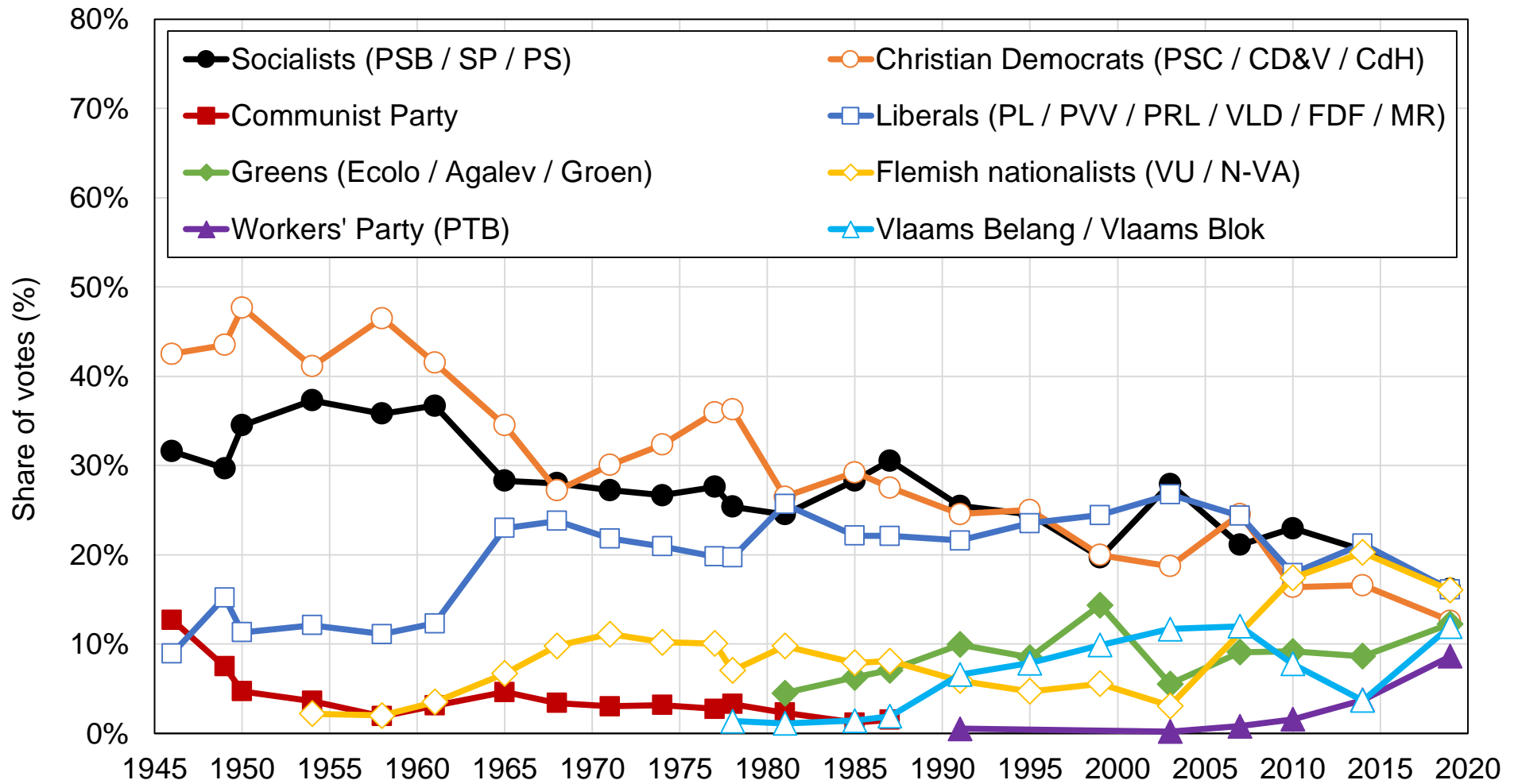


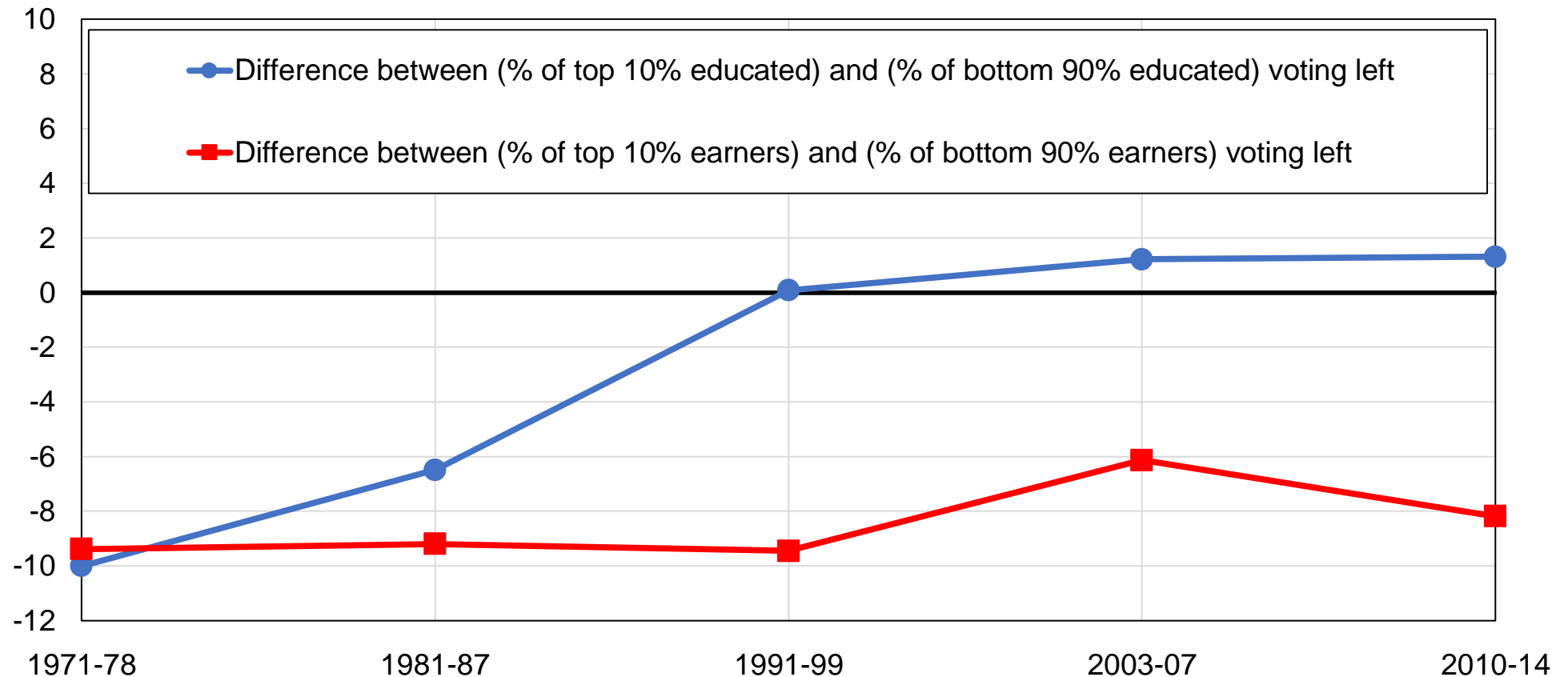
**Figure 7.1 - Election results in Belgium, 1946-2019**



