

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

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Appendix C - Switzerland

Main figures and tables

Figure C1	Election results in Switzerland, 1947-2019
Figure C2	Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controls
Table C1	The structure of political cleavages in Switzerland, 2011-2019

Appendix Figures CA - Election results and composition of the electorate

Figure CA1	Election results in Switzerland, 1947-2019
Figure CA2	Election results in Switzerland by group, 1947-2019
Figure CA3	The composition of the electorate by education
Figure CA4	The composition of the electorate by age
Figure CA5	The composition of the electorate by religion
Figure CA6	The composition of the electorate by church attendance
Figure CA7	The composition of the electorate by linguistic region
Figure CA8	The composition of the electorate by country of birth
Figure CA9	Composition of income quintiles by education level, 1970s
Figure CA10	Composition of income quintiles by education level, 2010s
Figure CA11	Composition of income quintiles by region, 1970s
Figure CA12	Composition of income quintiles by region, 2010s

Appendix Figures CB and CC - Structure of the vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left

Figure CB1	Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by education level
Figure CB2	Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by education group
Figure CB3	Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by income decile
Figure CB3b	Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by income decile (line graph)
Figure CB4	Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by income group
Figure CB5	Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by religious affiliation
Figure CB6	Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by church attendance
Figure CB7	Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by location
Figure CB8	Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by gender
Figure CB9	Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by marital status

Figure CB10 Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by age group

Figure CB11 Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by homeownership

Figure CB12 Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by union membership

Figure CB13 Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by region

Figure CB14 Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by occupation (Kriesi classification)

Figure CB15 Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by occupation (Oesch classification)

Figure CB16 Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by sector of occupation

Figure CC1 Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among highest-educated and top-income voters

Figure CC2 Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controls

Figure CC3 Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among university graduates

Figure CC4 Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among highest-educated voters

Figure CC5 Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among primary-educated voters

Figure CC6 Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among top-income voters

Figure CC7 Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among voters with no religion

Figure CC8 Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among Protestants

Figure CC9 Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among Catholics

Figure CC10 Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among non-religious voters

Figure CC11 Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among women

Figure CC12 Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among union members

Figure CC13 Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among young voters

Figure CC14 Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among rural areas

Figure CC15 Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among specific regions

Figure CC16 Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among homeowners

Figure CC17 Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among foreign-born voters

Figure CC18 The education cleavage in Switzerland

Figure CC19 The income cleavage in Switzerland

Appendix Figures CD - Structure of the vote for specific parties

Figure CD1 Vote for left-wing parties by education level

Figure CD2 Vote for left-wing parties by education group

Figure CD3 Vote for left-wing parties by income group

Figure CD4 Vote for left-wing parties by religious affiliation

Figure CD5 Vote for left-wing parties by gender

Figure CD6 Vote for left-wing parties by union membership

Figure CD7 Vote for left-wing parties by region

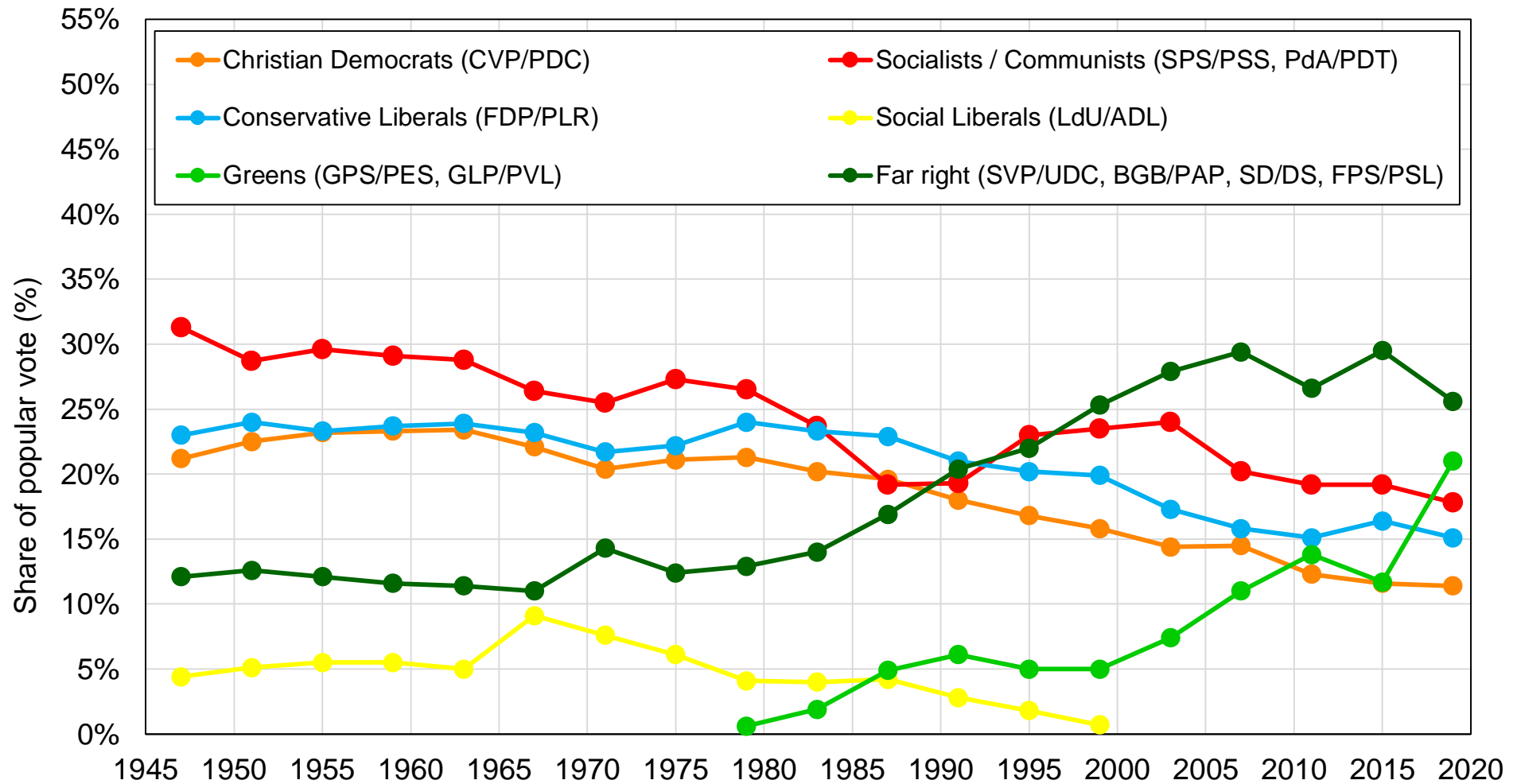
Figure CD8 Vote for green parties by education level

Figure CD9	Vote for green parties by education group
Figure CD10	Vote for green parties by income group
Figure CD11	Vote for green parties by religious affiliation
Figure CD12	Vote for green parties by gender
Figure CD13	Vote for green parties by union membership
Figure CD14	Vote for green parties by region
Figure CD15	Vote for the Christian Democrats by education level
Figure CD16	Vote for the Christian Democrats by education group
Figure CD17	Vote for the Christian Democrats by income group
Figure CD18	Vote for the Christian Democrats by religious affiliation
Figure CD19	Vote for the Christian Democrats by gender
Figure CD20	Vote for the Christian Democrats by union membership
Figure CD21	Vote for the Christian Democrats by region
Figure CD22	Vote for the Liberals by education level
Figure CD23	Vote for the Liberals by education group
Figure CD24	Vote for the Liberals by income group
Figure CD25	Vote for the Liberals by religious affiliation
Figure CD26	Vote for the Liberals by gender
Figure CD27	Vote for the Liberals by union membership
Figure CD28	Vote for the Liberals by region
Figure CD29	Vote for far-right parties by education level
Figure CD30	Vote for far-right parties by education group
Figure CD31	Vote for far-right parties by income group
Figure CD32	Vote for far-right parties by religious affiliation
Figure CD33	Vote for far-right parties by gender
Figure CD34	Vote for far-right parties by union membership
Figure CD35	Vote for far-right parties by region
Figure CD36	Vote for far-right parties by location

Appendix Tables

Table CA1	Survey data sources
Table CA2	Complete descriptive statistics
Table CA3	The structure of political cleavages in Switzerland, 2011-2019

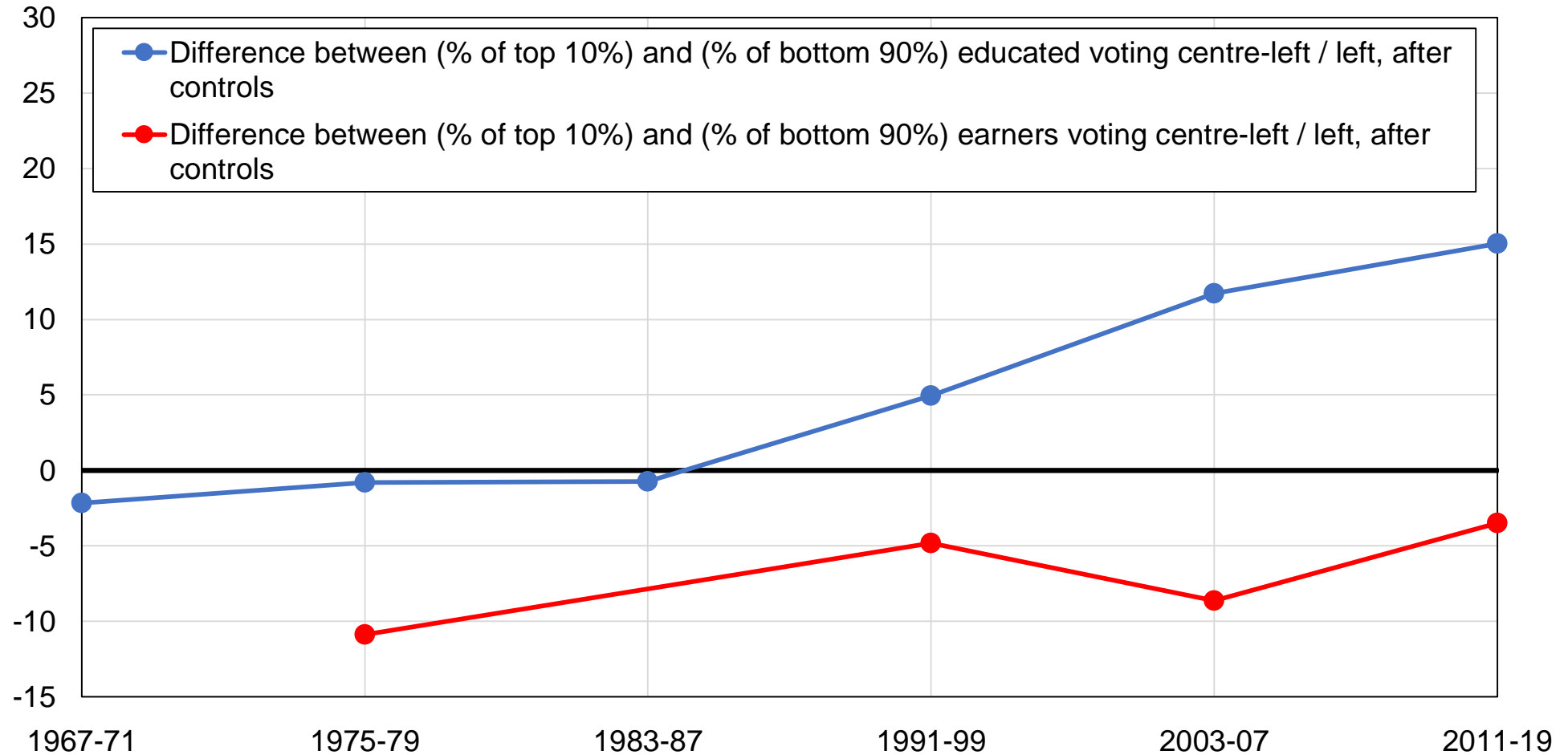
Figure C1 - Election results in Switzerland, 1947-2019



Source: author's computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Swiss political parties in federal elections between 1947 and 2019.

Figure C2 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other center-left among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controls



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the support for centre-left / left-wing parties among highest-educated and top-income voters after controlling for income, education, age, gender, employment, marital status, religious affiliation, region, home ownership, and union membership status.

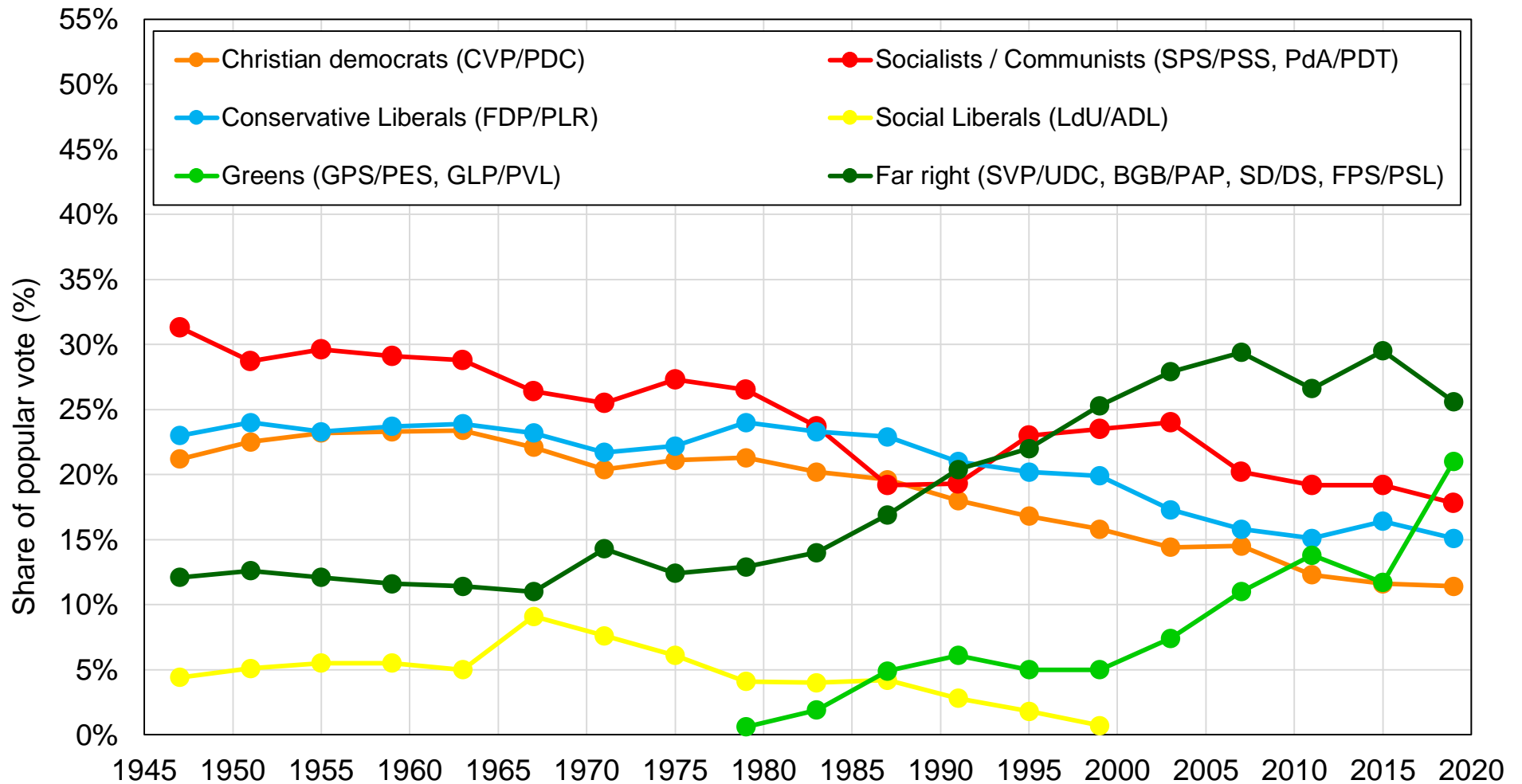
Table C1 - The structure of political cleavages in Switzerland, 2011-2019

	Share of votes received (%)				
	Left wing SPS/PSS PdA/PDT	Christ. Democrats CVP/PDC	Cons.-Liberals FDP/PRD	Greens GPS/PES GLP/PVL	Far right SVP/UDC FPS/PSDL SD/DS
Overall vote share	20%	12%	17%	15%	25%
Education					
Primary	17%	19%	12%	8%	33%
Secondary	18%	11%	16%	13%	29%
Tertiary	26%	11%	20%	23%	10%
Income					
Bottom 50%	20%	12%	12%	12%	30%
Middle 40%	21%	11%	18%	16%	21%
Top 10%	15%	12%	26%	21%	19%
Region					
German	19%	11%	15%	15%	27%
French	25%	13%	22%	15%	18%
Italian	18%	19%	25%	7%	14%
Location					
Urban	25%	9%	17%	19%	19%
Rural	16%	13%	17%	12%	29%

Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Notes: the table shows the average share of votes received by the main political parties by selected individual characteristics over the 2011-2019 period. Vote shares by group are those reported in surveys and may not match exactly official election results.

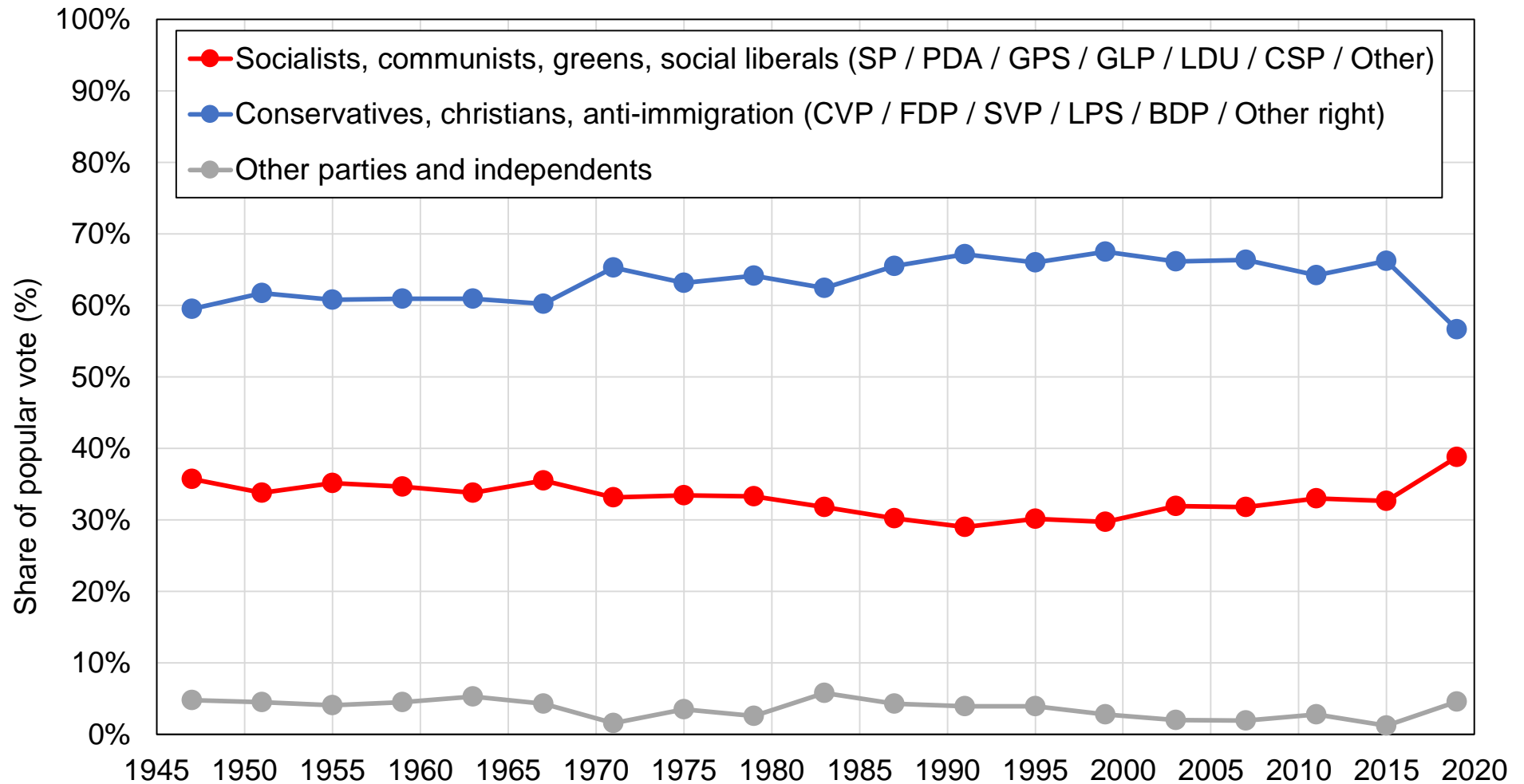
Figure C1 - Election results in Switzerland, 1947-2019



Source: author's computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Swiss political parties in federal elections between 1947 and 2019.

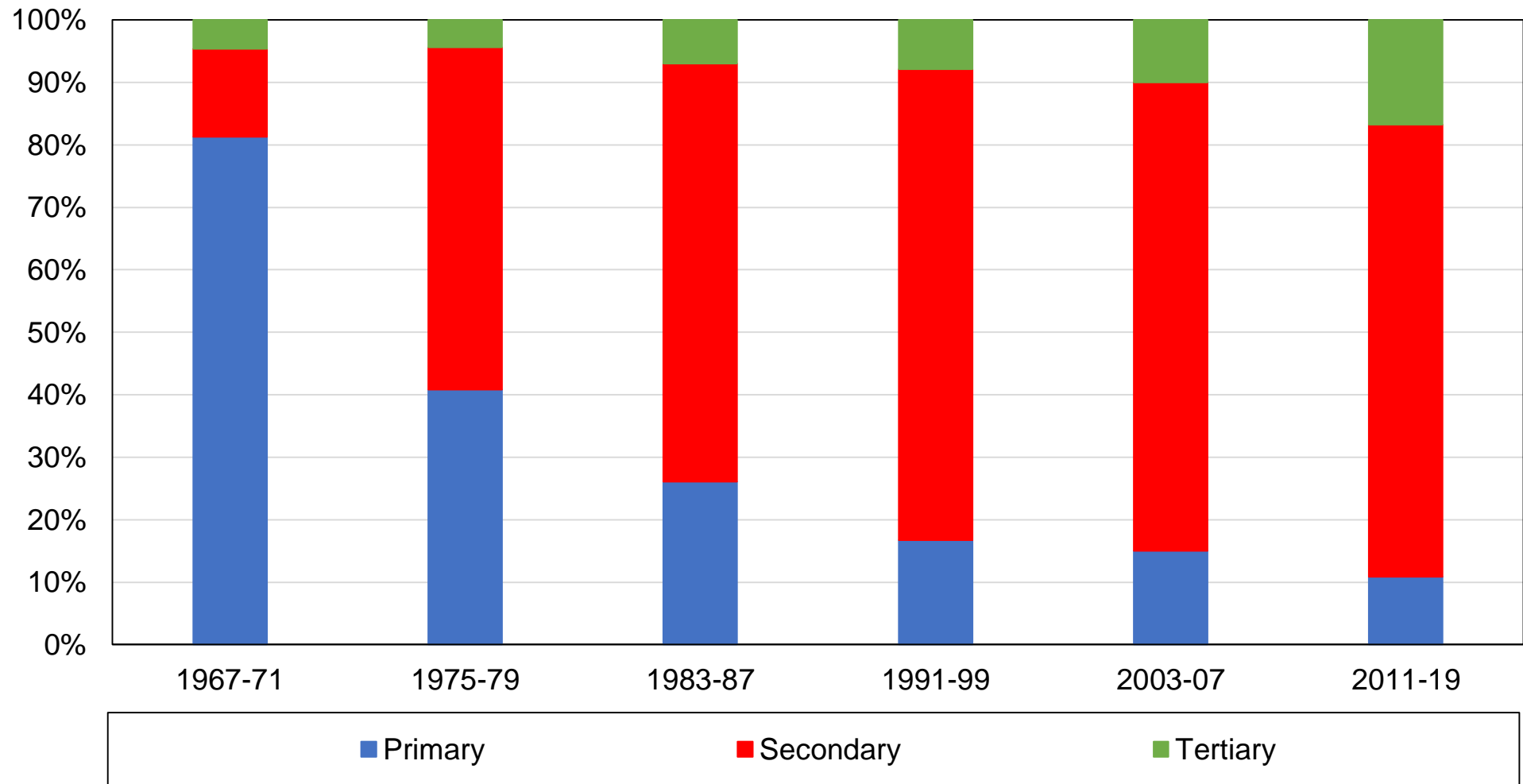
Figure CA2 - Election results in Switzerland by group, 1947-2019



Source: author's computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Swiss political parties in federal elections between 1947 and 2019.

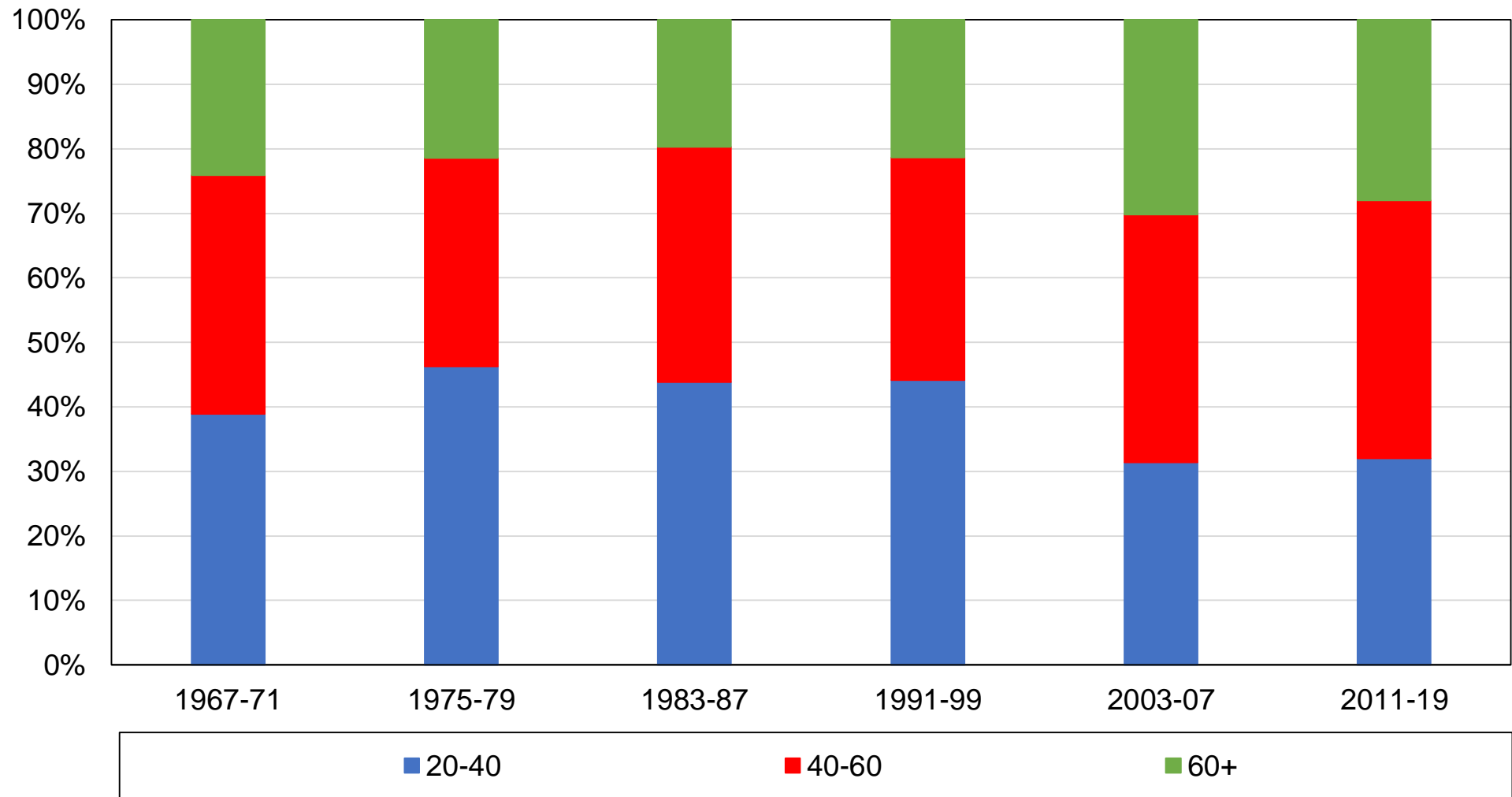
Figure CA3 - The composition of the electorate by education



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of education levels in the Swiss adult population and its evolution over time. 'Tertiary' education only refers here to university studies. Higher vocational education is grouped with 'Secondary'.

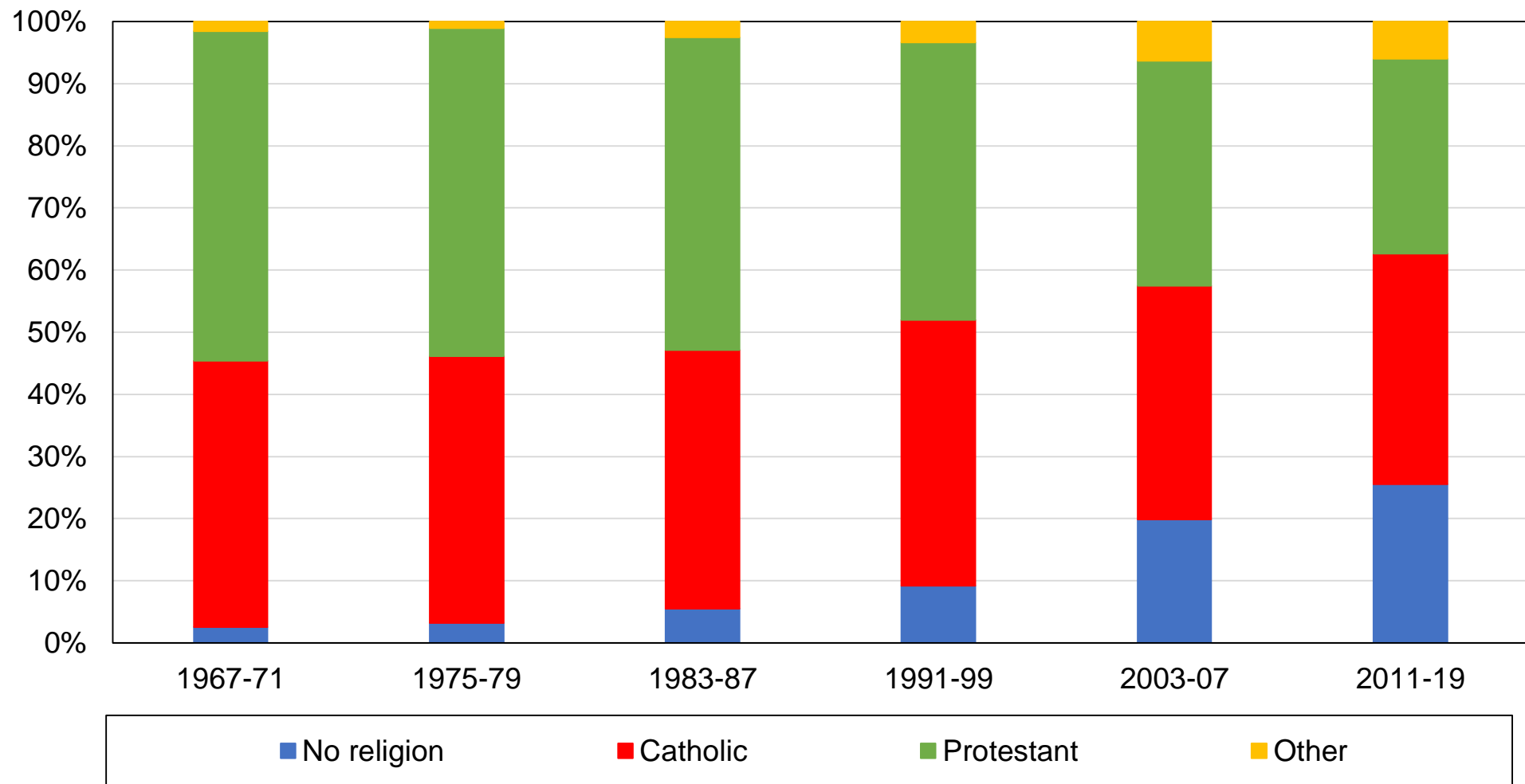
Figure CA4 - The composition of the electorate by age



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

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

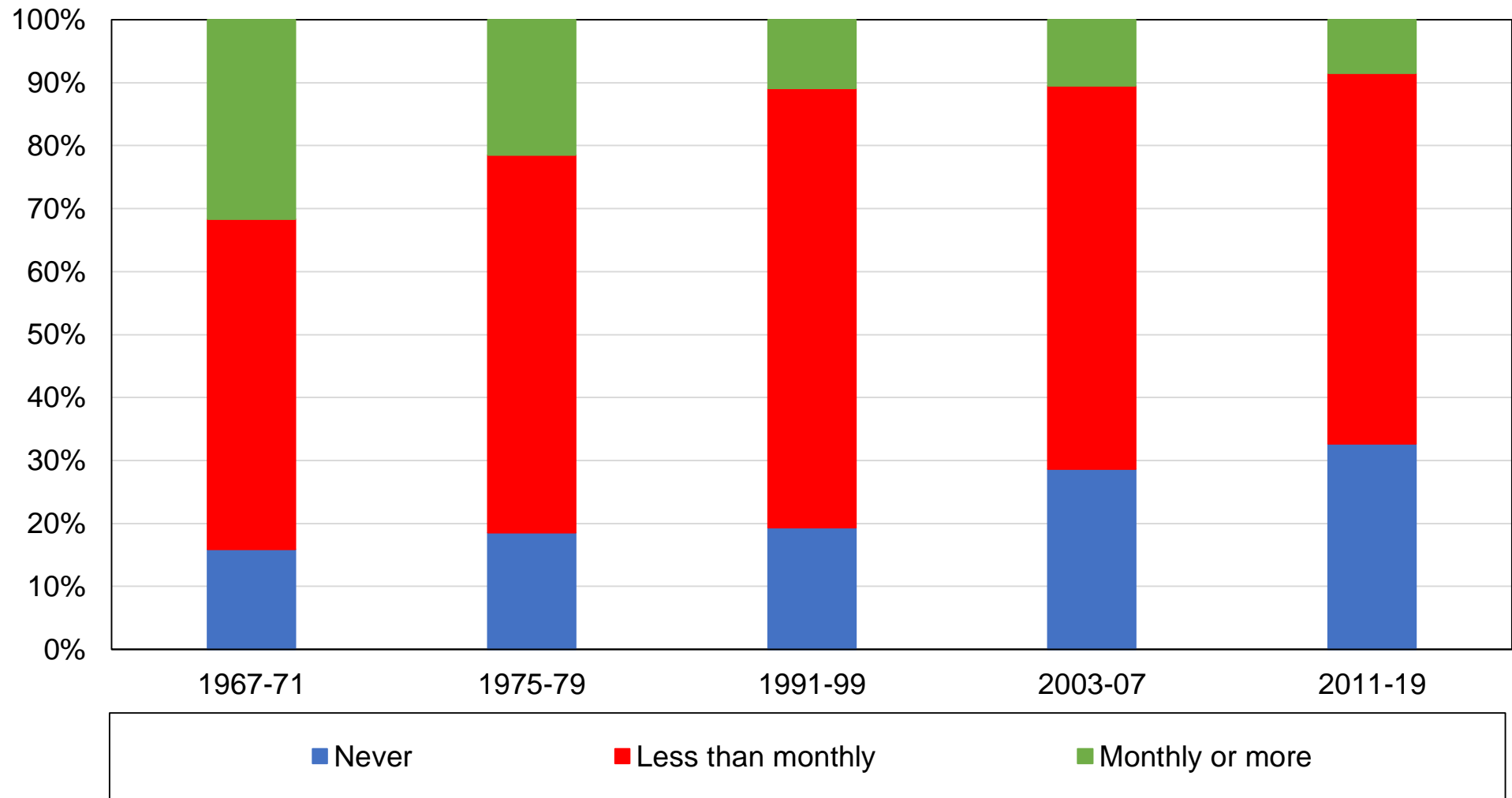
Figure CA5 - The composition of the electorate by religion



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

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

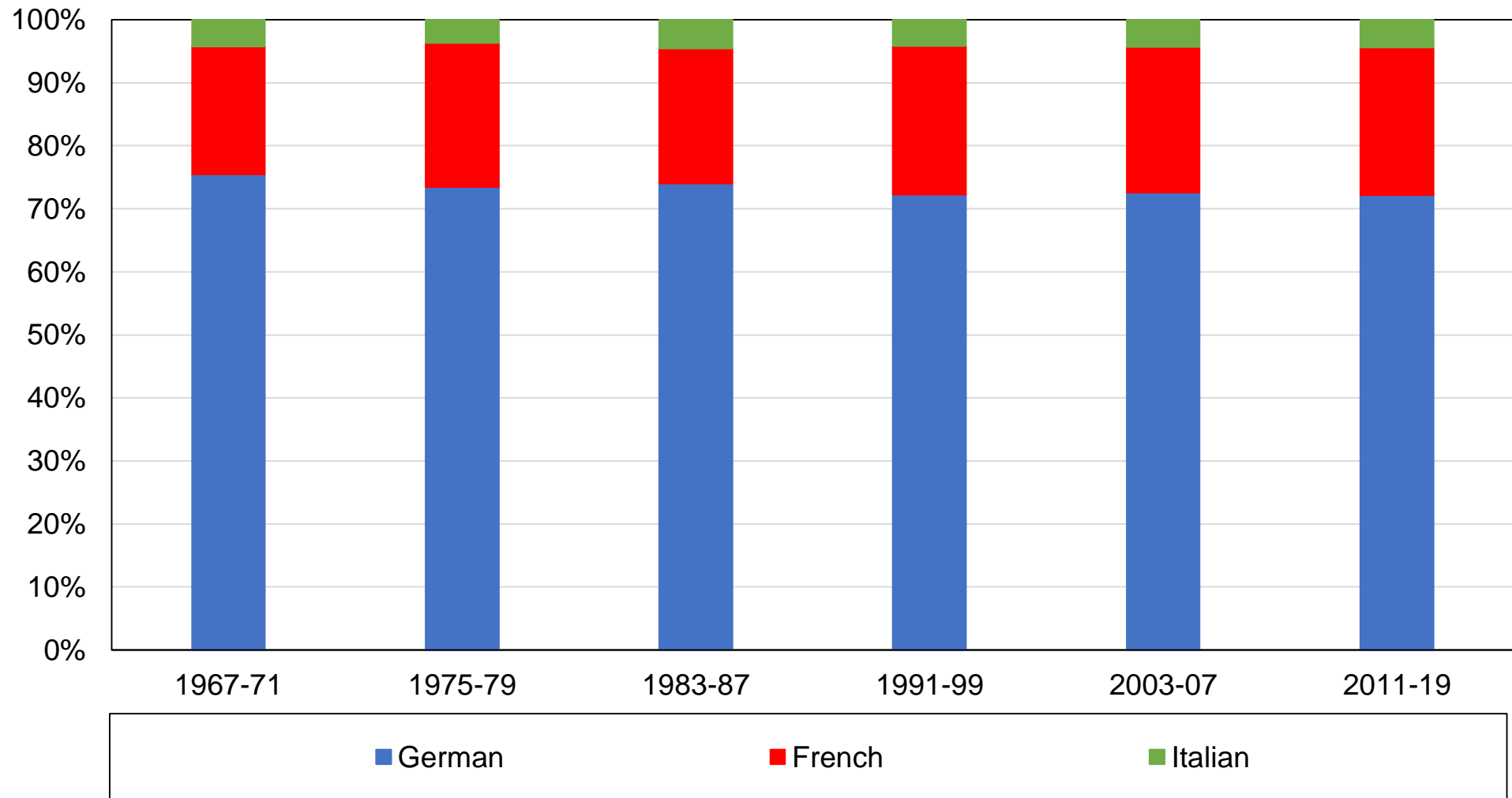
Figure CA6 - The composition of the electorate by church attendance



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

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

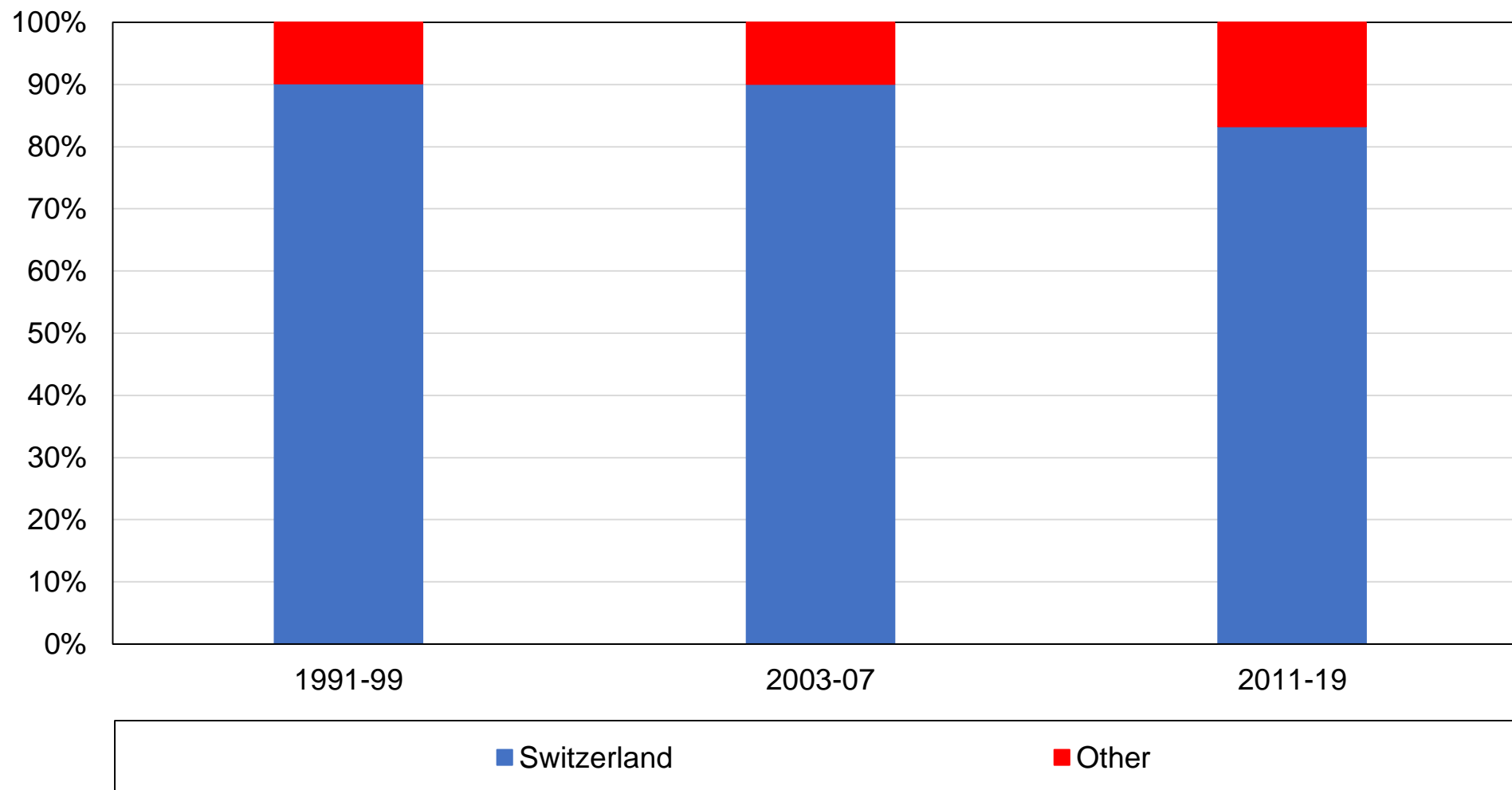
Figure CA7 - The composition of the electorate by linguistic region



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution the Swiss adult population by linguistic region and its distribution over time.

