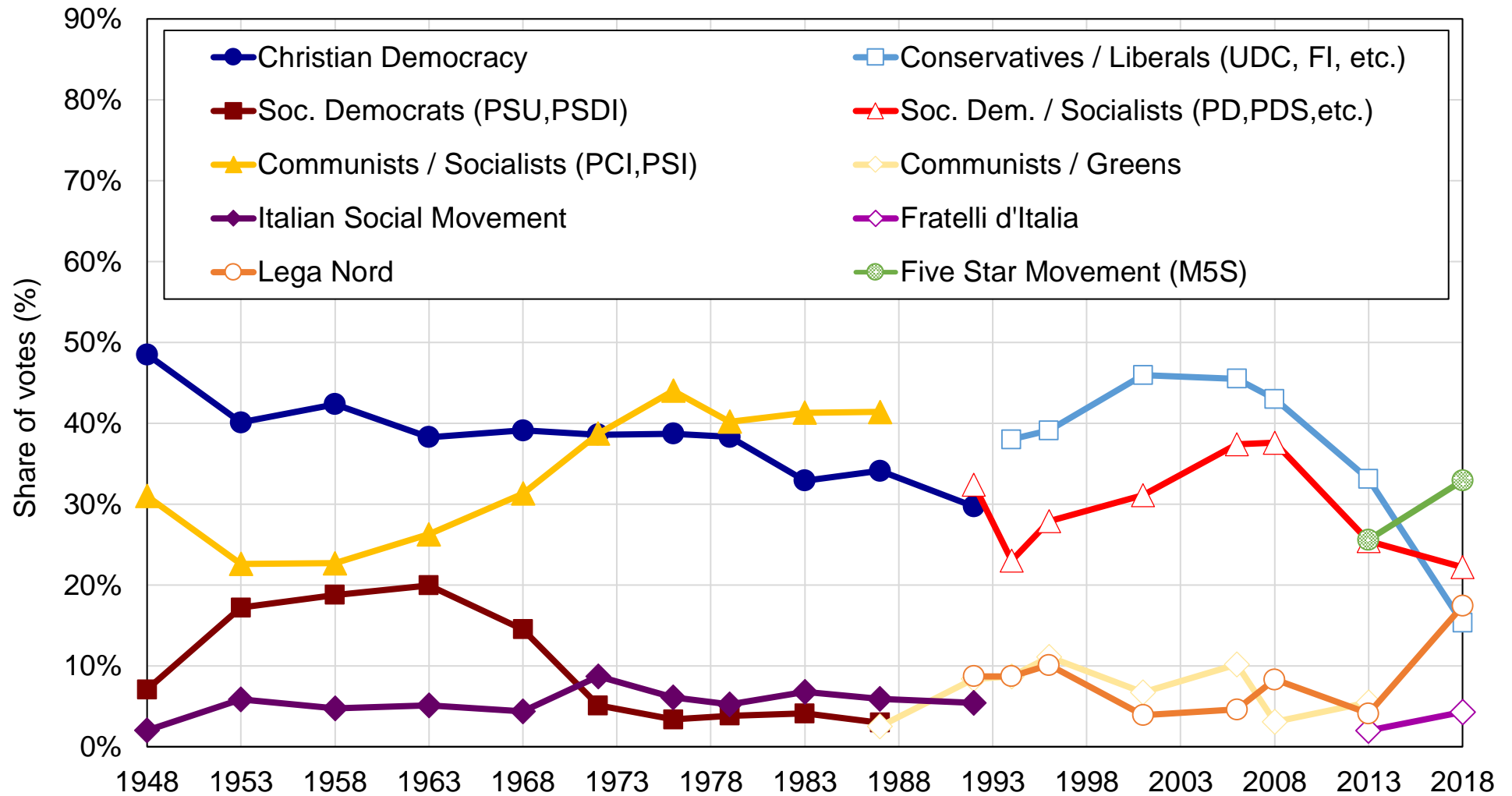


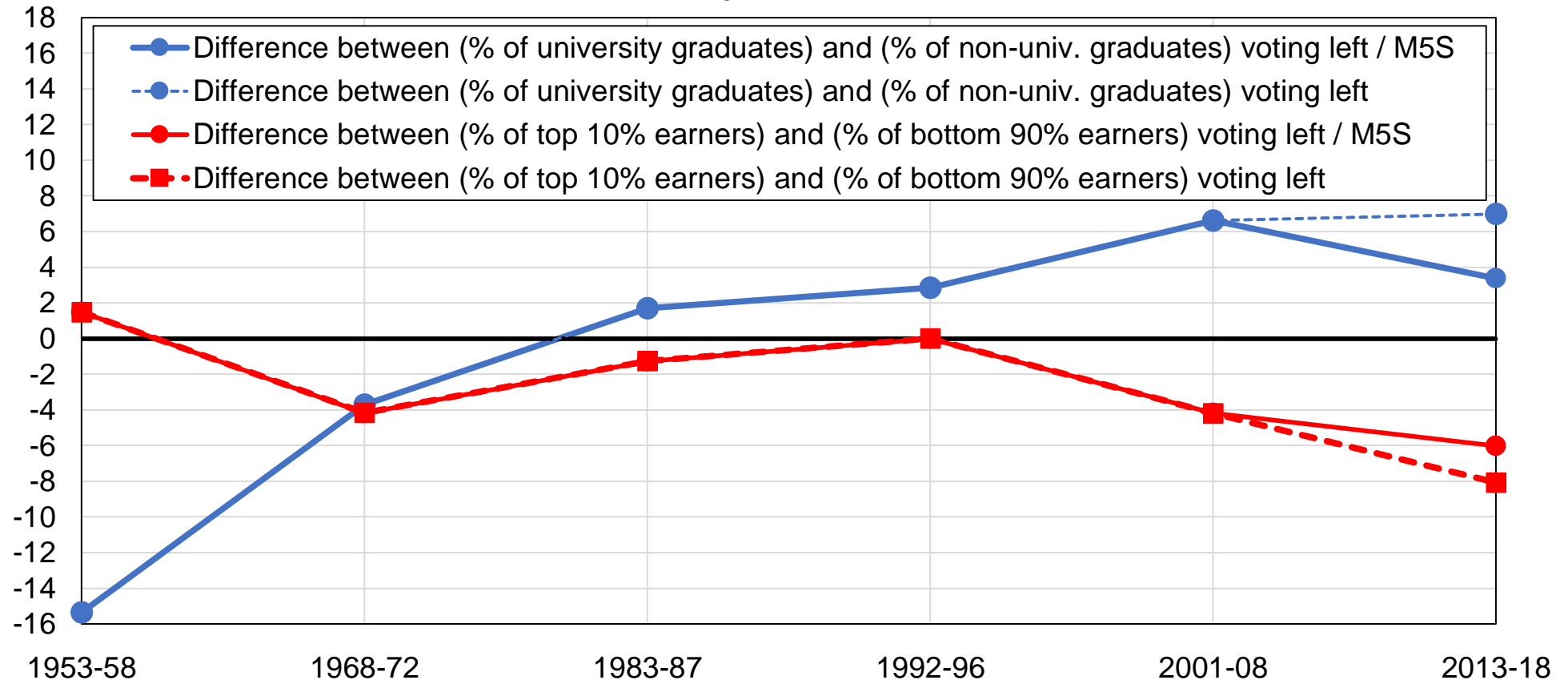
Figure 6.1 - Election results in Italy, 1948-2018



