

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

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#### **Appendix Figures - Structure of the vote for specific parties**

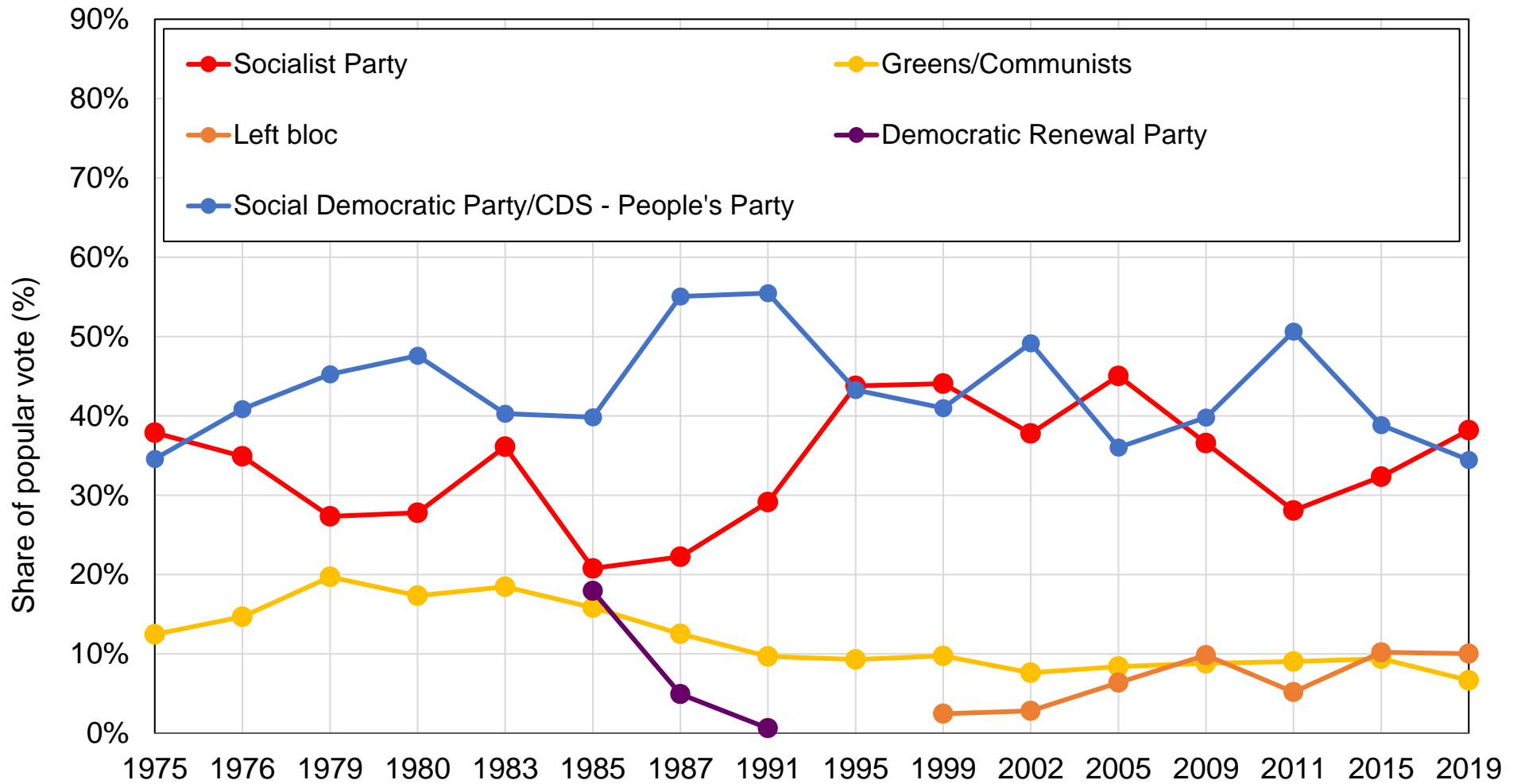
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Figure CC10	Vote for Communists / Greens by education level in Portugal
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Figure CC21	Vote for Left Block by income group in Portugal
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Figure CC36	Vote for left-wing parties by age in Portugal, 2015-2019

#### Appendix Tables

Table CD1	Survey data sources in Portugal
Table CD2	Descriptive statistics by decade in Portugal

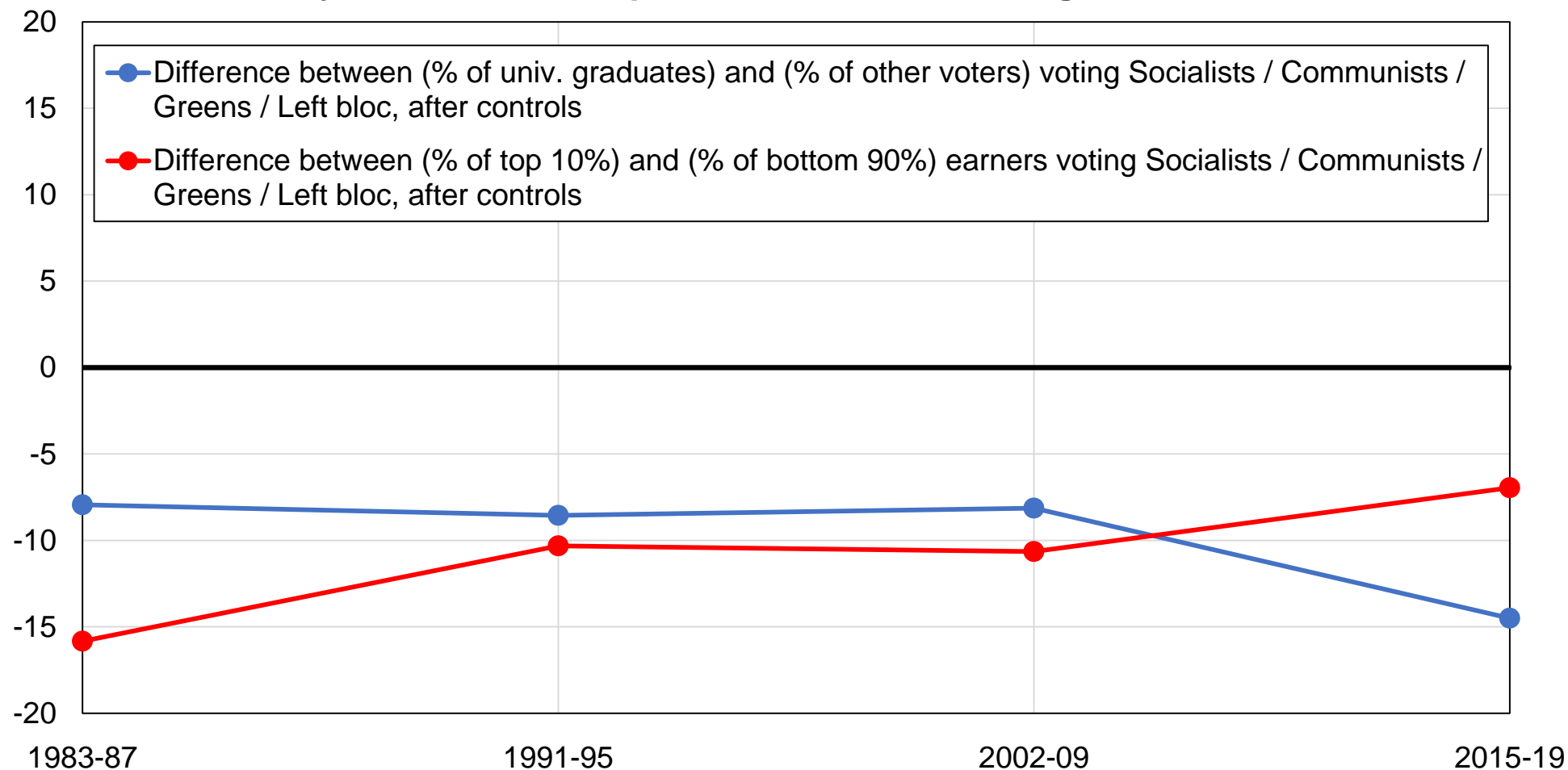
**Figure C1 - Election results in Portugal, 1975-2019**



**Source:** author's computations using official election results.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Portuguese political parties in lower house elections between 1975 and 2019.

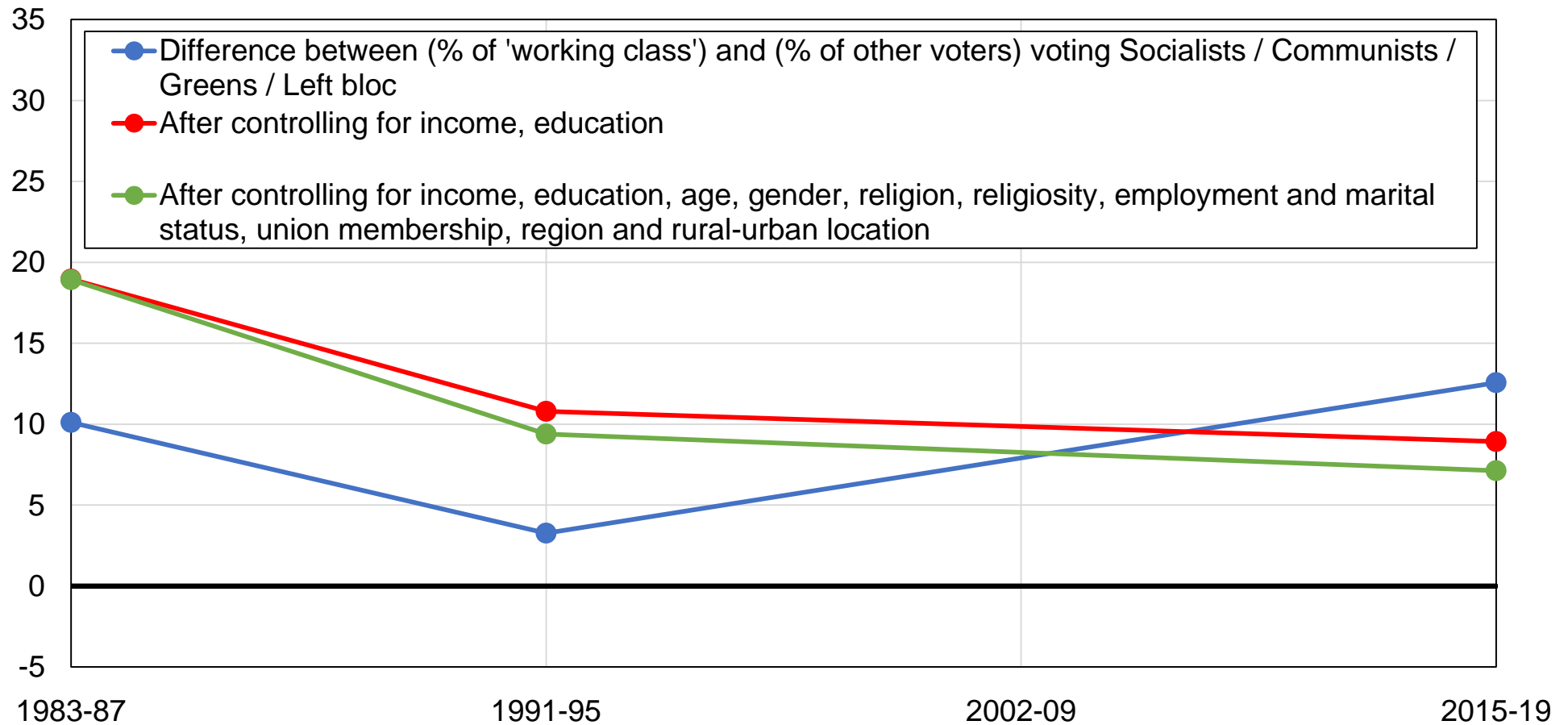
**Figure C2 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left bloc among tertiary-educated and top-income voters in Portugal, after controls**



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

**Note:** the figure shows the shows the relative bias of tertiary-educated and top-income voters towards Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left bloc, after controlling for age, gender, religion, religiosity, employment and marital status, class, union membership, region and rural-urban location.

**Figure C3 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left bloc among the working class in Portugal**



**Source:** authors' computations using Portuguese 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 Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left bloc, before and after controlling for other variables.

**Table C1 - The structure of political cleavages in Portugal, 2015-2019**

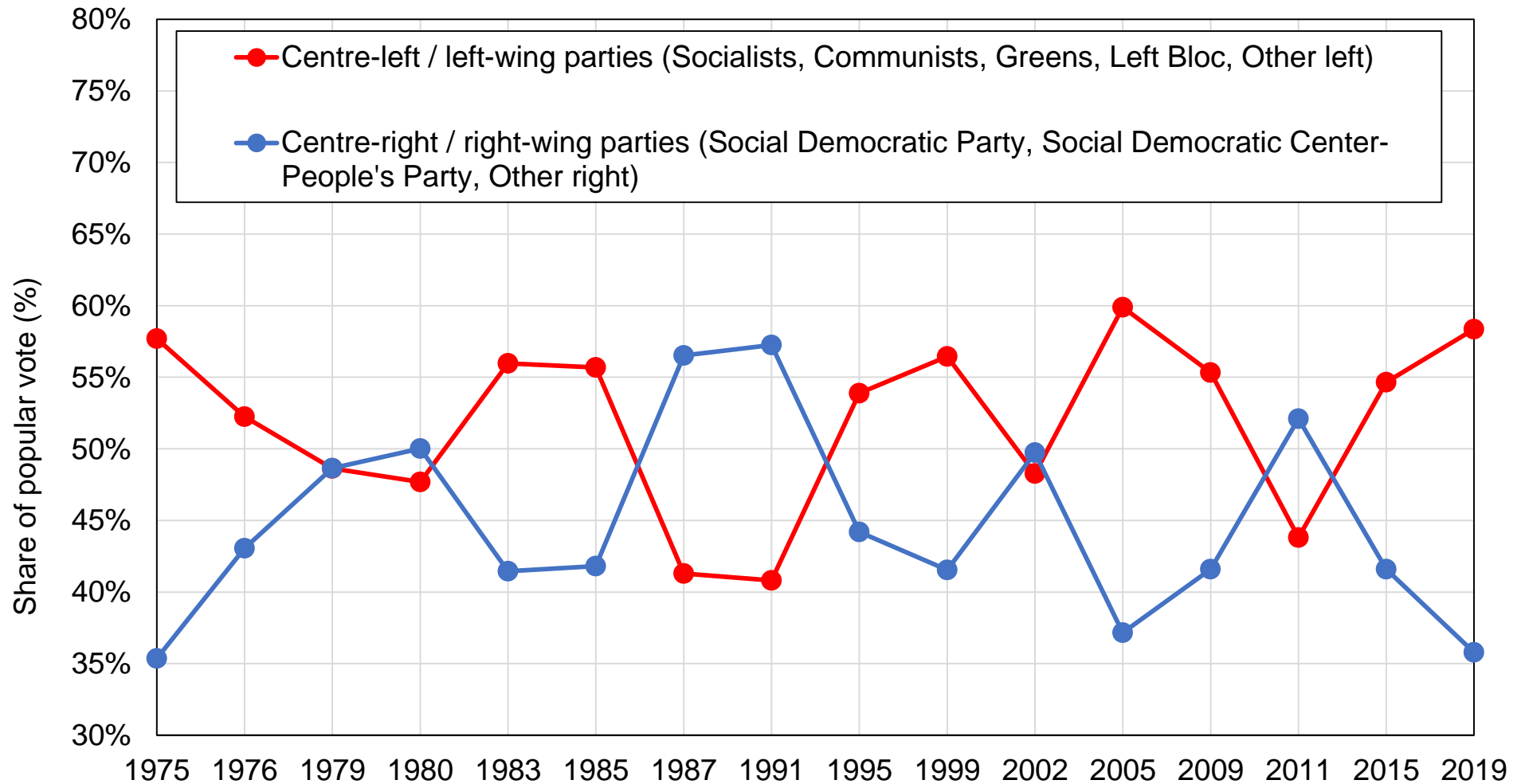
	Share of votes received (%)			
	Social Democratic Party / Social Democratic Center- People's Party	Socialist Party	Greens / Communists	Left Bloc
<b>Education</b>				
Primary	39%	43%	11%	5%
Secondary	37%	37%	9%	13%
Tertiary	52%	24%	6%	14%
<b>Income</b>				
Bottom 50%	37%	43%	10%	8%
Middle 40%	41%	35%	10%	9%
Top 10%	54%	24%	6%	15%
<b>Religion</b>				
No religion	23%	32%	17%	24%
Catholic	42%	37%	9%	9%
Other	34%	42%	7%	15%
<b>Age</b>				
20-40	43%	31%	6%	15%
40-60	39%	35%	10%	12%
>60	39%	43%	11%	6%
<b>Country of birth</b>				
Portugal	40%	37%	10%	10%
Brazil	30%	59%	0%	10%
Other ex-colony	48%	31%	12%	9%
<b>Region</b>				
North	42%	38%	5%	10%
Center	57%	29%	5%	8%
Lisbon	29%	40%	16%	12%
Alentejo	12%	54%	23%	7%
Algarve	36%	36%	11%	15%

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

**Notes:** the table shows the average share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party / Social Democratic Center-People's Party, the Socialist Party, the Greens / Communists, and the Left Bloc by selected individual characteristics over the 2015-2019 period.



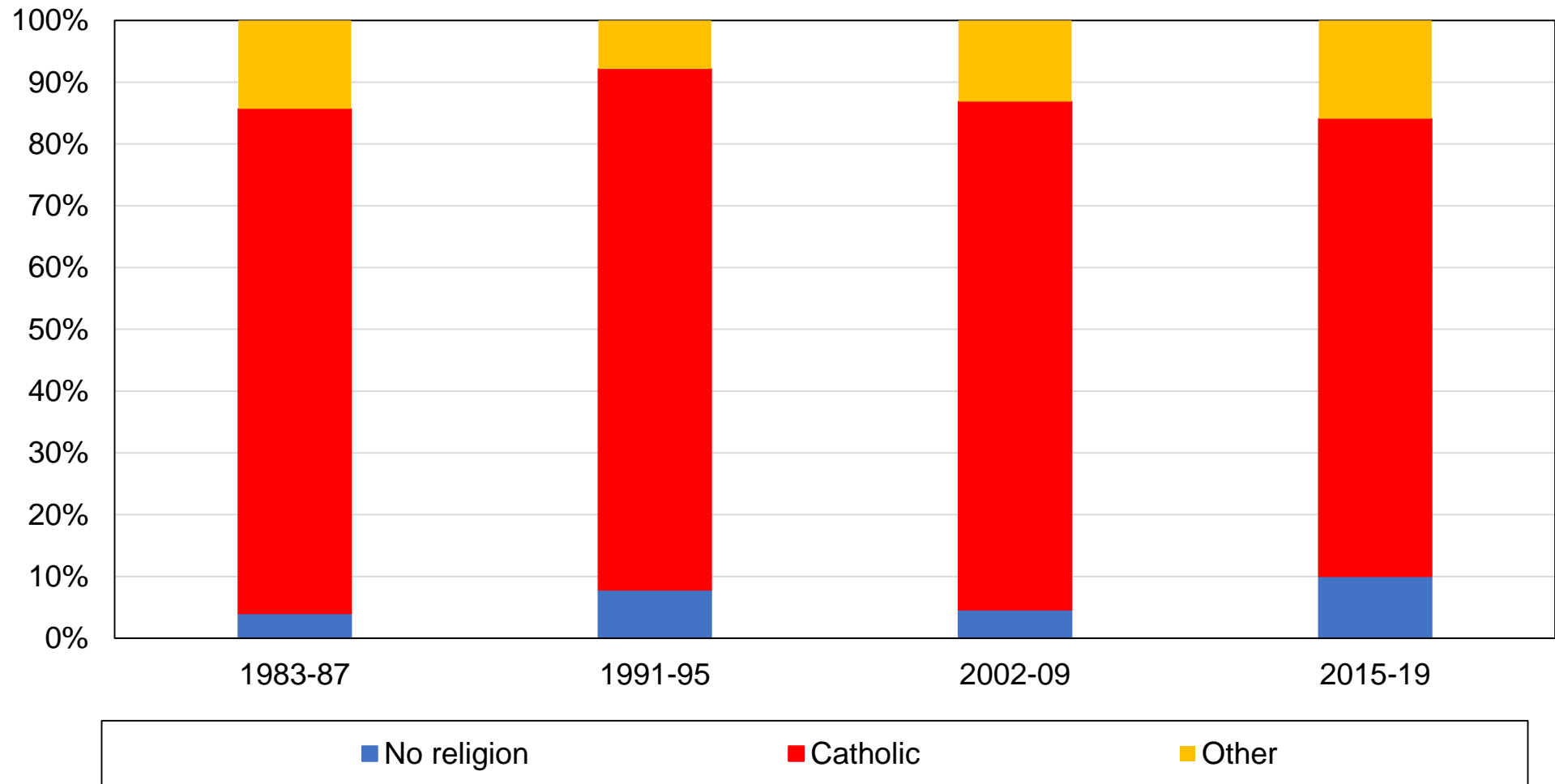
**Figure CA1 - Election results by group in Portugal, 1975-2019**



**Source:** author's computations using official election results.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Portuguese political parties in lower house elections between 1975 and 2019.

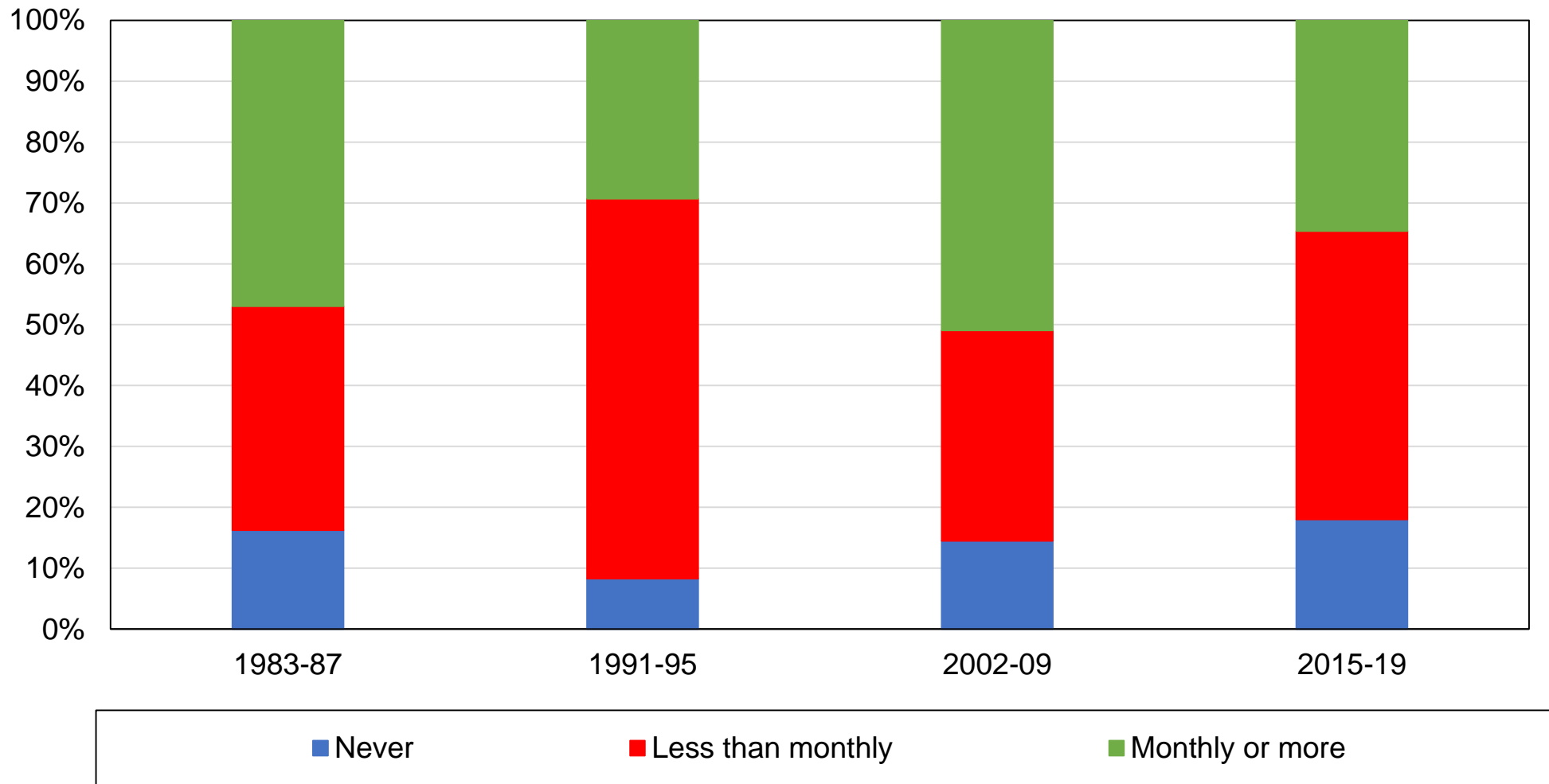
**Figure CA2 - The evolution of religious affiliations in Portugal**



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

**Note:** the figure shows the distribution of the religion affiliations of the Portuguese adult population and its evolution over time since the 1980s.

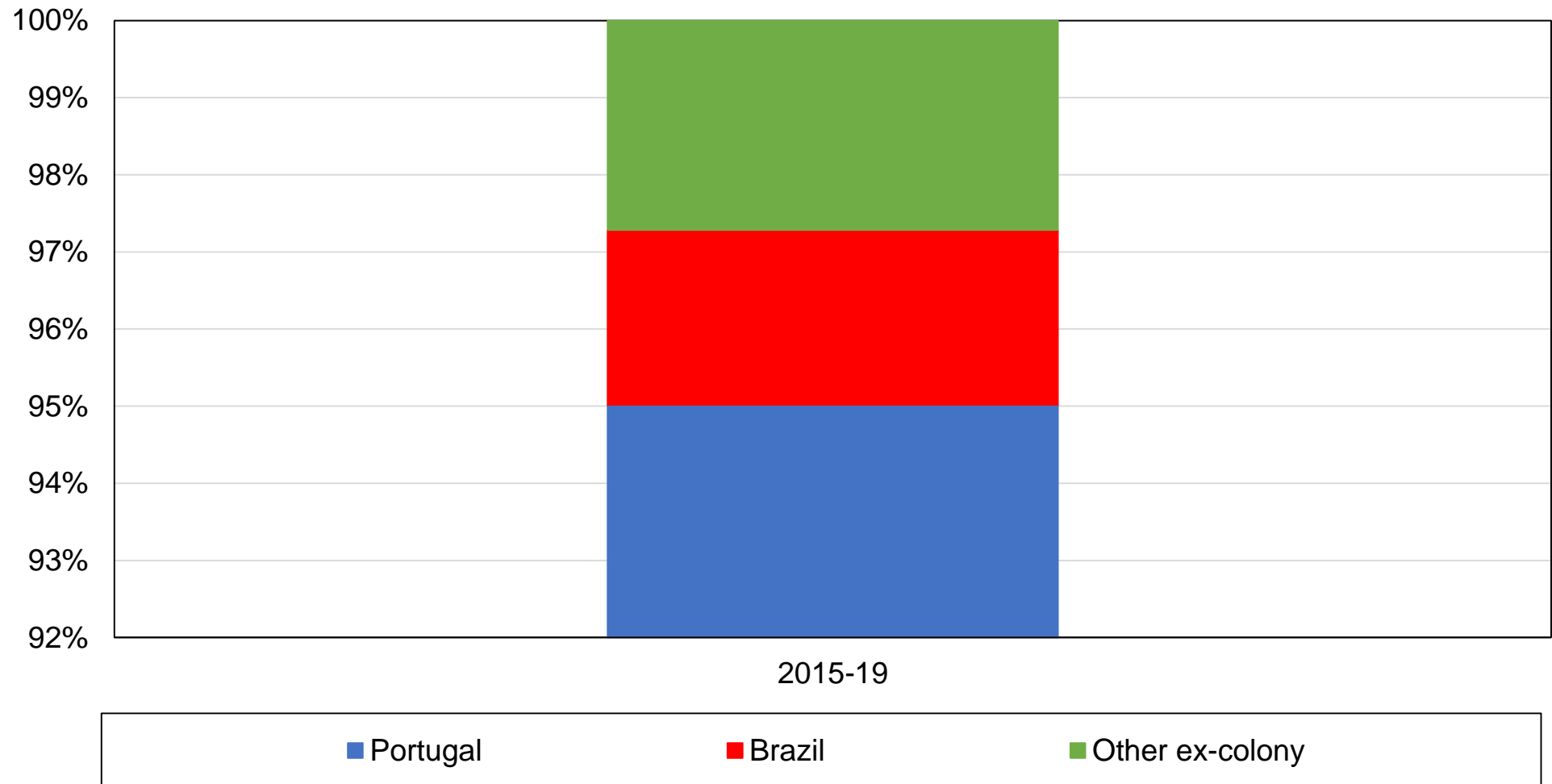
**Figure CA3 - The evolution of church attendance in Portugal**



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

**Note:** the figure shows the distribution of church attendance of the Portuguese adult population and its evolution over time since the 1980s.

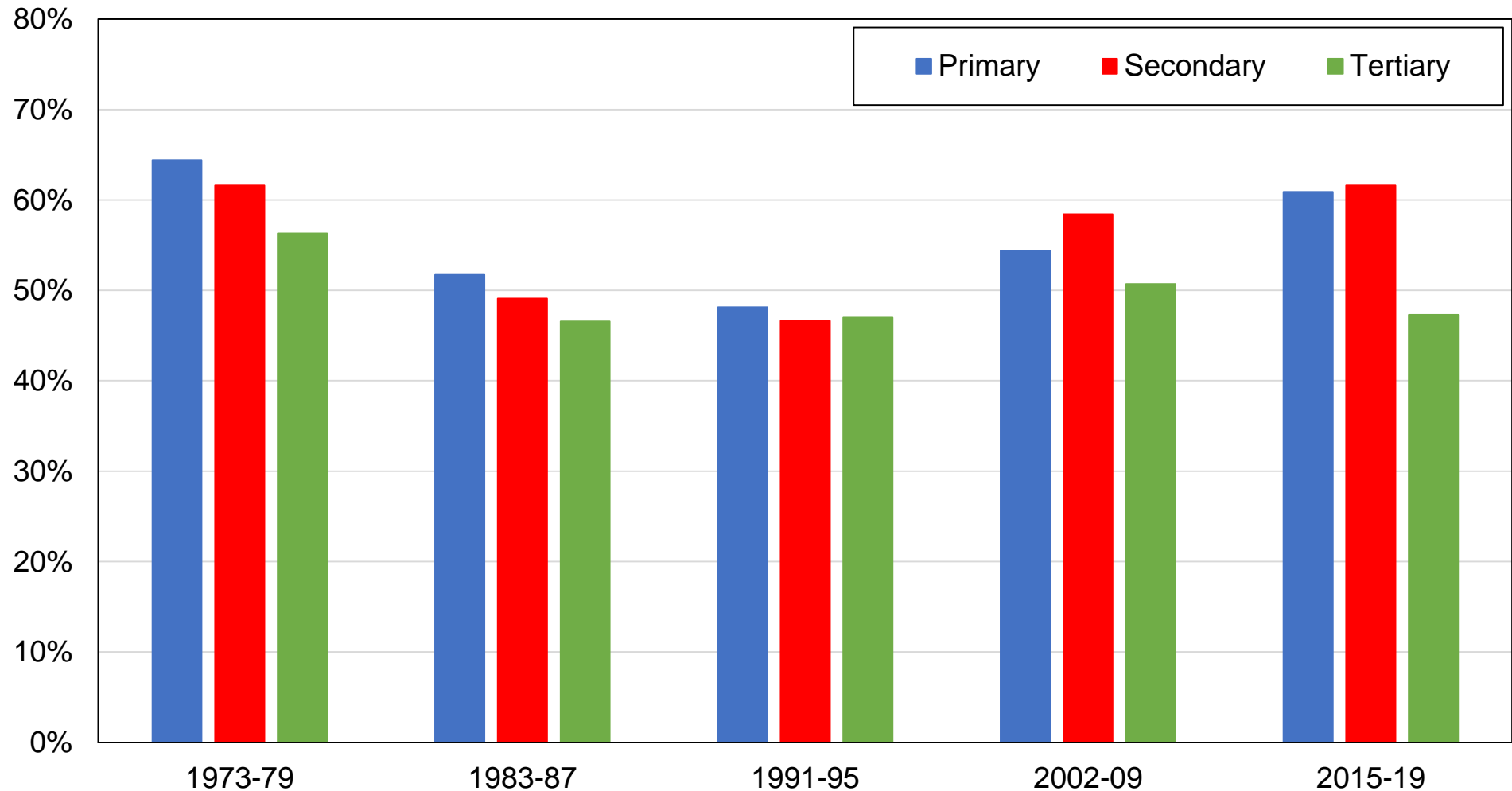
**Figure CA4 - The distribution of country of birth in Portugal**



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

**Note:** the figure shows the distribution of country of birth of the Portuguese adult population and its evolution over time since the 2000s.

