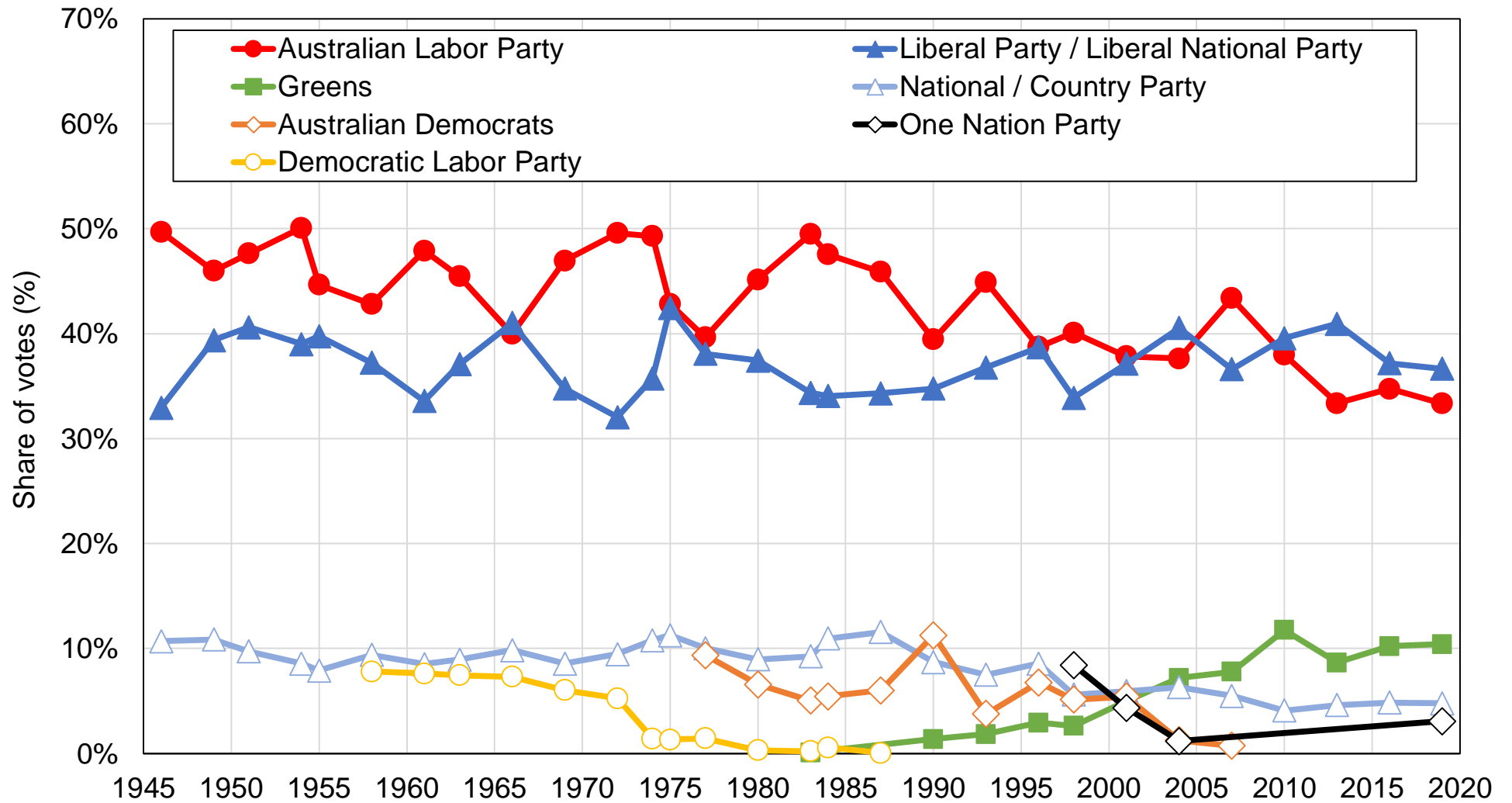


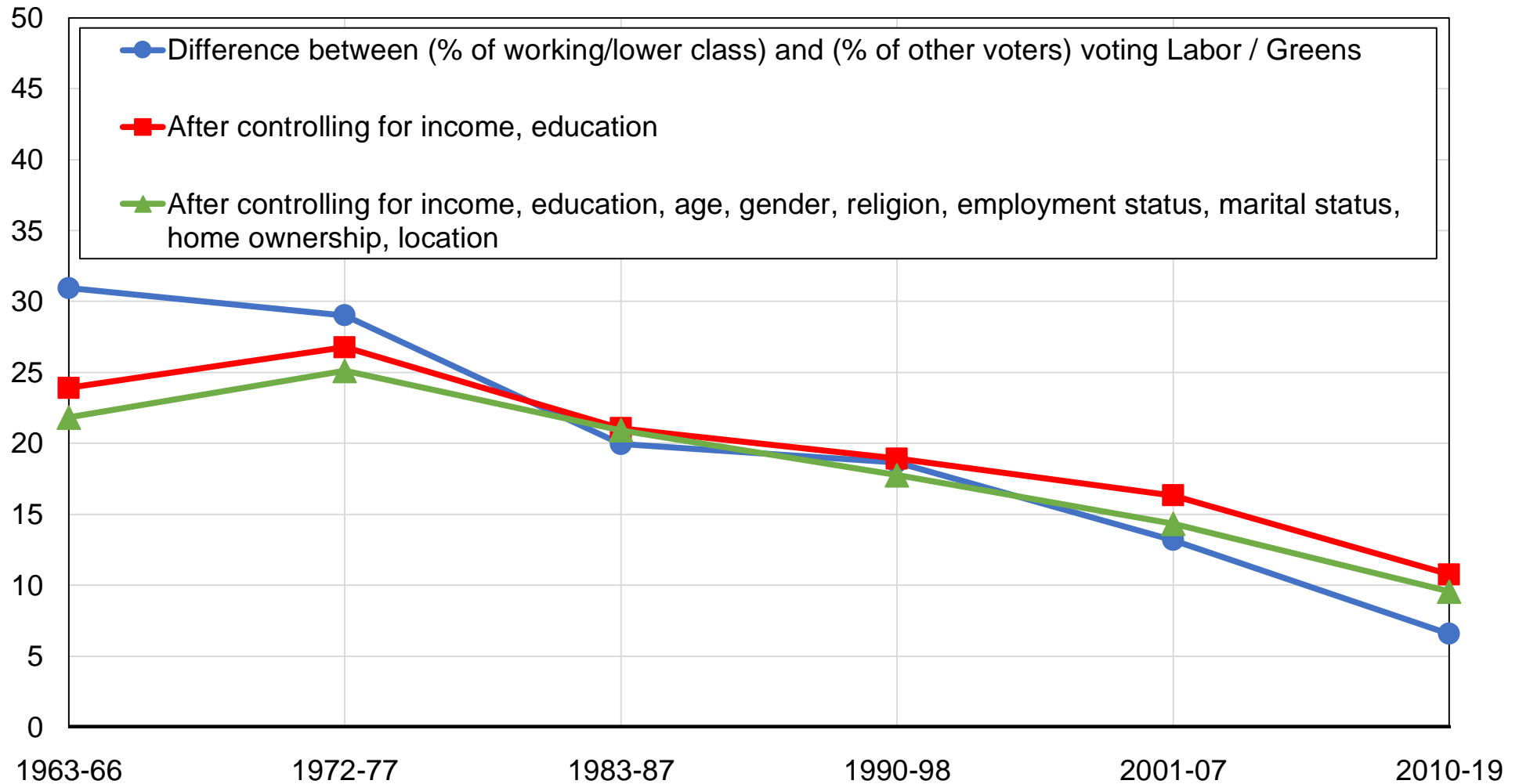
Figure 5.1 - Election results in Australia, 1946-2019



