

**Chapter 7. "Party System Transformation and the Structure of Political Cleavages
in Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Switzerland, 1967-2019"**

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Appendix D - Austria

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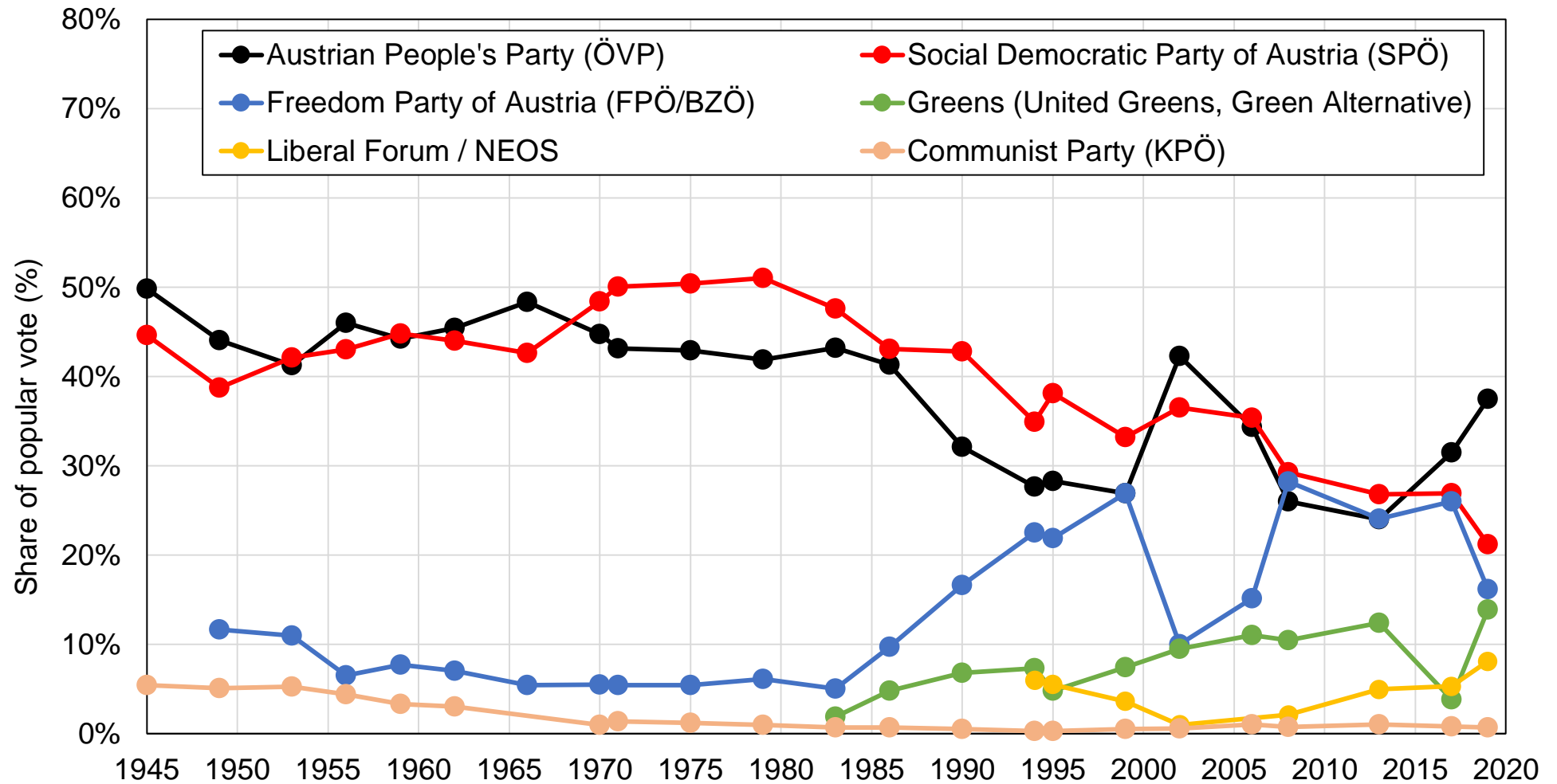
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Table DA3	The structure of political cleavages in Austria, 2013-2017

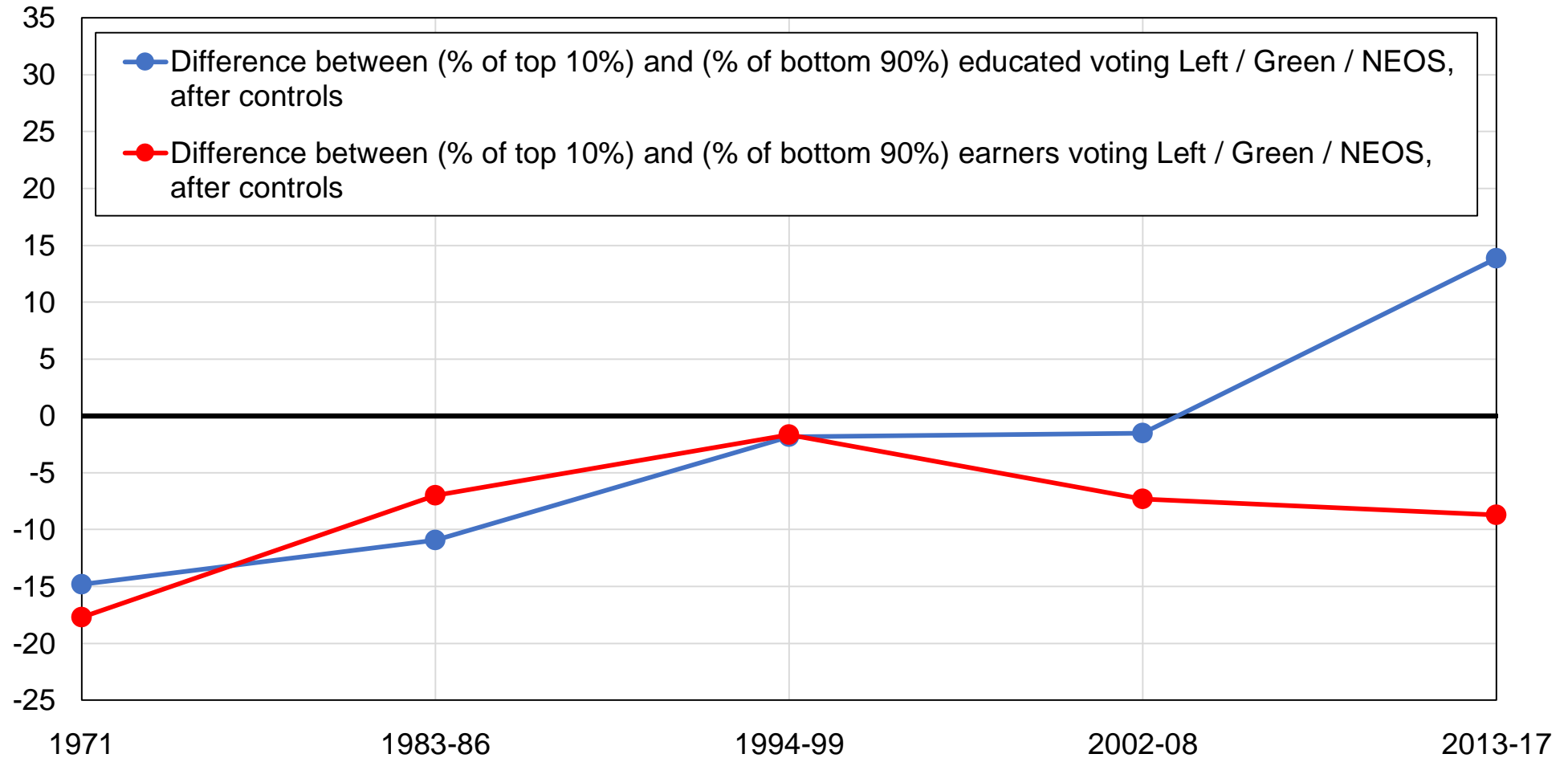
Figure D1 - Election results in Austria, 1945-2019



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Austrian political parties in legislative elections between 1945 and 2019.

Figure D2 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controls



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the support for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controlling for other variables.

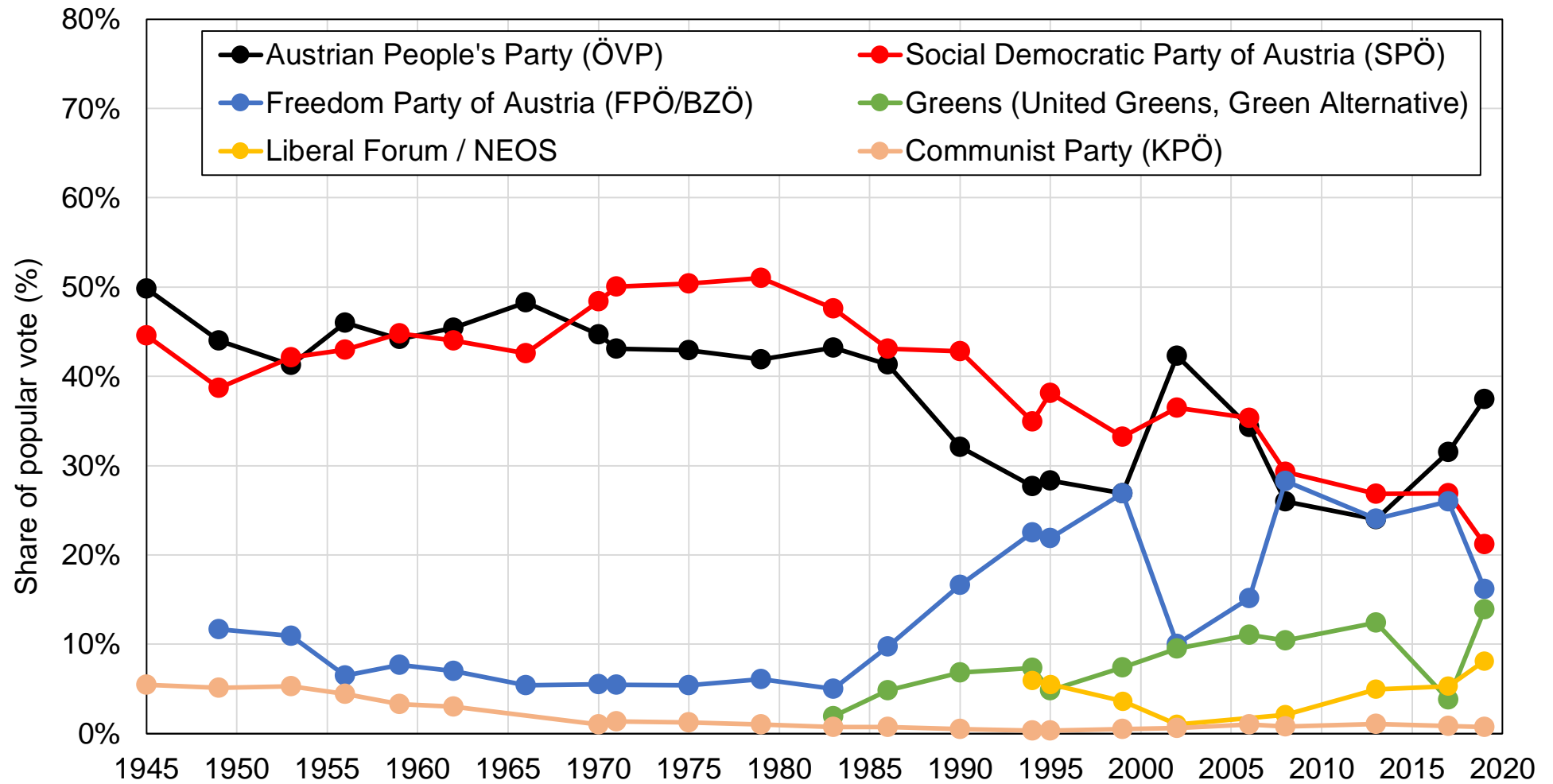
Table D1 - The structure of political cleavages in Austria, 2013-2017

	Share of votes received (%)				
	SPO / KPO	Greens	NEOS	OVP	FPO / BZO
Overall vote share	29%	9%	6%	32%	22%
Education					
Primary	33%	5%	4%	31%	25%
Secondary	29%	7%	5%	31%	26%
Tertiary	26%	21%	11%	34%	5%
Income					
Bottom 50%	35%	6%	5%	27%	23%
Middle 40%	27%	11%	6%	32%	22%
Top 10%	20%	12%	8%	43%	14%
Location					
Urban	33%	11%	7%	26%	20%
Rural	25%	7%	4%	37%	25%
Religion					
No religion	38%	14%	8%	13%	21%
Catholic	24%	8%	5%	39%	23%
Protestant	35%	10%	7%	25%	23%
Muslim	66%	2%	18%	10%	4%

Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Notes: the table shows the average share of votes received by the main political parties by selected individual characteristics over the 2013-2017 period. Vote shares by group are those reported in surveys and may not match exactly official election results.

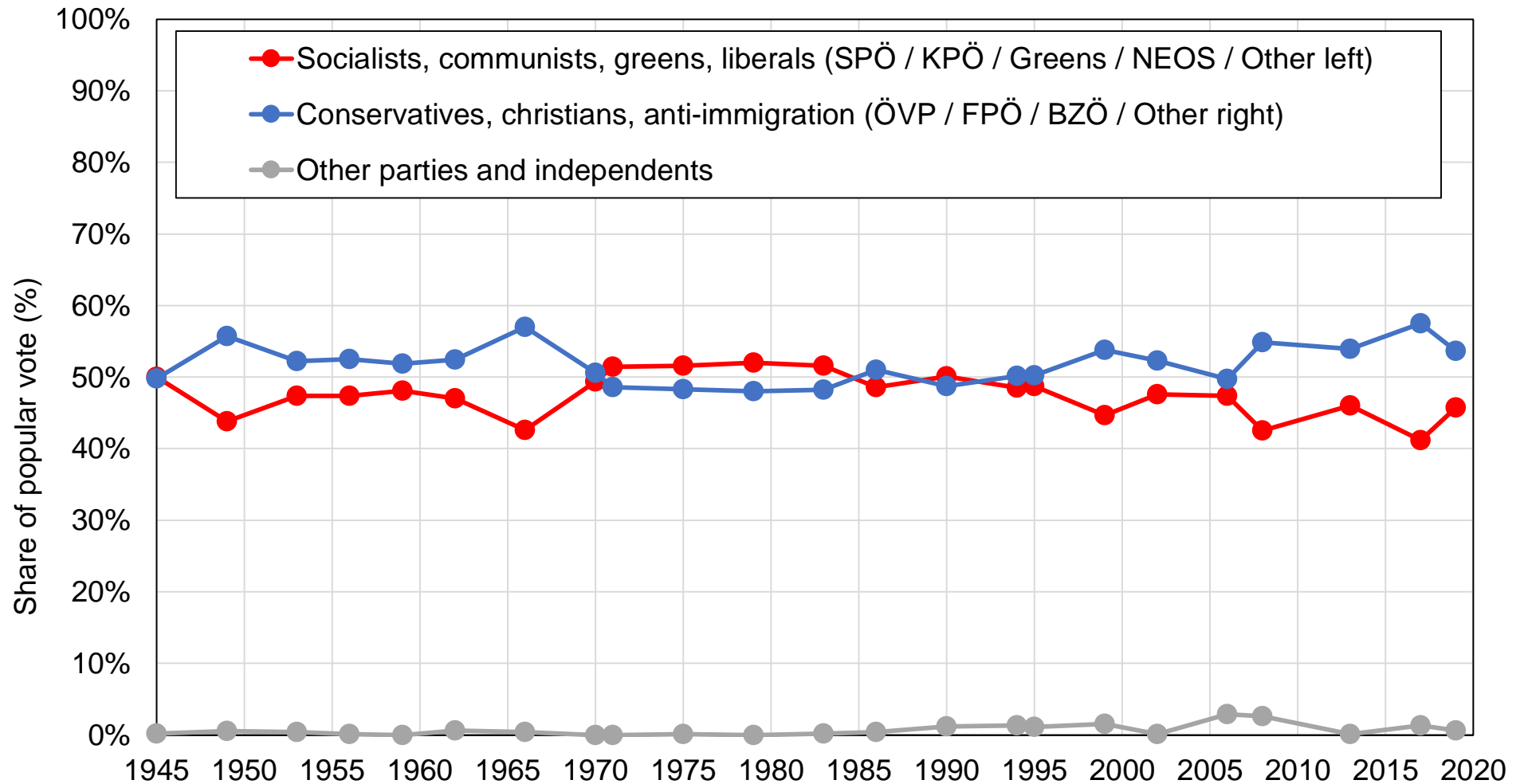
Figure DA1 - Election results in Austria, 1945-2019



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Austrian political parties in legislative elections between 1945 and 2019.

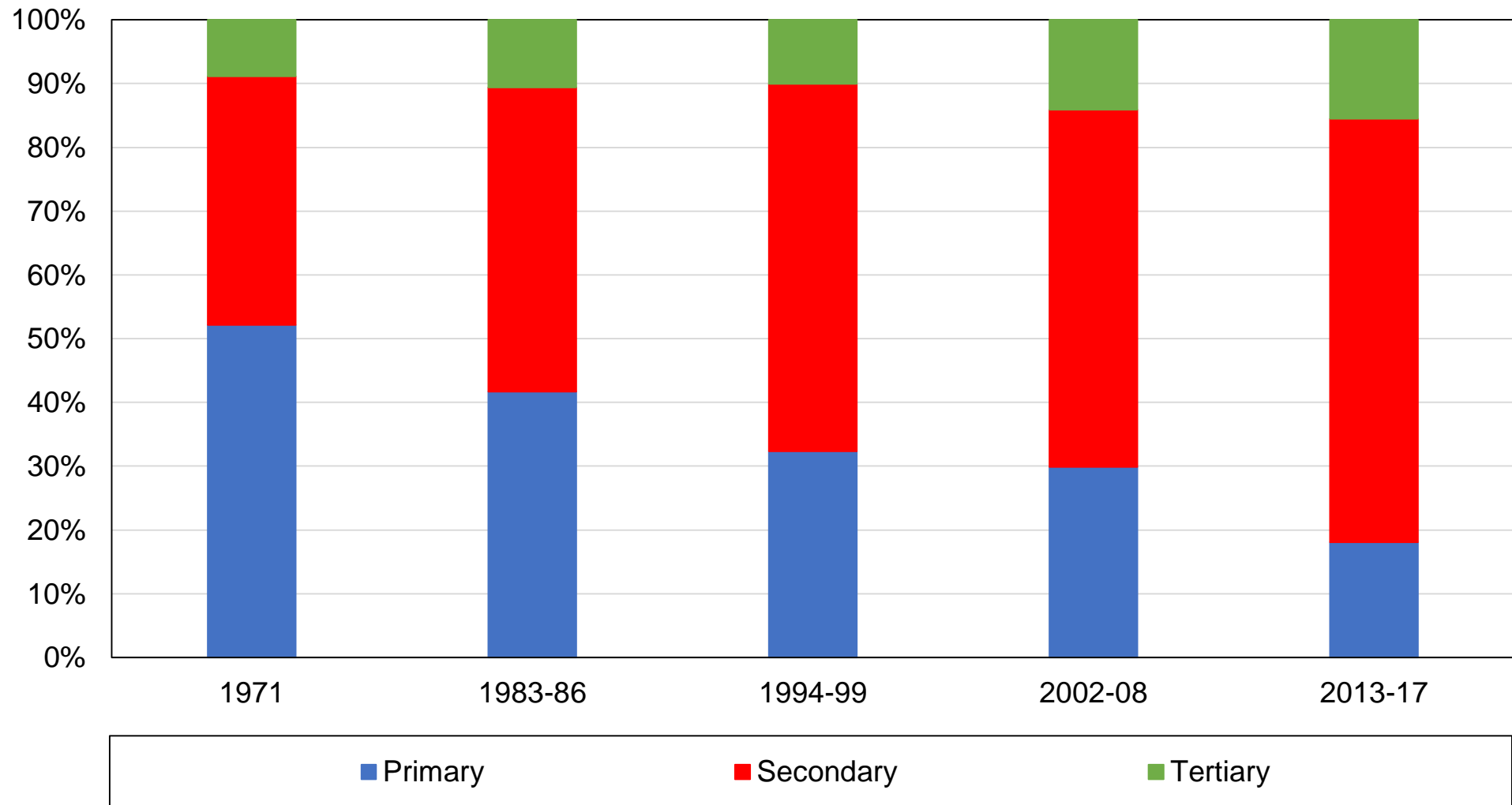
Figure DA2 - Election results in Austria by group, 1945-2019



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Austrian political parties in legislative elections between 1945 and 2019.

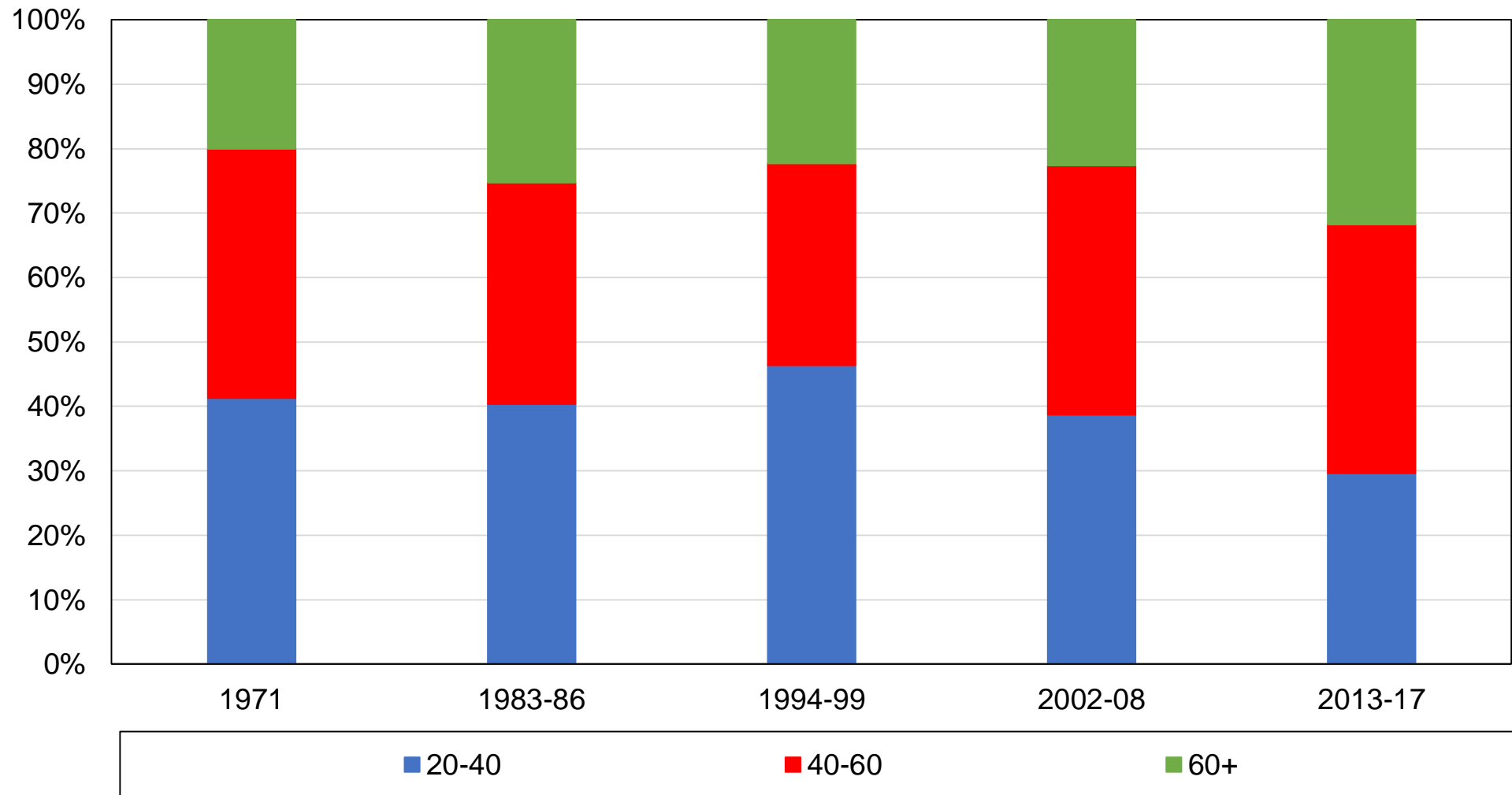
Figure DA3 - The composition of the electorate by education level