**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 federal elections held in Belgium between 1946 and 2019. Flemish nationalists received 16% of votes in 2019.

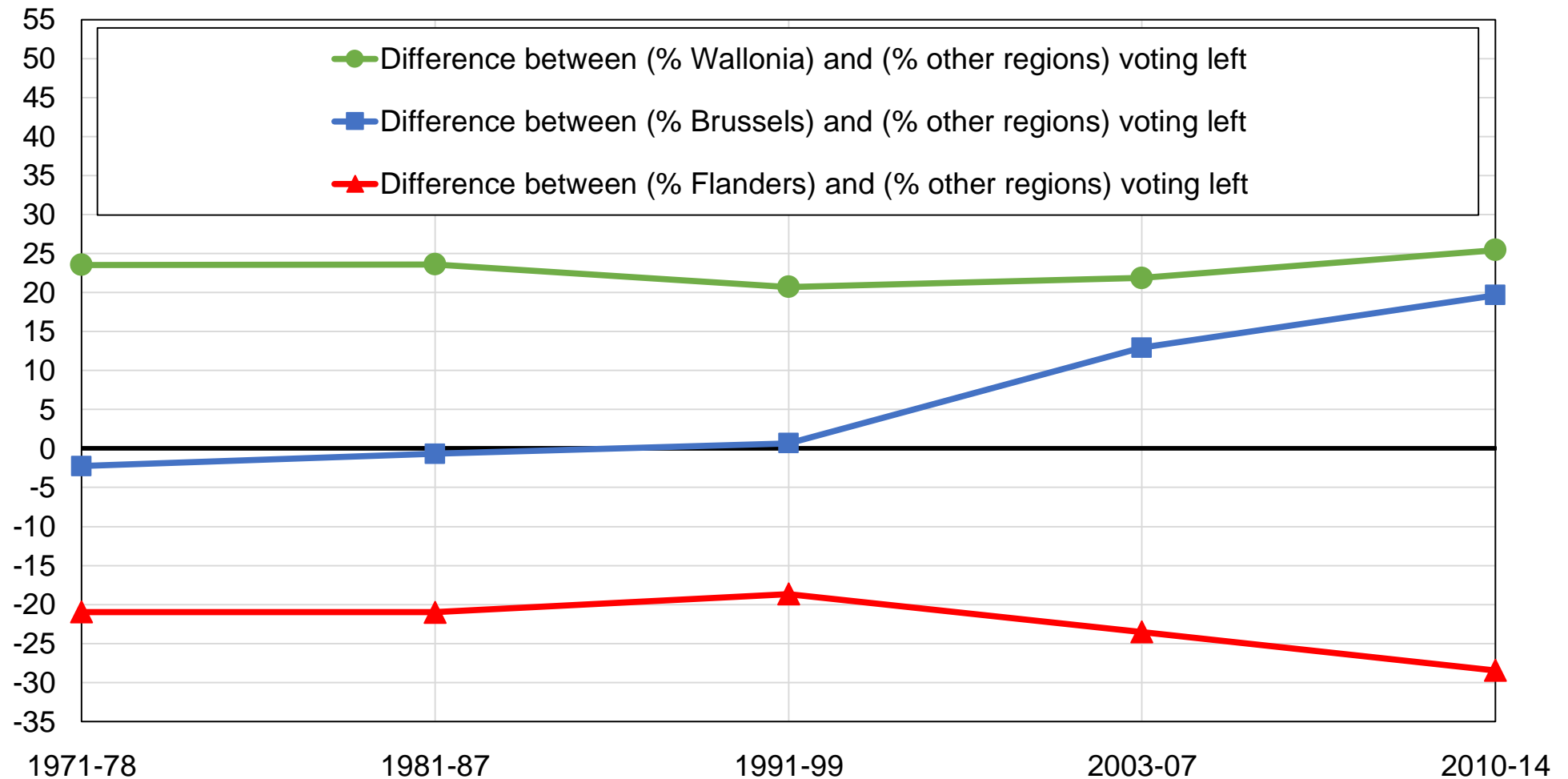
**Figure 7.2 - Towards a multi-elite party system in Belgium, 1971-2014**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys (see [wpid.world](http://wpid.world)).

**Note:** the figure shows the relative support of highest-educated and top-income voters for left-wing parties (PS / SP / Ecolo / Agalev / PTB). In the 1970s, 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 Belgium to come closer to becoming a "multi-elite party system". Estimates control for income/education, age, gender, employment status, marital status, religion, church attendance, region, and language.