Source: authors' 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 Italy between 1948 and 2018. The Five Star Movement received 33% of votes in 2018.

Figure 6.2 - The emergence of a multi-elite party system in Italy, 1953-2018



Source: authors' computations using Italian electoral surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the relative support of university graduates and top-income earners for social democratic / socialist / communist / green parties / the M5S. In the 1950s-1960s, highest-educated and top-income 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, religion, church attendance, employment status, marital status, union membership, location, and region.

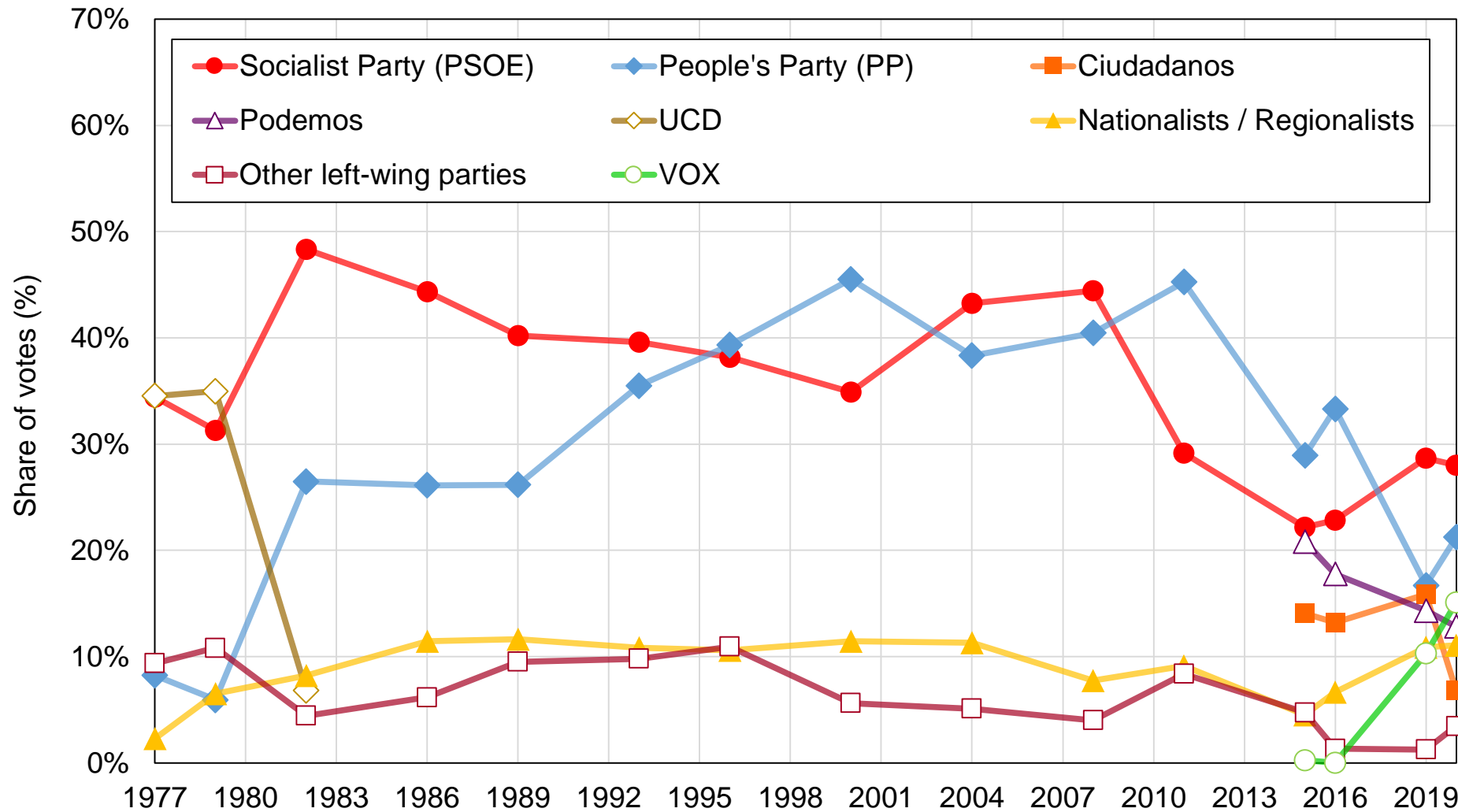
Table 6.1 - The structure of political cleavages in Italy, 2018