Source: author's computations using official election results (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected political parties or groups of parties in federal elections held in Australia between 1946 and 2019. The Labor Party received 33% of votes in 2019.

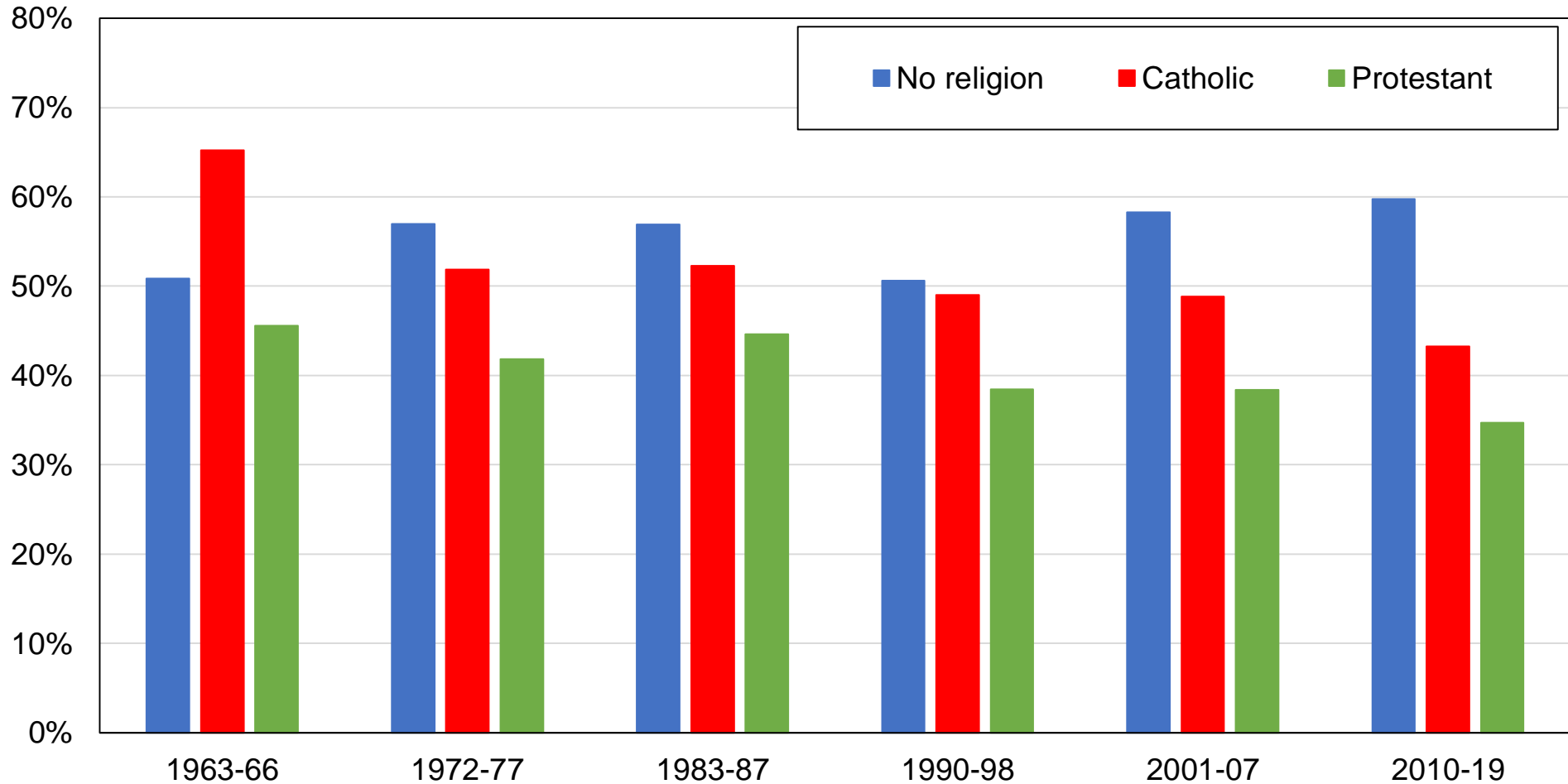
Figure 5.2 - The decline of class voting in Australia, 1963-2019



Source: author's computations using Australian electoral surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters identifying with the "working class" or the "lower class" and the share of voters identifying with the "middle class" or "no class" voting for the Labor Party or the Australian Greens, before and after controls. Class voting has significantly declined in Australia in the past decades.

