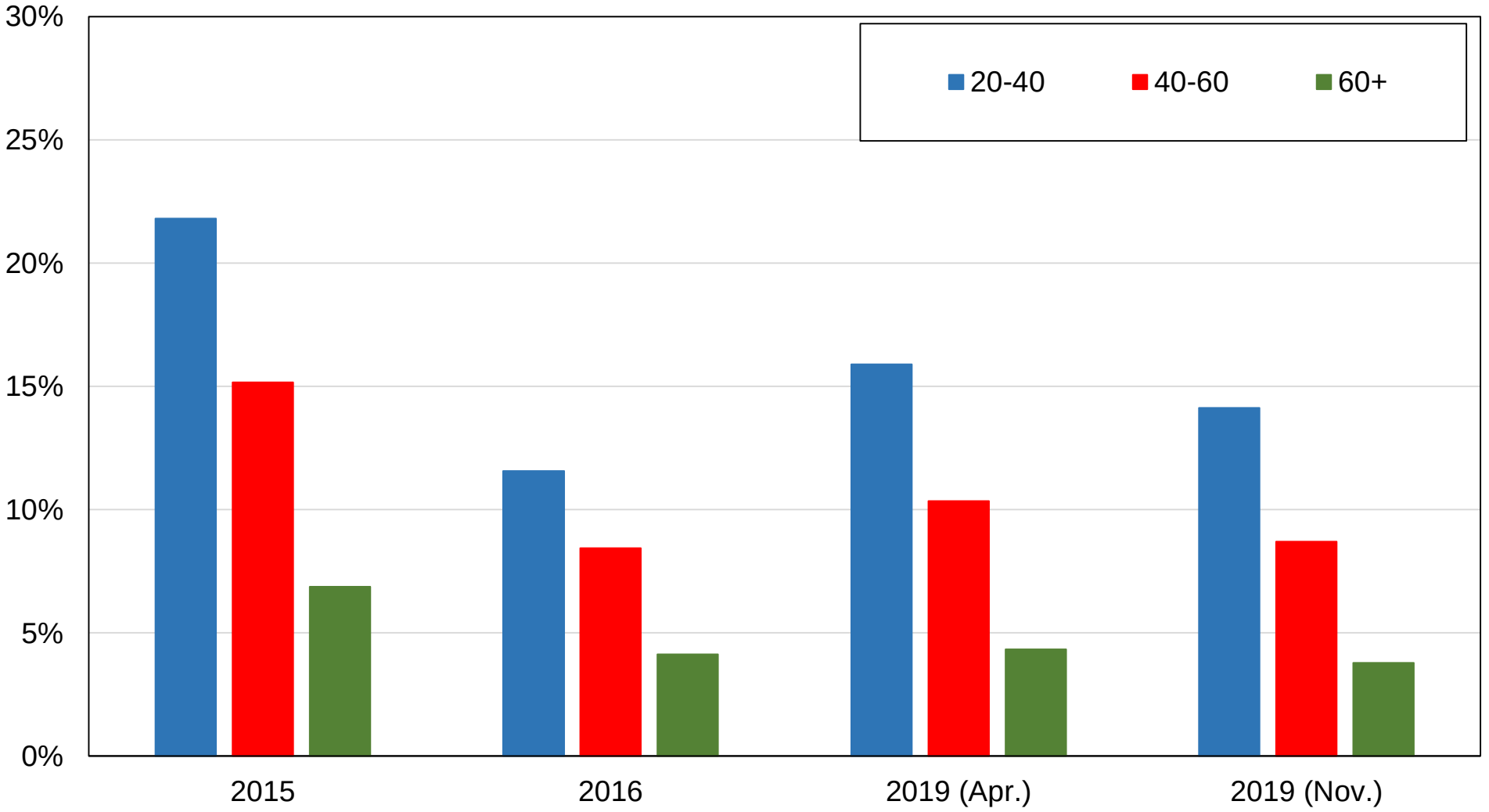
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Podemos and its allies by union membership status.

Figure BC16 - Vote for Podemos by age group in Spain



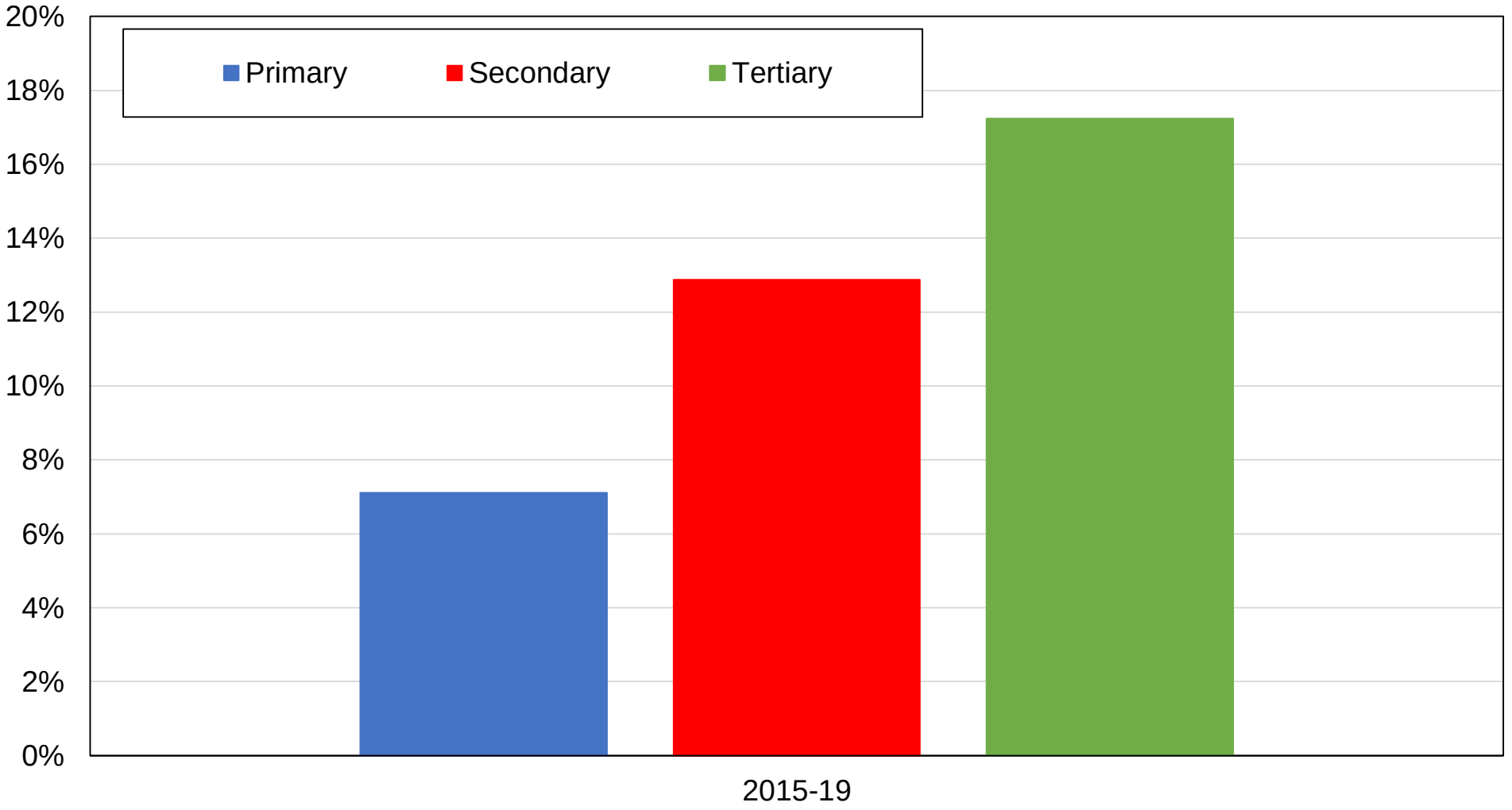
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Podemos and its allies by age group.

Figure BC17 - Vote for Podemos by age group in Spain, 2015-2019 (yearly)



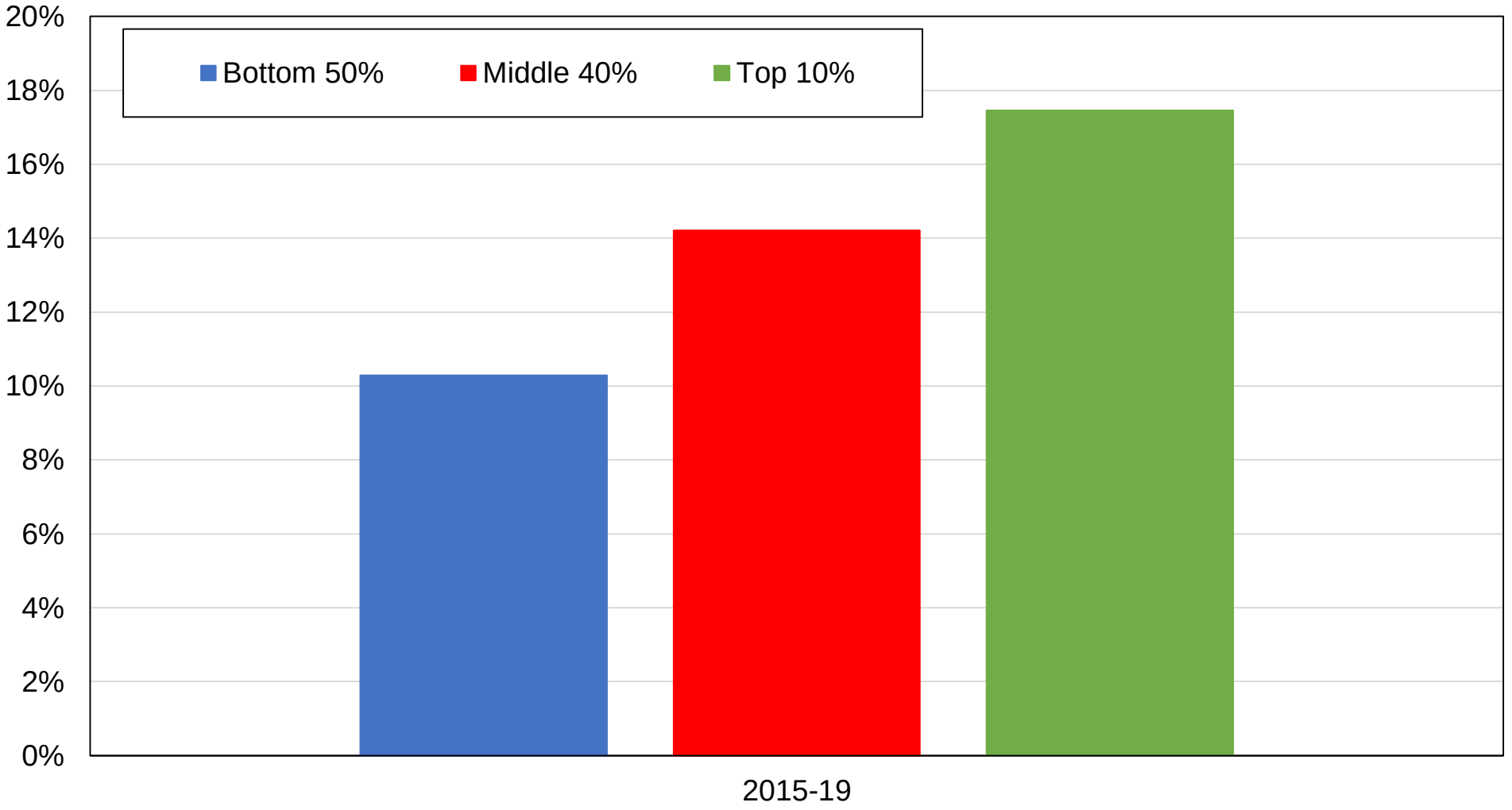
Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys (general elections).
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Podemos and its allies by age group.

Figure BC18 - Vote for Ciudadanos by education level in Spain



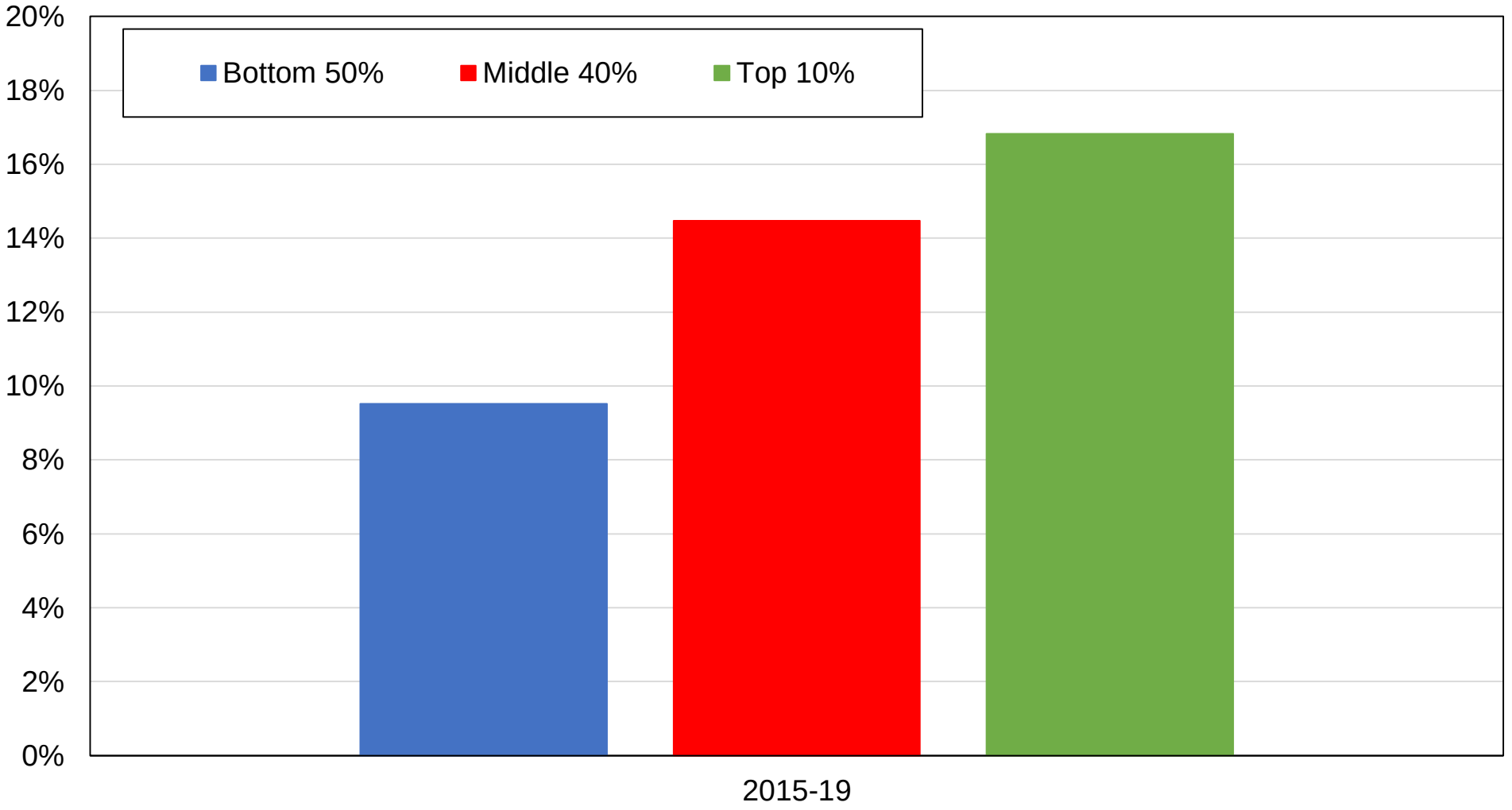
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Ciudadanos by education level.

Figure BC19 - Vote for Ciudadanos by education group in Spain



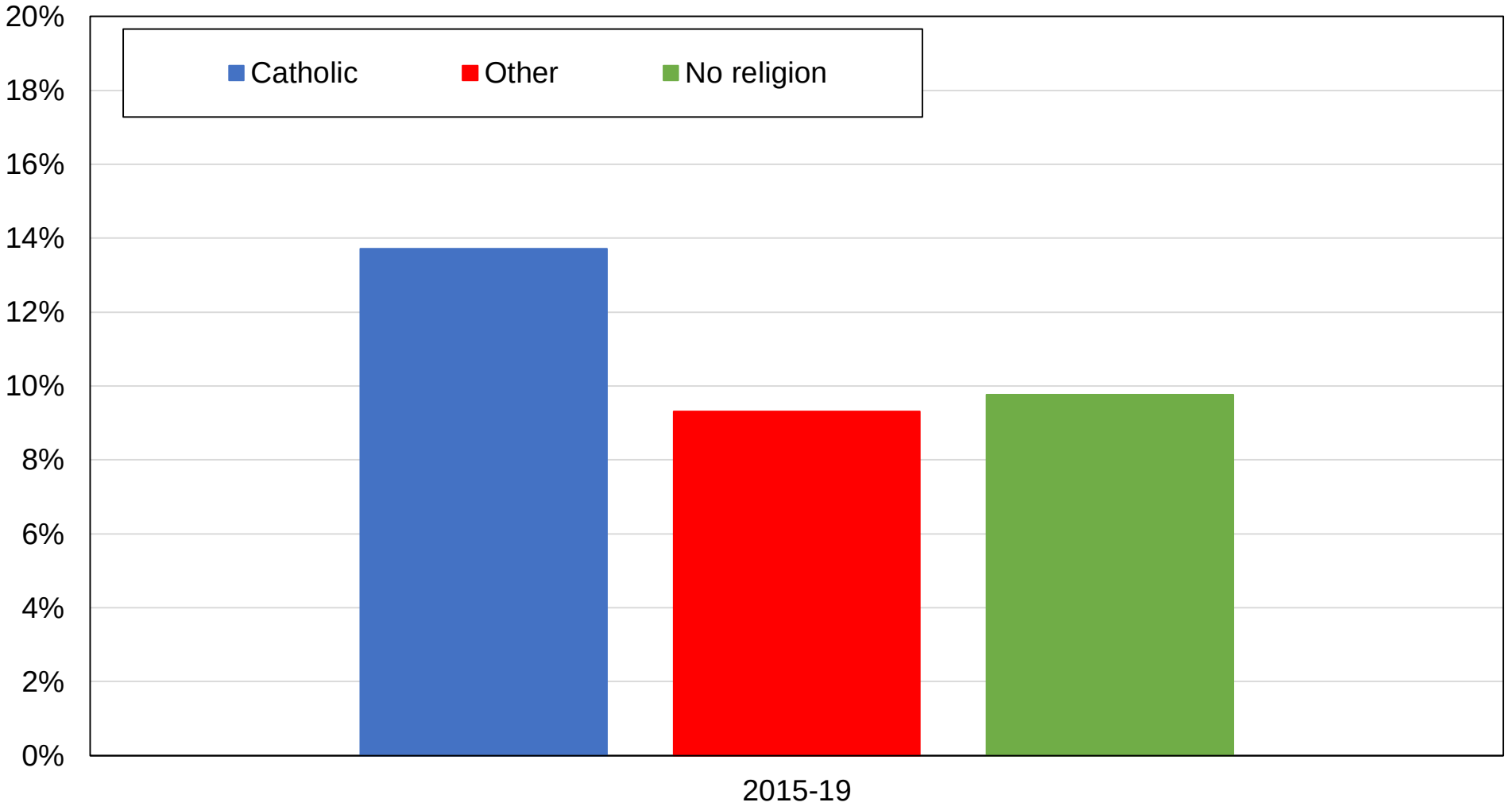
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Ciudadanos by education group.

Figure BC20 - Vote for Ciudadanos by income group in Spain



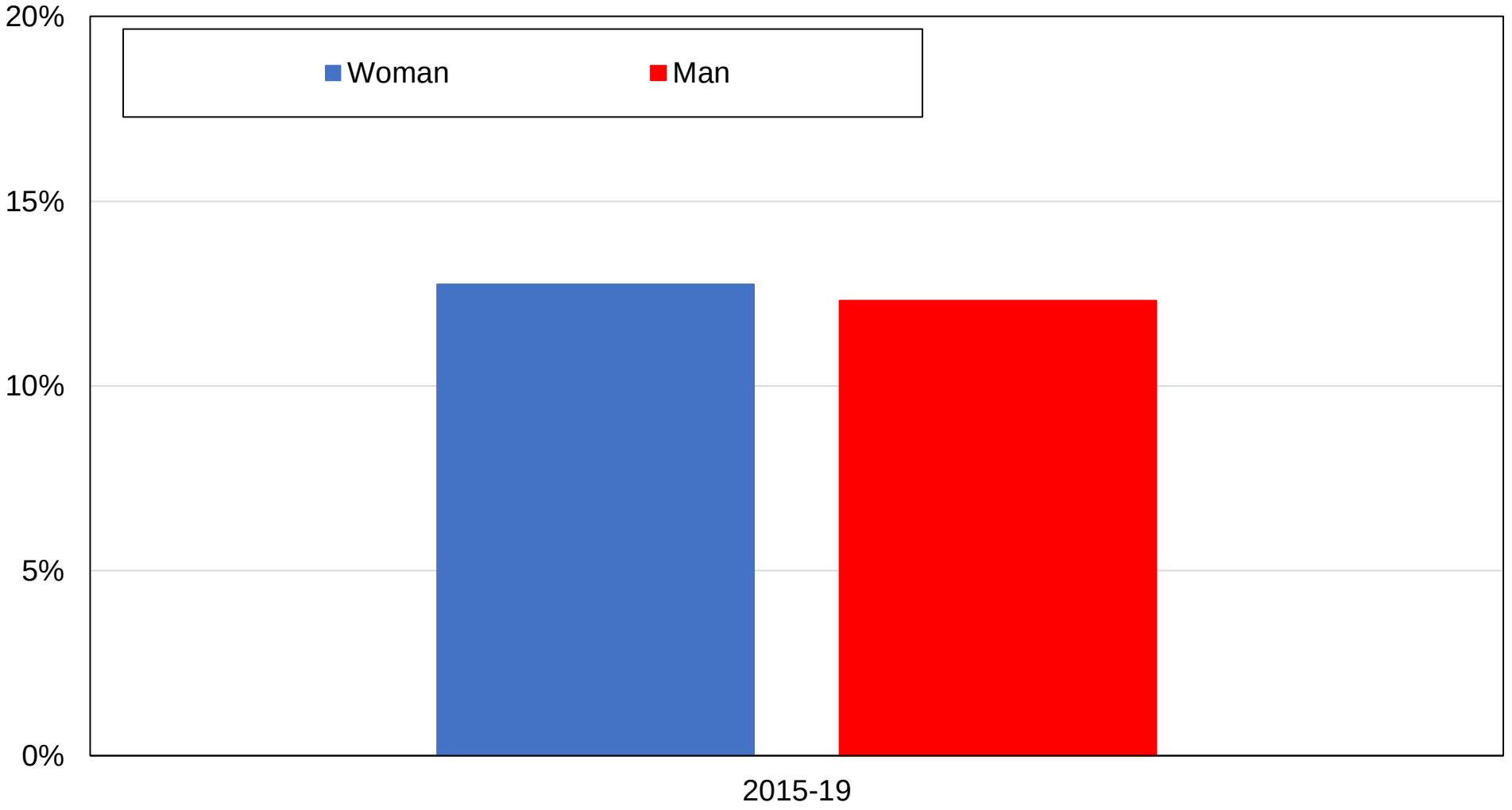
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Ciudadanos by income group.

Figure BC21 - Vote for Ciudadanos by religious affiliation in Spain



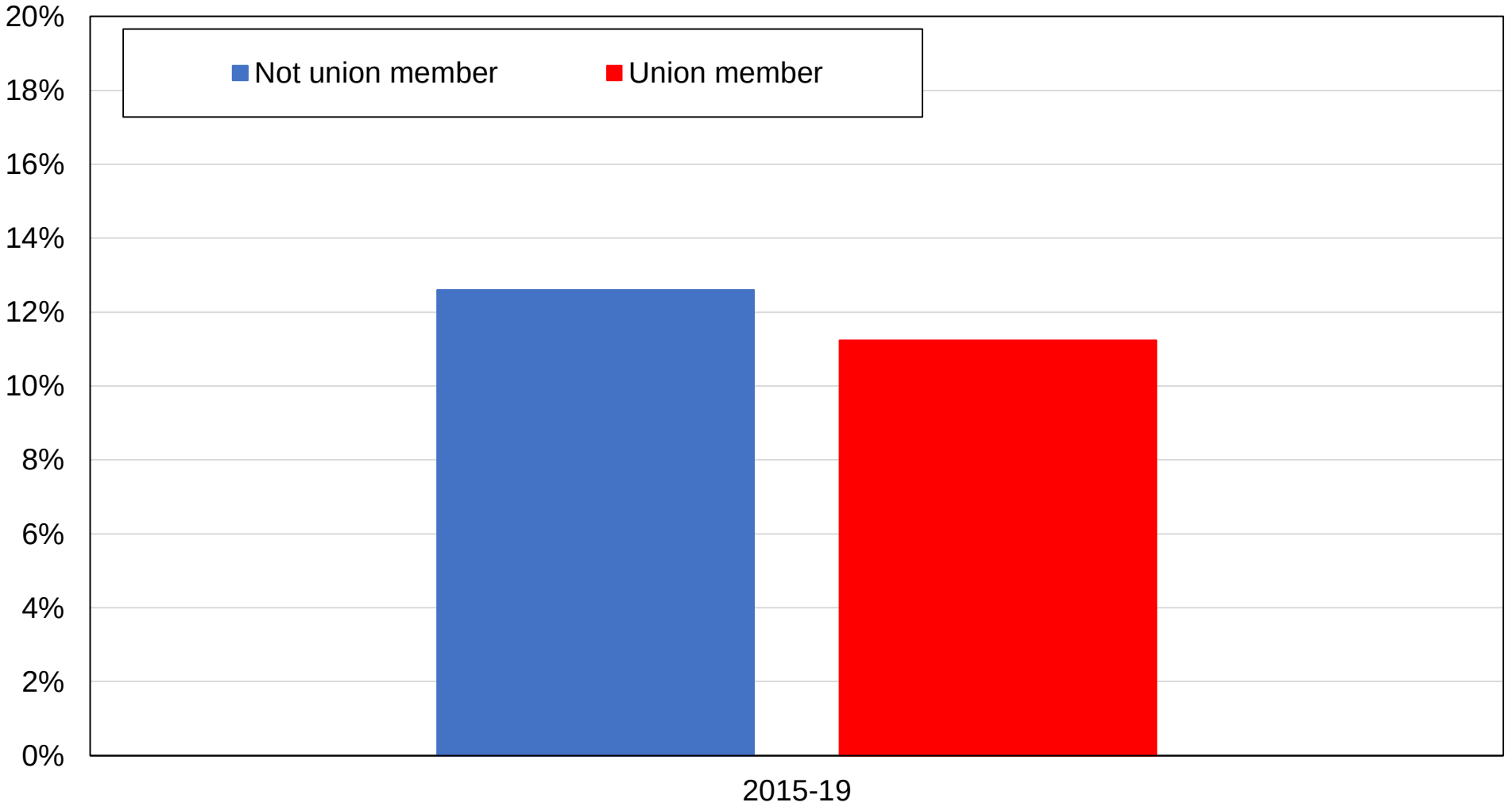
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Ciudadanos by religious affiliation.

Figure BC22 - Vote for Ciudadanos by gender in Spain



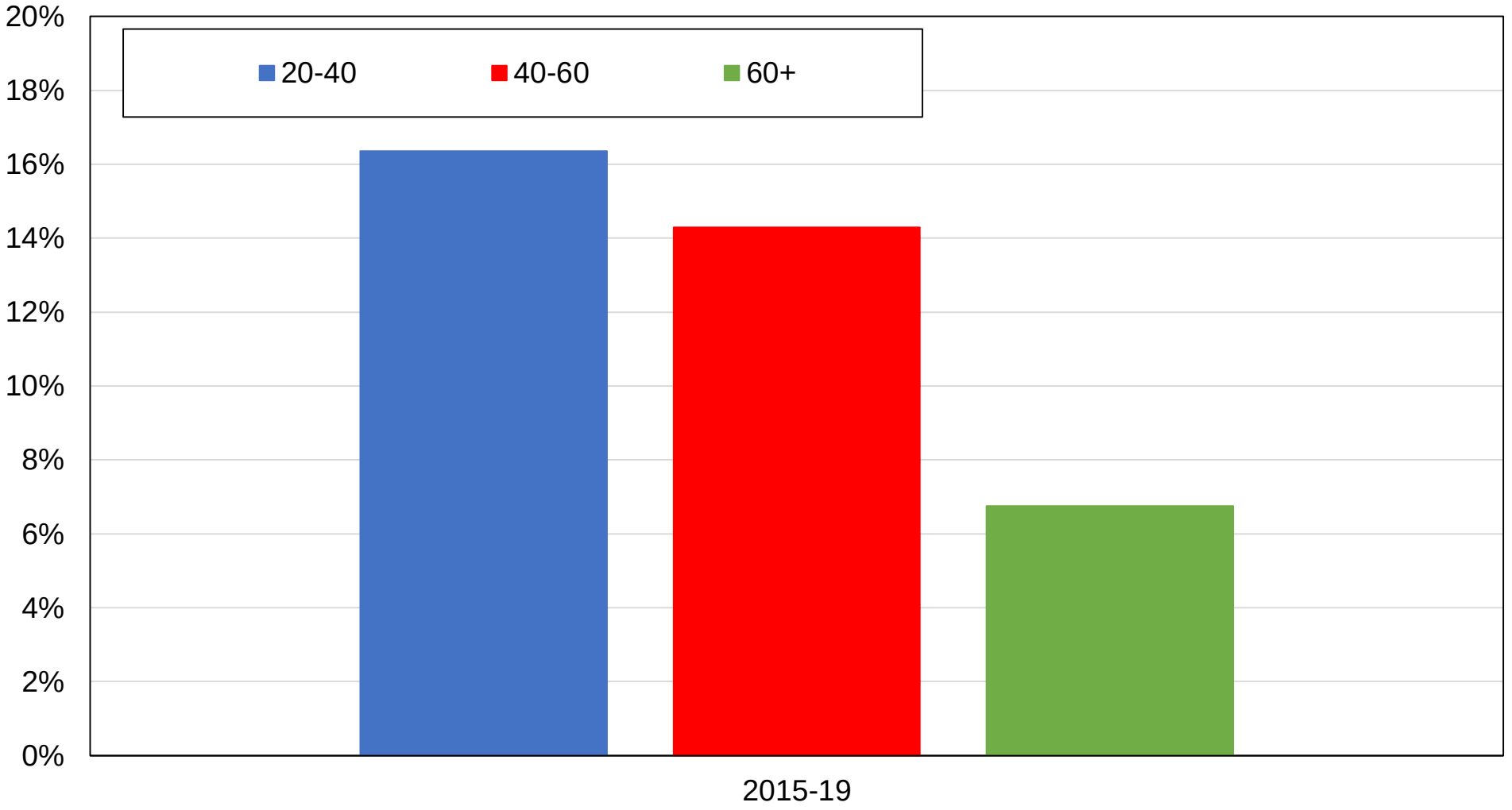
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Ciudadanos by gender.

Figure BC23 - Vote for Ciudadanos by union membership in Spain



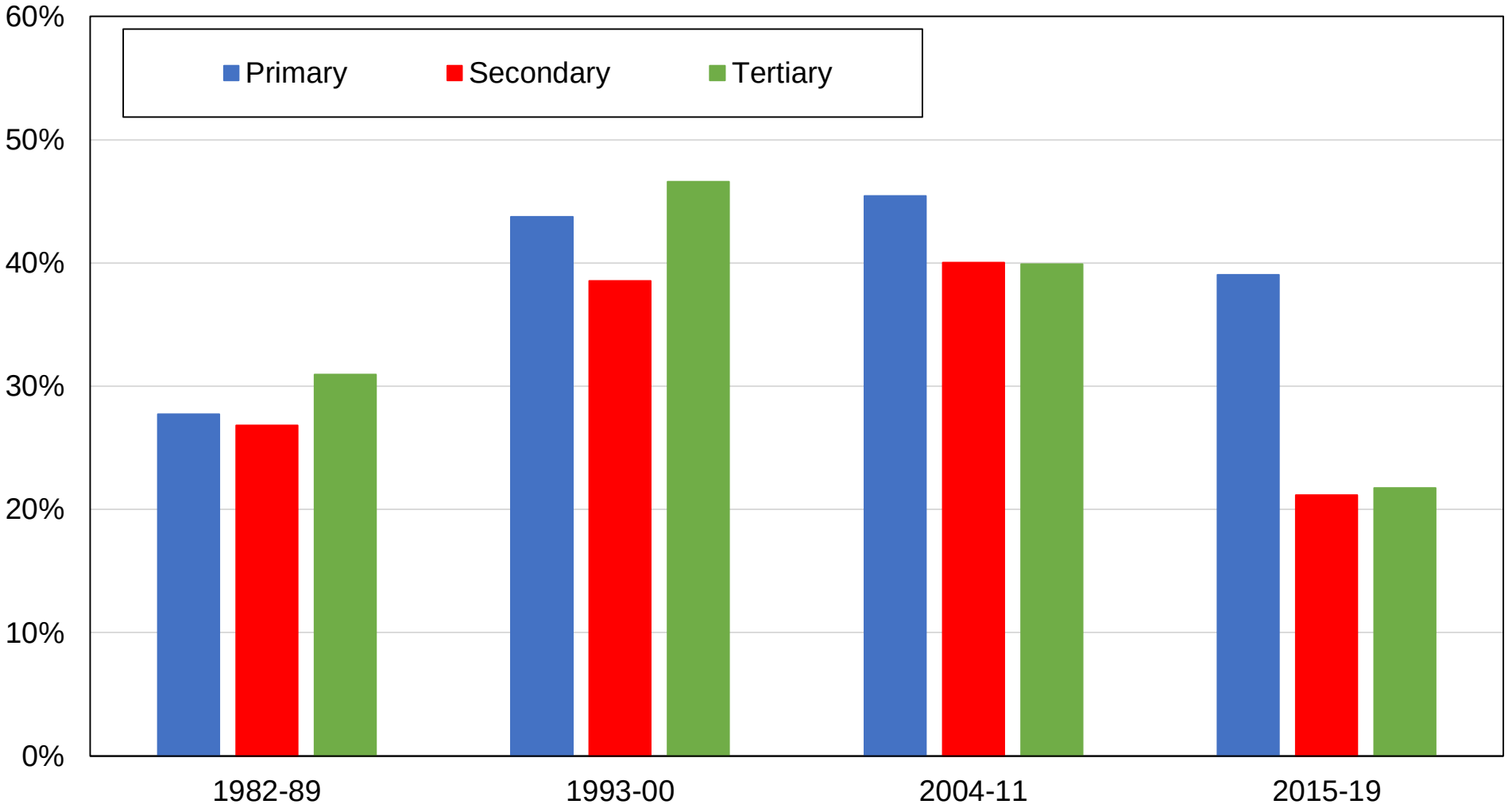
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Ciudadanos by union membership status.

Figure BC24 - Vote for Ciudadanos by age group in Spain



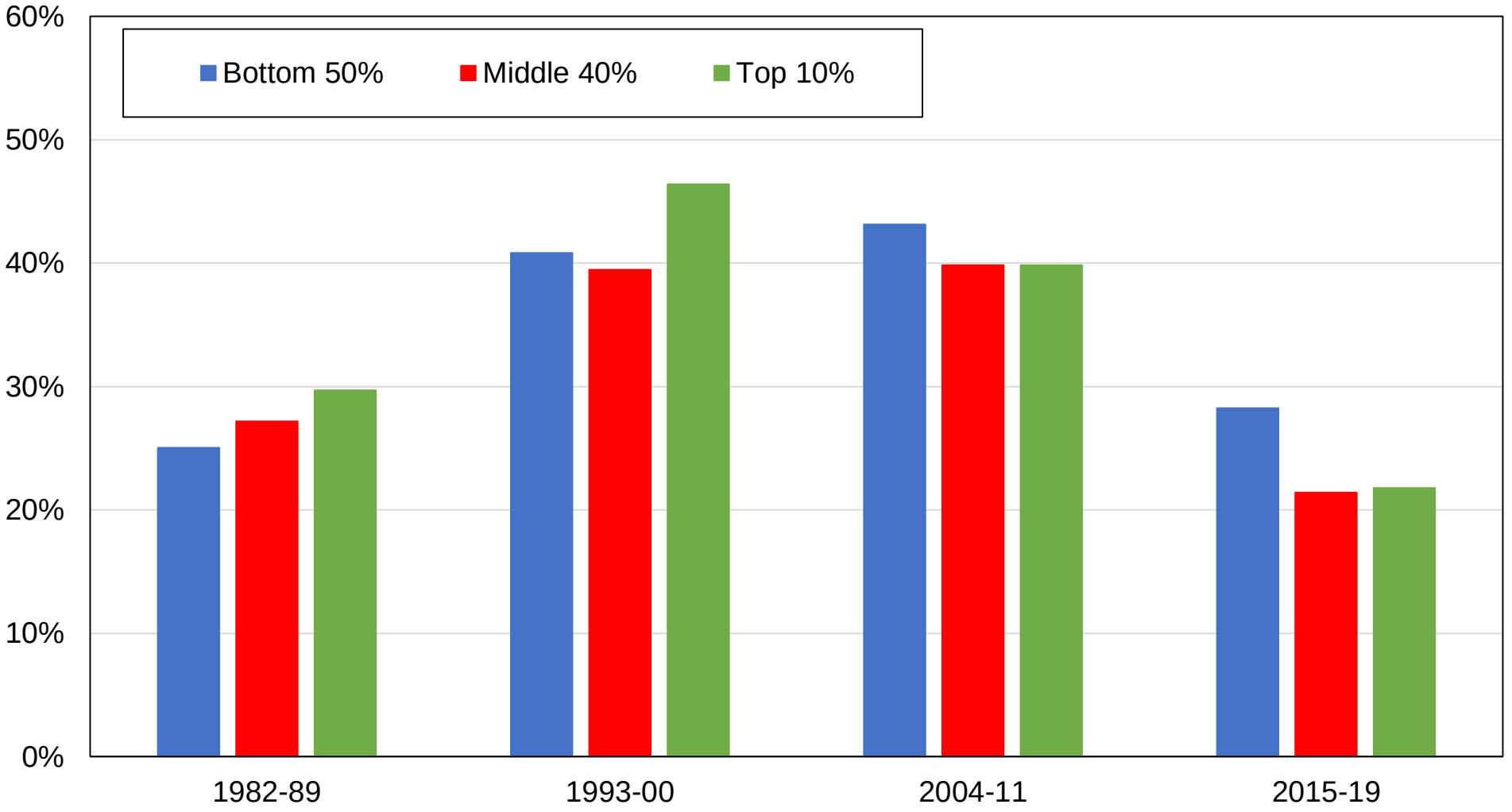
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Ciudadanos by age group.

Figure BC25 - Vote for PP by education level in Spain



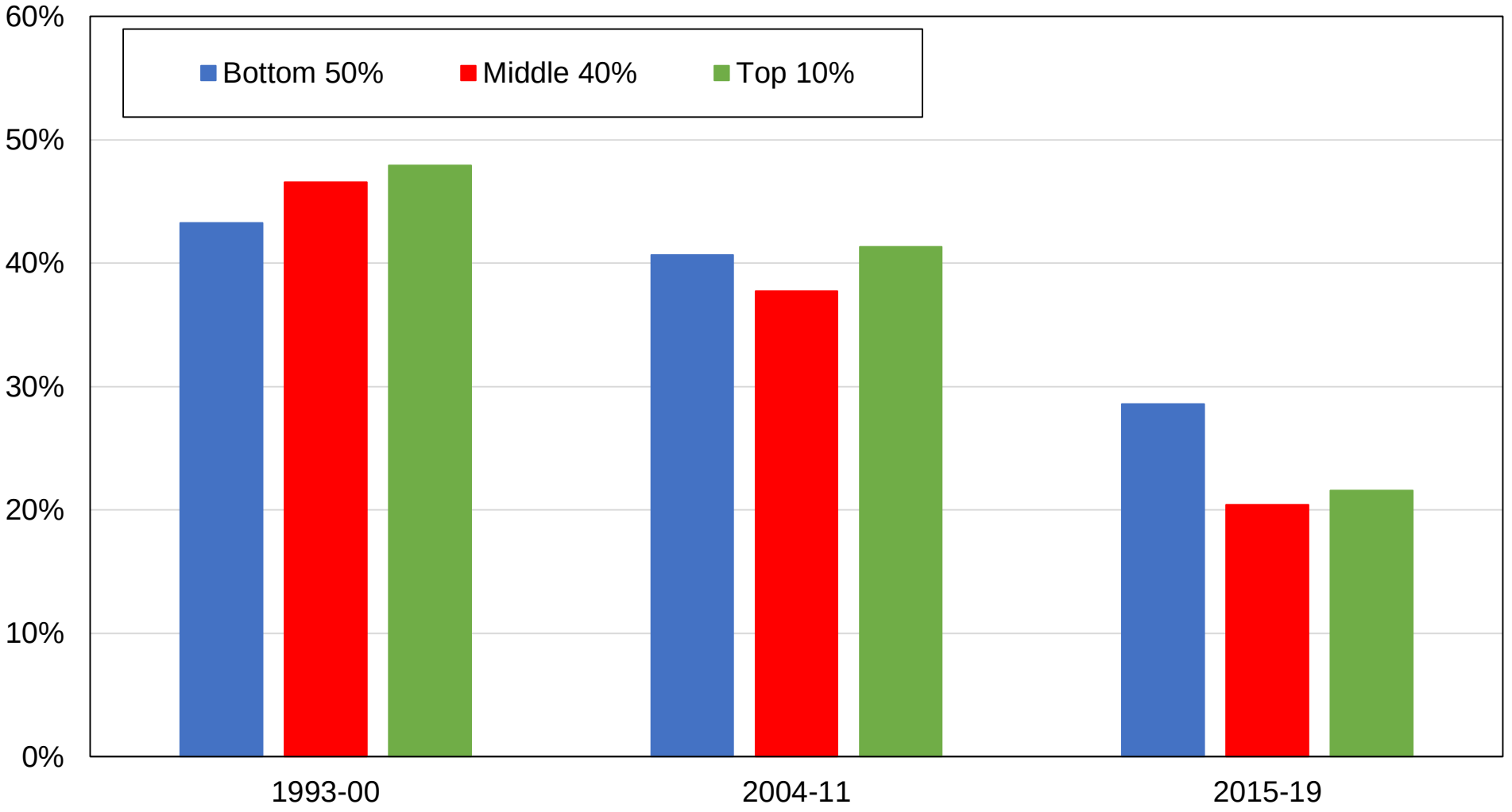
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the People's Party (PP) by education level.

Figure BC26 - Vote for PP by education group in Spain



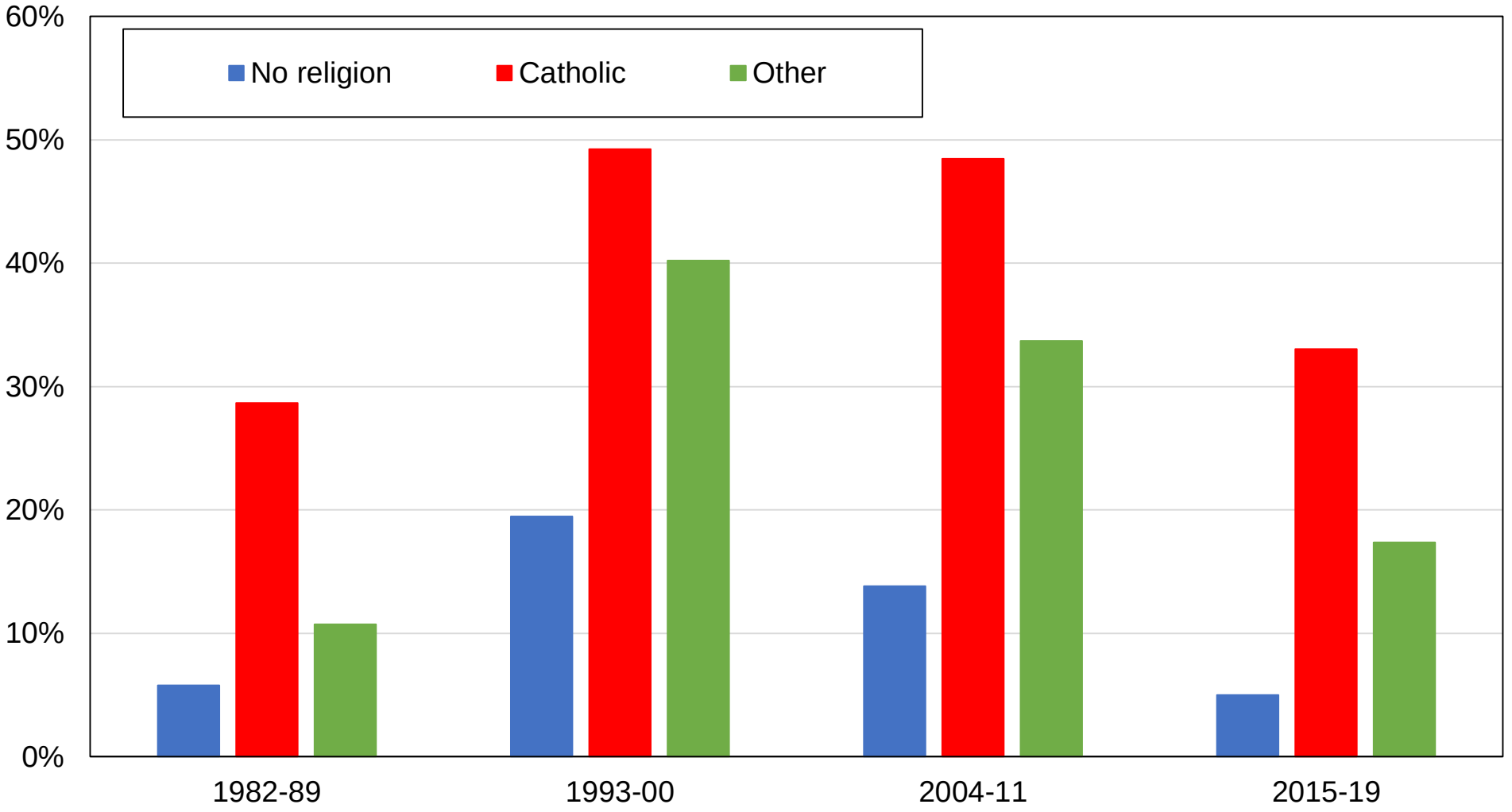
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the People's Party (PP) by education group.

Figure BC27 - Vote for PP by income group in Spain



Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the People's Party (PP) by income group.

Figure BC28 - Vote for PP by religious affiliation in Spain

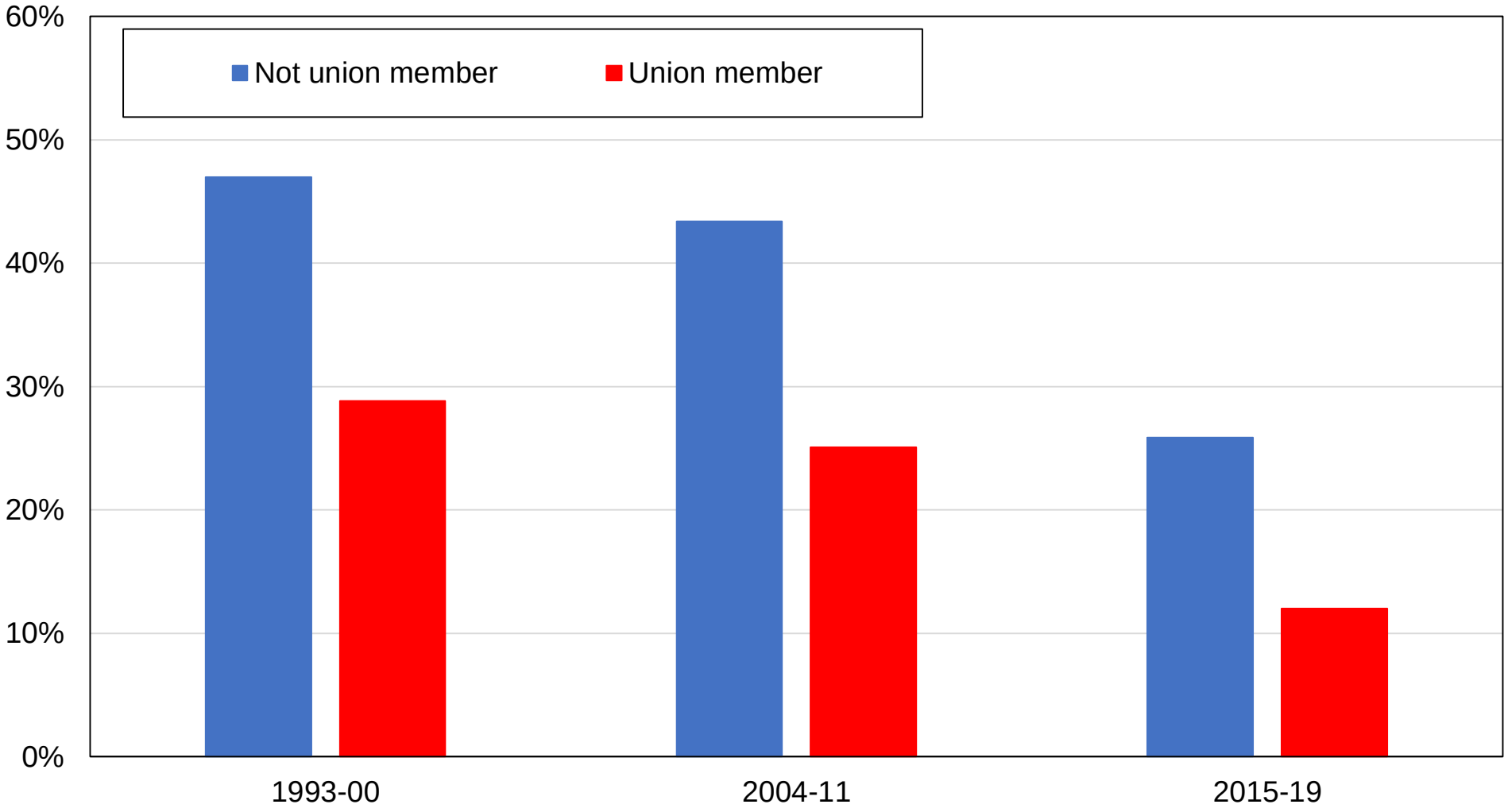


Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the People's Party (PP) by religious affiliation.

Figure BC29 - Vote for PP by gender in Spain

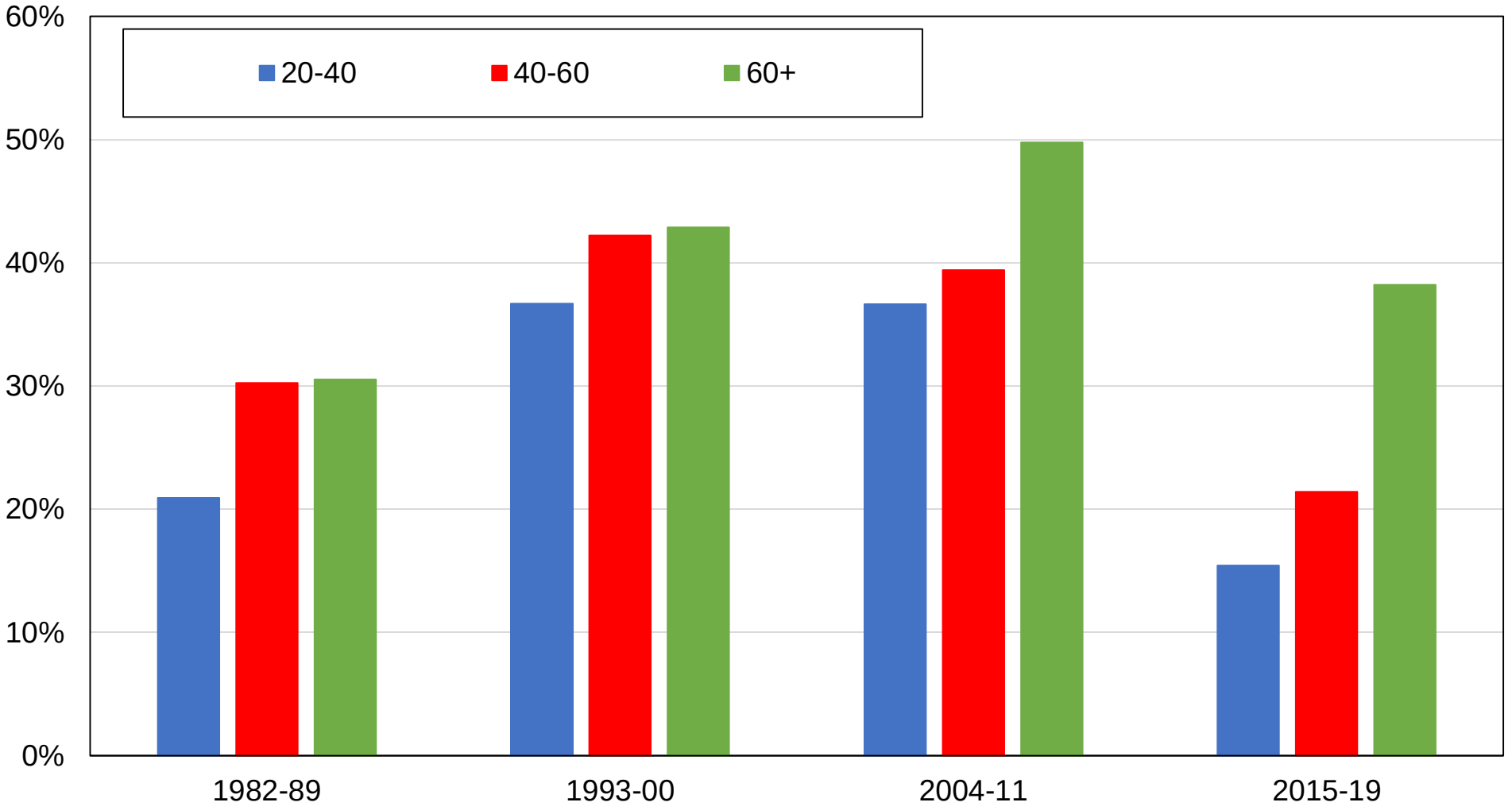
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the People's Party (PP) by gender.

Figure BC30 - Vote for PP by union membership in Spain



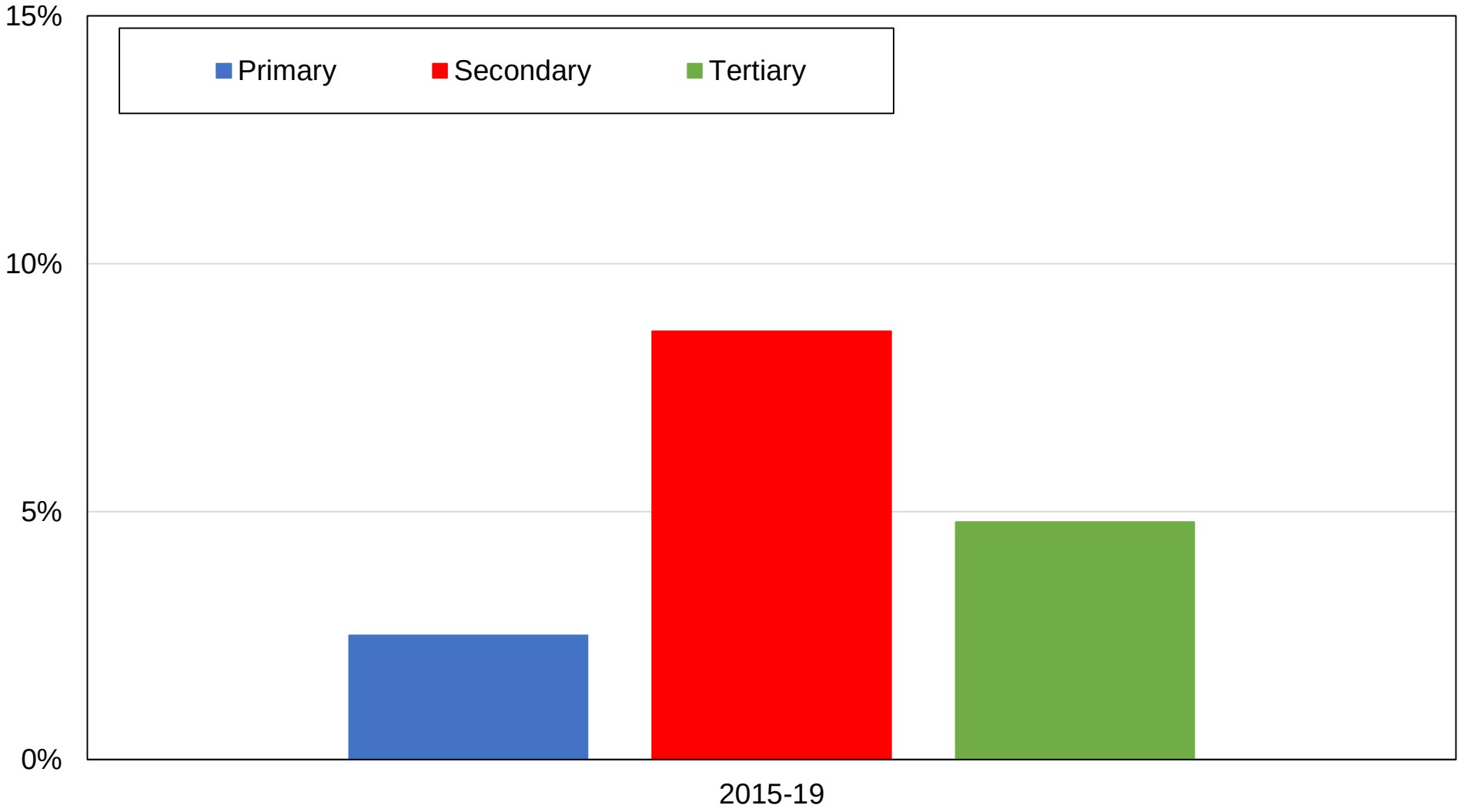
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the People's Party (PP) by union membership status.

Figure BC31 - Vote for PP by age group in Spain



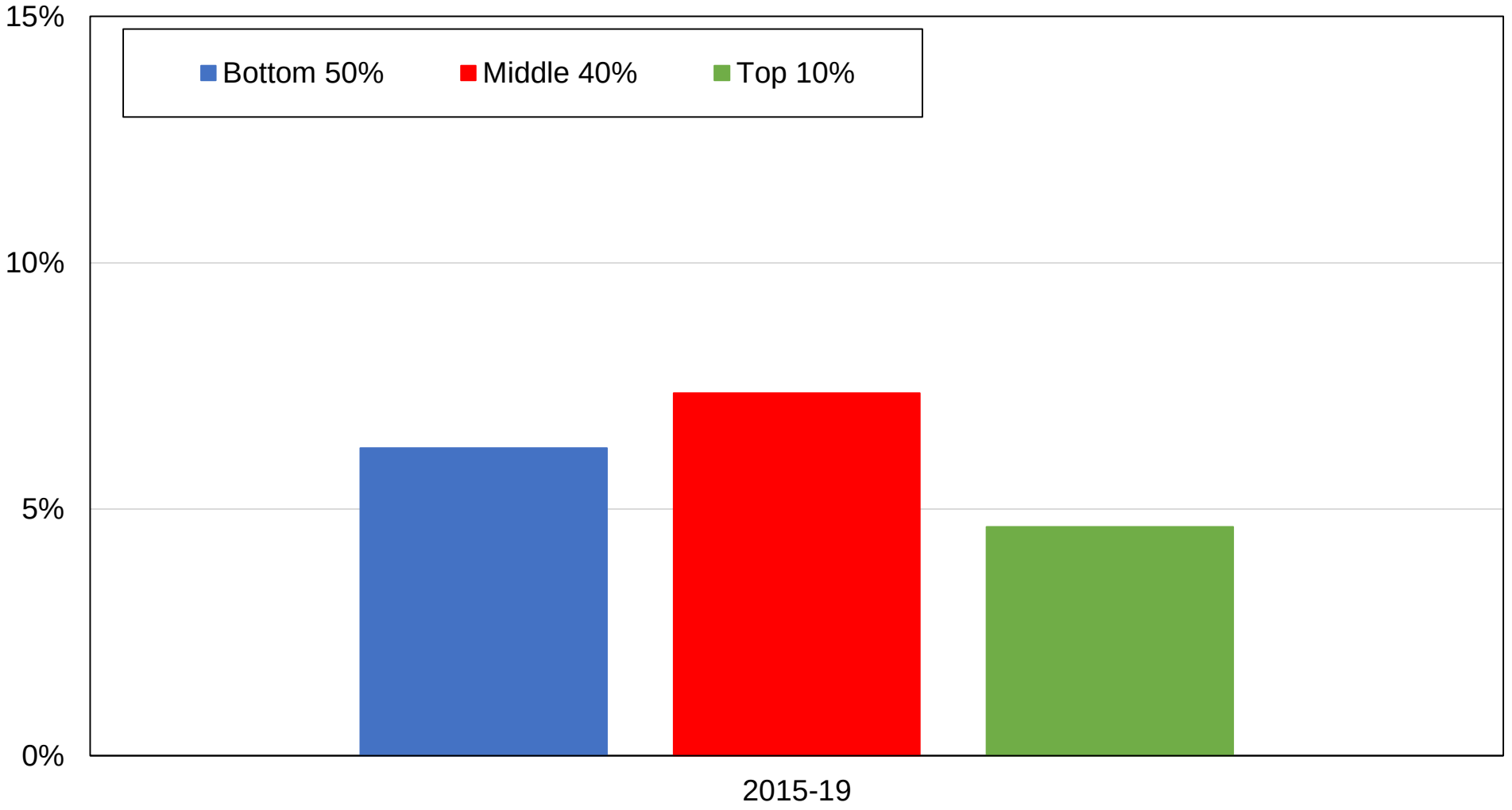
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the People's Party (PP) by age group.

Figure BC32 - Vote for VOX by education level in Spain



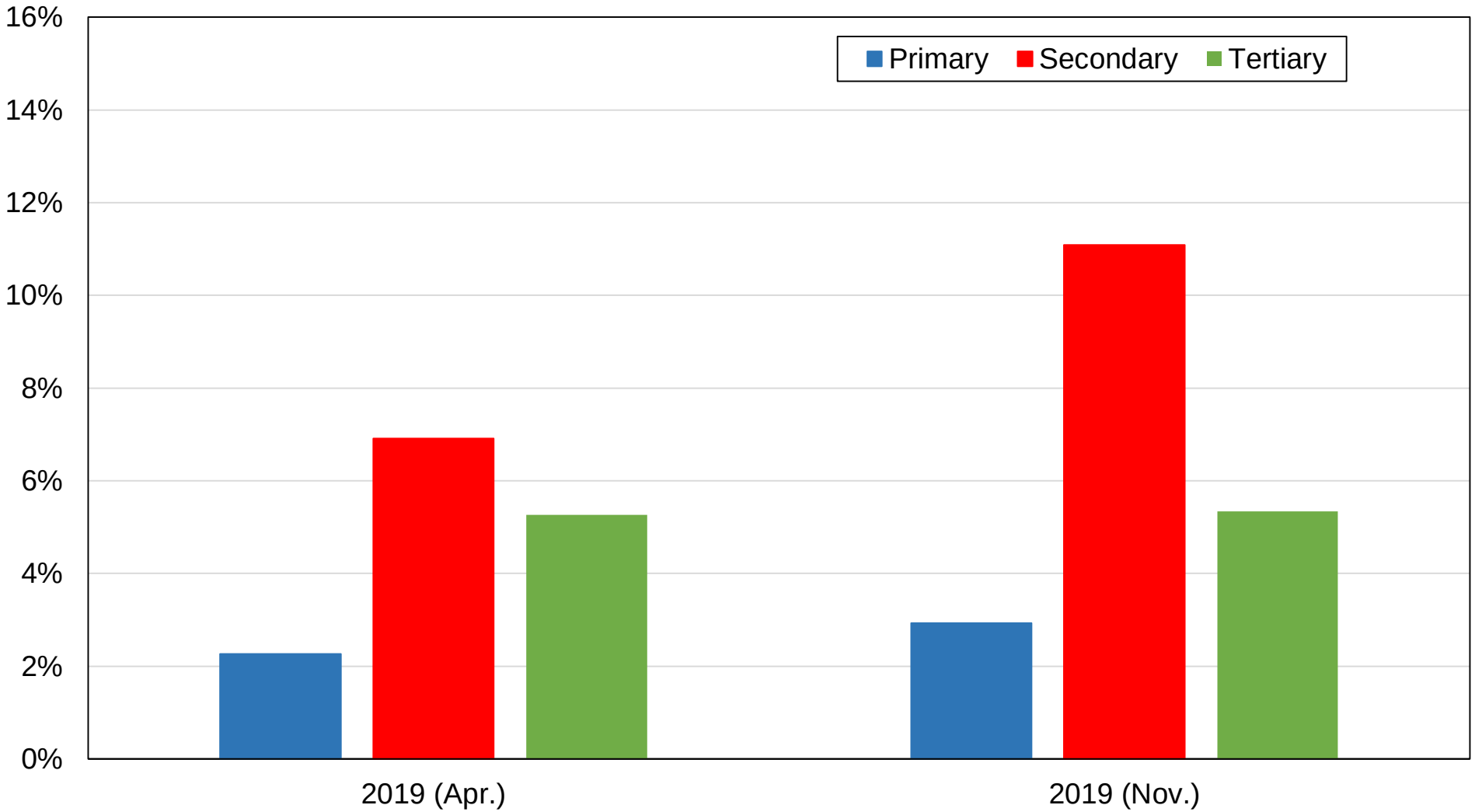
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by VOX by education level.

Figure BC33 - Vote for VOX by education group in Spain



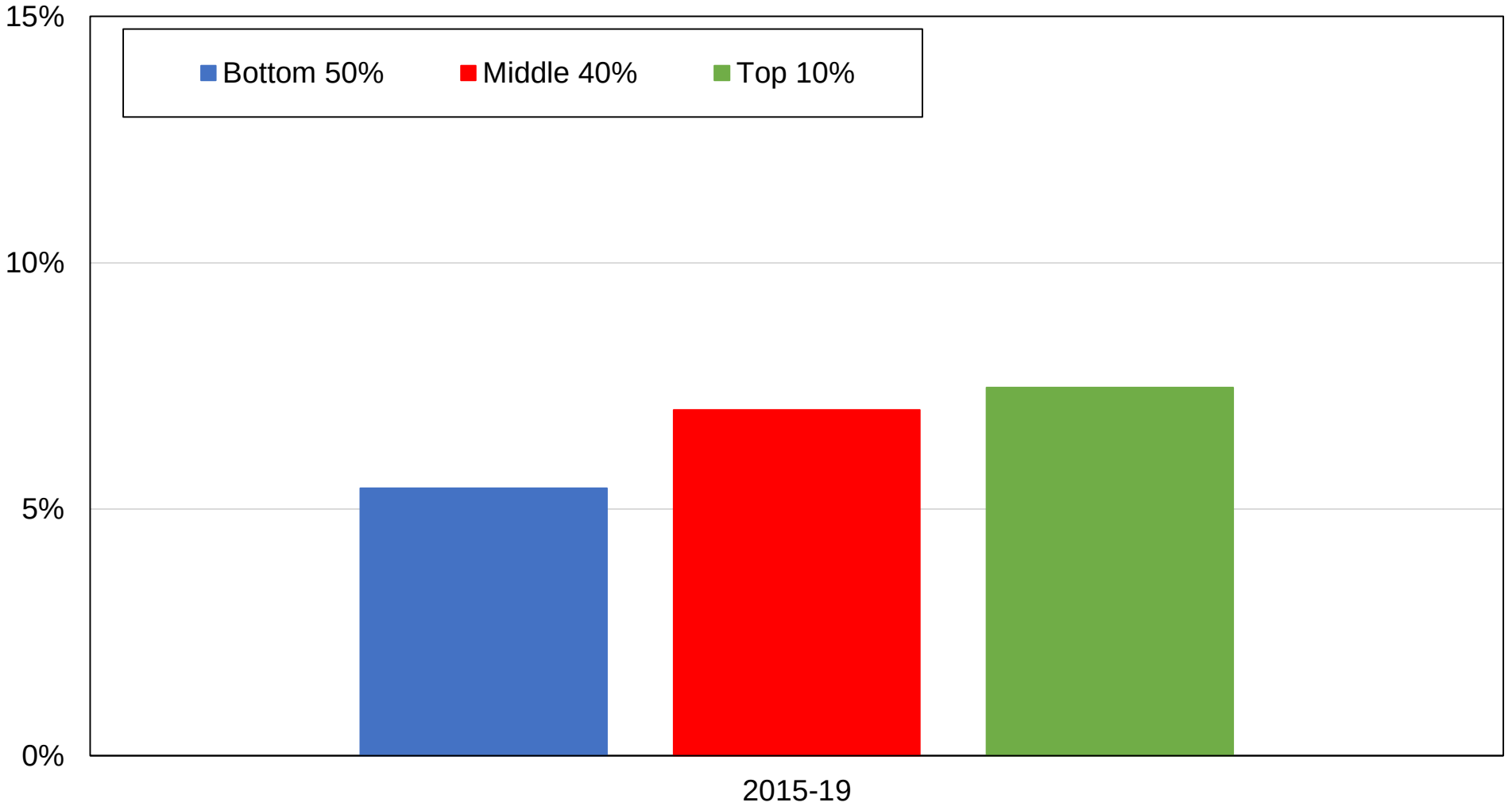
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by VOX by education group.

Figure BC34 - Vote for VOX by education level in Spain, 2019



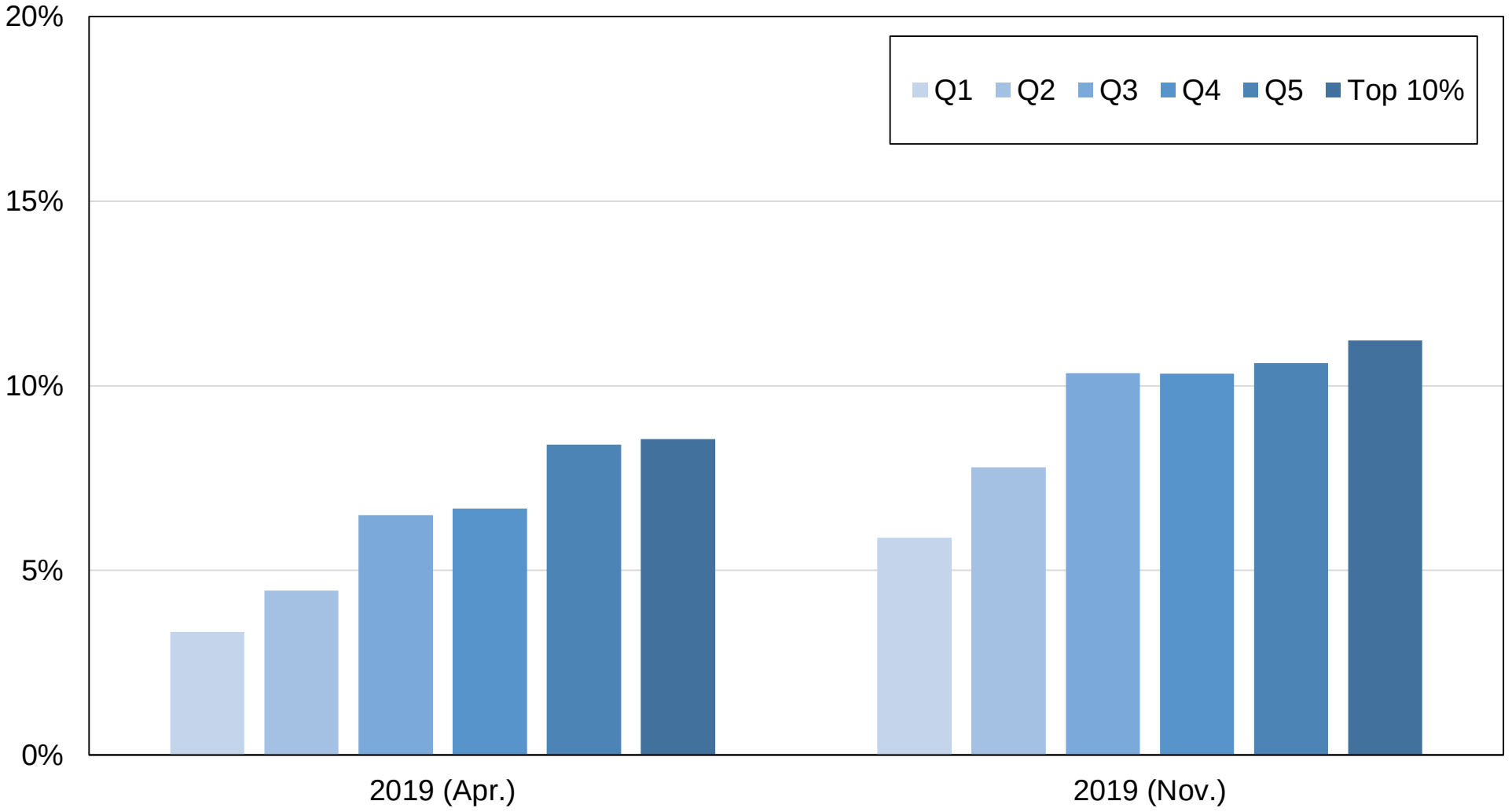
Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys 1979-2016 (general elections).
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by VOX by education level.

Figure BC35 - Vote for VOX by income group in Spain



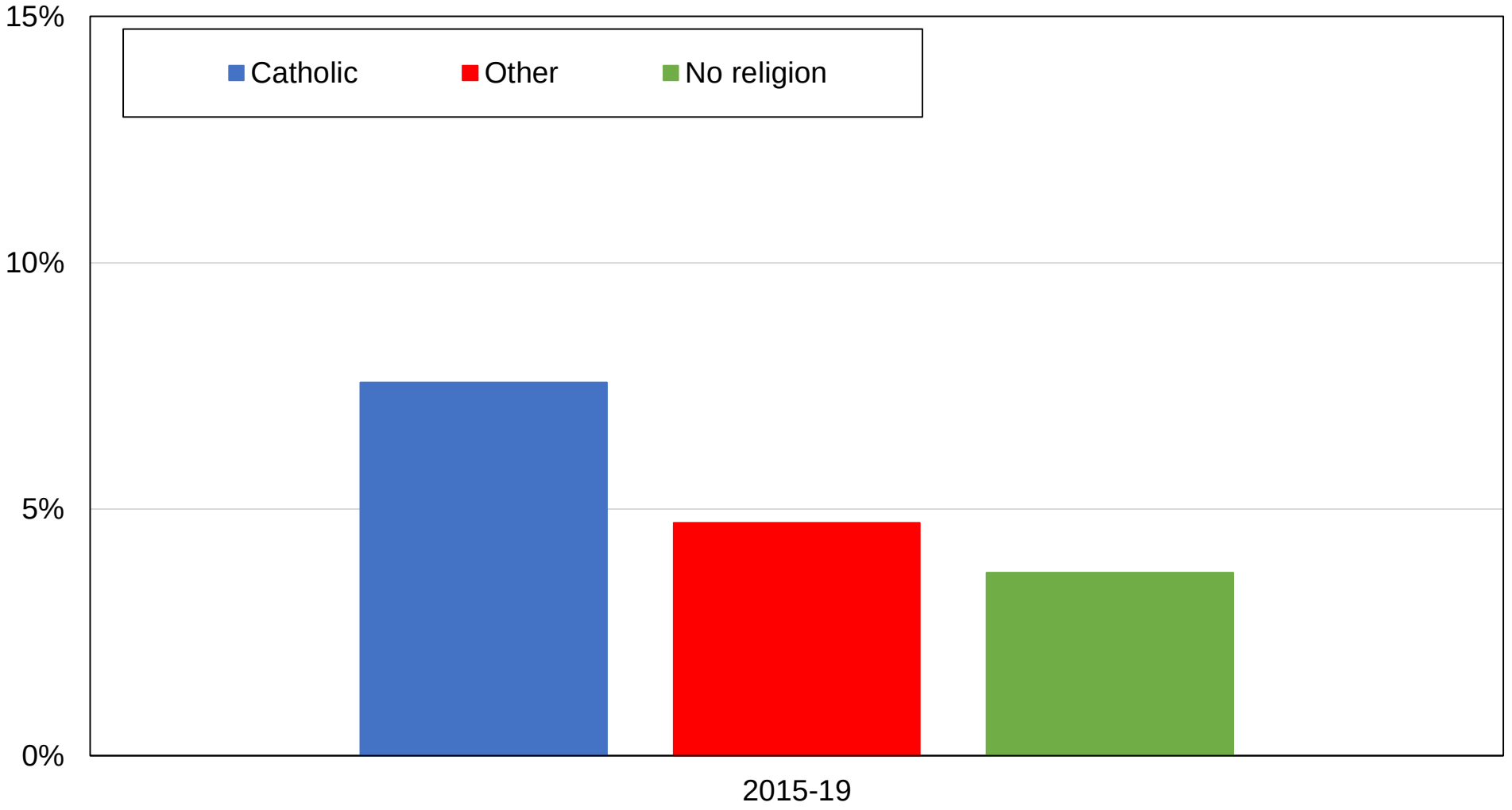
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by VOX by income group.

Figure BC36 - Vote for Vox by income group in Spain, 2019



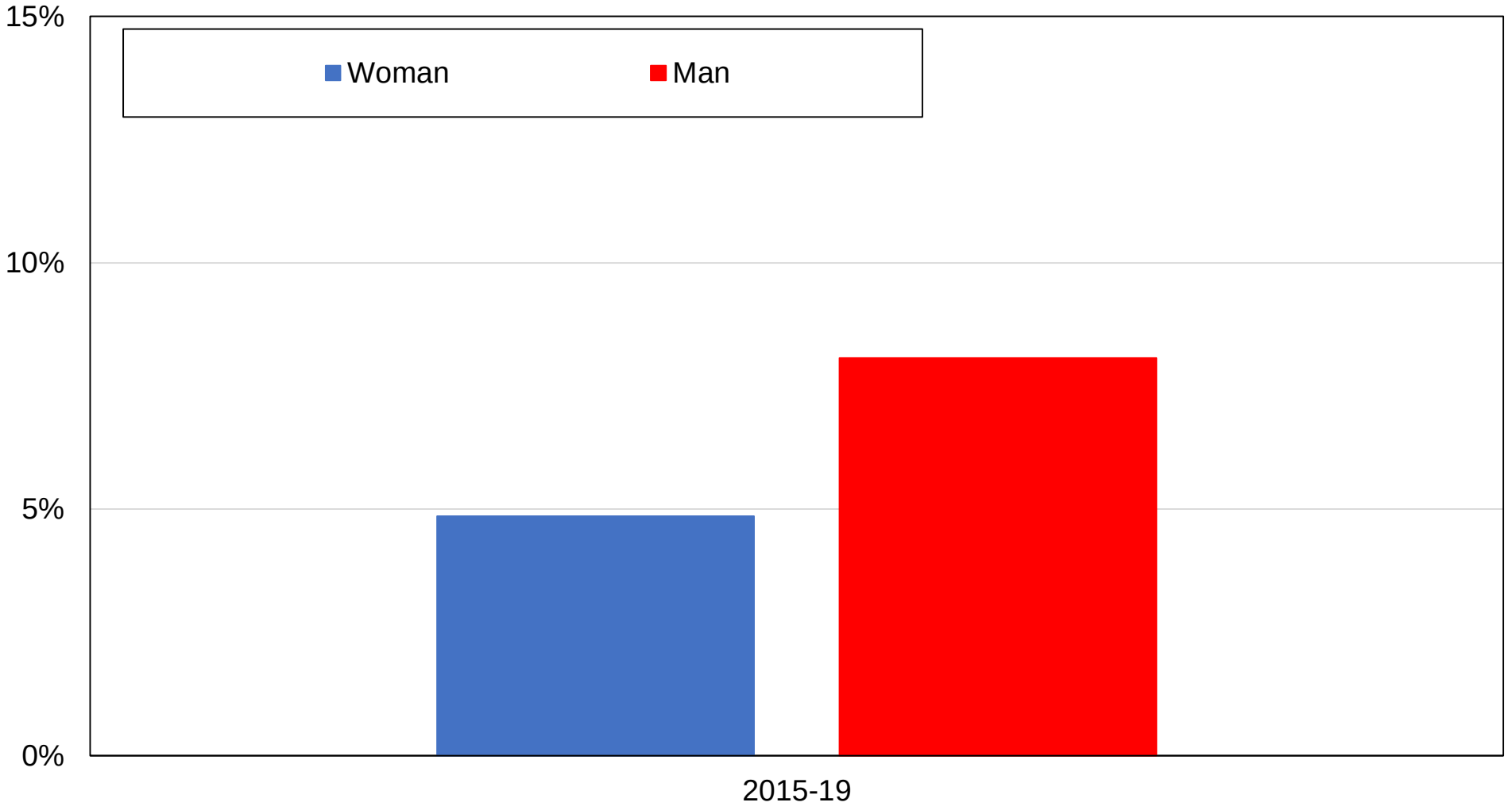
Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys (general elections).
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by VOX by income group.

Figure BC37 - Vote for VOX by religious affiliation in Spain



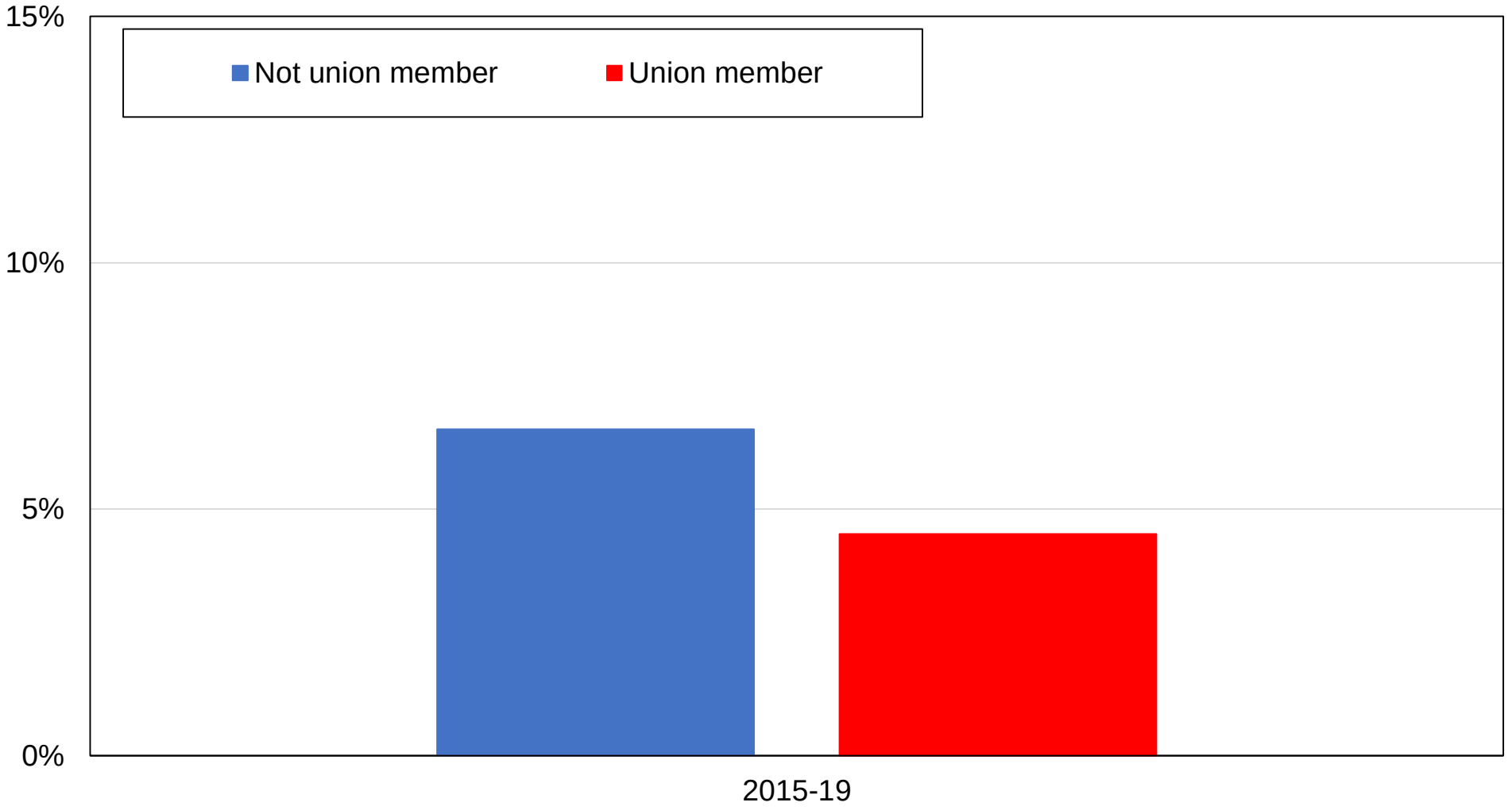
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by VOX by religious affiliation.

Figure BC38 - Vote for VOX by gender in Spain



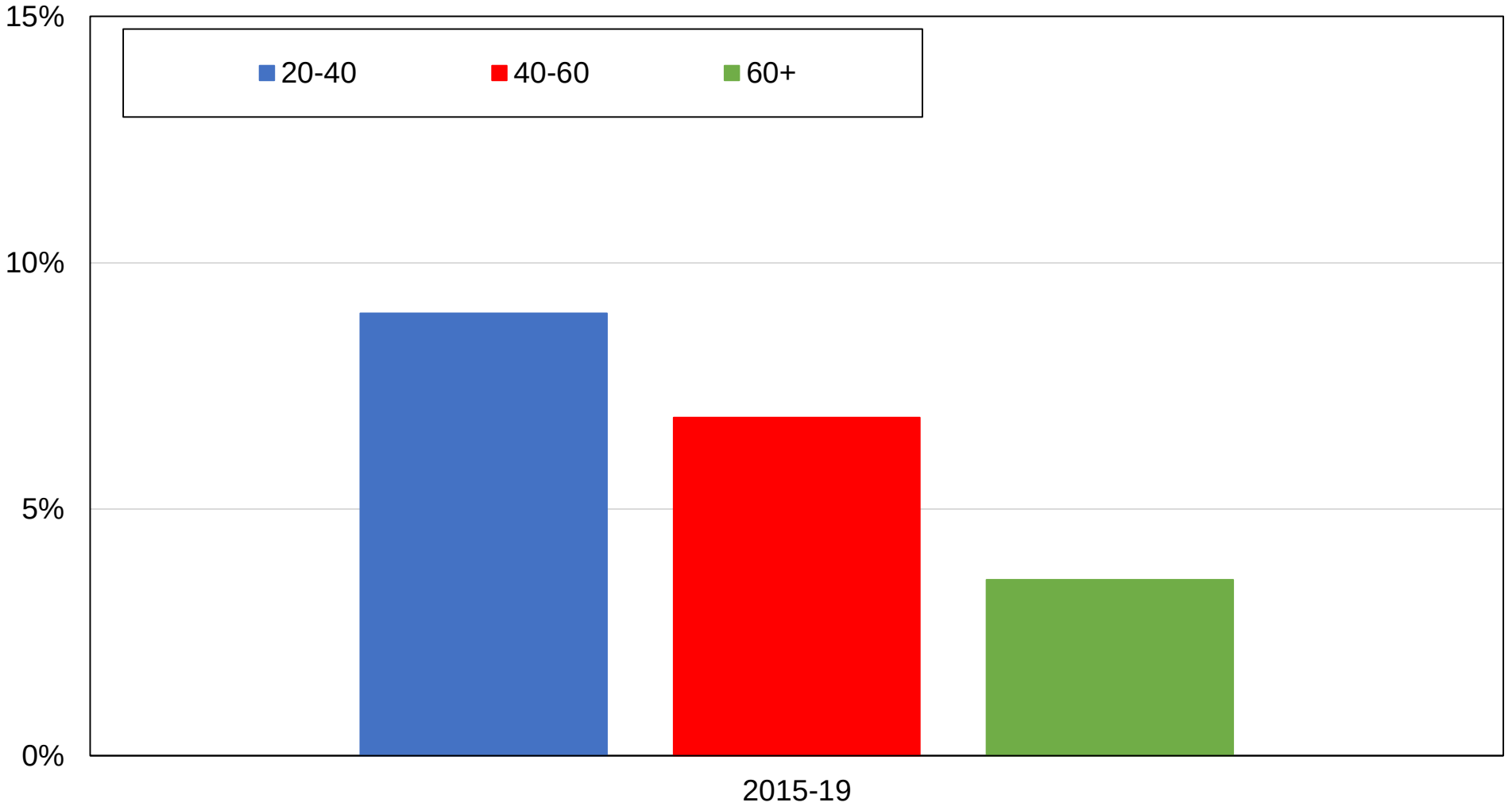
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by VOX by gender.

Figure BC39 - Vote for VOX by union membership in Spain



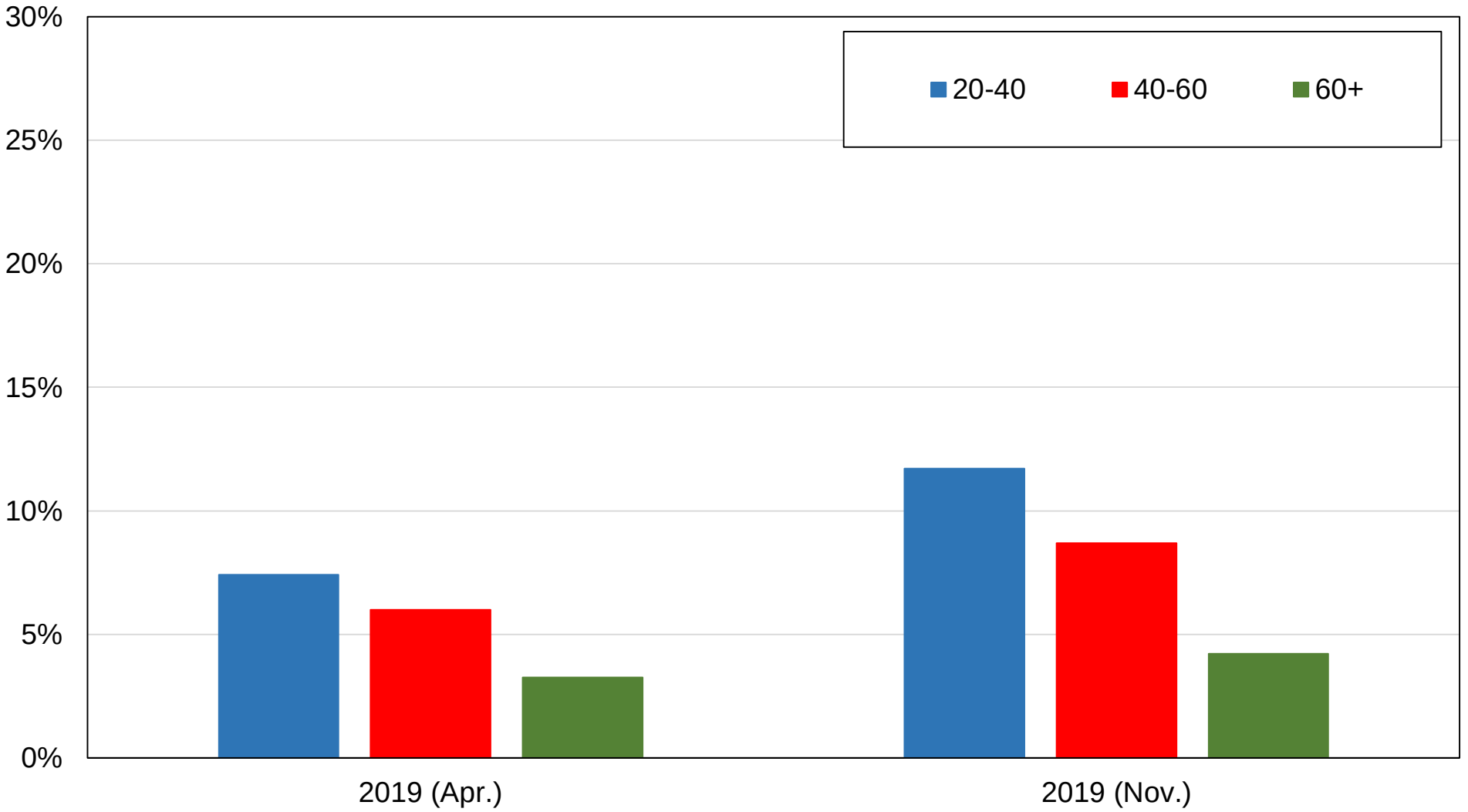
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by VOX by union membership status.

Figure BC40 - Vote for VOX by age group in Spain



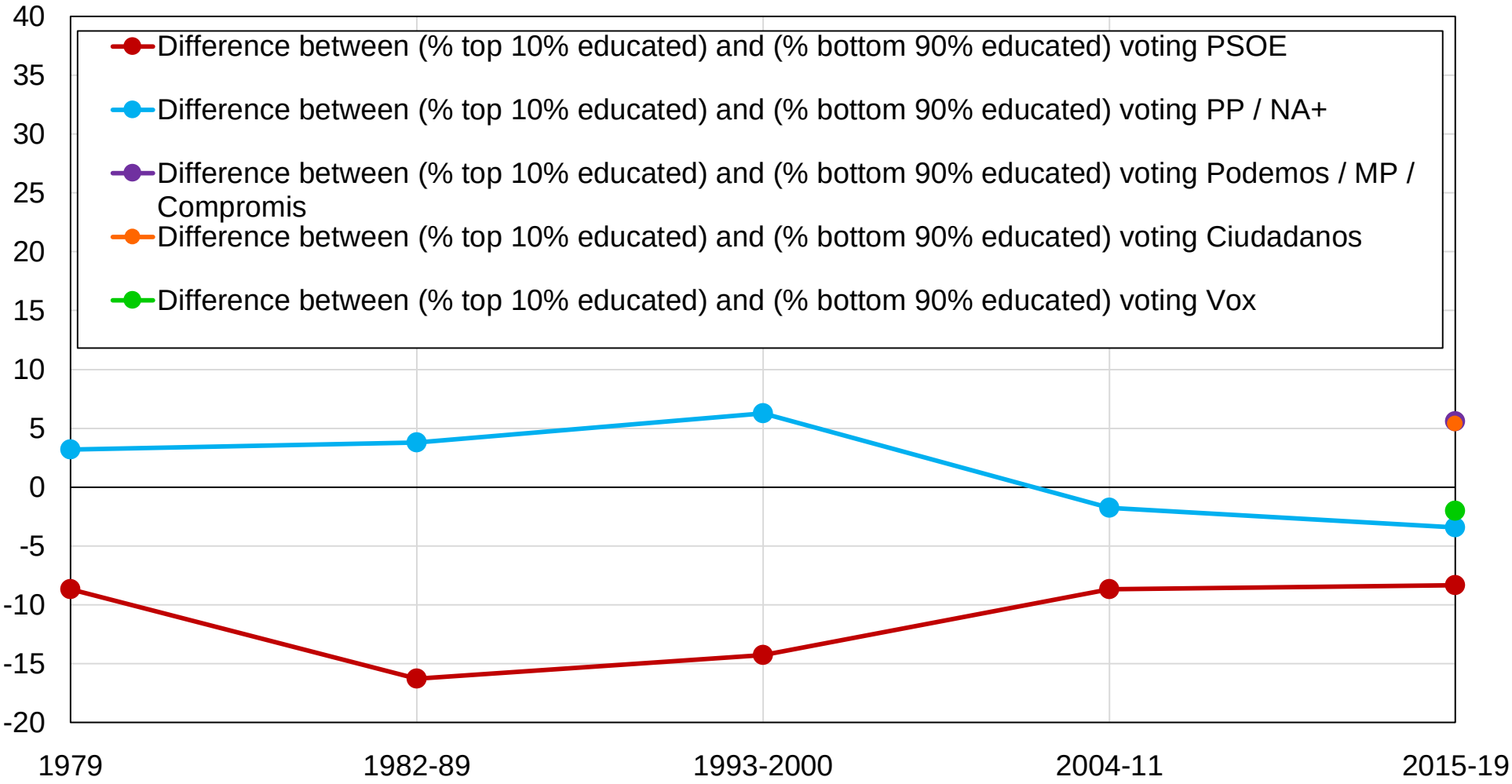
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by VOX by age group.

Figure BC41 - Vote for VOX by age group in Spain, 2019



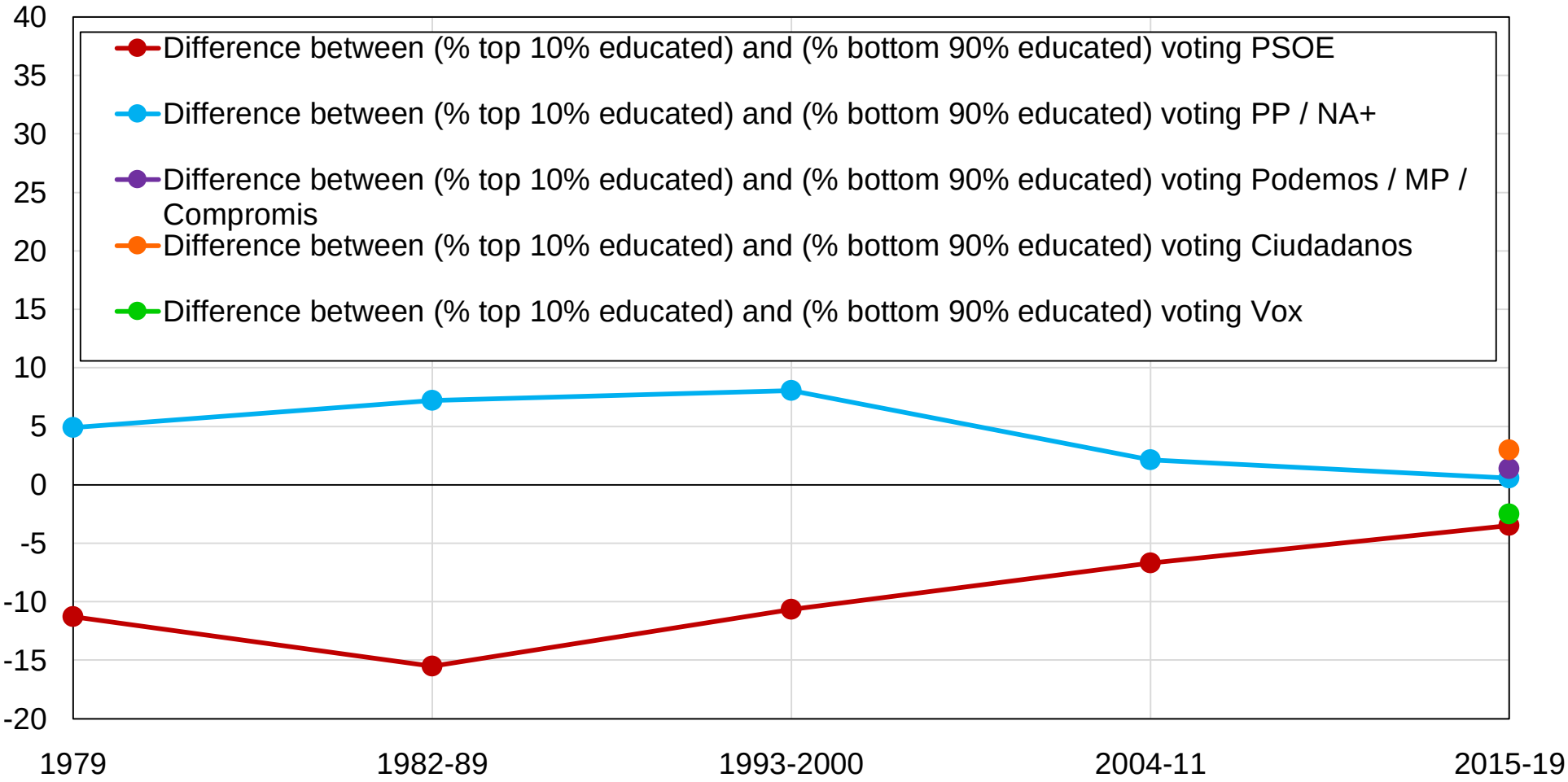
Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys 1979-2019 (general elections).
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by VOX by age group.

Figure BC42 - The education cleavage in Spain



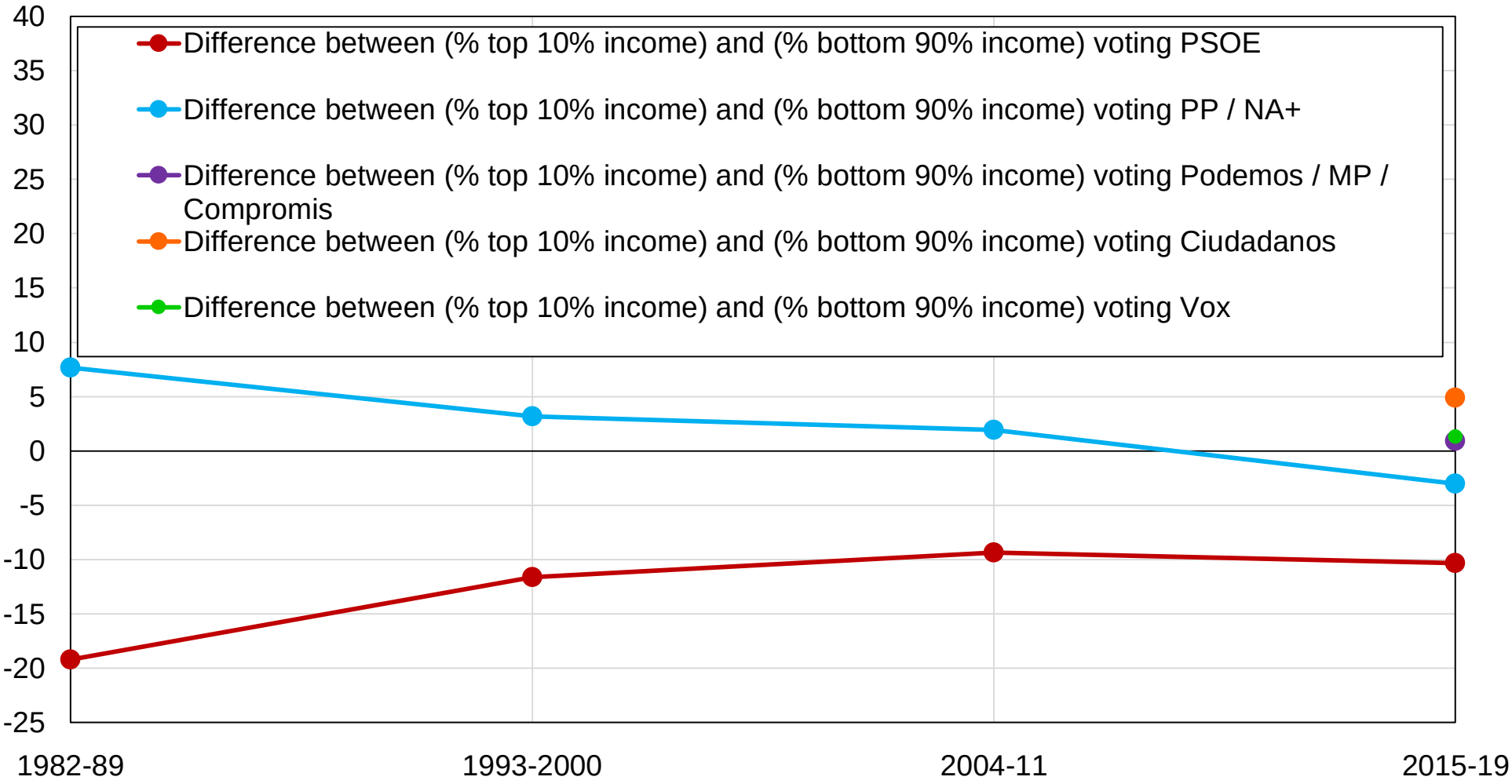
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the bias of highest-educated voters towards PSOE, PP, Podemos, Ciudadanos and Vox.

