

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

Carmen DURRER DE LA SOTA, Amory GETHIN, Clara MARTÍNEZ-TOLEDANO

Appendix A - Belgium

Main figures and tables

Figure A1	Election results in Belgium, 1946-2017
Figure A2	Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among highest-educated and top-income voters in Belgium, after controls
Figure A3	Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among specific regions in Belgium
Table A1	The structure of political cleavages in Belgium, 2011-2014

Appendix Figures AA - Election results and composition of the electorate

Figure AA1	Election results in Belgium, 1946-2017
Figure AA2	Election results in Belgium by group, 1946-2017
Figure AA3	The composition of the electorate by education level
Figure AA4	The composition of the electorate by age group
Figure AA5	The composition of the electorate by religion
Figure AA6	The composition of the electorate by church attendance
Figure AA7	The composition of the electorate by language
Figure AA8	The composition of the electorate by region
Figure AA9	The composition of income quintiles by education level, 1970s
Figure AA10	The composition of income quintiles by education level, 2010s
Figure AA11	The composition of income quintiles by region, 1970s
Figure AA12	The composition of income quintiles by region, 2010s
Figure AA13	The composition of income quintiles by language, 1970s
Figure AA14	The composition of income quintiles by language, 2010s

Appendix Figures AB and AC - Structure of the vote for Socialists / Ecologists

Figure AB1	Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by education level
Figure AB2	Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by education group
Figure AB3	Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by income decile
Figure AB3b	Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by income decile (line graph)
Figure AB4	Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by income group
Figure AB5	Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by religious affiliation
Figure AB6	Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by church attendance

Figure AB7	Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by location
Figure AB8	Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by gender
Figure AB9	Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by union membership
Figure AB10	Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by marital status
Figure AB11	Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by perceived social class
Figure AB12	Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by age group
Figure AB13	Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by region
Figure AB14	Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by first language
Figure AC1	Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among highest-educated and top-income voters
Figure AC2	Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controls
Figure AC3	Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among university graduates
Figure AC4	Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among highest-educated voters
Figure AC5	Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among primary-educated voters
Figure AC6	Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among top-income voters
Figure AC7	Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among voters with no religion
Figure AC8	Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among Catholics
Figure AC9	Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among non-religious voters
Figure AC10	Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among women
Figure AC11	Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among union members
Figure AC12	Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among young voters
Figure AC13	Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among French speakers
Figure AC14	Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among specific regions
Figure AC15	Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among specific regions, after controls
Figure AC16	The education cleavage in Belgium
Figure AC17	The income cleavage in Belgium

Appendix Figures AD - Structure of the vote for specific parties

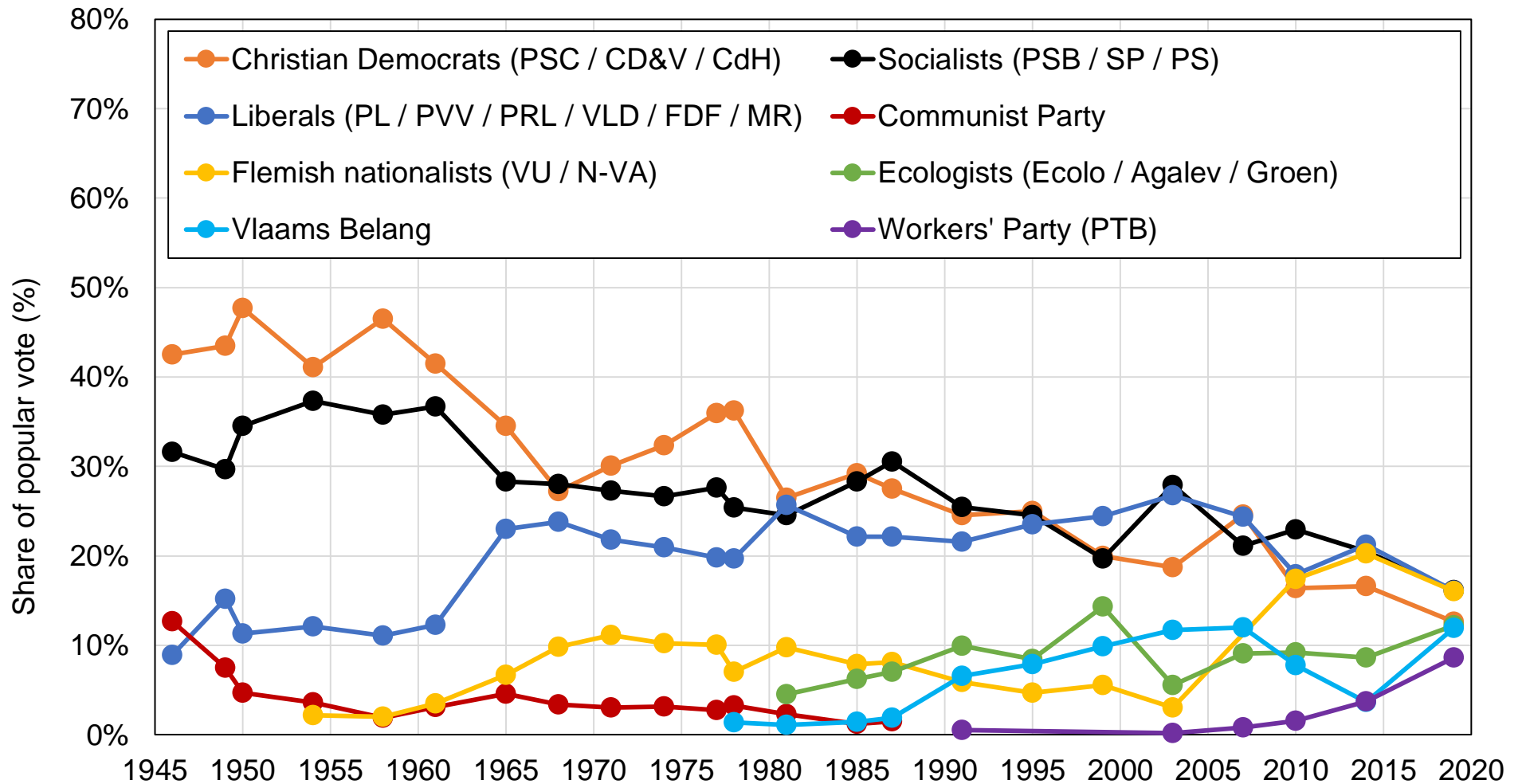
Figure AD1	Vote for PS / SP / PTB by education level
Figure AD2	Vote for PS / SP / PTB by education group
Figure AD3	Vote for PS / SP / PTB by income group
Figure AD4	Vote for PS / SP / PTB by religious affiliation
Figure AD5	Vote for PS / SP / PTB by gender
Figure AD6	Vote for PS / SP / PTB by union membership
Figure AD7	Vote for PS / SP / PTB by perceived social class
Figure AD8	Vote for PS / SP / PTB by region
Figure AD9	Vote for Ecolo / Agalev / Groen by education level

Figure AD10	Vote for Ecolo / Agalev / Groen by education group
Figure AD11	Vote for Ecolo / Agalev / Groen by income group
Figure AD12	Vote for Ecolo / Agalev / Groen by religious affiliation
Figure AD13	Vote for Ecolo / Agalev / Groen by gender
Figure AD14	Vote for Ecolo / Agalev / Groen by union membership
Figure AD15	Vote for Ecolo / Agalev / Groen by perceived social class
Figure AD16	Vote for Ecolo / Agalev / Groen by region
Figure AD17	Vote for PSC / CVP / CD&V / CdH by education level
Figure AD18	Vote for PSC / CVP / CD&V / CdH by education group
Figure AD19	Vote for PSC / CVP / CD&V / CdH by income group
Figure AD20	Vote for PSC / CVP / CD&V / CdH by religious affiliation
Figure AD21	Vote for PSC / CVP / CD&V / CdH by gender
Figure AD22	Vote for PSC / CVP / CD&V / CdH by union membership
Figure AD23	Vote for PSC / CVP / CD&V / CdH by perceived social class
Figure AD24	Vote for PSC / CVP / CD&V / CdH by region
Figure AD25	Vote for PVV / VLD / Other liberals by education level
Figure AD26	Vote for PVV / VLD / Other liberals by education group
Figure AD27	Vote for PVV / VLD / Other liberals by income group
Figure AD28	Vote for PVV / VLD / Other liberals by religious affiliation
Figure AD29	Vote for PVV / VLD / Other liberals by gender
Figure AD30	Vote for PVV / VLD / Other liberals by union membership
Figure AD31	Vote for PVV / VLD / Other liberals by perceived social class
Figure AD32	Vote for PVV / VLD / Other liberals by region

Appendix Tables

Table 1	Survey data sources
Table 2	Complete descriptive statistics
Table 3	The structure of political cleavages in Belgium, 2011-2014

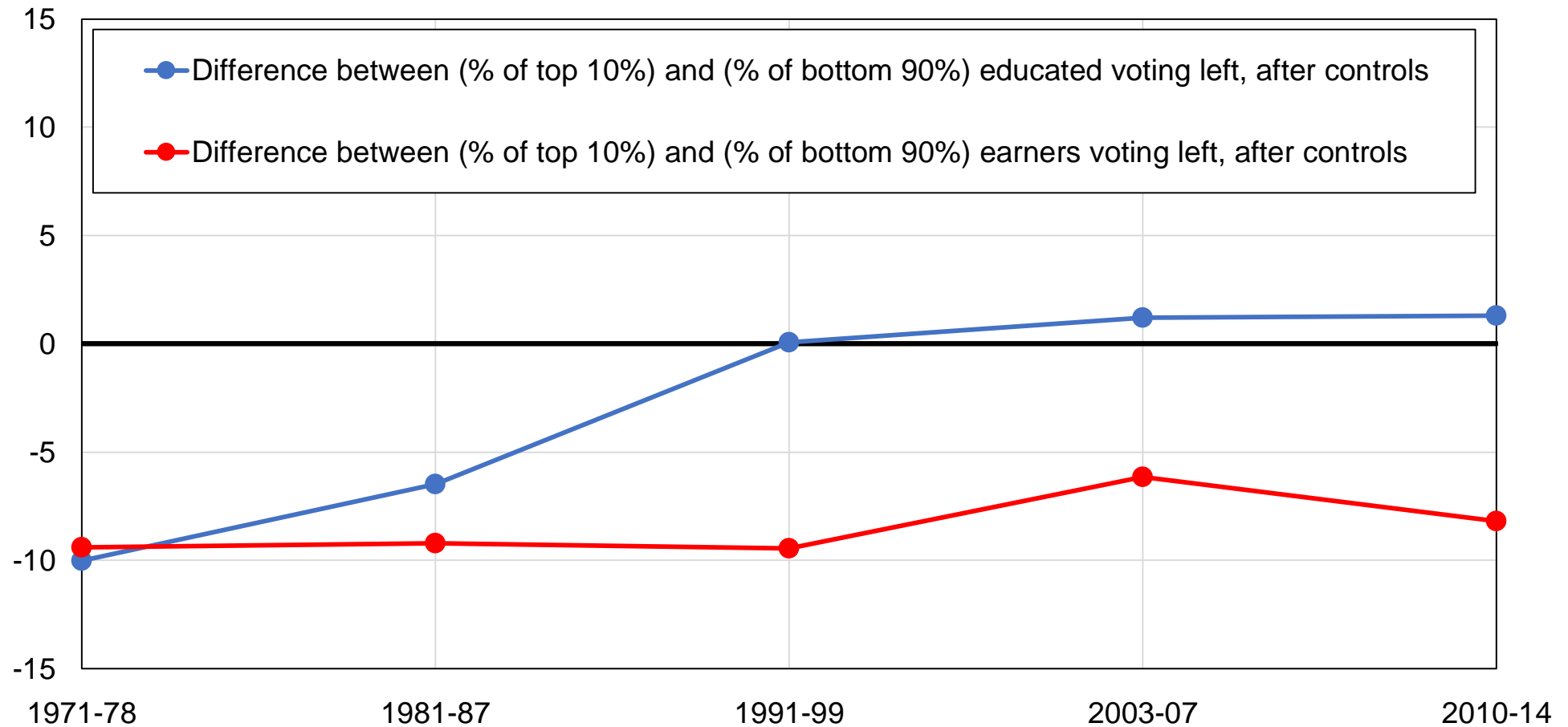
Figure A1 - Election results in Belgium, 1946-2017



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

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

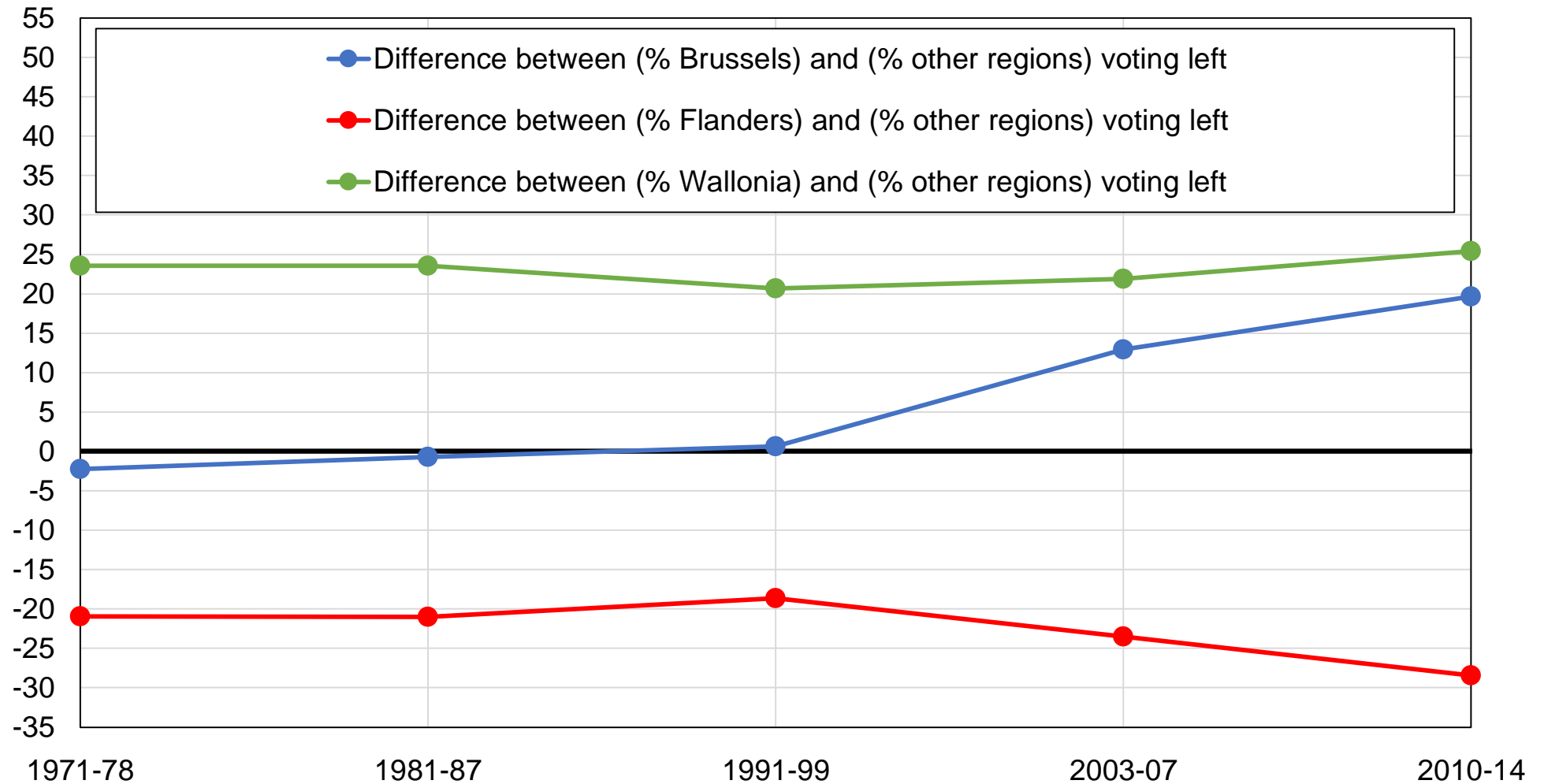
Figure A2 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controls



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

Figure A3 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among specific regions



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

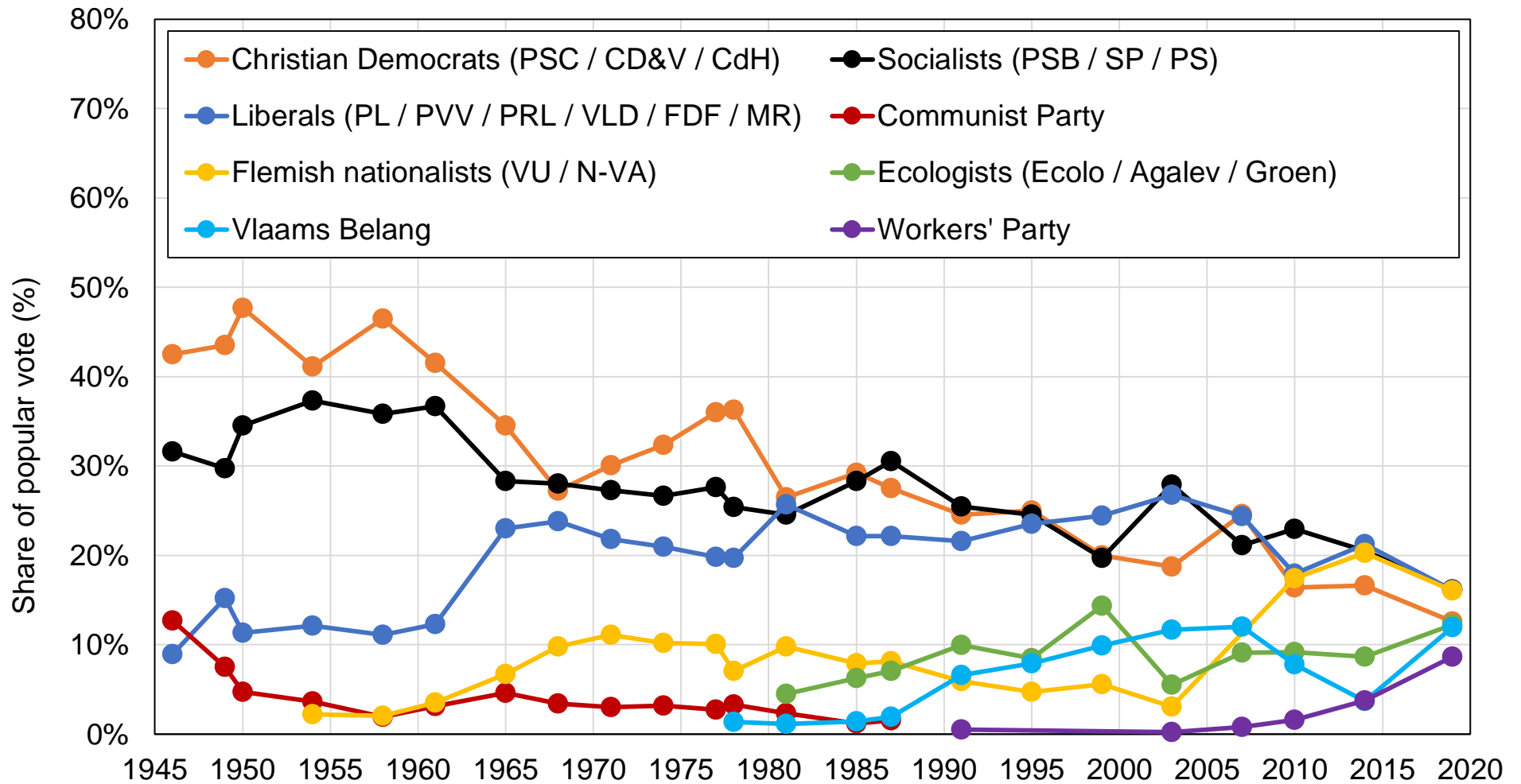
Table A1 - The structure of political cleavages in Belgium, 2011-2014

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

Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

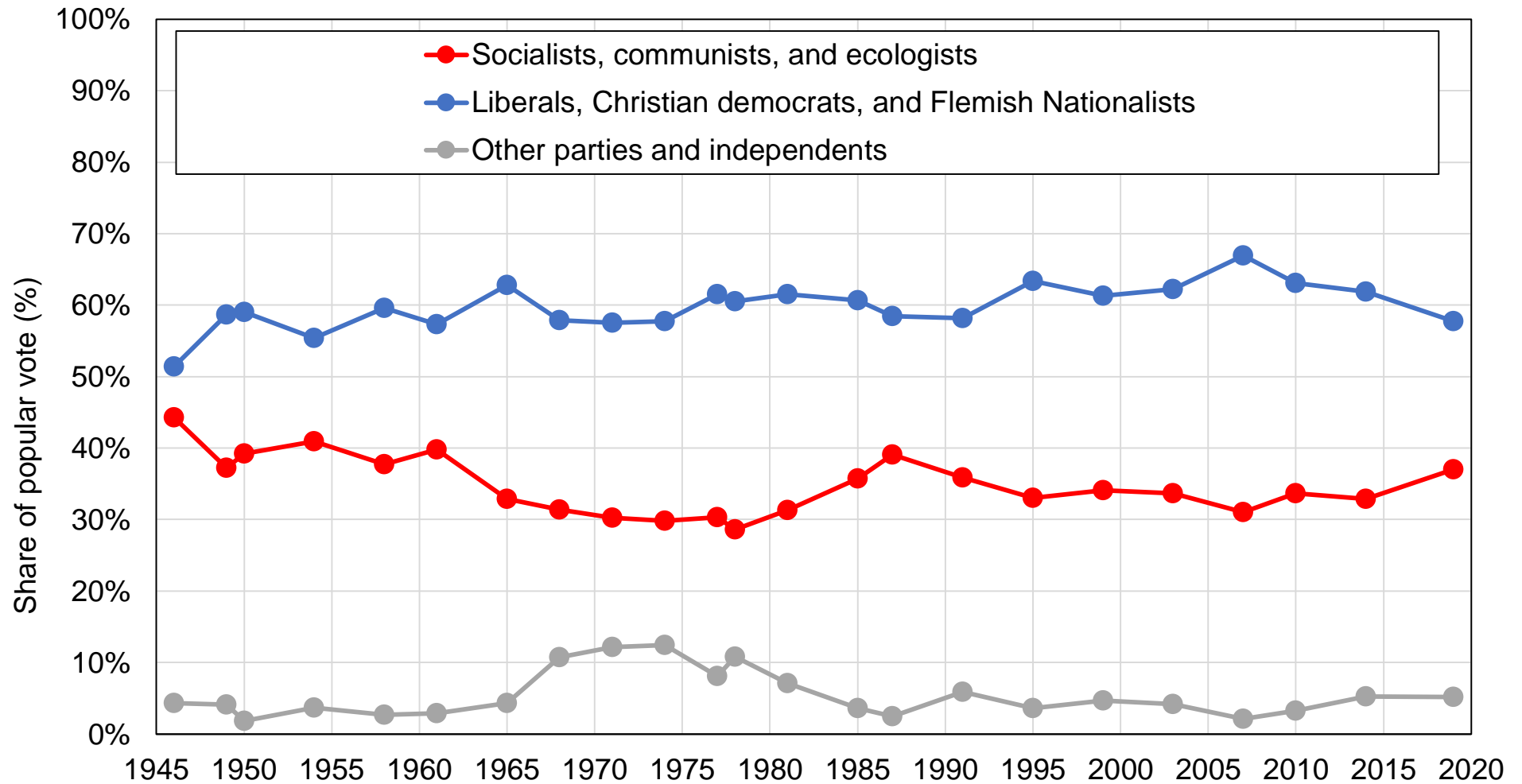
Figure AA1 - Election results in Belgium, 1946-2017



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

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

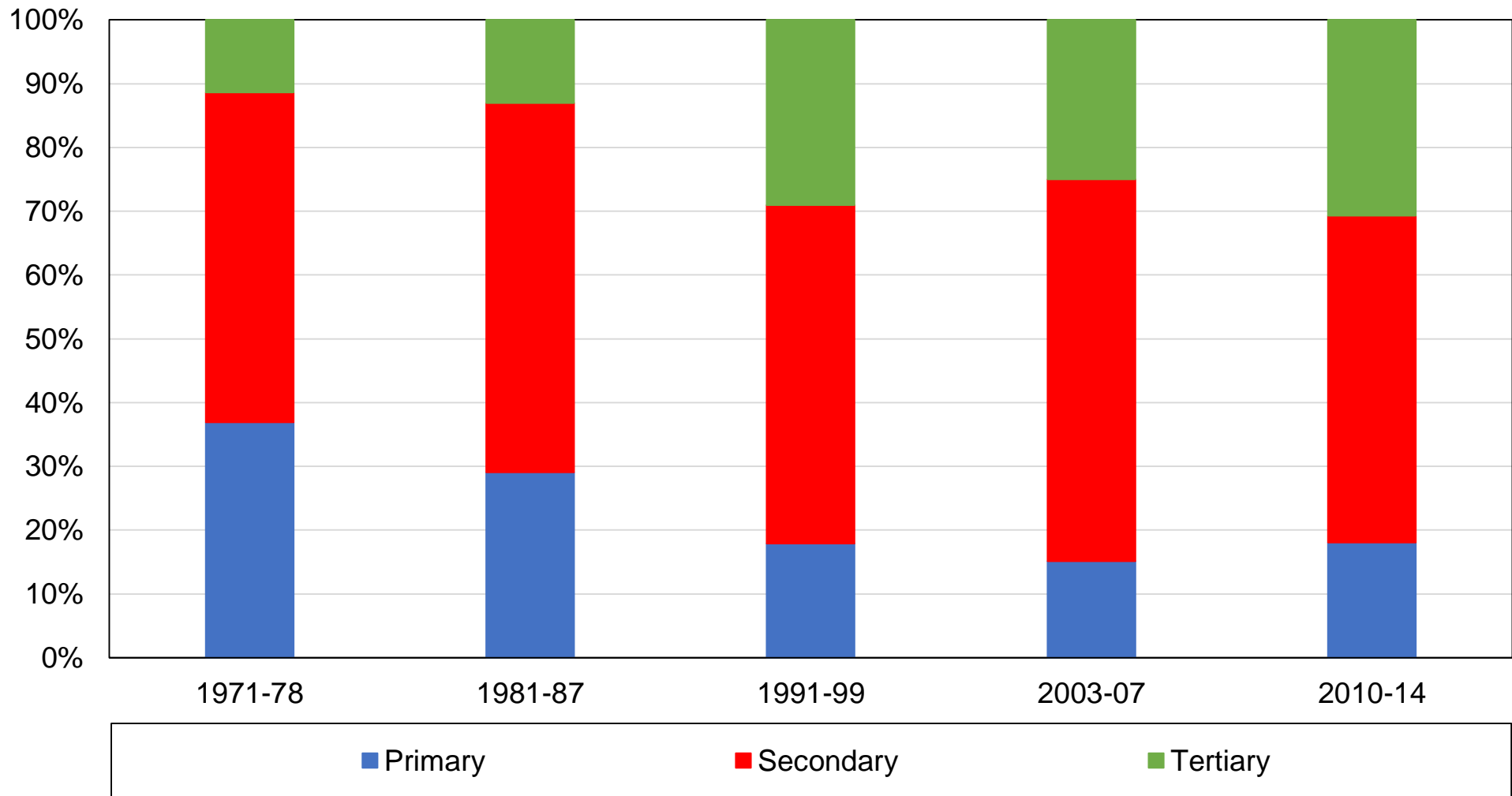
Figure AA2 - Election results in Belgium by group, 1946-2017



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

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

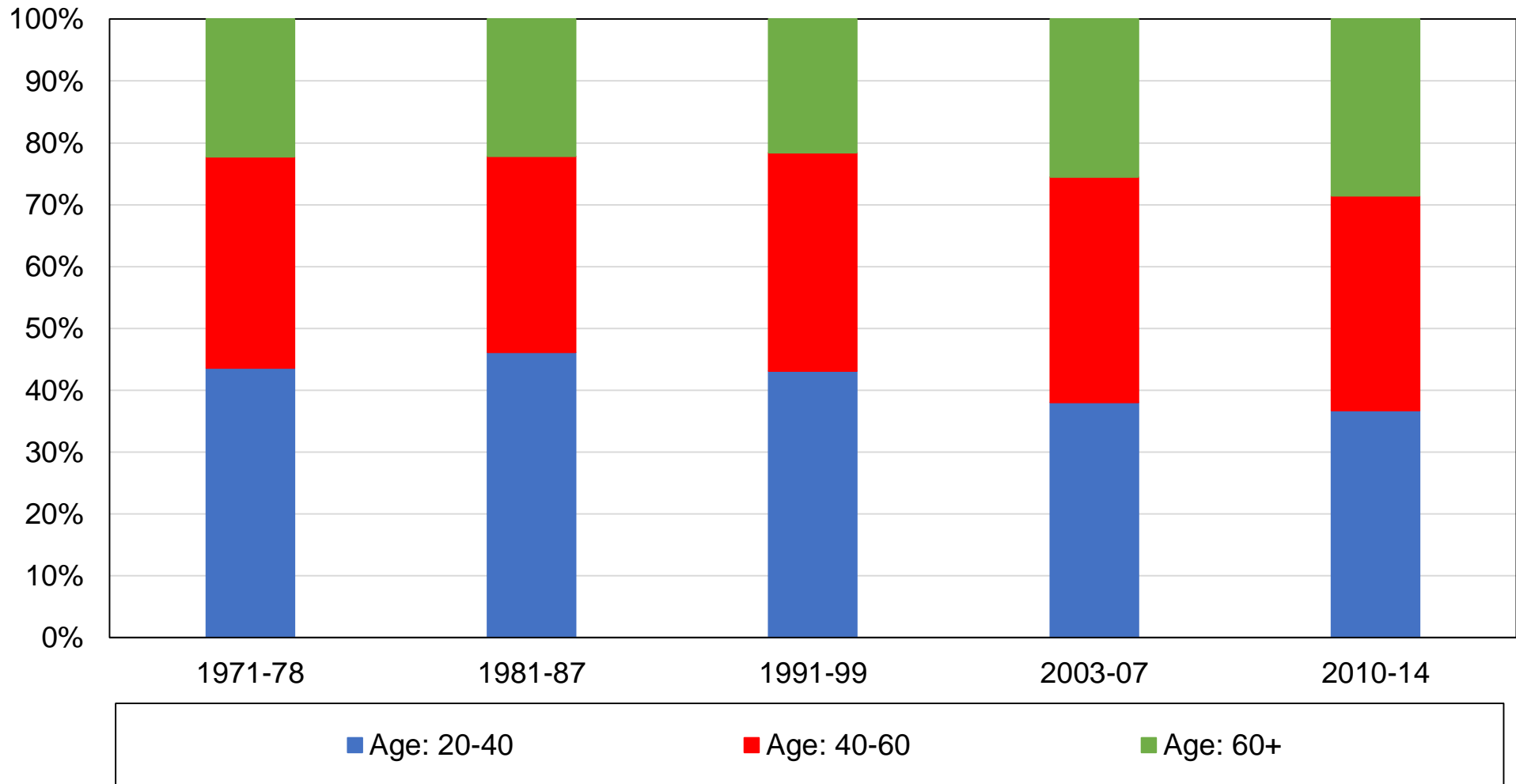
Figure AA3 - The composition of the electorate by education level



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

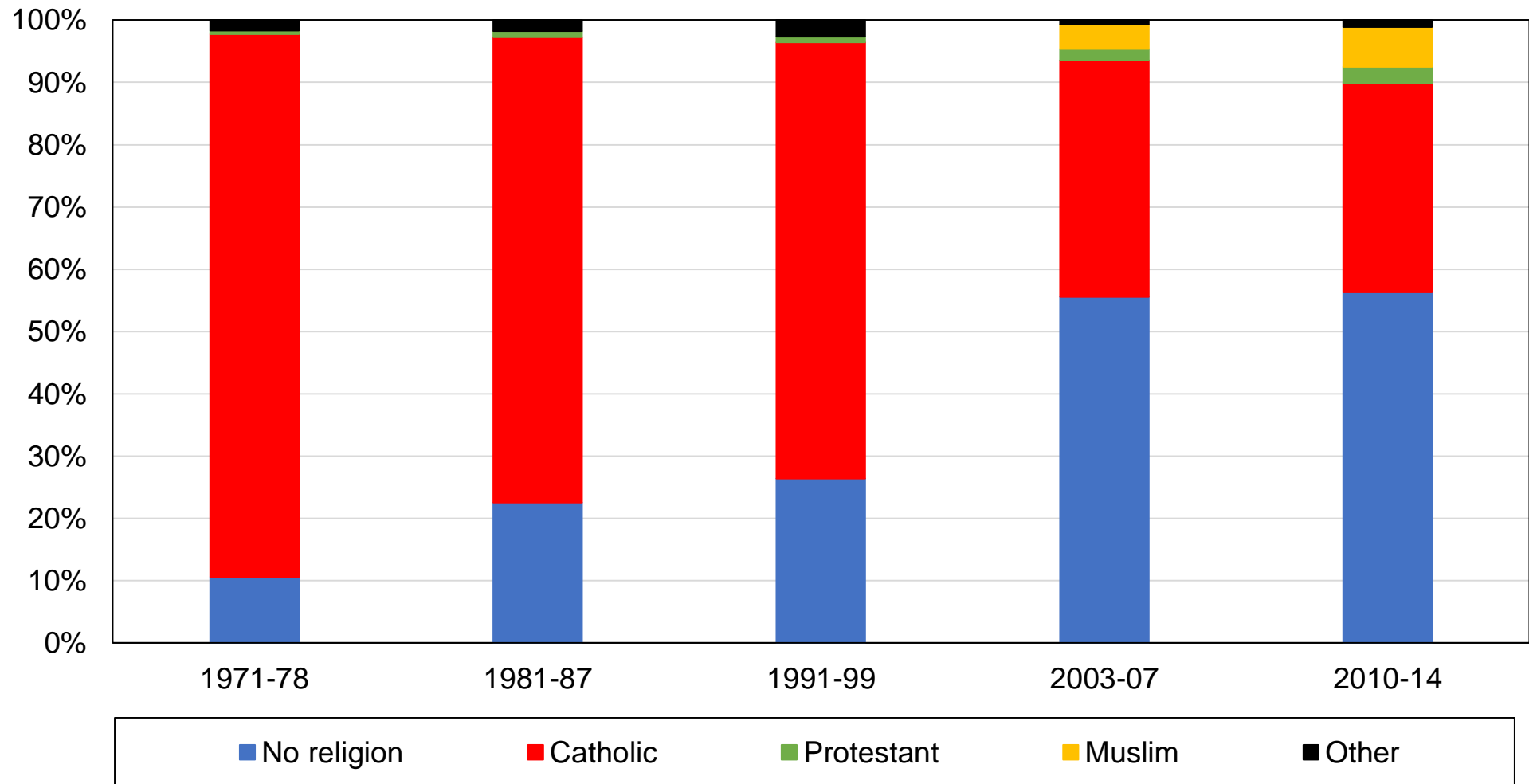
Figure AA4 - The composition of the electorate by age group



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

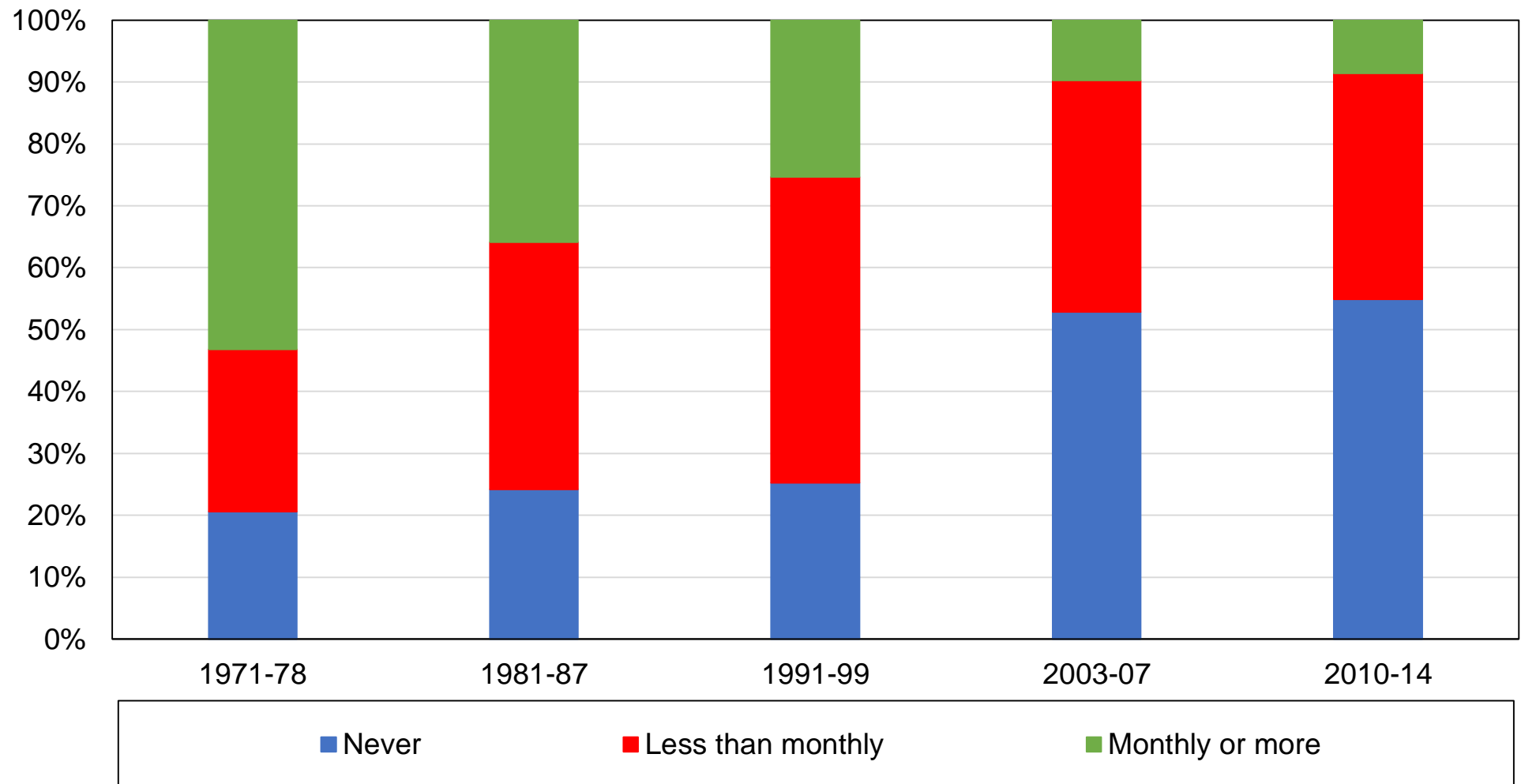
Figure AA5 - The composition of the electorate by religion