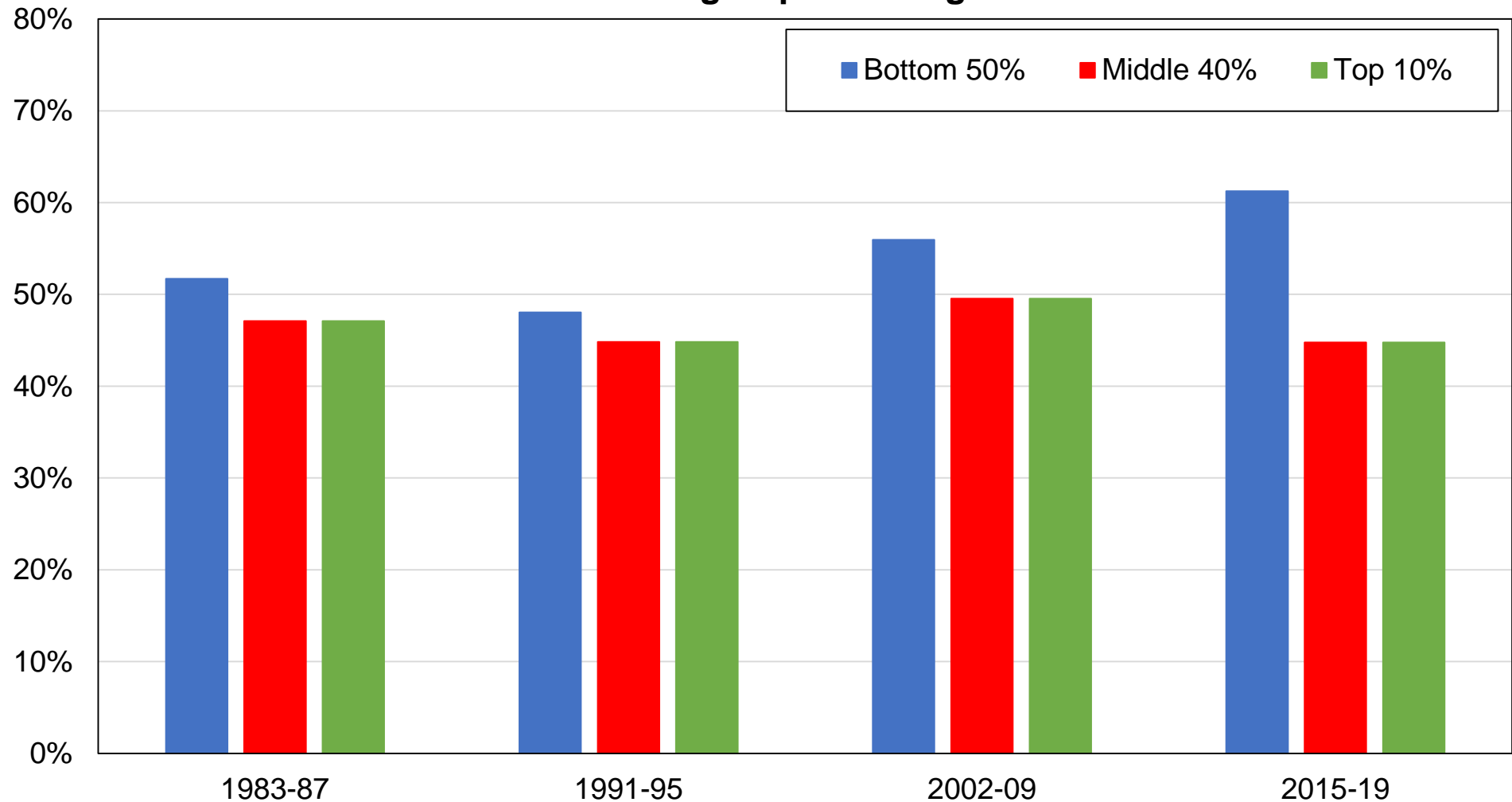
**Figure CB1 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block by education level in Portugal**



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

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

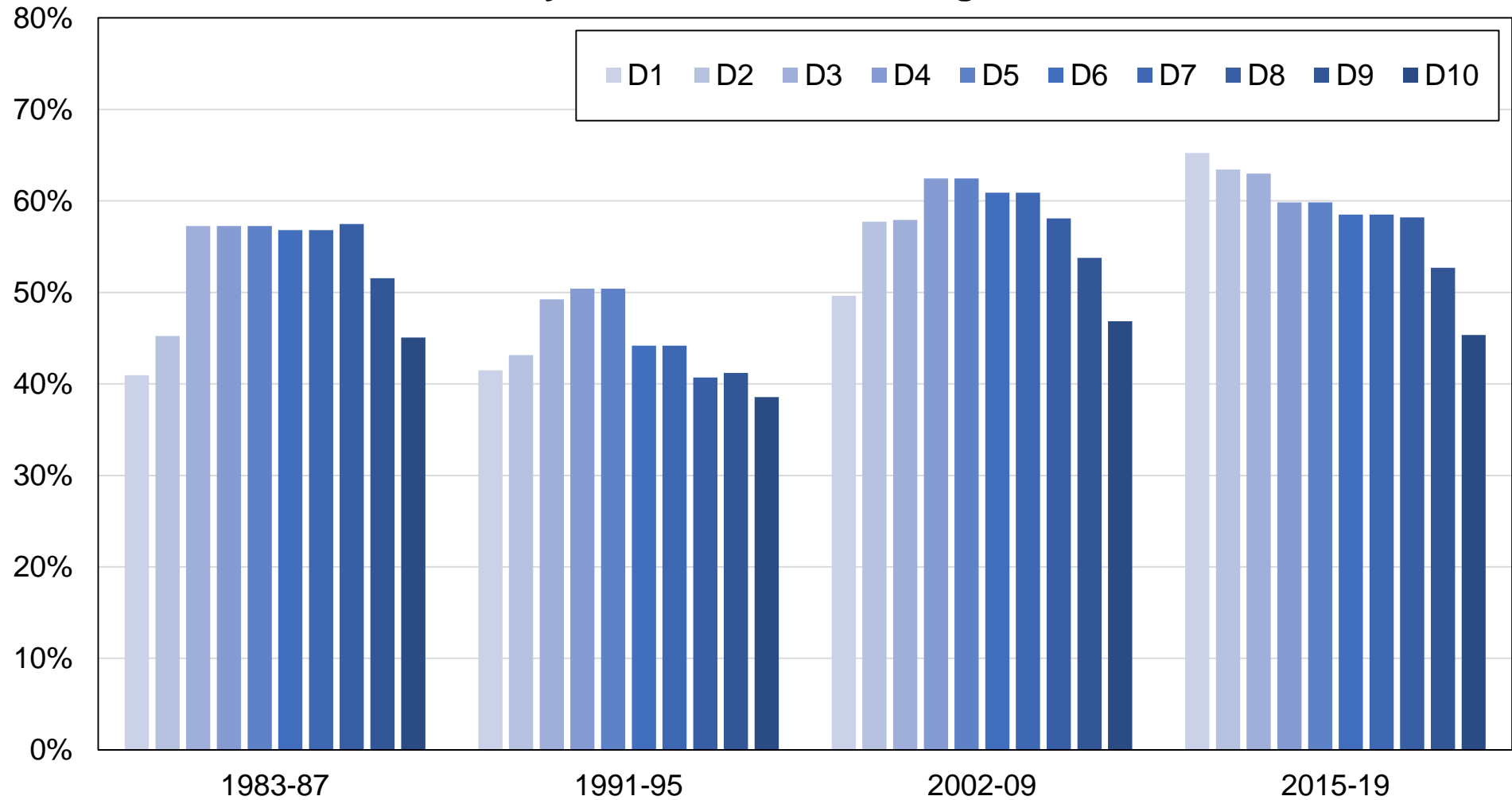
**Figure CB2 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block by education group in Portugal**



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

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

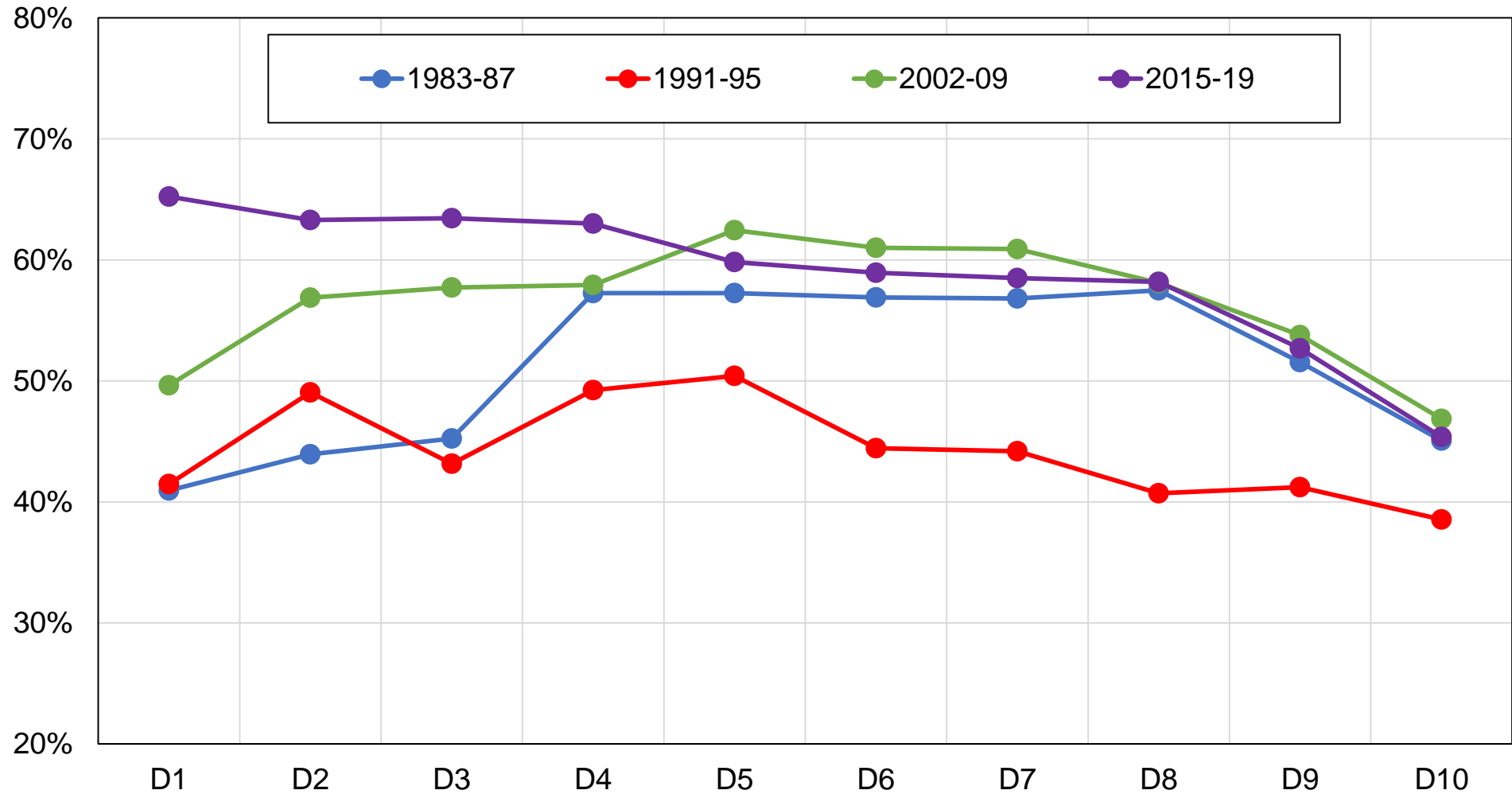
**Figure CB3 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block  
by income decile in Portugal**



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

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

**Figure CB4 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block by income decile in Portugal**

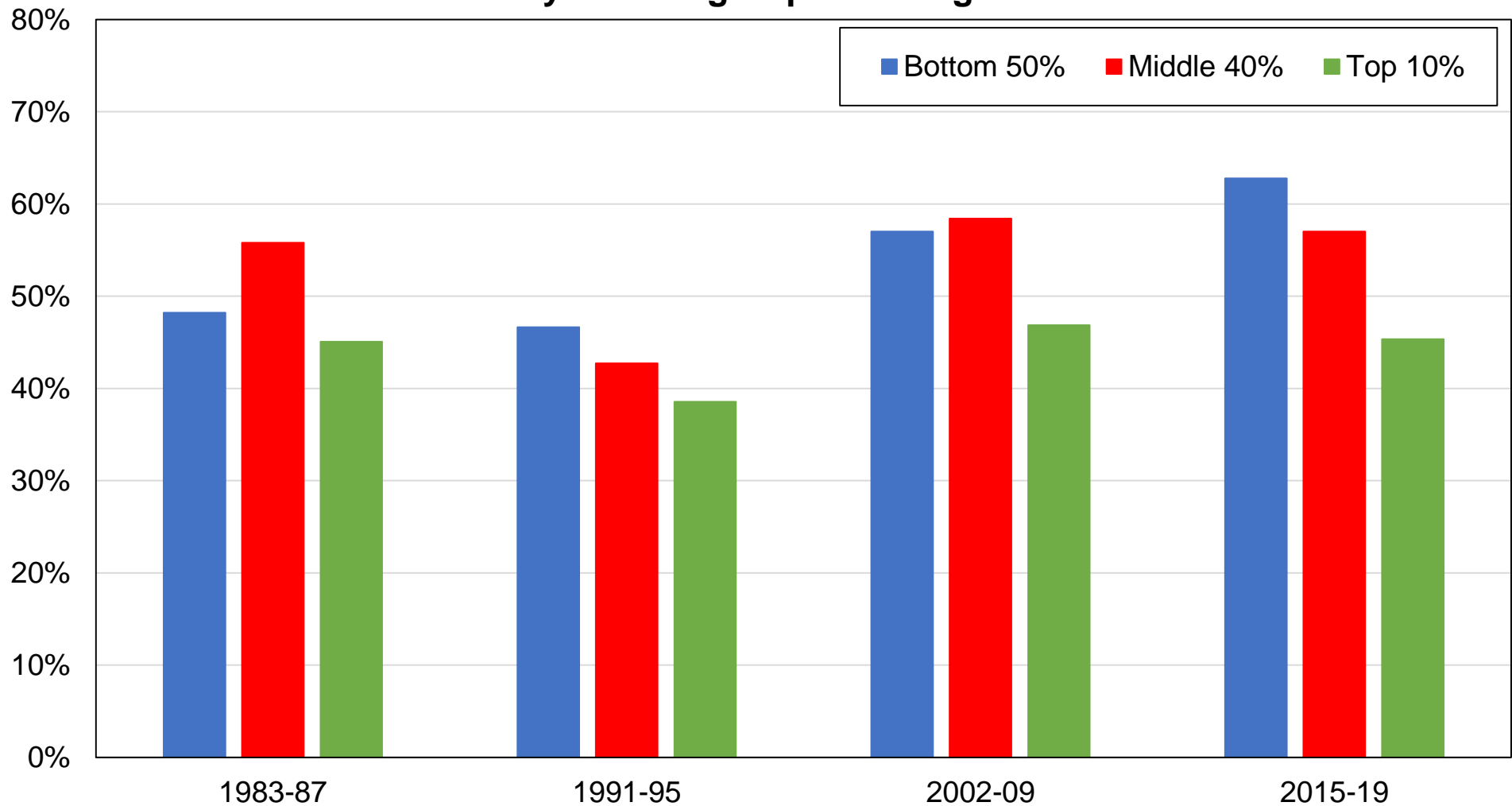


**Source:** authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.

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



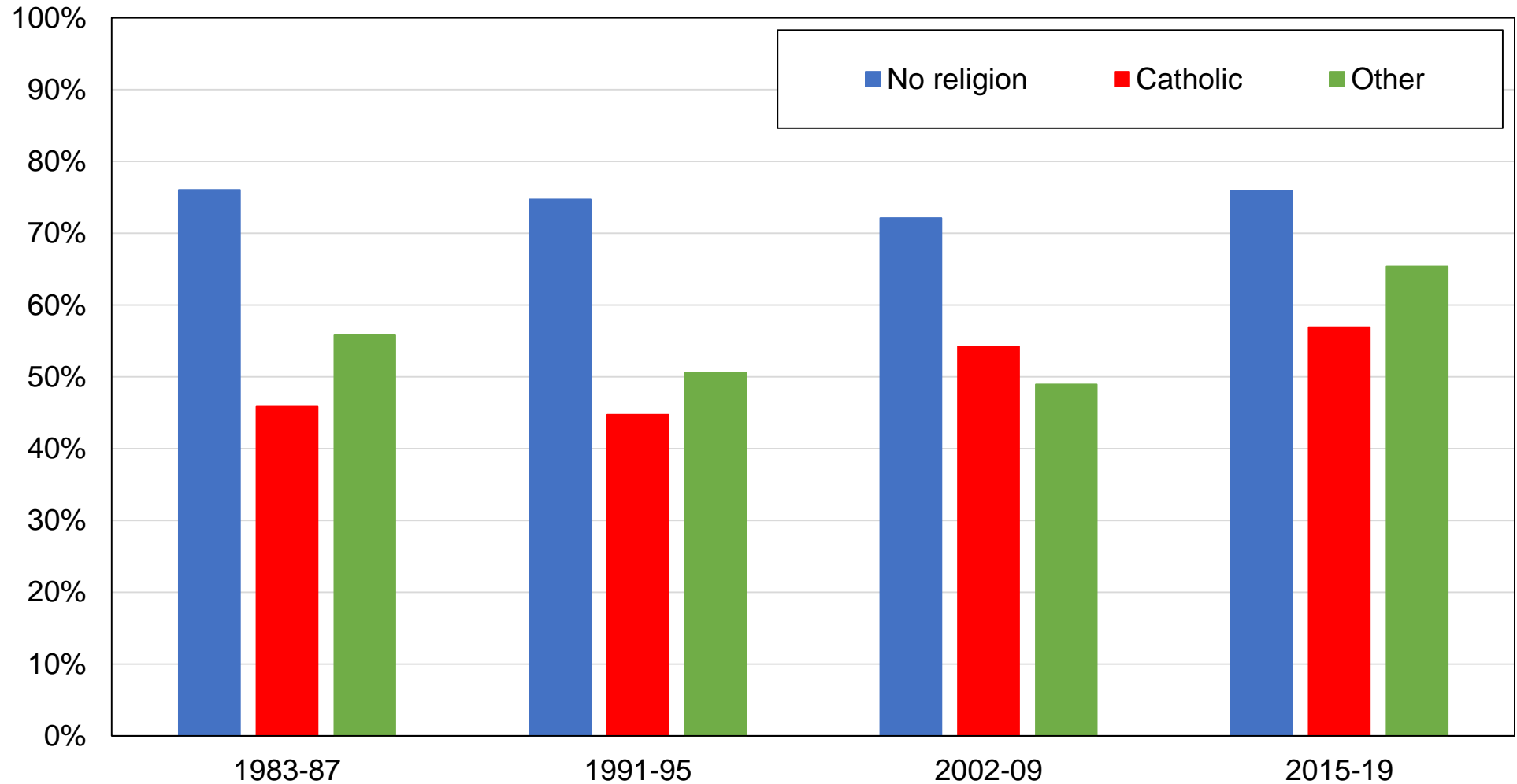
**Figure CB5 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block  
by income group in Portugal**



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

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

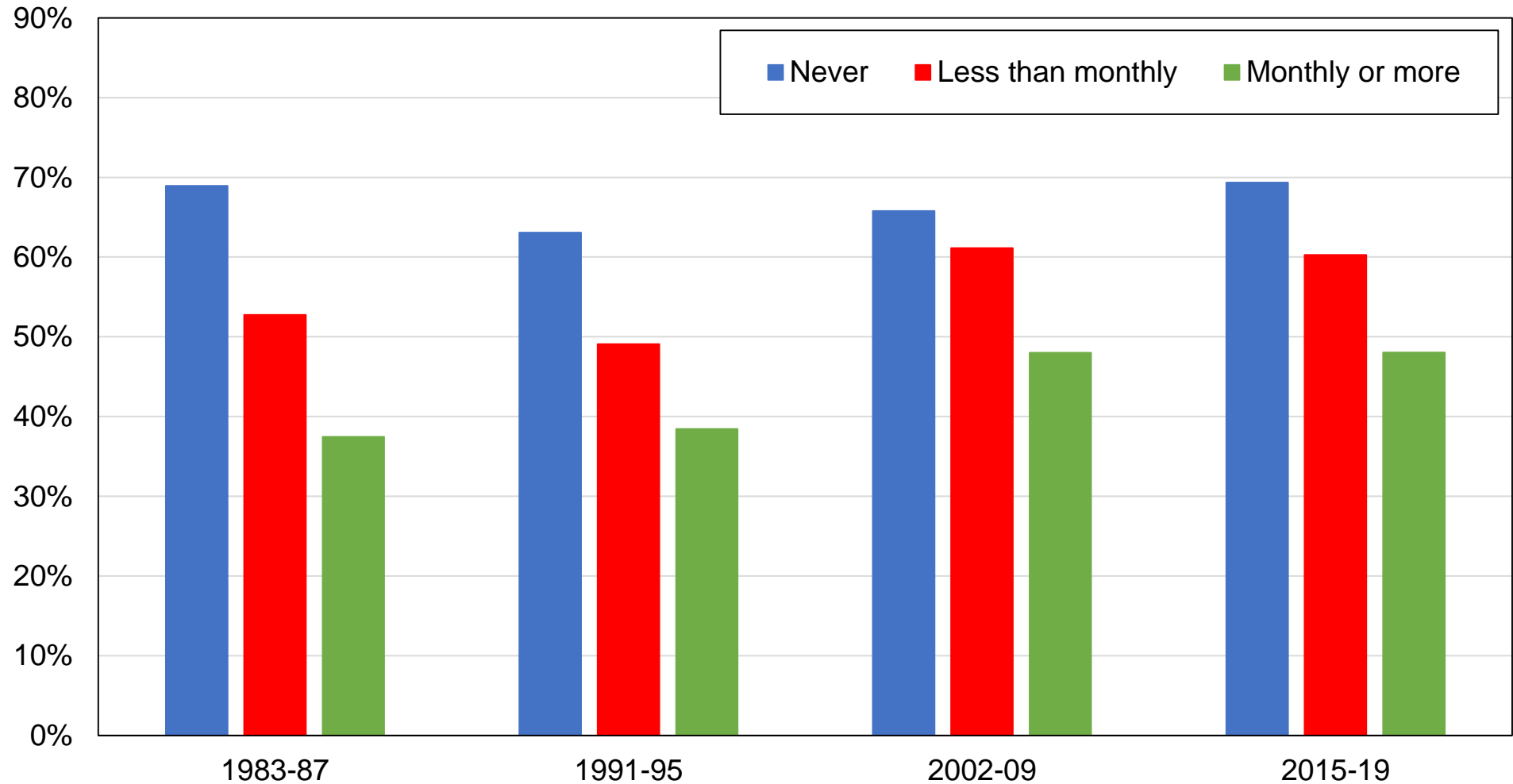
**Figure CB6 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block by religious affiliation in Portugal**



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

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

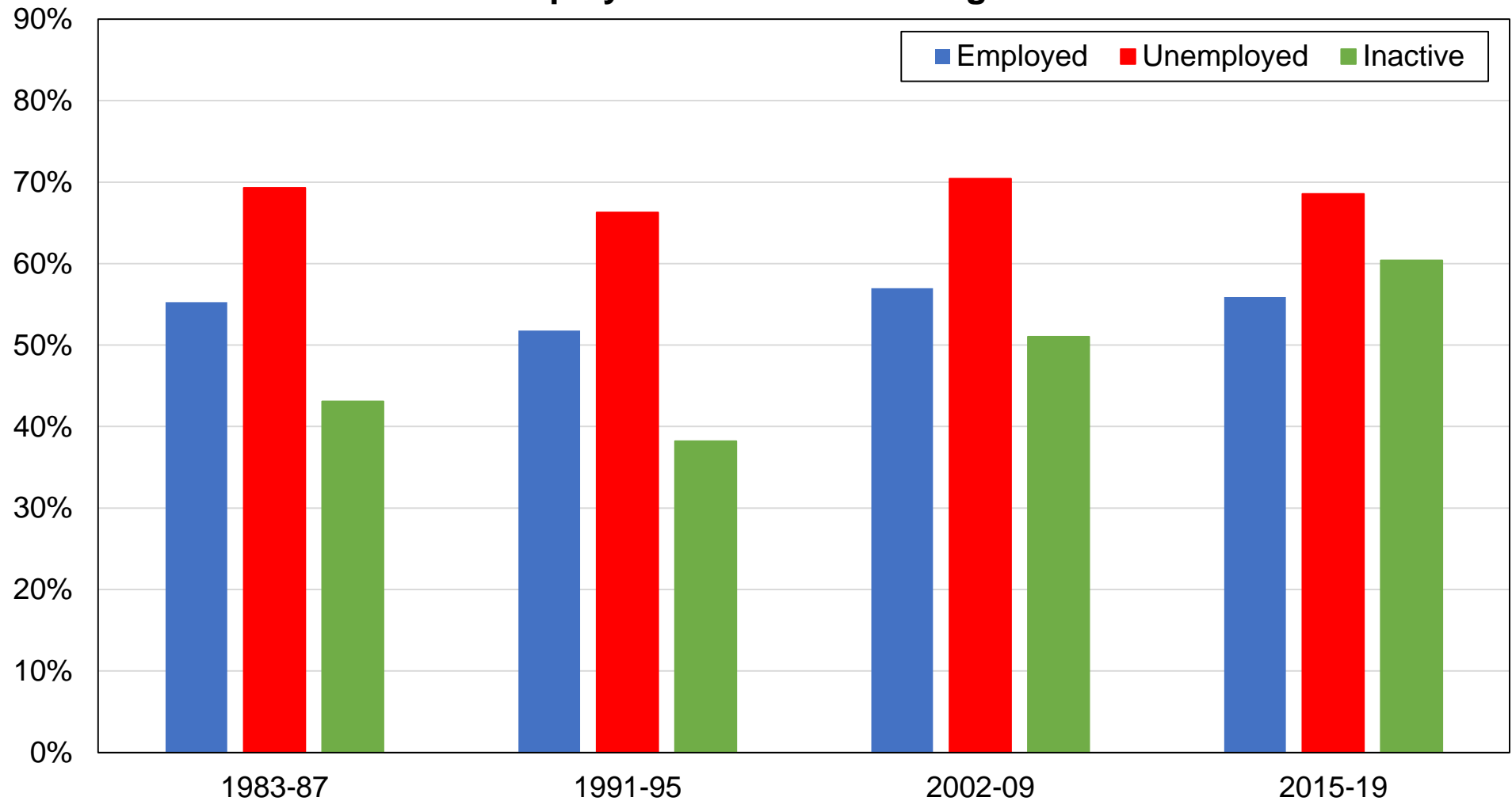
**Figure CB7 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block by church attendance in Portugal**



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

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

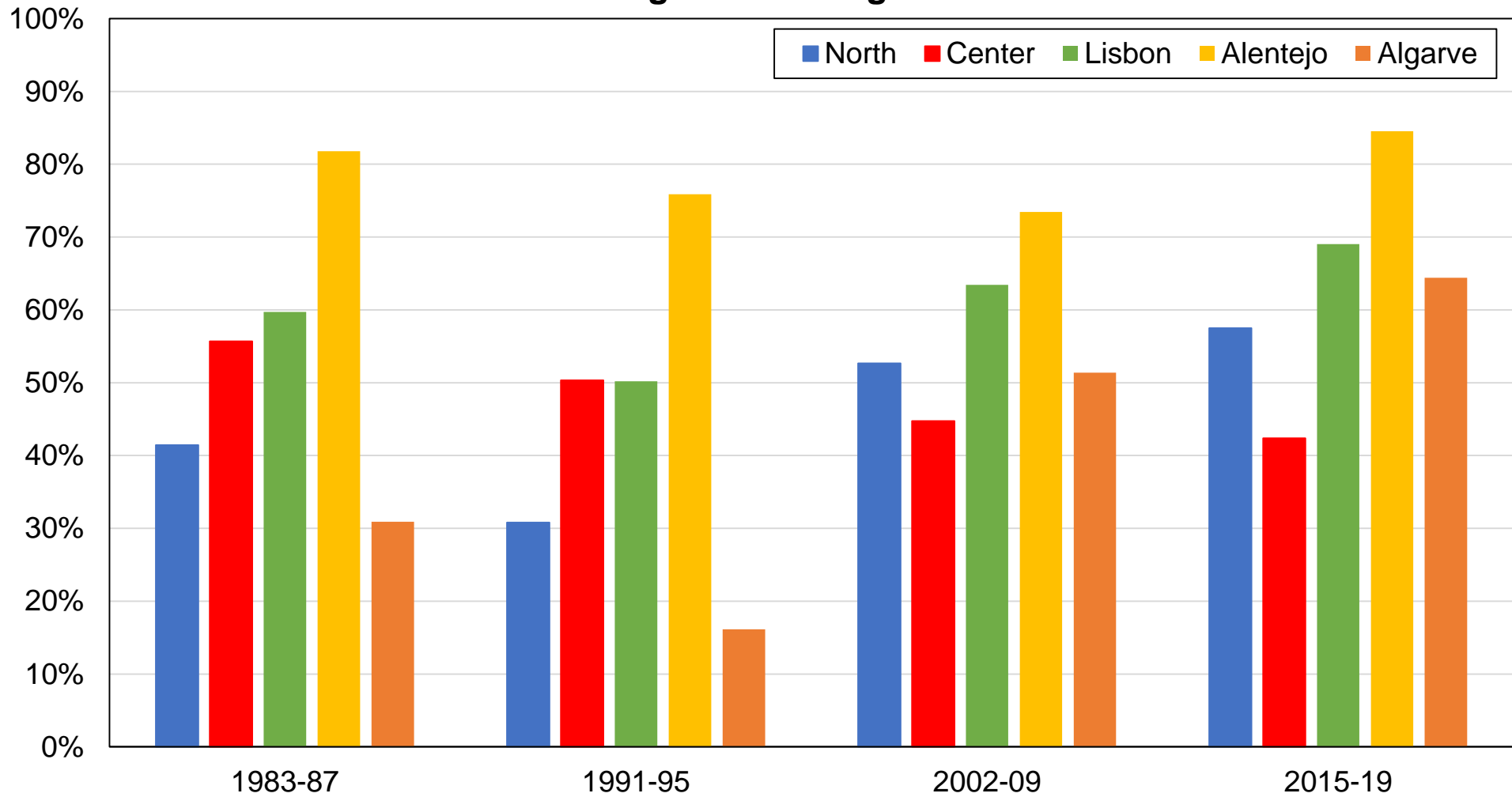
**Figure CB8 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block by employment status in Portugal**



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

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

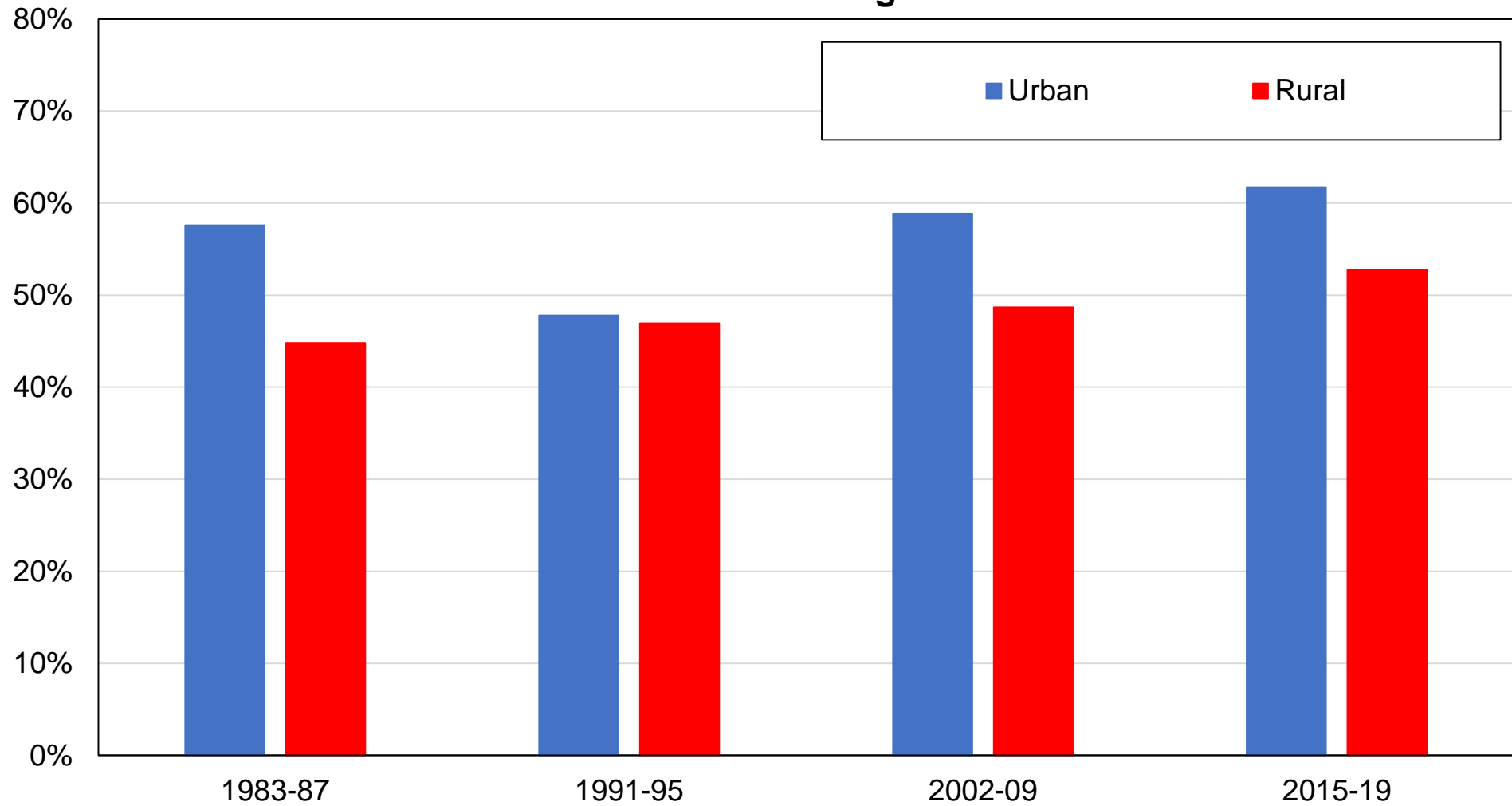
**Figure CB9 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block by region in Portugal**