Figure BC43 - The education cleavage in Spain, after controls



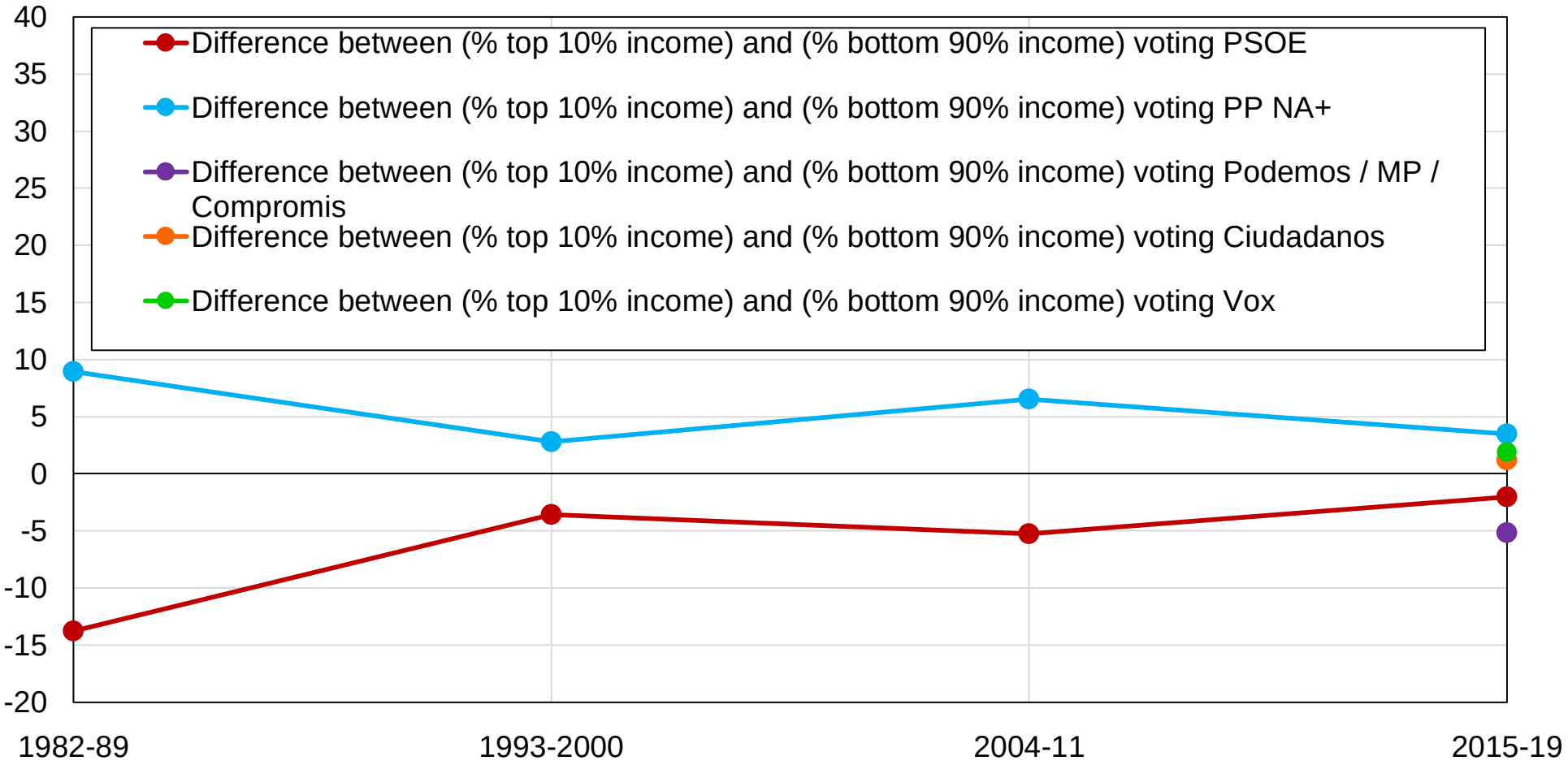
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the bias of highest-educated voters towards PSOE, PP, Podemos, Ciudadanos and Vox after controlling for age, gender, employment and marital status, religious affiliation, region, religiosity, self-employment status, union membership, rural-urban location and sector.

Figure BC44 - The income cleavage in Spain



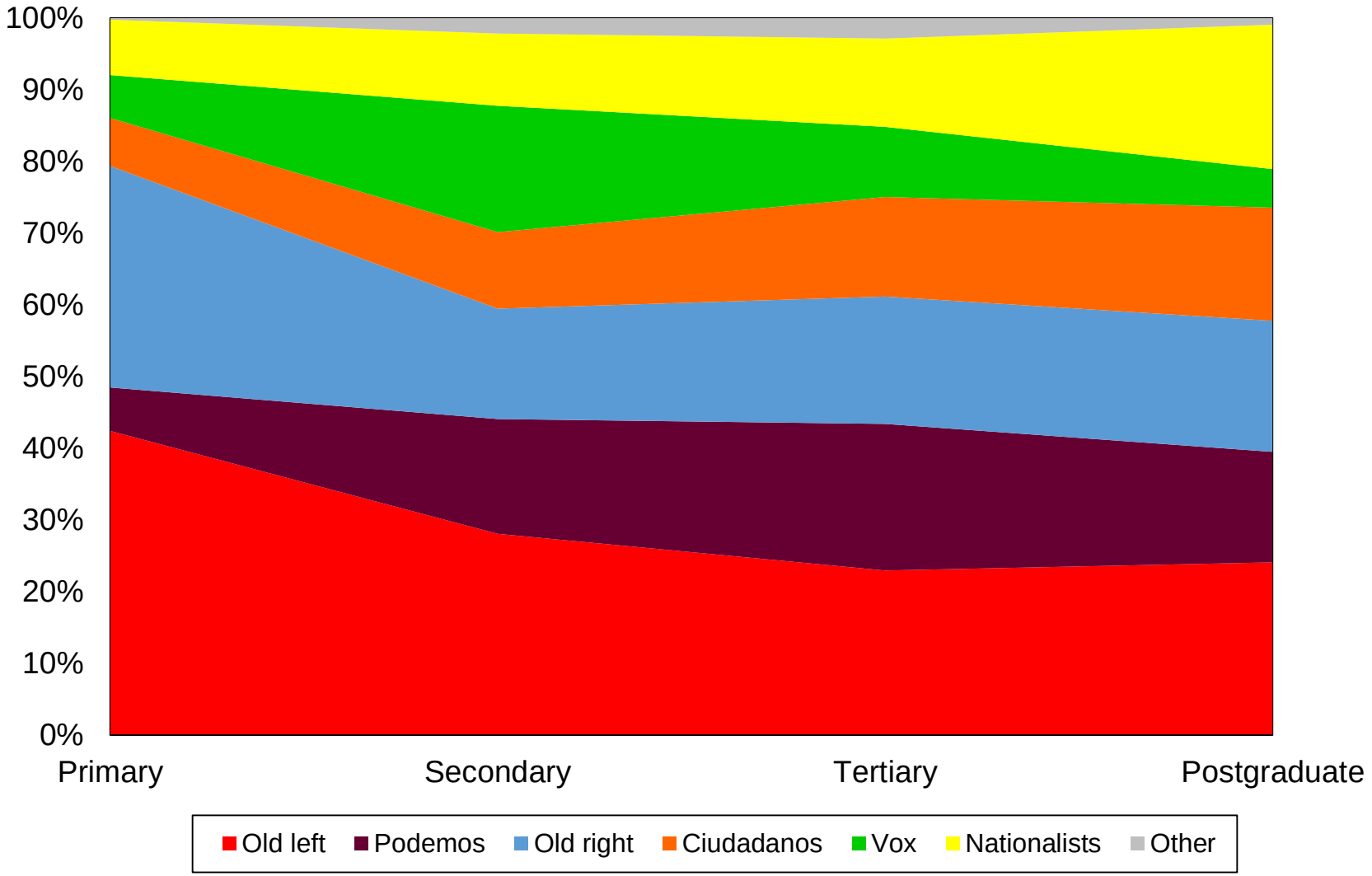
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the bias of top-income voters towards PSOE, PP, Podemos, Ciudadanos and Vox.

Figure BC45 - The income cleavage in Spain, after controls



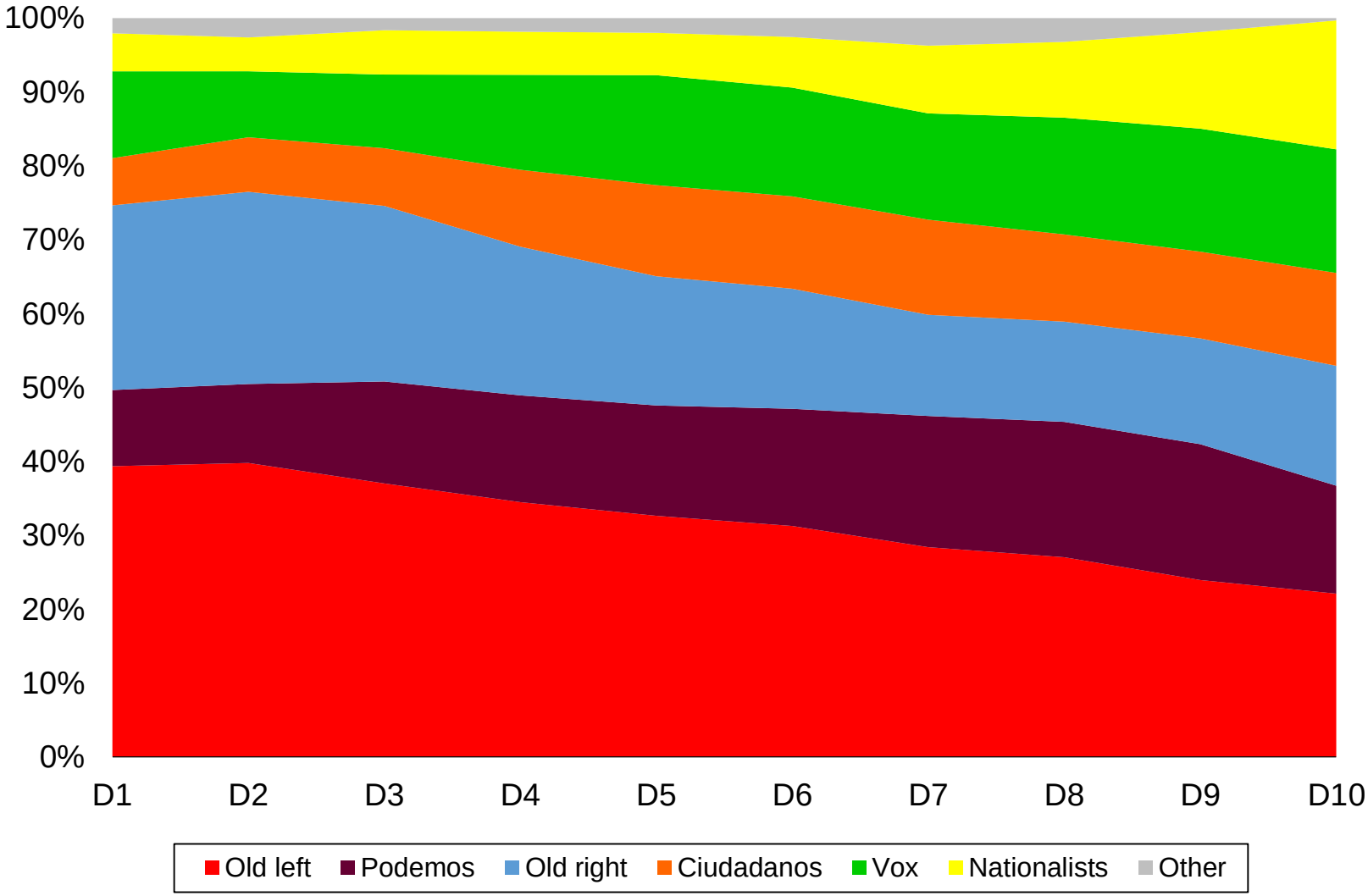
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the bias of top-income voters towards PSOE, PP, Podemos, Ciudadanos and Vox after controlling for age, gender, employment and marital status, religious affiliation, region, religiosity, self-employment status, union membership, rural-urban location and sector.

Figure BC46 - Vote choice by education group in Spain, 2019



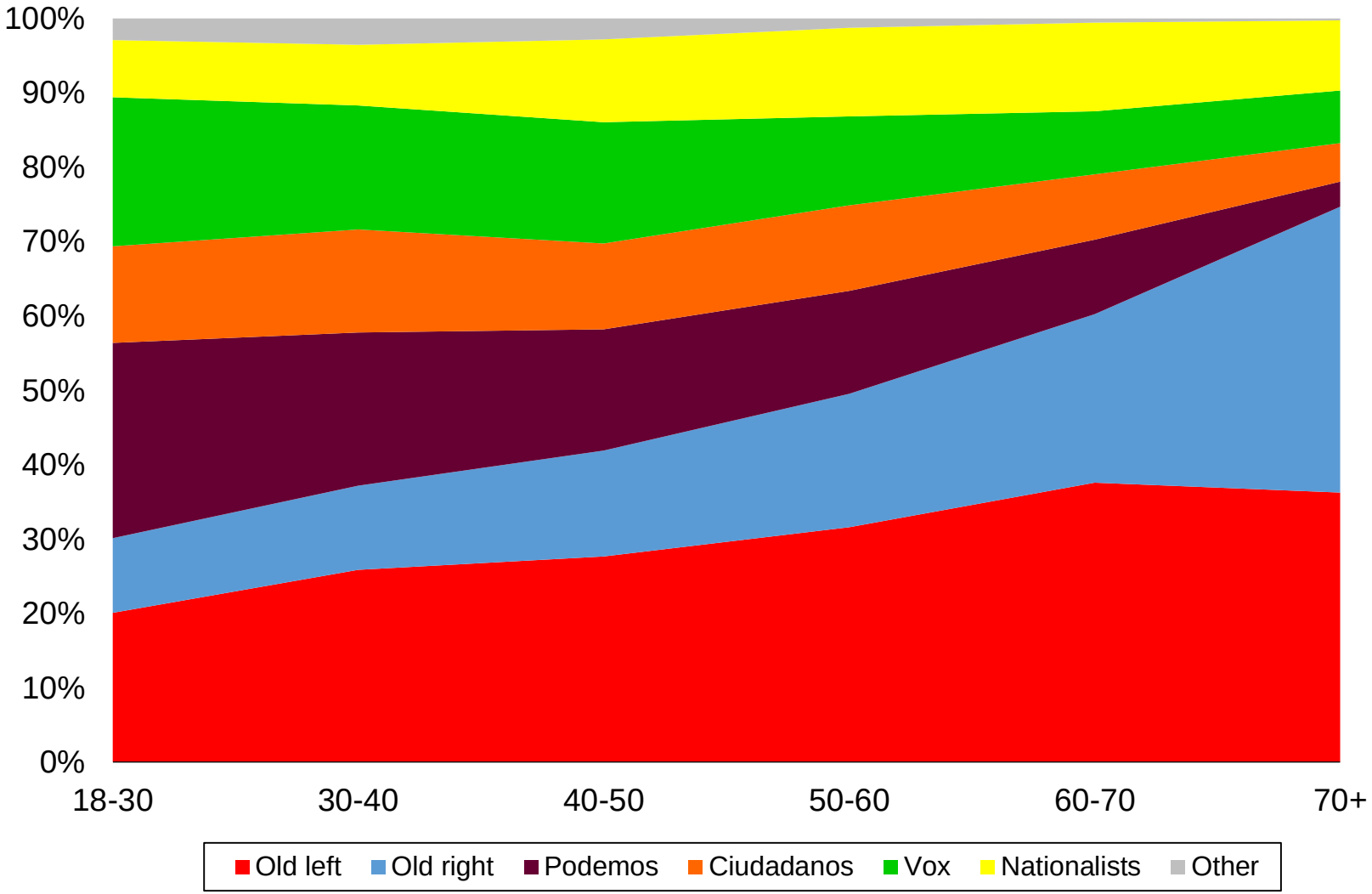
Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys in 2019 (general elections).

Figure BC47 - Vote choice by income group in Spain, 2019



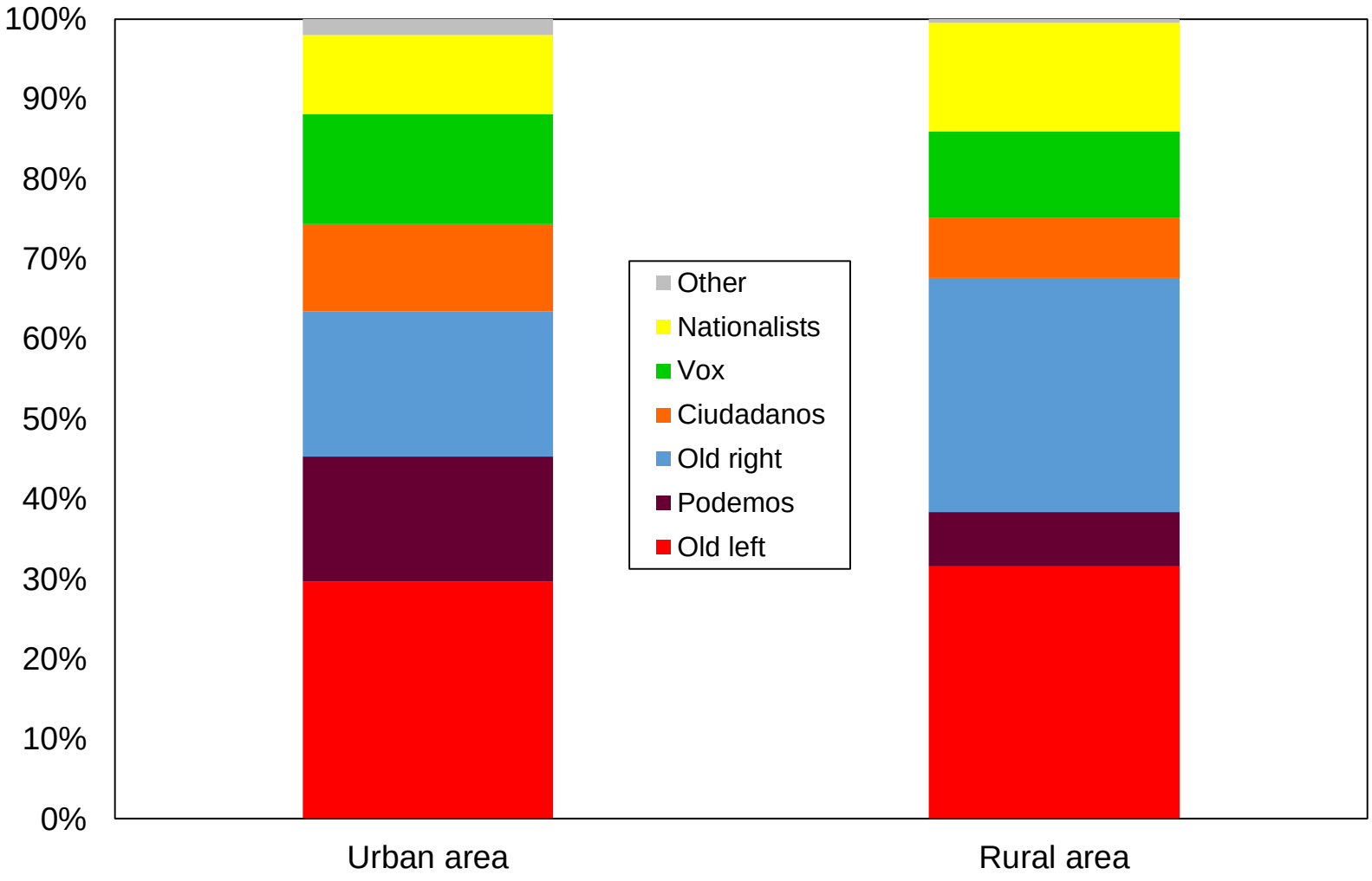
Source: Authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys in 2019 (general elections).

Figure BC48 - Vote choice by age group in Spain, 2019



Source: Authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys in 2019 (general elections).

Figure BC49 - Vote choice by location in Spain, 2019



Source: Authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys in 2019 (general elections).

Figure BC50 - Vote for left-wing parties by level of education in Spain

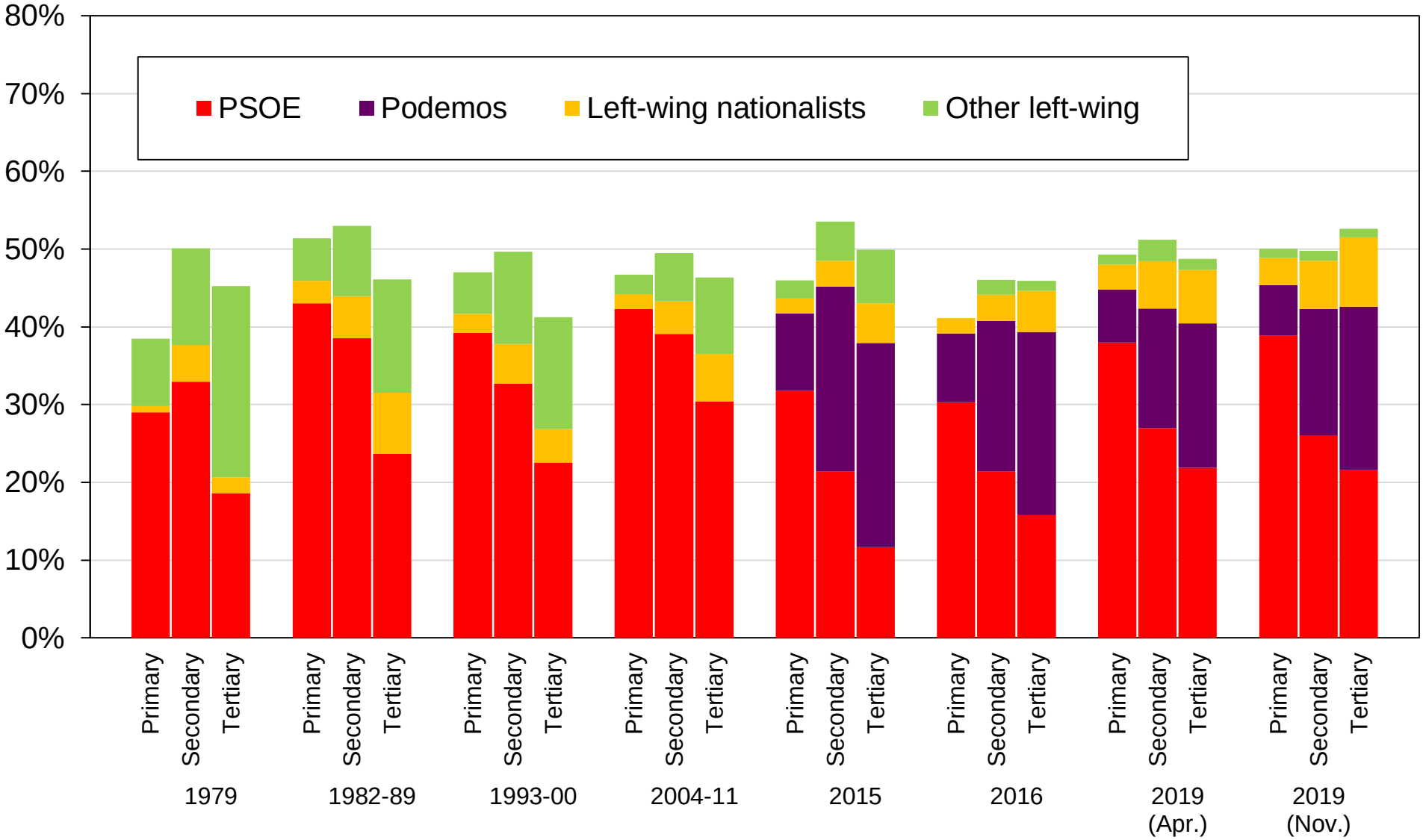


Figure BC51 - Vote for right-wing parties by level of education in Spain

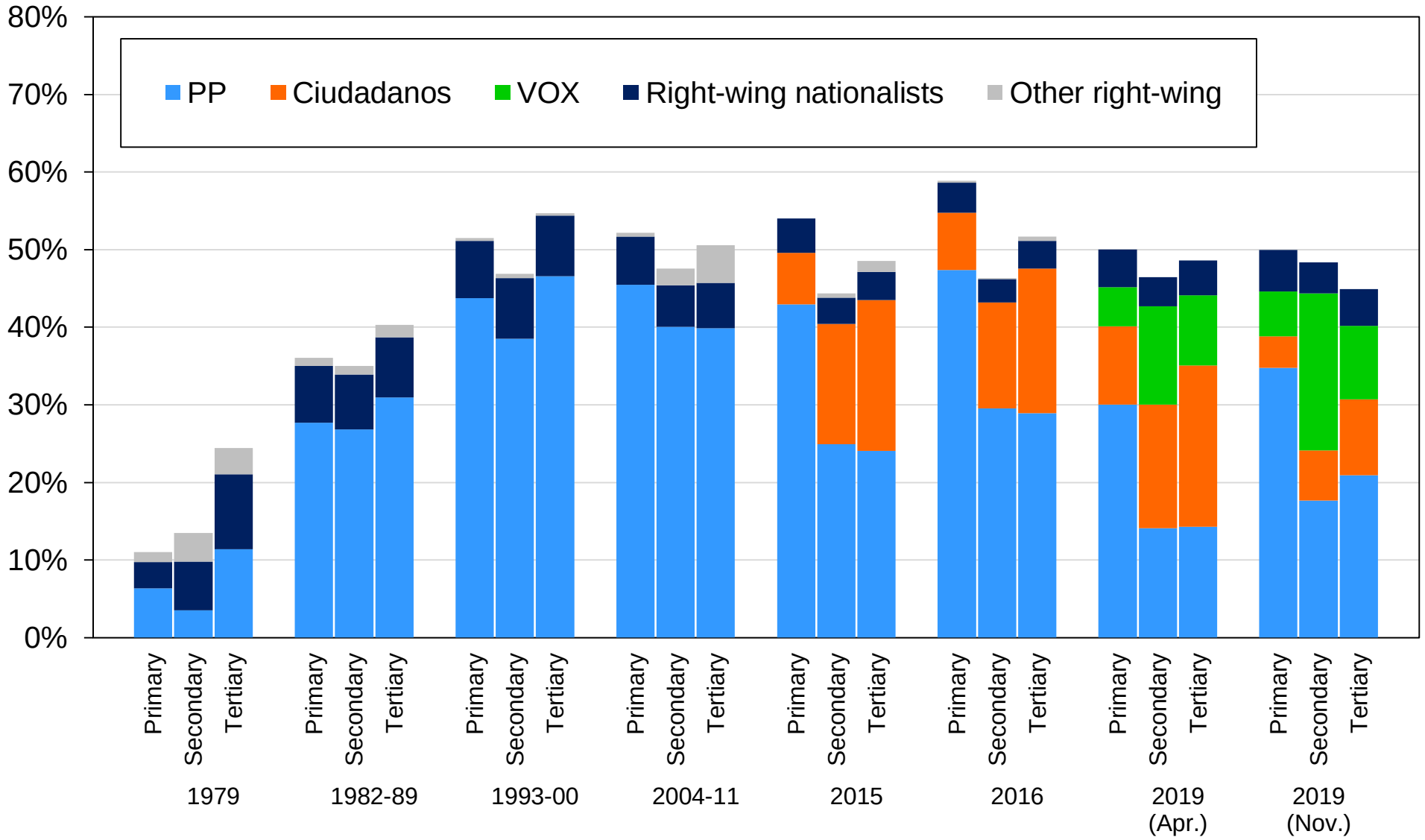


Figure BC52 - Vote for left-wing parties by income group in Spain

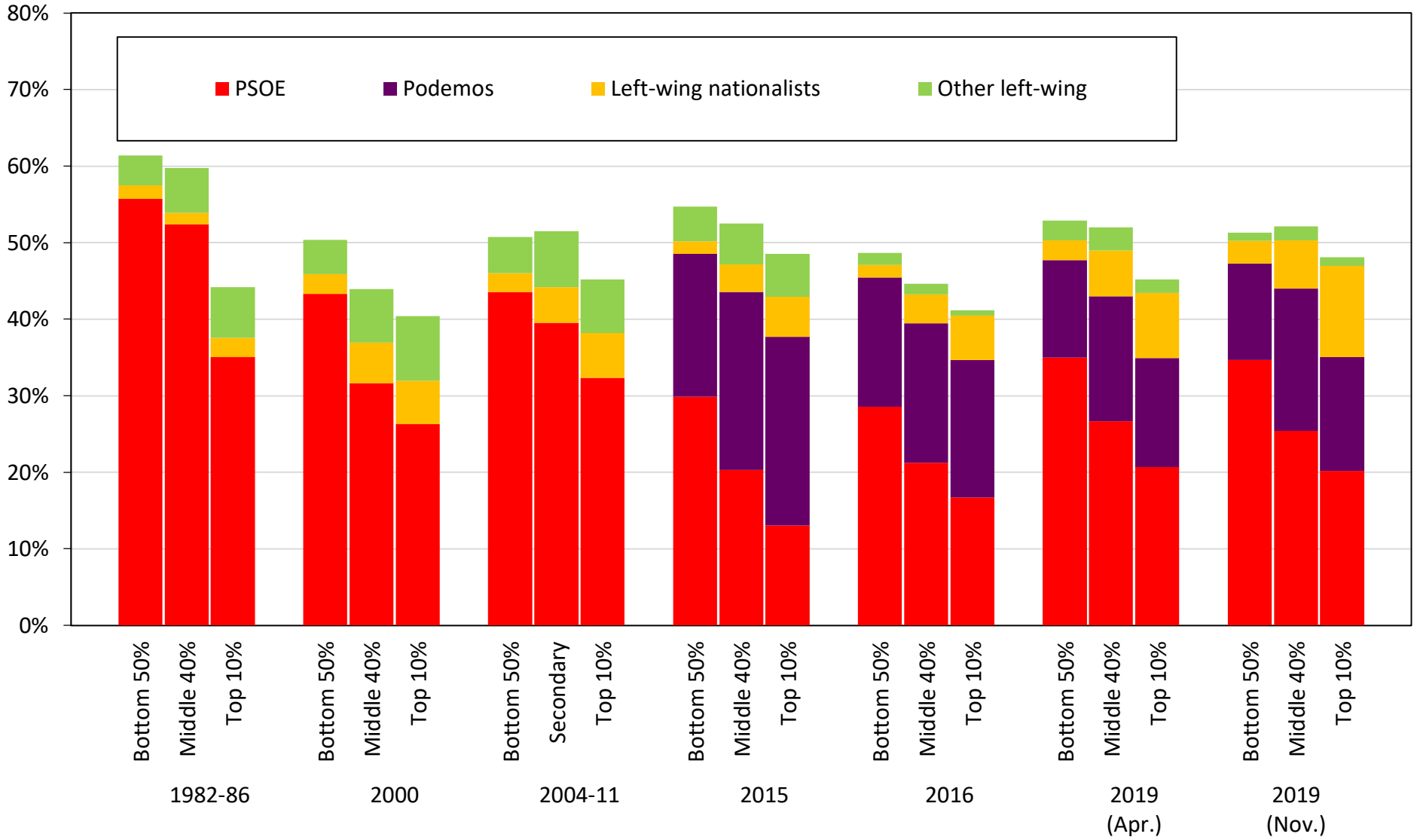


Figure BC53 - Vote for right-wing parties by income group in Spain

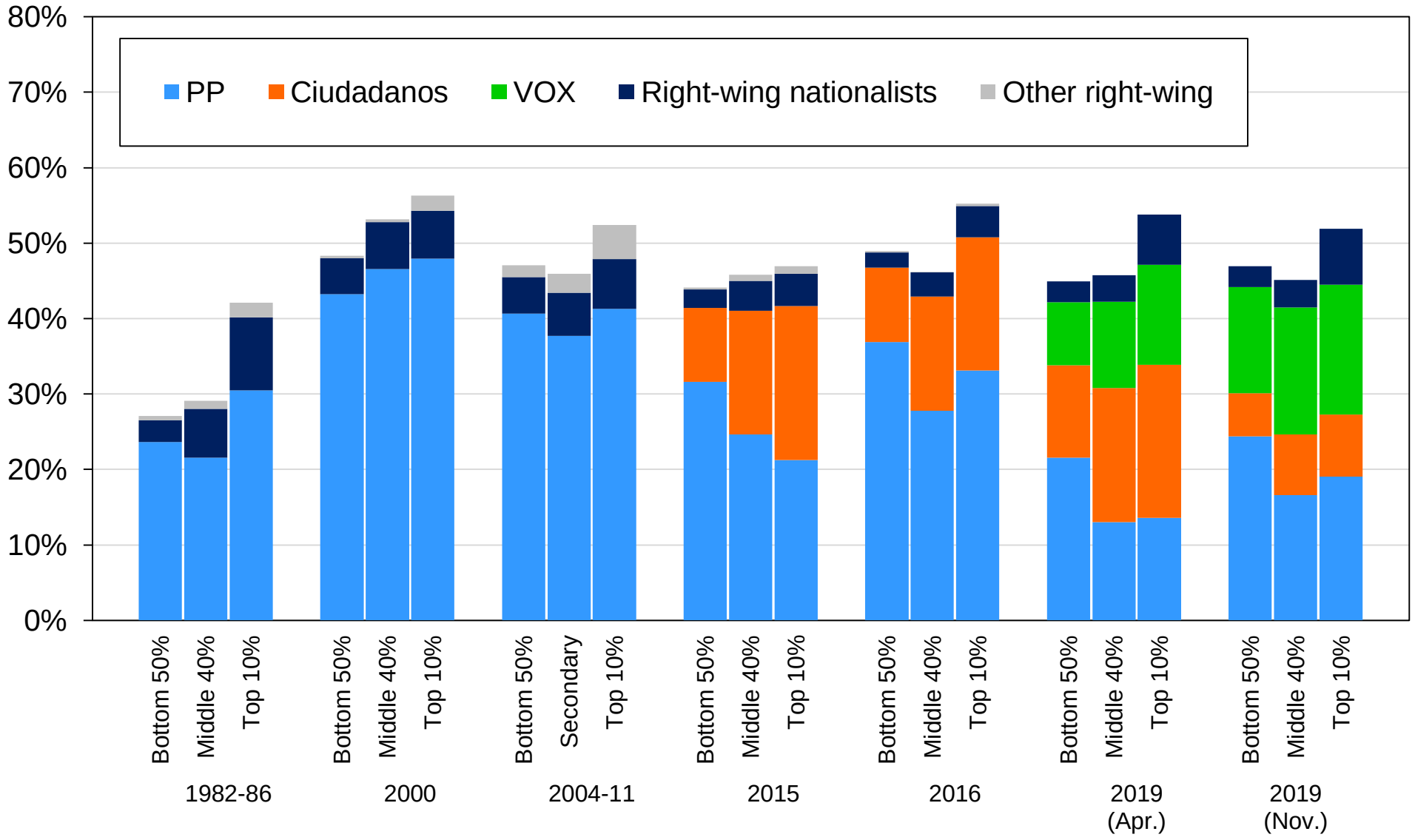


Figure BC54 - Vote for left-wing parties by education group in Spain

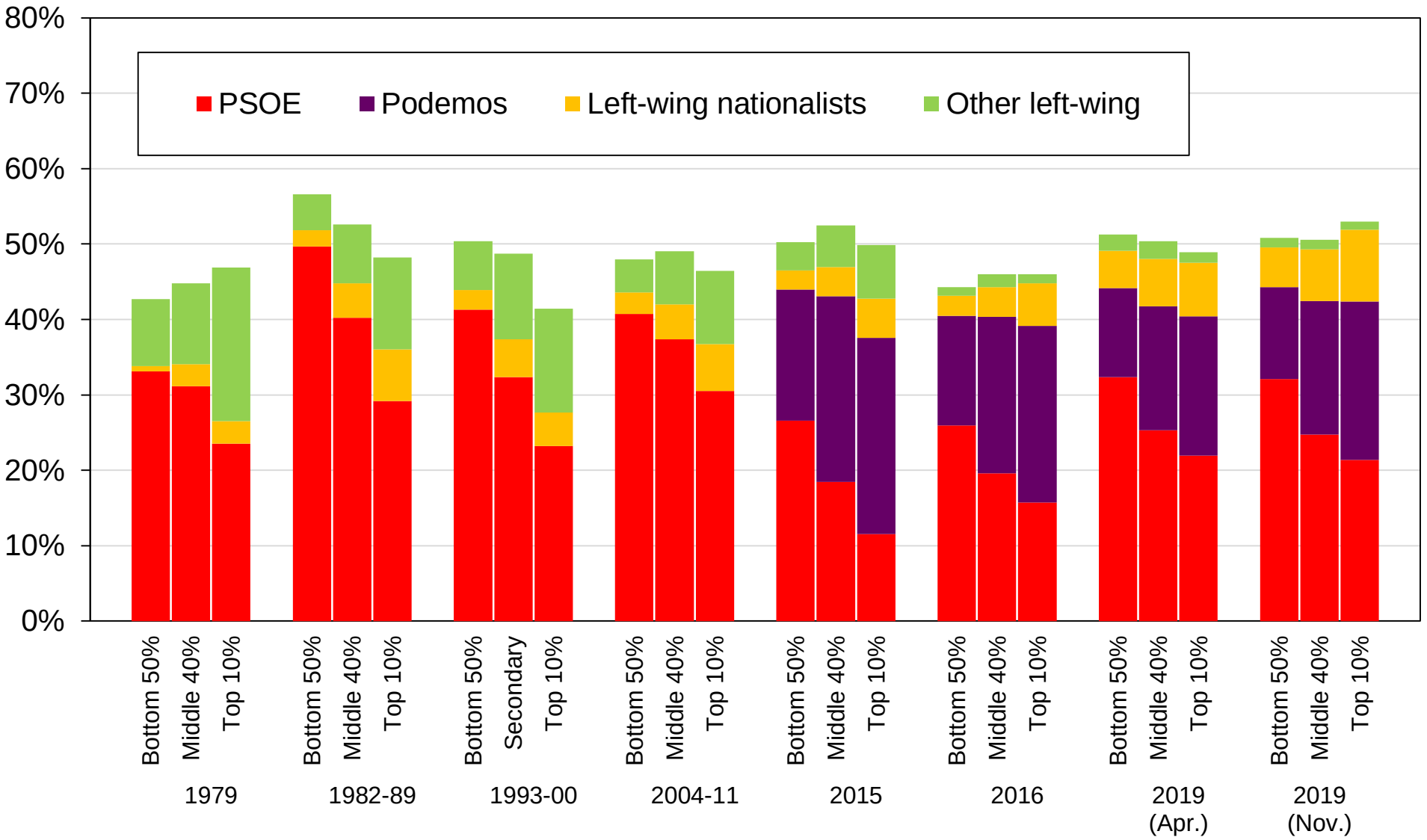


Figure BC55 - Vote for right-wing parties by education group in Spain

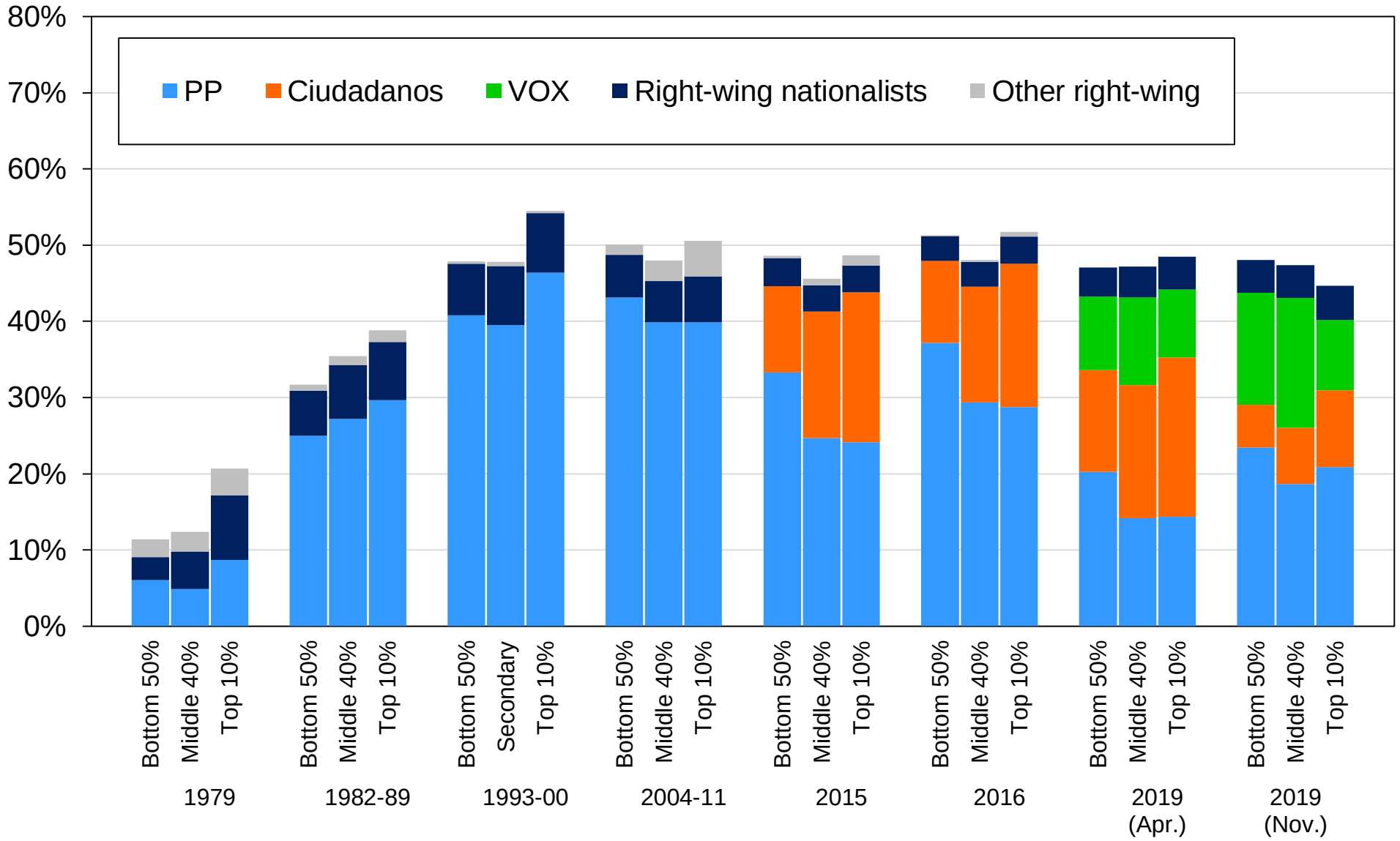
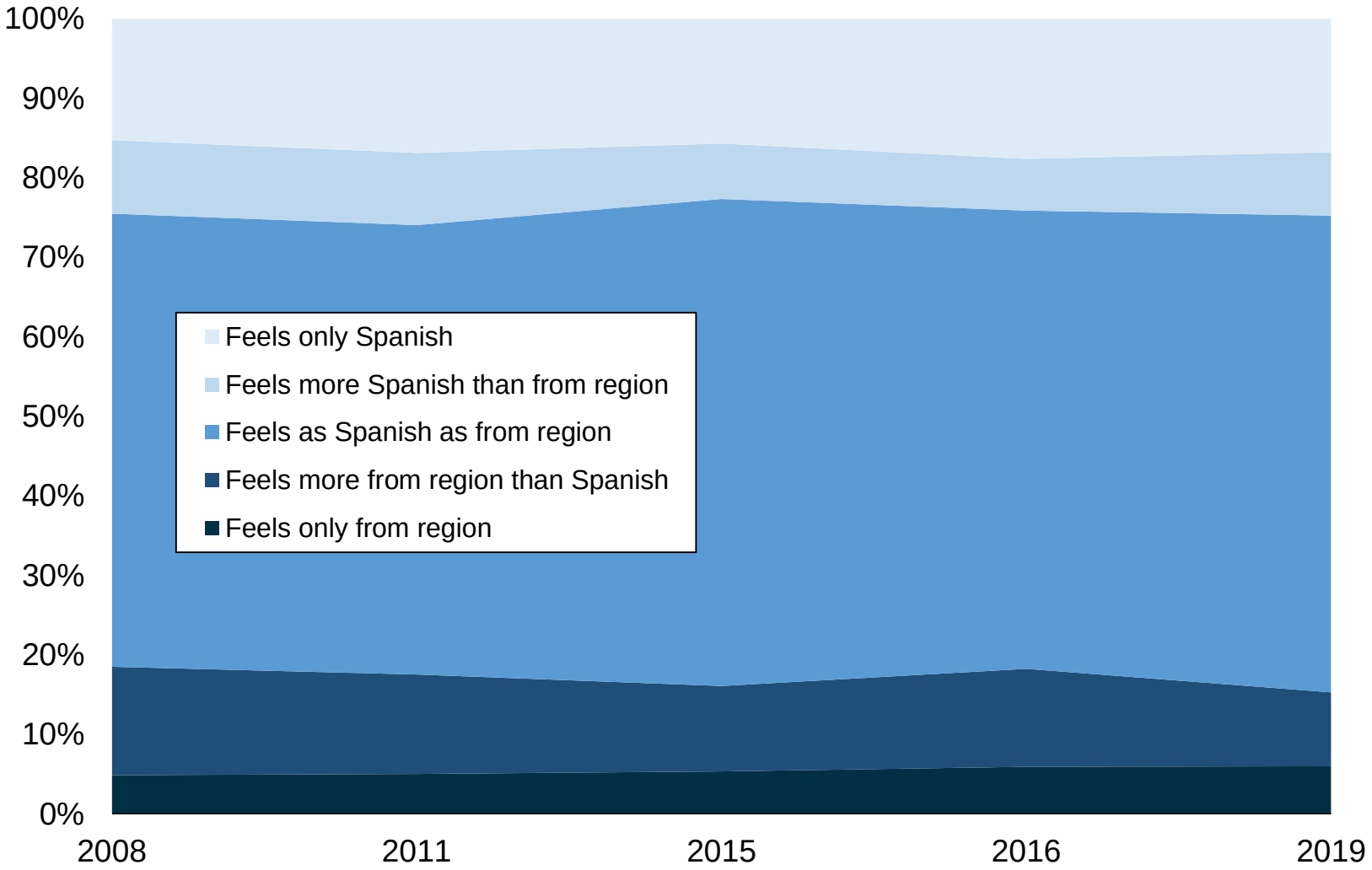
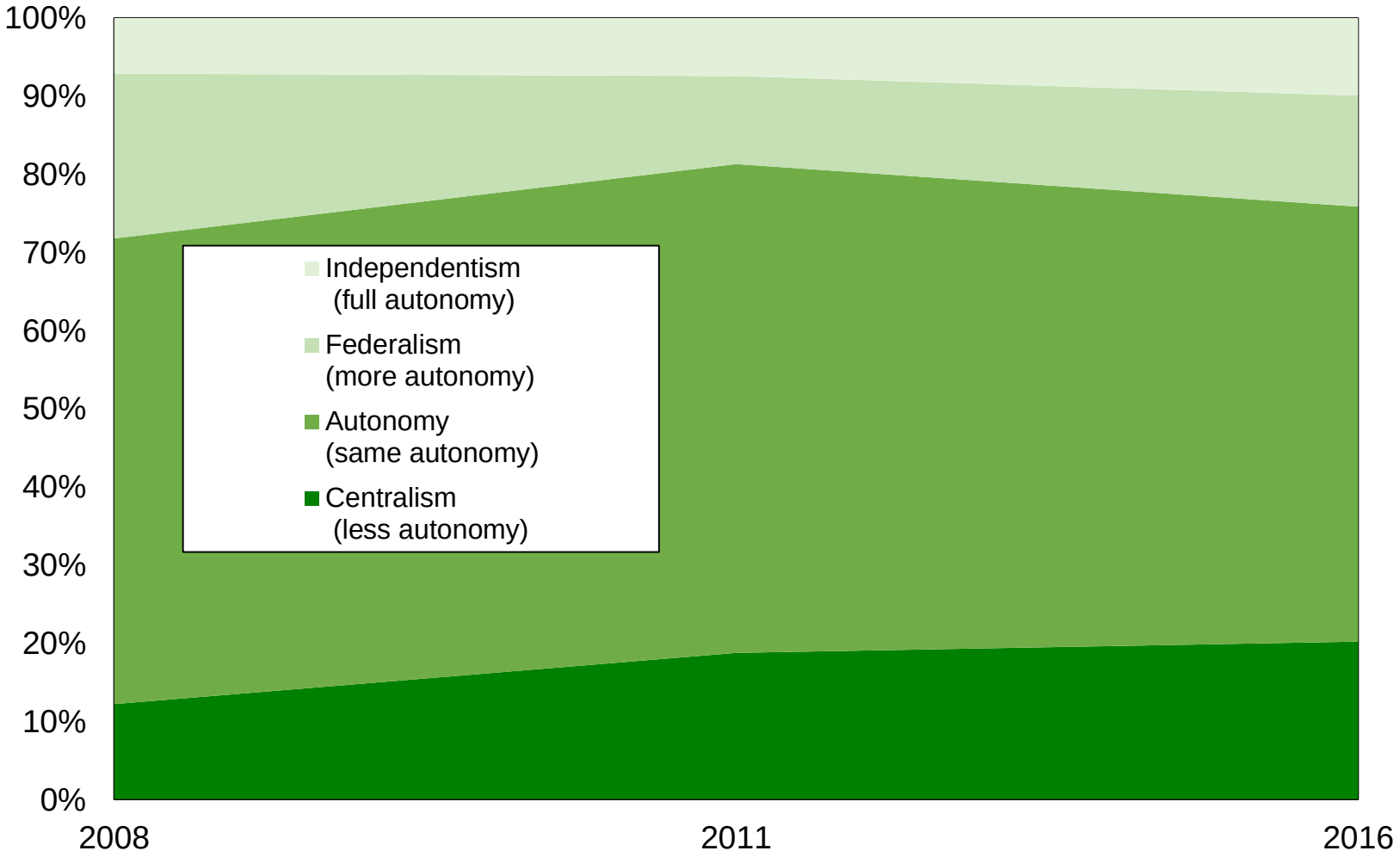


Figure BD1 - National identification in Spain



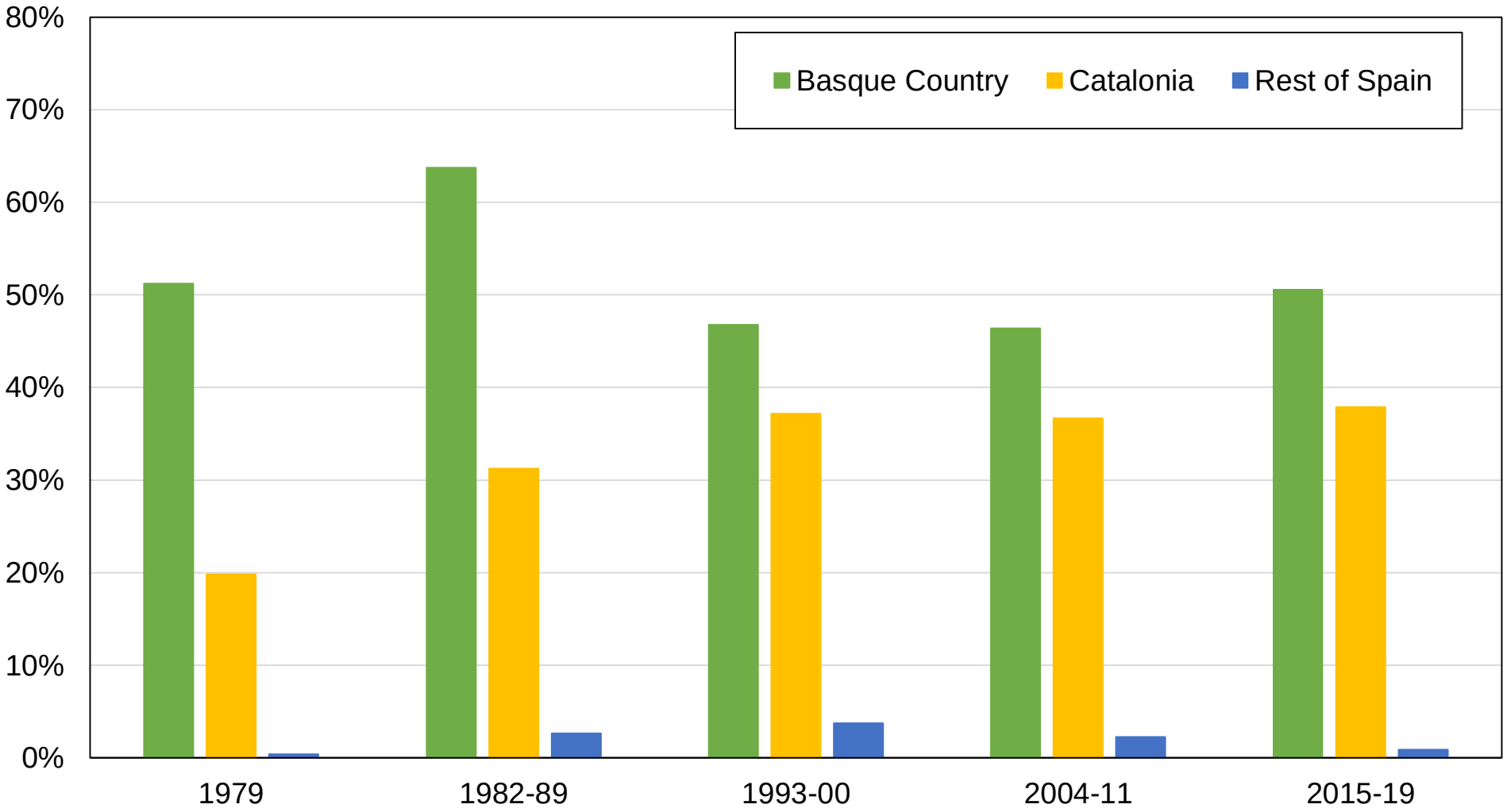
Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys 2008-2019 (general elections).

Figure BD2 - Opinions on the degree of autonomy in Spain



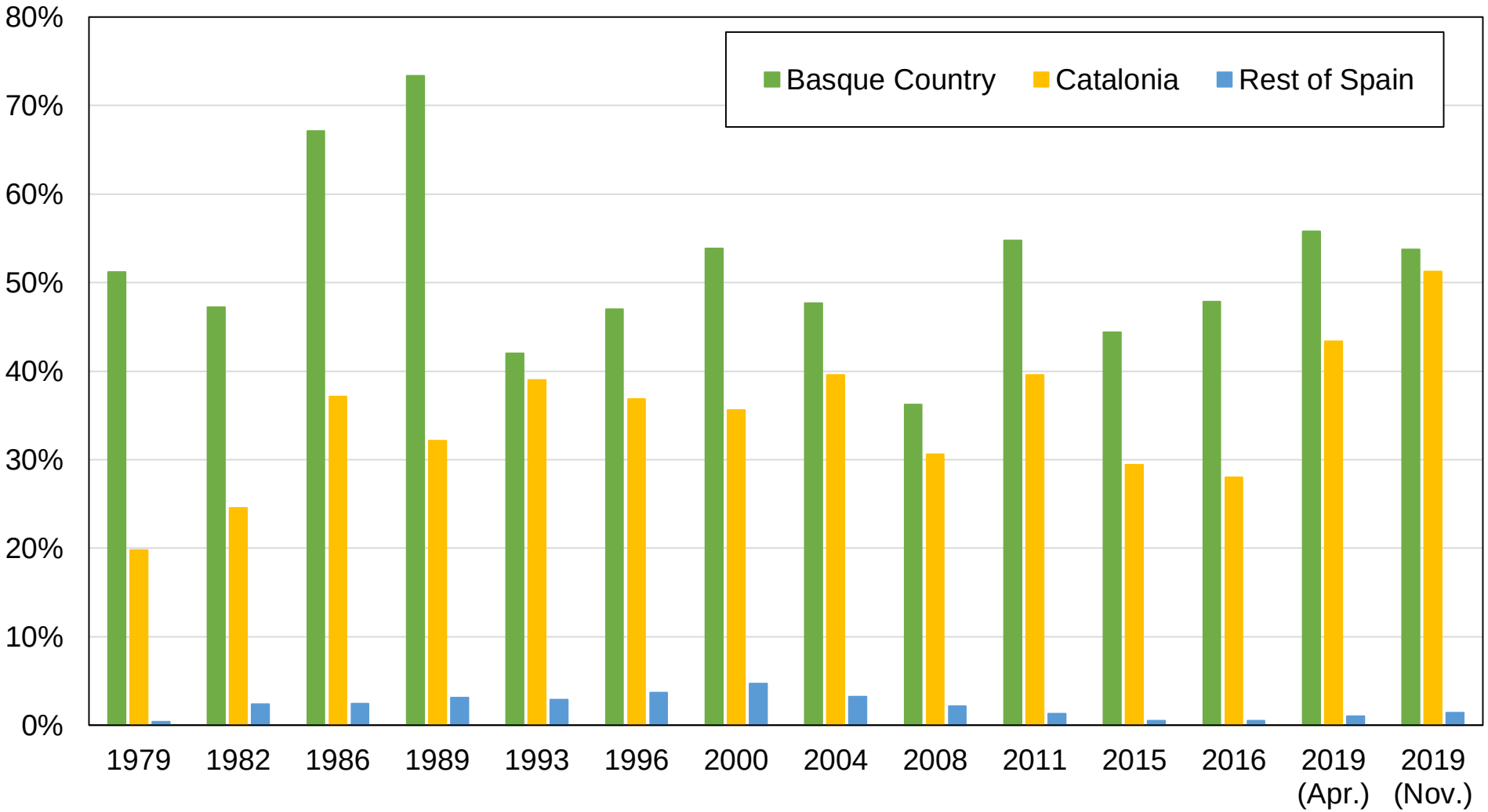
Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys 2008-2016 (general elections).

Figure BD3 - Vote for nationalist parties by region in Spain



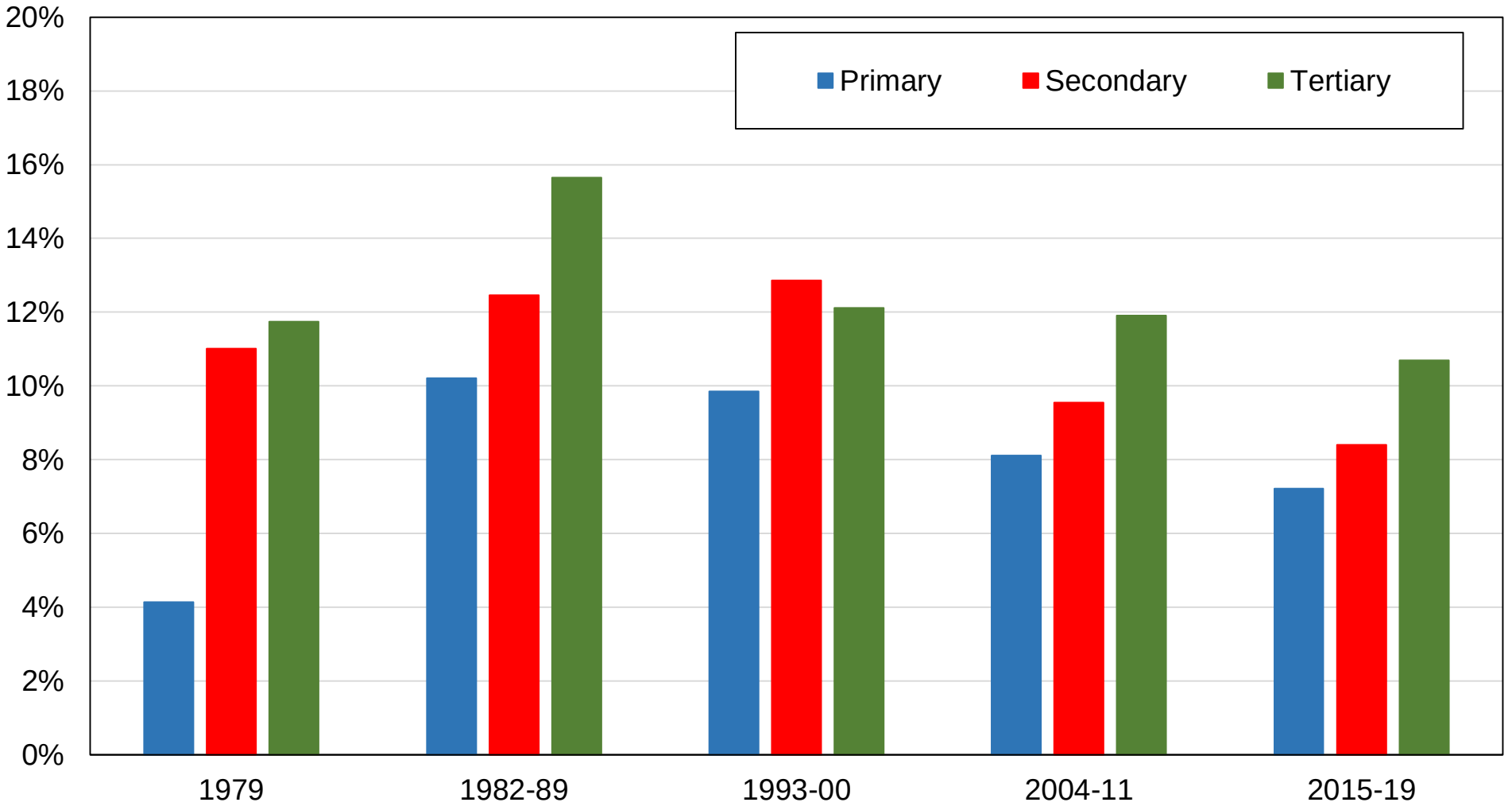
Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys 1979-2019 (general elections).
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by nationalist parties by region.

Figure BD4 - Vote for nationalist parties by region in Spain (yearly)



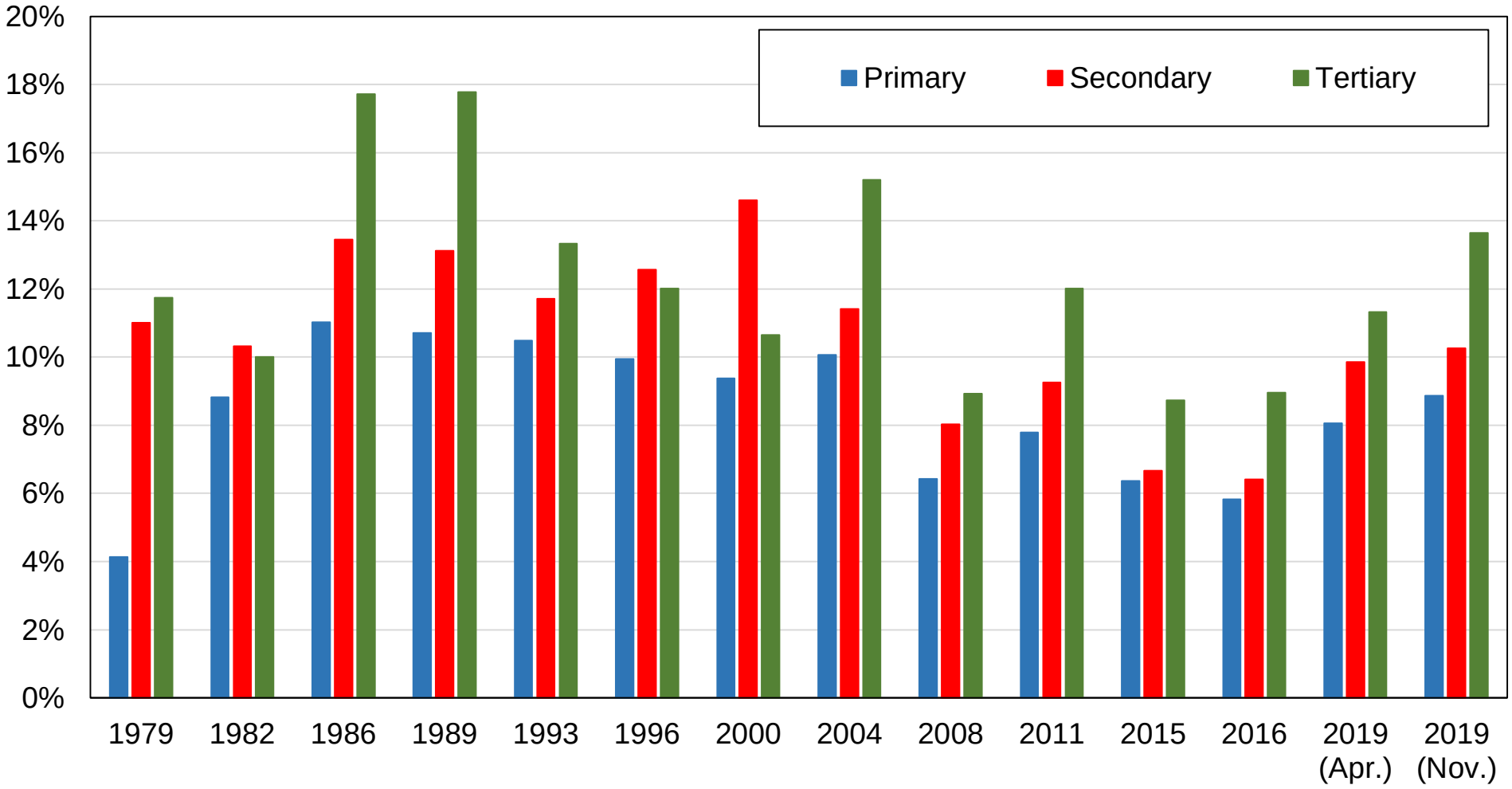
Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys 1979-2019 (general elections).
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by nationalist parties by region.

Figure BD5 - Vote for nationalist parties by education level in Spain



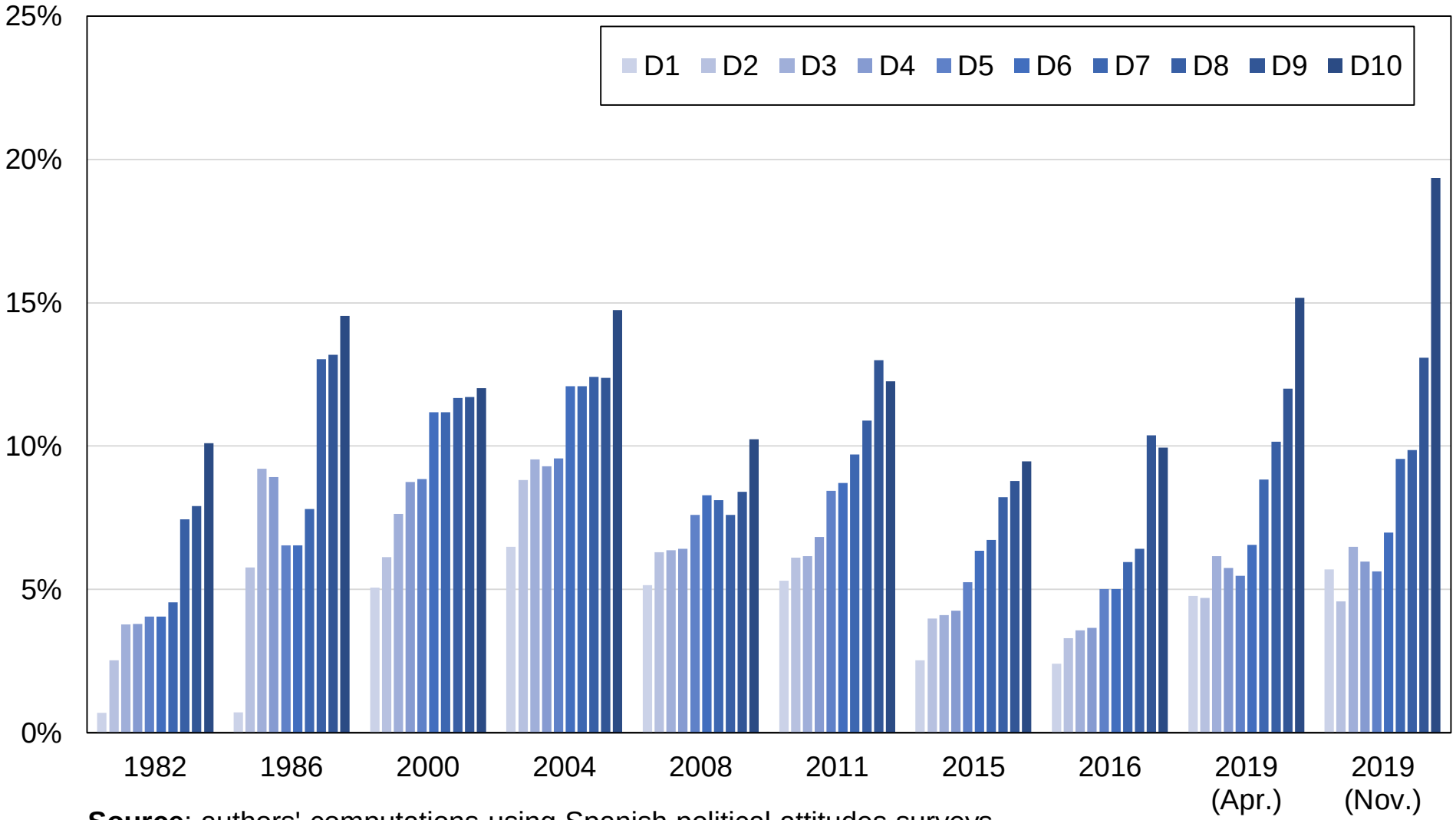
Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys 1979-2019 (general elections).
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by nationalist parties by education level.

Figure BD6 - Vote for nationalist parties by education level in Spain (yearly)



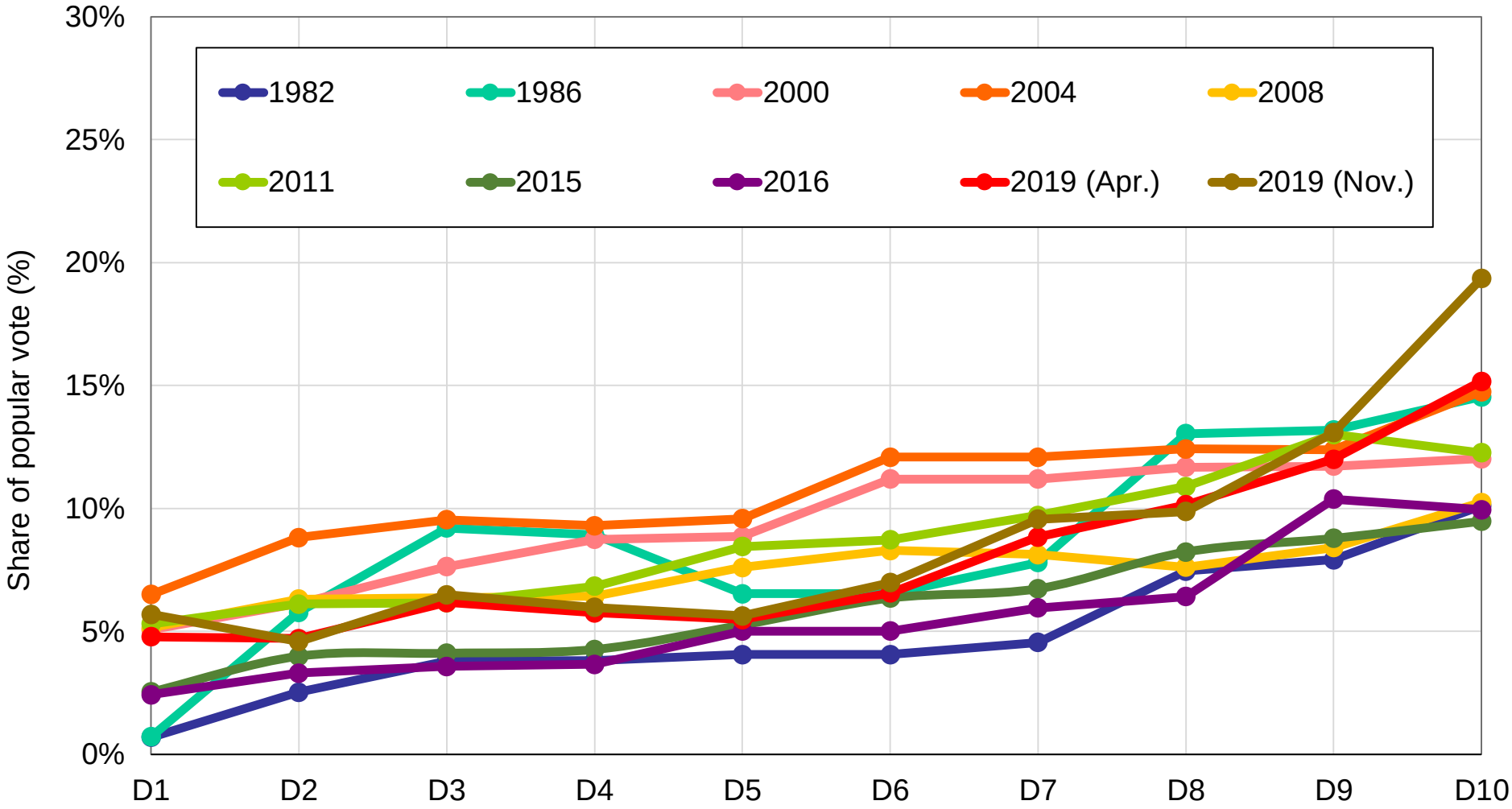
Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys 1979-2019 (general elections).
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by nationalist parties by education level.

Figure BD7 - Vote for nationalist parties by income group in Spain



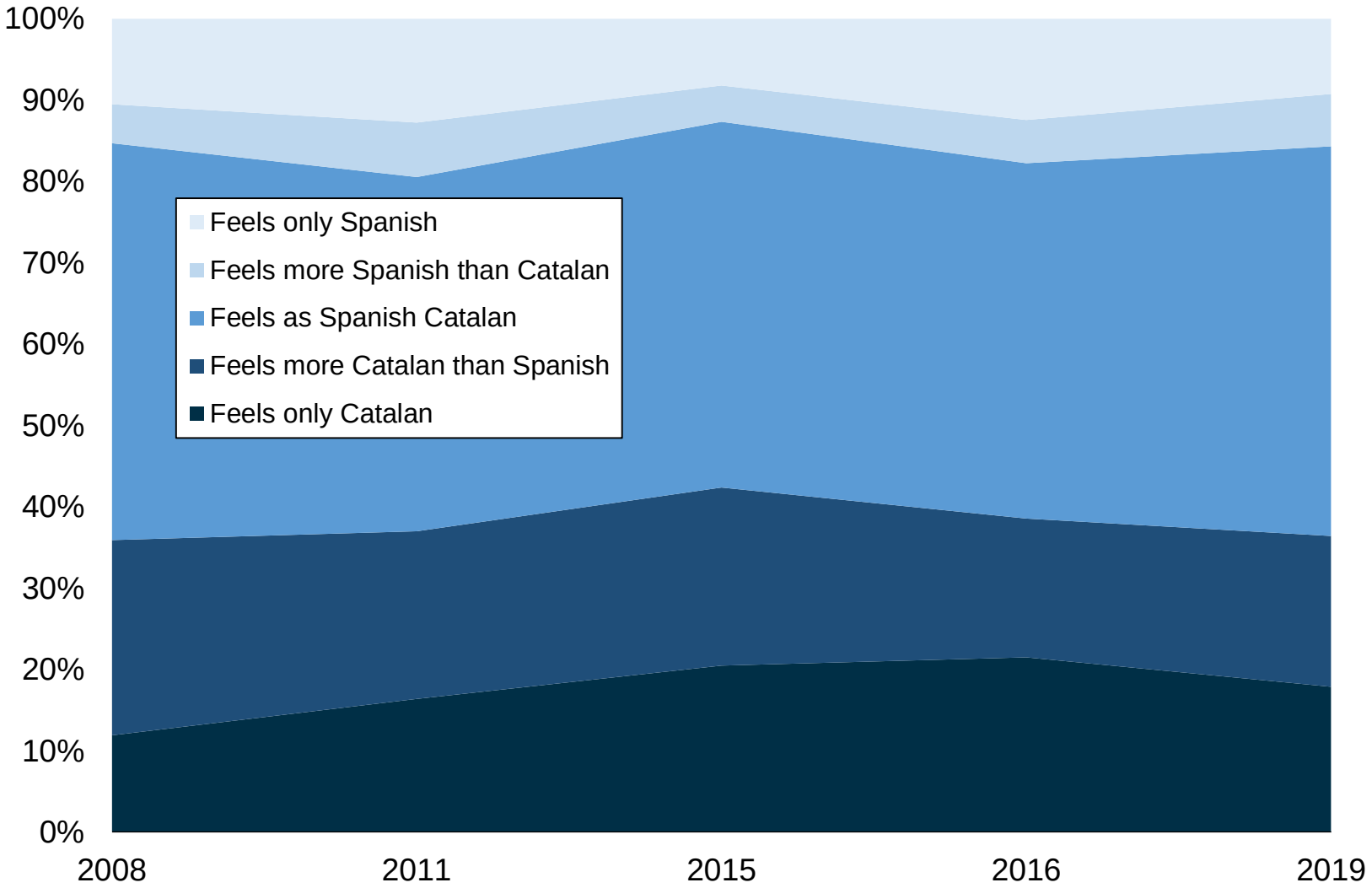
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by nationalist parties by income decile.

Figure BD8 - Vote for nationalist parties by income decile in Spain



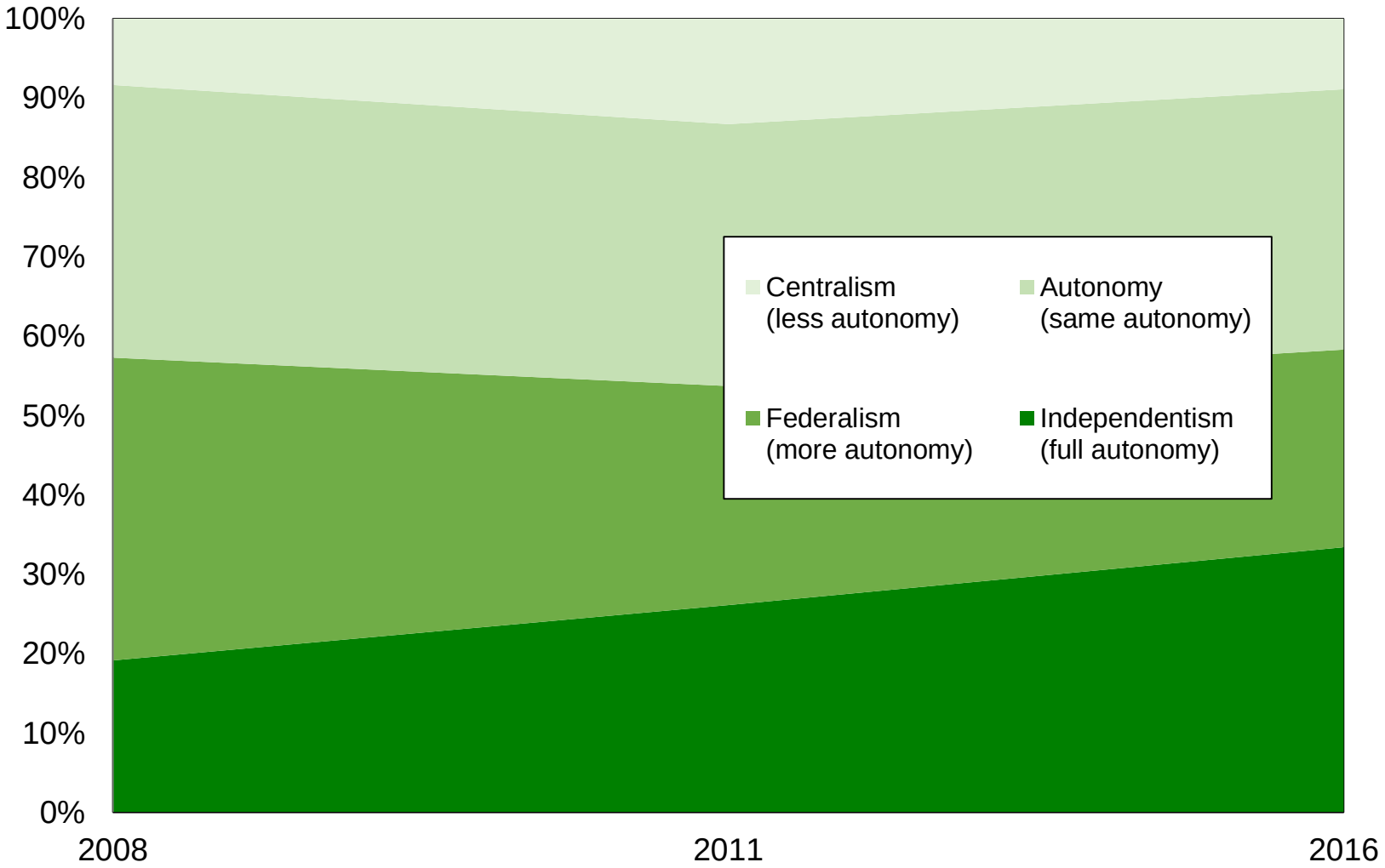
Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys 1982-2019 (general elections).
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by nationalist parties by income decile.

Figure BD9 - National identification in Catalonia



Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys 2008-2019 (general elections).

Figure BD10 - Opinions on the degree of autonomy in Catalonia

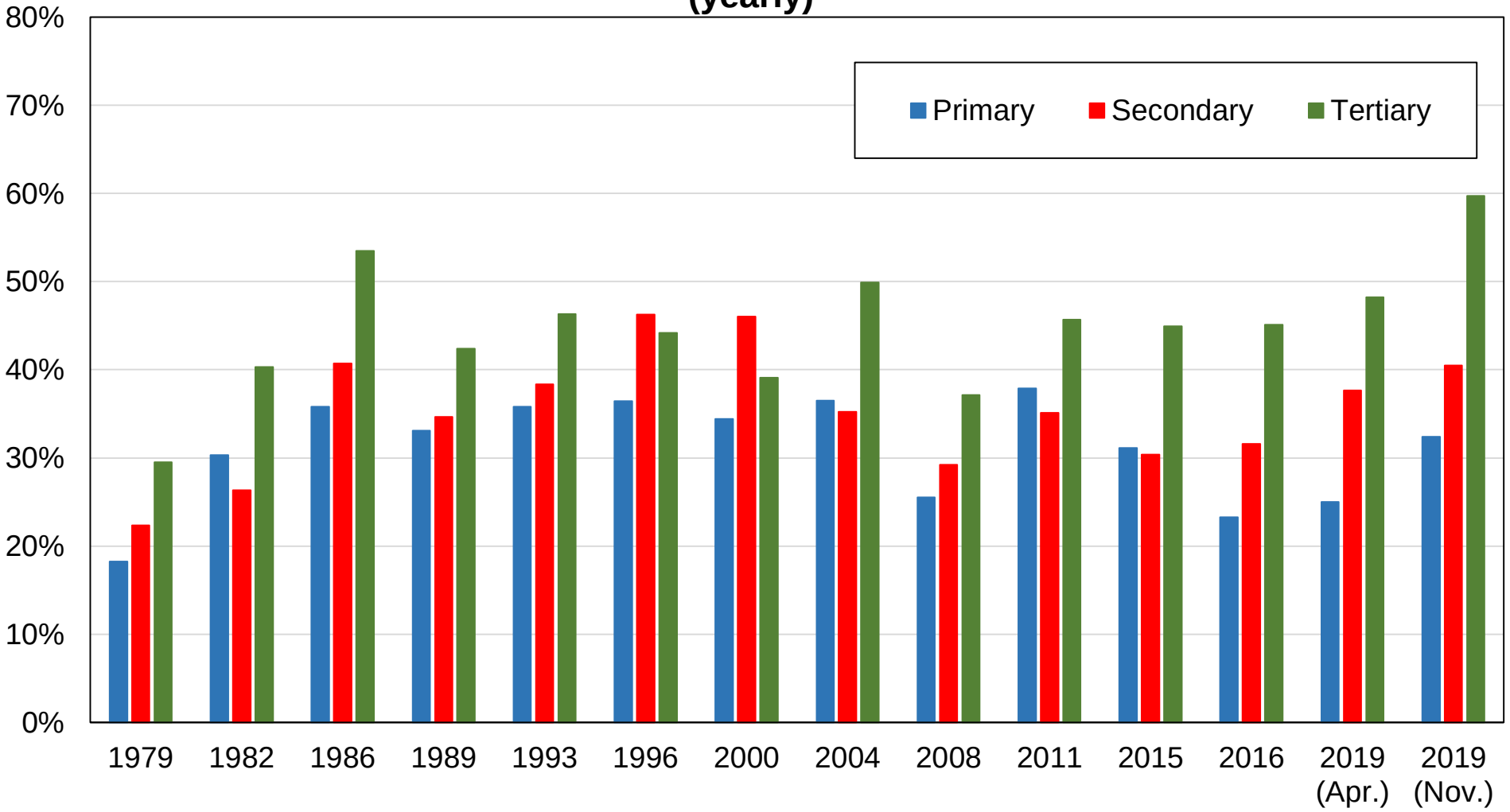


Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys 2008-2016 (general elections).

Figure BD11 - Vote for nationalist parties by education level in Catalonia

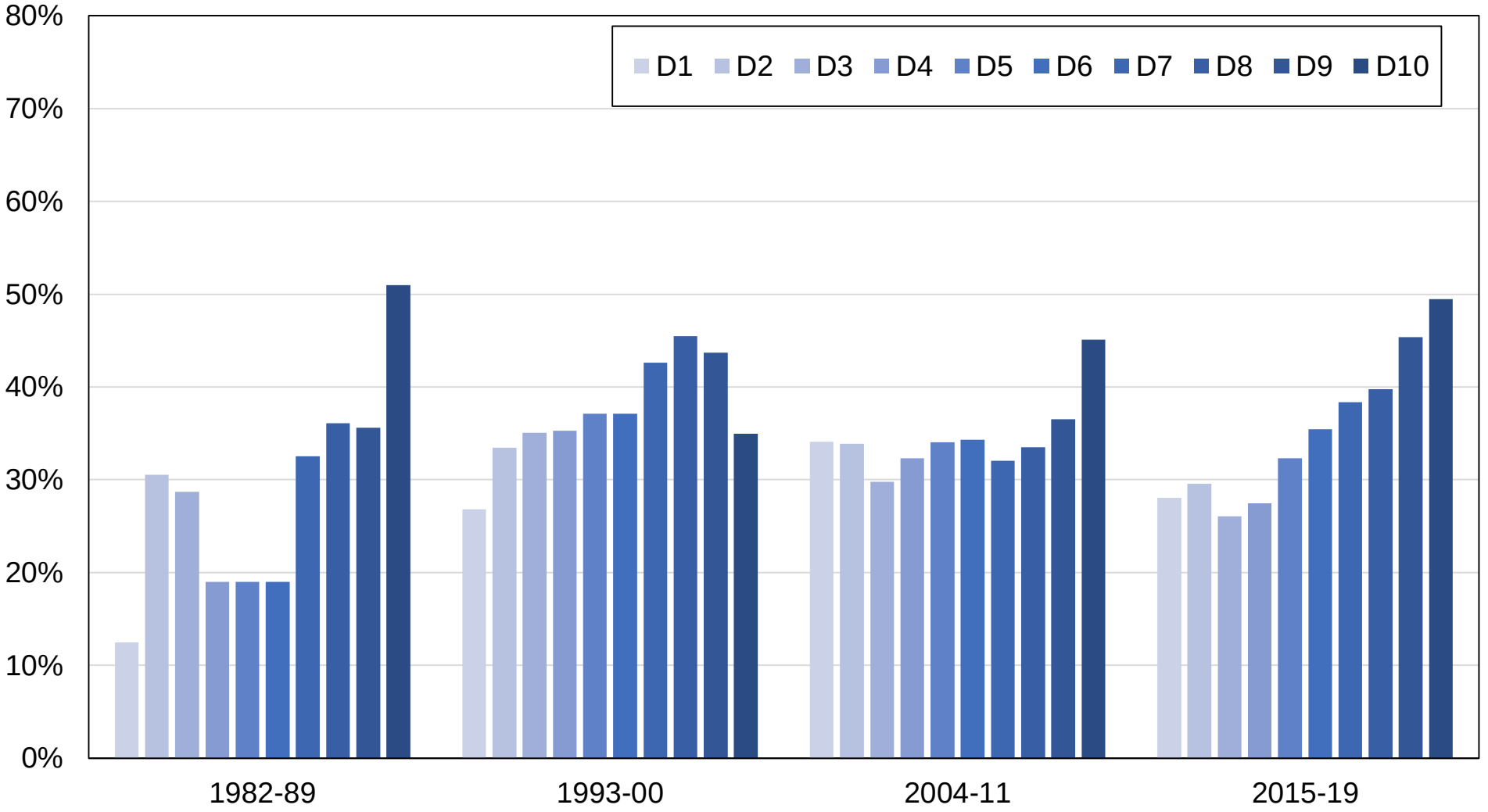
Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys 1979-2019 (general elections).
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by nationalist parties by education level.

Figure BD12 - Vote for nationalist parties by education level in Catalonia (yearly)



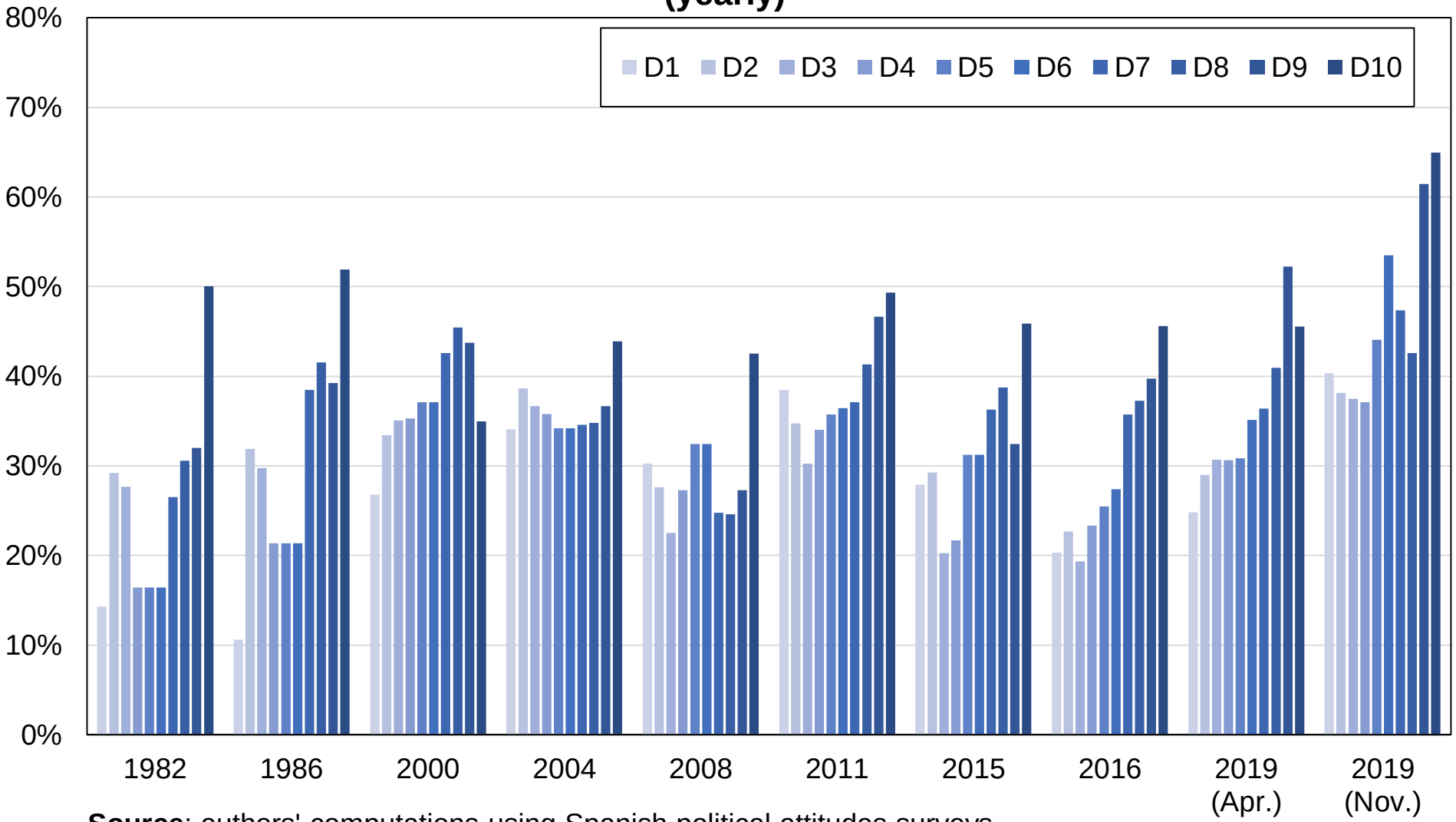
Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys 1979-2019 (general elections).
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by nationalist parties by education level.

Figure BD13 - Vote for nationalist parties by income decile in Catalonia



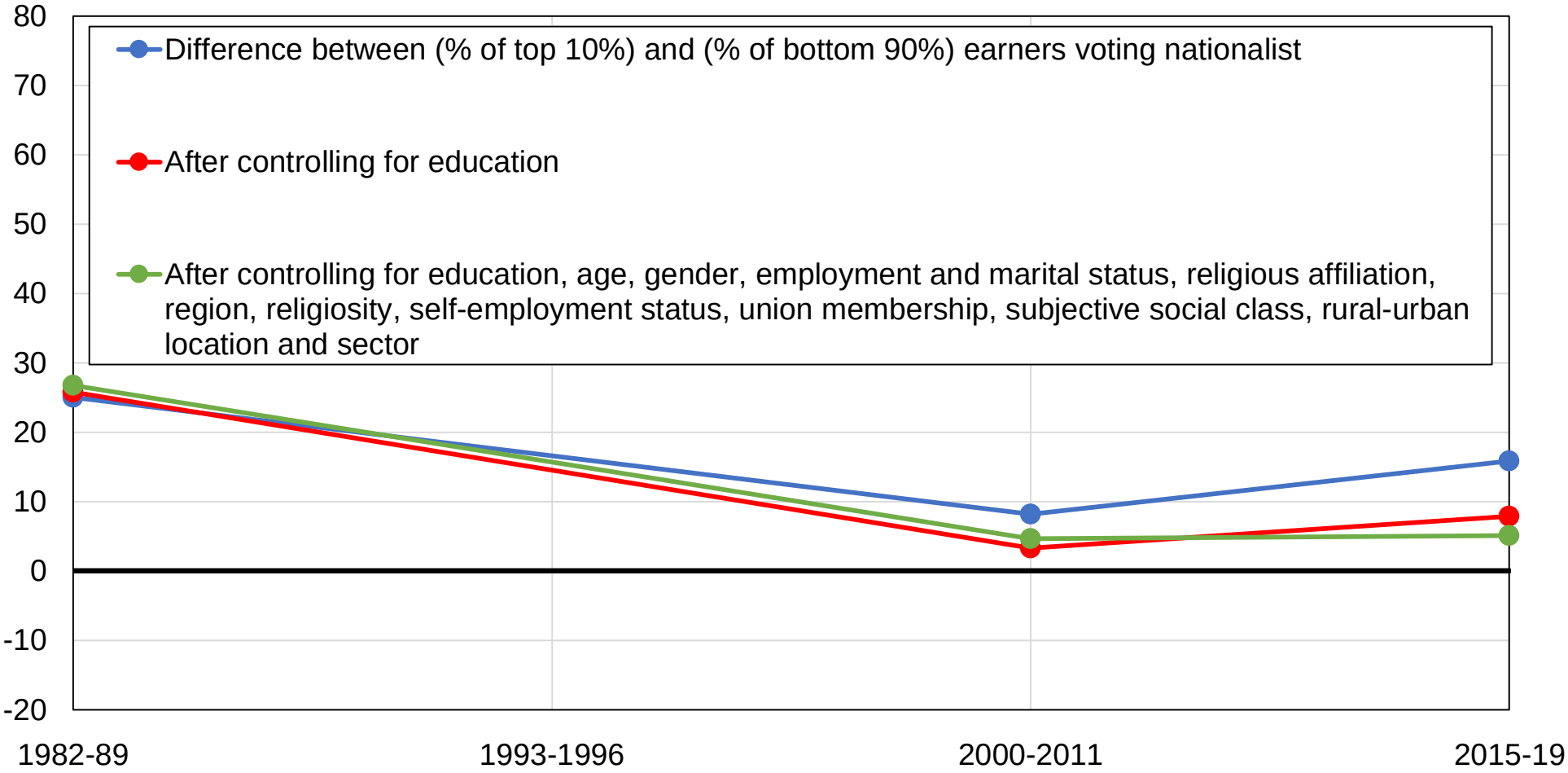
Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys 1982-2019 (general elections).
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by nationalist parties by income decile.

Figure BD14 - Vote for nationalist parties by income decile in Catalonia (yearly)



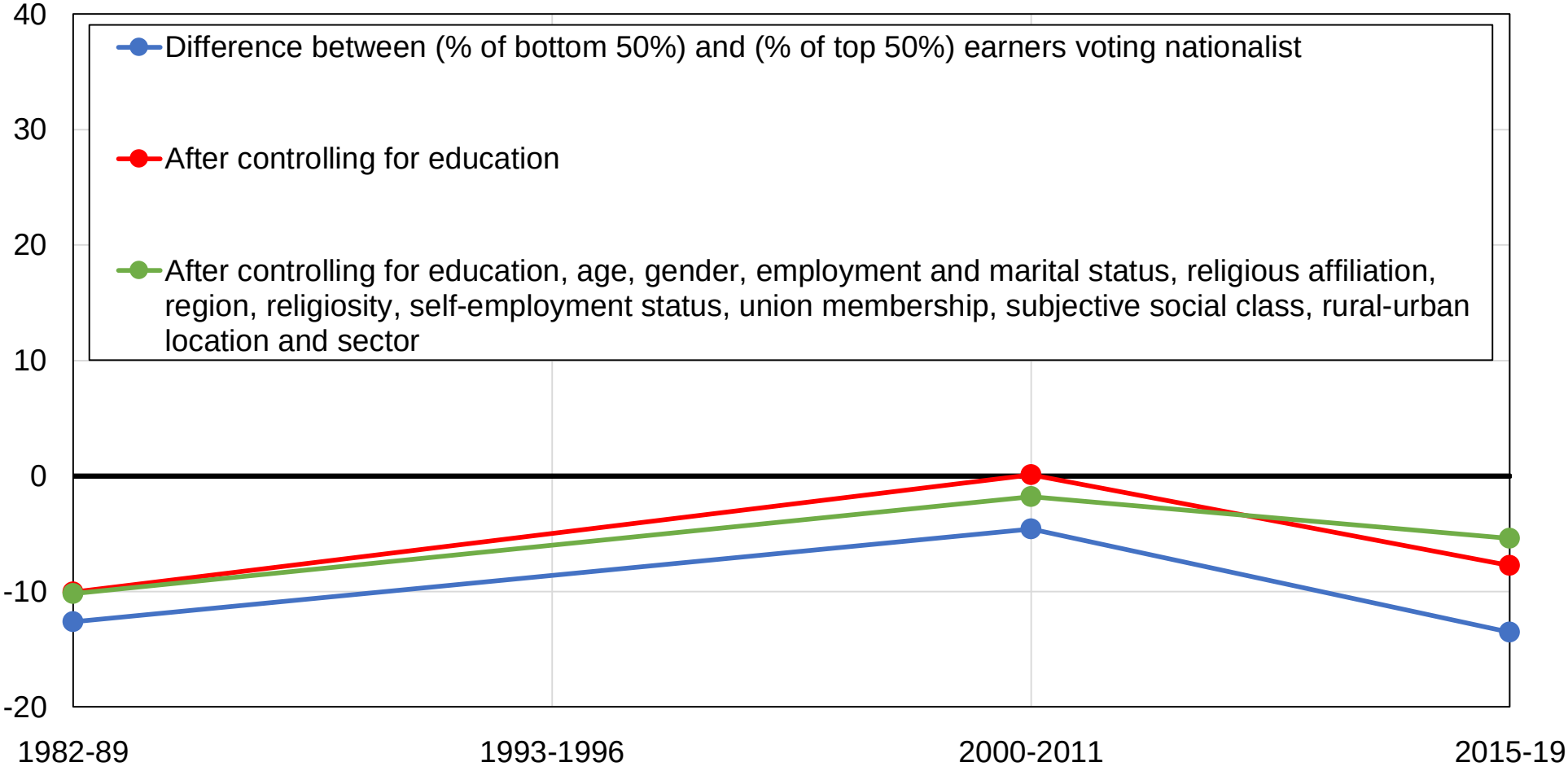
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by nationalist parties by income decile.