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

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

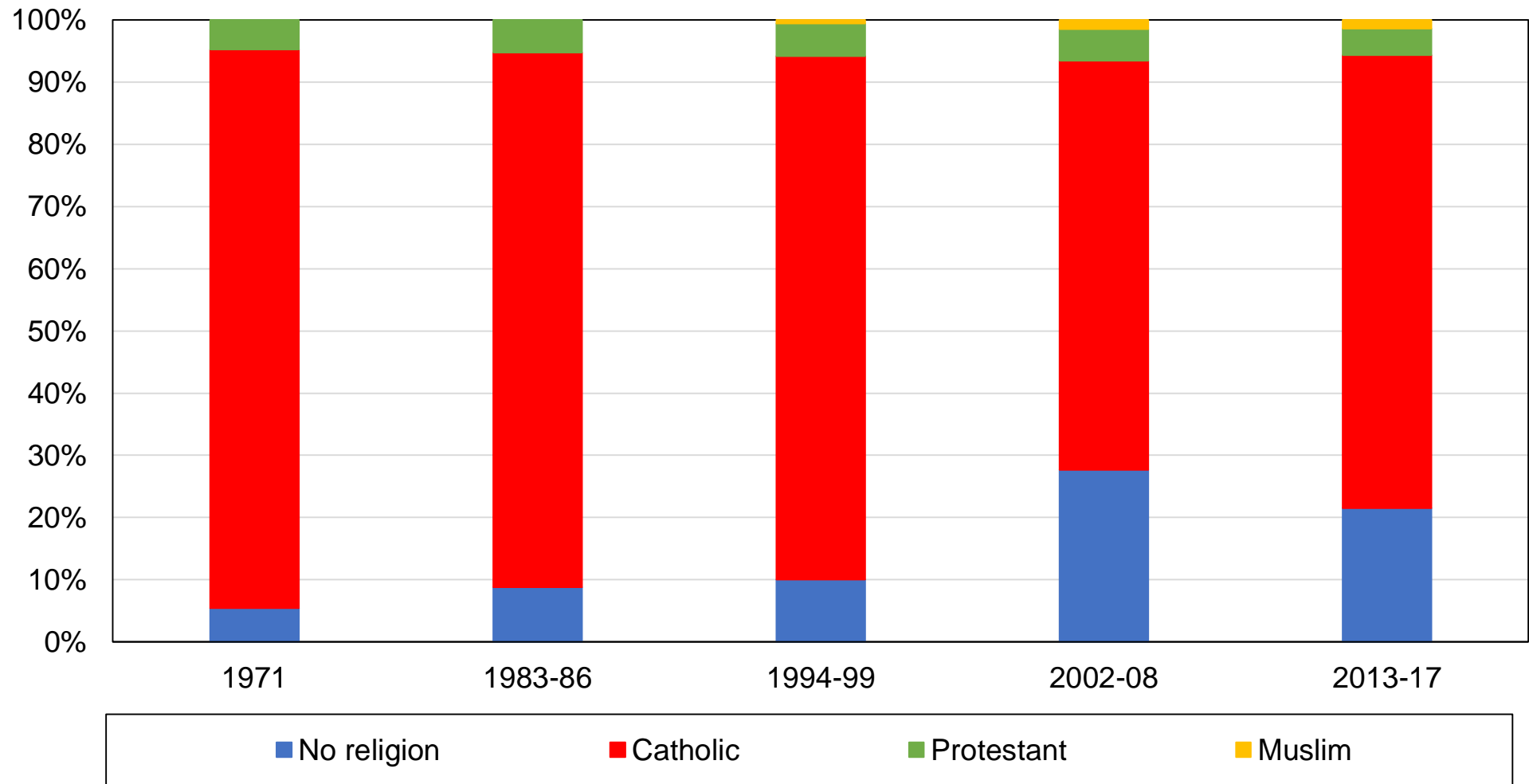
Figure DA4 - The composition of the electorate by age group



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

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

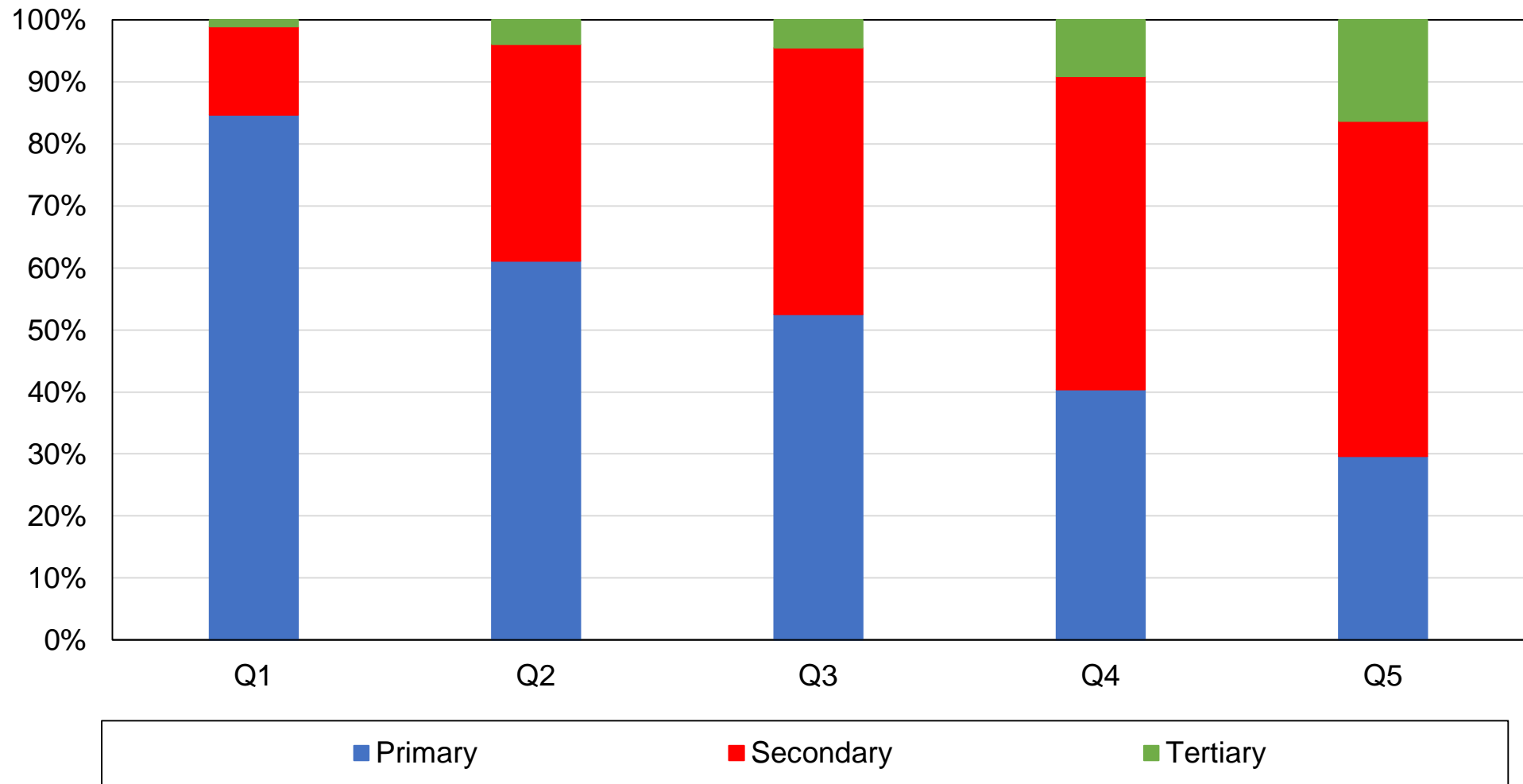
Figure DA5 - The composition of the electorate by religion



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

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

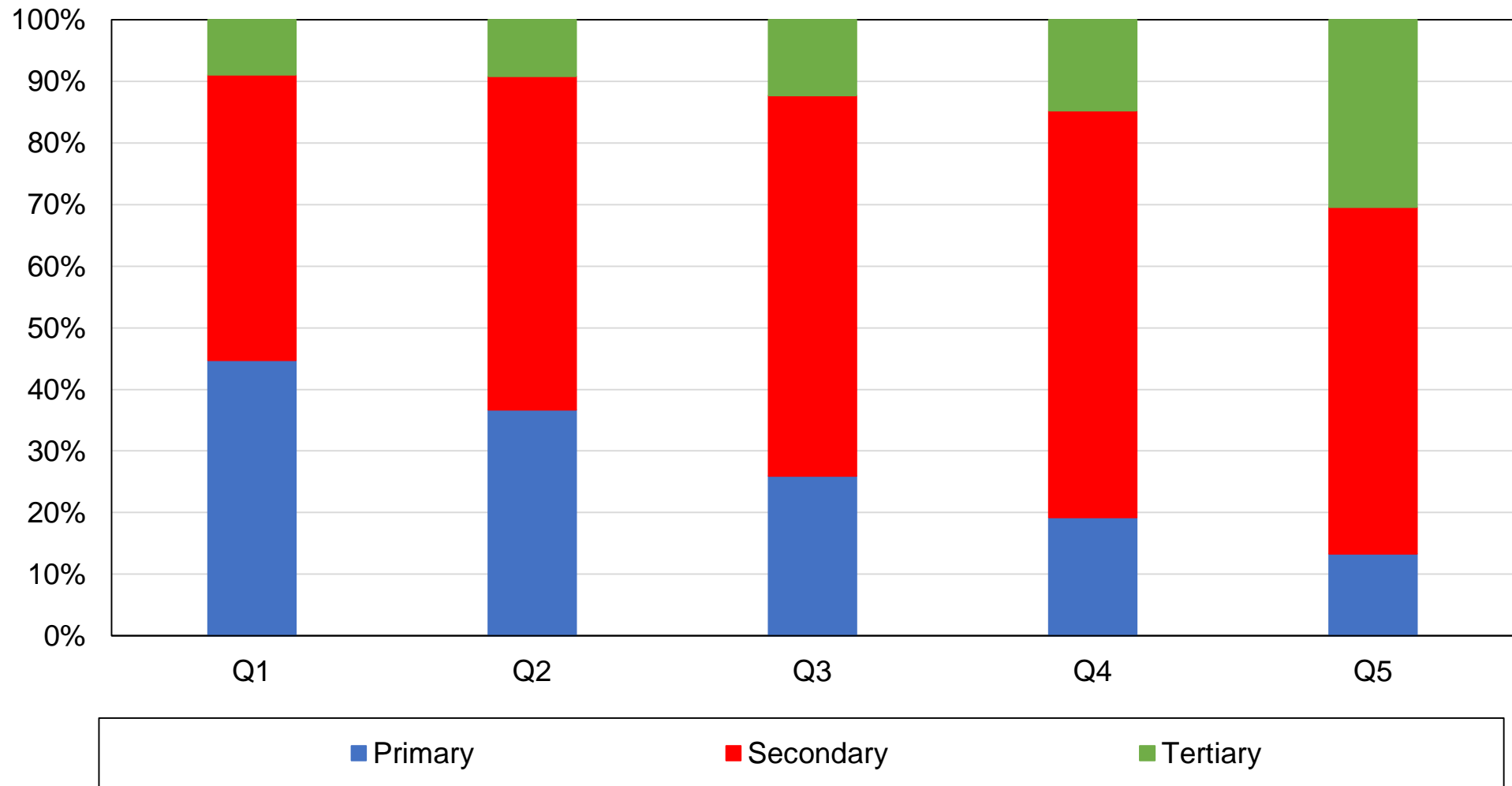
Figure DA6 - Composition of income quintiles by education level, 1970s



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

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

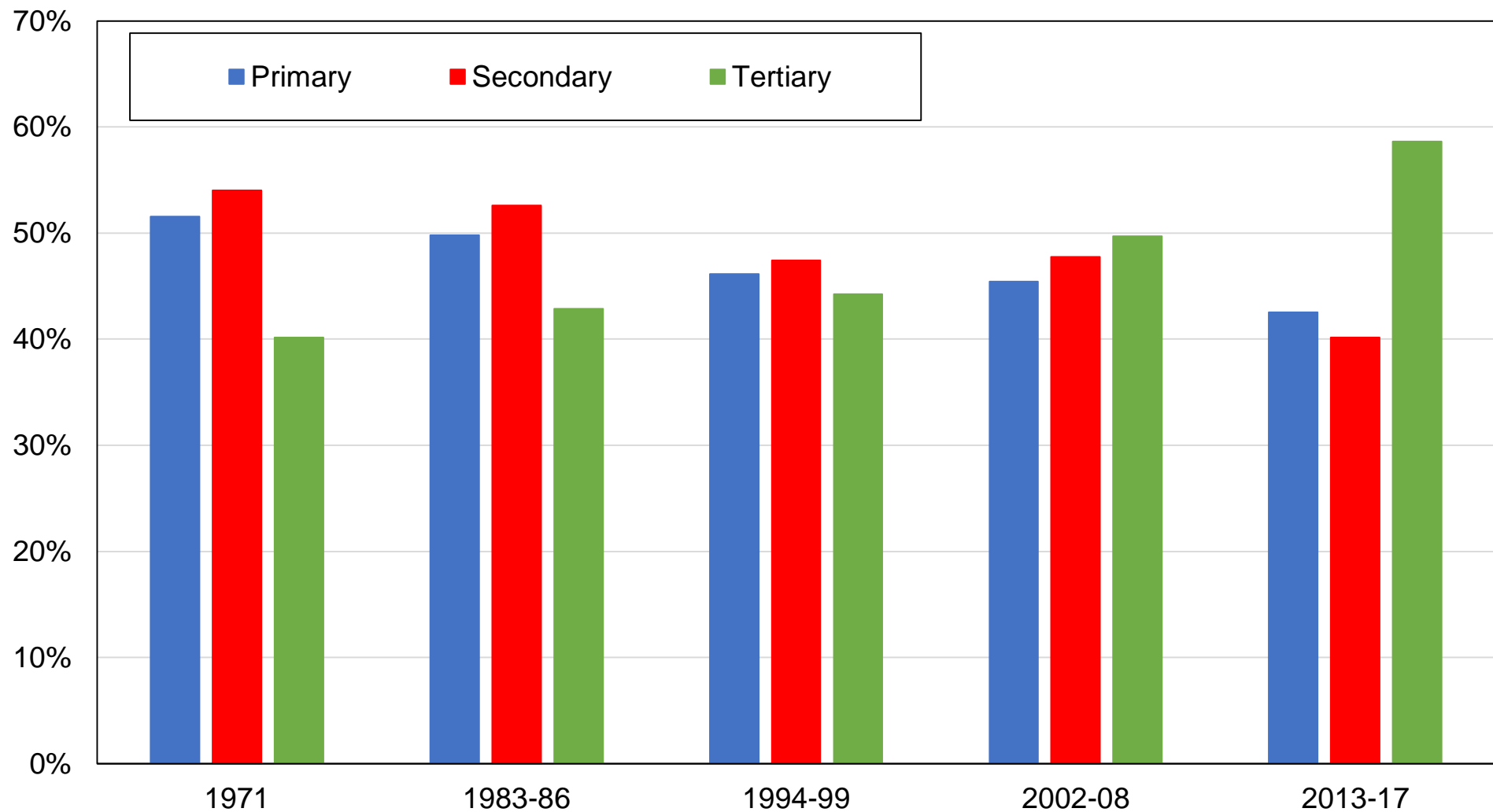
Figure DA7 - Composition of income quintiles by education level, 2010s



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

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

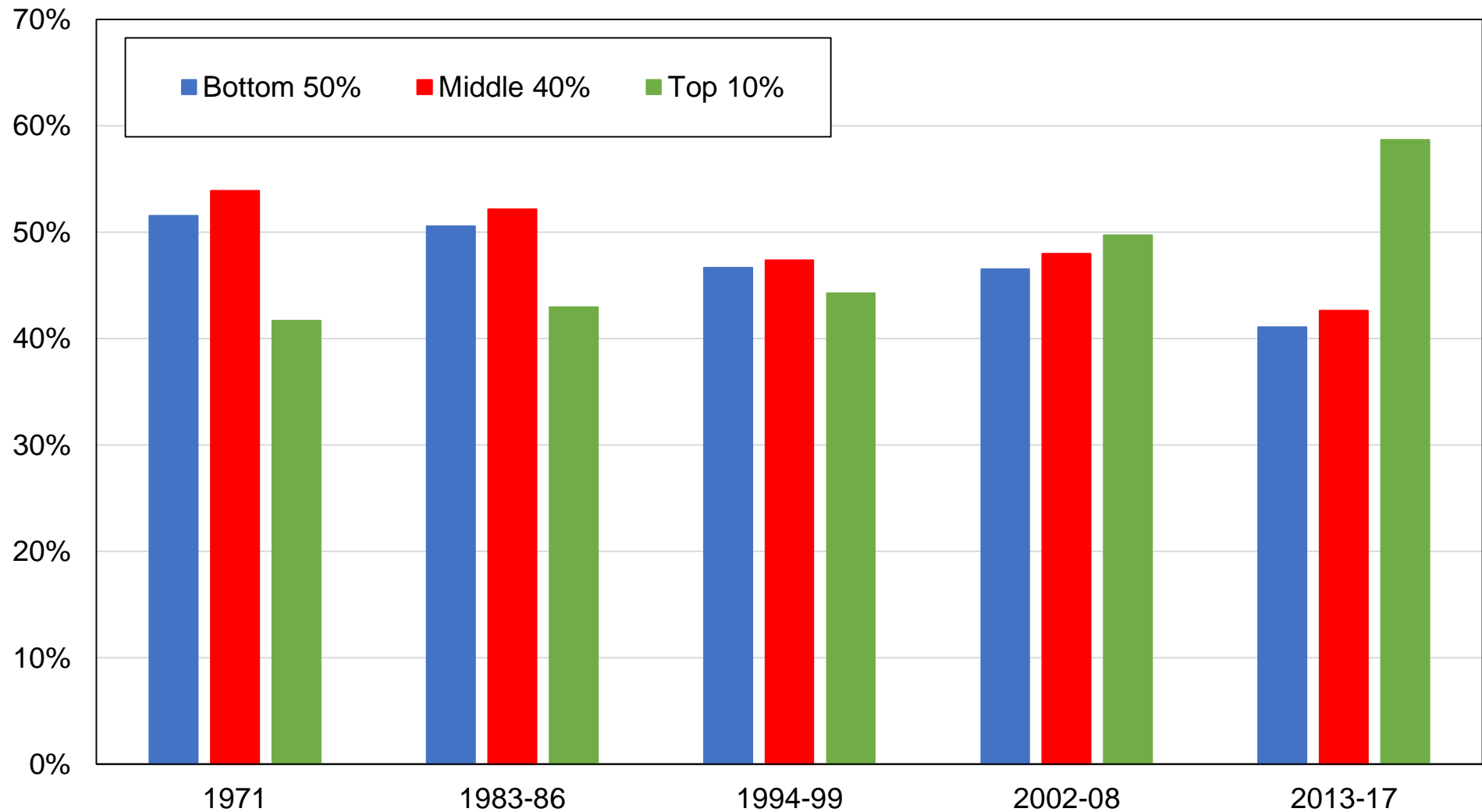
Figure DB1 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by education level



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by education level.

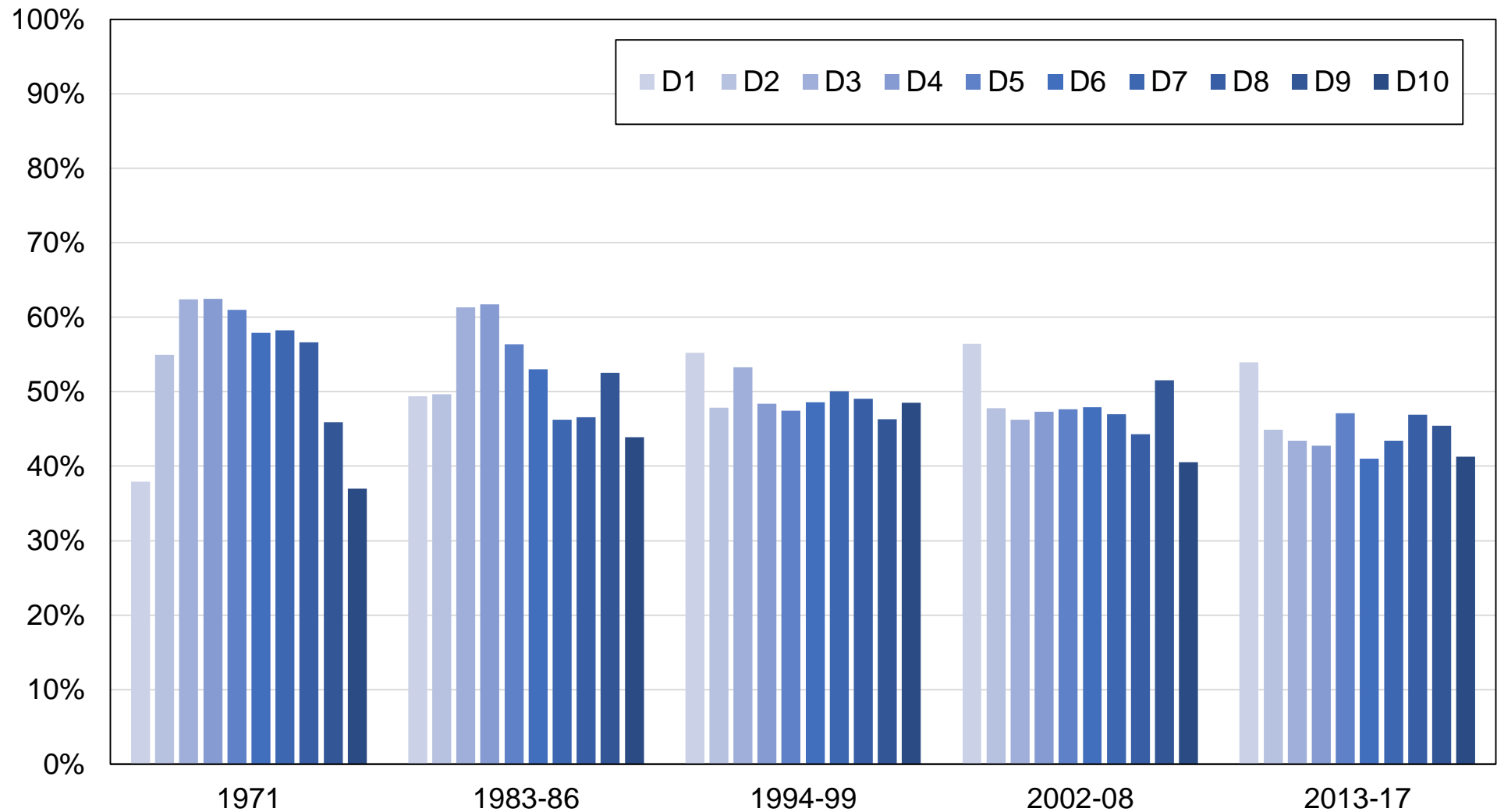
Figure DB2 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by education group



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by education group.

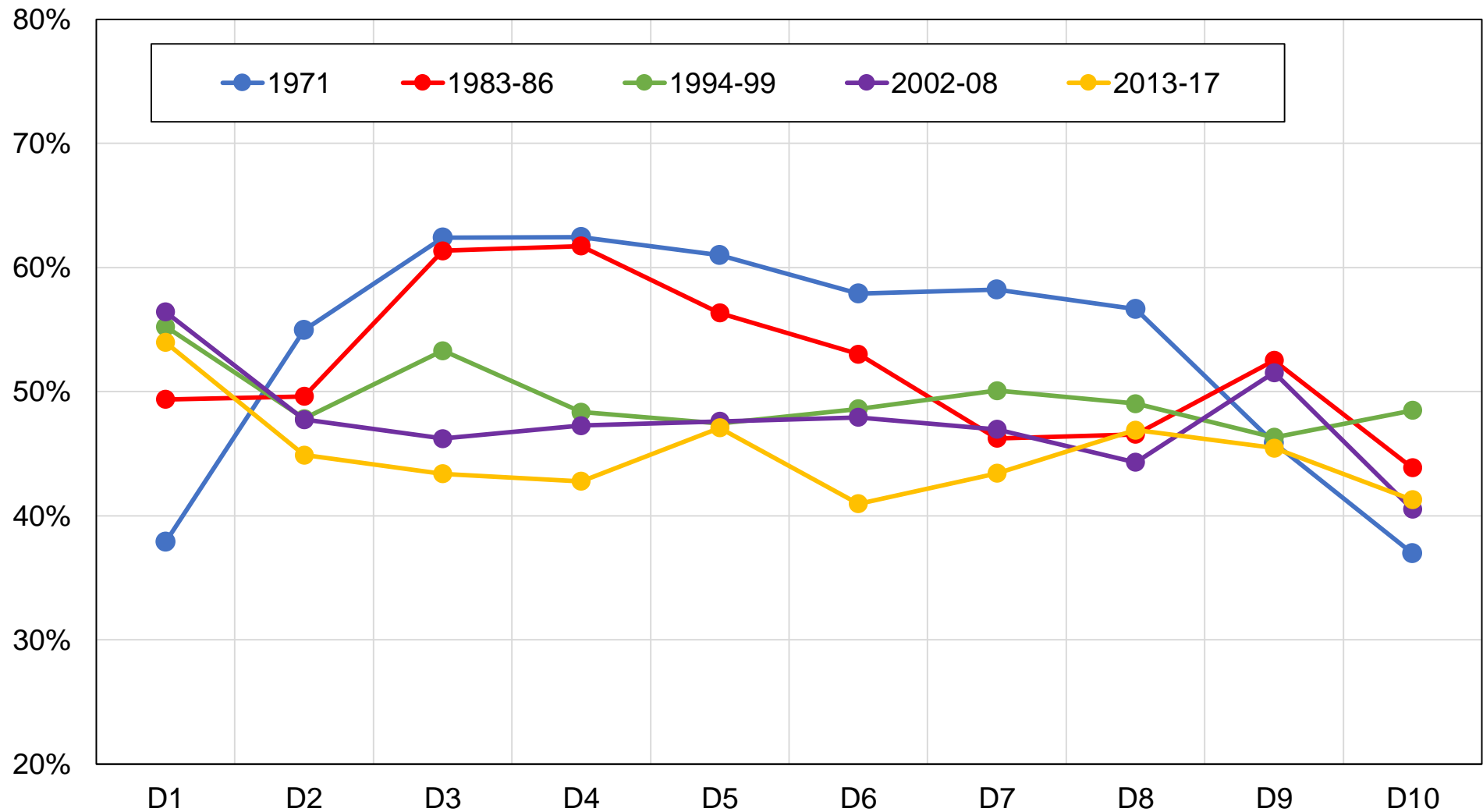
Figure DB3 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by income decile



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by income decile.