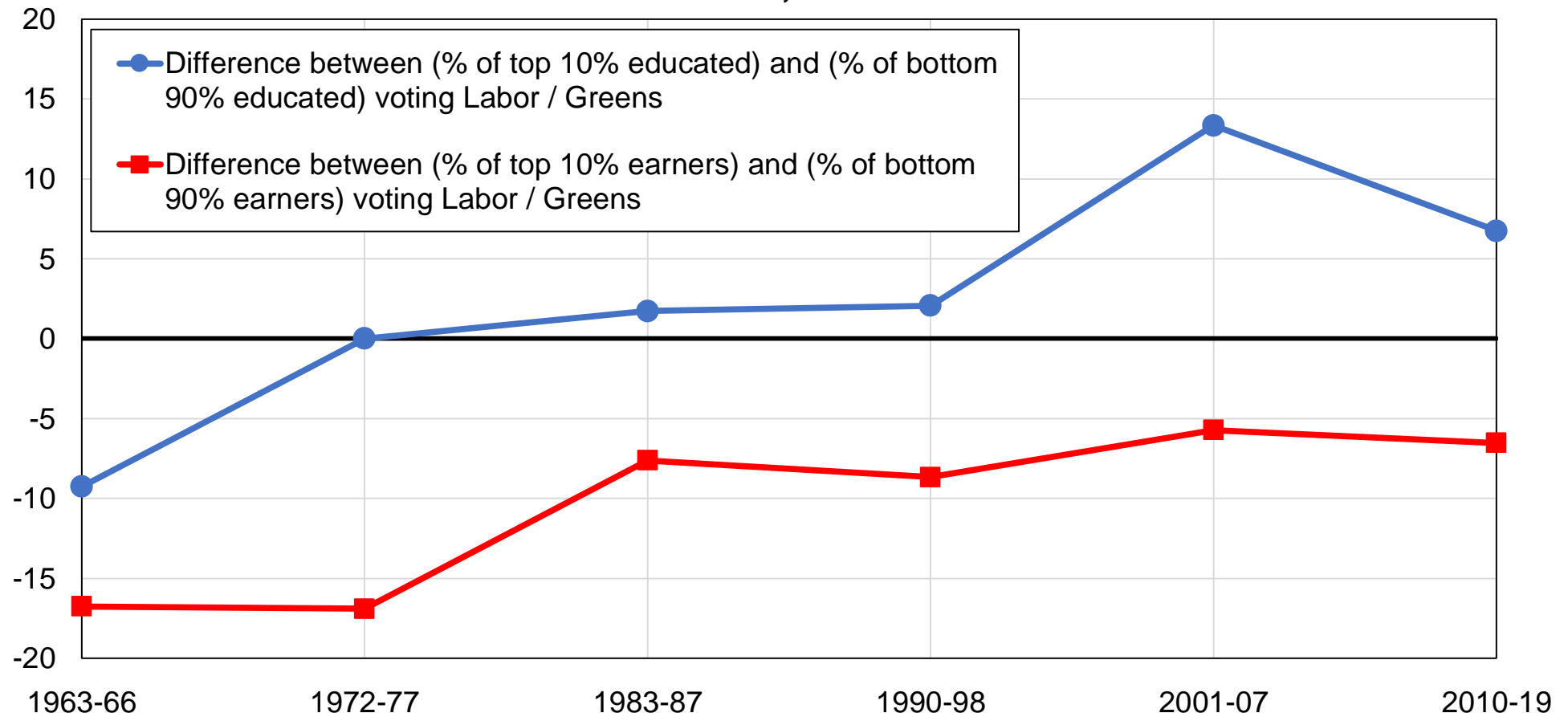
**Figure 5.3 - The religious cleavage in Australia
Vote for ALP / Greens by religious affiliation, 1963-2019**



Source: author's computations using Australian electoral surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Australian Labor Party and the Australian Greens by religious affiliation. Between the 1960s and the 2010s, support for these parties declined significantly among Catholic voters, while it increased slightly among non-religious voters.

Figure 5.4 - The emergence of a multi-elite party system in Australia, 1963-2019



Source: author's computations using Australian electoral surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the relative support of top-income and highest-educated voters for the Labor Party and the Australian Greens. In the 1960s, top-income and highest-educated voters were less likely to vote Labor than low-income and lower-educated voters. The Labor / Green vote has gradually become associated with higher-educated voters, giving rise to a "multi-elite party system". Estimates control for income/education, age, gender, religion, employment status, marital status, subjective class, home ownership, and location.

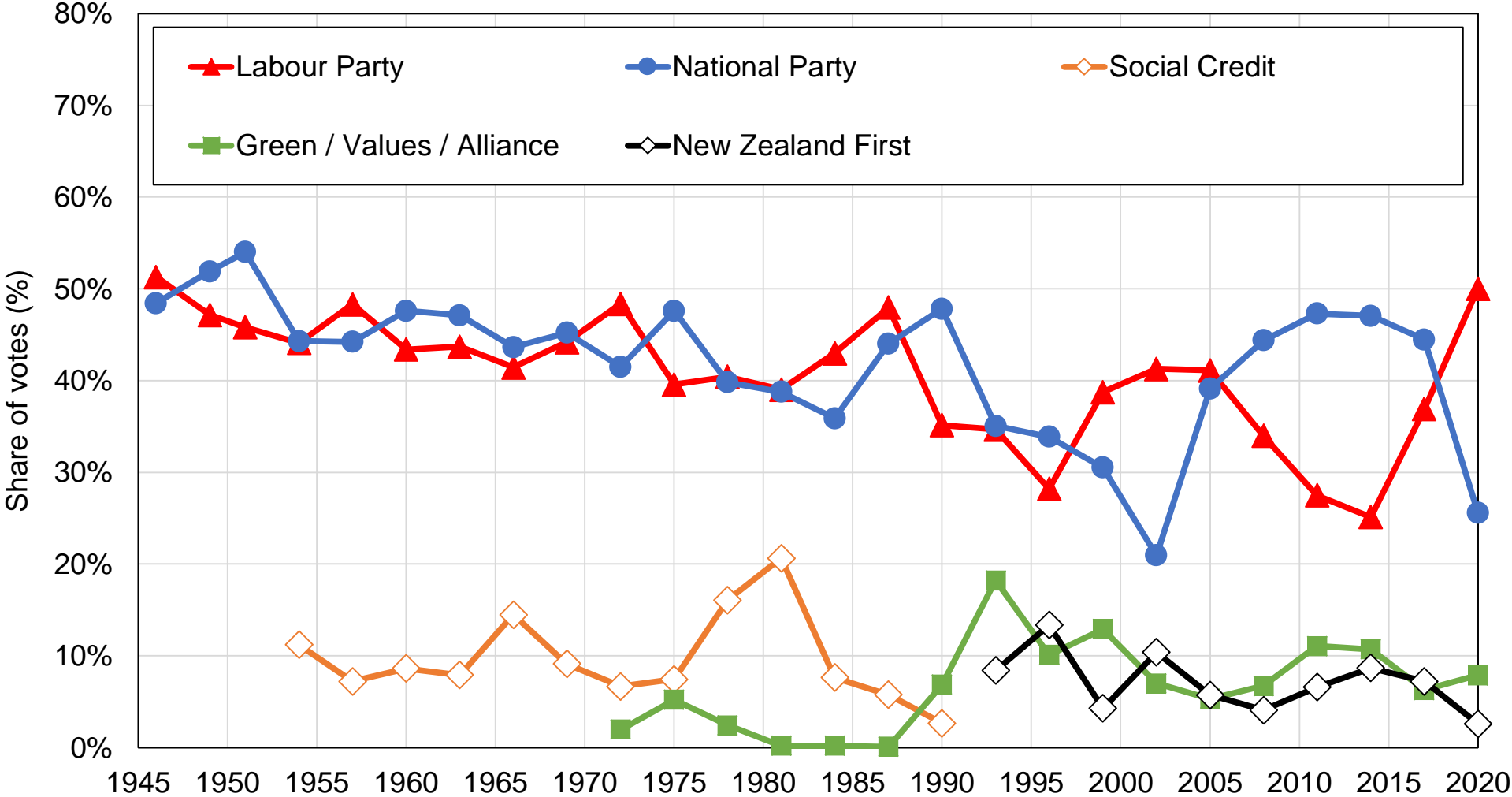
Table 5.1 - The structure of political cleavages in Australia, 2010-2019