Figure BD15 - Vote for nationalist parties among top-income voters in Catalonia



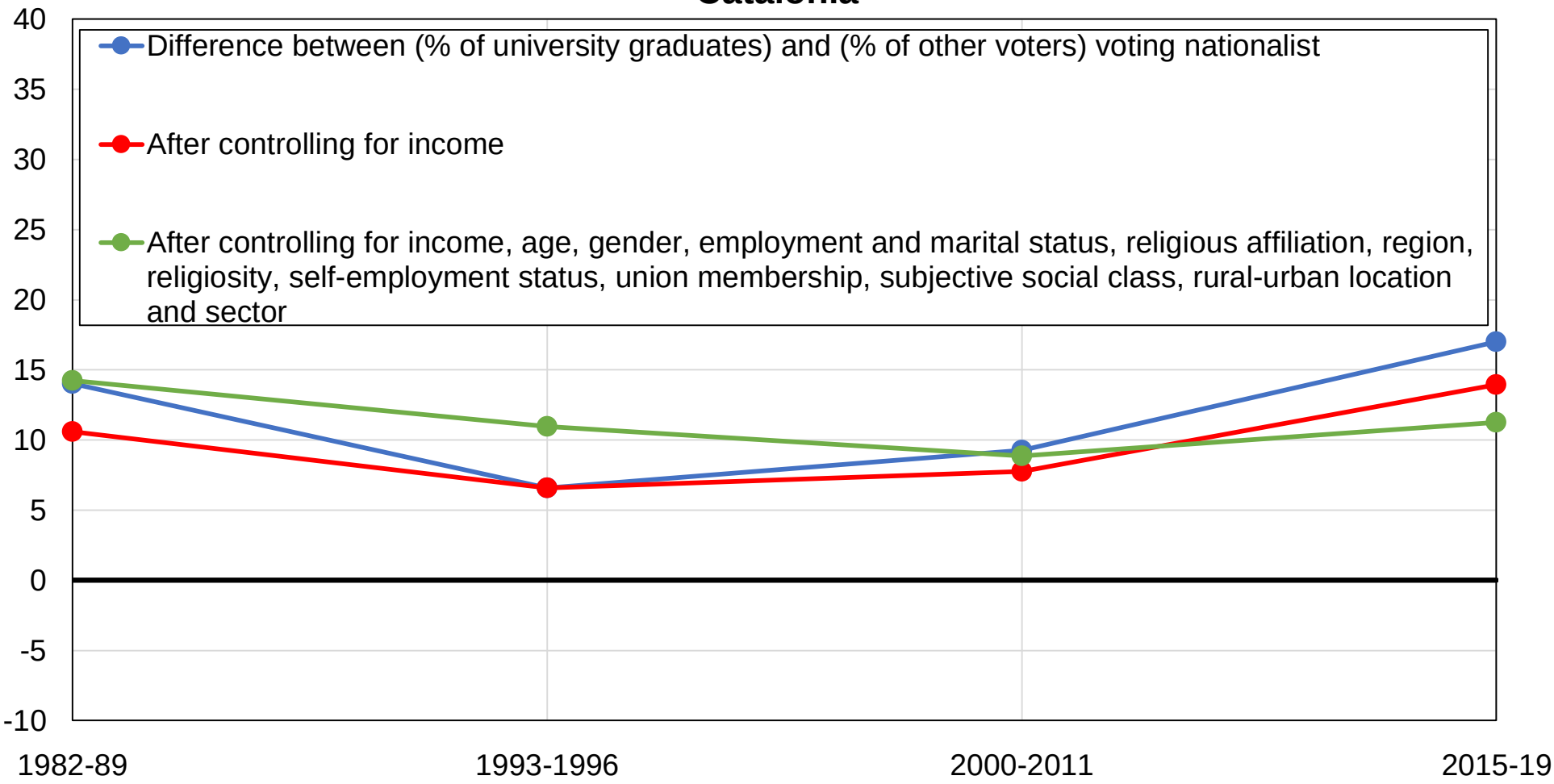
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for nationalist parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure BD16 - Vote for nationalist parties among low-income voters in Catalonia



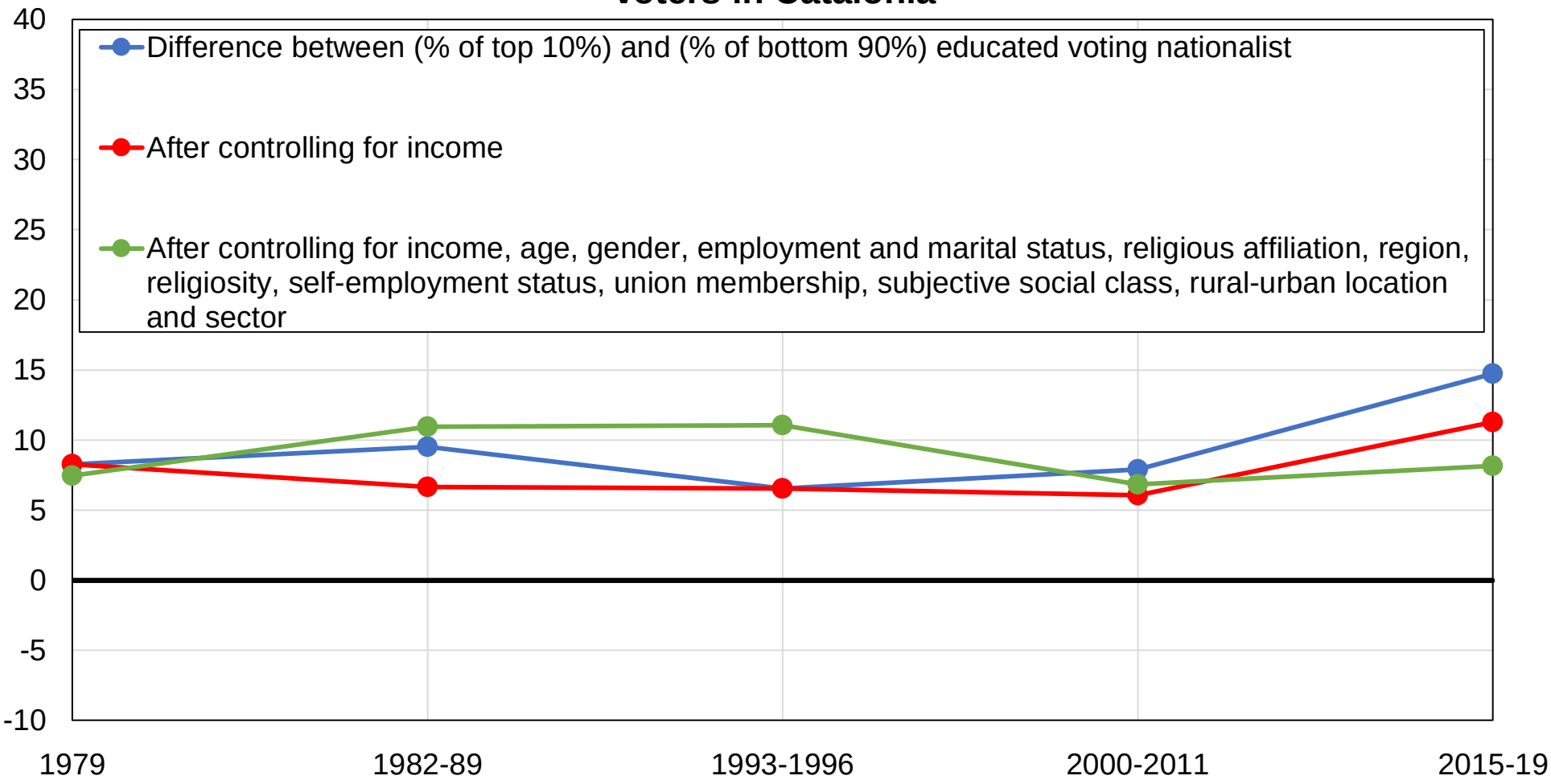
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of bottom 50% earners and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure BD17 - Vote for nationalist parties among university graduates in Catalonia



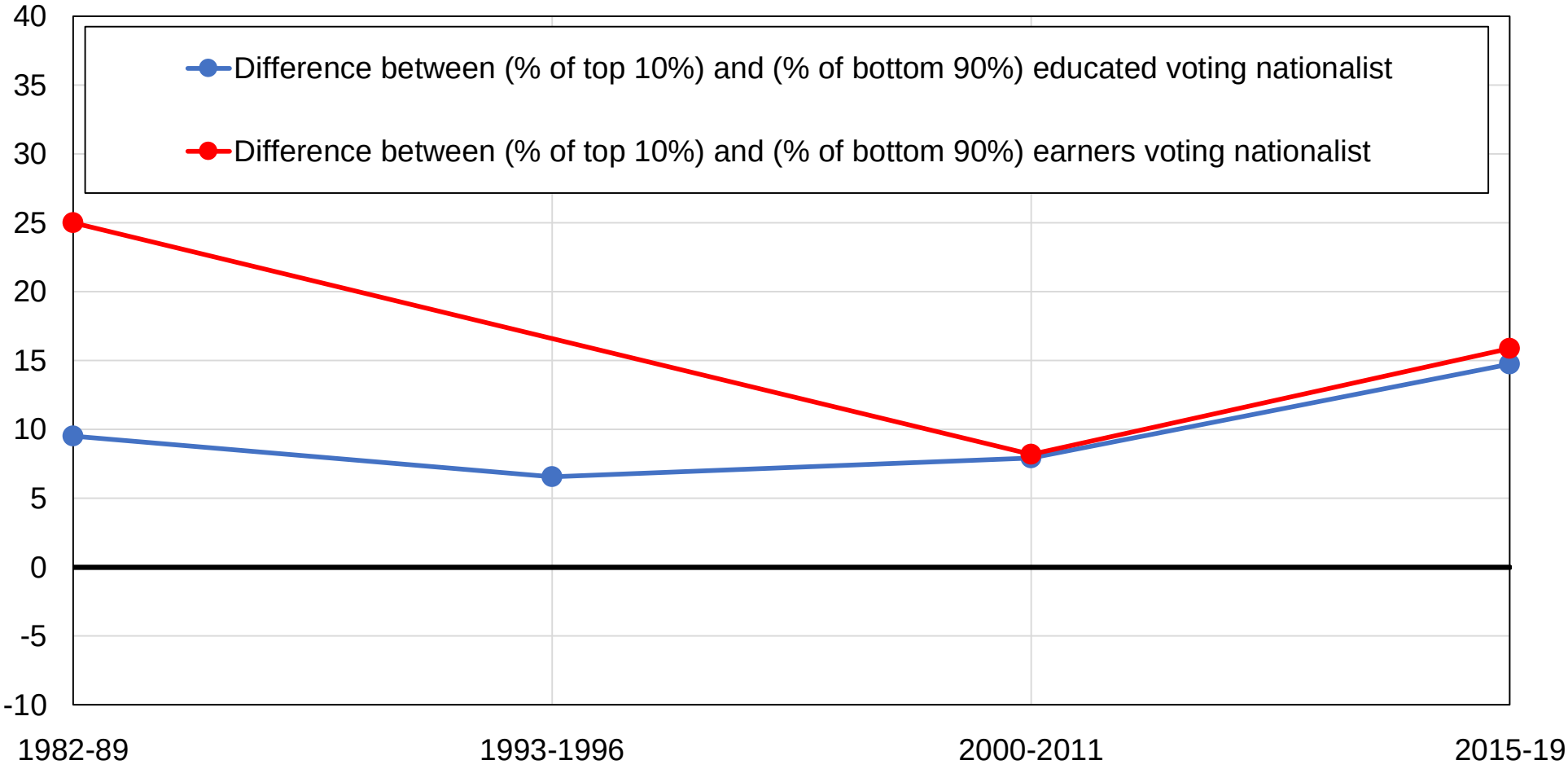
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters voting nationalist parties in Catalonia, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure BD18 - Vote for nationalist parties among highest-educated voters in Catalonia



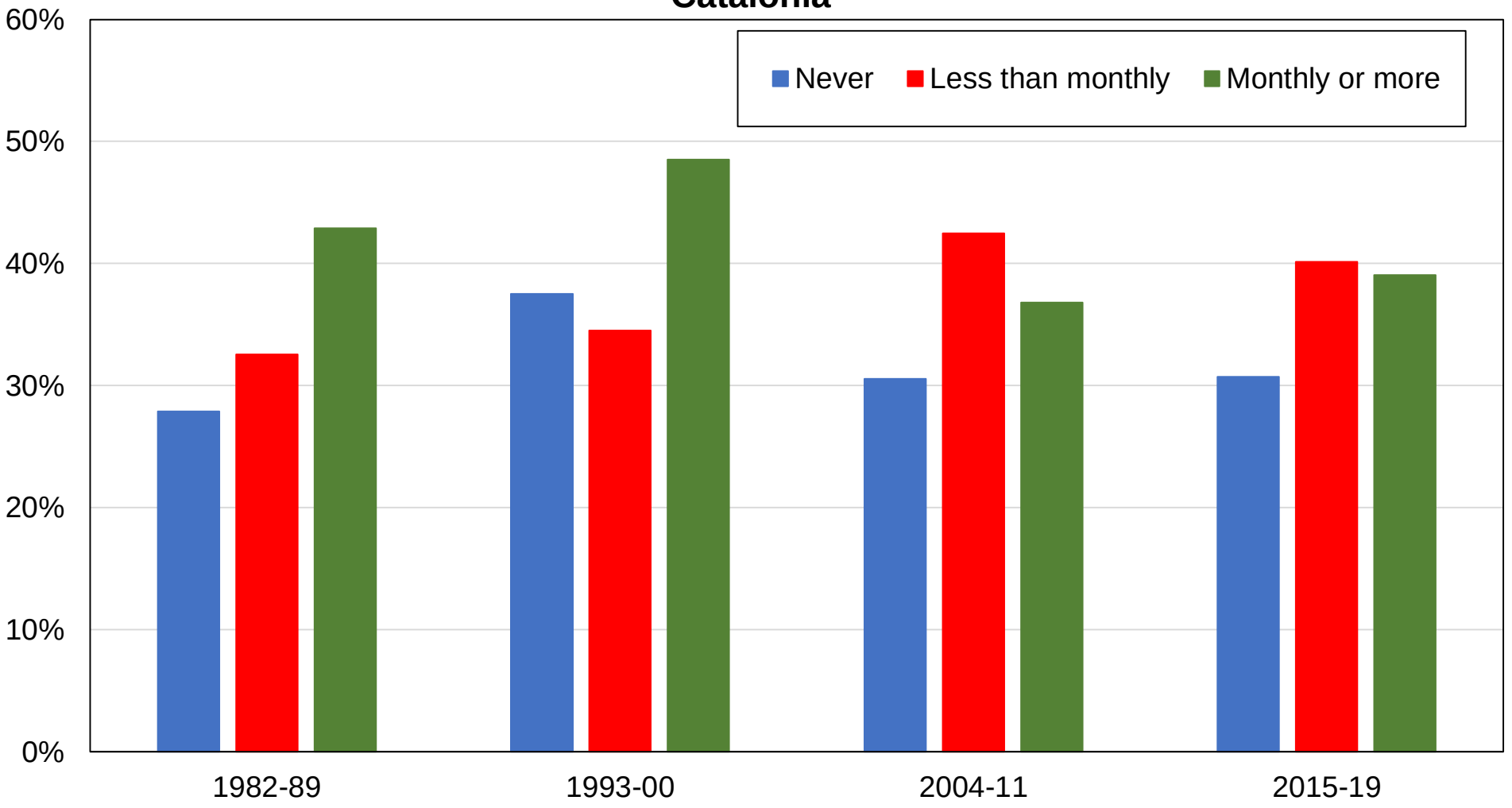
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of other voters voting for nationalist parties in Catalonia, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure BD19 - Vote for nationalist parties among highest-educated and top-income voters in Catalonia



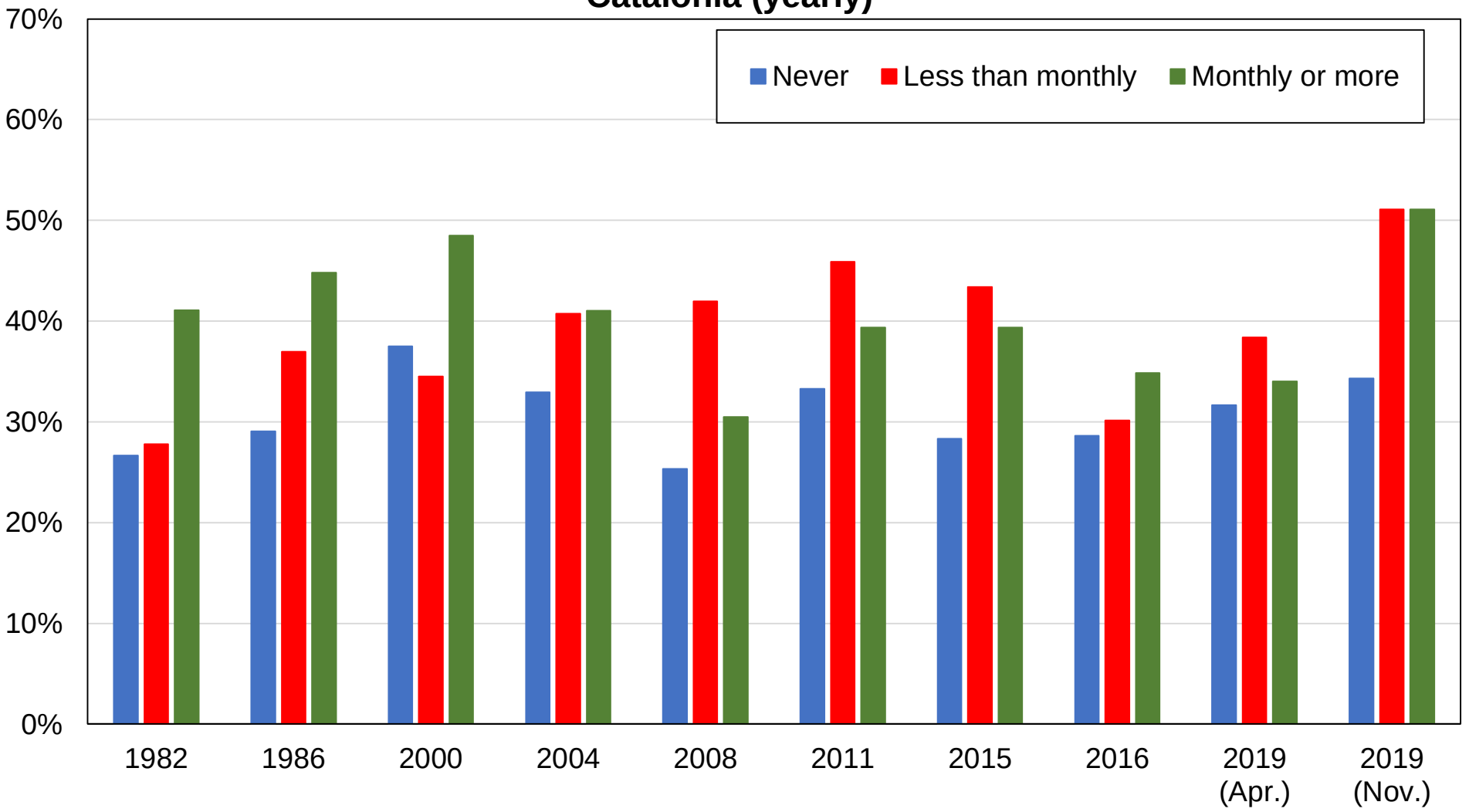
Source: authors' computations using Spanish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the support for nationalist parties among highest-educated and top-income voters.

Figure BD20 - Vote for nationalist parties by church attendance in Catalonia



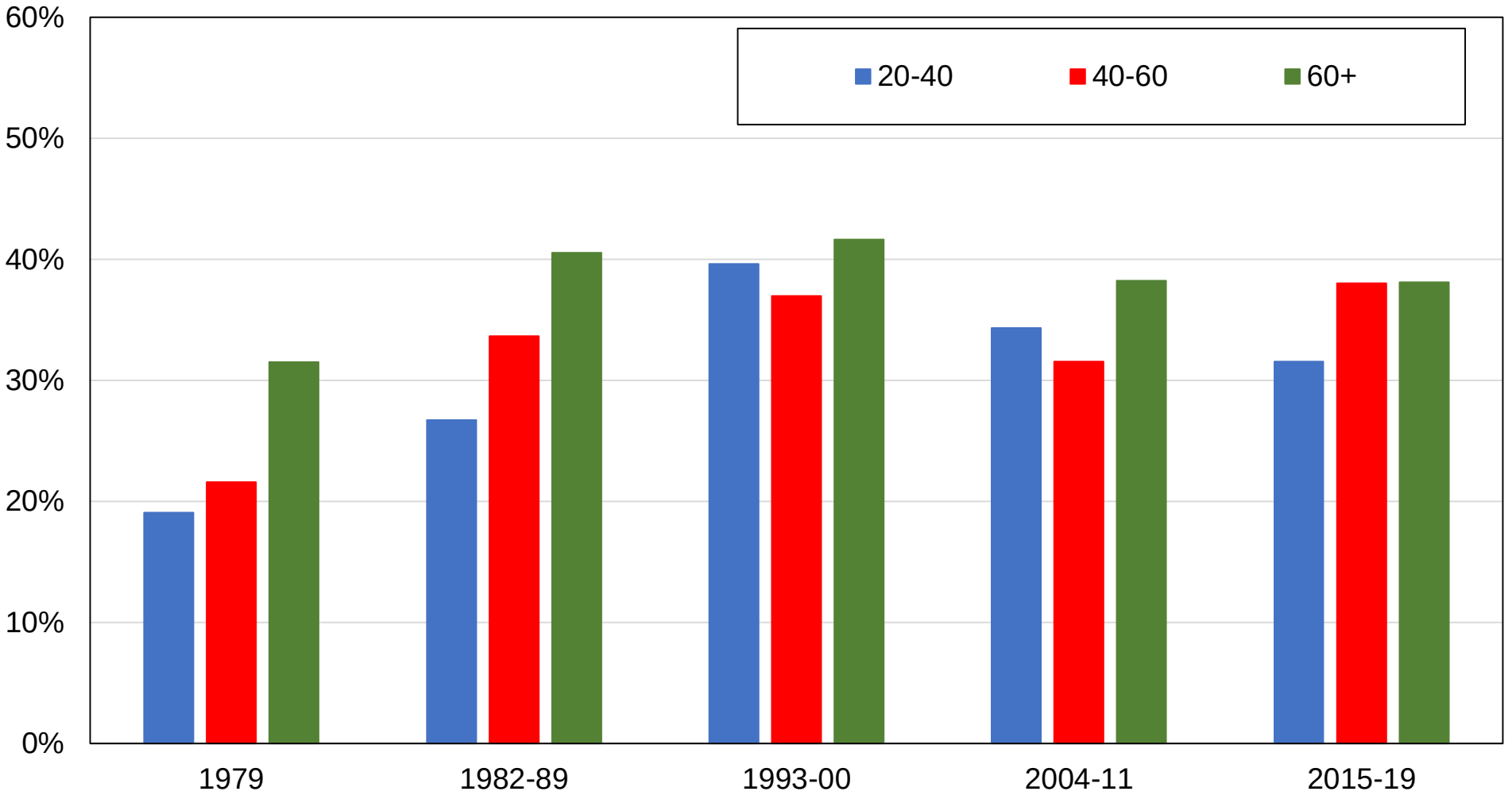
Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys 1982-2019 (general elections).
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by nationalist parties by frequency of church attendance.

Figure BD21 - Vote for nationalist parties by church attendance in Catalonia (yearly)



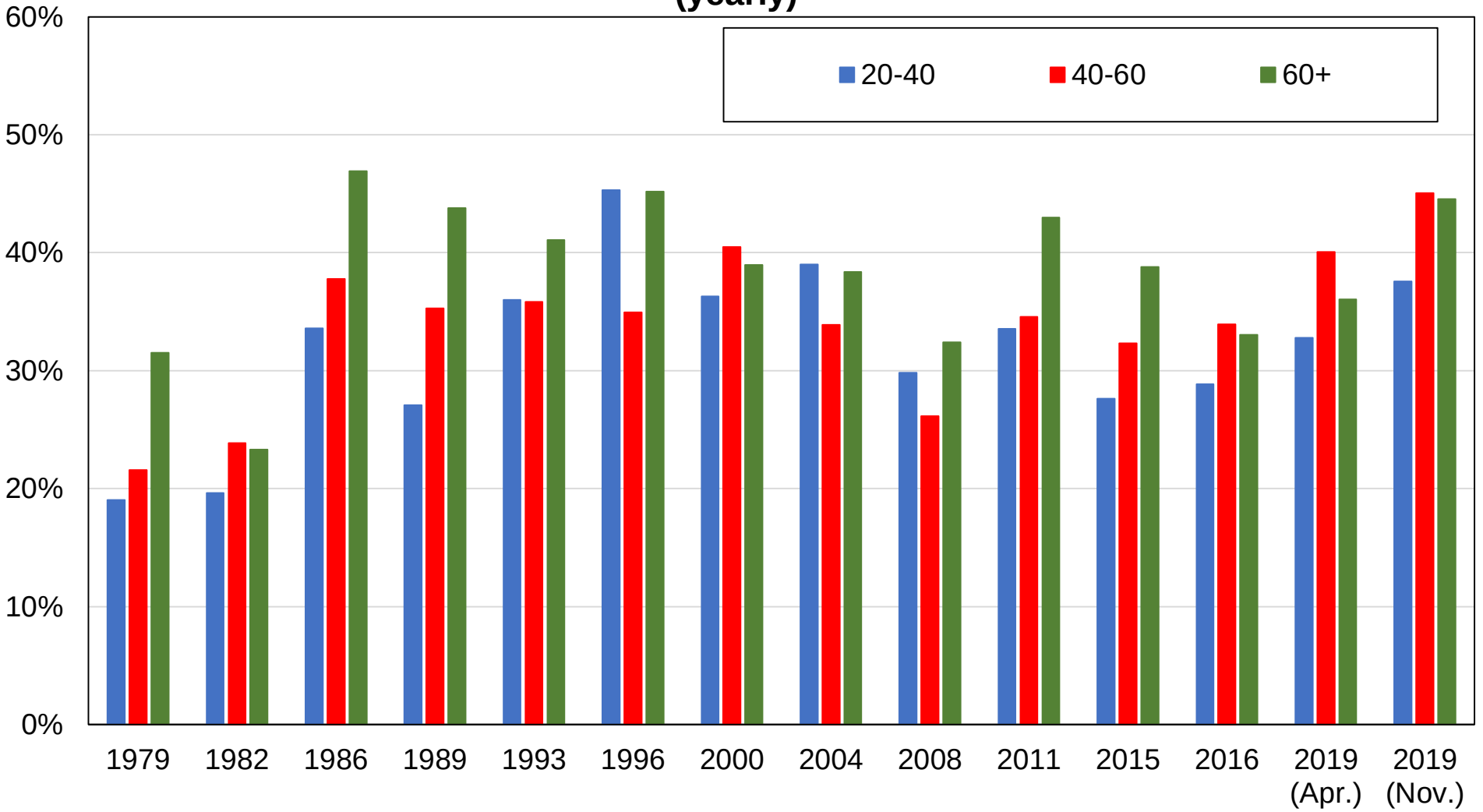
Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys 1982-2019 (general elections).
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by nationalist parties by frequency of church attendance.

Figure BD22 - Vote for nationalist parties by age group in Catalonia



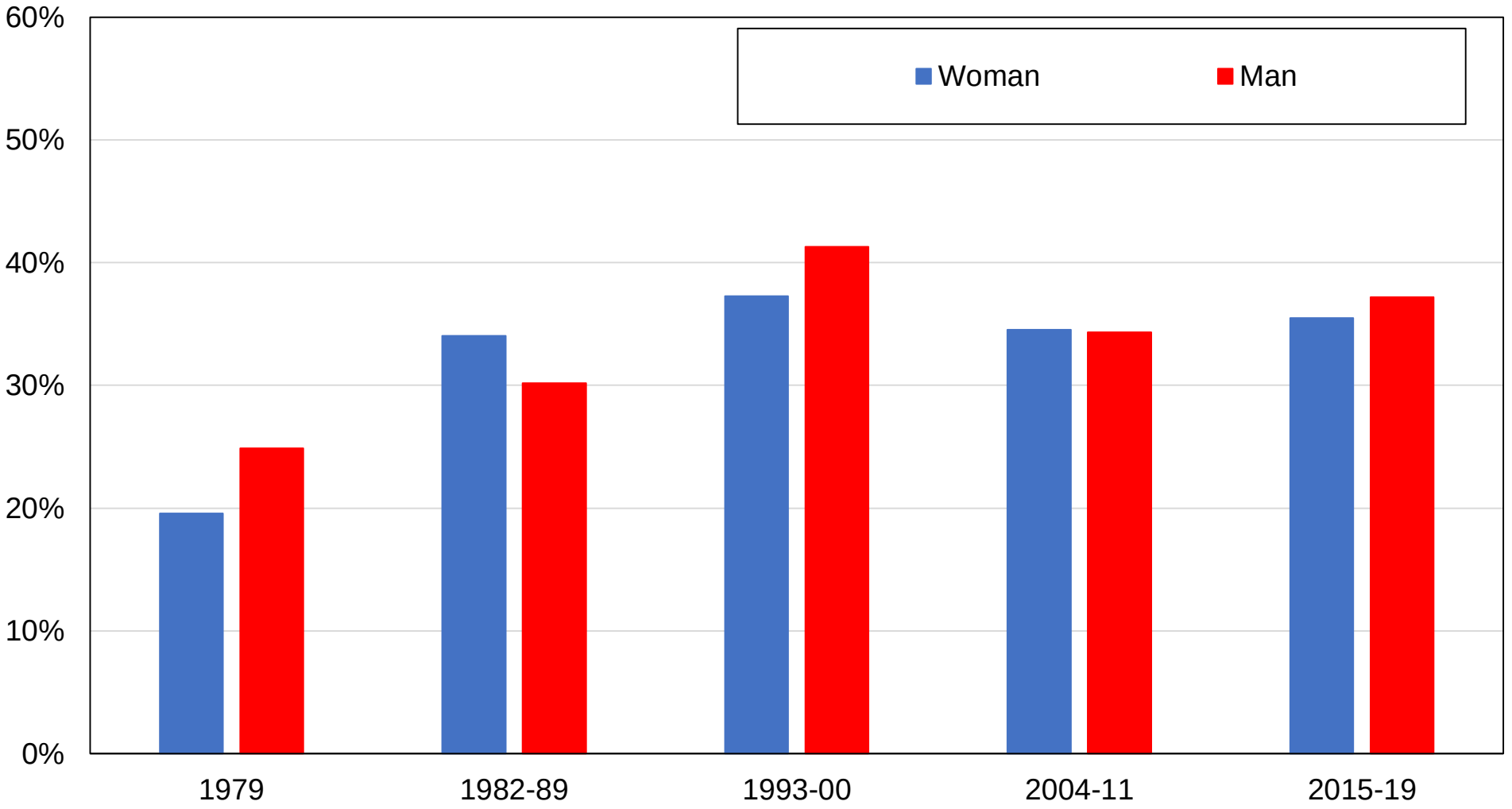
Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys 1979-2019 (general elections).
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by nationalist parties by age group.

Figure BD23 - Vote for nationalist parties by age group in Catalonia (yearly)



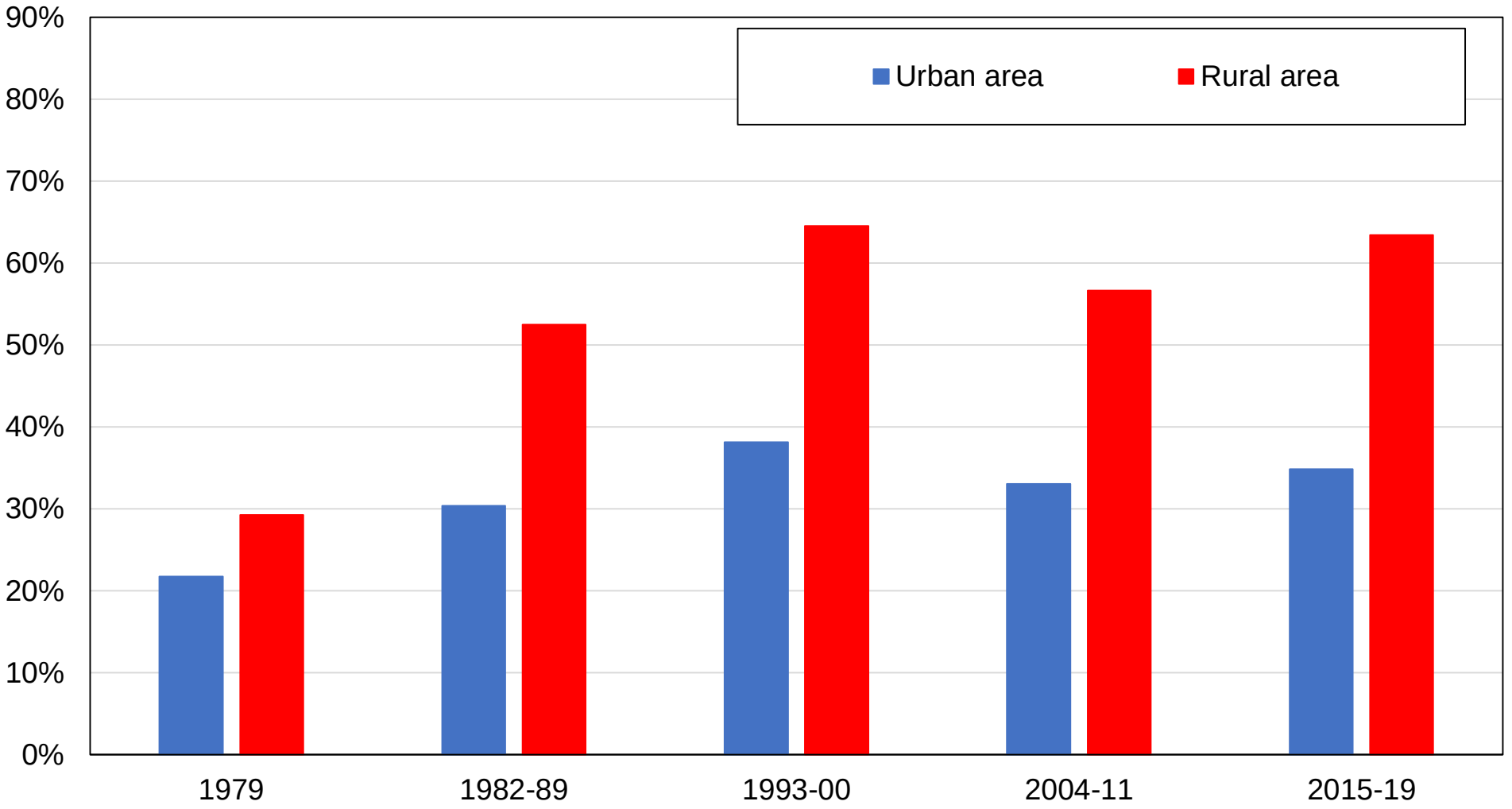
Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys 1979-2019 (general elections).
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by nationalist parties by age group.

Figure BD24 - Vote for nationalist parties by gender in Catalonia



Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys 1979-2019 (general elections).
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by nationalist parties by gender.

Figure BD25 - Vote for nationalist parties by location in Catalonia



Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys 1979-2019 (general elections).
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by nationalist parties by rural-urban location.

Figure BD26 - Vote for nationalist parties by employment type in Catalonia

Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys 1979-2019 (general elections).
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by nationalist parties by employment type.

Table BE1 - Survey data sources			
Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
1979	CIS Post-electoral survey 1982	CIS	1437
1982	CIS Post-electoral survey 1982	CIS	1383
1986	CIS Post-electoral survey 1986	CIS	2515
1989	CIS Post-electoral survey 1989	CIS	1970
1993	CIS Post-electoral survey 1993	CIS	3506
1996	CIS Post-electoral survey 1996	CIS	3813
2000	CIS Post-electoral survey 2000	CIS	3498
2004	CIS Post-electoral survey 2004	CIS	3870
2008	CIS Post-electoral survey 2008	CIS	4551
2011	CIS Post-electoral survey 2011	CIS	4404
2015	CIS Post-electoral survey 2015	CIS	4719
2016	CIS Post-electoral survey 2016	CIS	4210
2019	CIS Post-electoral survey 2019	CIS	4446
2019(2)	CIS Barometer december 2019	CIS	3324

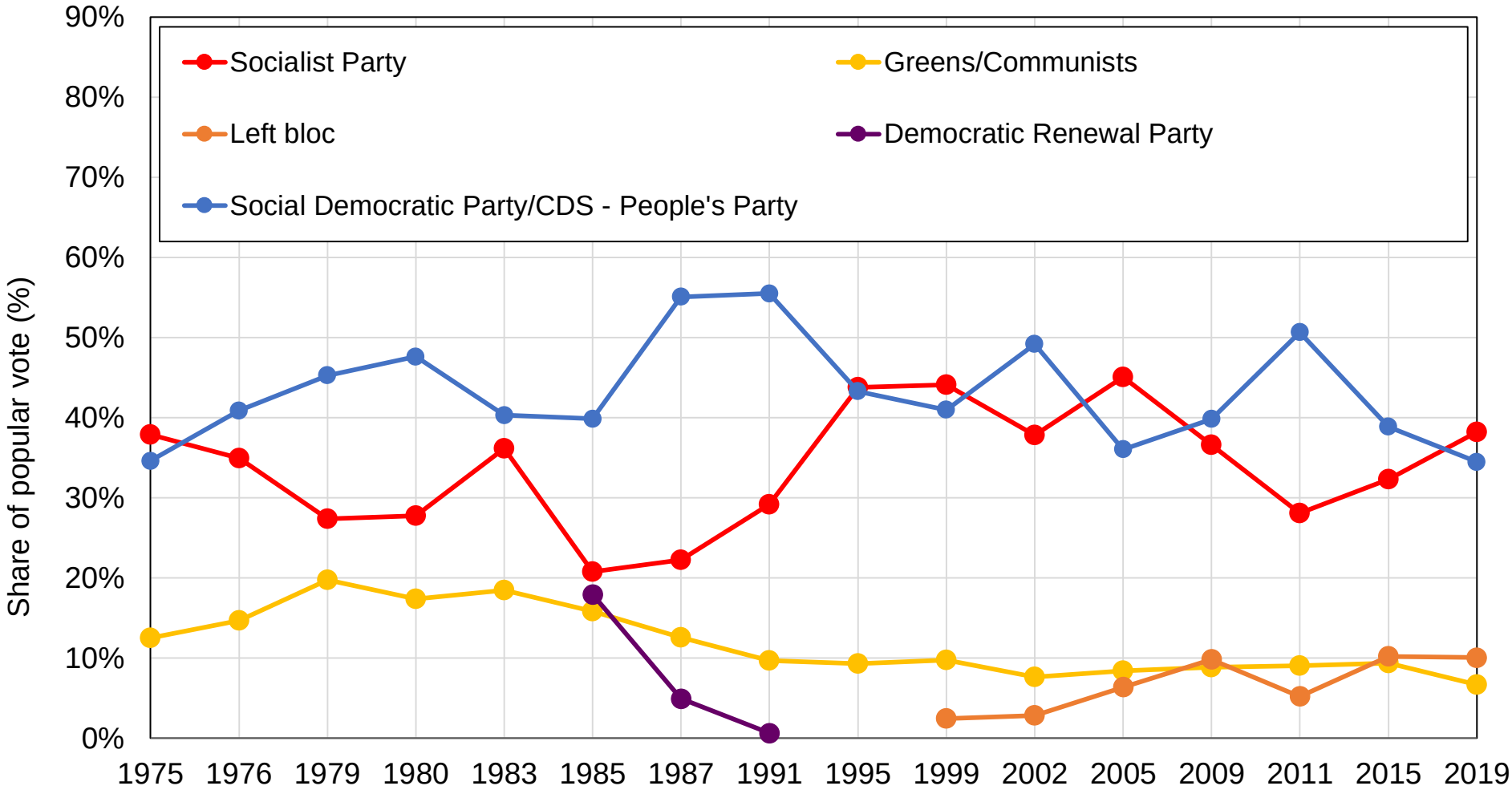
Source: authors' elaboration.

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

Table BE2 - Complete descriptive statistics in Spain					
	1979	1982-89	1993-00	2004-11	2015-19
Age: 20-40	45%	44%	44%	38%	30%
Age: 40-60	34%	34%	31%	35%	40%
Age: 60+	21%	21%	24%	27%	30%
Education: Primary	68%	62%	44%	26%	21%
Education: Secondary	26%	31%	46%	56%	57%
Education: Tertiary	6%	7%	11%	18%	22%
Employment status: Employed	42%	44%	41%	47%	48%
Employment status: Unemployed	8%	8%	11%	13%	13%
Employment status: Inactive	50%	48%	48%	40%	38%
Marital status: Married / Partner	69%	68%	63%	58%	54%
Religion: No religion	10%	8%	13%	20%	27%
Religion: Catholic	89%	91%	86%	78%	71%
Religion: Other	1%	1%	1%	2%	3%
Church attendance: Never	0%	30%	41%	54%	61%
Church attendance: Less than montl	0%	27%	21%	17%	15%
Church attendance: Monthly or more	0%	43%	38%	29%	24%
Location: Rural area	7%	11%	4%	7%	7%
Sector: Public	0%	15%	16%	16%	16%
Gender: Man	48%	48%	48%	48%	49%
Union membership: Yes	0%	0%	7%	8%	6%
Subjective social class: Working clas	0%	0%	7%	8%	24%
Region: Andalucia	16%	16%	20%	18%	18%
Region: Valencia	10%	9%	10%	10%	10%
Region: Extremadura	3%	3%	2%	3%	2%
Region: Galicia	8%	14%	7%	7%	6%
Region: Madrid	12%	11%	13%	13%	14%
Region: Murcia	3%	2%	3%	3%	3%
Region: Navarra	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
Region: Basque Country	5%	5%	5%	5%	5%
Region: Rioja	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
Region: Aragon	3%	3%	3%	3%	3%
Region: Asturias	3%	2%	3%	3%	2%
Region: Baleares	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%
Region: Canarias	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
Region: Cantabria	1%	1%	1%	1%	2%
Region: Castilla La Mancha	4%	4%	4%	4%	5%
Region: Castilla y Leon	7%	7%	7%	6%	6%
Region: Catalonia	16%	15%	15%	16%	15%

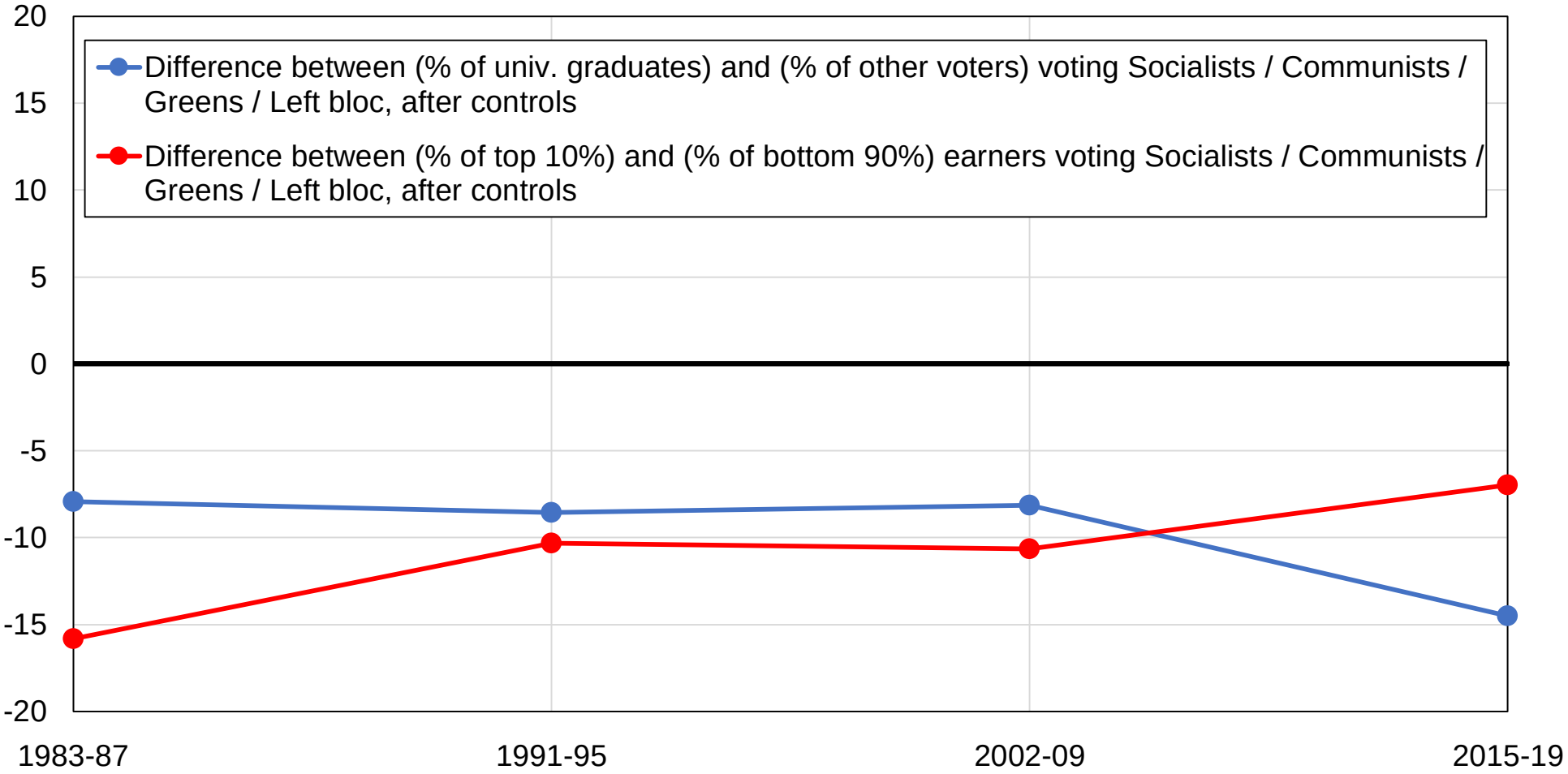
Source: authors' computations using Spanish post-electoral surveys.
Note: the table shows descriptive statistics for selected available variables.

Figure C1 - Election results in Portugal, 1975-2019



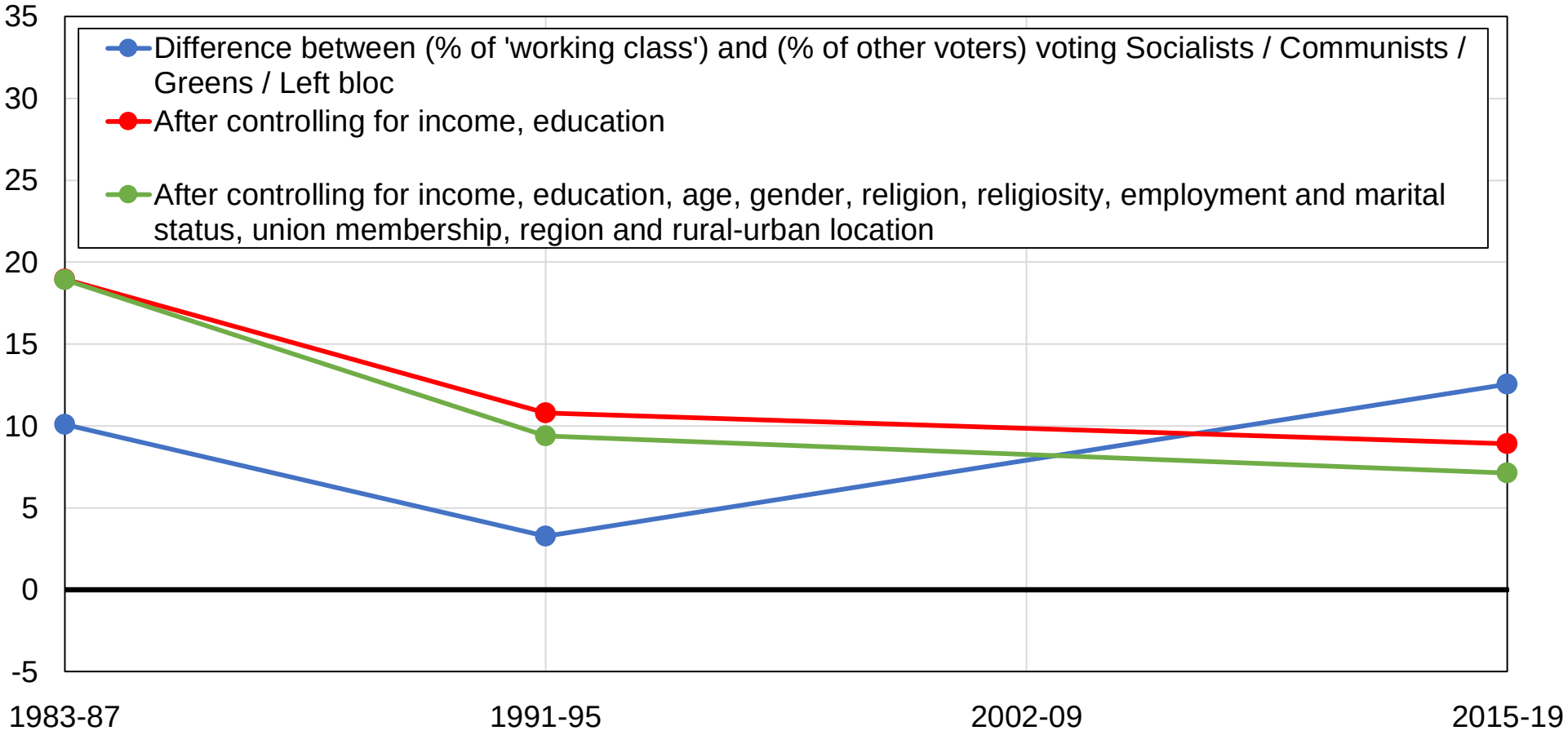
Source: author's computations using official election results.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Portuguese political parties in lower house elections between 1975 and 2019.

Figure C2 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left bloc among tertiary-educated and top-income voters in Portugal, after controls



Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the shows the relative bias of tertiary-educated and top-income voters towards Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left bloc, after controlling for age, gender, religion, religiosity, employment and marital status, class, union membership, region and rural-urban location.

Figure C3 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left bloc among the working class in Portugal

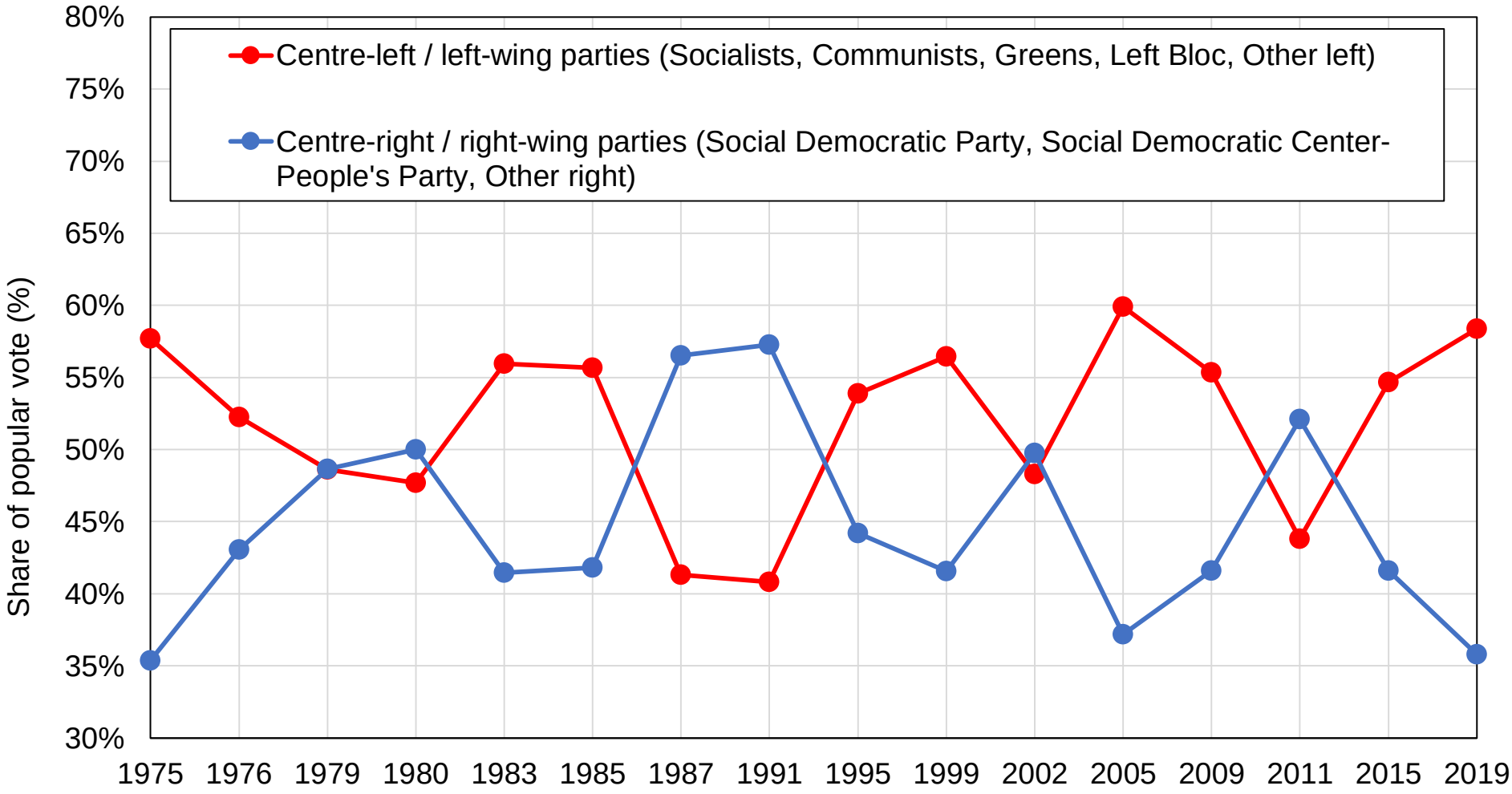


Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters perceiving themselves as "working class" and the share of other voters perceiving themselves as "middle class" or "no class" voting for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left bloc, before and after controlling for other variables.

Table C1 - The structure of political cleavages in Portugal, 2015-2019				
	Share of votes received (%)			
	Social Democratic Party / Social Democratic Center-People's Party	Socialist Party	Greens / Communists	Left Bloc
Education				
Primary	39%	43%	11%	5%
Secondary	37%	37%	9%	13%
Tertiary	52%	24%	6%	14%
Income				
Bottom 50%	37%	43%	10%	8%
Middle 40%	41%	35%	10%	9%
Top 10%	54%	24%	6%	15%
Religion				
No religion	23%	32%	17%	24%
Catholic	42%	37%	9%	9%
Other	34%	42%	7%	15%
Age				
20-40	43%	31%	6%	15%
40-60	39%	35%	10%	12%
>60	39%	43%	11%	6%
Country of birth				
Portugal	40%	37%	10%	10%
Brazil	30%	59%	0%	10%
Other ex-colony	48%	31%	12%	9%
Region				
North	42%	38%	5%	10%
Center	57%	29%	5%	8%
Lisbon	29%	40%	16%	12%
Alentejo	12%	54%	23%	7%
Algarve	36%	36%	11%	15%

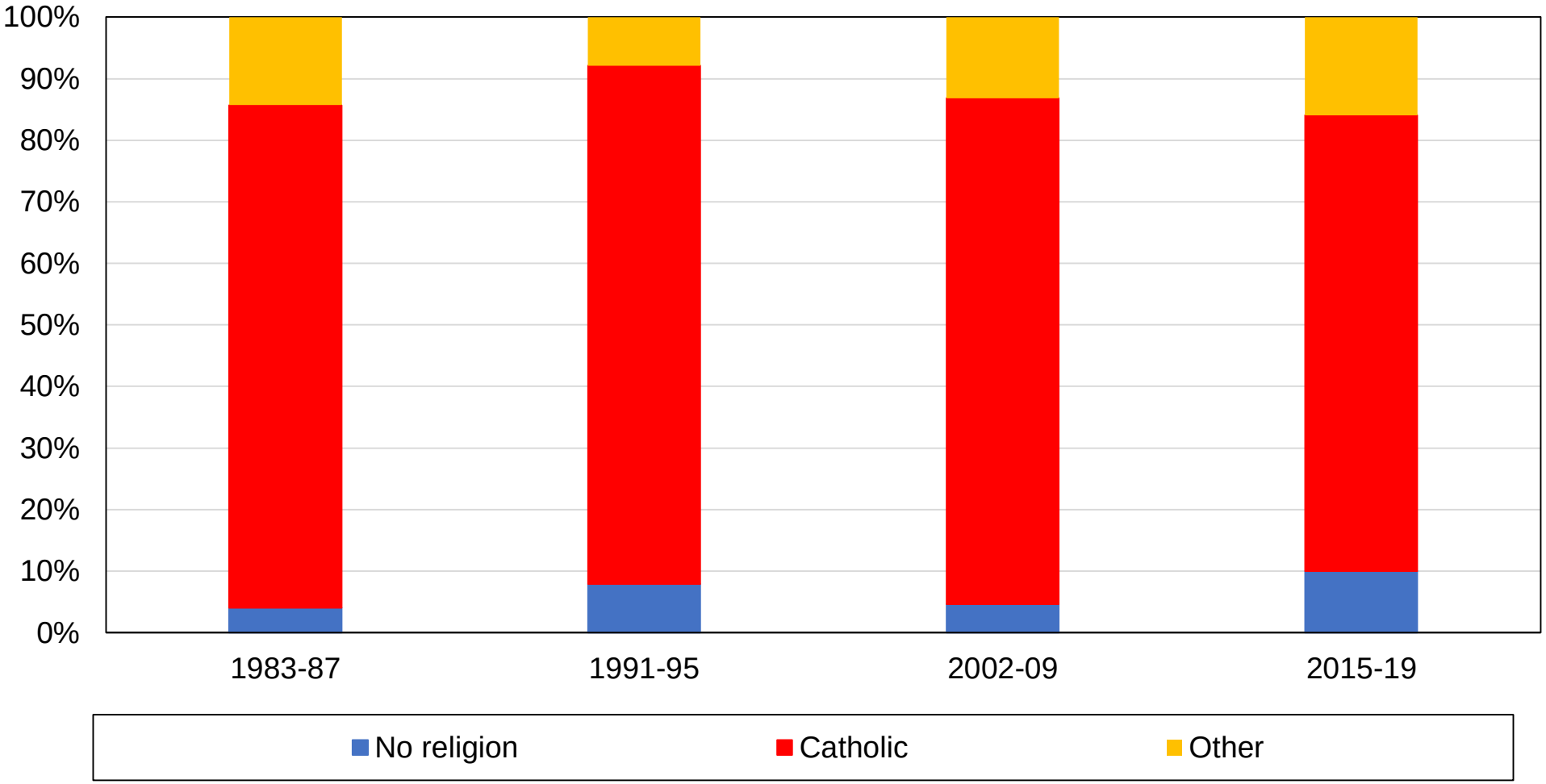
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Notes: the table shows the average share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party / Social Democratic Center-People's Party, the Socialist Party, the Greens / Communists, and the Left Bloc by selected individual characteristics over the 2015-2019 period.

Figure CA1 - Election results by group in Portugal, 1975-2019



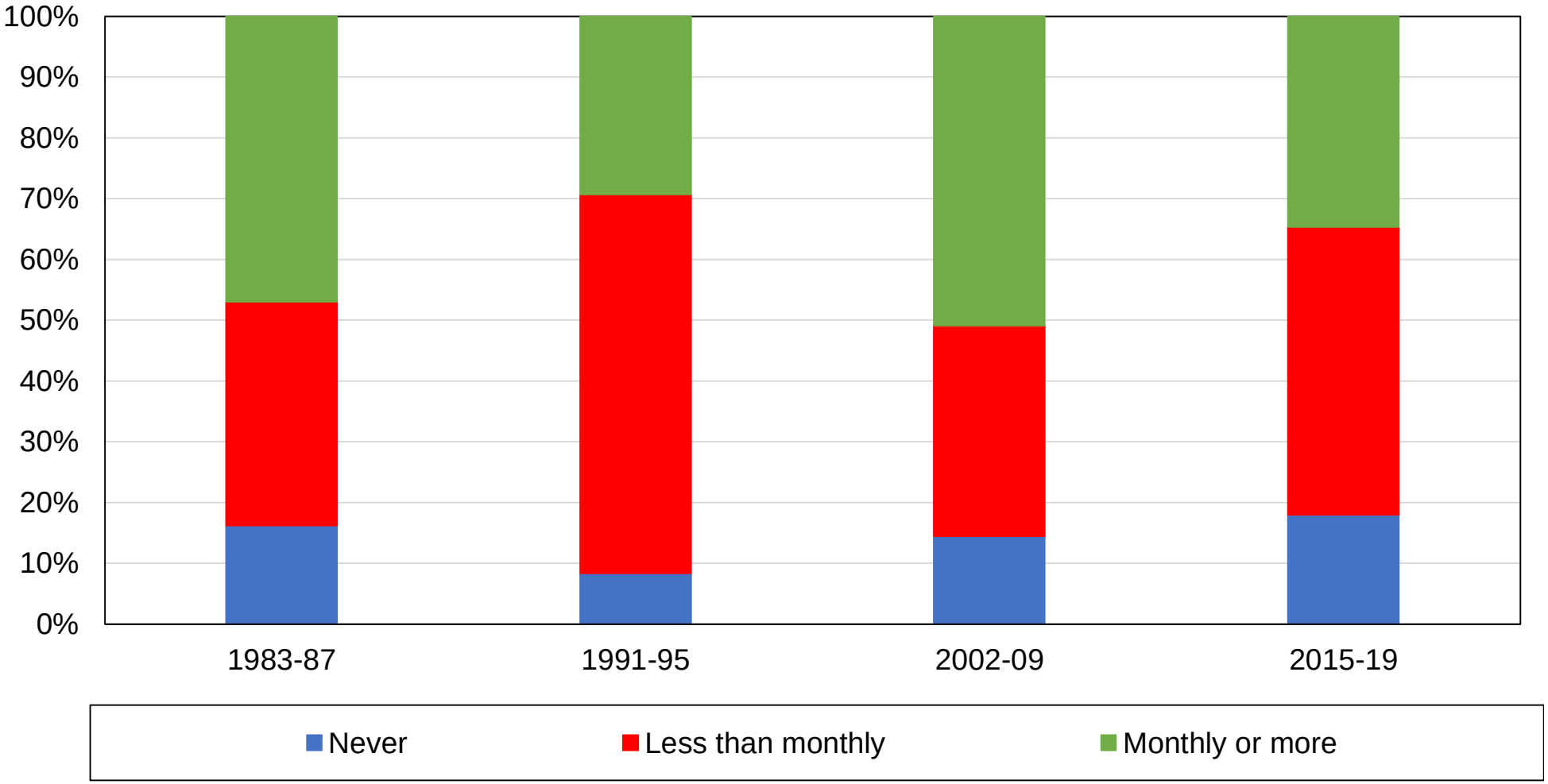
Source: author's computations using official election results.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Portuguese political parties in lower house elections between 1975 and 2019.

Figure CA2 - The evolution of religious affiliations in Portugal



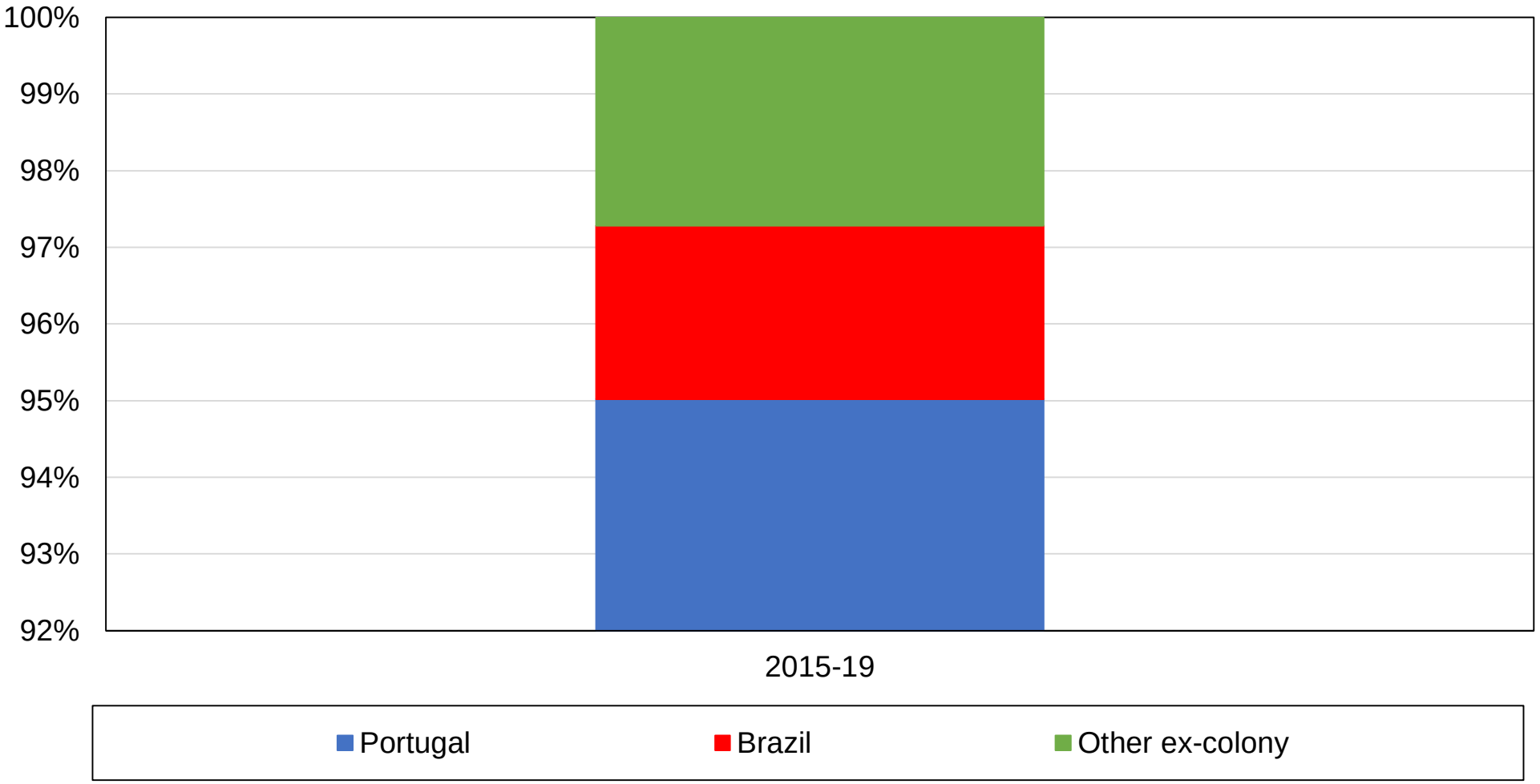
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the distribution of the religion affiliations of the Portuguese adult population and its evolution over time since the 1980s.

Figure CA3 - The evolution of church attendance in Portugal



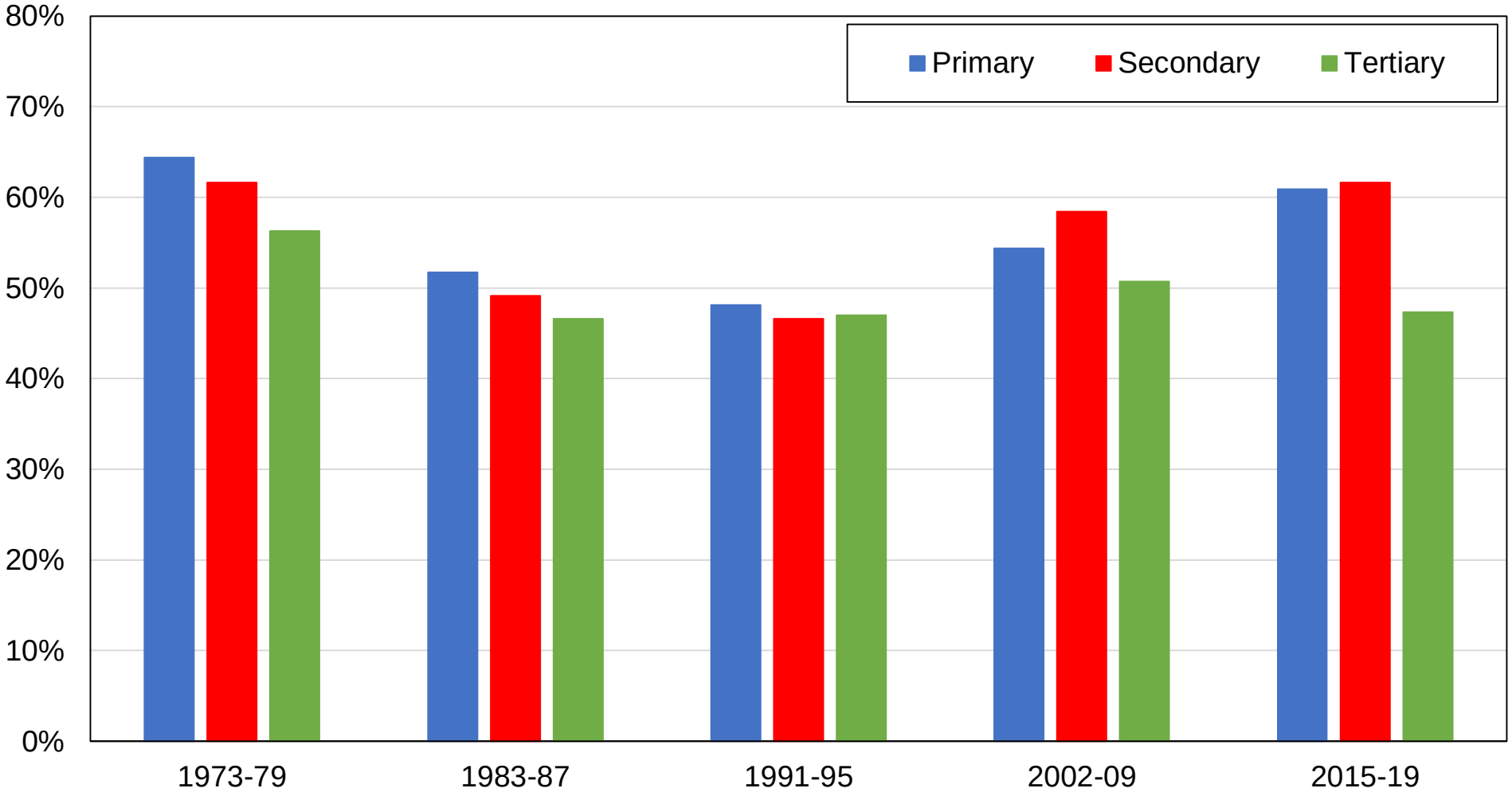
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the distribution of church attendance of the Portuguese adult population and its evolution over time since the 1980s.

Figure CA4 - The distribution of country of birth in Portugal



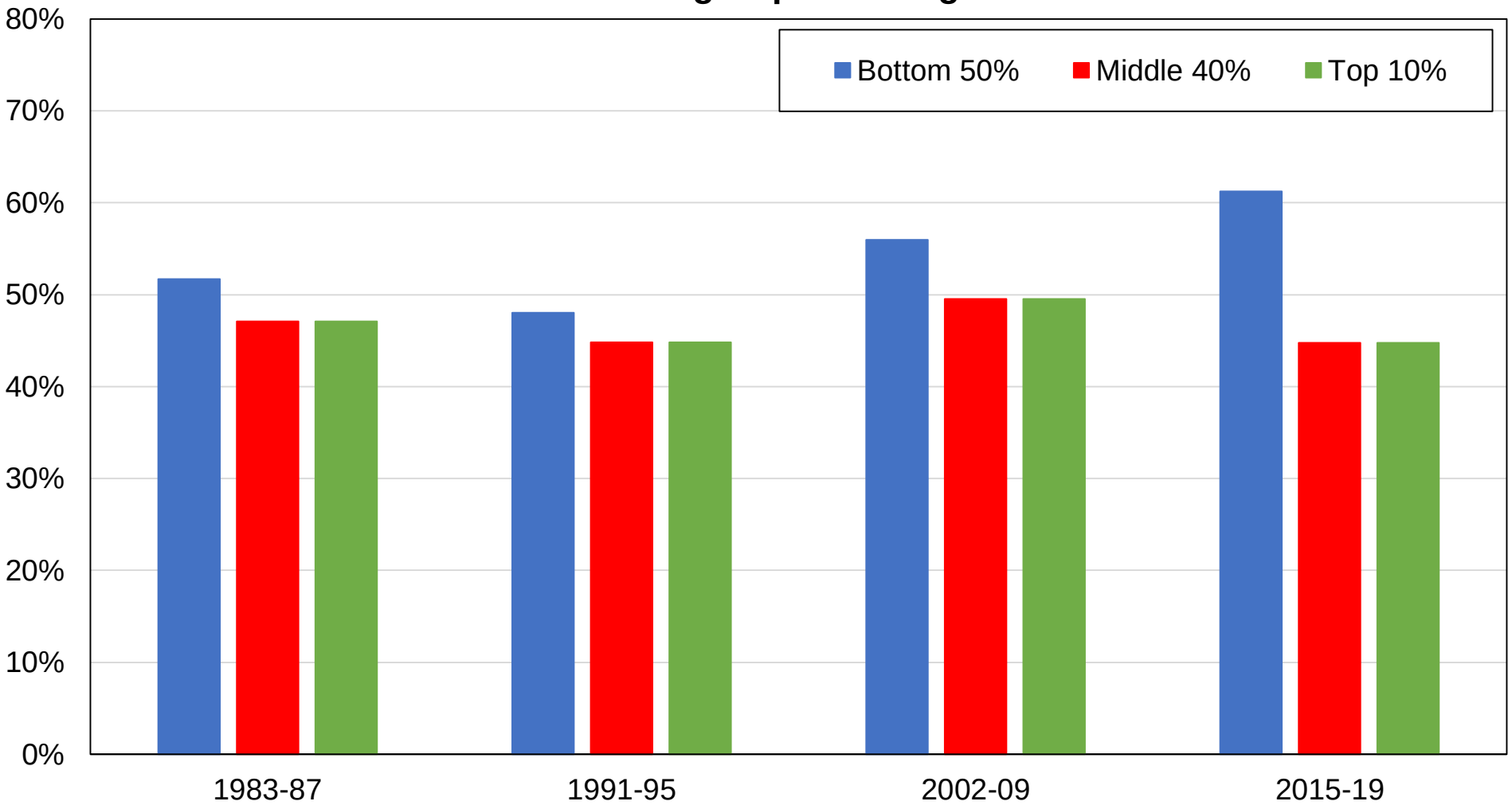
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the distribution of country of birth of the Portuguese adult population and its evolution over time since the 2000s.

Figure CB1 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block by education level in Portugal



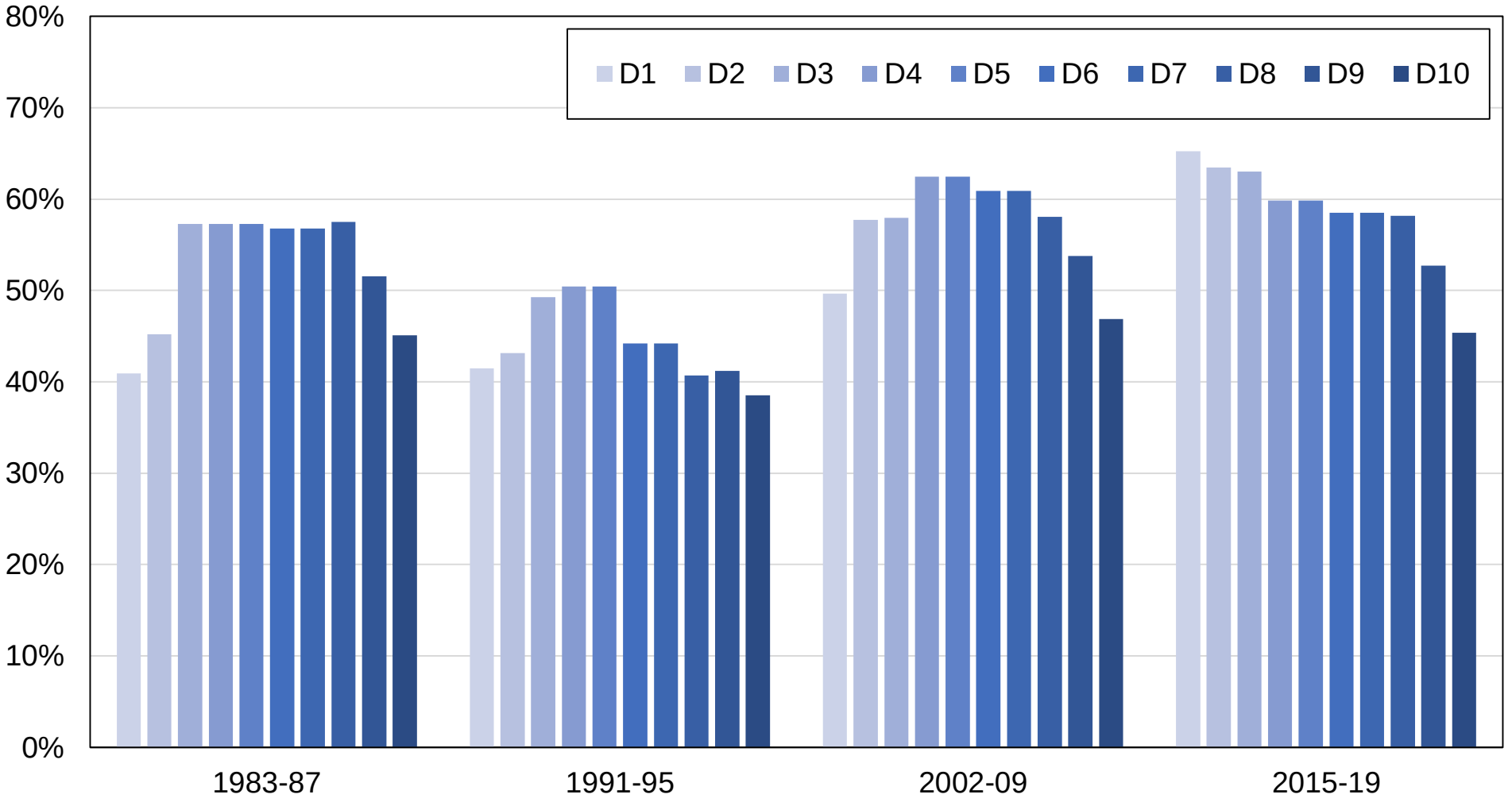
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by education level.

Figure CB2 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block by education group in Portugal



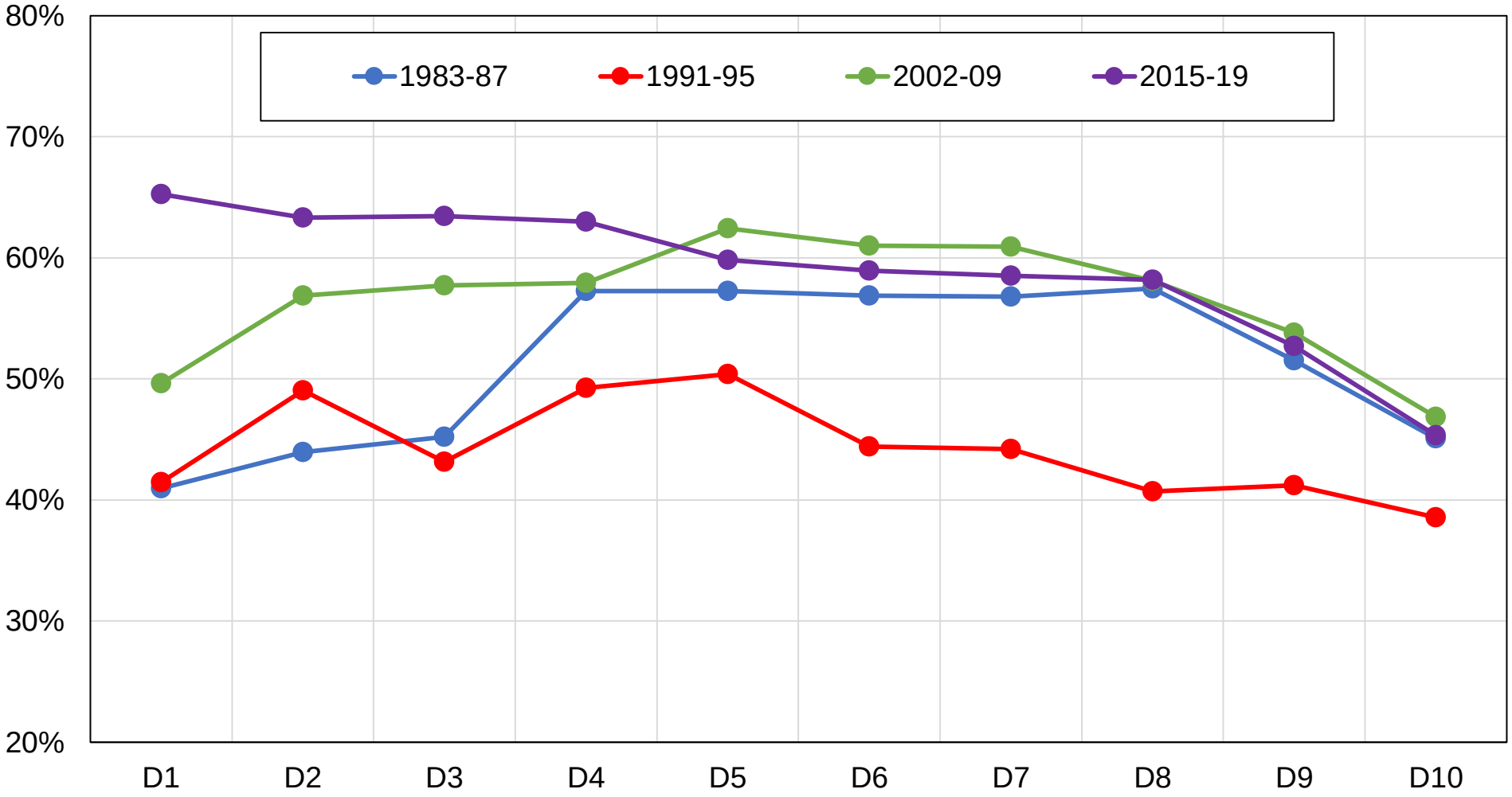
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by education group.

Figure CB3 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block by income decile in Portugal



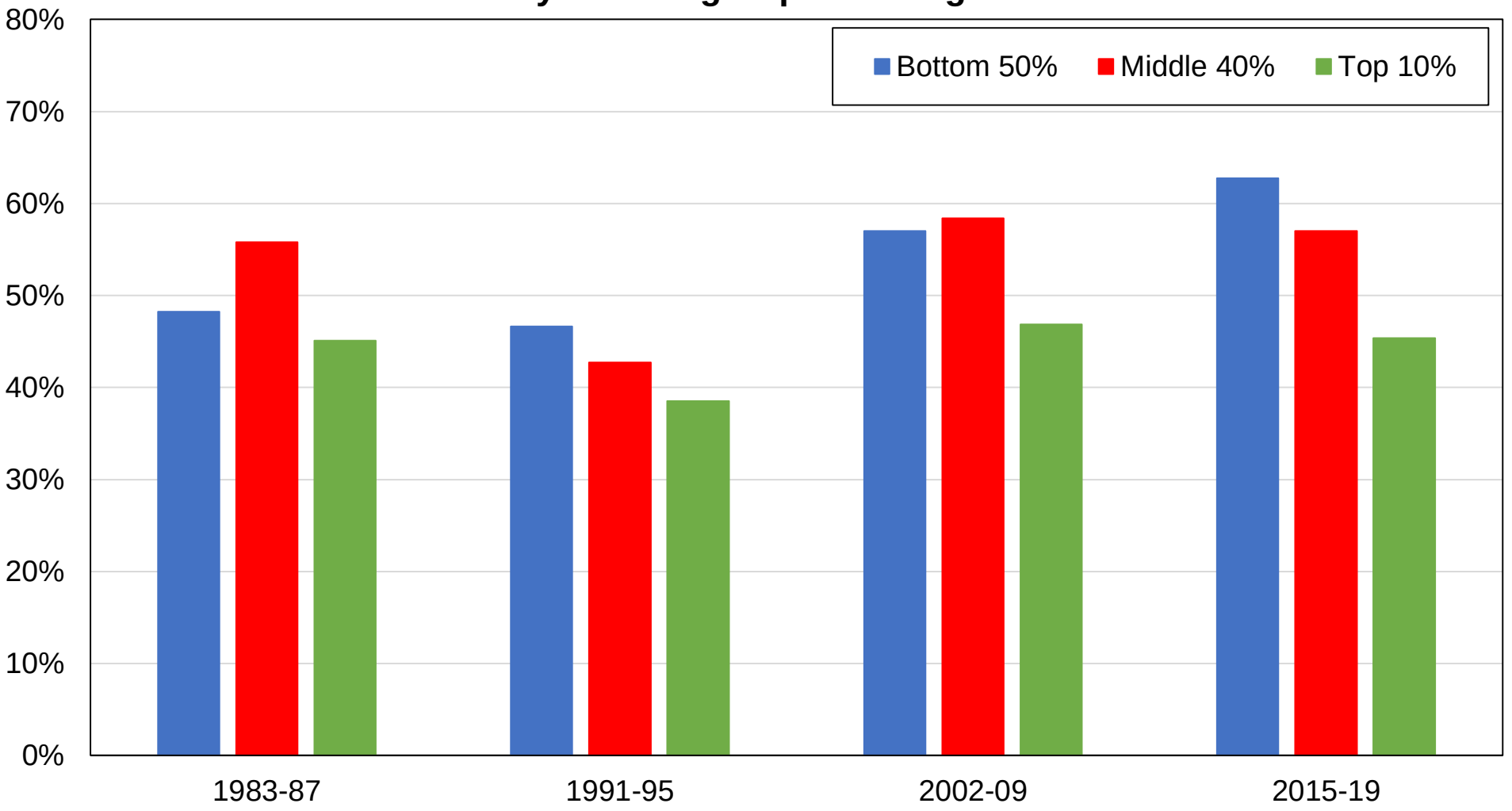
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income decile.

Figure CB4 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block by income decile in Portugal



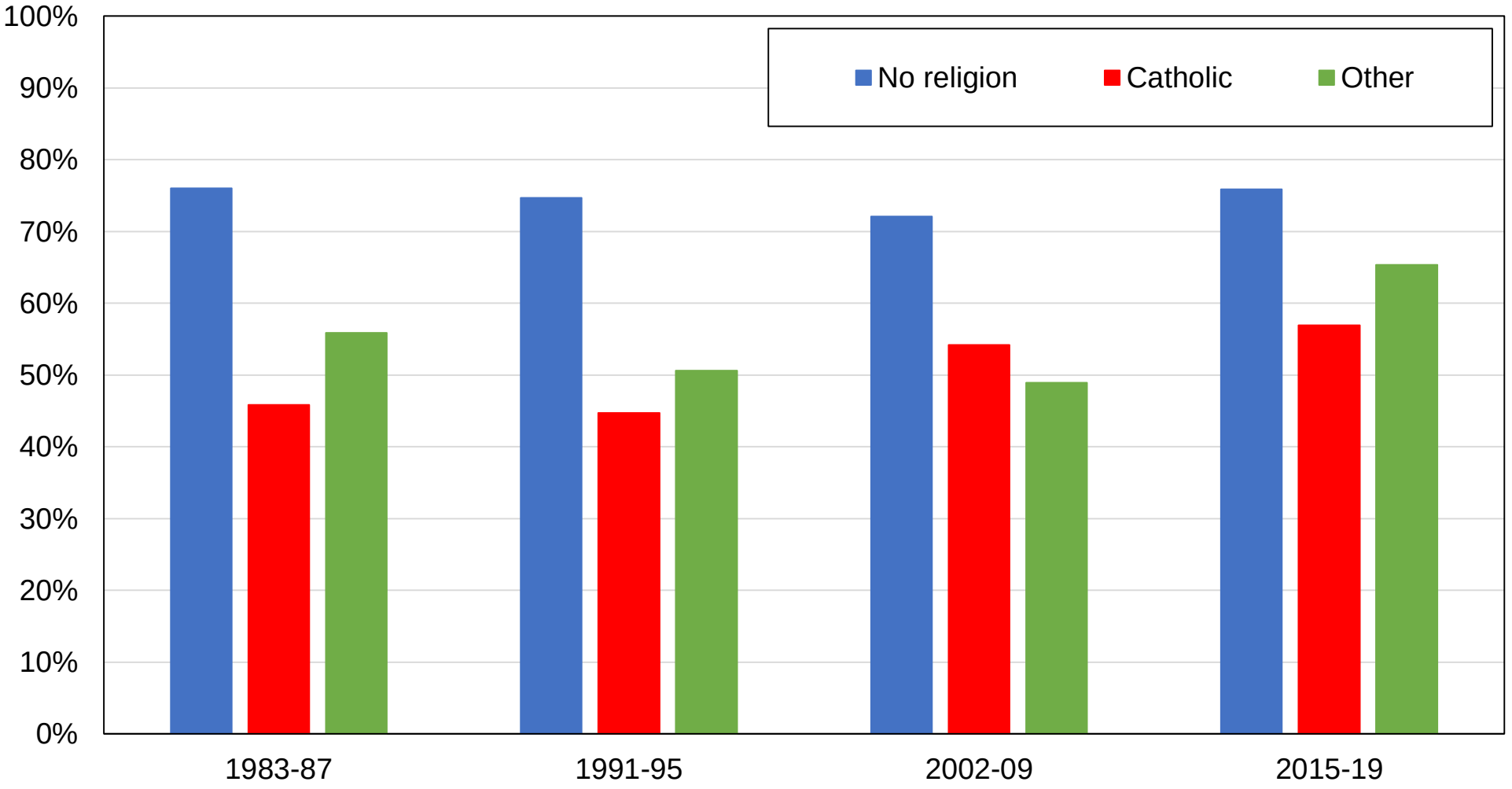
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income decile.

Figure CB5 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block by income group in Portugal



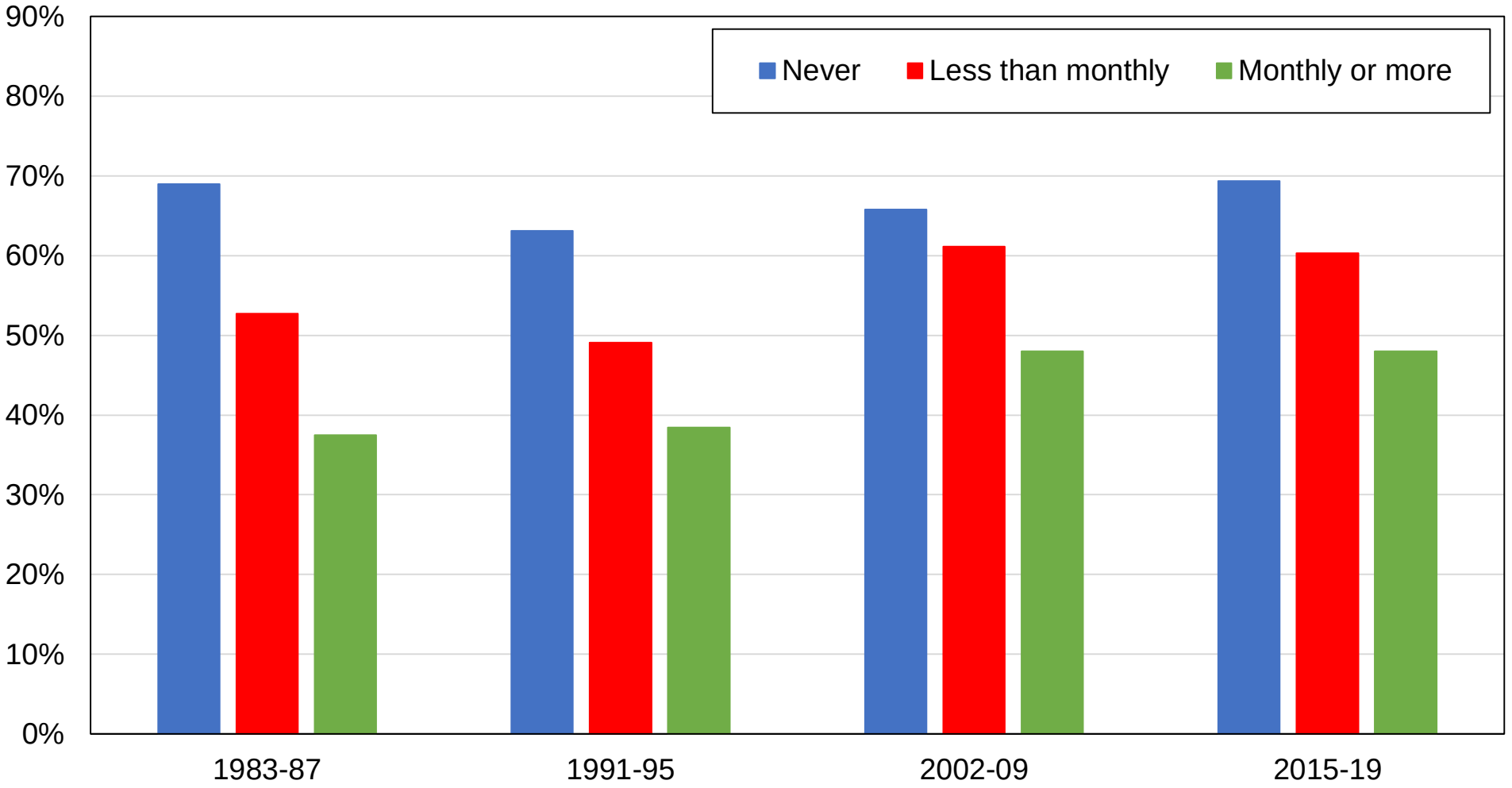
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income group.

Figure CB6 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block by religious affiliation in Portugal



Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by religious affiliation.

Figure CB7 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block by church attendance in Portugal

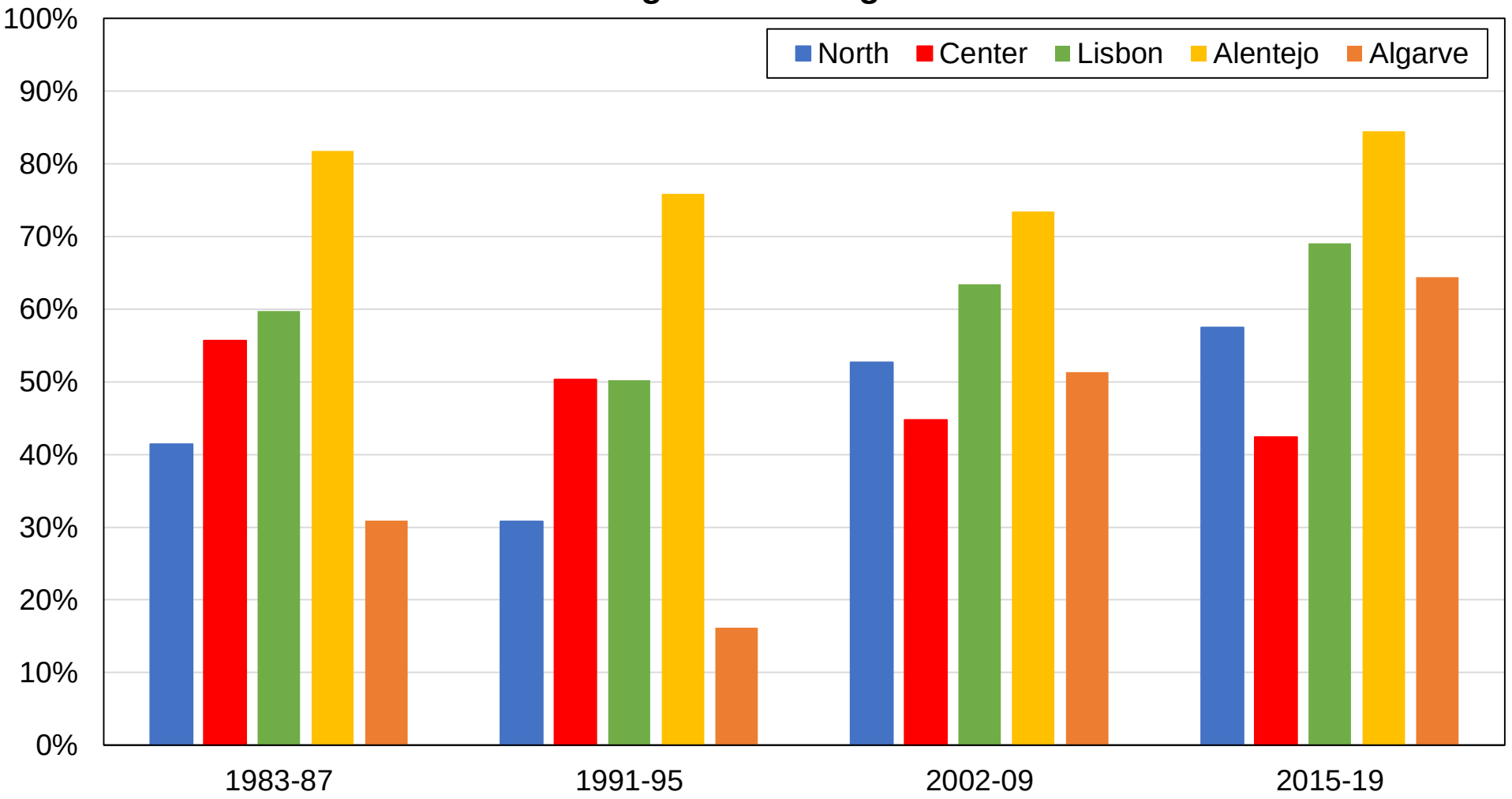


Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by frequency of church attendance.

Figure CB8 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block by employment status in Portugal

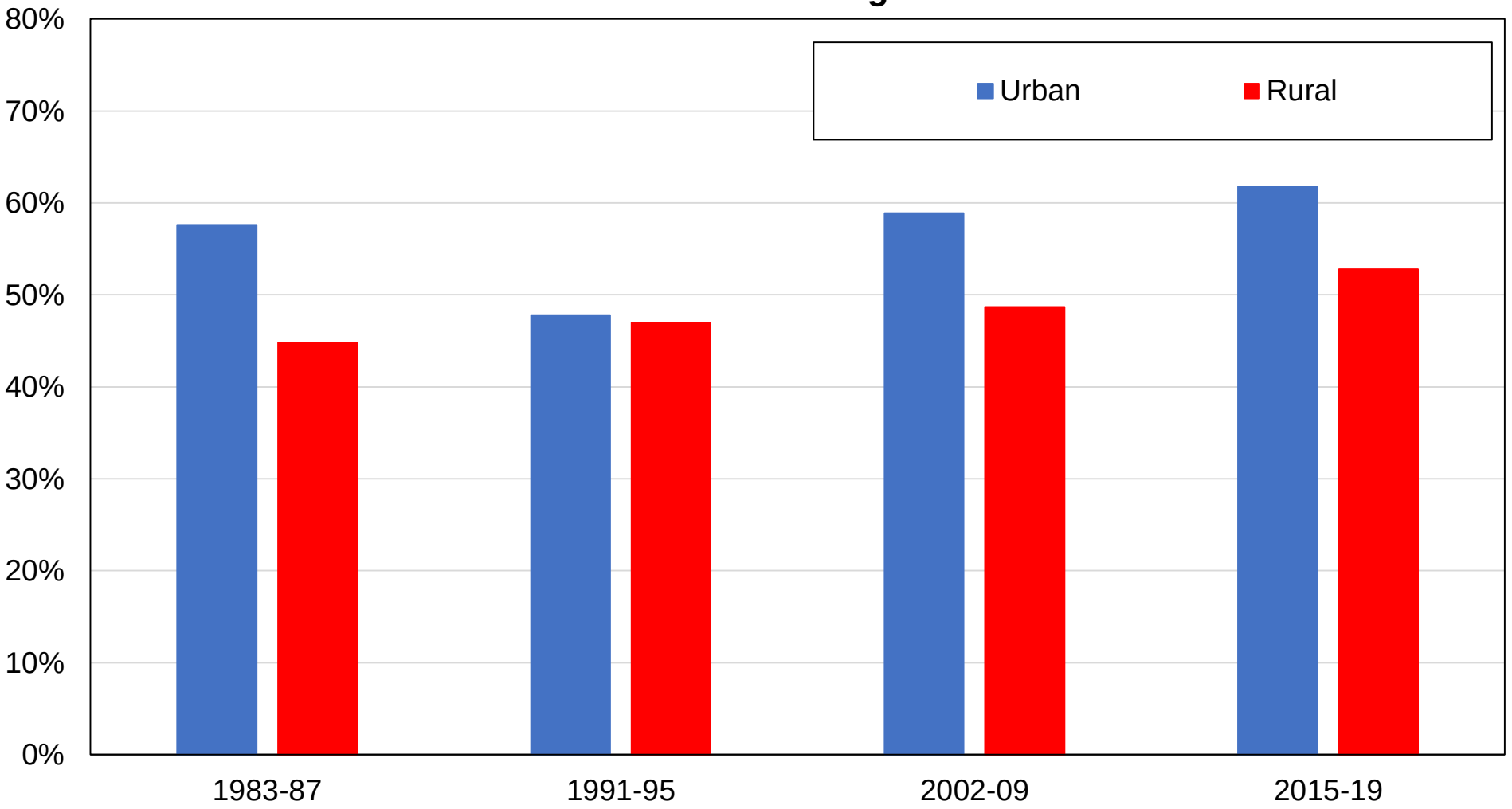
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by employment status.