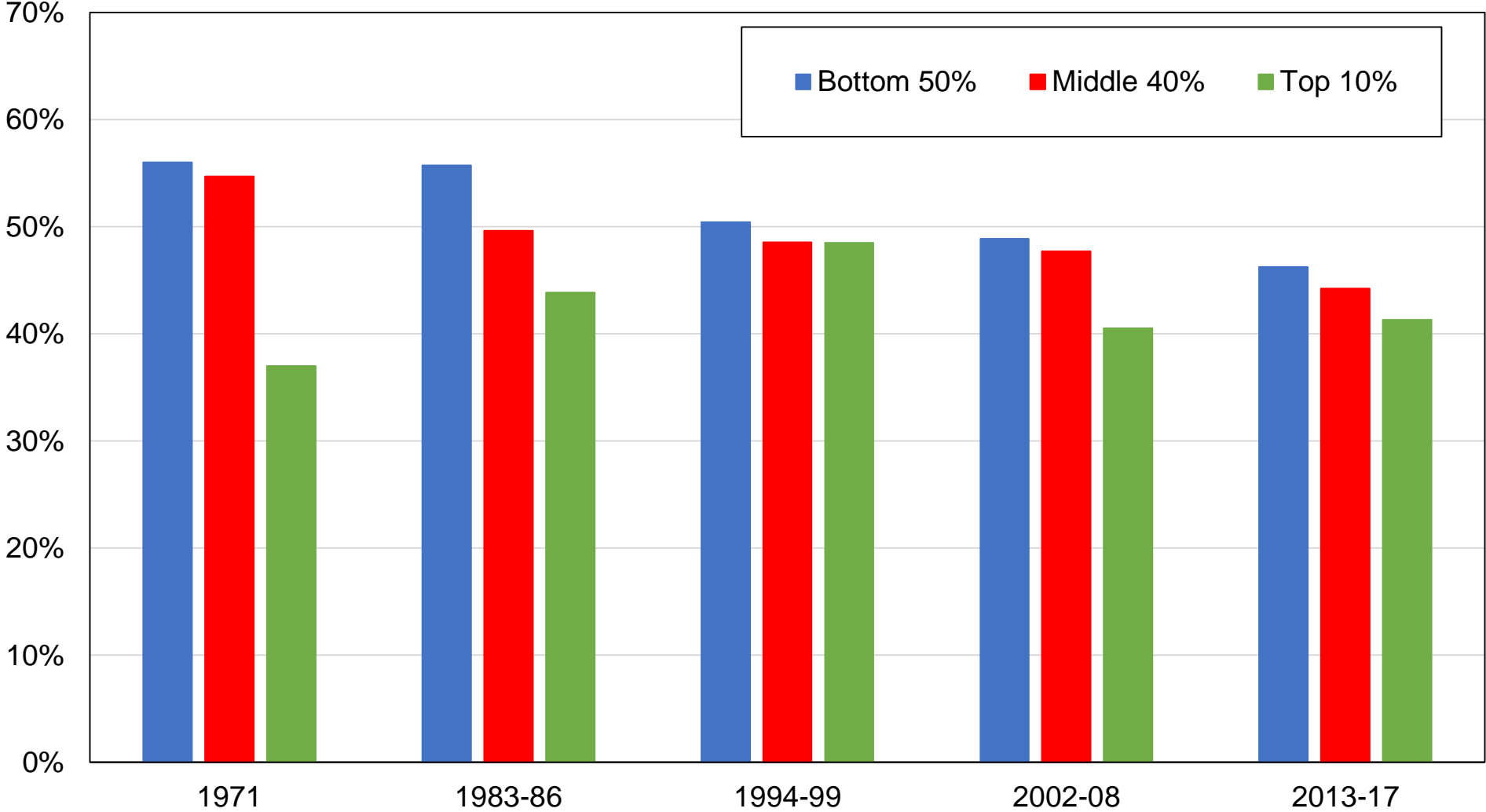
Figure DB3b - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by income decile



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by income decile.

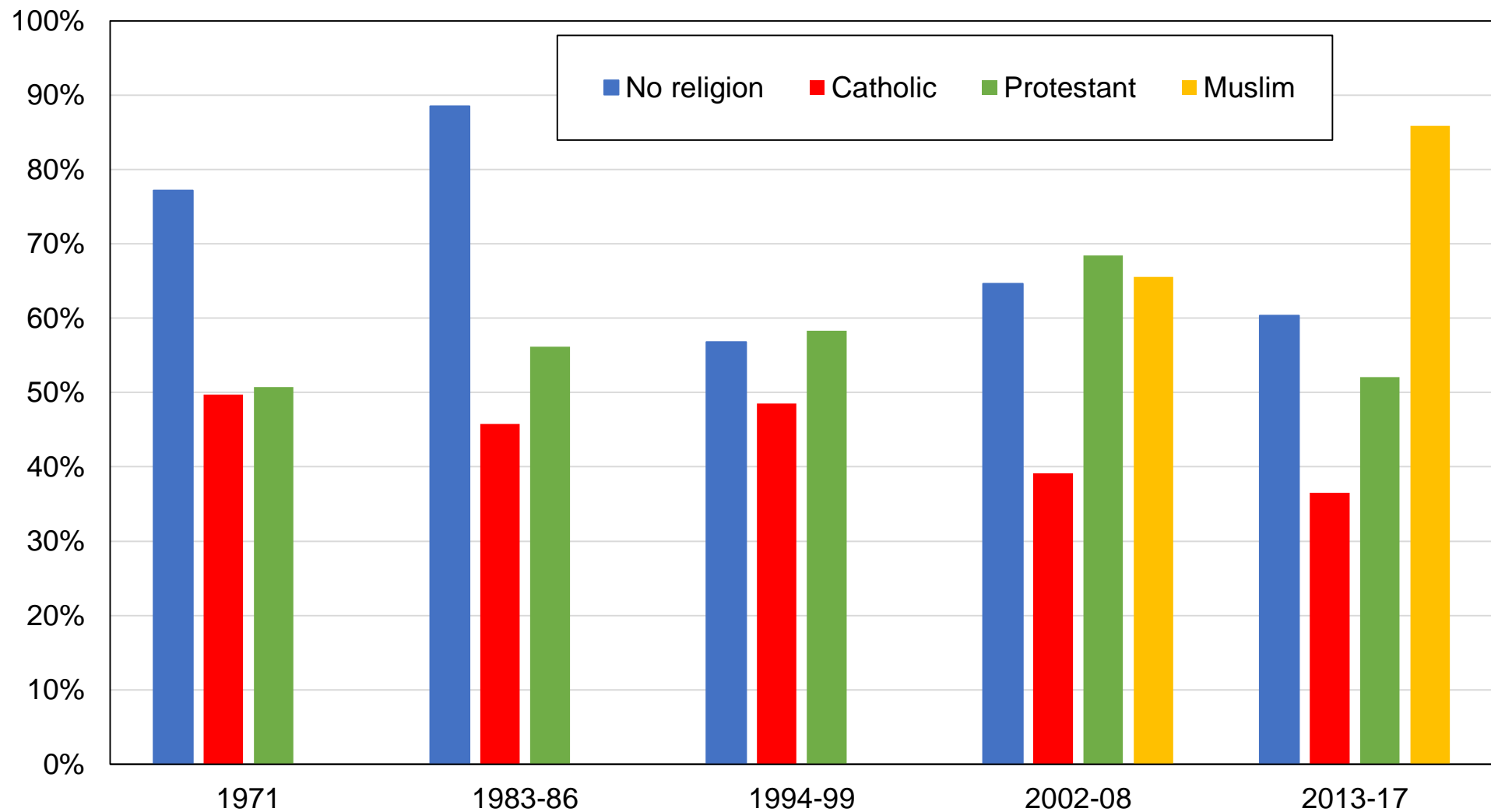
Figure DB4 - Vote SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by income group



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by income group.

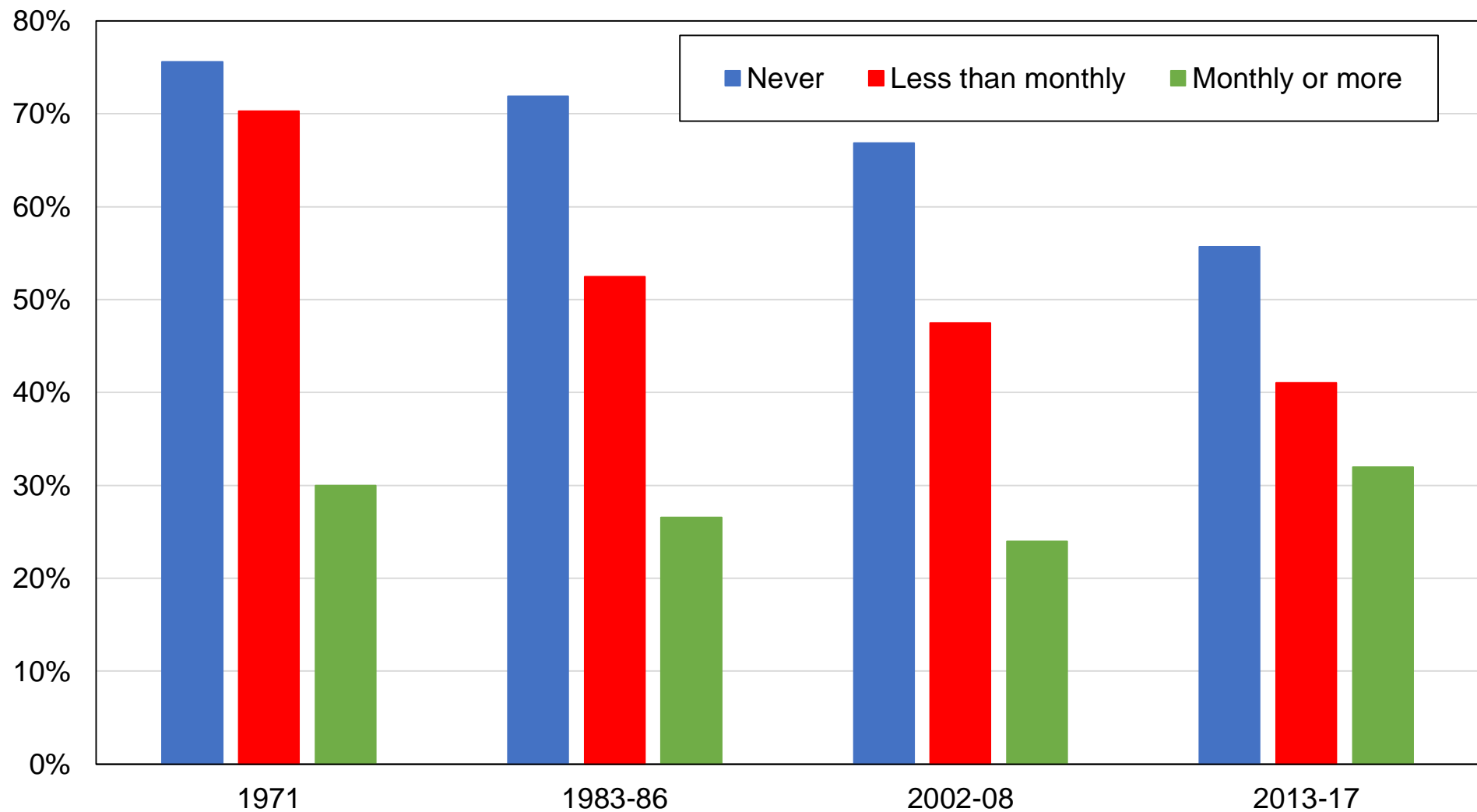
Figure DB5 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by religious affiliation.

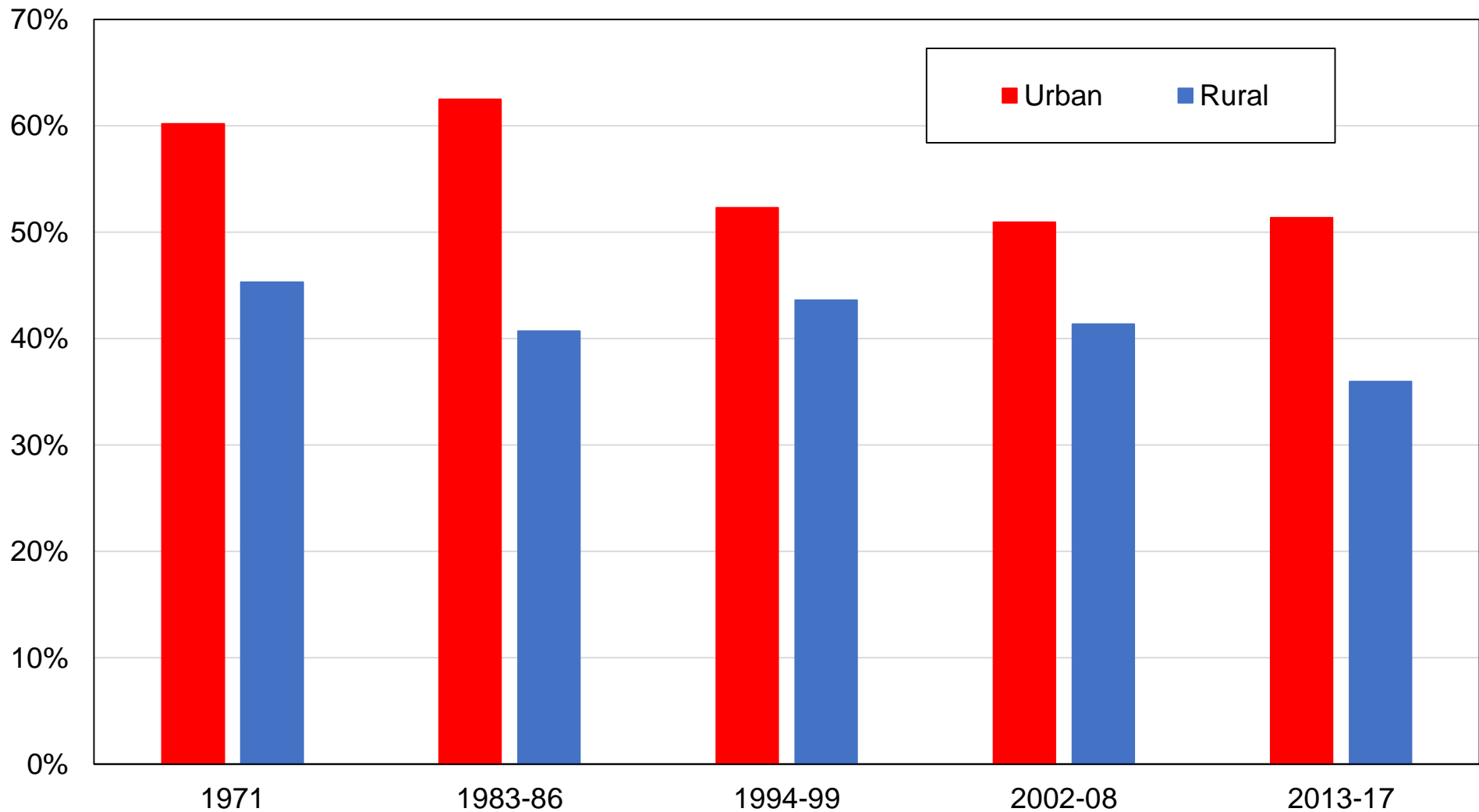
Figure DB6 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by church attendance



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by frequency of church attendance.

Figure DB7 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by location



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by rural-urban location.

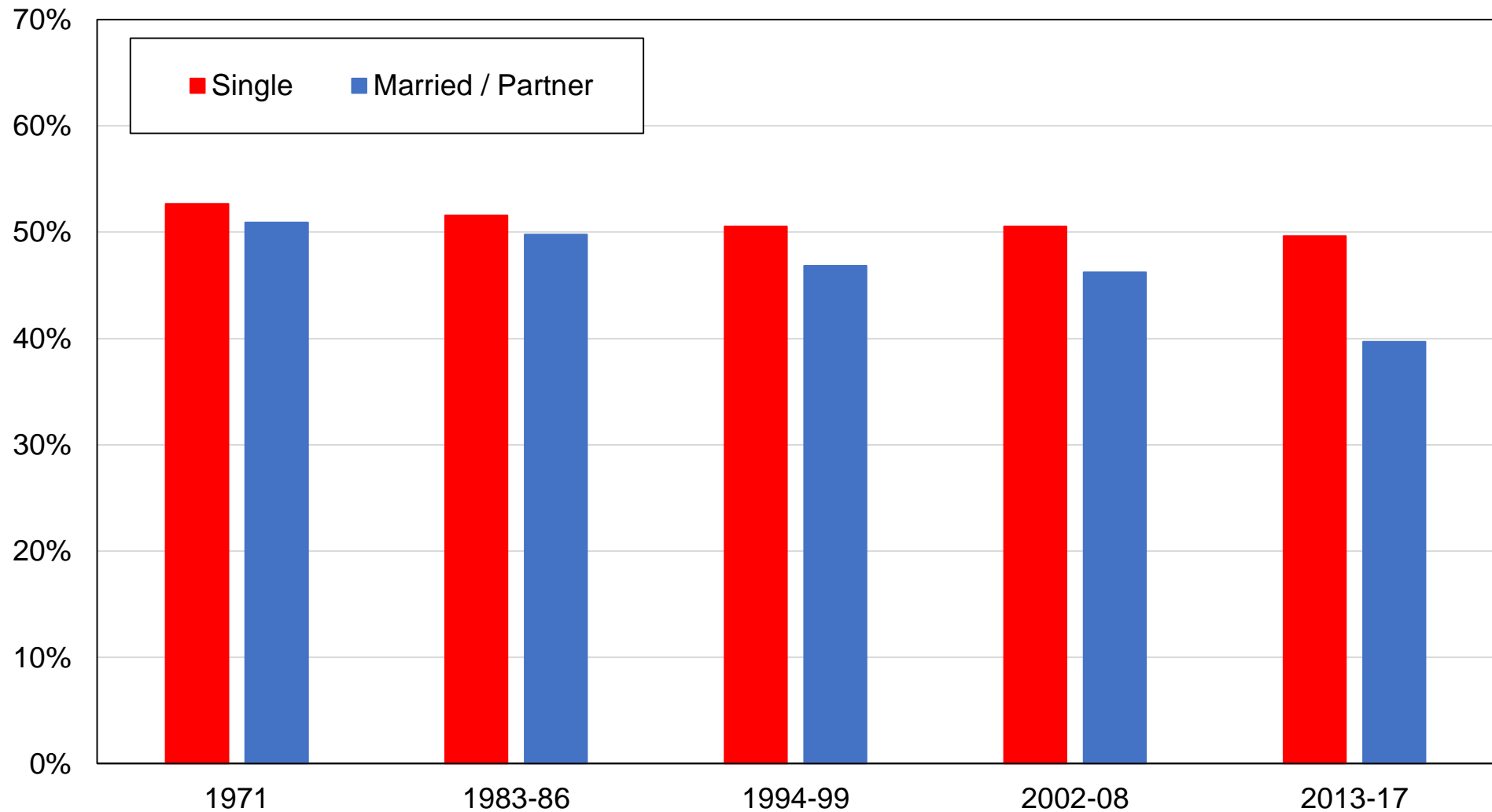
Figure DB8 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by gender



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by gender.

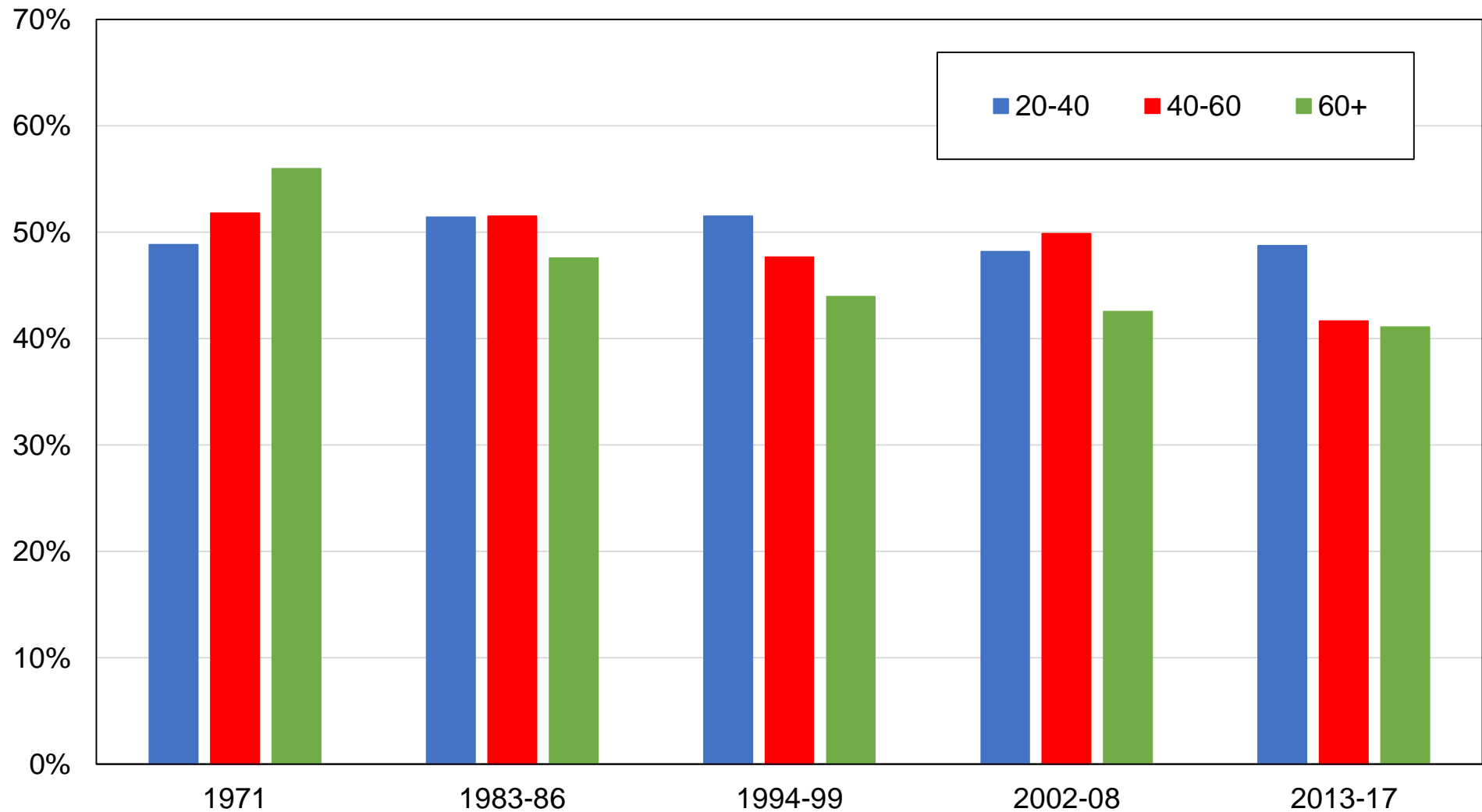
Figure DB9 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by marital status



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by marital status.

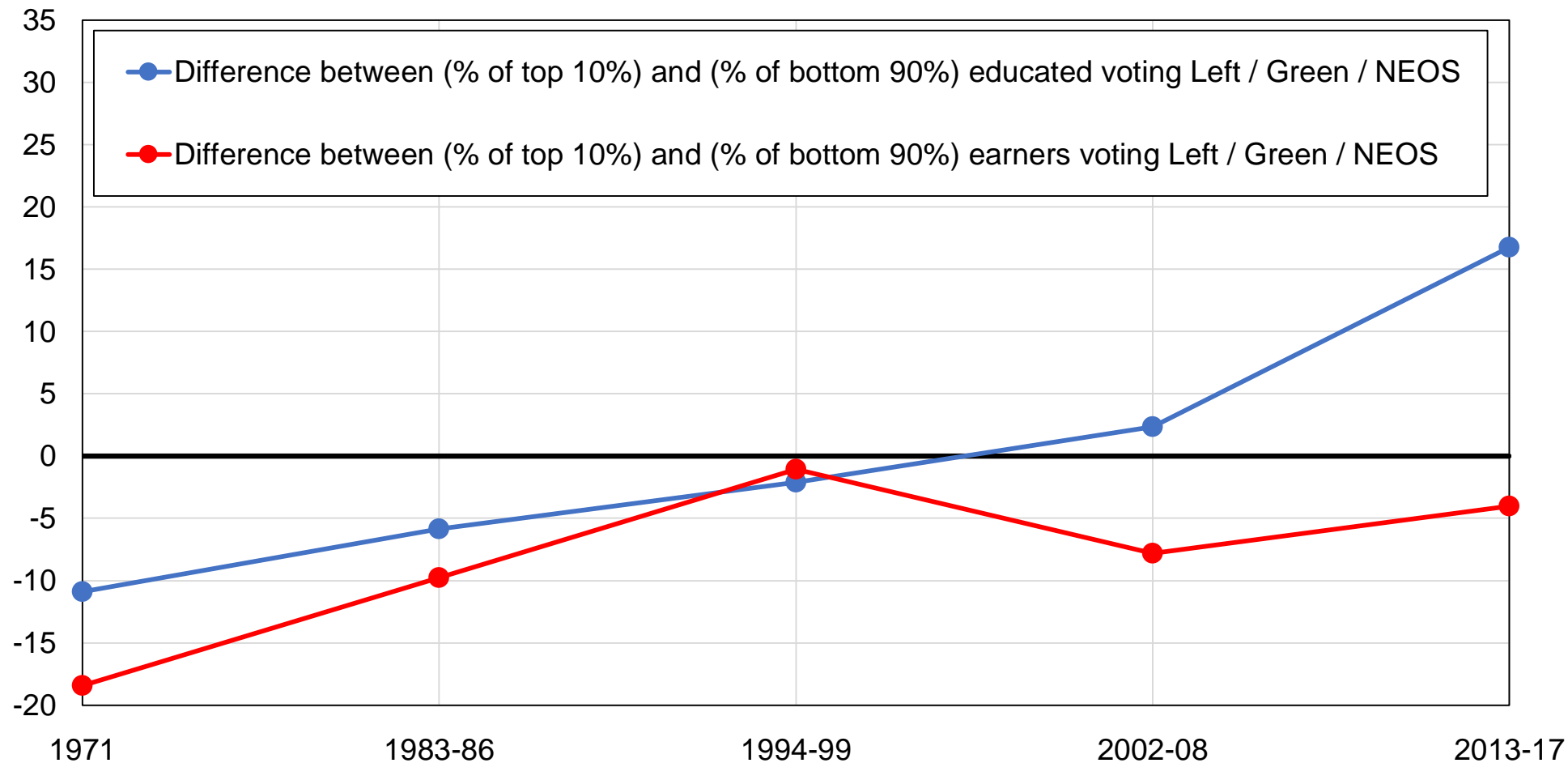
Figure DB10 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by age



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS by age group.

