

Chapter 3. "Electoral cleavages and socioeconomic inequality in Germany 1949-2017"

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Appendix: Figures, tables and raw results

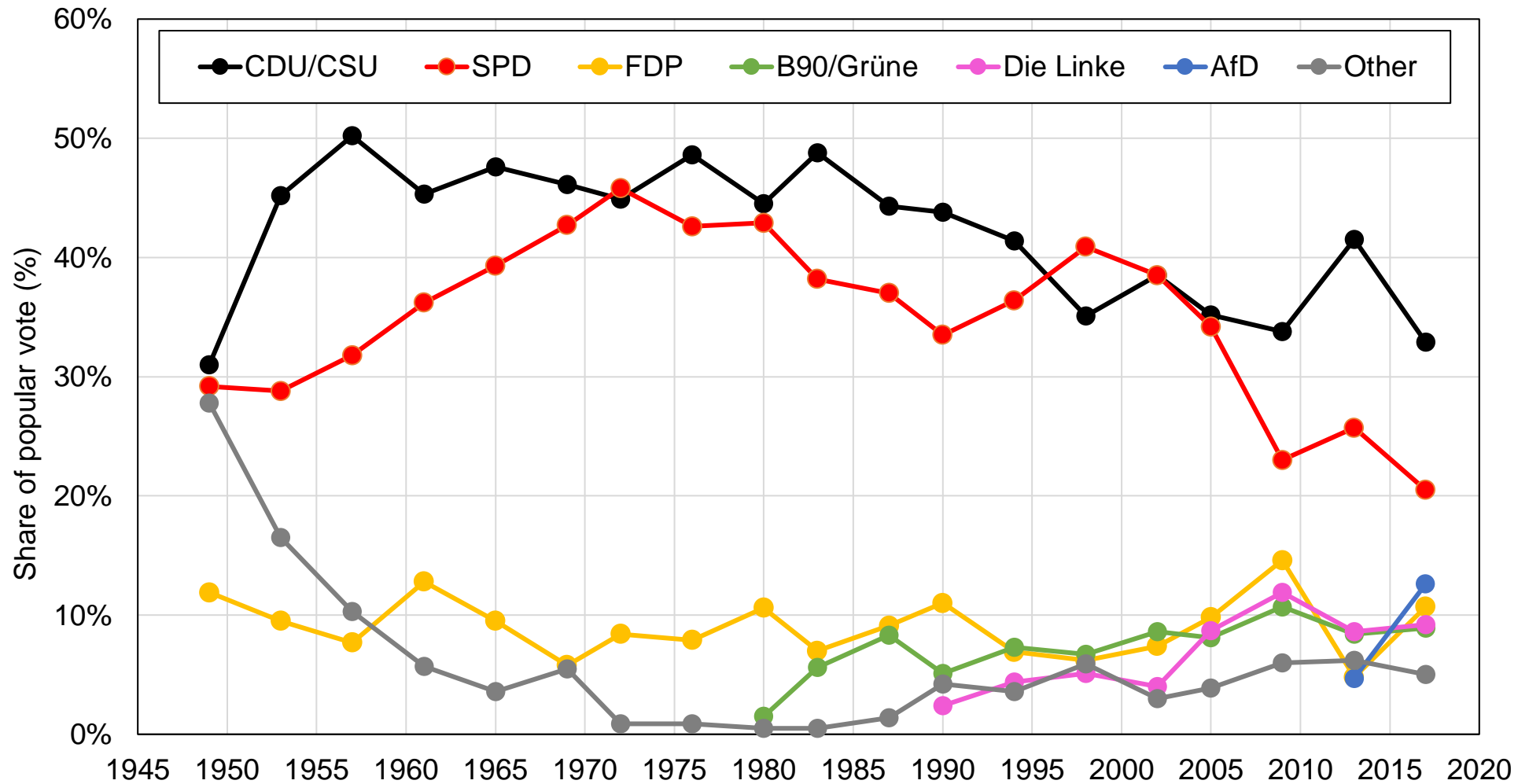
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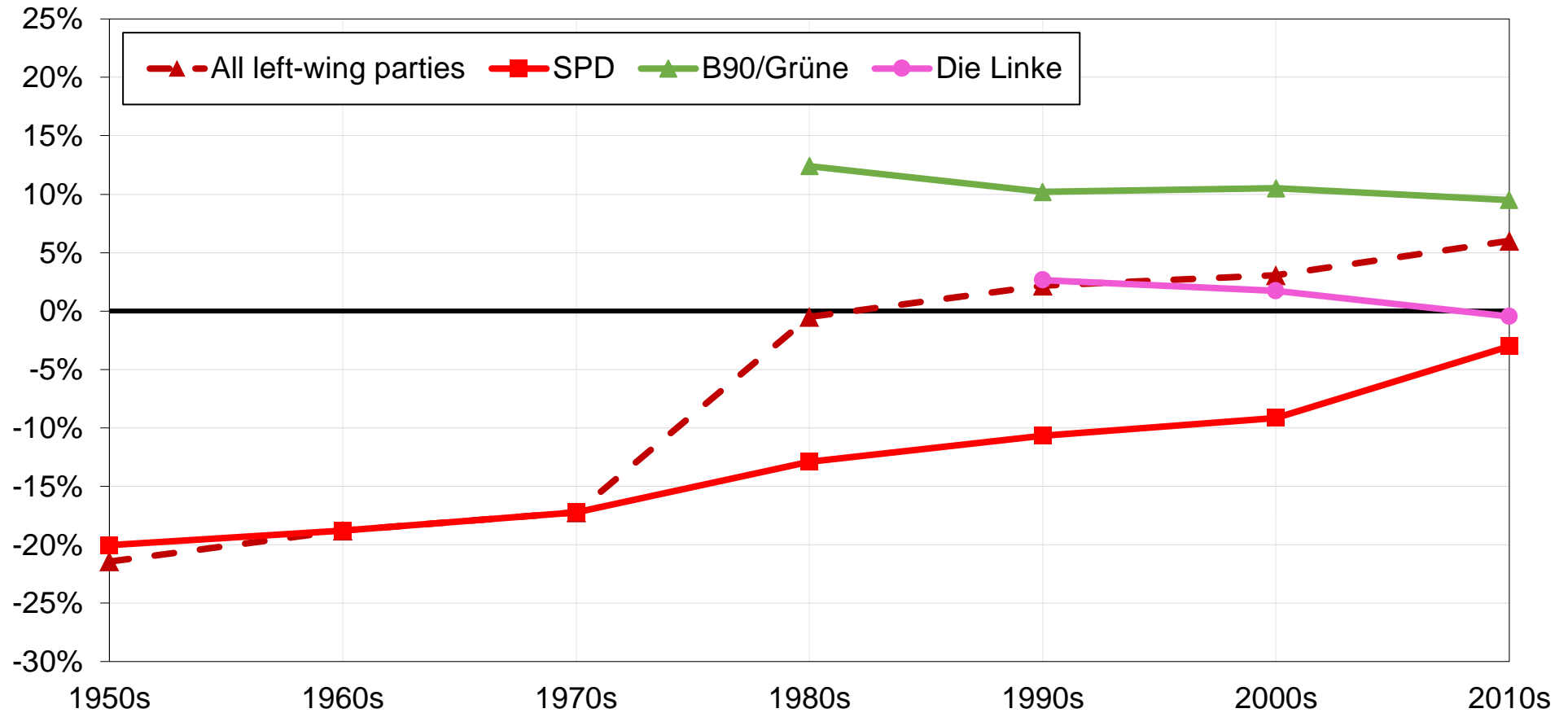
Figure 3.1 - Federal election results in Germany, 1949-2017



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes ("Zweitstimme") received by selected German political parties in federal elections held between 1949 to 2017.

