

**Chapter 5. "Political Cleavages, Class Structures, and the Politics of Old and New Minorities
in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, 1963-2019"**

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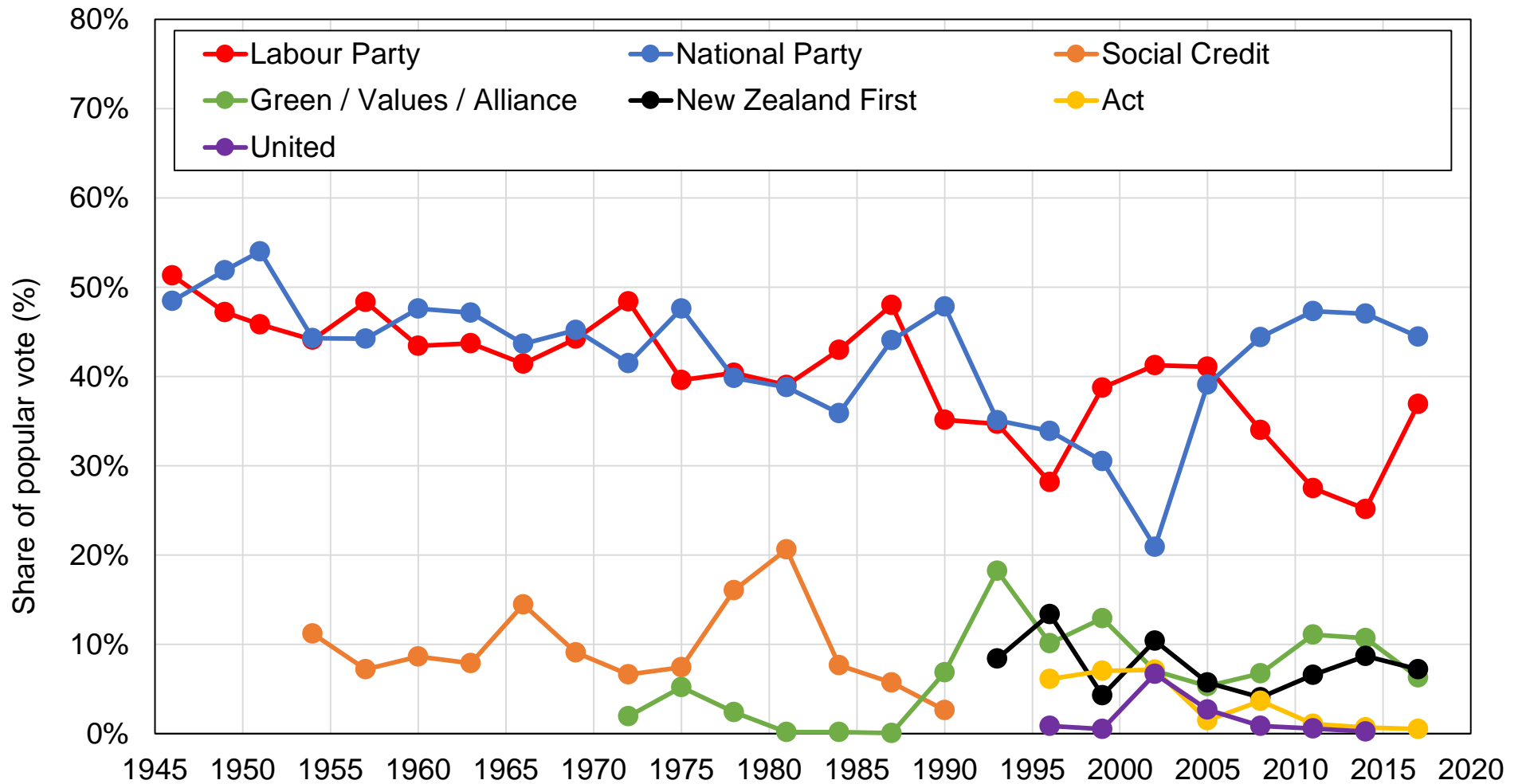
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Table B3	The structure of political cleavages in New Zealand, 2011-2017

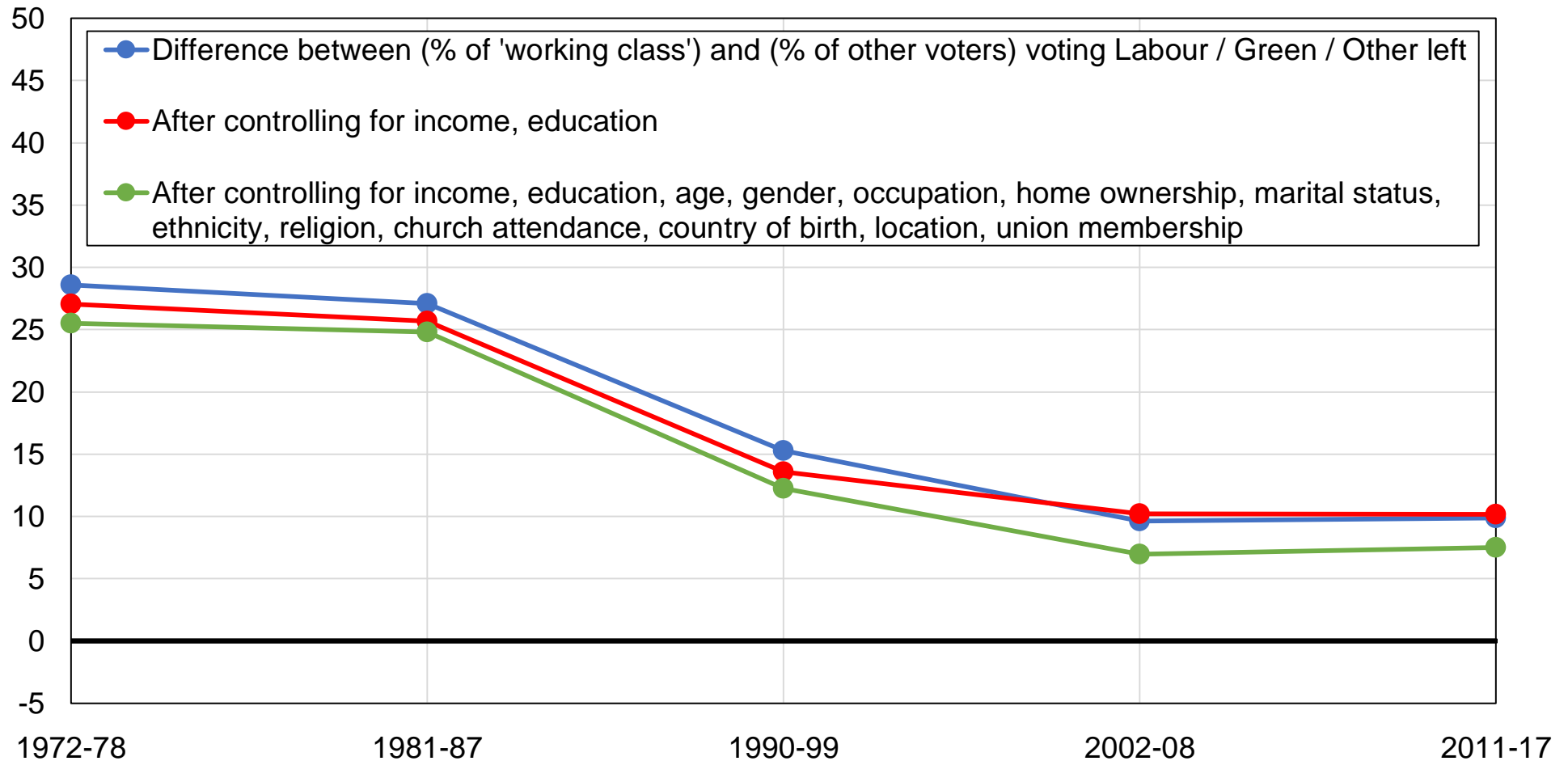
Figure 1 - Election results in New Zealand, 1946-2017



Source: author's computations using official election results.

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

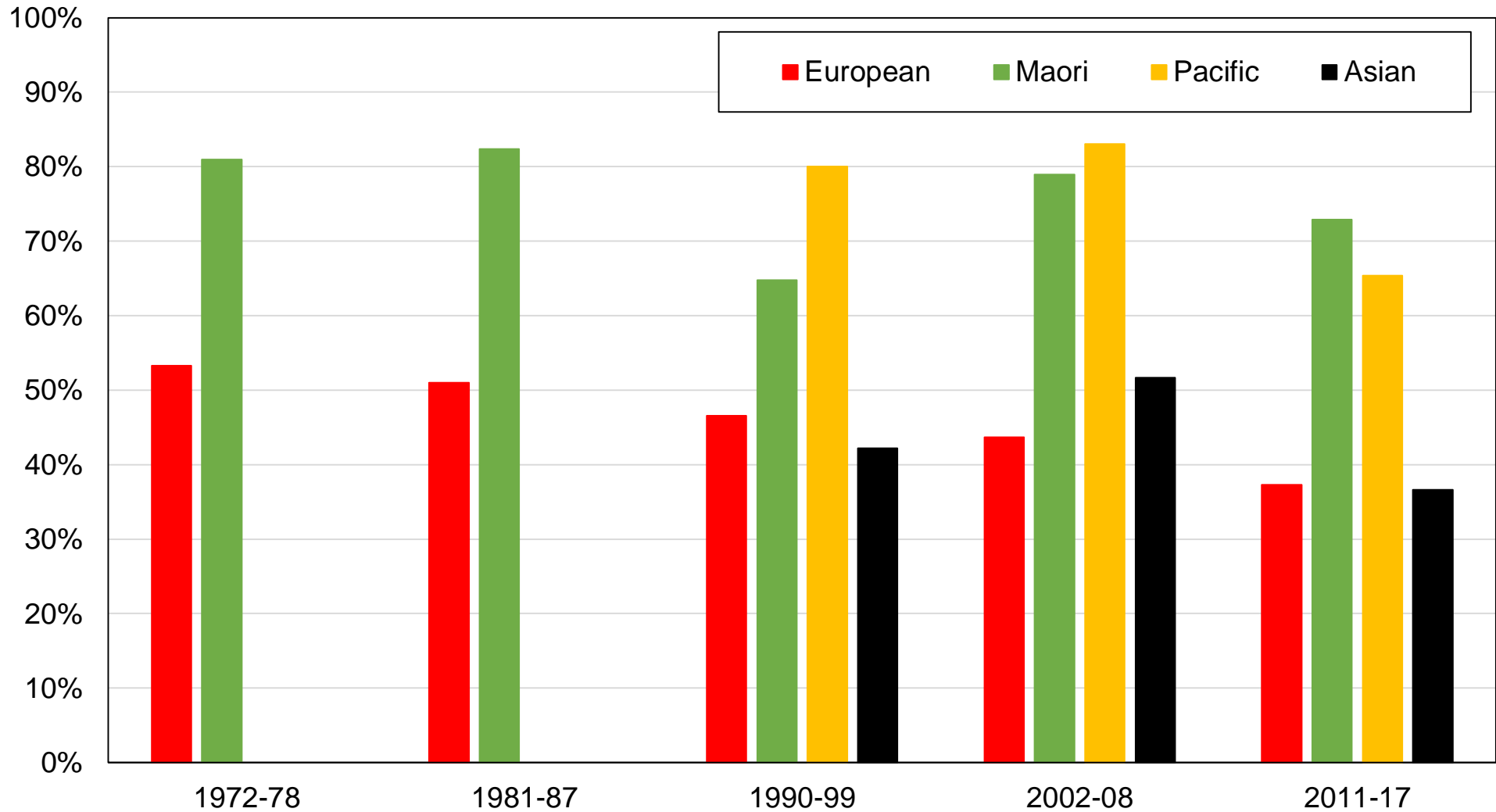
Figure 2 - The decline of class voting in New Zealand



Source: author's computations using New Zealand 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 Labour / Green / Other left parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

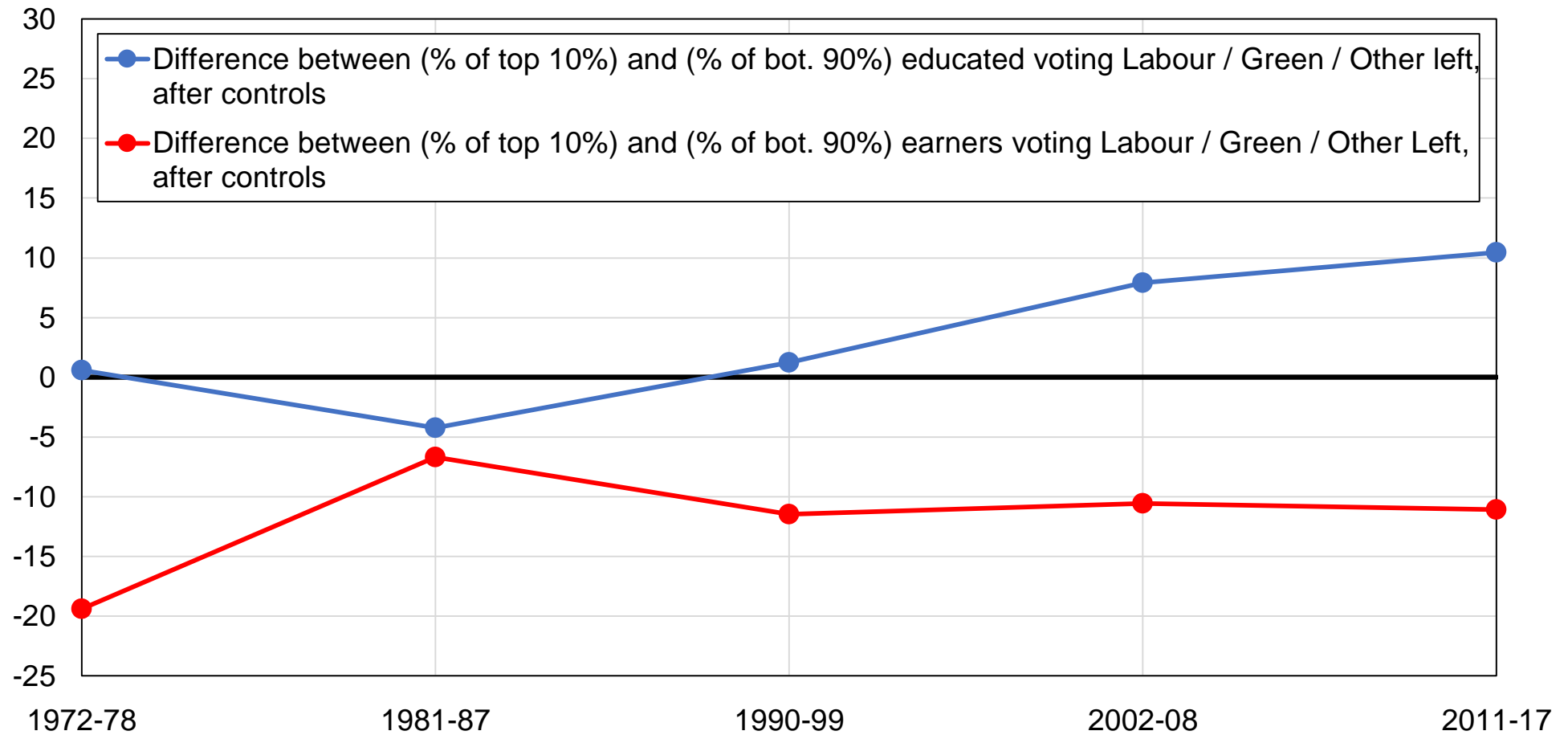
Figure 3 - Ethnic cleavages in New Zealand



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour / Greens / Other left by ethnic group.

Figure 4 - The emergence of a multi-elite party system in New Zealand



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the relative bias of highest-educated and top-income voters towards the Labour / Green / Other left parties, after controlling for income, education, age, gender, occupation, home ownership, marital status, ethnicity, religion, church attendance, country of birth, rural-urban location, and union membership.

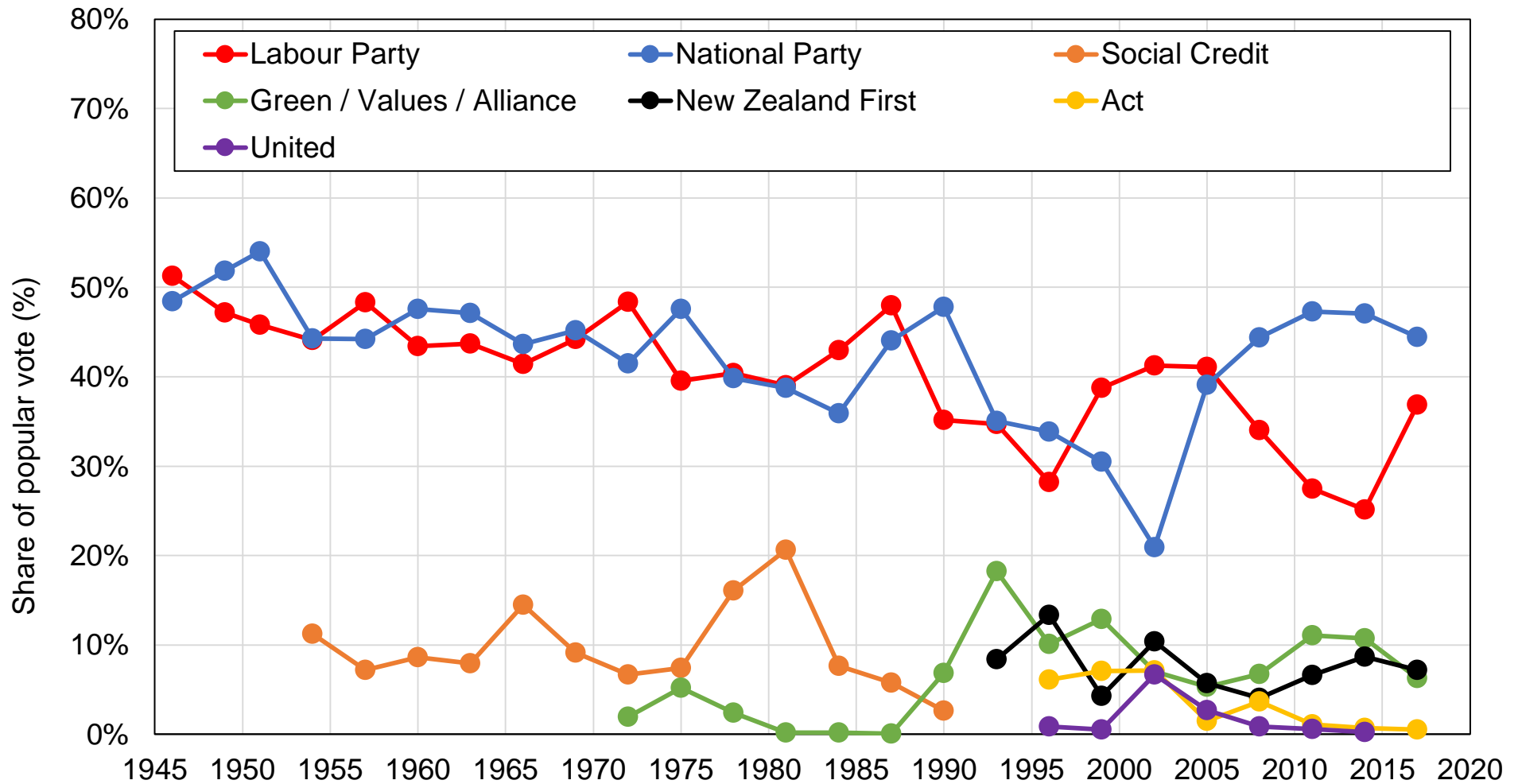
Table 2 - The structure of political cleavages in New Zealand, 2011-2017

	Share of votes received (%)			
	Labour	Greens	National	NZF
Education				
Primary	35%	4%	43%	11%
Secondary	27%	9%	49%	7%
Tertiary	27%	17%	44%	3%
Postgraduate	36%	15%	33%	5%
Income				
Bottom 50%	34%	8%	37%	9%
Middle 40%	25%	10%	51%	5%
Top 10%	18%	9%	63%	4%
Social class				
Working class	34%	7%	32%	14%
Middle class	21%	11%	48%	6%
Ethnicity				
European	27%	10%	48%	7%
Maori	47%	8%	11%	12%
Pacific	64%	0%	23%	11%
Asian	29%	5%	57%	0%

Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

Notes: the table shows the average share of votes received by the Labour Party, the Green Party, the National Party, and the New Zealand First Party by selected individual characteristics over the 2011-2017 period.

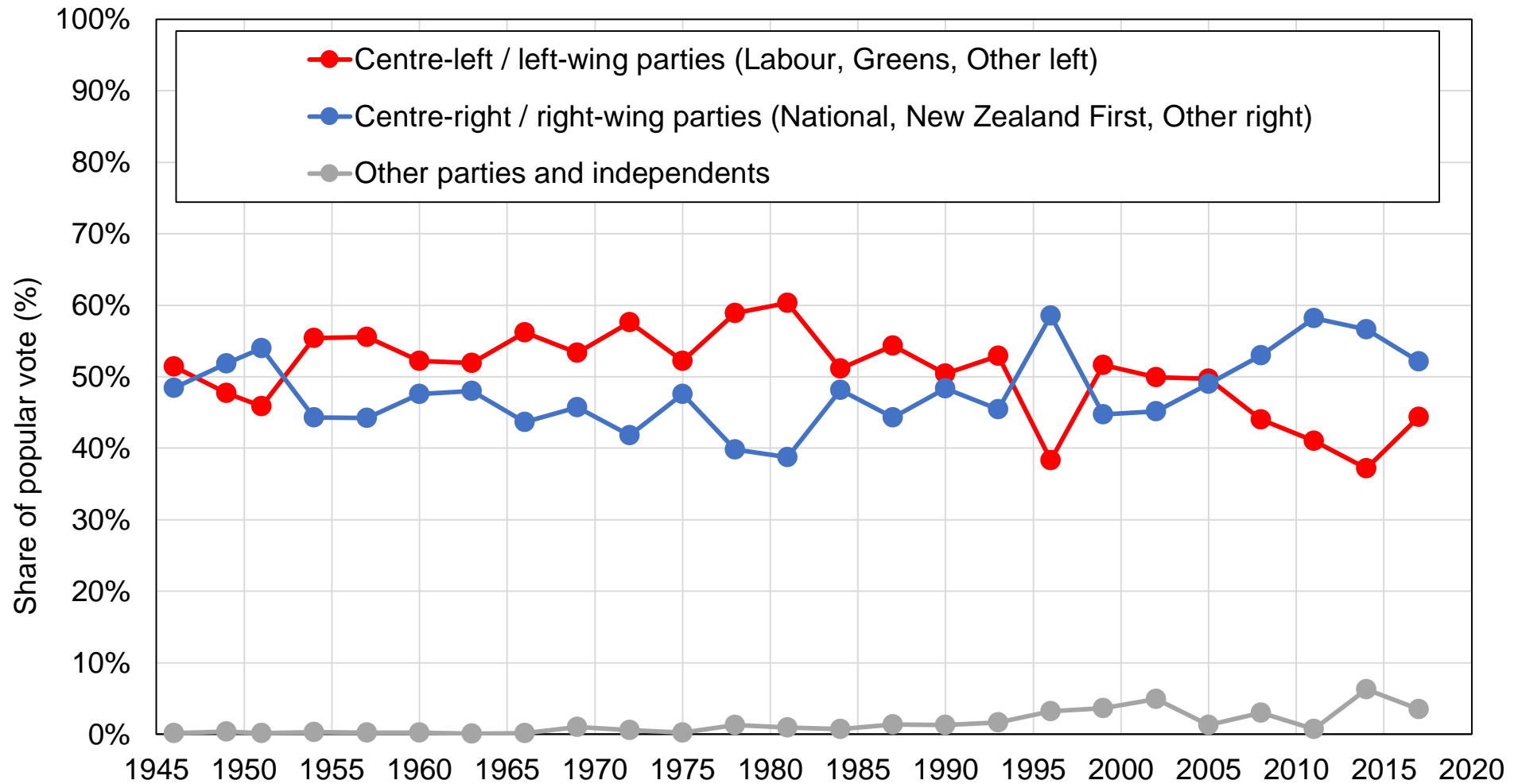
Figure B1 - Election results in New Zealand, 1946-2017



Source: author's computations using official election results.

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

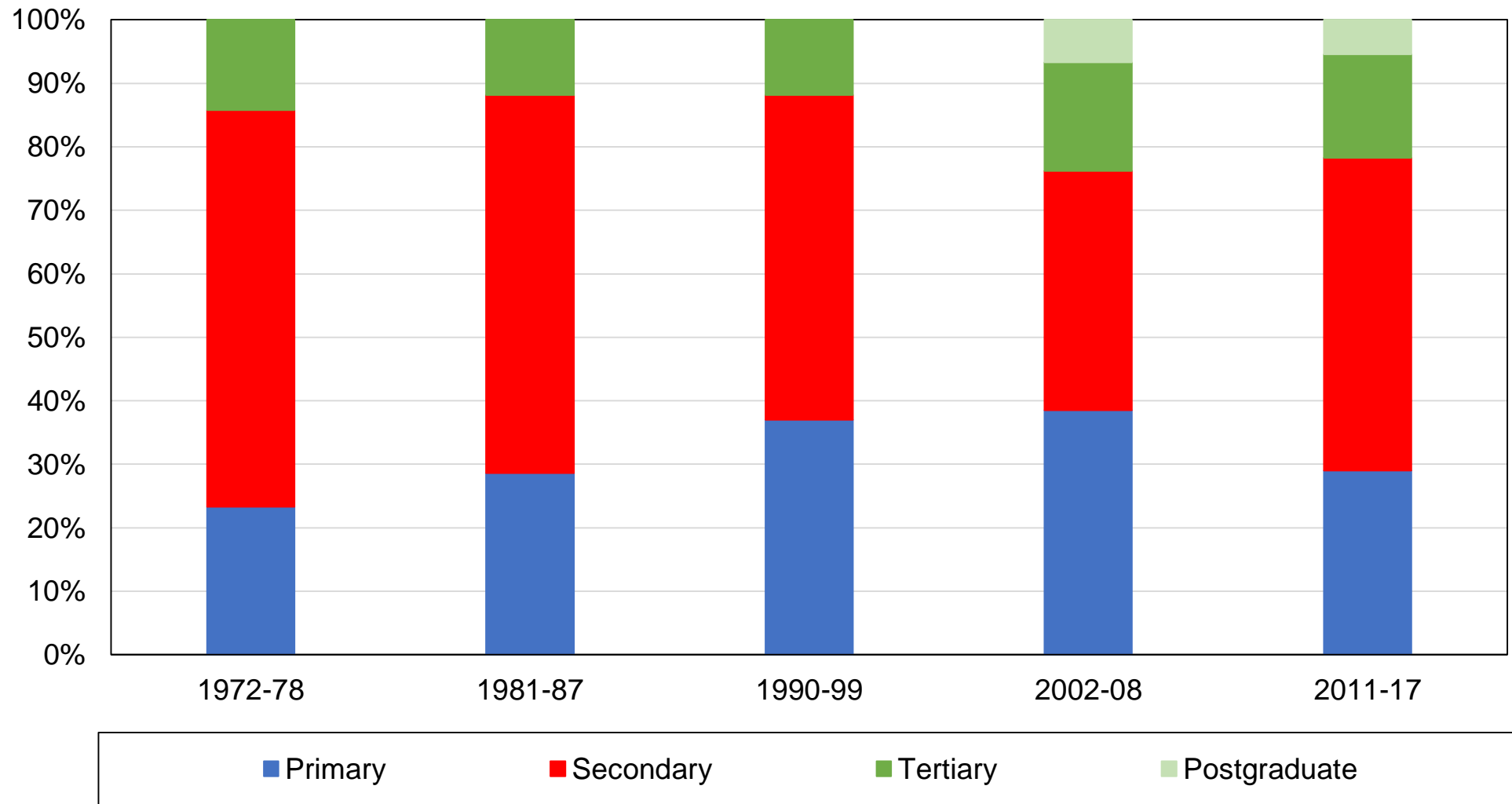
Figure B2 - Election results in New Zealand by groups, 1946-2017



Source: author's computations using official election results.

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

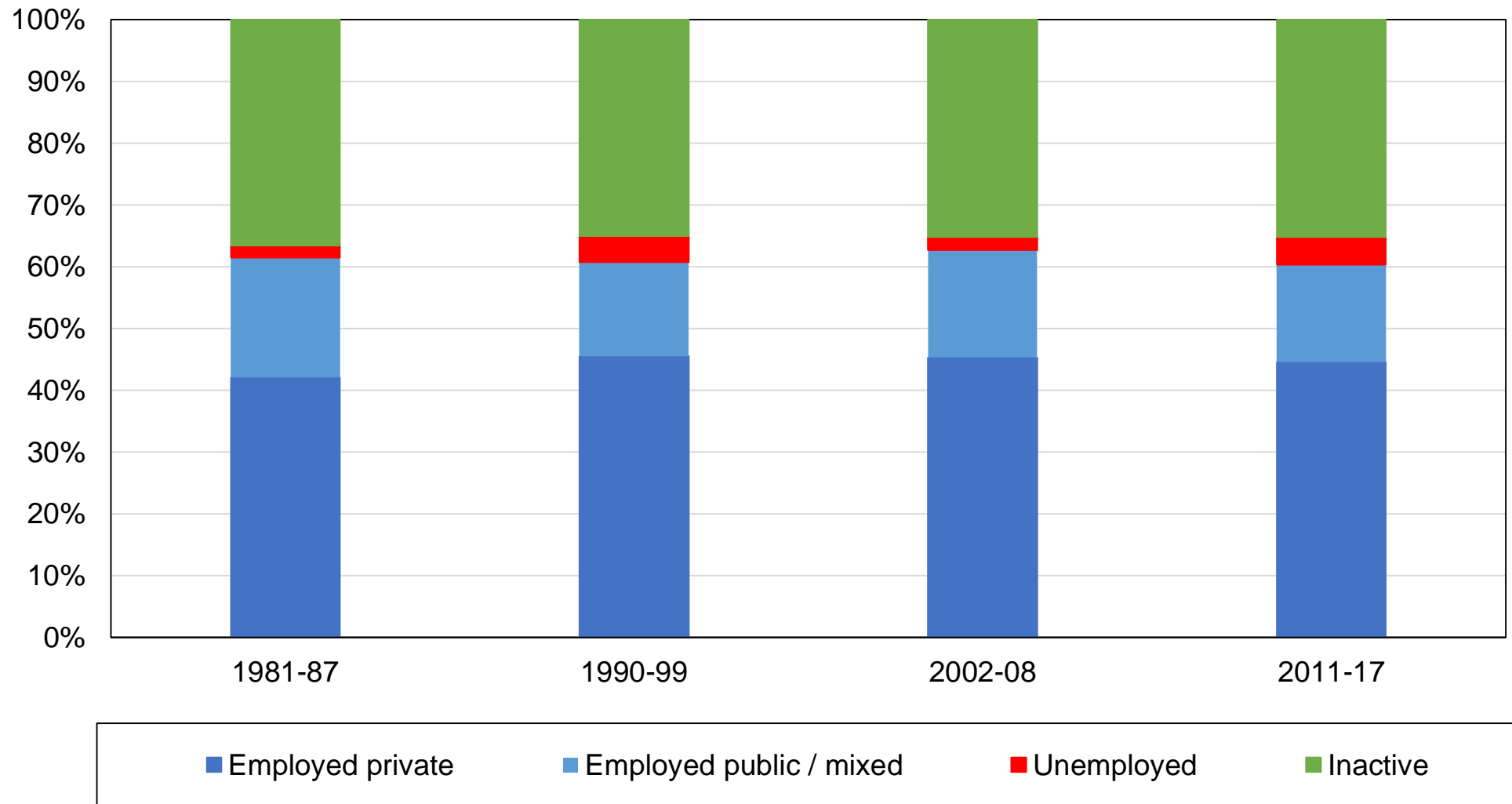
Figure B3 - The evolution of education in New Zealand



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of education levels of the New Zealand adult population.

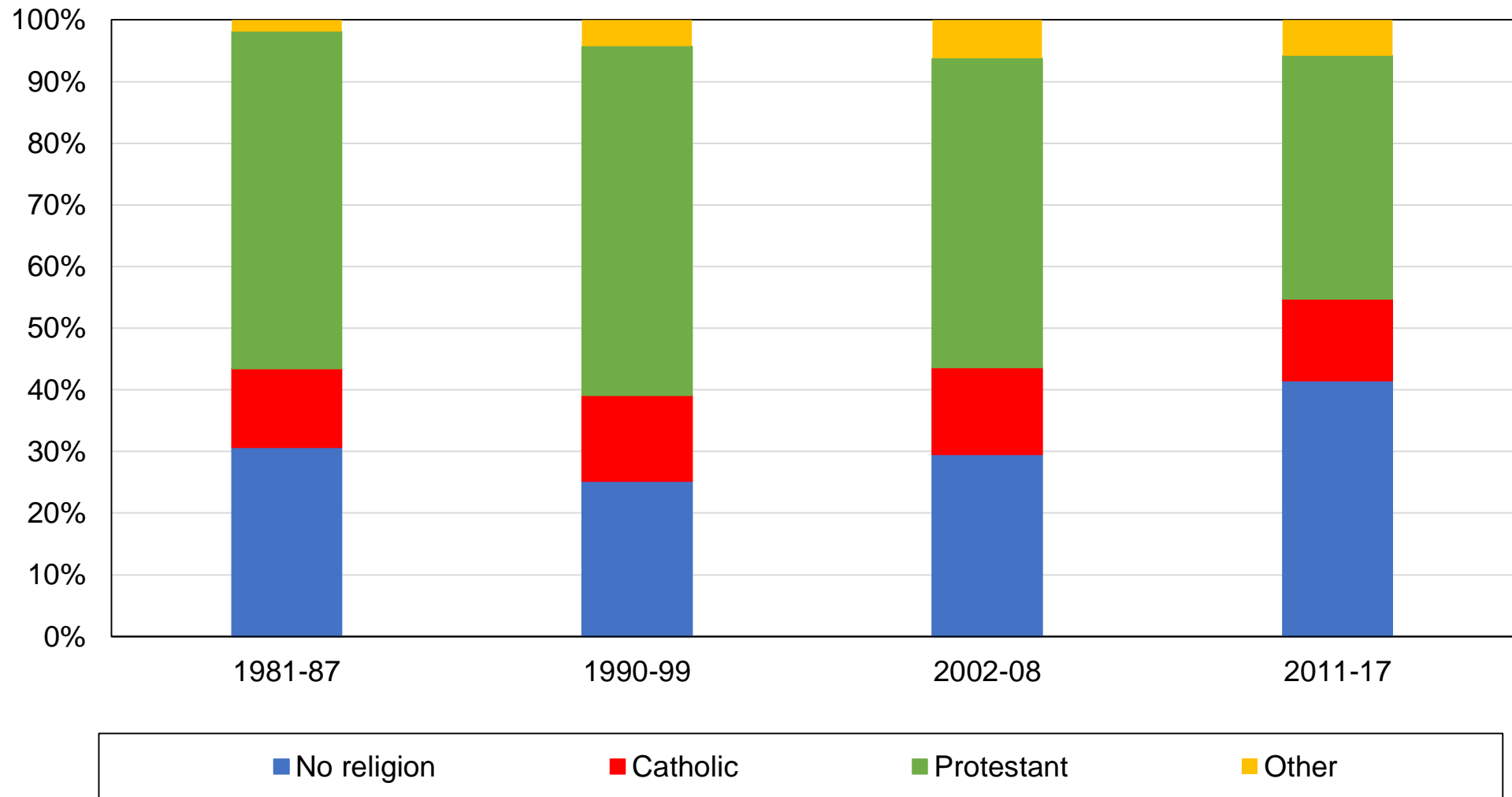
Figure B4 - The structure of employment in New Zealand



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of employment of the New Zealand adult population.

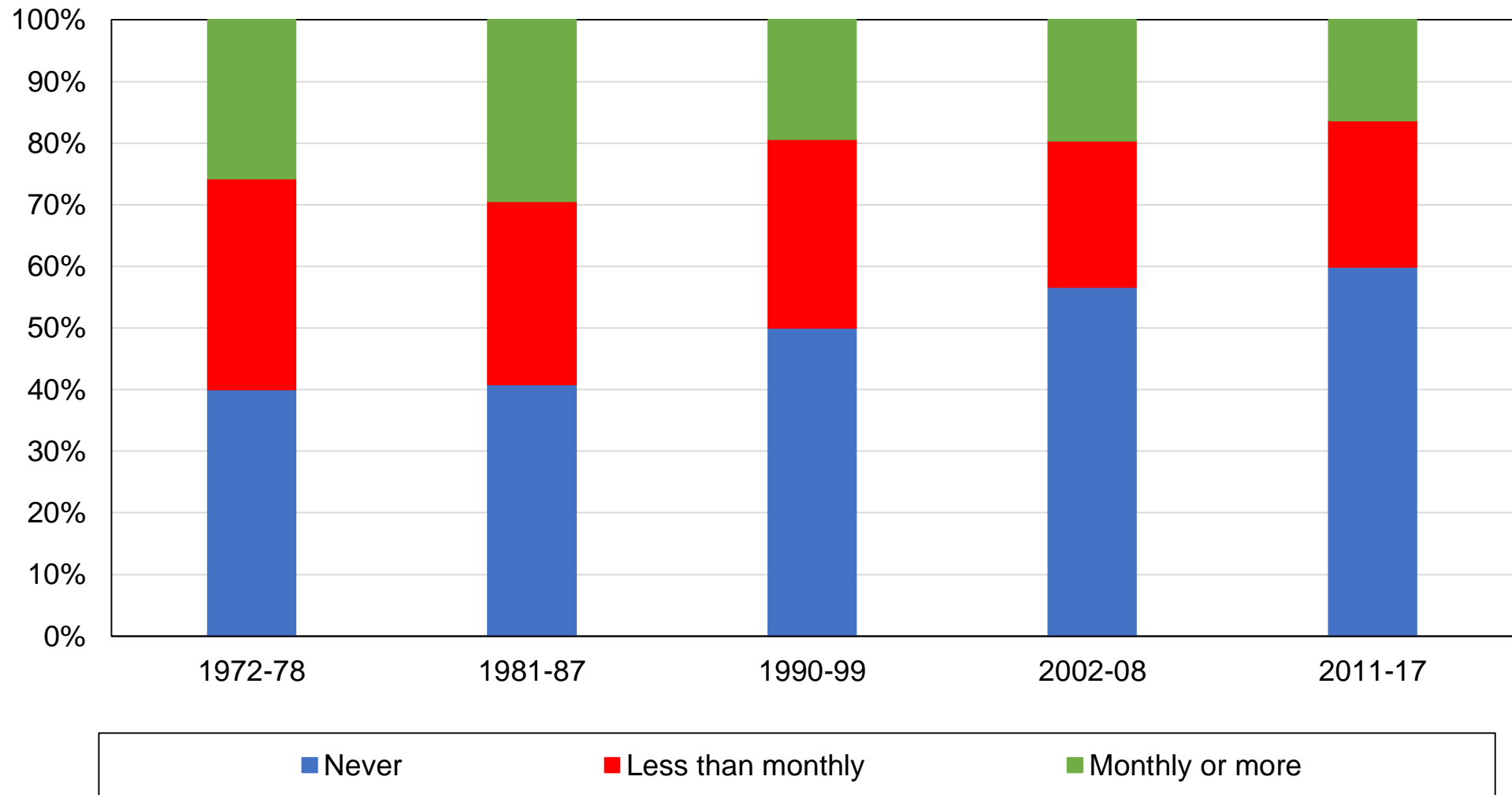
Figure B5 - The evolution of religious affiliations in New Zealand



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of the religion affiliations of the New Zealand adult population.

