

Chapter 8. "Political Conflict, Social Inequality, and Electoral Cleavages in the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland, 1990-2018"

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Appendix: Figures, tables and raw results

Main figures and tables

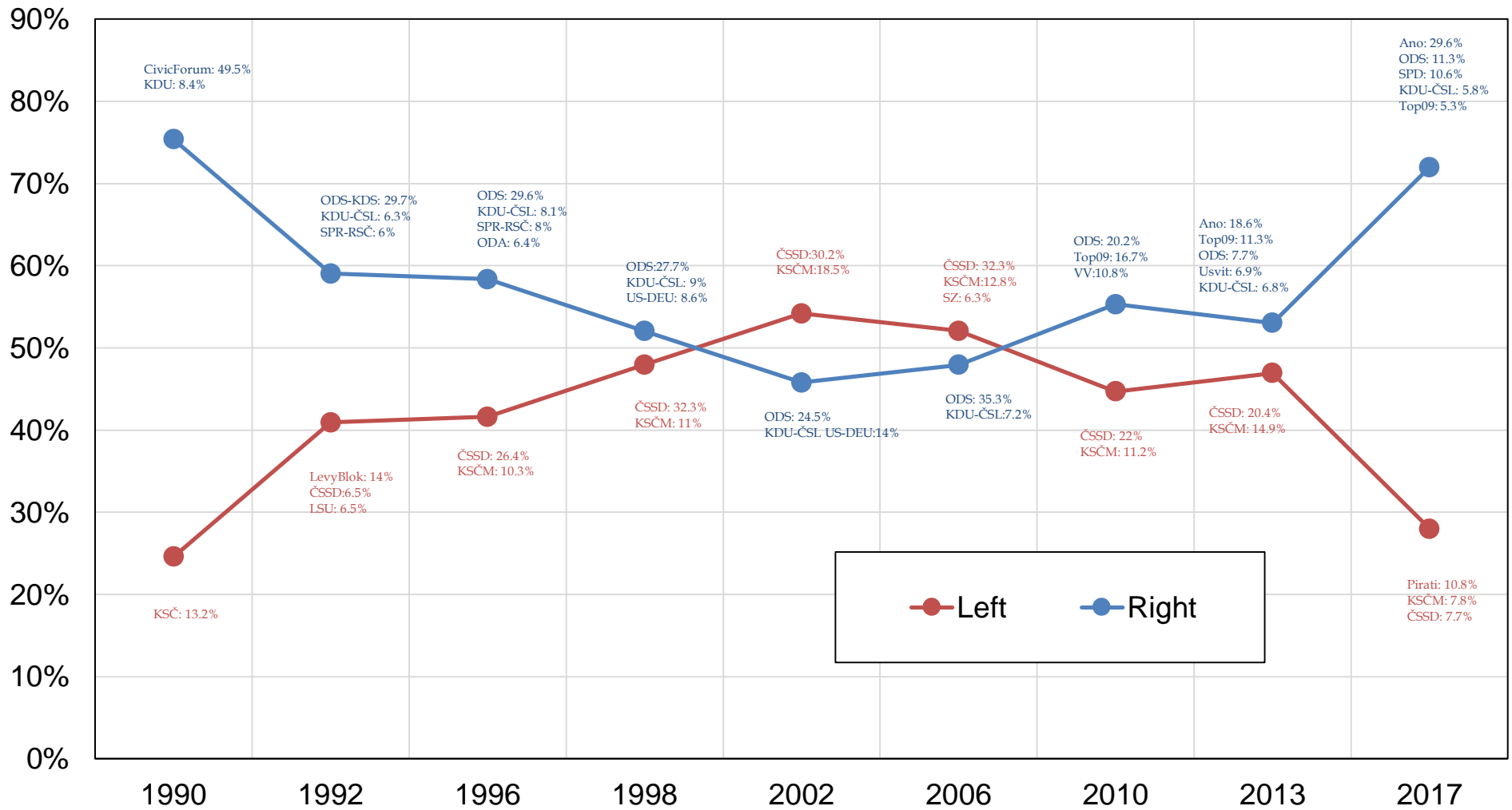
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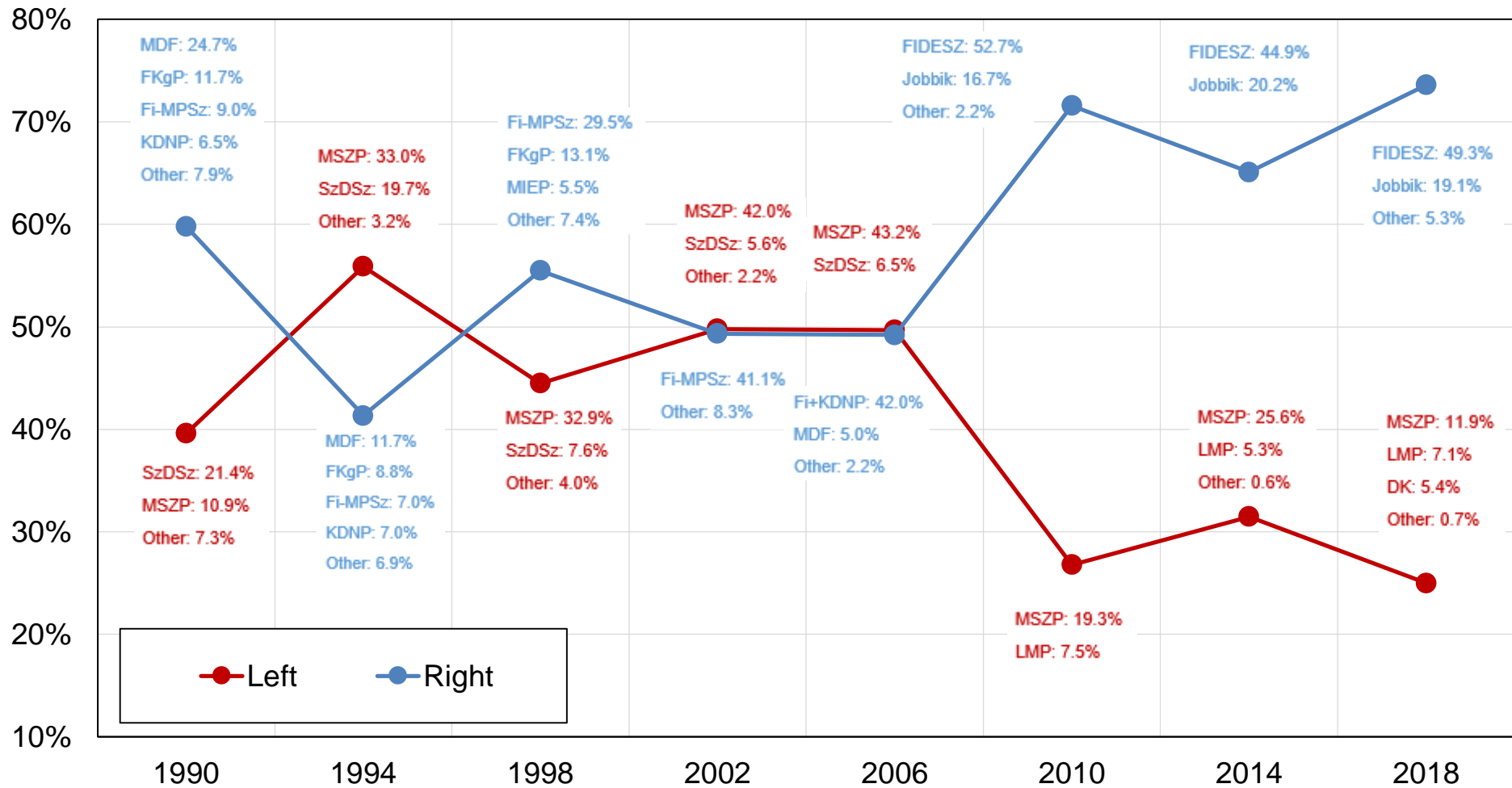
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Figure 8.1a - National elections in the Czech Republic



Source: authors' computations using official election results.
 Note: labels show parties that obtained more than 5% of total votes.

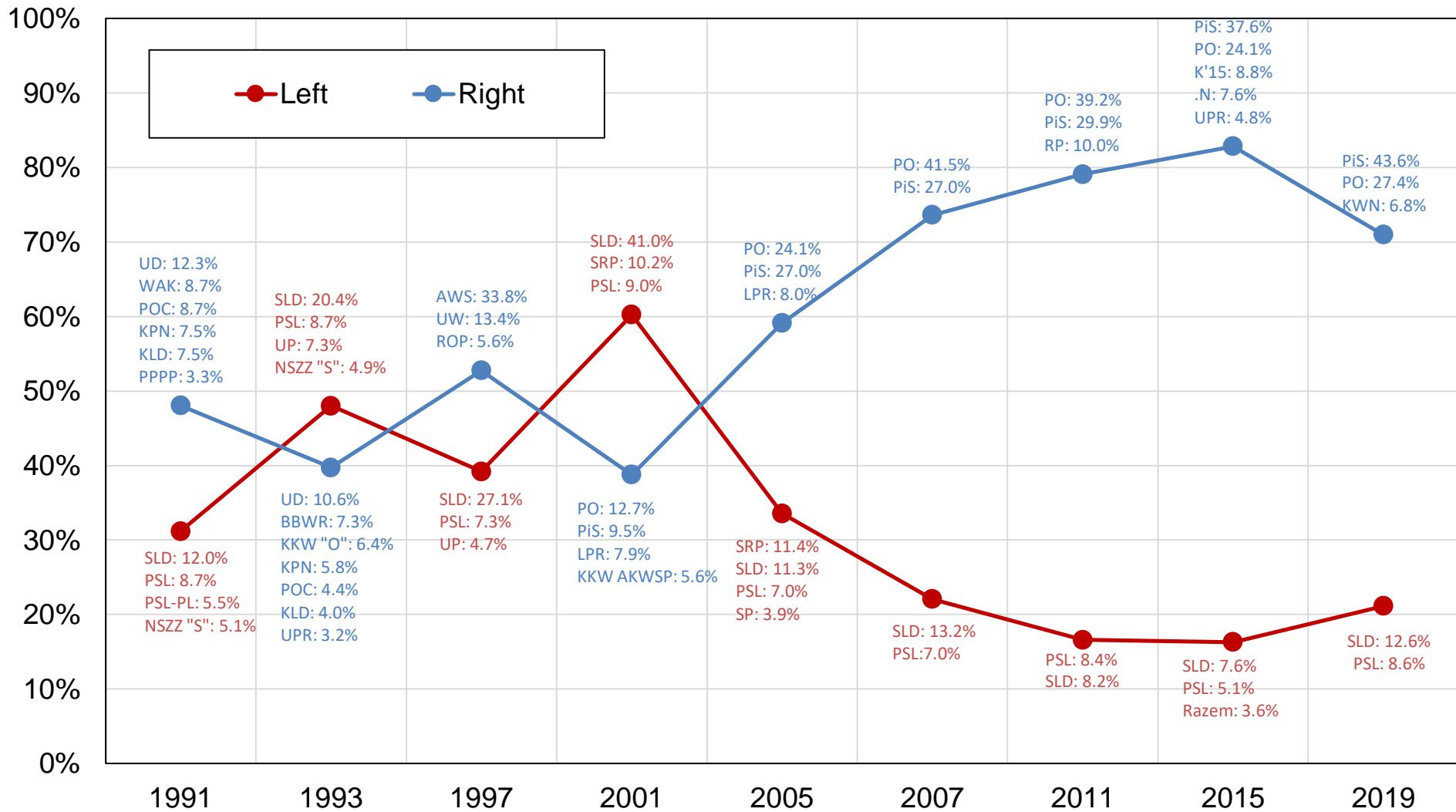
Figure 8.1b - National elections in Hungary



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

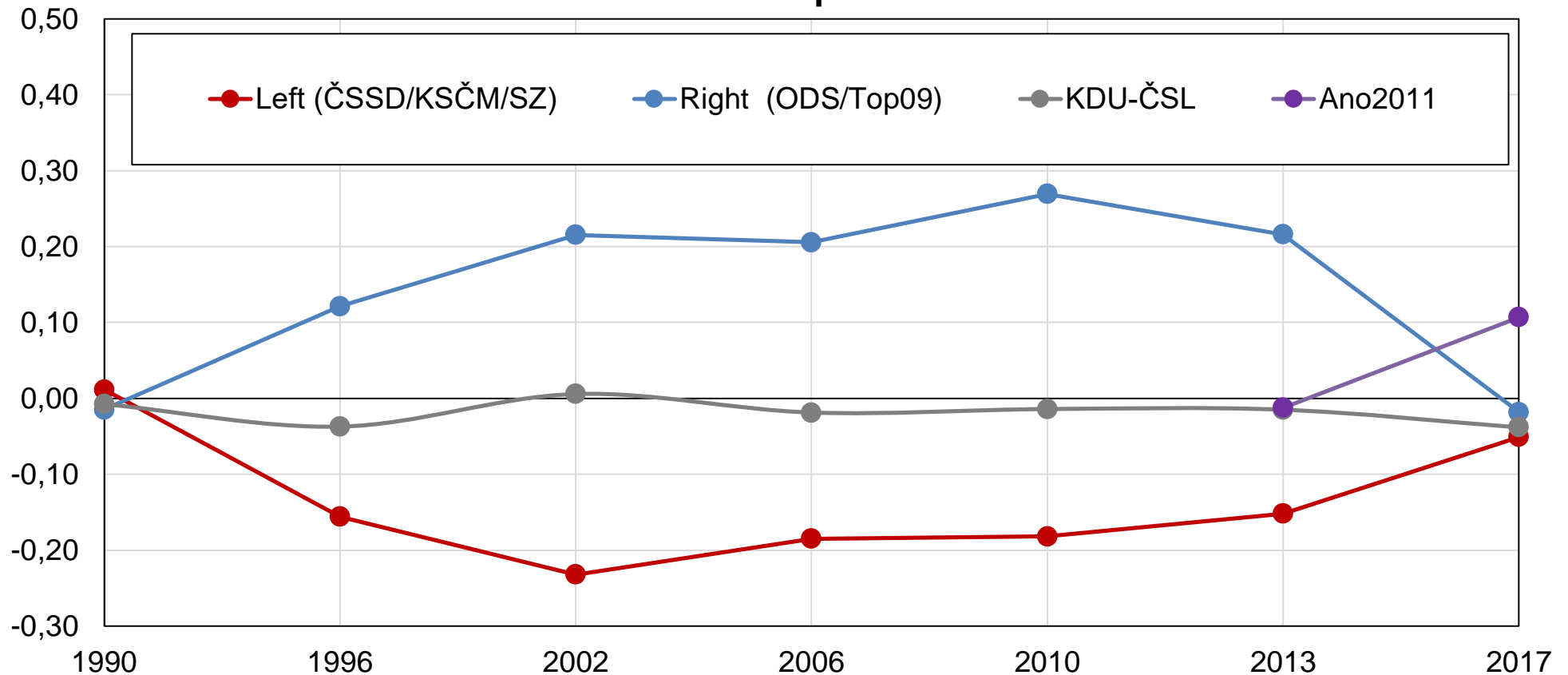
Note: list votes are reported. After 2006 votes for Fidesz include votes for KDNP.

Figure 8.1c - National elections in Poland



Source: authors' computations using official election results.
 Note: labels show parties that obtained more than 3% of total votes.

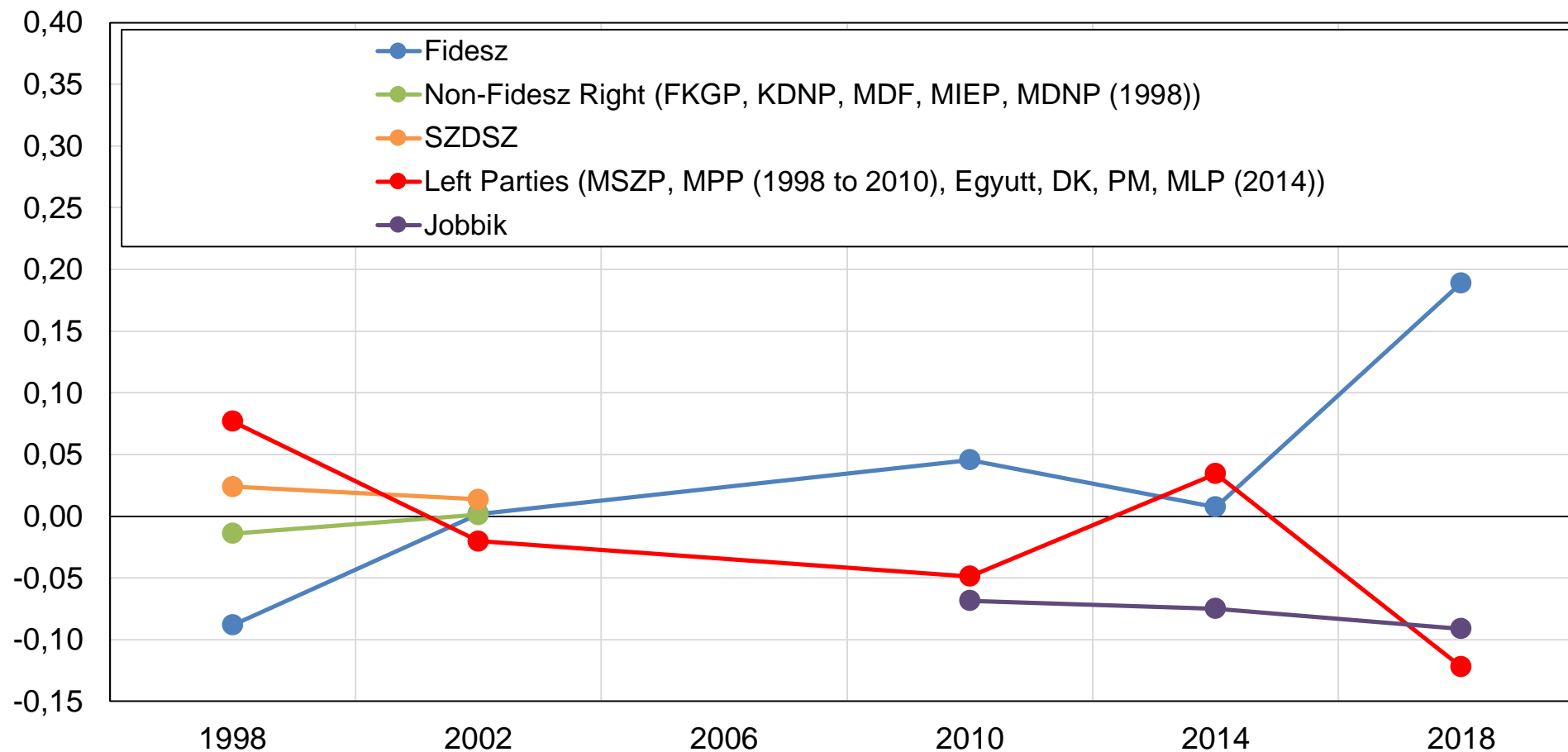
Figure 8.2a - Vote for main parties among top-income voters in the Czech Republic



Source: authors' computations using post-election surveys.

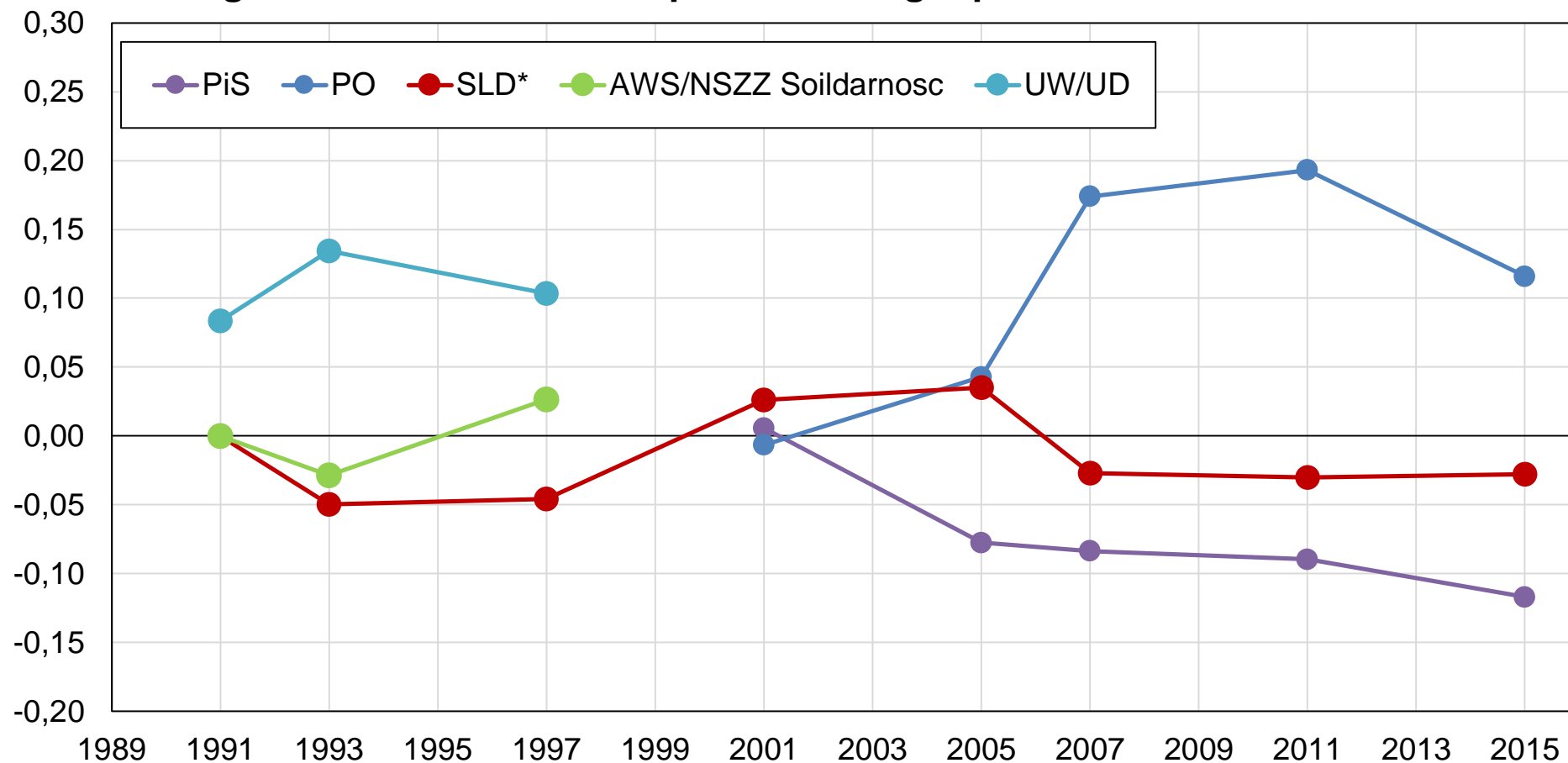
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of votes received by the left / the right / KDU-CSL / Ano2011 among top 10% income voters and the share of votes received by these parties among bottom 90% income voters, after controlling for age, gender, and education level. In 1996, left-wing parties obtain a score that is 16 points lower among top 10% earners than among the bottom 90%; in 2017, their score is 5 points lower. The right includes Civic Forum in 1990 and STAN in 2017.