**Figure 7.3 - The regional cleavage in Belgium, 1971-2014**



**Source:** authors' computations using Belgian political attitudes surveys (see [wpid.world](http://wpid.world)).

**Note:** the figure shows the relative support of the main Belgian regions for left-wing parties (PS / SP / Ecolo / Agalev / PTB), after controlling for income, education, age, gender, employment status, marital status, religion, and church attendance. Wallonia has remained significantly more likely to vote for left-wing parties than Flanders throughout the past decades, while Brussels has become increasingly supportive of left-wing parties.

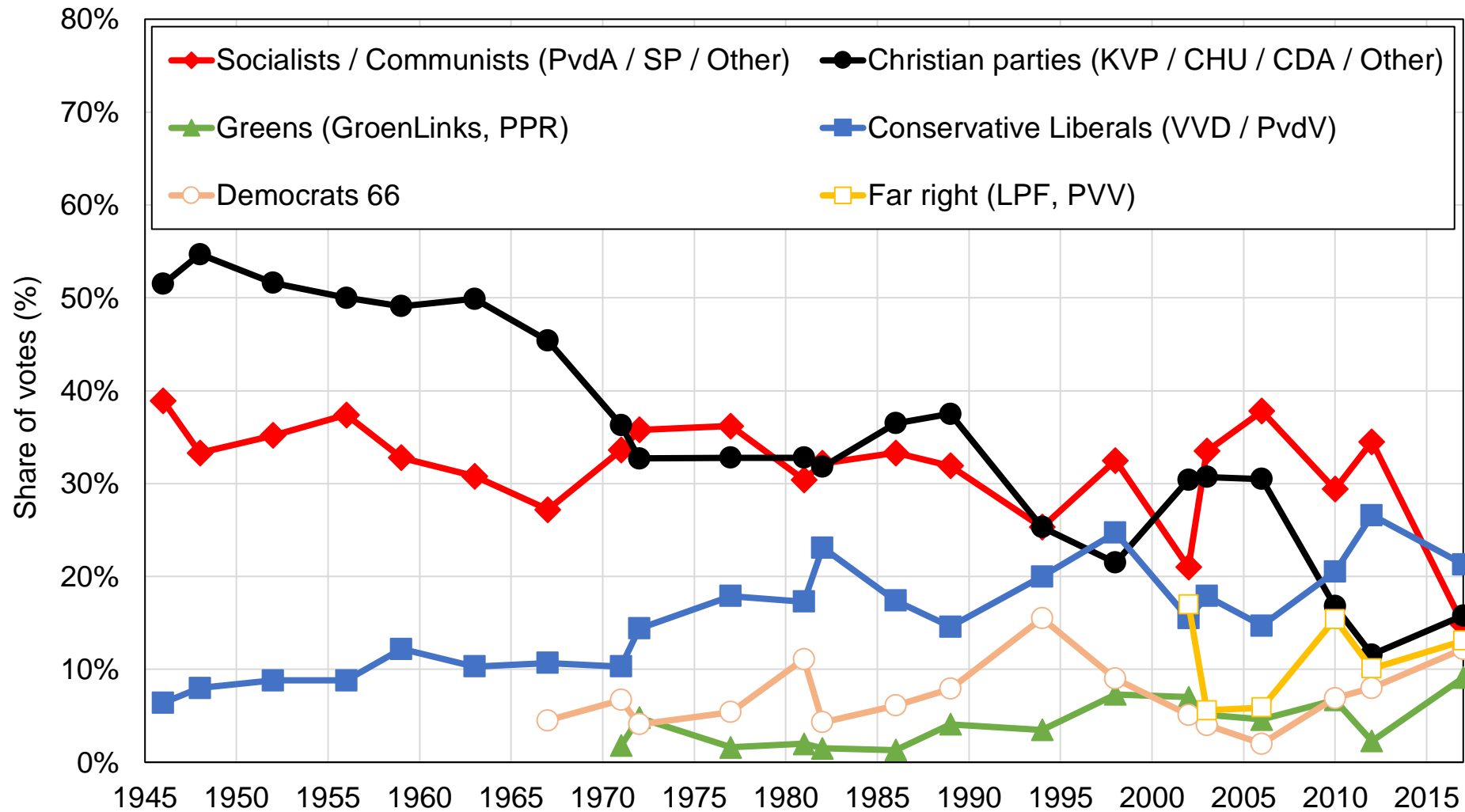
**Table 7.1 - The structure of political cleavages in Belgium, 2011-2014**

	Share of votes received (%)					
	PS / SP / PTB	Ecolo / Groen	VLD / MR	CD&V / CdH	N-VA	Vlaams Belang
<b>Education</b>						
Primary	34%	3%	14%	20%	20%	4%
Secondary	27%	6%	18%	20%	20%	4%
Tertiary	16%	16%	25%	20%	18%	1%
<b>Income</b>						
Bottom 50%	30%	7%	17%	22%	16%	3%
Middle 40%	22%	11%	21%	18%	21%	3%
Top 10%	13%	11%	28%	17%	26%	2%
<b>Religion</b>						
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%
<b>Region</b>						
Brussels	35%	16%	26%	13%	2%	1%
Flanders	15%	8%	15%	24%	31%	5%
Wallonia	41%	10%	29%	14%	0%	0%
<b>Language</b>						
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 (see [wpid.world](http://wpid.world)).

**Note:** the table shows the average share of votes received by the main Belgian political parties by selected individual characteristics during the 2011 and 2014 elections. The PS, SP, and PTB received greater support from lower-educated voters, low-income voters, and Muslim voters. Total vote shares correspond to those reported in surveys and may not match exactly official election results.