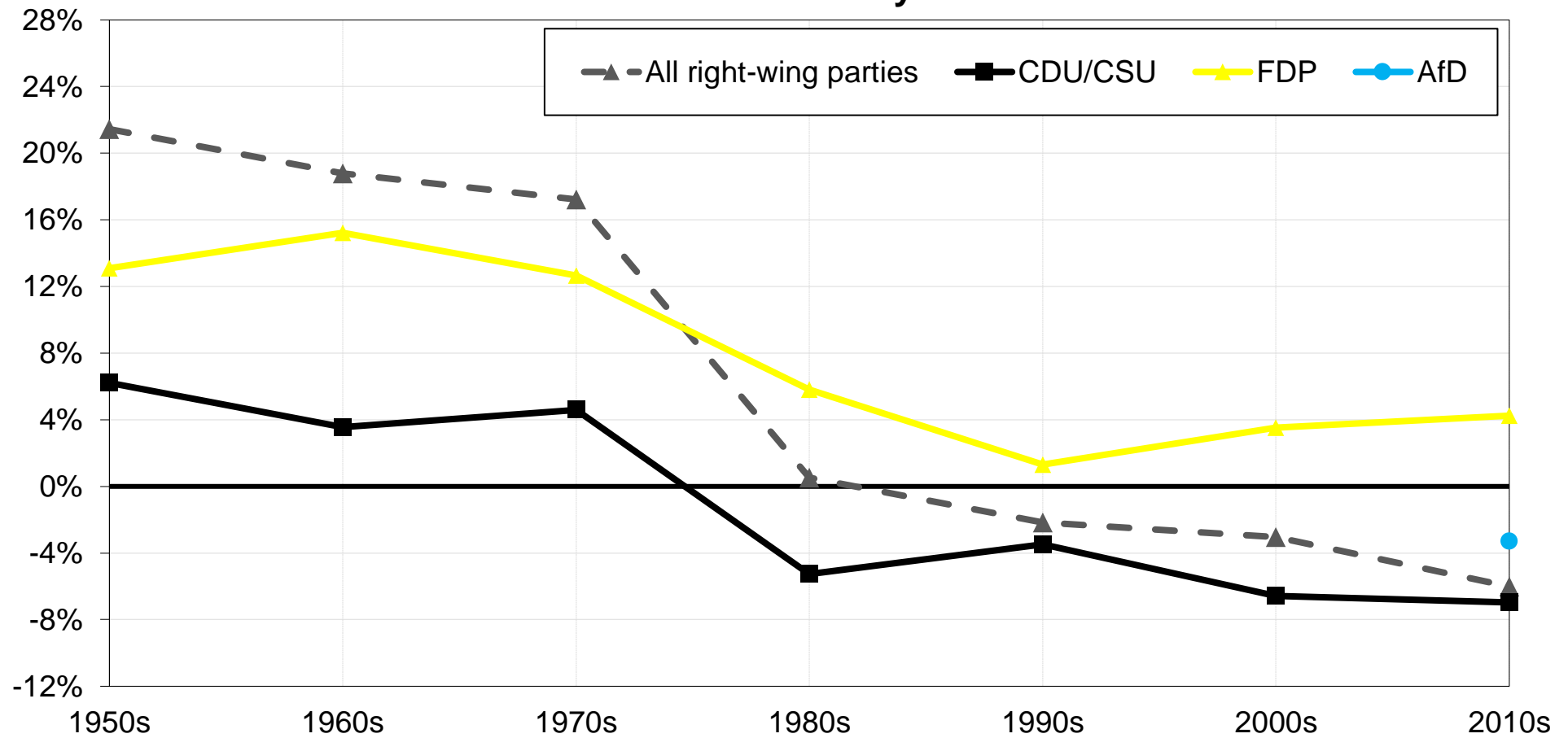
Figure 3.2 - Vote for left-wing parties among highest-educated voters in Germany



Source: authors' computations using German post-electoral surveys. The 1950s include 1949.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of bottom 90% educated voters voting for selected left-wing parties. In the 1950s, left-wing parties (jointly) obtained a score that was 21 points lower among top 10% educated voters than among other voters; in the 2010s, their score was 6 points higher.

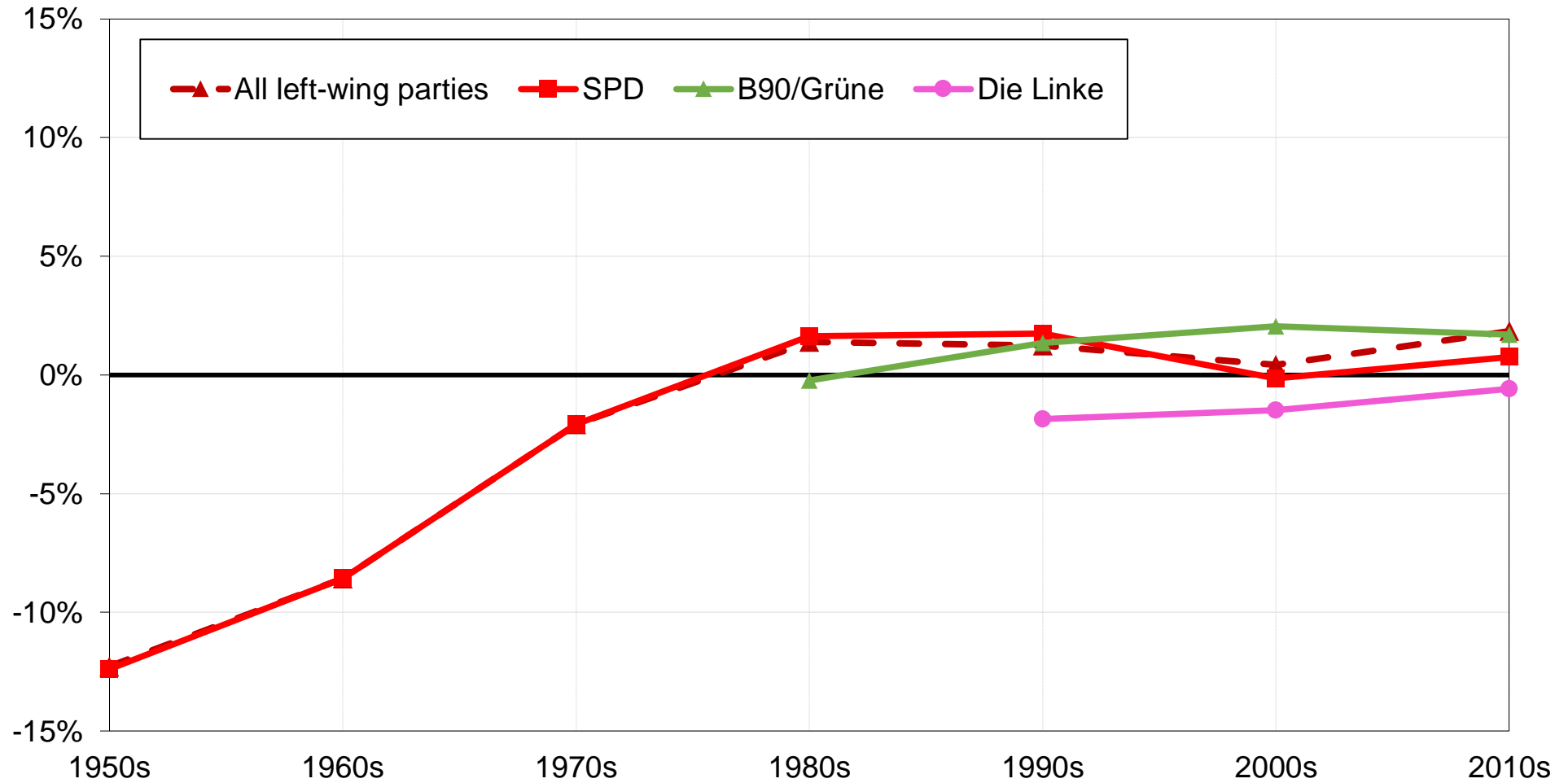
Figure 3.3 - Vote for right-wing parties among highest-educated voters in Germany



Source: authors' computations using German post-electoral surveys. The 1950s include 1949.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of bottom 90% educated voters voting for selected right-wing parties. In the 1950s, right-wing parties (jointly) obtained a score that was 21 points higher among top 10% educated voters than among other voters; in the 2010s, their score was 6 points lower.