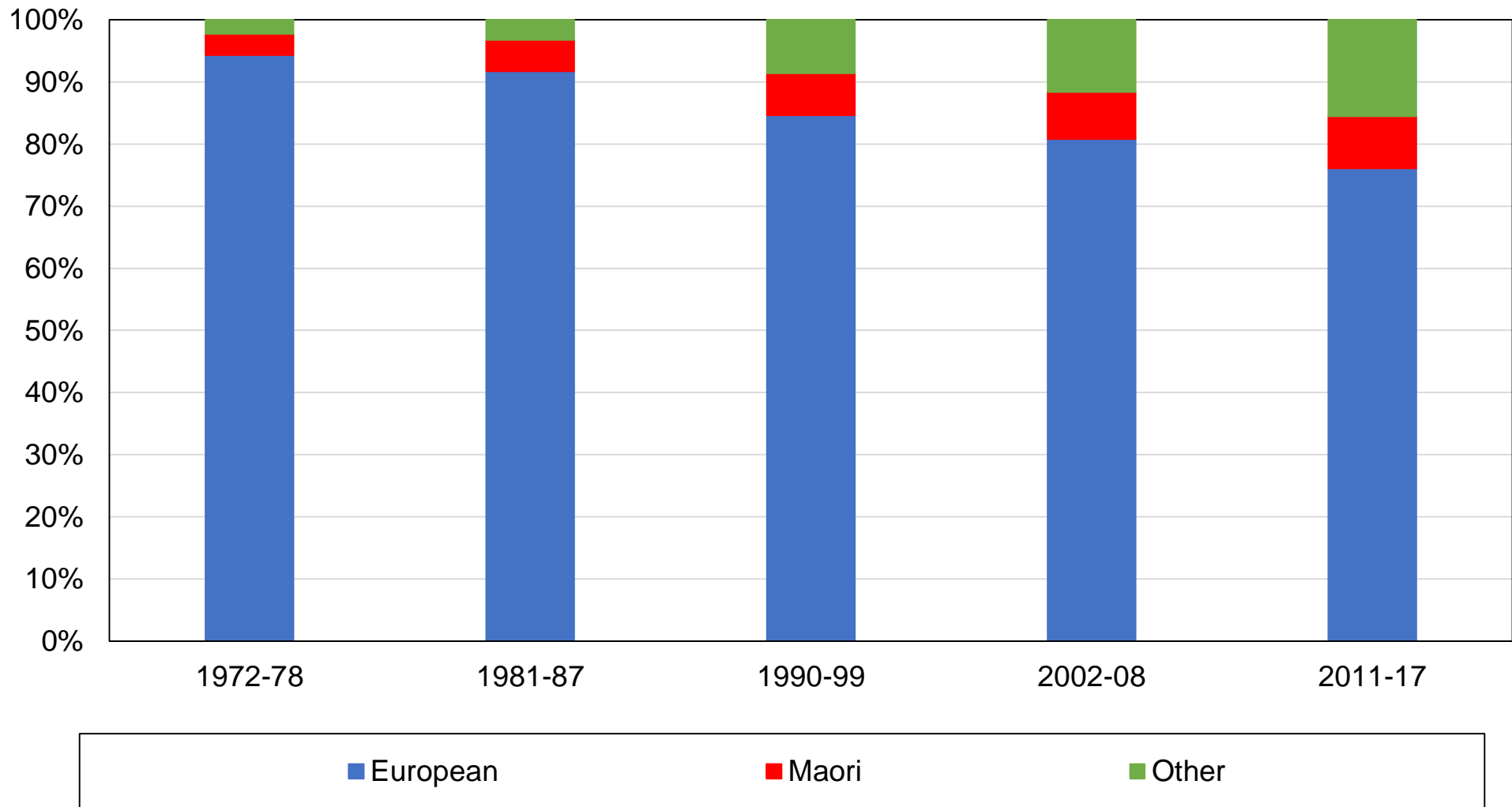
Figure B6 - The evolution of church attendance in New Zealand



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of church attendance of the New Zealand adult population.

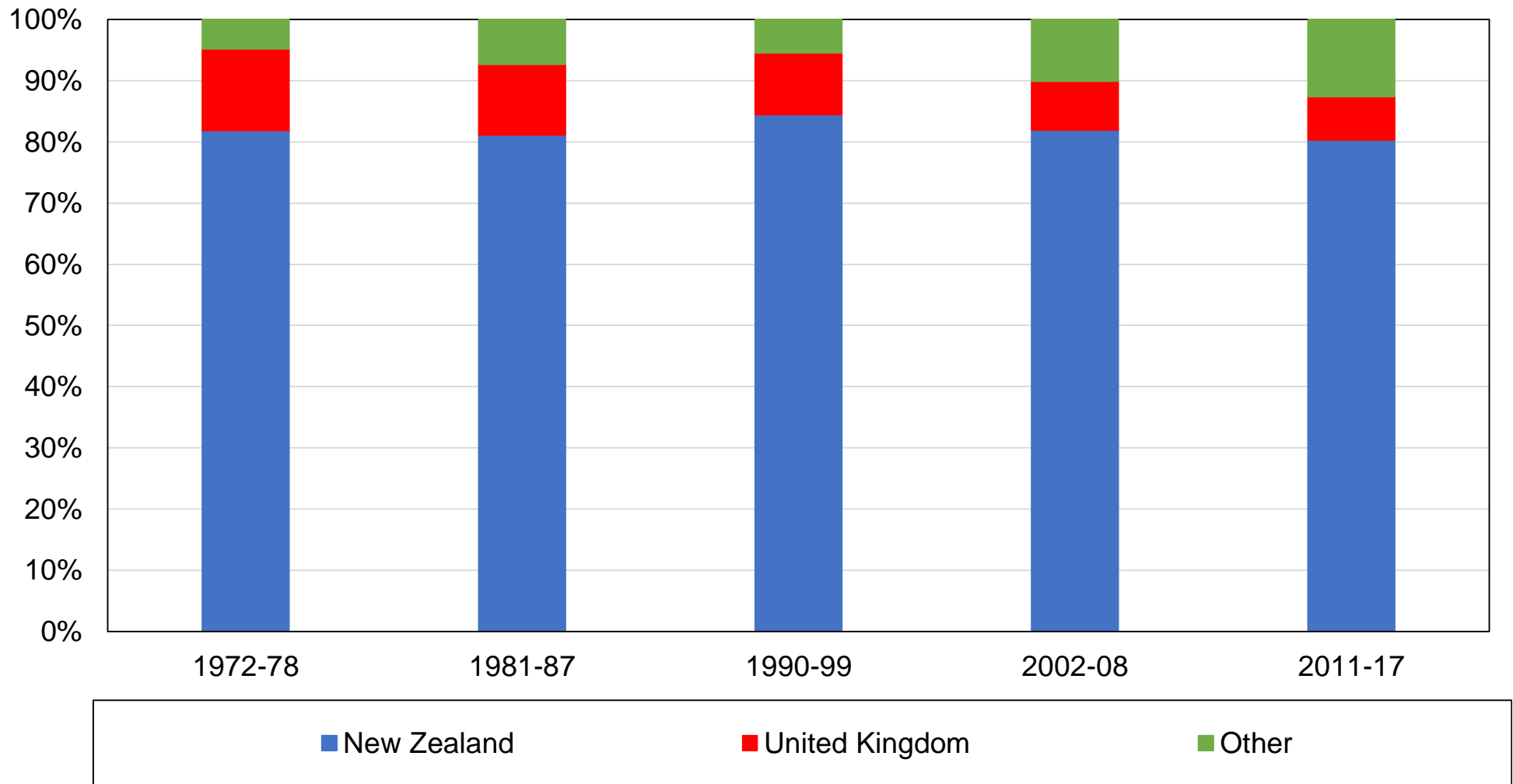
Figure B7 - The ethnic composition of the New Zealand population



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of ethnic groups in New Zealand and its evolution over time.

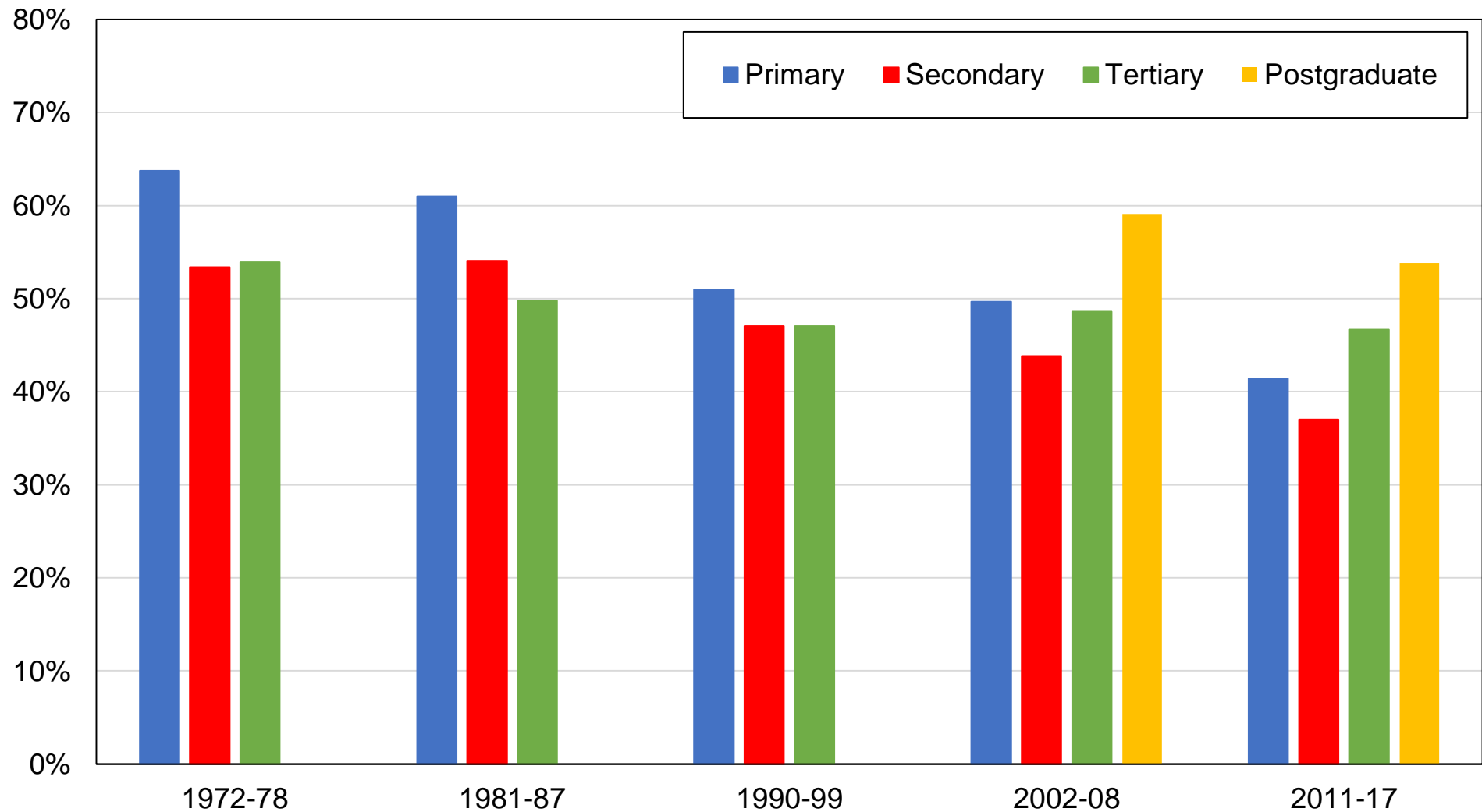
Figure B8 - The evolution of country of birth in New Zealand



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of country of birth of the New Zealand adult population.

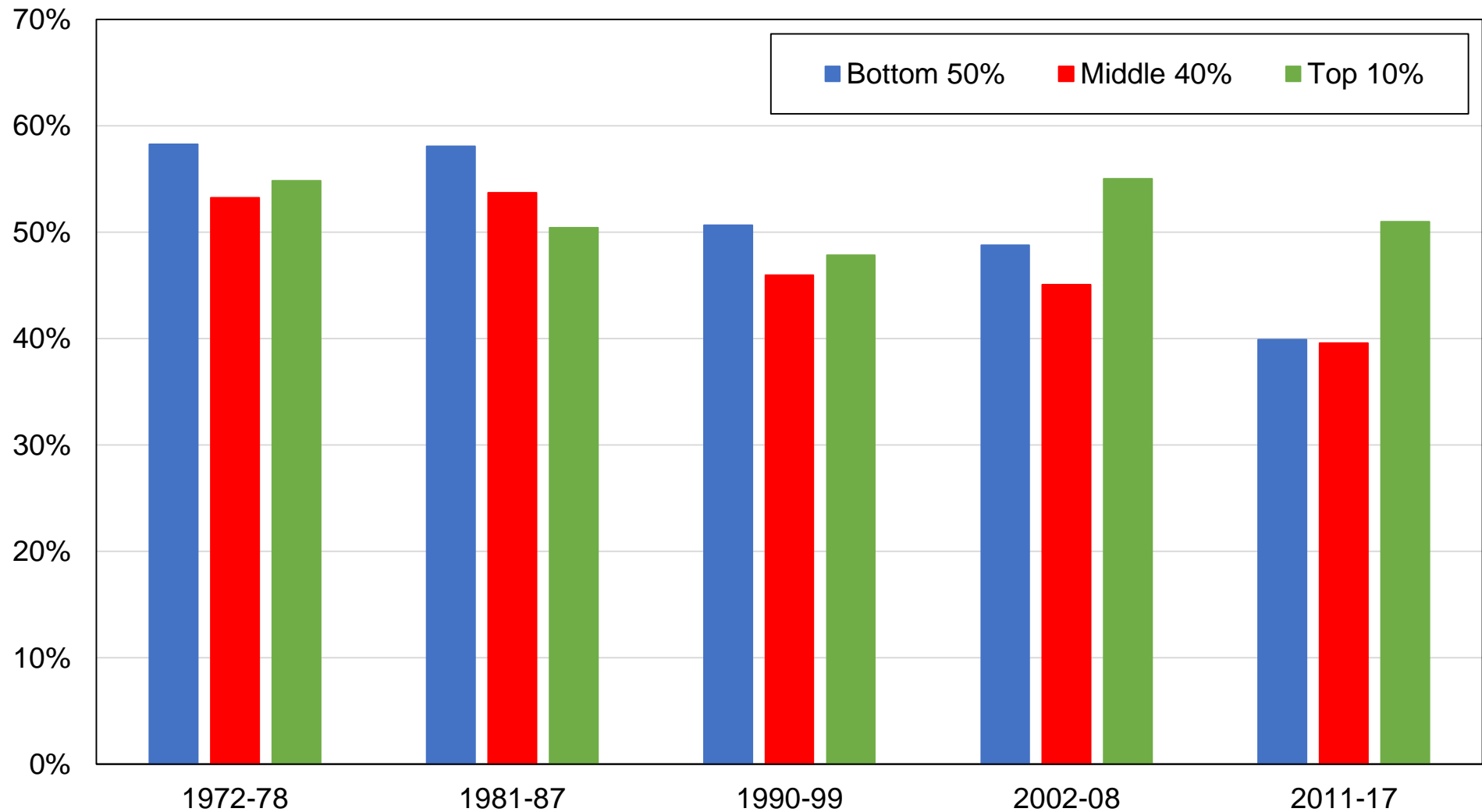
Figure B9 - Vote for Labour / Greens / Other left by education level



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

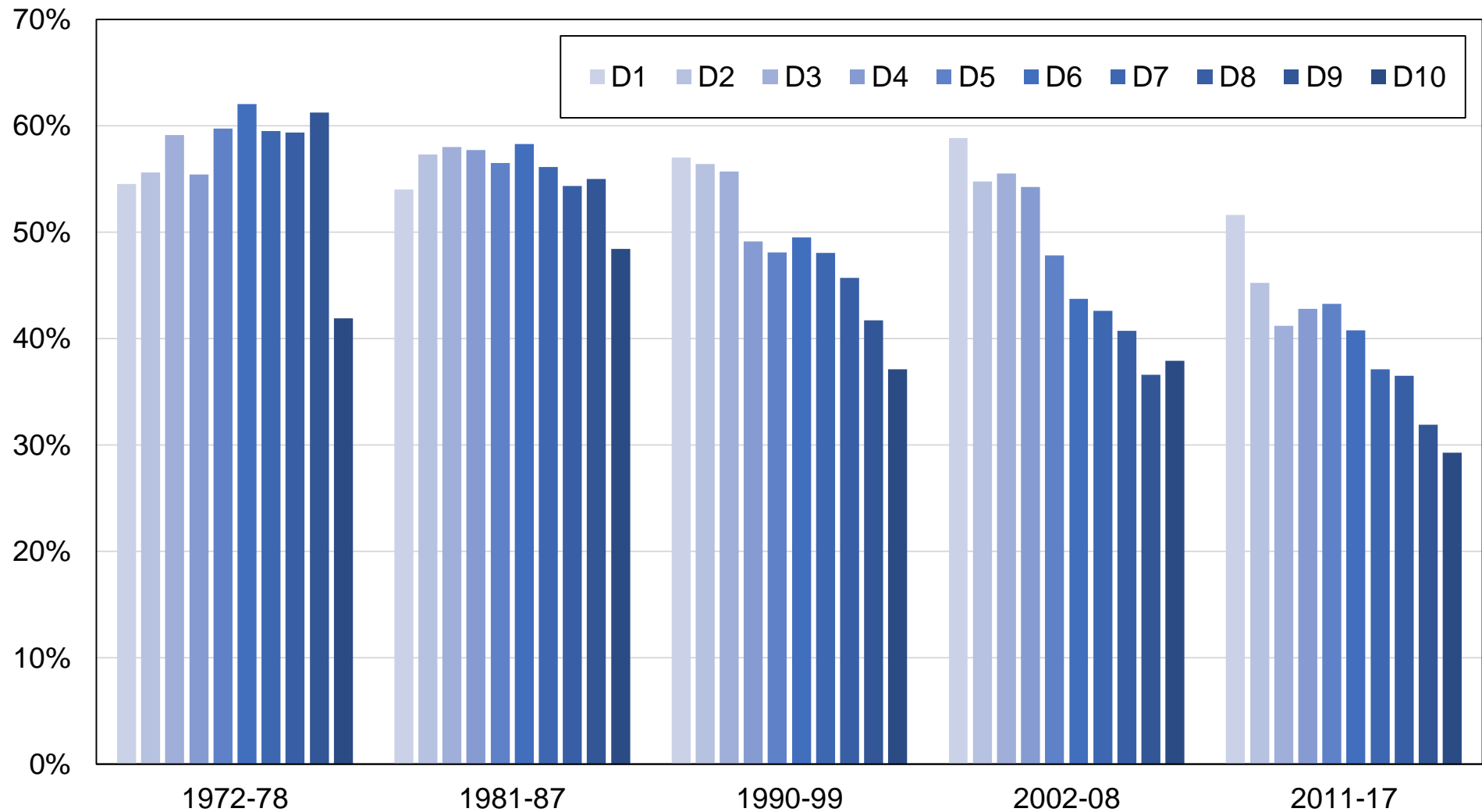
Figure B10 - Vote for Labour / Greens / Other left by education group



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

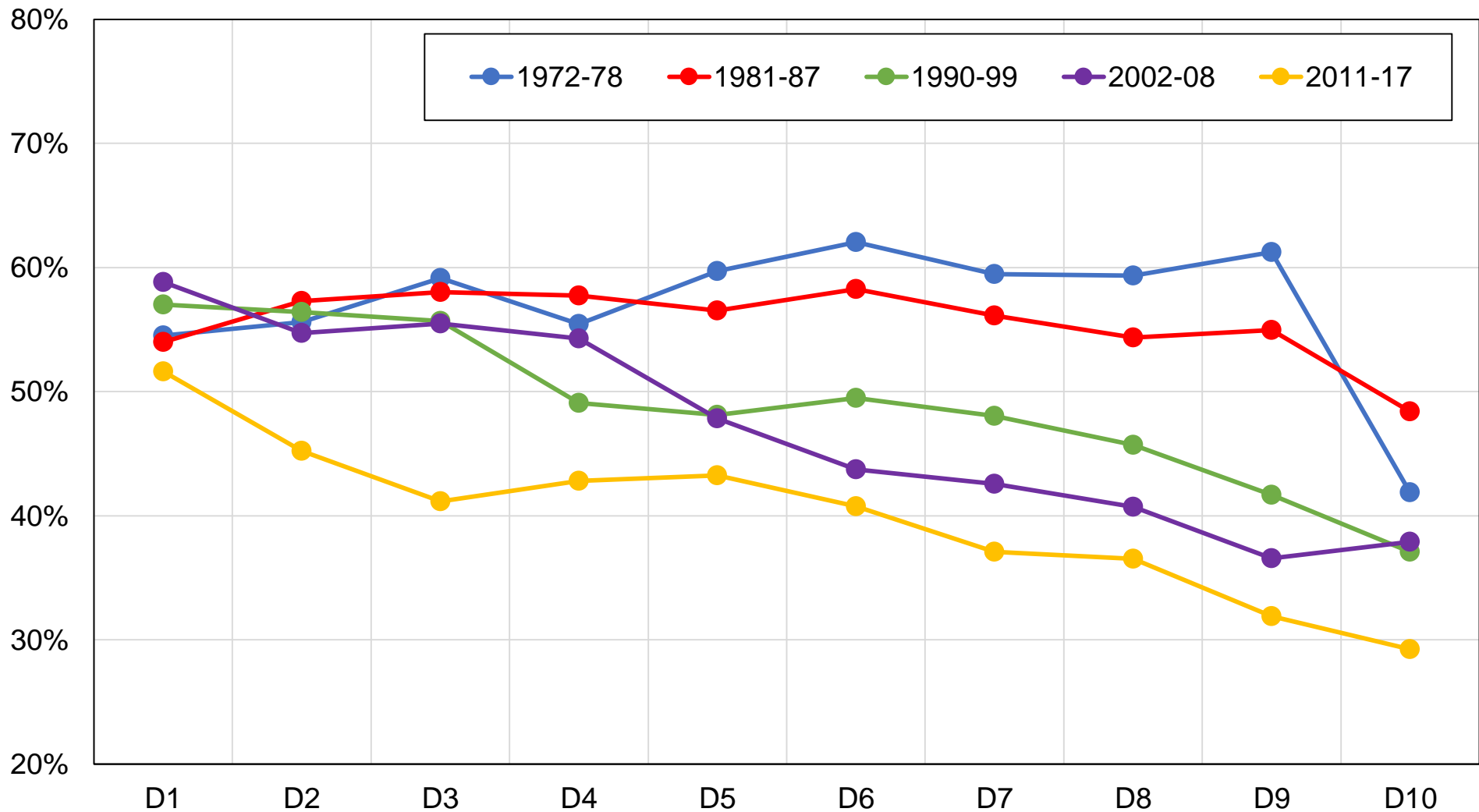
Figure B11 - Vote for Labour / Greens / Other left by income decile



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

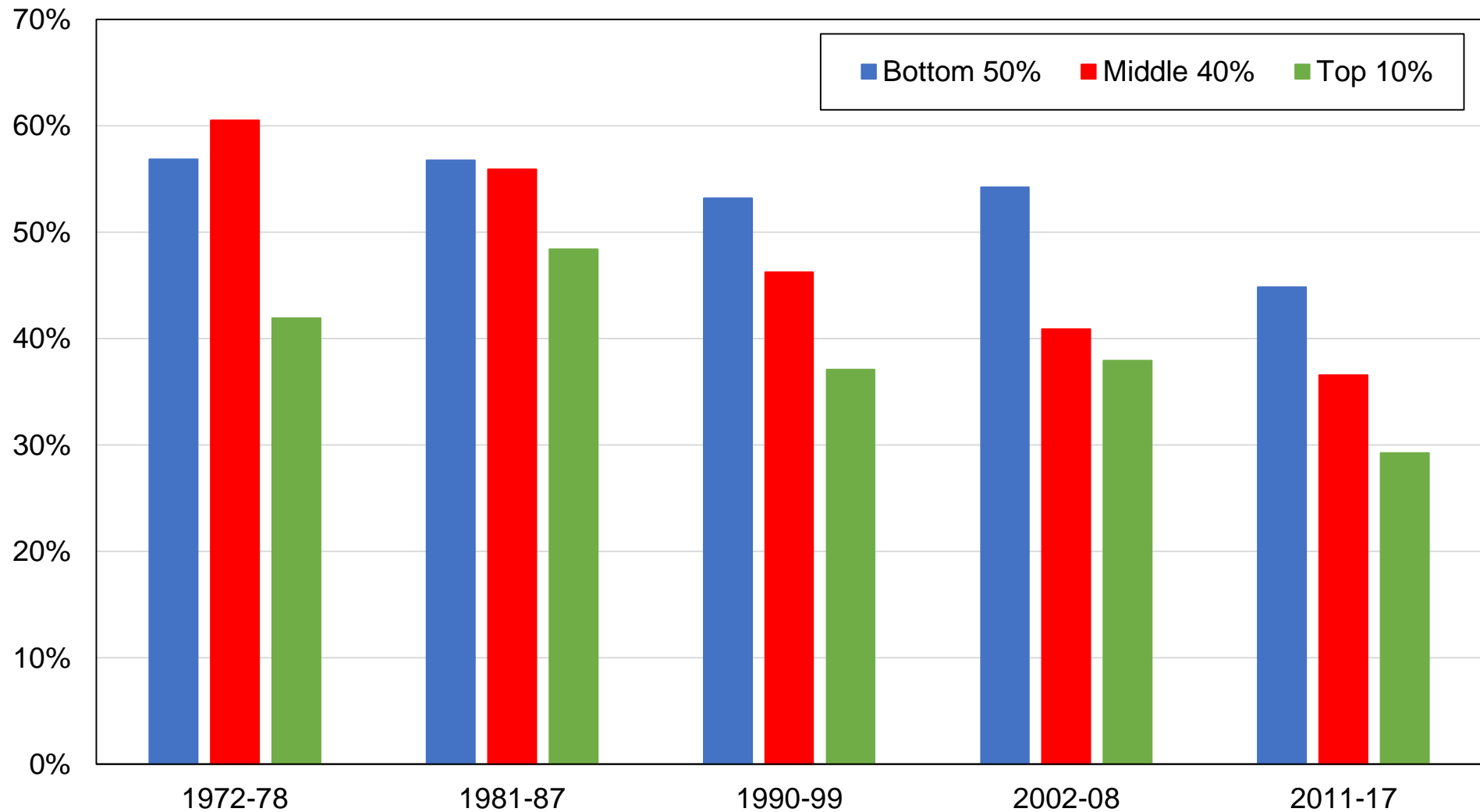
Figure B12 - Vote for Labour / Greens / Other left by income decile



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

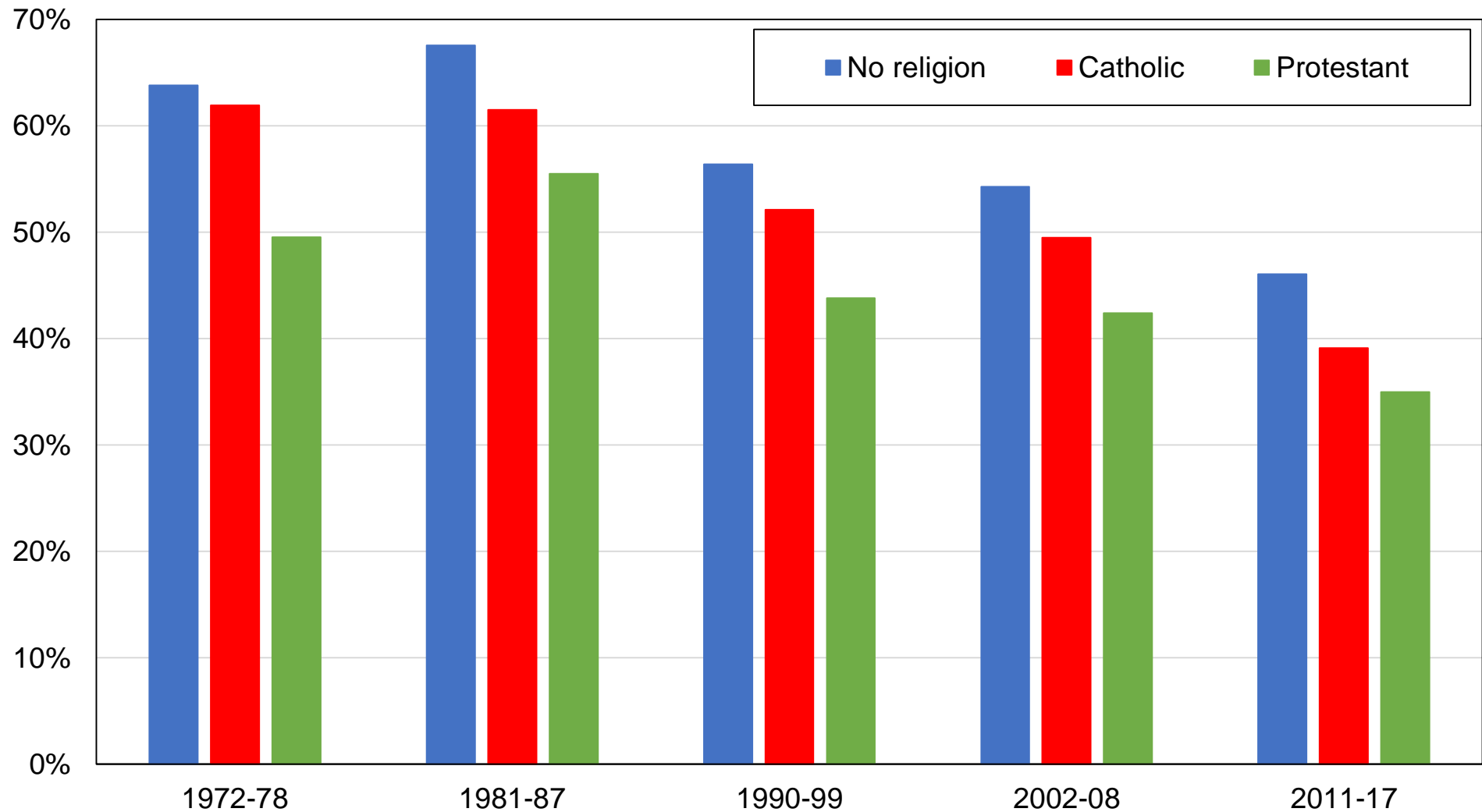
Figure B13 - Vote for Labour / Greens / Other left by income group



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

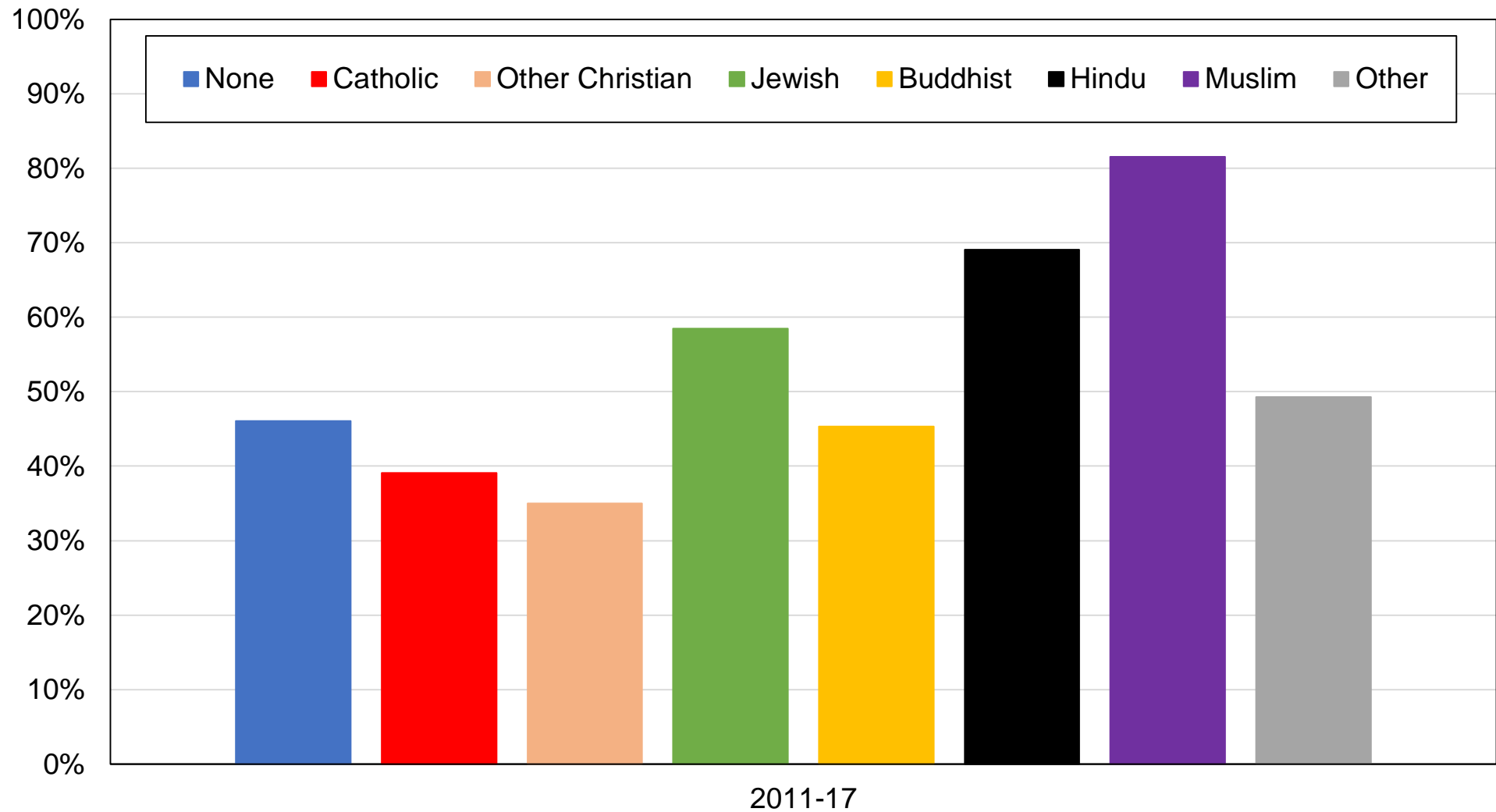
Figure B14 - Vote for Labour / Greens / Other left by religious affiliation



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

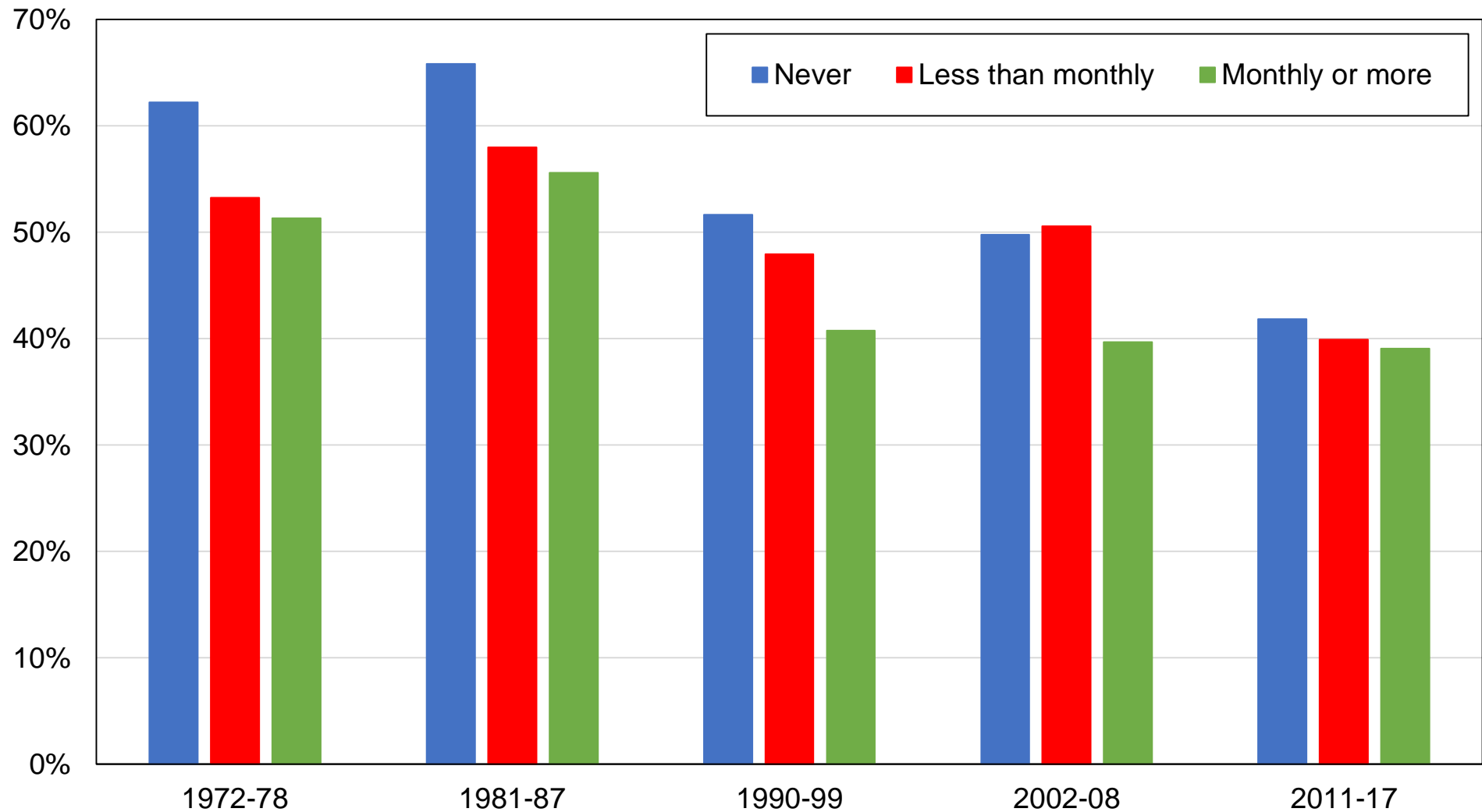
Figure B14 - Vote for Labour / Greens / Other left by religious affiliation