Figure 8.2b - Vote for main parties among top-income voters in Hungary



Source: authors' computations using post-election surveys for 1998 and 2002, ESS for all other years. Data on household income is not available for the election year 2006. Note: the figure shows the difference in the share of votes received by selected parties among top 10% earners and among bottom 90% earners, after controlling for age, gender, and education level. In 1998, Fidesz obtains a score that is 9 points lower among the top 10% income group than among the bottom 90%; in 2018, their score is 19 points higher.

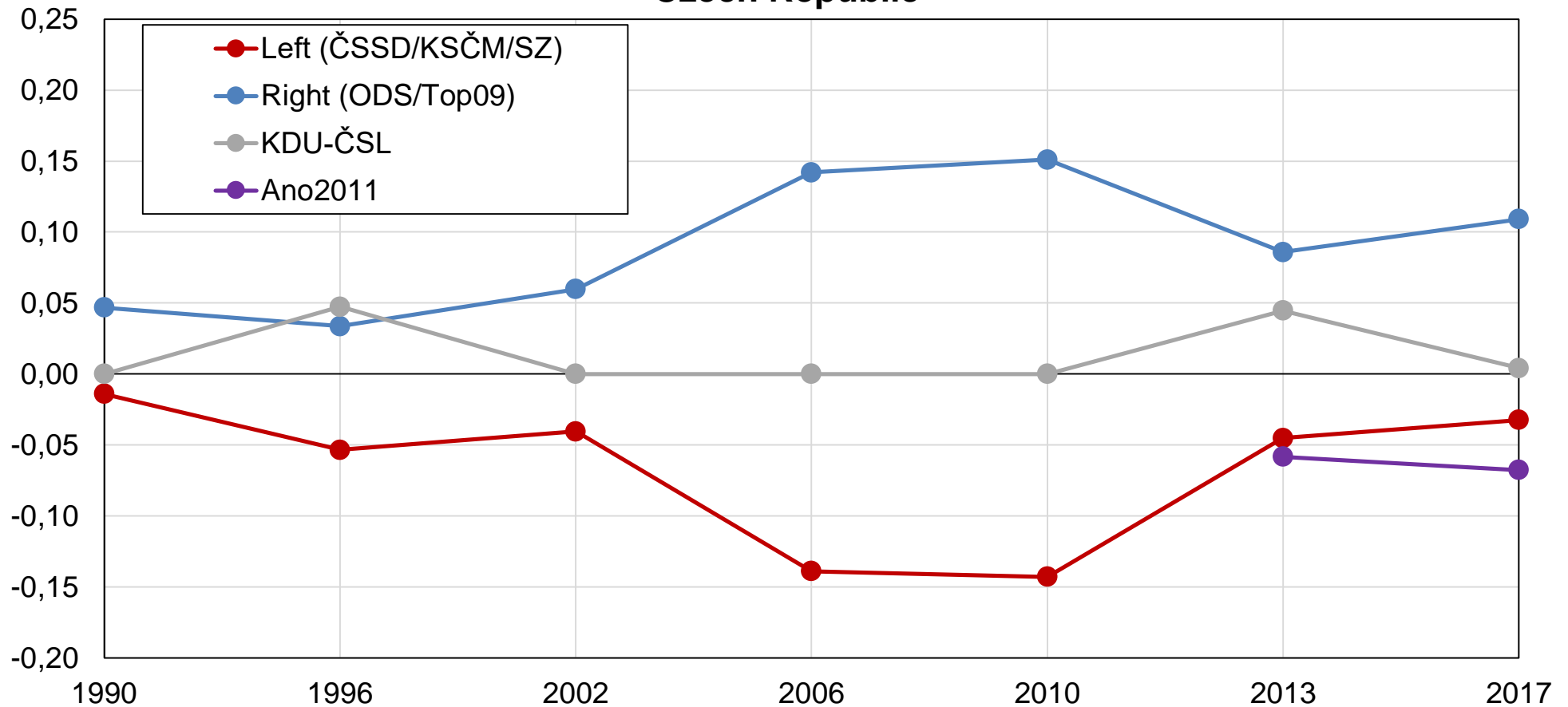
Figure 8.2c - Vote for main parties among top-income voters in Poland



Source: authors' computations using POLPAN (1991-1997), CSES (2001, 2005), and ESS (2007-2015).

Note: the figure shows the difference in the share of votes received by selected parties among top 10% earners and among bottom 90% earners, after controlling for age, gender, and education level. In 2007-2015, PiS obtains a score that is 8-12 points lower among the top 10% income group than among the bottom 90%; Civic Platform obtains a score that is 12-17 points higher.

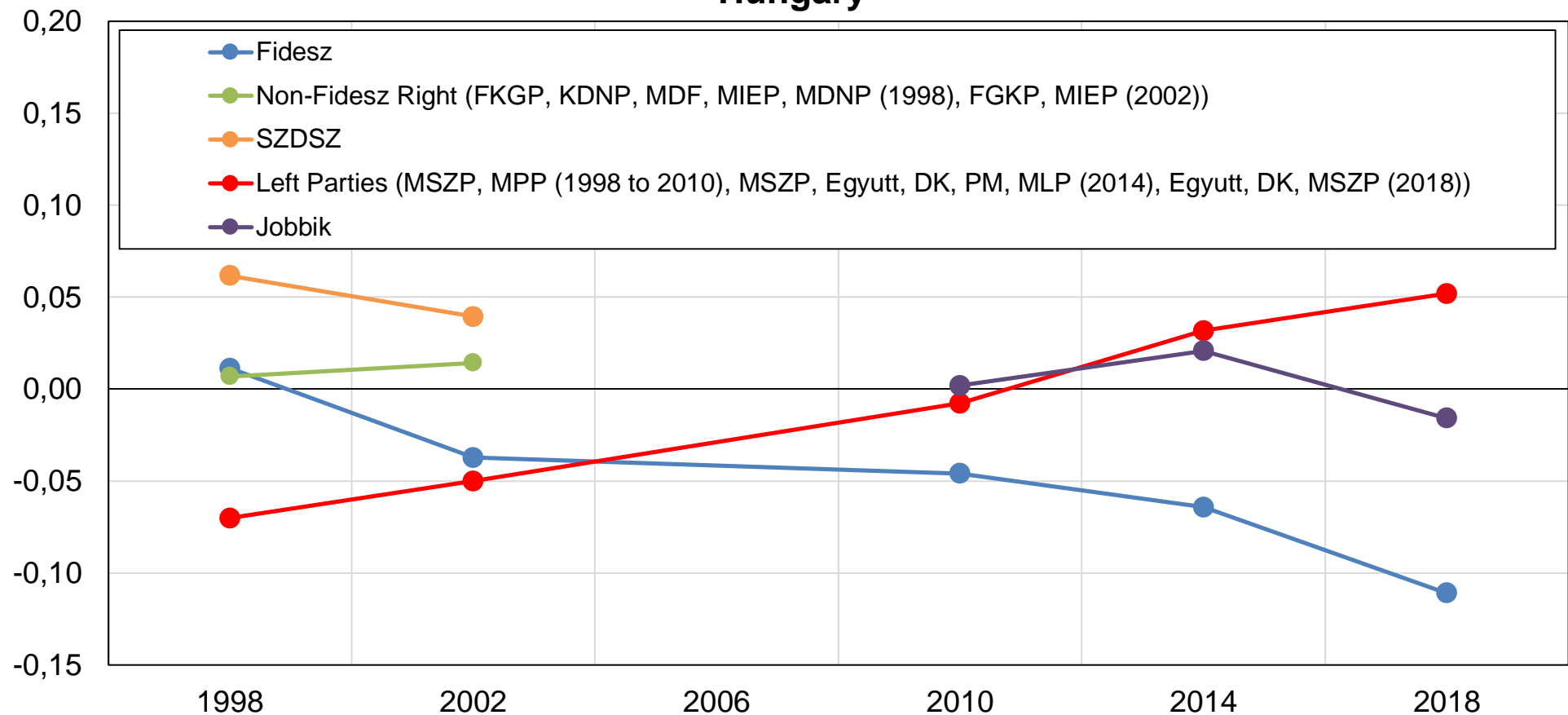
Figure 8.3a - Vote for main parties among higher-educated voters in the Czech Republic



Source: authors' computations using post-election surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference in the share of votes received by selected parties among university graduates and among non-university graduates, after controlling for age, gender, and income. In 1996, right-wing parties obtain a score that is 3 points higher among those with university attainment than among those with no university degree; in 2017, their score is 11 points higher.

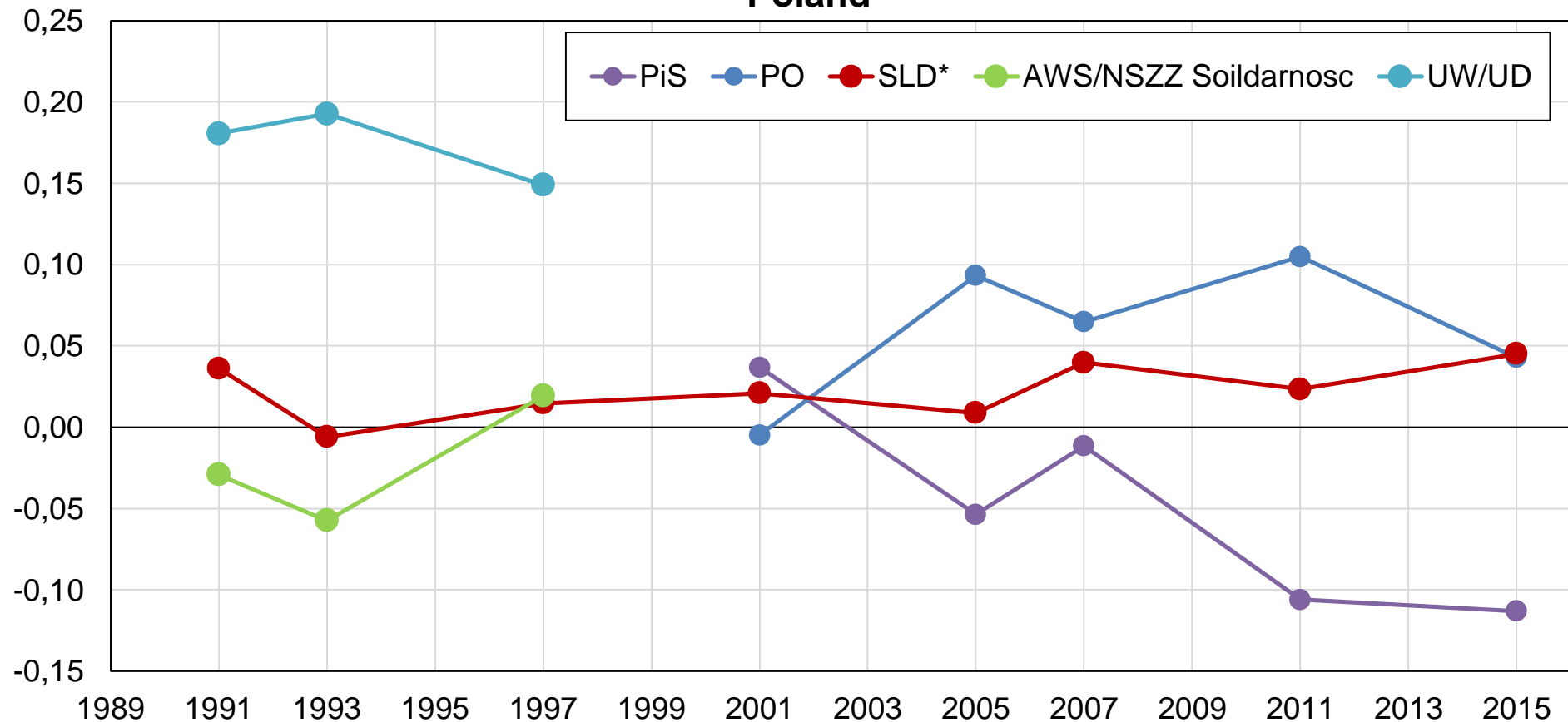
Figure 8.3b - Vote for main parties among higher-educated voters in Hungary



Source: authors' computations using post-election surveys for 1998 and 2002, ESS for all other years. Data on household income is not available for the 2006 elections.

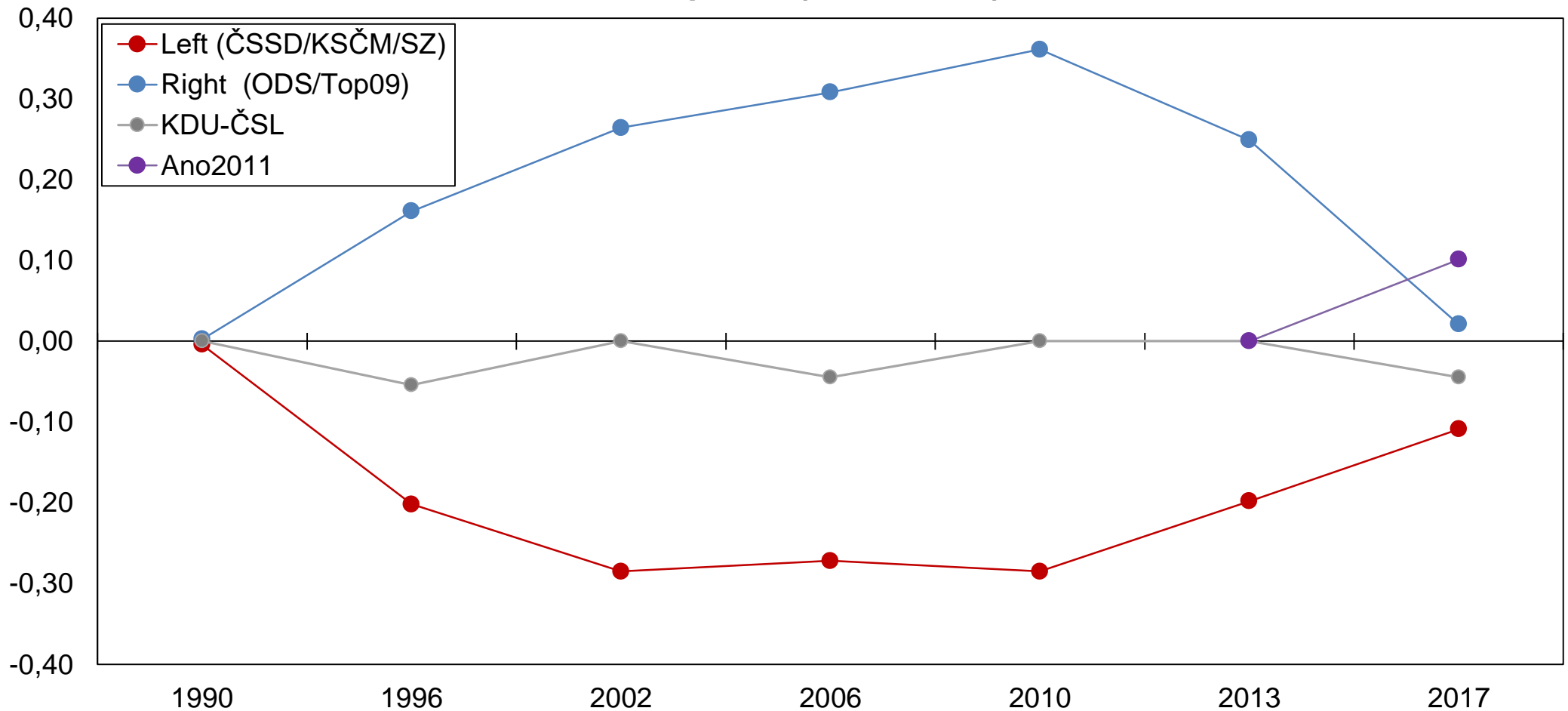
Note: the figure shows the difference in the share of votes received by selected parties among university graduates and among non-university graduates, after controlling for age, gender, and income. In 1998, Fidesz obtains a score that is 1 points higher among those with university attainment than among those with no university degree; in 2018, their score is 11 points lower.

Figure 8.3c - Vote for main parties among higher-educated voters in Poland



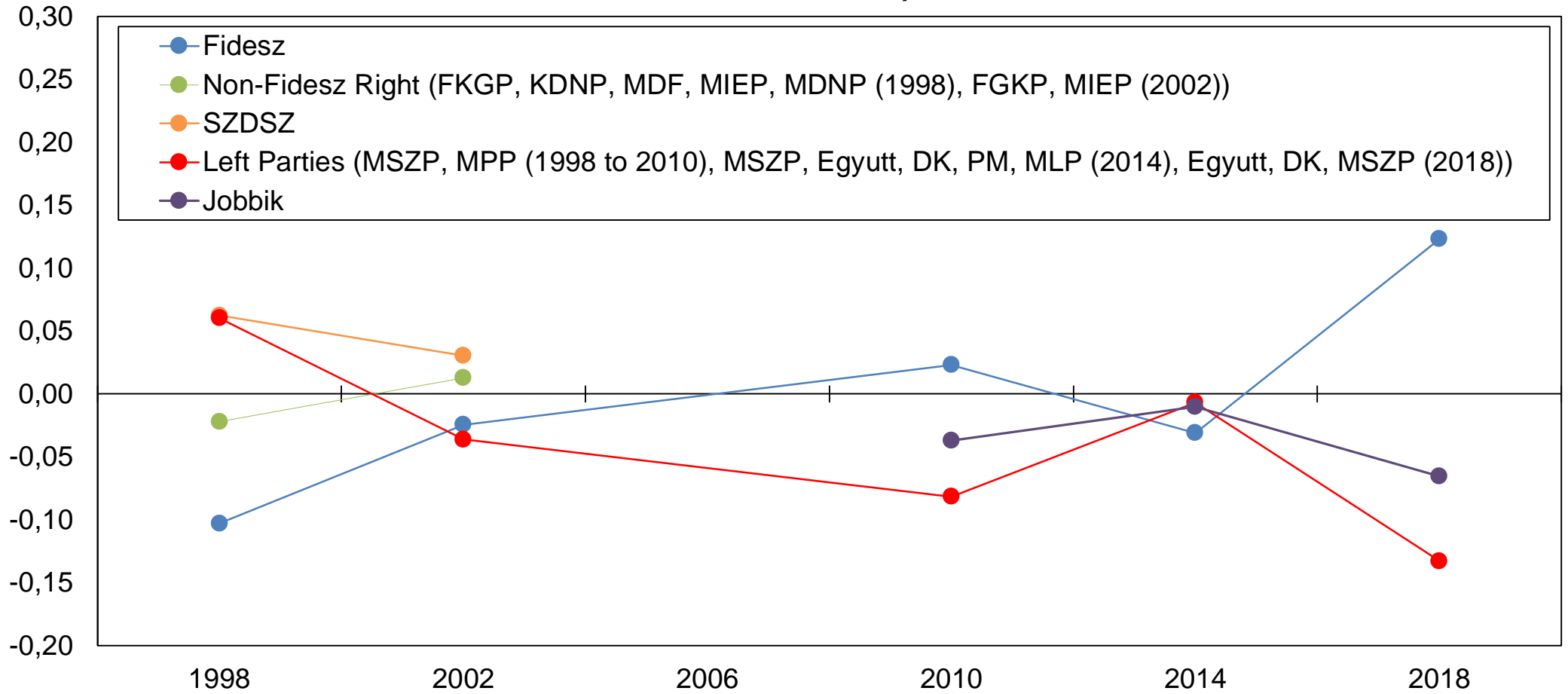
Source: authors' computations using POLPAN (1991-1997), CSES (2001, 2005) and ESS (2007-2015).
 Note: the figure shows the difference in the share of votes received by selected parties among university graduates and among non-university graduates, after controlling for age, gender, and income. In 2007-2015, PiS obtains a score that is 1 to 11 points lower among those with university attainment than among those with no university degree; Civic Platform obtains a score that is 5 to 11 points higher.