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

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

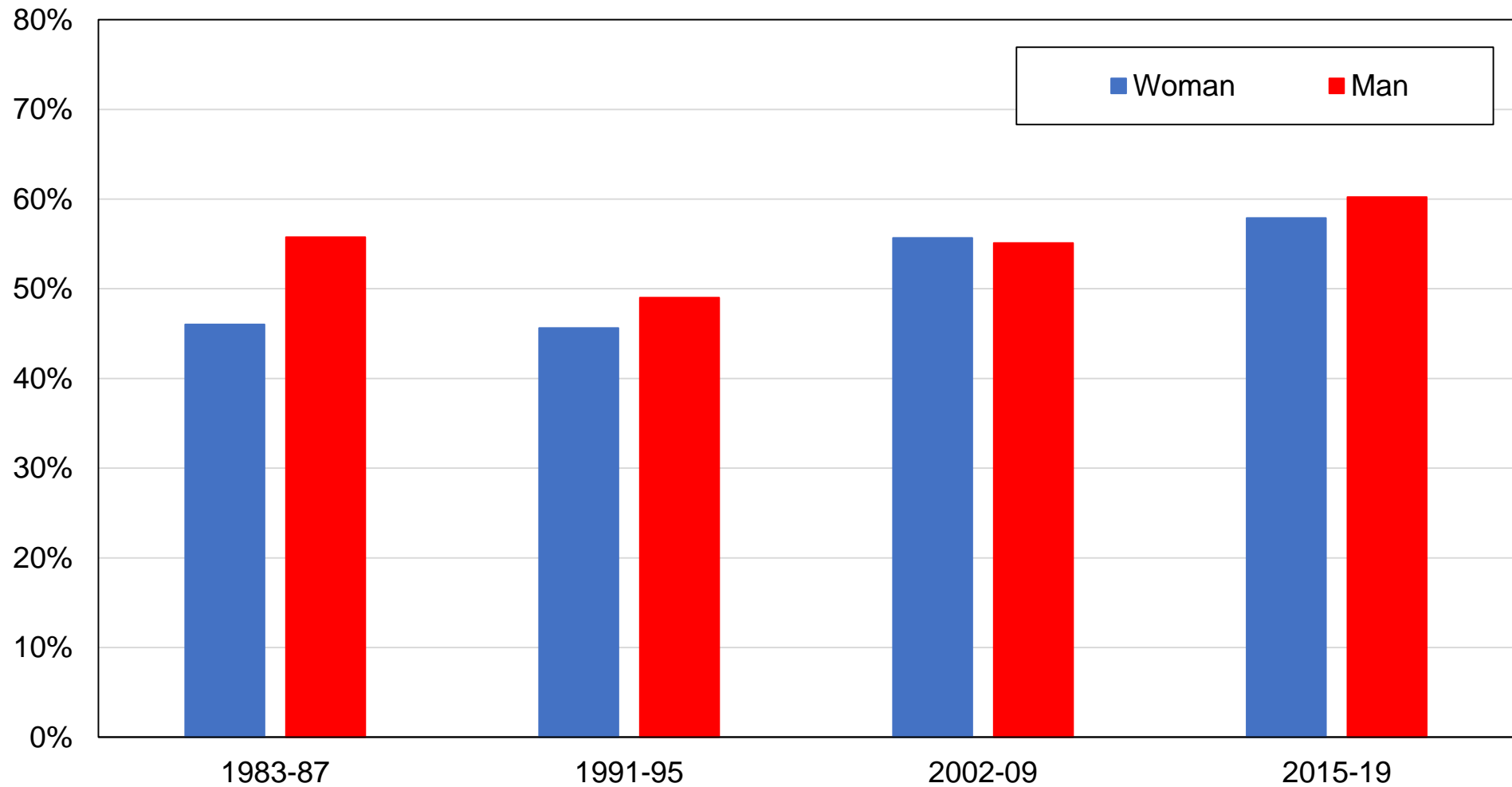
**Figure CB10 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block by location in Portugal**



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

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

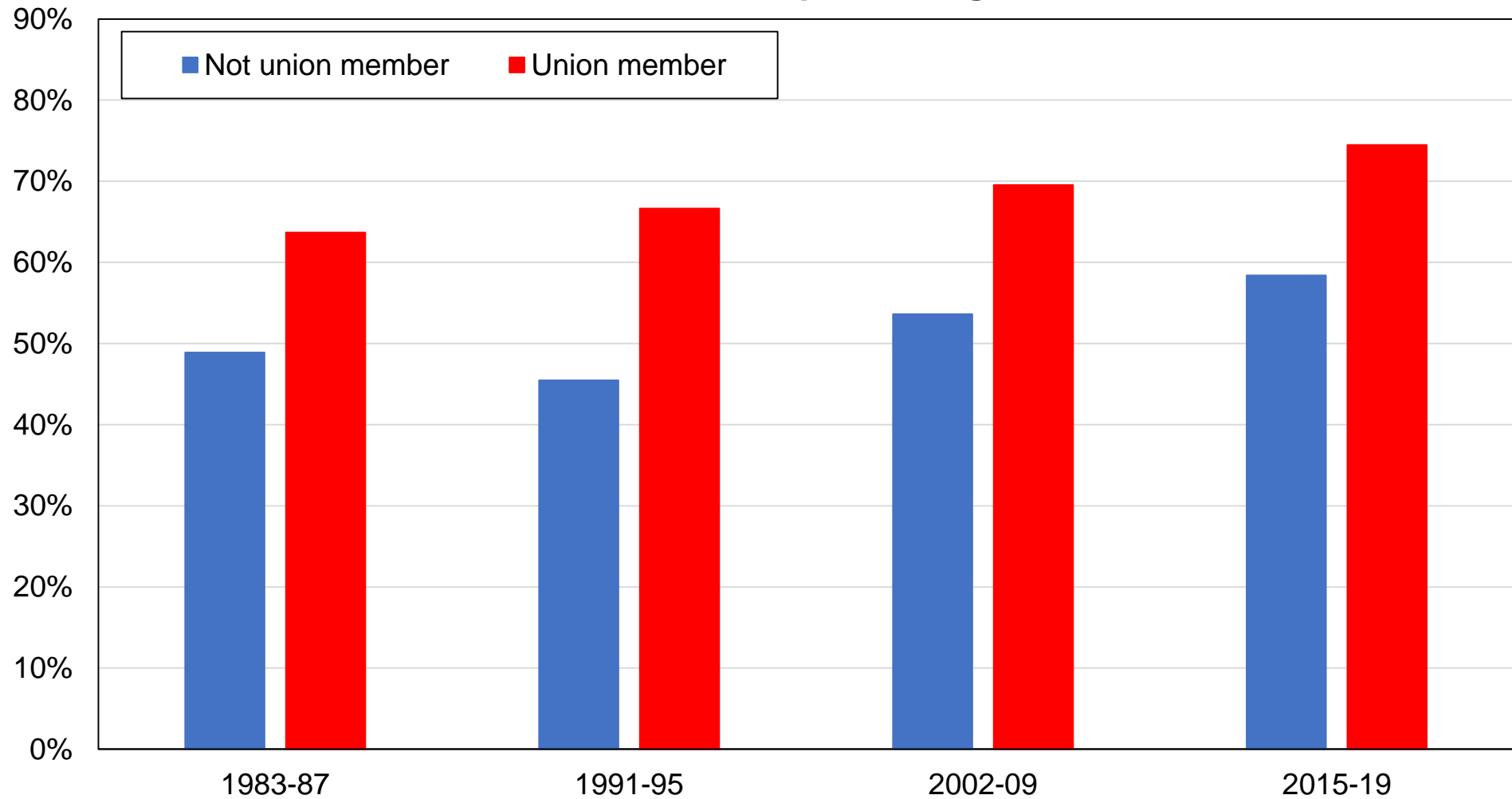
**Figure CB11 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block by gender in Portugal**



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

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

**Figure CB12 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block by union membership in Portugal**

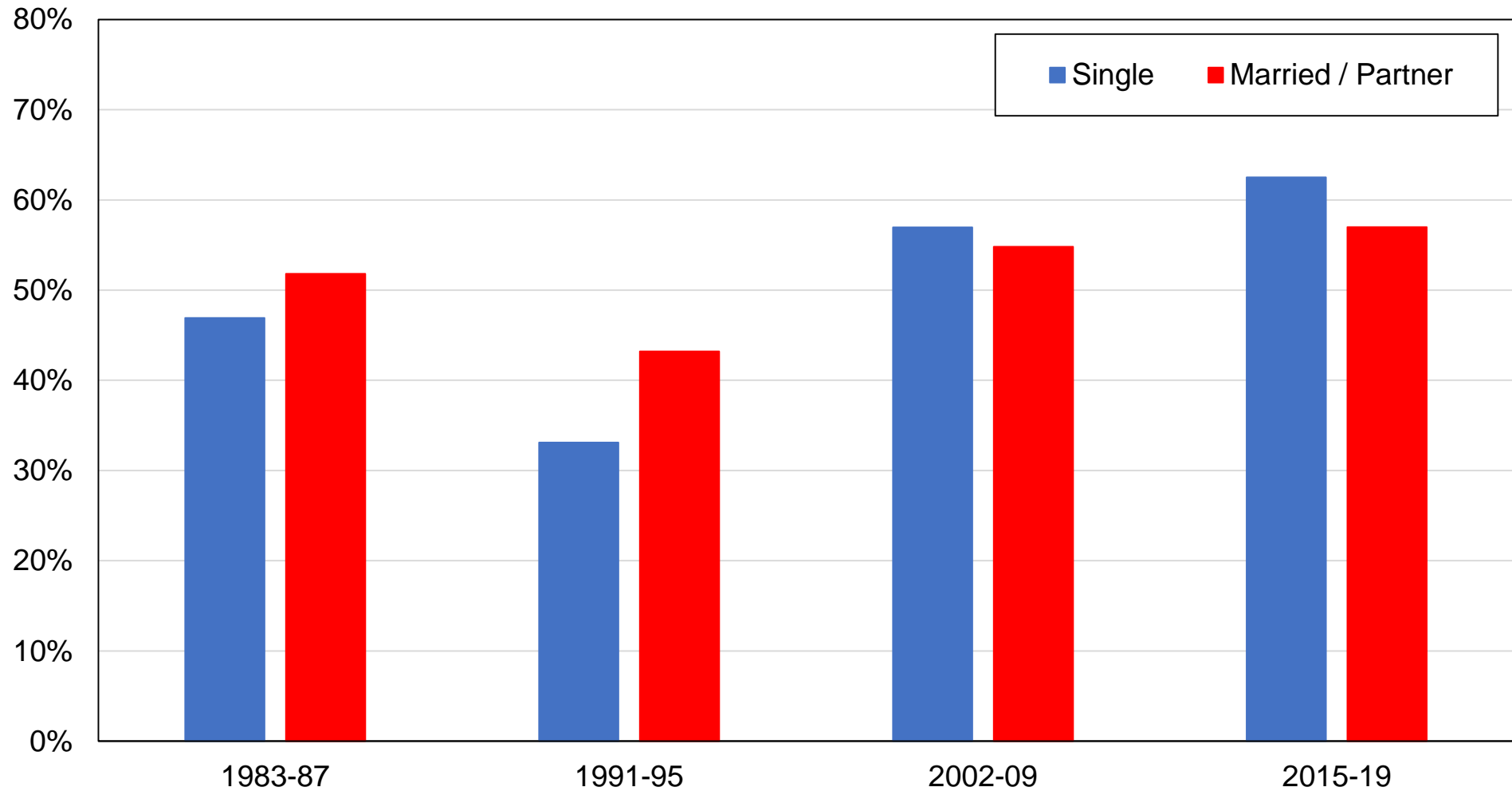


**Source:** authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.

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



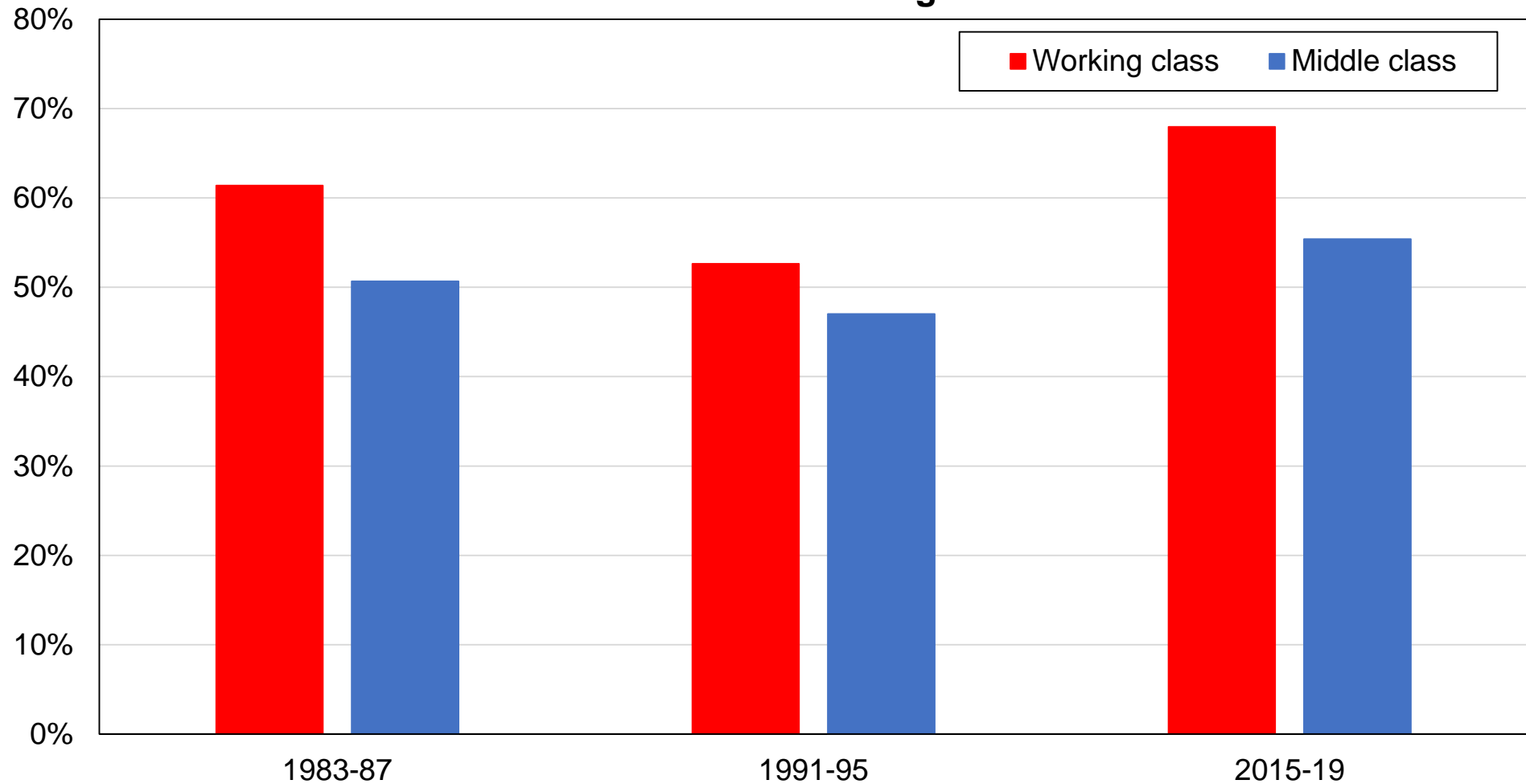
**Figure CB13 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block by marital status in Portugal**



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

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

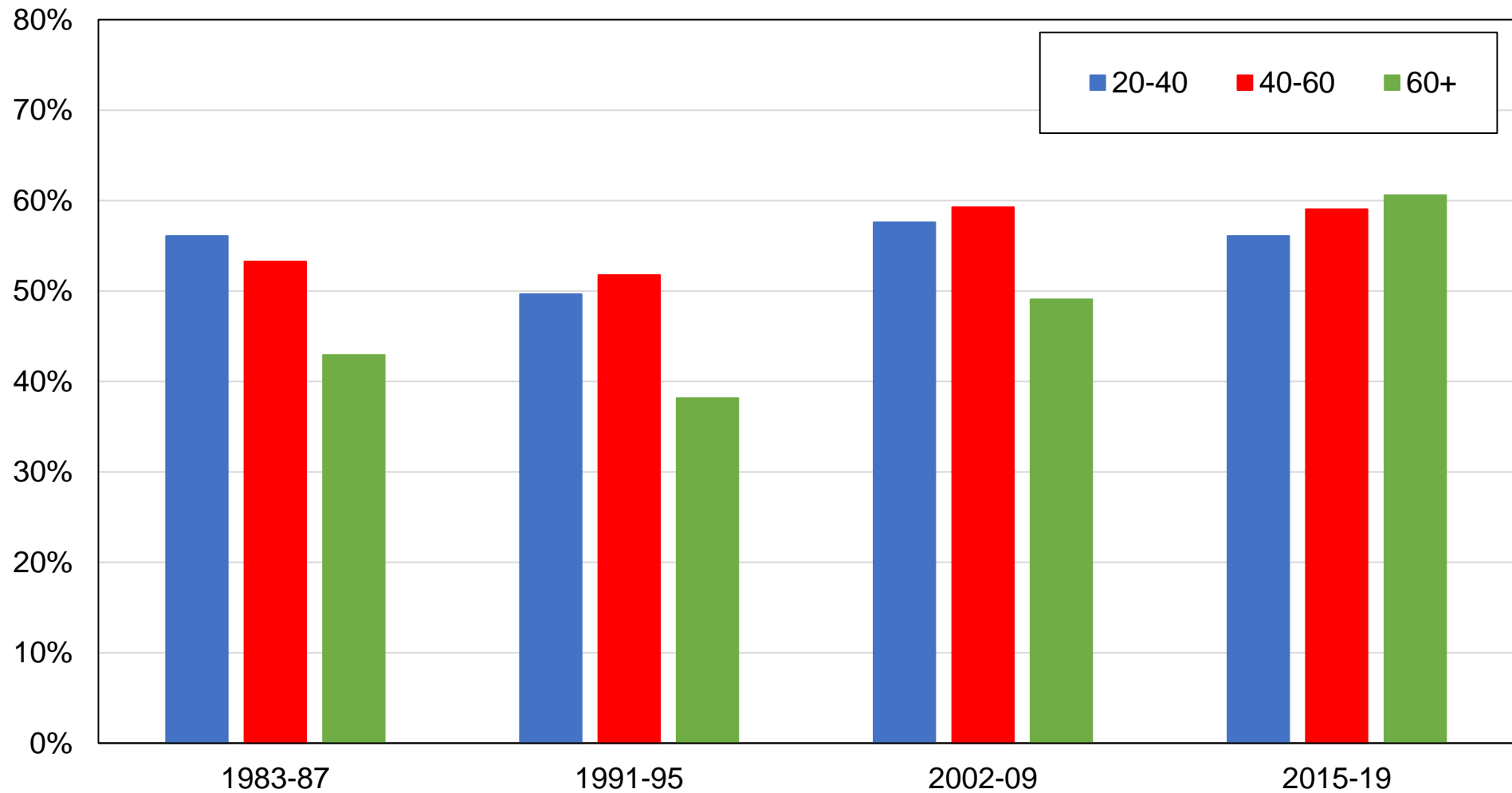
**Figure CB14 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block by social class in Portugal**



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

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

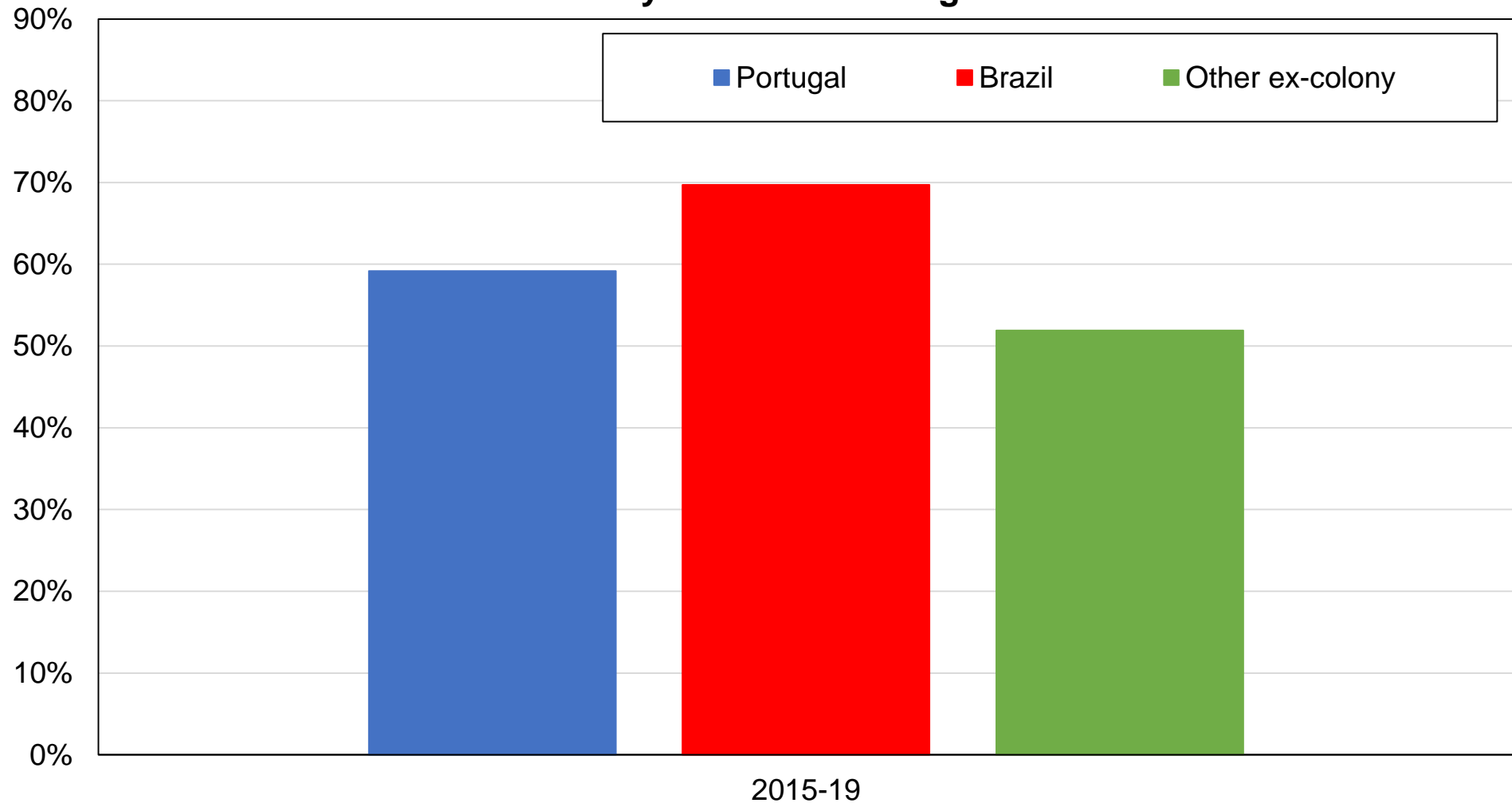
**Figure CB15 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block by age group in Portugal**



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

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

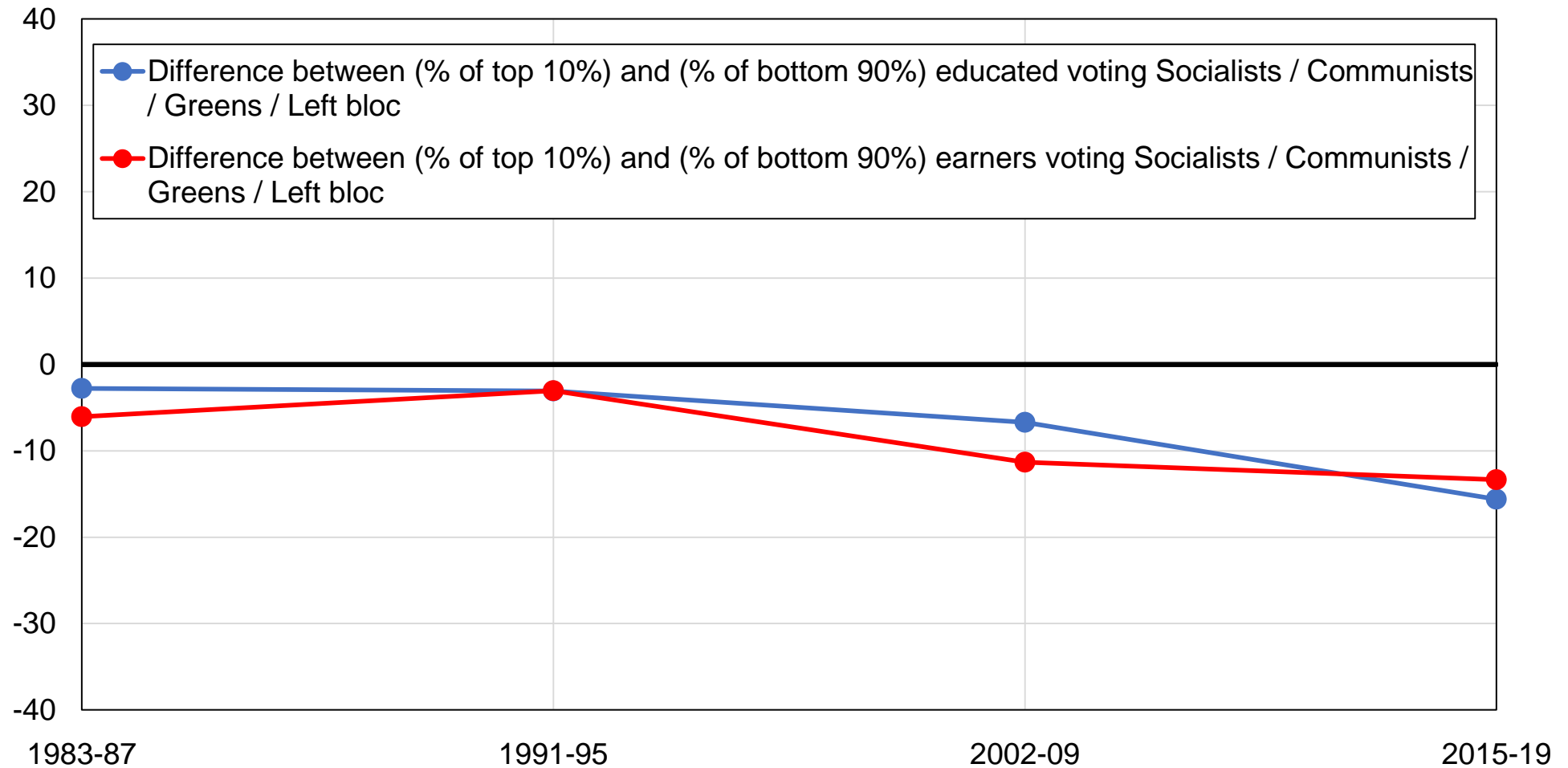
**Figure CB16 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block by country of birth in Portugal**



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

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

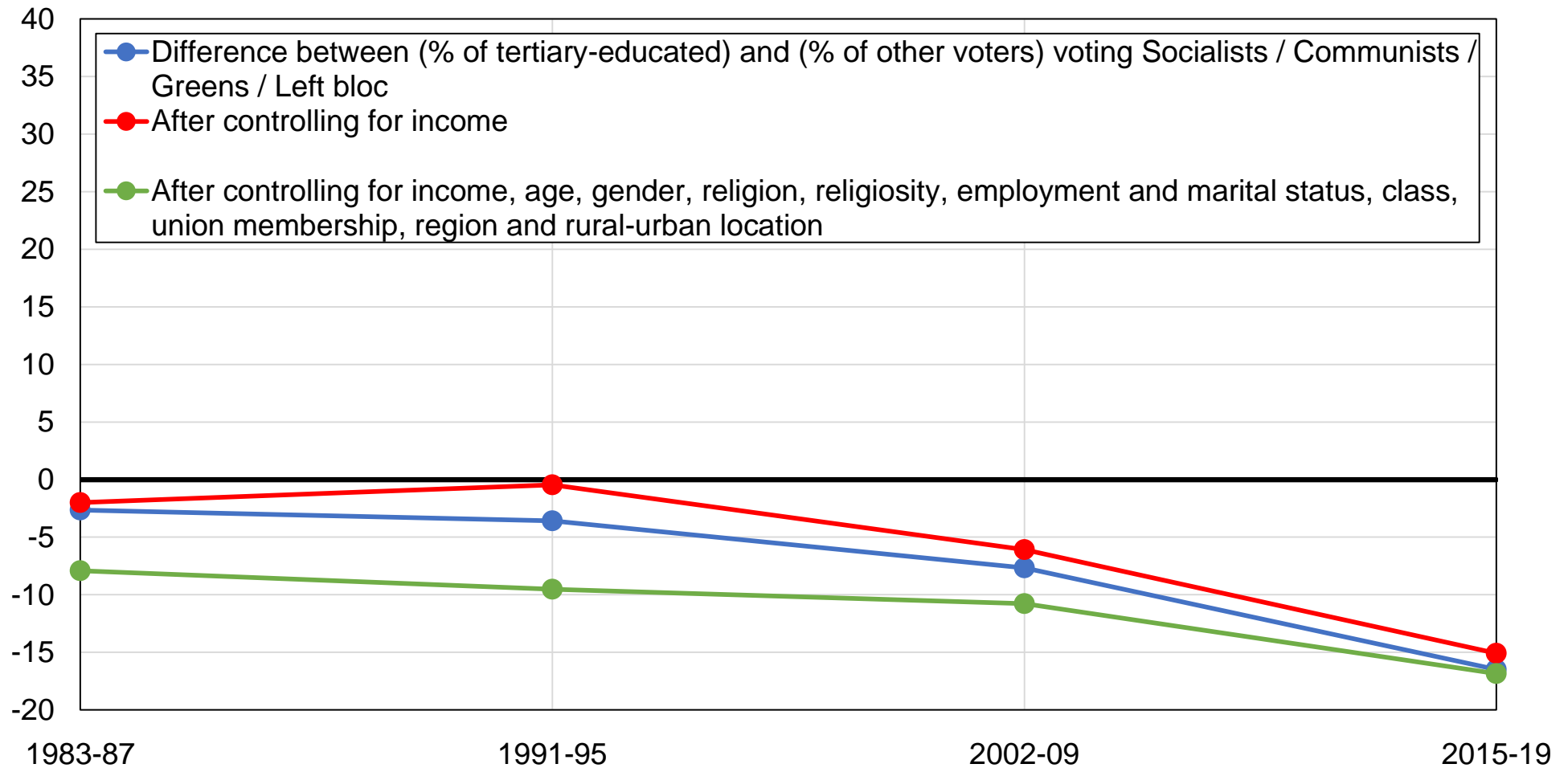
**Figure CB17 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left bloc among highest-educated and top-income voters in Portugal**



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

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

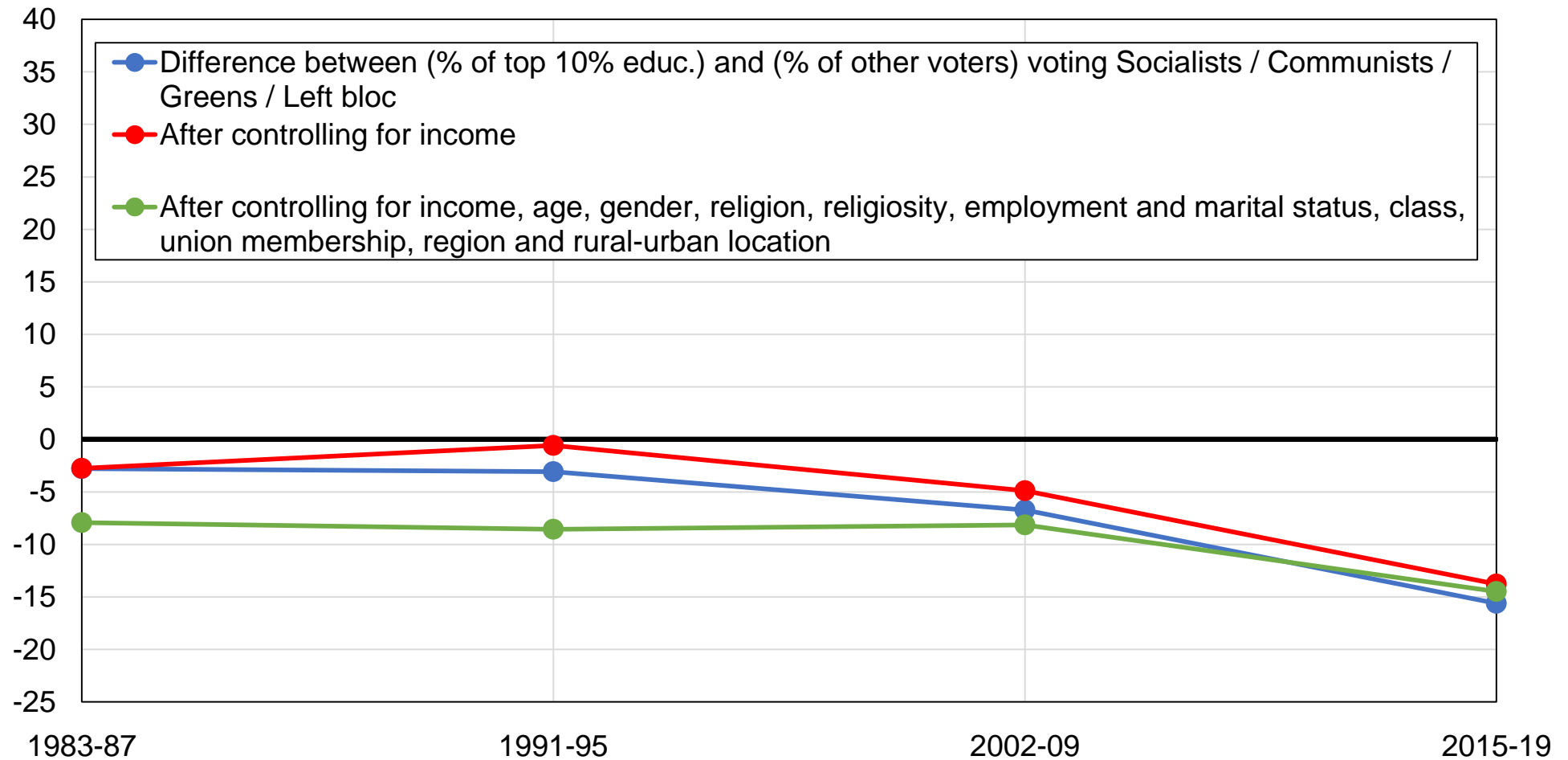
**Figure CB18 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left bloc among tertiary-educated voters in Portugal**



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

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of tertiary-educated and the share of other voters voting for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left bloc, before and after controlling for other variables.