	Share of votes received (%)			
	Labor	Greens	Liberal	National
Education				
Primary	36%	7%	44%	5%
Secondary	34%	7%	45%	4%
Tertiary	36%	17%	39%	2%
Postgraduate	36%	16%	38%	2%
Income				
Bottom 50%	36%	9%	42%	5%
Middle 40%	36%	13%	41%	3%
Top 10%	30%	12%	53%	1%
Social class				
Working / lower class	42%	7%	37%	5%
Middle / no class	30%	13%	48%	3%
Country of birth				
Australia	34%	11%	42%	4%
Europe-US-Canada	35%	10%	44%	2%
Non-Western countries	40%	8%	45%	1%

Source: author's computations using Australian electoral surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the table shows the average share of votes received by the main Australian political parties by selected individual characteristics over the 2010-2019 period. During the past decade, the Australian Greens have received greater support from higher-educated voters, high-income voters, voters identifying with the middle class or with no class, and voters born in Australia.

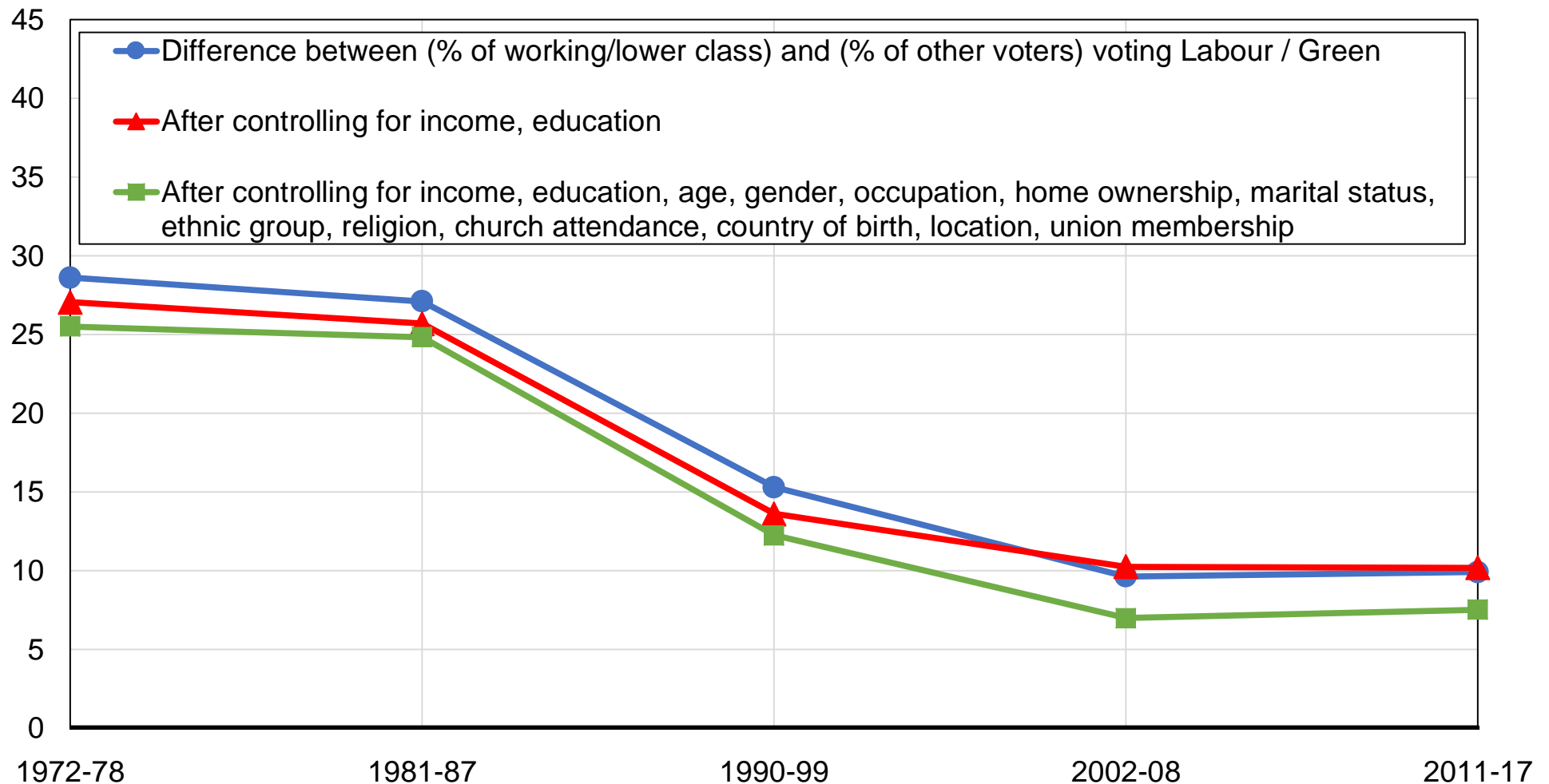
Figure 5.5 - Election results in New Zealand, 1946-2020



Source: author's computations using official election results (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected political parties or groups of parties in general elections held in New Zealand between 1946 and 2020. The Labour Party received 50% of votes in 2020.