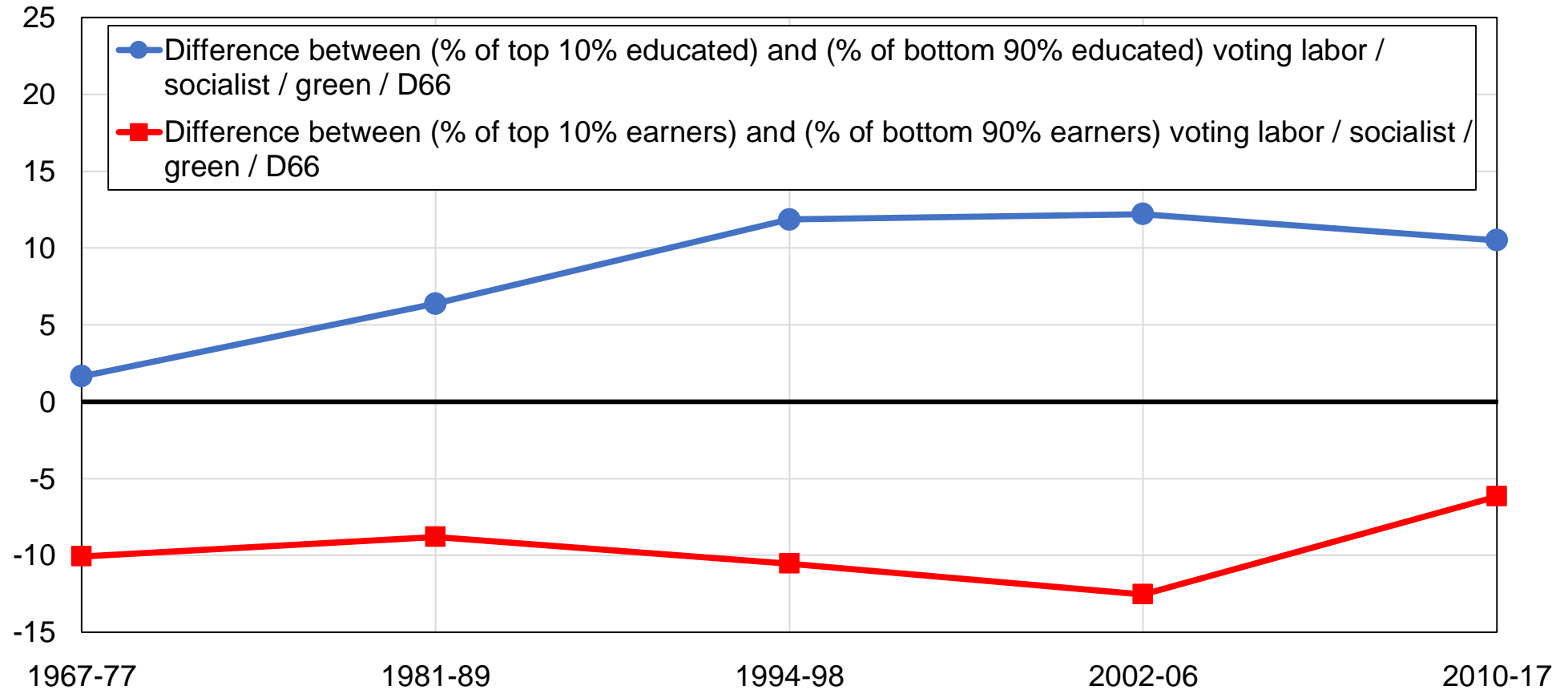
**Figure 7.4 - Election results in the Netherlands, 1946-2017**



**Source:** authors' computations using official election results (see [wpid.world](http://wpid.world)).

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by selected political parties or groups of parties in general elections held in the Netherlands between 1946 and 2017. Conservative-liberal parties received 21% of votes in 2017.

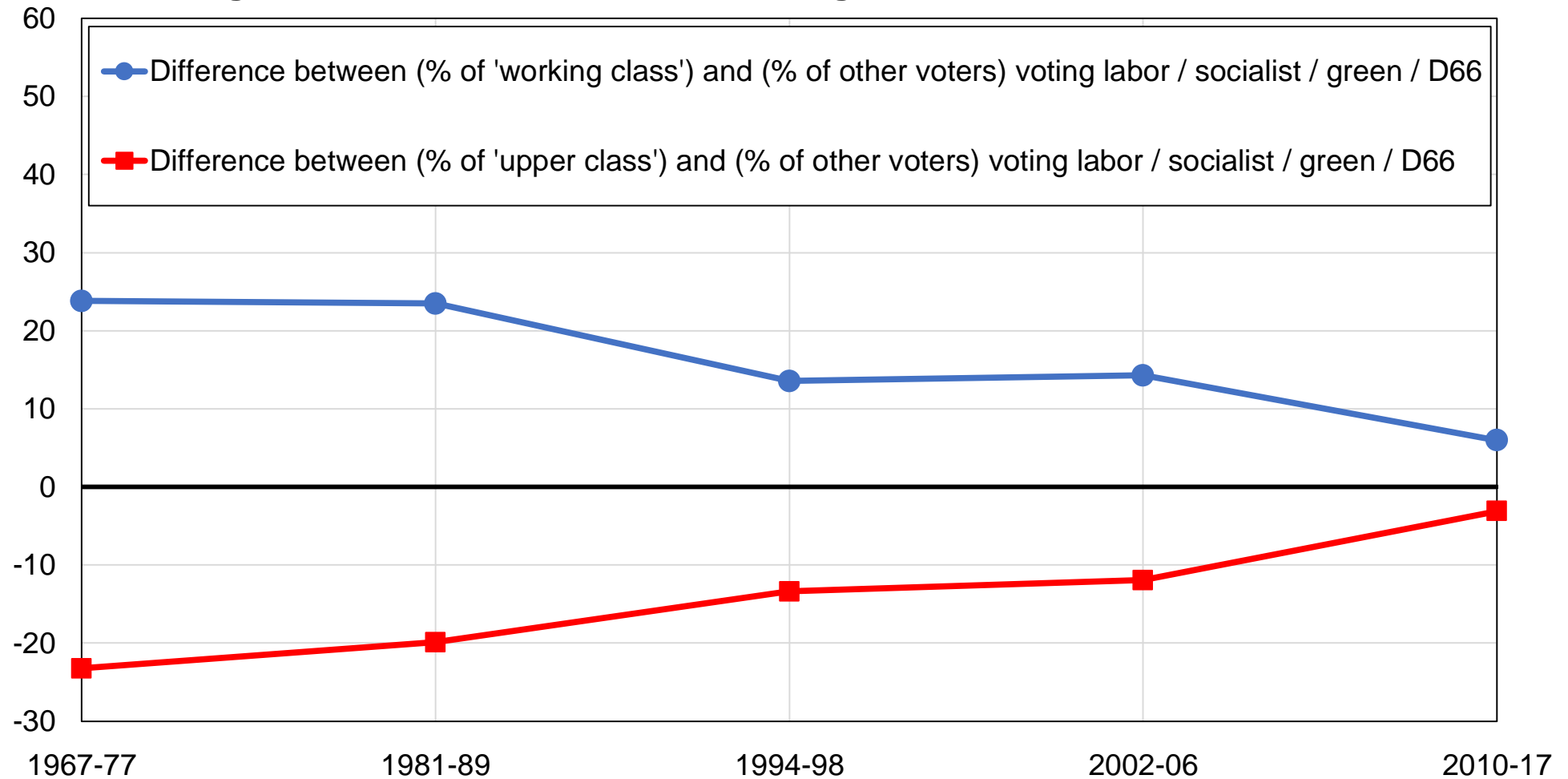
**Figure 7.5 - The emergence of a multi-elite party system in the Netherlands, 1967-2017**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch electoral surveys (see [wpid.world](http://wpid.world)).