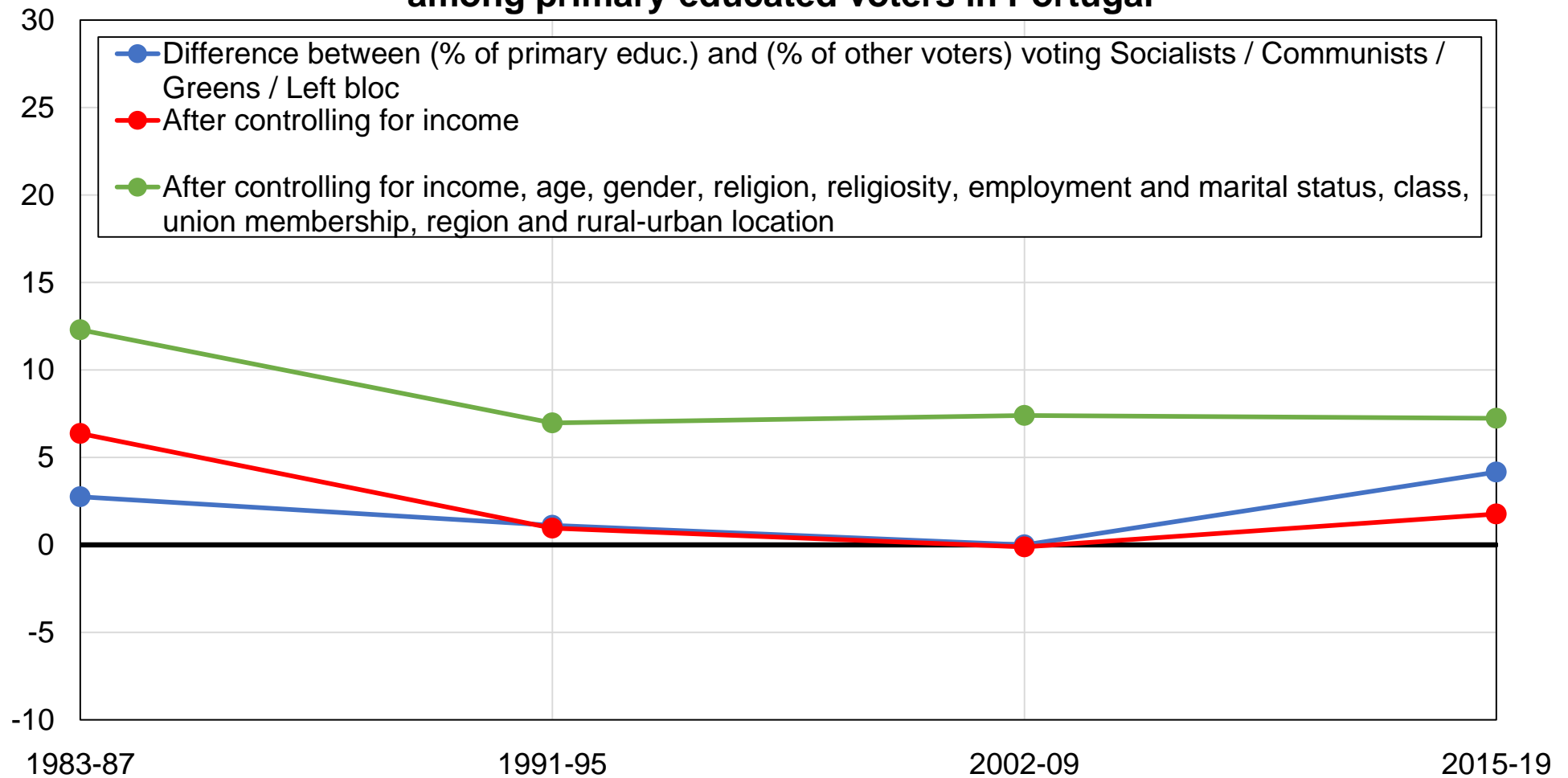
**Figure CB19 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left bloc among highest-educated voters in Portugal**



**Source:** authors' computations using Portuguese 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 Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left bloc, before and after controlling for other variables.

**Figure CB20 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left bloc among primary-educated voters in Portugal**

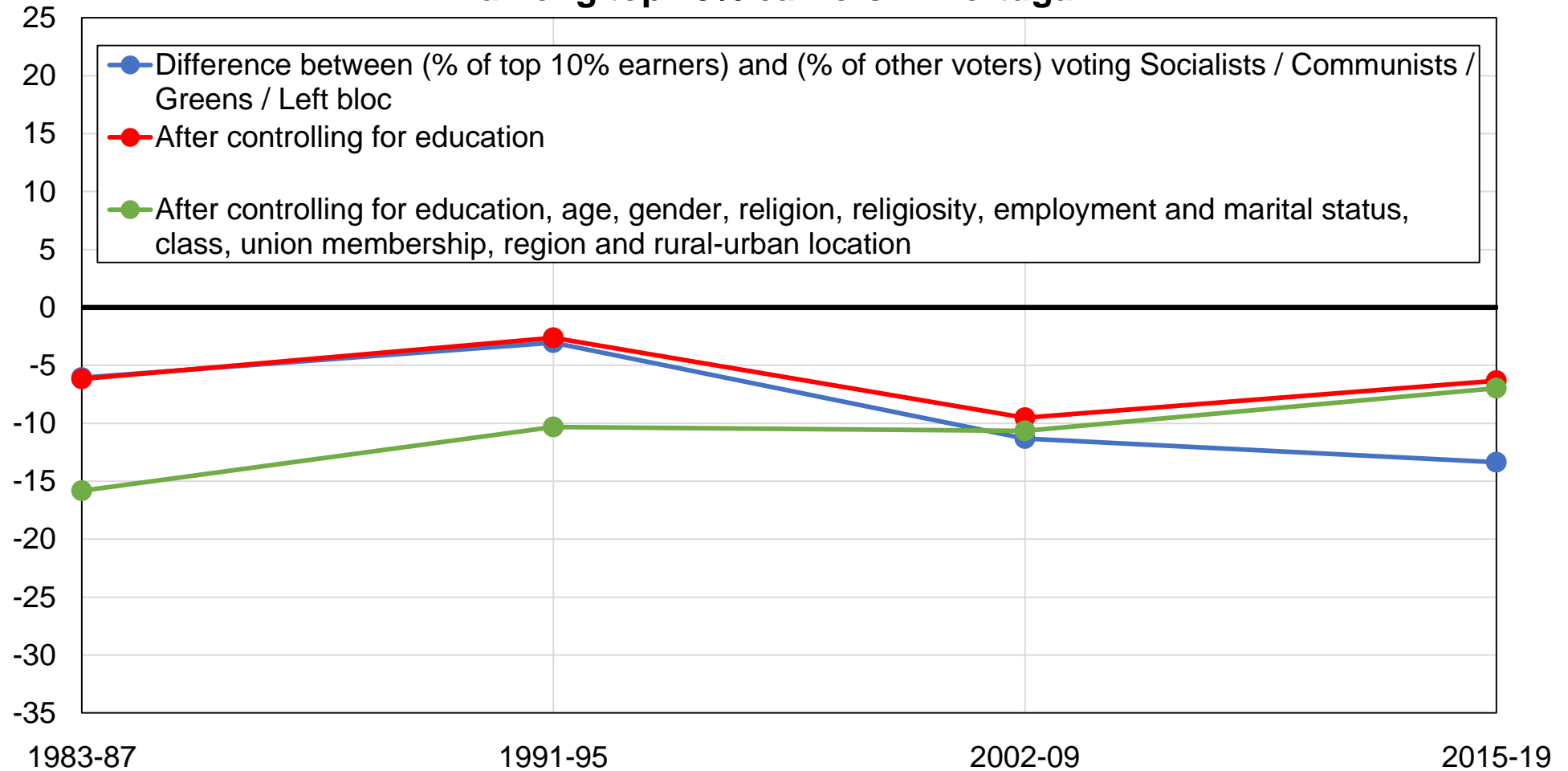


**Source:** authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of primary educated voters and the share of other voters voting for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left bloc, before and after controlling for other variables.



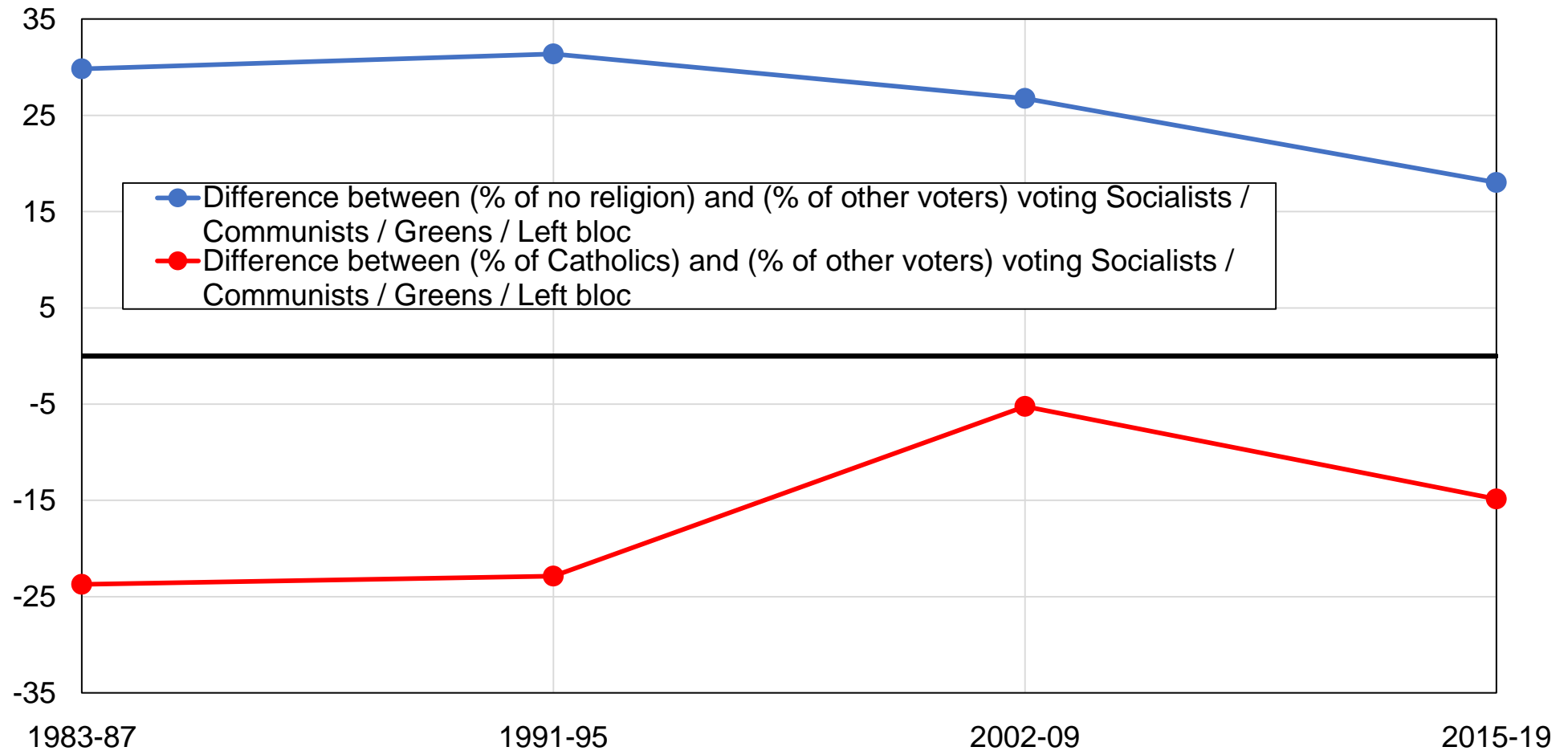
**Figure CB21 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block among top 10% earners in Portugal**



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

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

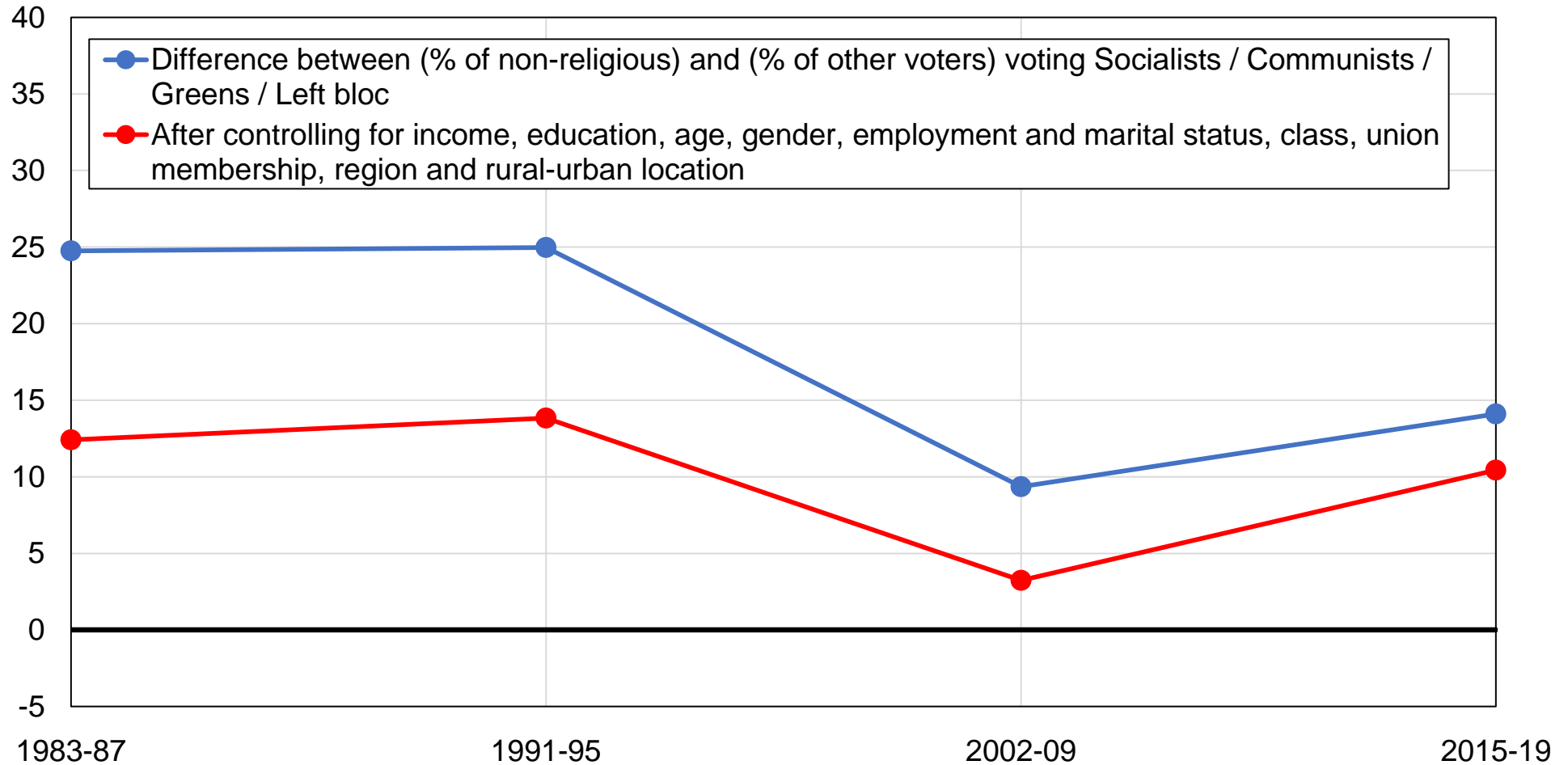
**Figure CB22 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block among Catholics and non-religious in Portugal**



**Source:** authors' computations using Portuguese 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 Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left bloc, as well as the same difference between Catholics and others voters.

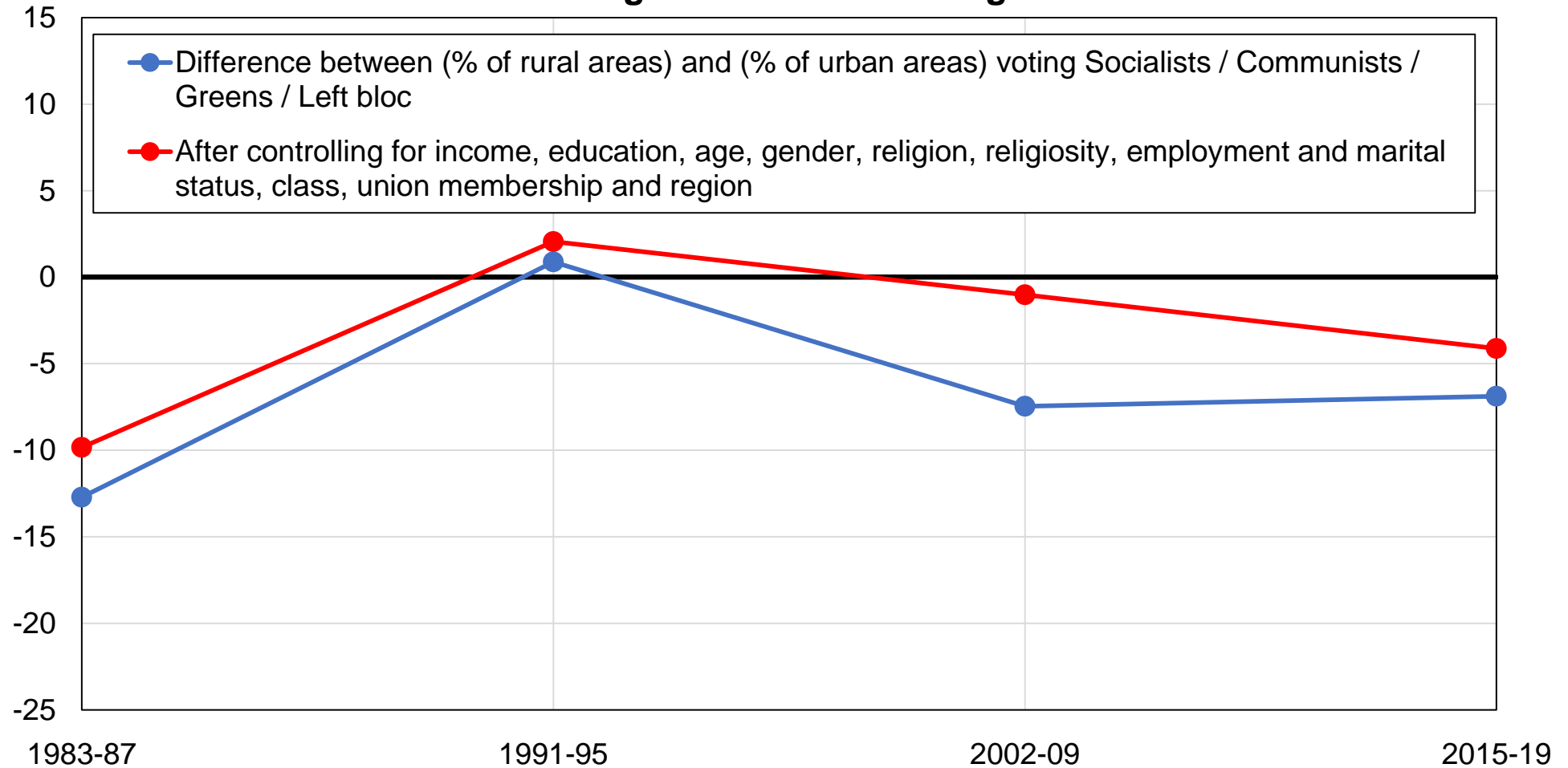
**Figure CB23 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block among the non-religious in Portugal**



**Source:** authors' computations using Portuguese 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 Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left bloc, before and after controlling for other variables.

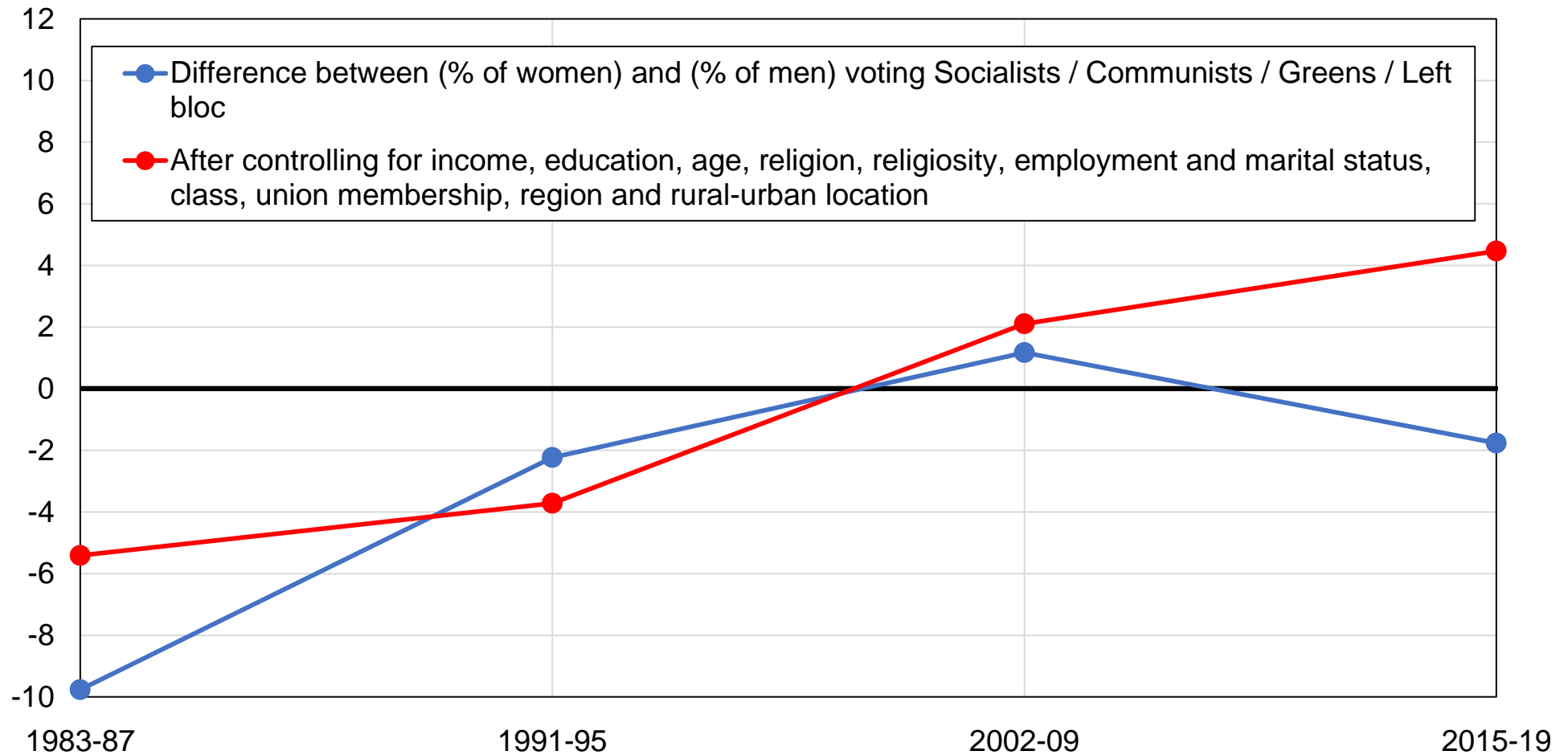
**Figure CB24 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block among rural areas in Portugal**



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

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

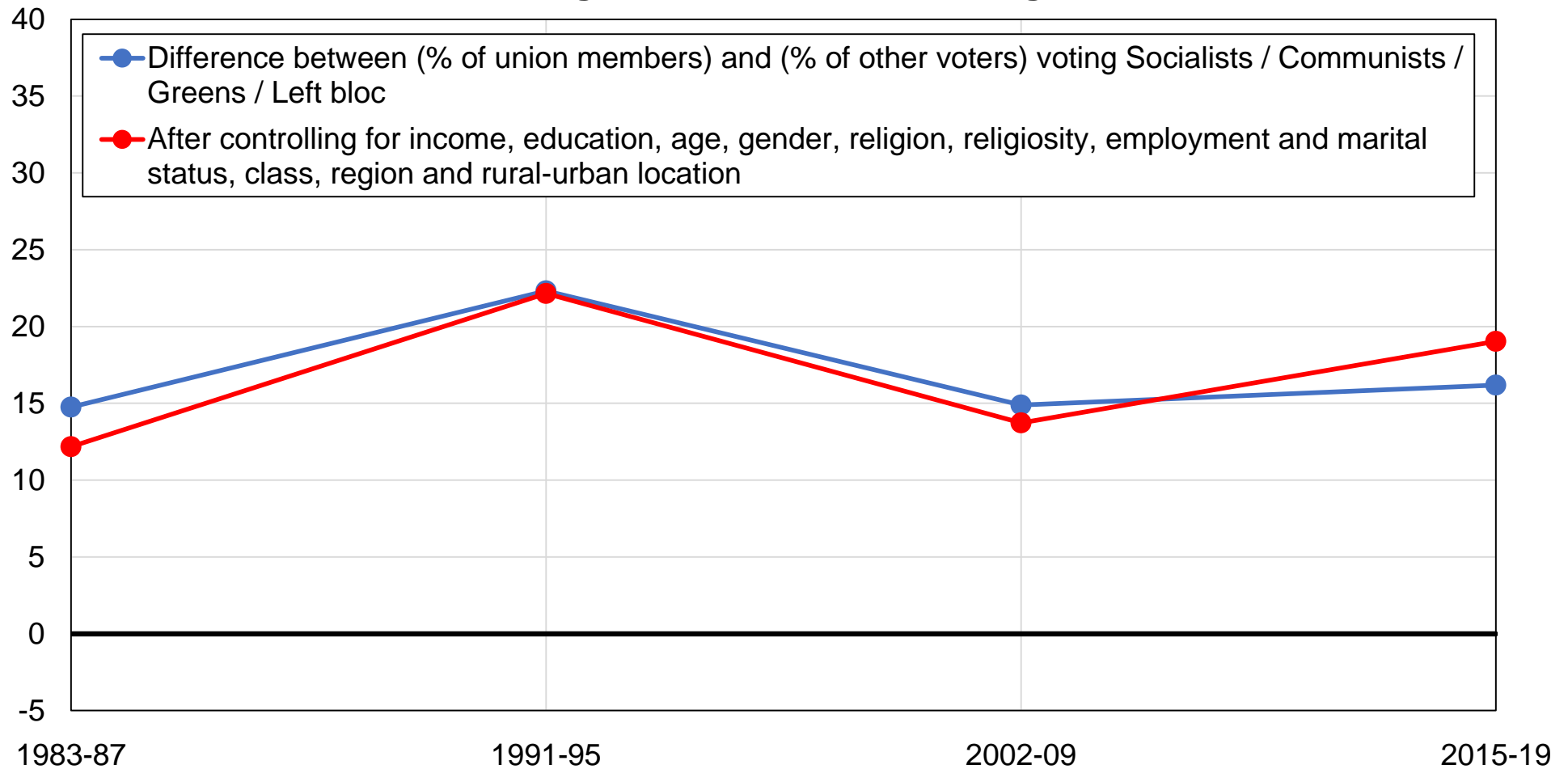
**Figure CB25 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block among women in Portugal**



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

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

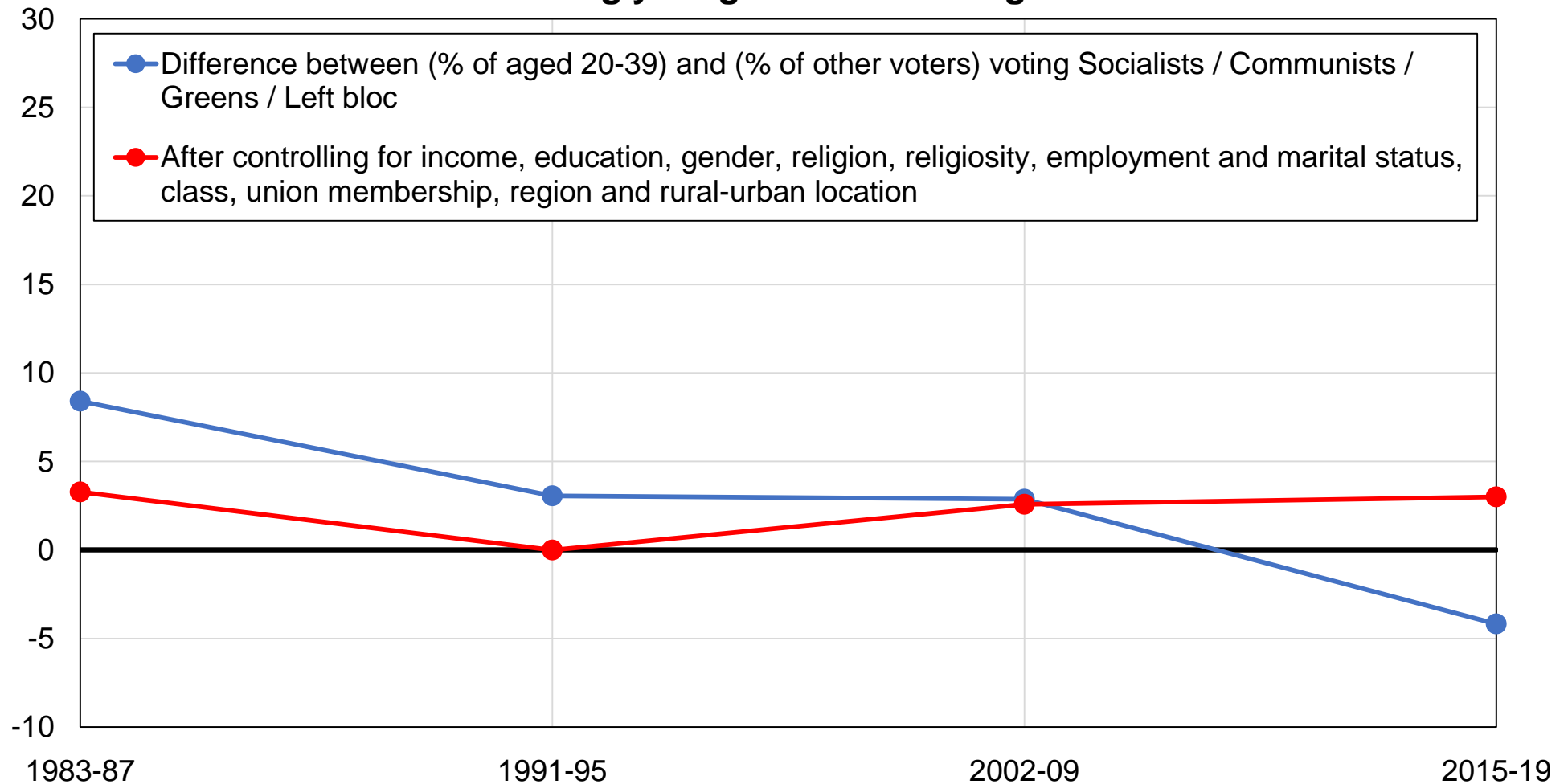
**Figure CB26 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block among union members in Portugal**



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

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

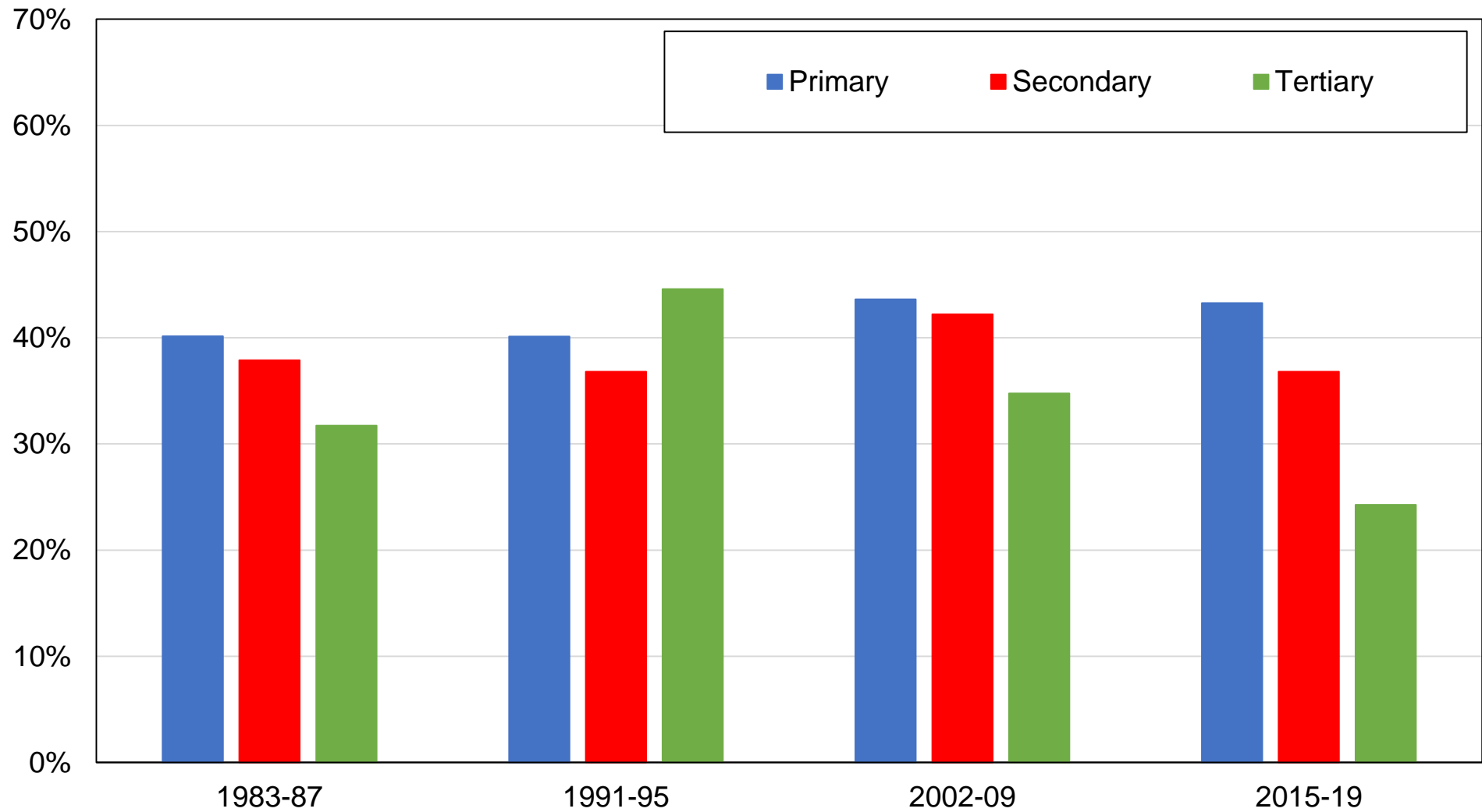
**Figure CB27 - Vote for Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left block among young voters in Portugal**



**Source:** authors' computations using Portuguese 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 Socialists / Communists / Greens / Left bloc, before and after controlling for other variables.