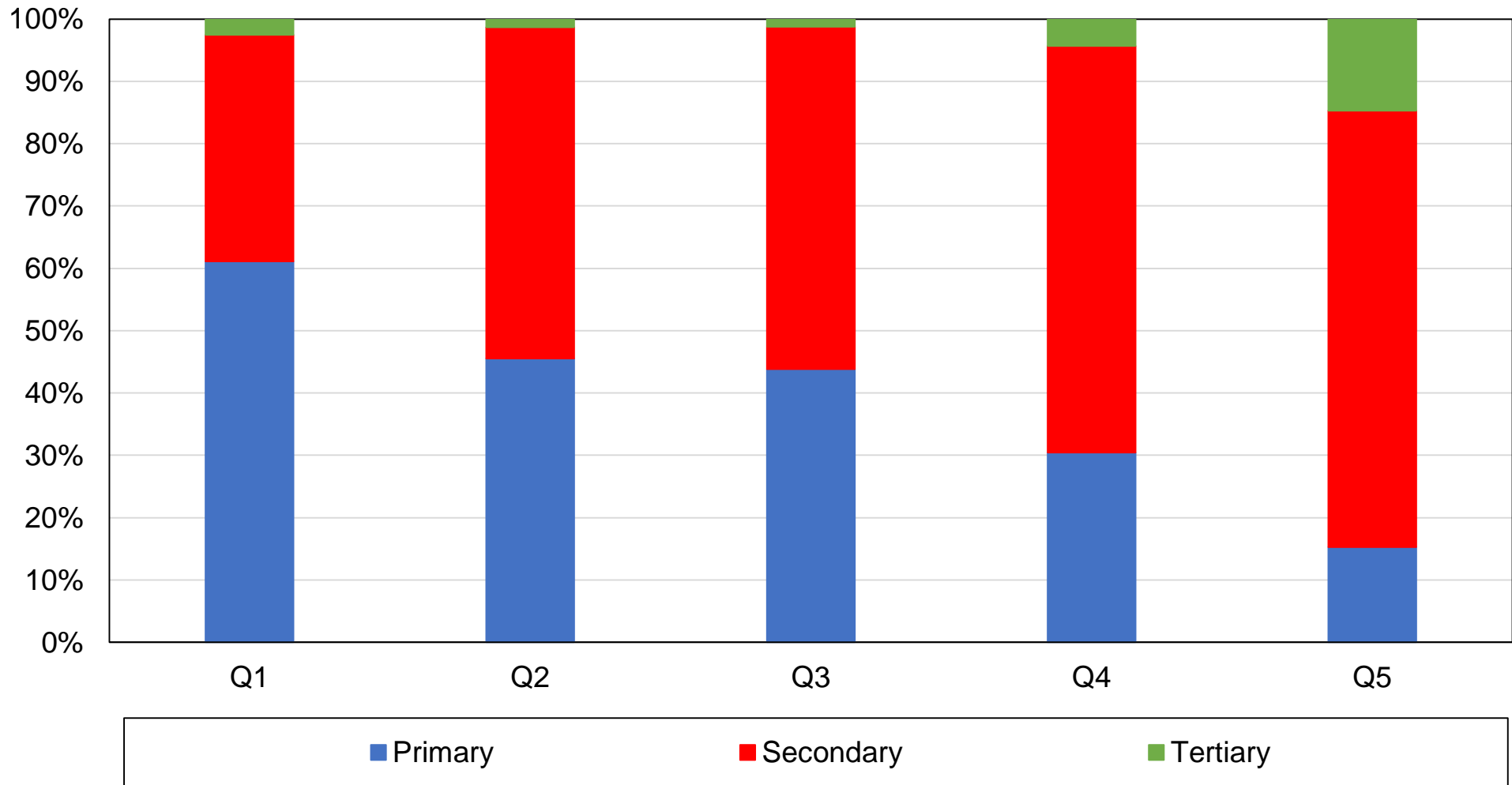
Figure CA8 - The composition of the electorate by country of birth



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of the Swiss adult population by country of birth and its evolution over time.

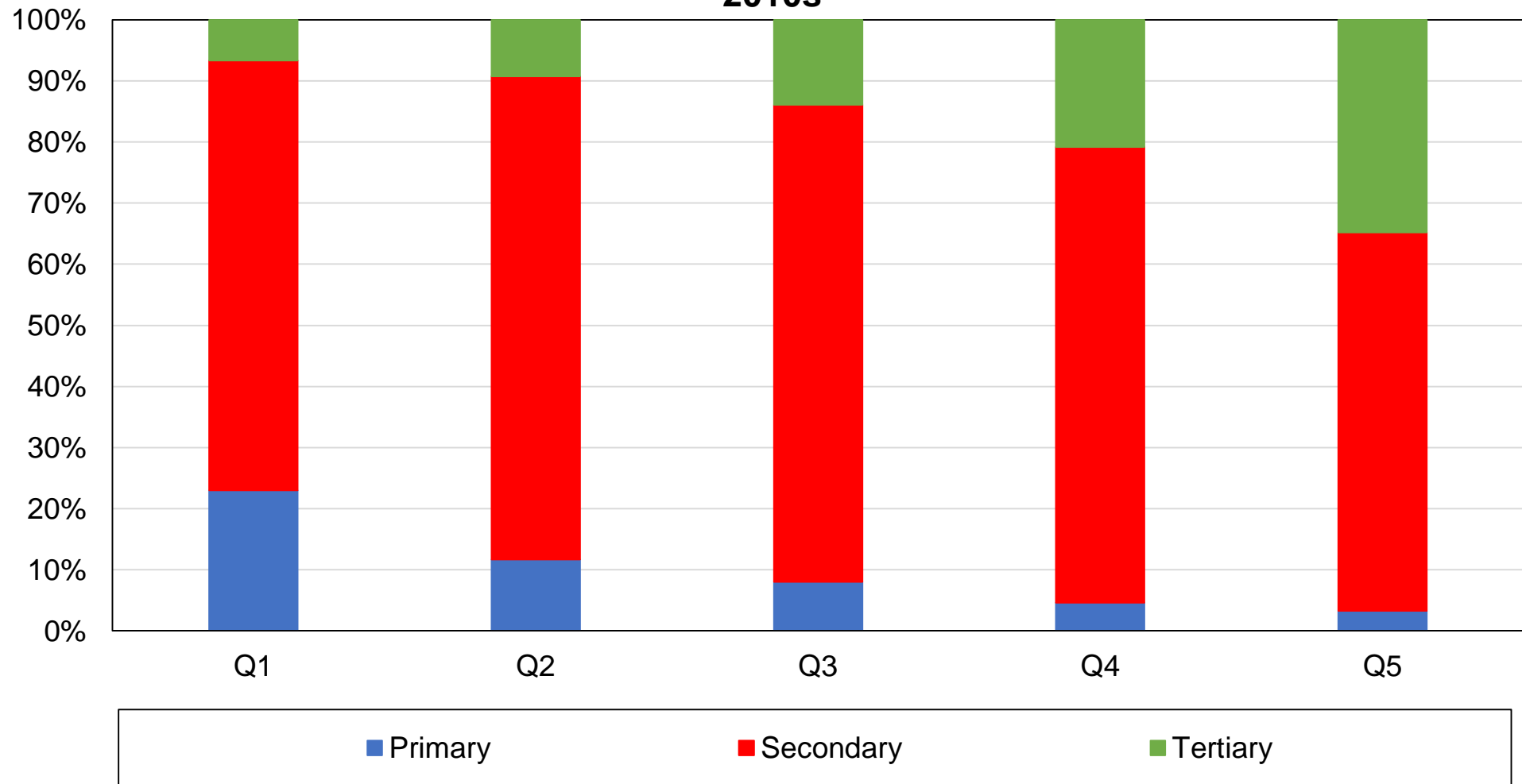
Figure CA9 - Composition of income quintiles by education level, 1970s



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

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

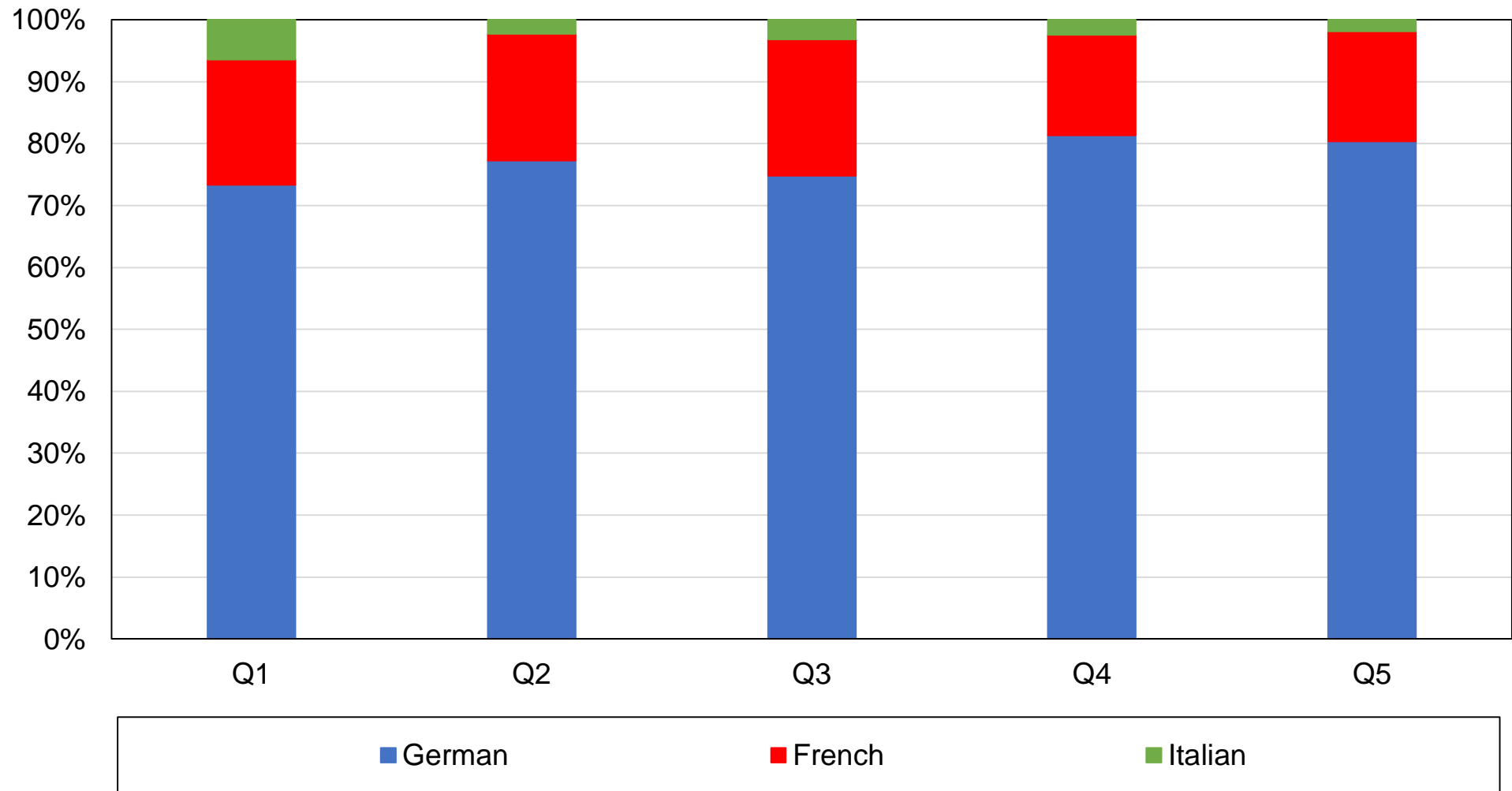
Figure CA10 - Composition of income quintiles by education level, 2010s



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of education level by income quintile in the Swiss adult population in the 2010s.

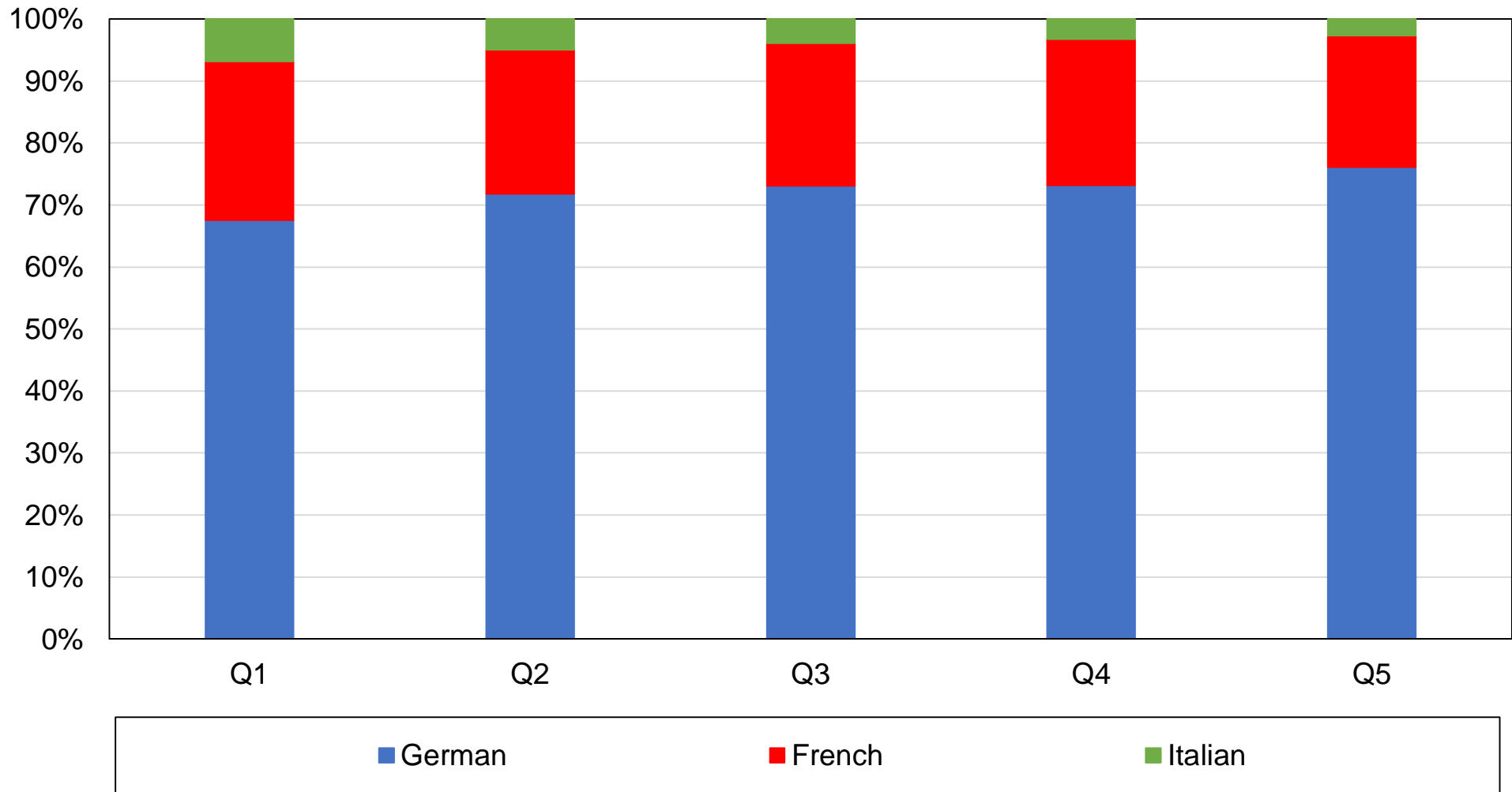
Figure CA11 - Composition of income quintiles by region, 1970s



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of linguistic regions by income quintile in the Swiss adult population in the 1970s.

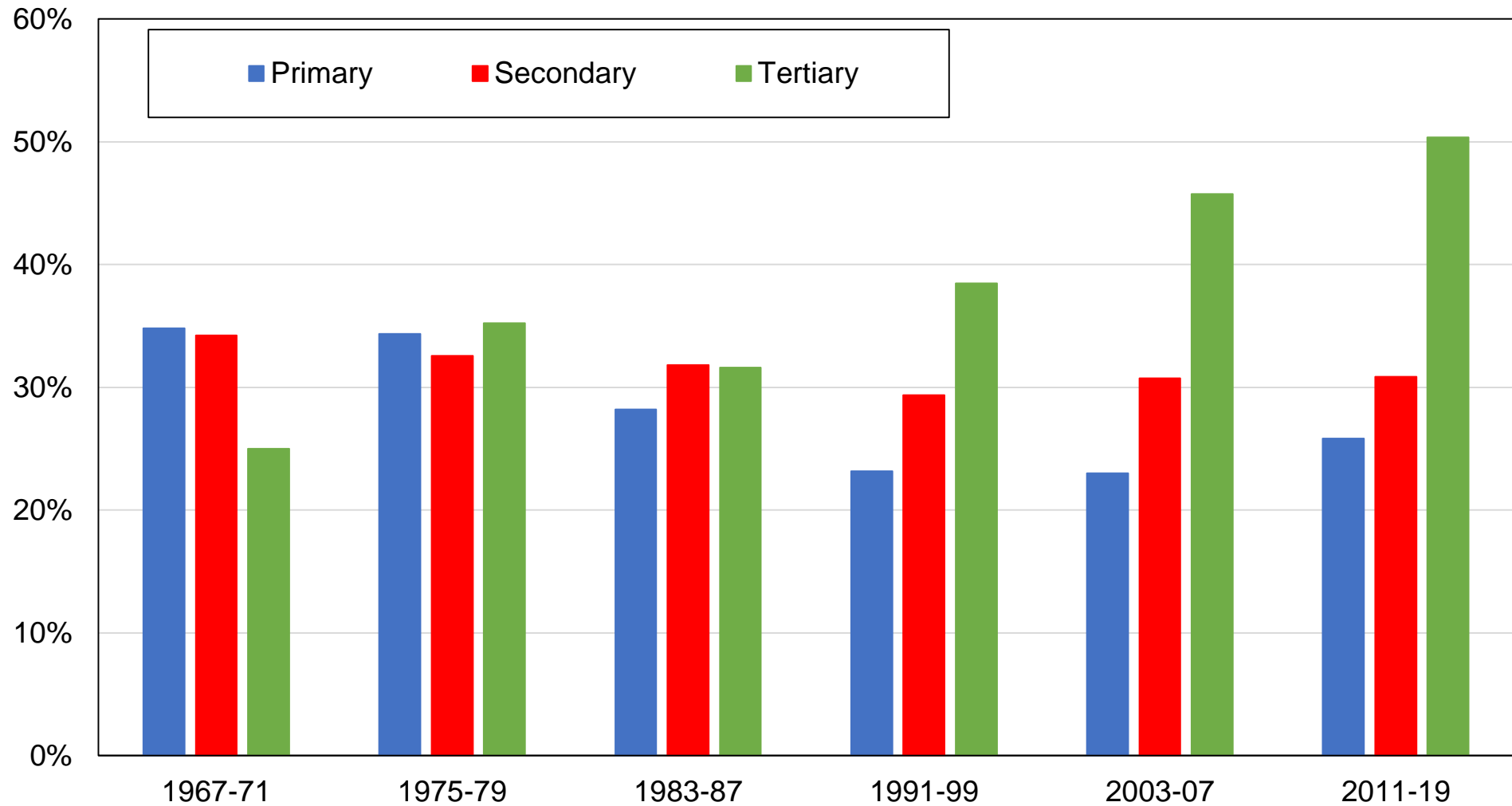
Figure CA12 - Composition of income quintiles by region, 2010s



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of linguistic regions by income quintile in the Swiss adult population in the 2010s.

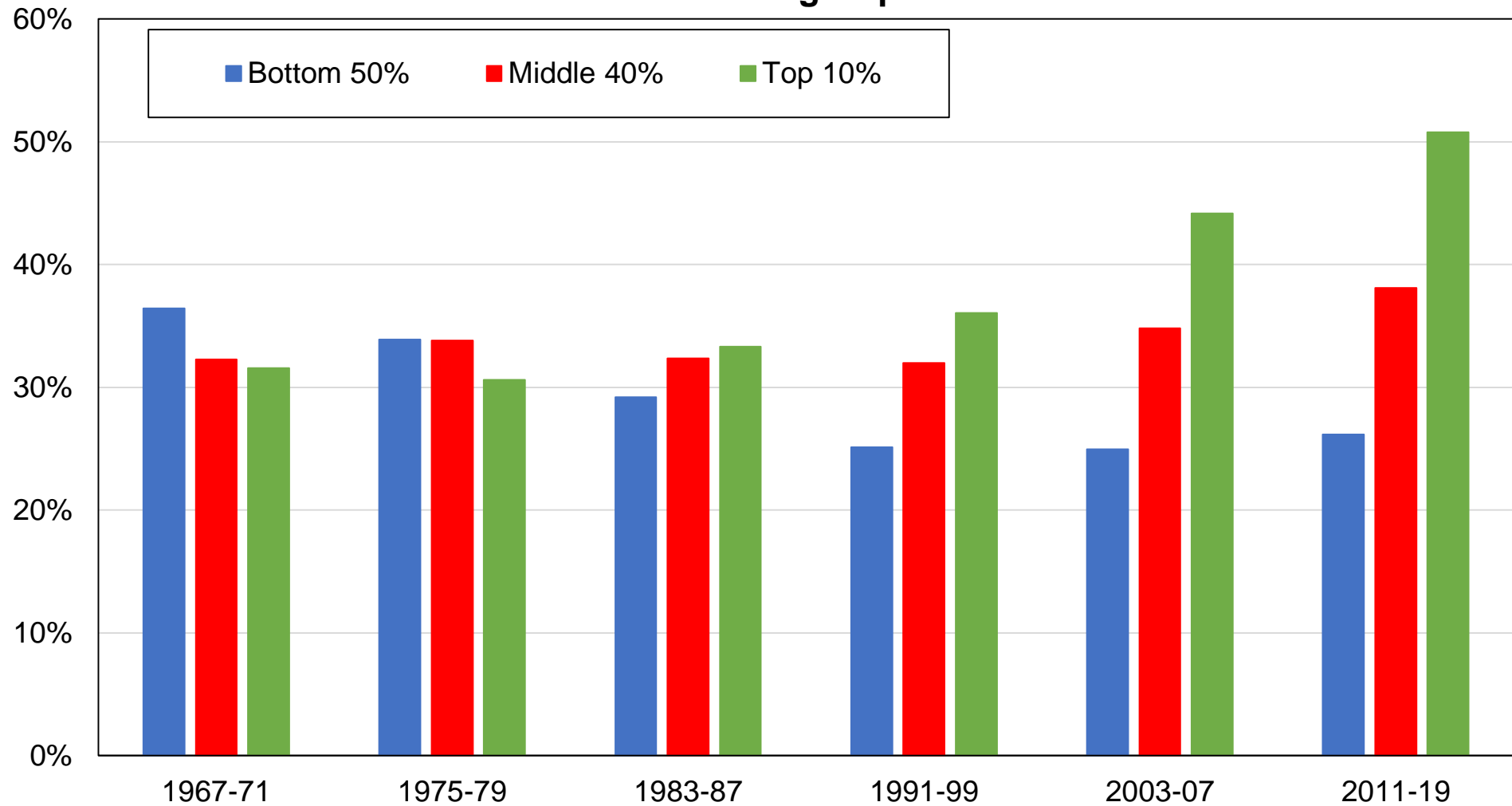
Figure CB1 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by education level



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

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

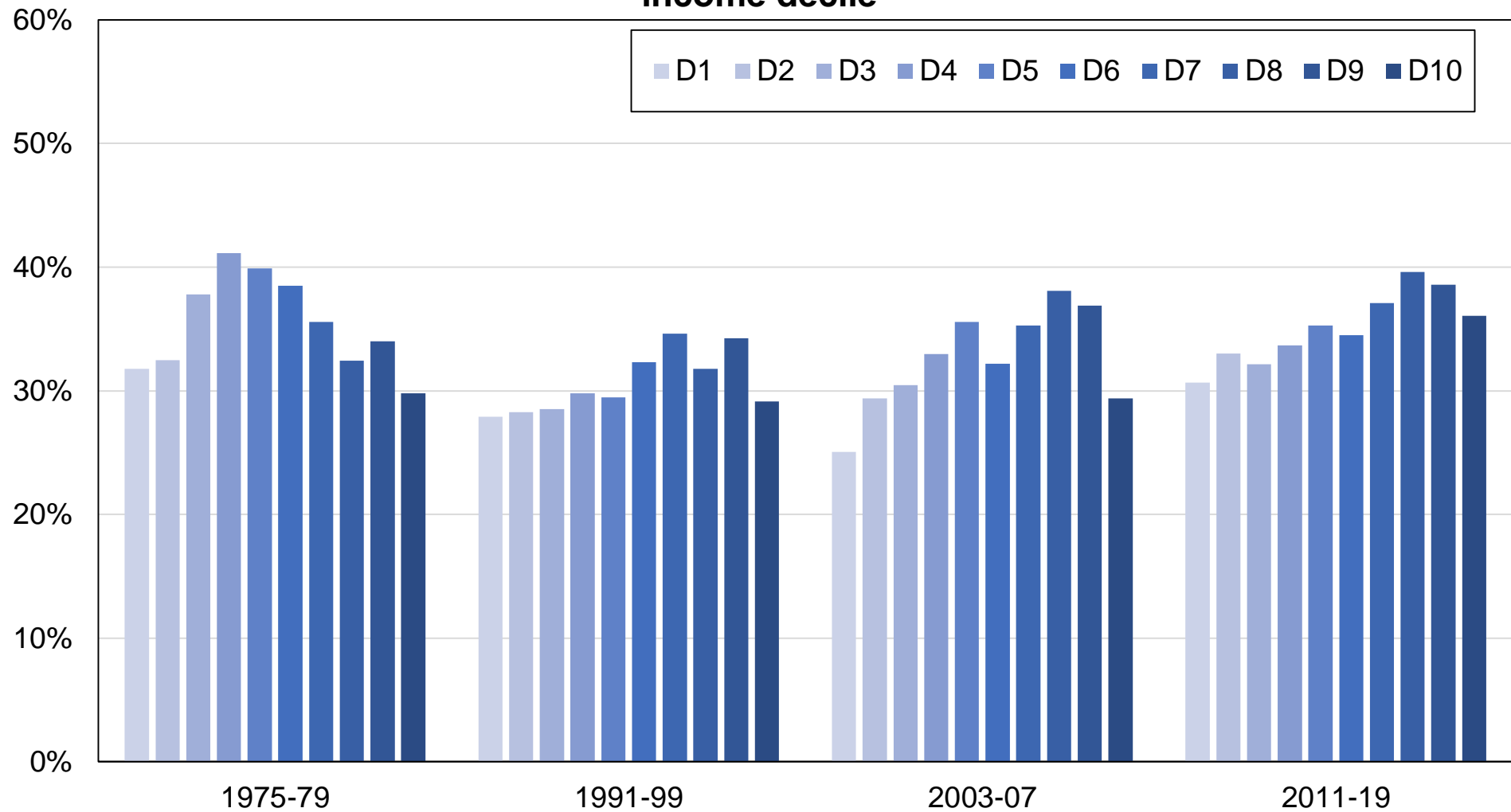
Figure CB2 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by education group



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

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

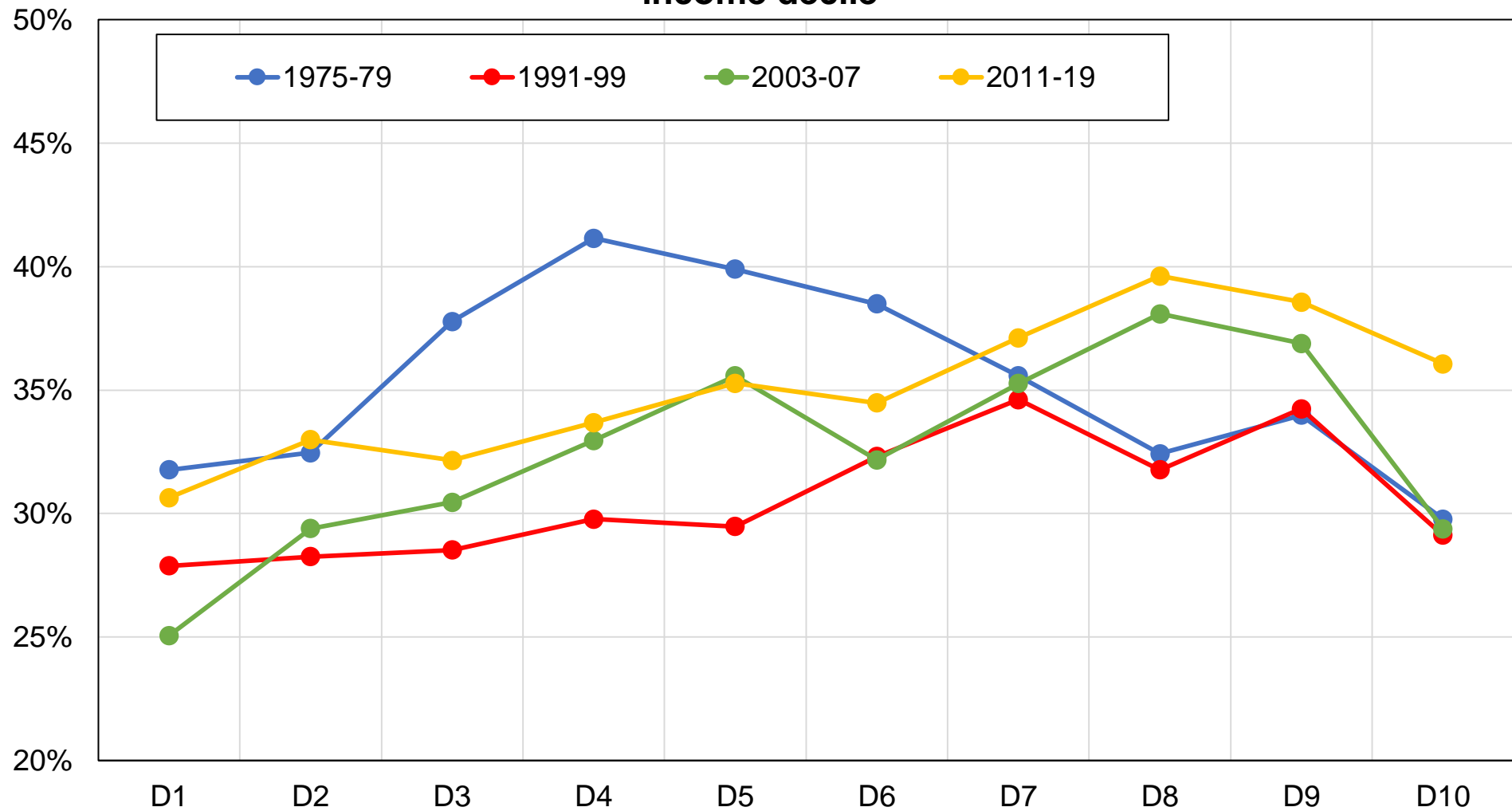
Figure CB3 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by income decile



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

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

Figure CB3b - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by income decile



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

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

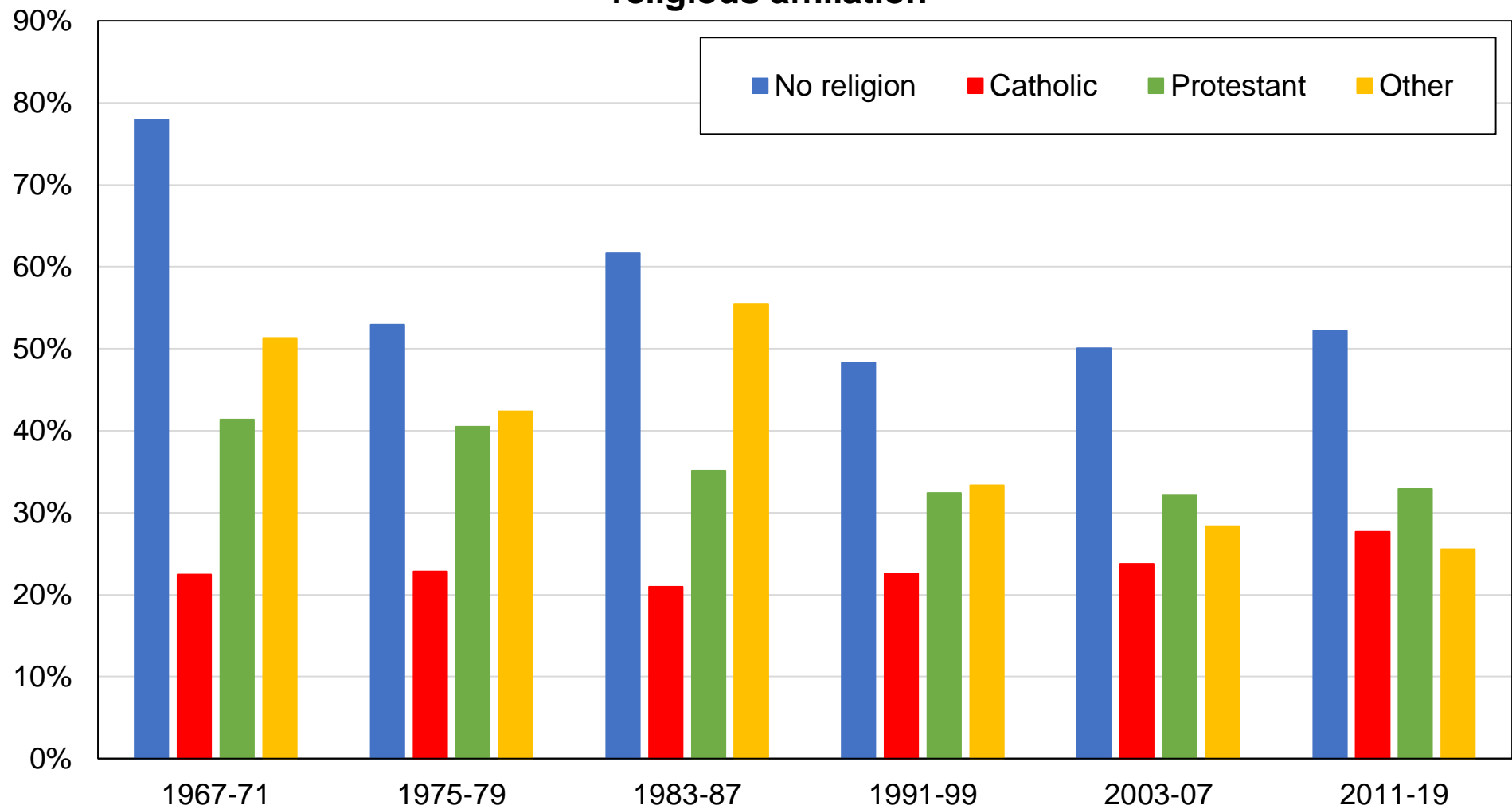
Figure CB4 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by income group



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

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

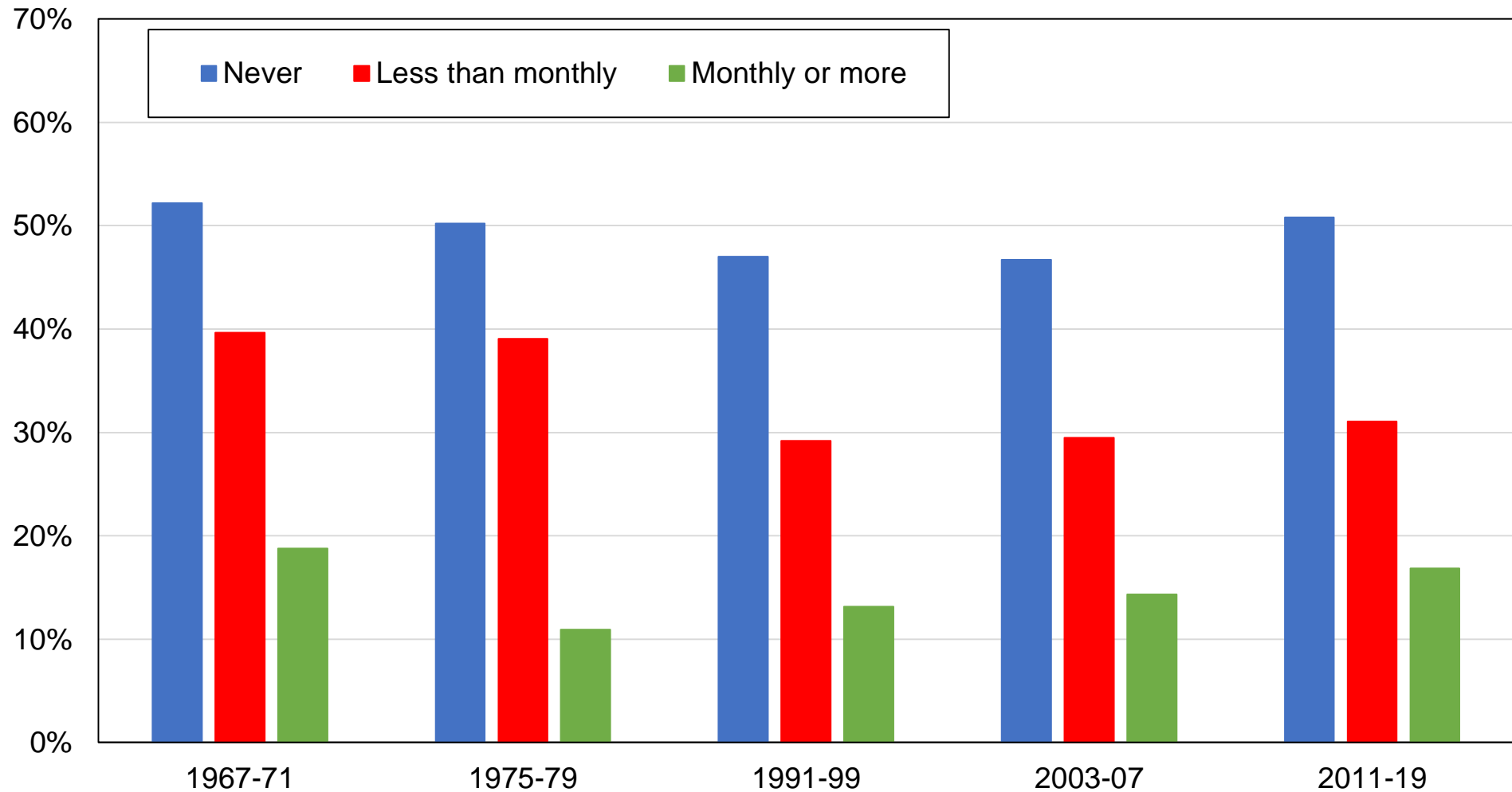
Figure CB5 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