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

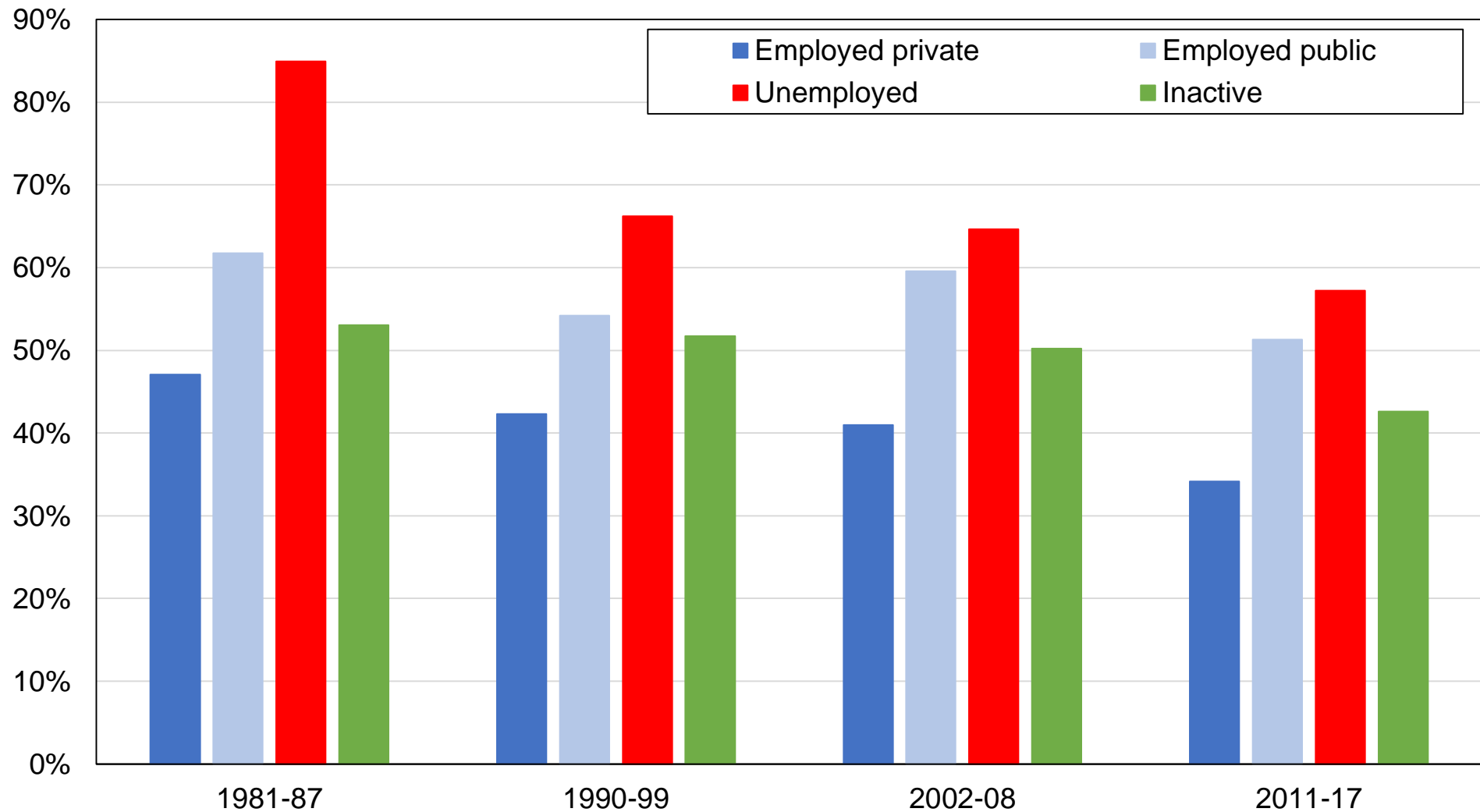
Figure B15 - Vote for Labour / Greens / Other left by church attendance



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

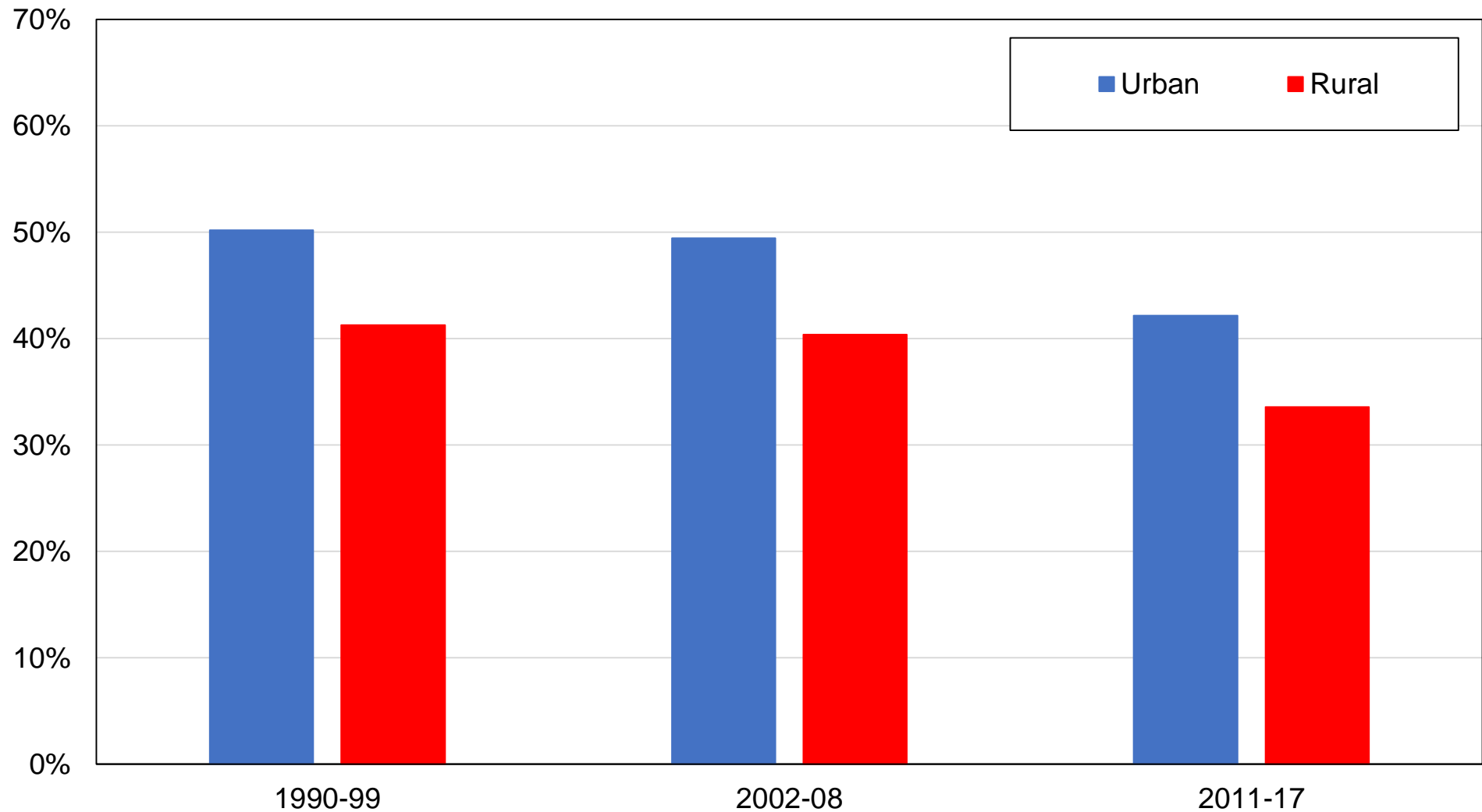
Figure B16 - Vote for Labour / Greens / Other left by occupation



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

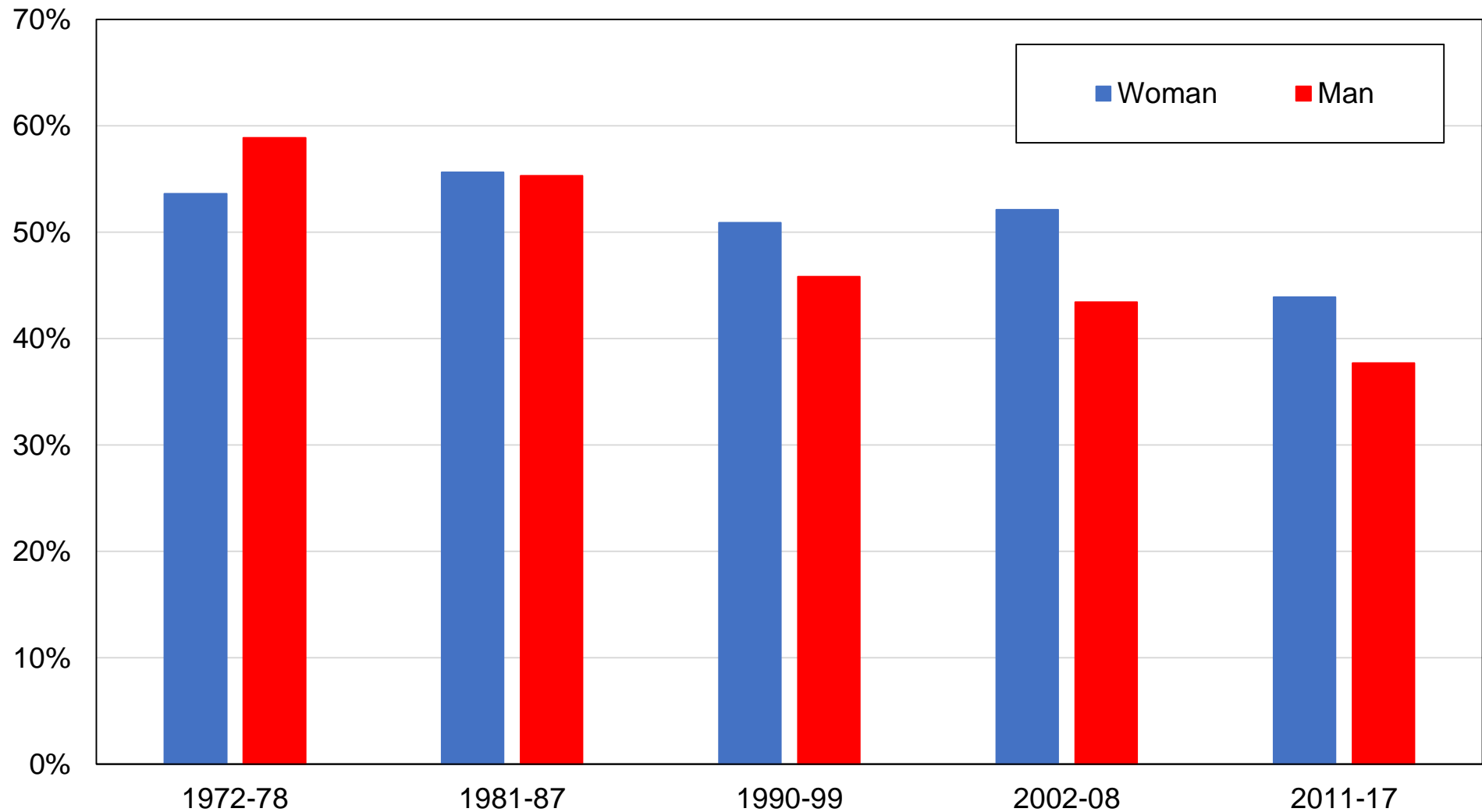
Figure B17 - Vote for Labour / Greens / Other left by location



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

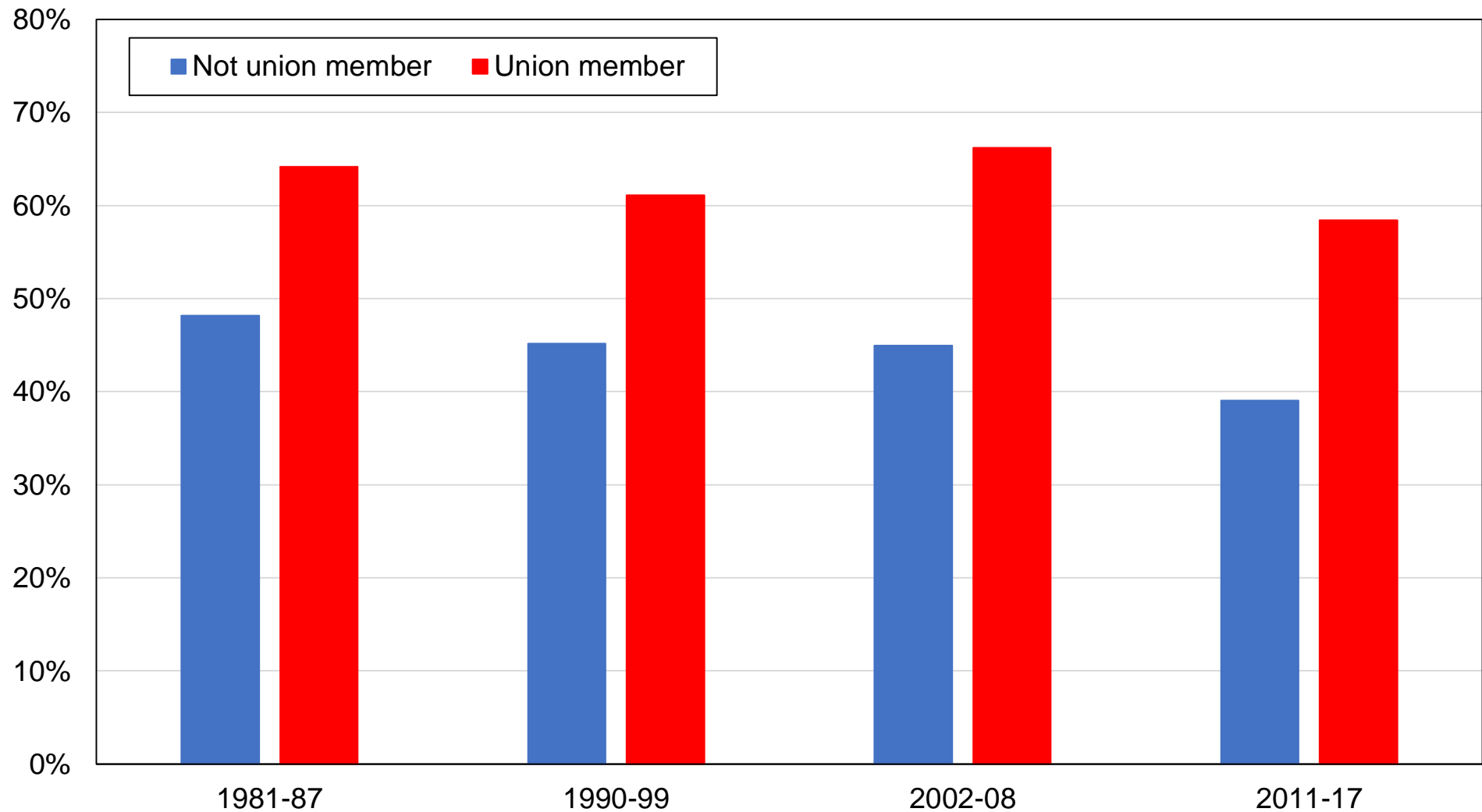
Figure B18 - Vote for Labour / Greens / Other left by gender



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

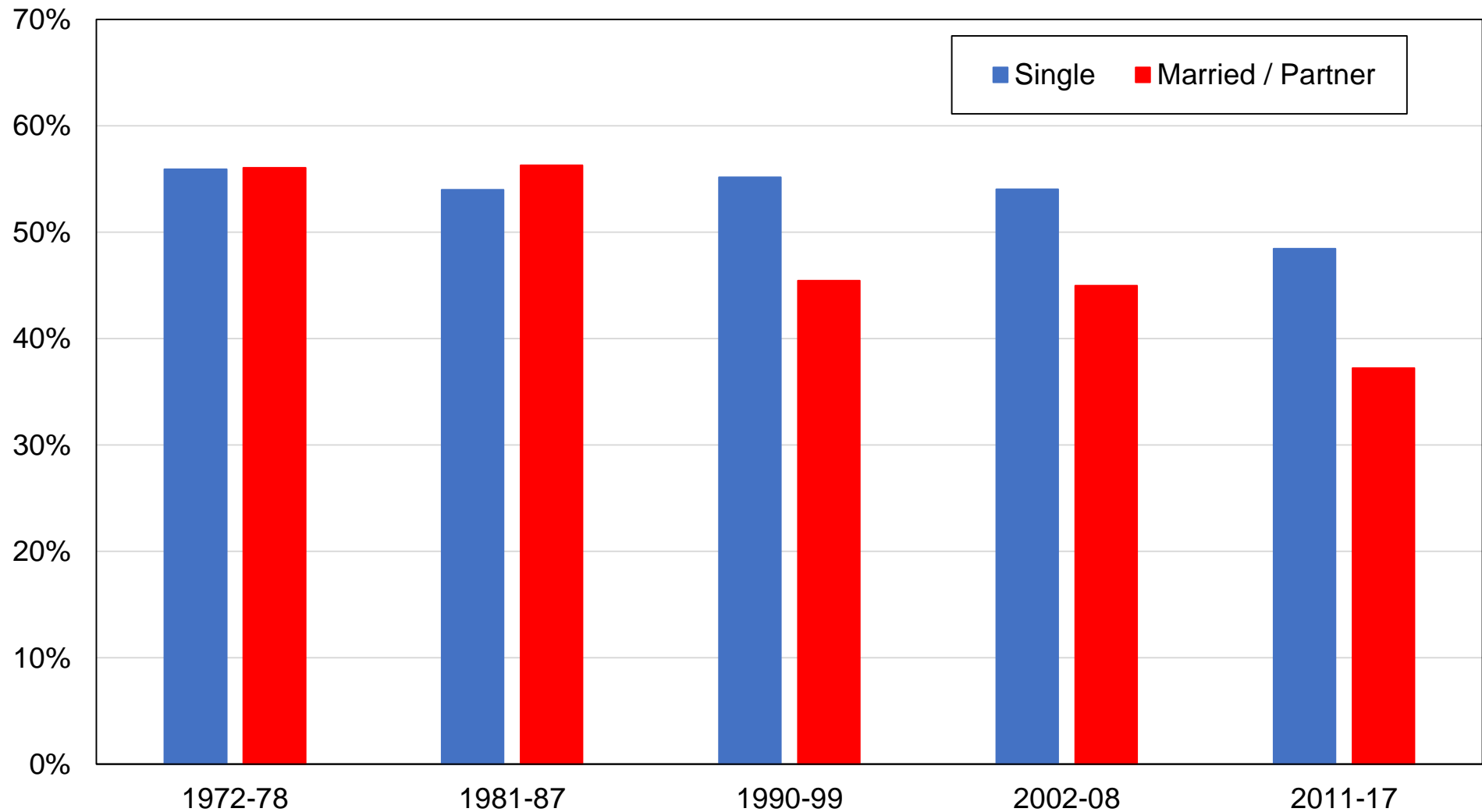
Figure B19 - Vote for Labour / Greens / Other left by union membership



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

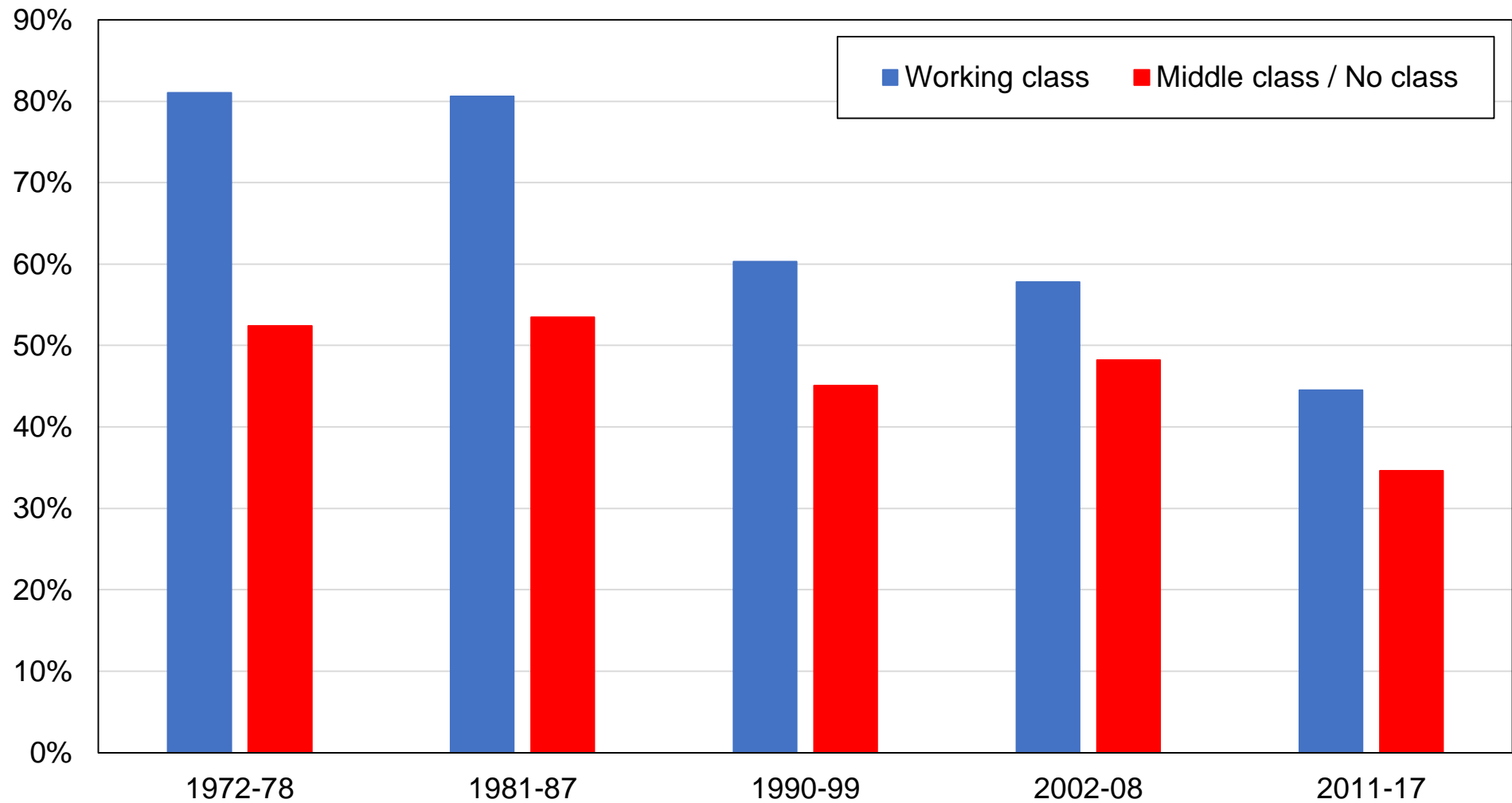
Figure B20 - Vote for Labour / Greens / Other left by marital status



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

Figure B21 - Vote for Labour / Greens / Other left by perceived class

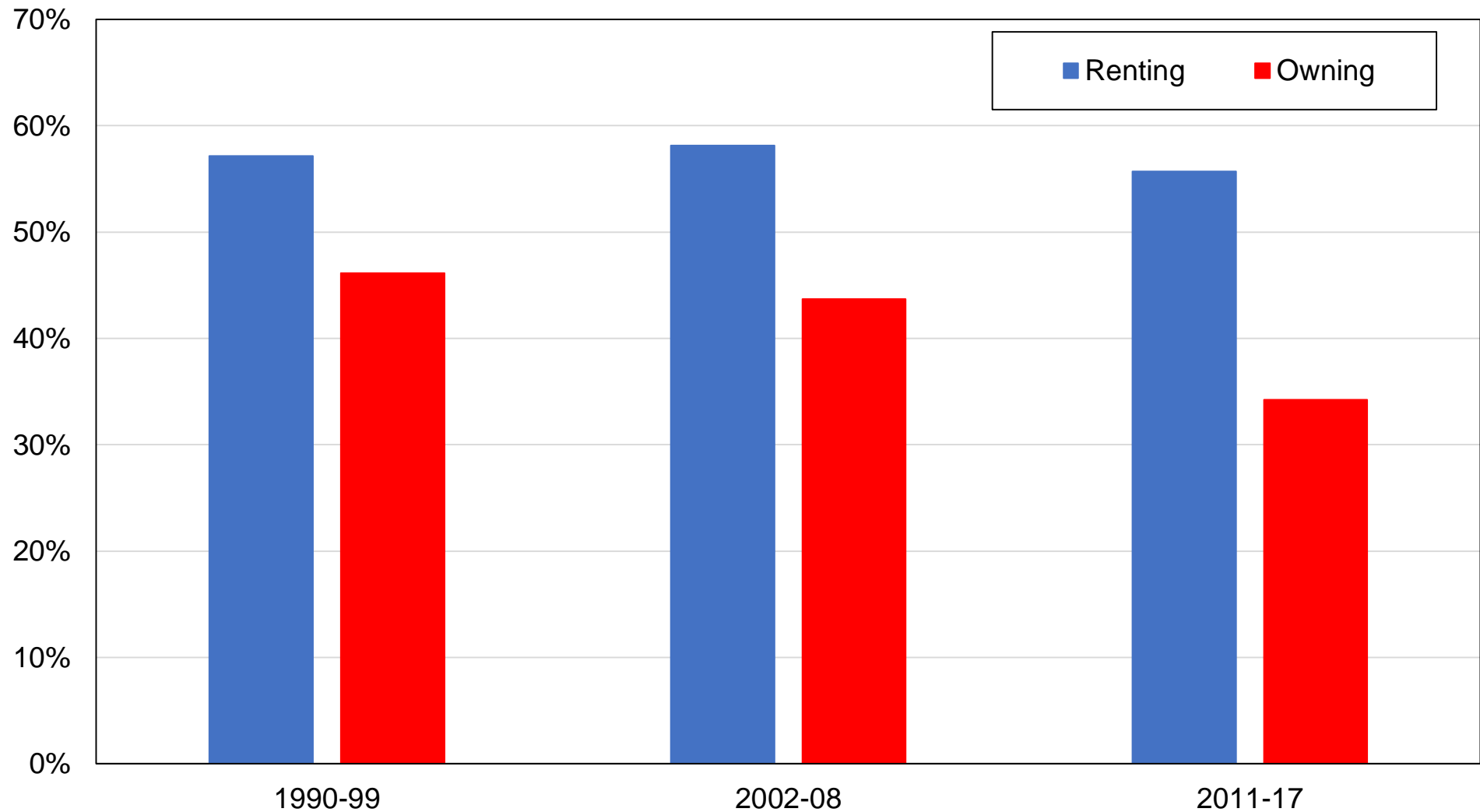


Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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".

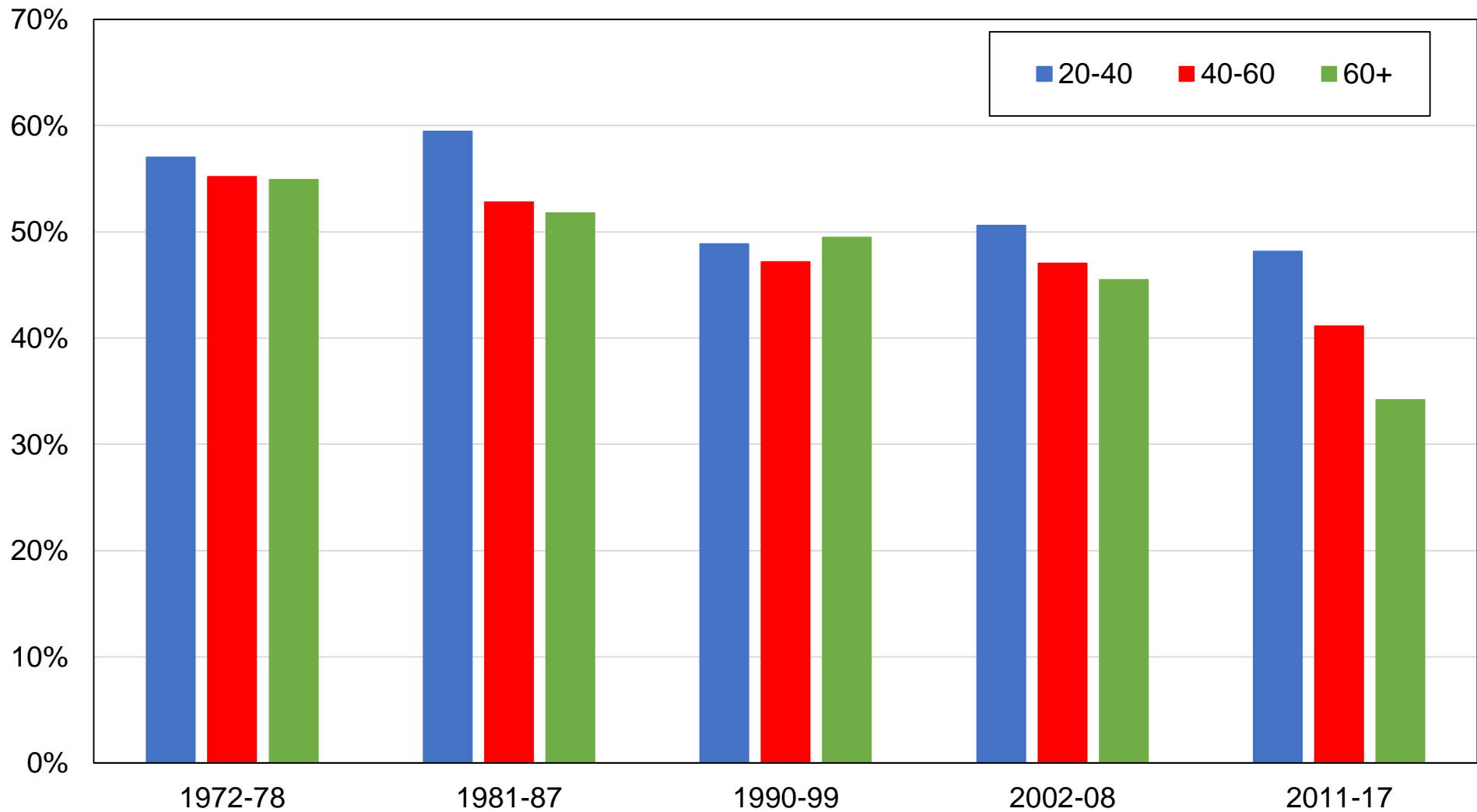
Figure B22 - Vote for Labour / Greens / Other left by home status



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

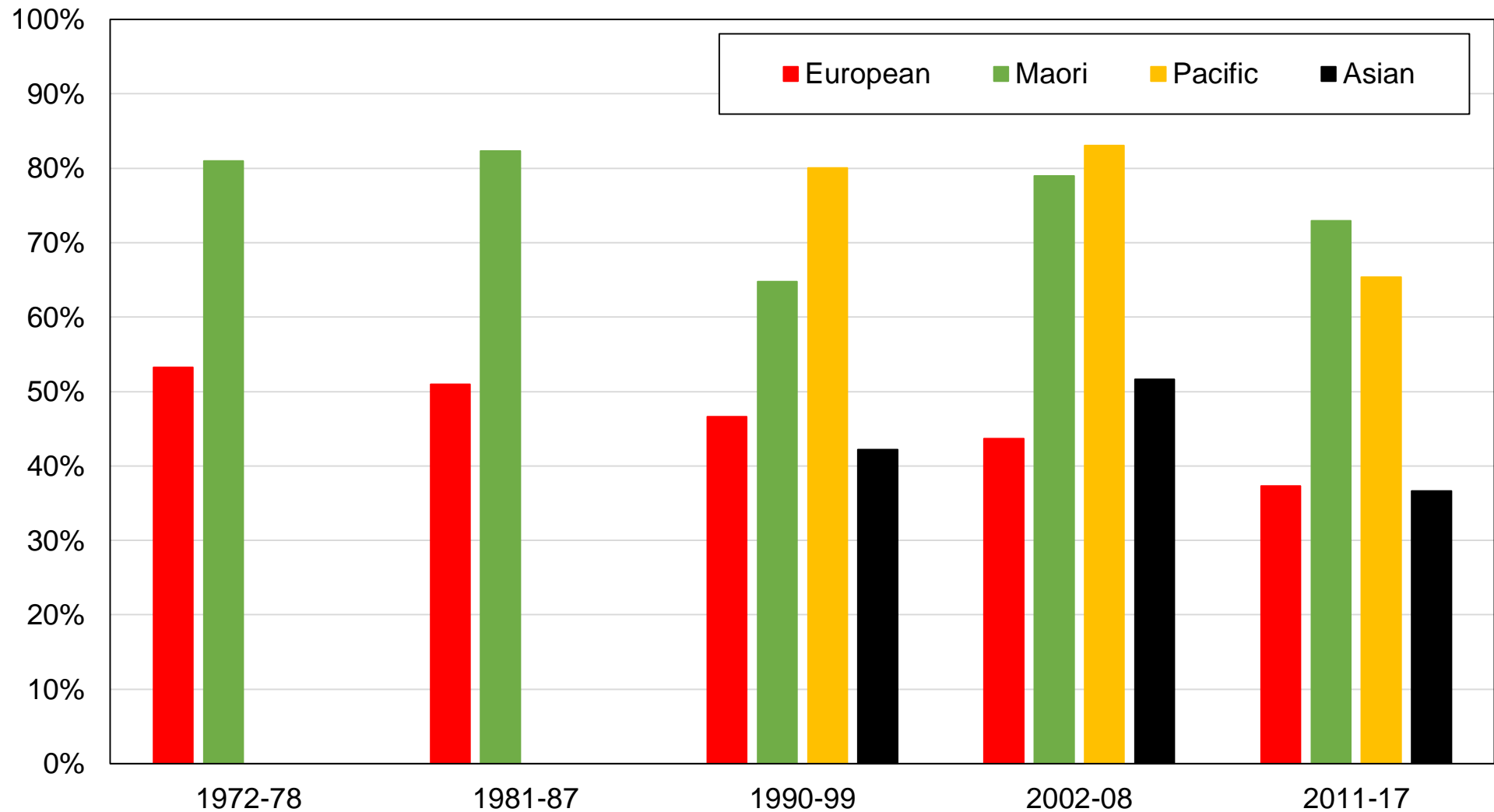
Figure B23 - Vote for Labour / Greens / Other left by age group



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

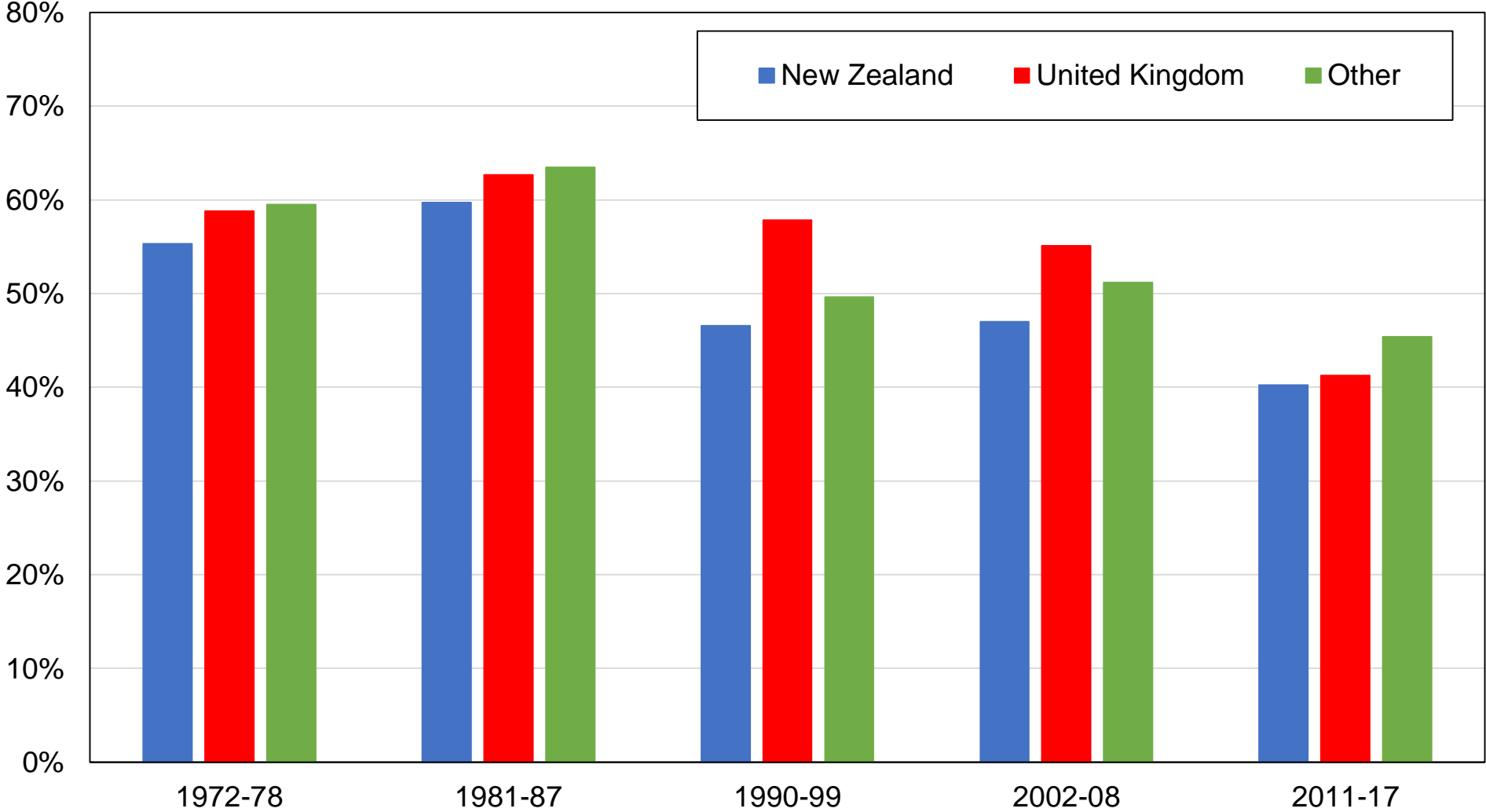
Figure B24 - Vote for Labour / Greens / Other left by ethnic group