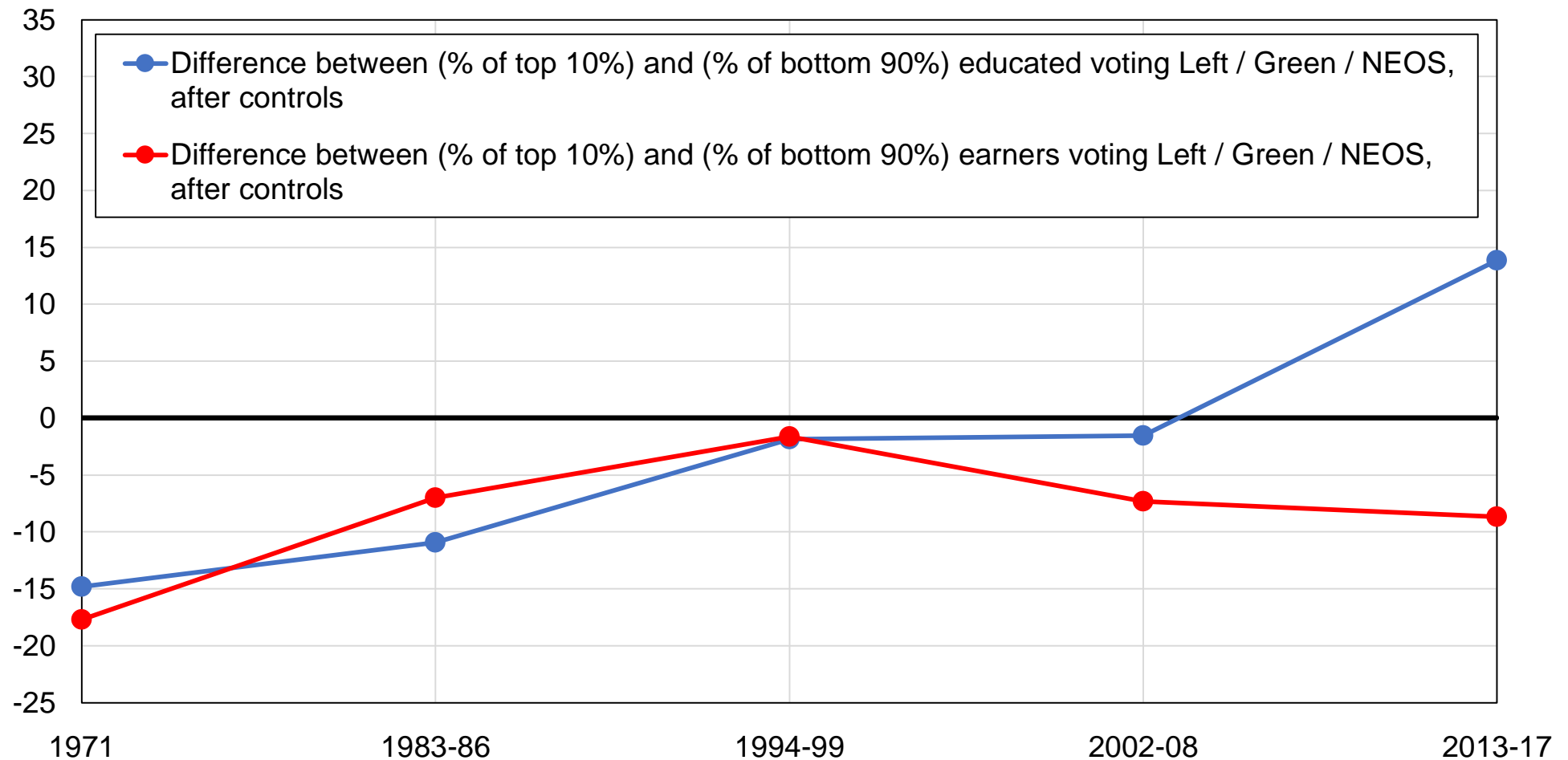
Figure DC1 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS among highest-educated and top-income voters



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the support for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS among highest-educated and top-income voters.

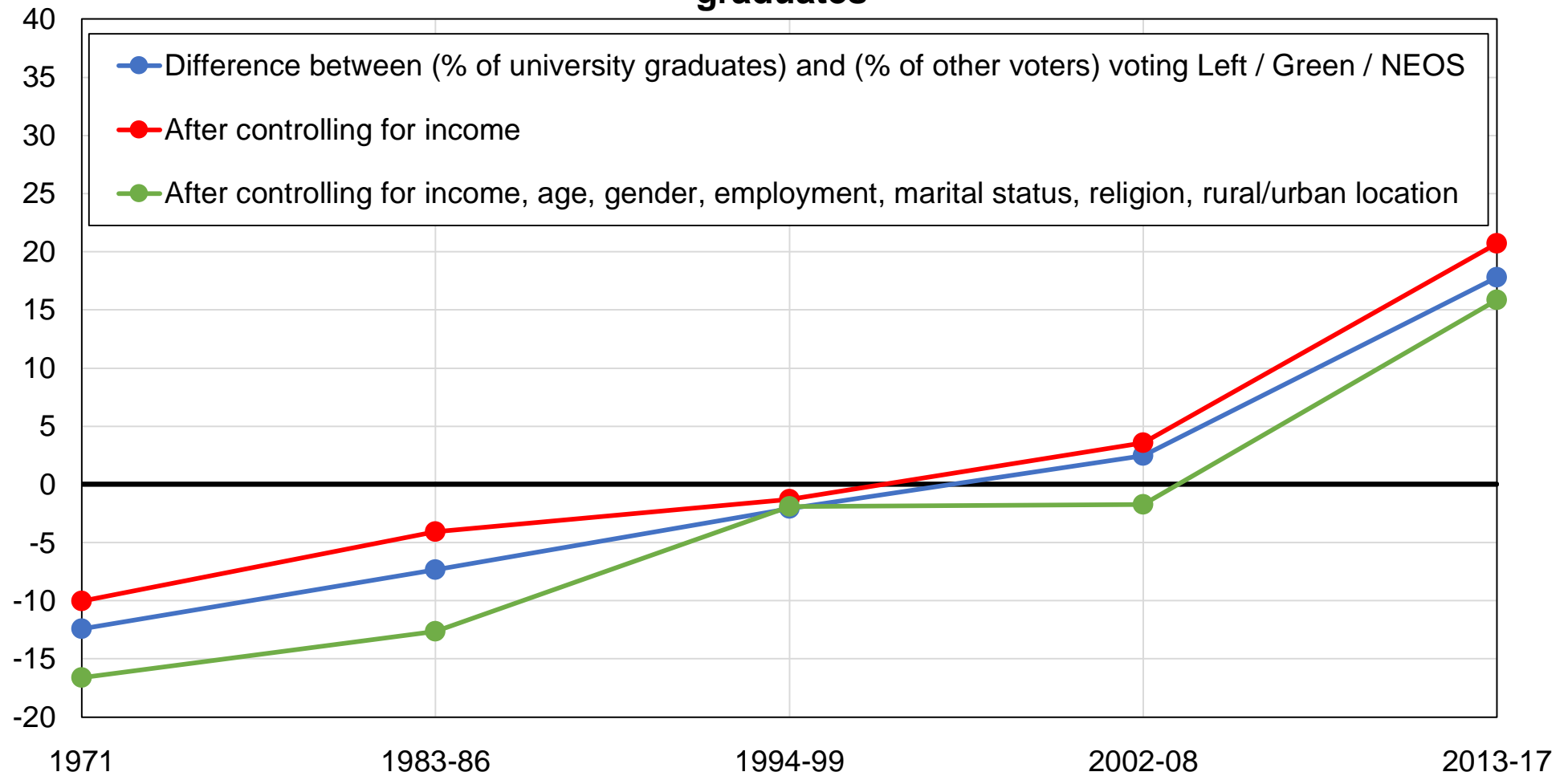
Figure DC2 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controls



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the support for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controlling for other variables.

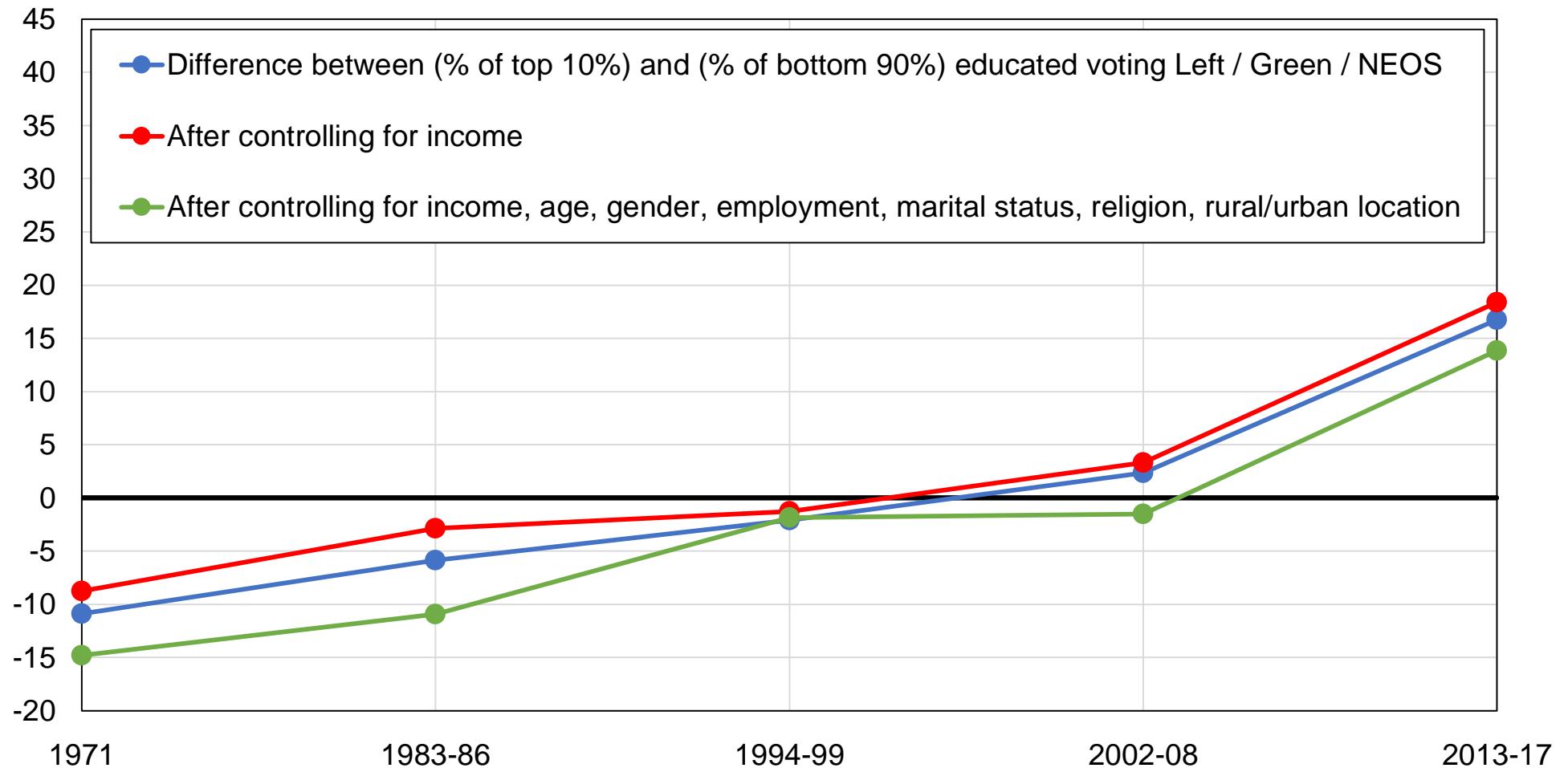
Figure DC3 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS among university graduates



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters voting for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS, before and after controlling for other variables.

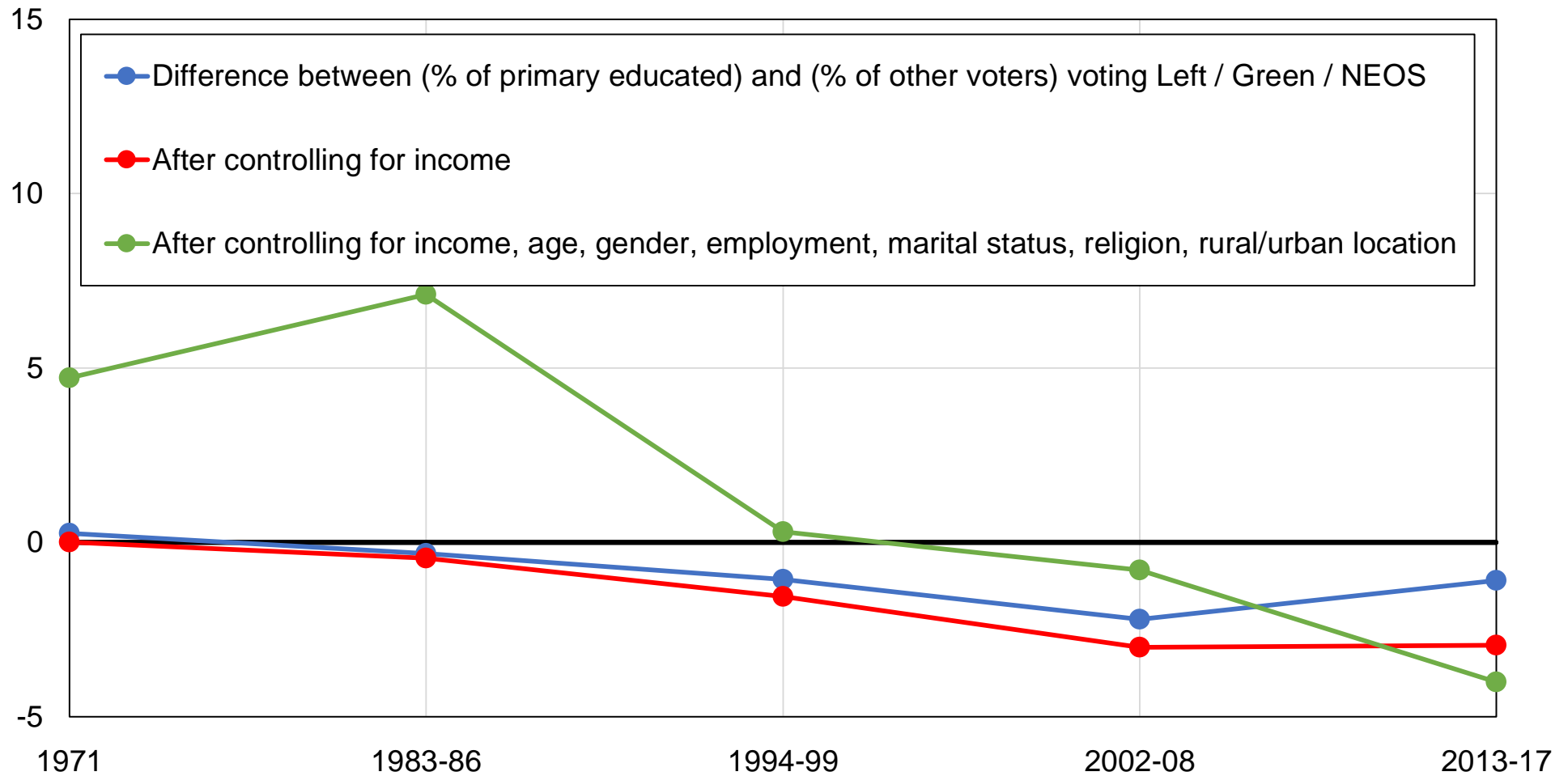
Figure DC4 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS among highest-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of other voters voting for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS, before and after controlling for other variables.

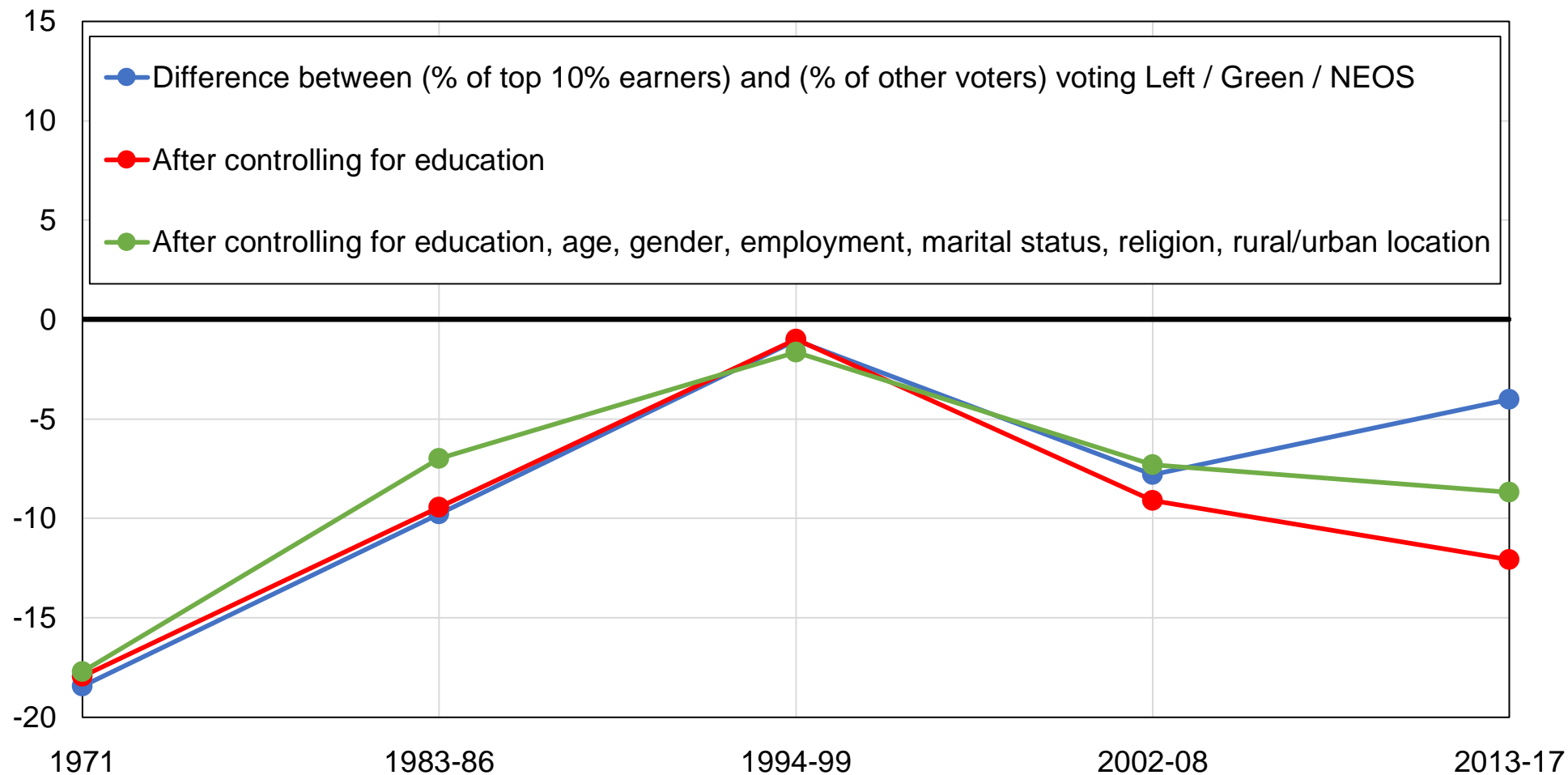
Figure DC5 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS among primary-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of primary educated voters and the share of other voters voting for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS, before and after controlling for other variables.

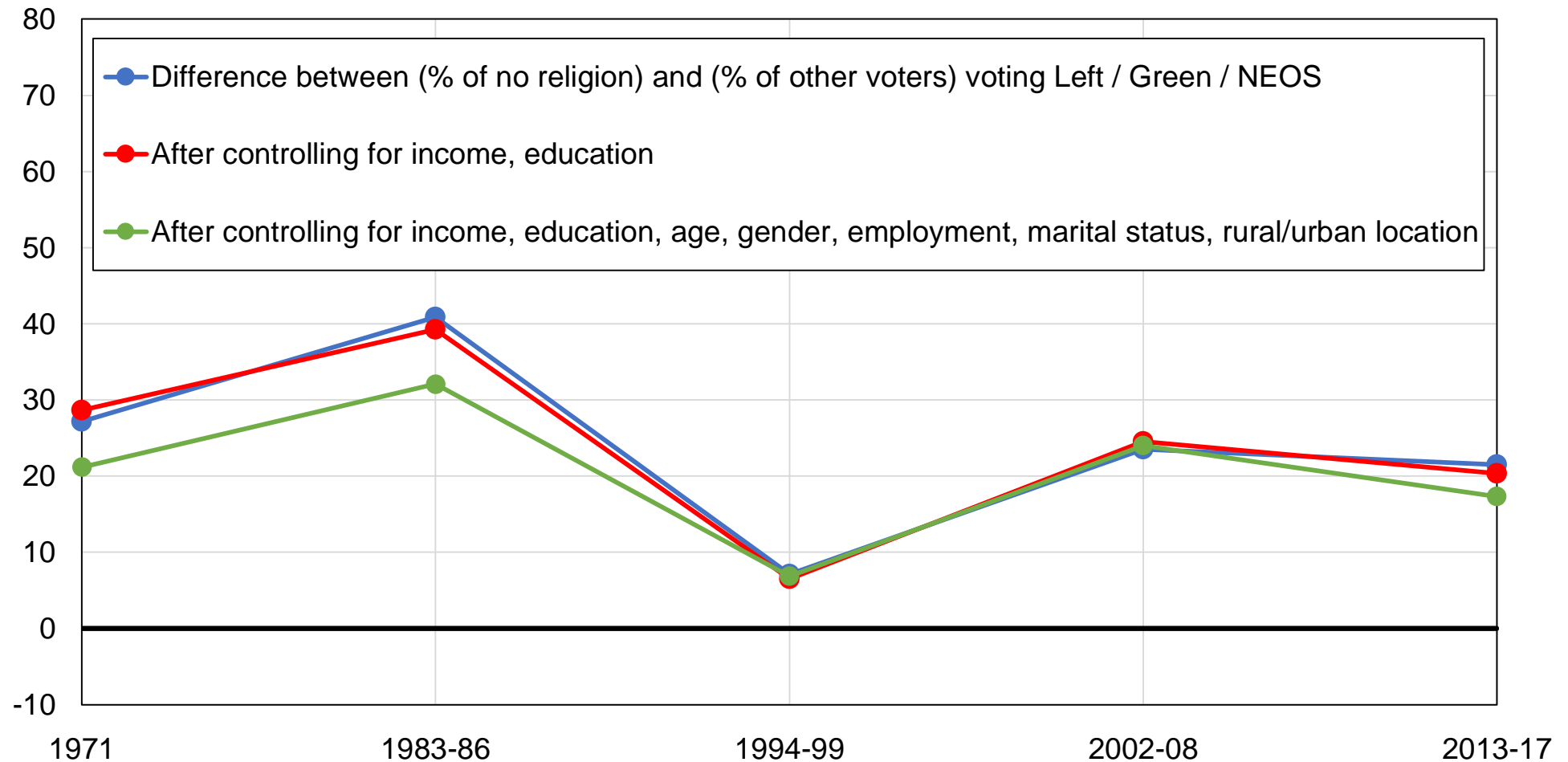
Figure DC6 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS among top-income voters



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS, before and after controlling for other variables.

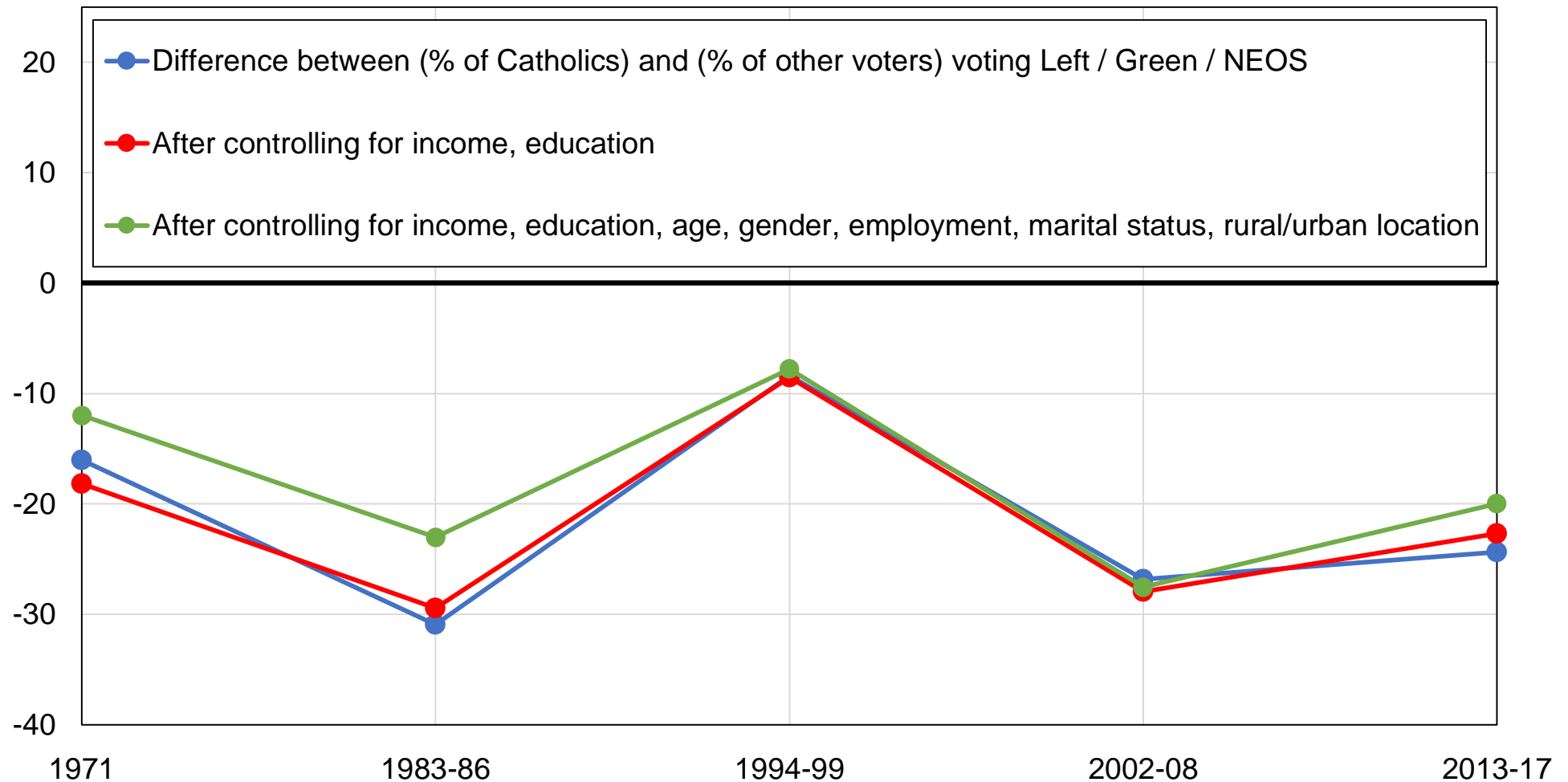
Figure DC7 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS among voters with no religion



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters declaring no religion and the share of other voters voting for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS, before and after controlling for other variables.