	Share of votes received (%)				
	Socialists / Soc. Democrats	Five Star Movement	Conservatives / Liberals	Lega	Fratelli d'Italia
Education					
Primary	16%	33%	19%	29%	1%
Secondary	24%	38%	7%	22%	5%
Tertiary	34%	30%	10%	14%	7%
Income					
Bottom 50%	33%	31%	9%	18%	5%
Middle 40%	24%	38%	8%	20%	6%
Top 10%	12%	42%	12%	28%	4%
Age					
20-39	24%	38%	9%	21%	5%
40-59	32%	37%	5%	14%	4%
60+	26%	37%	8%	19%	5%
Religion					
No religion	33%	36%	7%	16%	3%
Catholic	23%	34%	8%	25%	8%
Other	20%	45%	7%	17%	10%
Region					
North	30%	24%	9%	29%	4%
Center	28%	33%	9%	18%	7%
South	23%	51%	8%	8%	6%
Islands	22%	51%	11%	8%	6%

Source: authors' computations using Italian electoral surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the table shows the share of votes received by the main Italian political parties by selected individual characteristics in 2018. 16% of primary-educated voters voted social democratic / socialist, compared to 34% of tertiary-educated voters.

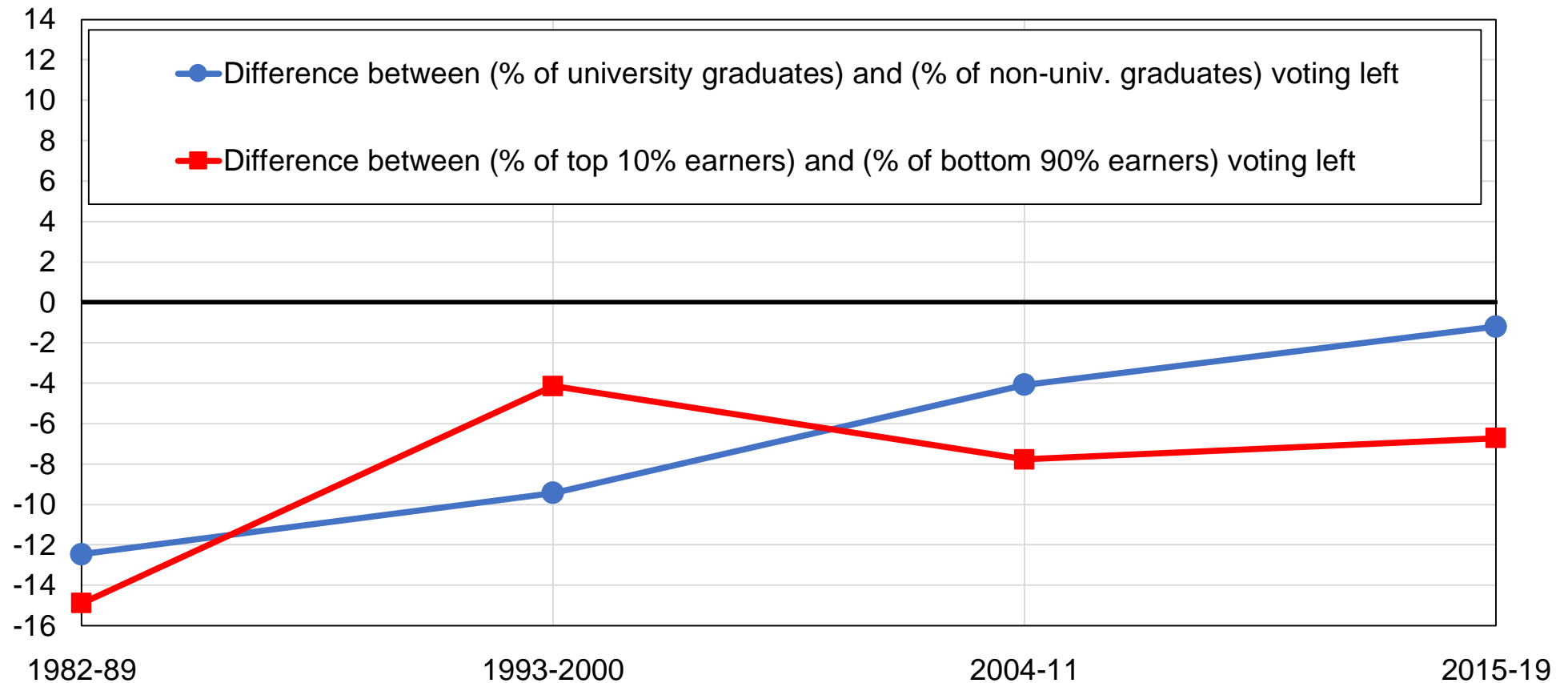
Figure 6.3 - Election results in Spain, 1977-2019



Source: authors' 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 Spain between 1977 and 2019 (November 2019 elections represented as 2020). The Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) received 28% of votes in 2020.

