

**Chapter 7. "Party System Transformation and the Structure of Political Cleavages
in Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Switzerland, 1967-2019"**

Carmen DURRER DE LA SOTA, Amory GETHIN, Clara MARTÍNEZ-TOLEDANO

Appendix C - Netherlands

Main figures and tables

Figure B1	Election results in the Netherlands, 1946-2017
Figure B2	Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among highest-educated and top-income voters
Figure B3	The decline of class cleavages in the Netherlands
Table B1	The structure of political cleavages in the Netherlands, 2010-2017

Appendix Figures BA - Election results and composition of the electorate

Figure BA1	Election results in the Netherlands, 1946-2017
Figure BA2	Election results in the Netherlands by group, 1946-2017
Figure BA3	The composition of the electorate by education
Figure BA4	The composition of the electorate by age
Figure BA5	The composition of the electorate by religion
Figure BA6	The composition of the electorate by church attendance
Figure BA7	The composition of the electorate by industry
Figure BA8	The composition of the electorate by perceived social class
Figure BA9	The composition of the electorate by region
Figure BA10	The composition of the electorate by rural-urban location
Figure BA11	Composition of income quintiles by education level, 1970s
Figure BA12	Composition of income quintiles by education level, 2010s
Figure BA13	Composition of income quintiles by region, 1970s
Figure BA14	Composition of income quintiles by region, 2010s
Figure BA15	Composition of income quintiles by location, 1970s
Figure BA16	Composition of income quintiles by location, 2010s
Figure BA17	Composition of income quintiles by perceived social class, 1970s
Figure BA18	Composition of income quintiles by perceived social class, 2010s
Figure BA19	Composition of income quintiles by industry, 1970s
Figure BA20	Composition of income quintiles by industry, 2010s

Appendix Figures BB and BC - Structure of the vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left

Figure BB1	Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by education level
Figure BB2	Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by education group
Figure BB3	Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by income decile
Figure BB3b	Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by income decile
Figure BB4	Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by income group
Figure BB5	Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by religious affiliation
Figure BB6	Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by church attendance
Figure BB7	Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by location
Figure BB8	Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by gender
Figure BB9	Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by marital status
Figure BB10	Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by age group
Figure BB11	Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by perceived social class
Figure BB12	Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by union membership
Figure BB13	Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by region
Figure BB14	Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by home ownership
Figure BB15	Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by industry
Figure BB16	Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by location
Figure BC1	Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among highest-educated and top-income voters
Figure BC2	Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controls
Figure BC3	Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among university graduates
Figure BC4	Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among highest-educated voters
Figure BC5	Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among primary-educated voters
Figure BC6	Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among top-income earners
Figure BC7	Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among voters with no religion
Figure BC8	Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among catholics
Figure BC9	Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among non-religious voters
Figure BC10	Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among women
Figure BC11	Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among union members
Figure BC12	Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among self-perceived working-class and upper-class voters, after controls
Figure BC13	Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among young voters
Figure BC14	Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among urban areas
Figure BC15	Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among specific regions
Figure BC16	Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among specific industrial sectors
Figure BC17	The education cleavage in the Netherlands
Figure BC18	The income cleavage in the Netherlands

Figure BC19 Class cleavages in the Netherlands

Appendix Figures BD - Structure of the vote for specific parties

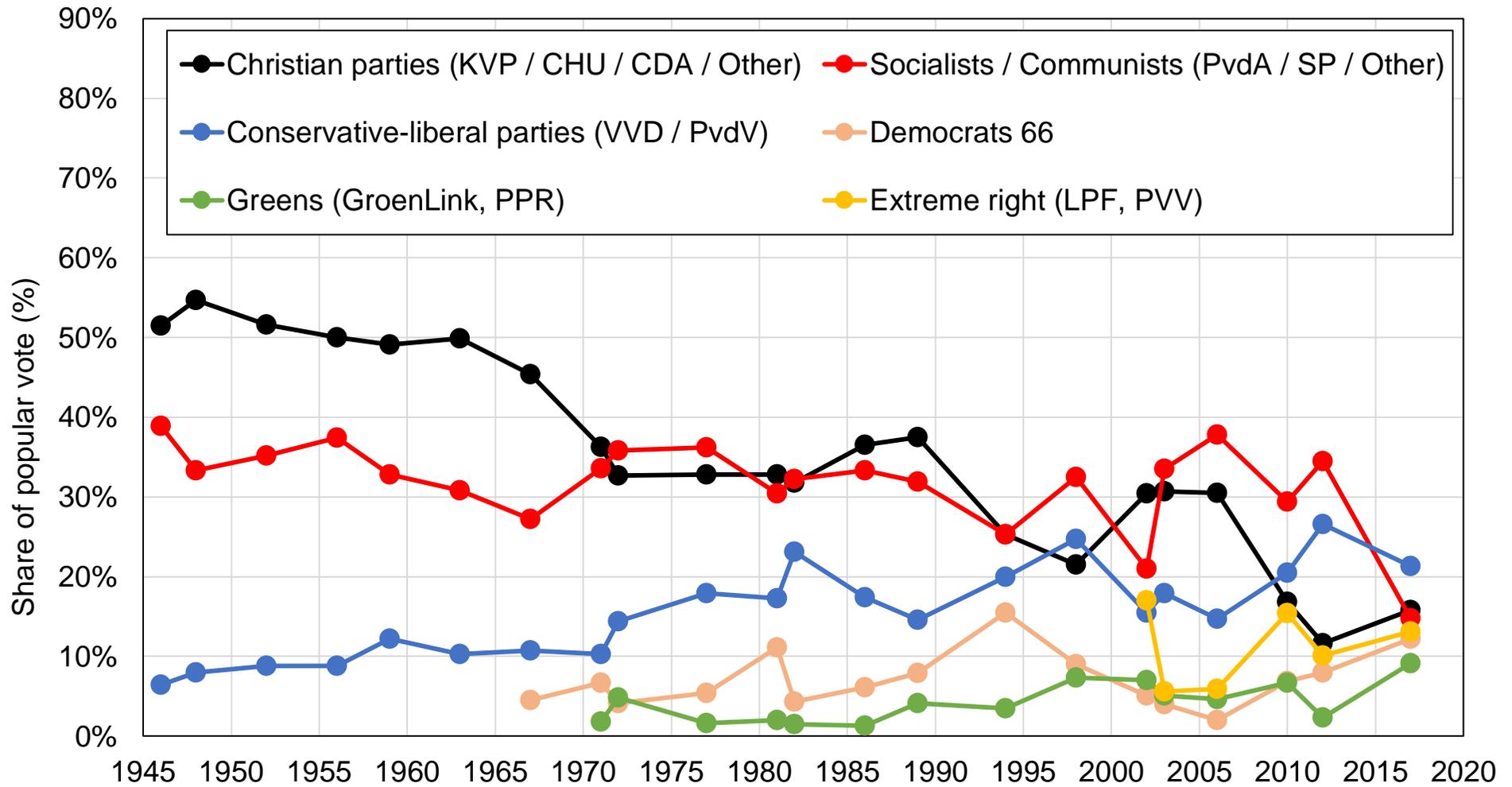
Figure BD1	Vote for left-wing parties by education level
Figure BD2	Vote for left-wing parties by education group
Figure BD3	Vote for left-wing parties by income group
Figure BD4	Vote for left-wing parties by religious affiliation
Figure BD5	Vote for left-wing parties by gender
Figure BD6	Vote for left-wing parties by union membership
Figure BD7	Vote for left-wing parties by self-perceived social class
Figure BD8	Vote for left-wing parties by location
Figure BD9	Vote for GroenLinks by education level
Figure BD10	Vote for GroenLinks by education group
Figure BD11	Vote for GroenLinks by income group
Figure BD12	Vote for GroenLinks by religious affiliation
Figure BD13	Vote for GroenLinks by gender
Figure BD14	Vote for GroenLinks by union membership
Figure BD15	Vote for GroenLinks by self-perceived social class
Figure BD16	Vote for GroenLinks by location
Figure BD17	Vote for Christian-democratic parties by education level
Figure BD18	Vote for Christian-democratic parties by education group
Figure BD19	Vote for Christian-democratic parties by income group
Figure BD20	Vote for Christian-democratic parties by religious affiliation
Figure BD21	Vote for Christian-democratic parties by gender
Figure BD22	Vote for Christian-democratic parties by union membership
Figure BD23	Vote for Christian-democratic parties by self-perceived social class
Figure BD24	Vote for Christian-democratic parties by location
Figure BD25	Vote for liberals by education level
Figure BD26	Vote for liberals by education group
Figure BD27	Vote for liberals by income group
Figure BD28	Vote for liberals by religious affiliation
Figure BD29	Vote for liberals by gender
Figure BD30	Vote for liberals by union membership
Figure BD31	Vote for liberals by self-perceived social class
Figure BD32	Vote for liberals by location
Figure BD33	Vote for far-right parties by education level

Figure BD34	Vote for far-right parties by education group
Figure BD35	Vote for far-right parties by income group
Figure BD36	Vote for far-right parties by religious affiliation
Figure BD37	Vote for far-right parties by gender
Figure BD38	Vote for far-right parties by union membership
Figure BD39	Vote for far-right parties by self-perceived social class
Figure BD40	Vote for far-right parties by location

Appendix Tables

Table BA1	Survey data sources
Table BA2	Complete descriptive statistics
Table BA3	The structure of political cleavages, 2010-2017
Table BA4	The structure of political cleavages, 1967-1977

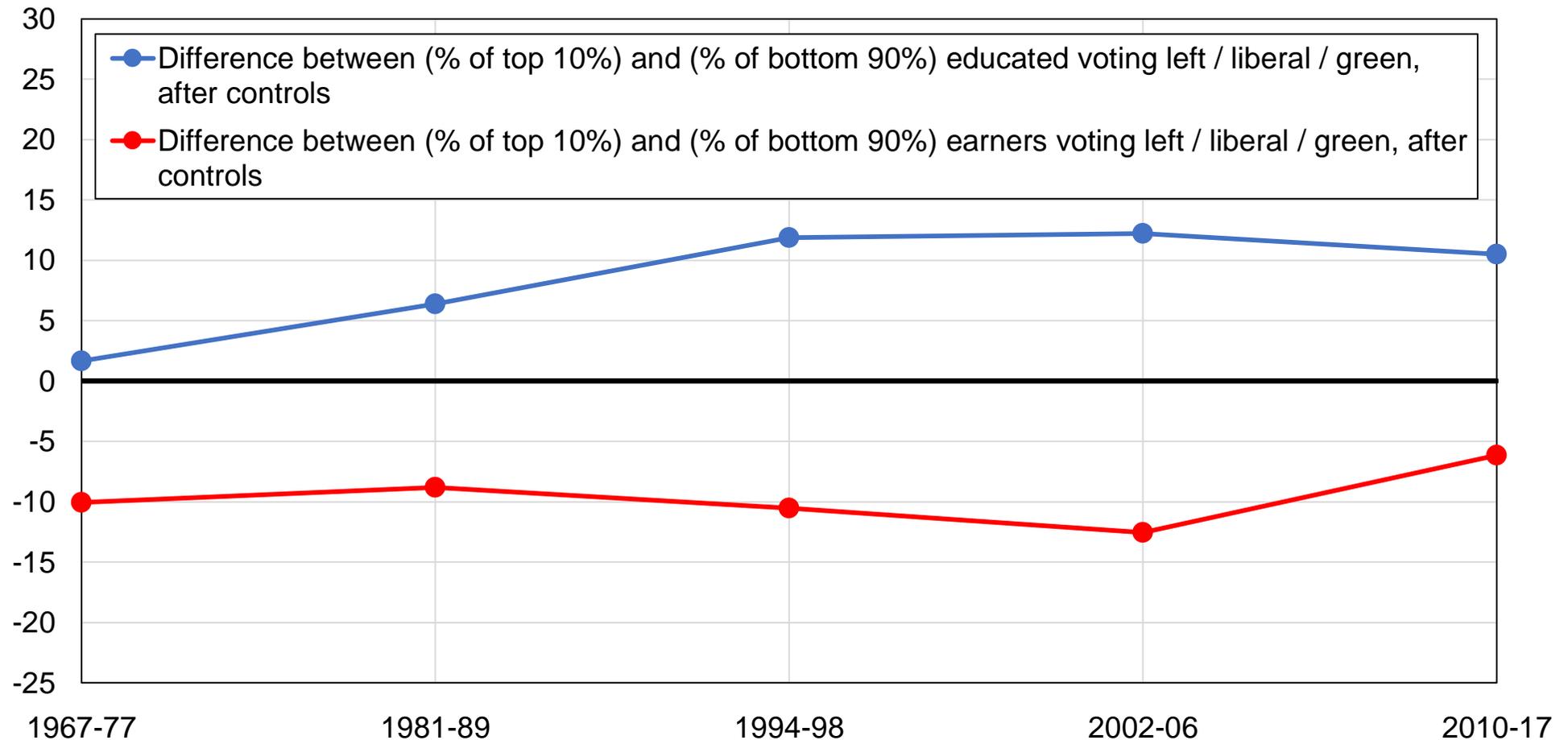
Figure B1 - Election results in the Netherlands, 1946-2017



Source: author's computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Dutch political parties in general elections between 1946 and 2017.

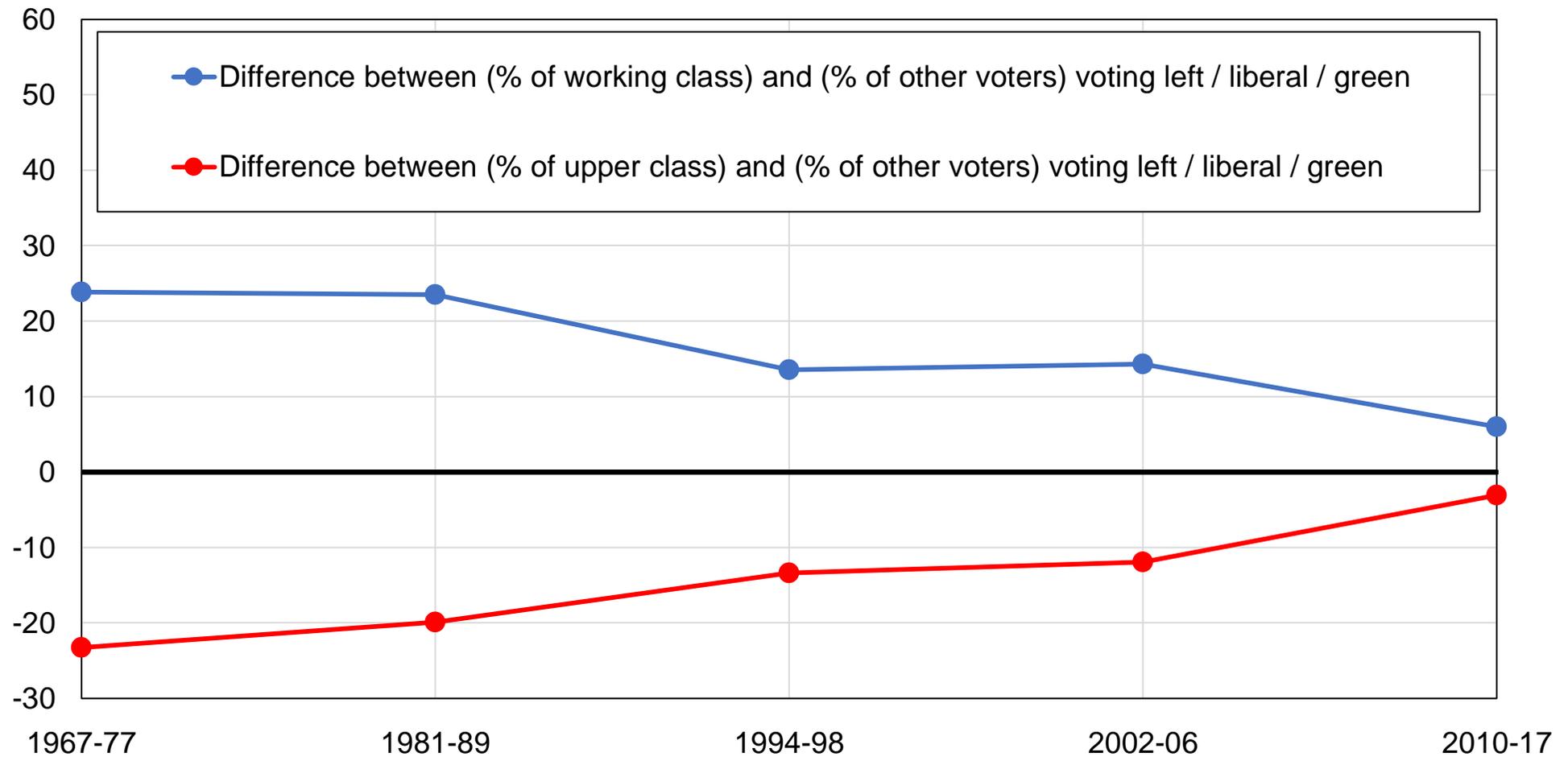
Figure B2 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among highest-educated and top-income voters



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the support for left / liberal / green parties among highest-educated and top-income voters after controlling for income, education, age, gender, employment, marital status, religious affiliation, church attendance, region, rural-urban location, union membership, and self-perceived social class.

Figure B3 - The decline of class cleavages in the Netherlands



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the relative support of self-perceived working-class and upper-class voters towards left / liberal / green parties, after controlling for income, education, age, gender, employment, marital status, religious affiliation, church attendance, region, rural-urban location, and union membership.

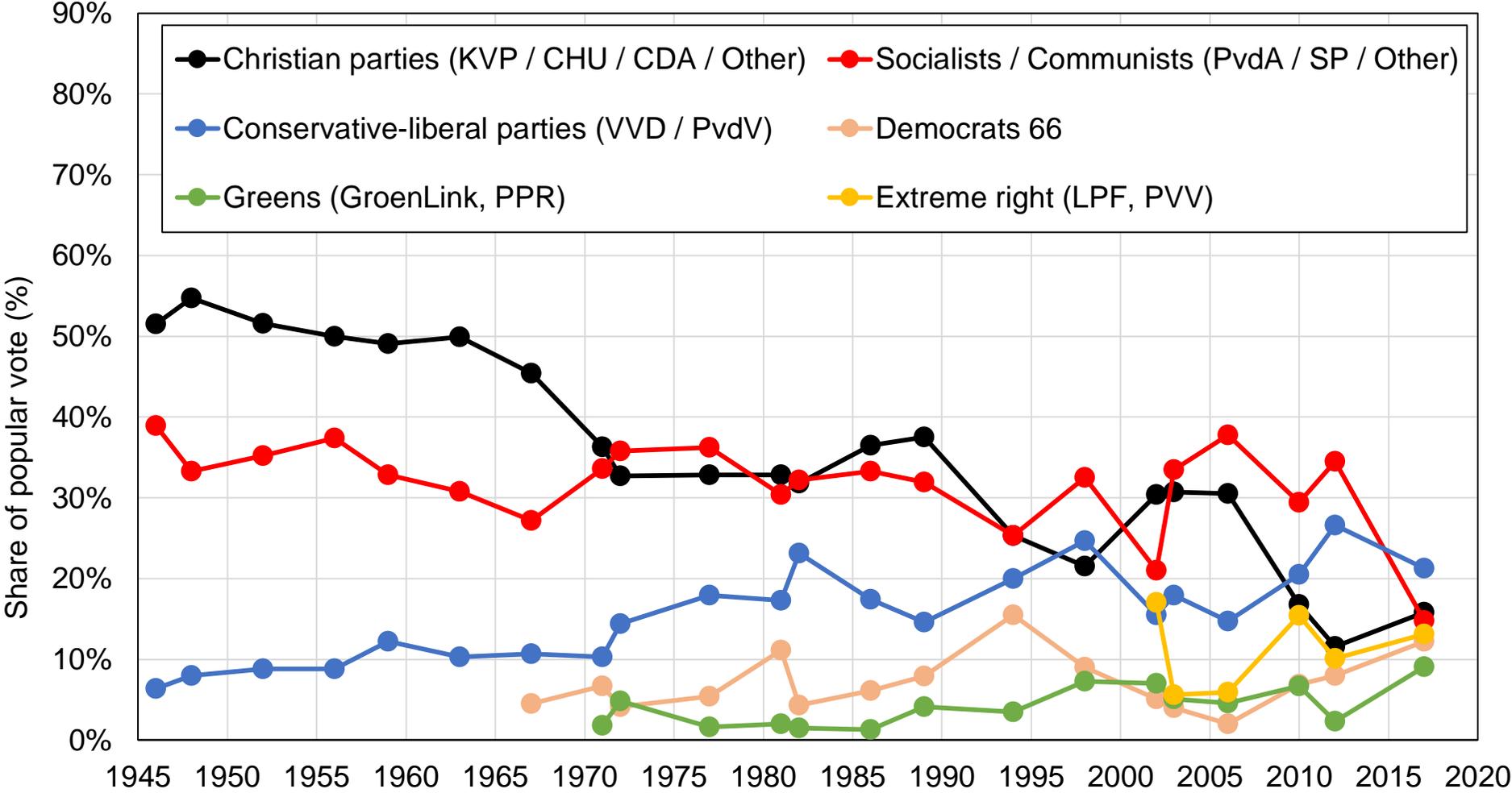
Table B1 - The structure of political cleavages in the Netherlands, 2010-2017

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

Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Notes: the table shows the average share of votes received by the main political parties by selected individual characteristics over the 2010-2017 period. Vote shares by group are those reported in surveys and may not match exactly official election results.

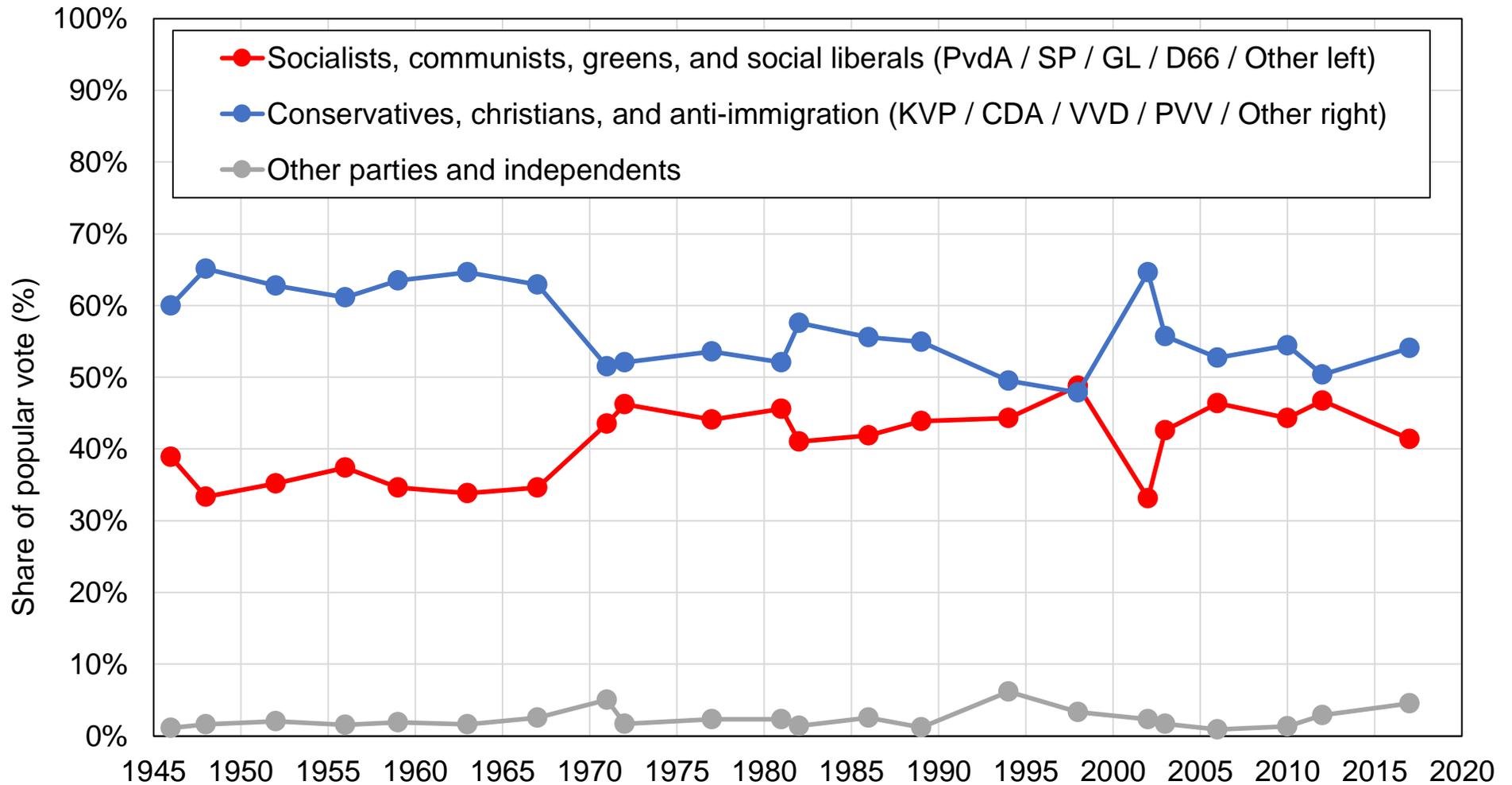
Figure BA1 - Election results in the Netherlands, 1946-2017



Source: author's computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Dutch political parties in federal elections between 1946 and 2017.

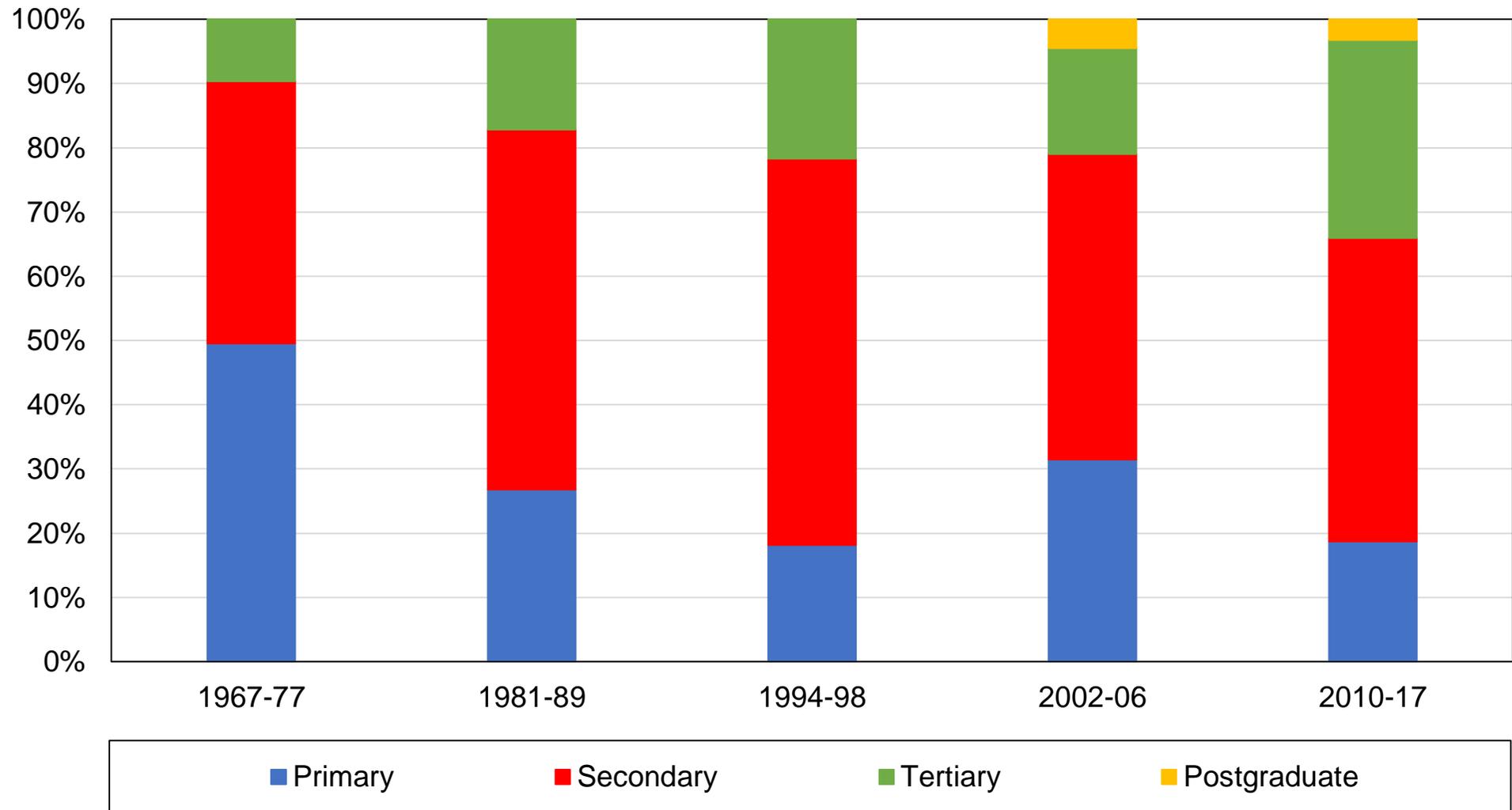
Figure BA2 - Election results in the Netherlands by group



Source: author's computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Dutch political parties in federal elections between 1946 and 2017.

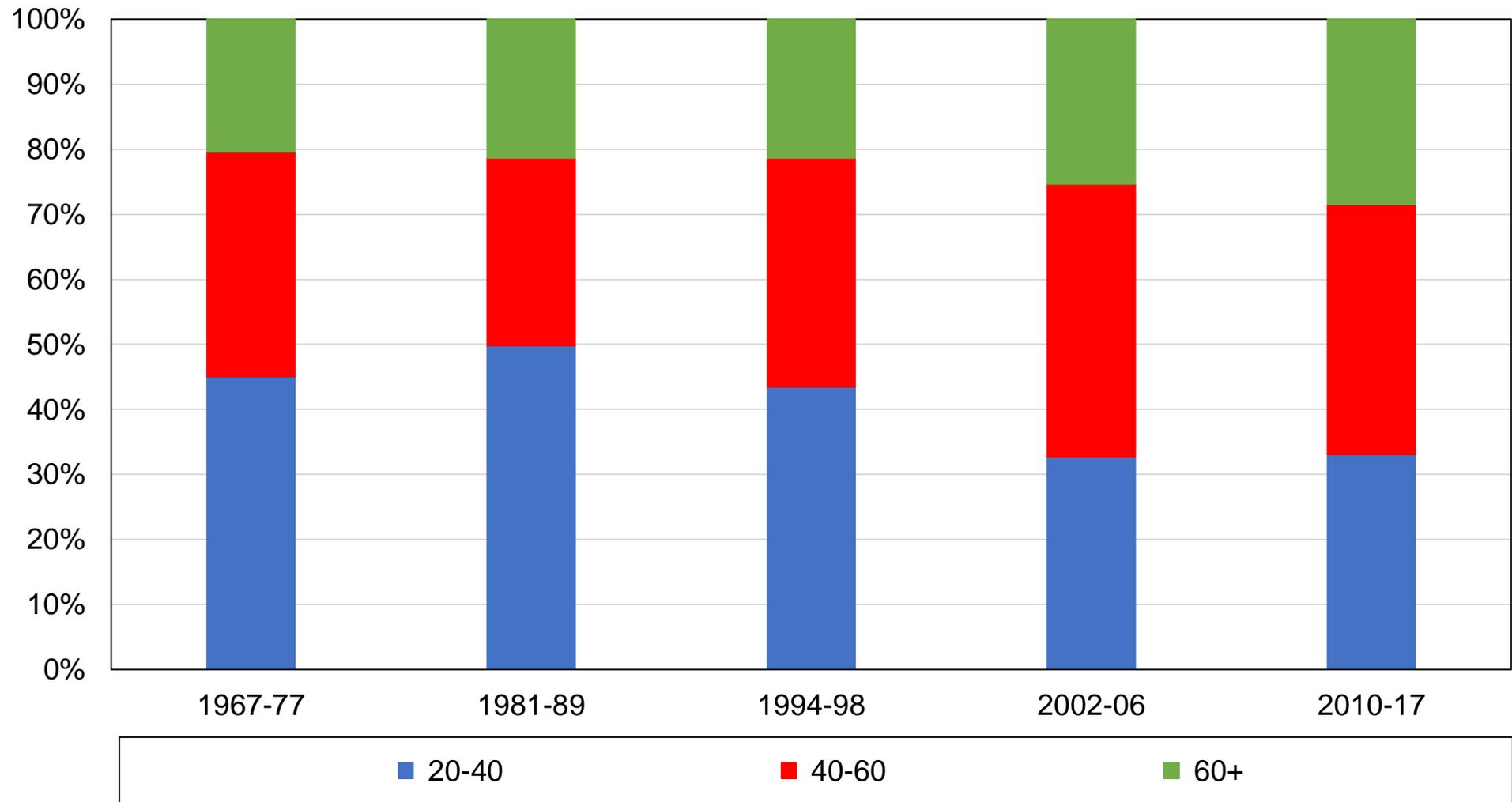
Figure BA3 - The composition of the electorate by education



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by education level.

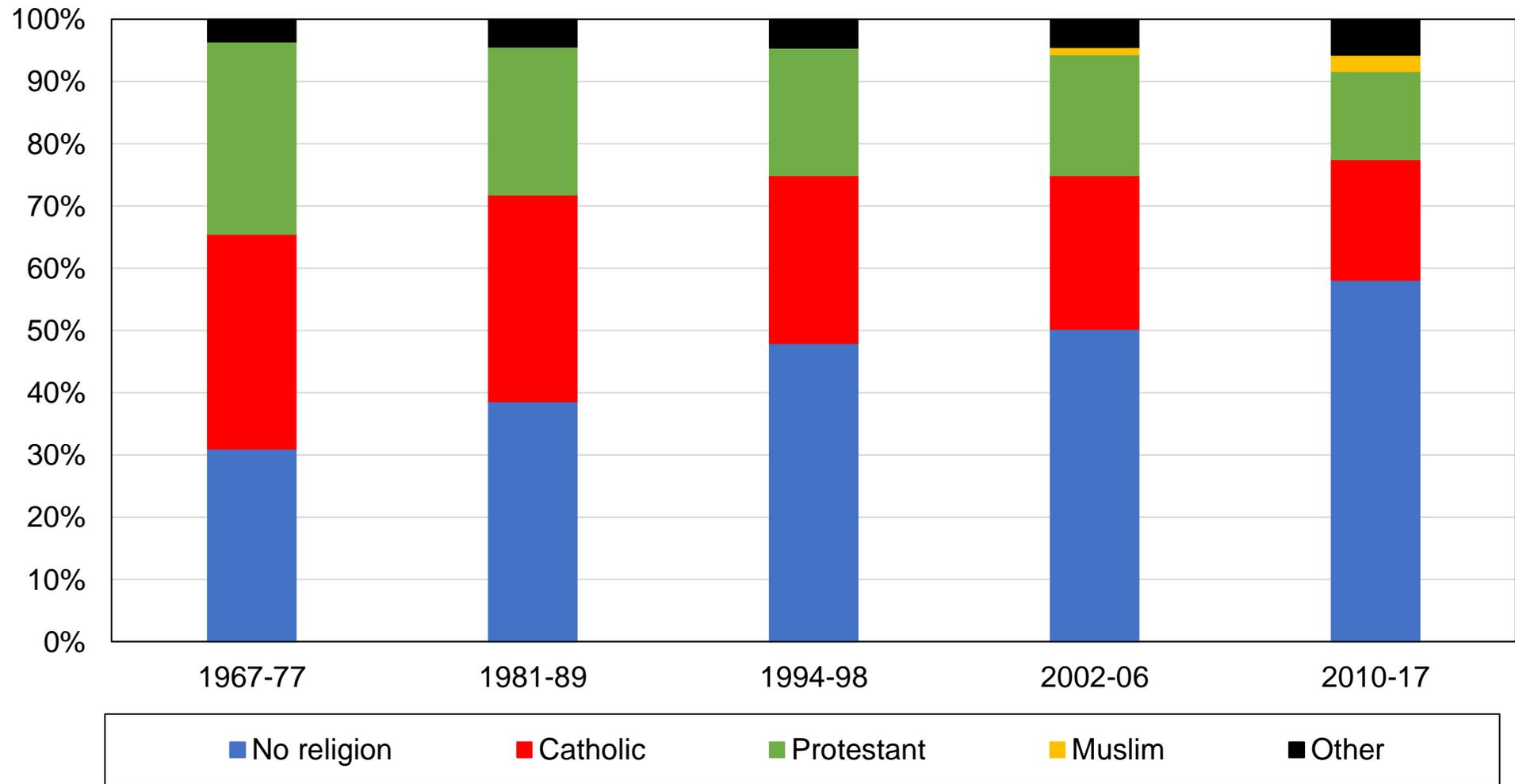
Figure BA4 - The composition of the electorate by age



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by age group.

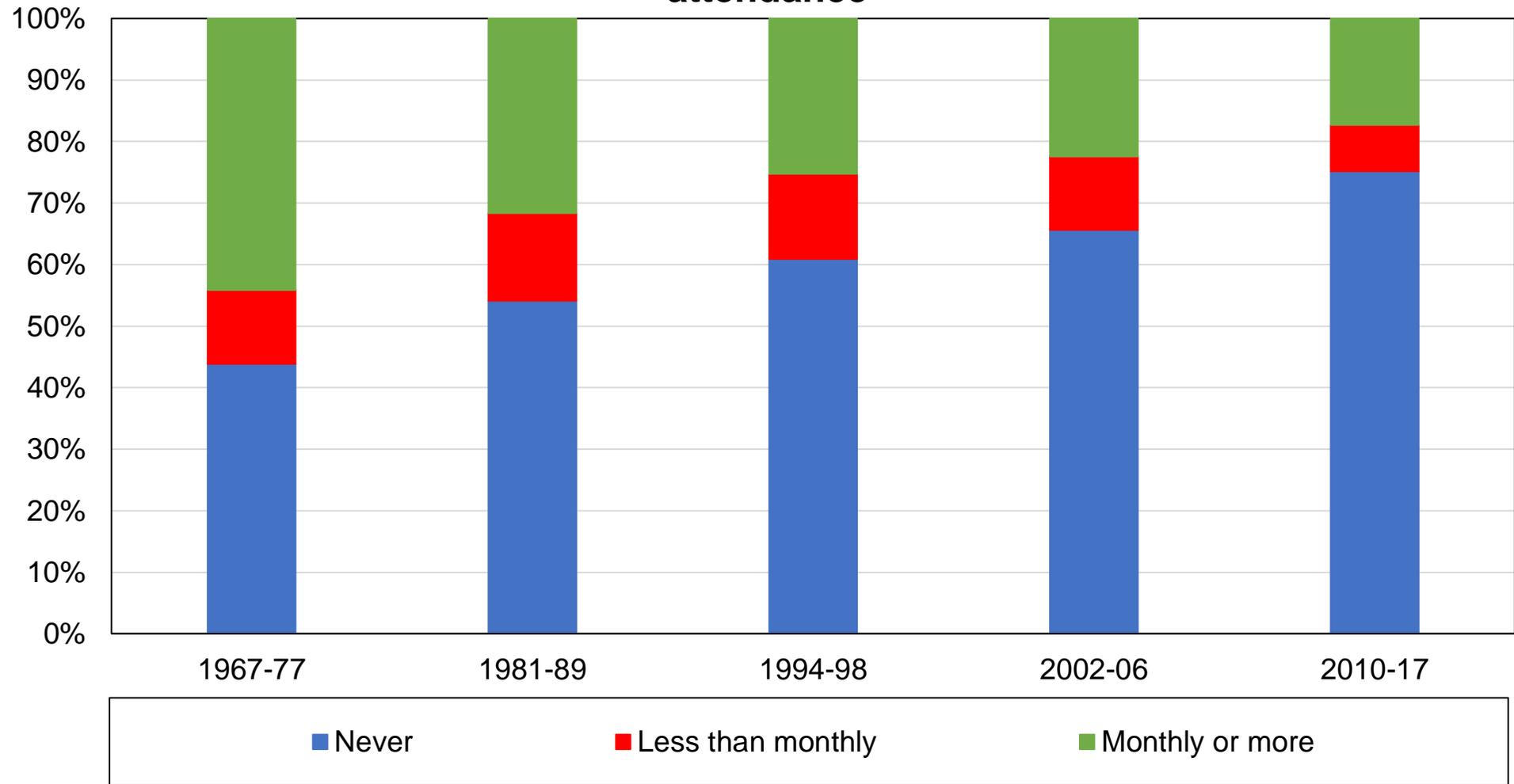
Figure BA5 - The composition of the electorate by religion



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by religious affiliation.

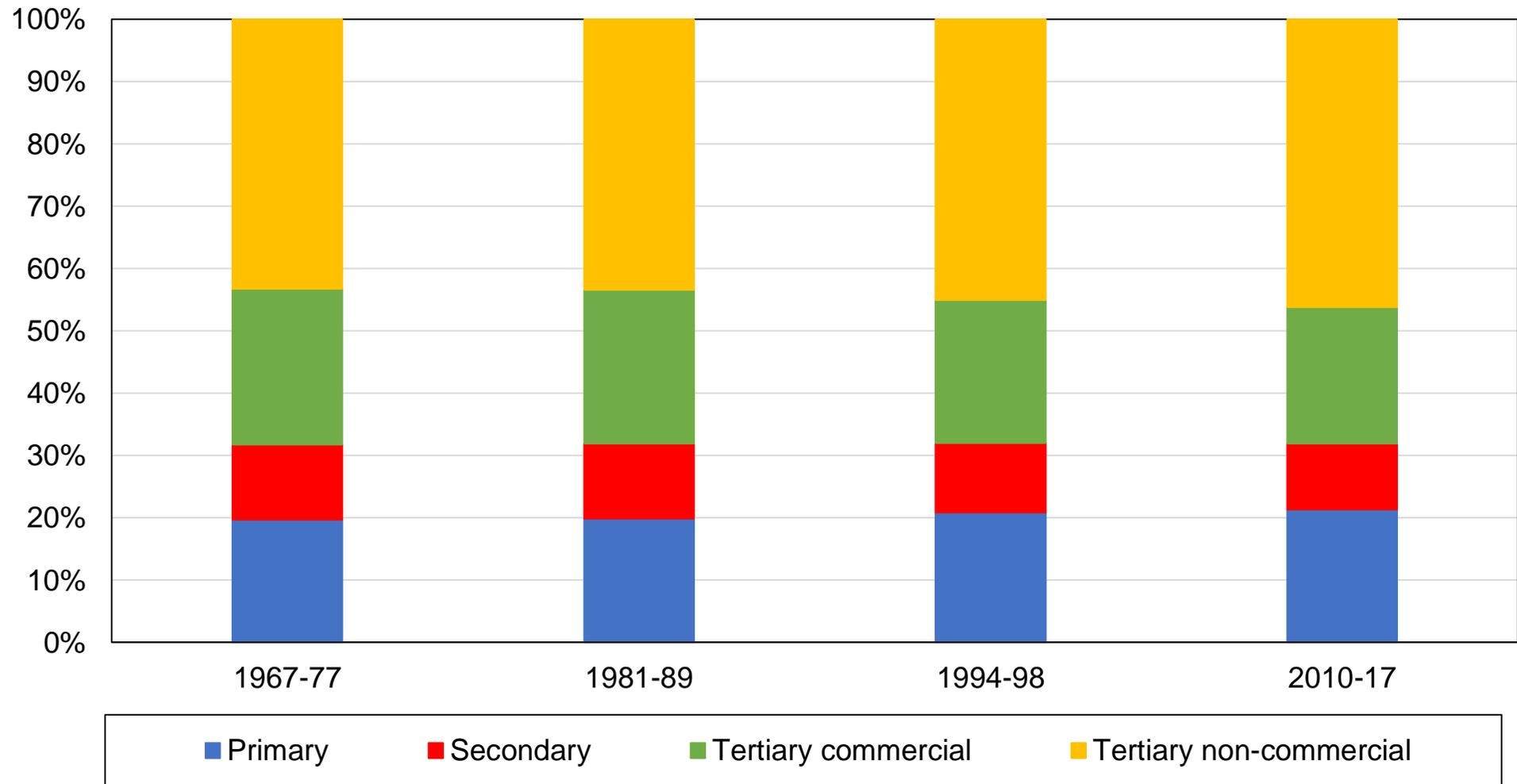
Figure BA6 - The composition of the electorate by church attendance



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by frequency of church attendance.

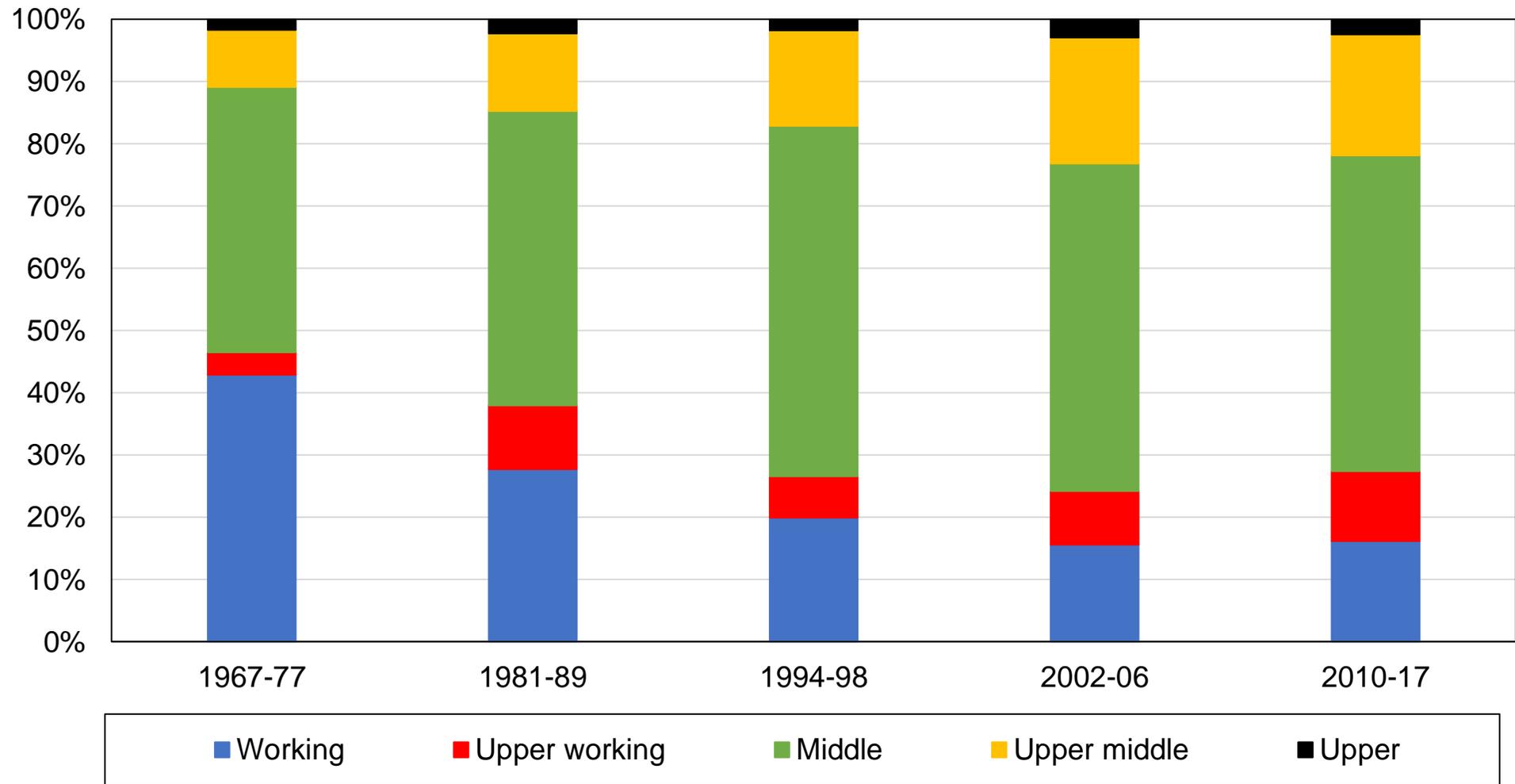
Figure BA7 - The composition of the electorate by industry



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by industry of employment.