**Figure CC1 - Vote for the Socialist Party by education level in Portugal**

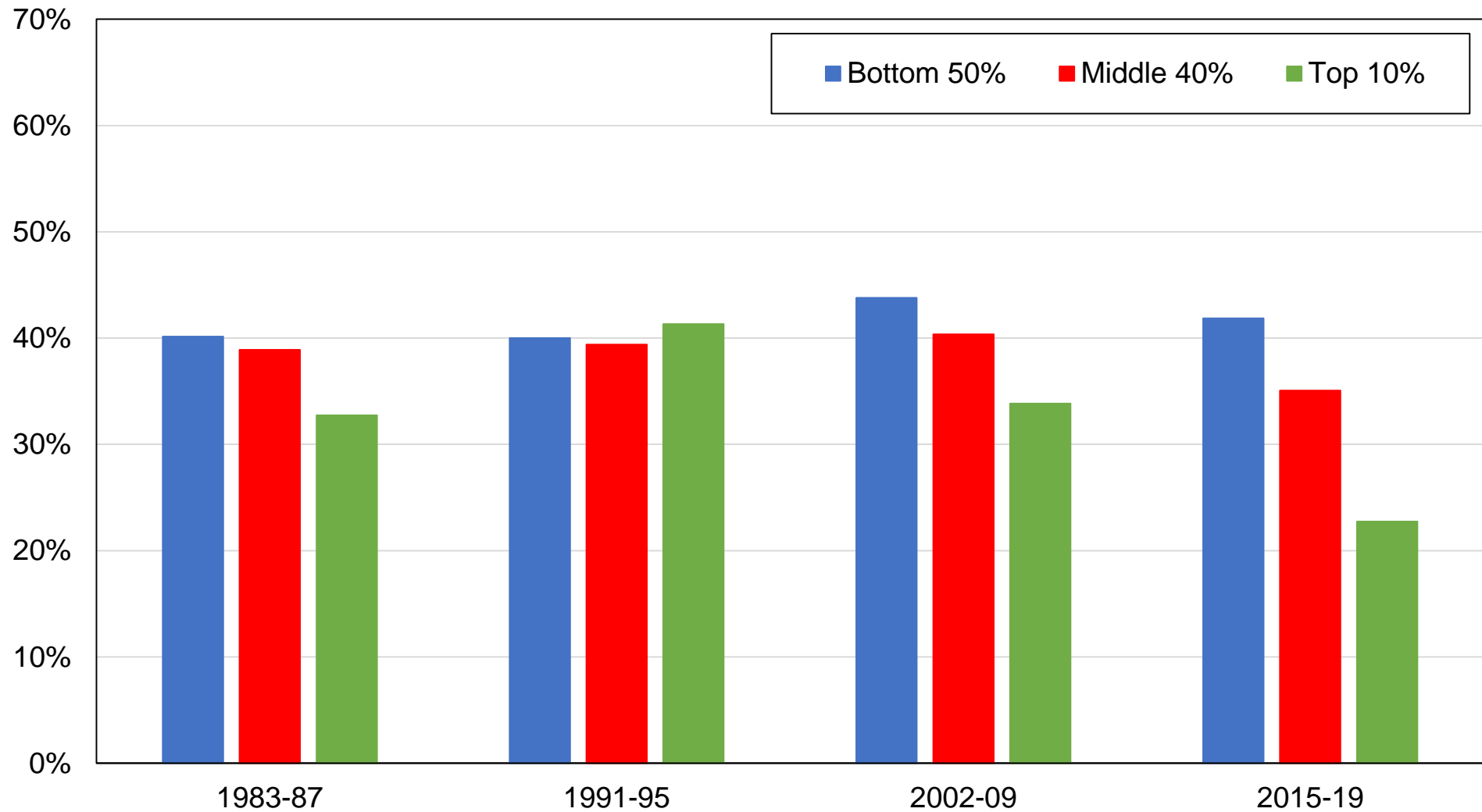


**Source:** authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.

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



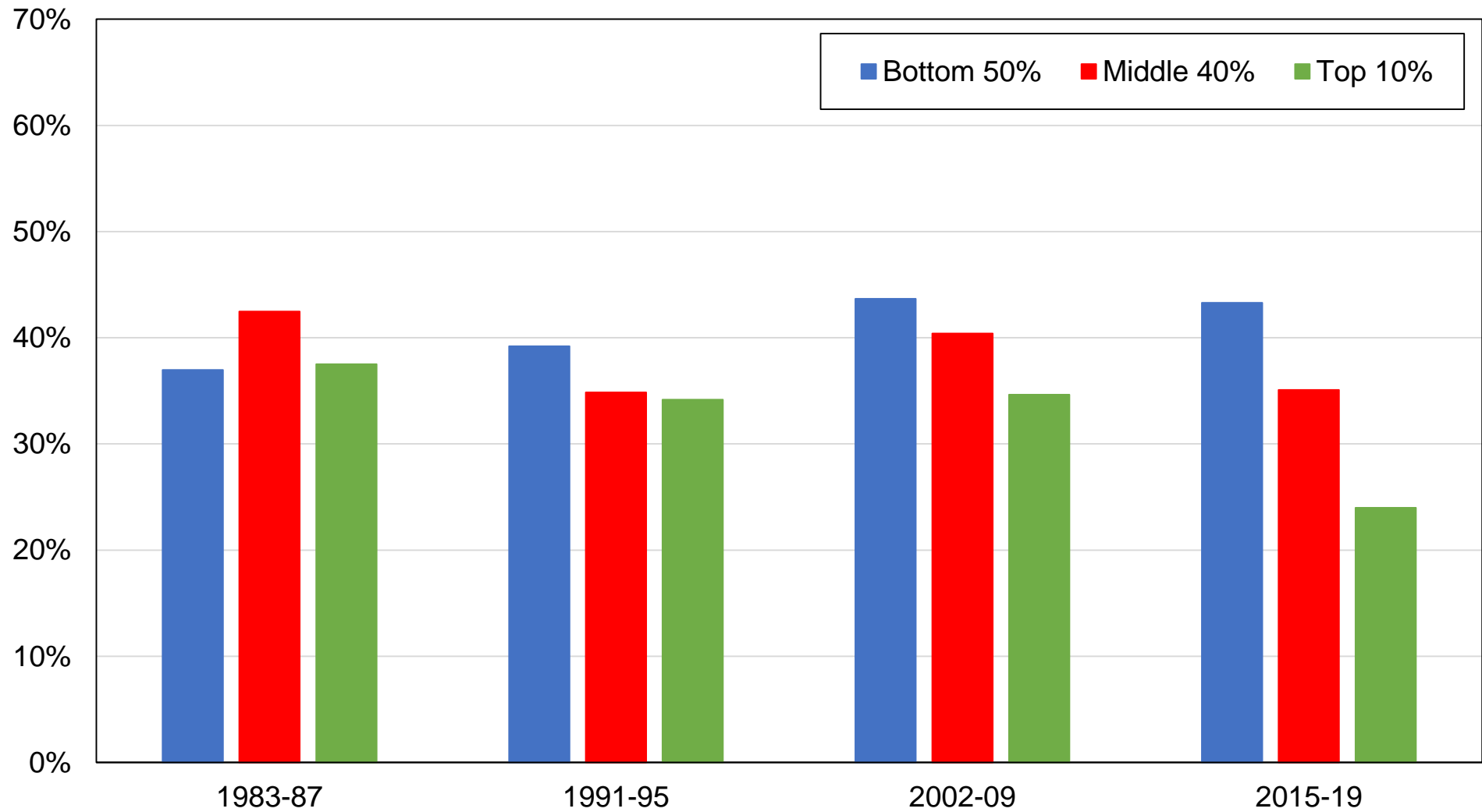
**Figure CC2 - Vote for the Socialist Party by education group in Portugal**



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

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

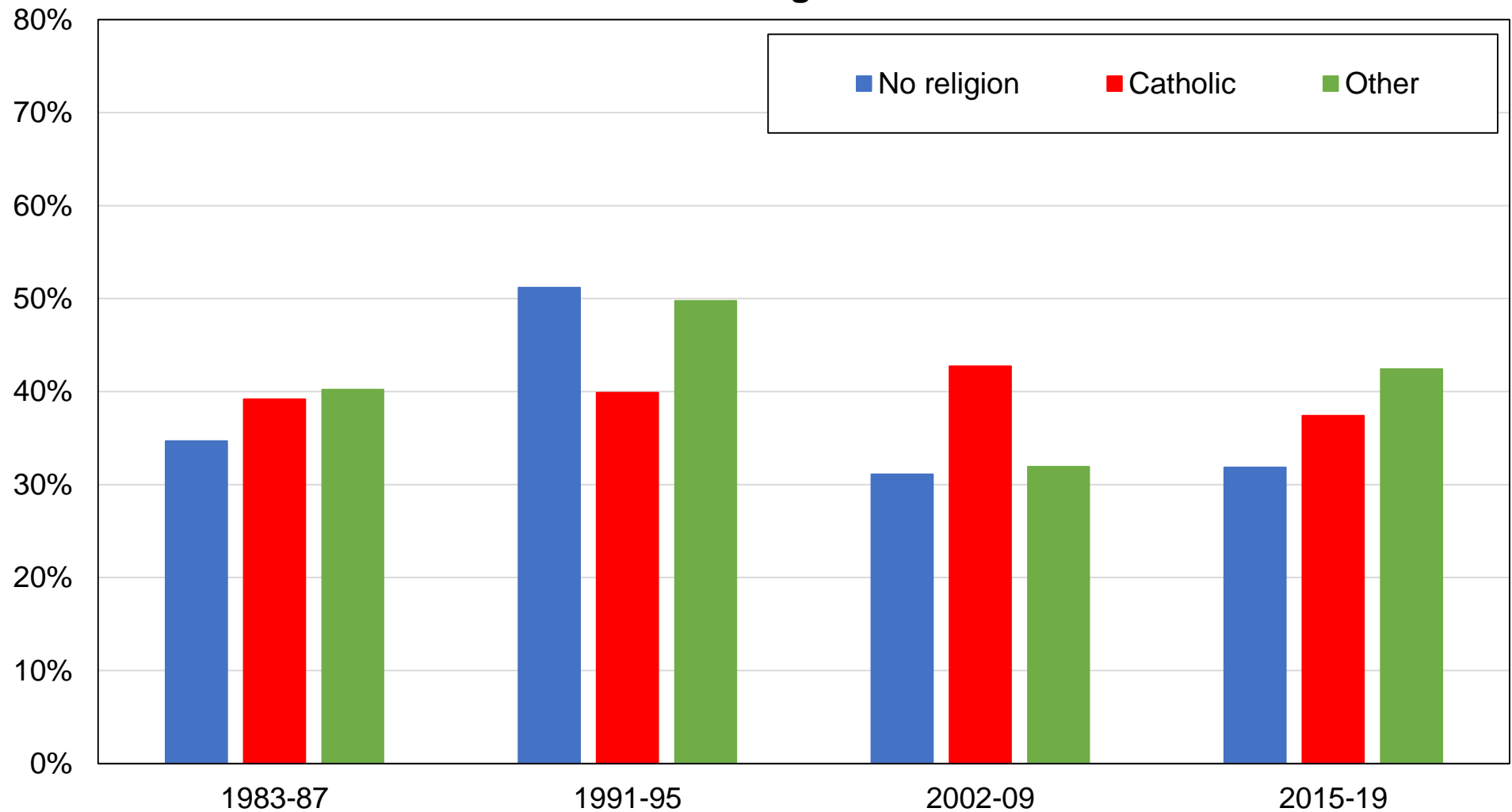
**Figure CC3 - Vote for the Socialist Party by income group in Portugal**



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

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

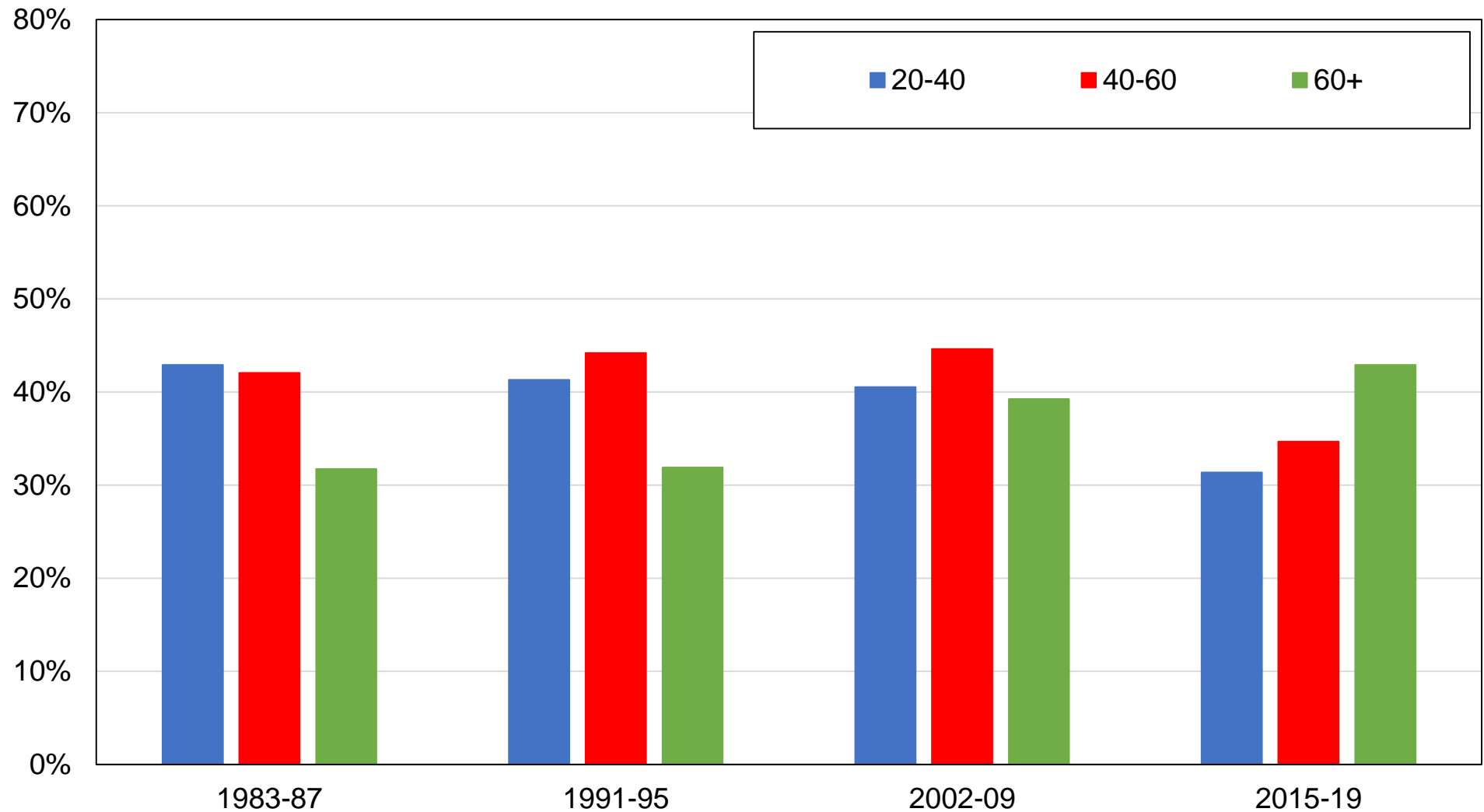
**Figure CC4 - Vote for the Socialist Party by religious affiliation in Portugal**



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

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

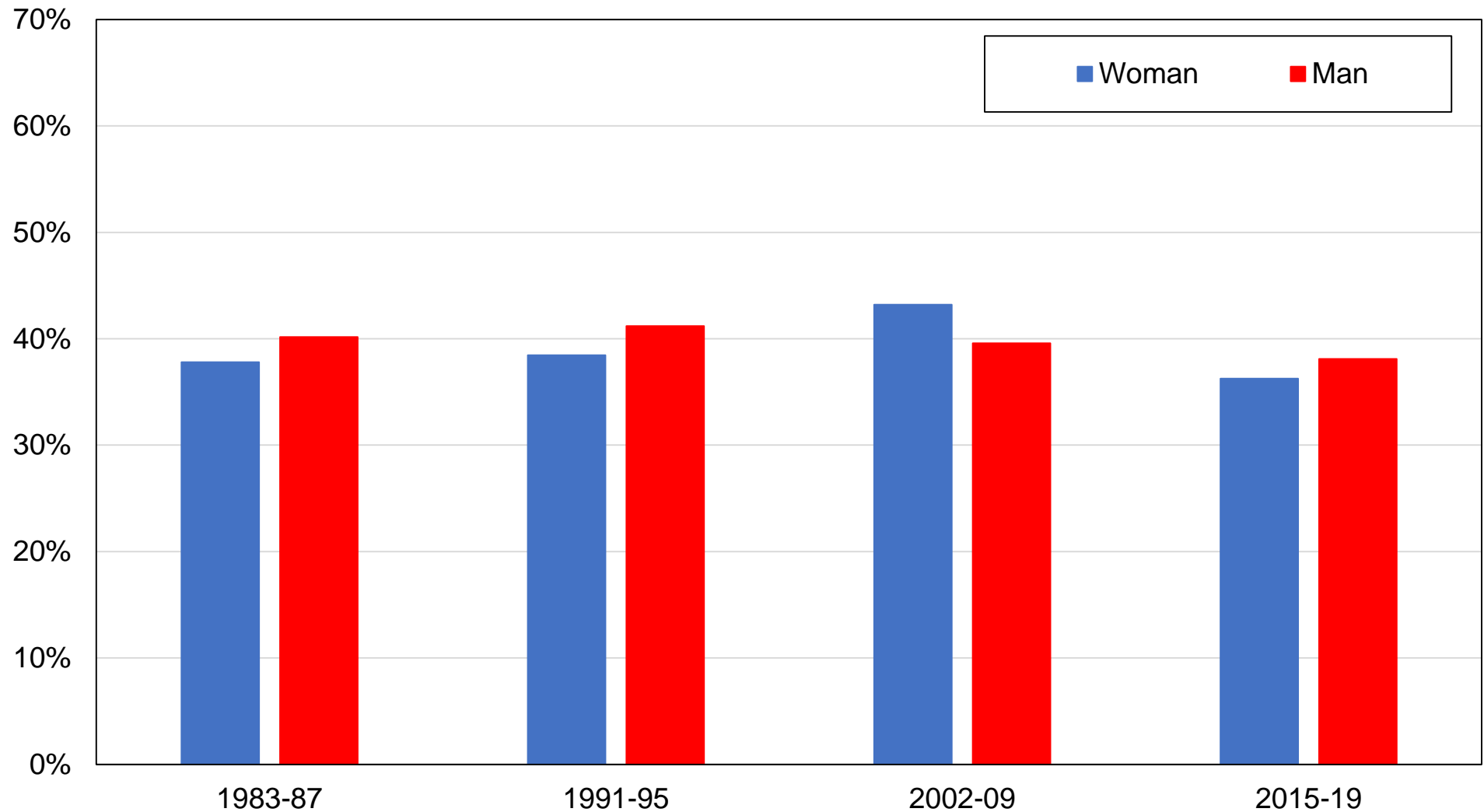
**Figure CC5 - Vote for the Socialist Party by age in Portugal**



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

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

**Figure CC6 - Vote for the Socialist Party by gender in Portugal**



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

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

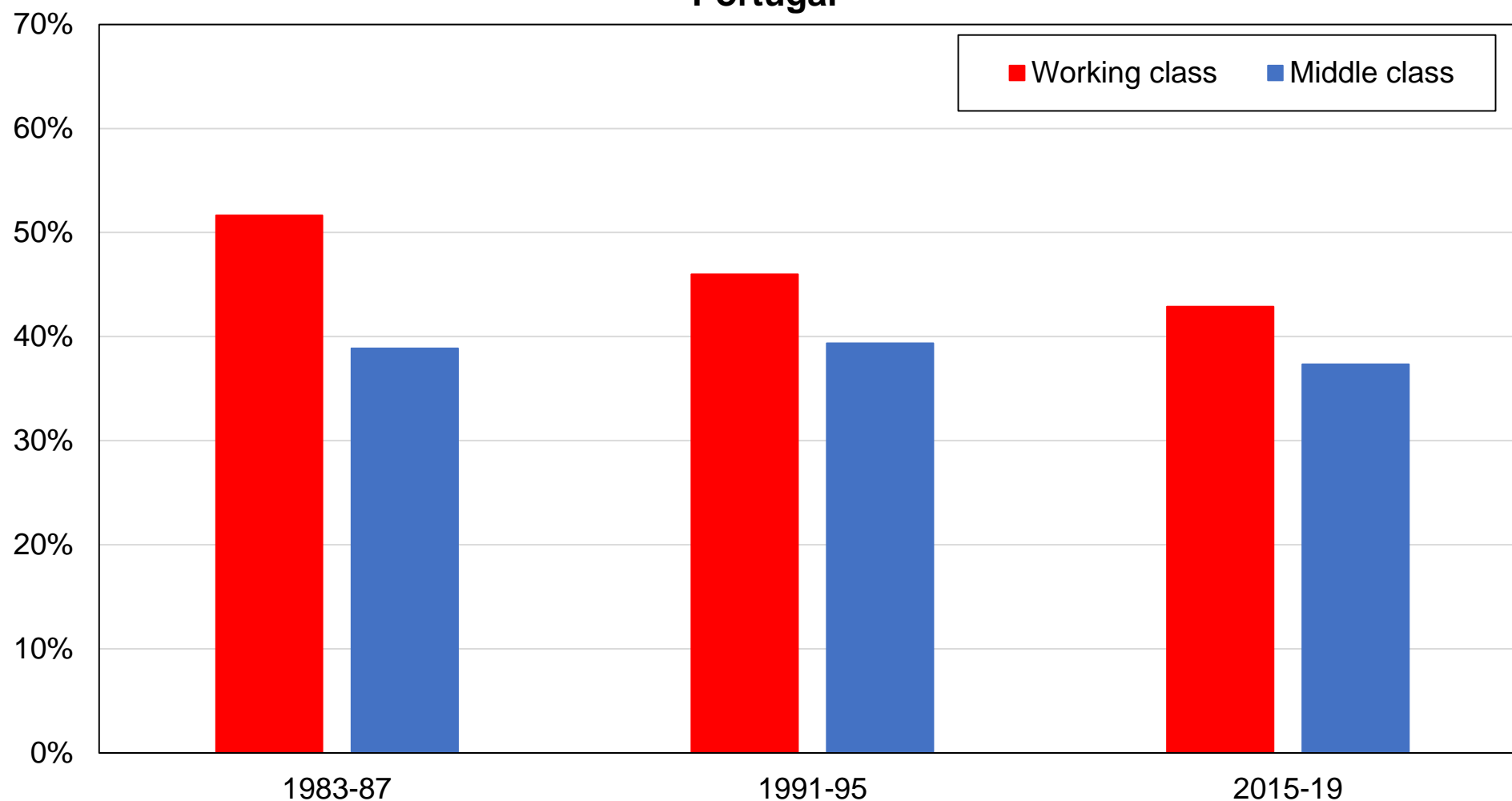
**Figure CC7 - Vote for the Socialist Party by union membership in Portugal**



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

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

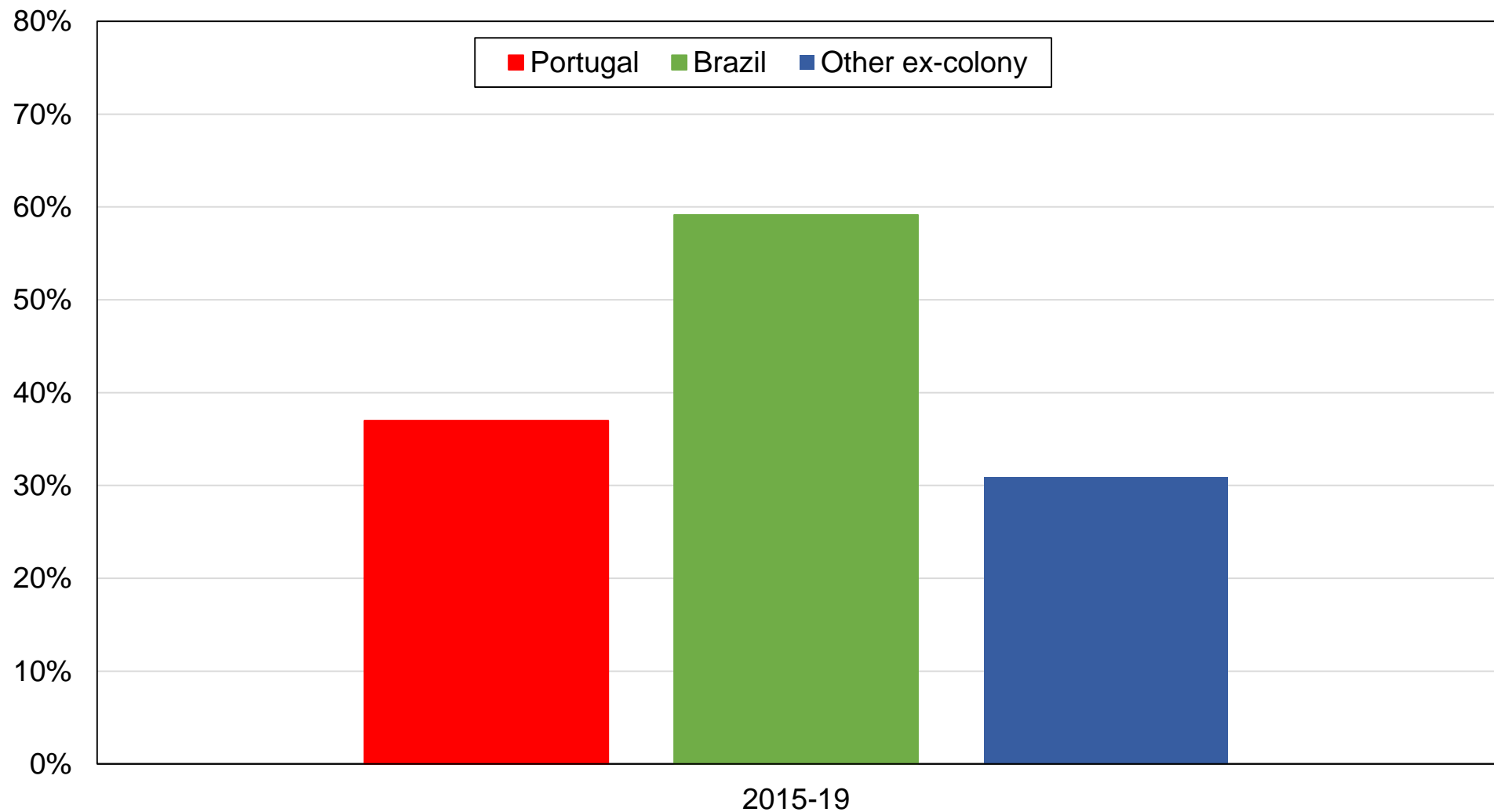
**Figure CC8 - Vote for the Socialist Party by perceived social class in Portugal**



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

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

**Figure CC9 - Vote for the Socialist Party by country of origin in Portugal**

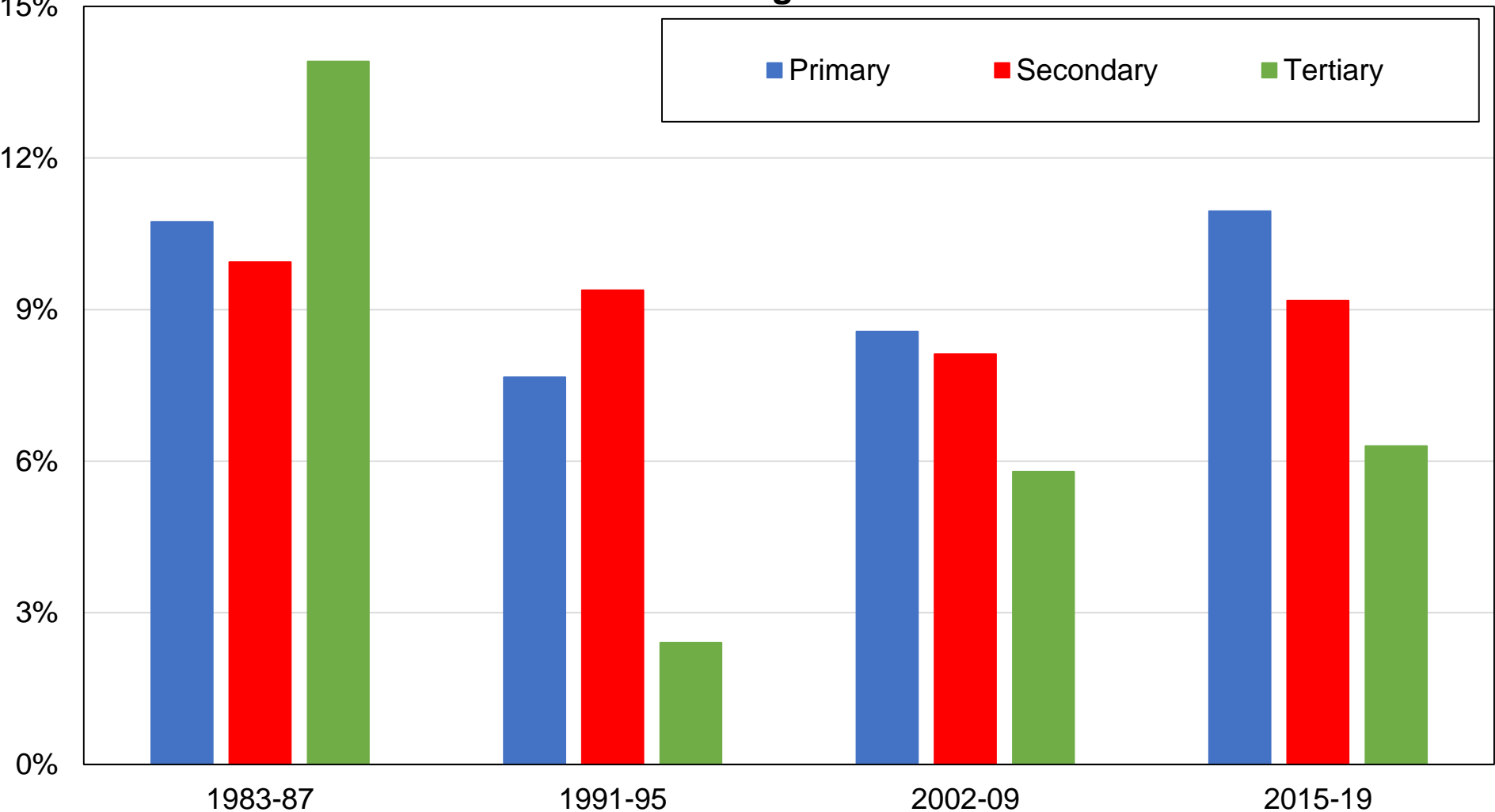


**Source:** authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Socialist Party by country of origin.



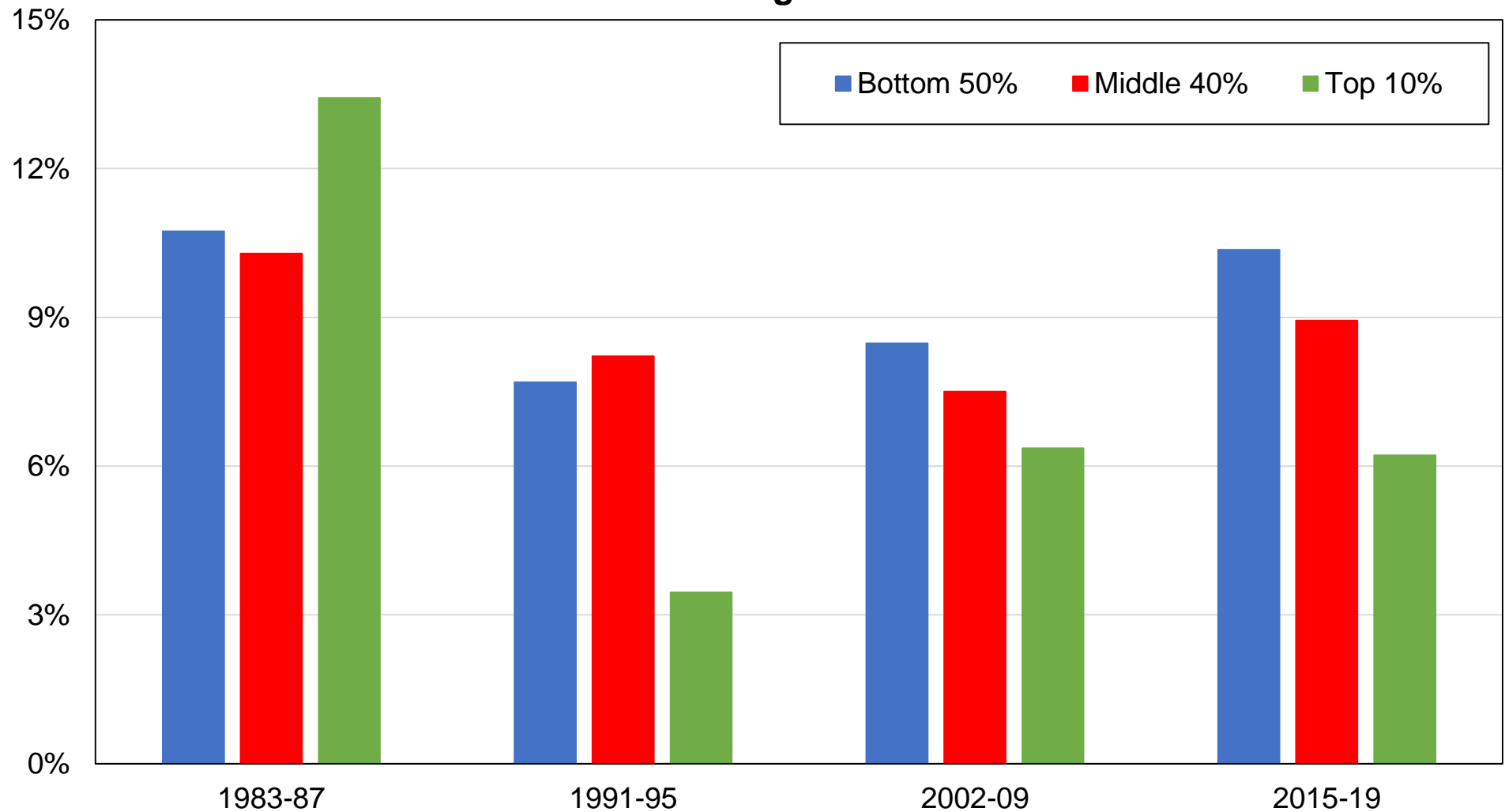
**Figure CC10 - Vote for Communists / Greens by education level in Portugal**



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

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Communists / Greens by education level.