Figure A1a - Vote for main parties among top-income voters in the Czech Republic (no controls)



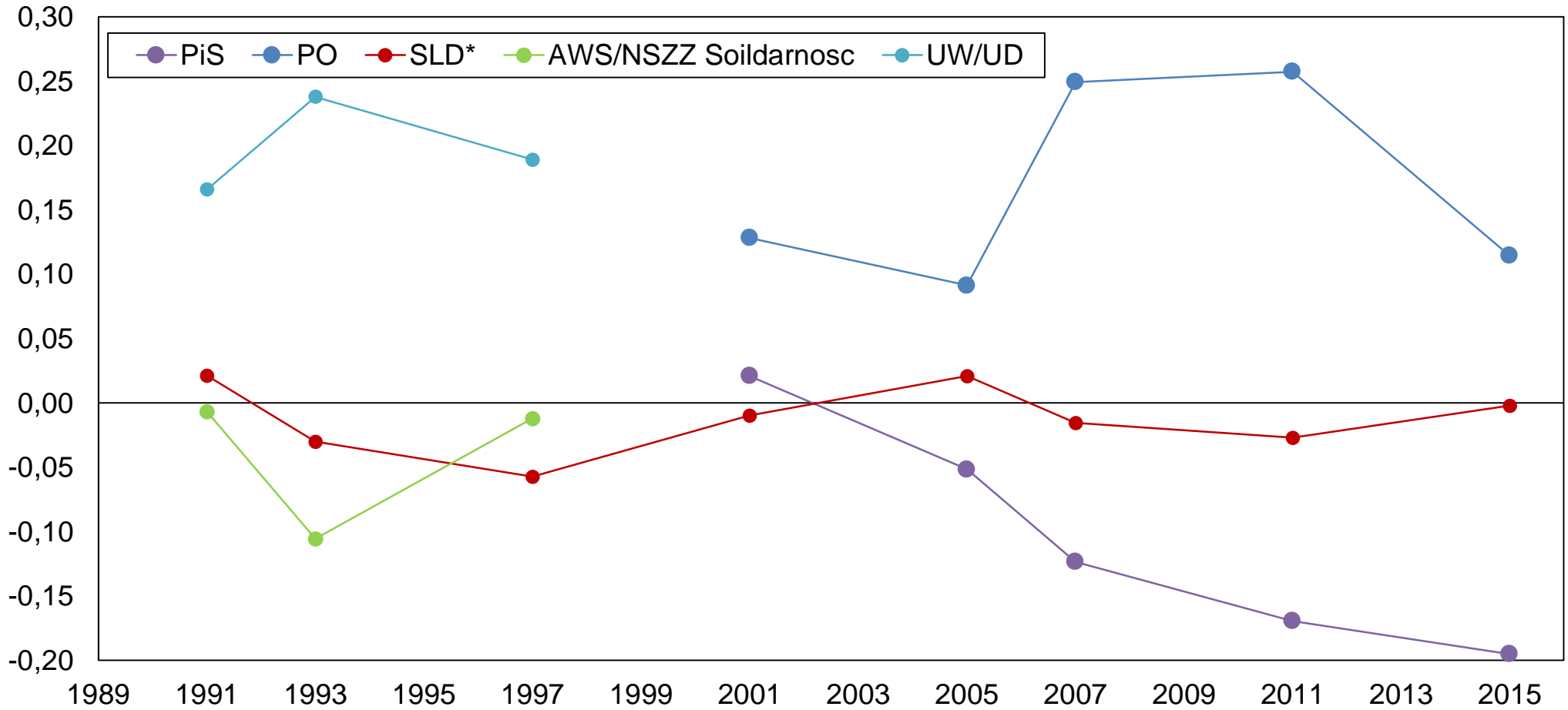
Source: authors' computations using post-election surveys. Difference between % [party] vote among top 10% income voters and % [party] vote among bottom 90% income voters (no controls) Reading: in 1996, Left obtain a score that is 20 points lower among top 10% group than among the bottom 90%; in 2017, their score is 10 points lower. Note: Right in 1990 includes Civic Forum

Figure A1b - Vote for main parties among top-income voters in Hungary (no controls)



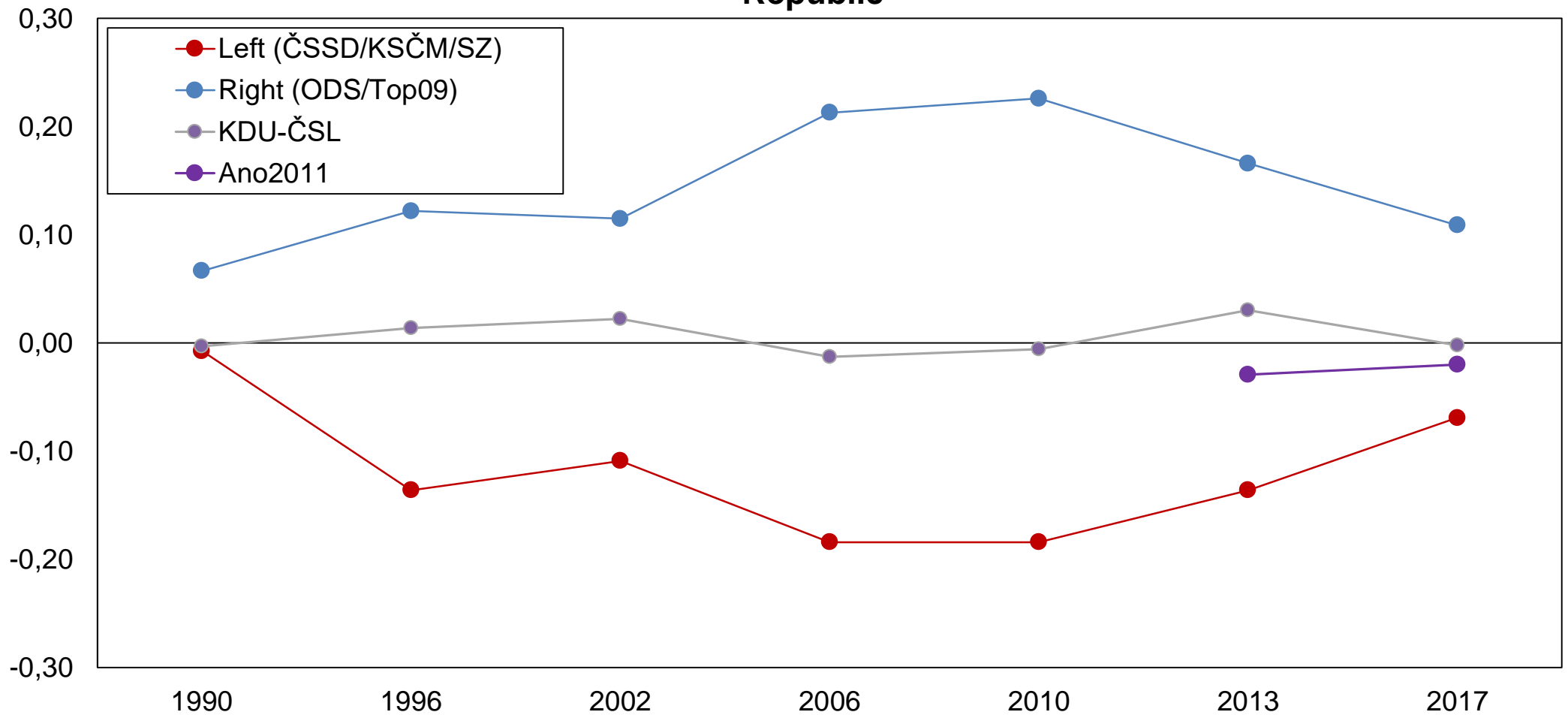
Source: authors' computations using post-election surveys for 1998 and 2002, ESS for all other years. Data on income is not available for 2006. Difference between % [party] vote among top 10% income voters and % [party] vote among bottom 90% income voters (no controls). Reading: in 1998, Fidesz obtain a score that is 10.3 points lower among top 10% income group than among the bottom 90%; in 2018, their score is 12.3 points higher.

Figure A1c - Vote for main parties among top-income voters in Poland (no controls)



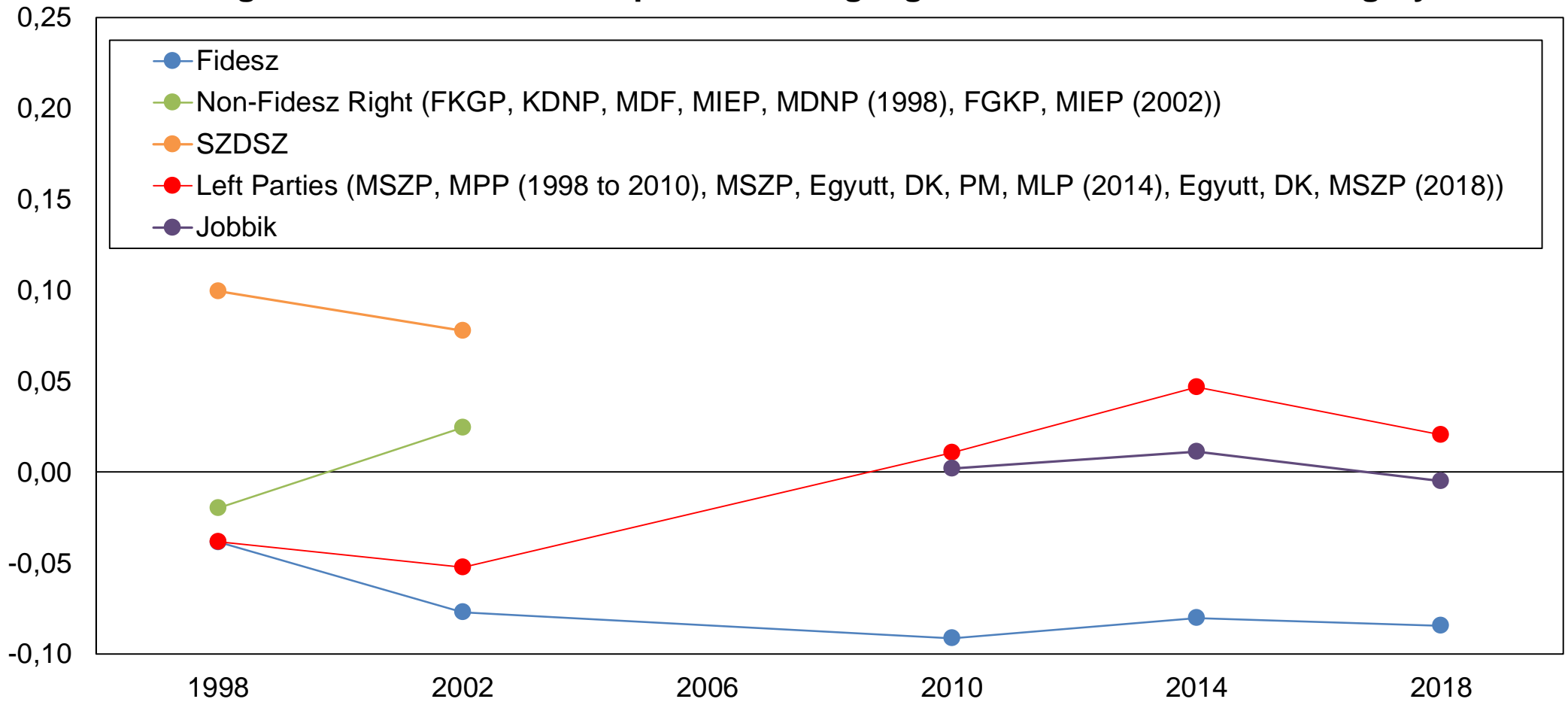
Source: authors' computations using POLPAN (1991-1997), CSES (2001, 2005) and ESS (2007-2015). Difference between % [party] vote among top 10% income voters and % [party] vote among bottom 90% income voters (no controls). Reading: in 2007-2015, PiS obtains a score that is 8-12 points lower among top 10% income group than among the bottom 90%; Civic Platform obtains a score that is 12-17 points higher.

Figure A2a - Vote for main parties among higher-educated voters in the Czech Republic



Source: authors' computations using post-election surveys. Difference between % [party] vote among those with the university and % [party] vote among non-university attainment voters. Reading: in 1996, right-wing parties obtain a score that is 12 points higher among those with university attainment than among the non-university attainment in CzechR; in 2017, their score is 11 points higher.

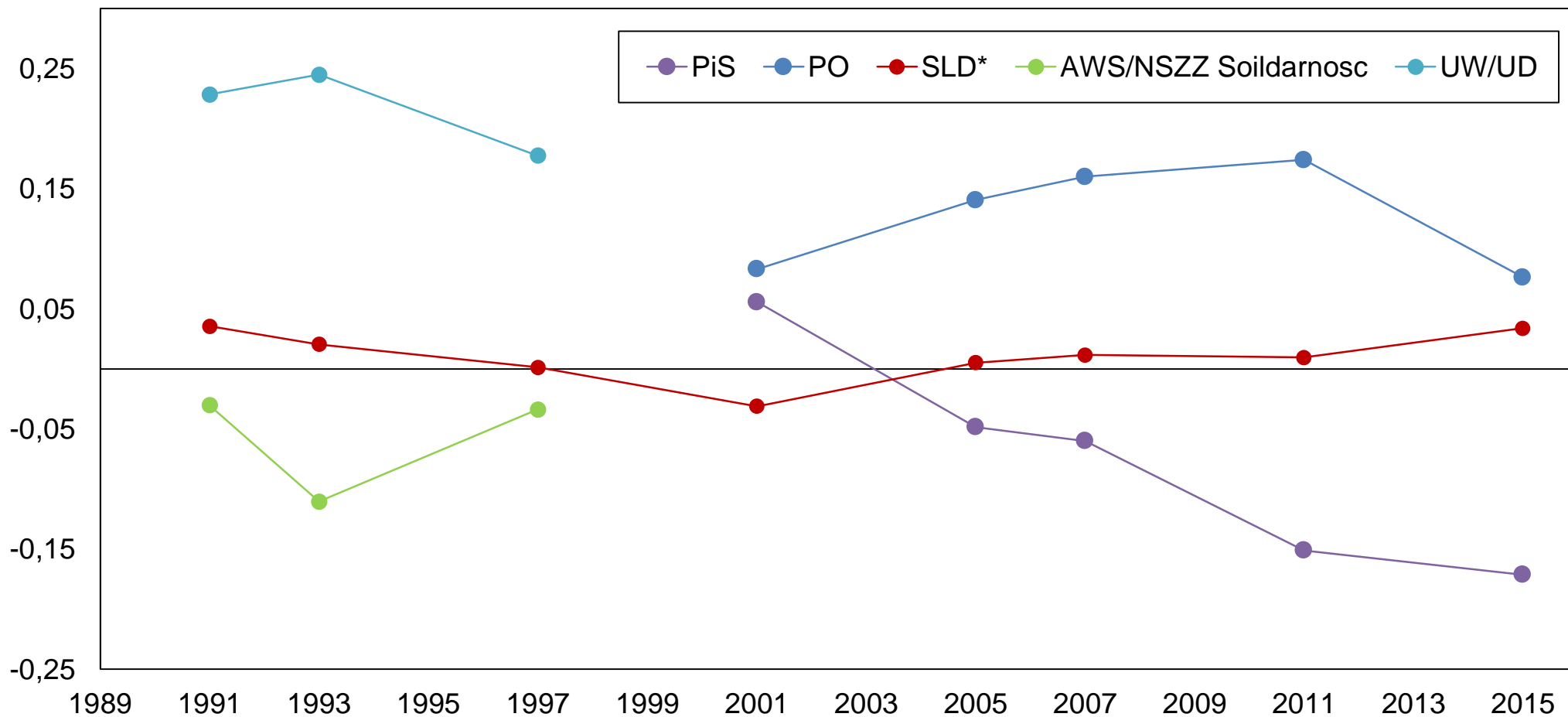
Figure A2b - Vote for main parties among higher-educated voters in Hungary



Source: authors' computations using post-election surveys for 1998 and 2002, ESS for all other years. Data on income is not available for 2006. Difference between % [party] vote among those with the university attainment and % [party] vote among non-university attainment voters.

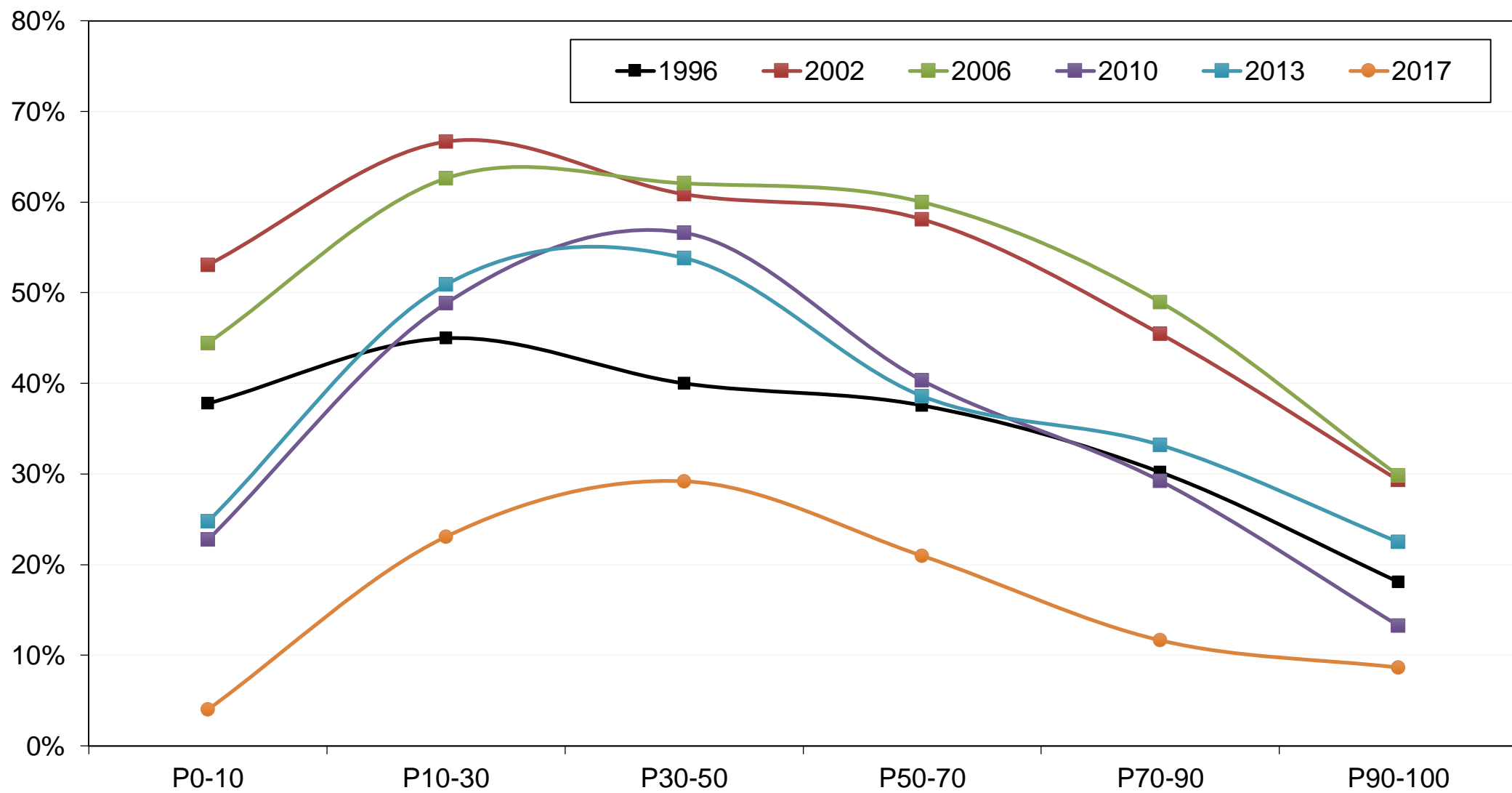
Reading: in 1998, Fidesz obtains a score that is 1 points higher among those with university attainment than among the non-university attainment in Hungary; in 2018, their score is 8.5 points lower.

Figure A2c - Vote for main parties among higher-educated voters in Poland



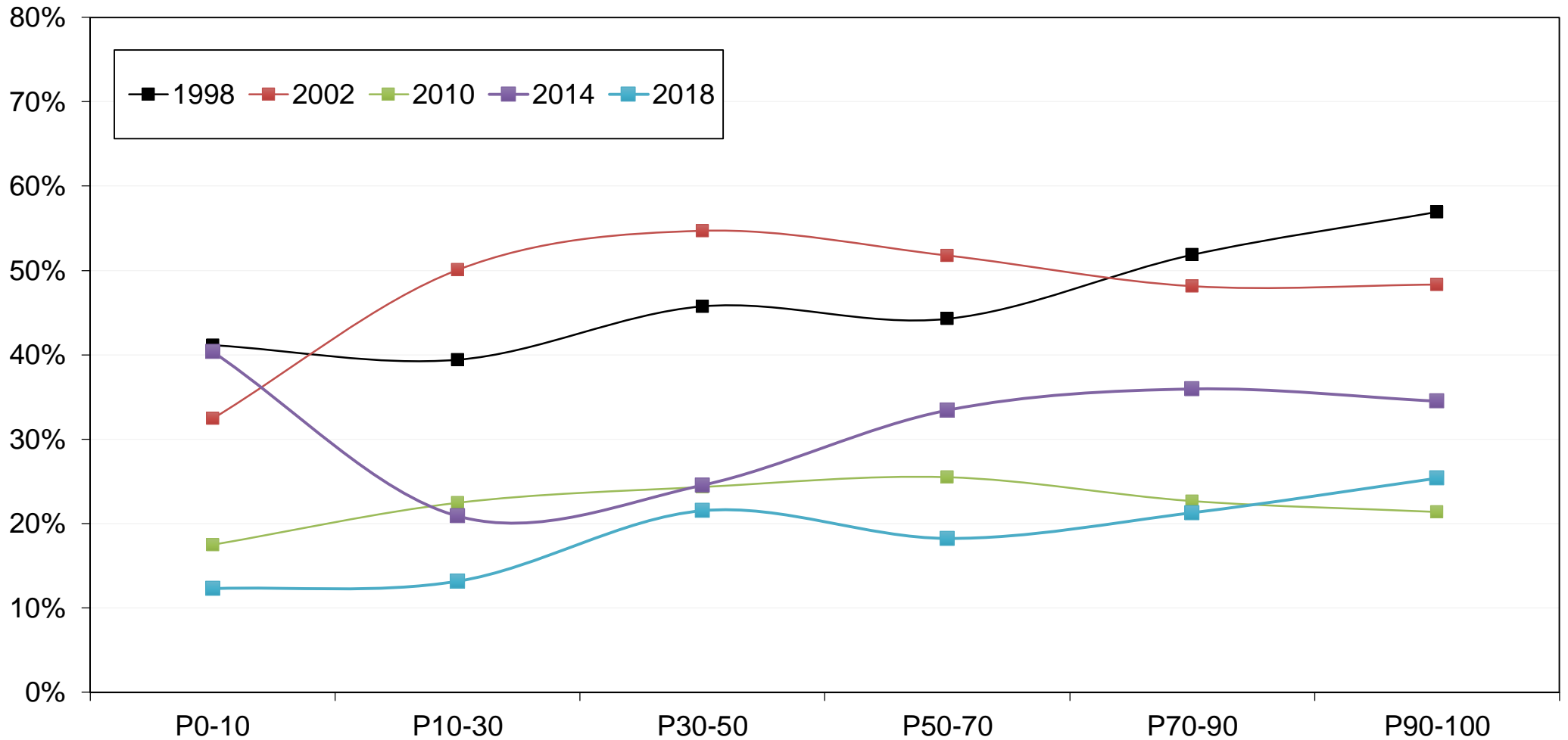
Source: authors' computations using POLPAN (1991-1997), CSES (2001, 2005) and ESS (2007-2015). Difference between % [party] vote among those with a university degree and % [party] vote among bottom 10% income group (after controls). Reading: in 2007-2015, PiS obtains a score that is 1-11 points lower among top 10% income group than among the bottom 90%; Civic Platform obtains a score that is 5-11 points higher.

Figure A3a - Left vote by income group in the Czech Rep.