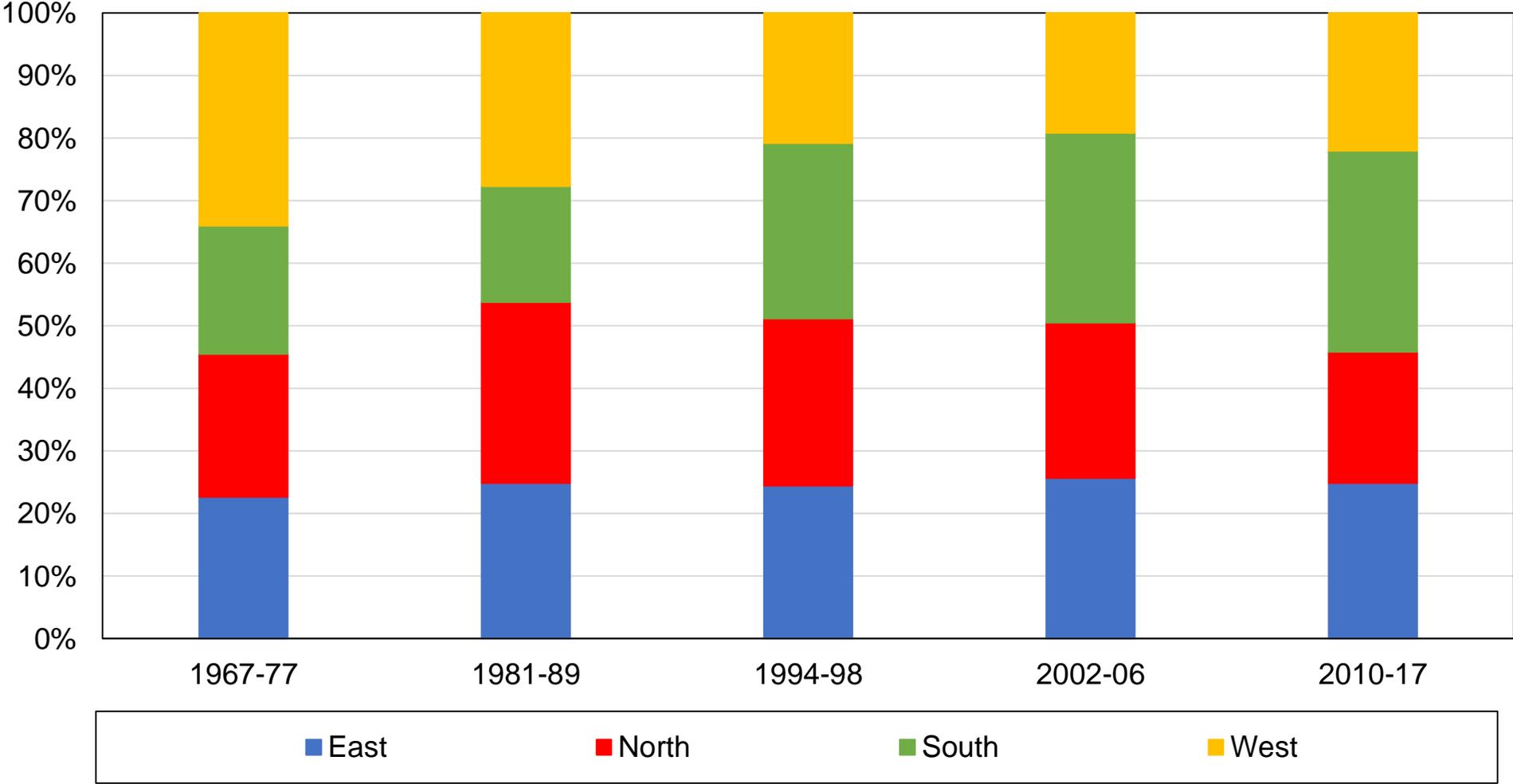
Figure BA8 - The composition of the electorate by perceived class



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by self-perceived social class.

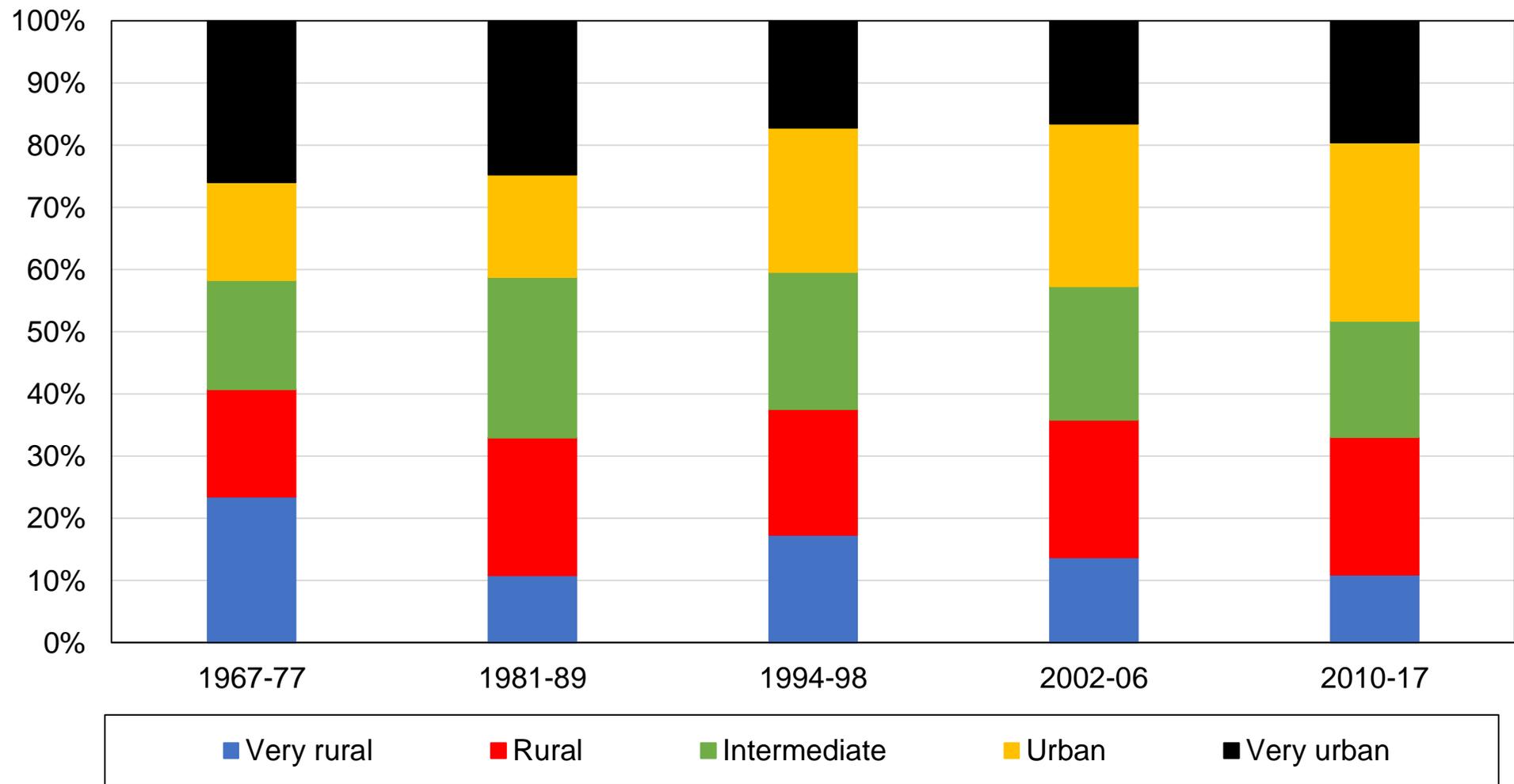
Figure BA9 - The composition of the electorate by region



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by region.

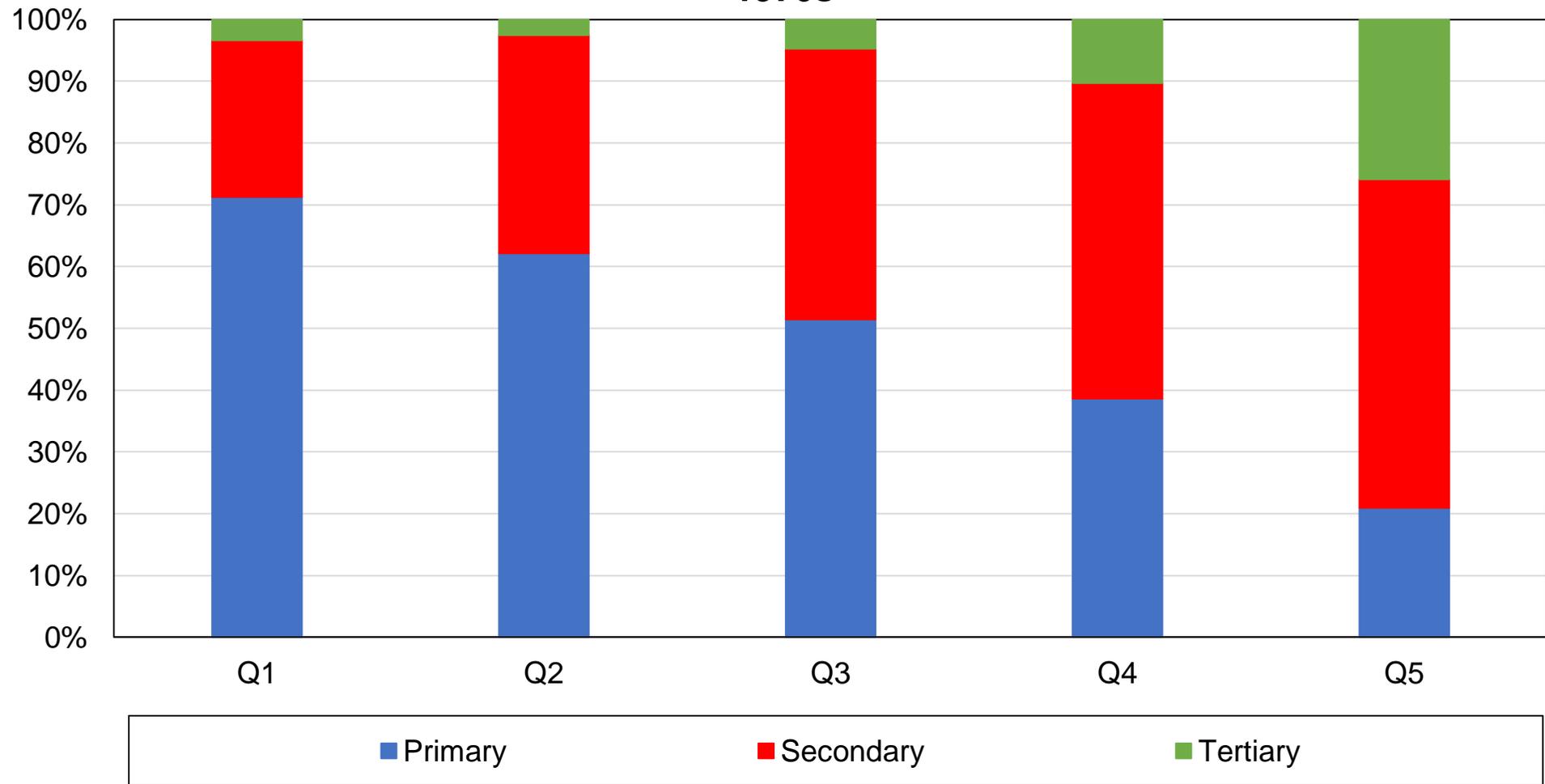
Figure BA10 - The structure of the electorate by rural-urban location



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by rural-urban location.

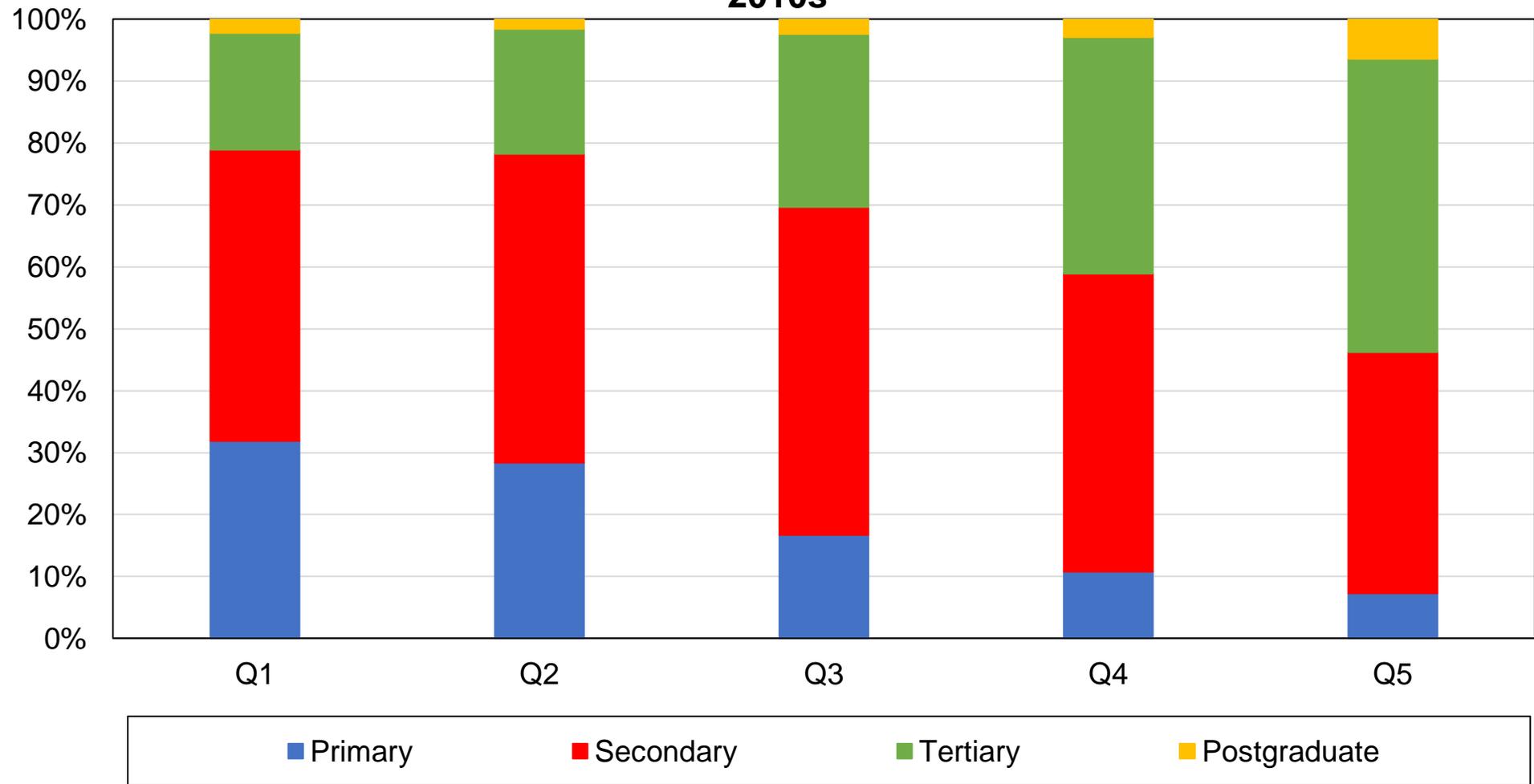
Figure BA11 - Composition of income quintiles by education level, 1970s



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by education level in the 1970s.

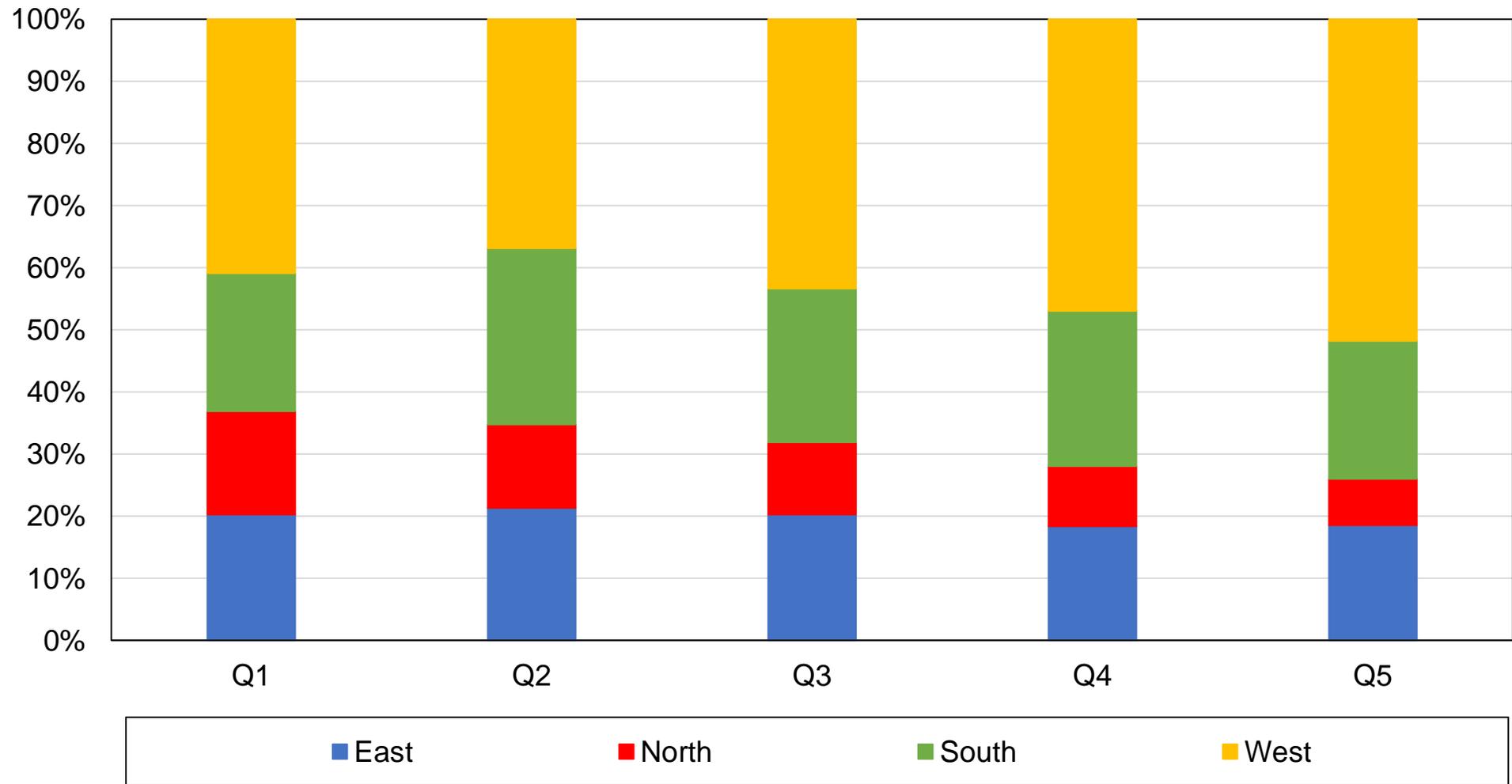
Figure BA12 - Composition of income quintiles by education level, 2010s



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by education level in the 2010s.

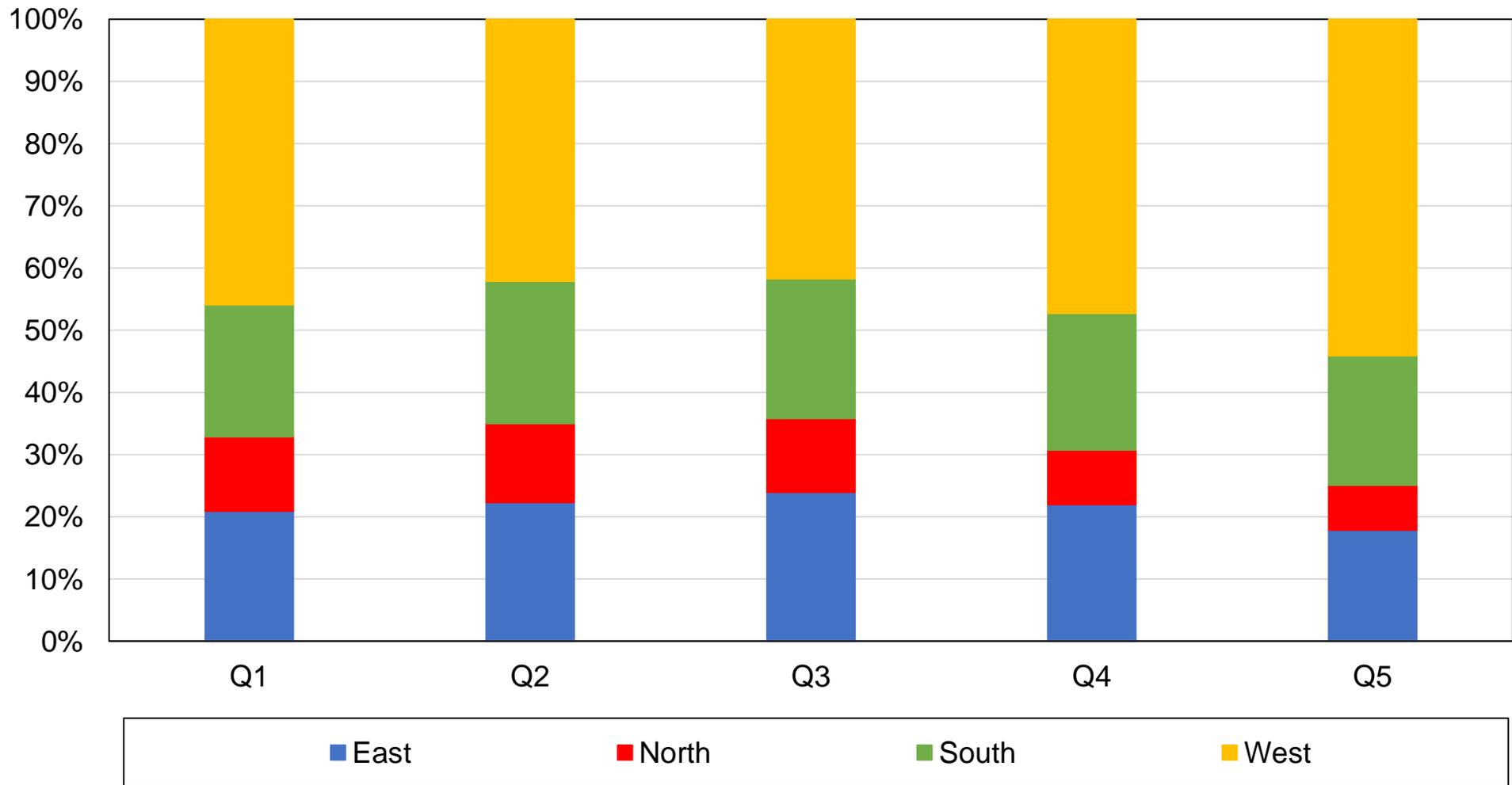
Figure BA13 - Composition of income quintiles by region, 1970s



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by region in the 1970s.

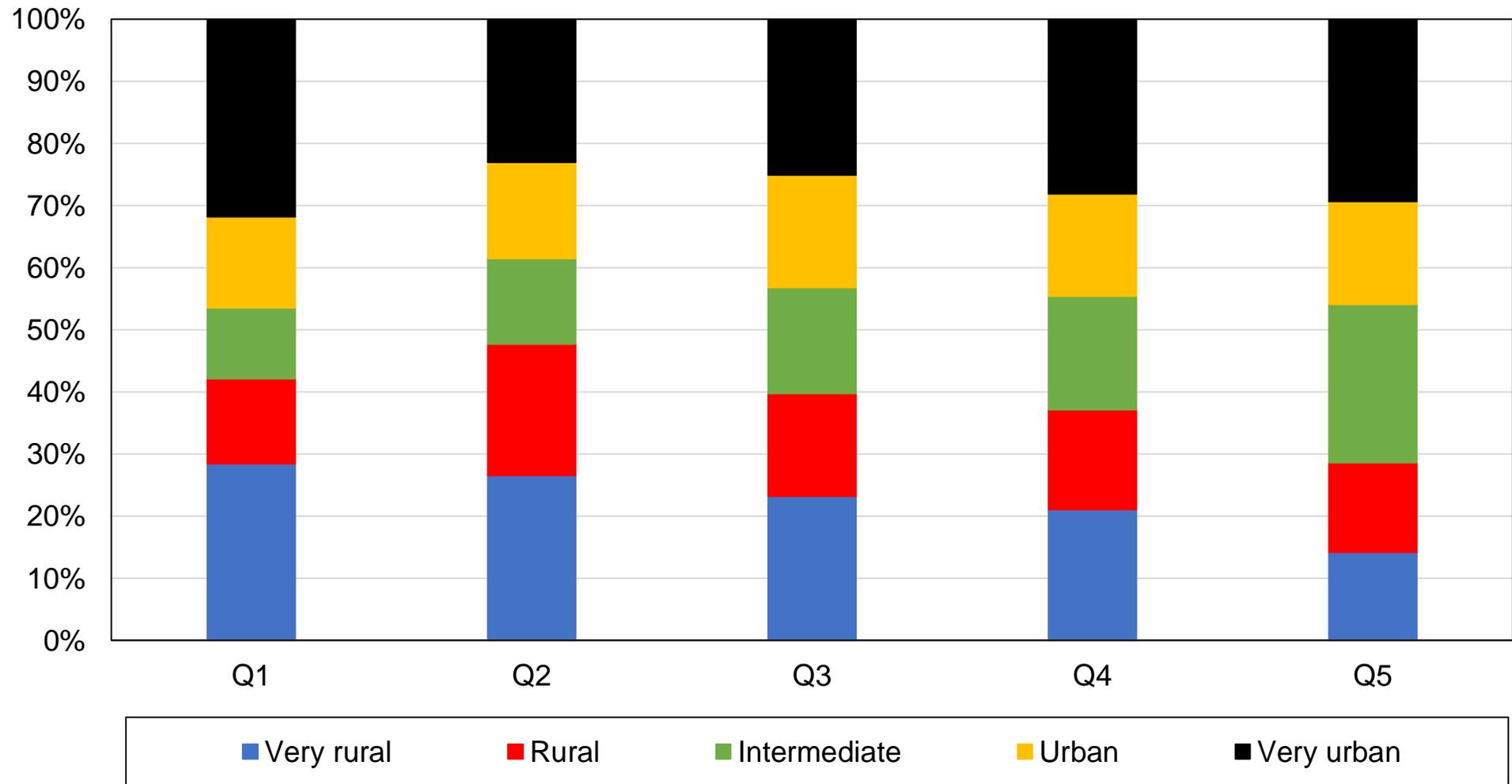
Figure BA14 - Composition of income quintiles by region, 2010s



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by region in the 2010s.

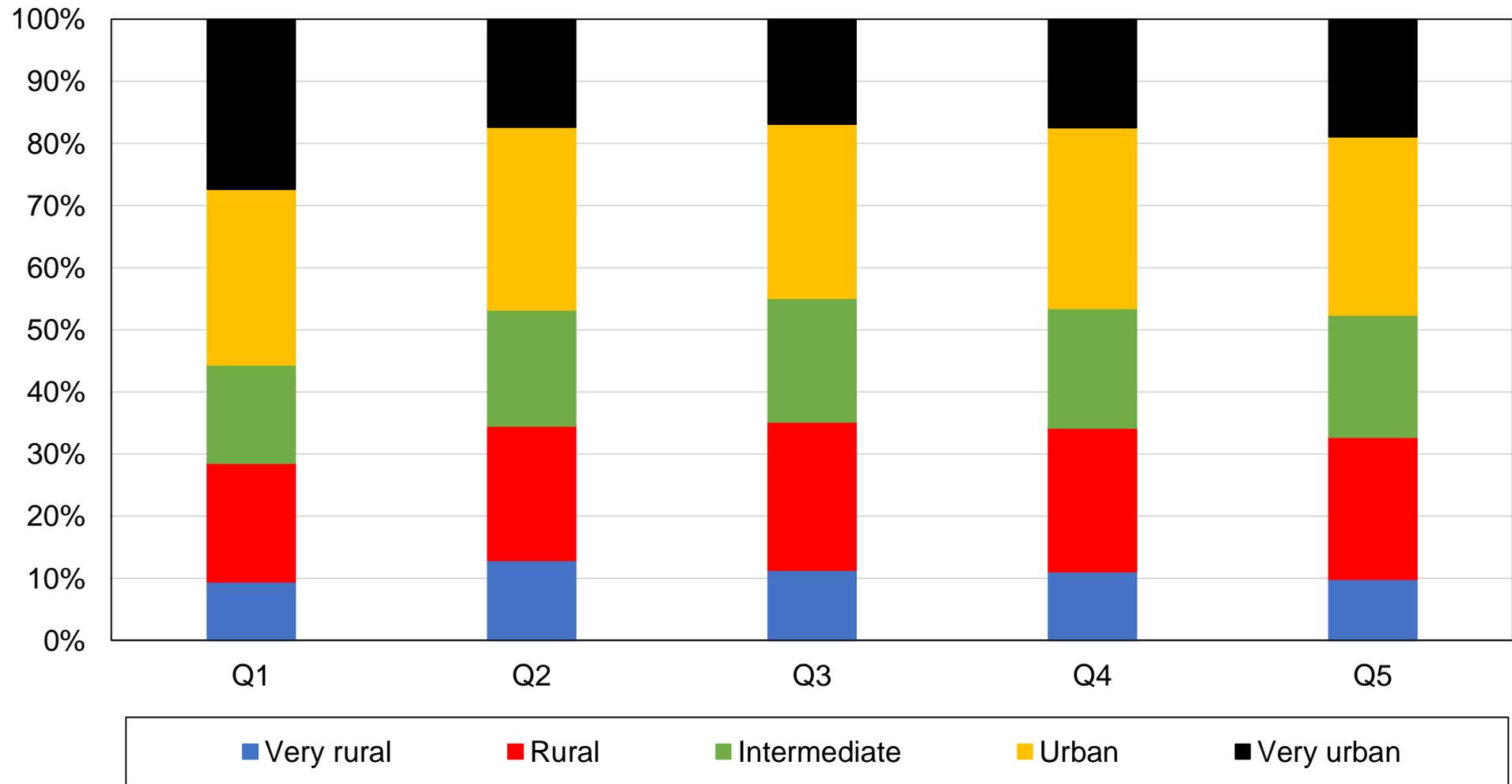
Figure BA15 - Composition of income quintiles by location, 1970s



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by location in the 1970s.

Figure BA16 - Composition of income quintiles by location, 2010s



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by location in the 2010s.

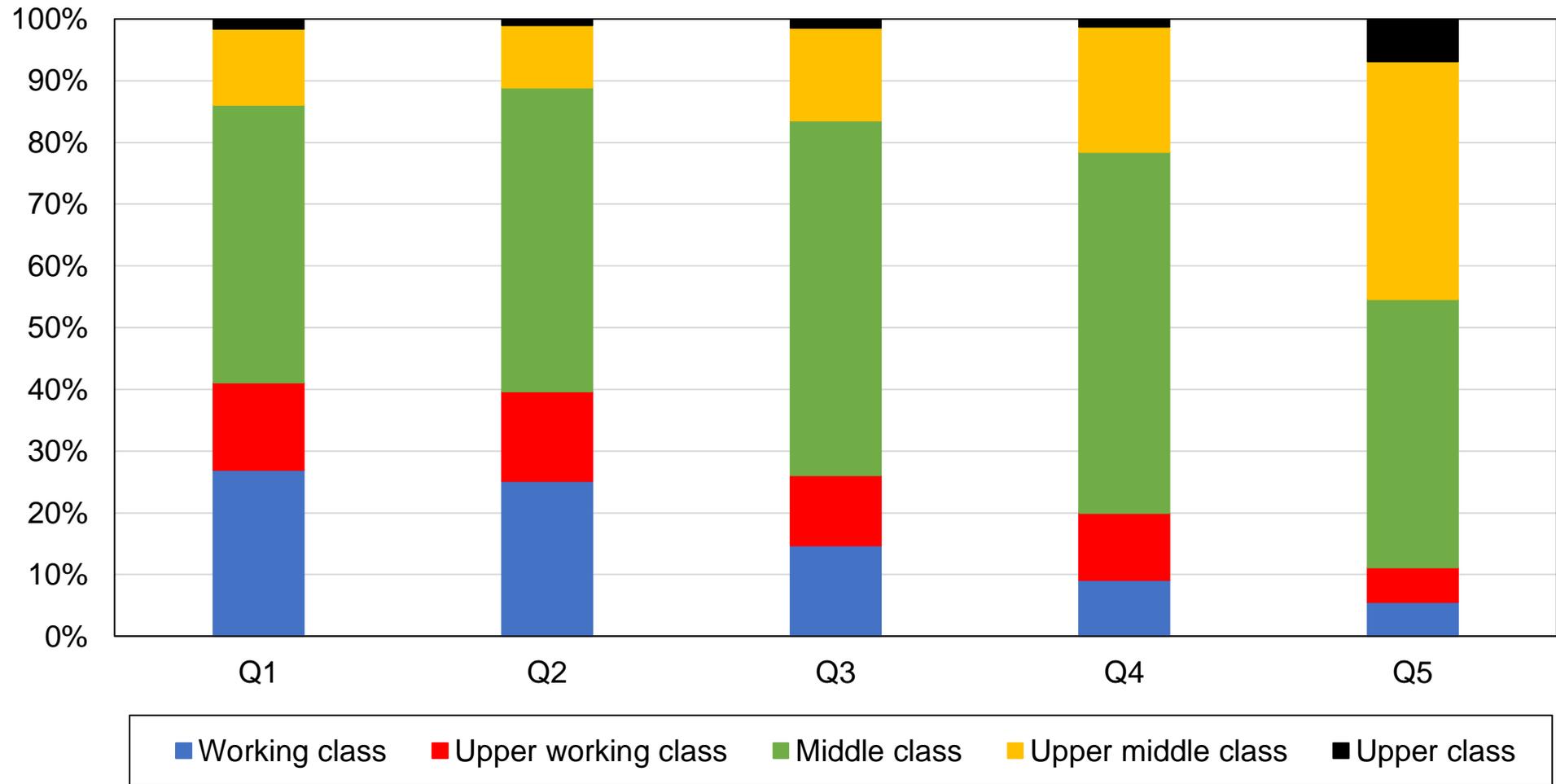
Figure BA17 - Composition of income quintiles by perceived class, 1970s



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by subjective social class in the 1970s.

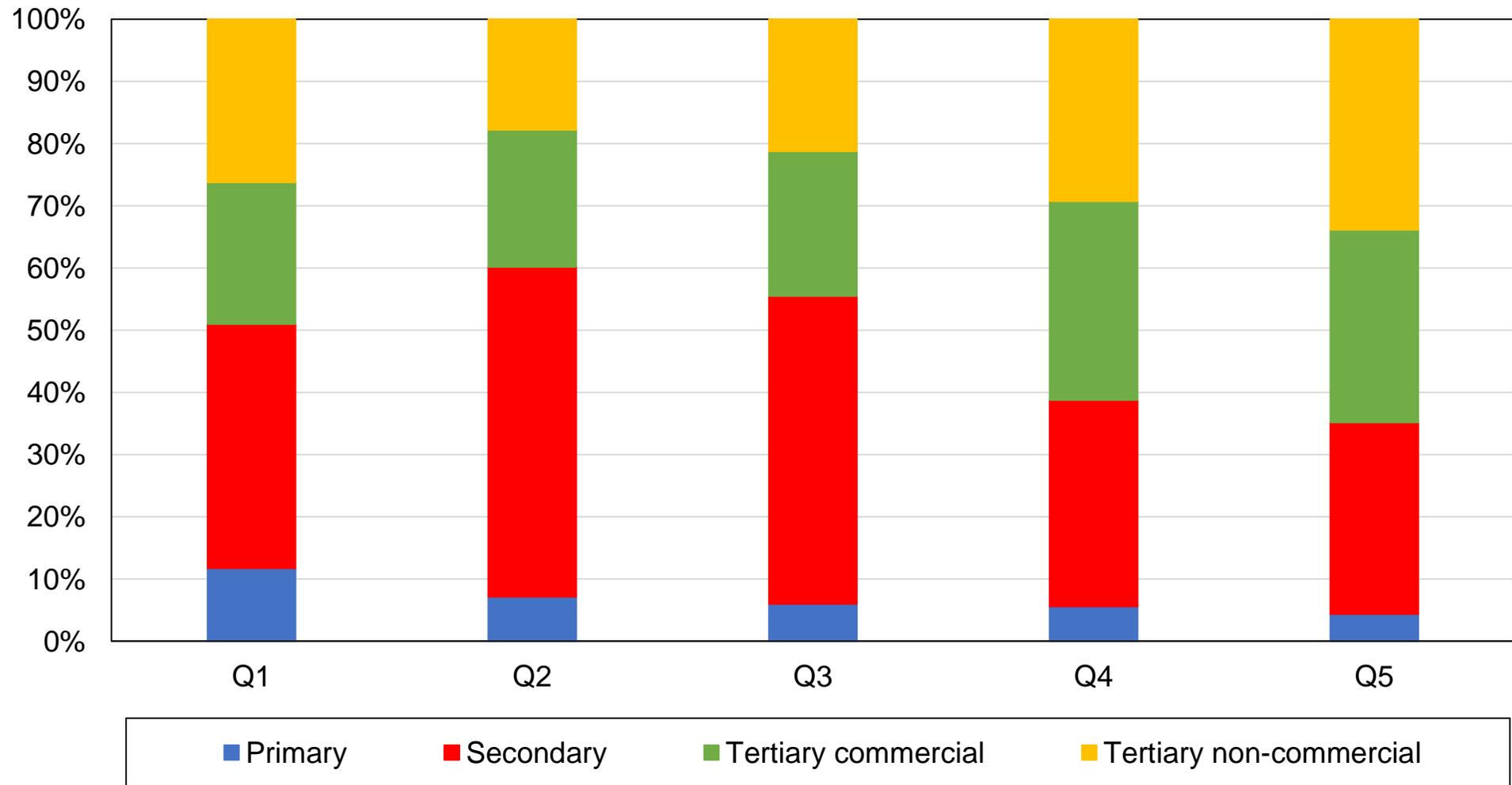
Figure BA18 - Composition of income quintiles by perceived class, 2010s



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by subjective social class in the 2010s.

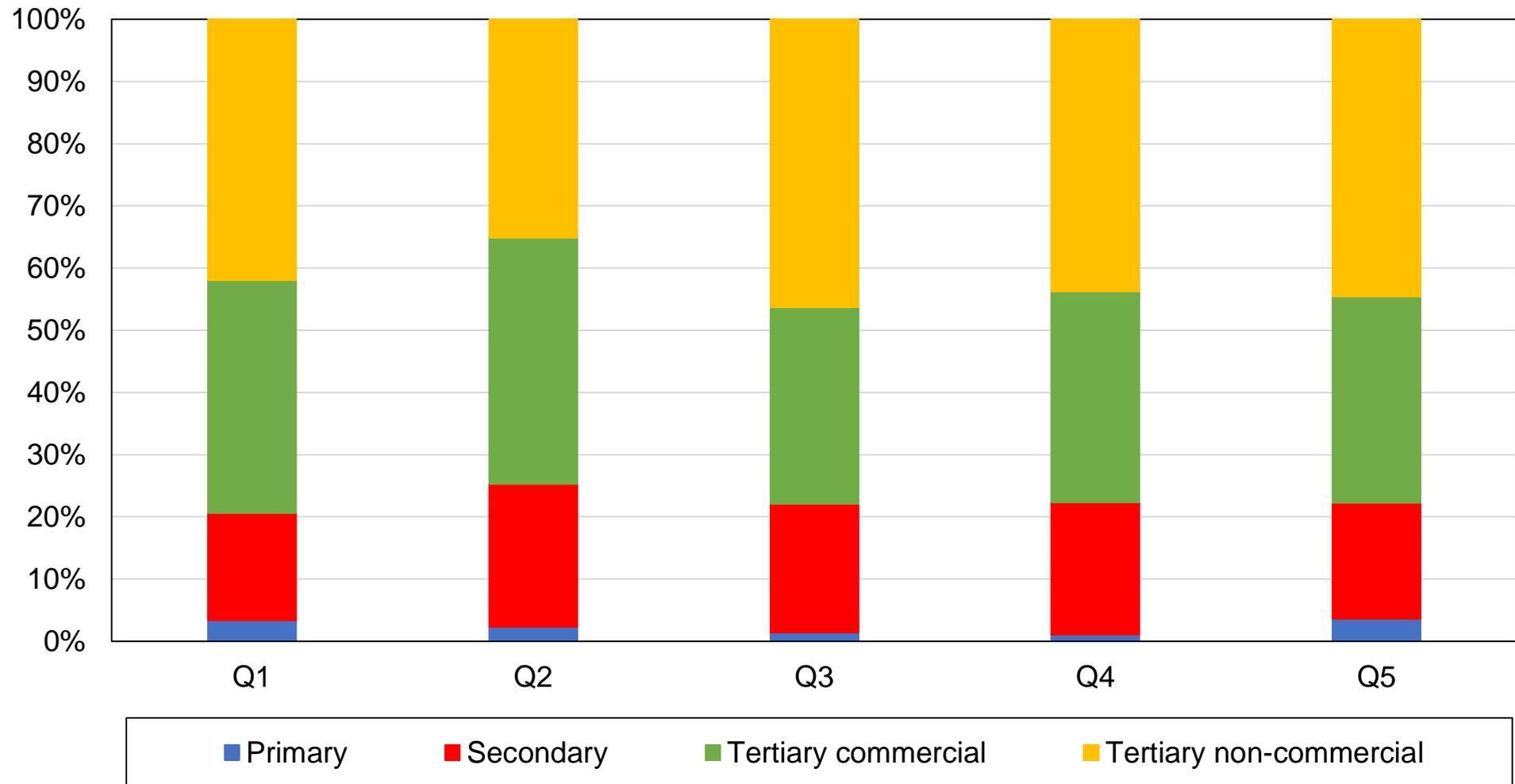
Figure BA19 - Composition of income quintiles by industry, 1970s



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by industry of employment in the 1970s.

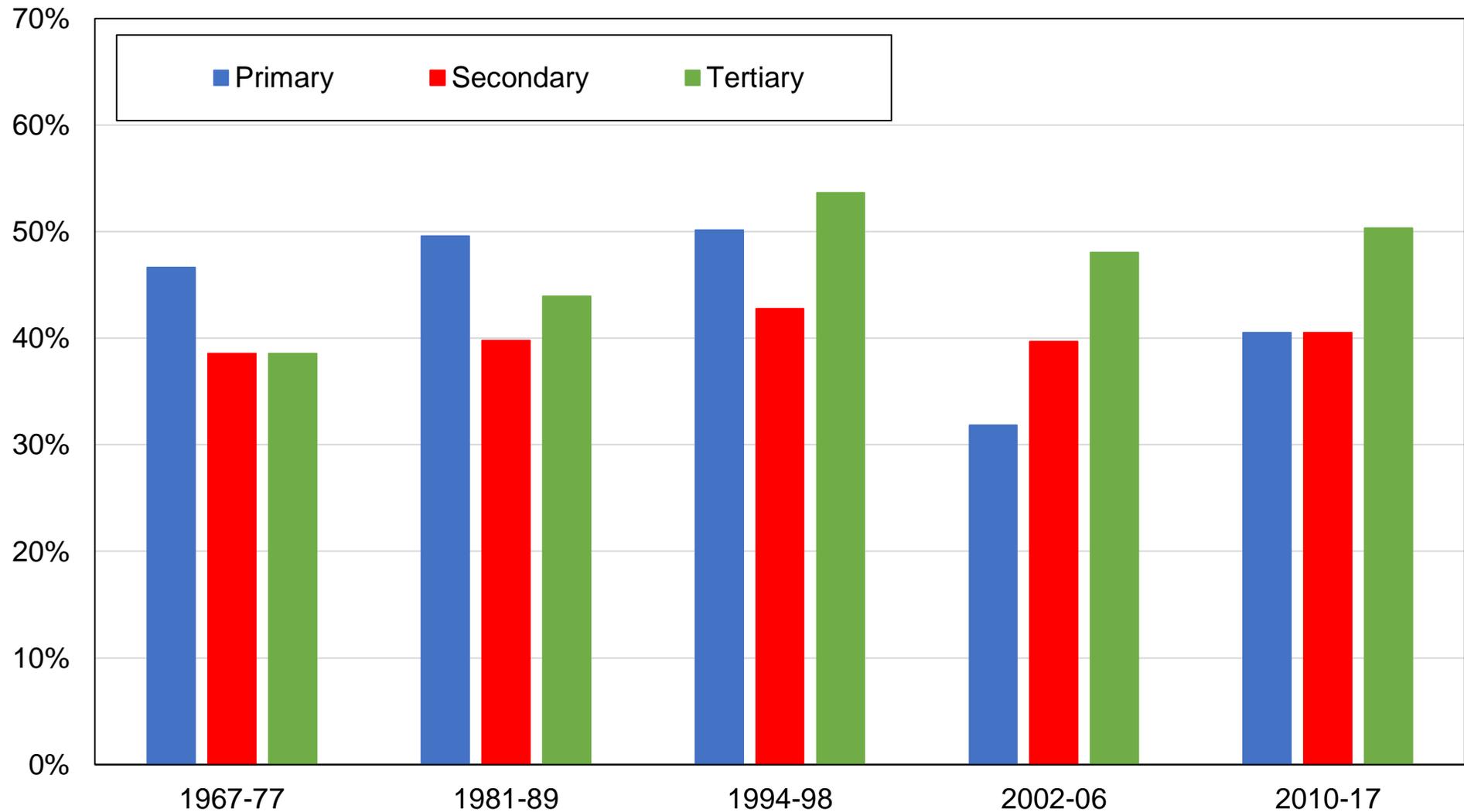
Figure BA20 - Composition of income quintiles by industry, 2010s



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by industry of employment in the 2010s.

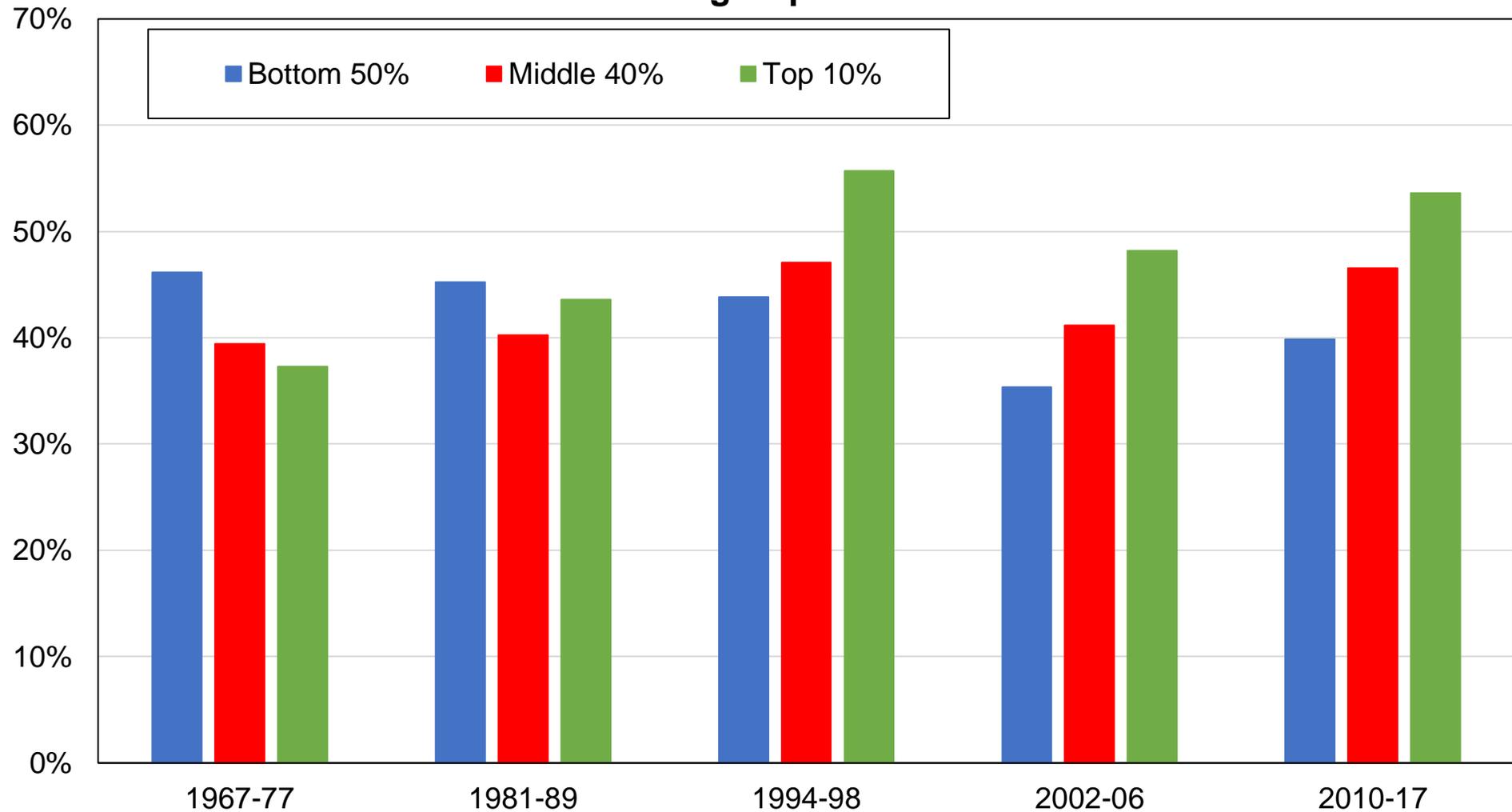
Figure BB1 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by education level



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left / liberal / green parties by education level.

