

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

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Appendix A - Italy

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Appendix Figures - Structure of the vote for specific parties

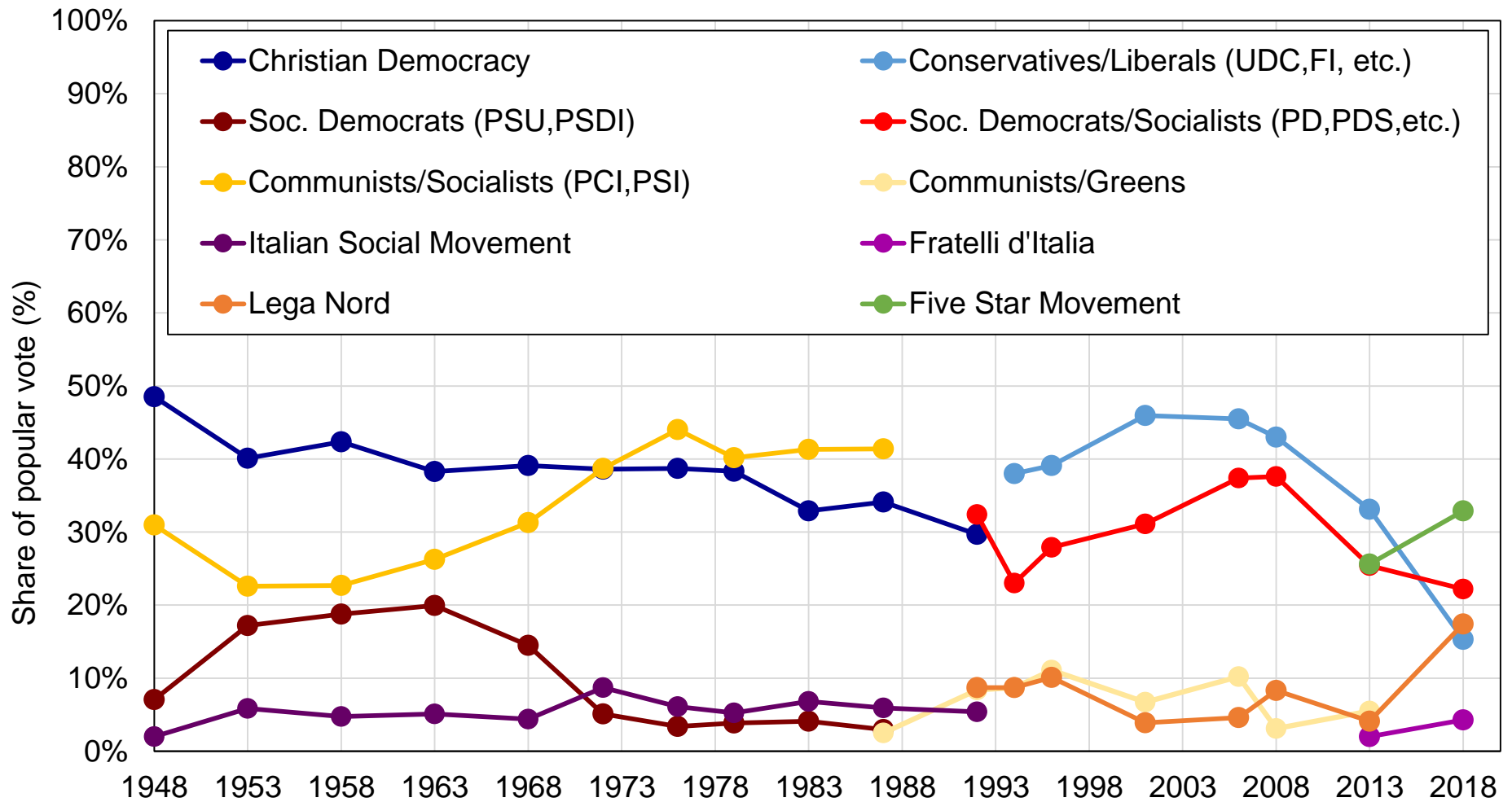
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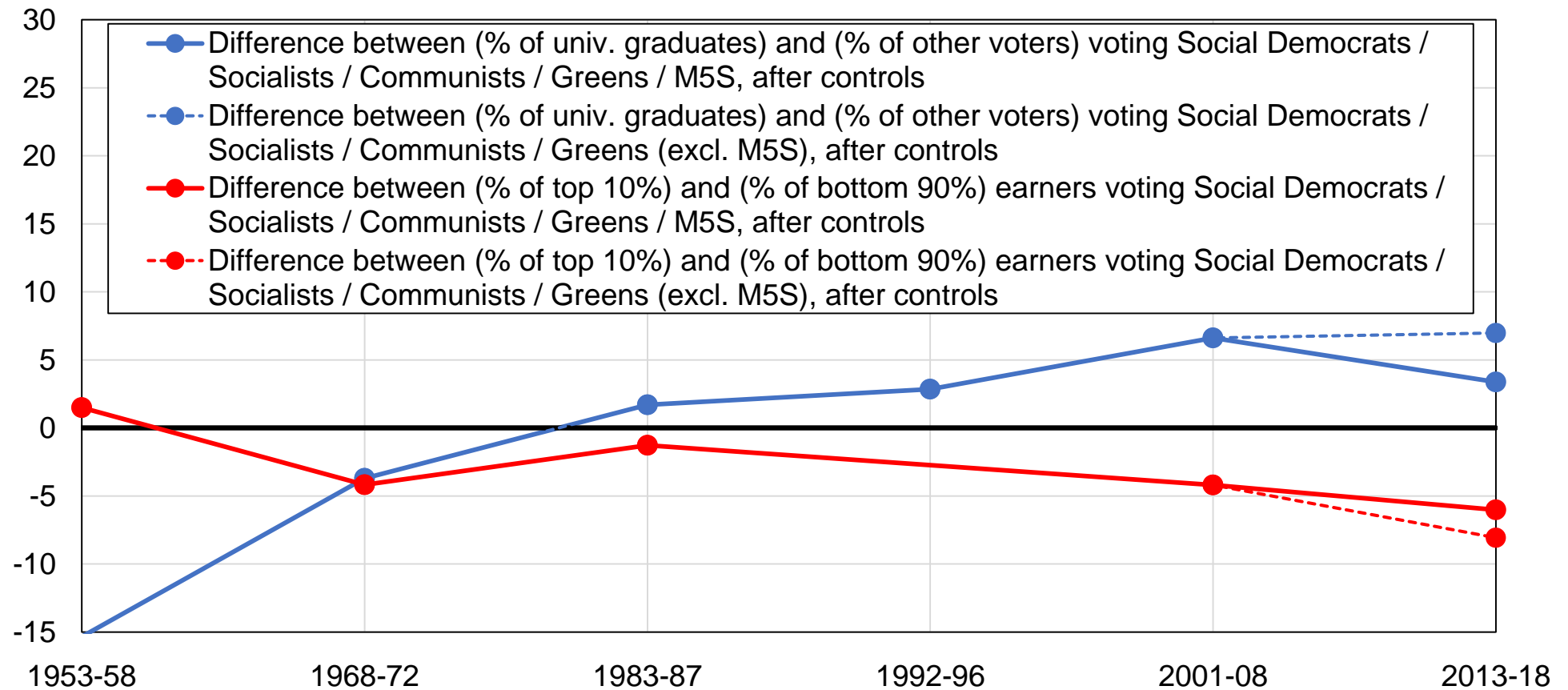
Figure A1 - Election results in Italy, 1948-2018



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Italian political parties in general elections between 1948 and 2018.

Figure A2 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among university graduates and top income earners in Italy, after controls



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and top-income voters and the share of other voters voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, after controlling for age, gender, religious affiliation, religiosity, employment and marital status, union membership, perceived social class, urban-rural location and region.

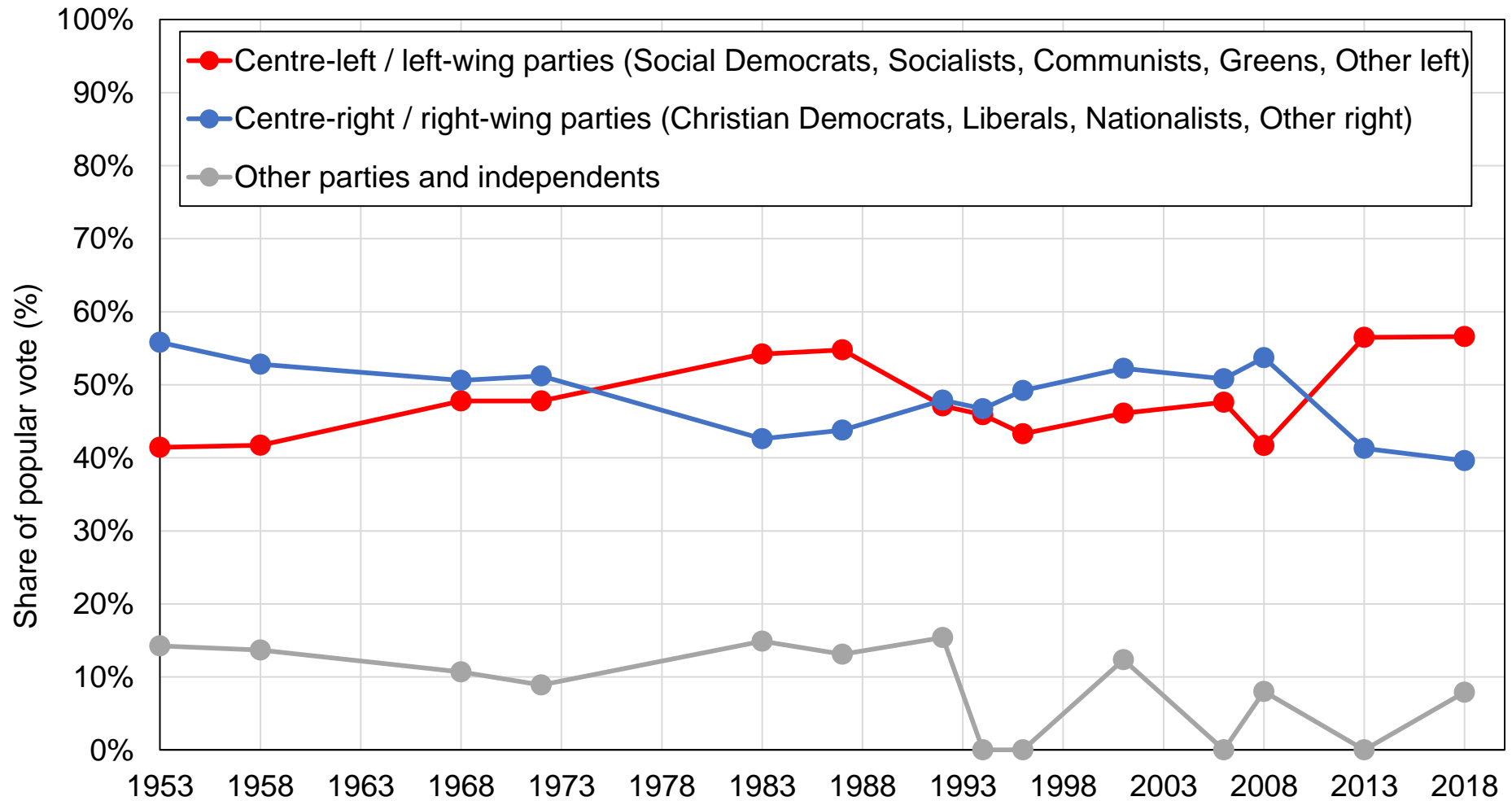
Table A1 - The structure of political cleavages in Italy, 2018

	Share of votes received (%)				
	Socialists / Soc. Democrats	Lega	Conservatives / Liberals	Fratelli d'Italia	M5S
Education					
Primary	16%	29%	19%	1%	33%
Secondary	24%	22%	7%	5%	38%
Tertiary	34%	14%	10%	7%	30%
Income					
Bottom 50%	33%	18%	9%	5%	31%
Middle 40%	24%	20%	8%	6%	38%
Top 10%	12%	28%	12%	4%	42%
Age					
20-40	28%	16%	8%	5%	39%
40-60	25%	21%	9%	5%	35%
60+	32%	23%	10%	6%	26%
Religion					
Never	33%	16%	7%	3%	36%
Less than monthly	23%	25%	8%	8%	34%
Monthly or more	20%	17%	7%	10%	45%
Region					
North	30%	29%	9%	4%	24%
Center	28%	18%	9%	7%	33%
South	23%	8%	8%	6%	51%
Islands	22%	8%	11%	6%	51%

Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Notes: the table shows the average share of votes received by the Socialists/Social Democrats/Green, New Communists, Lega, Christian Democrats/Liberals, Fratelli d'Italia and the 5 Stars Movement over the 2018 period.

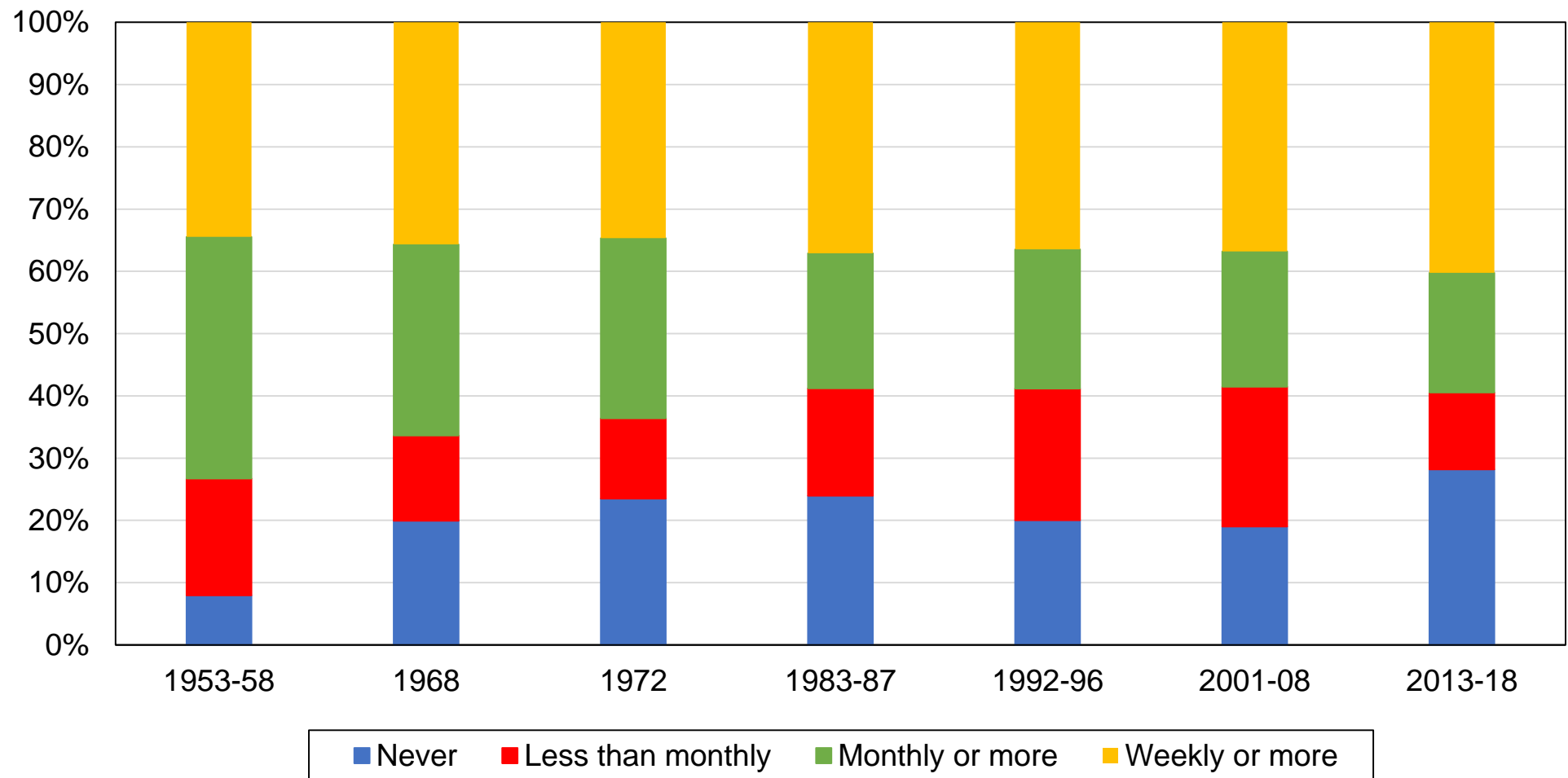
Figure AA1 - Election results by groups in Italy, 1968-2018



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Italian political parties in presidential elections between 1968 and 2018.

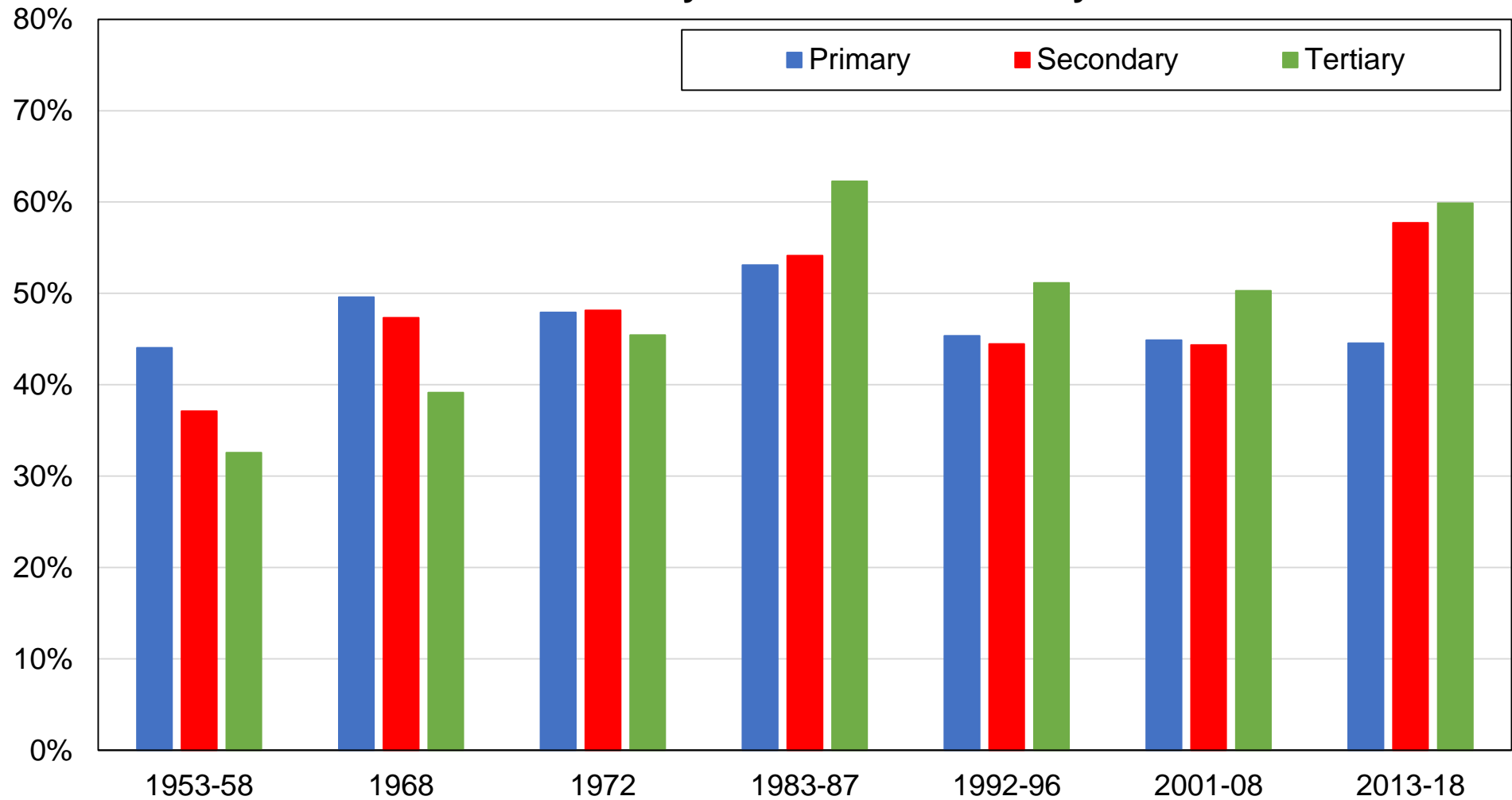
Figure AA2 - Composition of the electorate by church attendance



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of church attendance of the Italian adult population and its evolution over time since the 1950s.

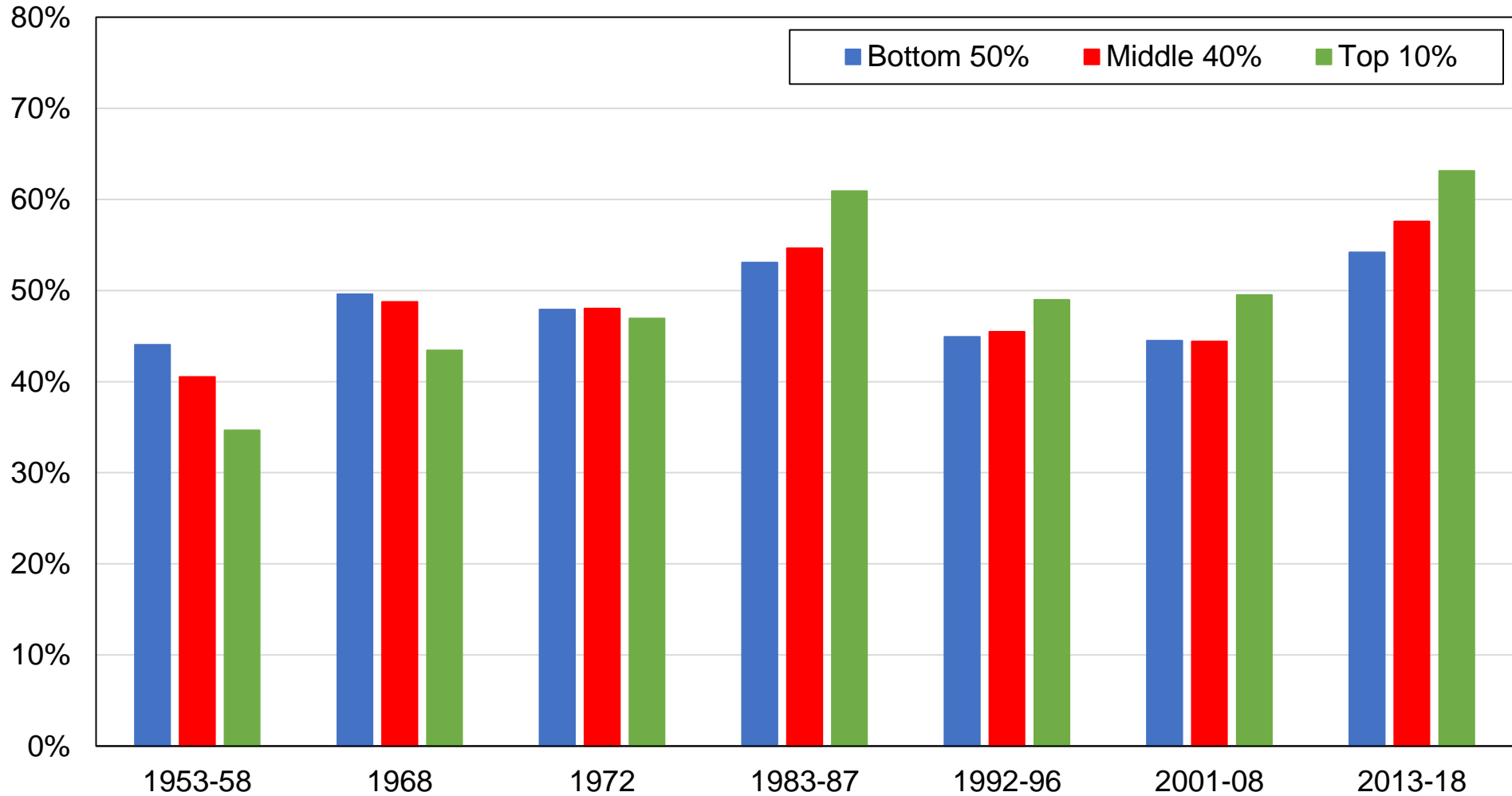
Figure AB1 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S by education level in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

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

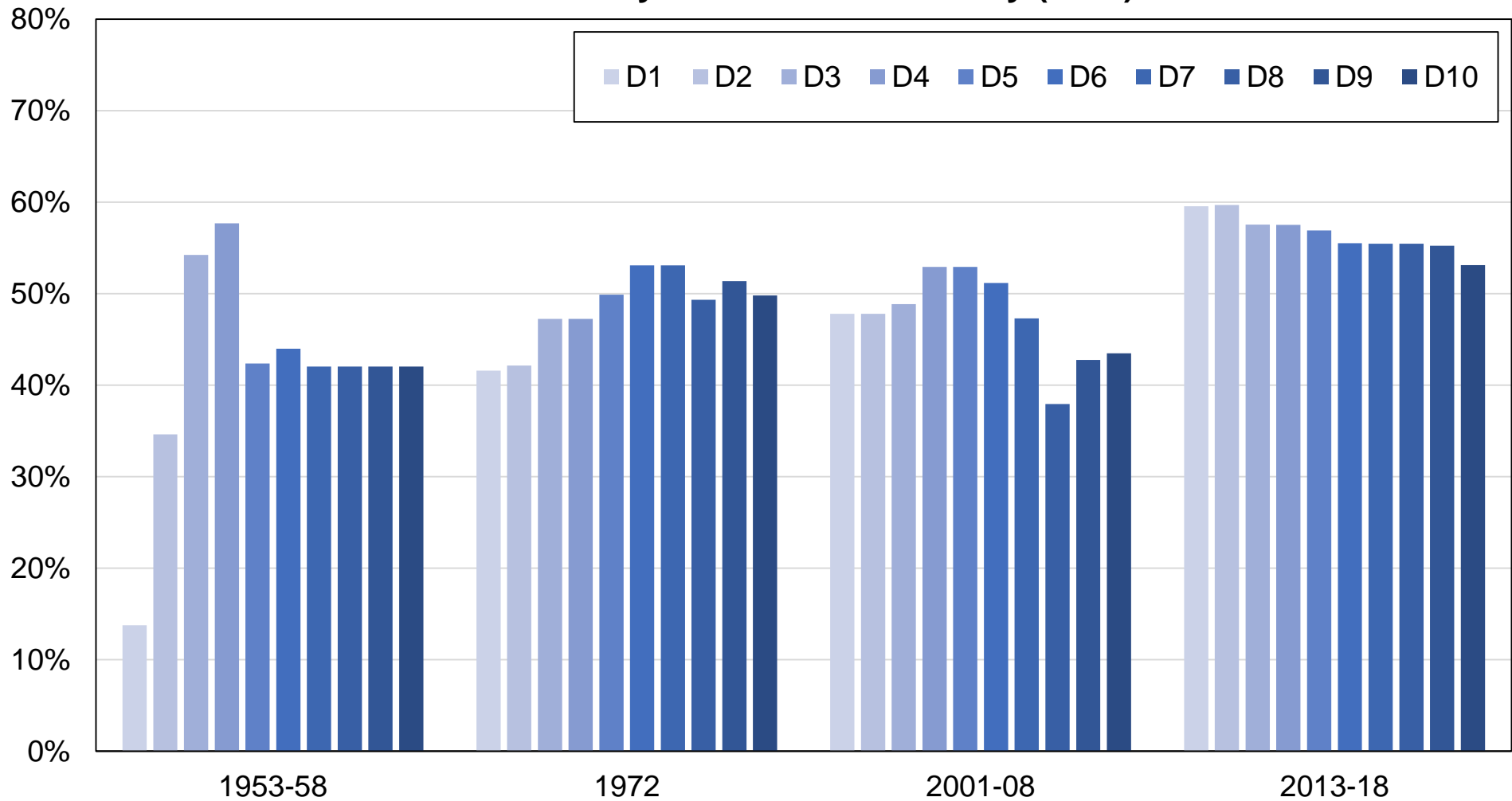
Figure AB2 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S by education group in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

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

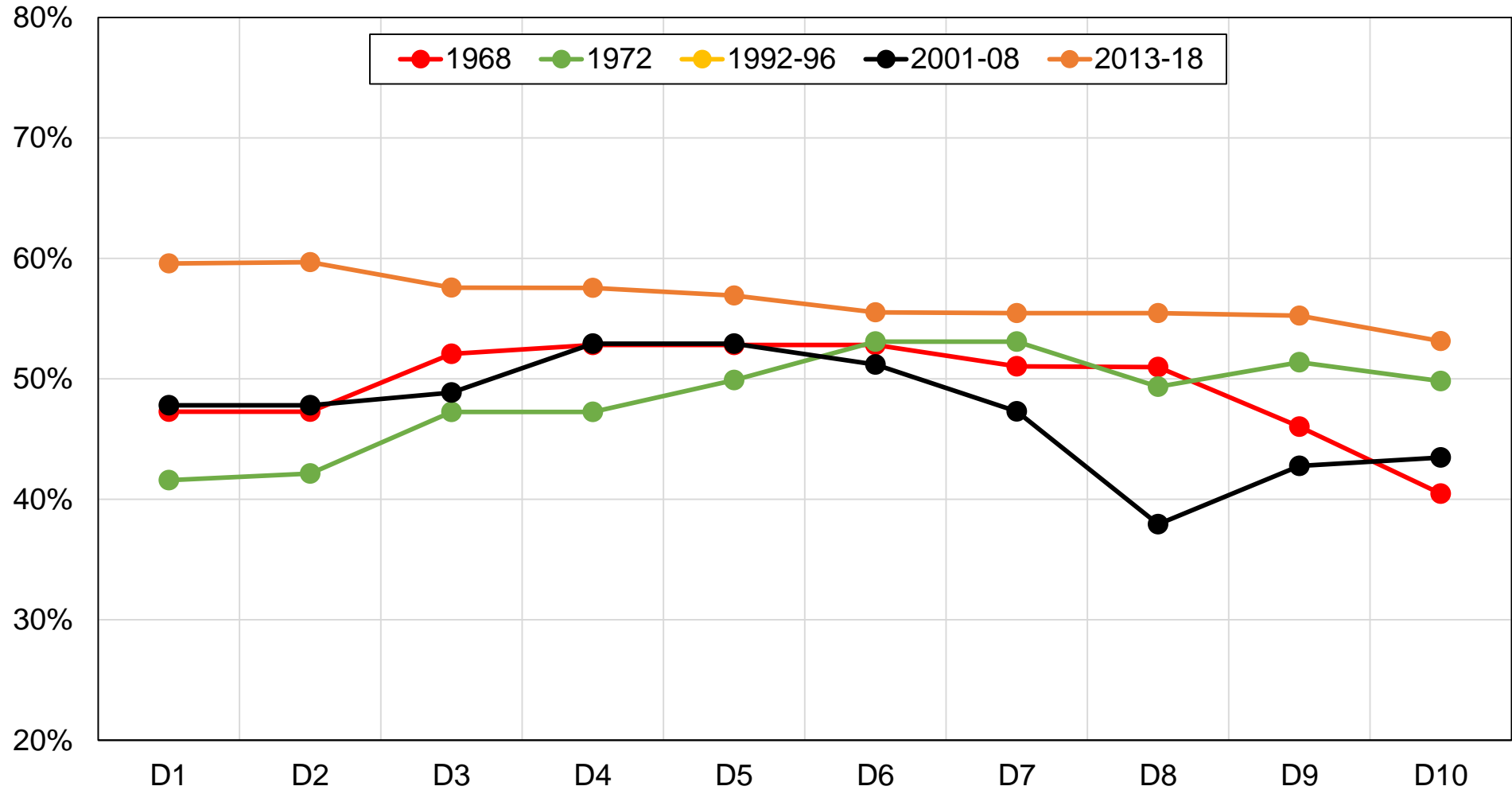
Figure AB3 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S by income decile in Italy (bars)



