

## Chapter 6. "Historical Political Cleavages and Post-Crisis Transformations in Italy, Spain, Portugal and Ireland, 1958-2020"

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#### "Chapter 6. "Historical Political Cleavages and Post-Crisis Transformations in Italy, Spain, Portugal and Ireland, 1958-2020"

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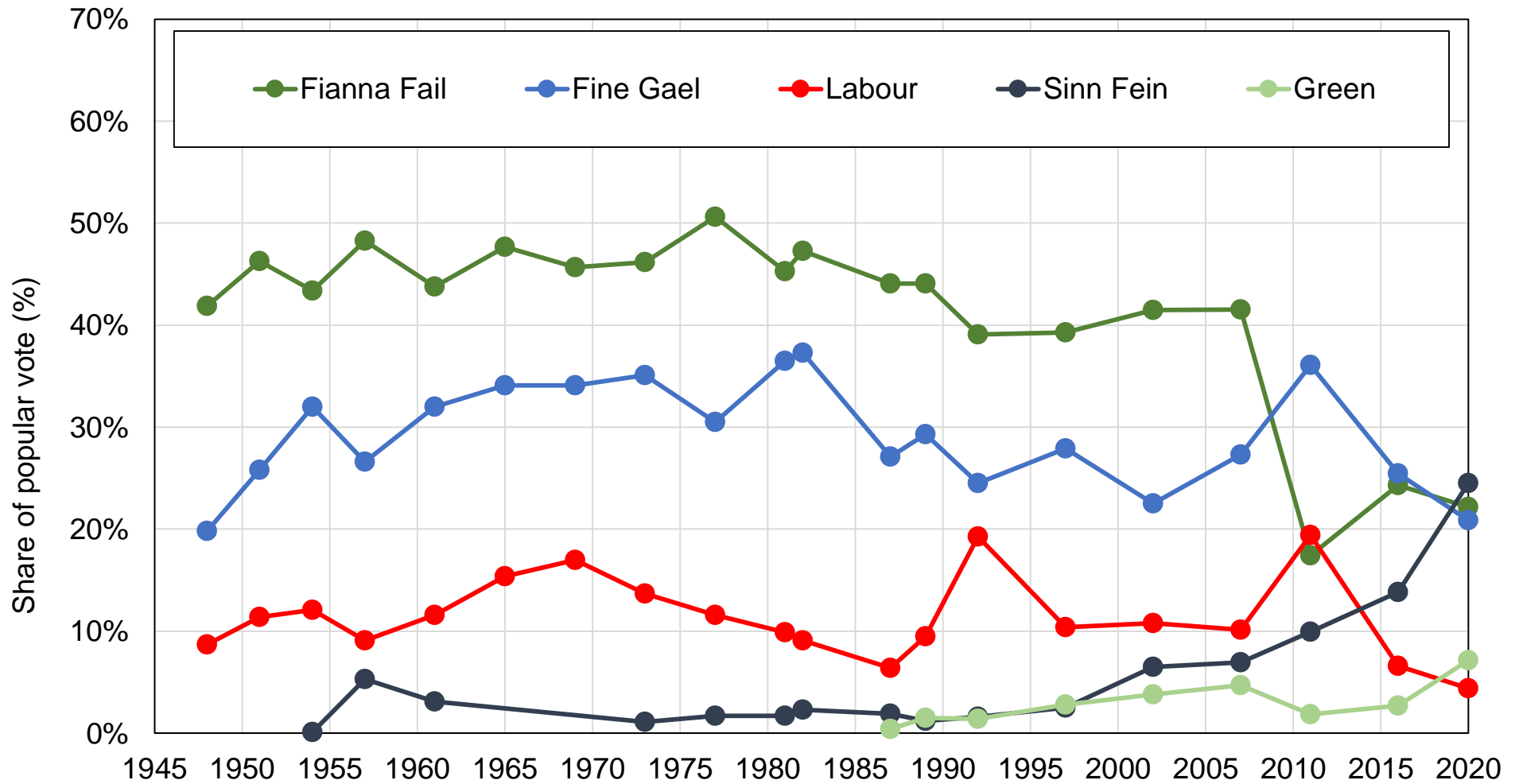
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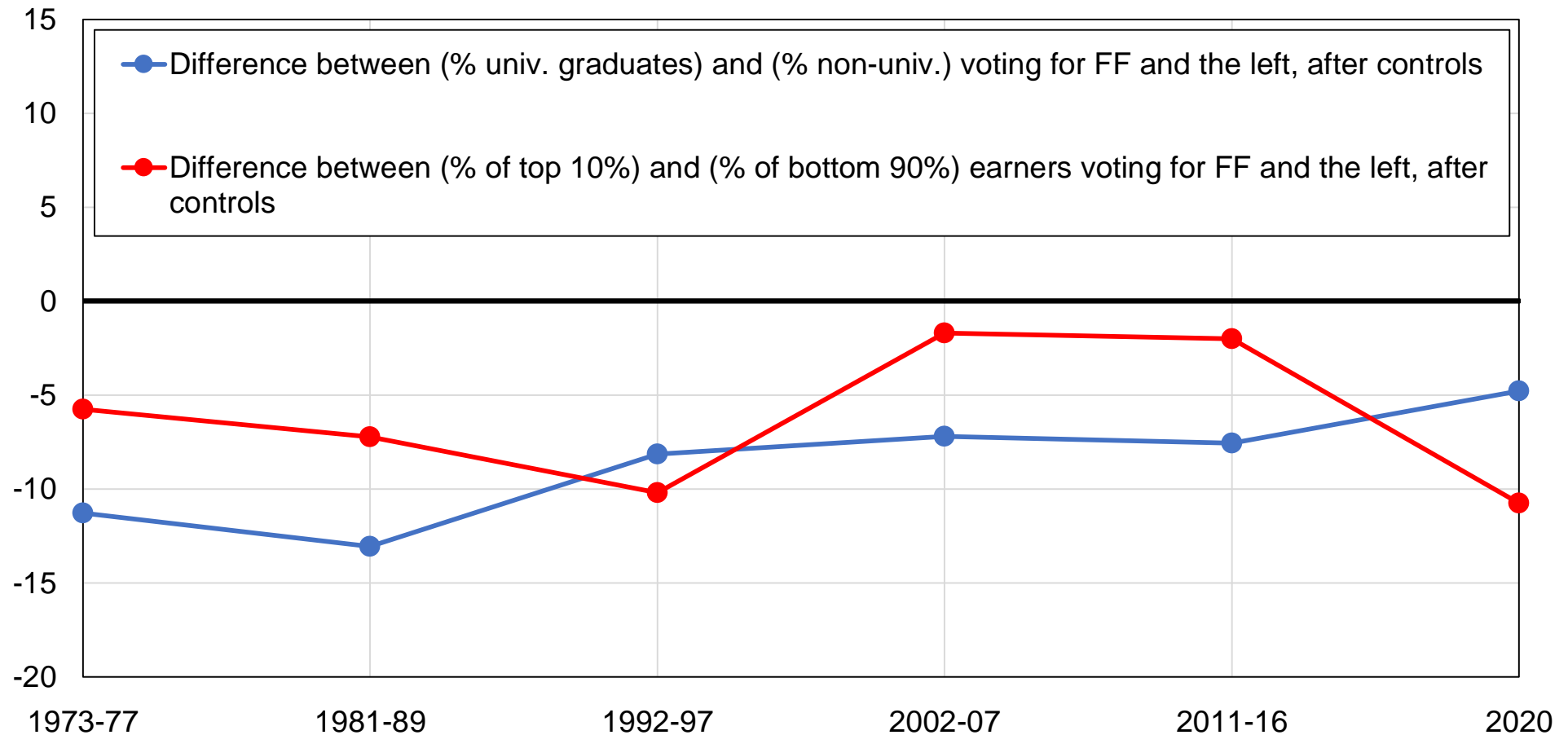
**Figure D1 - Election results in Ireland, 1948-2020**



**Source:** authors' computations using official election results.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Irish political parties in general elections between 1948 and 2020.

**Figure D2 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left among highest-educated and top-income voters in Ireland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the support for Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controlling for income, education, age, gender, employment, marital status, religious affiliation and church attendance.

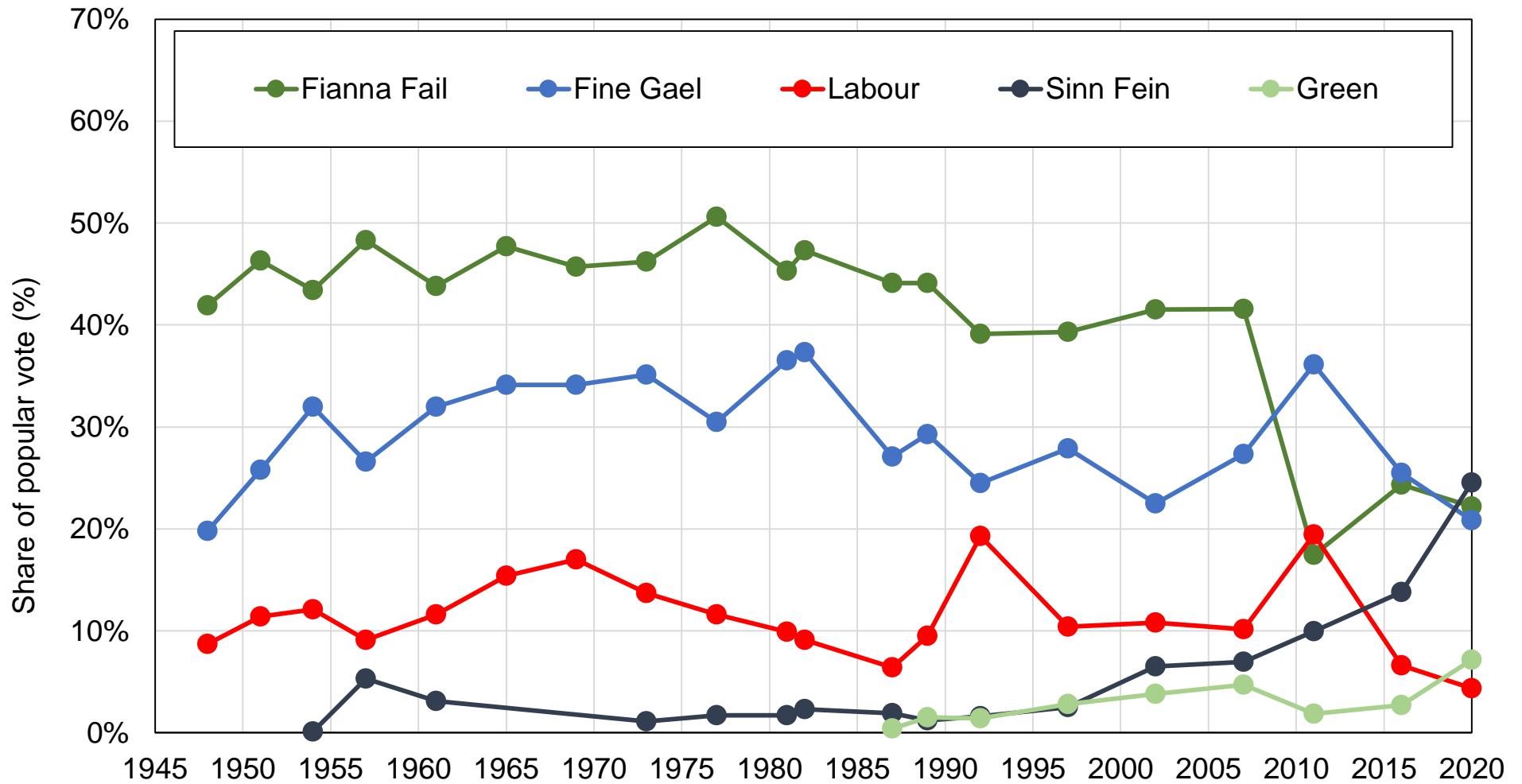
**Table D1 - The structure of political cleavages in Ireland, 2020**

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

**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Notes:** the table shows the average share of votes received by the main political parties by selected individual characteristics in the 2020 election.

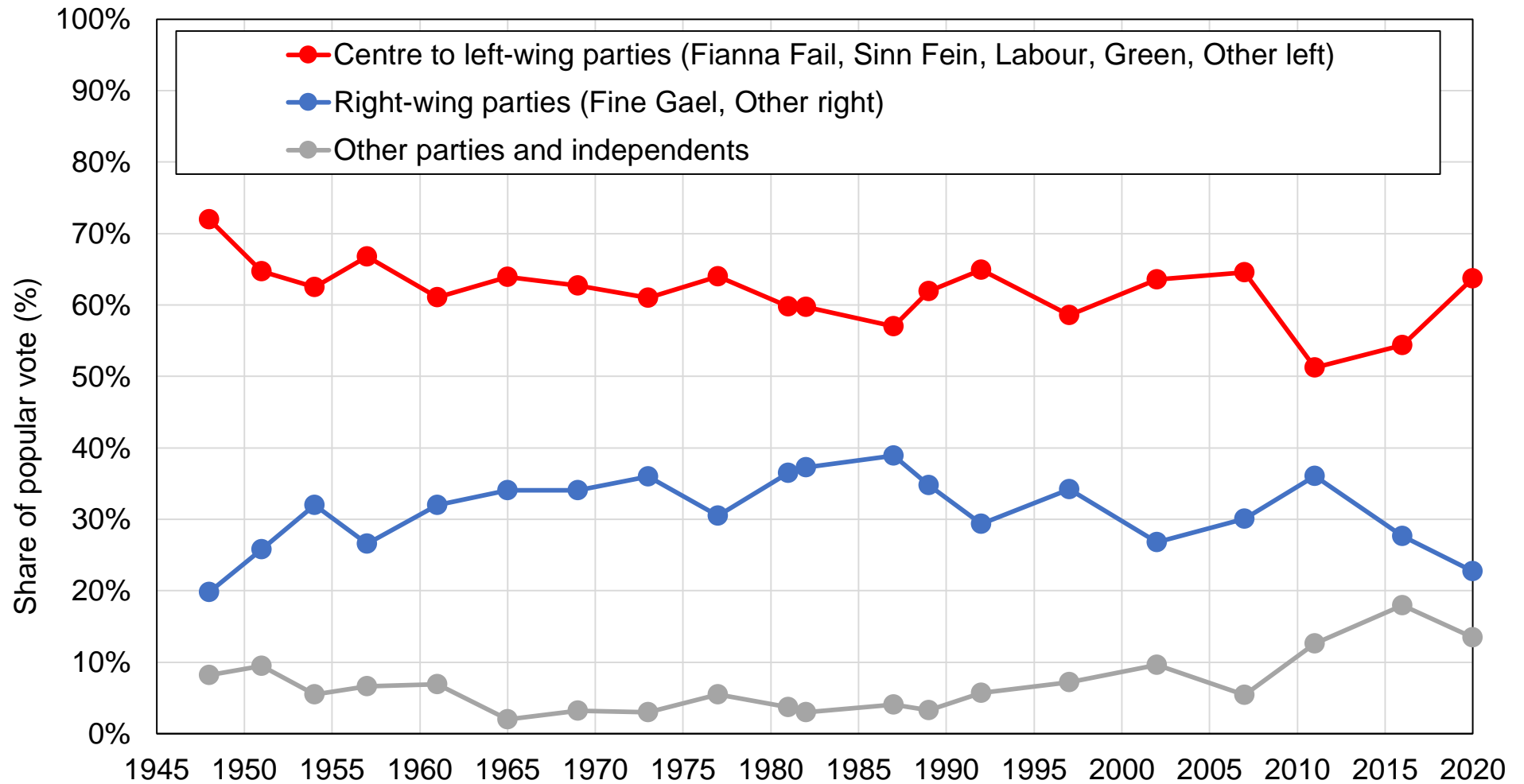
**Figure DA1 - Election results in Ireland, 1948-2020**



**Source:** authors' computations using official election results.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Irish political parties in general elections between 1948 and 2020.

**Figure DA2 - Election results in Ireland by groups, 1948-2020**

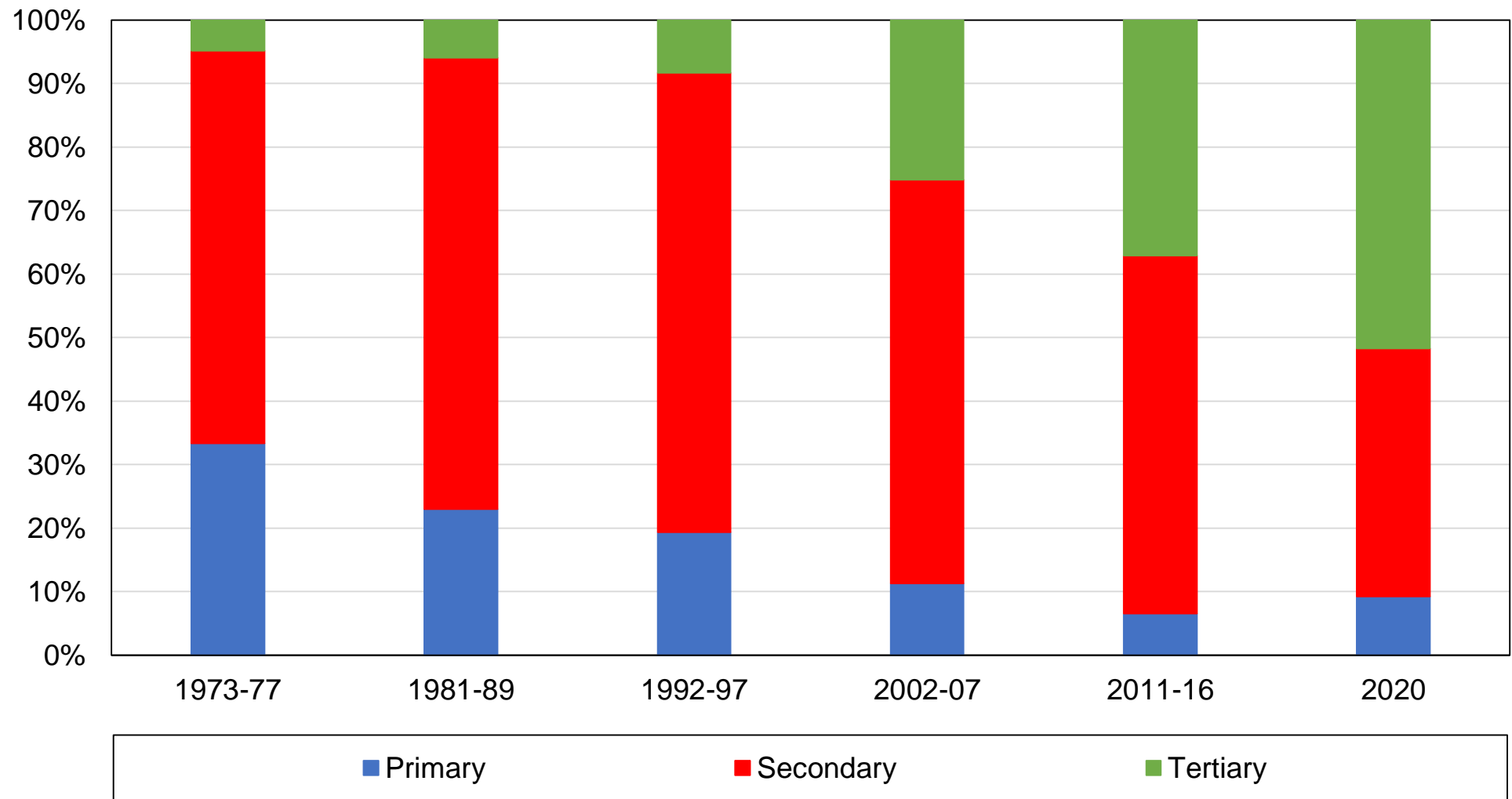


**Source:** authors' computations using official election results.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Irish political parties in general elections between 1948 and 2020.



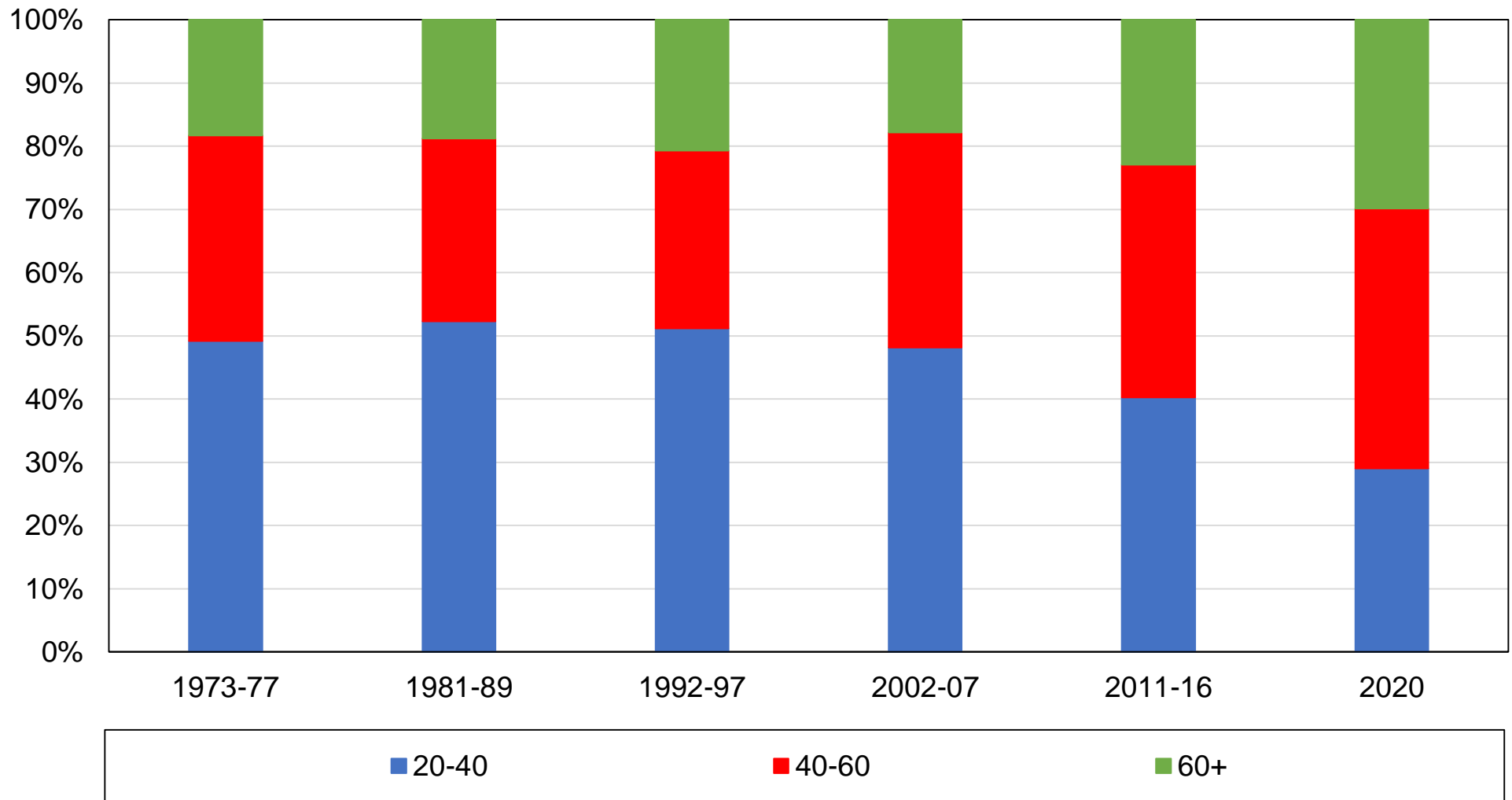
**Figure DA3 - The composition of the electorate by education**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the distribution of education levels in the Irish adult population and its evolution over time.

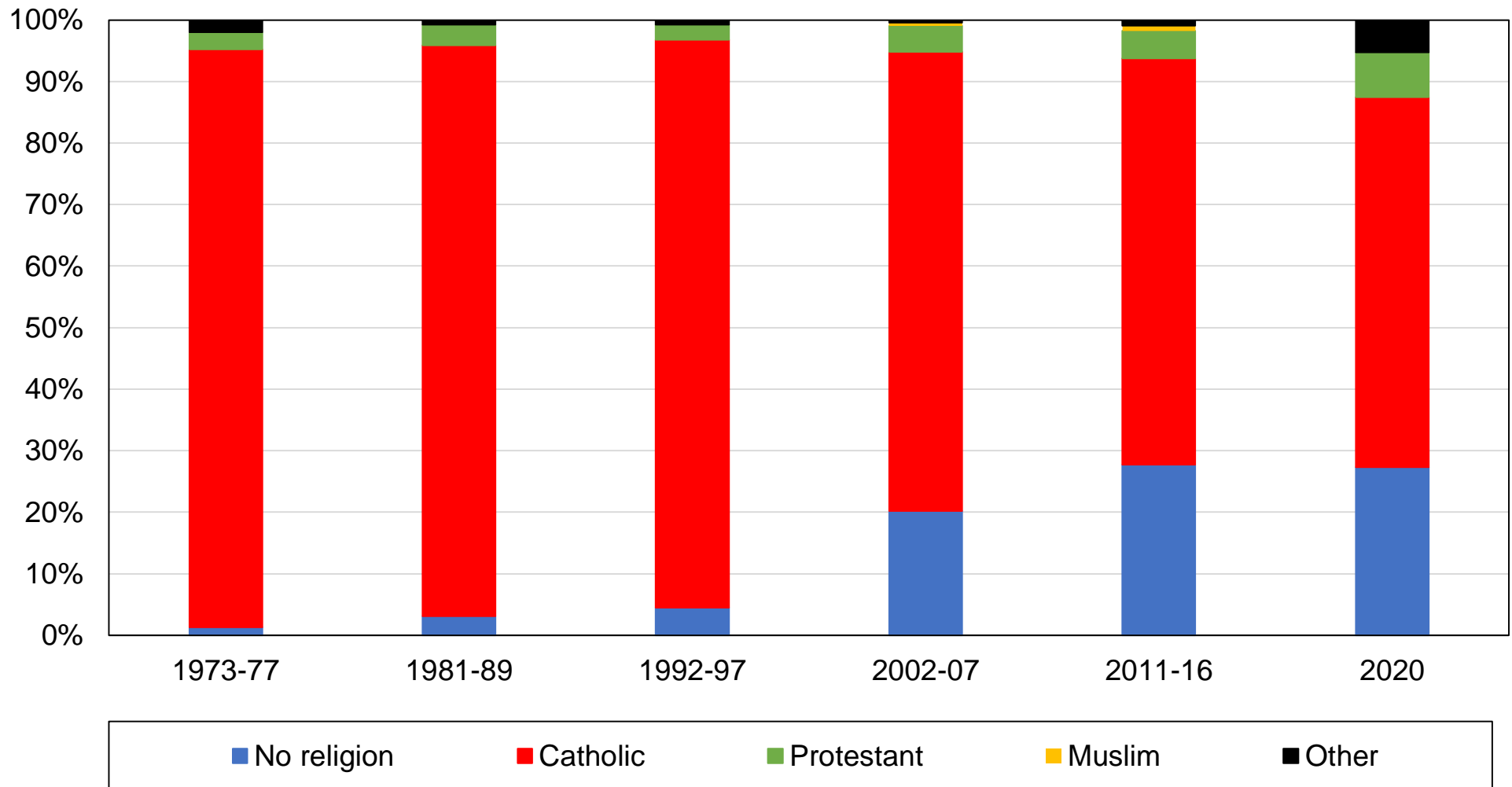
**Figure DA4 - The composition of the electorate by age**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the distribution of age groups in the Irish adult population and its evolution over time.

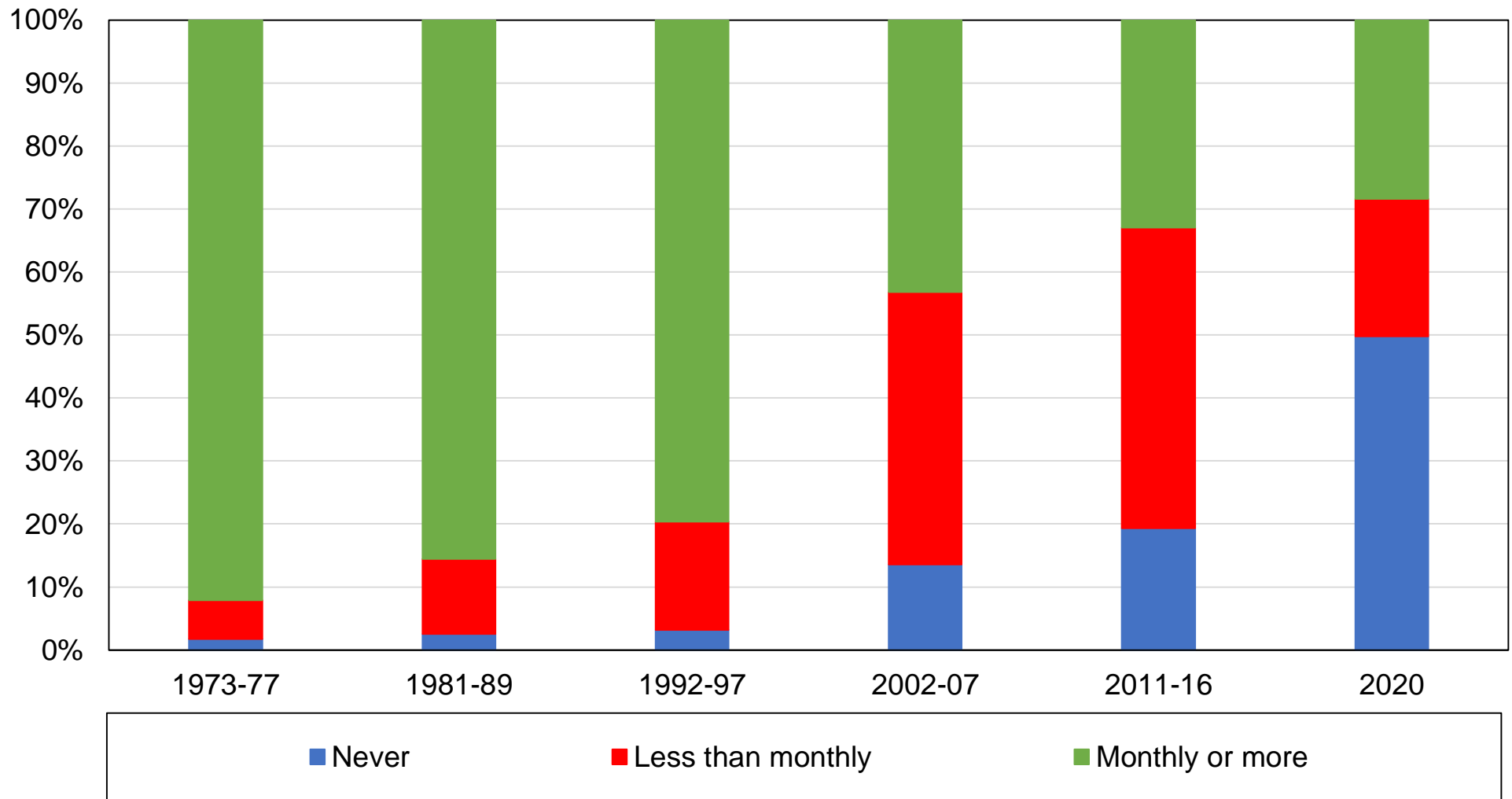
**Figure DA5 - The composition of the electorate by religion**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the distribution of religious affiliation in the Irish adult population and its evolution over time.

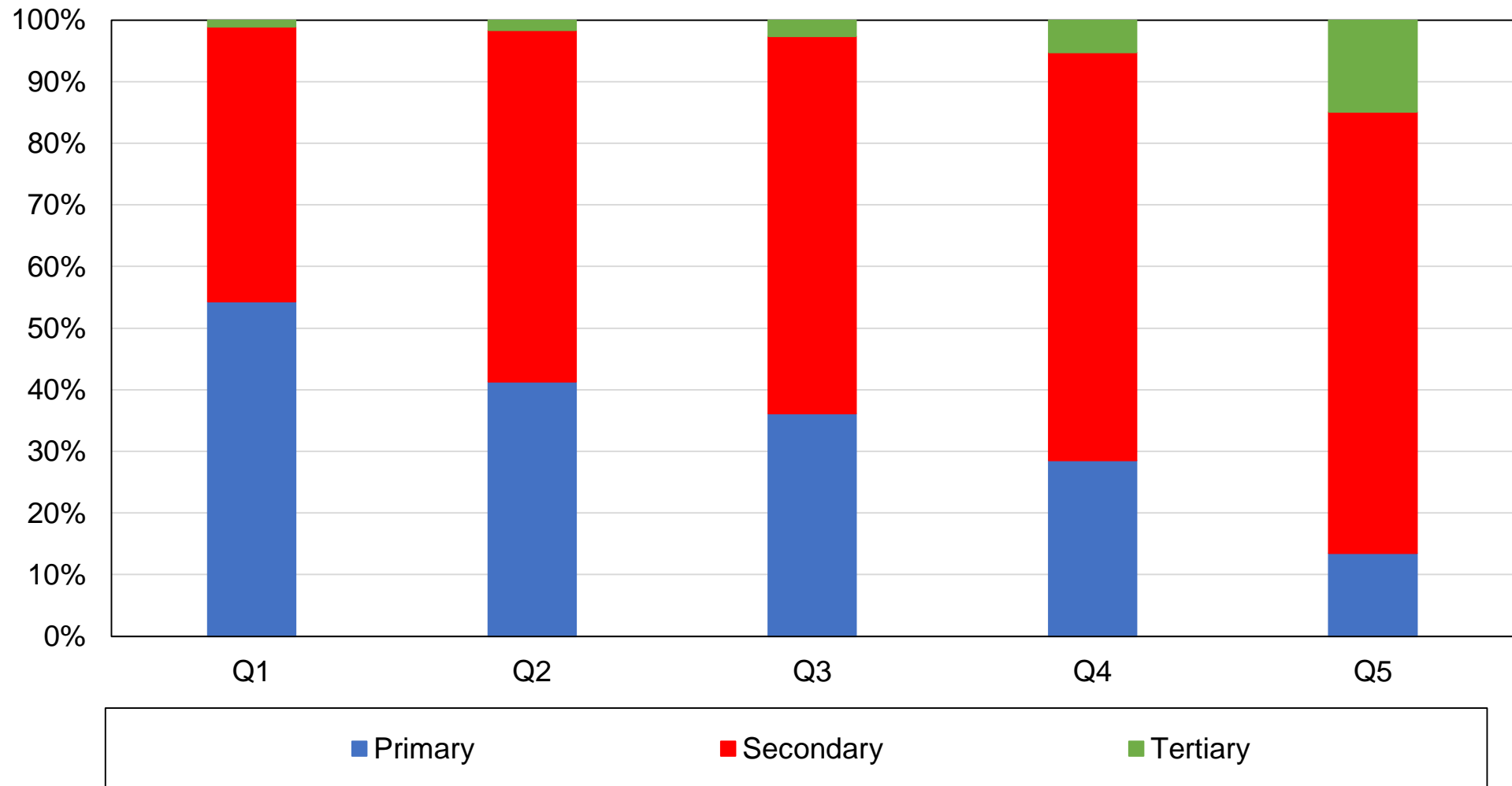
**Figure DA6 - The composition of the electorate by church attendance**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the distribution of church attendance in the Irish adult population and its distribution over time.

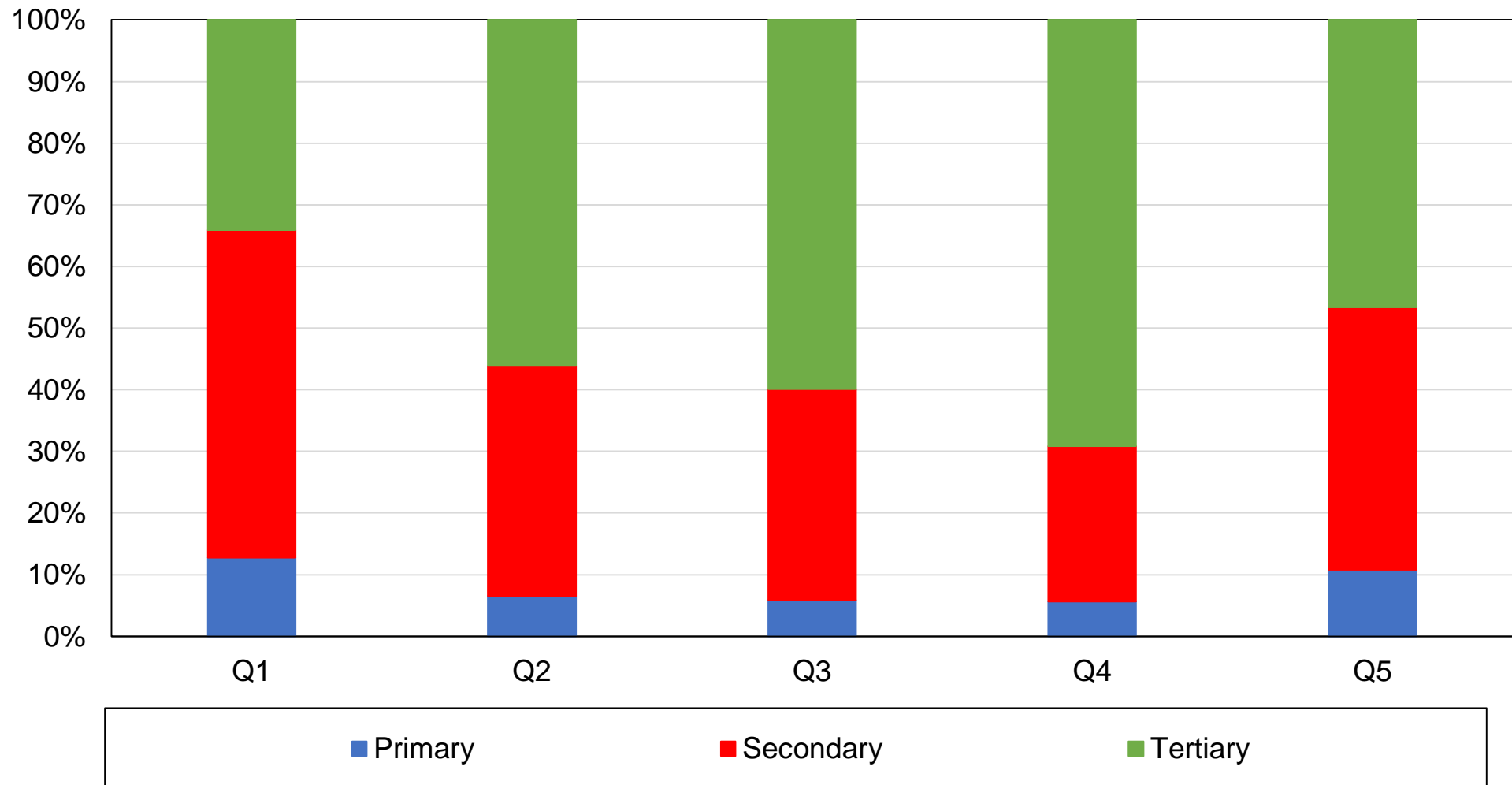
**Figure DA7 - Composition of income quintiles by education level, 1970s**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the distribution of education level by income quintile in the Irish adult population in the 1970s.