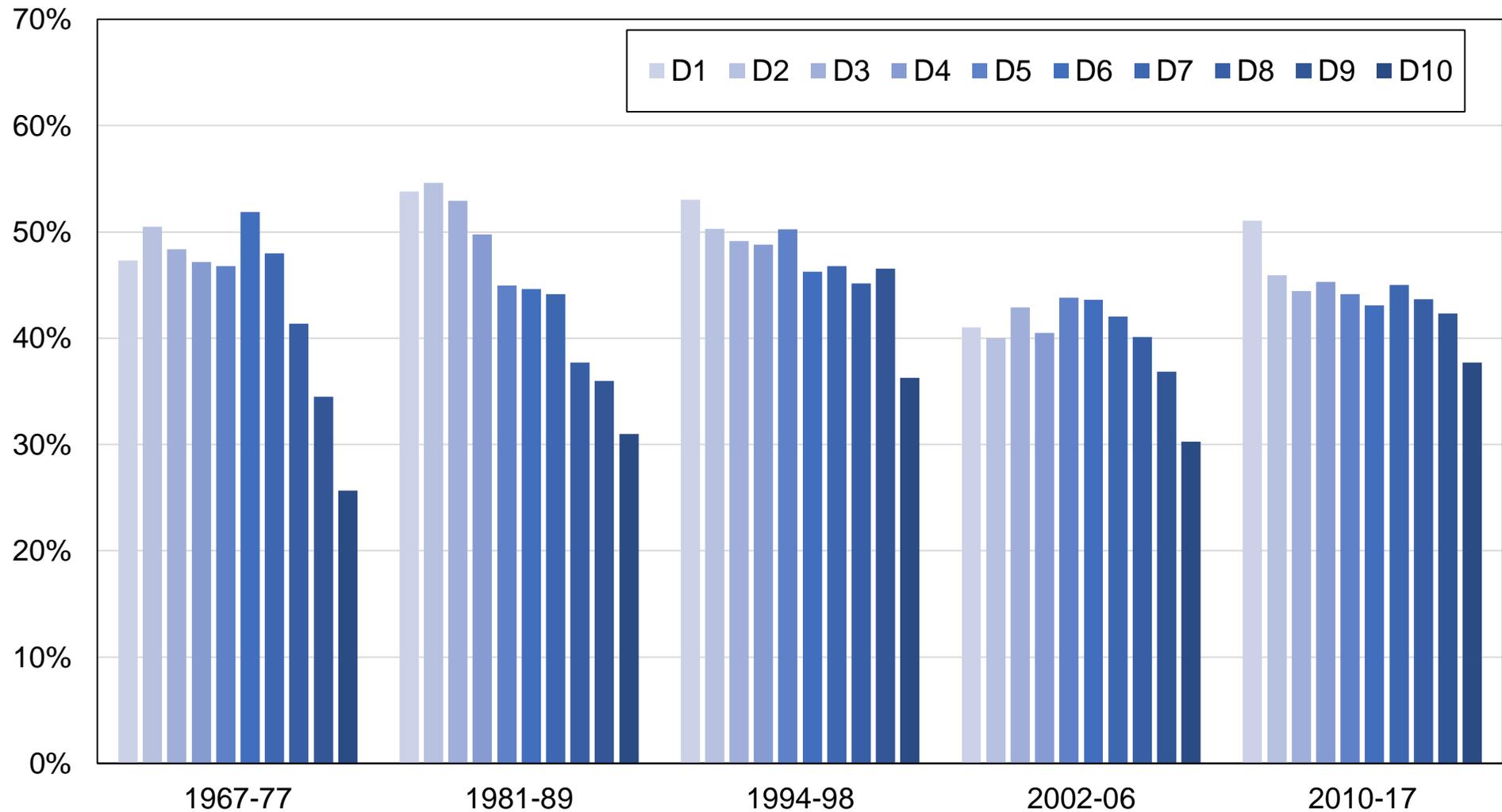
Figure BB2 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by education group



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left / liberal / green parties by education group.

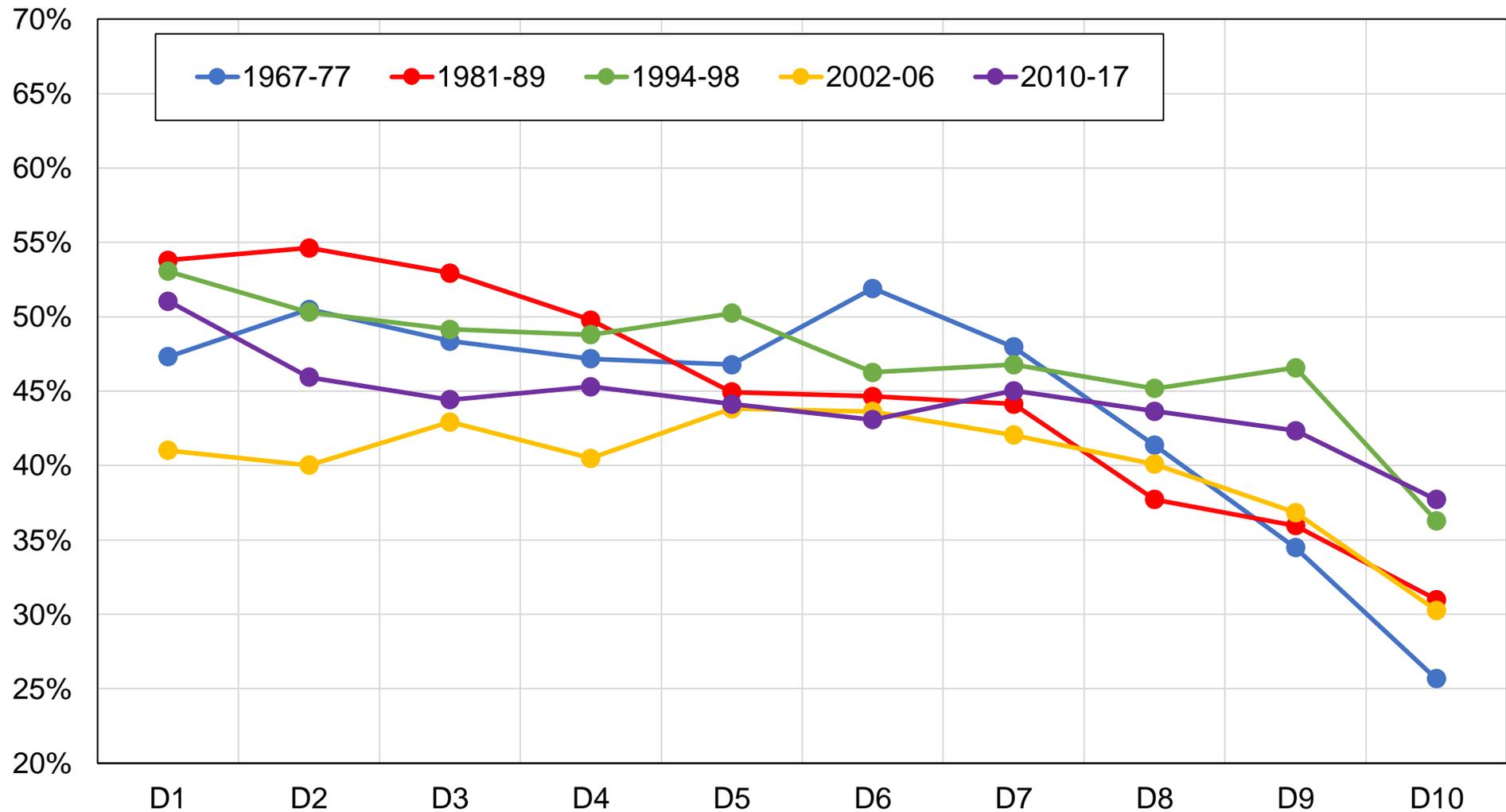
Figure BB3 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by income decile



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left / liberal / green parties by income decile.

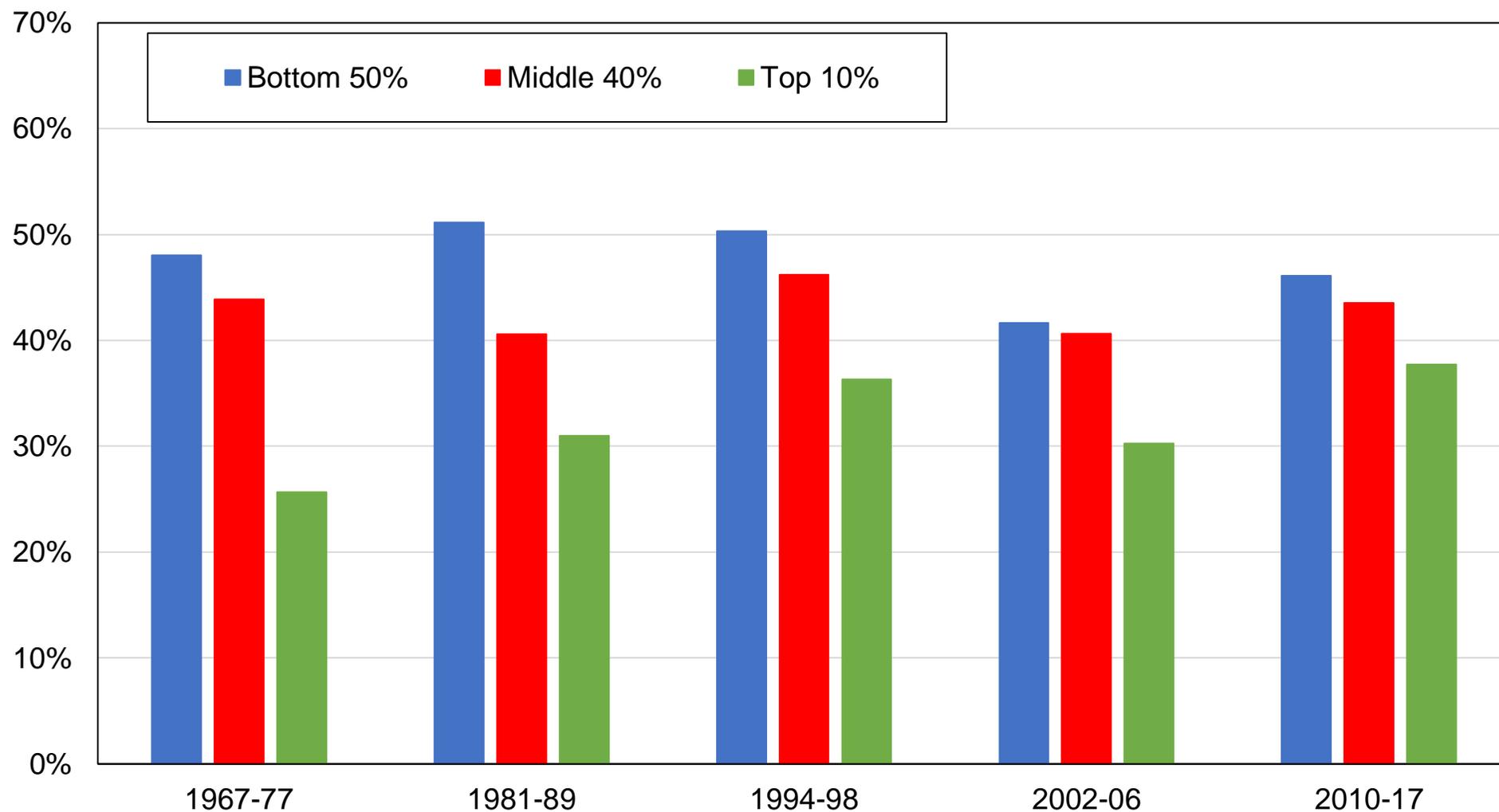
Figure BB3b - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by income decile



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left / liberal / green parties by income decile.

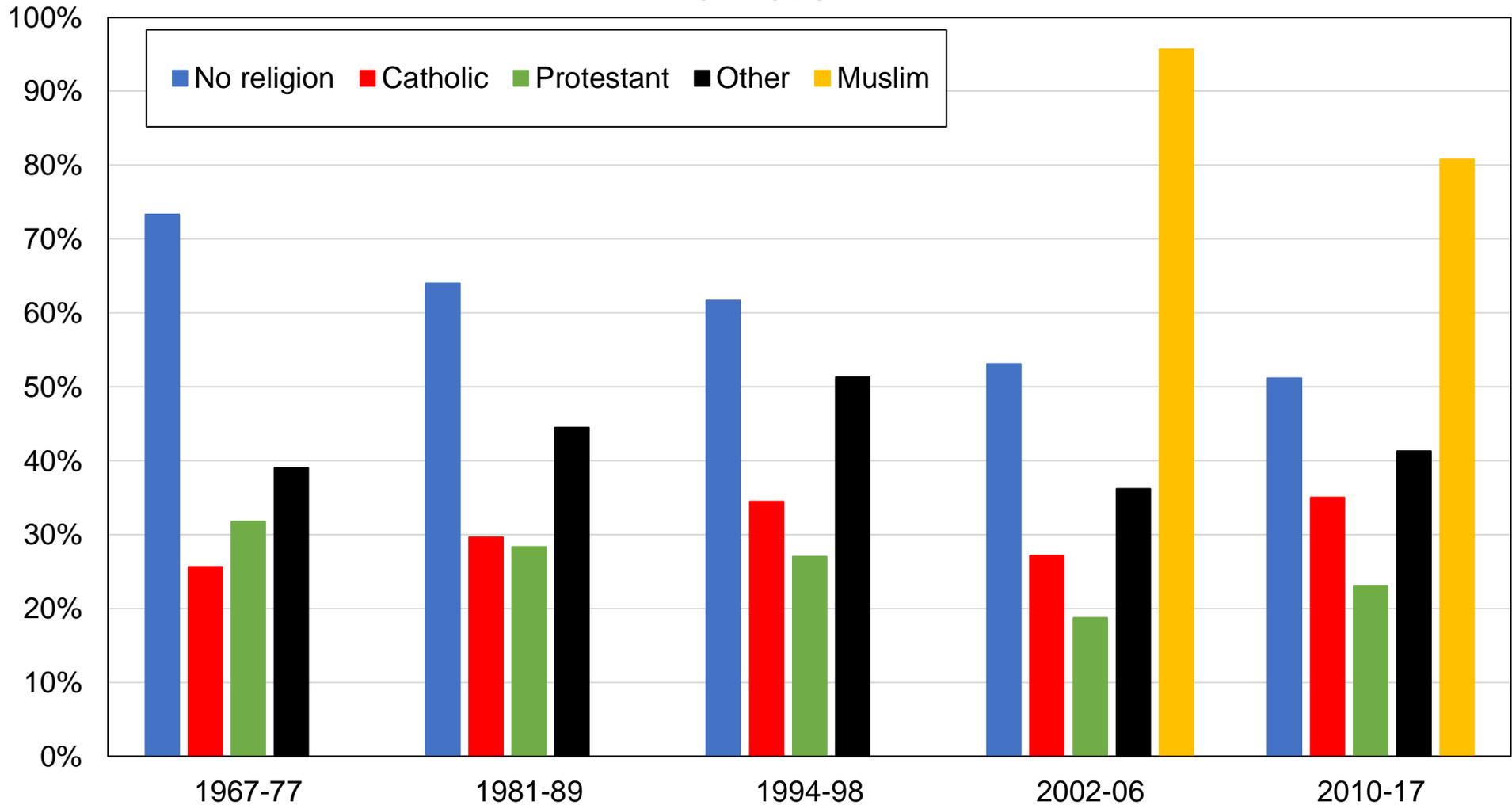
Figure BB4 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by income group



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left / liberal / green parties by income group.

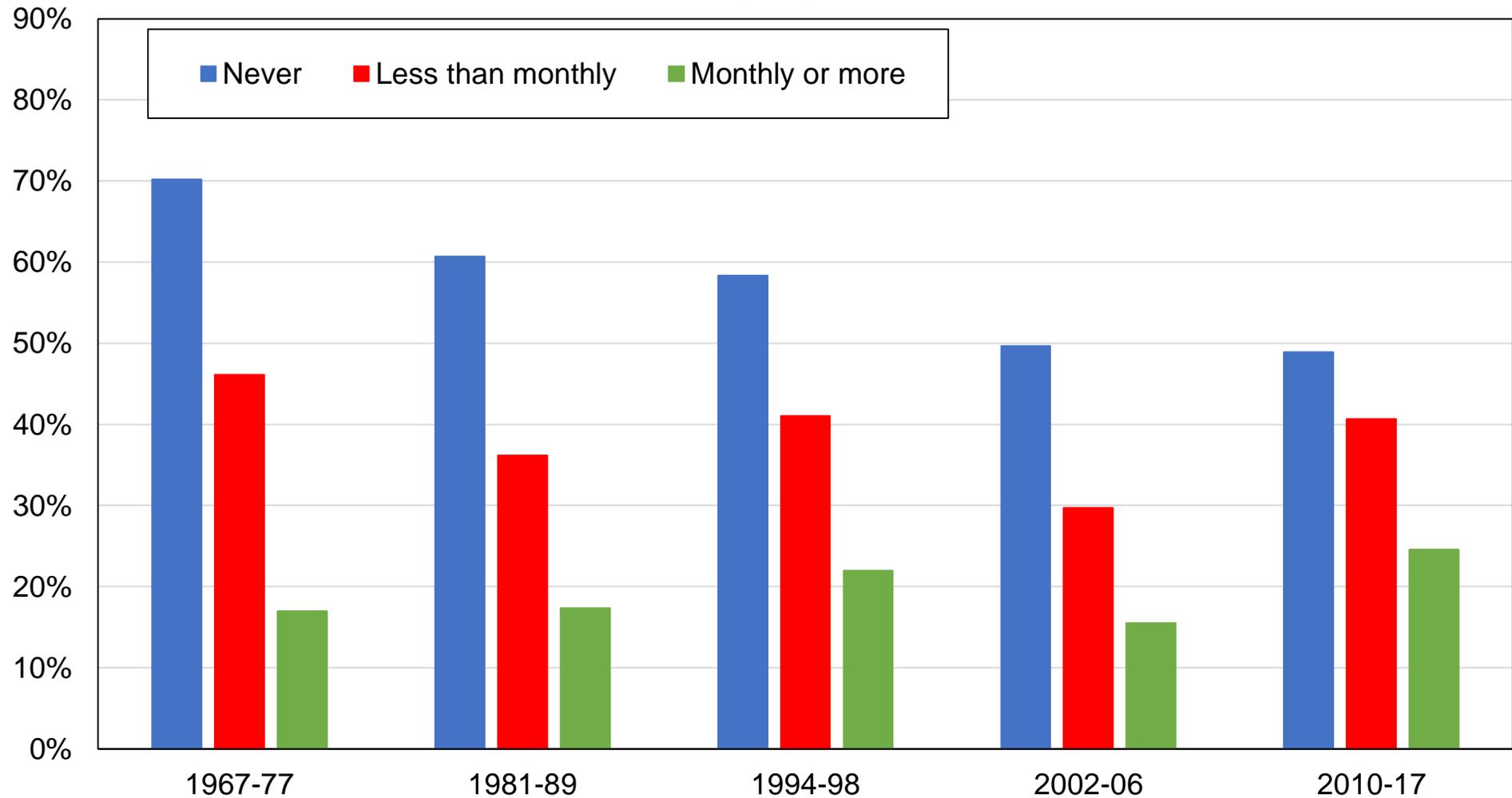
Figure BB5 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left / liberal / green parties by religious affiliation.

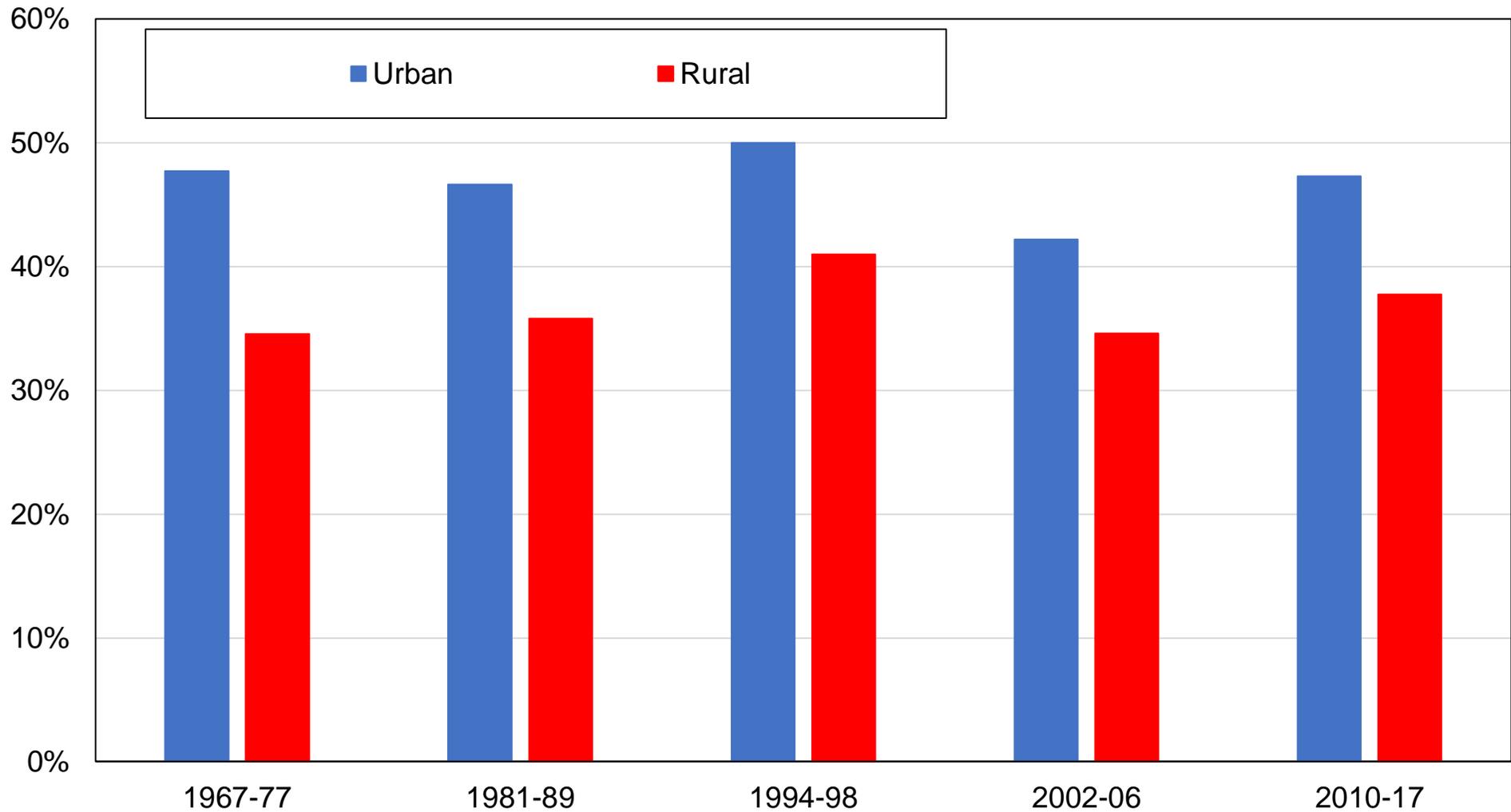
Figure BB6 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by church attendance



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left / liberal / green parties by frequency of church attendance.

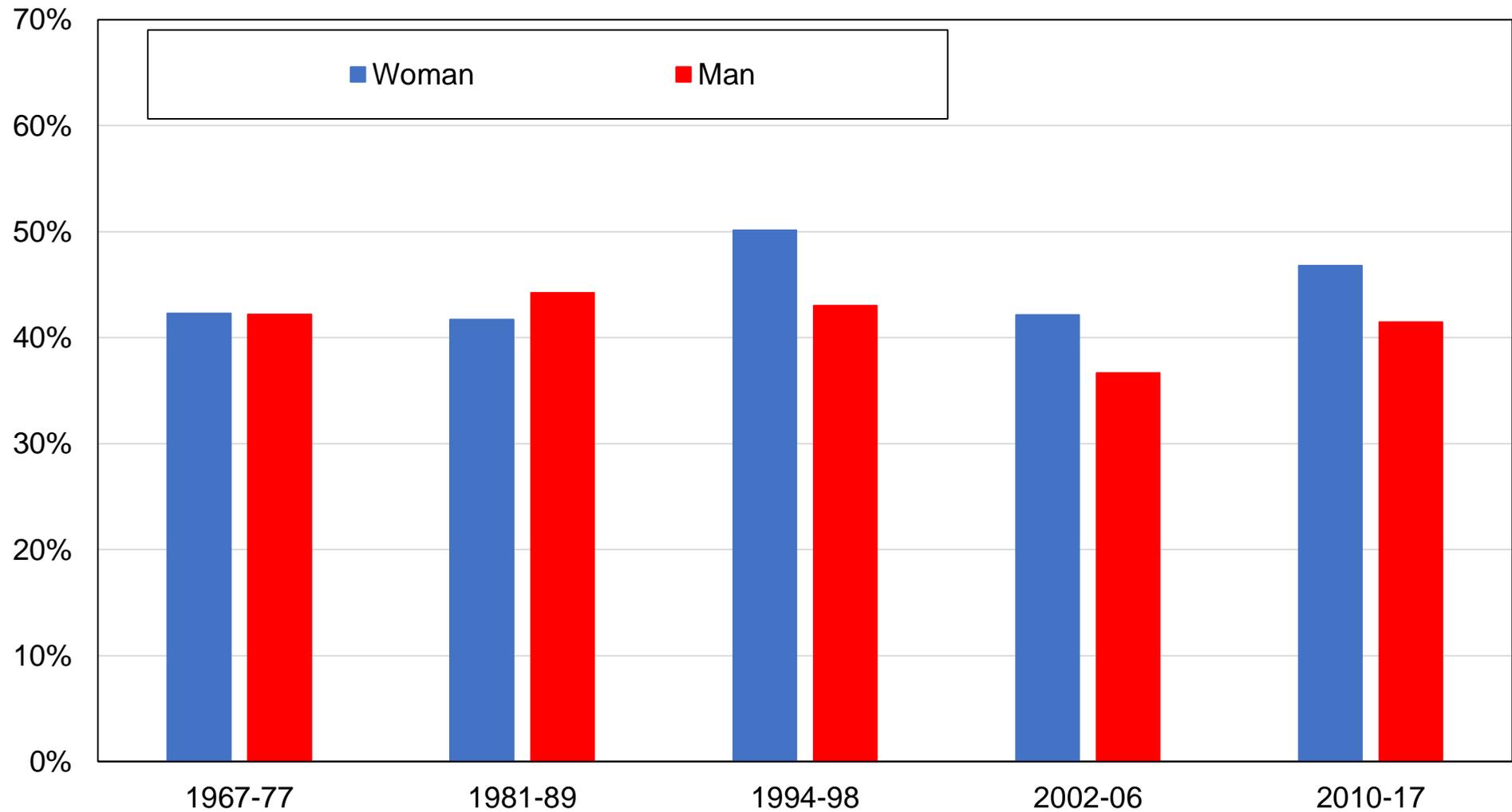
Figure BB7 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by location



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

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

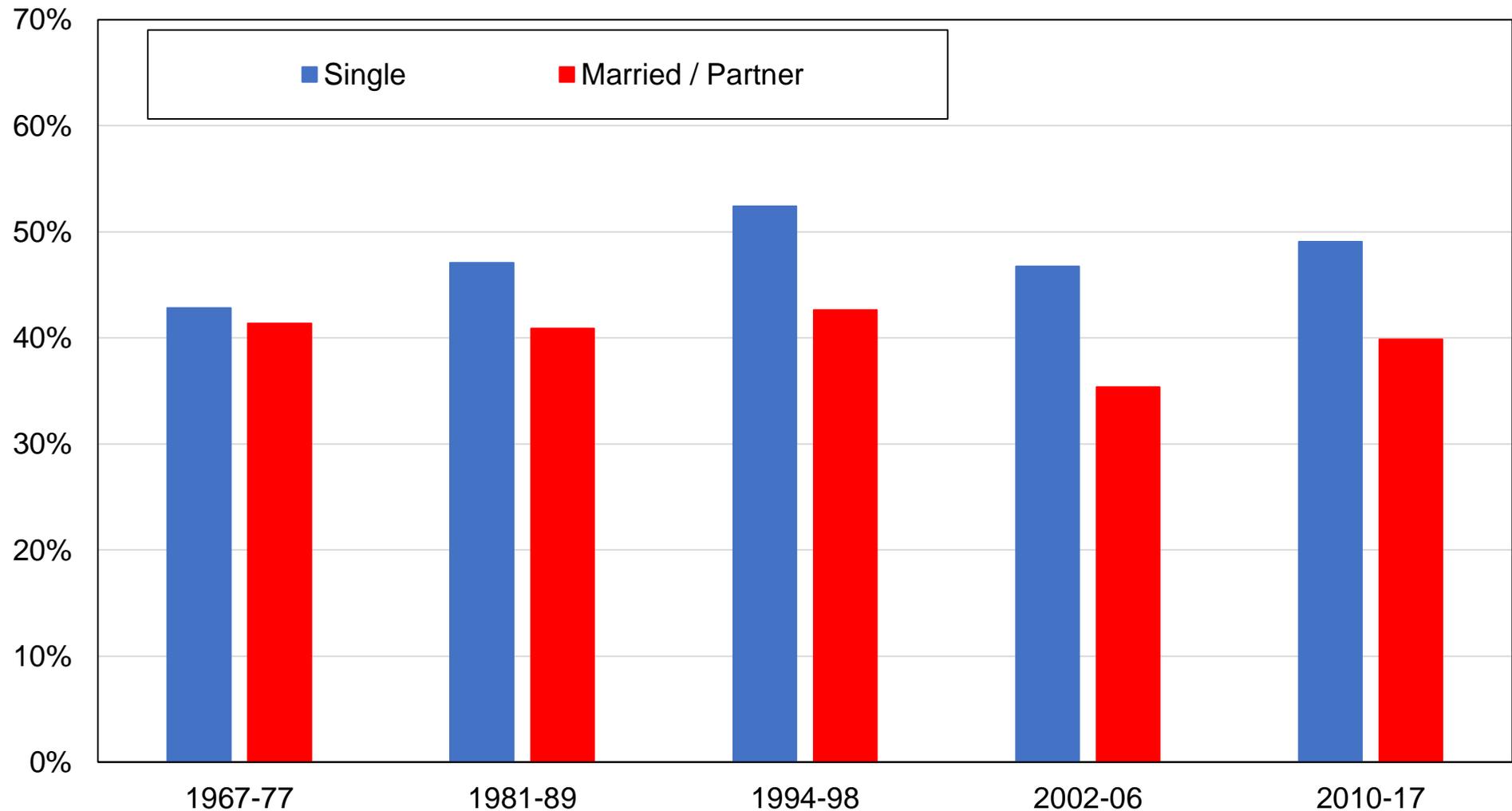
Figure BB8 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by gender



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left / liberal / green parties by gender.

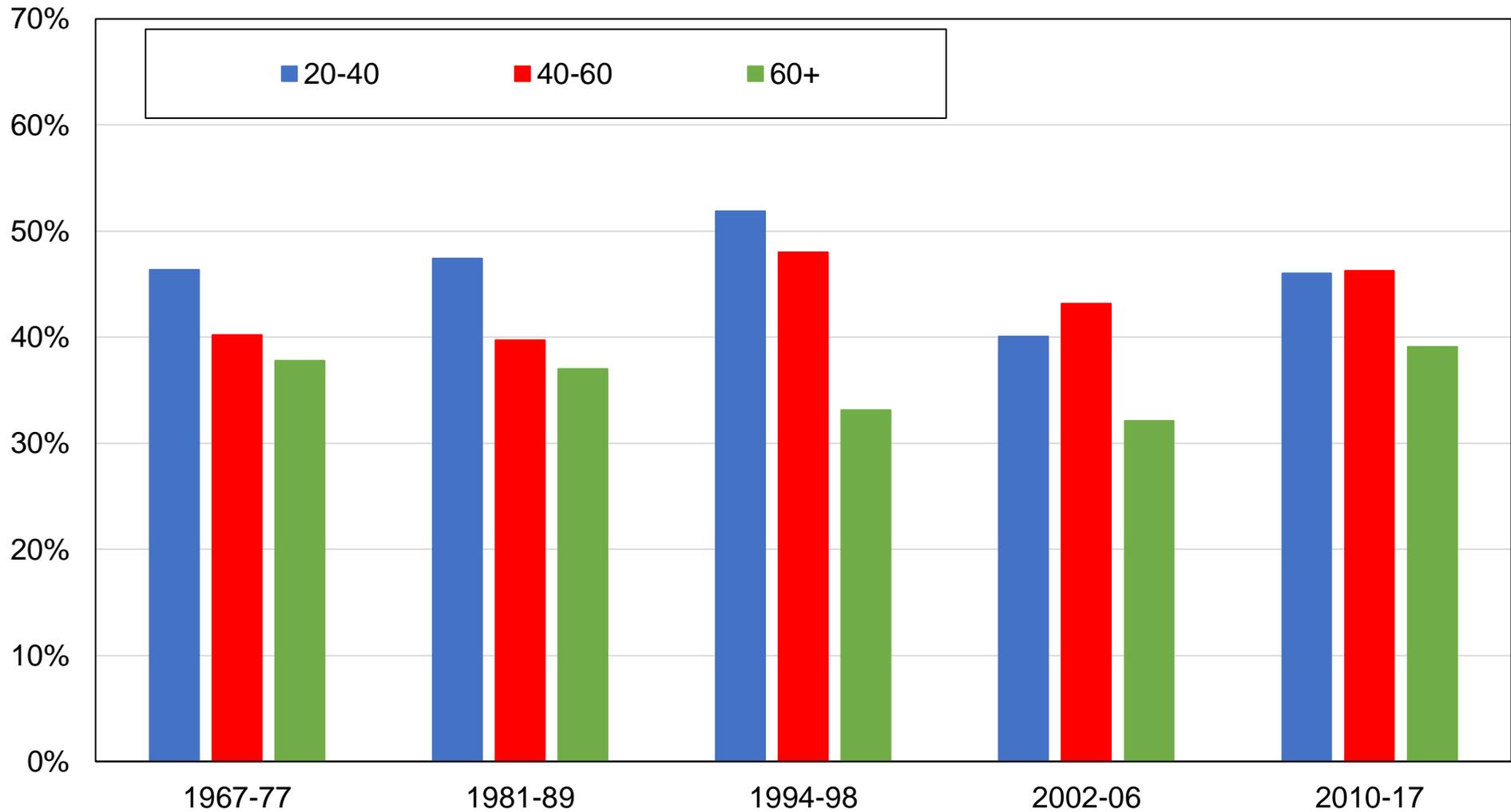
Figure BB9 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by marital status



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left / liberal / green parties by marital status.

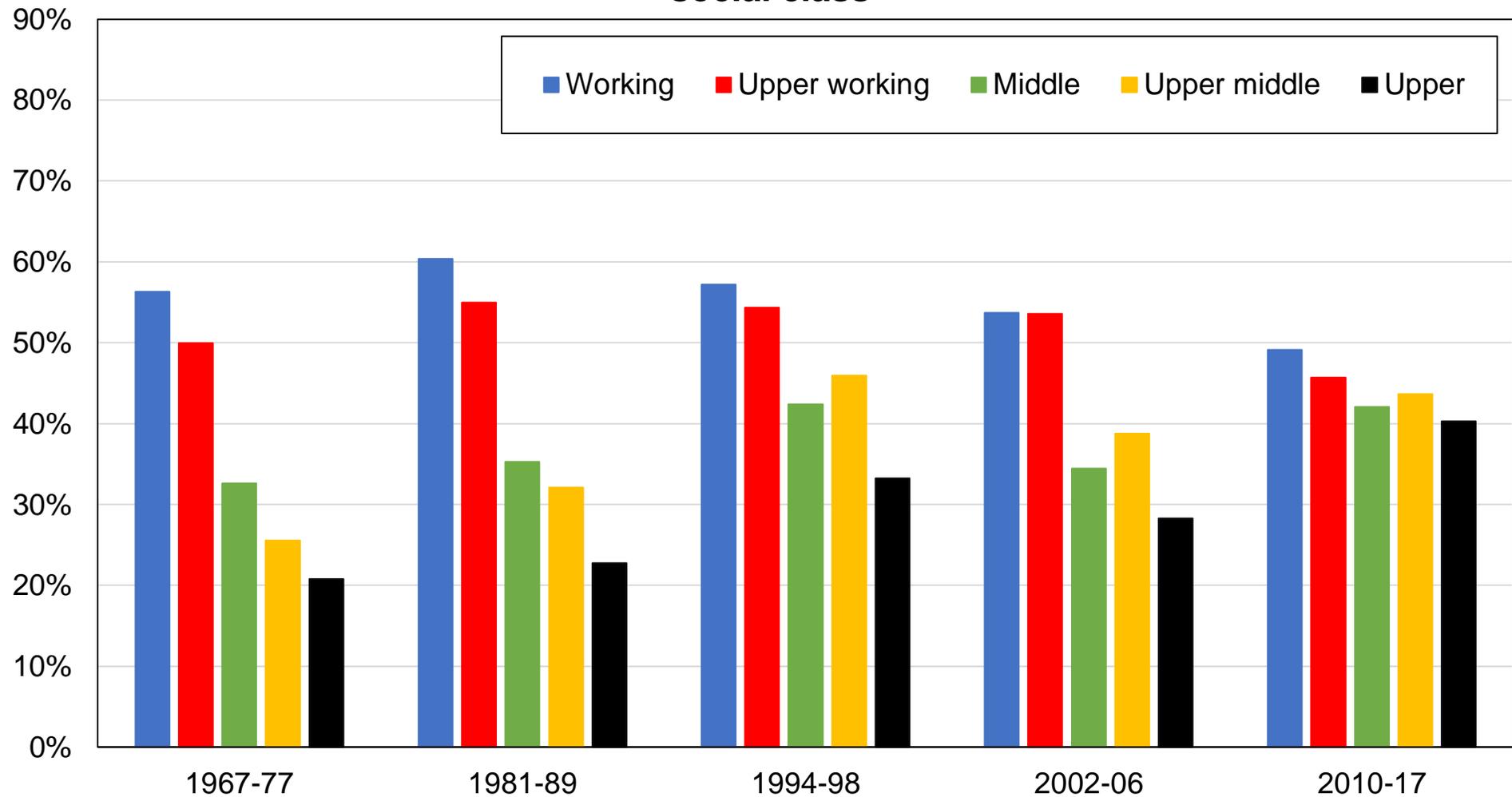
Figure BB10 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by age



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left / liberal / green parties by age group.

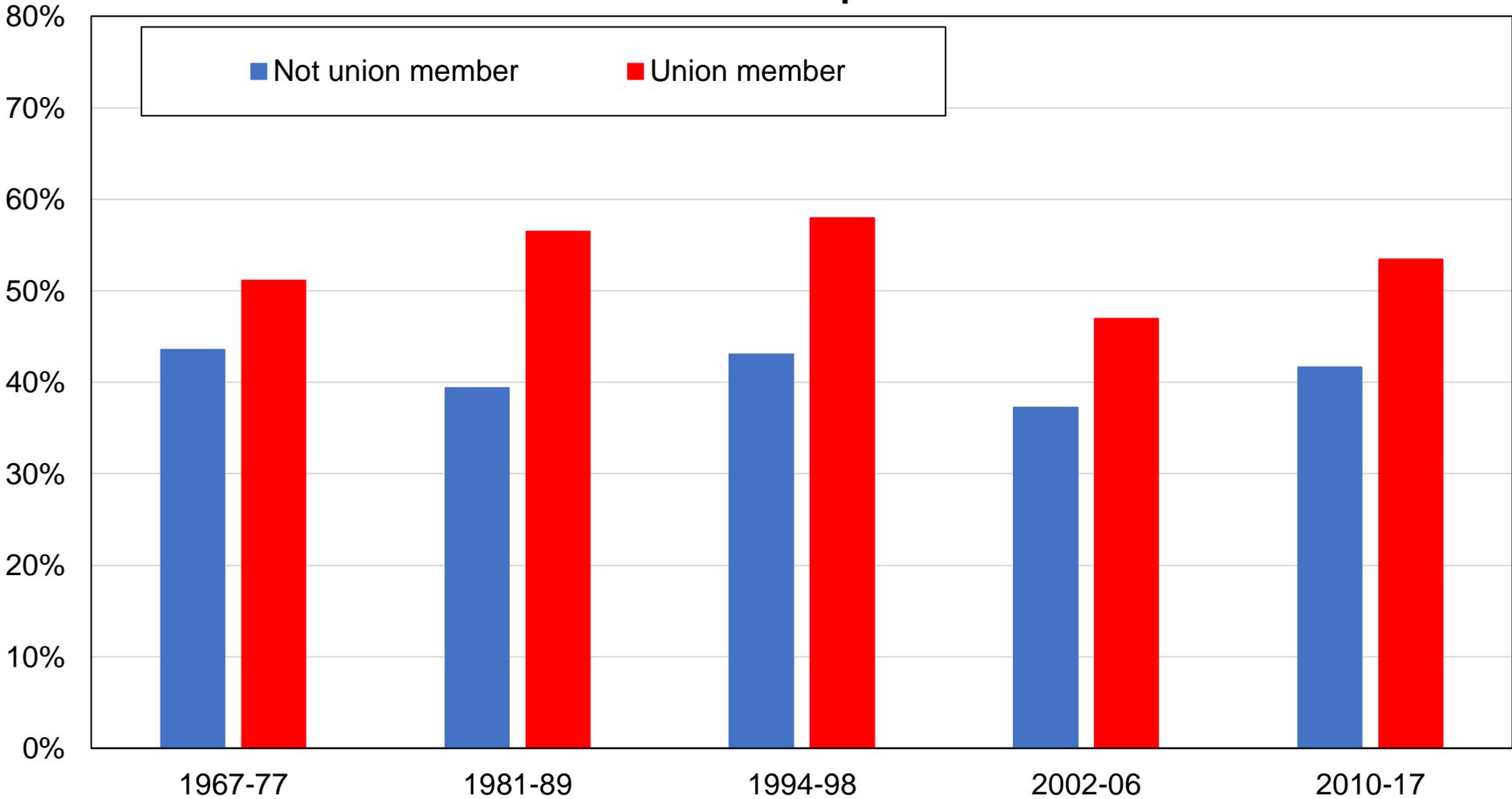
Figure BB11 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by perceived social class



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left / liberal / green parties by self-percieved social class.

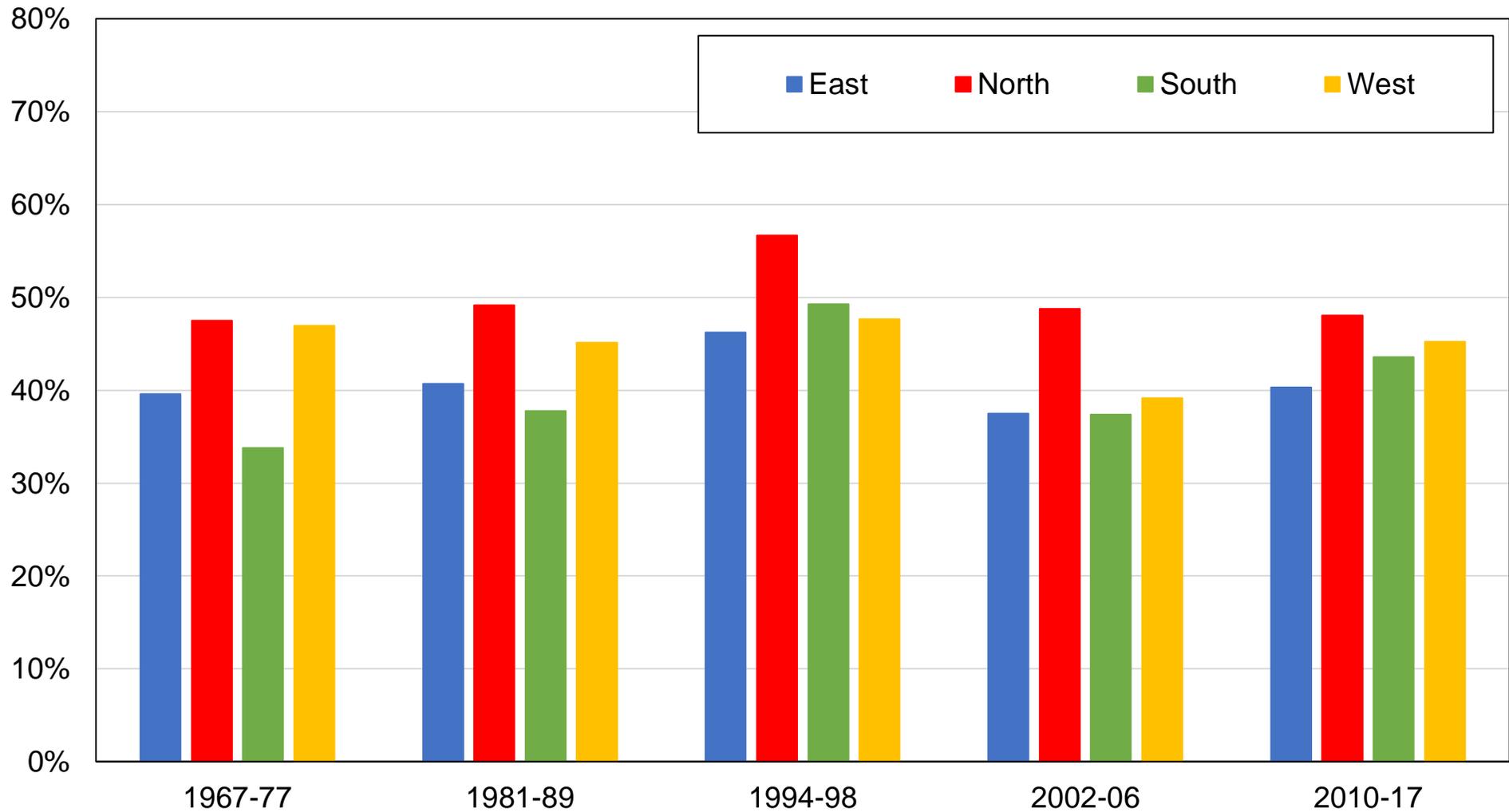
Figure BB12 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by union membership



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left / liberal / green parties by union membership status.