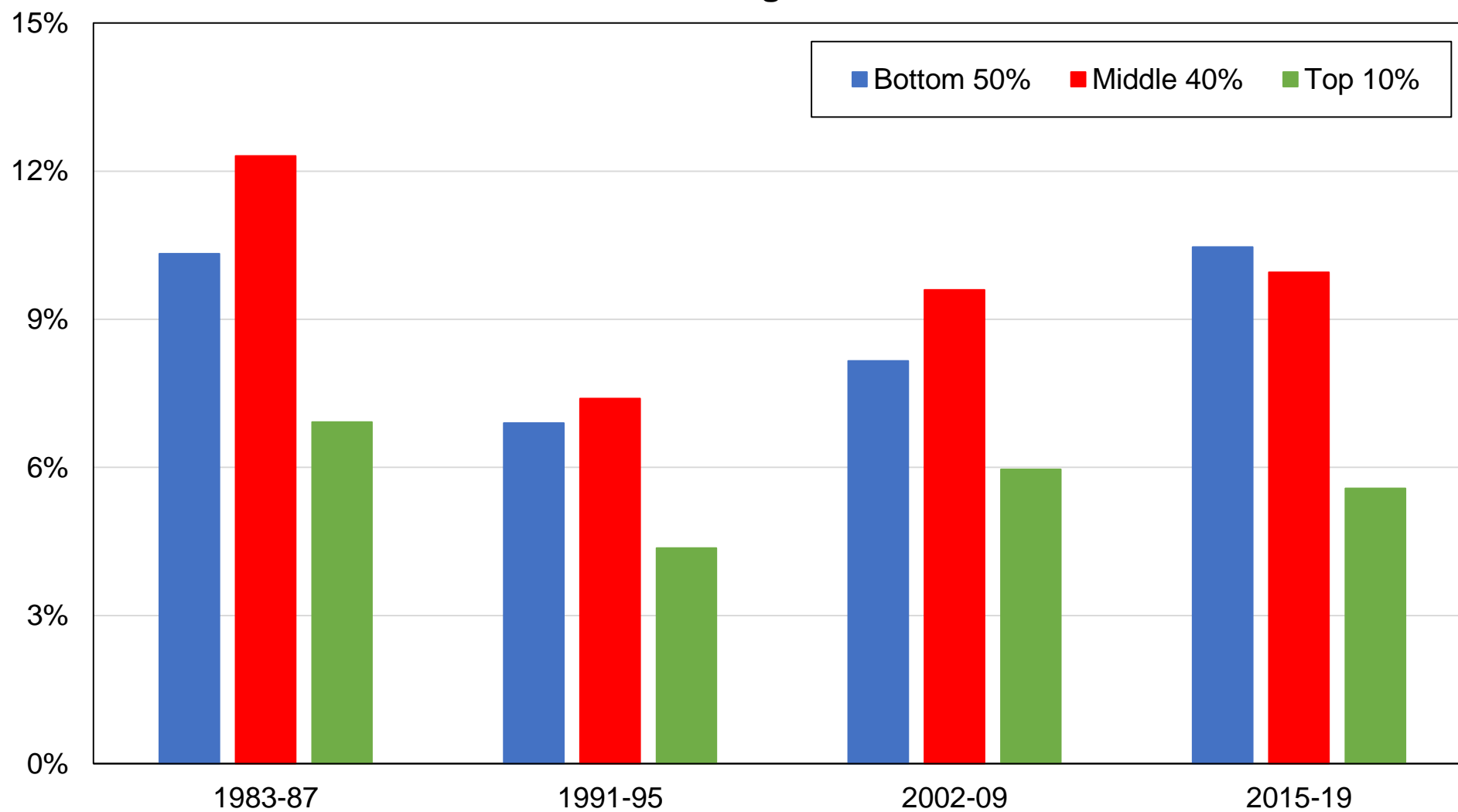
**Figure CC11 - Vote for Communists / Greens by education group in Portugal**



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

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Communists / Greens by education group.

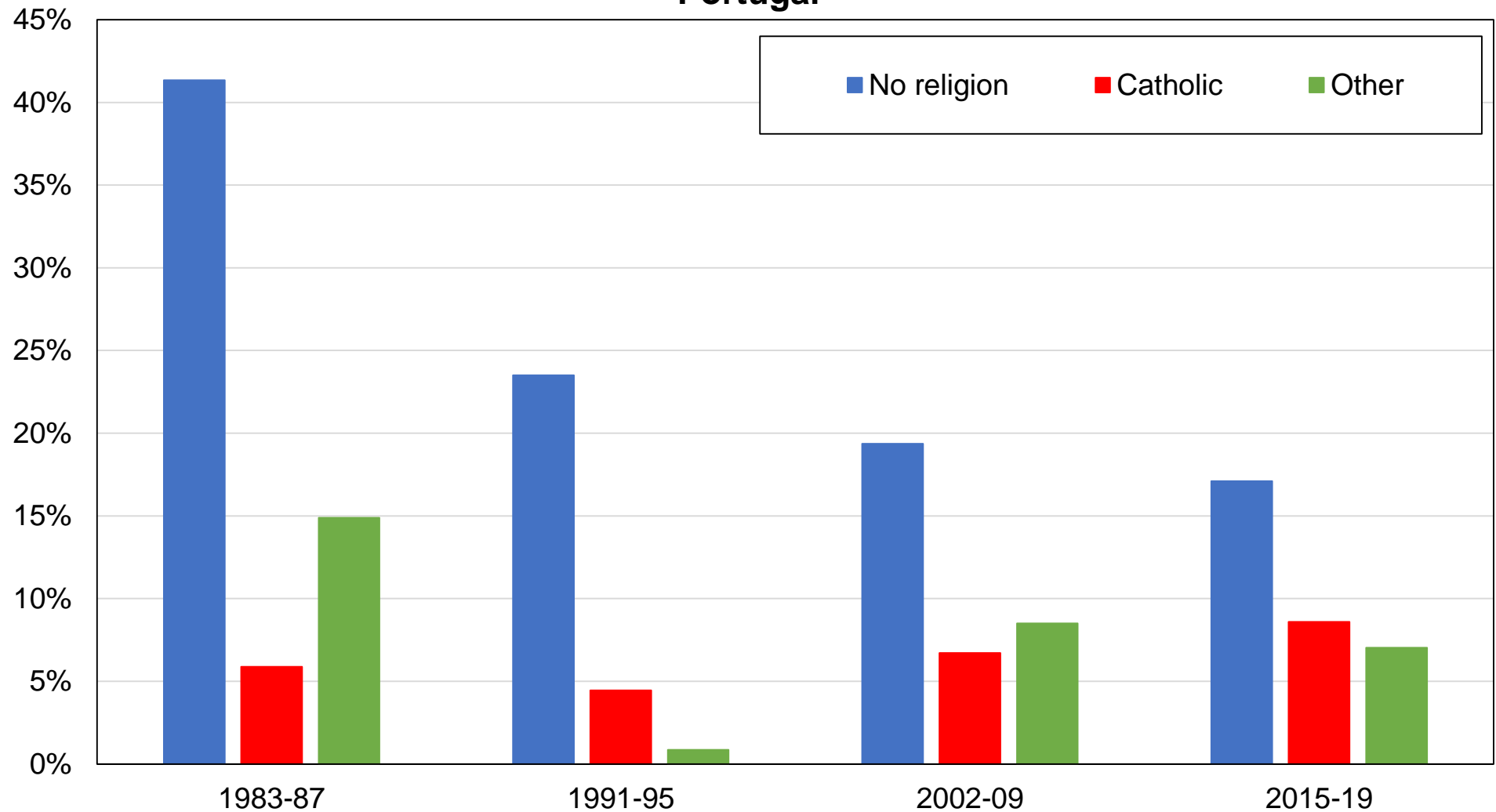
**Figure CC12 - Vote for Communists / Greens by income group in Portugal**



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

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Communists / Greens by income group.

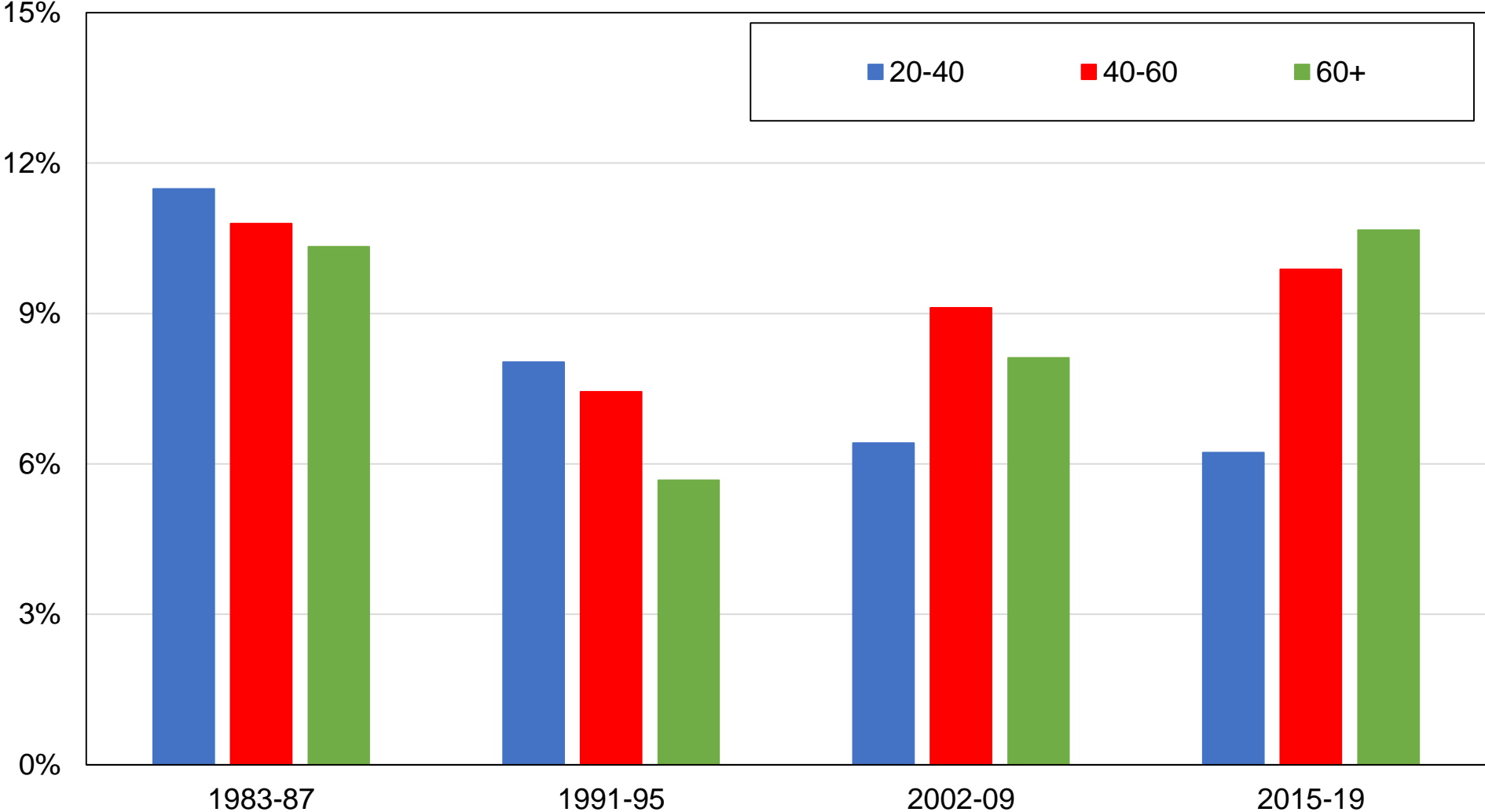
**Figure CC12 - Vote for Communists / Greens by religious affiliation in Portugal**



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

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Communists / Greens by religious affiliation.

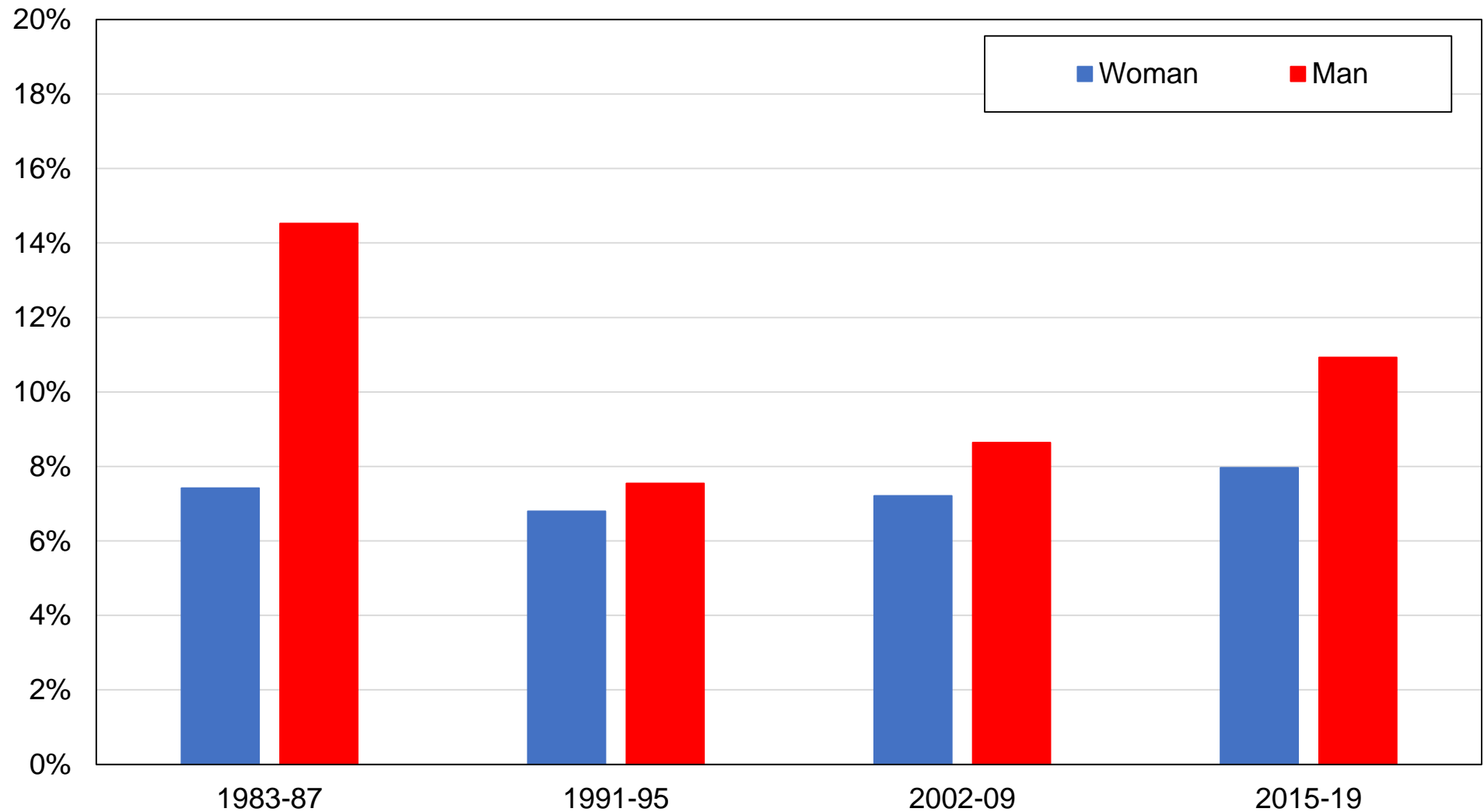
**Figure CC14 - Vote for Communists / Greens by age in Portugal**



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

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Communists / Greens by age.

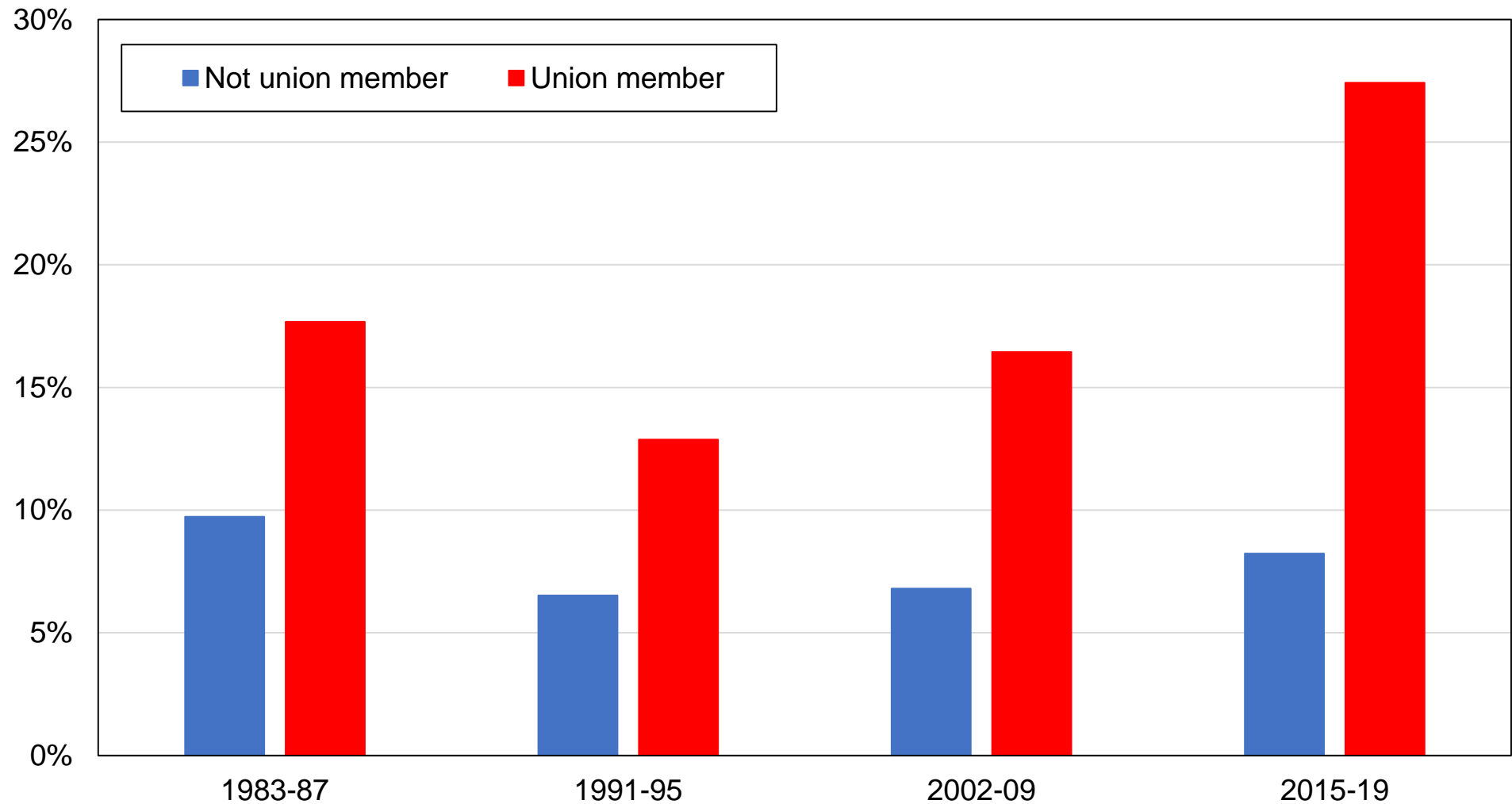
**Figure CC15 - Vote for Communists / Greens by gender in Portugal**



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

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Communists / Greens by gender.

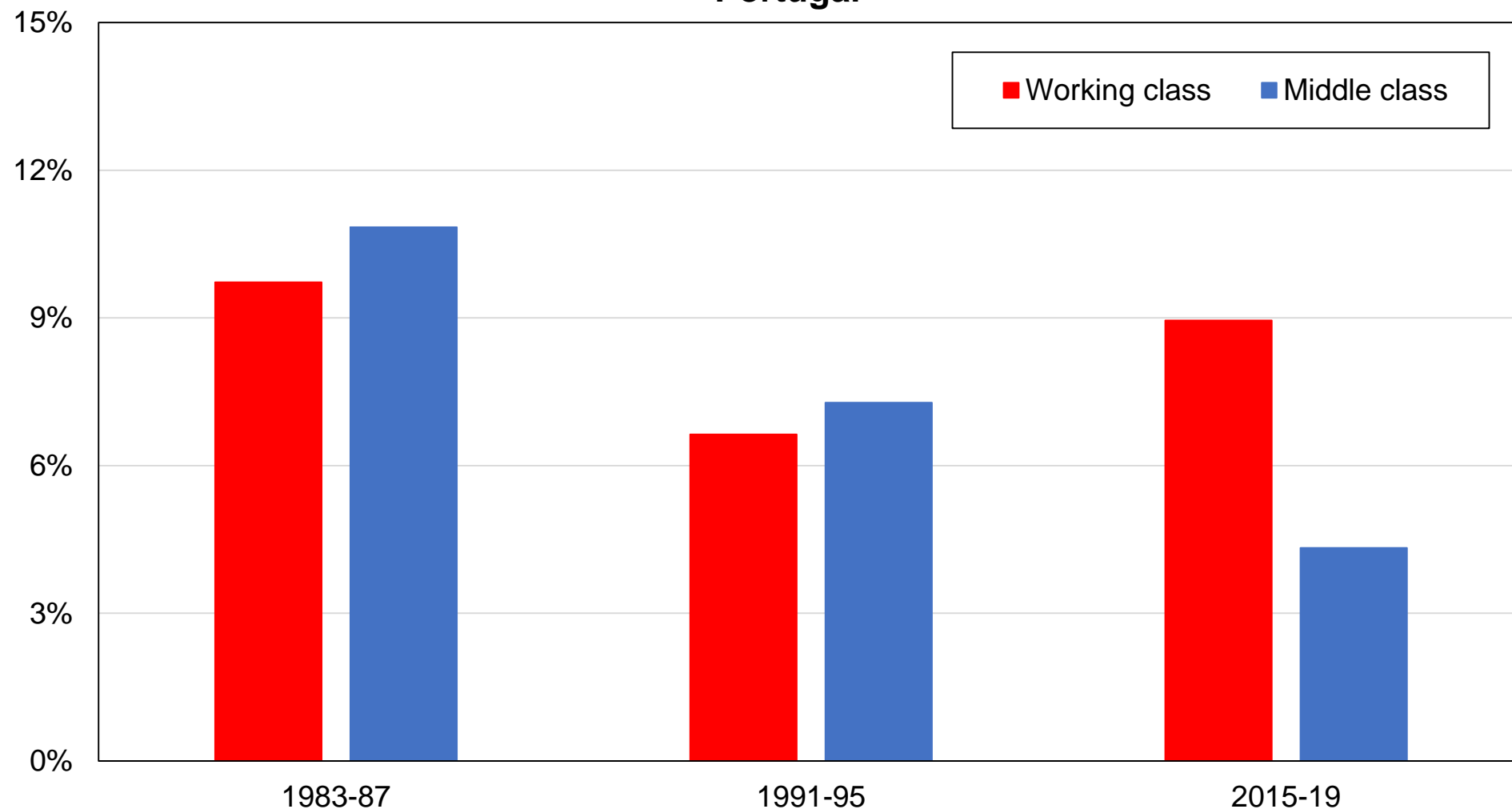
**Figure CC16 - Vote for Communists / Greens by union membership in Portugal**



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

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Communists / Greens by union membership status.

**Figure CC17 - Vote for Communists / Greens by perceived social class in Portugal**

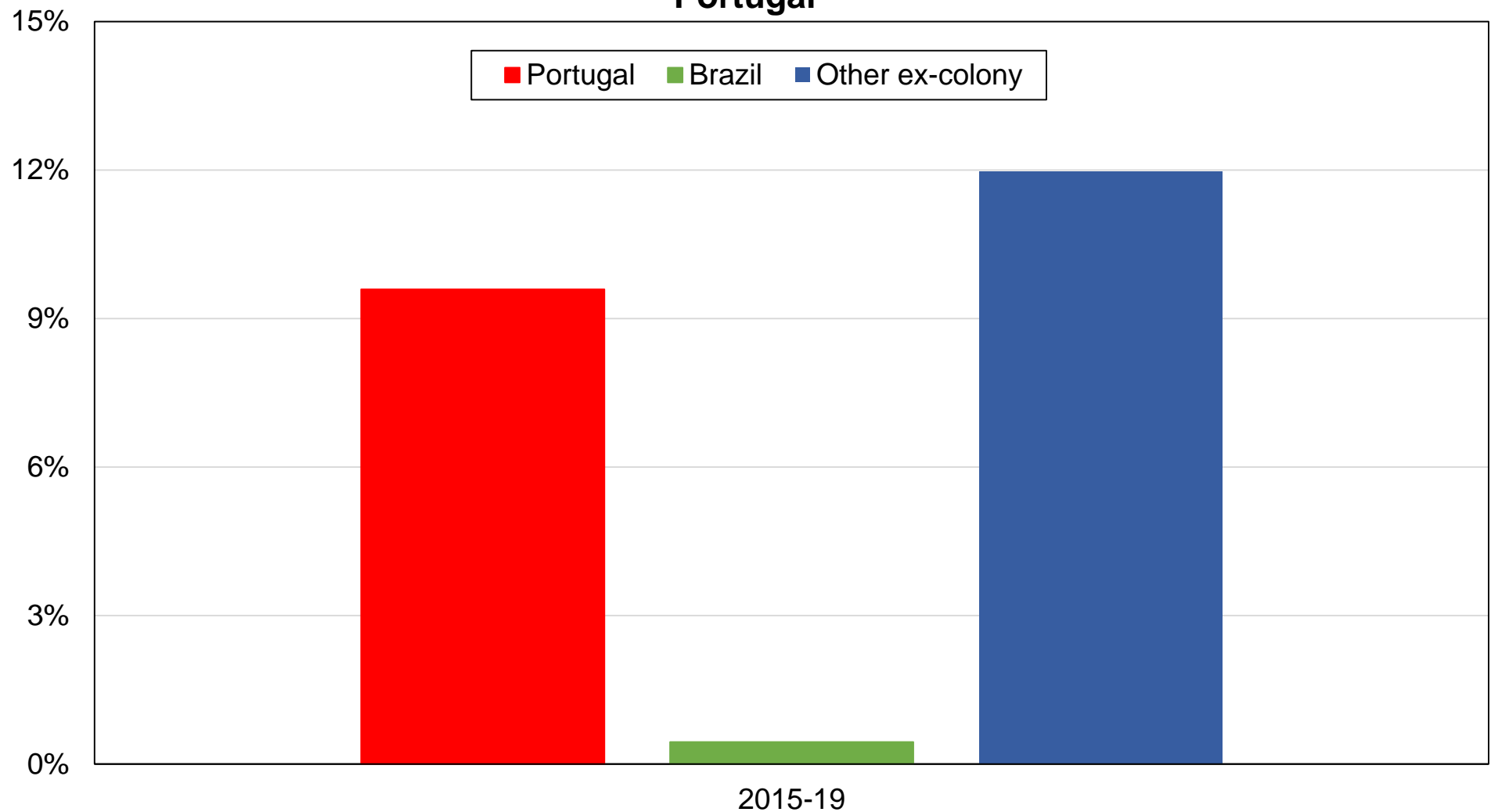


**Source:** authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.

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



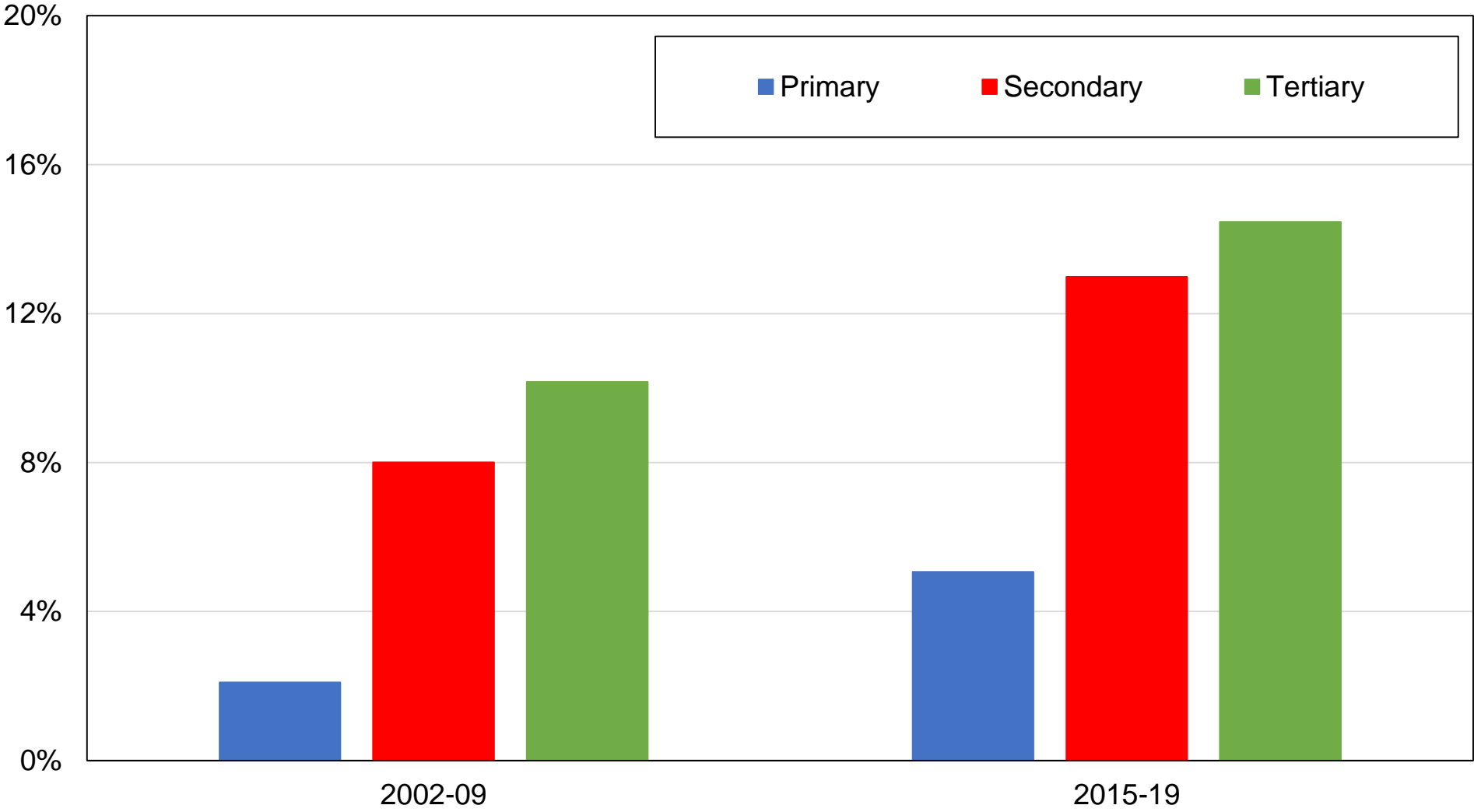
**Figure CC18 - Vote for Communists / Greens by country of origin in Portugal**



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

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Communists / Greens by country of origin.