**Note:** the figure shows the relative support of highest-educated and top-income voters for left-wing and liberal parties (PvdA / SP / GroenLinks / D66 / Other left). The left-wing / liberal vote has become increasingly associated with highest-educated voters, while top-income voters have remained more likely to vote for right-wing parties, giving rise to a "multi-elite party system". Estimates control for income/education, age, gender, employment status, marital status, religion, church attendance, region, location, union membership, and subjective social class.

**Figure 7.6 - The decline of class voting in the Netherlands, 1967-2017**



**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch electoral surveys (see [wpid.world](http://wpid.world)).

**Note:** the figure shows the relative support of voters identifying with the "working class" and of voters identifying with the "upper class" for left-wing / liberal parties (PvdA / SP / GroenLinks / D66 / Other left). Class voting has declined significantly in the Netherlands in the past decades. Estimates control for income, education, age, gender, employment status, marital status, religion, church attendance, region, location, and union membership.

**Table 7.2 - The structure of political cleavages in the Netherlands, 2010-2017**

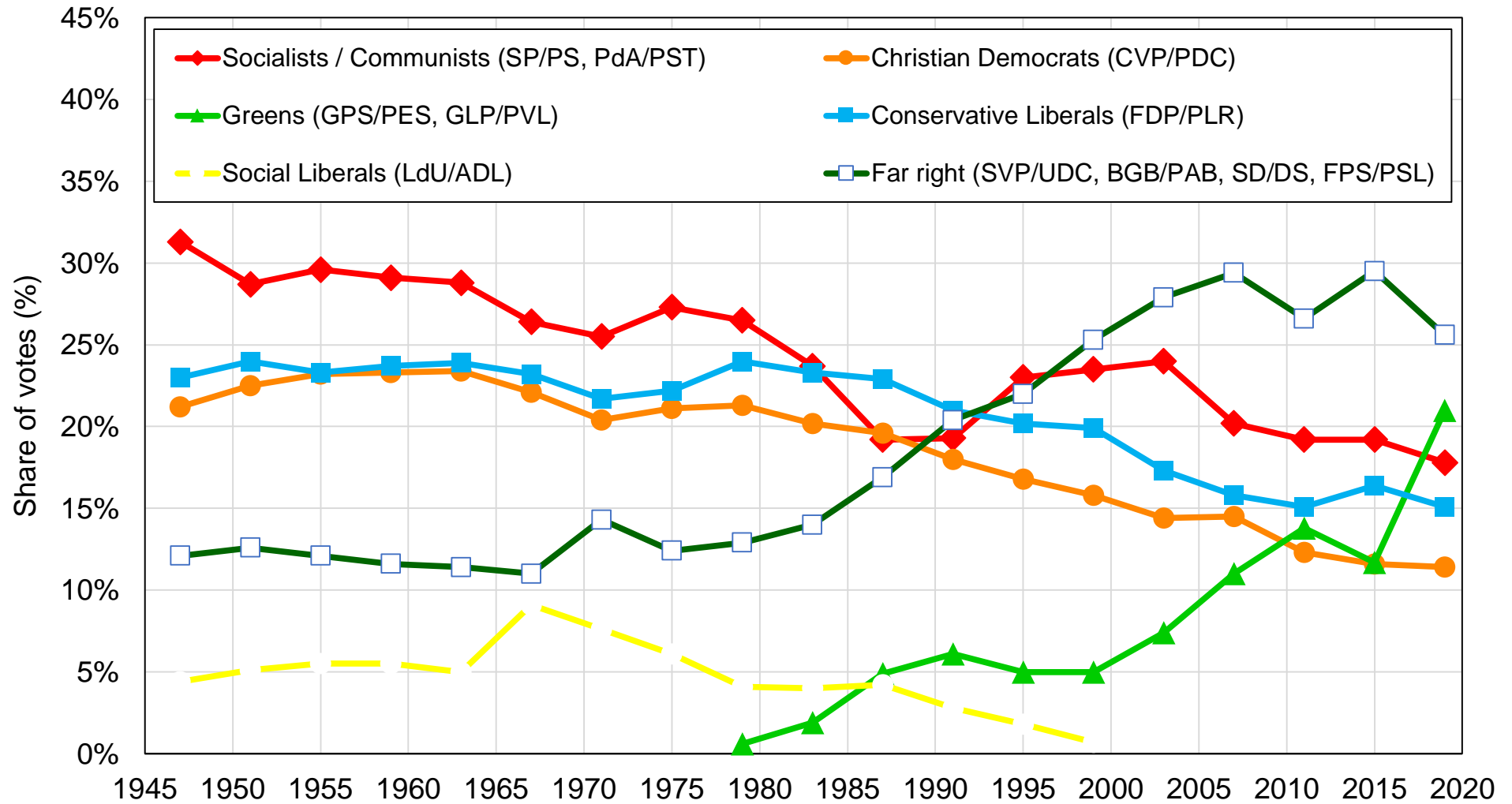
	Share of votes received (%)						
	SP	PvdA	GL	D66	CDA	VVD	PVV
<b>Education</b>							
Primary	13%	21%	3%	3%	17%	13%	20%
Secondary	11%	15%	4%	7%	13%	26%	11%
Tertiary	5%	16%	10%	17%	9%	28%	3%
<b>Income</b>							
Bottom 50%	12%	18%	6%	7%	13%	18%	13%
Middle 40%	7%	16%	7%	12%	11%	28%	8%
Top 10%	3%	12%	6%	15%	12%	39%	6%
<b>Social class</b>							
Working	16%	22%	5%	3%	10%	9%	24%
Upper working	14%	22%	4%	4%	12%	17%	13%
Middle	9%	15%	6%	10%	14%	25%	9%
Upper middle	3%	13%	9%	17%	9%	36%	4%
Upper	3%	9%	4%	23%	8%	45%	2%
<b>Location</b>							
Very rural	9%	16%	4%	7%	20%	24%	9%
Rural	9%	14%	4%	9%	17%	25%	10%
Medium	8%	15%	5%	8%	12%	29%	11%
Urban	10%	16%	7%	10%	10%	23%	11%
Very urban	8%	21%	10%	14%	6%	21%	10%
<b>Religion</b>							
No religion	11%	18%	7%	12%	5%	27%	12%
Catholic	10%	14%	3%	7%	24%	25%	12%
Protestant	4%	8%	5%	5%	27%	19%	5%
Muslim	4%	48%	7%	6%	3%	14%	0%