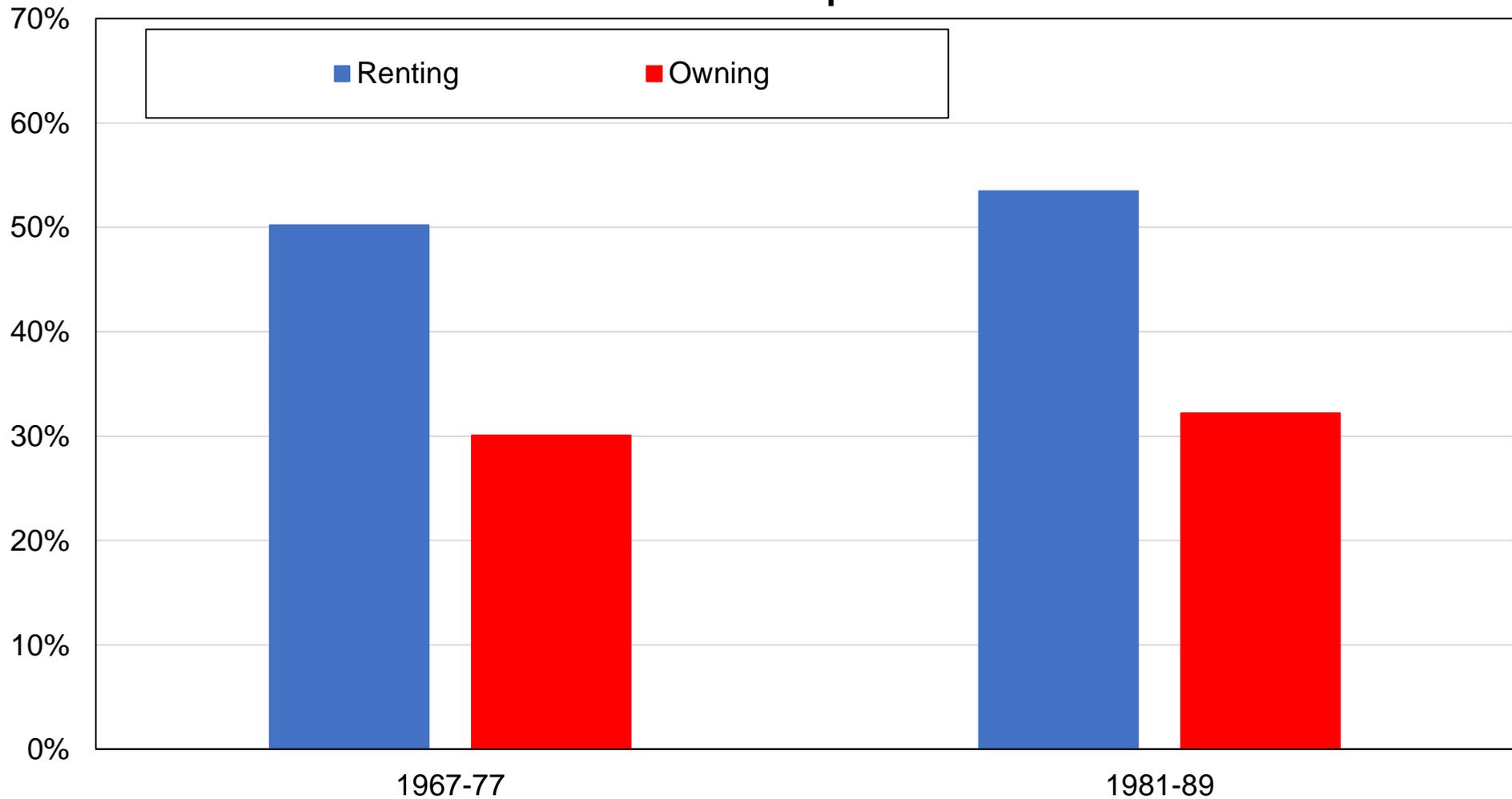
Figure BB13 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by region



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left / liberal / green parties by region.

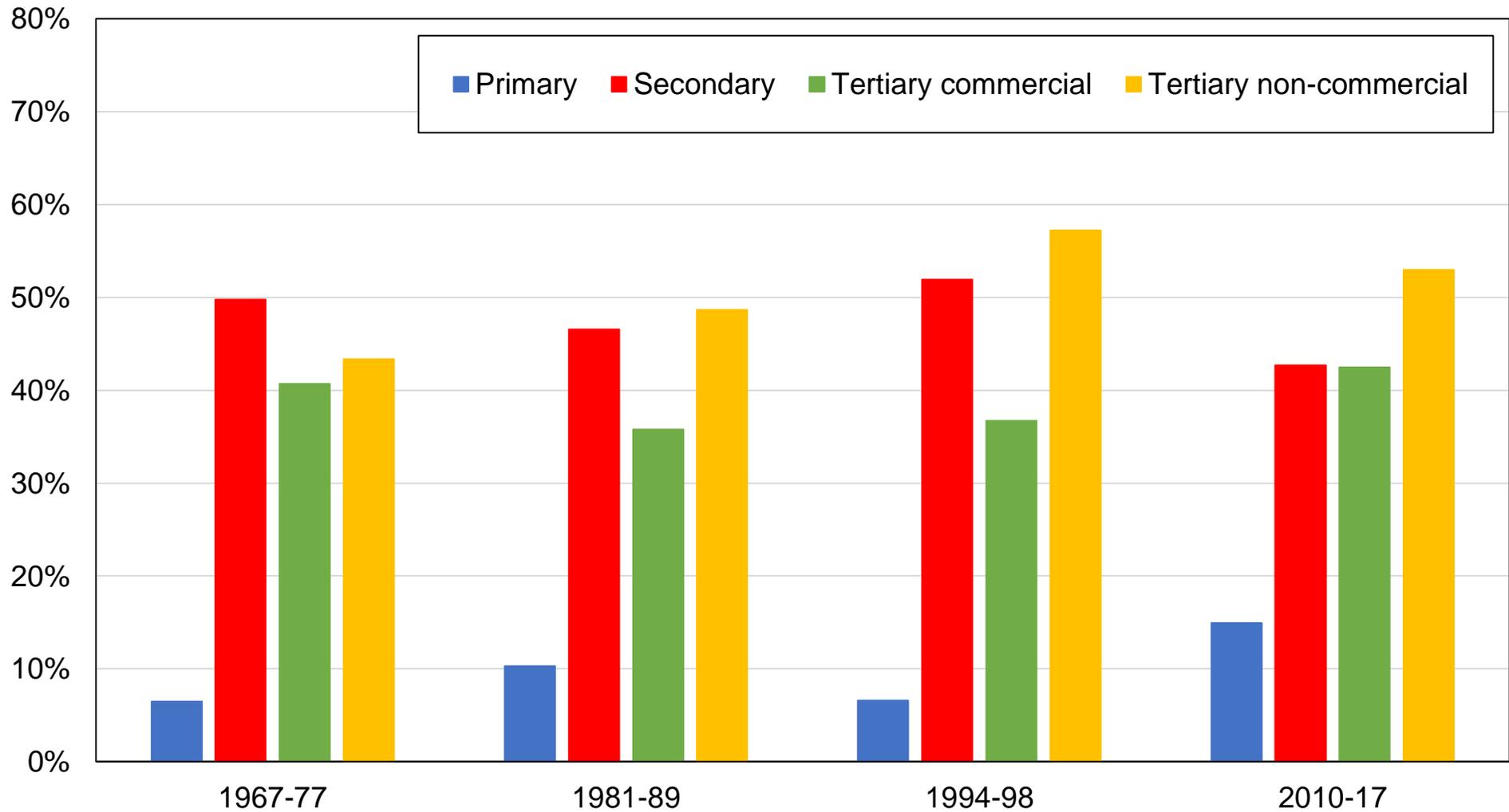
Figure BB14 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by home ownership



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left / liberal / green parties by homeownership status.

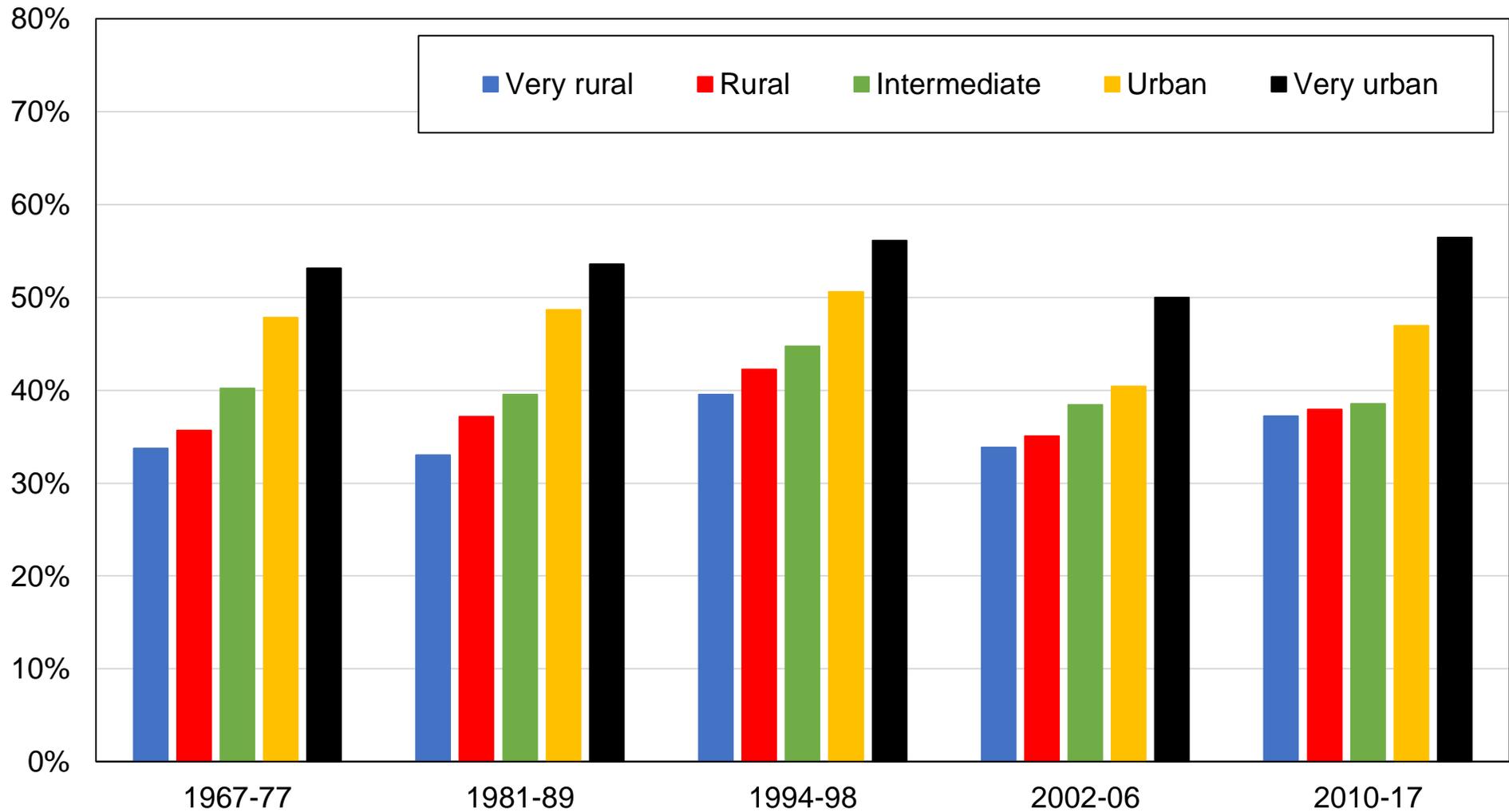
Figure BB15 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by industry



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left / liberal / green parties by industrial affiliation.

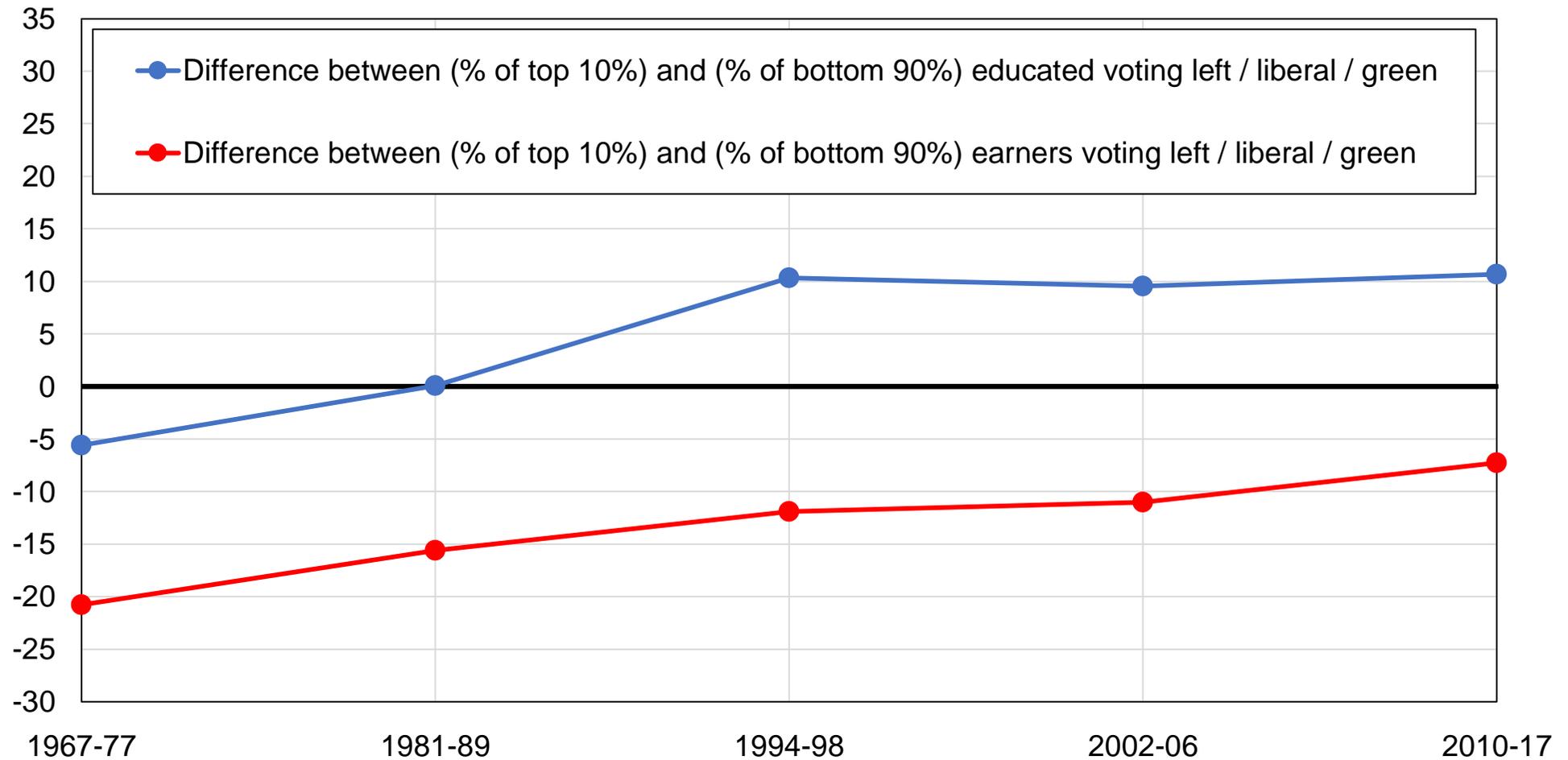
Figure BB16 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left by location



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

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

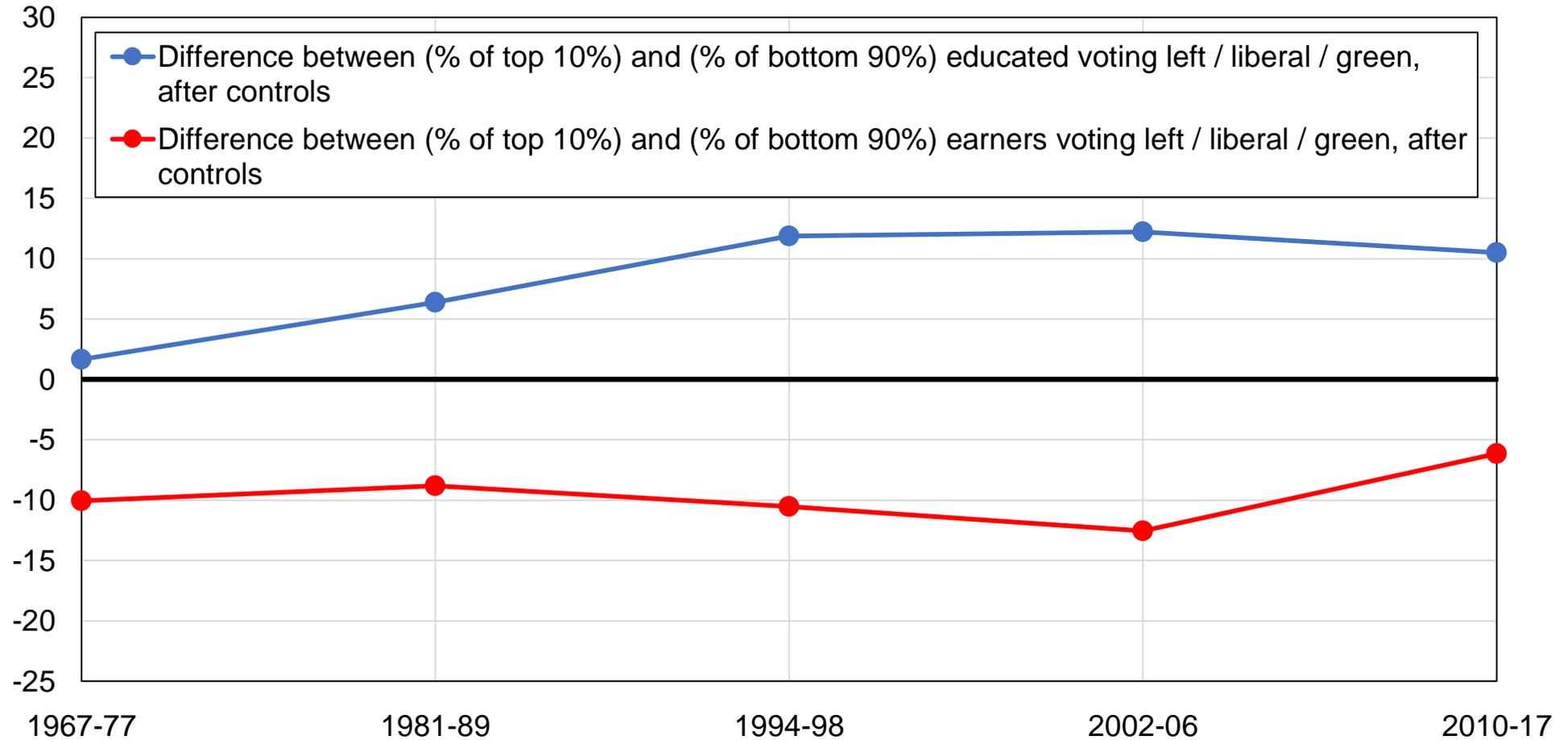
Figure BC1 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among highest-educated and top-income voters



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the support for left / liberal / green parties among highest-educated and top-income voters.

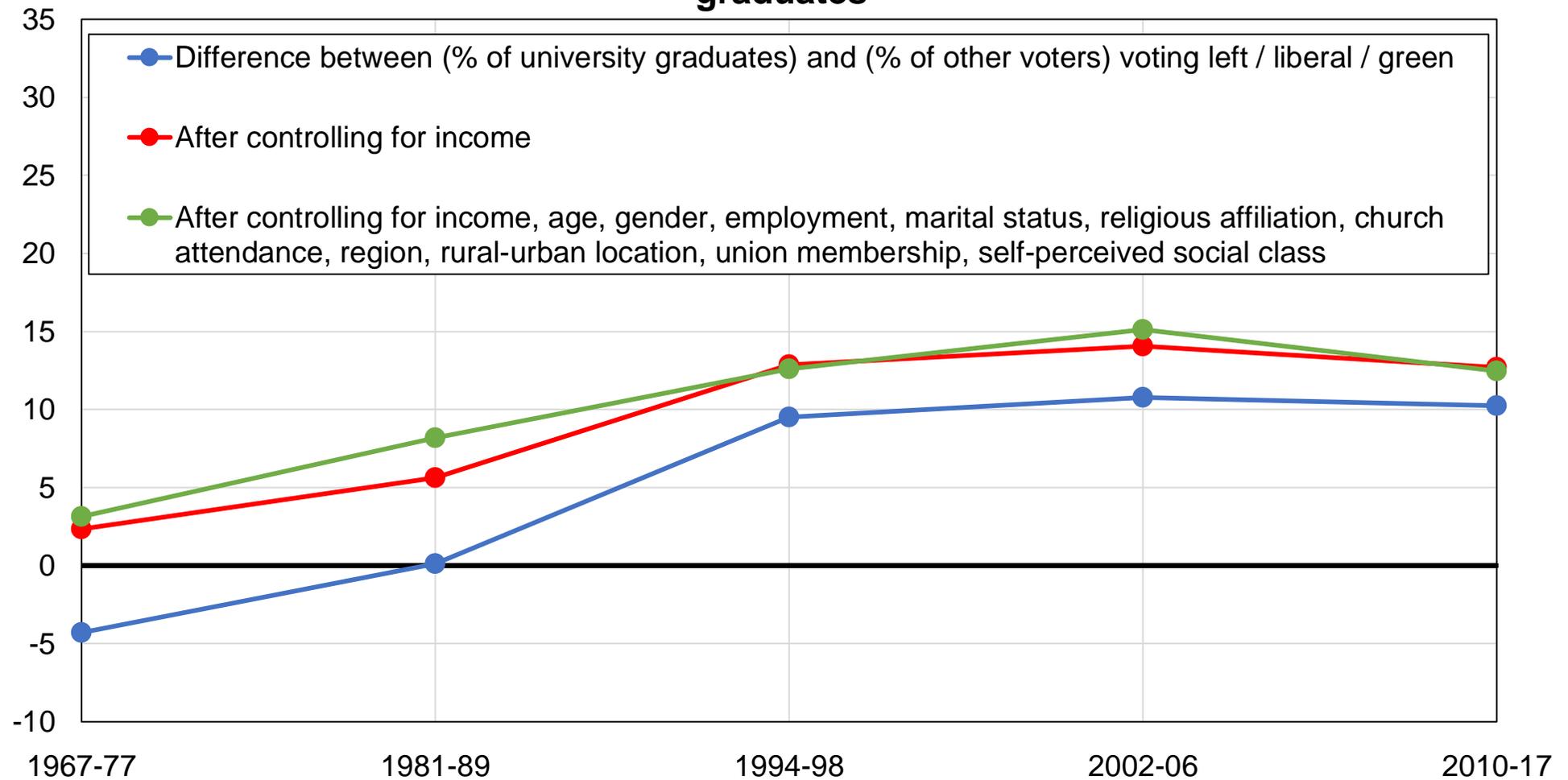
Figure BC2 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among highest-educated and top-income voters (after controls)



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the support for left / liberal / green parties among highest-educated and top-income voters after controlling for income, education, age, gender, employment, marital status, religious affiliation, church attendance, region, rural-urban location, union membership, and self-perceived social class.

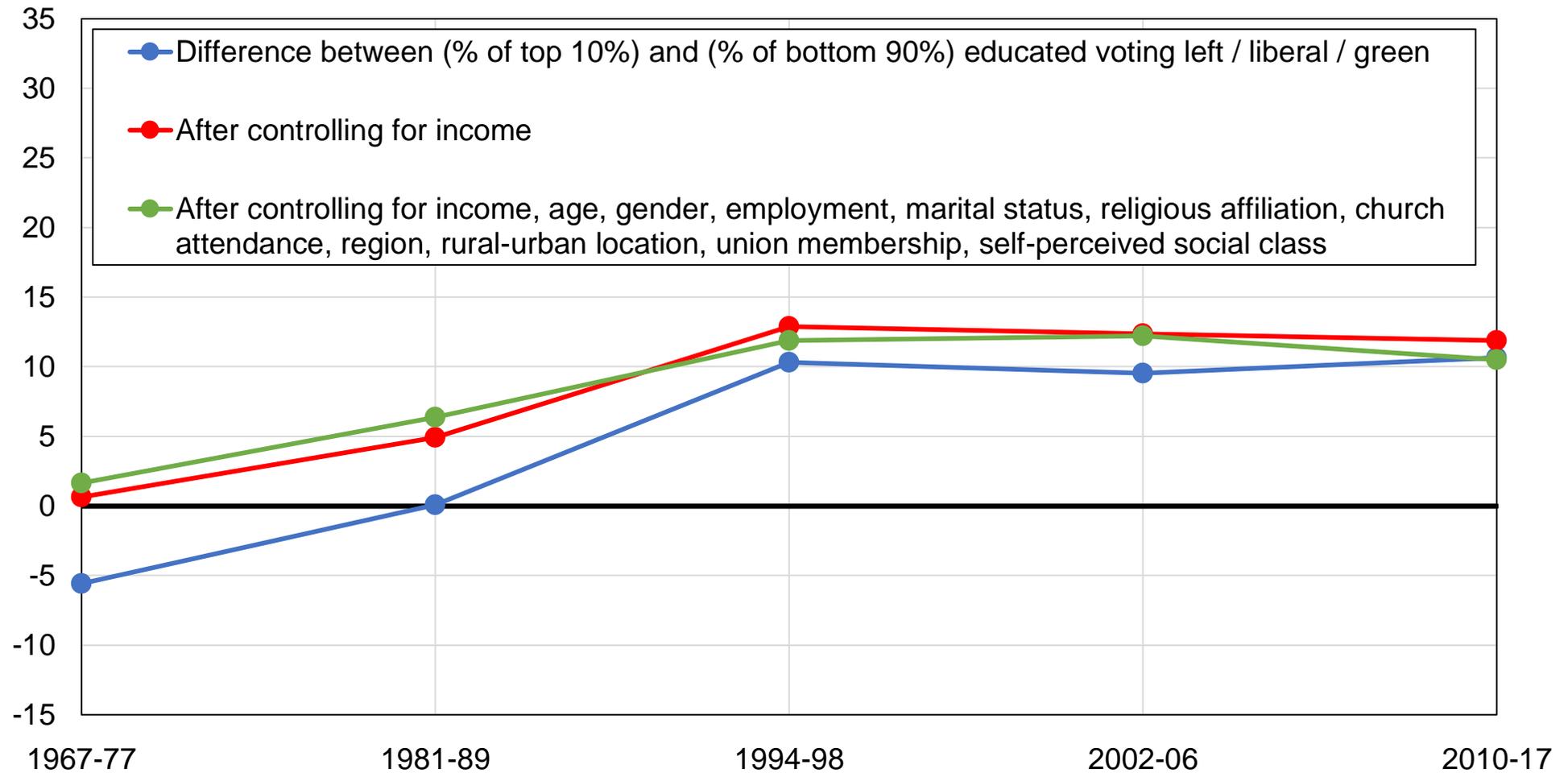
Figure BC3 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among university graduates



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters voting for left / liberal / green parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

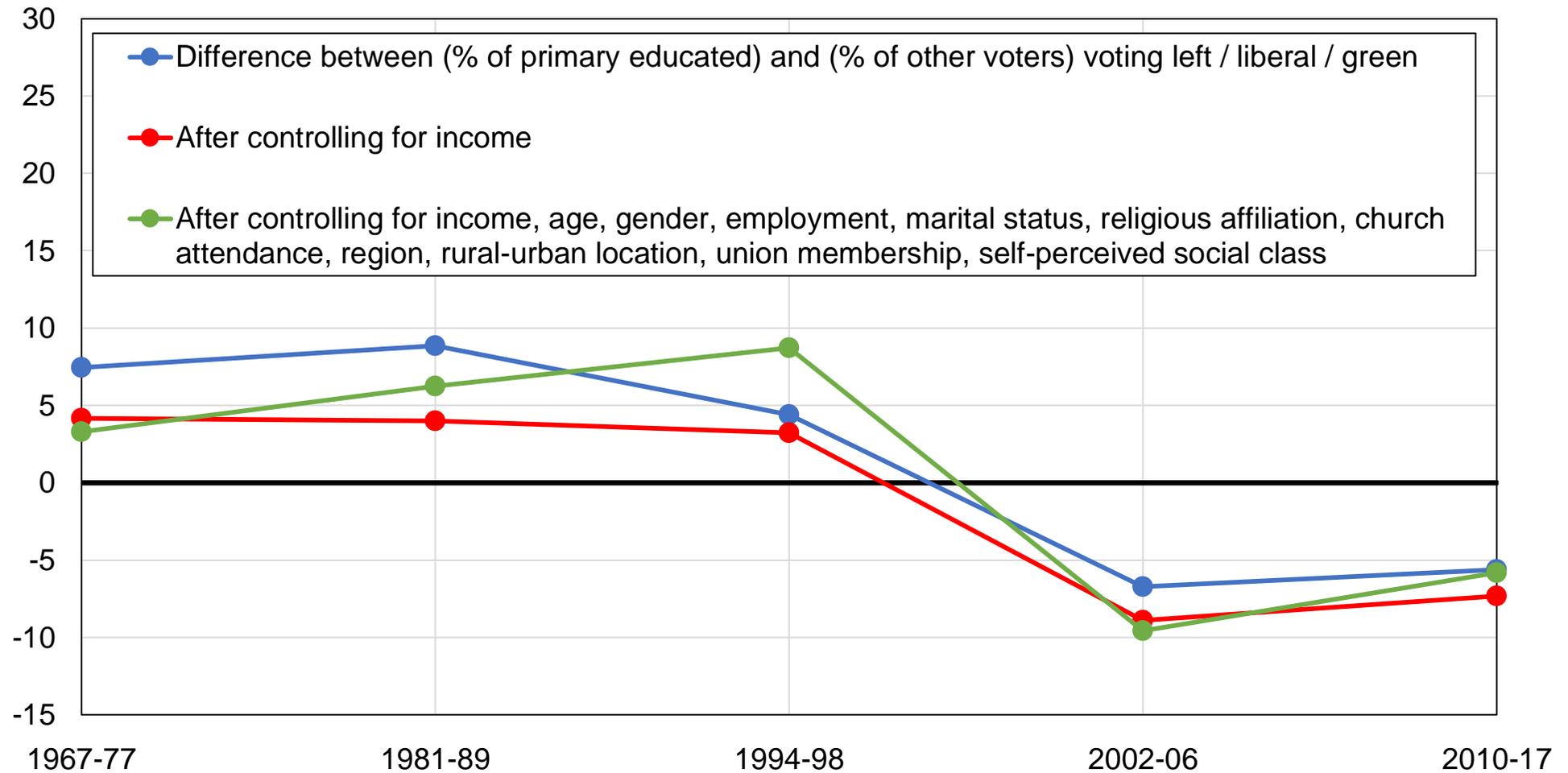
Figure BC4 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among highest-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Dutch 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 left / liberal / green parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

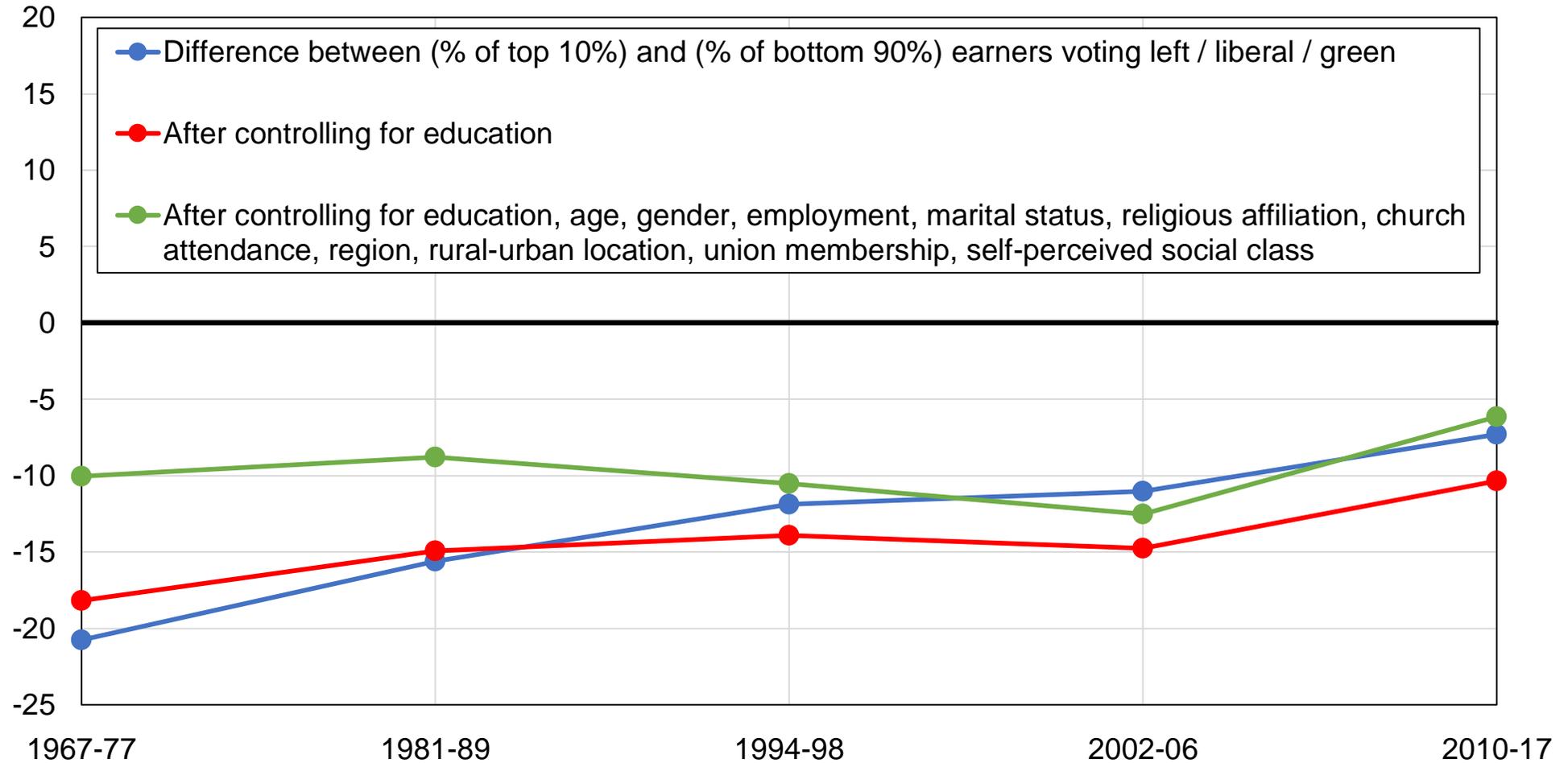
Figure BC5 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among primary educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of primary educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left / liberal / green parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

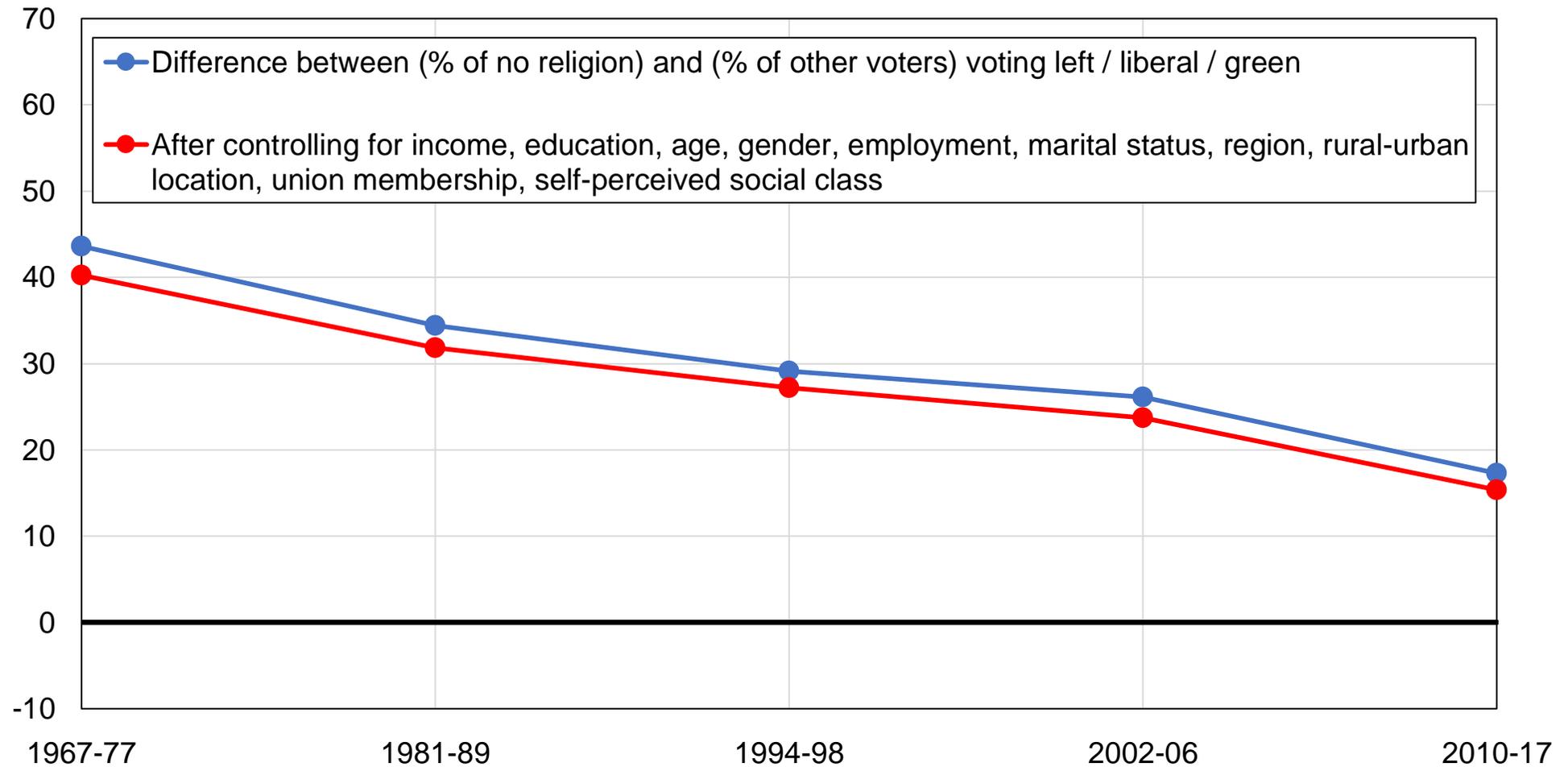
Figure BC6 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among top-income earners



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for left / liberal / green parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

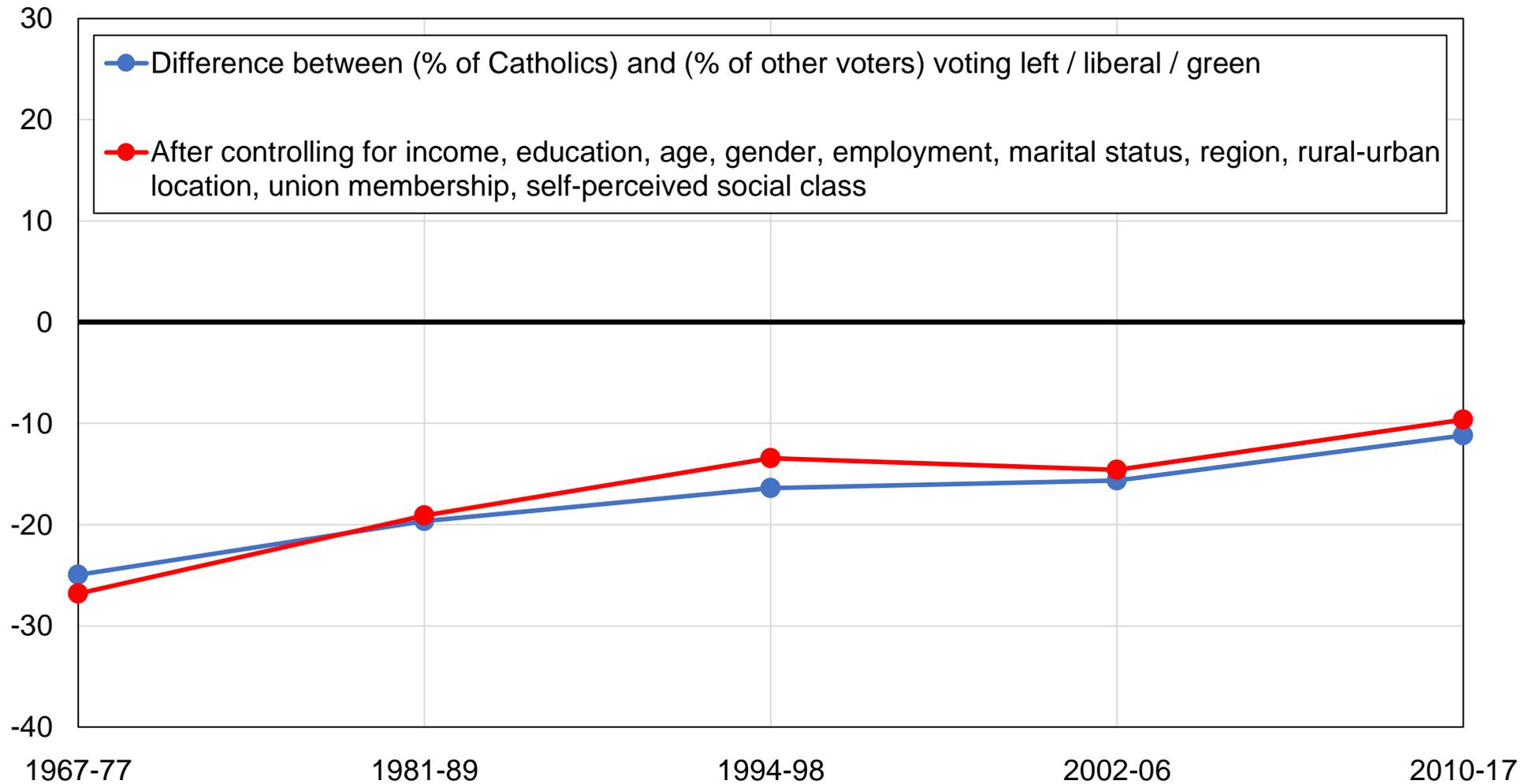
Figure BC7 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among voters with no religion



Source: authors' computations using Dutch 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 left / liberal / green parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

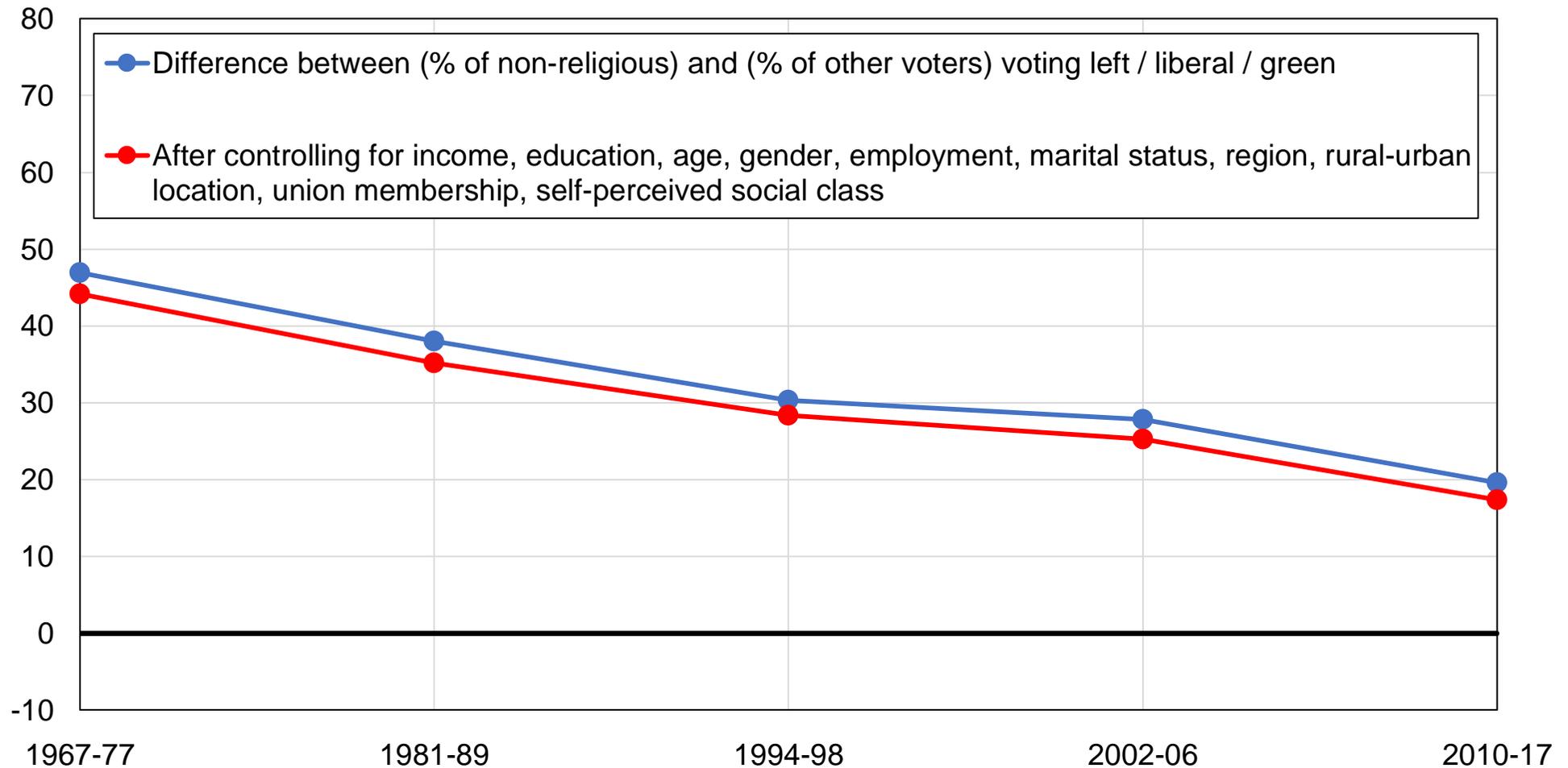
Figure BC8 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among Catholics



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of Catholic voters and the share of other voters voting for left / liberal / green parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

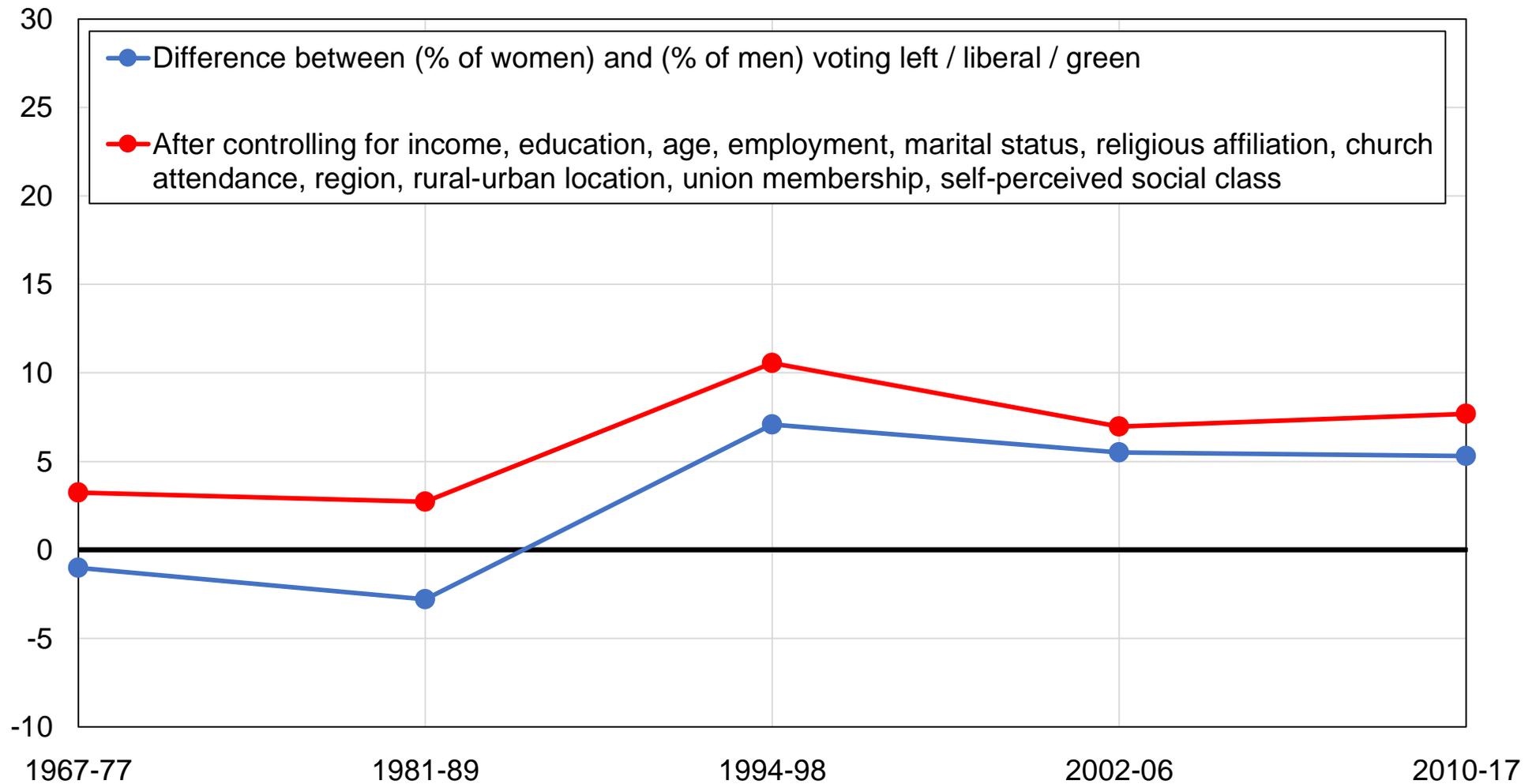
Figure BC9 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among non-religious voters