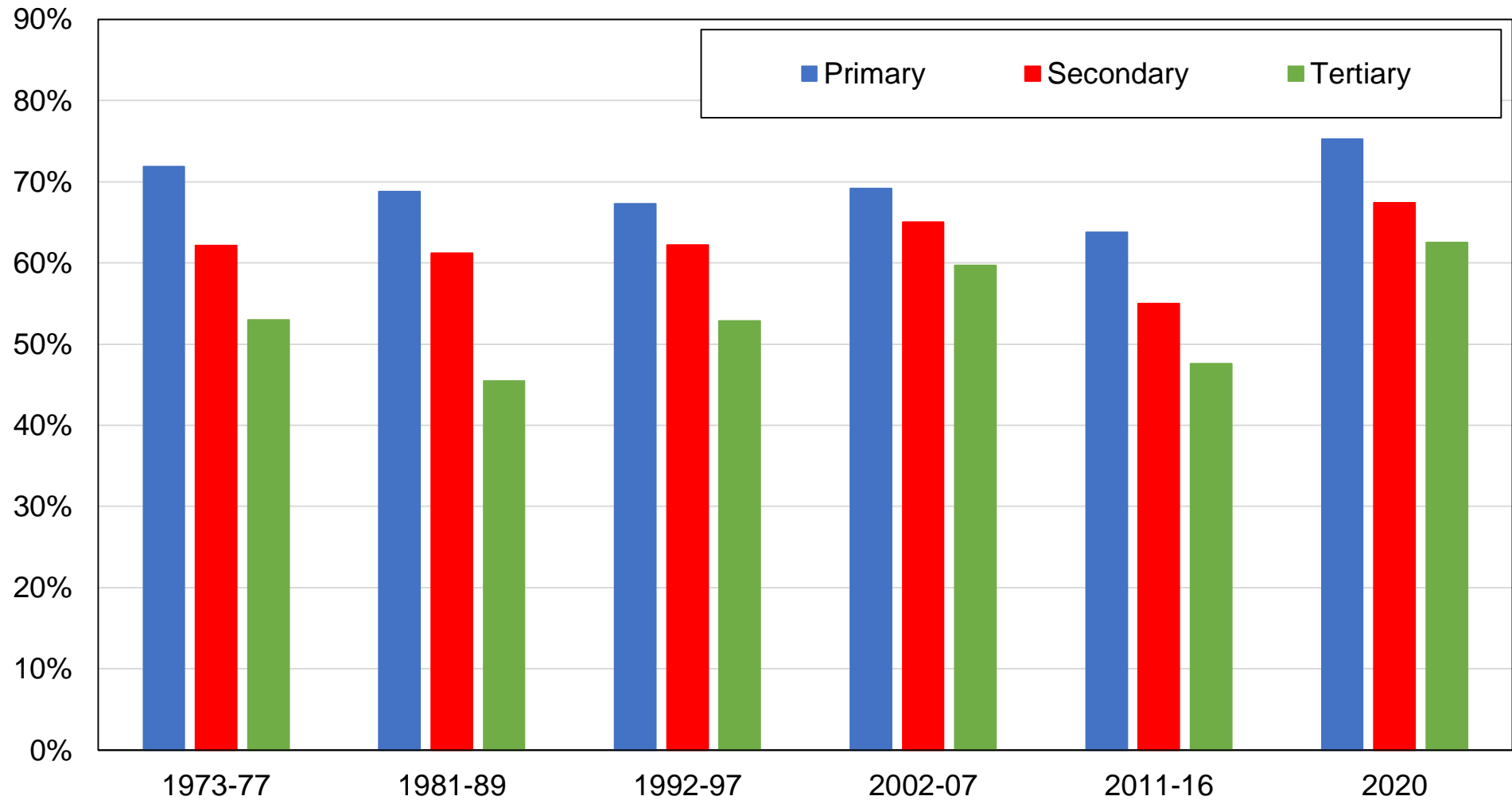
**Figure DA8 - Composition of income quintiles by education level, 2020**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the distribution of education level by income quintile in the Irish adult population in 2020.

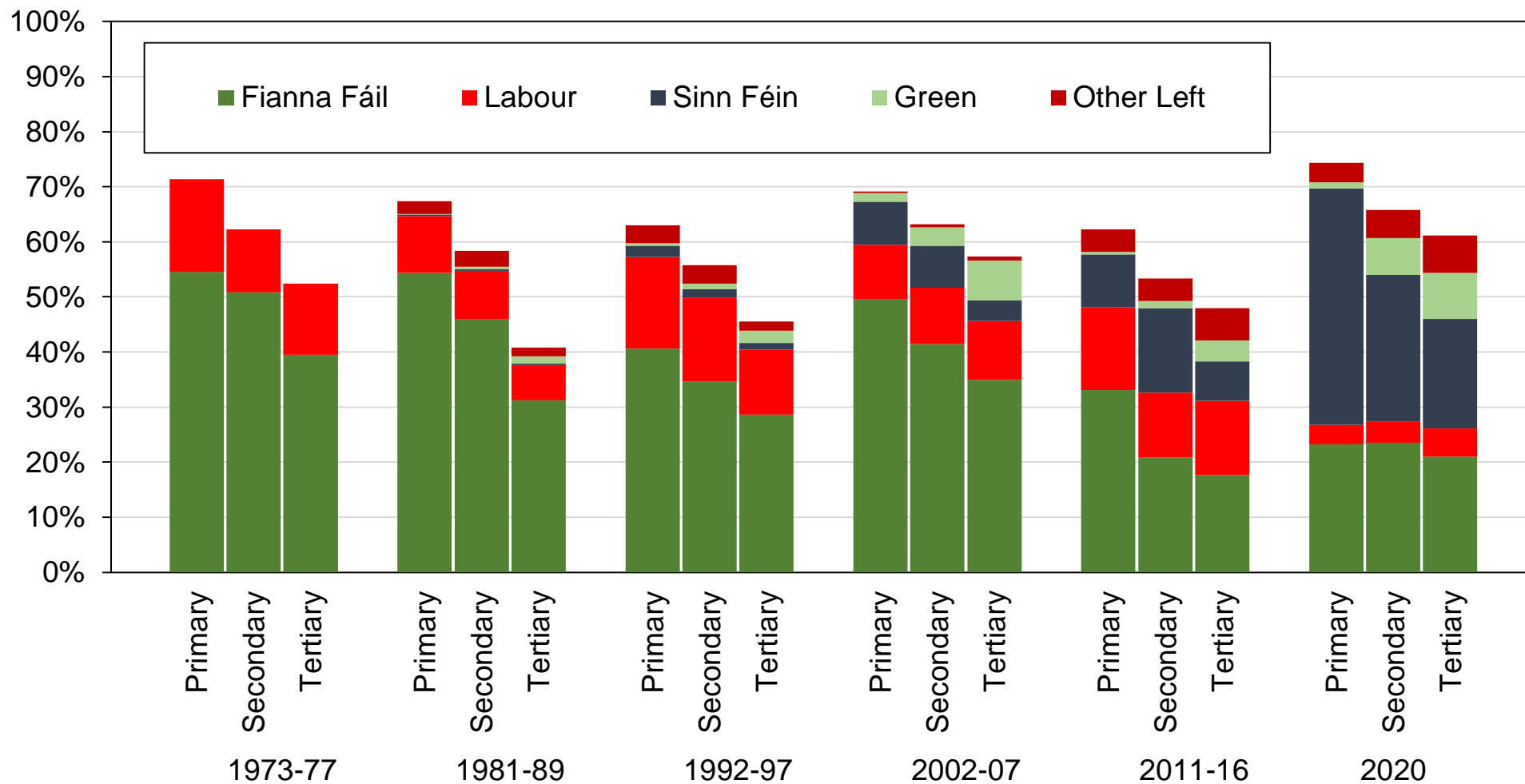
**Figure DB1 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left by education level**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties by education level.

**Figure DB2 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other Left by education level (decomposed)**

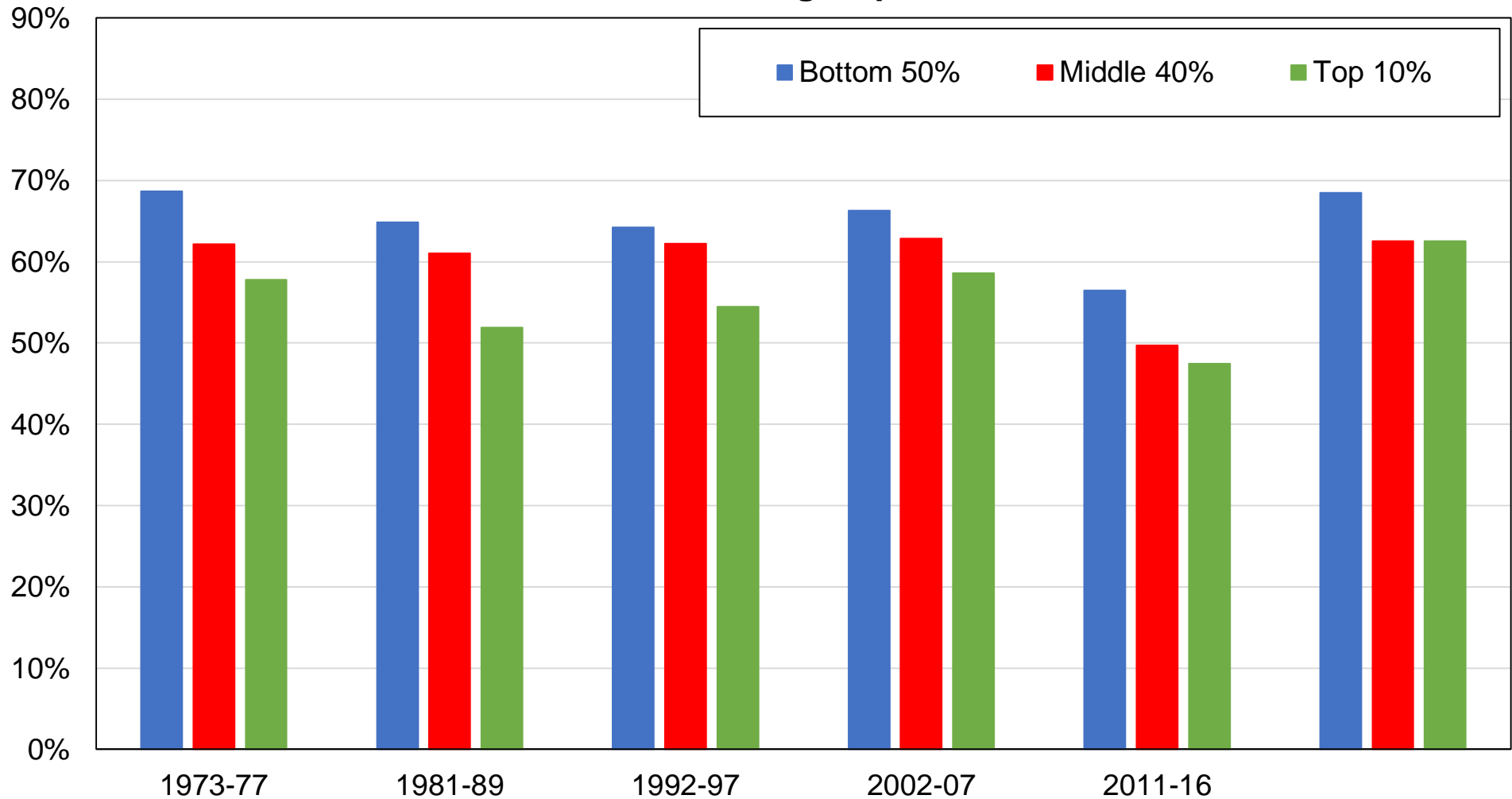


**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by each party by education level.



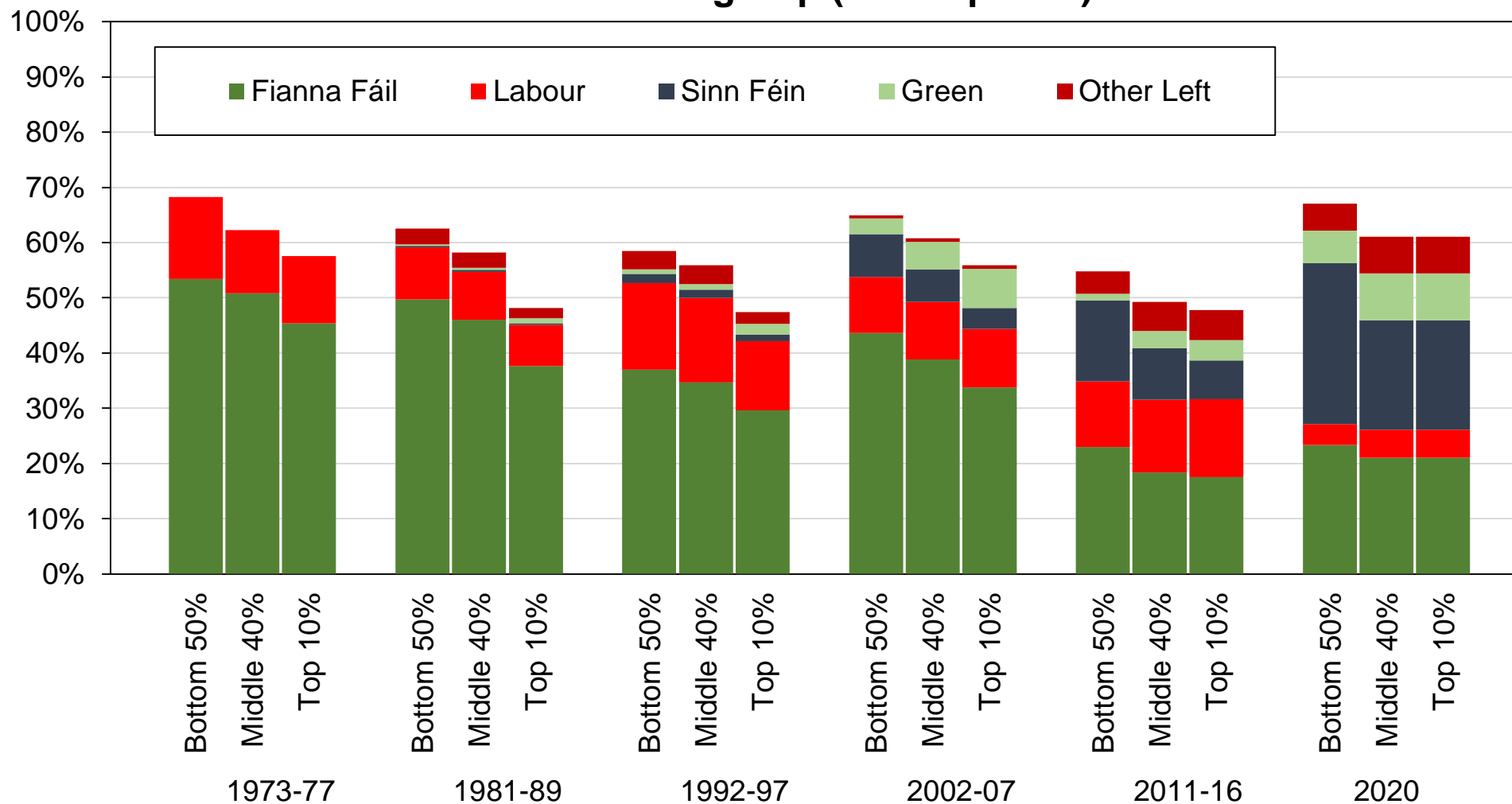
**Figure DB3 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left by education group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties by education group.

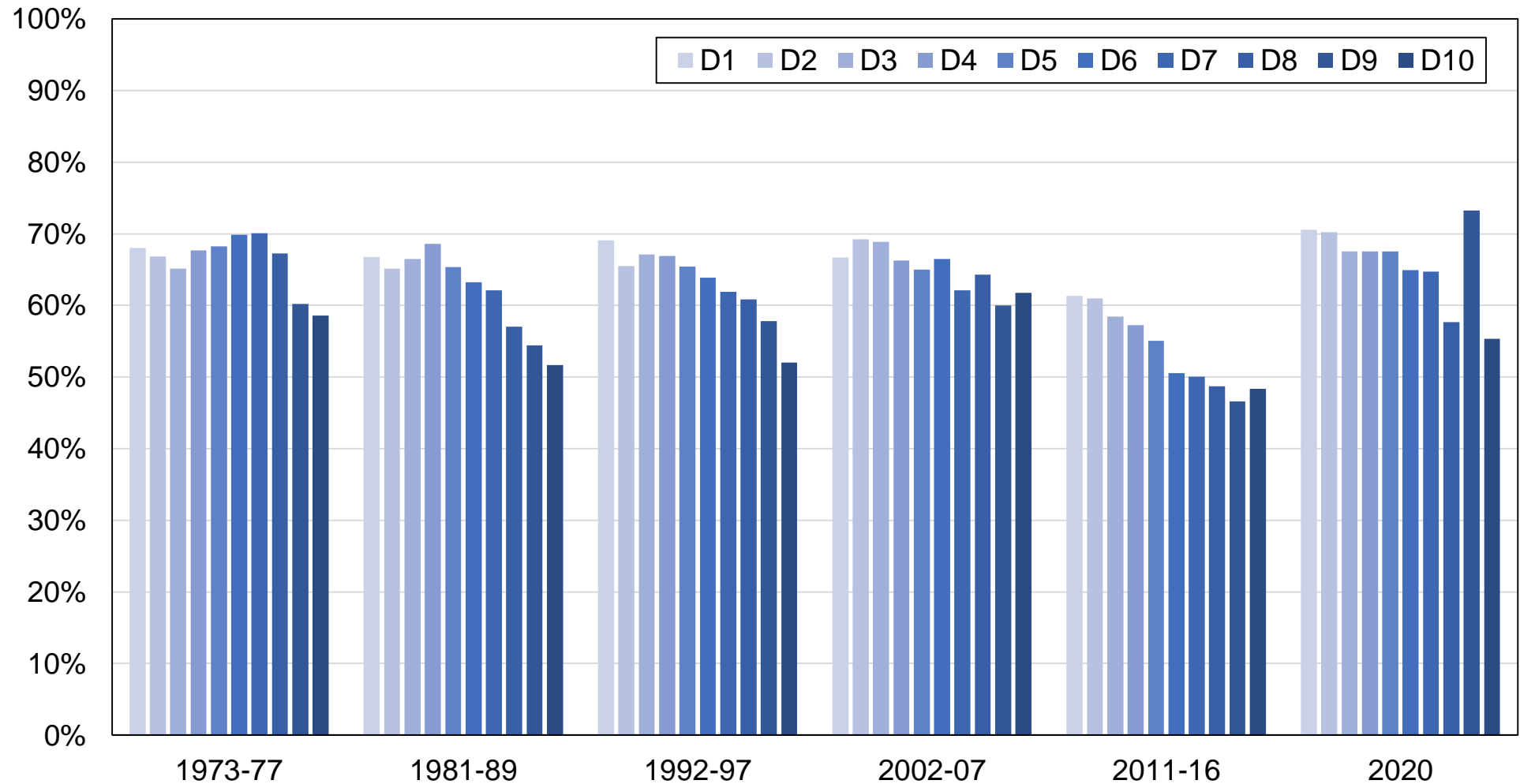
**Figure DB4 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other Left by education group (decomposed)**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by each party by education group across decades.

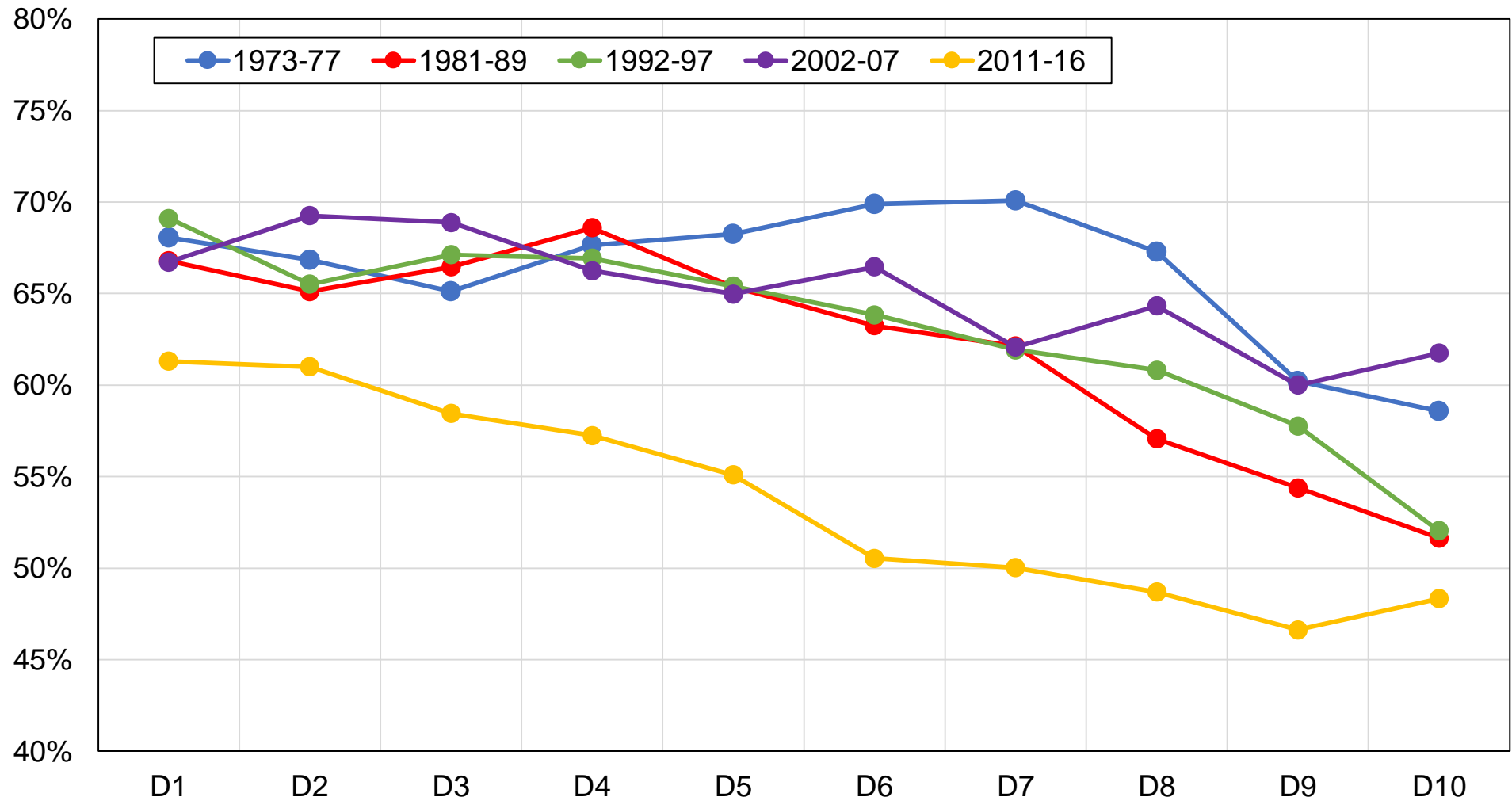
**Figure DB5 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left by income decile**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties by income decile.

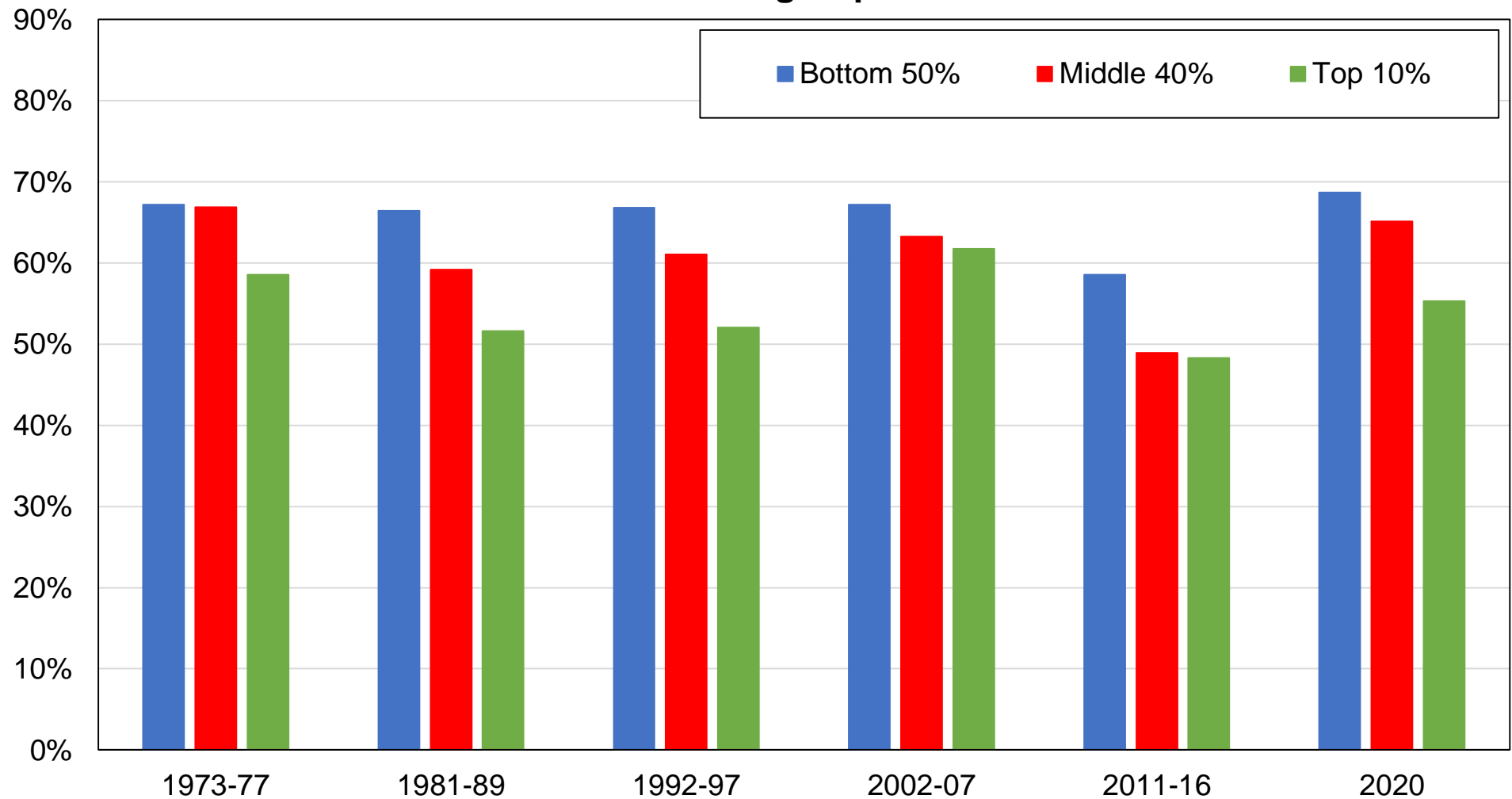
**Figure DB6 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left by income decile**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties by income decile.

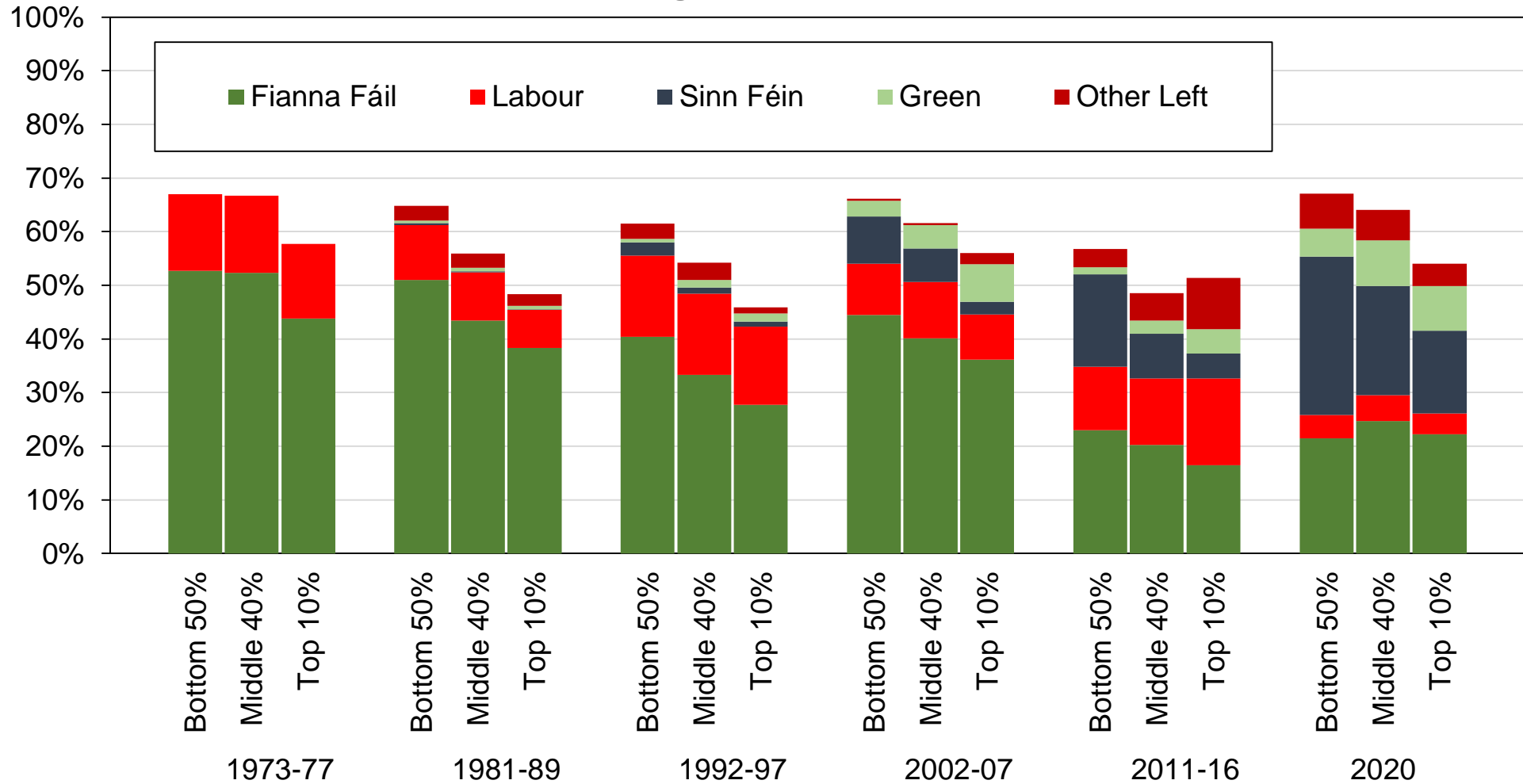
**Figure DB7 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left by income group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties by income group.

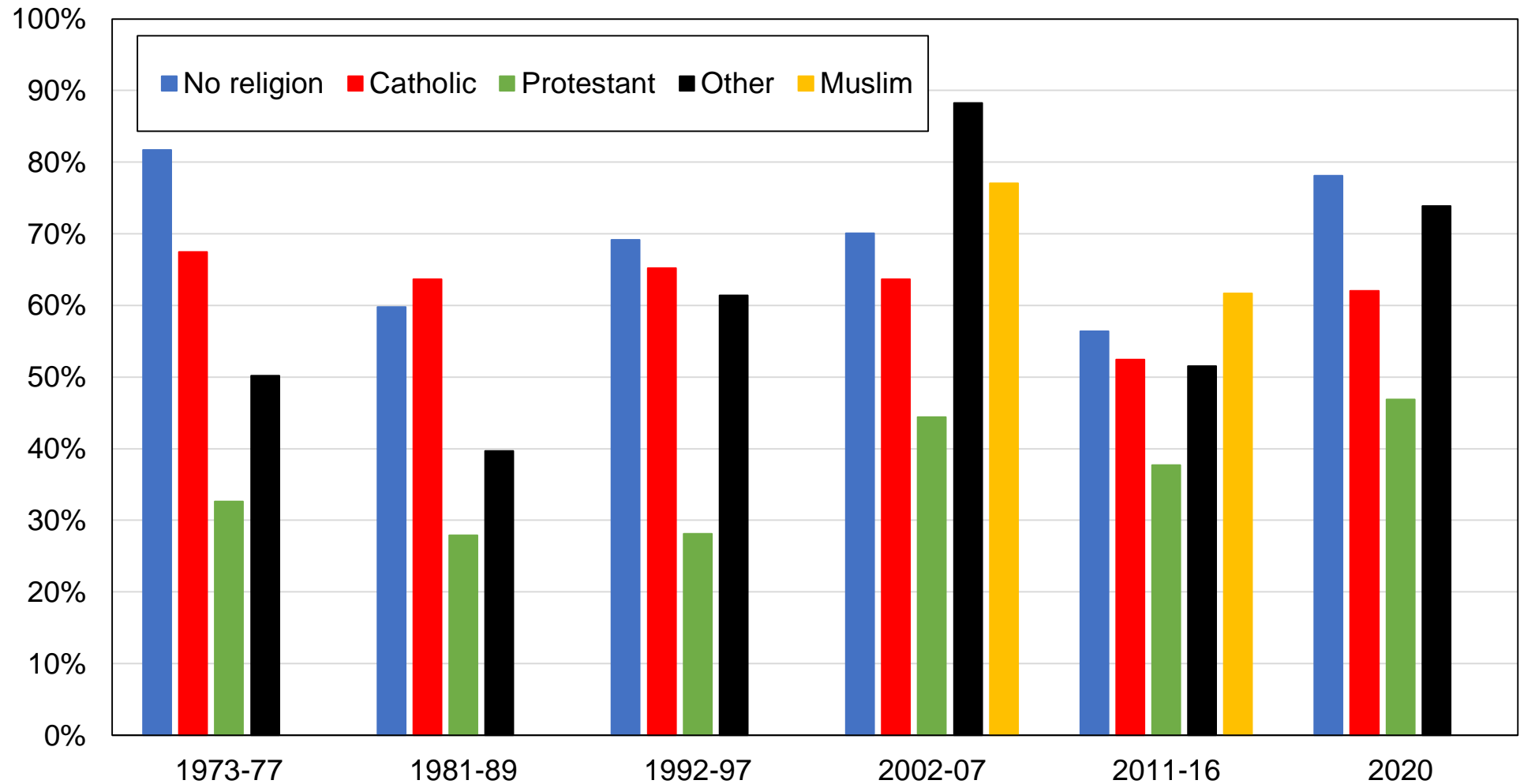
**Figure DB8 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other Left by income group (decomposed)**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties by income group.

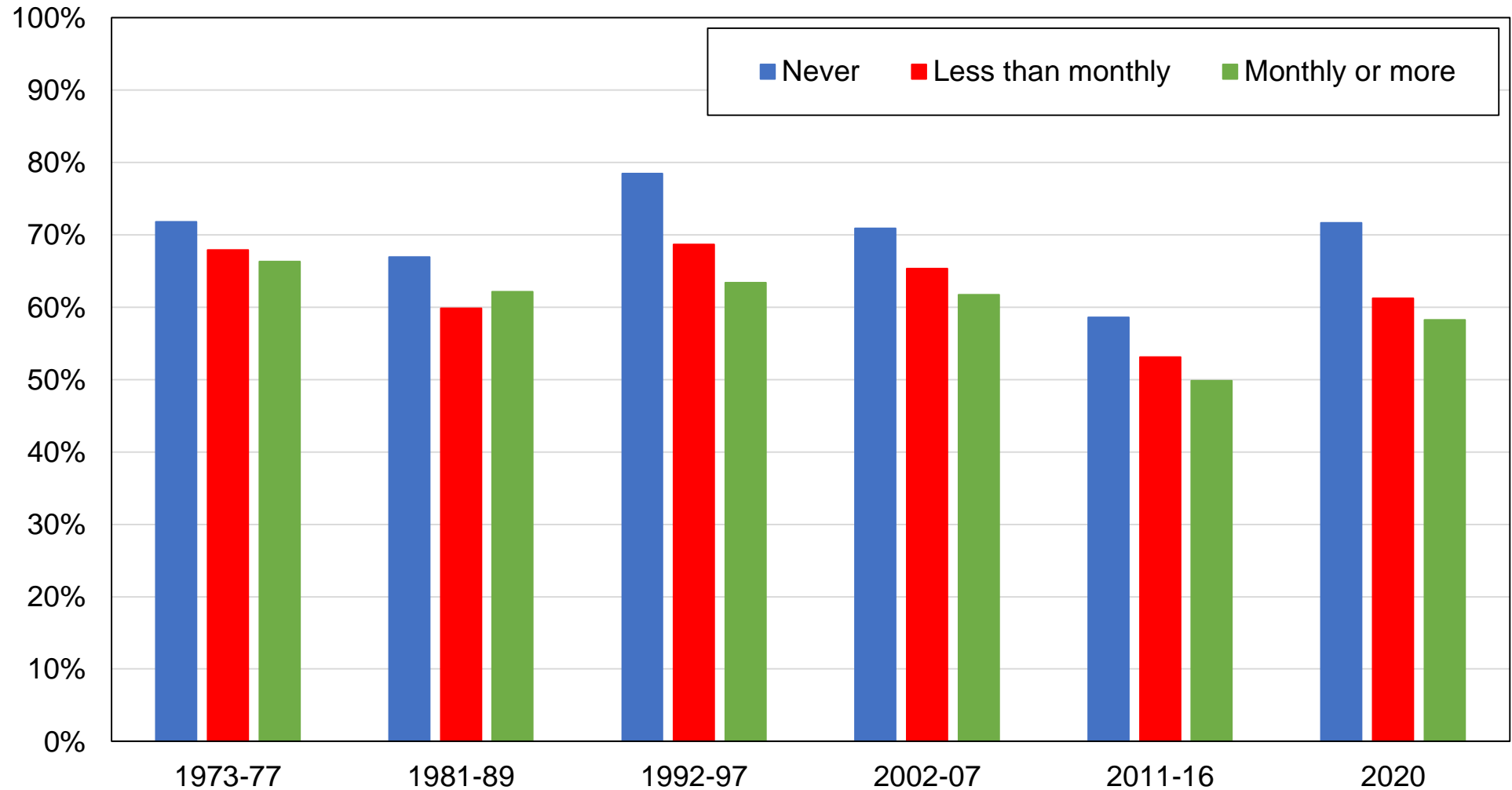
**Figure DB9 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left by religious affiliation**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties by religious affiliation.