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

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

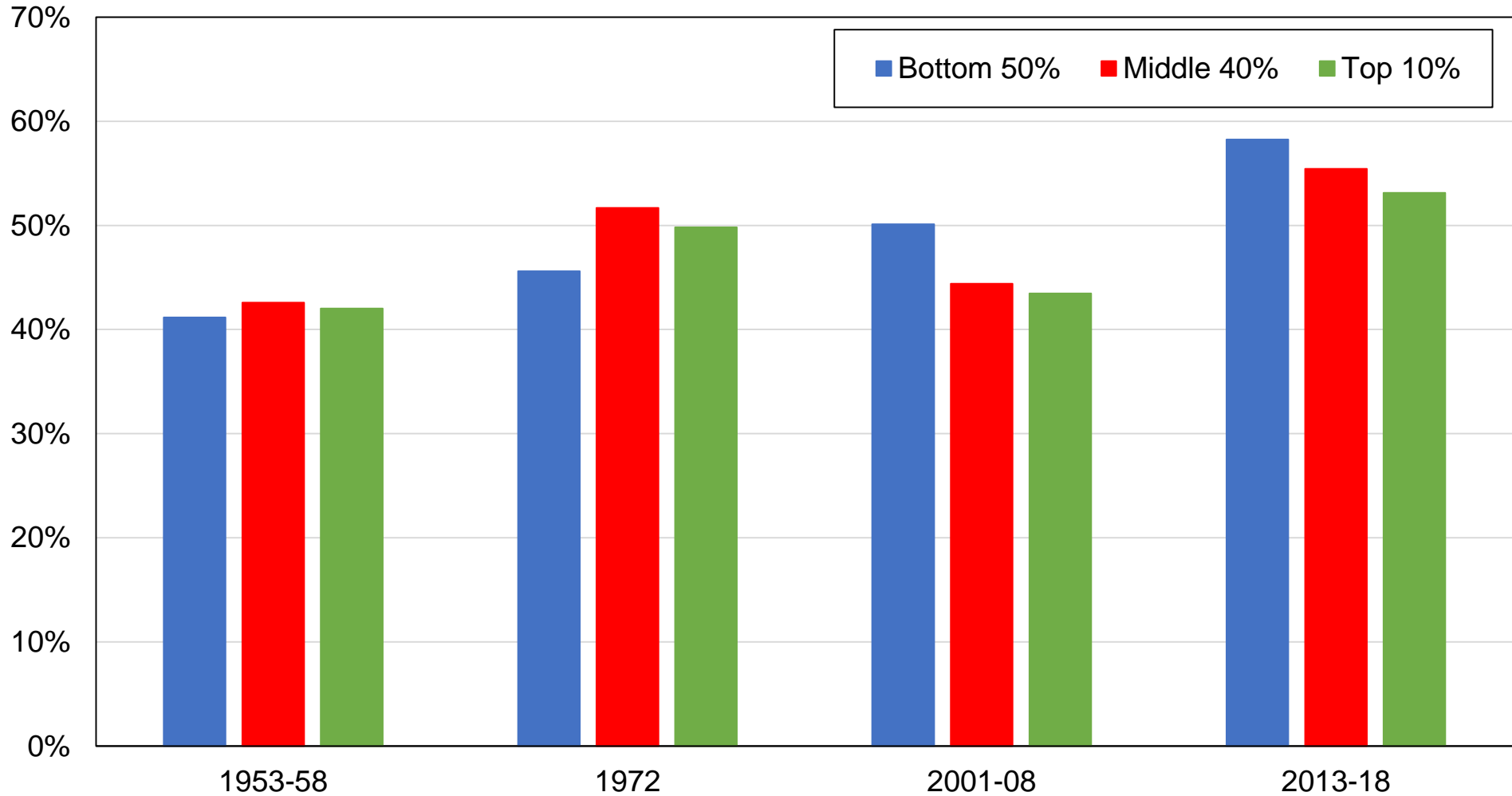
Figure AB4 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S by income decile in Italy (lines)



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

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

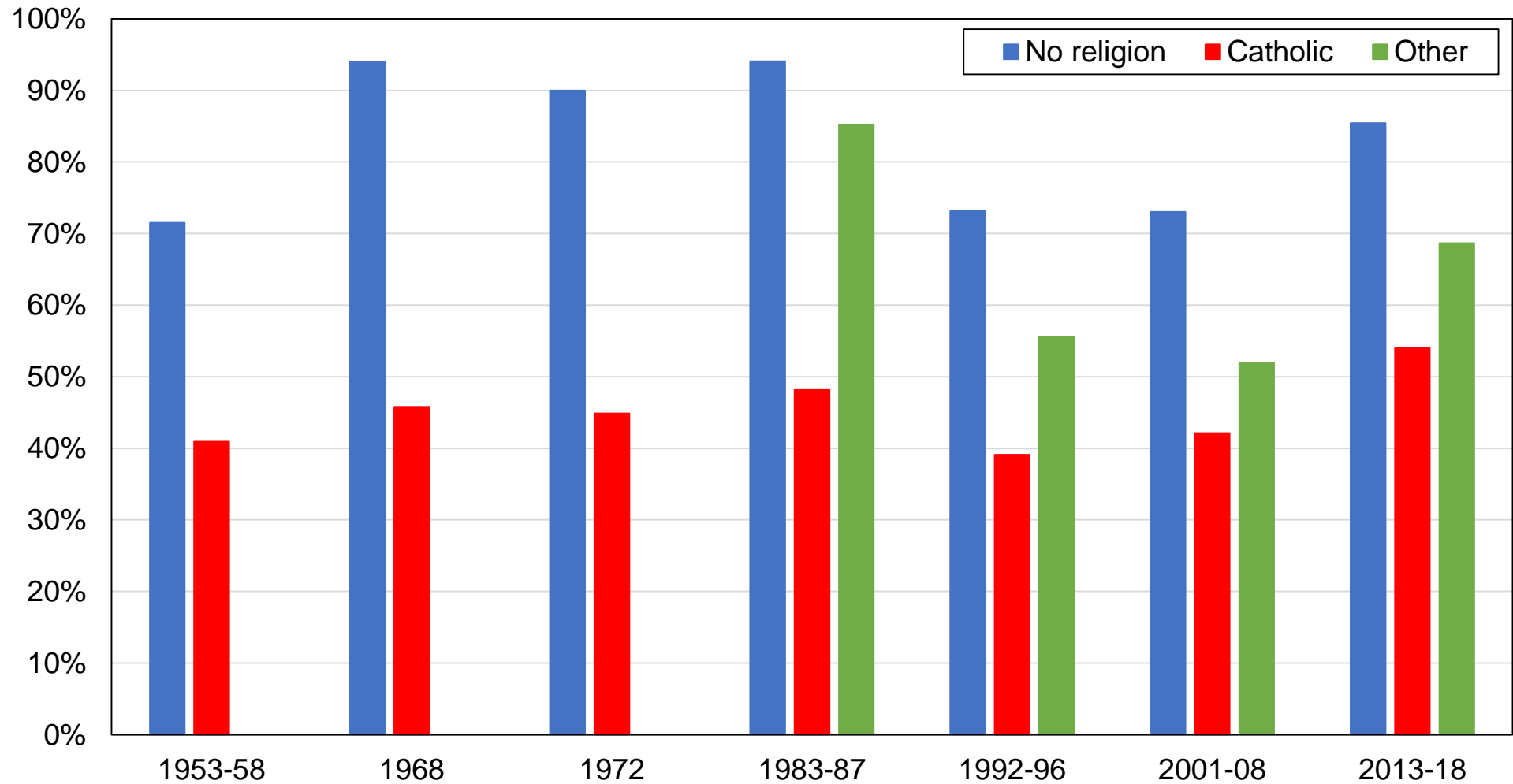
Figure AB5 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S by income group in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

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

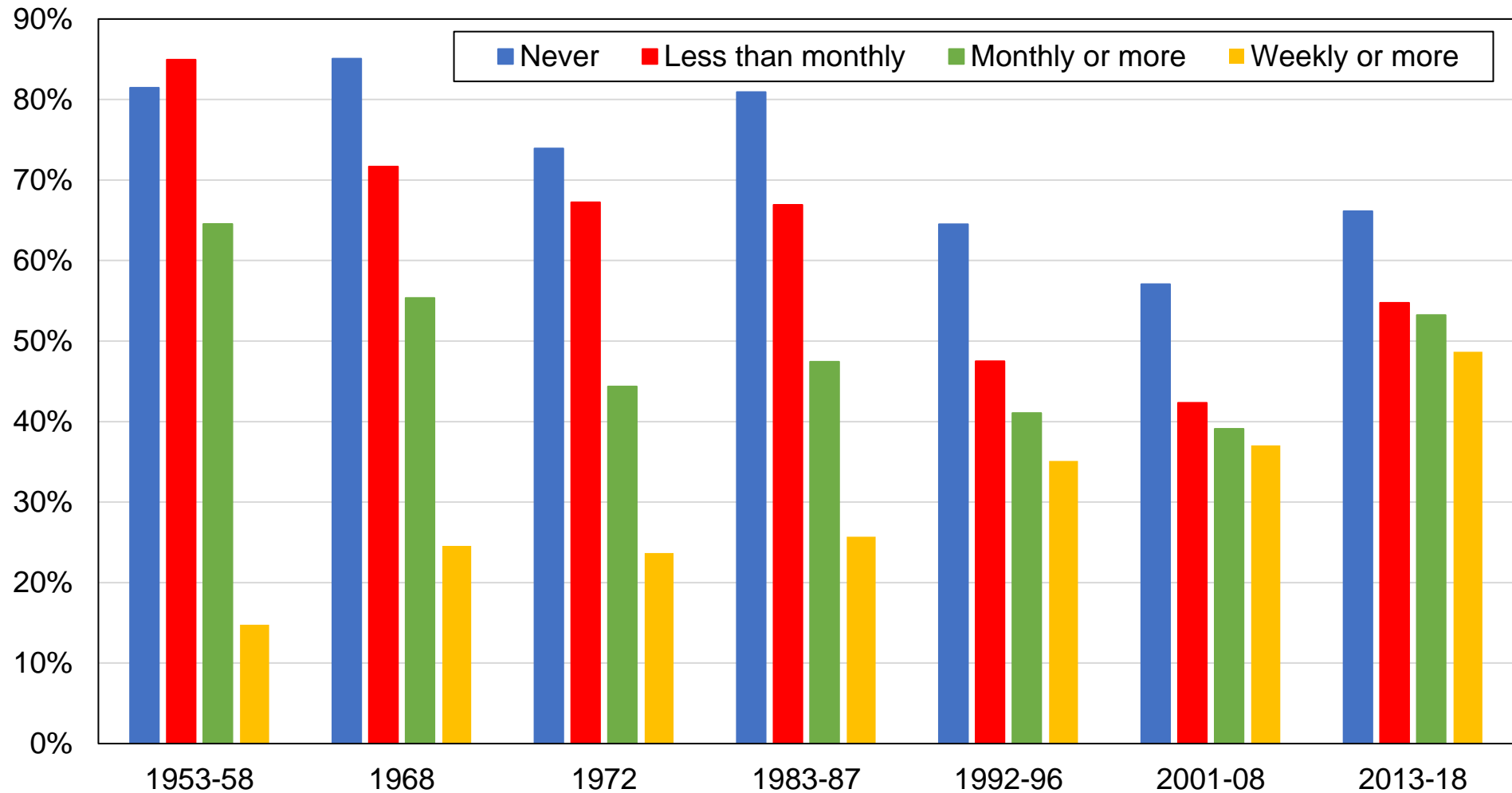
Figure AB6 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S by religious affiliation in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

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

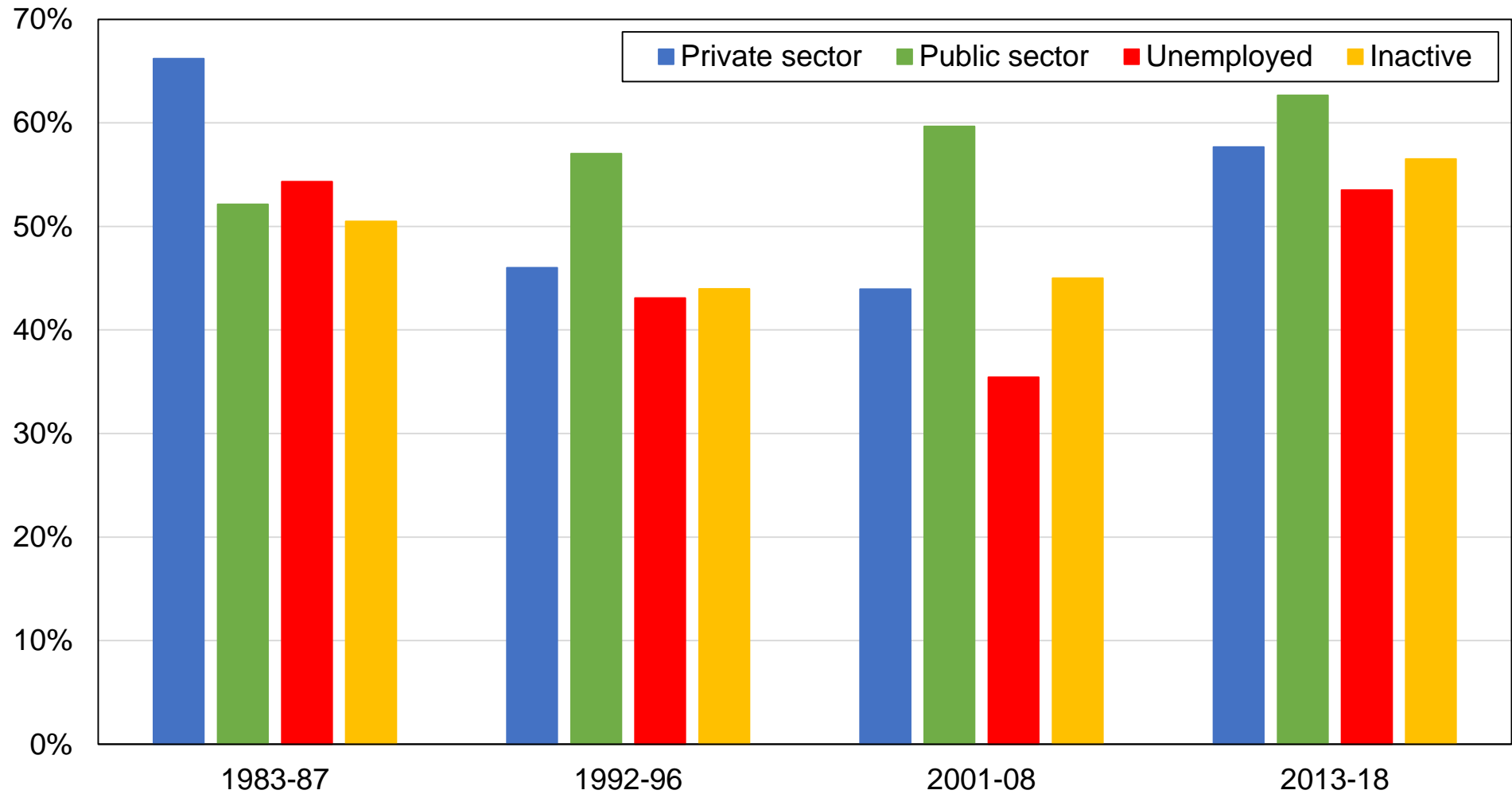
Figure AB7 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S by church attendance in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

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

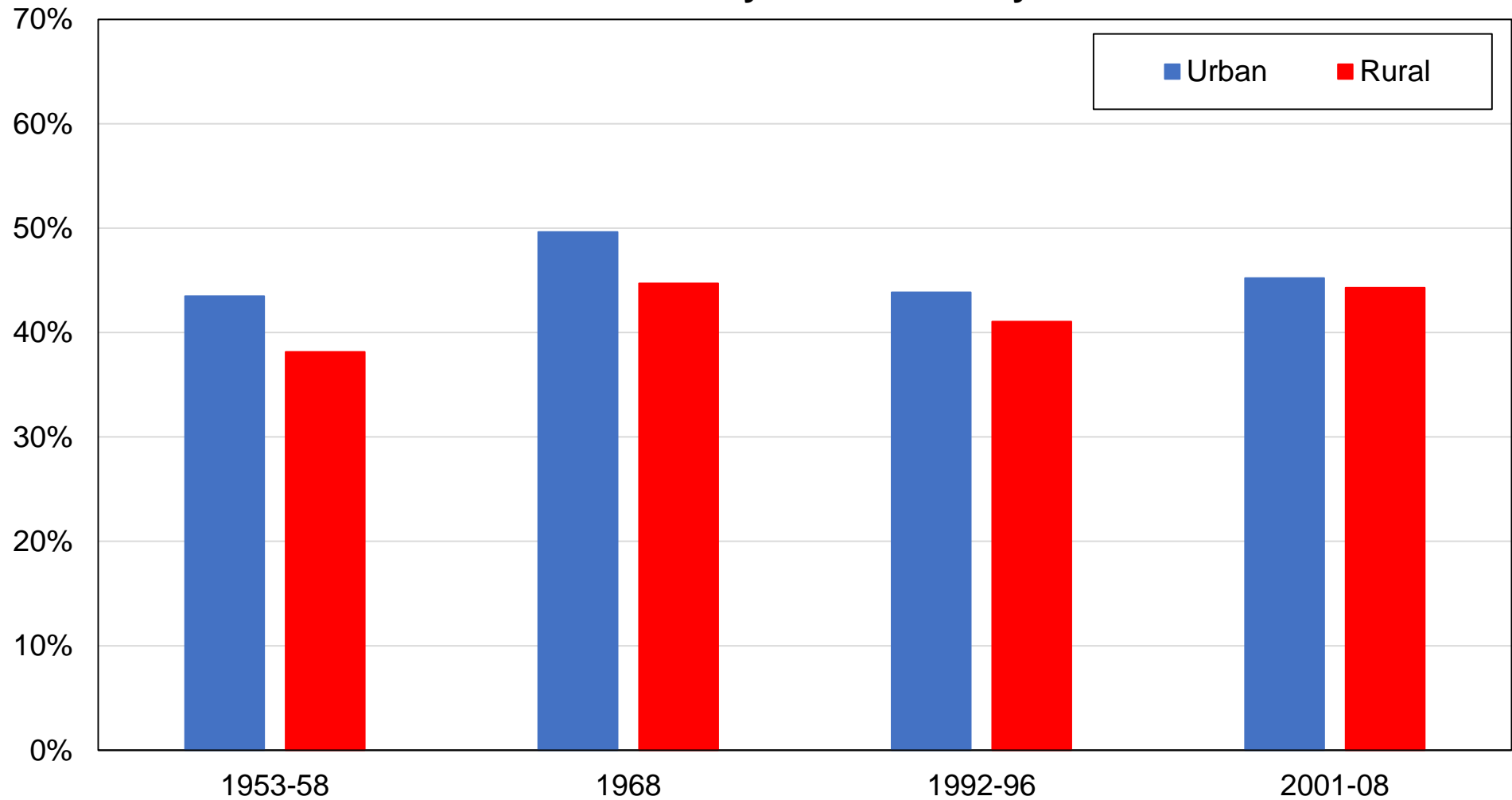
Figure AB8 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S by occupation in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by occupation.

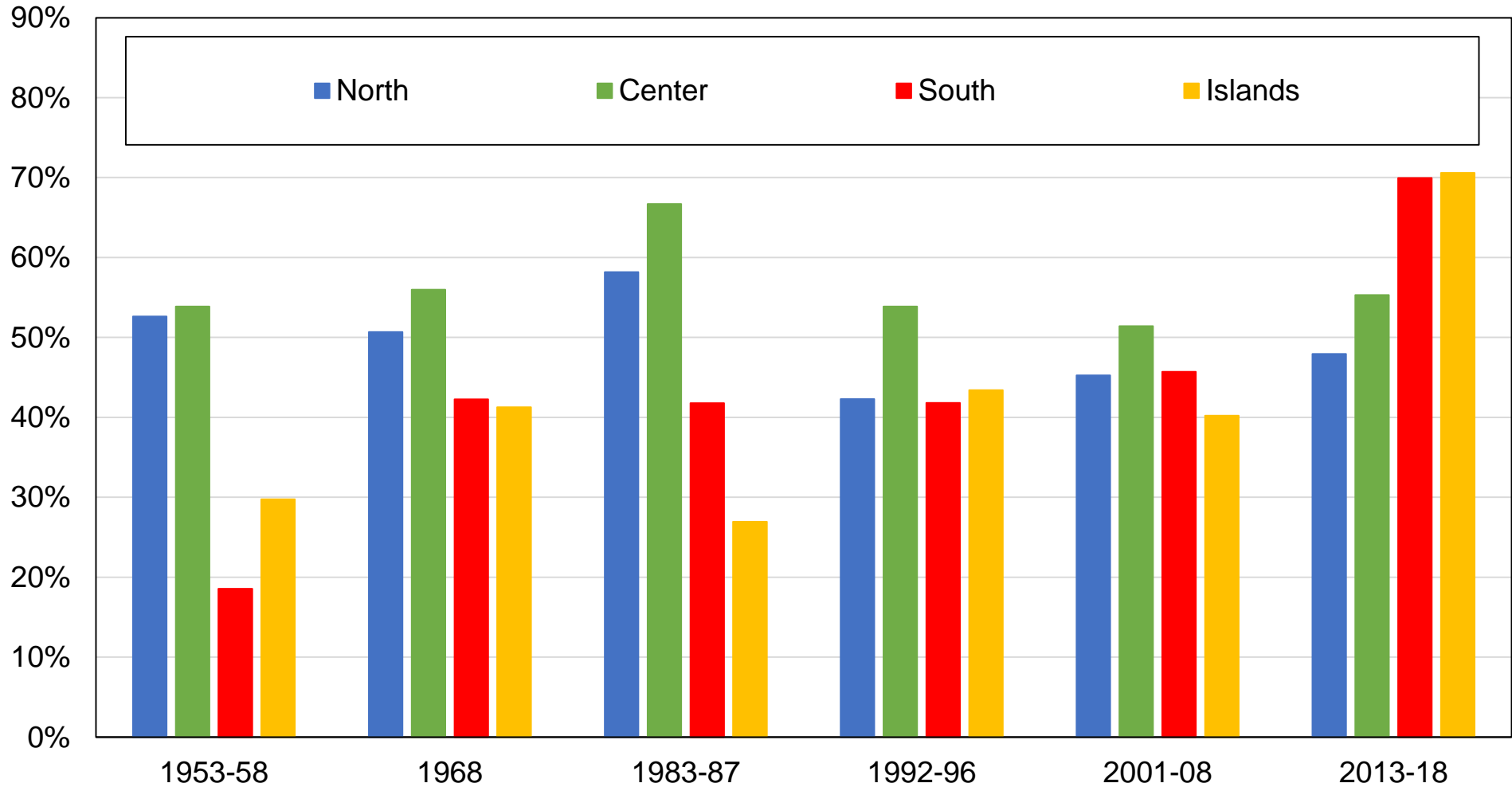
Figure AB9 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S by location in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

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

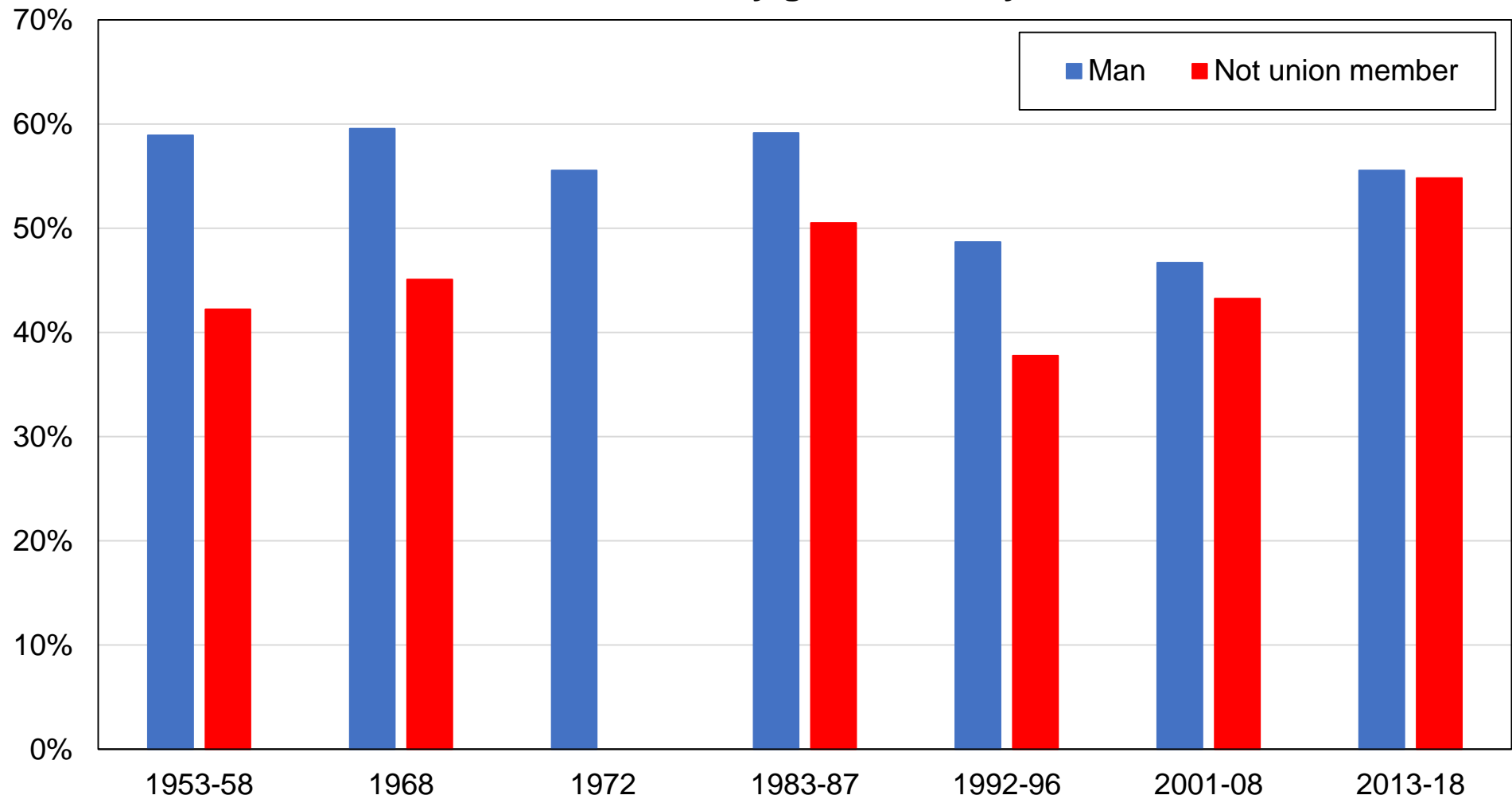
Figure AB10 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S by region in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by state of residence.

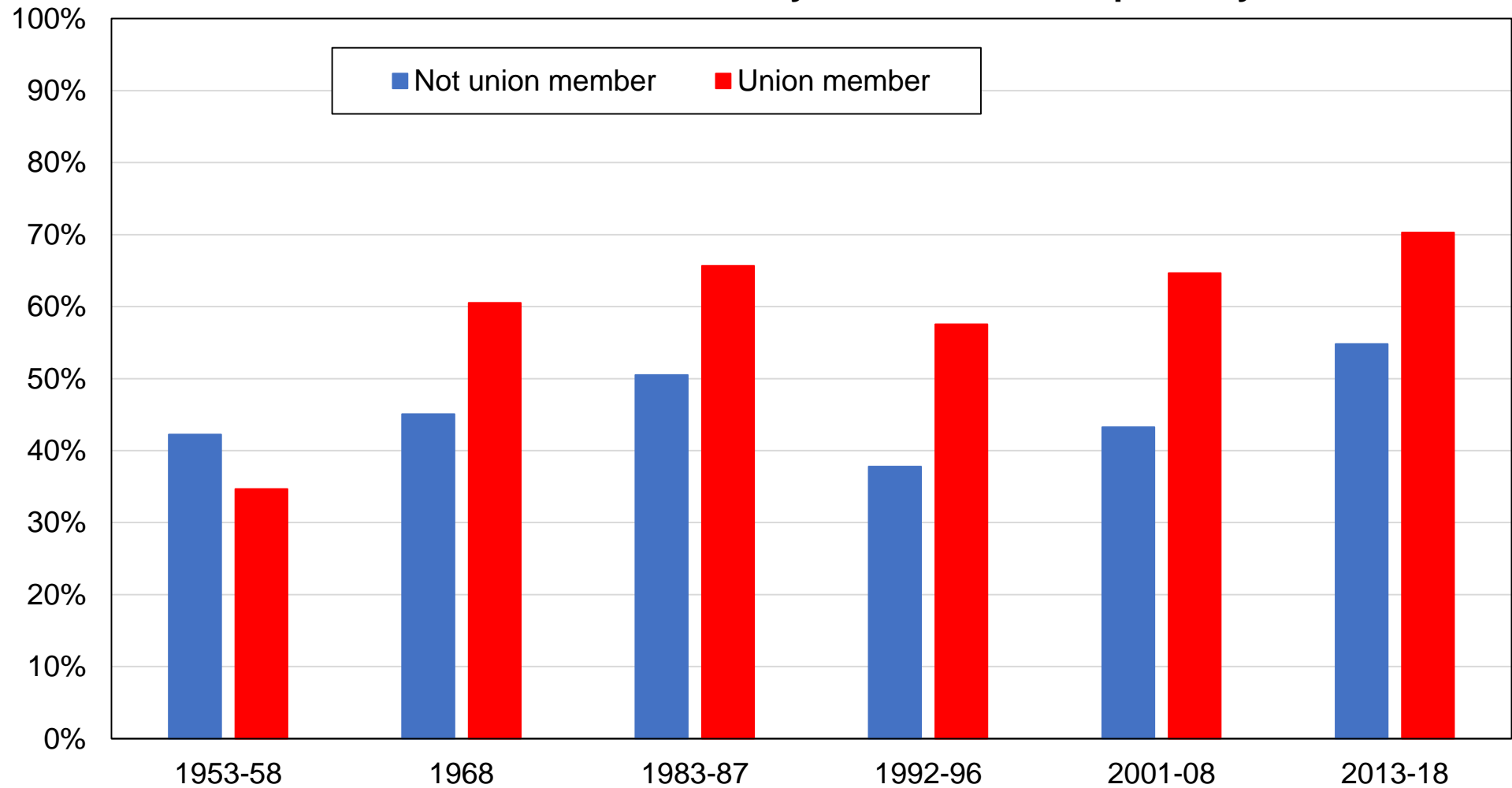
Figure AB11 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S by gender in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

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

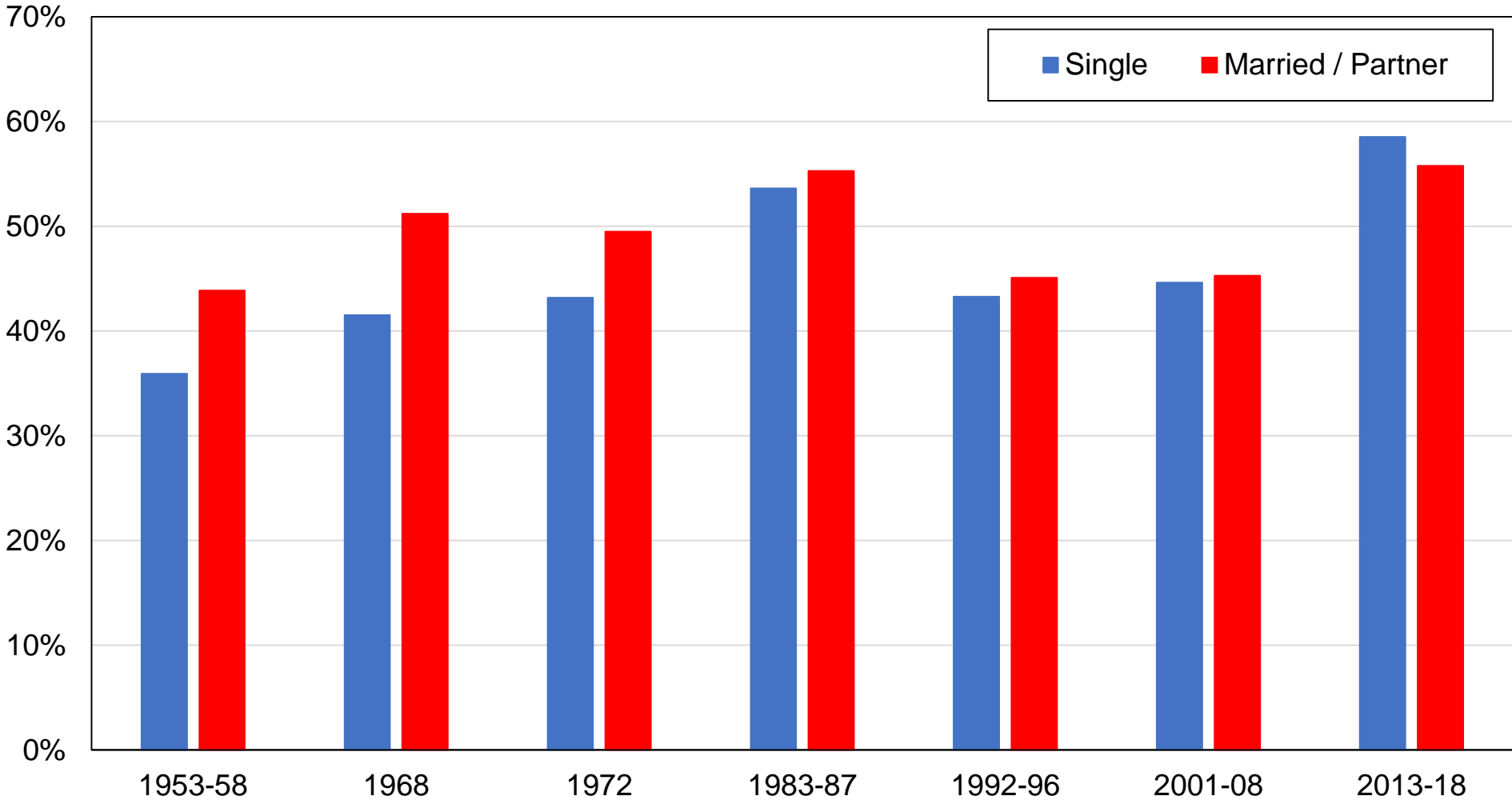
Figure AB12 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S by union membership in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