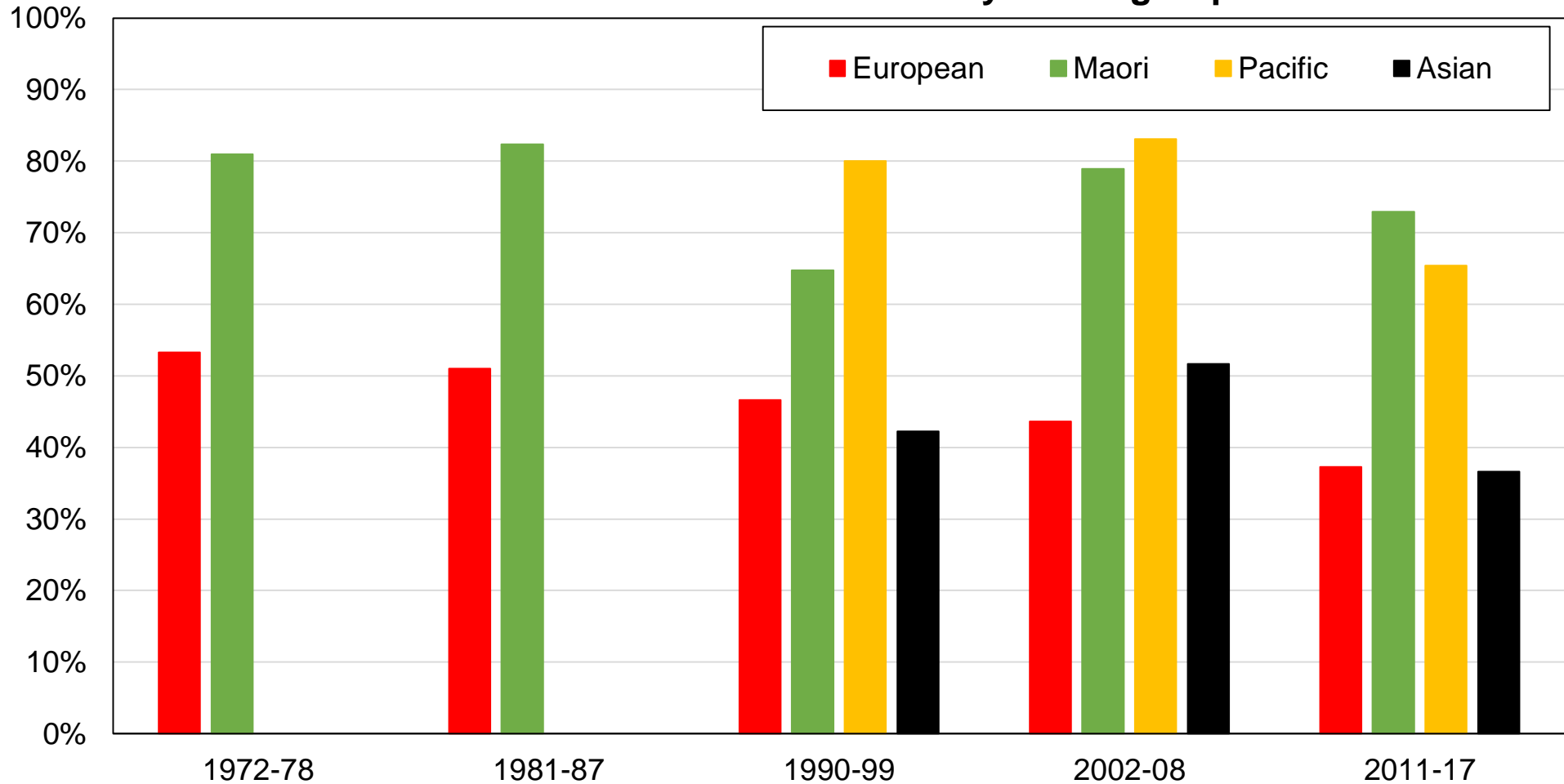
Figure 5.6 - The decline of class voting in New Zealand, 1972-2017



Source: author's computations using New Zealand electoral surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters identifying with the "working class" or the "lower class" and the share of voters identifying with the "middle class" or "no class" voting for the Labour Party / the Greens / other left-wing parties, before and after controls. Class voting has significantly declined in New Zealand in the past decades.

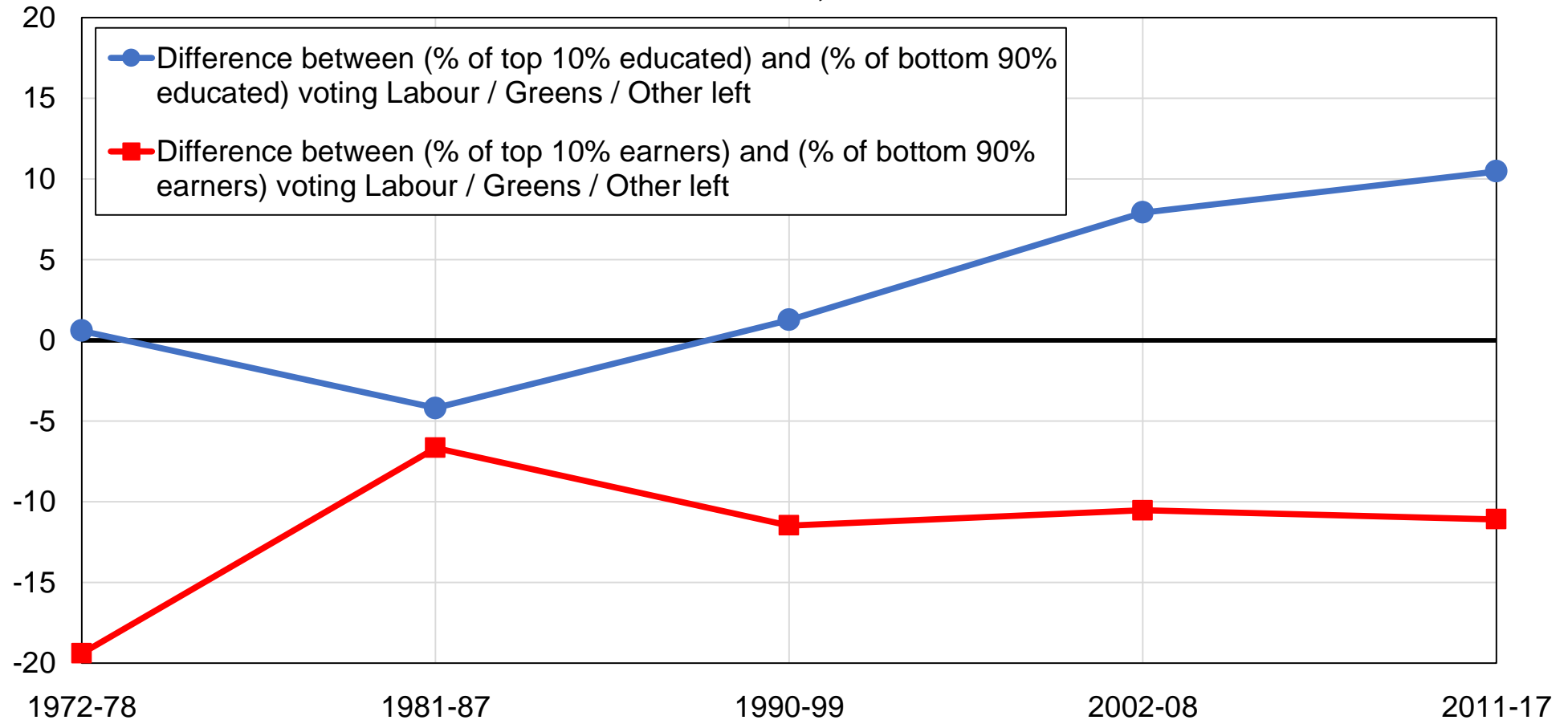
Figure 5.7 - The ethnic cleavage in New Zealand, 1972-2017
Vote for Labour / Green / Other left by ethnic group



Source: author's computations using New Zealand electoral surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the New Zealand Labour Party, the Green Party, and other left-wing parties by ethnic group. Voters identifying as "European" or "Asian" have remained significantly less likely to vote for these parties than voters identifying as "Māori" or "Pacific".