**Figure DB10 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left by church attendance**

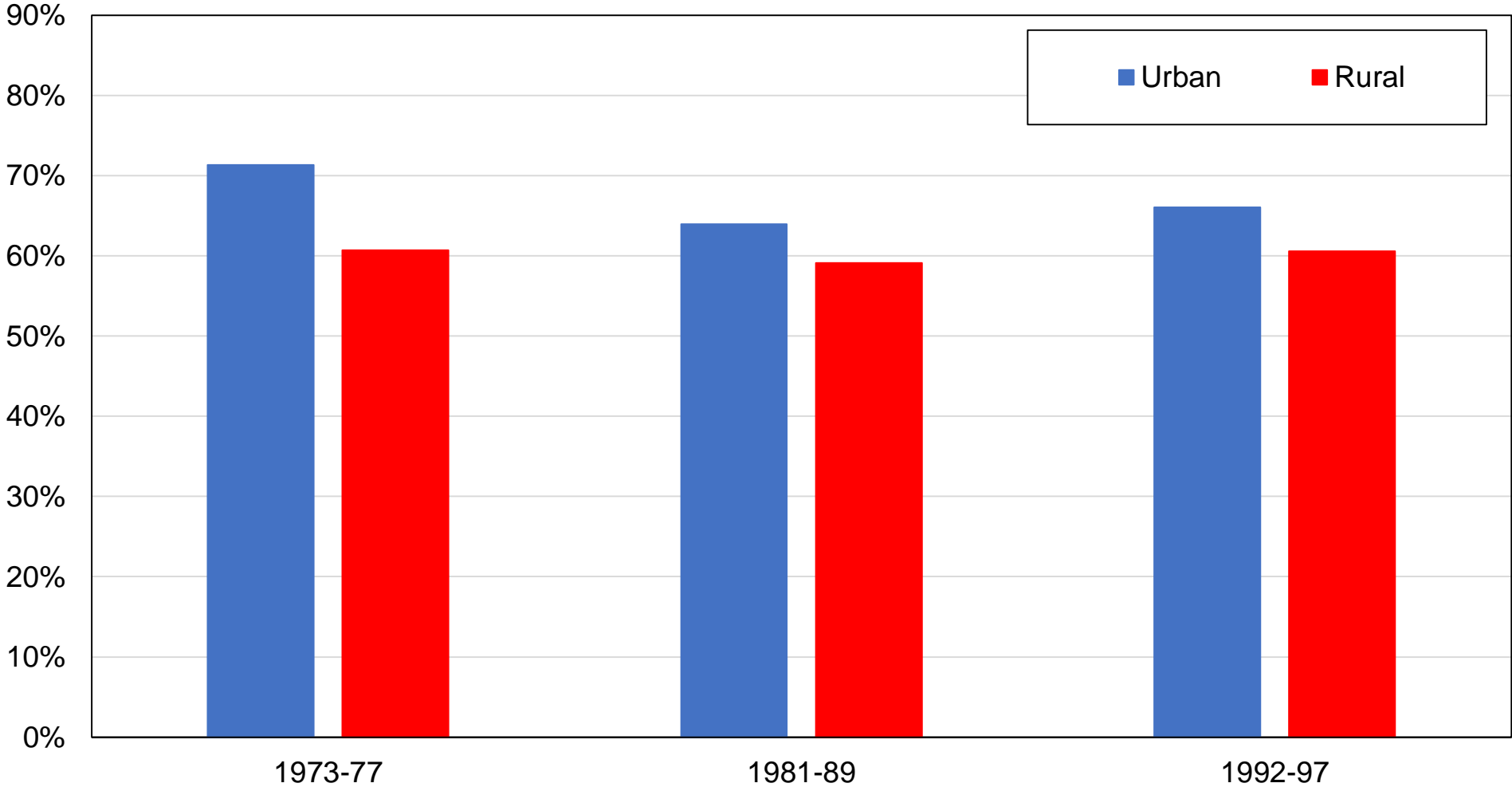


**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties by frequency of church attendance.



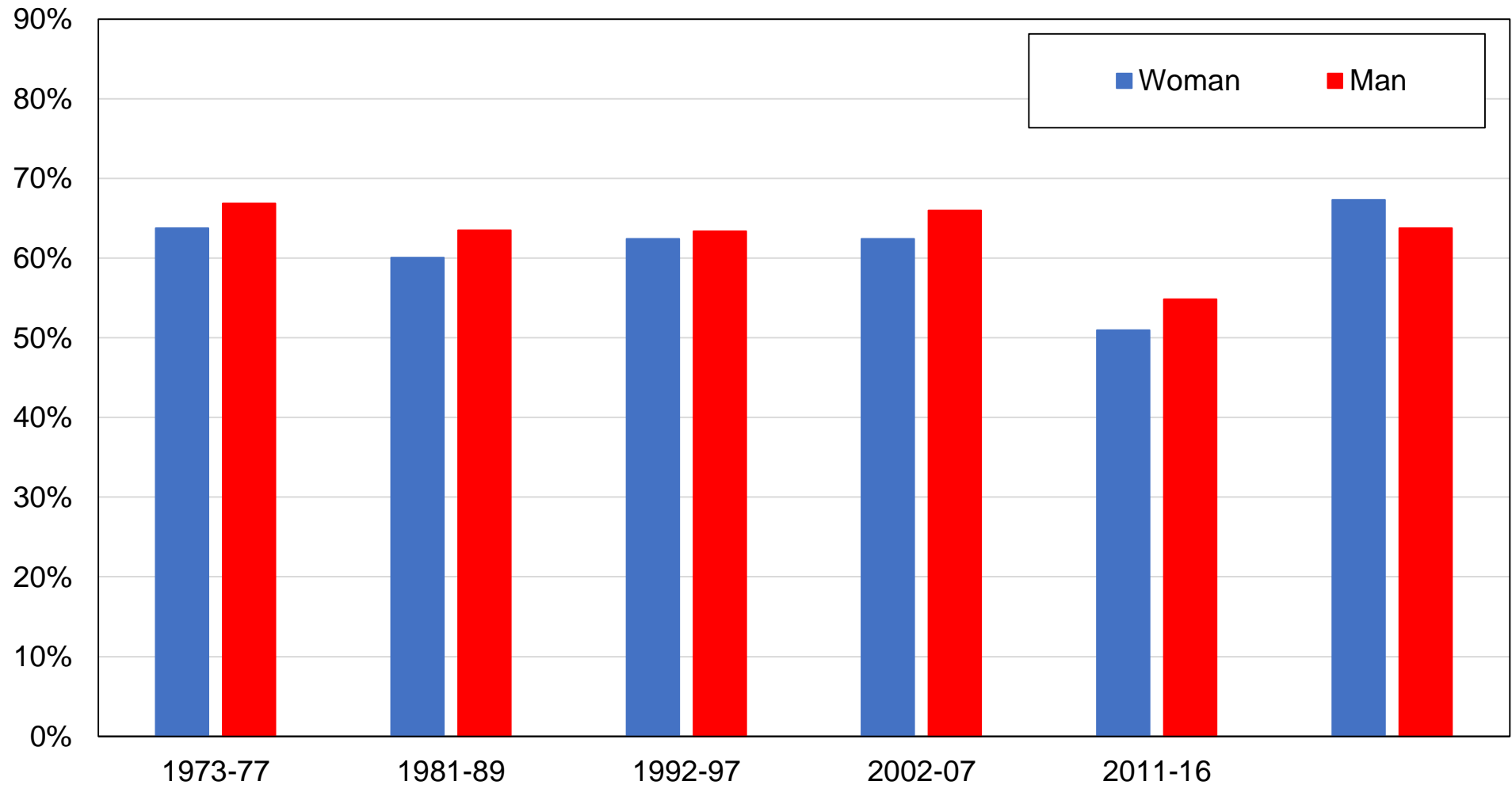
**Figure DB11 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left by location**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties by rural-urban location.

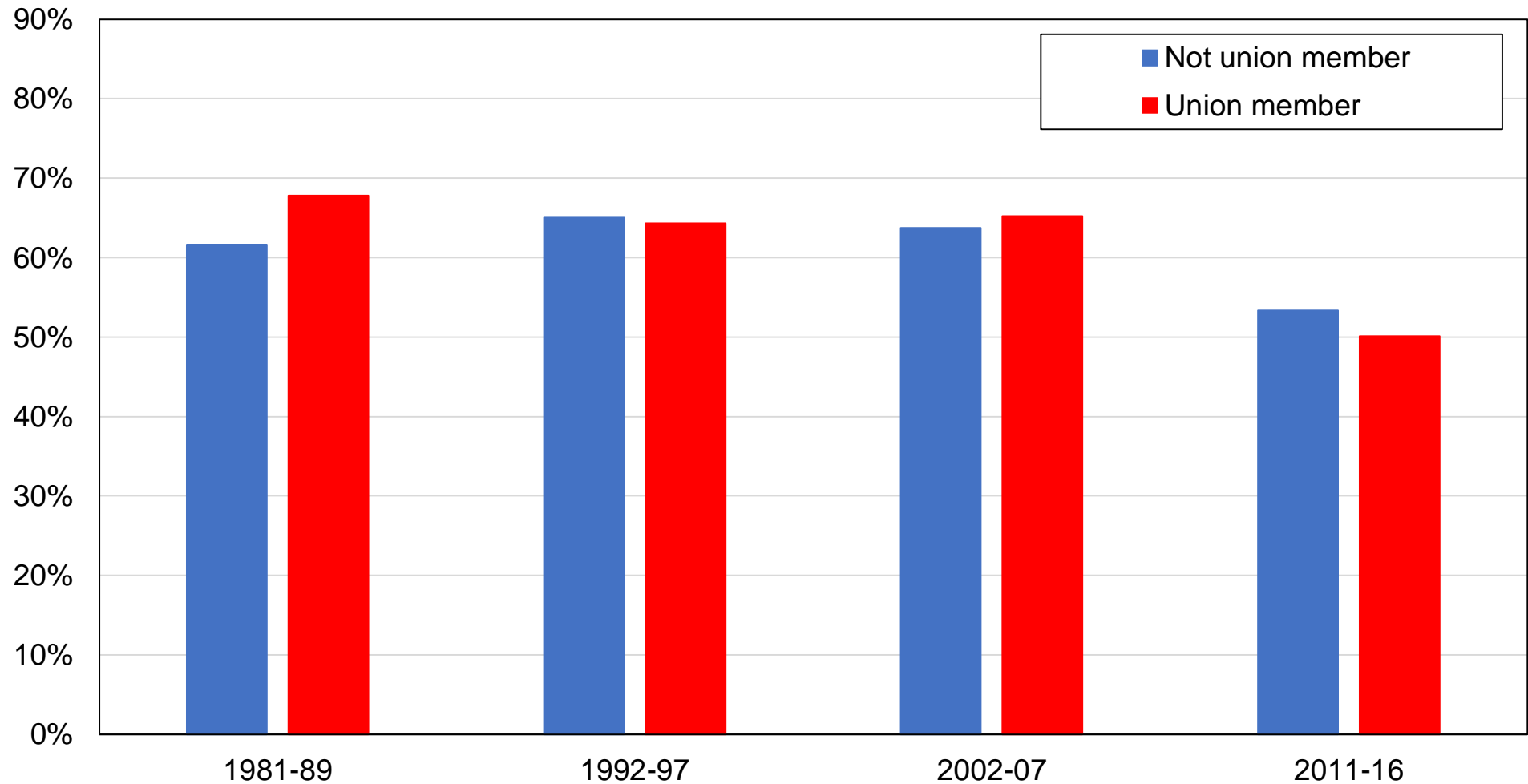
**Figure DB12 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left by gender**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties by gender.

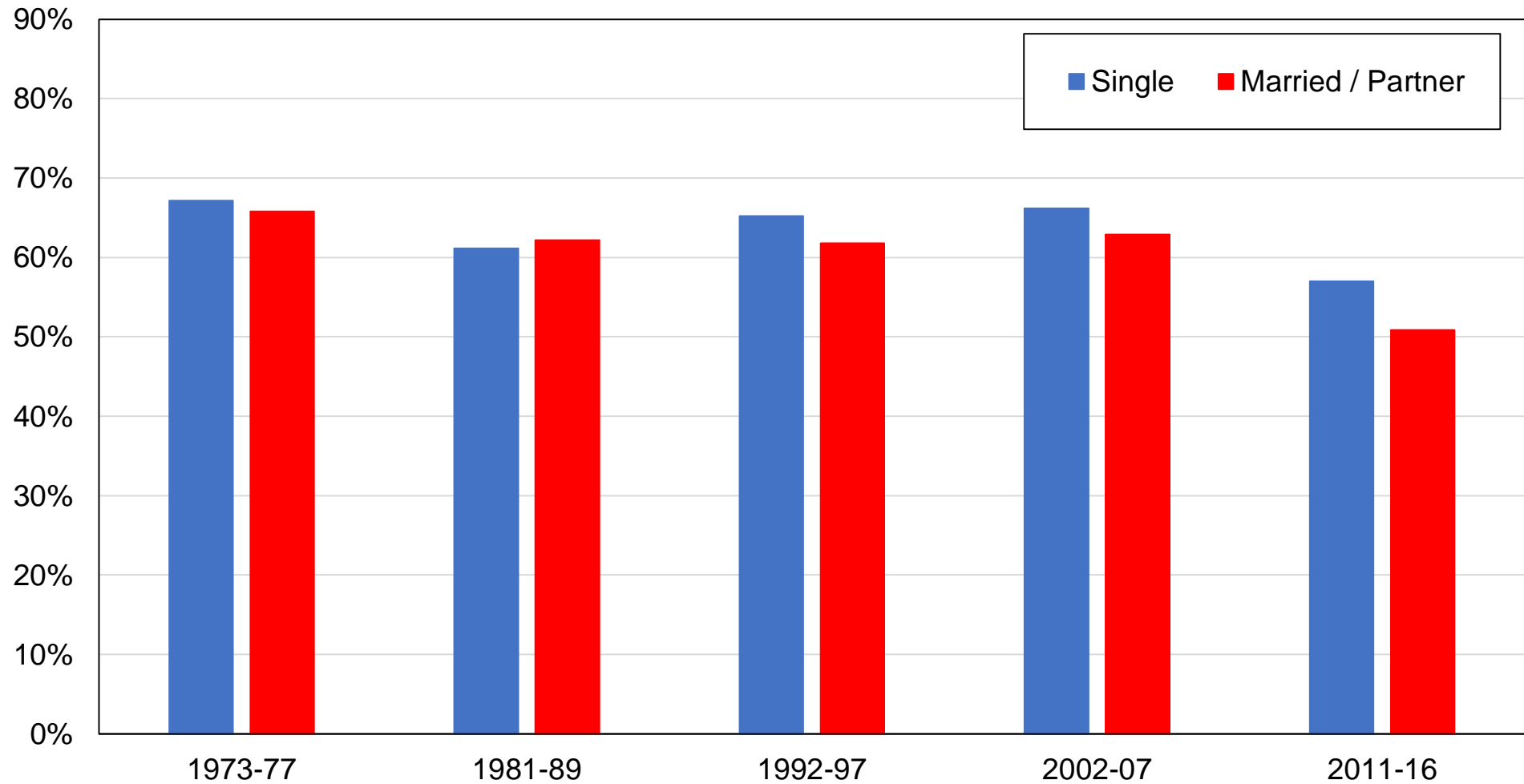
**Figure DB13 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left by union membership**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties by union membership status.

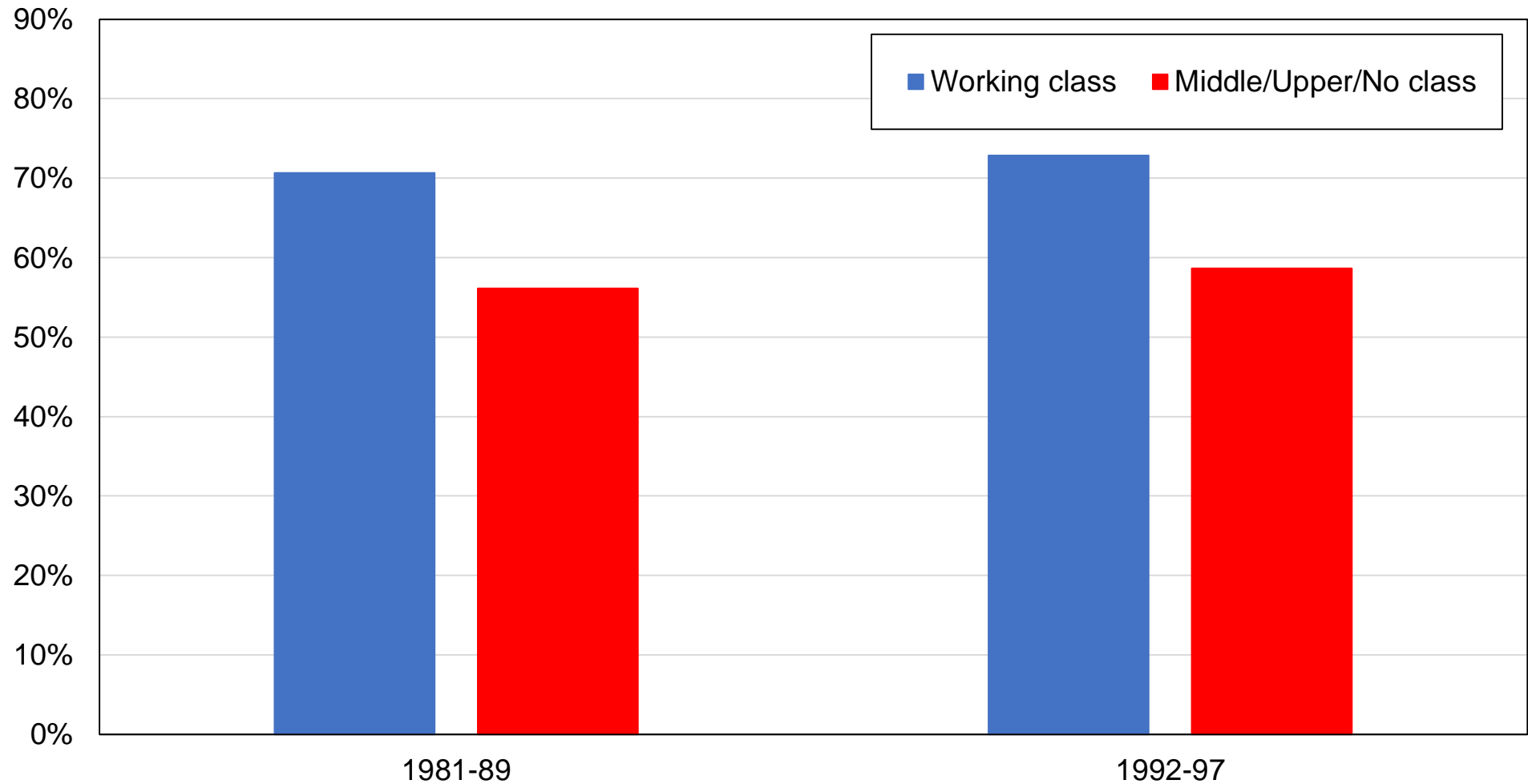
**Figure DB14 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left by marital status**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties by marital status.

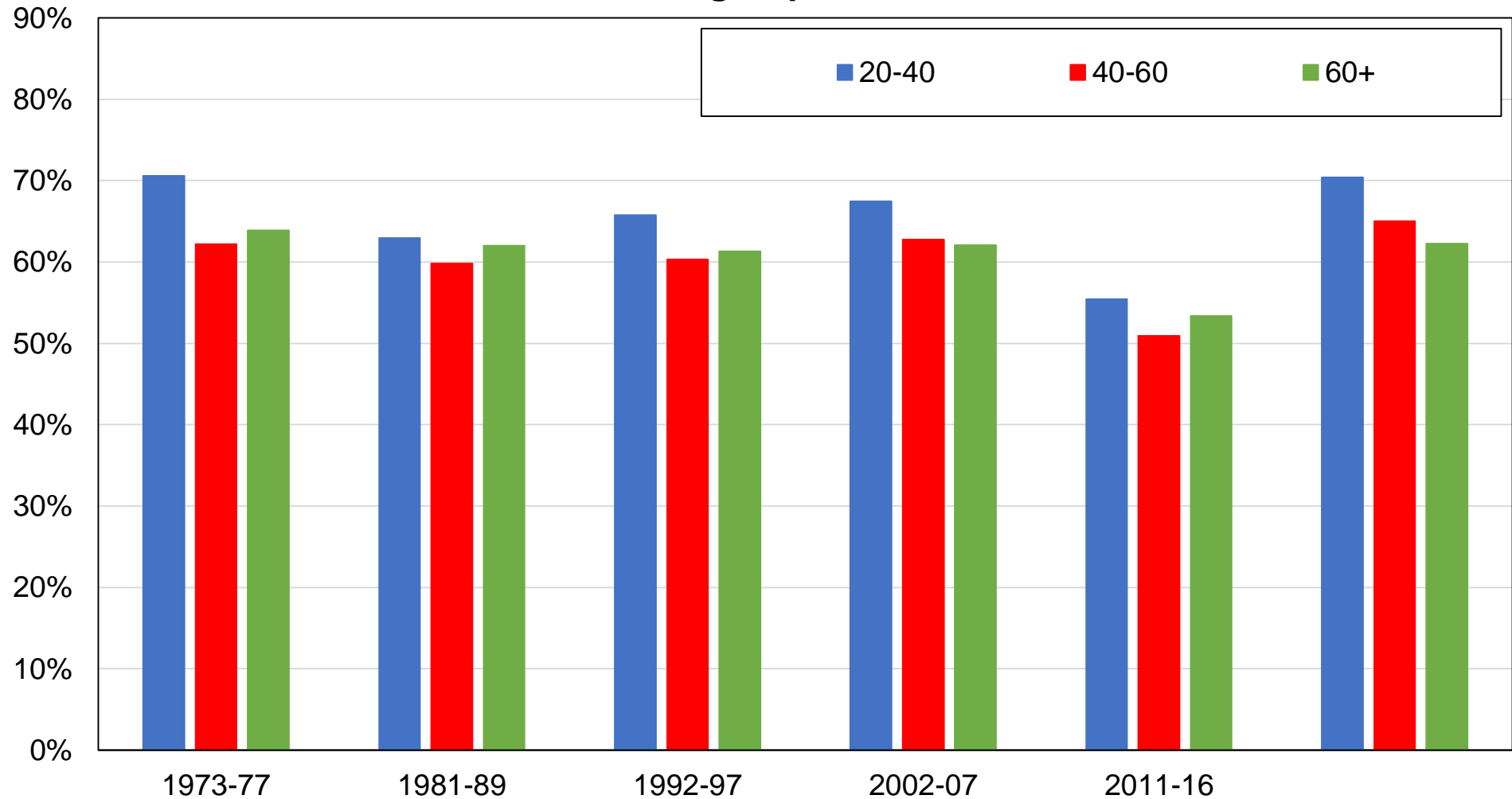
**Figure DB15 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left by perceived social class**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties by self-perceived social class. Working class includes "lower class". Middle class includes "no class" and "upper class".

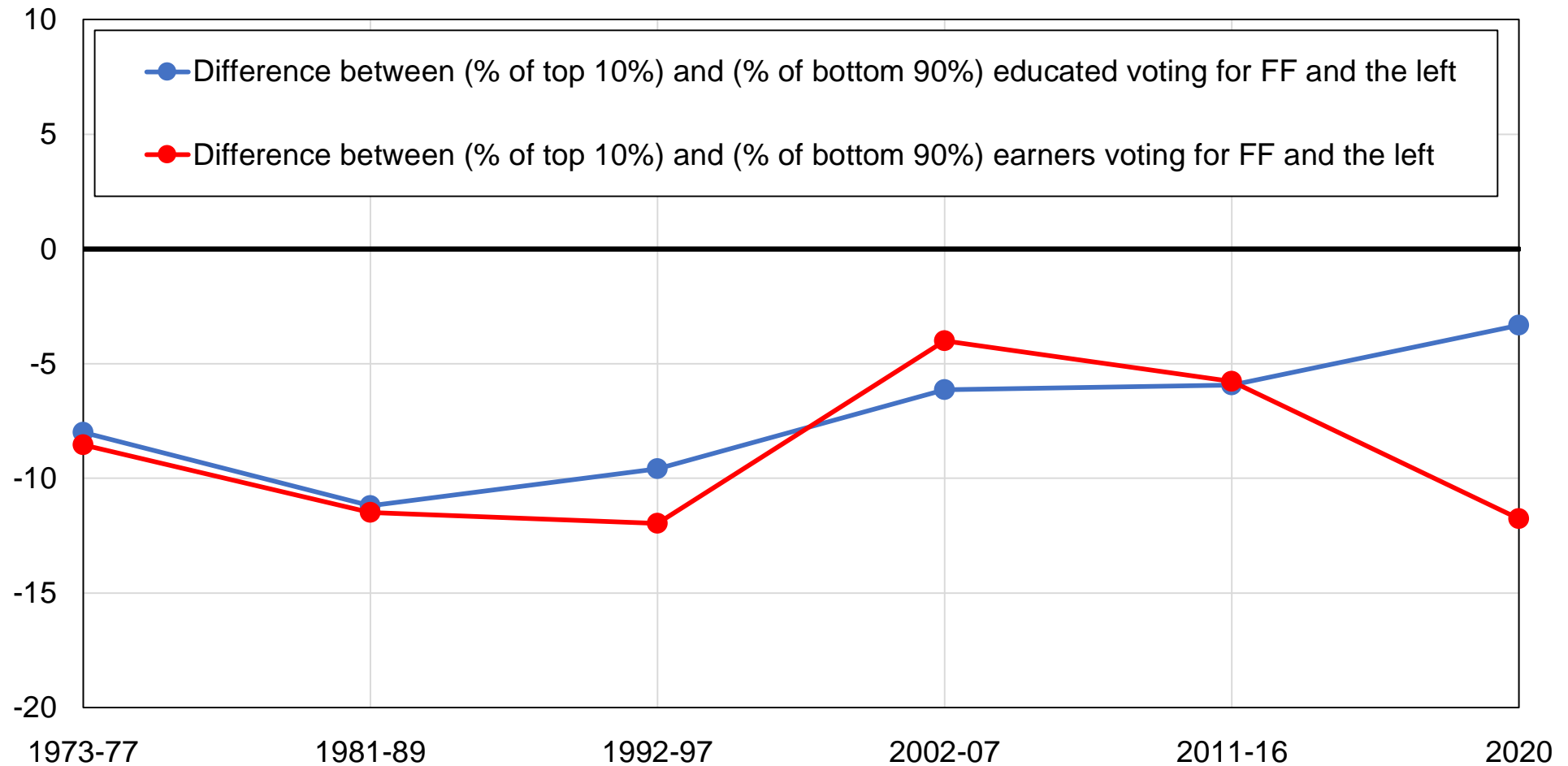
**Figure DB16 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left by age group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties by age group.

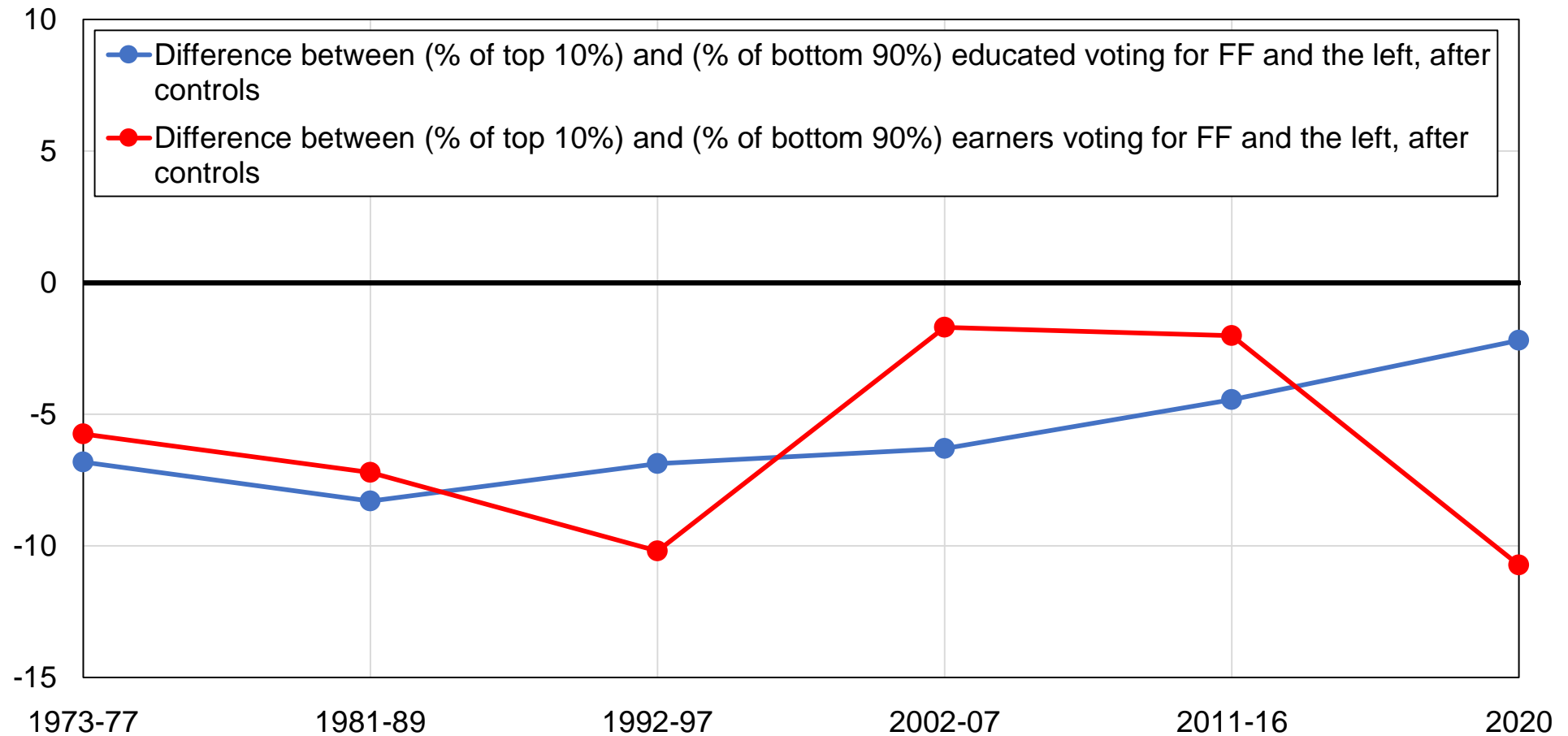
**Figure DC1 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left among highest-educated and top-income voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the support for Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties among highest-educated and top-income voters.

**Figure DC2 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left among highest-educated and top-income voters**

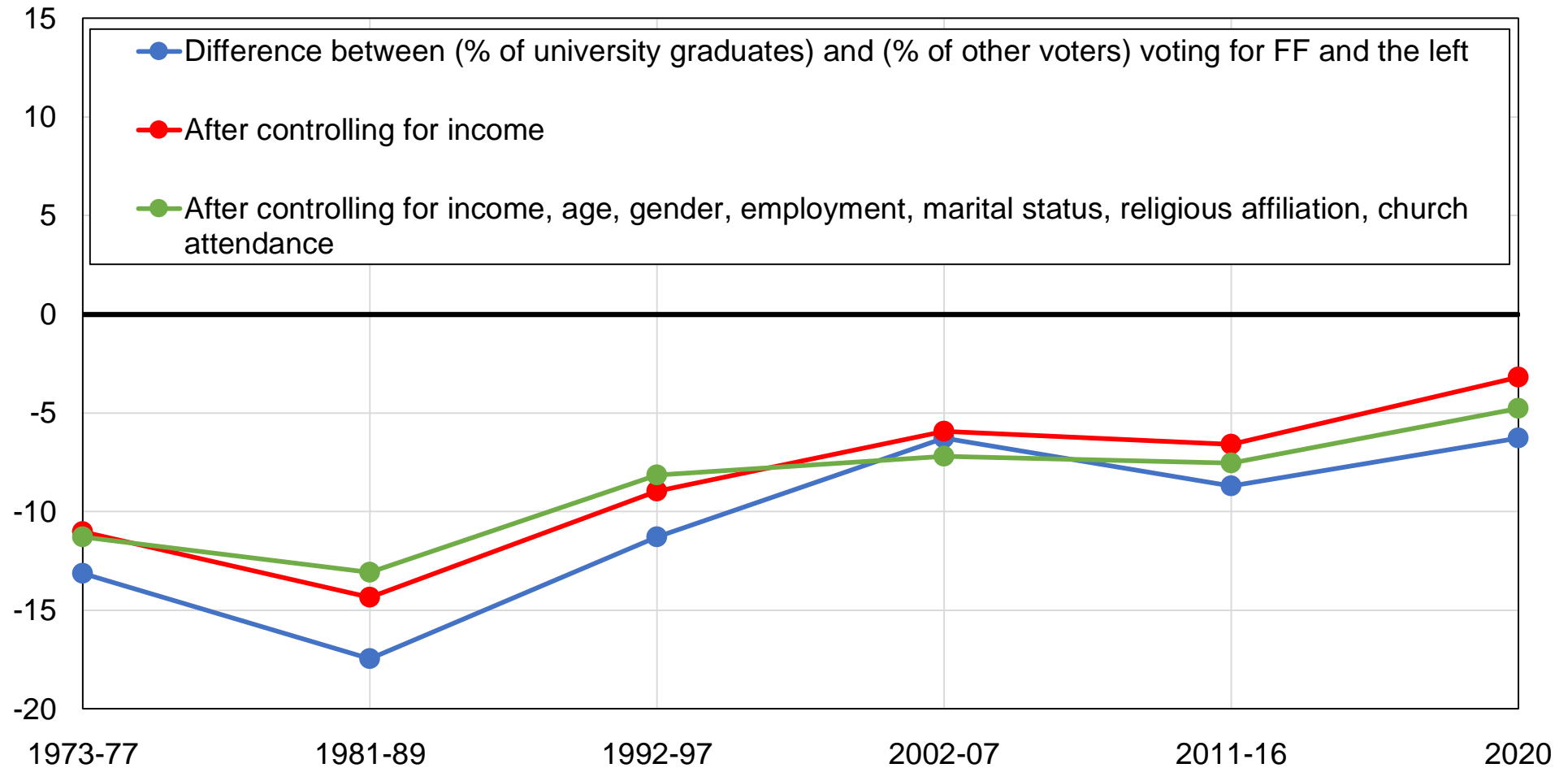


**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the support for Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controlling for income, education, age, gender, employment, marital status, religious affiliation and church attendance.