**Source:** authors' computations using Dutch electoral surveys (see [wpid.world](http://wpid.world)).

**Note:** the table shows the average share of votes received by the main Dutch political parties by selected individual characteristics over the 2010-2017 period. The SP and PVV both received greater support from low-income and lower-educated voters. Total vote shares correspond to those reported in surveys and may not match exactly official election results.



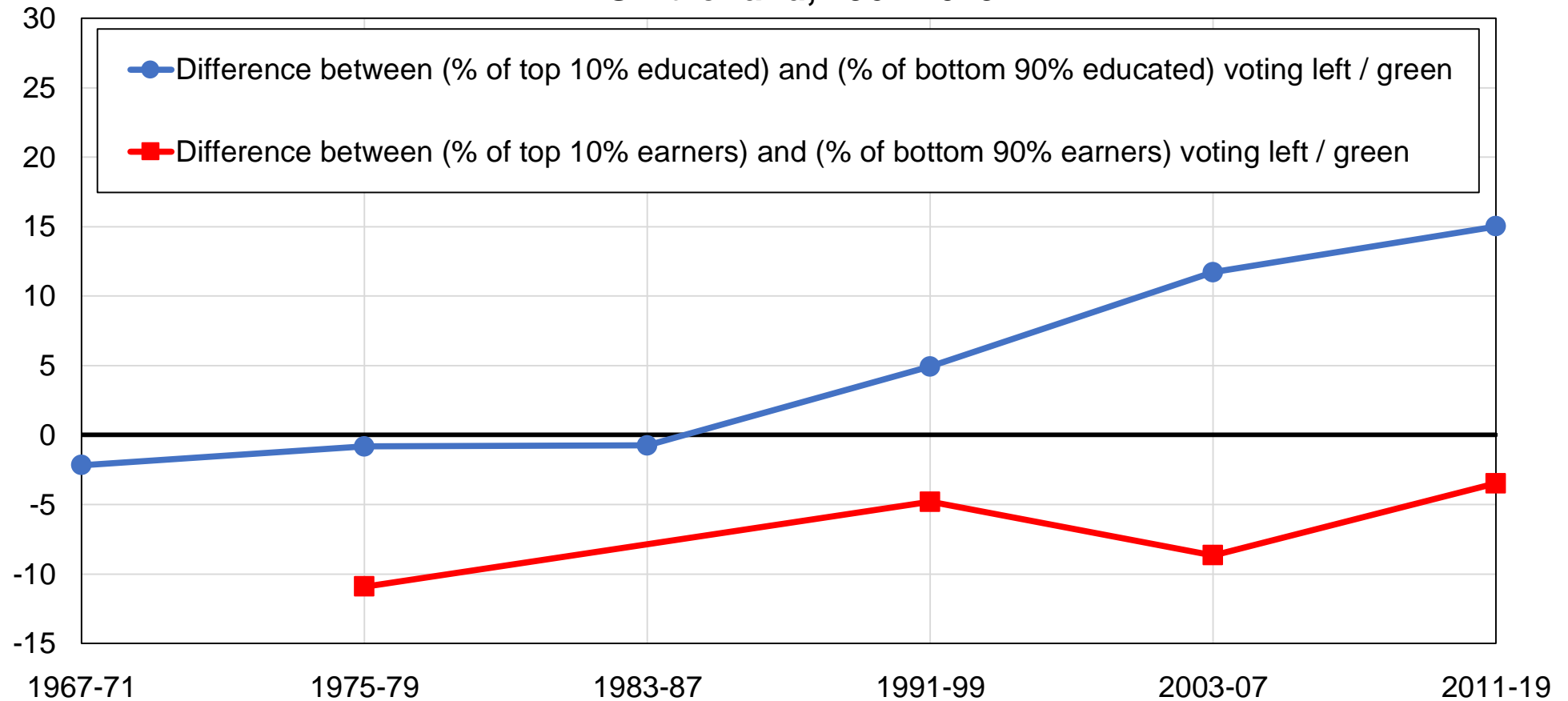
**Figure 7.7 - Election results in Switzerland, 1947-2019**



**Source:** authors' computations using official election results (see [wpid.world](http://wpid.world)).

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by selected political parties or groups of parties in federal elections held in Switzerland between 1947 and 2019. Far-right parties received 26% of votes in 2019.