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

Figure AB13 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S by marital status in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

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

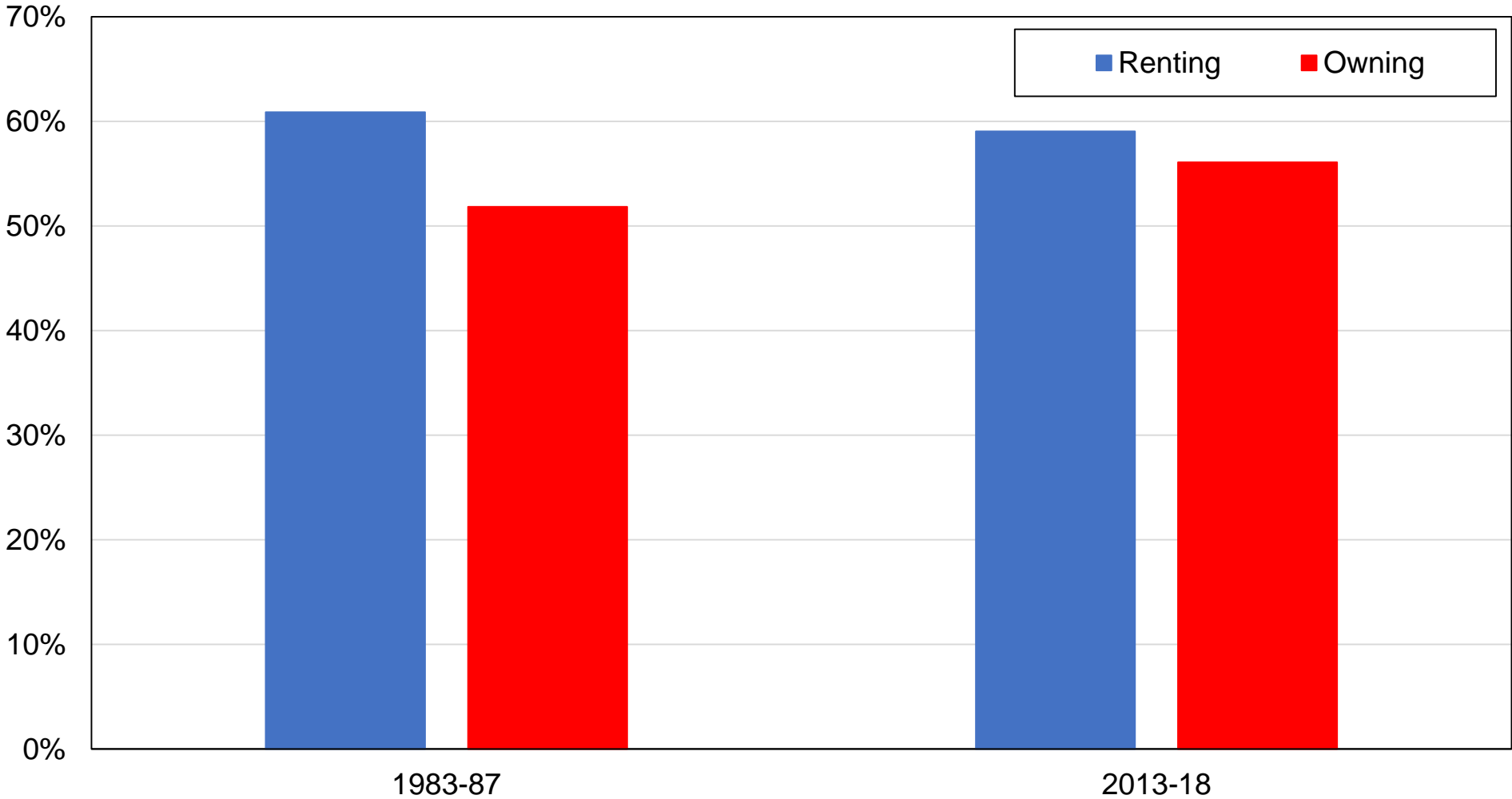
Figure AB14 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S by perceived social class in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

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

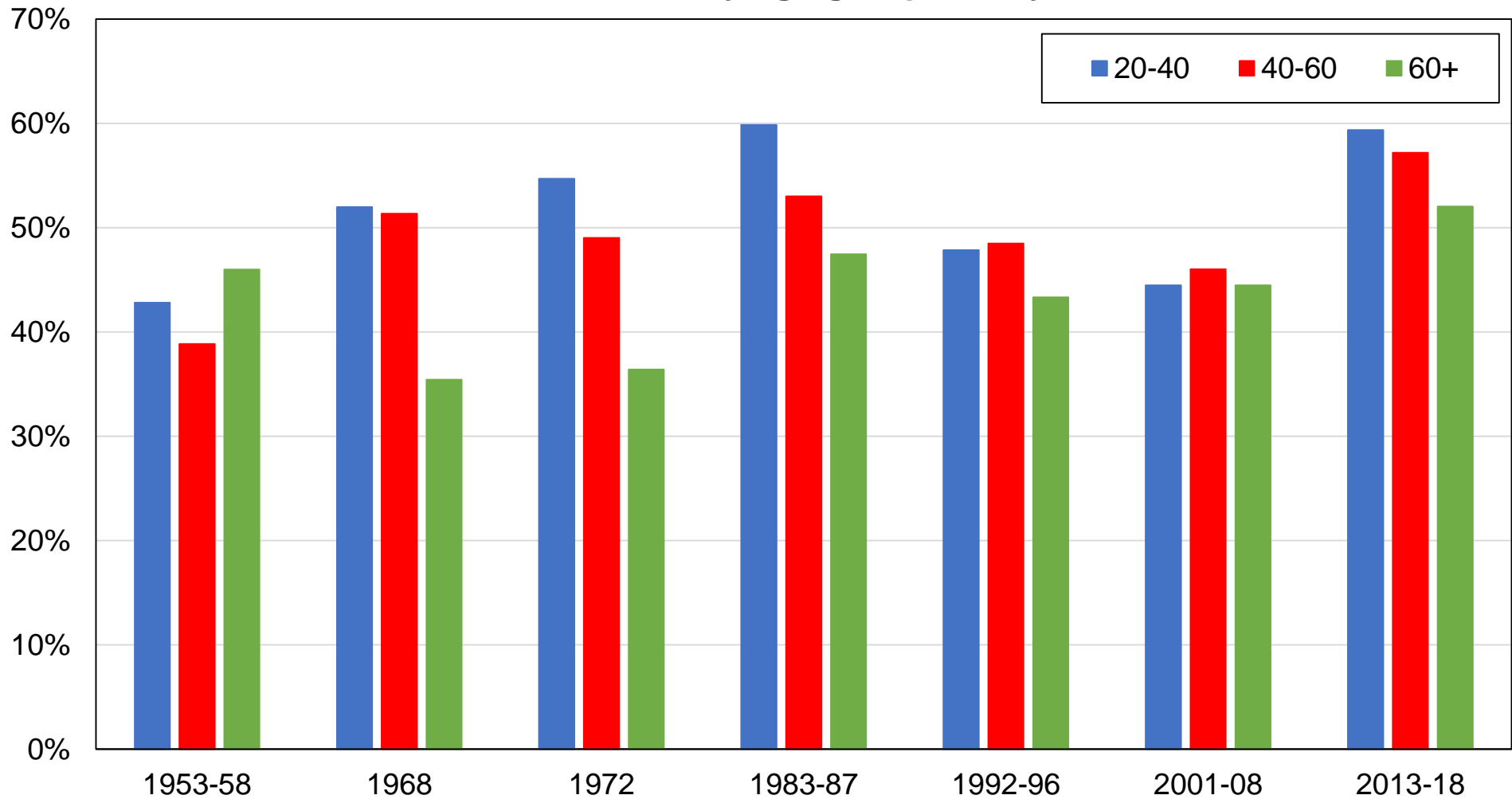
Figure AB15 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S by home status



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by home ownership status.

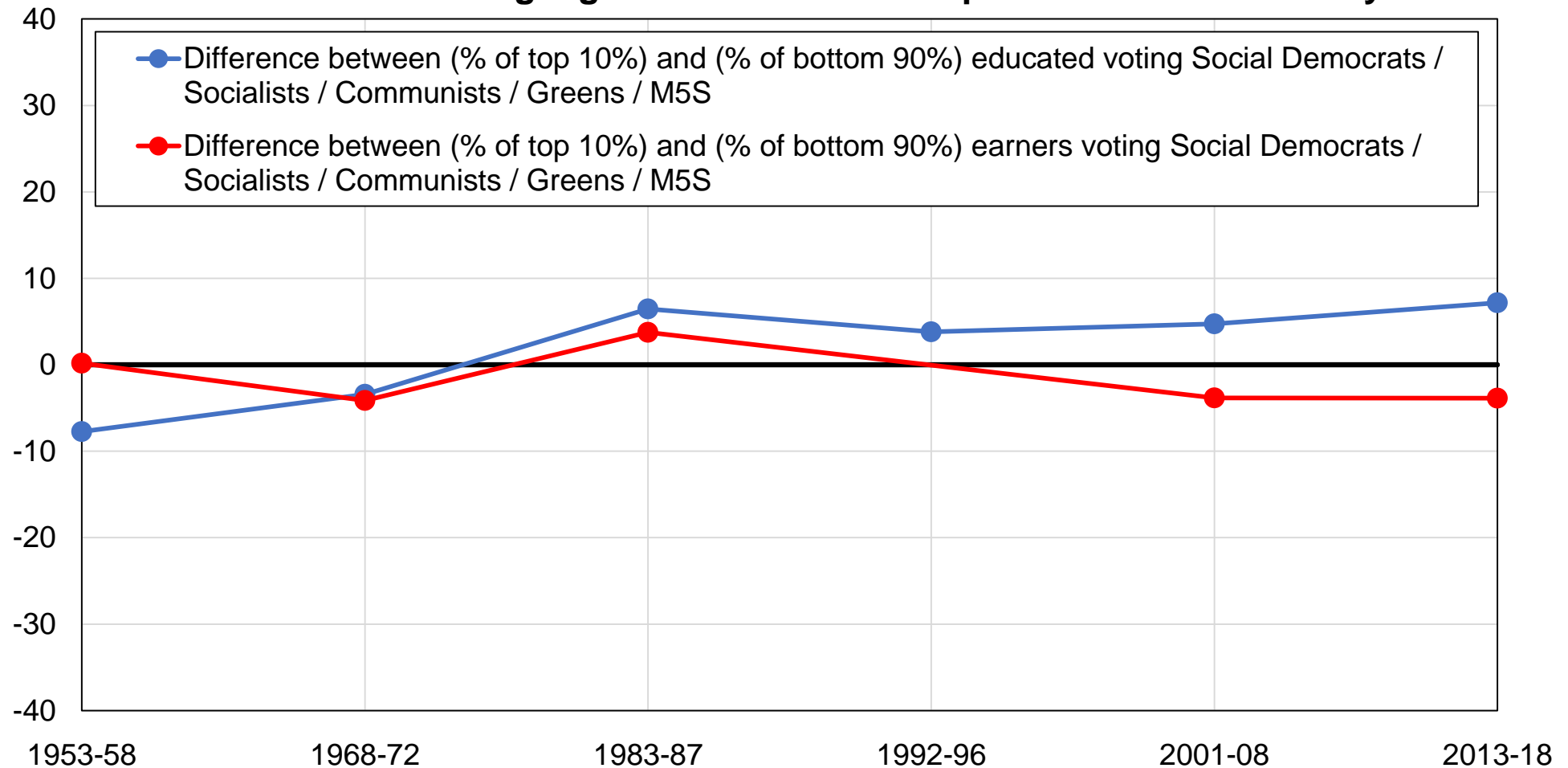
Figure AB16 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S by age group in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by home ownership status.

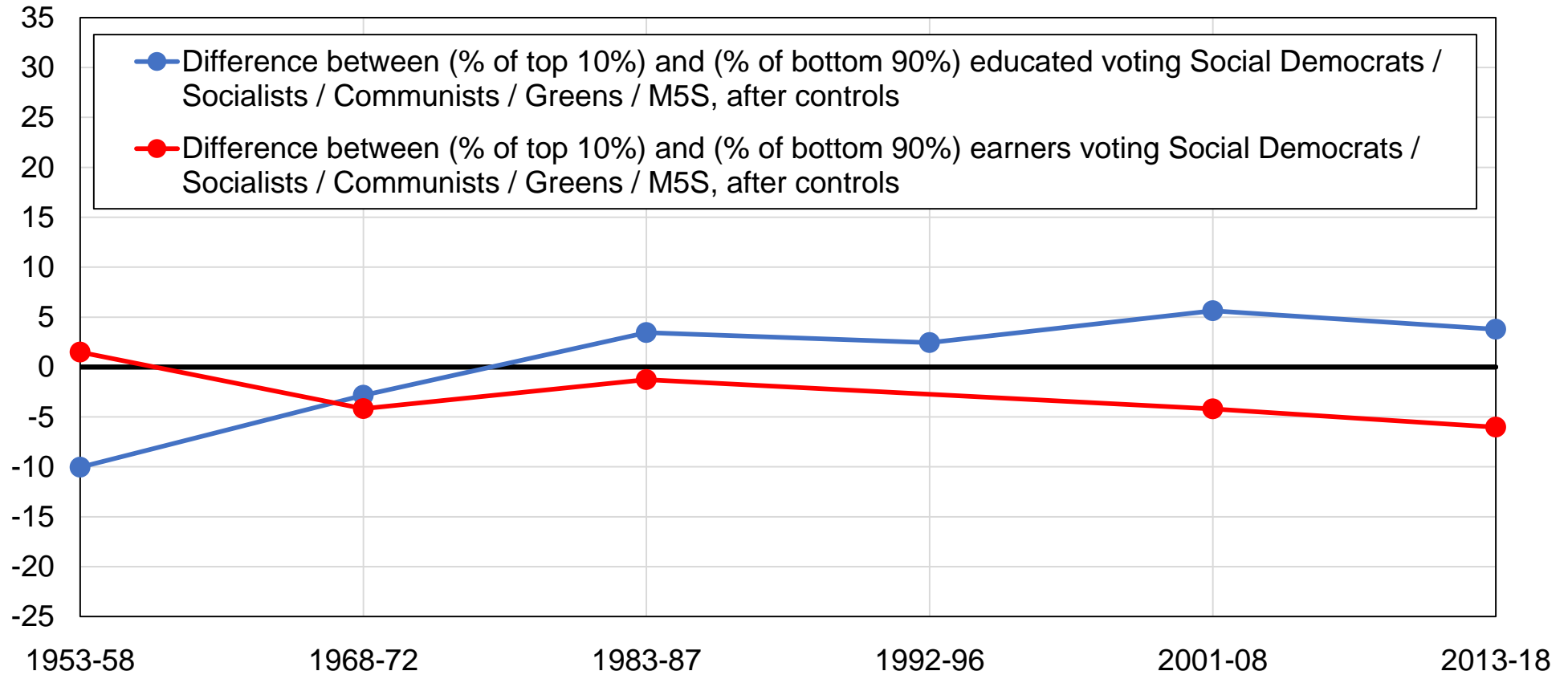
Figure AB17 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among highest-educated and top income earners in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated and top income voters and the share of other voters voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, before controlling for other variables.

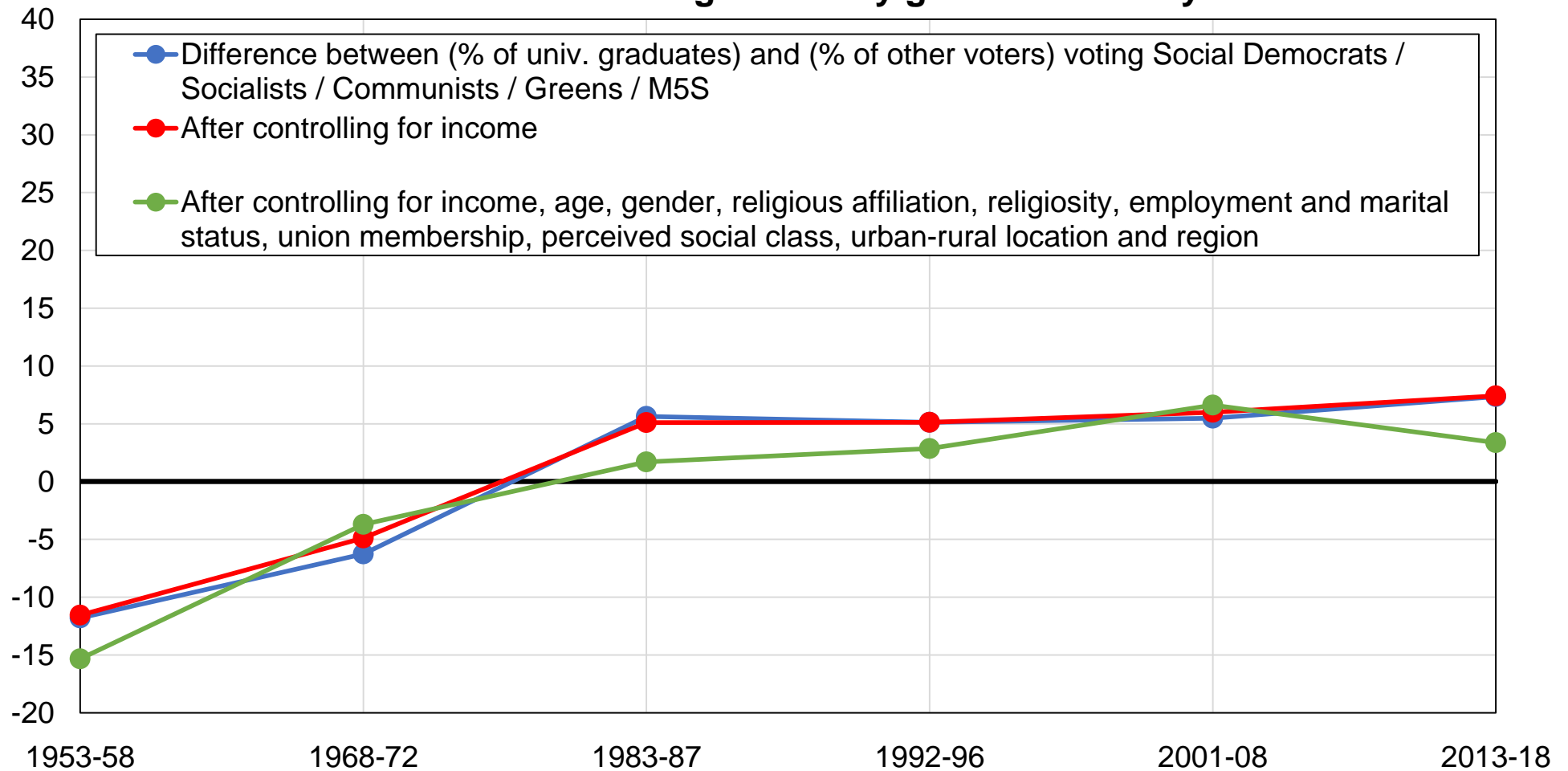
Figure AB18 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among highest-educated and top income earners in Italy, after controls



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated and top income voters and the share of other voters voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, after controlling for age, gender, religious affiliation, religiosity, employment and marital status, union membership, perceived social class, urban-rural location and region.

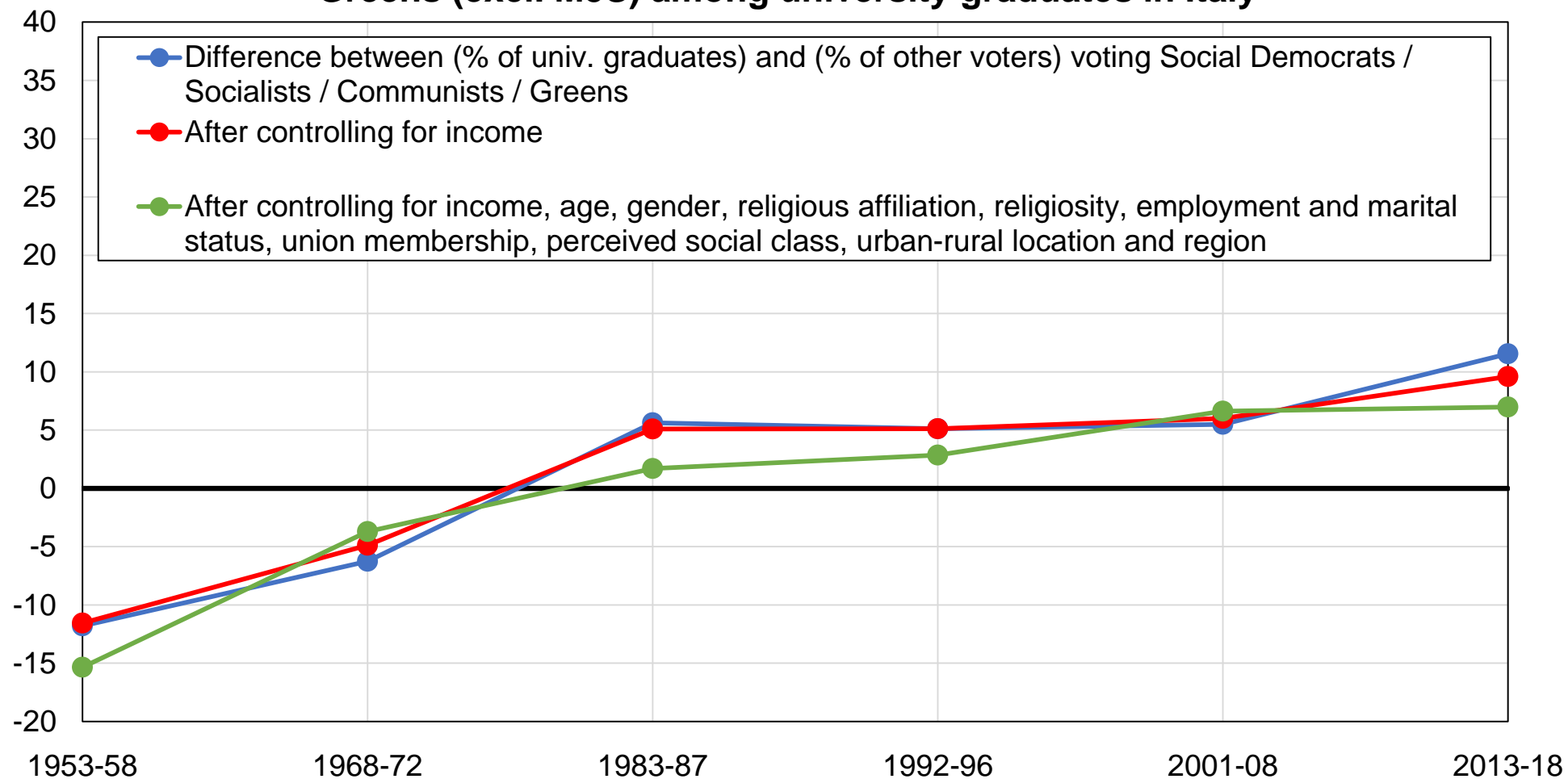
Figure AB19 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among university graduates in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, before and after controlling for other variables.

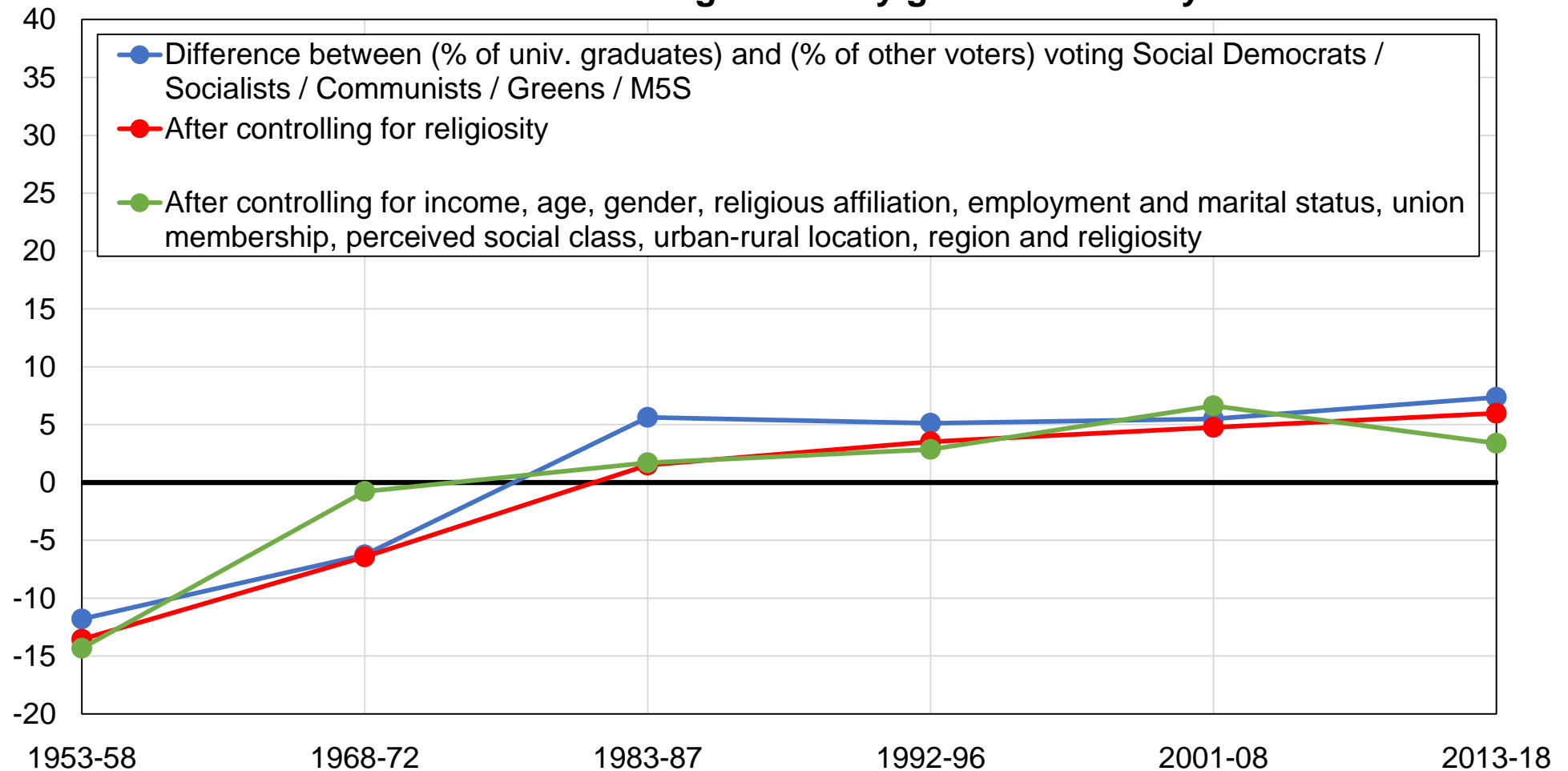
Figure AB20 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens (excl. M5S) among university graduates in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens excluding 5 Stars Movement, before and after controlling for other variables.

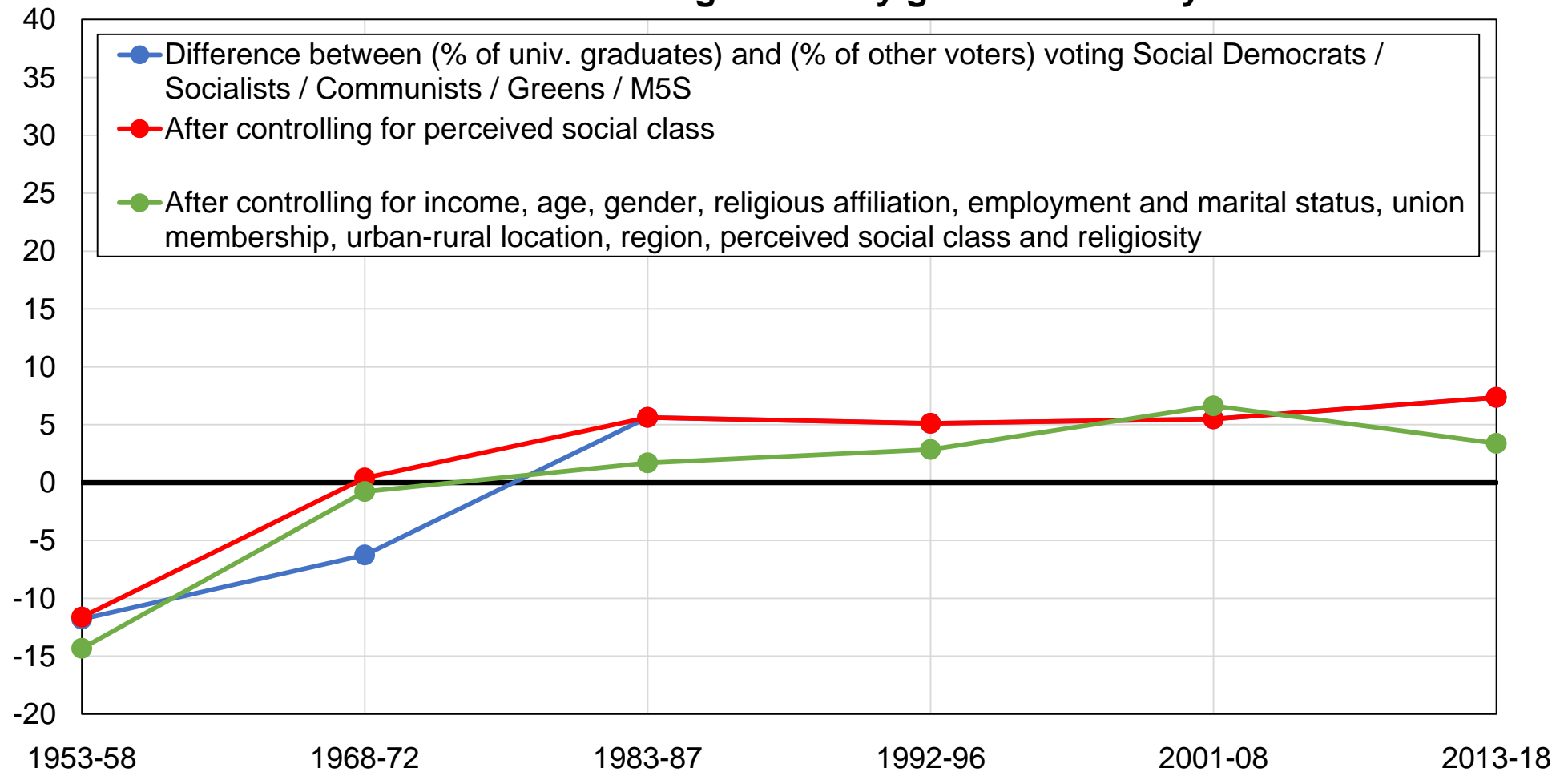
Figure AB21 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among university graduates in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, before and after controlling for other variables.

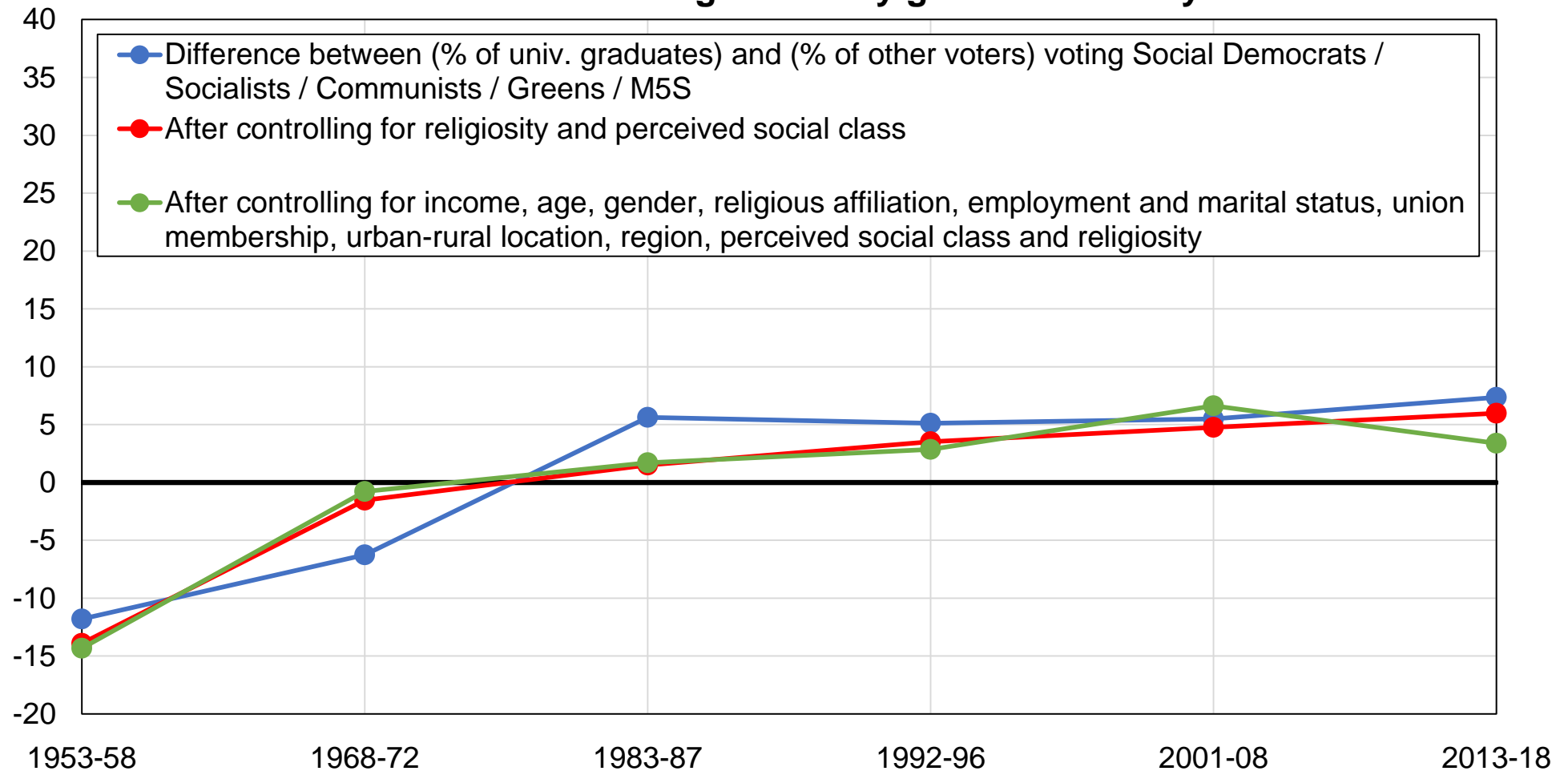
Figure AB22 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among university graduates in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, before and after controlling for other variables.