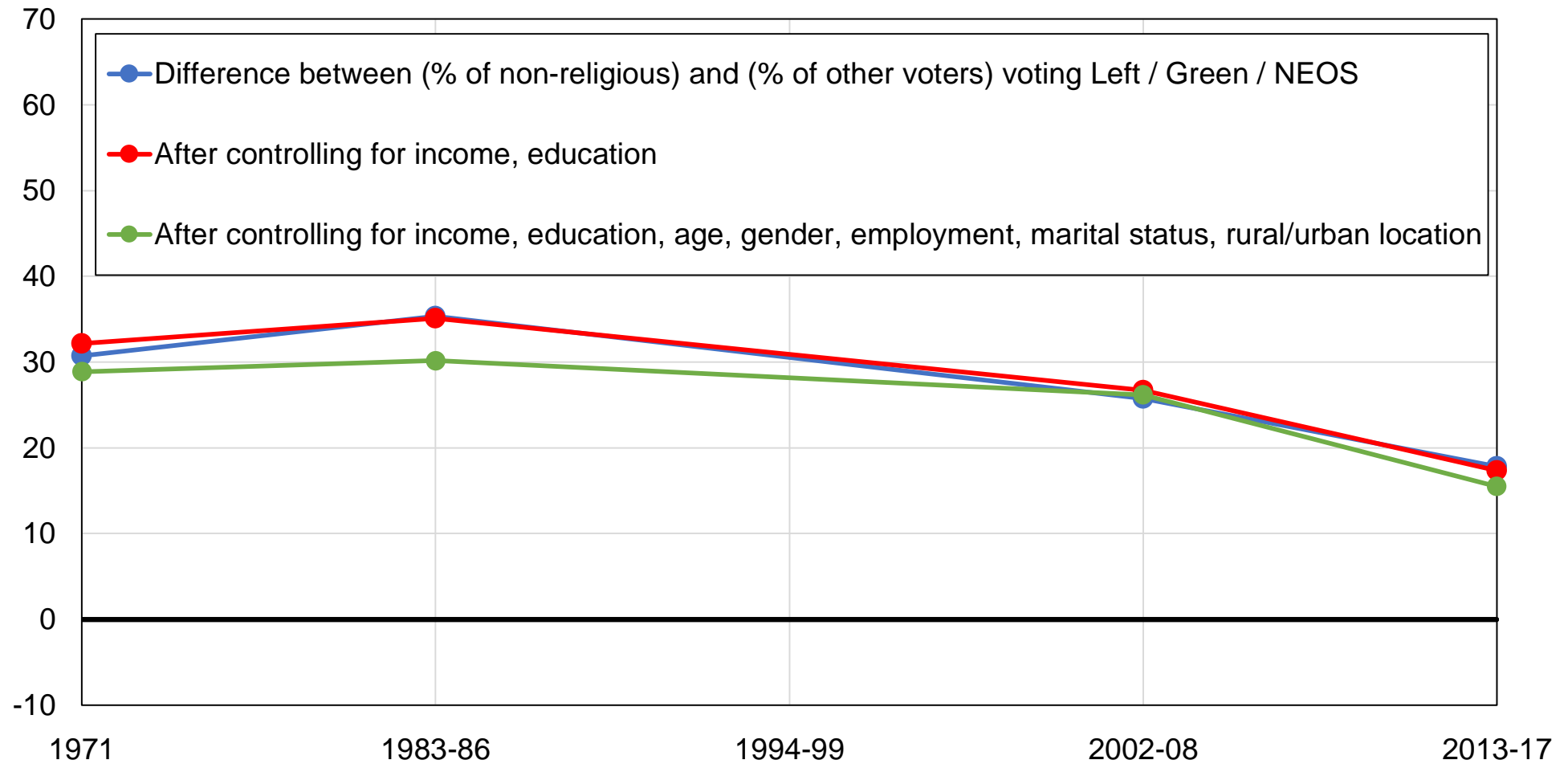
Figure DC8 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS among Catholics



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of Catholic voters and the share of other voters voting for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS, before and after controlling for other variables.

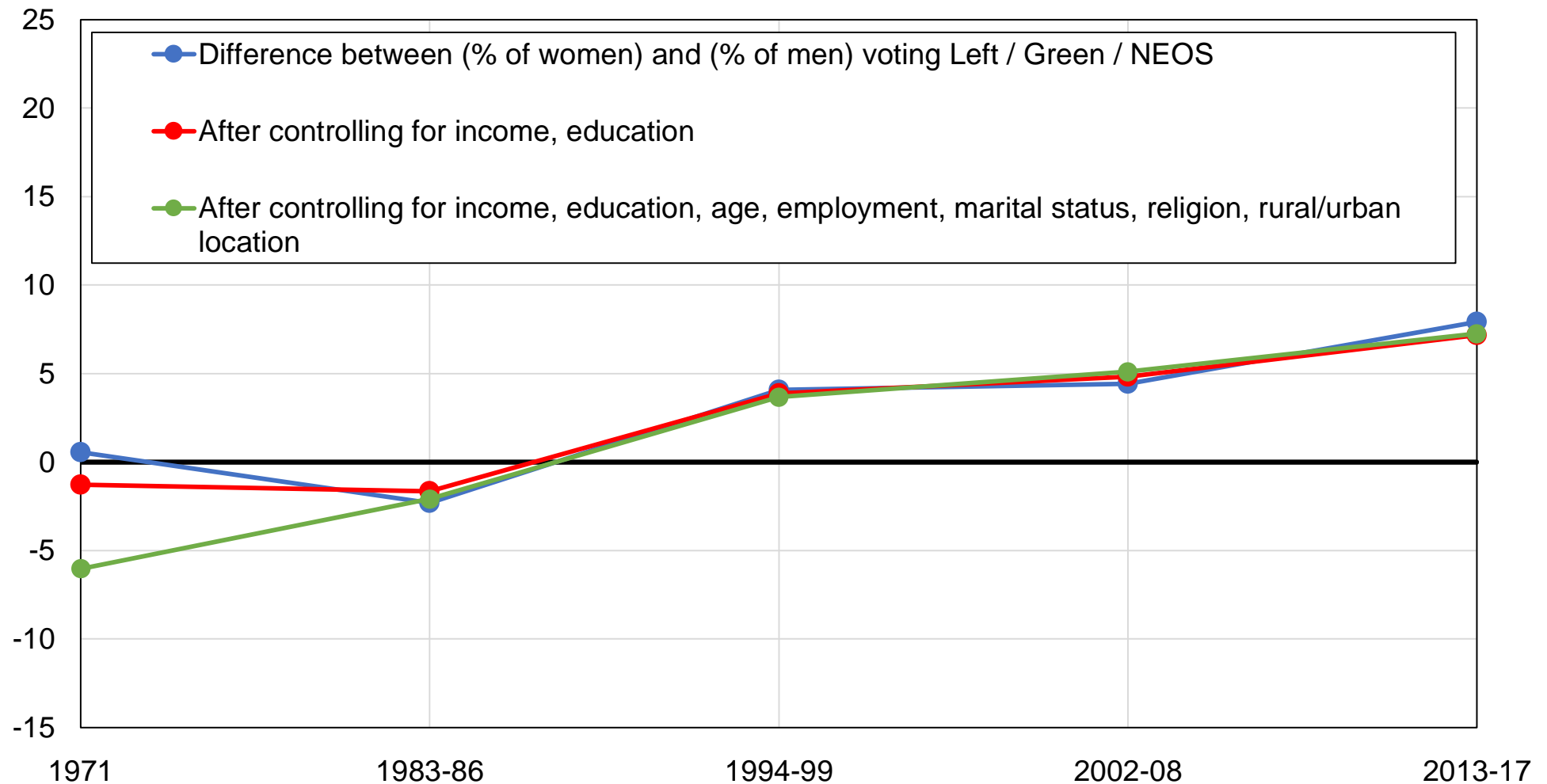
Figure DC9 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS among non-religious voters



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters never going to church and the share of other voters voting for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS, before and after controlling for other variables.

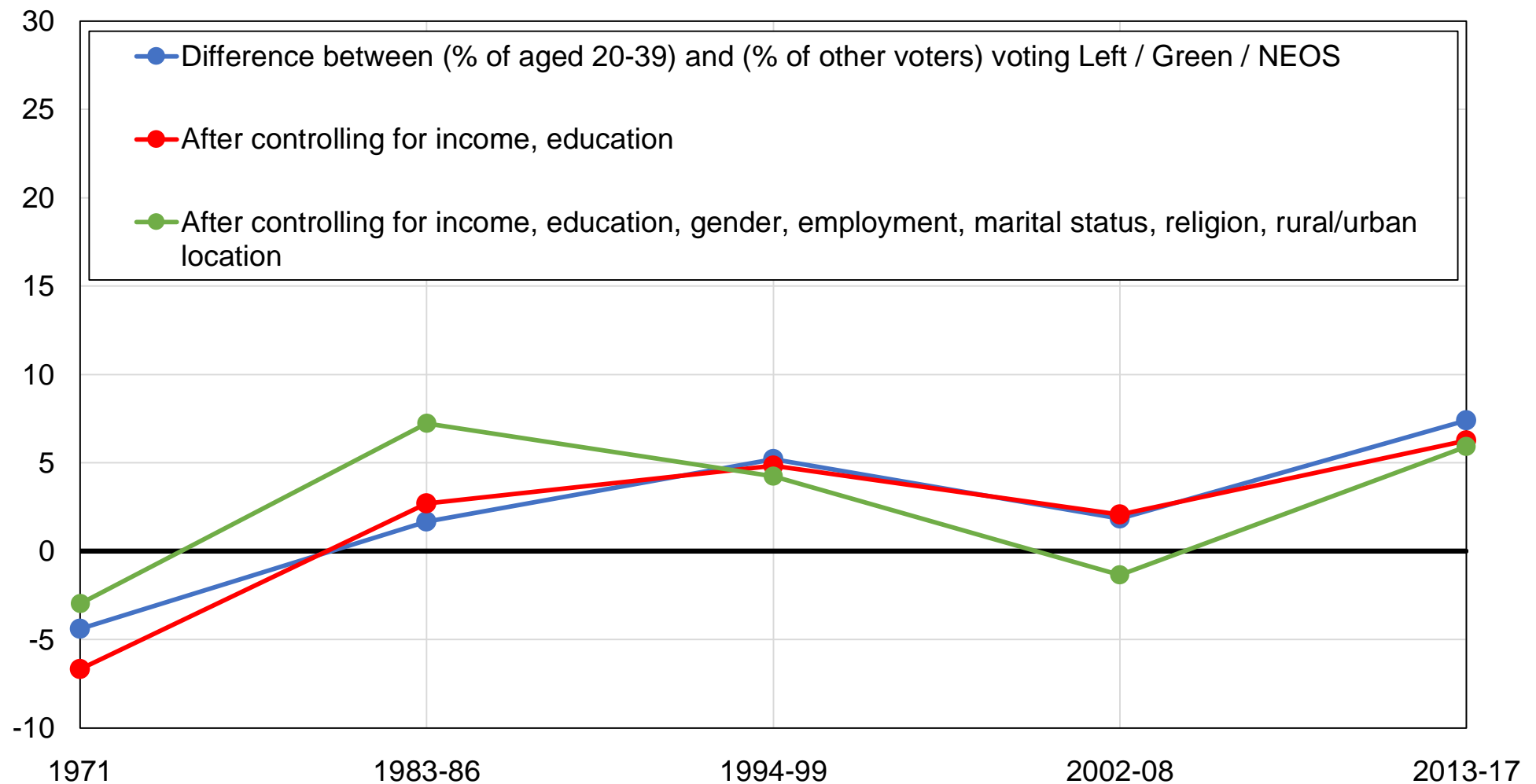
Figure DC10 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS among women



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS, before and after controlling for other variables.

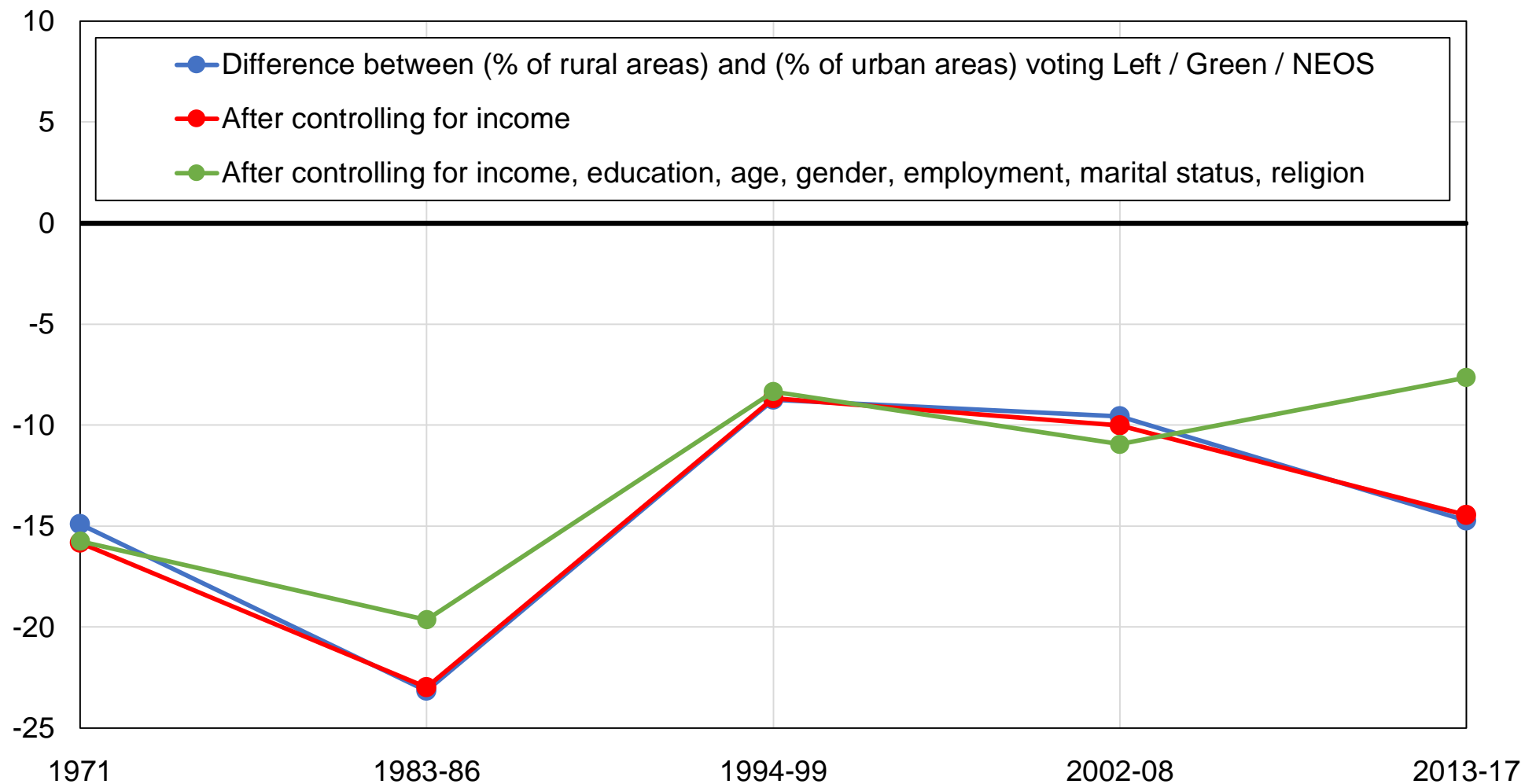
Figure DC11 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS among young voters



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

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

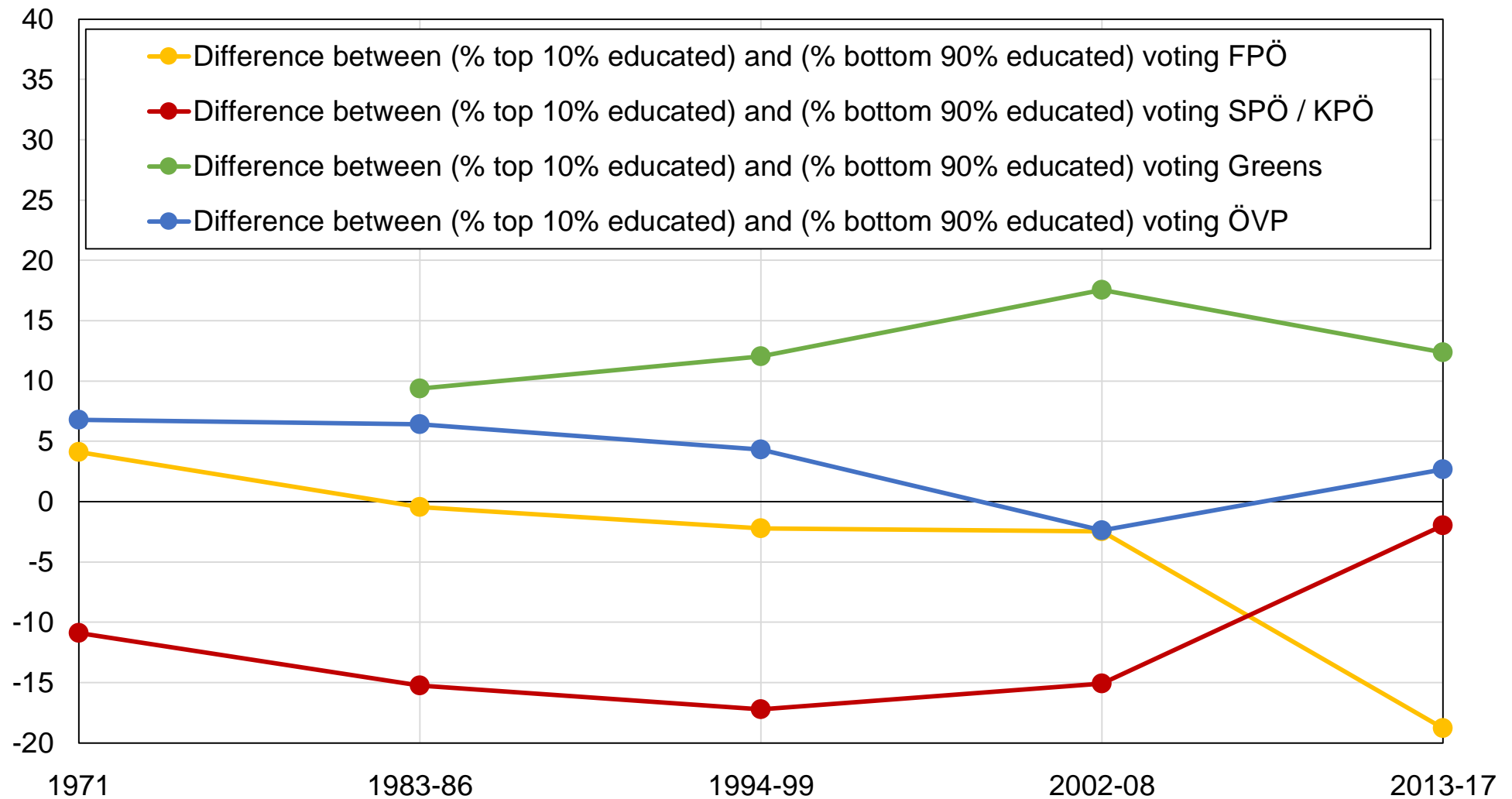
Figure DC12 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS among rural areas



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of rural areas and the share of urban areas voting for SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS, before and after controlling for other variables.

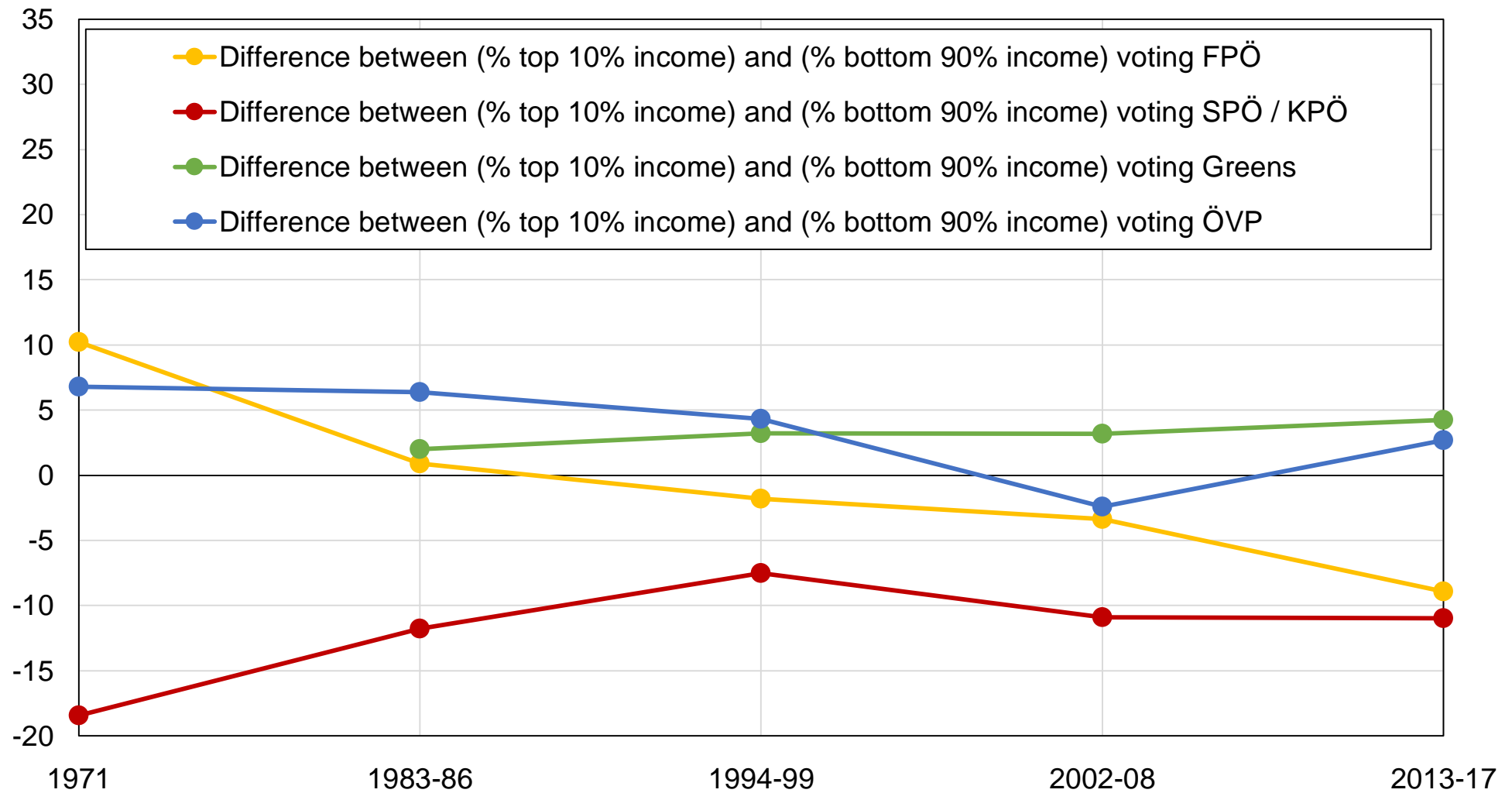
Figure DC13 - The education cleavage in Austria



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the bias of highest-educated voters towards the FPÖ, SPÖ/KPÖ, Greens, and ÖVP.