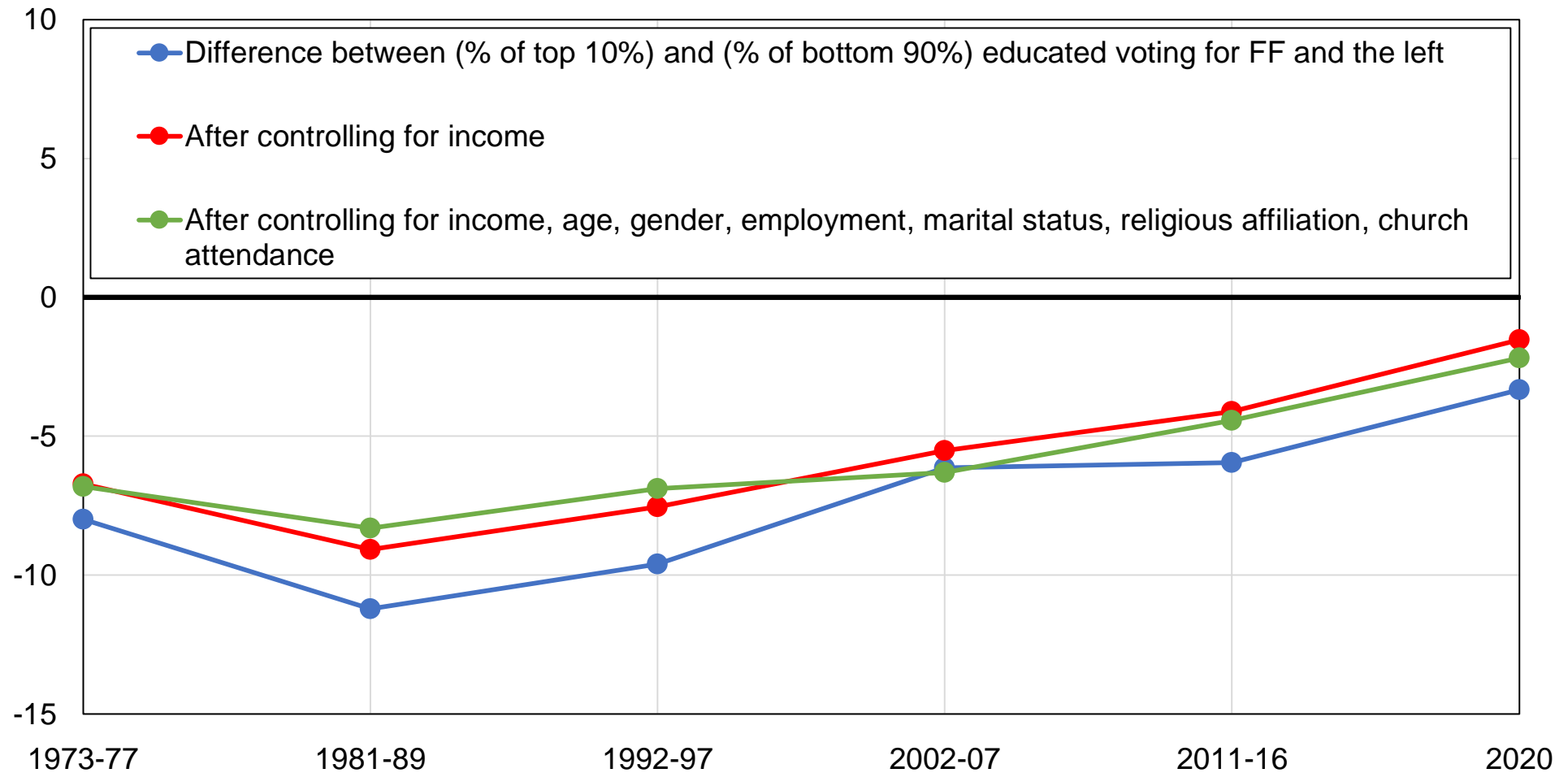
**Figure DC3 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left among university graduates**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters voting for Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

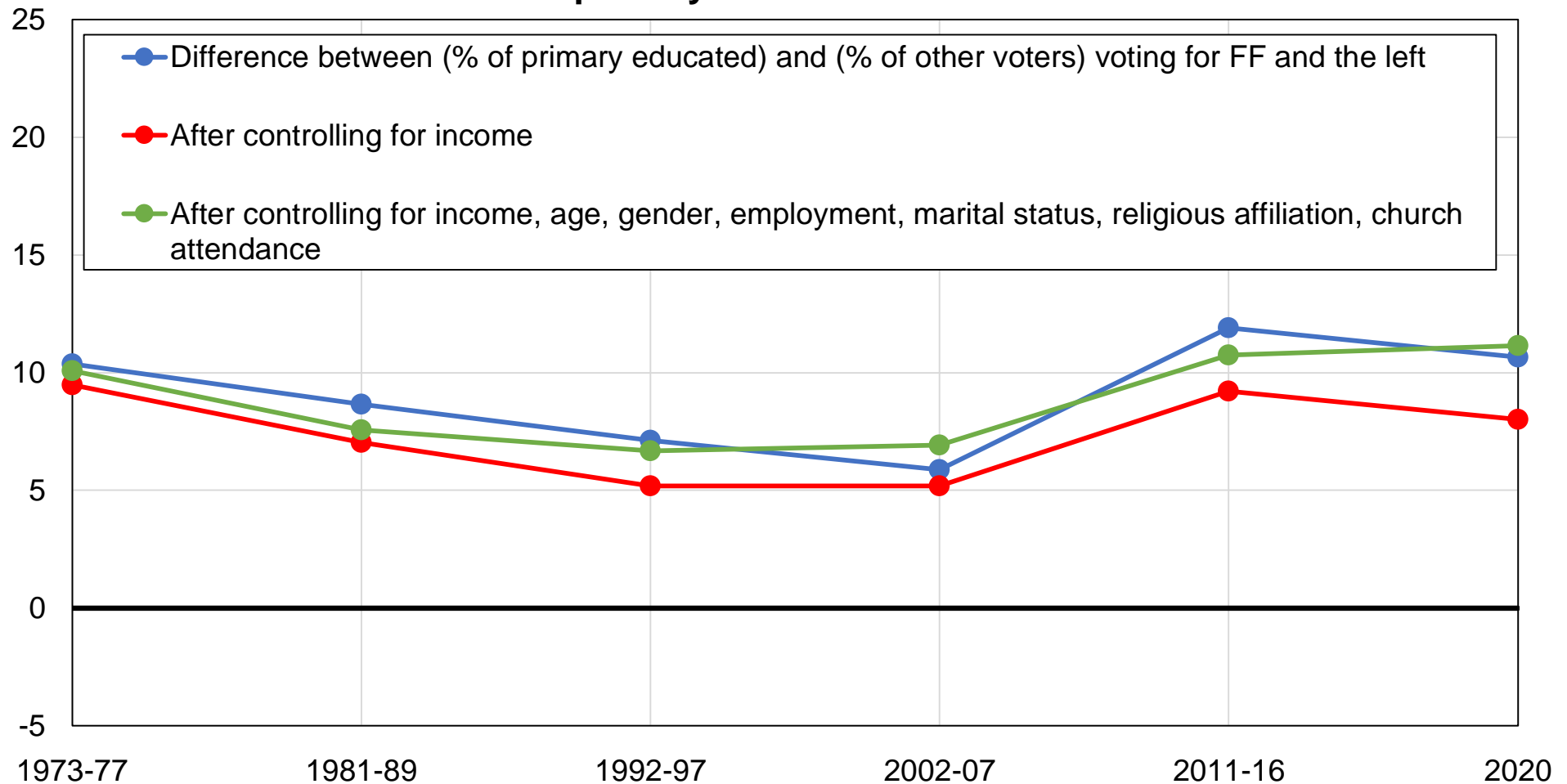
**Figure DC4 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left among highest-educated voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of other voters voting for Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

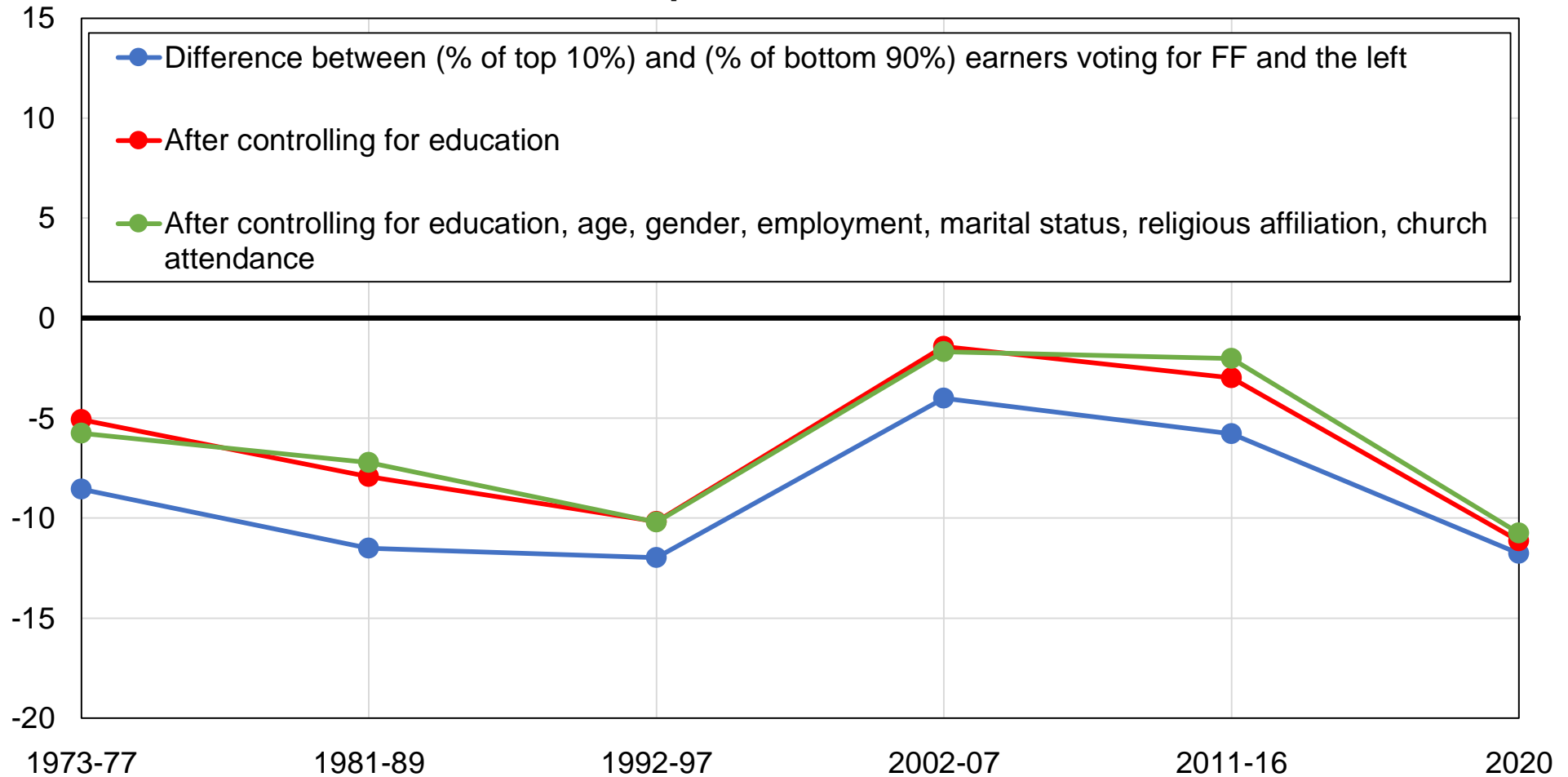
**Figure DC5 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left among primary-educated voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of primary educated voters and the share of other voters voting for Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

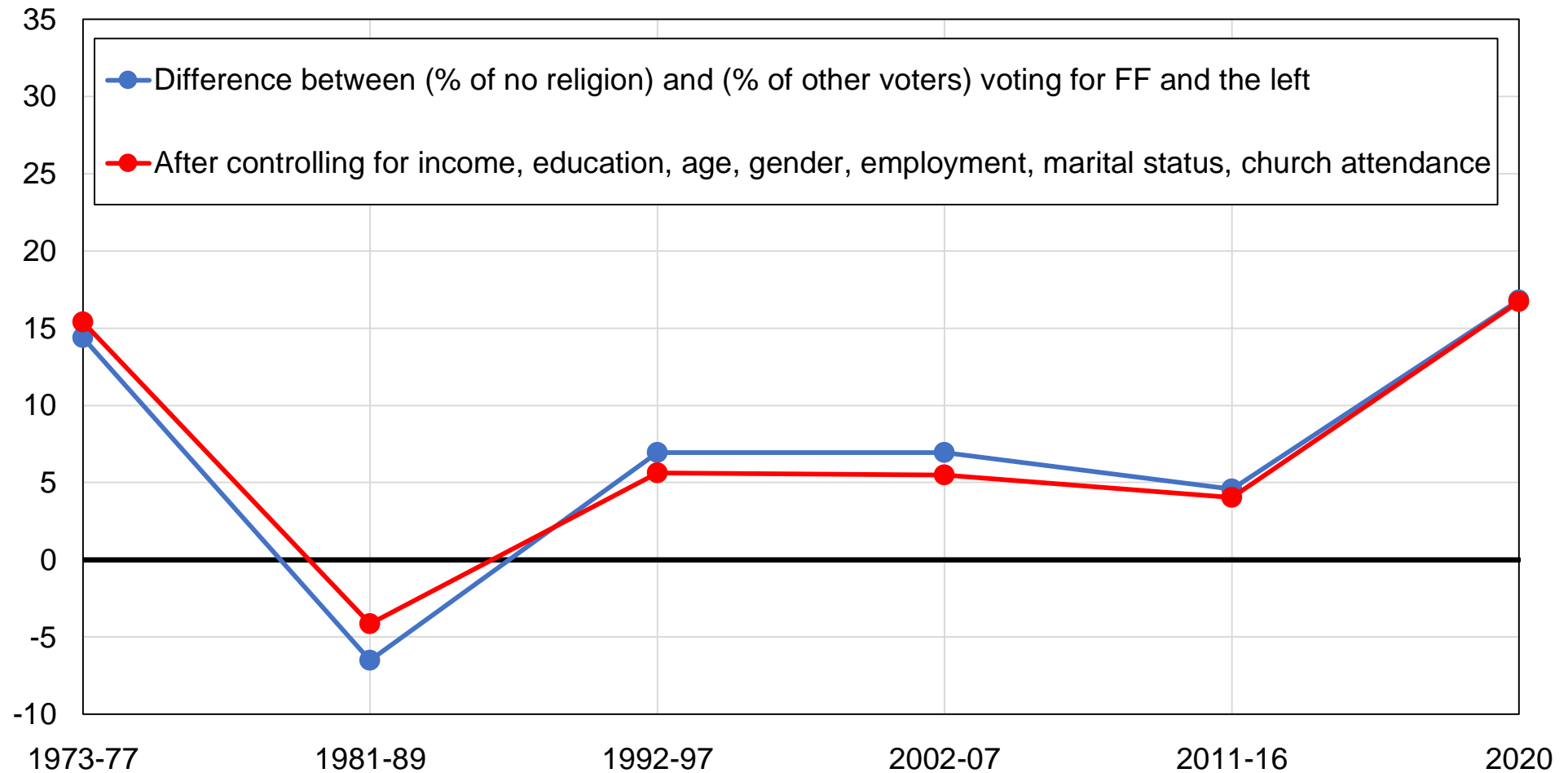
**Figure DC6 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left among top-income voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

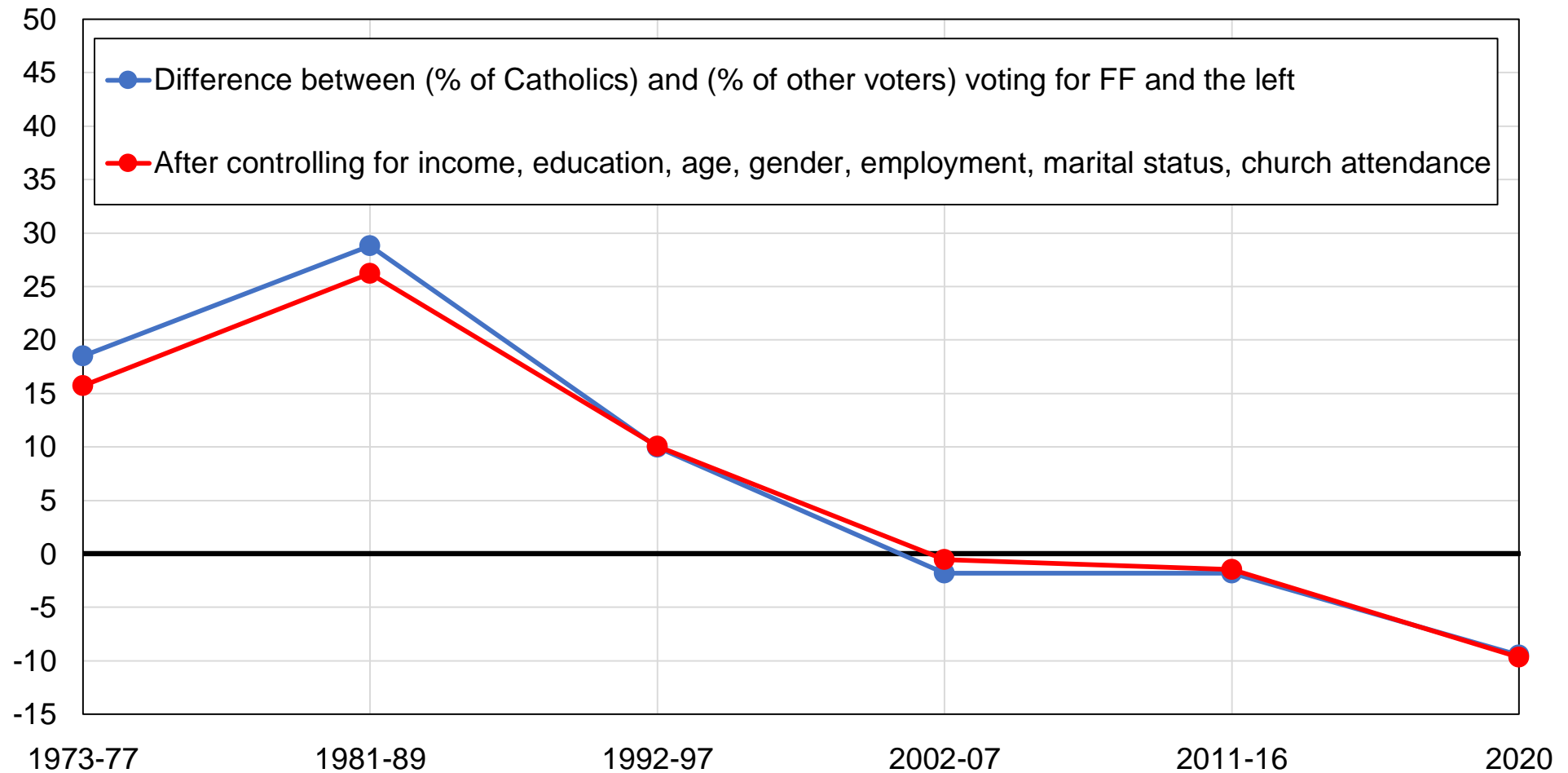
**Figure DC7 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left among voters with no religion**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of voters declaring no religion and the share of other voters voting for Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

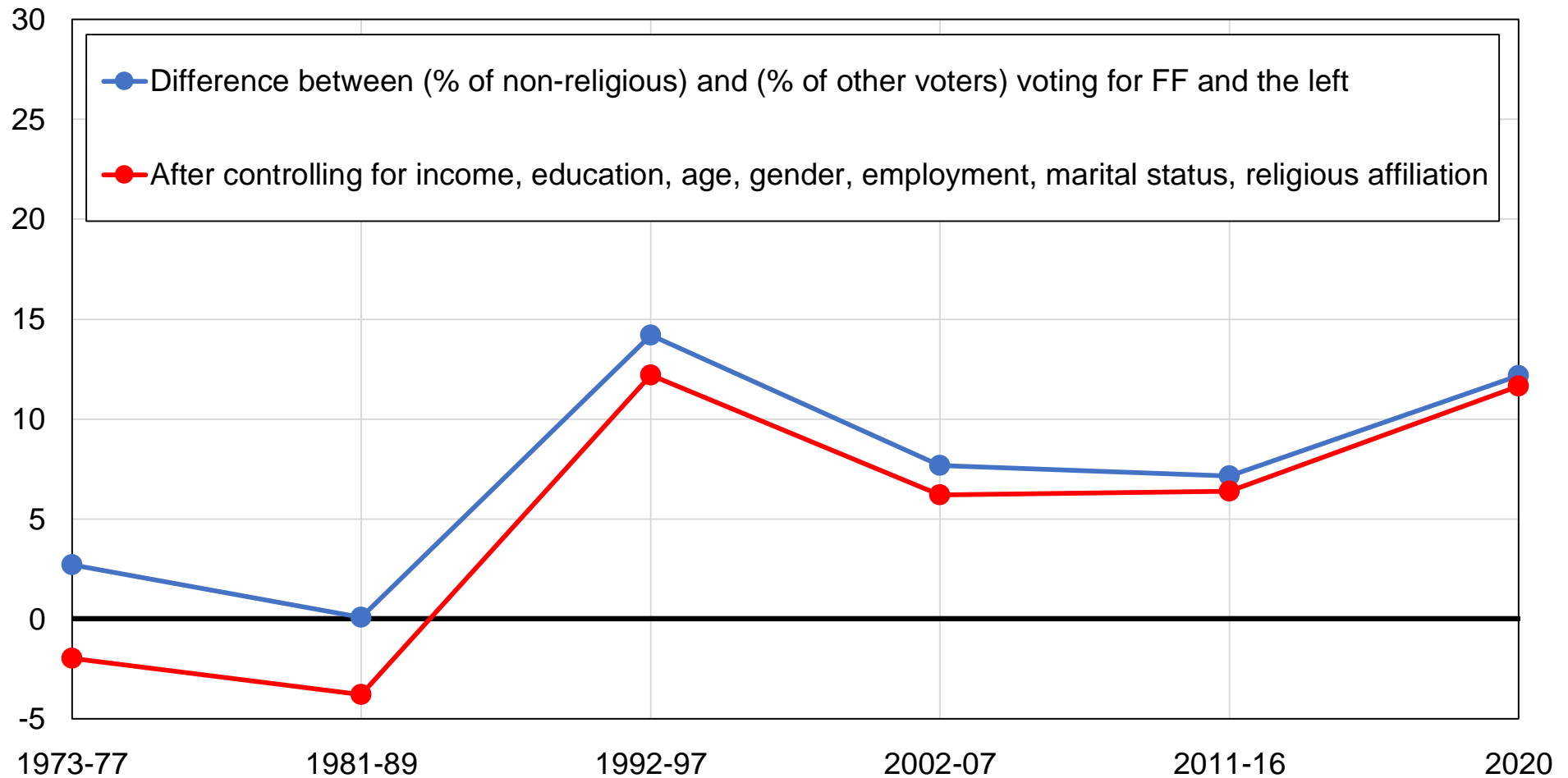
**Figure DC8 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left among Catholics**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of voters declaring no religion and the share of other voters voting for Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

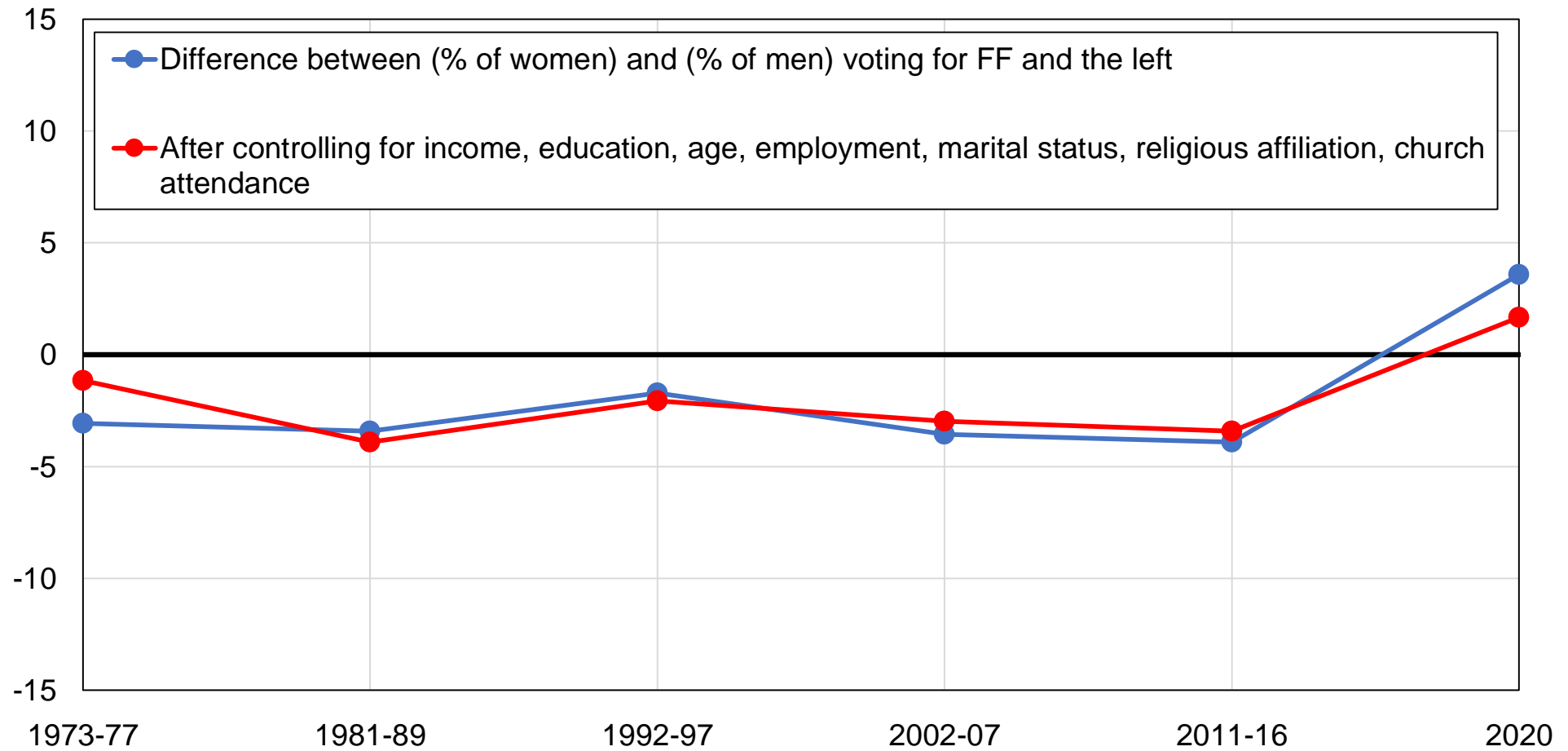
**Figure DC9 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left among non-religious voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of voters never going to church and the share of other voters voting for Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

**Figure DC10 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left among women**

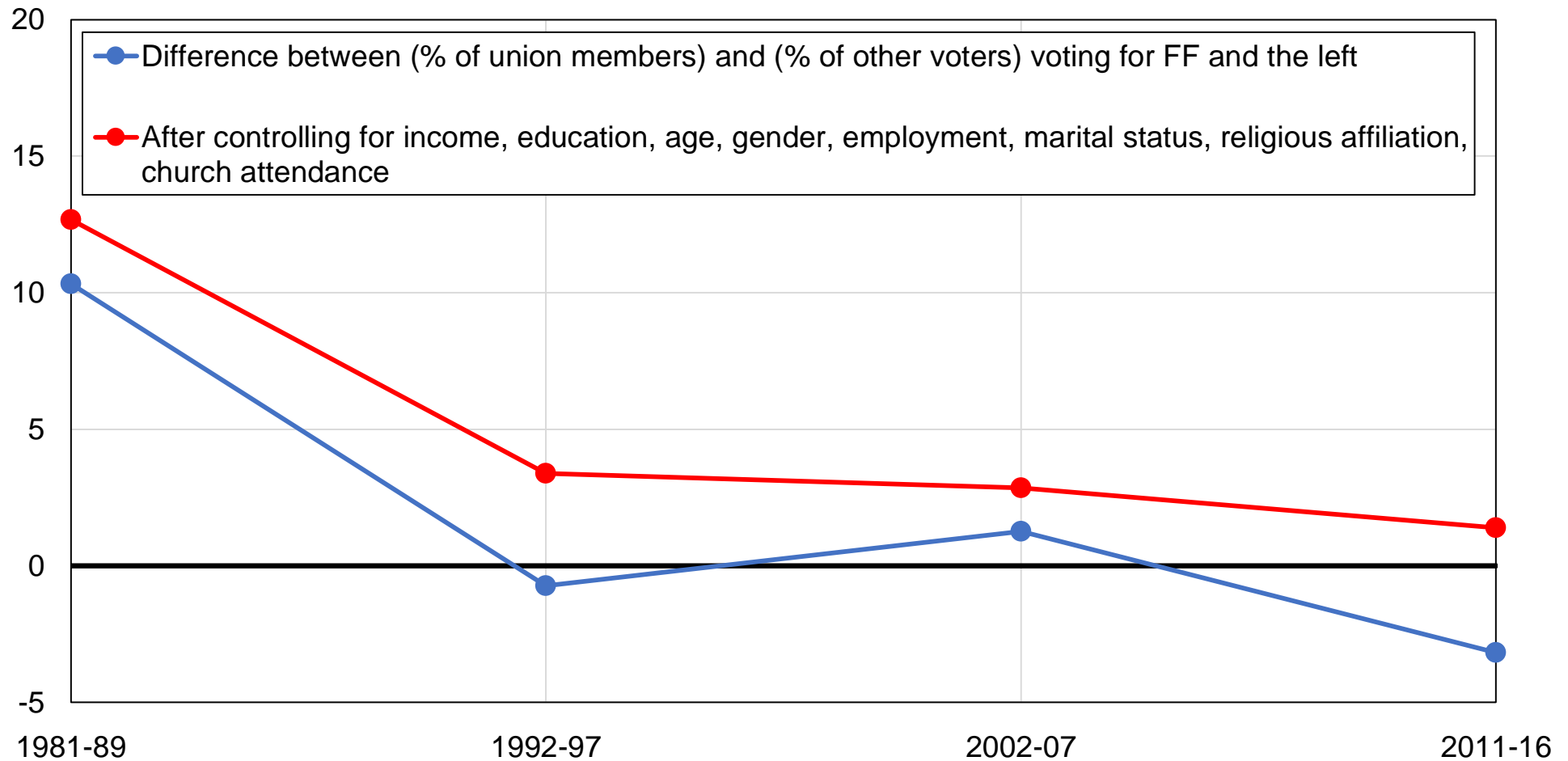


**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.



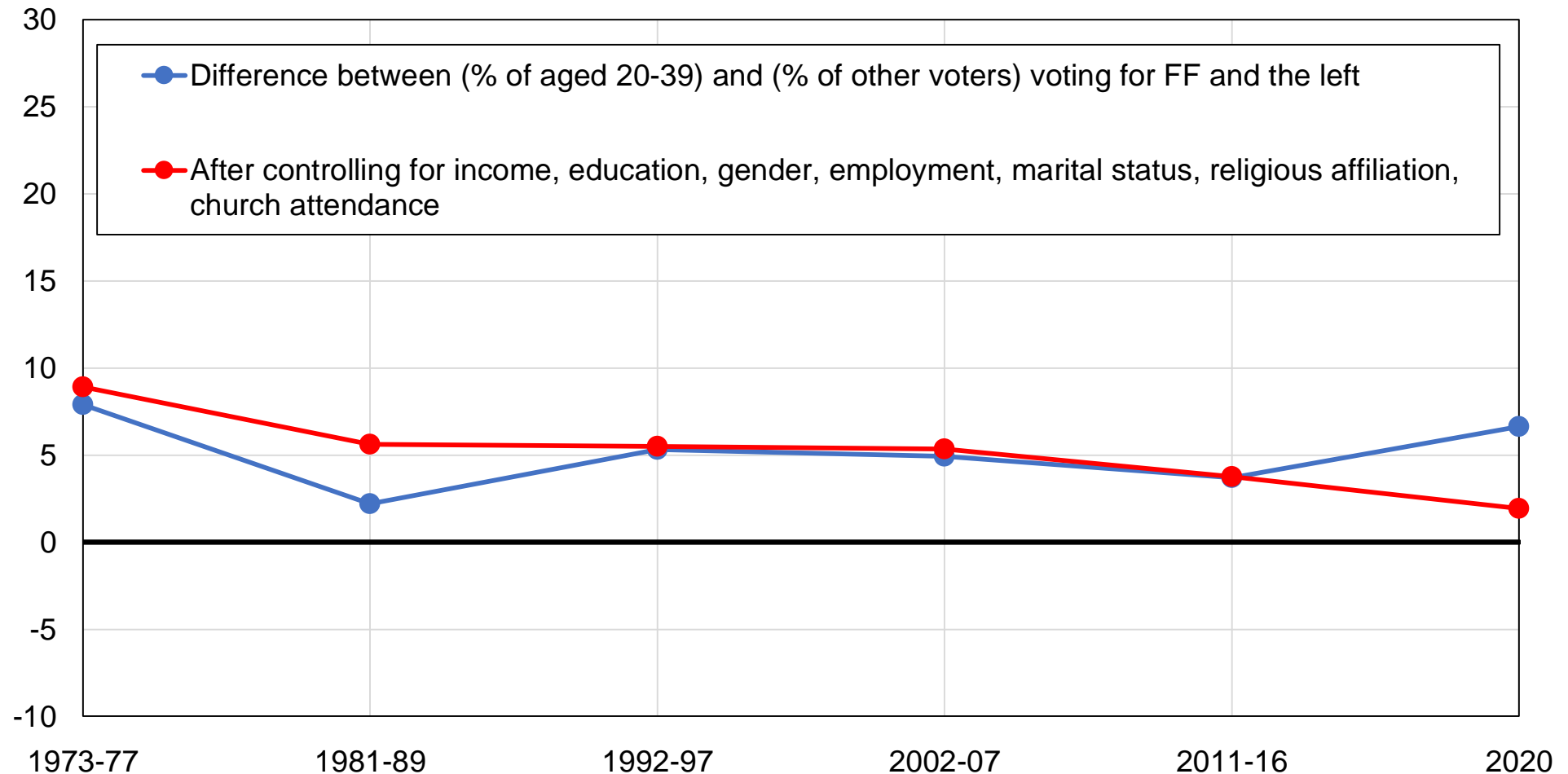
**Figure DC11 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left among union members**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of union members and the share of other voters voting for Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

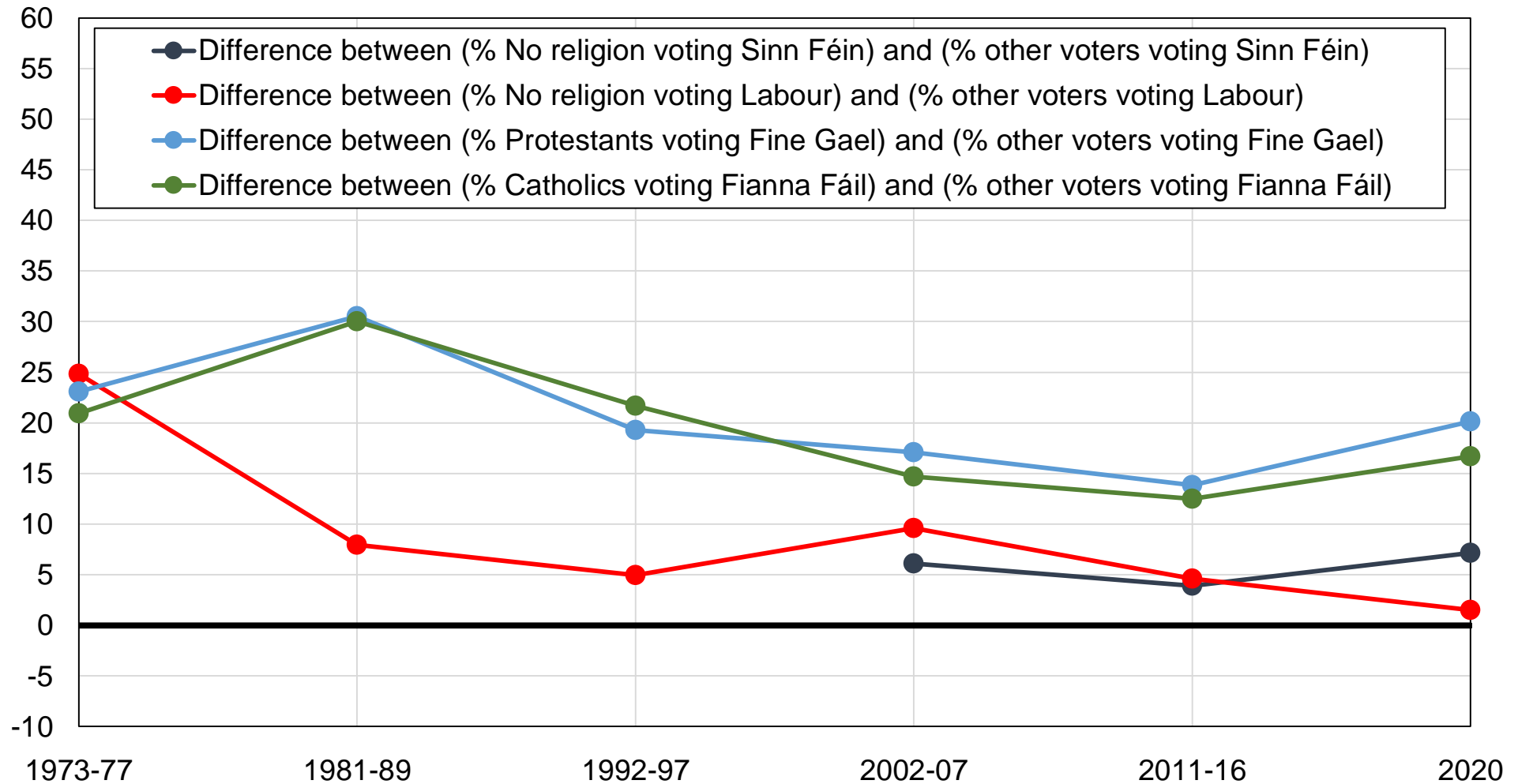
**Figure DC12 - Vote for Fianna Fáil / Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left among young voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of voters aged 20-39 and the share of voters older than 40 voting for Fianna Fáil and left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

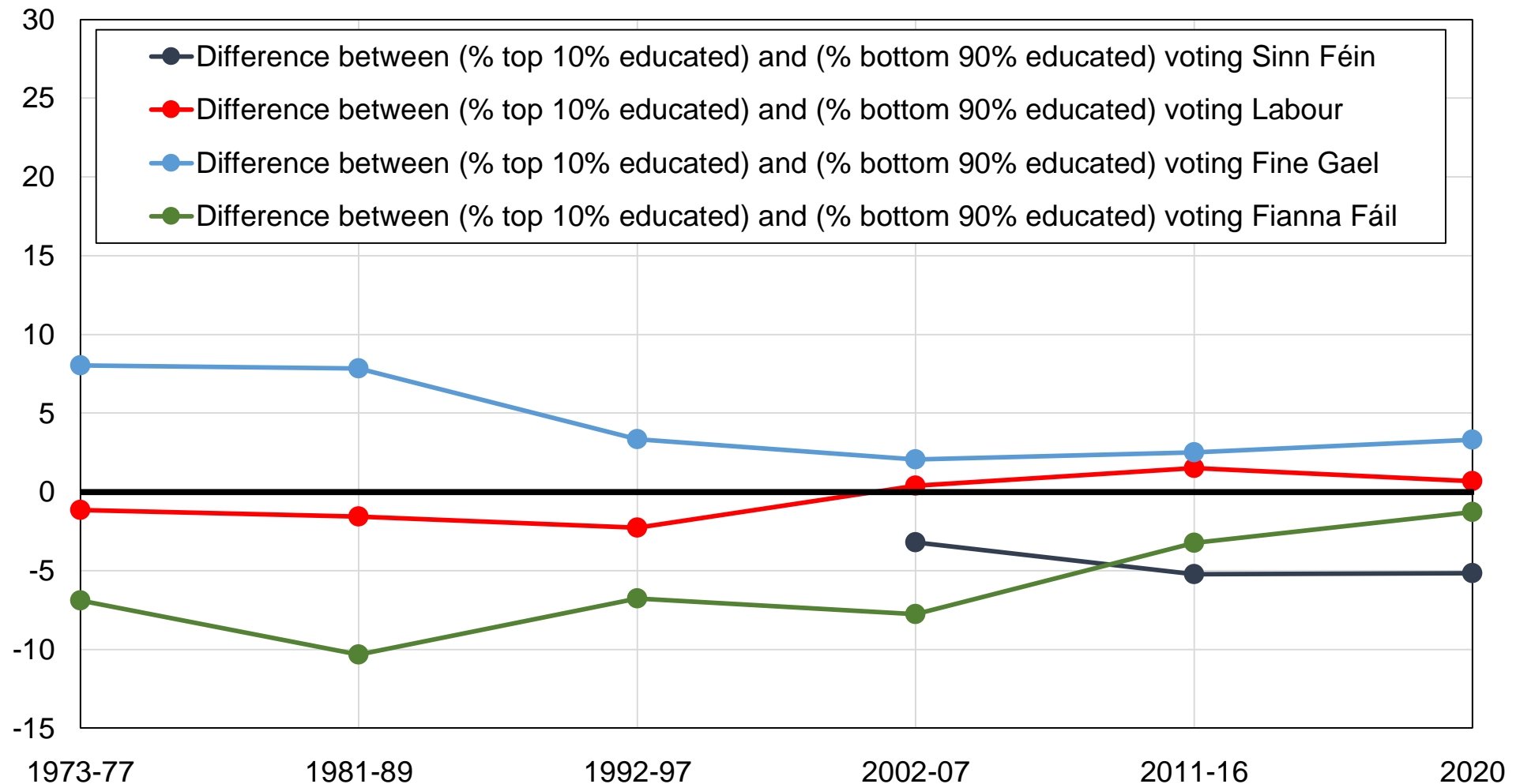
**Figure DC13 - The religious cleavage in Ireland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the bias of voters with various religious affiliations towards Sinn Féin, Labour, Fine Gael and Fianna Fáil.