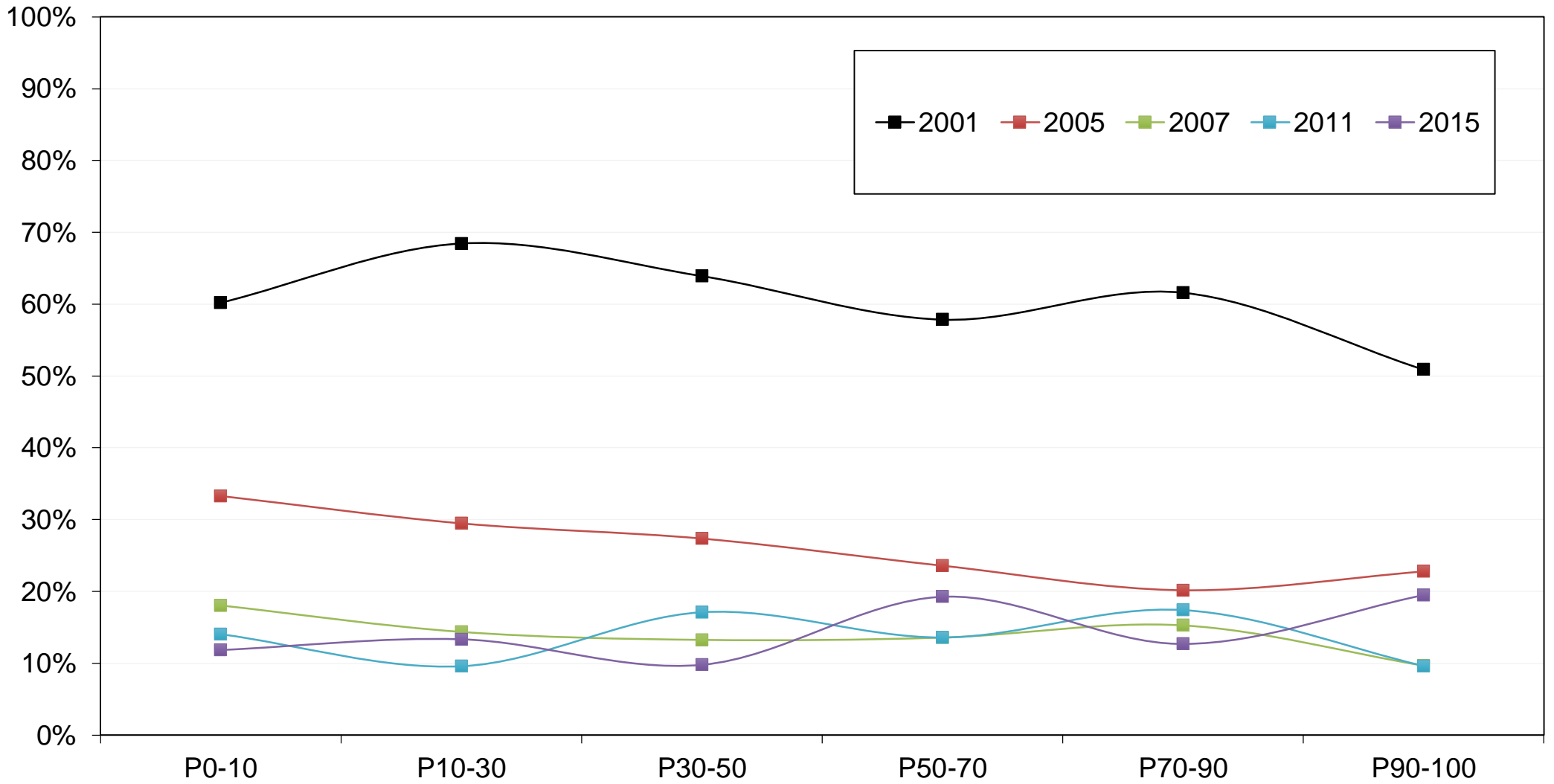
Source: authors' computations using Czech post-election surveys.

Figure A3b - Left vote by income group in Hungary



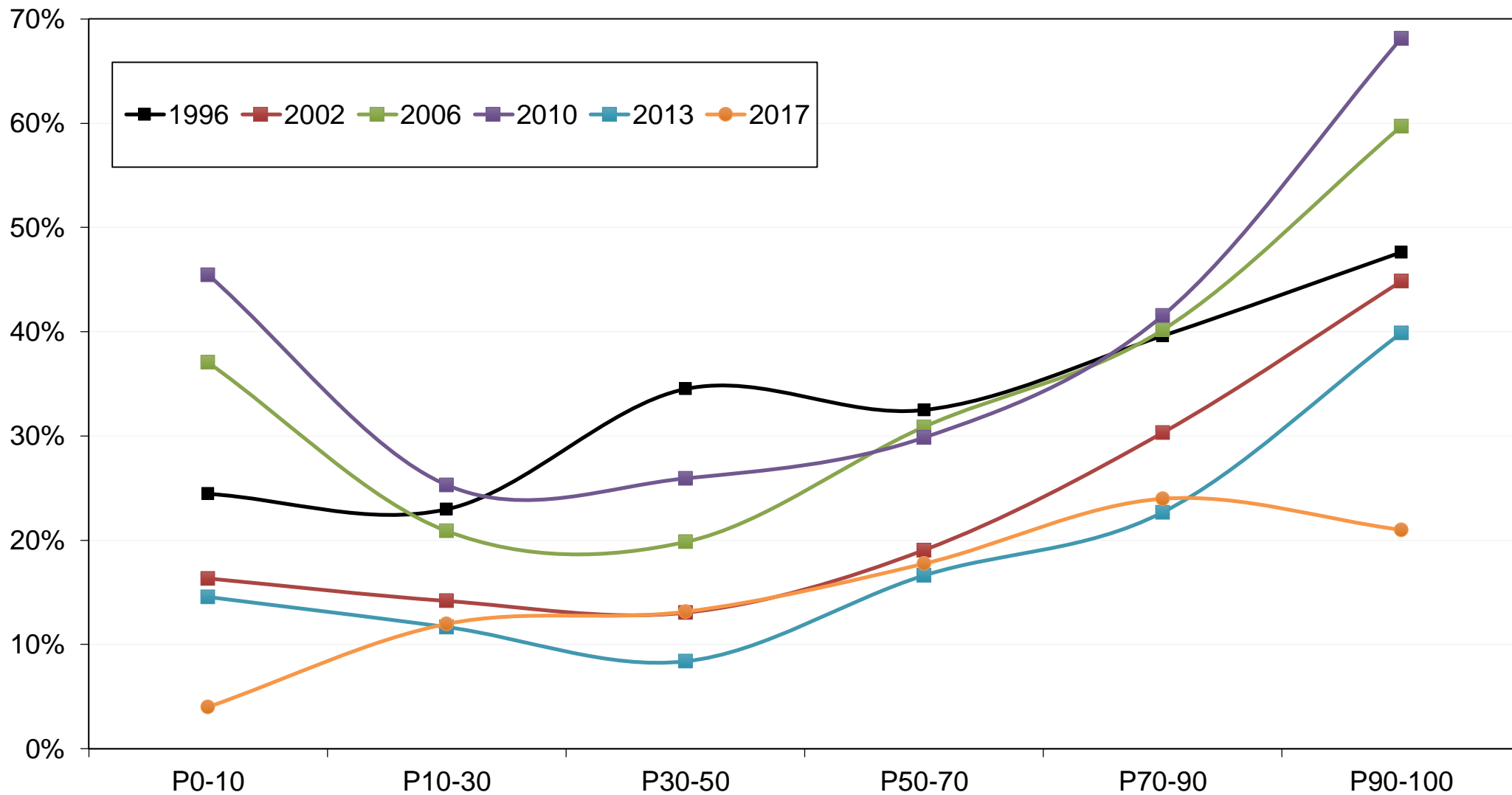
Source: authors' computations using Hungarian post-election surveys for 1998 and 2002, ESS for all other years.
 Note: Votes for the Left in 1998 and 2002 comprise votes for MSZP, SZDSZ and MPP, in 2010 they comprise votes for MSZP, SZDSZ, LMP, MSZDP and MPP, and in 2018 votes for MPP, LMP, DK, Együtt, Momentum and Párbeszéd.

Figure A3c - Left vote by income group in Poland



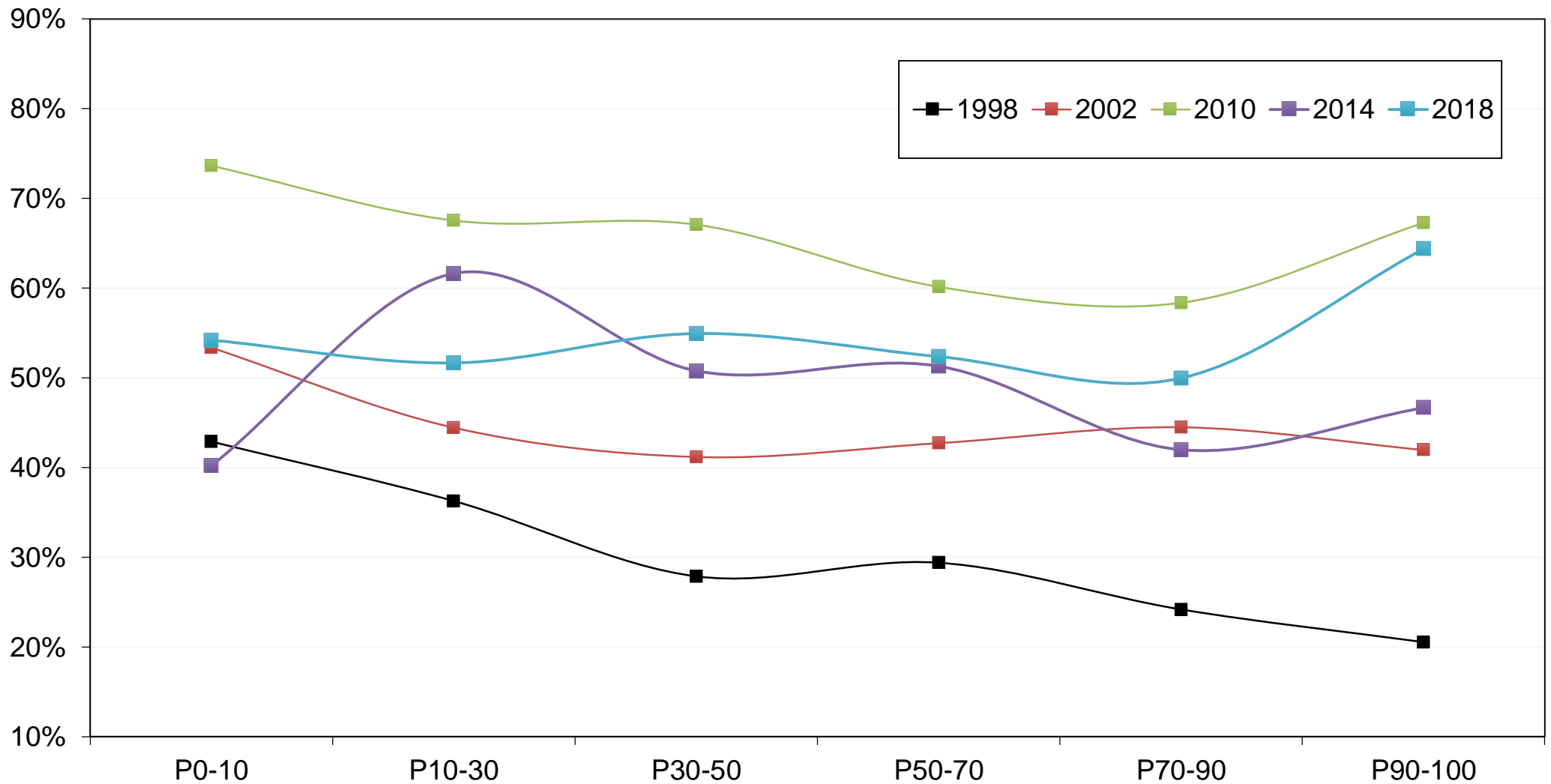
Source: authors' computations using CSES (2001, 2005 only) and ESS

Figure A4a - Vote for right-wing parties by income group in the Czech Republic



Source: authors' computations using Czech post-election surveys.

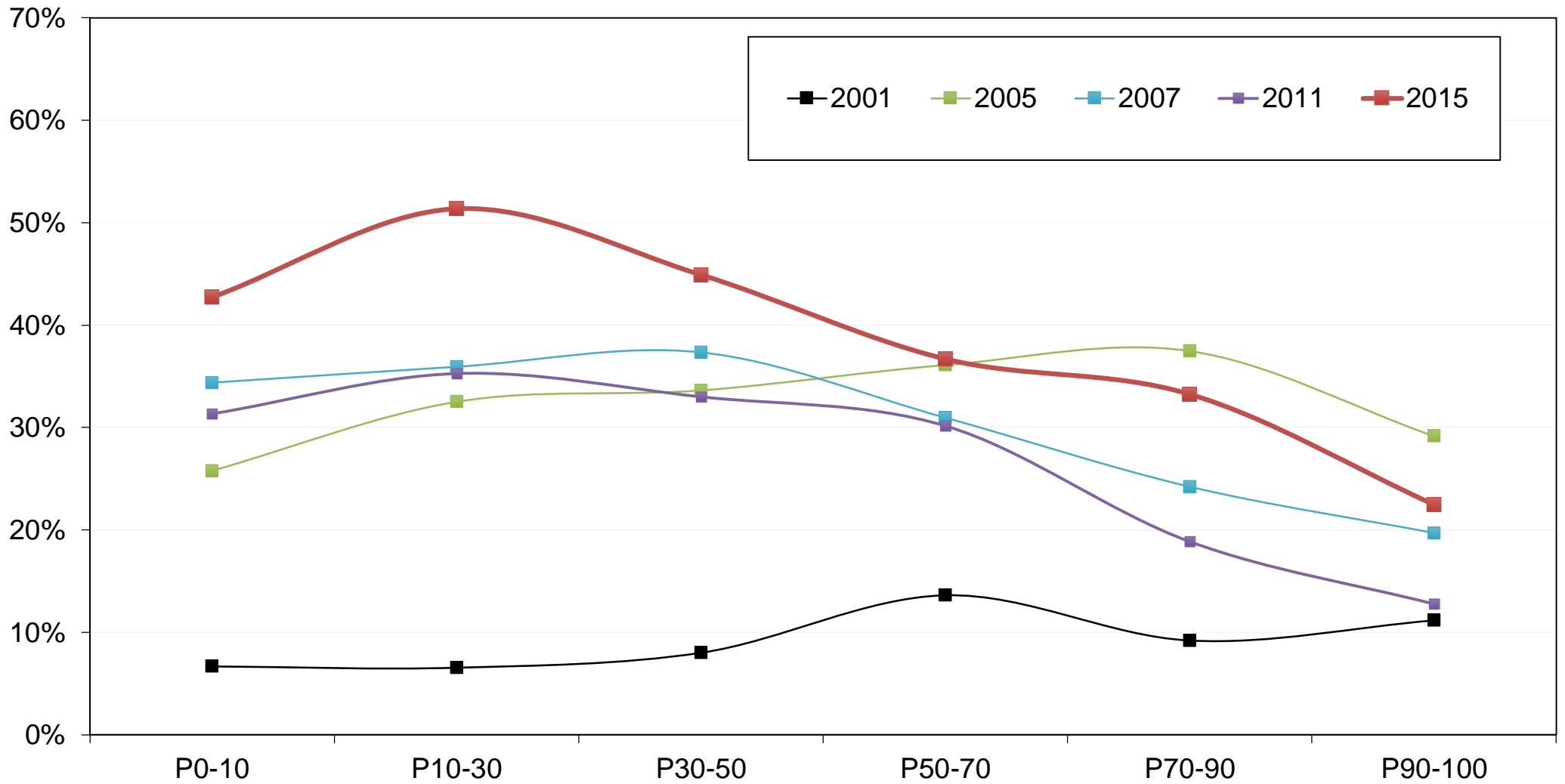
Figure A4b - Vote for Fidesz by income group in Hungary



Source: authors' computations using Hungarian post-election surveys for 1998 and 2002, ESS for all other years.

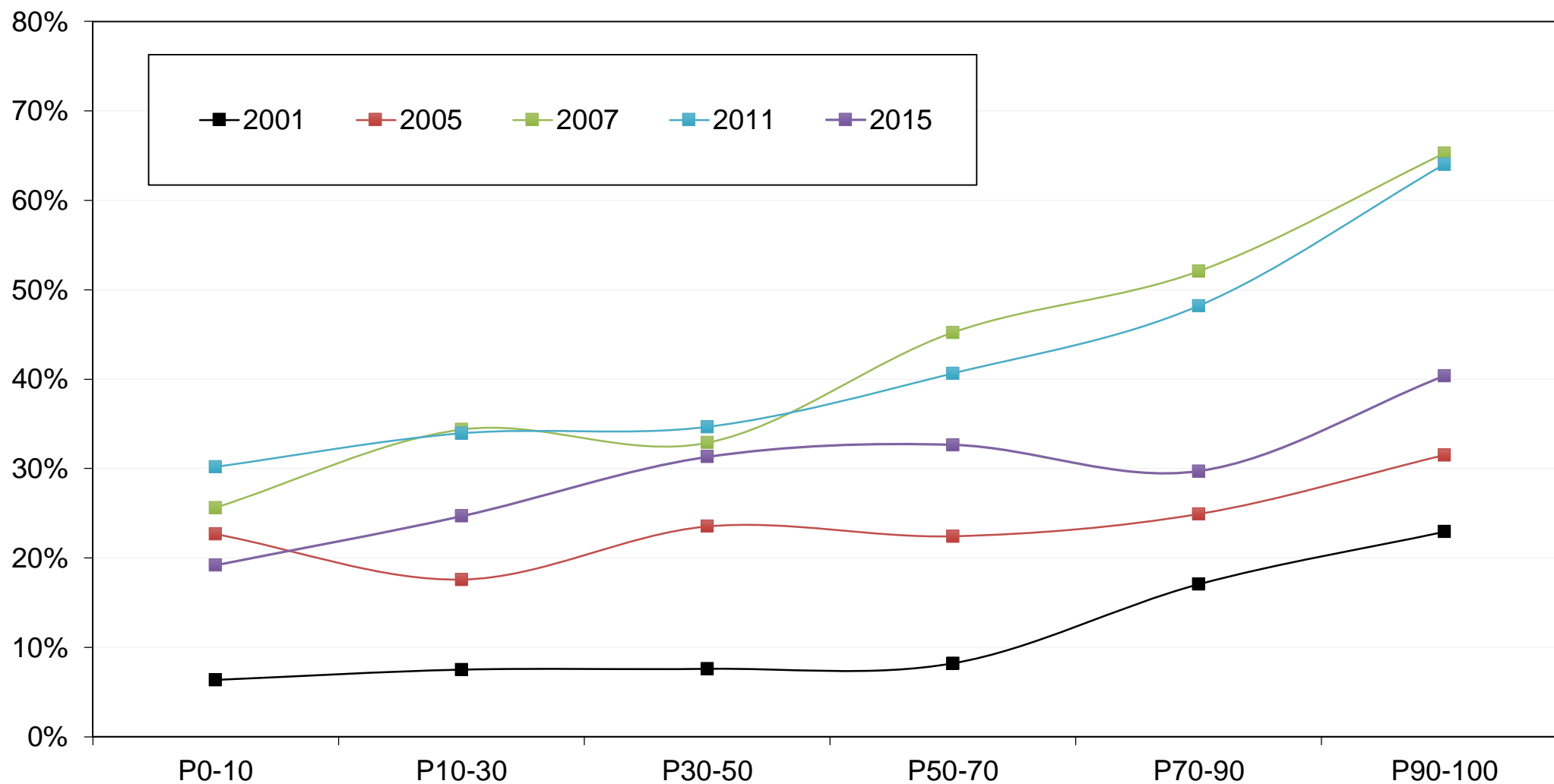
Note: Votes in 2002 are for Fidesz and MDF.