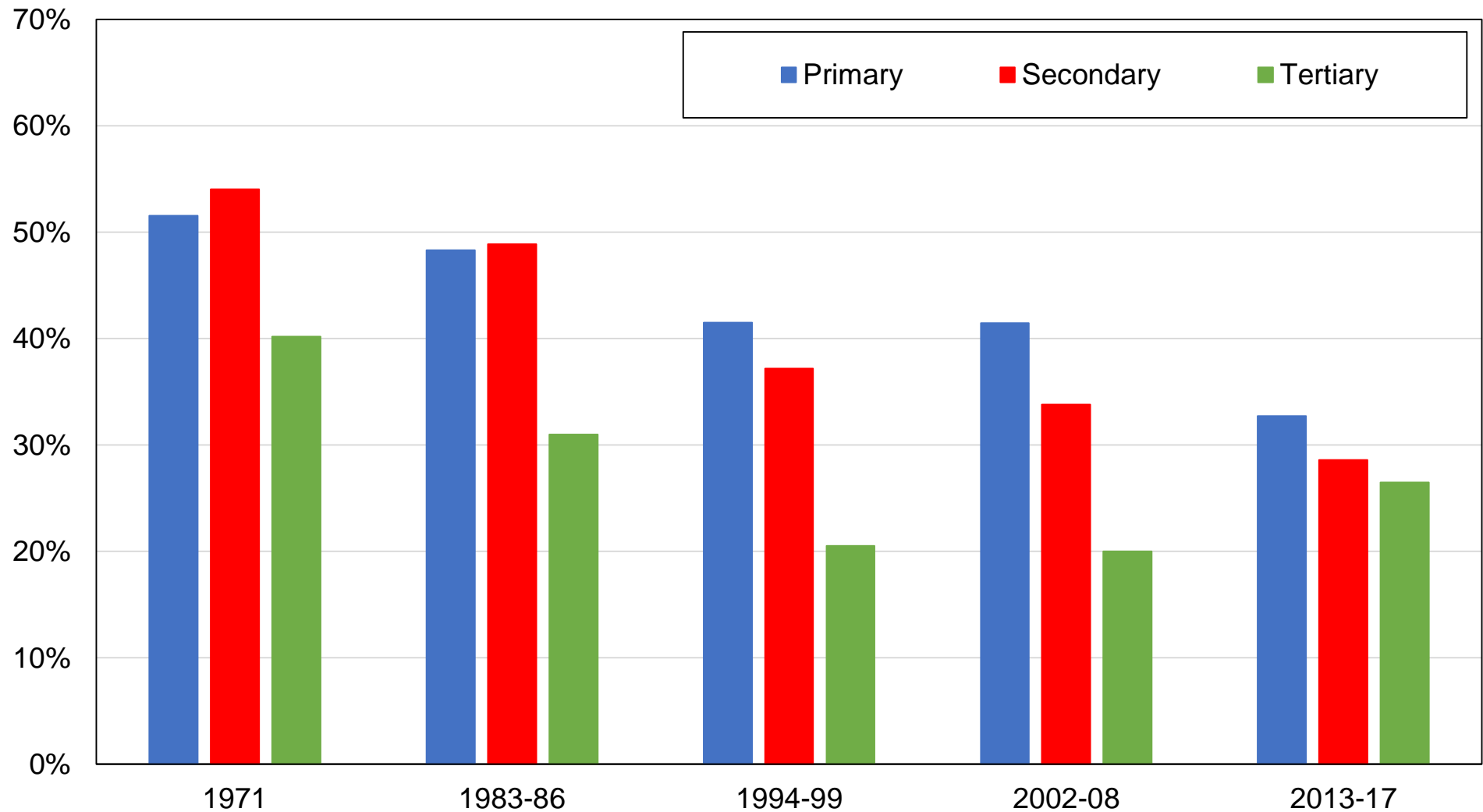
Figure DC14 - The income cleavage in Austria



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the bias of top-income voters towards the FPÖ, SPÖ/KPÖ, Greens, and ÖVP.

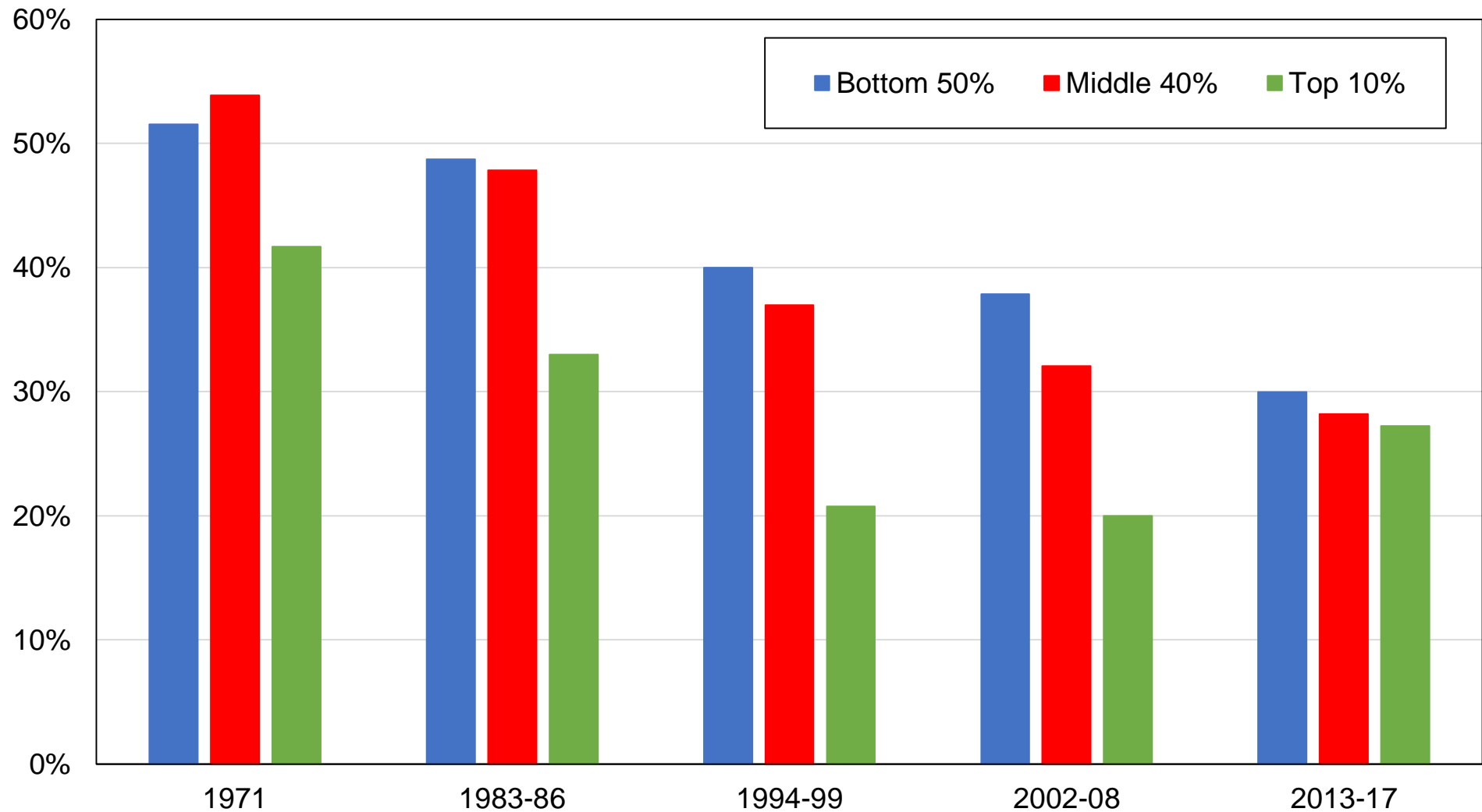
Figure DD1 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ by education level



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the SPÖ / KPÖ by education level.

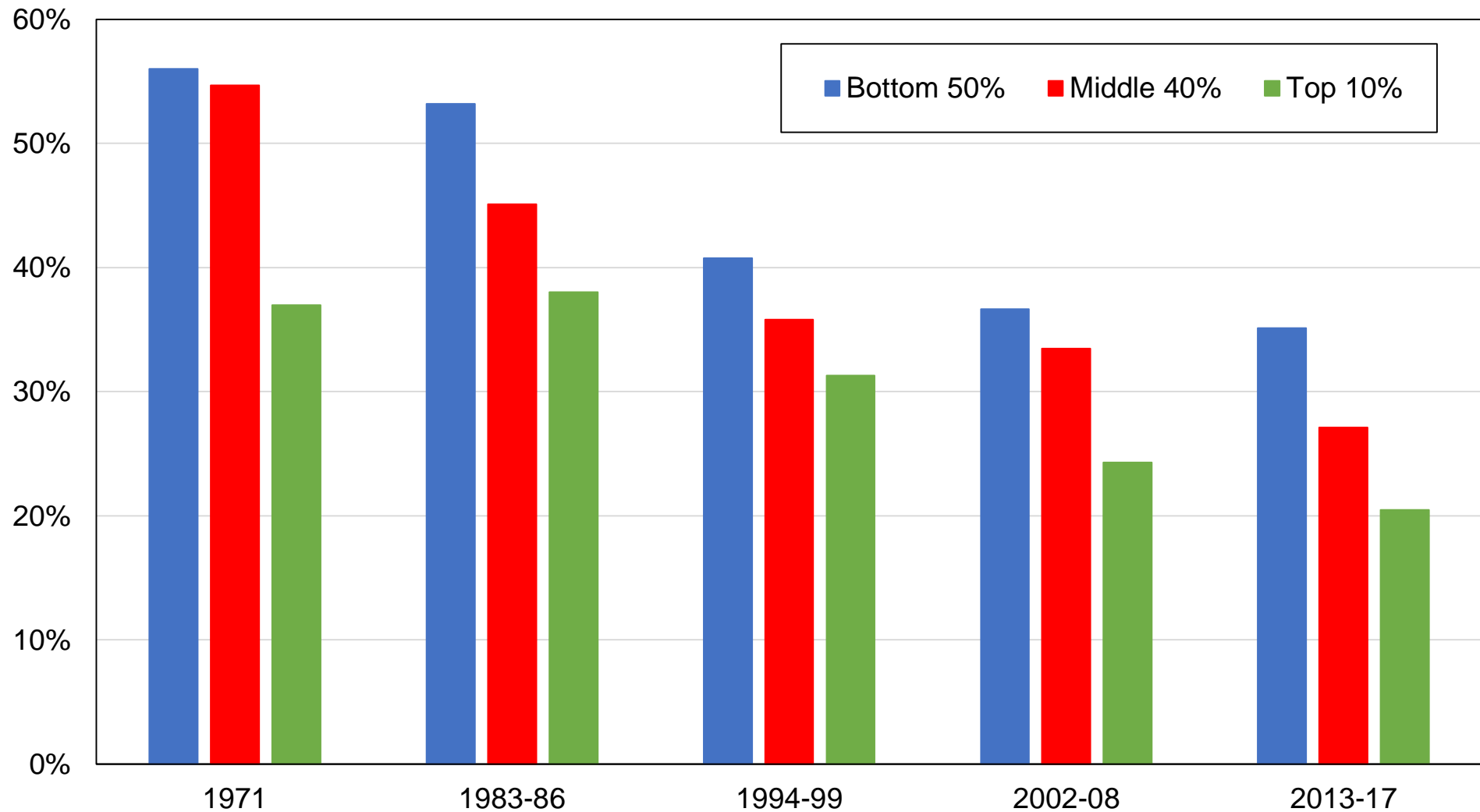
Figure DD2 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ by education group



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the SPÖ / KPÖ by education group.

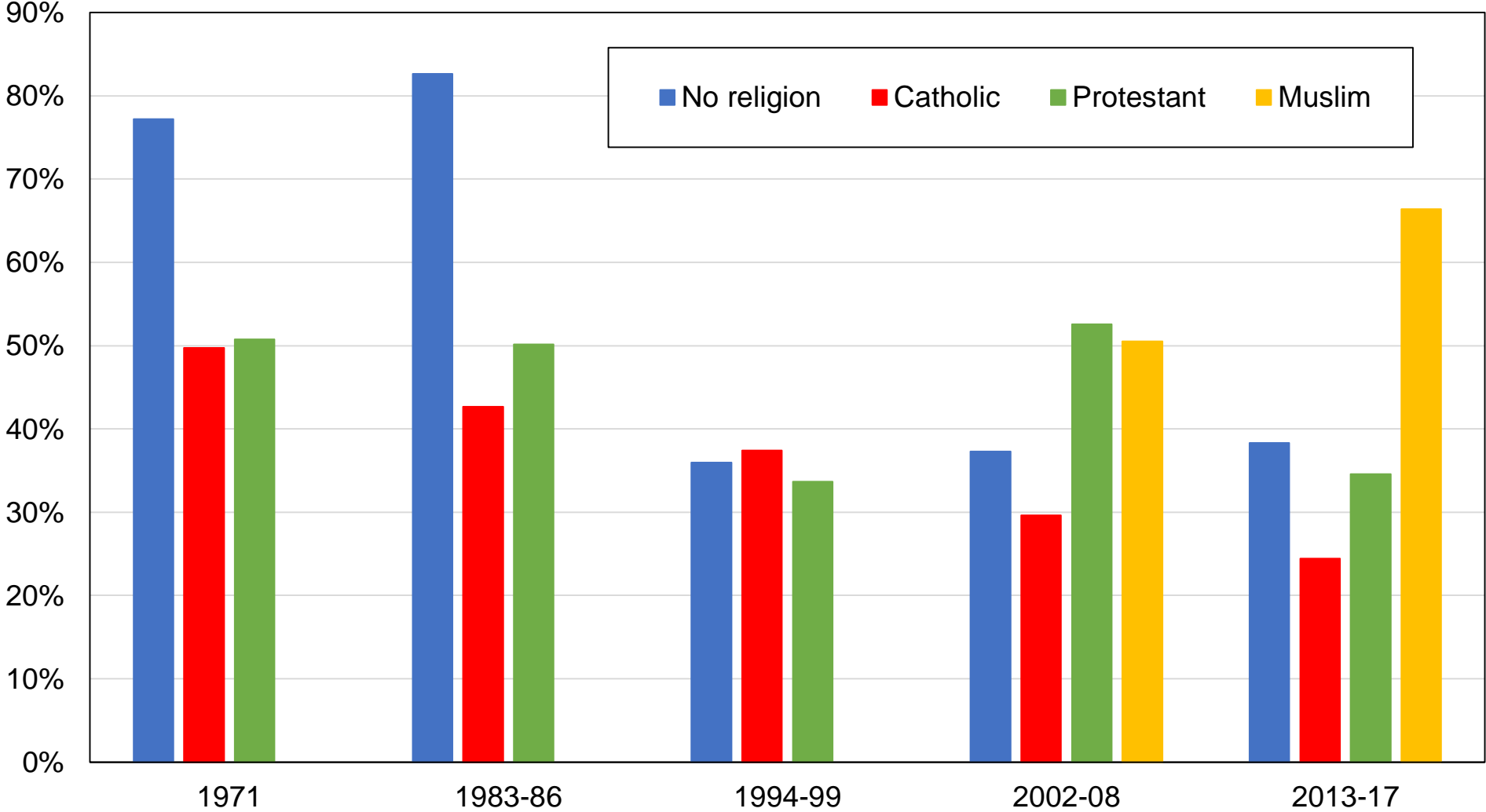
Figure DD3 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ by income group



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the SPÖ / KPÖ by income group.

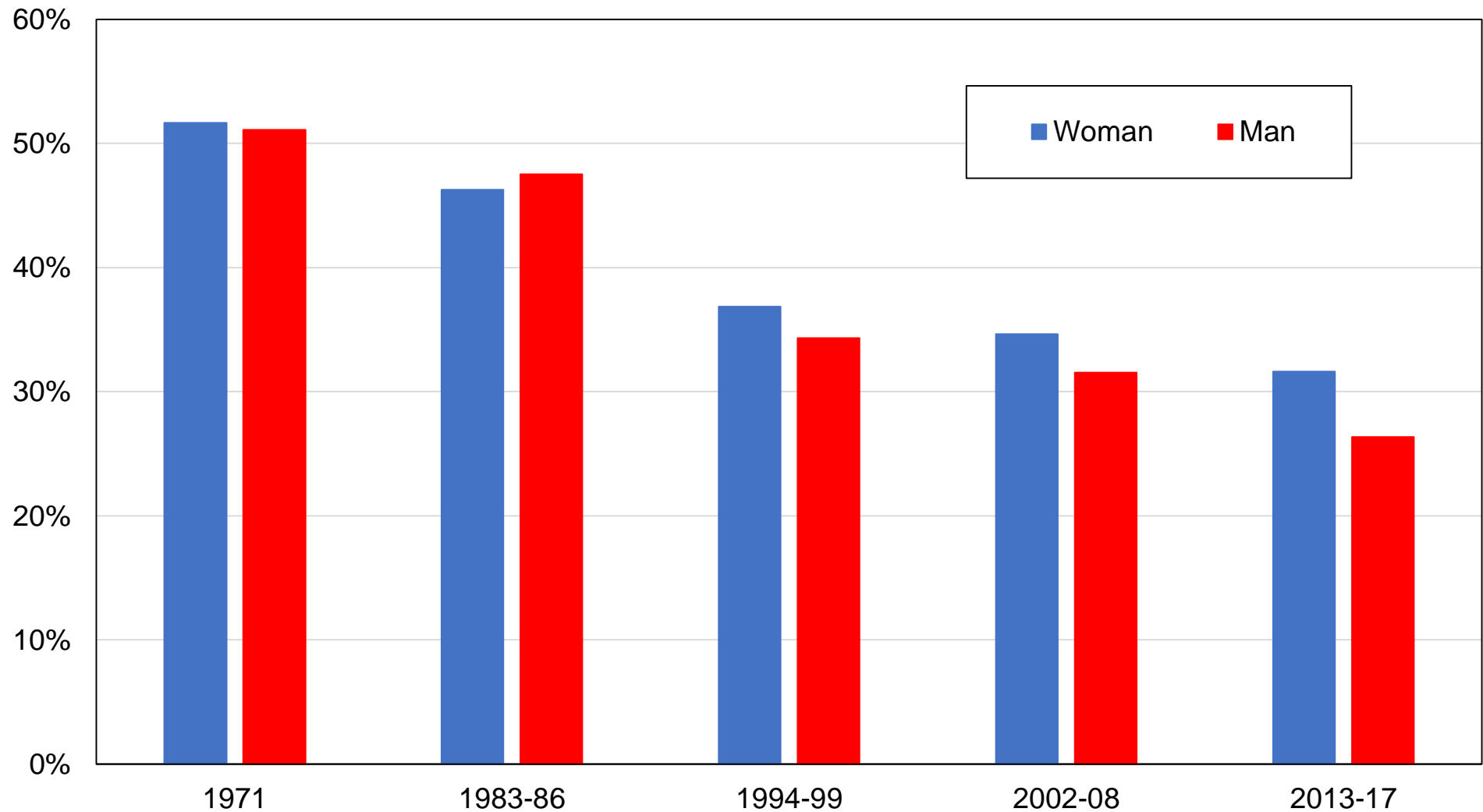
Figure DD4 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the SPÖ / KPÖ by religious affiliation.

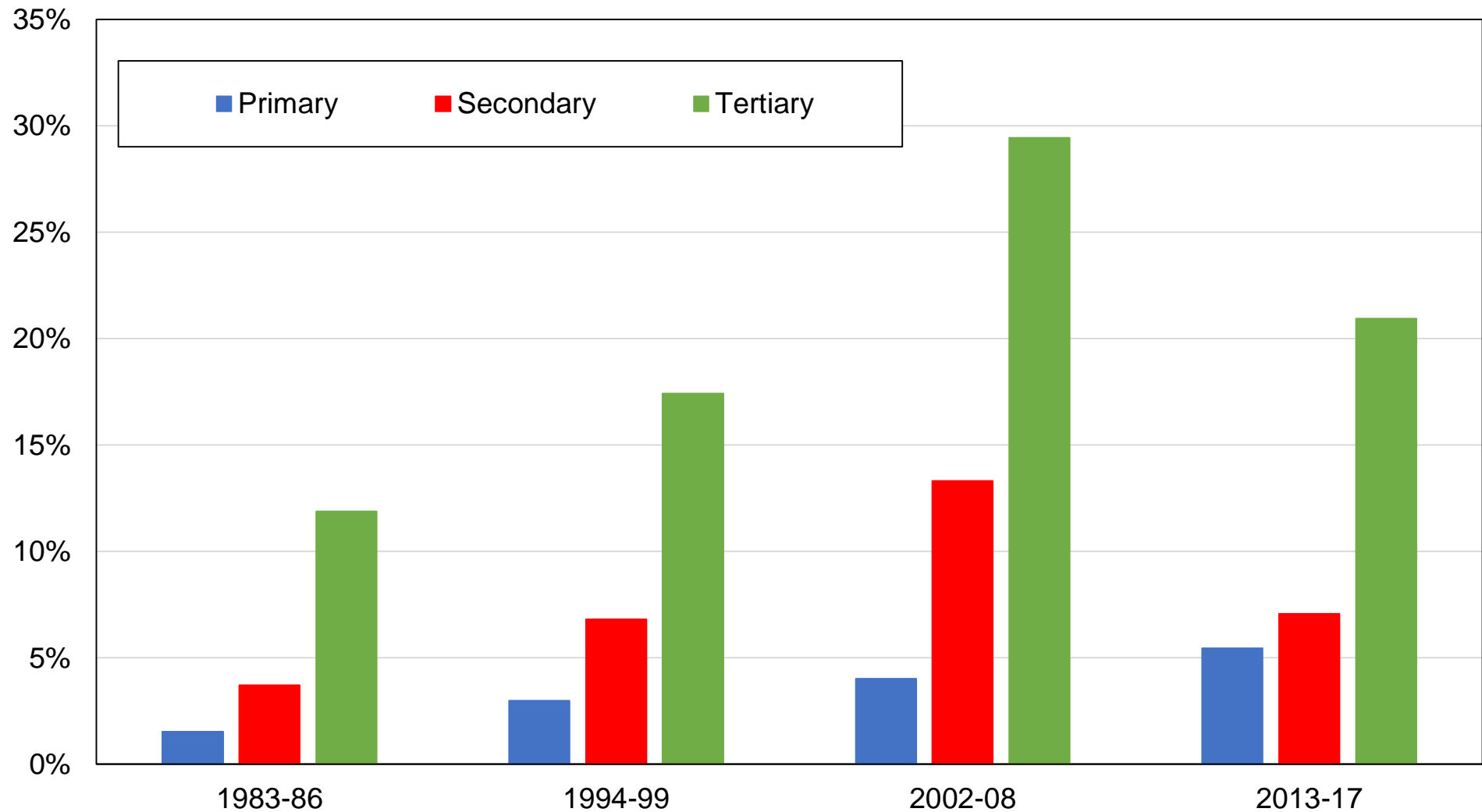
Figure DD5 - Vote for SPÖ / KPÖ by gender



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the SPÖ / KPÖ by gender.

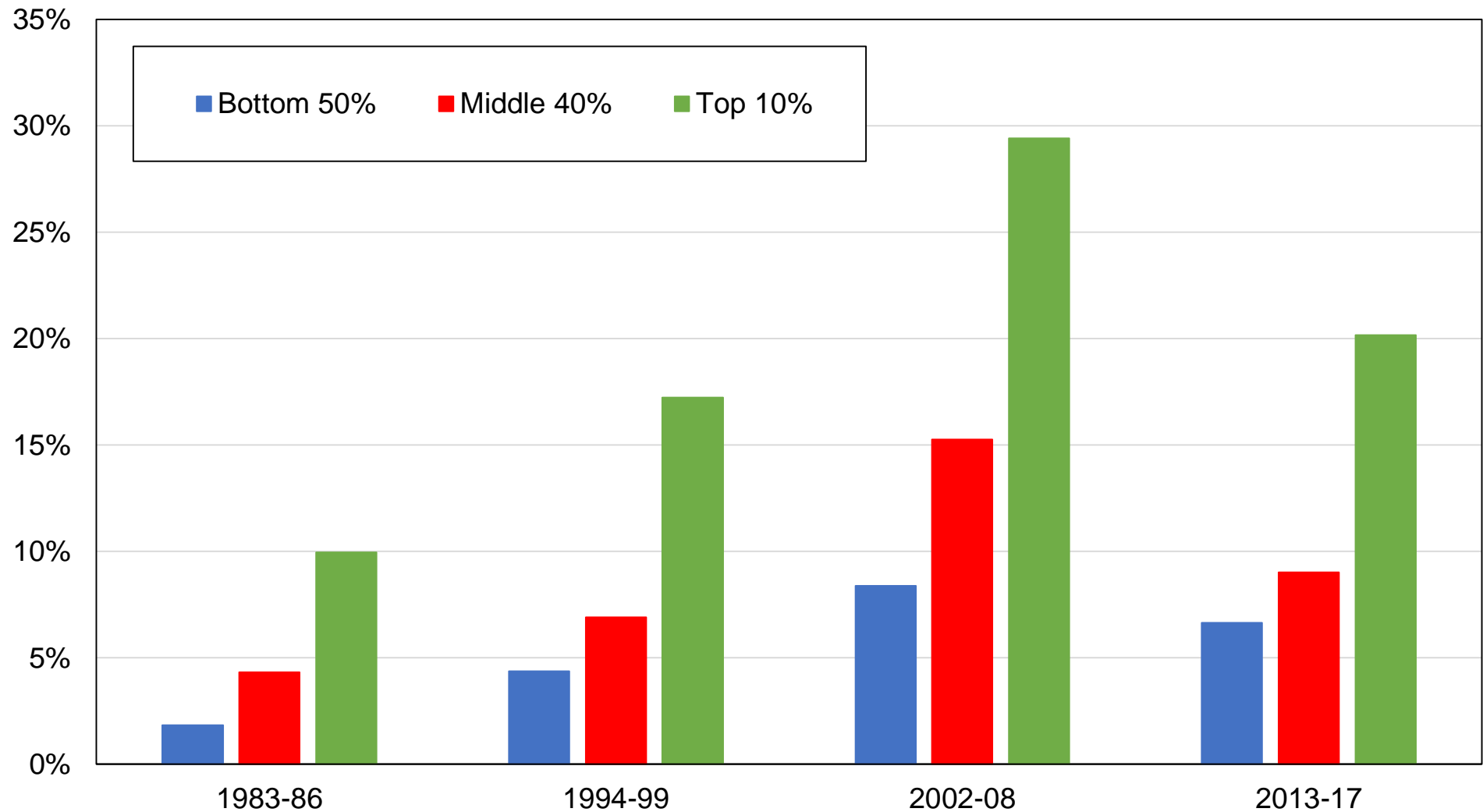
Figure DD6 - Vote for Greens by education level



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Greens by education level.