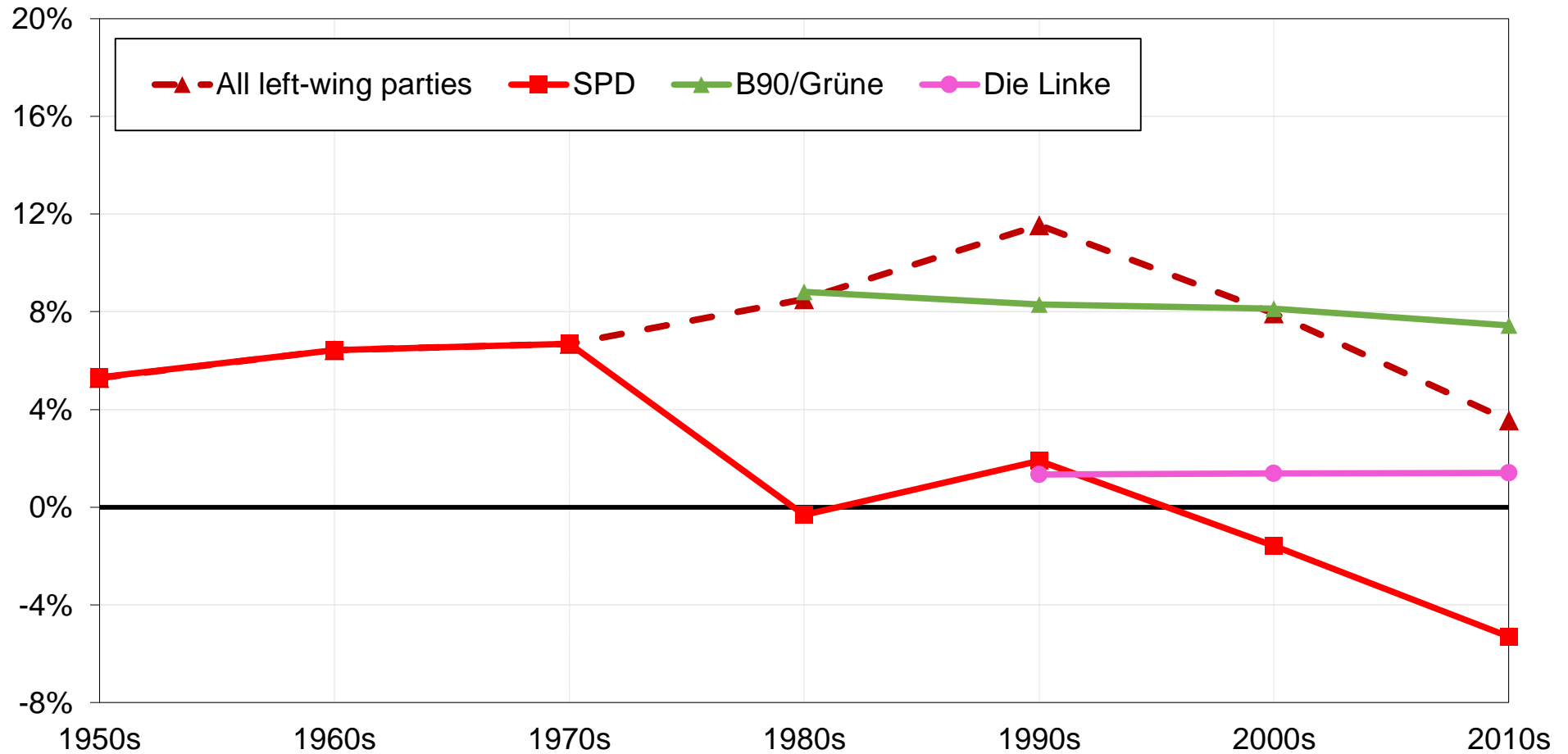
Figure 3.4 - Vote for left-wing parties among women in Germany



Source: authors' computations using German post-electoral surveys. The 1950s include 1949.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for selected left-wing parties. In the 1950s, left-wing parties (jointly) obtained a score that was 12 points lower among women than among men; in the 2010s, their score was 2 points higher.

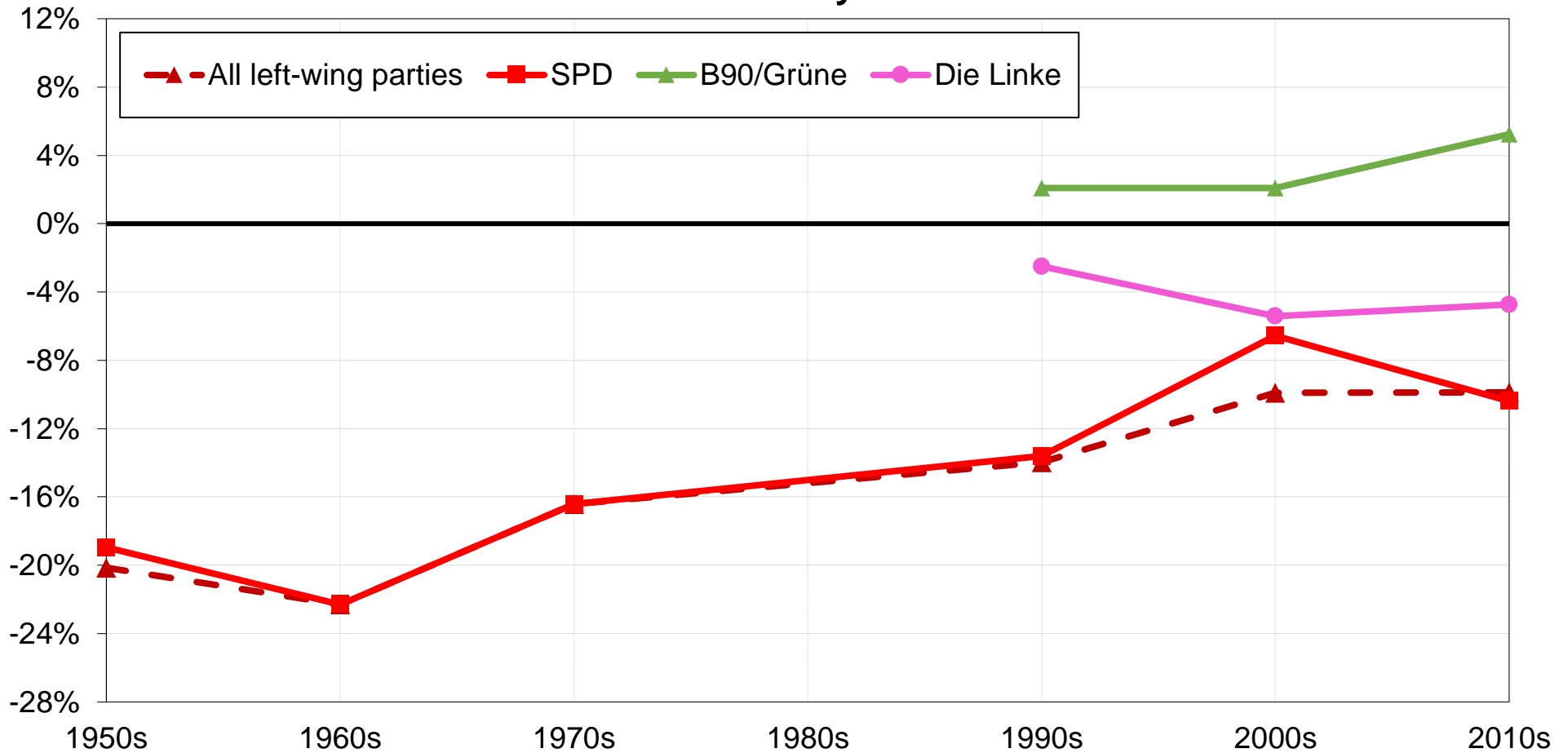
Figure 3.5 - Vote for left-wing parties among young voters in Germany



Source: authors' computations using German post-electoral surveys. The 1950s include 1949.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters aged below the median age and the share of median-aged voters voting for selected left-wing parties. In the 1950s, left-wing parties (jointly) obtained a score that was 5 points higher among young voters than among median-aged voters; in the 2010s, their score was 4 points higher.