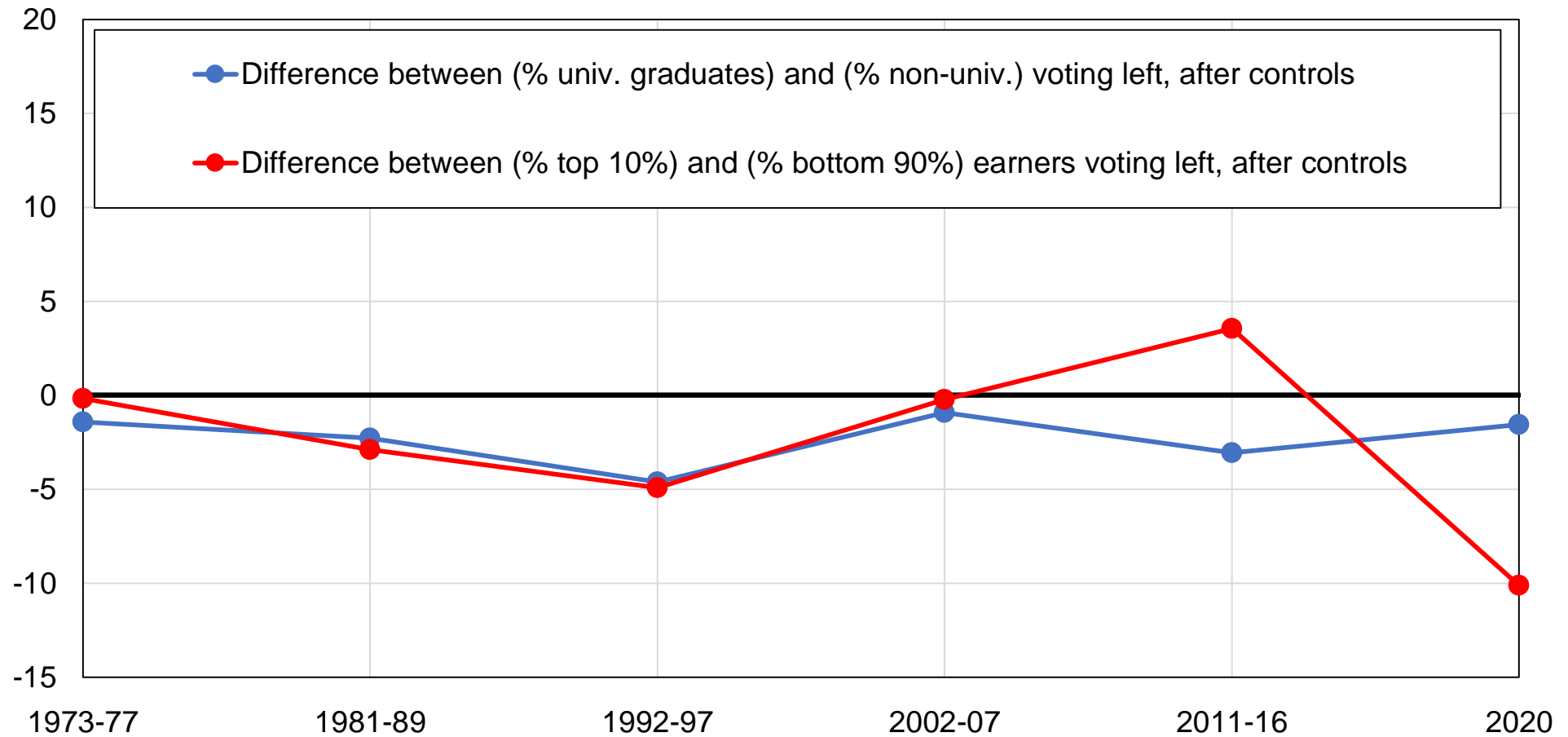
**Figure DC14 - The education cleavage in Ireland (education groups)**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the bias of highest-educated voters towards Sinn Féin, Labour, Fine Gael and Fianna Fáil.

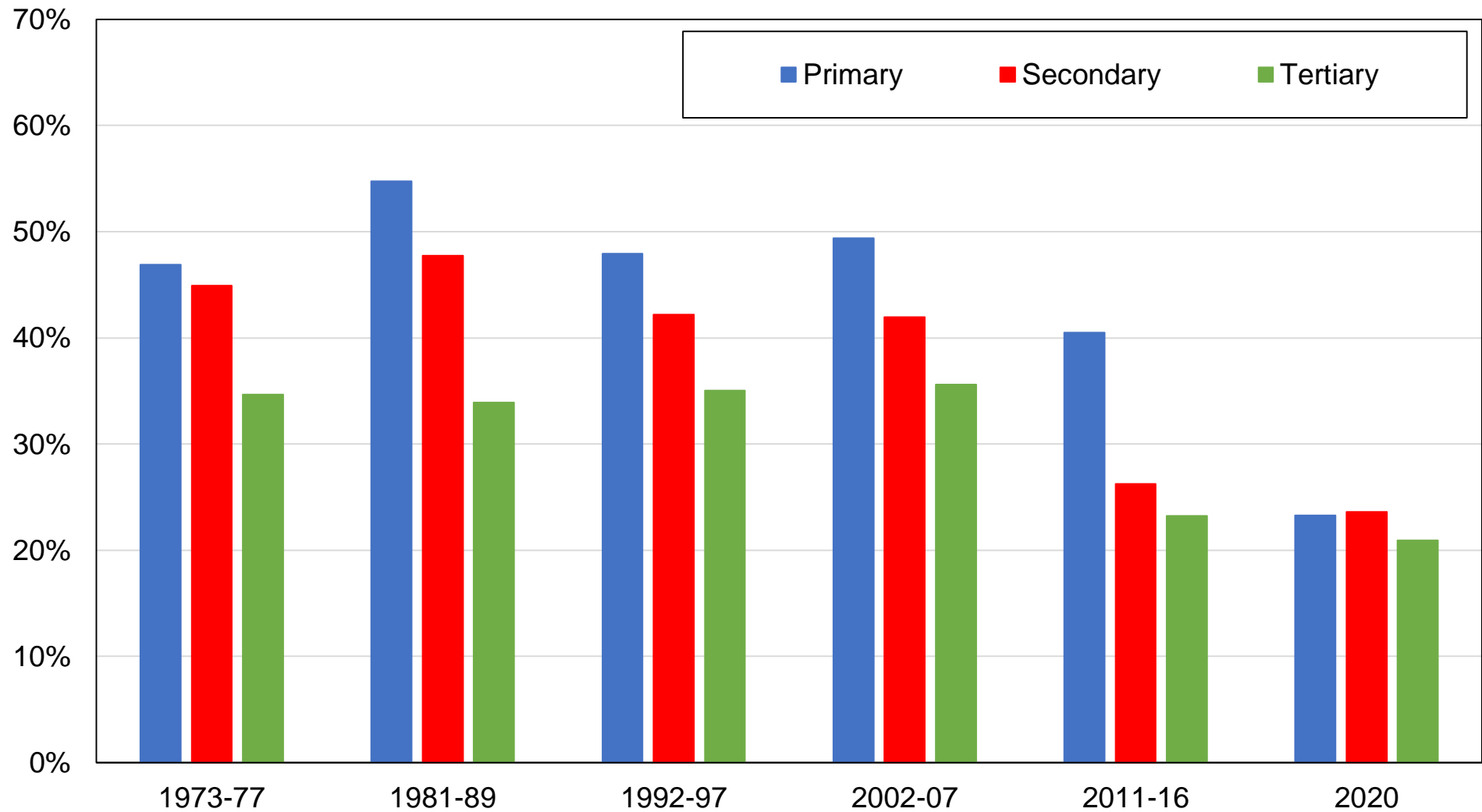
**Figure DC15 - Vote for Sinn Féin / Labour / Other left among highest-educated and top-income voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the support for left-wing parties among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controlling for income, education, age, gender, employment, marital status, religious affiliation and church attendance.

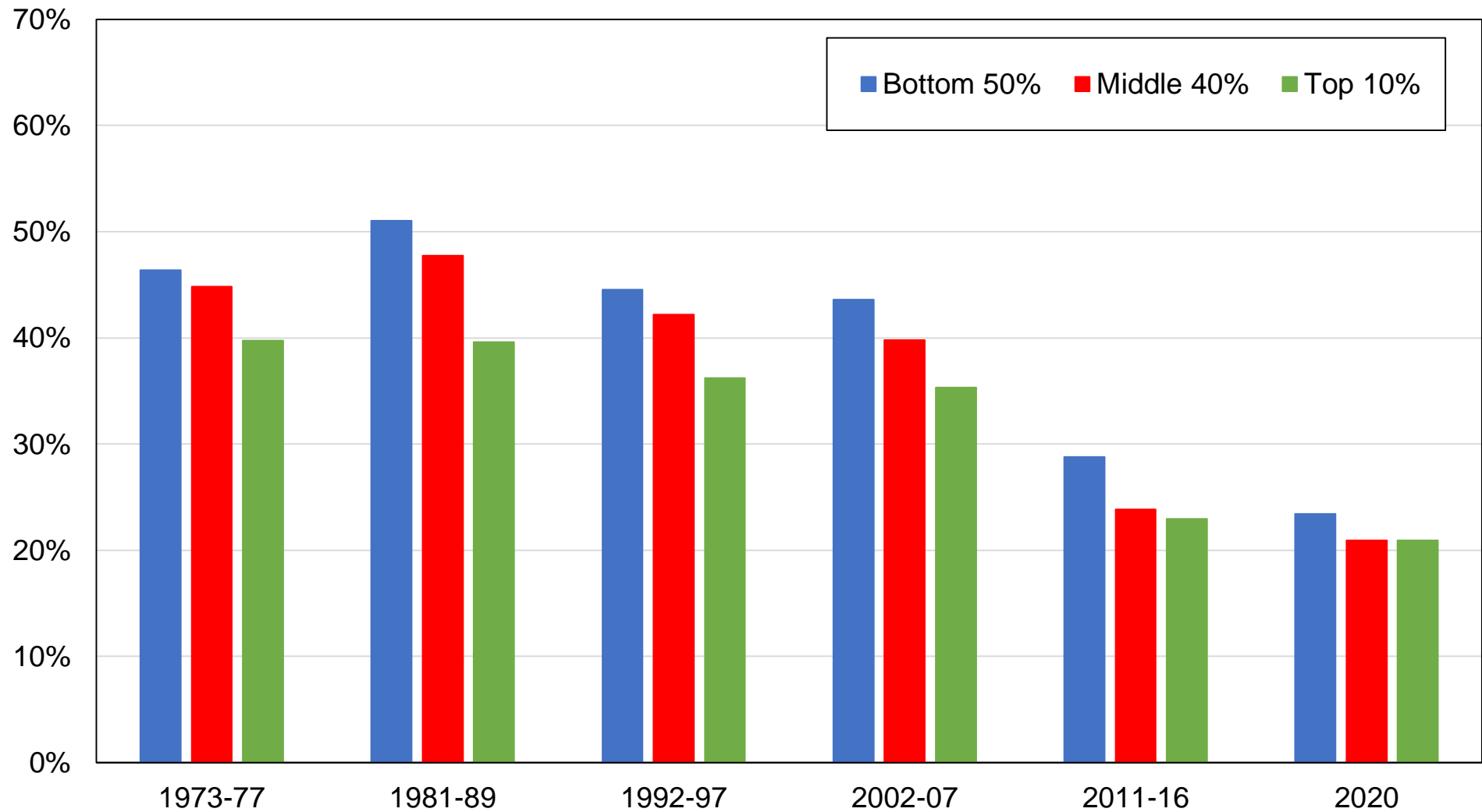
Figure DD1 - Vote for Fianna Fáil by education level



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil by education level.

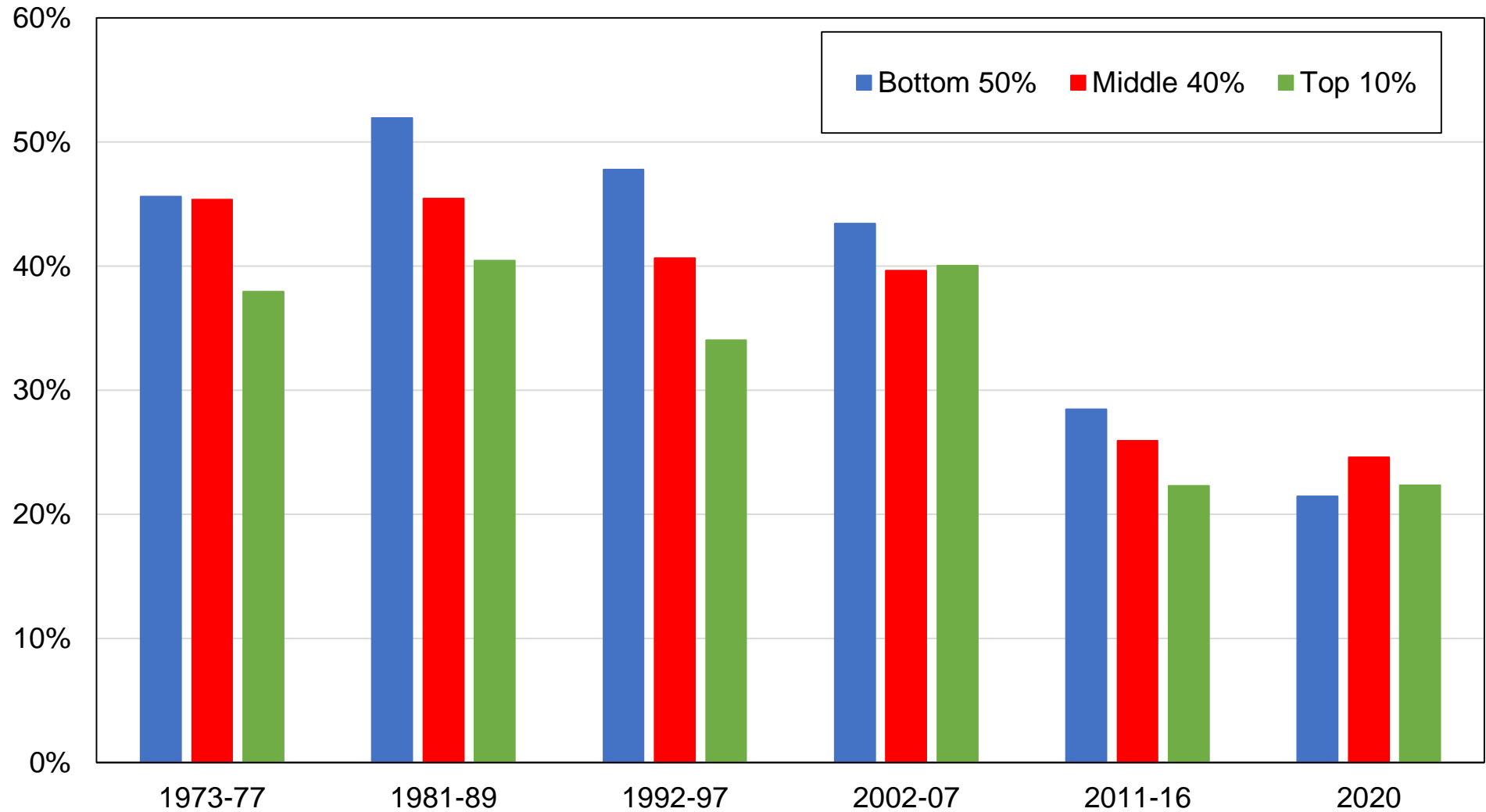
**Figure DD2 - Vote for Fianna Fáil by education group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil by education group.

Figure DD3 - Vote for Fianna Fáil by income group

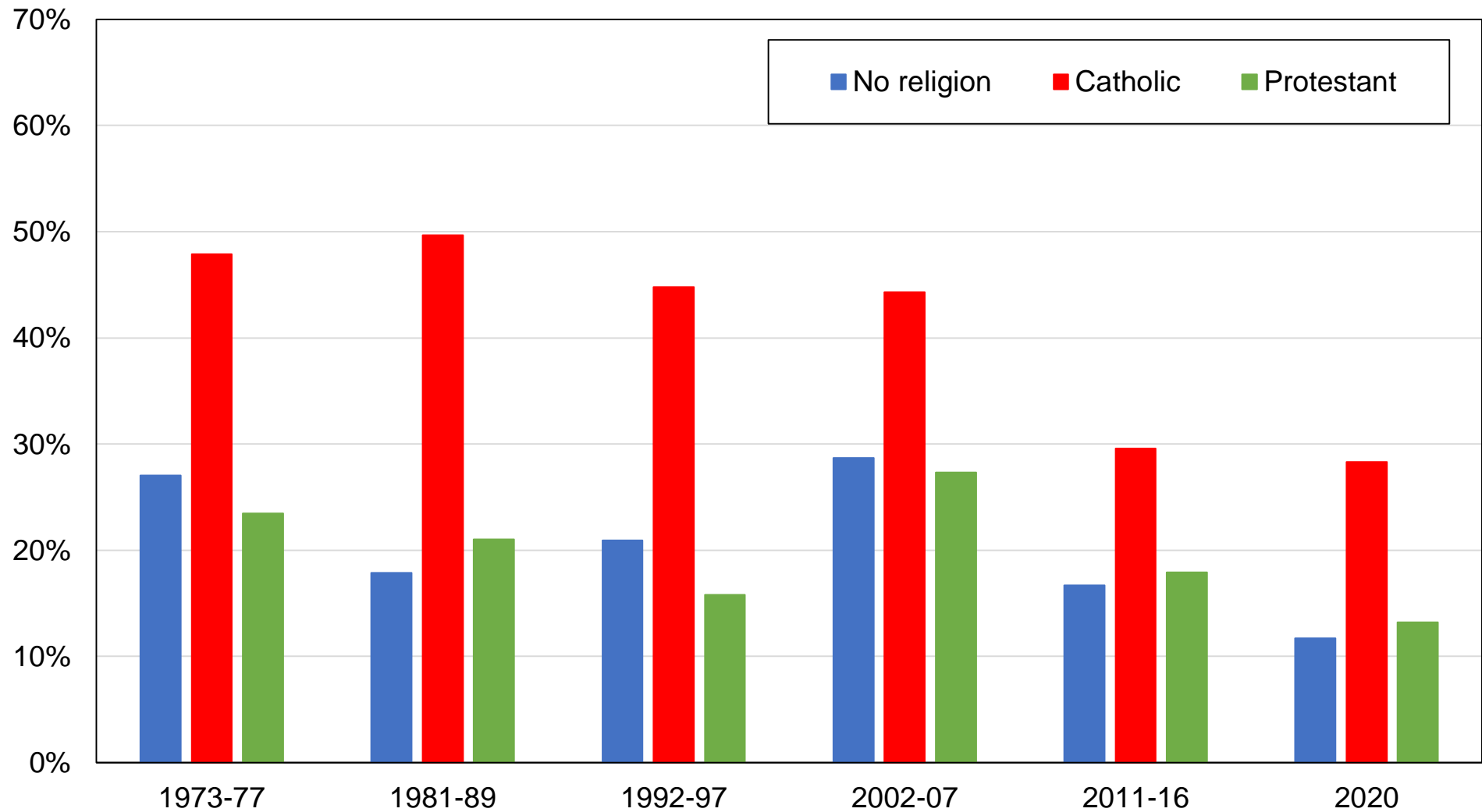


**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil by income group.



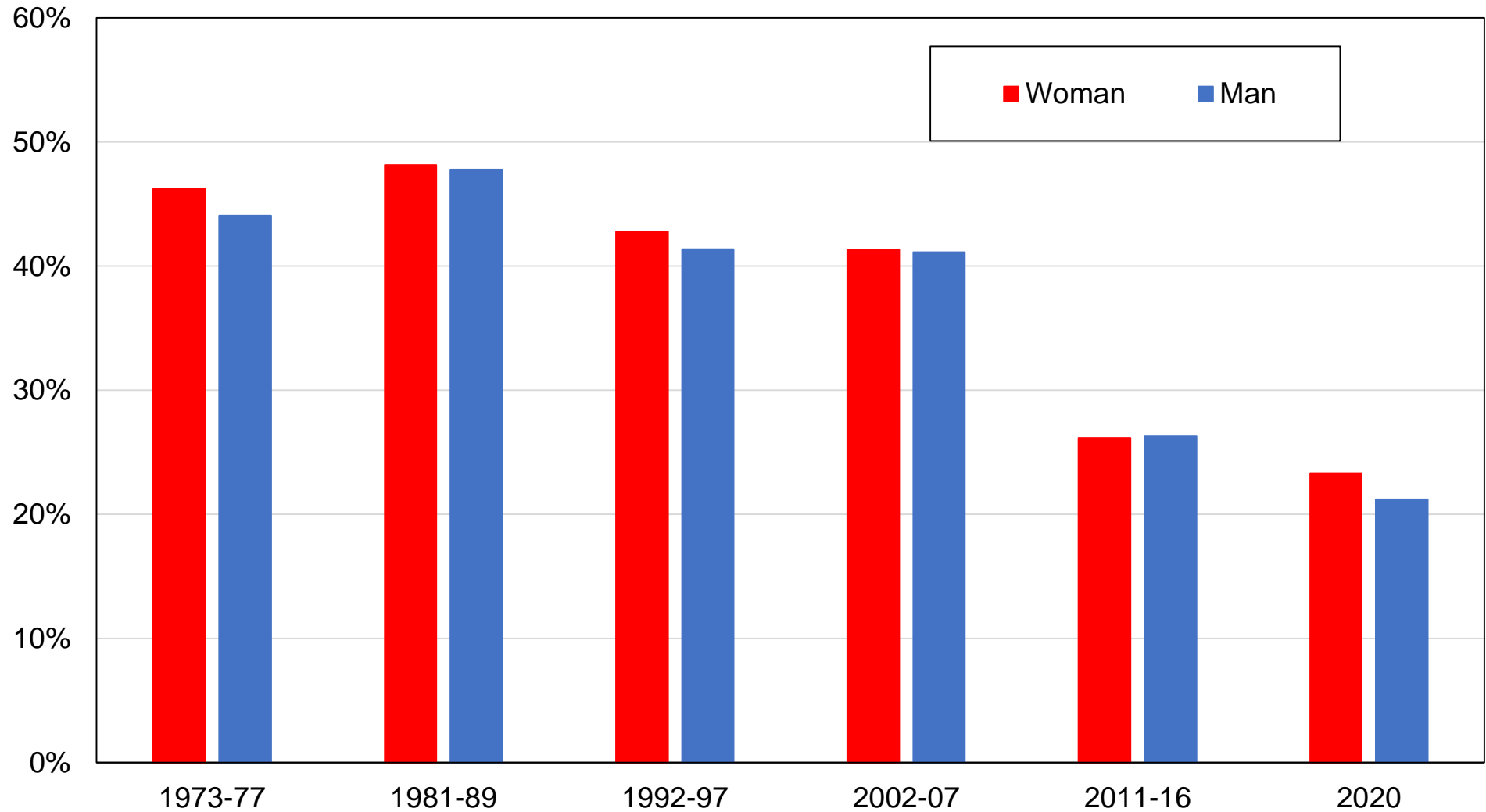
**Figure DD4 - Vote for Fianna Fáil by religious affiliation**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil by religious affiliation.

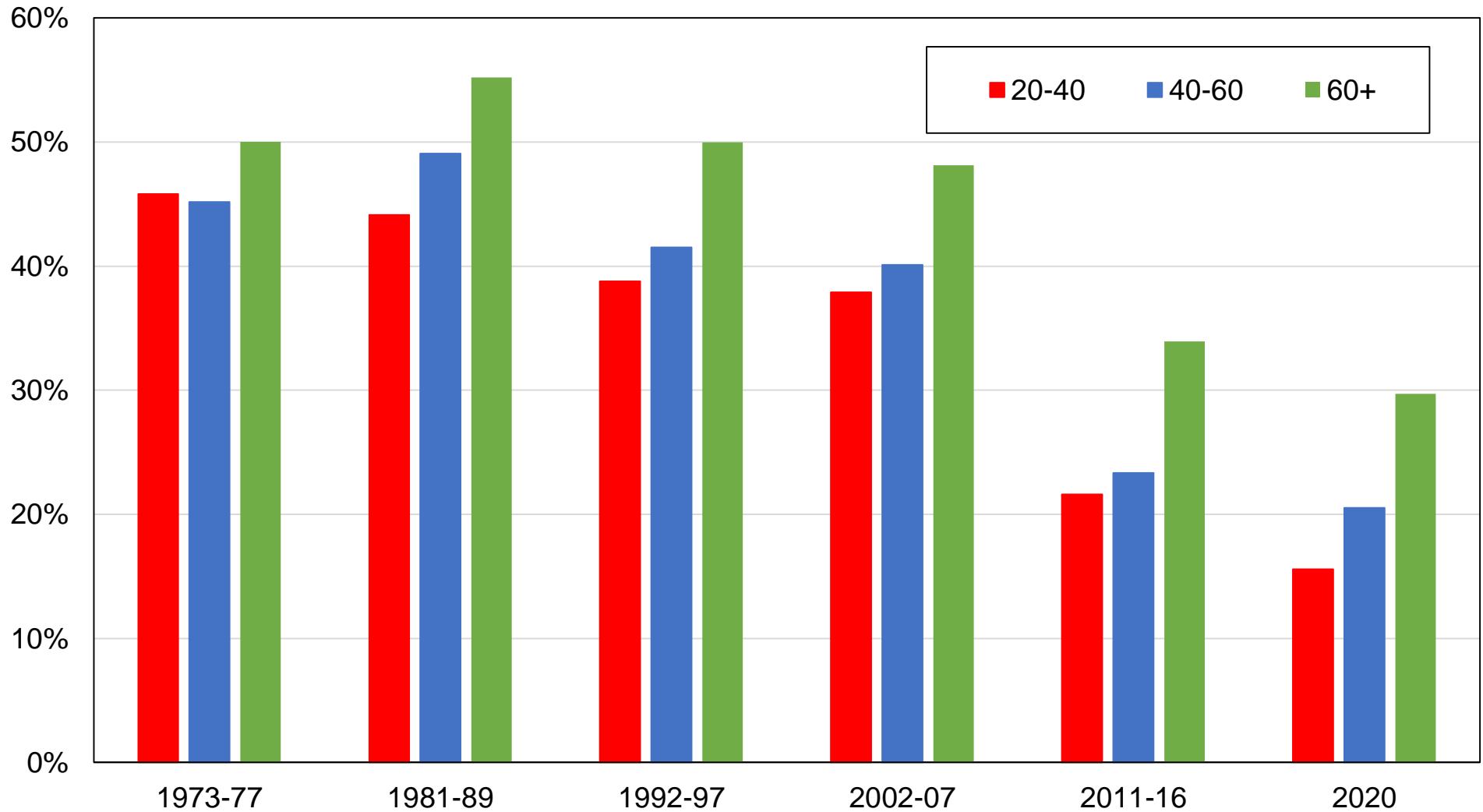
**Figure DD5 - Vote for Fianna Fáil by gender**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil by gender.

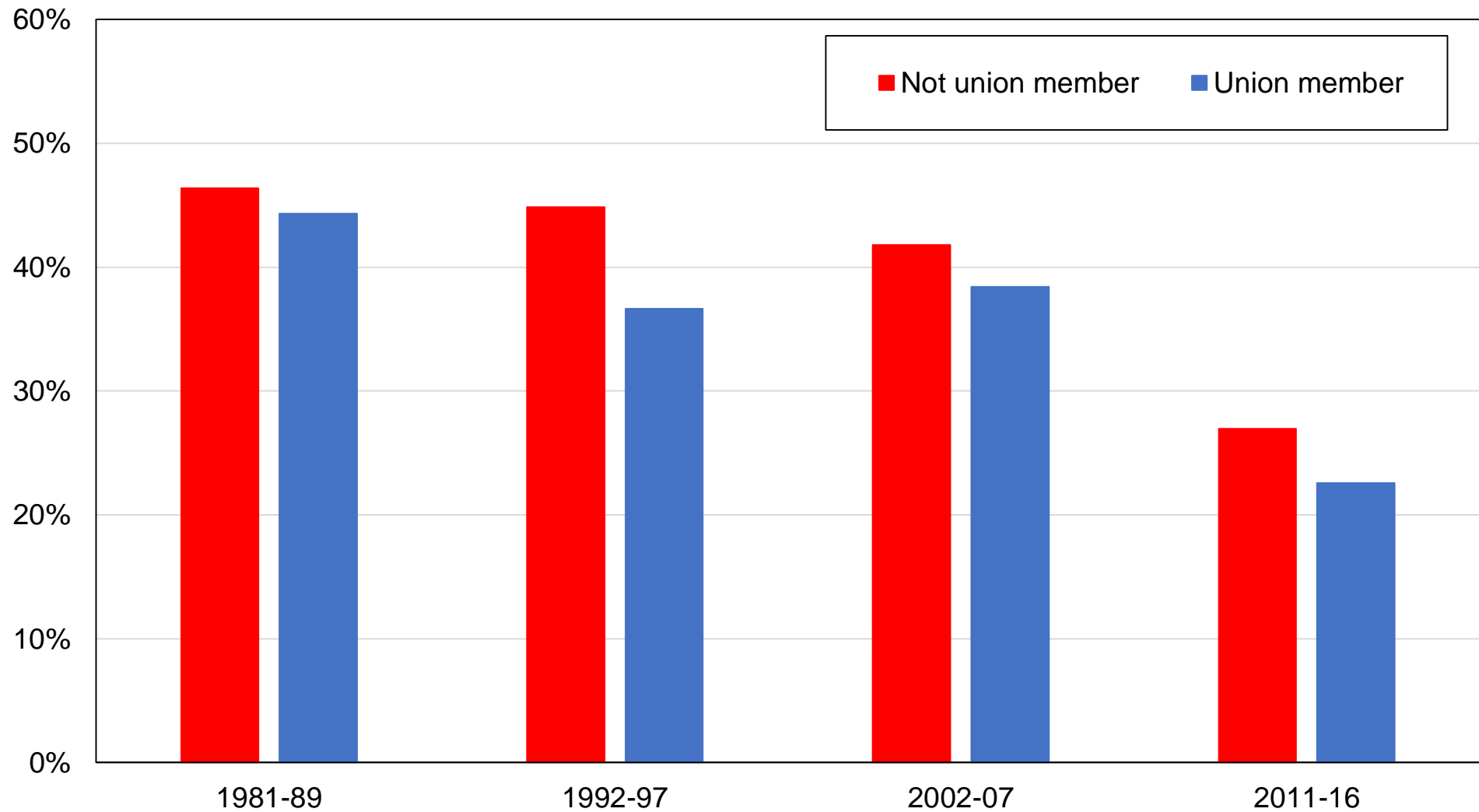
Figure DD6 - Vote for Fianna Fáil by age



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil by age group.

**Figure DD7 - Vote for Fianna Fáil by union membership**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil by union membership status.

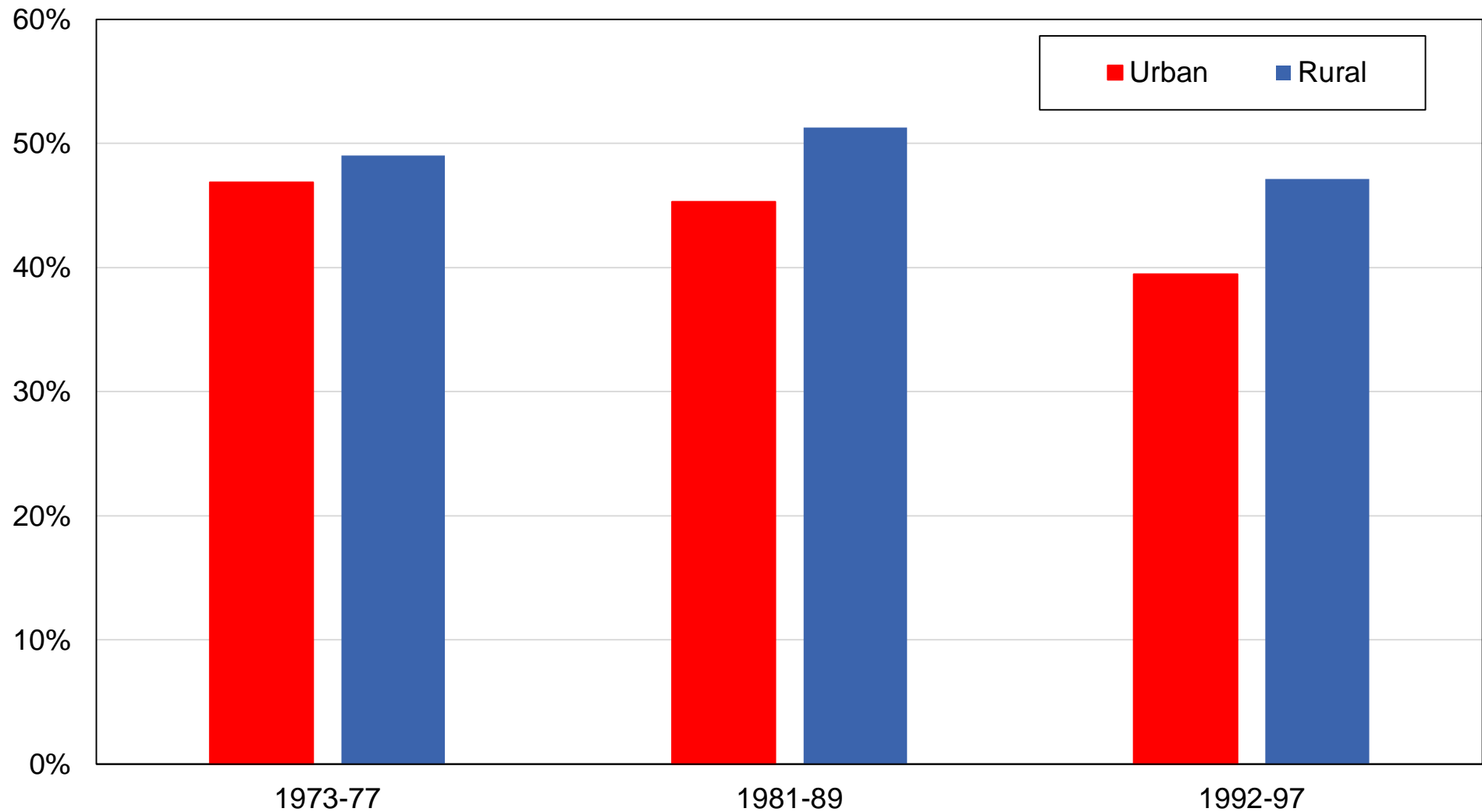
**Figure DD8 - Vote for Fianna Fáil by perceived social class**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil by self-perceived social class. Working class includes "lower class".

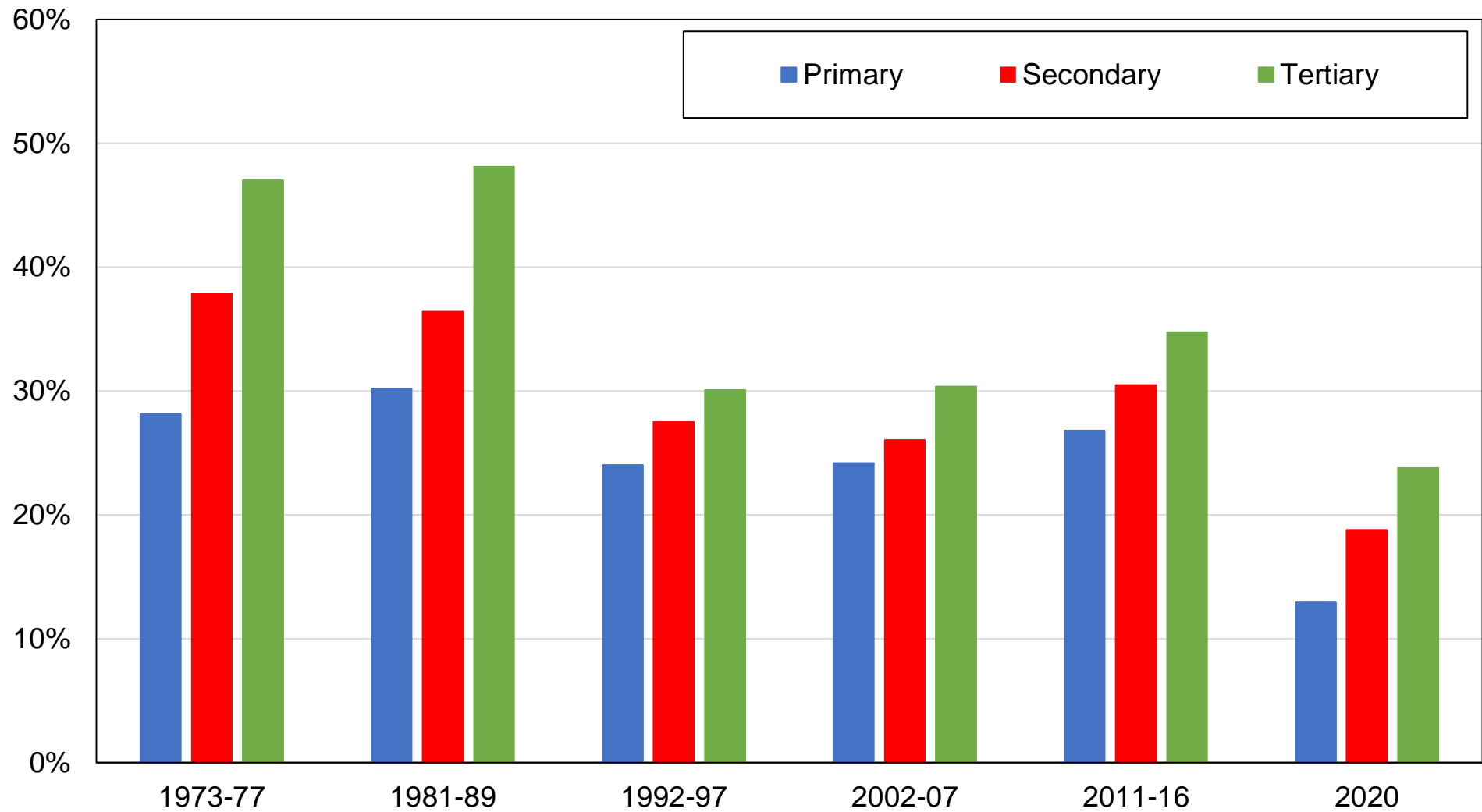
**Figure DD9 - Vote for Fianna Fáil by location**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Fianna Fáil by rural-urban location.