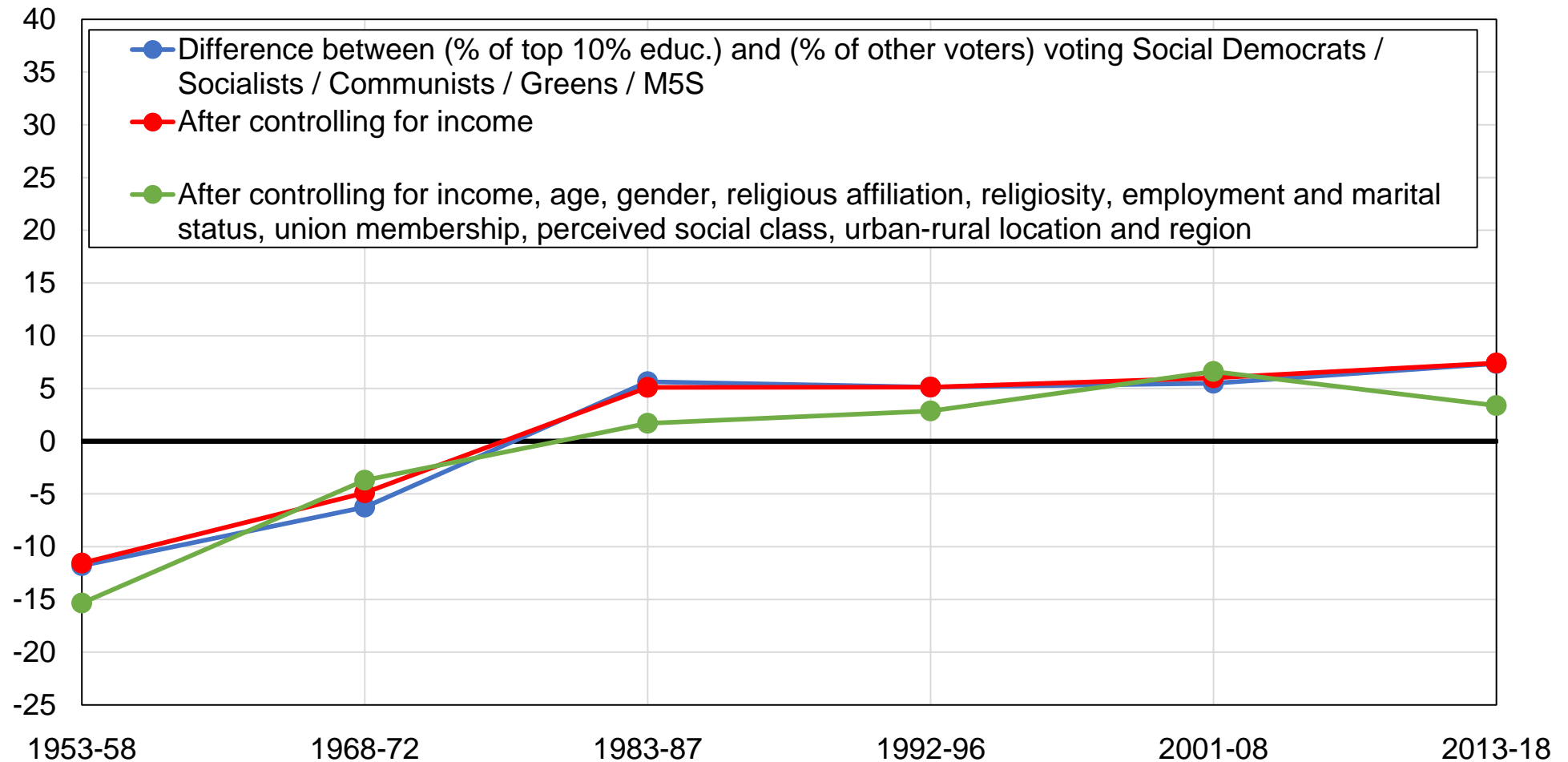
Figure AB23 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among university graduates in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, before and after controlling for other variables.

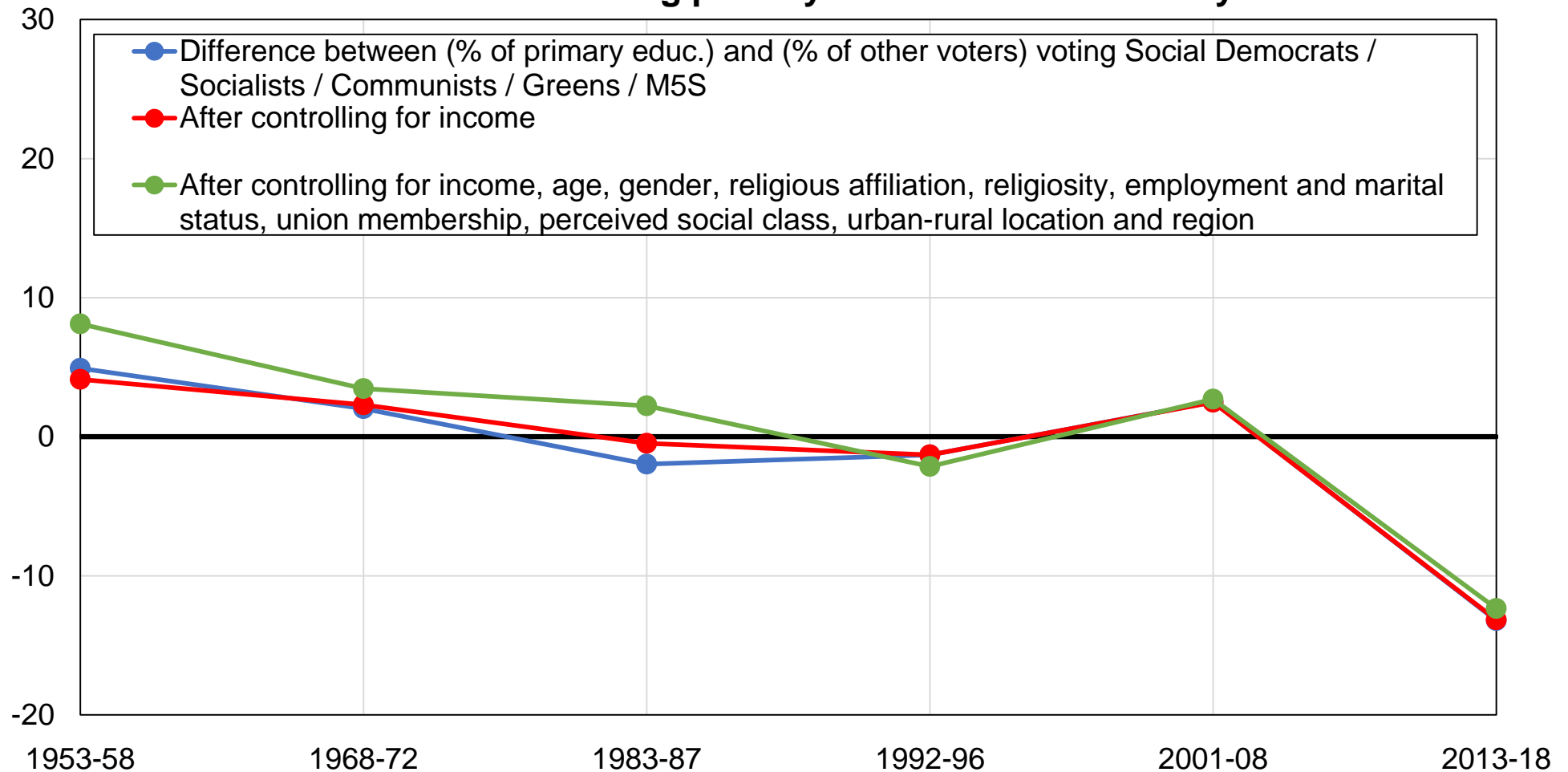
Figure AB24 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among highest-educated voters in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian 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 Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, before and after controlling for other variables.

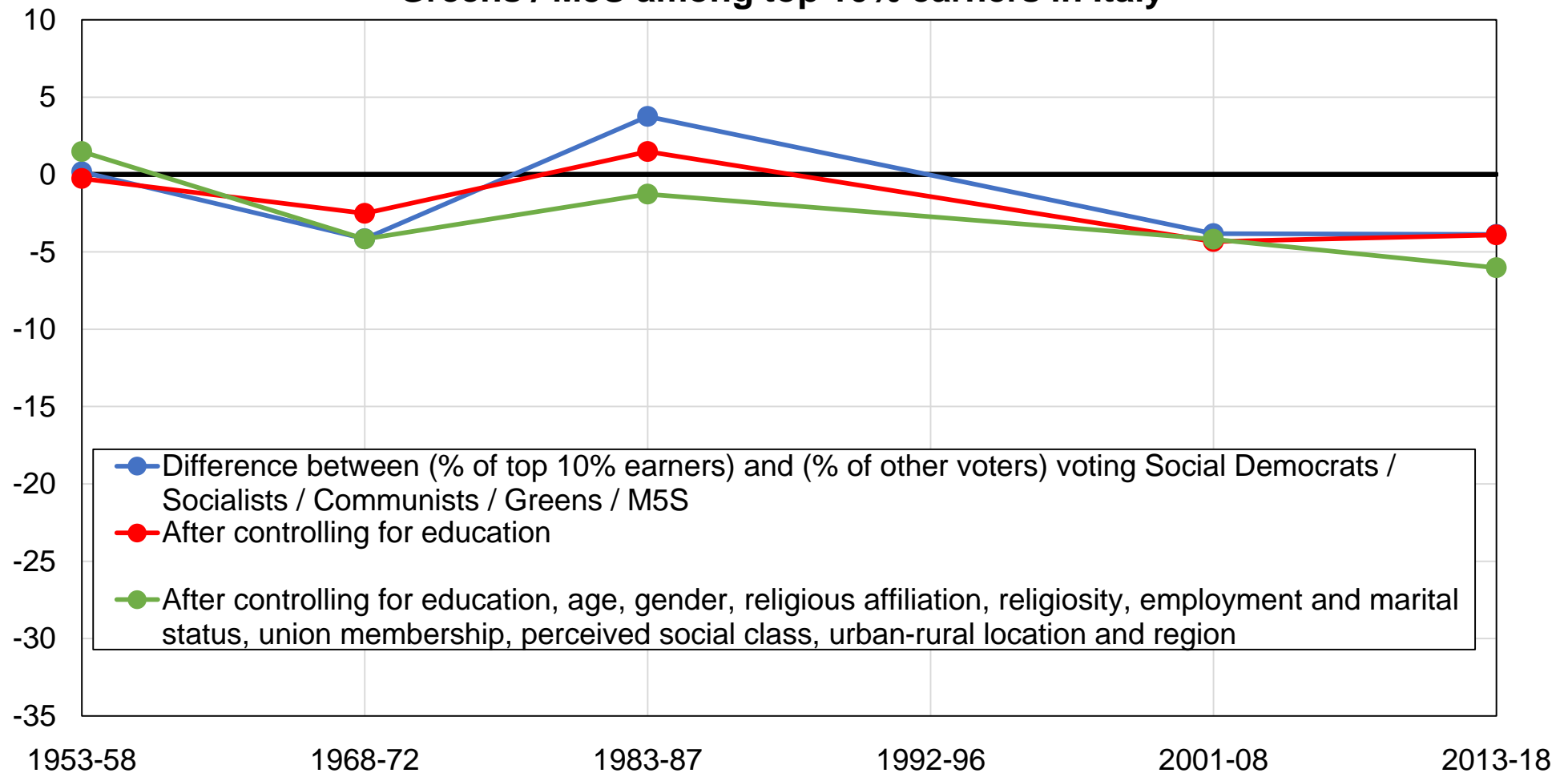
Figure AB25 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among primary-educated voters in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of primary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, before and after controlling for other variables.

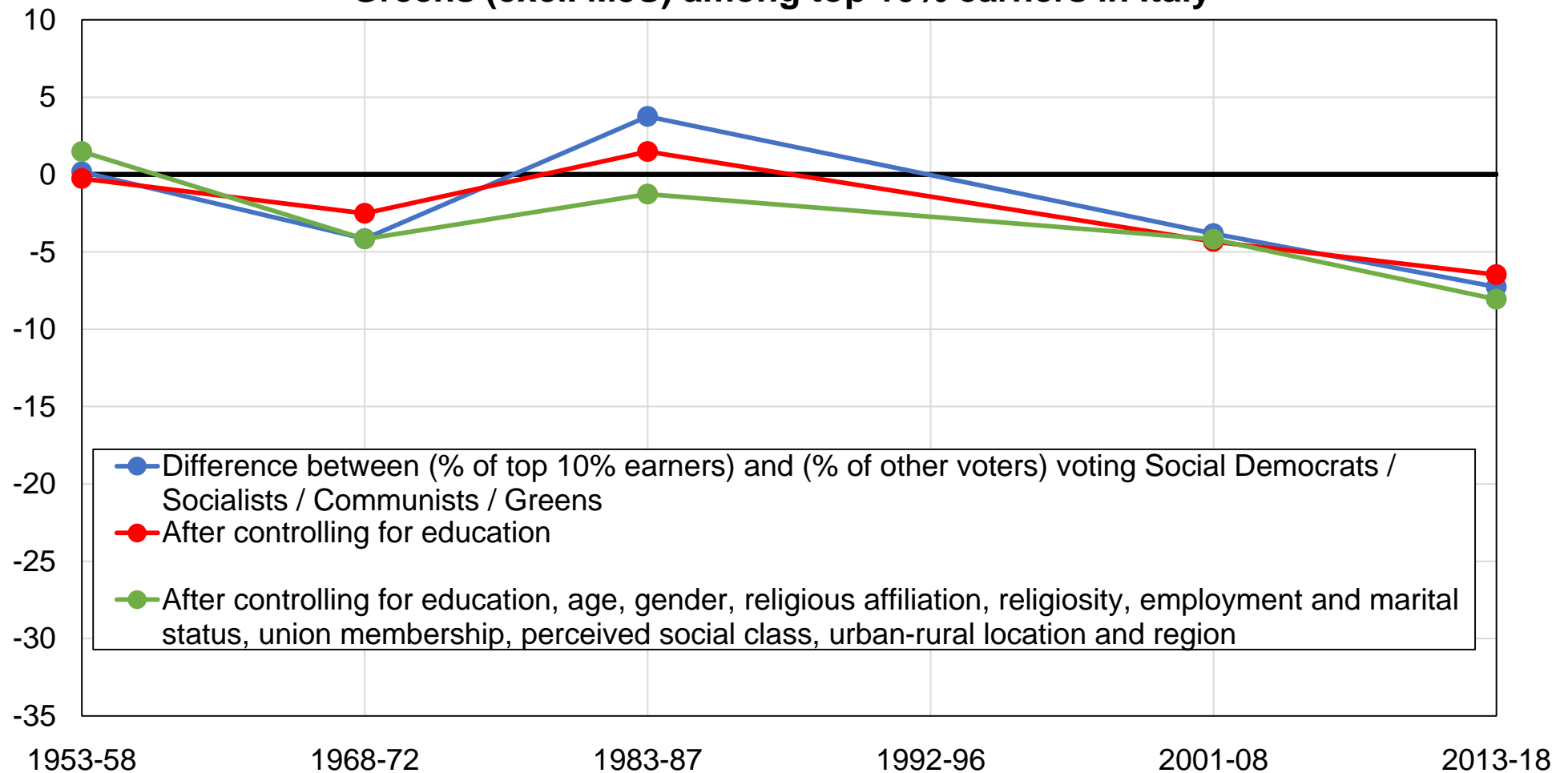
Figure AB26 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among top 10% earners in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, before and after controlling for other variables.

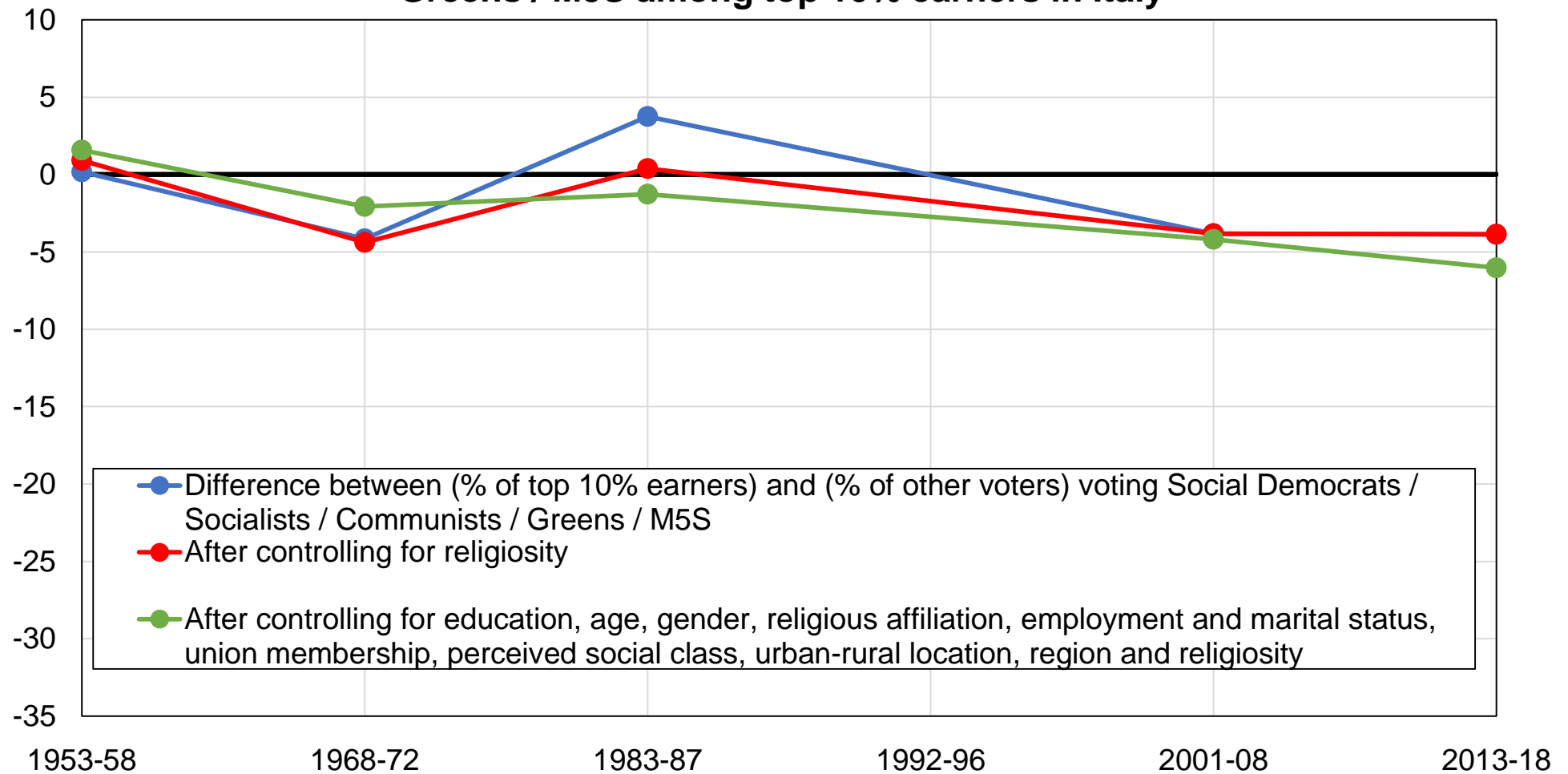
Figure AB27 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens (excl. M5S) among top 10% earners in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens excluding 5 Star Movement, before and after controlling for other variables.

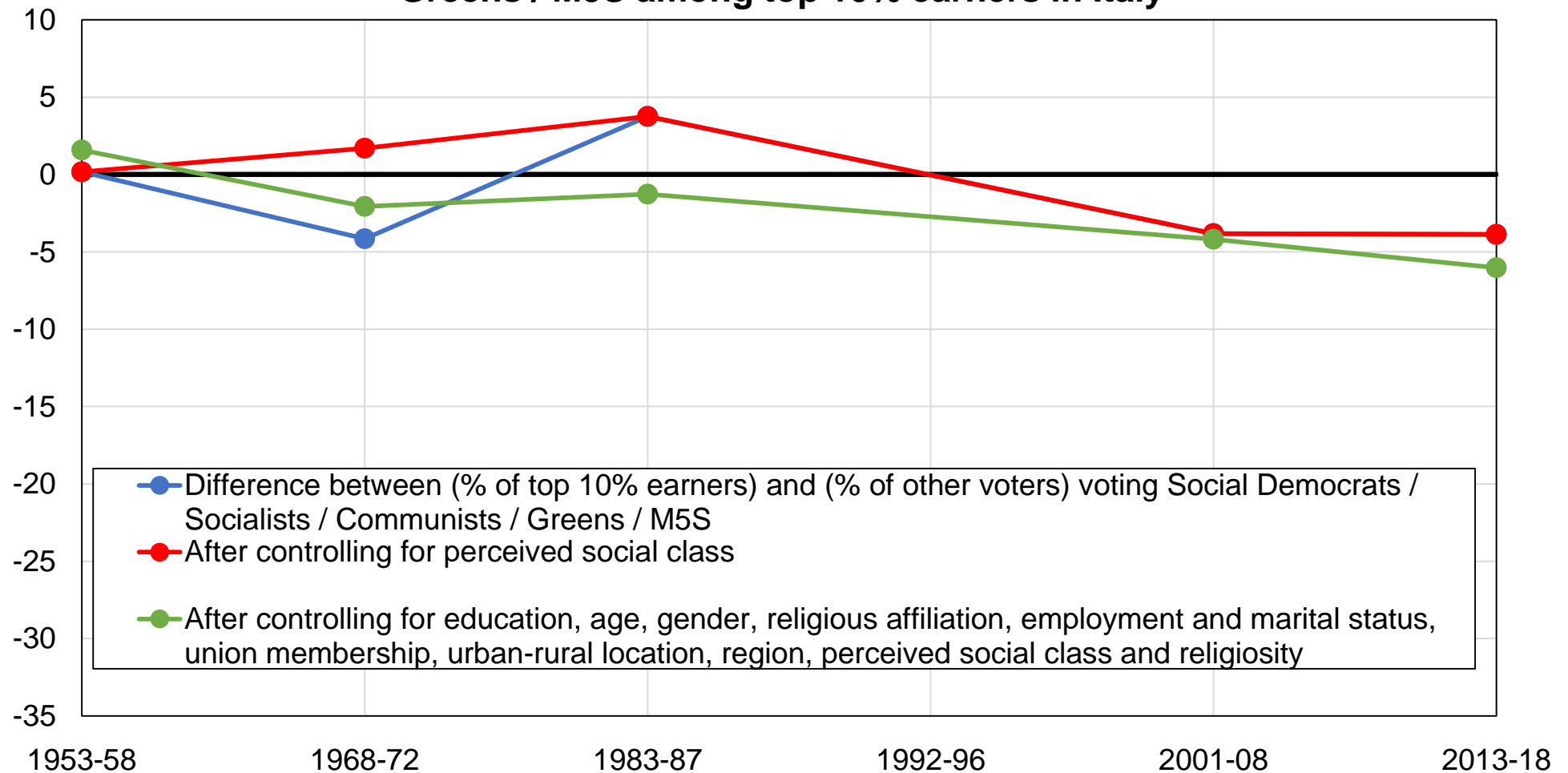
Figure AB28 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among top 10% earners in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, before and after controlling for other variables.

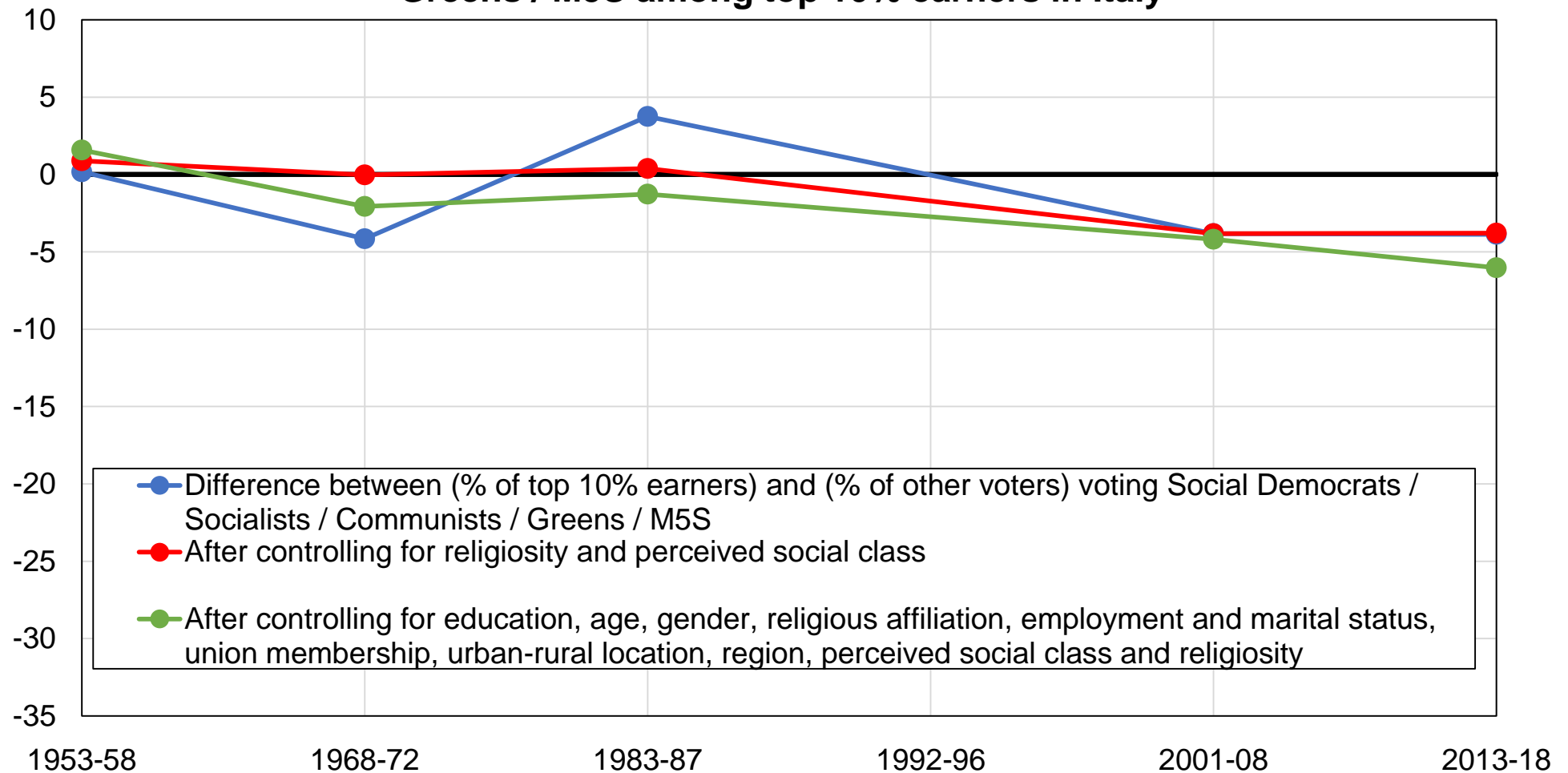
Figure AB29 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among top 10% earners in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, before and after controlling for other variables.

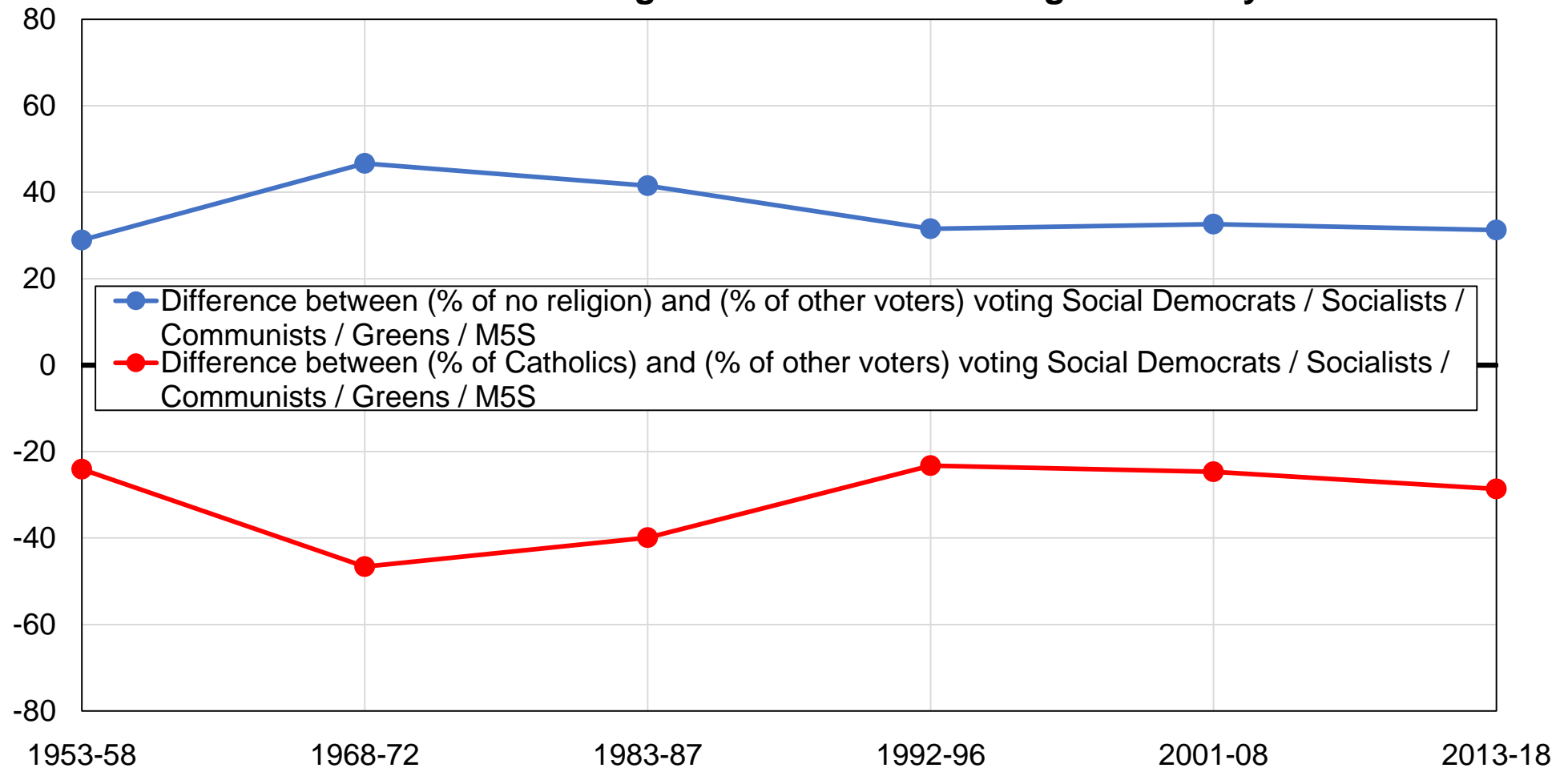
Figure AB30 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among top 10% earners in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, before and after controlling for other variables.