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

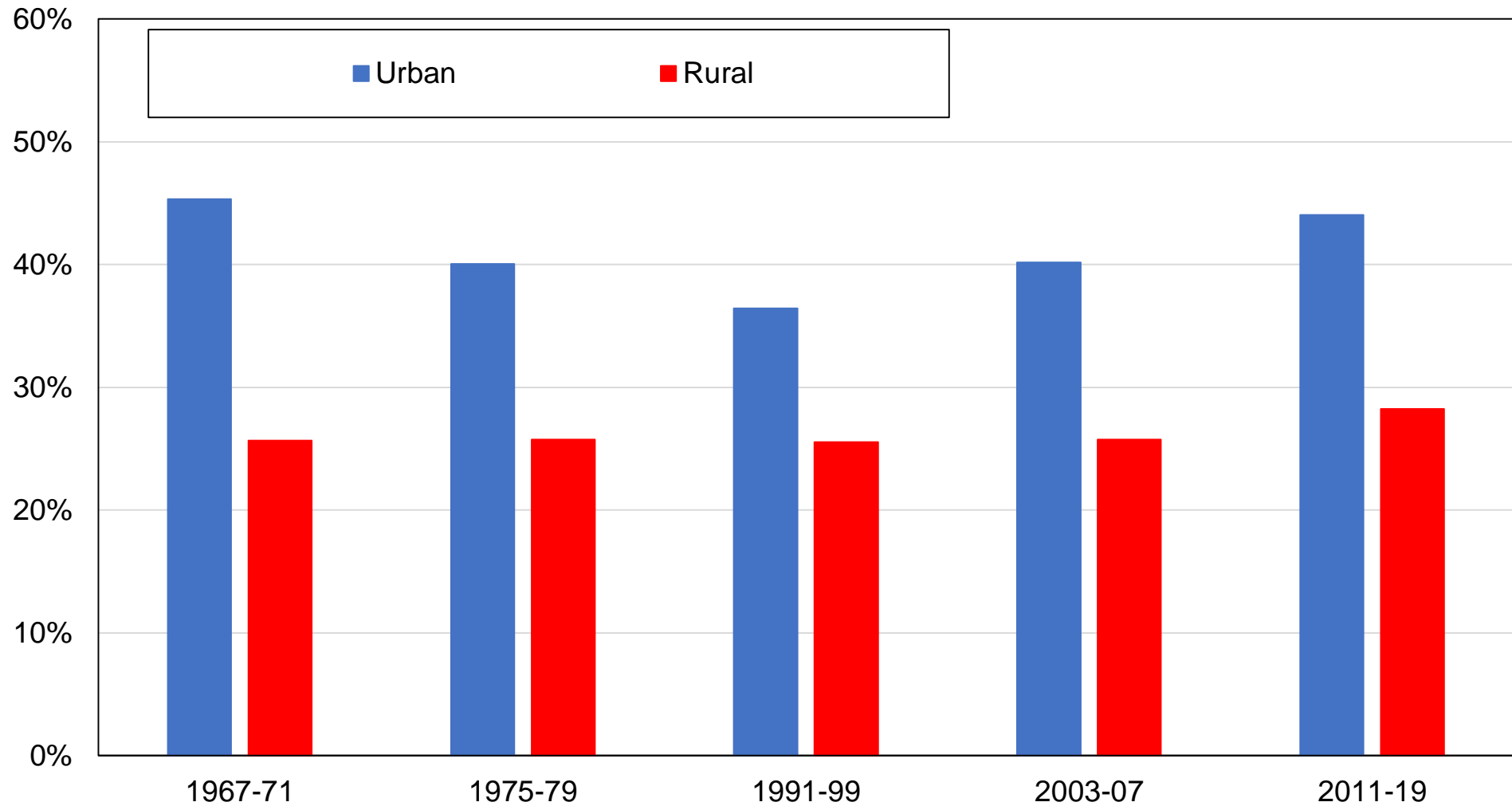
Figure CB6 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by church attendance



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

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

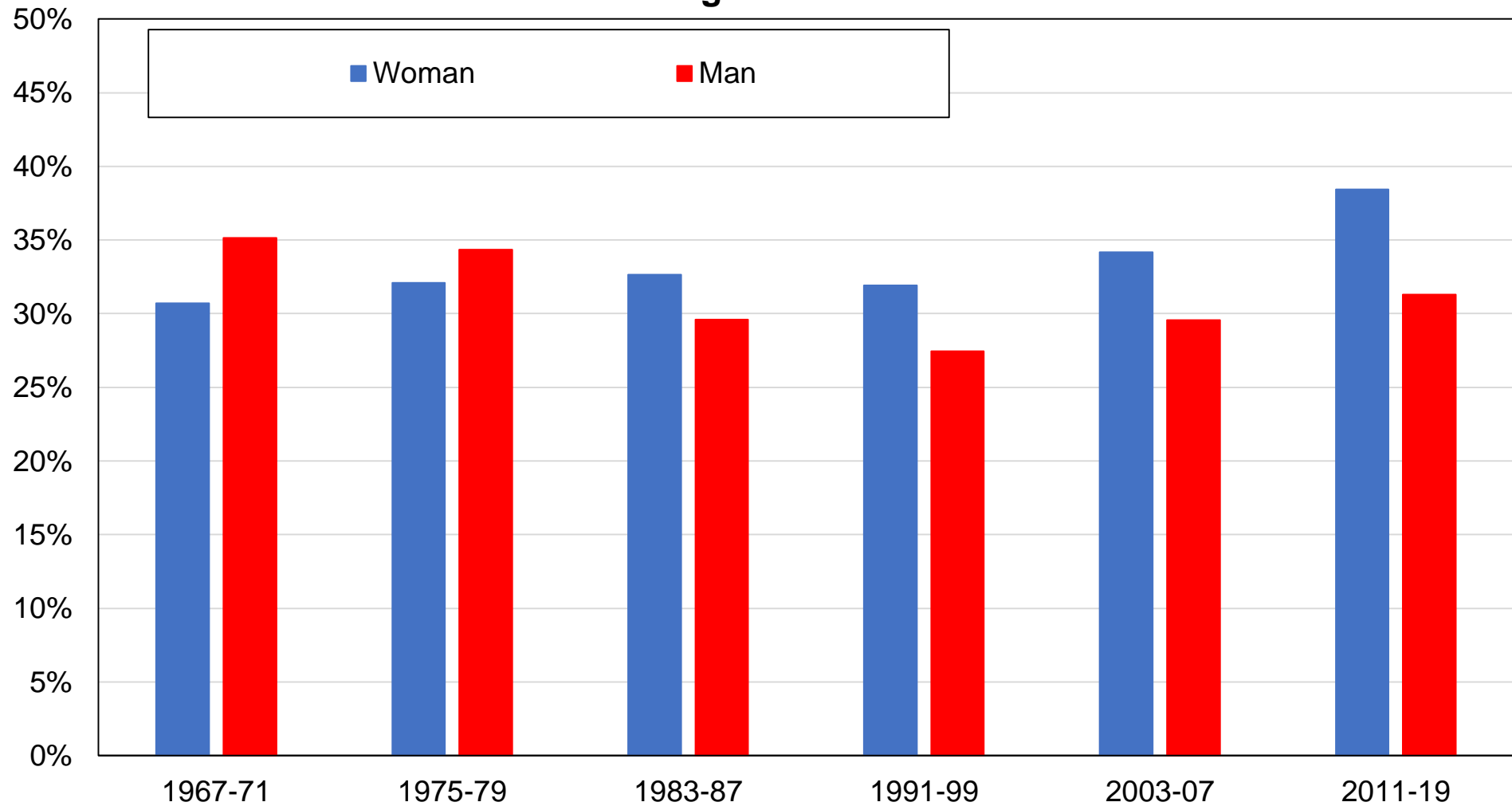
Figure CB7 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by location



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

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

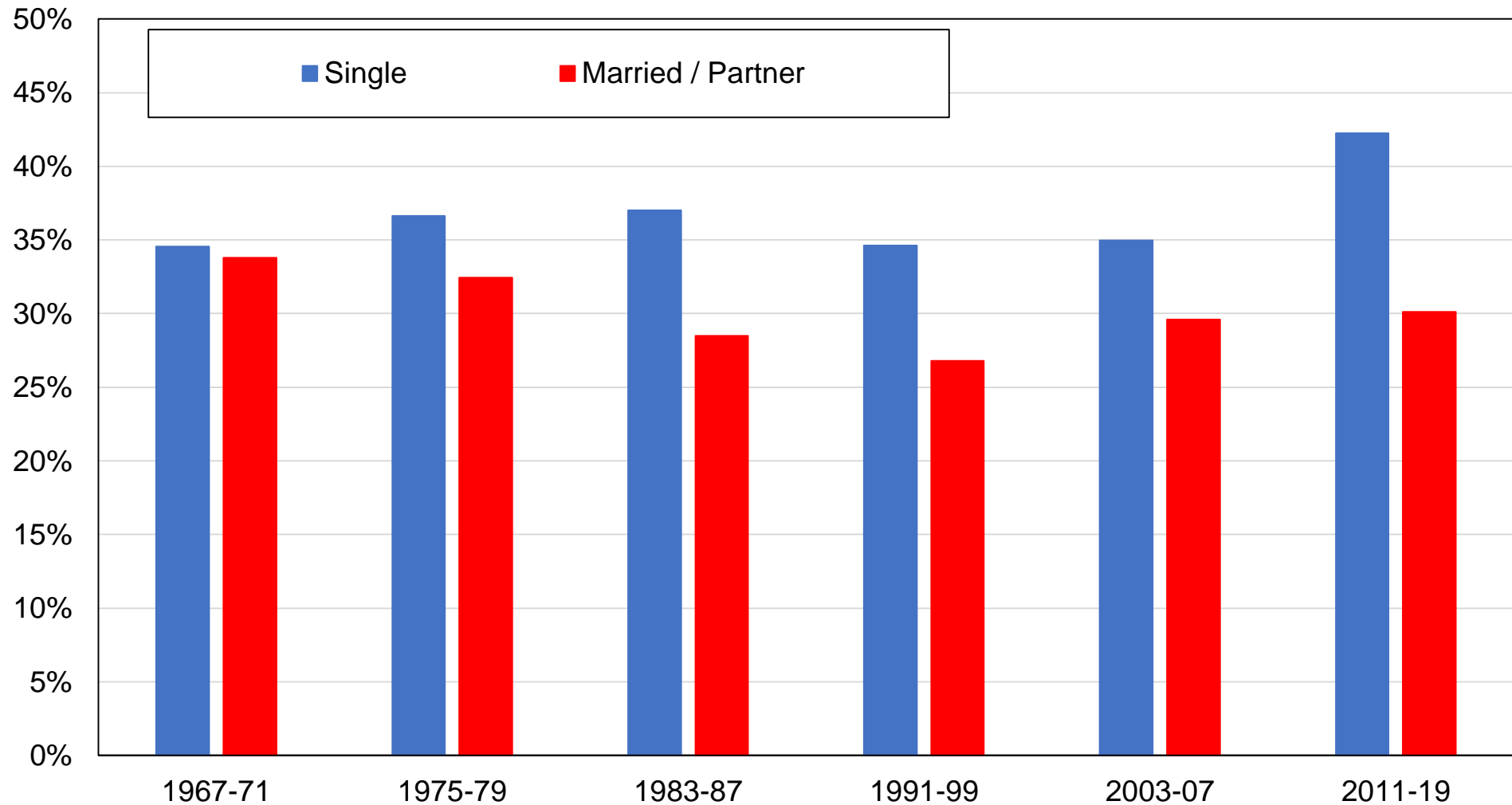
Figure CB8 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by gender



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

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

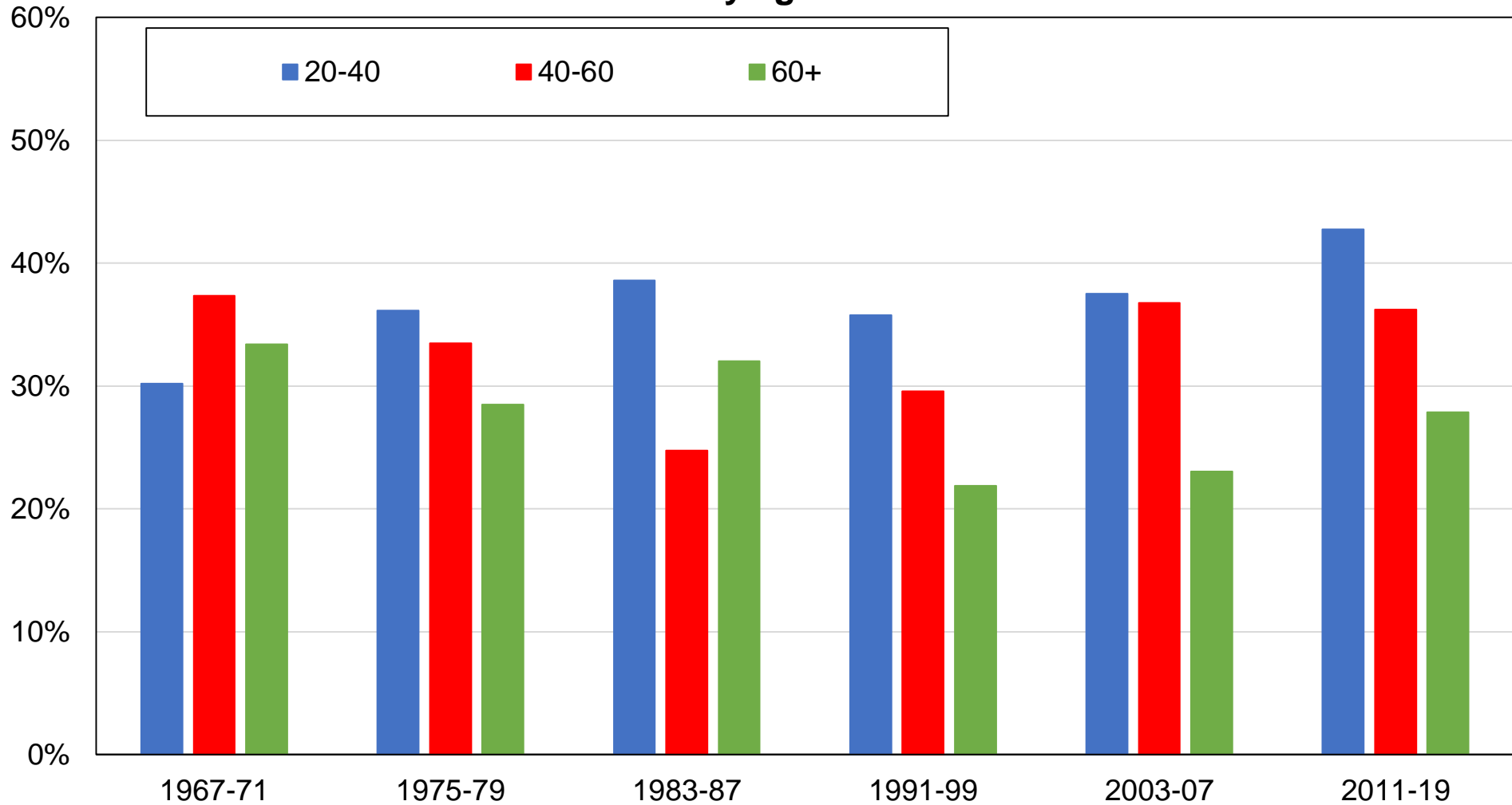
Figure CB9 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by marital status



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

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

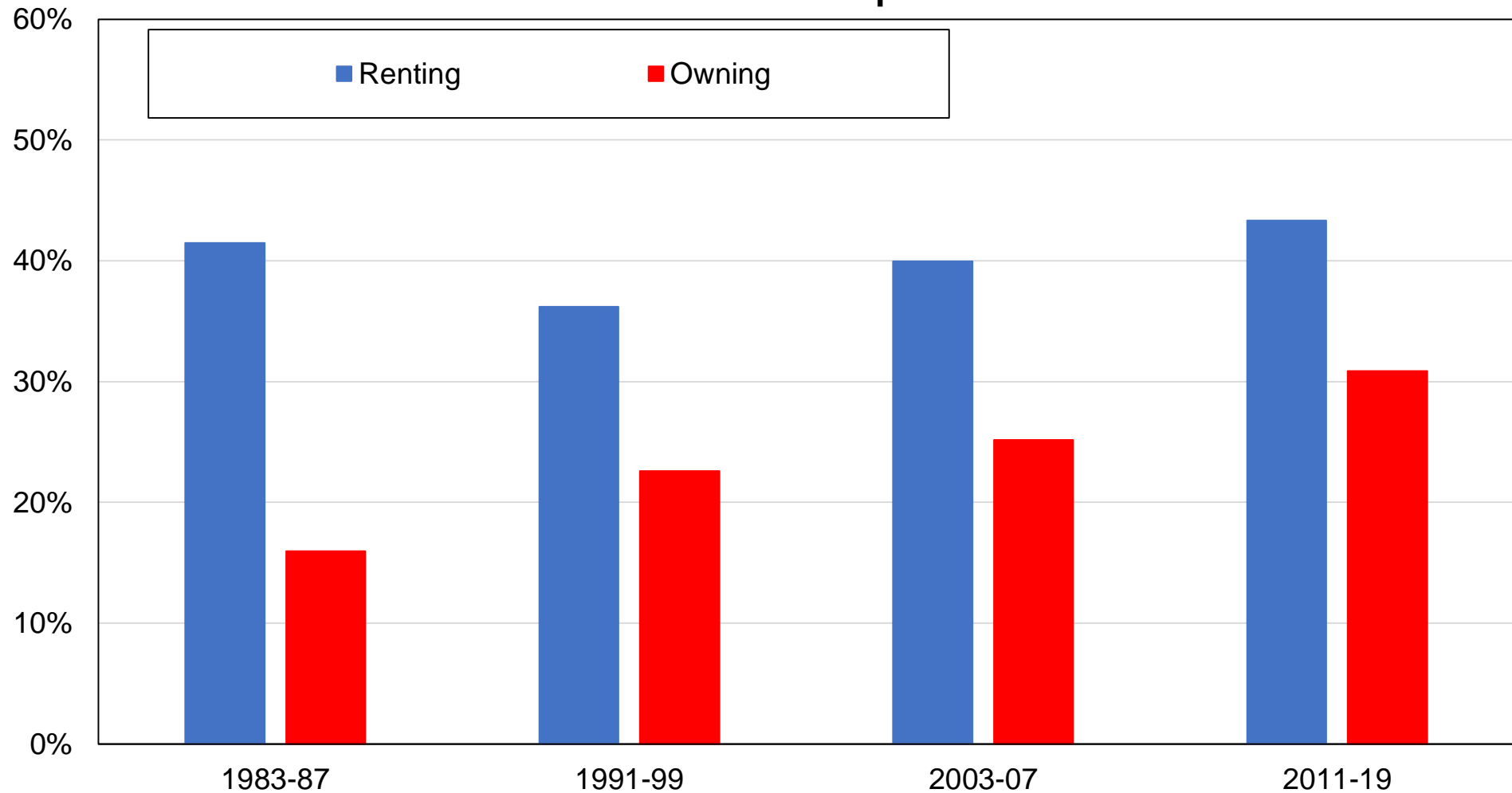
**Figure CB10 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left
by age**



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

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

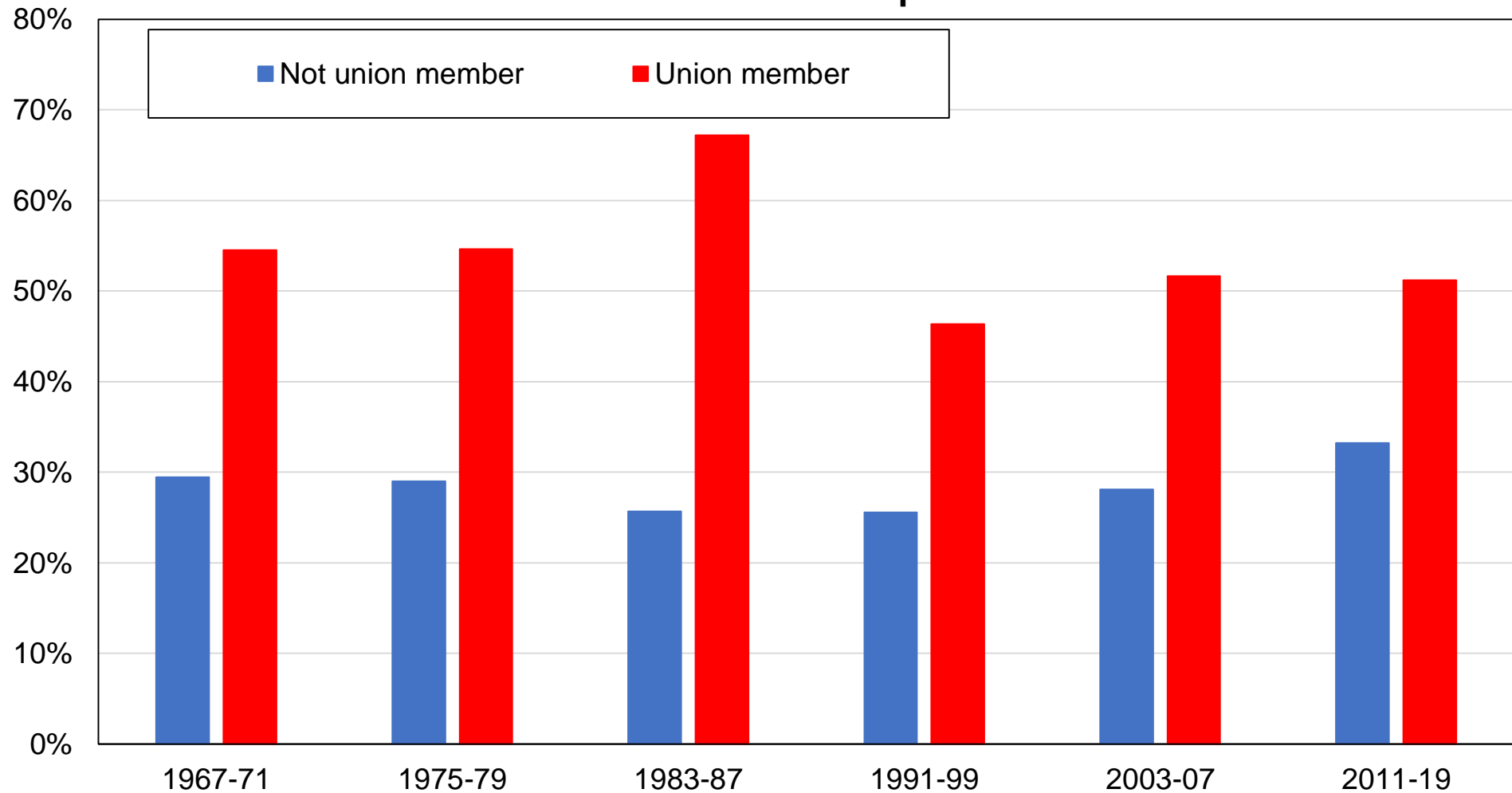
Figure CB11 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by homeownership



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

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

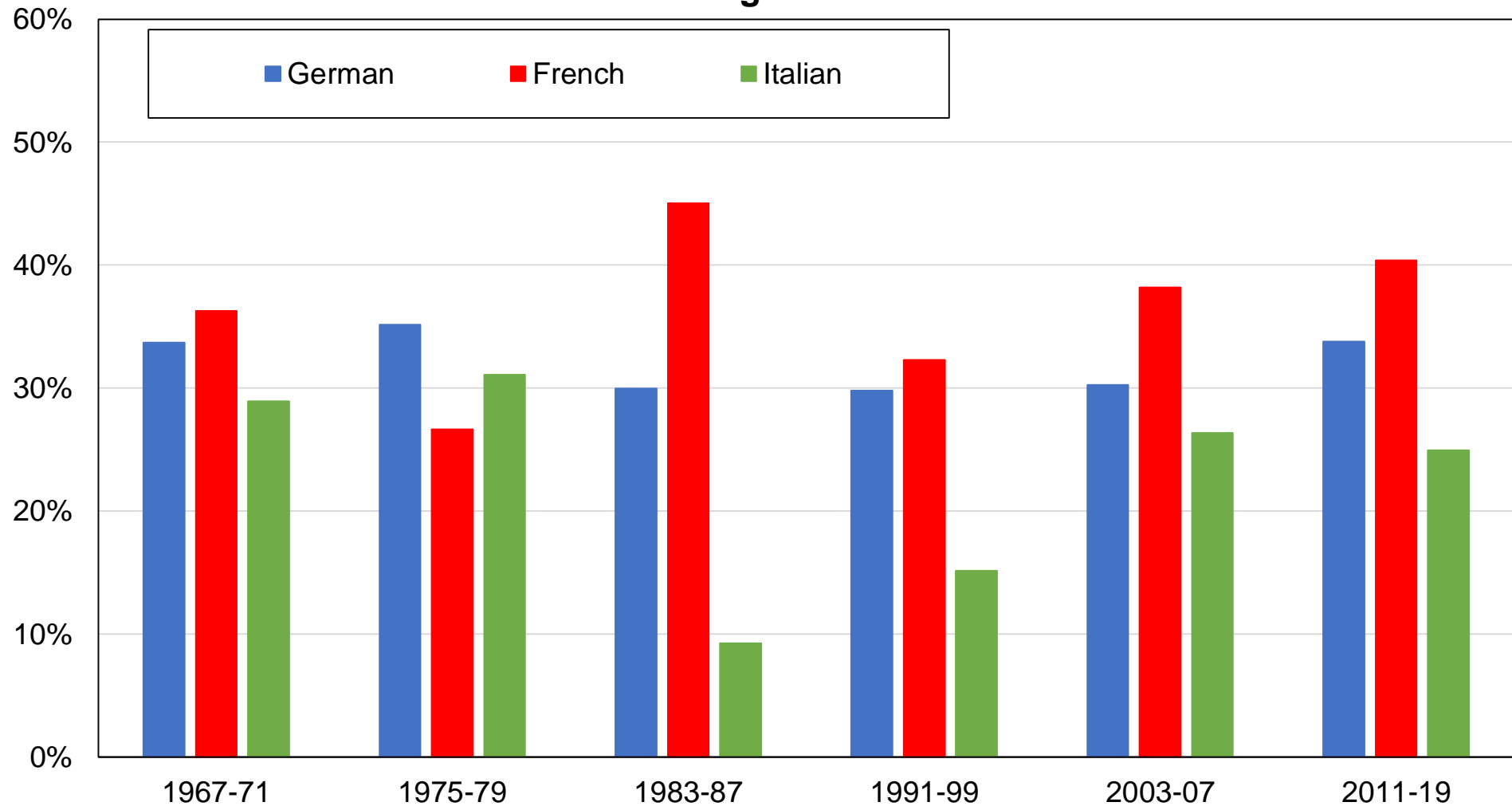
Figure CB12 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by union membership



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

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

Figure CB13 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by region



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

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

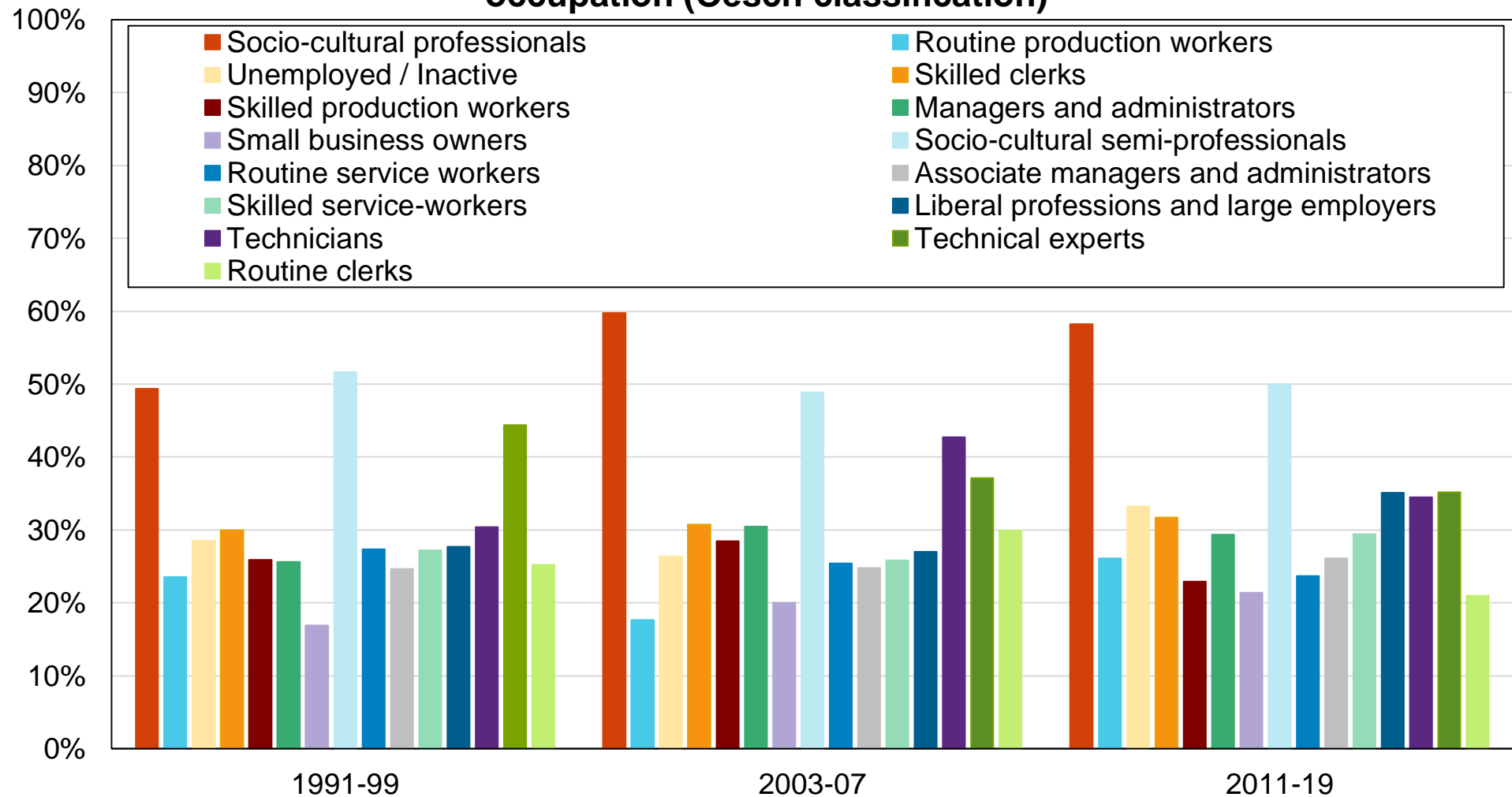
Figure CB14 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by occupation (Kriesi classification)



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by centre-left / left-wing parties by occupation (Kriesi classification).

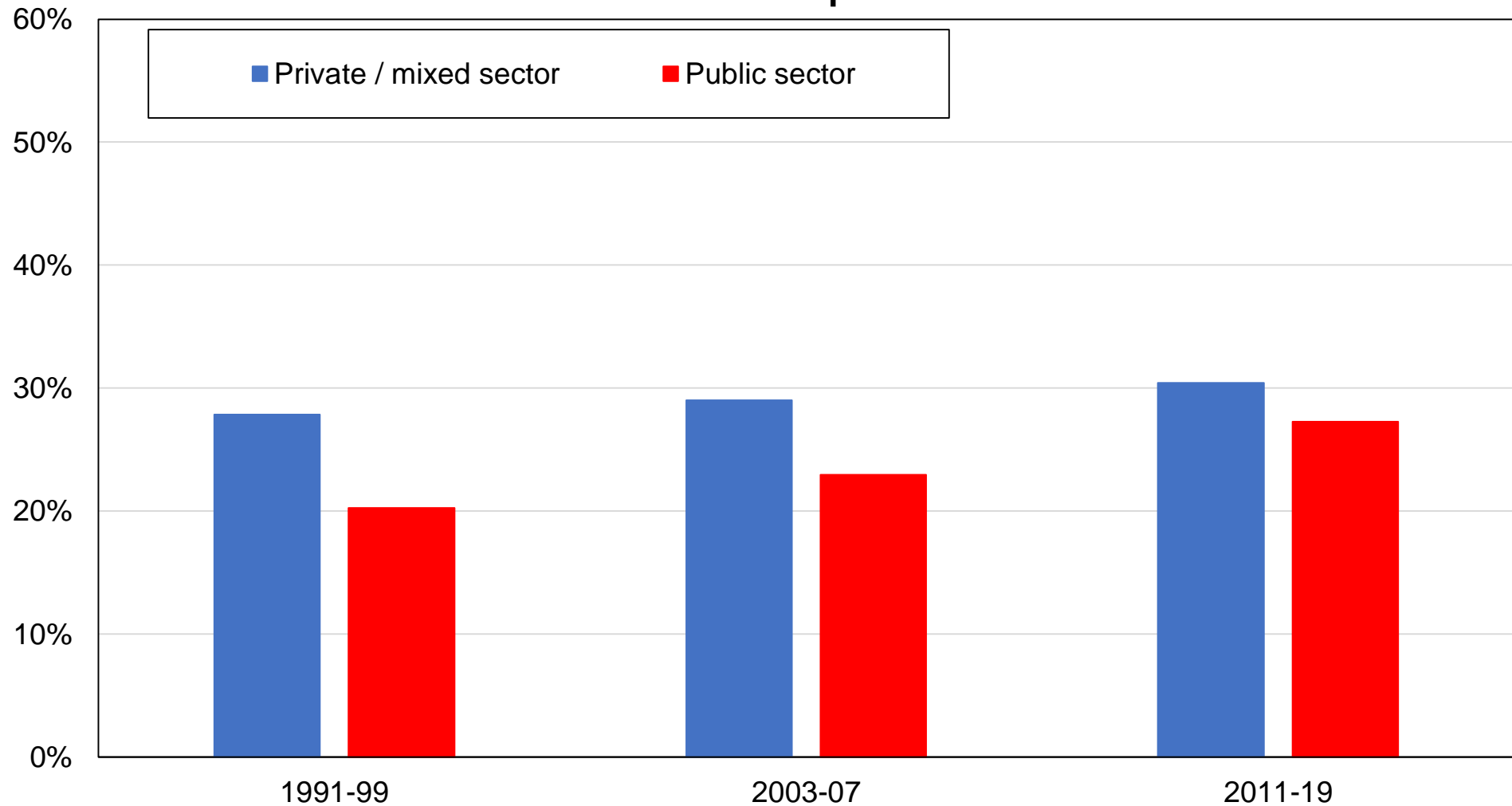
Figure CB15 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by occupation (Oesch classification)



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by centre-left / left-wing parties by occupation (Oesch classification).

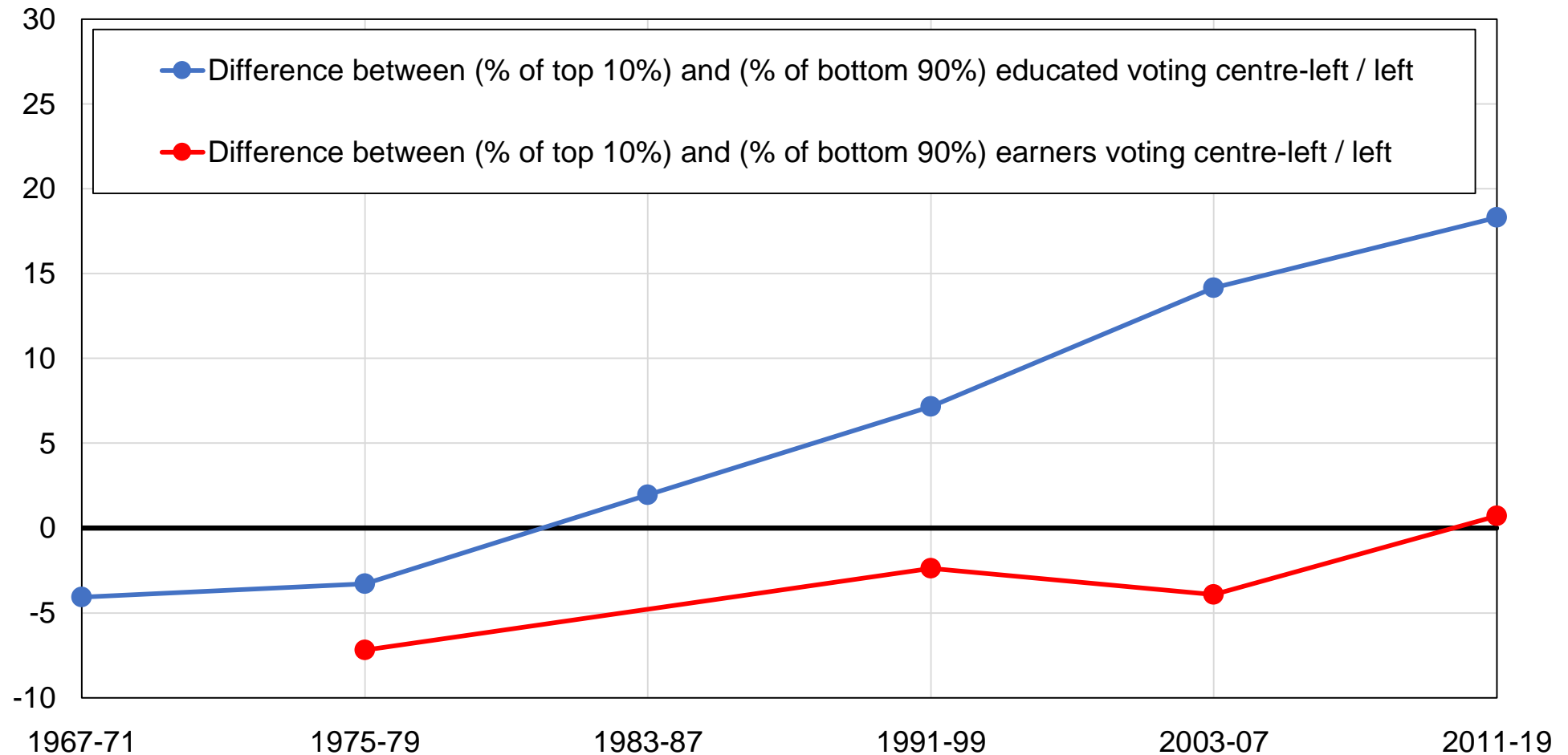
Figure CB16 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left by sector of occupation



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

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

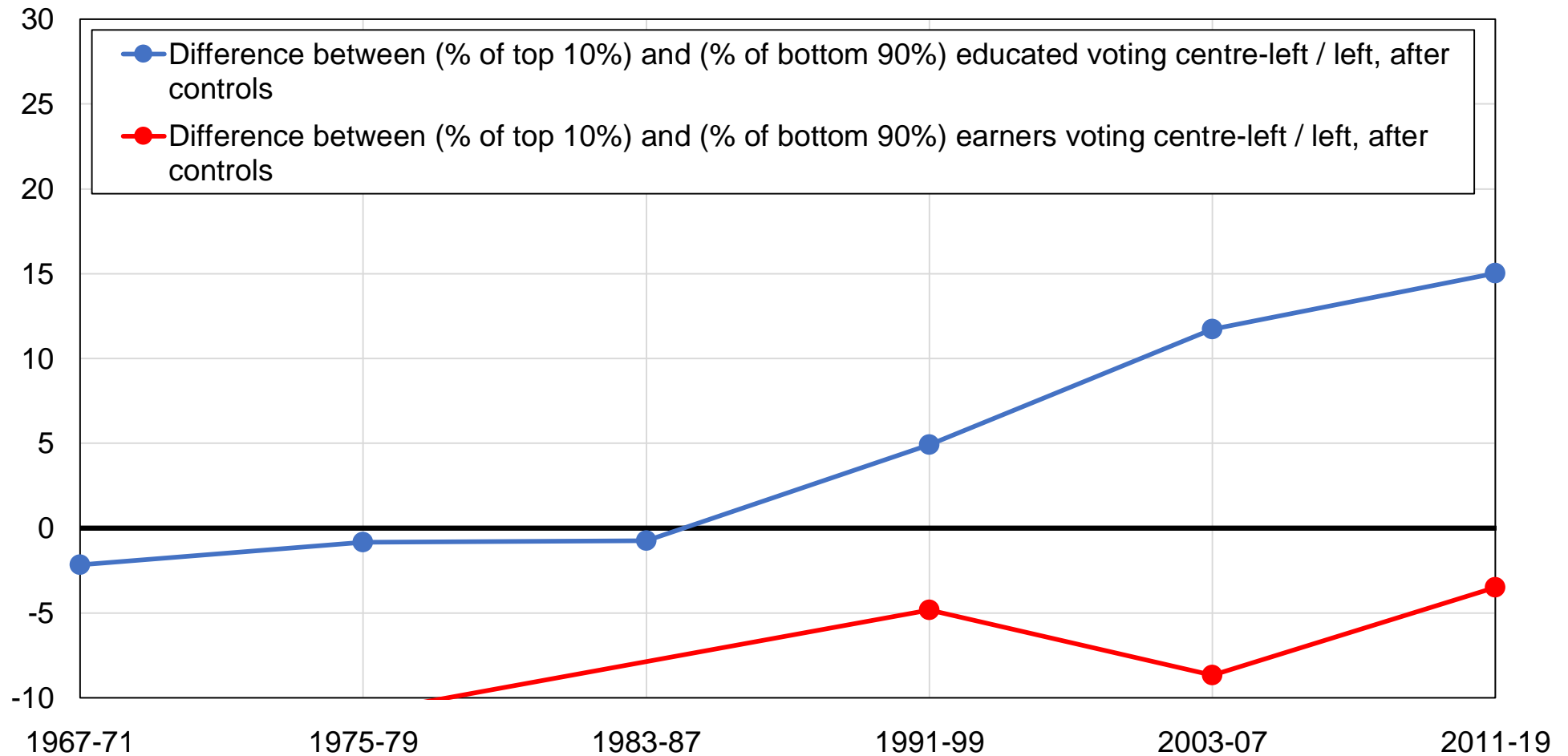
Figure CC1 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among highest-educated and top-income voters



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

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

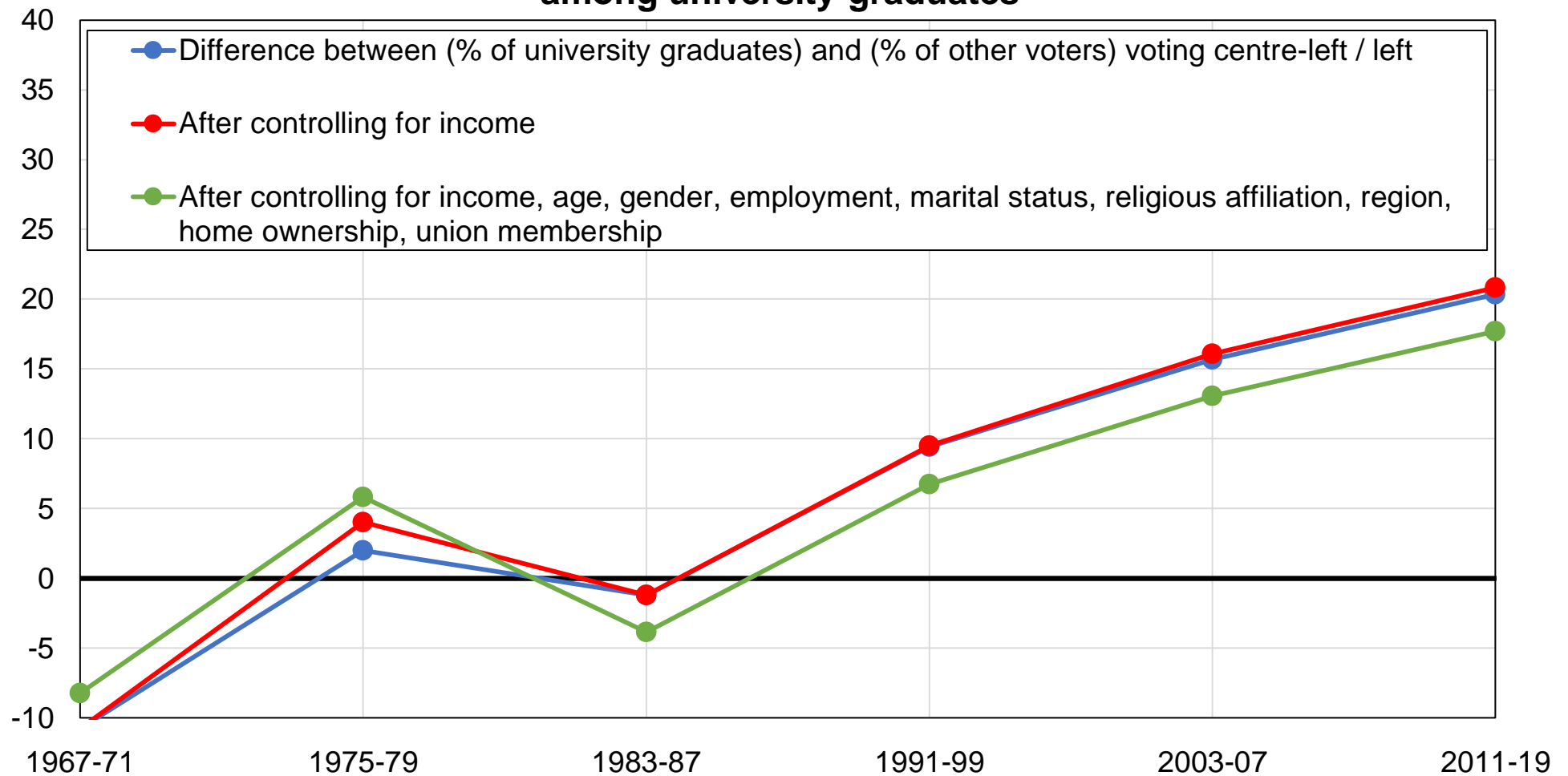
Figure CC2 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controls



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the support for centre-left / left-wing parties among highest-educated and top-income voters after controlling for income, education, age, gender, employment, marital status, religious affiliation, region, home ownership, and union membership status.