Figure 5.8 - The emergence of a multi-elite party system in New Zealand, 1972-2017



Source: author's computations using New Zealand electoral surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the relative support of top-income and highest-educated voters for the New Zealand Labour Party, the Green Party, and other left-wing parties. In the 1970s-1980s, top-income and highest-educated voters were less likely to vote for left-wing parties than low-income and lower-educated voters. The left-wing vote has gradually become associated with higher-educated voters, giving rise to a "multi-elite party system". Estimates control for income/education, age, gender, occupation, home ownership, marital status, ethnic affiliation, religion, church attendance, country of birth, location, and union membership.

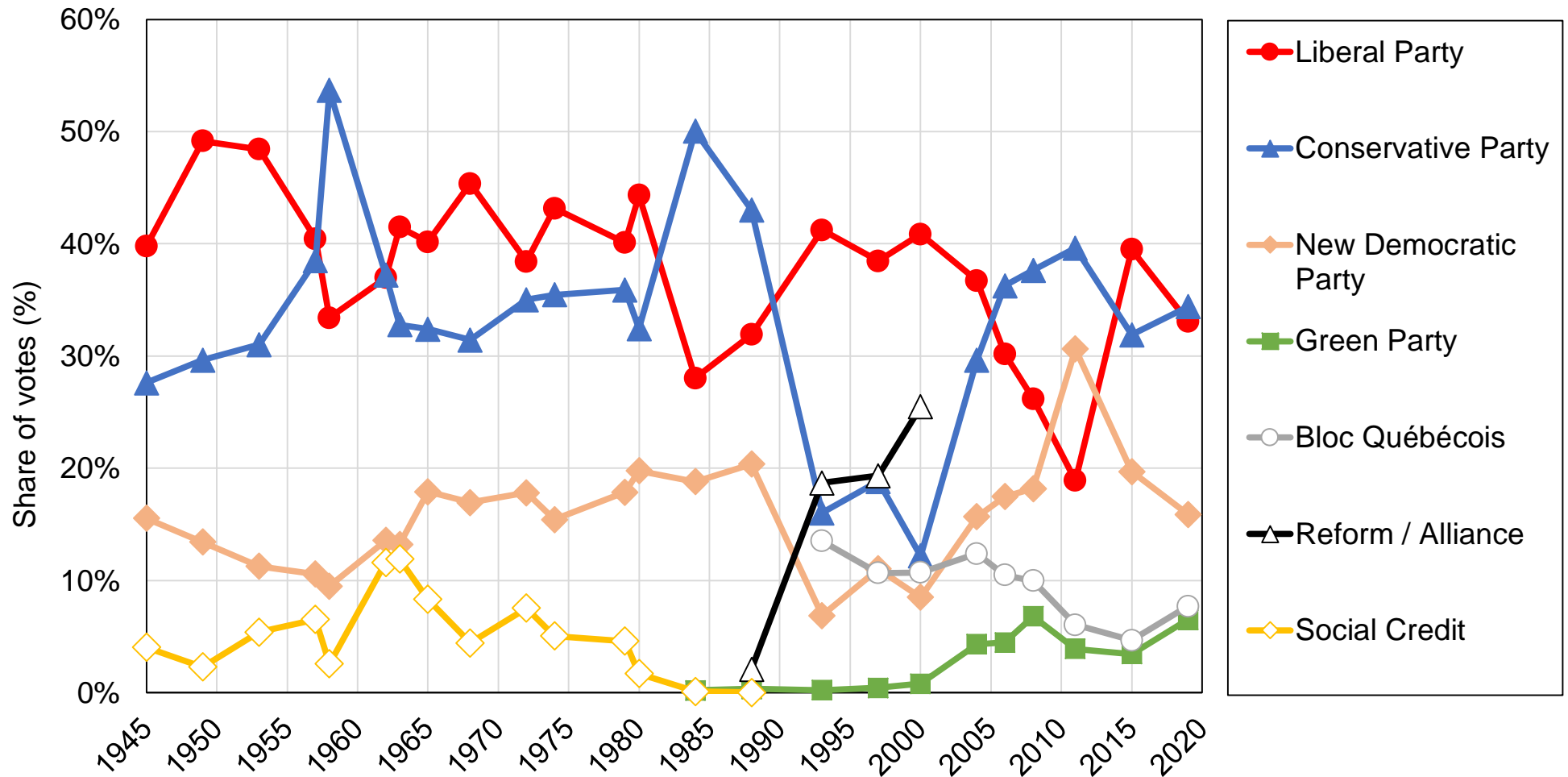
Table 5.2 - The structure of political cleavages in New Zealand, 2011-2017

	Share of votes received (%)			
	Labour	Greens	National	NZF
Education				
Primary	35%	4%	43%	11%
Secondary	27%	9%	49%	7%
Tertiary	27%	17%	44%	3%
Postgraduate	36%	15%	33%	5%
Income				
Bottom 50%	34%	8%	37%	9%
Middle 40%	25%	10%	51%	5%
Top 10%	18%	9%	63%	4%
Social class				
Working / lower class	34%	7%	32%	14%
Middle / upper / no class	21%	11%	48%	6%
Ethnicity				
European	27%	10%	48%	7%
Māori	47%	8%	11%	12%
Pacific	64%	0%	23%	11%
Asian	29%	5%	57%	0%

Source: author's computations using New Zealand electoral surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the table shows the average share of votes received by the main New Zealand political parties by selected individual characteristics over the 2011-2017 period. During the past decade, the NZF has received greater support from lower-educated voters, low-income voters, and voters identifying as Māori.