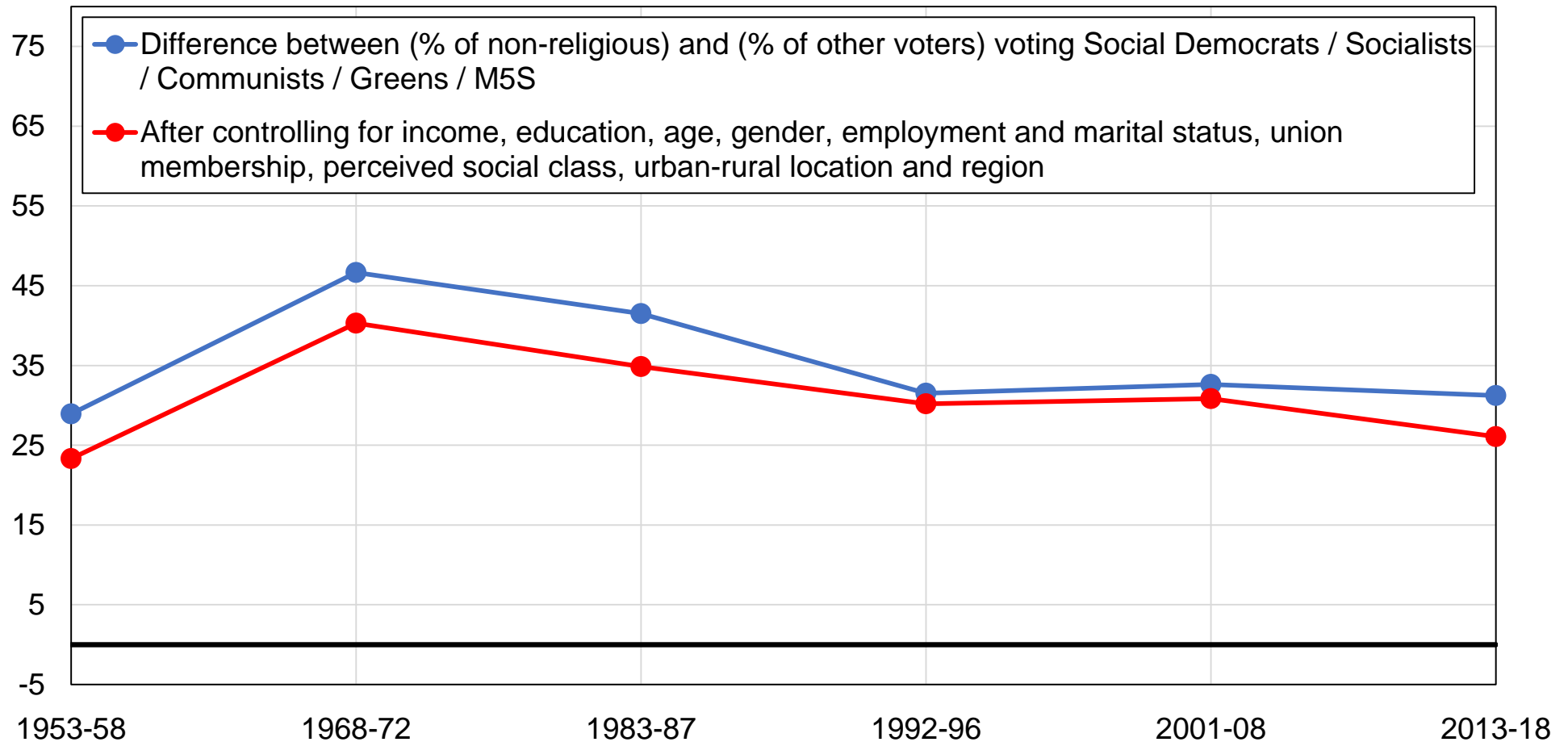
Figure AB31 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among Catholics and non-religious in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian 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 Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, as well as the same difference between Catholics and others voters.

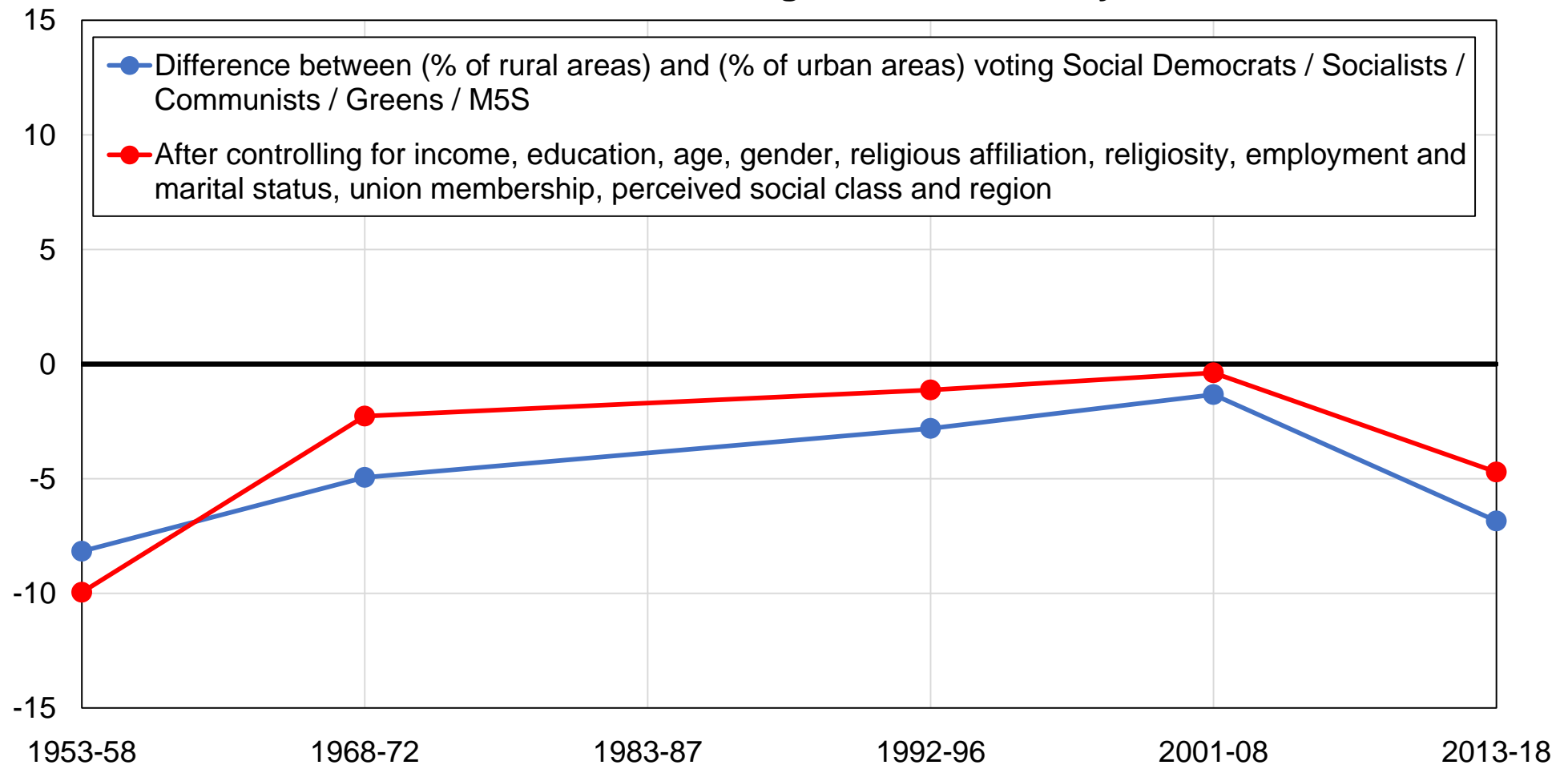
Figure AB32 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among the non-religious in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian 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 Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, before and after controlling for other variables.

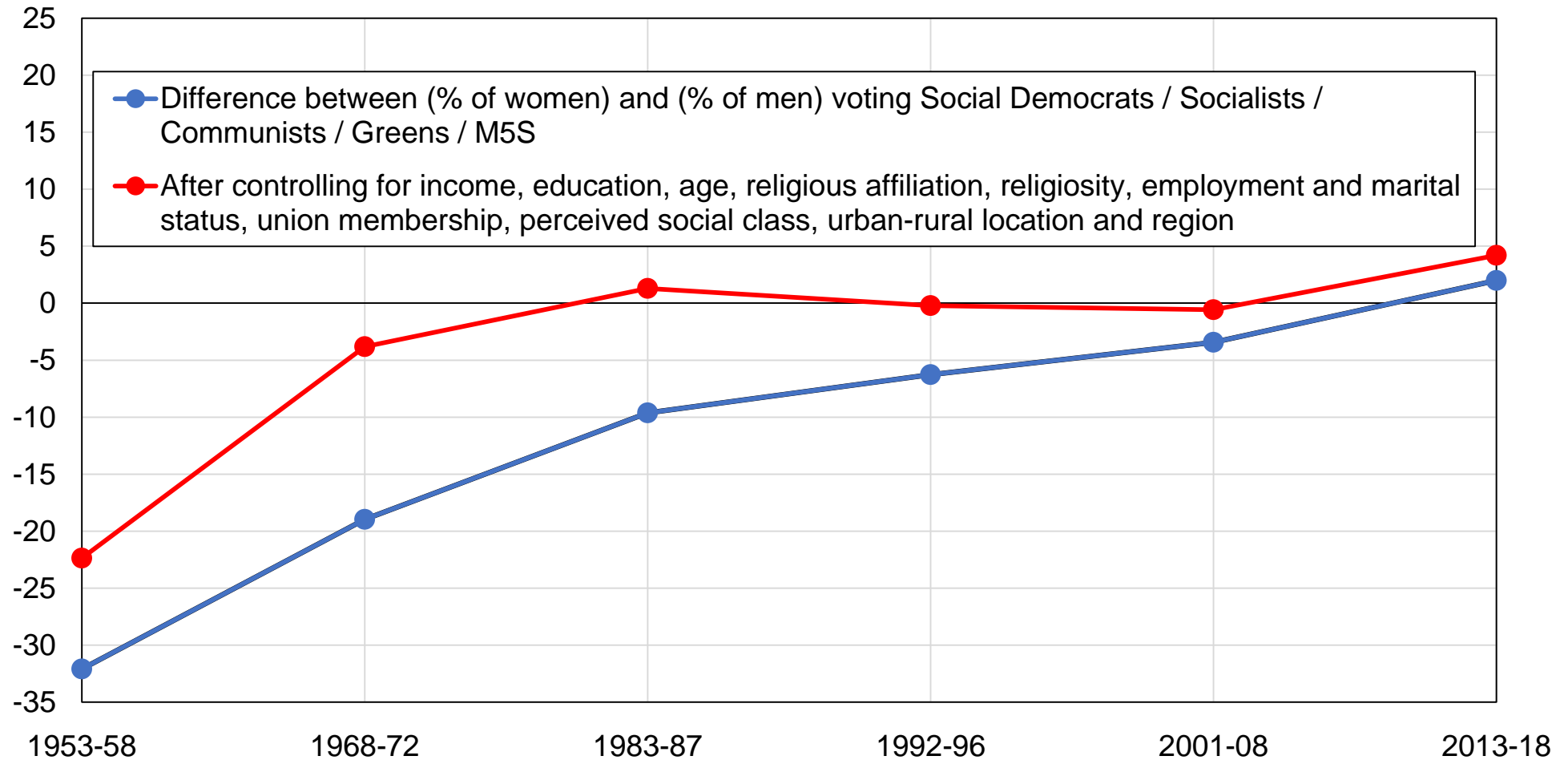
Figure AB33 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among rural areas in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of rural areas and the share of urban areas voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, before and after controlling for other variables.

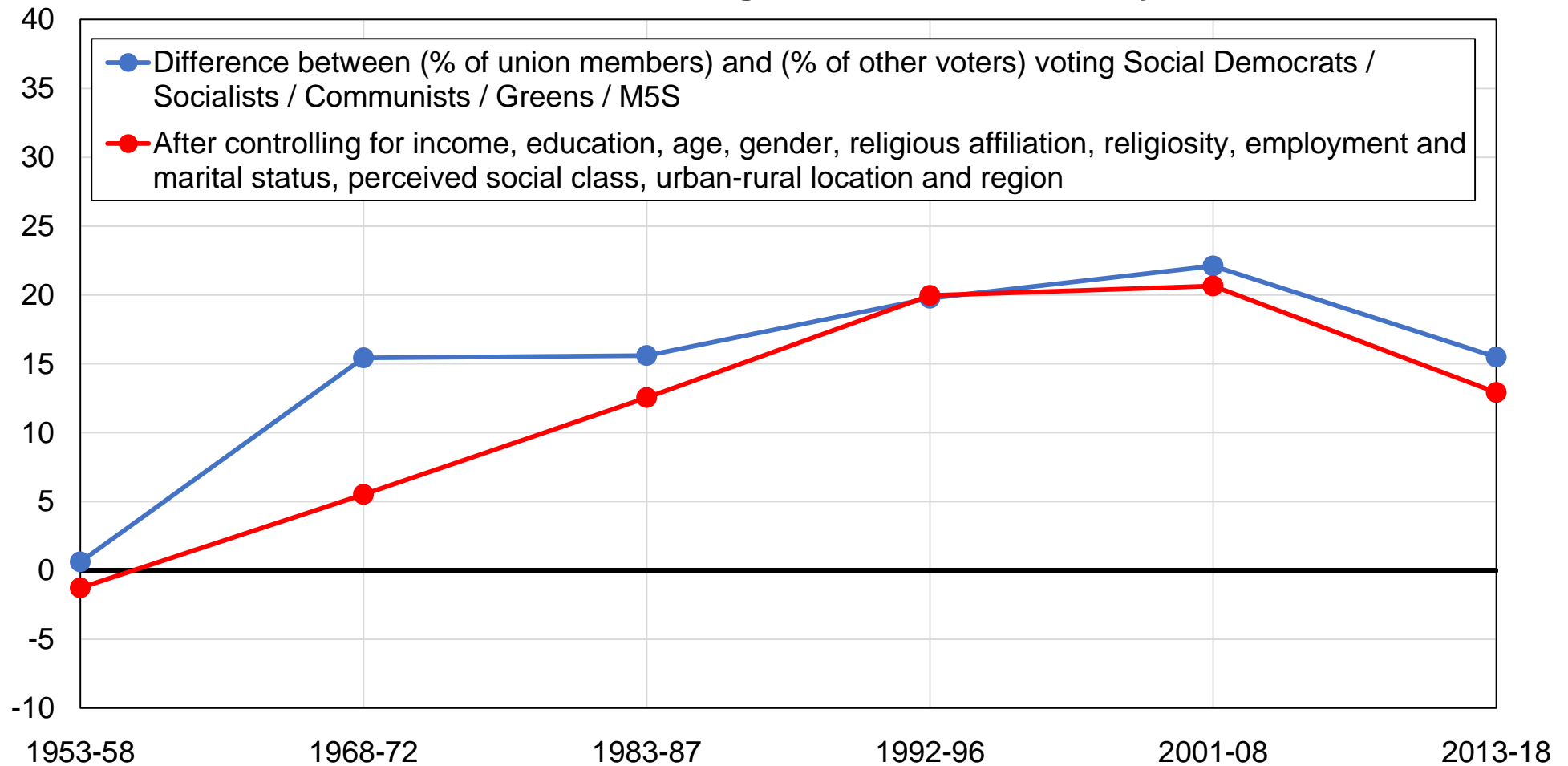
Figure AB34 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among women in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, before and after controlling for other variables.

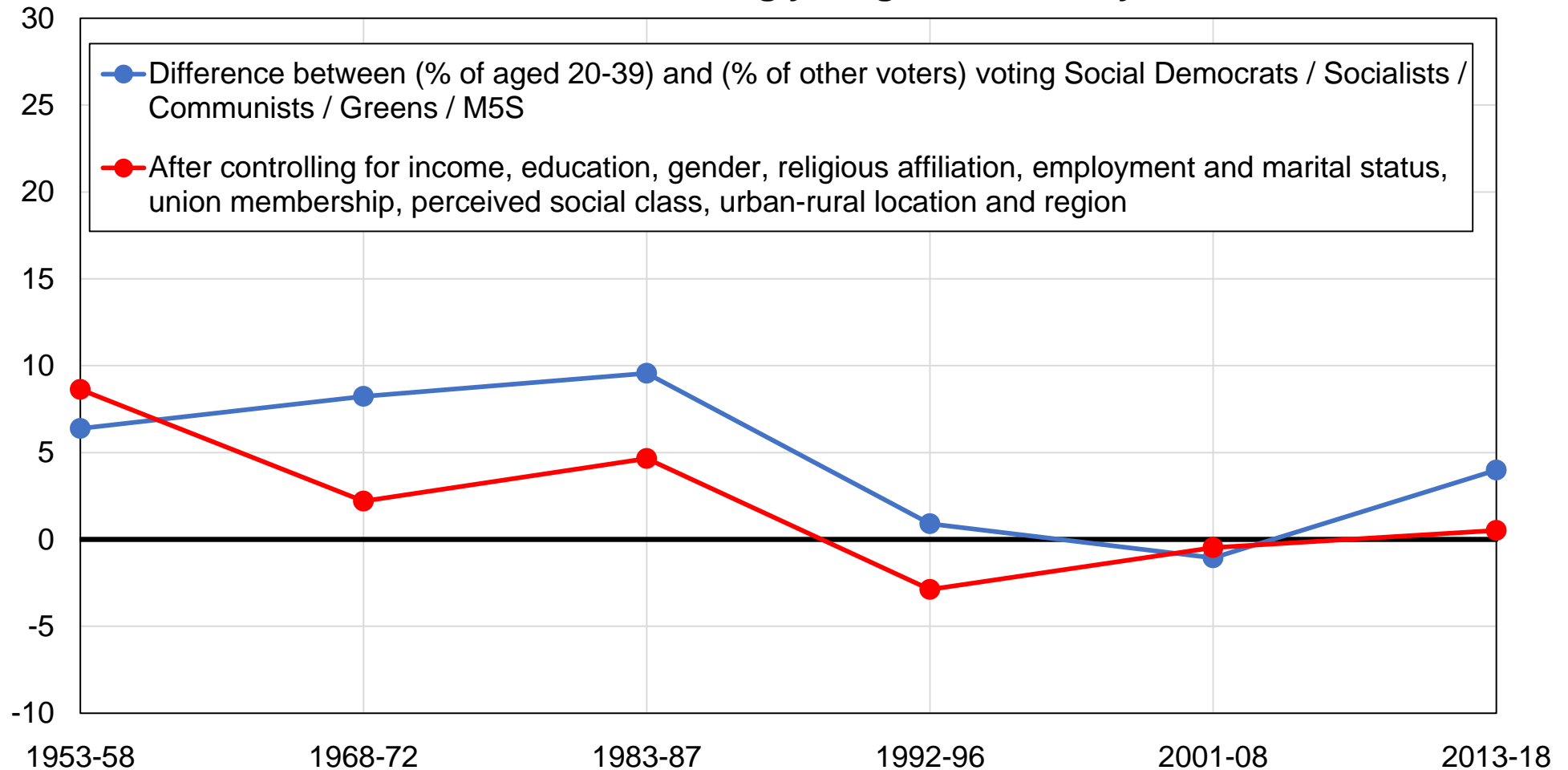
Figure AB35 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among union members in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of union members and the share of other voters voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, before and after controlling for other variables.

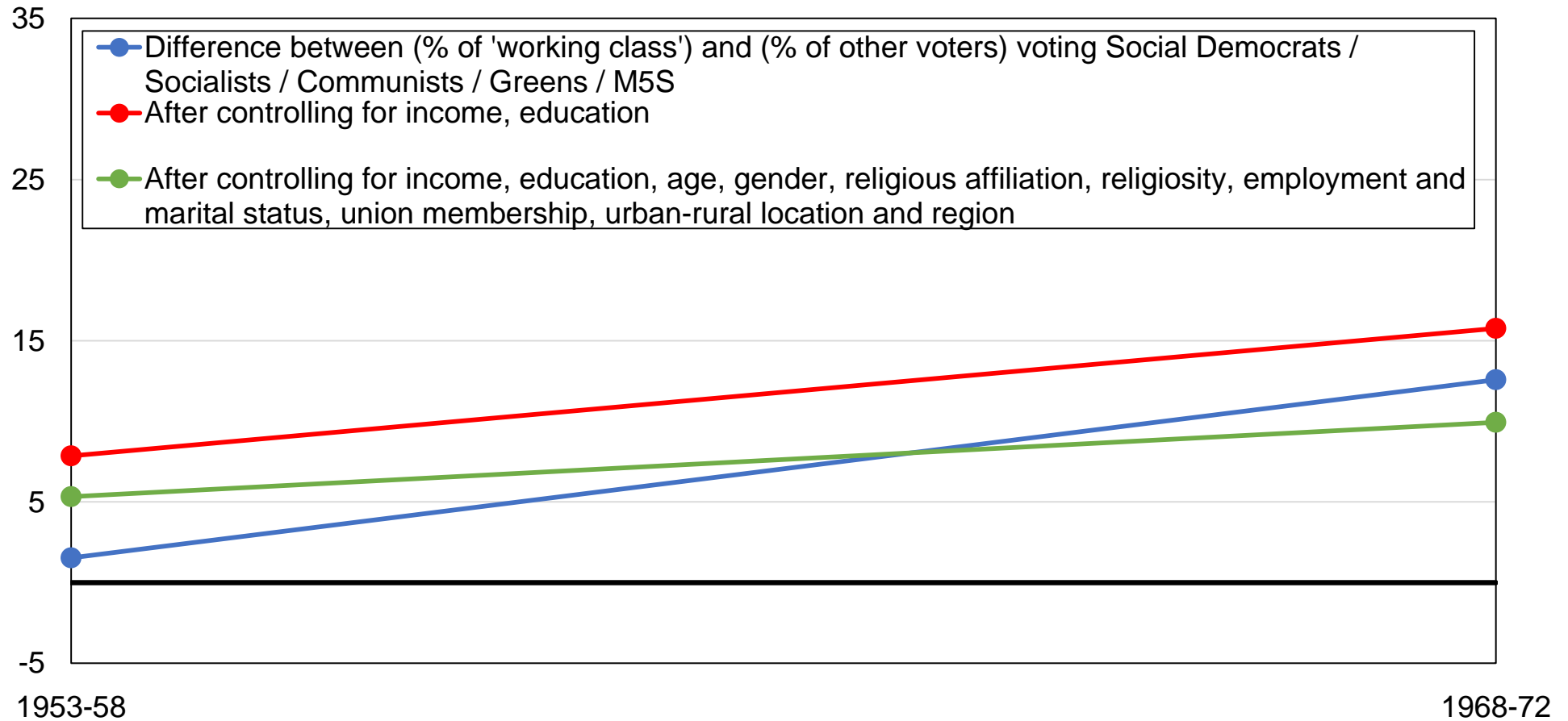
Figure AB36 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among young voters in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian 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 Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, before and after controlling for other variables.

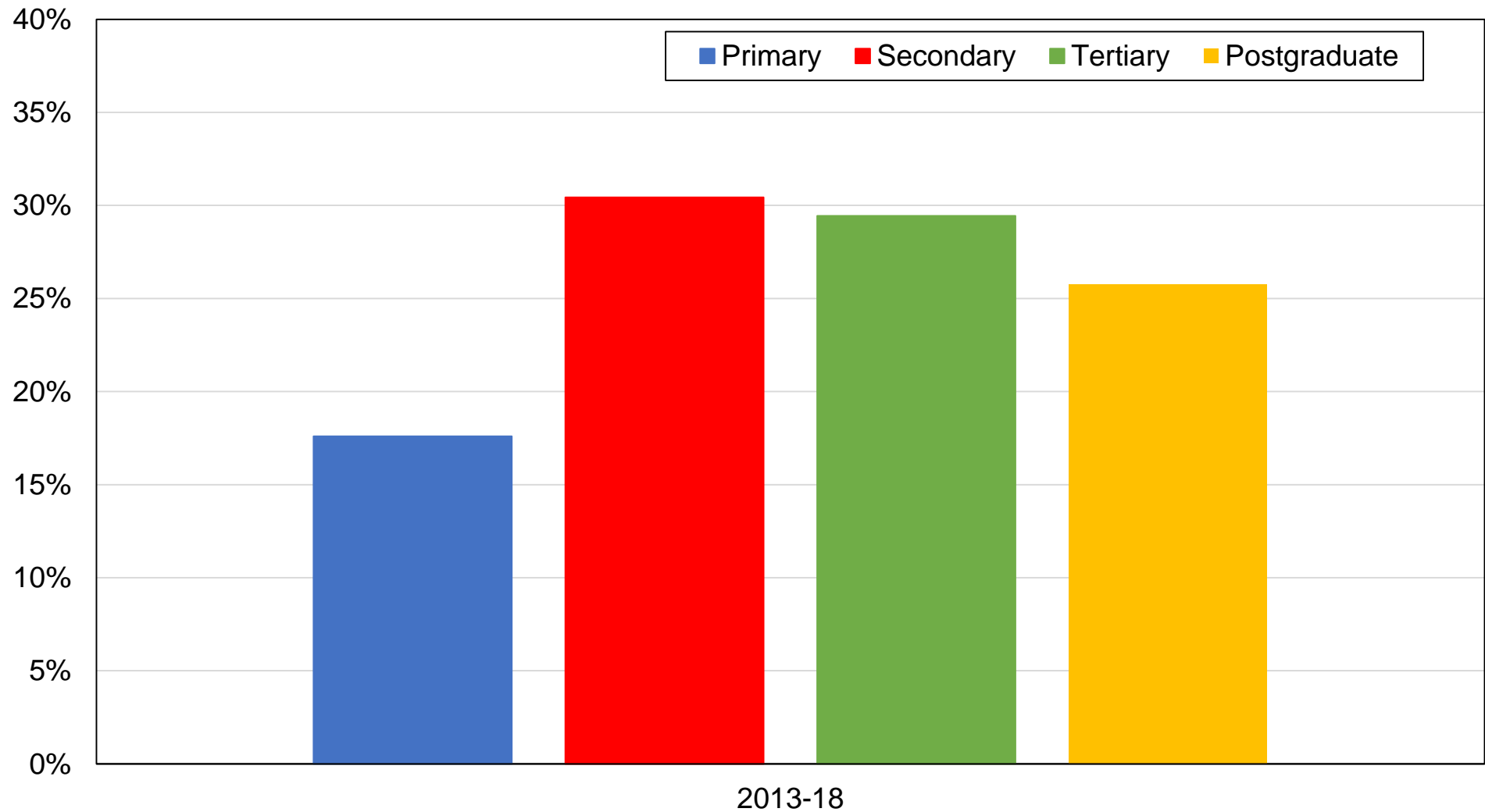
Figure AB37 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S among the working class in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters perceiving themselves as "working class" and the share of other voters perceiving themselves as "middle class" or "no class" voting for Social Democrats / Socialists / Communists / Greens / M5S, before and after controlling for other variables.

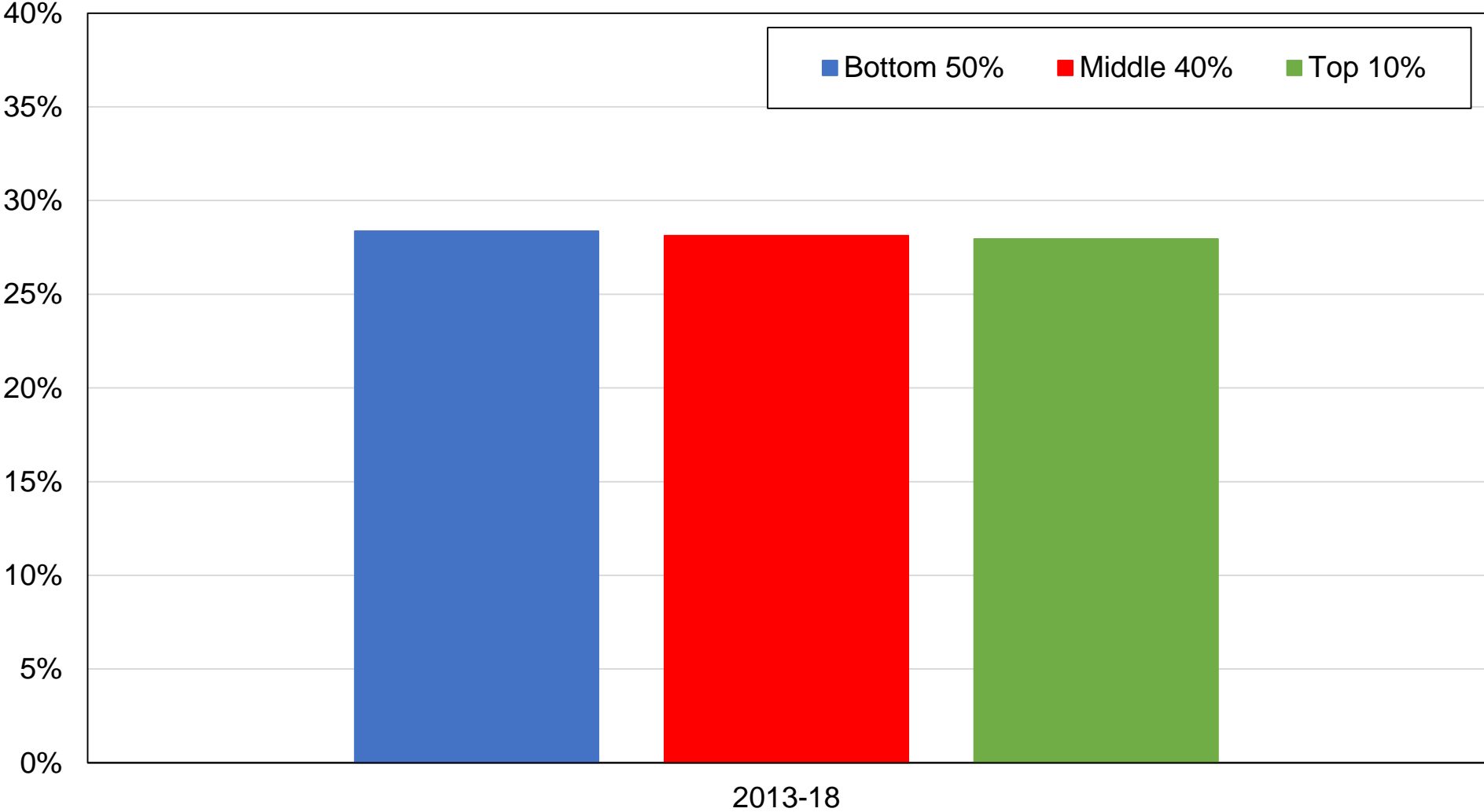
Figure AC1 - Vote for Five Star Movement by education level in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Five Star Movement by education level.

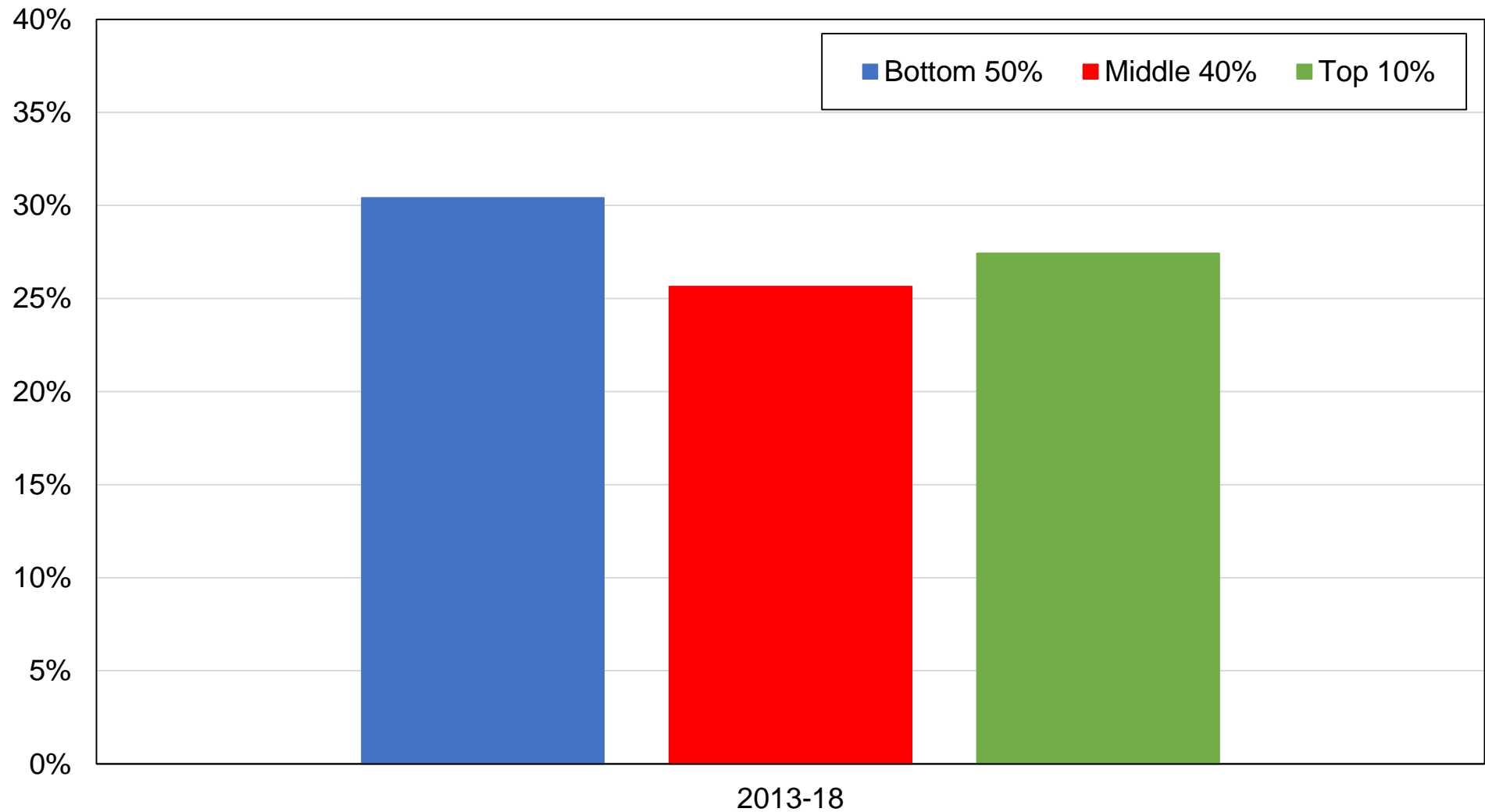
Figure AC2 - Vote for Five Star Movement by education group in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Five Star Movement by education group.