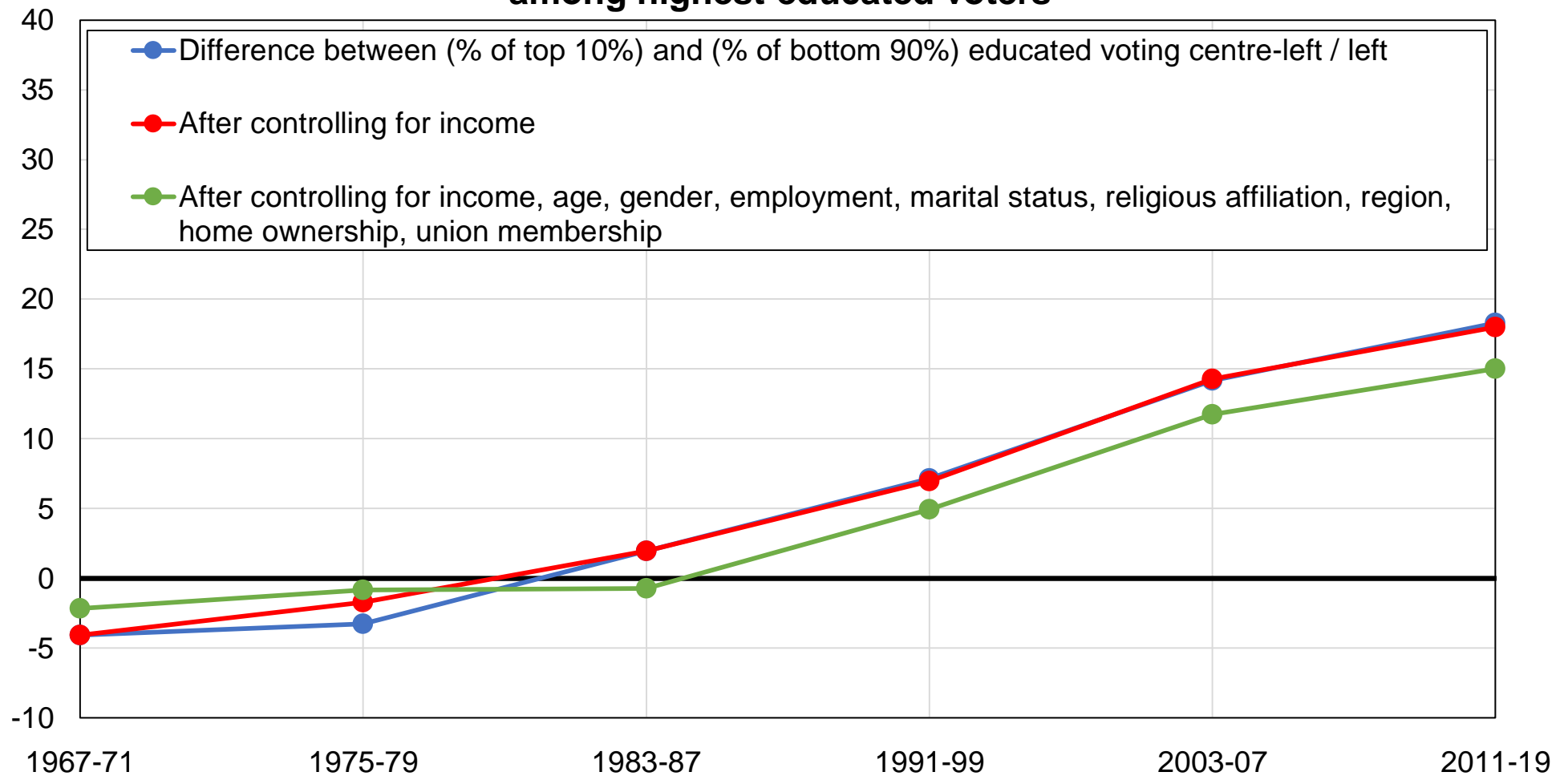
Figure CC3 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among university graduates



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

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

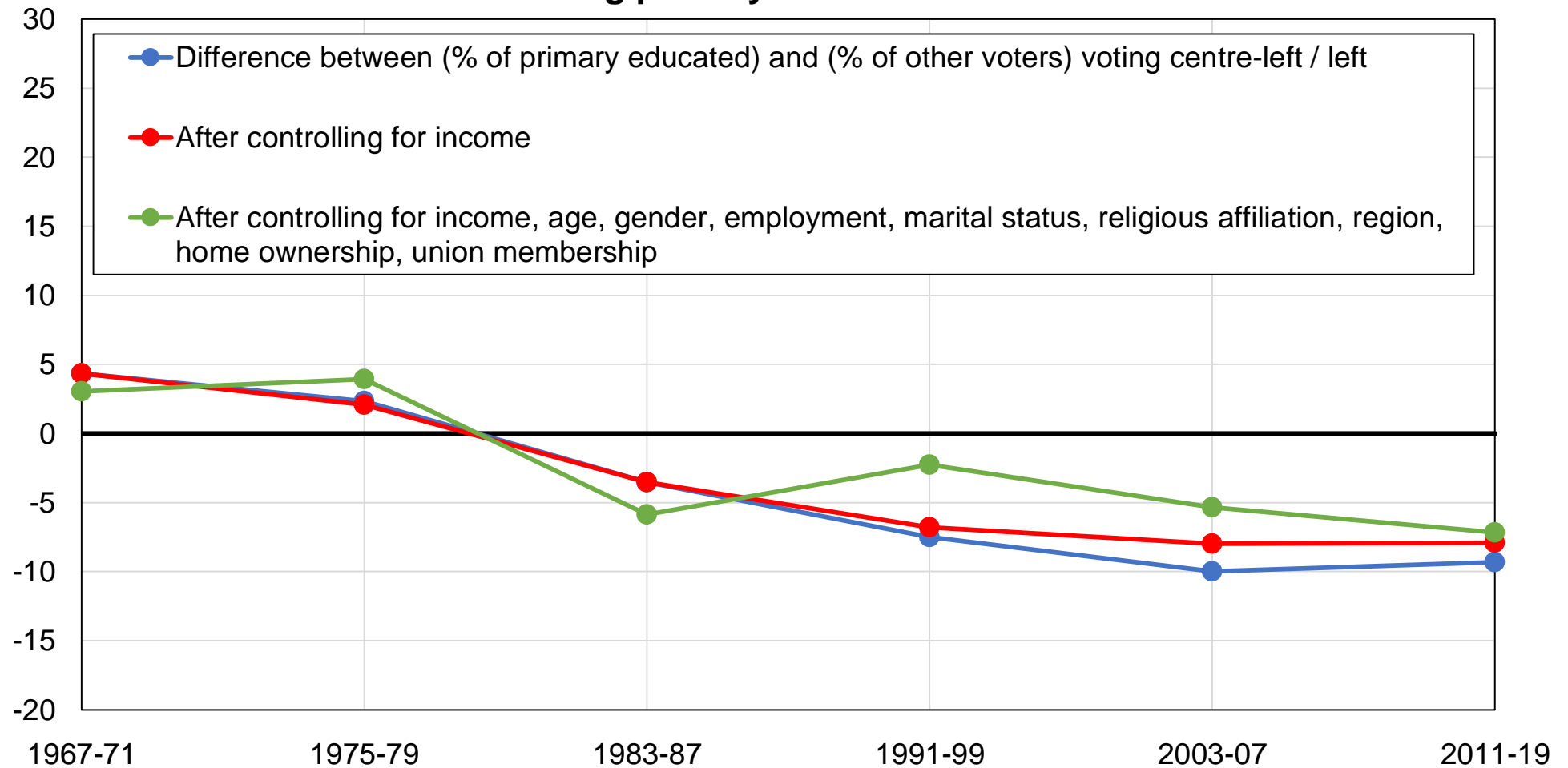
Figure CC4 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among highest-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Swiss 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 centre-left / left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

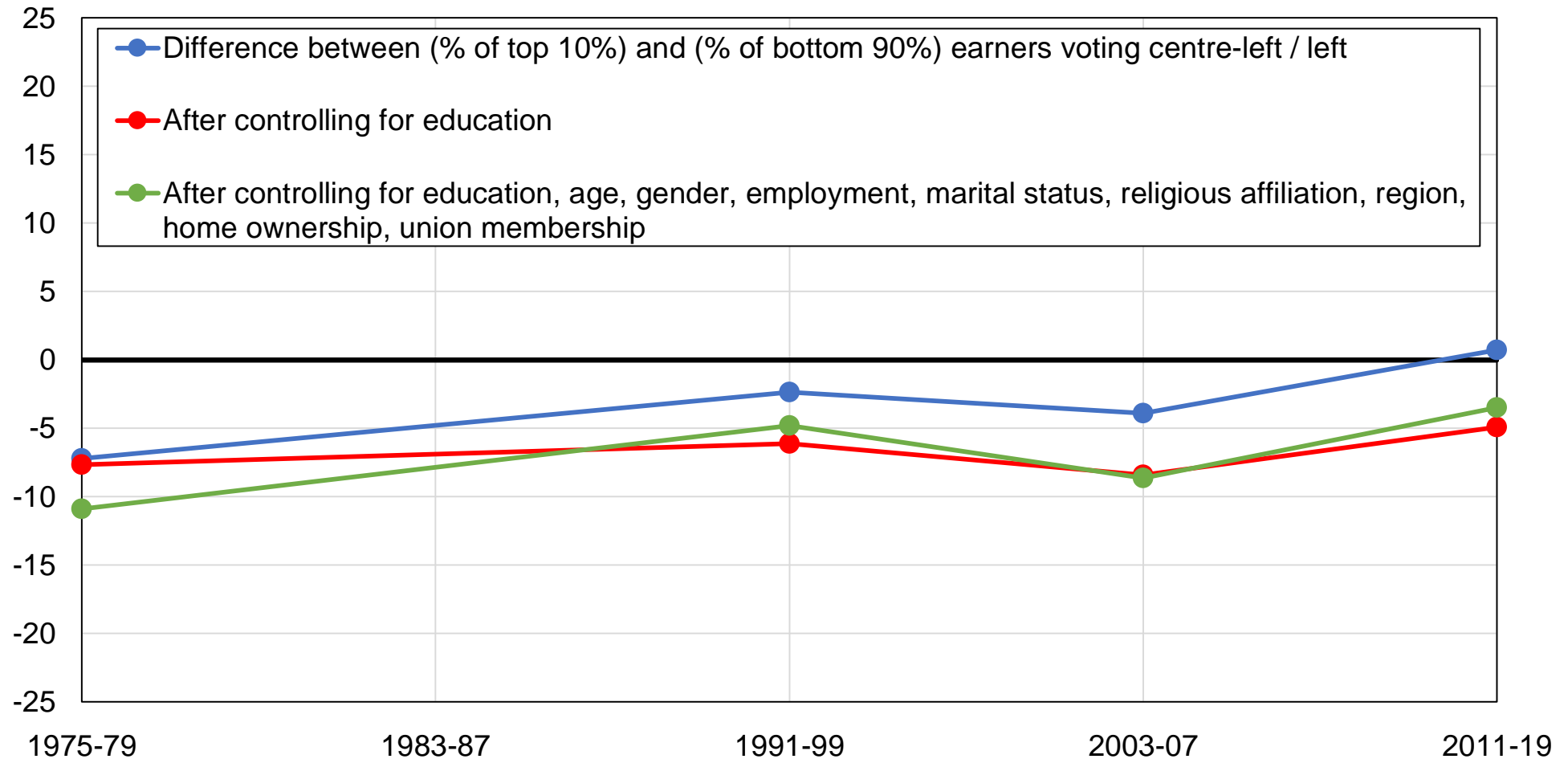
Figure CC5 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among primary-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

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

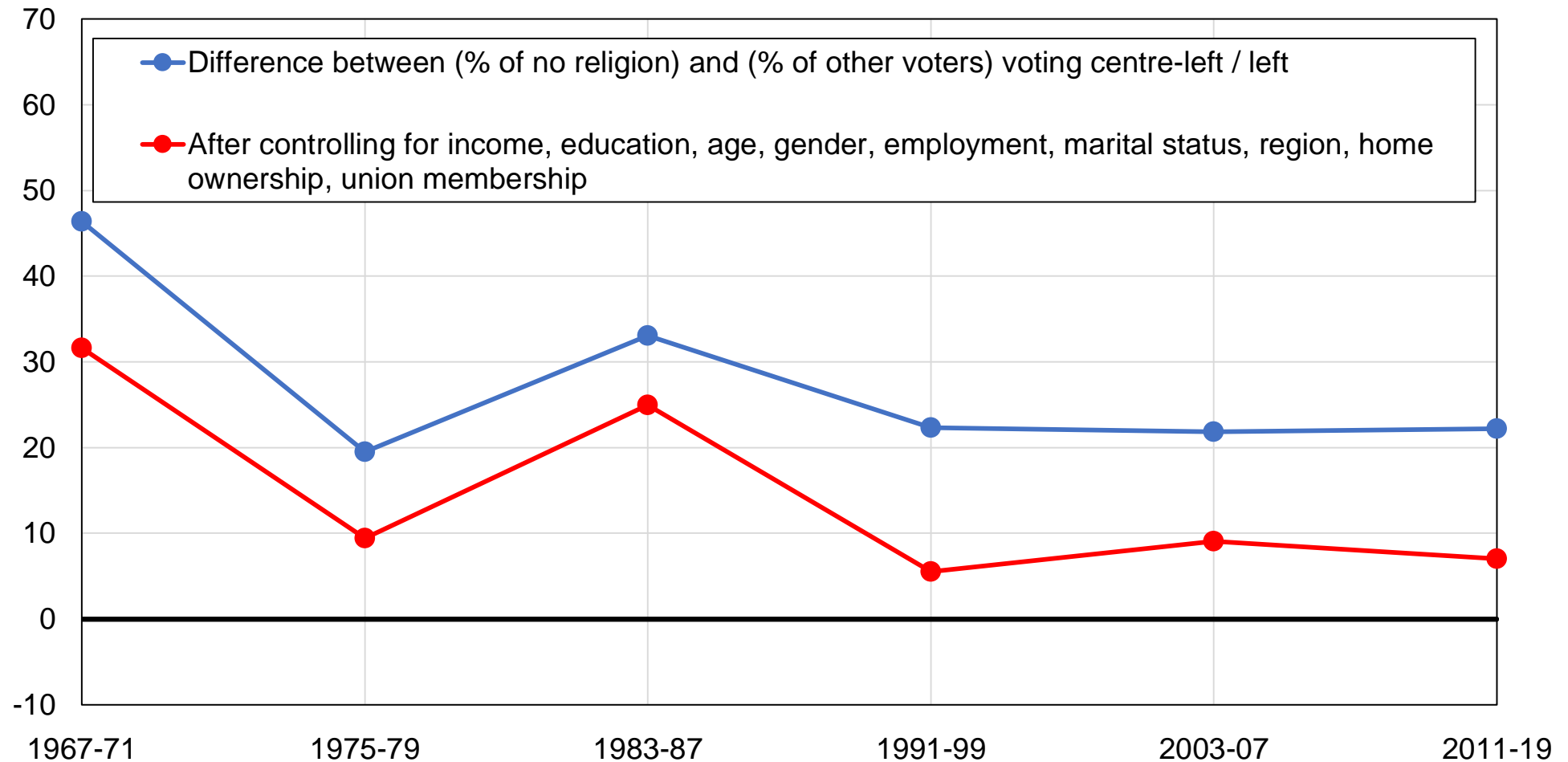
Figure CC6 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among top-income voters



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

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

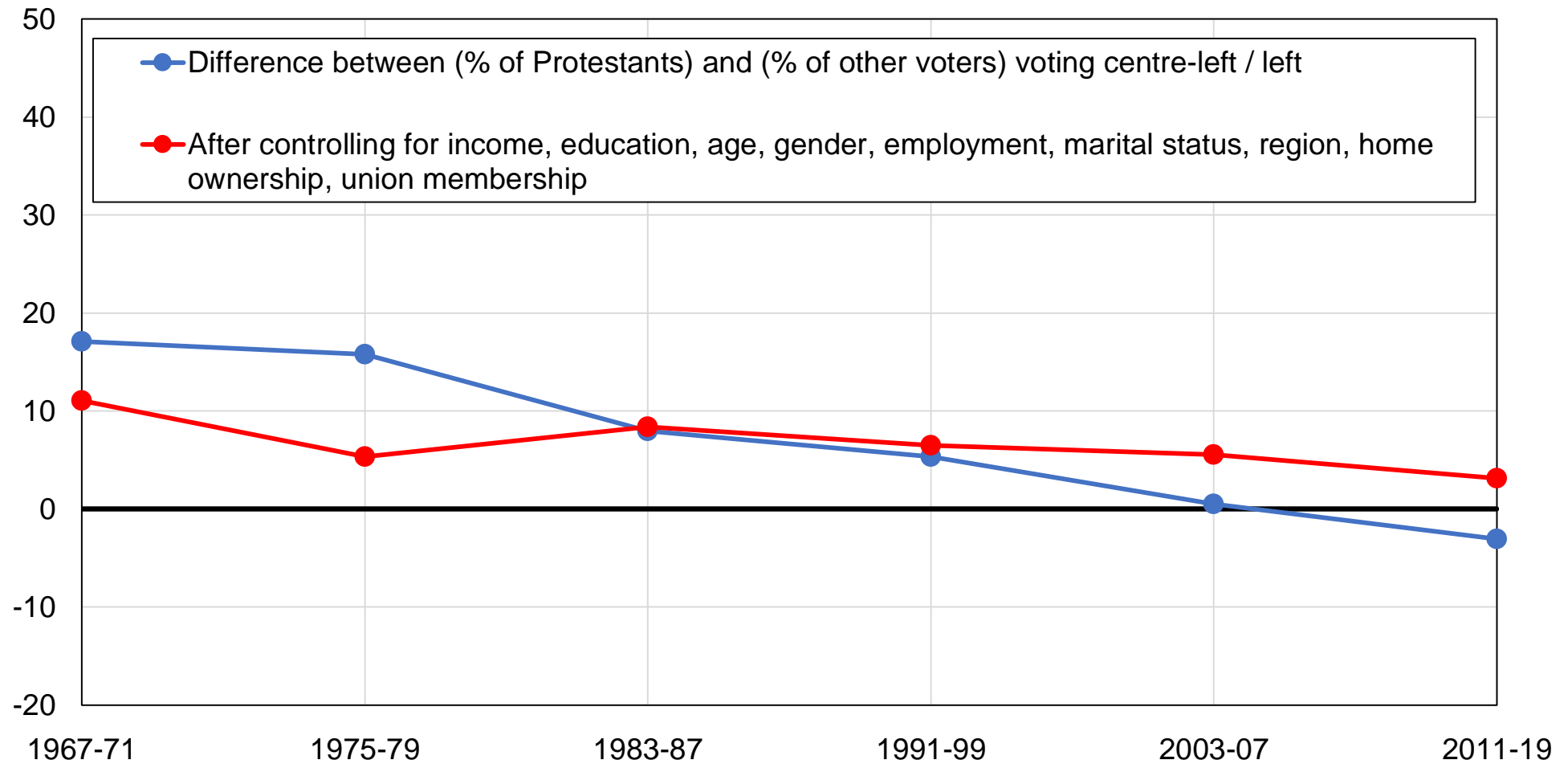
Figure CC7 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among voters with no religion



Source: authors' computations using Swiss 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 centre-left / left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

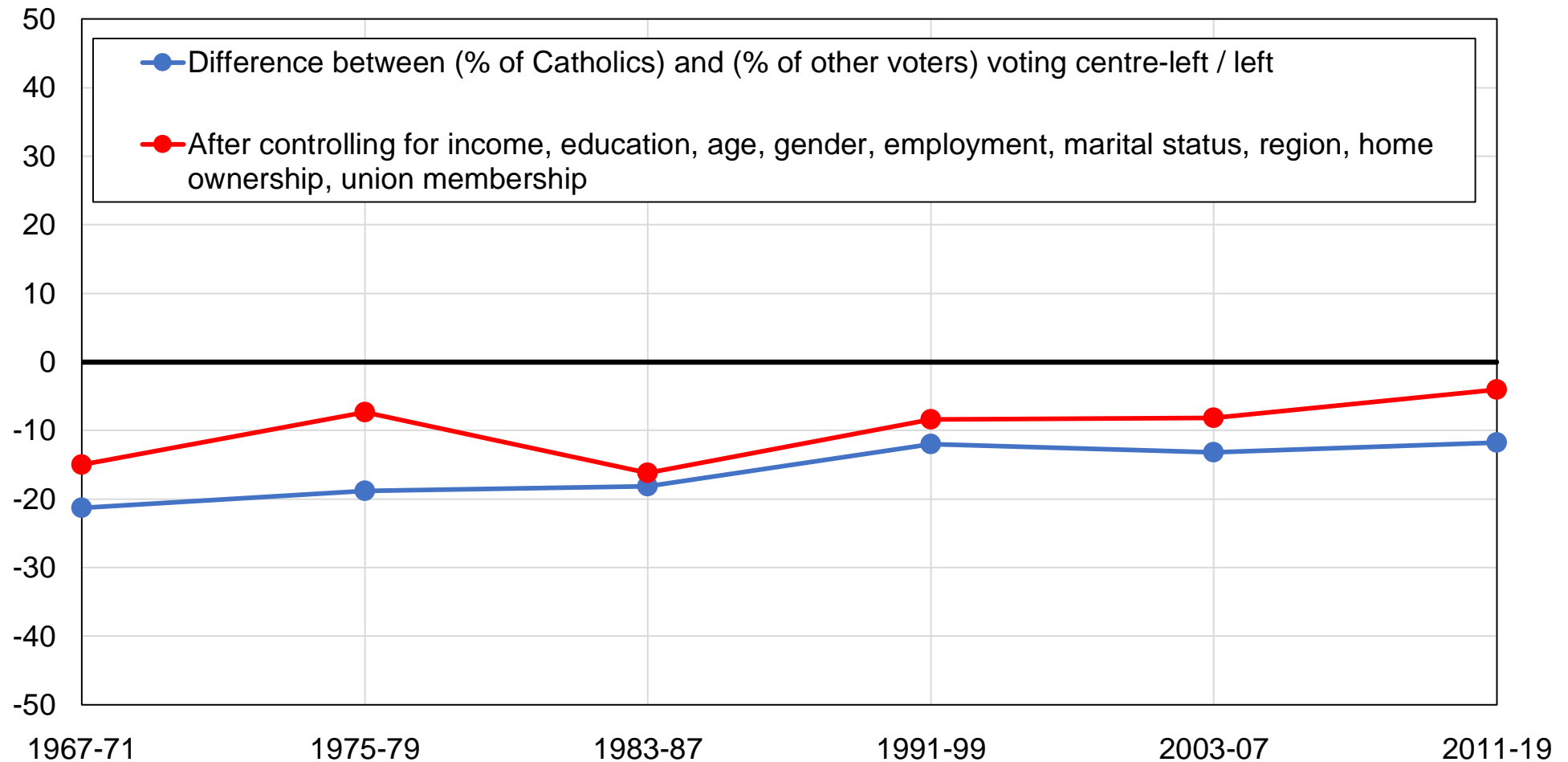
Figure CC8 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among Protestants



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of Protestant voters and the share of other voters voting for centre-left / left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

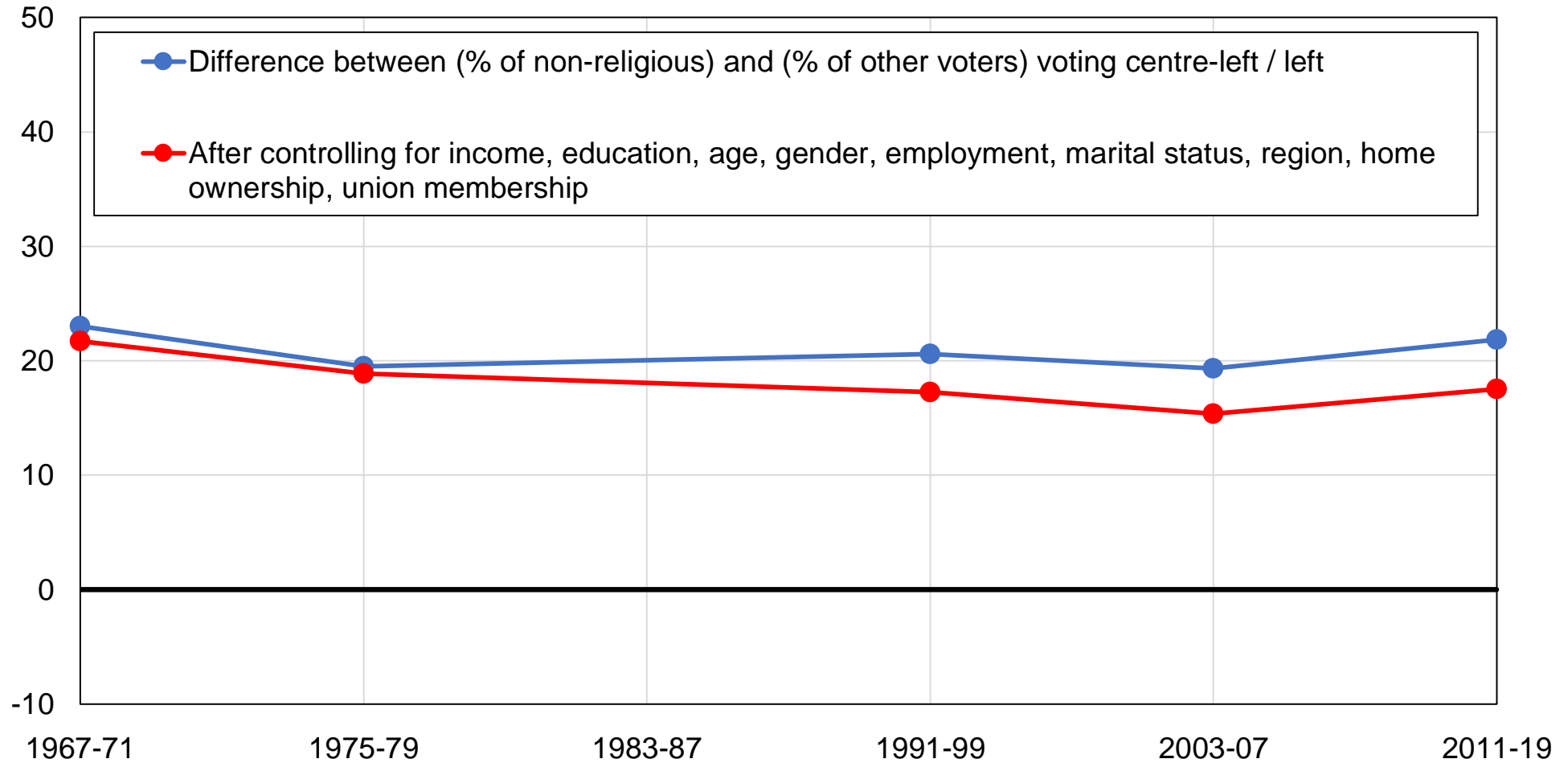
Figure CC9 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among Catholics



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

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

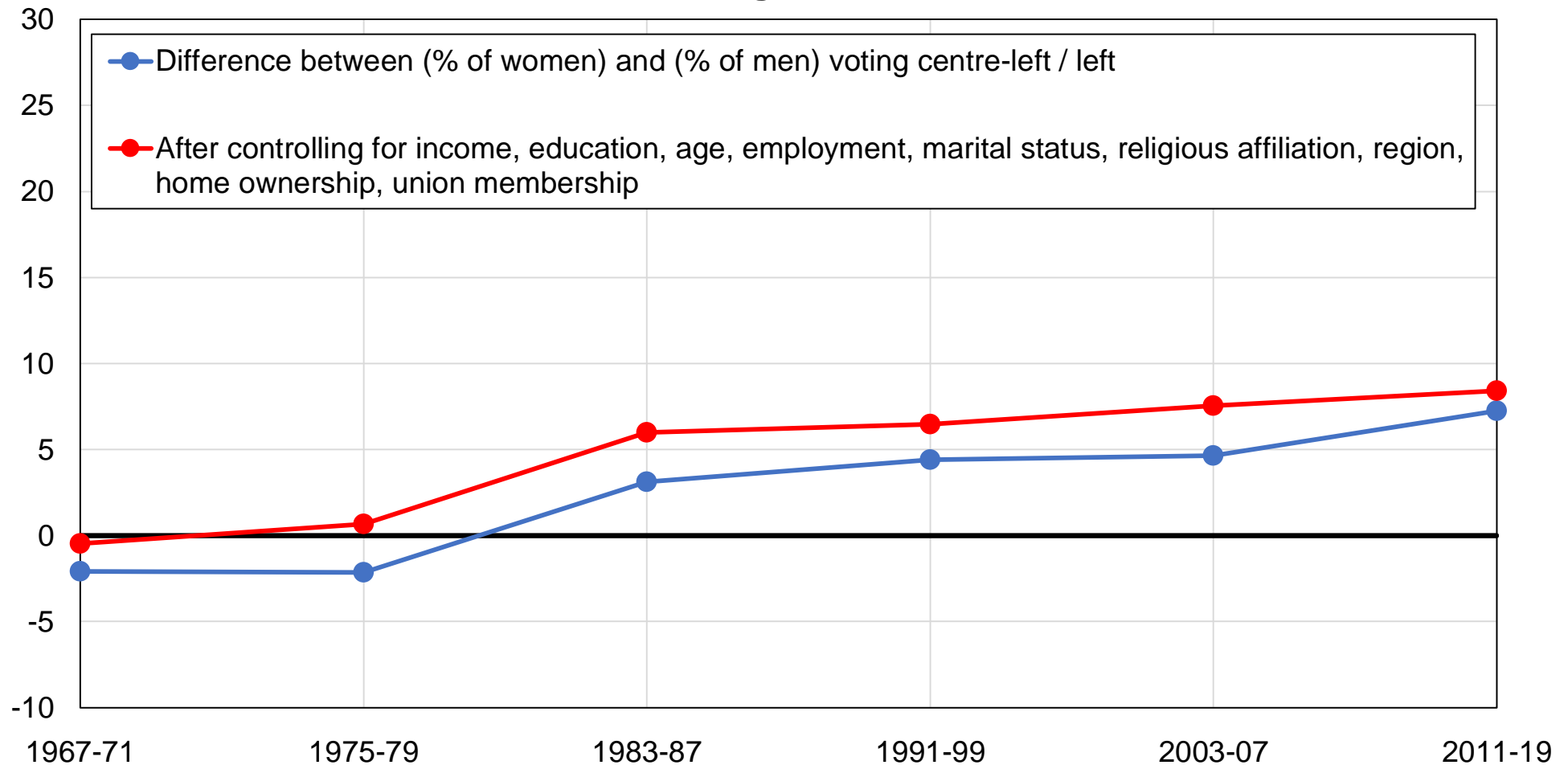
Figure CC10 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among non-religious voters



Source: authors' computations using Swiss 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 centre-left / left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

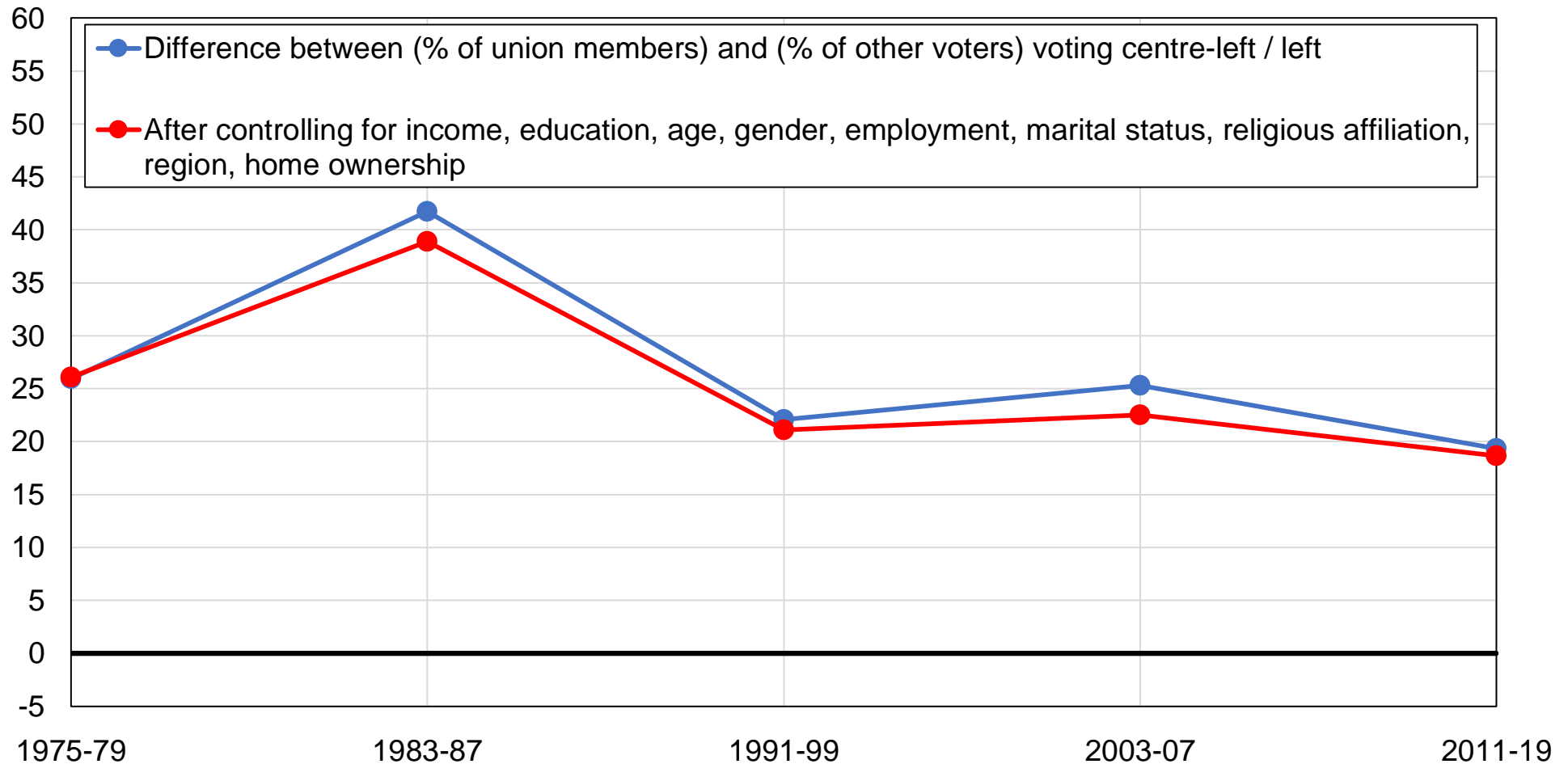
Figure CC11 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among women



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

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

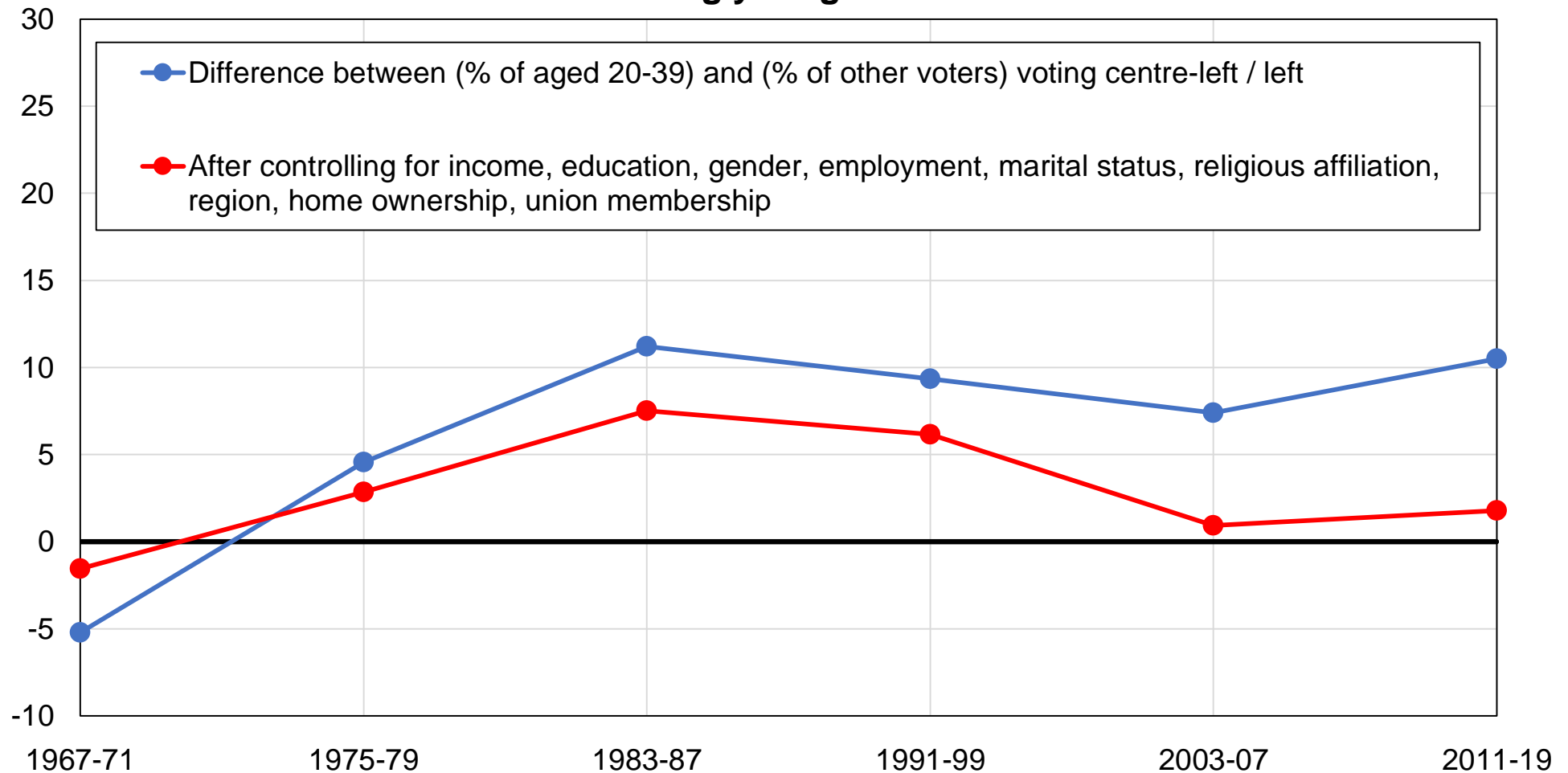
Figure CC12 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among union members