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

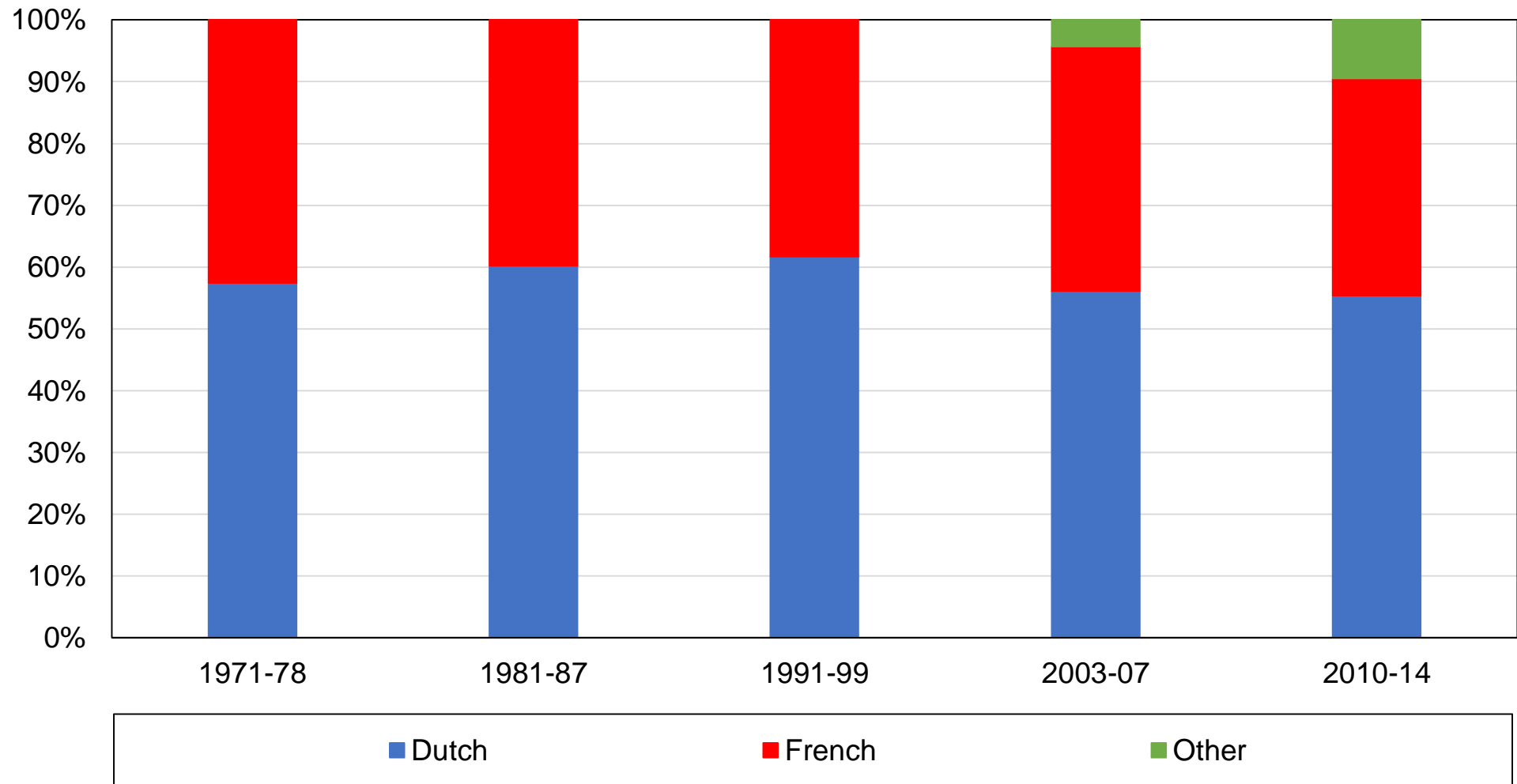
Figure AA6 - The composition of the electorate by church attendance



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

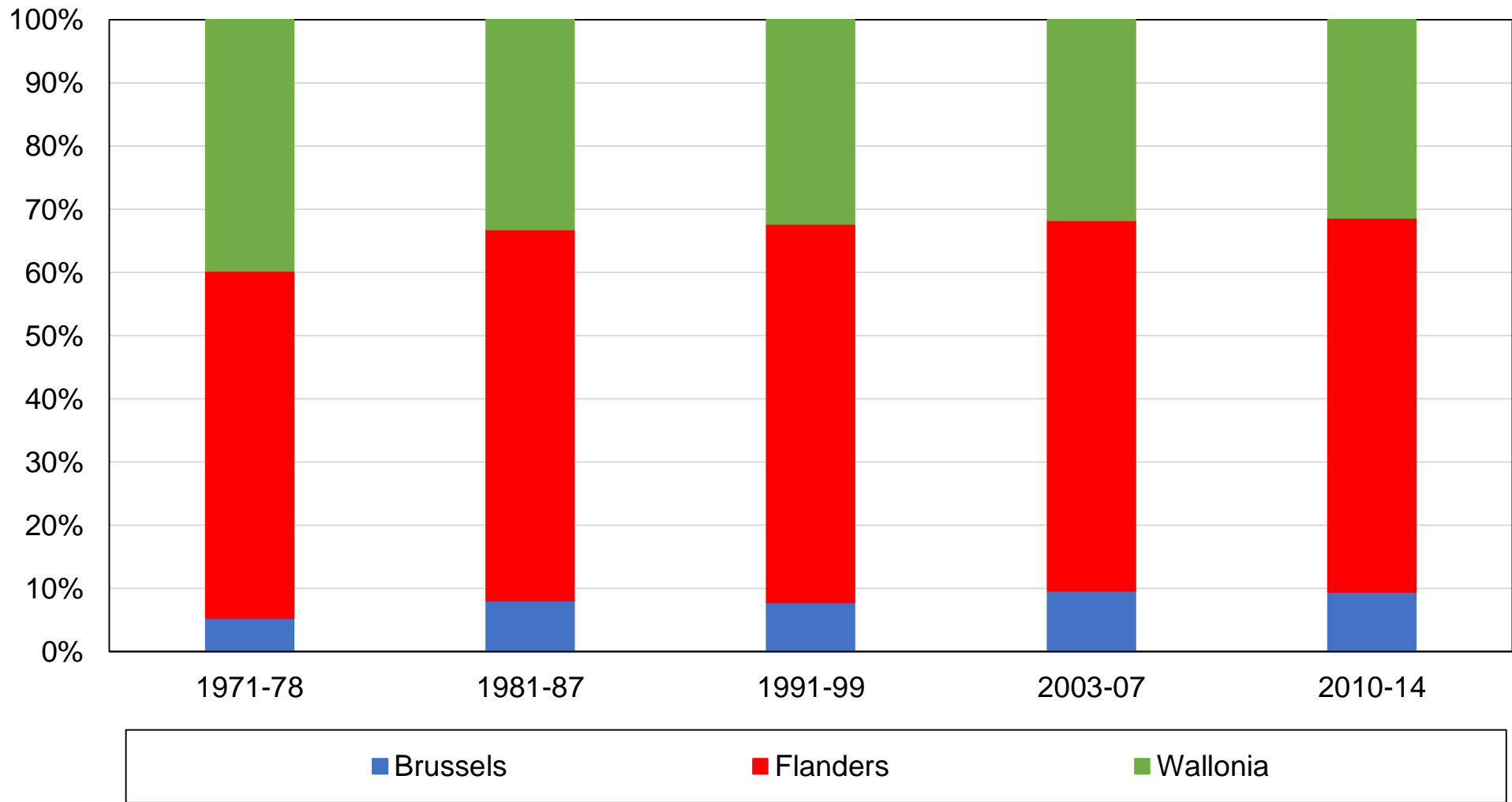
Figure AA7 - The composition of the electorate by language



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

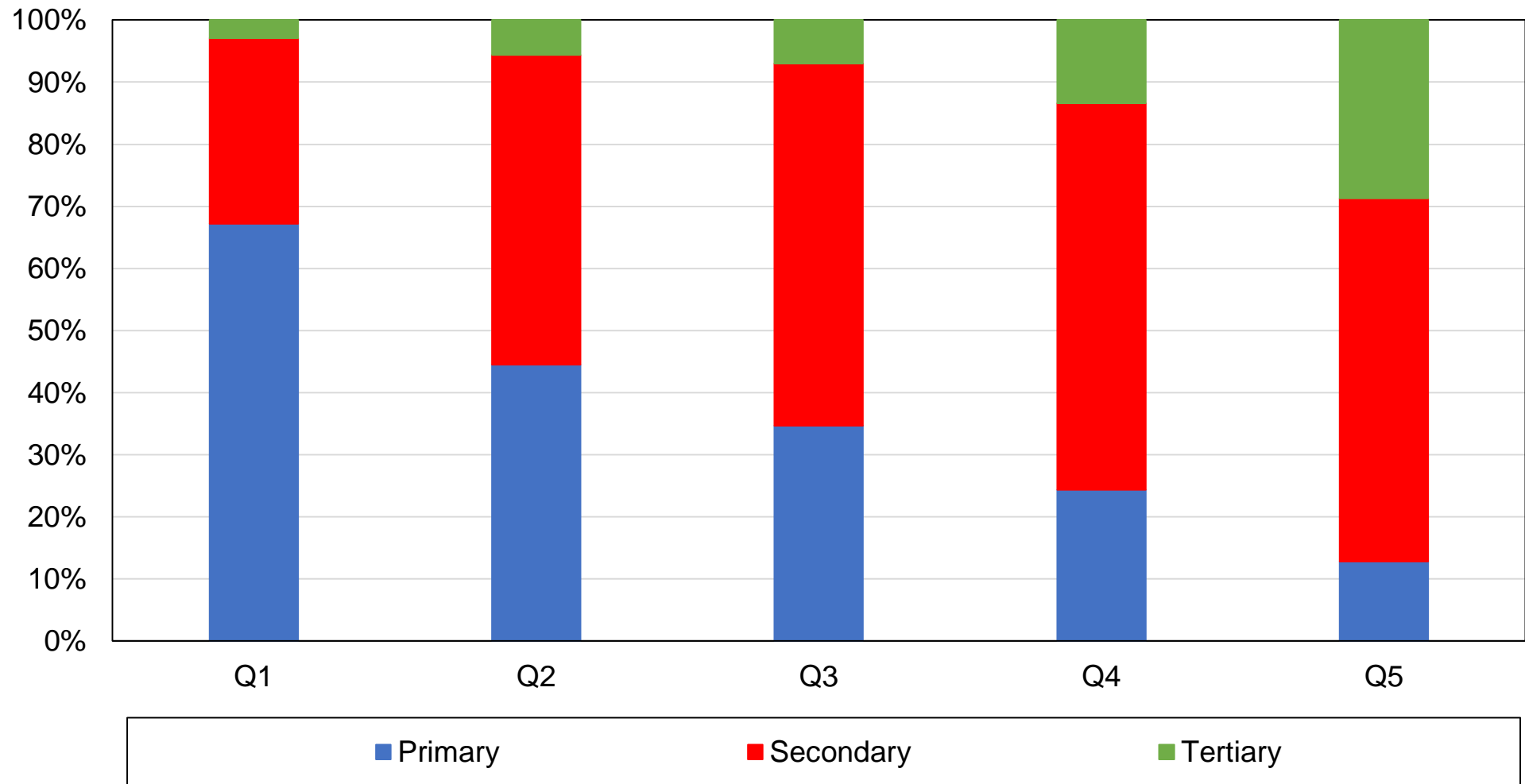
Figure AA8 - The composition of the electorate by region



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

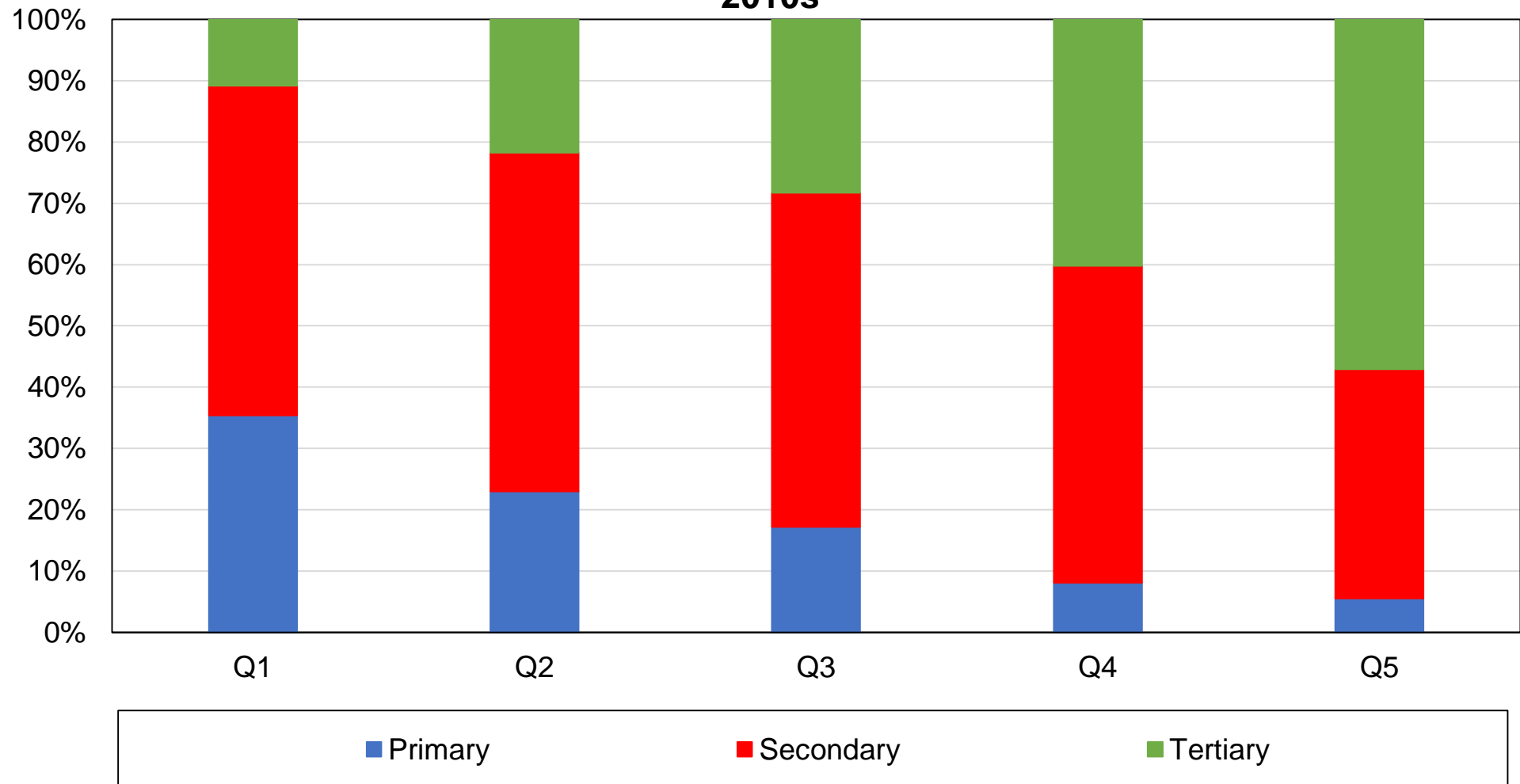
Figure AA9 - Composition of income quintiles by education level, 1970s



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

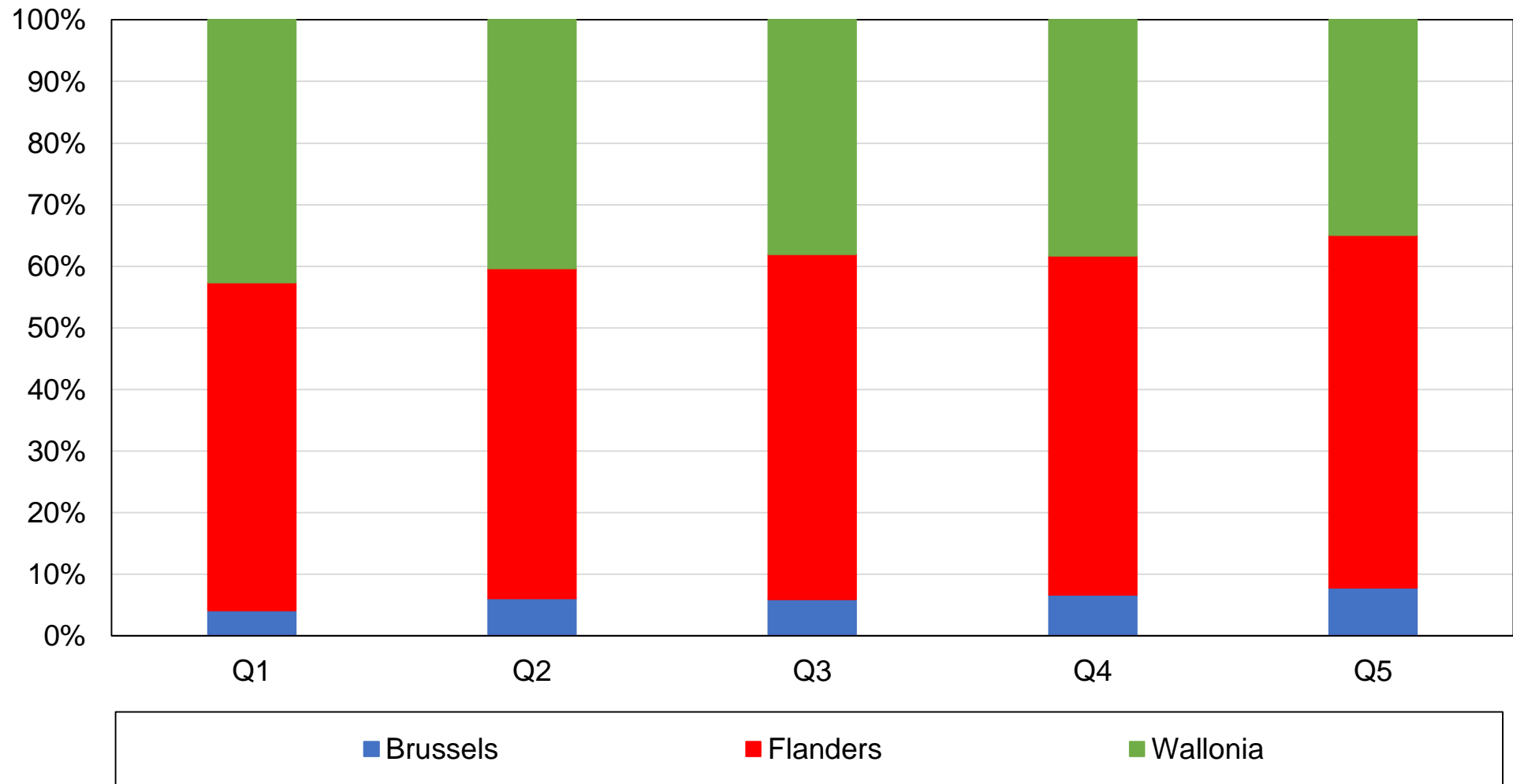
Figure AA10 - Composition of income quintiles by education level, 2010s



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

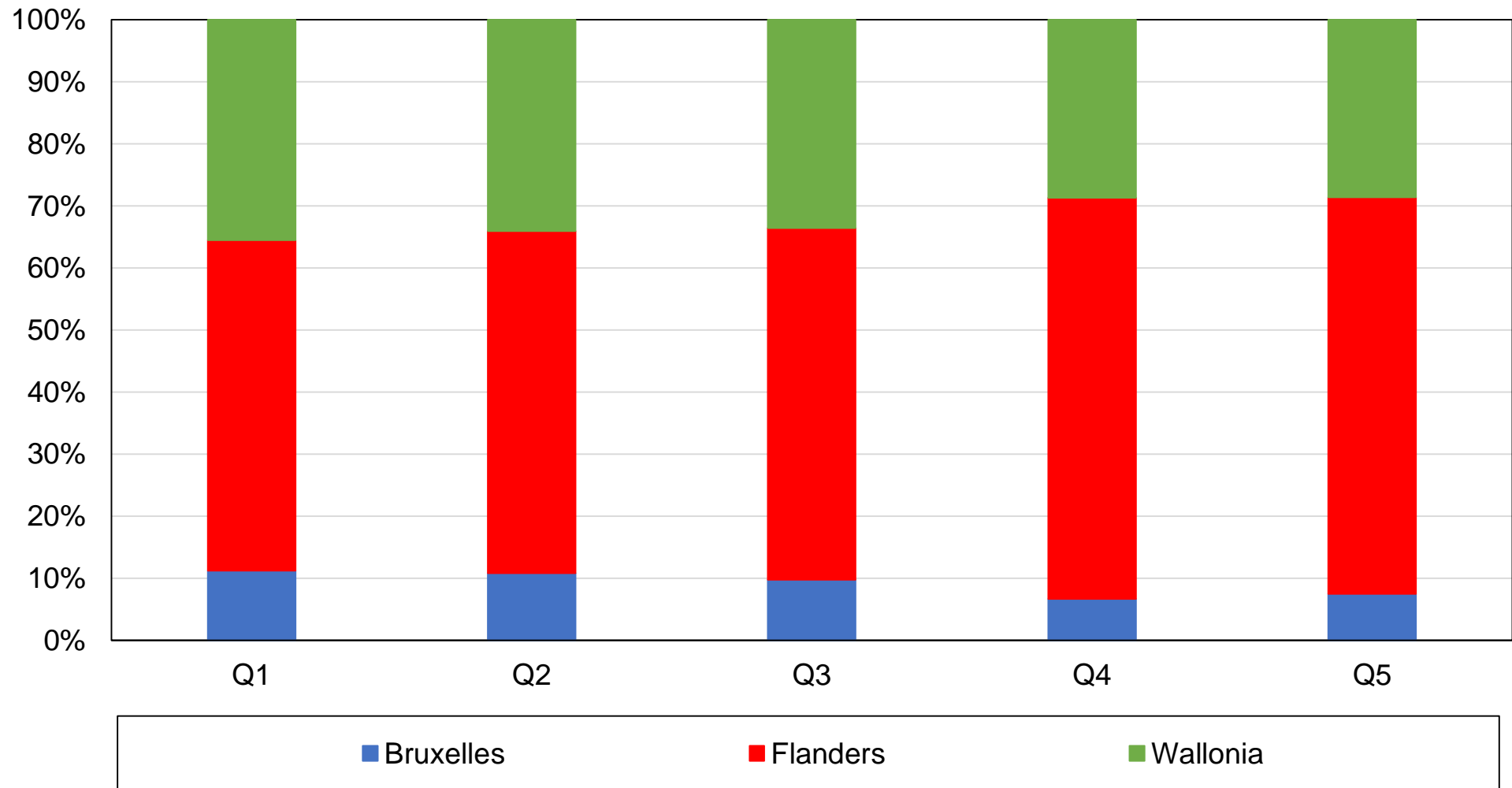
Figure AA11 - Composition of income quintiles by region, 1970s



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

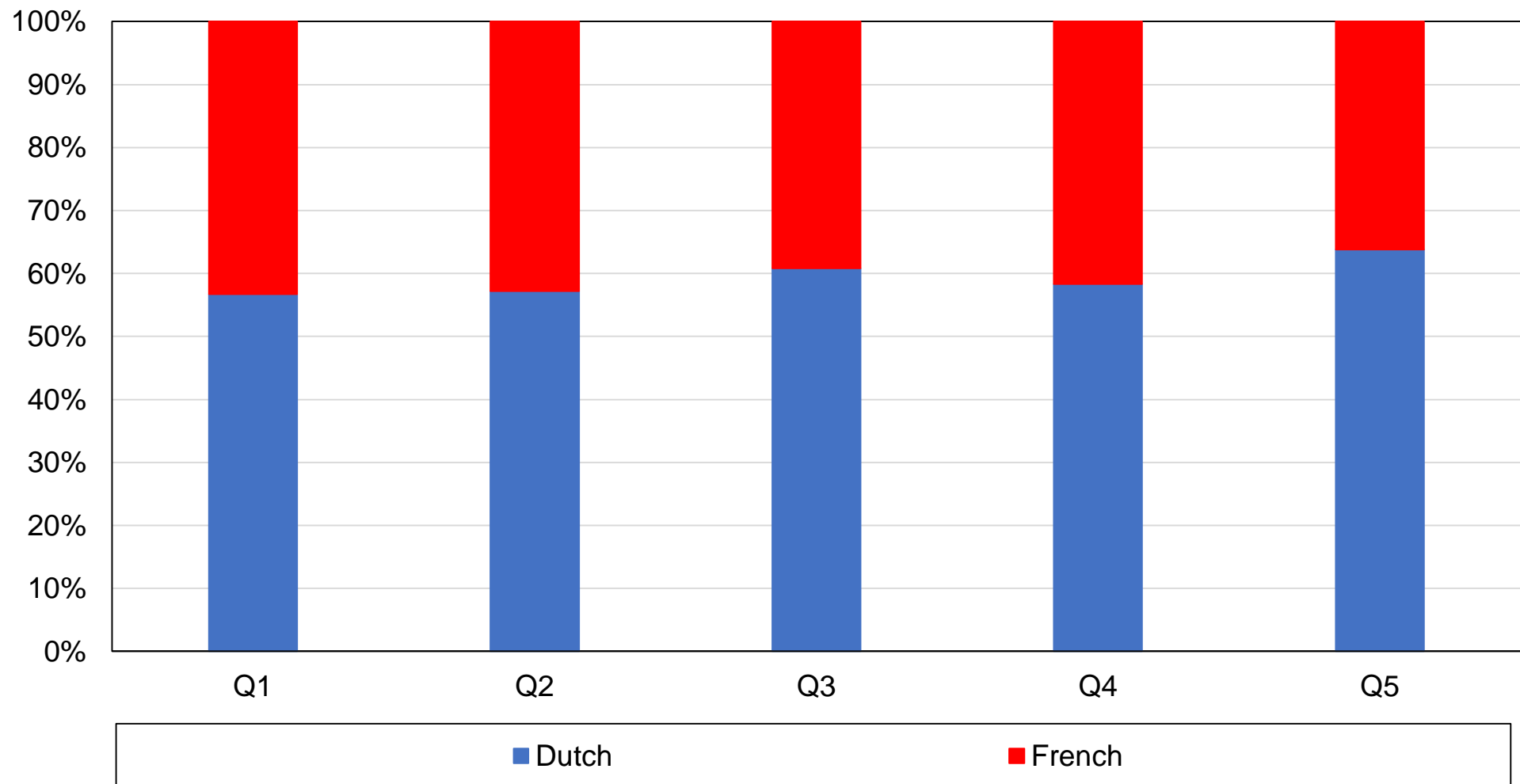
Figure AA12 - Composition of income quintiles by region, 2010s



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

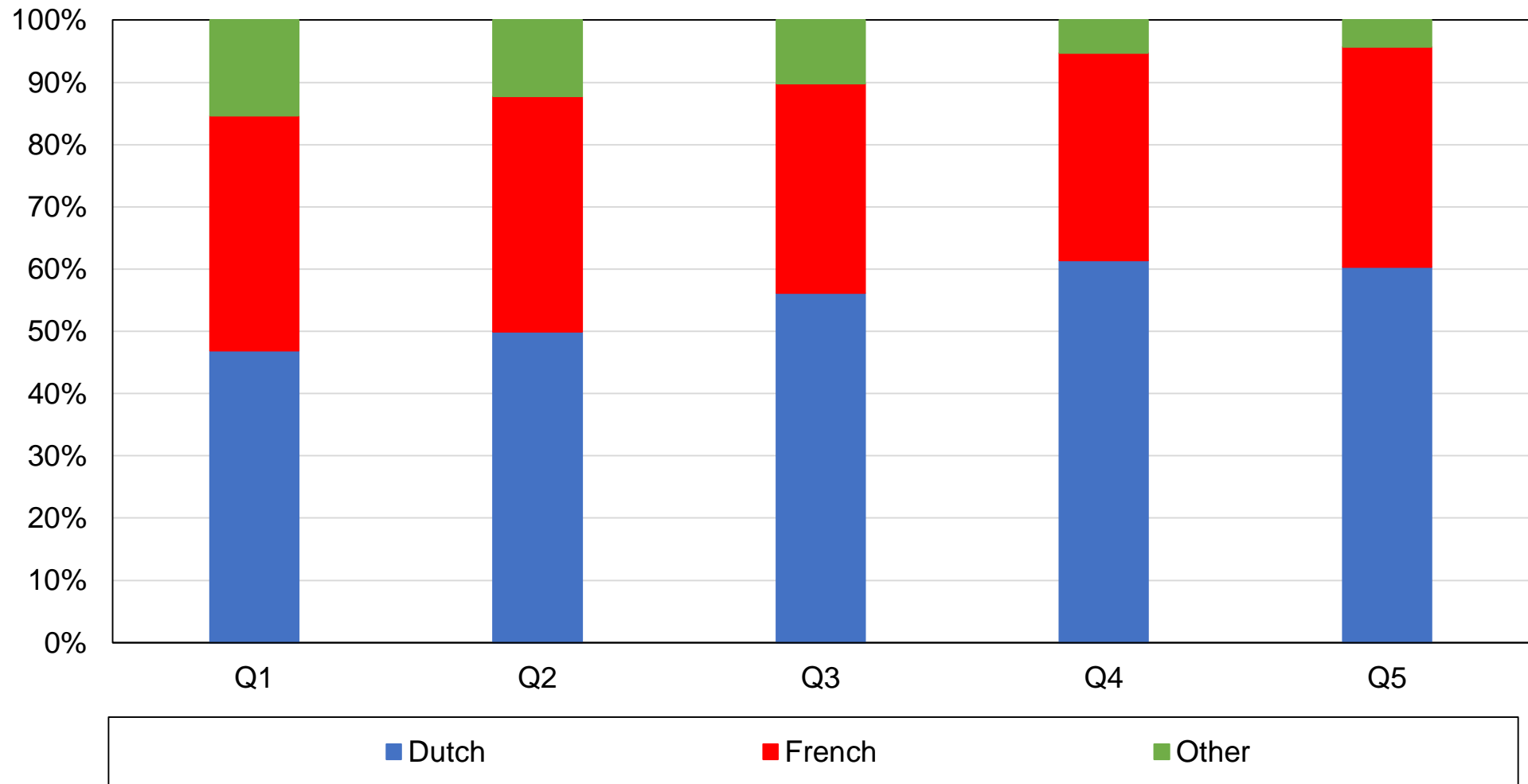
Figure AA13 - Composition of income quintiles by first language, 1970s



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

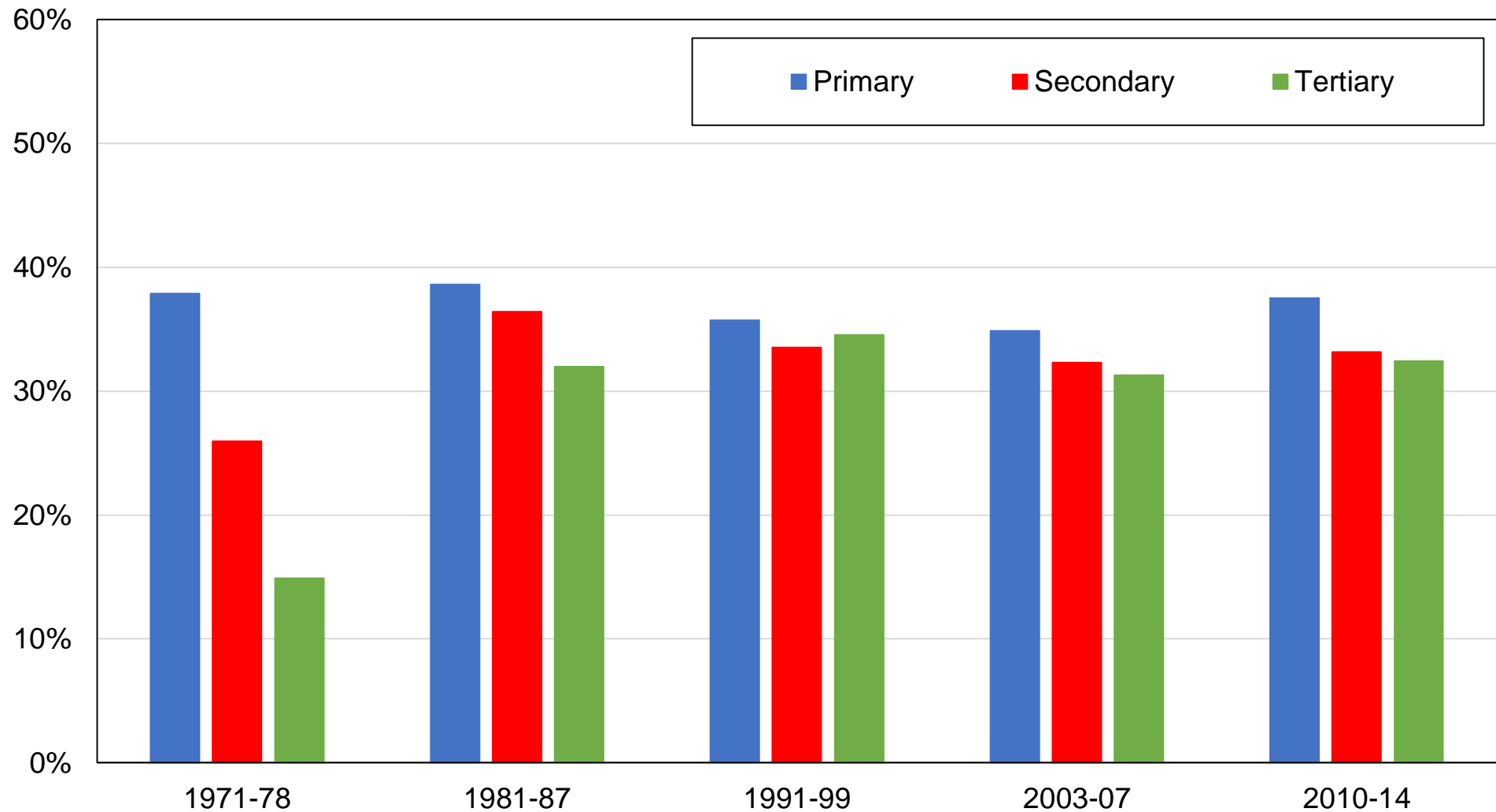
Figure AA14 - Composition of income quintiles by first language, 2010s



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

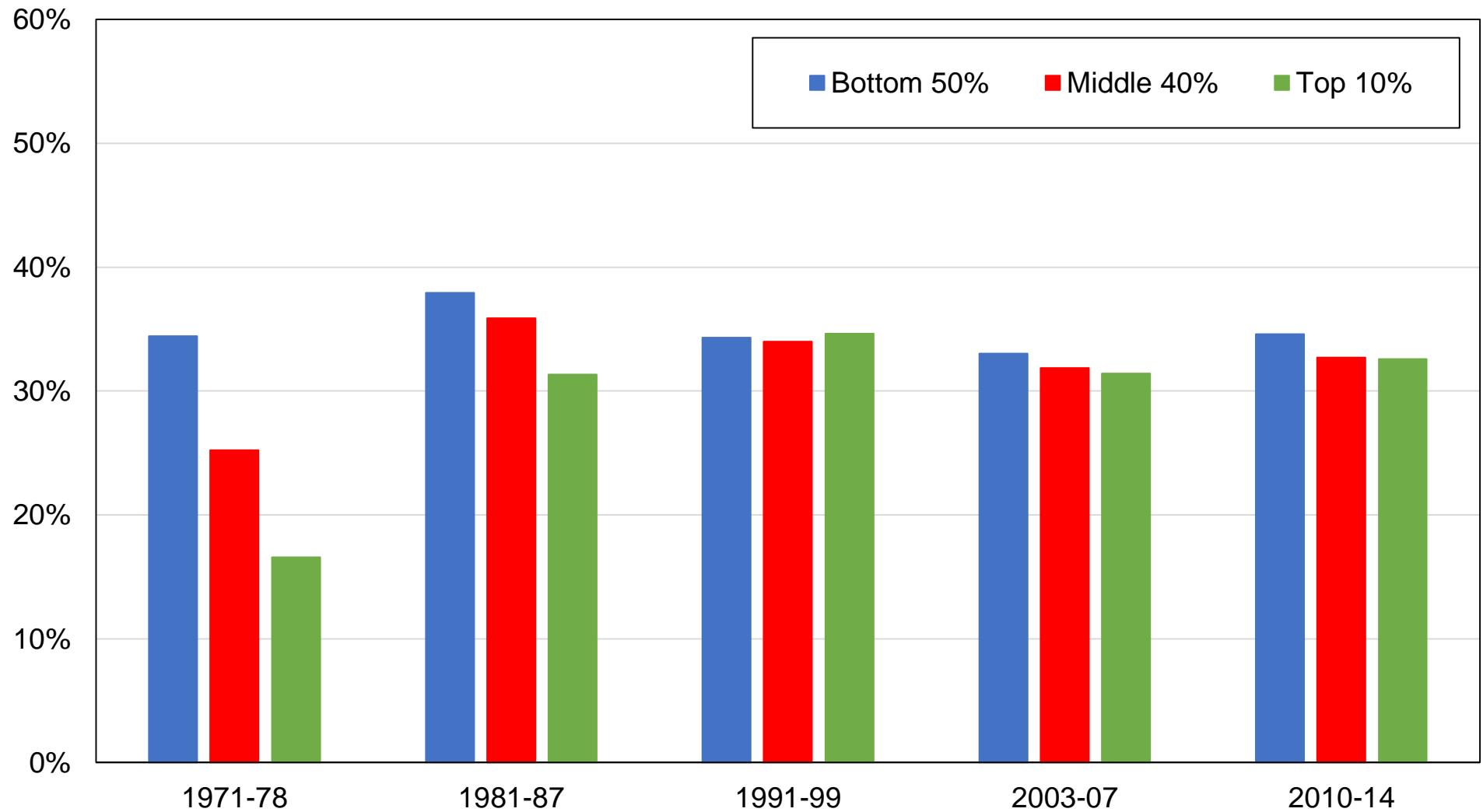
Figure AB1 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by education level