Figure A4c - Vote for Law and Justice by income group in Poland



Source: authors' computations using CSES (2001, 2005 only) and ESS

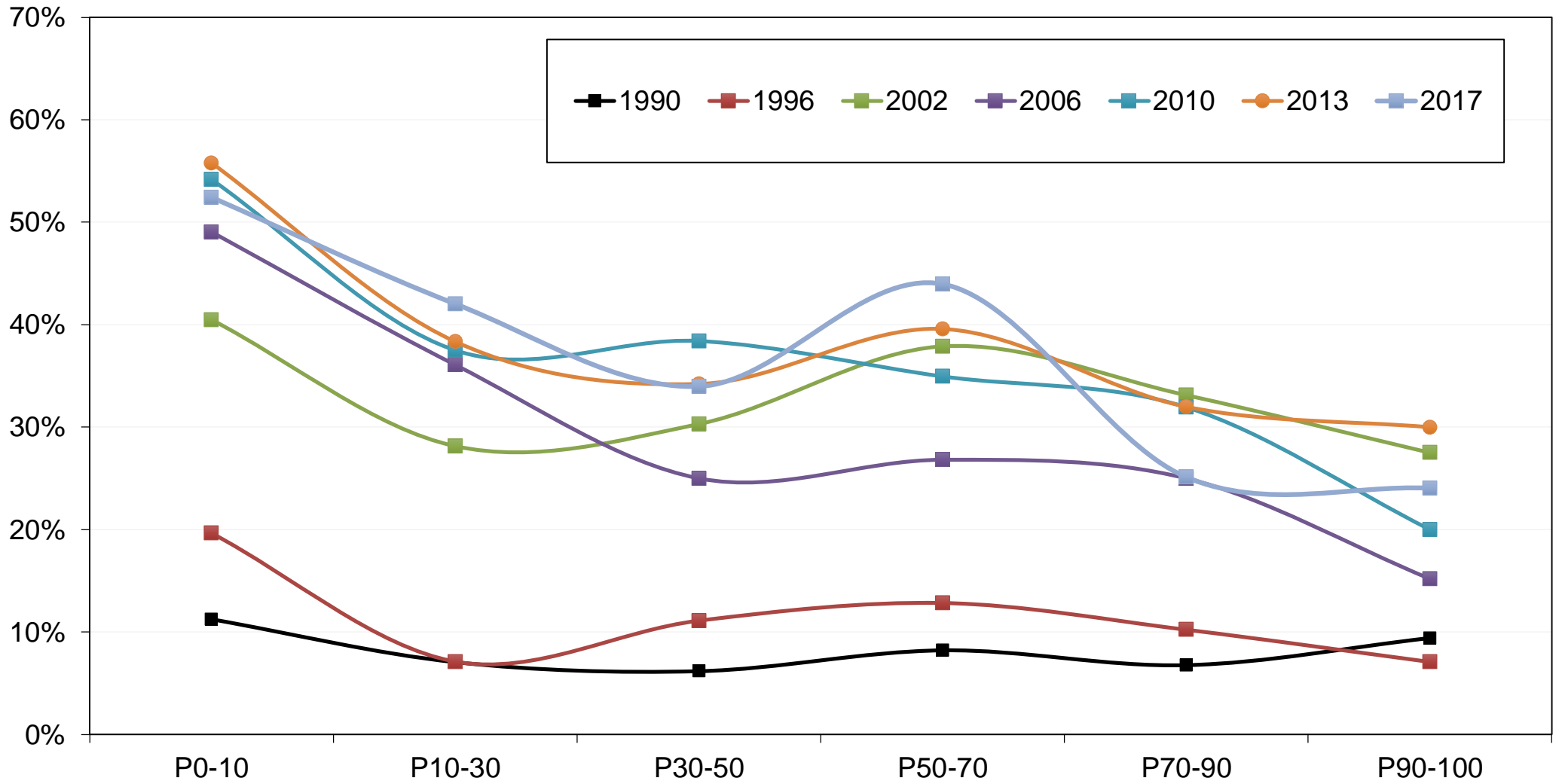
Figure A4d - Vote for Civic Platform by income group in Poland



Source: authors' computations using CSES (2001, 2005 only) and ESS

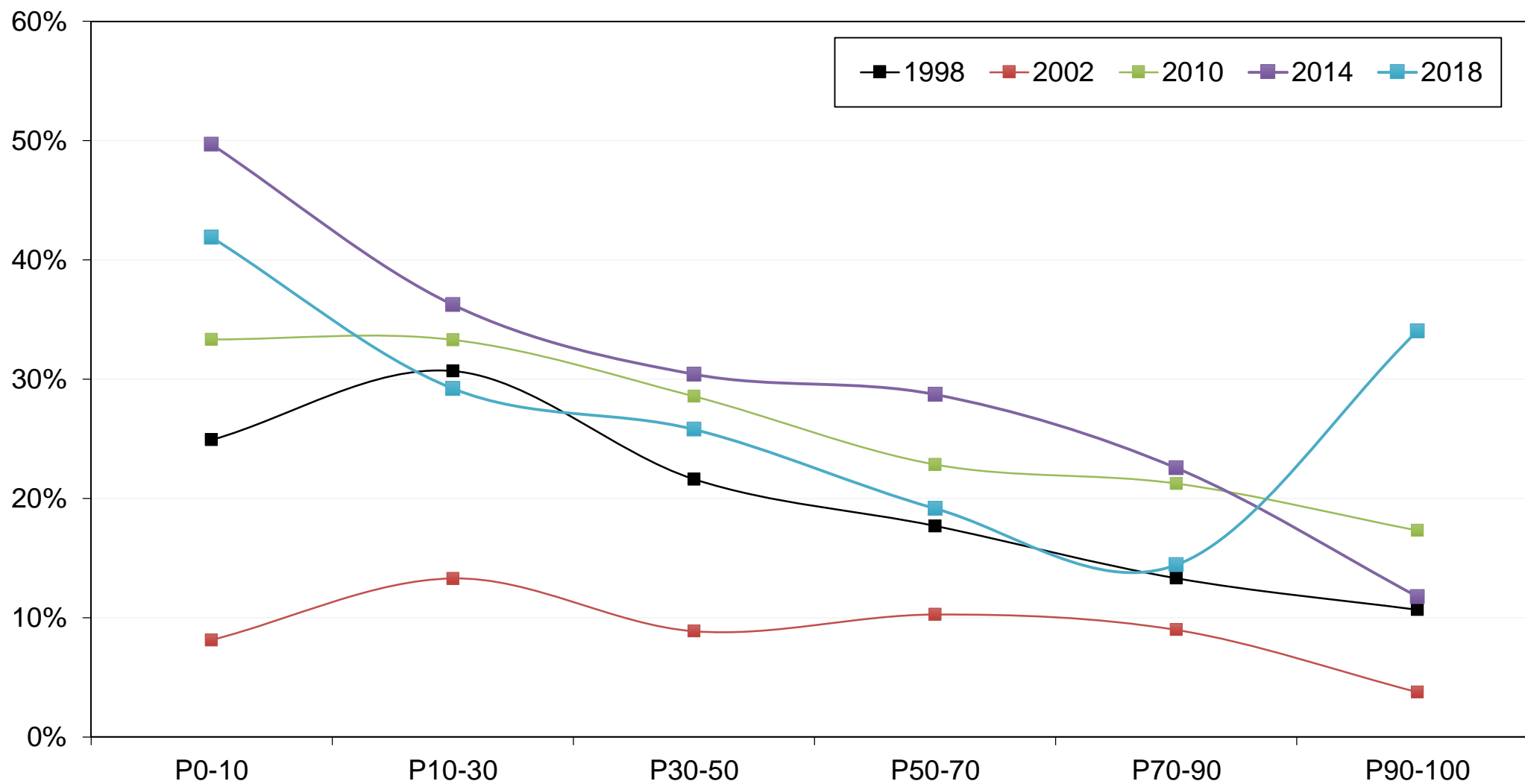
Note: In 2015, the vote for the party .N is included in the Civic Platform share.

Figure A5a - Abstention by income group in the Czech Republic



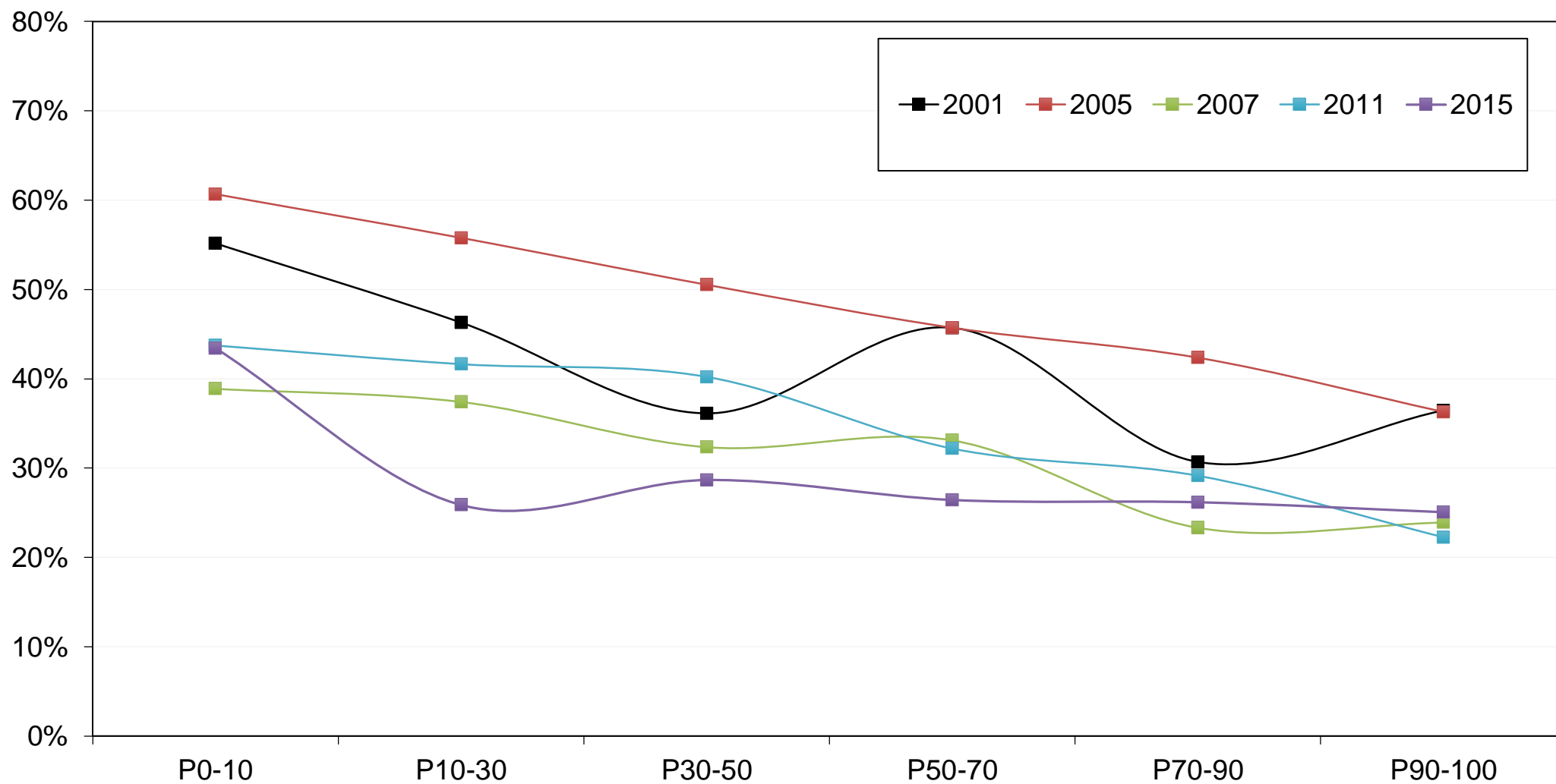
Source: authors' computations using Czech post-election surveys

Figure A5b - Abstention by income group in Hungary



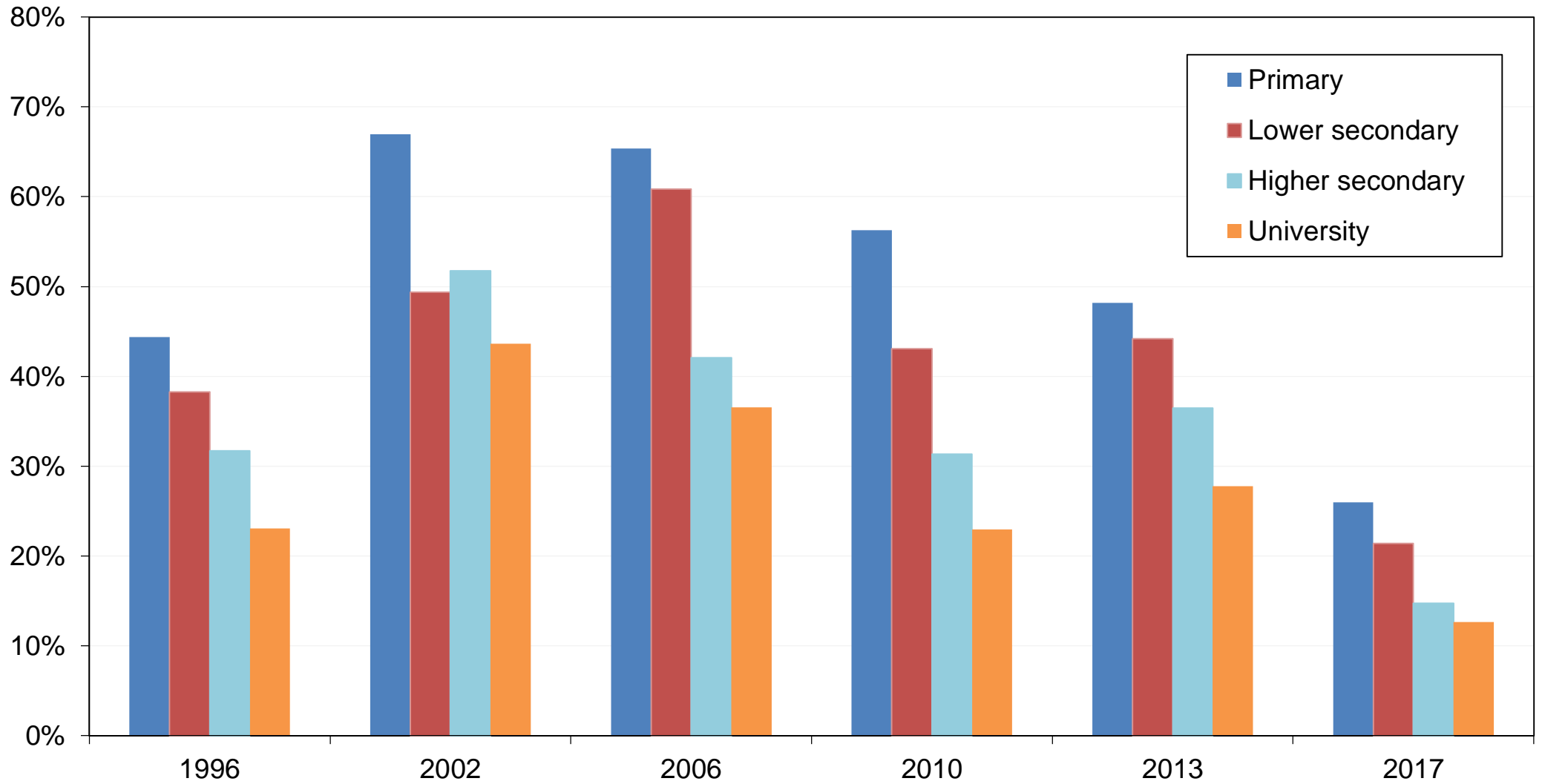
Source: authors' computations using Hungarian post-election surveys for 1998 and 2002, ESS for all other years.

Figure A5c - Abstention by income group in Poland



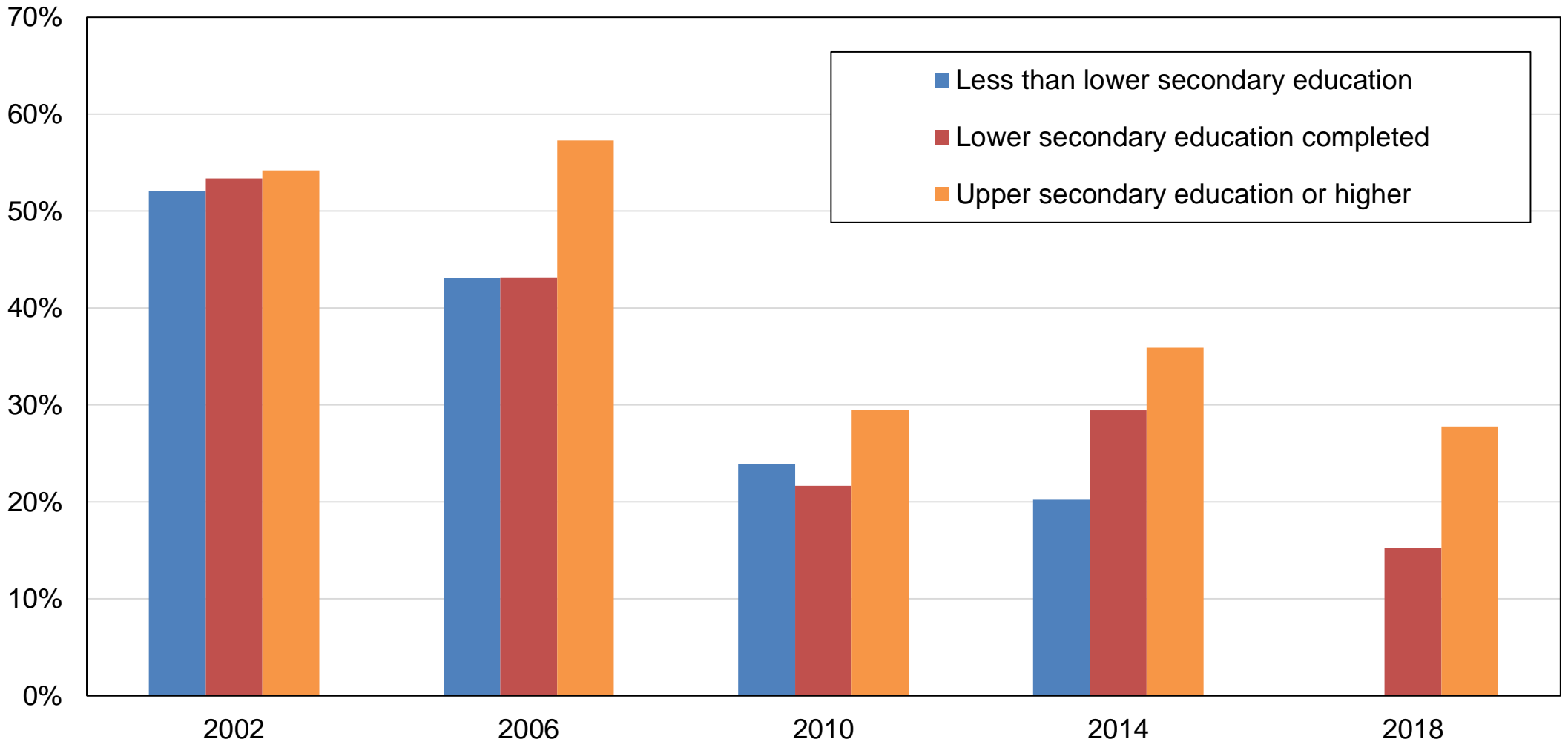
Source: authors' computations using CSES (2001, 2005 only) and ESS

Figure A6a - Left vote by education level in the Czech Republic



Source: authors' computations using Czech post-election surveys.

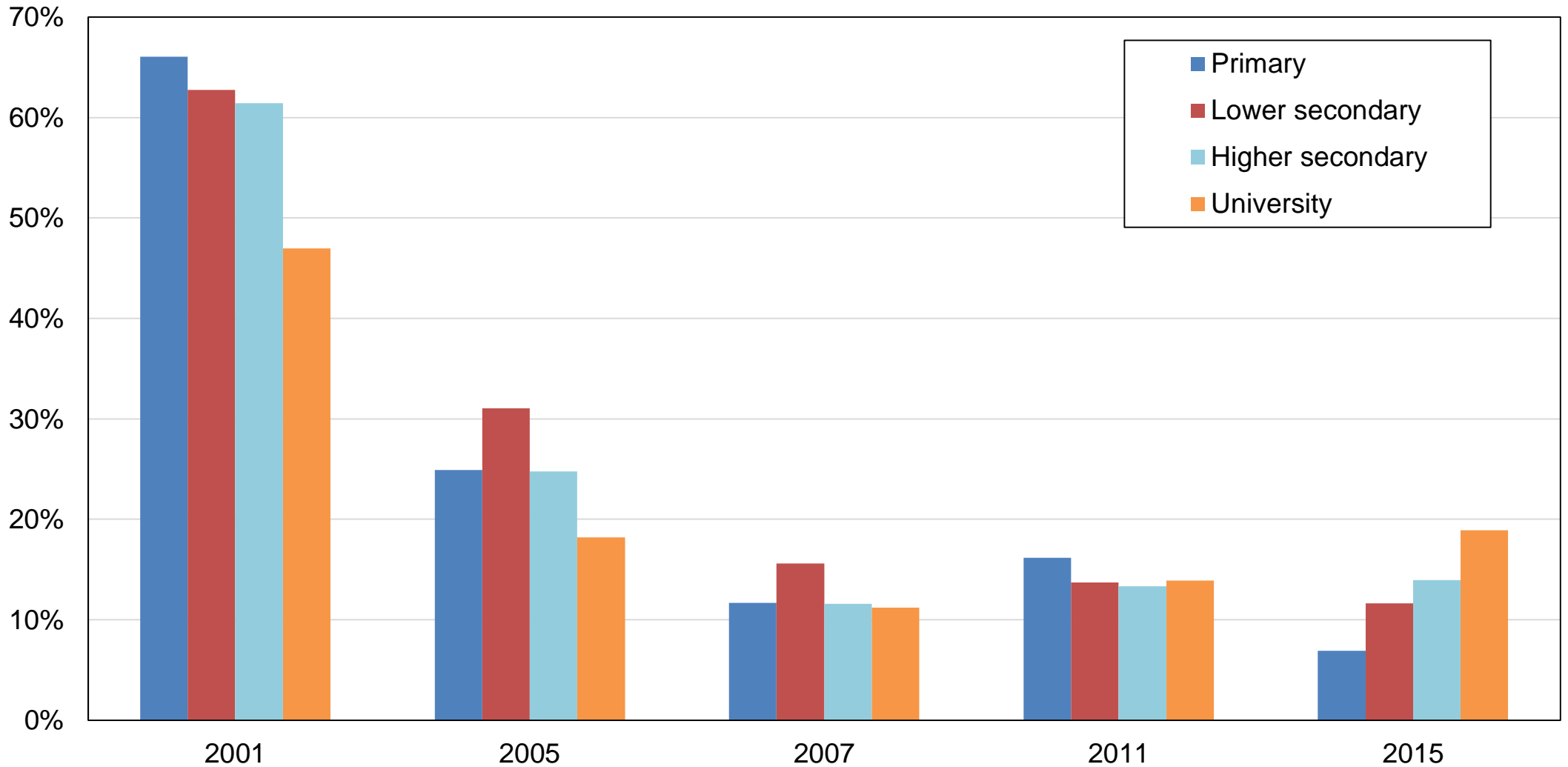
Figure A6b - Left vote by education level in Hungary



Source: authors' computations using CSES for 2002, ESS for all other years.

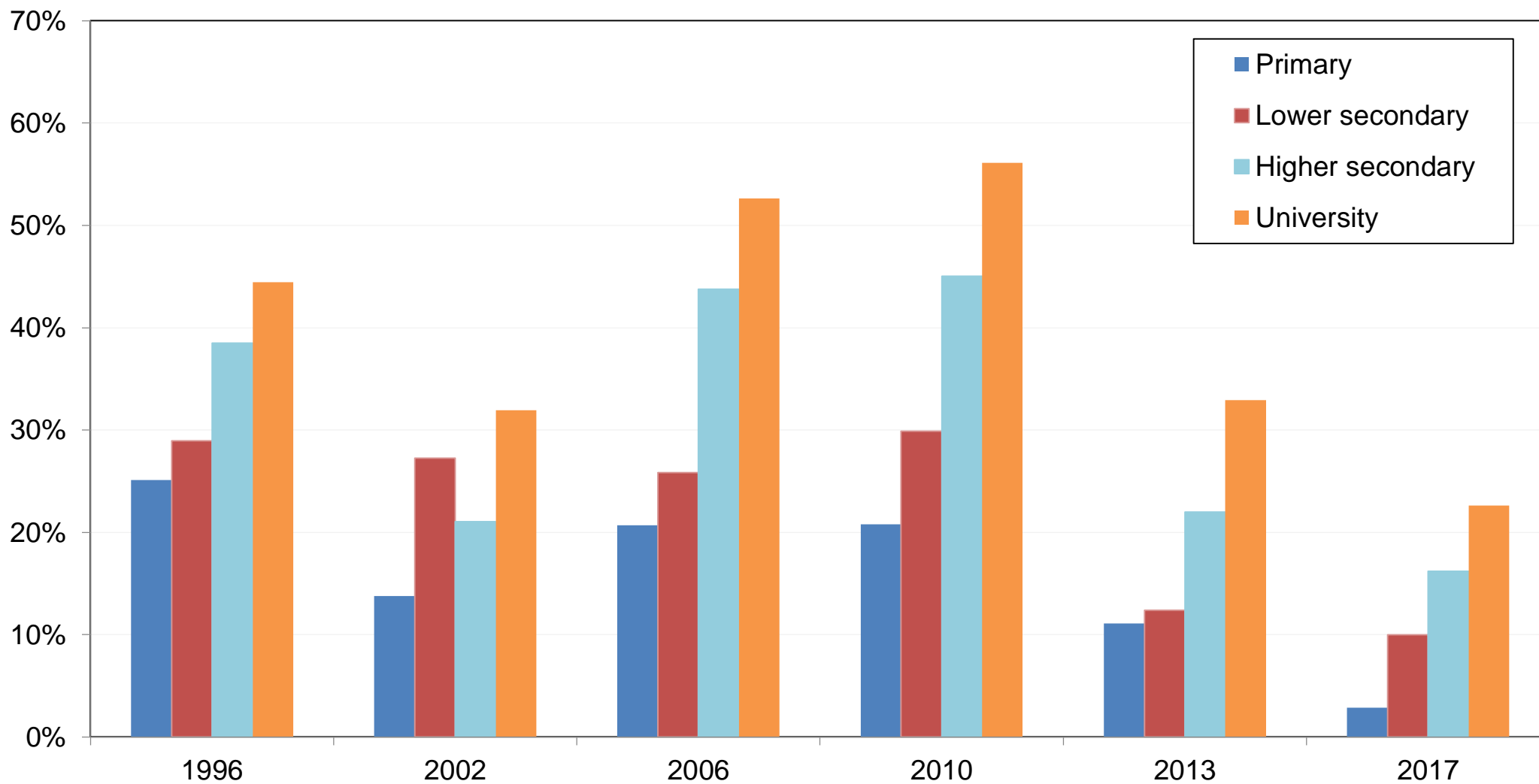
Note: Votes for the Left in 1998 and 2002 comprise votes for MSZP, SZDSZ and MPP, in 2010 they comprise votes for MSZP, SZDSZ, LMP, MSZDP and MPP, and in 2018 votes for MPP, LMP, DK, Együtt, Momentum and Párbeszéd.