Source: authors' computations using Dutch 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 left / liberal / green parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

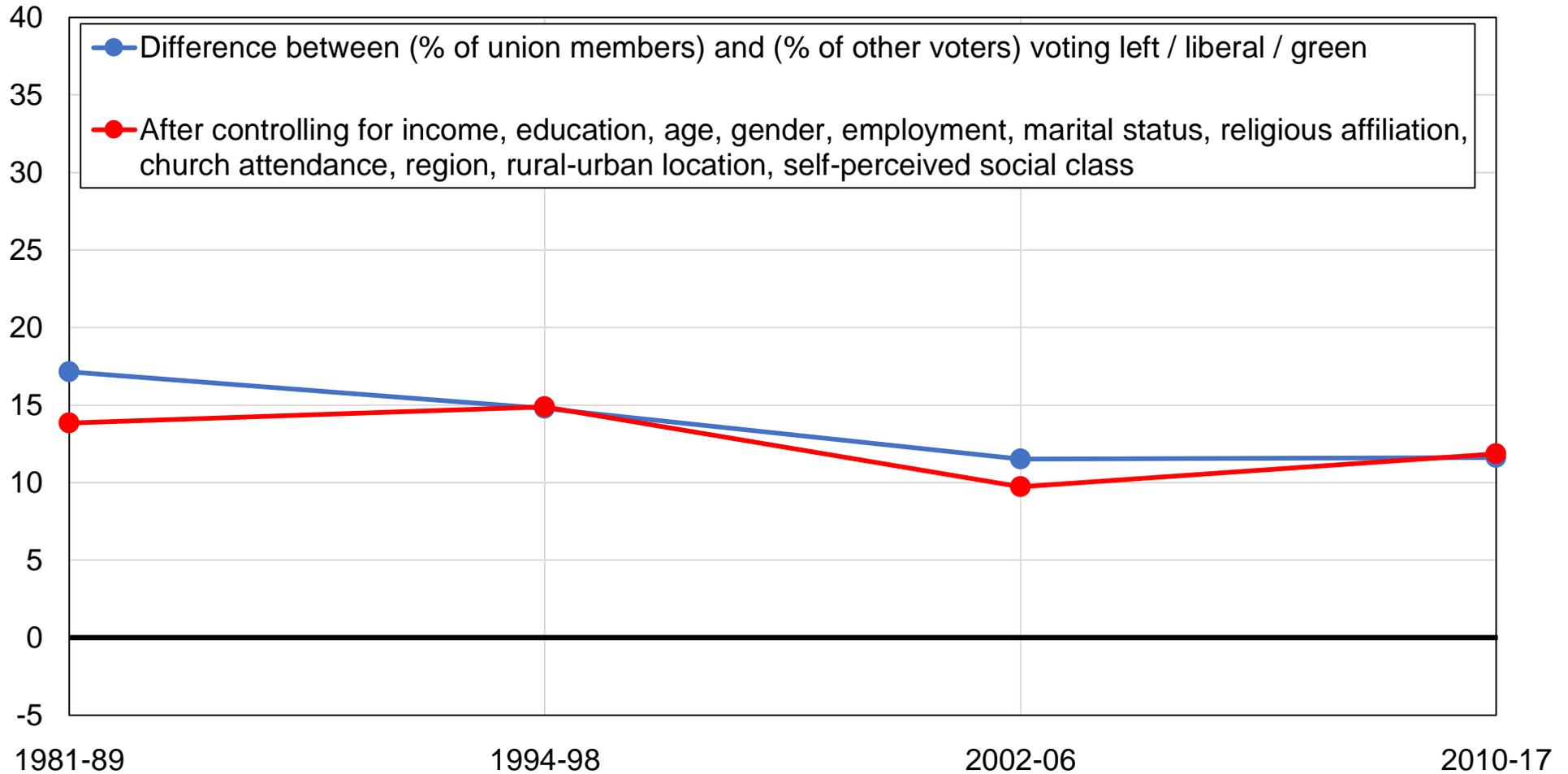
Figure BC10 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among women



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for left / liberal / green parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

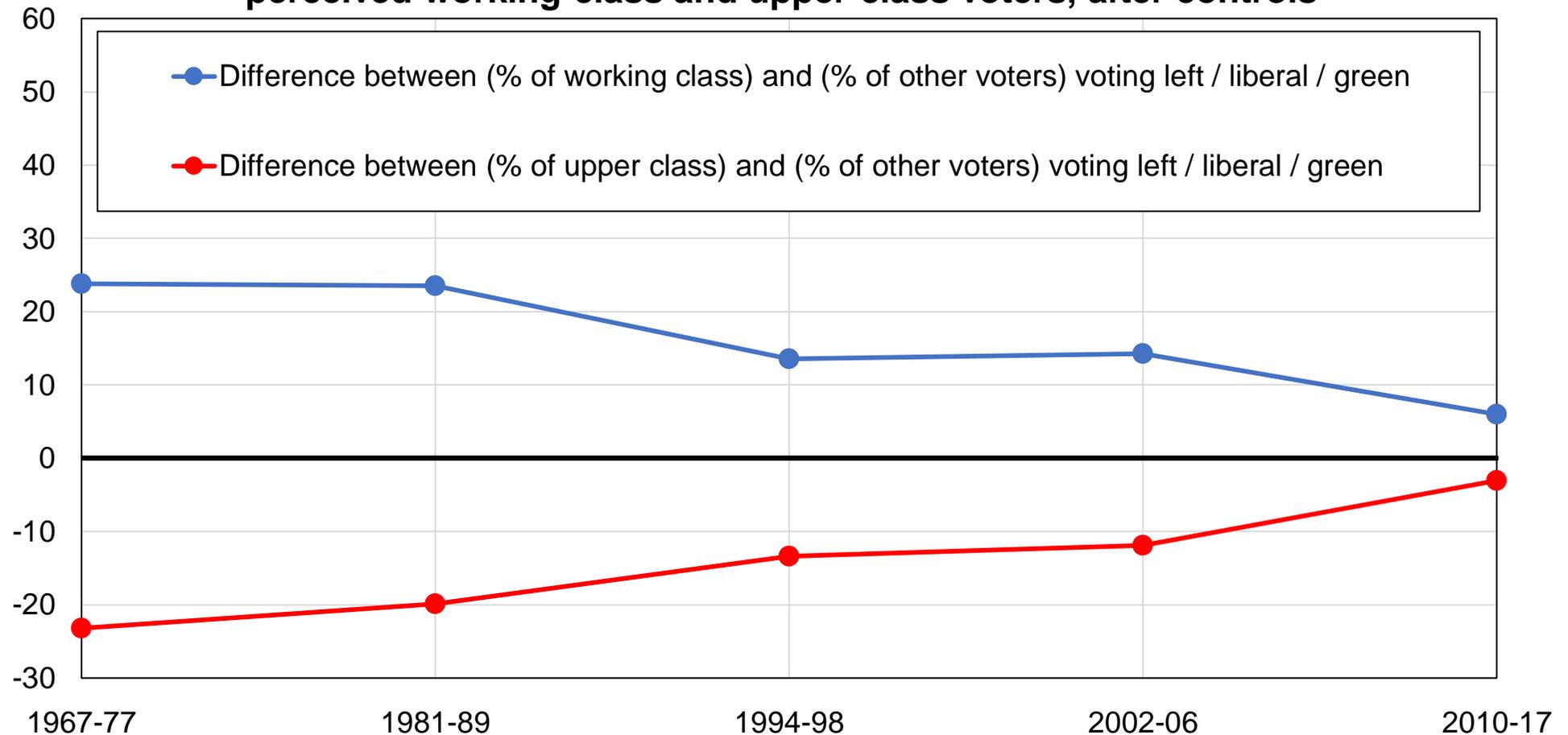
Figure BC11 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among union members



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of union members and the share of other voters voting for left / liberal / green parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

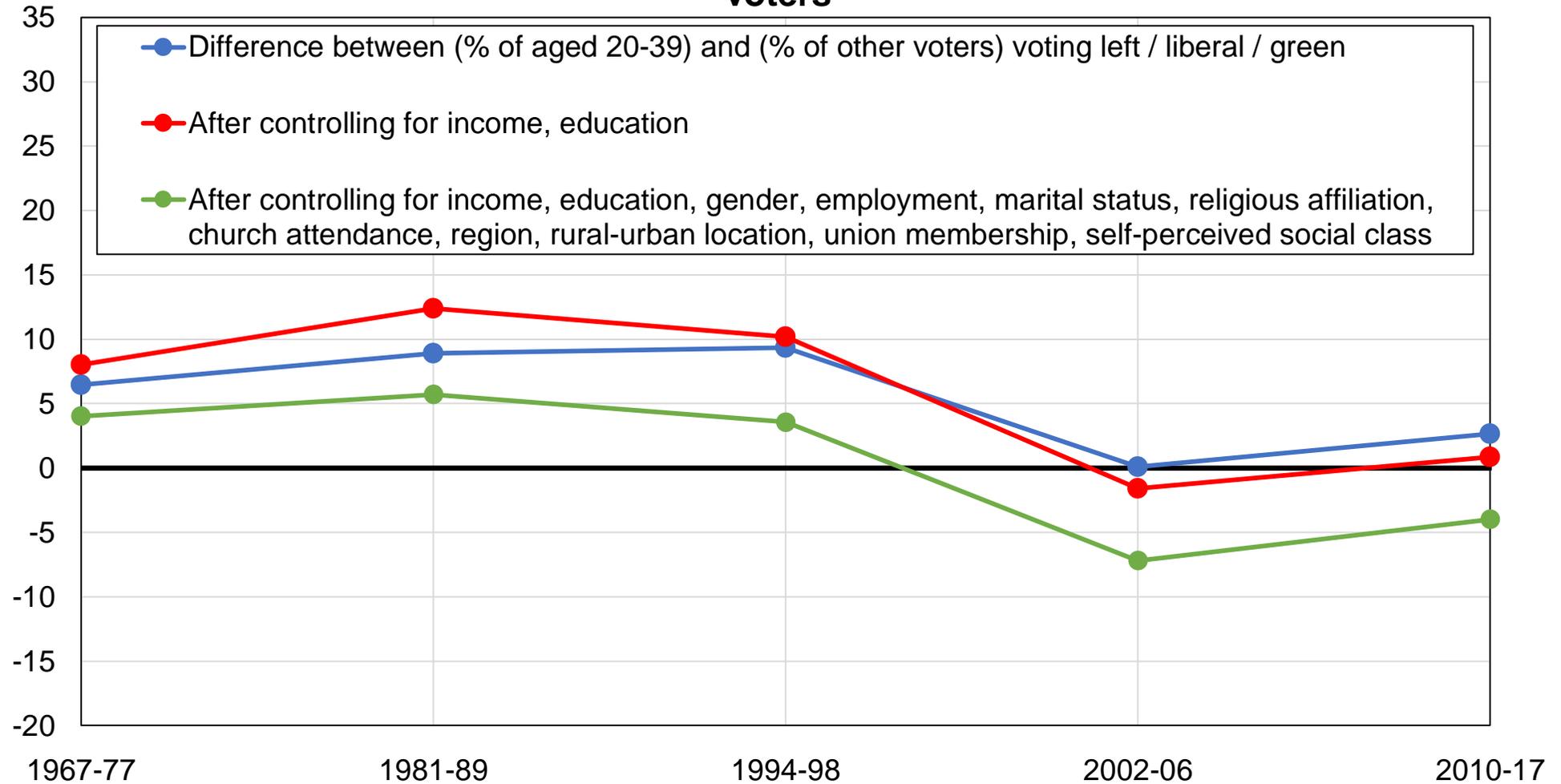
Figure BC12 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among self-perceived working-class and upper-class voters, after controls



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the bias of self-perceived working class and upper class voters towards left / liberal / green parties, after controlling for income, education, age, gender, employment, marital status, religious affiliation, church attendance, region, rural-urban location, and union membership.

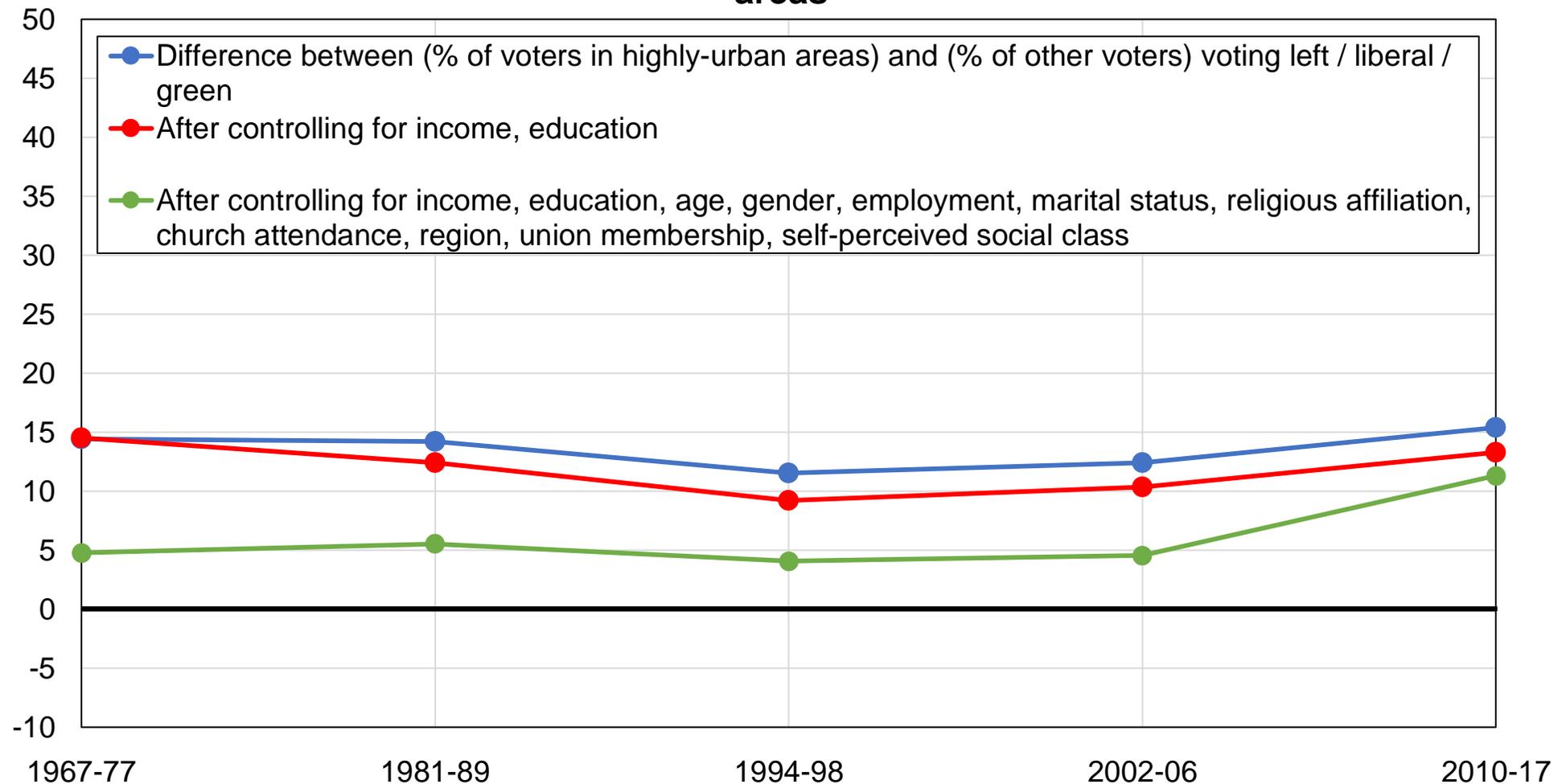
Figure BC13 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among young voters



Source: authors' computations using Dutch 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 left / liberal / green parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

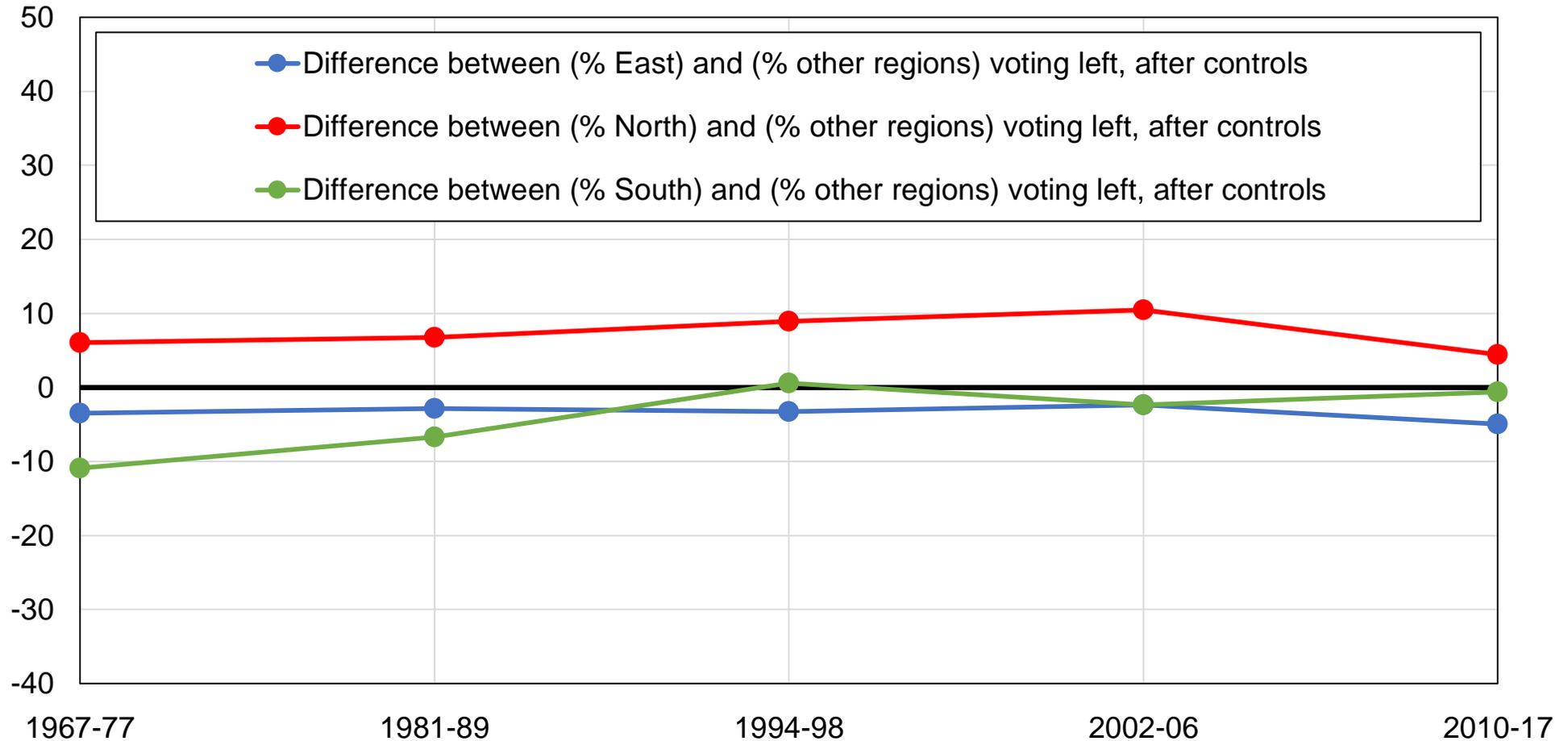
Figure BC14 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among urban areas



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters in highly-urban areas and the share of other voters voting for left / liberal / green parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

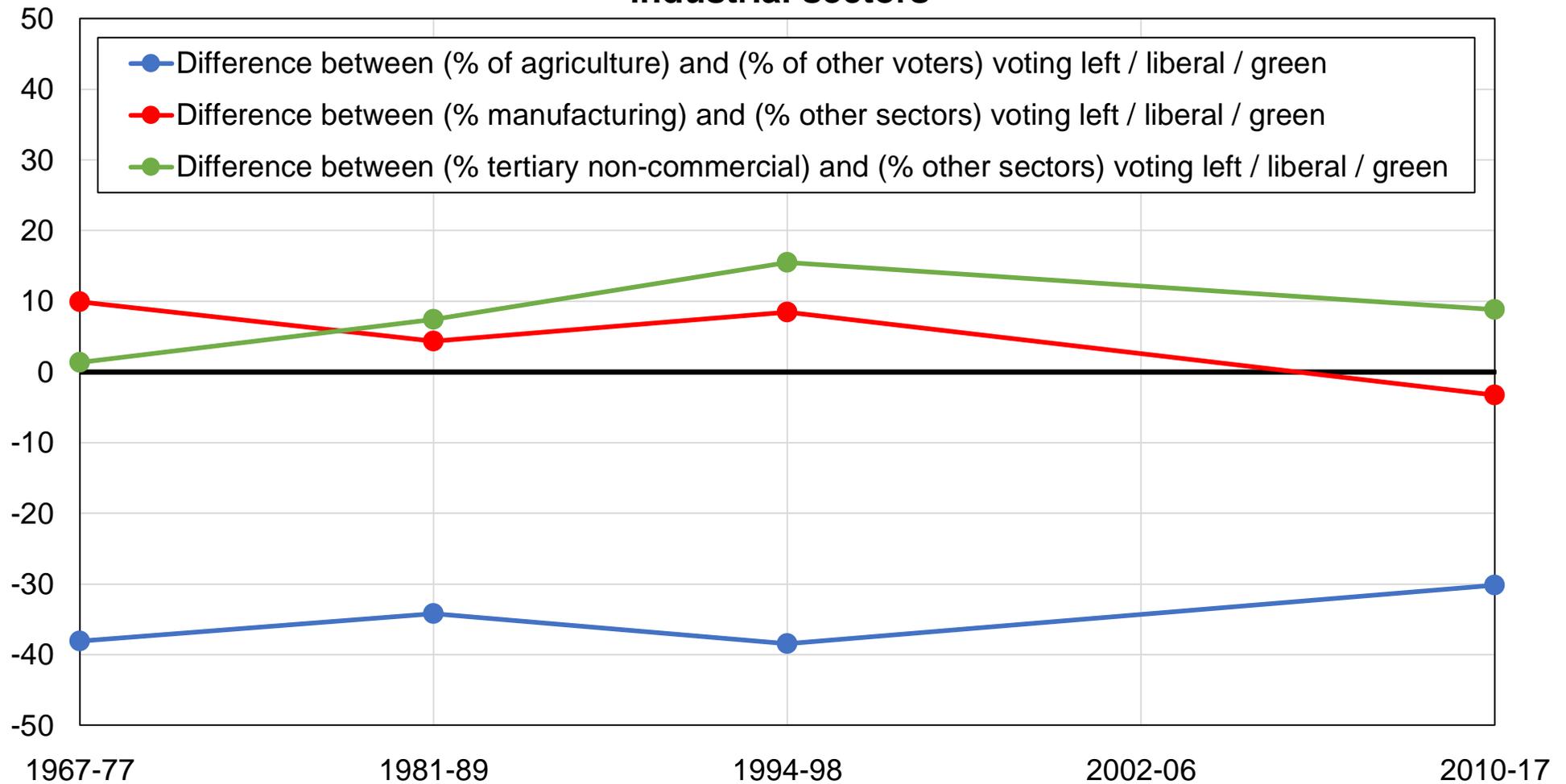
Figure BC15 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among specific regions



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the bias of Dutch regions towards left / liberal / green parties, after controlling for income, education, age, gender, employment, marital status, religious affiliation, church attendance, rural-urban location, union membership, and self-perceived social class.

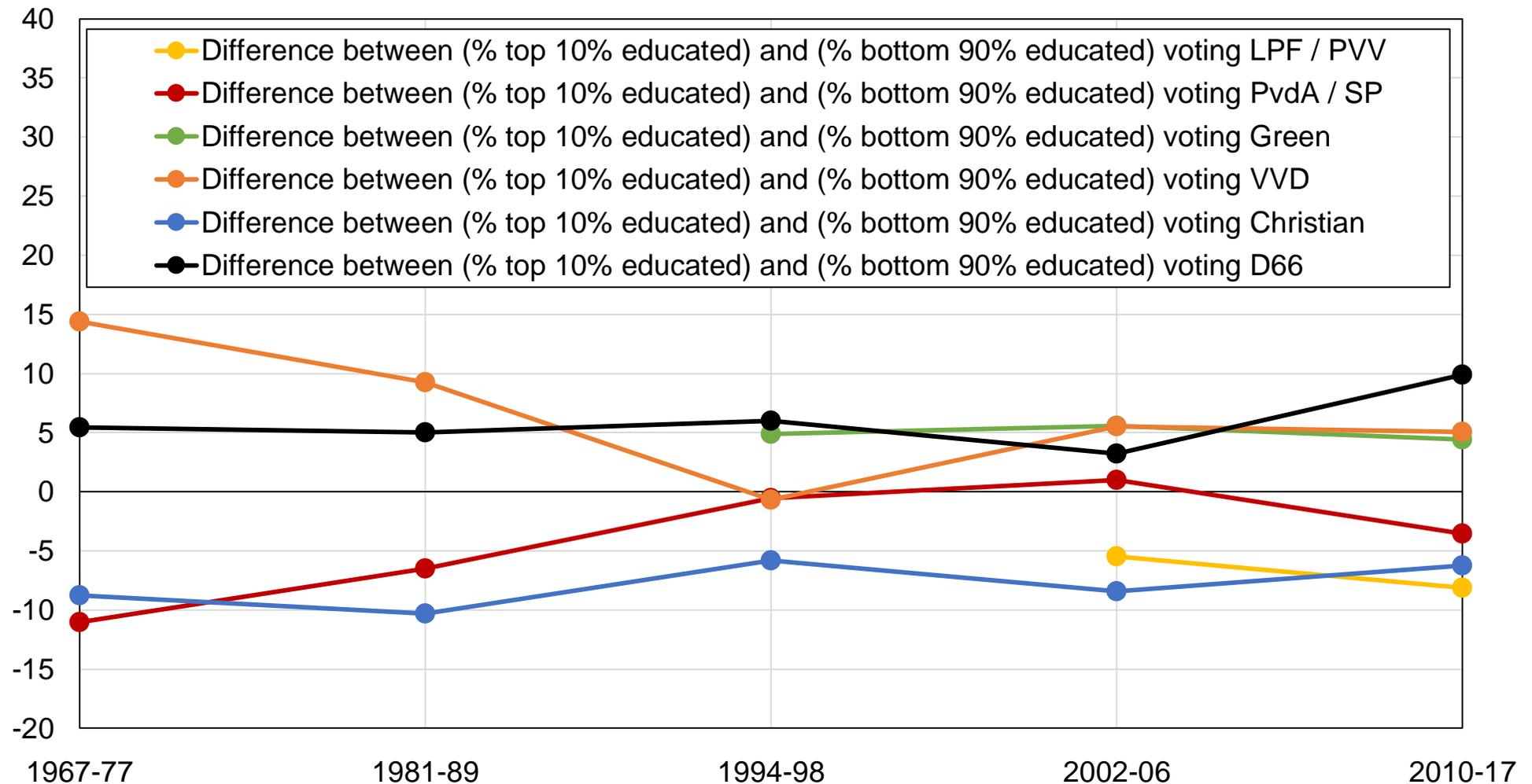
Figure BC16 - Vote for PvdA / D66 / Greens / Other left among specific industrial sectors



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the bias of voters with specific industrial affiliations towards left / liberal / green parties.

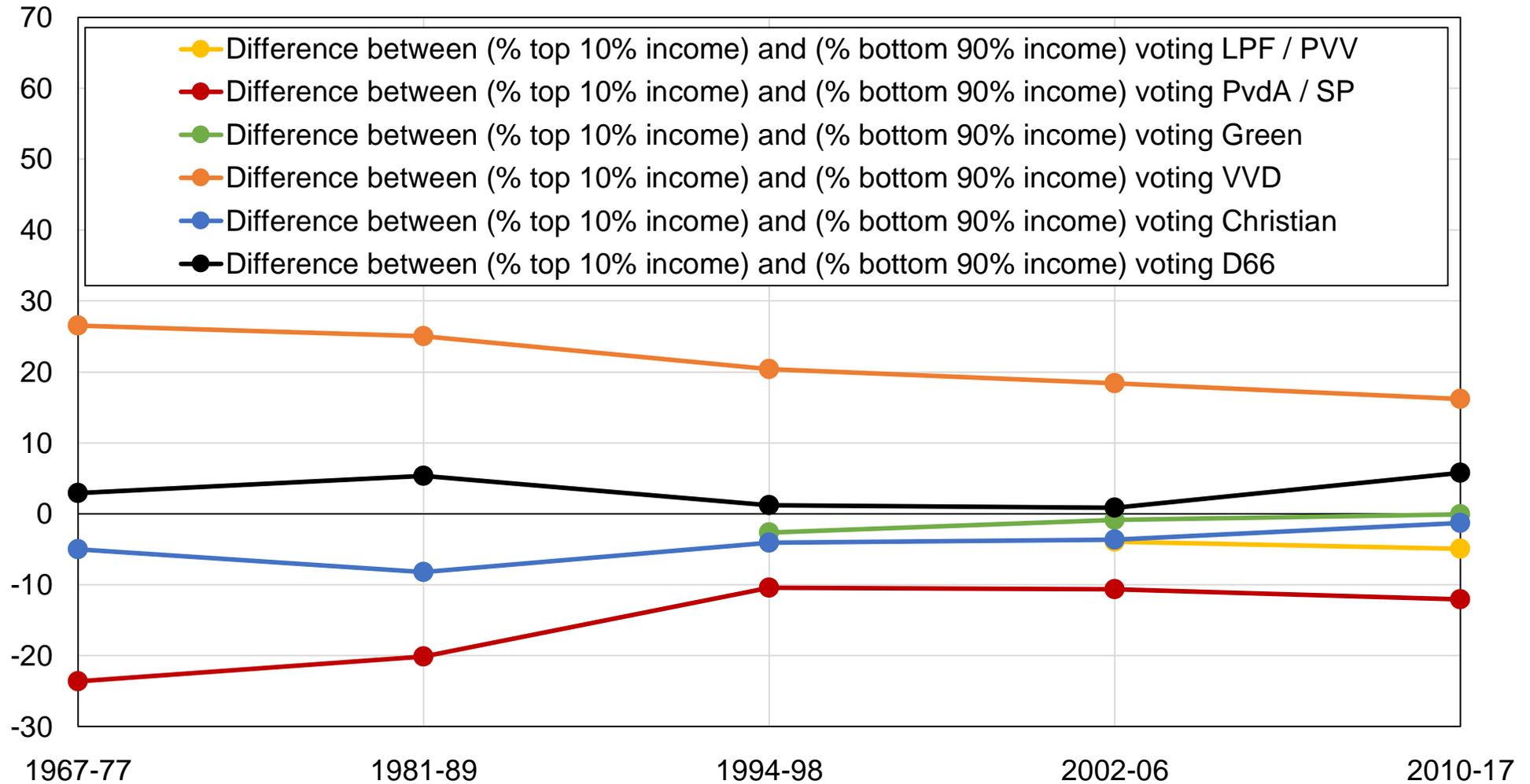
Figure BC17 - The education cleavage in the Netherlands



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the bias of highest-educated voters towards LPF / PVV, PvdA / SP, Green, VVD, Christian Democrats, D66.

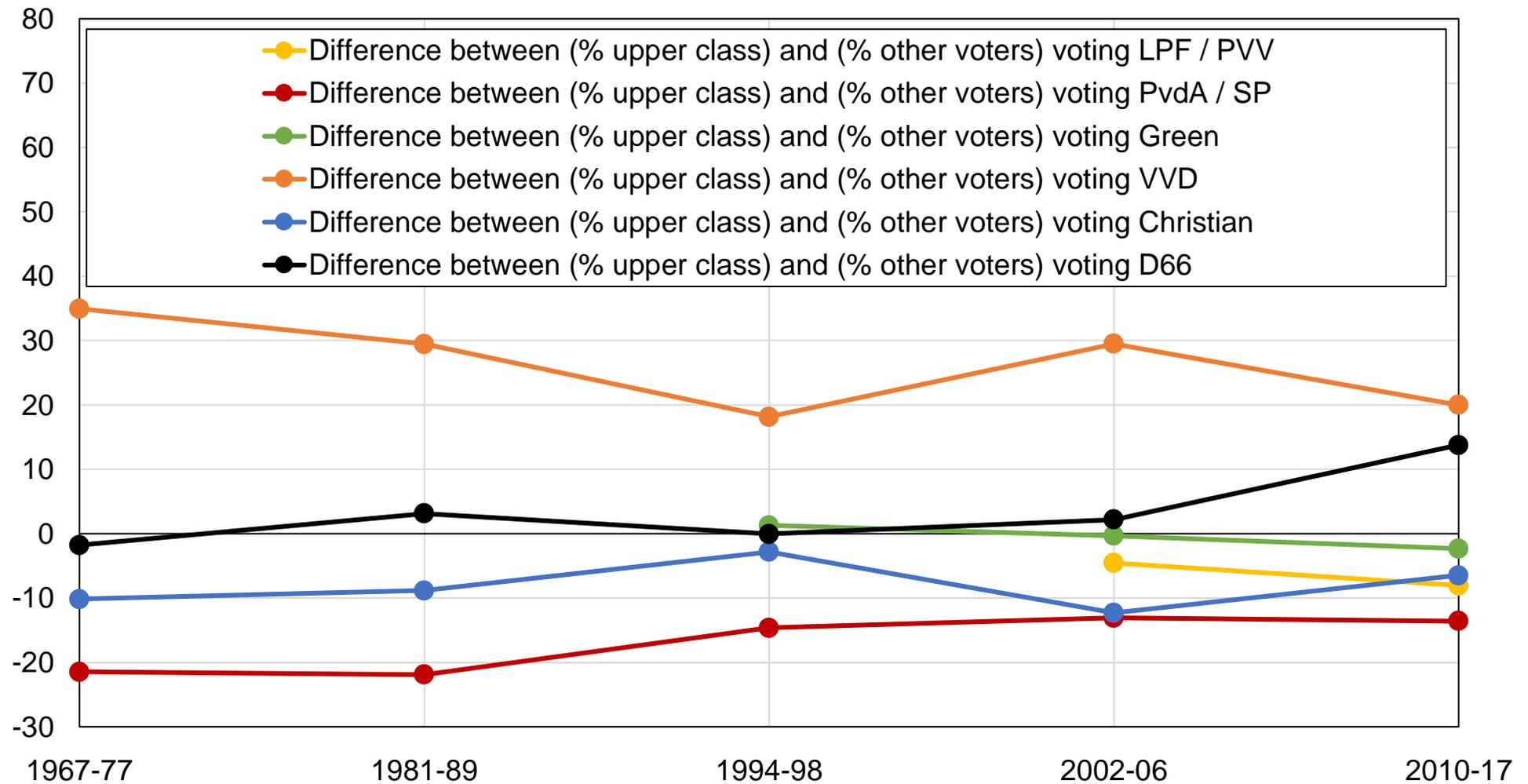
Figure BC18 - The income cleavage in the Netherlands



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the bias of top-income voters towards LPF / PVV, PvdA / SP, Green, VVD, Christian Democrats, D66.

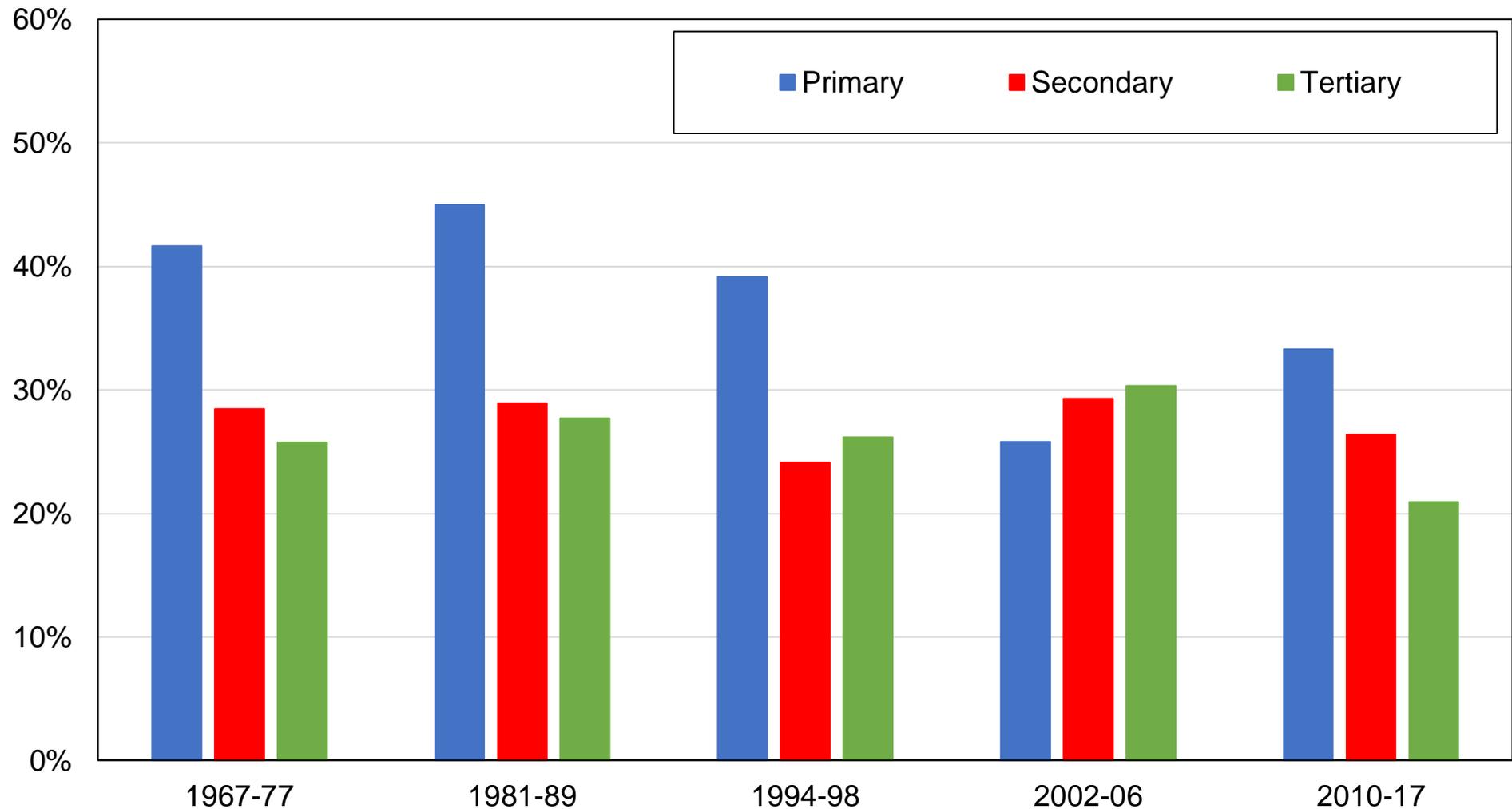
Figure BC19 - Class cleavages in the Netherlands



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the bias of self-perceived upper class voters towards LPF / PVV, PvdA / SP, Green, VVD, Christian Democrats, D66.

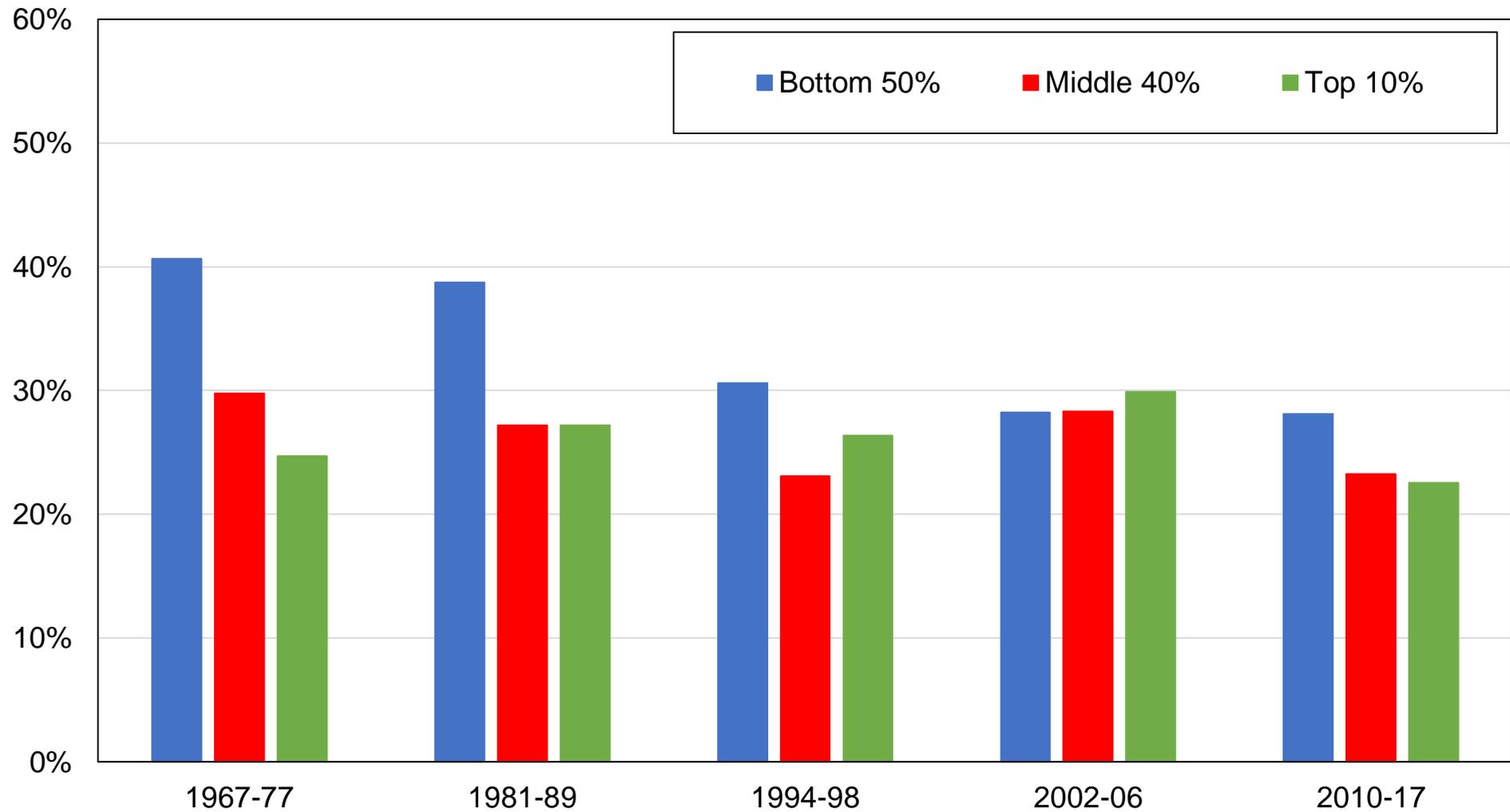
Figure BD1 - Vote for left-wing parties by education level



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party (PvdA) and the Socialist Party (SP) by education level.

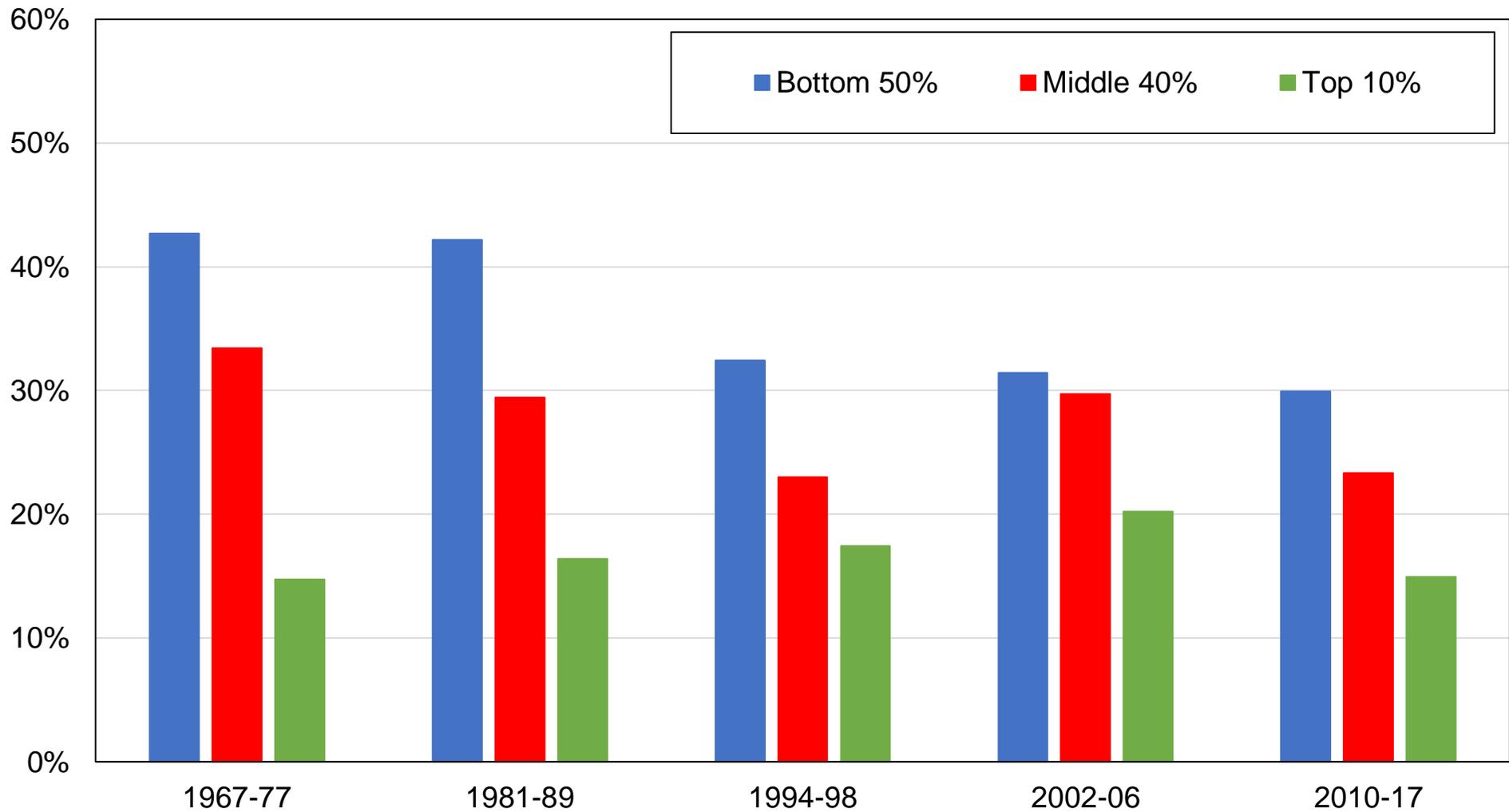
Figure BD2 - Vote for left-wing parties by education group



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party (PvdA) and the Socialist Party (SP) by education group.