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

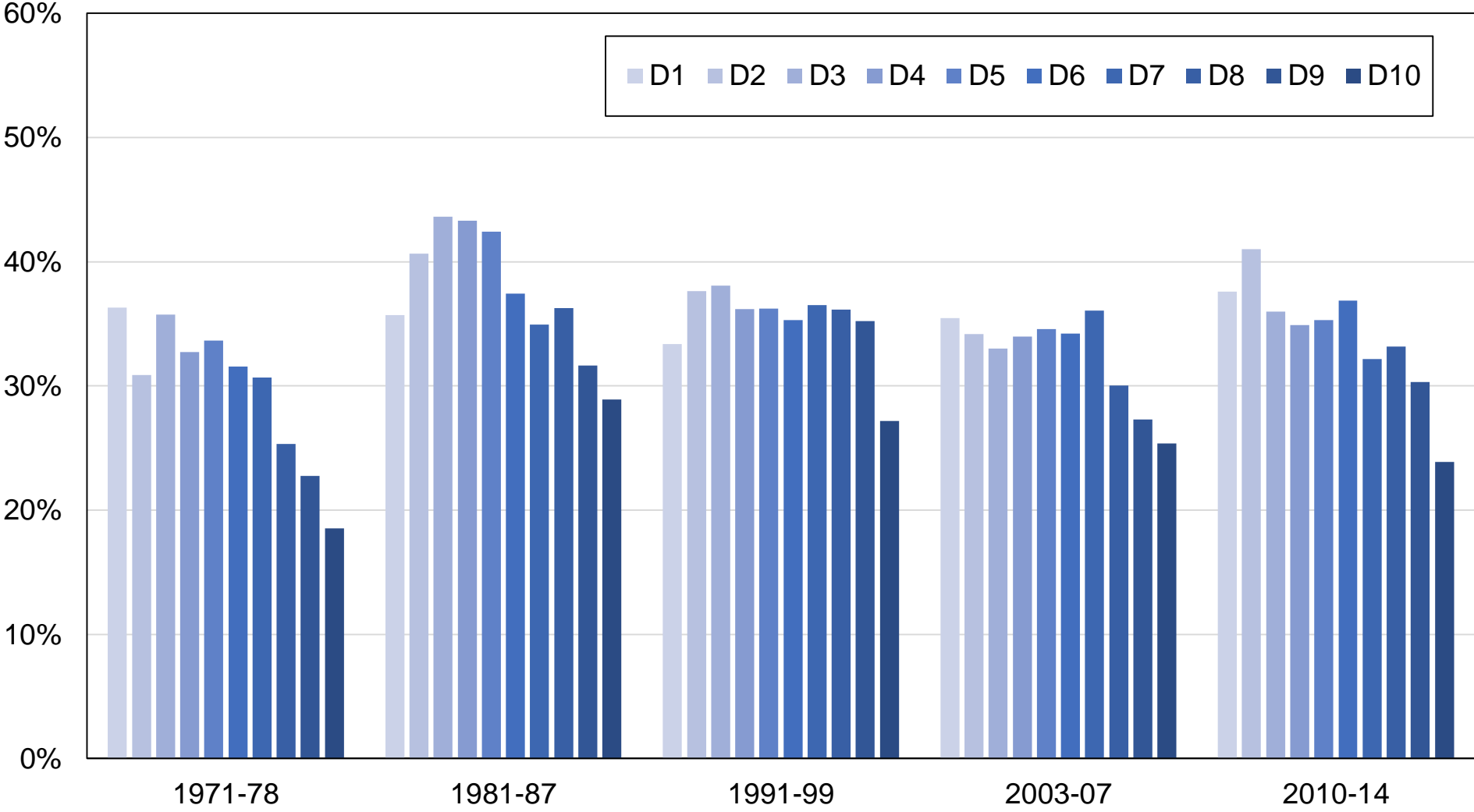
Figure AB2 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by education group



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

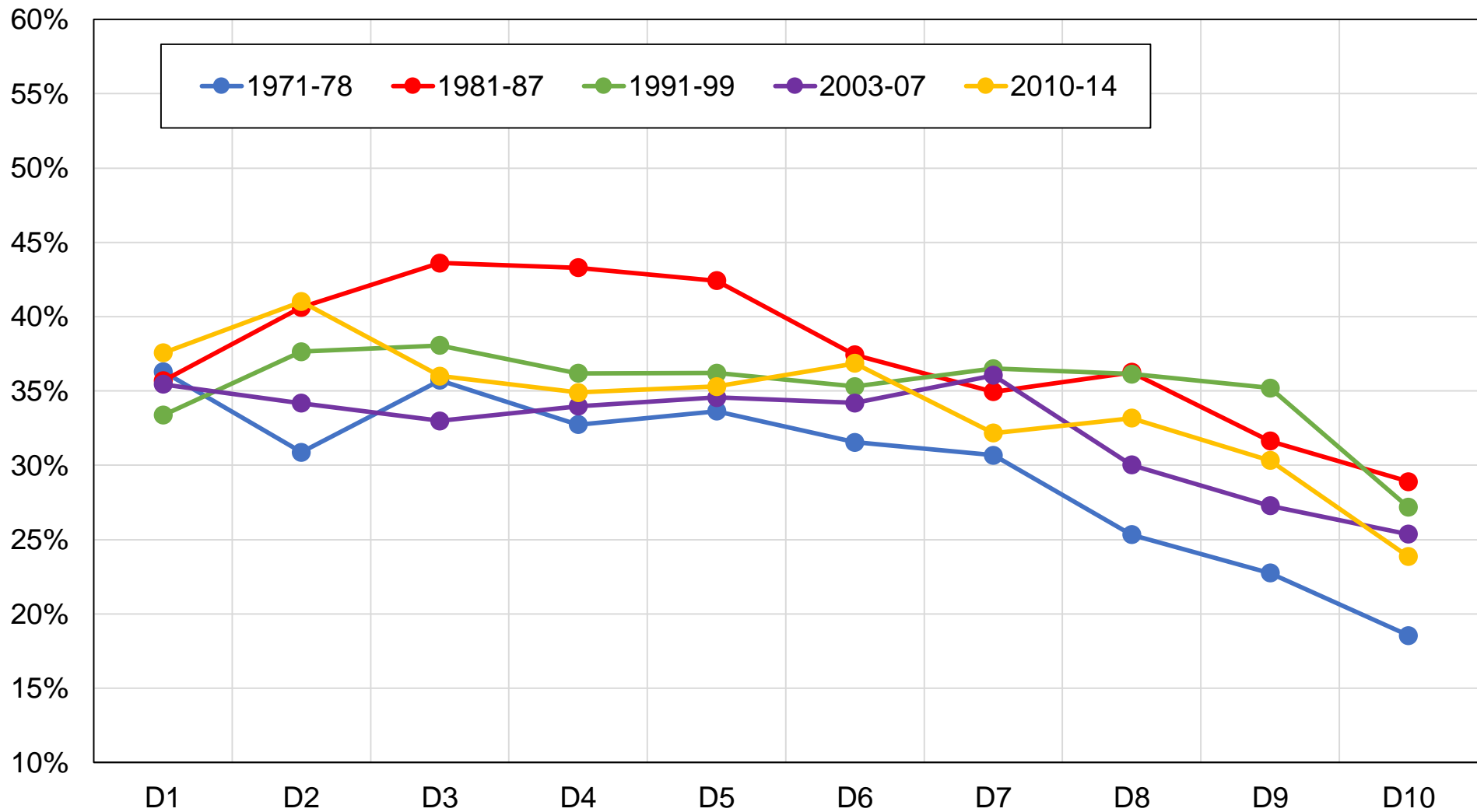
Figure AB3 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by income decile



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

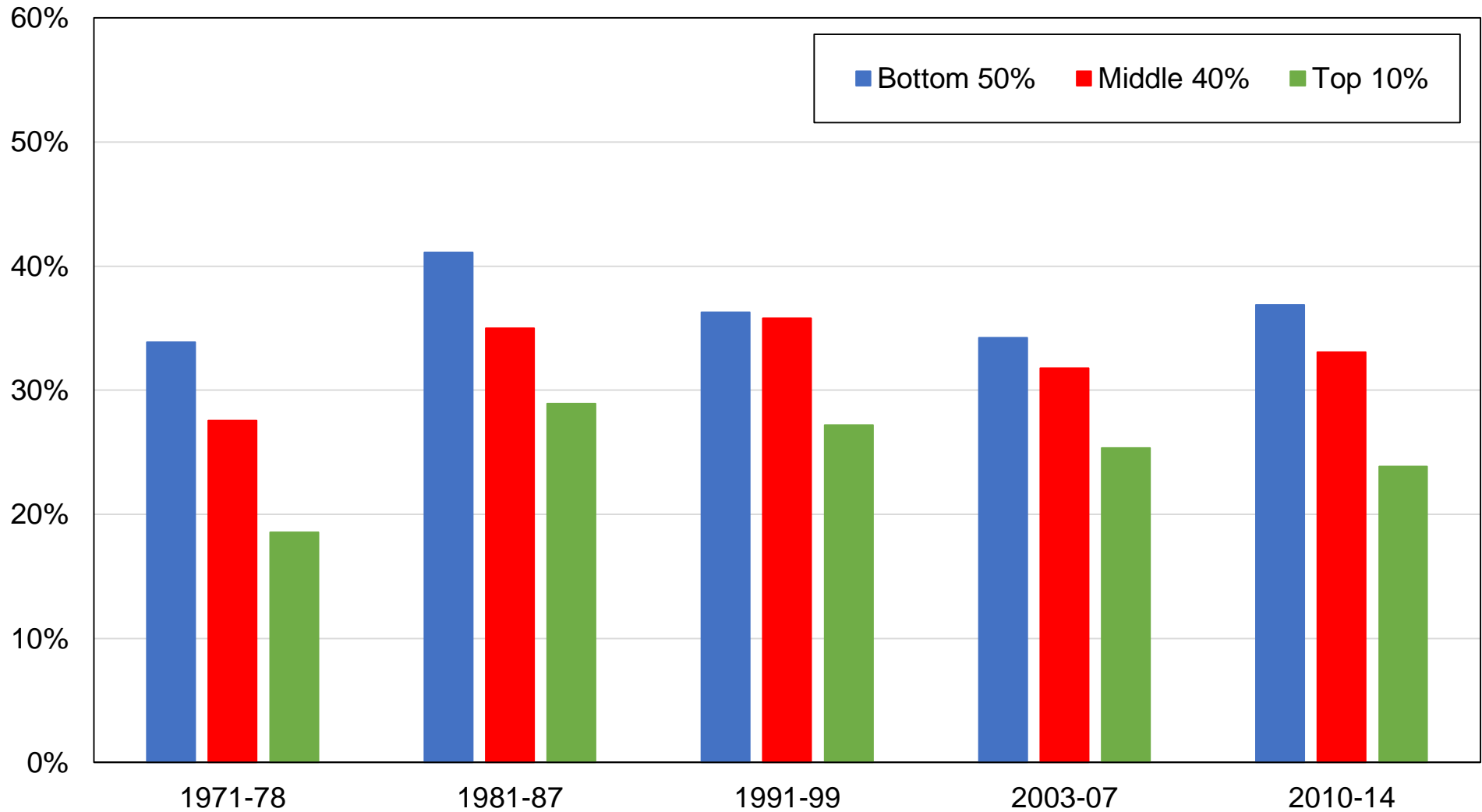
Figure AB3b - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by income decile



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

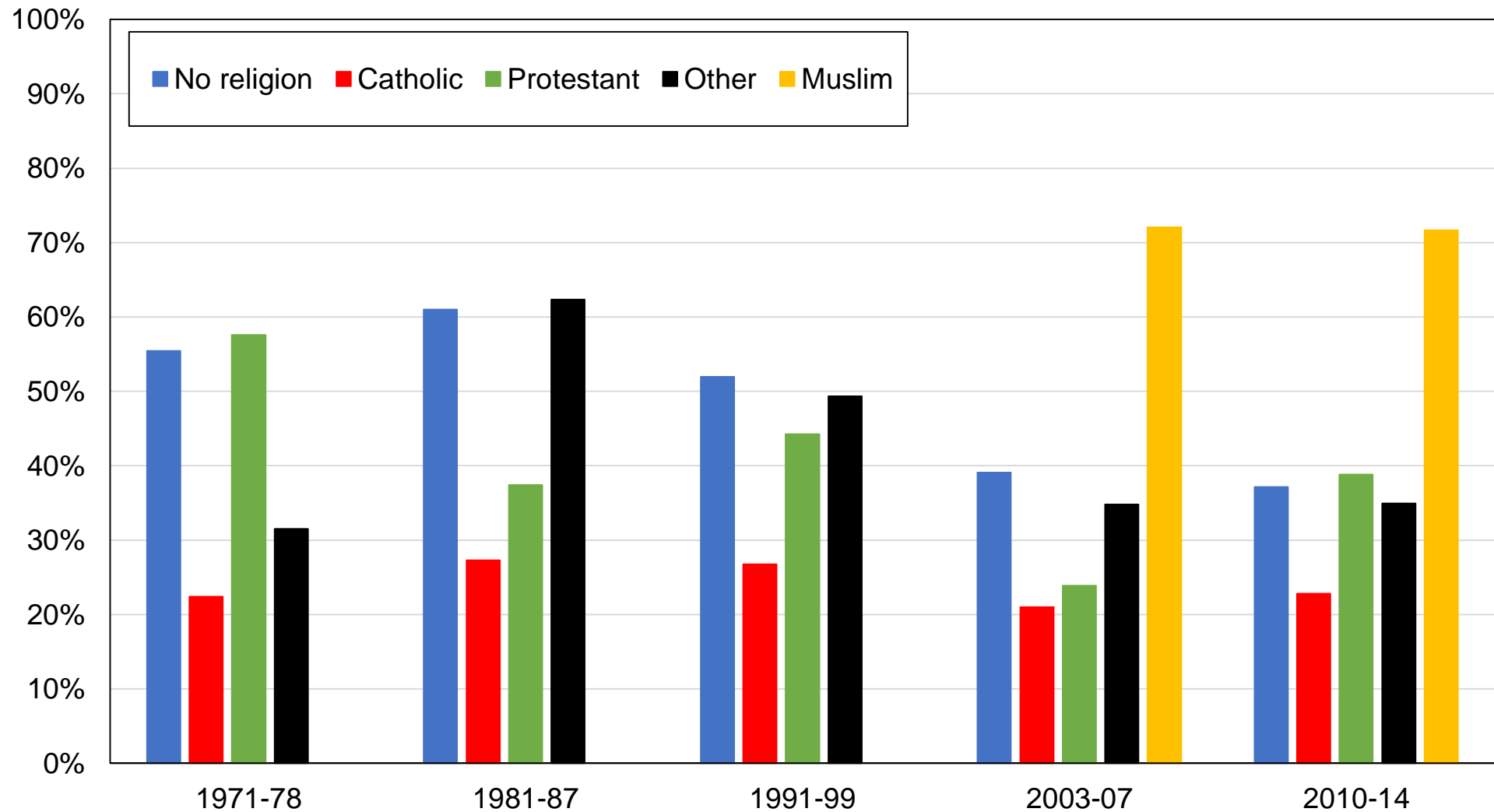
Figure AB4 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by income group



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

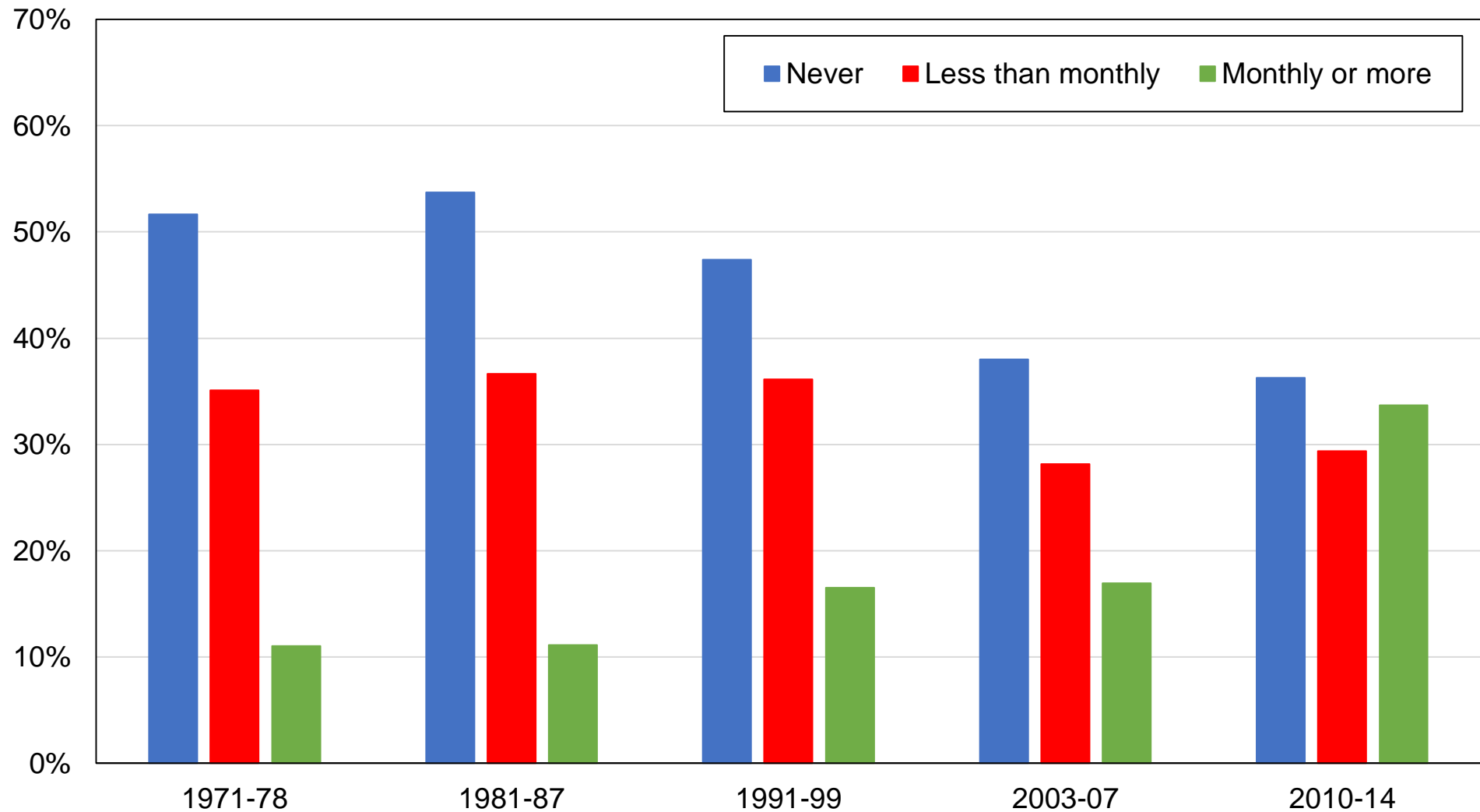
Figure AB5 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Belgium political attitudes surveys.

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

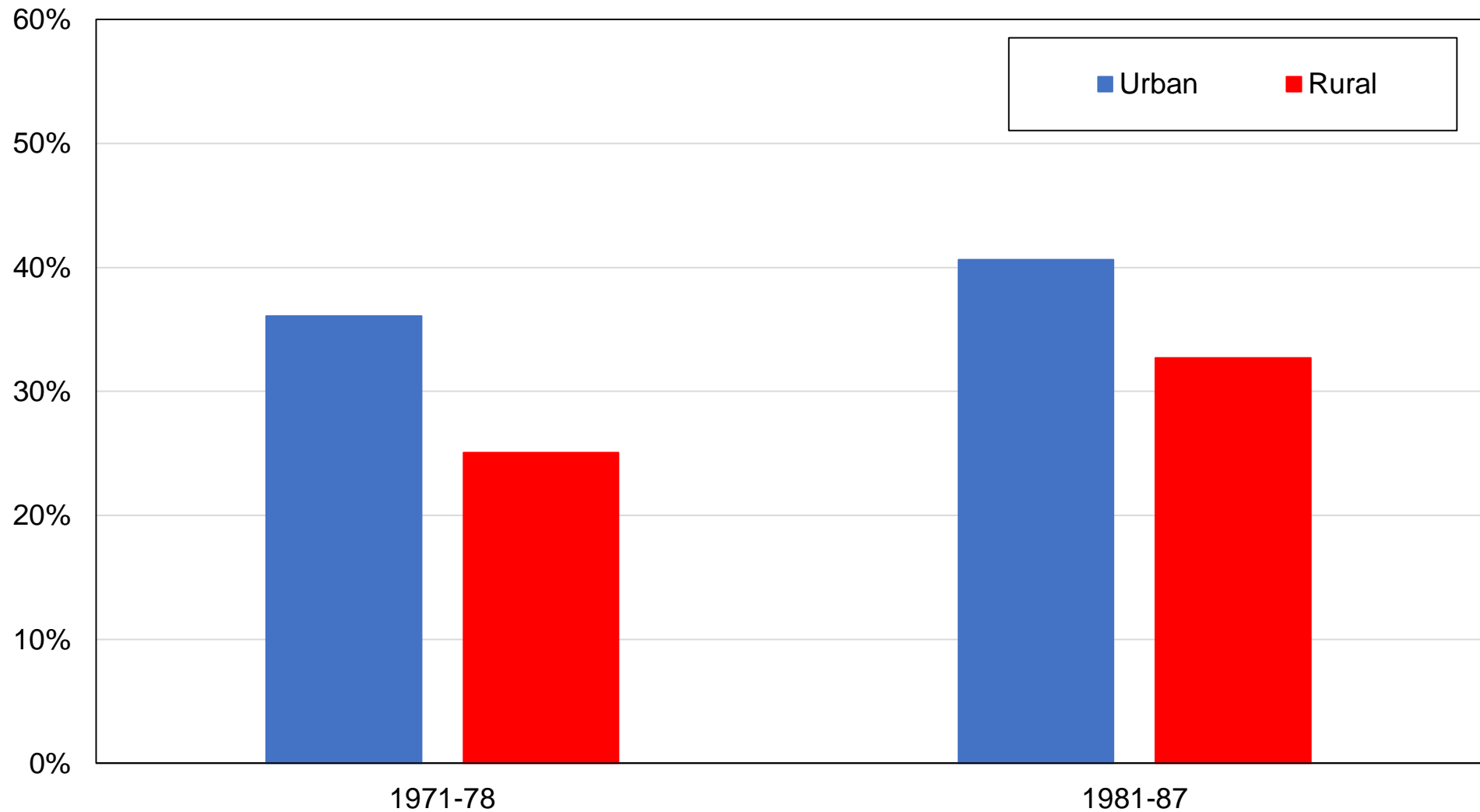
Figure AB6 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by church attendance



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

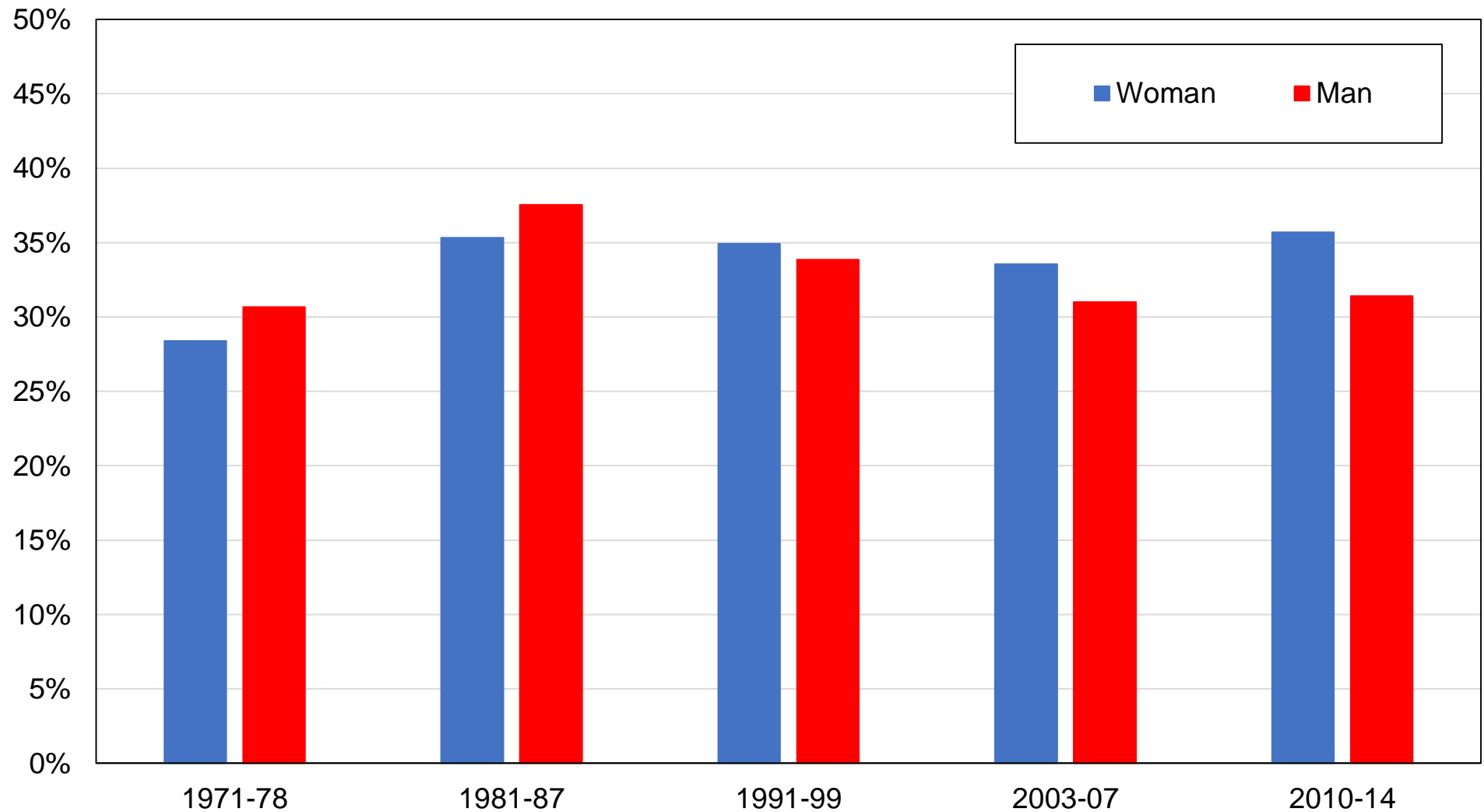
Figure AB7 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by location



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

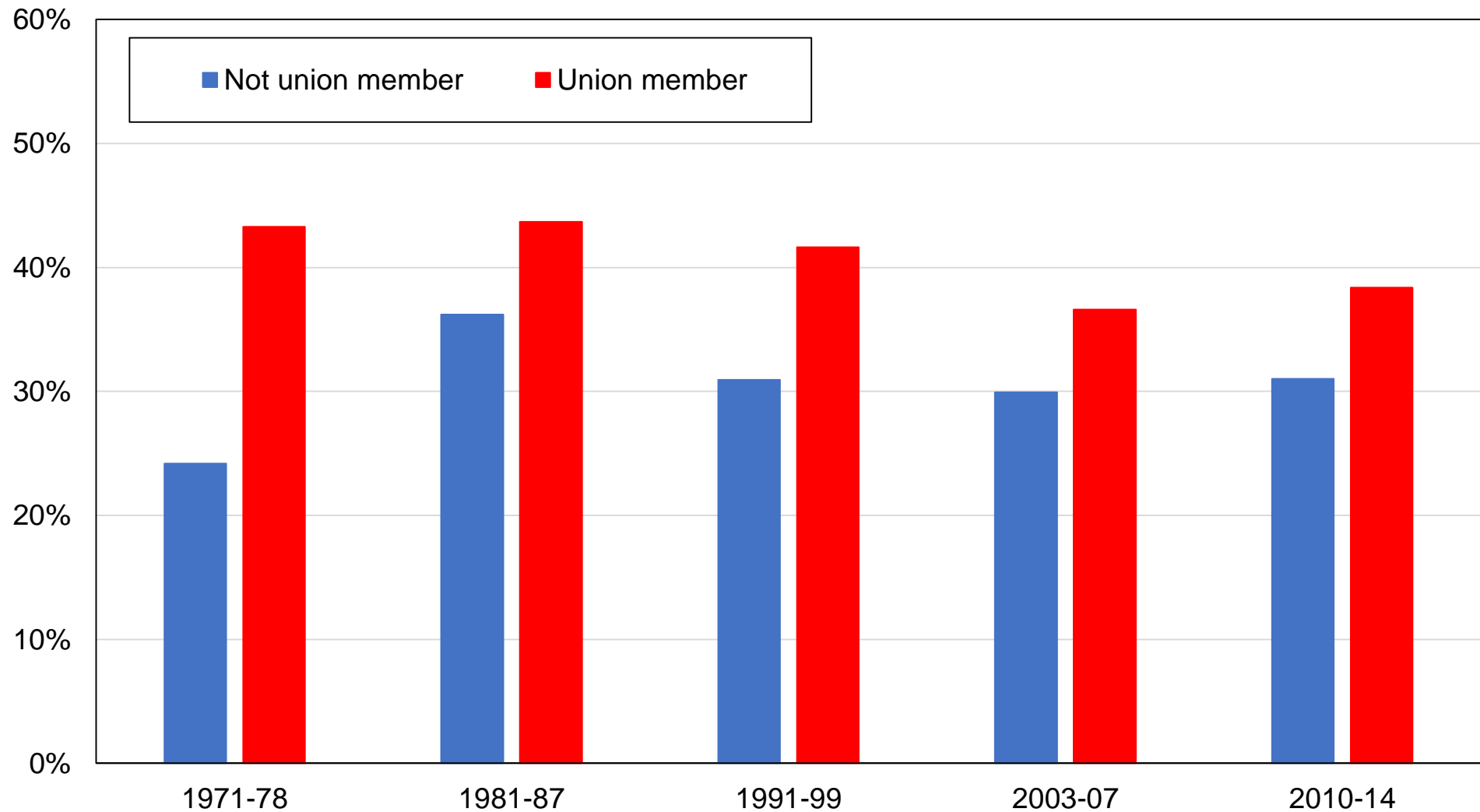
Figure AB8 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by gender



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

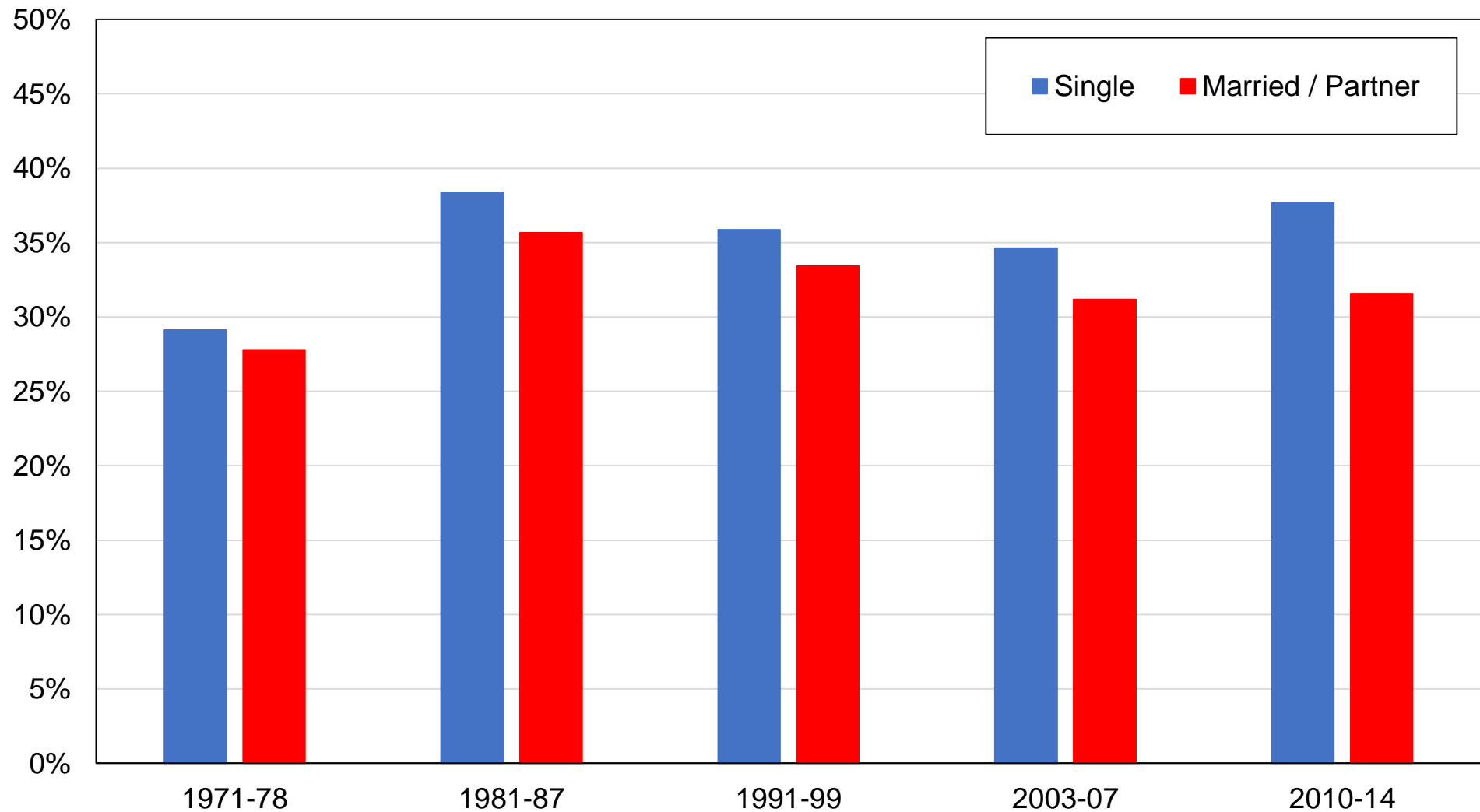
Figure AB9 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by union membership



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

Figure AB10 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by marital status



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

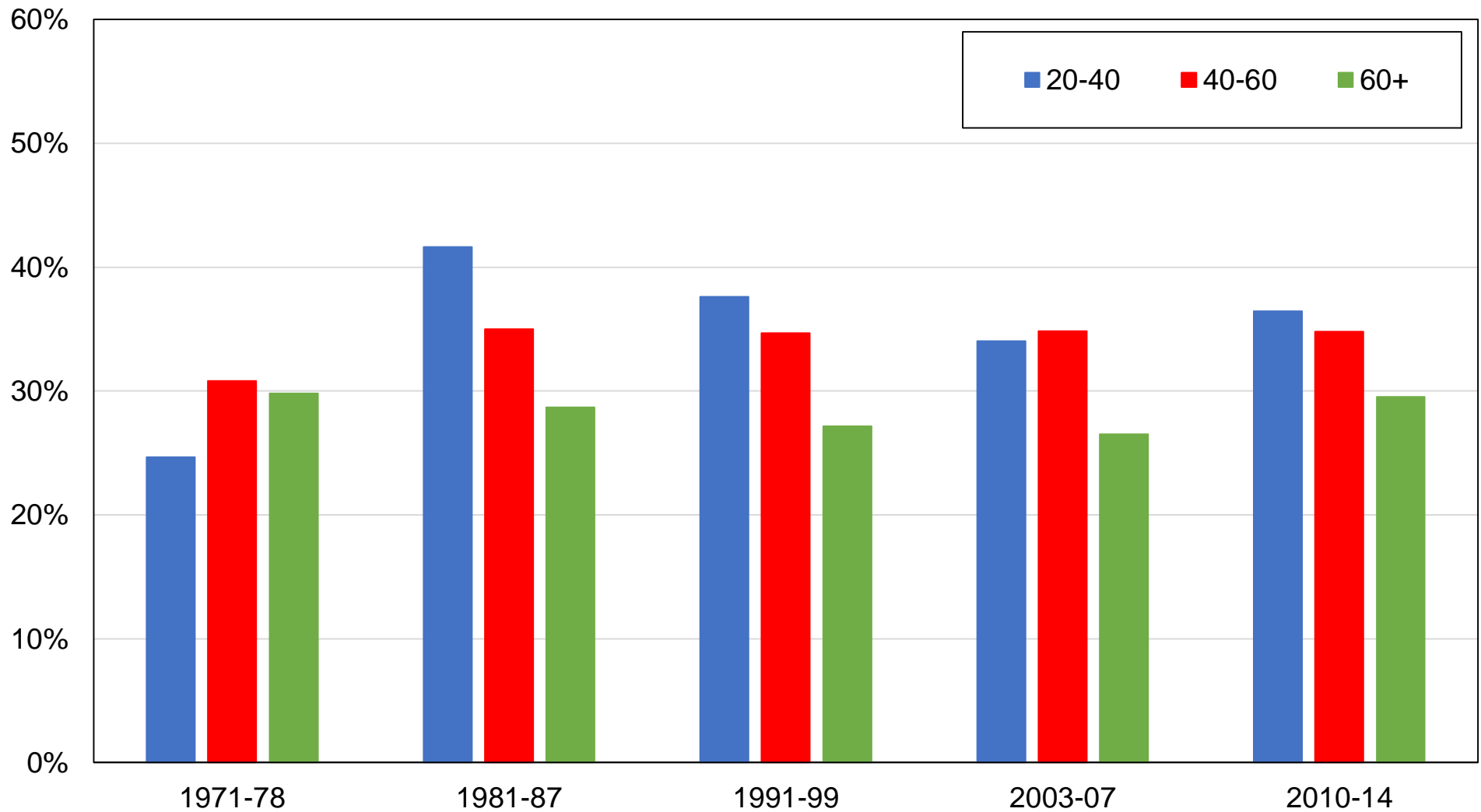
Figure AB11 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by perceived social class