**Figure 7.8 - The emergence of a multi-elite party system in Switzerland, 1967-2019**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss electoral surveys (see [wpid.world](http://wpid.world)).

**Note:** the figure shows the relative support of highest-educated and top-income voters for left-wing and green parties (SP/PS, GPS/PES, GLP/PVL, Other left). In the 1960s-1970s, 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 / 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, employment status, marital status, religion, region, home ownership, and union membership.

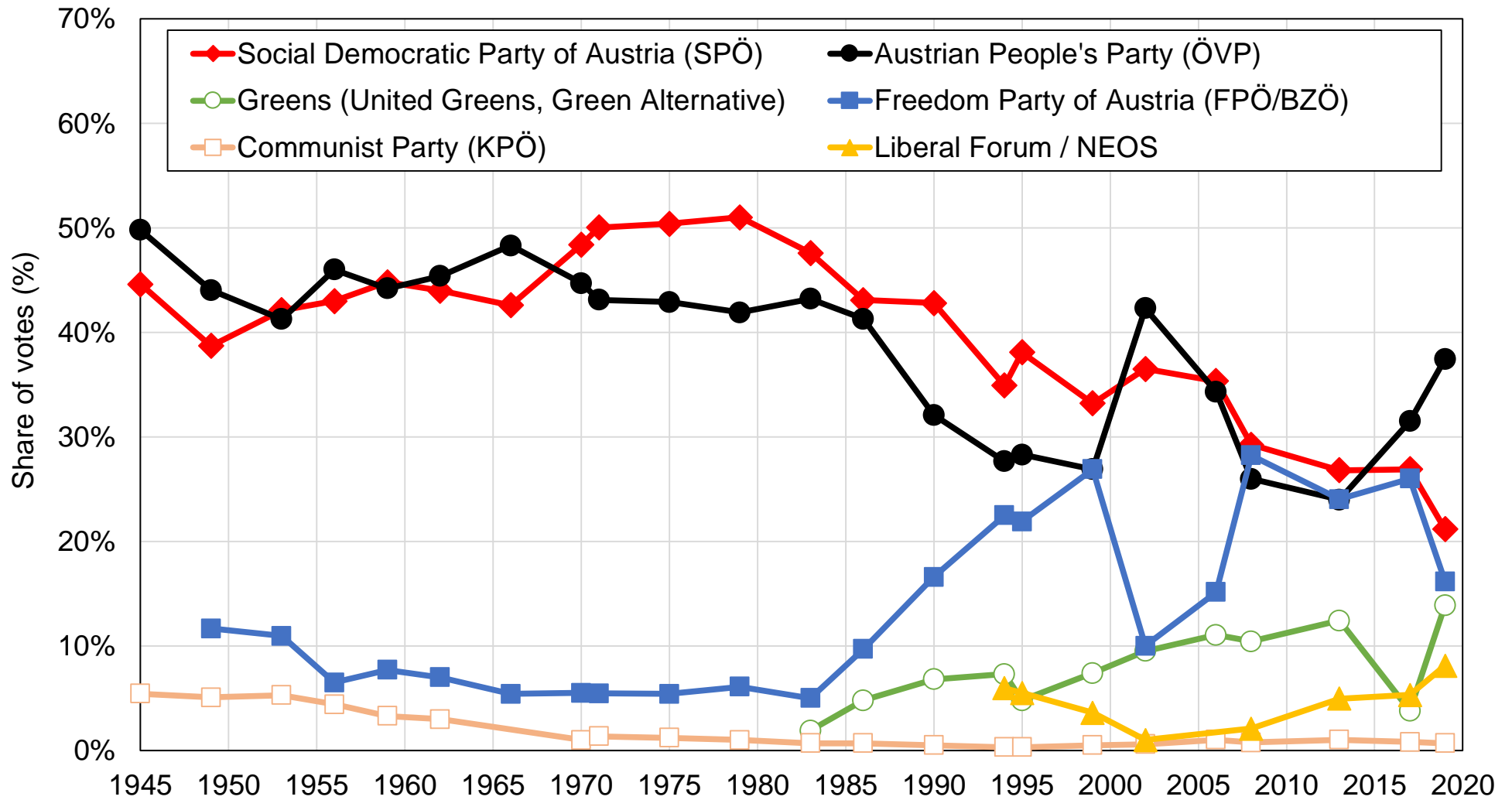
**Table 7.3 - The structure of political cleavages in Switzerland, 2011-2019**

	Share of votes received (%)				
	<b>Left wing</b> SP/PS PdA/PST	<b>Christ. Democrats</b> CVP/PDC	<b>Conserv. Liberals</b> FDP/PRD	<b>Greens</b> GPS/PES GLP/PVL	<b>Far right</b> SVP/UDC FPS/PSL SD/DS
<b>Education</b>					
Primary	17%	19%	12%	8%	33%
Secondary	18%	11%	16%	13%	29%
Tertiary	26%	11%	20%	23%	10%
<b>Income</b>					
Bottom 50%	20%	12%	12%	12%	30%
Middle 40%	21%	11%	18%	16%	21%
Top 10%	15%	12%	26%	21%	19%
<b>Region</b>					
German	19%	11%	15%	15%	27%
French	25%	13%	22%	15%	18%
Italian	18%	19%	25%	7%	14%
<b>Location</b>					
Urban	25%	9%	17%	19%	19%
Rural	16%	13%	17%	12%	29%

**Source:** authors' computations using Swiss electoral surveys (see [wpid.world](http://wpid.world)).

**Note:** the table shows the average share of votes received by the main Swiss political parties by selected individual characteristics over the 2011-2019 period. Far-right parties received greater support from low-income and lower-educated voters, as well as in German-speaking regions and in rural areas. Total vote shares correspond to those reported in surveys and may not match exactly official election results.