Figure A6c - Left vote by education level in Poland



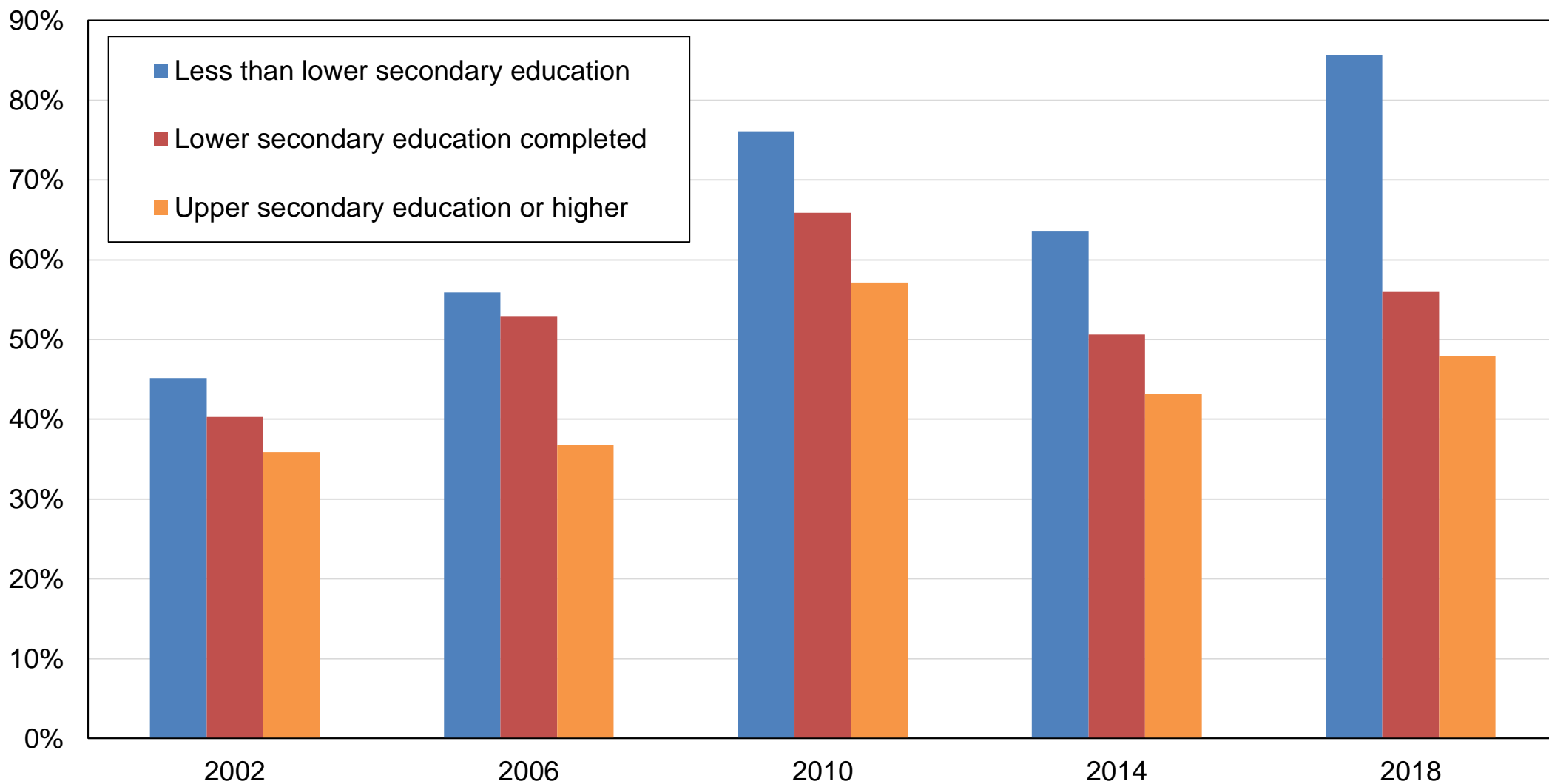
Source: authors' computations using CSES for 2001 and 2005, ESS for all other years.

Figure 7a - Vote for right-wing parties by education level in the Czech Republic



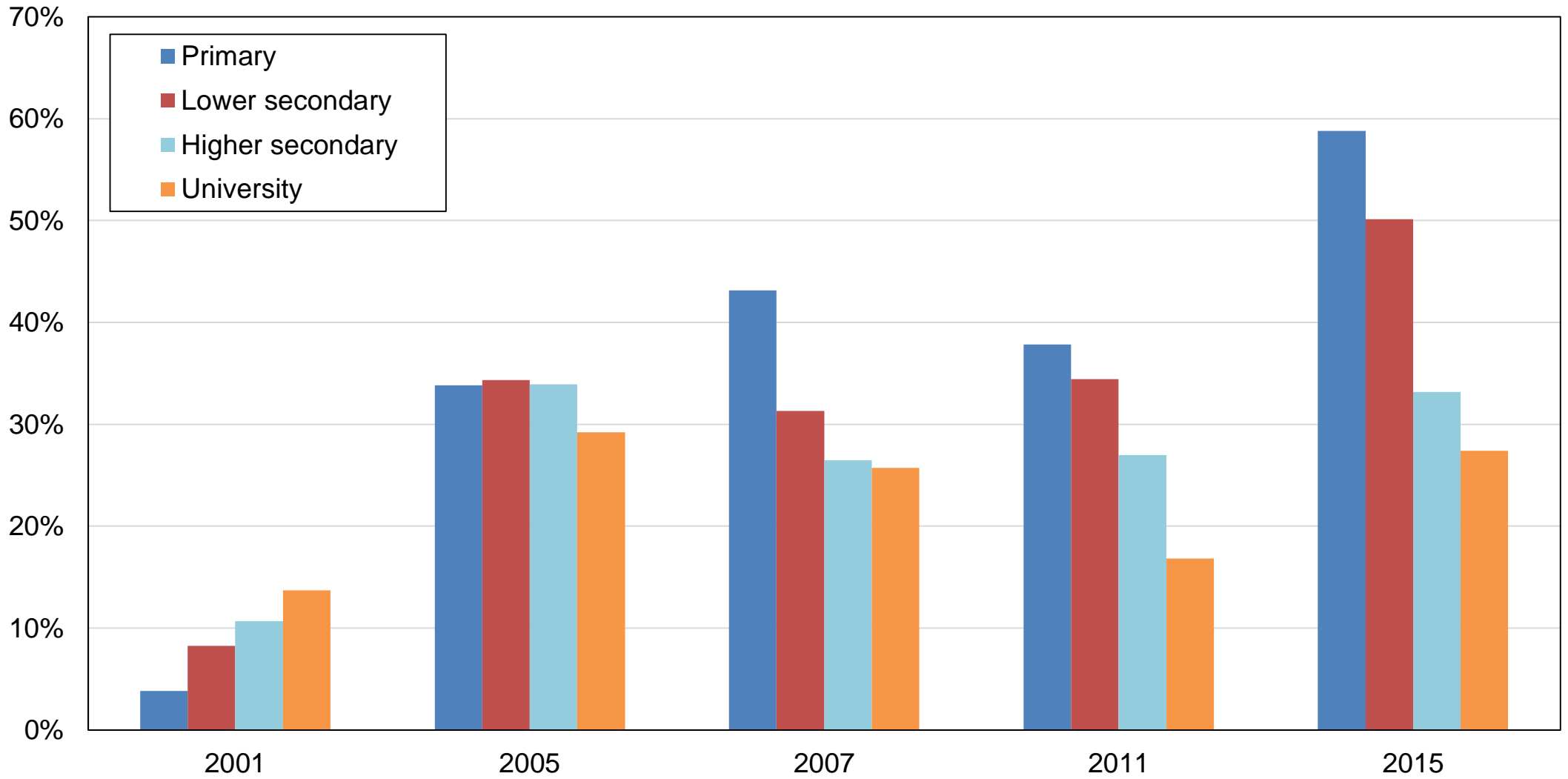
Source: authors' computations using Czech post-election surveys.

Figure A7b - Vote for Fidesz by education level in Hungary



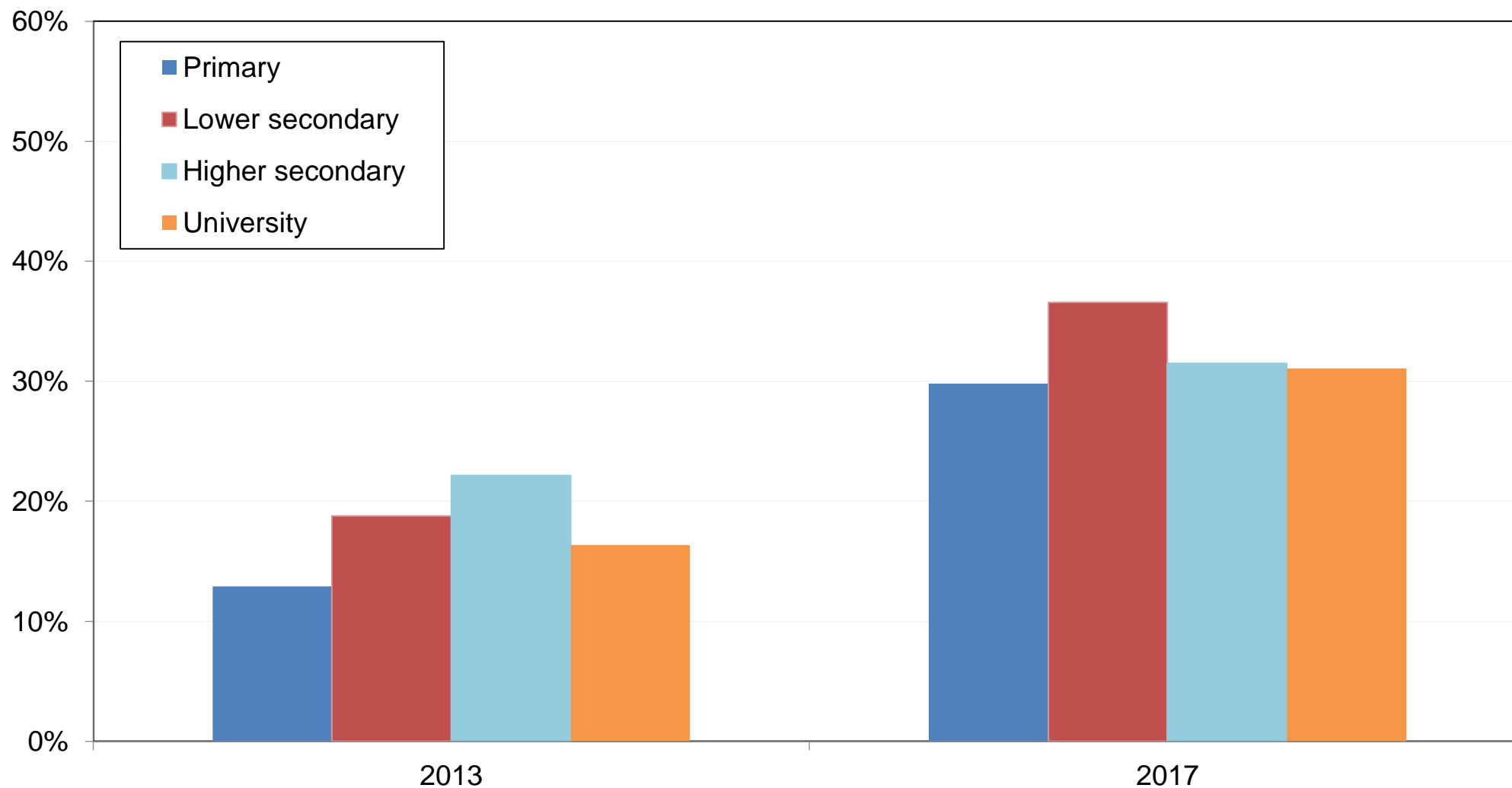
Source: authors' computations using CSES for 2002, ESS for all other years.

Figure A7c - Vote for Law and Justice by education level in Poland



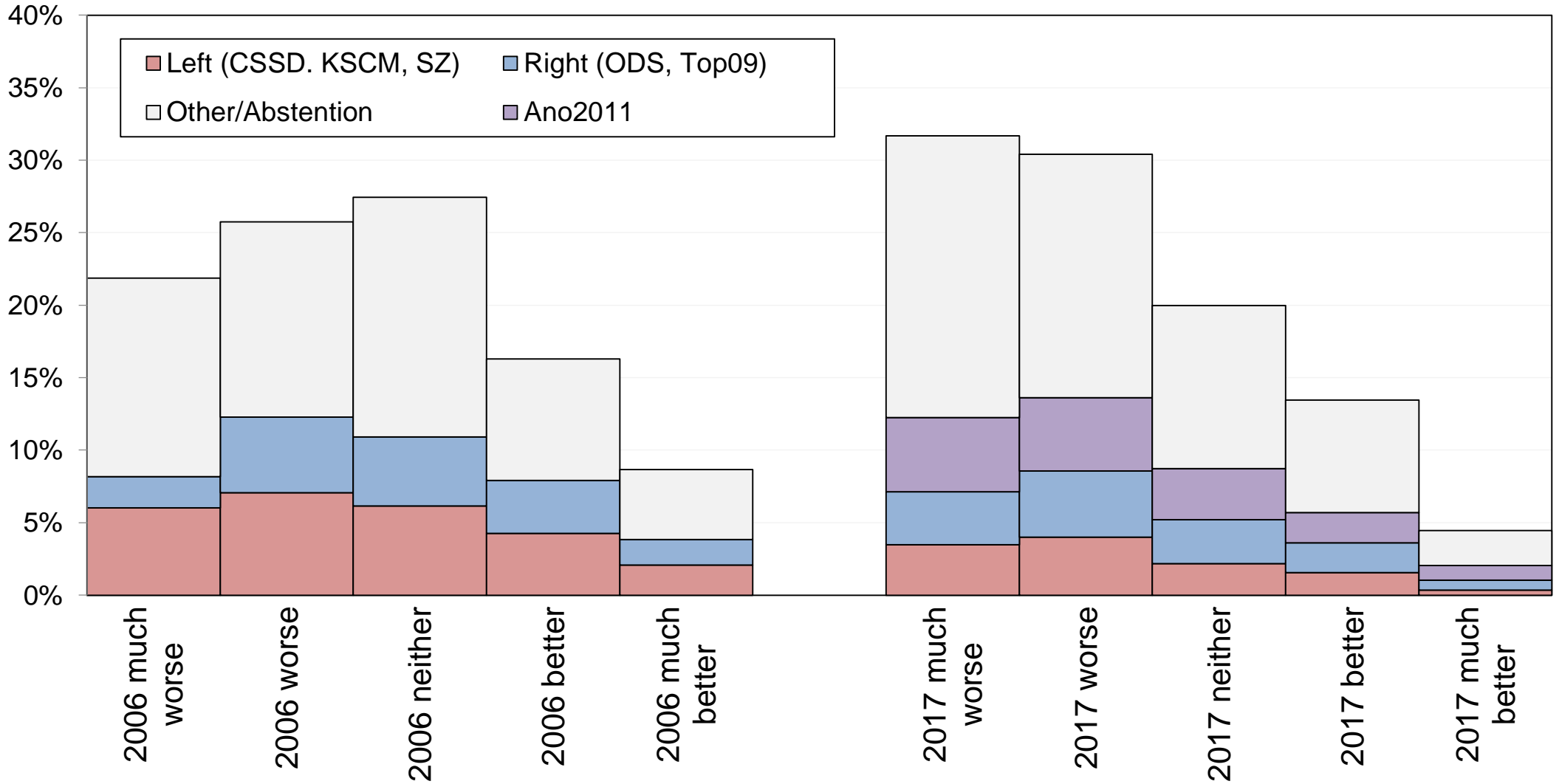
Source: authors' computations using CSES for 2001 and 2005, ESS for all other years.

Figure A7d - Vote for ANO2011 by education level in the Czech Republic



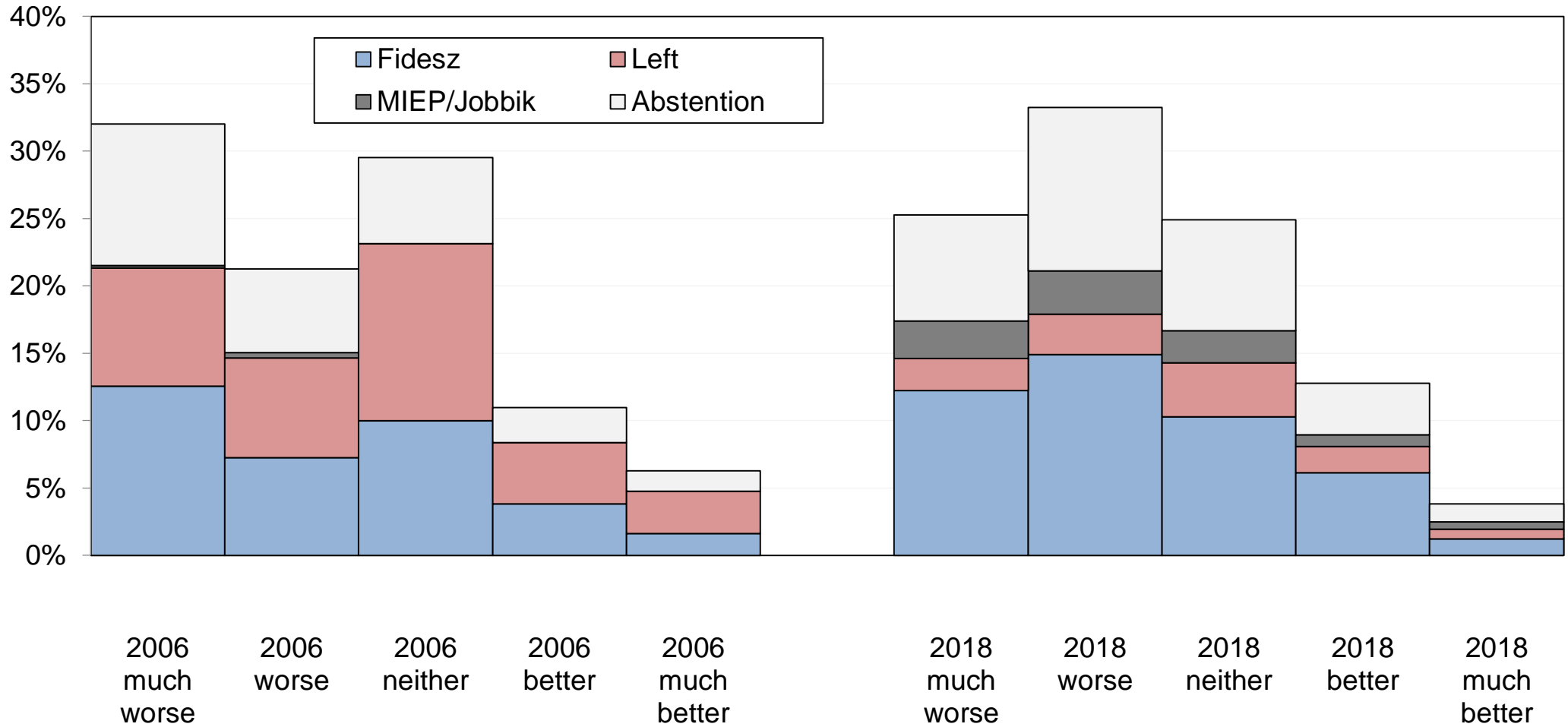
Source: authors' computations using Czech post-election surveys.

Figure 8a - Czech Republic
Immigrants make country worse or better place to live?



Source: authors' computations using ESS.