Figure CB9 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block by region in Portugal



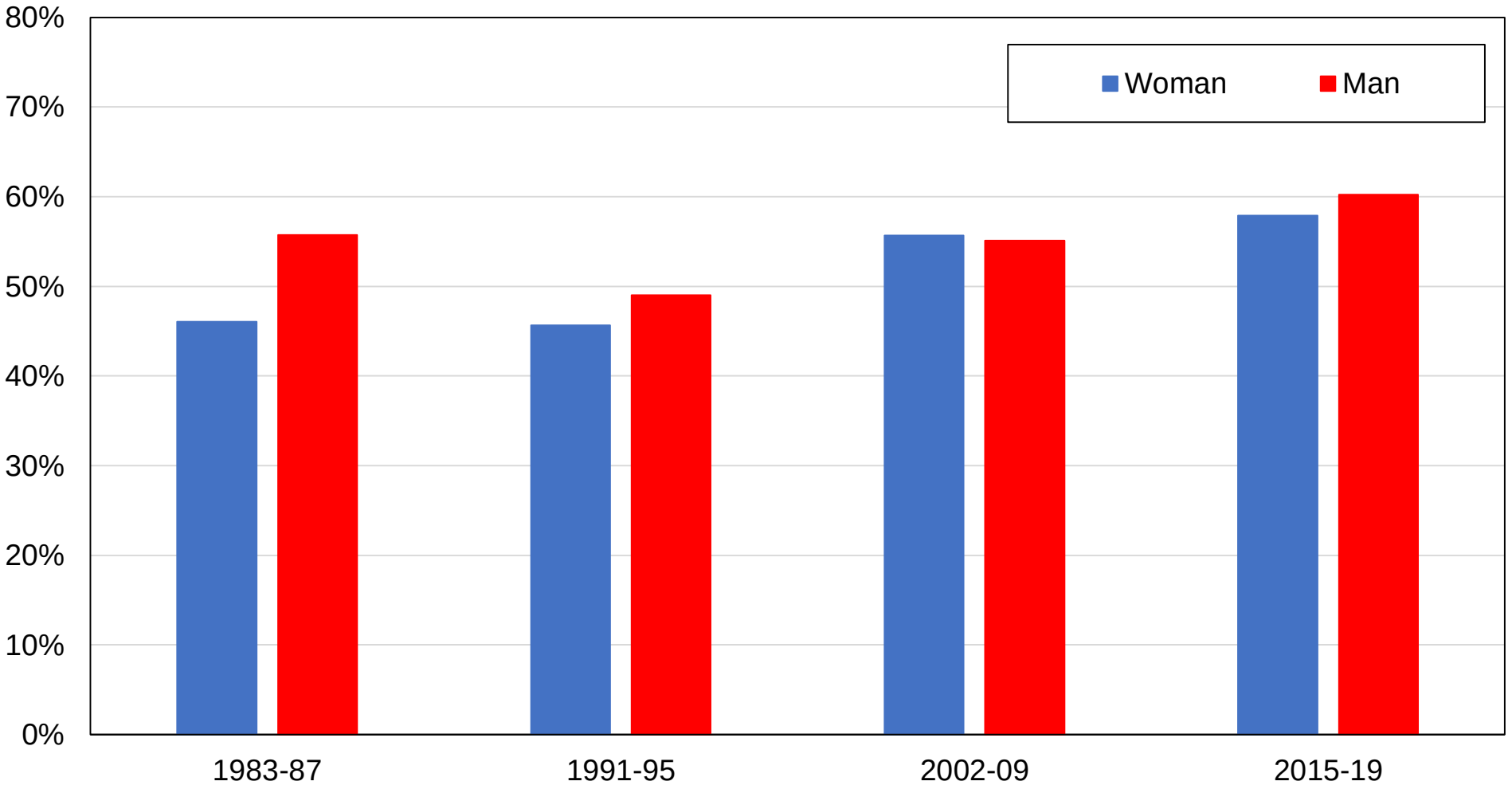
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by region.

Figure CB10 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block by location in Portugal



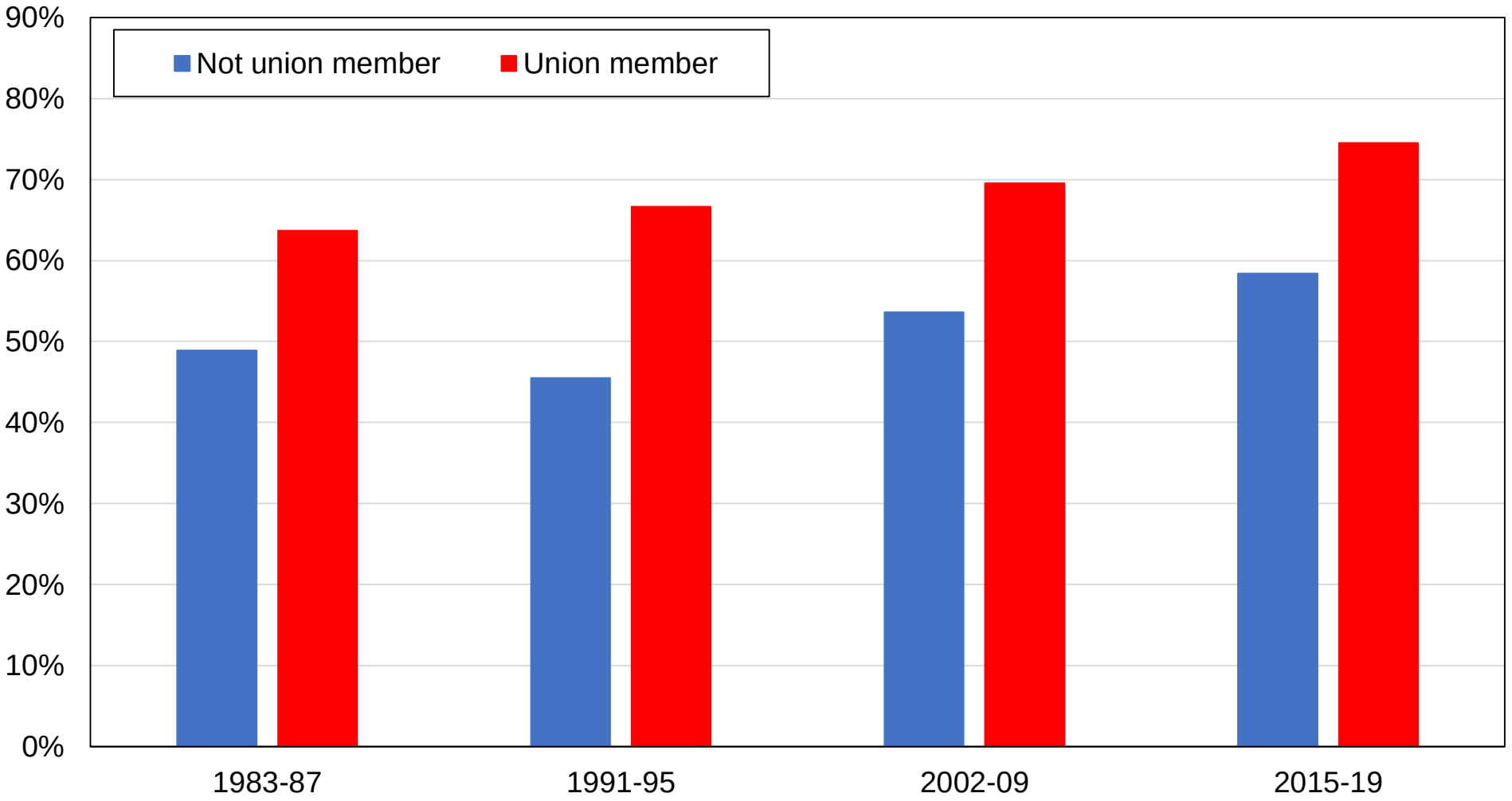
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by urban versus rural location.

Figure CB11 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block by gender in Portugal



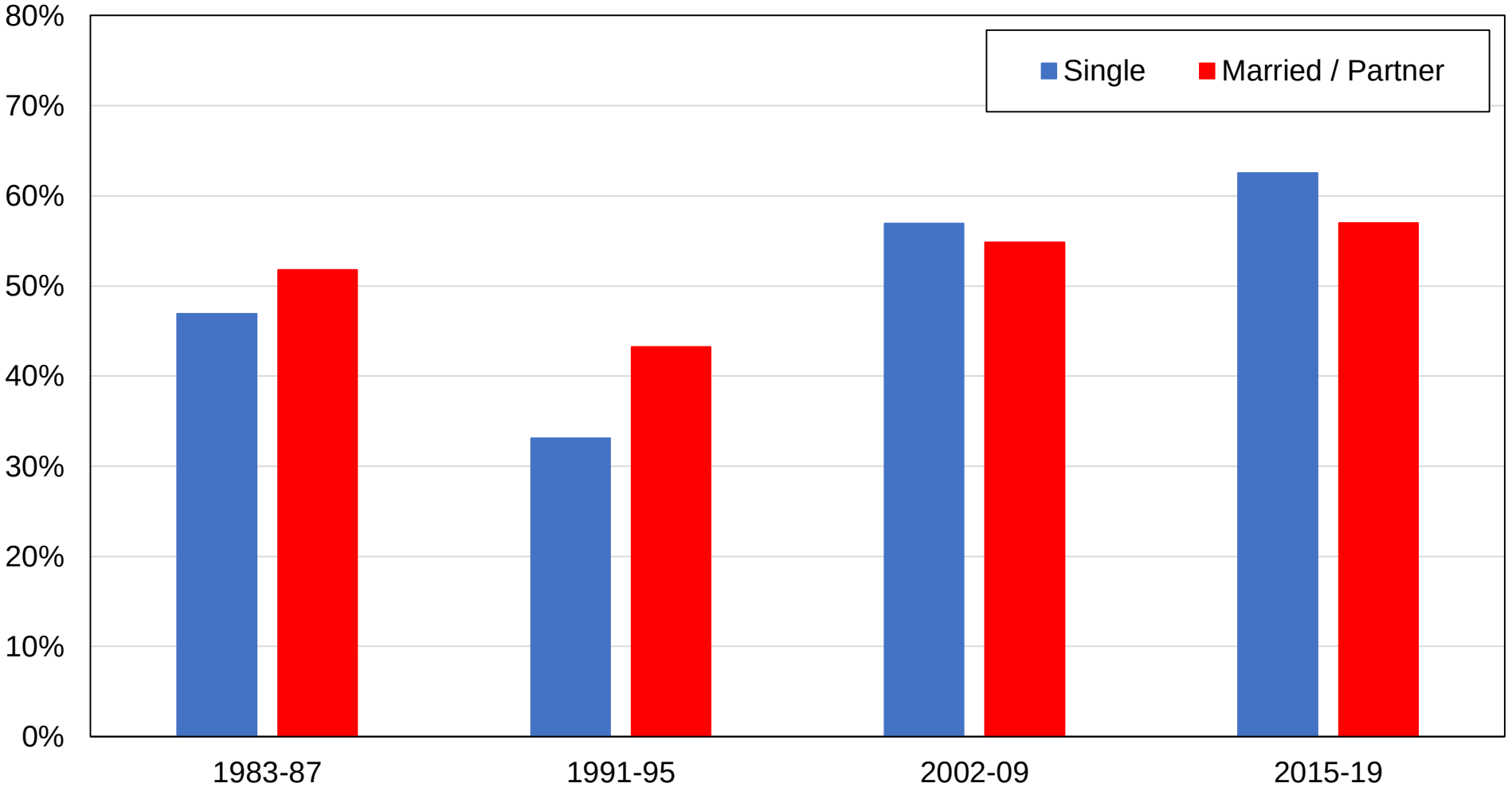
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by gender.

Figure CB12 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block by union membership in Portugal



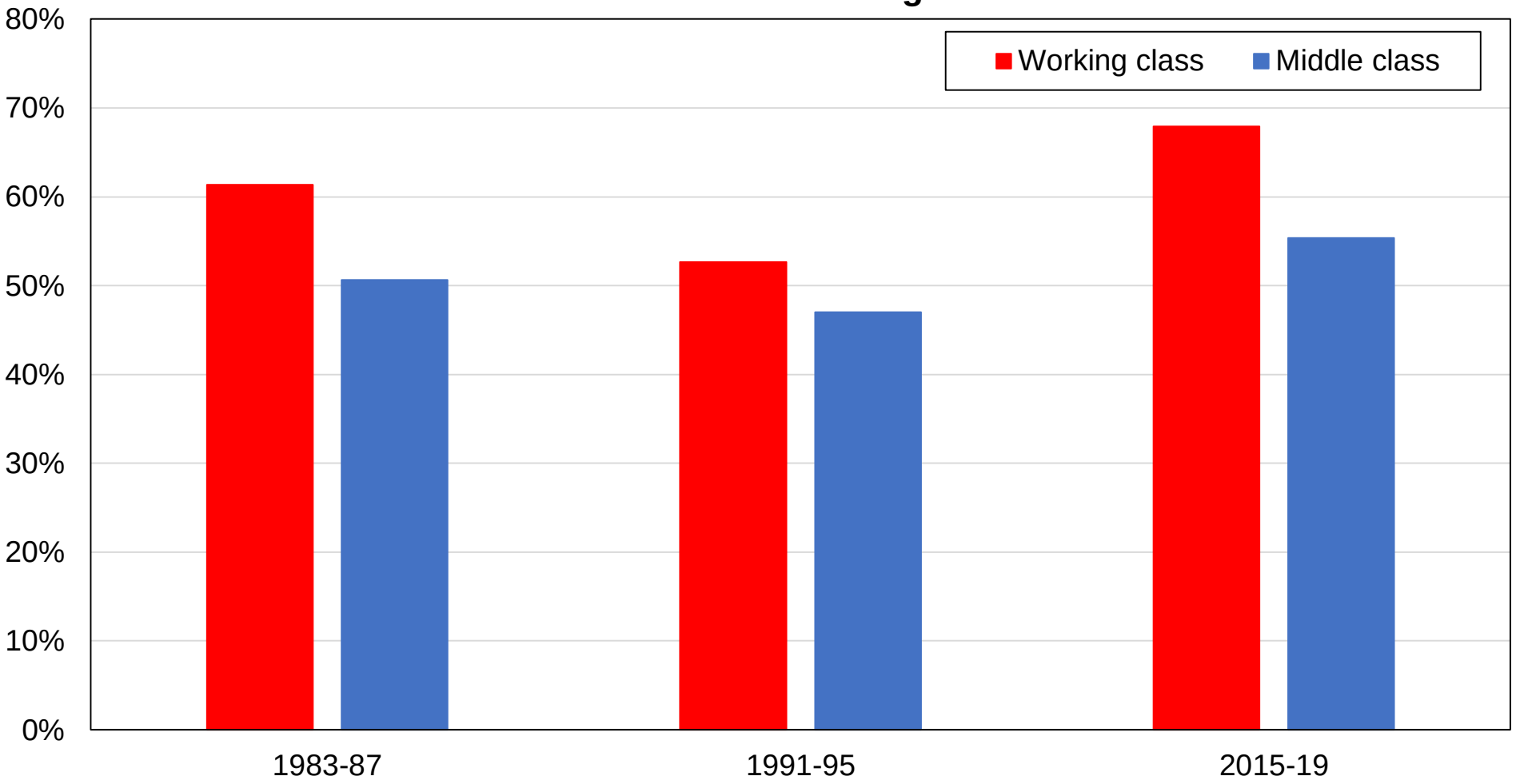
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by union membership status.

Figure CB13 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block by marital status in Portugal



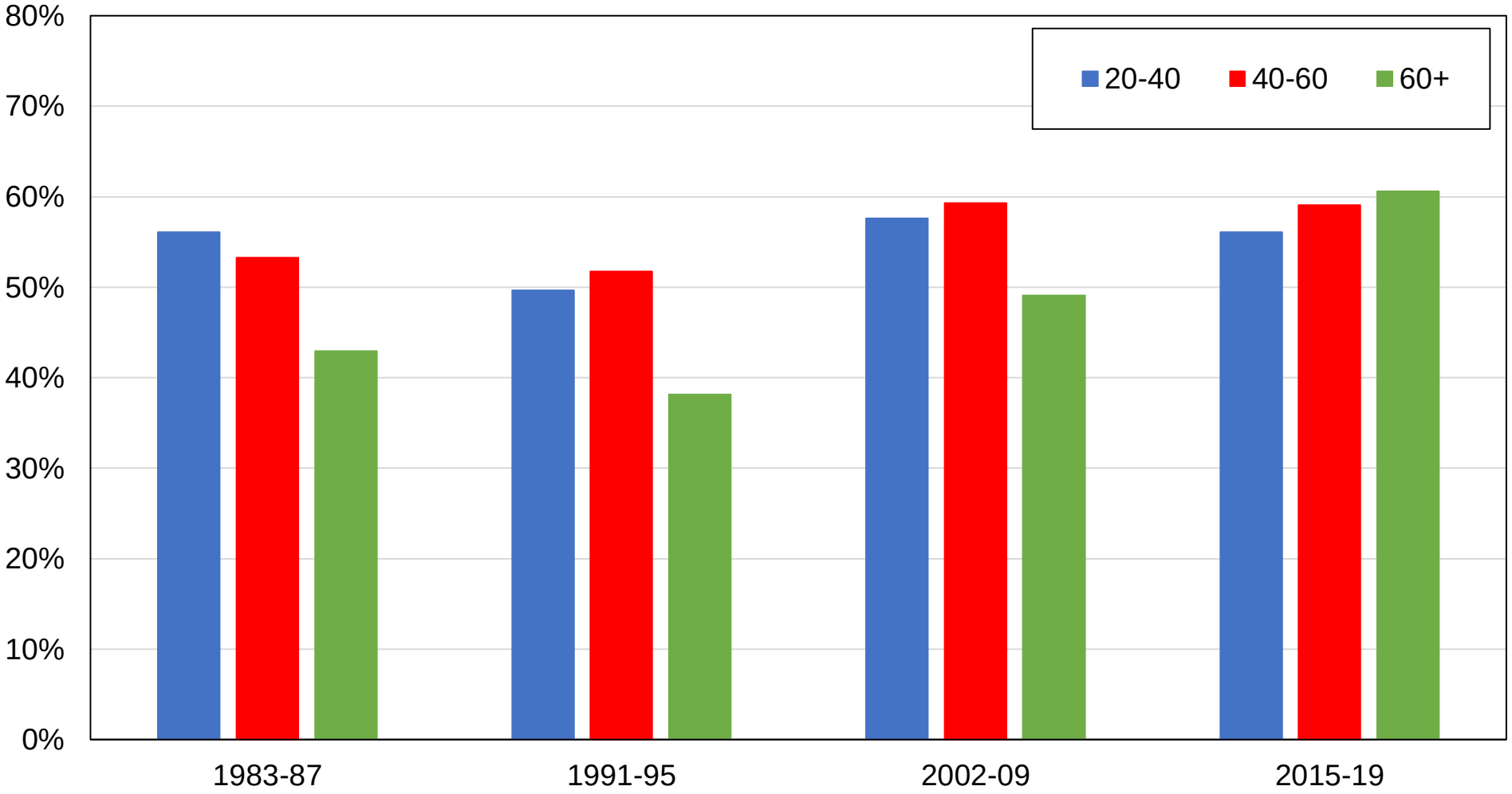
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by marital status.

Figure CB14 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block by social class in Portugal



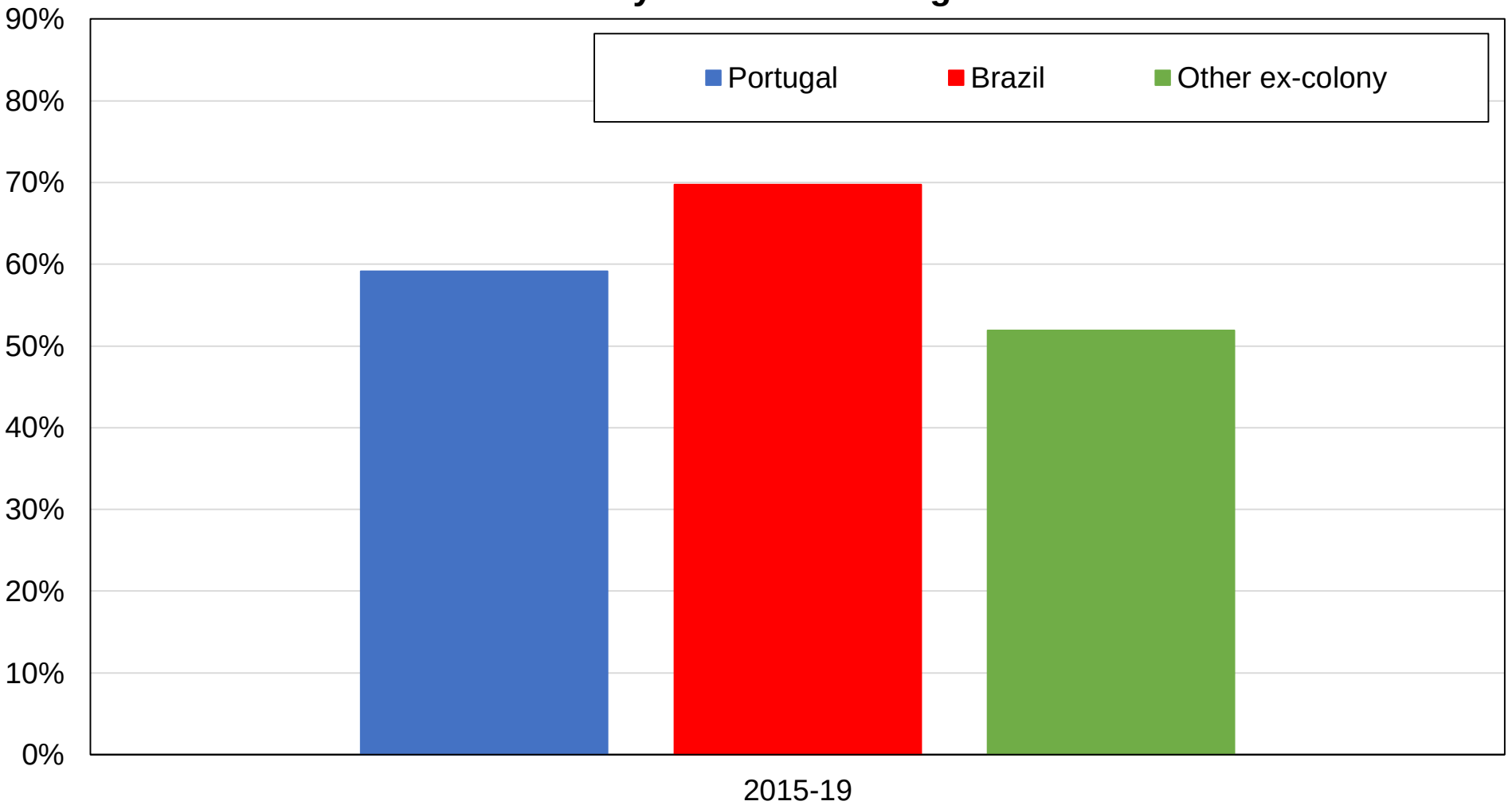
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by social class. Working class includes "lower class". Middle class includes "no class" and "upper class".

Figure CB15 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block by age group in Portugal



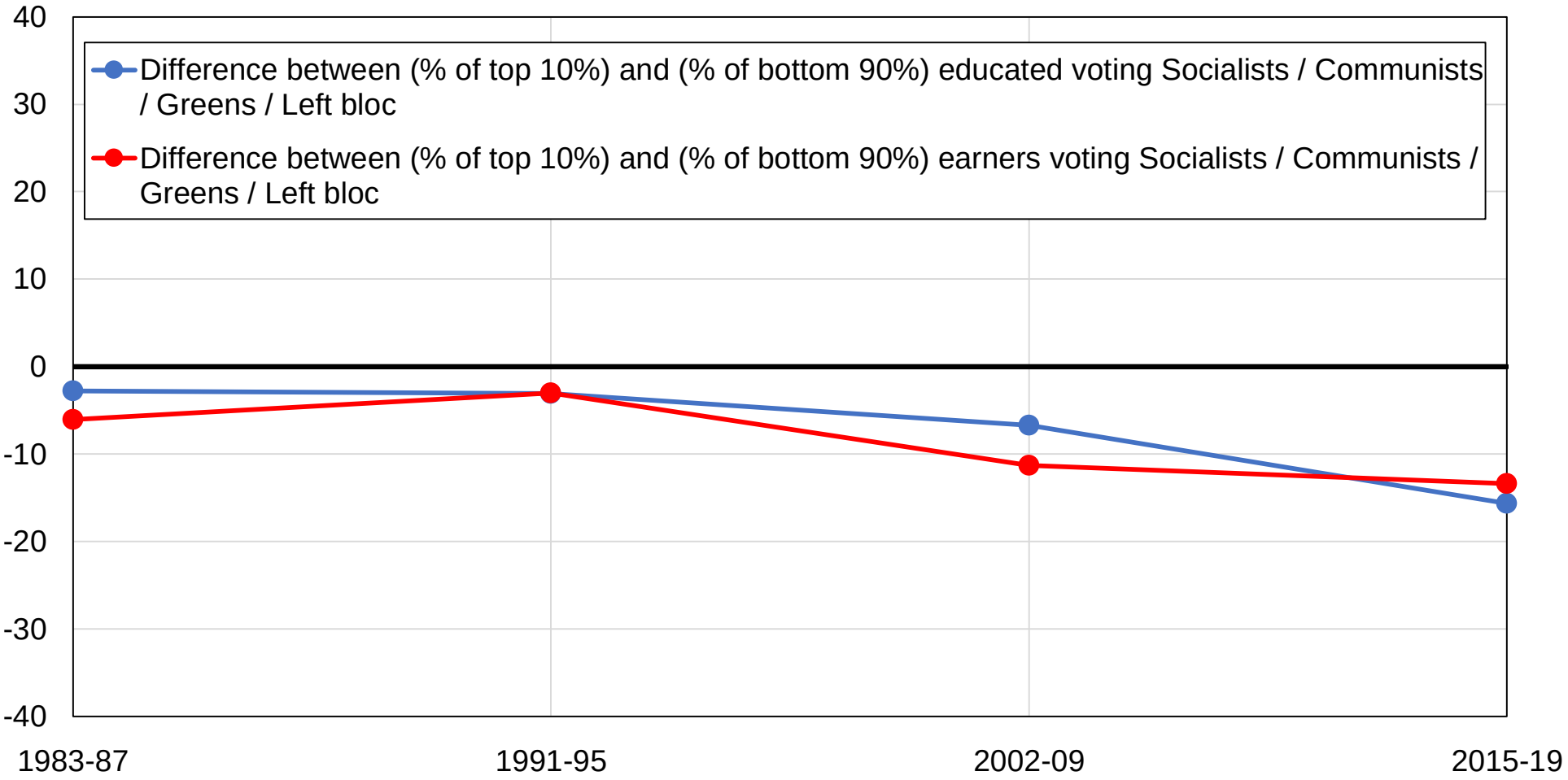
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by age.

Figure CB16 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block by country of birth in Portugal



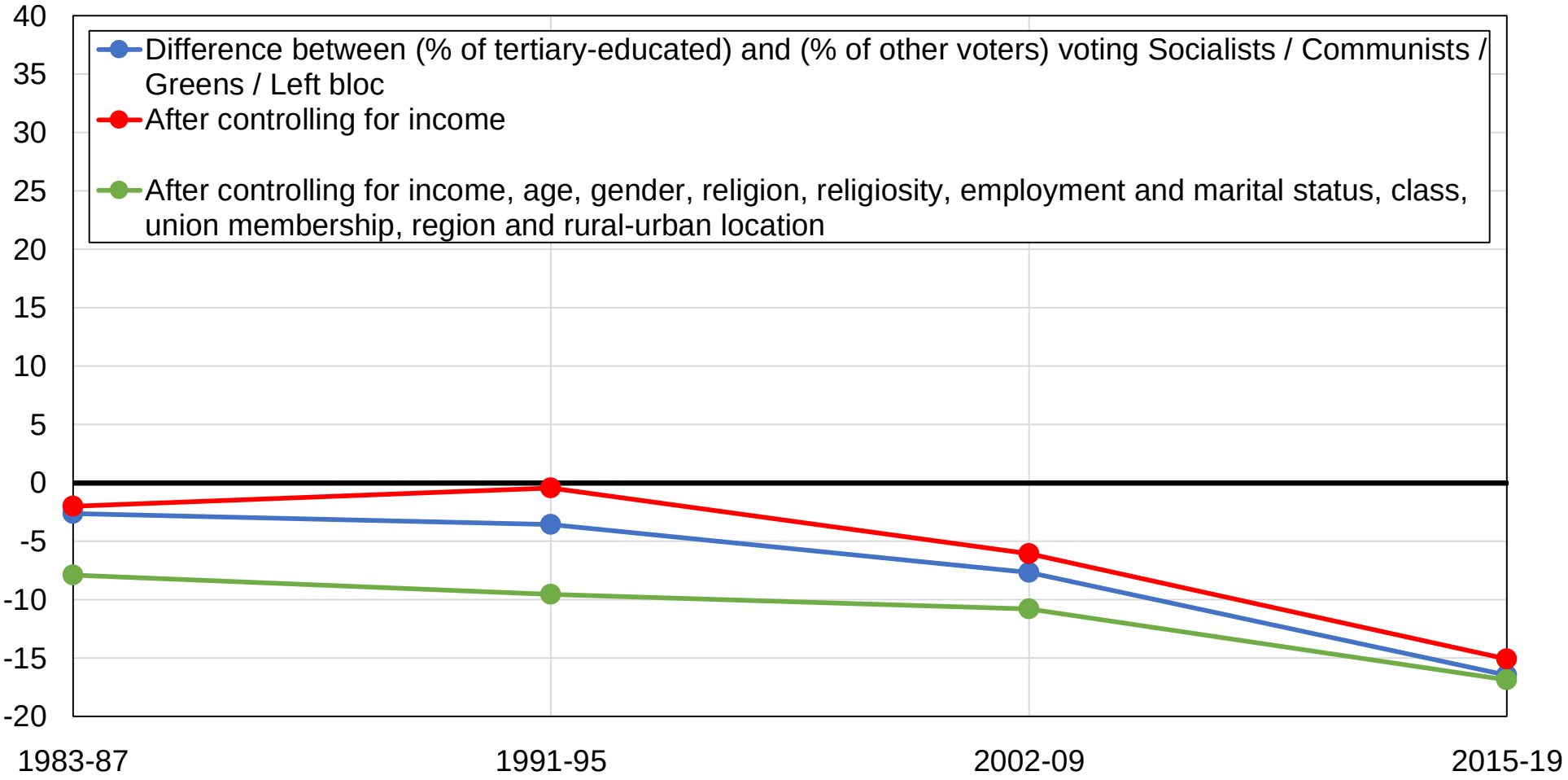
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by country of birth.

Figure CB17 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block among highest-educated and top-income voters in Portugal



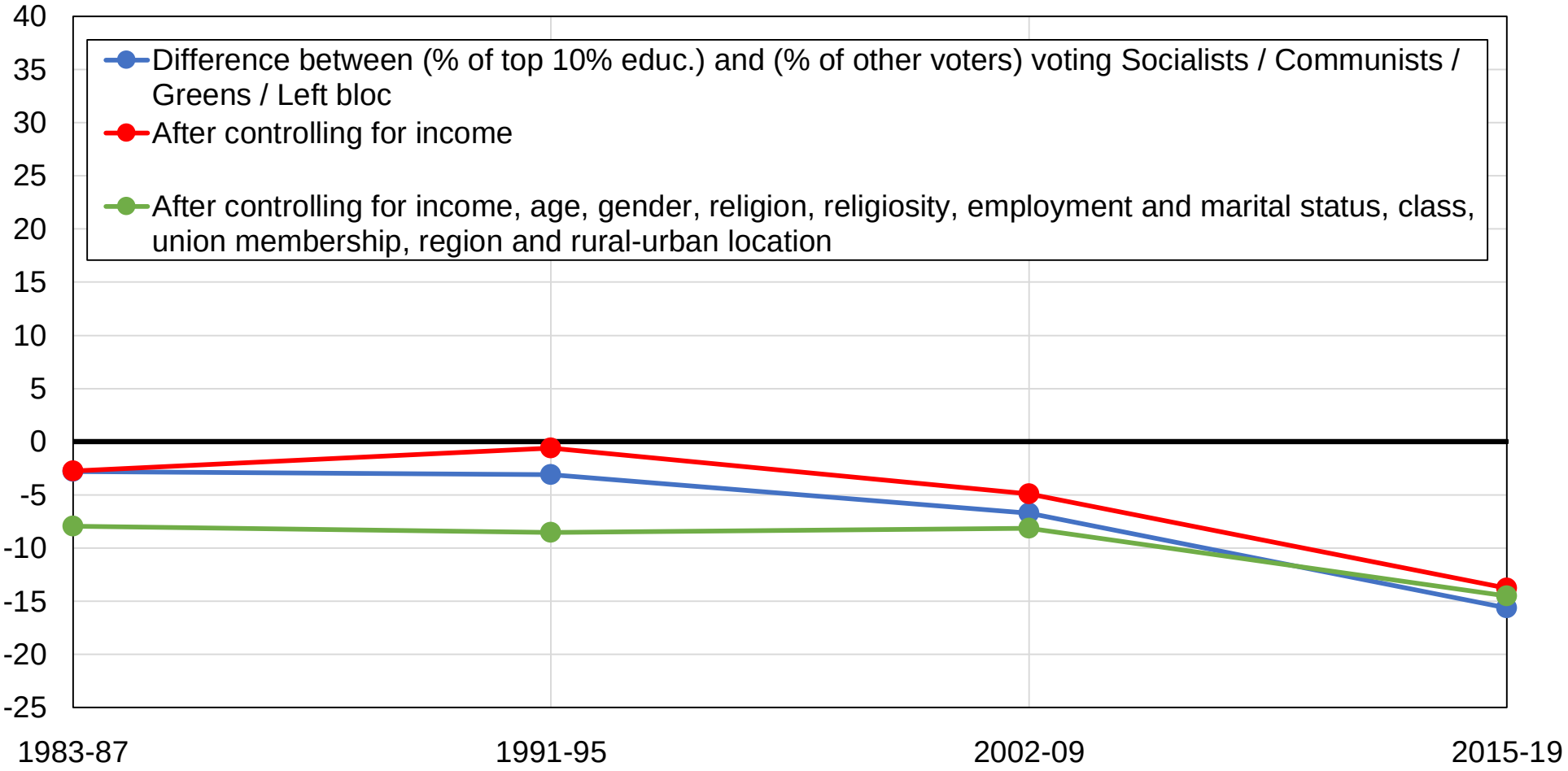
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated and top income voters and the share of other voters voting for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left bloc, before controlling for other variables.

Figure CB18 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block among tertiary-educated voters in Portugal



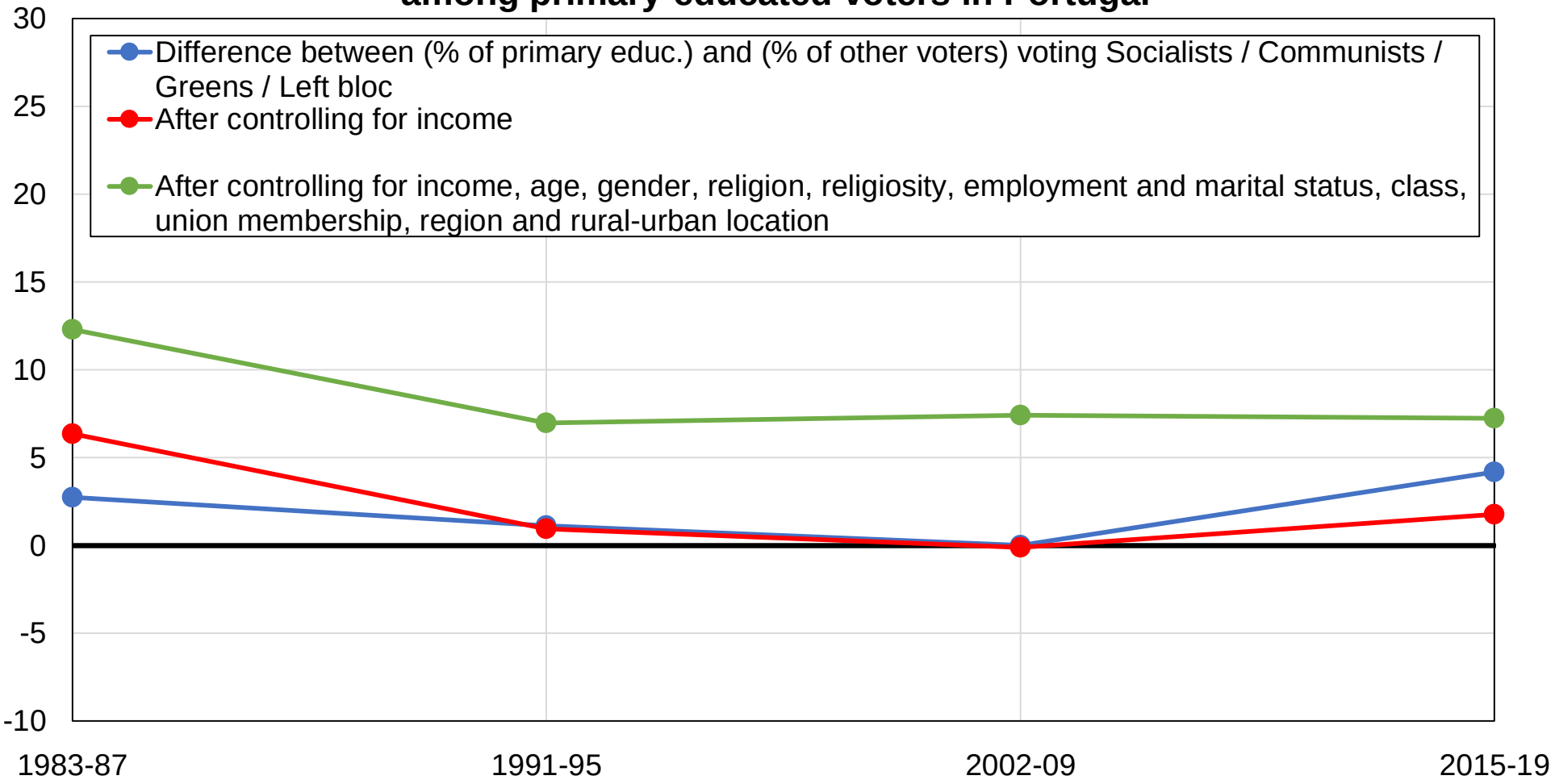
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of tertiary-educated and the share of other voters voting for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left bloc, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure CB19 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block among highest-educated voters in Portugal



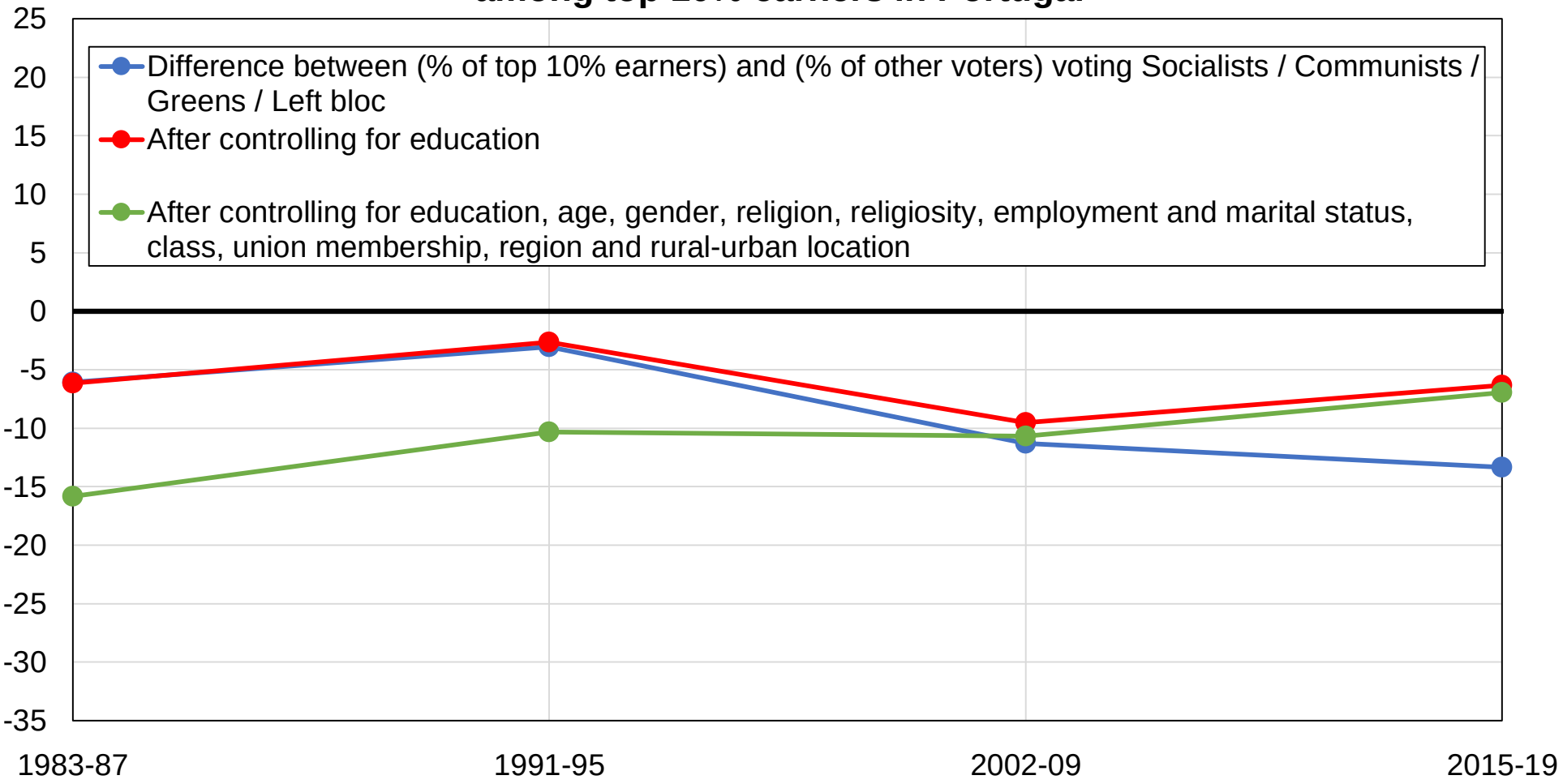
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of other voters voting for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left bloc, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure CB20 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block among primary-educated voters in Portugal



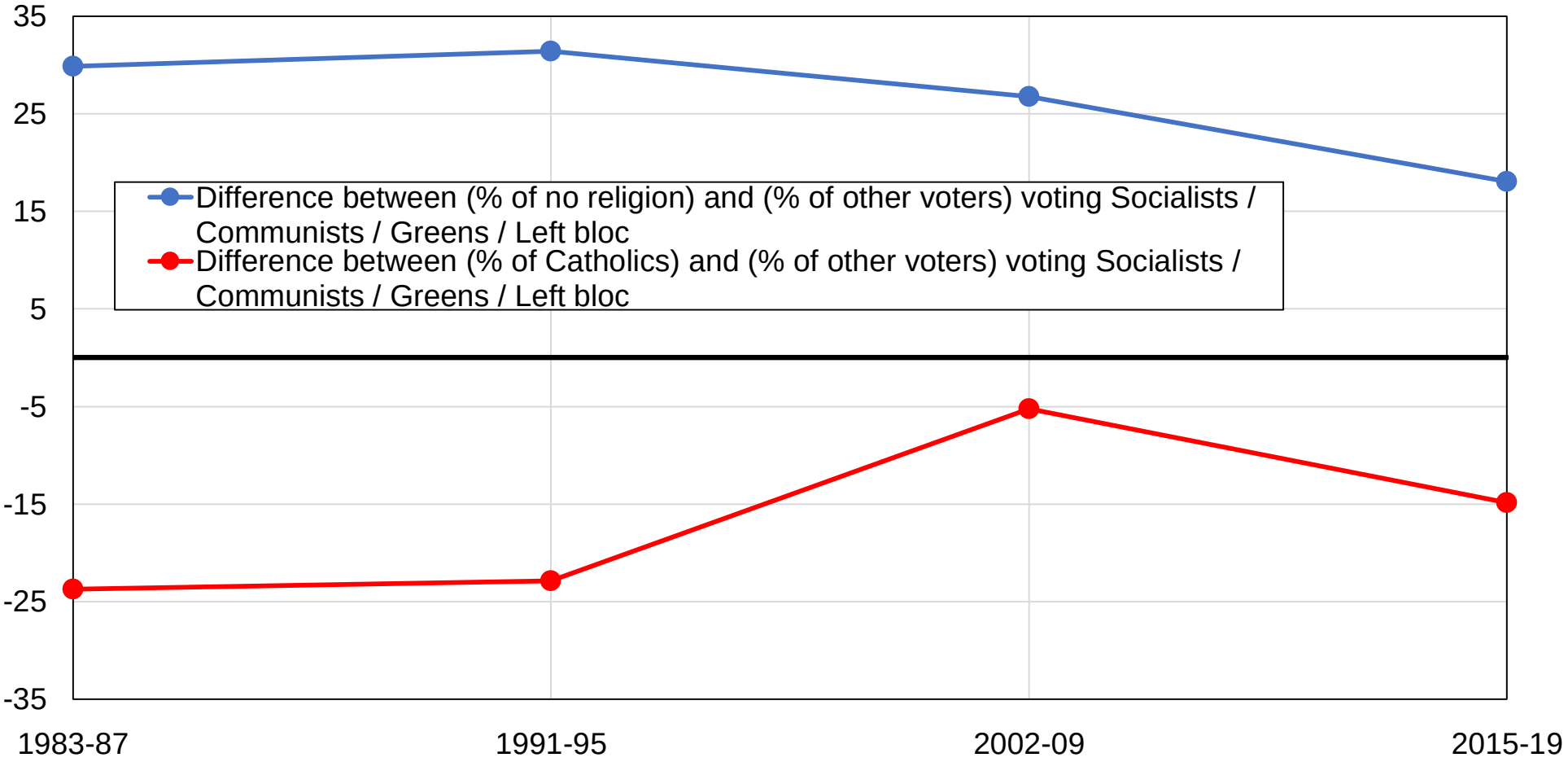
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of primary educated voters and the share of other voters voting for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left bloc, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure CB21 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block among top 10% earners in Portugal



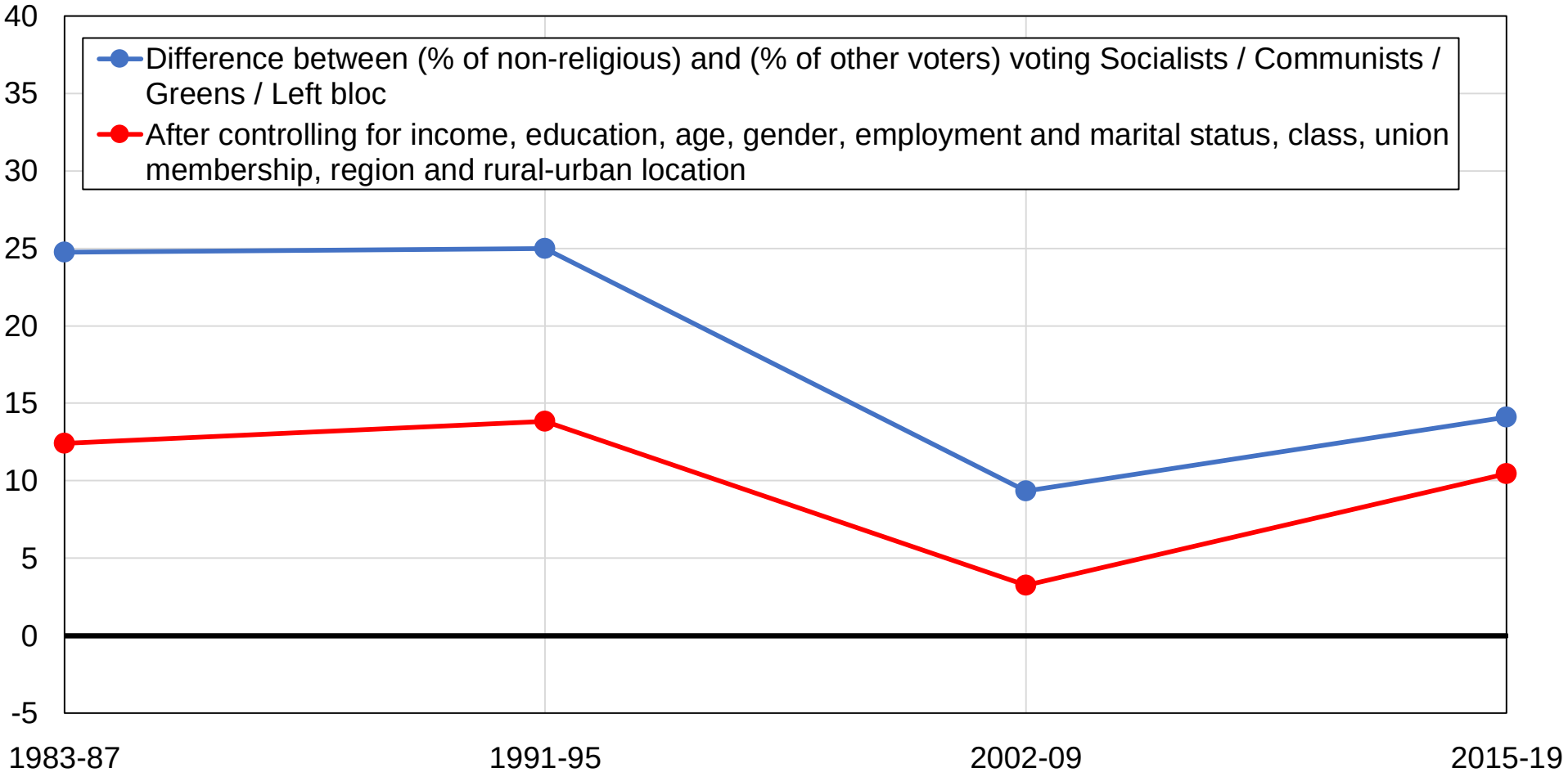
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left bloc, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure CB22 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block among Catholics and non-religious in Portugal



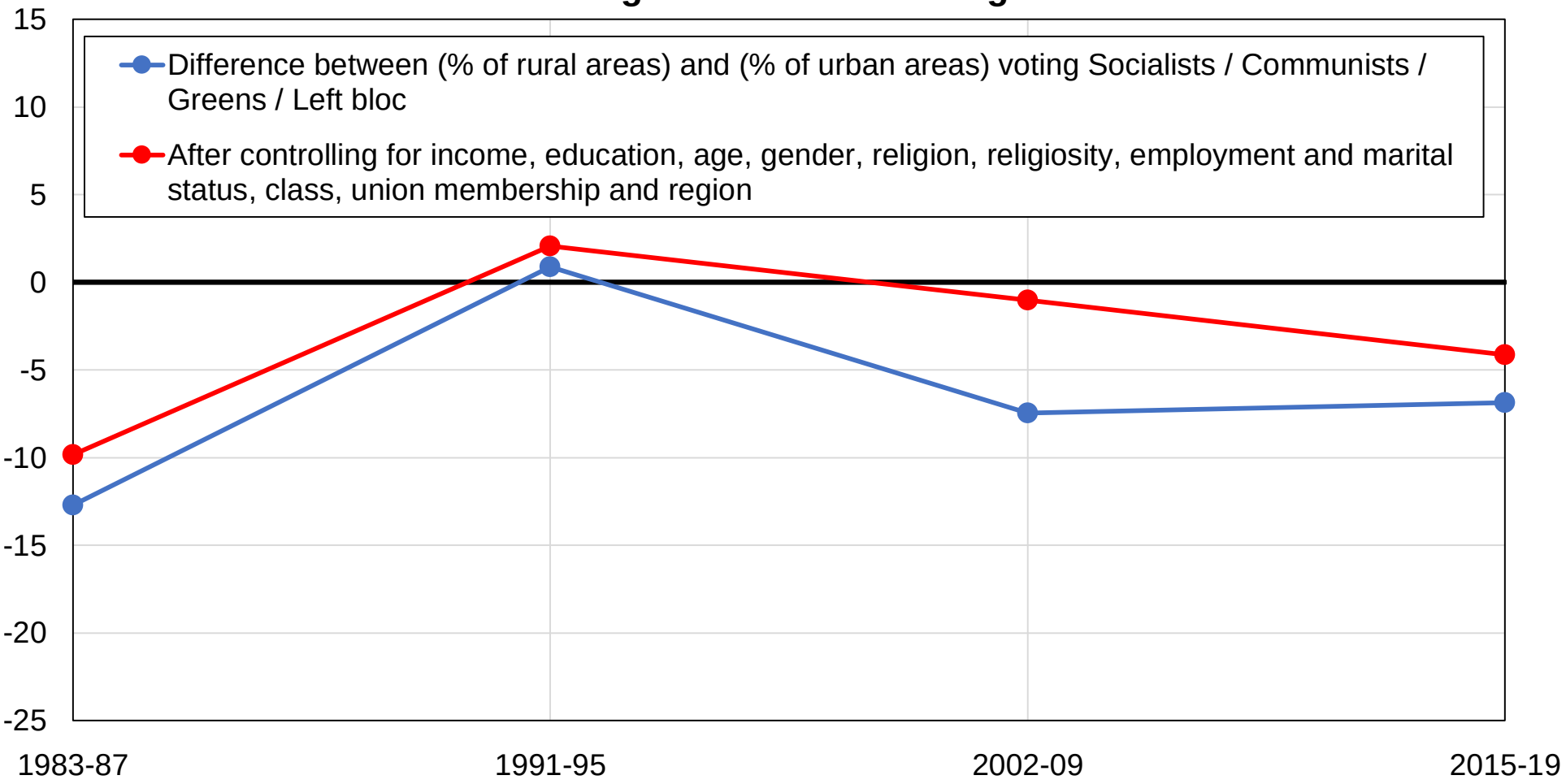
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters declaring no religion and the share of other voters voting for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left bloc, as well as the same difference between Catholics and others voters.

Figure CB23 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block among the non-religious in Portugal



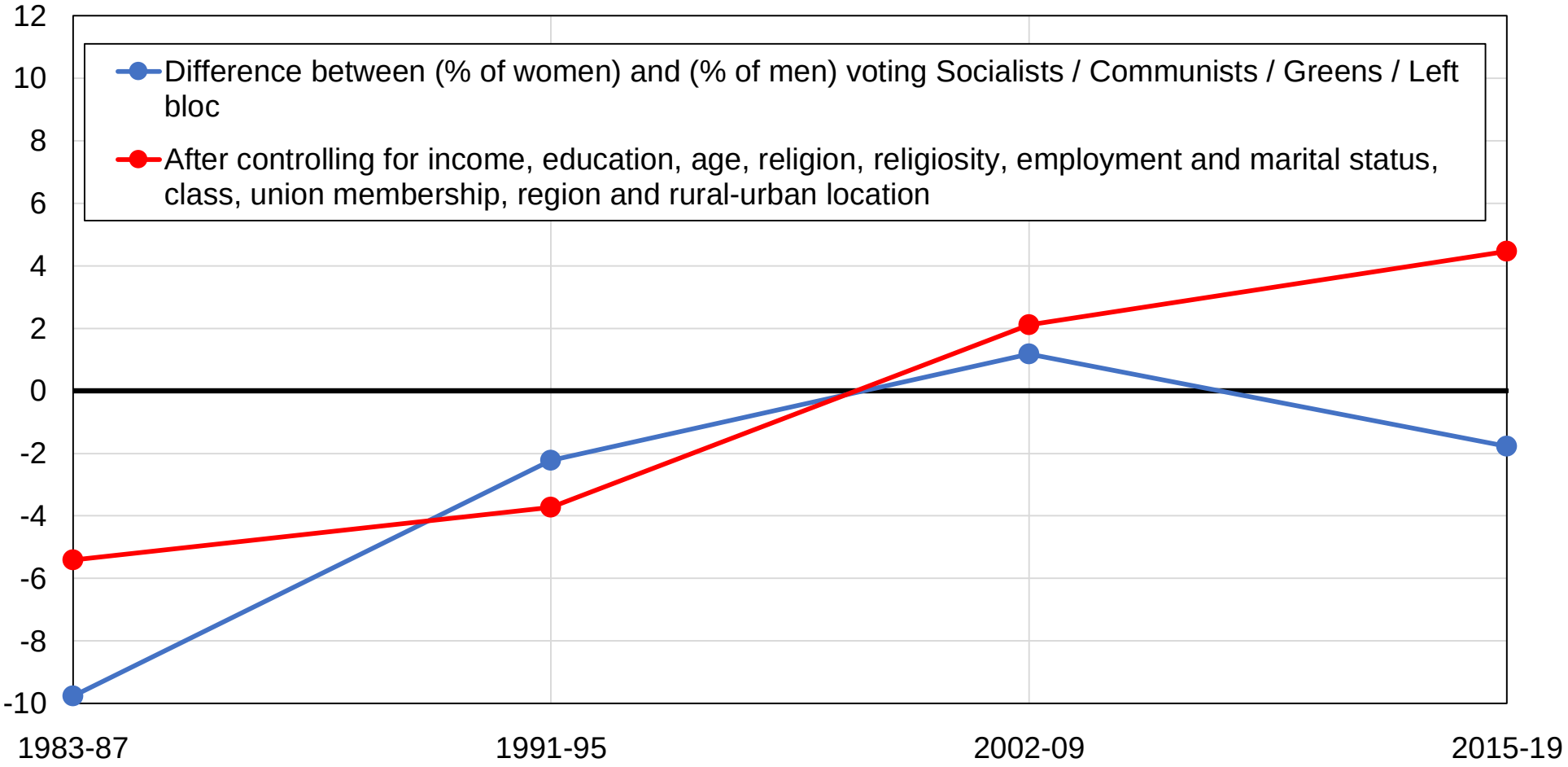
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters never going to church and the share of other voters voting for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left bloc, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure CB24 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block among rural areas in Portugal



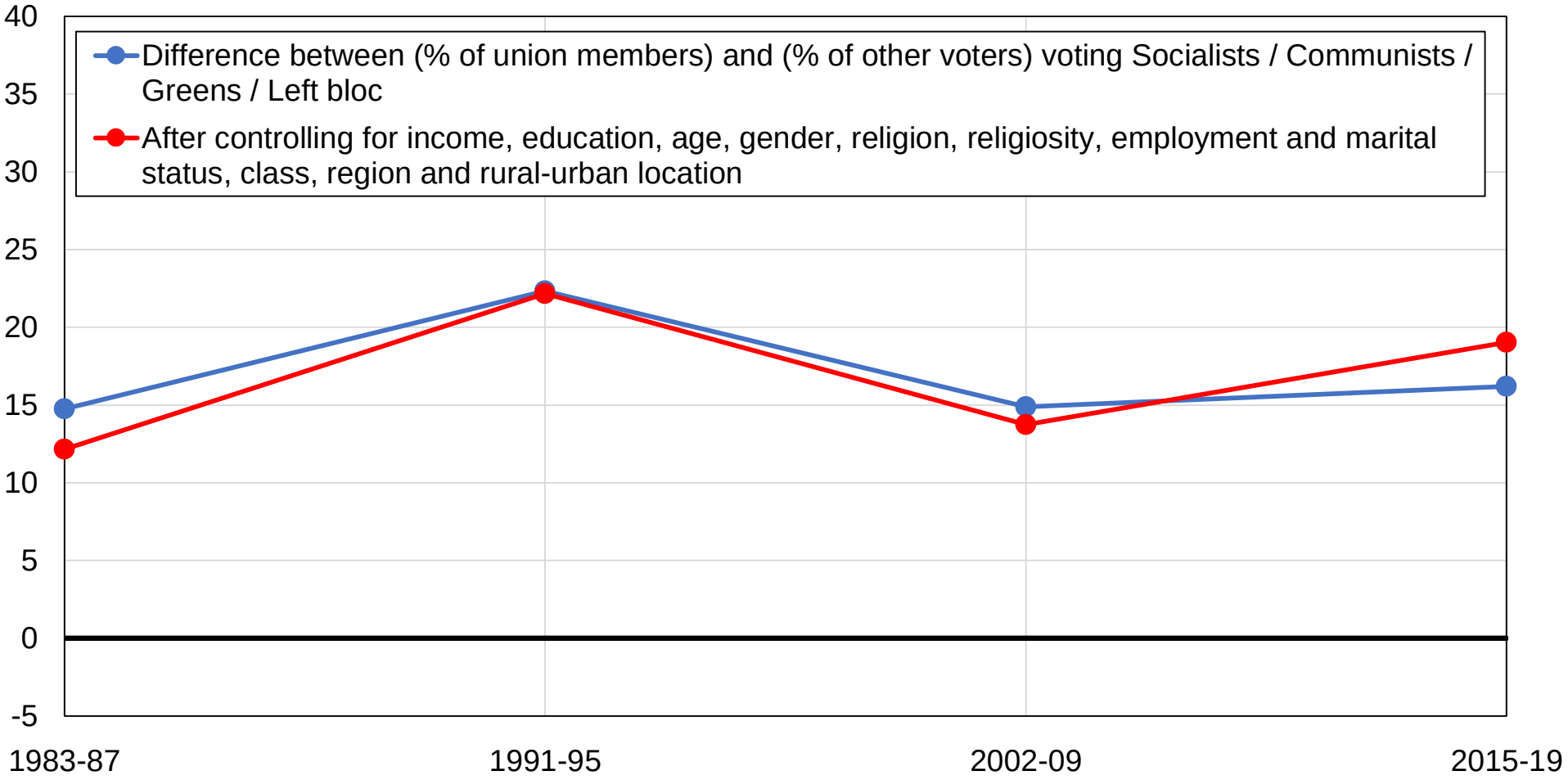
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of rural areas and the share of urban areas voting for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left bloc, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure CB25 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block among women in Portugal



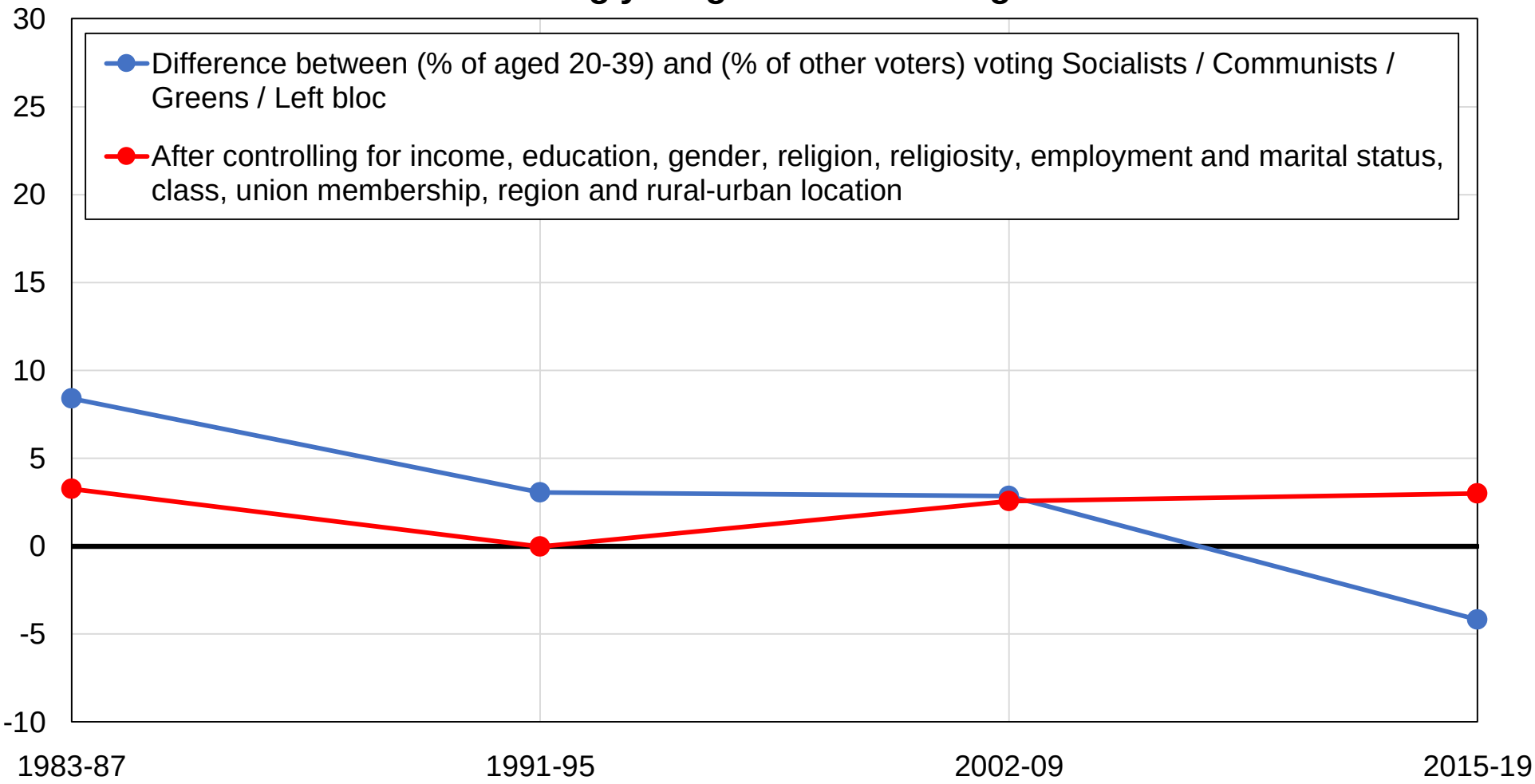
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left bloc, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure CB26 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block among union members in Portugal



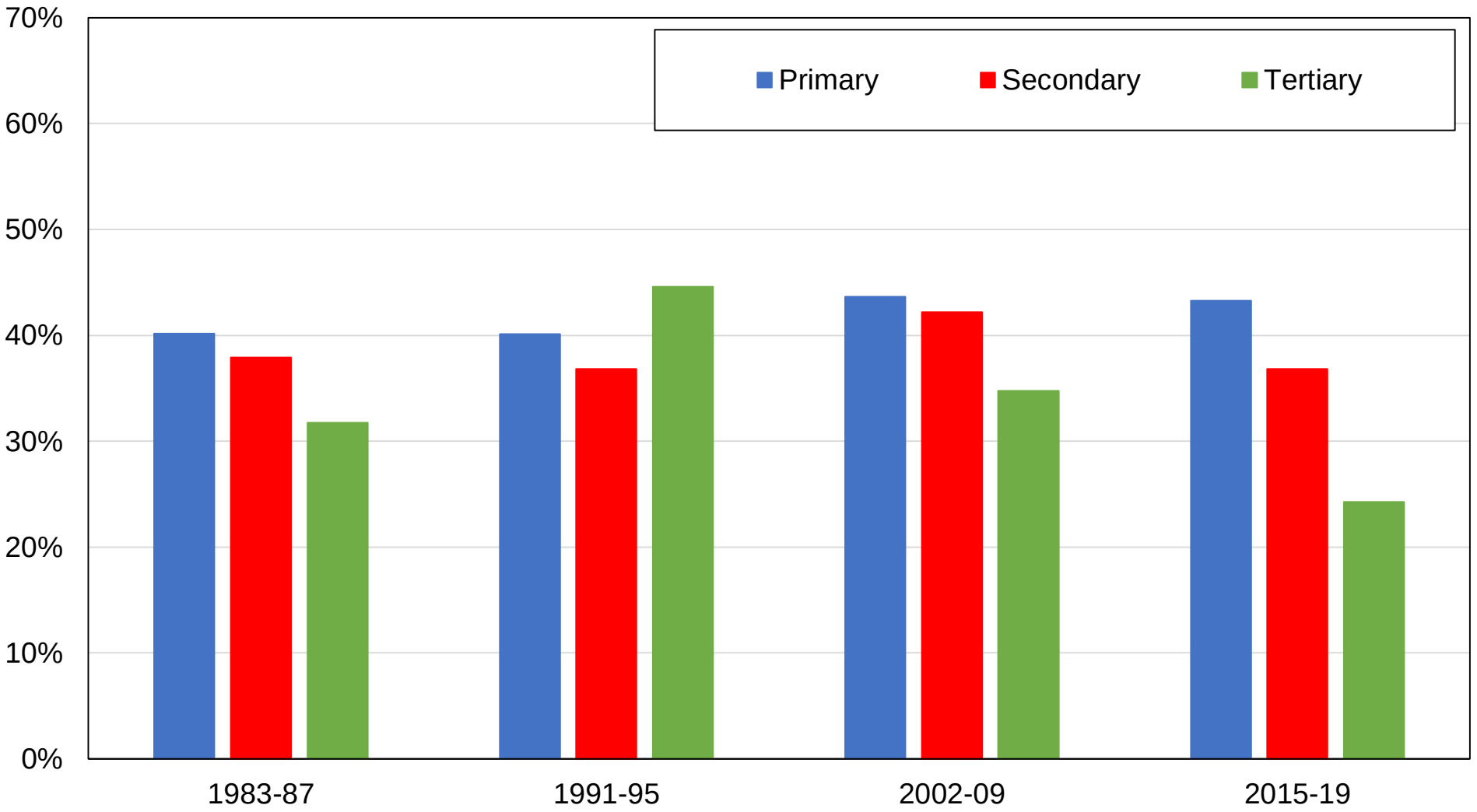
Source: authors' computations using Portuguse political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of union members and the share of other voters voting for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left bloc, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure CB27 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block among young voters in Portugal



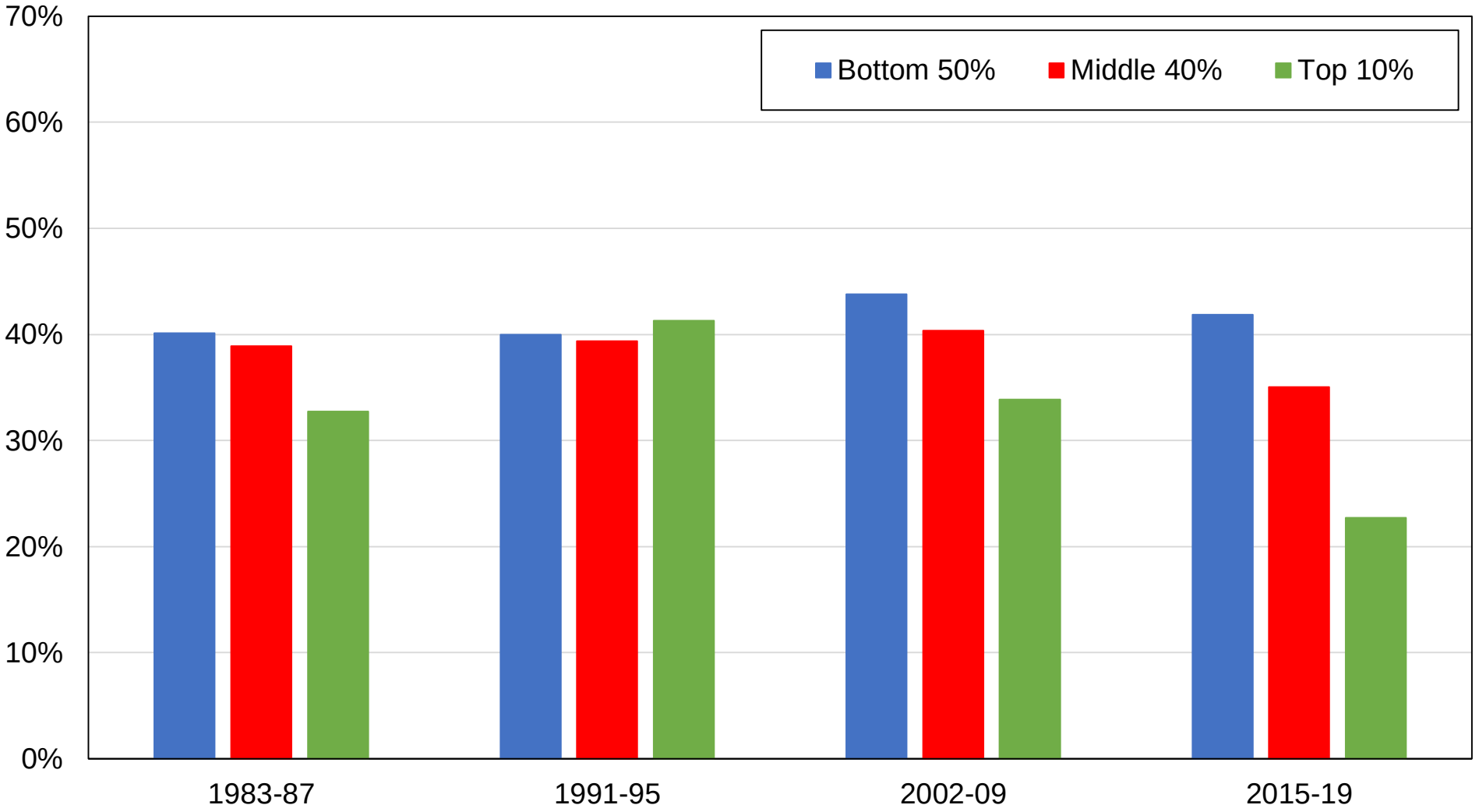
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters aged 20-39 and the share of voters older than 40 voting for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left bloc, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure CC1 - Vote for the Socialist Party by education level in Portugal



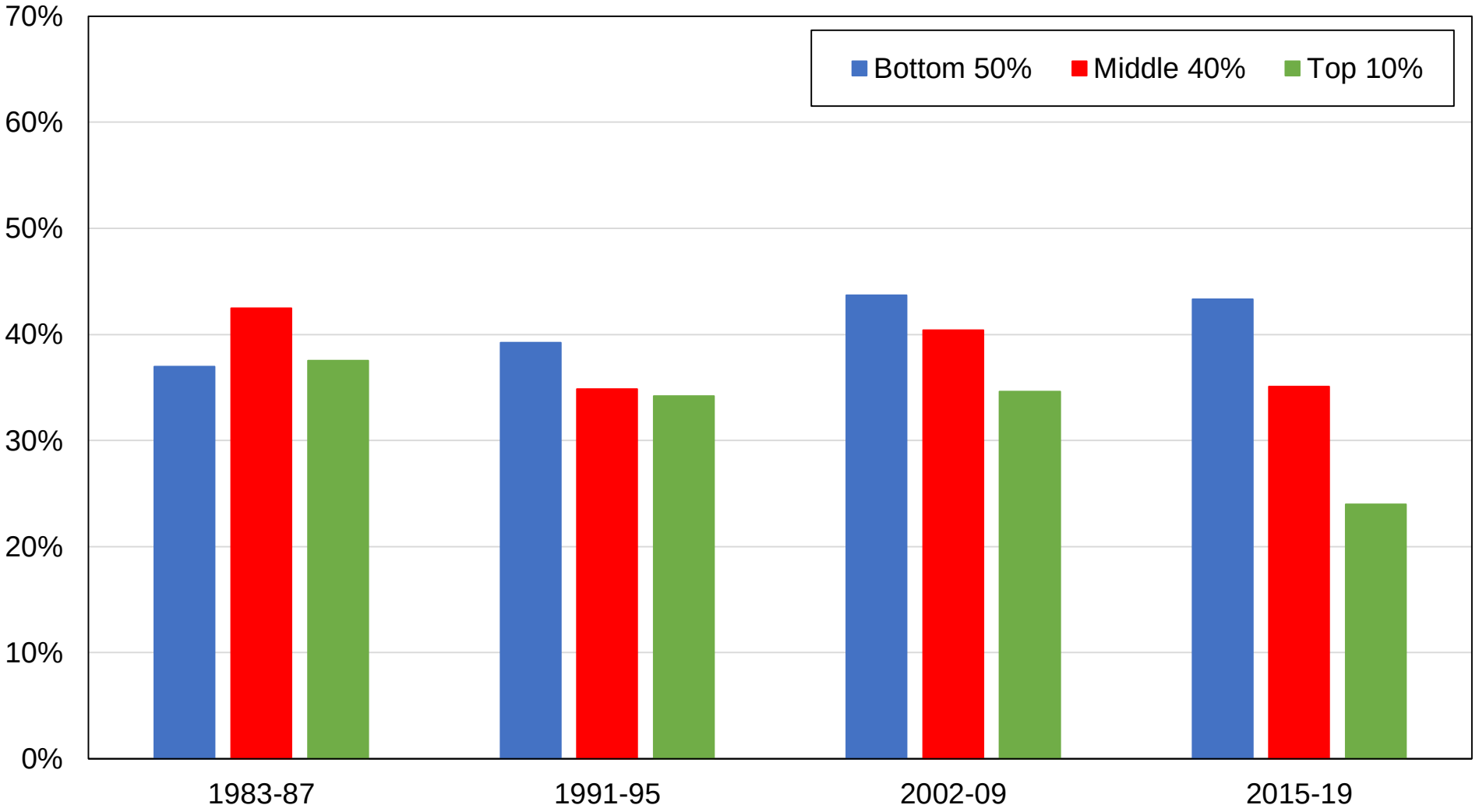
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Socialist Party by education level.

Figure CC2 - Vote for the Socialist Party by education group in Portugal



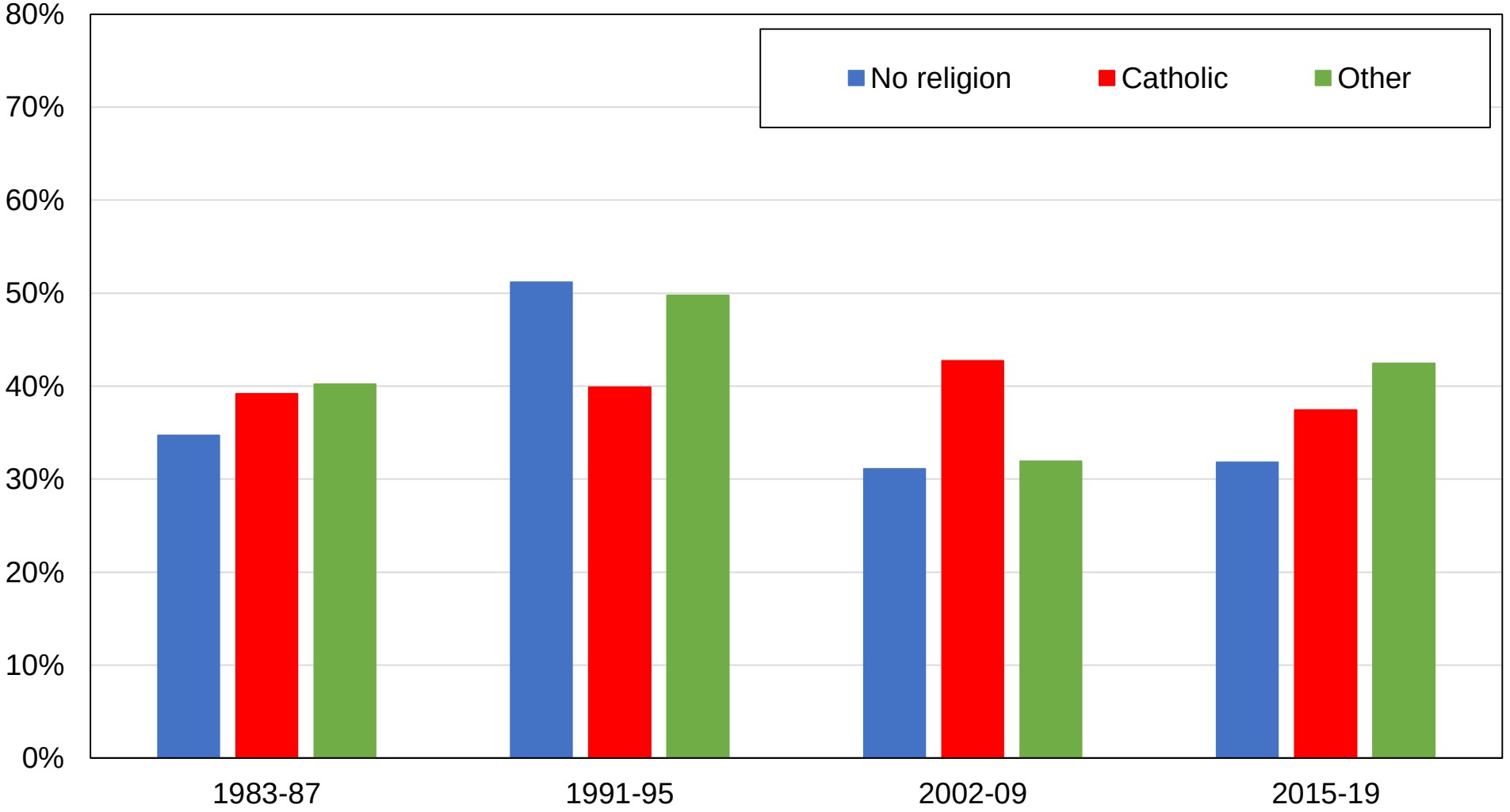
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Socialist Party by education group.

Figure CC3 - Vote for the Socialist Party by income group in Portugal



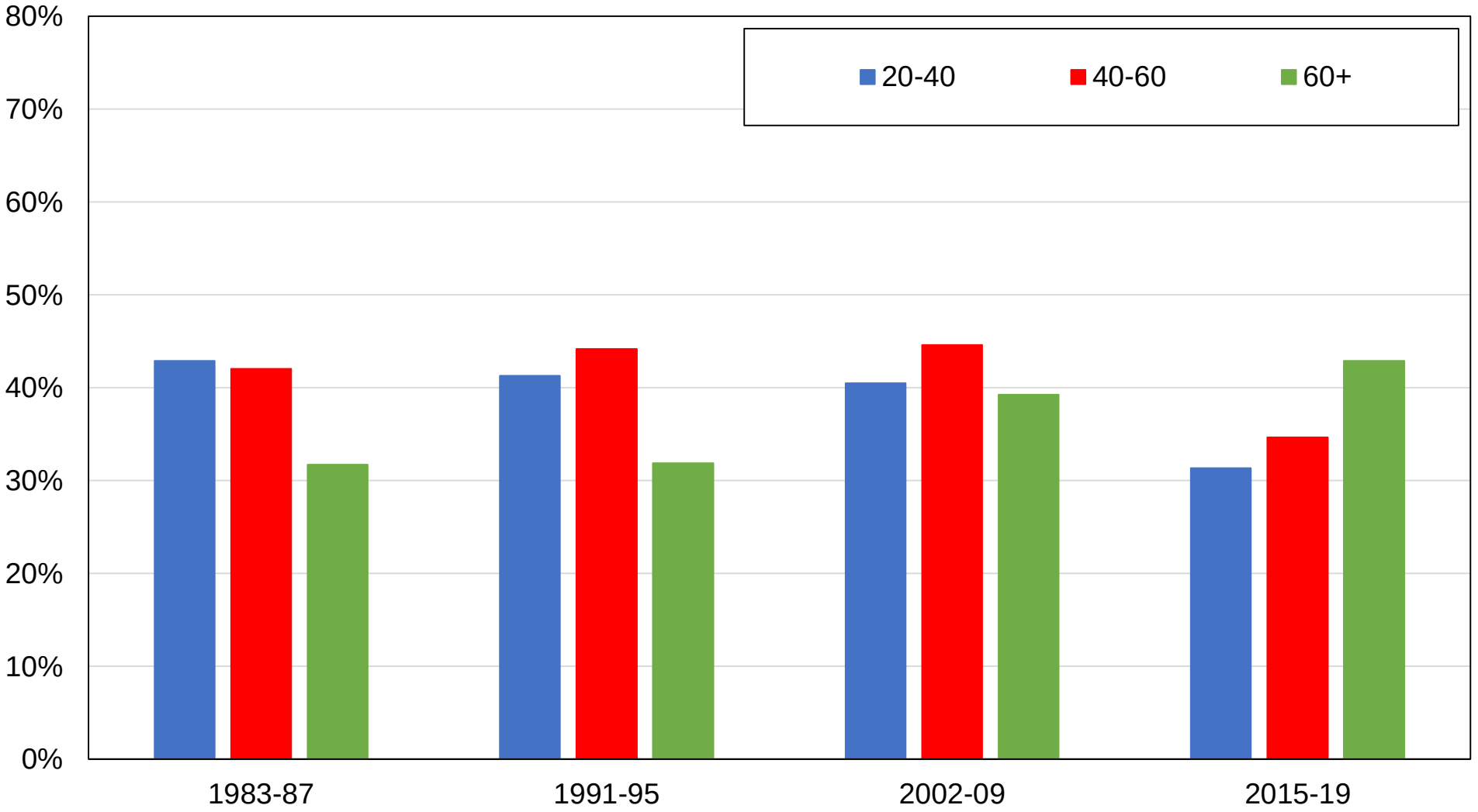
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Socialist Party by income group.

Figure CC4 - Vote for the Socialist Party by religious affiliation in Portugal



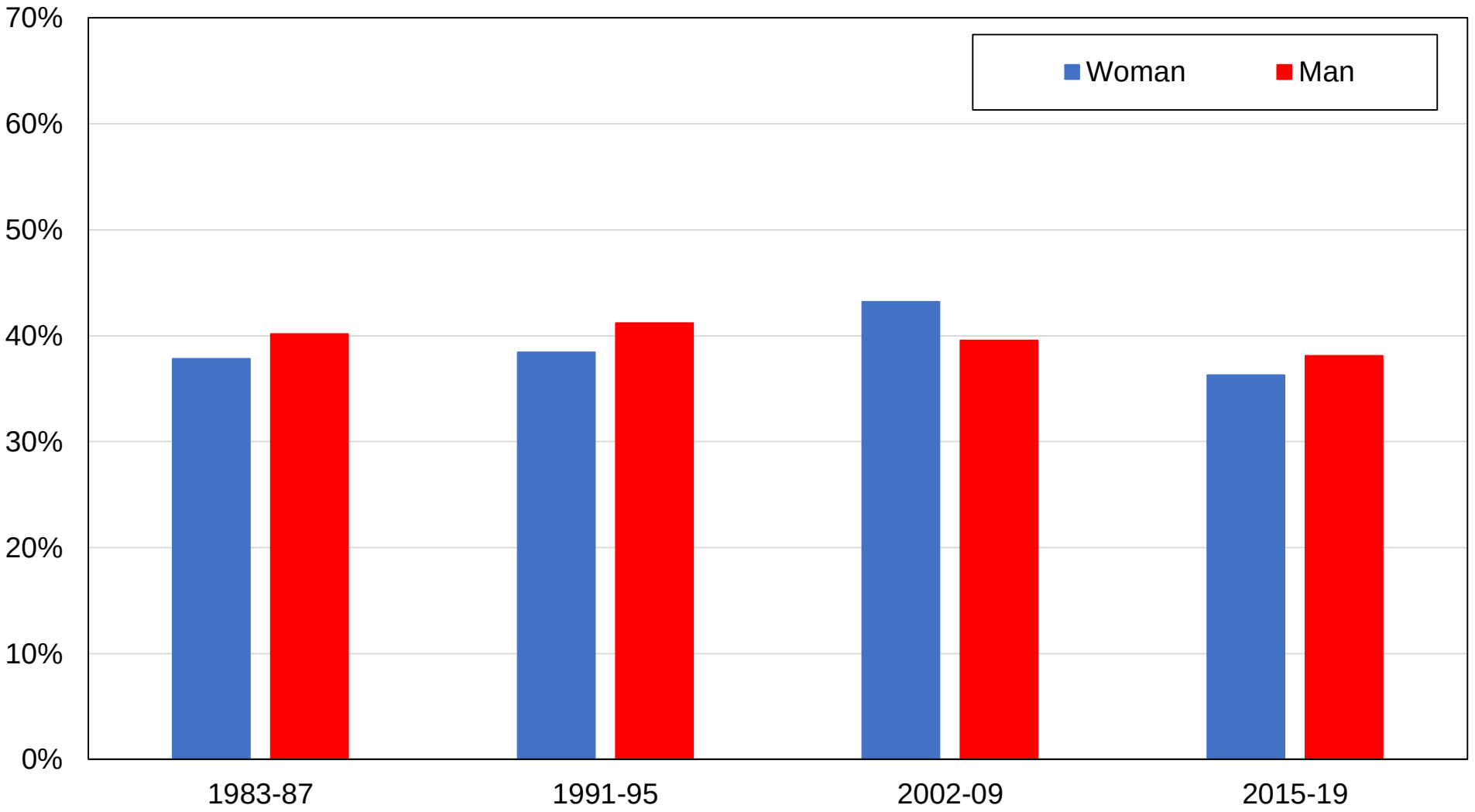
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Socialist Party by religious affiliation.

Figure CC5 - Vote for the Socialist Party by age in Portugal



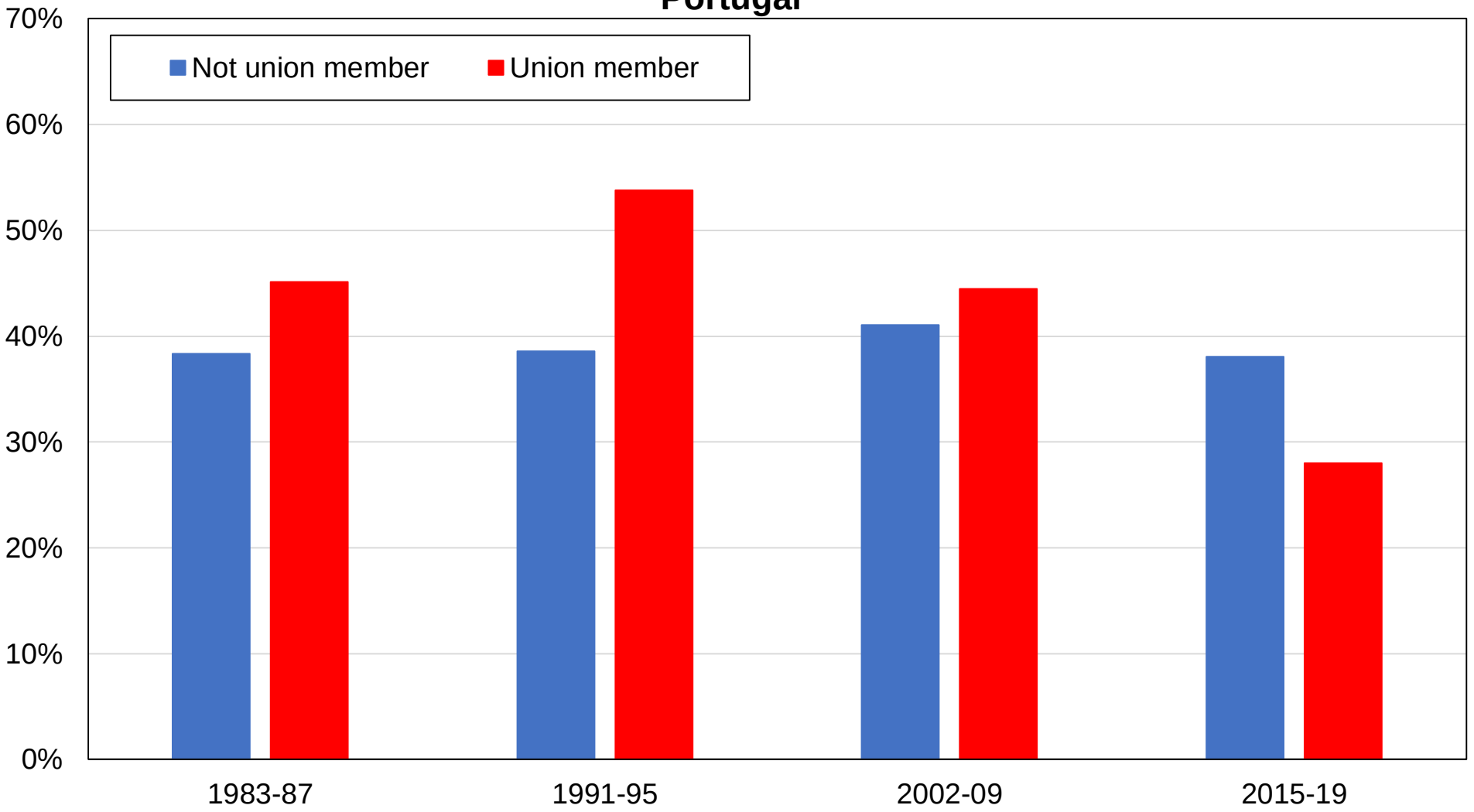
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Socialist Party by age.

Figure CC6 - Vote for the Socialist Party by gender in Portugal



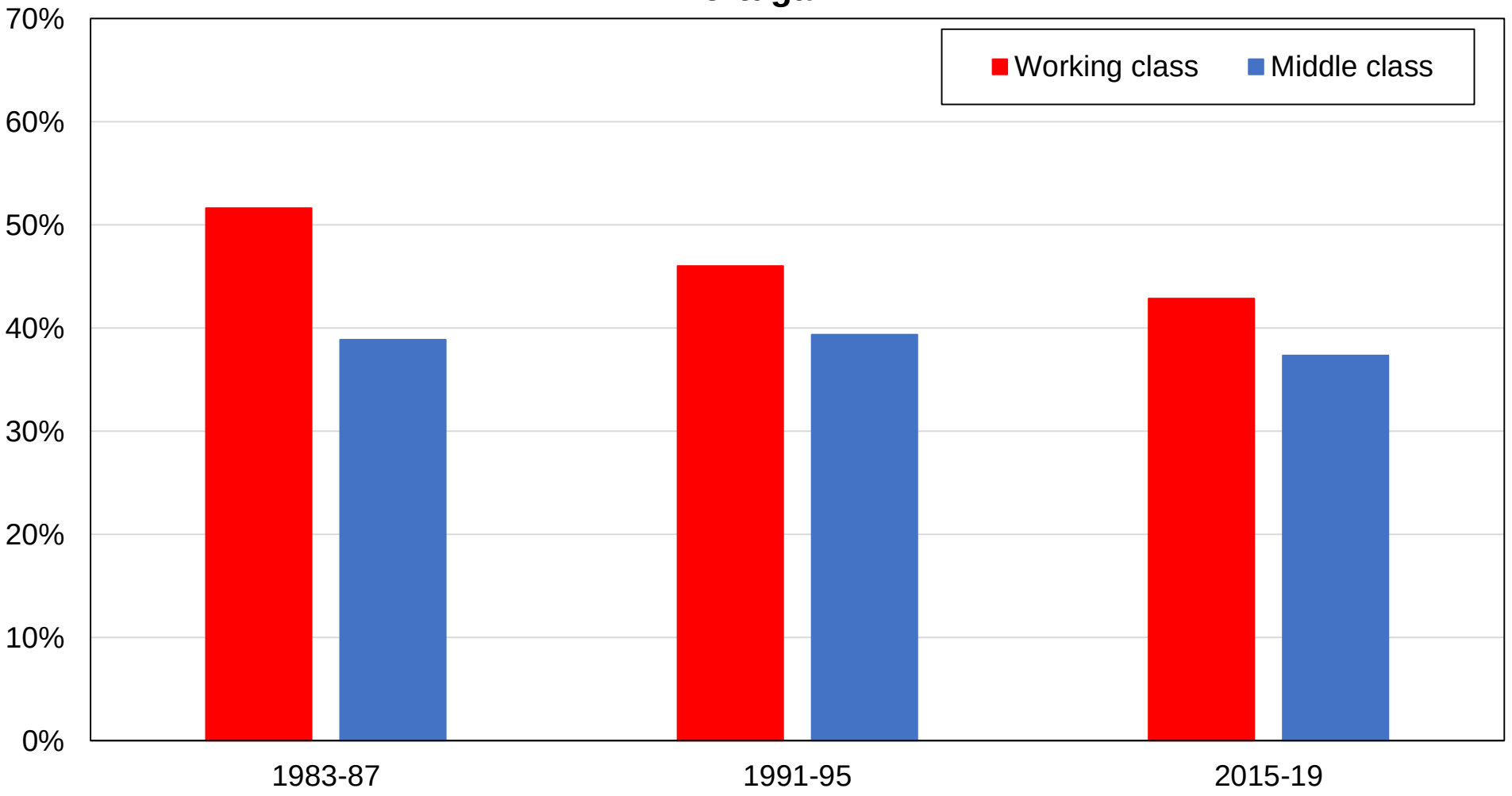
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Socialist Party by gender.

Figure CC7 - Vote for the Socialist Party by union membership in Portugal



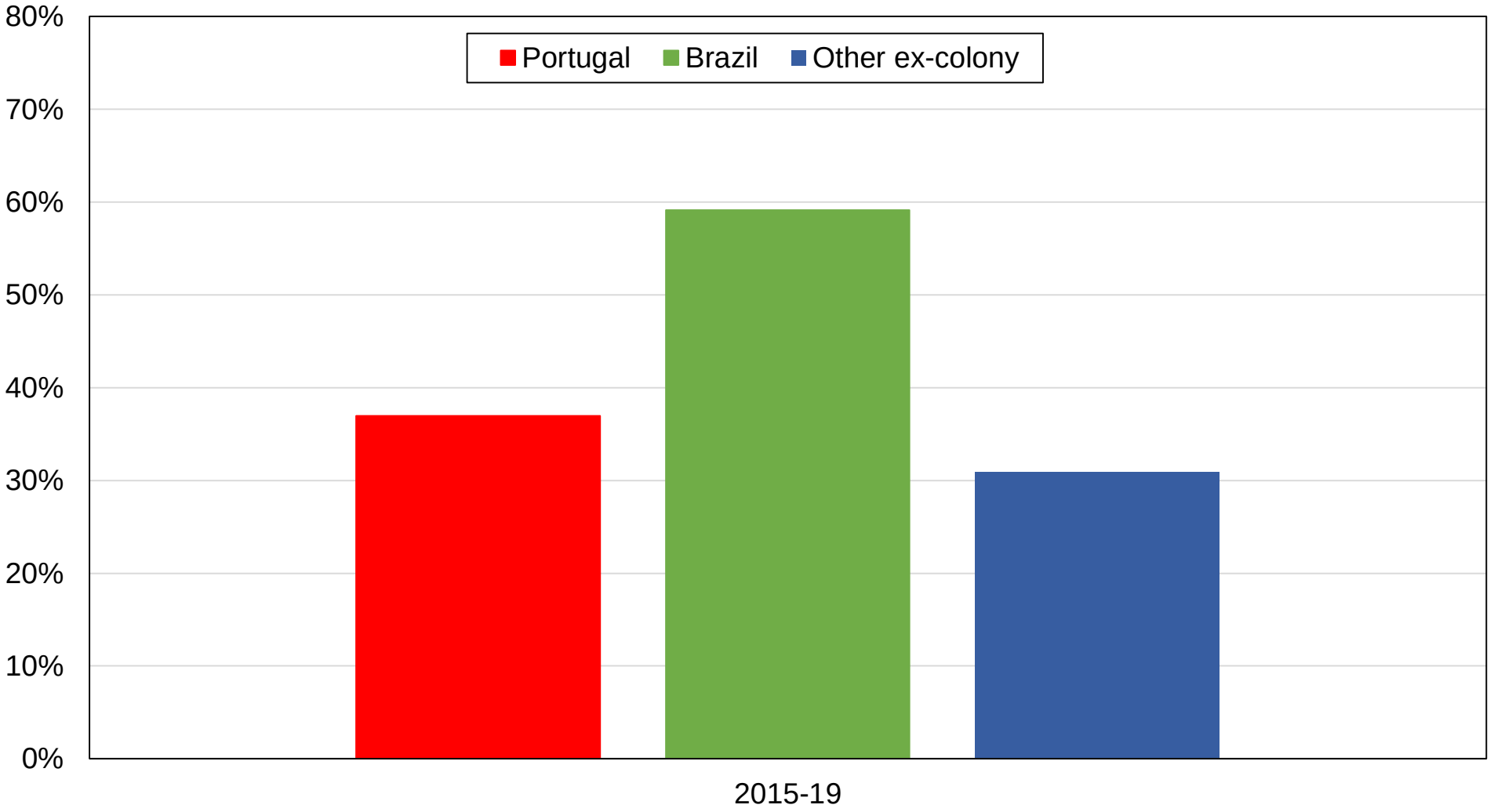
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Socialist Party by union membership status.

Figure CC8 - Vote for the Socialist Party by perceived social class in Portugal



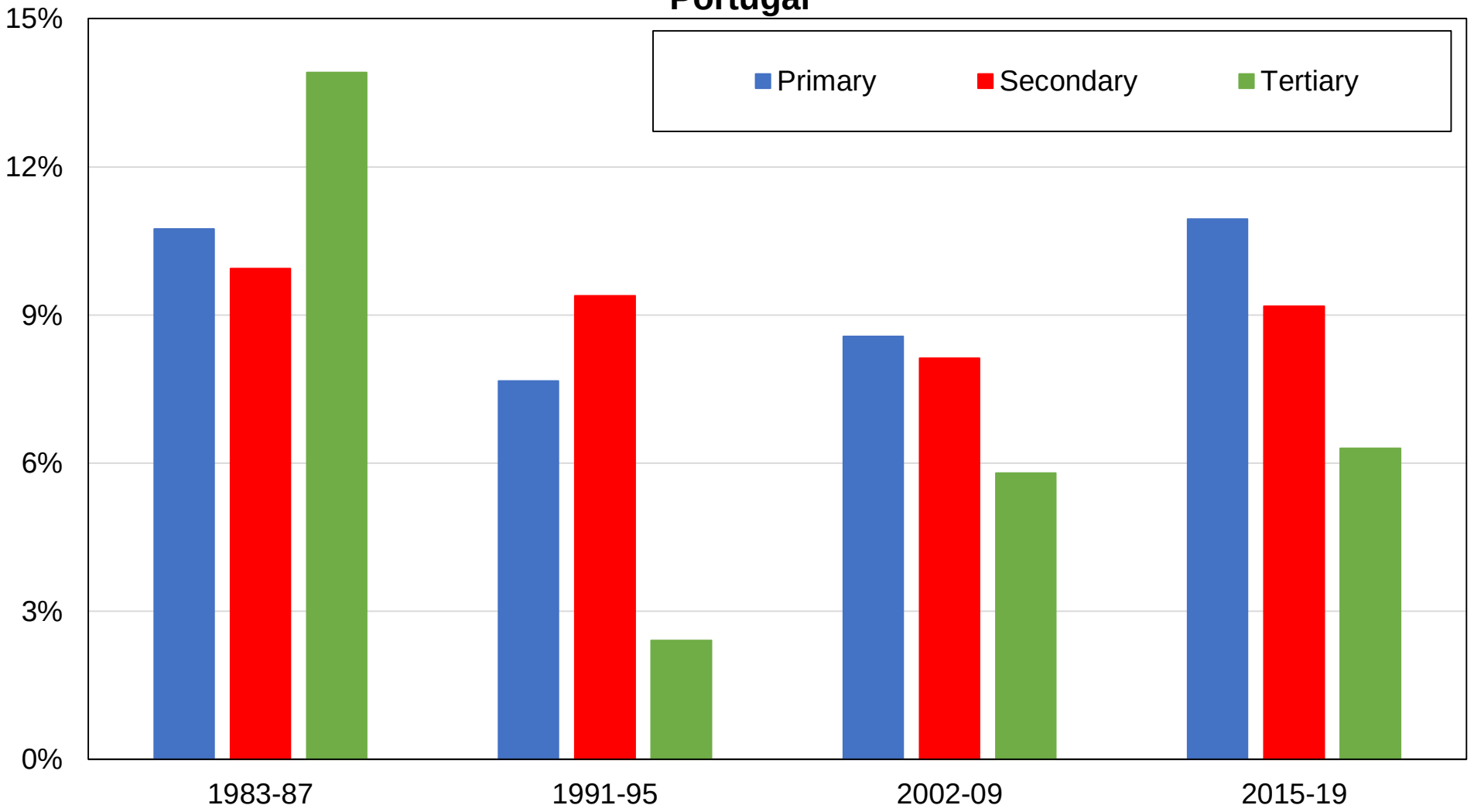
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Socialist Party by self-perceived social class. Working class includes "lower class". Middle class includes "no class" and "upper class".