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

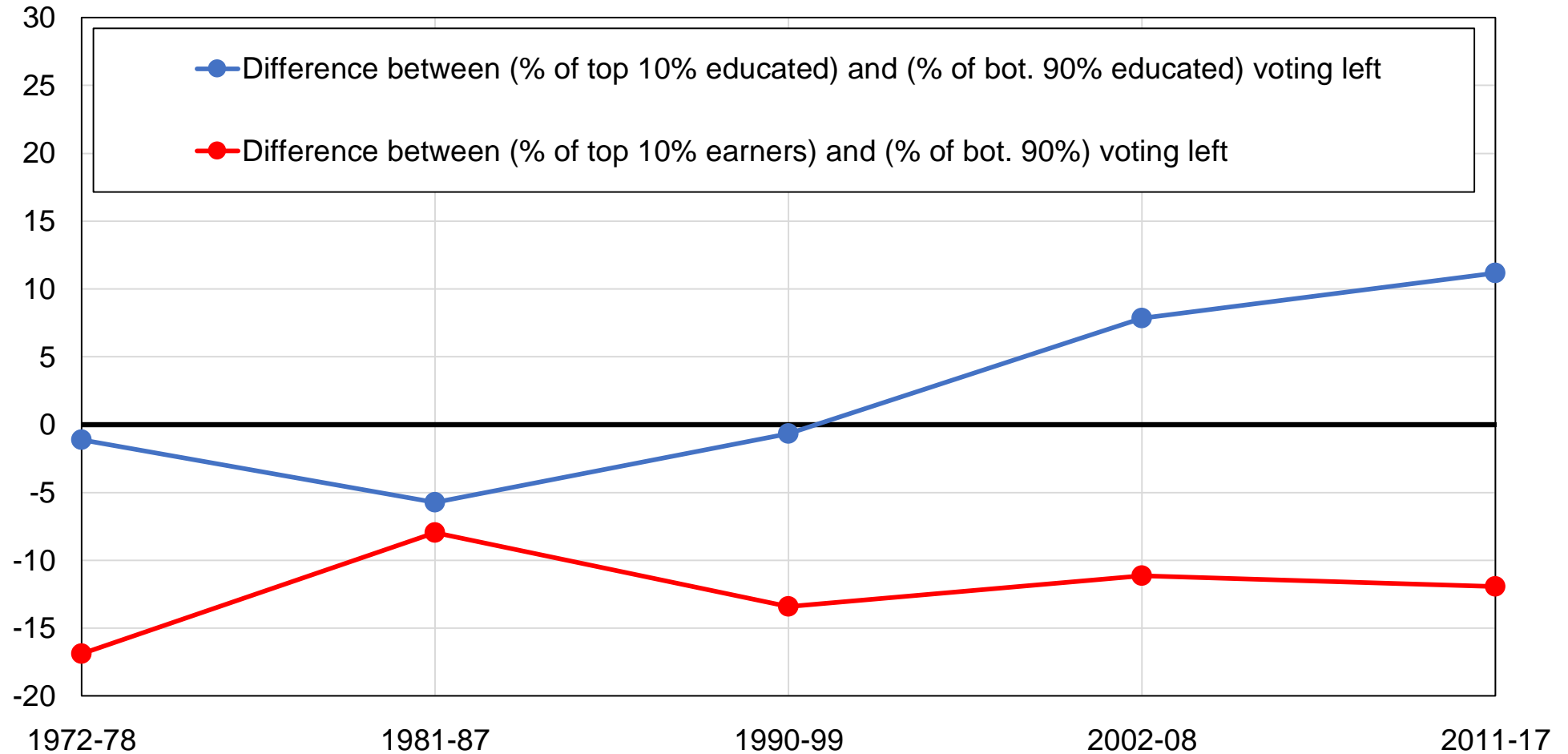
Figure B25 - Vote for Labour / Greens / Other left by country of birth



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

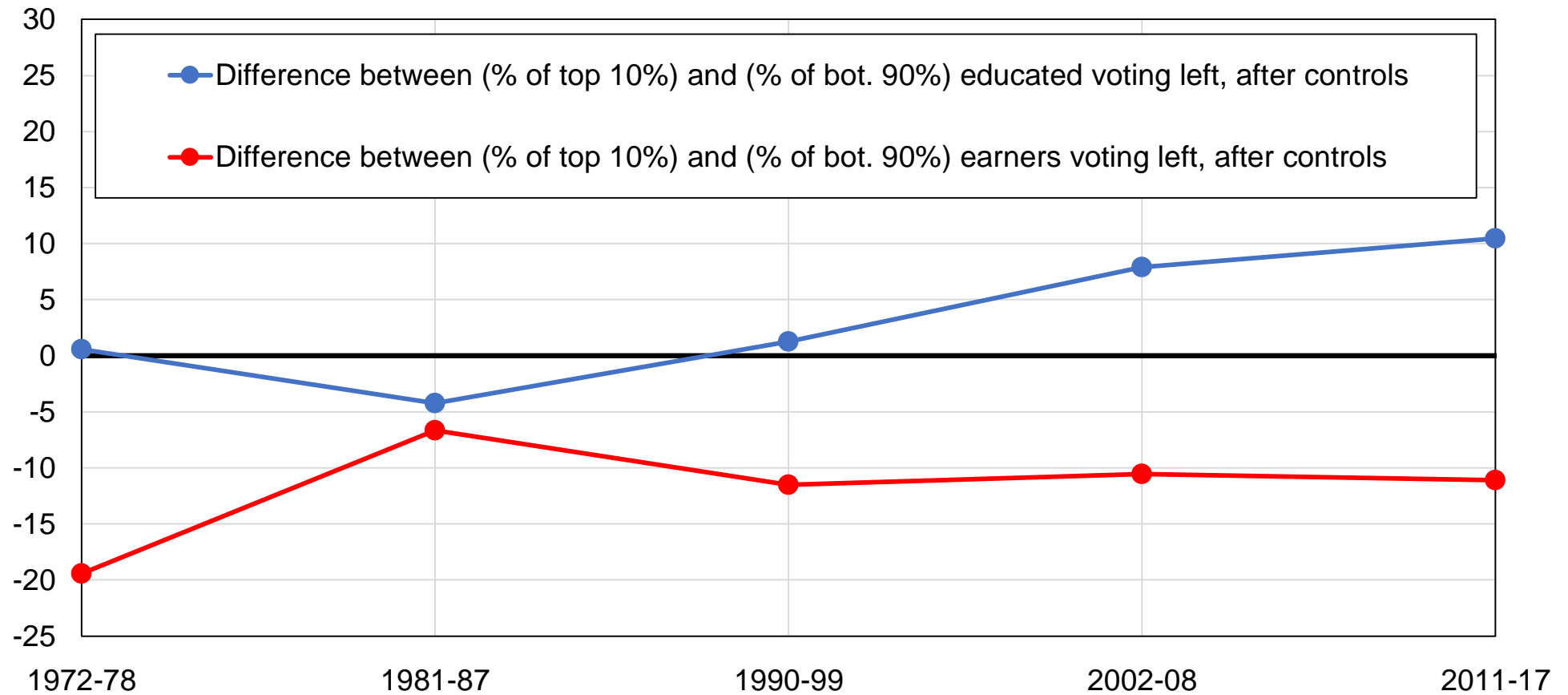
Figure B26 - Vote for Labour / Green / Other left among highest-educated and top-income voters



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the relative bias of highest-educated and top-income voters towards the Labour / Green / Other left parties.

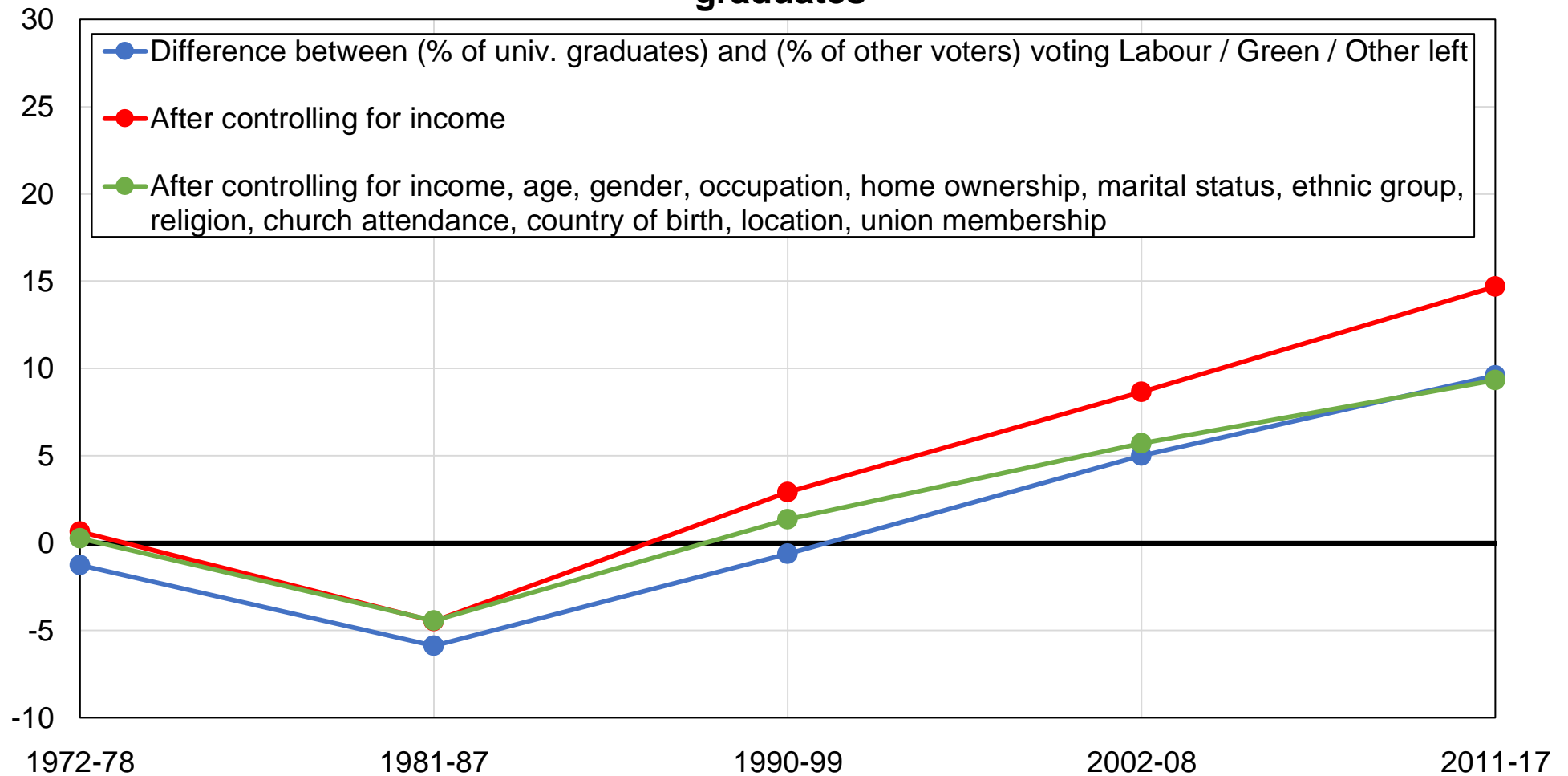
Figure B27 - Vote for Labour / Green / Other left among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controls



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the the relative bias of highest-educated and top-income voters towards the Labour / Green / Other left parties, after controlling for income, education, age, gender, occupation, home ownership, marital status, ethnicity, religion, church attendance, country of birth, rural-urban location, and union membership.

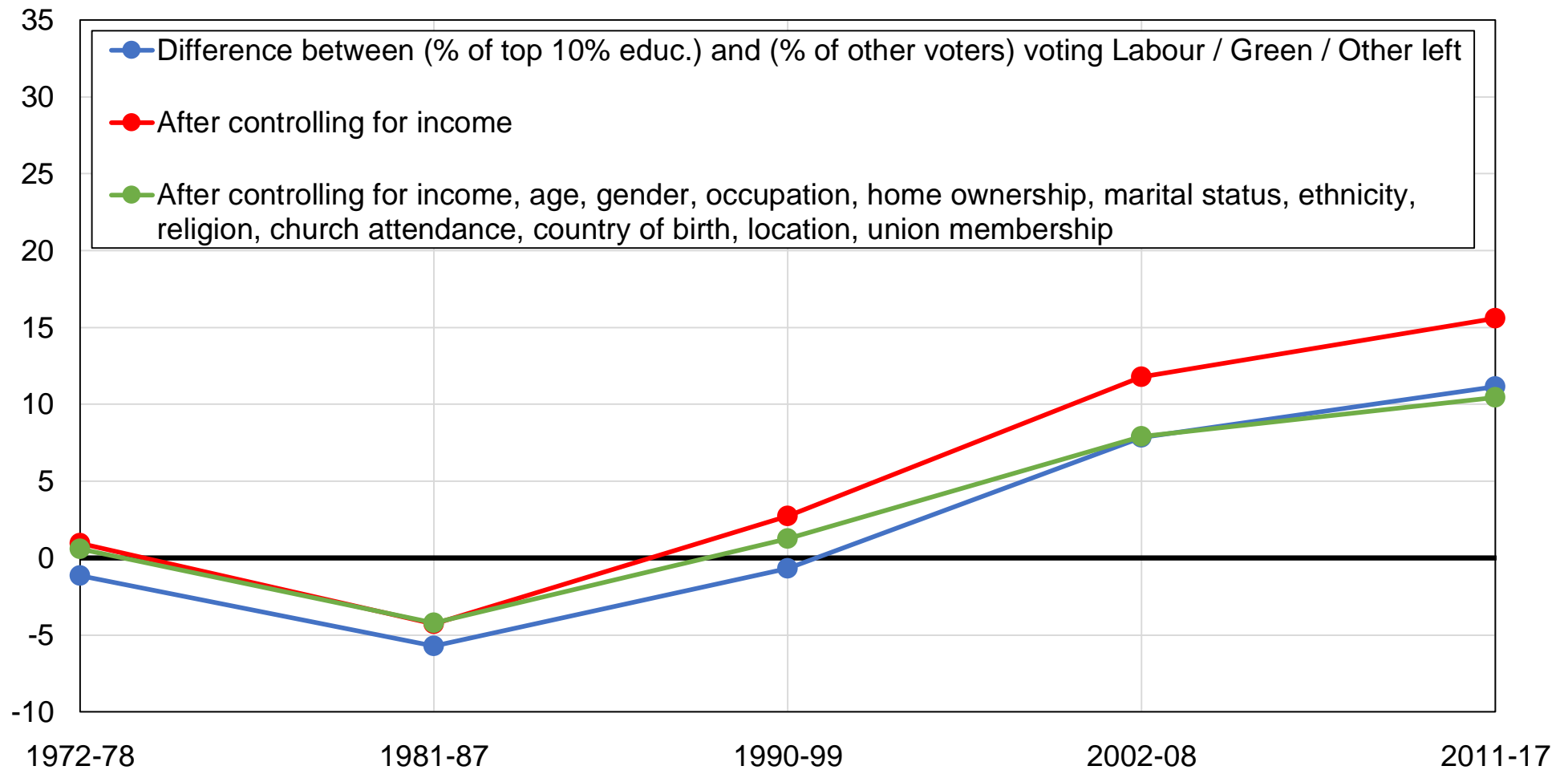
Figure B28 - Vote for Labour / Green / Other left among university graduates



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

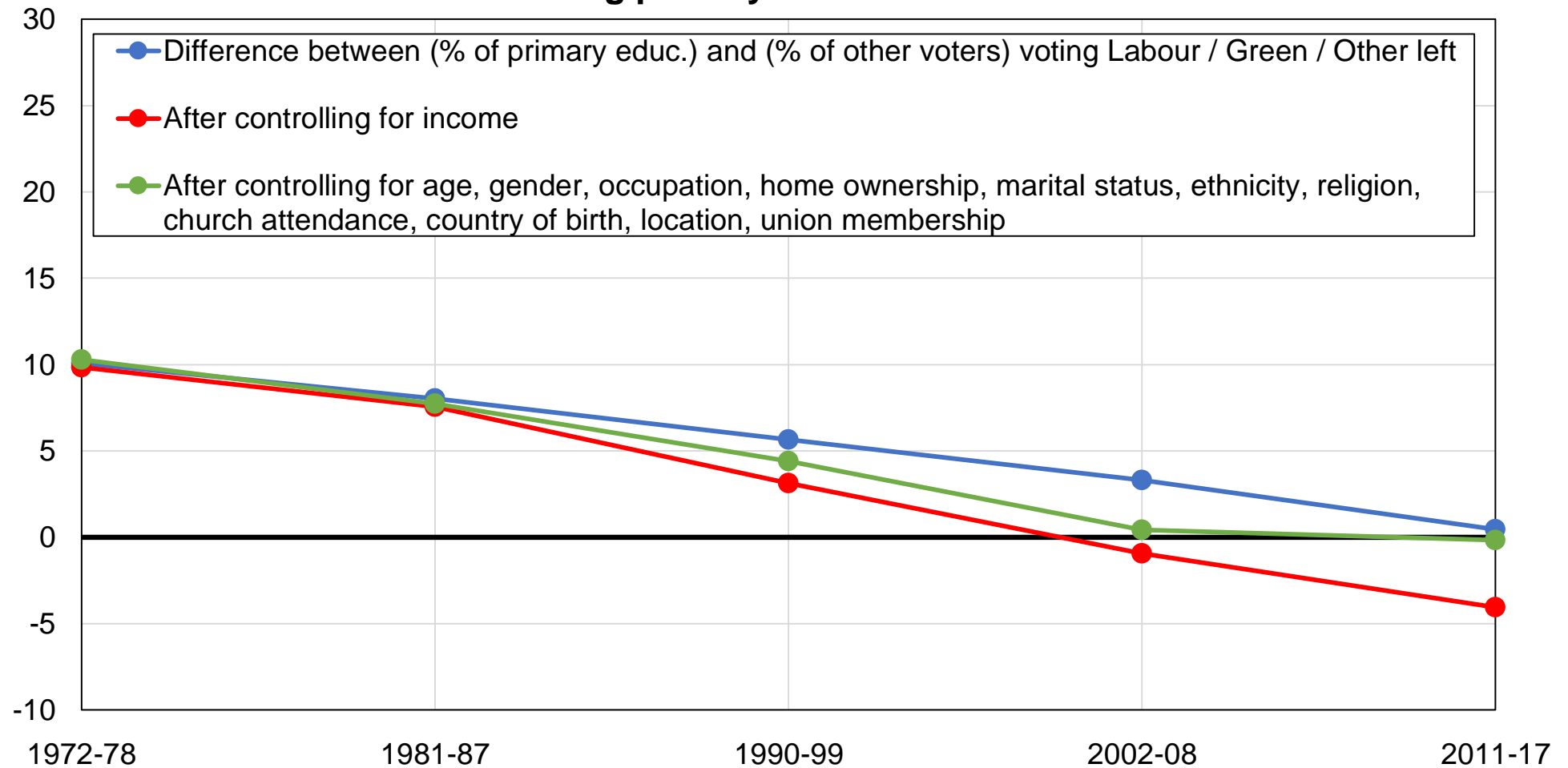
Figure B29 - Vote for Labour / Green / Other left among higher-educated voters



Source: author's computations using New Zealand 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 Labour / Green / Other left parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

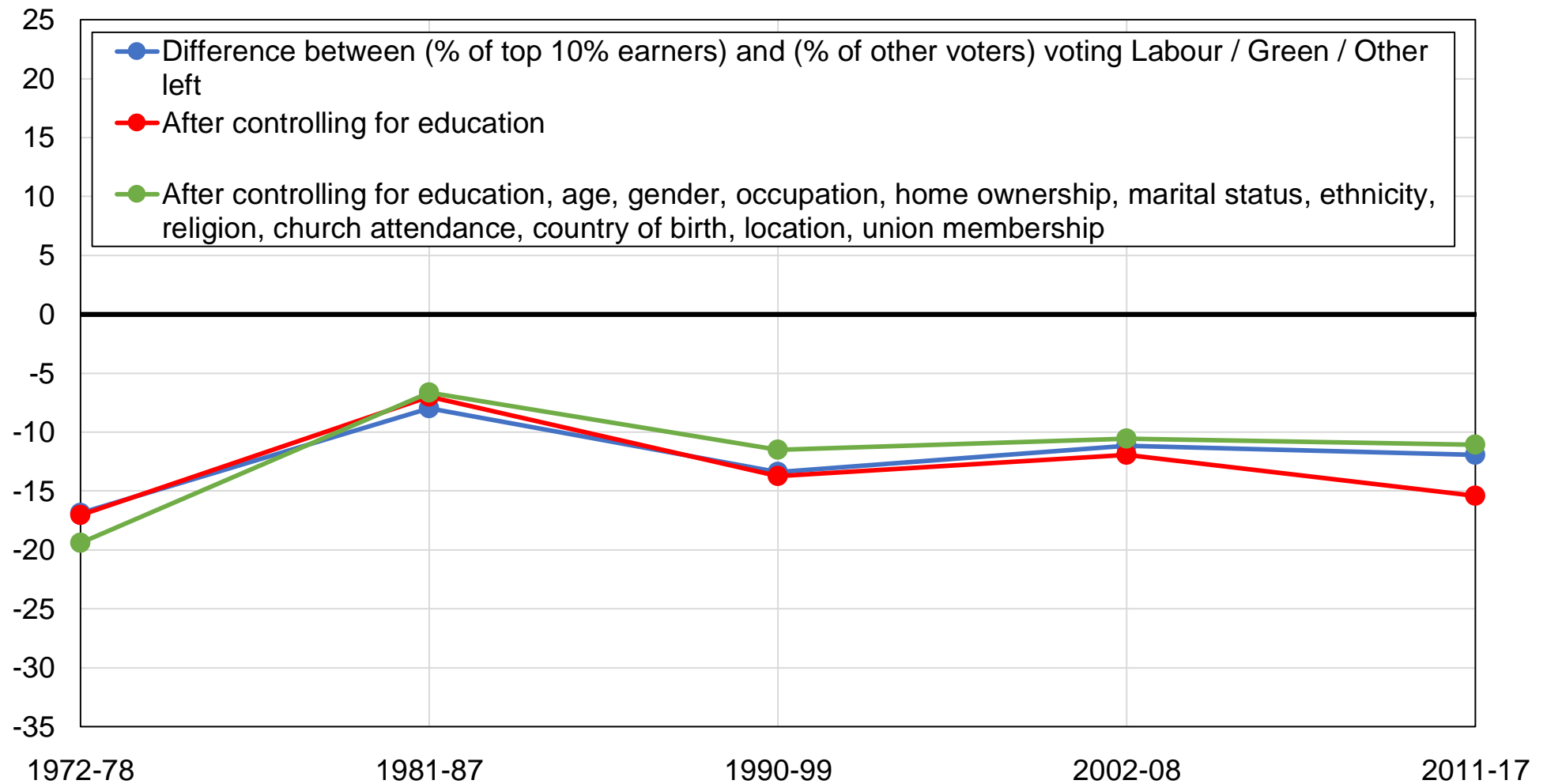
**Figure B30 - Vote for Labour / Green / Other left
among primary-educated voters**



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

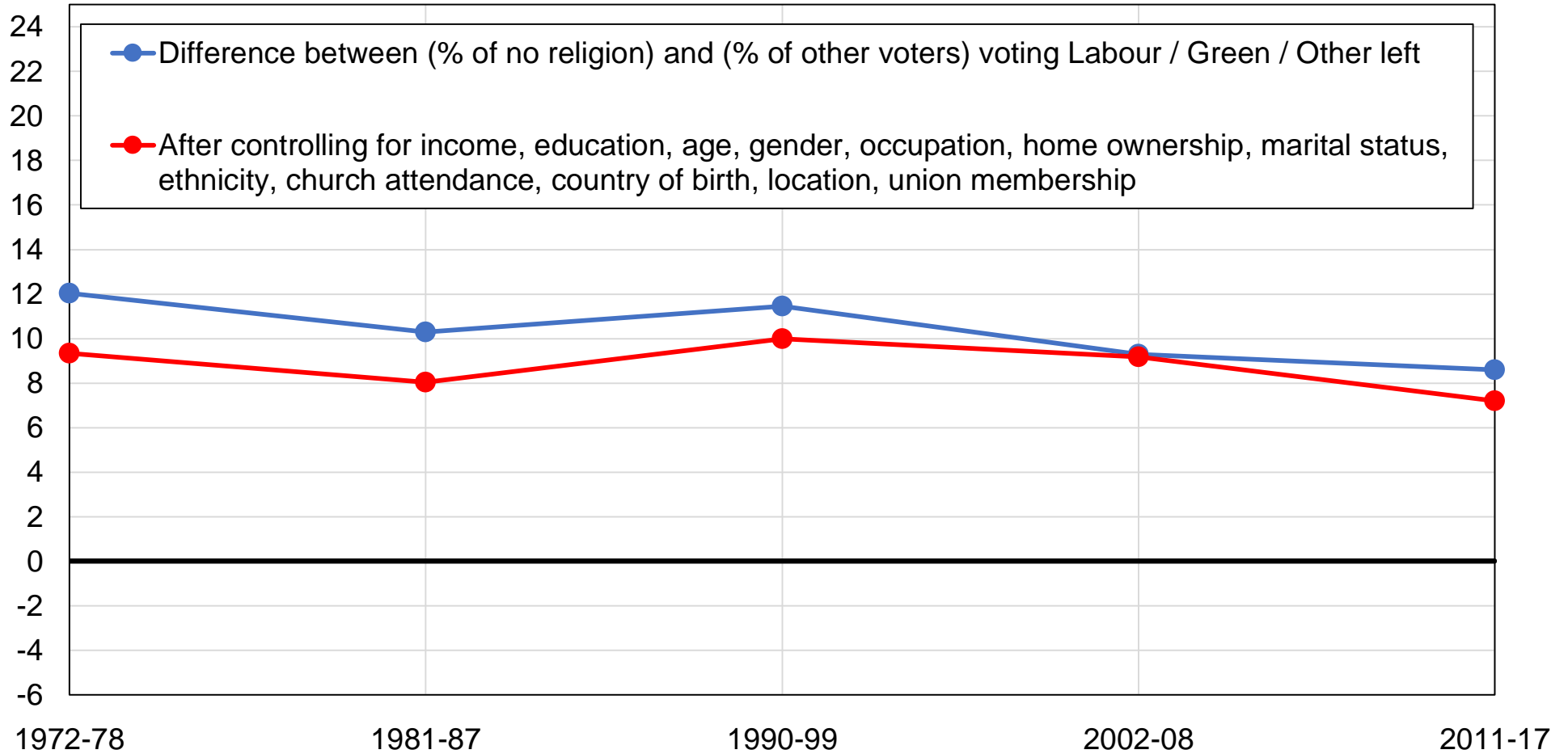
Figure B31 - Vote for Labour / Green / Other left among top earners



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

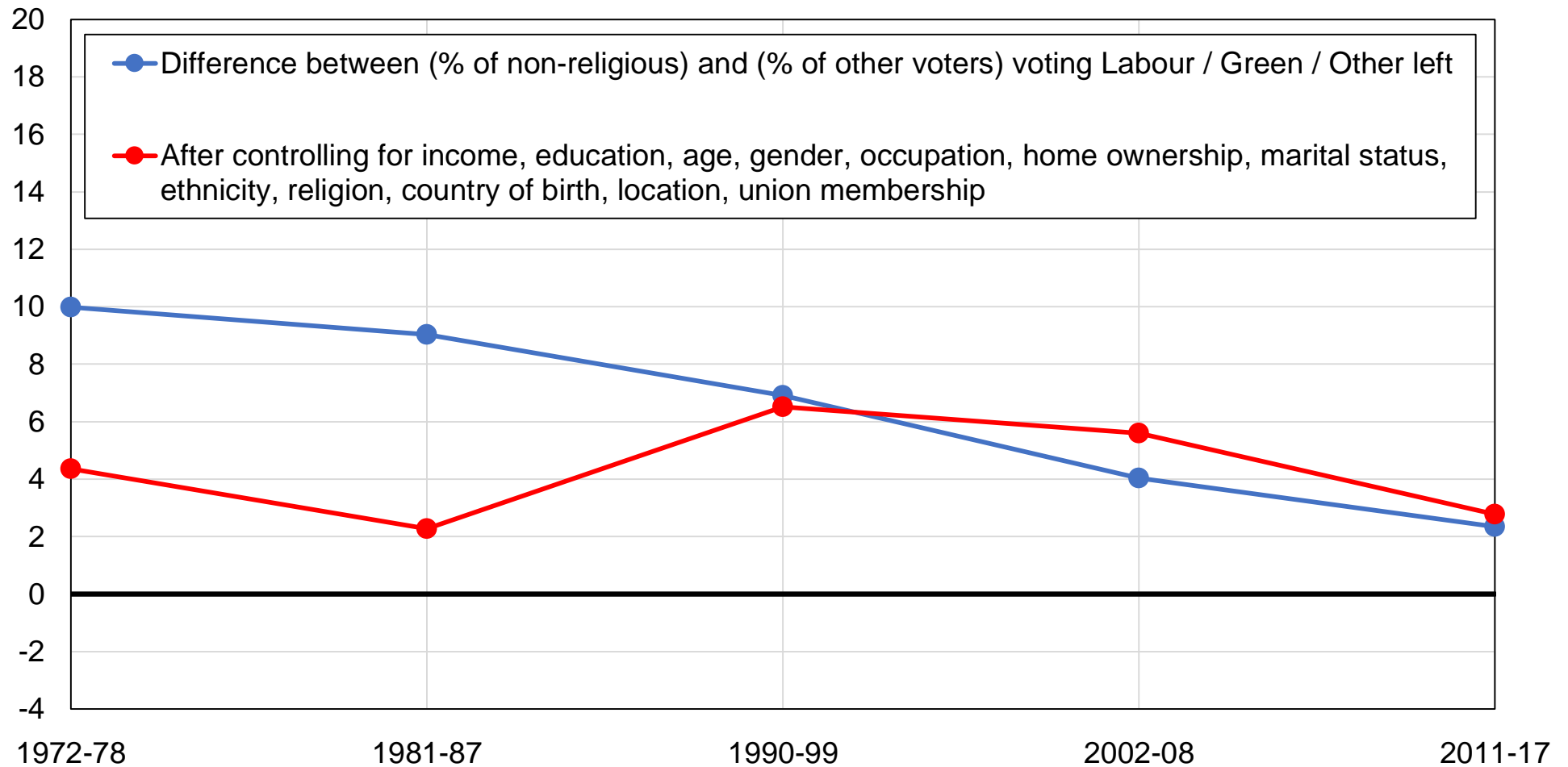
Figure B32 - Vote for Labour / Green / Other left among voters with no religion



Source: author's computations using New Zealand 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 Labour / Green / Other left parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

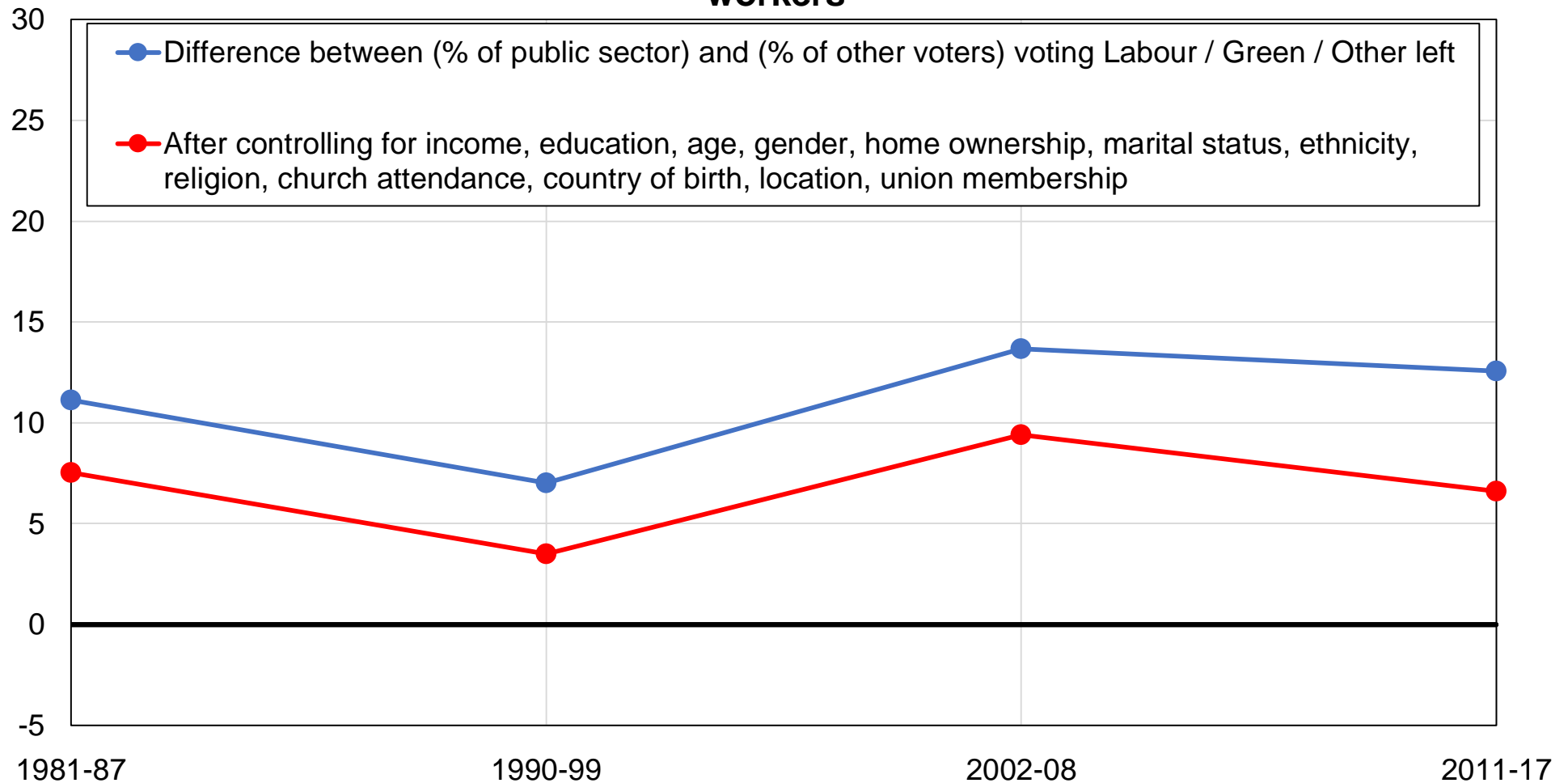
Figure B33 - Vote for Labour / Green / Other left among non-religious voters



Source: author's computations using New Zealand 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 Labour / Green / Other left parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

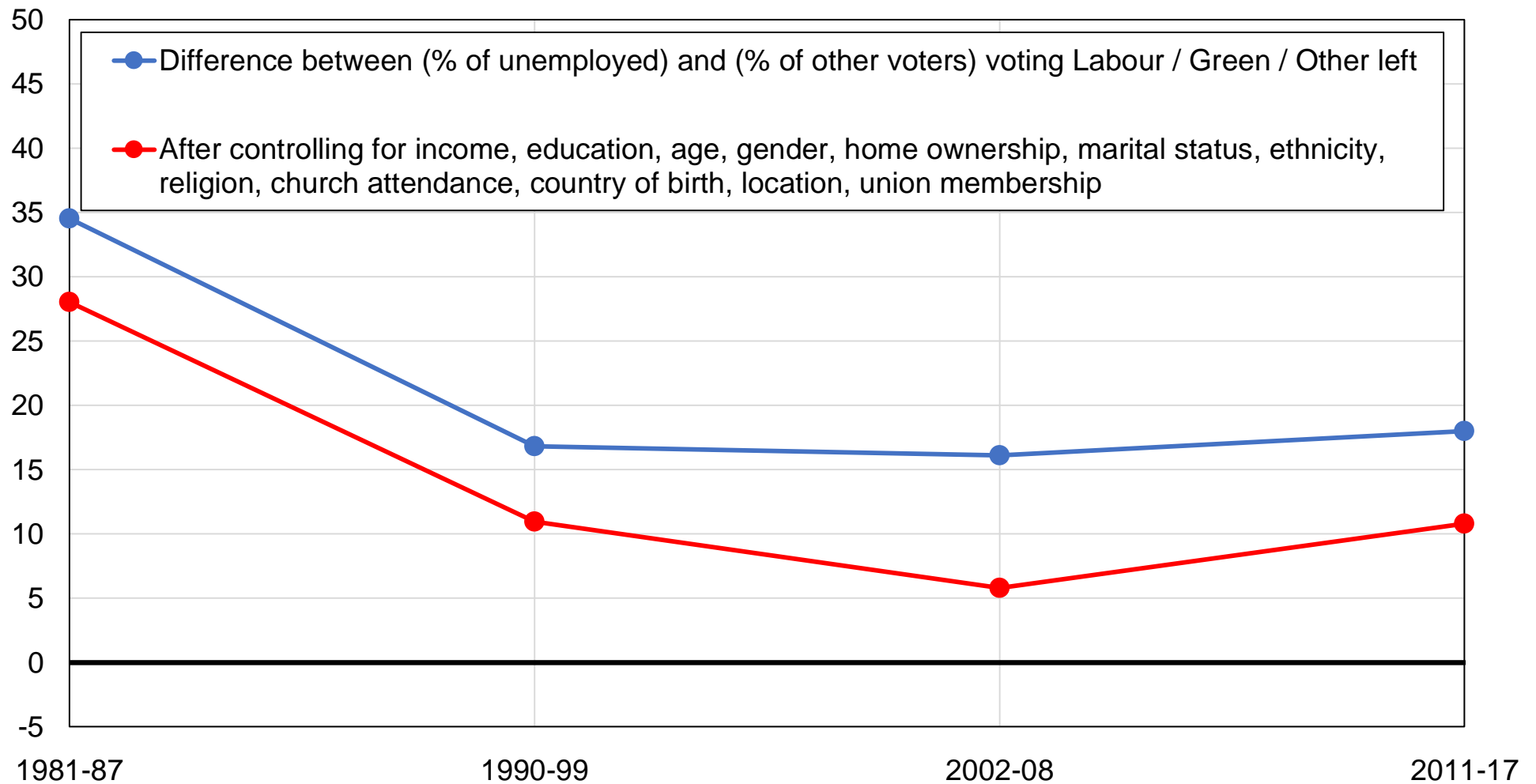
Figure B34 - Vote for Labour / Green / Other left among public sector workers



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of public sector workers and the share of other voters voting for Labour / Green / Other left parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