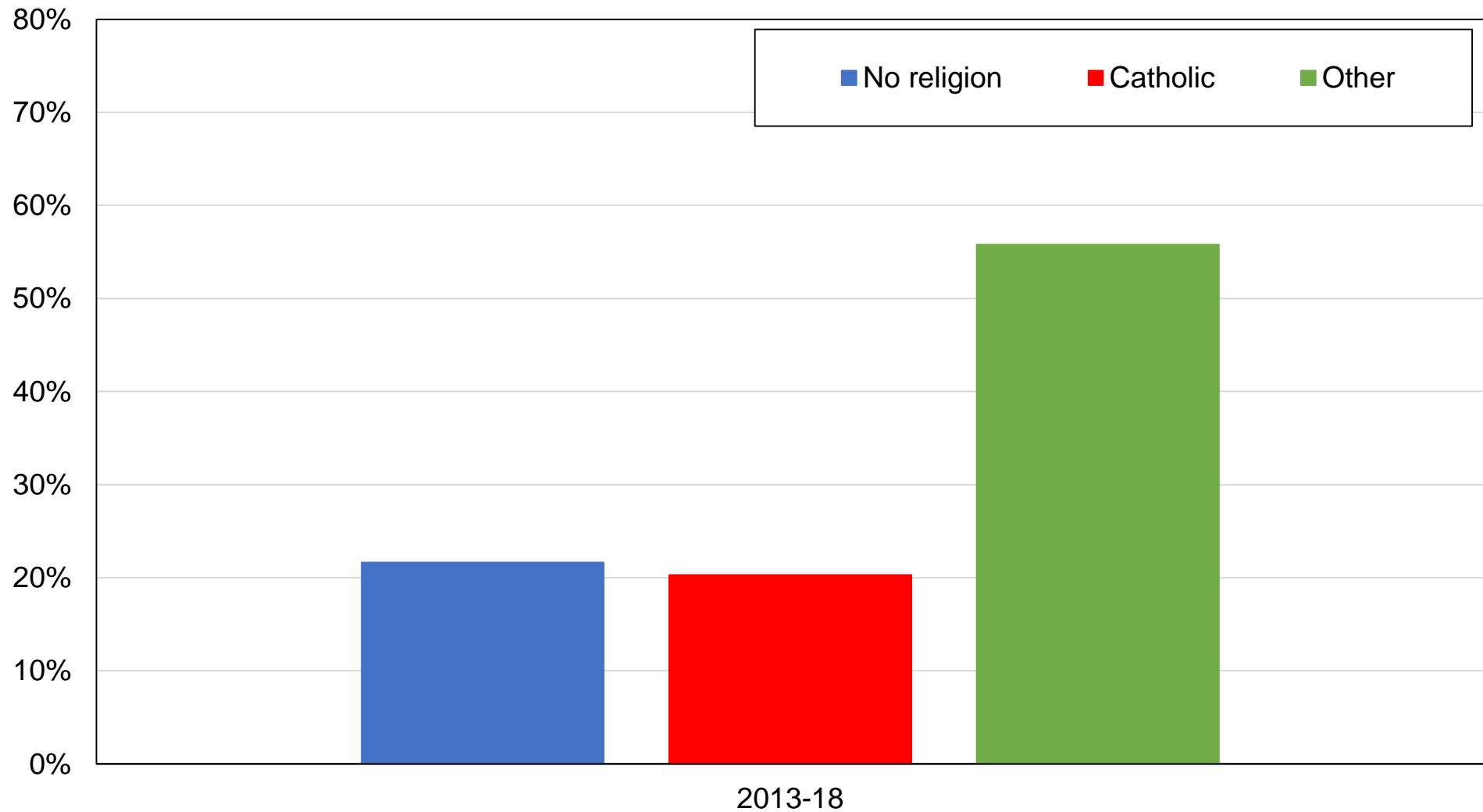
Figure AC3 - Vote for Five Star Movement by income group in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Five Star Movement by income group.

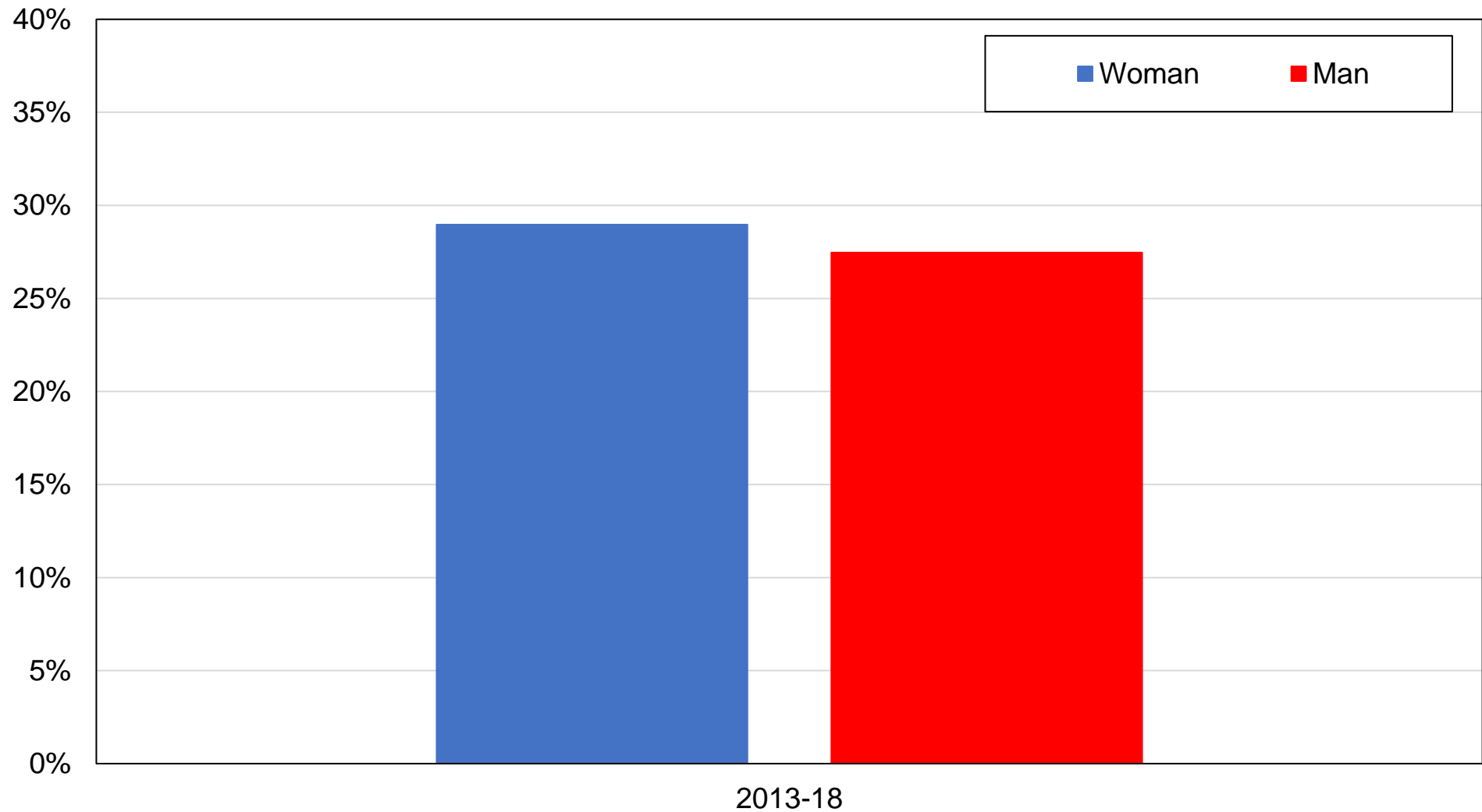
Figure AC4 - Vote for Five Star Movement by religious affiliation in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Five Star Movement by religious affiliation.

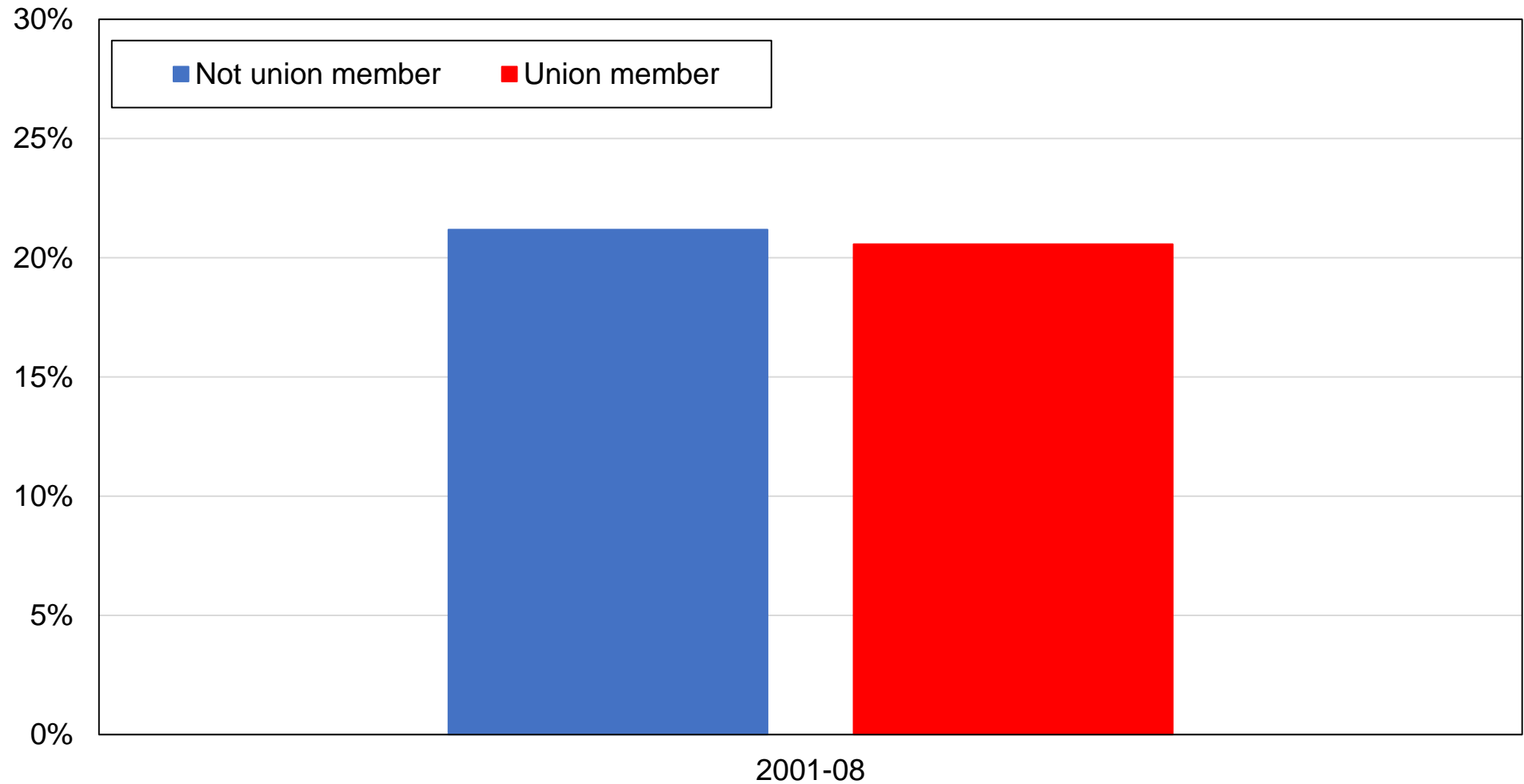
Figure AC5 - Vote for Five Star Movement by gender in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Five Star Movement by gender.

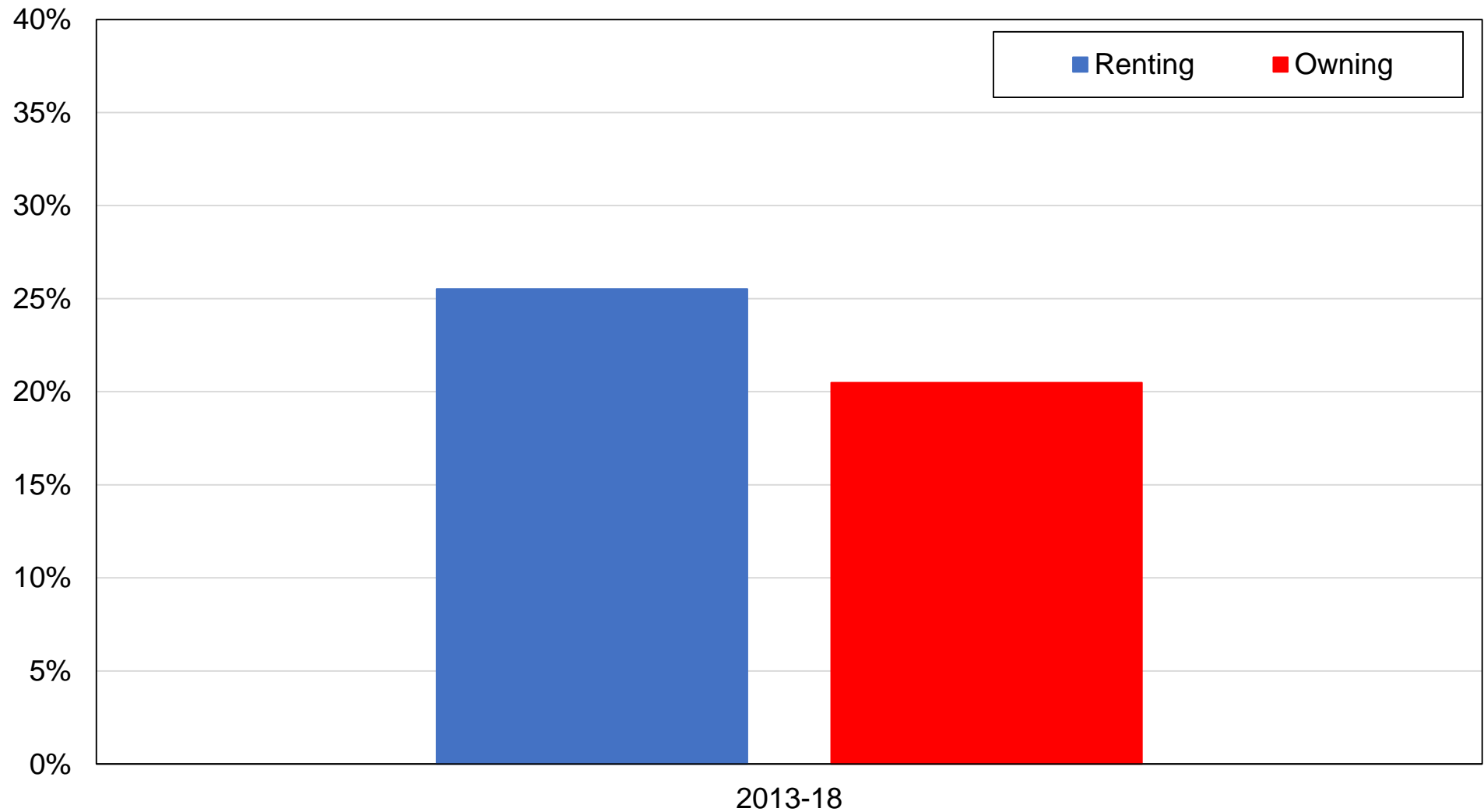
Figure AC6 - Vote for the Five Star Movement by union membership in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Five Star Movement by union membership status.

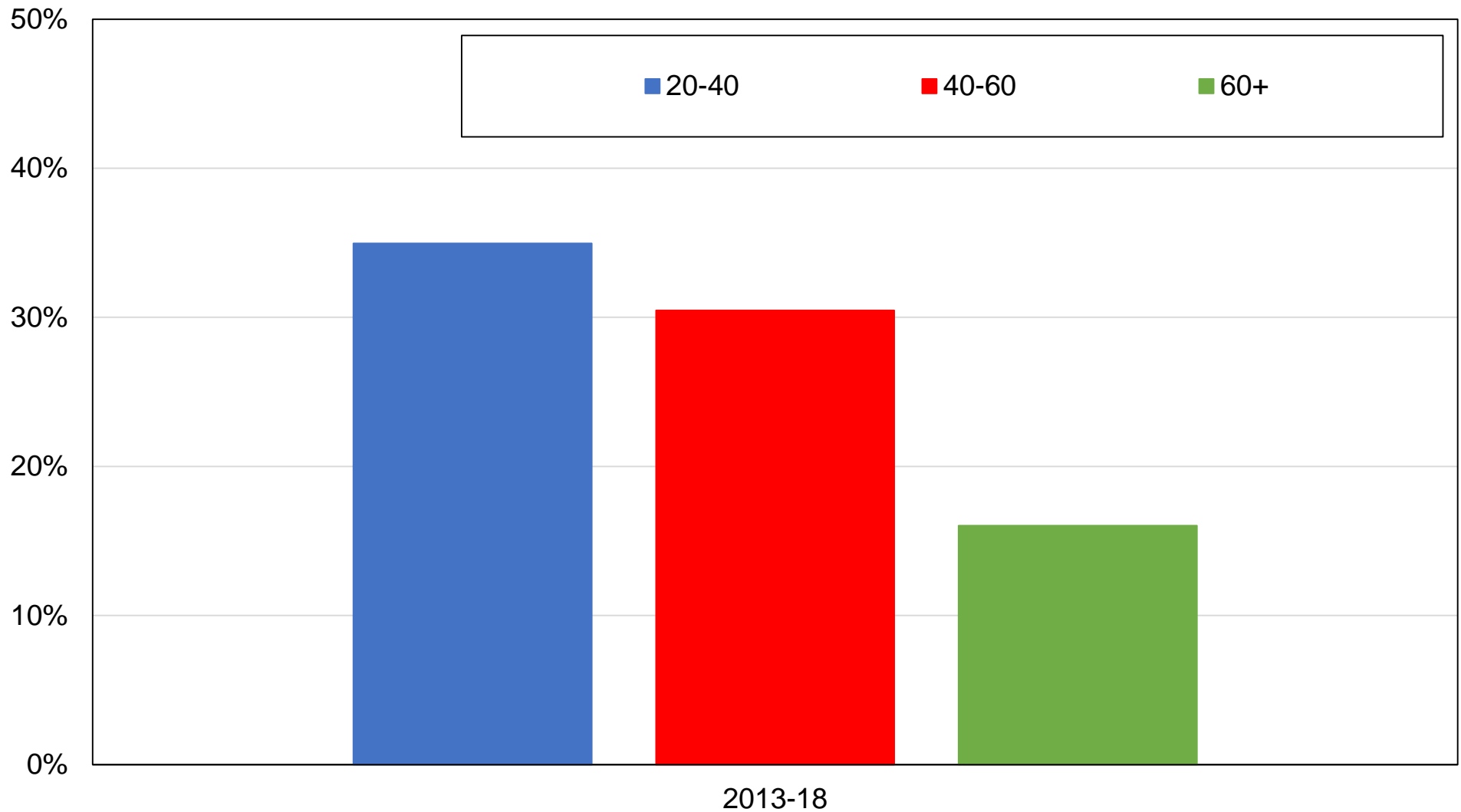
Figure AC7 - Vote for Five Star Movement by home status in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Five Star Movement by home ownership status.

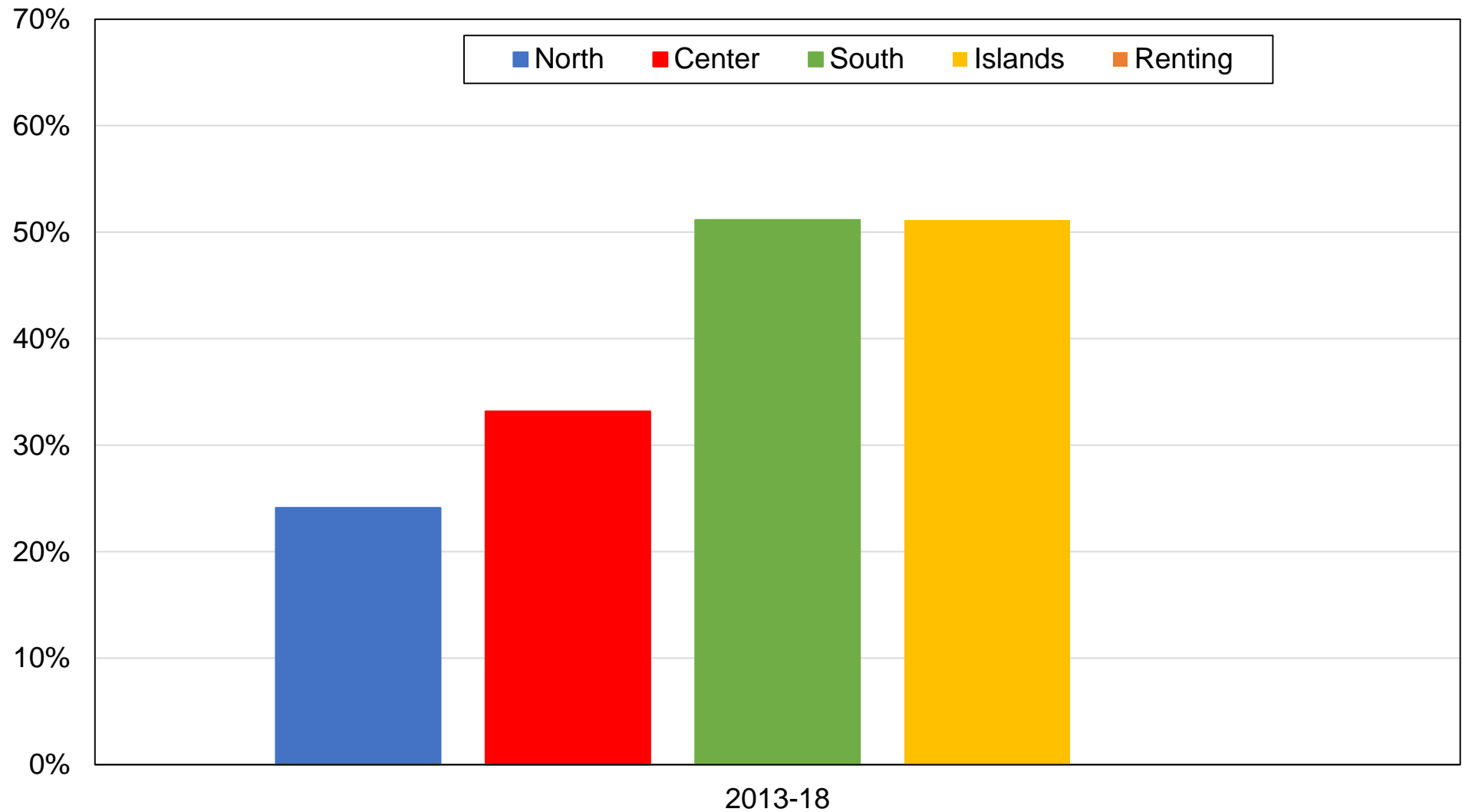
Figure AC8 - Vote for Five Star Movement by age in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Five Star Movement by age.

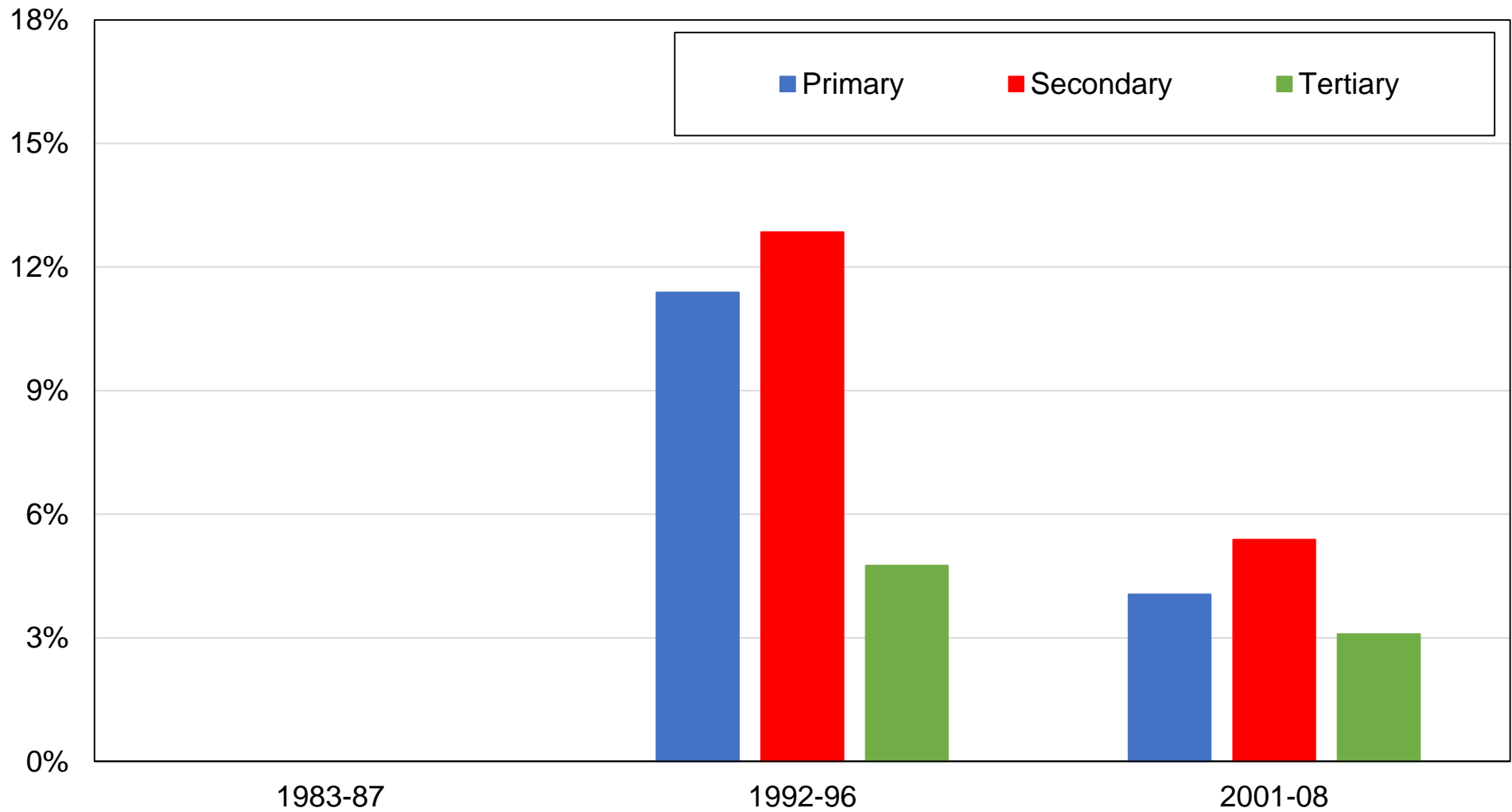
Figure AC9 - Vote for Five Star Movement by region in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Five Star Movement by region.

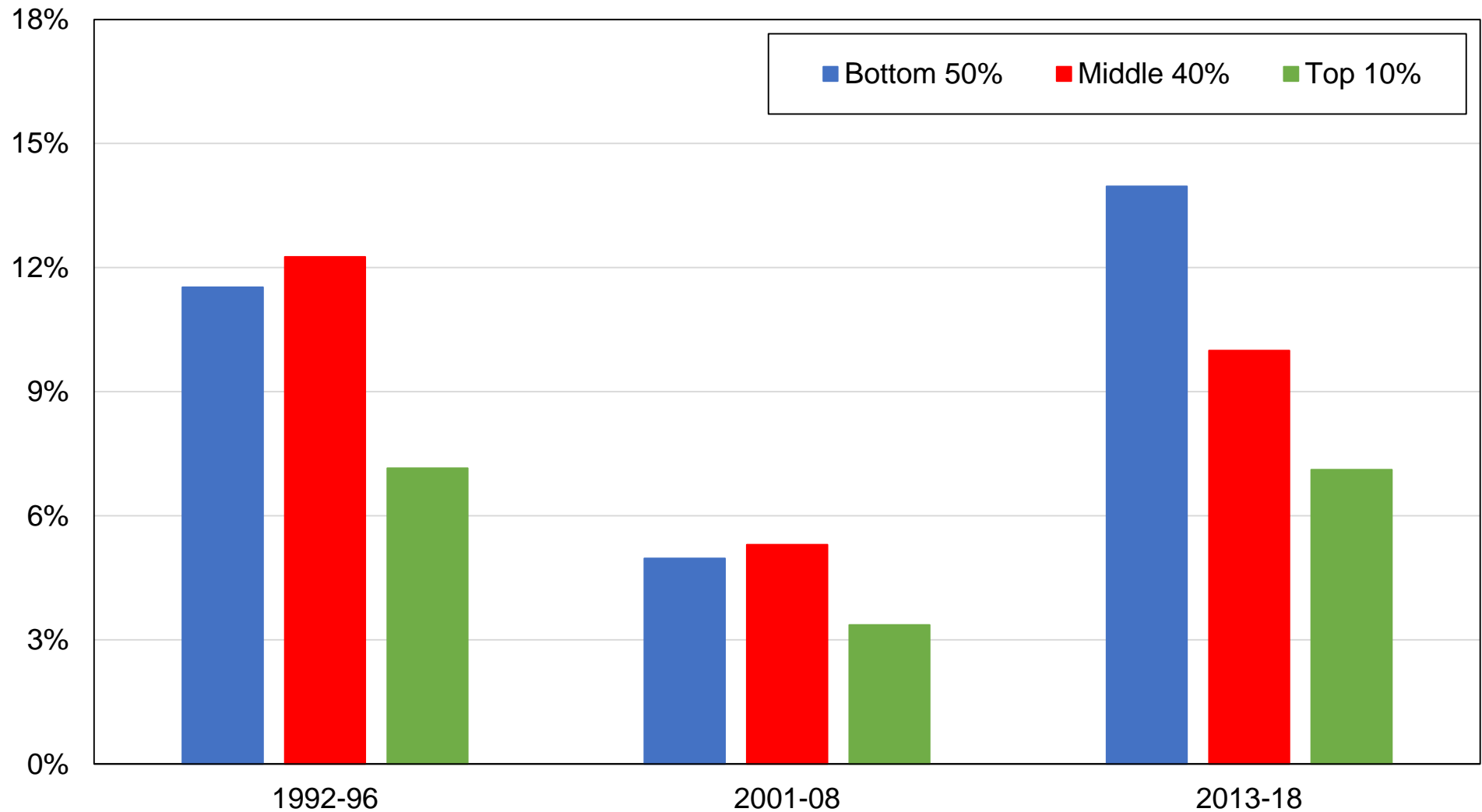
Figure AC10 - Vote for Lega Nord by education level in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Lega Nord by education level. Note that no interviewee with only primary education reports having voted to Lega over the decade 2013-18.