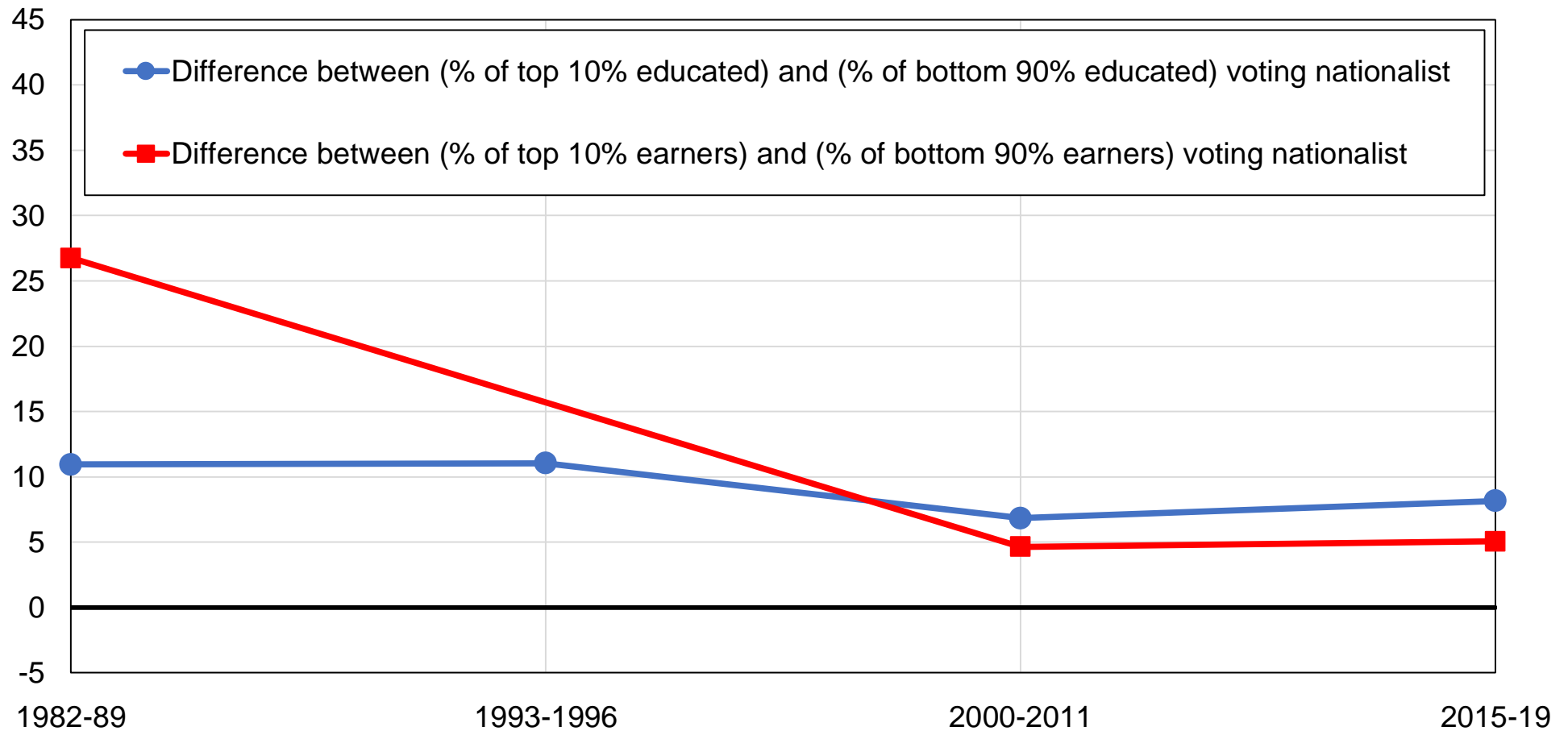
Figure 6.4 - Towards a multi-elite party system in Spain, 1982-2019



Source: authors' computations using Spanish electoral surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the relative support of university graduates and top-income earners for left-wing parties. In the 1980s, highest-educated and top-income voters were less likely to vote for left-wing parties than low-income and lower-educated voters. The left-wing vote has become increasingly associated with higher-educated voters, leading Spain to come closer to becoming a "multi-elite party system". Estimates control for income/education, age, gender, employment status, marital status, religion, region, church attendance, sector of employment, type of employment, union membership, subjective social class, and location.

Figure 6.5 - Nationalist vote, education, and income in Catalonia, Spain, 1982-2019



Source: authors' computations using Spanish electoral surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the relative support of highest-educated and top-income voters for nationalist parties in Catalonia, after controlling for income/education, age, gender, employment status, marital status, religion, church attendance, type of employment, sector of employment, union membership, subjective social class, and location. During the 2015-2019 period, highest-educated voters were more likely to vote for nationalist parties by 8 percentage points on average.