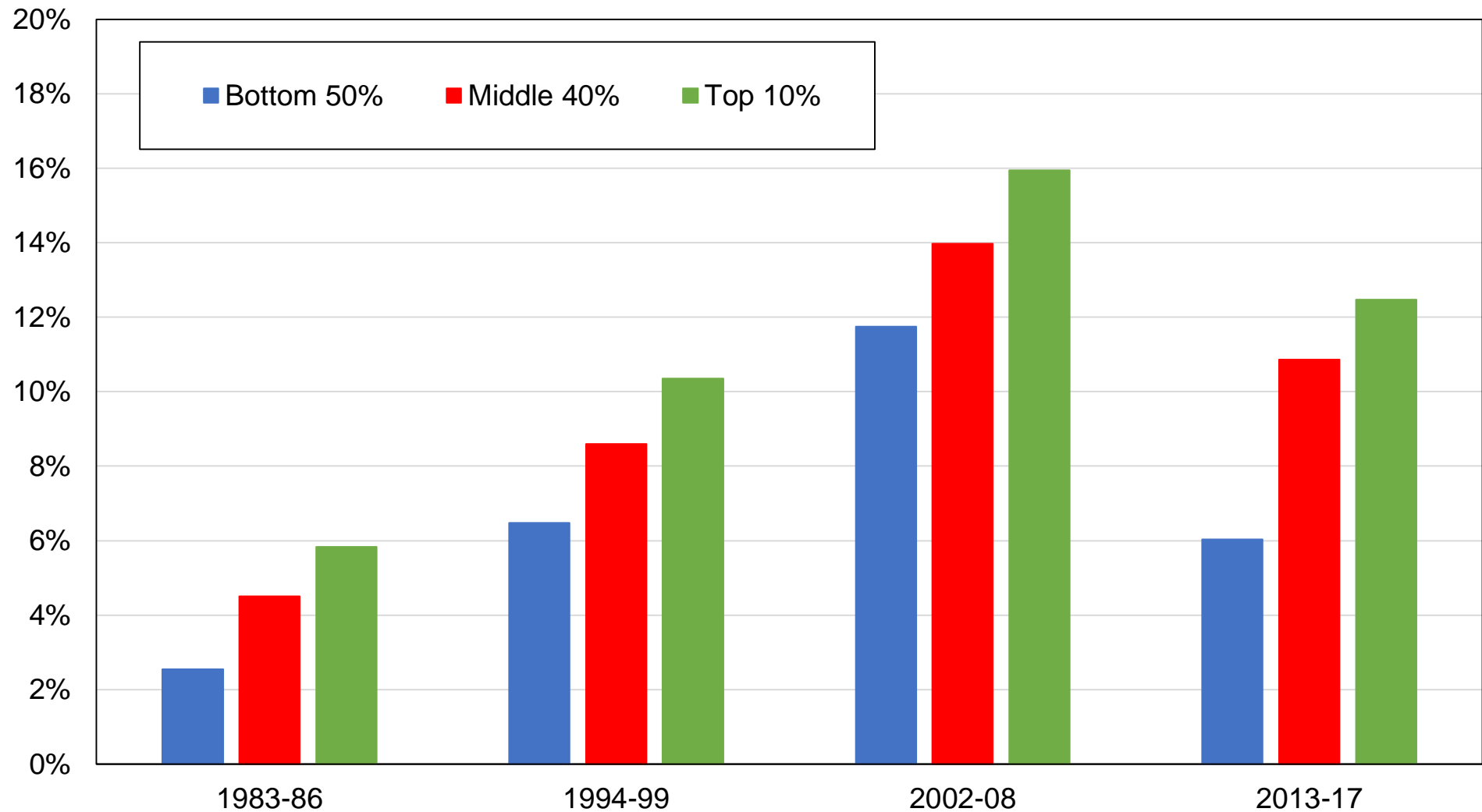
Figure DD7 - Vote for Greens by education group



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Greens by education group.

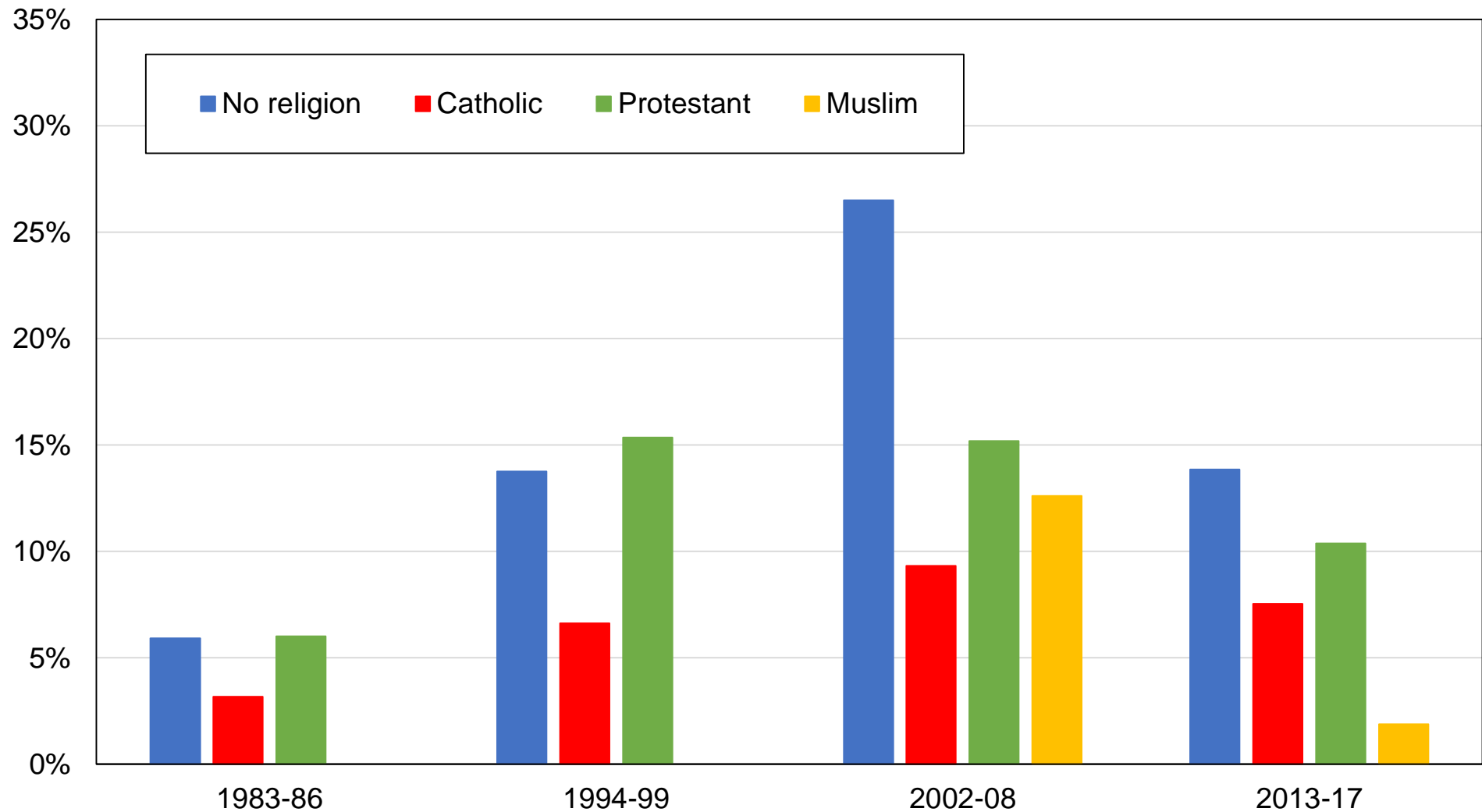
Figure DD8 - Vote for Greens by income group



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Greens by income group.

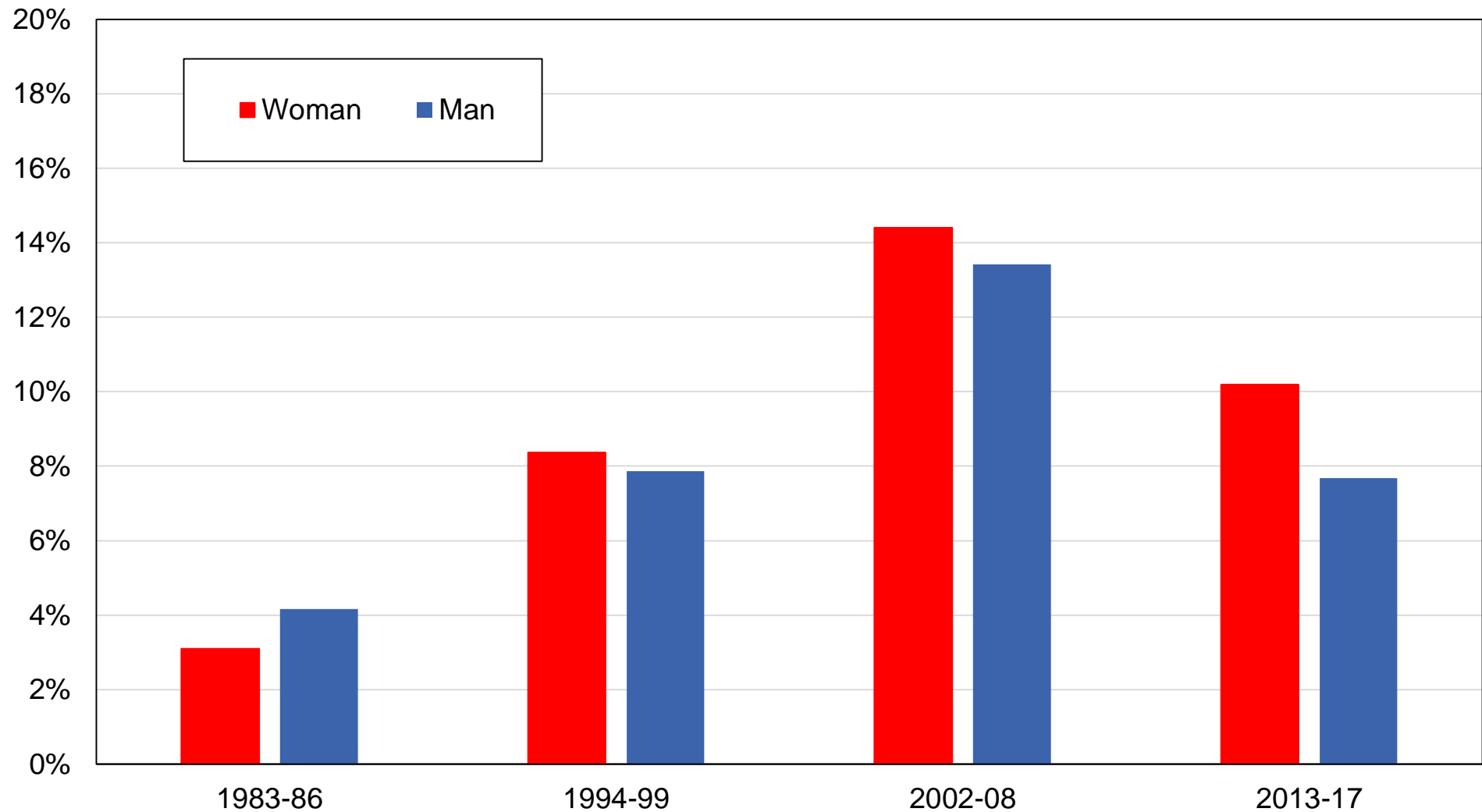
Figure DD9 - Vote for Greens by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Greens by religious affiliation.

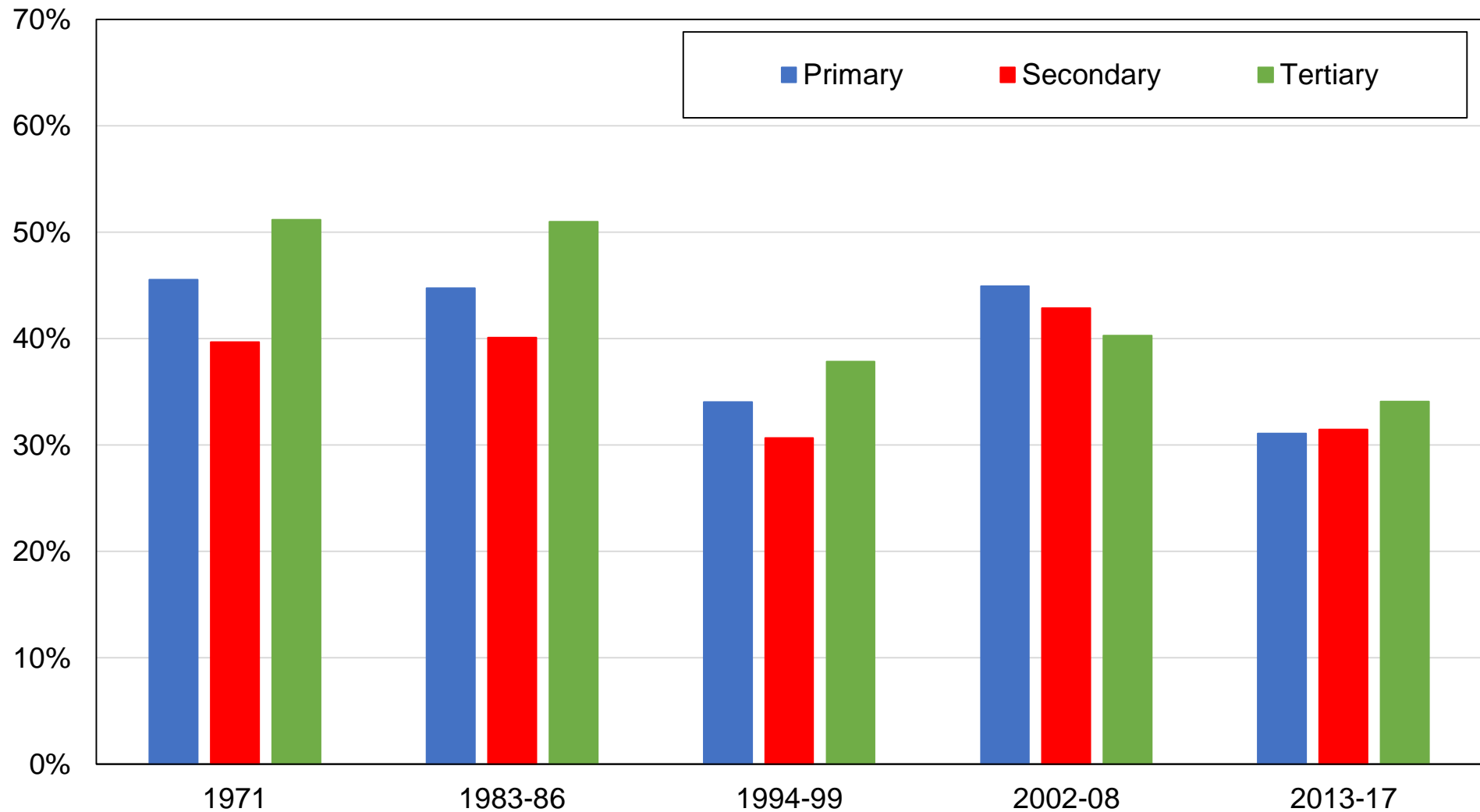
Figure DD10 - Vote for Greens by gender



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Greens by gender.

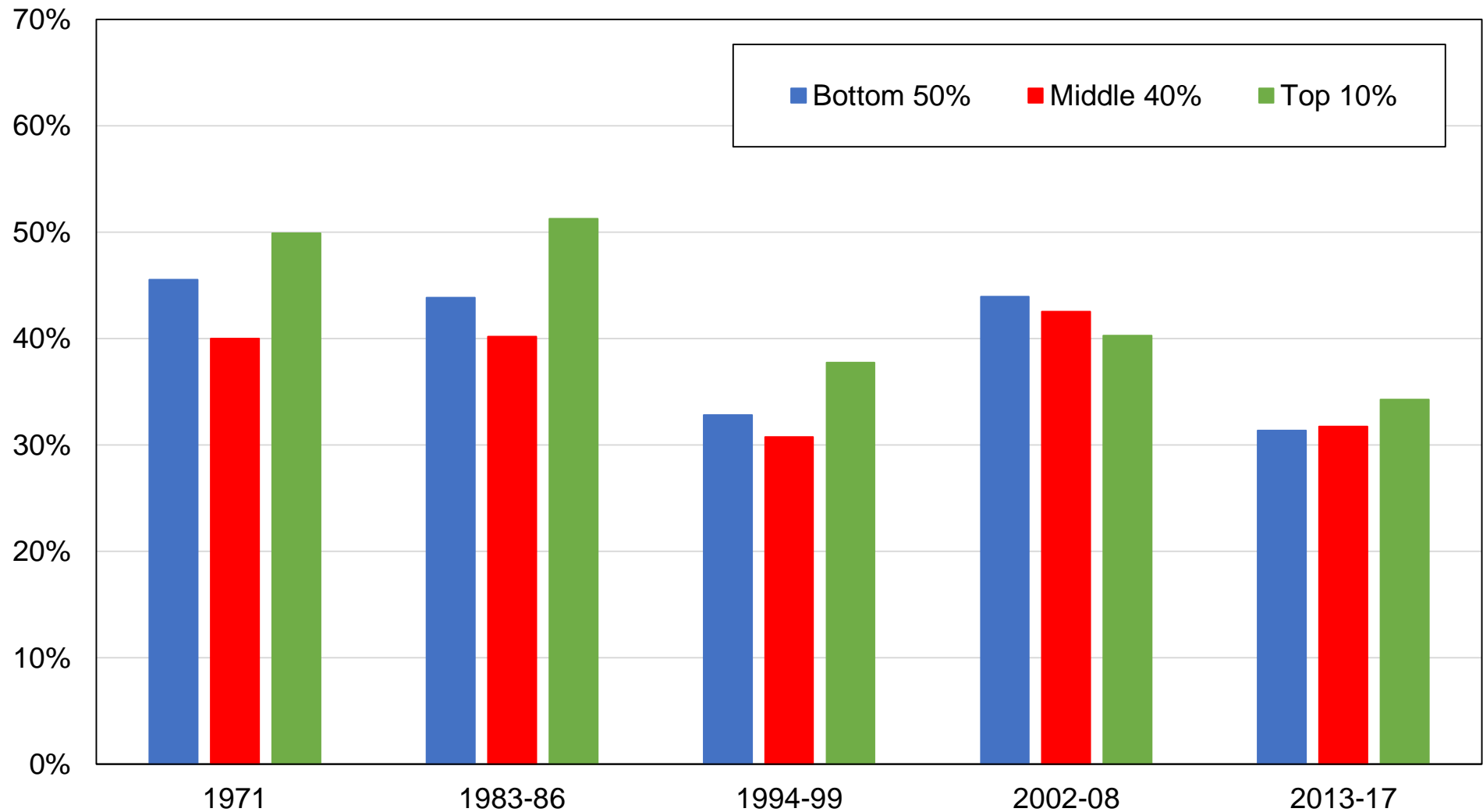
Figure DD11 - Vote for ÖVP by education level



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the ÖVP by education level.

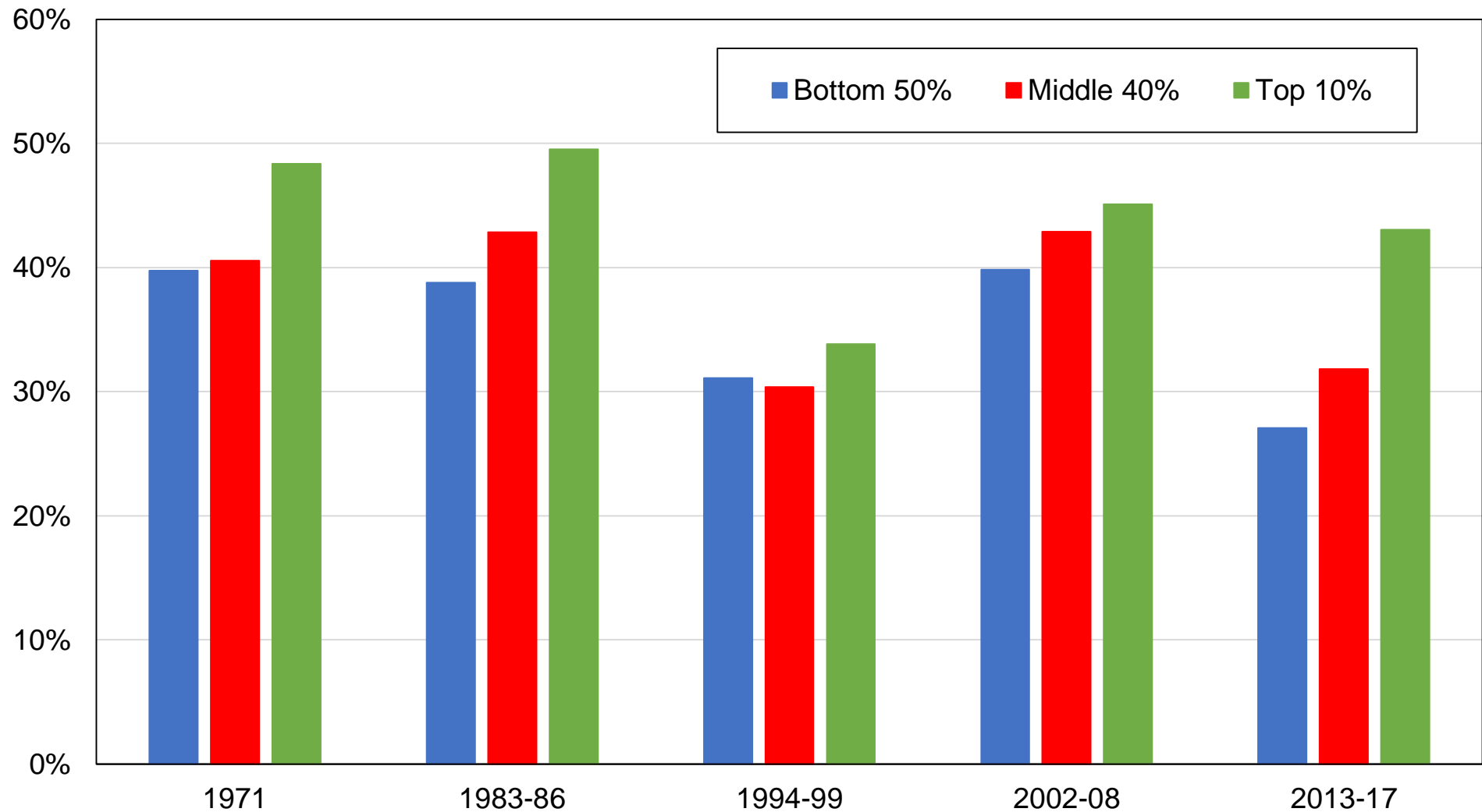
Figure DD12 - Vote for ÖVP by education group



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the ÖVP by education group.

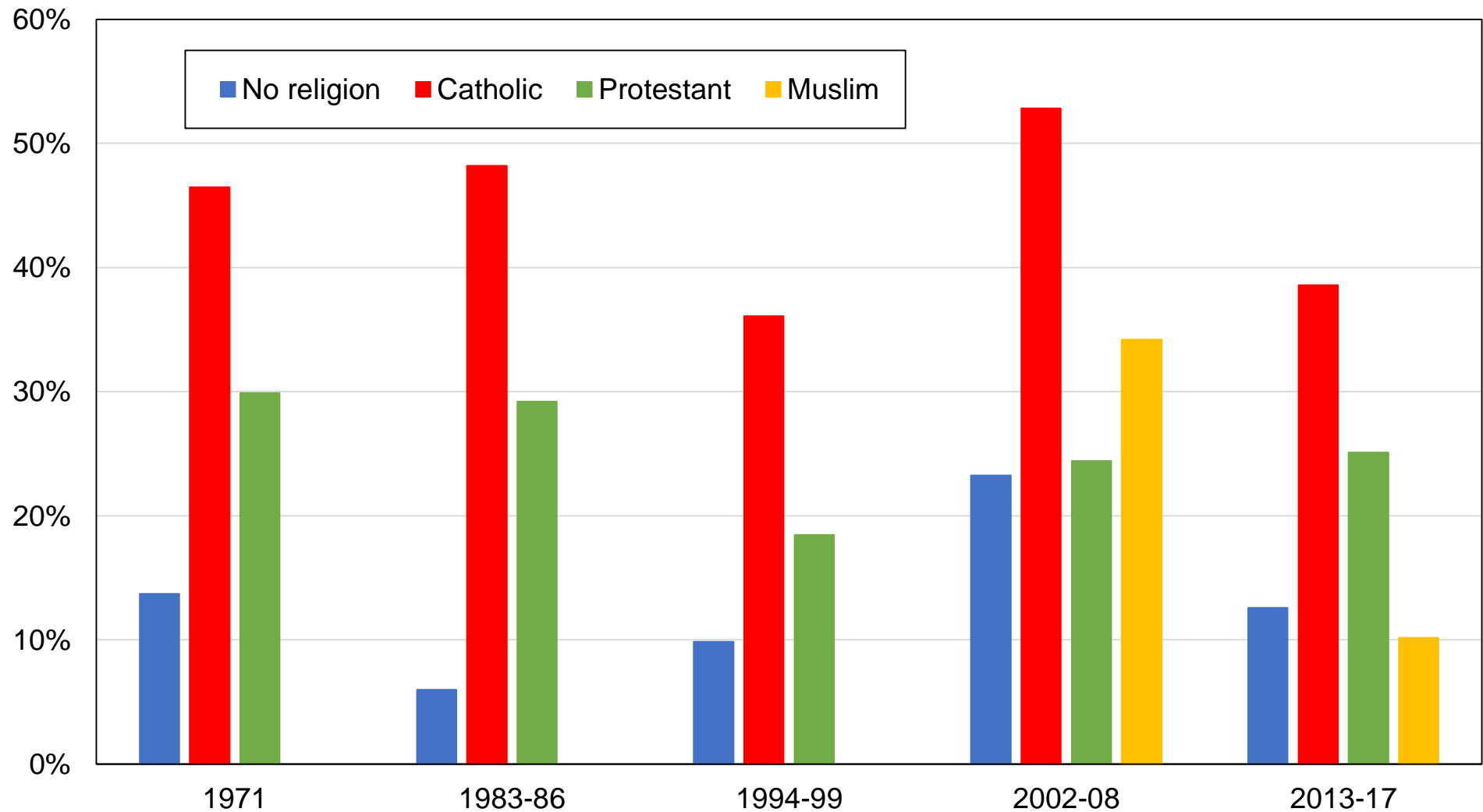
Figure DD13 - Vote for ÖVP by income group



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the ÖVP by income group.