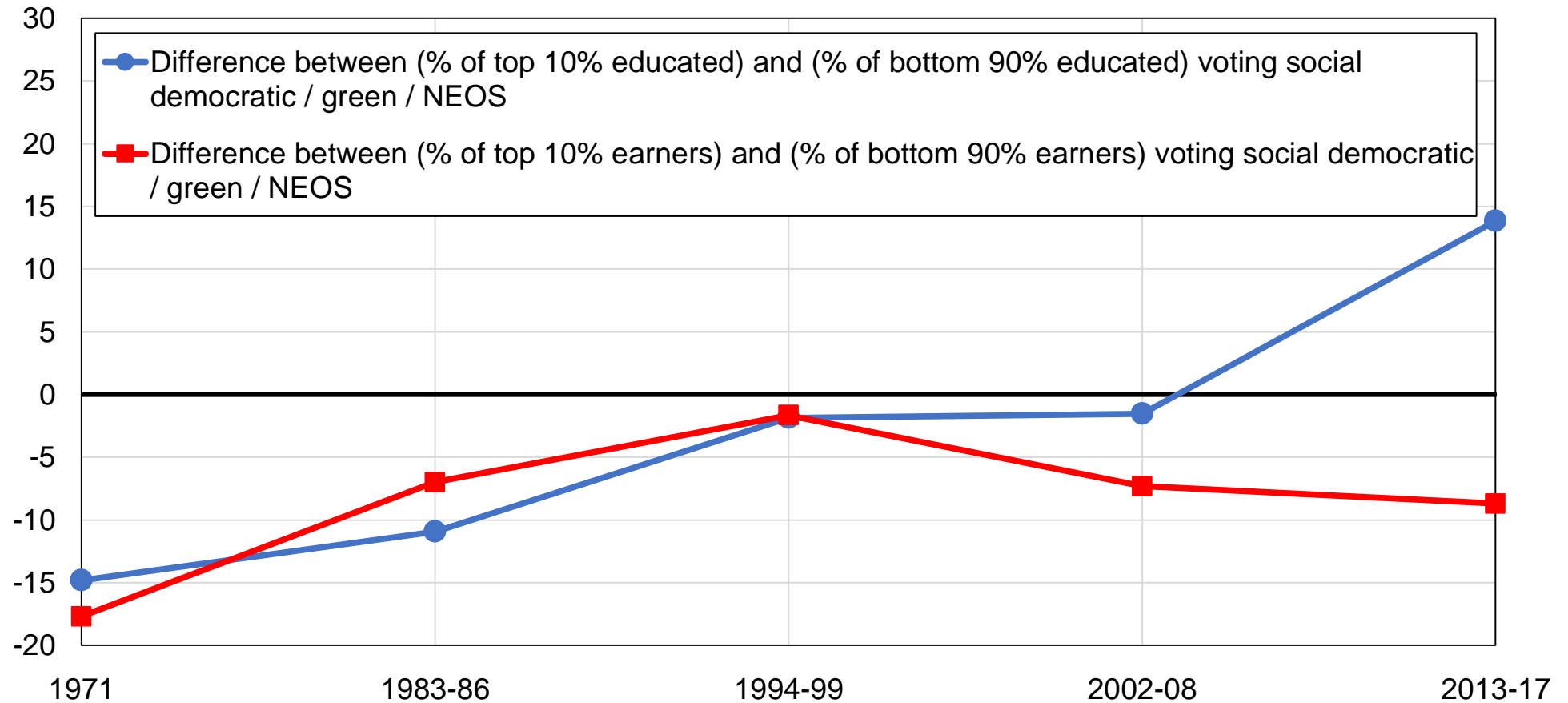
**Figure 7.9 - Election results in Austria, 1945-2019**



**Source:** authors' computations using official election results (see [wpid.world](http://wpid.world)).

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by selected political parties or groups of parties in general elections held in Austria between 1945 and 2019. The Social Democratic Party received 21% of votes in 2019.

**Figure 7.10 - The emergence of a multi-elite party system in Austria, 1971-2017**



**Source:** authors' computations using Austrian political attitudes surveys (see [wpid.world](http://wpid.world)).

**Note:** the figure shows the relative support of highest-educated and top-income voters for left-wing, green, and social-liberal parties (SPÖ / KPÖ / Greens / NEOS). In the 1970s, highest-educated and top-income voters were less likely to vote for these parties than low-income and lower-educated voters. The left-wing / green / social-liberal vote has gradually become associated with higher-educated voters, giving rise to a "multi-elite party system". Estimates control for income/education, age, gender, employment status, marital status, religion, and location.

**Table 7.4 - The structure of political cleavages in Austria, 2013-2017**

	Share of votes received (%)				
	SPÖ / KPÖ	Greens	NEOS	ÖVP	FPÖ / BZÖ
<b>Education</b>					
Primary	33%	5%	4%	31%	25%
Secondary	29%	7%	5%	31%	26%
Tertiary	26%	21%	11%	34%	5%
<b>Income</b>					
Bottom 50%	35%	6%	5%	27%	23%
Middle 40%	27%	11%	6%	32%	22%
Top 10%	20%	12%	8%	43%	14%
<b>Location</b>					
Urban	33%	11%	7%	26%	20%
Rural	25%	7%	4%	37%	25%
<b>Religion</b>					
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 (see [wpid.world](http://wpid.world)).

**Note:** the table shows the average share of votes received by the main Austrian political parties by selected individual characteristics over the 2013-2017 period. Left-wing parties (SPÖ / KPÖ) received greater support from low-income and lower-educated voters, as well as in urban areas. Total vote shares correspond to those reported in surveys and may not match exactly official election results.