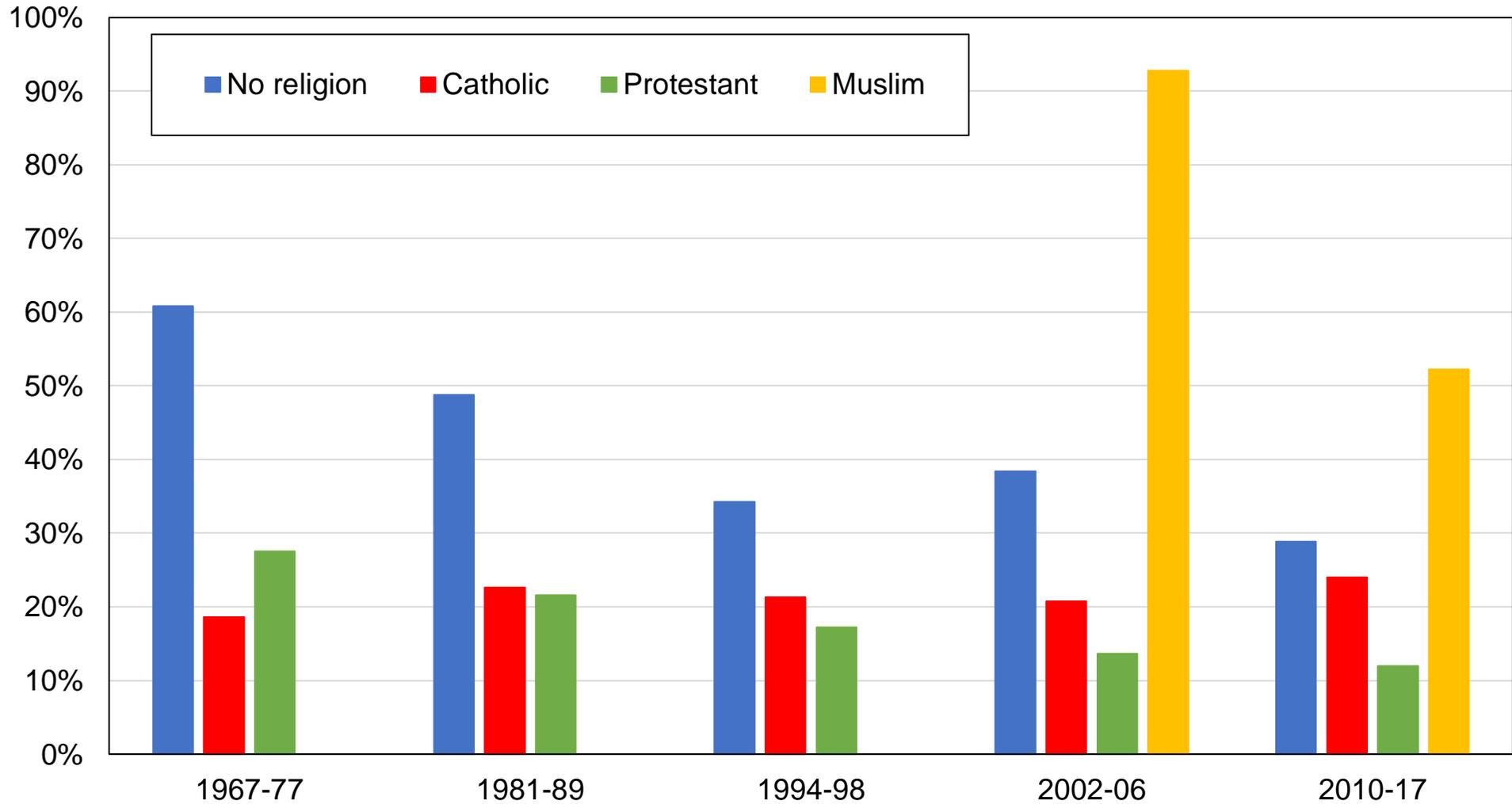
Figure BD3 - Vote for left-wing parties by income group



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party (PvdA) and the Socialist Party (SP) by income group.

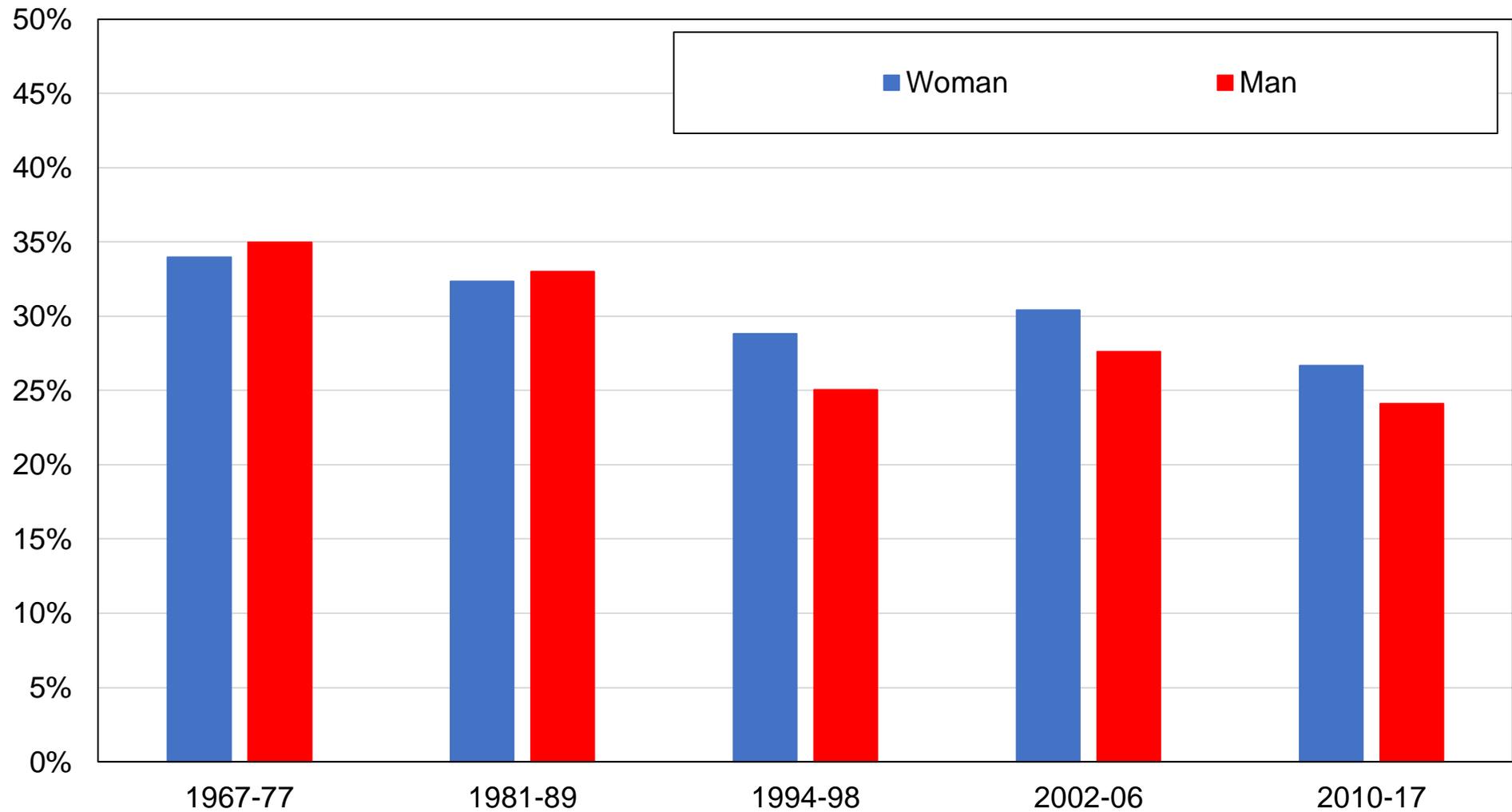
Figure BD4 - Vote for left-wing parties by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party (PvdA) and the Socialist Party (SP) by religious affiliation.

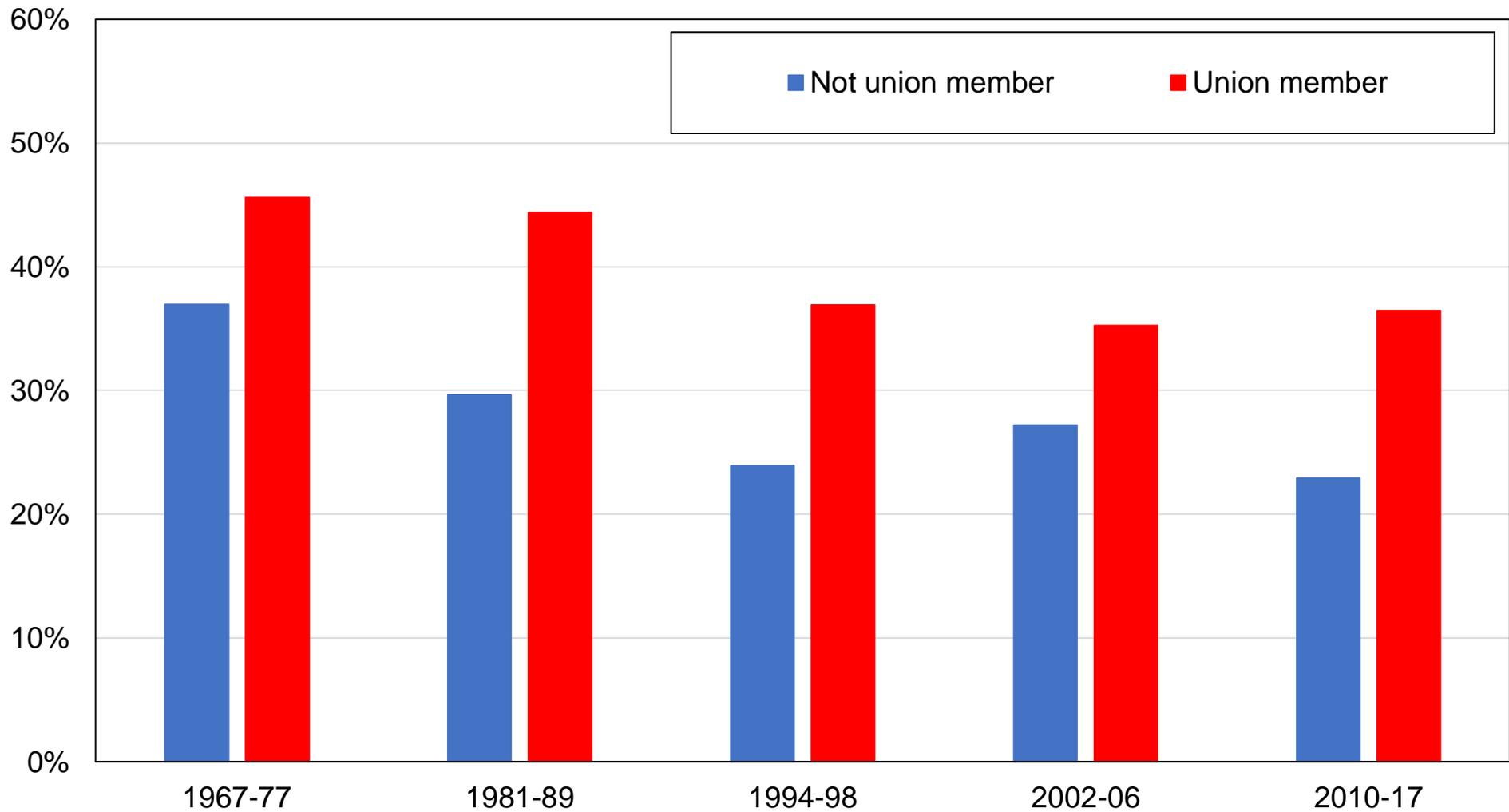
Figure BD5 - Vote for left-wing parties by gender



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party (PvdA) and the Socialist Party (SP) by gender.

Figure BD6 - Vote for left-wing parties by union membership



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party (PvdA) and the Socialist Party (SP) by union membership status.

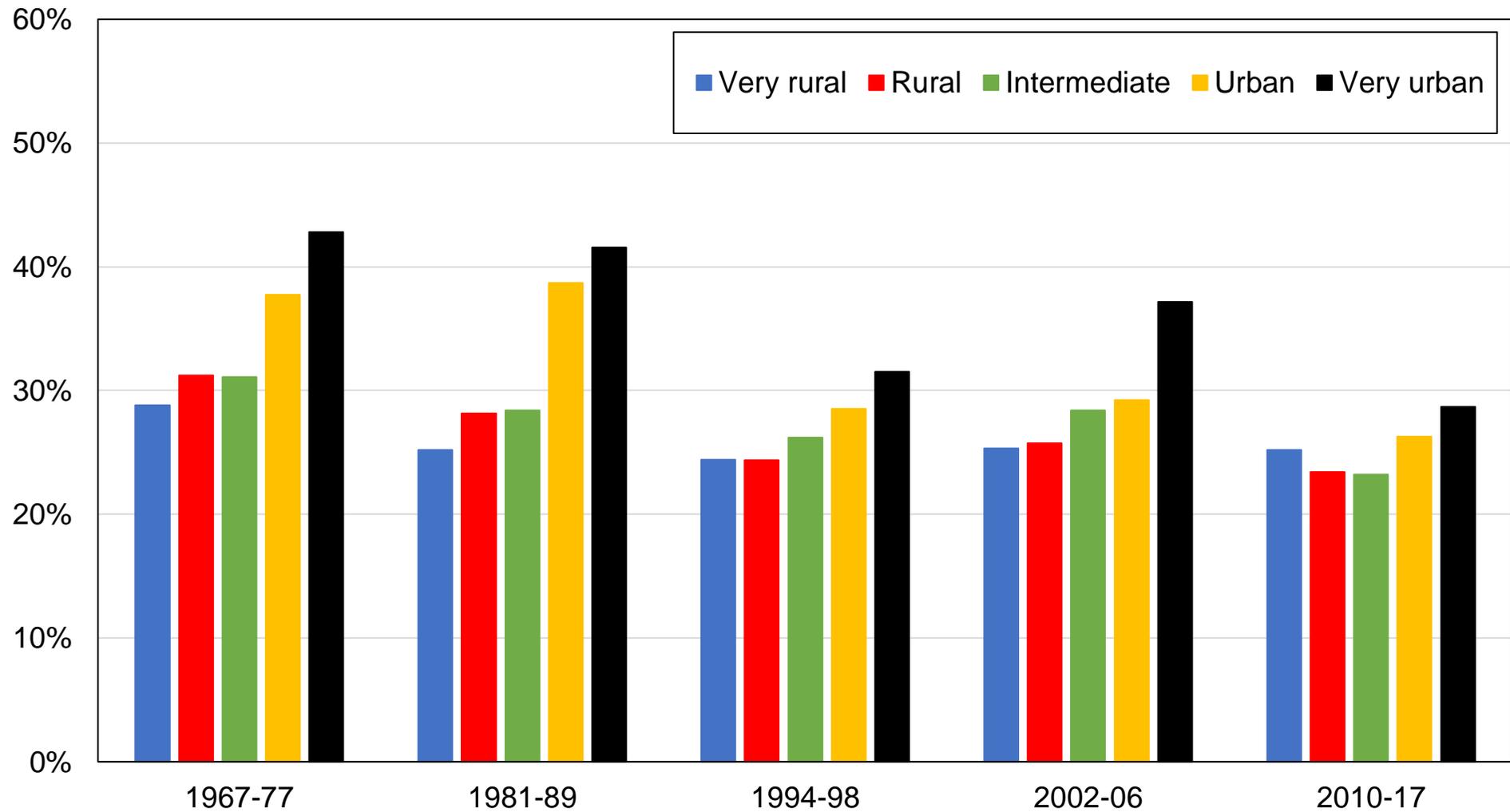
Figure BD7 - Vote left-wing parties by self-perceived social class



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party (PvdA) and the Socialist Party (SP) by self-perceived social class.

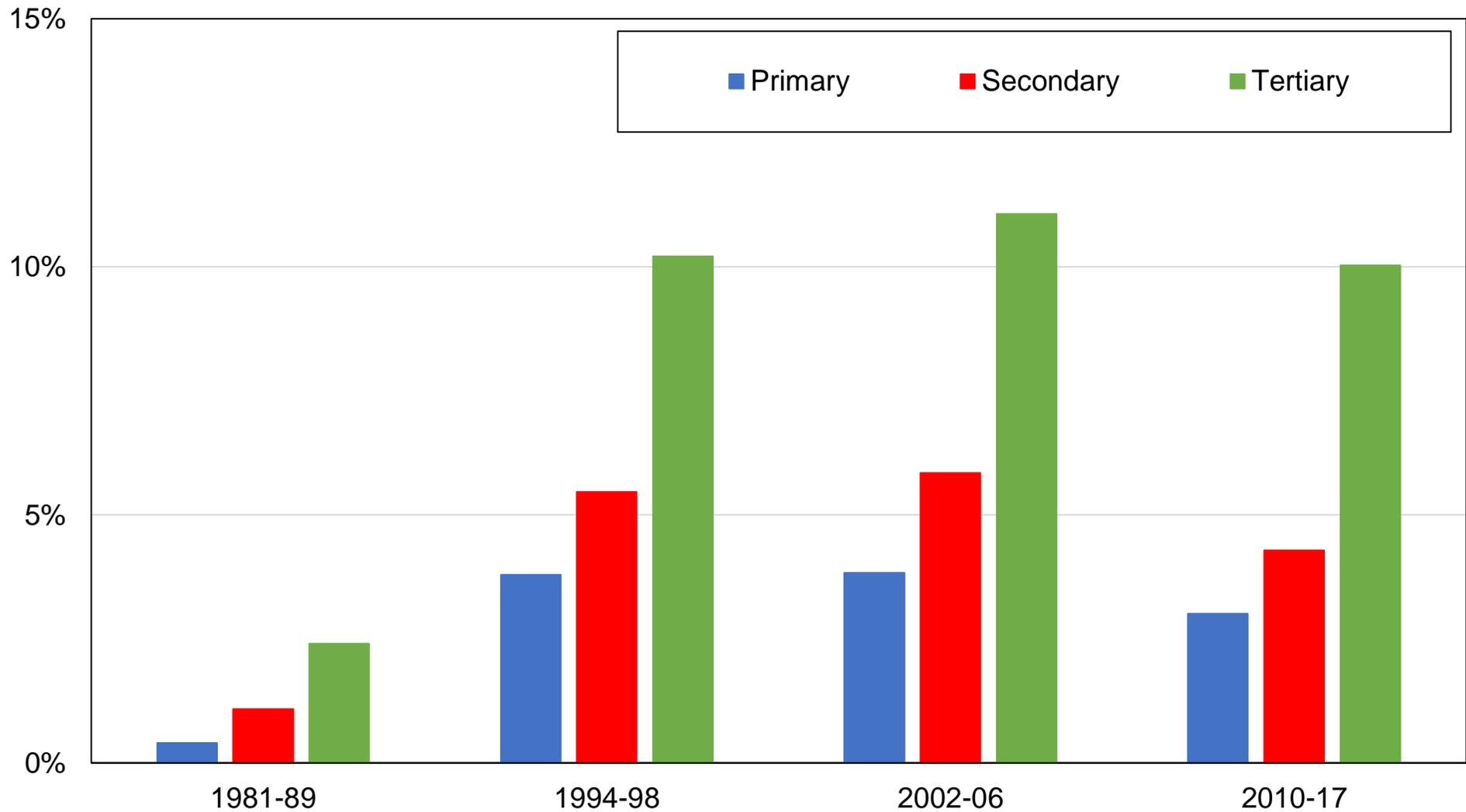
Figure BD8 - Vote for left-wing parties by location



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party (PvdA) and the Socialist Party (SP) by rural-urban location.

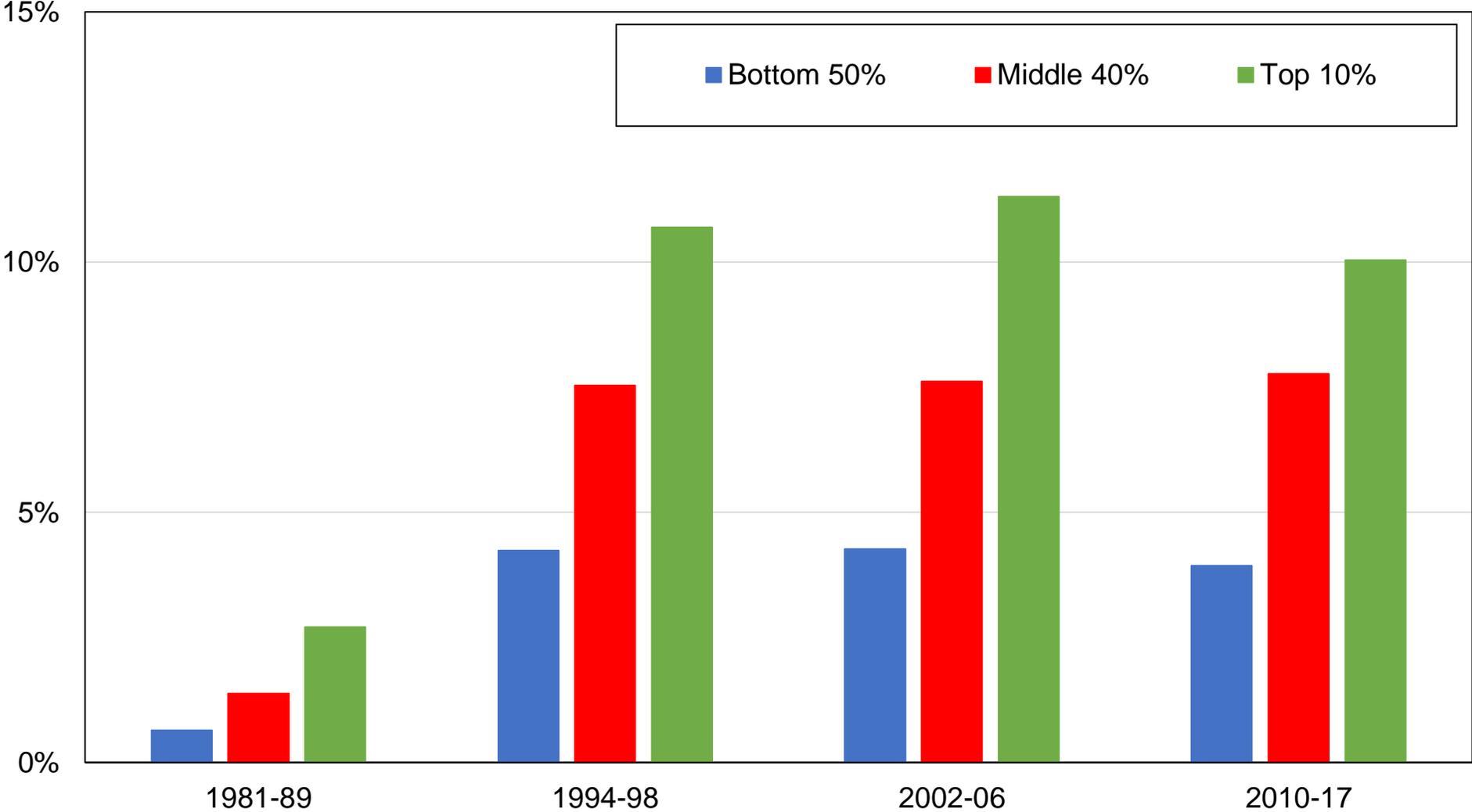
Figure BD9 - Vote for GroenLinks by education level



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the GroenLinks (ecologists) by education level.

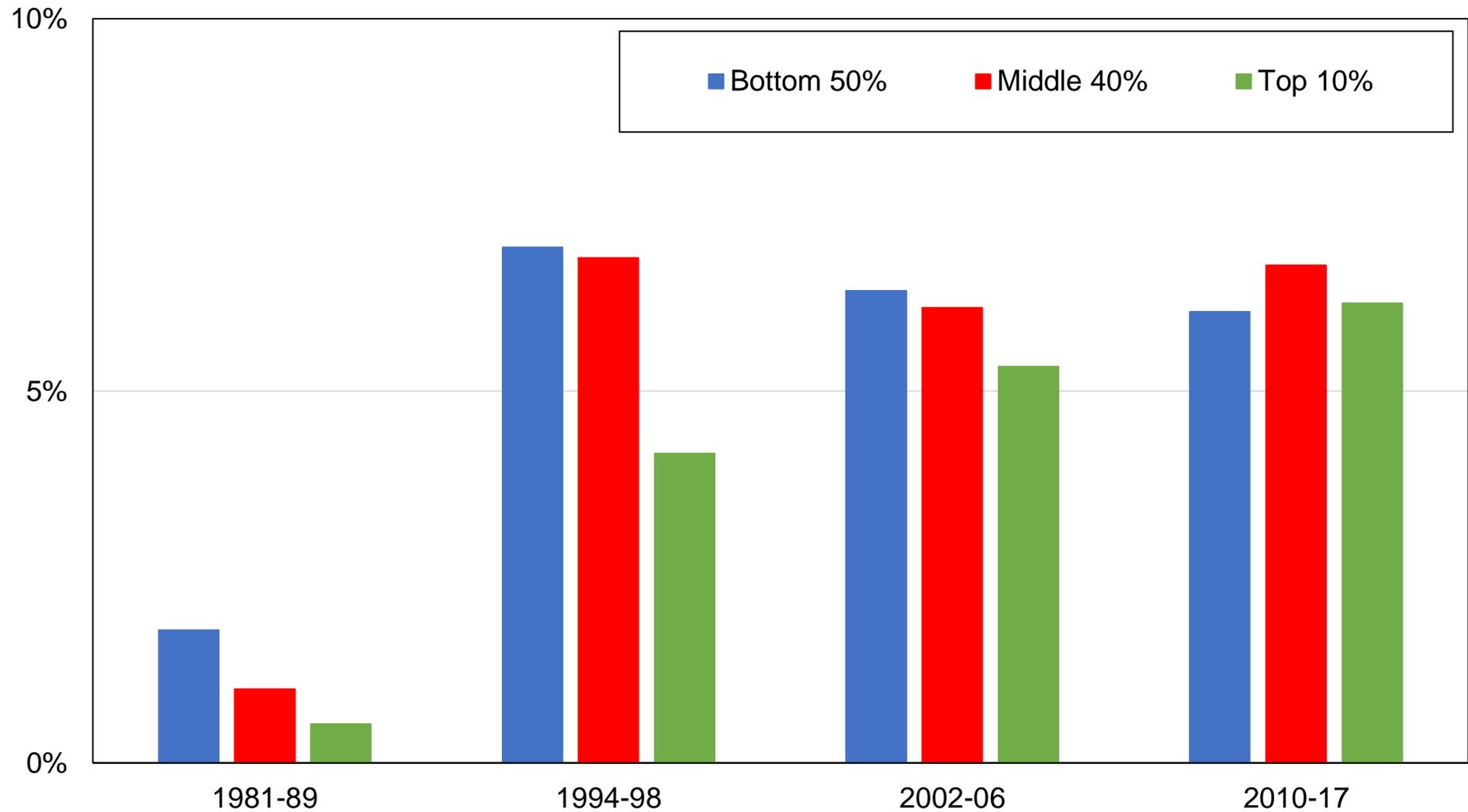
Figure BD10 - Vote for GroenLinks by education group



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the GroenLinks (ecologists) by education group.

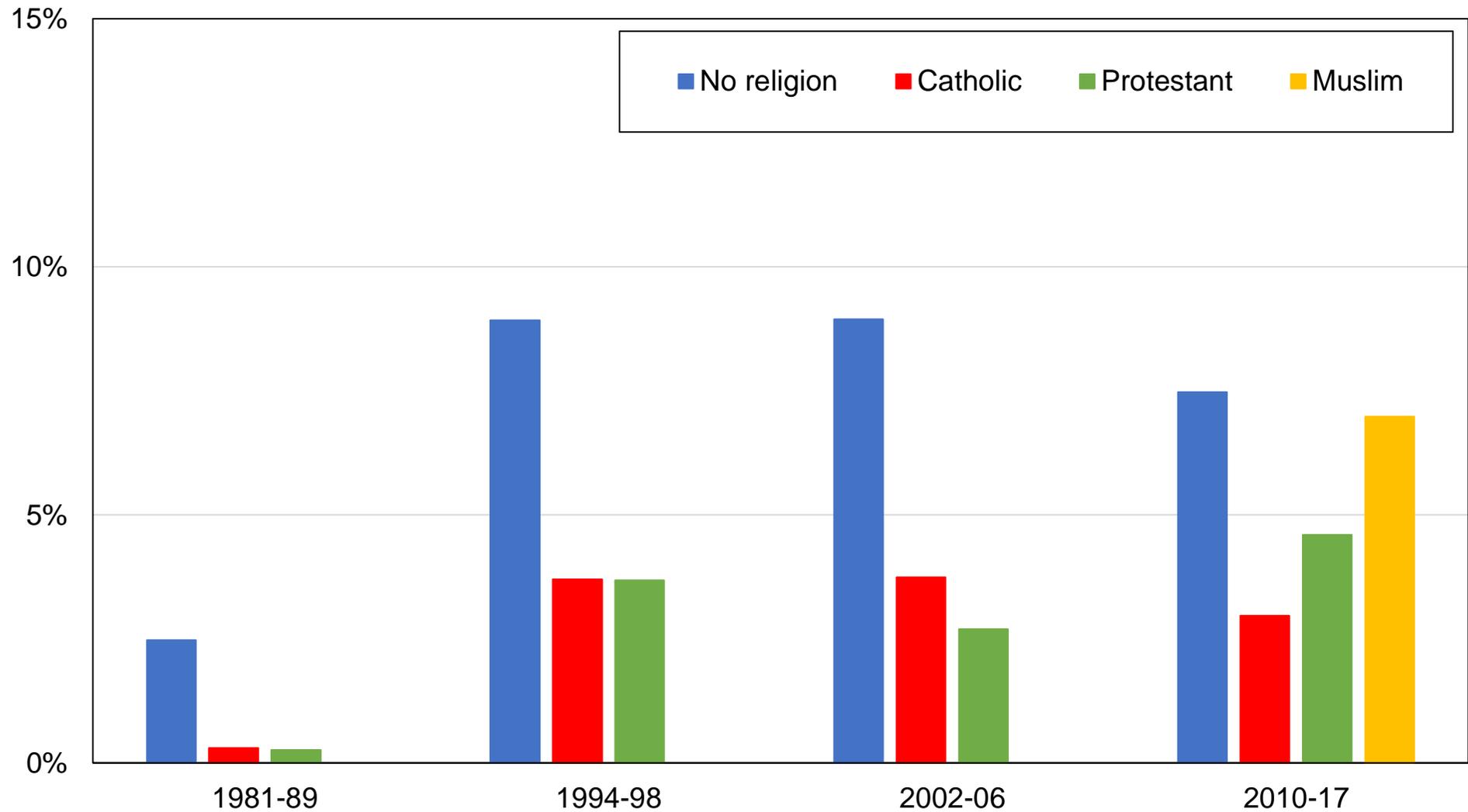
Figure BD11 - Vote for GroenLinks by income group



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the GroenLinks (ecologists) by income group.

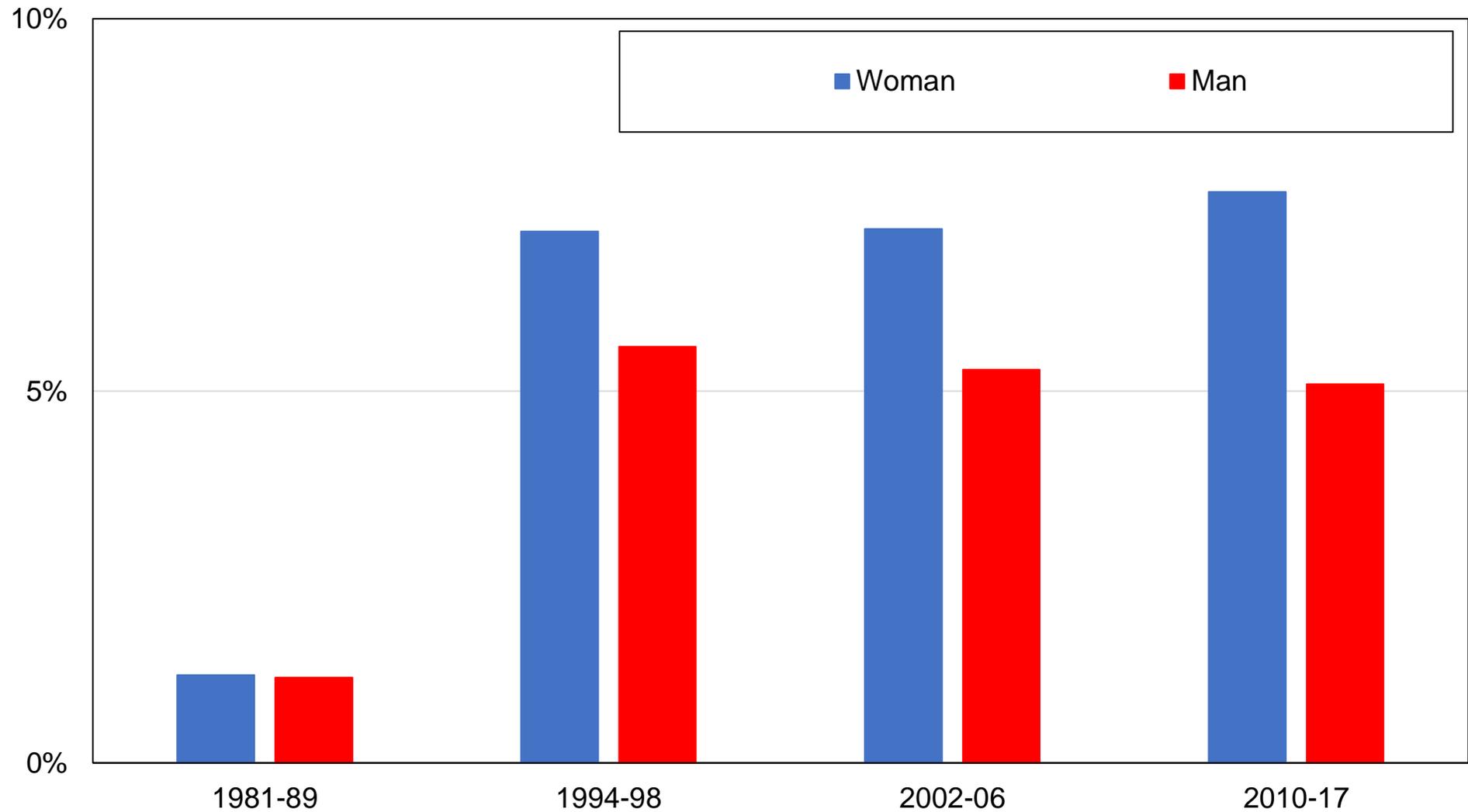
Figure BD12 - Vote for GroenLinks by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the GroenLinks (ecologists) by religious affiliation.

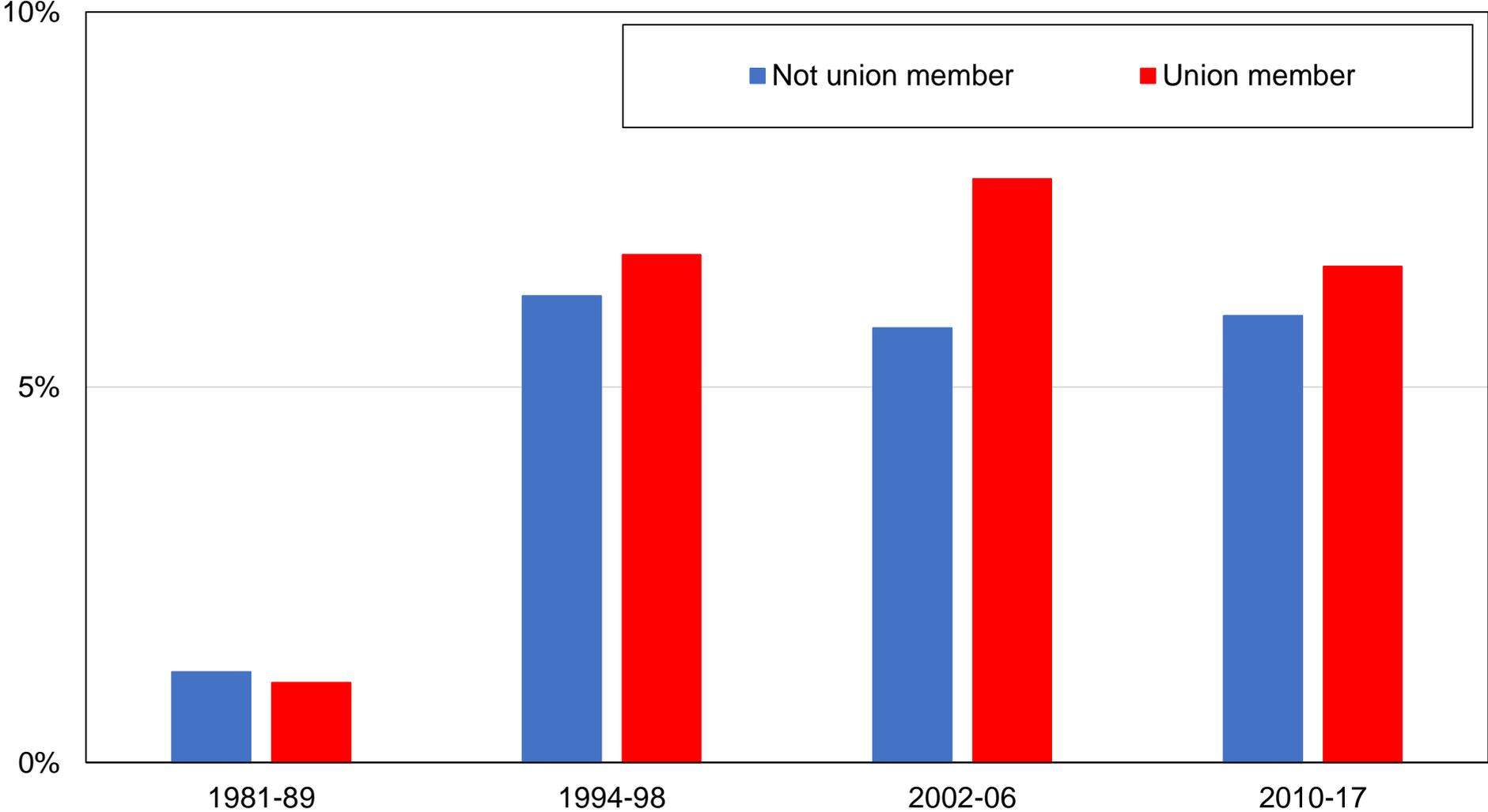
Figure BD13 - Vote for GroenLinks by gender



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the GroenLinks (ecologists) by gender.

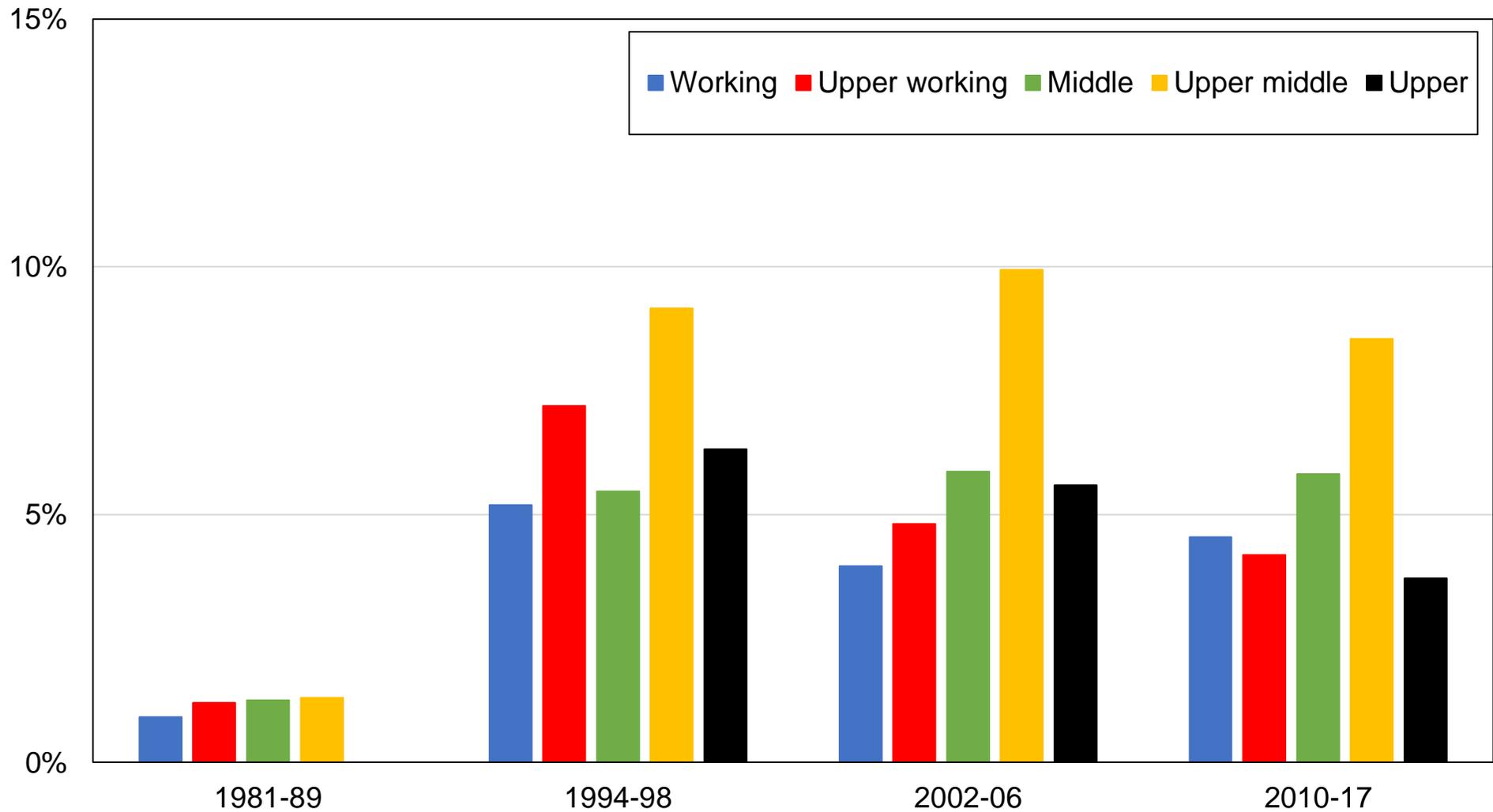
Figure BD14 - Vote for GroenLinks by union membership



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the GroenLinks (ecologists) by union membership status.

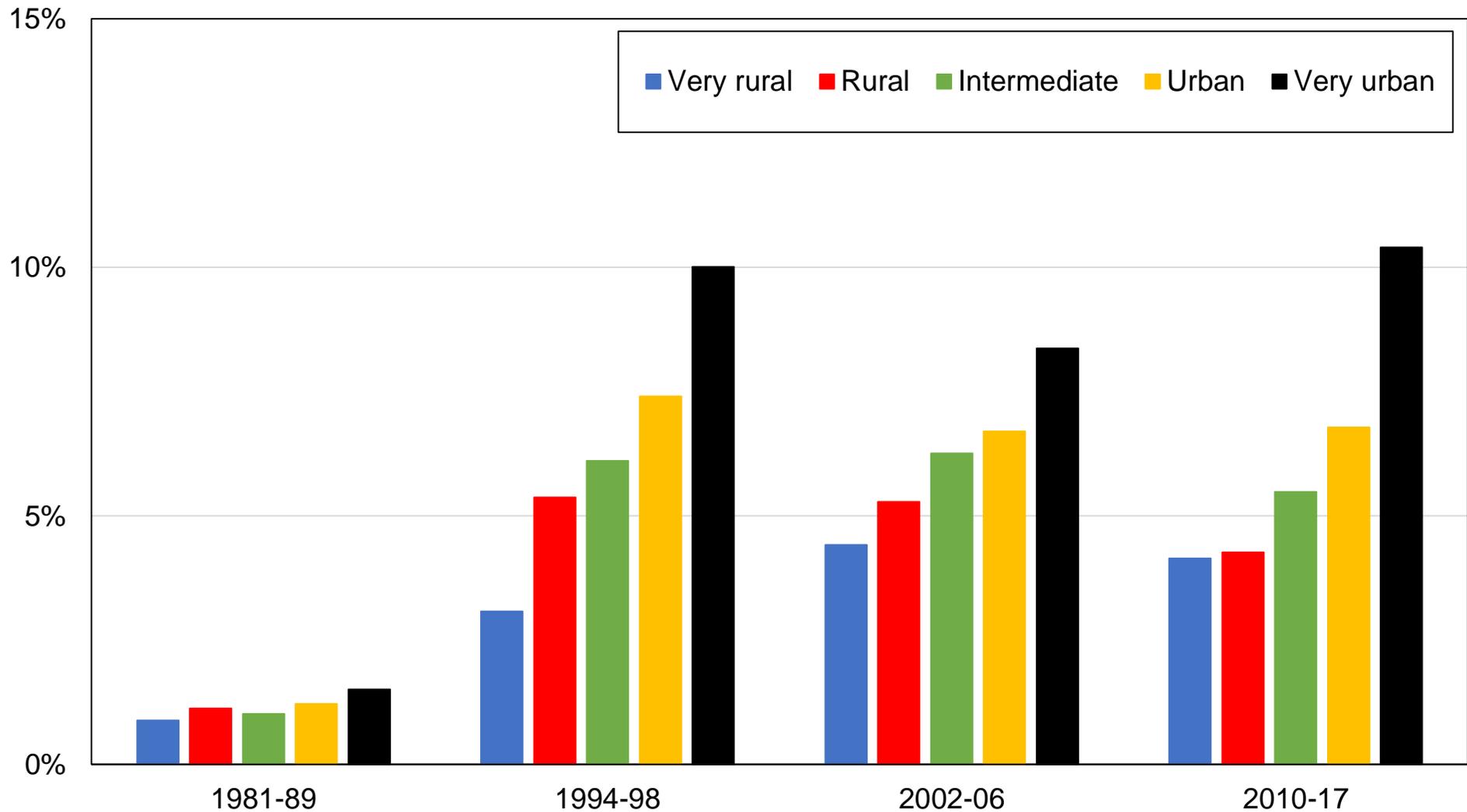
Figure BD15 - Vote for GroenLinks by perceived class



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the GroenLinks (ecologists) by self-percieved social class.

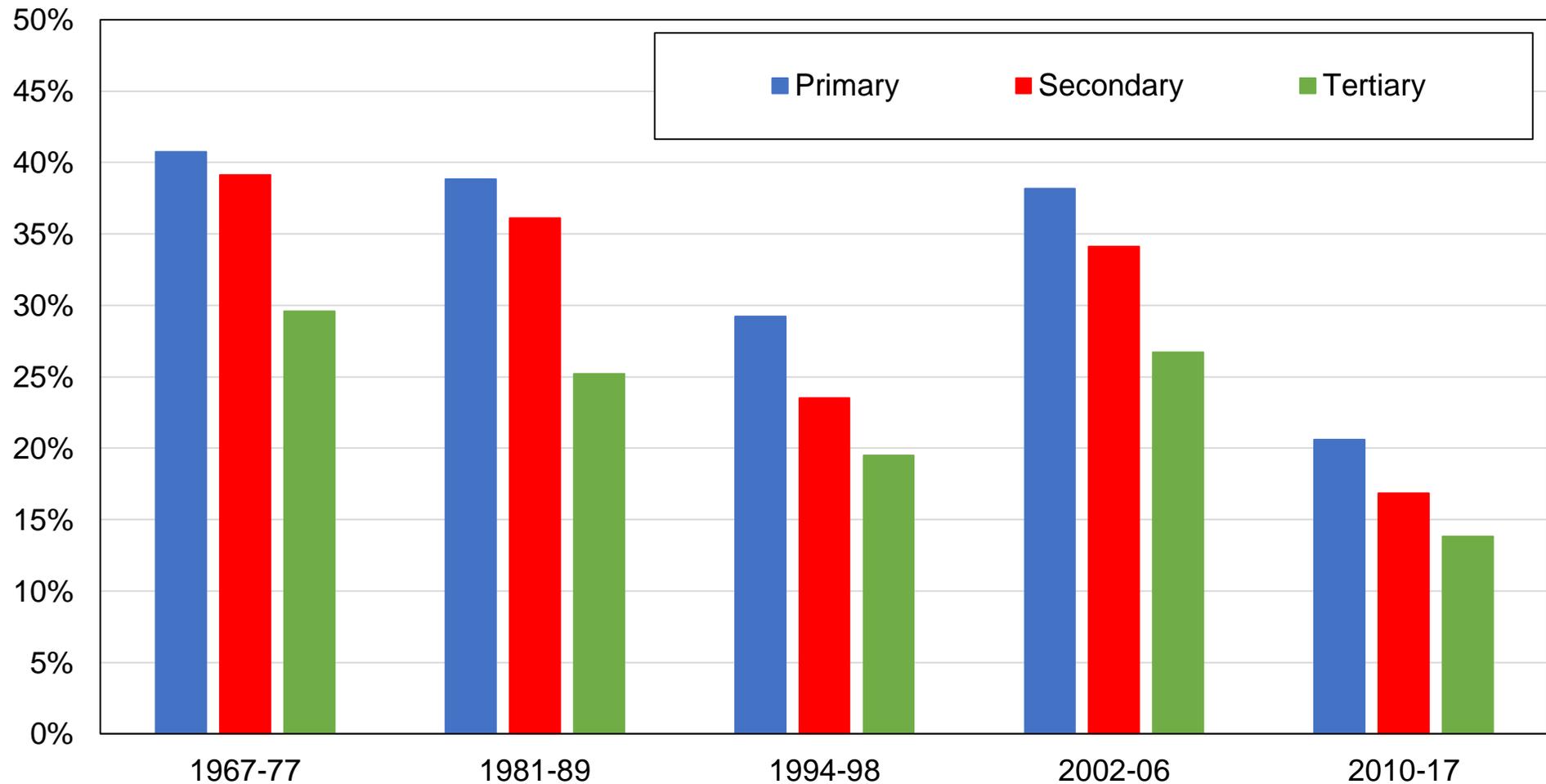
Figure BD16 - Vote for GroenLinks by location



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the GroenLinks (ecologists) by rural-urban location.