Figure CC9 - Vote for the Socialist Party by country of origin in Portugal



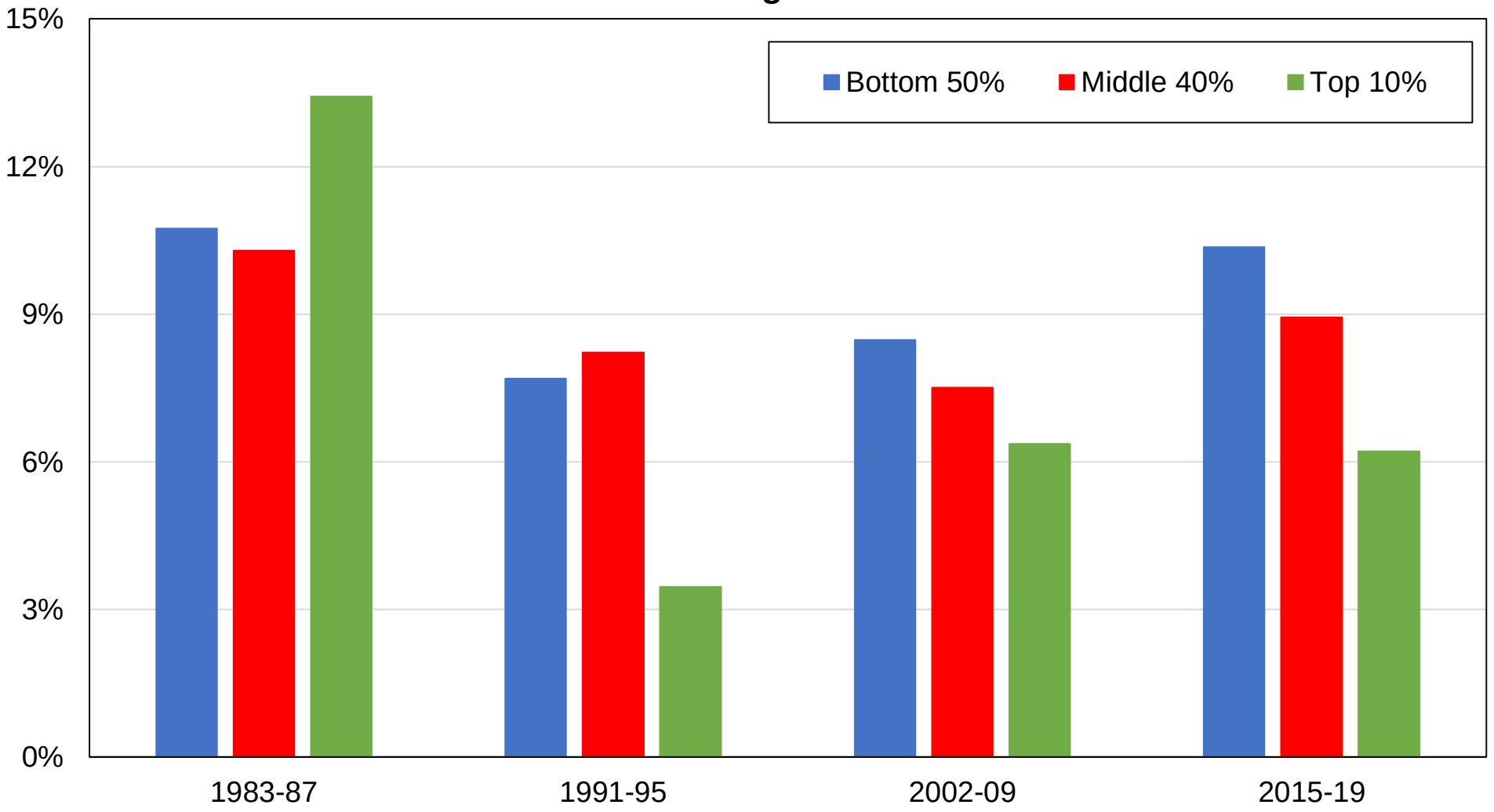
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Socialist Party by country of origin.

Figure CC10 - Vote for Communists / Greens by education level in Portugal



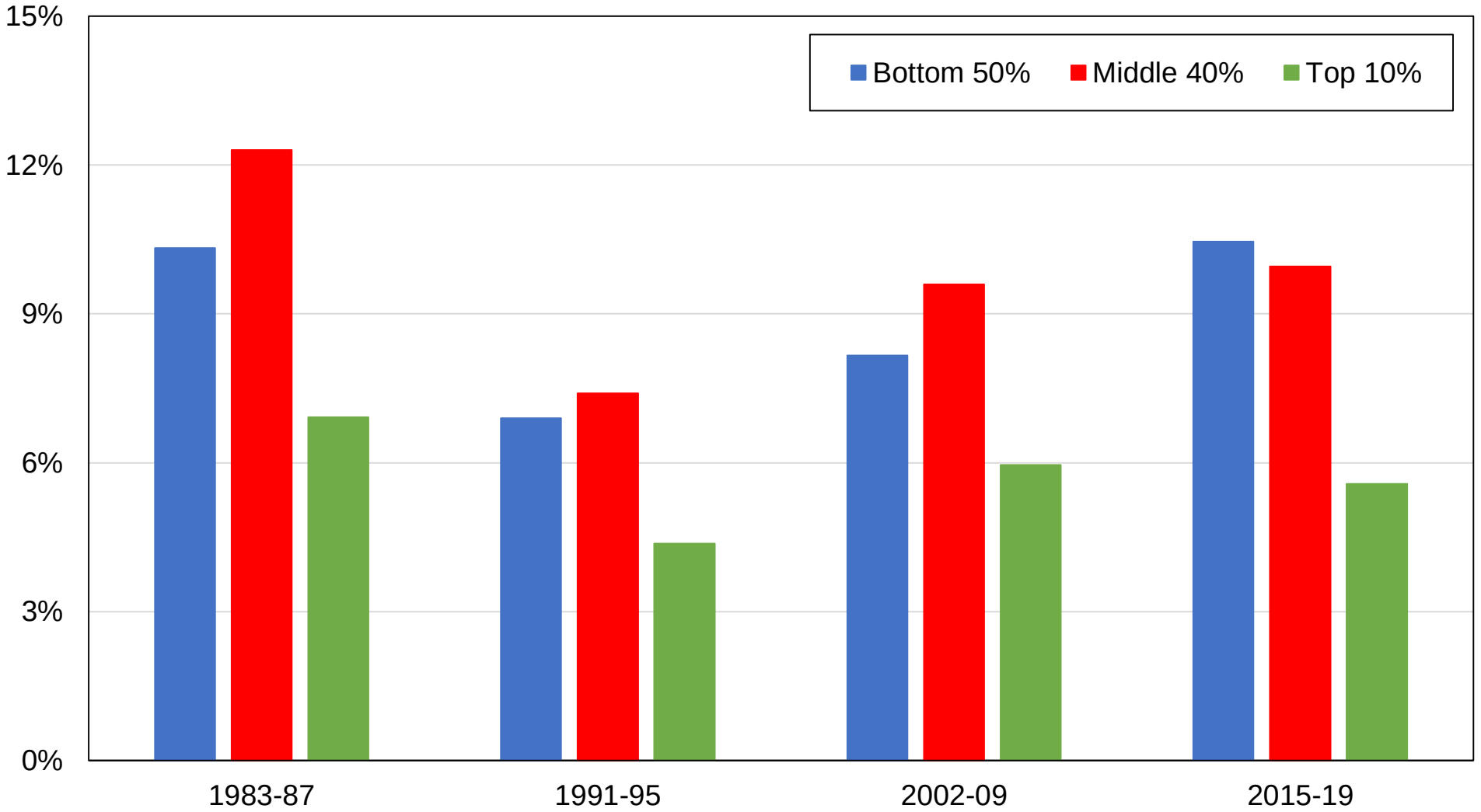
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Communists / Greens by education level.

Figure CC11 - Vote for Communists / Greens by education group in Portugal



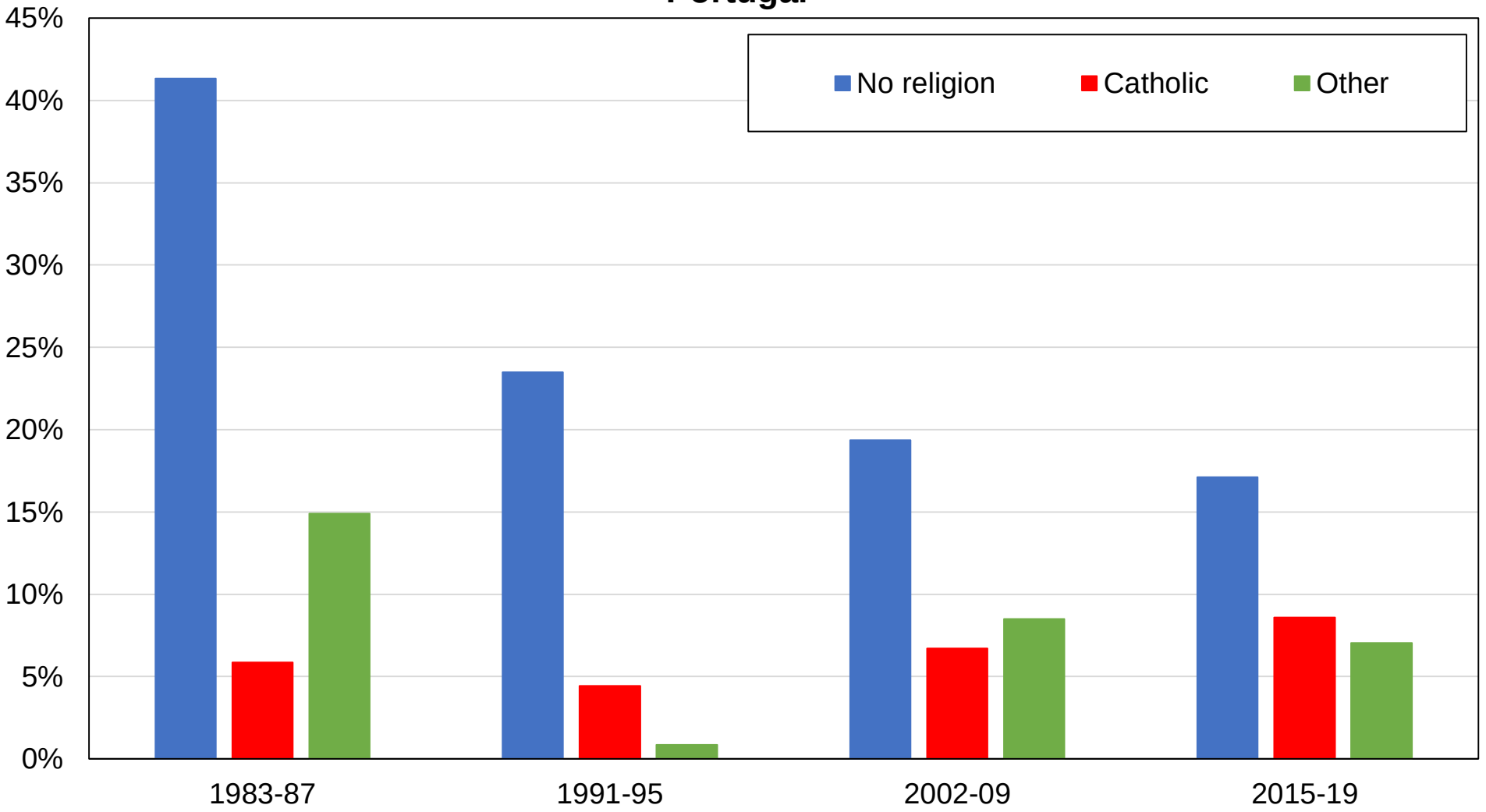
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Communists / Greens by education group.

Figure CC12 - Vote for Communists / Greens by income group in Portugal



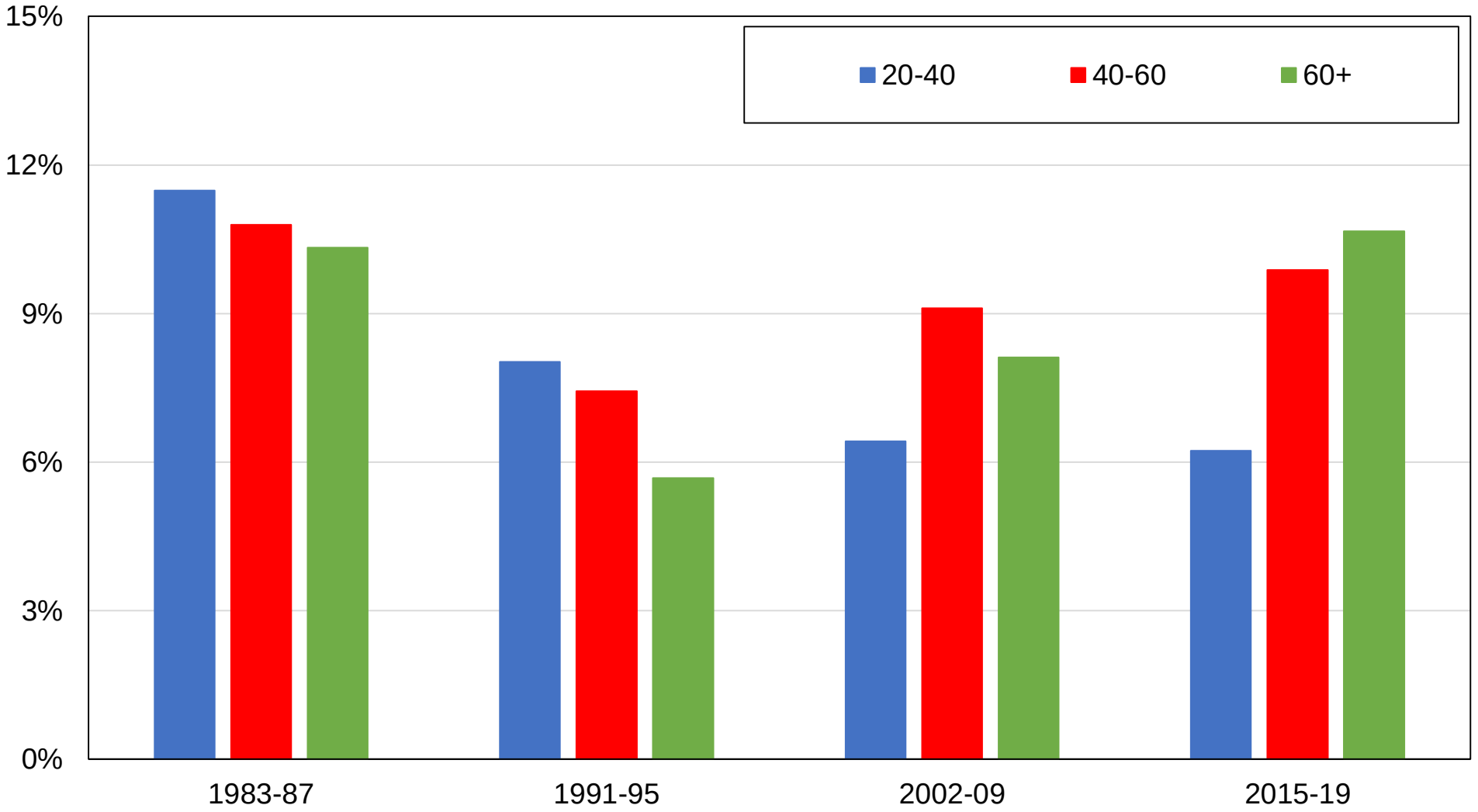
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Communists / Greens by income group.

Figure CC12 - Vote for Communists / Greens by religious affiliation in Portugal



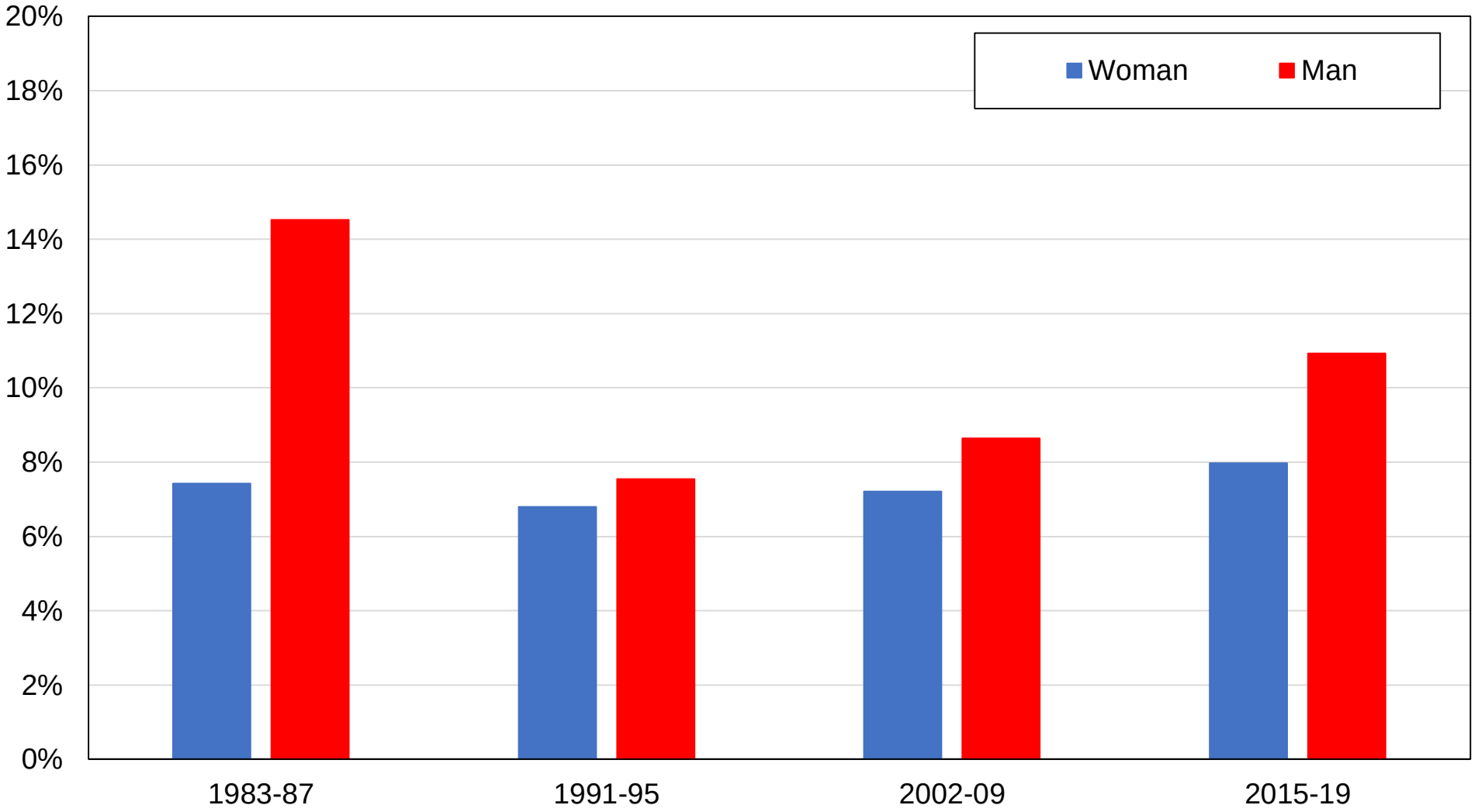
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Communists / Greens by religious affiliation.

Figure CC14 - Vote for Communists / Greens by age in Portugal



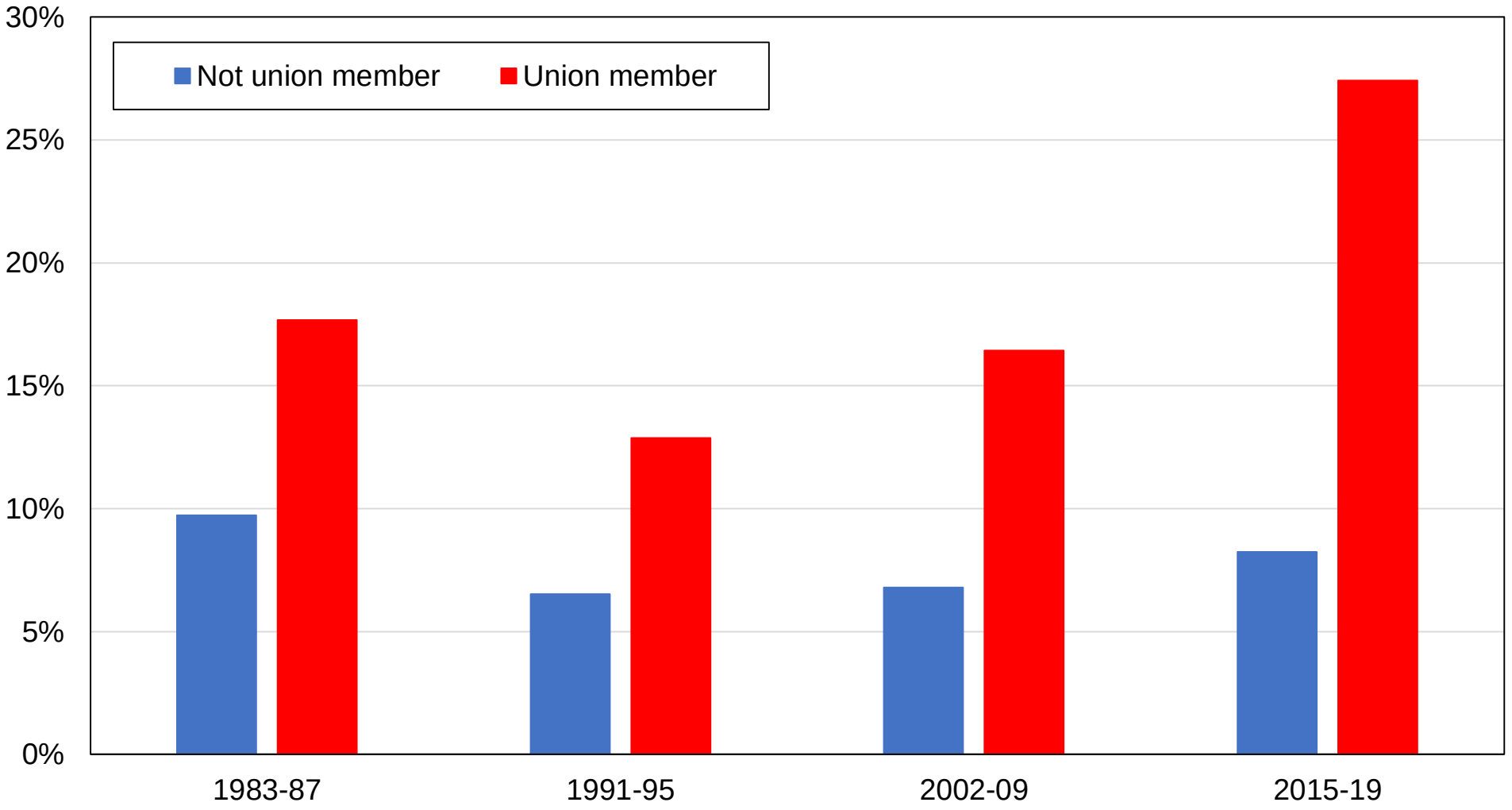
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Communists / Greens by age.

Figure CC15 - Vote for Communists / Greens by gender in Portugal



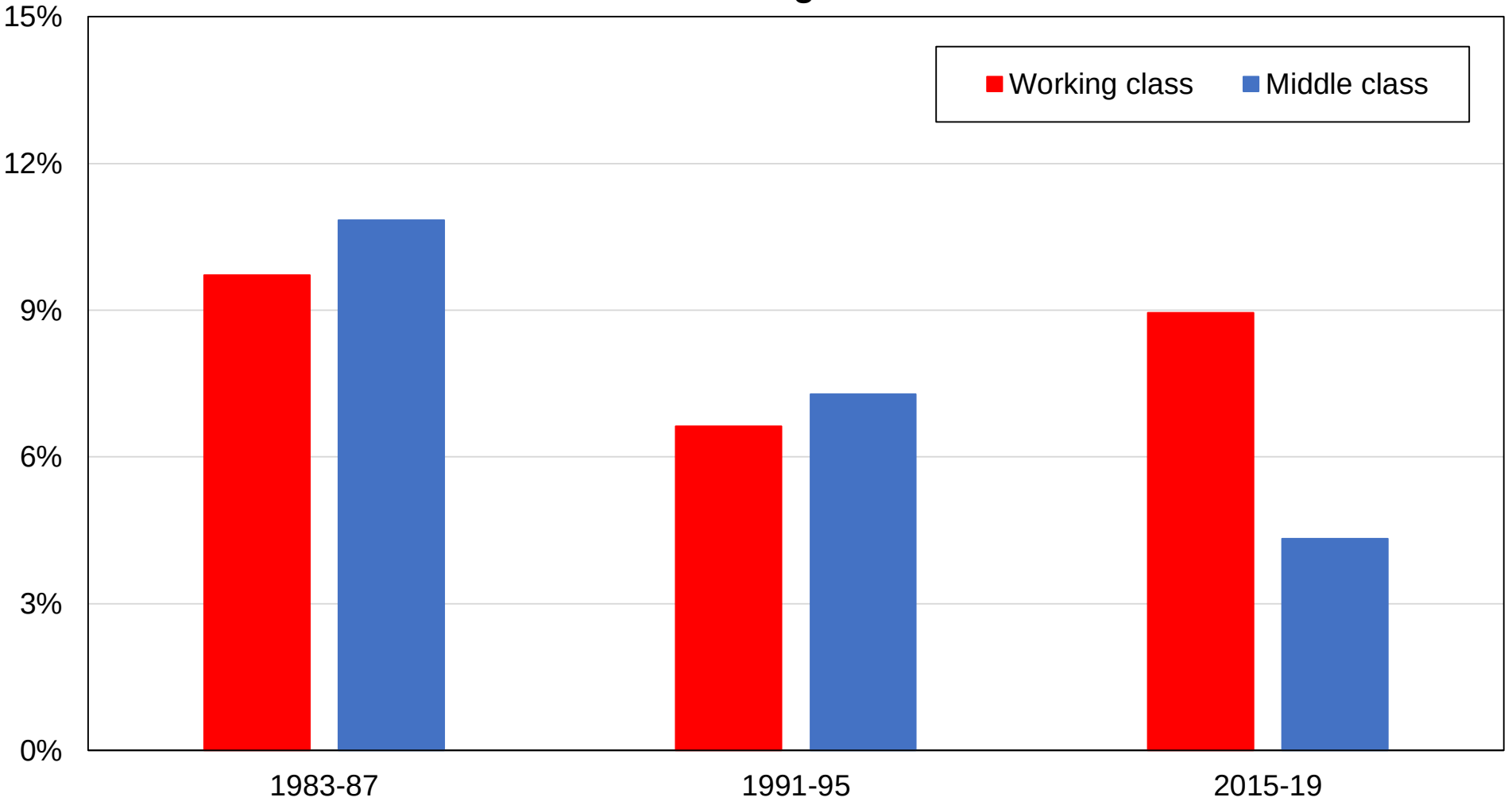
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Communists / Greens by gender.

Figure CC16 - Vote for Communists / Greens by union membership in Portugal



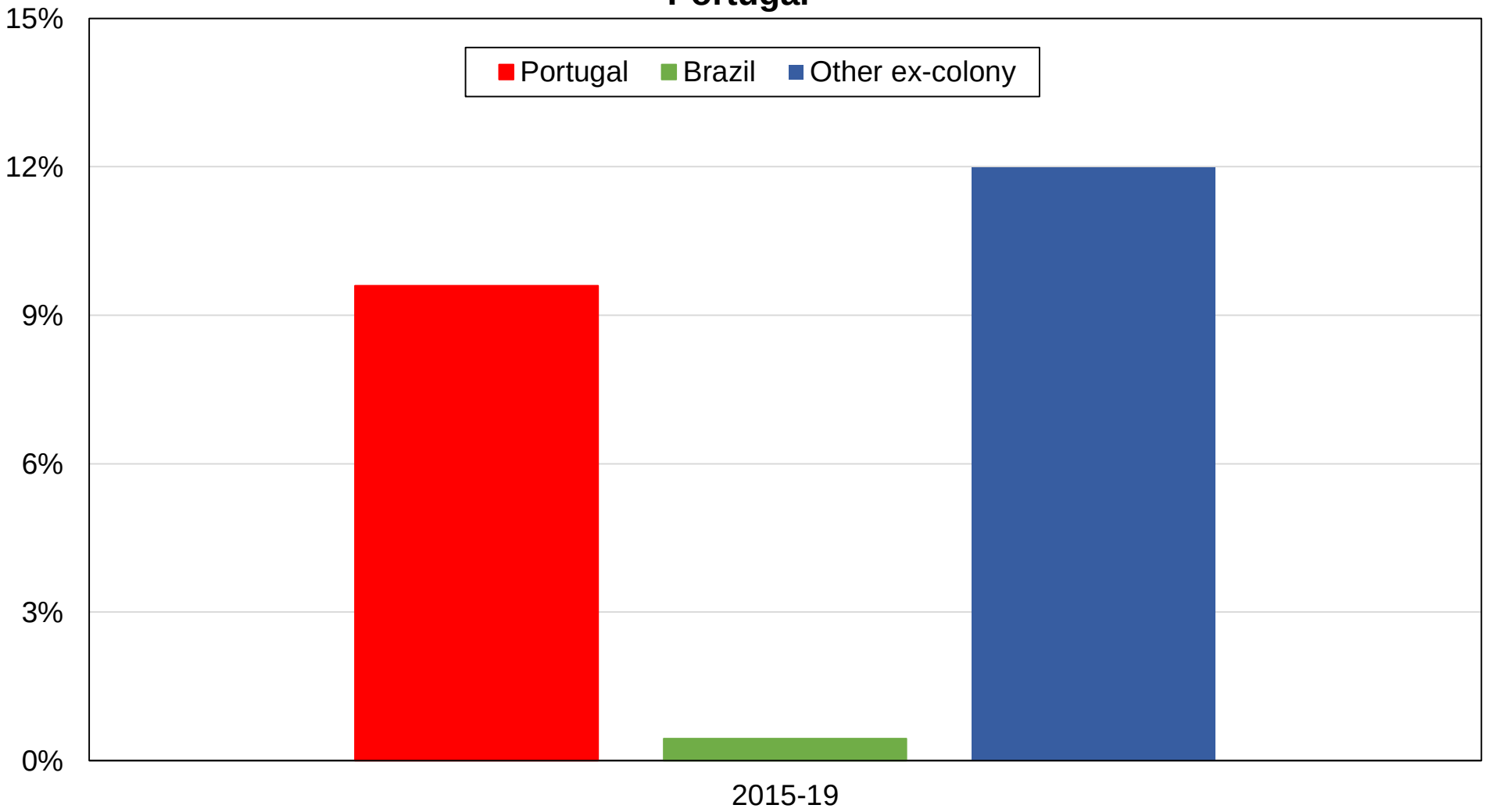
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Communists / Greens by union membership status.

Figure CC17 - Vote for Communists / Greens by perceived social class in Portugal



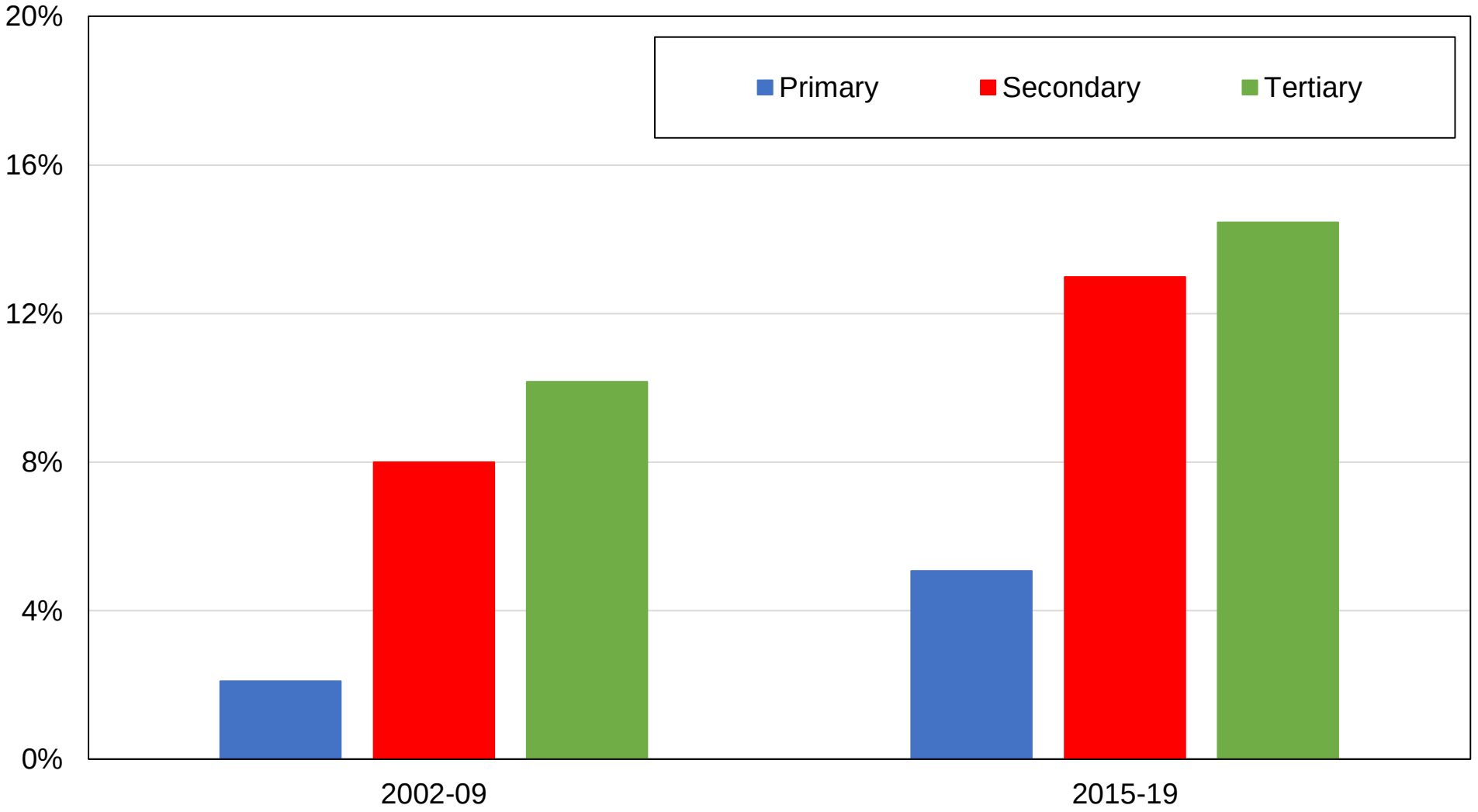
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Communists / Greens by self-perceived social class. Working class includes "lower class". Middle class includes "no class" and "upper class".

Figure CC18 - Vote for Communists / Greens by country of origin in Portugal



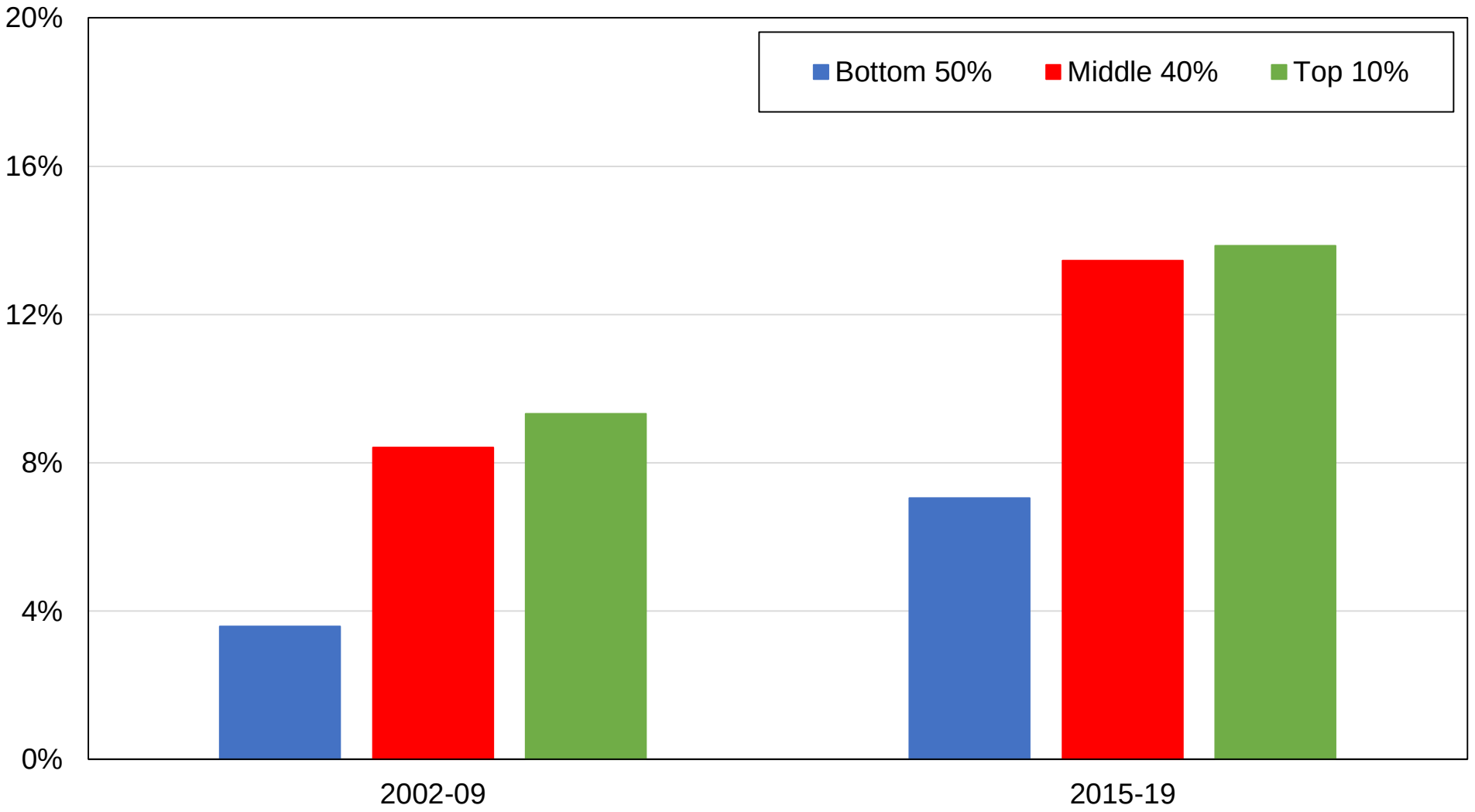
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Communists / Greens by country of origin.

Figure CC19 - Vote for Left Block by education level in Portugal



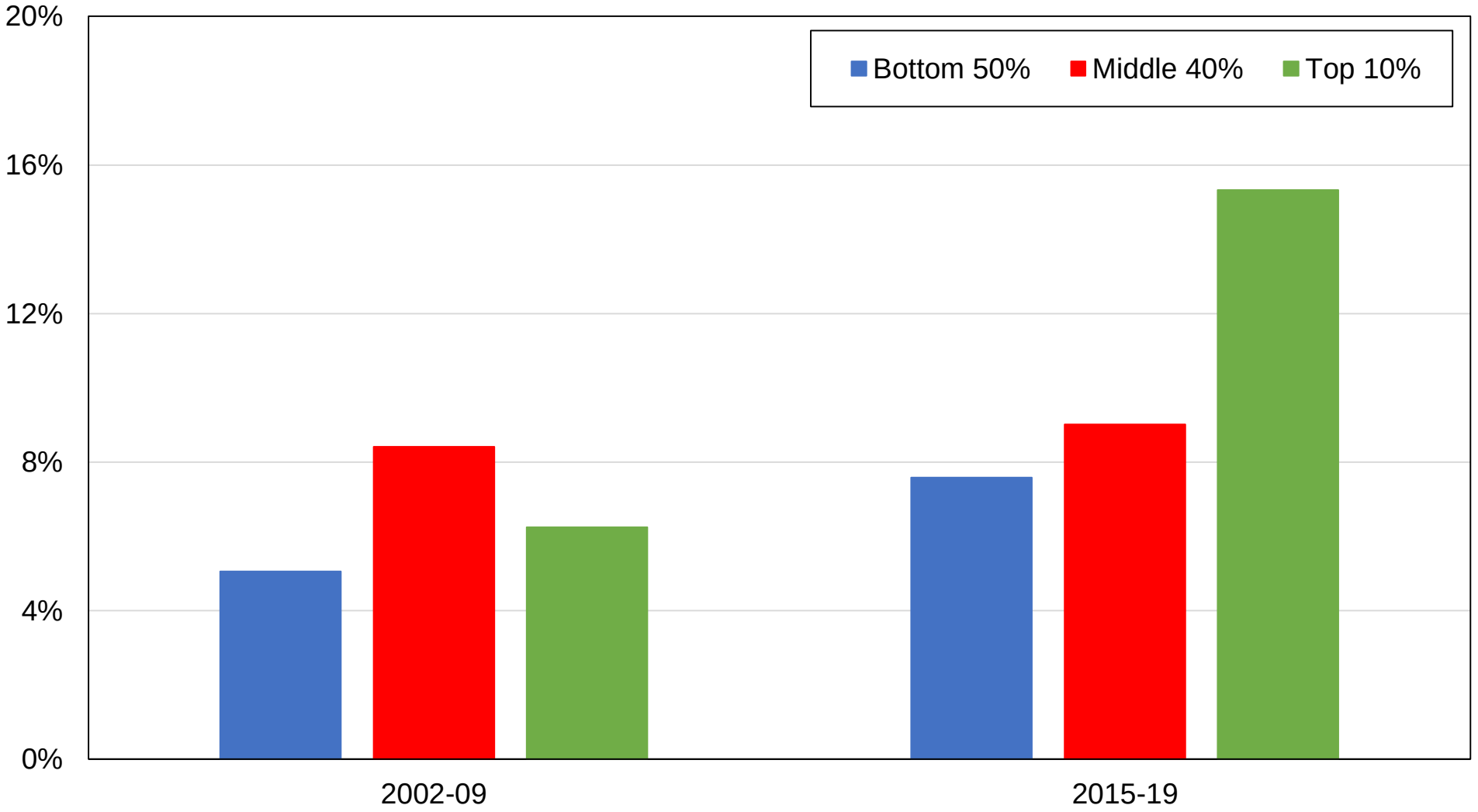
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Left Bloc by education level.

Figure CC20 - Vote for Left Block by education group in Portugal



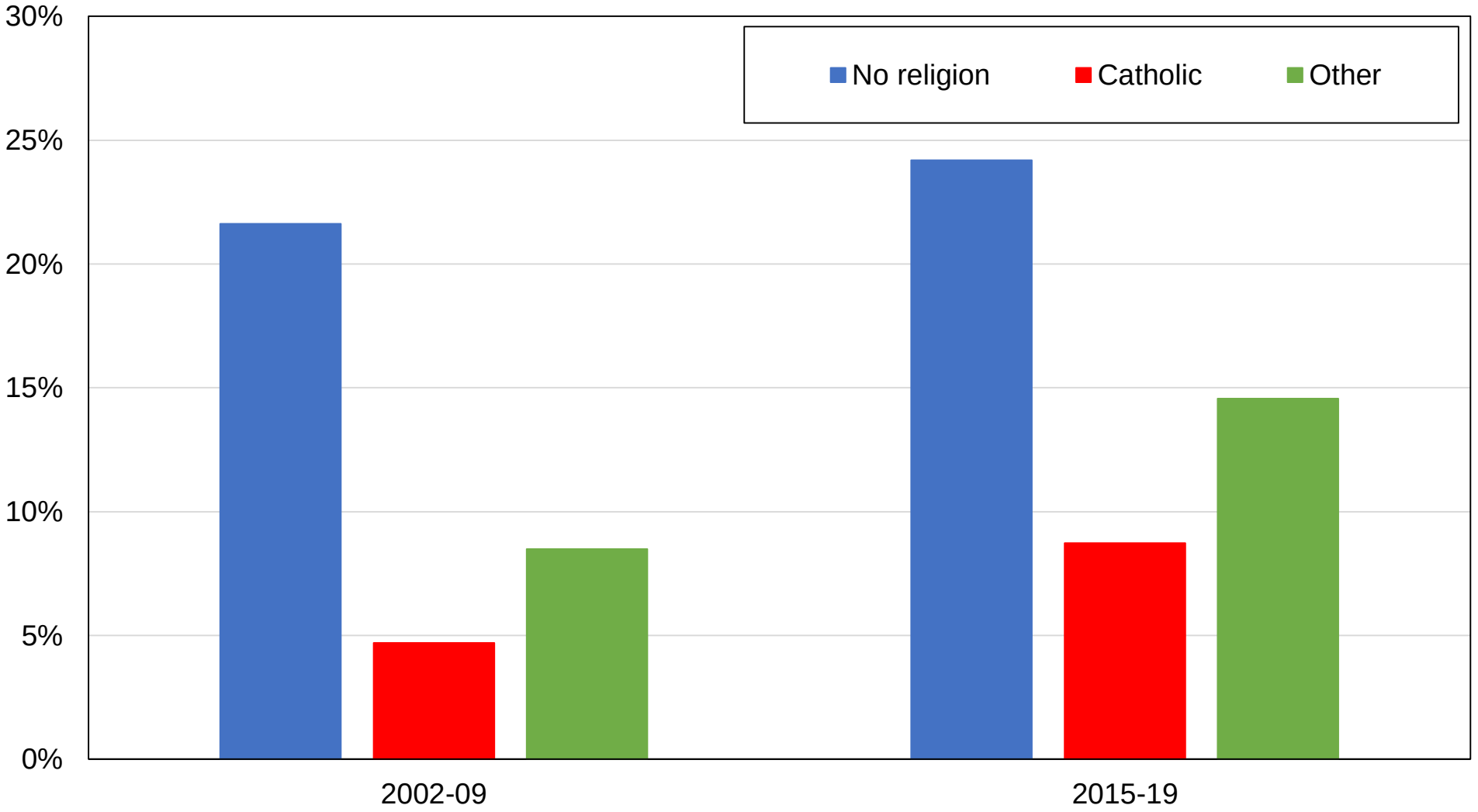
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Left Bloc by education group.

Figure CC21 - Vote for Left Block by income group in Portugal



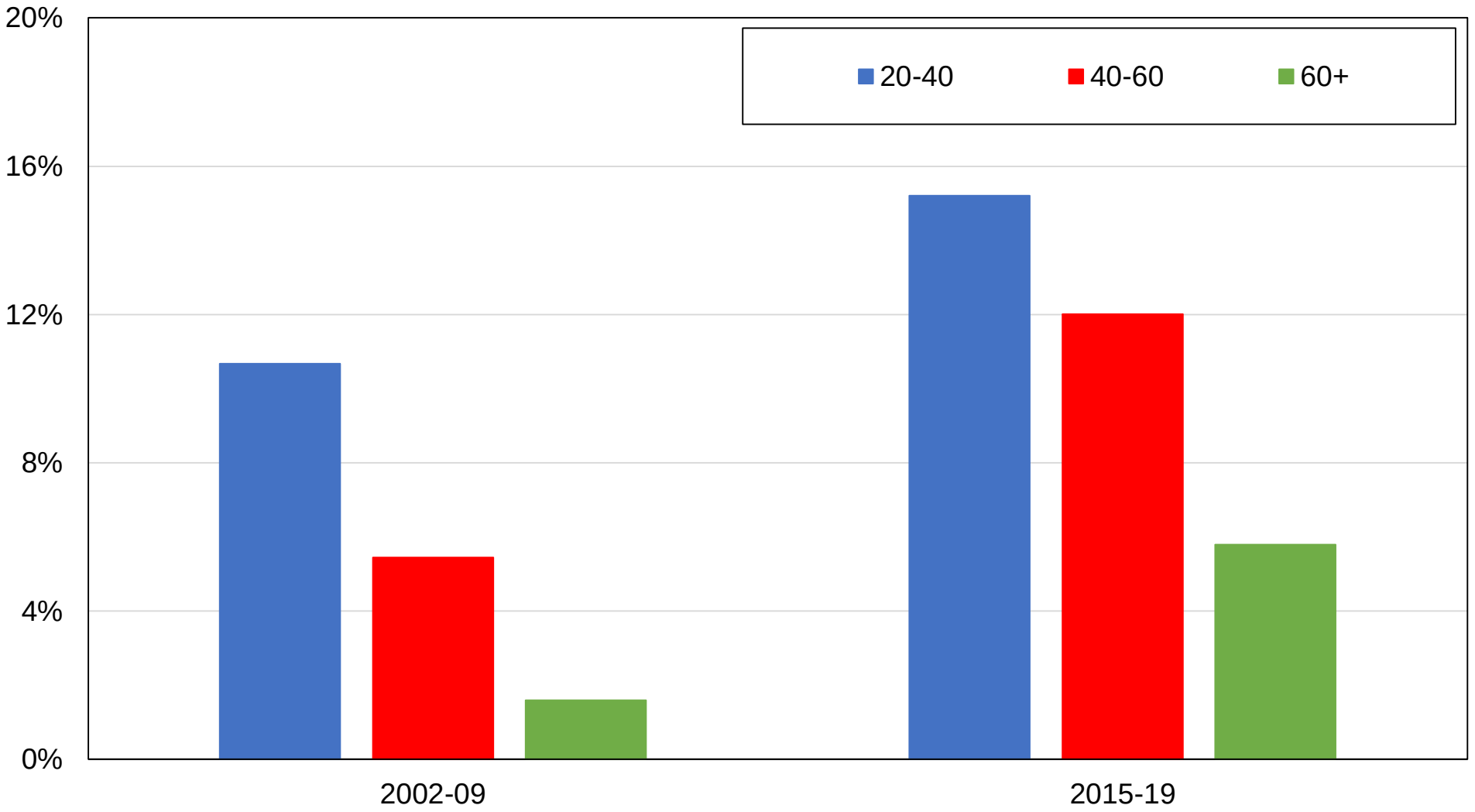
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Left Bloc by income group.

Figure CC22 - Vote for Left Block by religious affiliation in Portugal



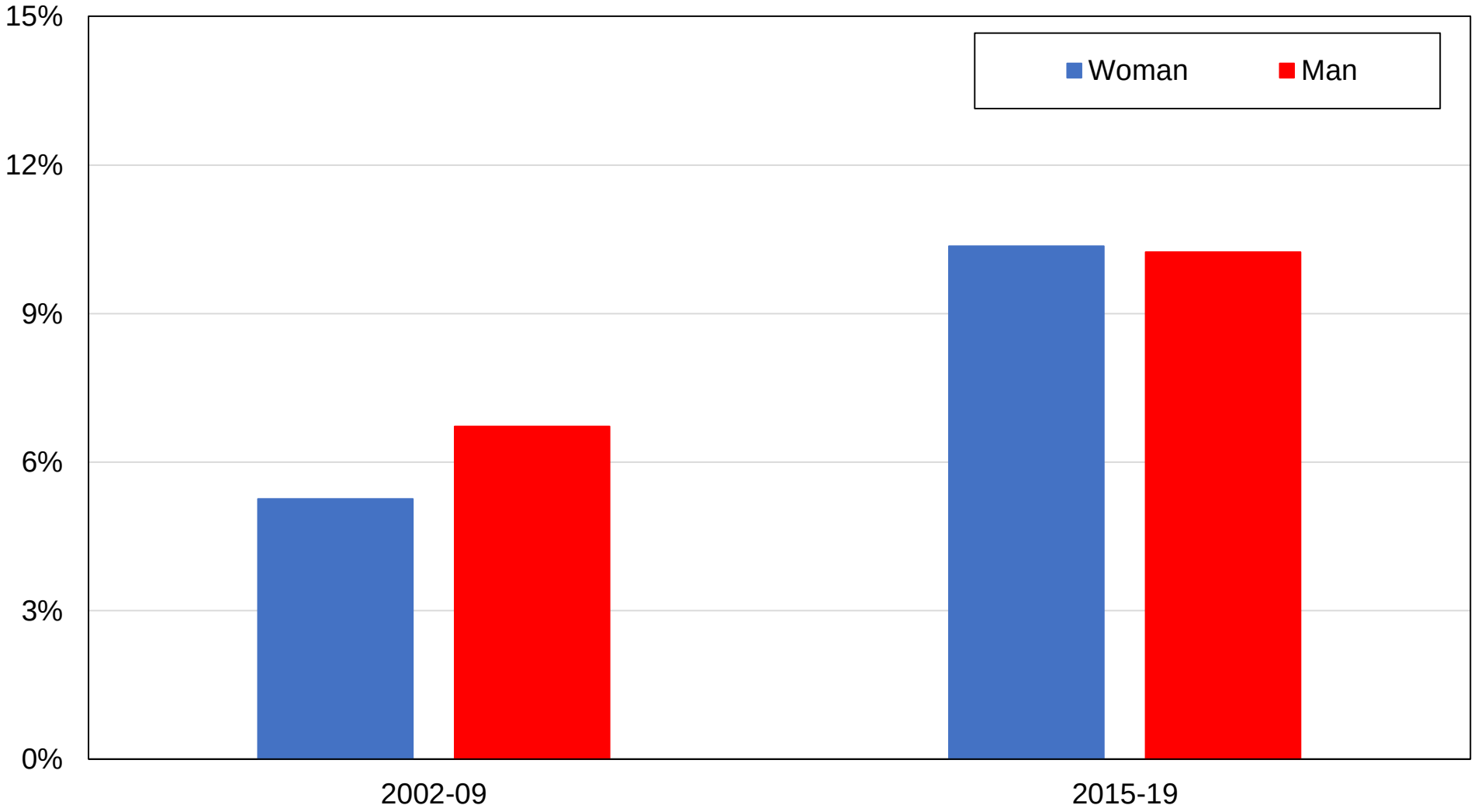
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Left Bloc by religious affiliation.

Figure CC23 - Vote for Left Block by age in Portugal



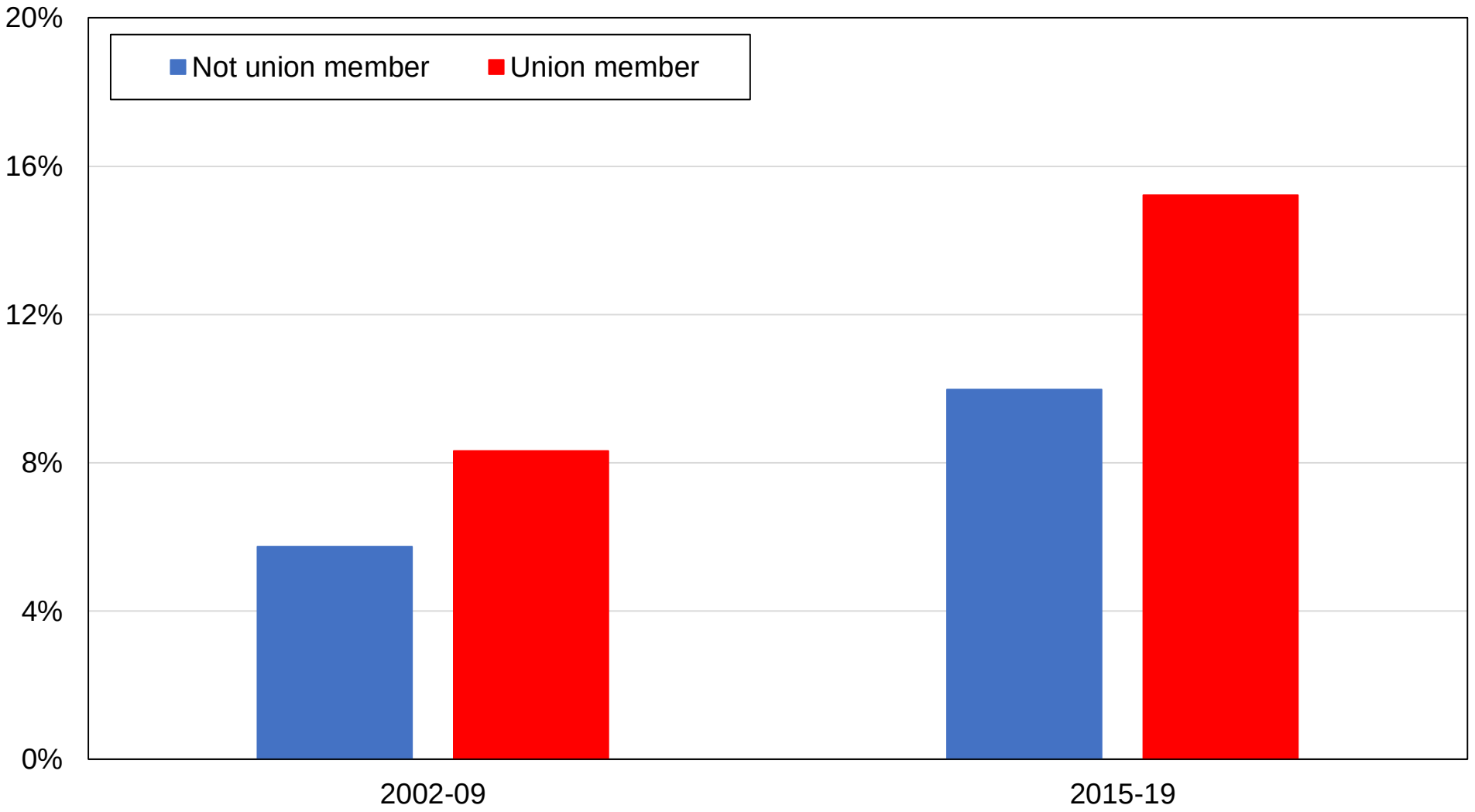
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Left Bloc by religious affiliation.

Figure CC24 - Vote for Left Block by gender in Portugal



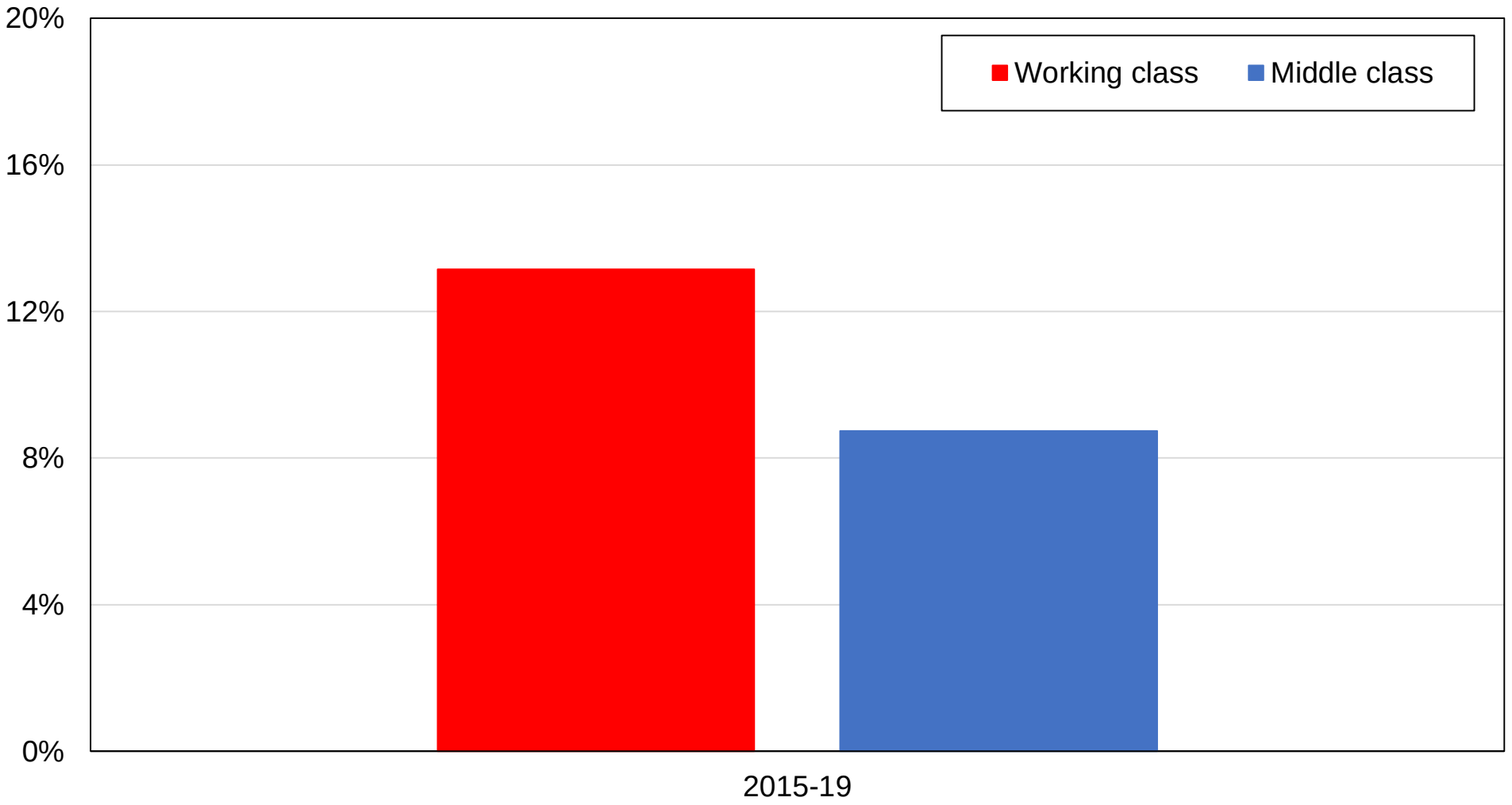
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Left Bloc by gender.

Figure CC25 - Vote for Left Block by union membership in Portugal



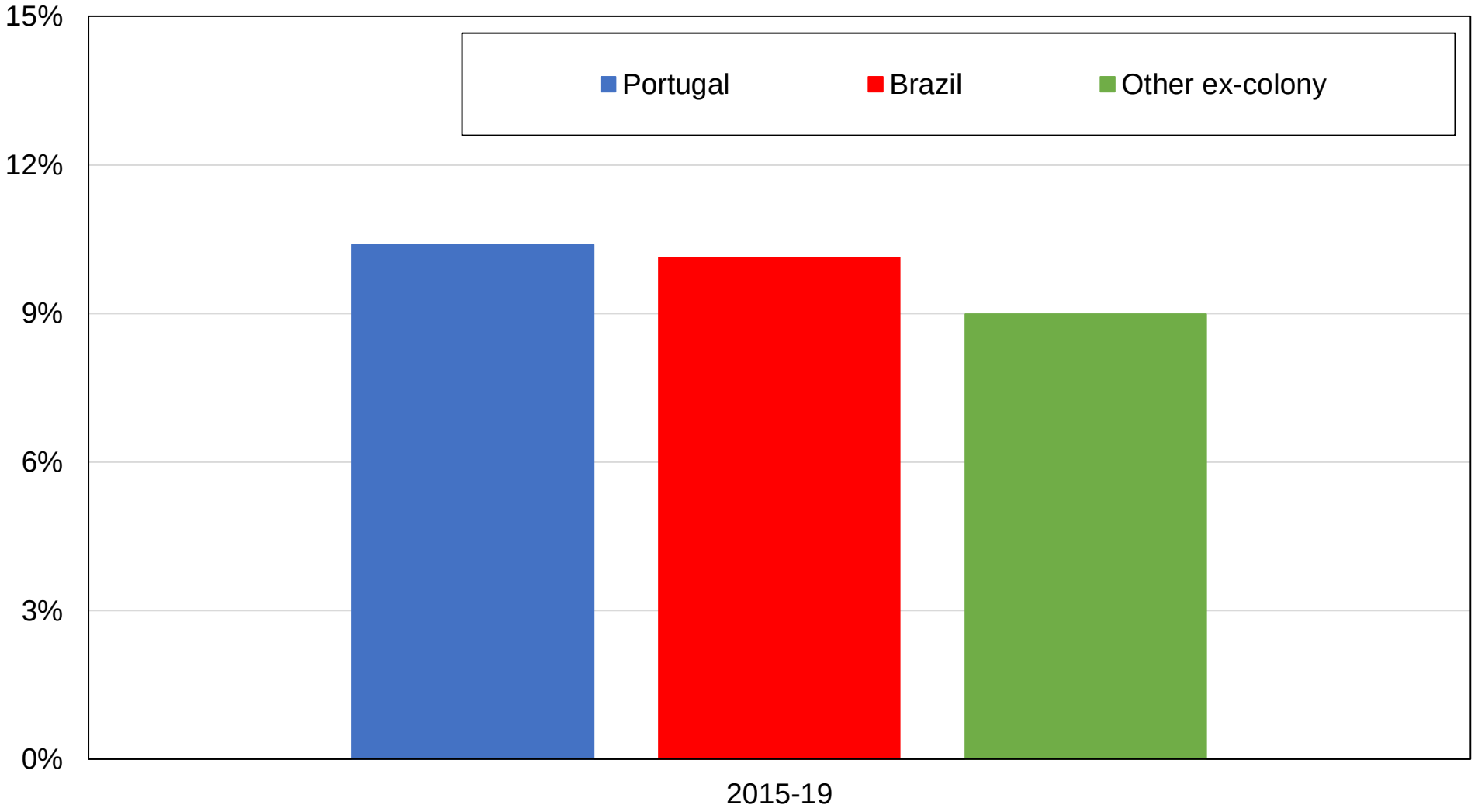
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Left Bloc by union membership.

Figure CC26 - Vote for Left Block by perceived social class in Portugal



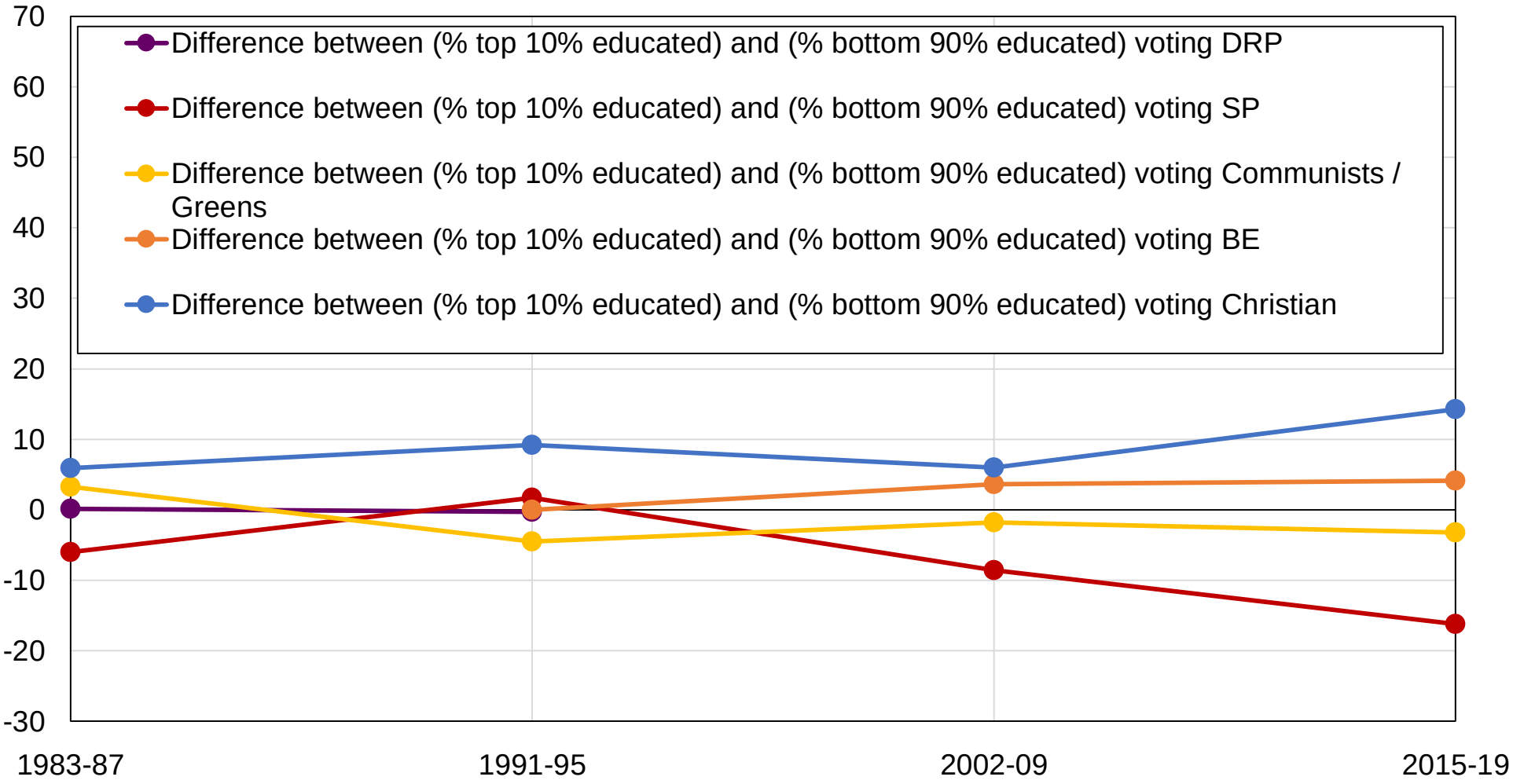
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Left Bloc by self-perceived social class. Working class includes "lower class". Middle class includes "no class" and "upper class".

Figure CC27 - Vote for Left Block by country of origin in Portugal



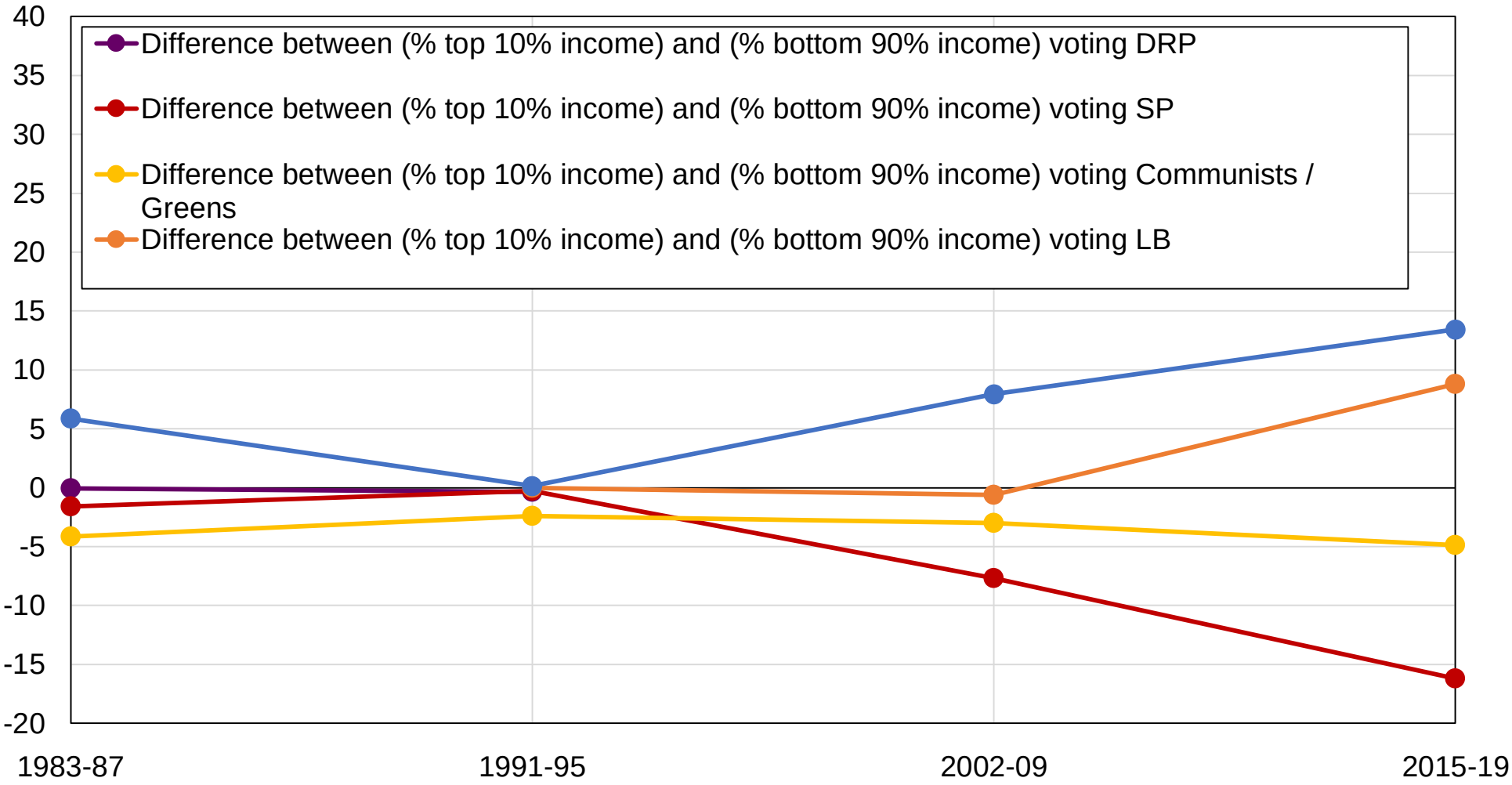
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Left Bloc by country of origin.

Figure CC28 - The education cleavage in Portugal



Source: authors' computations using Portugal political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the bias of highest-educated voters towards DRP / SP / Communists, Greens / Left Bloc / Christian Democrats.

Figure CC29 - The income cleavage in Portugal



Source: authors' computations using Portugal political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the bias of top-income voters towards towards DRP / SP / Communists, Greens / Left Bloc / Christian Democrats.

Figure CC30 - Vote for left-wing parties by level of education in Portugal

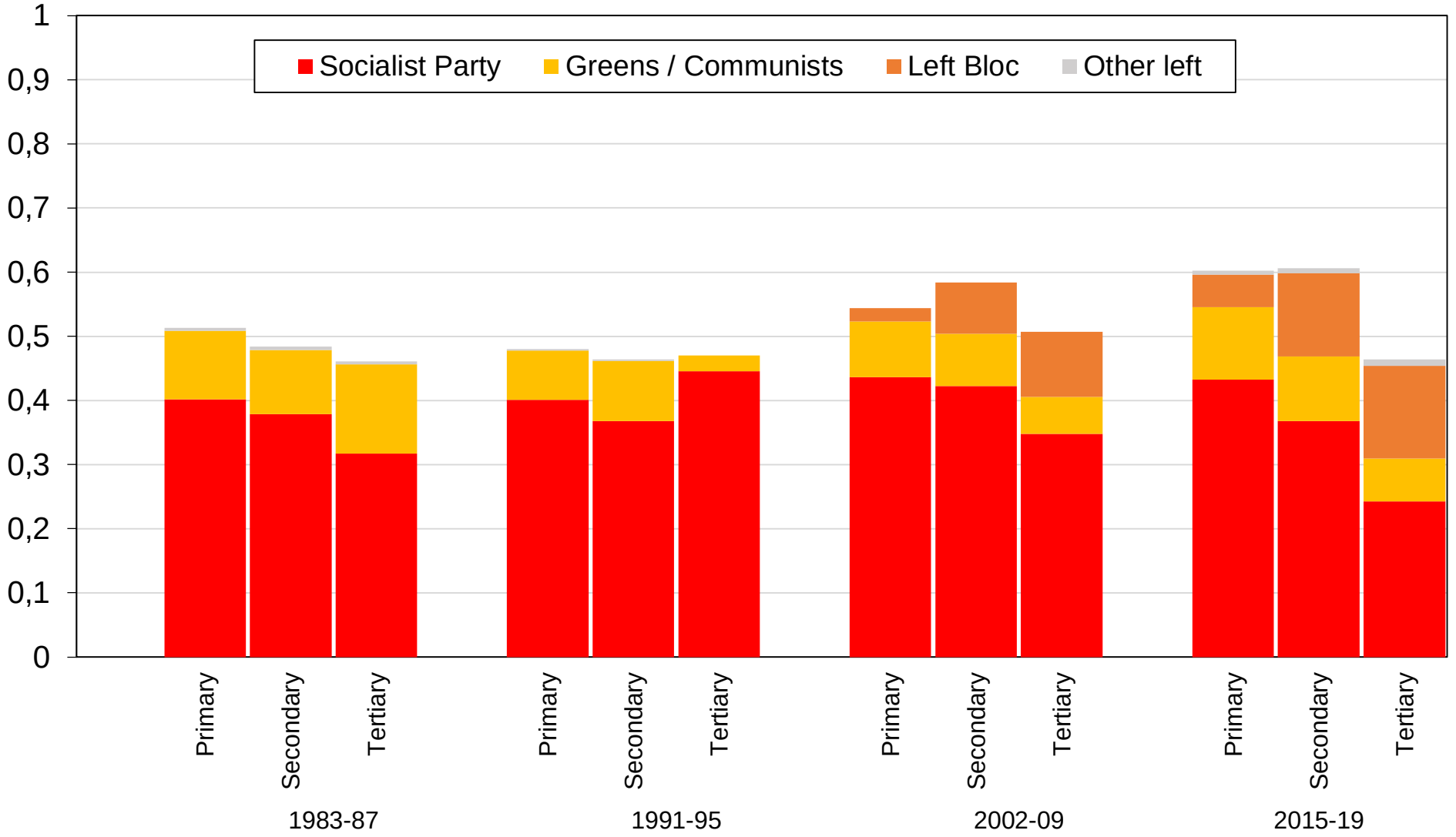


Figure CC31 - Vote for left-wing parties by income group in Portugal

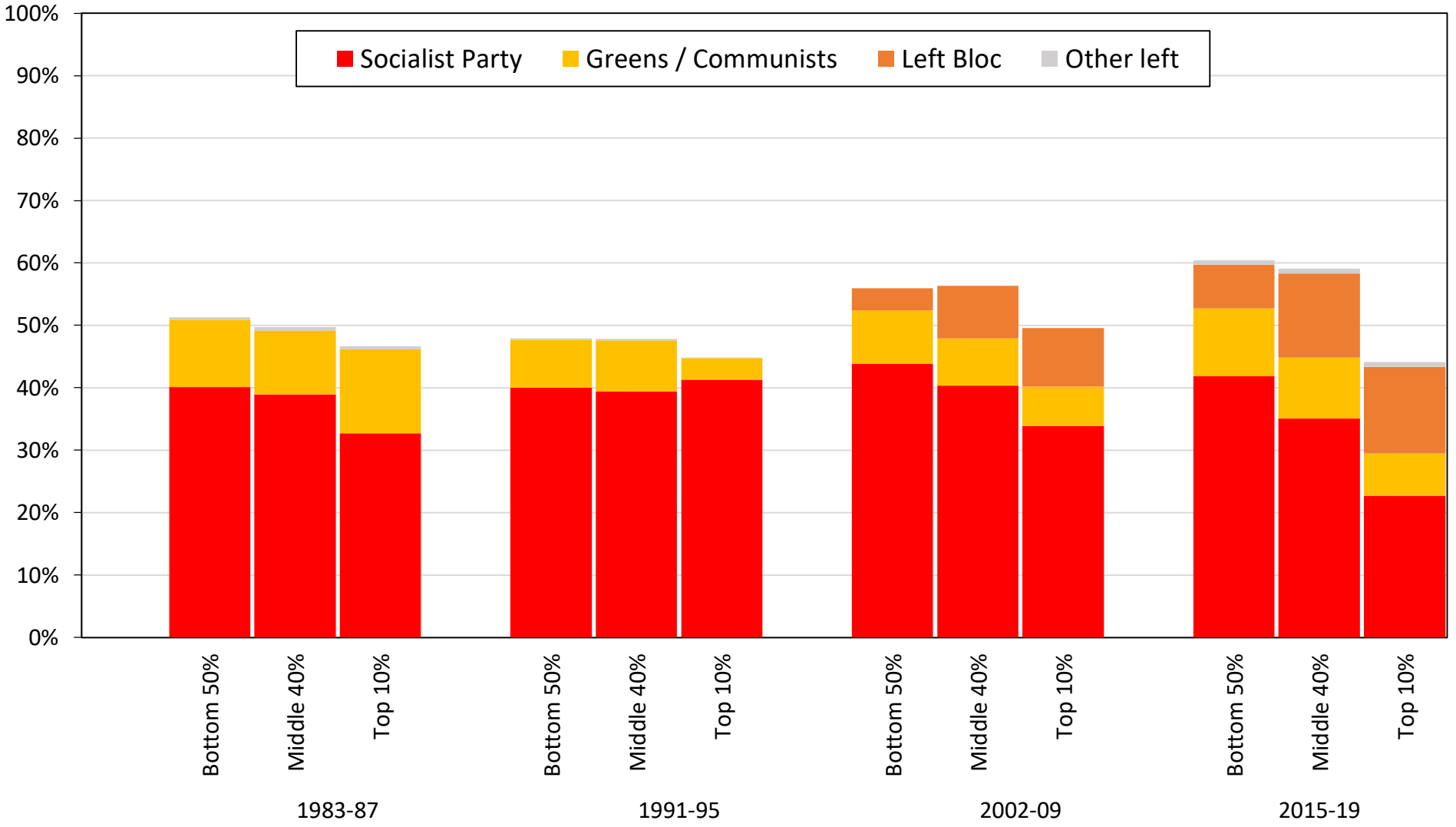


Figure CC32 - Vote for right-wing parties by level of education in Portugal

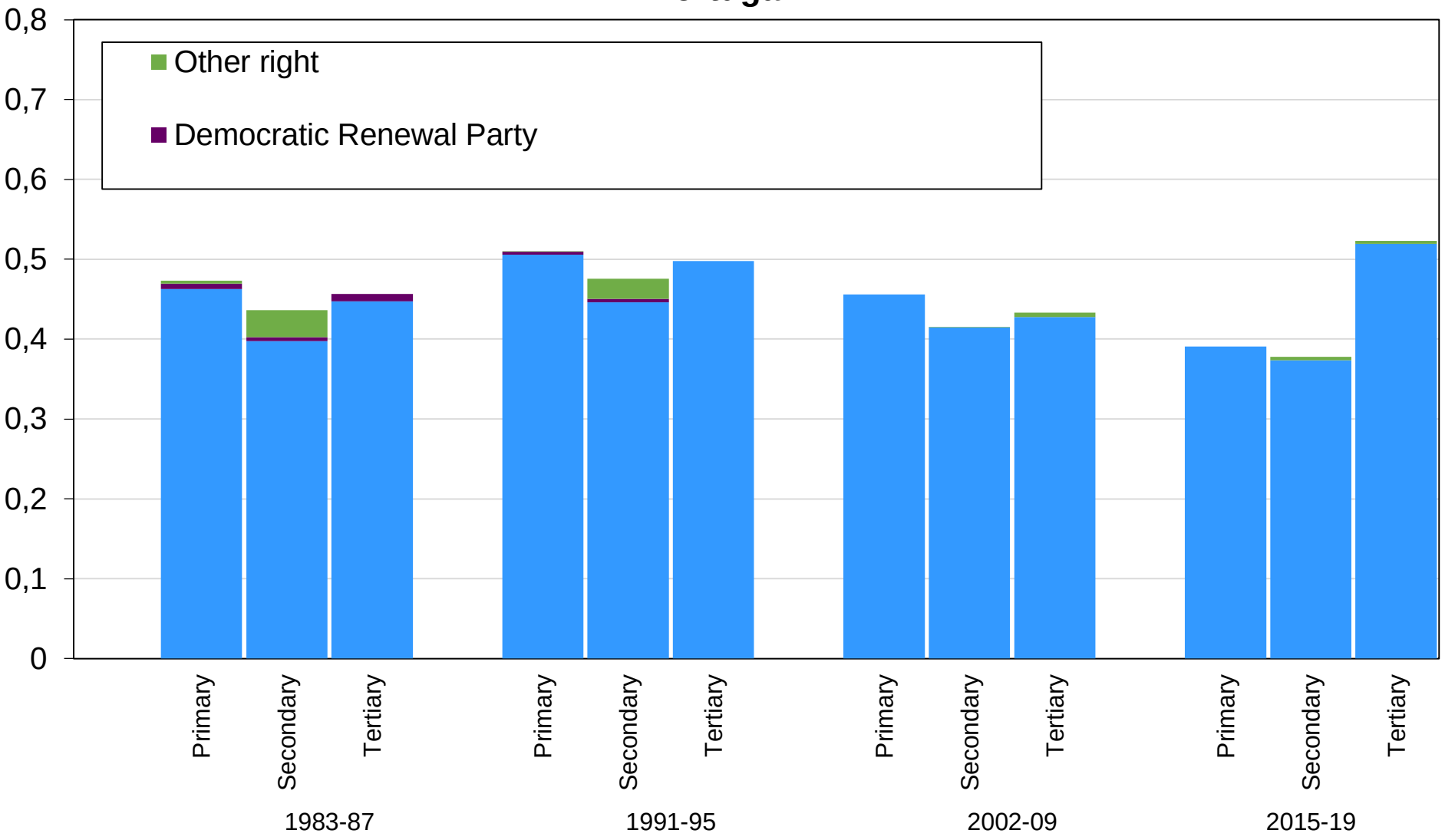


Figure CC33 - Vote for right-wing parties by income group in Portugal

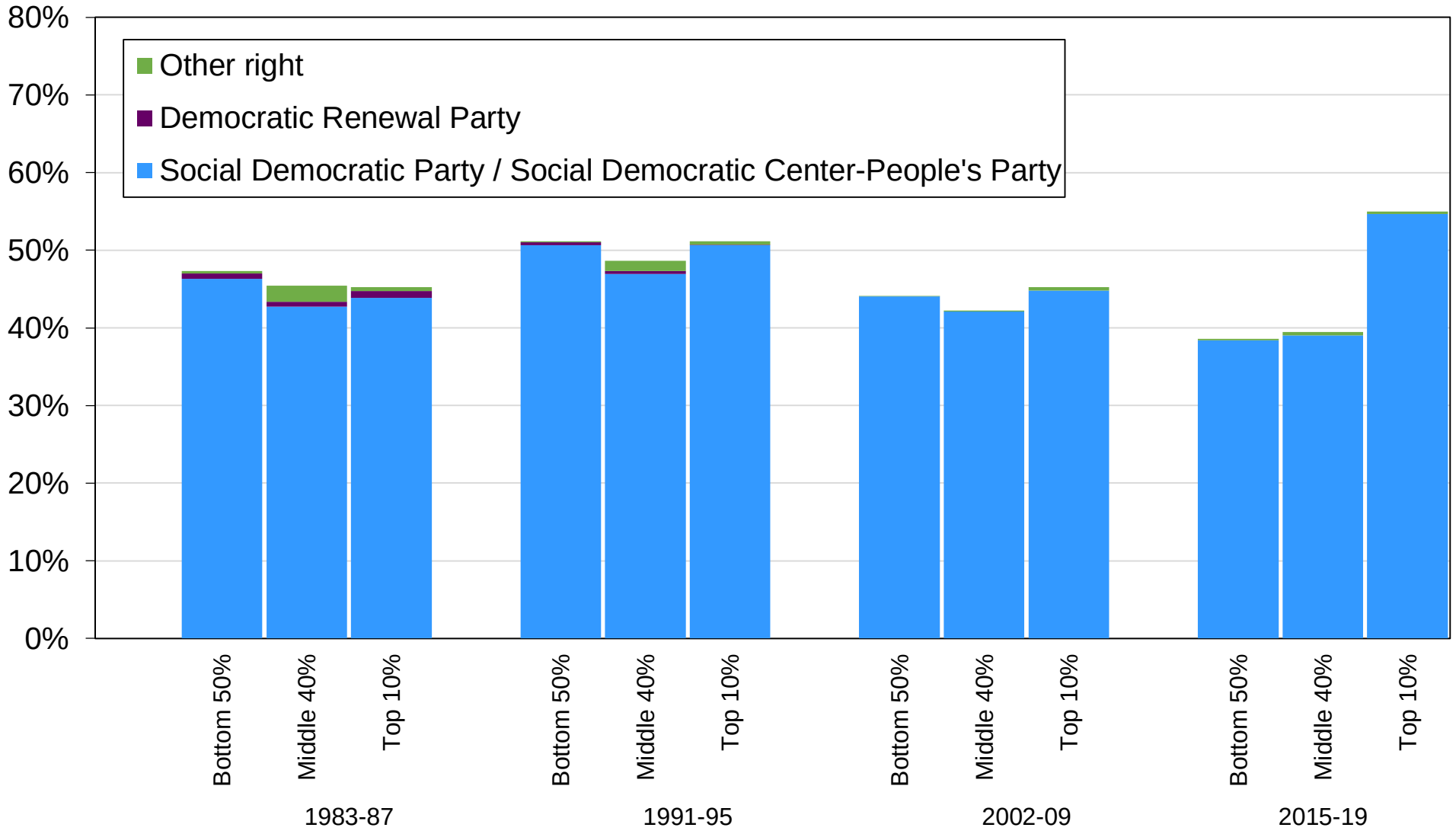


Figure CC34 - Vote for left-wing parties by education in Portugal, 2015-2019

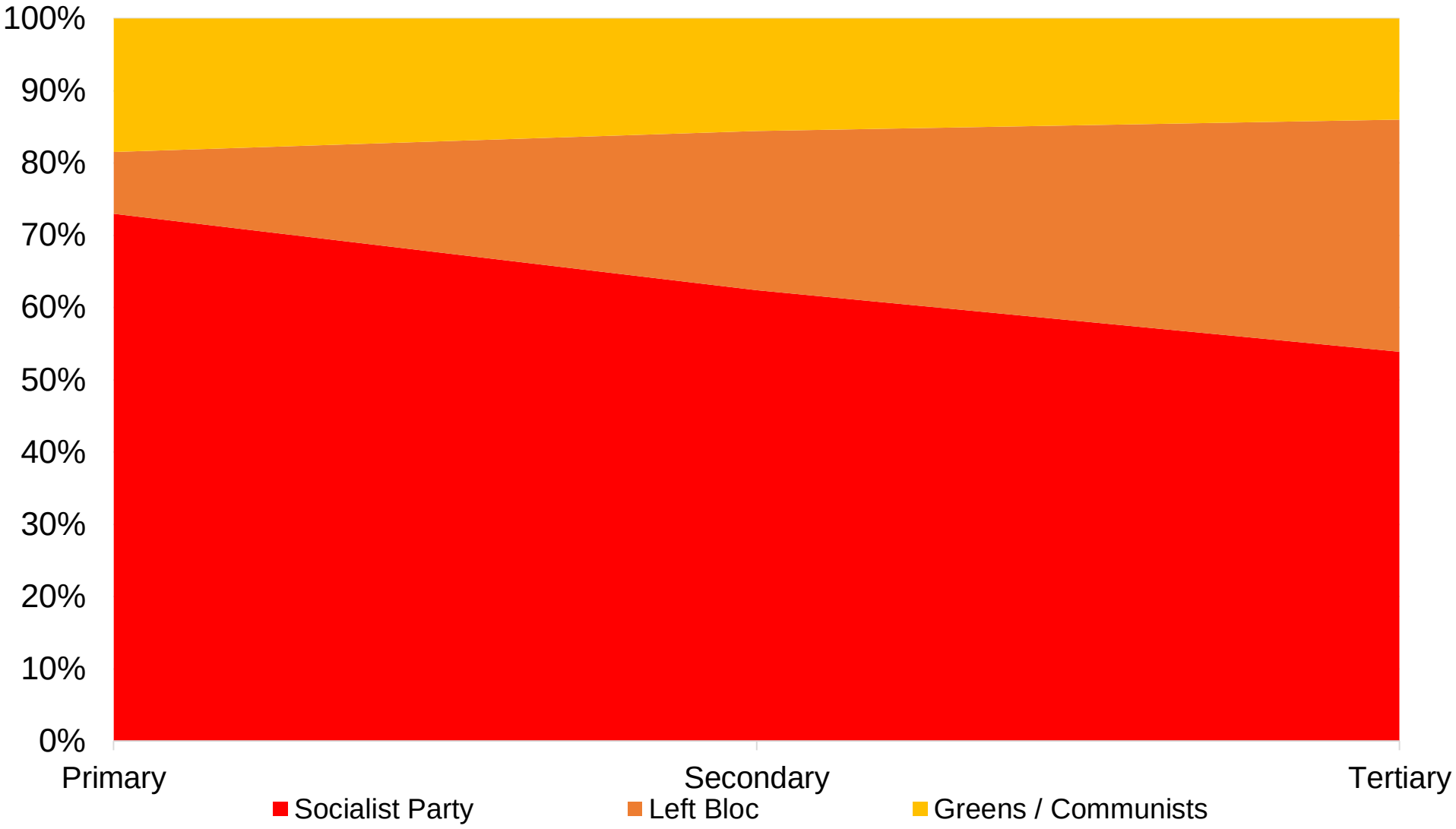


Figure CC35 - Vote for left-wing parties by income group in Portugal, 2015-2019

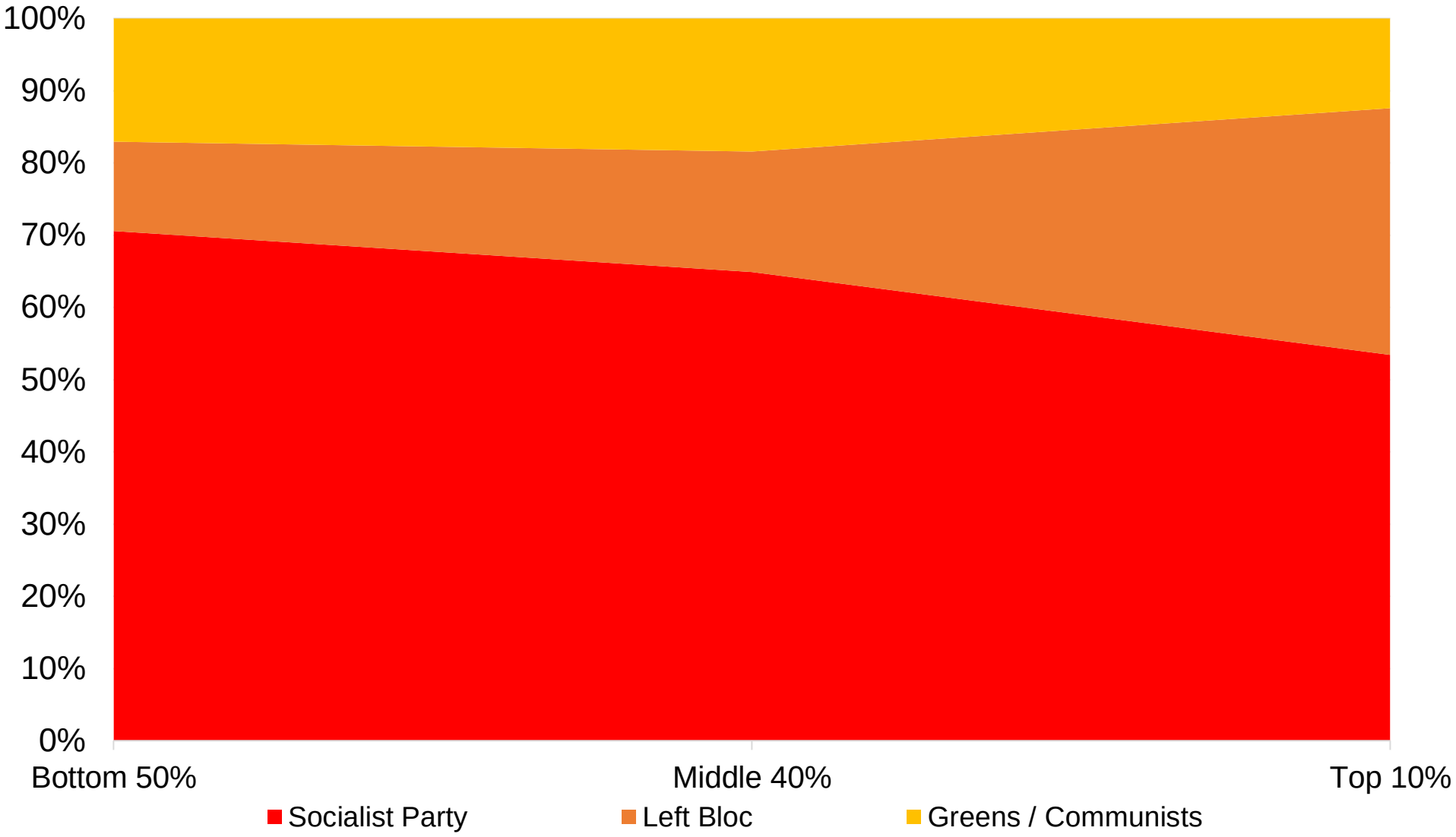


Figure CC36 - Vote for left-wing parties by age in Portugal, 2015-2019

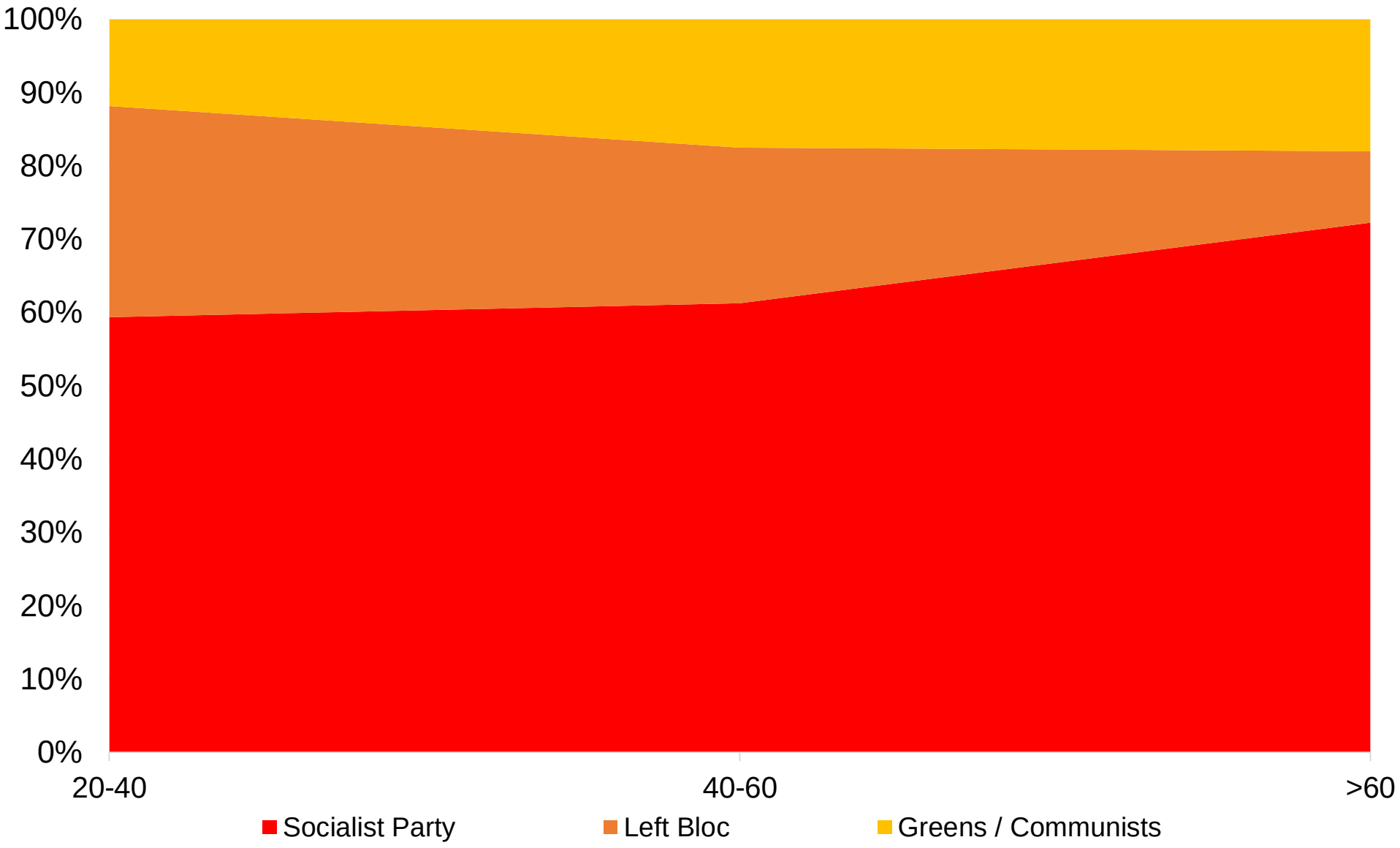


Table CC1 - Survey data sources in Portugal

Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
1975	Evolução das Atitudes e Comportamentos Políticos dos Portugueses, 1978 (Tabulations)	NORMA	6481/6091
1976	Evolução das Atitudes e Comportamentos Políticos dos Portugueses, 1978 (Tabulations)	NORMA	6481/6091
1979	Evolução das Atitudes e Comportamentos Políticos dos Portugueses, 1984 (Tabulations)	NORMA	6481
1983	Bacalhau, Mário and Thomas Bruneau, Continuity and change in the Portuguese party system, June 1993	ESEO	2000
1985	Bacalhau, Mário and Thomas Bruneau, Continuity and change in the Portuguese party system, June 1993	ESEO	2000
1987	Bacalhau, Mário and Thomas Bruneau, Continuity and change in the Portuguese party system, June 1993	ESEO	2000
1991	Bacalhau, Mário and Thomas Bruneau, Continuity and change in the Portuguese party system, June 1993	ESEO	2000
2002	Comparative Study of Electoral Systems, Module 2, 2001-2006 (Portugal, 2002)	CSES	1303
2009	Comparative Study of Electoral Systems, Module 3, 2006-2011 (Portugal, 2005)	CSES	1316
2011	Comparative Study of Electoral Systems, Module 3, 2006-2011 (Portugal, 2011)	CSES	1499
2015	Comparative Study of Electoral Systems, Module 4, 2011-2016 (Portugal, 2015)	CSES	1499
2019	Portuguese Election Study, 2019	APIS	1500

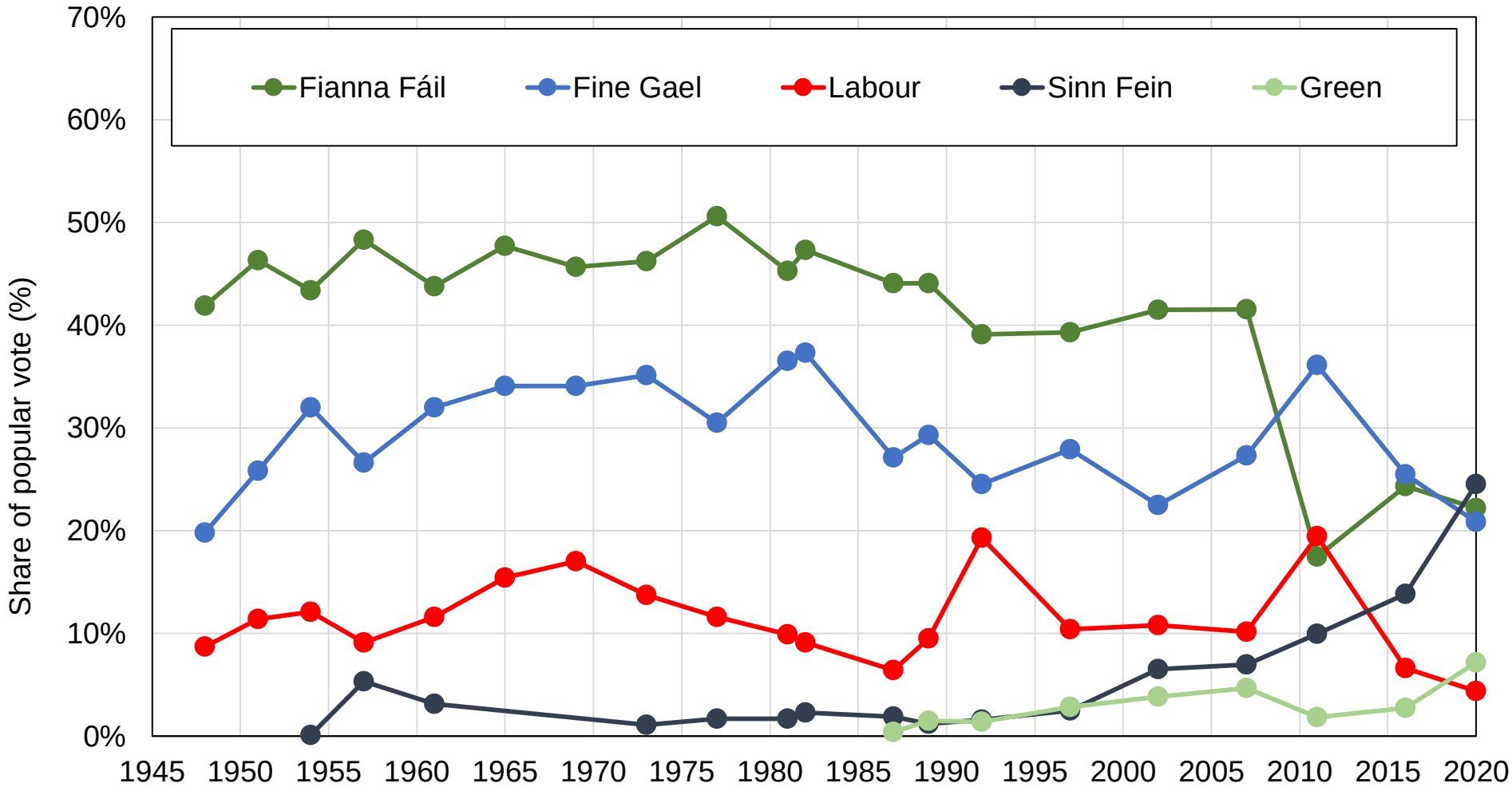
Source: authors' elaboration. NORMA: Comportamentos Eleitorais Atitudes políticas 1973-2002 (972-671-146-0), available for sale on https://www.ics.ulisboa.pt/imprensa. ESEO: data available upon request to ceapp@ics.ul.pt. CSES: Data free to download on https://cses.org/. APIS: Data free to download on https://dados.rcaap.pt/browse?type=author&value=Magalh%C3%A3es%2C+Pedro.