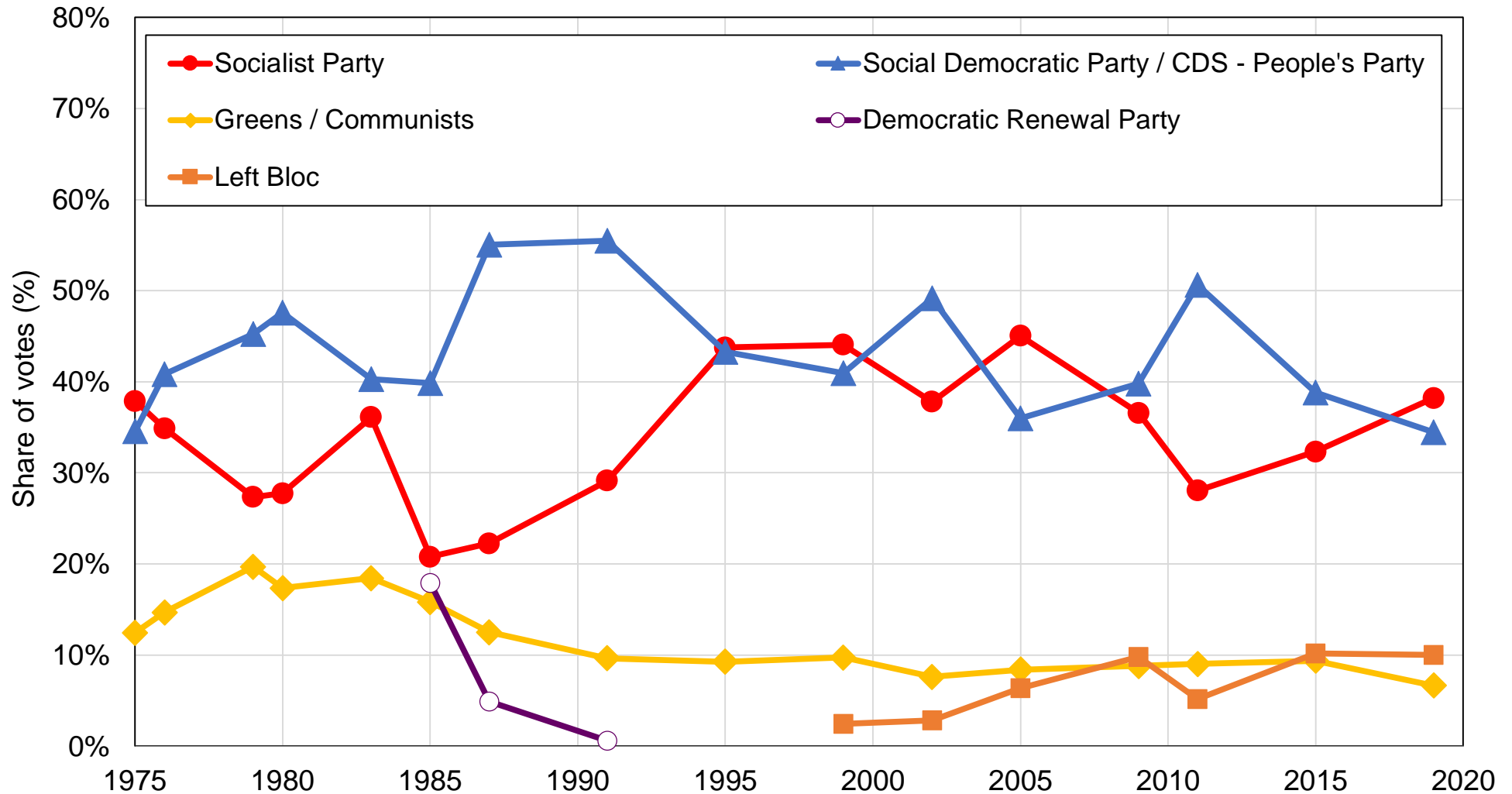
Table 6.2 - The structure of political cleavages in Spain, 2019

	Share of votes received (%)					
	Podemos	PSOE	Ciudadanos	PP	VOX	Nationalist parties
Education						
Primary	7%	38%	7%	32%	5%	8%
Secondary	16%	27%	11%	16%	16%	10%
Tertiary	20%	22%	15%	17%	9%	12%
Postgraduate	18%	20%	21%	17%	5%	19%
Income						
Bottom 50%	13%	35%	9%	23%	11%	6%
Middle 40%	17%	26%	13%	15%	14%	10%
Top 10%	15%	20%	14%	16%	15%	17%
Age						
20-39	23%	21%	14%	11%	17%	8%
40-59	15%	28%	13%	16%	13%	11%
60+	7%	35%	7%	31%	7%	11%
Location						
Urban areas	15%	28%	12%	18%	13%	10%
Rural areas	6%	30%	8%	28%	10%	13%
Religion						
Catholic	6%	30%	13%	26%	15%	7%
Other	17%	39%	9%	10%	9%	11%
No religion	35%	24%	8%	4%	7%	17%

Source: authors' computations using Spanish electoral surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the table shows the average share of votes received by the main Spanish political parties by selected individual characteristics during the two elections held in 2019. 7% of primary-educated voters supported Podemos, compared to 18% of voters with postgraduate degrees.

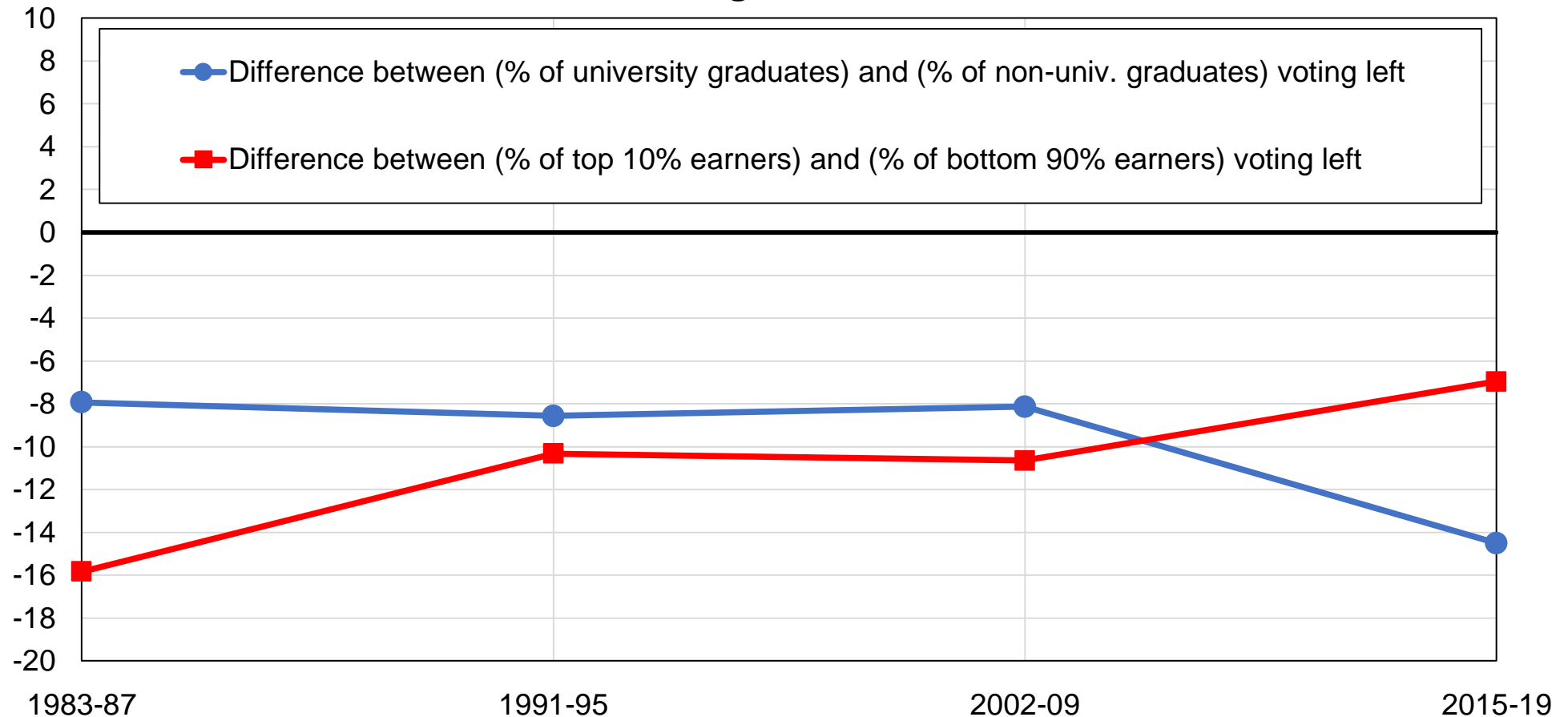
Figure 6.6 - Election results in Portugal, 1975-2019