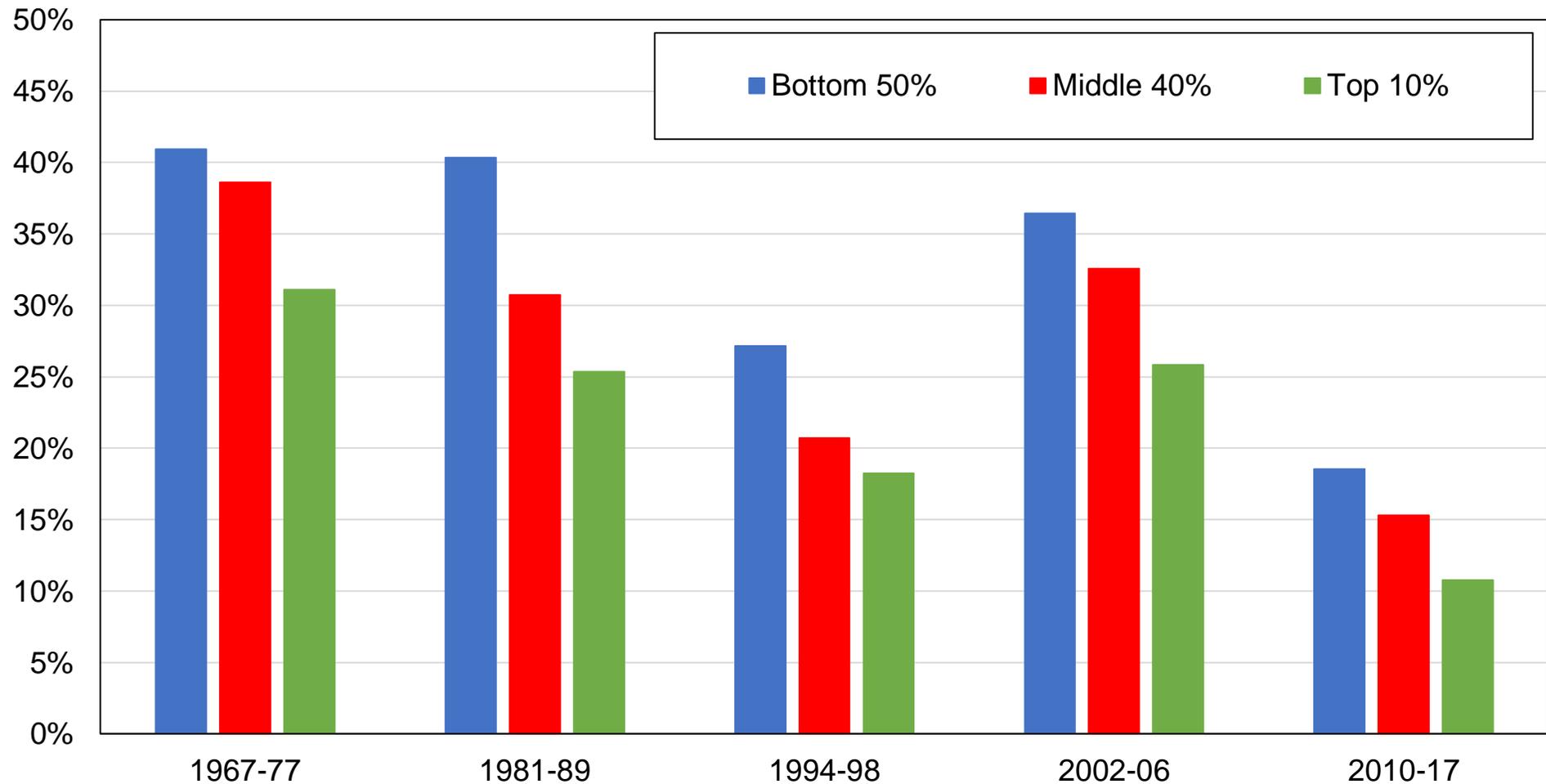
Figure BD17 - Vote for Christian-democratic parties by education level



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA), Christian Historical Union (CHU), Christian Union (CU), Catholic People's Party (KVP), Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP), Reformed Political League (GPV), and Reformatory Political Federation (RPF) by education level.

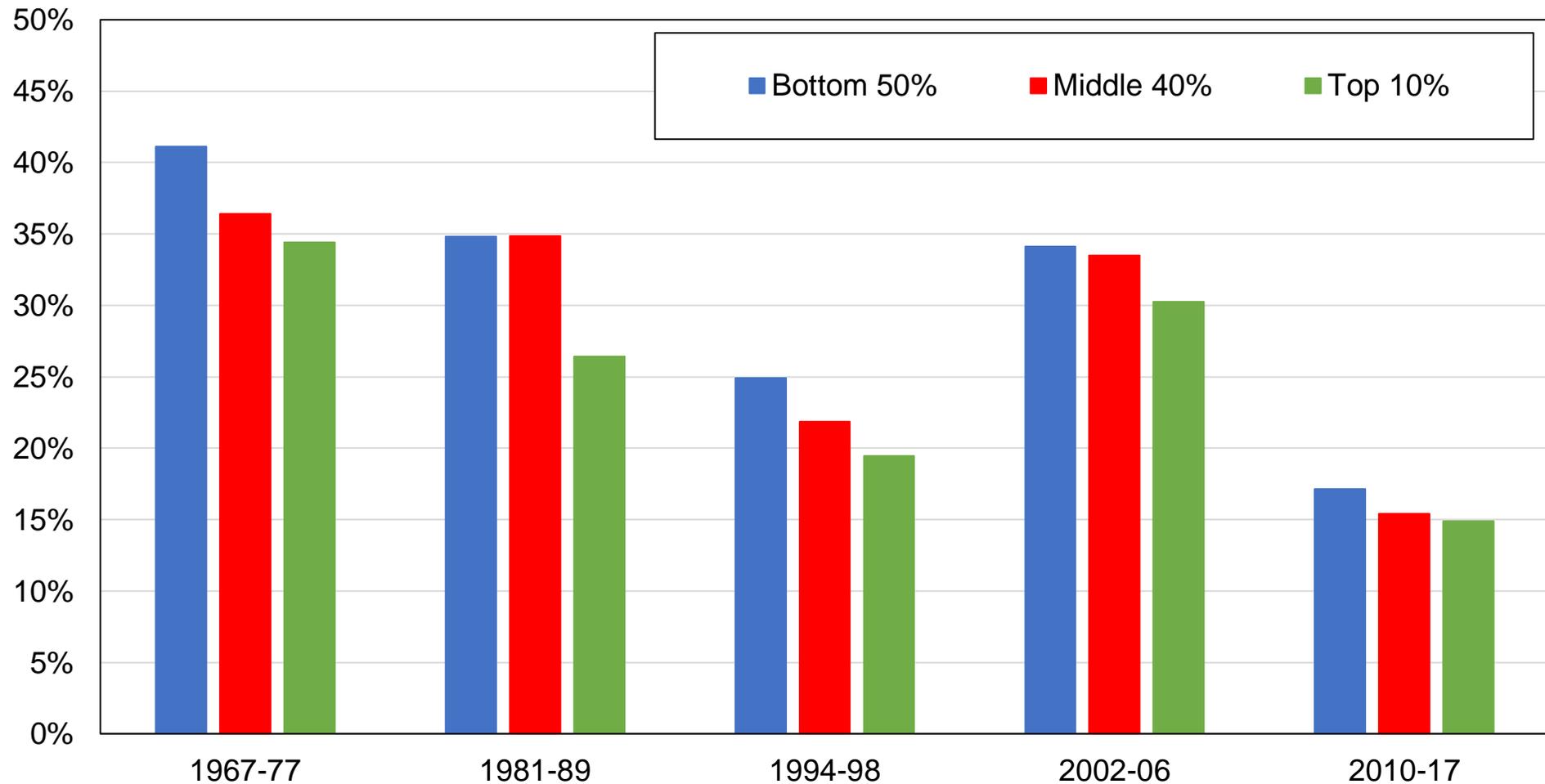
Figure BD18 - Vote for Christian-democratic parties by education group



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA), Christian Historical Union (CHU), Christian Union (CU), Catholic People's Party (KVP), Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP), Reformed Political League (GPV), and Reformatory Political Federation (RPF) by education group.

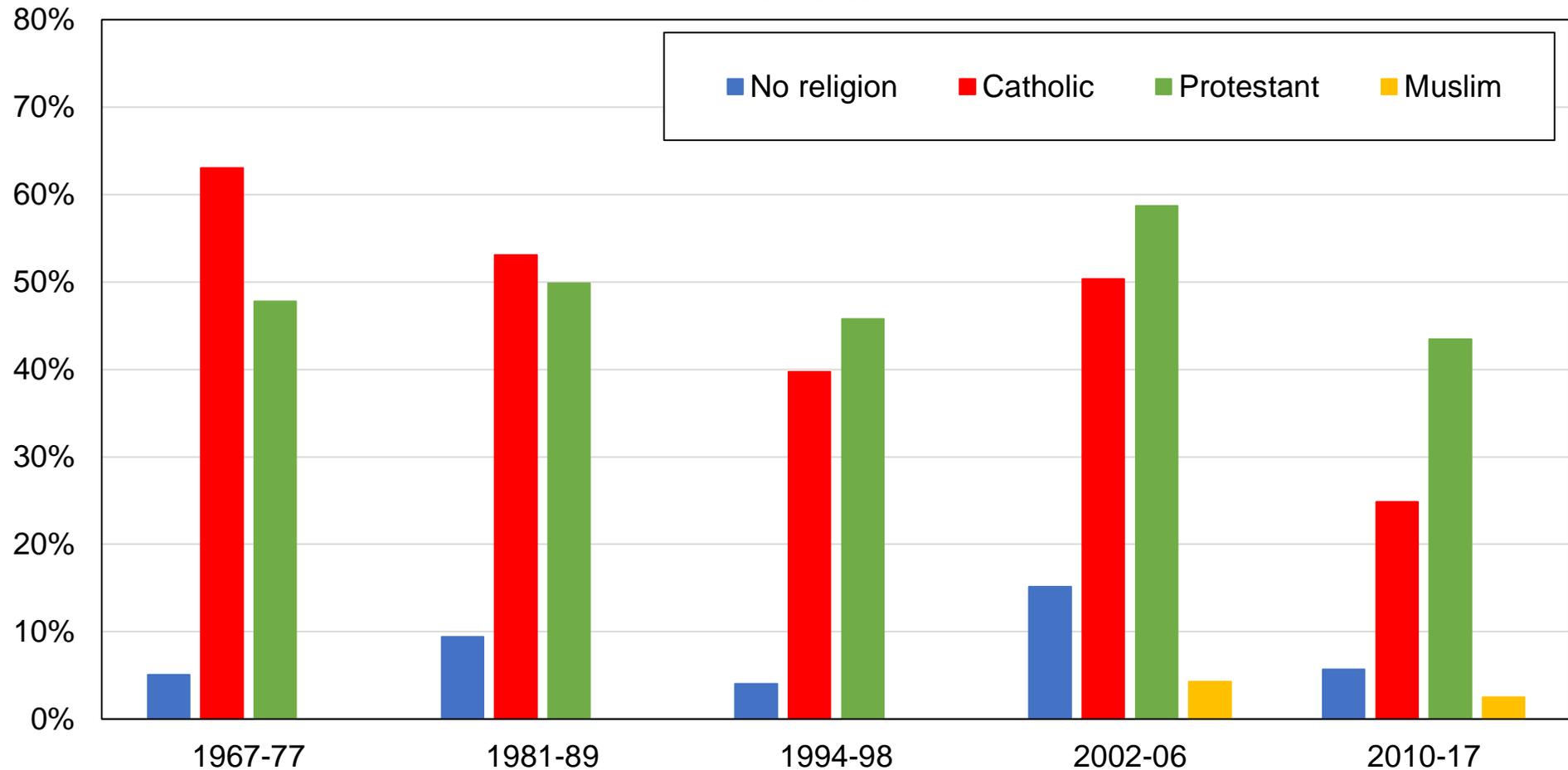
Figure BD19 - Vote for Christian-democratic parties by income group



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA), Christian Historical Union (CHU), Christian Union (CU), Catholic People's Party (KVP), Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP), Reformed Political League (GPV), and Reformatory Political Federation (RPF) by income group.

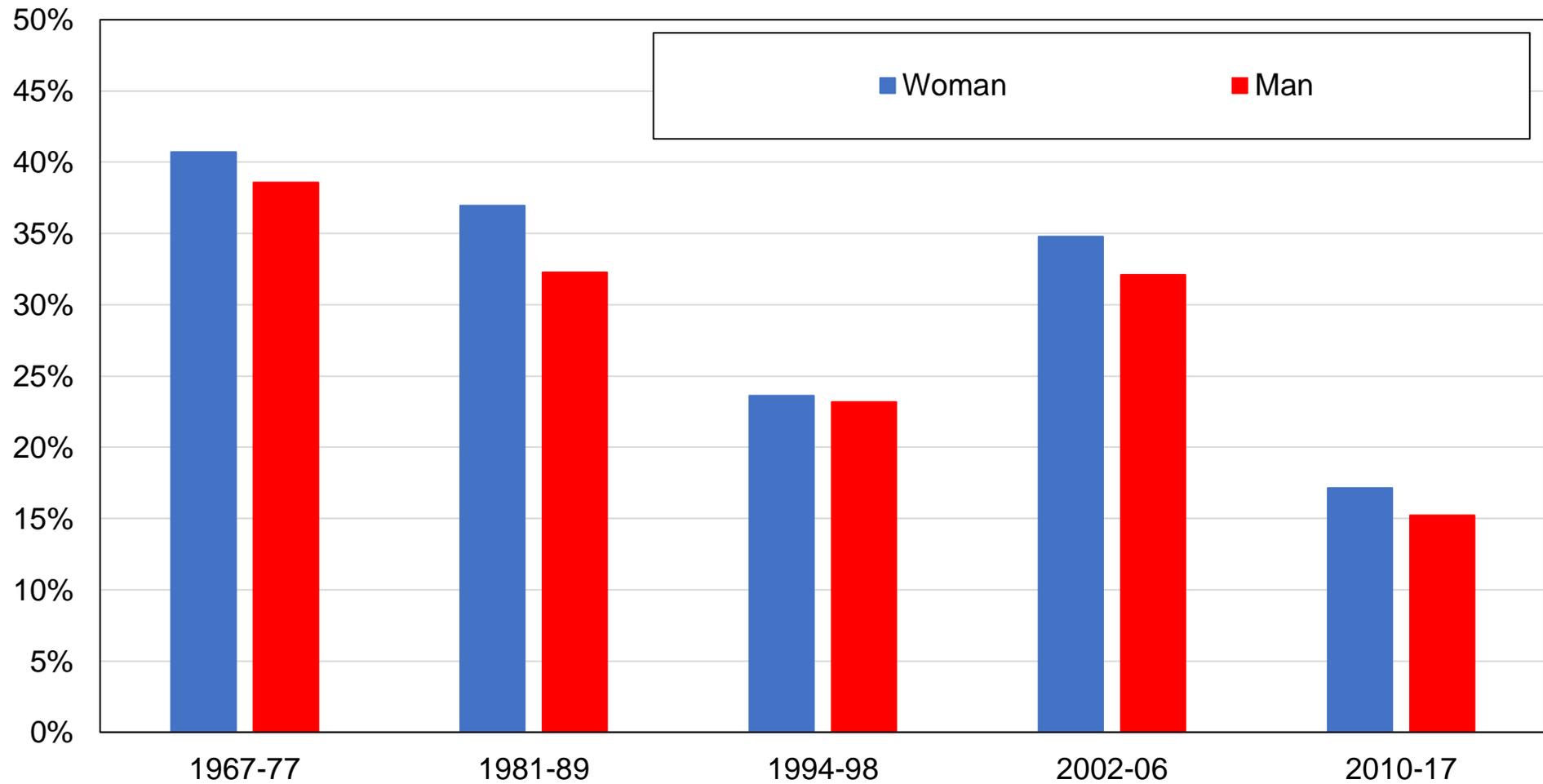
Figure BD20 - Vote for Christian-democratic parties by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA), Christian Historical Union (CHU), Christian Union (CU), Catholic People's Party (KVP), Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP), Reformed Political League (GPV), and Reformatory Political Federation (RPF) by religious affiliation

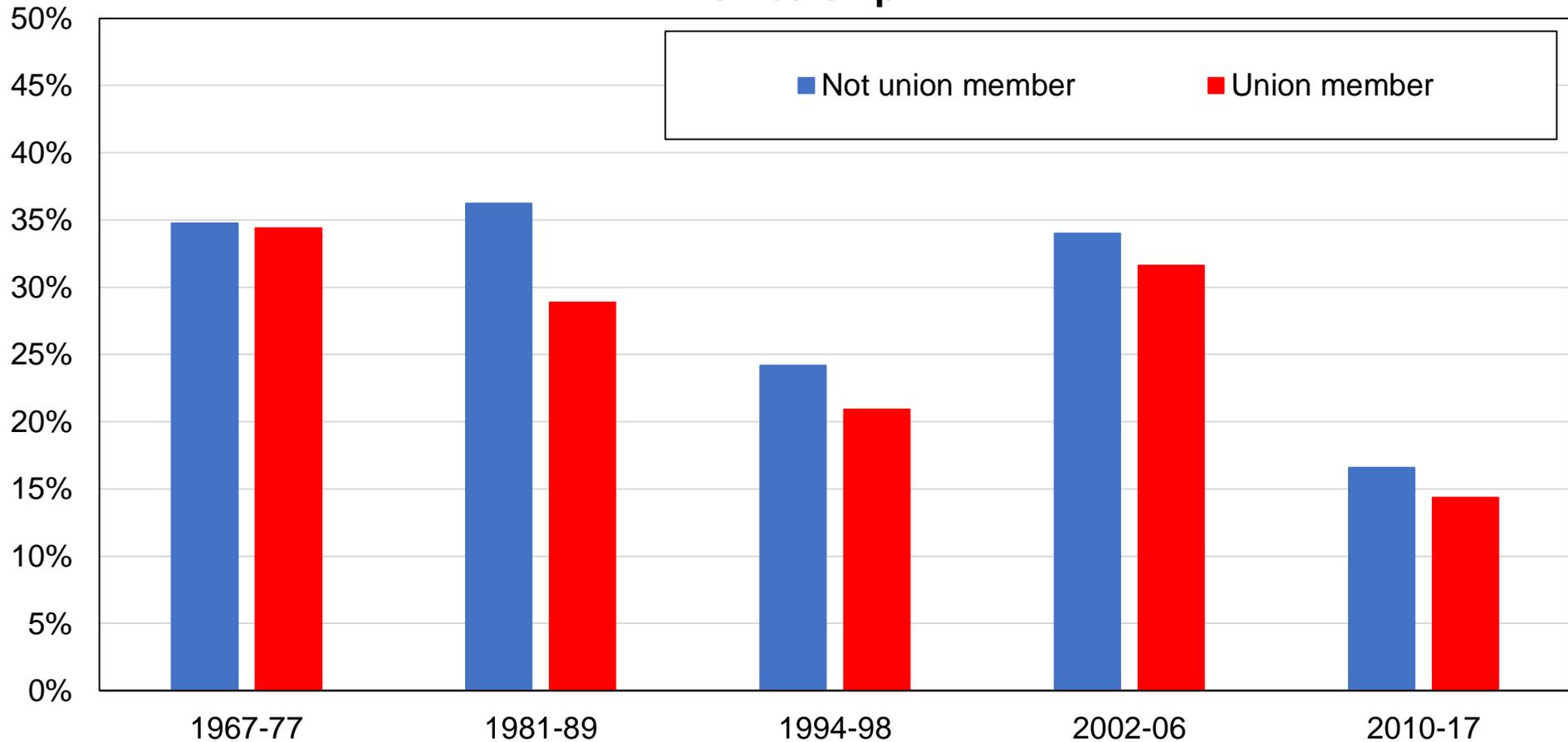
Figure BD21 - Vote for Christian-democratic parties by gender



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA), Christian Historical Union (CHU), Christian Union (CU), Catholic People's Party (KVP), Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP), Reformed Political League (GPV), and Reformatory Political Federation (RPF) by gender.

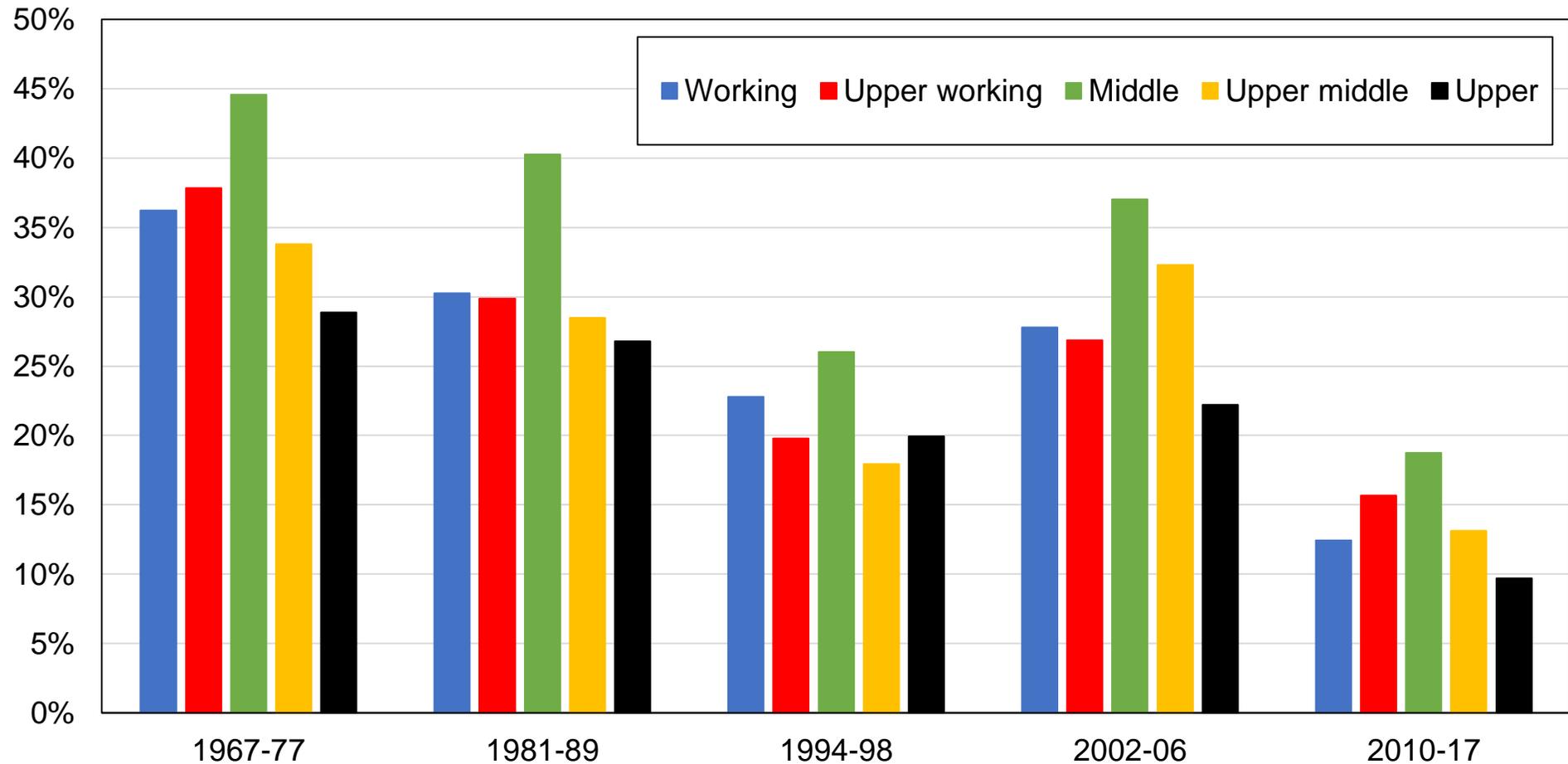
Figure BD22 - Vote for Christian-democratic parties by union membership



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA), Christian Historical Union (CHU), Christian Union (CU), Catholic People's Party (KVP), Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP), Reformed Political League (GPV), and Reformatory Political Federation (RPF) by union membership status.

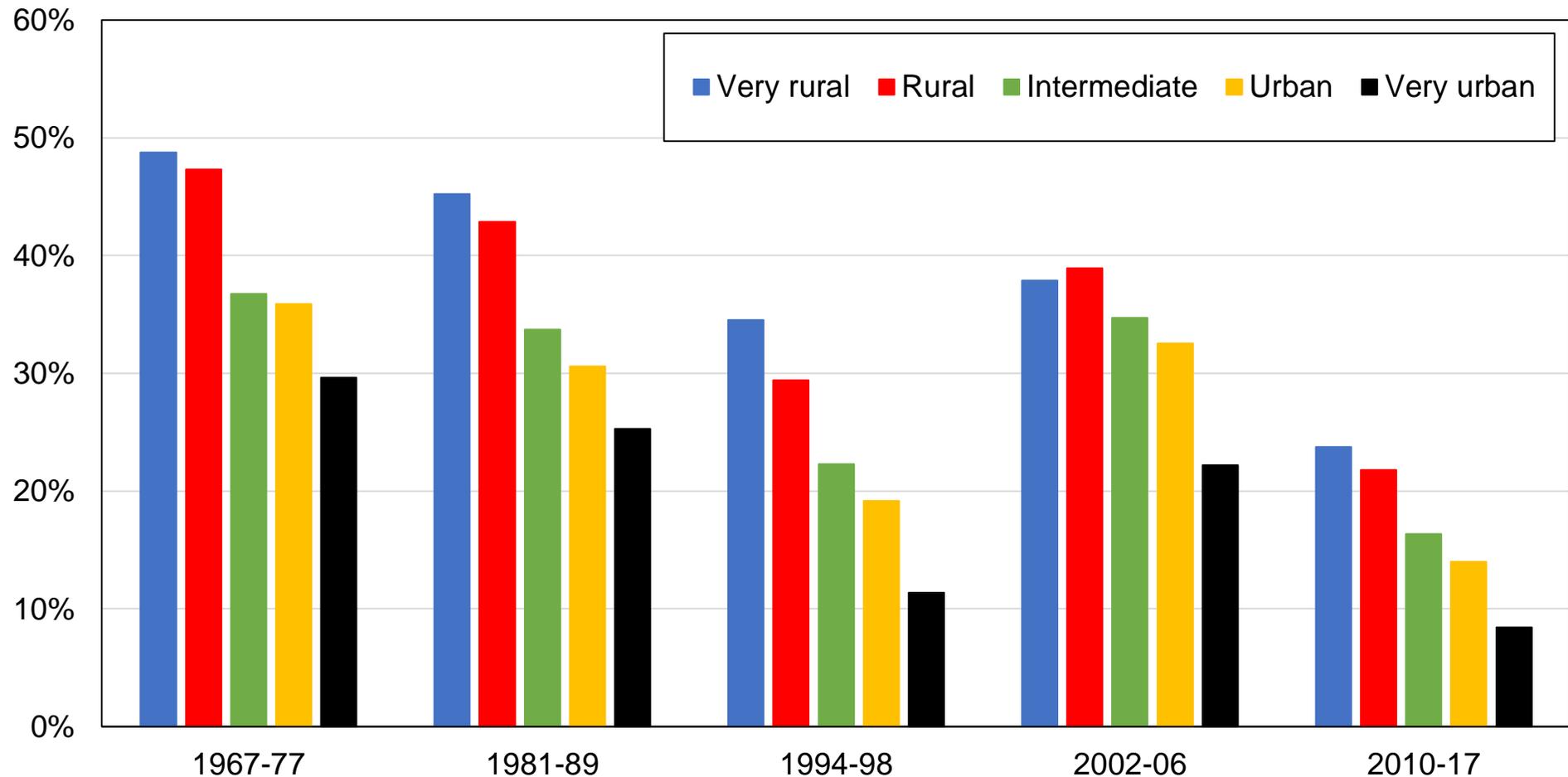
Figure BD23 - Vote for Christian-democratic parties by self-perceived social class



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA), Christian Historical Union (CHU), Christian Union (CU), Catholic People's Party (KVP), Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP), Reformed Political League (GPV), and Reformatory Political Federation (RPF) by self-perceived social class.

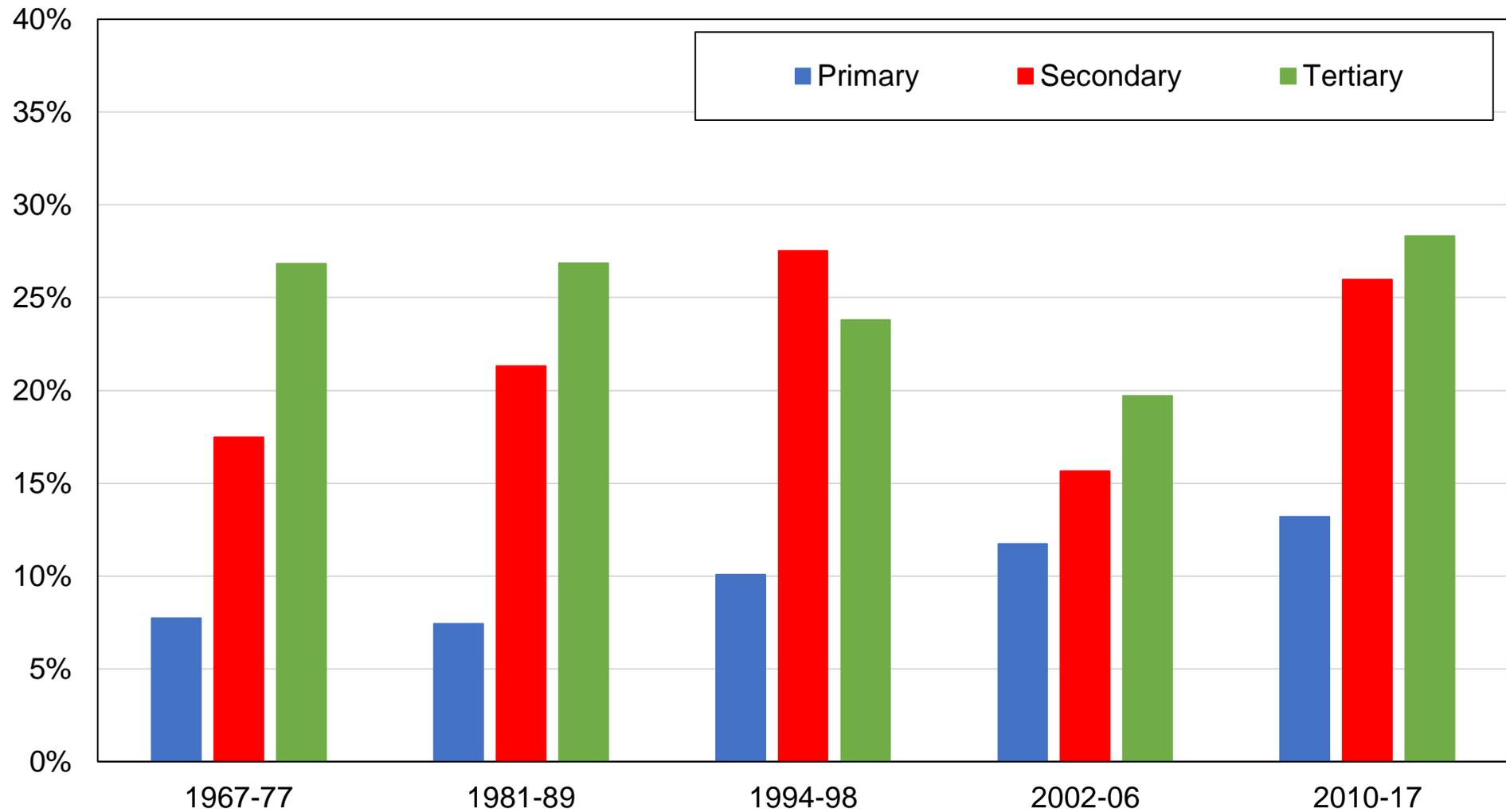
Figure BD24 - Vote for Christian-democratic parties by location



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA), Christian Historical Union (CHU), Christian Union (CU), Catholic People's Party (KVP), Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP), Reformed Political League (GPV), and Reformatory Political Federation (RPF) by rural-urban location.

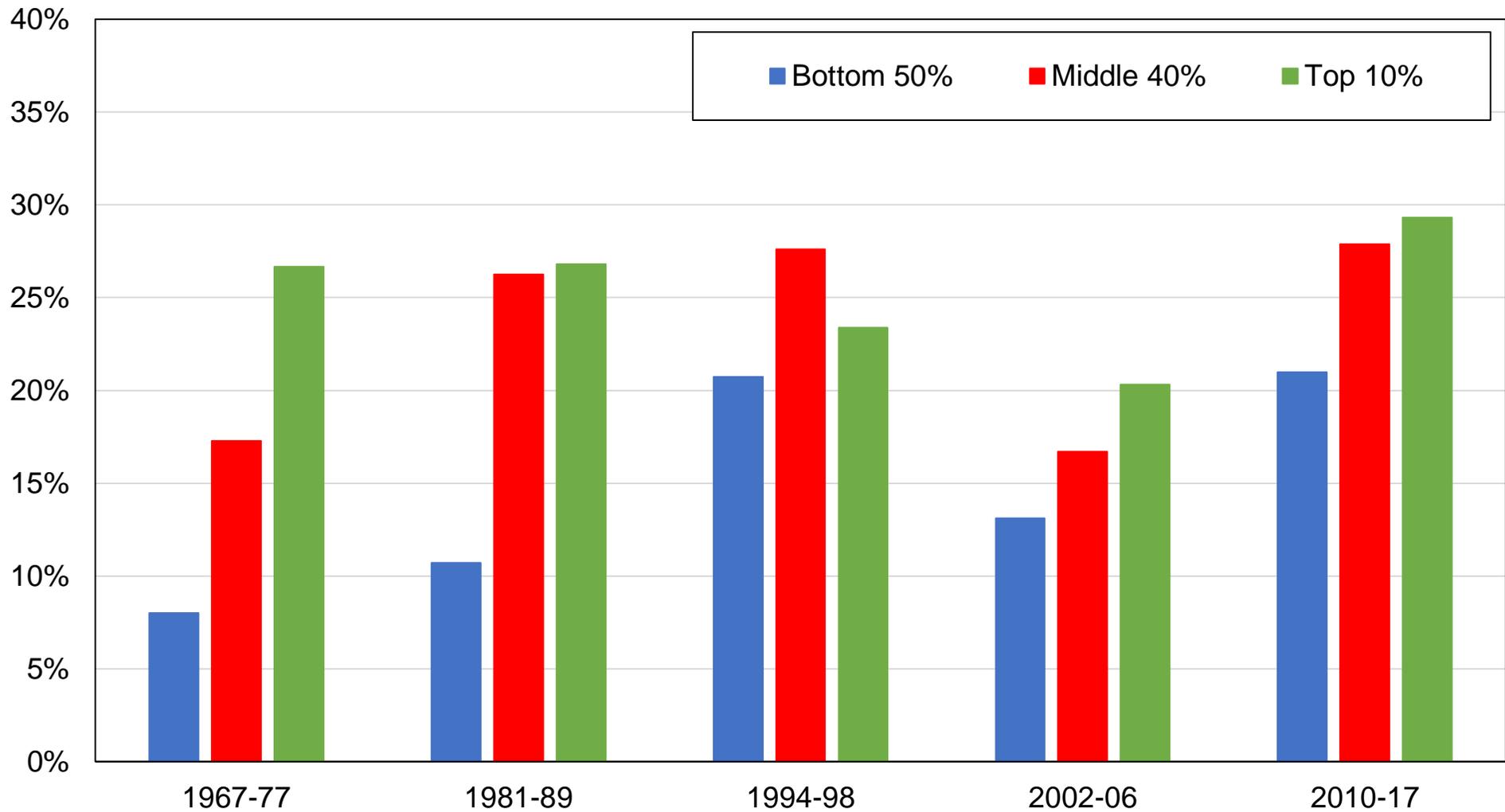
Figure BD25 - Vote for the liberals by education level



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD) by education level.

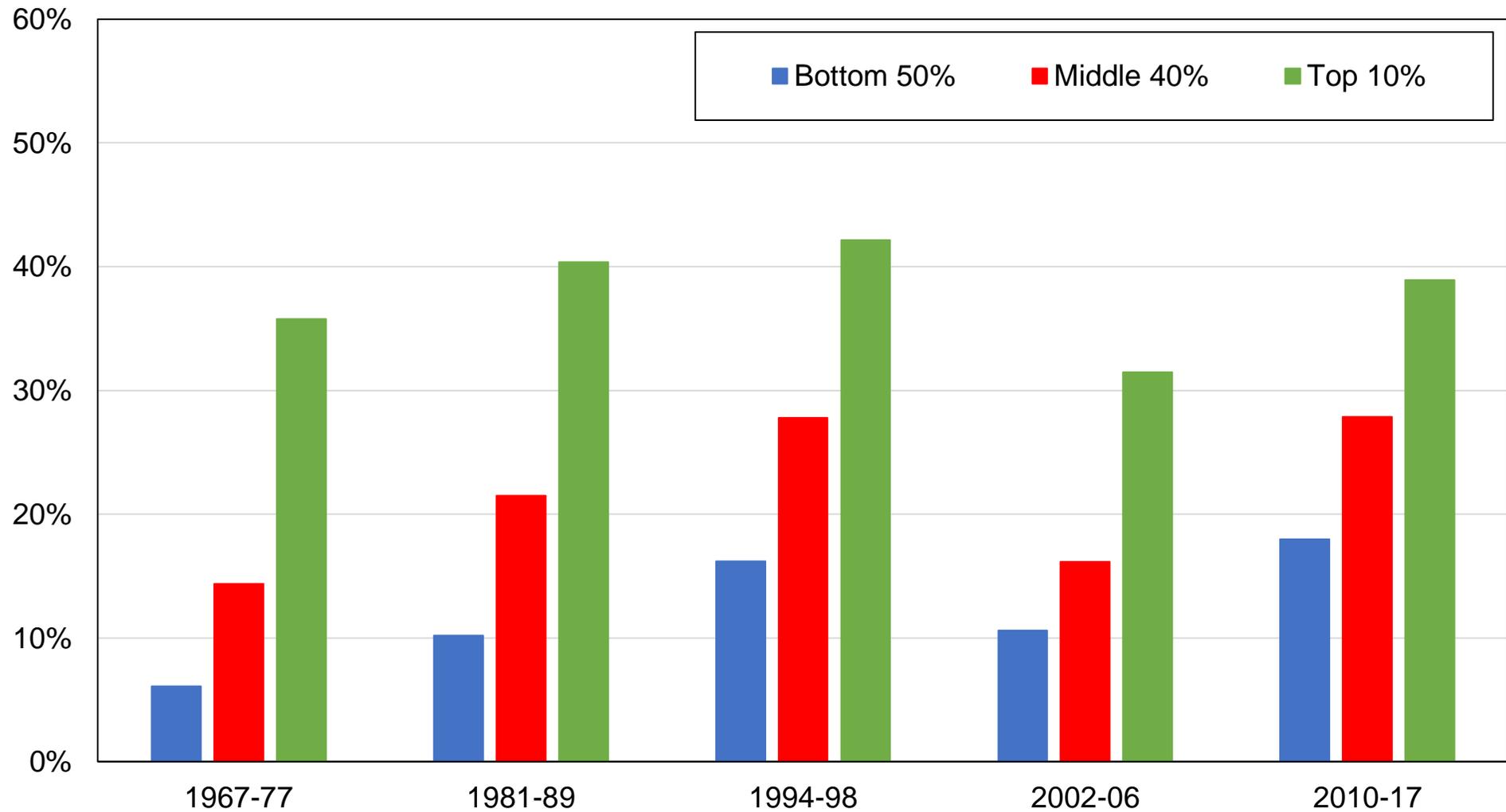
Figure BD26 - Vote for the liberals by education group



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD) by education group.

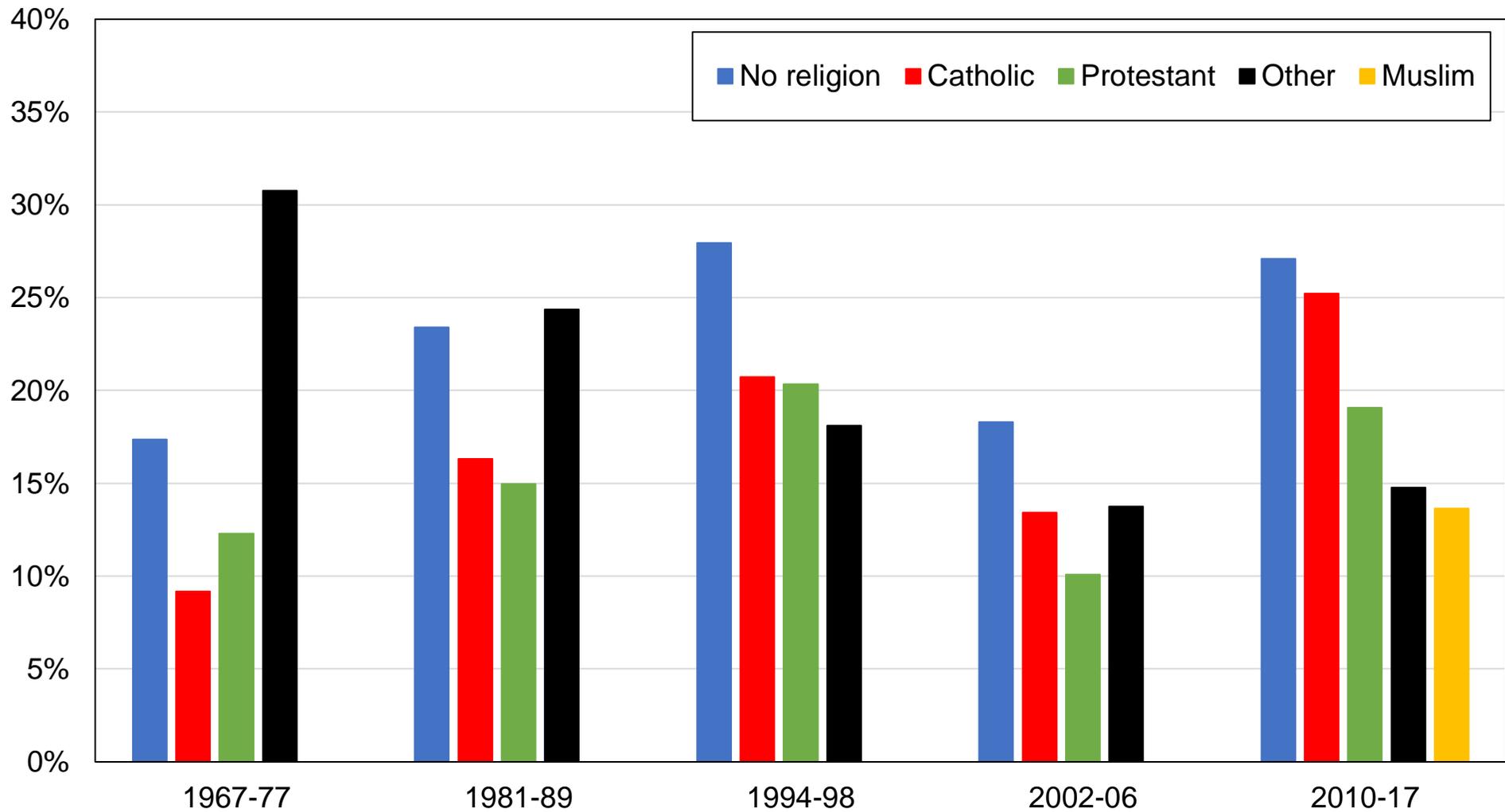
Figure BD27 - Vote for the liberals by income group



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD) by income group.

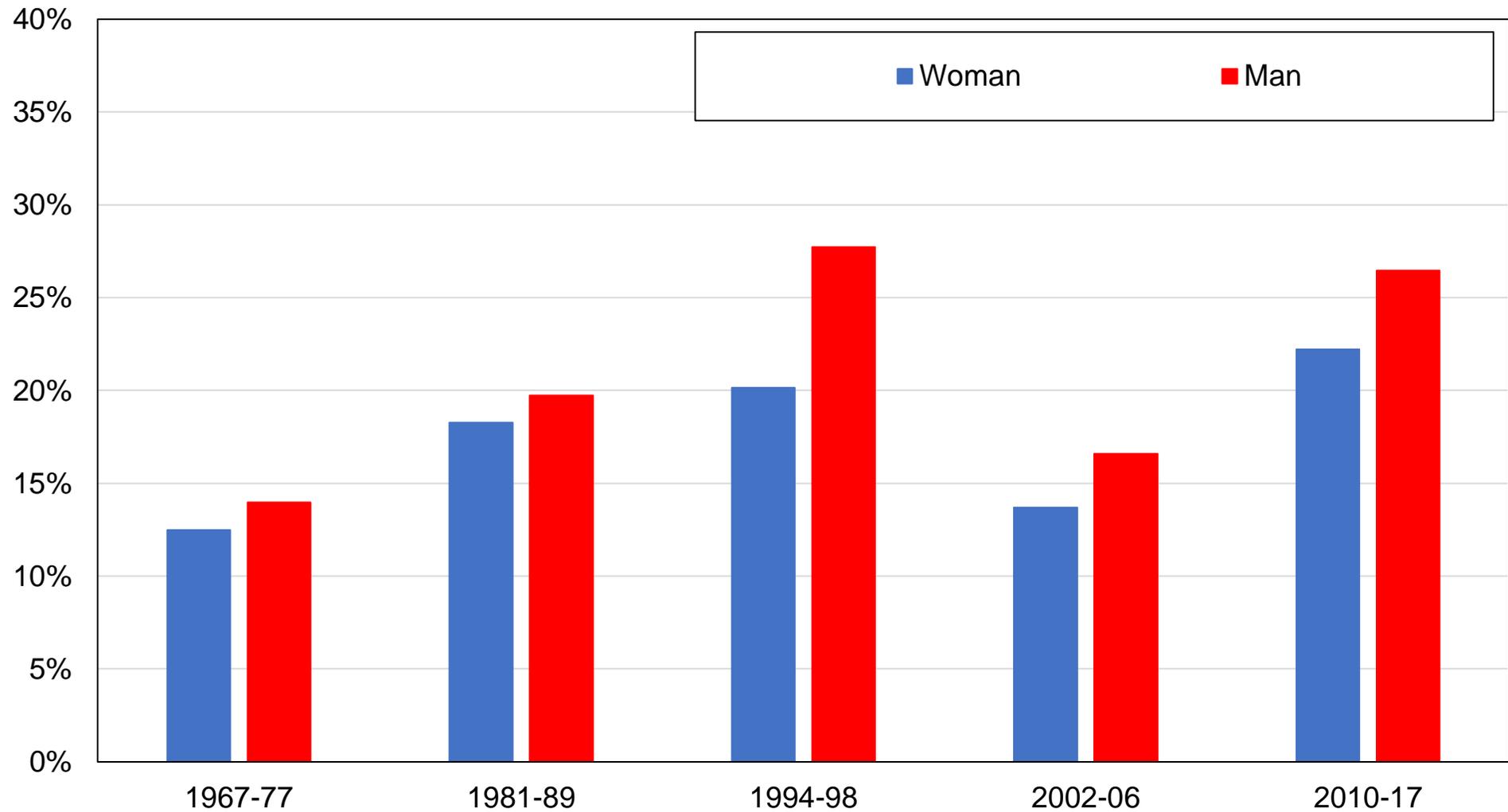
Figure BD28 - Vote for the liberals by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD) by religious affiliation.