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

Table CC2 - Descriptive statistics by decade in Portugal					
	1973-79	1983-87	1991-95	2002-09	2015-19
Age: 20-40		47%	45%	38%	27%
Age: 40-60		29%	32%	35%	38%
Age: 60+		24%	22%	27%	36%
Subjective class: Not working class		100%	90%		40%
Education: Primary	78%	66%	68%	38%	36%
Education: Secondary	18%	25%	22%	45%	48%
Education: Tertiary	4%	8%	10%	17%	15%
Employment status: Employed		51%	57%	54%	49%
Employment status: Unemployed		4%	4%	9%	11%
Employment status: Inactive		44%	39%	37%	40%
Marital status: Married or with partner		73%	73%	64%	59%
Region: North		48%	49%	38%	35%
Region: Center		11%	12%	20%	23%
Region: Lisbon		31%	31%	32%	29%
Region: Alentejo		5%	5%	7%	8%
Region: Algarve		4%	4%	4%	5%
Religion: No religion		5%	8%	5%	11%
Religion: Catholic		93%	89%	90%	84%
Religion: Other		3%	3%	4%	5%
Church attendance: Never		16%	8%	14%	18%
Church attendance: Less than monthly		37%	62%	35%	47%
Church attendance: Monthly or more		47%	29%	51%	35%
Rural-urban: Rural areas		53%	50%	33%	30%
Sector : Public sector				19%	14%
Gender: Man		48%	51%	45%	44%
Union membership: Yes		10%	8%	10%	5%
Country of birth: Portugal					95%
Country of birth: Brazil					2%
Country of birth: Other ex-colony					3%

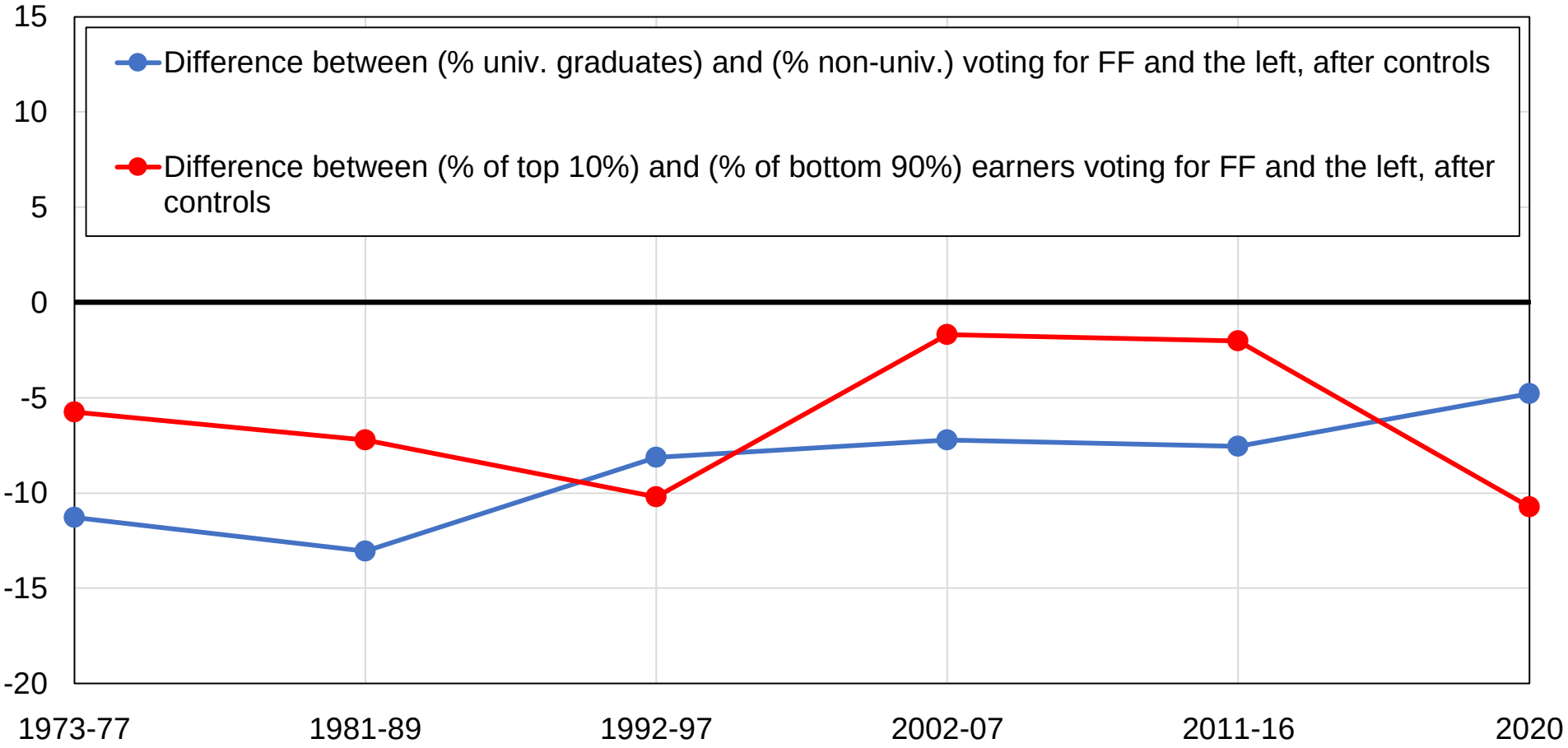
Source: authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the table shows descriptive statistics by decade for selected available variables.

Figure D1 - Election results in Ireland, 1948-2020



Source: authors' computations using official election results.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Irish political parties in general elections between 1948 and 2020.

Figure D2 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left among highest-educated and top-income voters in Ireland



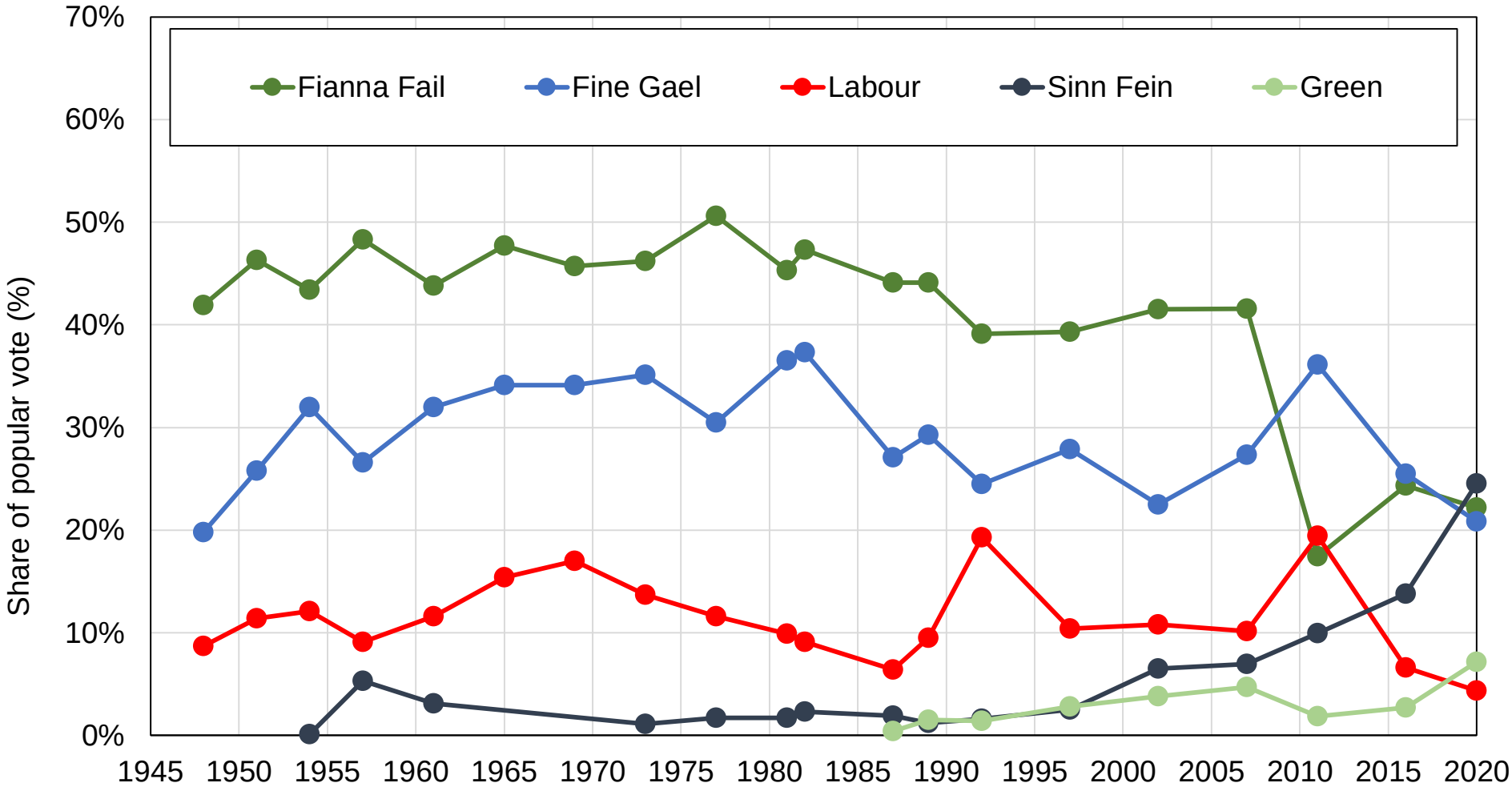
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the support for Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controlling for income, education, age, gender, employment, marital status, religious affiliation and church attendance.

Table D1 - The structure of political cleavages in Ireland, 2020					
	Share of votes received (%)				
	Sinn Féin	Labour	Greens	Fianna Fáil	Fine Gael
Overall vote shar	25%	4%	7%	22%	21%
Education					
Primary	43%	4%	1%	23%	13%
Secondary	27%	4%	7%	24%	19%
Tertiary	20%	5%	8%	21%	24%
Income					
Bottom 50%	30%	4%	5%	21%	17%
Middle 40%	20%	5%	8%	25%	22%
Top 10%	16%	4%	8%	22%	33%
Religion					
No religion	29%	5%	16%	12%	15%
Catholic	23%	4%	3%	28%	22%
Protestant	16%	8%	7%	13%	40%
Age					
20-40	27%	5%	14%	16%	18%
40-60	26%	4%	5%	21%	20%
60+	20%	5%	4%	30%	24%

Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

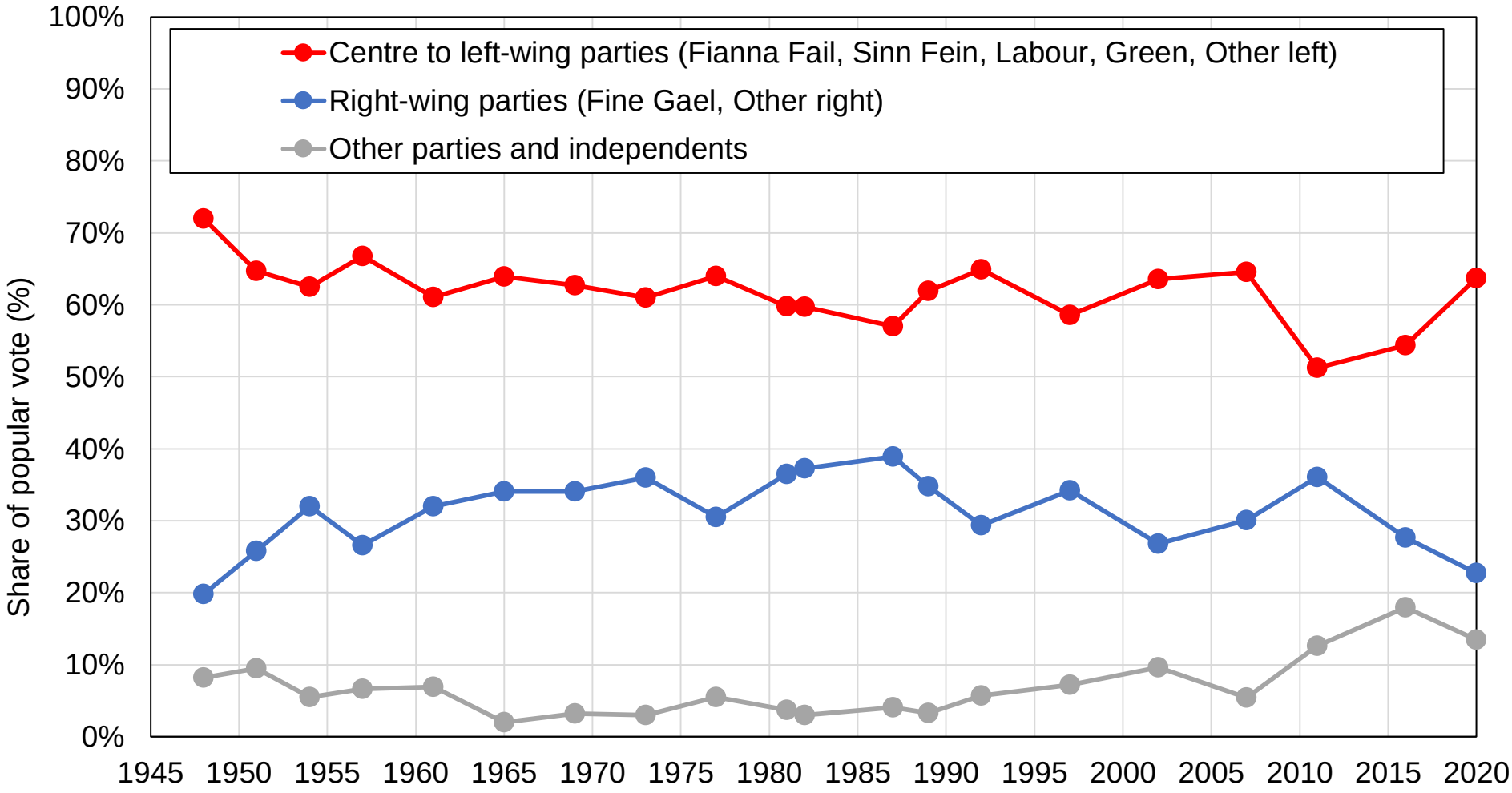
Notes: the table shows the average share of votes received by the main political parties by selected individual characteristics in the 2020 election.

Figure DA1 - Election results in Ireland, 1948-2020



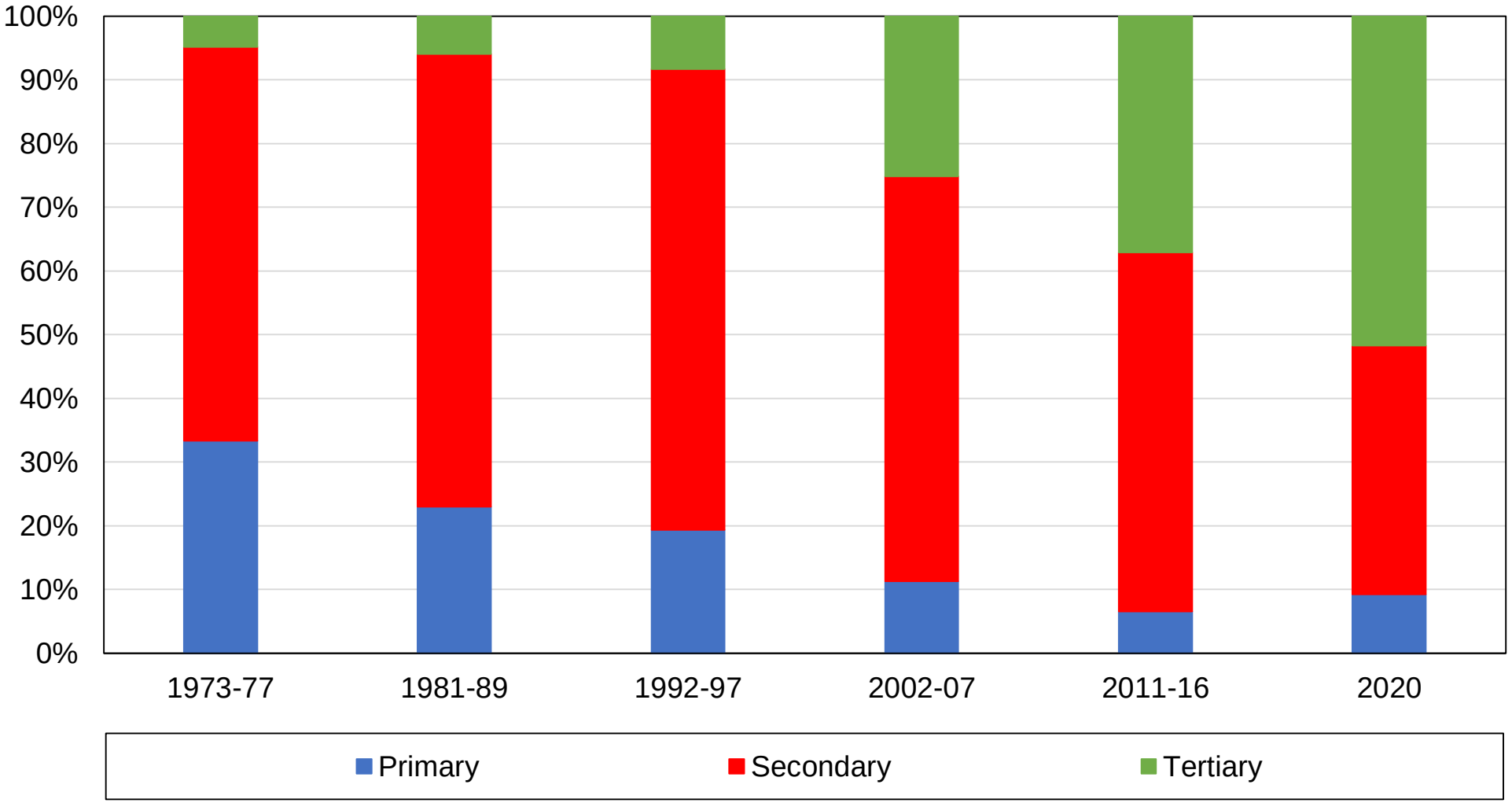
Source: authors' computations using official election results.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Irisih political parties in general elections between 1948 and 2020.

Figure DA2 - Election results in Ireland by groups, 1948-2020



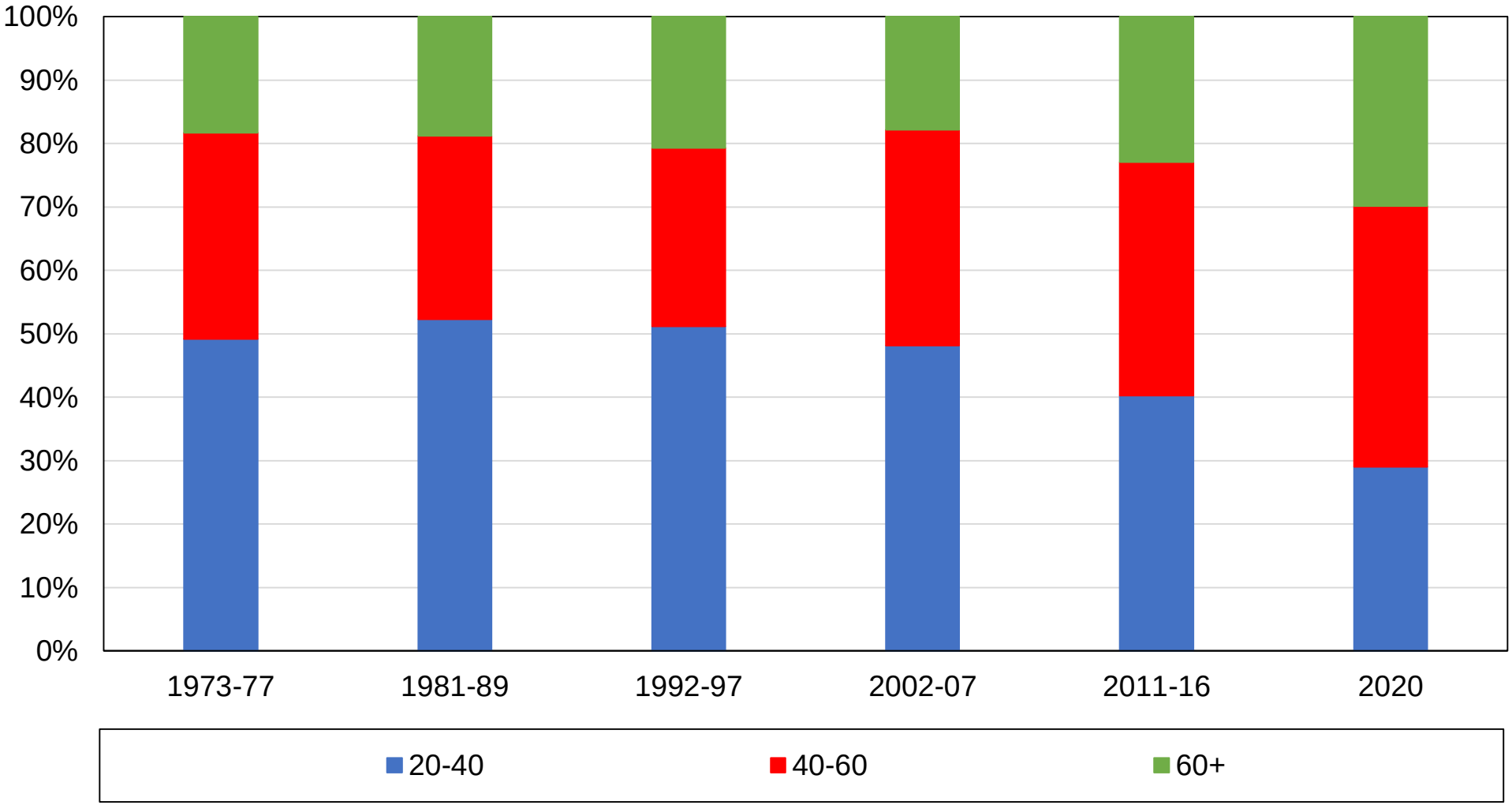
Source: authors' computations using official election results.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Irish political parties in general elections between 1948 and 2020.

Figure DA3 - The composition of the electorate by education



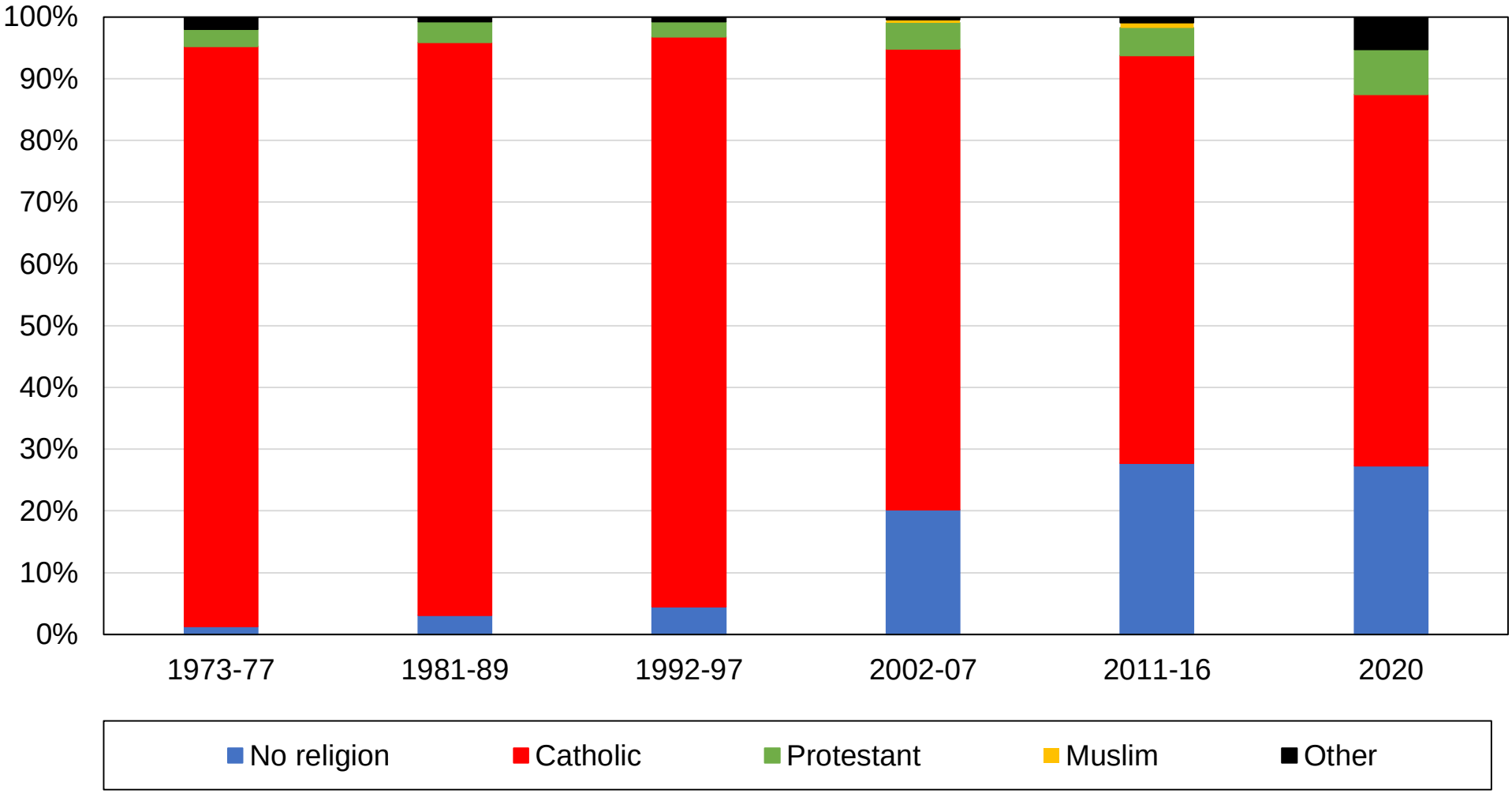
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the distribution of education levels in the Irish adult population and its evolution over time.

Figure DA4 - The composition of the electorate by age



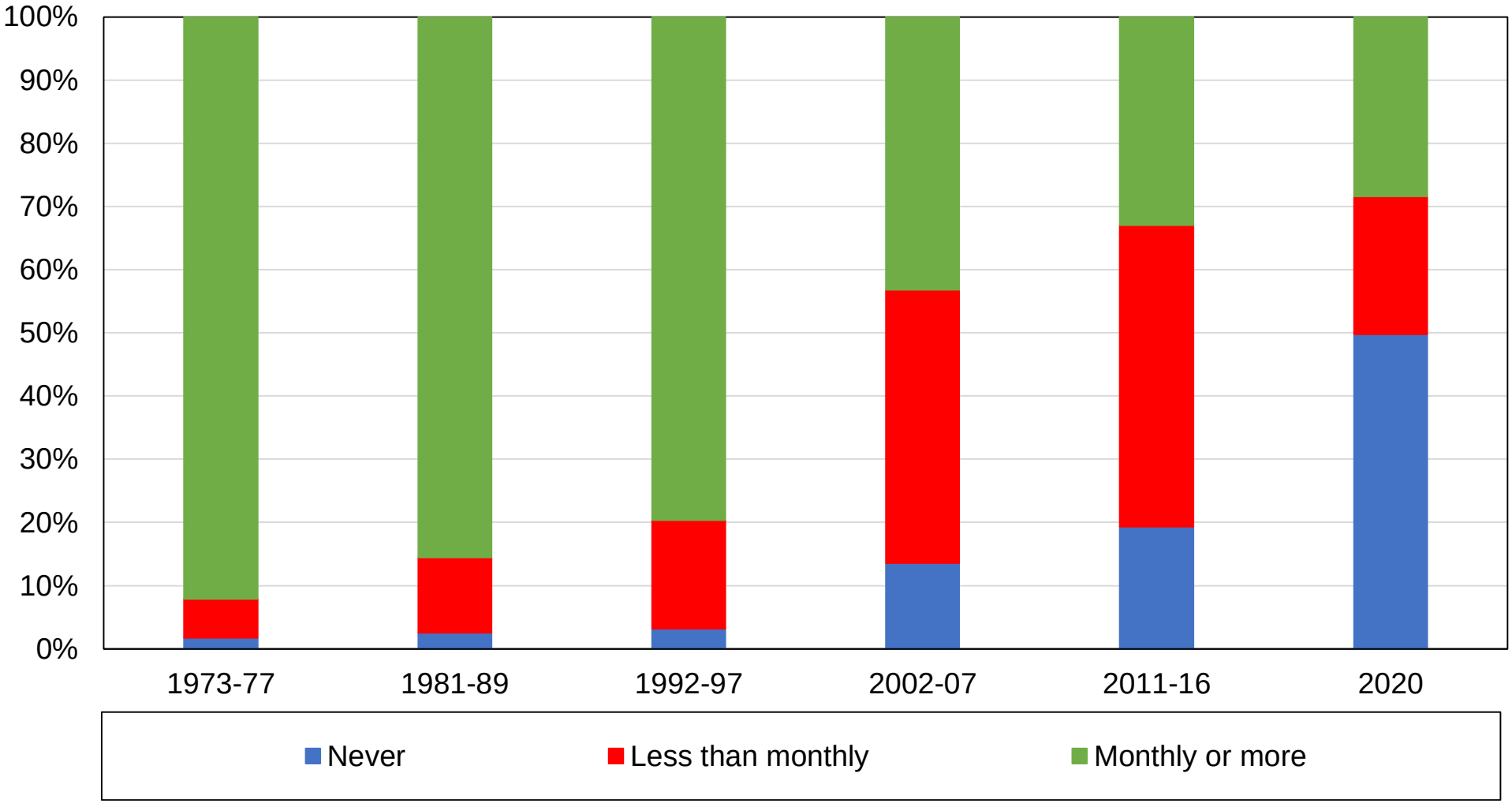
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the distribution of age groups in the Irish adult population and its evolution over time.

Figure DA5 - The composition of the electorate by religion



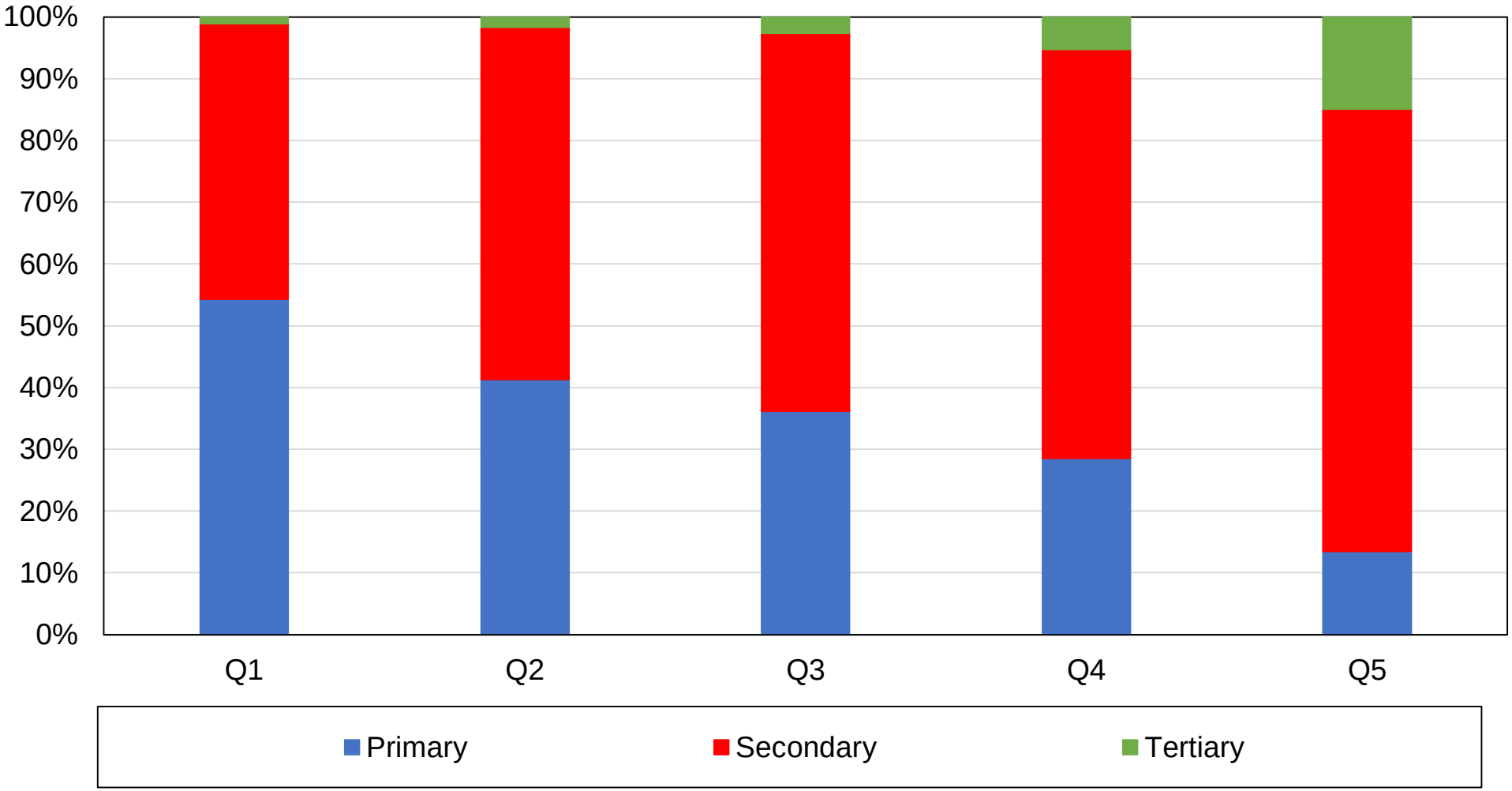
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the distribution of religious affiliation in the Irish adult population and its evolution over time.

Figure DA6 - The composition of the electorate by church attendance



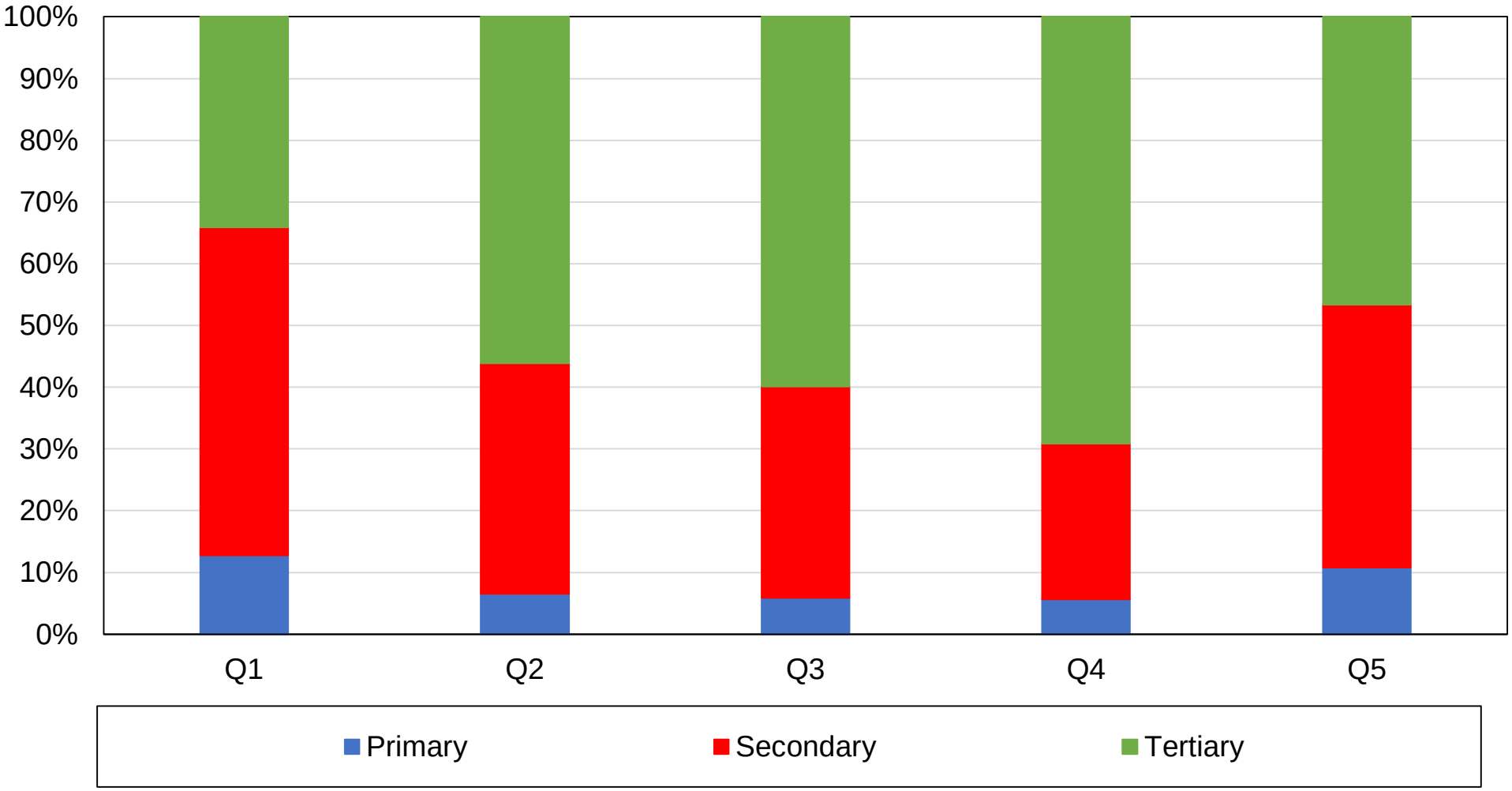
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the distribution of church attendance in the Irish adult population and its distribution over time.

Figure DA7 - Composition of income quintiles by education level, 1970s



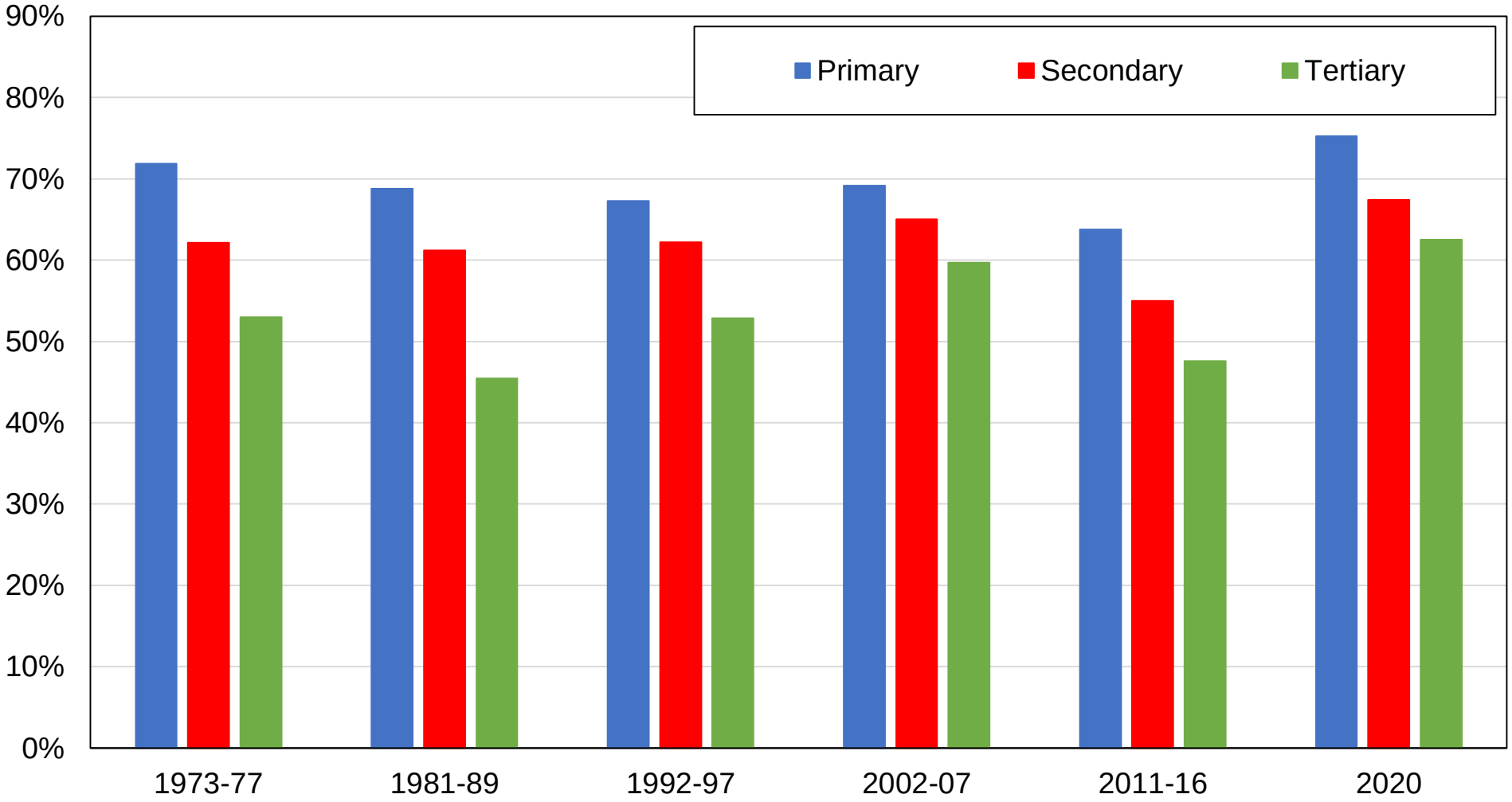
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the distribution of education level by income quintile in the Irish adult population in the 1970s.

Figure DA8 - Composition of income quintiles by education level, 2020



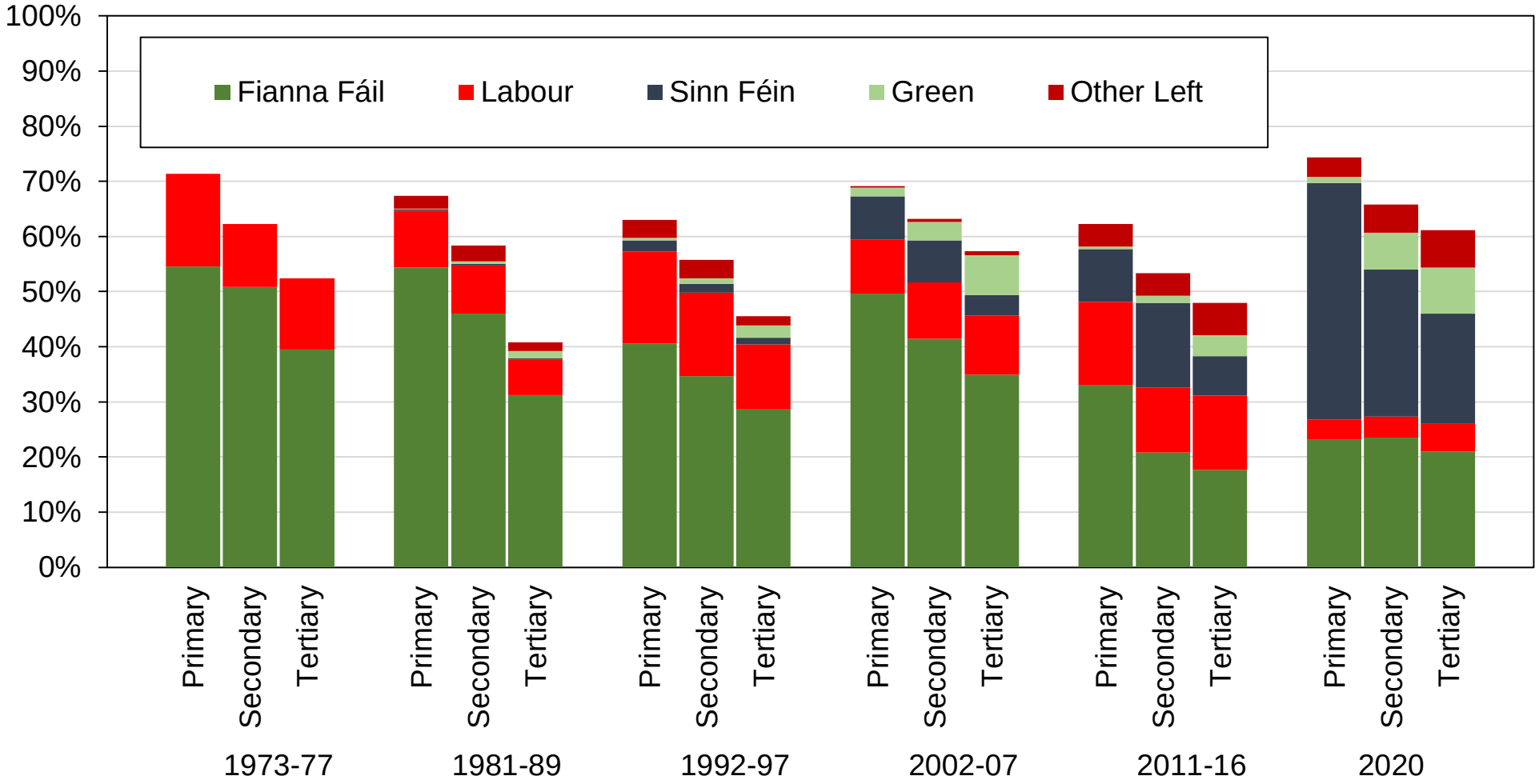
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the distribution of education level by income quintile in the Irish adult population in 2020.

Figure DB1 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left by education level



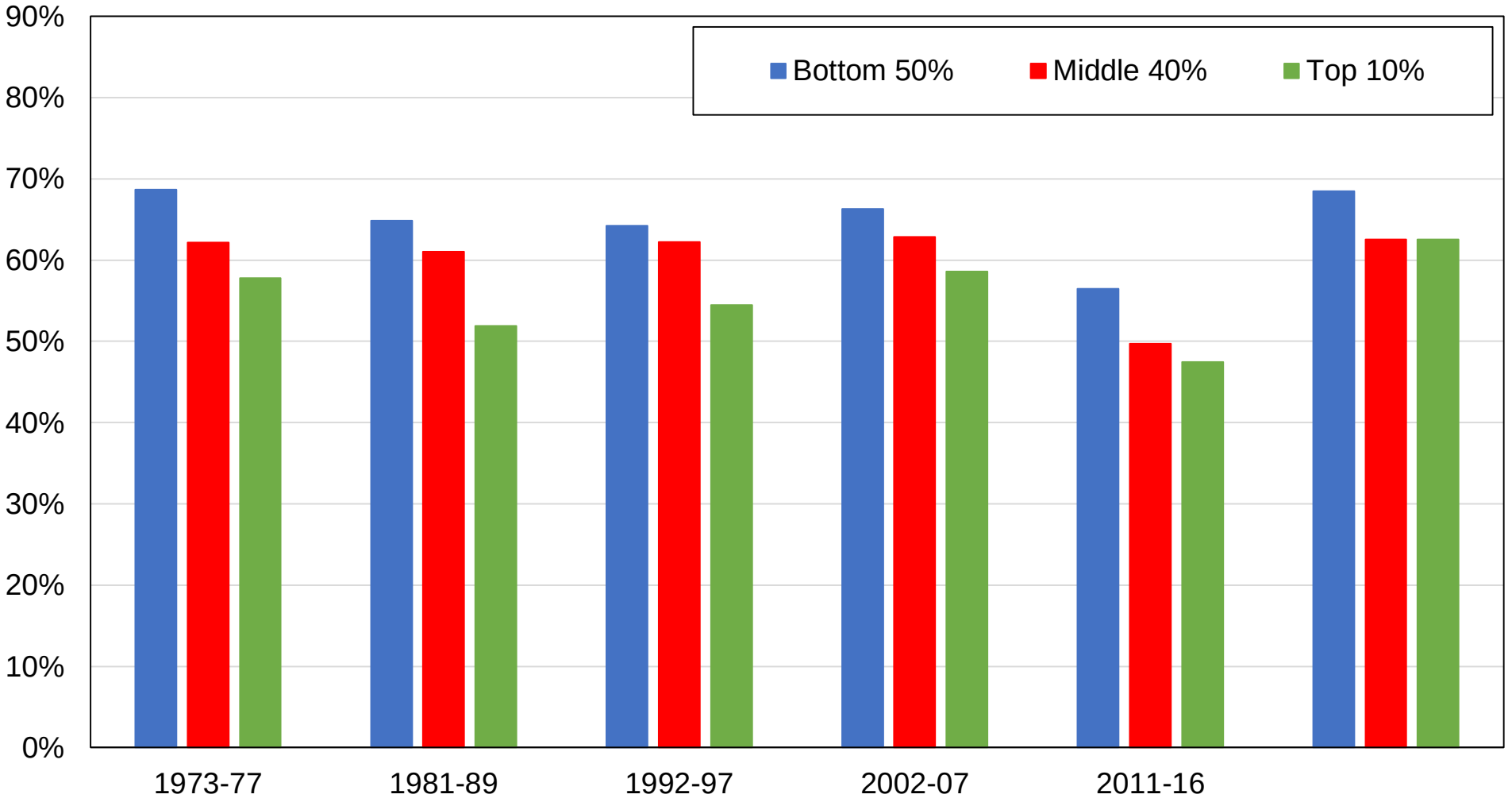
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties by education level.

Figure DB2 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other Left by education level (decomposed)



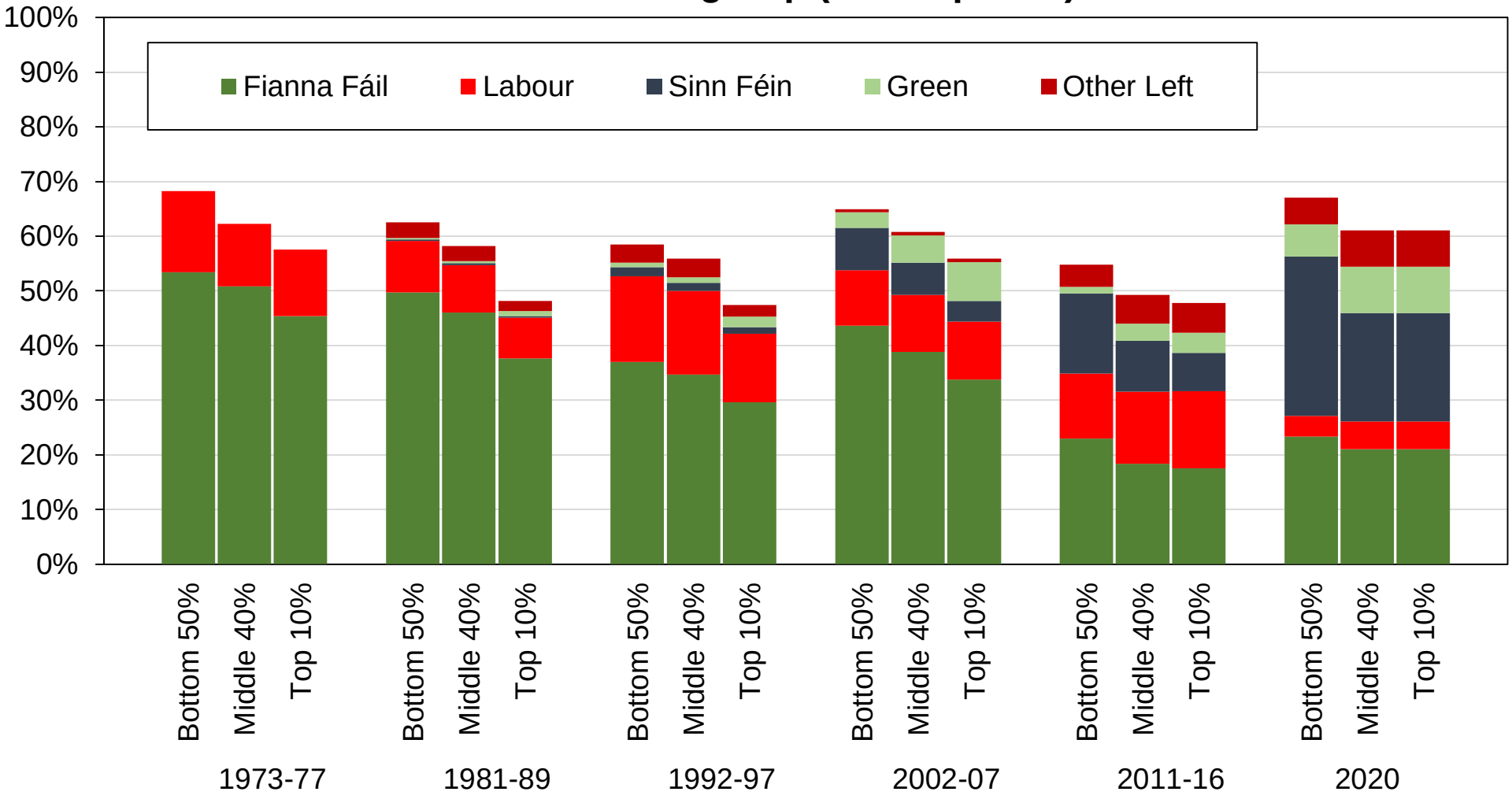
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by each party by education level.

Figure DB3 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left by education group



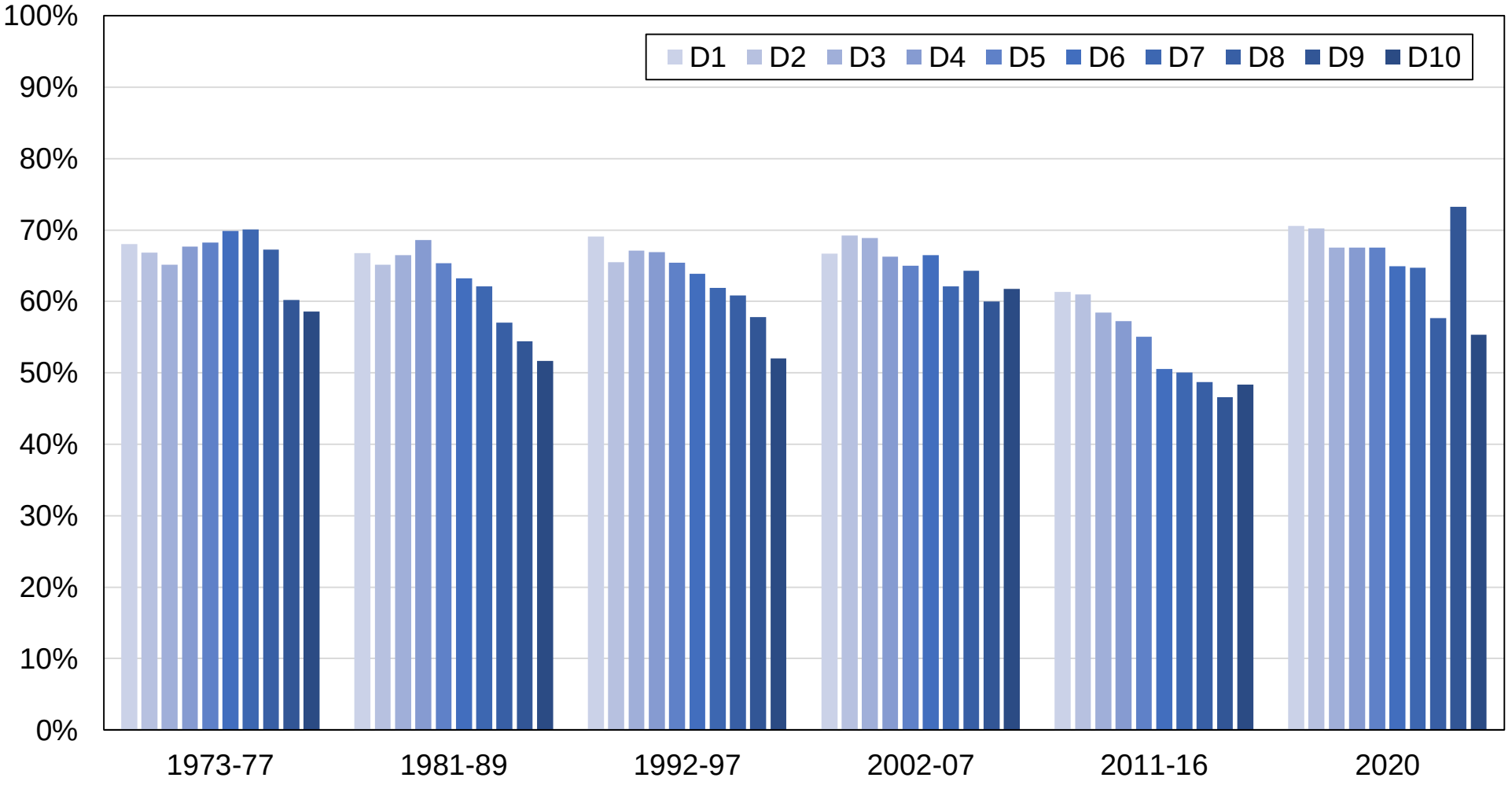
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties by education group.

Figure DB4 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other Left by education group (decomposed)



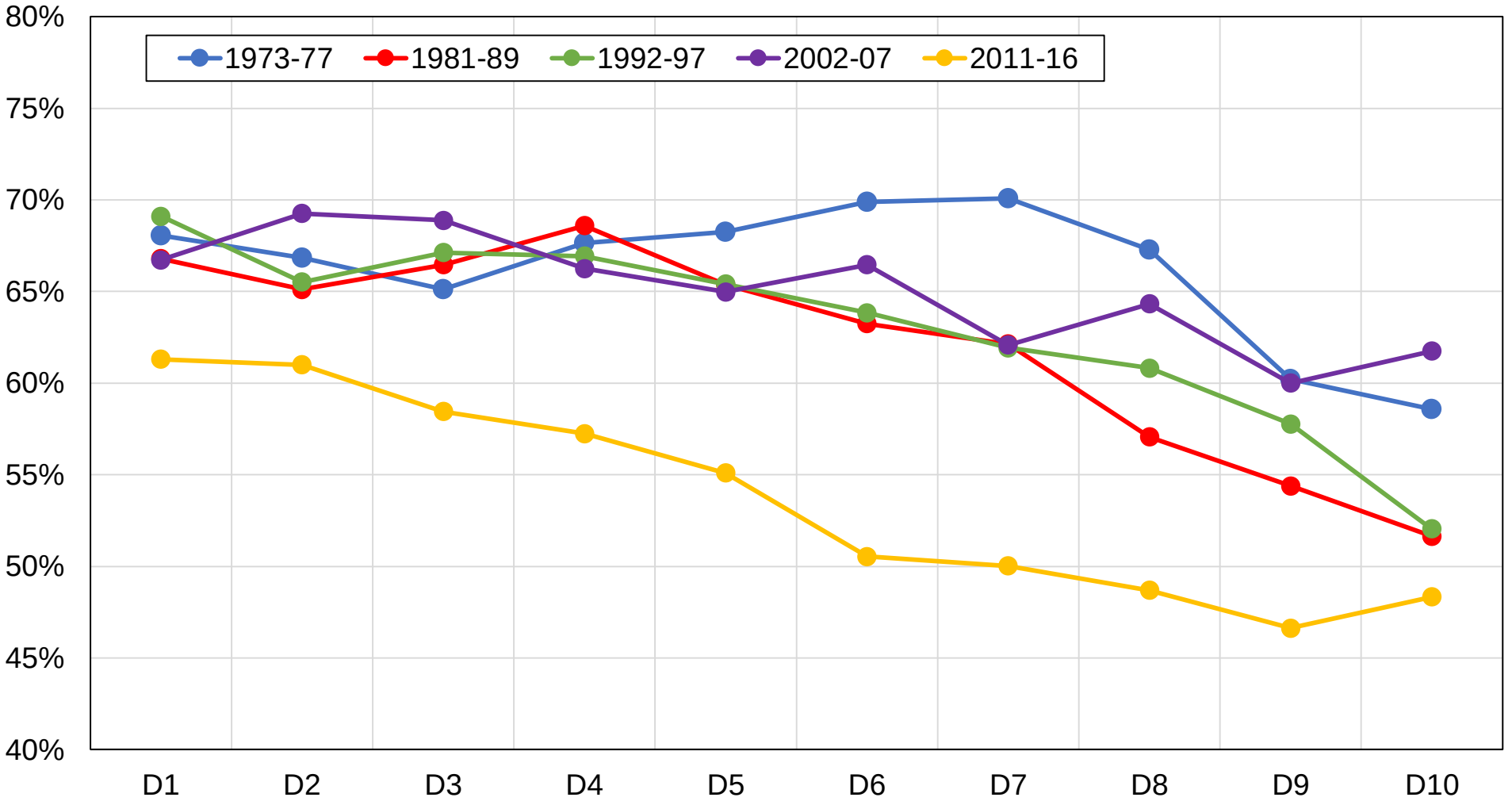
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by each party by education group across decades.

Figure DB5 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left by income decile



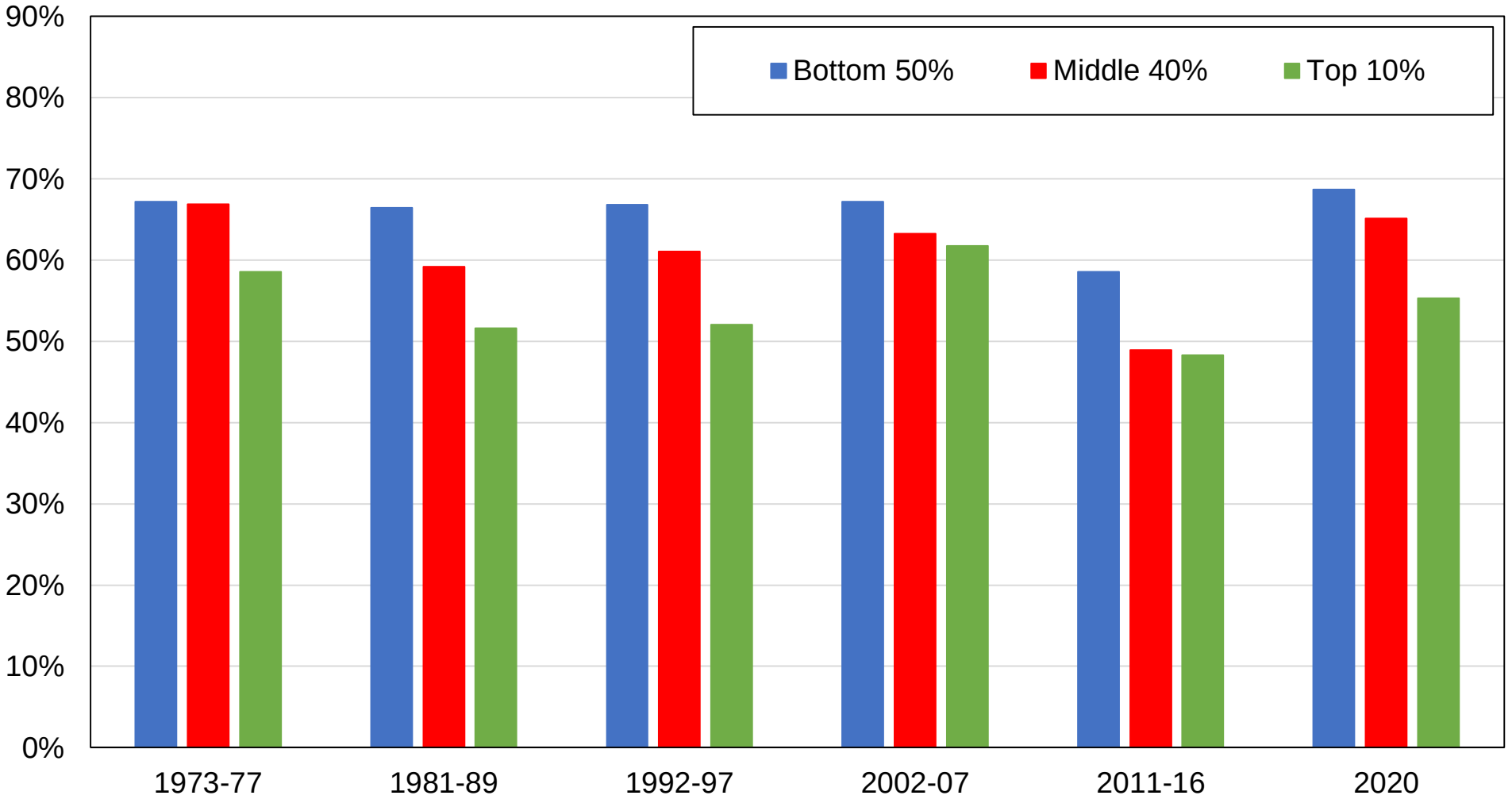
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties by income decile.

Figure DB6 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left by income decile



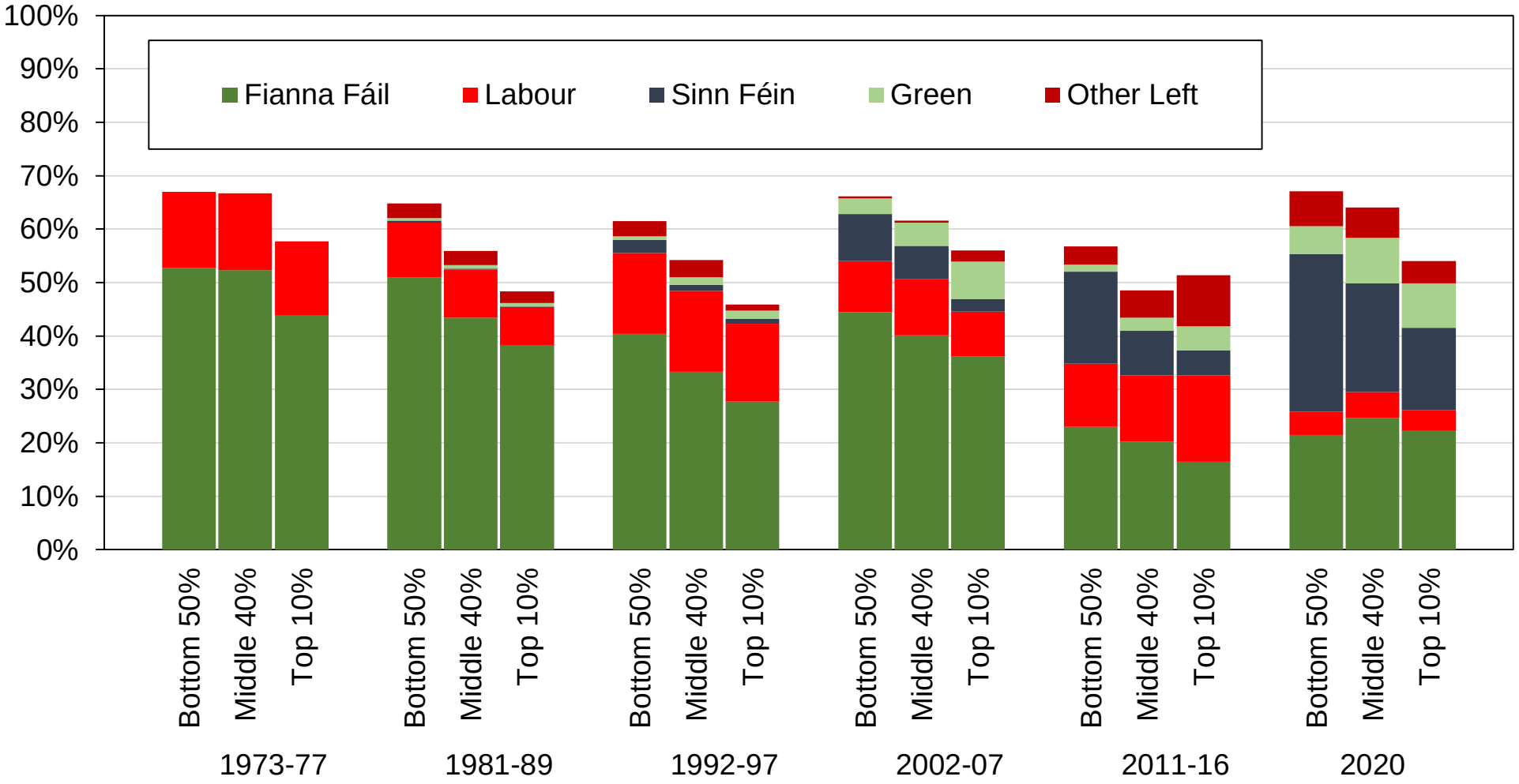
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties by income decile.

Figure DB7 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left by income group



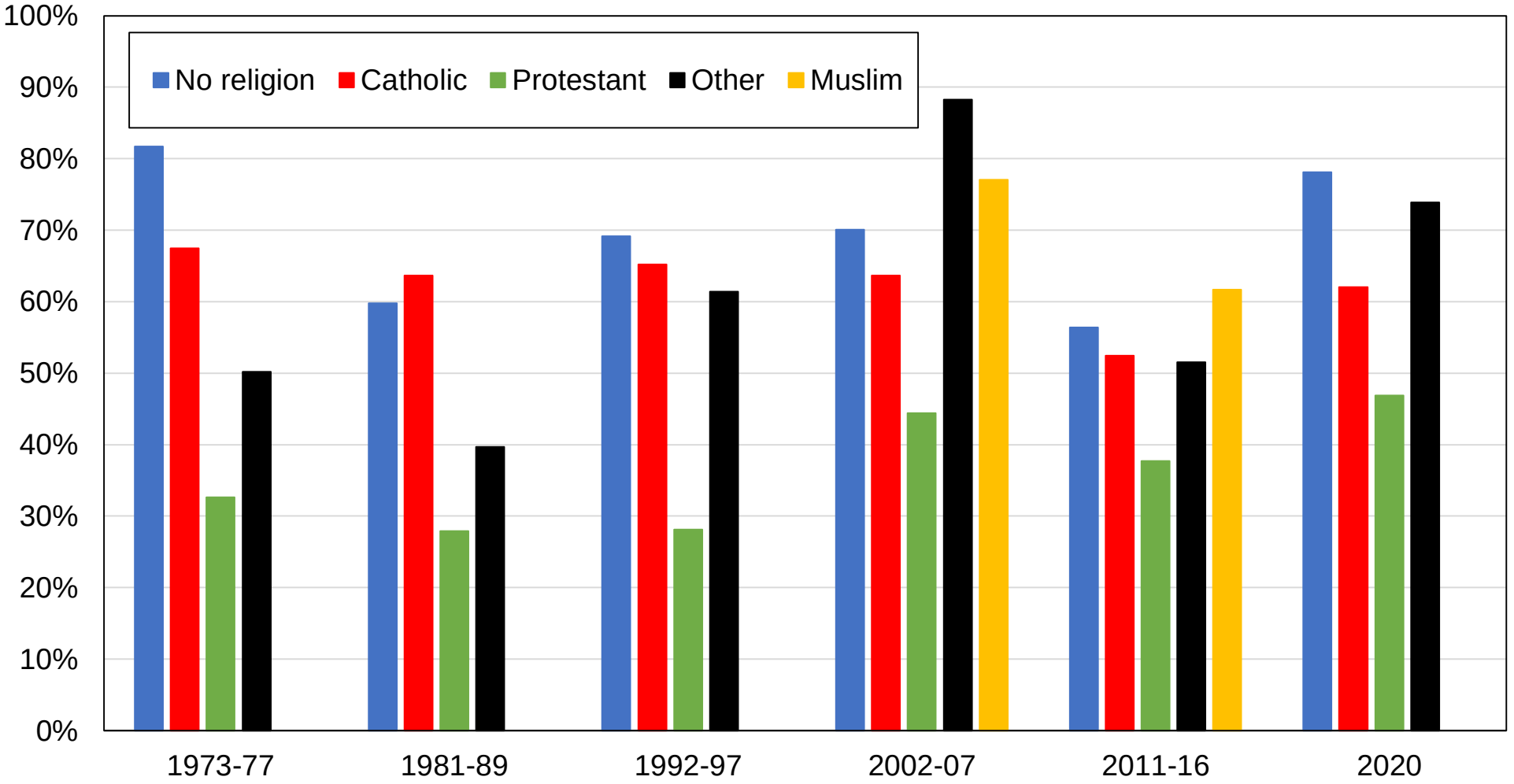
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties by income group.

Figure DB8 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other Left by income group (decomposed)



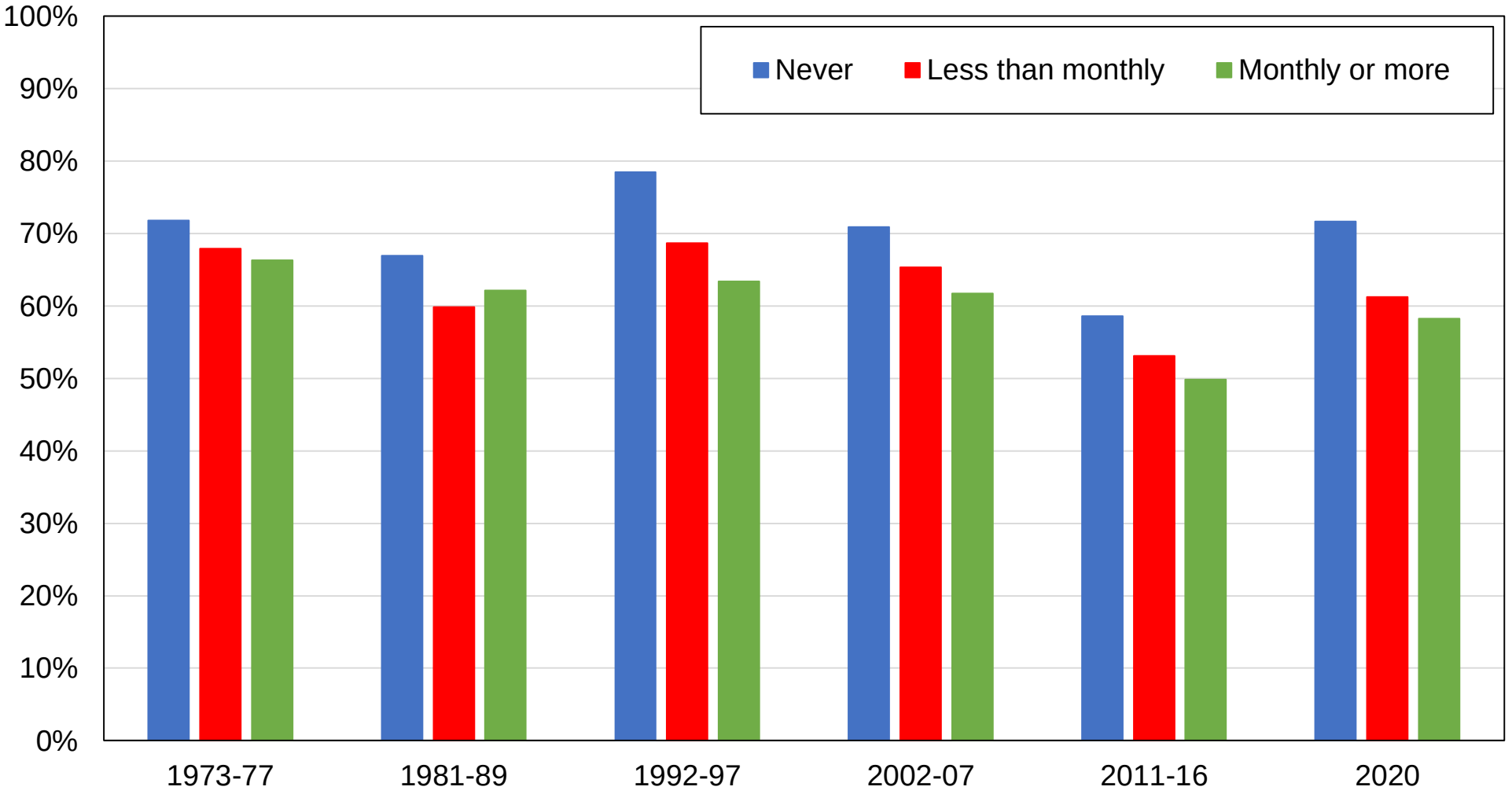
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties by income group.

Figure DB9 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left by religious affiliation



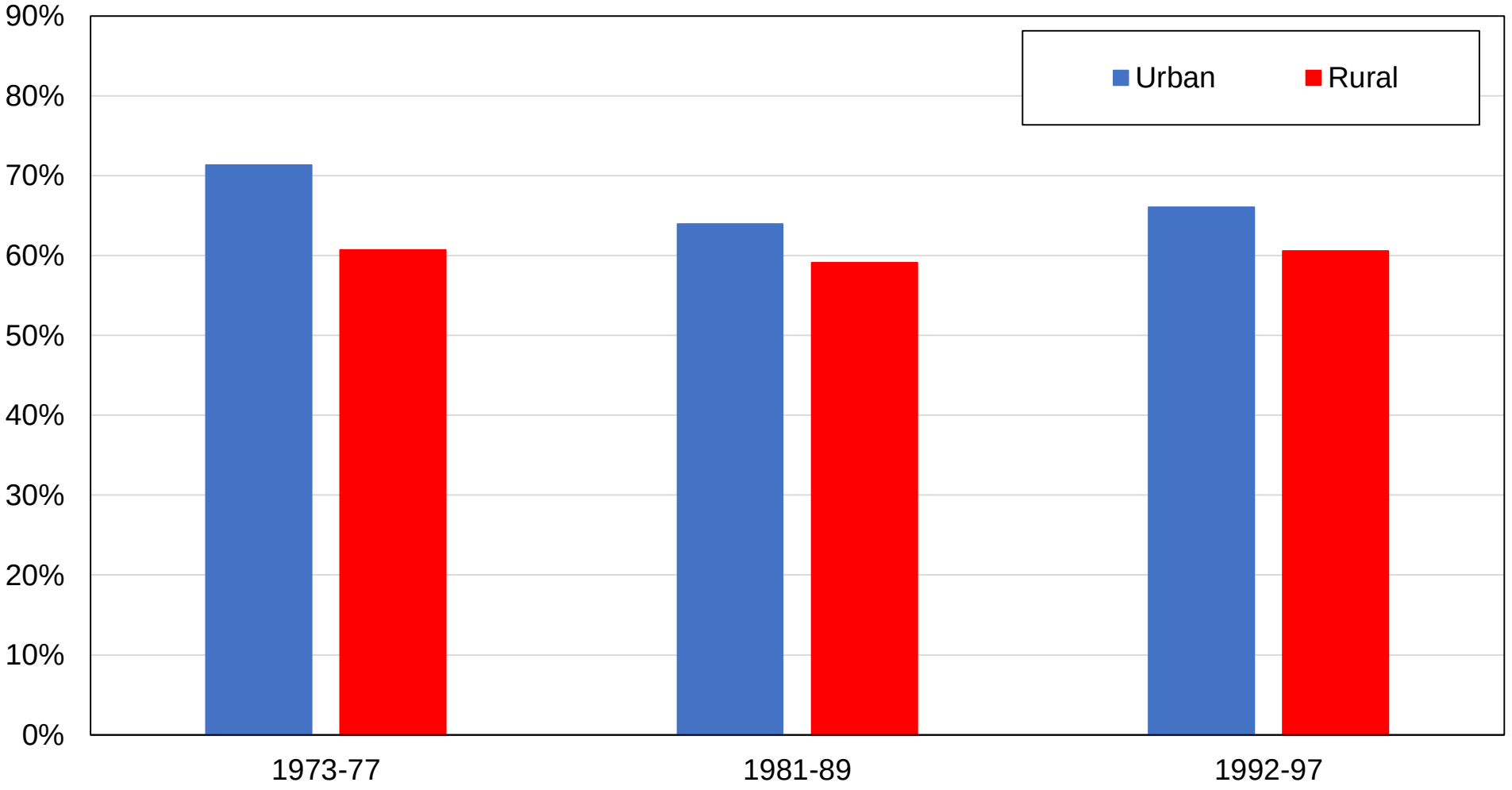
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties by religious affiliation.

Figure DB10 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left by church attendance



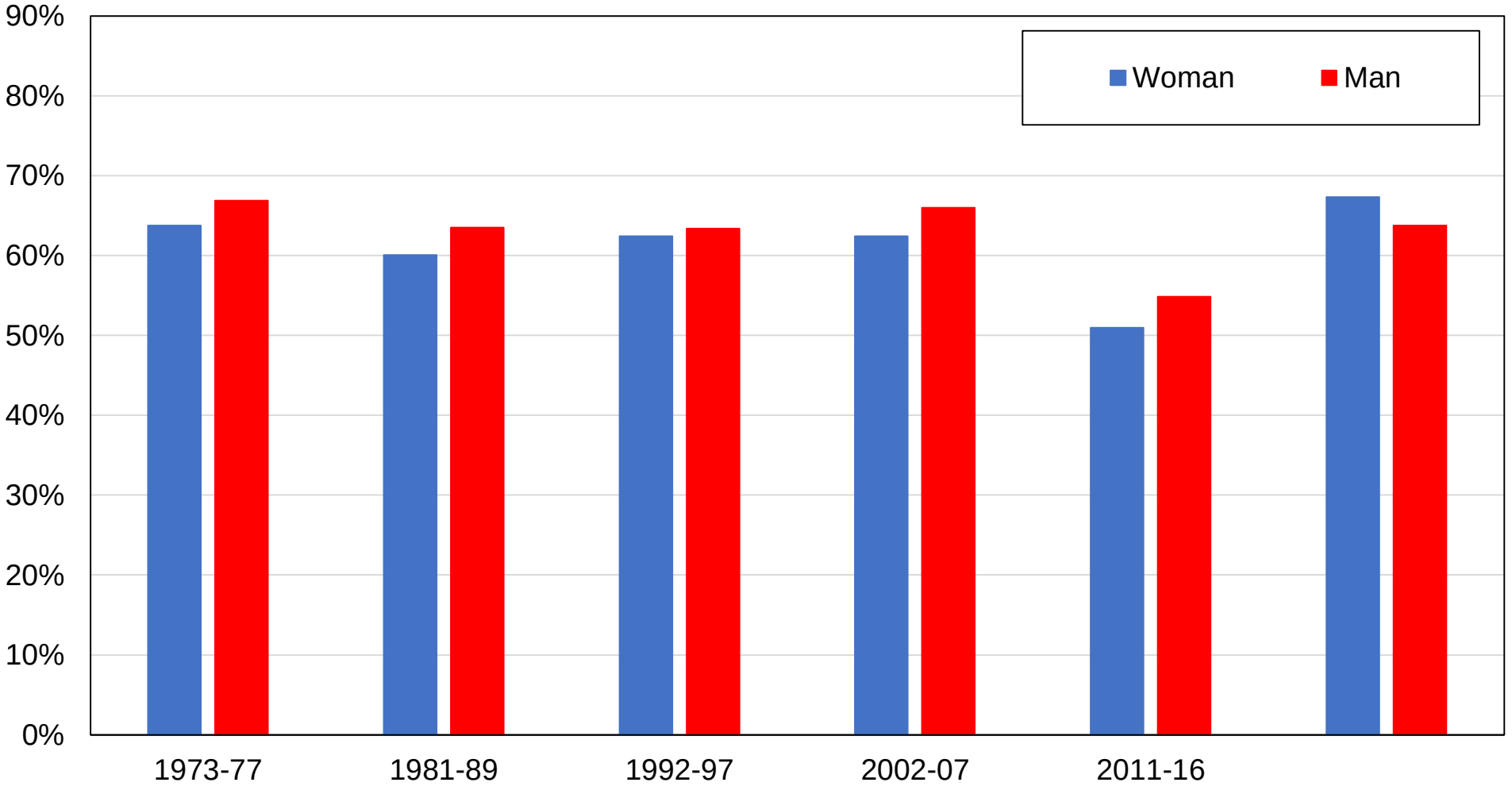
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties by frequency of church attendance.

Figure DB11 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left by location



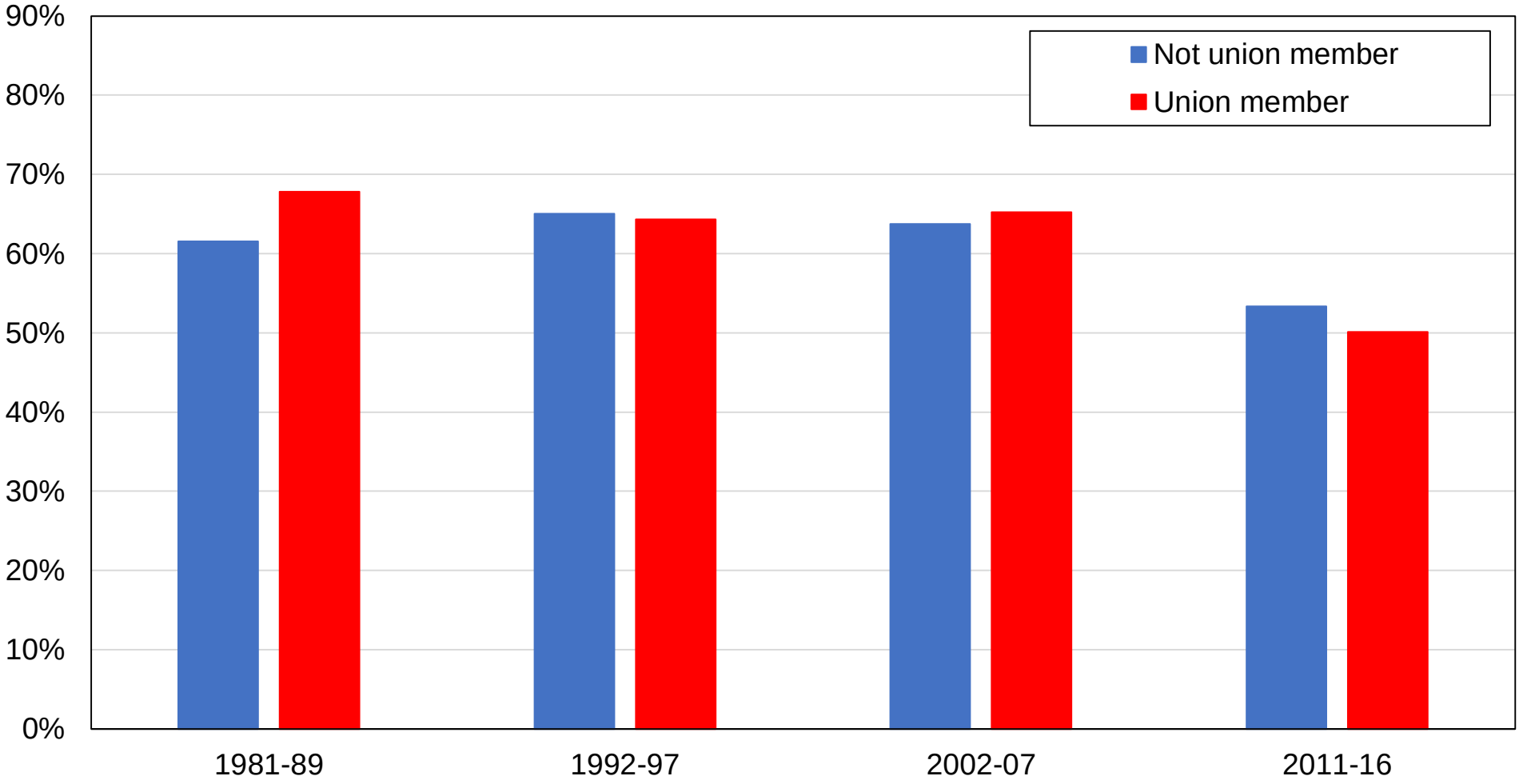
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties by rural-urban location.

Figure DB12 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left by gender



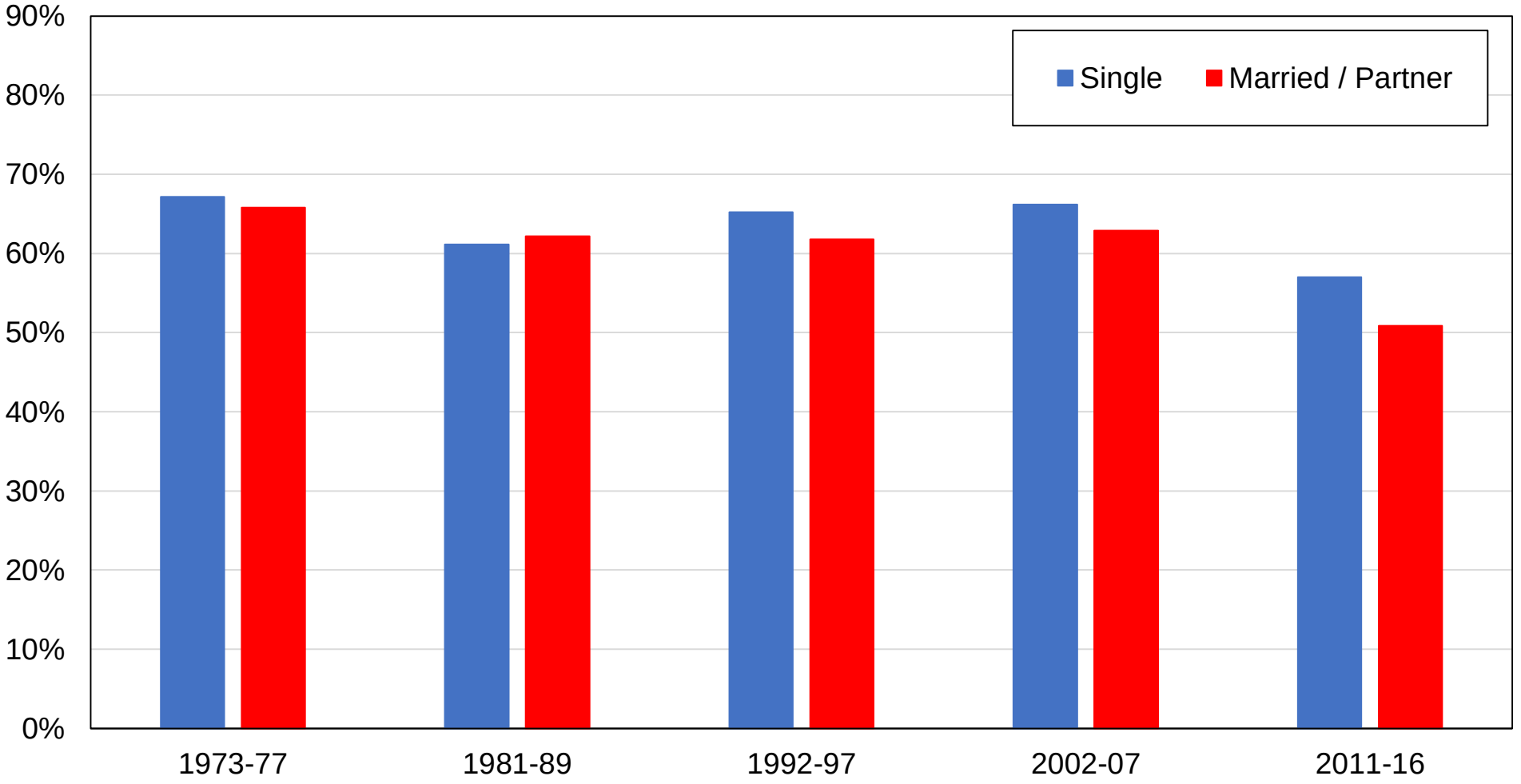
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties by gender.

Figure DB13 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left by union membership



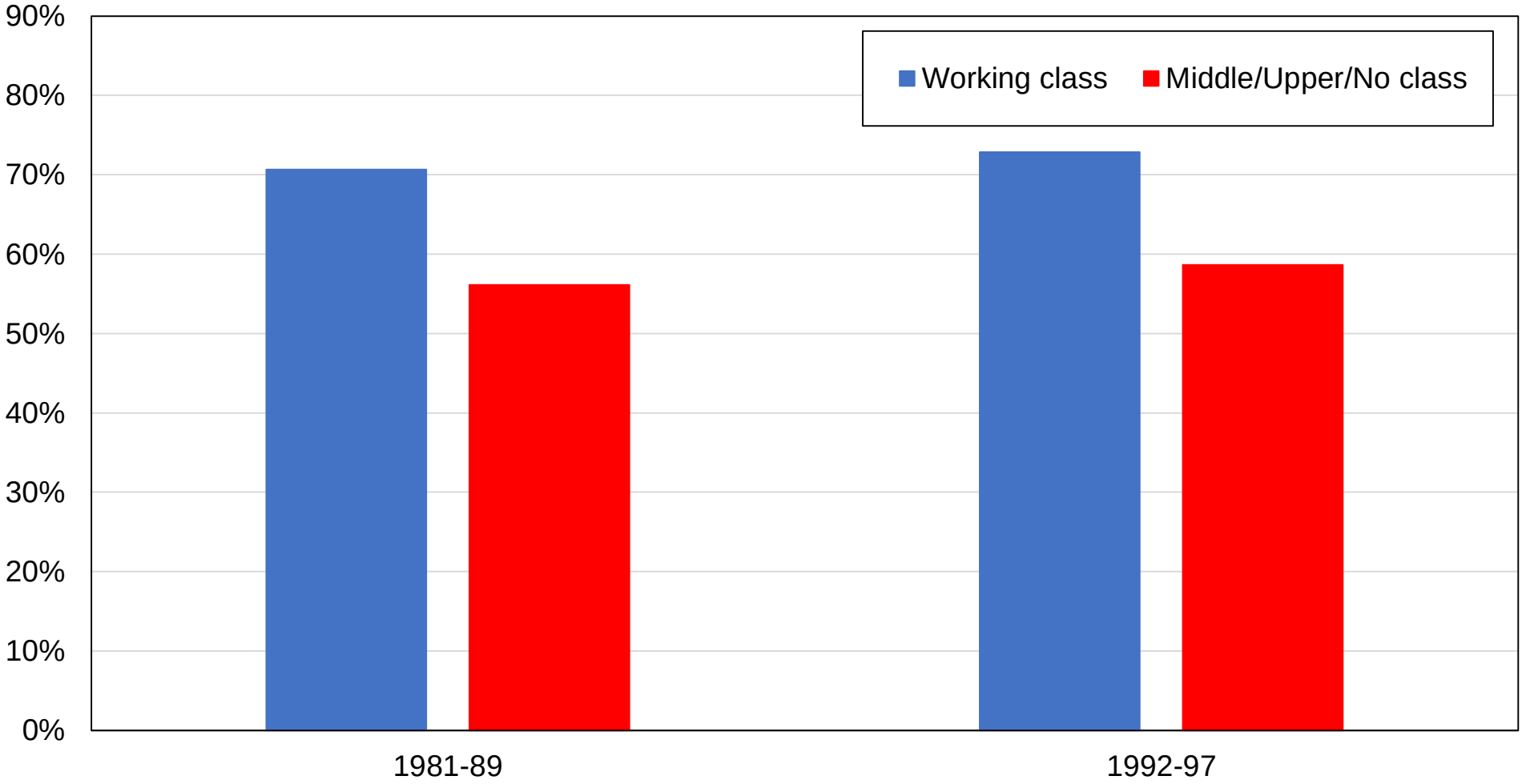
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties by union membership status.

Figure DB14 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left by marital status



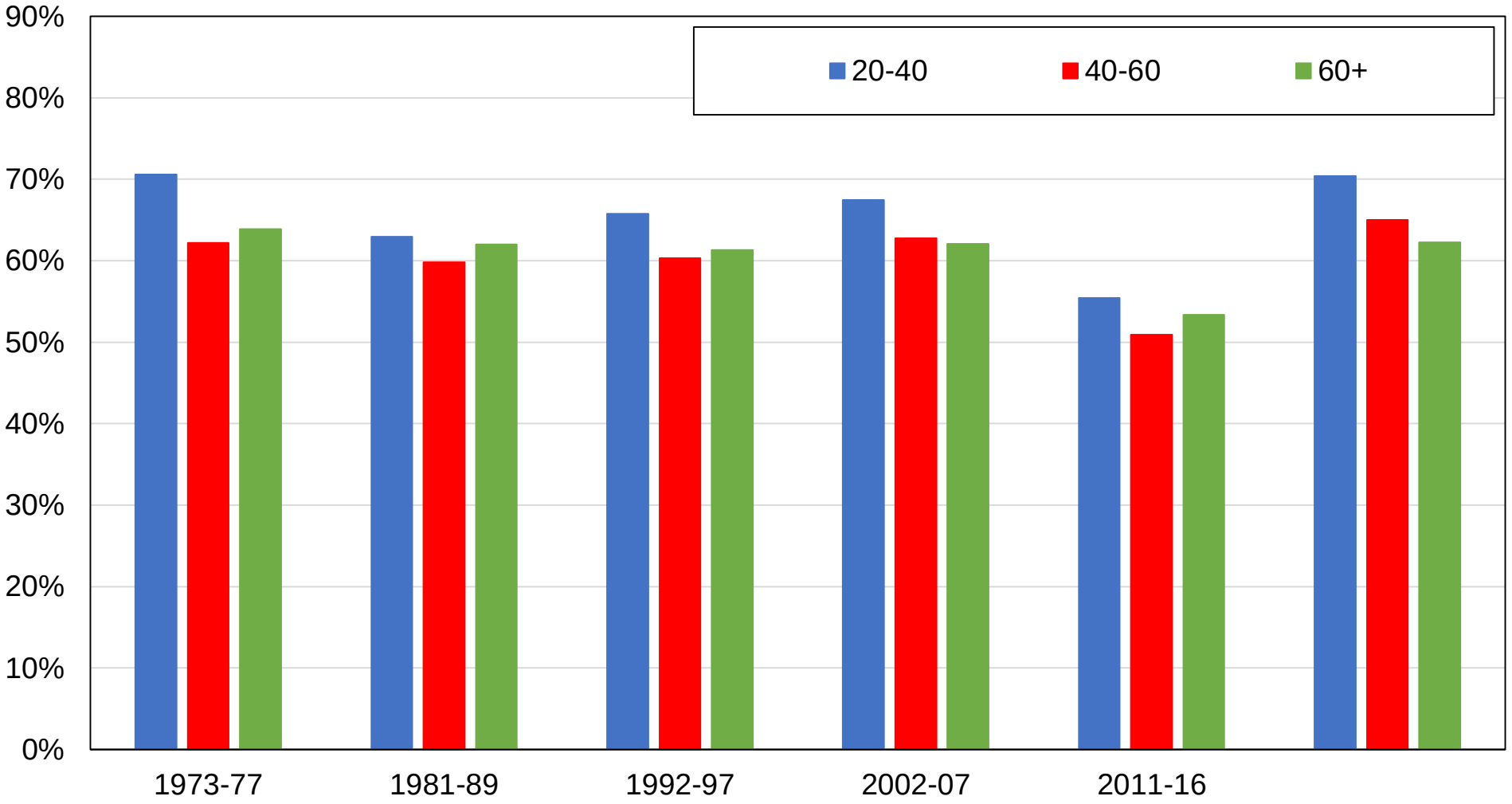
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties by marital status.