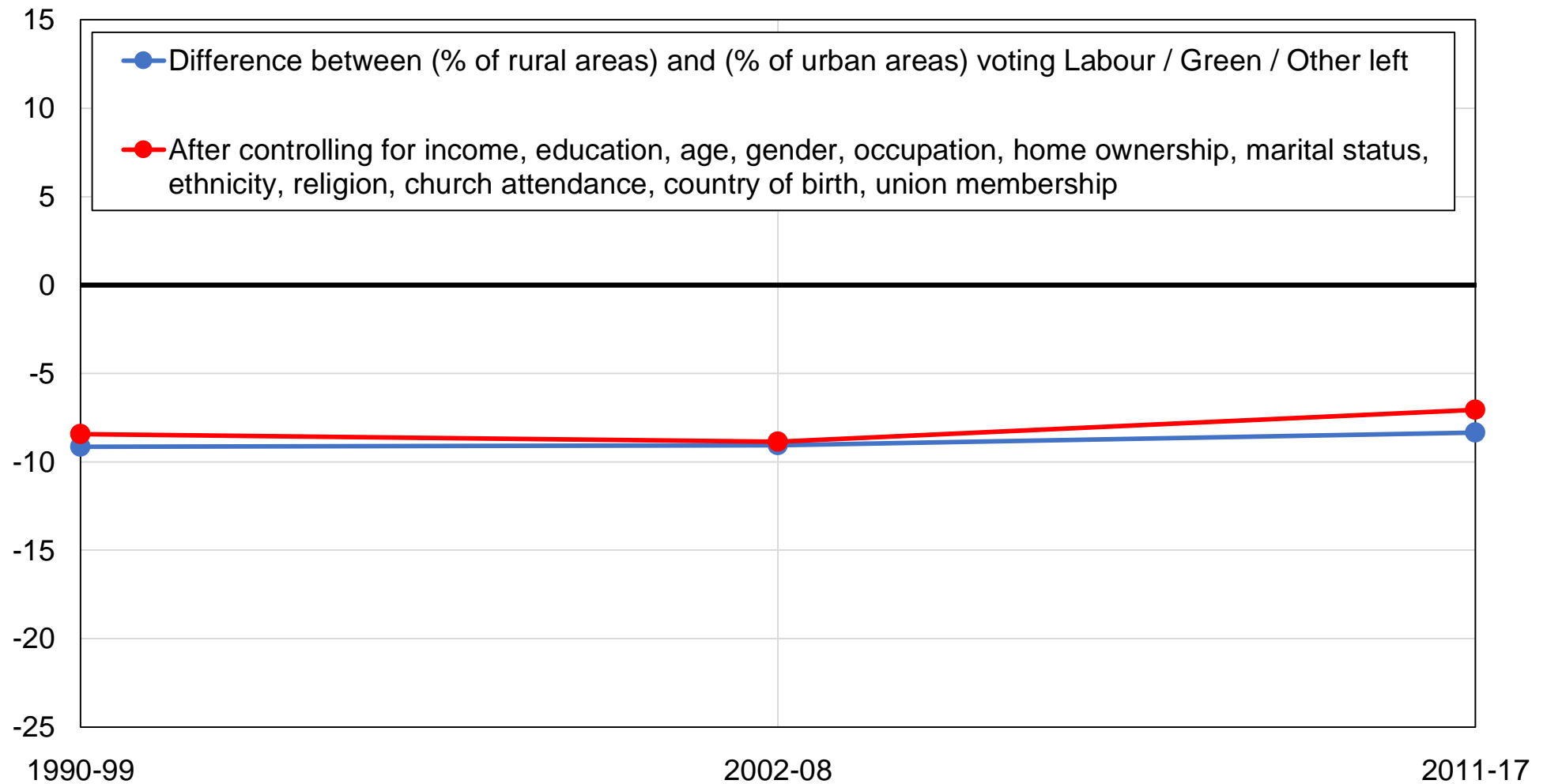
Figure B35 - Vote for Labour / Green / Other left among the unemployed



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of unemployed voters and the share of other voters voting for Labour / Green / Other left parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

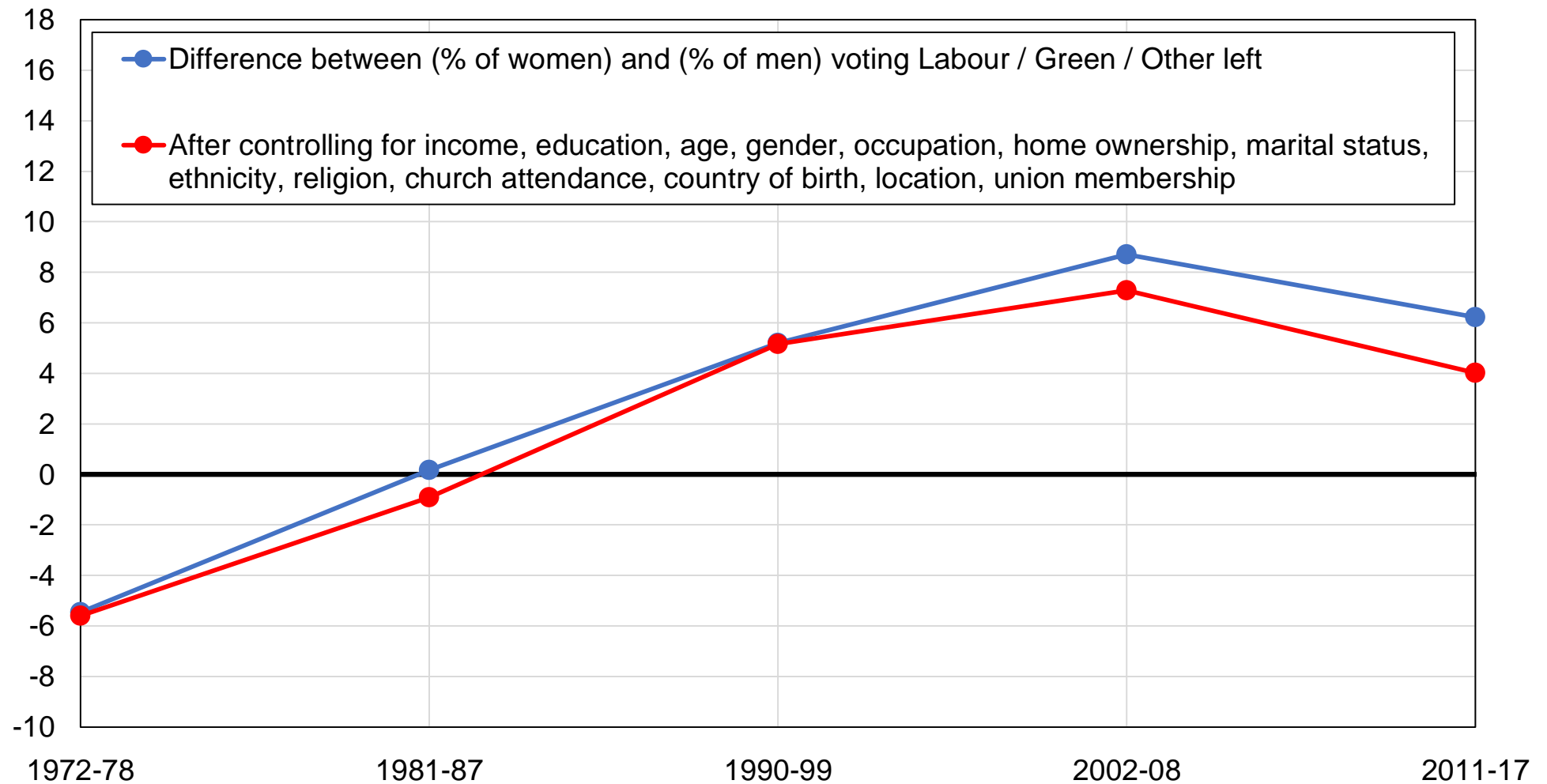
Figure B36 - Vote for Labour / Green / Other left among rural areas



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of rural areas and the share of urban areas voting for Labour / Green / Other left parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

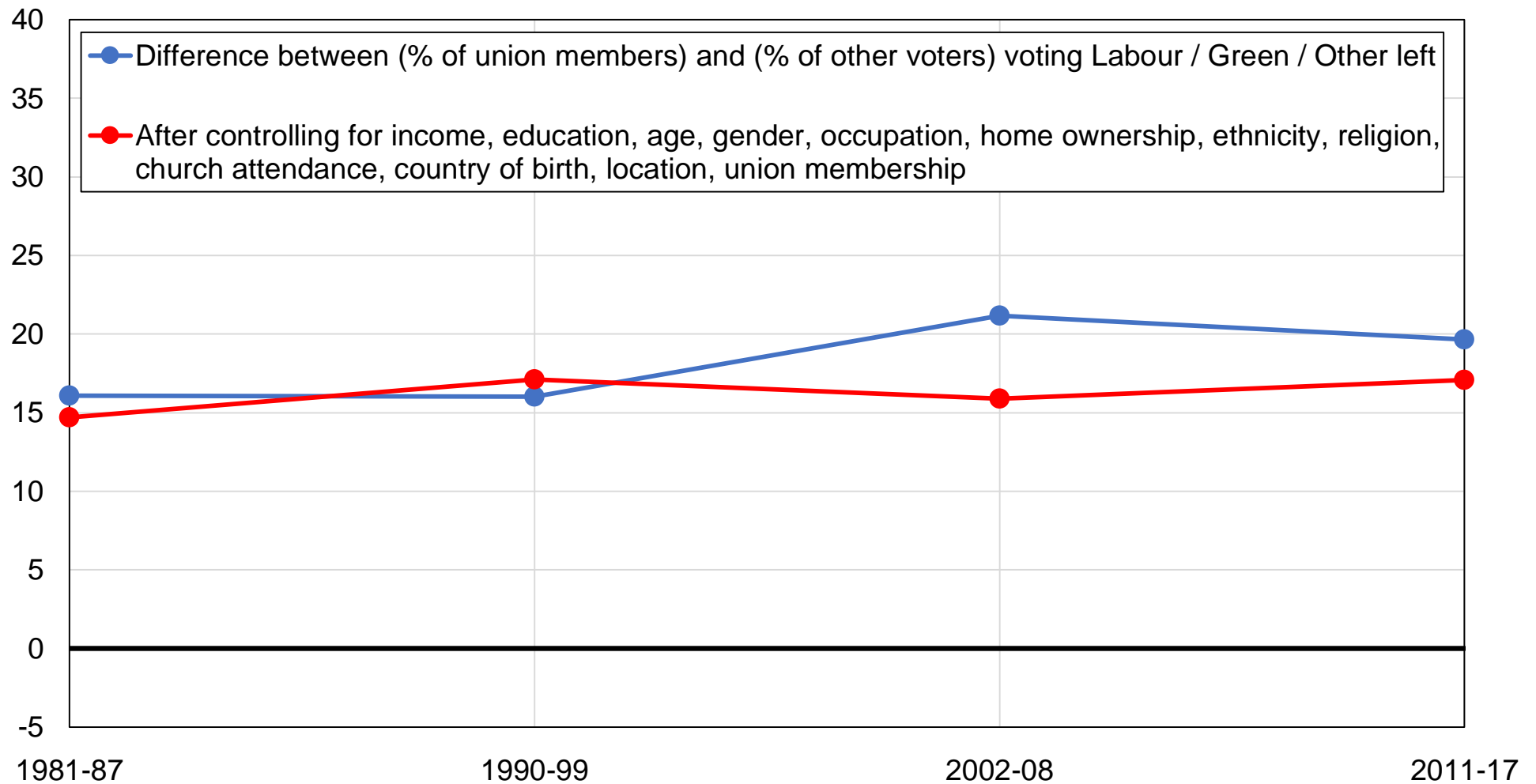
Figure B37 - Vote for Labour / Green / Other left among women



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

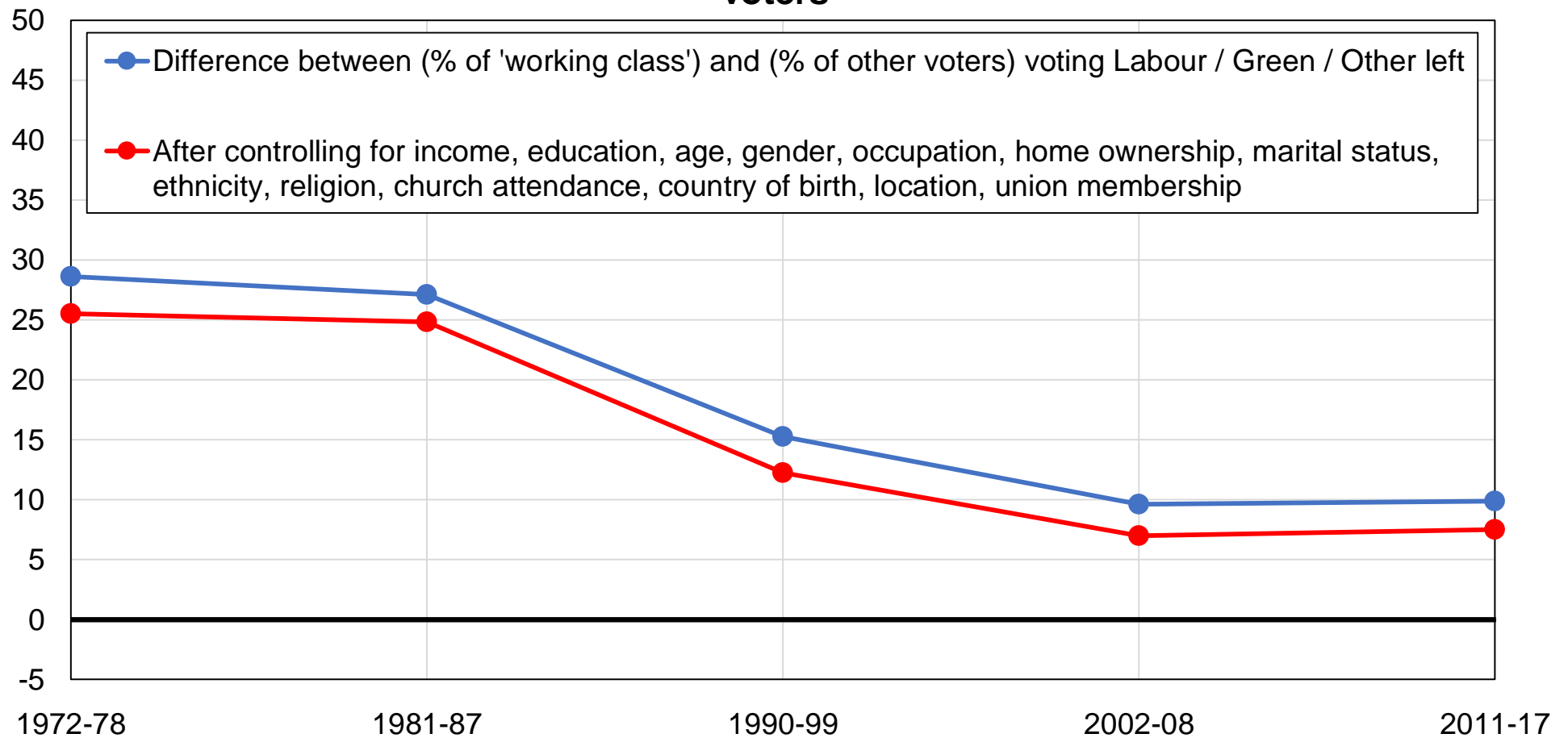
Figure B38 - Vote for Labour / Green / Other left among union members



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

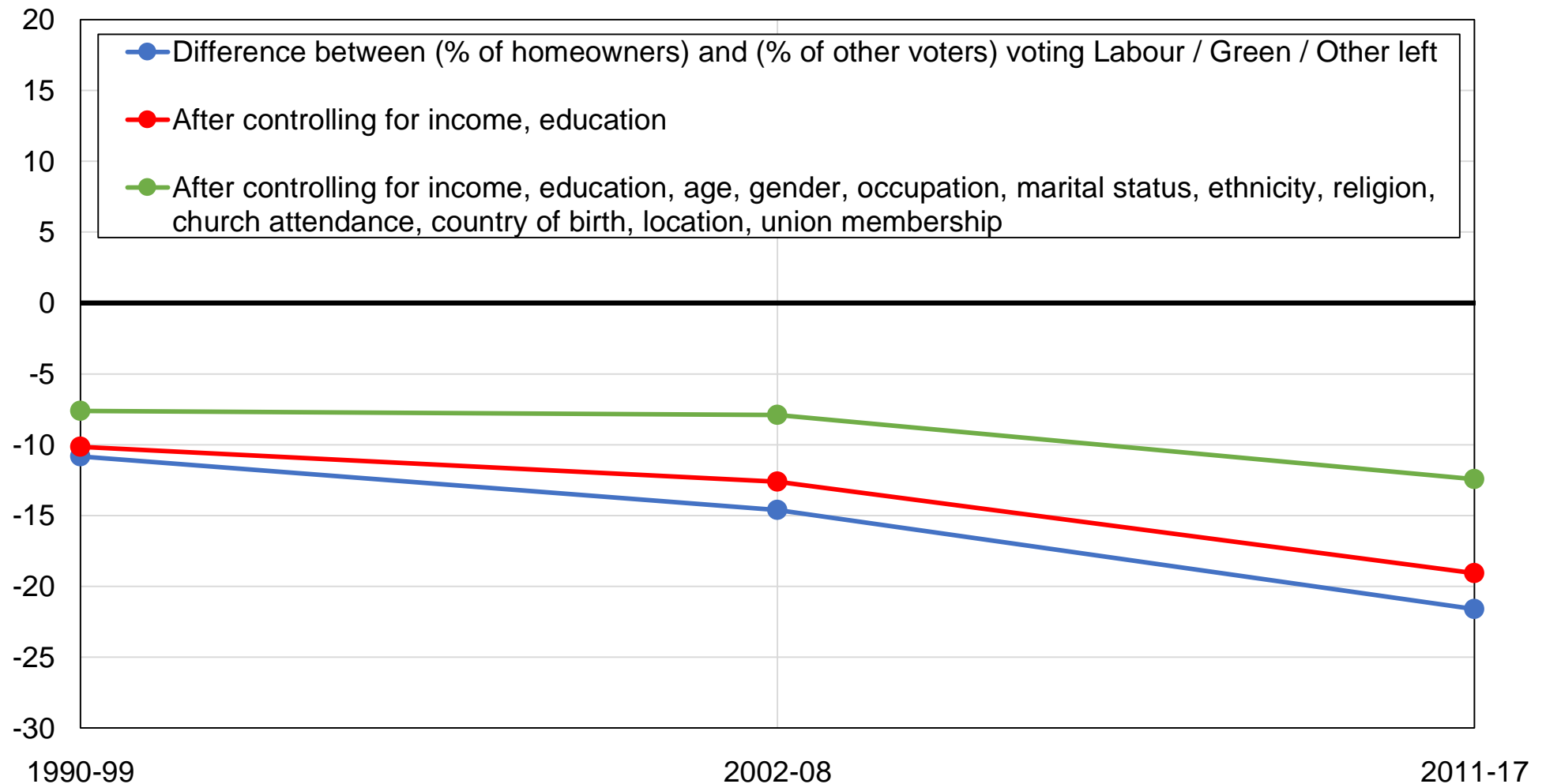
Figure B39 - Vote for Labour / Green / Other left among working class voters



Source: author's computations using New Zealand 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 Labour / Green / Other left parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

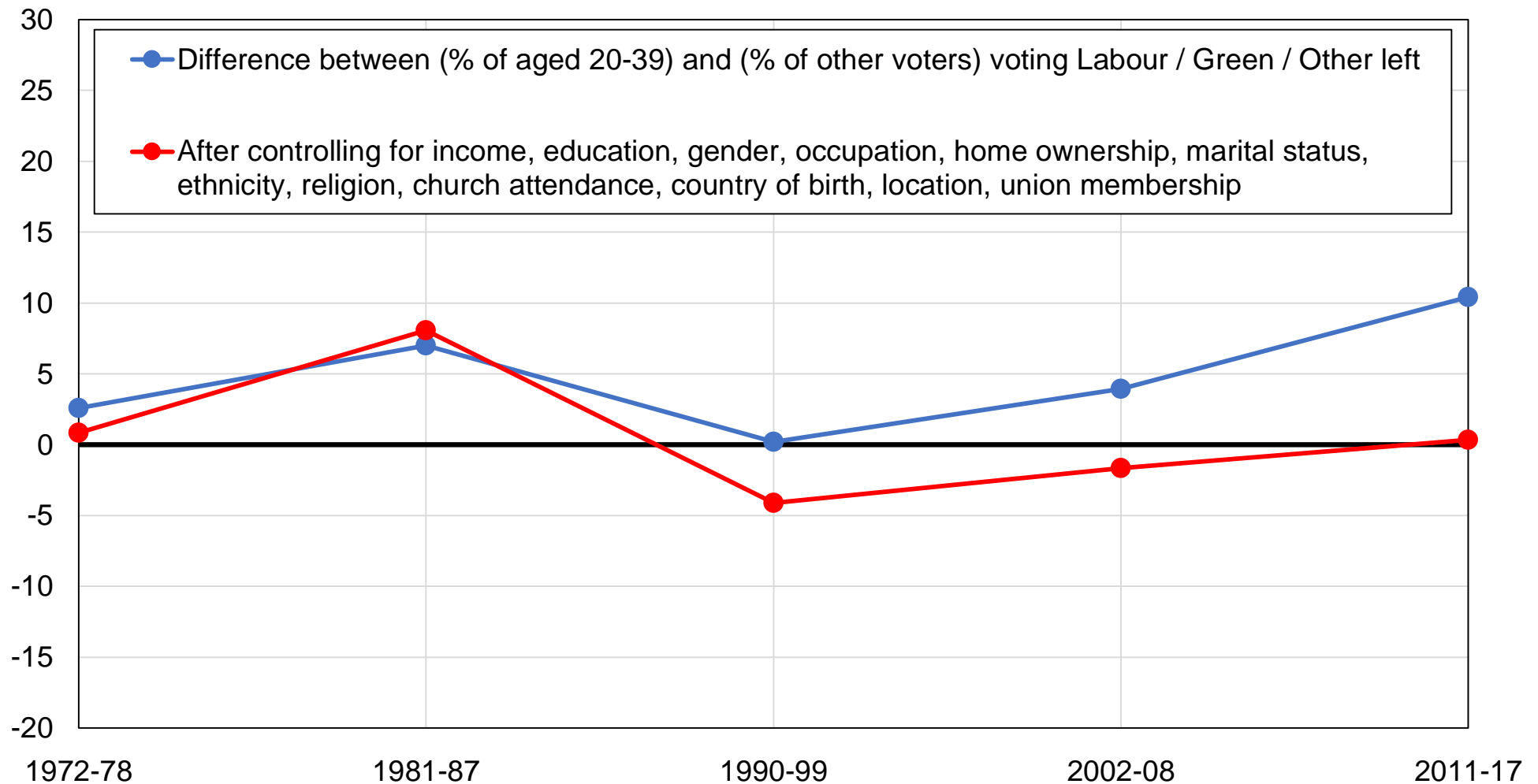
Figure B40 - Vote for Labour / Green / Other left among homeowners



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of homeowners and the share of other voters voting for Labour / Green / Other left parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

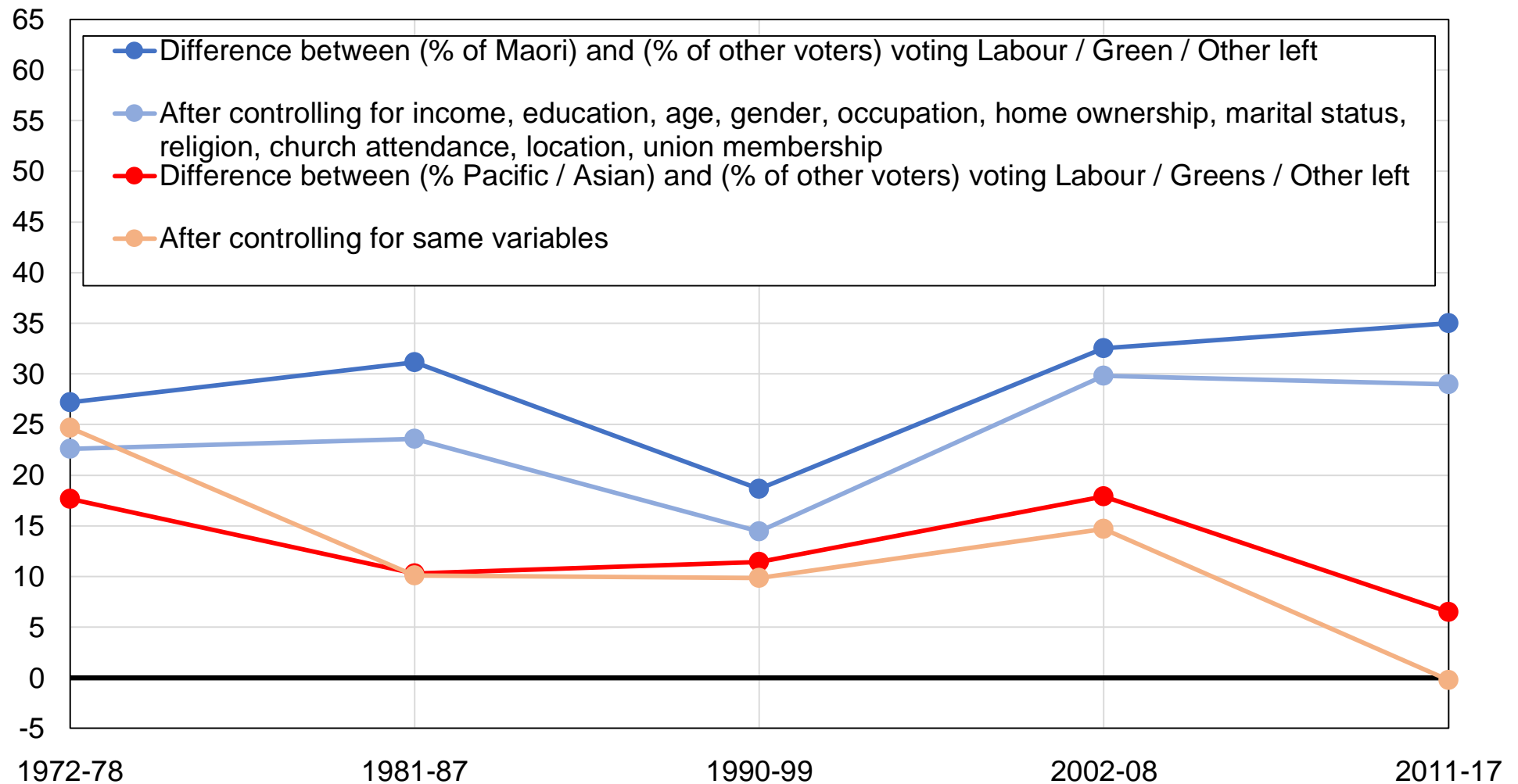
Figure B41 - Vote for Labour / Green / Other left among young voters



Source: author's computations using New Zealand 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 Labour / Green / Other left parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

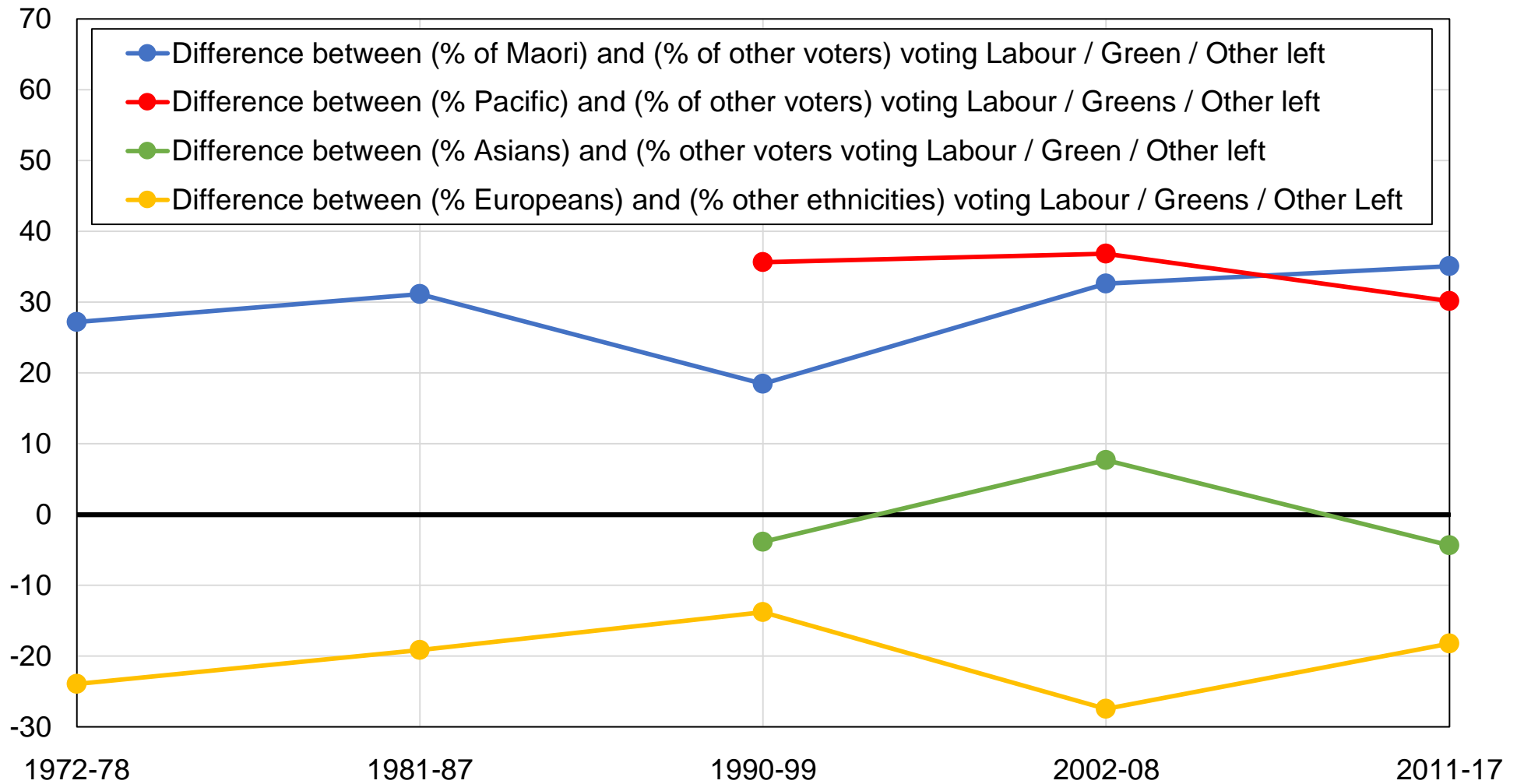
Figure B42 - Vote for Labour / Green / Other left among ethnic minorities



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of Maori voters and the share of other voters voting for Labour / Green / Other left parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

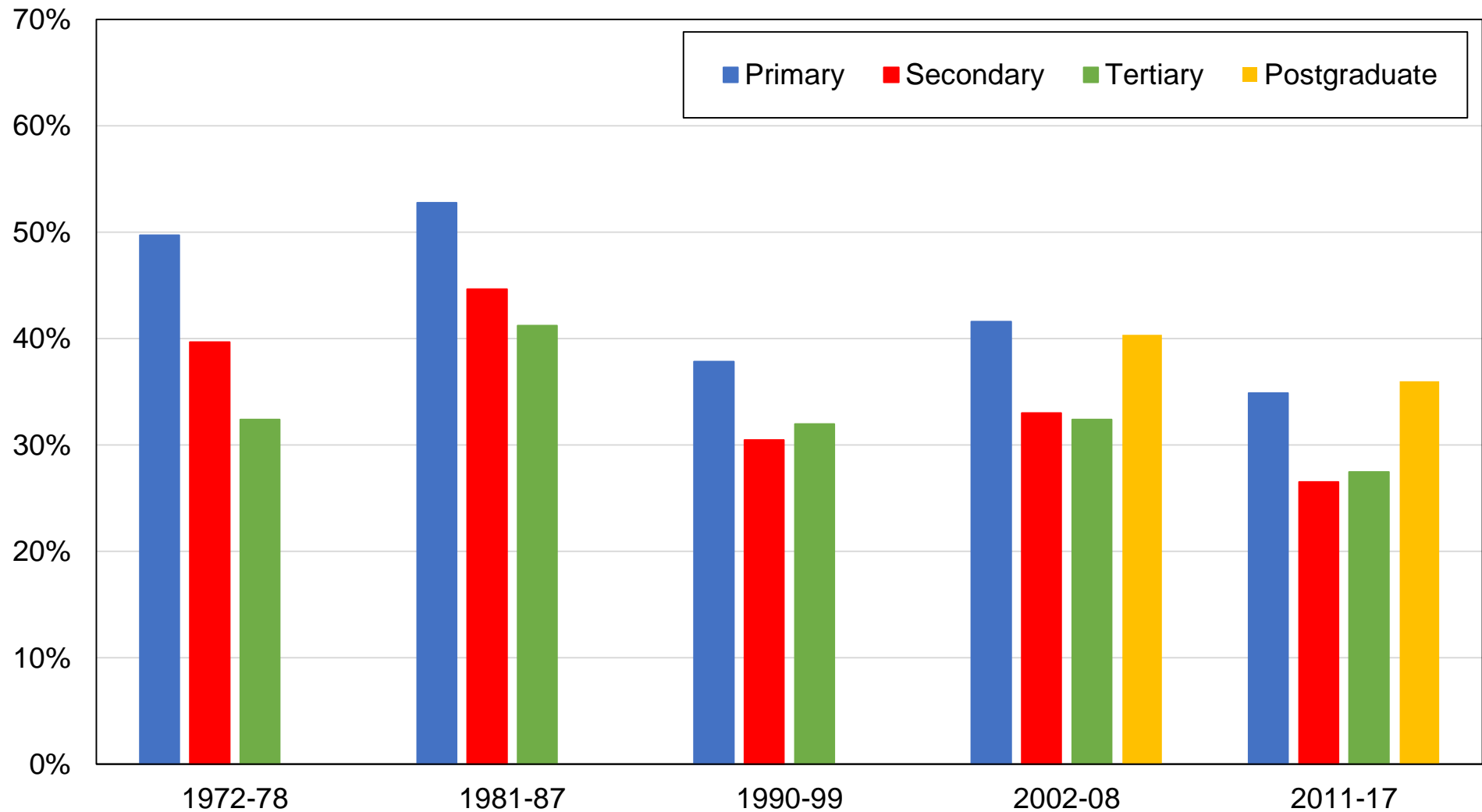
Figure B42b - Ethnic cleavages in New Zealand



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of Maori voters and the share of other voters voting for Labour / Green / Other left parties, and the same for Asians and Pacific people.

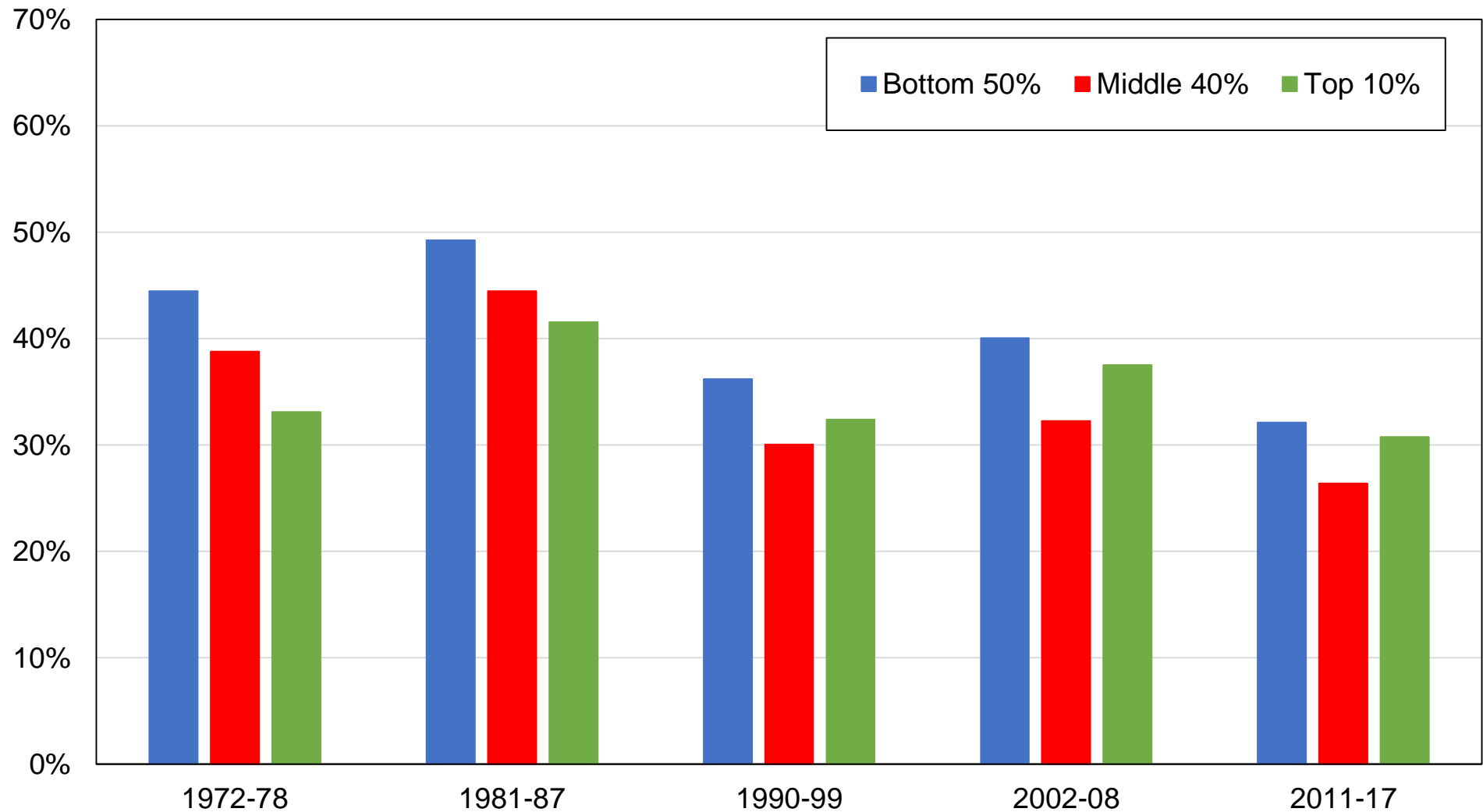
Figure B43 - Vote for Labour Party by education level



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

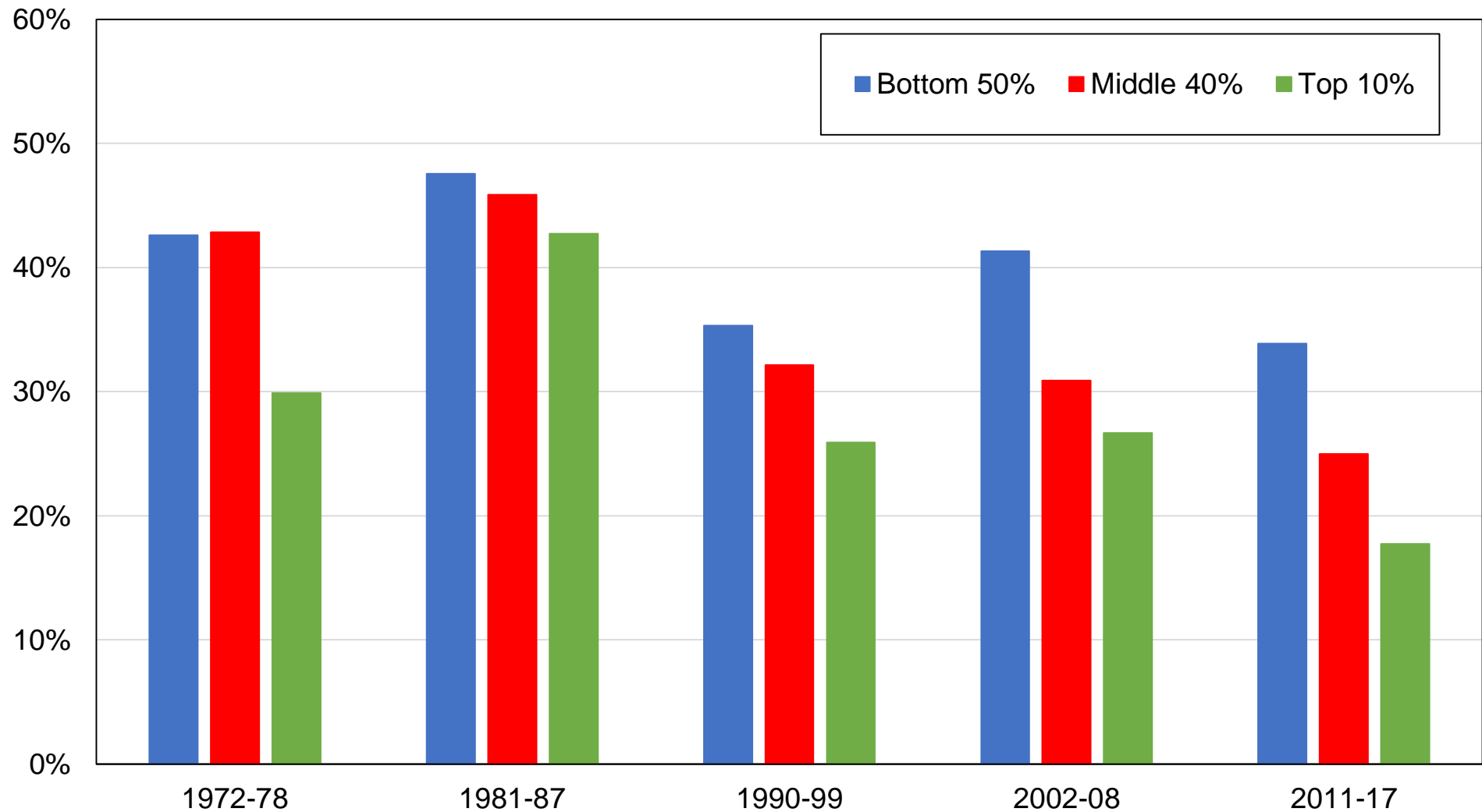
Figure B44 - Vote for Labour Party by education group