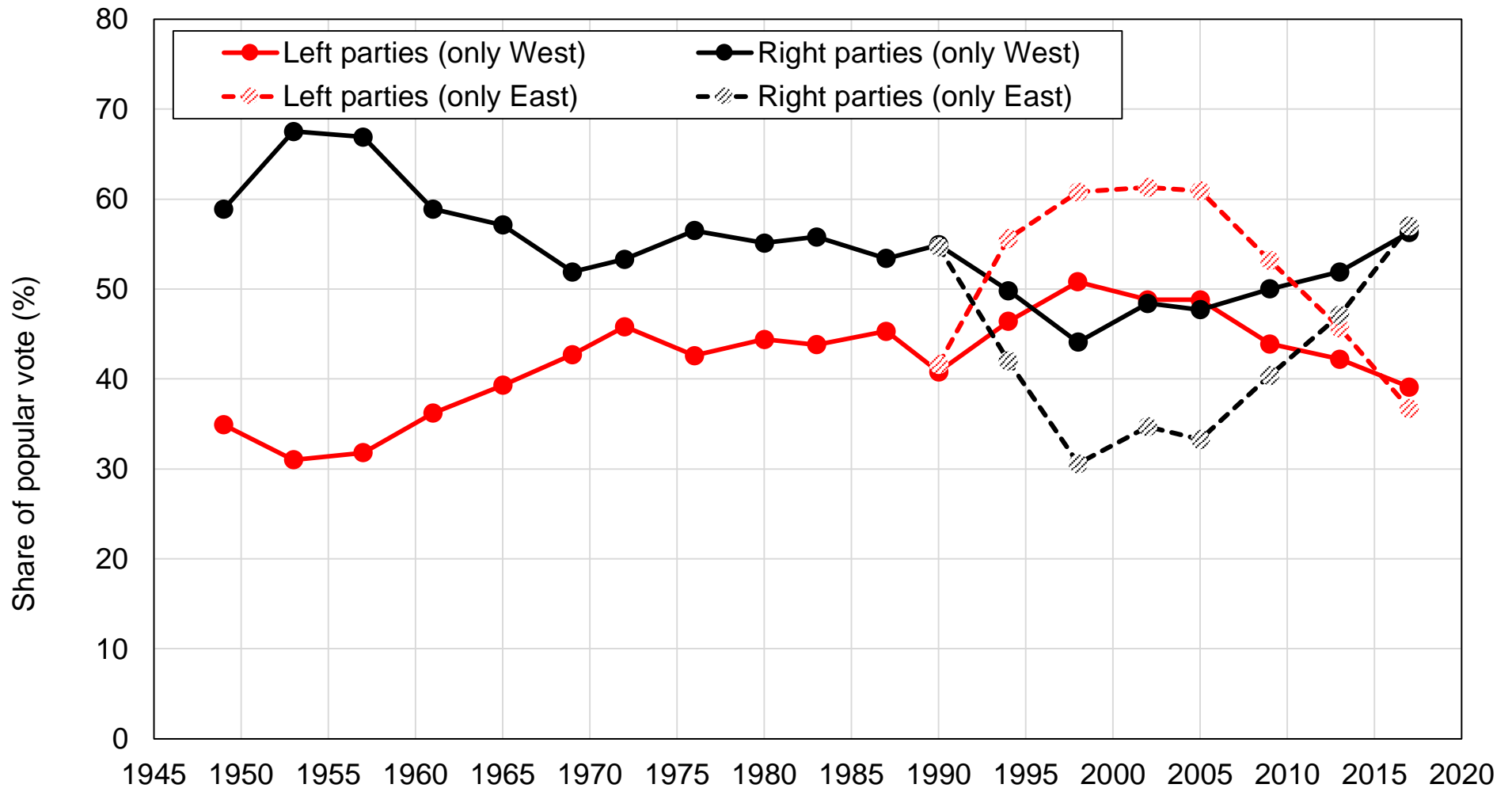
Figure 3.6 - Vote for left-wing parties among top-income voters in Germany



Source: authors' computations using German post-electoral surveys. The 1950s include 1949.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of bottom 90% earners voting for selected left-wing parties. In the 1950s, left-wing parties (jointly) obtained a score that was 20 points lower among top 10% income voters than among other voters; in the 2010s, their score was 10 points lower.

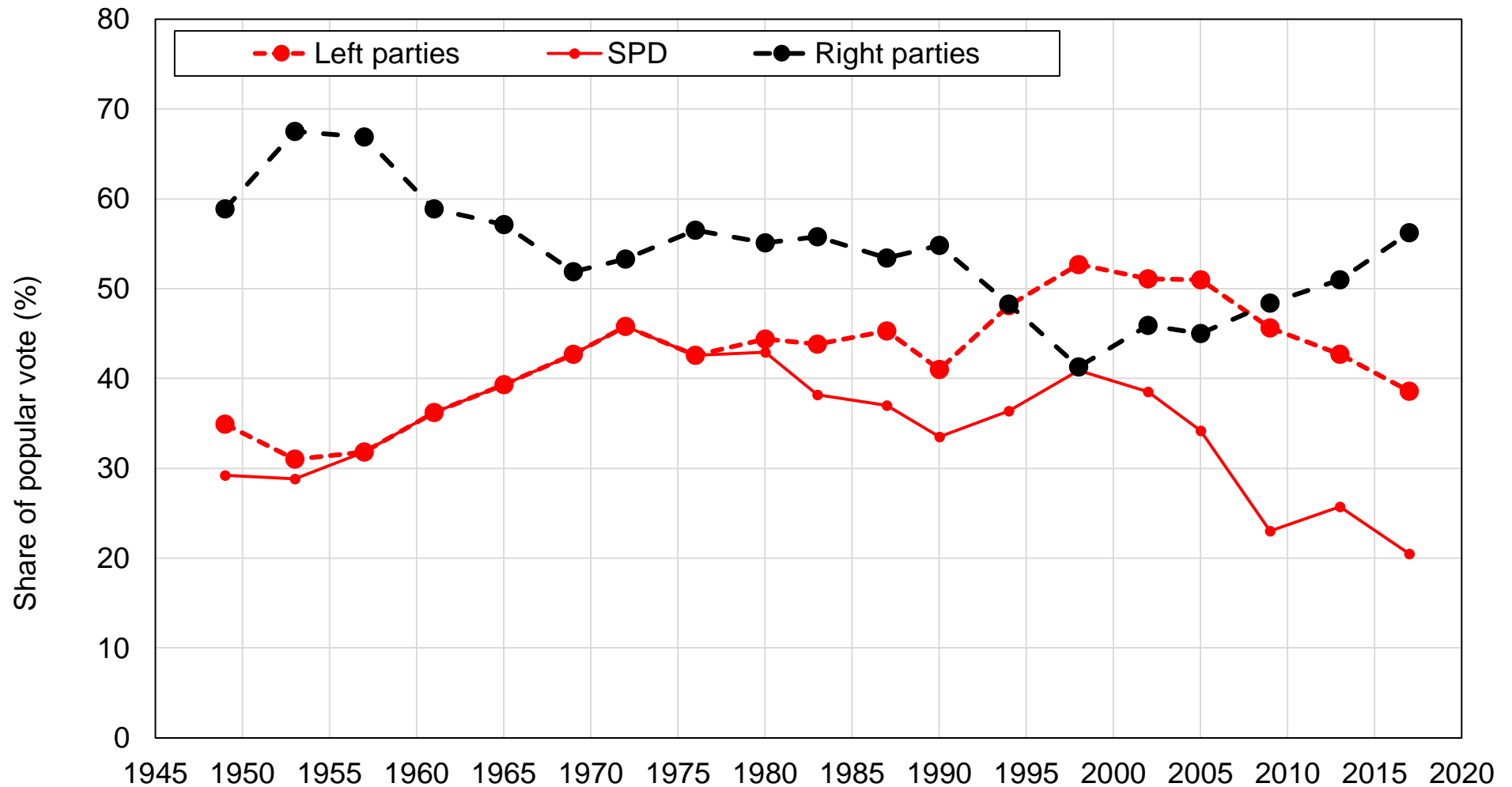
Figure A1a - Federal election results in Germany, 1949-2017



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes ("Zweitstimme") in the federal elections 1949 to 2017 by left- and right-wing parties as categorized in Table 1.