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

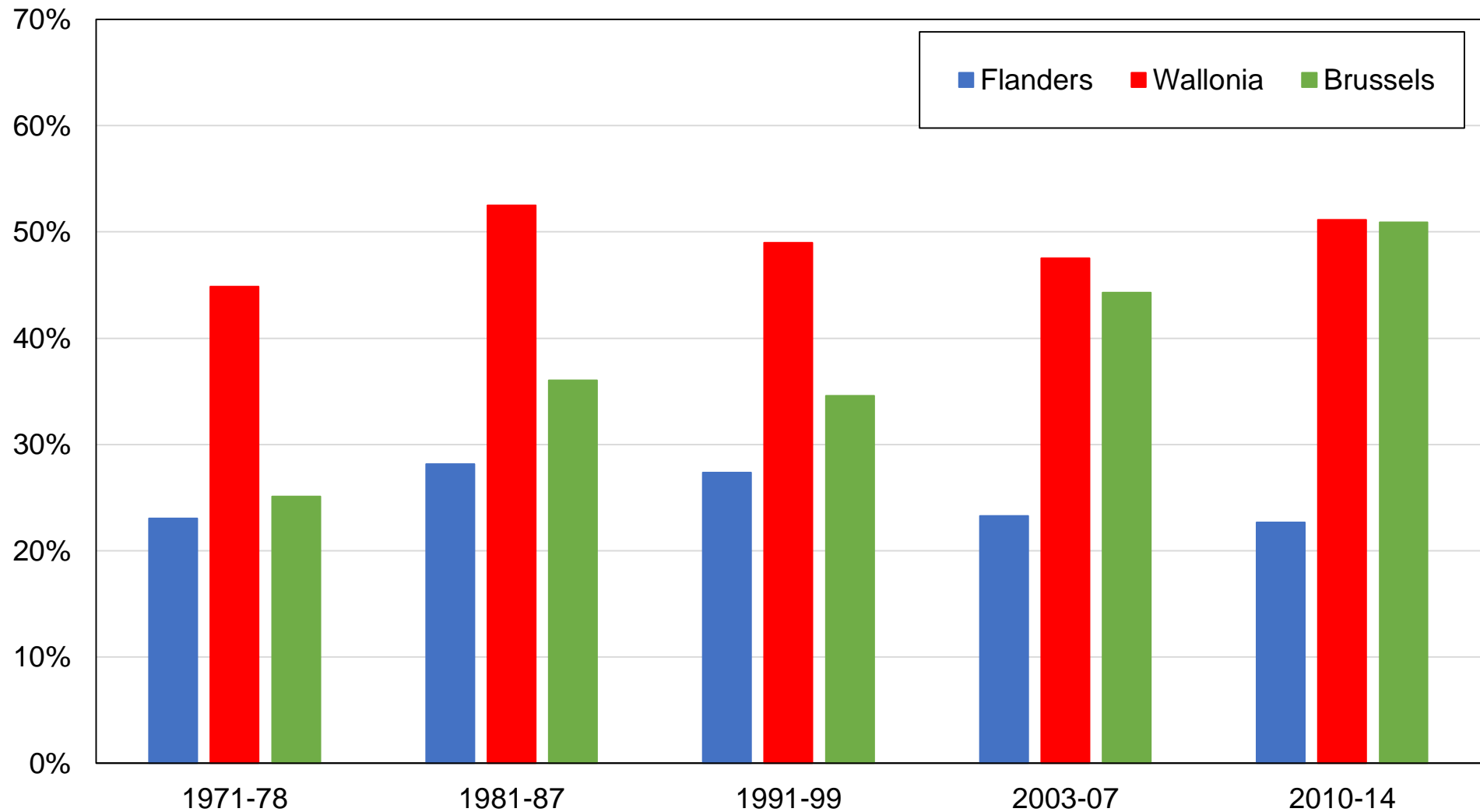
Figure AB12 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by age group



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

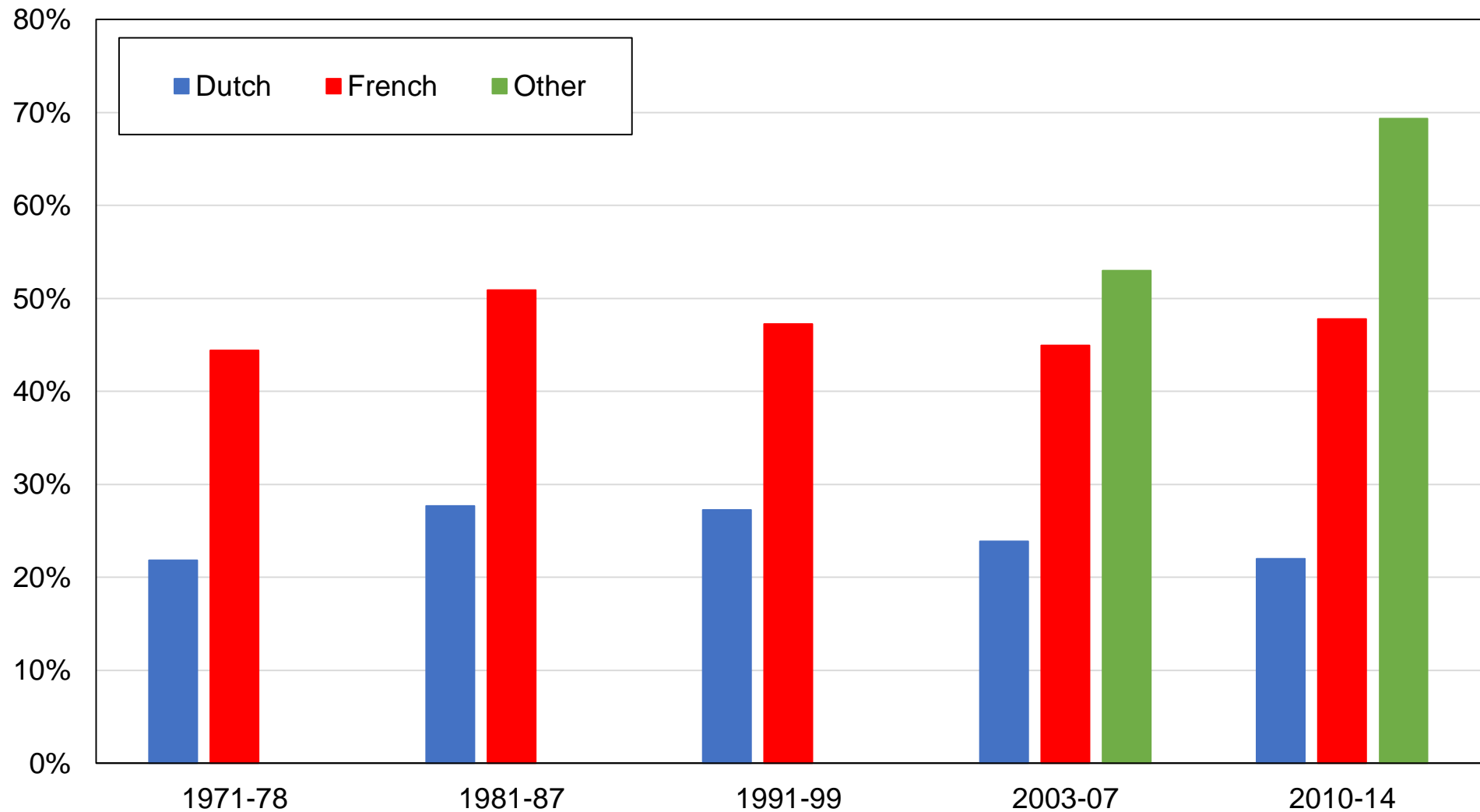
Figure AB13 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by region



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

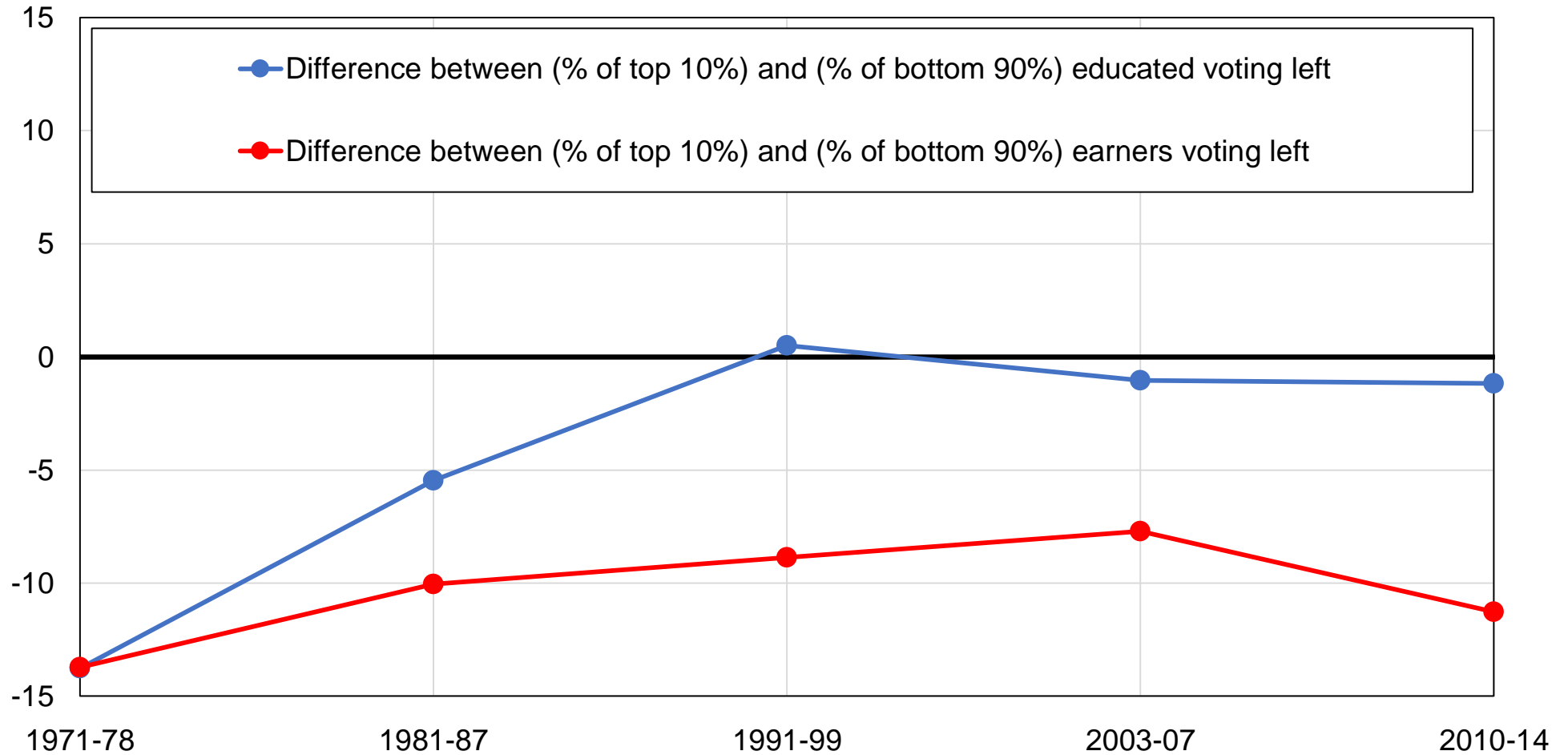
Figure AB14 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists by language



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

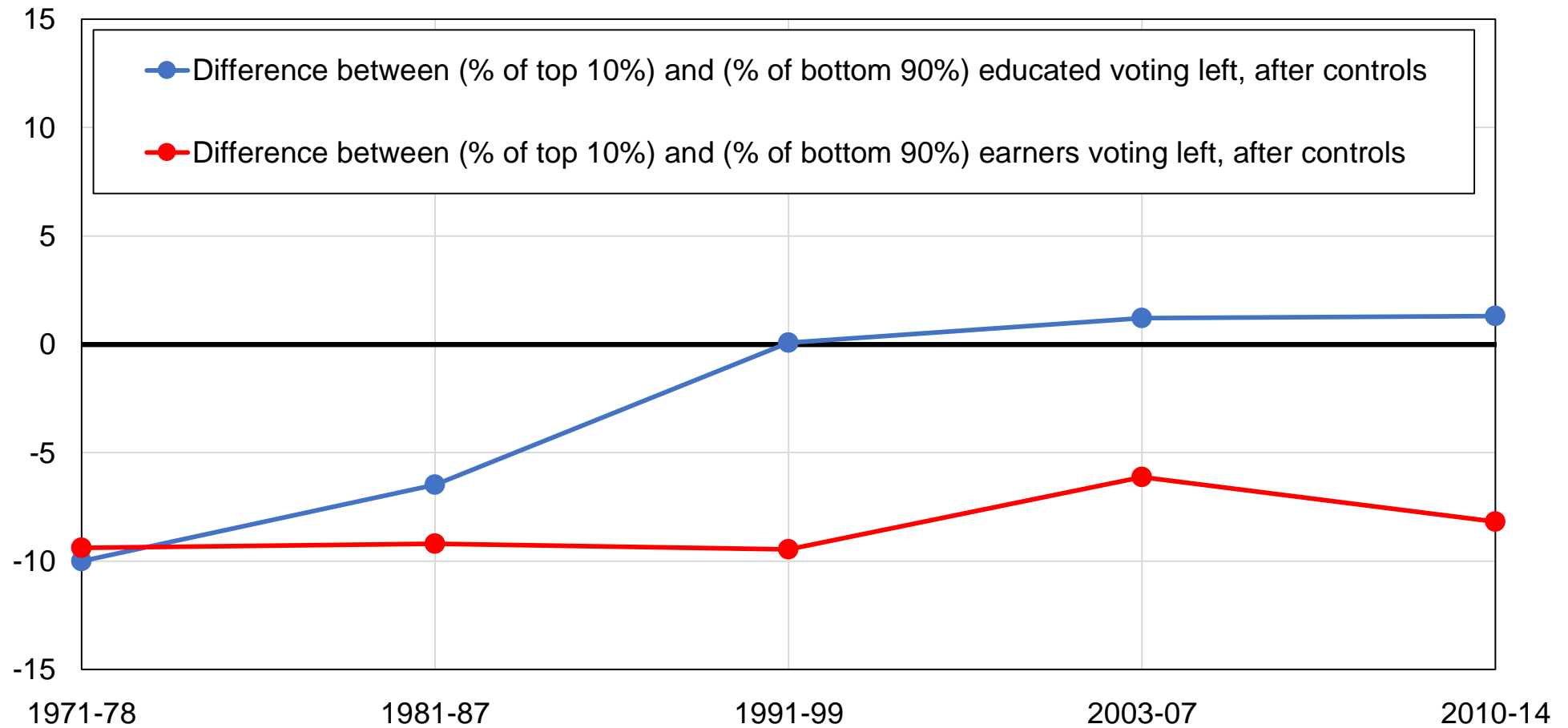
Figure AC1 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among highest-educated and top-income voters



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

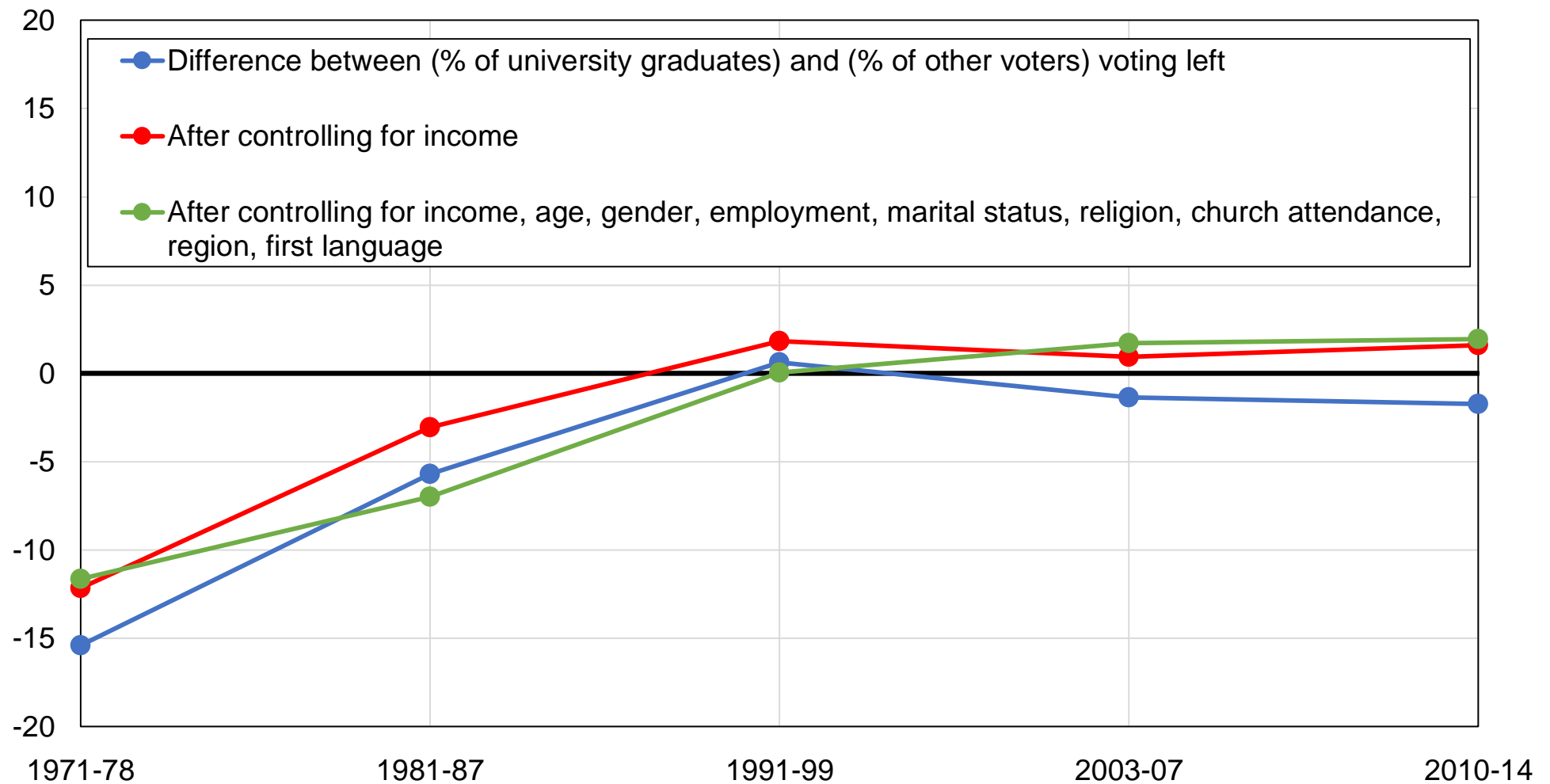
Figure AC2 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controls



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

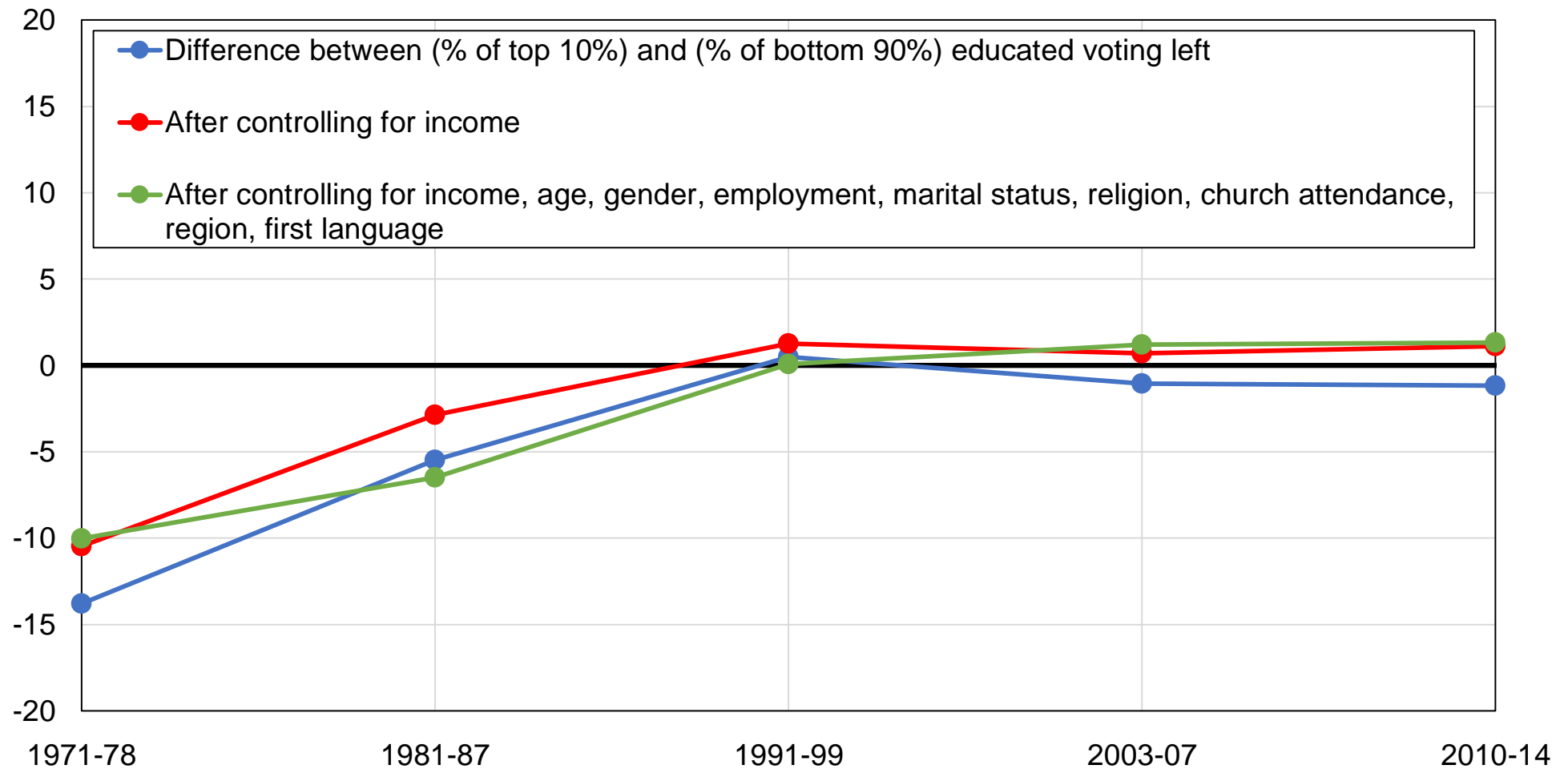
Figure AC3 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among university graduates



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

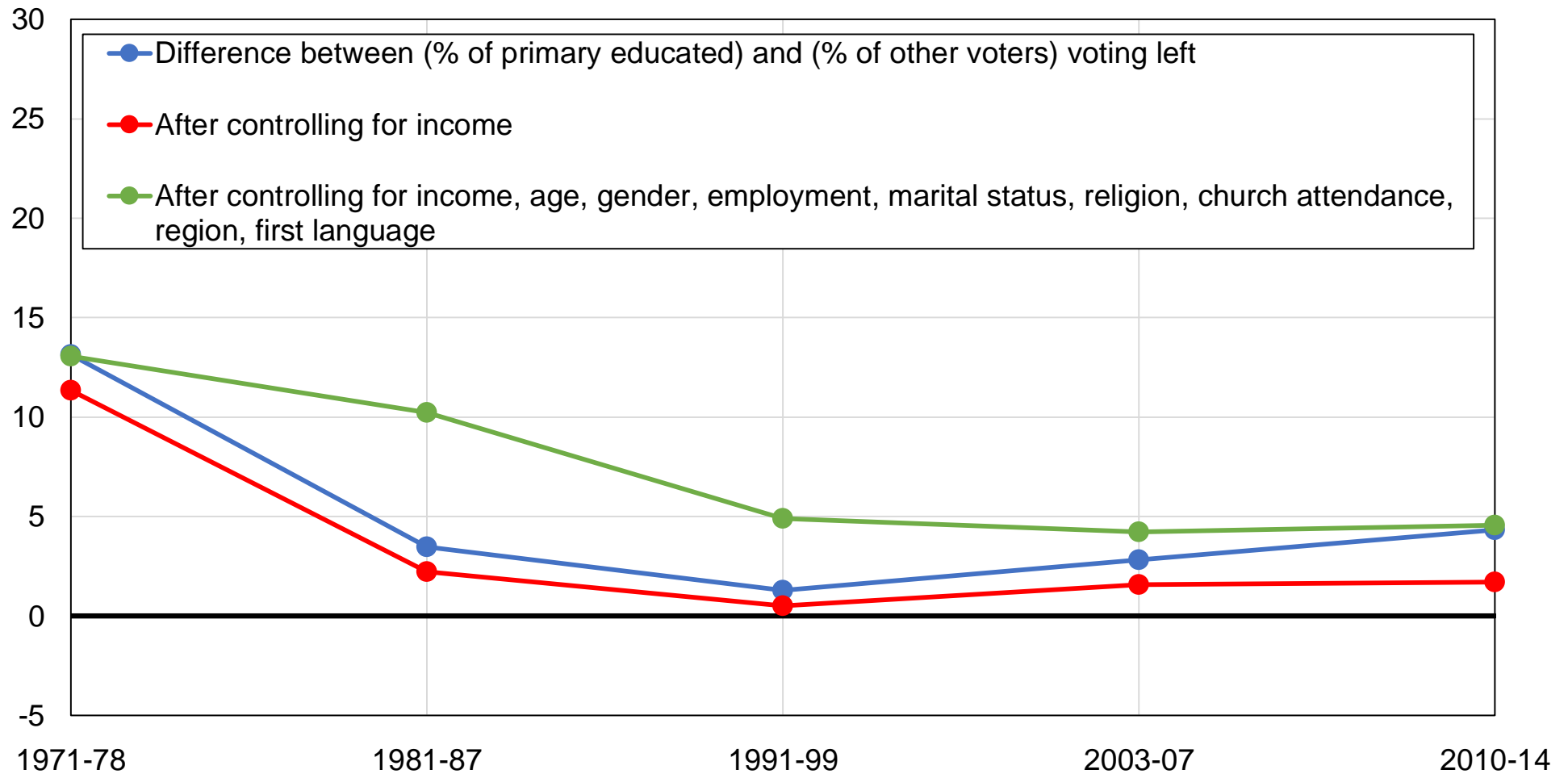
Figure AC4 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among highest-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

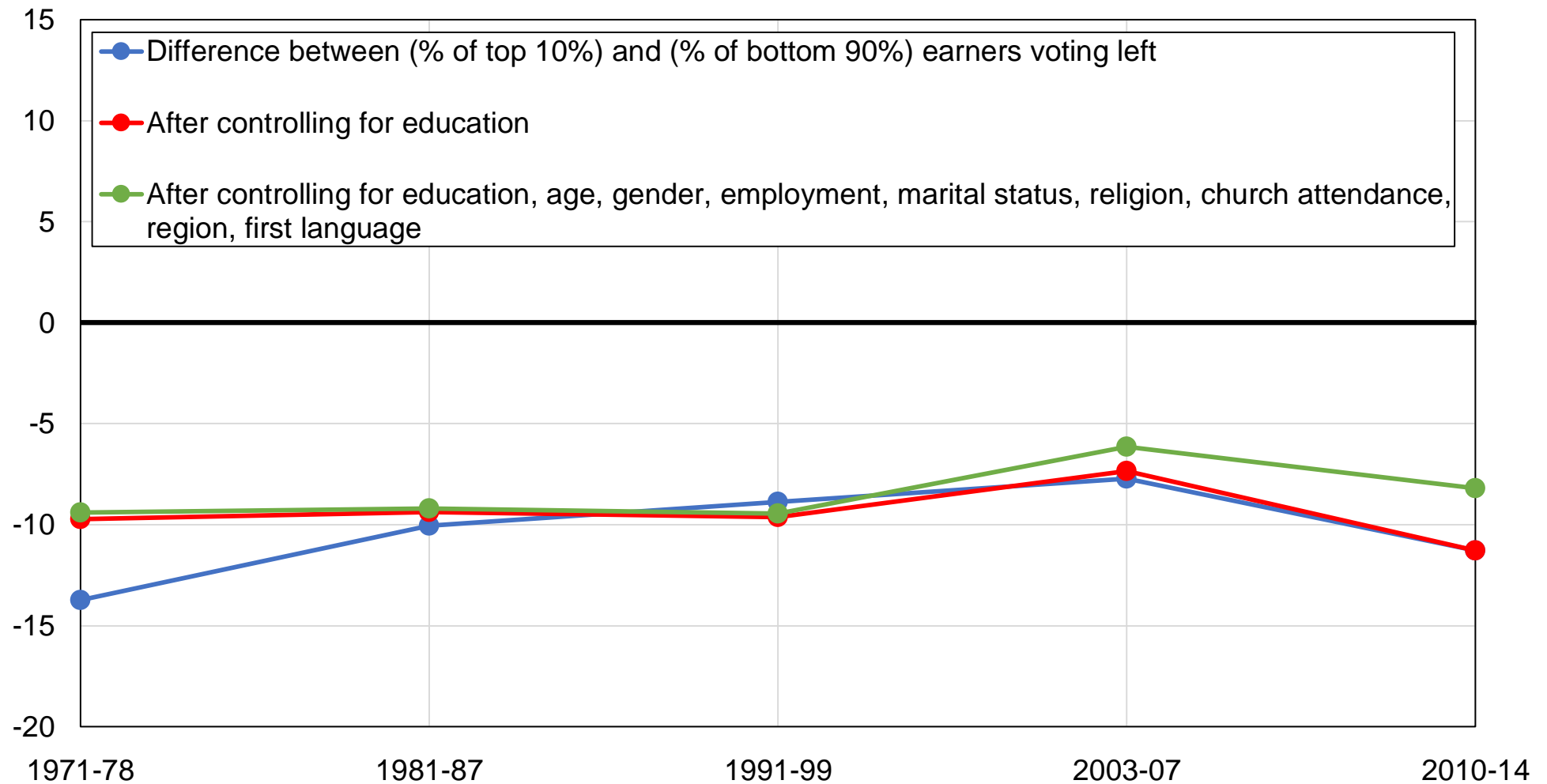
Figure AC5 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among primary-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

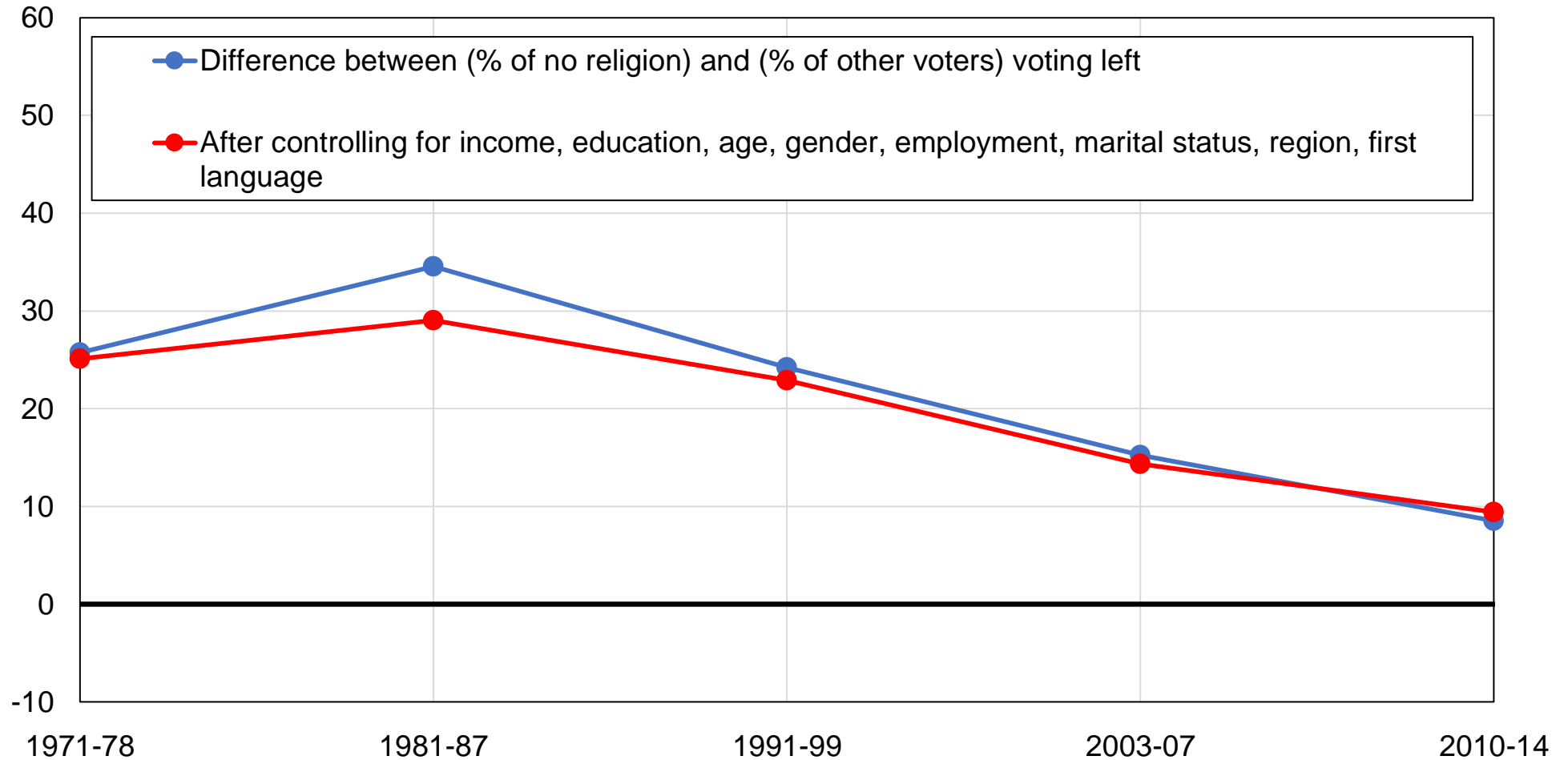
Figure AC6 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among top-income voters



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

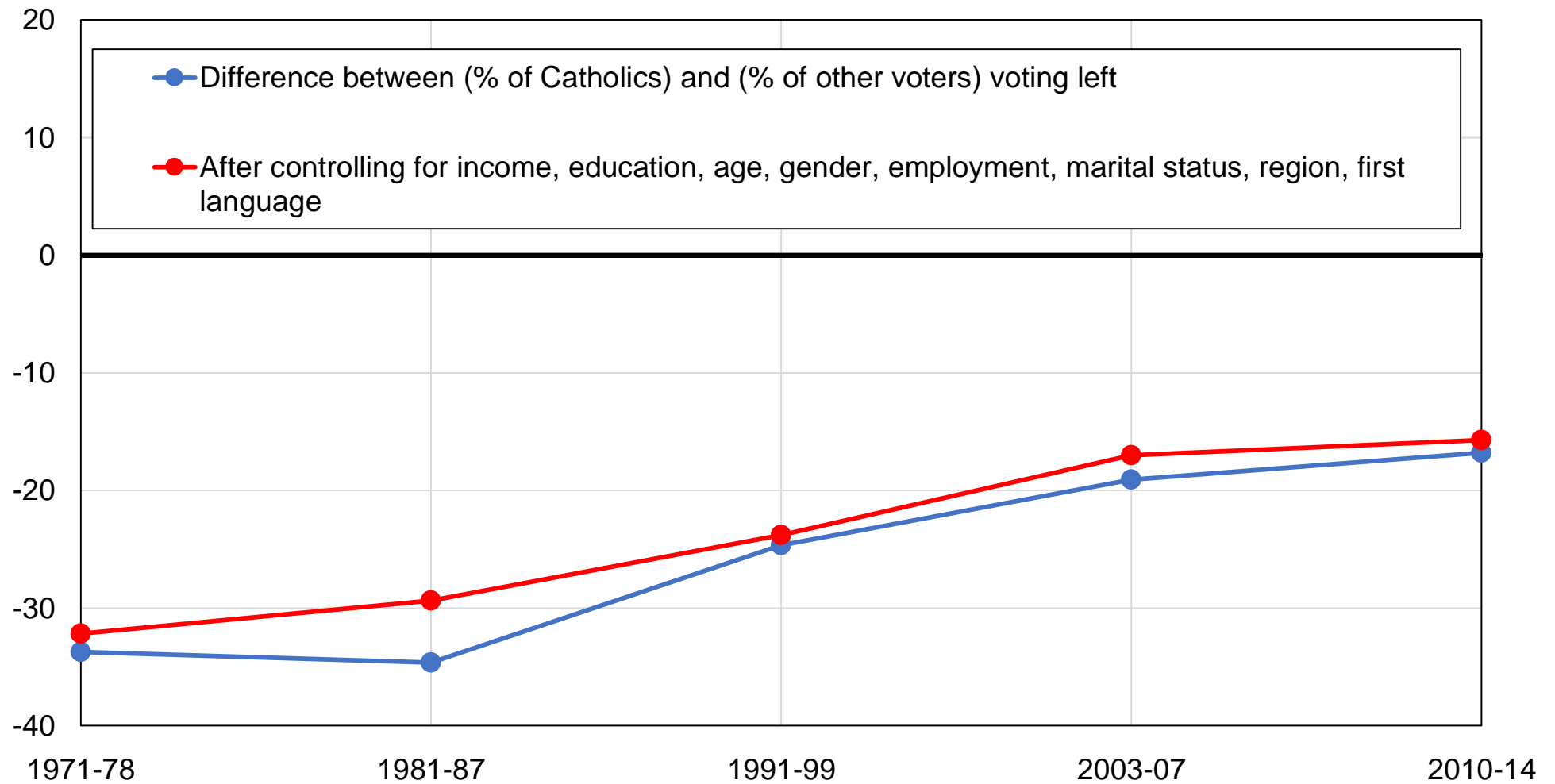
Figure AC7 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among voters with no religion



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

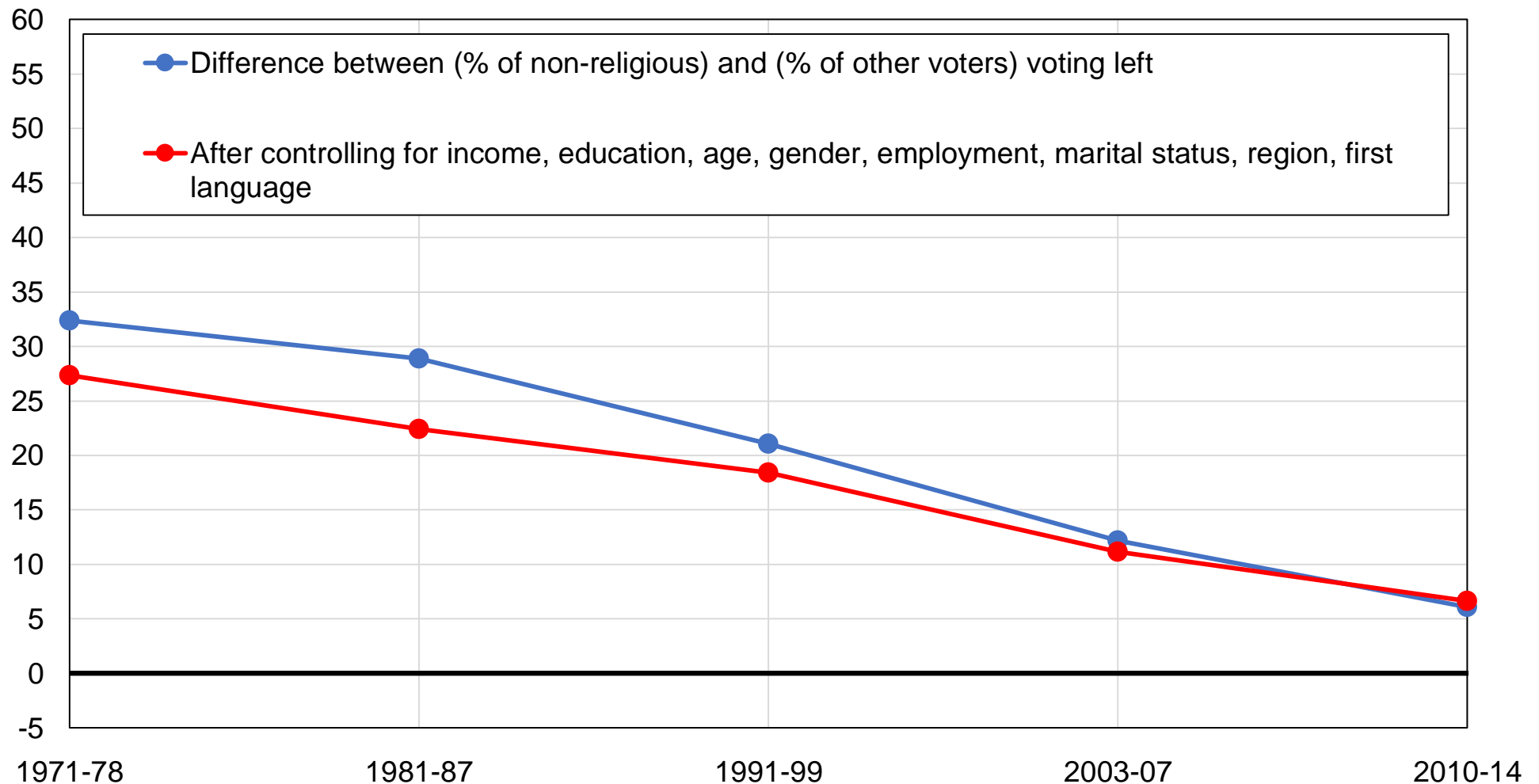
Figure AC8 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among Catholics