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

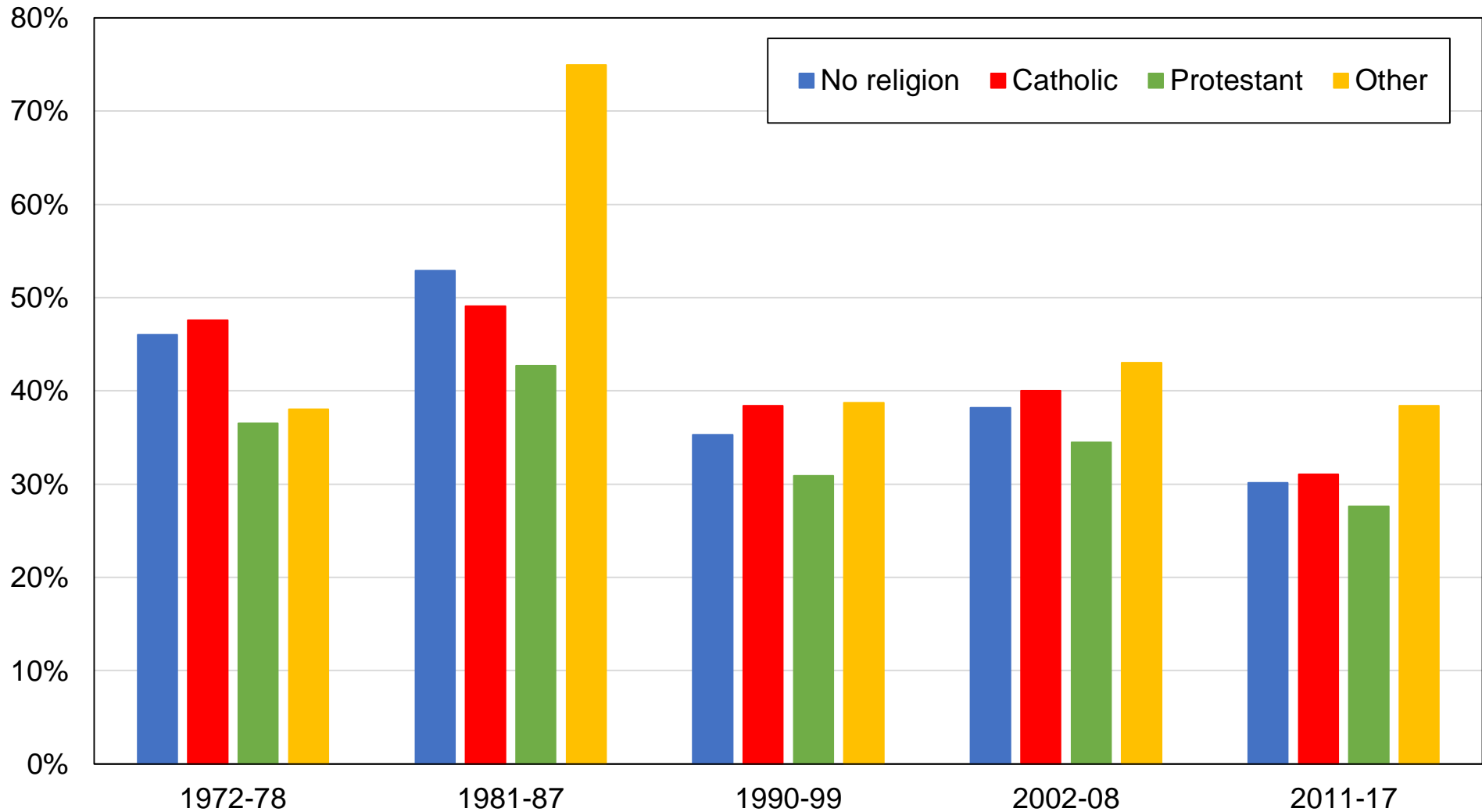
Figure B45 - Vote for Labour Party by income group



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

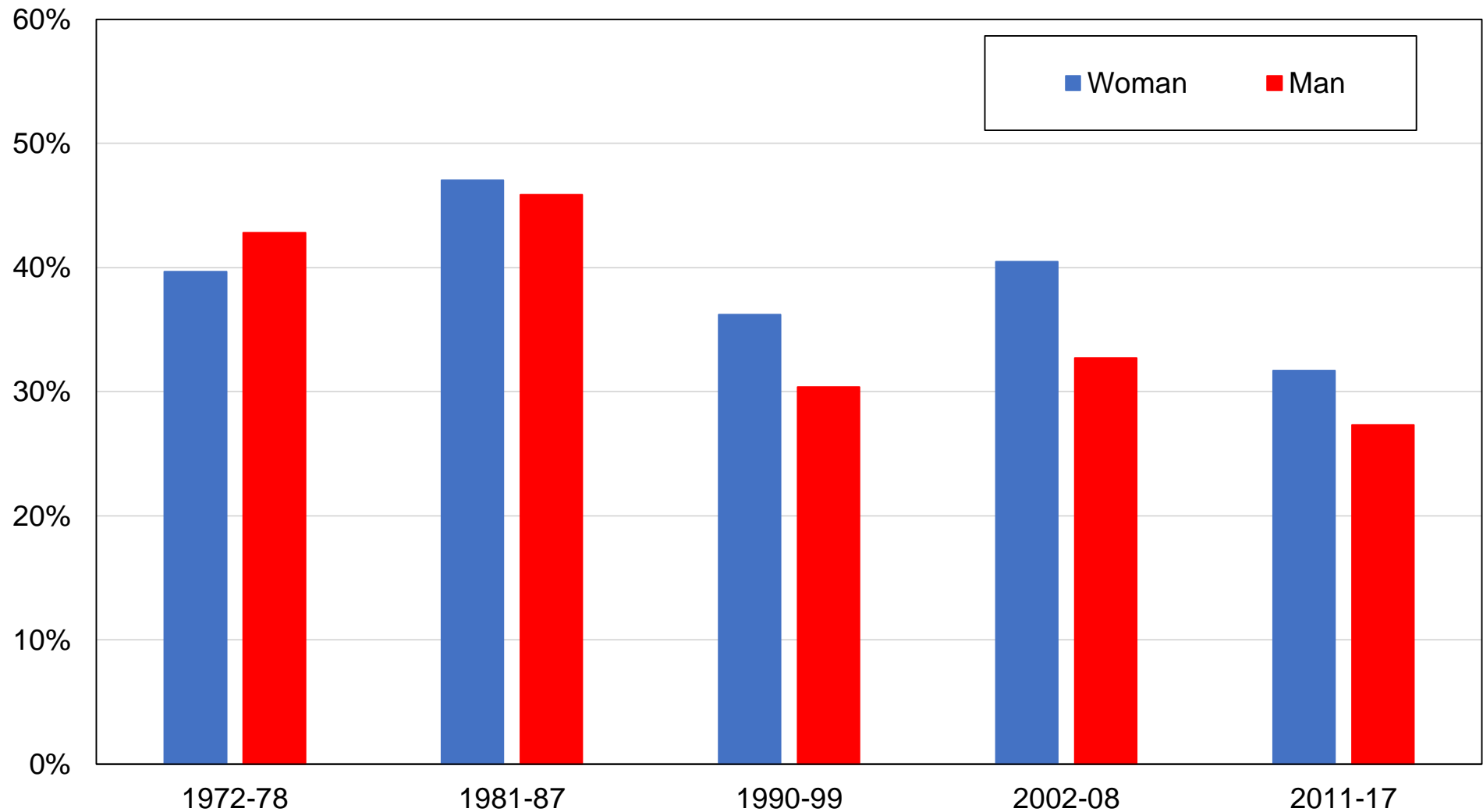
Figure B46 - Vote for Labour Party by religious affiliation



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

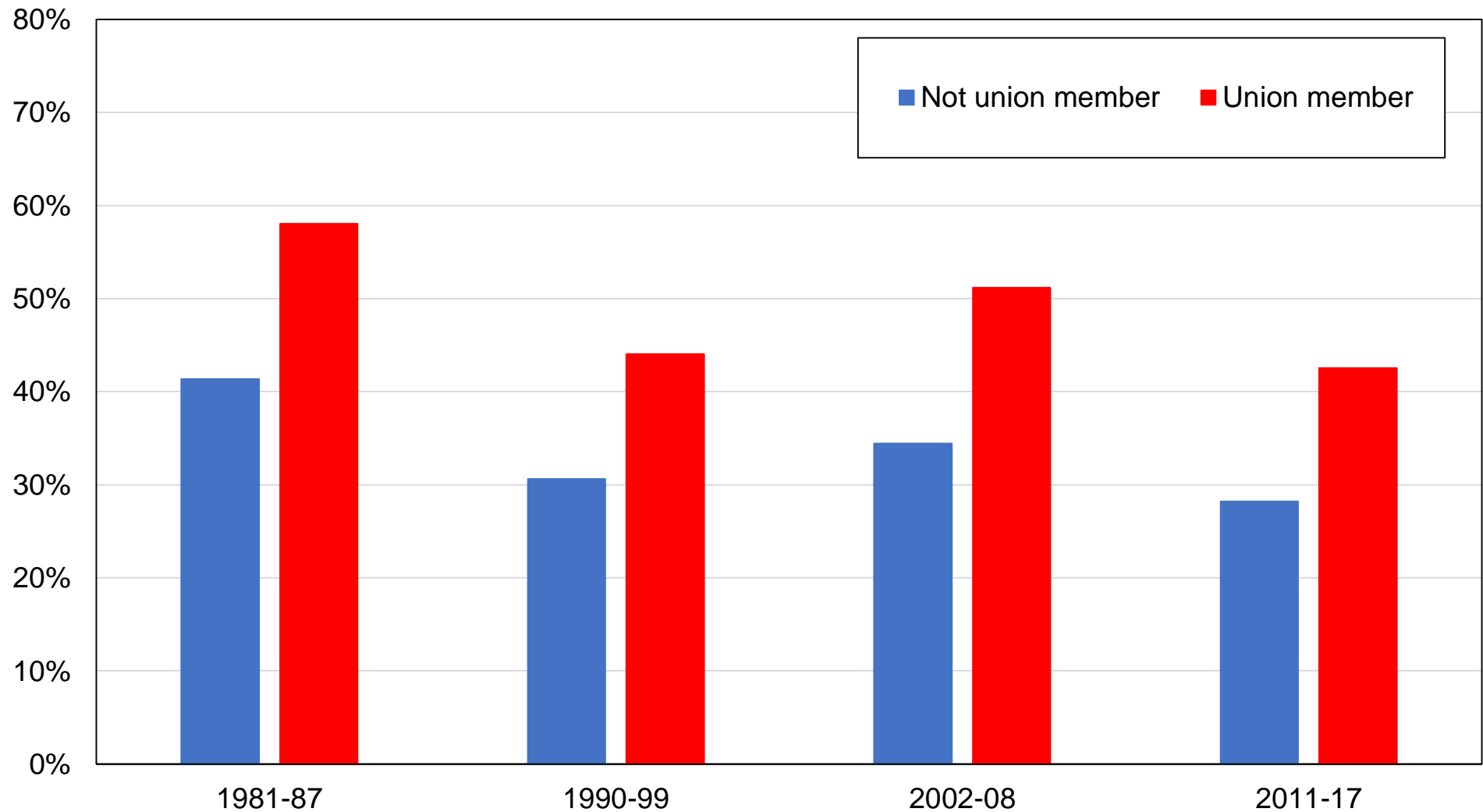
Figure B47 - Vote for Labour Party by gender



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

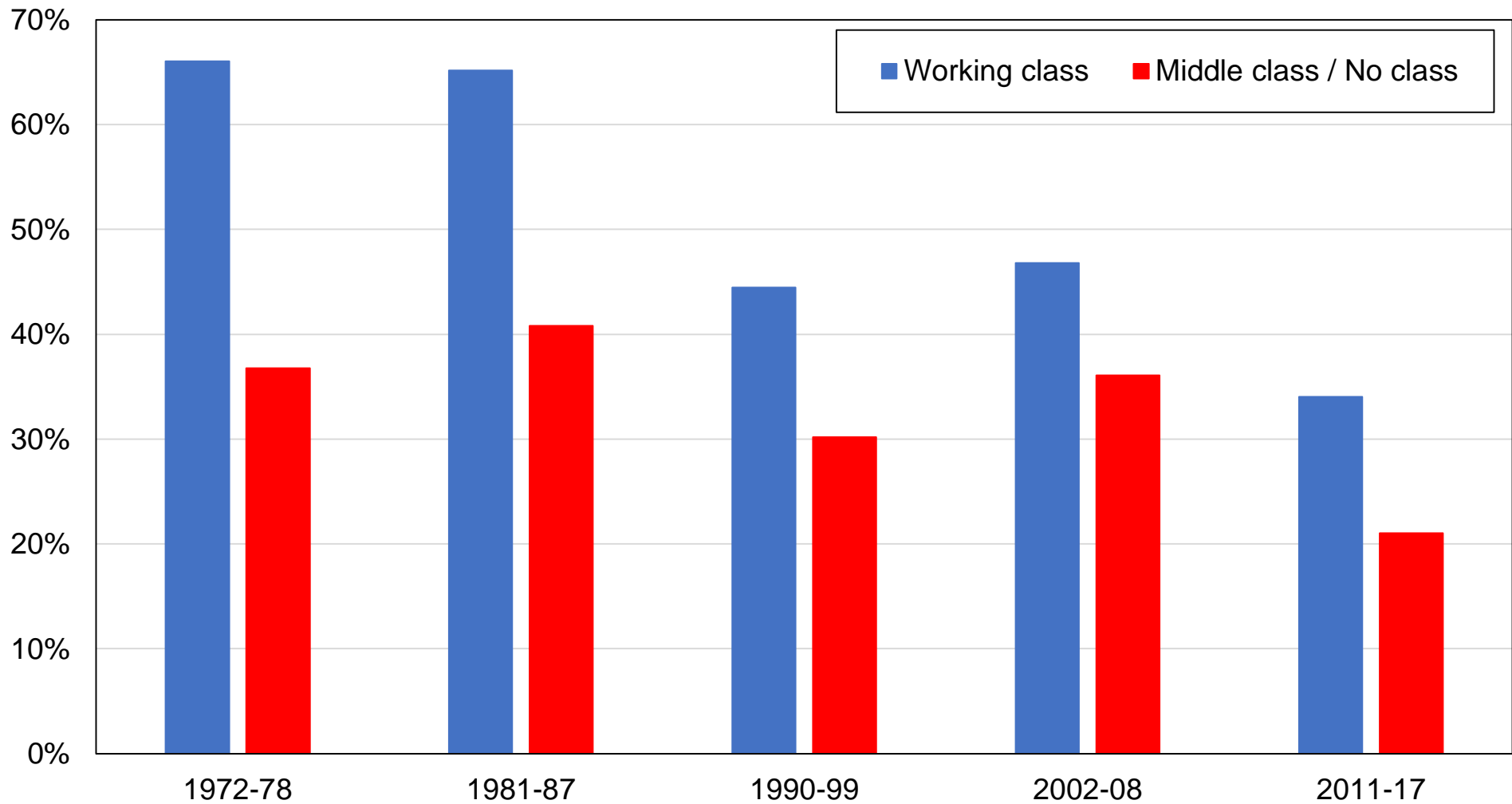
Figure B48 - Vote for Labour Party by union membership



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

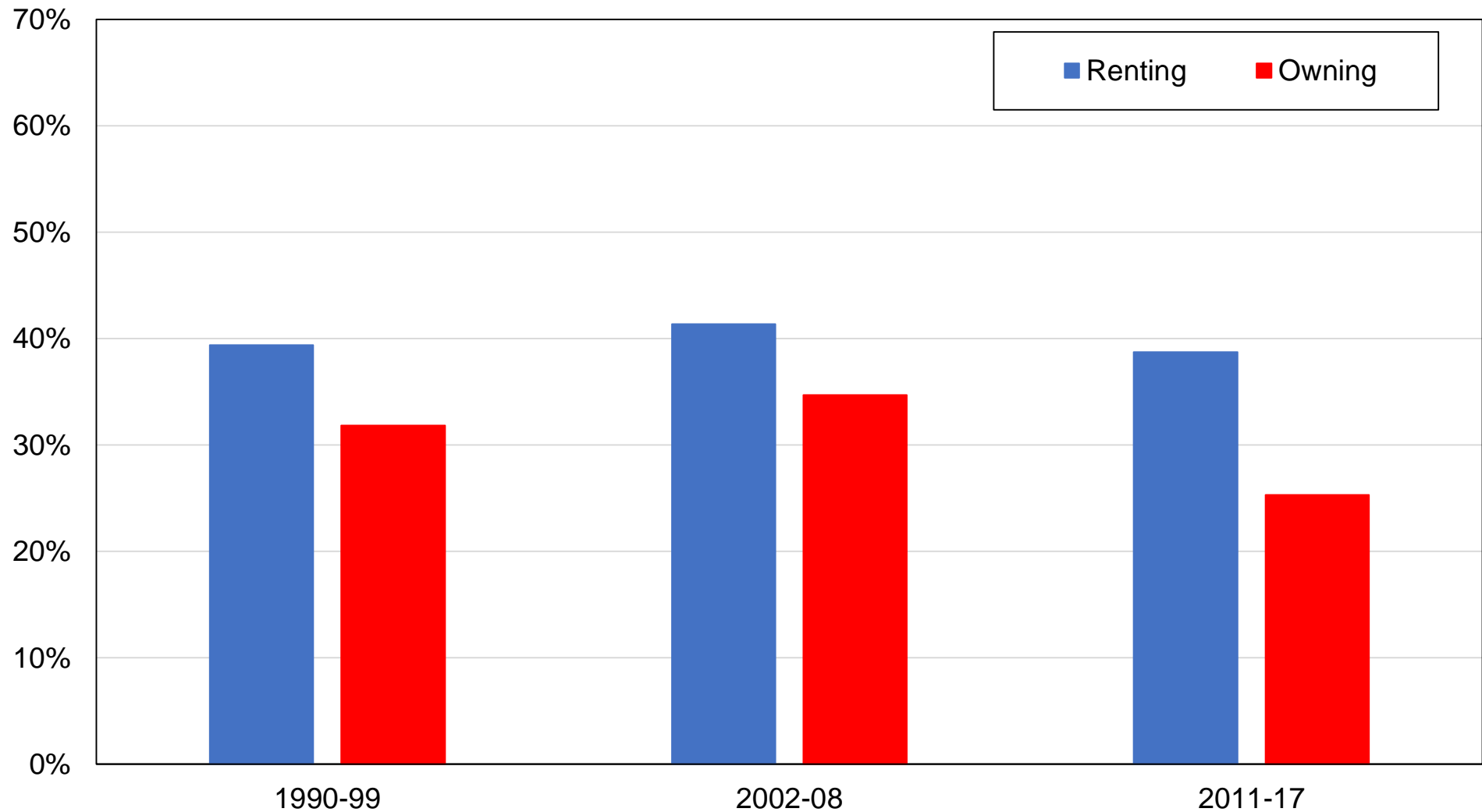
Figure B49 - Vote for Labour Party by perceived class



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

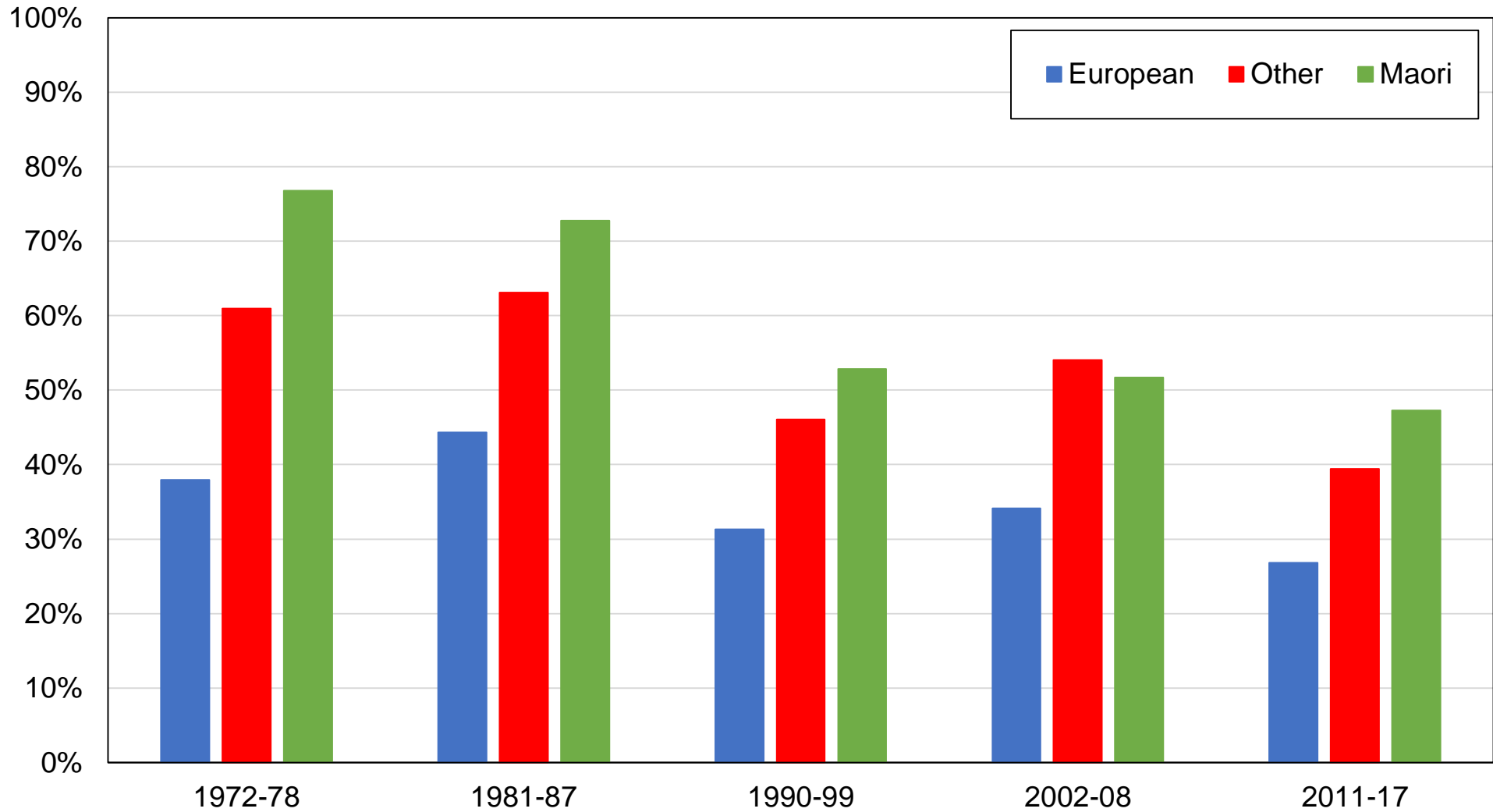
Figure B50 - Vote for Labour Party by home status



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party by home ownership status.

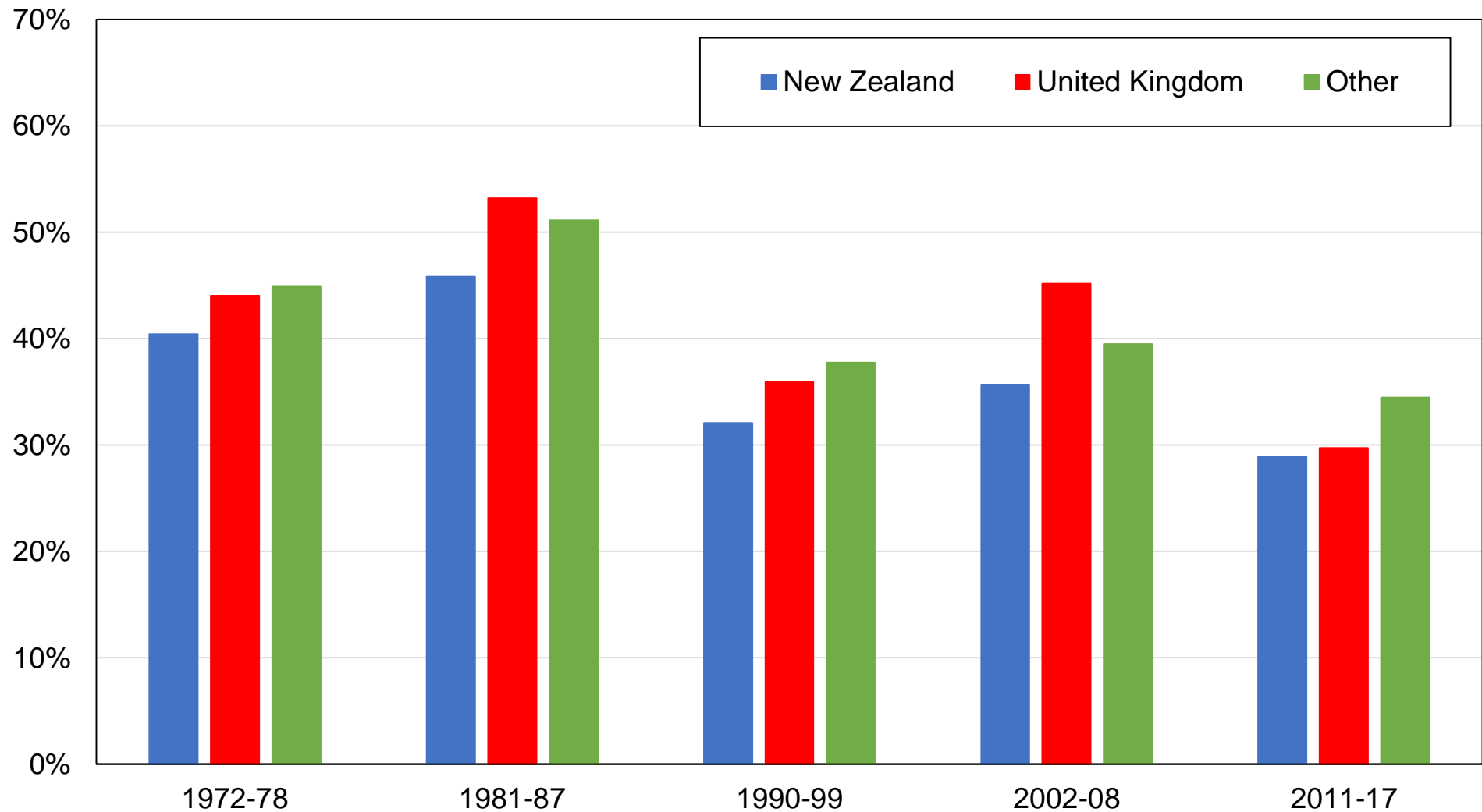
Figure B51 - Vote for Labour Party by ethnic group



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

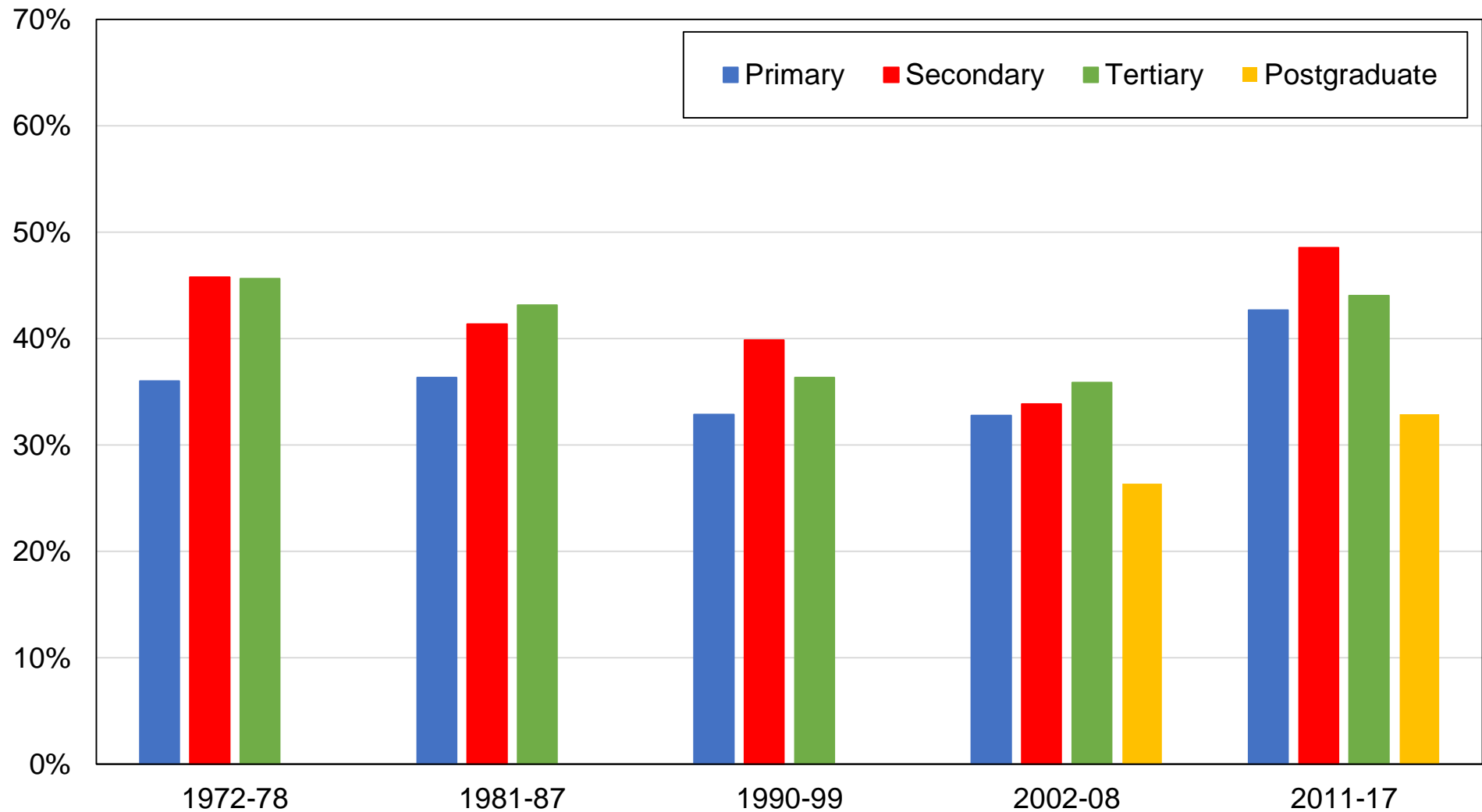
Figure B52 - Vote for Labour Party by country of birth



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party by country of birth.

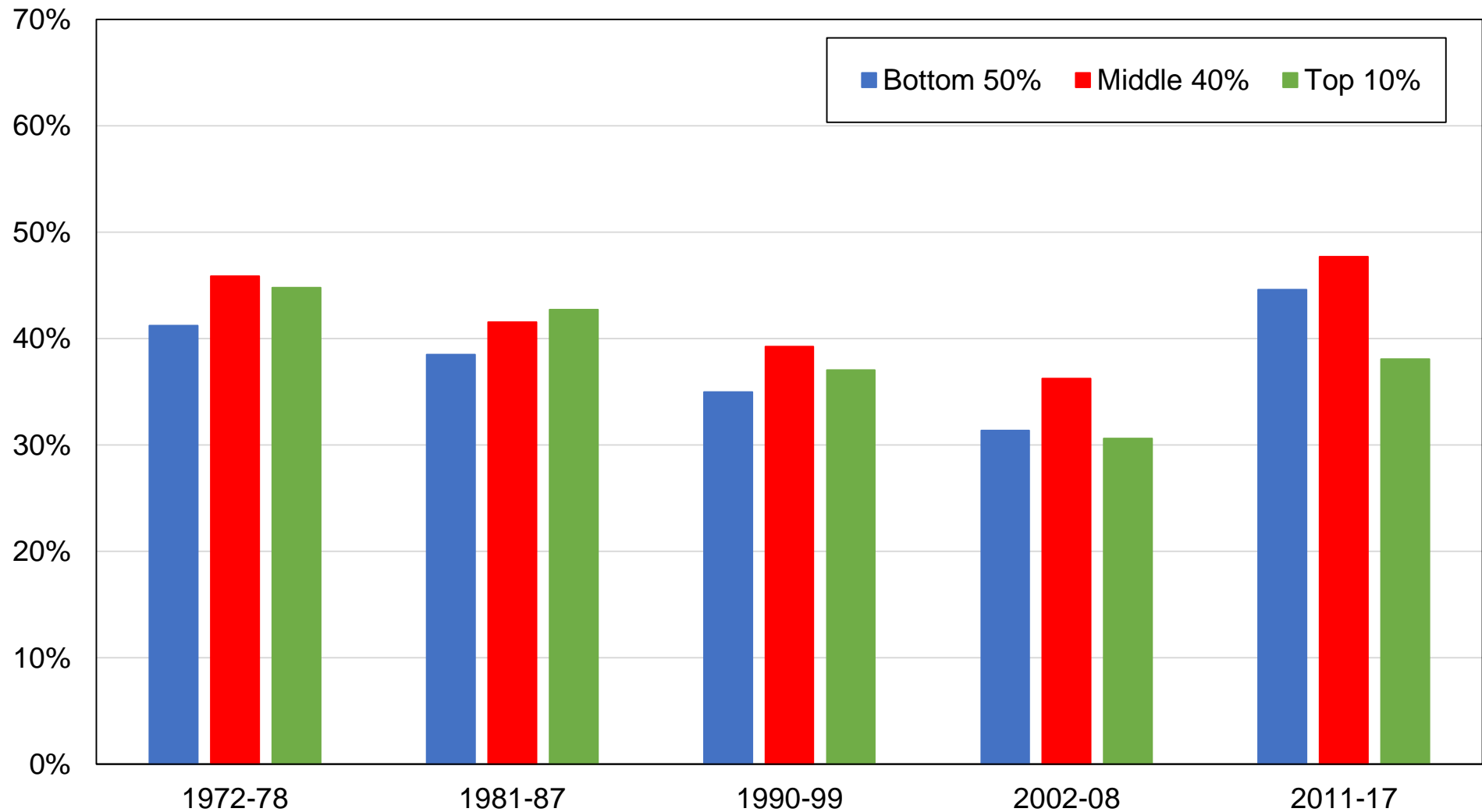
Figure B53 - Vote for National Party by education level



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

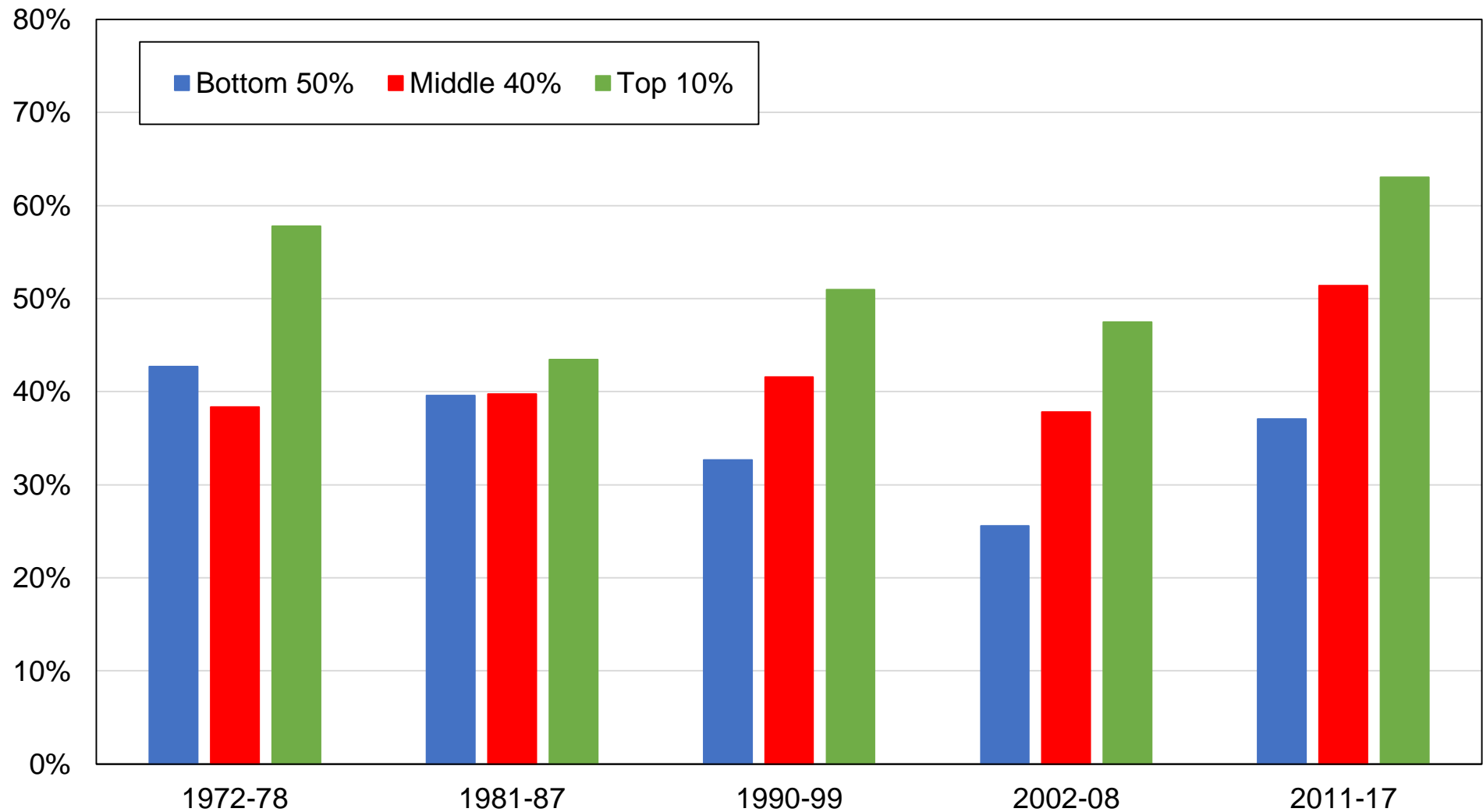
Figure B54 - Vote for National Party by education group