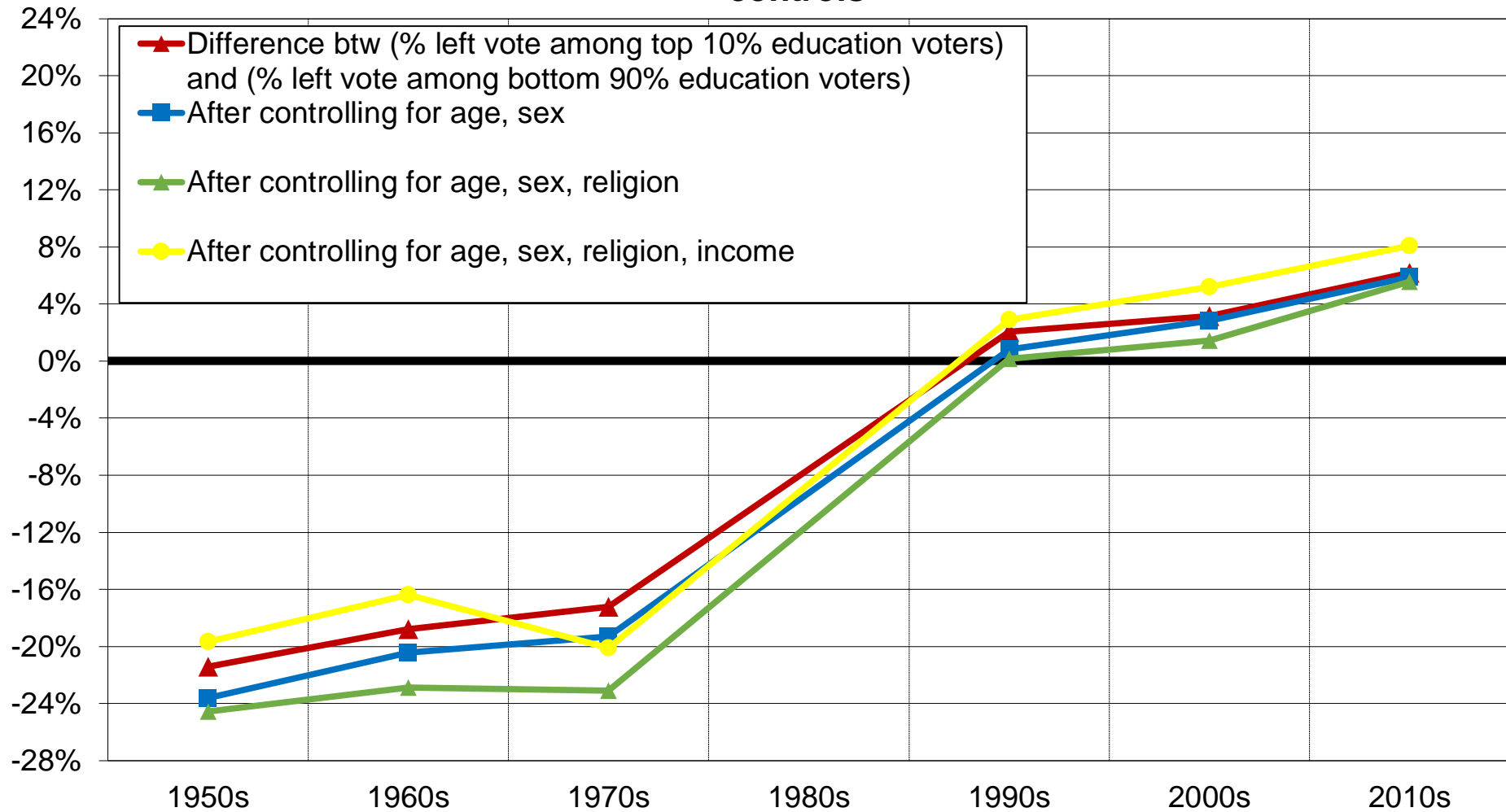
Figure A1b - Federal election results in Germany, 1949-2017



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

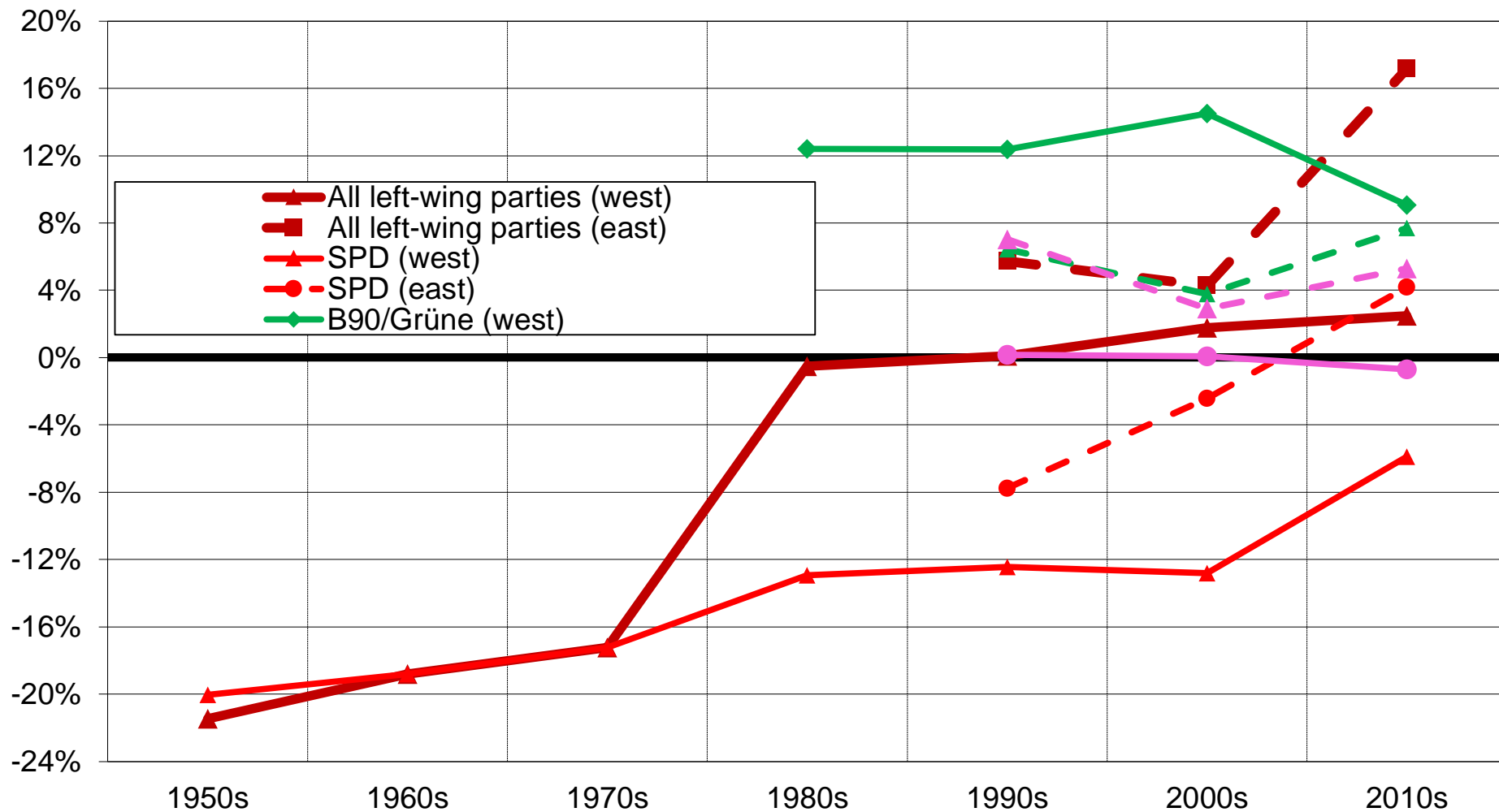
Note: the figure shows the share of votes ("Zweitstimme") in the federal elections 1949 to 2017 by left- and right-wing parties as categorized in Table 1.