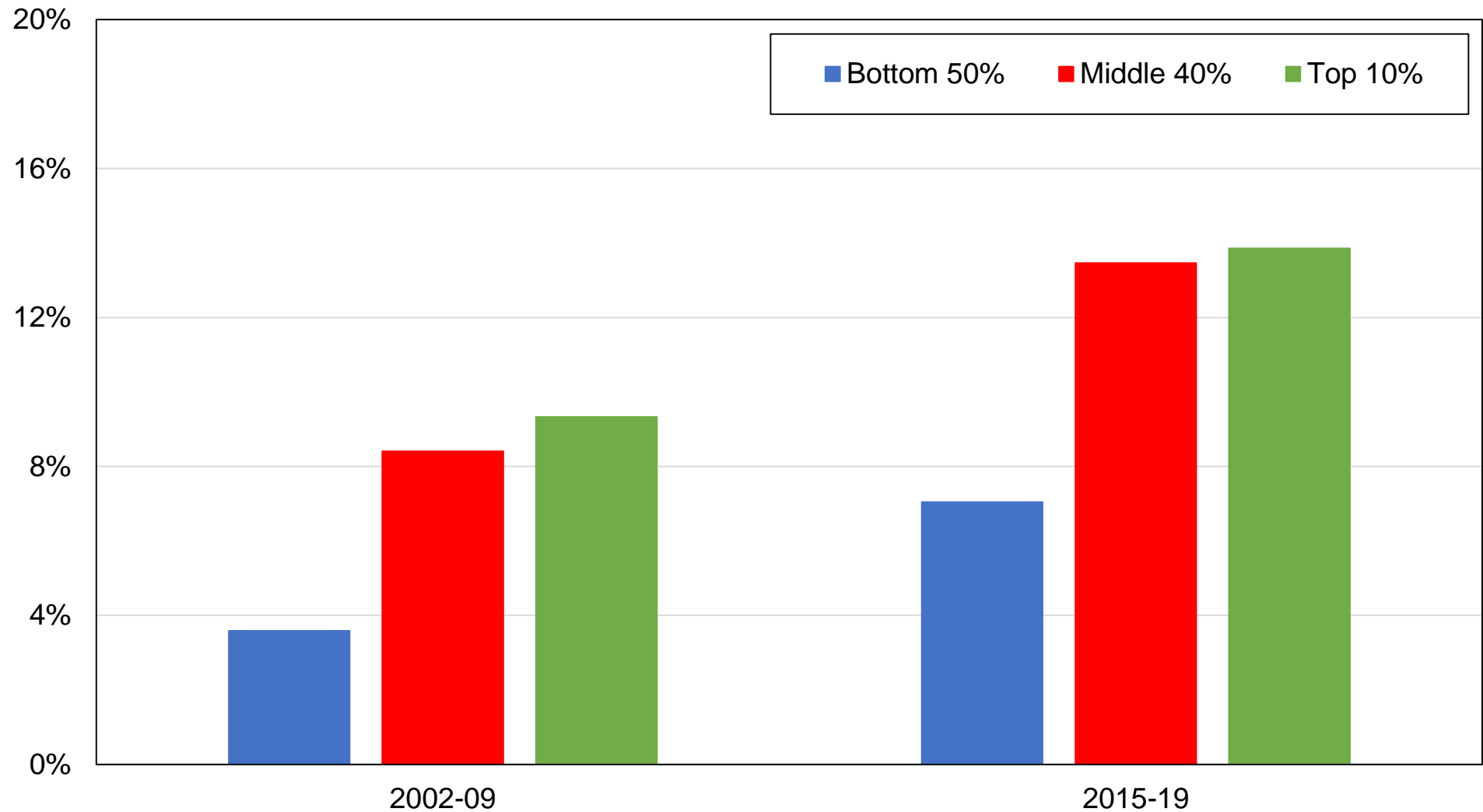
**Figure CC19 - Vote for Left Block by education level in Portugal**



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

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Left Bloc by education level.

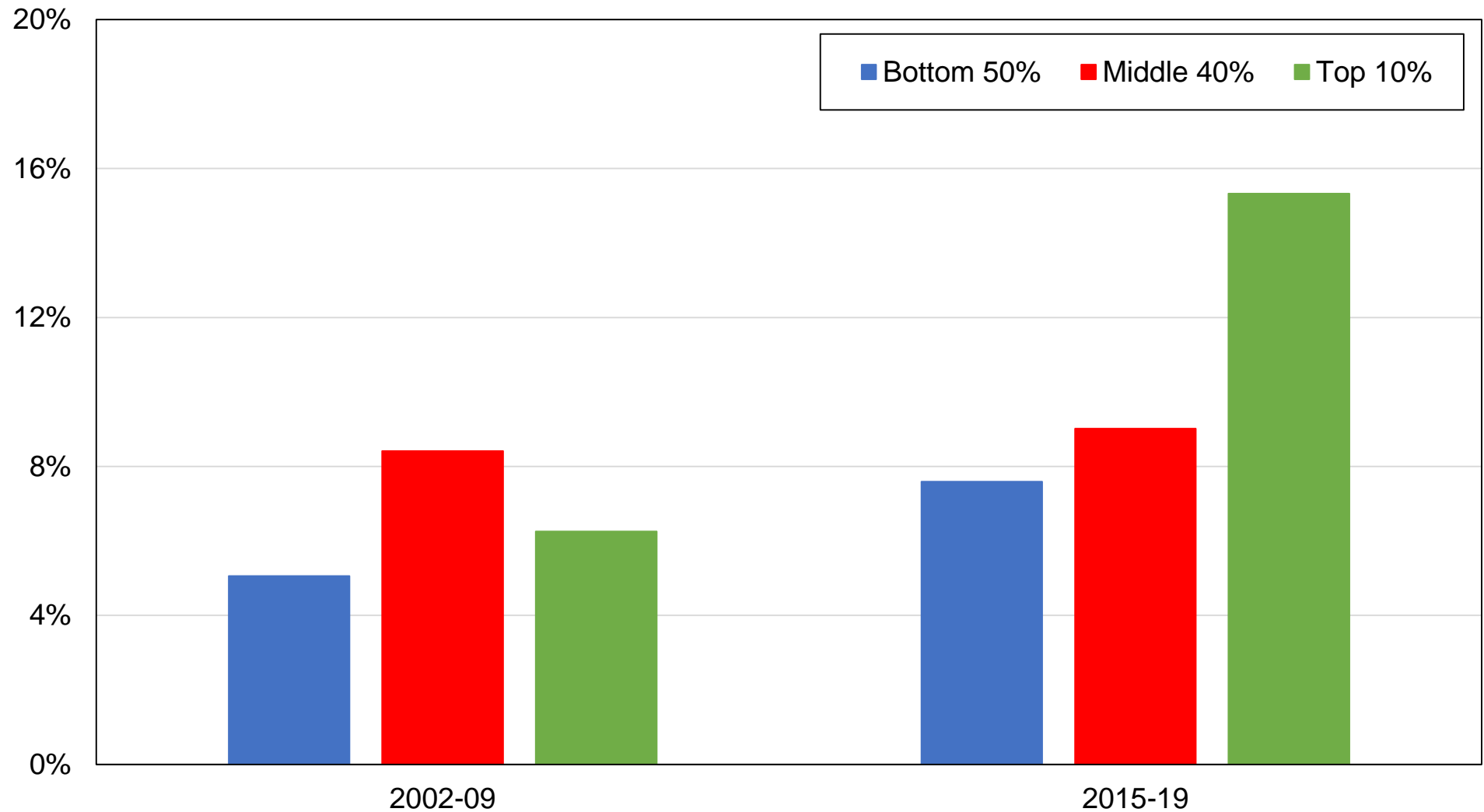
**Figure CC20 - Vote for Left Block by education group in Portugal**



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

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Left Bloc by education group.

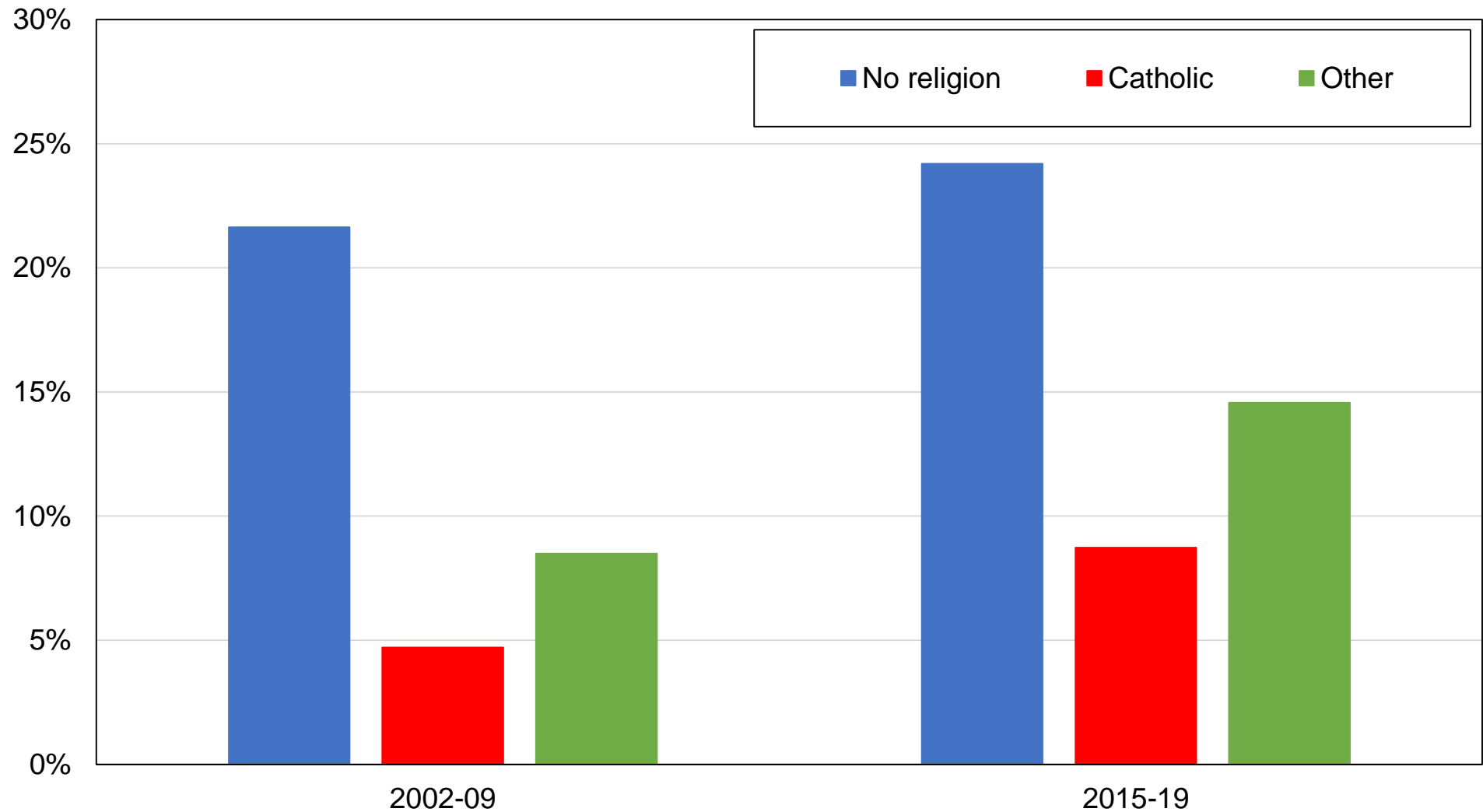
**Figure CC21 - Vote for Left Block by income group in Portugal**



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

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Left Bloc by income group.

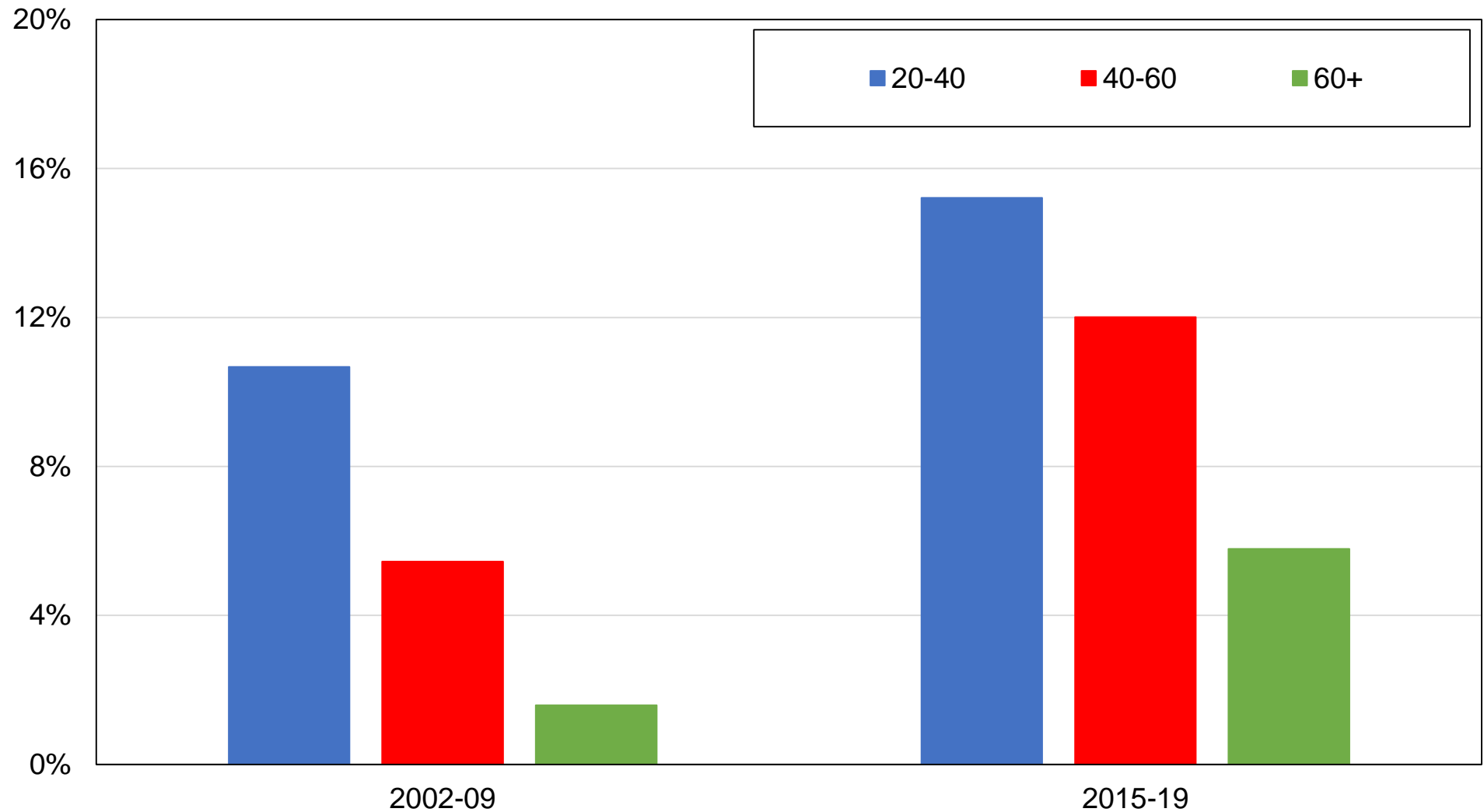
**Figure CC22 - Vote for Left Block by religious affiliation in Portugal**



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

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Left Bloc by religious affiliation.

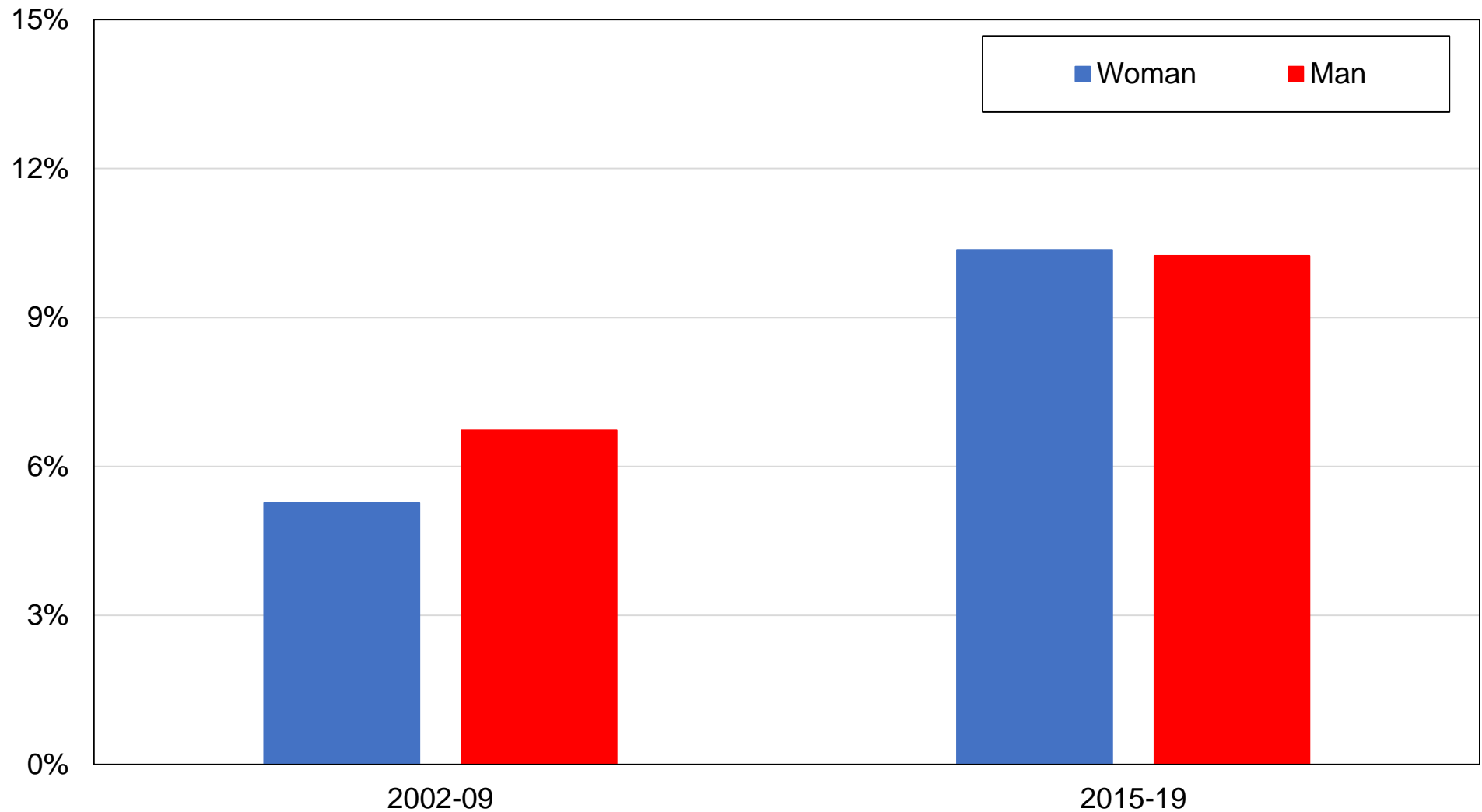
**Figure CC23 - Vote for Left Block by age in Portugal**



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

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Left Bloc by religious affiliation.

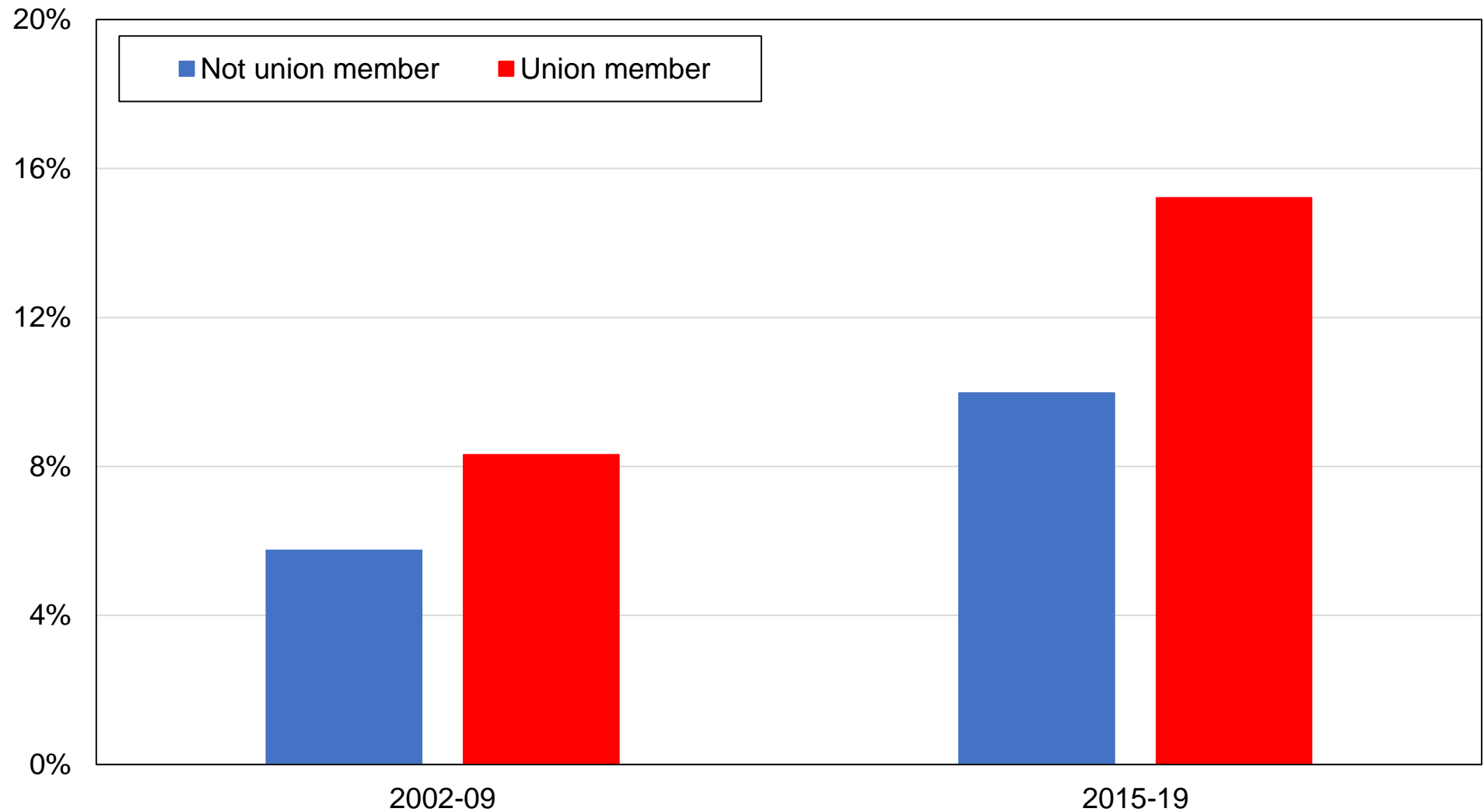
**Figure CC24 - Vote for Left Block by gender in Portugal**



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

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Left Bloc by gender.

**Figure CC25 - Vote for Left Block by union membership in Portugal**

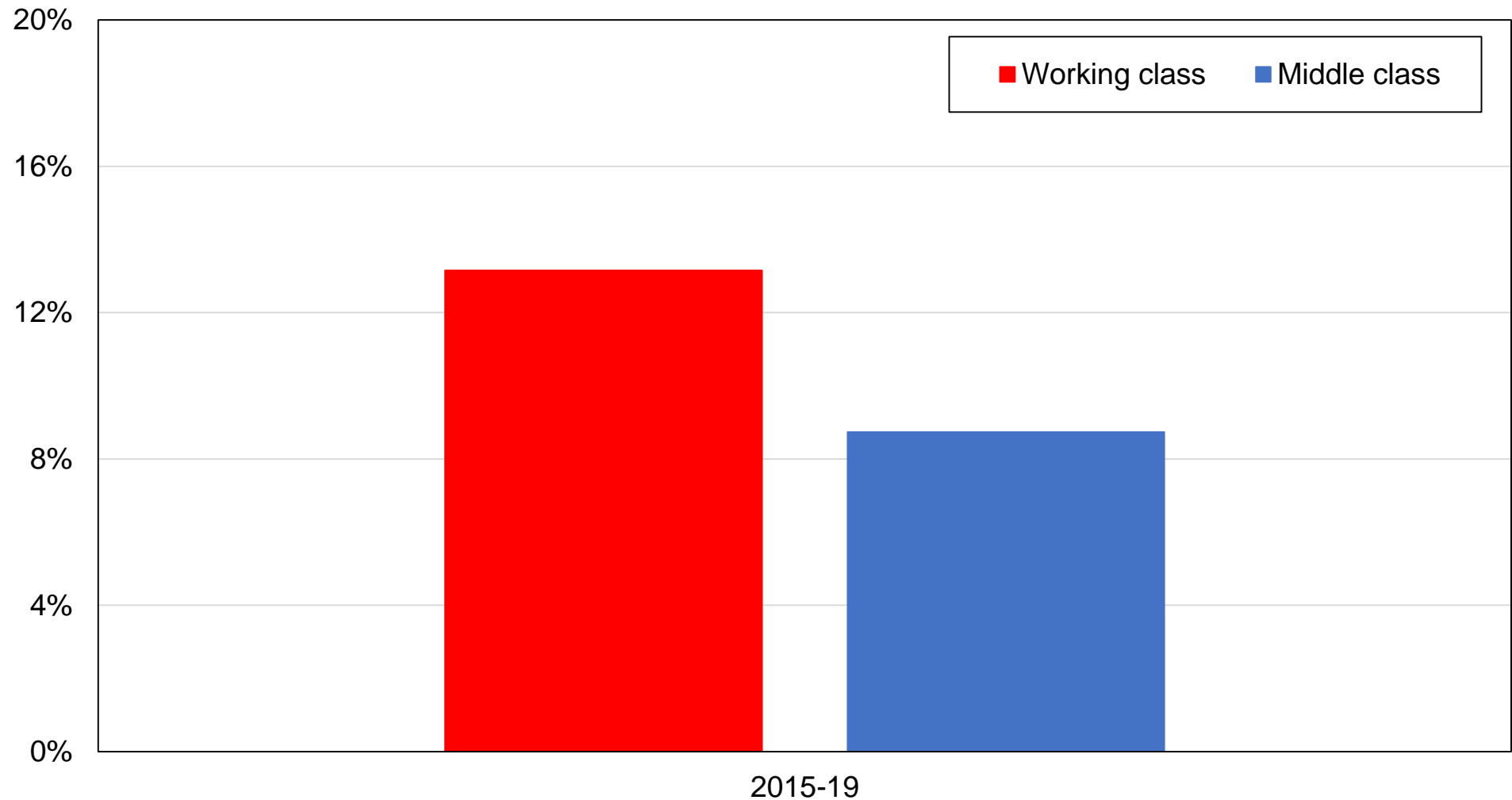


**Source:** authors' computations using Portuguese political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Left Bloc by union membership.



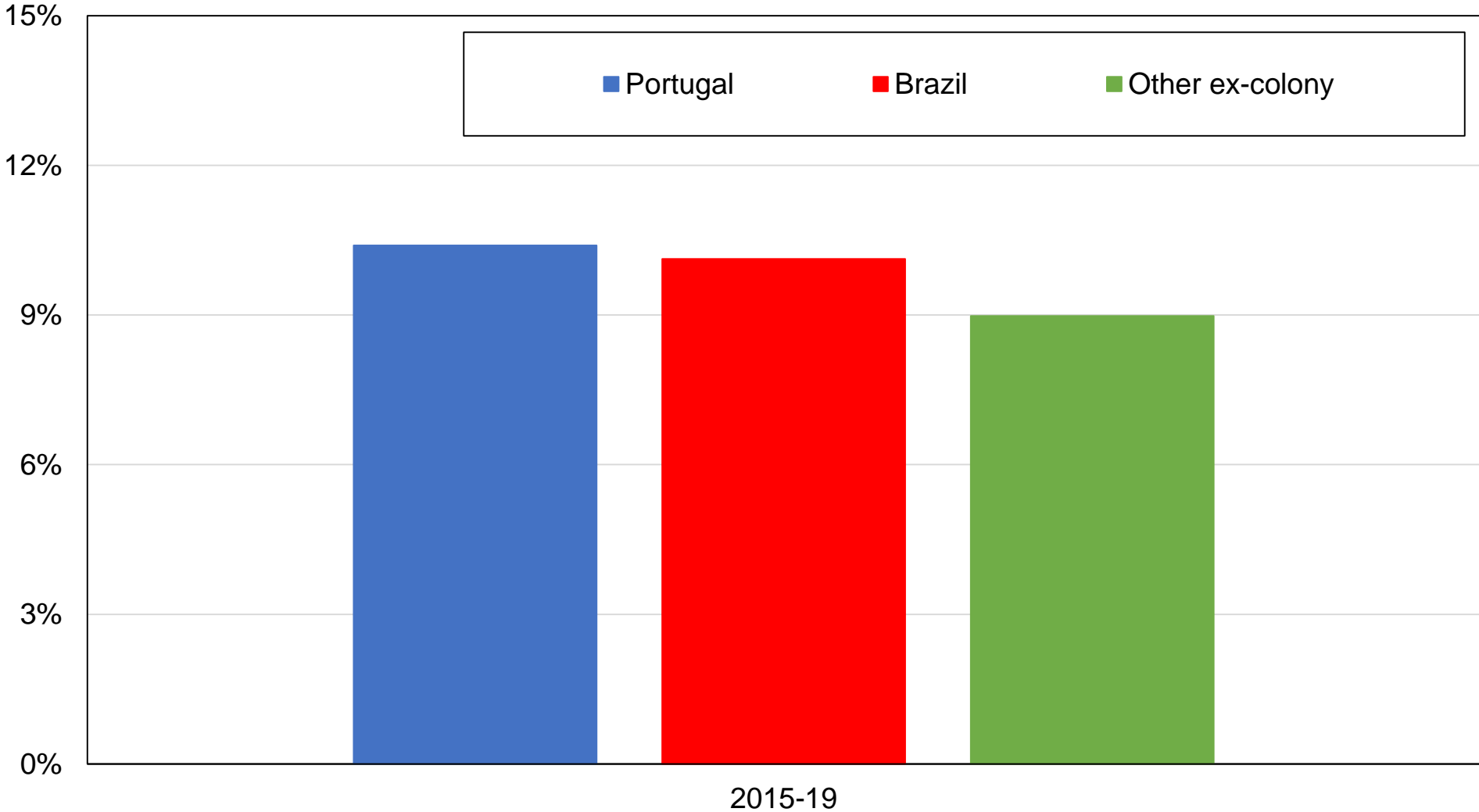
**Figure CC26 - Vote for Left Block by perceived social class in Portugal**



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

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

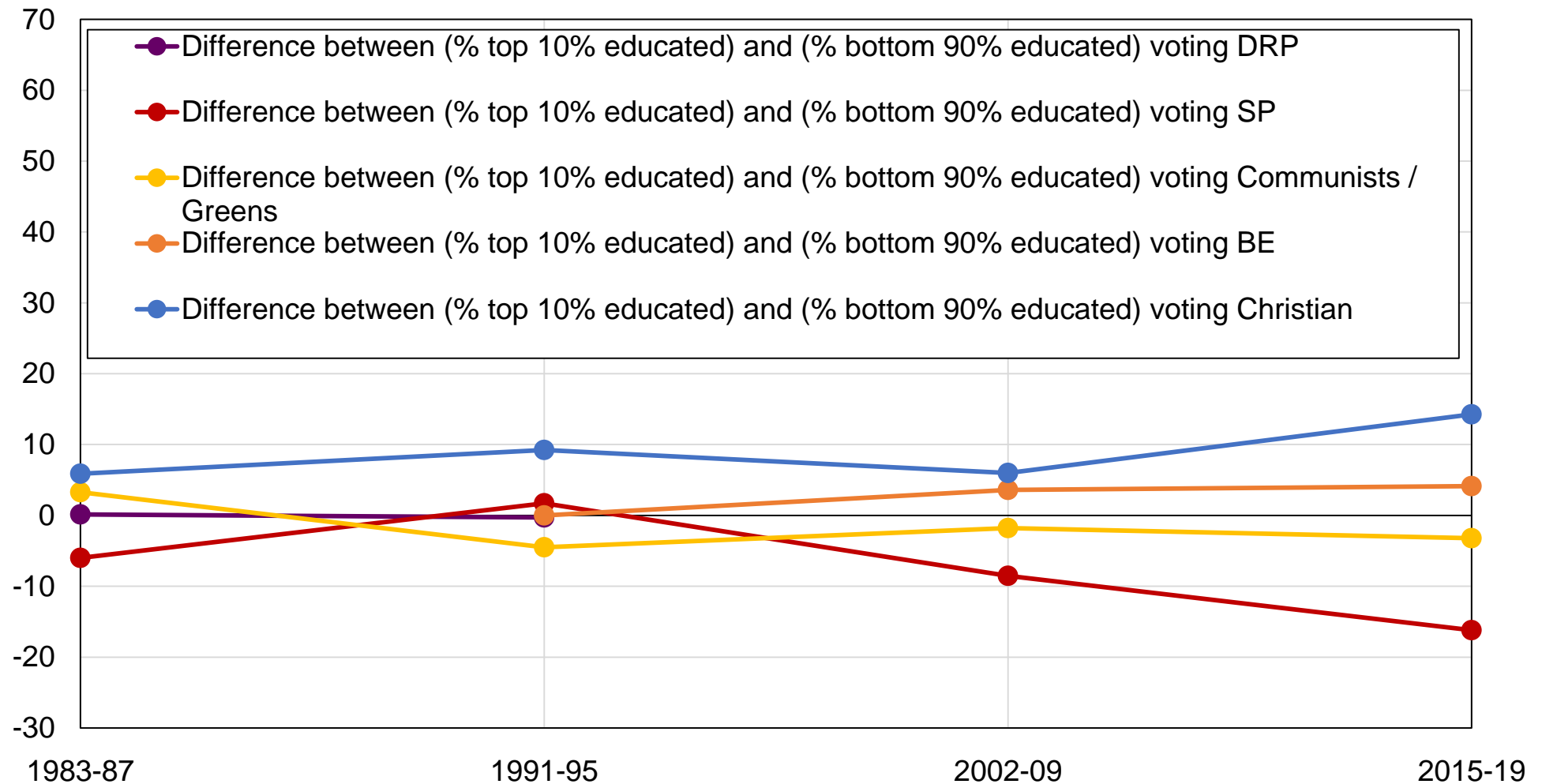
**Figure CC27 - Vote for Left Block by country of origin in Portugal**



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

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Left Bloc by country of origin.