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

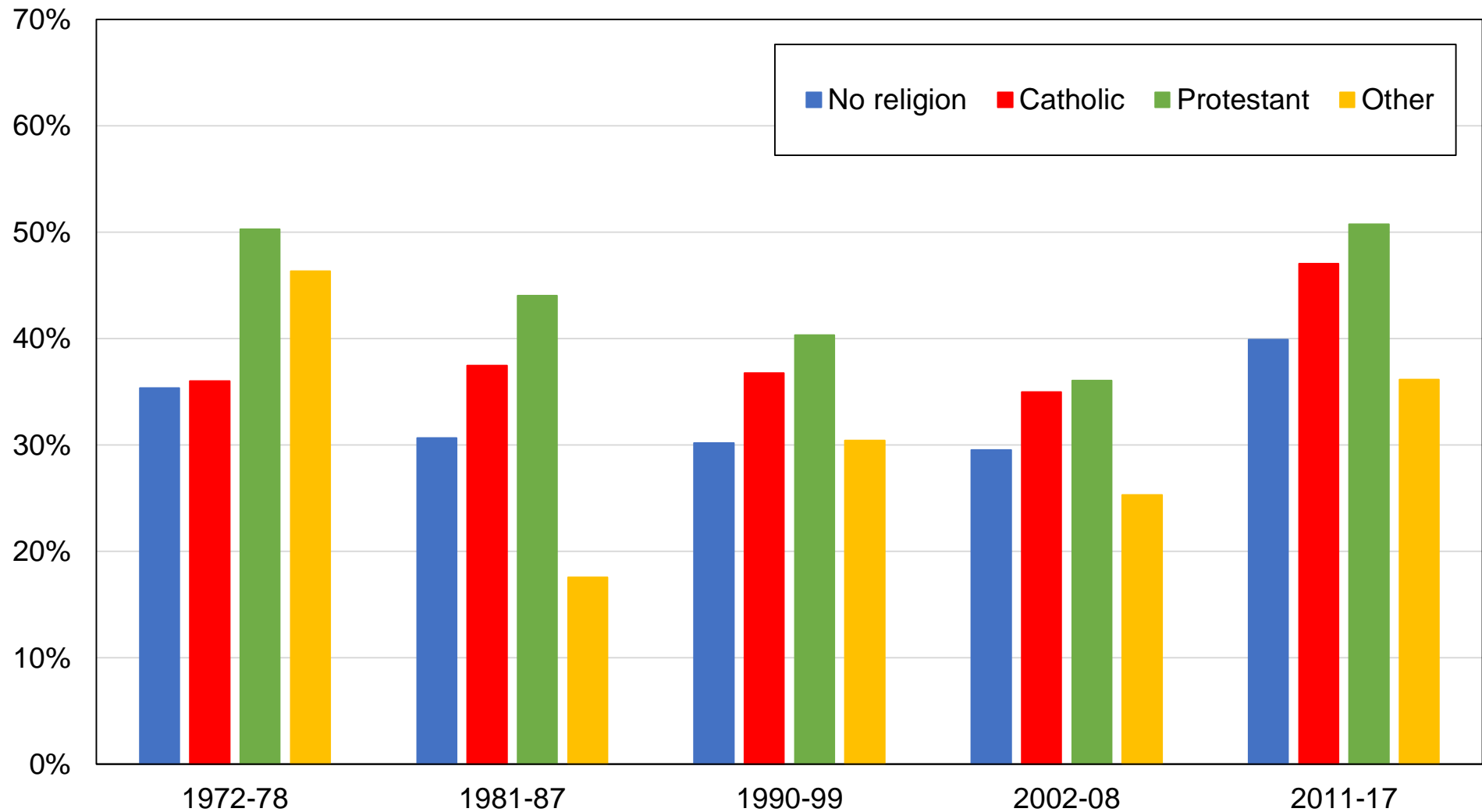
Figure B55 - Vote for National Party by income group



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

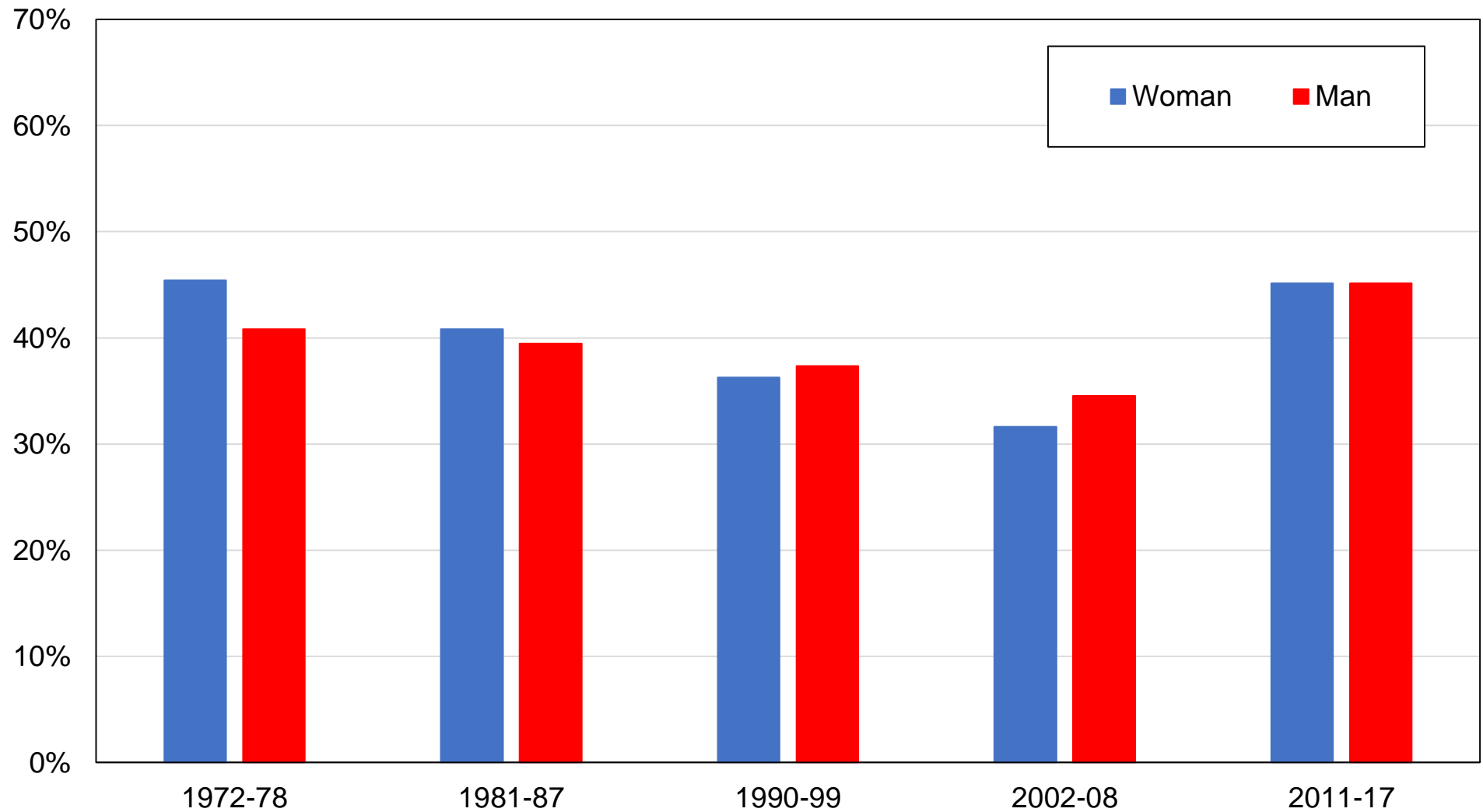
Figure B56 - Vote for National Party by religious affiliation



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

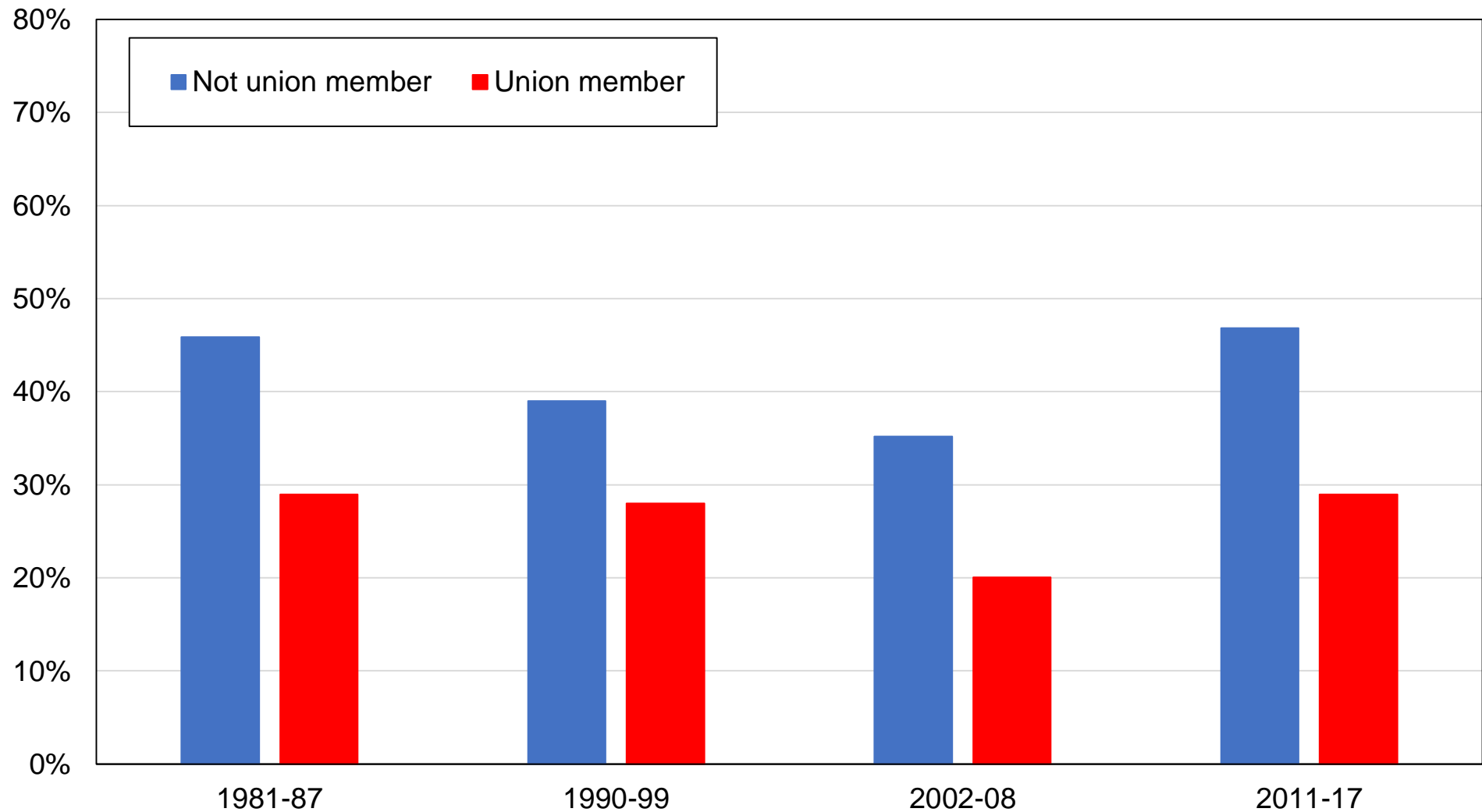
Figure B57 - Vote for National Party by gender



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

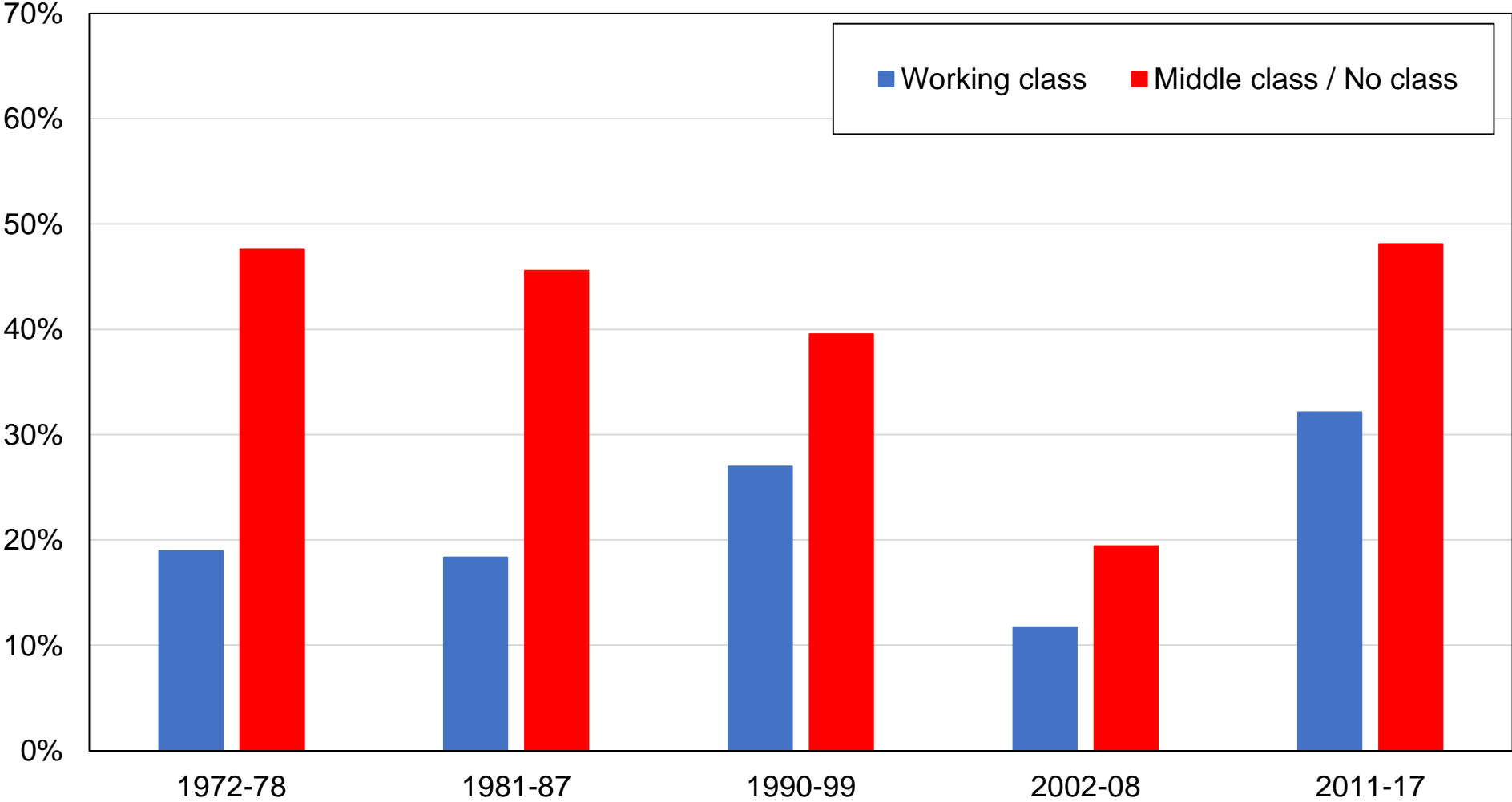
Figure B58 - Vote for National Party by union membership



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

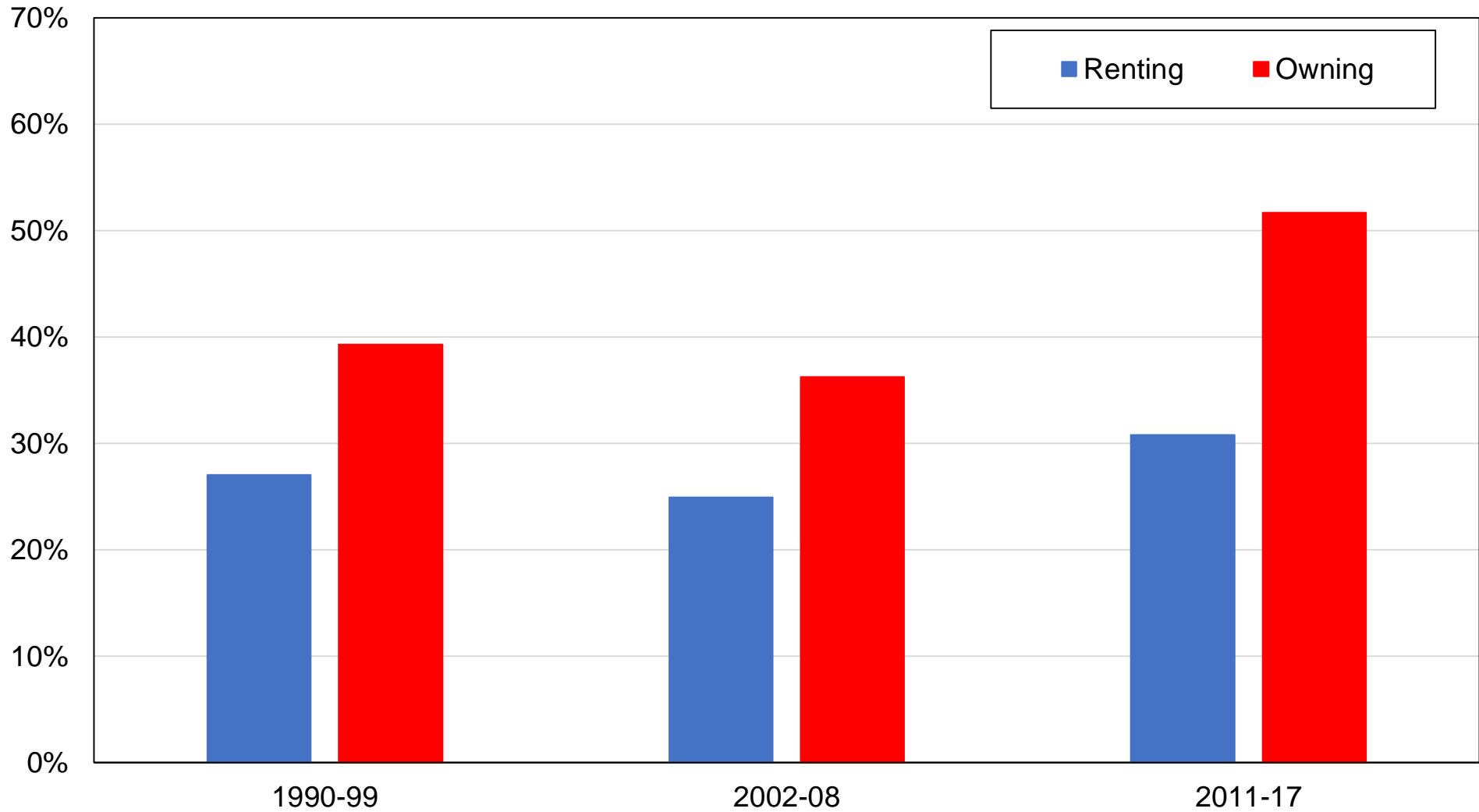
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the National Party by union membership status.

Figure B59 - Vote for National Party by perceived class



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the National Party by self-perceived social class. Working class includes "lower class". Middle class includes "no class" and "upper class".

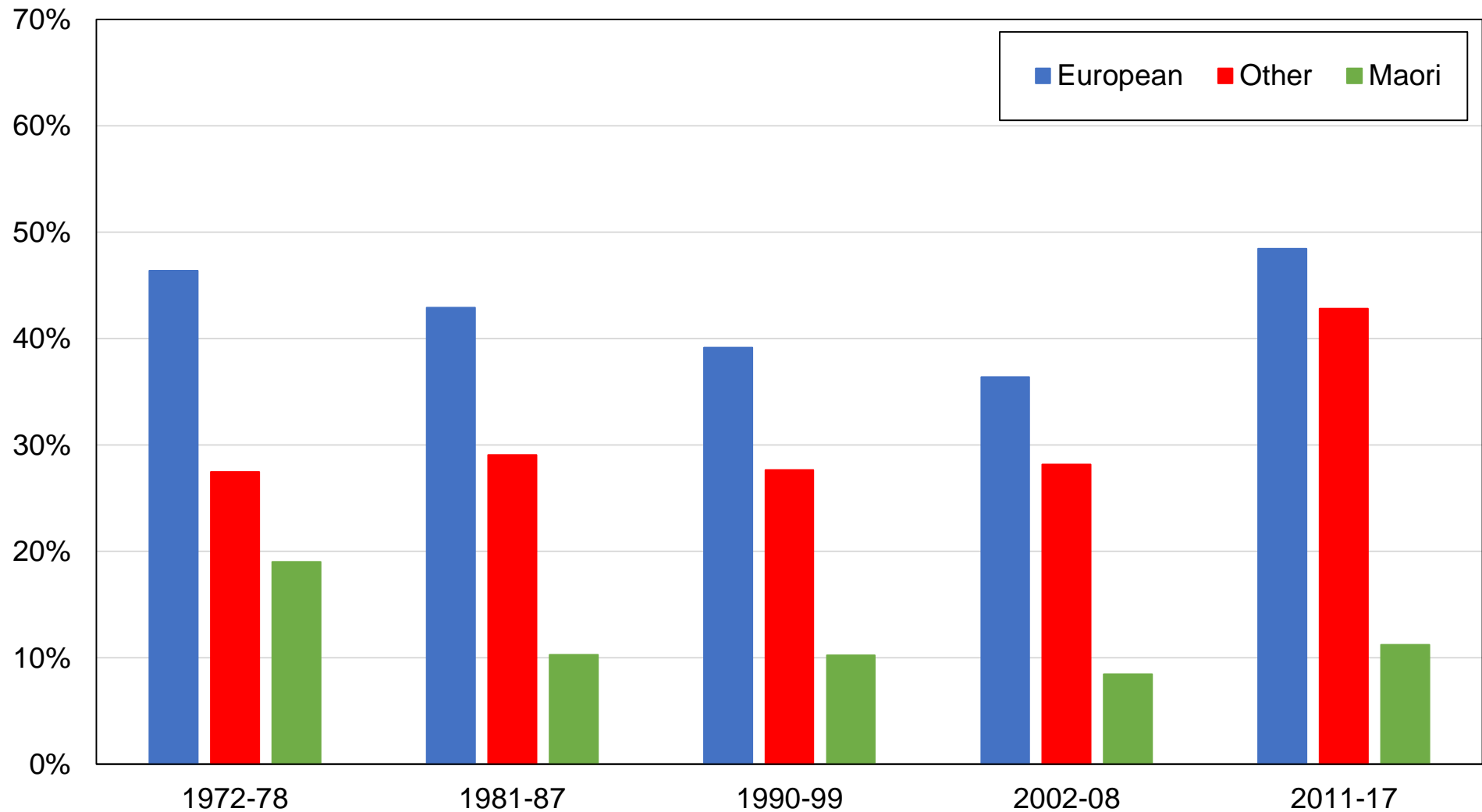
Figure B60 - Vote for National Party by home status



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the National Party by home ownership status.

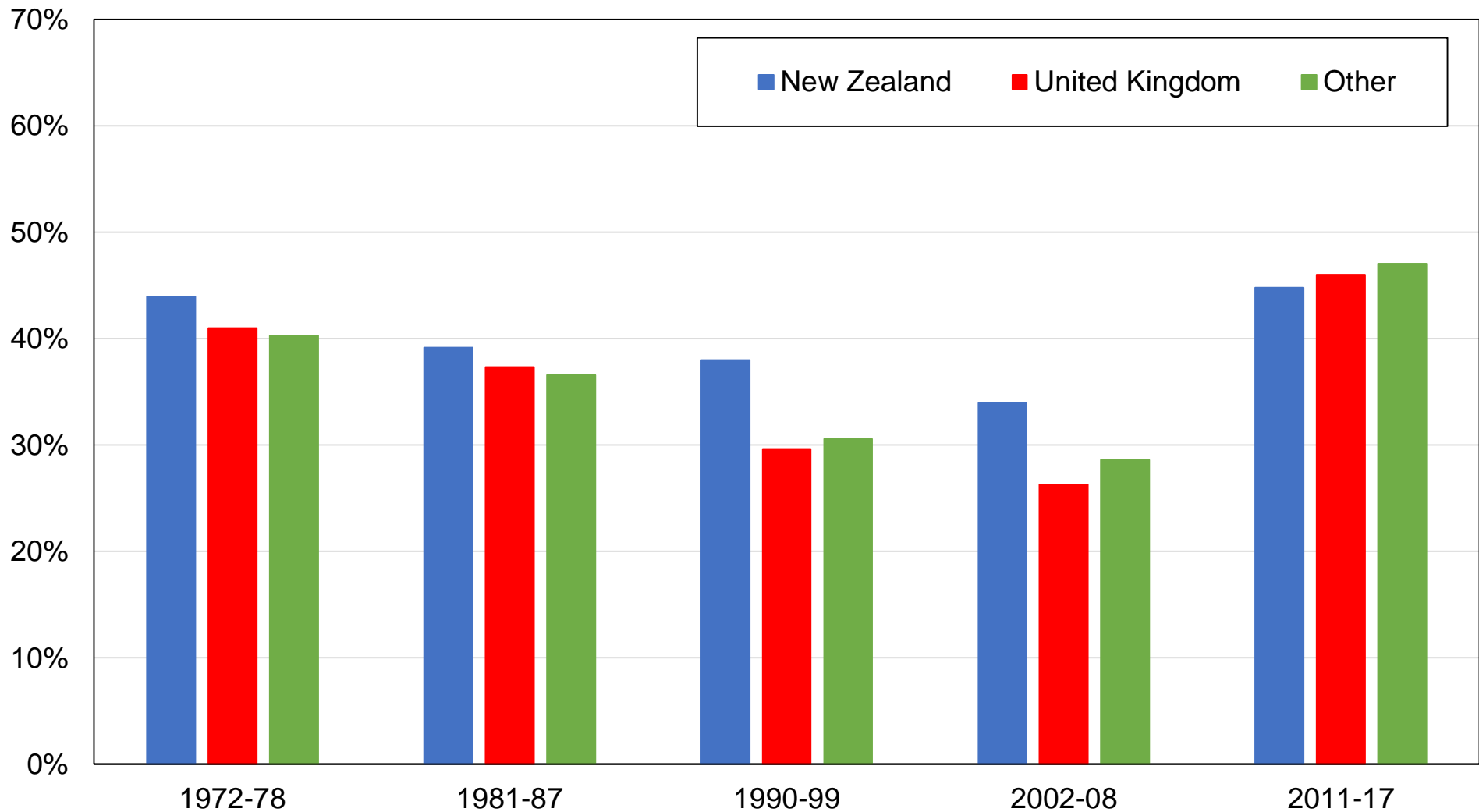
Figure B61 - Vote for National Party by ethnic group



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the National Party by ethnic group.

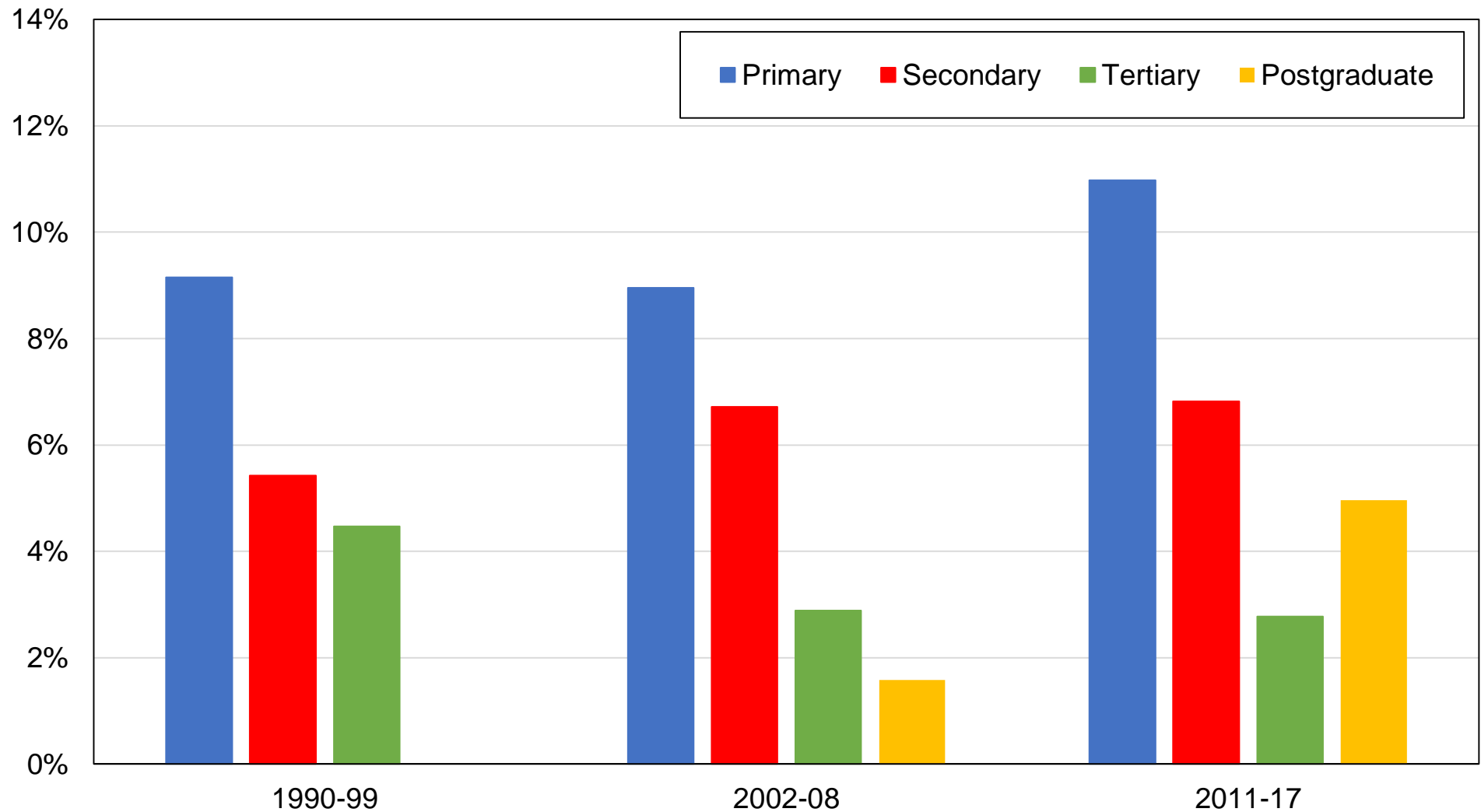
Figure B62 - Vote for National Party by country of birth



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the National Party by country of birth.

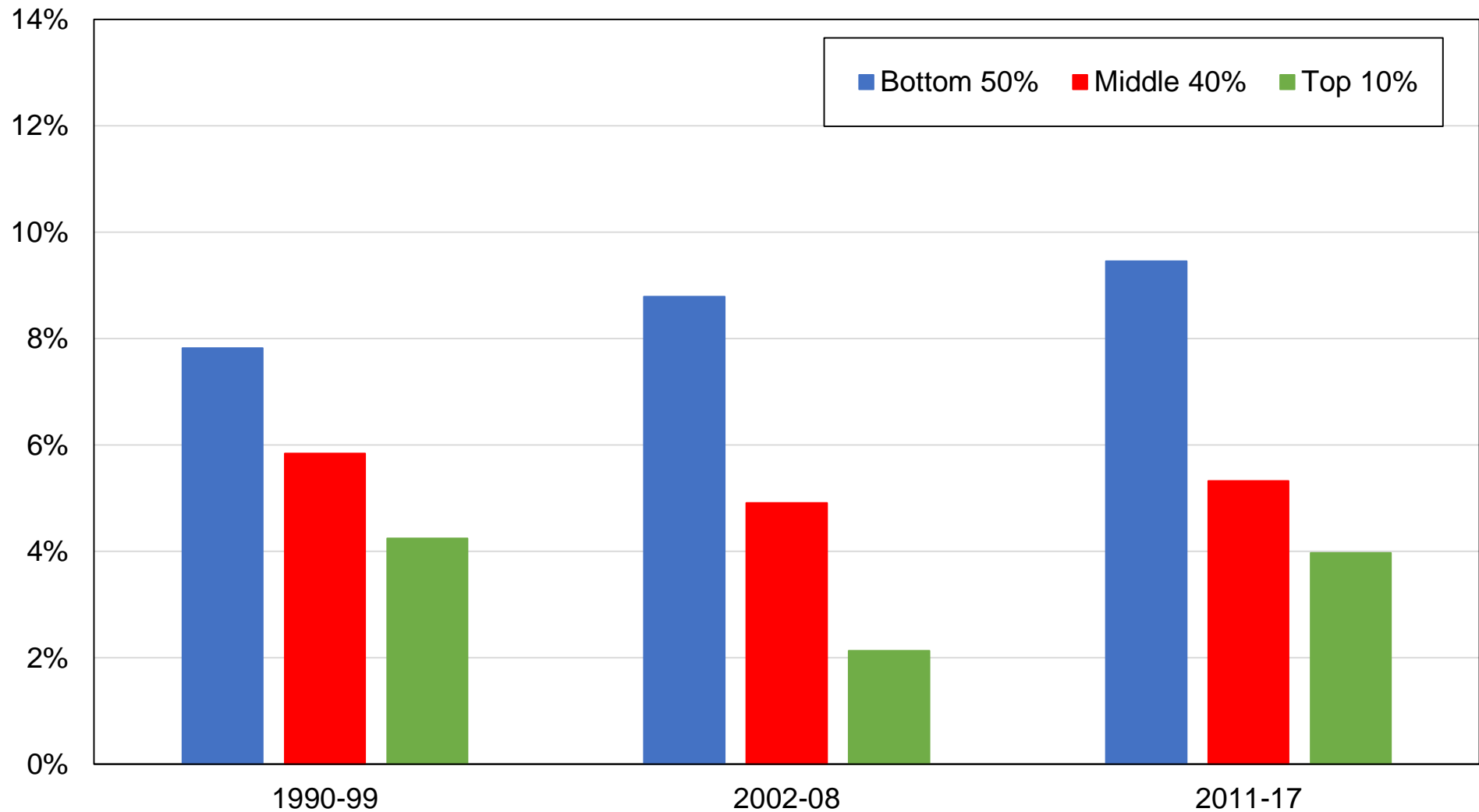
Figure B63 - Vote for the New Zealand First Party by education level



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the NZF by education level.