Figure A2 - Left vote among highest-educated voters in Germany, after controls



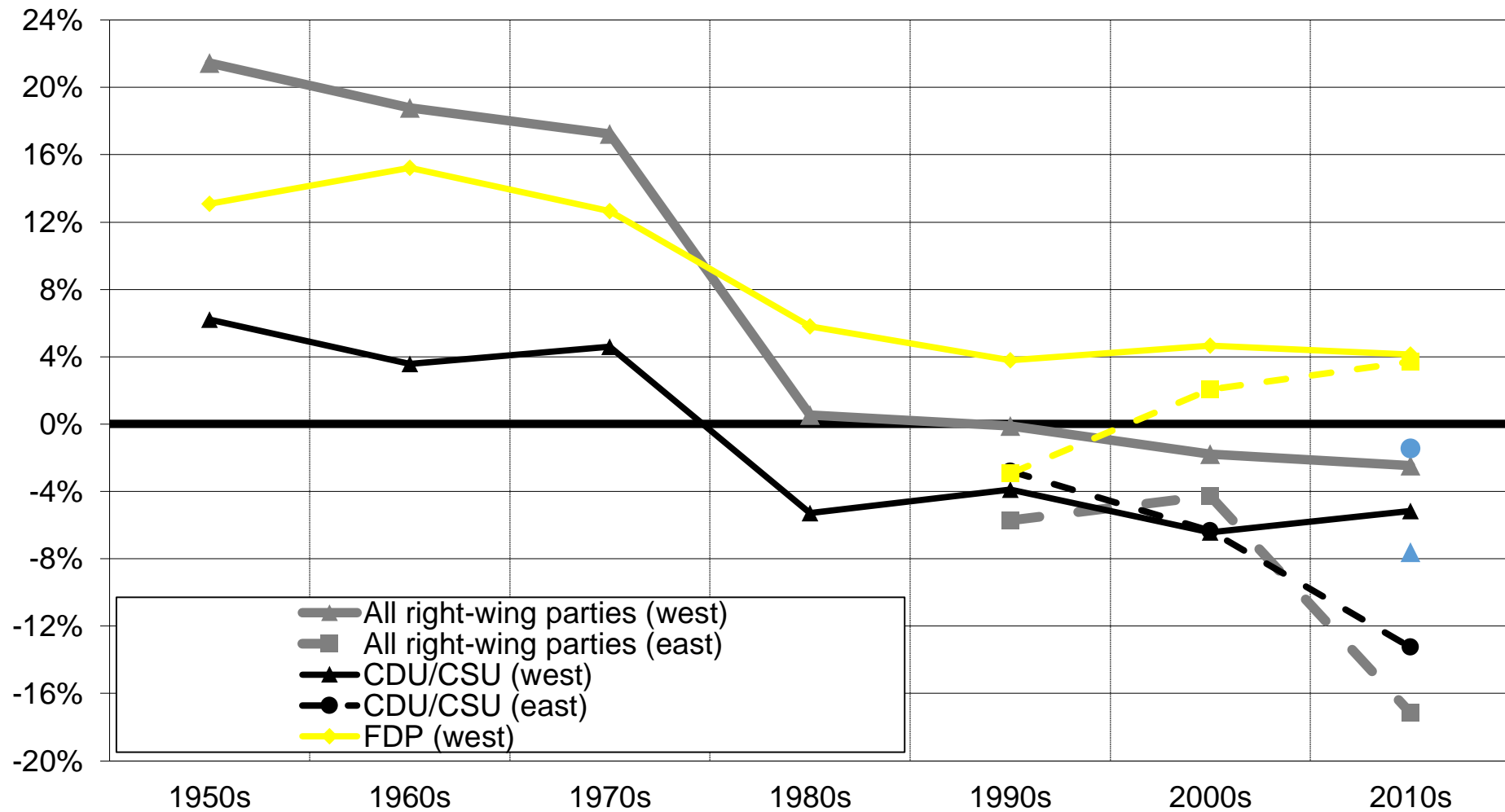
Source: authors' computations using German post-electoral surveys 1949-2017 (see See Table A1). The 1950s include 1949.
Reading: in the 1950s, left parties obtain a score that is 21 points lower among top 10% education voters; in the 2010s, their score is 6 points higher among top 10% education voters. Including control variables does not affect the trend.

Figure A3 - Education gradients (East-West comparison) of left parties (difference between vote share among top 10% and bottom 90% education voters), 1949-2017



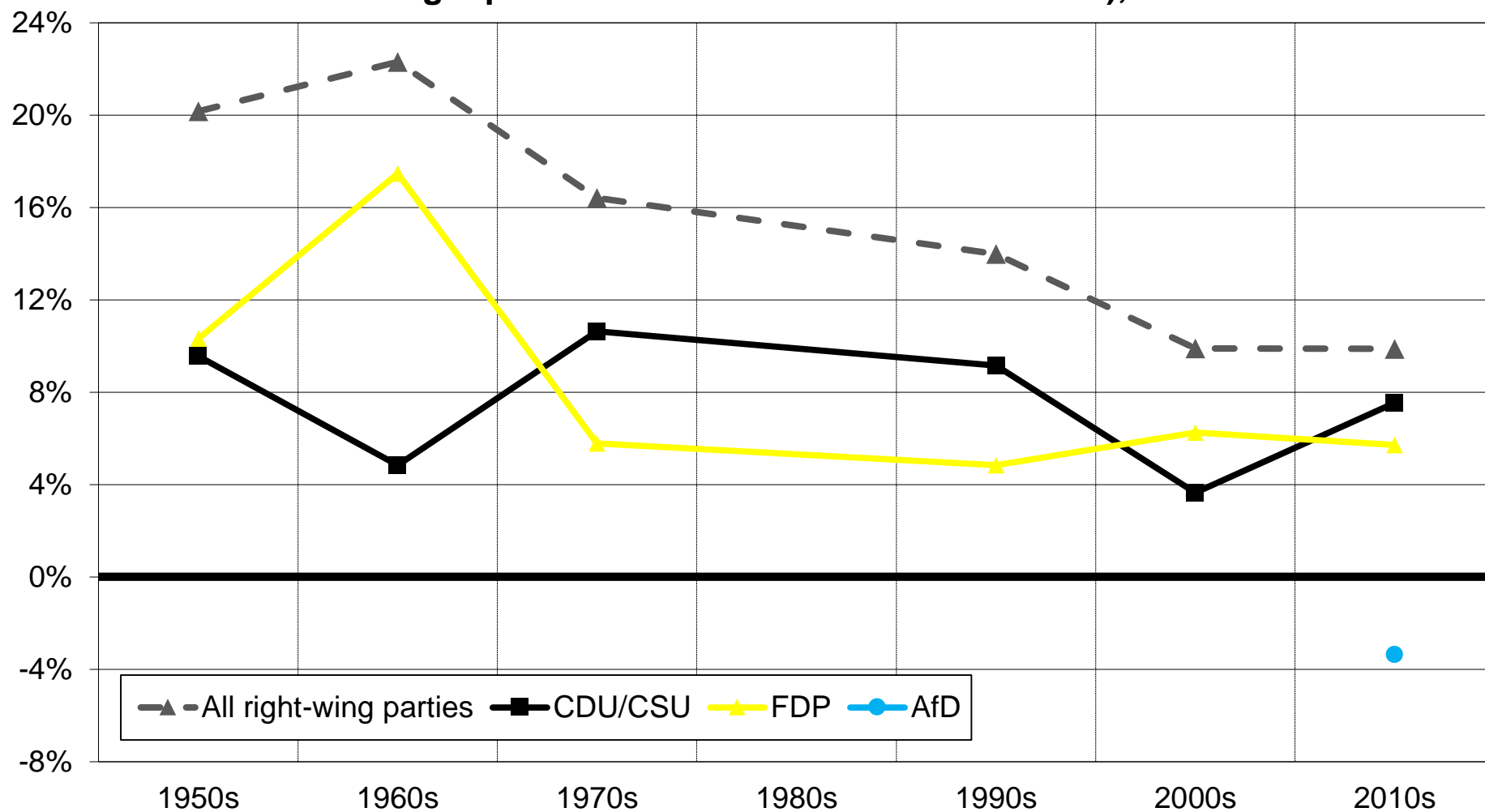
Source: authors' computations using German post-electoral surveys 1949-2017 (see See Table A1). The 1950s include 1949.
Reading: in the 1950s, left parties (jointly, west) obtain a score that is 21 points lower among top 10% education voters; in the 2010s, their score is 2 points higher among top 10% education voters. The joint gradient refers to all left parties, see Table 1.