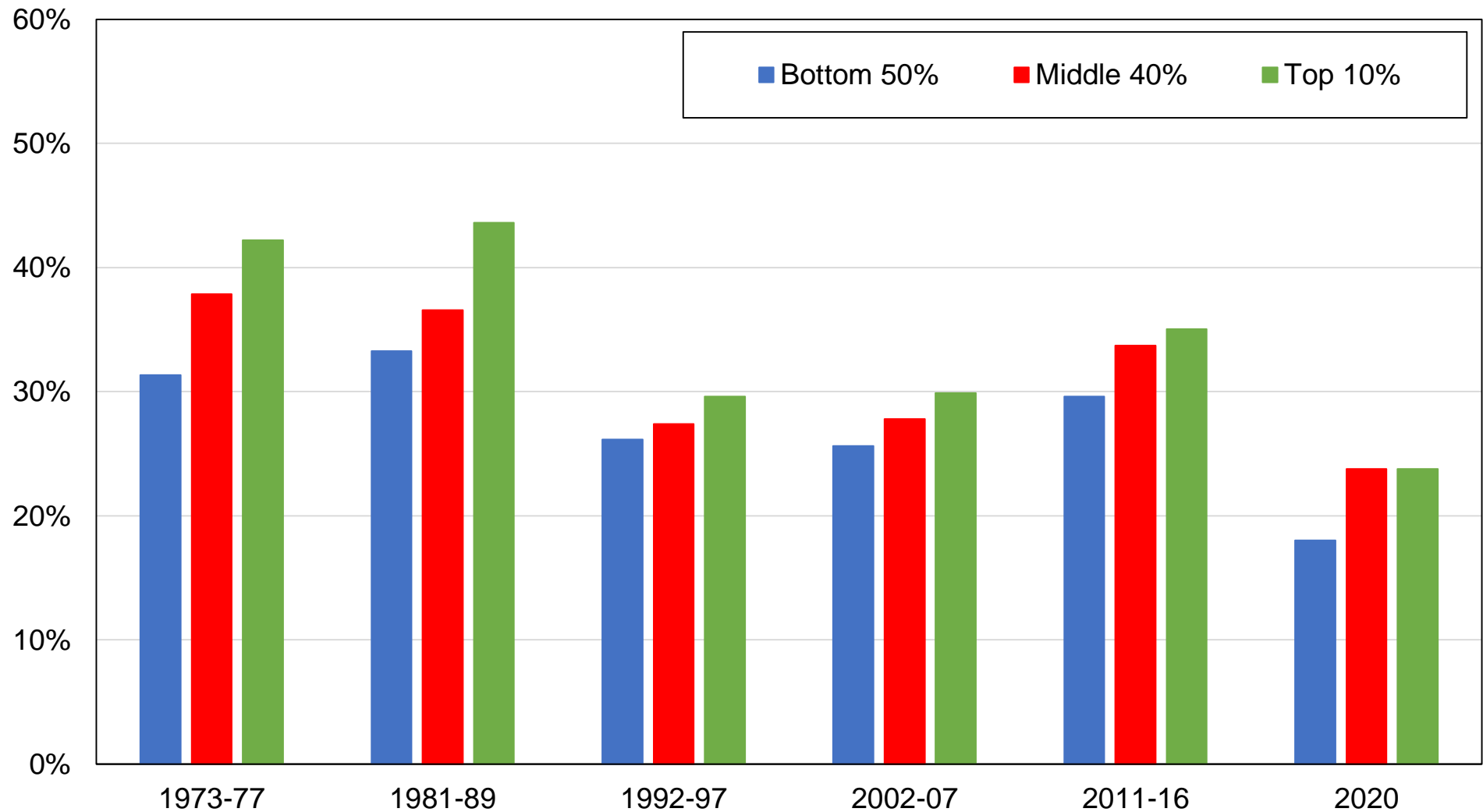
**Figure DD10 - Vote for Fine Gael by education level**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Fine Gael by education level.

**Figure DD12 - Vote for Fine Gael by education group**

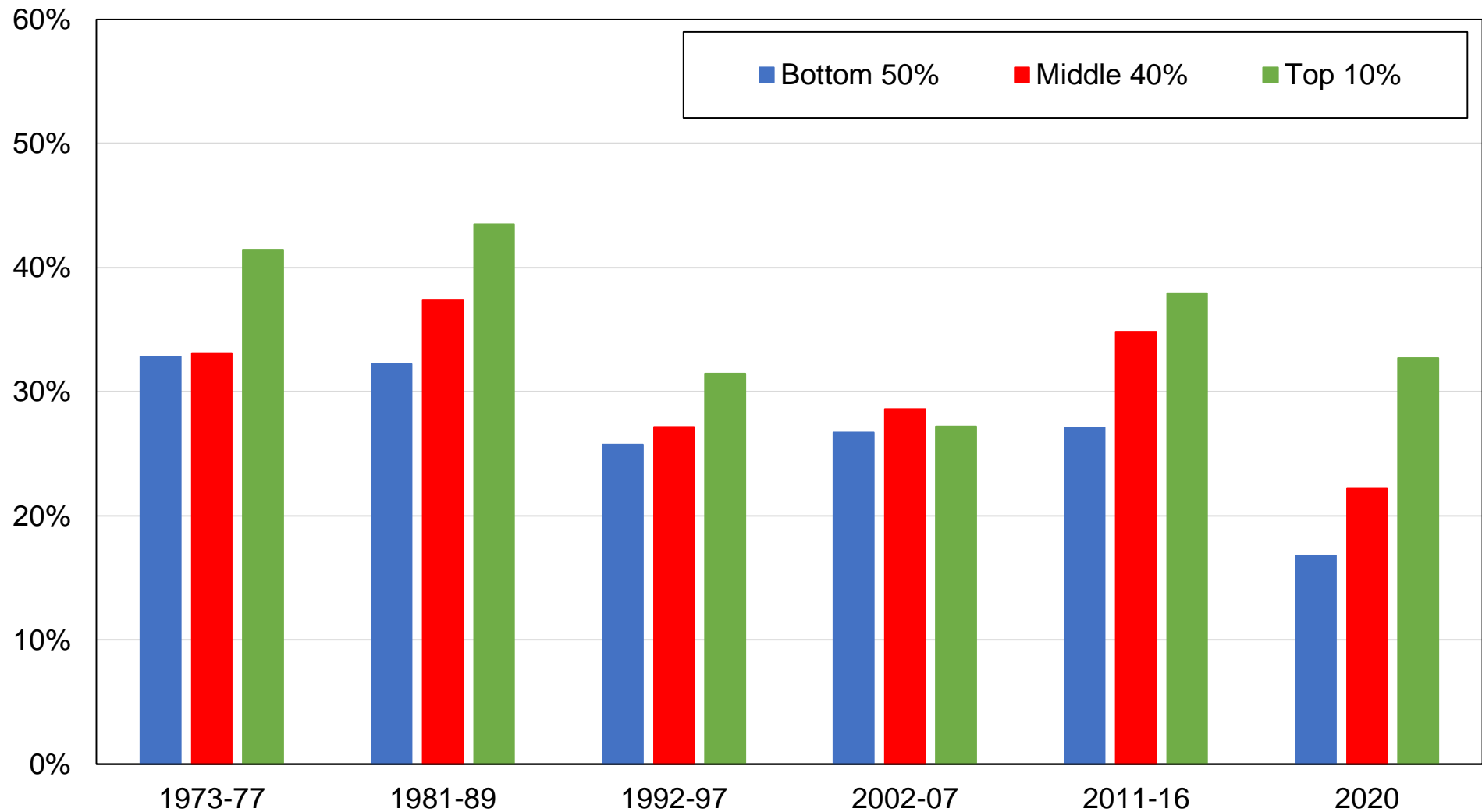


**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Fine Gael by education group.



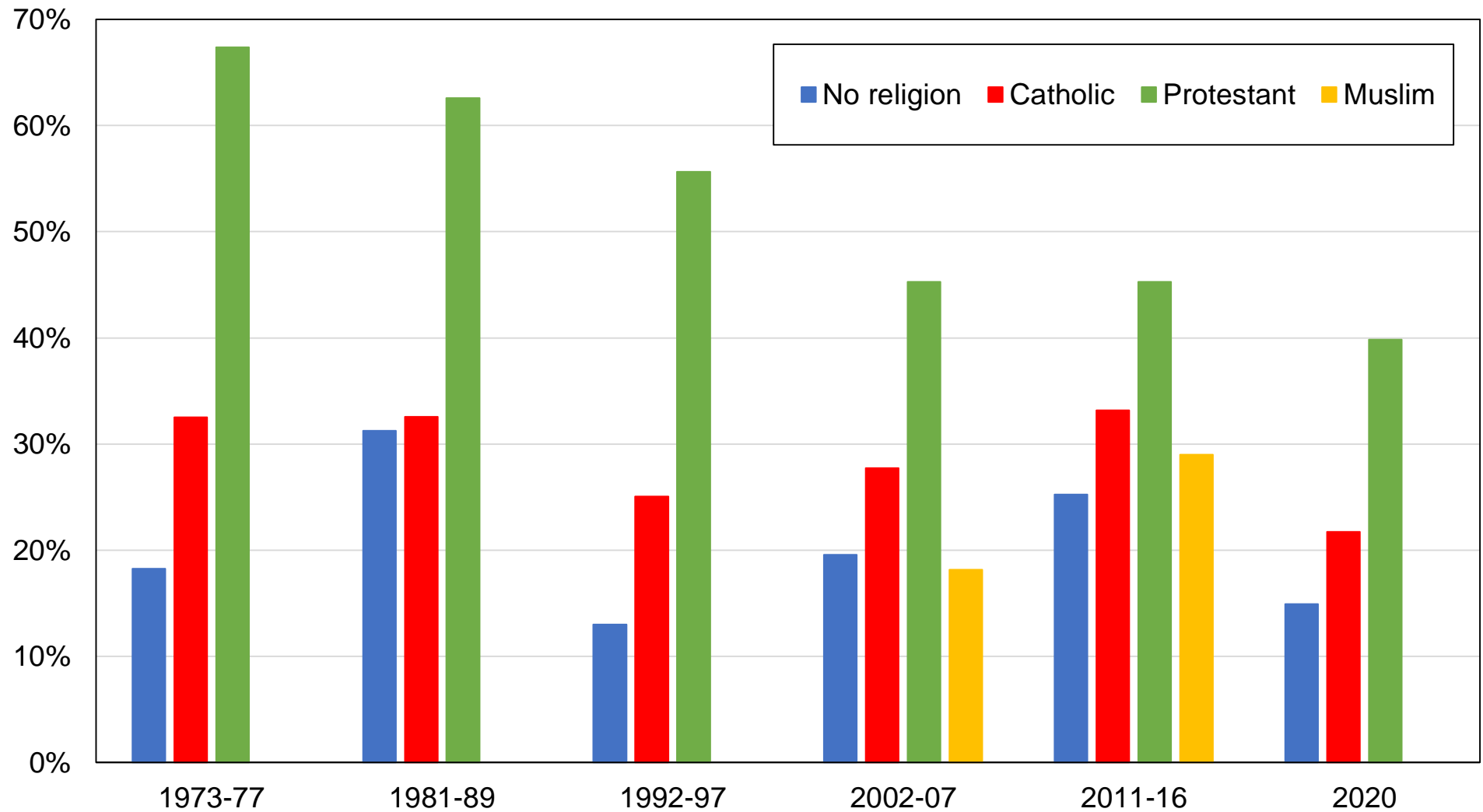
Figure DD12 - Vote for Fine Gael by income group



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Fine Gael by income group.

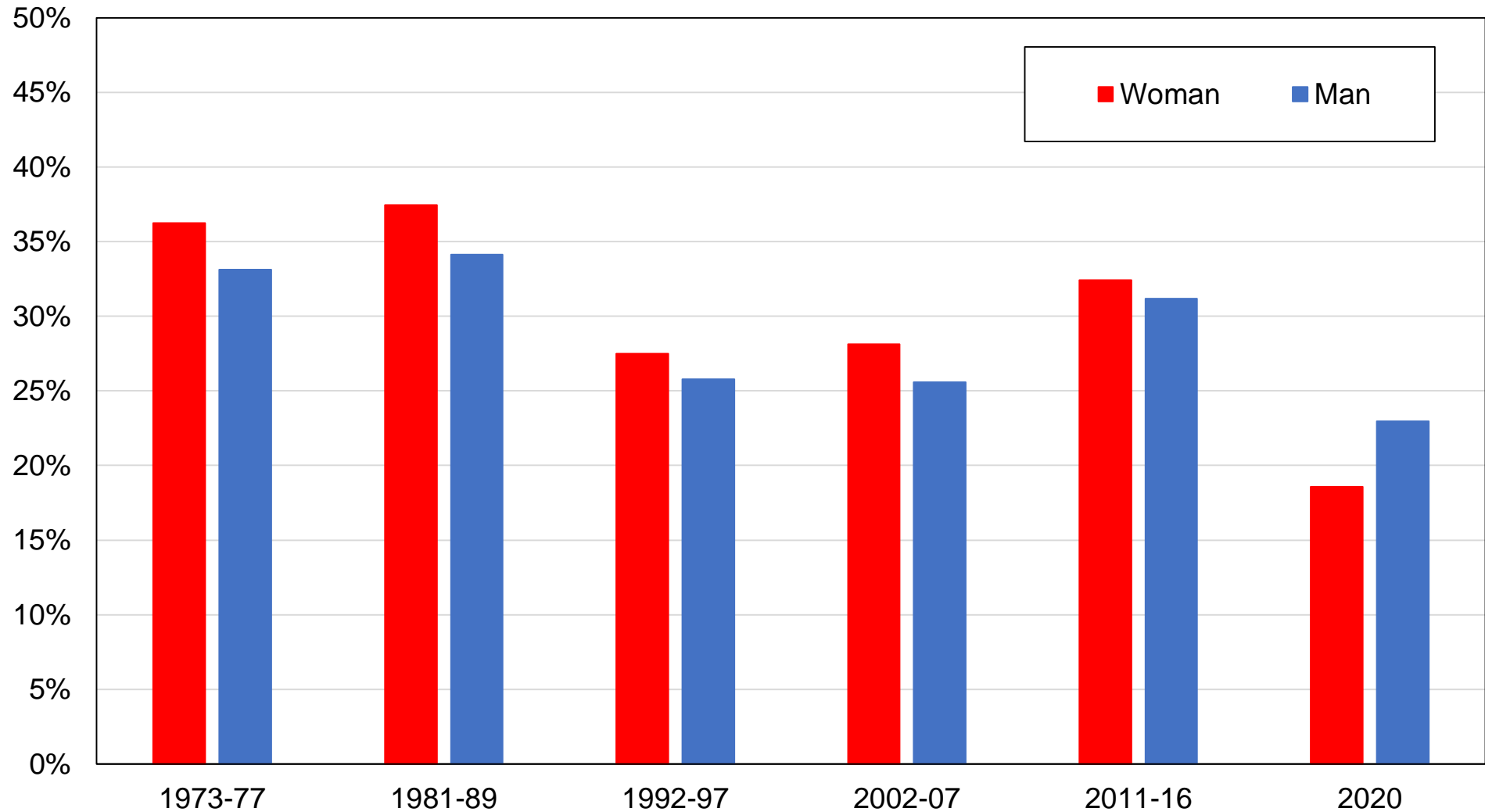
Figure DD13 - Vote for Fine Gael by religious affiliation



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Fine Gael by religious affiliation.

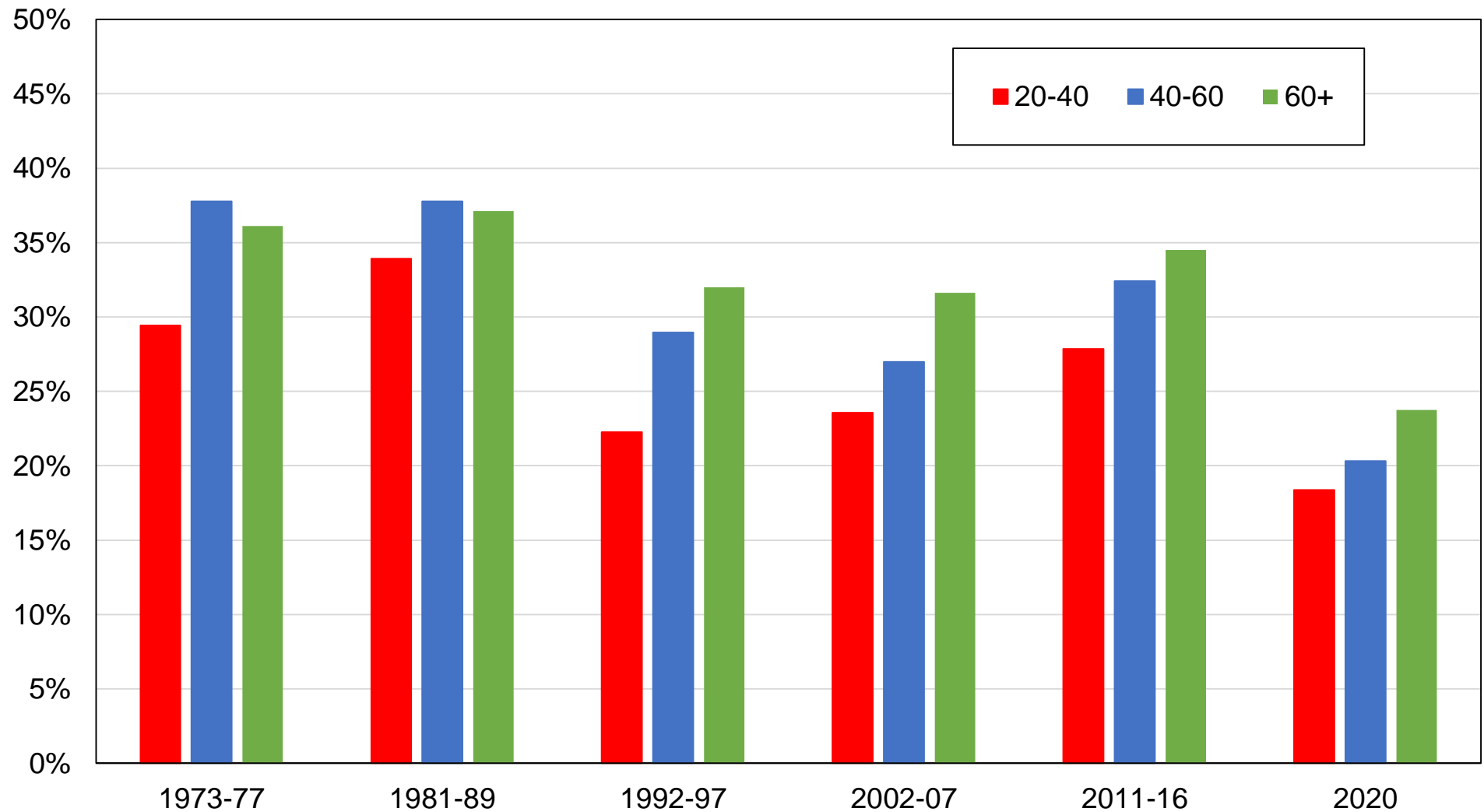
**Figure DD14 - Vote for Fine Gael by gender**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Fine Gael by gender.

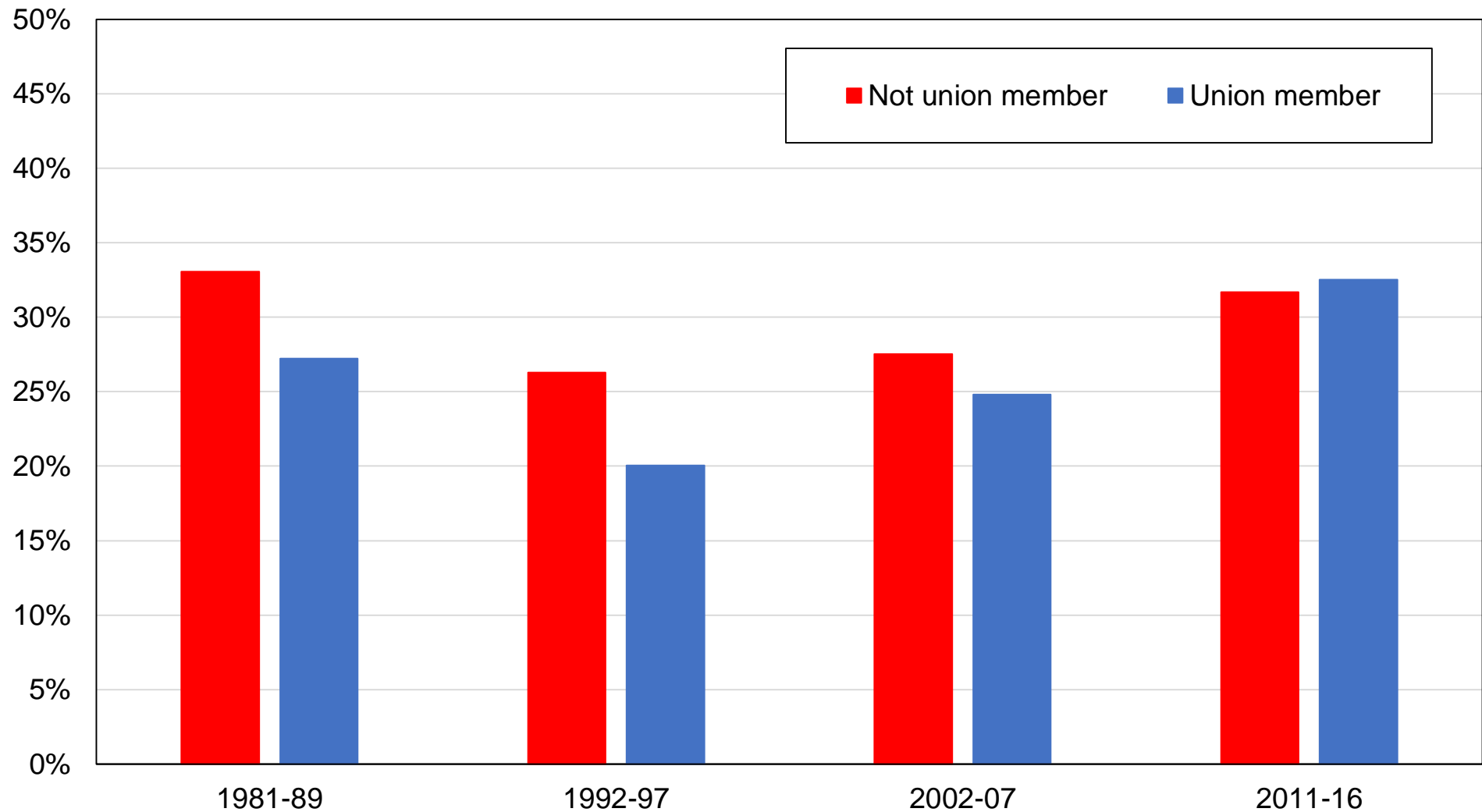
Figure DD15 - Vote for Fine Gael by age



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Fine Gael by age group.

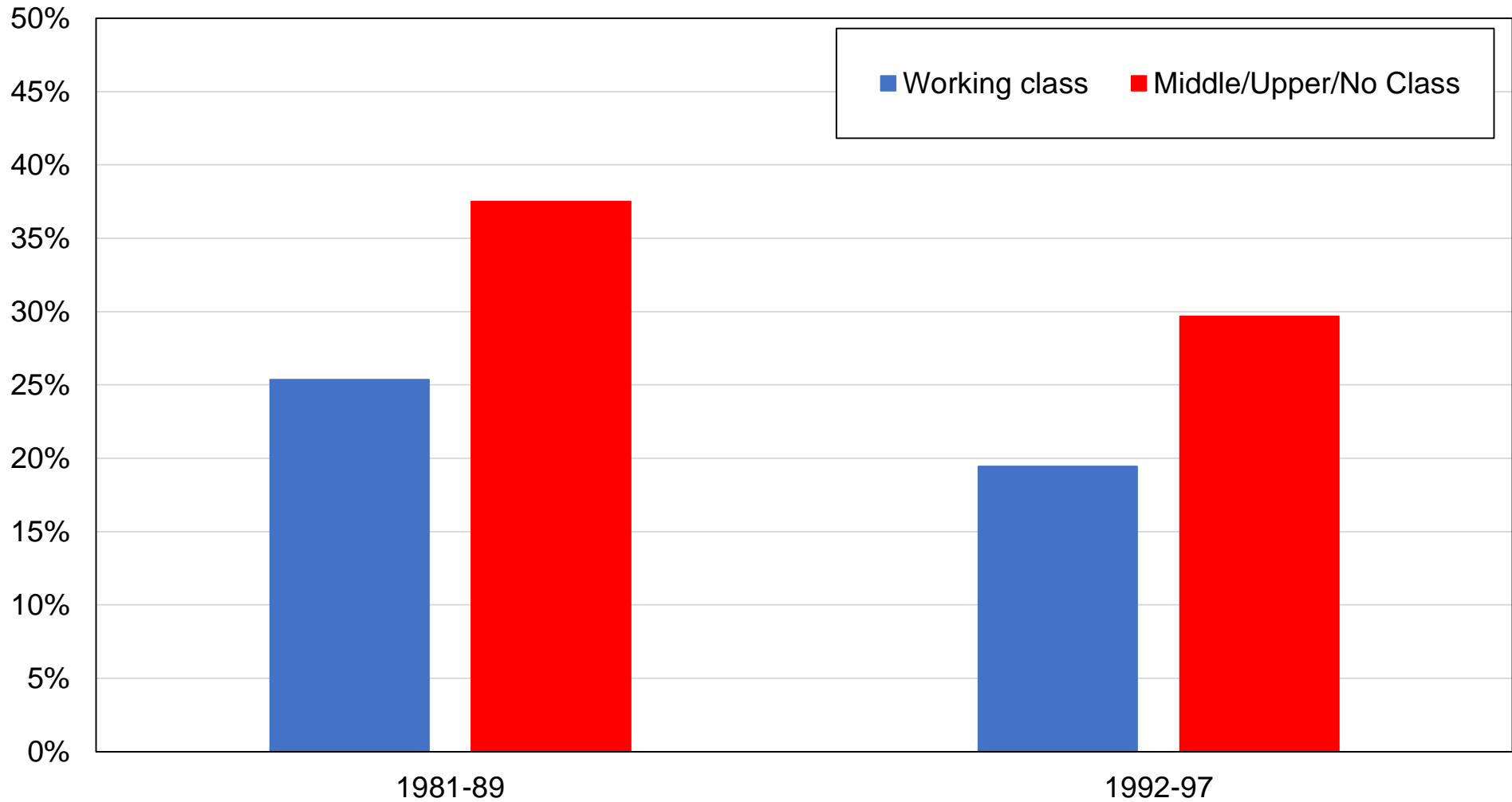
**Figure DD16 - Vote for Fine Gael by union membership**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Fine Gael by union membership status.

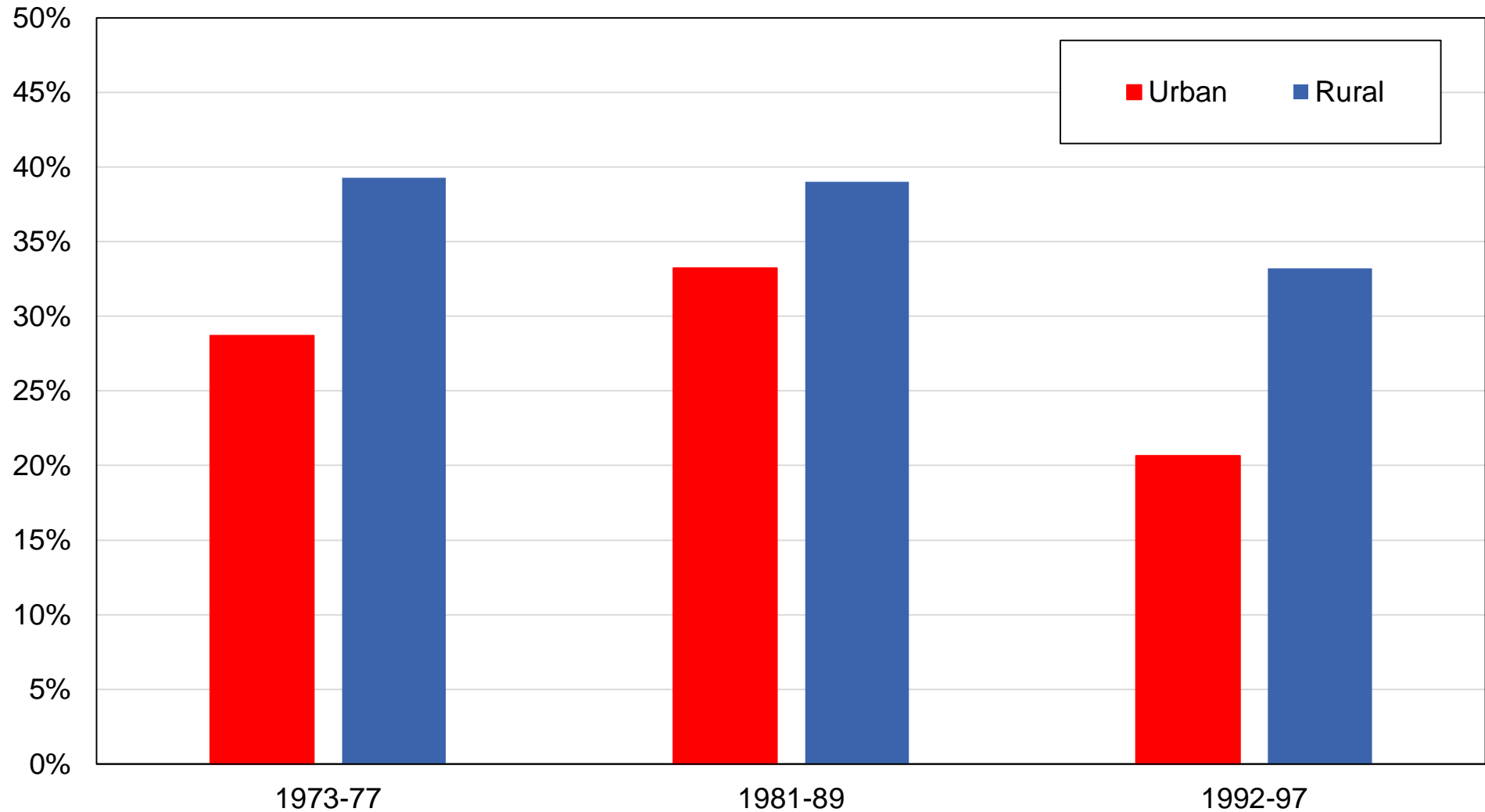
**Figure DD17 - Vote for Fine Gael by perceived social class**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Fine Gael by self-perceived social class. Working class includes "lower class".

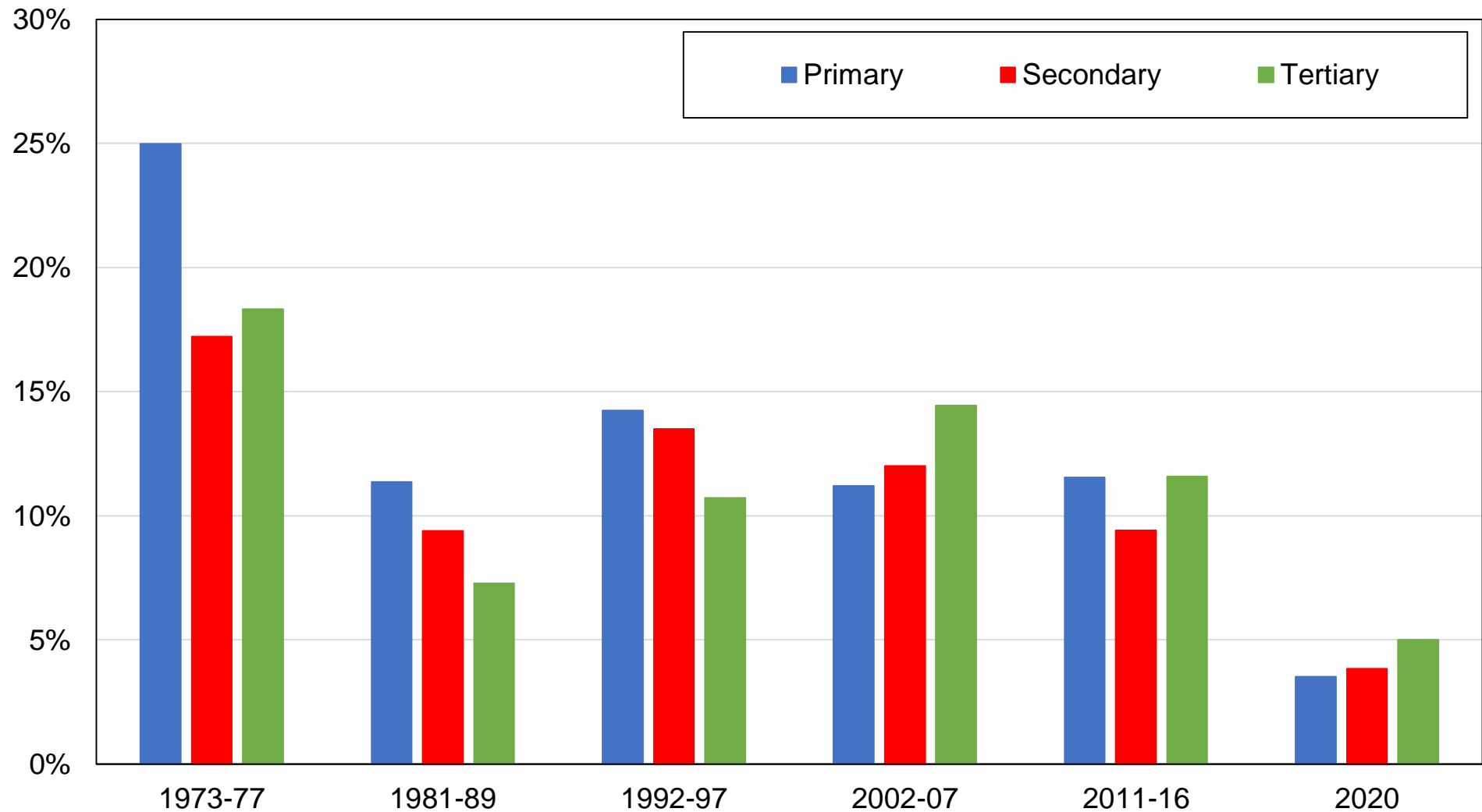
Figure DD18 - Vote for Fine Gael by location



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Fine Gael by rural-urban location.

**Figure DD19 - Vote for the Labour Party by education level**

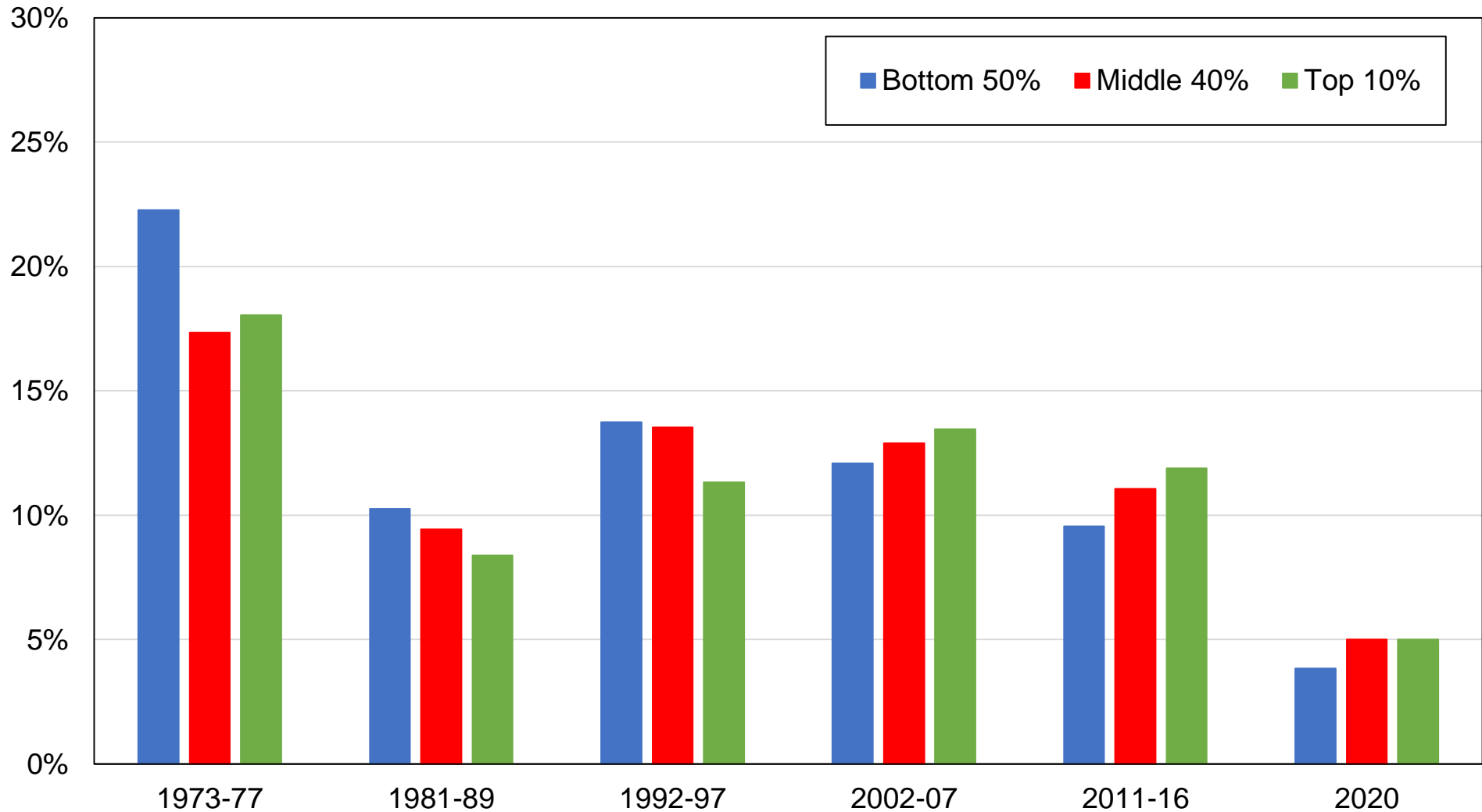


**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party by education level.



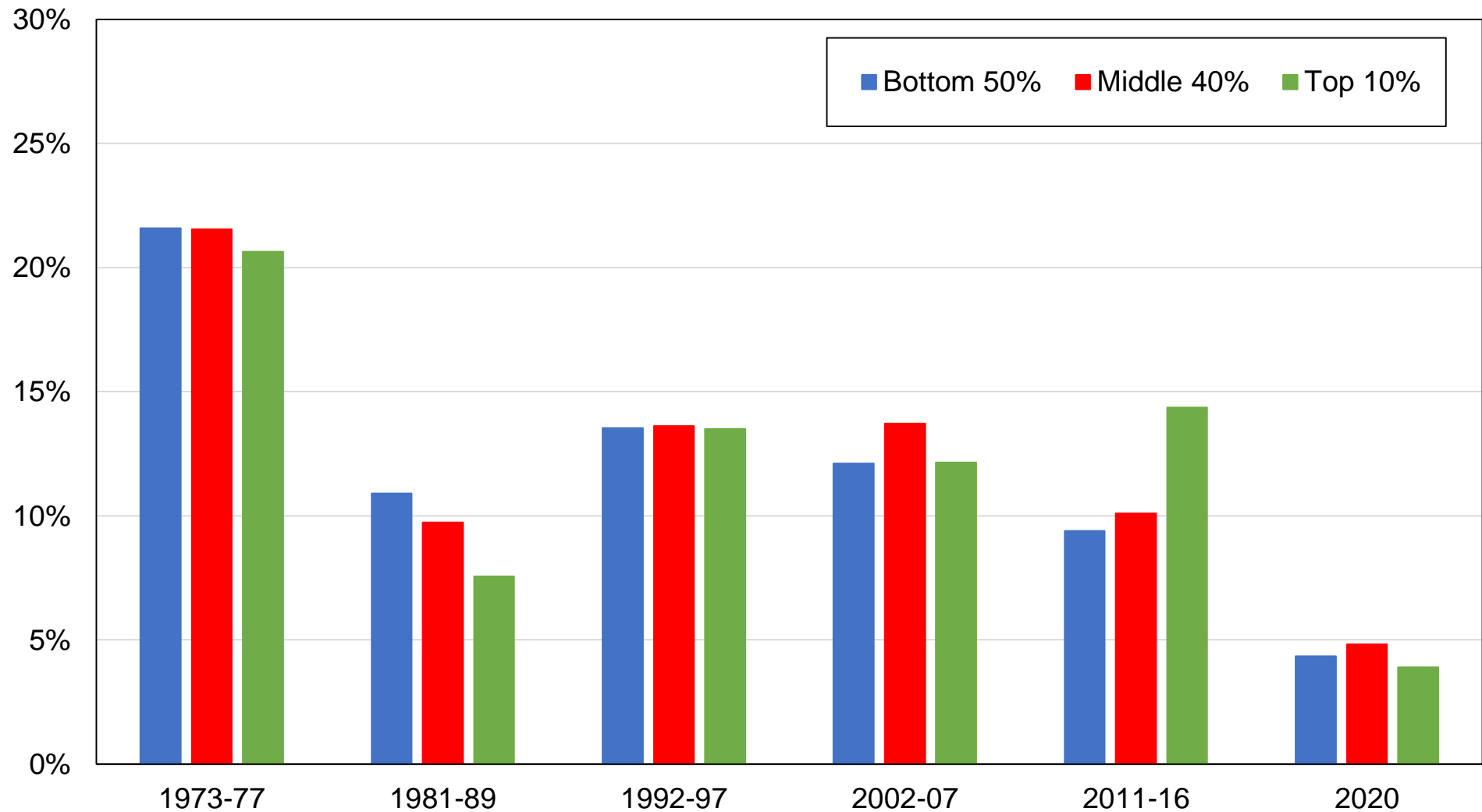
**Figure DD20 - Vote for the Labour Party by education group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party by education group.