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

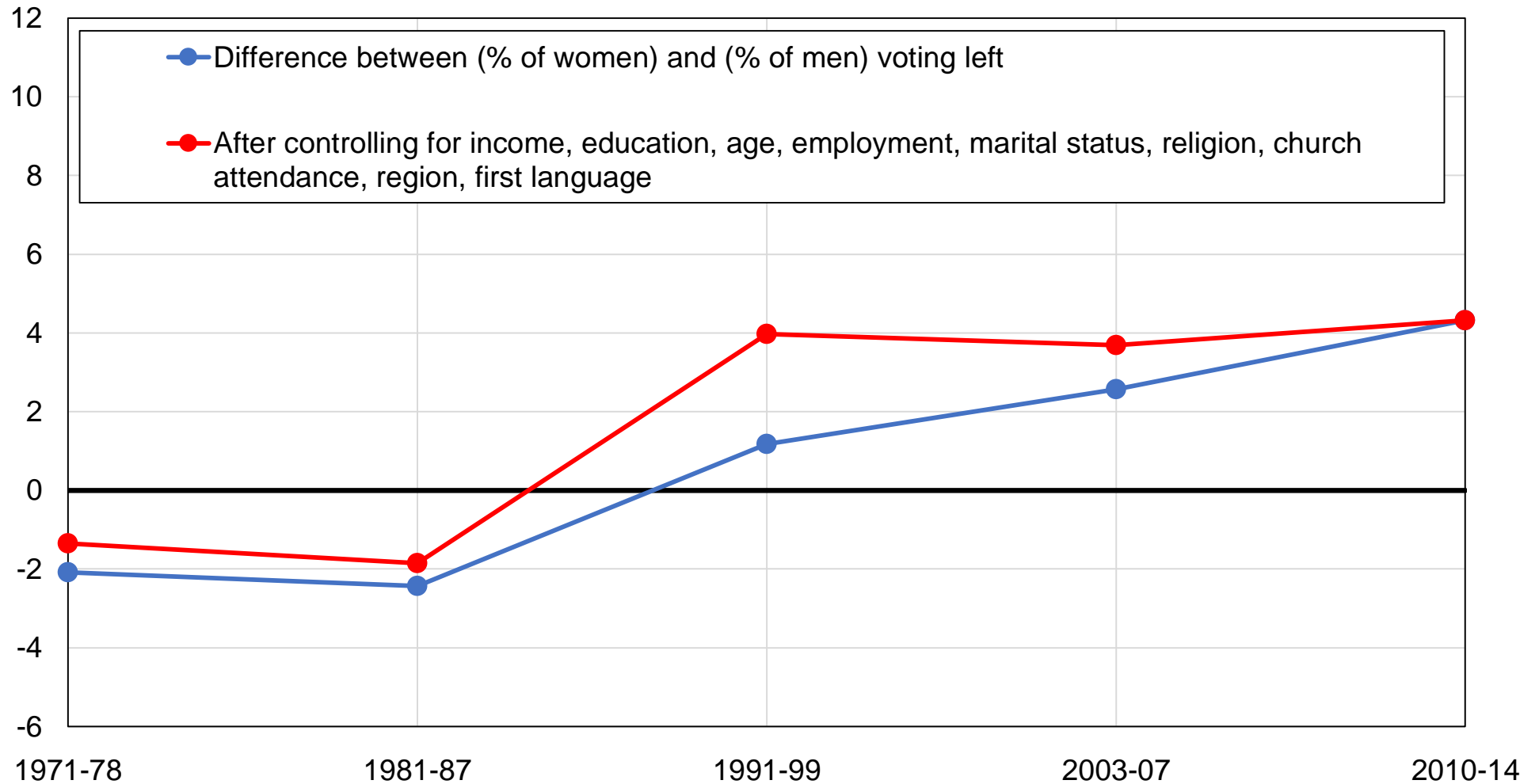
Figure AC9 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among non-religious voters



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

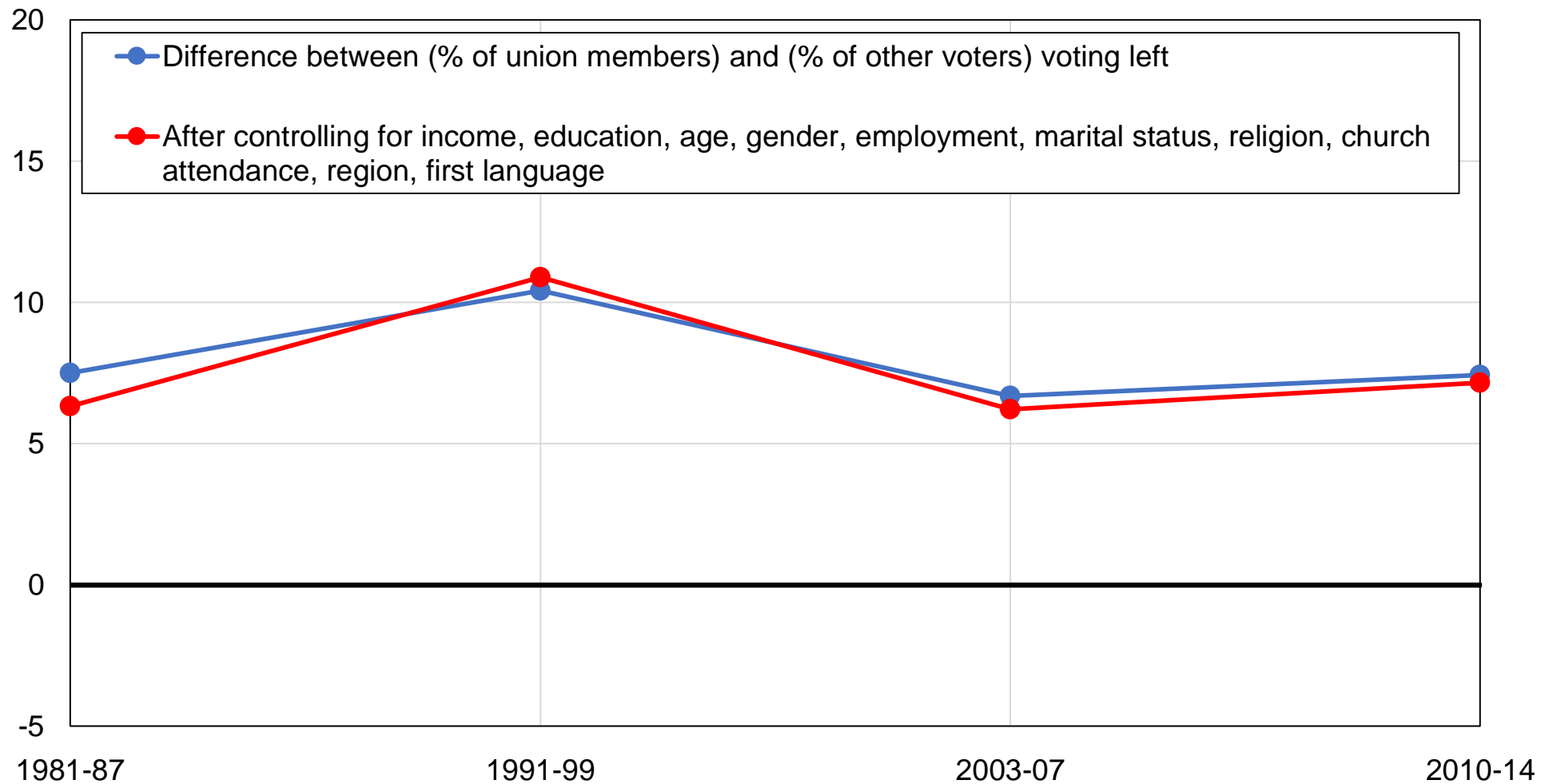
Figure AC10 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among women



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

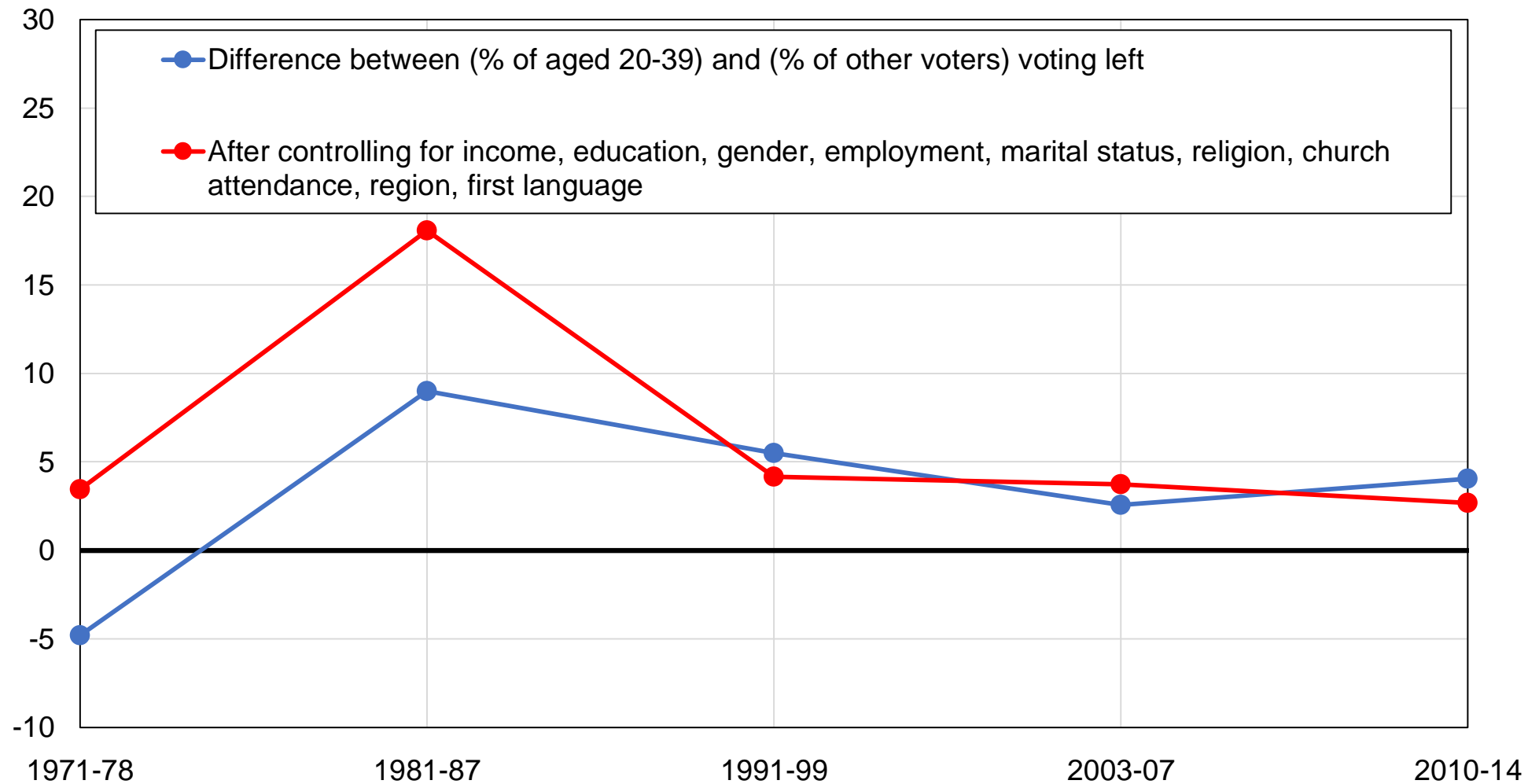
Figure AC11 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among union members



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

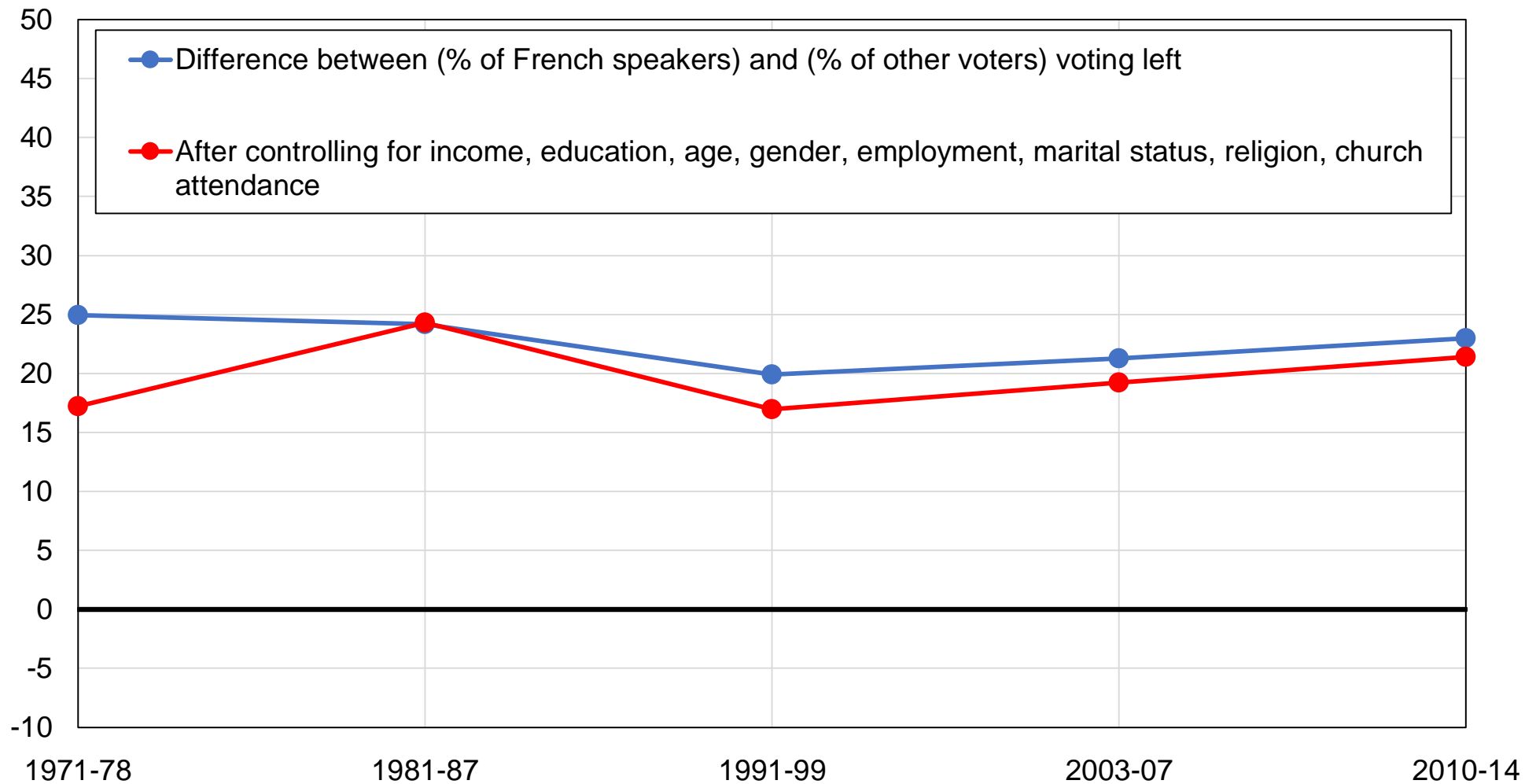
Figure AC12 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among young voters



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

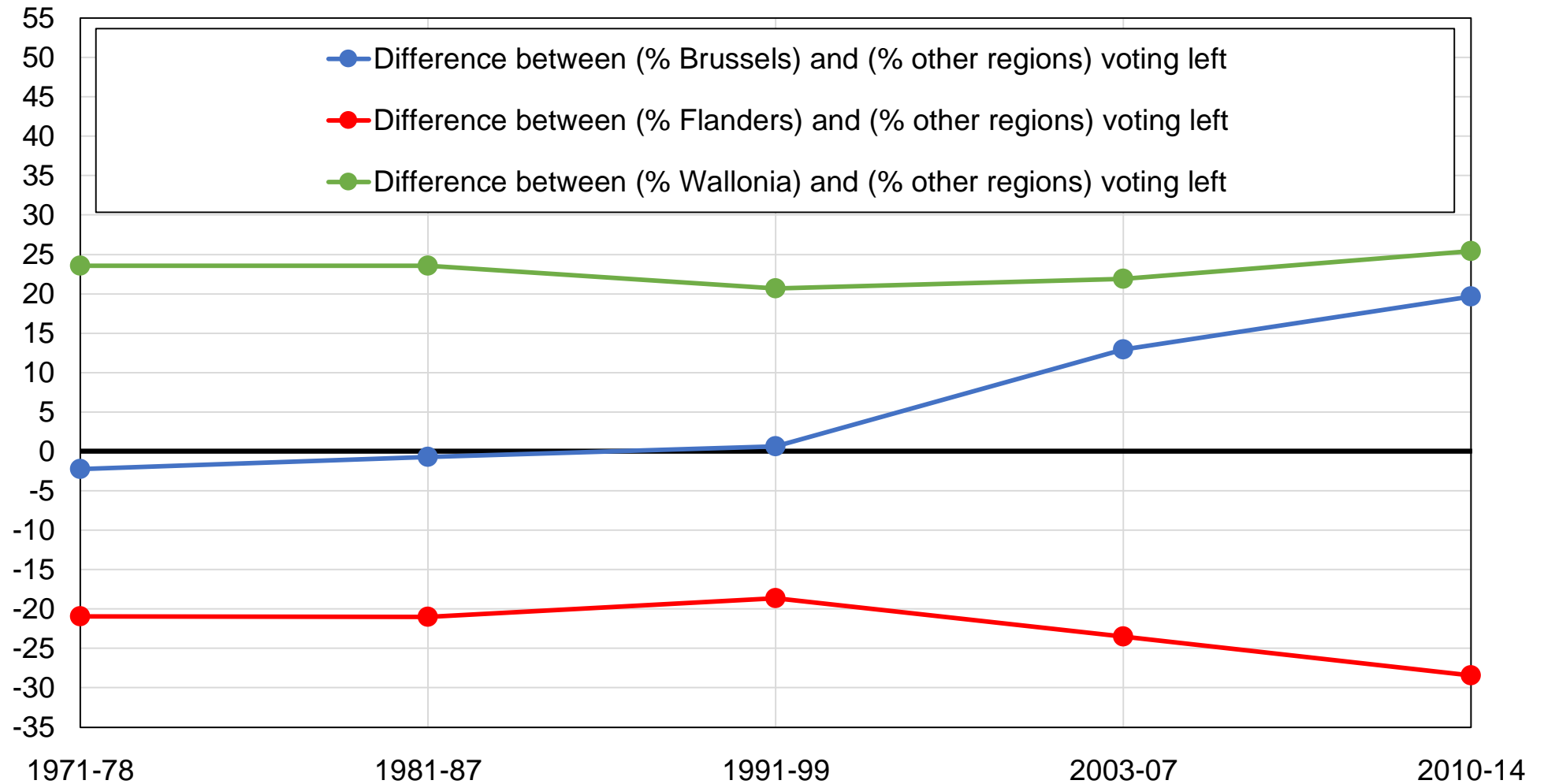
Figure AC13 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among French speakers



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

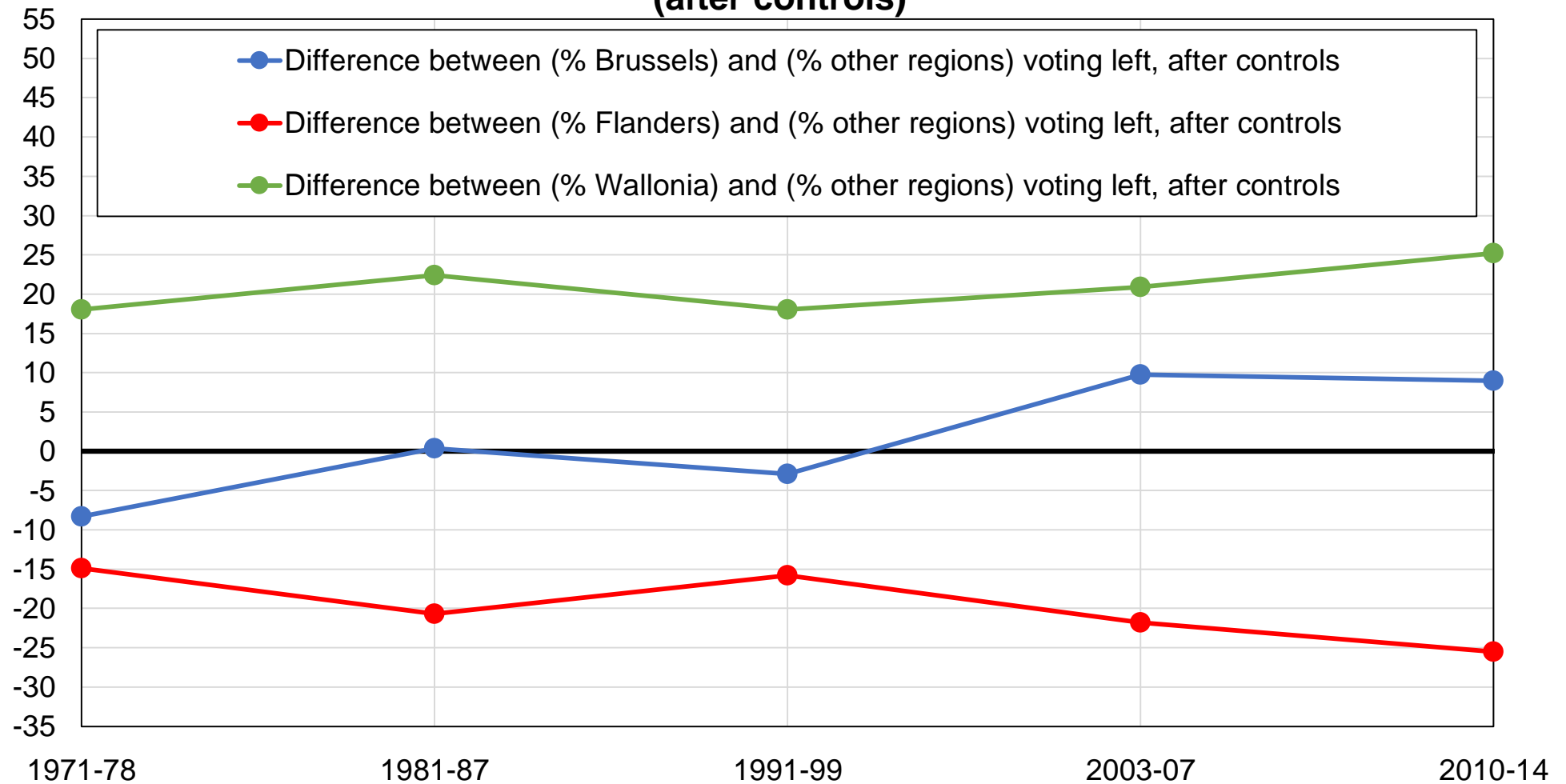
Figure AC14 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among specific regions



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

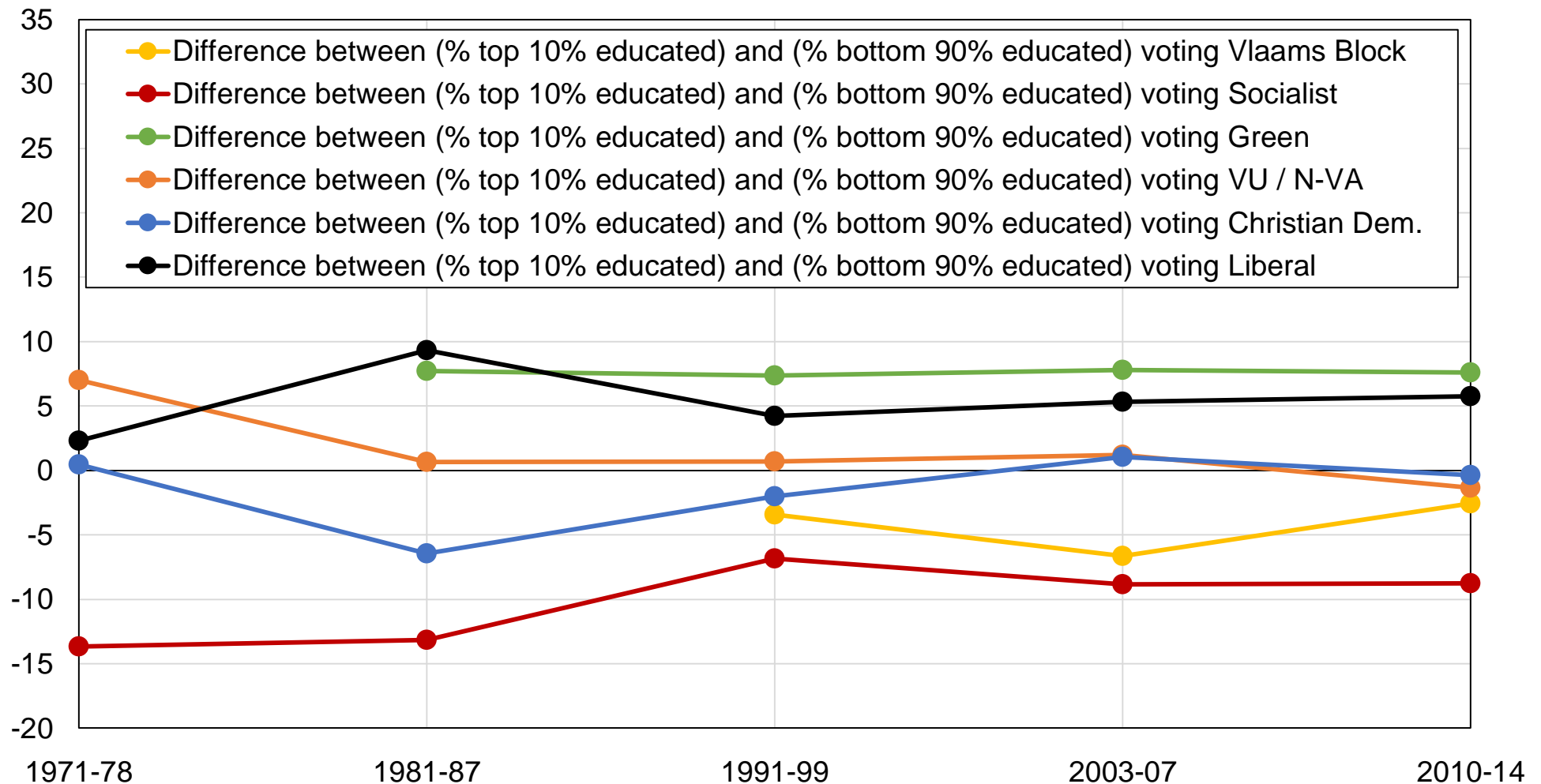
**Figure AC15 - Vote for Socialists / Ecologists among specific regions
(after controls)**



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

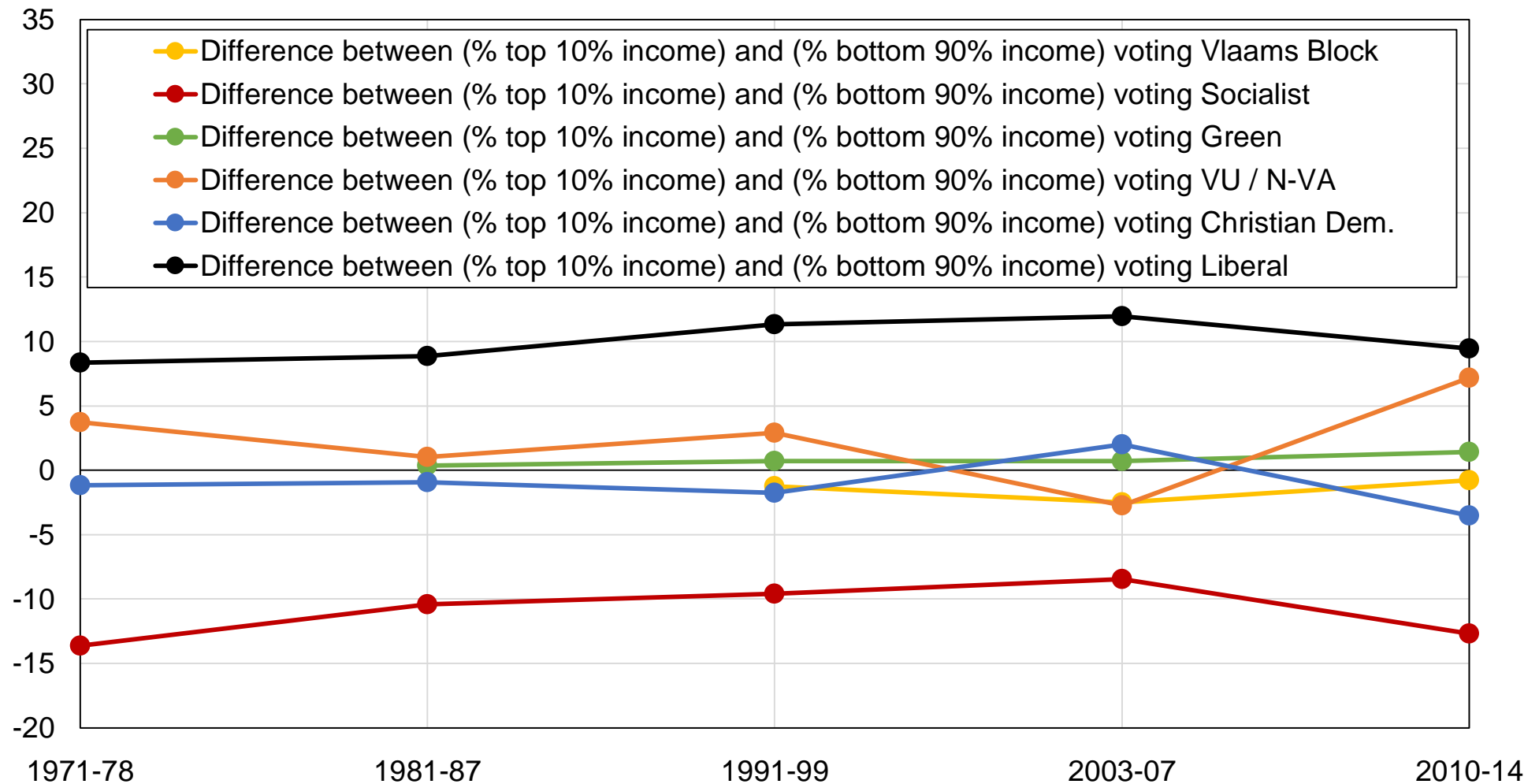
Figure AC16 - The education cleavage in Belgium



Source: authors' computations using Belgium political attitudes surveys.

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

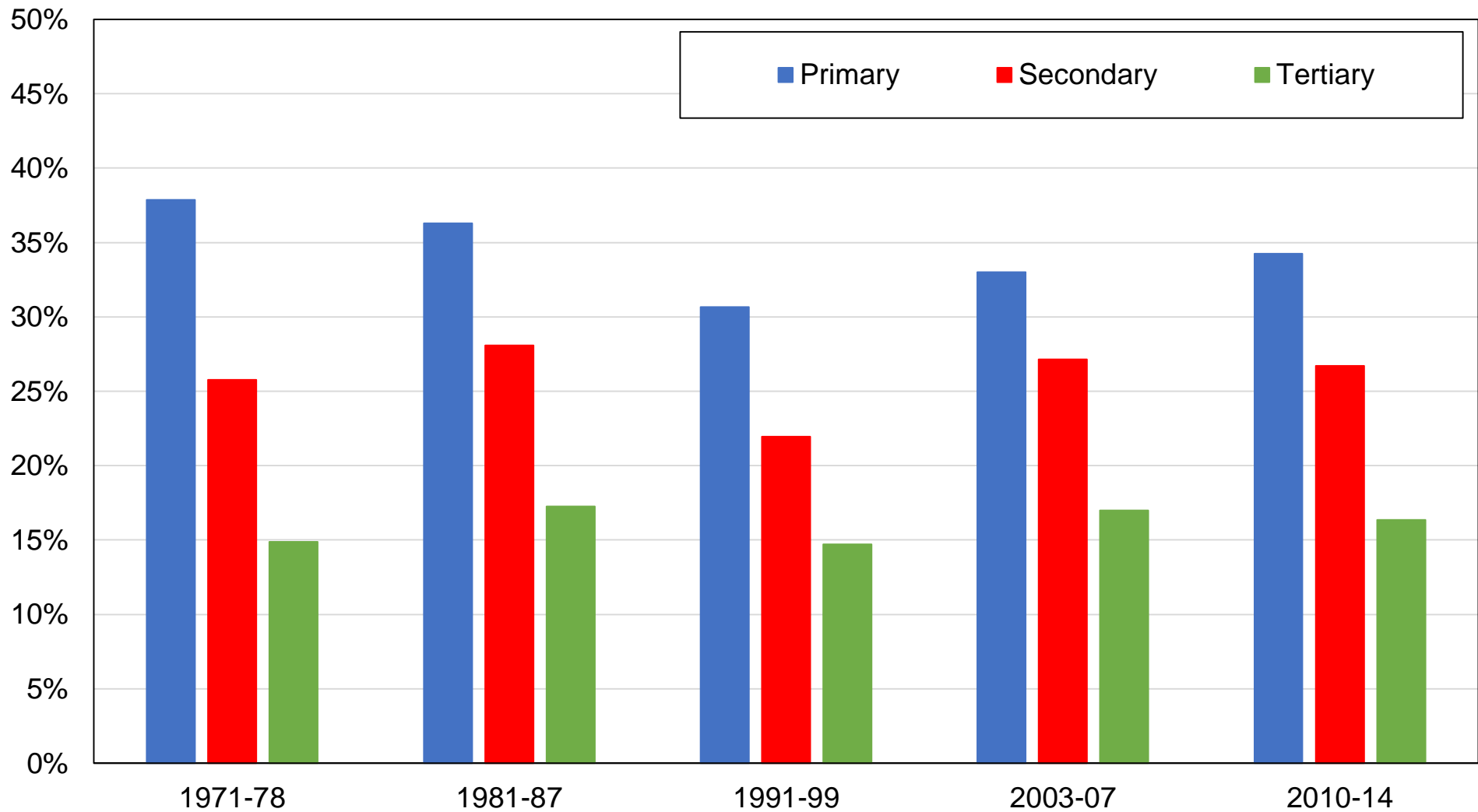
Figure AC17 - The income cleavage in Belgium



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

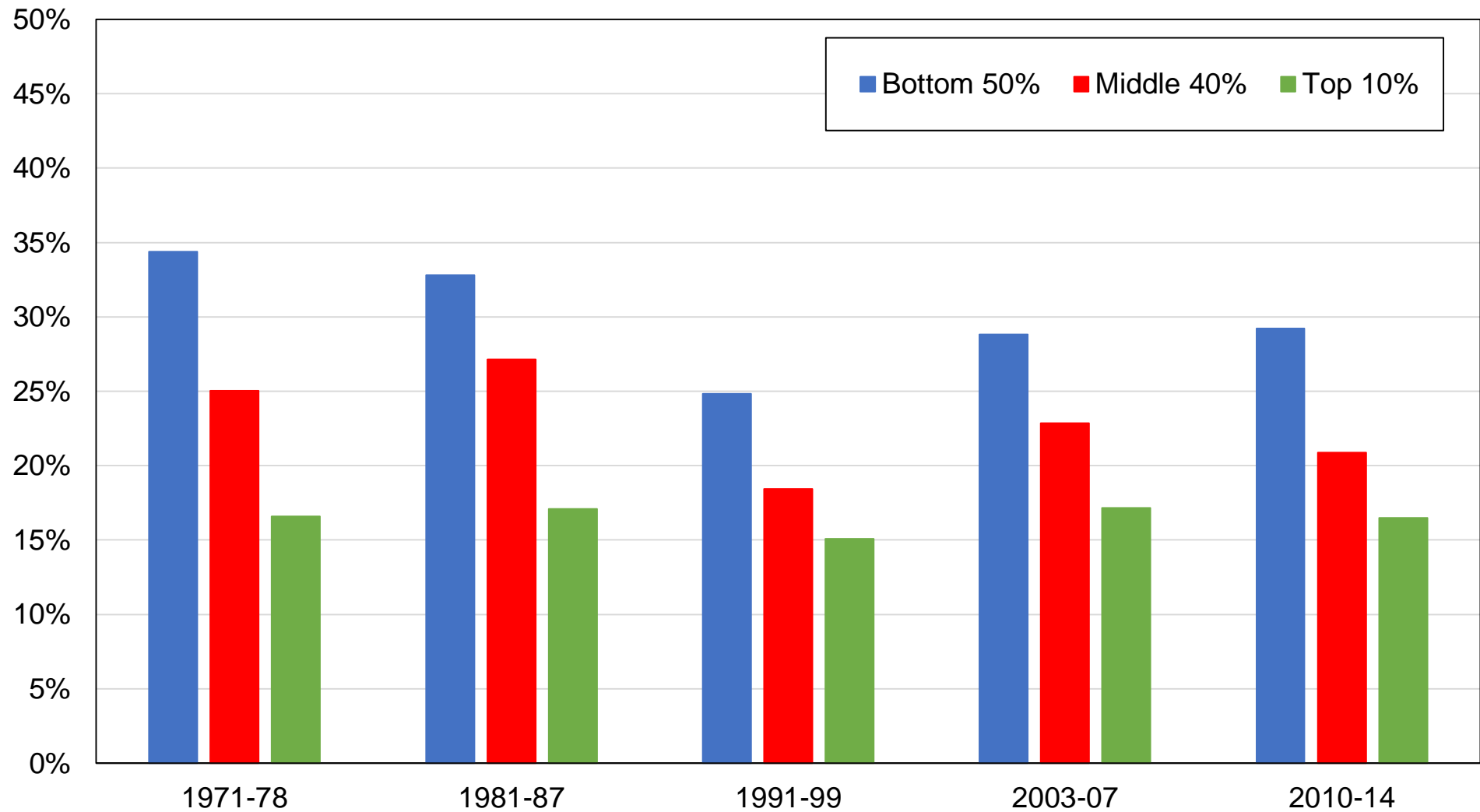
Figure AD1 - Vote for PS / SP / PTB by education level



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

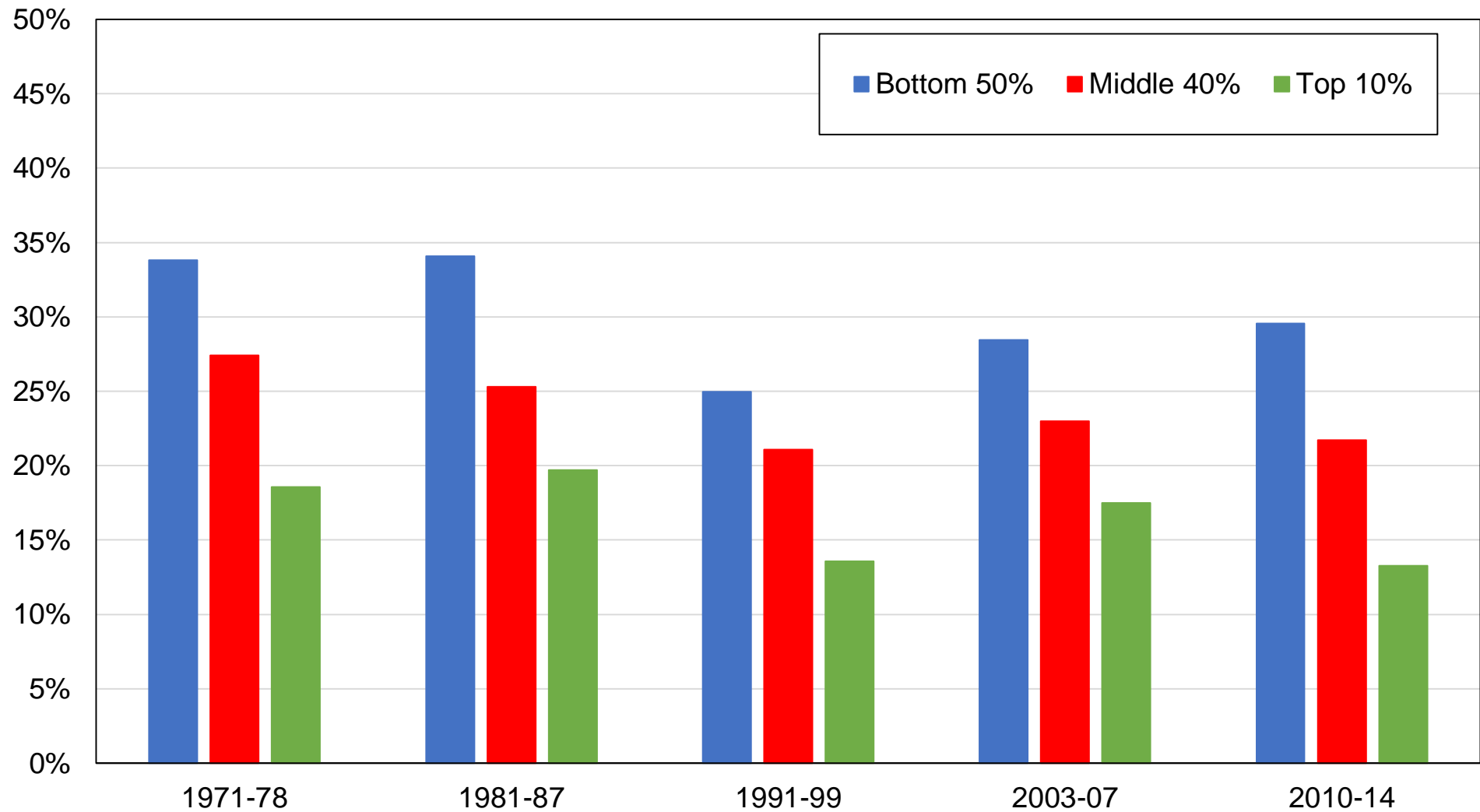
Figure AD2 - Vote for PS / SP / PTB by education group



Source: authors' computations using Belgium political attitudes surveys.