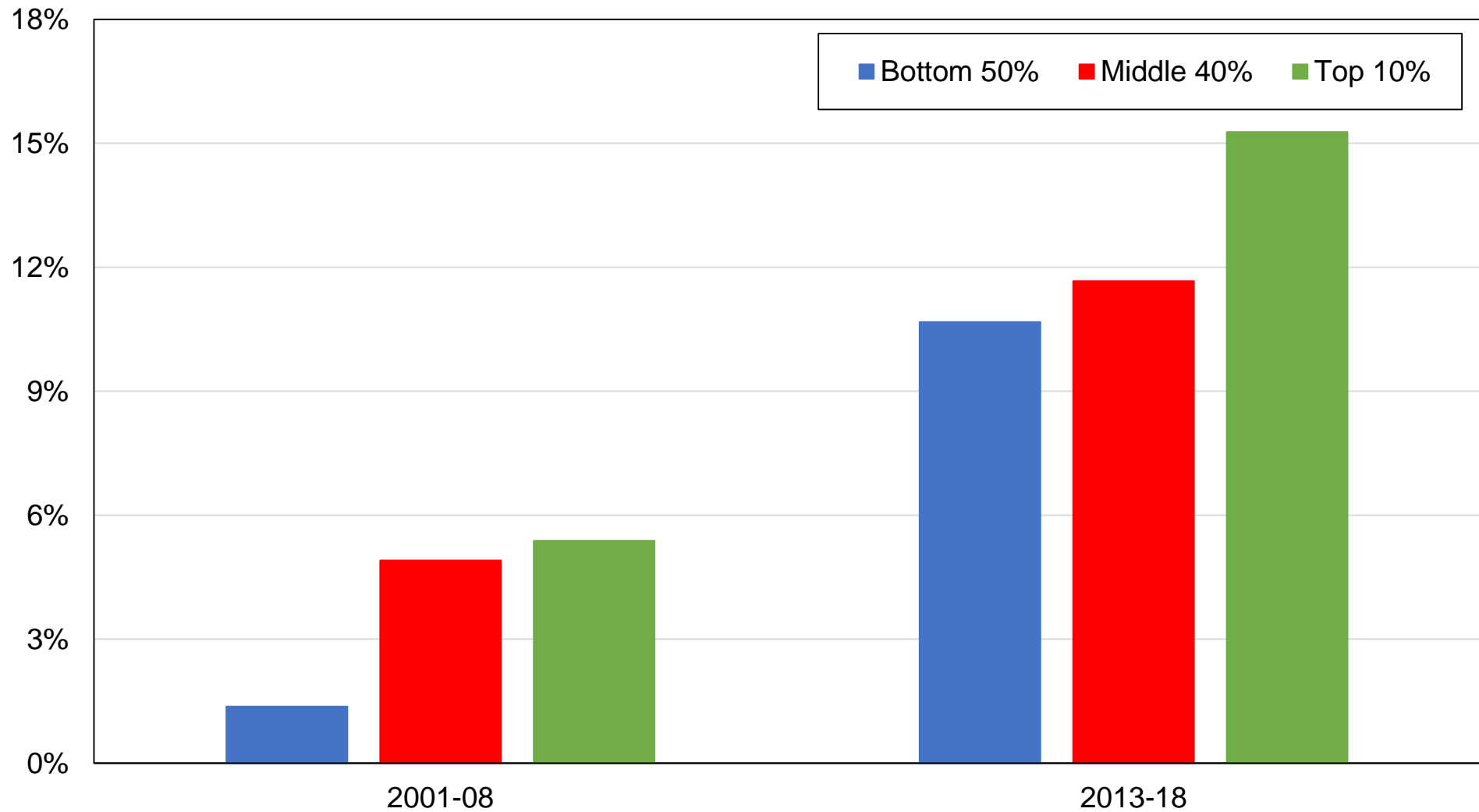
Figure AC11 - Vote for Lega Nord by education group in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Lega Nord by education group.

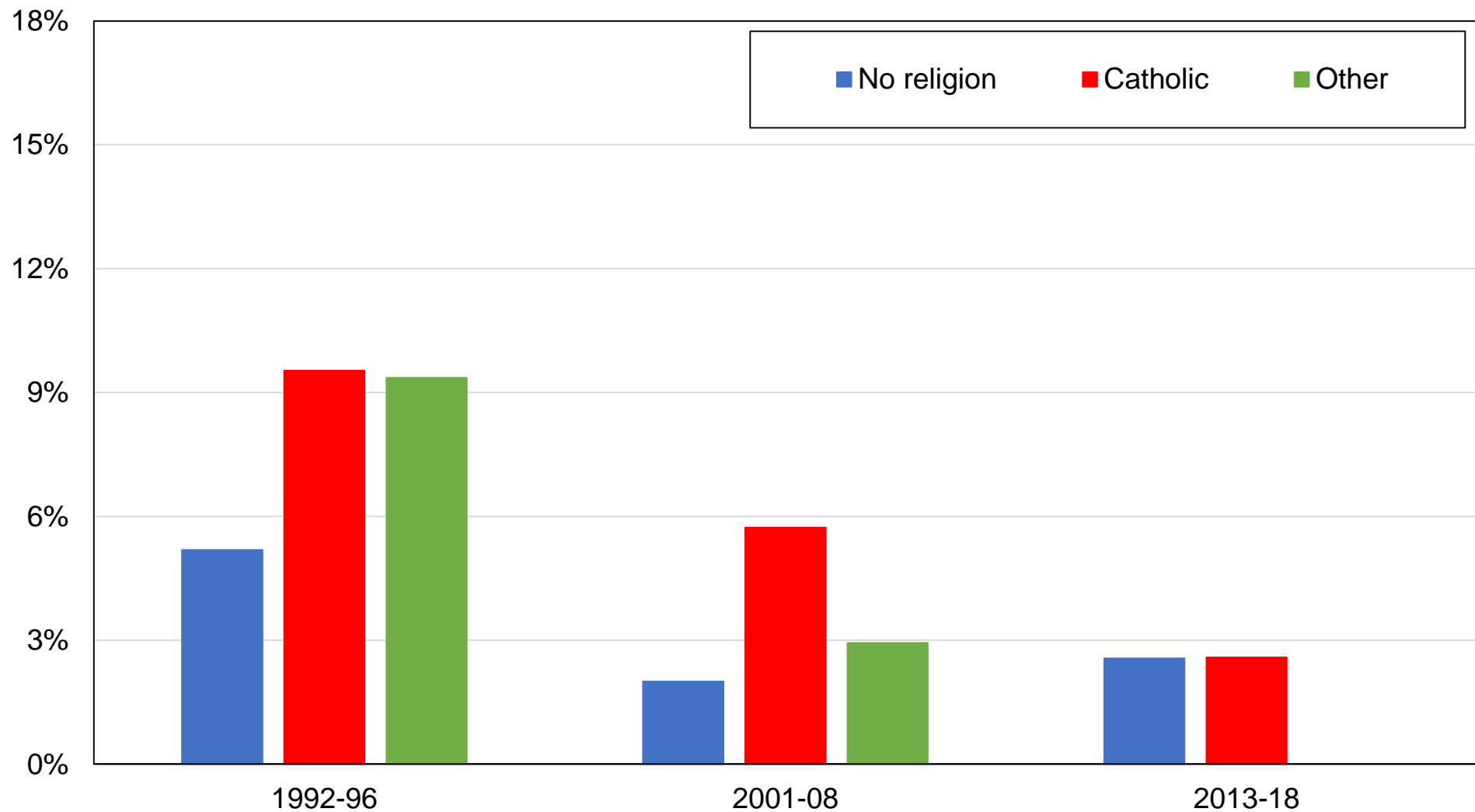
Figure AC12 - Vote for Lega Nord by income group in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Lega Nord by income group.

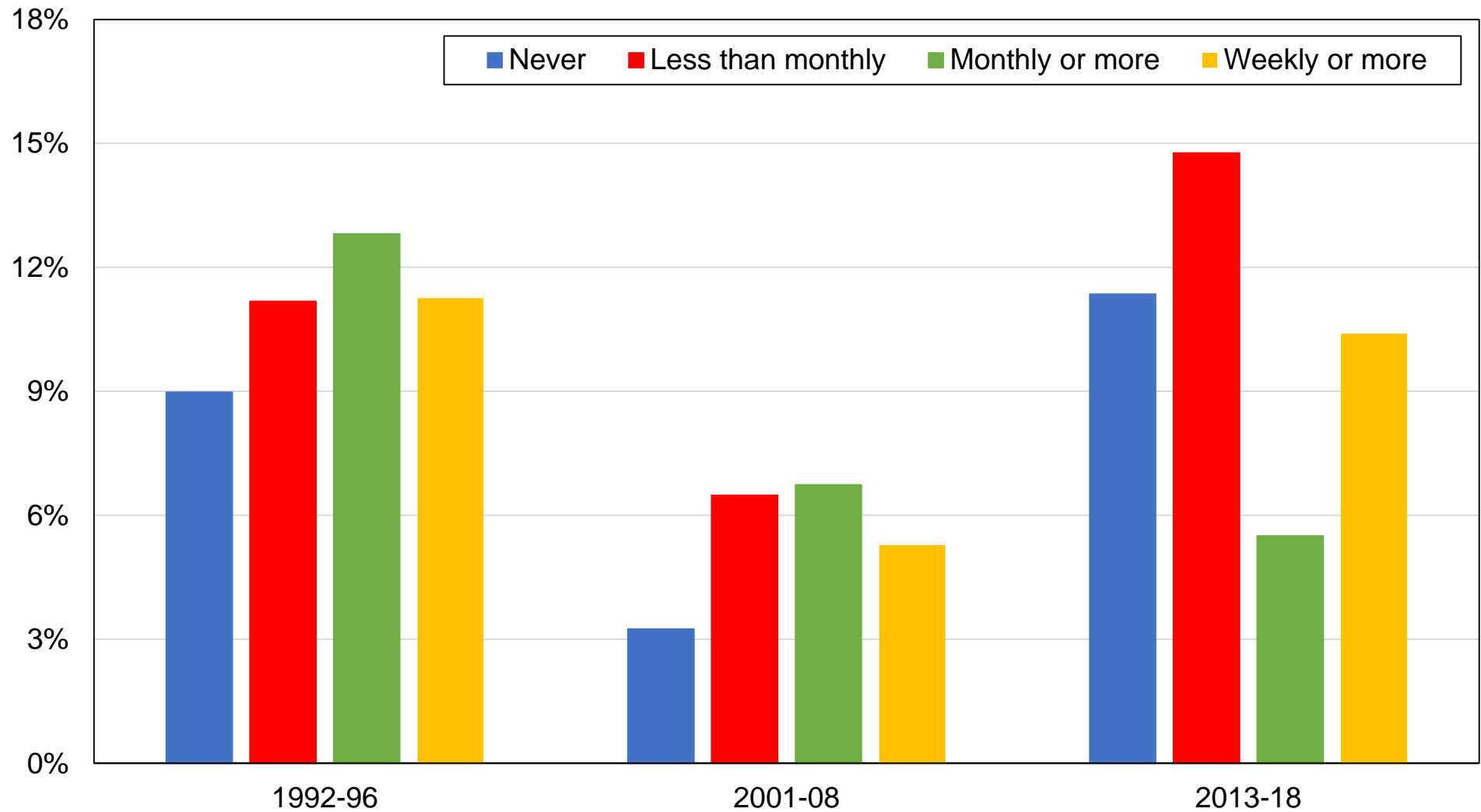
Figure AC13 - Vote for Lega Nord by religious affiliation in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Lega Nord by religious affiliation.

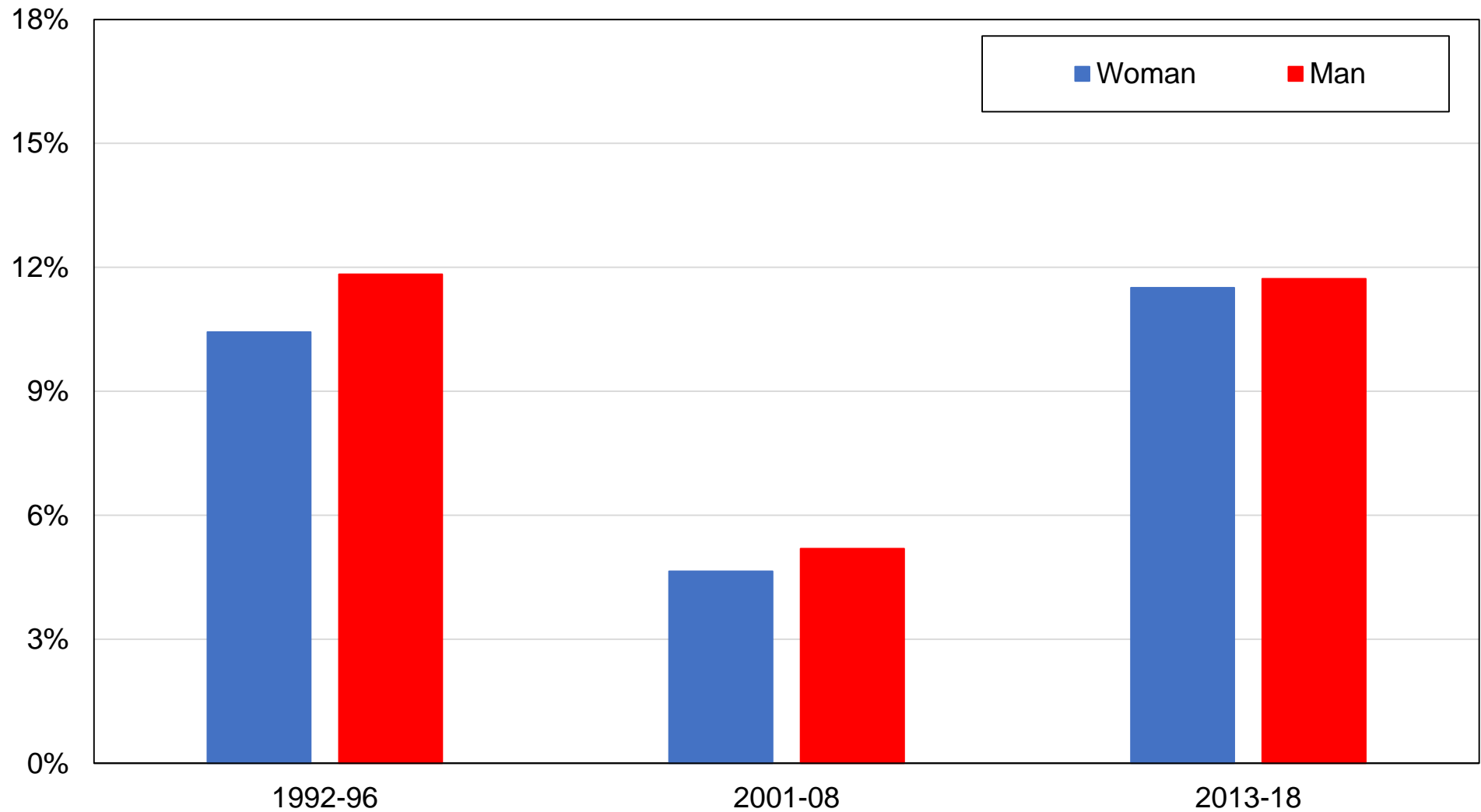
Figure AC14 - Vote for Lega Nord by religiosity in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Lega Nord by church attendance.

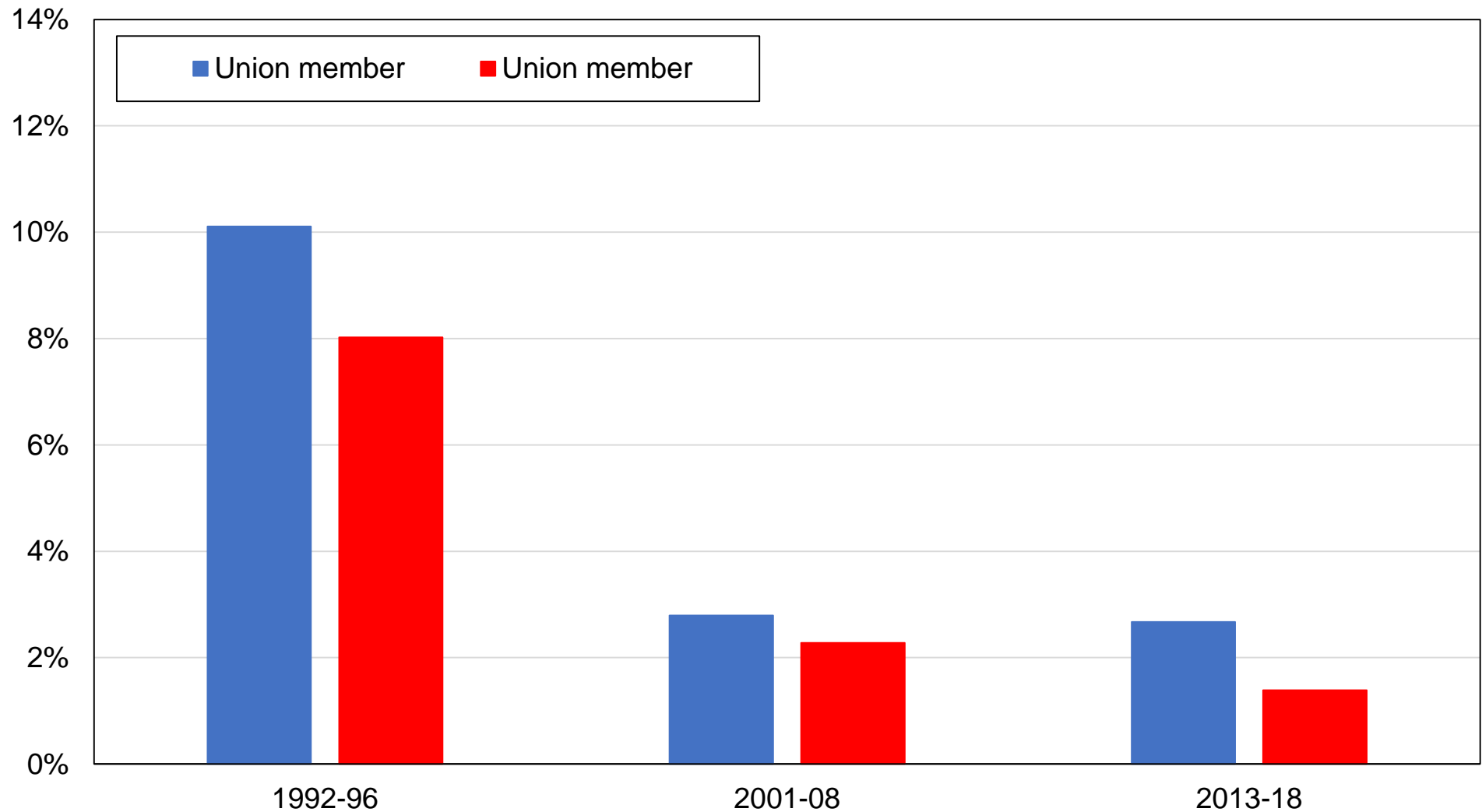
Figure AC15 - Vote for Lega Nord by gender in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Lega Nord by gender.

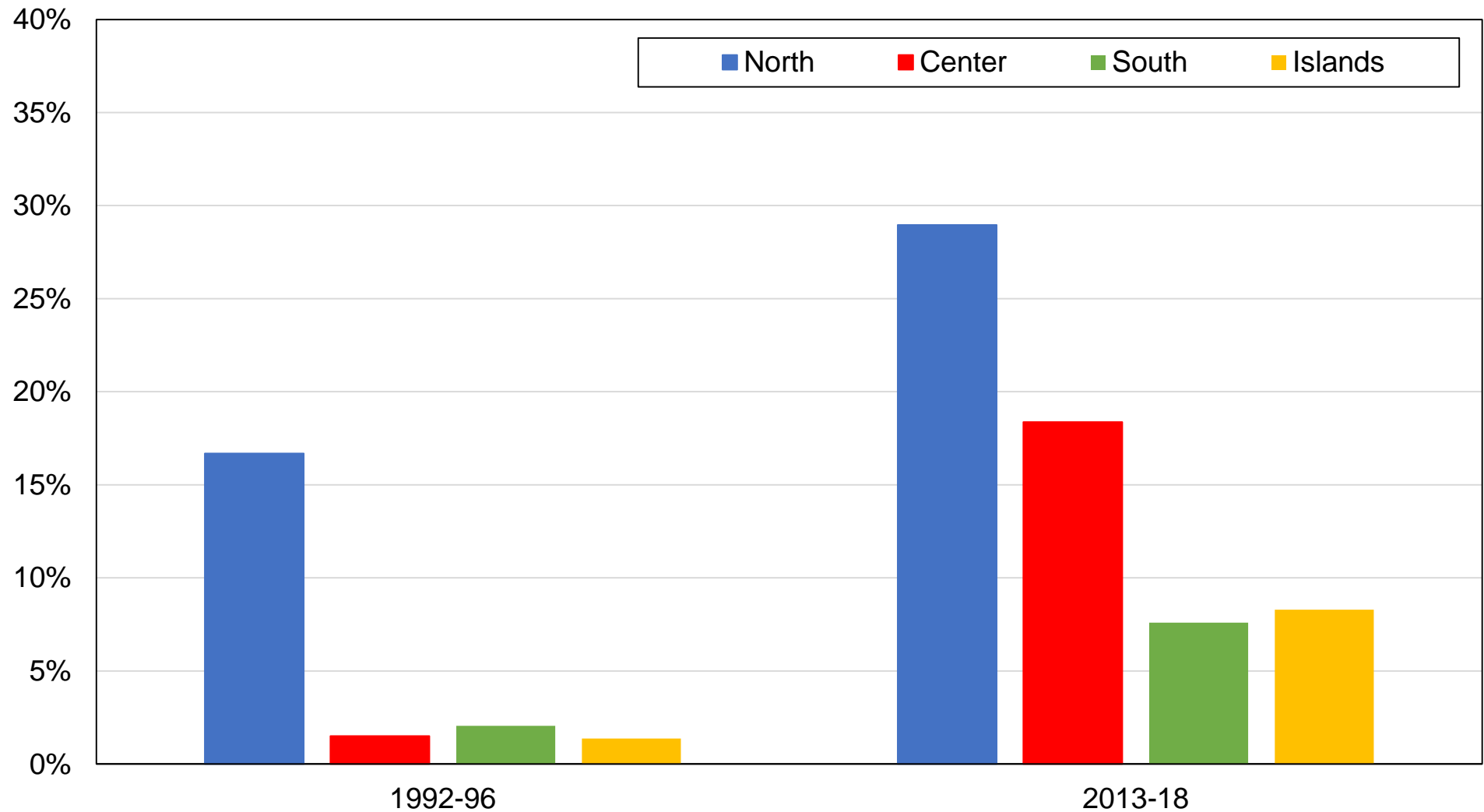
Figure AC16 - Vote for Lega Nord by union membership in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Lega Nord by union membership status.

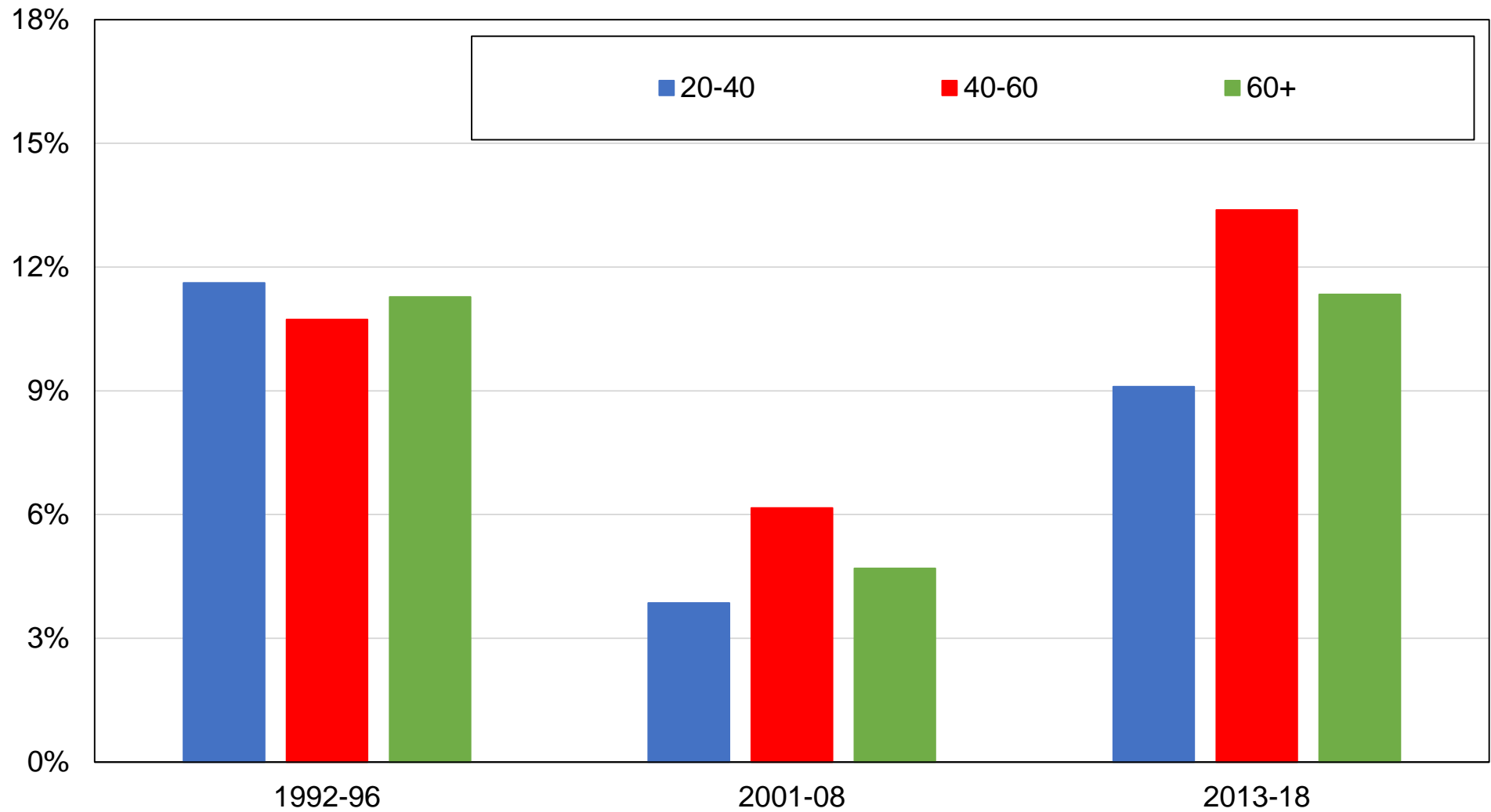
Figure AC17 - Vote for Lega Nord by region in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Lega Nord by region.

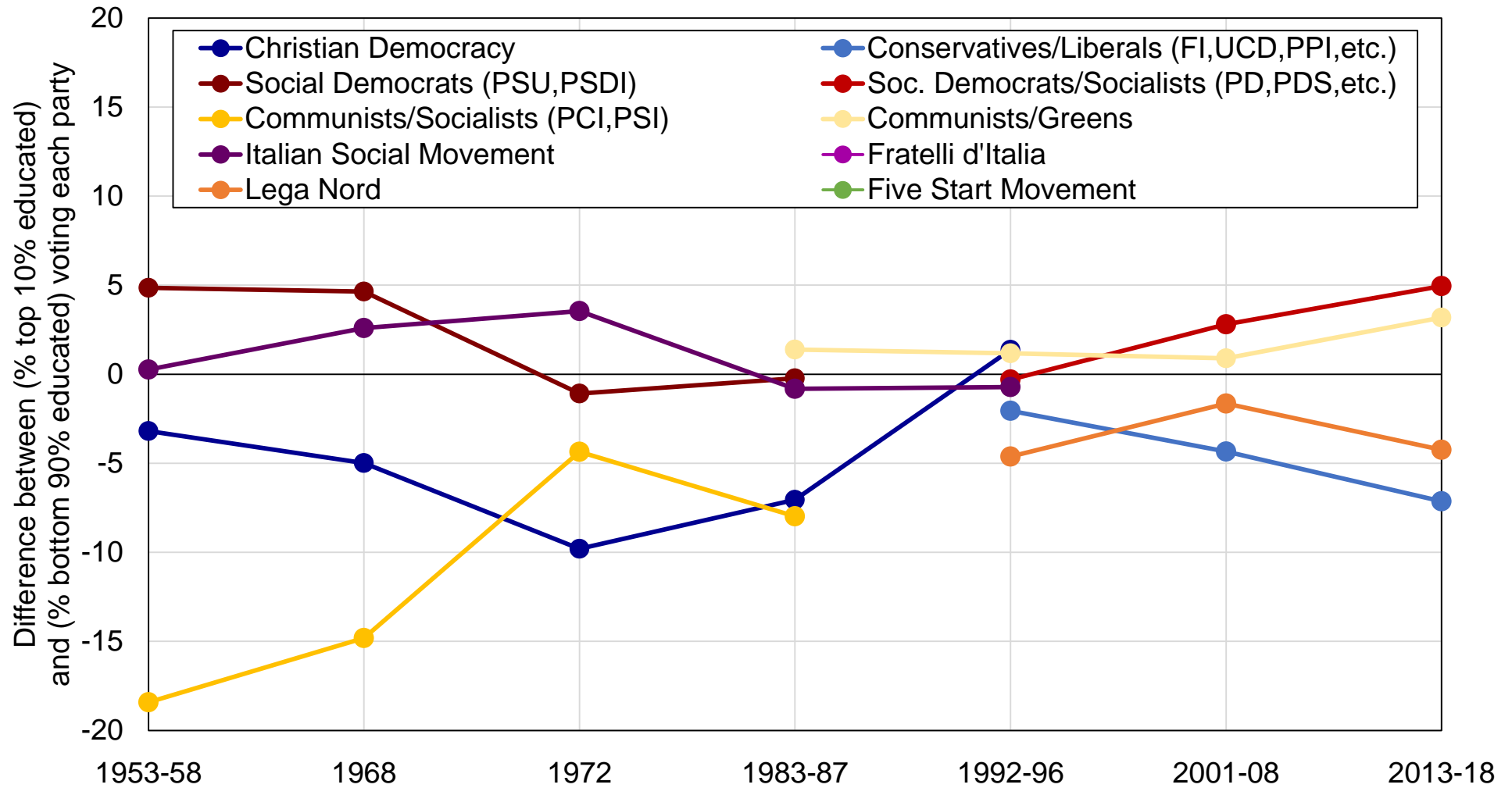
Figure AC18 - Vote for Lega Nord by age in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Lega Nord by age.

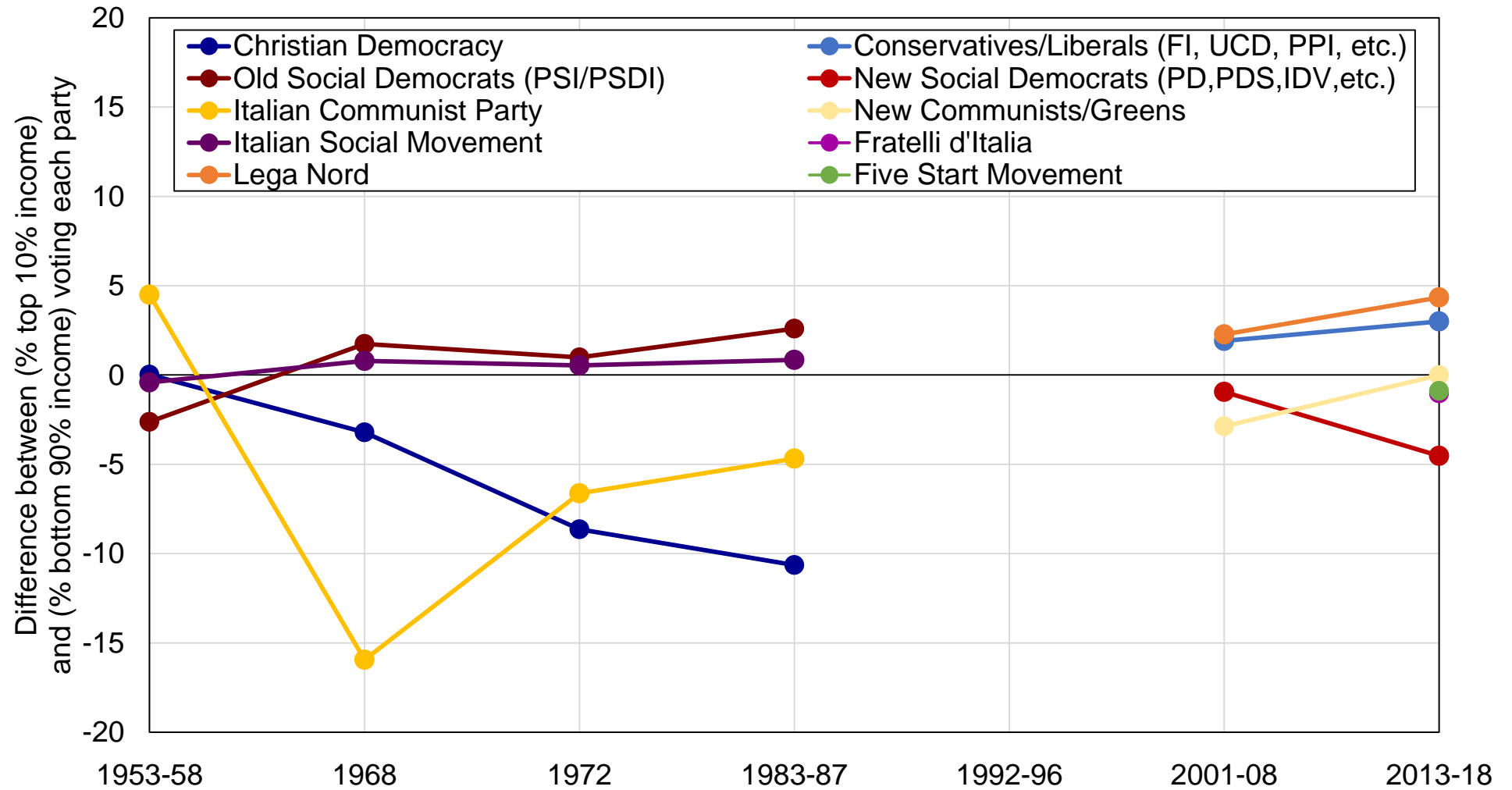
Figure AC19 - The education cleavage in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italy political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the bias of highest-educated voters towards the most relevant Italian parties.

Figure AC20 - The income cleavage in Italy



Source: authors' computations using Italy political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the bias of top income voters towards the most relevant Italian parties.