Source: authors' 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 legislative elections held in Portugal between 1975 and 2019. The Socialist Party received 38% of votes in 2019.

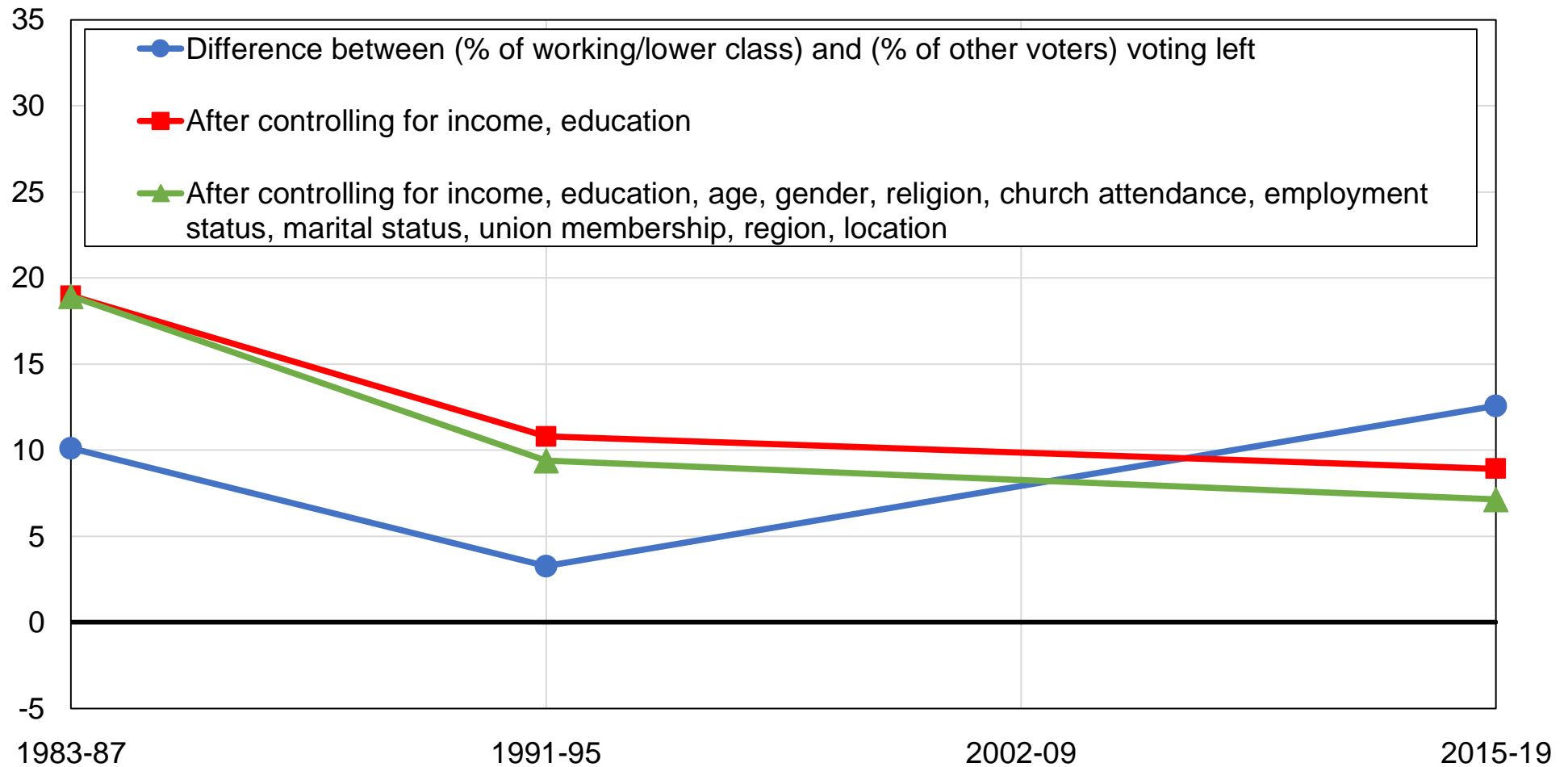
Figure 6.7 - The absence of multi-elite party system in Portugal, 1983-2019



Source: authors' computations using Portuguese electoral surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the relative support of university graduates and top-income voters for socialists / communists / greens / the Left Bloc. Both highest-educated and top-income voters have remained significantly less likely to vote for left-wing parties throughout the period considered. In contrast to the majority of Western democracies, Portugal has therefore not become a "multi-elite party system". Estimates control for income/education, age, gender, religion, church attendance, employment status, subjective social class, union membership, region, and location.