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

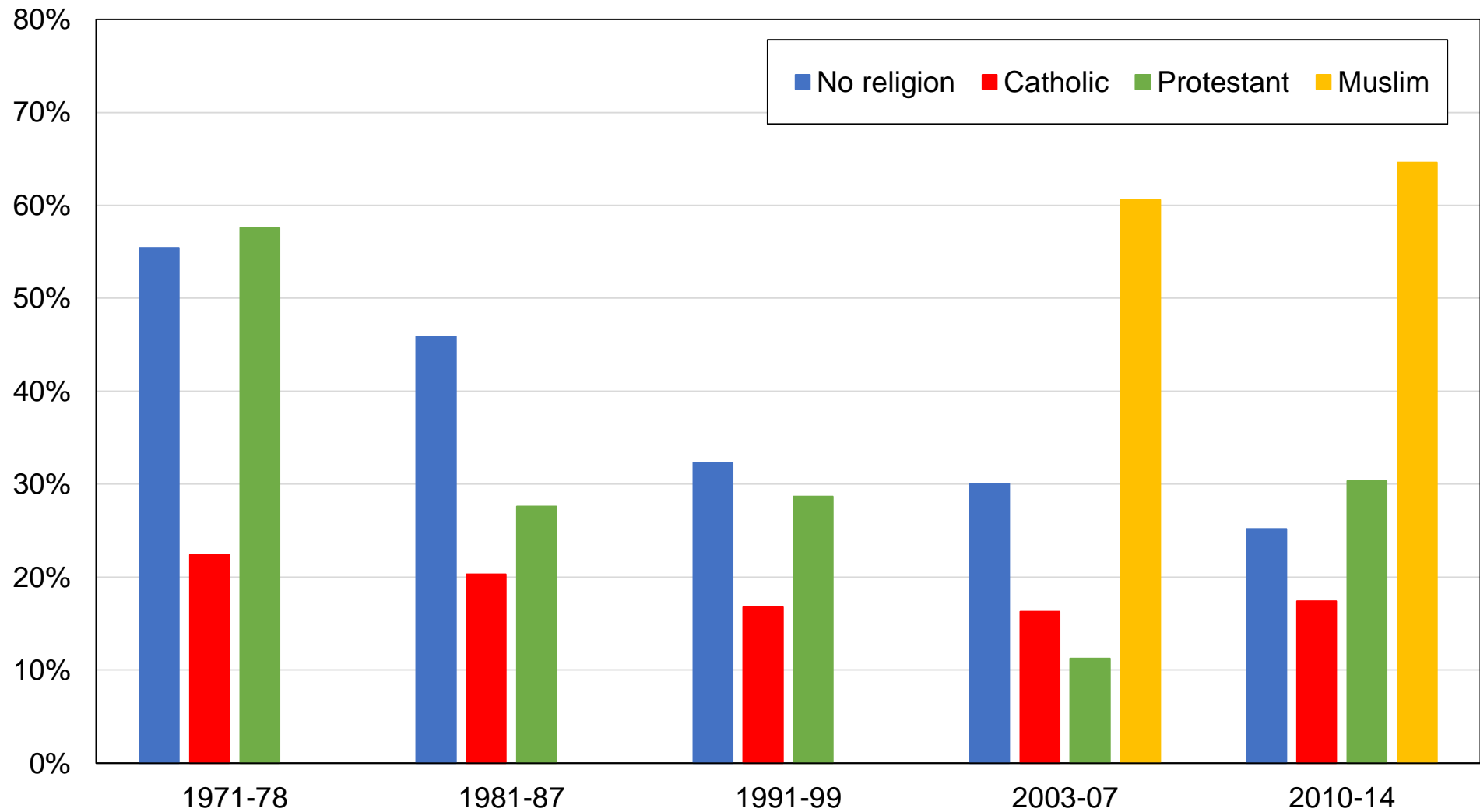
Figure AD3 - Vote for PS / SP / PTB by income group



Source: authors' computations using Belgium political attitudes surveys.

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

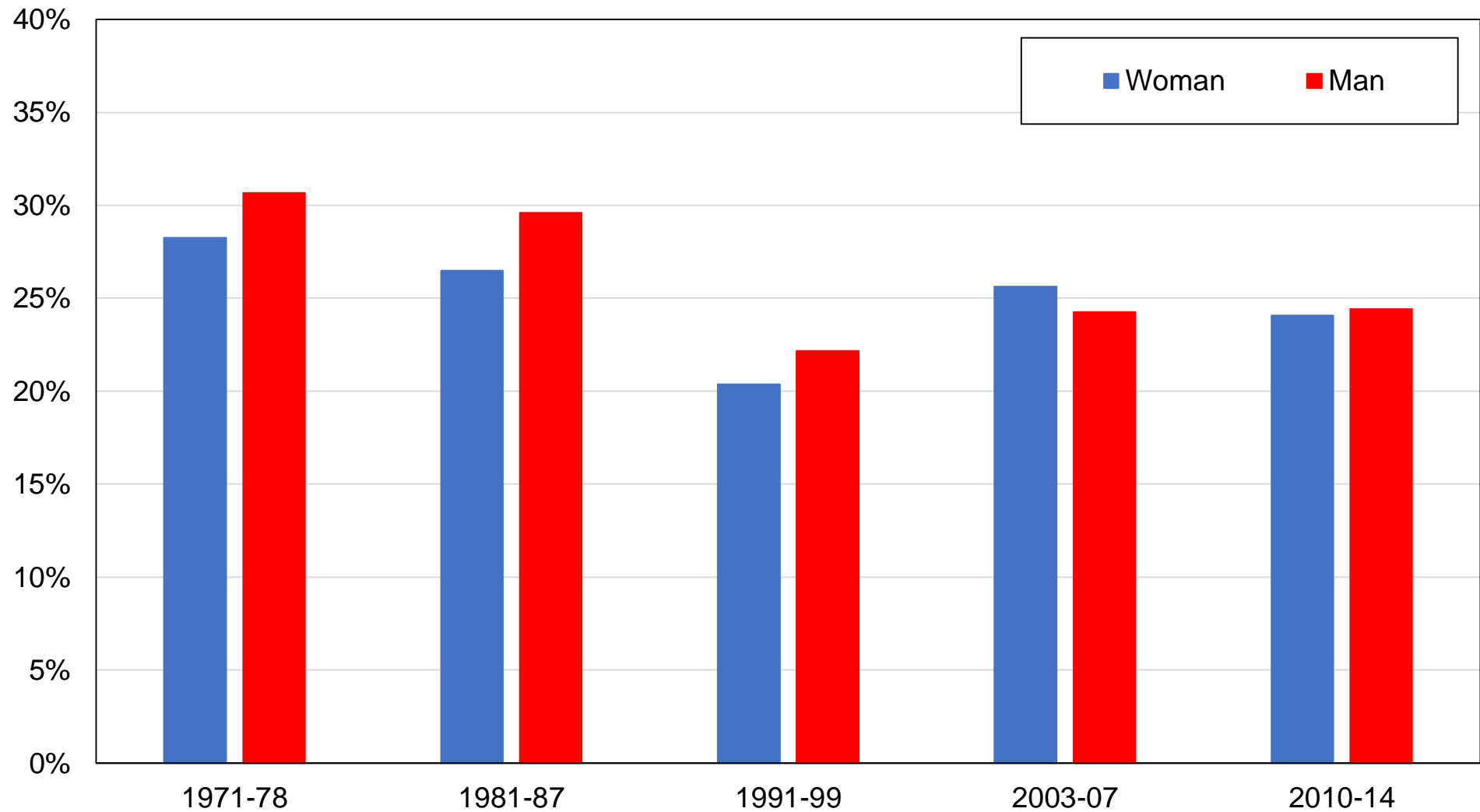
Figure AD4 - Vote for PS / SP / PTB by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

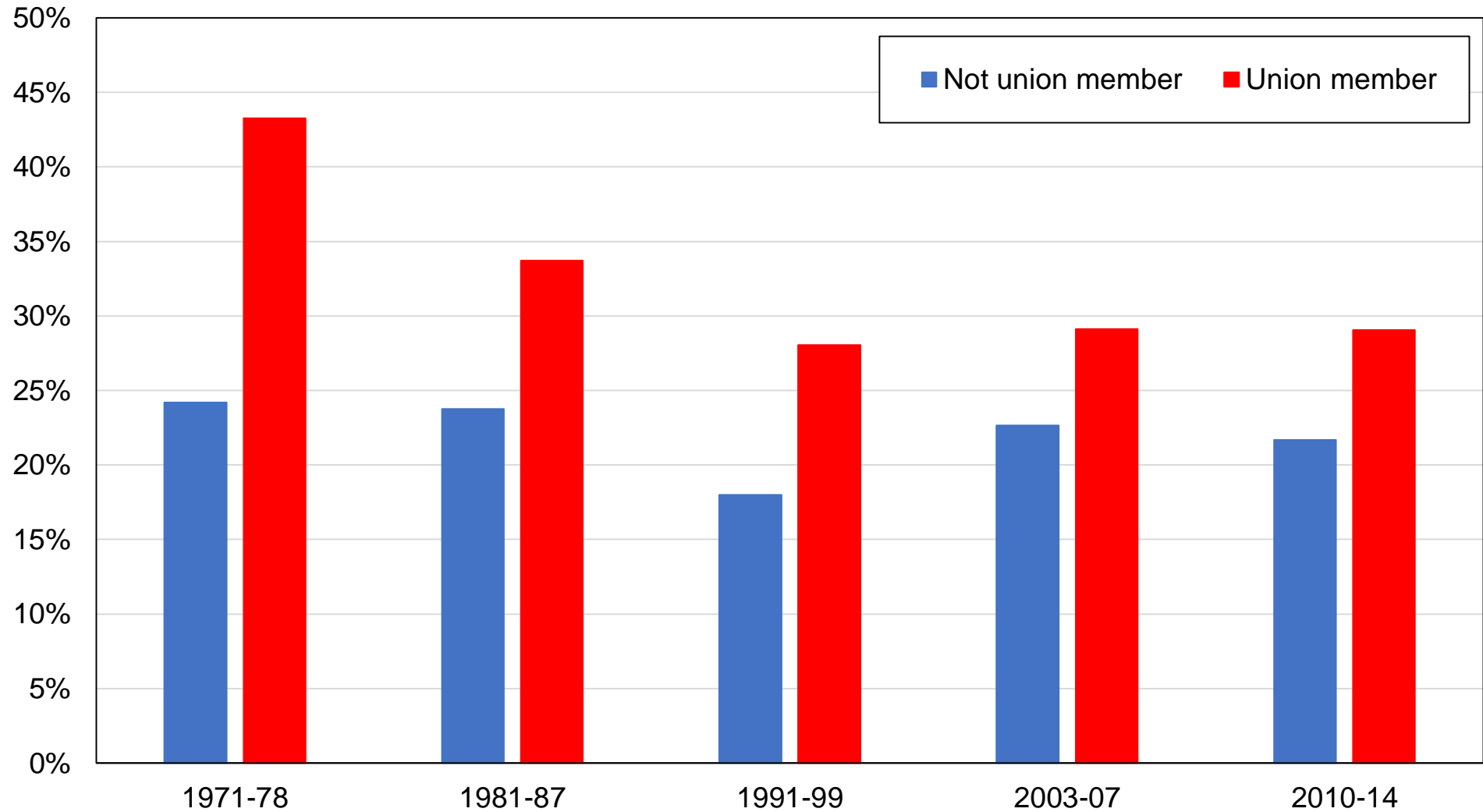
Figure AD5 - Vote for PS / SP / PTB by gender



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

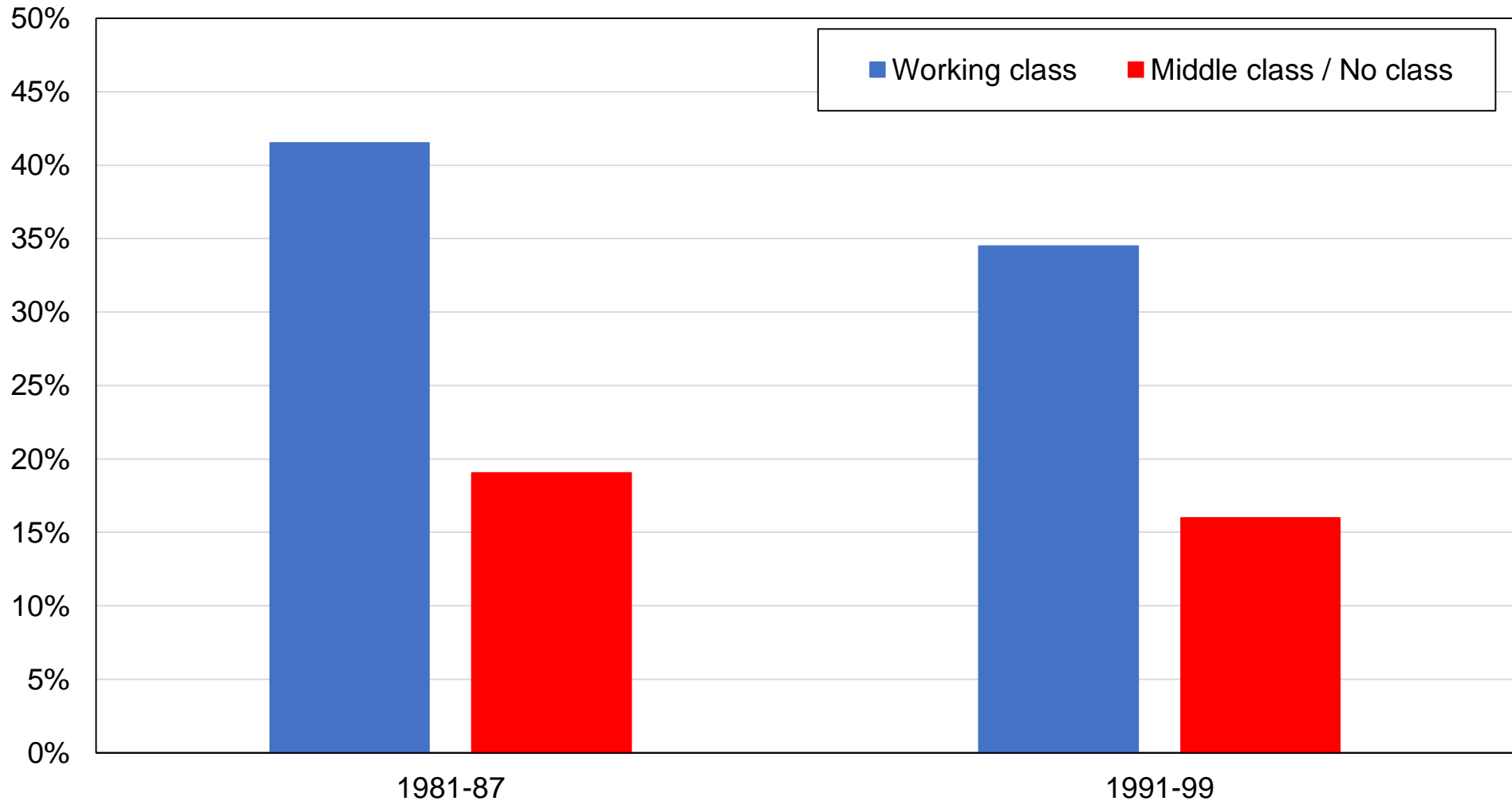
Figure AD6 - Vote for PS / SP / PTB by union membership



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

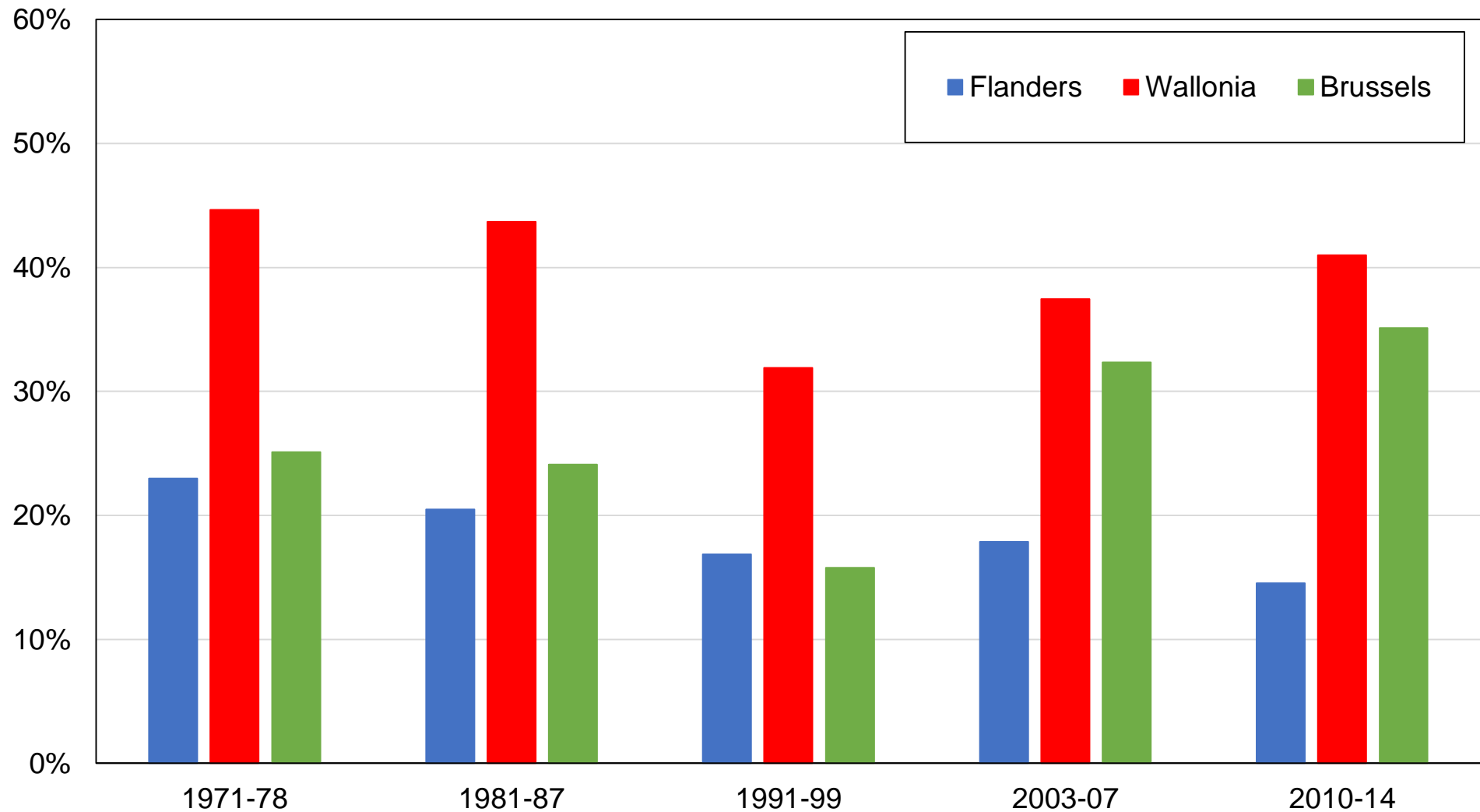
Figure AD7 - Vote for PS / SP / PTB by perceived social class



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

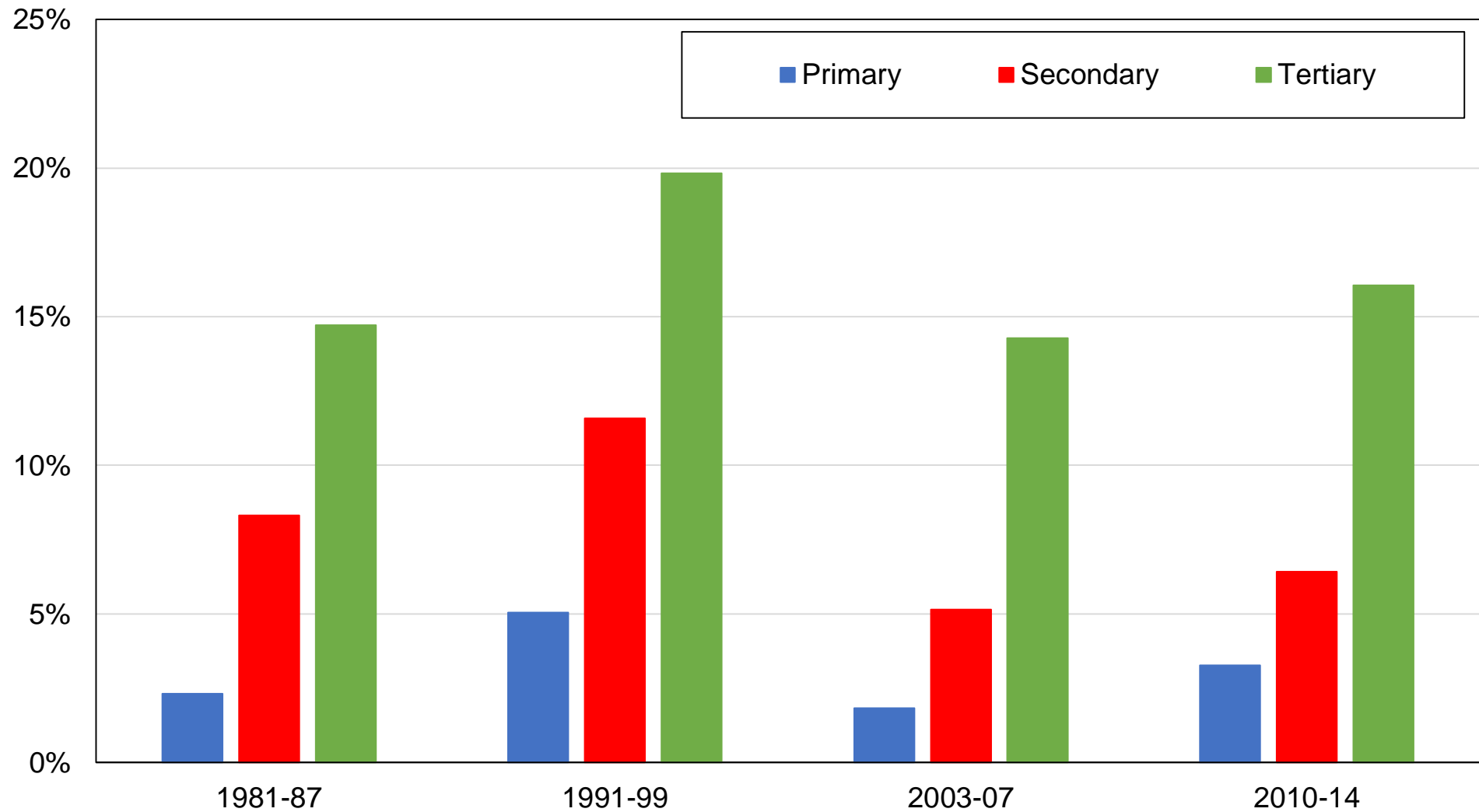
Figure AD8 - Vote for PS / SP / PTB by region



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

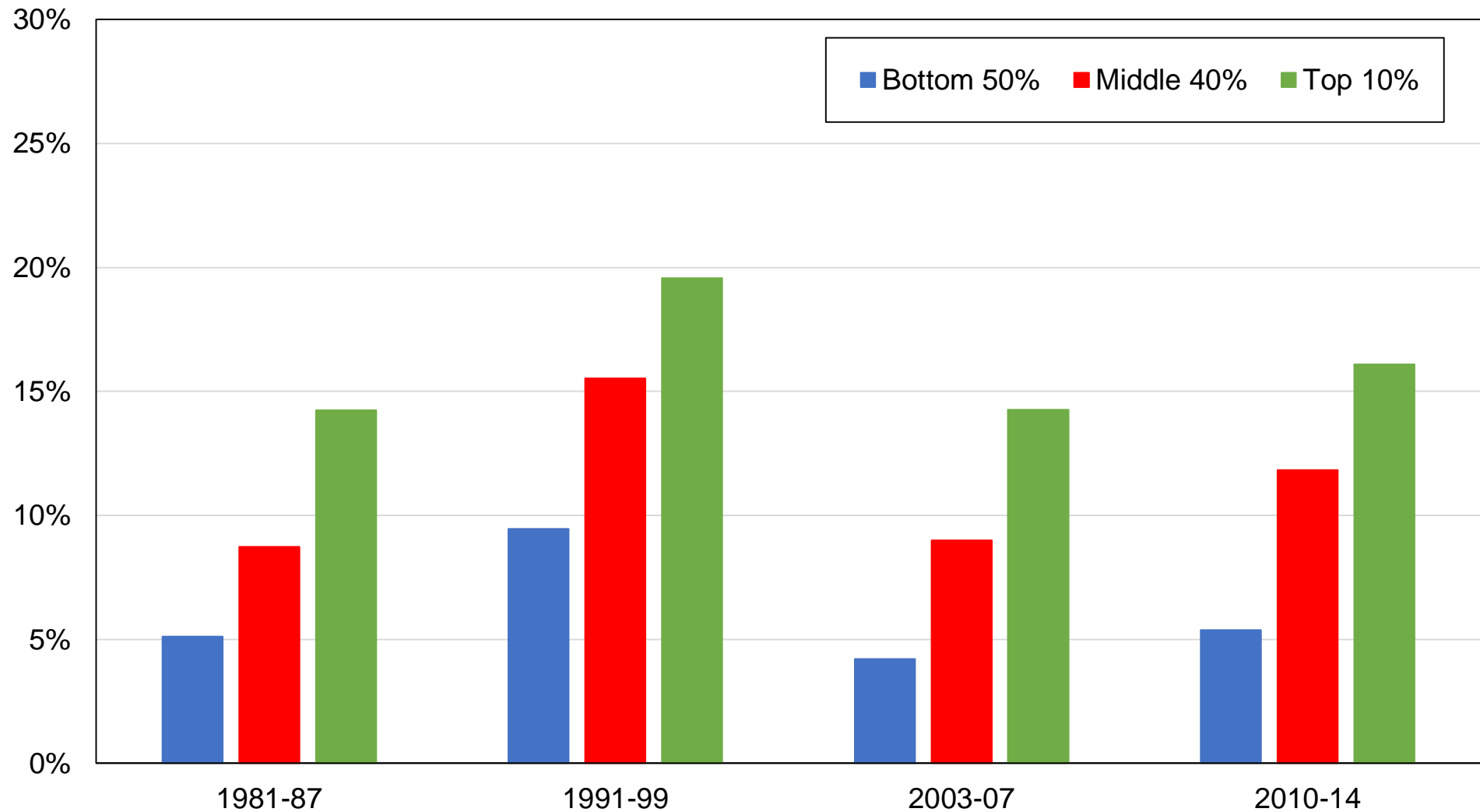
Figure AD9 - Vote for Ecolo / Agalev / Groen by education level



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

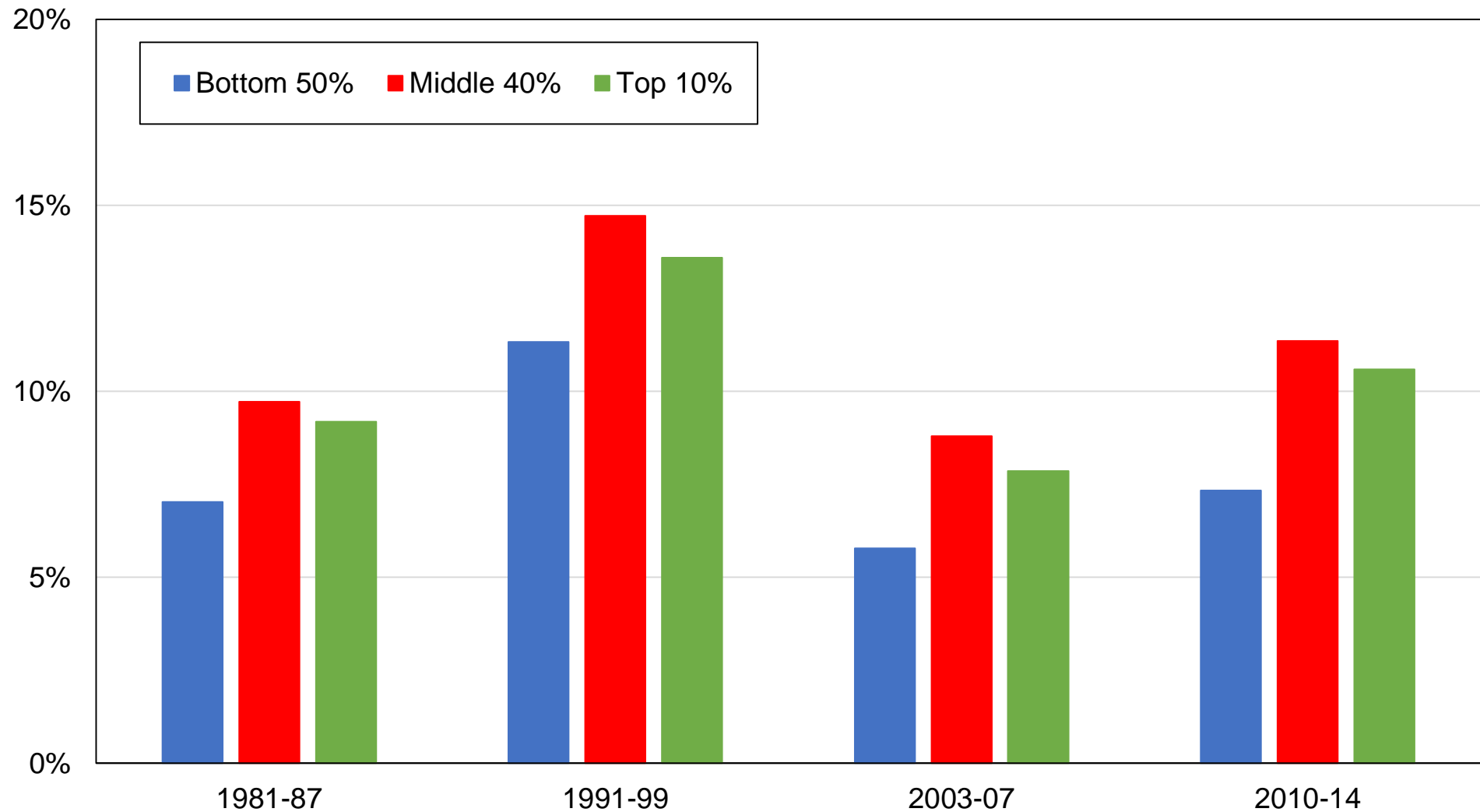
Figure AD10 - Vote for Ecolo / Agalev / Groen by education group



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

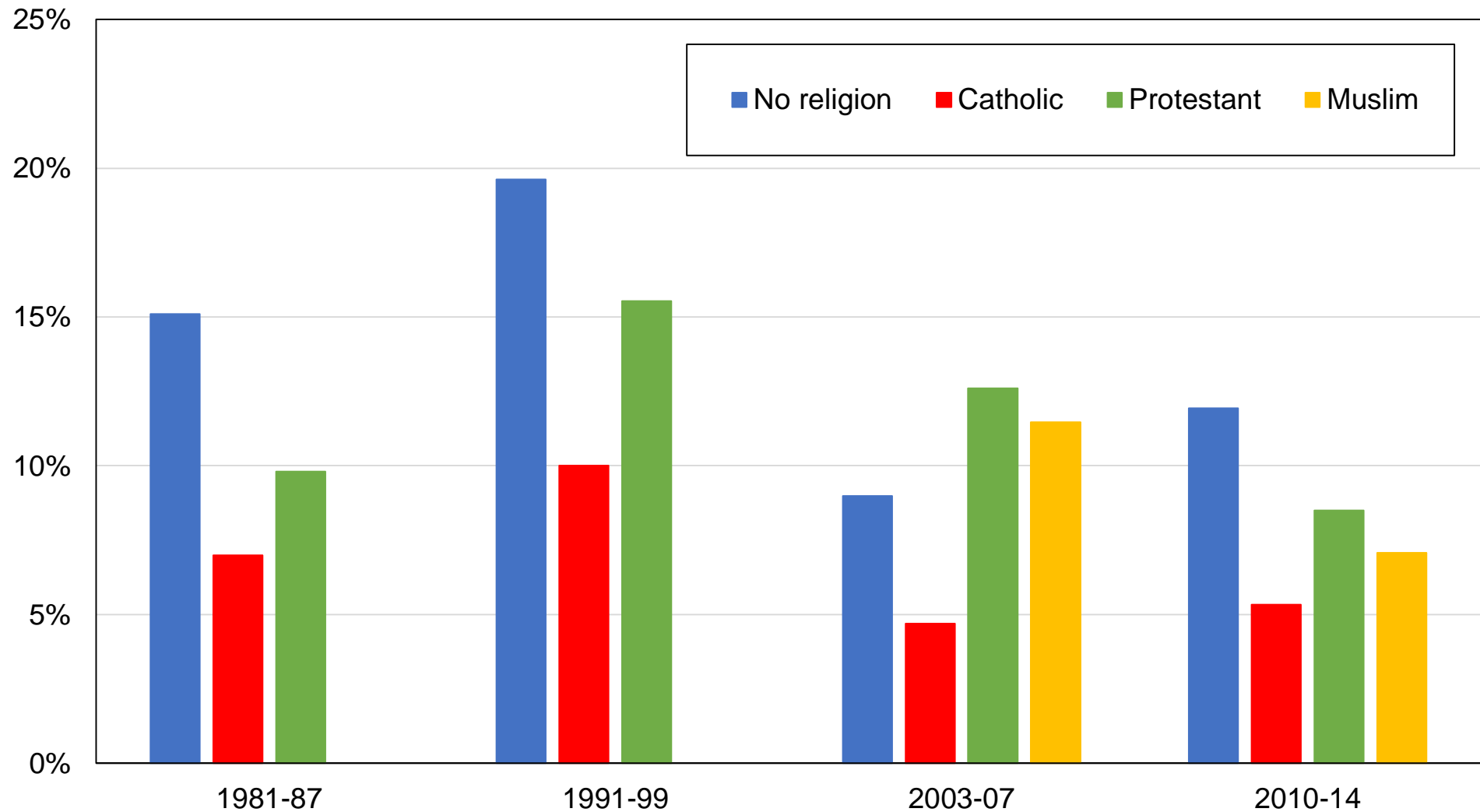
Figure AD11 - Vote for Ecolo / Agalev / Groen by income group