Figure AC21 - Vote for left-wing parties by education level

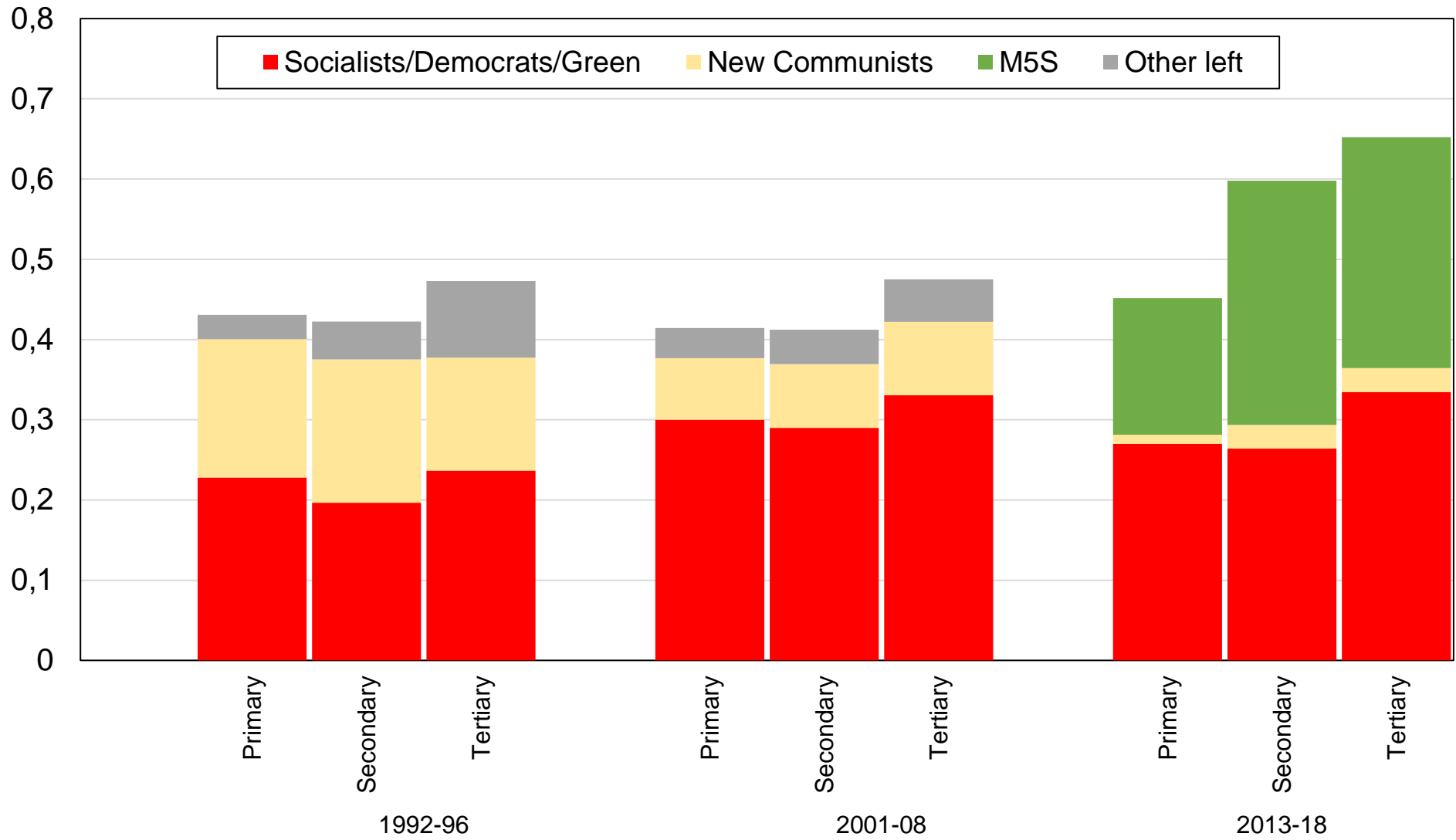


Figure AC22 - Vote for left-wing parties by income group in Italy

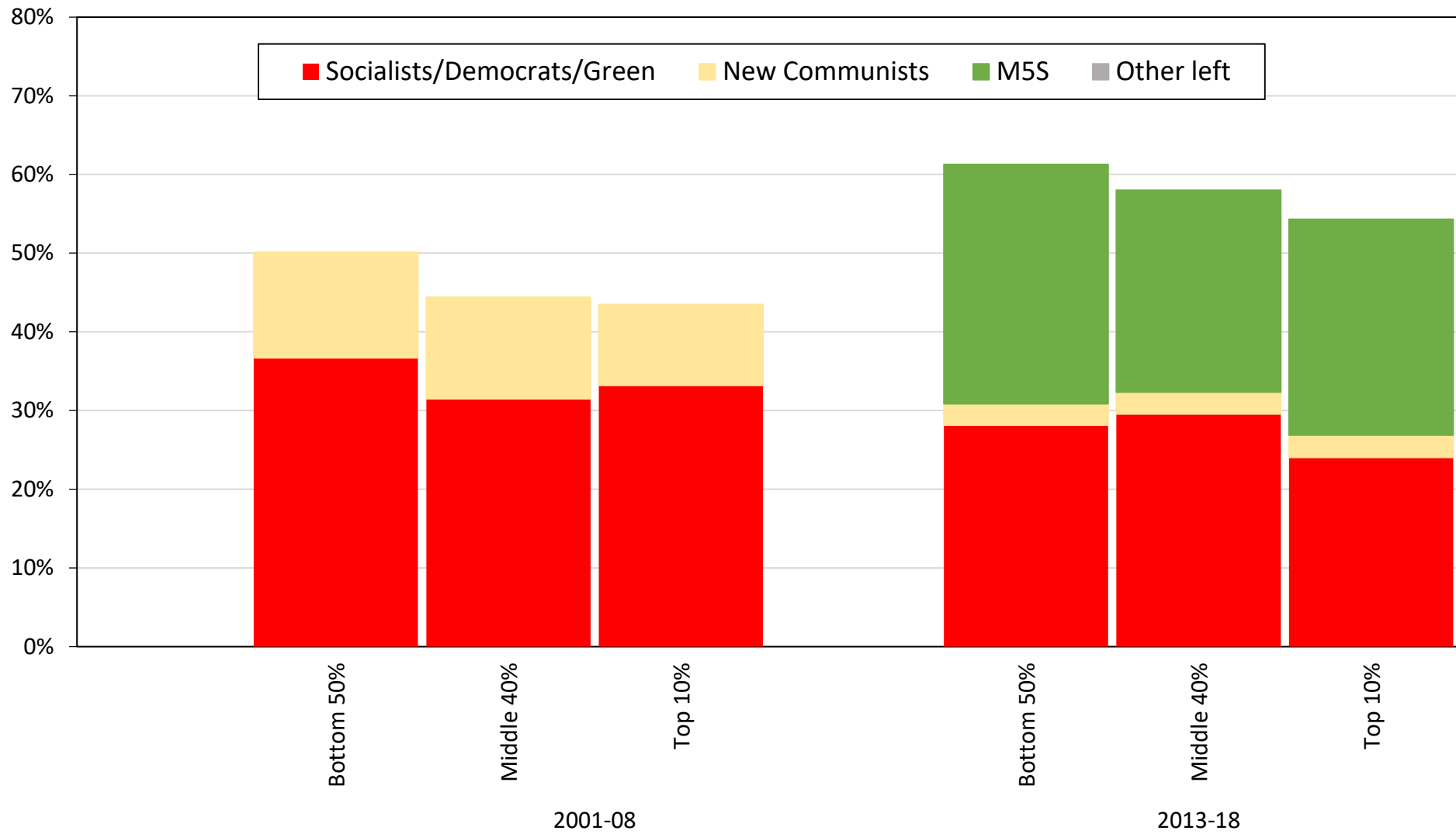


Figure AC23 - Vote for right-wing parties by education level

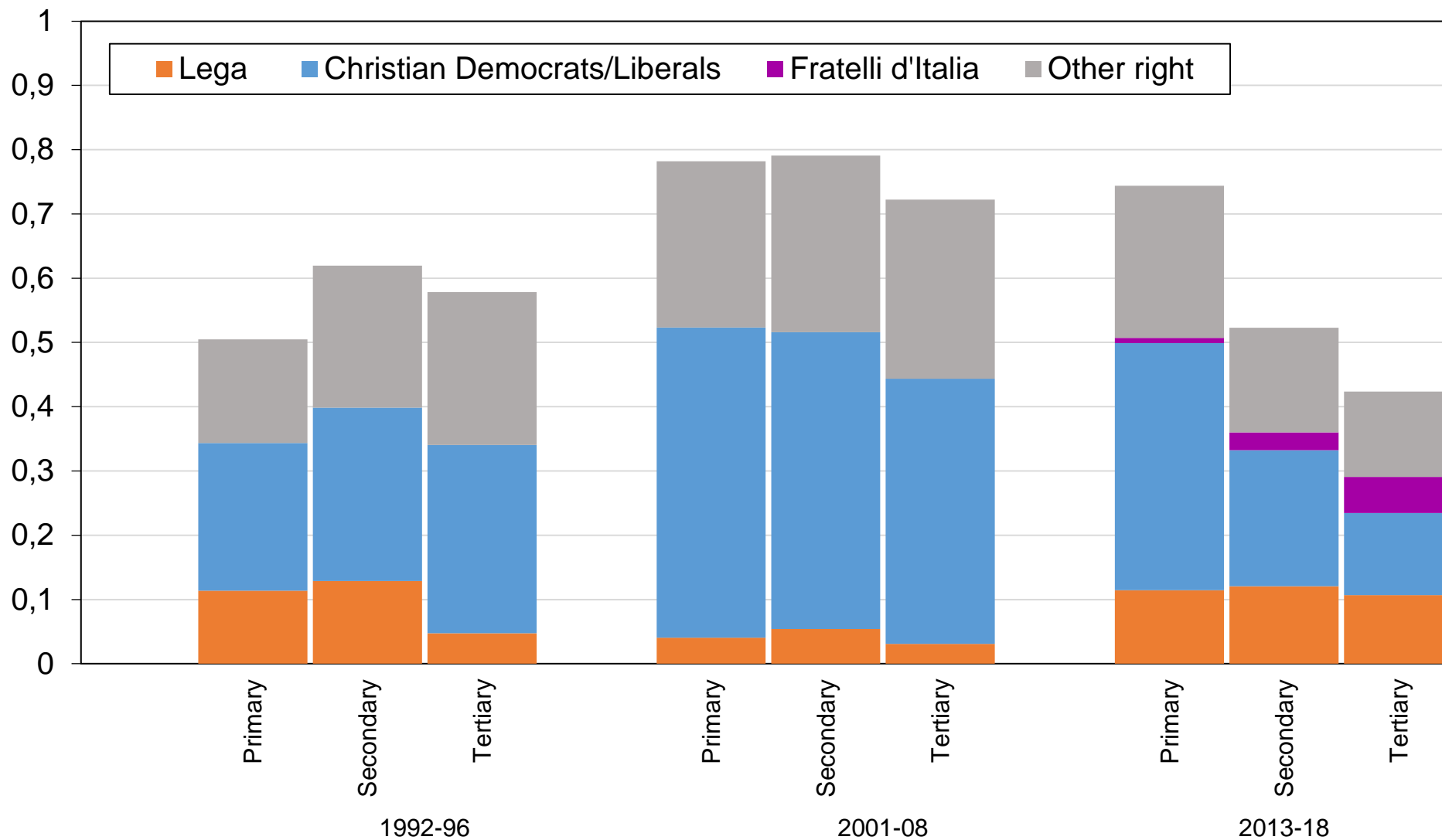


Figure AC24 - Vote for right-wing parties by income group in Italy

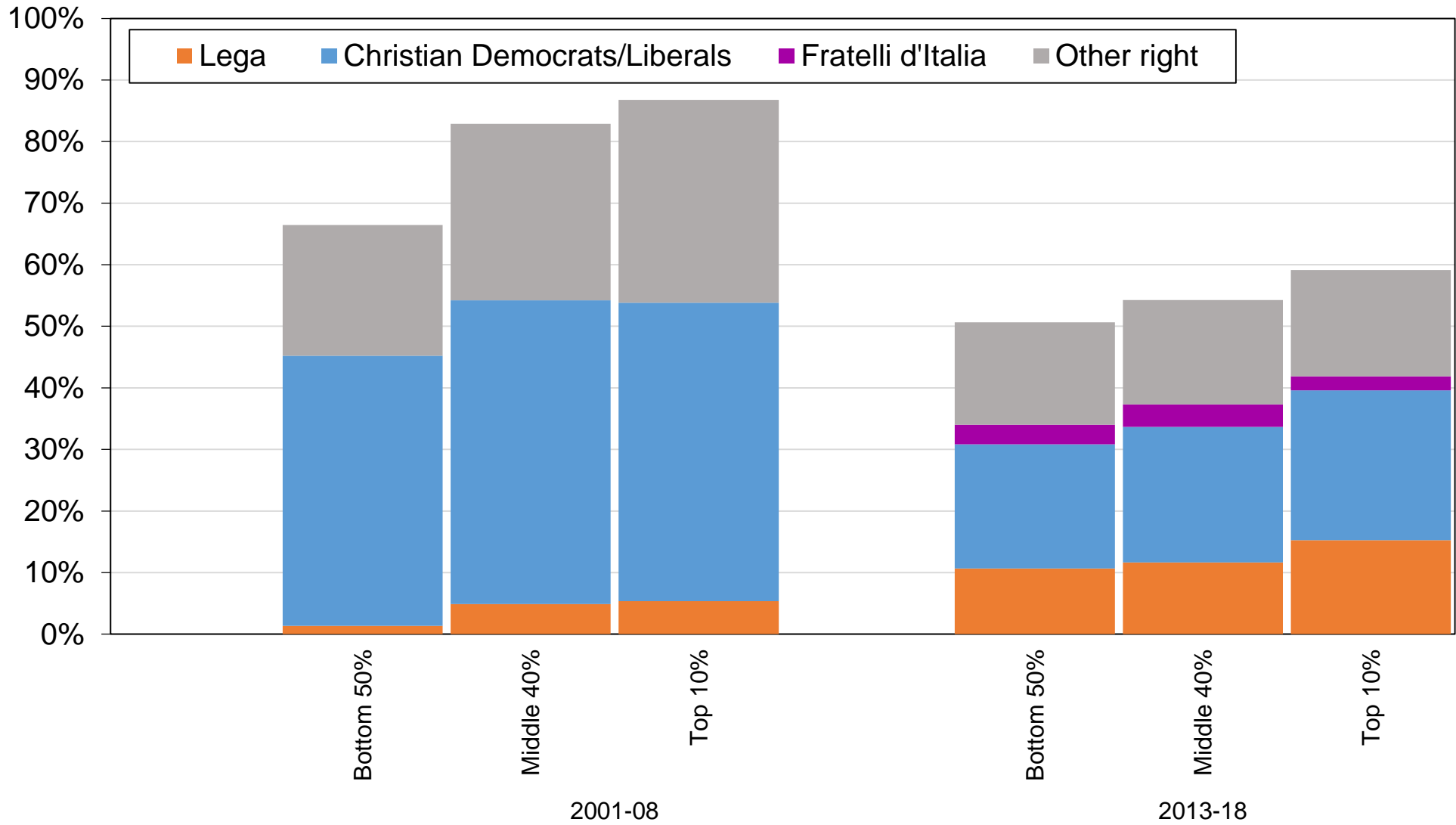


Figure AC25 - Vote by party and education group in Italy, 2018

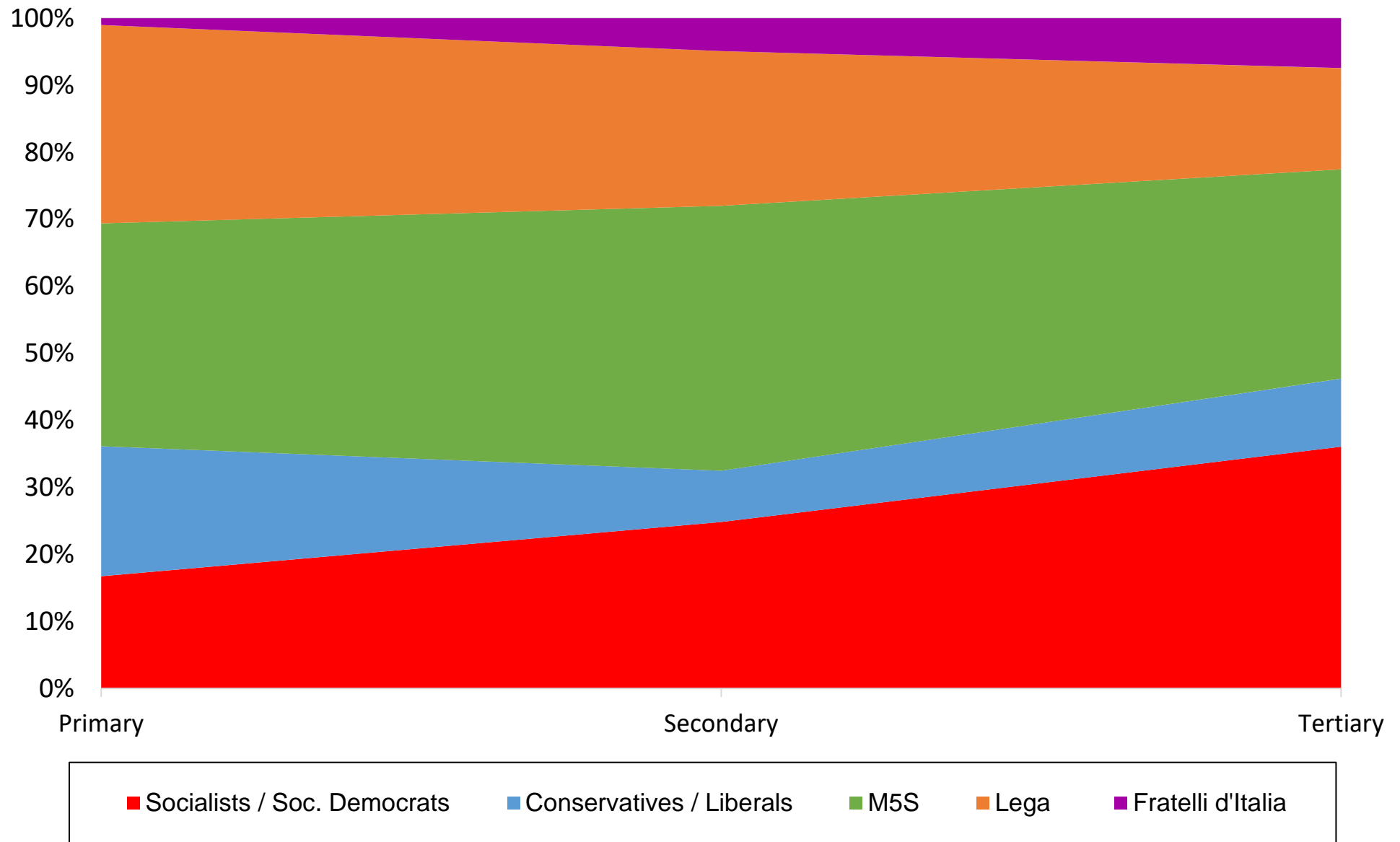


Figure AC26 - Vote by party and income group in Italy, 2018

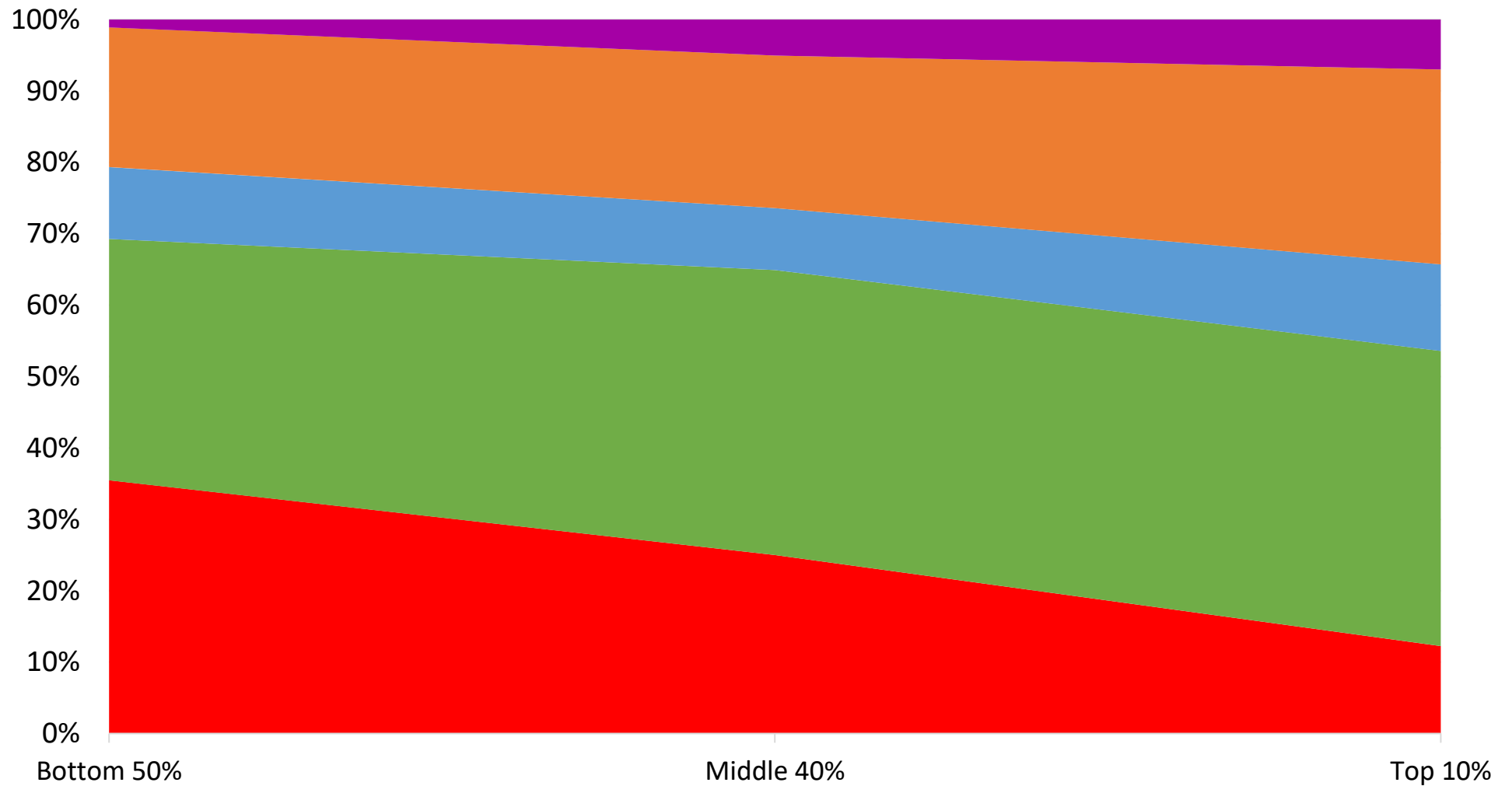


Figure AC27 - Vote by party and age group in Italy, 2018

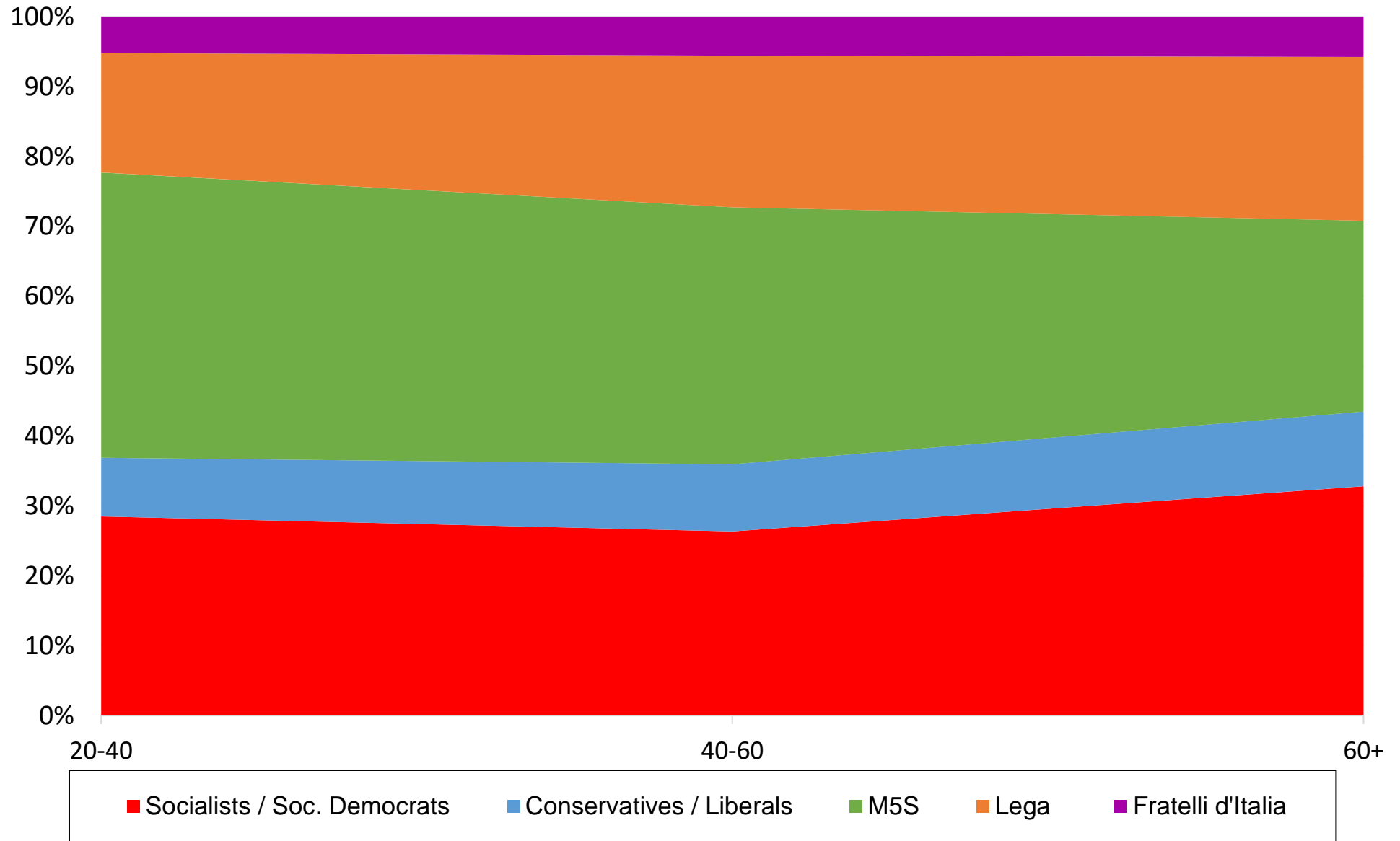


Figure AC28 - Vote by party and region in Italy, 2018

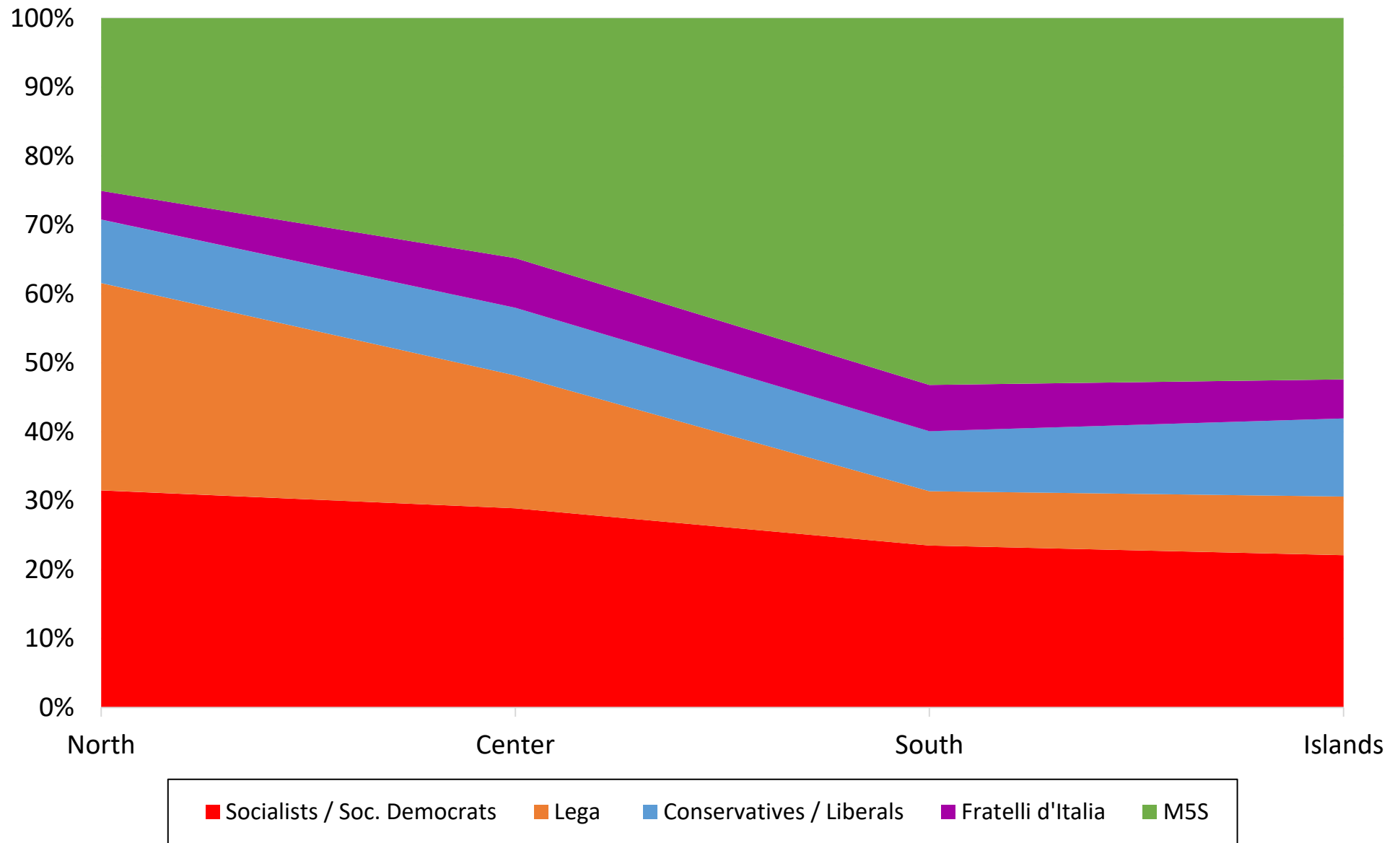


Table AD1 - Survey data sources in Italy

Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
1960	inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research	ICPSR	995
1968	Italian National Election Studies	ITANES	2500
1972	Italian National Election Studies	ITANES	1841
1985	Italian National Election Studies	ITANES	2074
1990	Italian National Election Studies	ITANES	1500
1992	Italian National Election Studies	ITANES	1181
1994	Italian National Election Studies	ITANES	2600
1996	Italian National Election Studies	ITANES	2502
2001	Italian National Election Studies	ITANES	3209
2006	Italian National Election Studies	ITANES	4016
2008	Italian National Election Studies	ITANES	3000
2013	Italian National Election Studies	ITANES	1508
2018	Italian National Election Studies	ITANES	2573

Source: author's elaboration. ICPSR: available from <https://www.icpsr.umich.edu/web/ICPSR/studies/7201/summary#>. ITANES: available from <http://www.itanes.org/en/>.

Table AD2 - Complete descriptive statistics by decade in Italy

	1953-58	1968	1972	1983-87	1992-96	2001-08	2013-18
Age: 20-40	53%	40%	36%	42%	47%	37%	31%
Age: 40-60	34%	41%	39%	36%	35%	36%	44%
Age: 60+	13%	19%	25%	22%	18%	28%	25%
Subjective class: Not working class	72%	33%	20%				
Education: Primary	69%	75%	71%	30%	37%	19%	15%
Education: Secondary	26%	20%	25%	62%	52%	72%	60%
Education: Tertiary	5%	5%	4%	7%	11%	8%	24%
Employment status: Employed	54%	53%	49%	48%	45%	46%	57%
Employment status: Unemployed	3%	2%	2%	5%	34%	4%	10%
Employment status: Inactive	43%	44%	49%	47%	21%	50%	33%
Home ownership: Yes				67%			83%
Marital status: Married or with partner	68%	73%	73%	44%	64%	61%	69%
Region: North	48%	45%		49%	48%	46%	46%
Region: Center	19%	20%		20%	18%	20%	21%
Region: South	22%	23%		23%	23%	23%	22%
Region: Islands	10%	12%		9%	11%	11%	11%
Religion: No religion	1%	4%	6%	5%	7%	5%	6%
Religion: Catholic	99%	96%	94%	84%	79%	91%	91%
Religion: Other	0%	0%	0%	11%	13%	3%	3%
Church attendance: Never	7%	7%	8%	17%	14%	17%	30%
Church attendance: Less than monthl	11%	29%	33%	32%	27%	25%	33%
Church attendance: Monthly or more	27%	20%	18%	23%	28%	29%	15%
Church attendance: Weekly or more	55%	44%	41%	29%	30%	29%	23%
Gender: Man	49%	52%	49%	49%	49%	48%	47%
Union membership: Yes	6%	17%		21%	26%	13%	9%

Source: authors' computations using Italian political attitudes surveys.

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