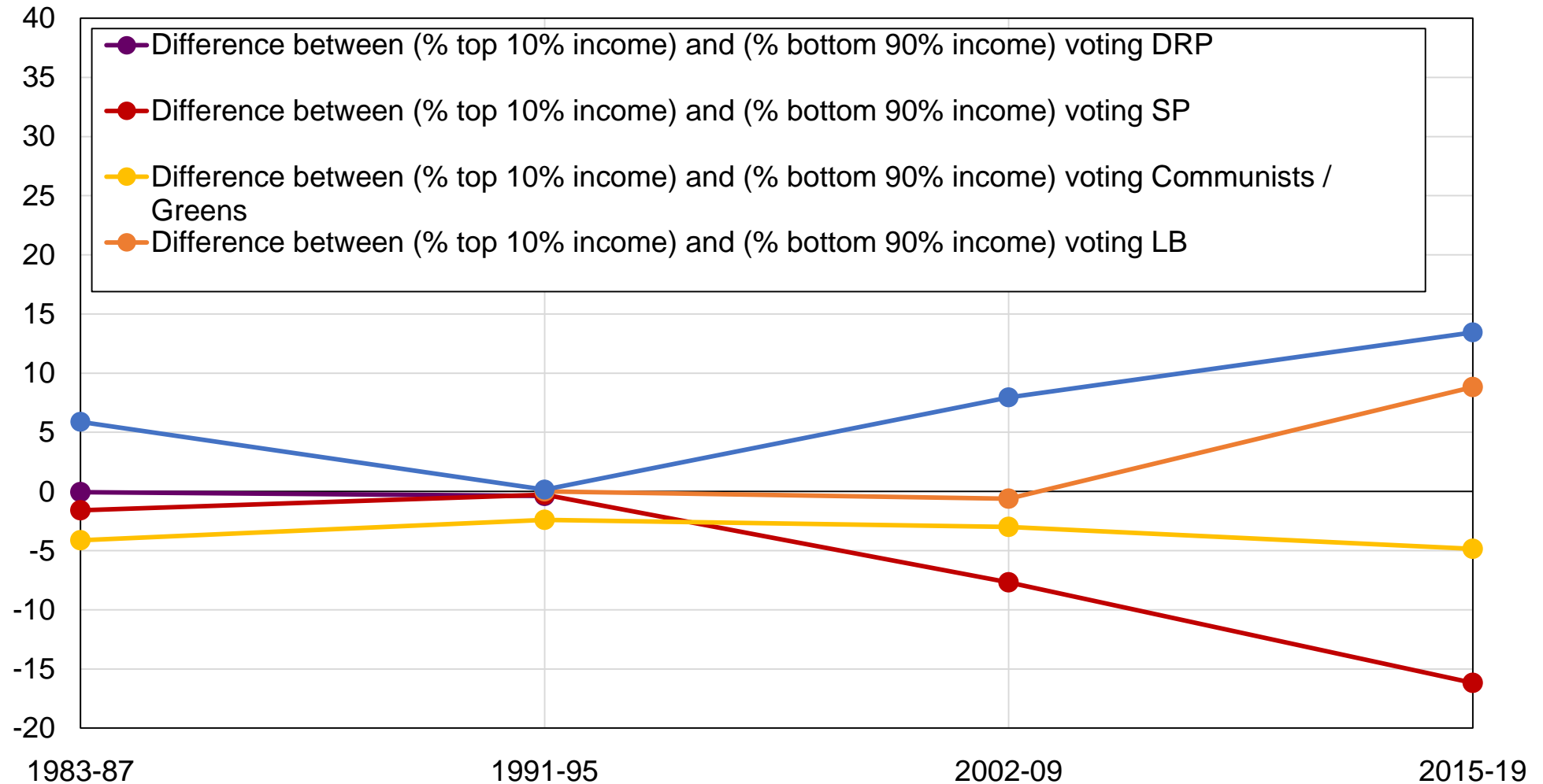
**Figure CC28 - The education cleavage in Portugal**



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

**Note:** the figure shows the bias of highest-educated voters towards DRP / SP / Communists, Greens / Left Bloc / Christian Democrats.

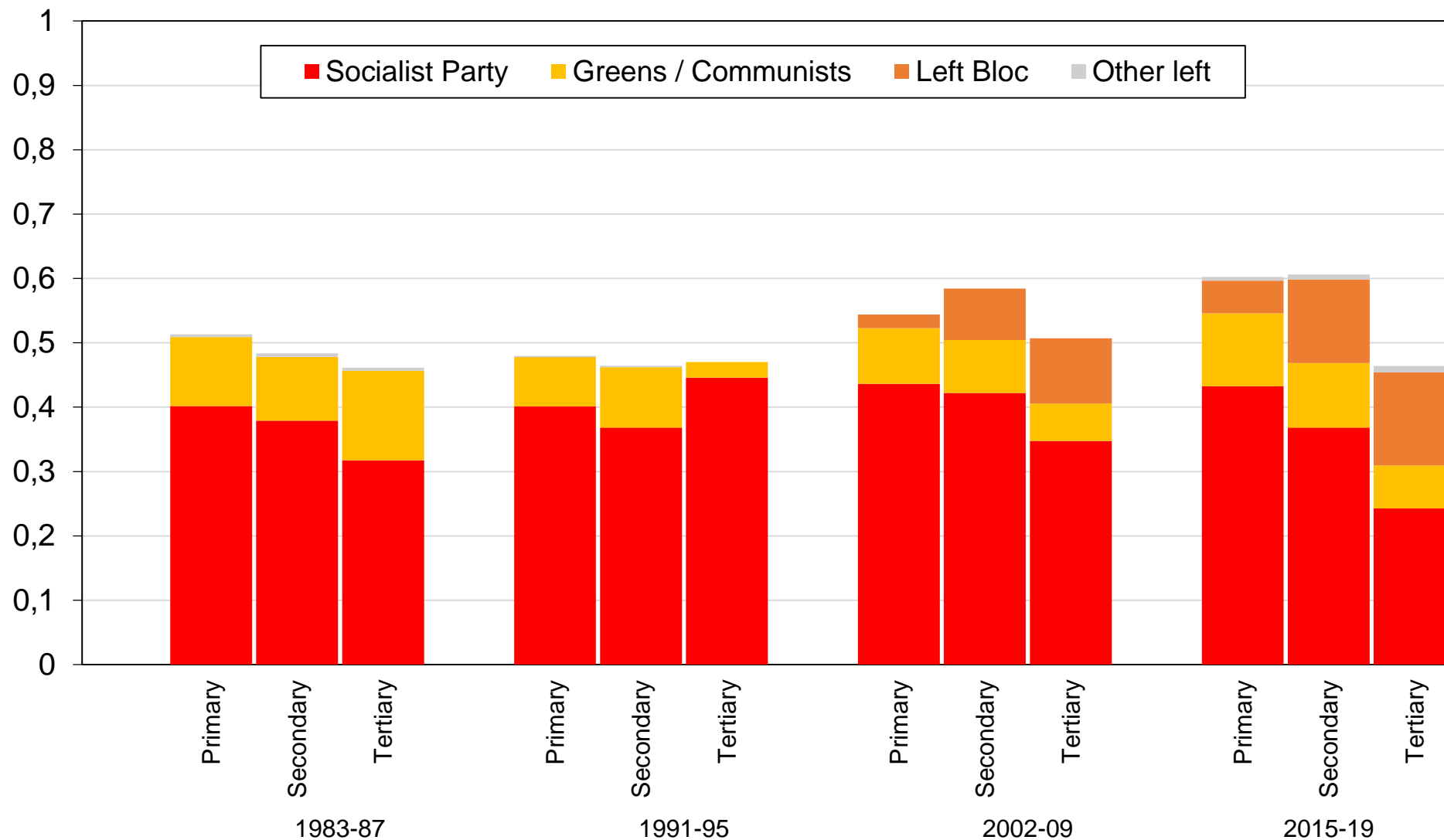
**Figure CC29 - The income cleavage in Portugal**



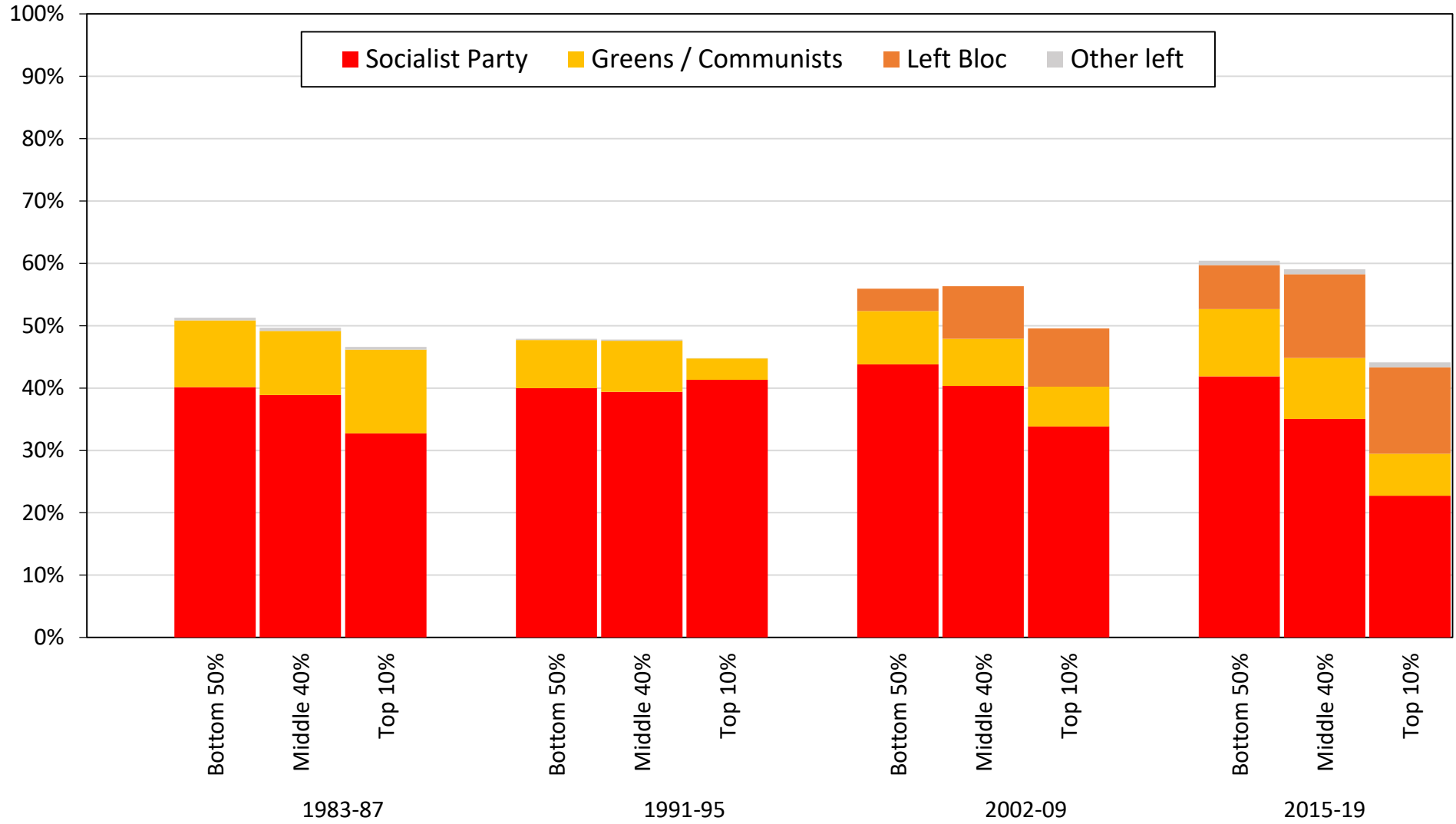
**Source:** authors' computations using Portugal political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the bias of top-income voters towards towards DRP / SP / Communists, Greens / Left Bloc / Christian Democrats.

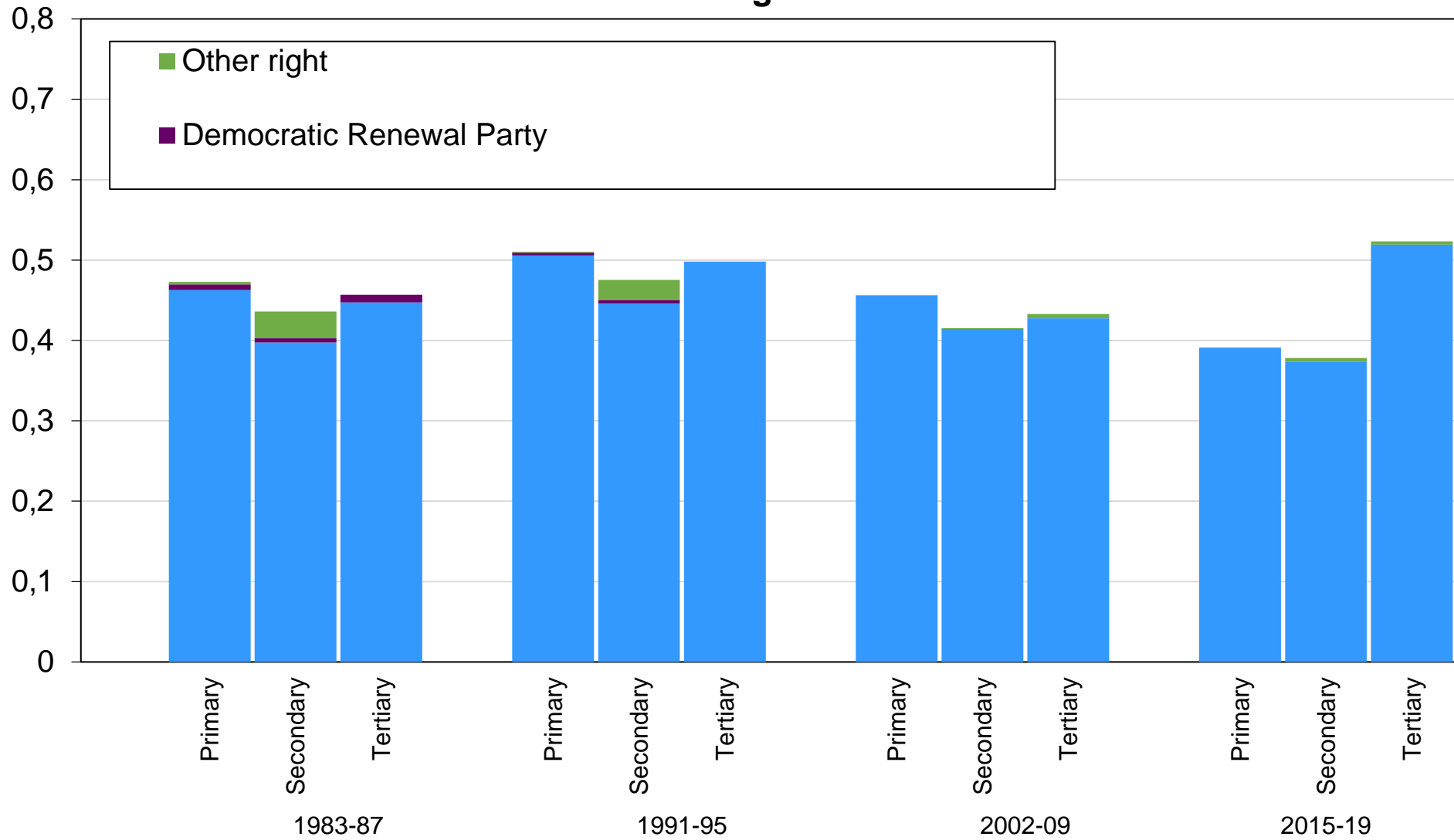
**Figure CC30 - Vote for left-wing parties by level of education in Portugal**



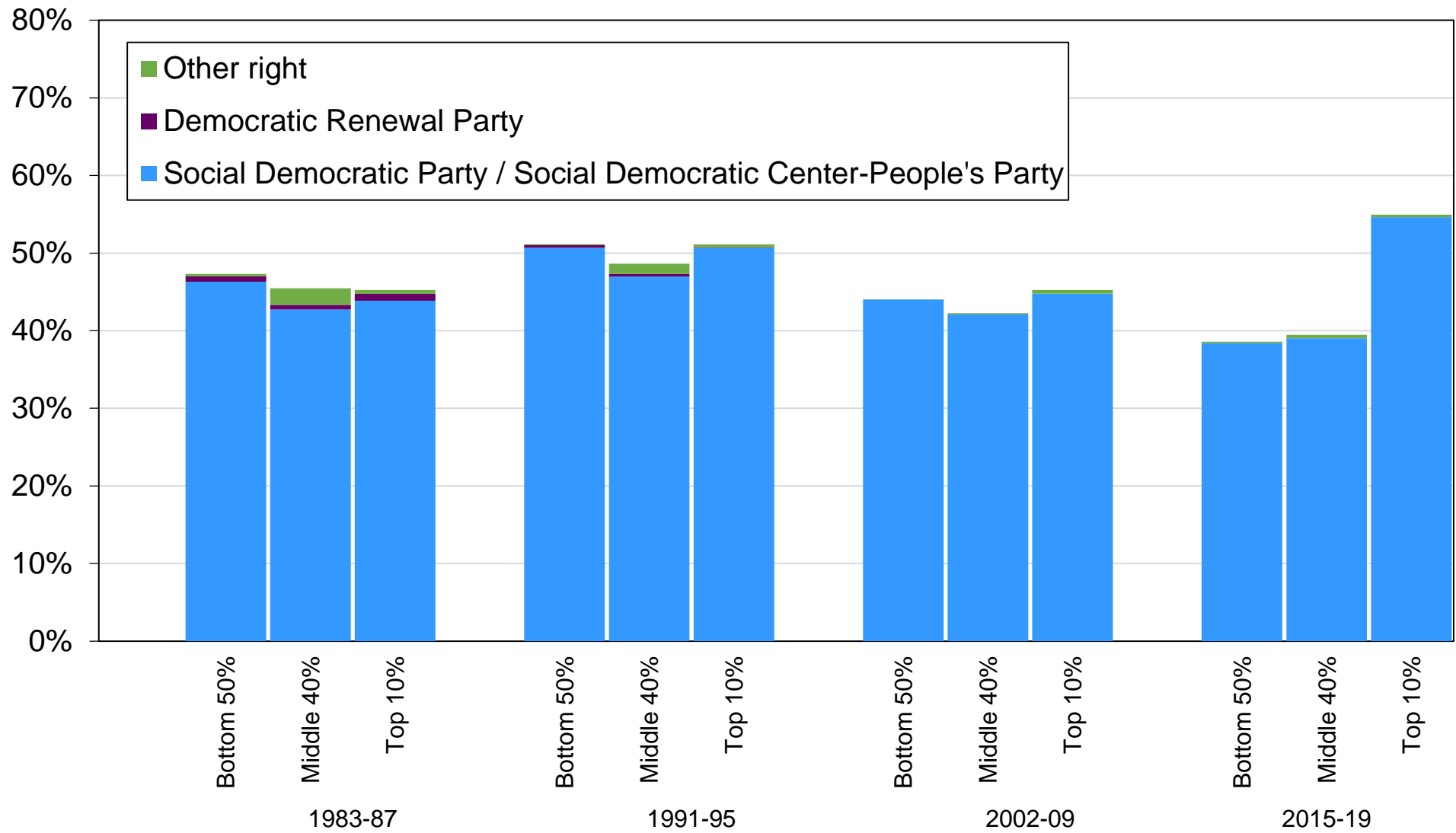
**Figure CC31 - Vote for left-wing parties by income group in Portugal**



**Figure CC32 - Vote for right-wing parties by level of education in Portugal**

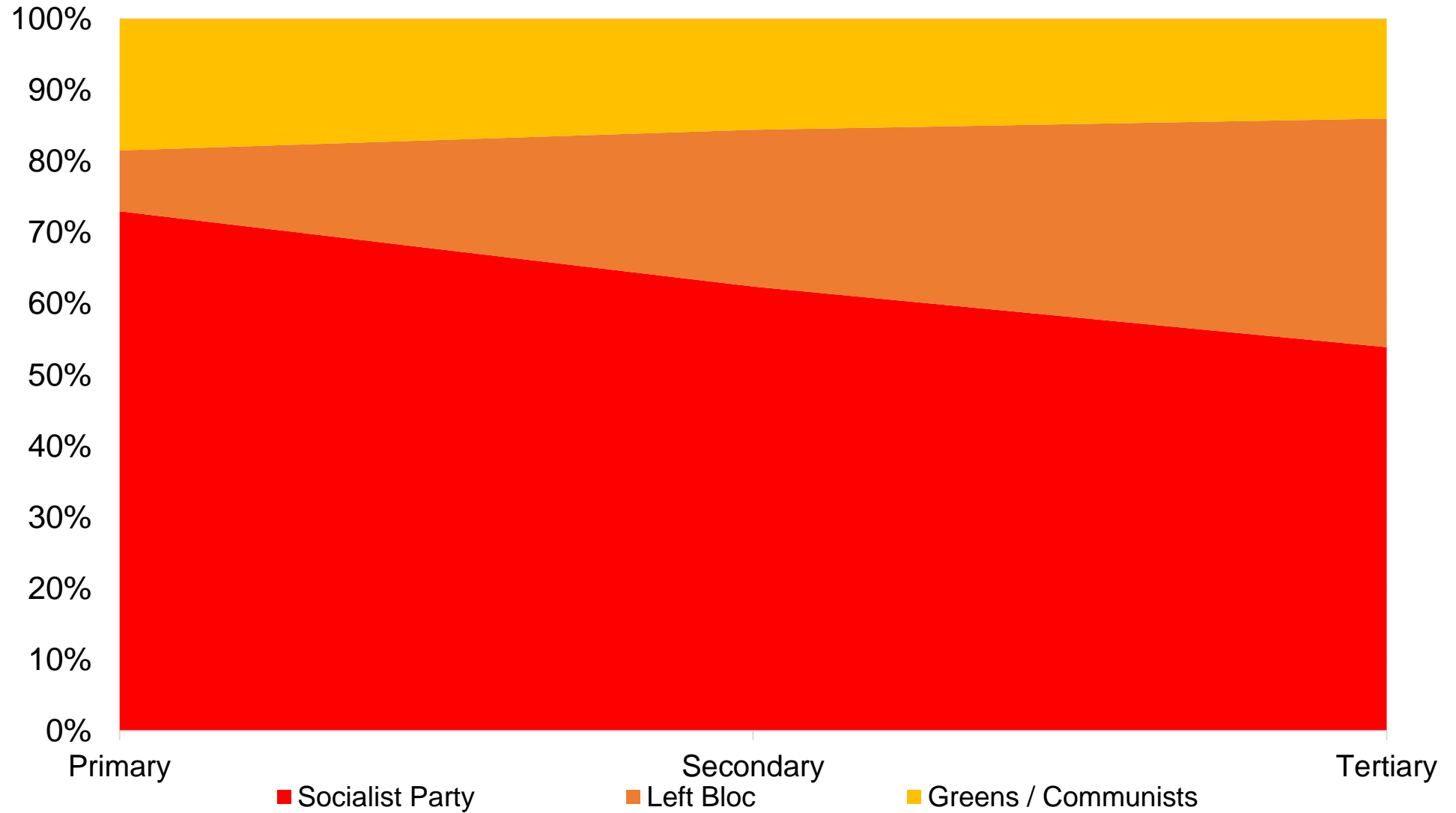


**Figure CC33 - Vote for right-wing parties by income group in Portugal**

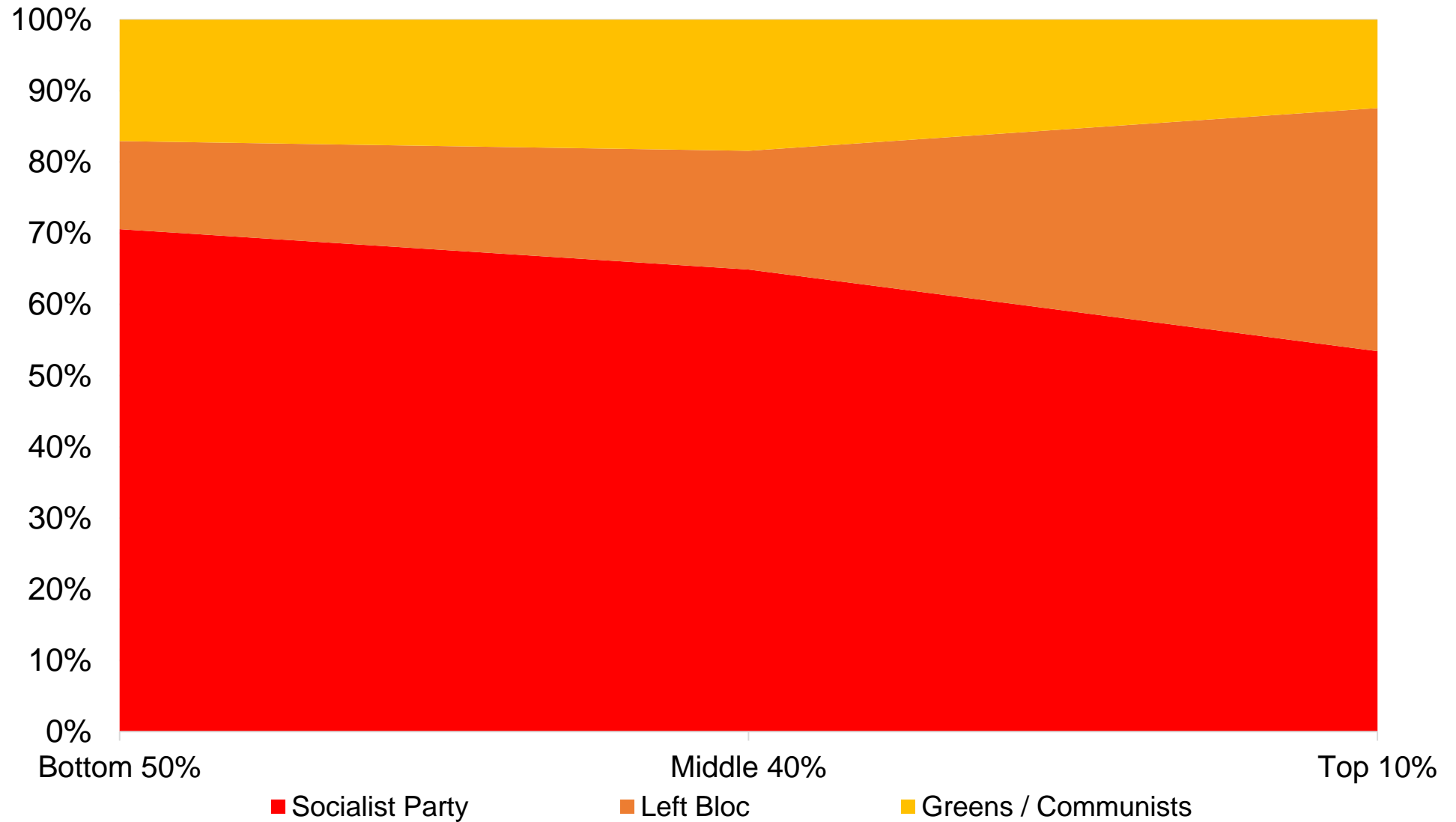




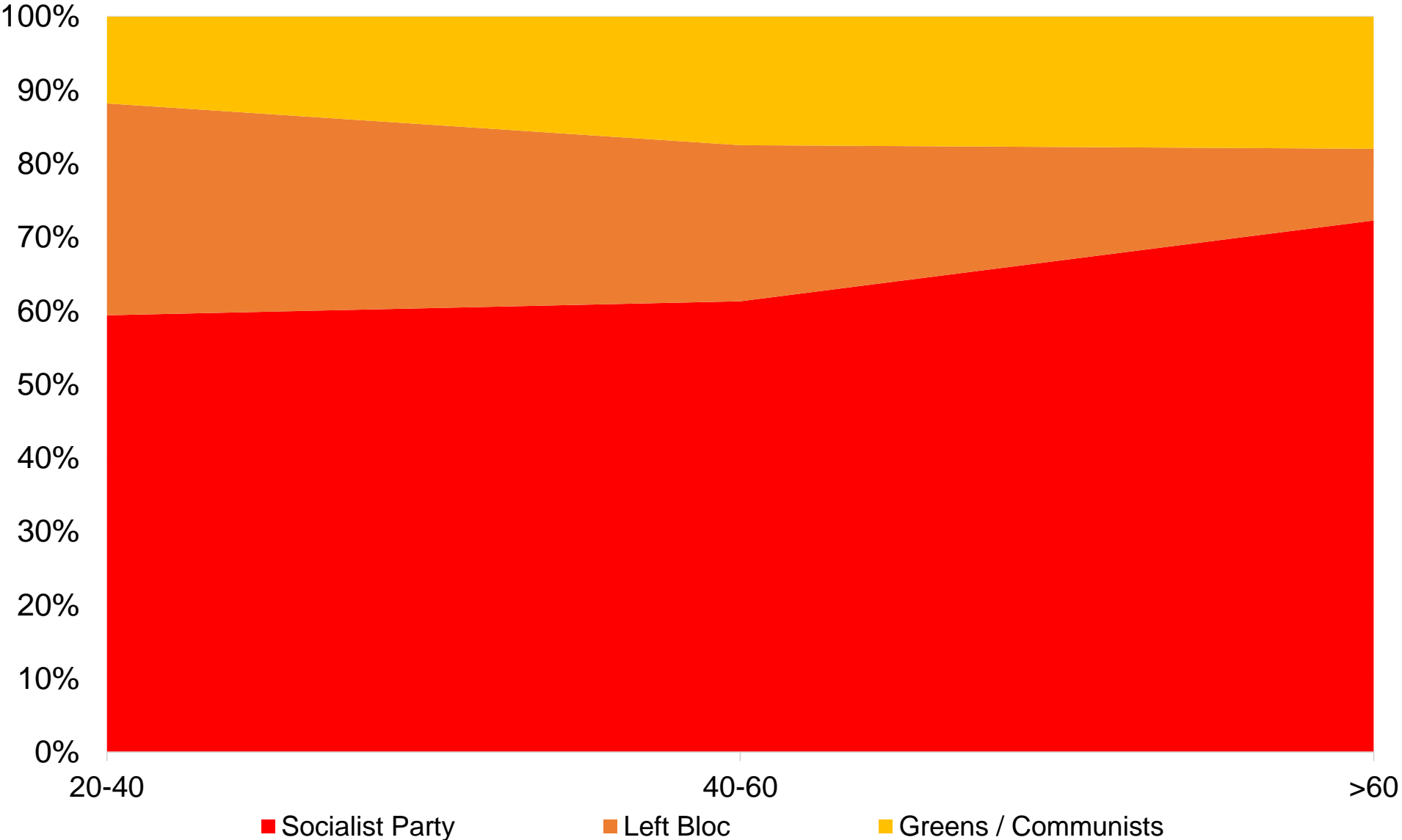
**Figure CC34 - Vote for left-wing parties by education in Portugal, 2015-2019**



**Figure CC35 - Vote for left-wing parties by income group in Portugal, 2015-2019**



**Figure CC36 - Vote for left-wing parties by age in Portugal, 2015-2019**



**Table CC1 - Survey data sources in Portugal**

Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
1975	Evolução das Atitudes e Comportamentos Políticos dos Portugueses, 1978 (Tabulations)	NORMA	6481/6091
1976	Evolução das Atitudes e Comportamentos Políticos dos Portugueses, 1978 (Tabulations)	NORMA	6481/6091
1979	Evolução das Atitudes e Comportamentos Políticos dos Portugueses, 1984 (Tabulations)	NORMA	6481
1983	Bacalhau, Mário and Thomas Bruneau, Continuity and change in the Portuguese party system, June 1993	ESEO	2000
1985	Bacalhau, Mário and Thomas Bruneau, Continuity and change in the Portuguese party system, June 1993	ESEO	2000
1987	Bacalhau, Mário and Thomas Bruneau, Continuity and change in the Portuguese party system, June 1993	ESEO	2000
1991	Bacalhau, Mário and Thomas Bruneau, Continuity and change in the Portuguese party system, June 1993	ESEO	2000
2002	Comparative Study of Electoral Systems, Module 2, 2001-2006 (Portugal, 2002)	CSES	1303
2009	Comparative Study of Electoral Systems, Module 3, 2006-2011 (Portugal, 2005)	CSES	1316
2011	Comparative Study of Electoral Systems, Module 3, 2006-2011 (Portugal, 2011)	CSES	1499
2015	Comparative Study of Electoral Systems, Module 4, 2011-2016 (Portugal, 2015)	CSES	1499
2019	Portuguese Election Study, 2019	APIS	1500

**Source:** authors' elaboration. NORMA: Comportamentos Eleitorais Atitudes políticas 1973-2002 (972-671-146-0), available for sale on <https://www.ics.ulisboa.pt/imprensa>. ESEO: data available upon request to [ceapp@ics.ul.pt](mailto:ceapp@ics.ul.pt). CSES: Data free to download on <https://cses.org/>. APIS: Data free to download on <https://dados.rcaap.pt/browse?type=author&value=Magalh%C3%A3es%2C+Pedro>.

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

**Table CC2 - Descriptive statistics by decade in Portugal**

	1973-79	1983-87	1991-95	2002-09	2015-19
Age: 20-40		47%	45%	38%	27%
Age: 40-60		29%	32%	35%	38%
Age: 60+		24%	22%	27%	36%
Subjective class: Not working class		100%	90%		40%
Education: Primary	78%	66%	68%	38%	36%
Education: Secondary	18%	25%	22%	45%	48%
Education: Tertiary	4%	8%	10%	17%	15%
Employment status: Employed		51%	57%	54%	49%
Employment status: Unemployed		4%	4%	9%	11%
Employment status: Inactive		44%	39%	37%	40%
Marital status: Married or with partner		73%	73%	64%	59%
Region: North		48%	49%	38%	35%
Region: Center		11%	12%	20%	23%
Region: Lisbon		31%	31%	32%	29%
Region: Alentejo		5%	5%	7%	8%
Region: Algarve		4%	4%	4%	5%
Religion: No religion		5%	8%	5%	11%
Religion: Catholic		93%	89%	90%	84%
Religion: Other		3%	3%	4%	5%
Church attendance: Never		16%	8%	14%	18%
Church attendance: Less than monthly		37%	62%	35%	47%
Church attendance: Monthly or more		47%	29%	51%	35%
Rural-urban: Rural areas		53%	50%	33%	30%
Sector : Public sector				19%	14%
Gender: Man		48%	51%	45%	44%
Union membership: Yes		10%	8%	10%	5%
Country of birth: Portugal					95%
Country of birth: Brazil					2%
Country of birth: Other ex-colony					3%

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

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