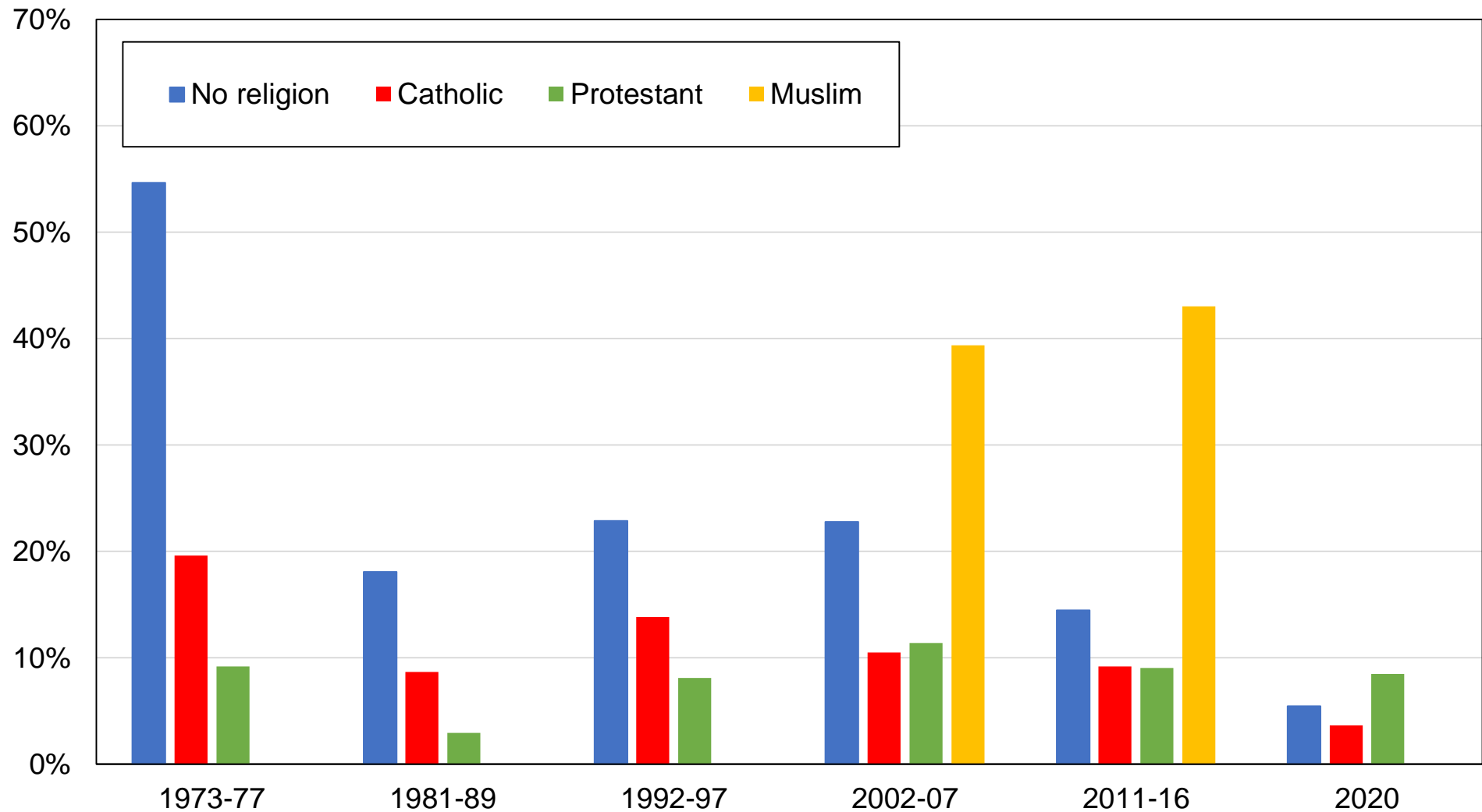
**Figure DD21 - Vote for the Labour Party by income group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party by income group.

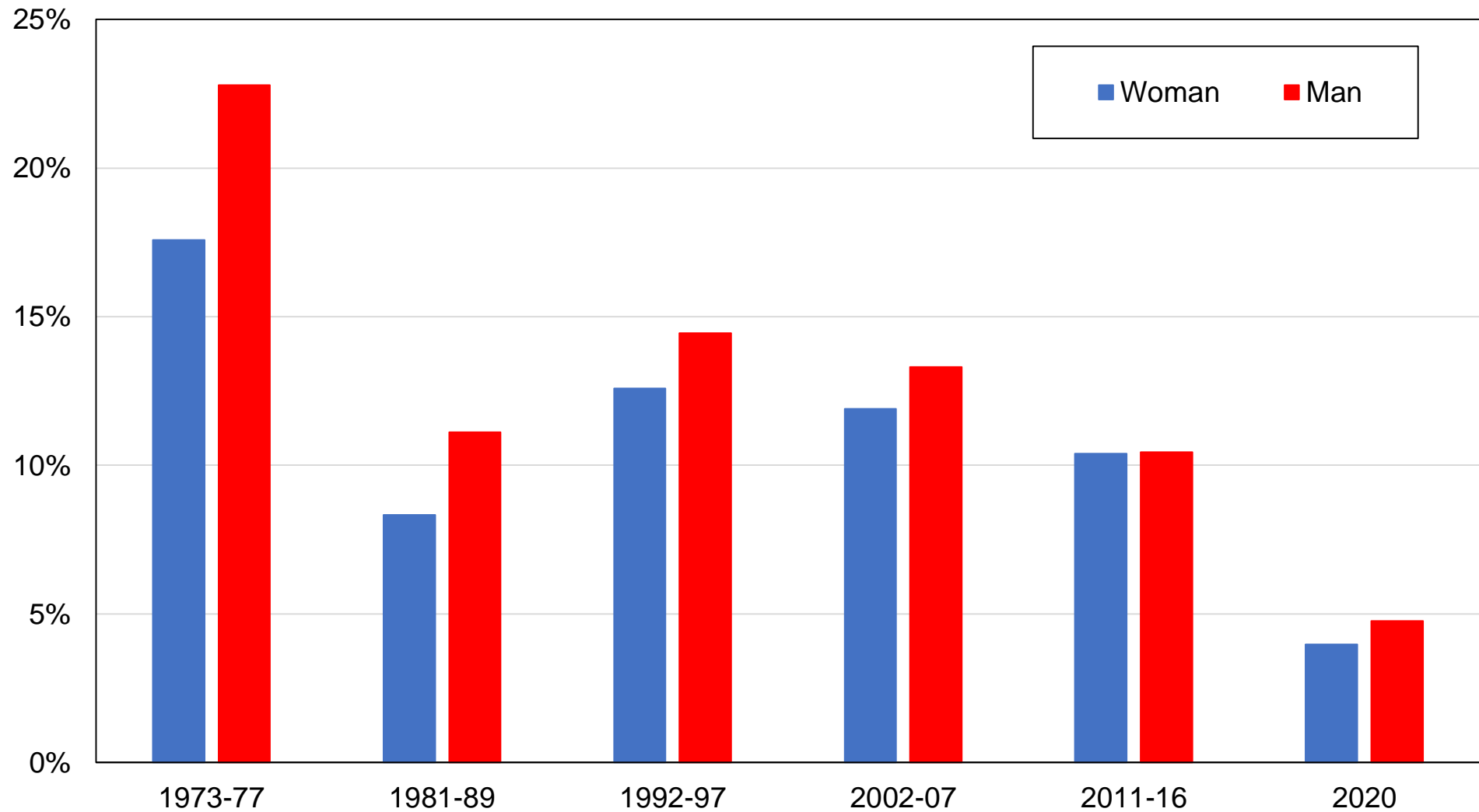
**Figure DD22 - Vote for the Labour Party by religious affiliation**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party by religious affiliation.

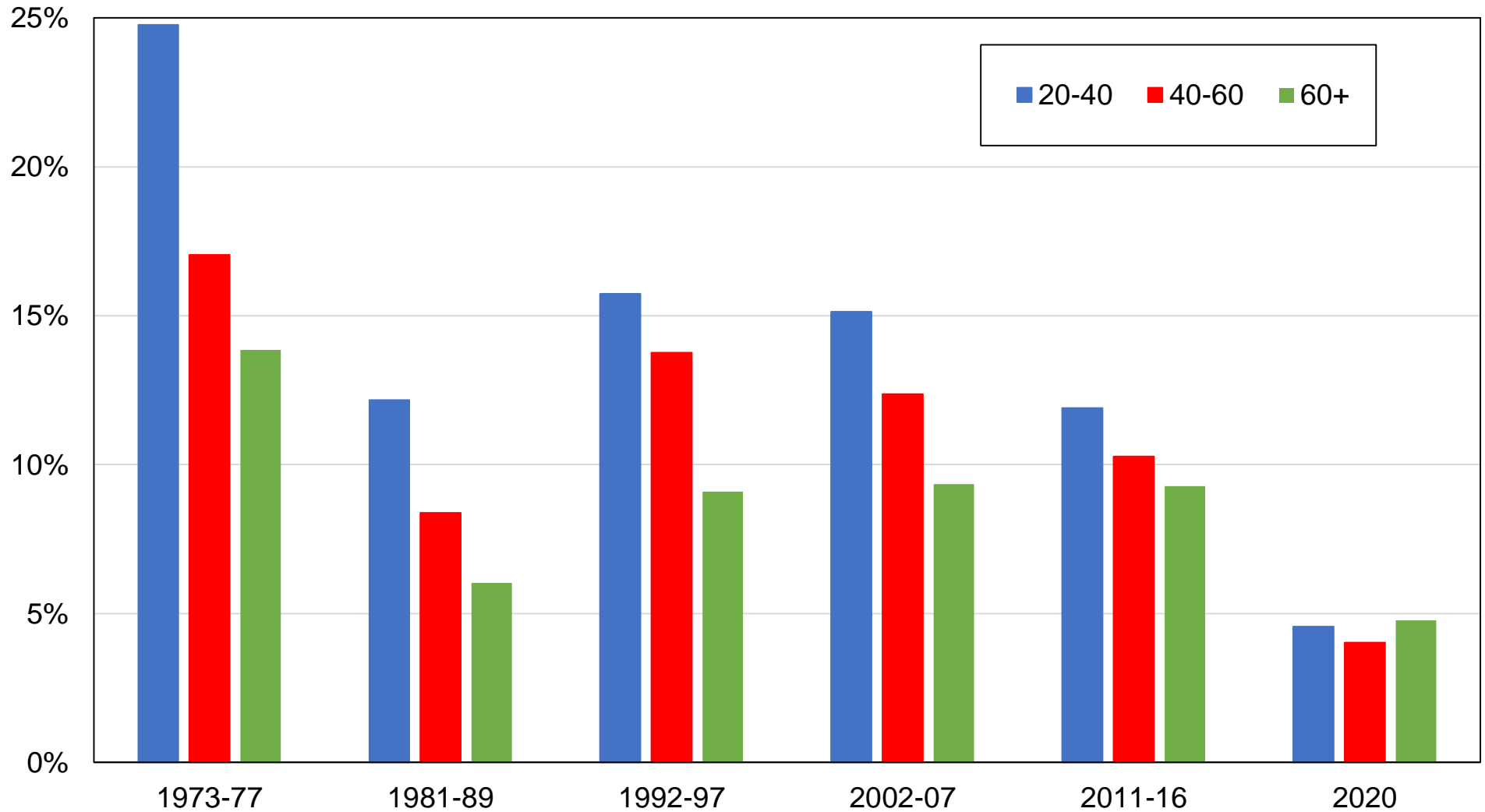
Figure DD23 - Vote for the Labour Party by gender



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party by gender.

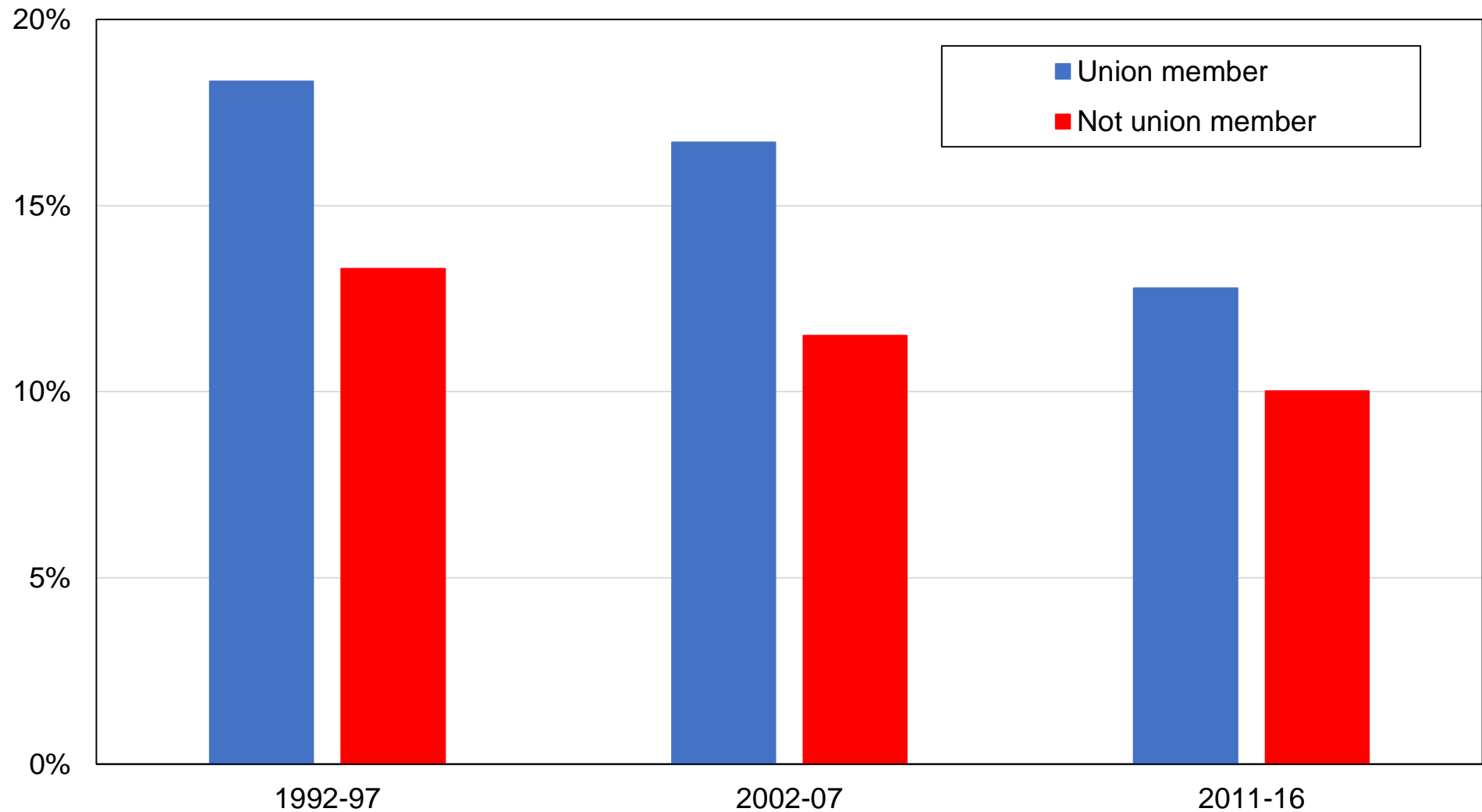
Figure DD24 - Vote for the Labour Party by age



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party by age group.

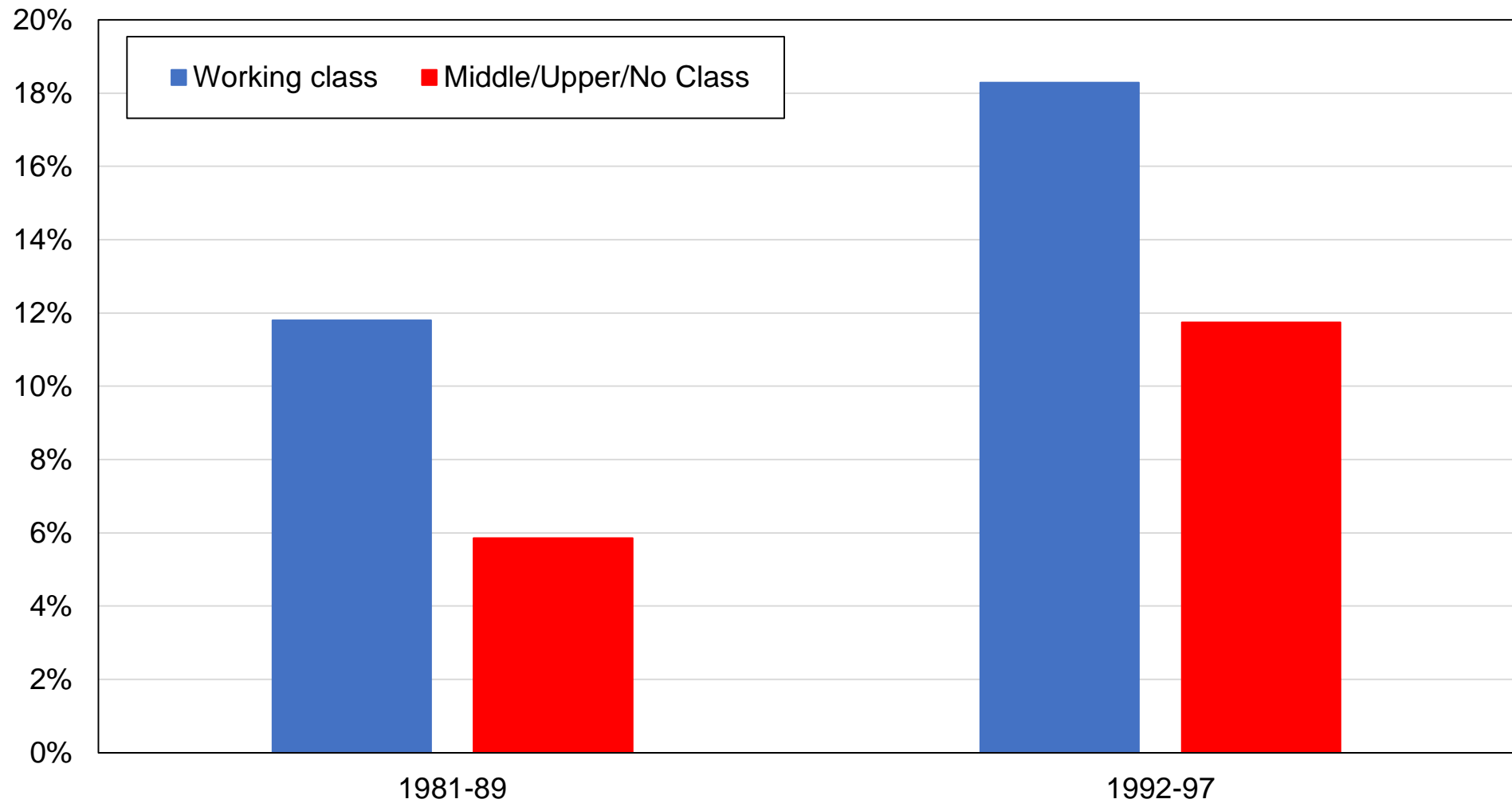
**Figure DD25 - Vote for the Labour Party by union membership**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party by union membership status.

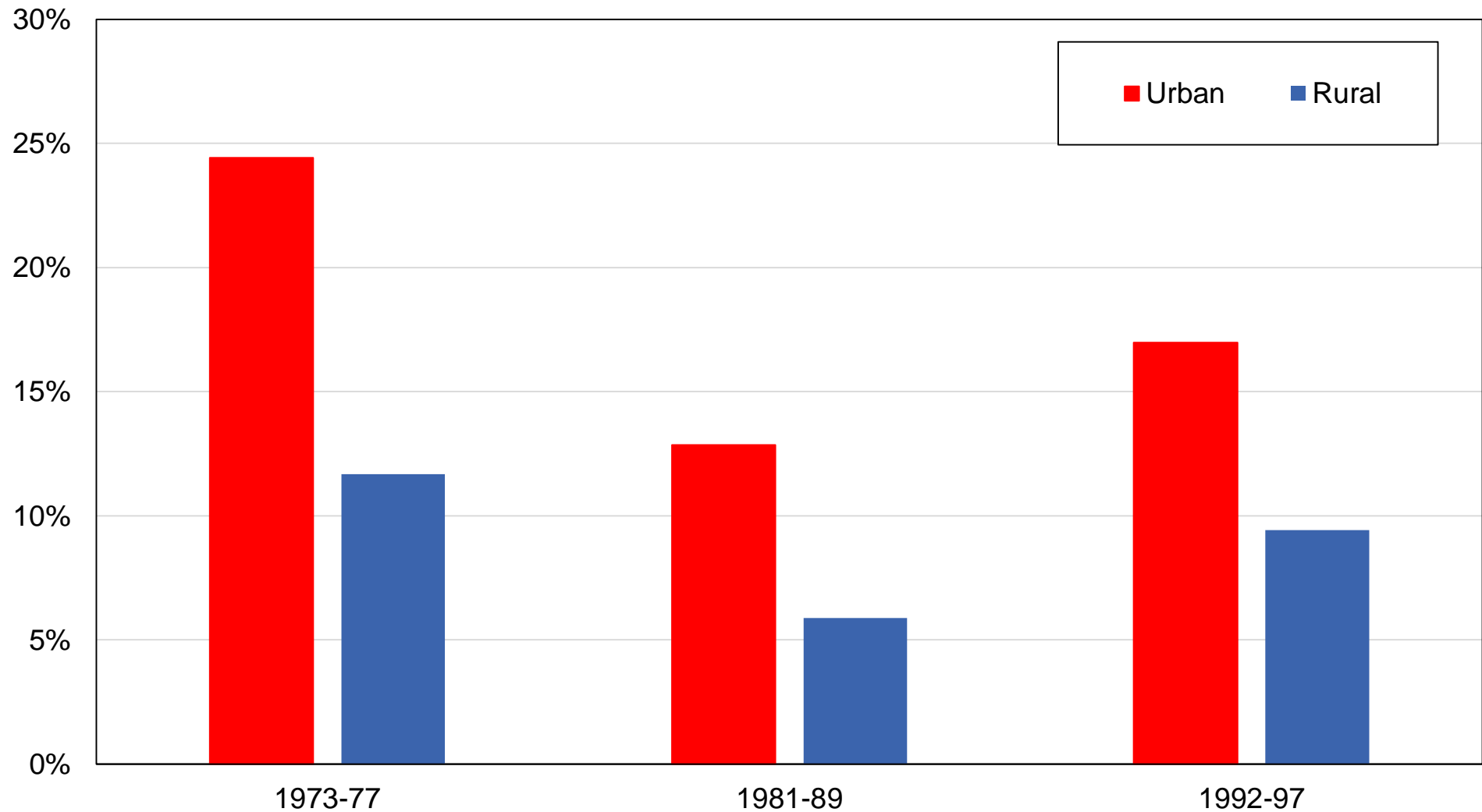
**Figure DD26 - Vote for the Labour Party by perceived social class**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party by self-perceived social class. Working class includes "lower class".

**Figure DD27 - Vote for the Labour Party by location**

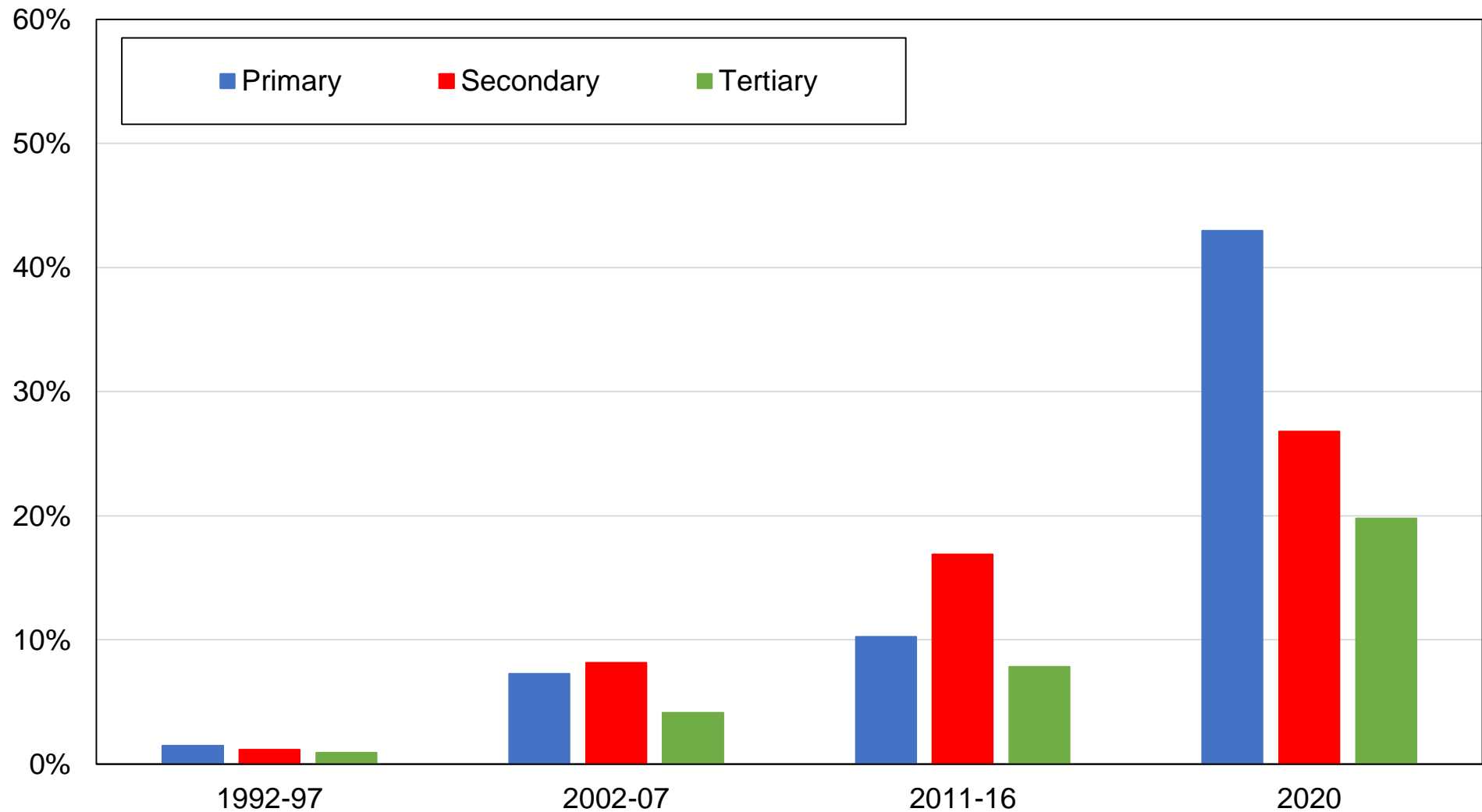


**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party by rural-urban location.



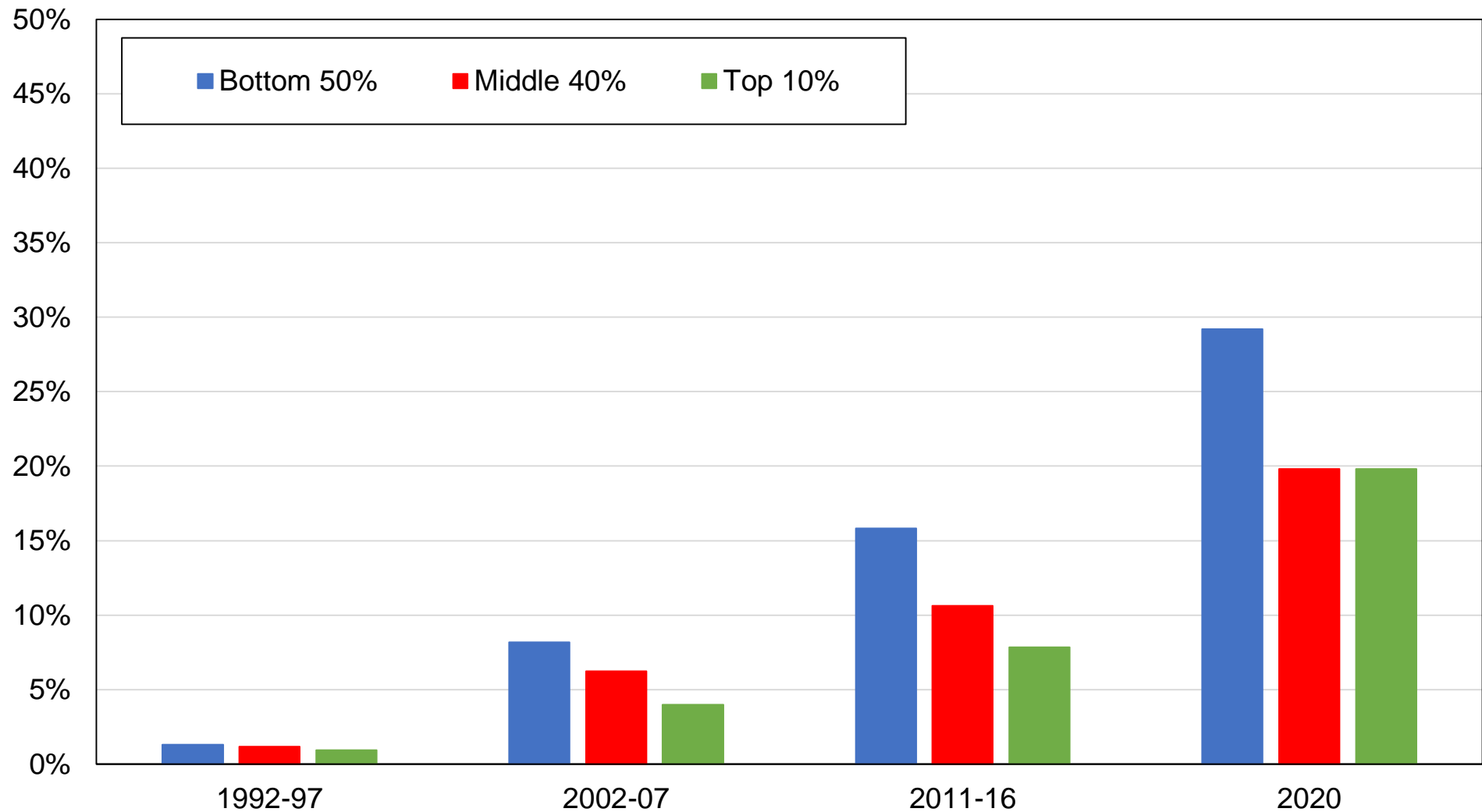
**Figure DD28 - Vote for Sinn Féin by education level**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Sinn Féin by education level.

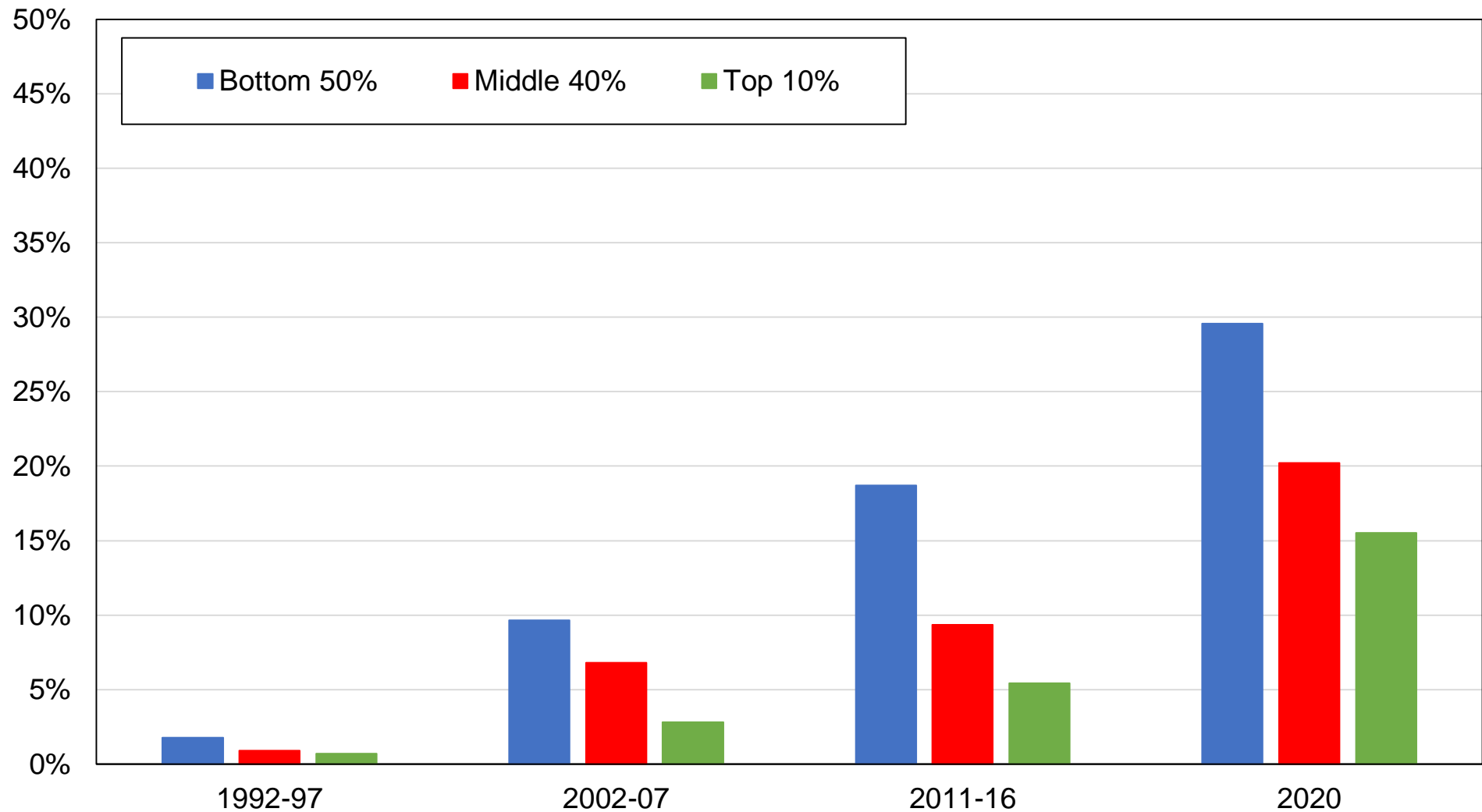
**Figure DD29 - Vote for Sinn Féin by education group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Sinn Féin by education group.