Figure DB15 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left by perceived social class



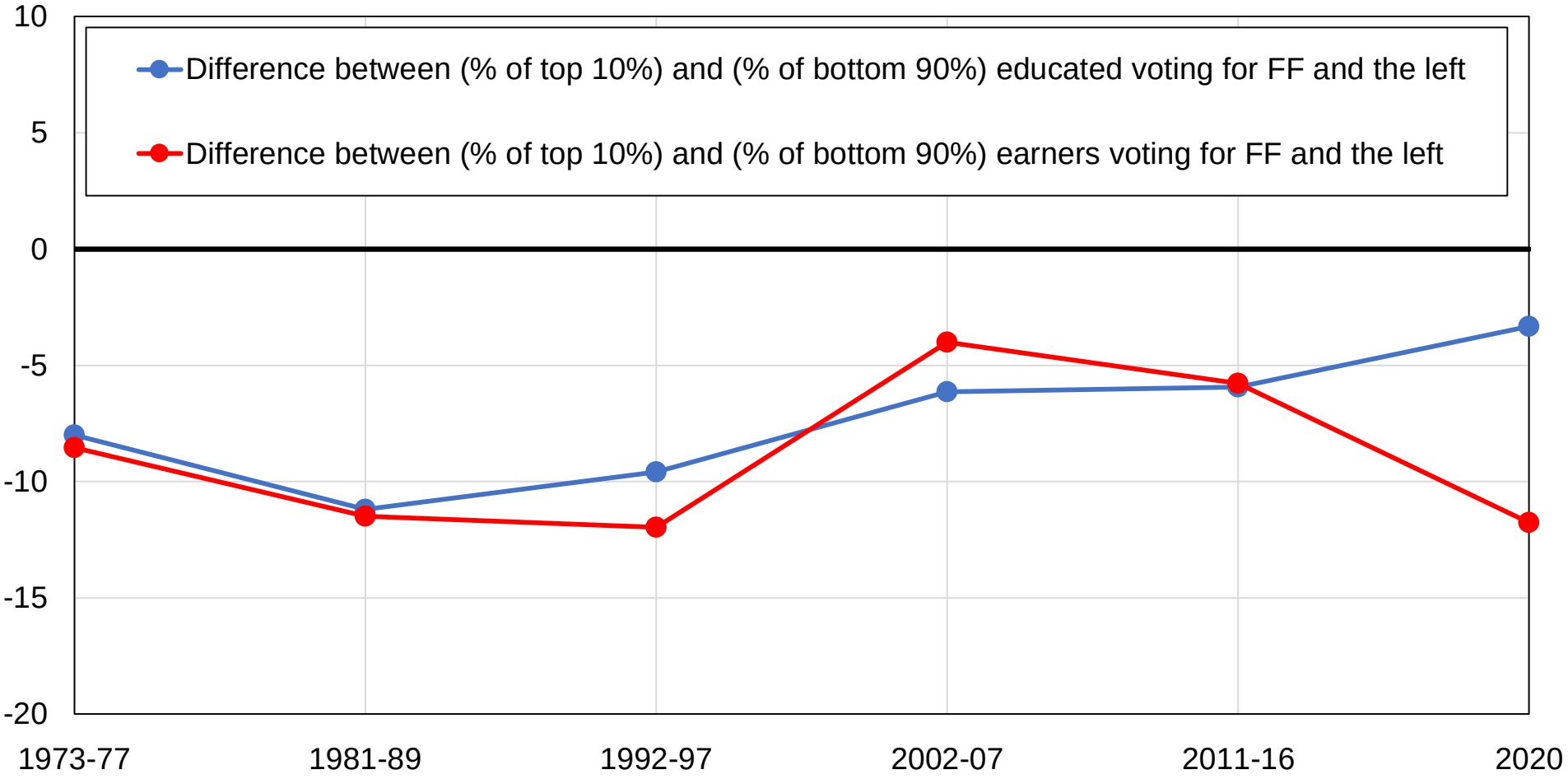
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties by self-perceived social class. Working class includes "lower class". Middle class includes "no class" and "upper class".

Figure DB16 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left by age group



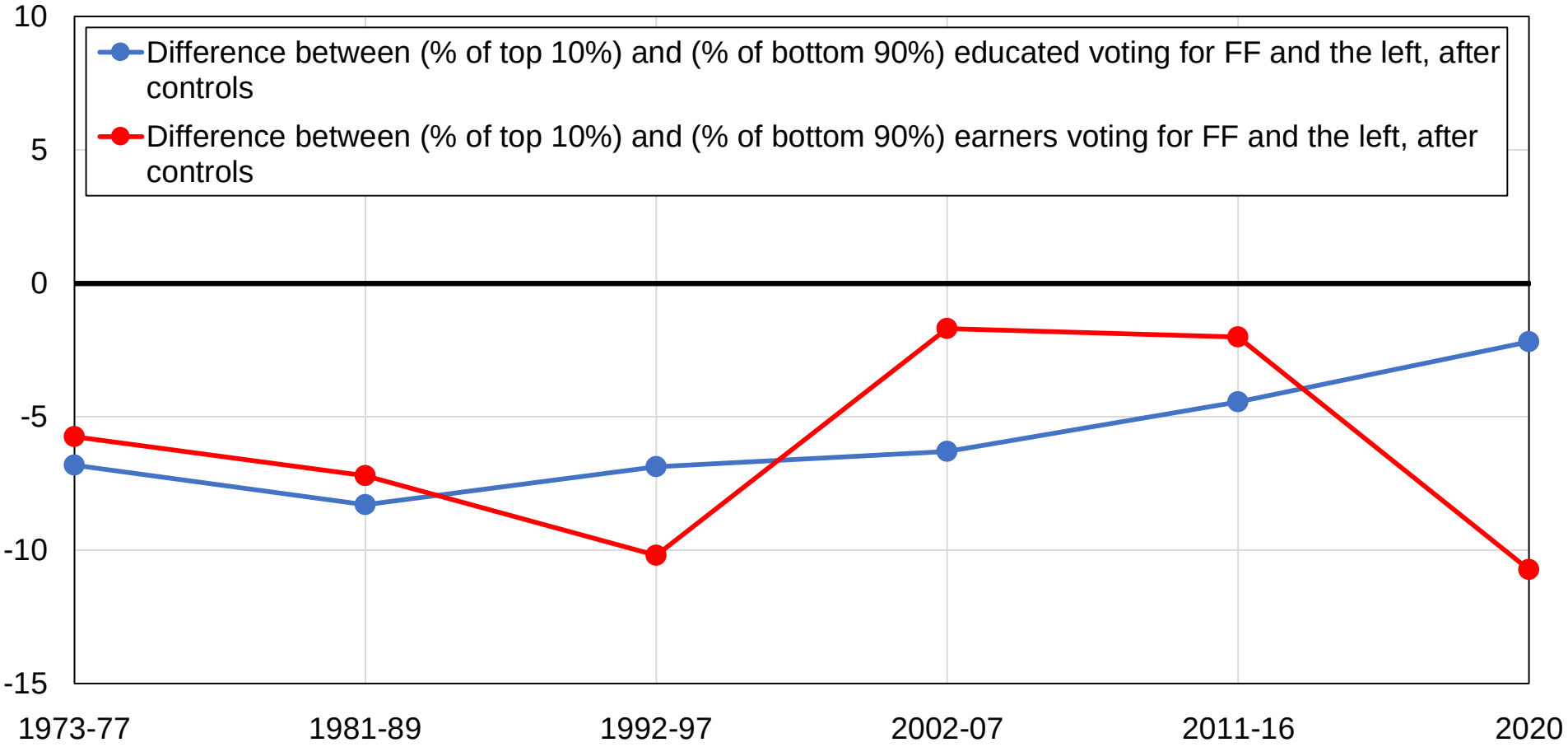
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties by age group.

Figure DC1 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left among highest-educated and top-income voters



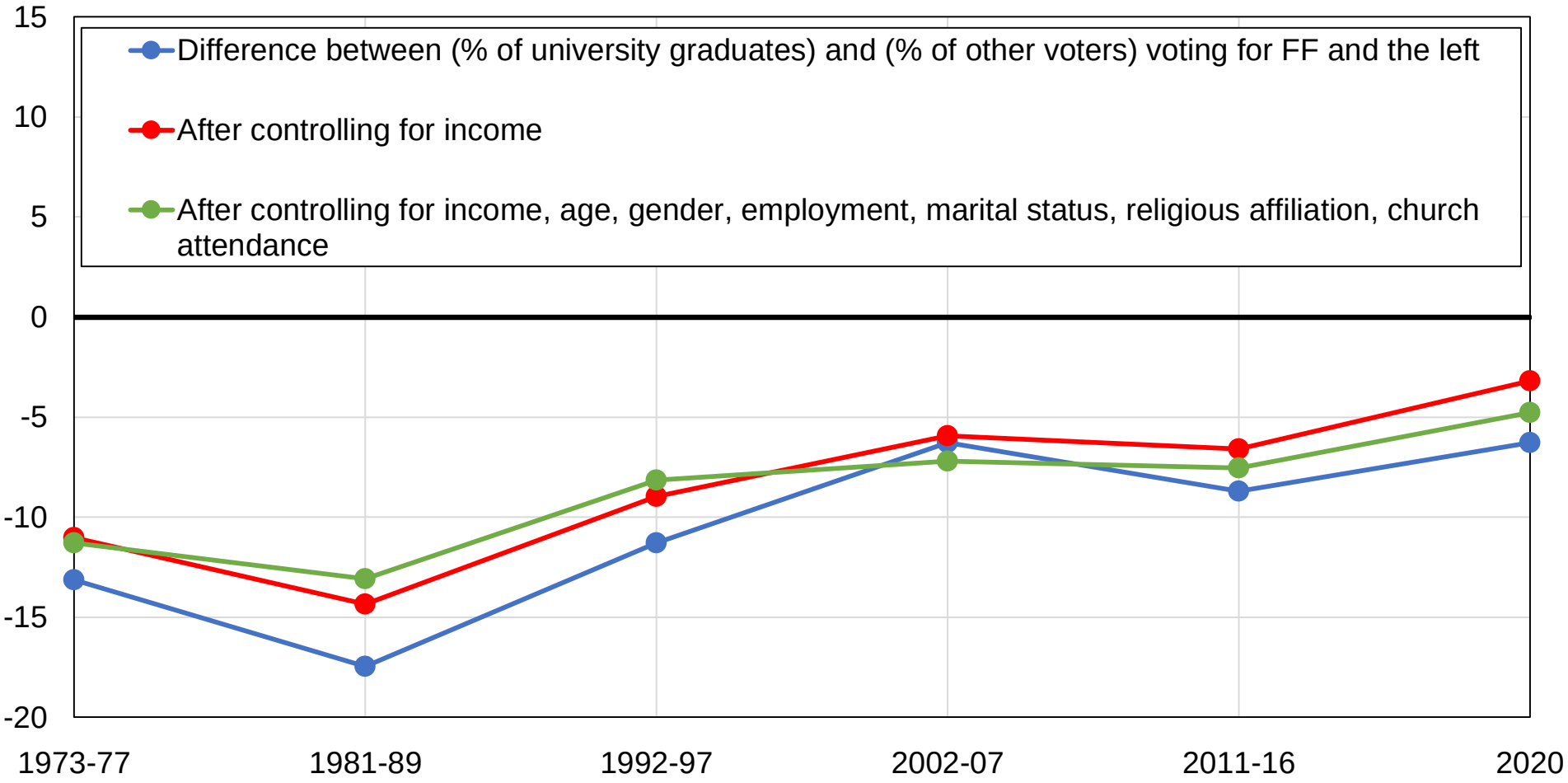
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the support for Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties among highest-educated and top-income voters.

Figure DC2 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left among highest-educated and top-income voters



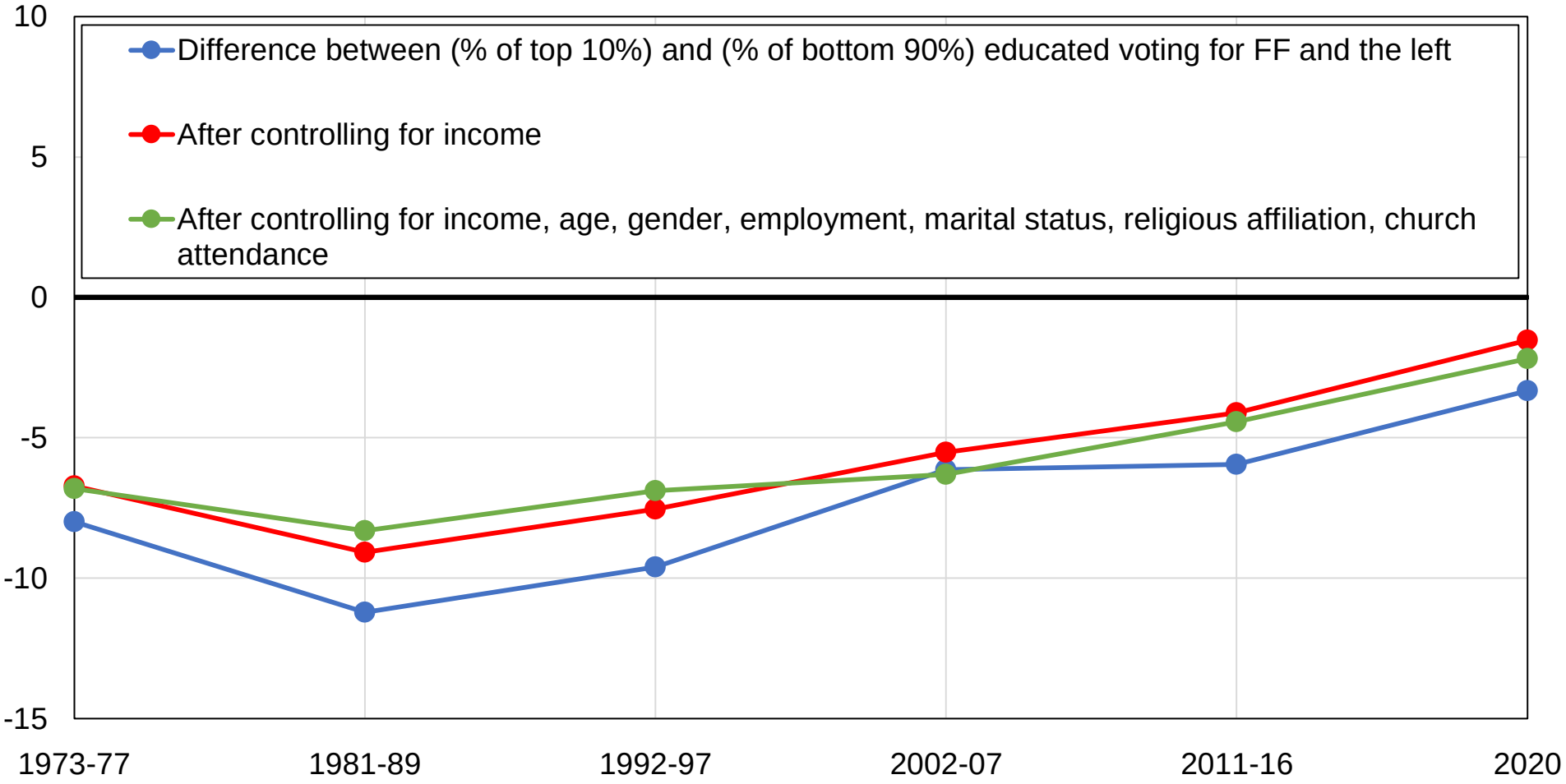
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the support for Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controlling for income, education, age, gender, employment, marital status, religious affiliation and church attendance.

Figure DC3 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left among university graduates



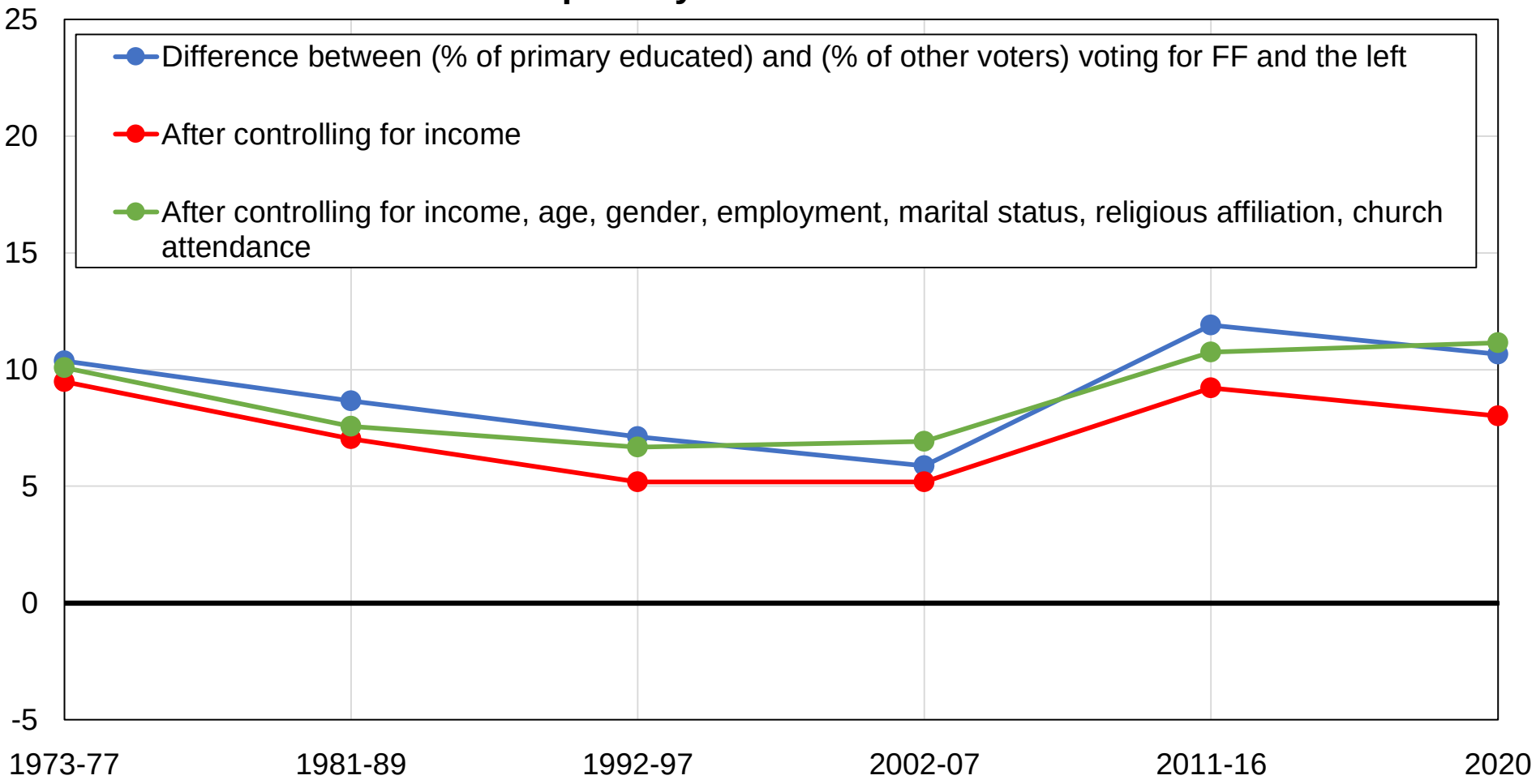
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters voting for Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure DC4 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left among highest-educated voters



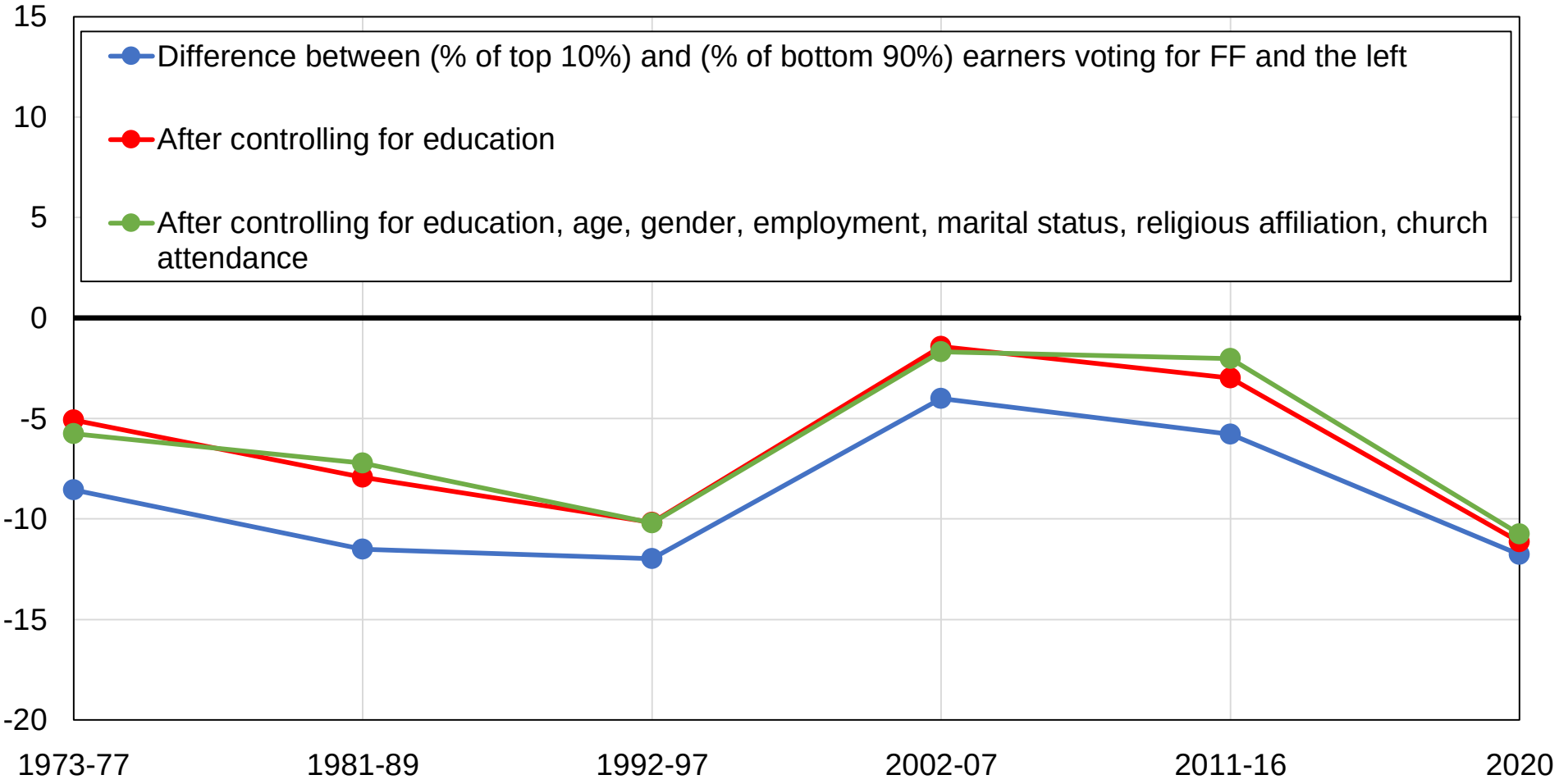
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of other voters voting for Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure DC5 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left among primary-educated voters



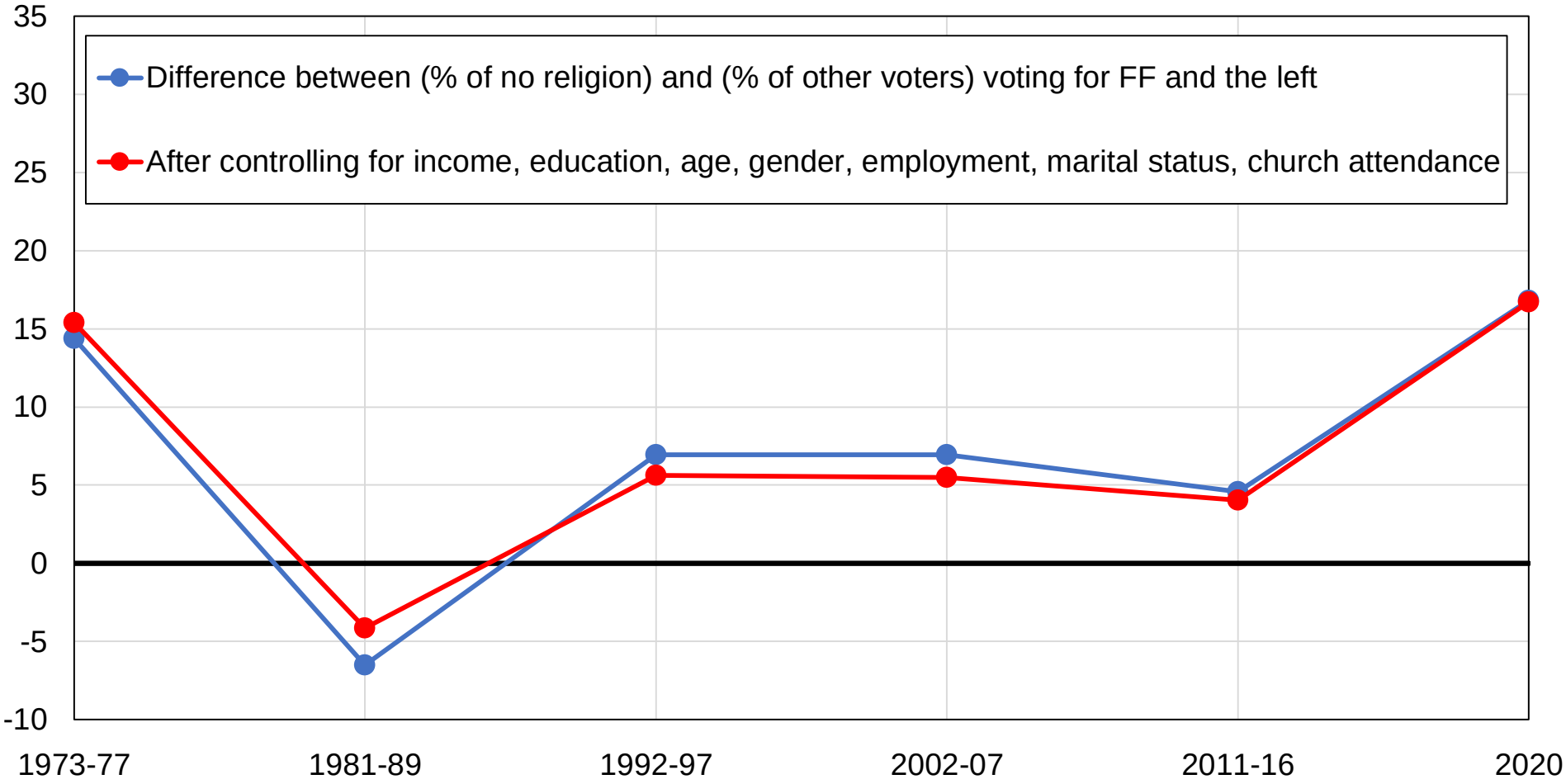
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of primary educated voters and the share of other voters voting for Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure DC6 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left among top-income voters



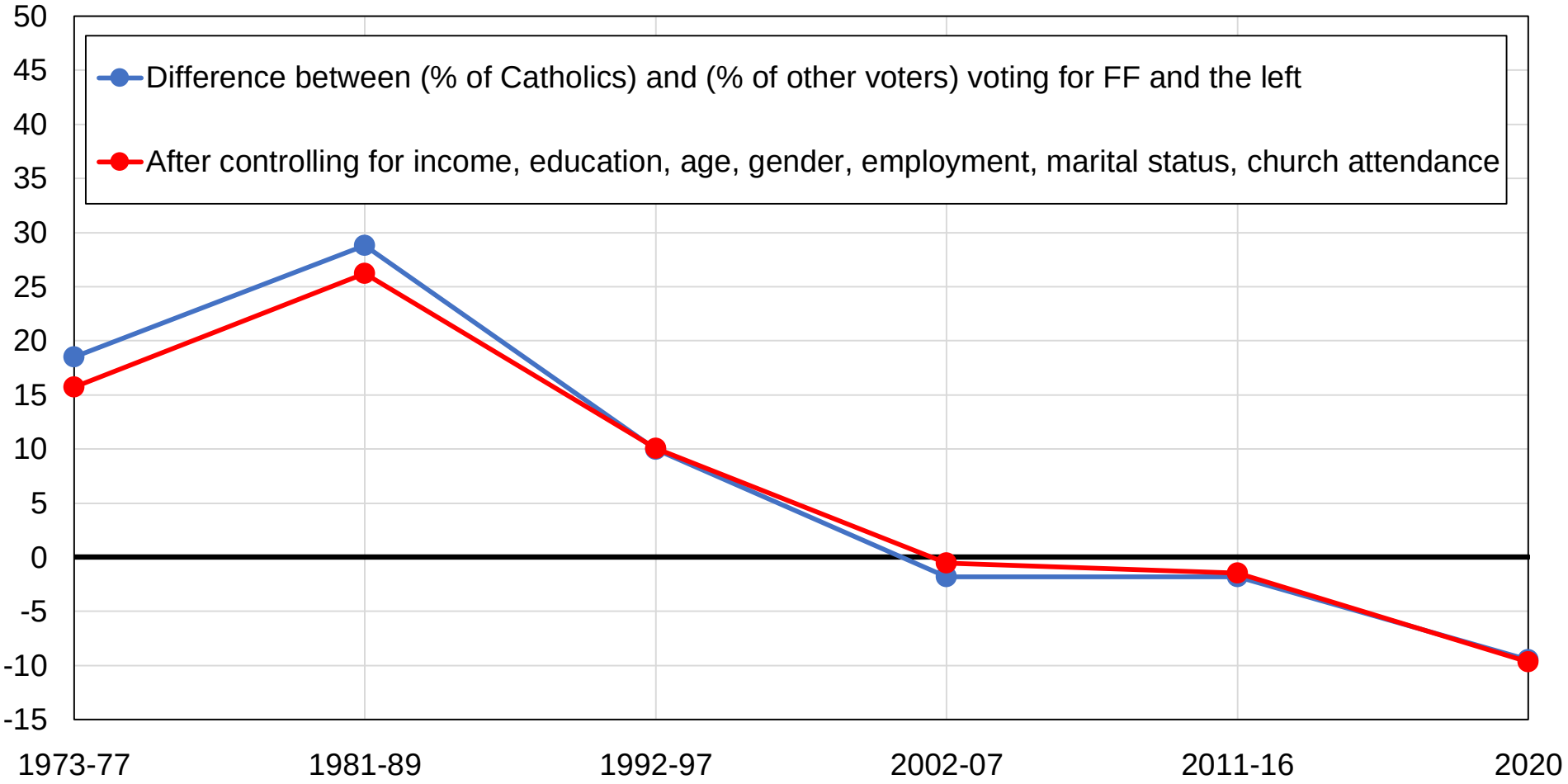
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure DC7 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left among voters with no religion



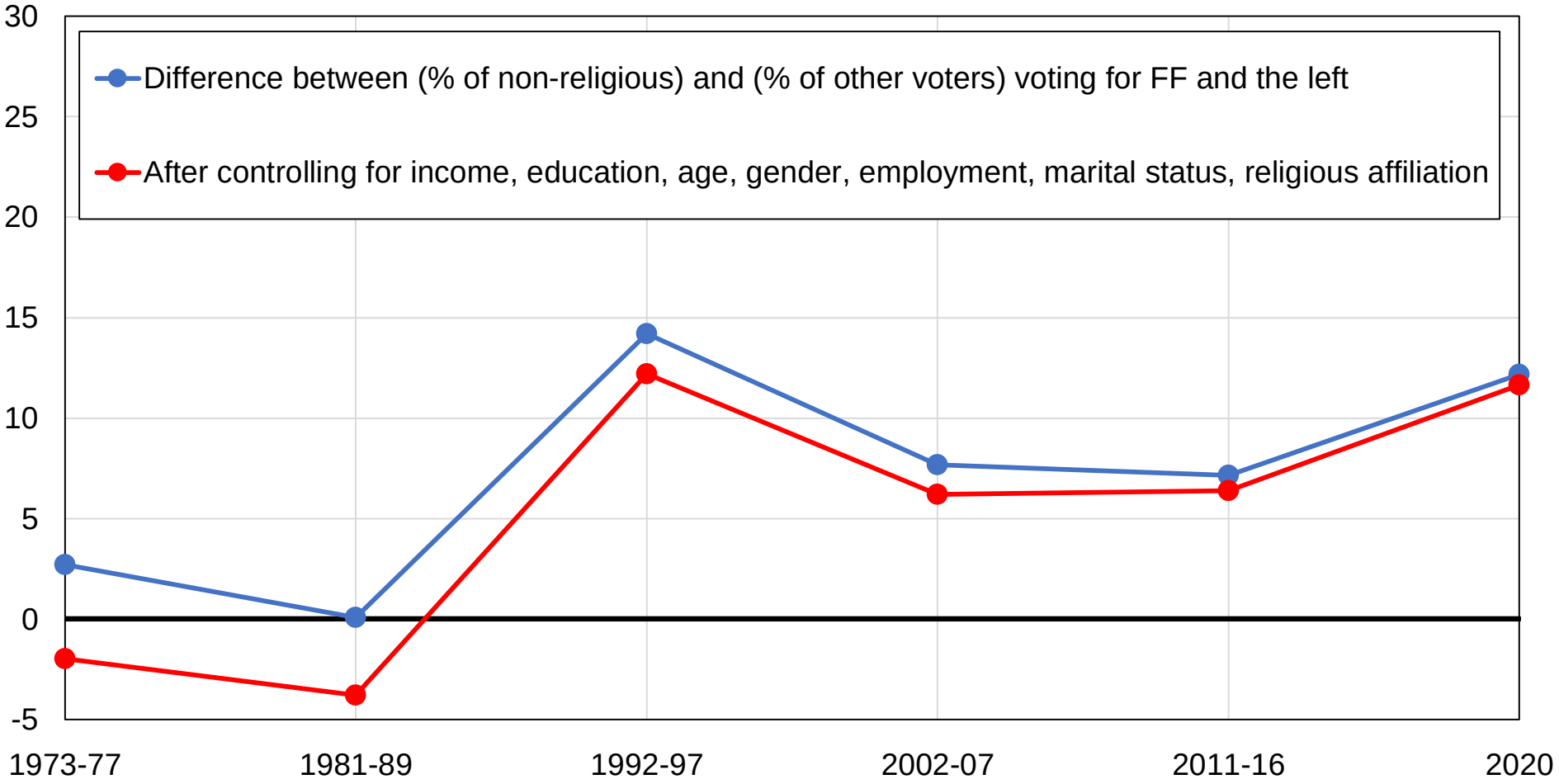
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters declaring no religion and the share of other voters voting for Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure DC8 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left among Catholics



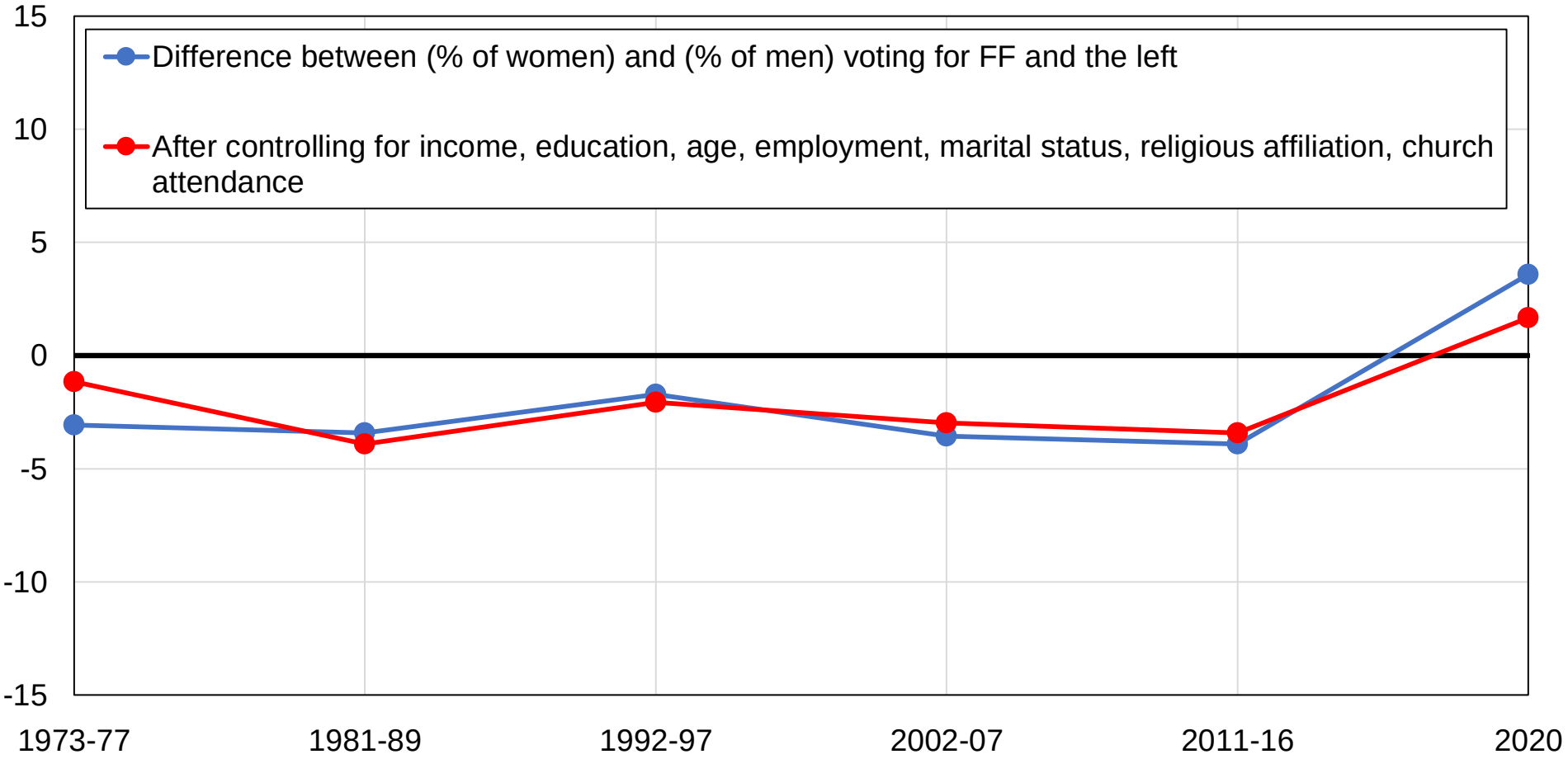
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters declaring no religion and the share of other voters voting for Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure DC9 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left among non-religious voters



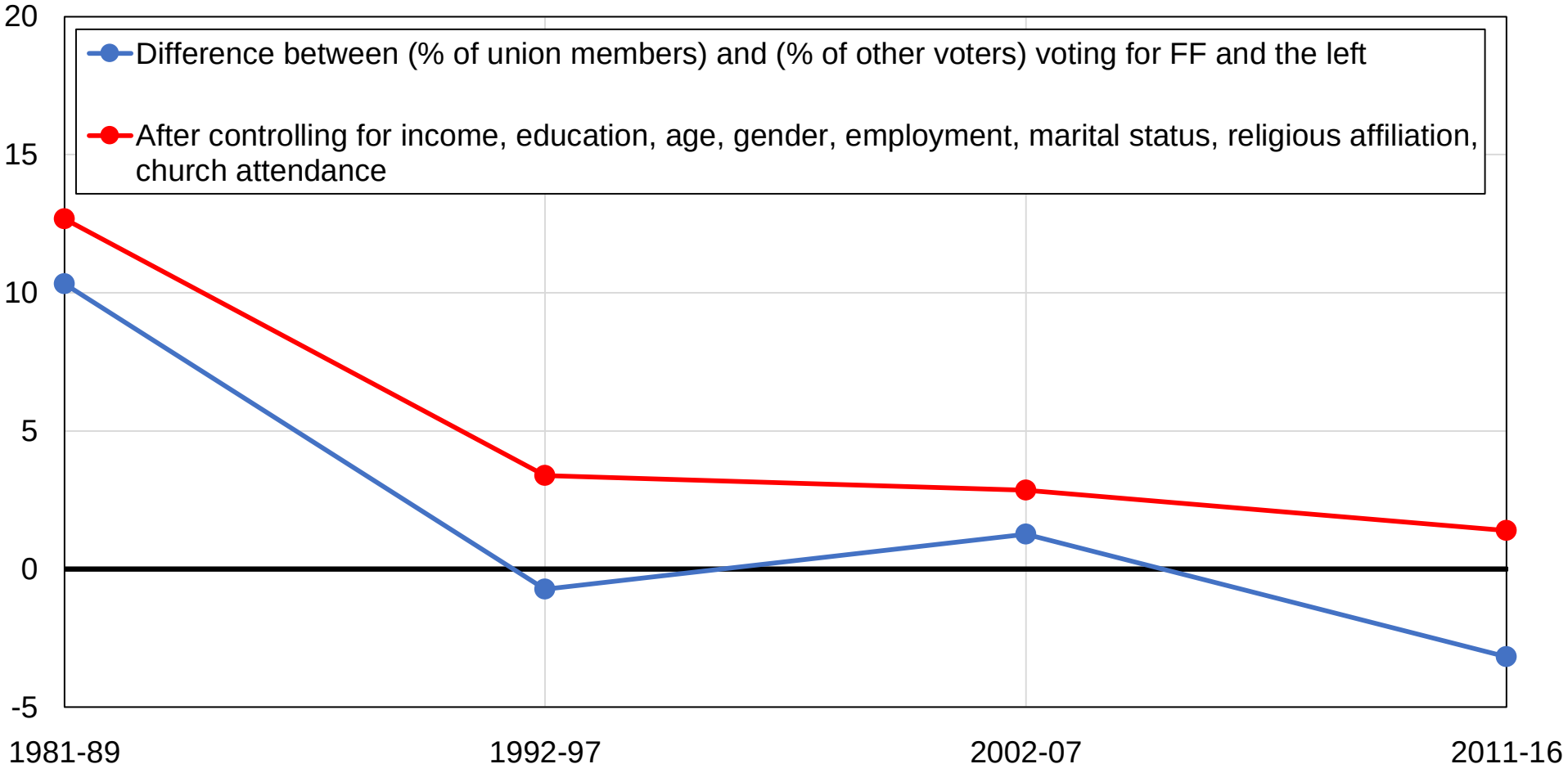
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters never going to church and the share of other voters voting for Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure DC10 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left among women



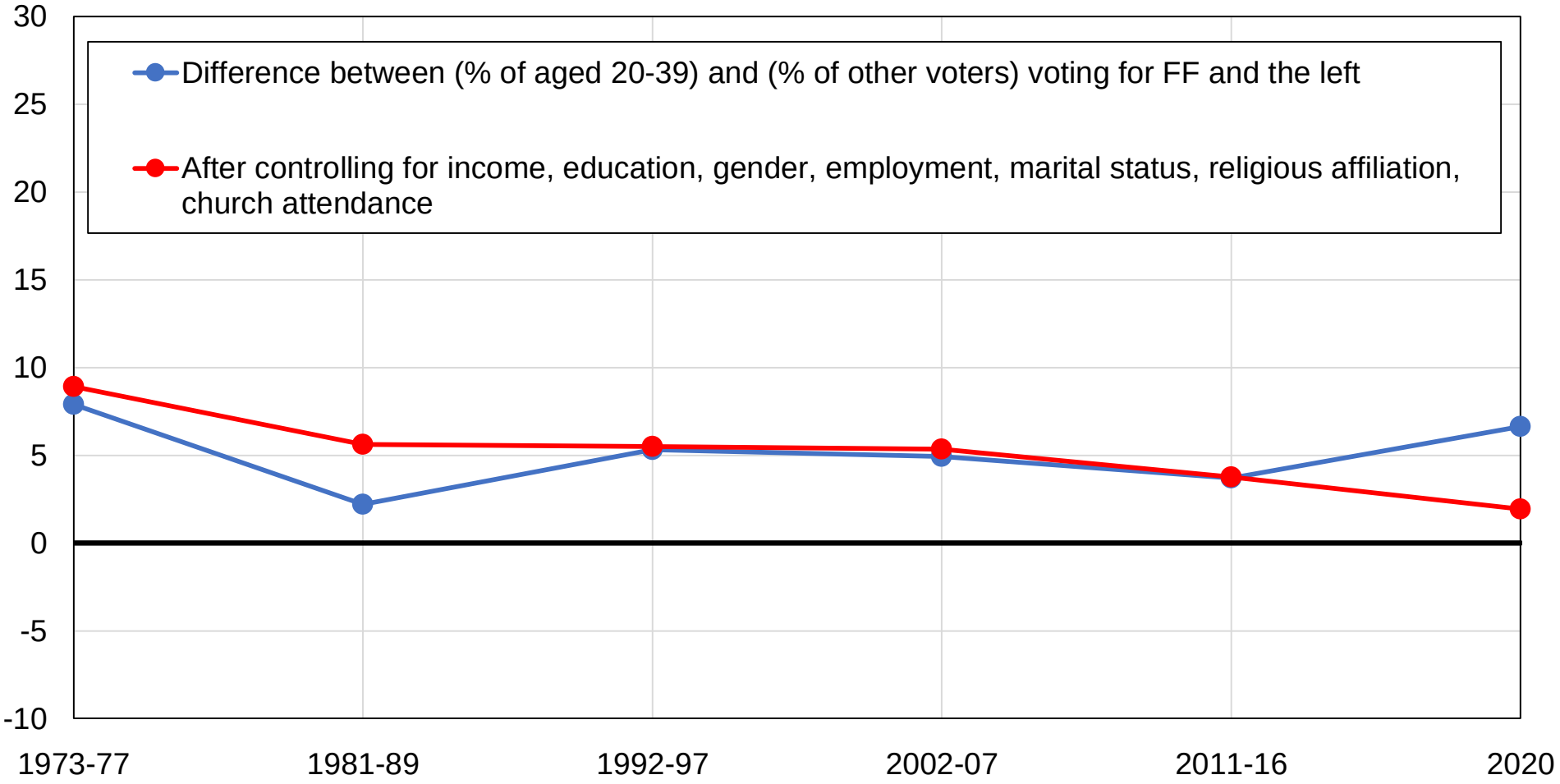
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure DC11 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left among union members



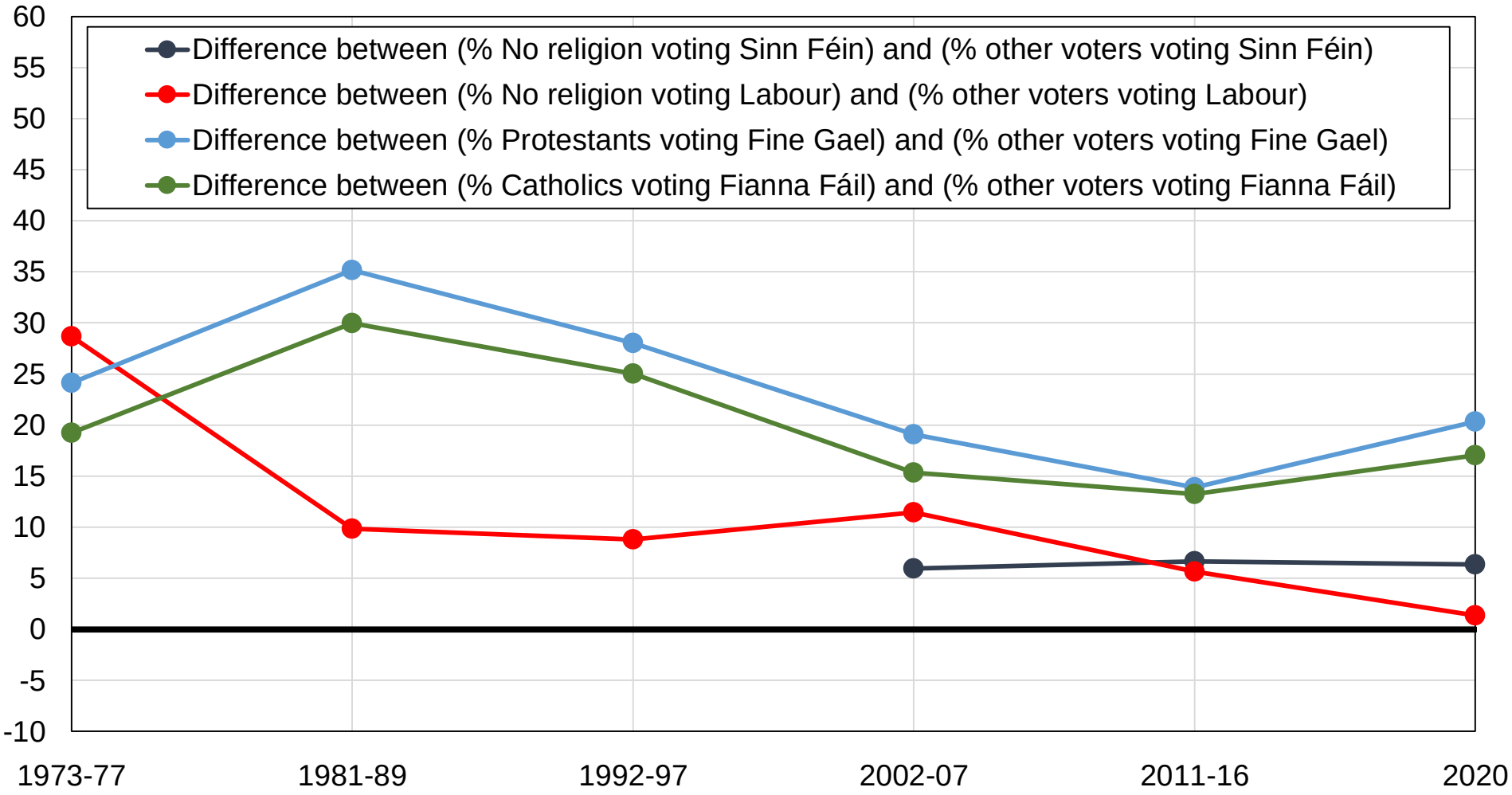
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of union members and the share of other voters voting for Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure DC12 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left among young voters



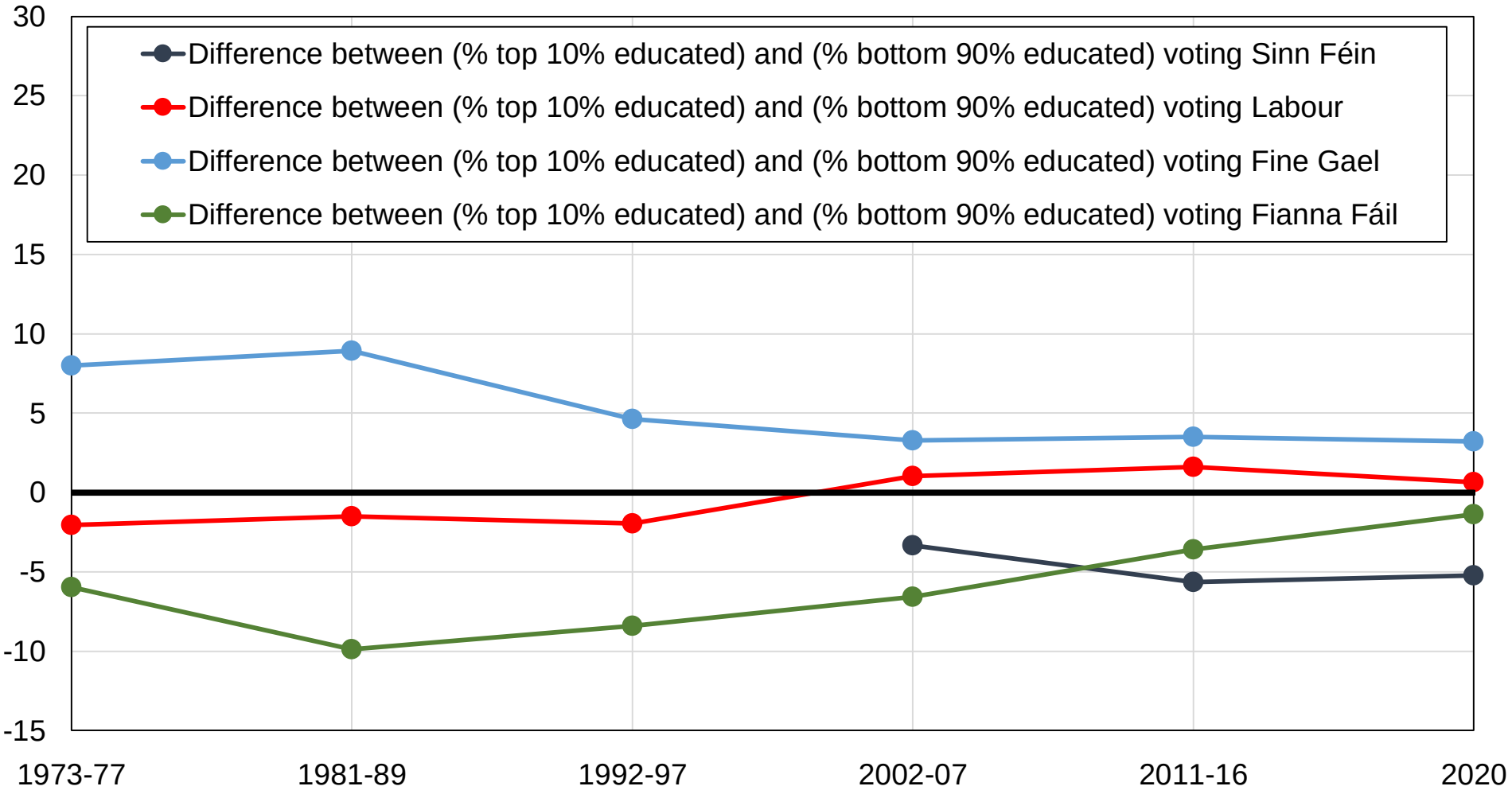
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters aged 20-39 and the share of voters older than 40 voting for Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure DC13 - The religious cleavage in Ireland



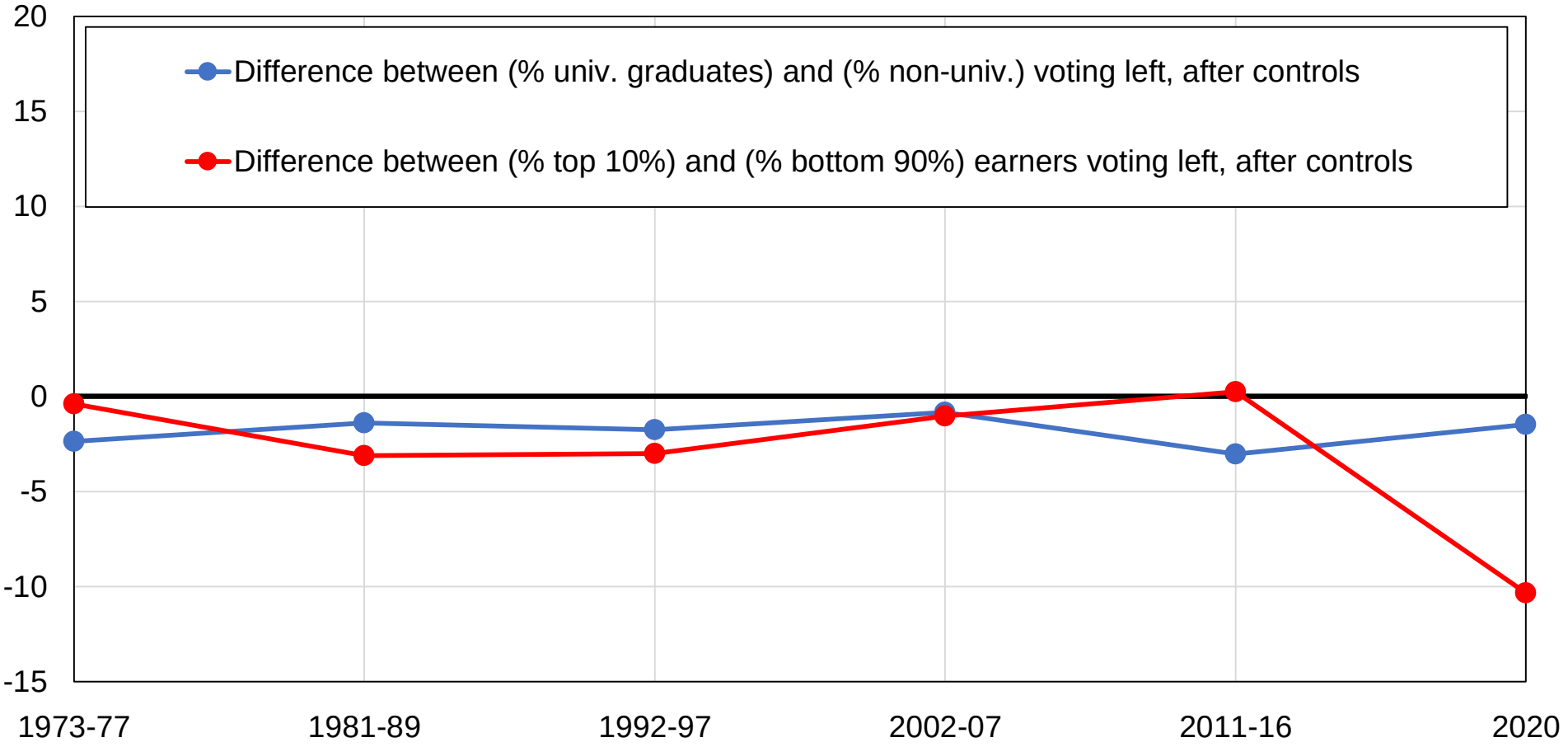
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the bias of voters with various religious affiliations towards Sinn Féin, Labour, Fine Gael and Fianna Fáil.

Figure DC14 - The education cleavage in Ireland (education groups)



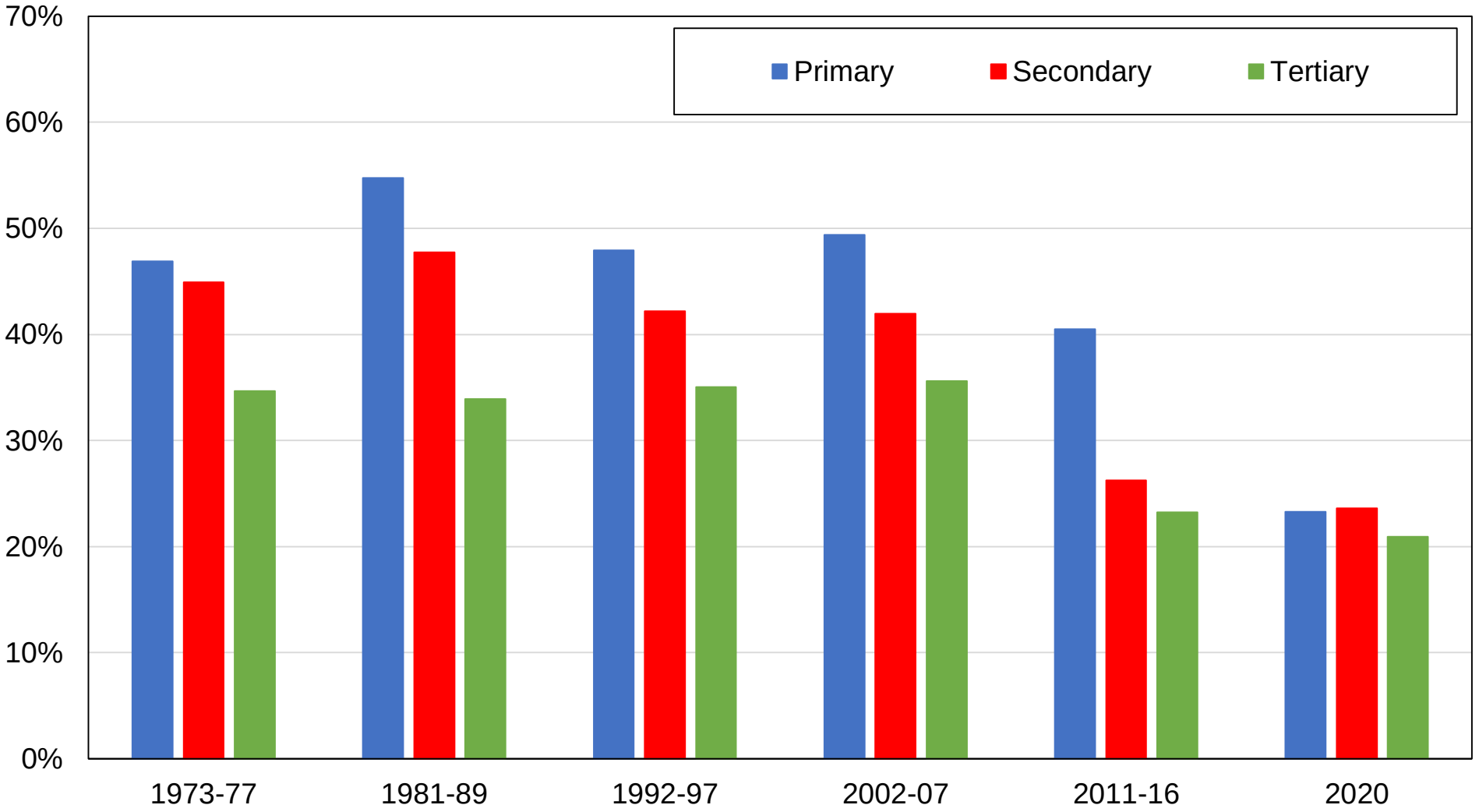
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the bias of highest-educated voters towards Sinn Féin, Labour, Fine Gael and Fianna Fáil.

Figure DC15 - Vote for Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left among highest-educated and top-income voters



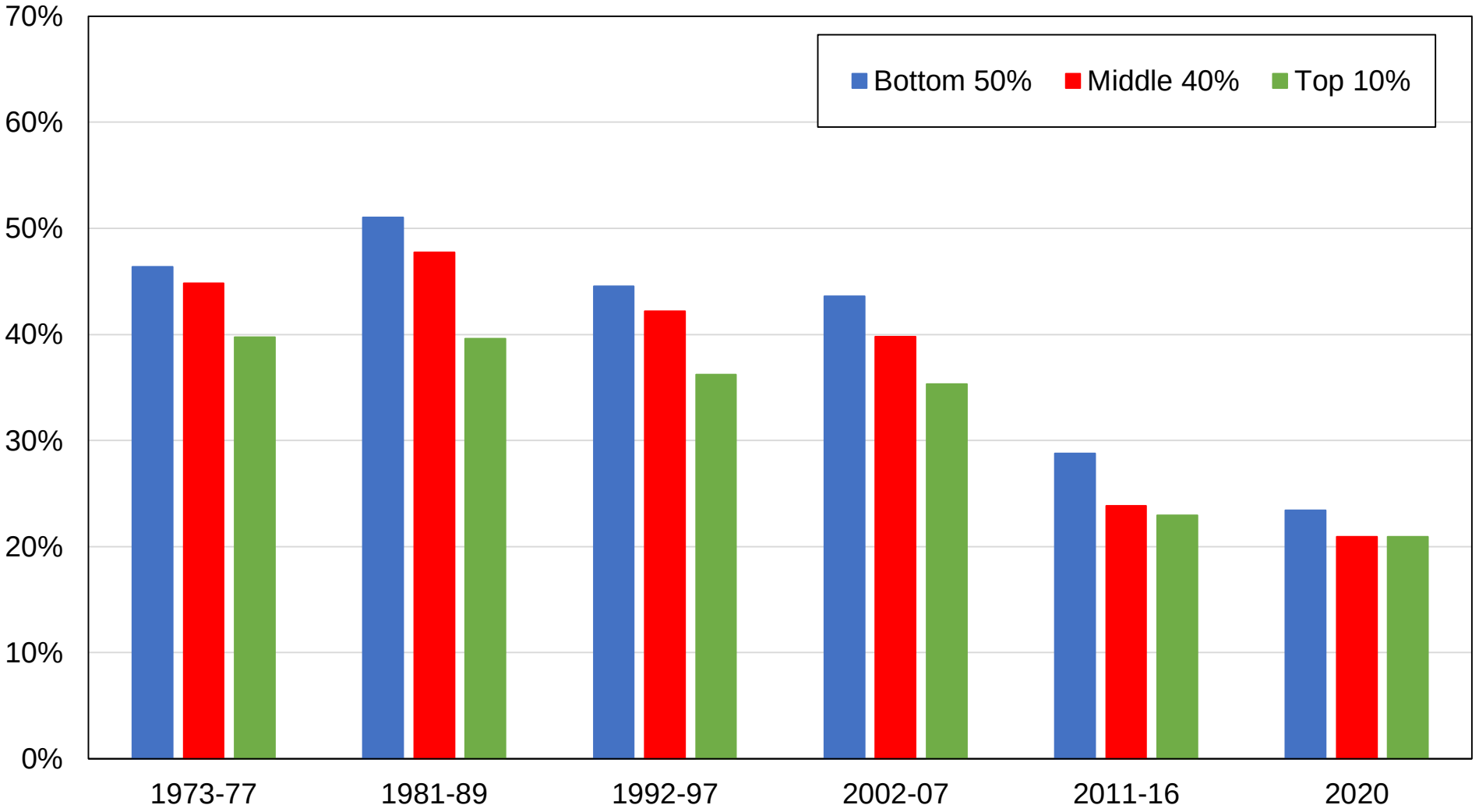
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the support for left-wing parties among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controlling for income, education, age, gender, employment, marital status, religious affiliation and church attendance.

Figure DD1 - Vote for Fianna Fáil by education level



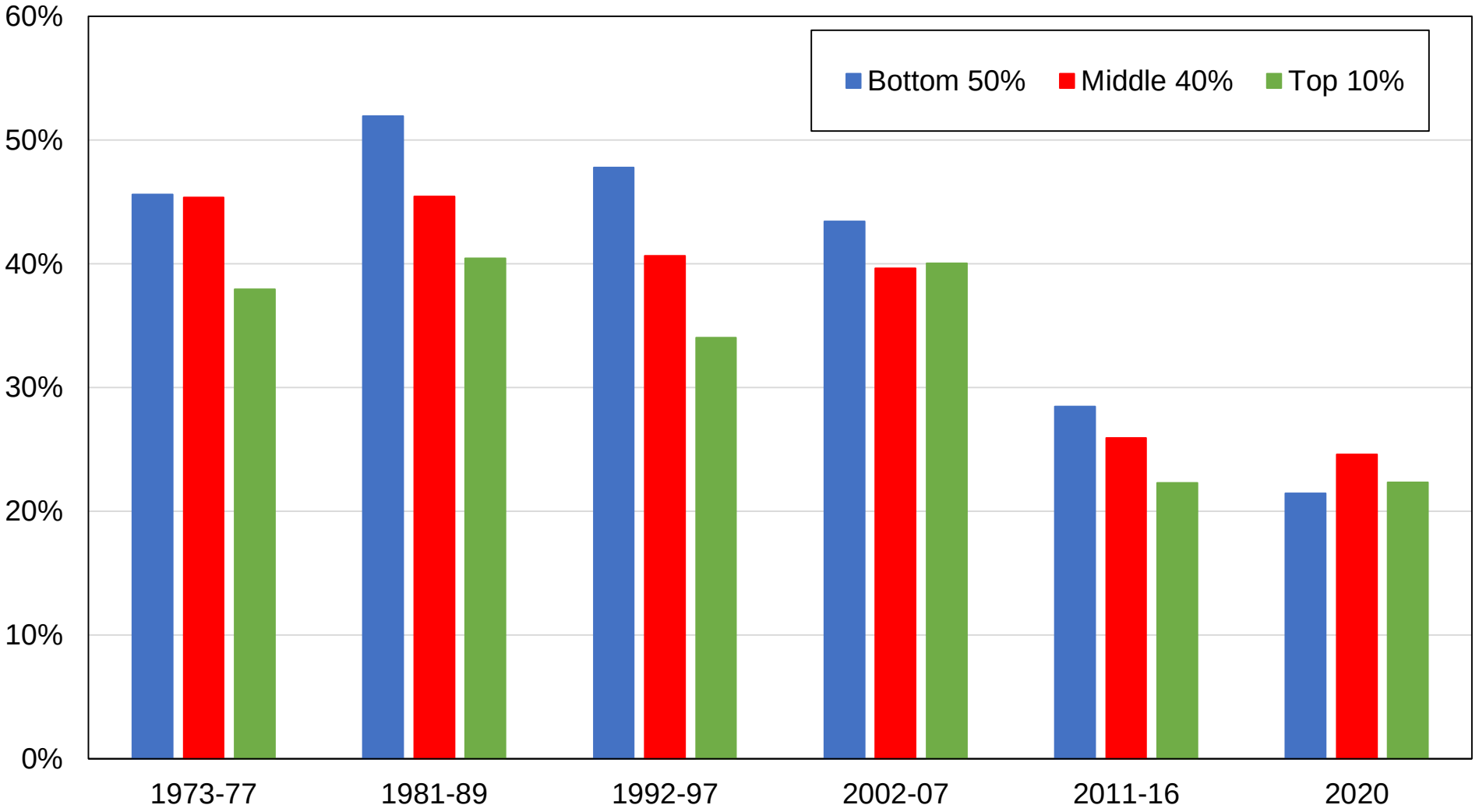
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil by education level.

Figure DD2 - Vote for Fianna Fáil by education group



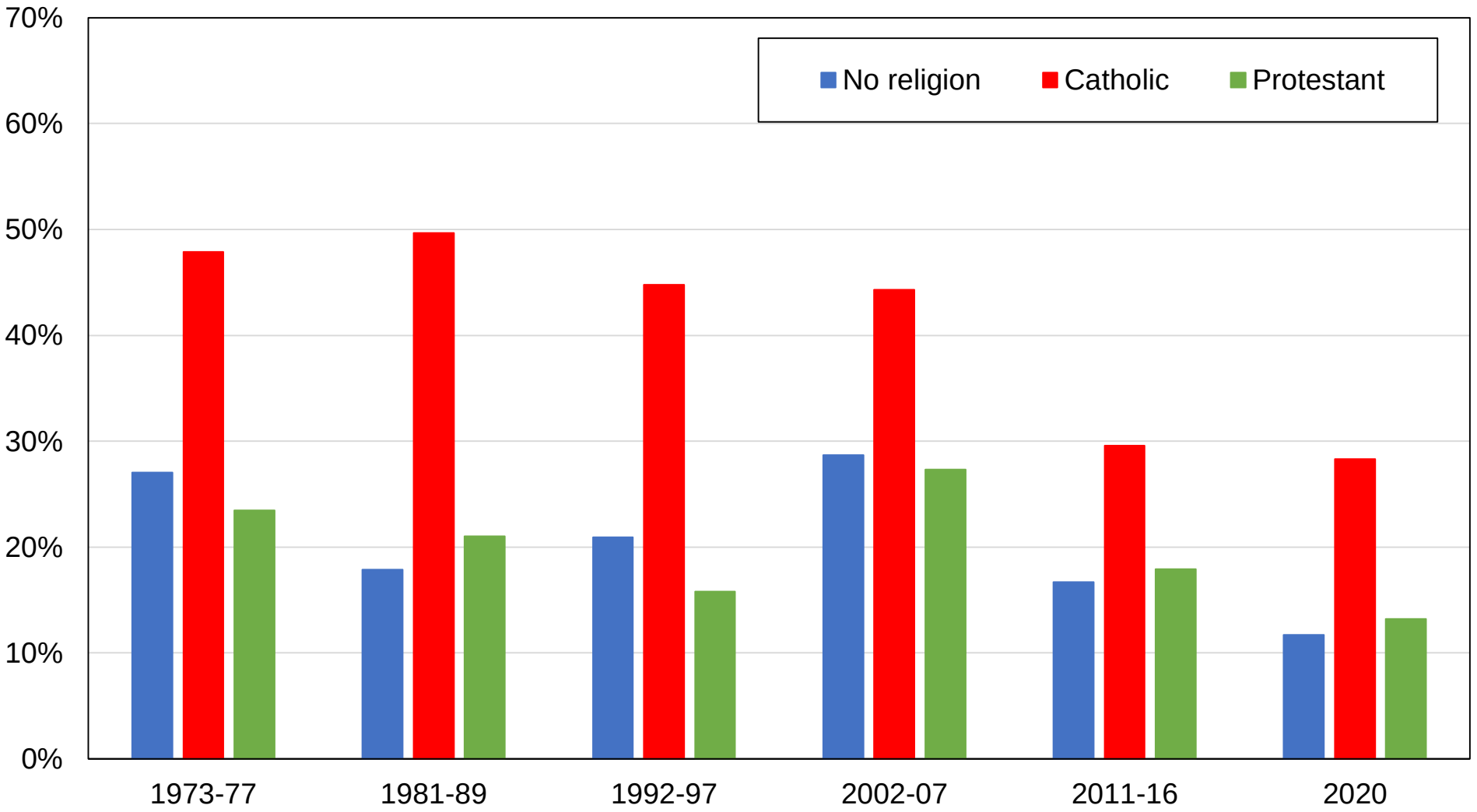
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil by education group.

Figure DD3 - Vote for Fianna Fáil by income group



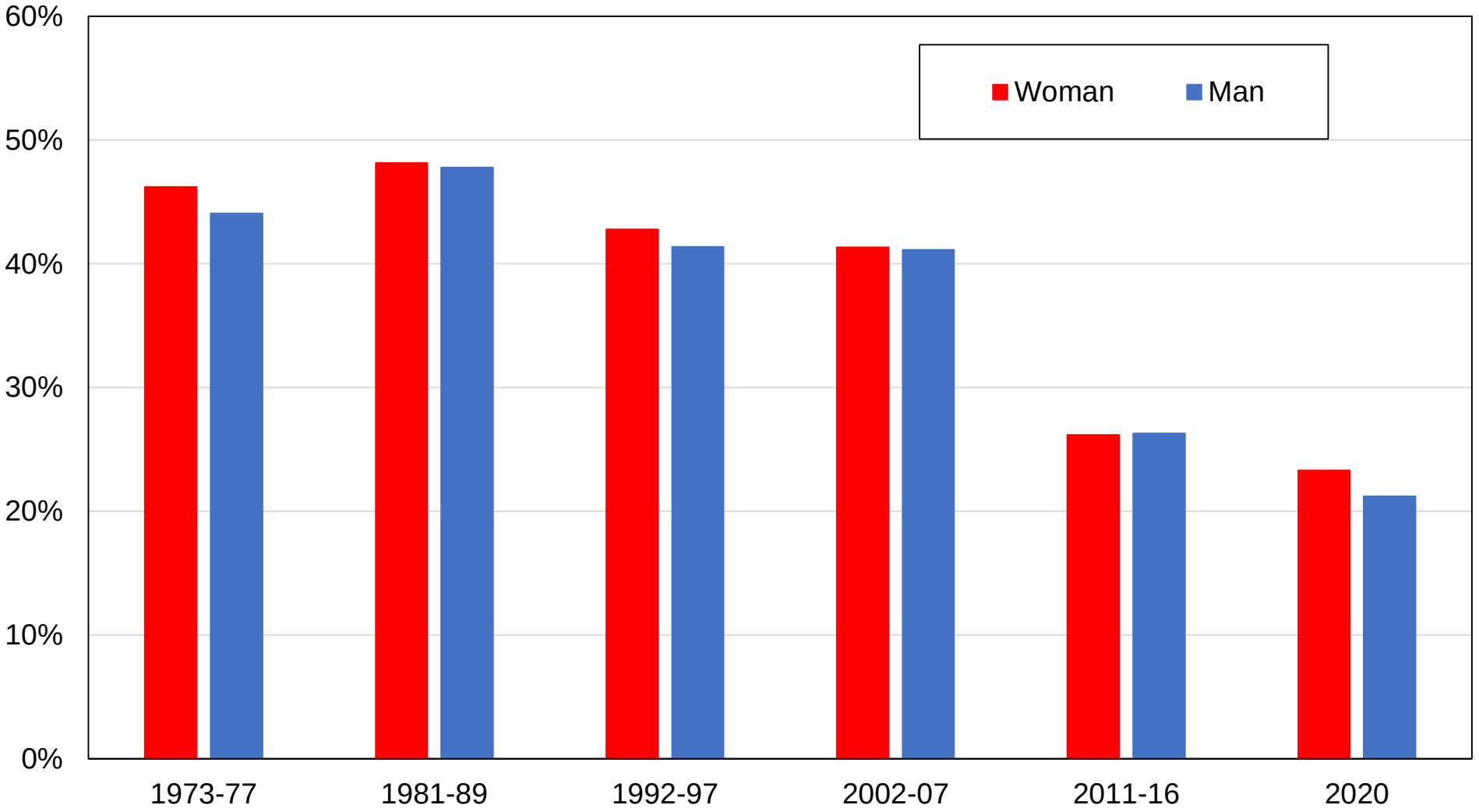
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil by income group.

Figure DD4 - Vote for Fianna Fáil by religious affiliation



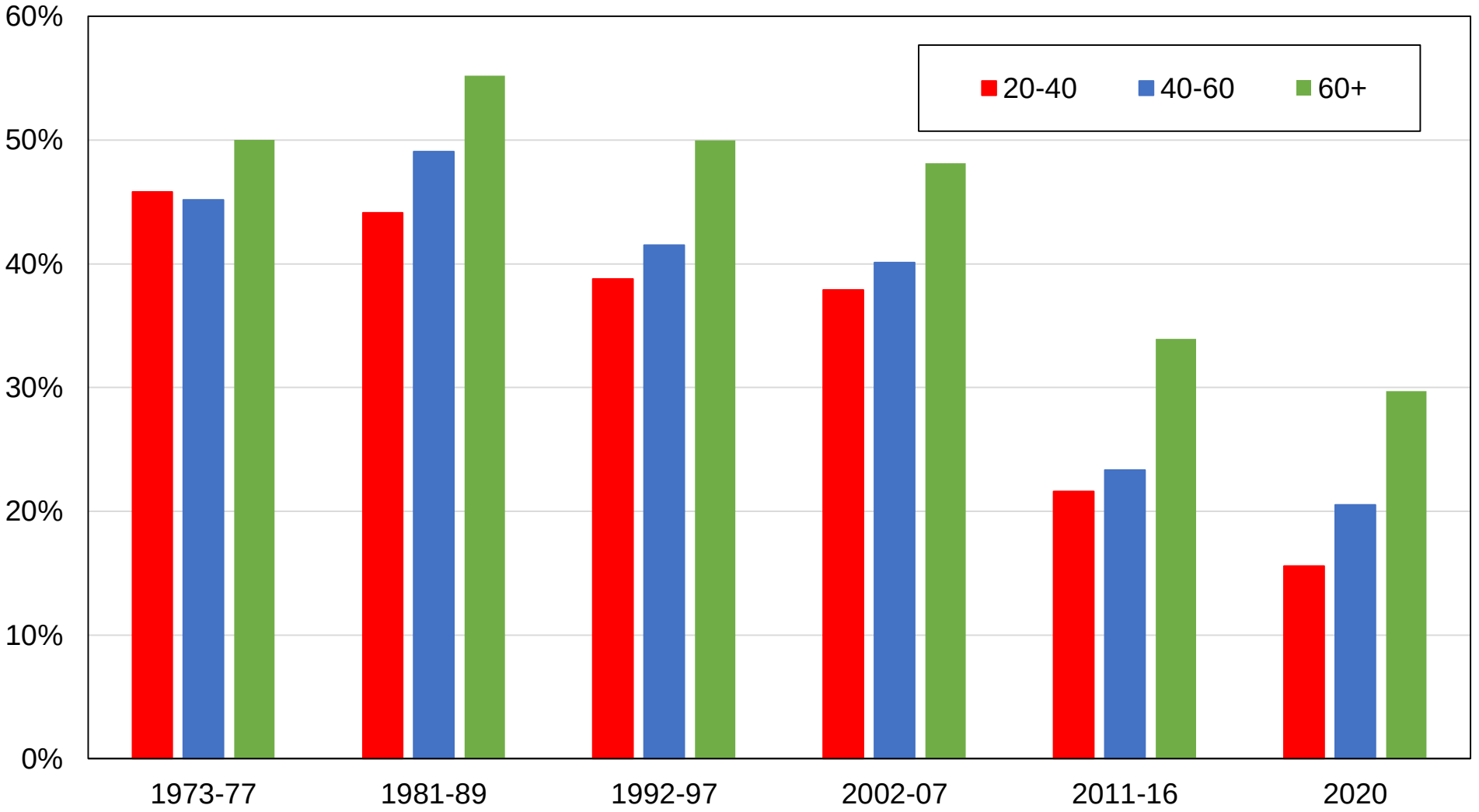
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil by religious affiliation.

Figure DD5 - Vote for Fianna Fáil by gender



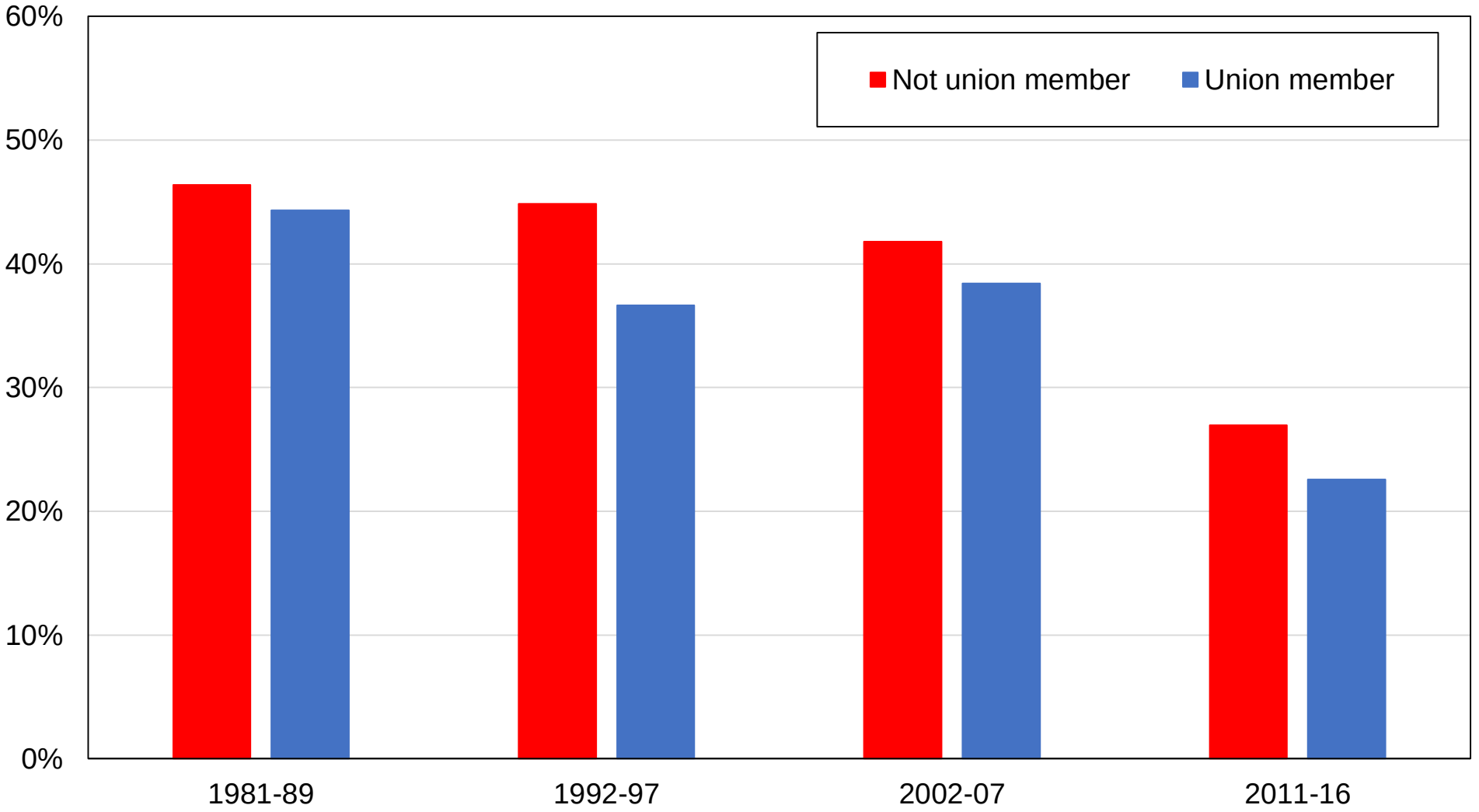
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil by gender.

Figure DD6 - Vote for Fianna Fáil by age



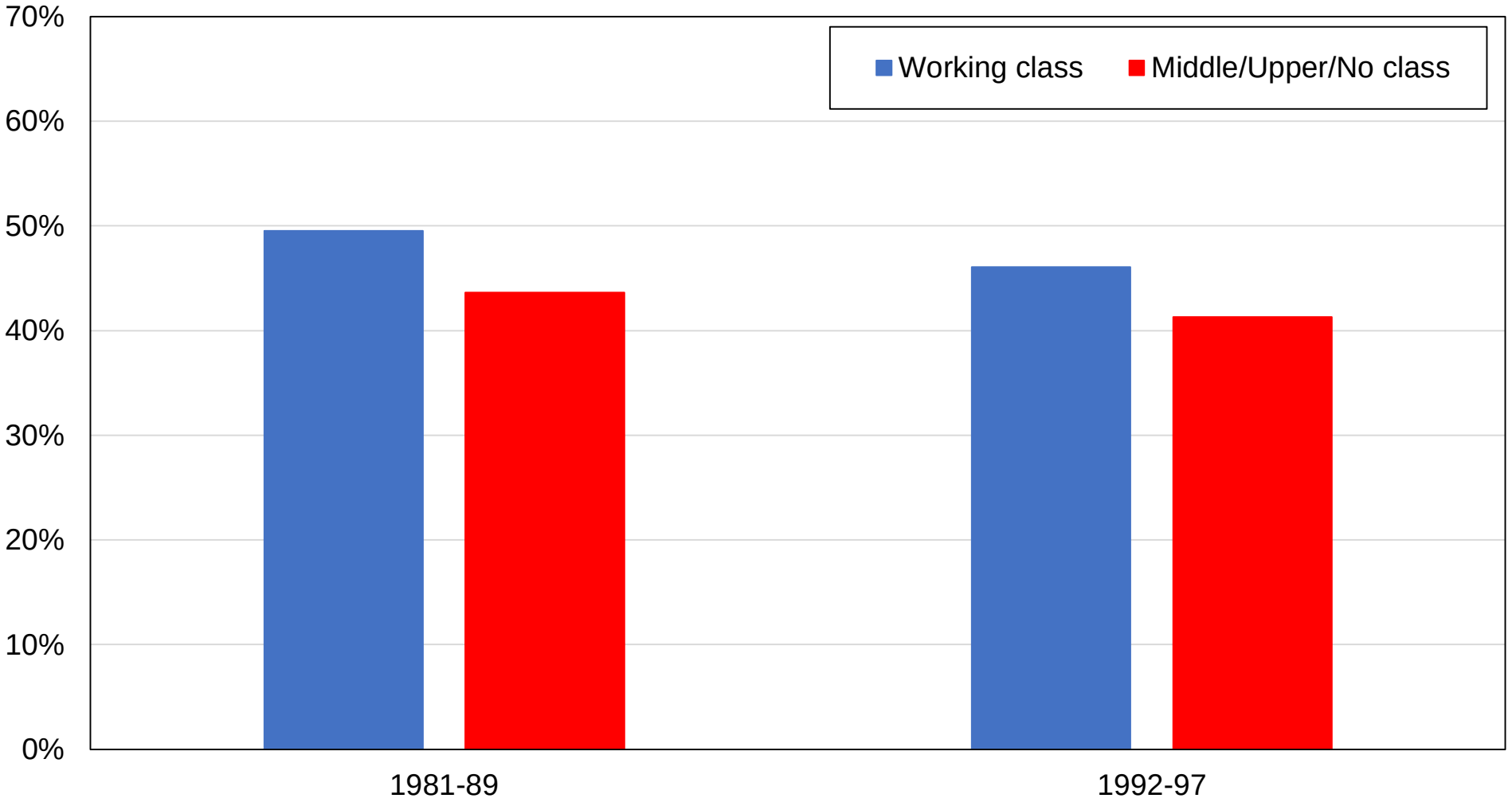
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil by age group.

Figure DD7 - Vote for Fianna Fáil by union membership



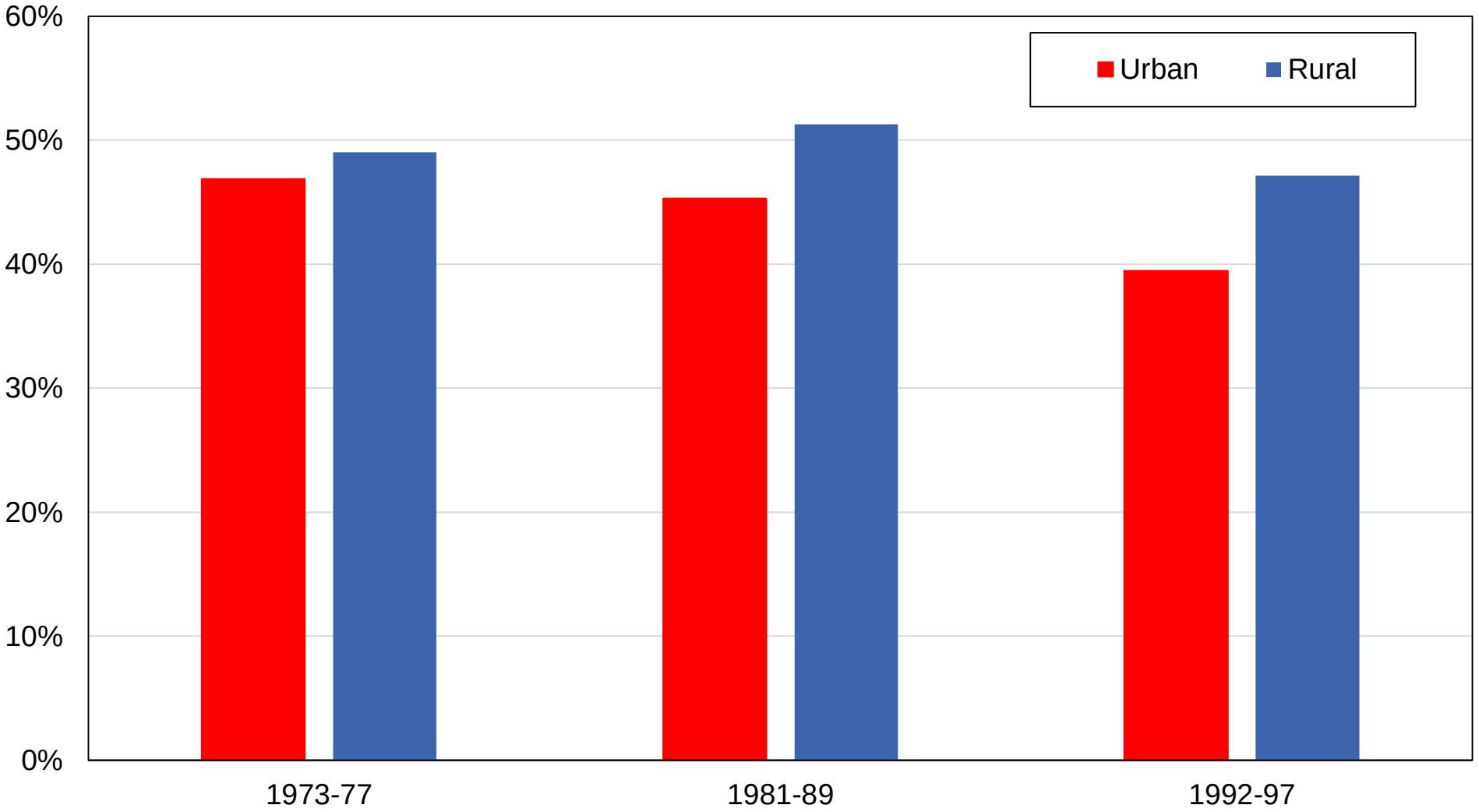
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil by union membership status.

Figure DD8 - Vote for Fianna Fáil by perceived social class



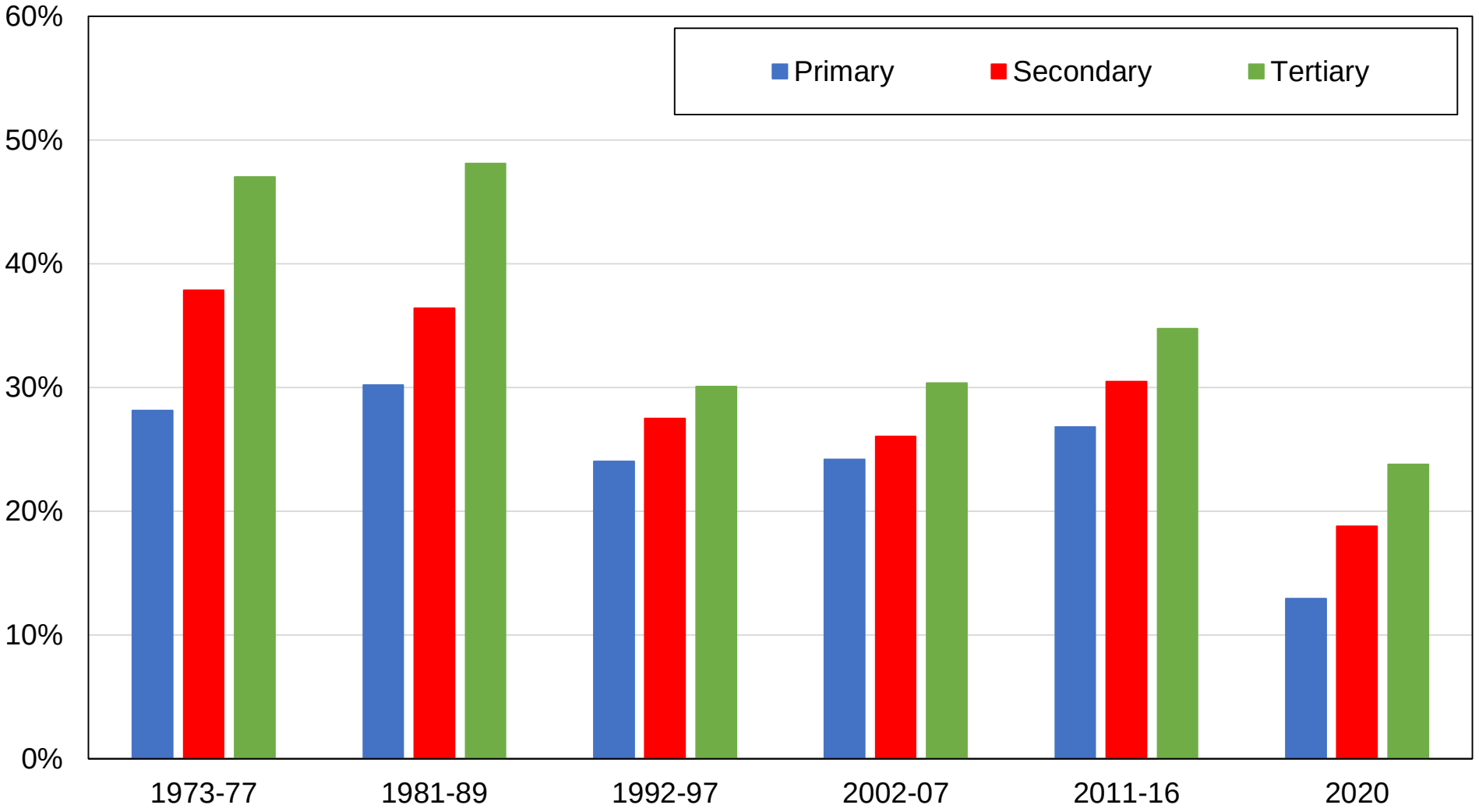
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil by self-perceived social class. Working class includes "lower class".

Figure DD9 - Vote for Fianna Fáil by location



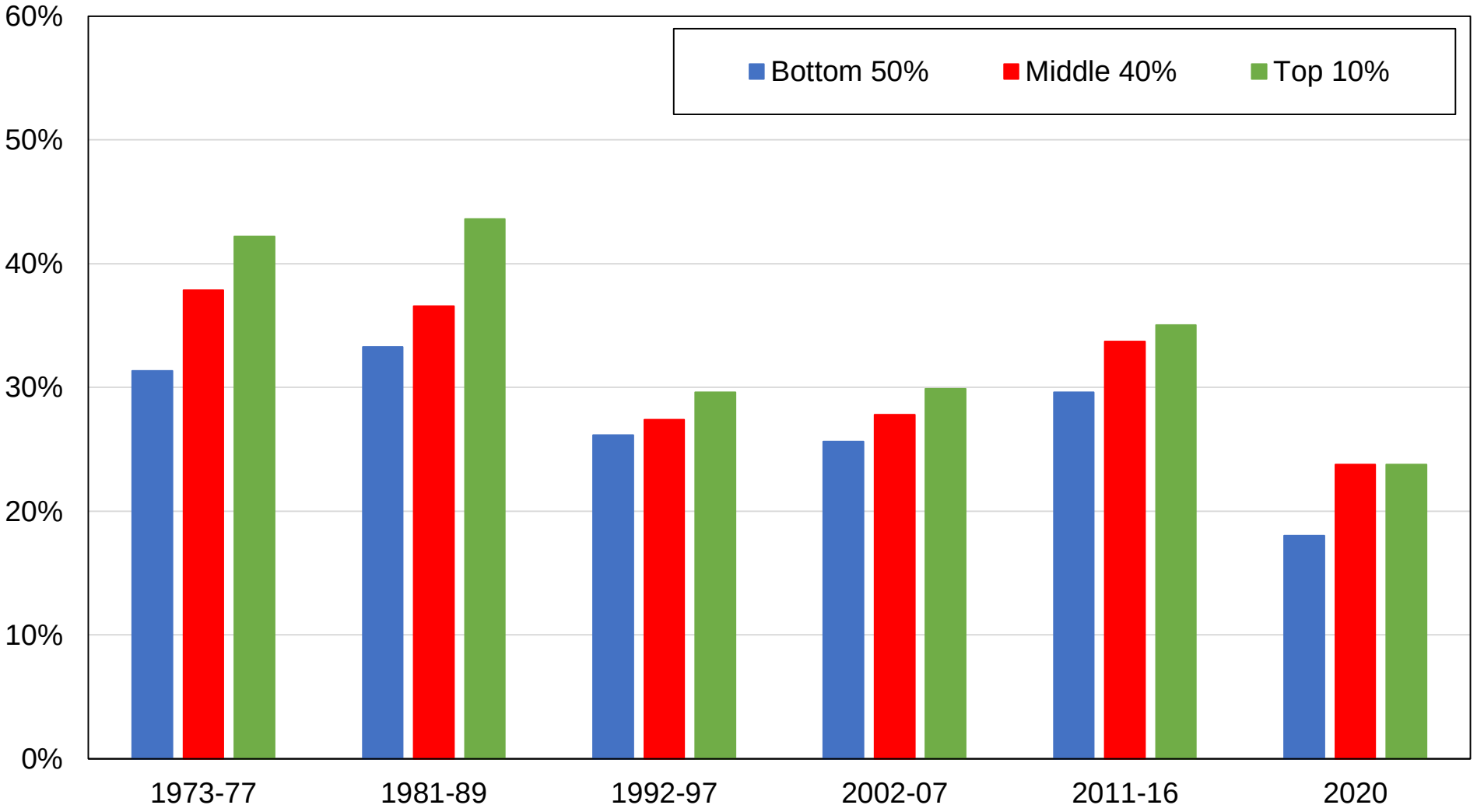
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil by rural-urban location.

Figure DD10 - Vote for Fine Gael by education level



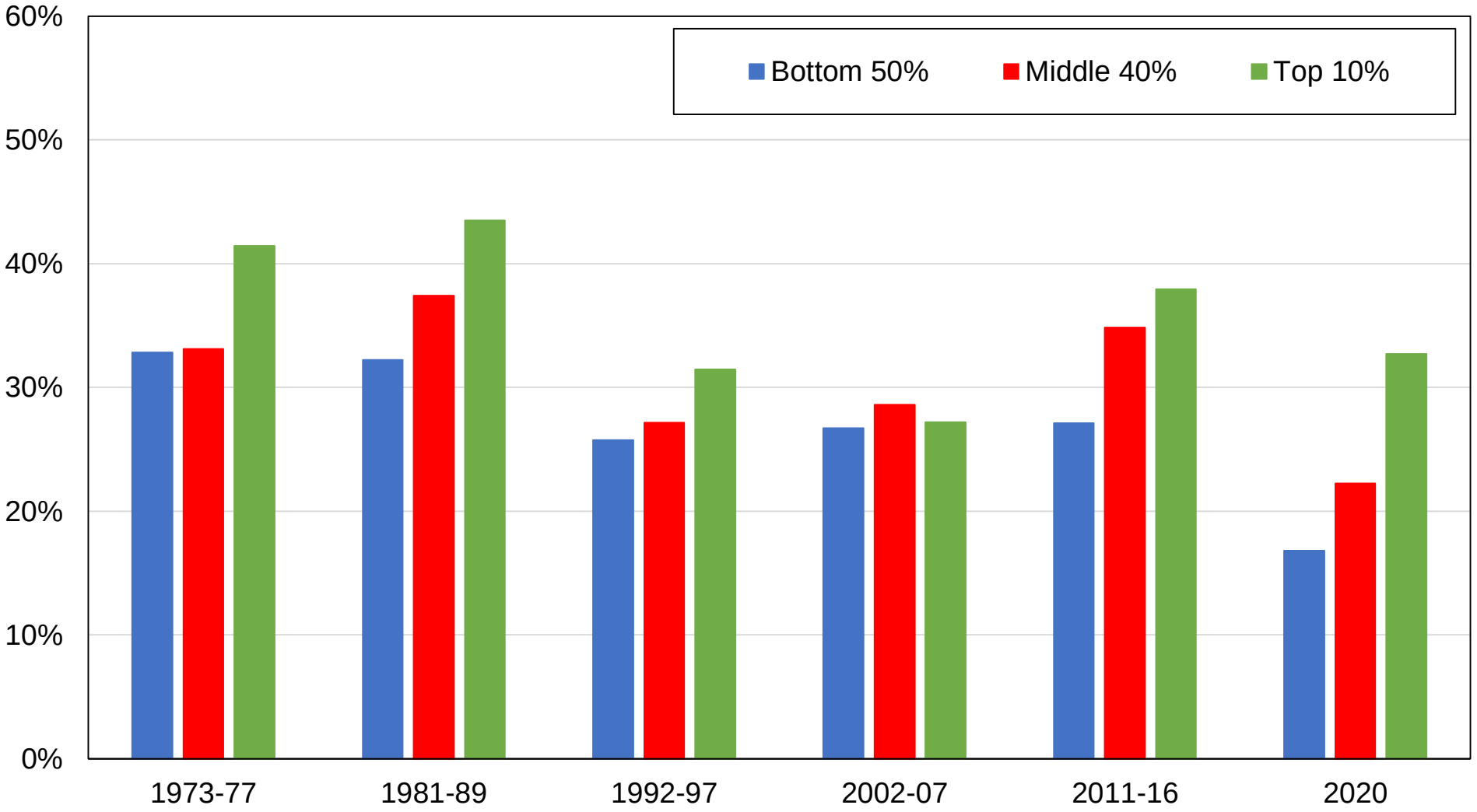
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fine Gael by education level.