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

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

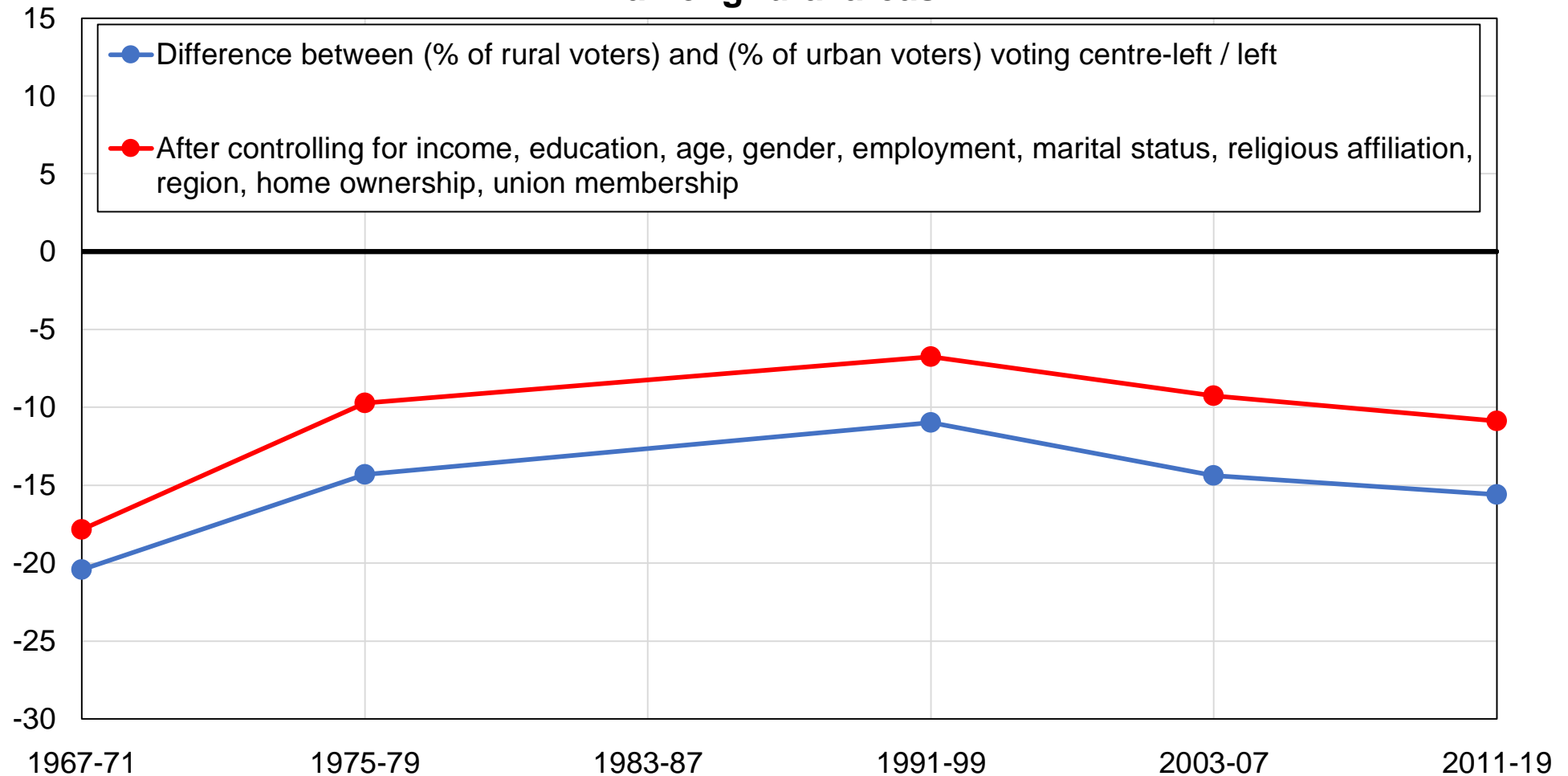
Figure CC13 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among young voters



Source: authors' computations using Swiss 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 centre-left / left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

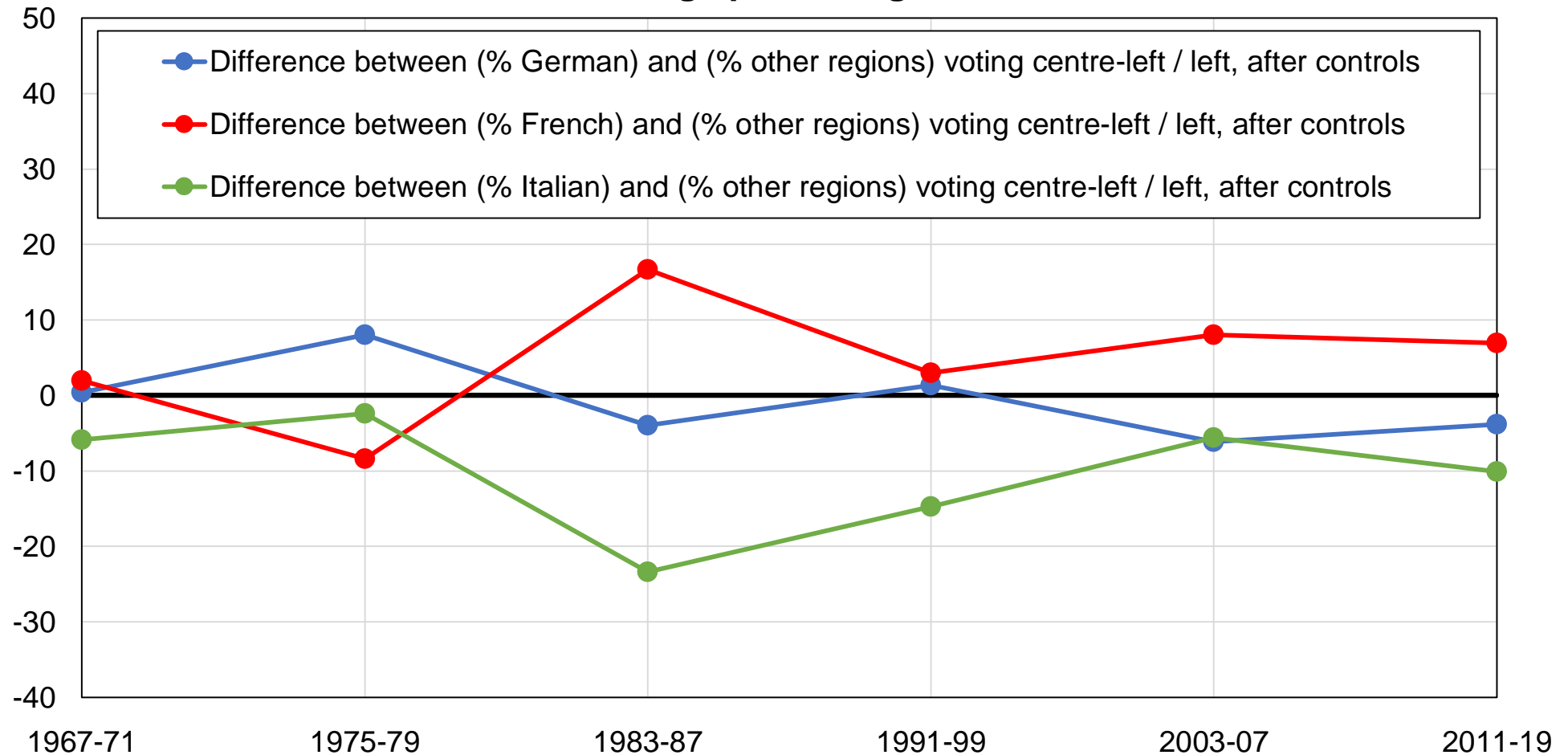
Figure CC14 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among rural areas



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

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

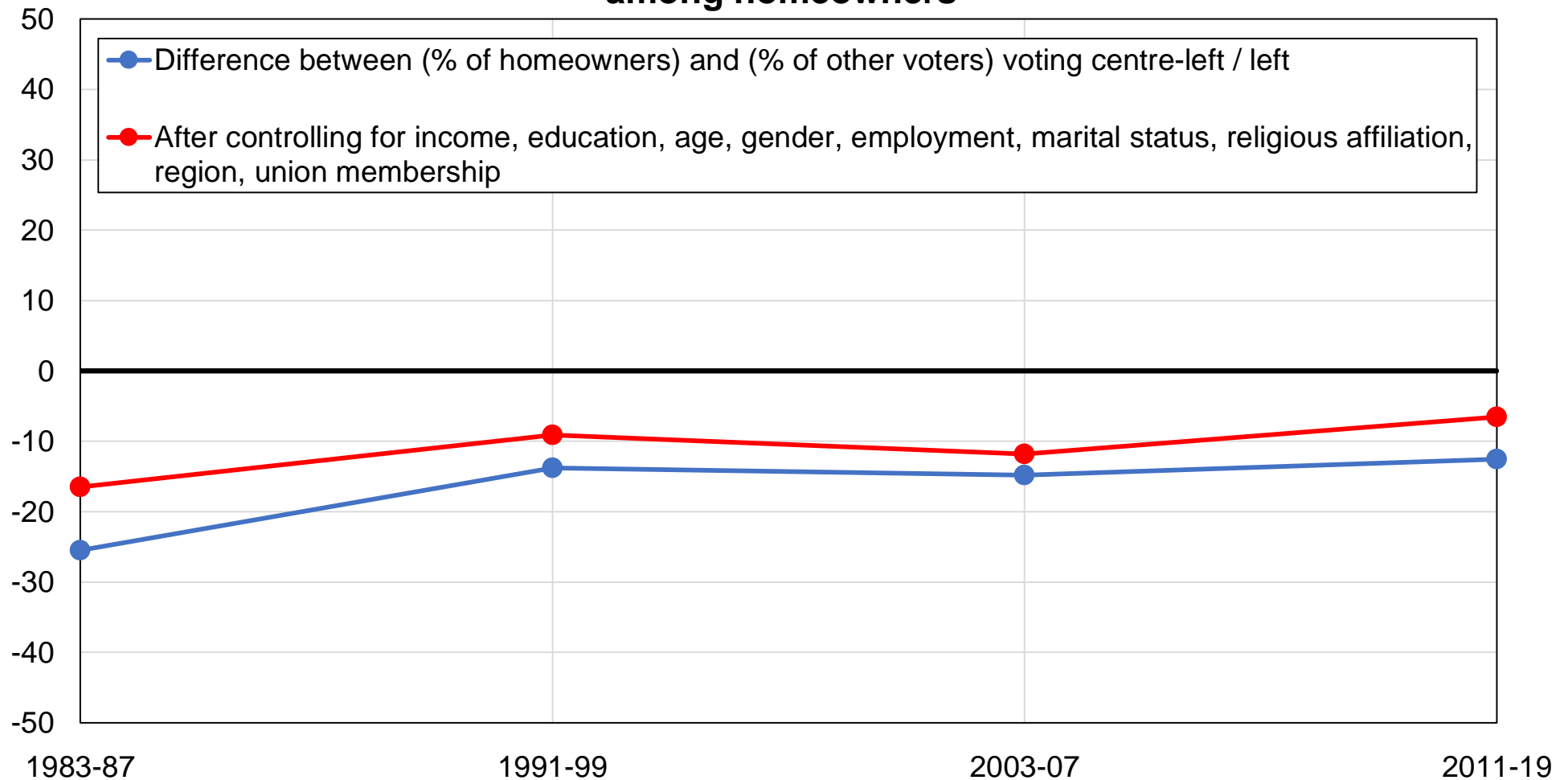
Figure CC15 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among specific regions



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the bias of Swiss linguistic regions towards Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left, after controlling for income, education, age, gender, employment, marital status, religious affiliation, home ownership, and union membership.

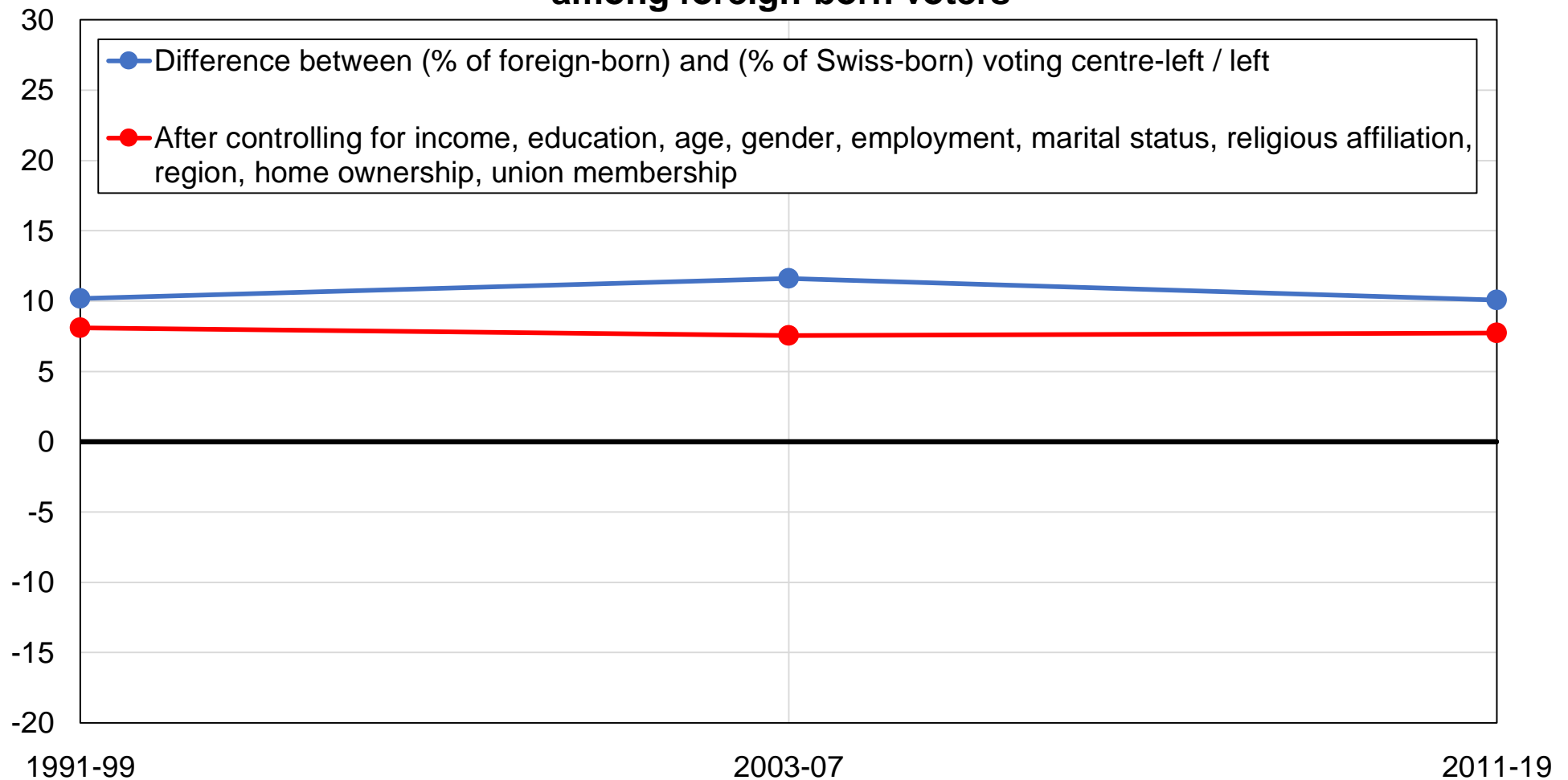
Figure CC16 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among homeowners



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

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

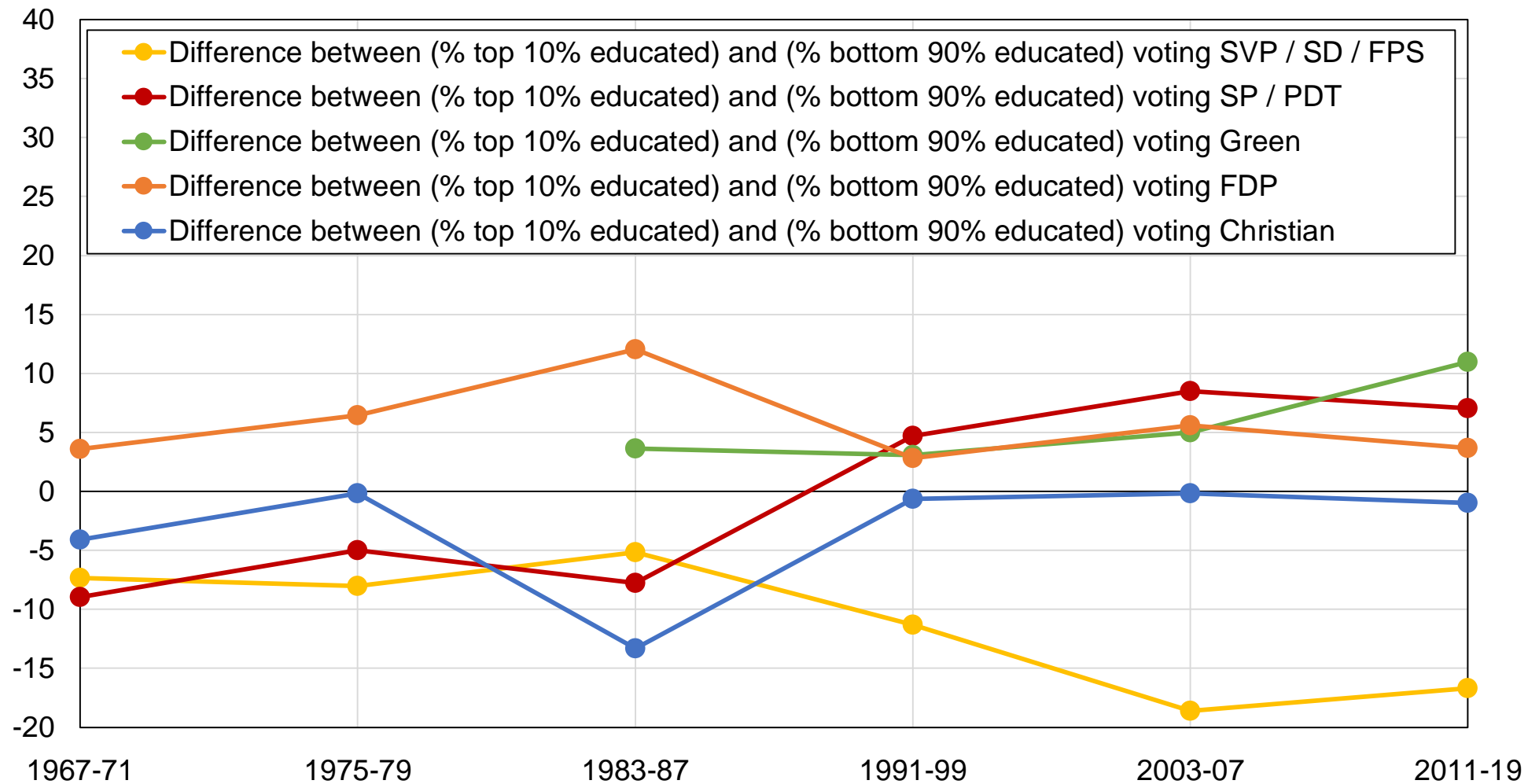
Figure CC17 - Vote for Social Democrats / Greens / Other centre-left among foreign-born voters



Source: authors' computations using New Zealand political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of foreign-born voters and the share of Swiss-born voters voting for centre-left / left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

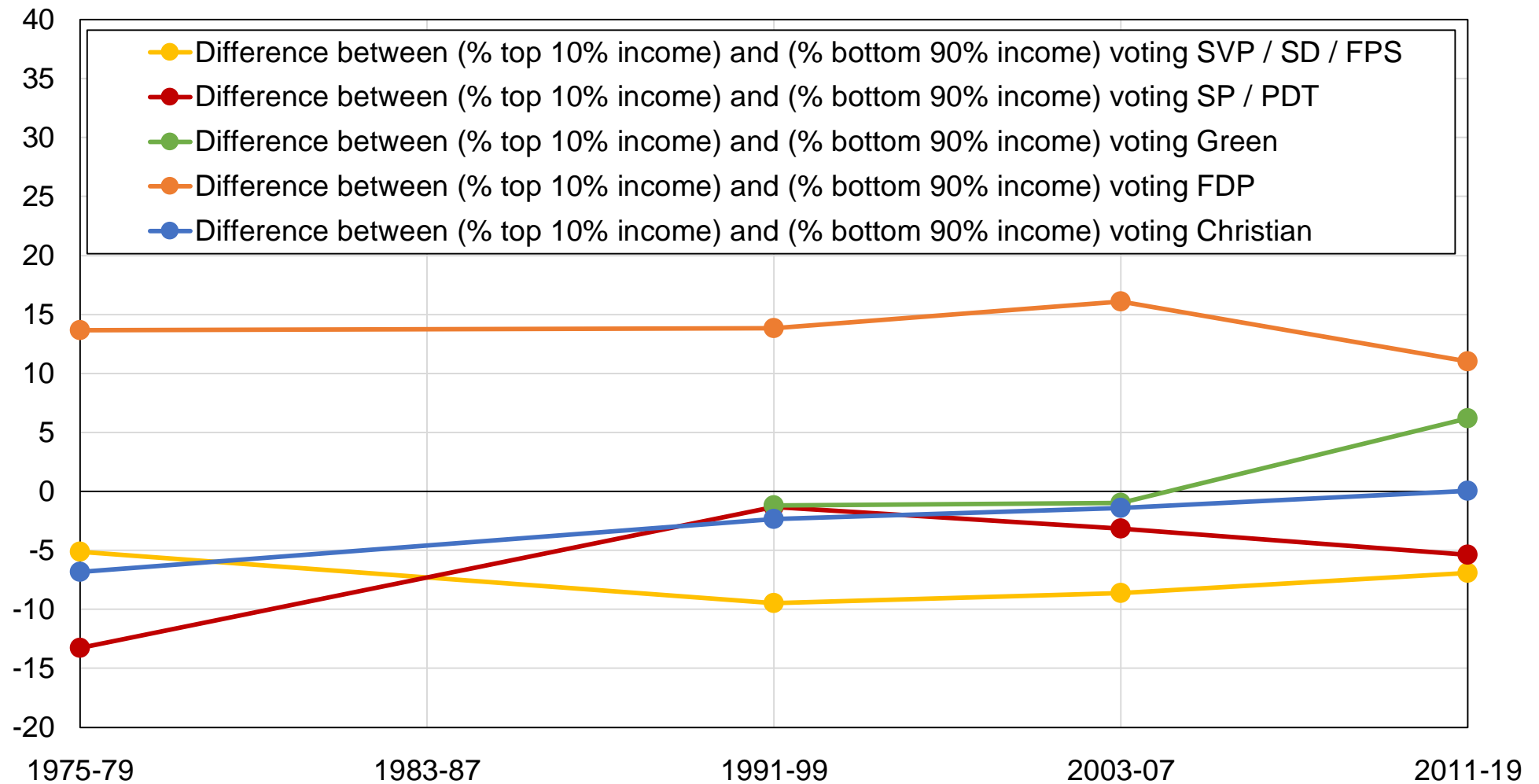
Figure CC18 - The education cleavage in Switzerland



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the bias of highest-educated voters towards SVP / SD / FPS, SP / PDT, Greens, FDP.

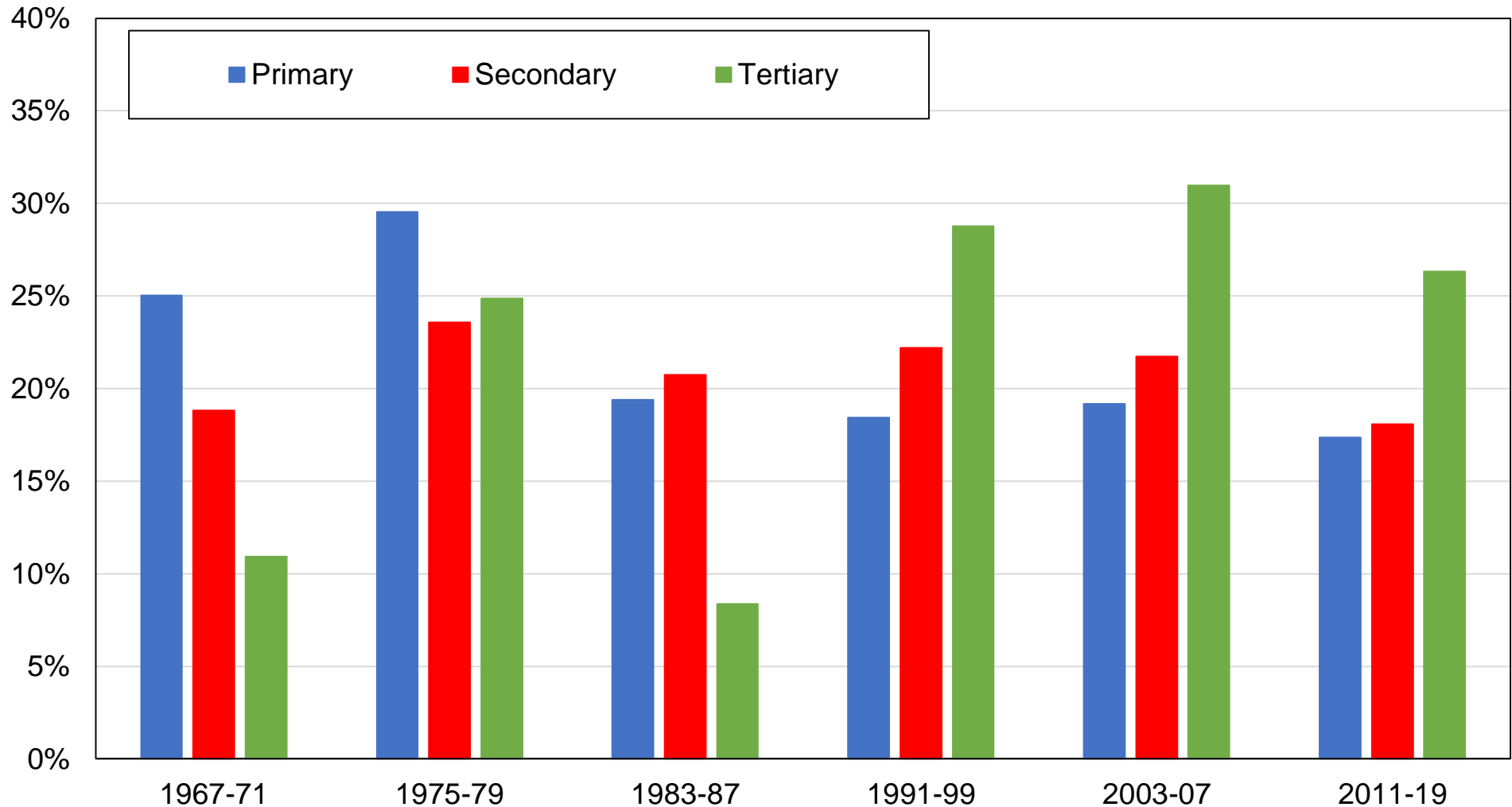
Figure CC19 - The income cleavage in Switzerland



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the bias of top-income voters towards SVP / SD / FPS, SP / PDT, Greens, FDP.

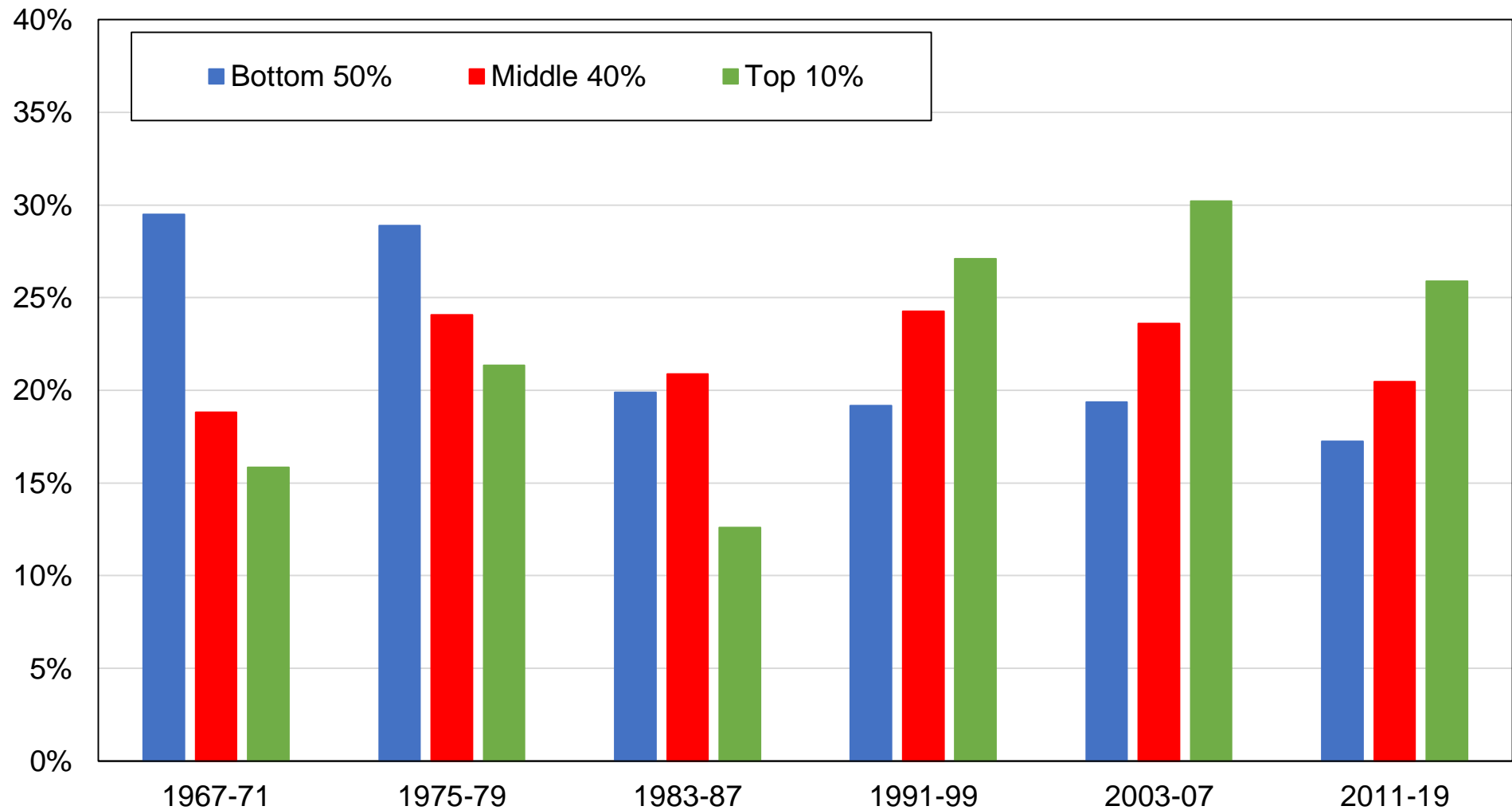
Figure CD1 - Vote for left-wing parties by education level



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party (SPS / PSS) and Party of Labor (PdA / PdT) by education level.

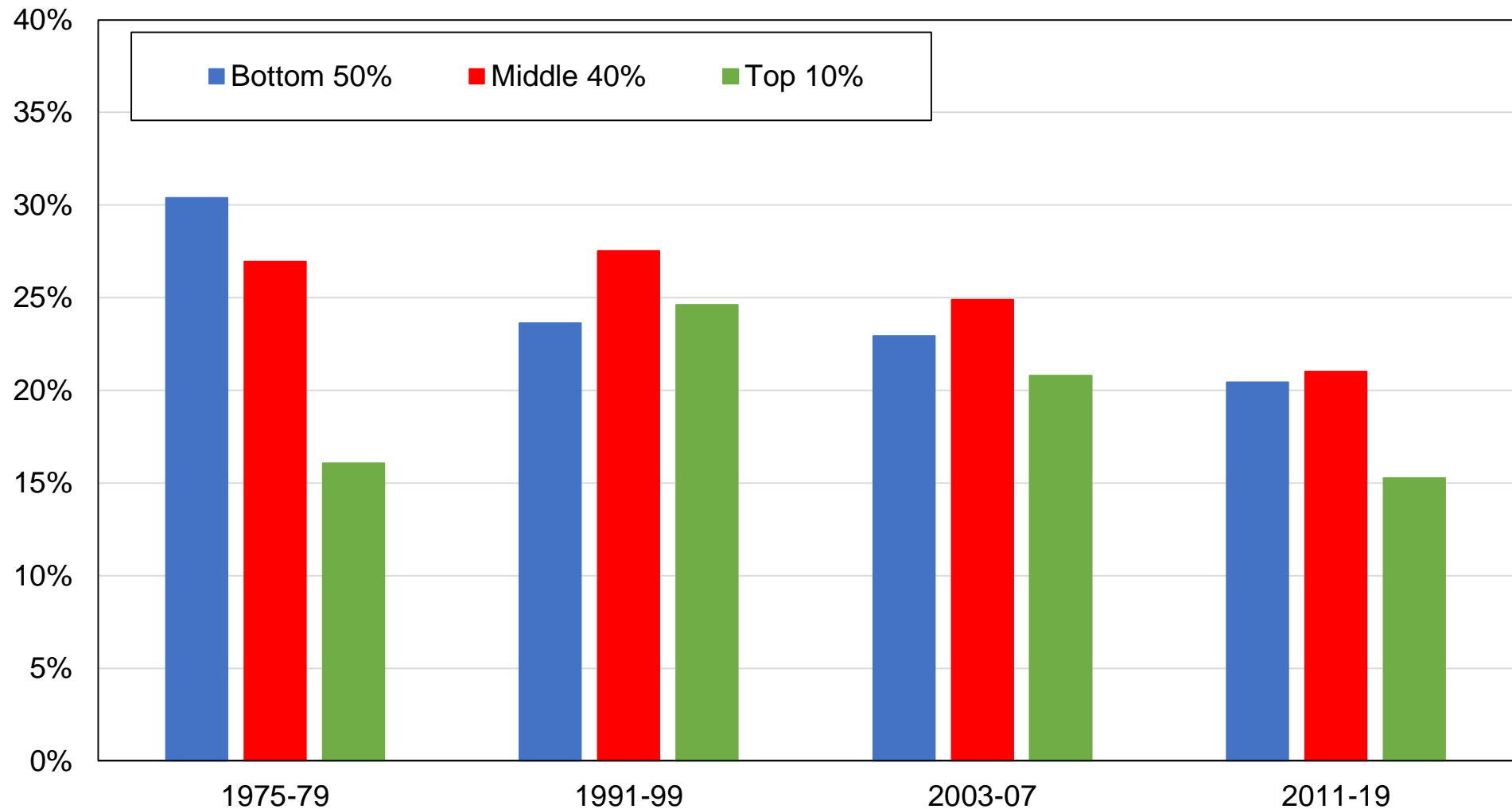
Figure CD2 - Vote for left-wing parties by education group



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party (SPS / PSS) and Party of Labor (PdA / PdT) by education group.

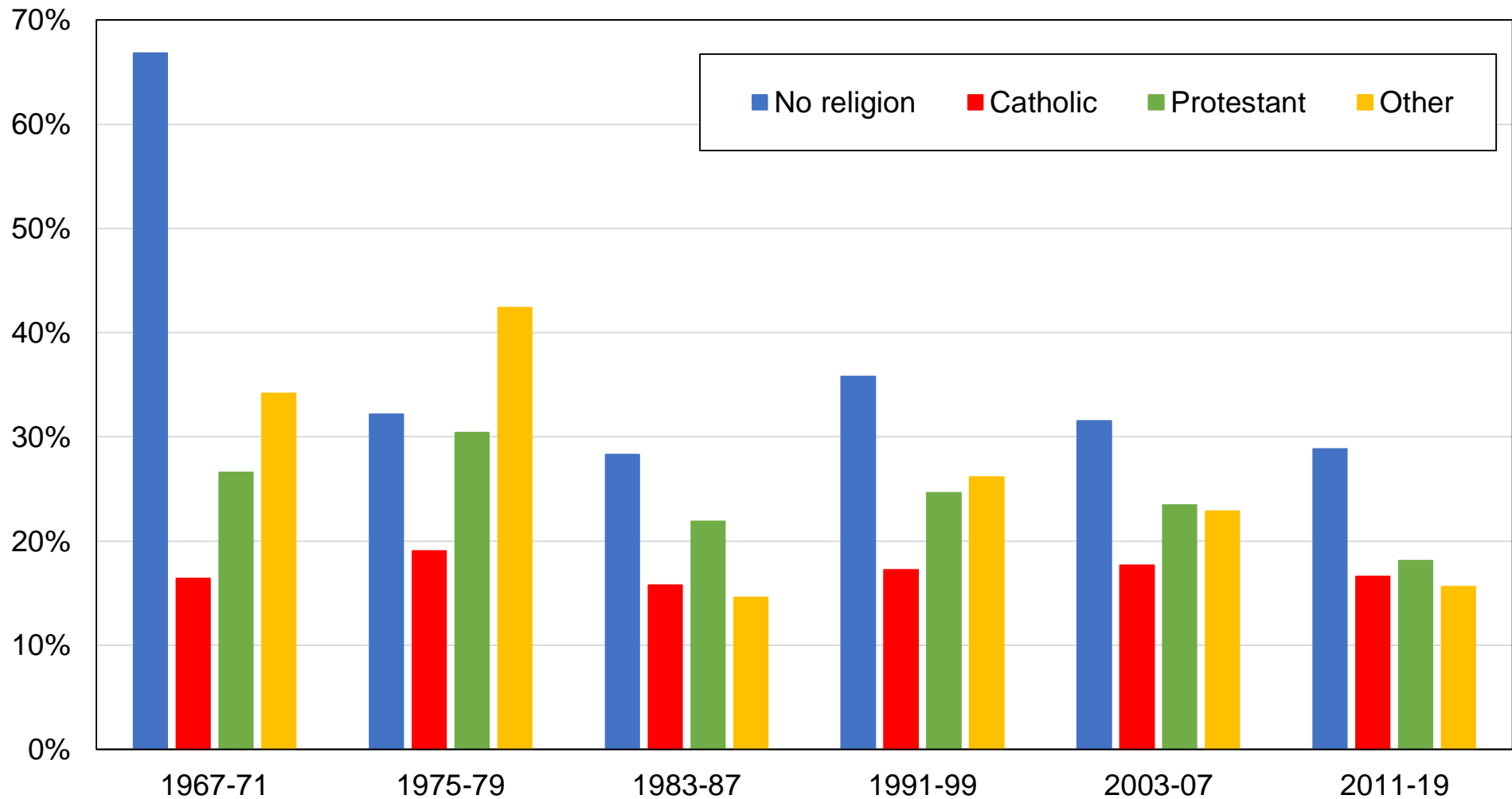
Figure CD3 - Vote for left-wing parties by income group



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party (SPS / PSS) and Party of Labor (PdA / PdT) by income group.