Figure B64 - Vote for the New Zealand First Party by education group



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

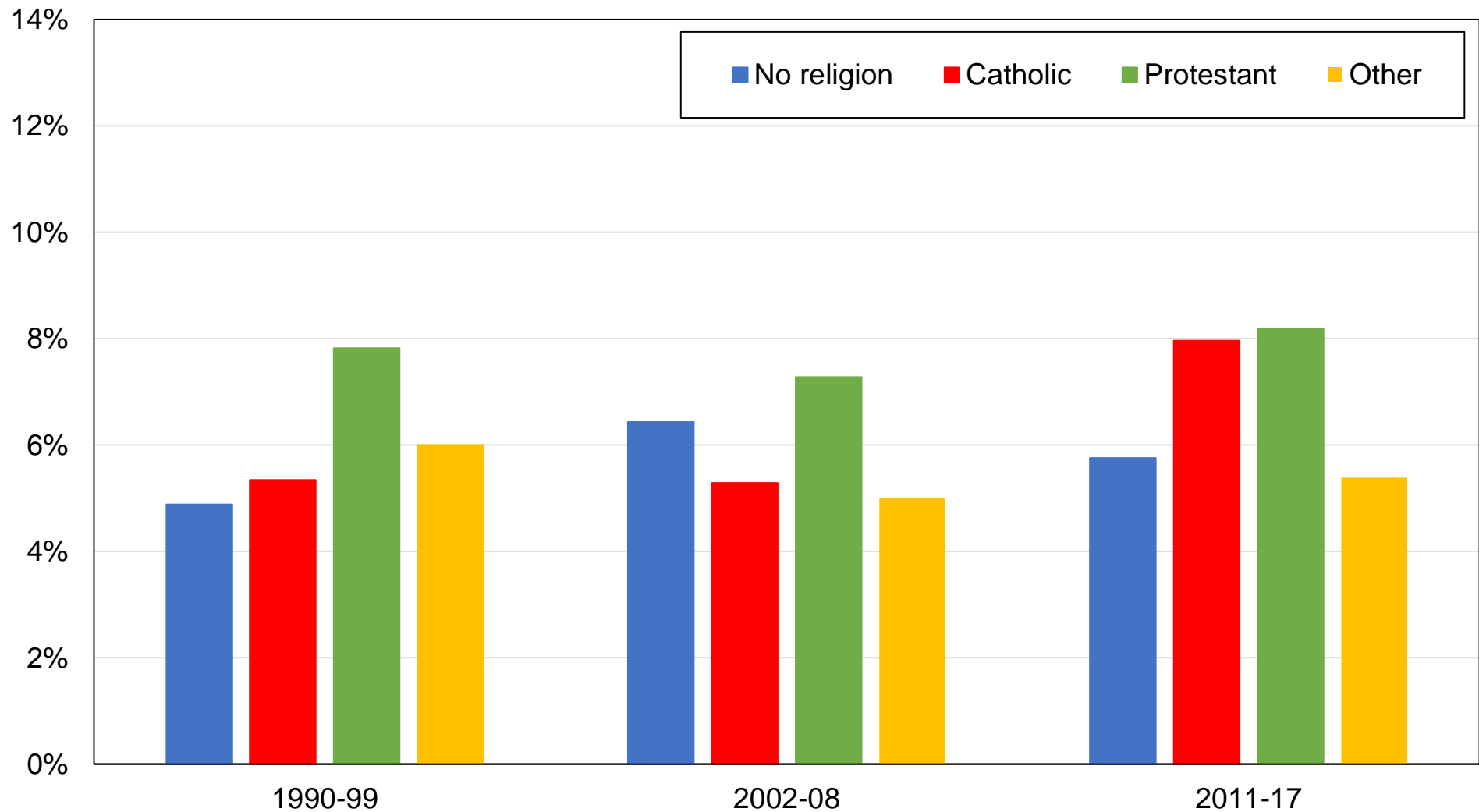
Figure B65 - Vote for the New Zealand First Party by income group



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

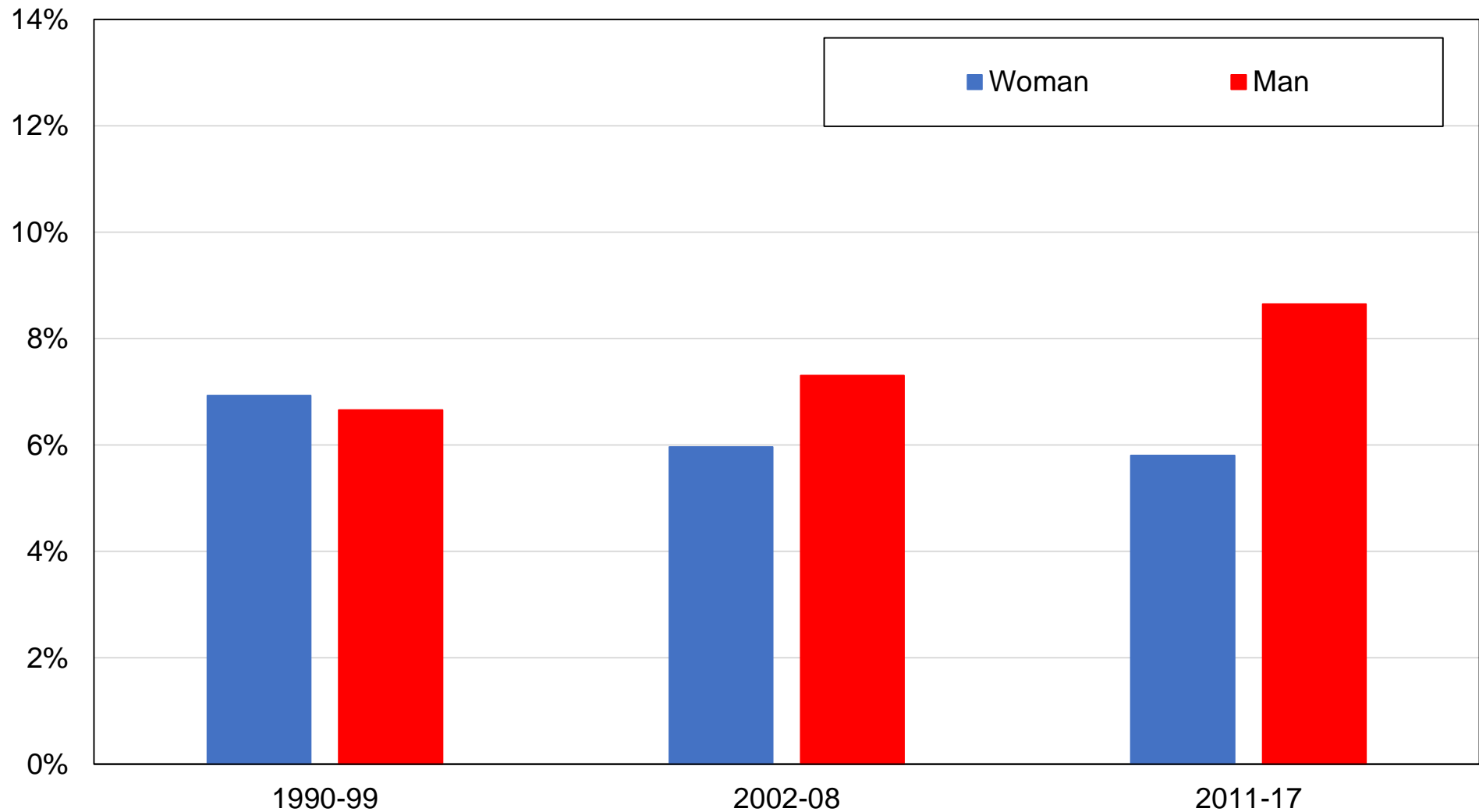
Figure B66 - Vote for the New Zealand First Party by religious affiliation



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

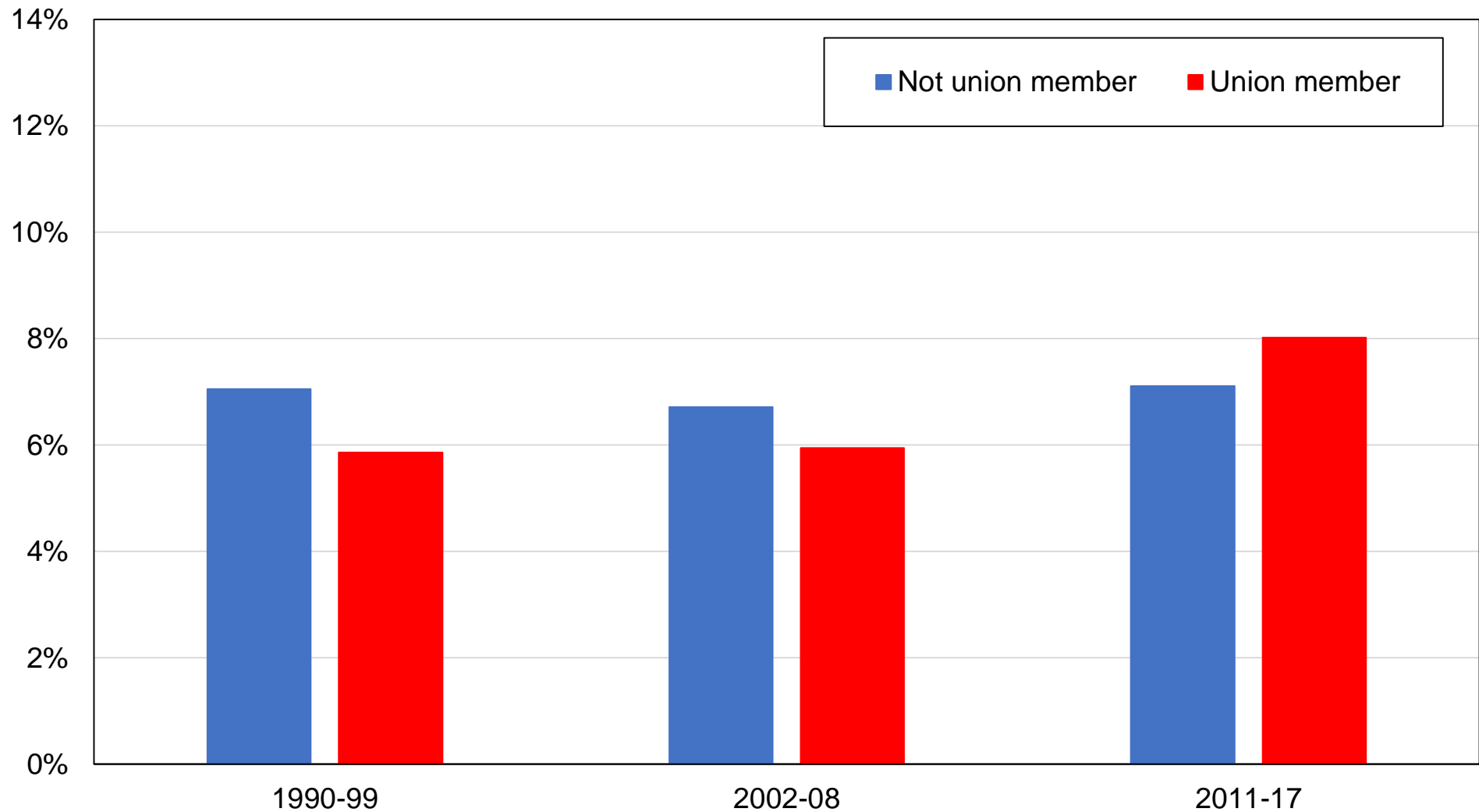
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the NZF by religious affiliation.

Figure B67 - Vote for the New Zealand First Party by gender



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the NZF by gender.

Figure B68 - Vote for the New Zealand First Party by union membership



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

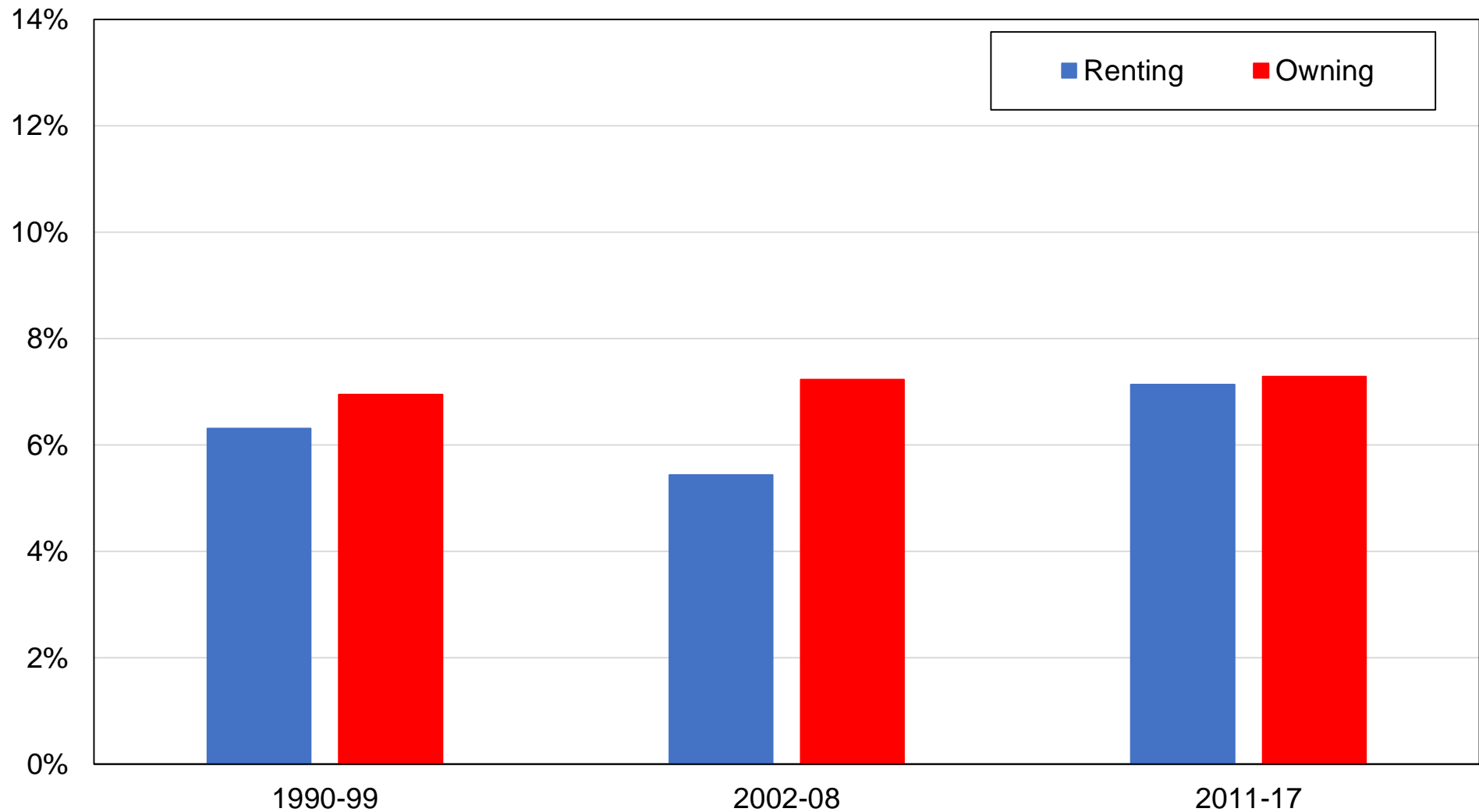
Figure B69 - Vote for the New Zealand First Party by perceived class



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

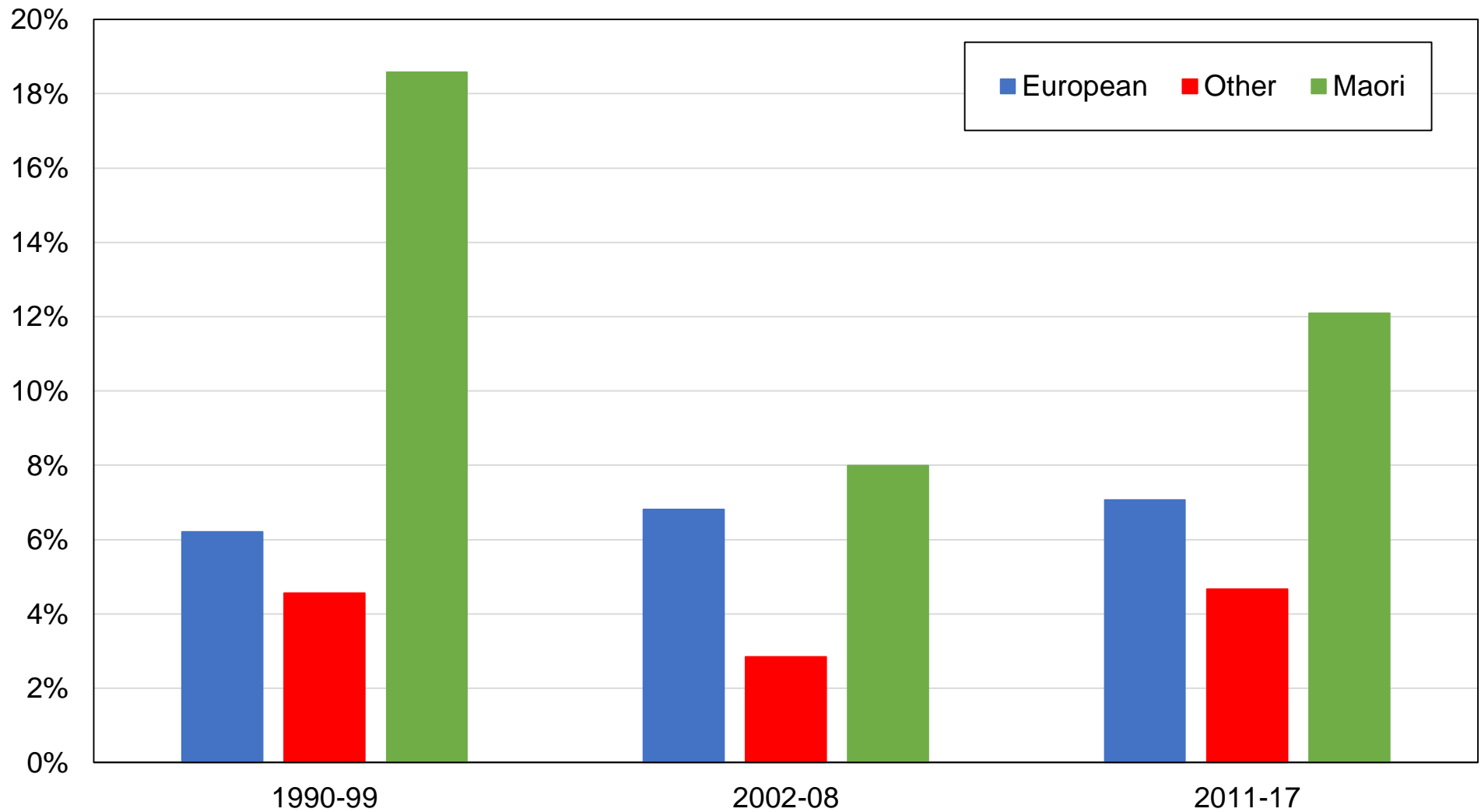
Figure B70 - Vote for the New Zealand First Party by home ownership



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the NZF by home ownership status.

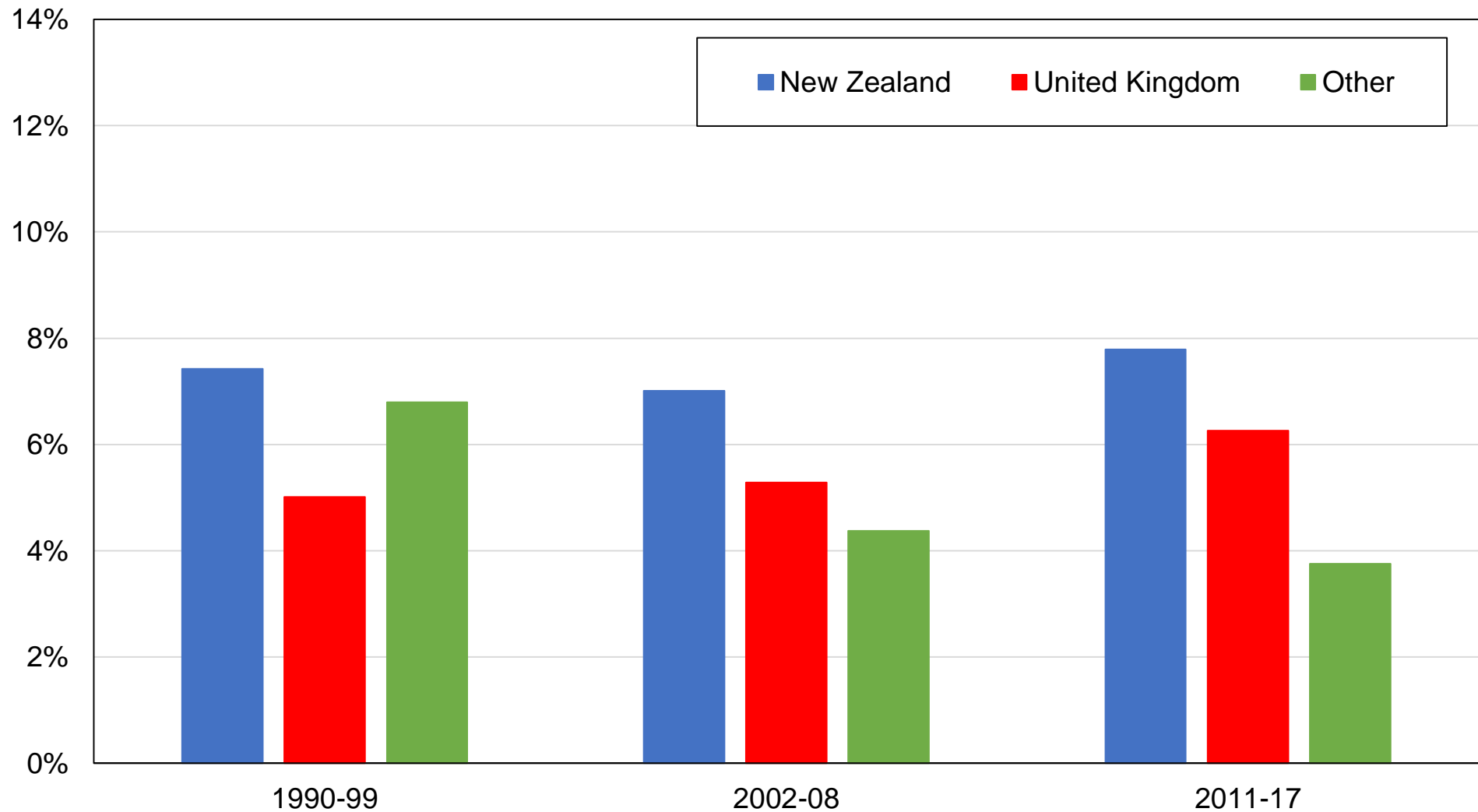
Figure B71 - Vote for the New Zealand First Party by ethnic group



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the NZF by ethnic group.

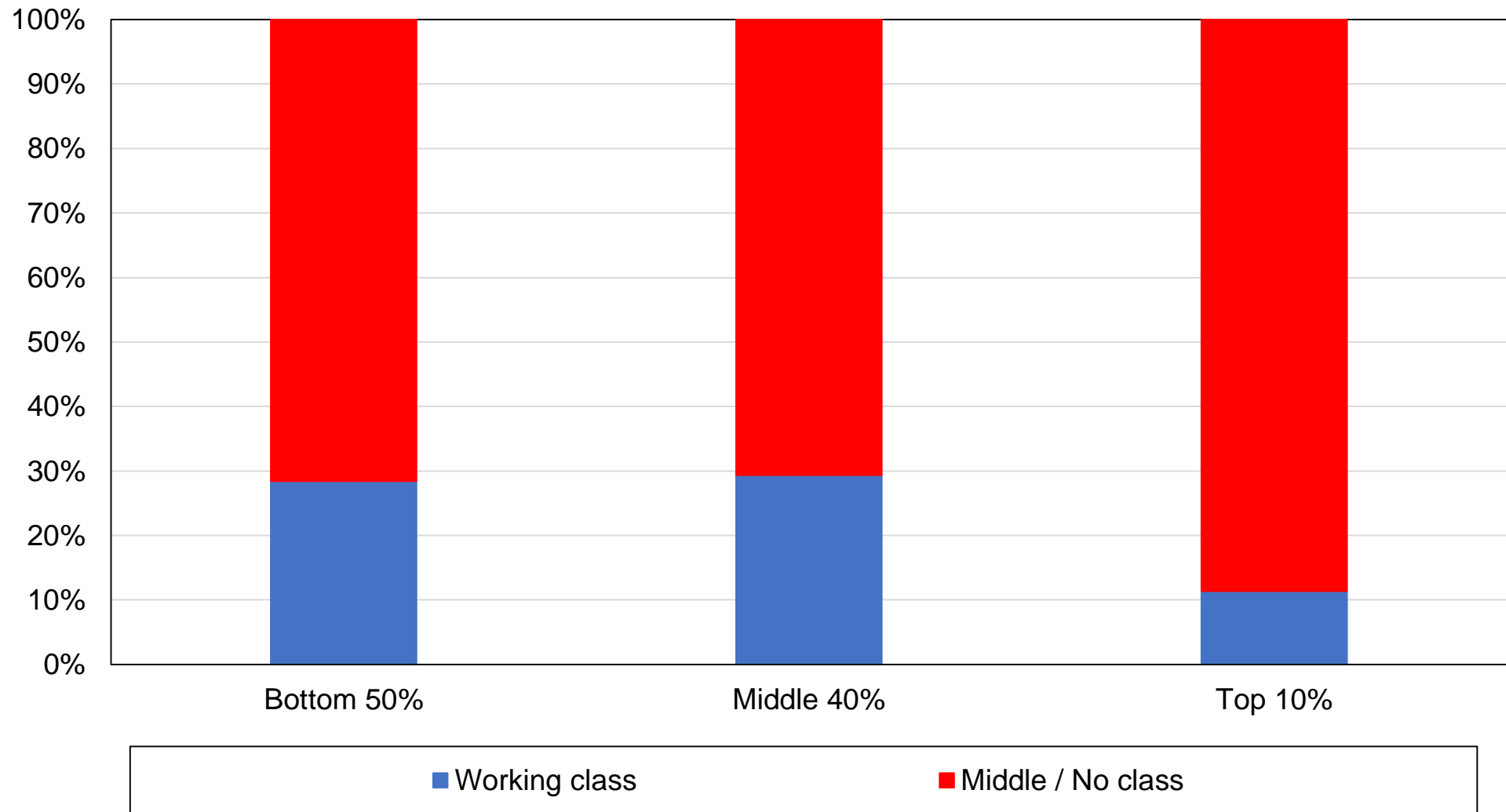
Figure B72 - Vote for the New Zealand First Party by country of birth



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the NZF by country of birth.

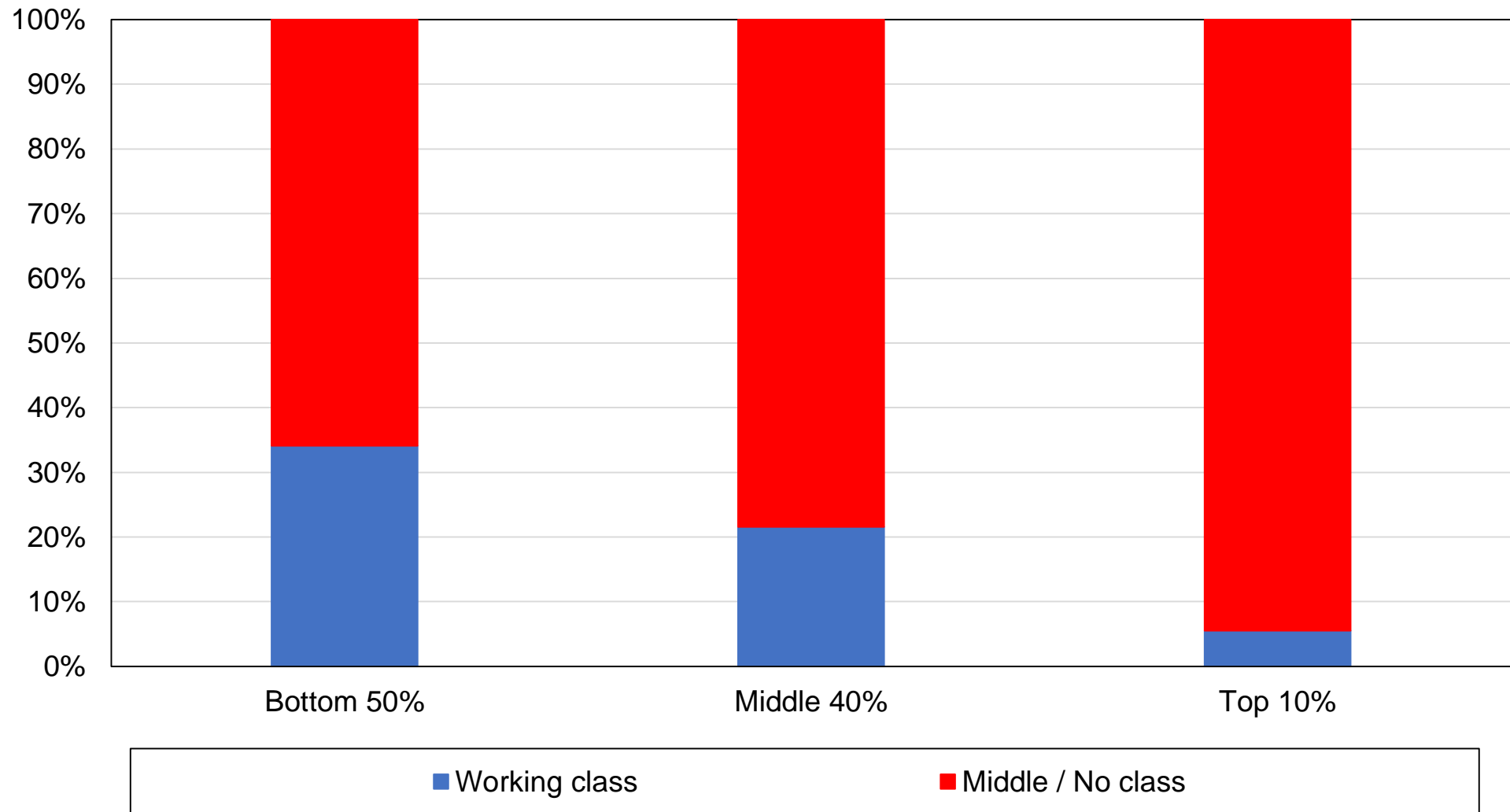
Figure B73 - Composition of income groups by social class, 1970s



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income groups by perceived social class in 1972-1978.

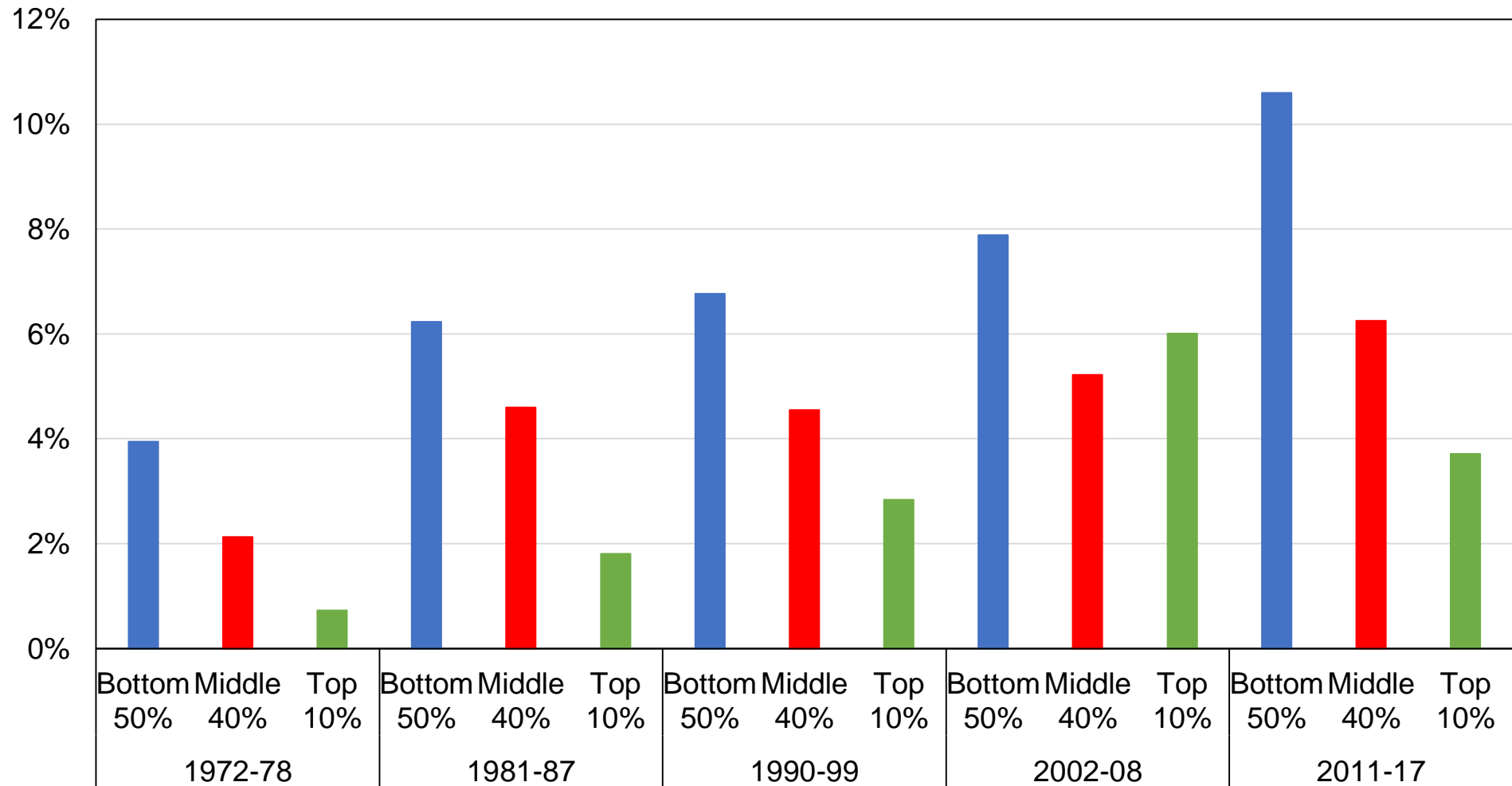
Figure B74 - Composition of income groups by social class, 2010s



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income groups by perceived social class in 2010-2017.

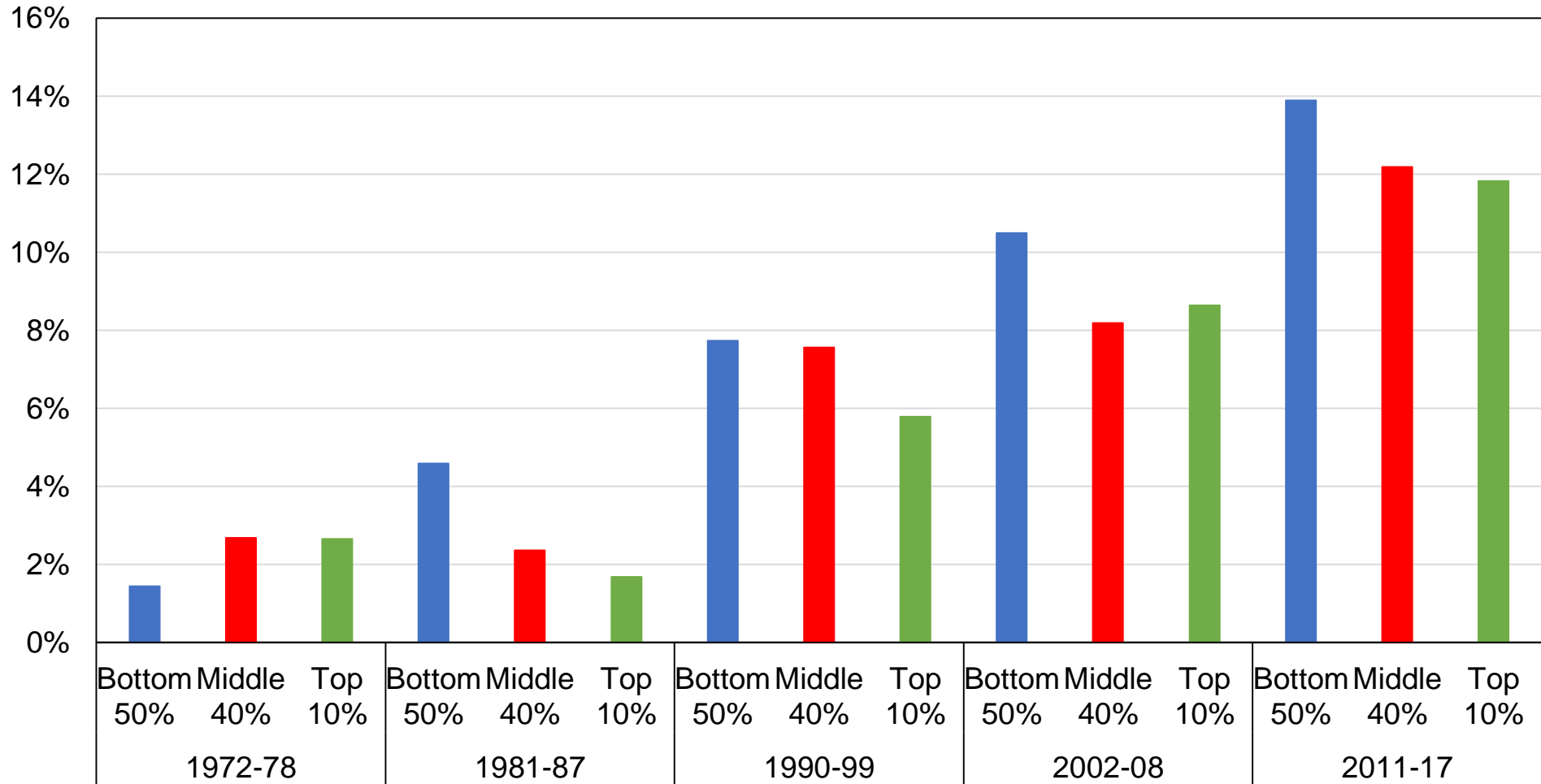
Figure B75 - Ethnic inequality in New Zealand: Share of Maori in each income group, 1972-2017



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of Maori in each income group in New Zealand and its evolution.

Figure B76 - Ethnic inequality in New Zealand: Share of Asian / Pacific / Other in each income group, 1972-2017



Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of Asian, Pacific people, and other non-Maori ethnic minorities in each income group in New Zealand and its evolution.

Table B1 - Survey data sources

Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
1972	New Zealand Post-Election Survey, 1975	ADA	1604
1975	New Zealand Post-Election Survey, 1975	ADA	
1978	New Zealand Voting Survey, post-election, 1981	ADA	1522
1981	New Zealand Voting Survey, post-election, 1981	ADA	1522
1984	New Zealand Election Survey, 1987	ADA	1013
1987	New Zealand Election Survey, 1987	ADA	1013
1990	New Zealand Election Study, 1990	NZES	2102
1993	New Zealand Election Study, 1993	NZES	2251
1996	New Zealand Election Study, 1996	NZES	4119
1999	New Zealand Election Study, 1999	NZES	5972
2002	New Zealand Election Study, 2002	NZES	2008
2005	New Zealand Election Study, 2005	NZES	3743
2008	New Zealand Election Study, 2008	NZES	3042
2011	New Zealand Election Study, 2011	NZES	3101
2014	New Zealand Election Study, 2014	NZES	2835
2017	New Zealand Election Study, 2017	NZES	3455

Source: author's elaboration. NZES: National Election Studies (<https://www.nzes.org>). ADA: Australian Data Archive (<https://ada.edu.au/>).

Note: the table shows the surveys used, the source from which these surveys can be obtained, and the sample size of each survey. In 1984, 1981, and 1972, questions on previous voting behaviors from the 1987, 1981, and 1975 surveys were used respectively.

Table B2 - Complete descriptive statistics by decade

	1972-78	1981-87	1990-99	2002-08	2011-17
Age: 20-40	53%	47%	40%	38%	33%
Age: 40-60	30%	32%		41%	39%
Age: 60+	16%	20%	23%	22%	28%
Subjective class: Middle class	73%	74%	78%	81%	73%
Country of birth: NZ	82%	81%	84%	82%	80%
Country of birth: Other	5%	7%	5%	10%	13%
Country of birth: UK	13%	12%	10%	8%	7%
Education: Primary	23%	29%	37%	38%	29%
Education: Secondary	62%	60%	51%	38%	49%
Education: Tertiary	14%	12%	12%	17%	16%
Education: Postgraduate	0%	0%	0%	7%	5%
Employment status: Employed	57%	59%	61%	63%	60%
Employment status: Unemployed	1%	2%	4%	2%	4%
Employment status: Inactive	42%	39%	35%	35%	35%
Home ownership: Yes			76%	70%	65%
Marital status: Married or with partner	71%	62%	68%	66%	65%
Ethnicity: Other	2%	3%	9%	12%	16%
Ethnicity: European	94%	92%	85%	81%	76%
Ethnicity: Maori	3%	5%	7%	8%	8%
Religion: No religion	35%	31%	25%	30%	41%
Religion: Catholic	13%	13%	14%	14%	13%
Religion: Protestant	46%	55%	57%	50%	39%
Religion: Other	6%	2%	4%	6%	6%
Church attendance: Never	40%	41%	50%	57%	60%
Church attendance: Less than monthly	34%	30%	31%	24%	24%
Church attendance: Monthly or more	26%	29%	19%	20%	16%
Rural-urban: Rural areas			23%	17%	16%
Gender: Man	46%	48%	49%	47%	48%
Union membership: Yes		30%	20%	14%	9%
Occupation: Employed private		42%	46%	45%	45%
Occupation: Employed public		19%	15%	17%	16%
Occupation: Unemployed		2%	4%	2%	4%
Occupation: Inactive		37%	35%	35%	35%

Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

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

Table B3 - The structure of political cleavages in New Zealand, 2011-2017

	Share of votes received (%)			
	Labour	Greens	National	NZF
Education				
Primary	35%	4%	43%	11%
Secondary	27%	9%	49%	7%
Tertiary	27%	17%	44%	3%
Postgraduate	36%	15%	33%	5%
Income				
Bottom 50%	34%	8%	37%	9%
Middle 40%	25%	10%	51%	5%
Top 10%	18%	9%	63%	4%
Social class				
Working class	34%	7%	32%	14%
Middle class	21%	11%	48%	6%
Ethnicity				
European	27%	10%	48%	7%
Maori	47%	8%	11%	12%
Pacific	64%	0%	23%	11%
Asian	29%	5%	57%	0%
Religion				
None	30%	14%	40%	6%
Catholic	31%	6%	47%	8%
Other Christian	28%	5%	51%	8%
Jewish	44%	14%	21%	0%
Buddhist	27%	17%	46%	6%
Hindu	59%	10%	31%	0%
Muslim	76%	4%	18%	0%
Other	33%	12%	38%	7%

Source: author's computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

Notes: the table shows the average share of votes received by the Labour Party, the Green Party, the National Party, and the New Zealand First Party by selected individual characteristics over the 2011-2017 period.