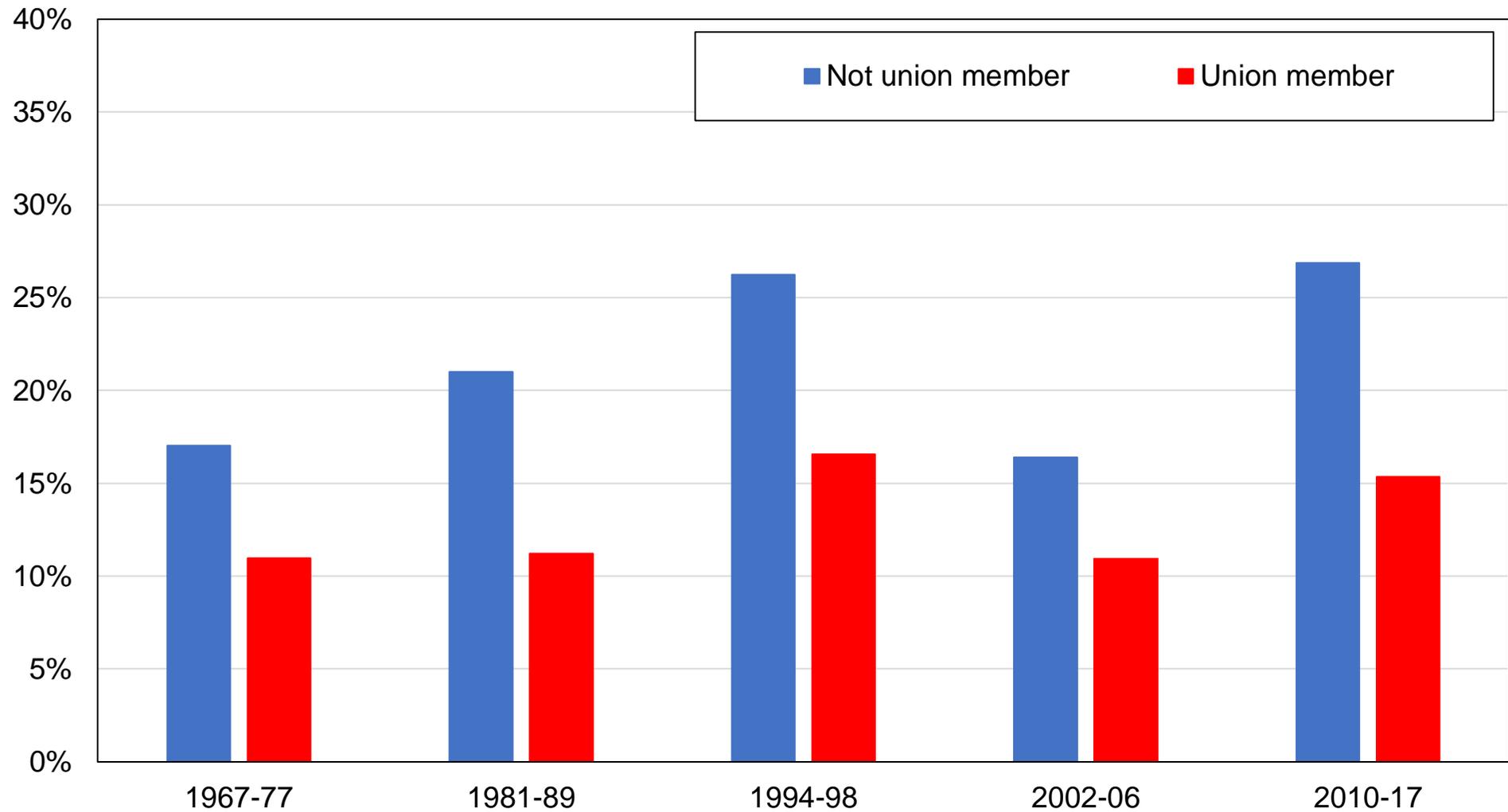
Figure BD29 - Vote for the liberals by gender



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD) by gender.

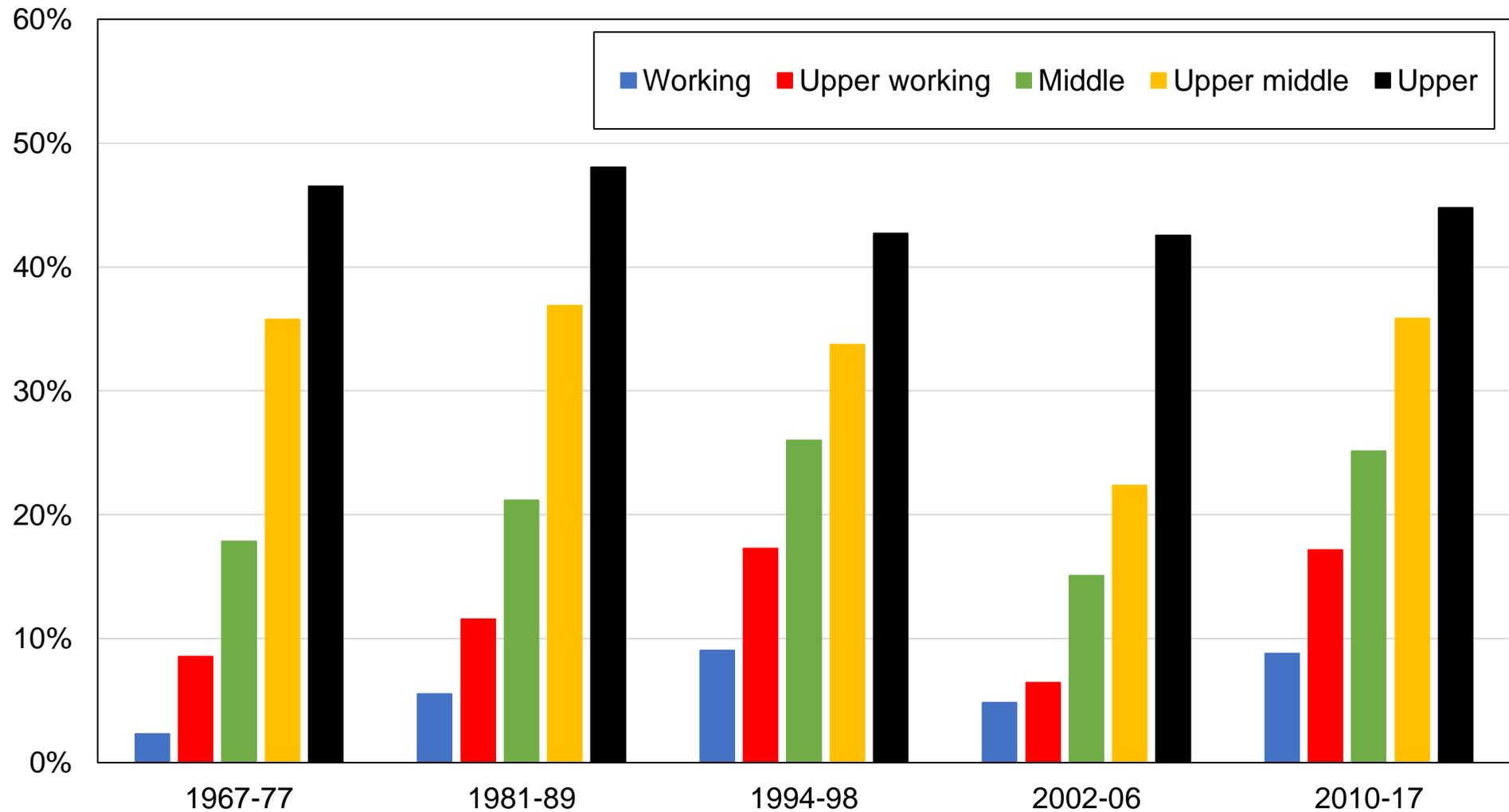
Figure BD30 - Vote for the liberals by union membership



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD) by union membership status.

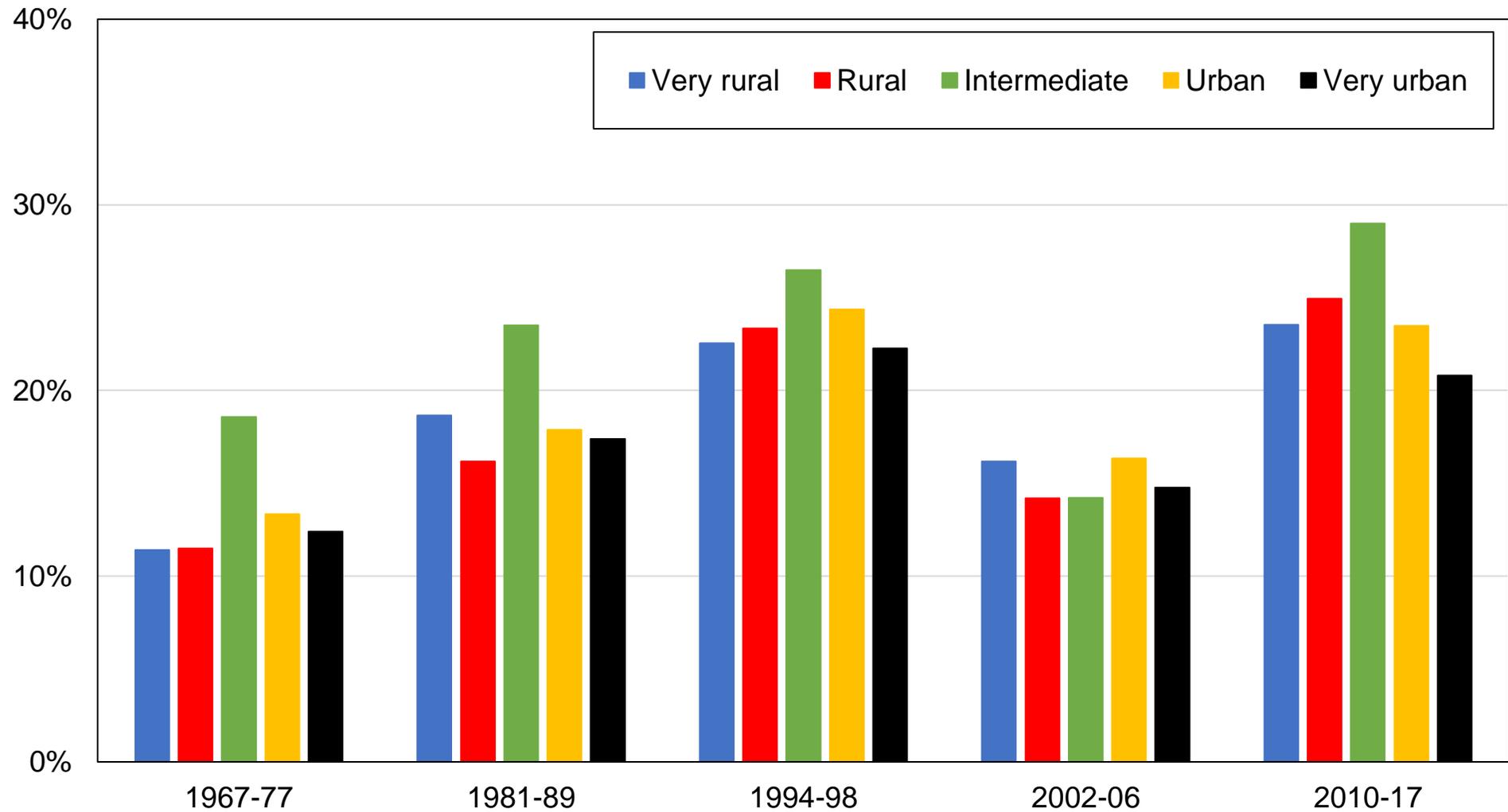
Figure BD31 - Vote for the liberals by self-perceived social class



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD) by self-percieved social class.

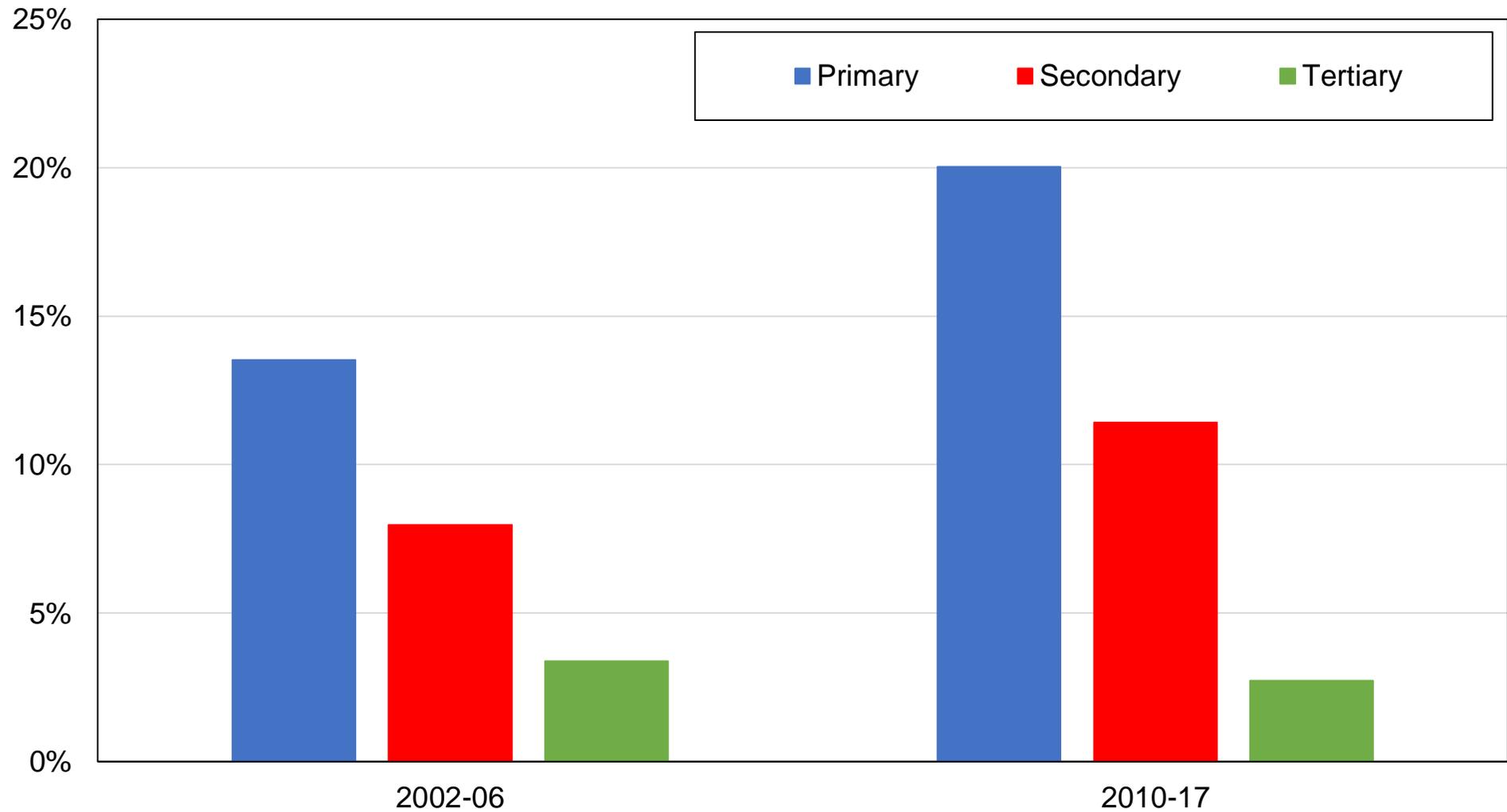
Figure BD32 - Vote for the liberals by location



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD) by rural-urban location.

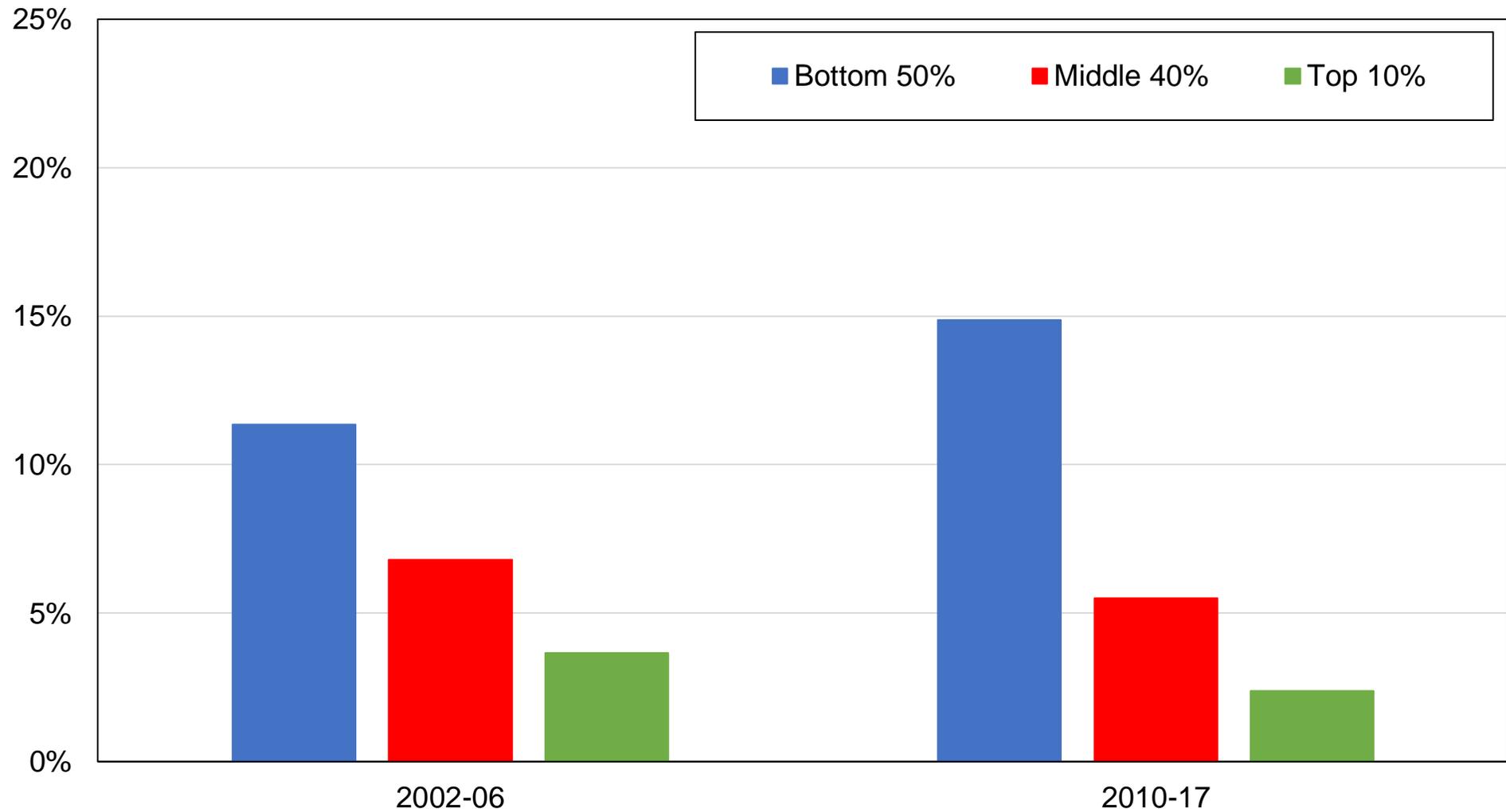
Figure BD33 - Vote for far-right parties by education level



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Party for Freedom (PVV), and Pim Fortuyn List (LPF) by education level.

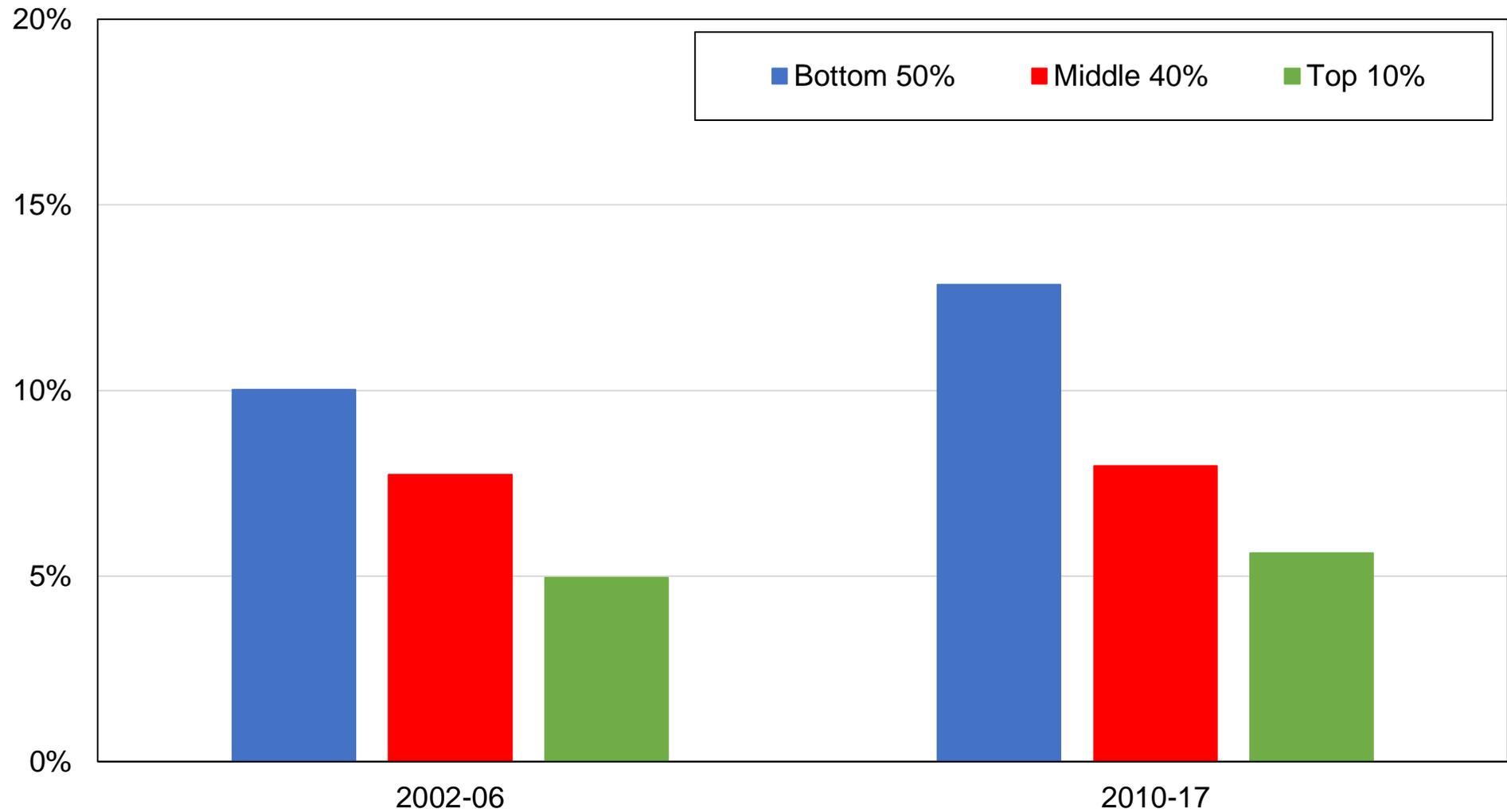
Figure BD34 - Vote for far-right parties by education group



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Party for Freedom (PVV), and Pim Fortuyn List (LPF) by education group.

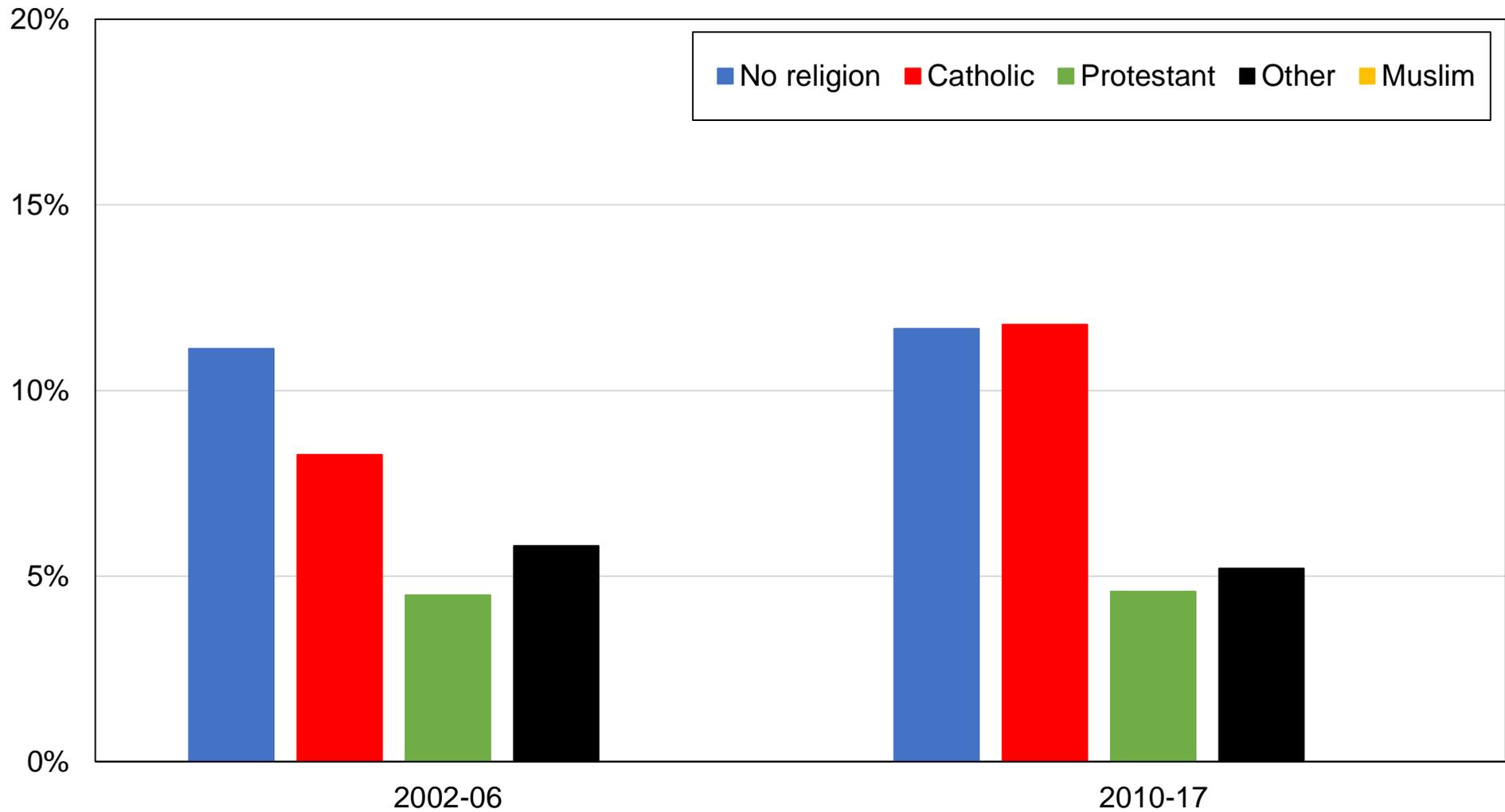
Figure BD35 - Vote for far-right parties by income group



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Party for Freedom (PVV), and Pim Fortuyn List (LPF) by income group.

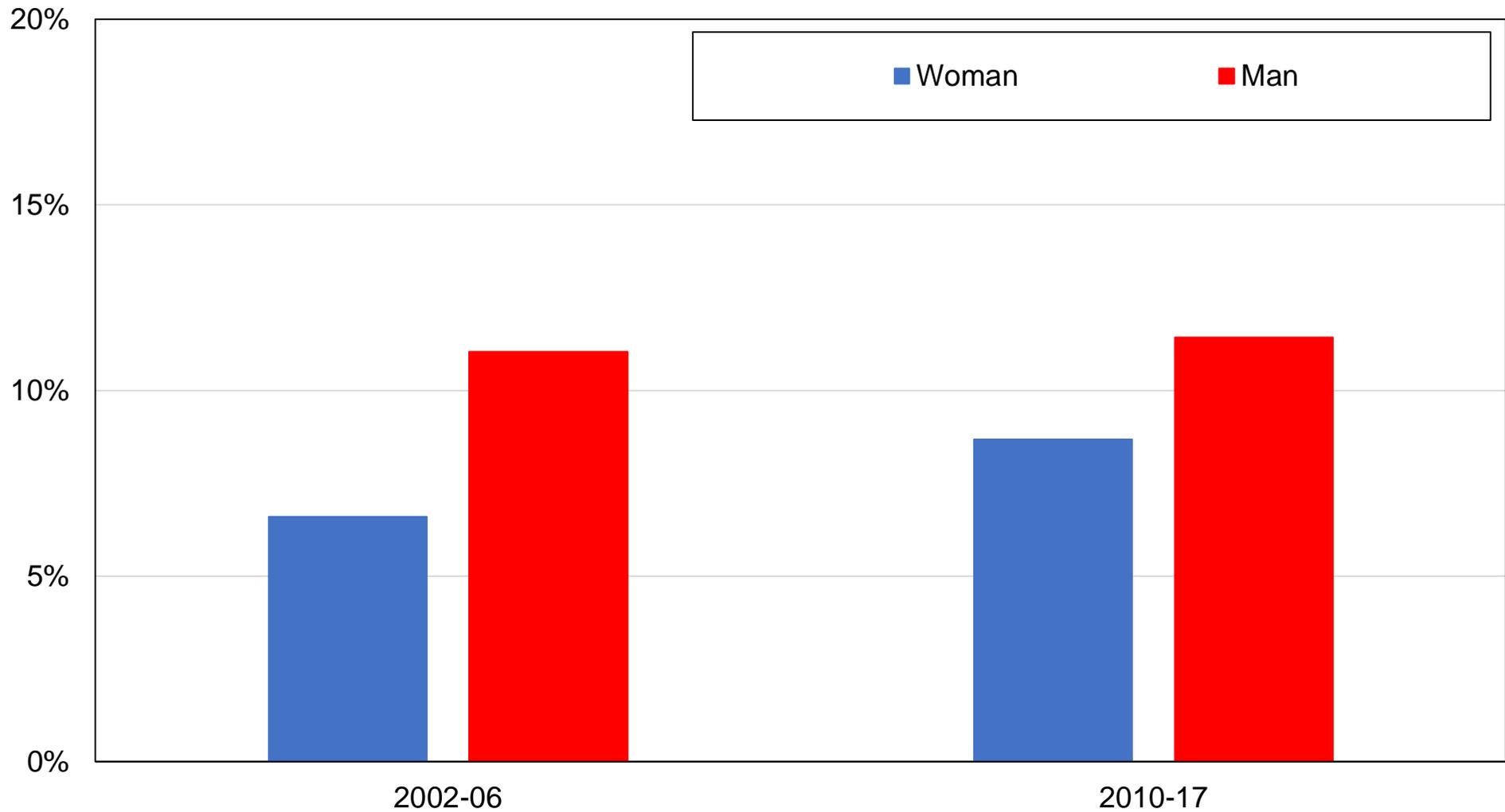
Figure BD36 - Vote for far-right parties by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Party for Freedom (PVV), and Pim Fortuyn List (LPF) by religious affiliation.

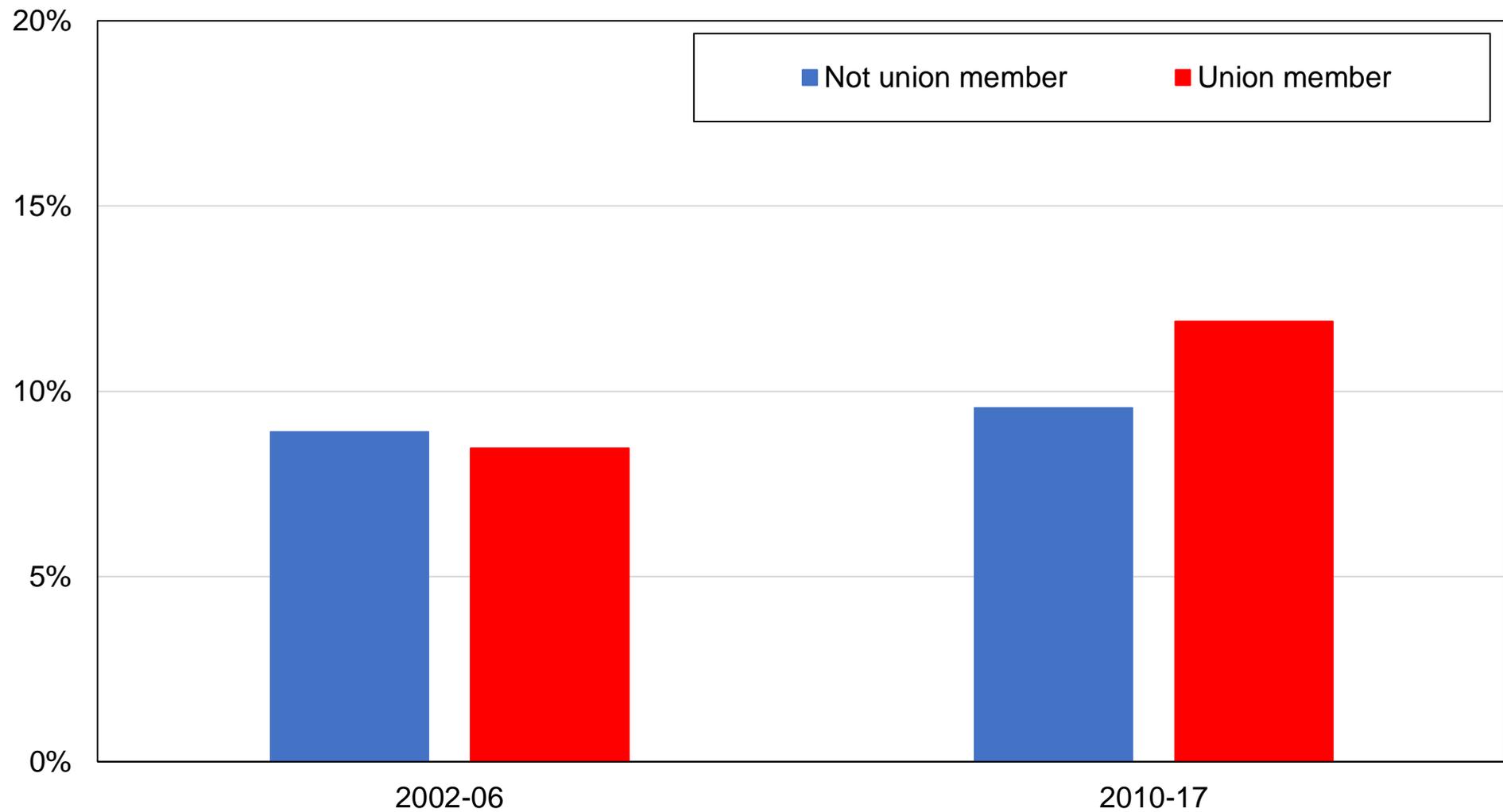
Figure BD37 - Vote for far-right parties by gender



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Party for Freedom (PVV), and Pim Fortuyn List (LPF) by gender.

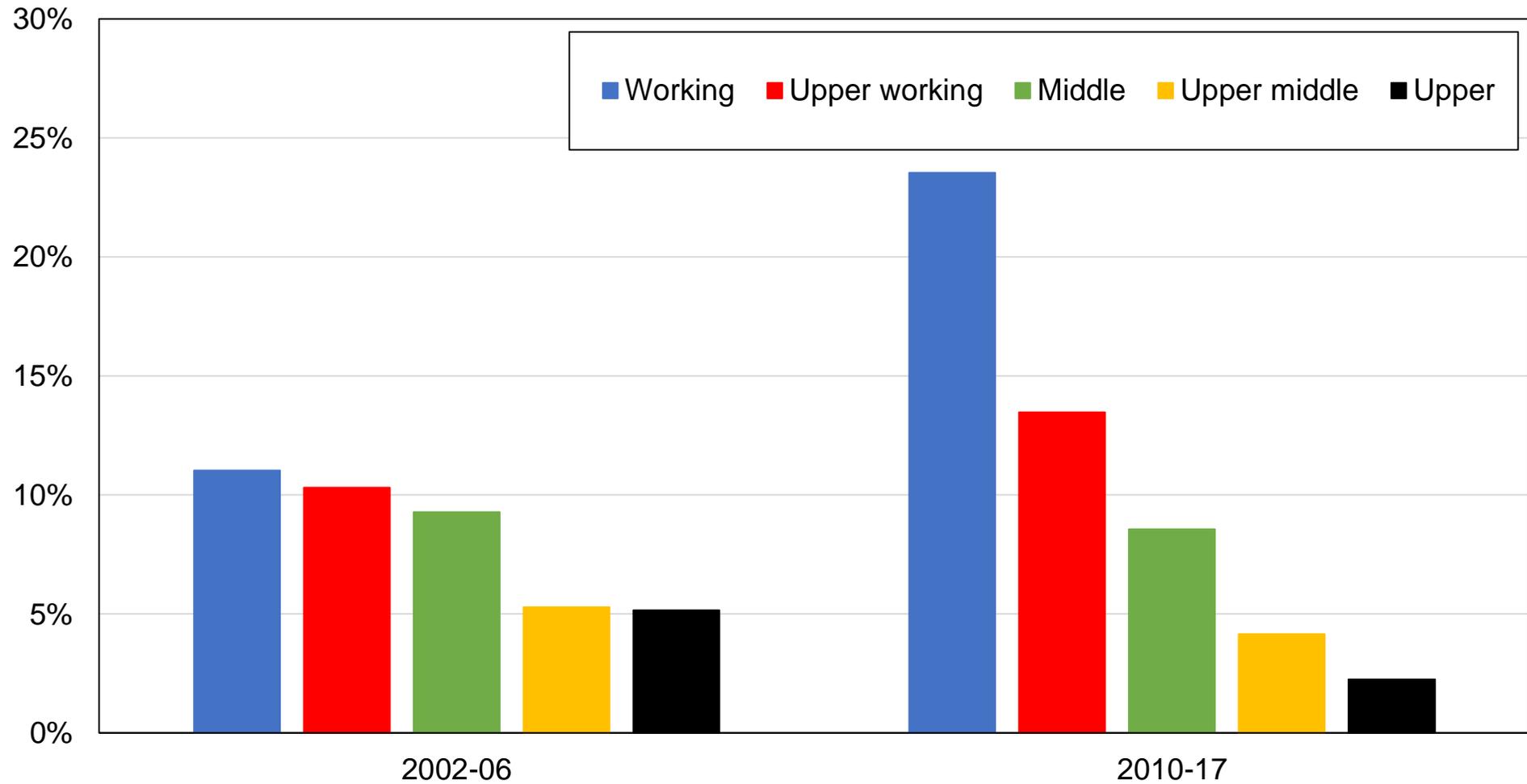
Figure BD38 - Vote for far-right parties by union membership



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Party for Freedom (PVV), and Pim Fortuyn List (LPF) by union membership status.

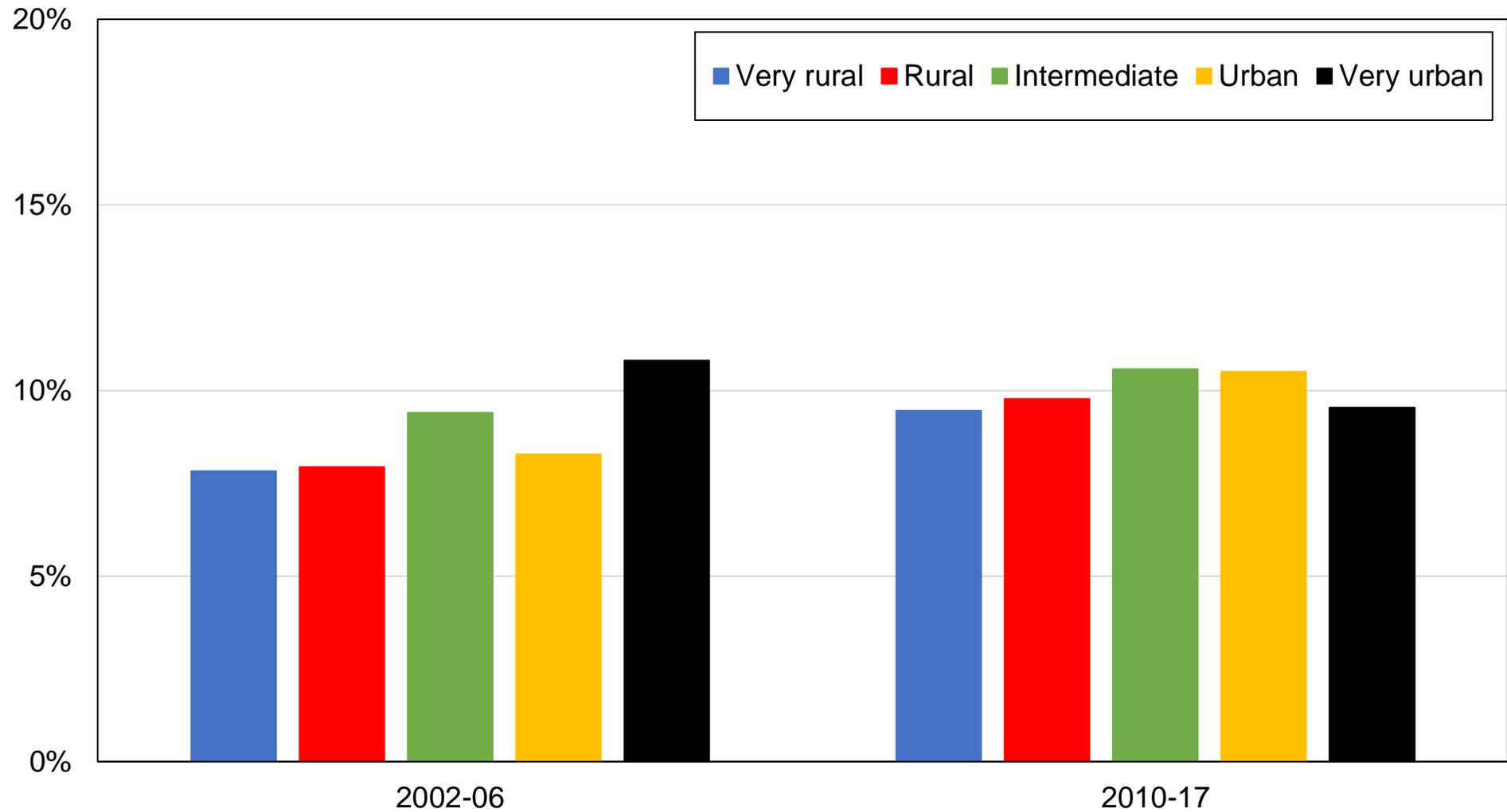
Figure BD39 - Vote for far-right parties by self-perceived social class



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Party for Freedom (PVV), and Pim Fortuyn List (LPF) by self-perceived social class.

Figure BD40 - Vote for far-right parties by location



Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Party for Freedom (PVV), and Pim Fortuyn List (LPF) by rural-urban location.

Table BA1 - Survey data sources

Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
1967	Dutch parliamentary election studies	DANS EASY	2495
1971	Dutch parliamentary election studies	DANS EASY	2495
1972	Dutch parliamentary election studies	DANS EASY	1526
1977	Dutch parliamentary election studies	DANS EASY	1856
1981	Dutch parliamentary election studies	DANS EASY	2305
1982	Dutch parliamentary election studies	DANS EASY	1541
1986	Dutch parliamentary election studies	DANS EASY	1630
1989	Dutch parliamentary election studies	DANS EASY	1754
1994	Dutch parliamentary election studies	DANS EASY	1812
1998	Dutch parliamentary election studies	DANS EASY	2101
2002	Dutch parliamentary election studies	DANS EASY	1524
2006	Dutch parliamentary election studies	DANS EASY	2521
2010	Dutch parliamentary election studies	DANS EASY	2621
2012	Dutch parliamentary election studies	DANS EASY	1677
2017	Dutch parliamentary election studies	DANS EASY	3283

Source: authors' elaboration. DANS EASY: <https://easy.dans.knaw.nl>.

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

Table BA2 - Complete descriptive statistics by decade

	1967-77	1981-89	1994-98	2002-06	2010-17
Age: 20-40	45%	50%	43%	33%	33%
Age: 40-60	35%	29%	35%	42%	38%
Age: 60+	20%	21%	21%	25%	28%
Education: Primary	50%	27%	18%	31%	19%
Education: Secondary	41%	56%	60%	48%	47%
Education: Tertiary	10%	17%	22%	17%	31%
Education: Postgraduate	0%	0%	0%	5%	3%
Employment status: Employed	51%	49%	52%	62%	60%
Employment status: Inactive	49%	51%	48%	38%	40%
Marital status: Married or with partner	78%	65%	58%	63%	52%
Religion: No religion	31%	39%	48%	50%	58%
Religion: Catholic	35%	33%	27%	25%	19%
Religion: Protestant	31%	24%	21%	19%	14%
Religion: Muslim	0%	0%	0%	1%	3%
Religion: Other	4%	4%	5%	5%	6%
Church attendance: Never	44%	54%	61%	66%	75%
Church attendance: Less than monthly	12%	14%	14%	12%	8%
Church attendance: Monthly or more	44%	32%	25%	22%	17%
Gender: Man	53%	48%	49%	50%	49%
Subjective class: Working	43%	28%	20%	16%	16%
Subjective class: Upper working	4%	10%	7%	9%	11%
Subjective class: Middle	43%	47%	56%	53%	51%
Subjective class: Upper middle	9%	12%	15%	20%	19%
Subjective class: Upper	2%	2%	2%	3%	2%
Home ownership: Yes	38%	47%			
Region: East	20%	20%	21%	22%	21%
Region: North	12%	12%	11%	11%	11%
Region: South	25%	25%	23%	22%	22%
Region: West	43%	43%	45%	46%	46%
Rural-urban: Very rural	23%	11%	17%	14%	11%
Rural-urban: Rural	17%	22%	20%	22%	22%
Rural-urban: Medium	18%	26%	22%	21%	19%
Rural-urban: Urban	16%	16%	23%	26%	29%
Rural-urban: Very urban	26%	25%	17%	16%	20%
Union membership: Yes	22%	20%	23%	23%	19%

Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

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

Table BA3 - The structure of political cleavages in the Netherlands, 2010-2017

	Share of votes received (%)						
	SP	PvdA	GL	D66	CDA	VVD	PVV
Overall vote share	10%	17%	7%	10%	12%	24%	10%
Education							
Primary	13%	21%	3%	3%	17%	13%	20%
Secondary	11%	15%	4%	7%	13%	26%	11%
Tertiary	5%	16%	10%	17%	9%	28%	3%
Income							
Bottom 50%	12%	18%	6%	7%	13%	18%	13%
Middle 40%	7%	16%	7%	12%	11%	28%	8%
Top 10%	3%	12%	6%	15%	12%	39%	6%
Social class							
Working	16%	22%	5%	3%	10%	9%	24%
Upper working	14%	22%	4%	4%	12%	17%	13%
Middle	9%	15%	6%	10%	14%	25%	9%
Upper middle	3%	13%	9%	17%	9%	36%	4%
Upper	3%	9%	4%	23%	8%	45%	2%
Location							
Very rural	9%	16%	4%	7%	20%	24%	9%
Rural	9%	14%	4%	9%	17%	25%	10%
Medium	8%	15%	5%	8%	12%	29%	11%
Urban	10%	16%	7%	10%	10%	23%	11%
Very urban	8%	21%	10%	14%	6%	21%	10%
Religion							
No religion	11%	18%	7%	12%	5%	27%	12%
Catholic	10%	14%	3%	7%	24%	25%	12%
Protestant	4%	8%	5%	5%	27%	19%	5%
Muslim	4%	48%	7%	6%	3%	14%	0%
Church attendance							
Never	10%	18%	7%	12%	7%	27%	12%
Less than monthly	10%	18%	5%	6%	23%	23%	10%

Monthly or more	4%	11%	3%	4%	29%	13%	4%
-----------------	----	-----	----	----	-----	-----	----

Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Notes: the table shows the average share of votes received by the main political parties by selected individual characteristics over the 2010-2017 period. Vote shares by group are those reported in surveys and may not match exactly official election results.

Table BA4 - The structure of political cleavages in the Netherlands, 1967-1977

	Share of votes received (%)			
	PvdA	D66	CDA	VVD
Overall vote share	35%	8%	39%	13%
Education				
Primary	42%	5%	40%	8%
Secondary	28%	10%	38%	17%
Tertiary	26%	13%	28%	27%
Income				
Bottom 50%	43%	5%	40%	6%
Middle 40%	33%	10%	35%	14%
Top 10%	15%	11%	33%	36%
Social class				
Working	51%	5%	35%	2%
Upper working	43%	7%	37%	9%
Middle	24%	9%	43%	18%
Upper middle	14%	11%	32%	36%
Upper	14%	7%	29%	47%
Location				
Very rural	29%	5%	47%	11%
Rural	31%	4%	46%	11%
Medium	31%	9%	36%	19%
Urban	38%	10%	35%	13%
Very urban	43%	10%	29%	12%
Religion				
No religion	61%	12%	5%	17%
Catholic	19%	7%	63%	9%
Protestant	28%	4%	45%	12%
Church attendance				
Never	59%	11%	8%	18%
Less than monthly	35%	11%	31%	19%
Monthly or more	13%	4%	67%	8%

Source: authors' computations using Dutch political attitudes surveys.

Notes: the table shows the average share of votes received by the main political parties by selected individual characteristics over the 1967-1977 period. Vote shares by group are those reported in surveys and may not match exactly official election results.