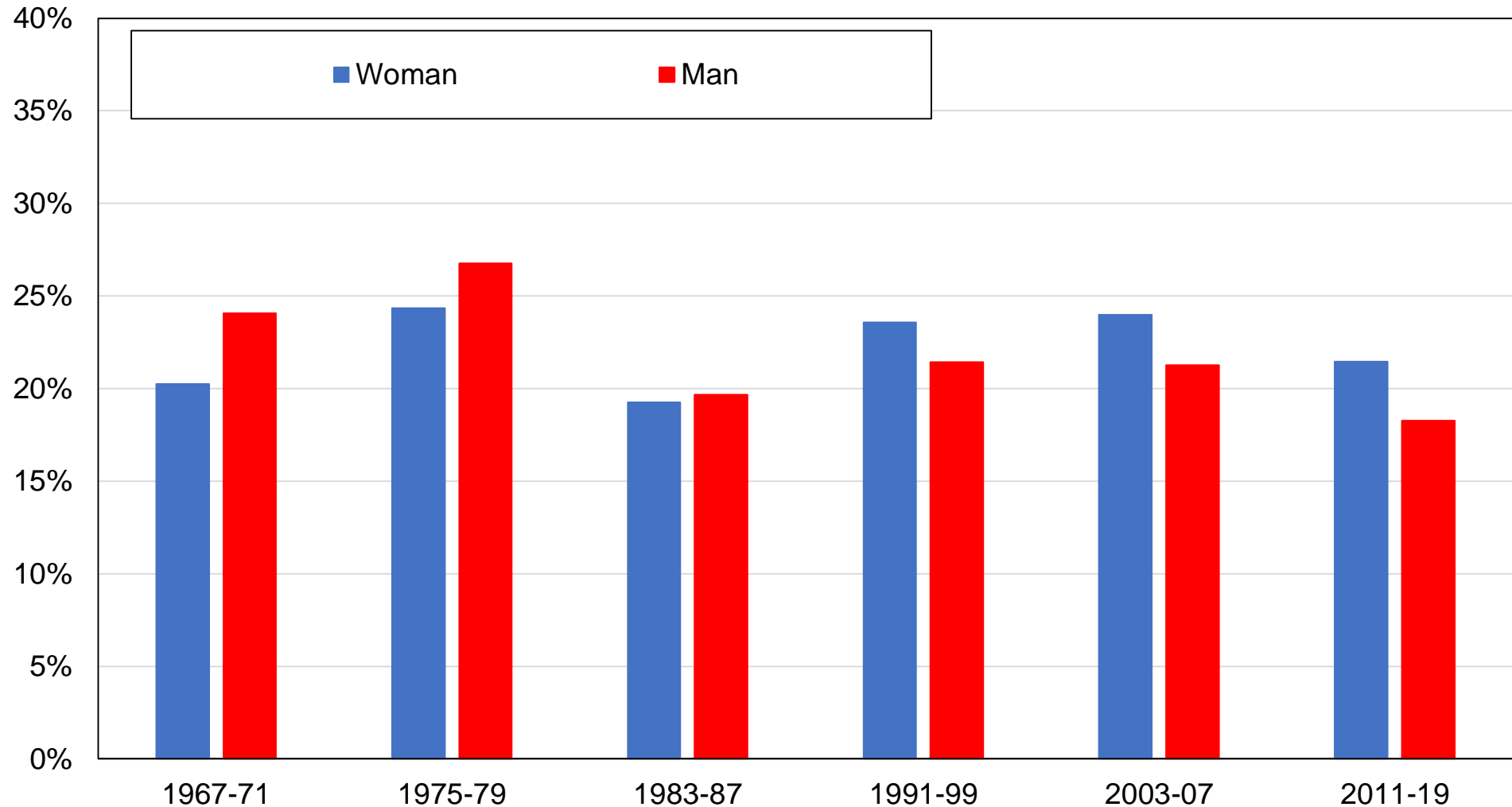
Figure CD4 - Vote for left-wing parties by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party (SPS / PSS) and Party of Labor (PdA / PdT) by religious affiliation.

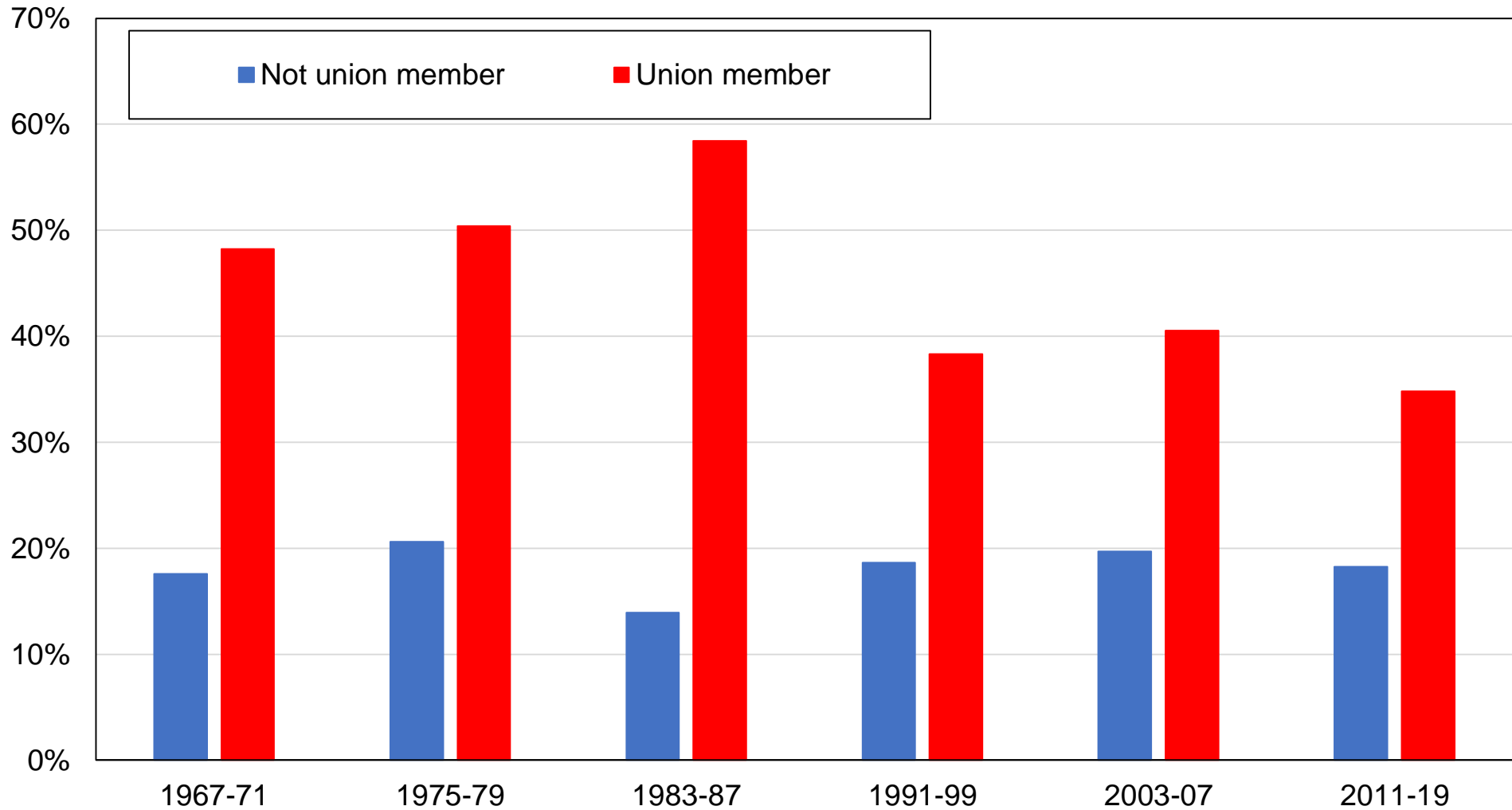
Figure CD5 - Vote for left-wing parties by gender



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party (SPS / PSS) and Party of Labor (PdA / PdT) by gender.

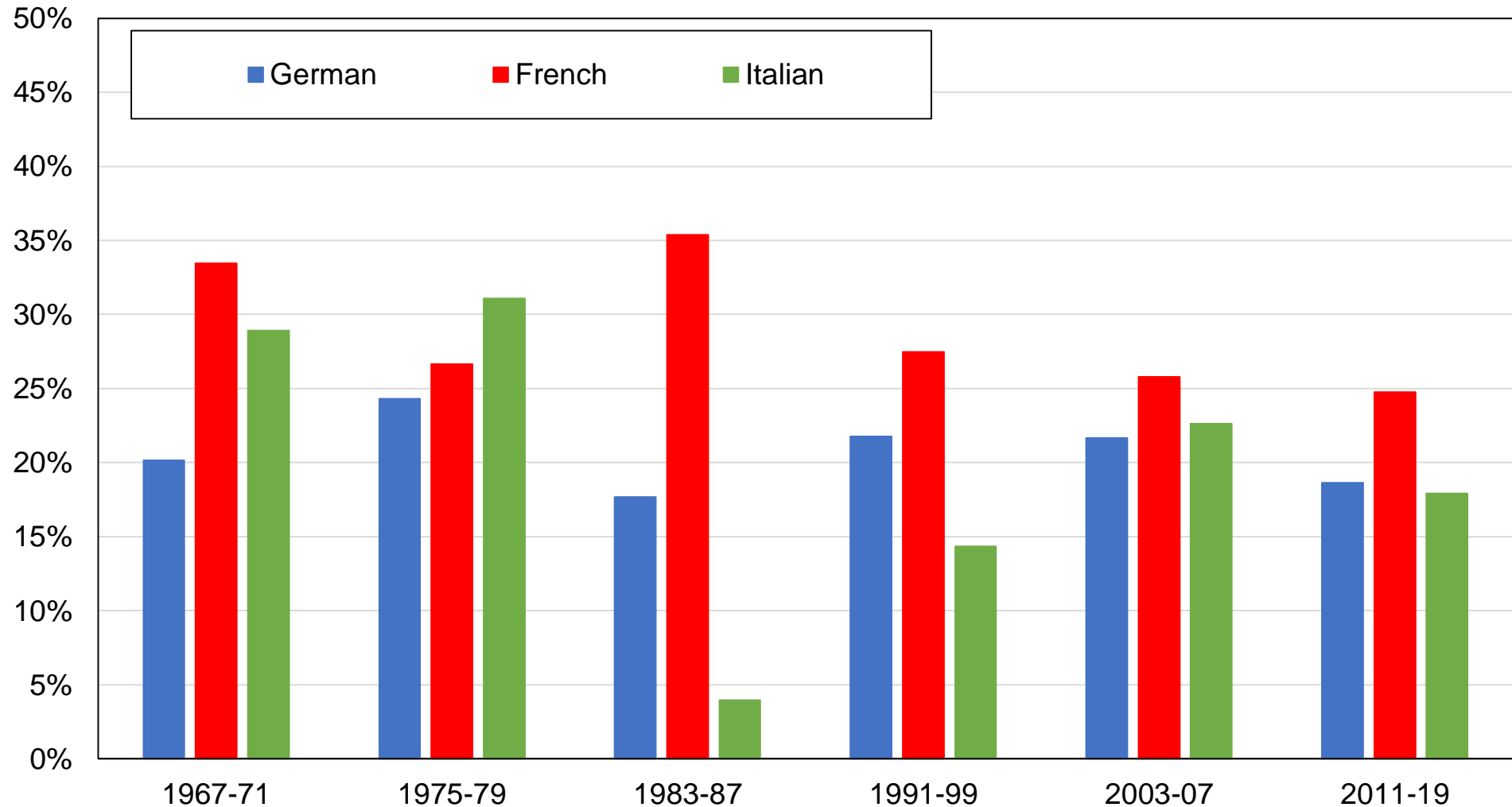
Figure CD6 - Vote for left-wing parties by union membership



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party (SPS / PSS) and Party of Labor (PdA / PdT) by union membership status.

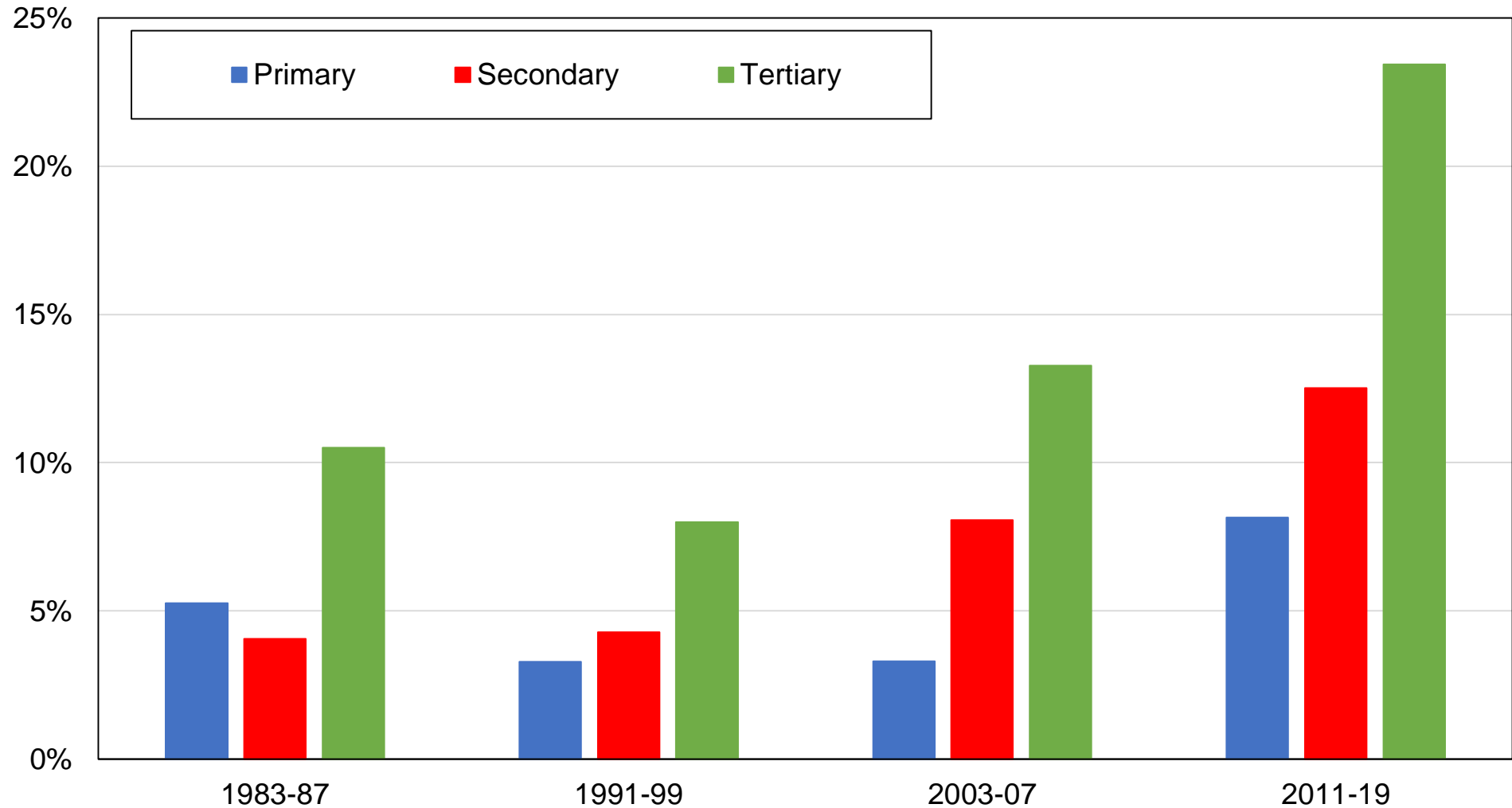
Figure CD7 - Vote for left-wing parties by region



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party (SPS / PSS) and Party of Labor (PdA / PdT) by linguistic region.

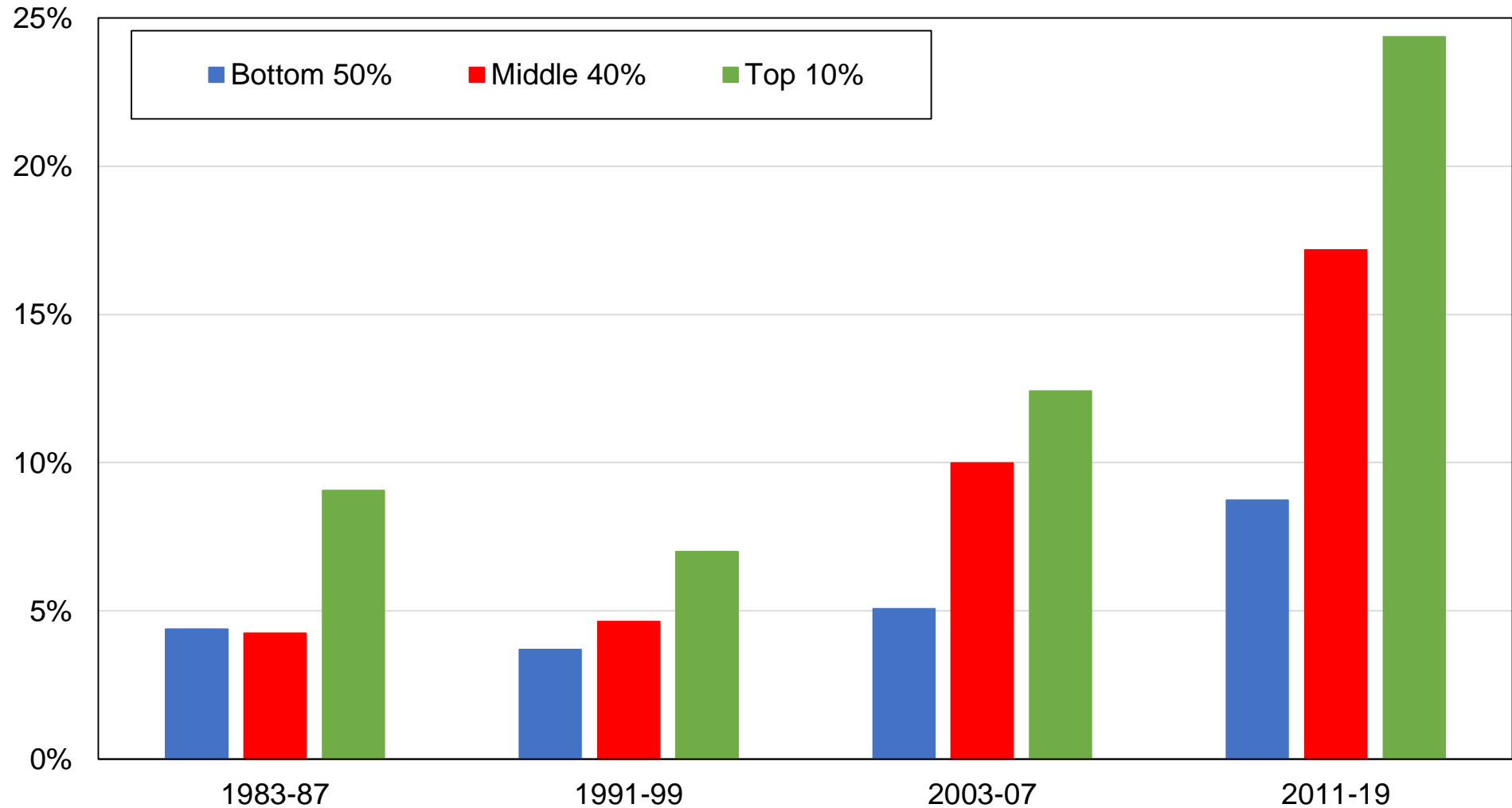
Figure CD8 - Vote for green parties by education level



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Green Party (GPS / PES) and Green Liberal Party (GLP / PVL) by education level.

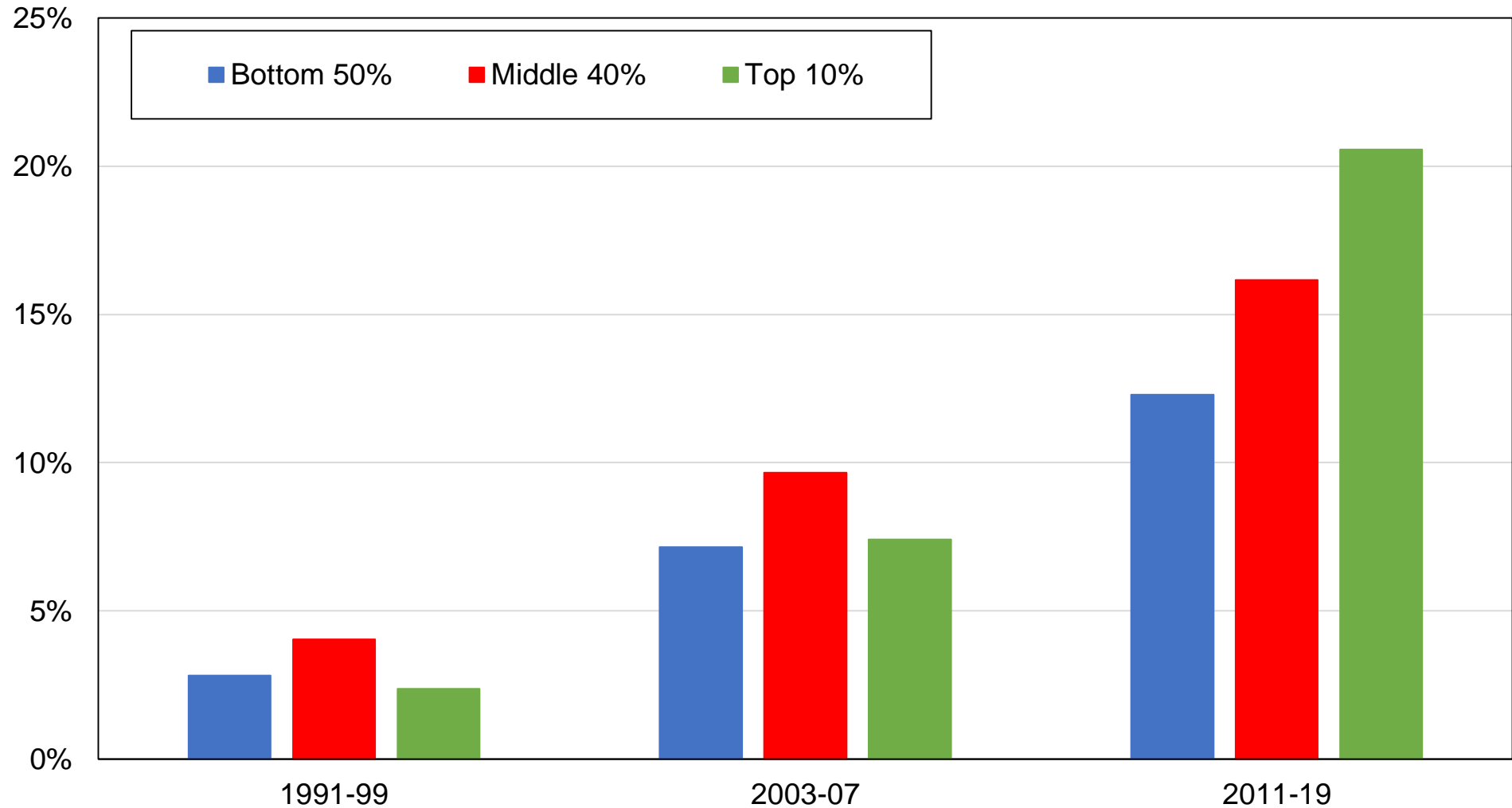
Figure CD9 - Vote for green parties by education group



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Green Party (GPS / PES) and Green Liberal Party (GLP / PVL) by education group.

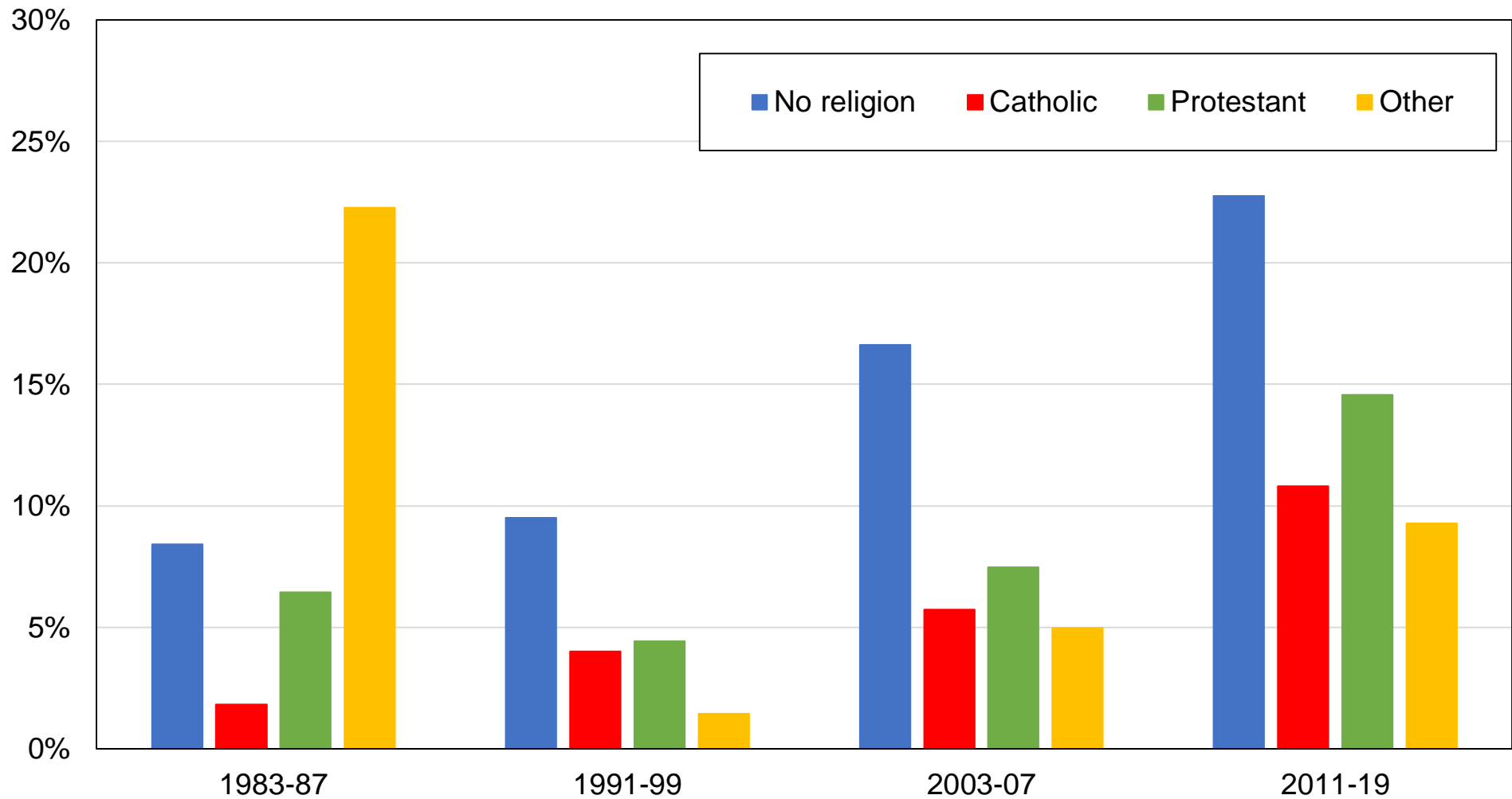
Figure CD10 - Vote for green parties by income group



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Green Party (GPS / PES) and Green Liberal Party (GLP / PVL) by income group.

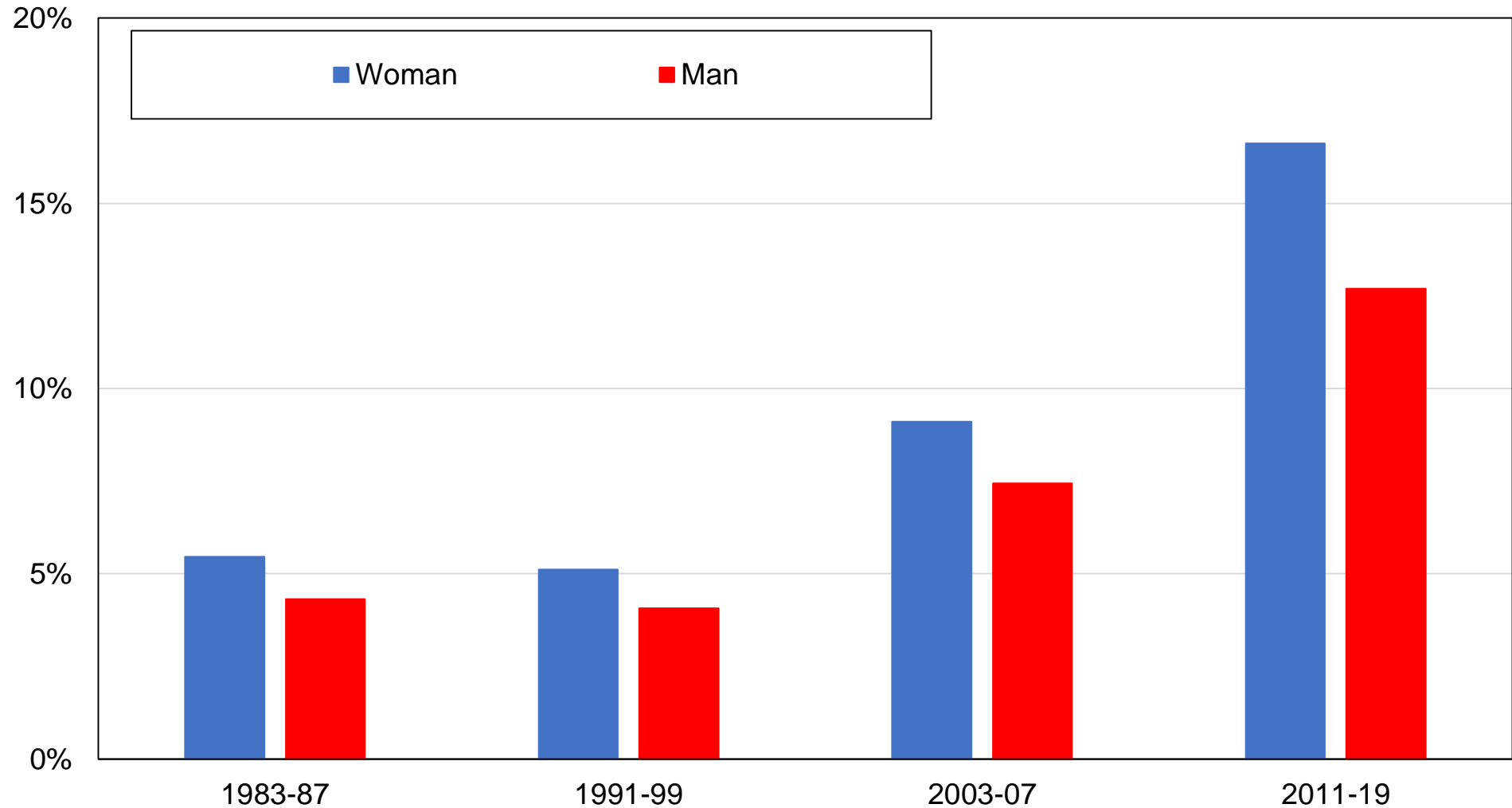
Figure CD11 - Vote for green parties by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Green Party (GPS / PES) and Green Liberal Party (GLP / PVL) by religious affiliation.

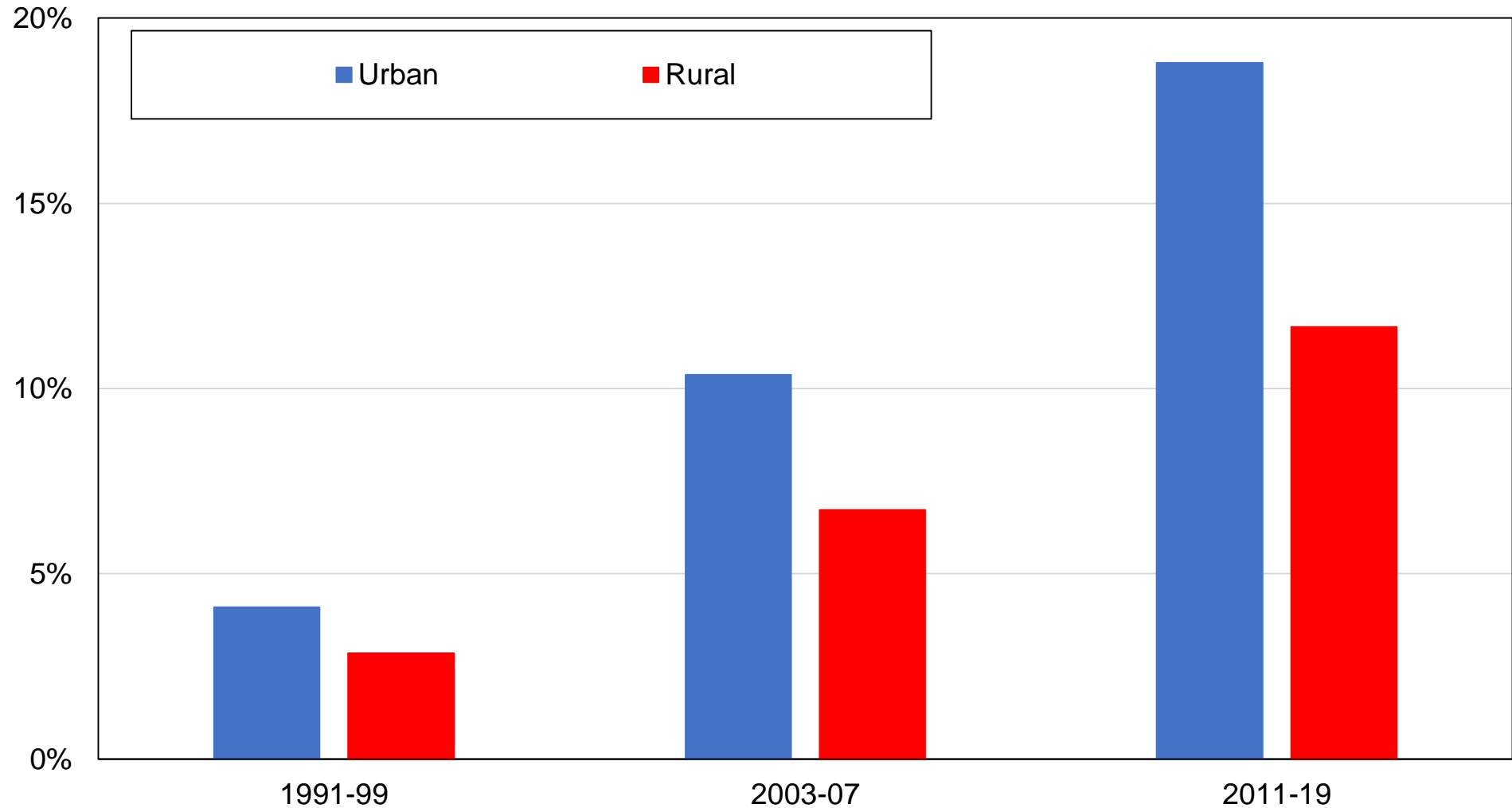
Figure CD12 - Vote for green parties by gender



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Green Party (GPS / PES) and Green Liberal Party (GLP / PVL) by gender.

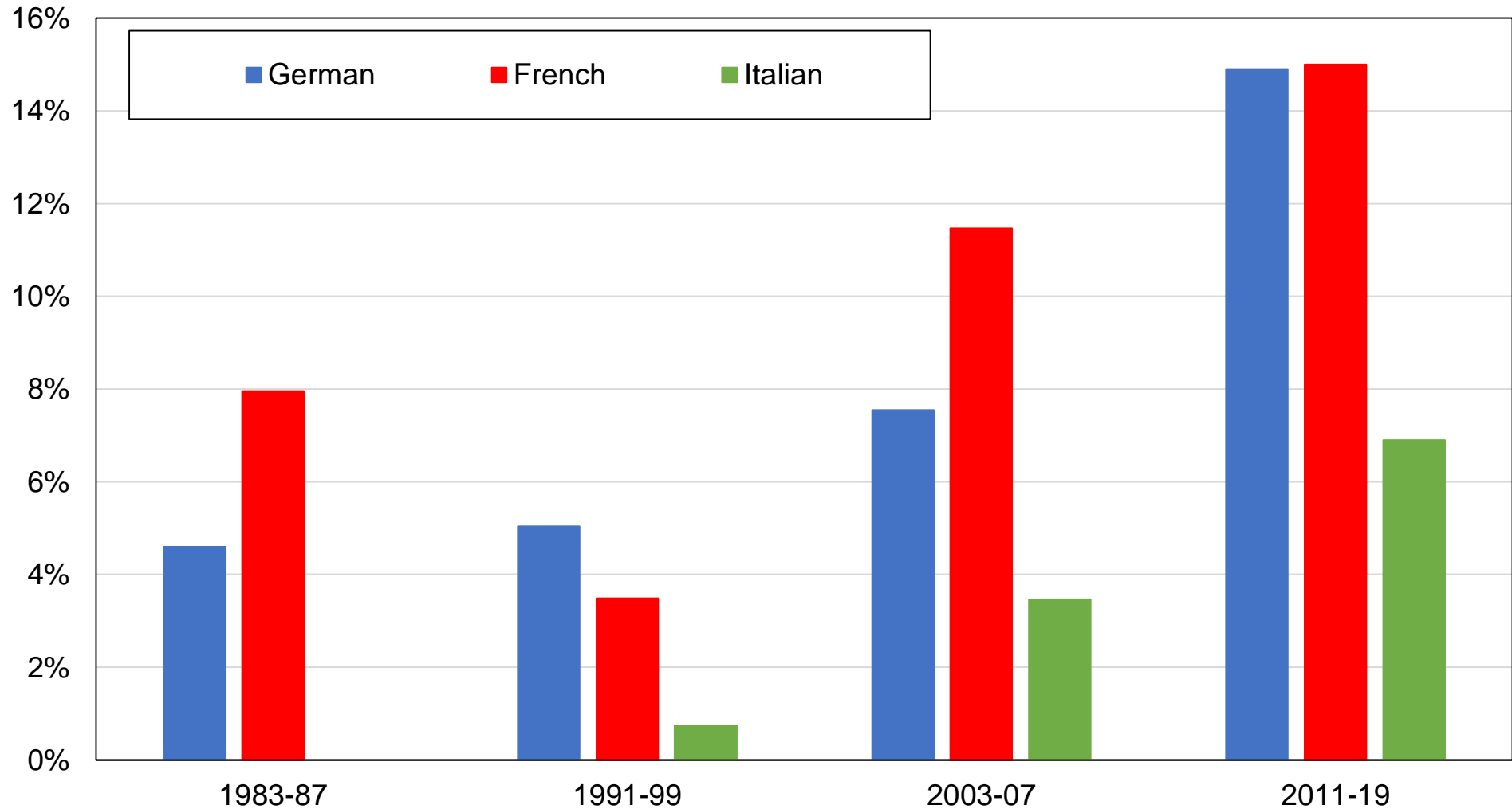
Figure CD13 - Vote for green parties by union membership



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Green Party (GPS / PES) and Green Liberal Party (GLP / PVL) by union membership status.

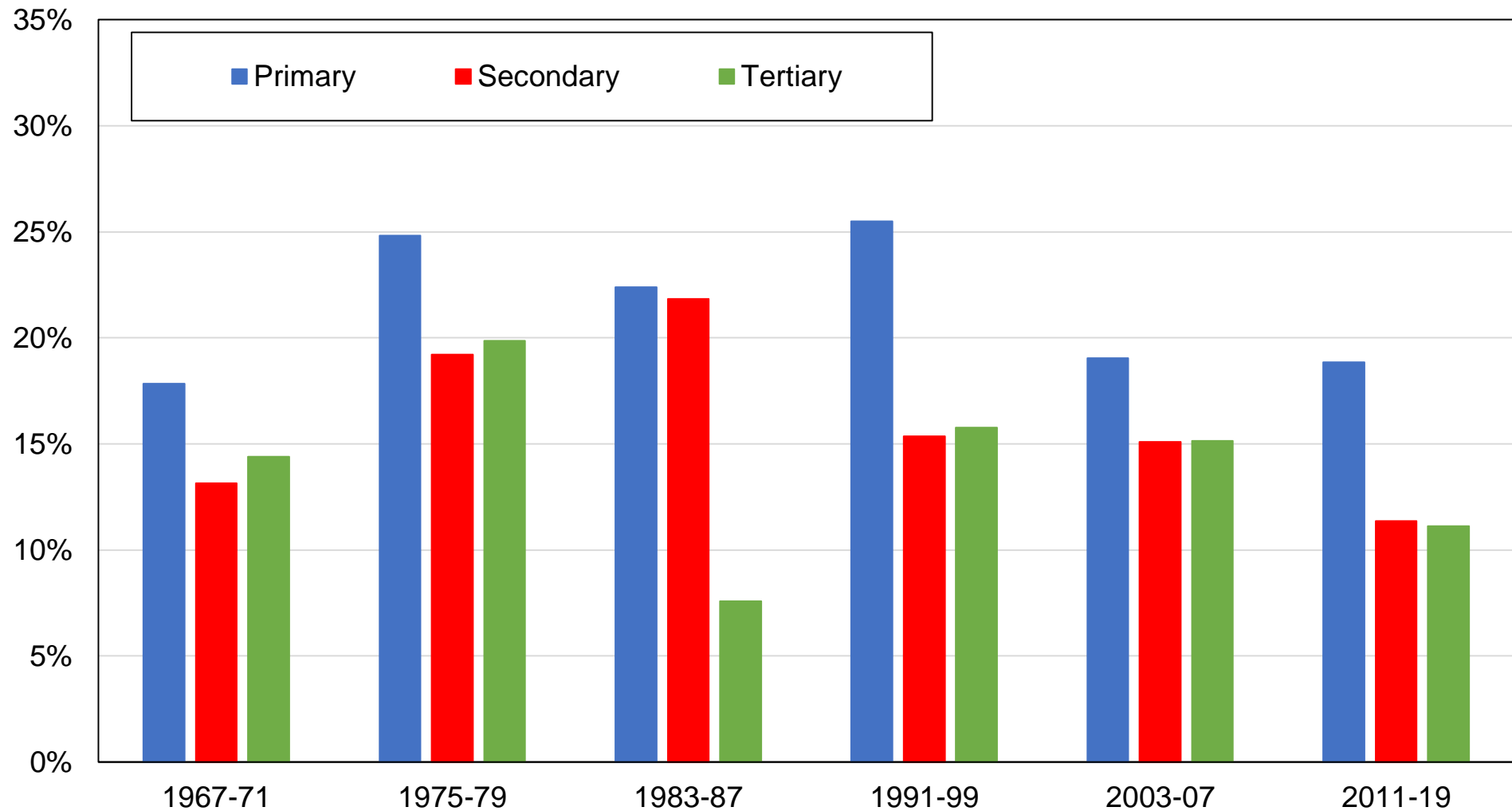
Figure CD14 - Vote for green parties by region



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Green Party (GPS / PES) and Green Liberal Party (GLP / PVL) by linguistic region.