Figure A4 - Education gradients (East-West comparison) of right parties (difference between vote share among top 10% and bottom 90% education voters), 1949-2017



Source: authors' computations using German post-electoral surveys 1949-2017 (see See Table A1). The 1950s include 1949.
Reading: in the 1950s, right parties (jointly, west) obtain a score that is 21 points higher among top 10% education voters; in the 2010s, their score is 2 points lower among top 10% education voters. The joint gradient refers to all right parties, see Table 1.

Figure A5 - Income gradients of right parties (difference between vote share among top 10% and bottom 90% income voters), 1949-2017



Source: authors' computations using German post-electoral surveys 1949-2017 (see See Table A1). The 1950s include 1949.
Reading: in the 1950s, right parties (jointly) obtain a score that is 20 points lower among top 10% income voters; in the 2010s, their score is 10 points higher among top 10% education voters. The joint gradient refers to all left parties, see Table 1.

Figure A6 - Left vote by religion in Germany 1949-2017

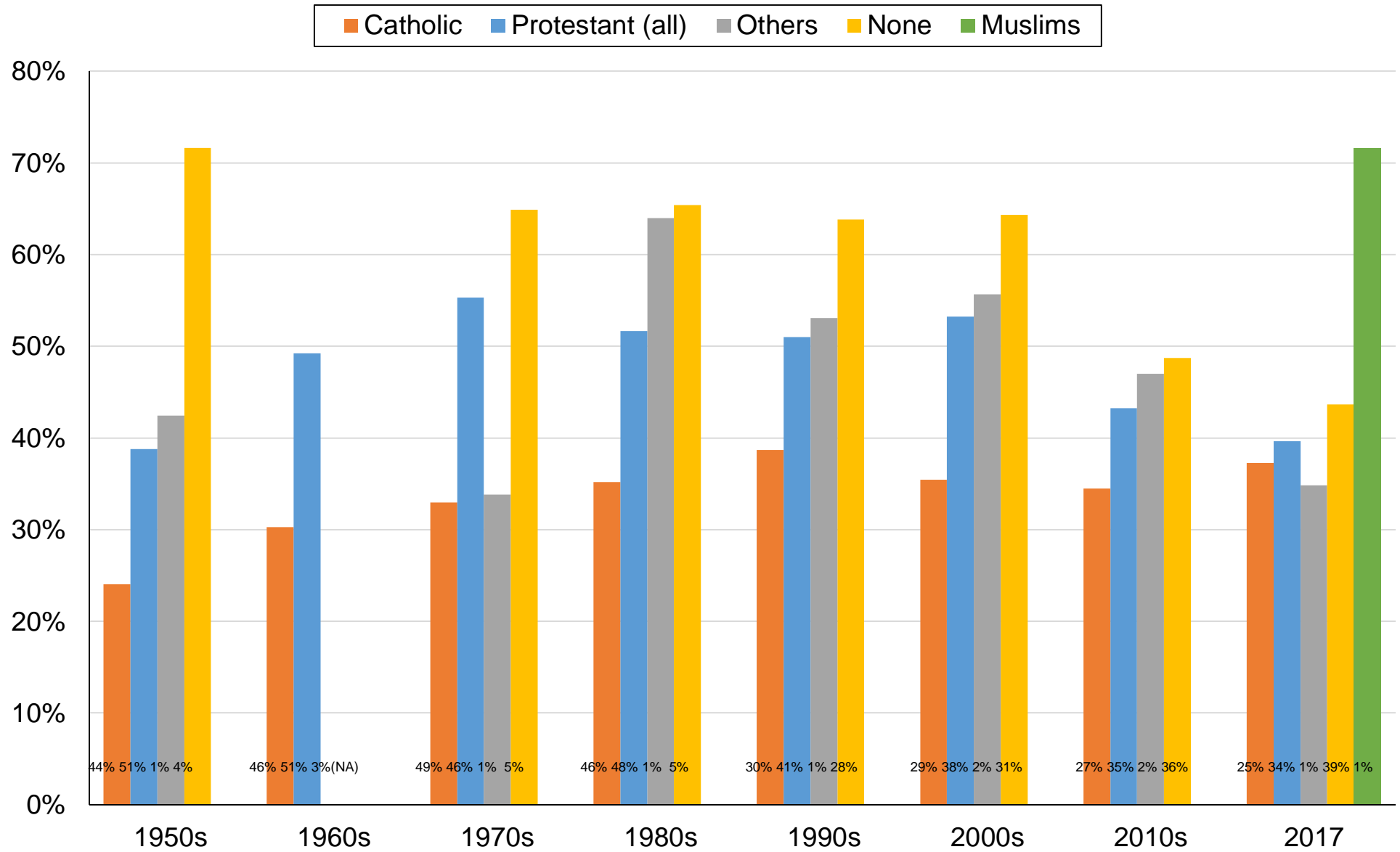


Table A1 - Classification of parties on a Right/left scheme

Left parties	Right parties
<p>SPD (<i>Social Democratic Party</i>) [periods in parliament: 19, ever since 1949]*</p>	<p>CDU/CSU (<i>Christian Democratic/Social Union</i>) [19, ever since 1949]*</p>
<p>B90/Grüne (<i>Green Party</i>) [10, ever since 1983]*</p>	<p>FDP (<i>Free Democratic Party</i>) [18, ever since 1949 except for 2013]*</p>
<p>Die Linke (<i>The left</i>) [8, ever since 1990]*</p>	<p>AfD (<i>Alternative for Germany</i>) [1, in 2017]*</p>
<p>KPD (<i>Communist Party of Germany</i>) [1, in 1949]</p>	<p>DP (<i>German Party</i>) [3, in 1949 & 1953 & 1957]</p>
	<p>GB/BHE (<i>All-German Bloc/League of Expellees and Deprived of Rights</i>) [1, 1953]</p>
	<p>BP (<i>Bavarian Party</i>) [1, in 1949]</p>
	<p>WAV (<i>Economic Reconstruction Union</i>) [1, in 1949]</p>
	<p>DRP (<i>German Right Party</i>) [1, in 1949]</p>
<p>Note: Below the respective name of the party, we indicate in brackets how often and when the respective party has been elected into the Bundestag. A star behind the bracket indicates that the party is part of the Bundestag in the current period (2017-2021). Since the expert survey from 2003 did not cover parties which previously lost their relevance (KPD, DP, GB/BHE, BP, WAV, DRP) or have emerged since then (AfD), we updated the list according to their categorization in the literature. Parties which never gained a mandate for the Bundestag are not considered for this classification.</p>	