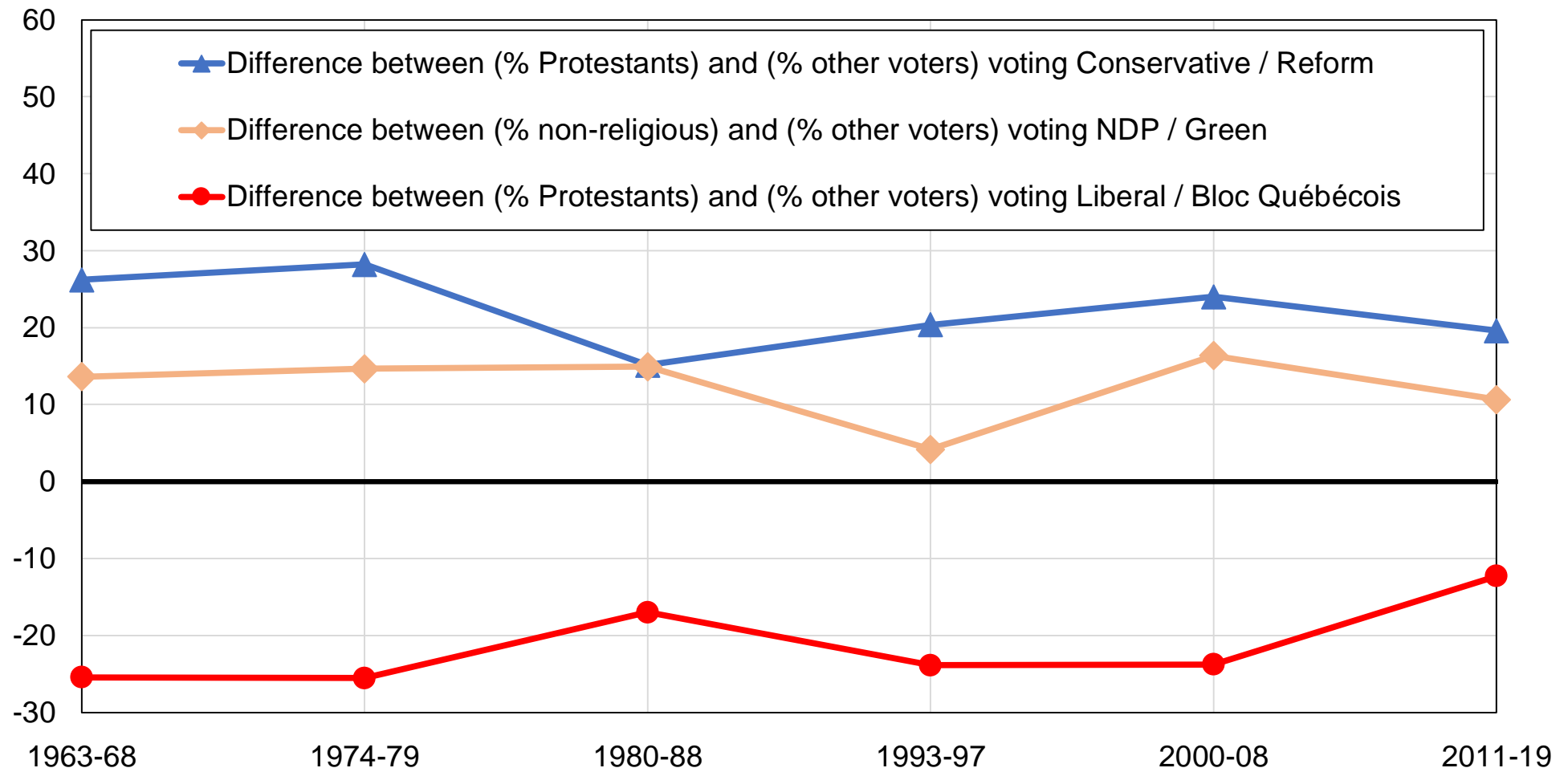
Figure 5.9 - Election results in Canada, 1945-2019



Source: author's computations using official election results (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected political parties or groups of parties in federal elections held in Canada between 1945 and 2019. The Liberal Party received 33% of votes in 2019. The Conservative Party corresponds to the Progressive Conservative Party of Canada before 2002. The New Democratic Party corresponds to the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation before 1962.

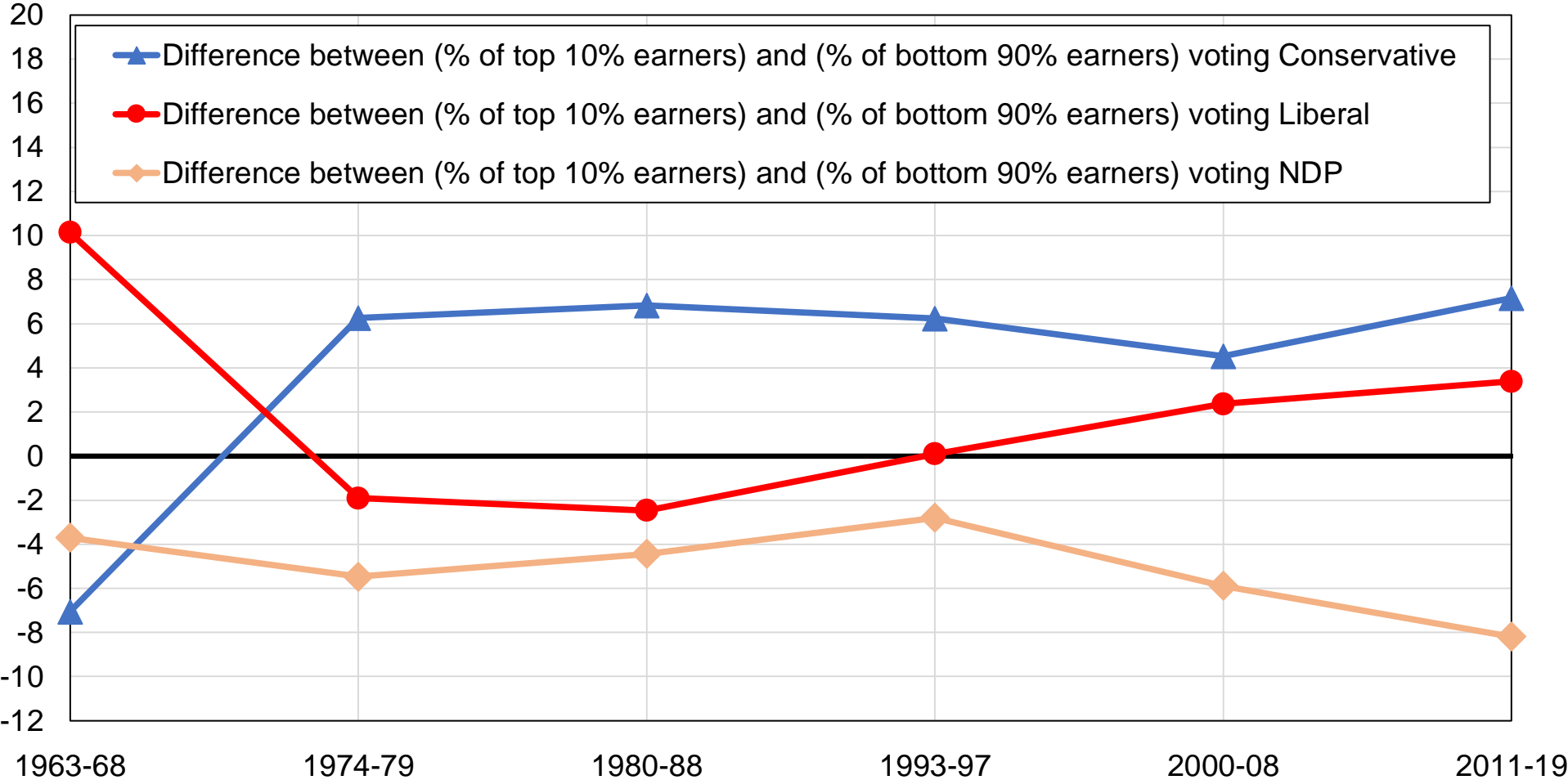
Figure 5.10 - The religious cleavage in Canada, 1963-2019



Source: author's computations using Canadian electoral surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the relative support of voters belonging to specific religious groups for the main Canadian political parties, after controlling for income, education, age, gender, employment status, marital status, country of birth, and union membership. Protestant voters have remained significantly more likely to vote conservative than non-Protestants, while non-religious voters have remained more supportive of the New Democratic Party and the Green Party.