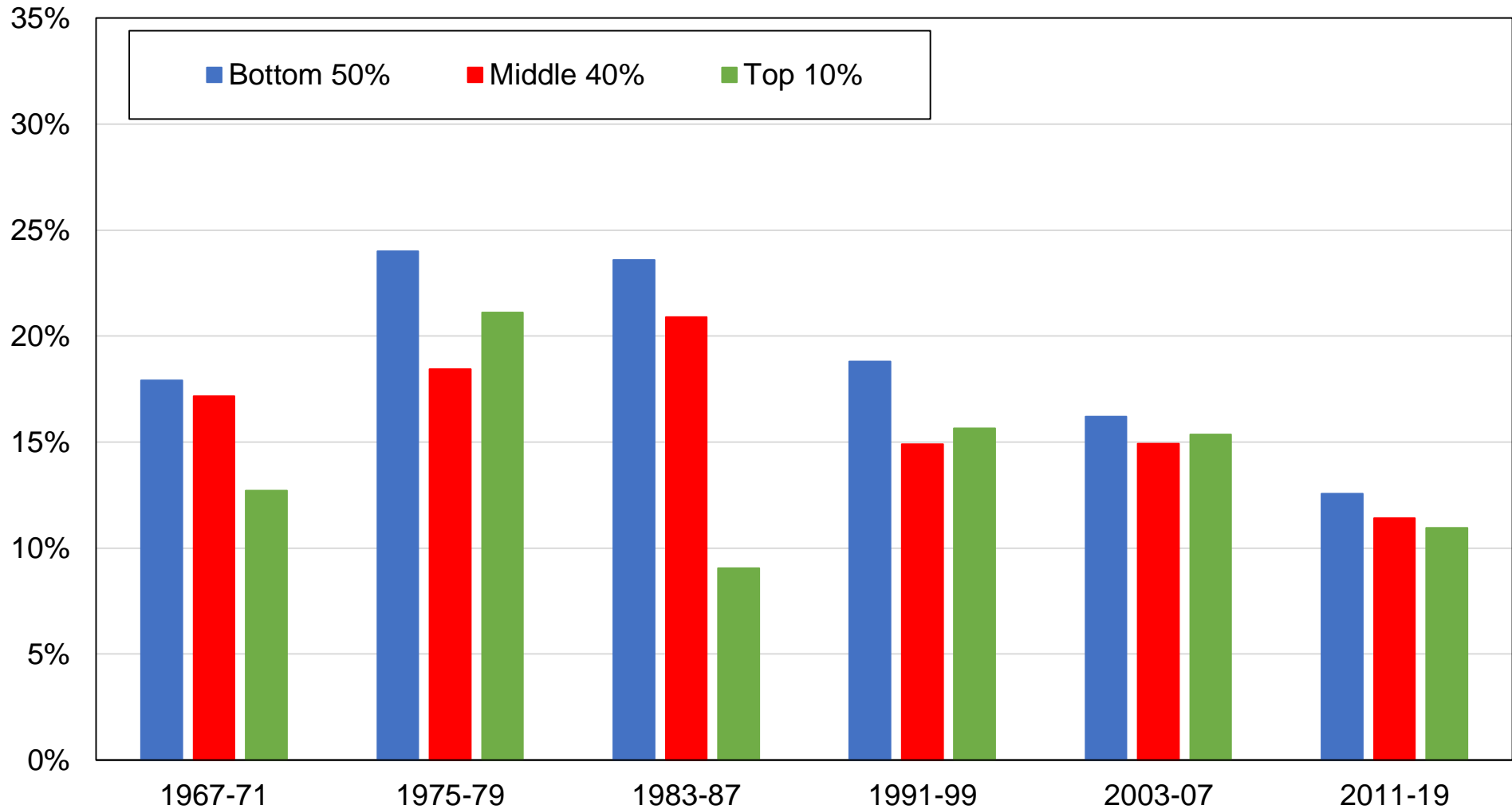
Figure CD15 - Vote for the Christian Democrats by education level



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic People's Party (CVP / PDC) by education level.

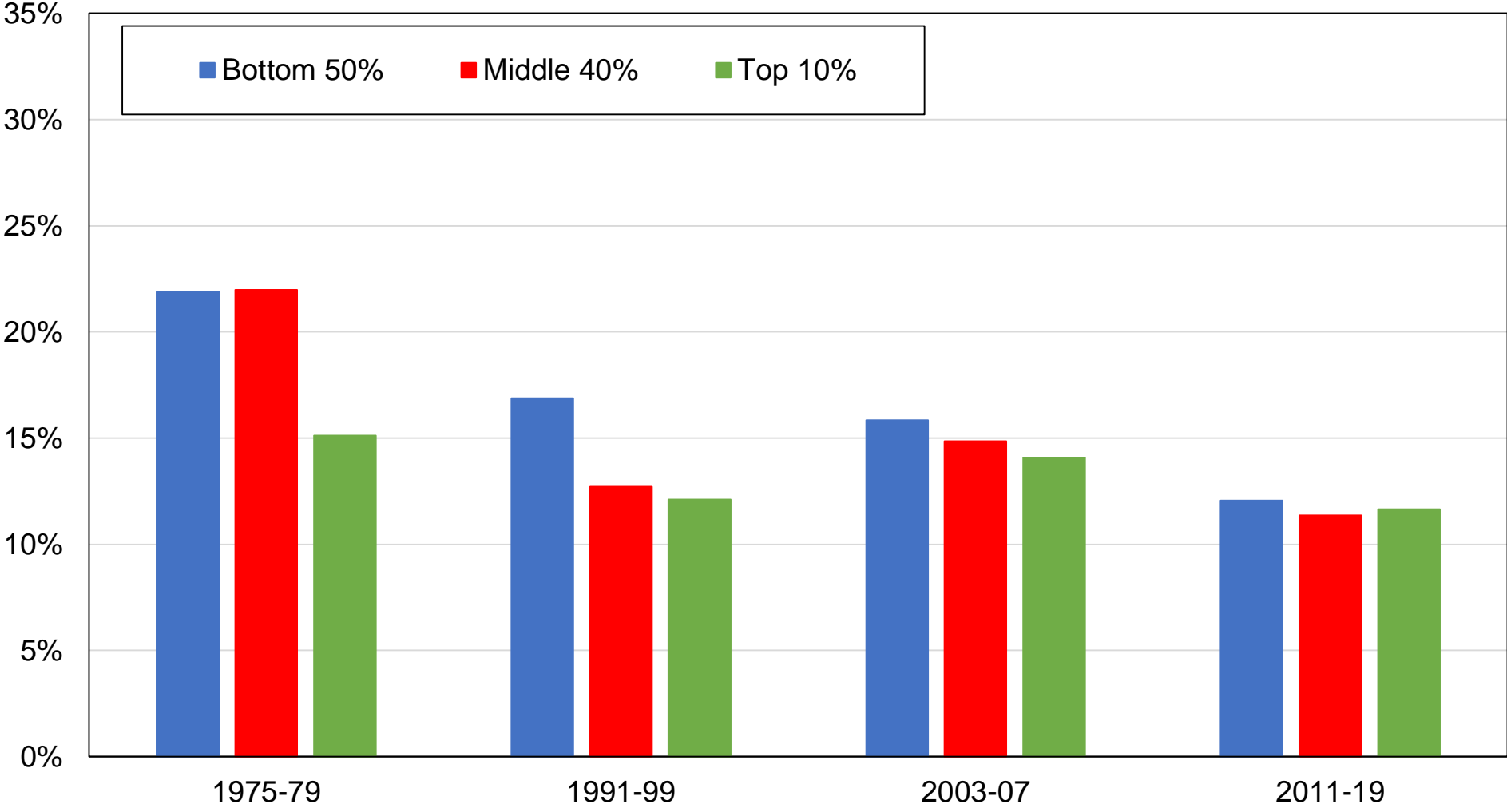
Figure CD16 - Vote for the Christian Democrats by education group



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic People's Party (CVP / PDC) by education group.

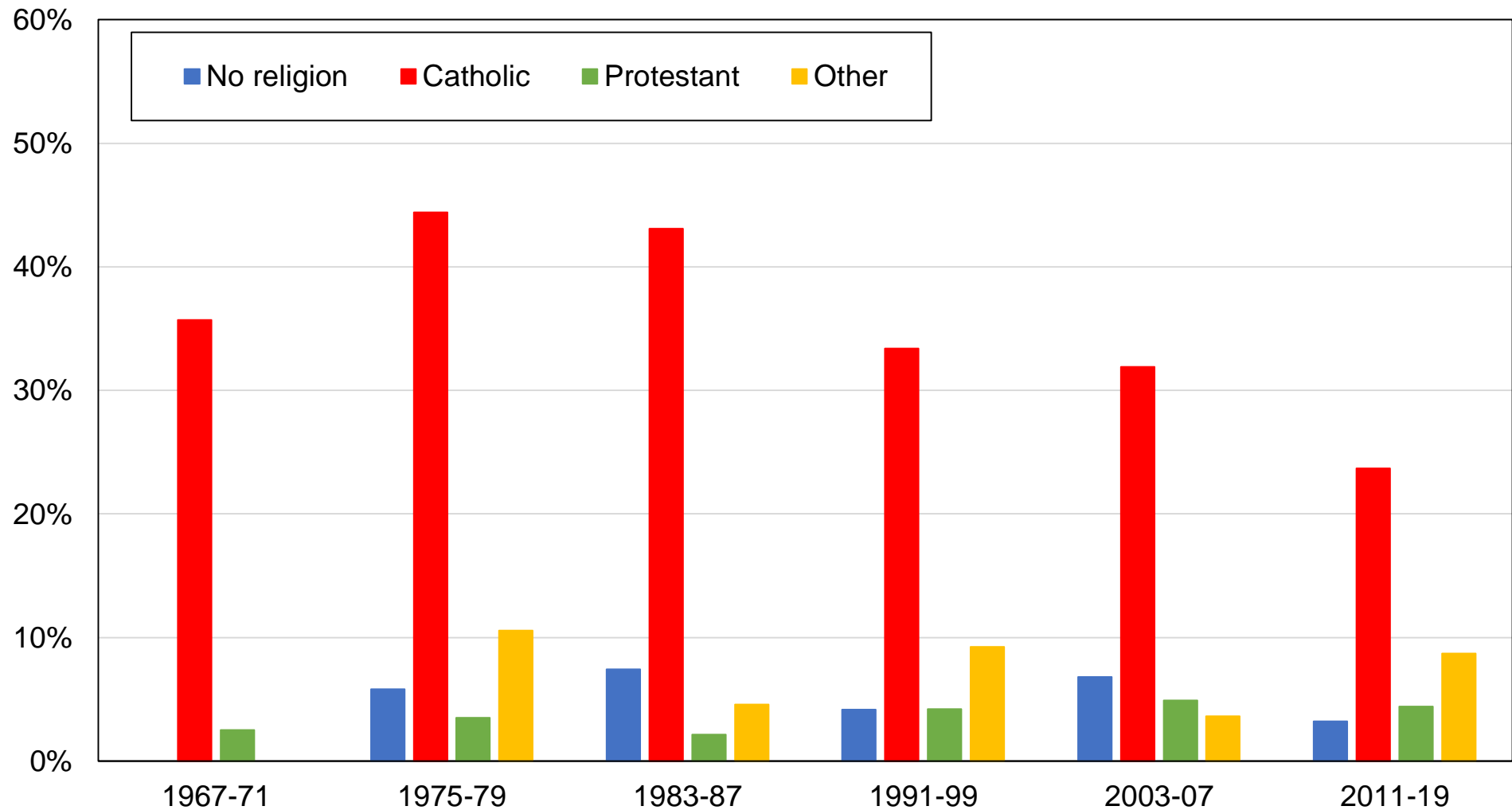
Figure CD17 - Vote for the Christian Democrats by income group



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic People's Party (CVP / PDC) by income group.

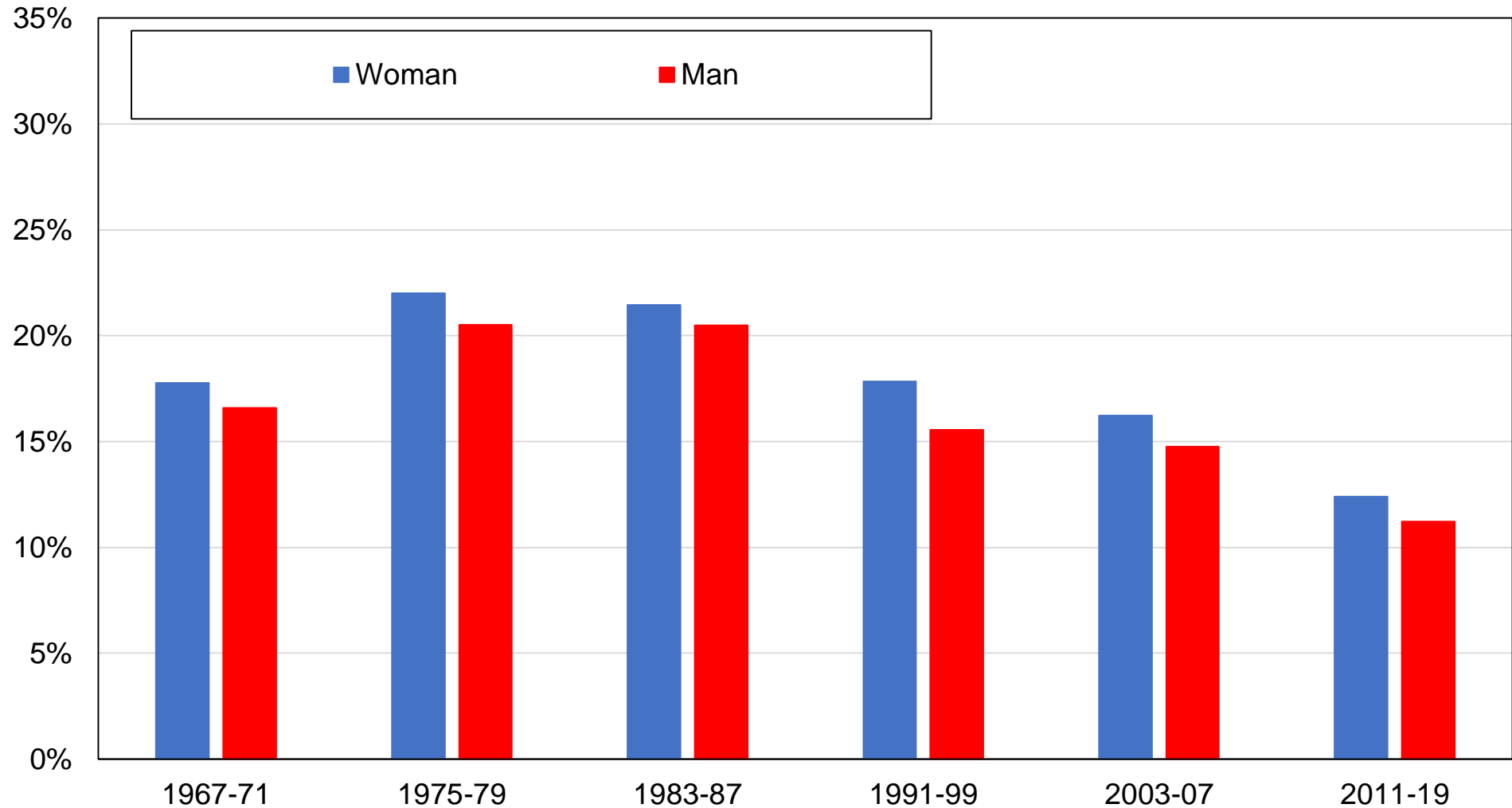
Figure CD18 - Vote for the Christian Democrats by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic People's Party (CVP / PDC) by religious affiliation.

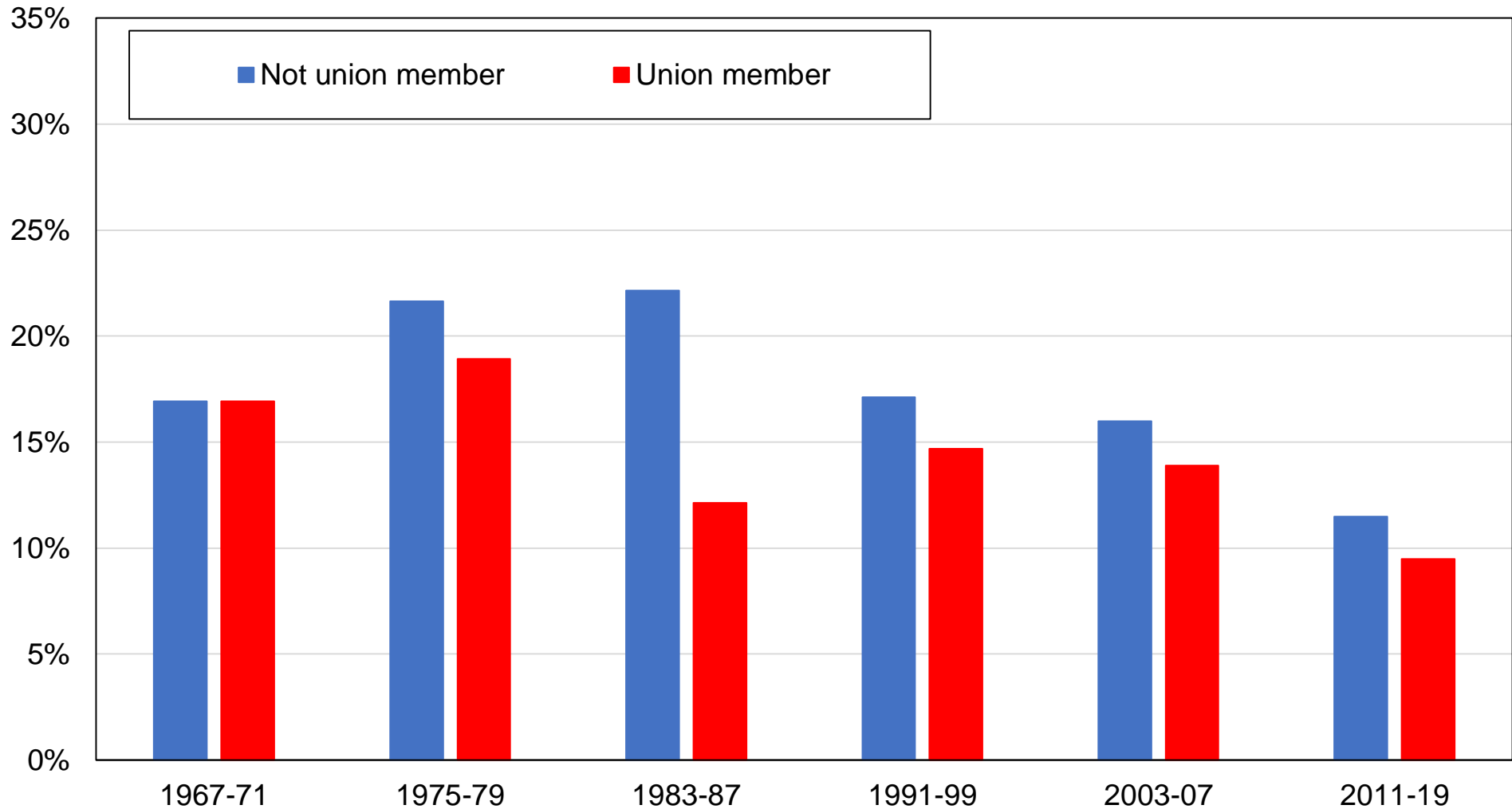
Figure CD19 - Vote for the Christian Democrats by gender



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic People's Party (CVP / PDC) by gender.

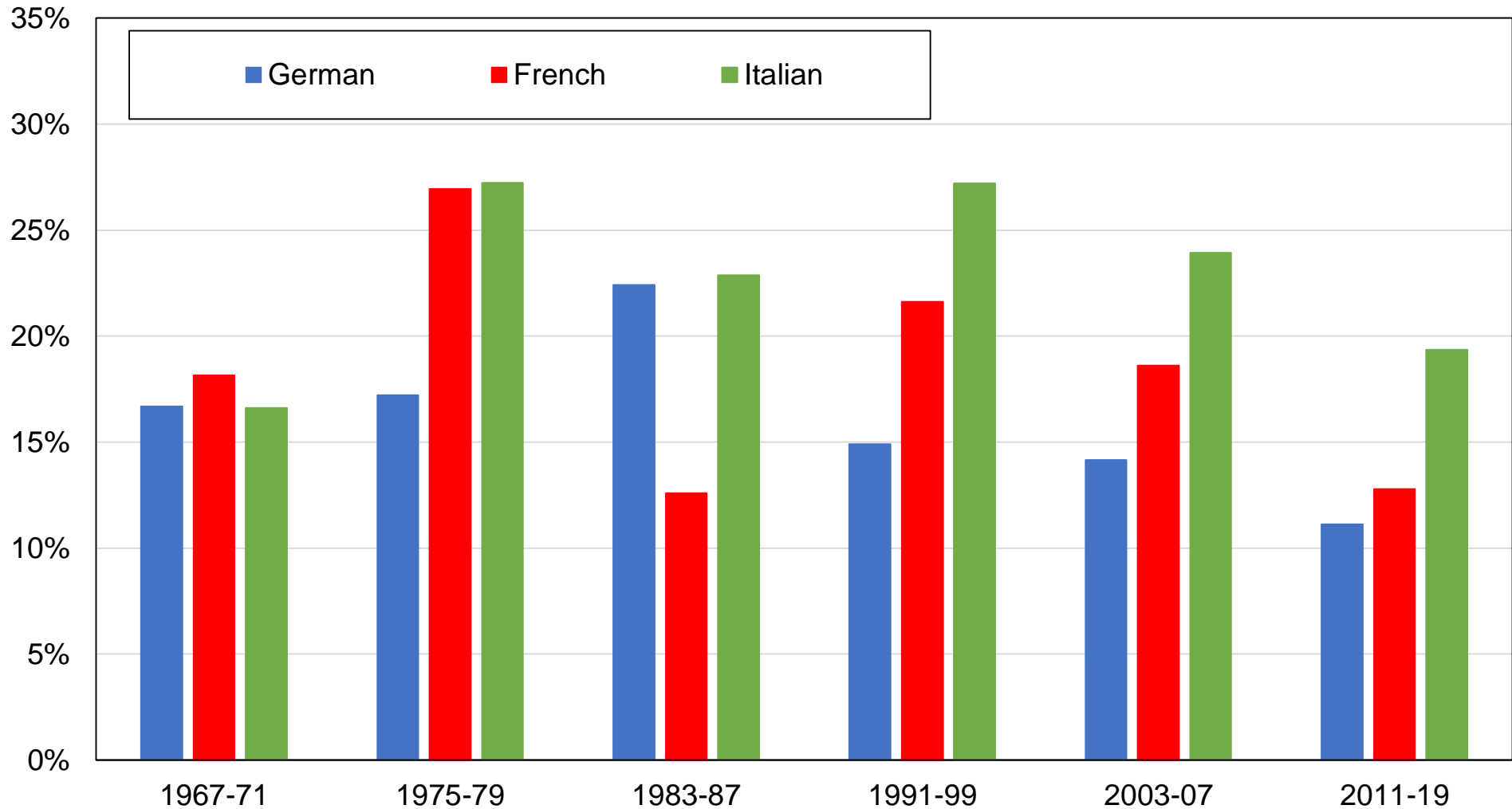
Figure CD20 - Vote for the Christian Democrats by union membership



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic People's Party (CVP / PDC) by union membership status.

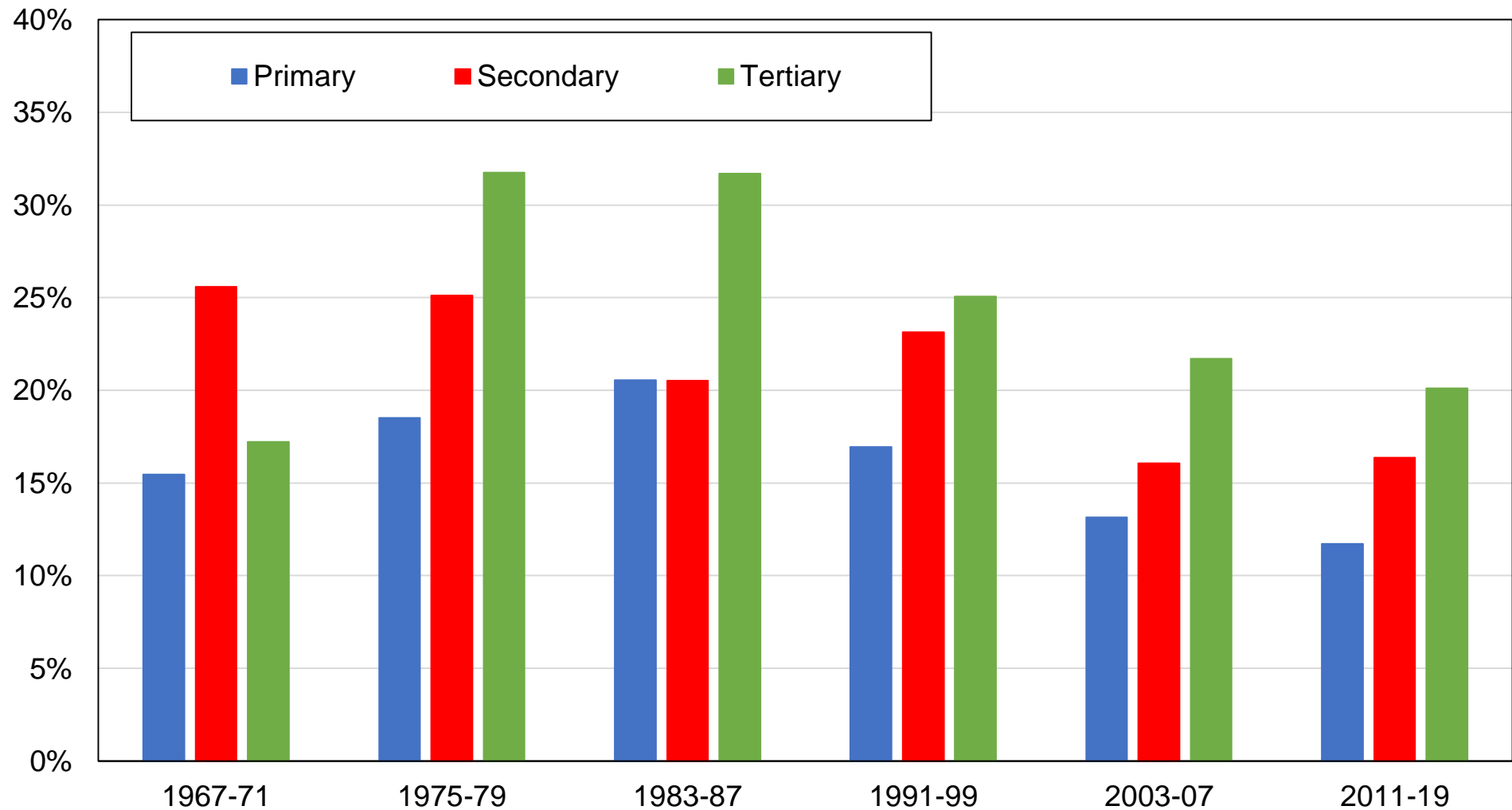
Figure CD21 - Vote for the Christian Democrats by region



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic People's Party (CVP / PDC) by linguistic region.

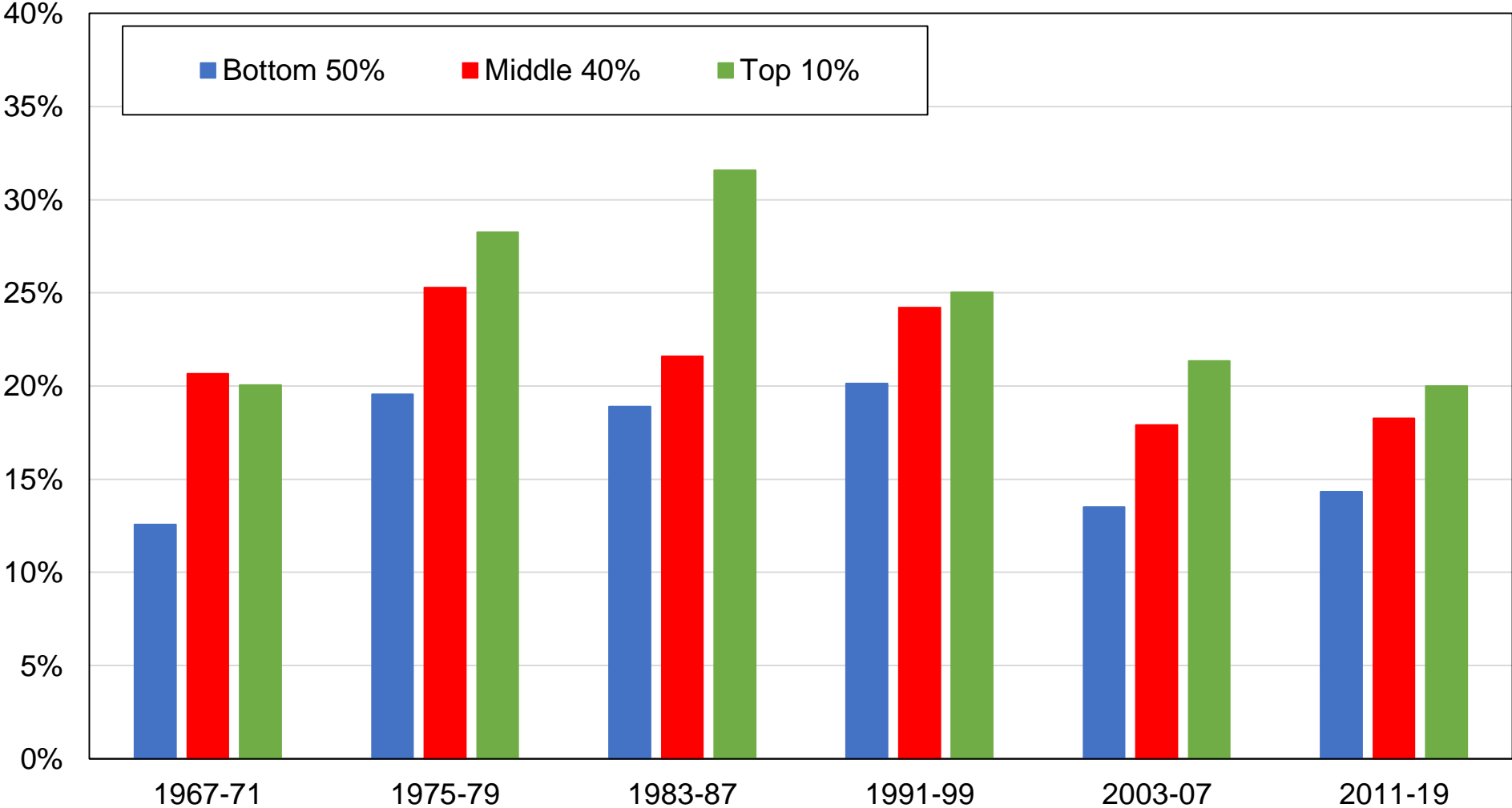
Figure CD22 - Vote for the Liberals by education level



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Free Democratic Party (FDP / PRD) by education level.

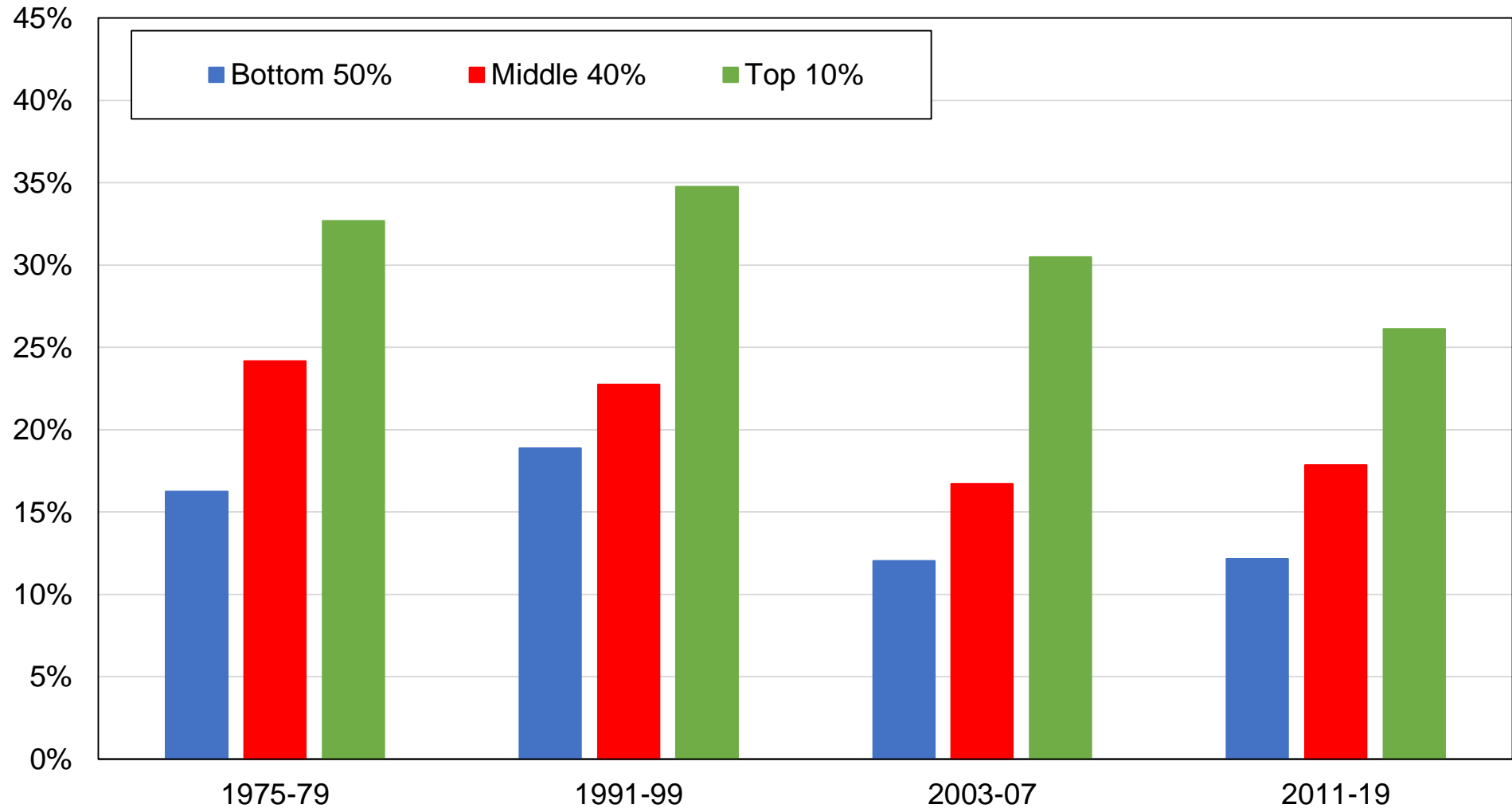
Figure CD23 - Vote for the Liberals by education group



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Free Democratic Party (FDP / PRD) by education group.

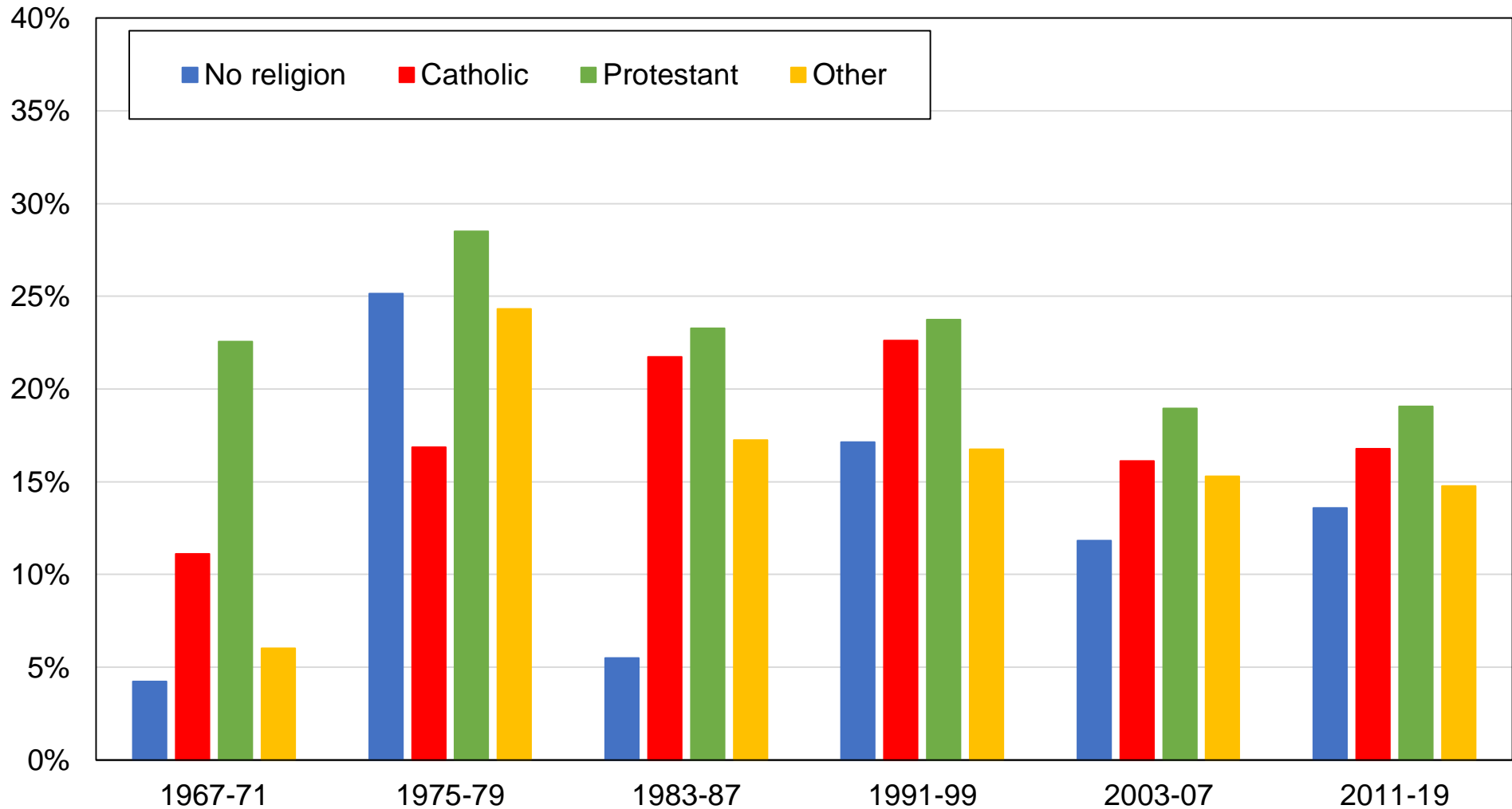
Figure CD24 - Vote for the Liberals by income group



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Free Democratic Party (FDP / PRD) by income group.