Table A2 - Overview "Wahlstudien" German Elections

Year	Short Name (GESIS Data Archive)	Citation
1949	ZA2324	Institut für Demoskopie, Allensbach (2015): Wahlstudie 1949. GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA2324 Datenfile Version 2.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.11983
1949	ZA2361	Institut für Demoskopie, Allensbach (2015): The Situation after the Federal Parliament Election 1949. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA2361 Data file Version 2.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.11993
1953	ZA0145	Reigrotzki, Erich (2015): Federal Study 1953. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA0145 Data file Version 2.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.11992
1957	ZA3272	Institut für Demoskopie, Allensbach (2015): Election Study 1957. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA3272 Data file Version 2.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.11991
1961	ZA0055	Scheuch, Erwin K.; Wildenmann, Rudolf; Baumert, Gerhard (2015): Cologne Election Study (Federal Republic, July 1961). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA0055 Data file Version 2.1.0, doi:10.4232/1.12184
1961	ZA0056	Scheuch, Erhard K.; Wildenmann, Rudolf; Baumert, Gerhard (2014): Cologne Election Study (Federal Republic, September 1961). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA0056 Data file Version 2.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.11989
1961	ZA0057	Scheuch, Erwin K.; Wildenmann, Rudolf; Baumert, Gerhard (2014): Cologne Election Study (Federal Republic, November 1961). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA0057 Data file Version 2.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.11990
1965	ZA0314	DIVO, Frankfurt (2015): Federal Parliament Election 1965 (Follow-up, October 1965, I). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA0314 Data file Version 2.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.11986
1969	ZA0426	Klingemann, Hans-Dieter; Pappi, Franz U. (2012): Federal Parliament Election 1969 (Pre-Election Investigation, September 1969 und Follow-Up Survey, October - November 1969). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA0426 Data file Version 3.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.11456
1972	ZA0635	Berger, Manfred; Wildenmann, Rudolf; Schleth, Uwe; Kaase, Max; Gibowski, Wolfgang G.; Roth, Dieter (2015): Election Study 1972 (Panel: Preliminary Investigations, September - October 1972, October - November 1972; Follow-Up Survey, December 1972). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA0635 Data file Version 4.0.0, Berger, Manfred; Gibowski, Wolfgang G.; Gruber, Edelgard; Roth, Dieter; Schulte, Wolfgang; Kaase, Max; Klingemann, Hans-Dieter; Schleth, Uwe (2015): Wahlstudie 1976 (Panel: Voruntersuchungen, Mai - Juni 1976, August - September 1976; Nachuntersuchung, Oktober - November 1976). GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA0823
1976	ZA0823	Berger, Manfred; Gibowski, Wolfgang G.; Fuchs, Dieter; Kaase, Max; Klingemann, Hans-Dieter; Roth, Dieter; Schleth, Uwe; Schulte, Wolfgang (1980): Election Study 1980 (Data Pool). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA1053 Data file Version 1.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.1053
1980	ZA1053	

1983	ZA1276	Berger, Manfred; Gibowski, Wolfgang G.; Roth, Dieter (2012): Election Study 1983 (Panel). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA1276 Data file Version 2.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.11458
1987	ZA1537	Berger, Manfred; Gibowski, Wolfgang G.; Kaase, Max; Klingemann, Hans-Dieter; Küchler, Manfred; Pappi, Franz U.; Roth, Dieter; Schulte, Wolfgang (2012): Election Study 1987 (Panel Study). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA1537 Data file Version 2.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.11459
1990	ZA1919	Forschungsgruppe Wahlen, Mannheim; Kaase, Max; Klingemann, Hans-Dieter; Küchler, Manfred; Pappi, Franz U.; Semetko, Holli A. (2013): Wahlstudie 1990 (Panelstudie). GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA1919 Datenfile Version 2.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.11607
1994	ZA2599	Berger, Manfred; Jung, Matthias; Roth, Dieter; Gibowski, Wolfgang G.; Kaase, Max; Klingemann, Hans-Dieter; Küchler, Manfred; Pappi, Franz U.; Semetko, Holli A. (1995): Pre-Election Study 1994 (Trend Investigations). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA2599 Data file Version 1.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.2599
1994	ZA2600	Pappi, Franz U.; Berger, Manfred; Jung, Matthias; Roth, Dieter; Gibowski, Wolfgang G.; Kaase, Max; Klingemann, Hans-Dieter; Küchler, Manfred; Semetko, Holli A. (1996): Vorwahlstudie zur Bundestagswahl 1994: Politik- und Partei-Präferenz. GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA2600 Datenfile Version 1.0.0, ZUMA, Mannheim; Jung, Matthias; Roth, Dieter; Berger, Manfred; Gibowski, Wolfgang G.; Kaase, Max; Klingemann, Hans-Dieter; Küchler, Manfred; Pappi, Franz U.; Semetko, Holli A. (2012): Post-Election Study on the Federal Parliament Election 1994. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA2601 Data file Version 2.0.0,
1994	ZA2601	Falter, Jürgen W.; Gabriel, Oscar W.; Rattinger, Hans; Schmitt, Karl (2015): Political Attitudes, Political Participation and Voting Behavior in Reunified Germany 1994. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA3065 Data file Version 3.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.11973
1994	ZA3065	Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung (MZES), Mannheim; Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB), Berlin; Zentralarchiv für Empirische Sozialforschung, Universität zu Köln; ZUMA, Mannheim (2013): German National Election Study - Post-Election Study 1998 German CSES Study. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA3073 Data file Version 2.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.11566
1998	ZA3073	Falter, Jürgen W.; Gabriel, Oscar W.; Rattinger, Hans (2015): Politische Einstellungen, politische Partizipation und Wählerverhalten im vereinigten Deutschland 2002 (Studie zur Bundestagswahl 2002). GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA3861 Datenfile Version 3.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.11967
2002	ZA3861	
2005	ZA4332	Kühnel, Steffen; Niedermayer, Oskar; Westle, Bettina (2012): Bundestagswahl 2005 - Bürger und Parteien in einer veränderten Welt. GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA4332 Datenfile Version 2.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.11463

2009	ZA5300	Rattinger, Hans; Roßteutscher, Sigrid; Schmitt-Beck, Rüdiger; Weßels, Bernhard; Scherer, Philipp; Bytzek, Evelyn; Bieber, Ina (2019): Vorwahl-Querschnitt (GLES 2009). GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA5300 Datenfile Version 5.0.2, doi:10.4232/1.13228
2009	ZA5301	Rattinger, Hans; Roßteutscher, Sigrid; Schmitt-Beck, Rüdiger; Weßels, Bernhard; Wagner, Aiko (2019): Post-election Cross Section (GLES 2009). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5301 Data file Version 4.0.2, doi:10.4232/1.13229
2013	ZA5700	Rattinger, Hans; Roßteutscher, Sigrid; Schmitt-Beck, Rüdiger; Weßels, Bernhard; Wolf, Christof; Bieber, Ina; Scherer, Philipp (2019): Vorwahl-Querschnitt (GLES 2013). GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA5700 Datenfile Version 2.0.2, doi:10.4232/1.13231
2013	ZA5701	Rattinger, Hans; Roßteutscher, Sigrid; Schmitt-Beck, Rüdiger; Weßels, Bernhard; Wolf, Christof; Wagner, Aiko; Giebler, Heiko (2019): Post-election Cross Section (GLES 2013). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5701 Data file Version 3.0.1, doi:10.4232/1.13232
2017	ZA6800	Roßteutscher, Sigrid; Schmitt-Beck, Rüdiger; Schoen, Harald; Weßels, Bernhard; Wolf, Christof; Bieber, Ina; Stövsand, Lars-Christopher; Dietz, Melanie; Scherer, Philipp (2019): Pre-election Cross Section (GLES 2017). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA6800 Data file Version 5.0.1, doi:10.4232/1.13234
2017	ZA6801	Roßteutscher, Sigrid; Schmitt-Beck, Rüdiger; Schoen, Harald; Weßels, Bernhard; Wolf, Christof; Wagner, Aiko; Melcher, Reinhold; Giebler, Heiko (2019): Nachwahl-Querschnitt (GLES 2017). GESIS Datenarchiv, Köln. ZA6801 Datenfile Version 4.0.1, doi:10.4232/1.13235

Table A3 - Determinants of the vote for the SPD and the AfD

Year: 2013 & 2017	Vote for			
	SPD (1)	AfD (2)	SPD (3)	AfD (4)
Income (standardized)	-0.025*** (0.009)	-0.012* (0.007)		
Education (standardized)	-0.024*** (0.009)	-0.015** (0.007)		
Pol. attitude: Redistribution (std.)			0.042*** (0.008)	-0.018*** (0.007)
Political attitude: Openness (std.)			0.008** (0.003)	-0.028*** (0.003)
Observations	2 543	2 543	2 543	2 543

Note: Political attitudes towards redistribution are measured using the question “How is your position towards taxes and welfare benefits?” Answers were given on an 11-point scale (1 = lower taxes and duties, also if this means lower welfare benefits and 11 = higher welfare benefits, also if this means higher taxes and duties). Political attitudes towards openness are measured using the question (reversed) “How is your opinion towards migration opportunities of foreigners?” Answers were given on an 11-point scale (1 = Immigration opportunities for foreigners should be facilitated, 11 = Immigration opportunities for foreigners should be restricted). Data are collected in 2013 and 2017. Source: Data sets ZA5701 and ZA6801 (see Table A1). ***, **, * indicate significance at the 1, 5 and 10 percent level, respectively.