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

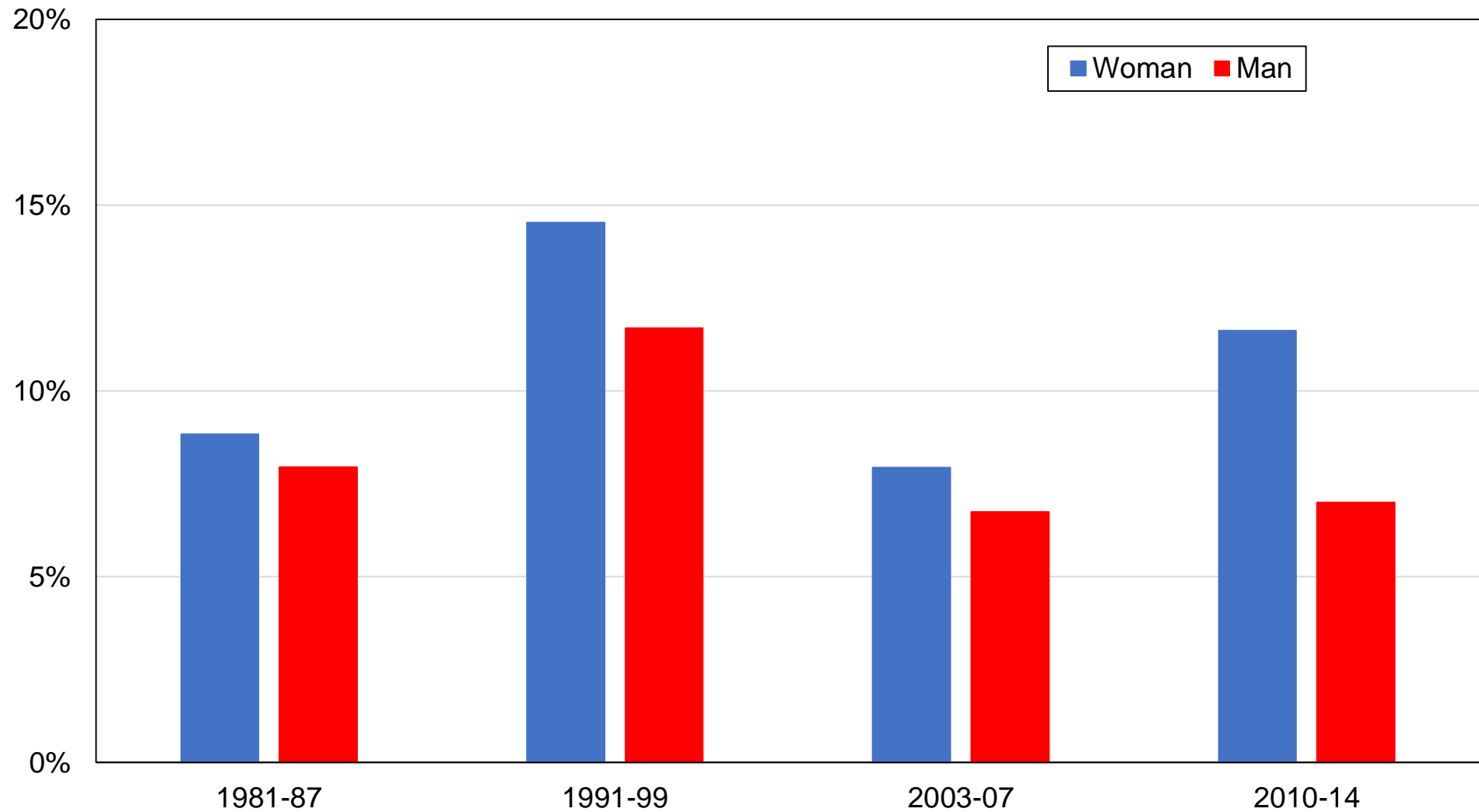
Figure AD12 - Vote for Ecolo / Agalev / Groen by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

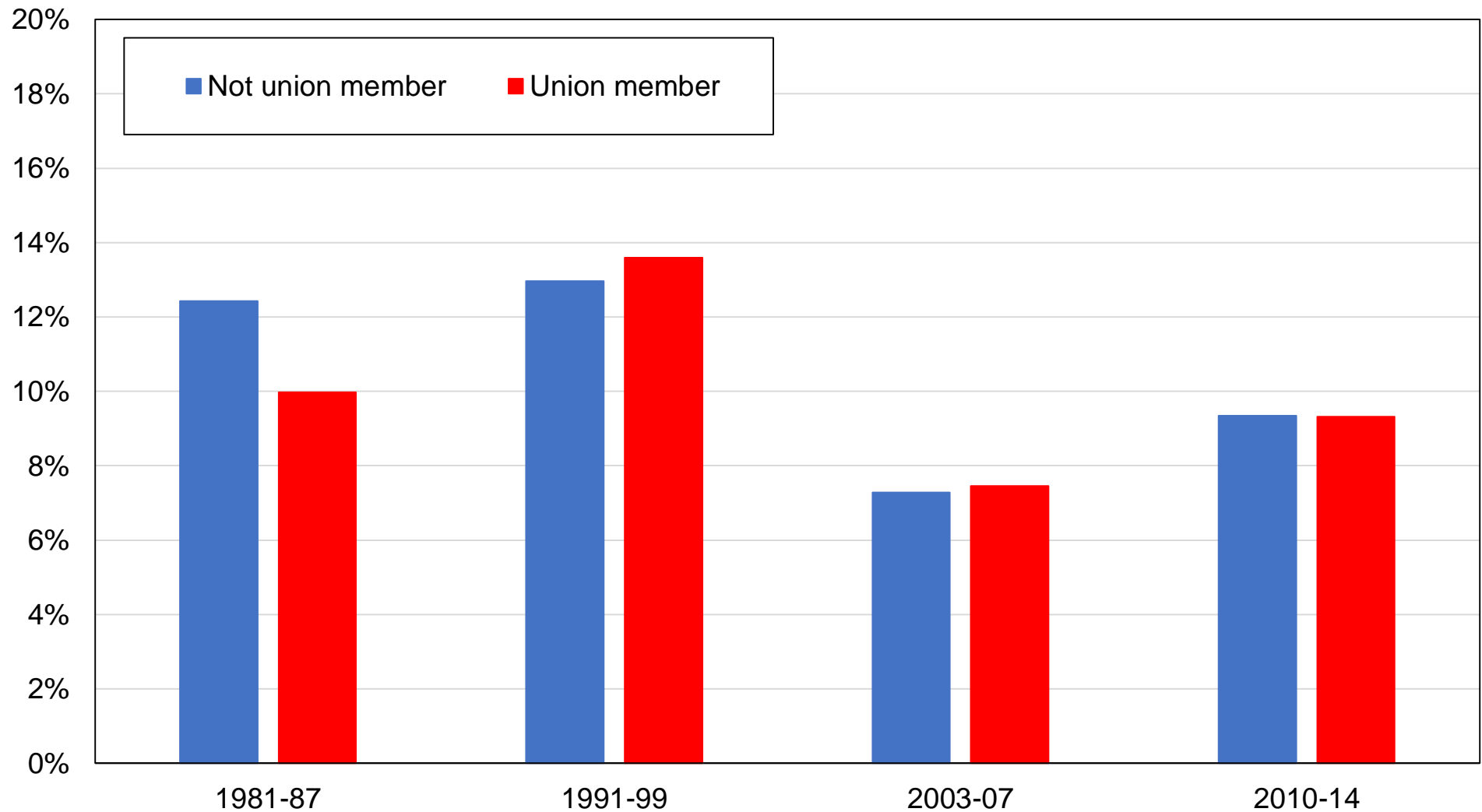
Figure AD13 - Vote for Ecolo / Agalev / Groen by gender



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

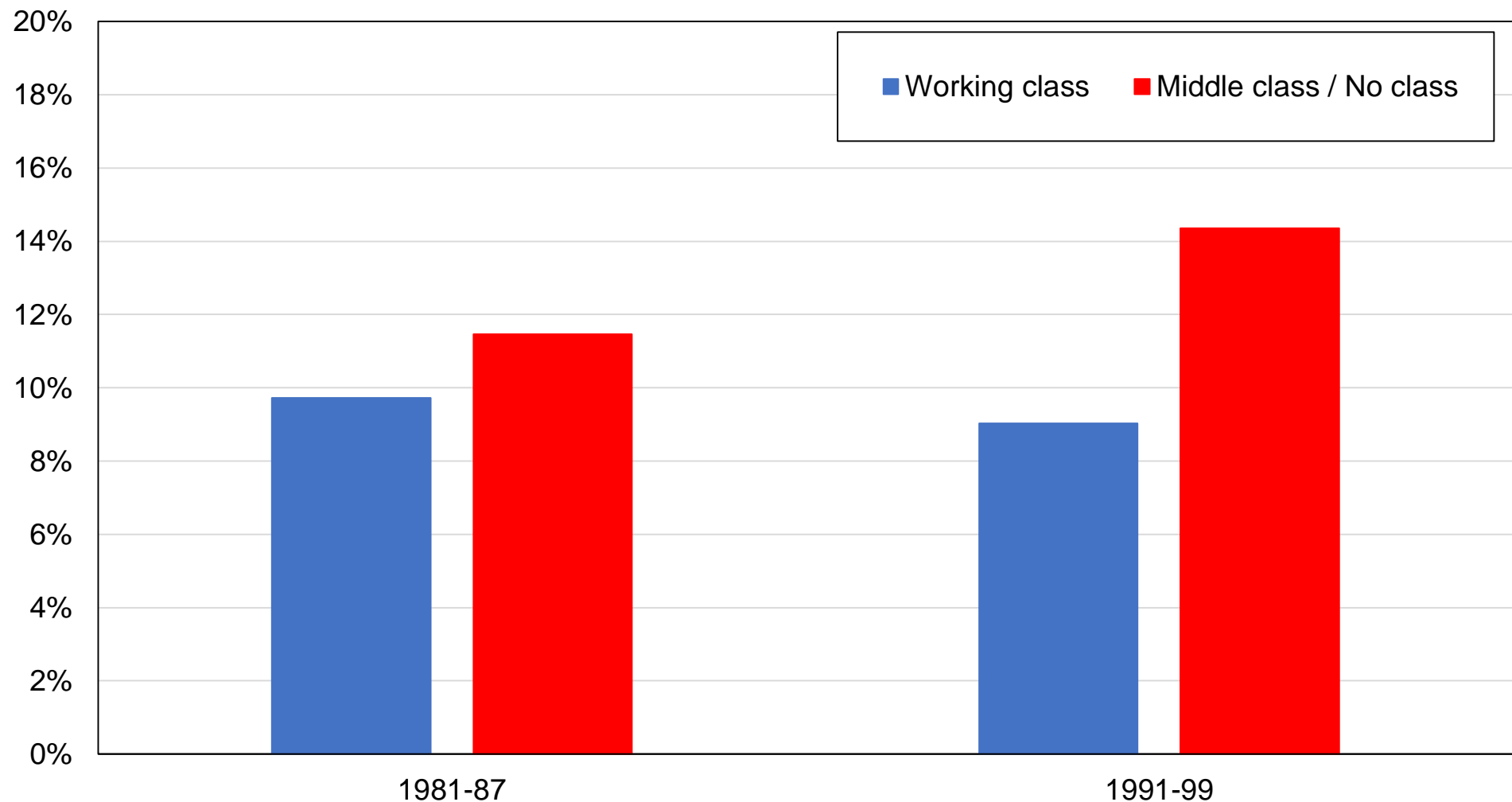
Figure AD14 - Vote for Ecolo / Agalev / Groen by union membership



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

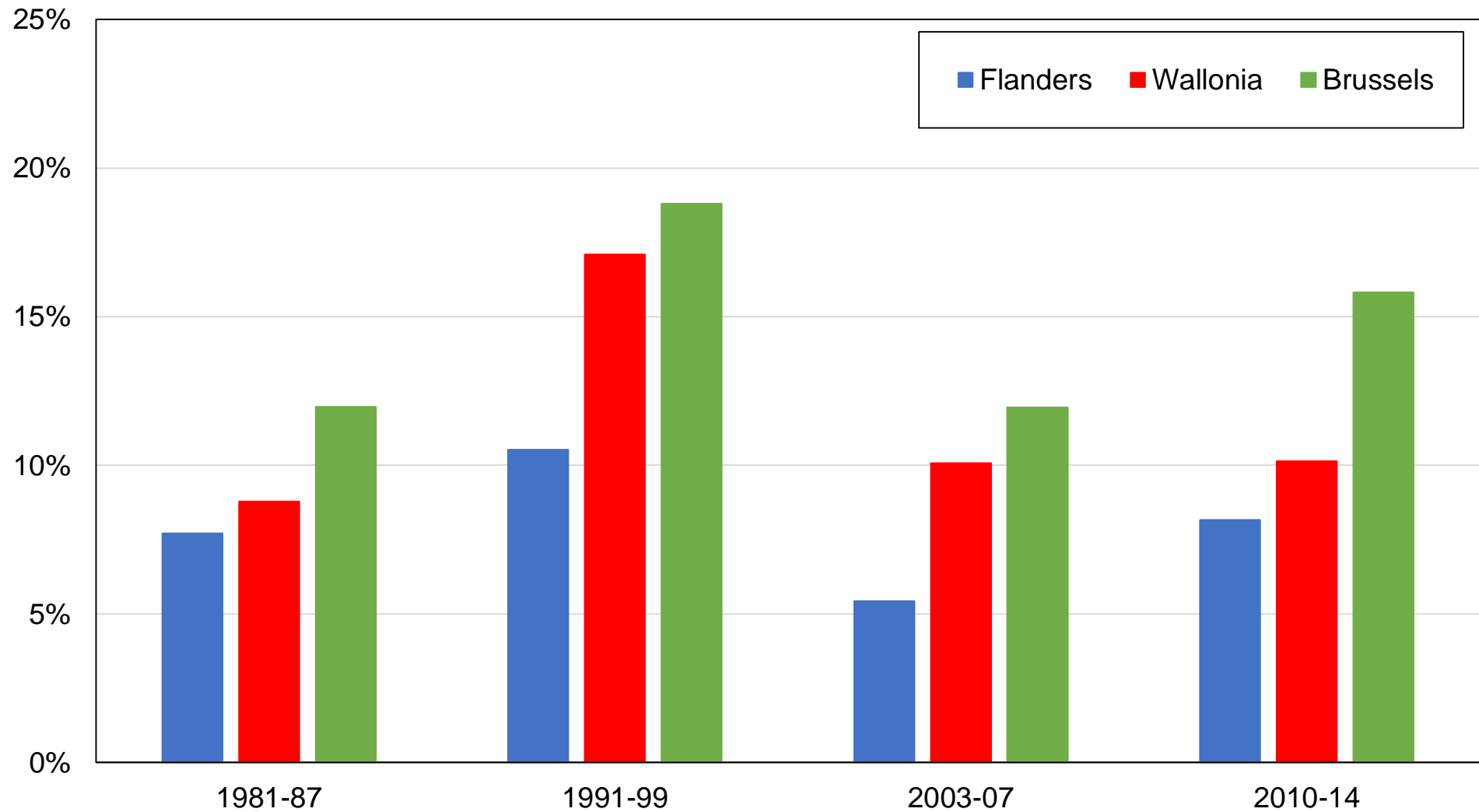
Figure AD15 - Vote for Ecolo / Agalev / Groen by perceived social class



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

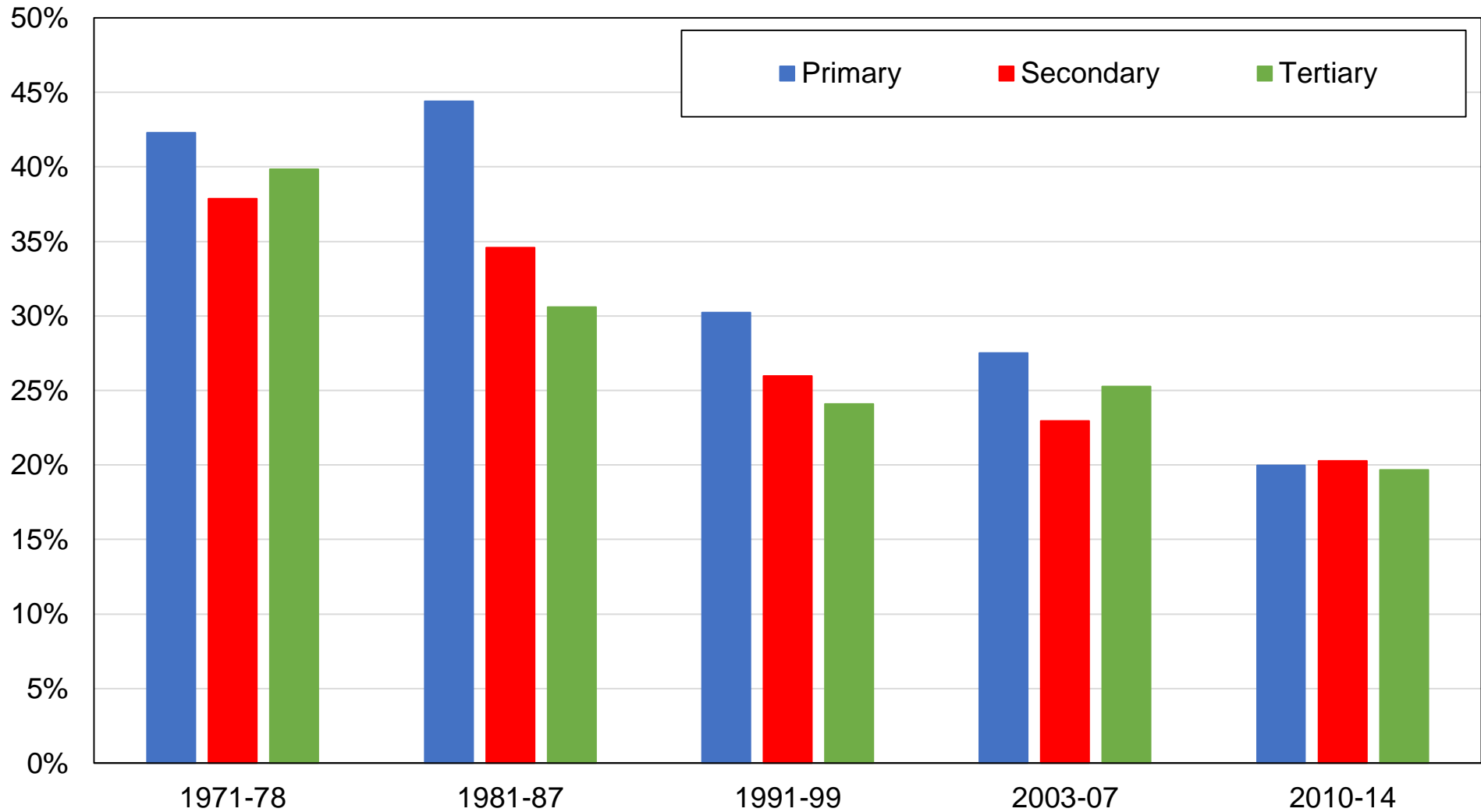
Figure AD16 - Vote for Ecolo / Agalev / Groen by region



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

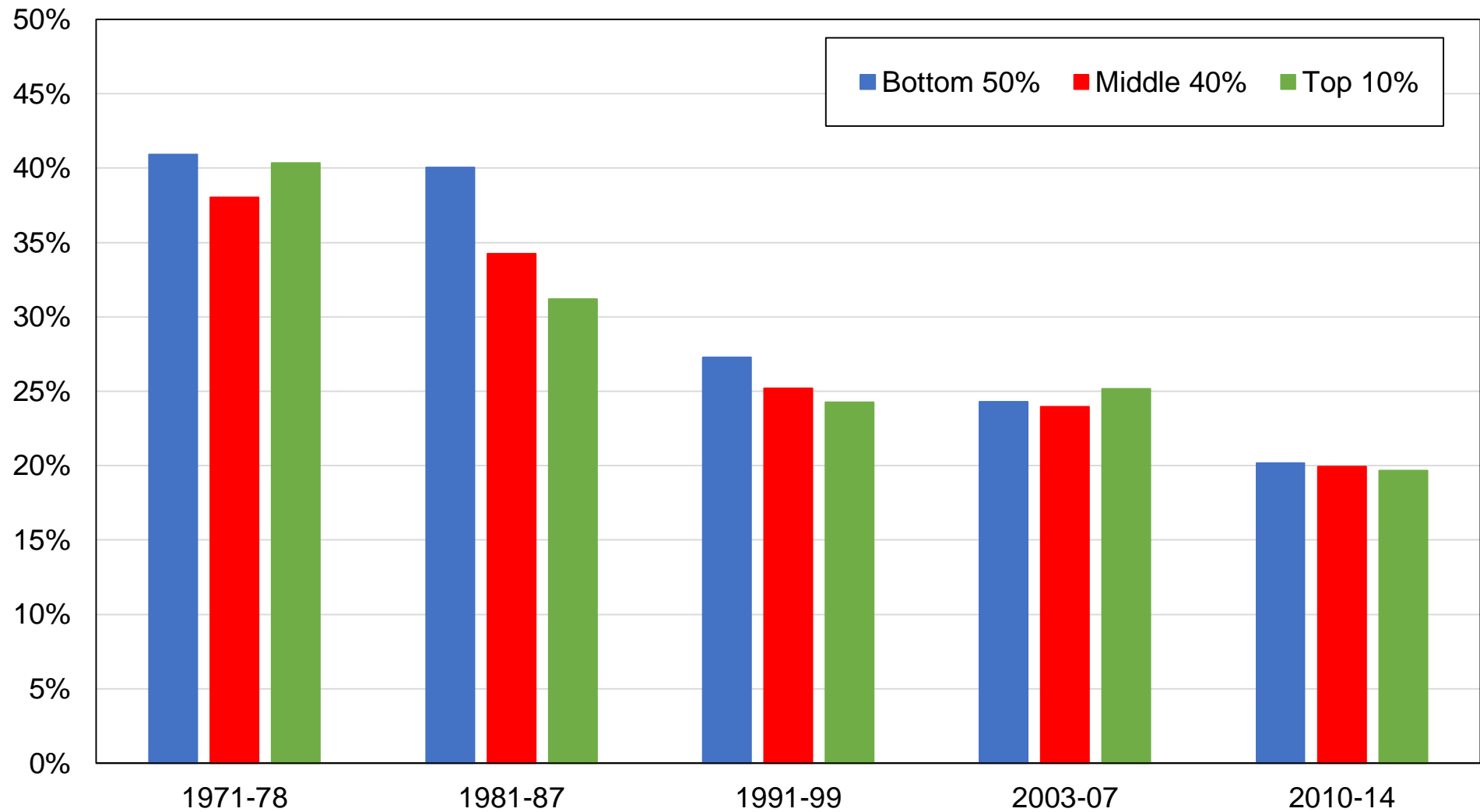
Figure AD17 - Vote for PSC / CVP / CD&V / CdH by education level



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

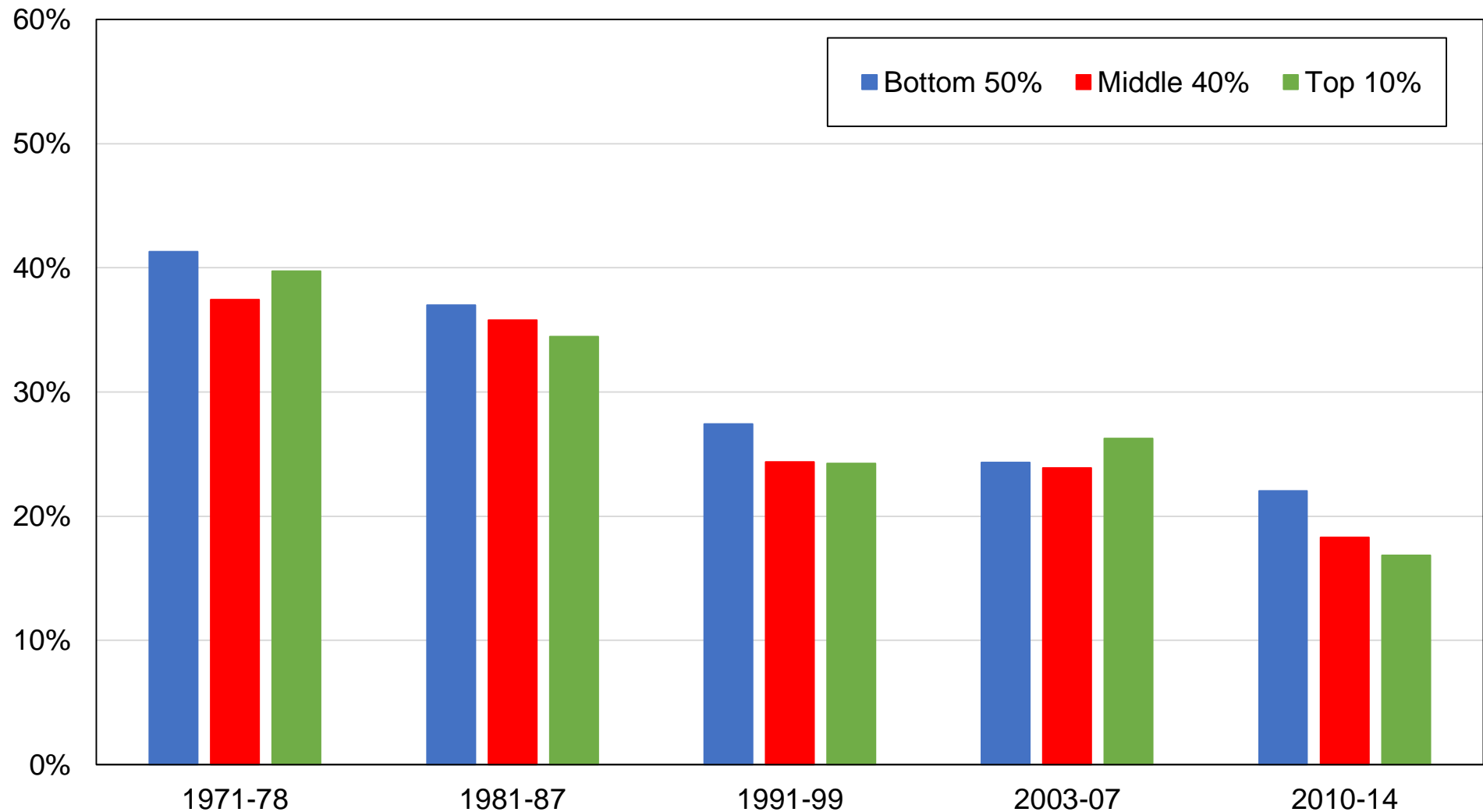
Figure AD18 - Vote for PSC / CVP / CD&V / CdH by education group



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

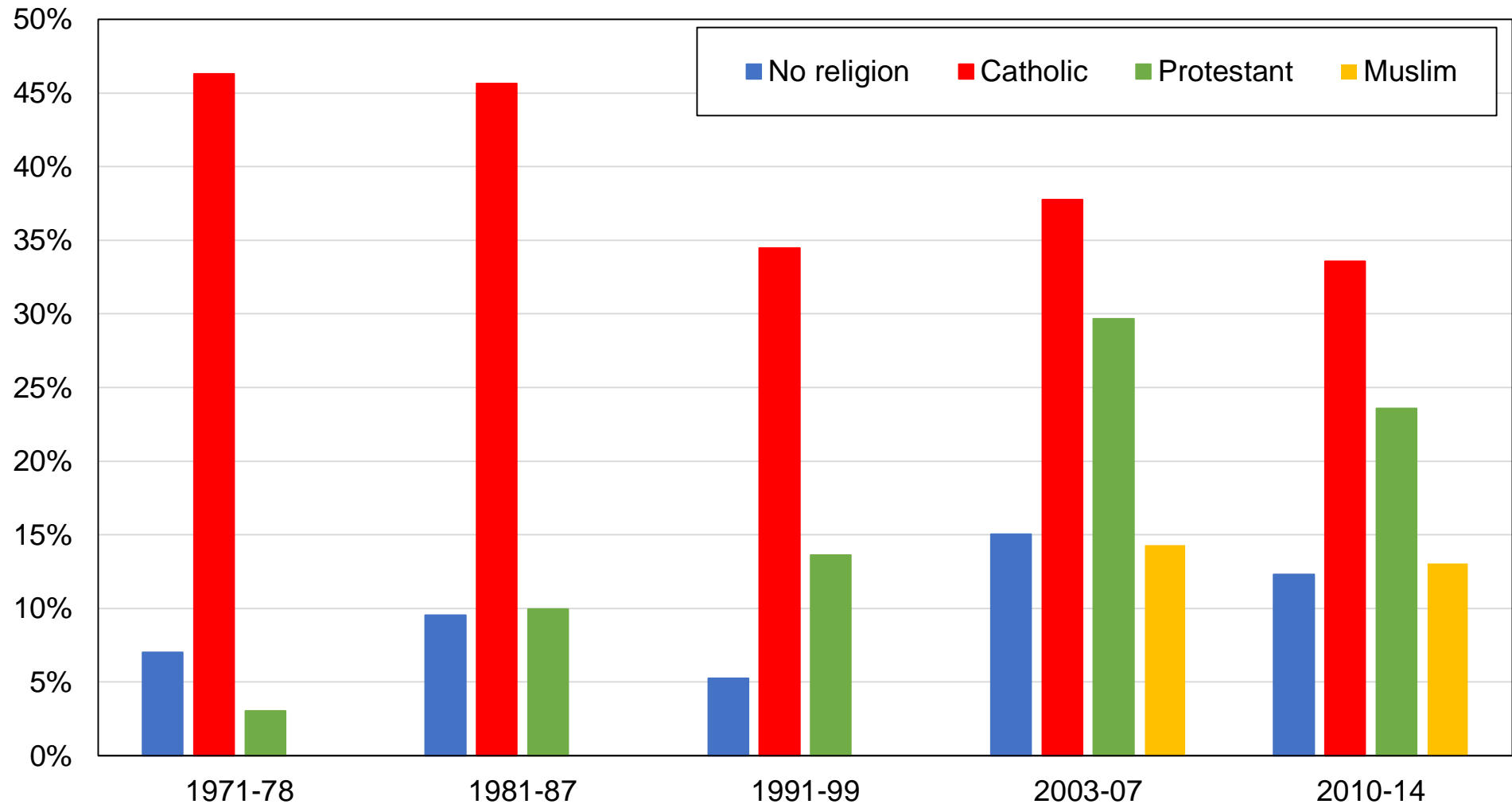
Figure AD19 - Vote for PSC / CVP / CD&V / CdH by income group



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

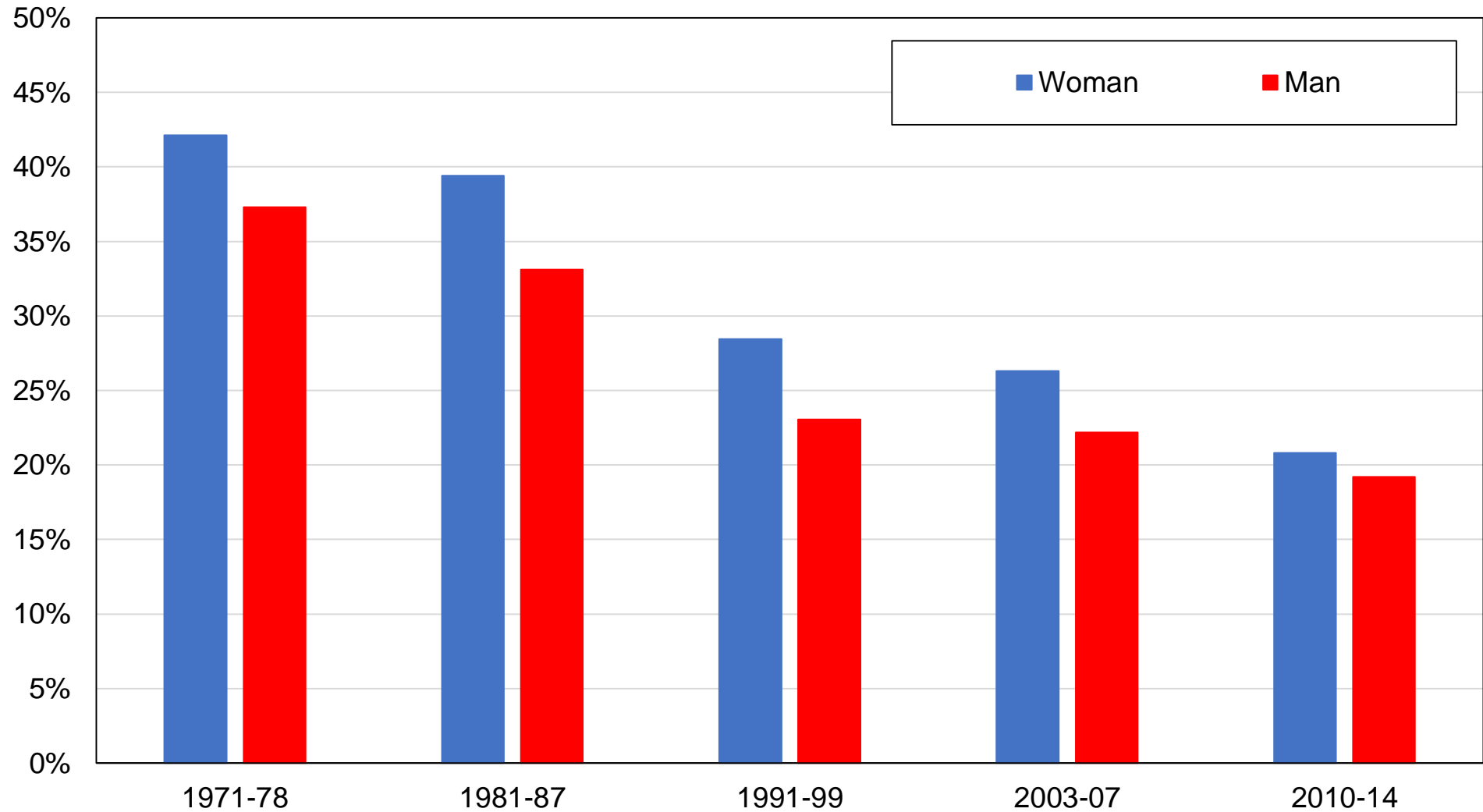
Figure AD20 - Vote for the PSC / CVP / CD&V / CdH by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

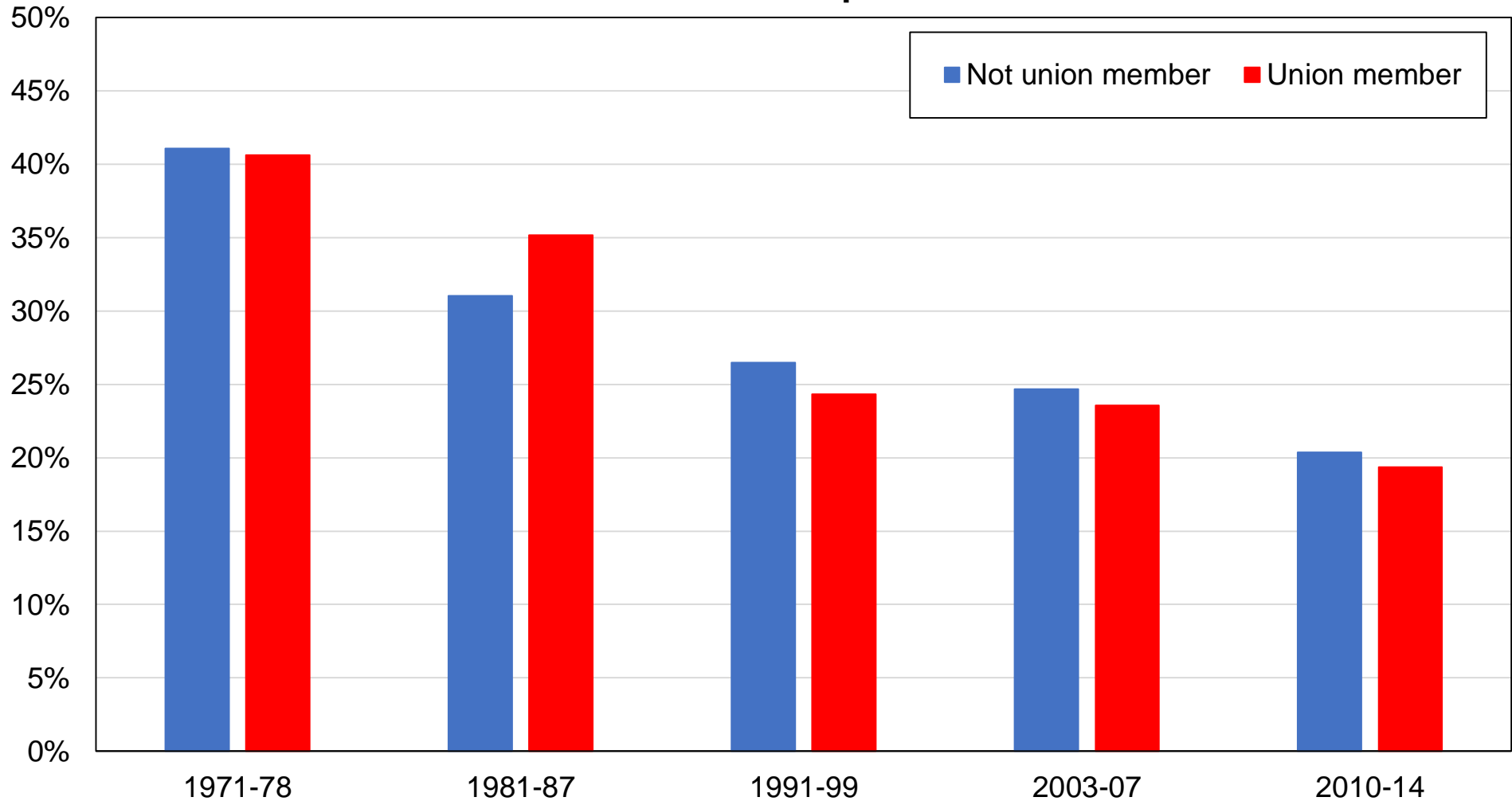
Figure AD21 - Vote for PSC / CVP / CD&V / CdH by gender