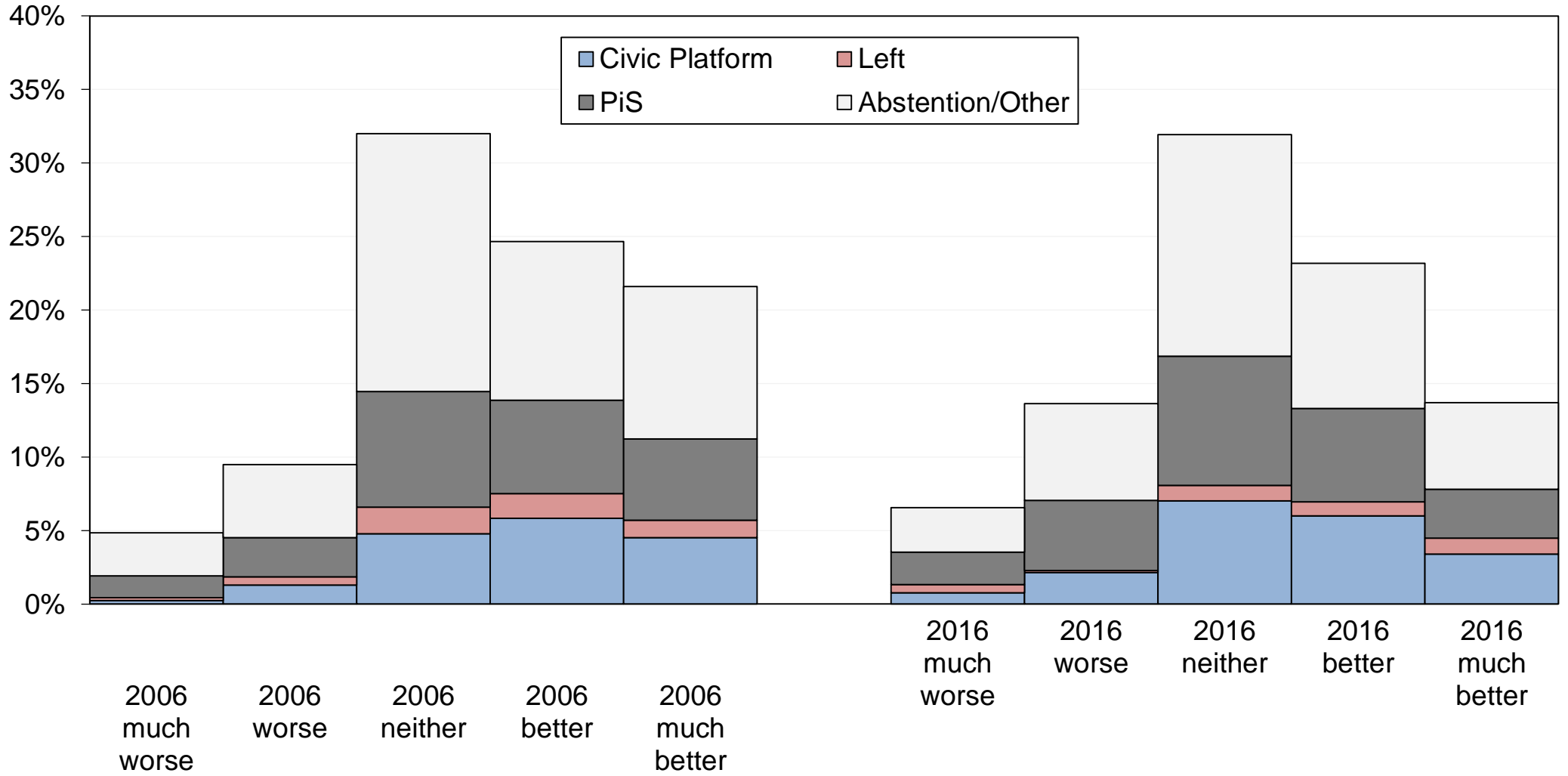
Figure 8b - Hungary
Immigrants make country worse or better place to live?



Source: authors' computations using ESS.

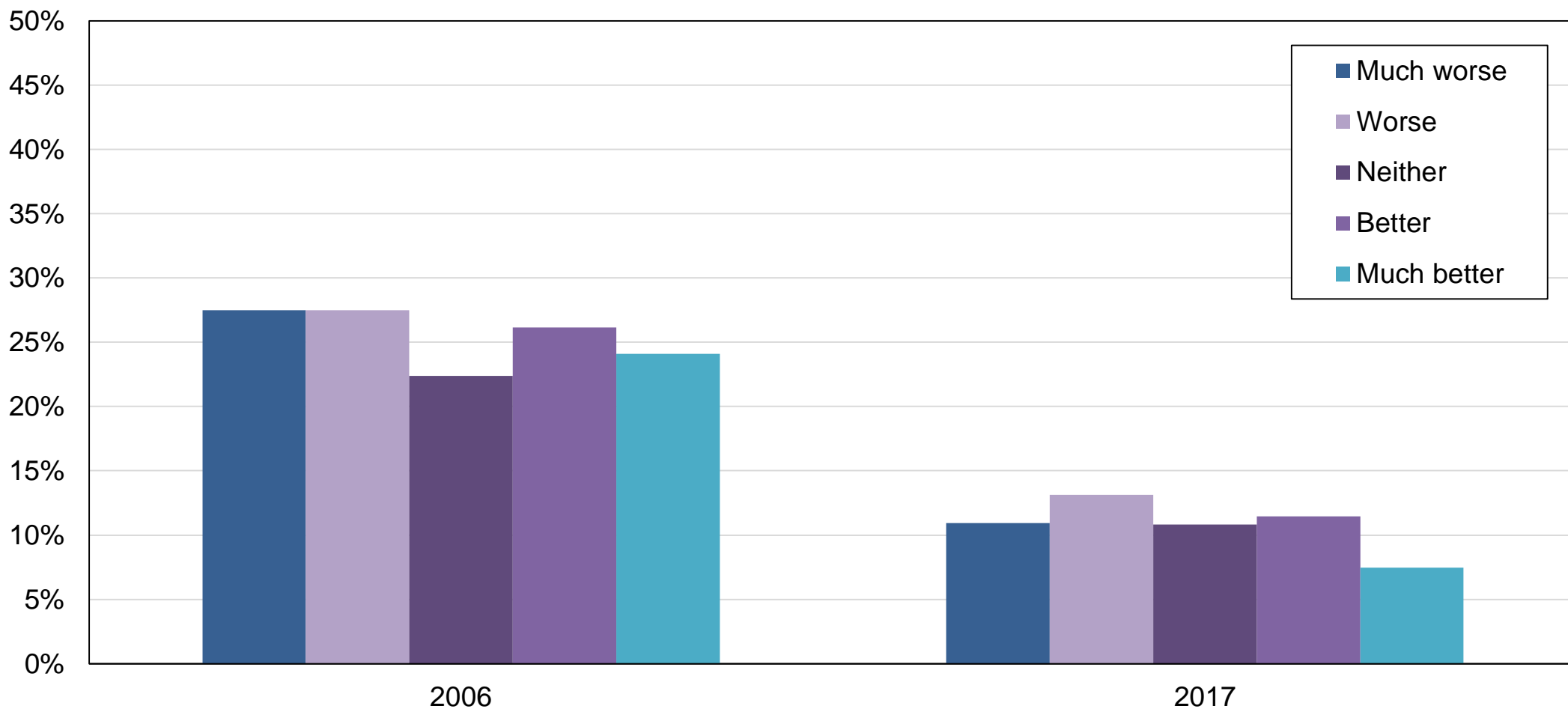
Note: Votes for Left in 2006 comprise votes for MSZP, SZDSZ and MPP, and in 2018 votes for MPP, LMP, DK, Együtt, Momentum and Párbeszéd.

Figure 8c - Poland
Immigrants make country worse or better place to live?



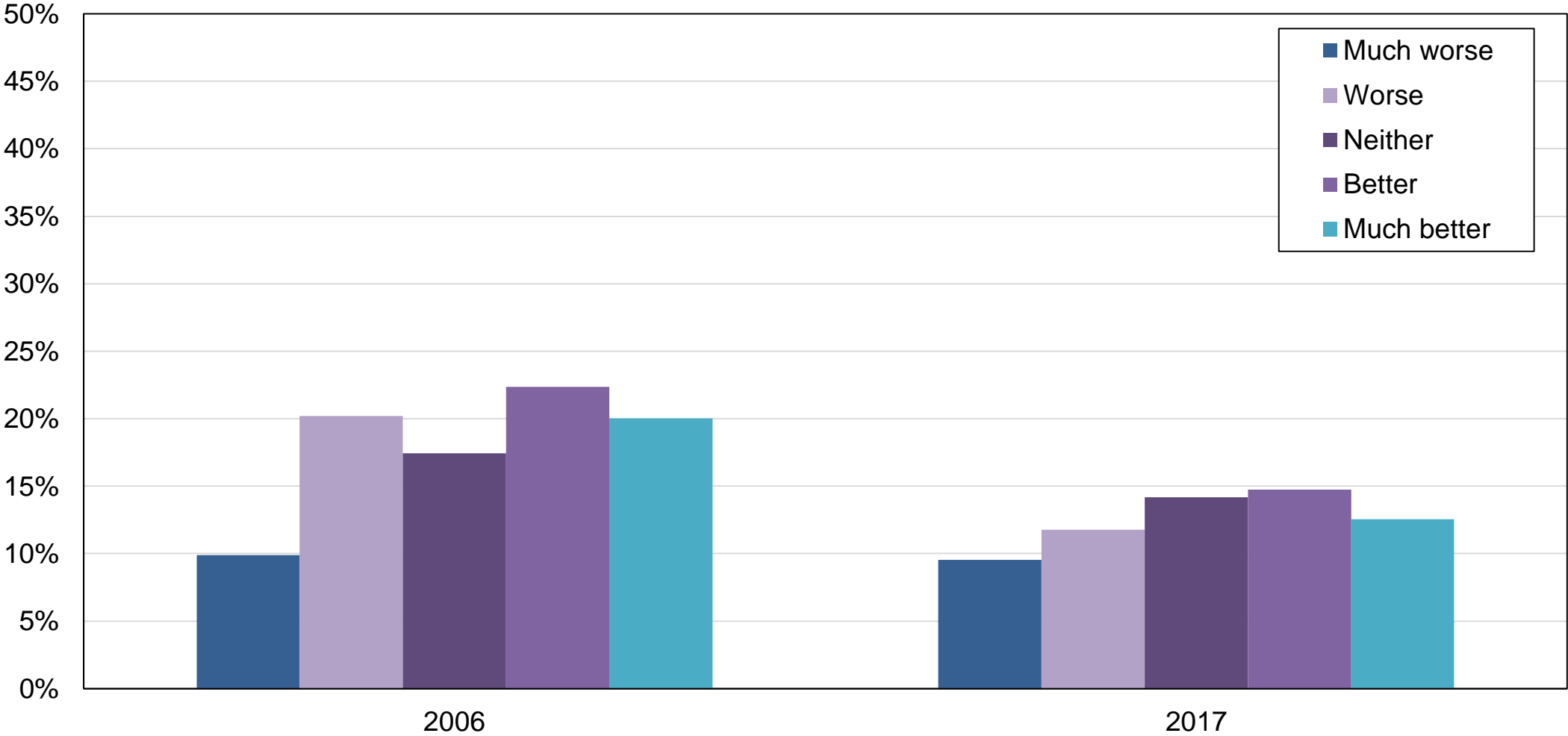
Source: authors' computations using ESS.

Figure A9a - CzechR - Left vote by attitudes towards immigration
Do immigrants make the country a worse or a better place to live?



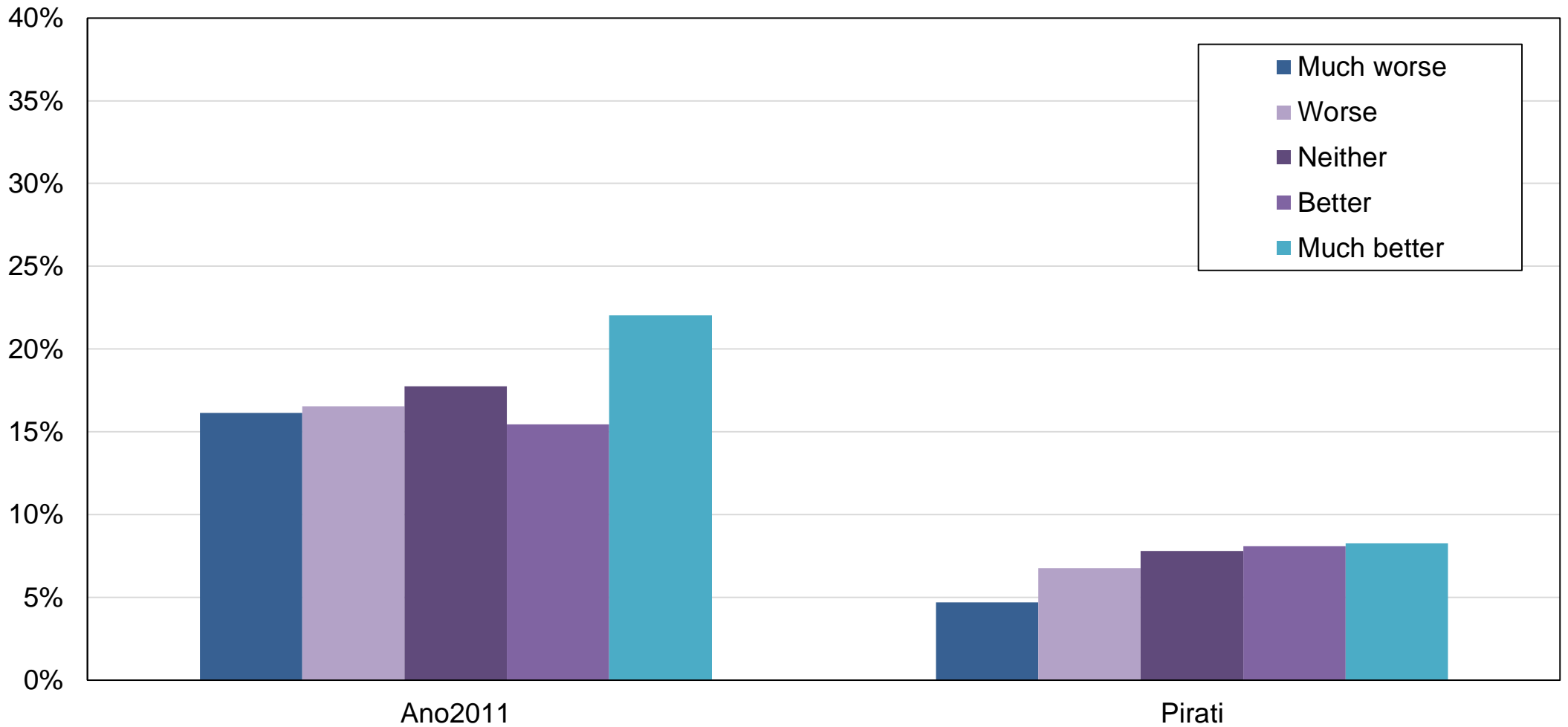
Source: authors' computations using ESS.
Note: Votes comprise CSSD, KSCM and SZ.

Figure A9b - CzechR - Right vote by attitudes towards immigration
Do immigrants make the country a worse or a better place to live?



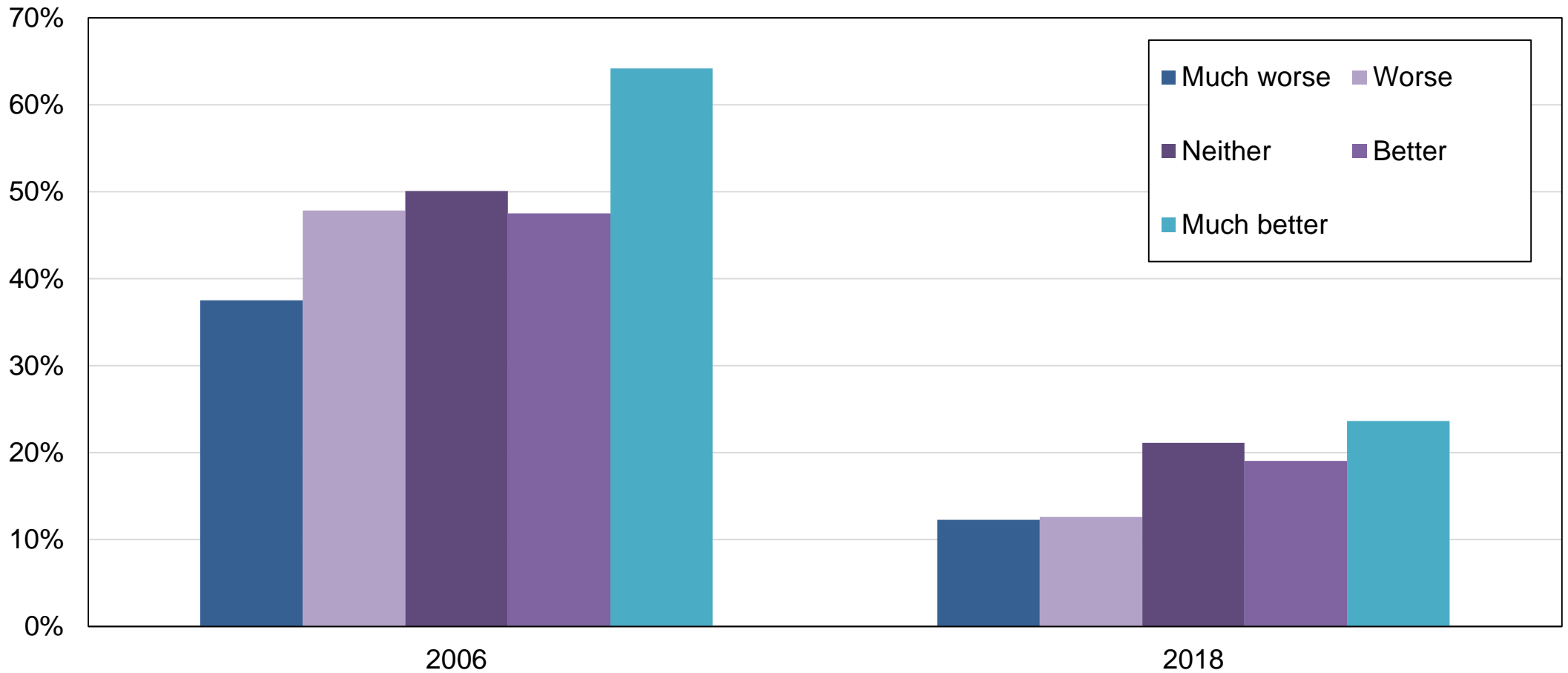
Source: authors' computations using ESS.
Note: Votes comprise ODS and Top09.

Figure A9c - CzechR - Vote for ANO / Pirati by attitudes towards immigration
Do immigrants make the country a worse or a better place to live?



Source: authors' computations using ESS. Figures refer to 2017.

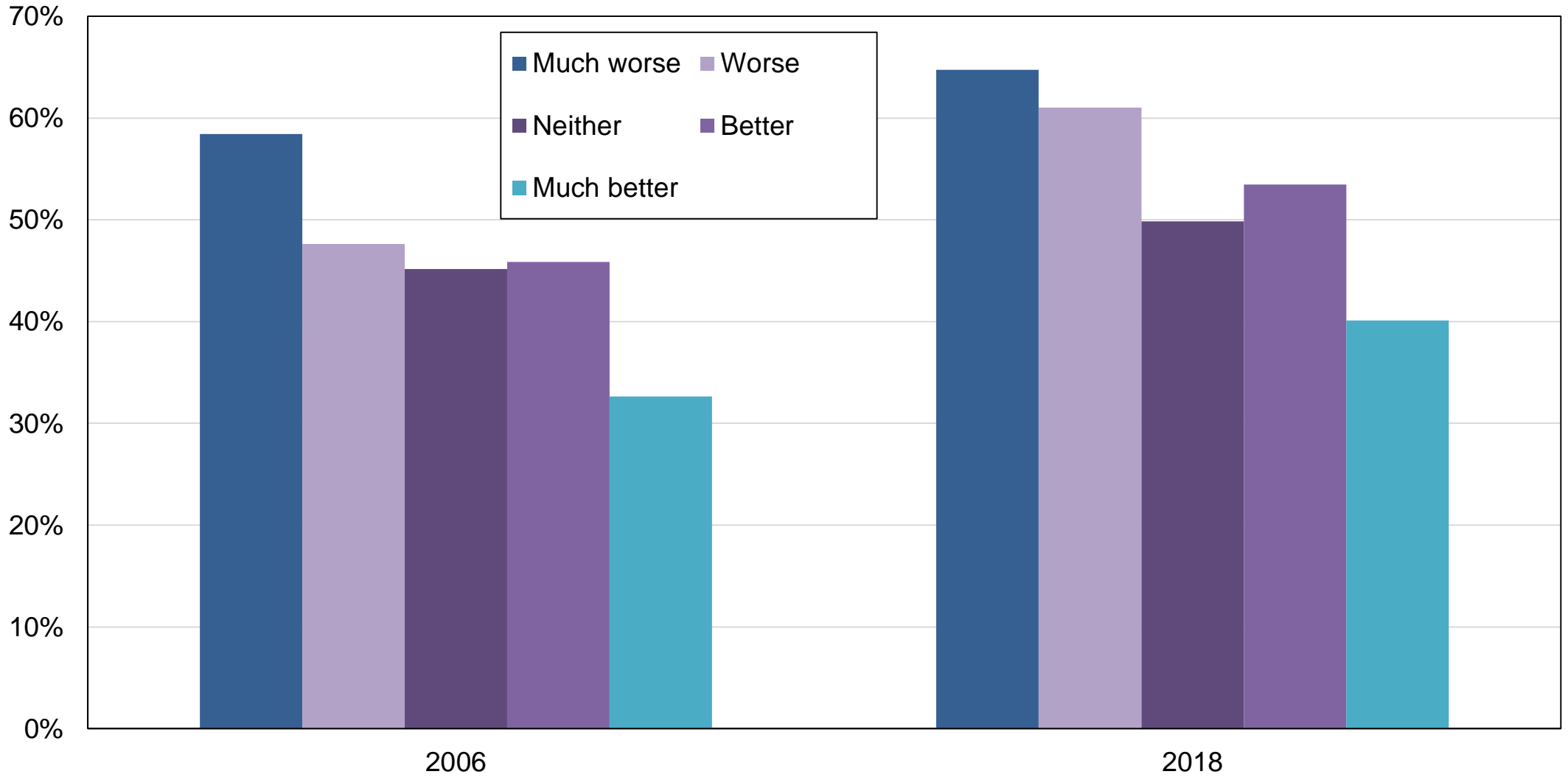
Figure A9d - Hungary - Left vote by attitudes towards immigration
Do immigrants make the country a worse or a better place to live?



Source: authors' computations using ESS.