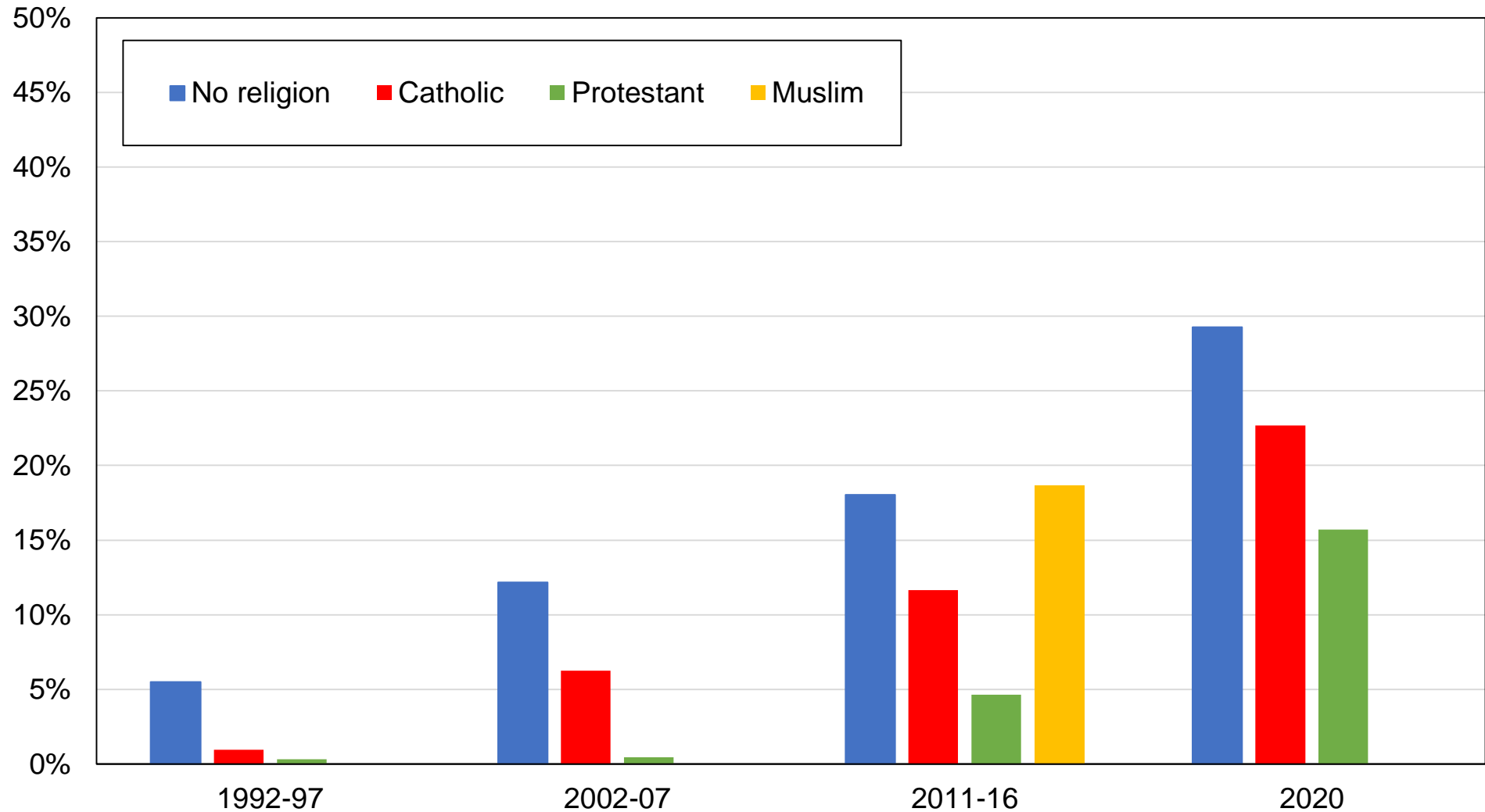
**Figure DD30 - Vote for Sinn Féin by income group**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Sinn Féin by income group.

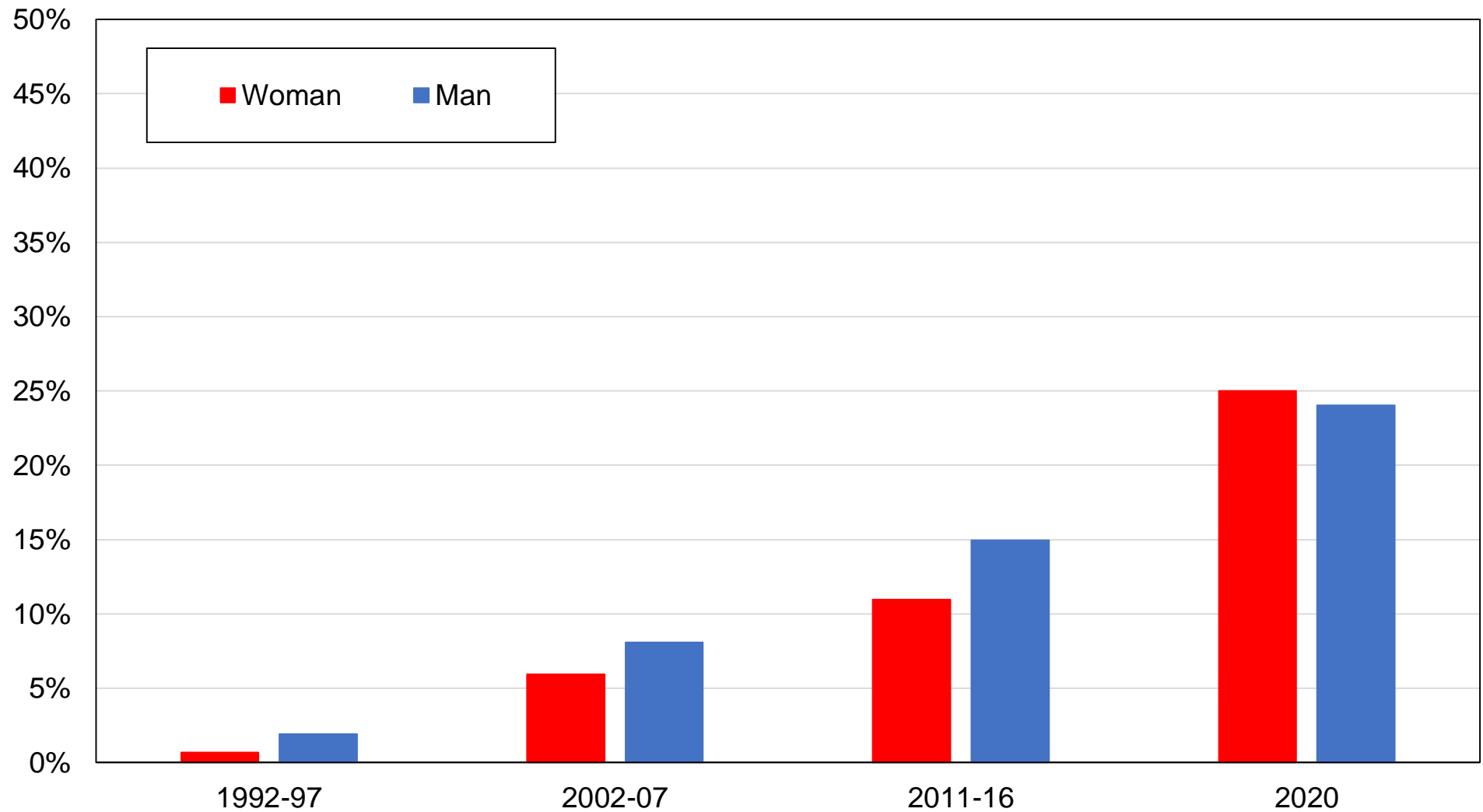
**Figure DD31 - Vote for Sinn Féin by religious affiliation**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Sinn Féin by religious affiliation.

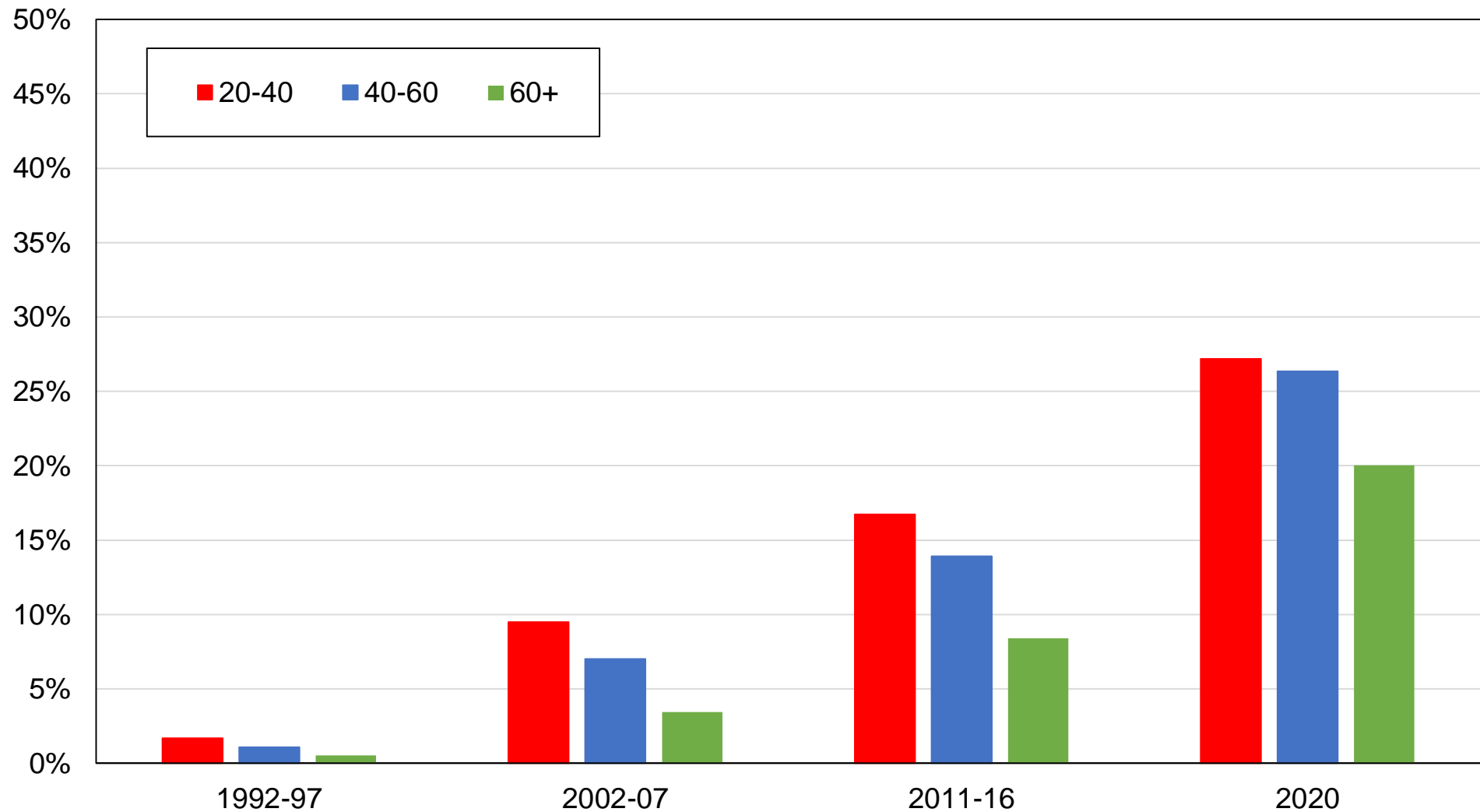
**Figure DD32 - Vote for Sinn Féin by gender**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Sinn Féin by gender.

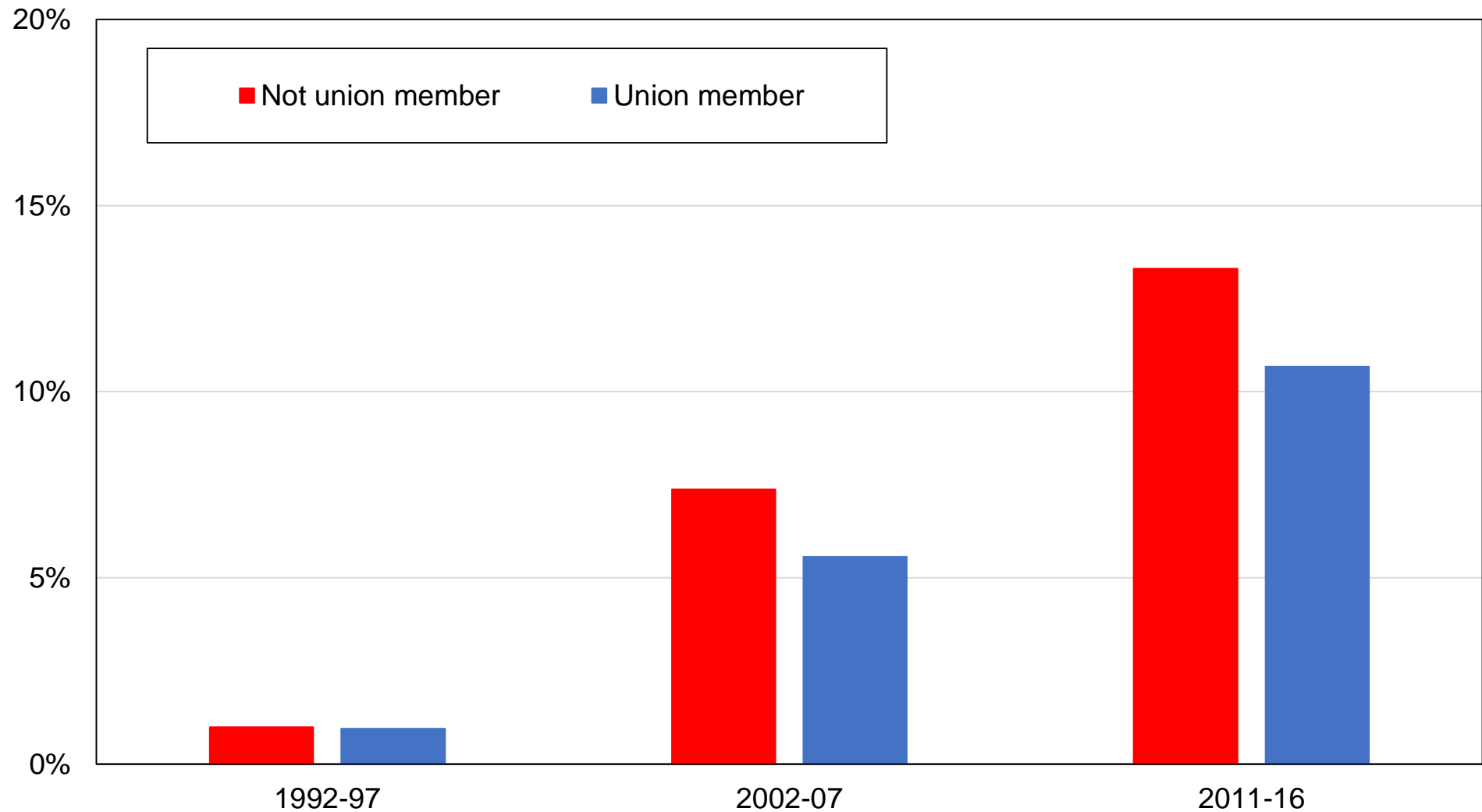
Figure DD33 - Vote for Sinn Féin by age



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Sinn Féin by age group.

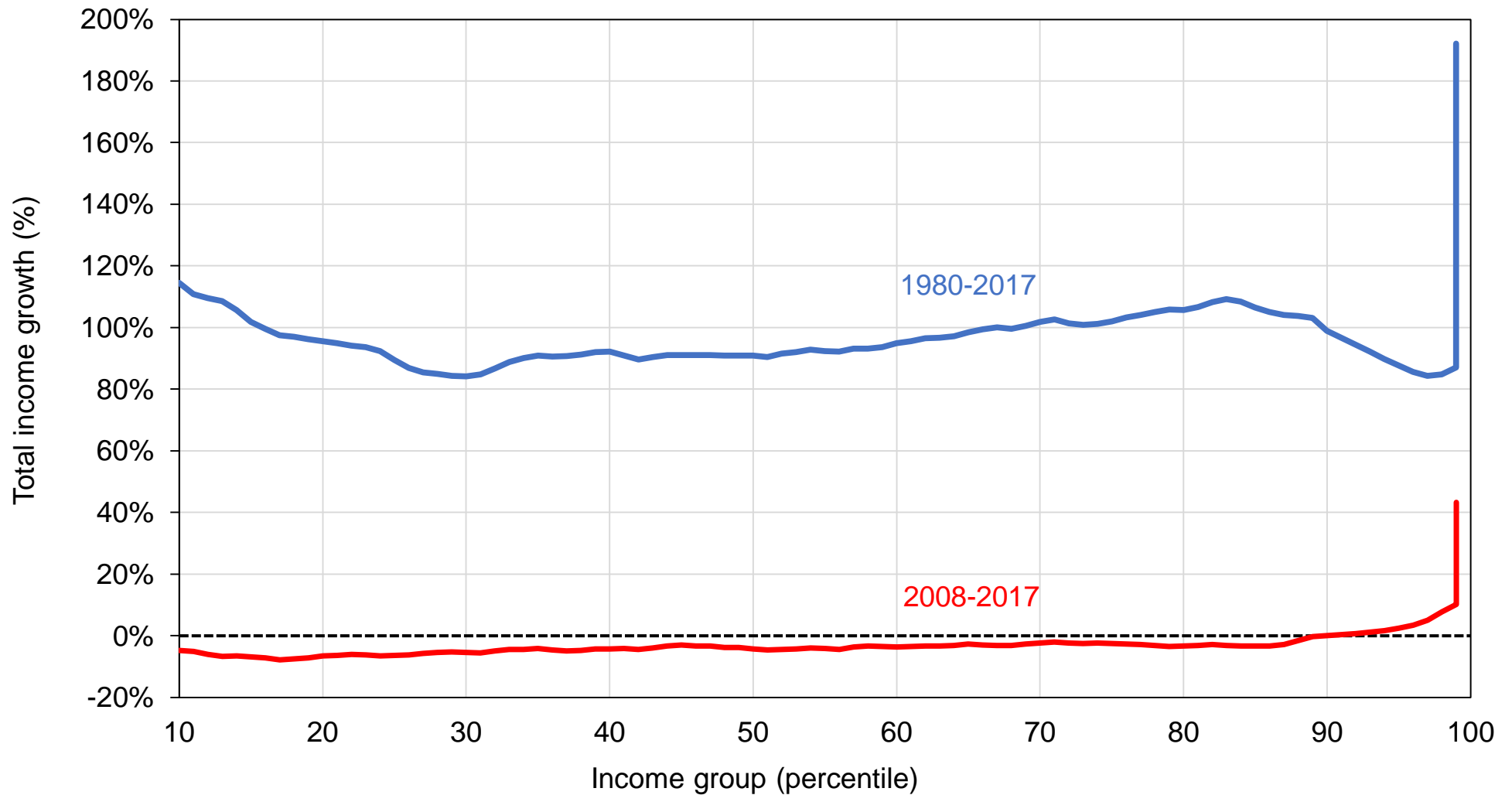
**Figure DD34 - Vote for Sinn Féin by union membership**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Sinn Féin by union membership status.

**Figure DD35 - Growth Incidence Curves in Ireland, 1980-2017**

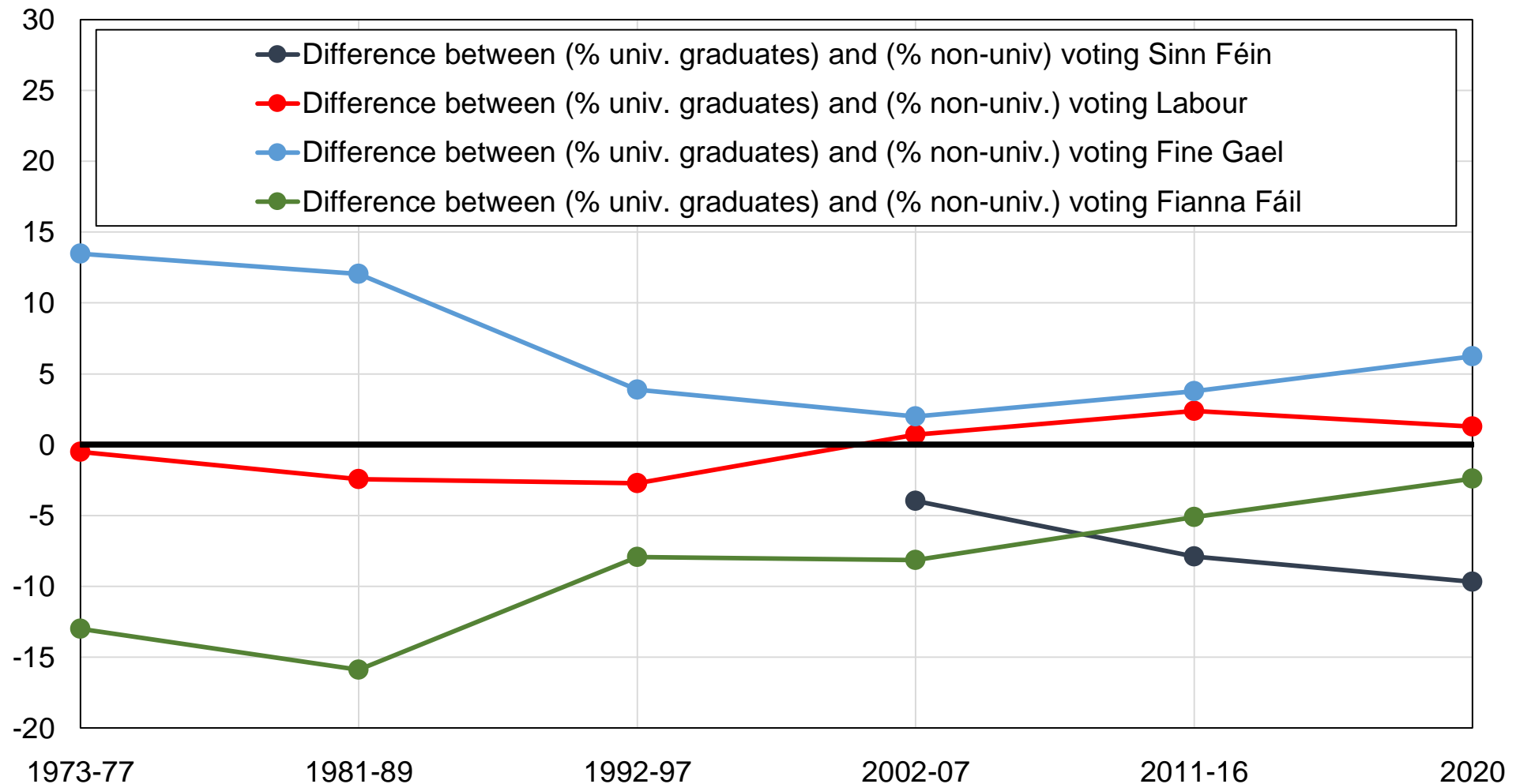


**Source:** authors' computations using data from the World Inequality Database (wid.world).

**Note:** income is after taxes and transfers.



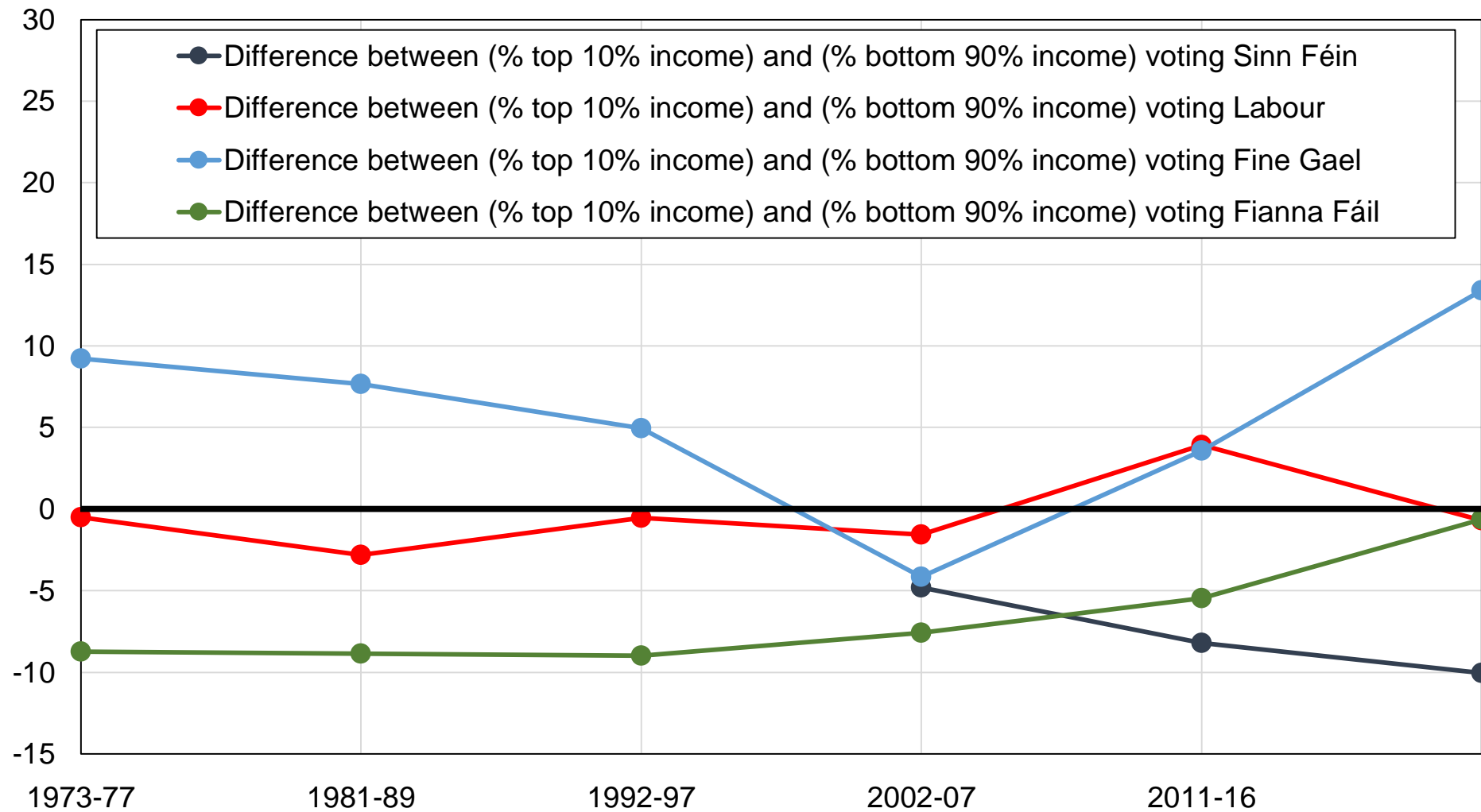
**Figure DD36 - The education cleavage in Ireland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the bias of university graduates towards Sinn Féin, Labour, Fine Gael, and Fianna Fáil.

**Figure DD37 - The income cleavage in Ireland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the bias of top-income voters towards Sinn Féin, Labour, Fine Gael and Fianna Fáil.

**Table DA1 - Survey data sources**

| Year | Survey  | Source  | Sample size |
|------|---|---------|-------------|
| 1973 | Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years | Gesis   | 4199        |
| 1977 | Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years | Gesis   | 7009        |
| 1981 | Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years | Gesis   | 6007        |
| 1982 | Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years | Gesis   | 5987        |
| 1987 | Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years | Gesis   | 8032        |
| 1989 | Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years | Gesis   | 7005        |
| 1992 | Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years | Gesis   | 13156       |
| 1997 | Eurobarometers Mannheim Trend File, various years | Gesis   | 19054       |
| 2002 | European Social Survey, 2002-2006                 | ESS     | 6132        |
| 2007 | European Social Survey, 2008-2010                 | ESS     | 4340        |
| 2011 | European Social Survey, 2012-2014                 | ESS     | 5018        |
| 2016 | European Social Survey, 2016-2018                 | ESS     | 4973        |
| 2020 | UCD Online Election Poll                          | Harvard | 1585        |

**Source:** authors' elaboration. Gesis: Gesis – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences (<https://www.gesis.org/home>); ESS: European Social Survey (<https://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/>). Harvard Dataverse: <https://dataverse.harvard.edu>.

**Note:** the table shows the surveys used, the source from which these surveys can be obtained, and the sample size of each survey.

**Table DA2 - Complete descriptive statistics by decade**

|   | 1973-77 | 1981-89 | 1992-97 | 2002-07 | 2011-16 | 2020 |
|---|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|------|
| Age: 20-40                              | 49%     | 52%     | 51%     | 48%     | 40%     | 29%  |
| Age: 40-60                              | 33%     | 29%     | 28%     | 34%     | 37%     | 41%  |
| Age: 60+                                | 18%     | 19%     | 21%     | 18%     | 23%     | 30%  |
| Education: Primary                      | 33%     | 23%     | 19%     | 11%     | 7%      | 9%   |
| Education: Secondary                    | 62%     | 71%     | 72%     | 64%     | 56%     | 39%  |
| Education: Tertiary                     | 5%      | 6%      | 8%      | 25%     | 37%     | 52%  |
| Employment status: Employed             | 47%     | 45%     | 42%     | 48%     | 47%     | 60%  |
| Employment status: Unemployed           | 7%      | 8%      | 9%      | 9%      | 9%      | 3%   |
| Employment status: Inactive             | 46%     | 47%     | 49%     | 44%     | 44%     | 36%  |
| Marital status: Married or with partner | 56%     | 55%     | 54%     | 56%     | 59%     |      |
| Religion: No religion                   | 1%      | 3%      | 4%      | 20%     | 28%     | 27%  |
| Religion: Catholic                      | 94%     | 93%     | 92%     | 75%     | 66%     | 60%  |
| Religion: Protestant                    | 3%      | 3%      | 2%      | 4%      | 4%      | 7%   |
| Religion: Muslim                        | 0%      | 0%      | 0%      | 1%      | 1%      | 0%   |
| Religion: Other                         | 2%      | 1%      | 1%      | 0%      | 1%      | 5%   |
| Church attendance: Never                | 2%      | 3%      | 3%      | 14%     | 19%     | 50%  |
| Church attendance: Less than monthl     | 6%      | 12%     | 17%     | 43%     | 48%     | 22%  |
| Church attendance: Monthly or more      | 92%     | 86%     | 80%     | 43%     | 33%     | 28%  |
| Gender: Man                             | 50%     | 49%     | 49%     | 49%     | 49%     | 53%  |

**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the table shows descriptive statistics by decade for selected available variables.

**Table DA3 - The structure of political cleavages in Ireland, 2020**

|                           | Share of votes received (%) |        |        |             |           |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|--------|--------|-------------|-----------|
|                           | Sinn Féin                   | Labour | Greens | Fianna Fáil | Fine Gael |
| <b>Overall vote share</b> | 25%                         | 4%     | 7%     | 22%         | 21%       |
| <b>Education</b>          |                             |        |        |             |           |
| Primary                   | 43%                         | 4%     | 1%     | 23%         | 13%       |
| Secondary                 | 27%                         | 4%     | 7%     | 24%         | 19%       |
| Tertiary                  | 20%                         | 5%     | 8%     | 21%         | 24%       |
| <b>Income</b>             |                             |        |        |             |           |
| Bottom 50%                | 30%                         | 4%     | 5%     | 21%         | 17%       |
| Middle 40%                | 20%                         | 5%     | 8%     | 25%         | 22%       |
| Top 10%                   | 16%                         | 4%     | 8%     | 22%         | 33%       |
| <b>Religion</b>           |                             |        |        |             |           |
| No religion               | 29%                         | 5%     | 16%    | 12%         | 15%       |
| Catholic                  | 23%                         | 4%     | 3%     | 28%         | 22%       |
| Protestant                | 16%                         | 8%     | 7%     | 13%         | 40%       |
| <b>Church attendance</b>  |                             |        |        |             |           |
| Never                     | 32%                         | 5%     | 10%    | 14%         | 18%       |
| Less than monthly         | 22%                         | 4%     | 8%     | 23%         | 23%       |
| Monthly or more           | 14%                         | 4%     | 3%     | 33%         | 25%       |
| <b>Gender</b>             |                             |        |        |             |           |
| Woman                     | 25%                         | 4%     | 6%     | 23%         | 19%       |
| Man                       | 24%                         | 5%     | 8%     | 21%         | 23%       |
| <b>Age</b>                |                             |        |        |             |           |
| 20-40                     | 27%                         | 5%     | 14%    | 16%         | 18%       |
| 40-60                     | 26%                         | 4%     | 5%     | 21%         | 20%       |
| 60+                       | 20%                         | 5%     | 4%     | 30%         | 24%       |

**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Notes:** the table shows the share of votes received by the main political parties by selected individual characteristics in the 2020 election.

**Table DA4 - The structure of the education and income cleavages in Ireland, 1973-2020**

| Share of votes received (%) |            |           |             |        |           |       |            |           |             |
|-----------------------------|------------|-----------|-------------|--------|-----------|-------|------------|-----------|-------------|
| Variable                    | Year       | Value     | Fianna Fáil | Labour | Sinn Féin | Green | Other Left | Fine Gael | Other Right |
| Education                   | 1973-77    | Primary   | 55%         | 17%    | 0%        | 0%    | 0%         | 29%       | 0%          |
|                             |            | Secondary | 51%         | 11%    | 0%        | 0%    | 0%         | 38%       | 0%          |
|                             |            | Tertiary  | 39%         | 13%    | 0%        | 0%    | 0%         | 48%       | 0%          |
|                             | 1981-89    | Primary   | 54%         | 10%    | 0%        | 0%    | 2%         | 29%       | 2%          |
|                             |            | Secondary | 46%         | 9%     | 0%        | 0%    | 3%         | 34%       | 4%          |
|                             |            | Tertiary  | 31%         | 6%     | 0%        | 1%    | 2%         | 43%       | 11%         |
|                             | 1992-97    | Primary   | 41%         | 17%    | 2%        | 0%    | 3%         | 21%       | 3%          |
|                             |            | Secondary | 35%         | 15%    | 2%        | 1%    | 3%         | 24%       | 5%          |
|                             |            | Tertiary  | 29%         | 12%    | 1%        | 2%    | 2%         | 26%       | 9%          |
|                             | 2002-07    | Primary   | 50%         | 10%    | 8%        | 2%    | 0%         | 23%       | 2%          |
|                             |            | Secondary | 41%         | 10%    | 8%        | 3%    | 1%         | 24%       | 3%          |
|                             |            | Tertiary  | 35%         | 11%    | 4%        | 7%    | 1%         | 27%       | 5%          |
|                             | 2011-16    | Primary   | 33%         | 15%    | 10%       | 0%    | 4%         | 26%       | 0%          |
|                             |            | Secondary | 21%         | 12%    | 15%       | 1%    | 4%         | 29%       | 0%          |
|                             |            | Tertiary  | 18%         | 13%    | 7%        | 4%    | 6%         | 32%       | 0%          |
| 2020                        | Primary    | 23%       | 4%          | 43%    | 1%        | 3%    | 13%        | 2%        |             |
|                             | Secondary  | 23%       | 4%          | 27%    | 7%        | 5%    | 19%        | 2%        |             |
|                             | Tertiary   | 21%       | 5%          | 20%    | 8%        | 7%    | 24%        | 2%        |             |
| 1973-77                     | Bottom 50% | 53%       | 14%         | 0%     | 0%        | 0%    | 33%        | 0%        |             |
|                             | Middle 40% | 52%       | 14%         | 0%     | 0%        | 0%    | 33%        | 0%        |             |
|                             | Top 10%    | 44%       | 14%         | 0%     | 0%        | 0%    | 42%        | 0%        |             |

|                 |         |            |     |     |     |    |     |     |     |
|-----------------|---------|------------|-----|-----|-----|----|-----|-----|-----|
| Income          | 1981-89 | Bottom 50% | 51% | 10% | 0%  | 0% | 3%  | 30% | 3%  |
|                 |         | Middle 40% | 43% | 9%  | 0%  | 1% | 3%  | 35% | 6%  |
|                 |         | Top 10%    | 38% | 7%  | 0%  | 1% | 2%  | 40% | 8%  |
|                 | 1992-97 | Bottom 50% | 40% | 15% | 2%  | 1% | 3%  | 23% | 4%  |
|                 |         | Middle 40% | 33% | 15% | 1%  | 1% | 3%  | 23% | 6%  |
|                 |         | Top 10%    | 28% | 15% | 1%  | 2% | 1%  | 27% | 10% |
|                 | 2002-07 | Bottom 50% | 44% | 10% | 9%  | 3% | 0%  | 24% | 2%  |
|                 |         | Middle 40% | 40% | 11% | 6%  | 4% | 0%  | 26% | 4%  |
|                 |         | Top 10%    | 36% | 8%  | 2%  | 7% | 2%  | 22% | 10% |
|                 | 2011-16 | Bottom 50% | 23% | 12% | 17% | 1% | 3%  | 27% | 0%  |
|                 |         | Middle 40% | 20% | 12% | 8%  | 2% | 5%  | 33% | 0%  |
|                 |         | Top 10%    | 16% | 16% | 5%  | 4% | 10% | 33% | 0%  |
|                 | 2020    | Bottom 50% | 21% | 4%  | 30% | 5% | 6%  | 17% | 2%  |
|                 |         | Middle 40% | 25% | 5%  | 20% | 8% | 6%  | 22% | 2%  |
|                 |         | Top 10%    | 22% | 4%  | 15% | 8% | 4%  | 33% | 2%  |
| Education group | 1973-77 | Bottom 50% | 53% | 15% | 0%  | 0% | 0%  | 32% | 0%  |
|                 |         | Middle 40% | 51% | 11% | 0%  | 0% | 0%  | 38% | 0%  |
|                 |         | Top 10%    | 45% | 12% | 0%  | 0% | 0%  | 42% | 0%  |
|                 | 1981-89 | Bottom 50% | 50% | 9%  | 0%  | 0% | 3%  | 31% | 4%  |
|                 |         | Middle 40% | 46% | 9%  | 0%  | 0% | 3%  | 34% | 4%  |
|                 |         | Top 10%    | 38% | 8%  | 0%  | 1% | 2%  | 40% | 7%  |
|                 | 1992-97 | Bottom 50% | 37% | 16% | 2%  | 1% | 3%  | 23% | 5%  |
|                 |         | Middle 40% | 35% | 15% | 2%  | 1% | 3%  | 24% | 5%  |
|                 |         | Top 10%    | 30% | 12% | 1%  | 2% | 2%  | 25% | 9%  |

|         |            |     |     |     |    |    |     |    |
|---------|------------|-----|-----|-----|----|----|-----|----|
| 2002-07 | Bottom 50% | 44% | 10% | 8%  | 3% | 1% | 23% | 3% |
|         | Middle 40% | 39% | 10% | 6%  | 5% | 1% | 25% | 4% |
|         | Top 10%    | 34% | 11% | 4%  | 7% | 1% | 26% | 6% |
| 2011-16 | Bottom 50% | 23% | 12% | 15% | 1% | 4% | 29% | 0% |
|         | Middle 40% | 18% | 13% | 9%  | 3% | 5% | 31% | 0% |
|         | Top 10%    | 18% | 14% | 7%  | 4% | 5% | 32% | 0% |
| 2020    | Bottom 50% | 23% | 4%  | 29% | 6% | 5% | 18% | 2% |
|         | Middle 40% | 21% | 5%  | 20% | 8% | 7% | 24% | 2% |
|         | Top 10%    | 21% | 5%  | 20% | 8% | 7% | 24% | 2% |

**Source:** authors' computations using Irish political attitudes surveys.

**Notes:** the table shows the average share of votes received by the main political parties by education and income categories across elections in each decade.