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

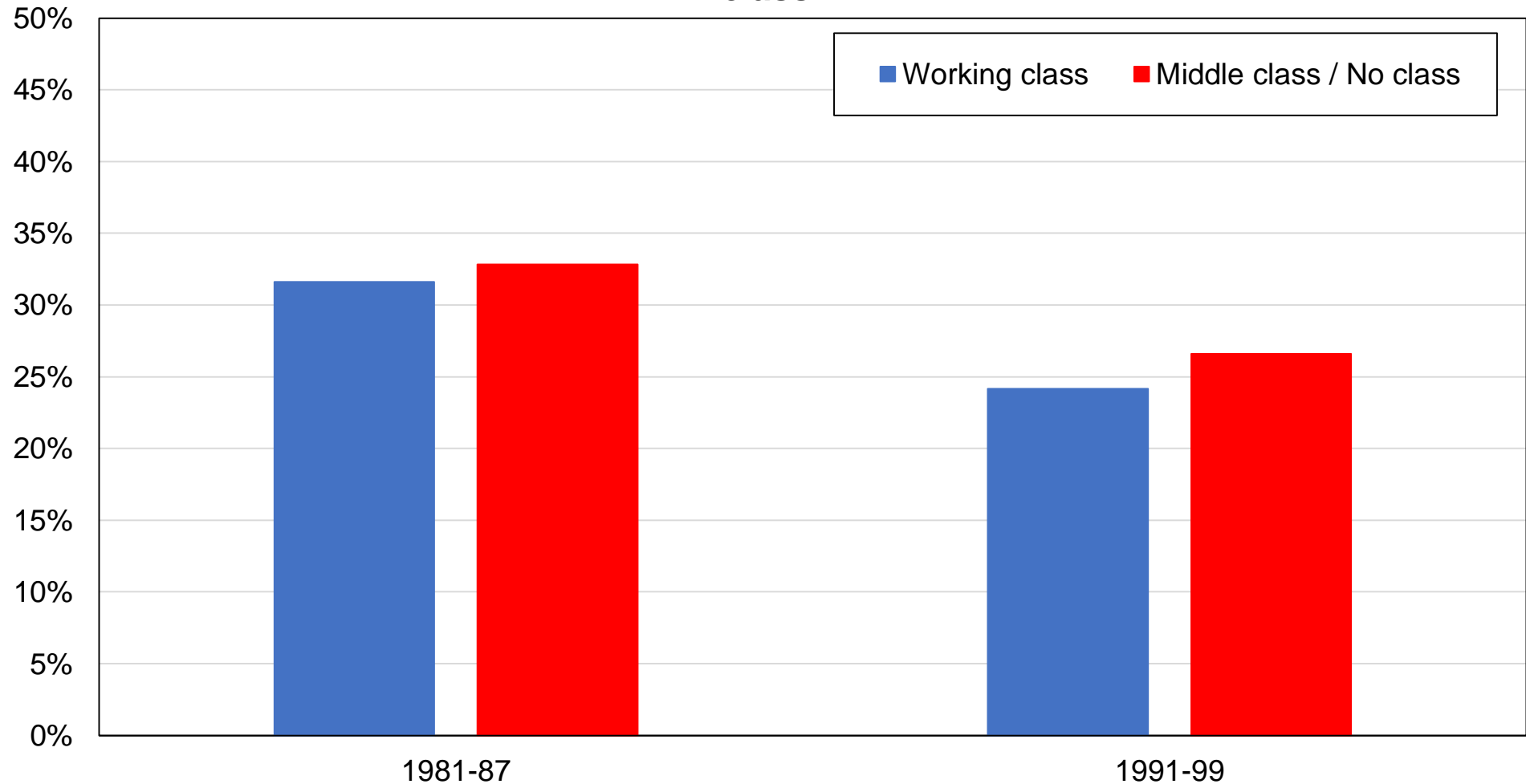
Figure AD22 - Vote for the PSC / CVP / CD&V / CdH by union membership



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

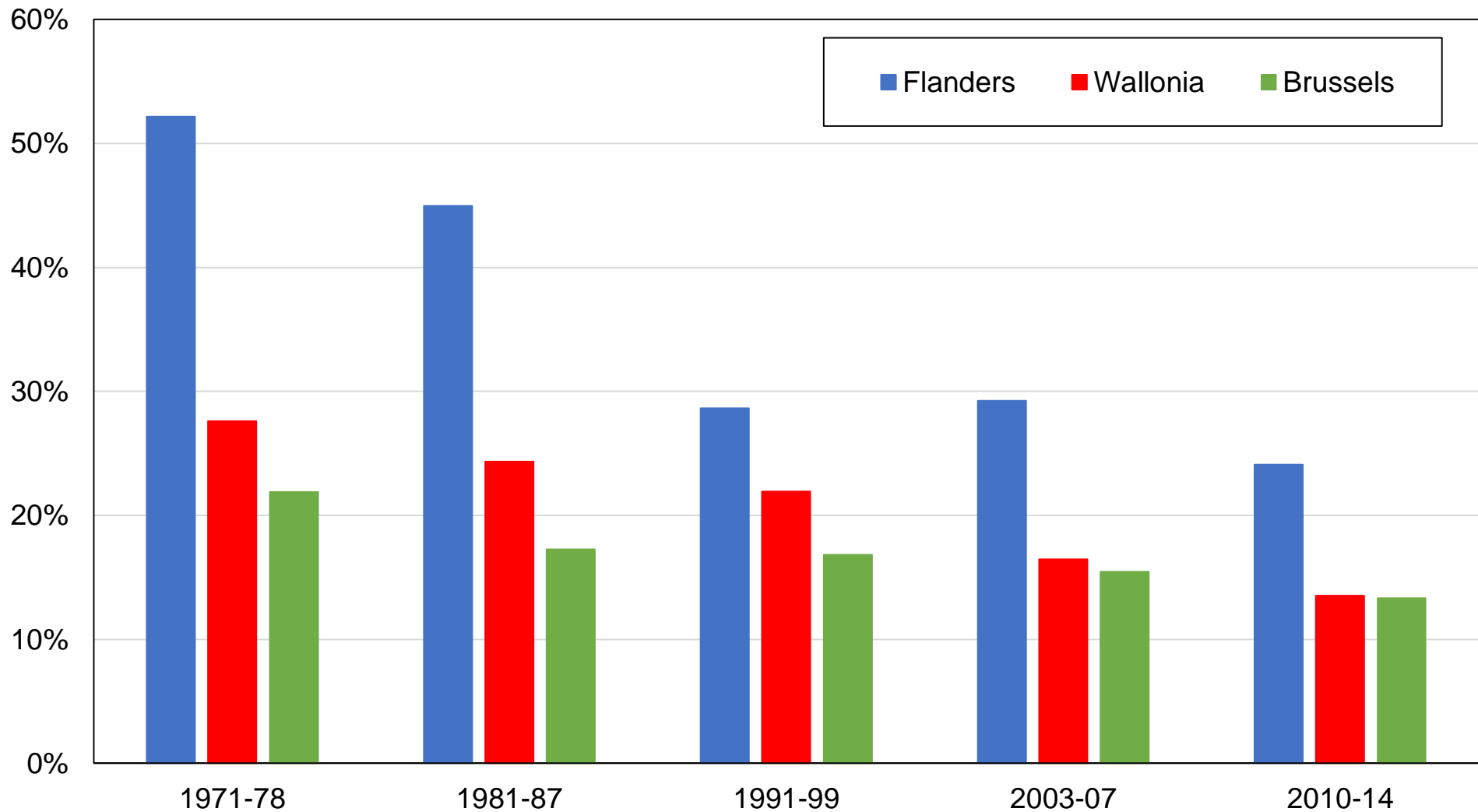
Figure AD23 - Vote for PSC / CVP / CD&V / CdH by perceived social class



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

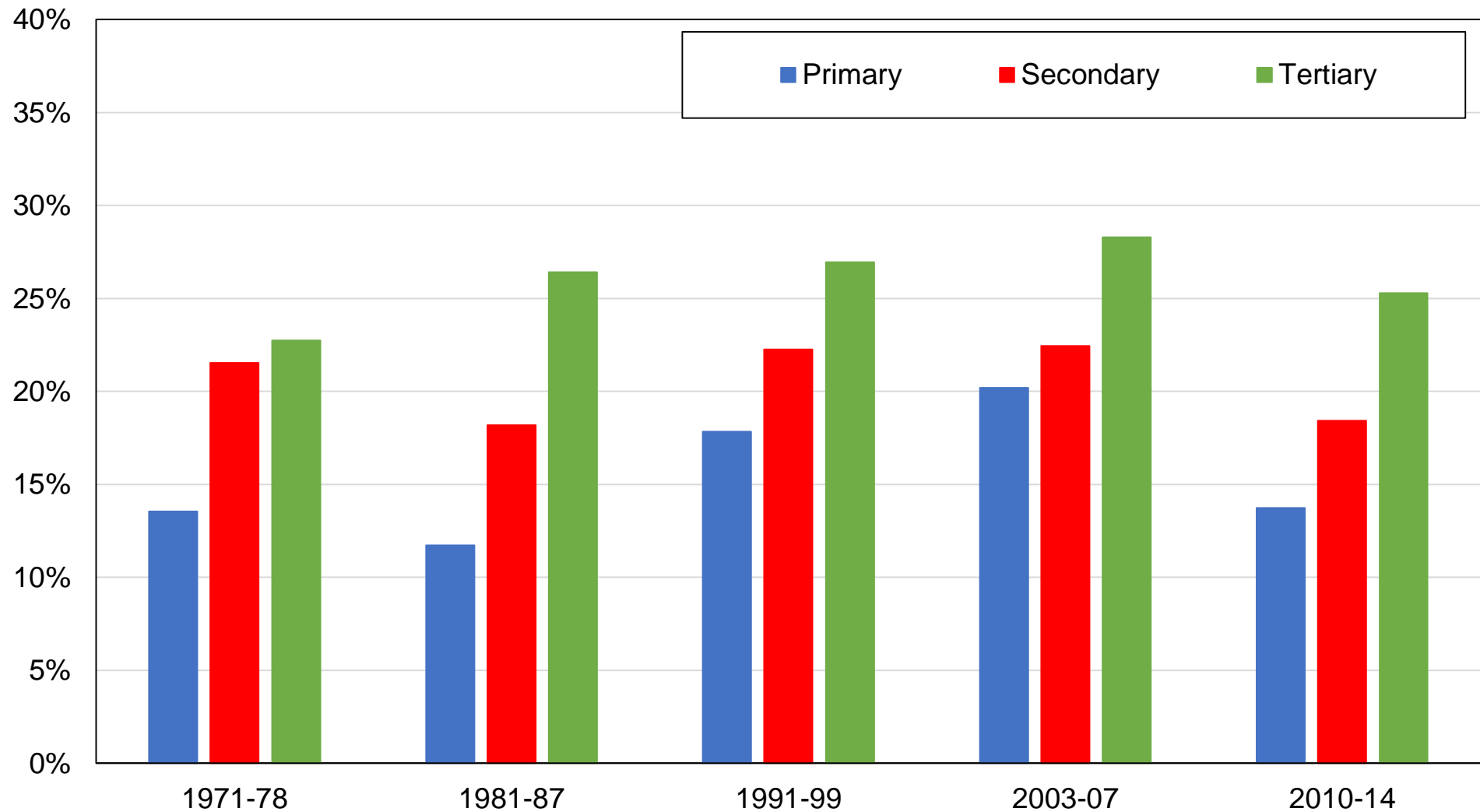
Figure AD24 - Vote for PSC / CVP / CD&V / CdH by region



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

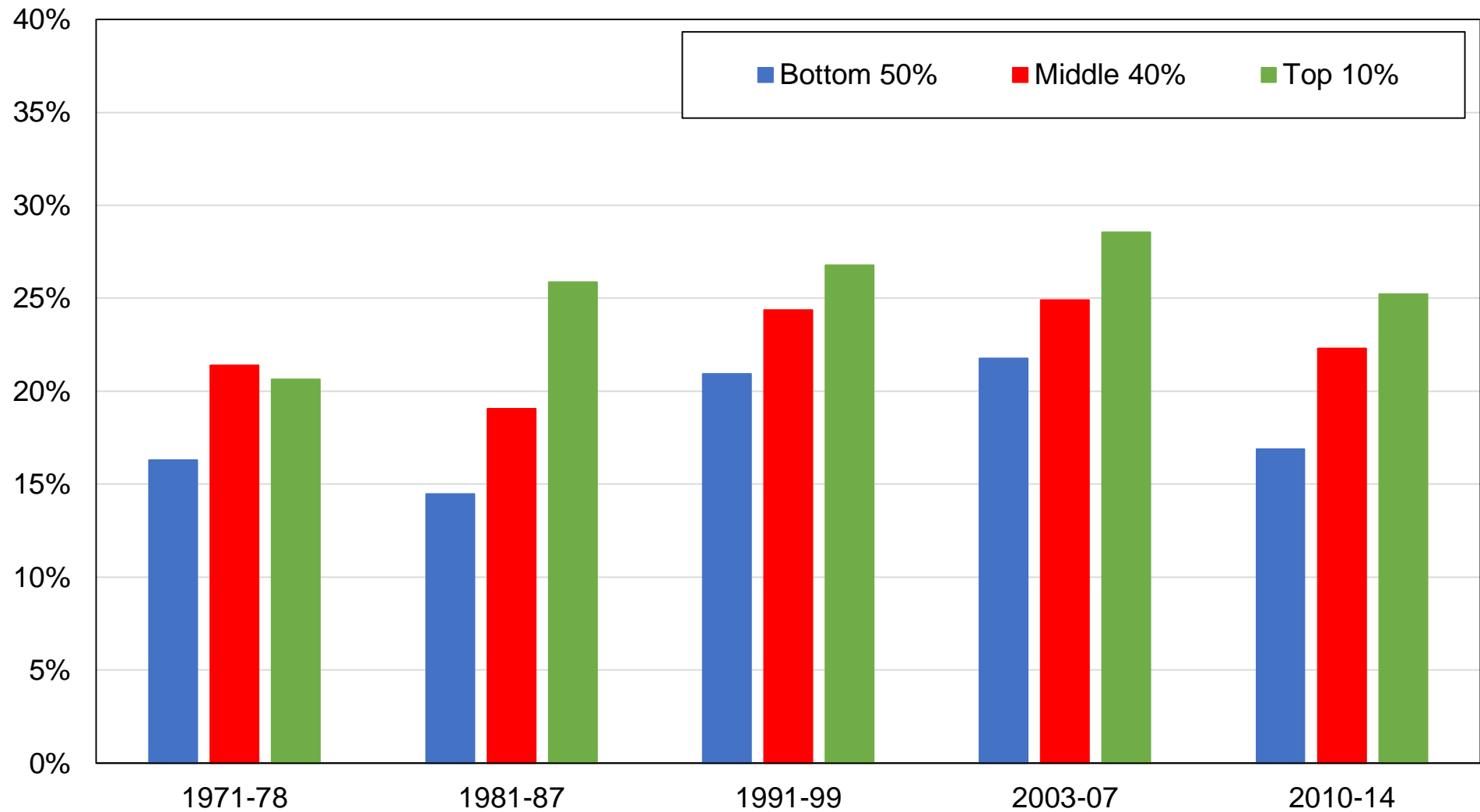
Figure AD25 - Vote for PVV / VLD / Other liberals by education level



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

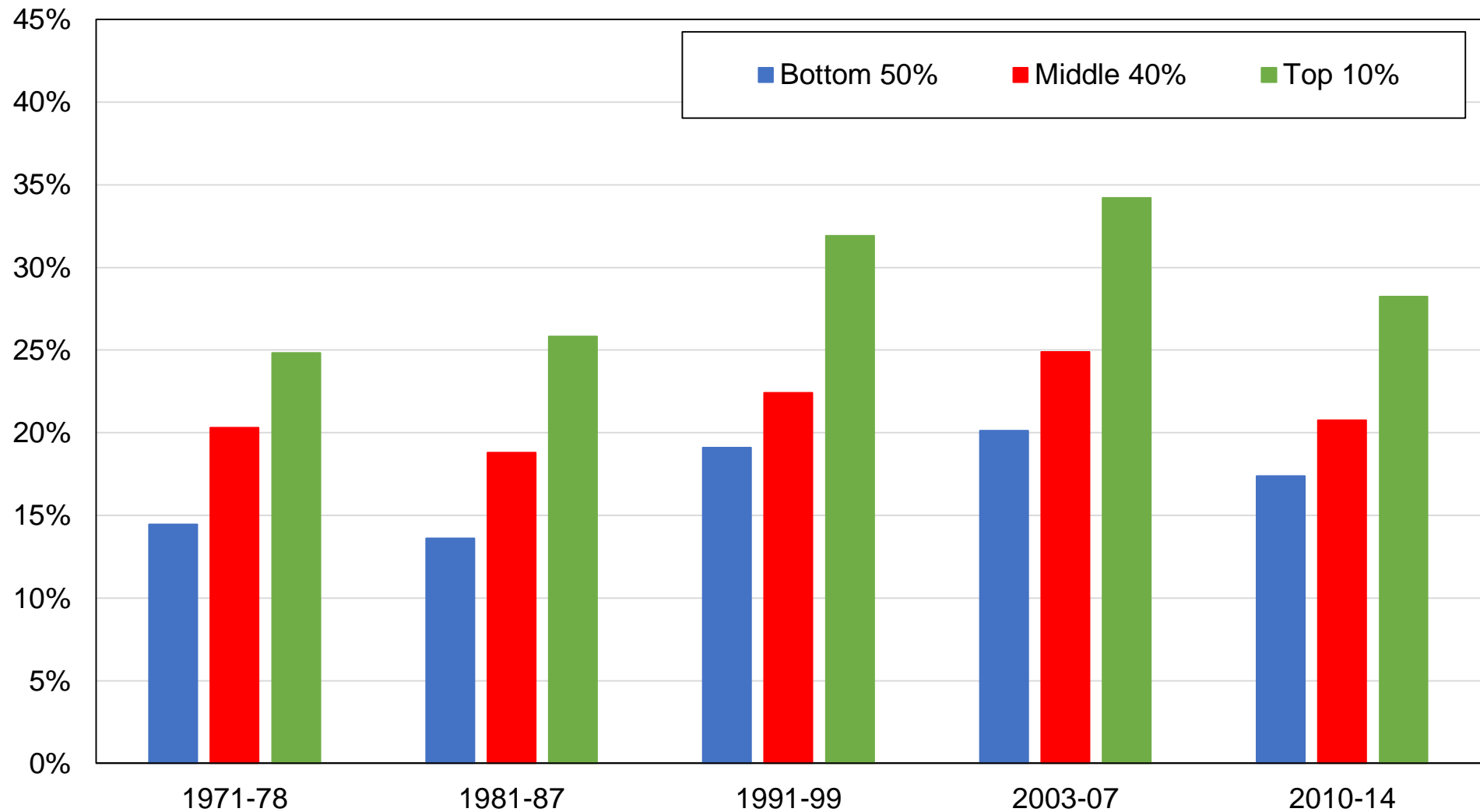
Figure AD26 - Vote for PVV / VLD / Other liberals by education group



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

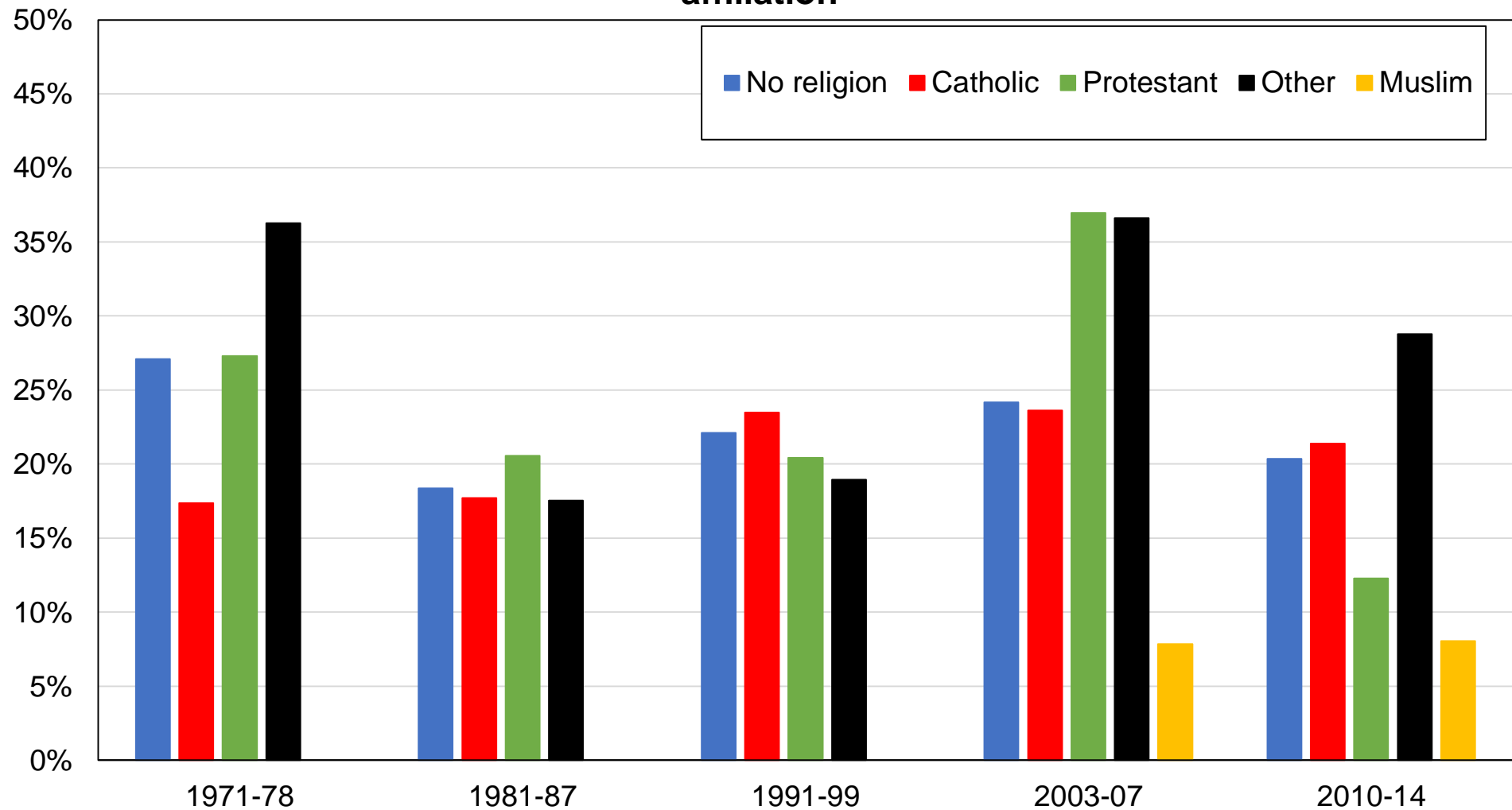
Figure AD27 - Vote for PVV / VLD / Other liberals by income group



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

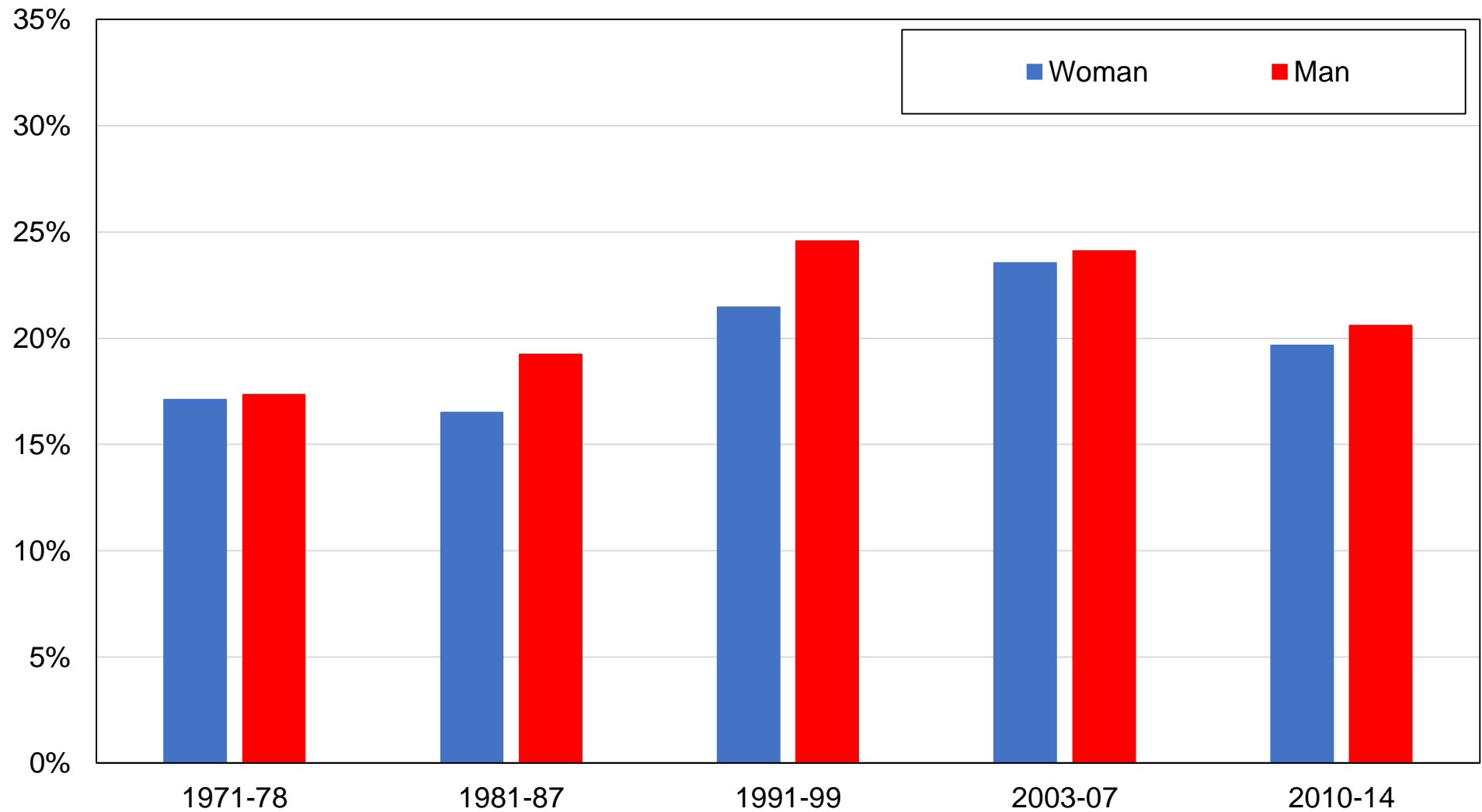
Figure AD28 - Vote for the PVV / VLD / Other liberals by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

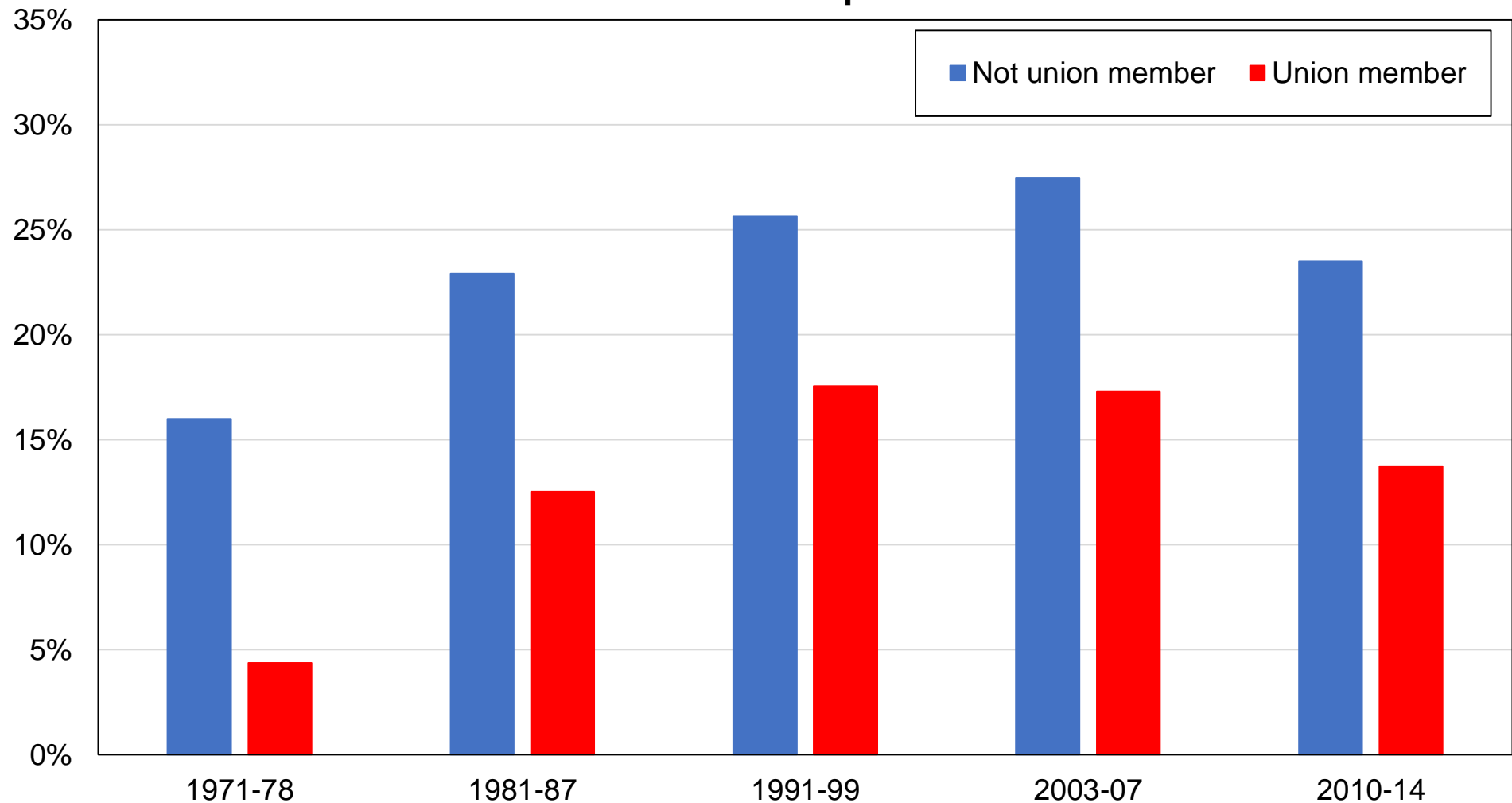
Figure AD29 - Vote for PVV / VLD / Other liberals by gender



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

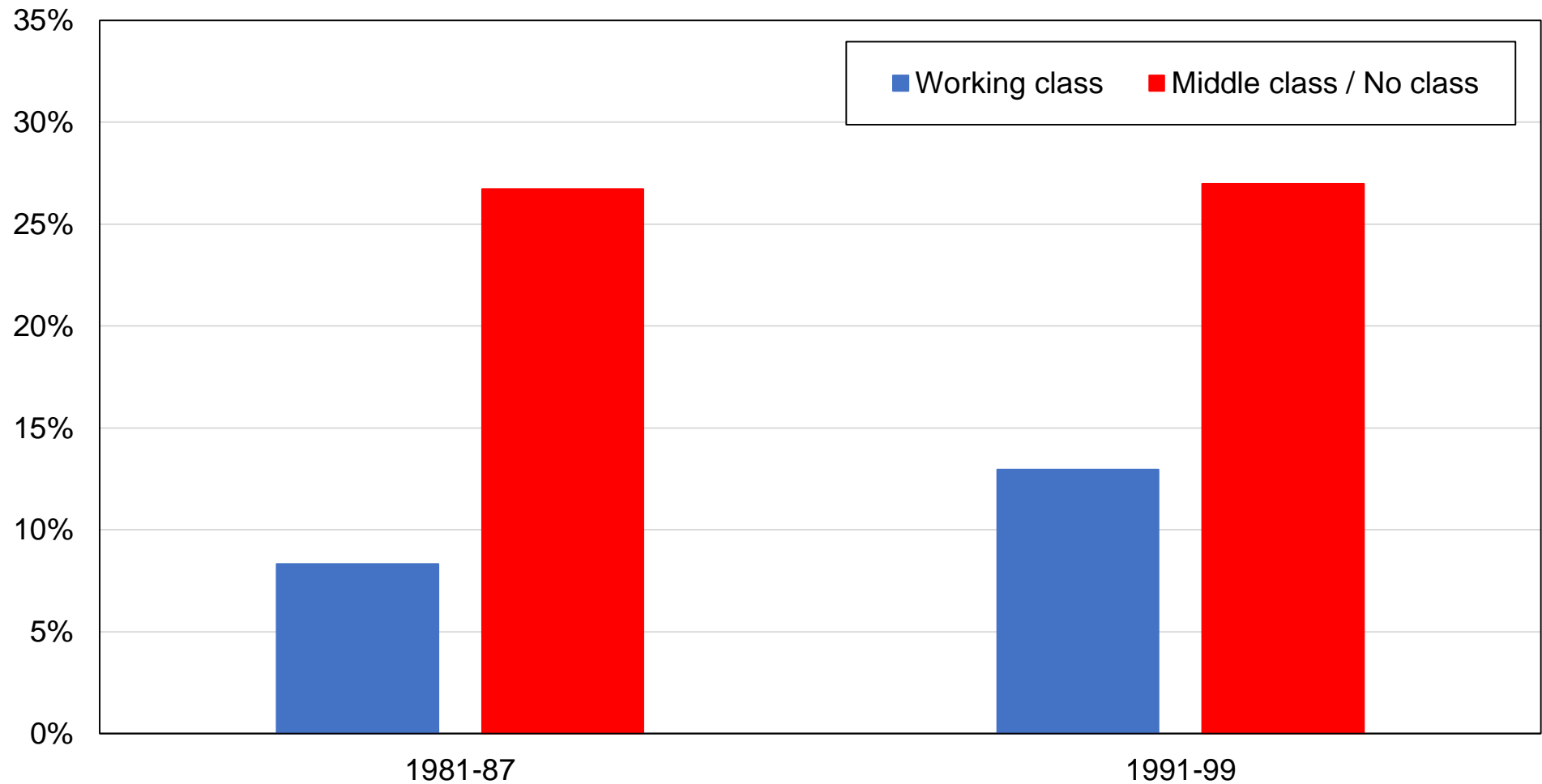
Figure AD30 - Vote for the PVV / VLD / Other liberals by union membership



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

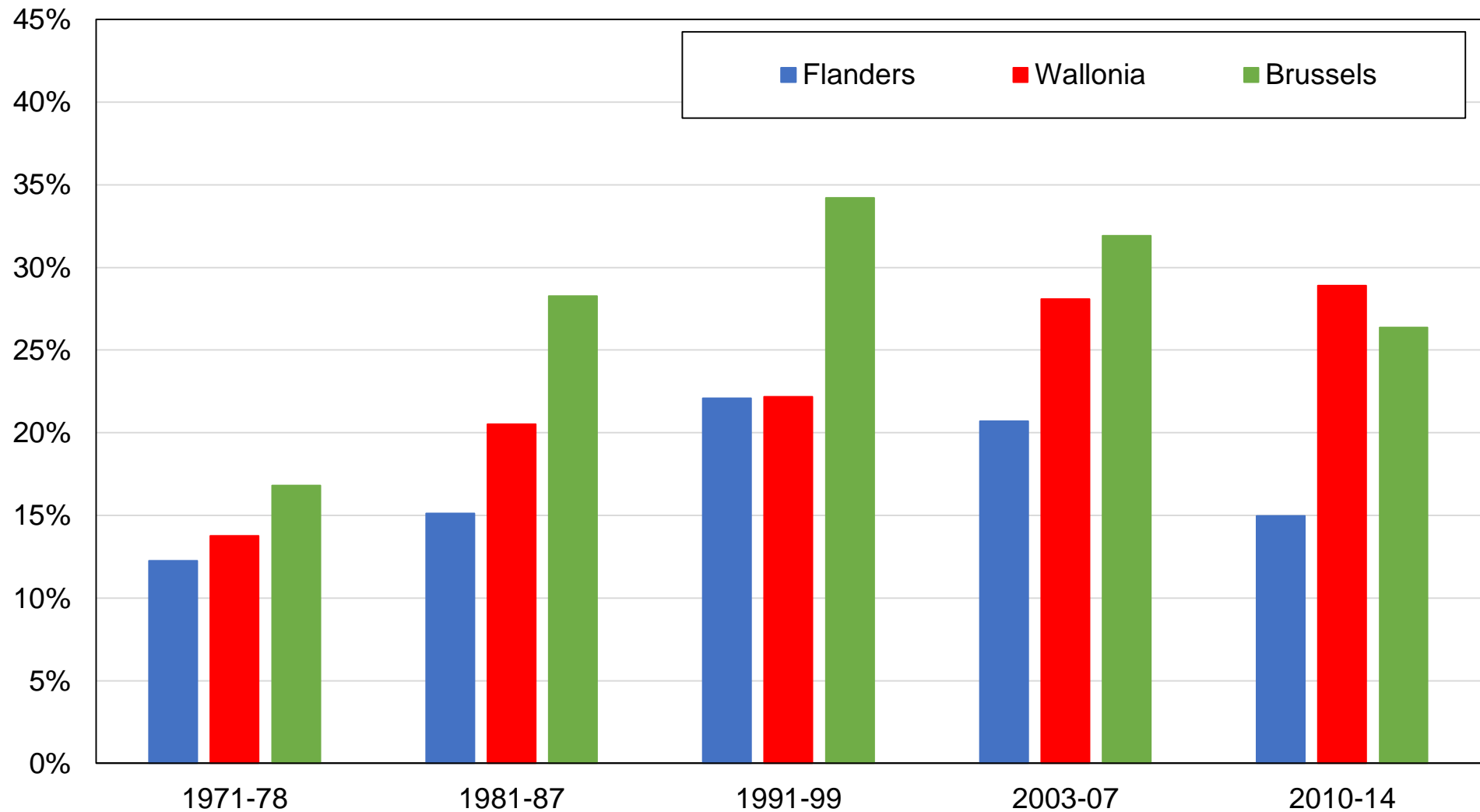
Figure AD31 - Vote for PVV / VLD / Other liberals by perceived social class



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

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



Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

Table AA1 - Survey data sources

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

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

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

Table AA2 - Complete descriptive statistics by decade

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

Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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

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

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

Source: authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys.

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