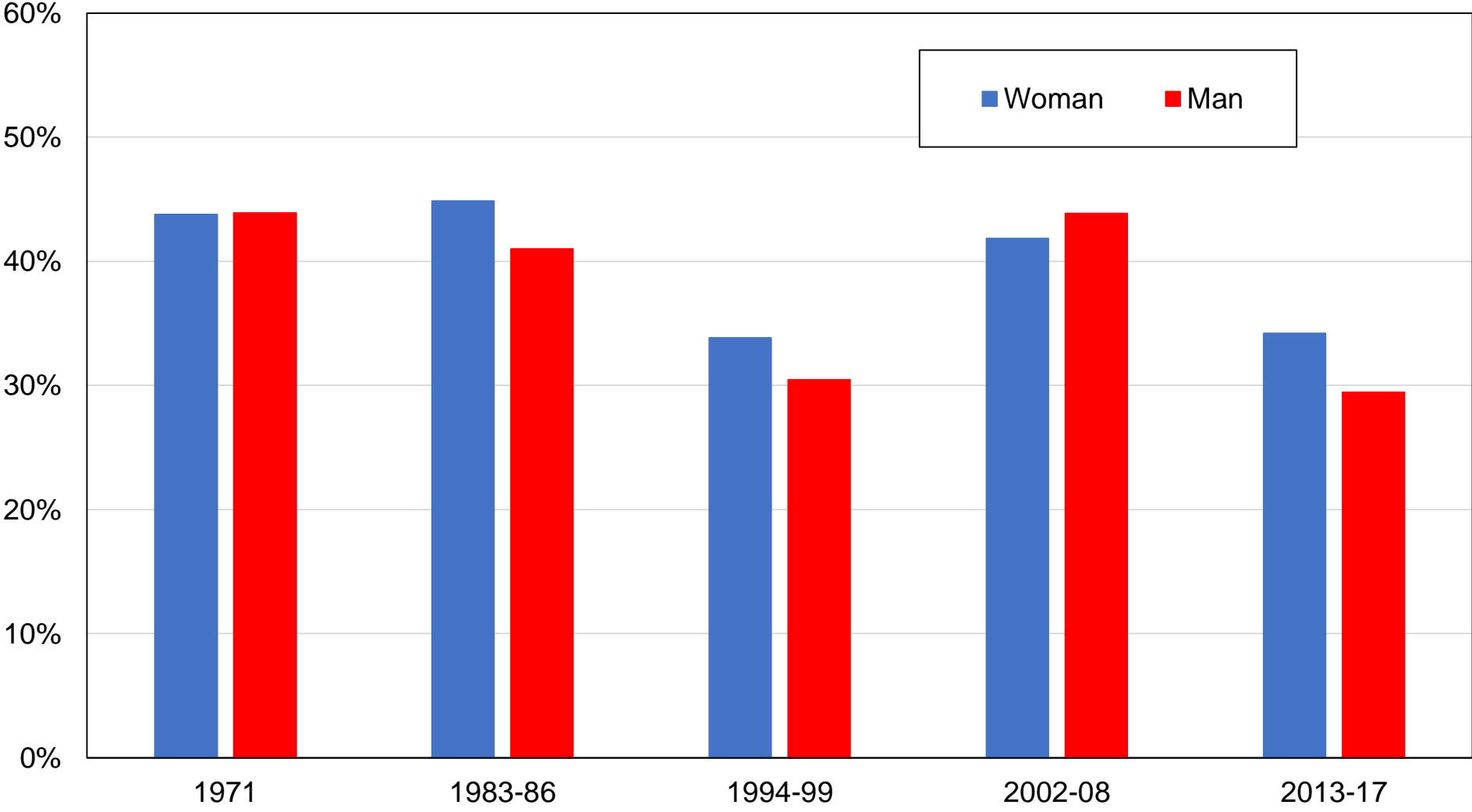
Figure DD14 - Vote for ÖVP by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the ÖVP by religious affiliation.

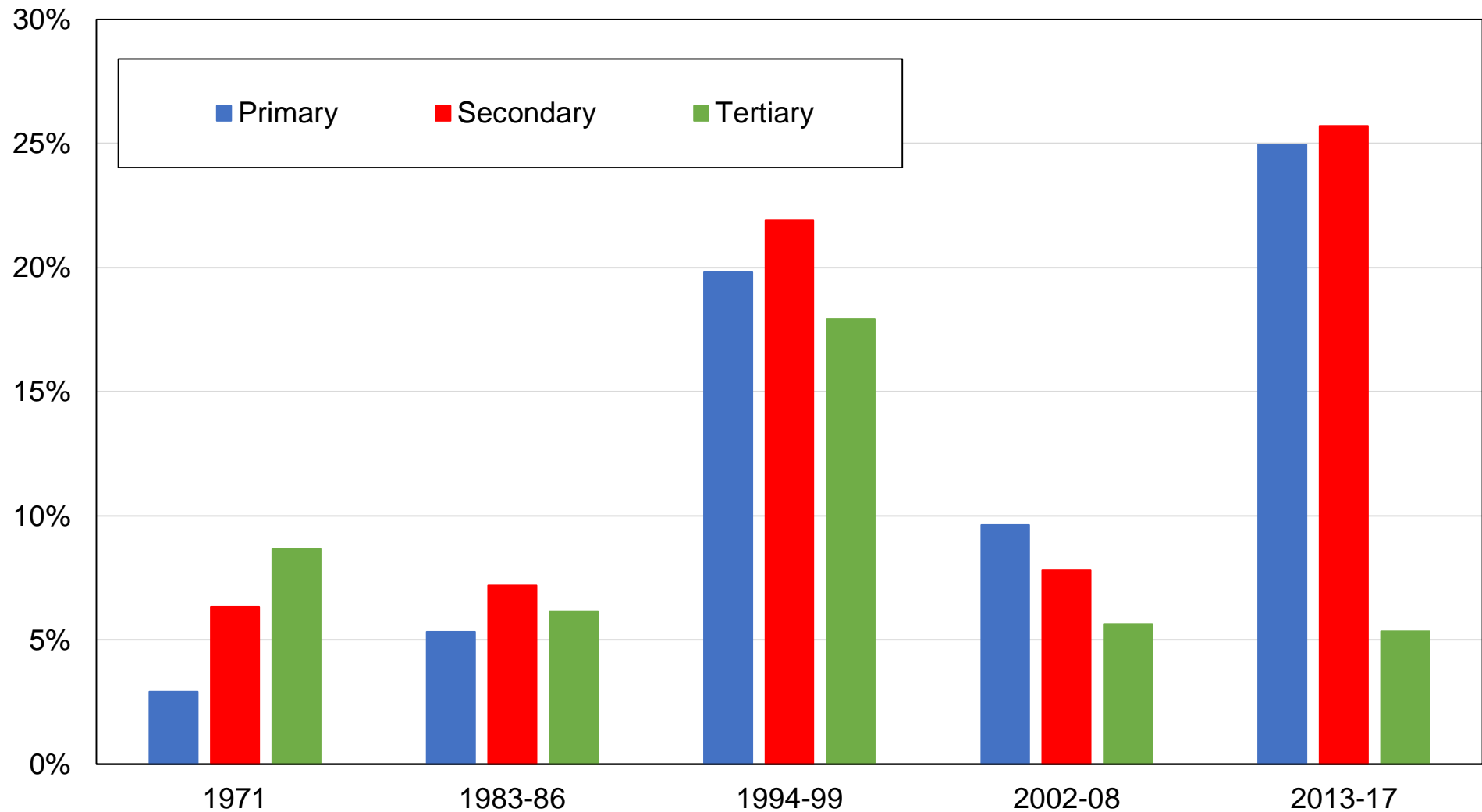
Figure DD15 - Vote for ÖVP by gender



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the ÖVP by gender.

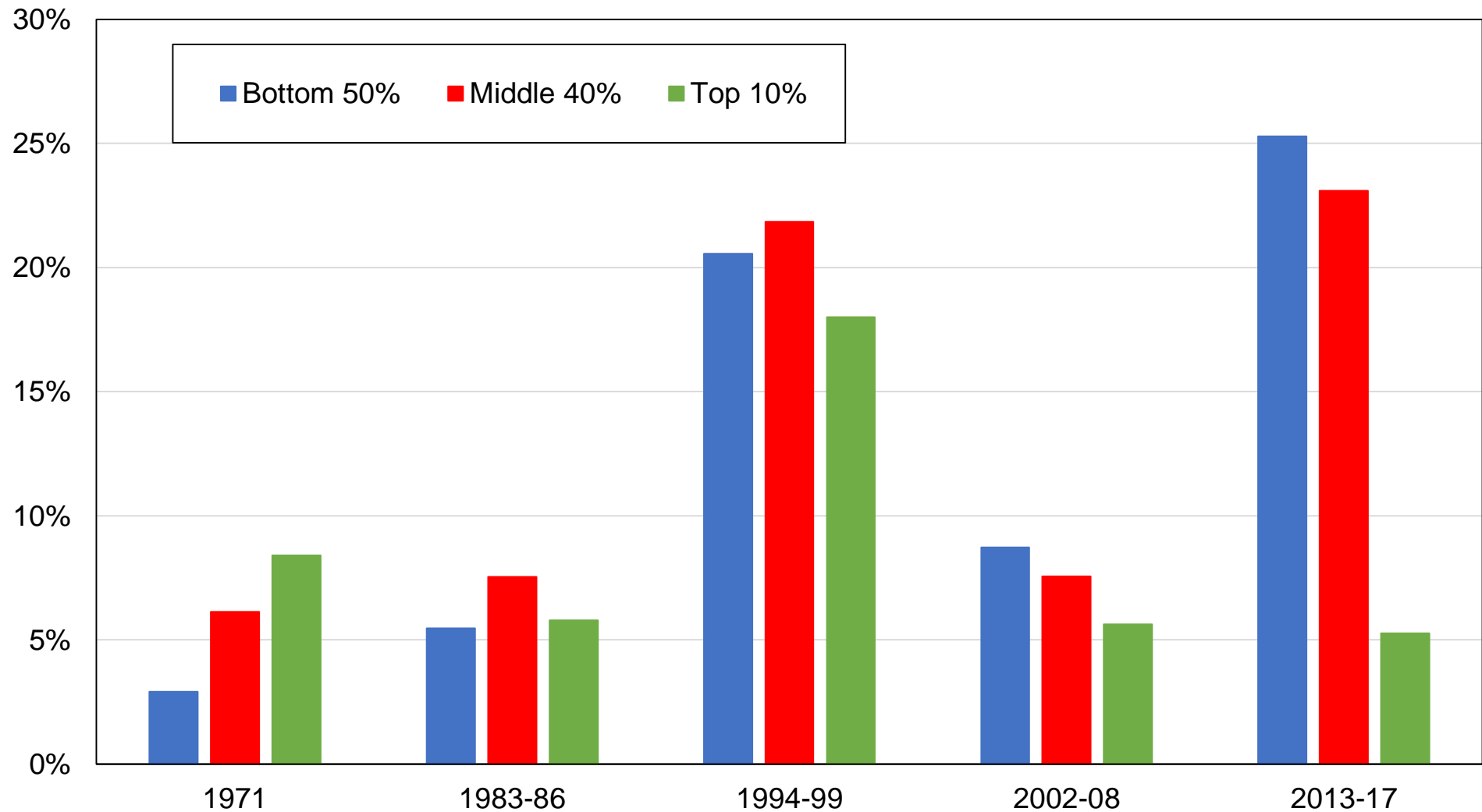
Figure DD16 - Vote for FPÖ by education level



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the FPÖ by education level.

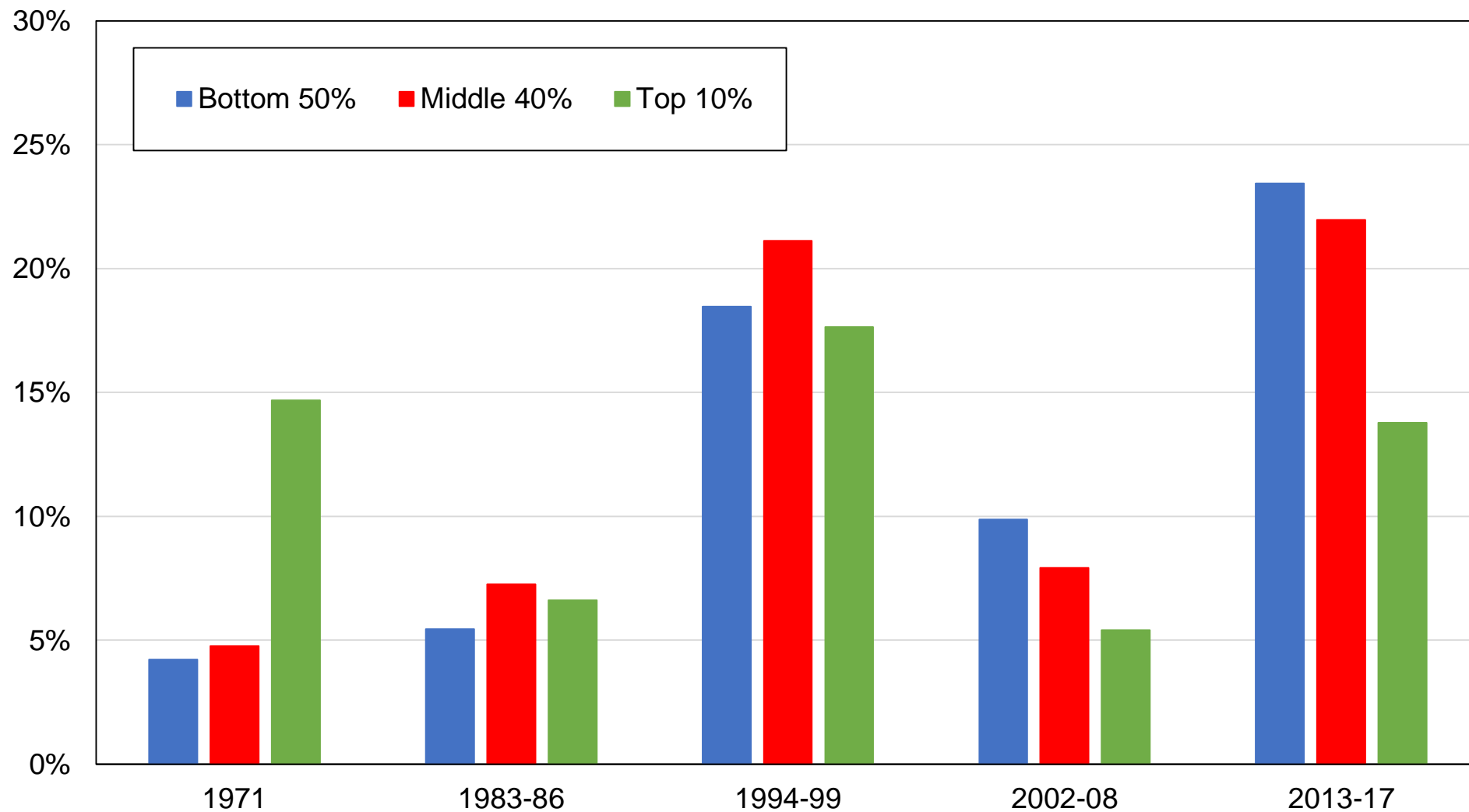
Figure DD17 - Vote for FPÖ by education group



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the FPÖ by education group.

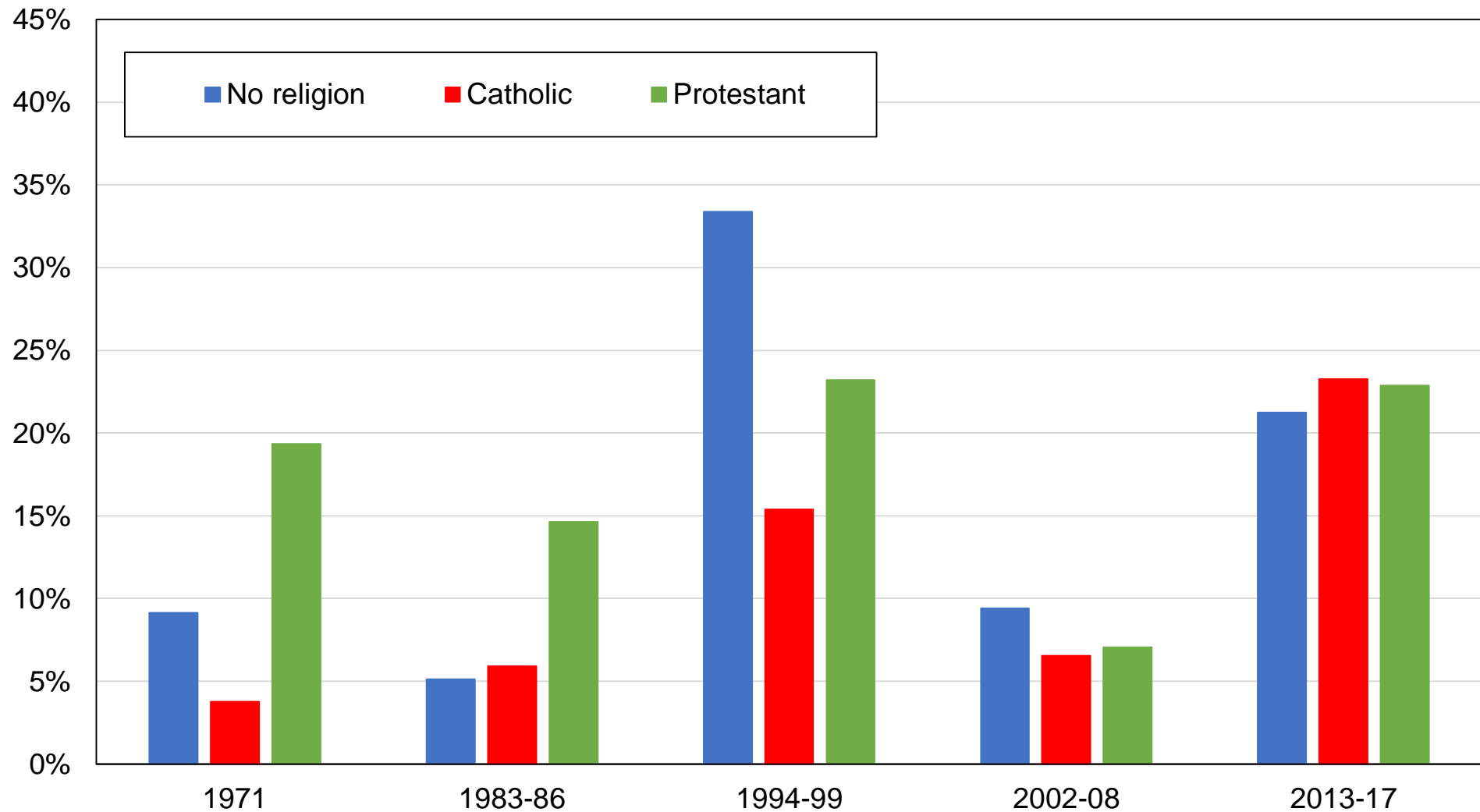
Figure DD18 - Vote for FPÖ by income group



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the FPÖ by income group.

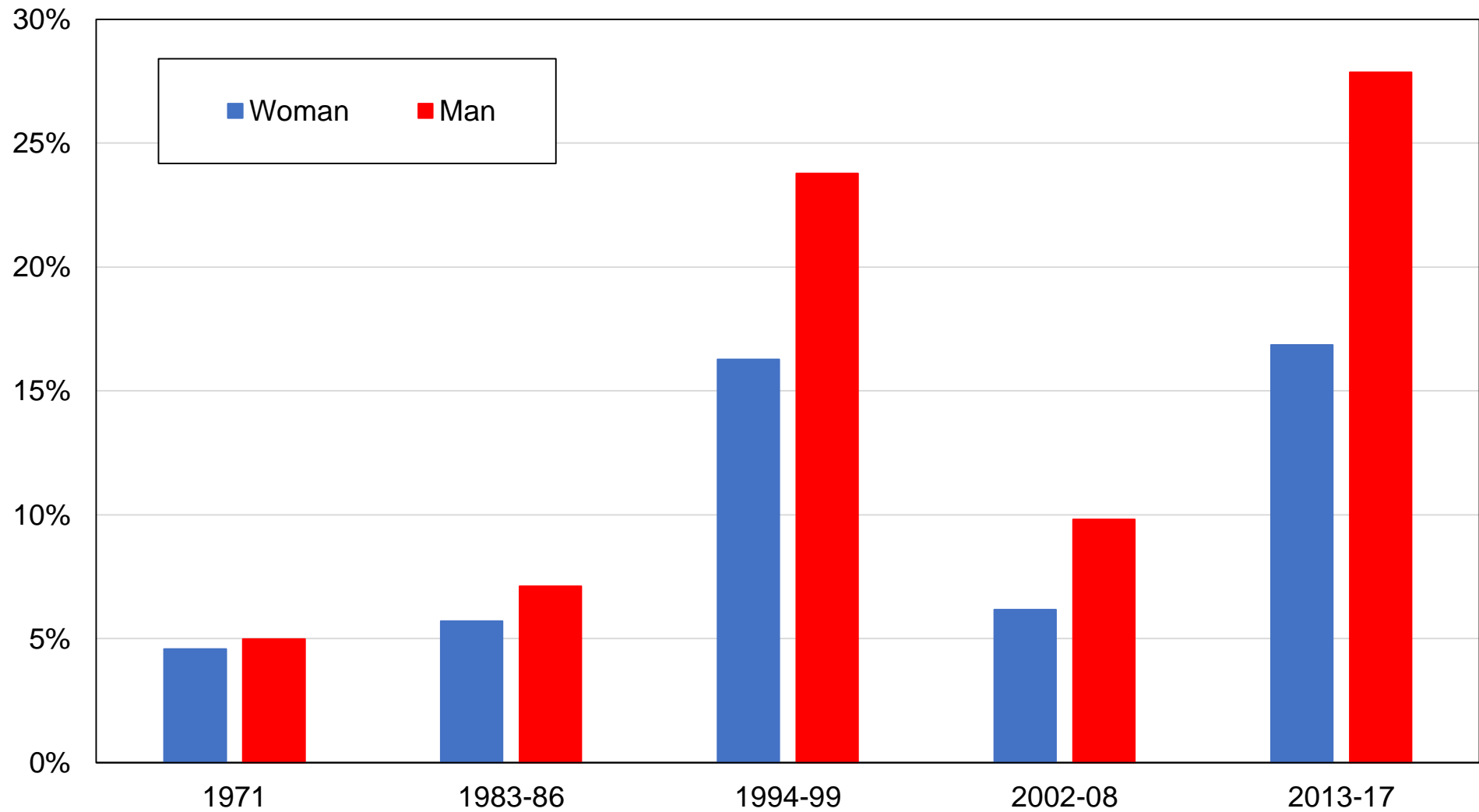
Figure DD19 - Vote for FPÖ by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the FPÖ by religious affiliation.

Figure DD20 - Vote for FPÖ by gender



Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the FPÖ by gender.

Table DA1 - Survey data sources

Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
1971	International social mobility and politics file	ISMP	1585
1983	International social mobility and politics file	ISMP	987
1986	International social mobility and politics file	ISMP	2969
1994	Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years	GESIS	5145
1995	Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years	GESIS	7327
1999	Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years	GESIS	7095
2002	European social survey and Eurobarometers	ESS	8591
2006	European social survey	ESS	2405
2013	Comparative study of electoral systems	CSES	1000
2017	Comparative study of electoral systems	CSES	1203

Source: authors' elaboration. Gesis: Gesis – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences

(<https://www.gesis.org/home>). ESS: <https://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/>. CSES: <https://cses.org/>.

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

Table DA2 - Complete descriptive statistics by decade

	1971	1983-86	1994-99	2002-08	2013-17
Age: 20-40	41%	40%	46%	39%	30%
Age: 40-60	39%	34%	31%	39%	39%
Age: 60+	20%	25%	22%	23%	32%
Education: Primary	52%	42%	32%	30%	18%
Education: Secondary	39%	48%	58%	56%	66%
Education: Tertiary	9%	11%	10%	14%	16%
Employment status: Employed	57%	47%	55%	53%	55%
Employment status: Unemployed	0%	0%	3%	3%	1%
Employment status: Inactive	43%	53%	42%	44%	45%
Marital status: Married or with partner	68%	62%	53%	62%	60%
Religion: No religion	5%	9%	10%	27%	21%
Religion: Catholic	89%	85%	83%	65%	71%
Religion: Protestant	5%	5%	5%	5%	4%
Religion: Muslim	0%	0%	1%	1%	1%
Religion: Other	1%	1%	2%	1%	3%
Church attendance: Never	16%	39%		25%	32%
Church attendance: Less than monthly	33%	26%		57%	46%
Church attendance: Monthly or more	51%	35%		18%	22%
Rural-urban: Rural areas	59%	53%	47%	45%	50%
Gender: Man	41%	45%	48%	48%	50%

Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

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

Table DA3 - The structure of political cleavages in Austria, 2013-2017

	Share of votes received (%)				
	SPO / KPO	Greens	NEOS	OVP	FPO / BZO
Overall vote share	29%	9%	6%	32%	22%
Education					
Primary	33%	5%	4%	31%	25%
Secondary	29%	7%	5%	31%	26%
Tertiary	26%	21%	11%	34%	5%
Income					
Bottom 50%	35%	6%	5%	27%	23%
Middle 40%	27%	11%	6%	32%	22%
Top 10%	20%	12%	8%	43%	14%
Location					
Urban	33%	11%	7%	26%	20%
Rural	25%	7%	4%	37%	25%
Religion					
No religion	38%	14%	8%	13%	21%
Catholic	24%	8%	5%	39%	23%
Protestant	35%	10%	7%	25%	23%
Muslim	66%	2%	18%	10%	4%
Church attendance					
Never	37%	11%	7%	16%	24%
Less than monthly	27%	10%	5%	32%	25%
Monthly or more	23%	4%	5%	52%	15%

Source: authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys.

Notes: the table shows the average share of votes received by the main political parties by selected individual characteristics over the 2013-2017 period. Vote shares by group are those reported in surveys and may not match exactly official election results.