Figure 6.8 - Class voting in Portugal, 1983-2019



Source: authors' computations using Portuguese 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 with "no class" voting for socialists / communists / greens / the Left Bloc, before and after controls. During the 2015-2019 period, self-identified working-class voters were more likely to vote for left-wing parties by 13 percentage points.

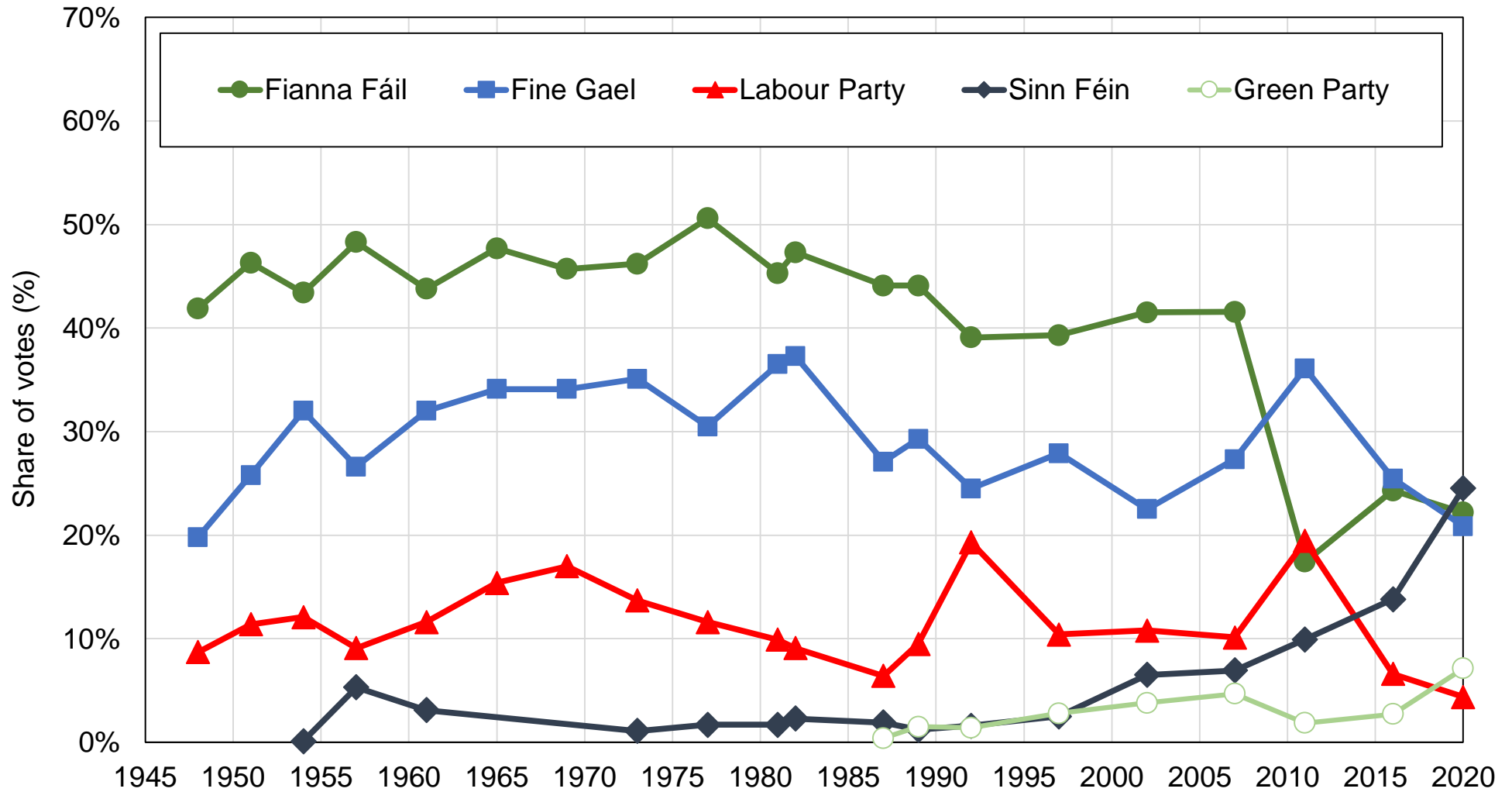
Table 6.3 - The structure of political cleavages in Portugal, 2015-2019

	Share of votes received (%)			
	Left Bloc	Socialist Party	Greens / Communists	Social Democratic Party / Social Democratic Center- People's Party
Education				
Primary	5%	43%	11%	39%
Secondary	13%	37%	9%	37%
Tertiary	14%	24%	6%	52%
Income				
Bottom 50%	8%	43%	10%	37%
Middle 40%	9%	35%	10%	41%
Top 10%	15%	24%	6%	54%
Religion				
No religion	24%	32%	17%	23%
Catholic	9%	37%	9%	42%
Other	15%	42%	7%	34%
Age				
20-39	15%	31%	6%	43%
49-59	12%	35%	10%	39%
60+	6%	43%	11%	39%
Country of birth				
Portugal	10%	37%	10%	40%
Brazil	10%	59%	0%	30%
Other ex-colony	9%	31%	12%	48%
Region				
North	10%	38%	5%	42%
Center	8%	29%	5%	57%
Lisbon	12%	40%	16%	29%
Alentejo	7%	54%	23%	12%
Algarve	15%	36%	11%	36%

Source: authors' computations using Portuguese electoral surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the table shows the average share of votes received by the main Portuguese political parties by selected individual characteristics over the 2015-2019 period. During this period, 43% of primary-educated voters voted for the Socialist Party, compared to 24% of university graduates.