Figure DD12 - Vote for Fine Gael by education group



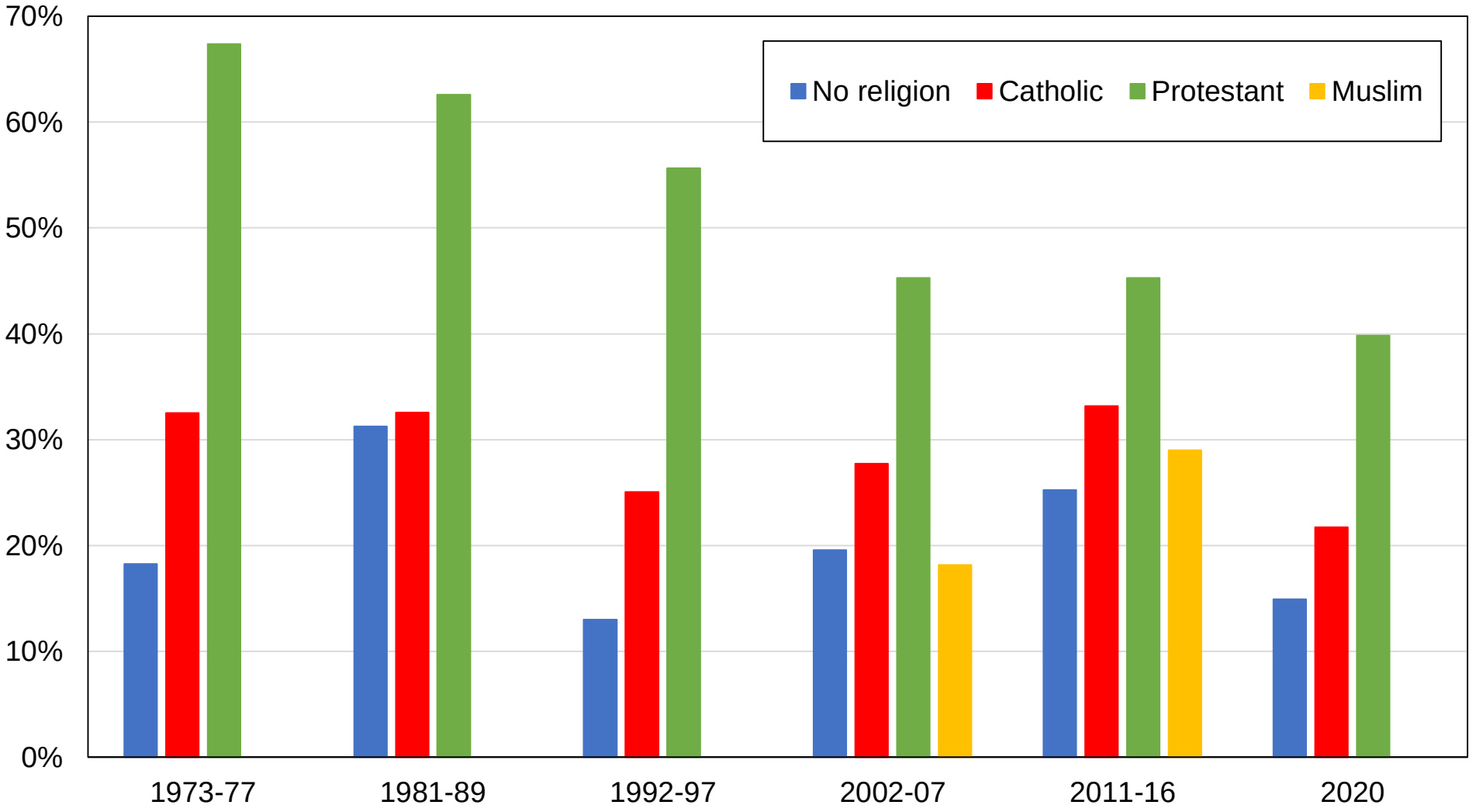
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fine Gael by education group.

Figure DD12 - Vote for Fine Gael by income group



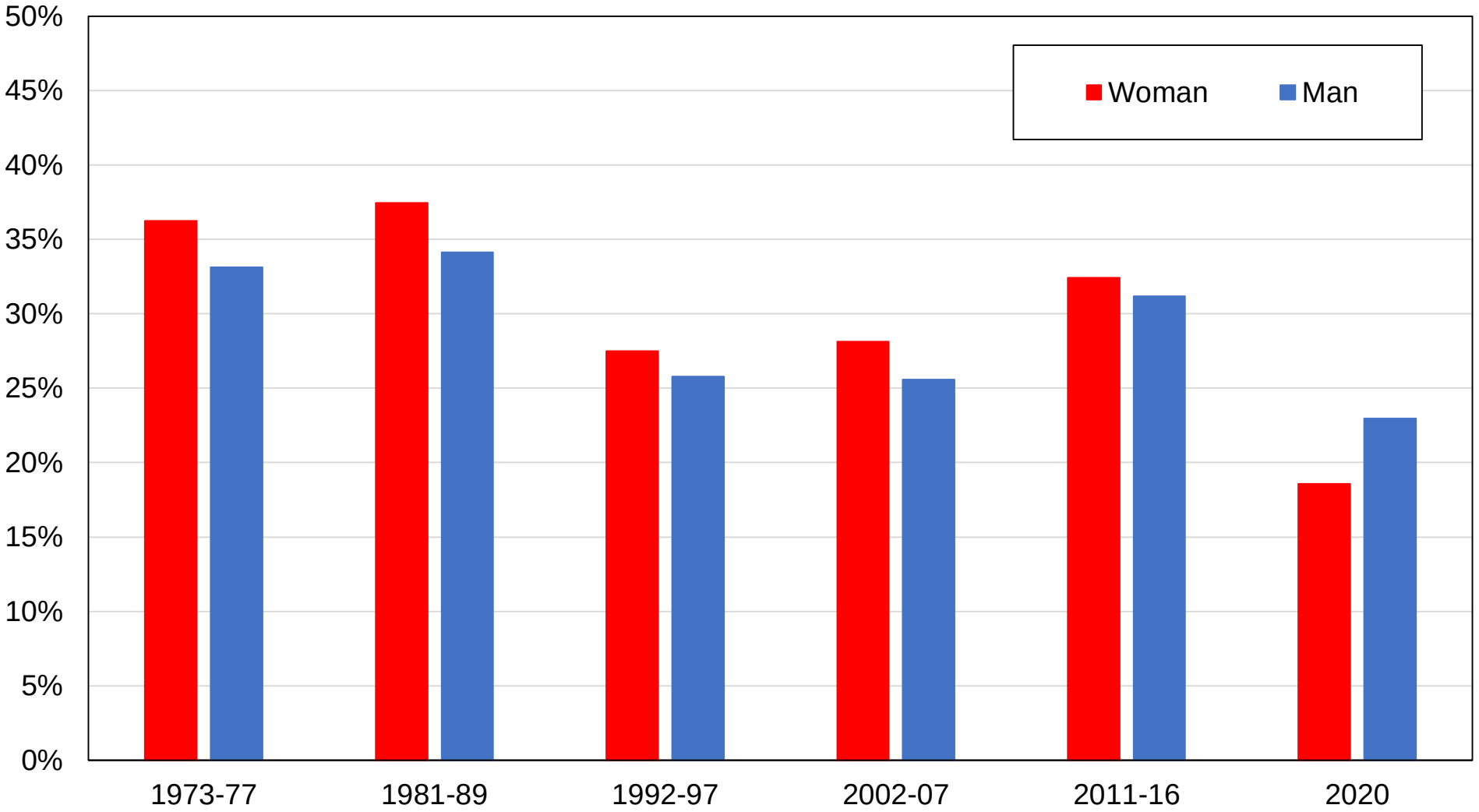
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fine Gael by income group.

Figure DD13 - Vote for Fine Gael by religious affiliation



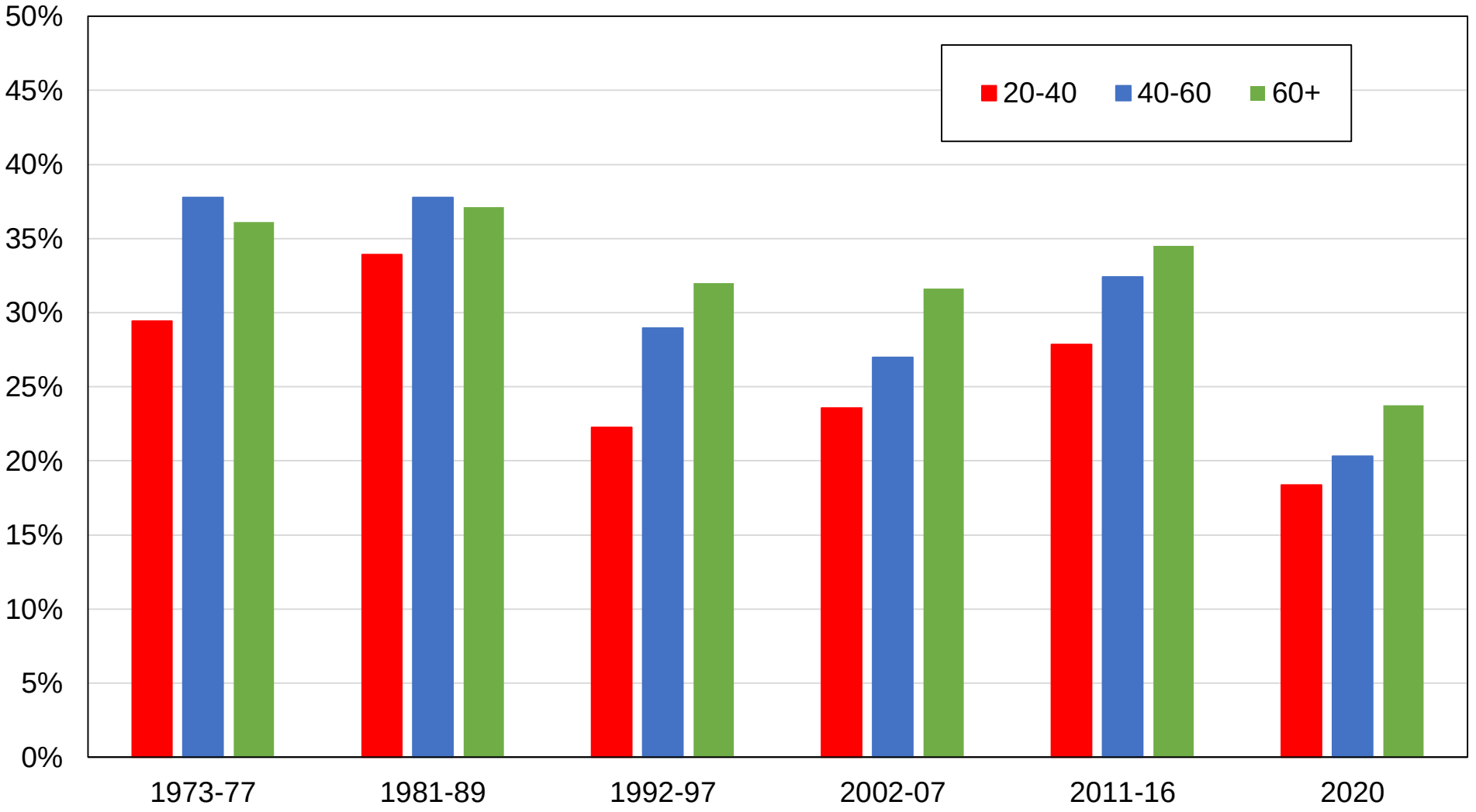
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fine Gael by religious affiliation.

Figure DD14 - Vote for Fine Gael by gender



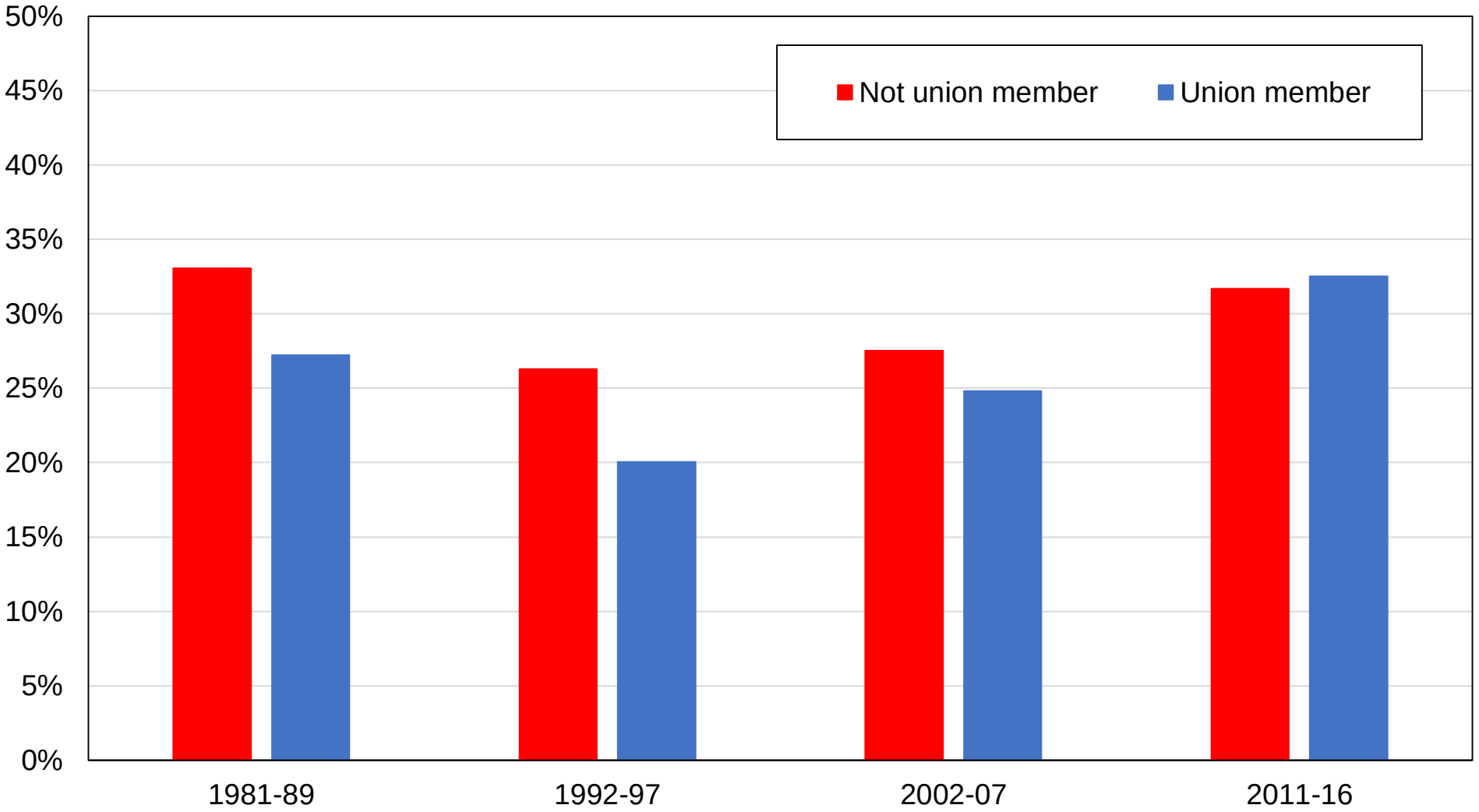
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fine Gael by gender.

Figure DD15 - Vote for Fine Gael by age



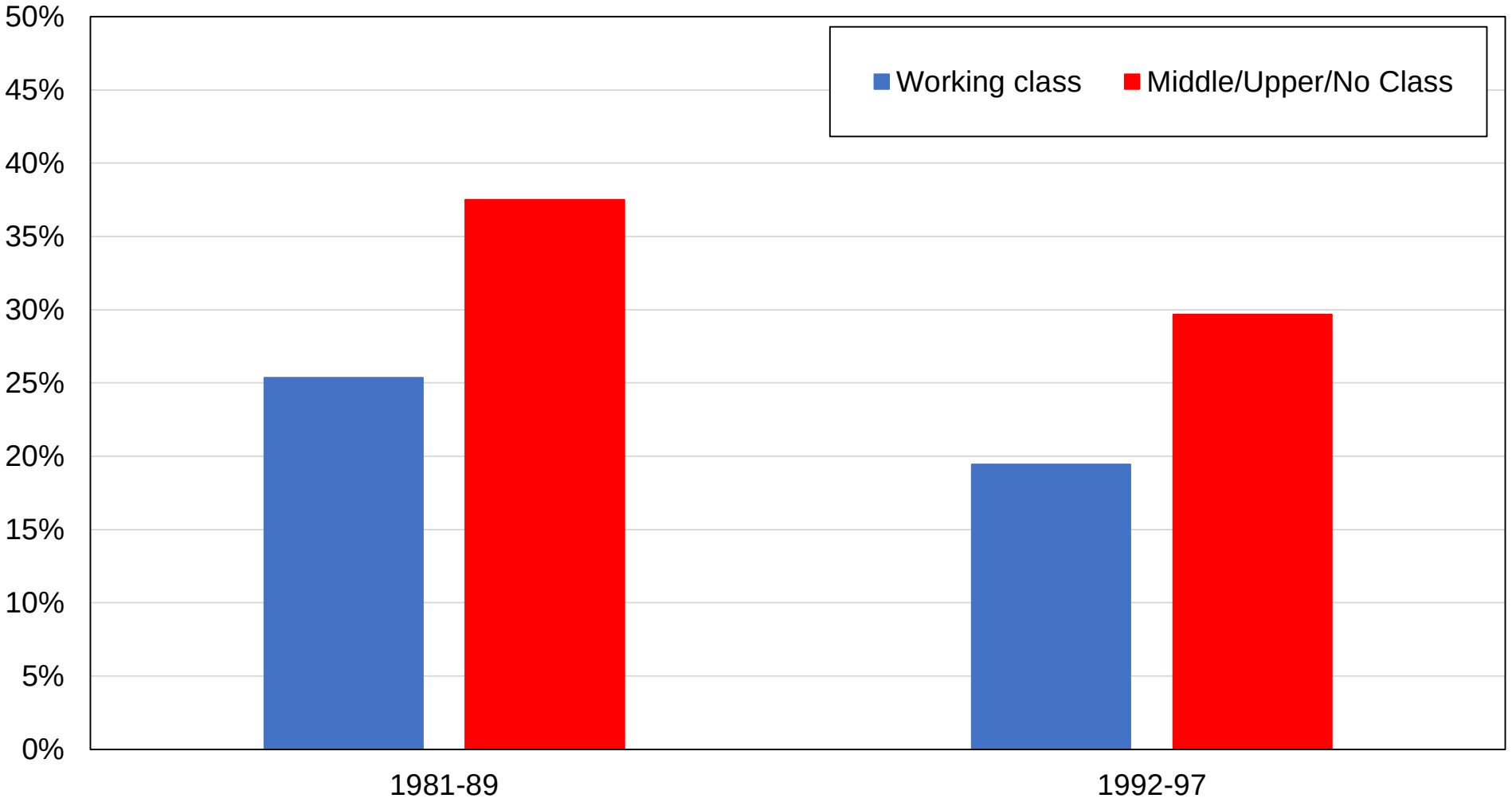
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fine Gael by age group.

Figure DD16 - Vote for Fine Gael by union membership



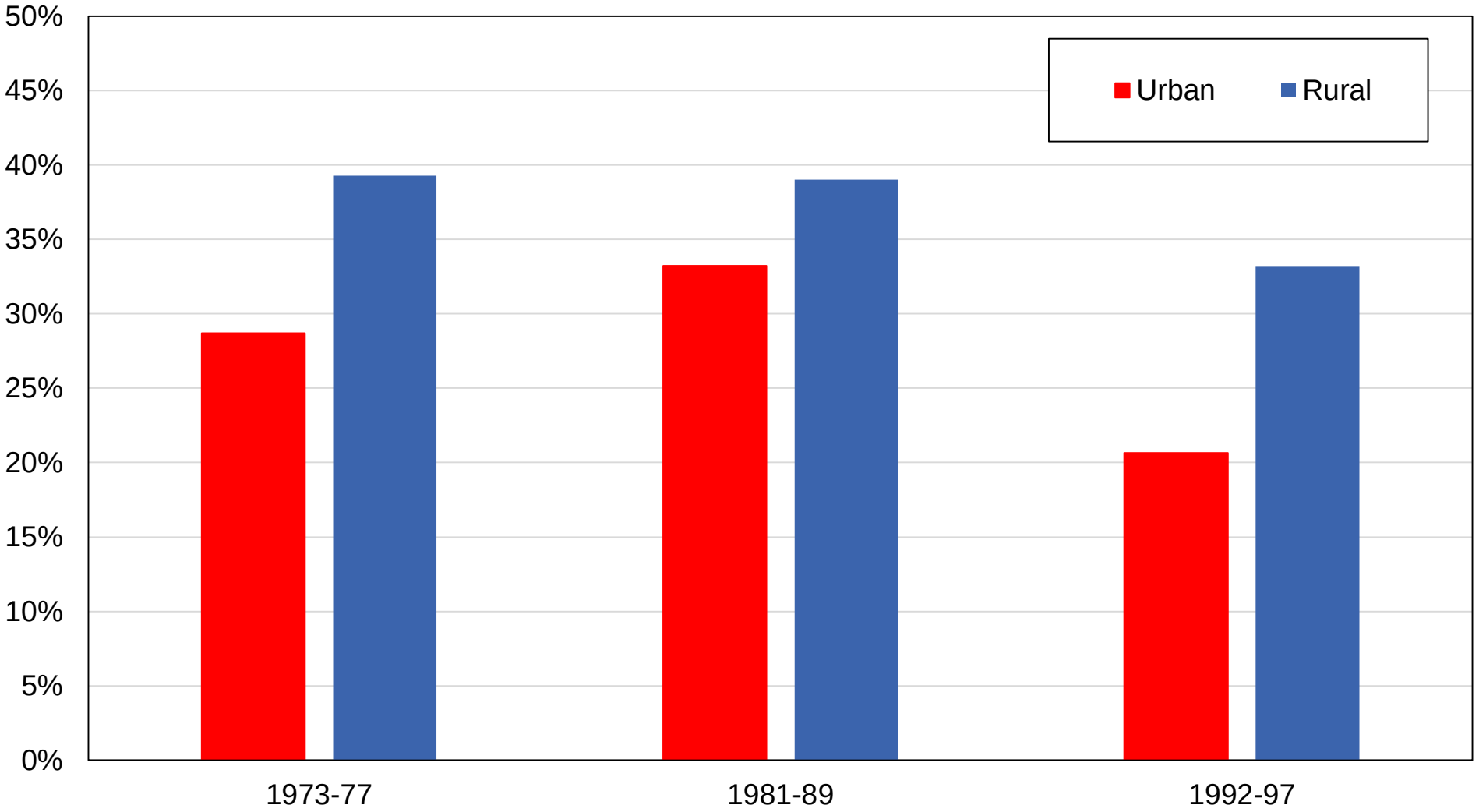
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Fine Gael by union membership status.

Figure DD17 - Vote for Fine Gael by perceived social class



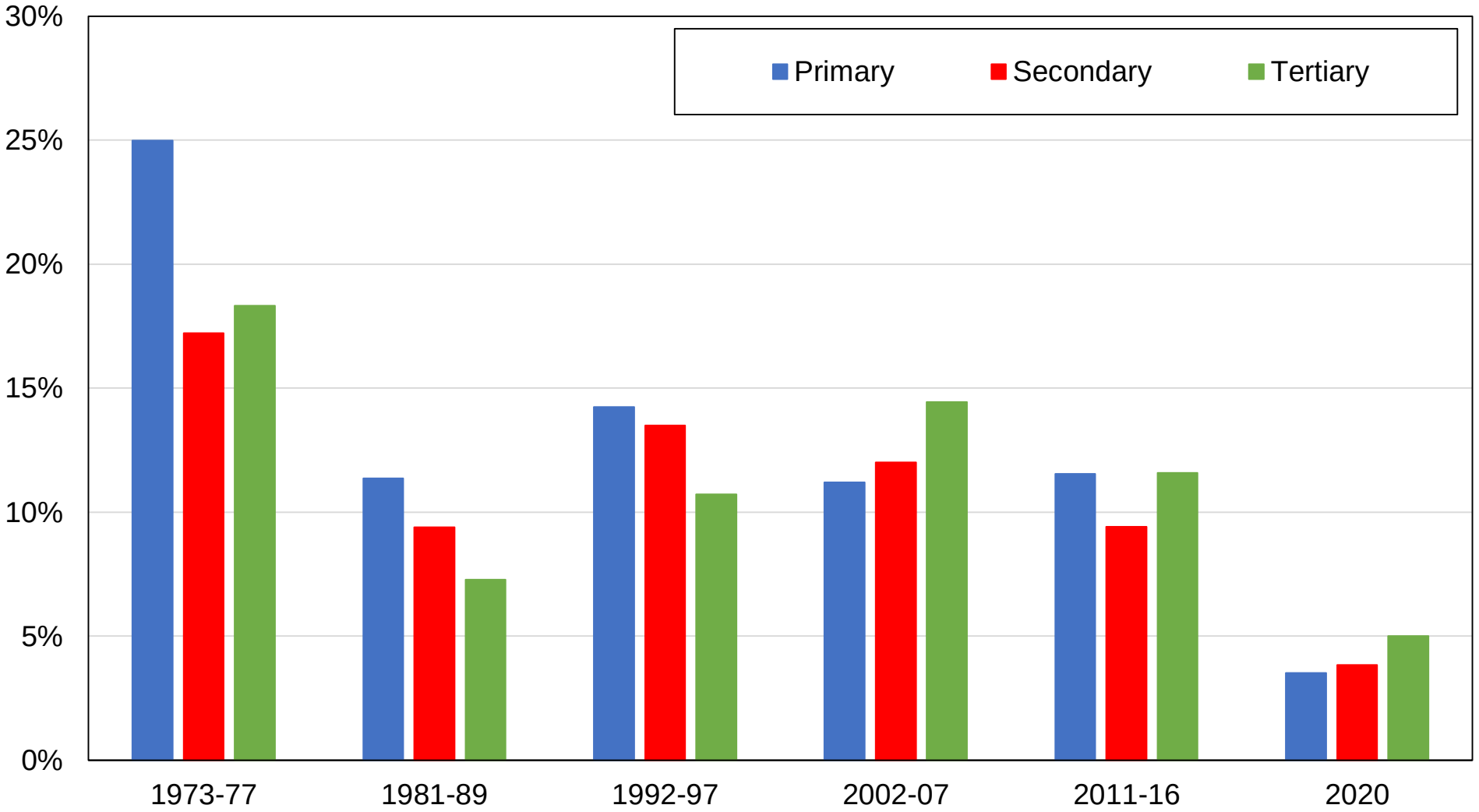
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Fine Gael by self-perceived social class. Working class includes "lower class".

Figure DD18 - Vote for Fine Gael by location



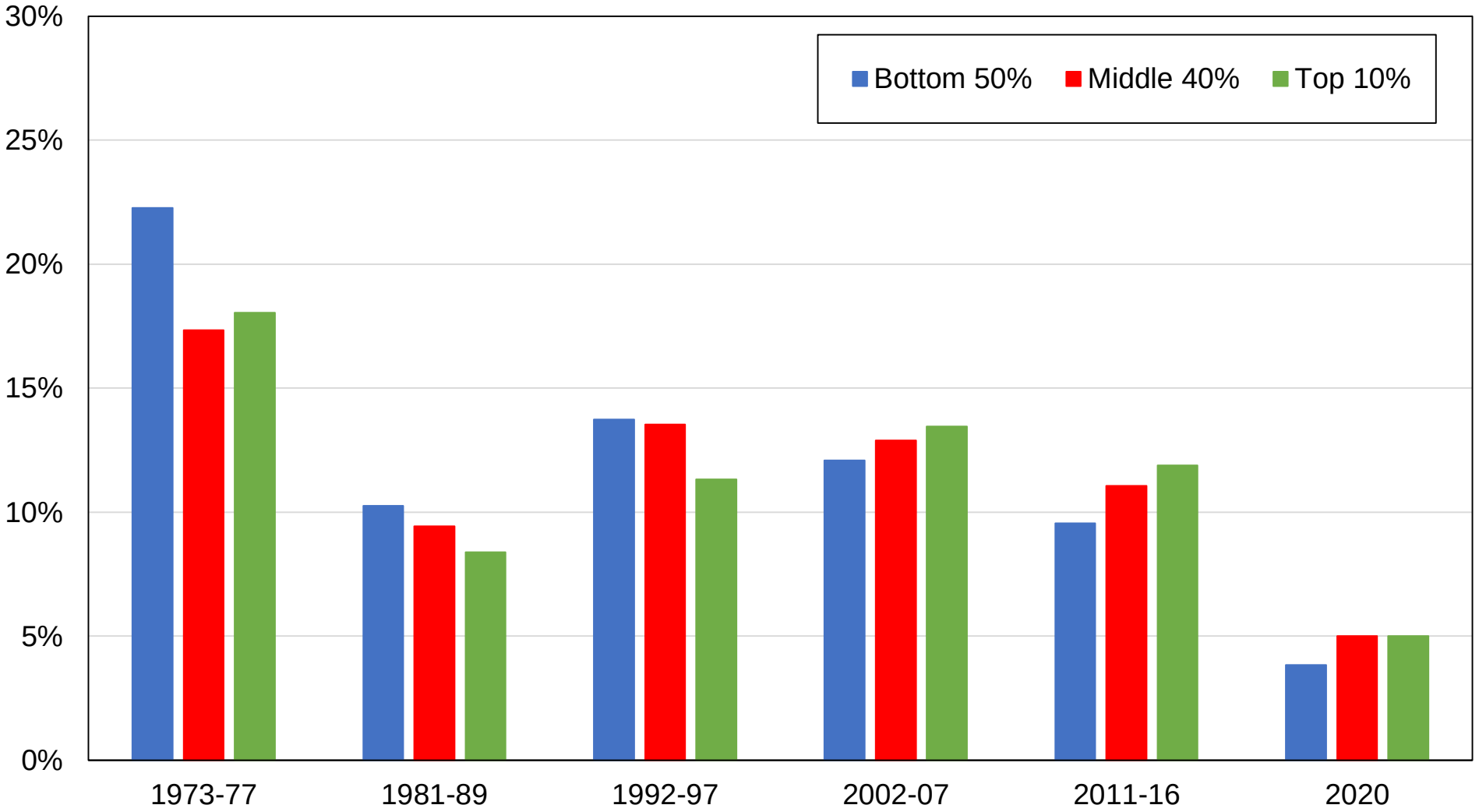
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Fine Gael by rural-urban location.

Figure DD19 - Vote for the Labour Party by education level



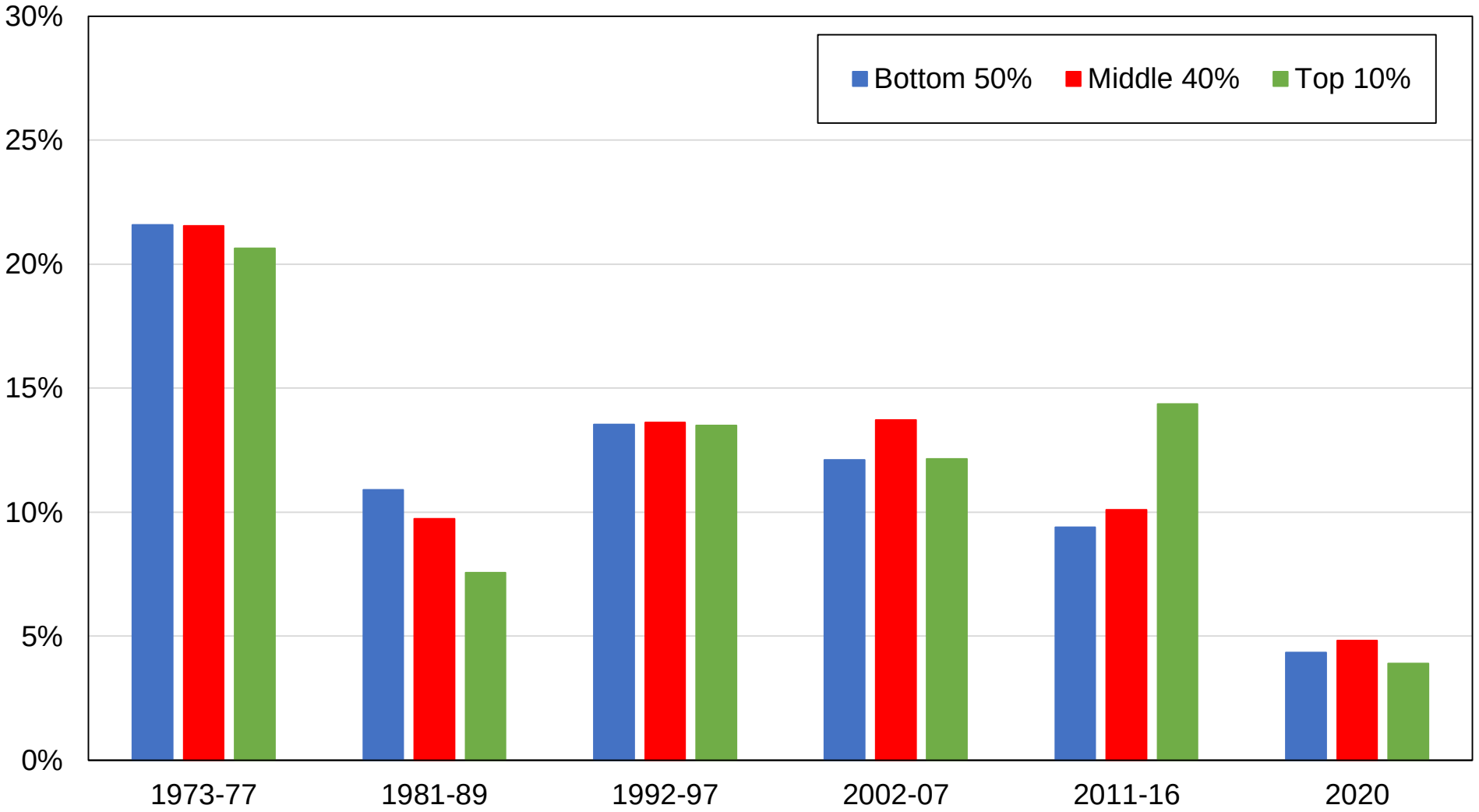
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party by education level.

Figure DD20 - Vote for the Labour Party by education group



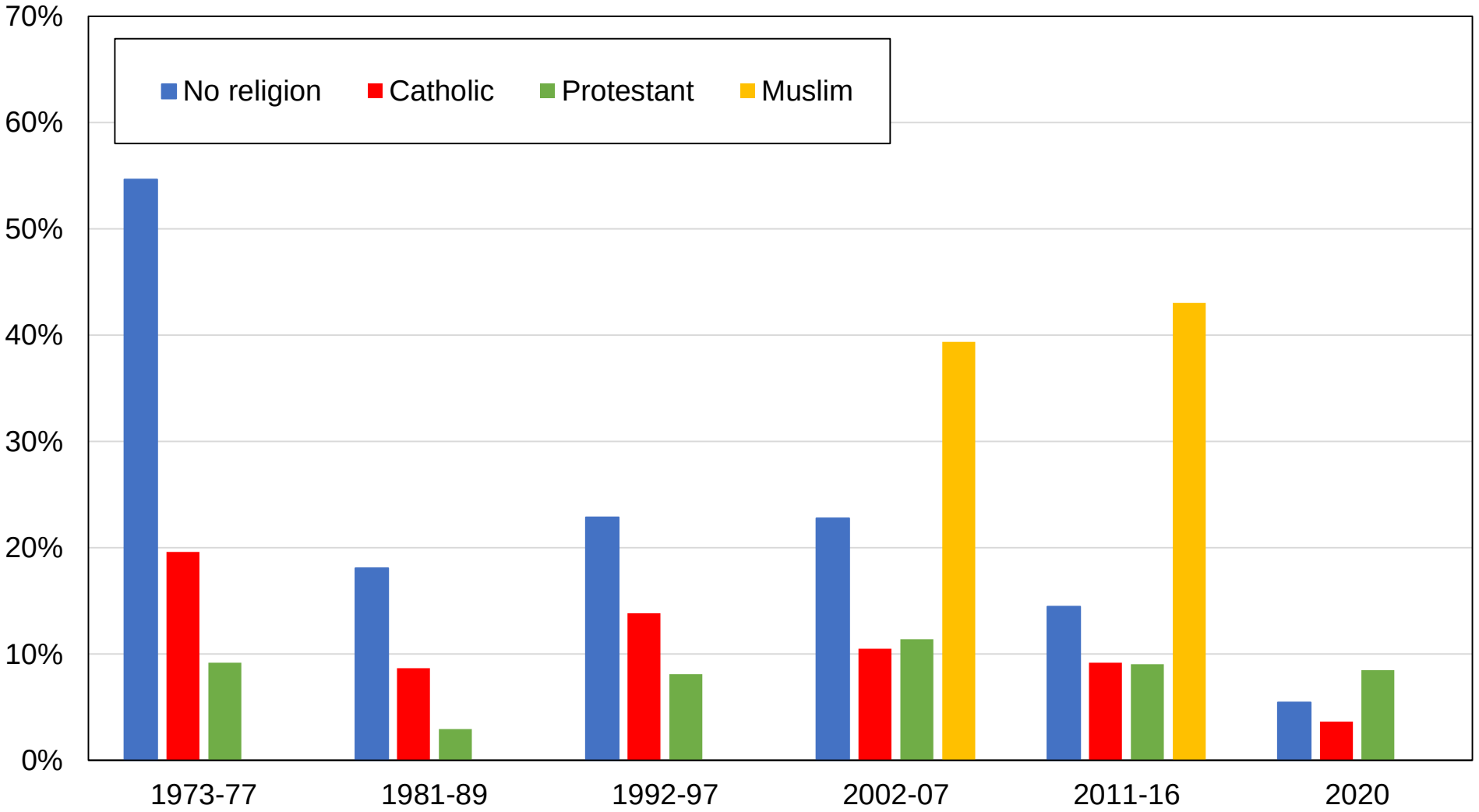
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party by education group.

Figure DD21 - Vote for the Labour Party by income group



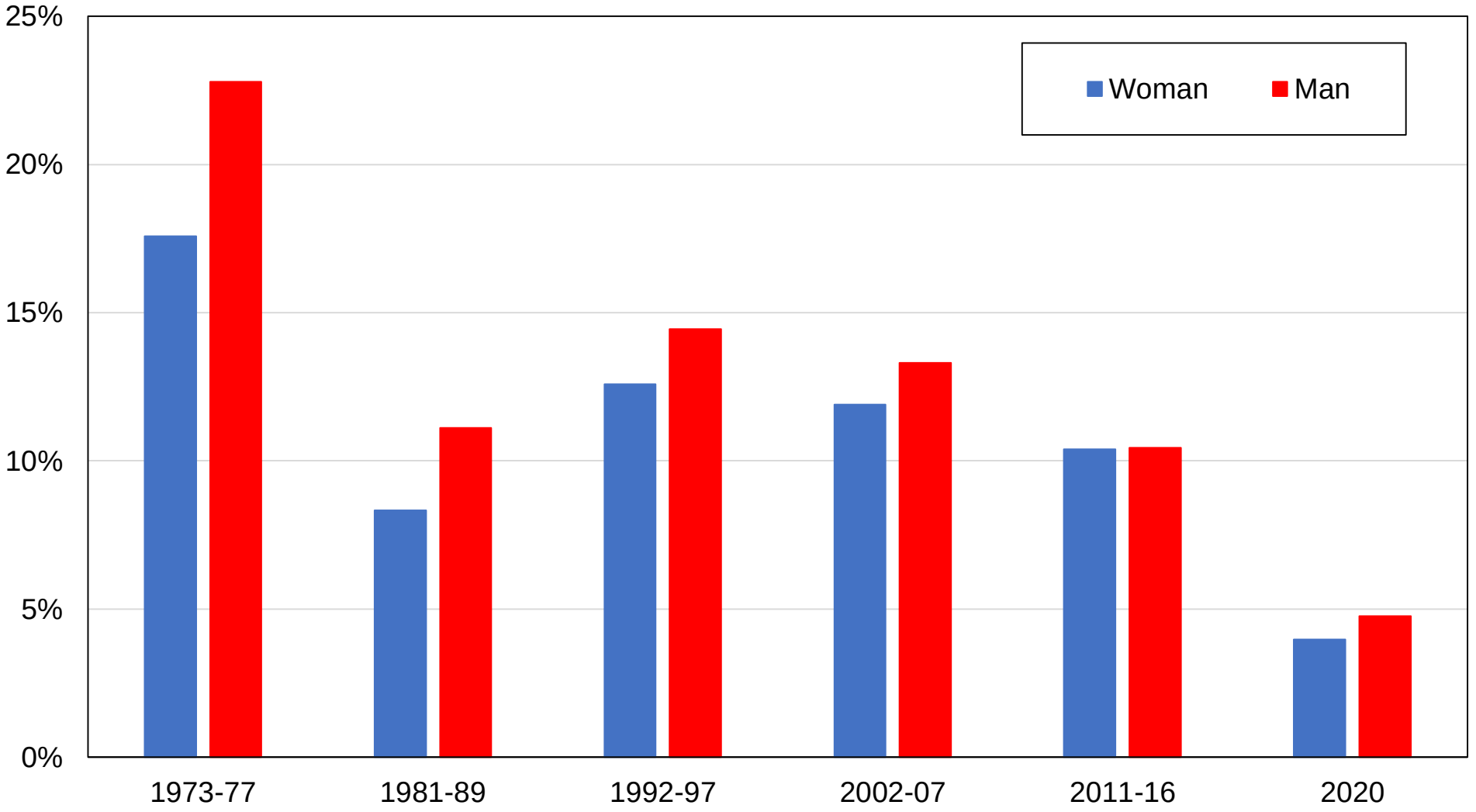
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party by income group.

Figure DD22 - Vote for the Labour Party by religious affiliation



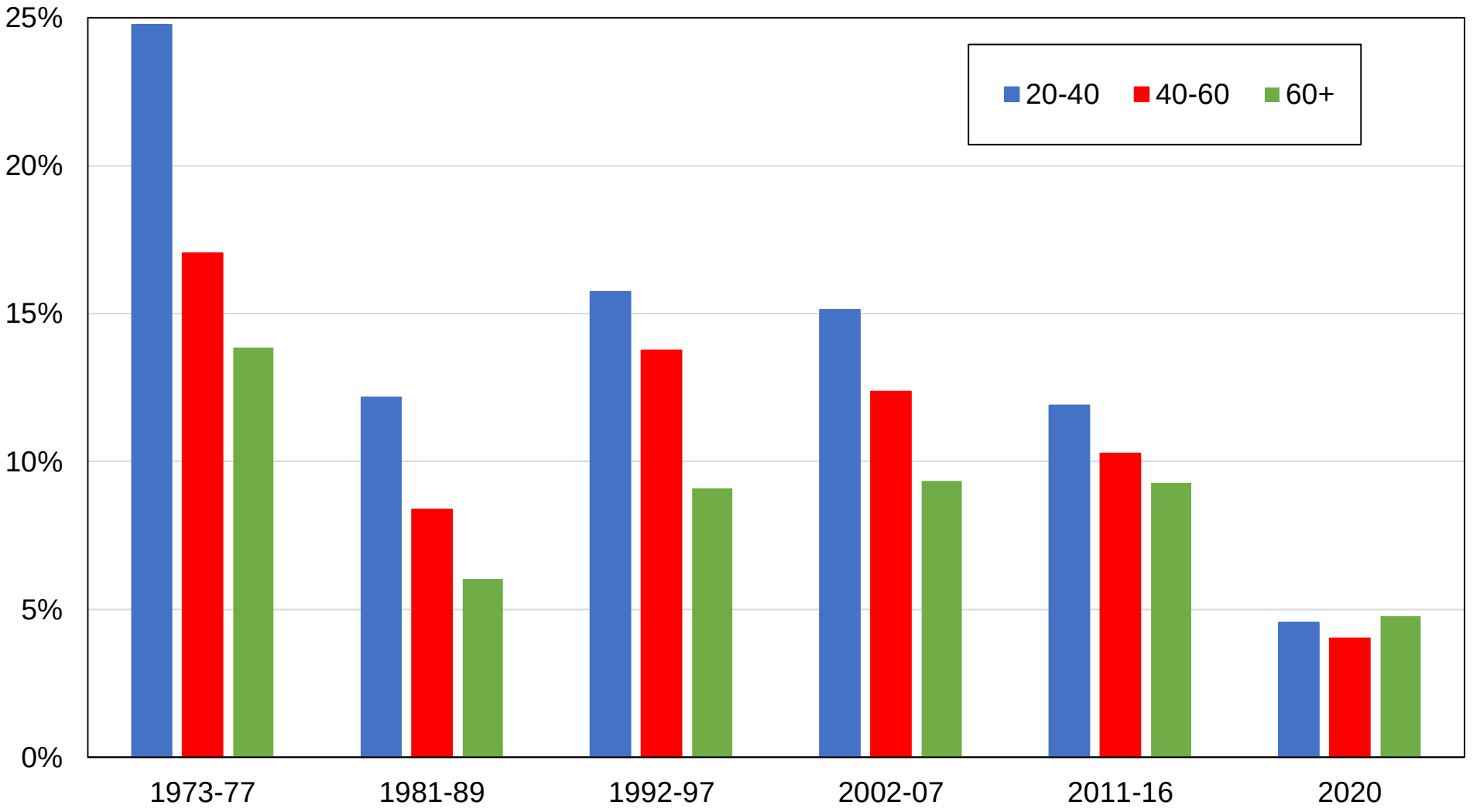
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party by religious affiliation.

Figure DD23 - Vote for the Labour Party by gender



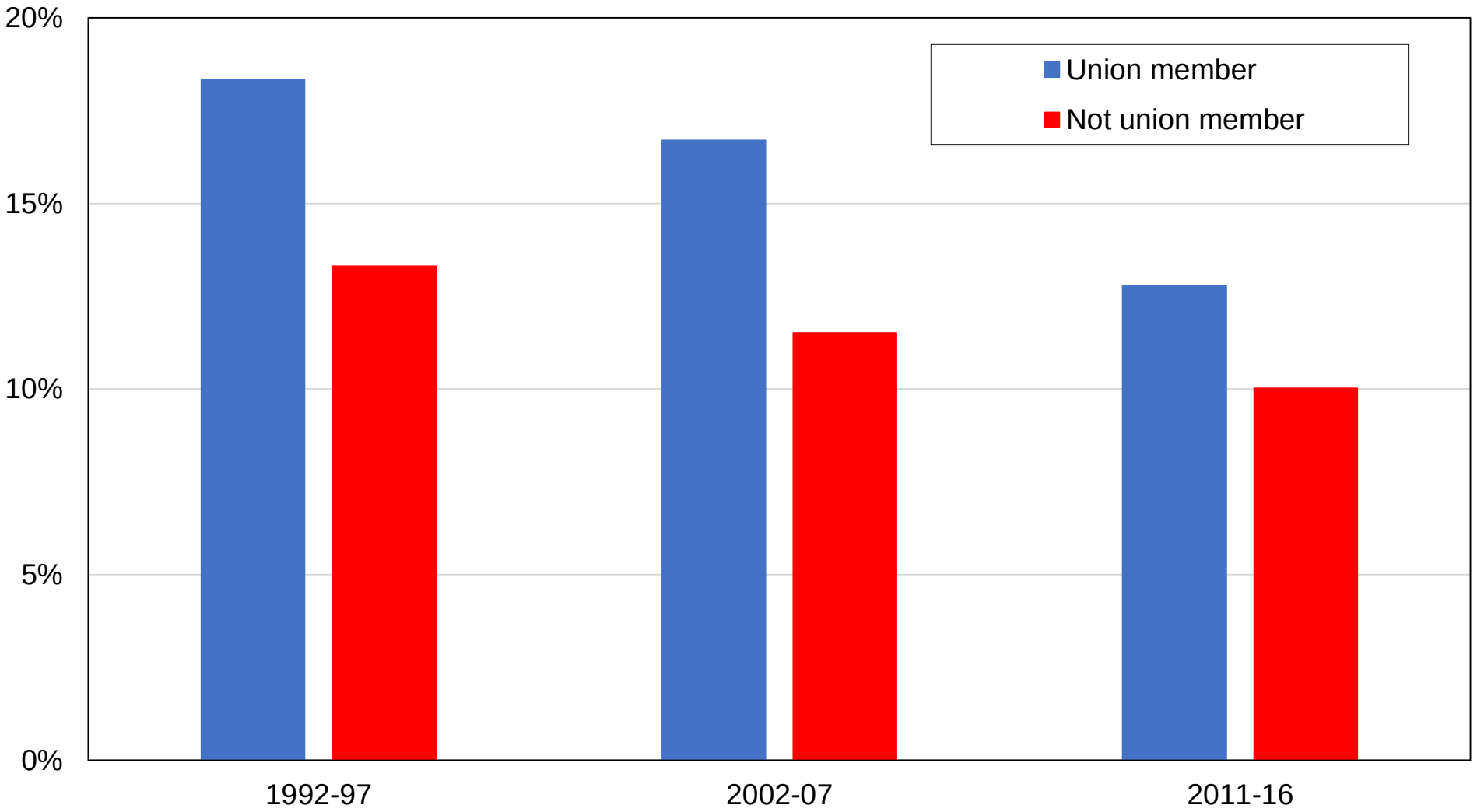
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party by gender.

Figure DD24 - Vote for the Labour Party by age



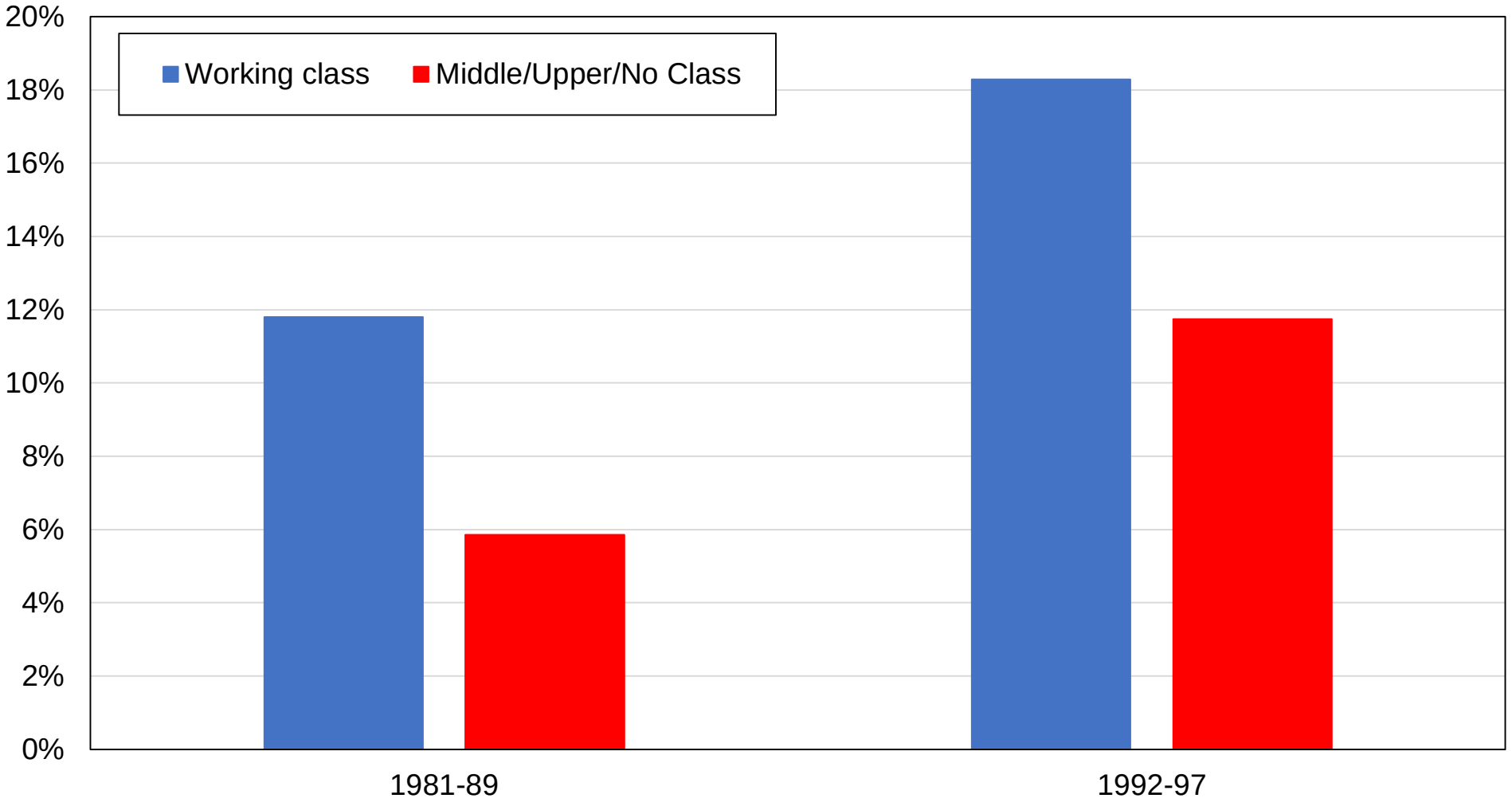
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party by age group.

Figure DD25 - Vote for the Labour Party by union membership



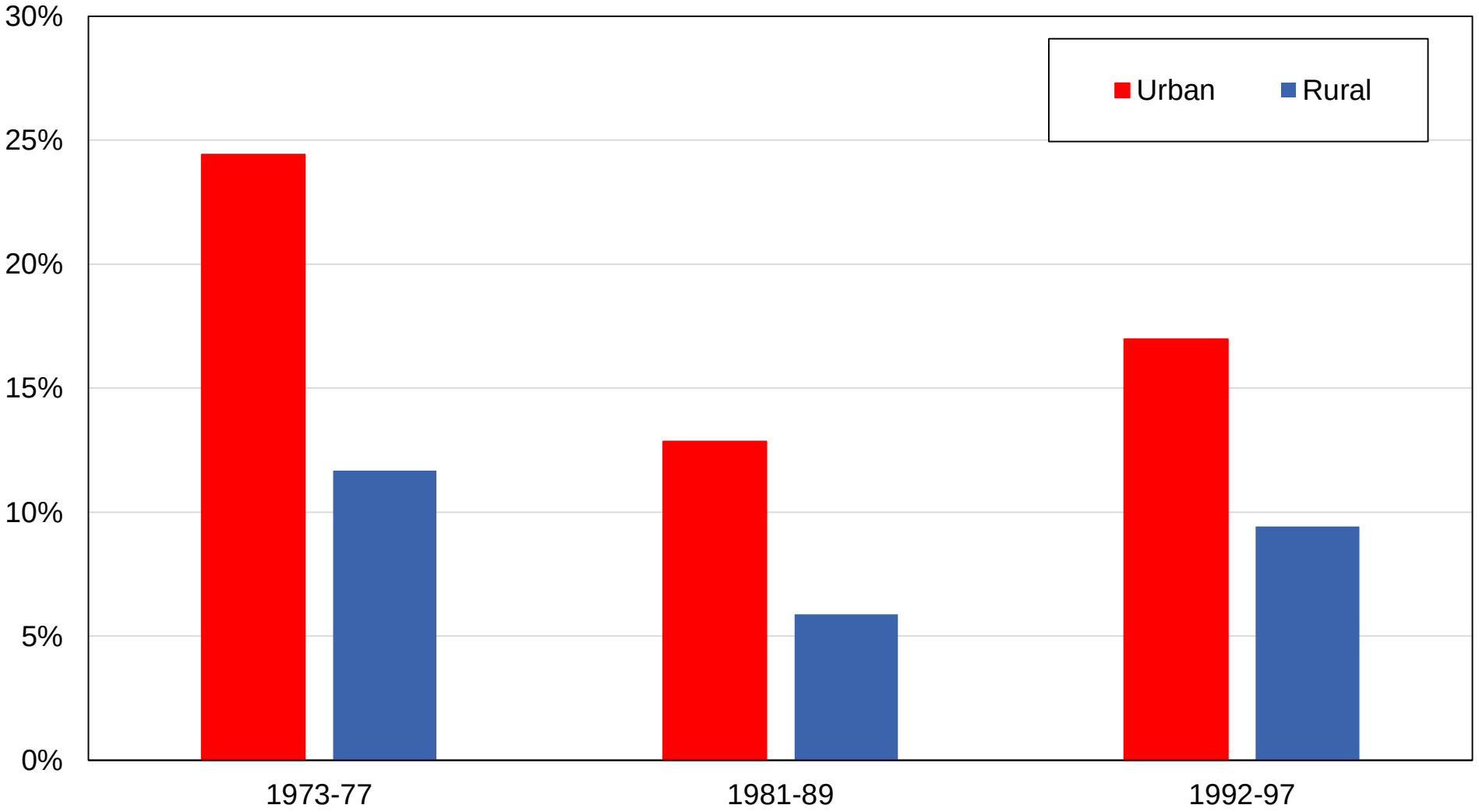
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party by union membership status.

Figure DD26 - Vote for the Labour Party by perceived social class



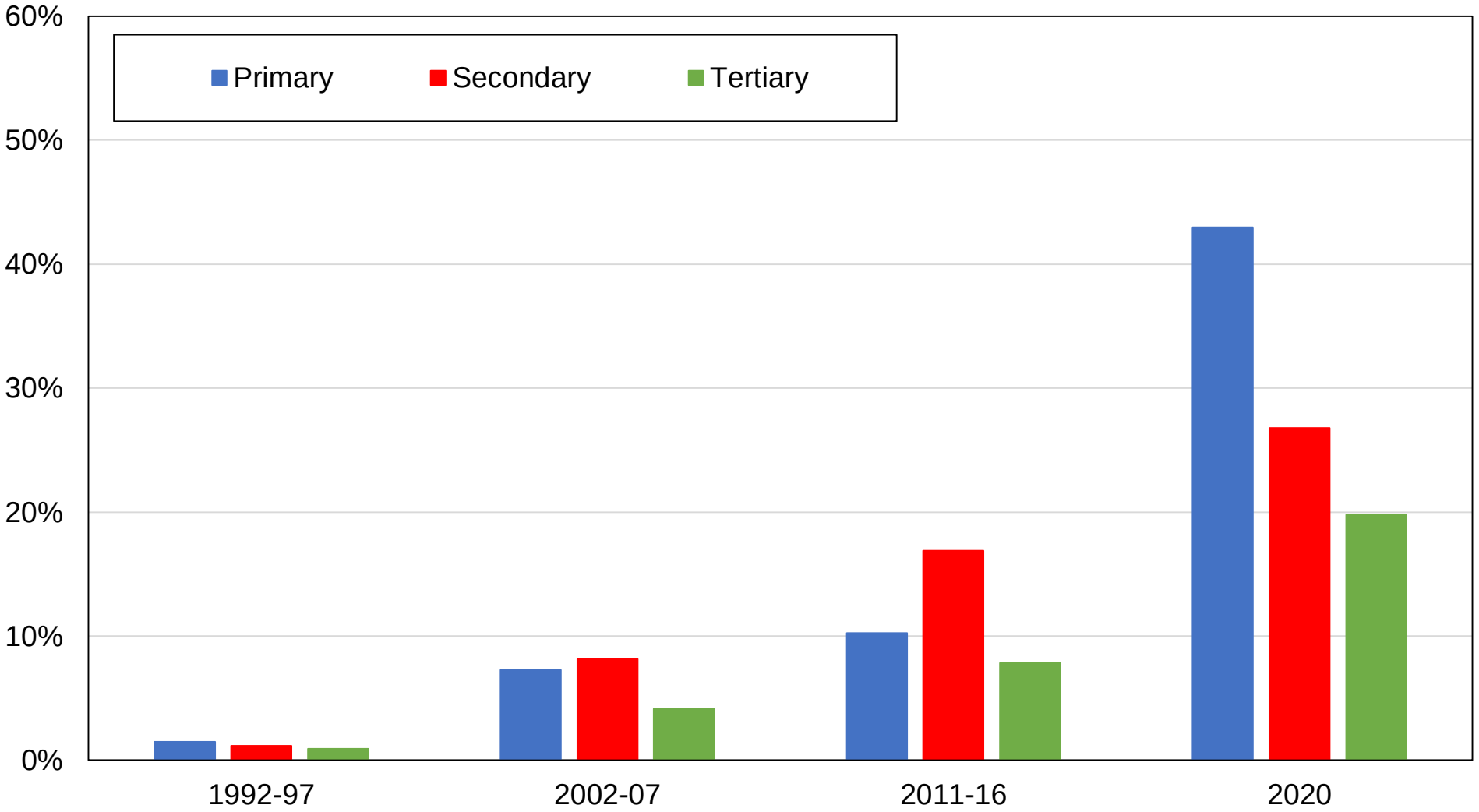
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party by self-perceived social class. Working class includes "lower class".

Figure DD27 - Vote for the Labour Party by location



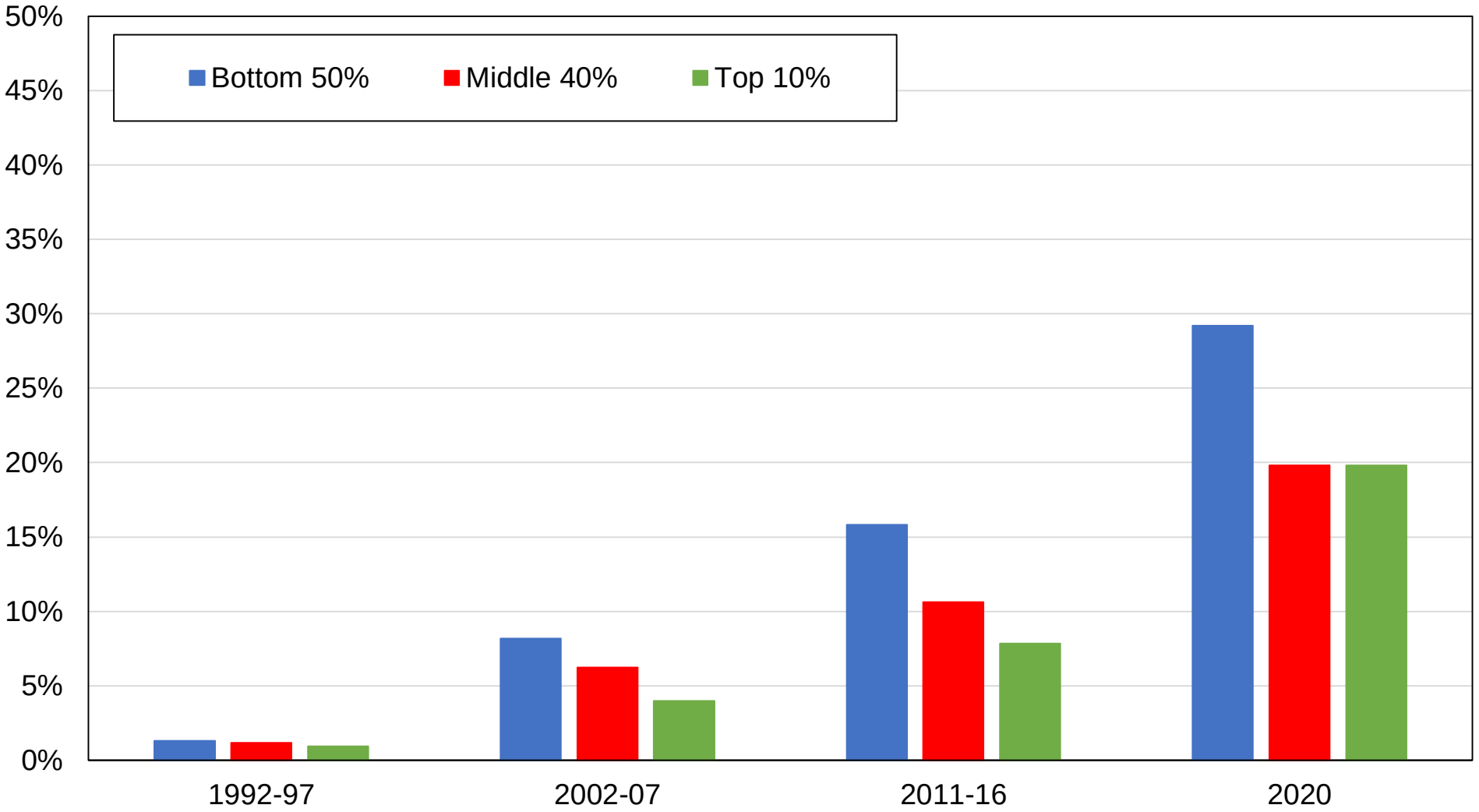
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party by rural-urban location.

Figure DD28 - Vote for Sinn Féin by education level



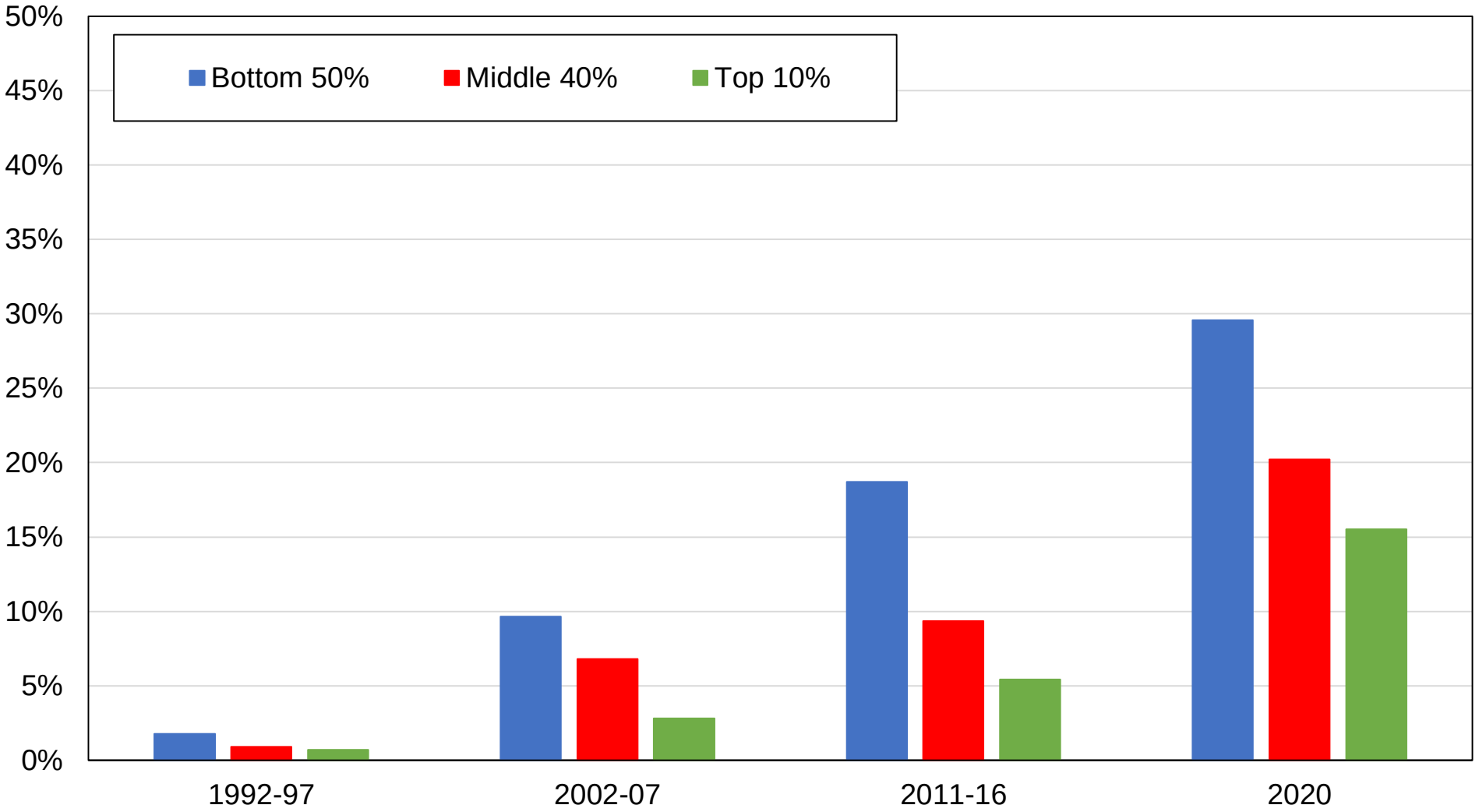
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Sinn Féin by education level.

Figure DD29 - Vote for Sinn Féin by education group



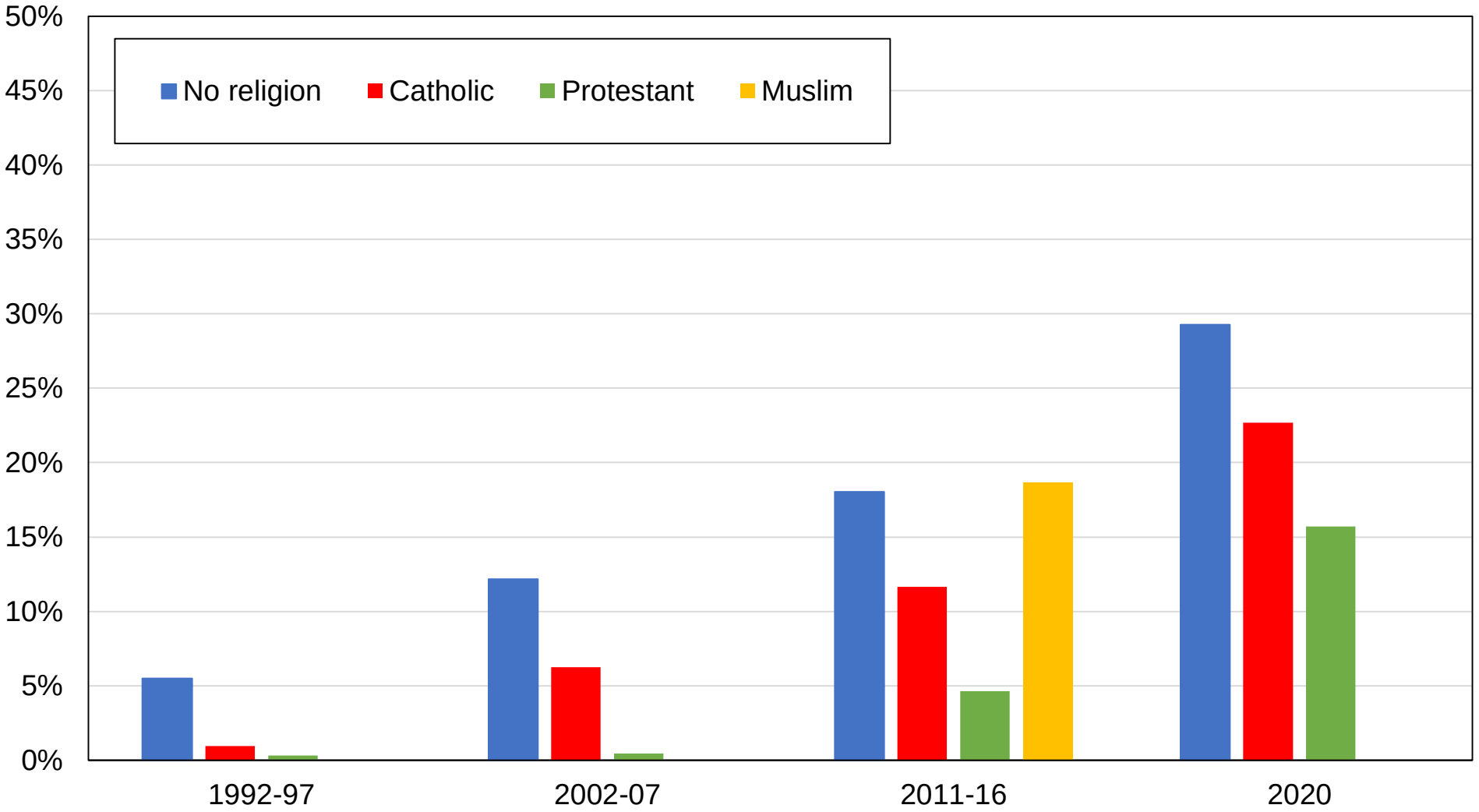
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Sinn Féin by education group.

Figure DD30 - Vote for Sinn Féin by income group



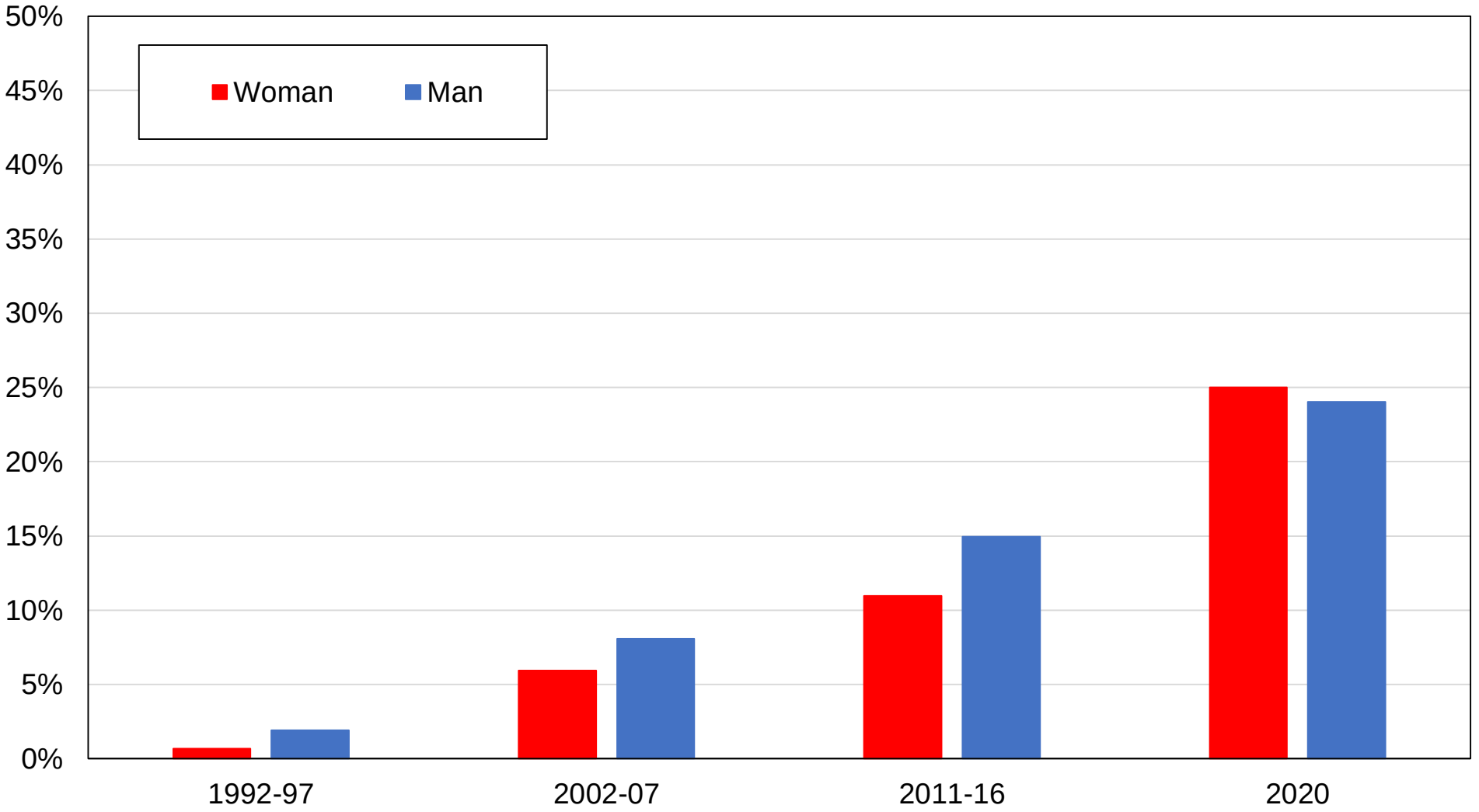
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Sinn Féin by income group.

Figure DD31 - Vote for Sinn Féin by religious affiliation



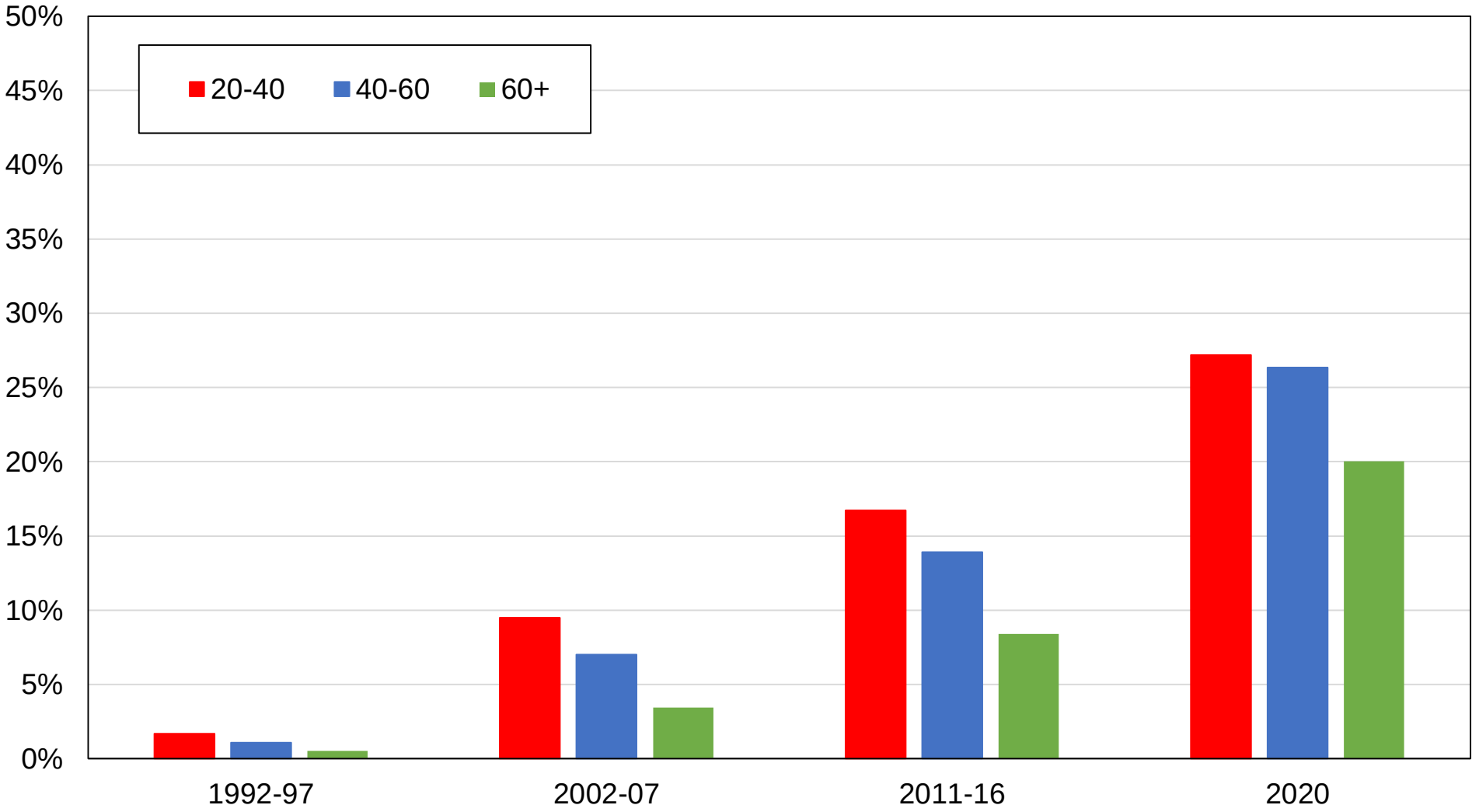
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Sinn Féin by religious affiliation.

Figure DD32 - Vote for Sinn Féin by gender



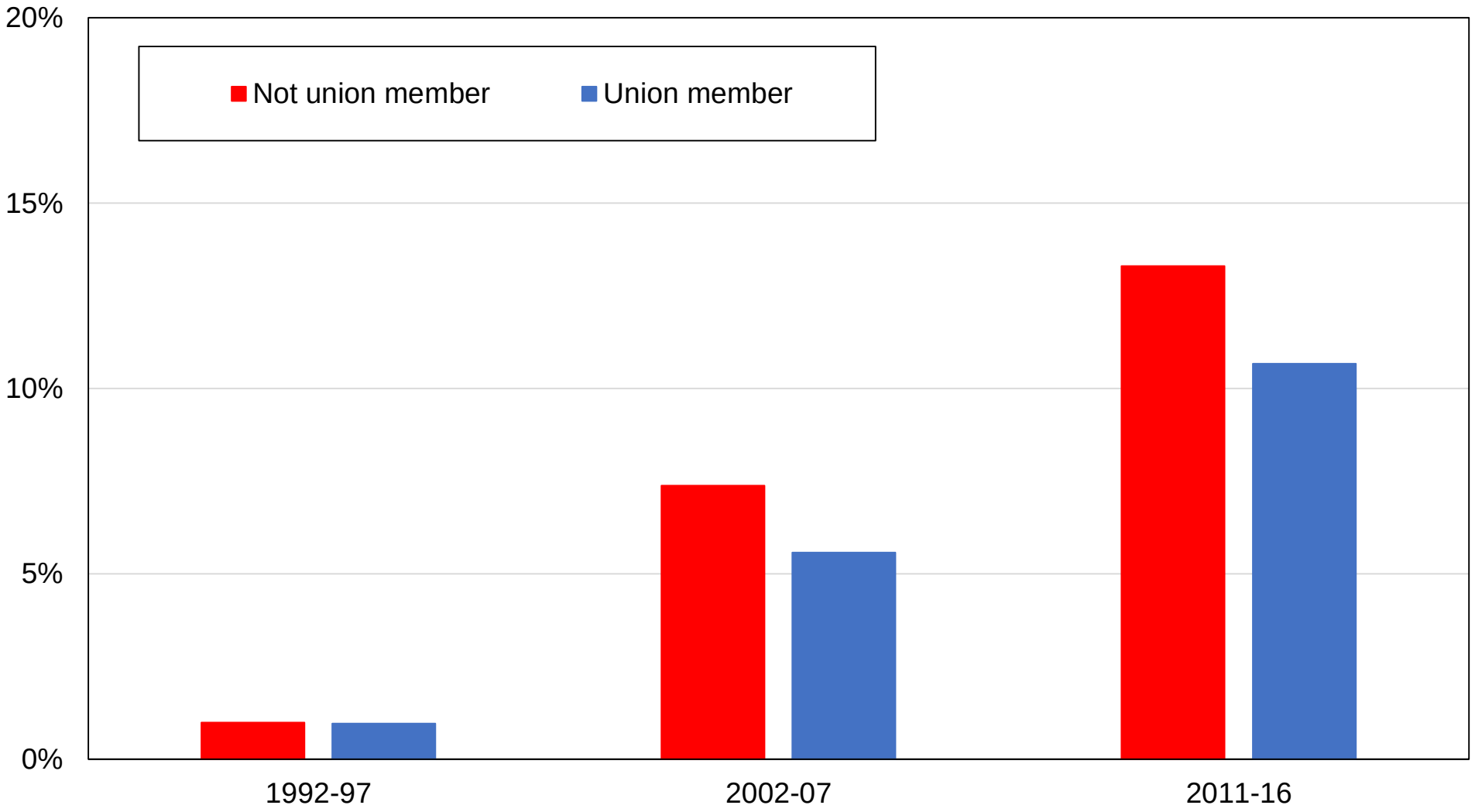
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Sinn Féin by gender.

Figure DD33 - Vote for Sinn Féin by age



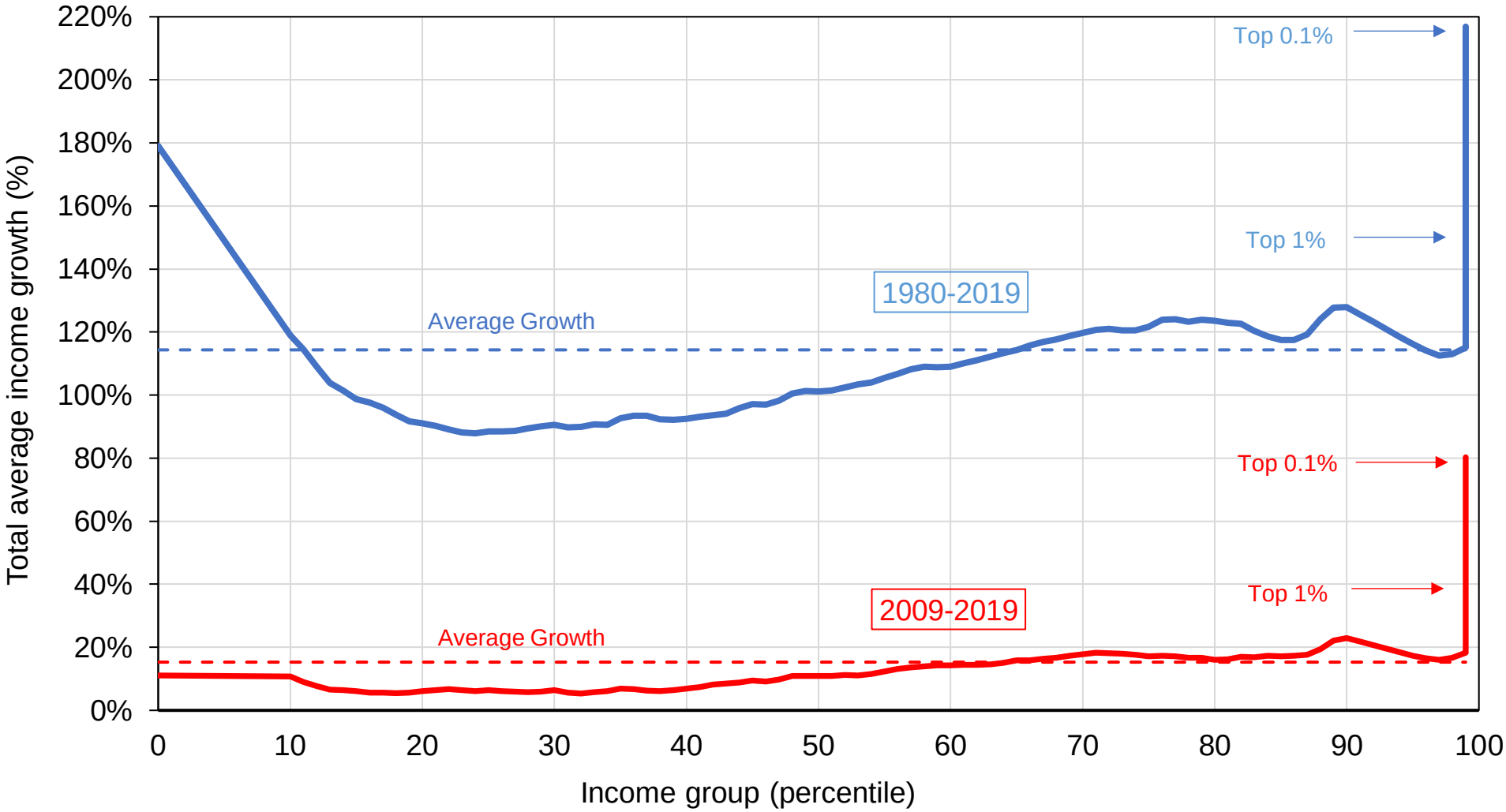
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Sinn Féin by age group.

Figure DD34 - Vote for Sinn Féin by union membership



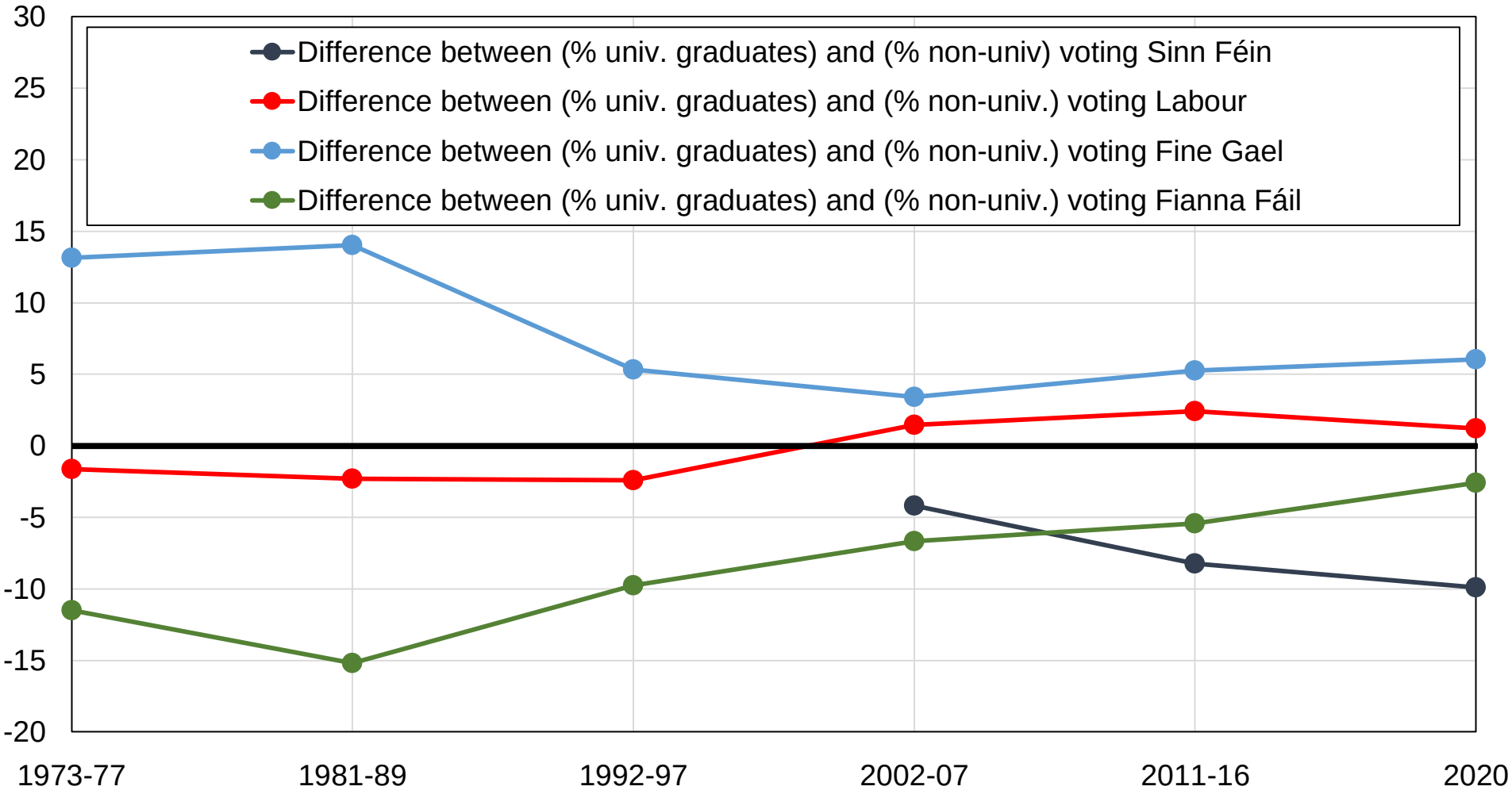
Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Sinn Féin by union membership status.

Figure DD35 - Growth Incidence Curves in Ireland, 1980-2019



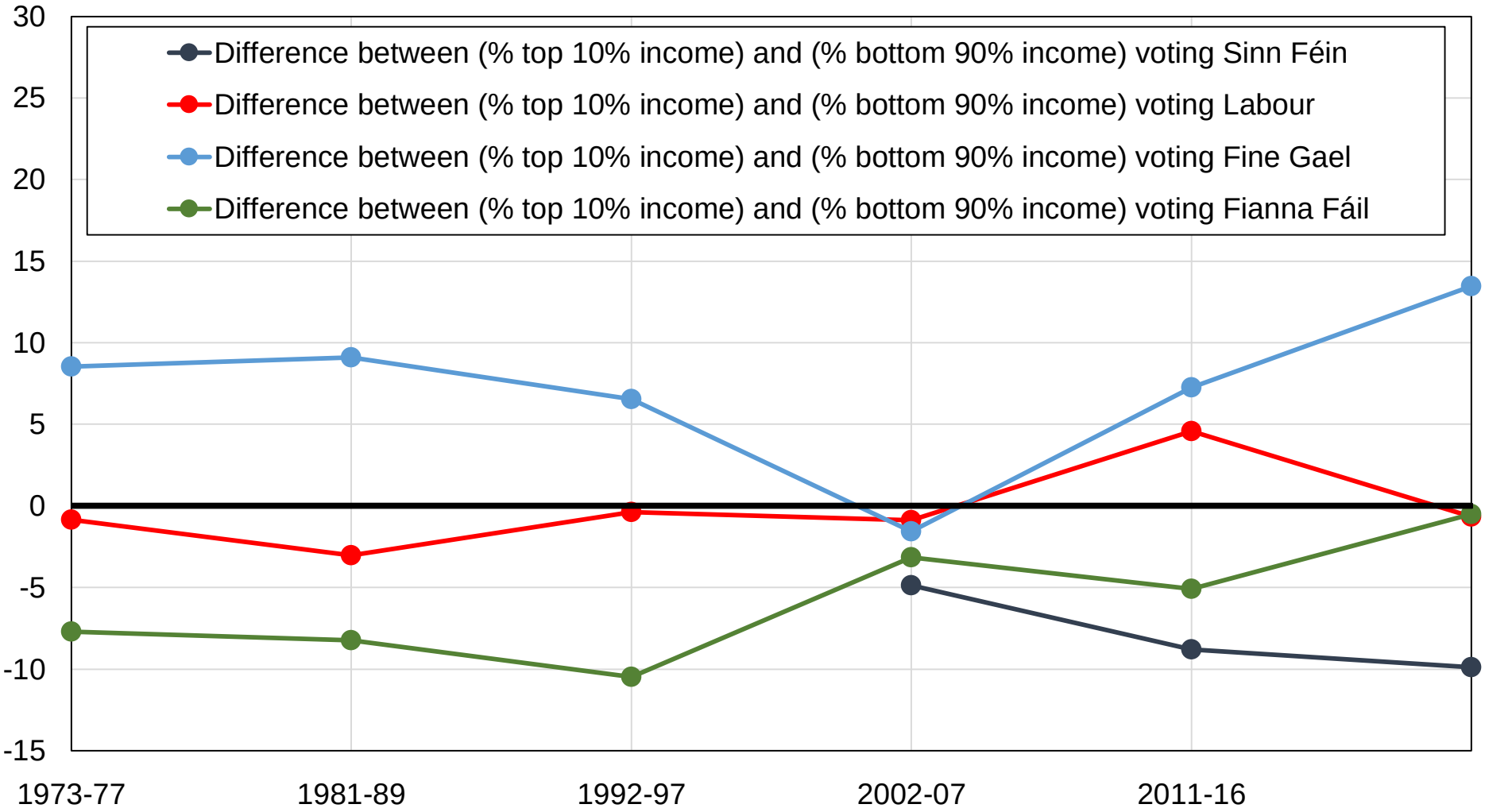
Source: author's computations using data from the World Inequality Database (https://wid.world/).
Note: income is after taxes and transfers.

Figure DD36 - The education cleavage in Ireland



Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the bias of university graduates towards Sinn Féin, Labour, Fine Gael, and Fianna Fáil.

Figure DD37 - The income cleavage in Ireland



Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the bias of top-income voters towards Sinn Féin, Labour, Fine Gael and Fianna Fáil.

Table DA1 - Survey data sources

Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
1973	Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years	Gesis	4199
1977	Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years	Gesis	7009
1981	Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years	Gesis	6007
1982	Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years	Gesis	5987
1987	Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years	Gesis	8032
1989	Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years	Gesis	7005
1992	Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years	Gesis	13156
1997	Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years	Gesis	19054
2002	European Social Survey, 2002-2006	ESS	6132
2007	European Social Survey, 2008-2010	ESS	4340
2011	European Social Survey, 2012-2014	ESS	5018
2016	European Social Survey, 2016-2018	ESS	4973
2020	UCD Online Election Poll	Harvard	1585

Source: authors' elaboration. Gesis: Gesis – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences (https://www.gesis.org/home); ESS: European Social Survey (https://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/). Harvard Dataverse: https://dataverse.harvard.edu.

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

	1973-77	1981-89	1992-97	2002-07	2011-16	2020
Age: 20-40	49%	52%	51%	48%	40%	29%
Age: 40-60	33%	29%	28%	34%	37%	41%
Age: 60+	18%	19%	21%	18%	23%	30%
Education: Primary	33%	23%	19%	11%	7%	9%
Education: Secondary	62%	71%	72%	64%	56%	39%
Education: Tertiary	5%	6%	8%	25%	37%	52%
Employment status: Employed	47%	45%	42%	48%	47%	60%
Employment status: Unemployed	7%	8%	9%	9%	9%	3%
Employment status: Inactive	46%	47%	49%	44%	44%	36%
Marital status: Married or with partner	56%	55%	54%	56%	59%	
Religion: No religion	1%	3%	4%	20%	28%	27%
Religion: Catholic	94%	93%	92%	75%	66%	60%
Religion: Protestant	3%	3%	2%	4%	4%	7%
Religion: Muslim	0%	0%	0%	1%	1%	0%
Religion: Other	2%	1%	1%	0%	1%	5%
Church attendance: Never	2%	3%	3%	14%	19%	50%
Church attendance: Less than monthl	6%	12%	17%	43%	48%	22%
Church attendance: Monthly or more	92%	86%	80%	43%	33%	28%
Gender: Man	50%	49%	49%	49%	49%	53%

Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

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

Table DA3 - The structure of political cleavages in Ireland, 2020

	Share of votes received (%)				
	Sinn Féin	Labour	Greens	Fianna Fáil	Fine Gael
Overall vote share	25%	4%	7%	22%	21%
Education					
Primary	43%	4%	1%	23%	13%
Secondary	27%	4%	7%	24%	19%
Tertiary	20%	5%	8%	21%	24%
Income					
Bottom 50%	30%	4%	5%	21%	17%
Middle 40%	20%	5%	8%	25%	22%
Top 10%	16%	4%	8%	22%	33%
Religion					
No religion	29%	5%	16%	12%	15%
Catholic	23%	4%	3%	28%	22%
Protestant	16%	8%	7%	13%	40%
Church attendance					
Never	32%	5%	10%	14%	18%
Less than monthly	22%	4%	8%	23%	23%
Monthly or more	14%	4%	3%	33%	25%
Gender					
Woman	25%	4%	6%	23%	19%
Man	24%	5%	8%	21%	23%
Age					
20-40	27%	5%	14%	16%	18%
40-60	26%	4%	5%	21%	20%
60+	20%	5%	4%	30%	24%

Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

Notes: the table shows the share of votes received by the main political parties by selected individual characteristics in the 2020 election.

Table DA4 - The structure of the education and income cleavages in Ireland, 1973-2020									
Share of votes received (%)									
Variable	**Year**	**Value**	**Fianna Fáil**	**Labour**	**Sinn Féin**	**Green**	**Other Left**	**Fine Gael**	**Other Right**
Education	1973-77	Primary	55%	17%	0%	0%	0%	29%	0%
		Secondary	51%	11%	0%	0%	0%	38%	0%
		Tertiary	39%	13%	0%	0%	0%	48%	0%
	1981-89	Primary	54%	10%	0%	0%	2%	29%	2%
		Secondary	46%	9%	0%	0%	3%	34%	4%
		Tertiary	31%	6%	0%	1%	2%	43%	11%
	1992-97	Primary	41%	17%	2%	0%	3%	21%	3%
		Secondary	35%	15%	2%	1%	3%	24%	5%
		Tertiary	29%	12%	1%	2%	2%	26%	9%
	2002-07	Primary	50%	10%	8%	2%	0%	23%	2%
		Secondary	41%	10%	8%	3%	1%	24%	3%
		Tertiary	35%	11%	4%	7%	1%	27%	5%
	2011-16	Primary	33%	15%	10%	0%	4%	26%	0%
		Secondary	21%	12%	15%	1%	4%	29%	0%
		Tertiary	18%	13%	7%	4%	6%	32%	0%
	2020	Primary	23%	4%	43%	1%	3%	13%	2%
		Secondary	23%	4%	27%	7%	5%	19%	2%
		Tertiary	21%	5%	20%	8%	7%	24%	2%
	1973-77	Bottom 50%	53%	14%	0%	0%	0%	33%	0%
		Middle 40%	52%	14%	0%	0%	0%	33%	0%
		Top 10%	44%	14%	0%	0%	0%	42%	0%

Income	1981-89	Bottom 50%	51%	10%	0%	0%	3%	30%	3%
		Middle 40%	43%	9%	0%	1%	3%	35%	6%
		Top 10%	38%	7%	0%	1%	2%	40%	8%
	1992-97	Bottom 50%	40%	15%	2%	1%	3%	23%	4%
		Middle 40%	33%	15%	1%	1%	3%	23%	6%
		Top 10%	28%	15%	1%	2%	1%	27%	10%
	2002-07	Bottom 50%	44%	10%	9%	3%	0%	24%	2%
		Middle 40%	40%	11%	6%	4%	0%	26%	4%
		Top 10%	36%	8%	2%	7%	2%	22%	10%
	2011-16	Bottom 50%	23%	12%	17%	1%	3%	27%	0%
		Middle 40%	20%	12%	8%	2%	5%	33%	0%
		Top 10%	16%	16%	5%	4%	10%	33%	0%
	2020	Bottom 50%	21%	4%	30%	5%	6%	17%	2%
		Middle 40%	25%	5%	20%	8%	6%	22%	2%
		Top 10%	22%	4%	15%	8%	4%	33%	2%
Education group	1973-77	Bottom 50%	53%	15%	0%	0%	0%	32%	0%
		Middle 40%	51%	11%	0%	0%	0%	38%	0%
		Top 10%	45%	12%	0%	0%	0%	42%	0%
	1981-89	Bottom 50%	50%	9%	0%	0%	3%	31%	4%
		Middle 40%	46%	9%	0%	0%	3%	34%	4%
		Top 10%	38%	8%	0%	1%	2%	40%	7%
	1992-97	Bottom 50%	37%	16%	2%	1%	3%	23%	5%
		Middle 40%	35%	15%	2%	1%	3%	24%	5%
		Top 10%	30%	12%	1%	2%	2%	25%	9%

		Bottom 50%	44%	10%	8%	3%	1%	23%	3%
	2002-07	Middle 40%	39%	10%	6%	5%	1%	25%	4%
		Top 10%	34%	11%	4%	7%	1%	26%	6%
		Bottom 50%	23%	12%	15%	1%	4%	29%	0%
	2011-16	Middle 40%	18%	13%	9%	3%	5%	31%	0%
		Top 10%	18%	14%	7%	4%	5%	32%	0%
		Bottom 50%	23%	4%	29%	6%	5%	18%	2%
	2020	Middle 40%	21%	5%	20%	8%	7%	24%	2%
		Top 10%	21%	5%	20%	8%	7%	24%	2%

Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.
Notes: the table shows the average share of votes received by the main political parties by education and income categories across elections in each decade.