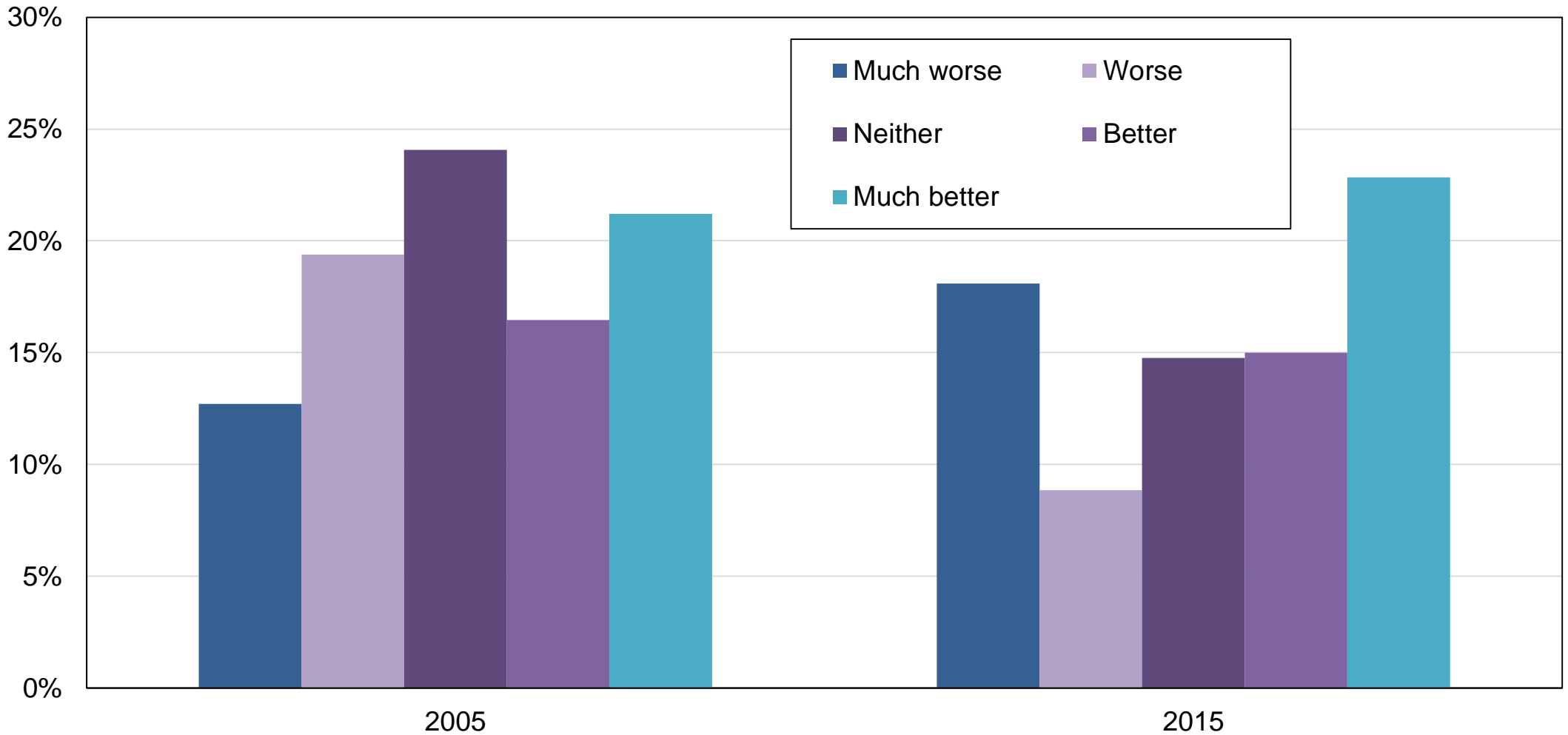
Note: Votes in 2006 comprise votes for MSZP, SZDSZ and MPP, and in 2018 votes for MPP, LMP, DK, Együtt, Momentum and Párbeszéd.

Figure A9e - Hungary - Vote for Fidesz by attitudes towards immigration
Do immigrants make the country a worse or a better place to live?



Source: authors' computations using ESS.

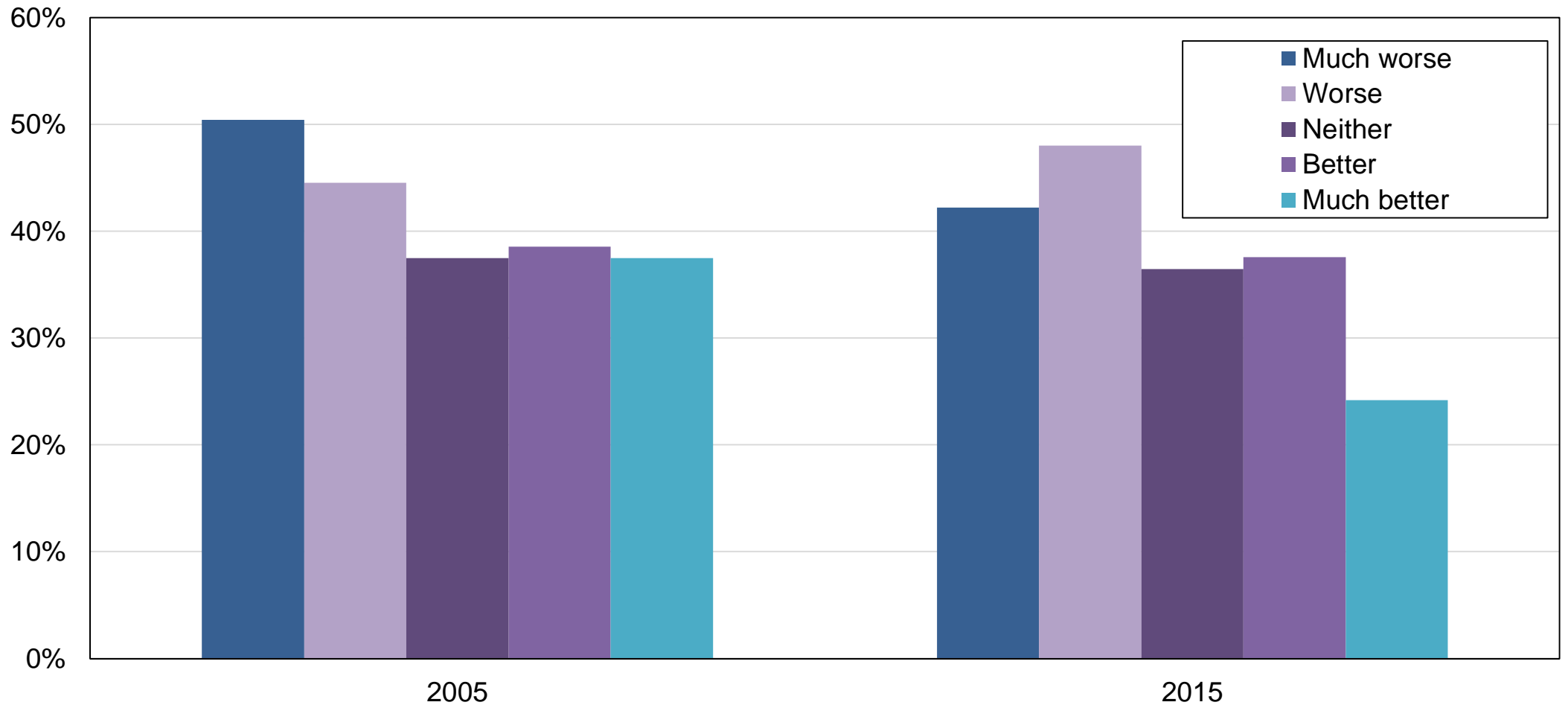
Figure A9f - Poland - Left vote by attitudes towards immigration
Do immigrants make the country a worse or a better place to live?



Source: authors' computations using ESS.

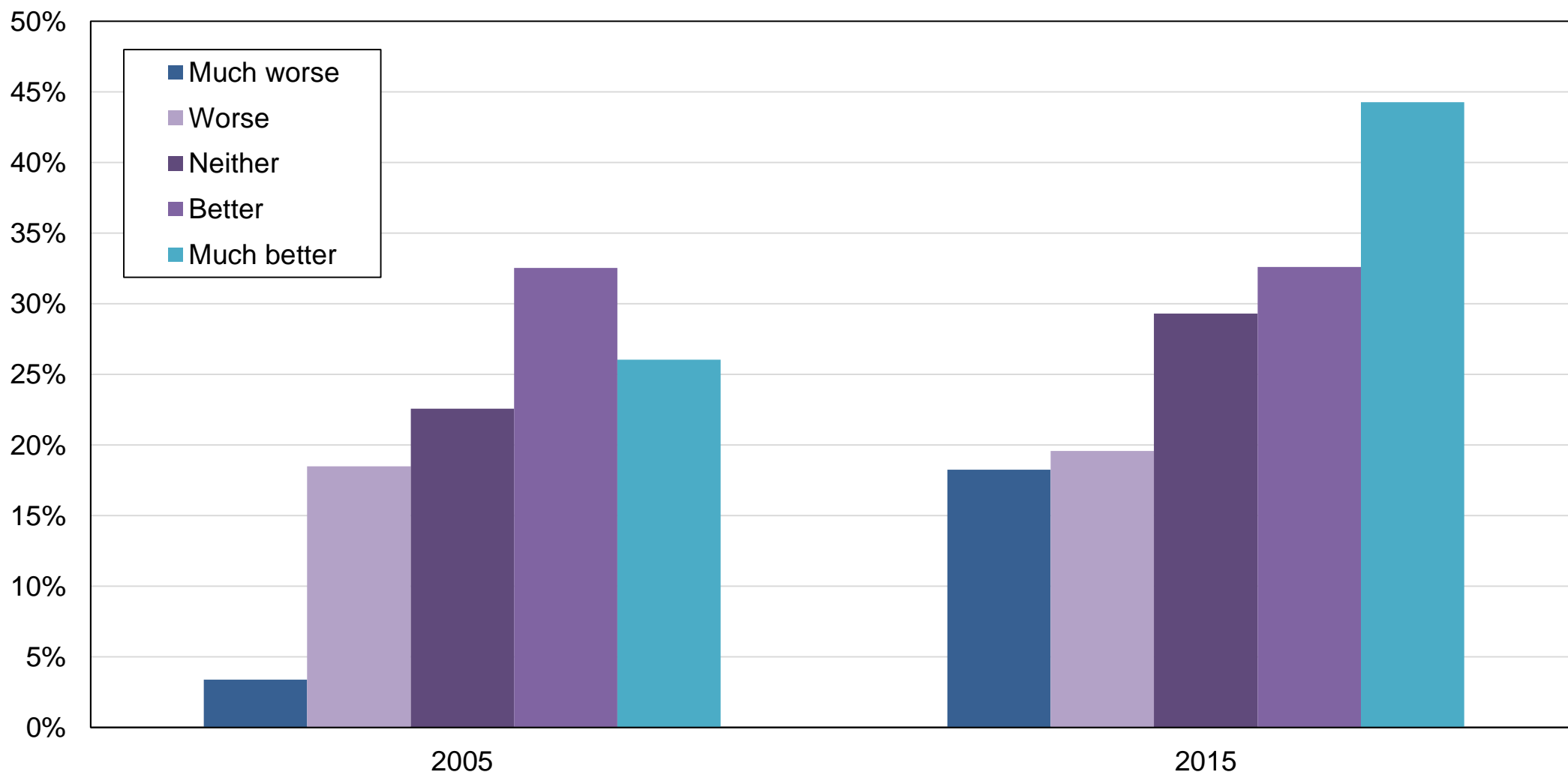
Figure A9g - Poland - Vote for Law and Justice by attitudes towards immigration

Do immigrants make the country a worse or a better place to live?



Source: authors' computations using ESS.

Figure A9h - Poland - Vote for Civic Platform by attitudes towards immigration
Do immigrants make the country a worse or a better place to live?



Source: authors' computations using ESS.

Figure A10a - Attitudes towards redistribution and the EU in the Czech Republic

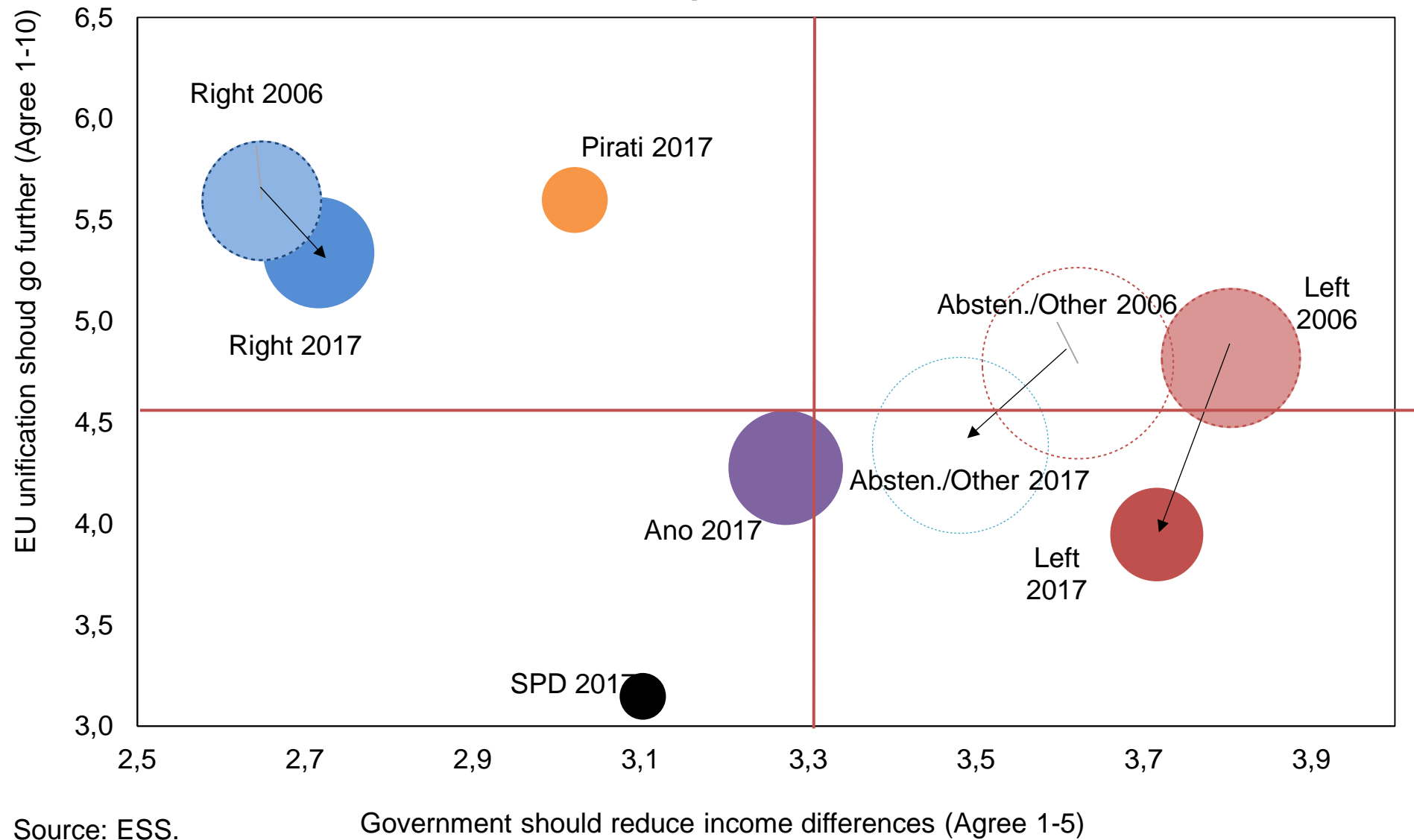
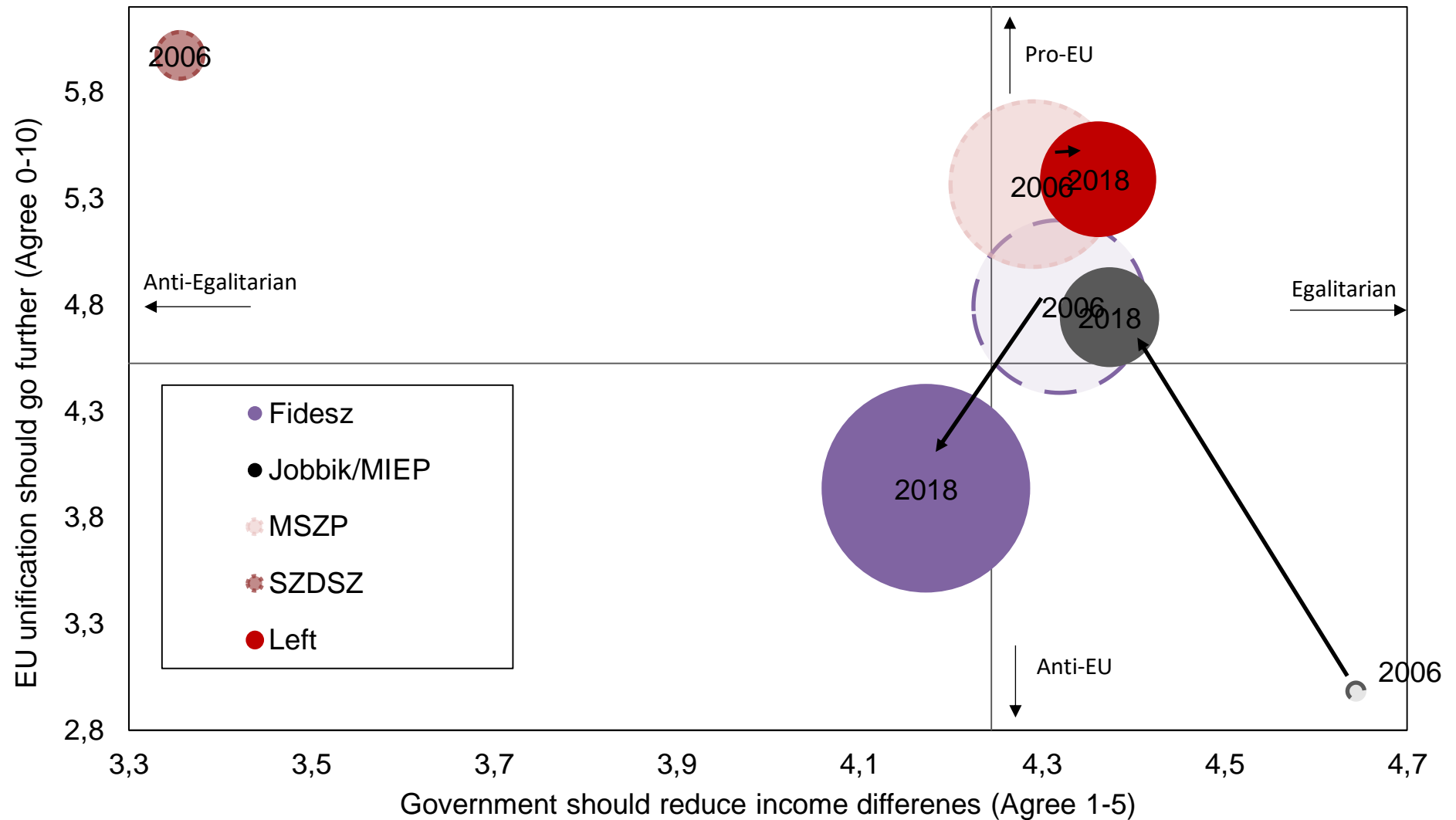
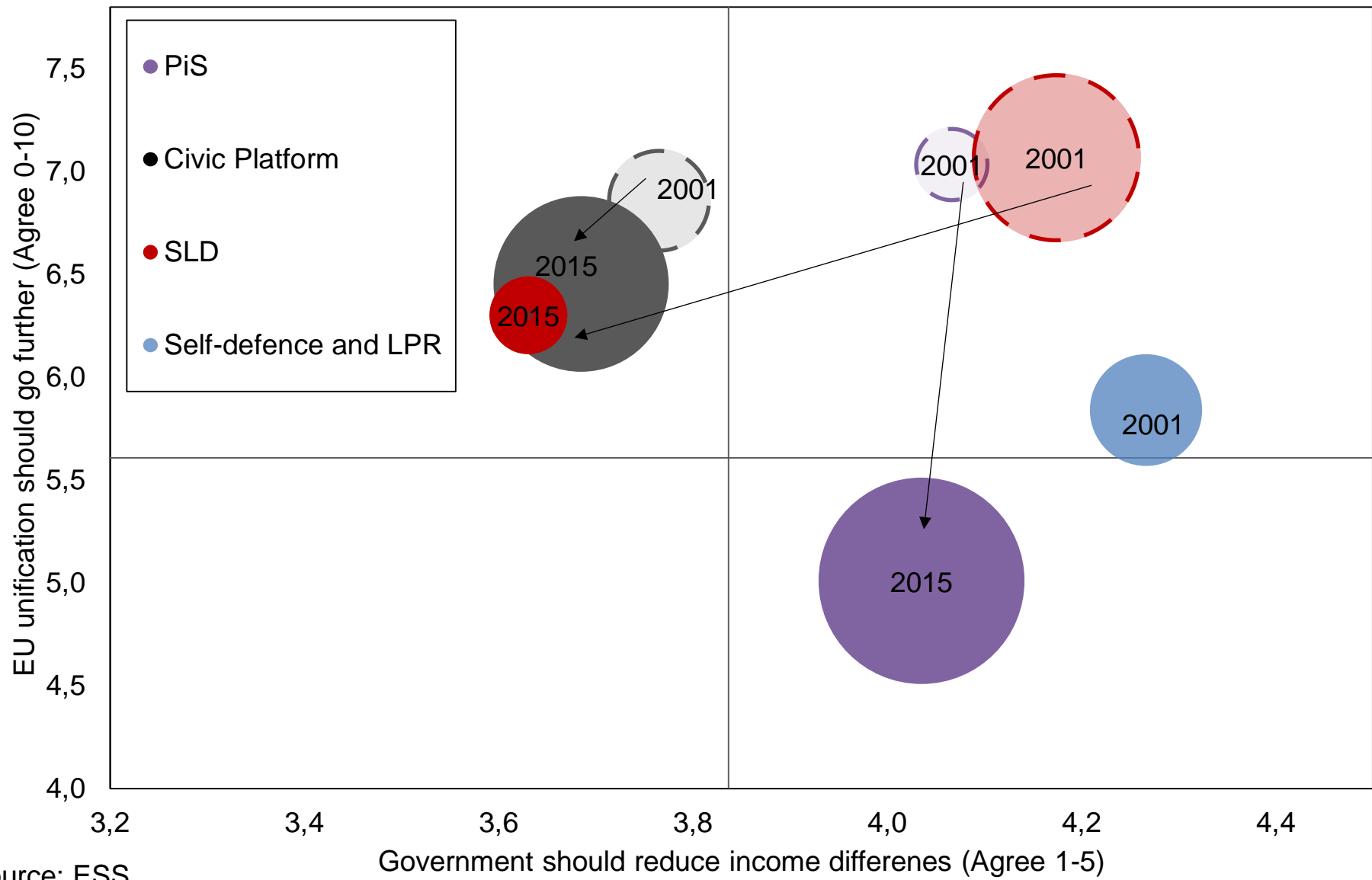


Figure A10b - Attitudes towards redistribution and the EU in Hungary



Source: ESS. Note: the left in 2018 comprise votes for MPP, LMP, DK, Együtt, Momentum and Párbeszéd.

Figure A10c - Attitudes towards redistribution and the EU in Poland



Source: ESS.