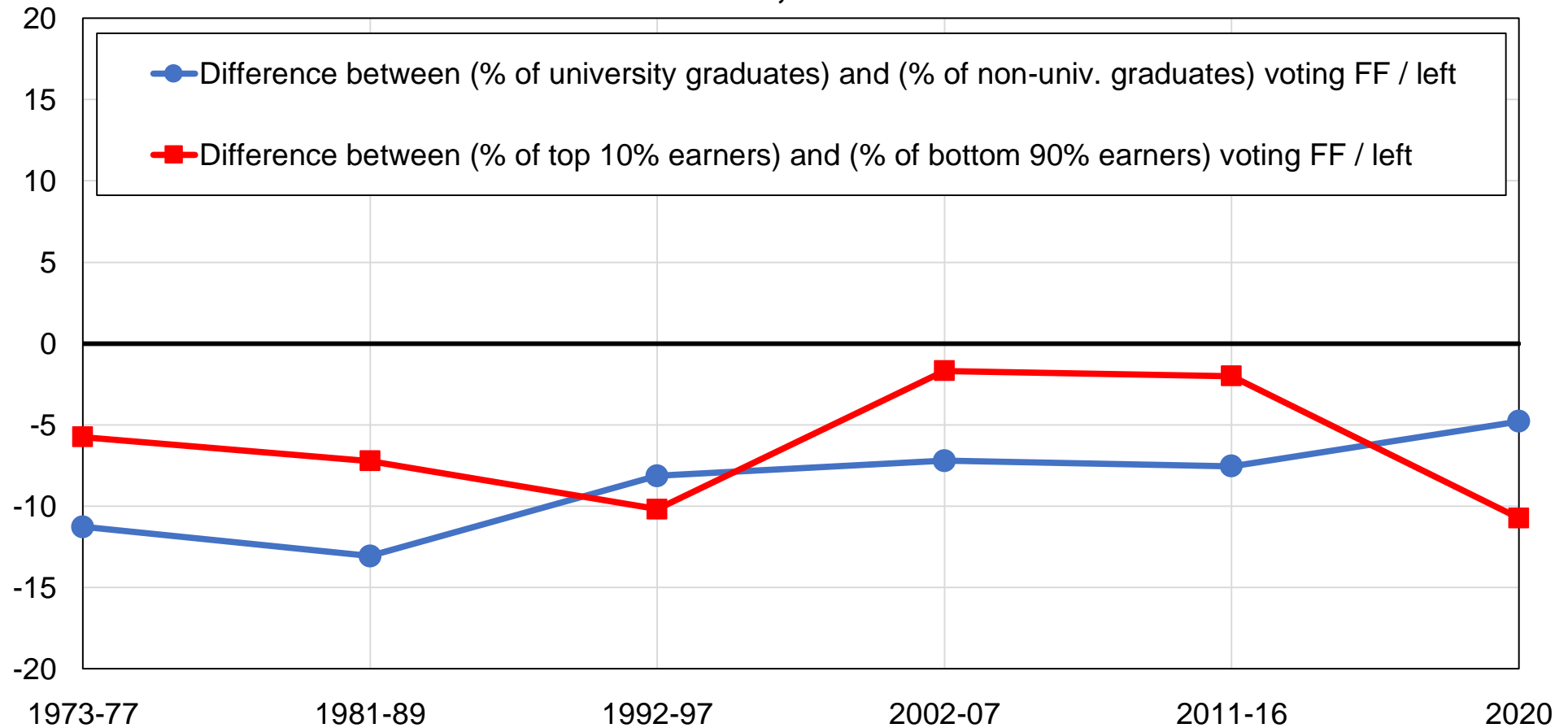
Figure 6.9 - Election results in Ireland, 1948-2020



Source: authors' 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 Ireland between 1948 and 2020. The Sinn Féin received 25% of votes in 2020.

Figure 6.10 - The absence of multi-elite party system in Ireland, 1973-2020



Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the relative support of university graduates and top-income voters for Fianna Fáil (FF) and left-wing parties (Labour / Green / Other left). Both highest-educated and top-income voters have remained significantly less likely to vote FF / left throughout the period considered. In contrast to the majority of Western democracies, Ireland has therefore not become a "multi-elite party system". Estimates control for income/education, age, gender, employment status, marital status, religion, and church attendance.

Table 6.4 - The structure of political cleavages in Ireland, 2020

	Share of votes received (%)				
	Sinn Féin	Labour Party	Green Party	Fianna Fáil	Fine Gael
Education					
Primary	43%	4%	1%	23%	13%
Secondary	27%	4%	7%	24%	19%
Tertiary	20%	5%	8%	21%	24%
Income					
Bottom 50%	30%	4%	5%	21%	17%
Middle 40%	20%	5%	8%	25%	22%
Top 10%	16%	4%	8%	22%	33%
Religion					
No religion	29%	5%	16%	12%	15%
Catholic	23%	4%	3%	28%	22%
Protestant	16%	8%	7%	13%	40%
Age					
20-39	27%	5%	14%	16%	18%
40-59	26%	4%	5%	21%	20%
60+	20%	5%	4%	30%	24%

Source: authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the table shows the share of votes received by the main Irish political parties by selected individual characteristics in 2020. 43% of primary-educated voters supported Sinn Féin during this election, compared to 20% of university graduates.