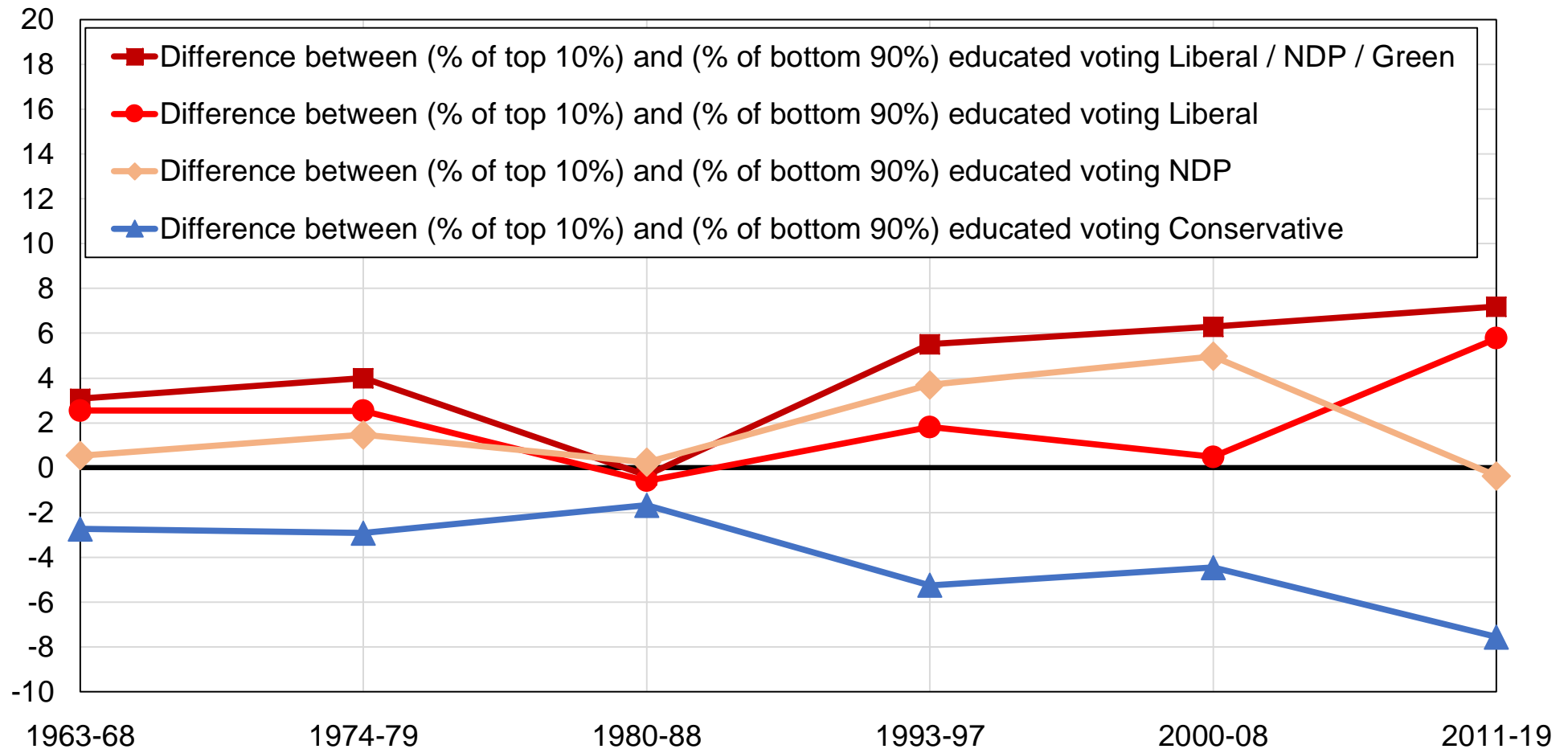
Figure 5.11 - Political conflict and income in Canada, 1963-2019



Source: author's computations using Canadian electoral surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of bottom 90% earners voting for the main Canadian political parties, after controlling for education, religion, age, gender, employment status, marital status, country of birth, and union membership. With the exception of the 1960s, the Conservative Party has always been more popular among high-income voters, while support for the New Democratic Party has become increasingly concentrated among low-income voters.

Figure 5.12 - Educational divides in Canada, 1963-2019



Source: author's computations using Canadian electoral surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of bottom 90% educated voters voting for the main Canadian political parties, after controlling for income, religion, age, gender, employment status, marital status, country of birth, and union membership. The Liberal Party, the New Democratic Party, and the Green Party have always received greater support from higher-educated voters, while the conservative vote has become increasingly concentrated among the lower educated since the 1990s.

Table 5.3 - The structure of political cleavages in Canada, 2011-2019

	Share of votes received (%)				
	New Democratic Party	Green Party	Liberal Party	Conservative Party	Bloc Québécois
Education					
Primary	22%	3%	22%	43%	7%
Secondary	23%	5%	27%	37%	7%
Tertiary	25%	4%	34%	32%	5%
Postgraduate	21%	6%	37%	29%	6%
Income					
Bottom 50%	26%	5%	28%	32%	8%
Middle 40%	23%	4%	30%	36%	6%
Top 10%	15%	3%	34%	43%	4%
Religion					
None	27%	7%	32%	26%	6%
Catholic	25%	3%	27%	31%	13%
Other Christian	18%	4%	25%	51%	1%
Jewish	6%	2%	41%	49%	0%
Buddhist	31%	4%	41%	21%	2%
Hindu	33%	2%	38%	27%	0%
Muslim	27%	1%	63%	9%	1%
Sikh	26%	1%	54%	19%	0%
Other	18%	8%	31%	39%	1%
Country of birth					
Canada	24%	5%	28%	35%	7%
Europe / US	25%	4%	29%	39%	1%
Non-Western countries	18%	3%	42%	36%	1%

Source: author's computations using Canadian electoral surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the table shows the average share of votes received by the main Canadian political parties by selected individual characteristics over the 2011-2019 period. The Liberal Party received greater support from high-income, higher-educated, and Muslim voters.