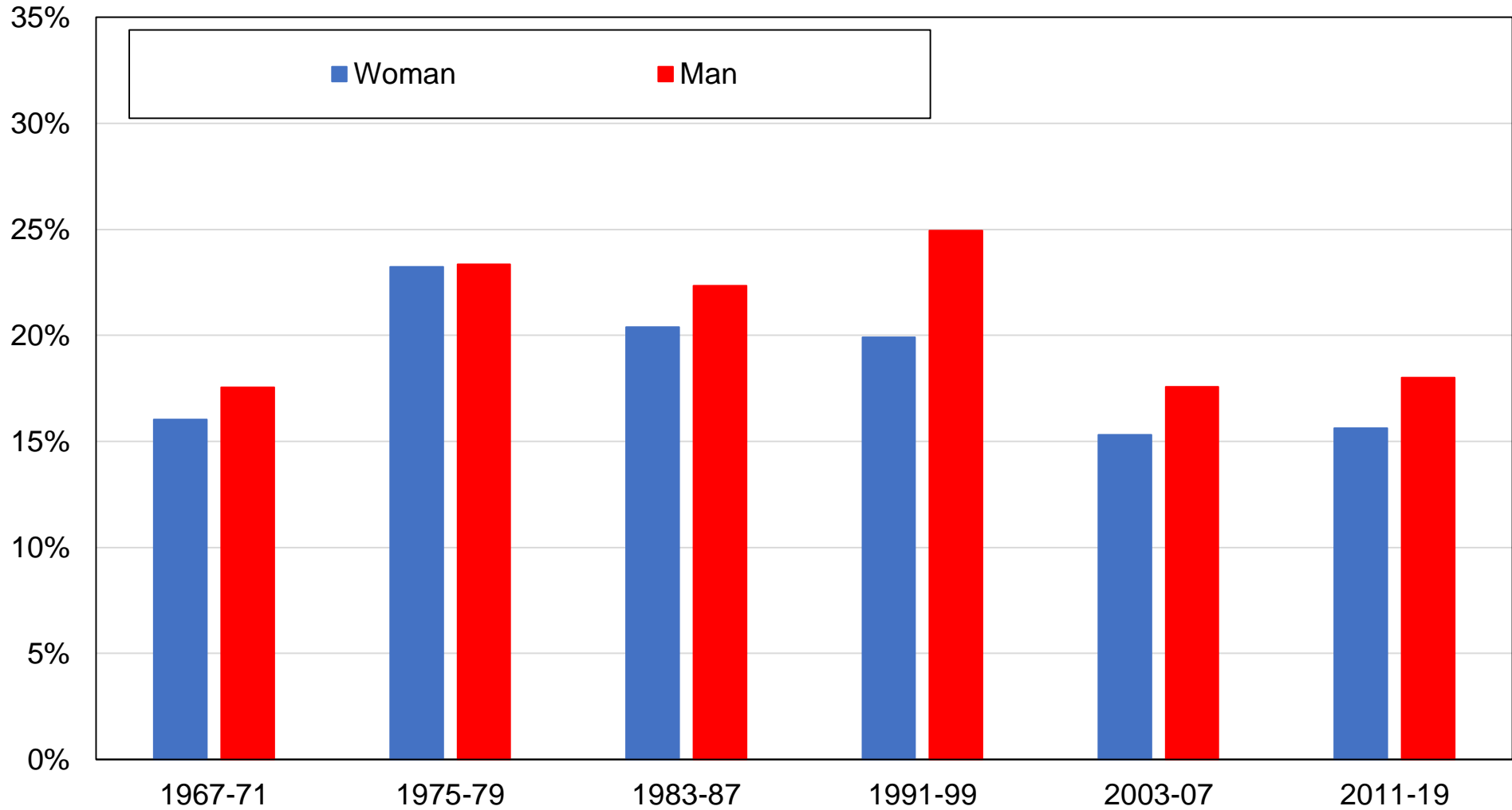
Figure CD25 - Vote for the Liberals by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Free Democratic Party (FDP / PRD) by religious affiliation

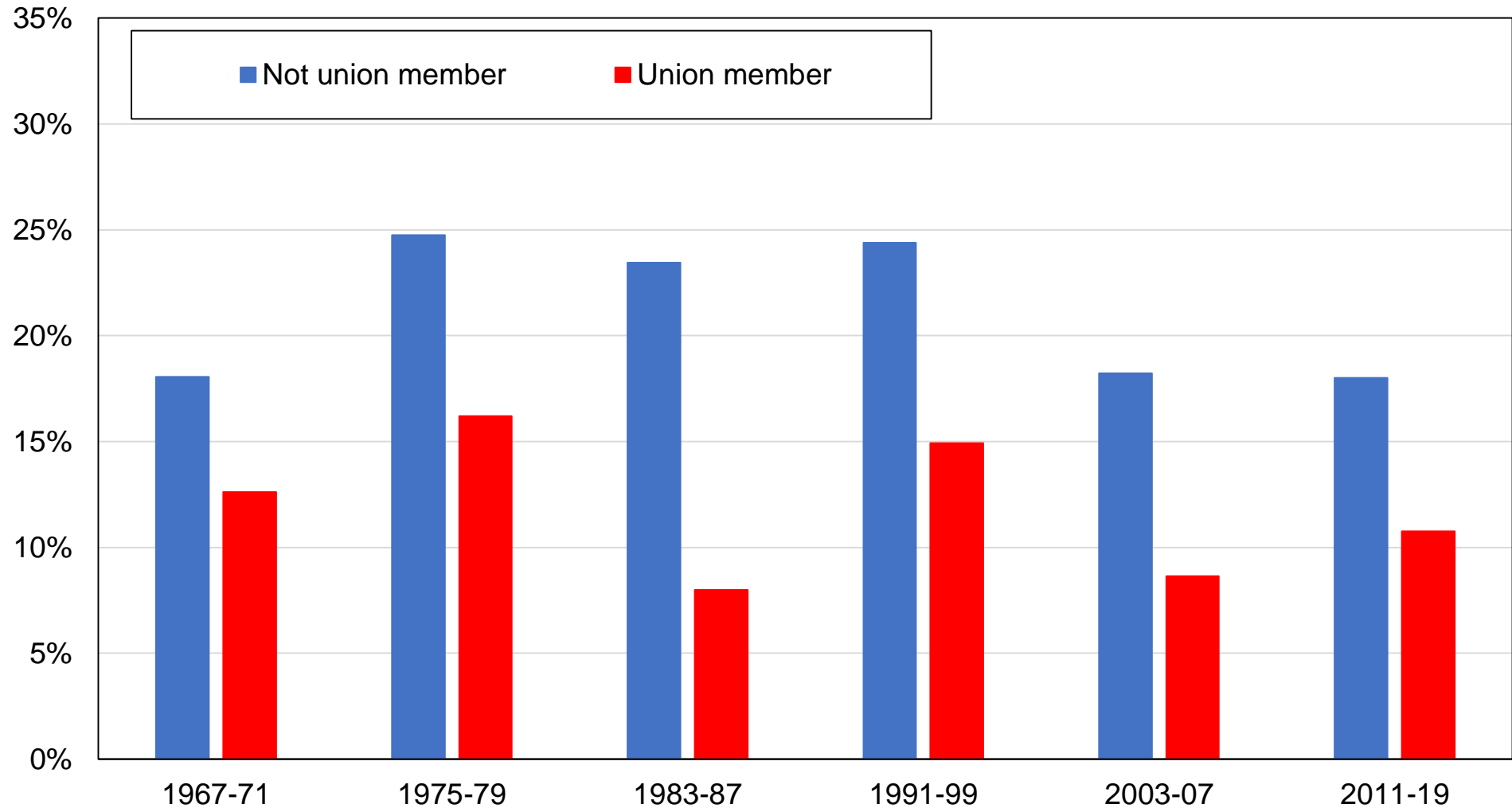
Figure CD26 - Vote for the Liberals by gender



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Free Democratic Party (FDP / PRD) by gender.

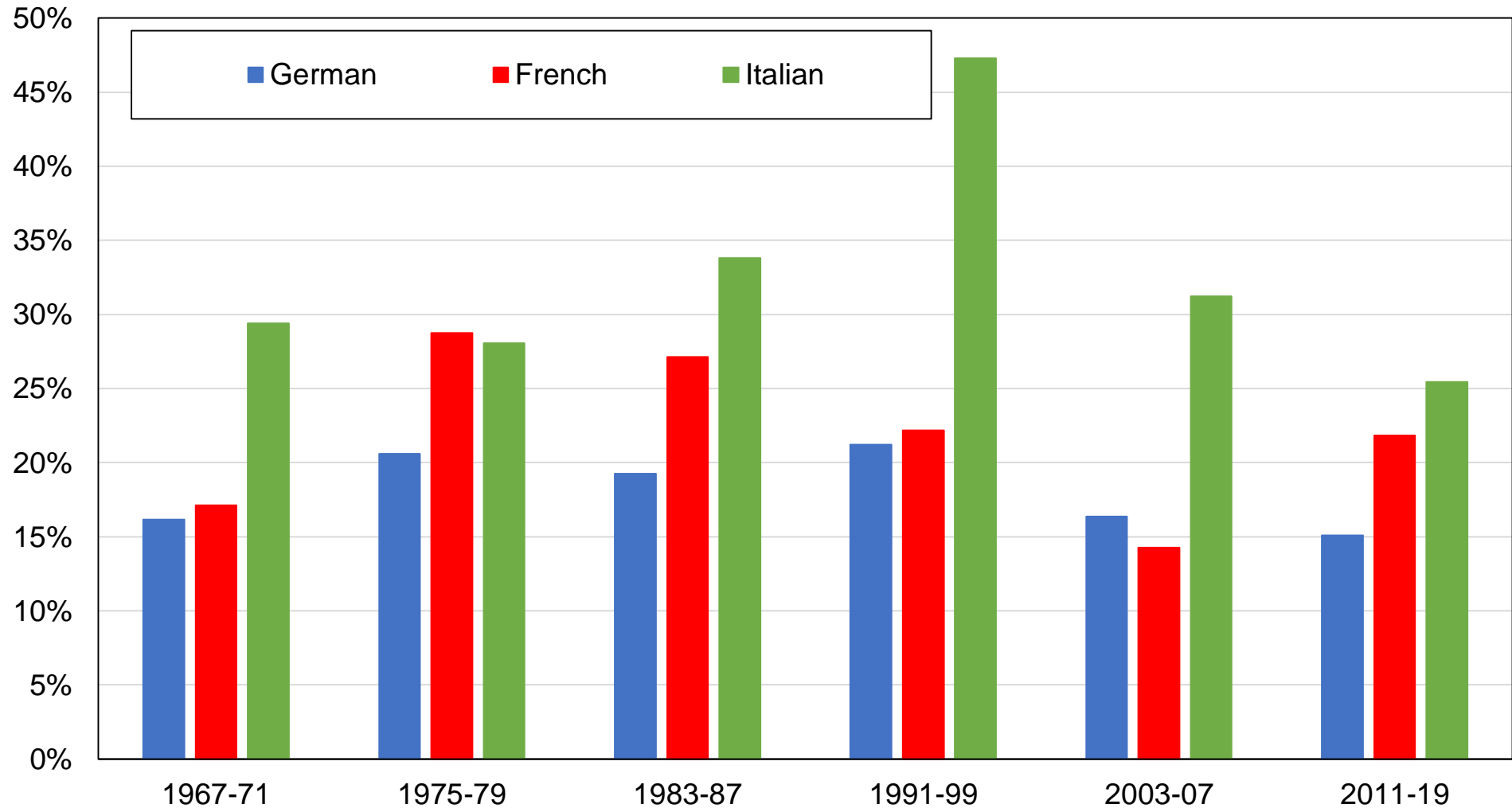
Figure CD27 - Vote for the Liberals by union membership



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Free Democratic Party (FDP / PRD) by union membership status.

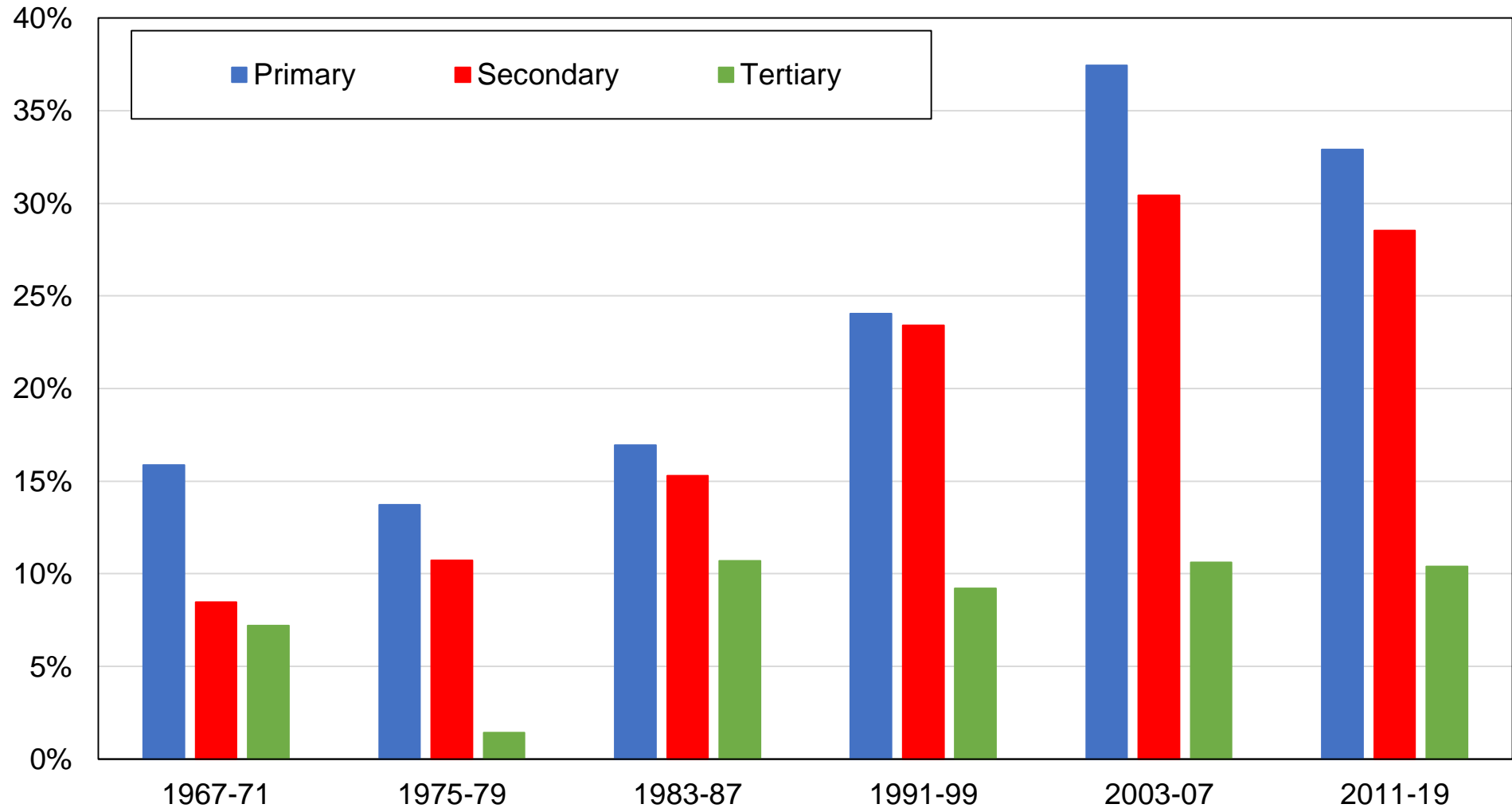
Figure CD28 - Vote for the Liberals by region



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Free Democratic Party (FDP / PRD) by linguistic region.

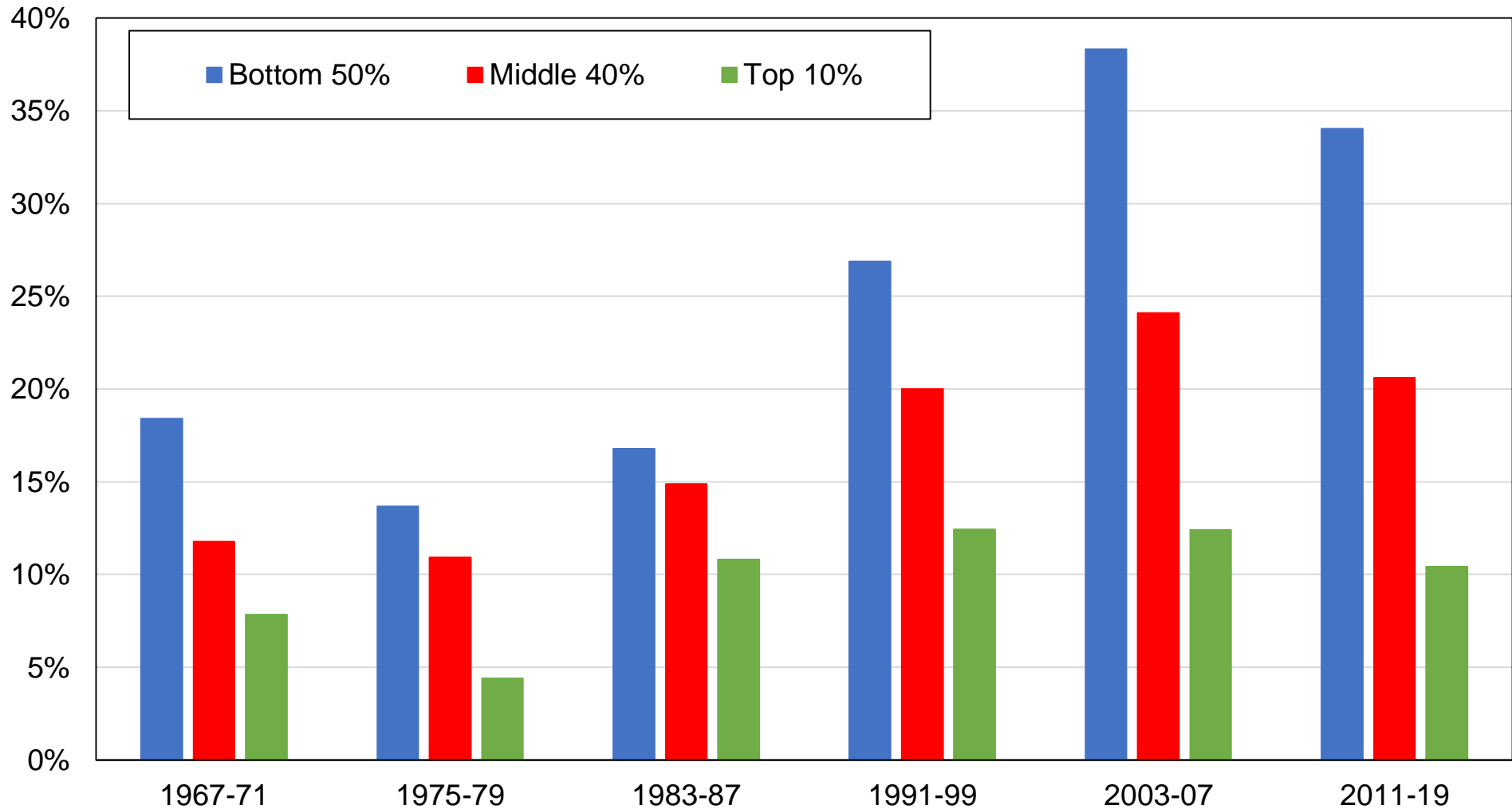
Figure CD29 - Vote for far-right parties by education level



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Swiss People's Party (SVP / UDC), Swiss Democrats (SD / DS), and Freedom Party (FPS / PSL) by education level.

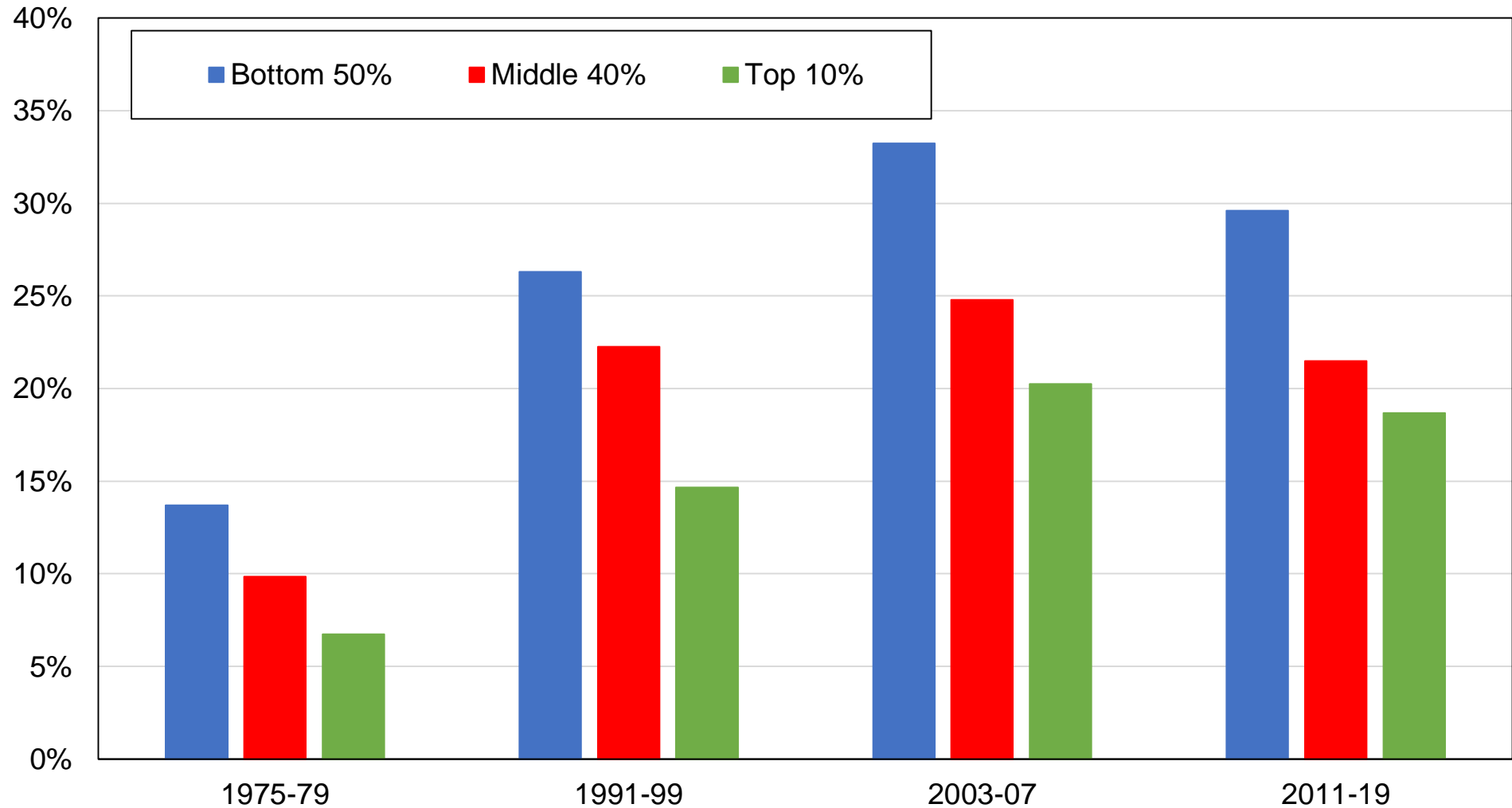
Figure CD30 - Vote for far-right parties by education group



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Swiss People's Party (SVP / UDC), Swiss Democrats (SD / DS), and Freedom Party (FPS / PSL) by education group.

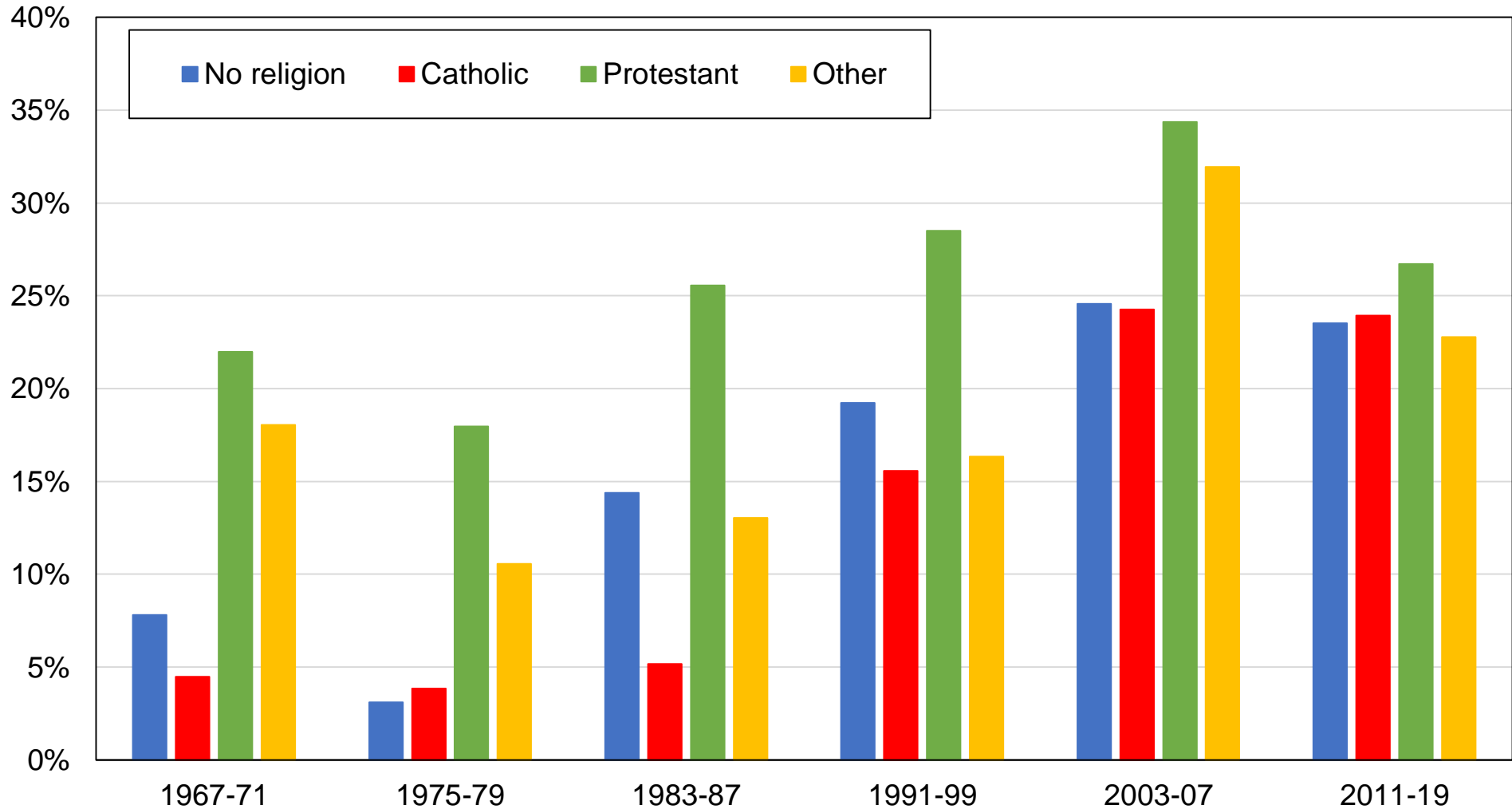
Figure CD31 - Vote for far-right parties by income group



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Swiss People's Party (SVP / UDC), Swiss Democrats (SD / DS), and Freedom Party (FPS / PSL) by income group.

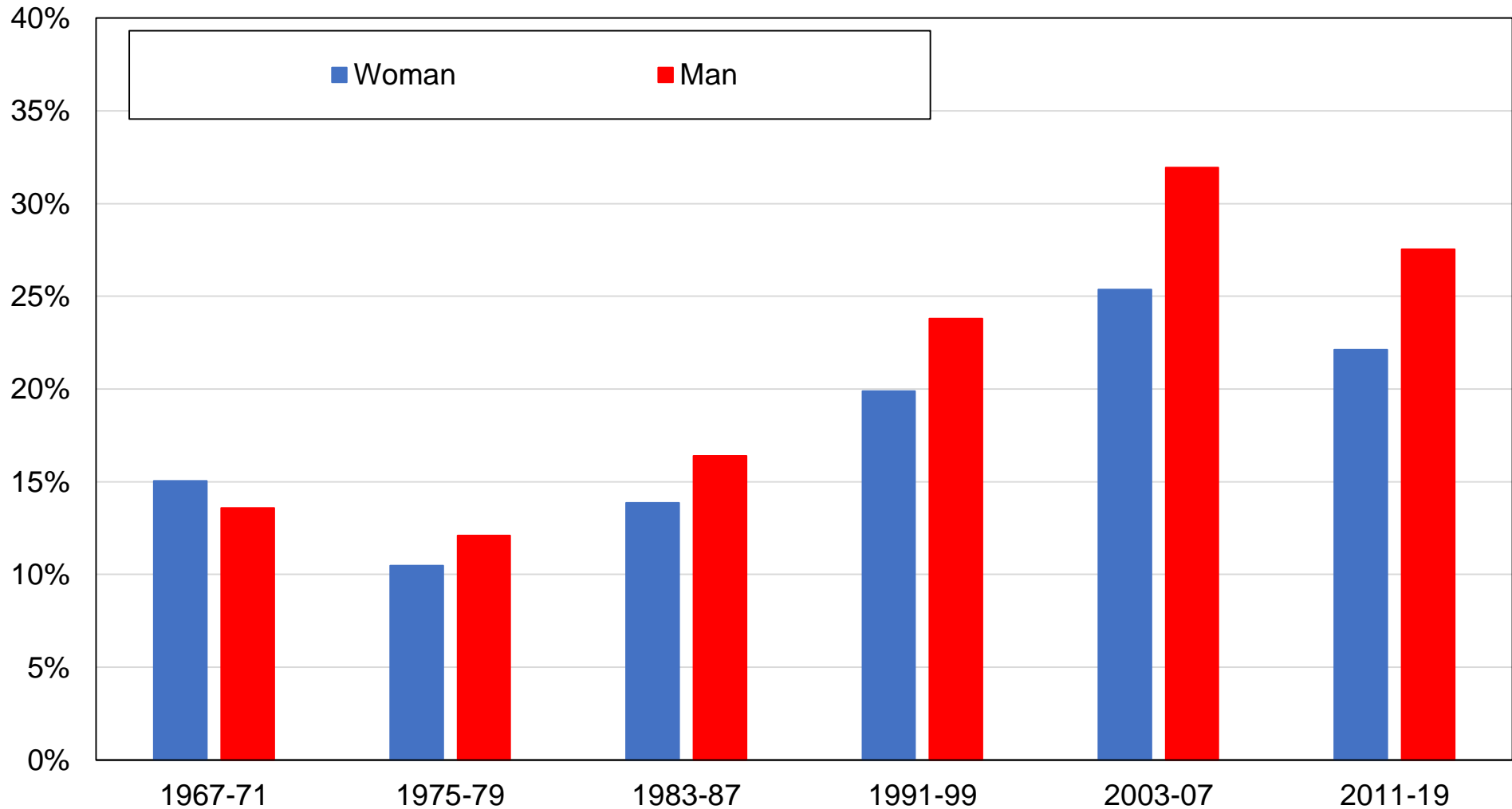
Figure CD32 - Vote for far-right parties by religious affiliation



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Swiss People's Party (SVP / UDC), Swiss Democrats (SD / DS), and Freedom Party (FPS / PSL) by religious affiliation.

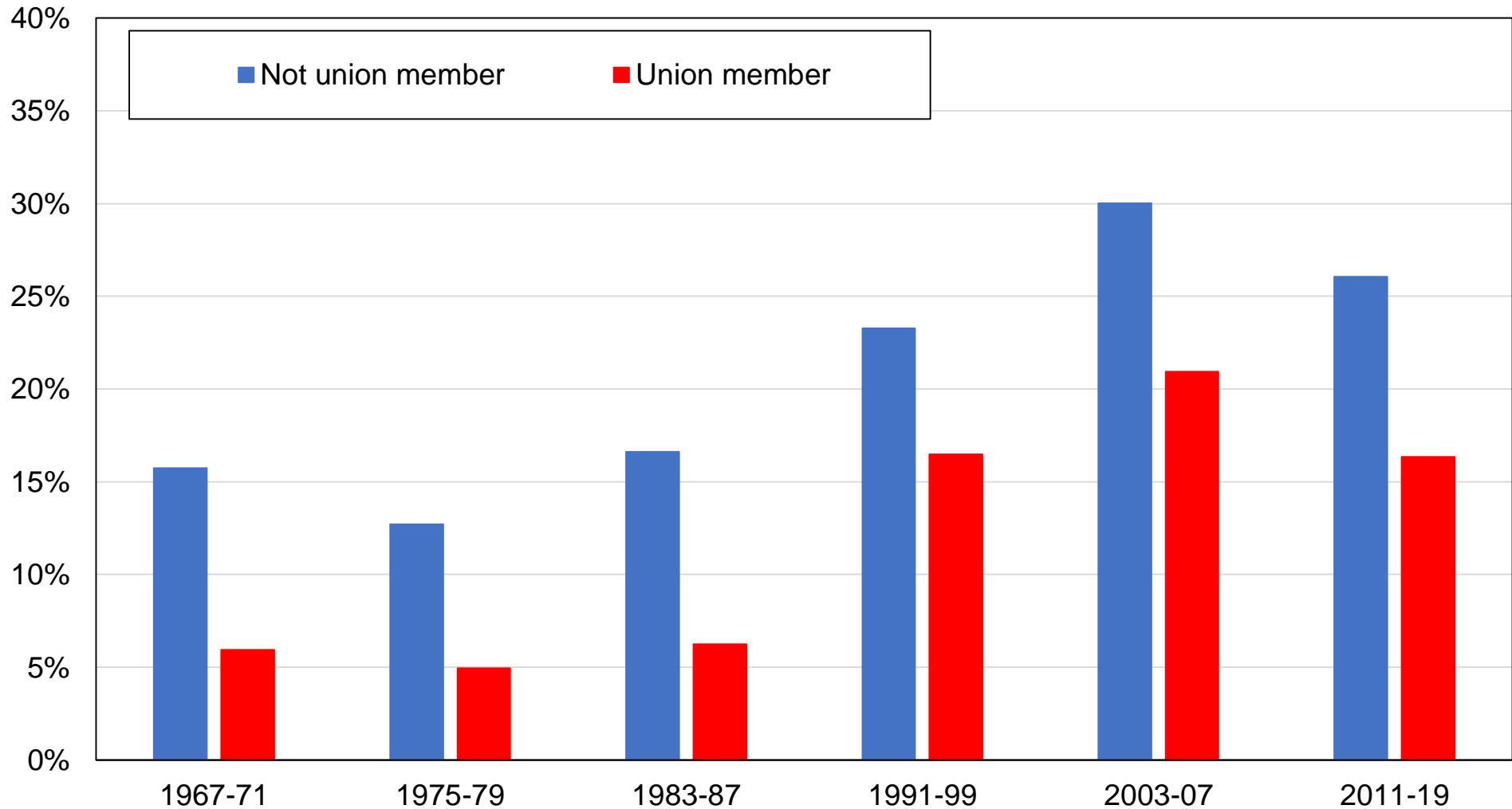
Figure CD33 - Vote for far-right parties by gender



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Swiss People's Party (SVP / UDC), Swiss Democrats (SD / DS), and Freedom Party (FPS / PSL) by gender.

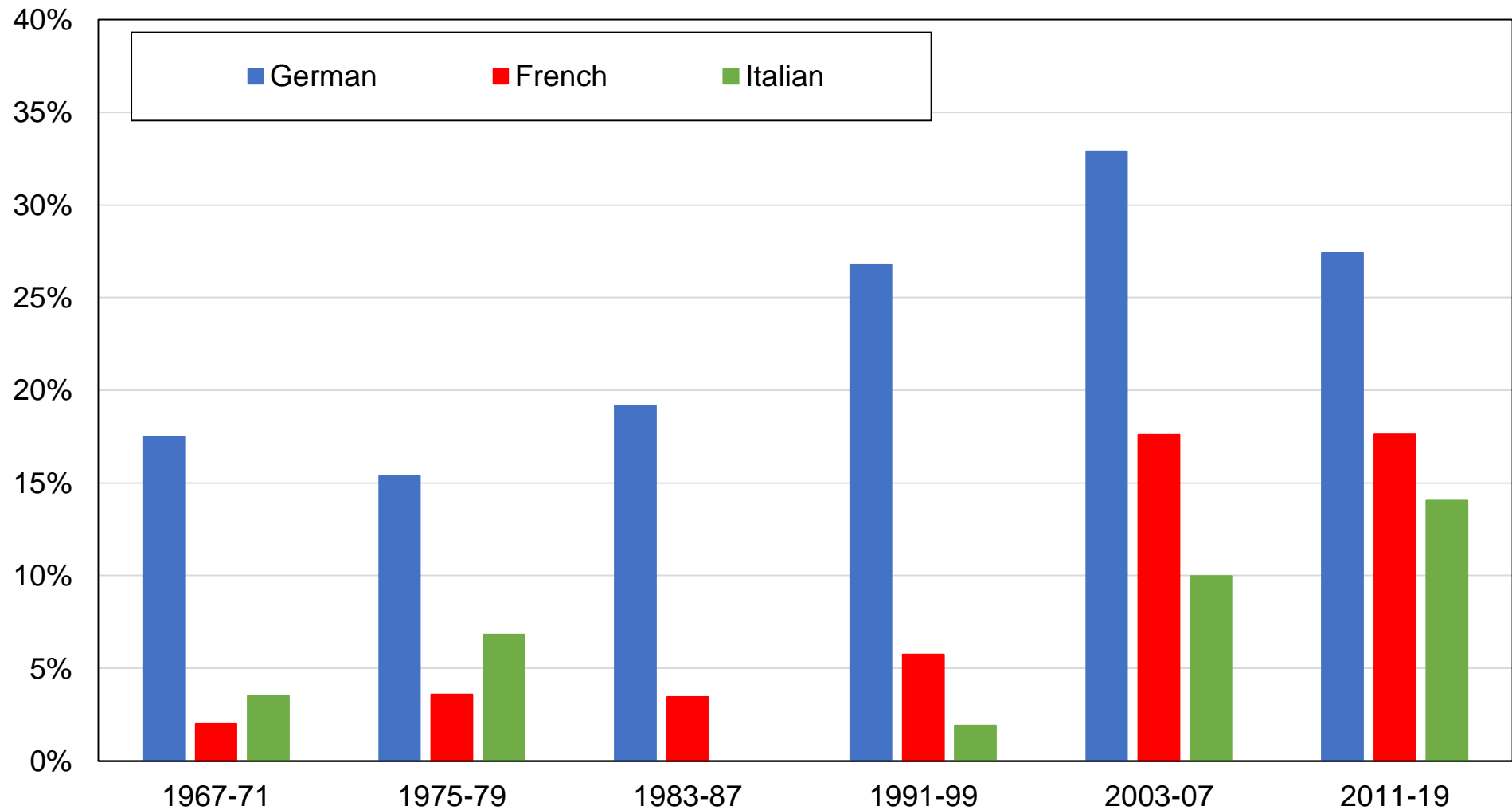
Figure CD34 - Vote for far-right parties by union membership



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Swiss People's Party (SVP / UDC), Swiss Democrats (SD / DS), and Freedom Party (FPS / PSL) by union membership status.

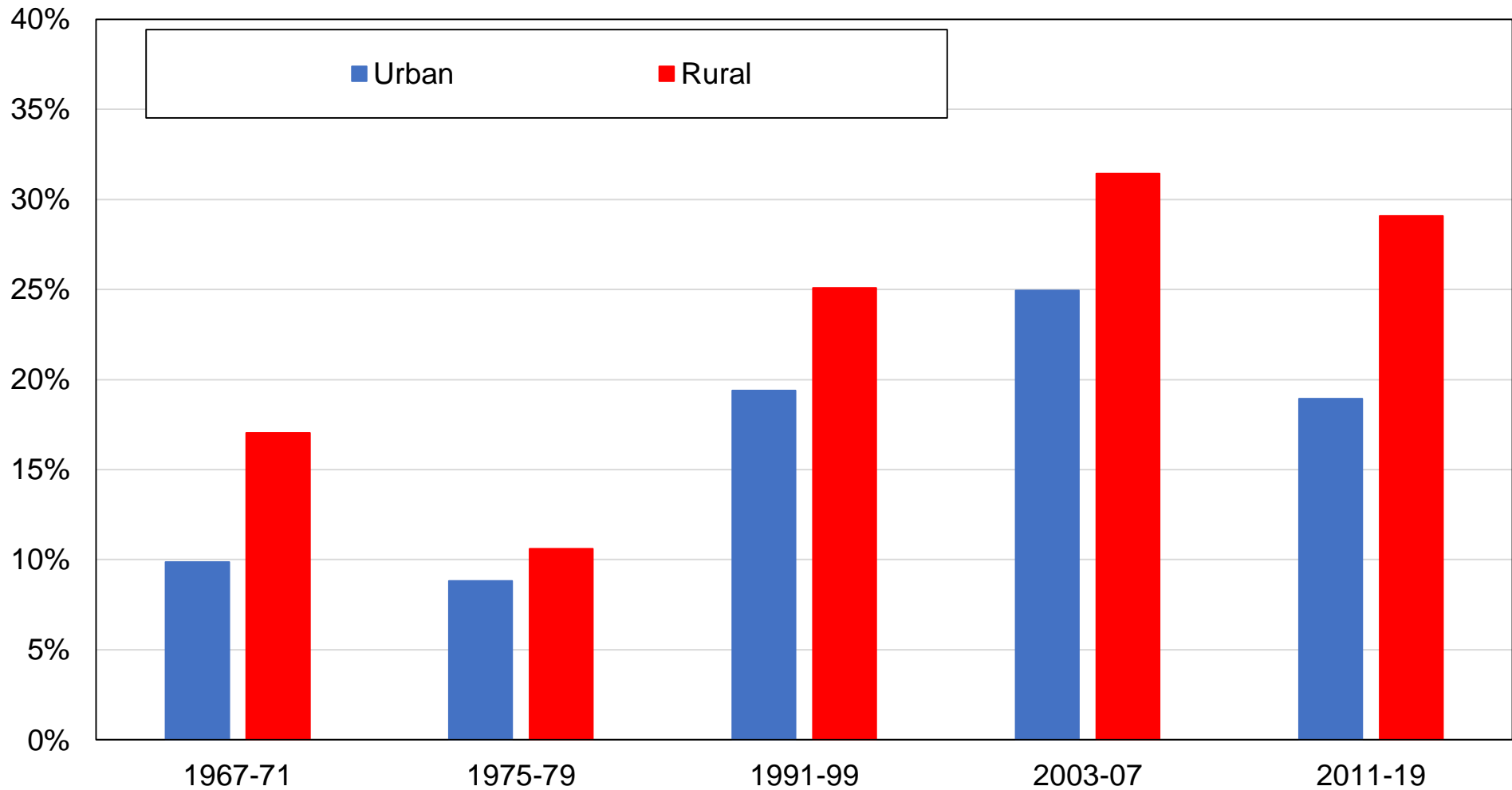
Figure CD35 - Vote for far-right parties by region



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Swiss People's Party (SVP / UDC), Swiss Democrats (SD / DS), and Freedom Party (FPS / PSL) by linguistic region.

Figure CD36 - Vote for far-right parties by location



Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Swiss People's Party (SVP / UDC), Swiss Democrats (SD / DS), and Freedom Party (FPS / PSL) by rural-urban location.

Table CA1 - Survey data sources

Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
1967	Swiss national election studies, 1971 (previous vote)	FORS	1917
1971	Swiss national election studies	FORS	1917
1975	Swiss national election studies	FORS	1253
1979	Swiss national election studies	FORS	1002
1983	Swiss national election studies, 1987 (previous vote)	FORS	1001
1987	Swiss national election studies	FORS	1001
1991	Swiss national election studies	FORS	1002
1995	Swiss national election studies	FORS	7561
1999	Swiss national election studies	FORS	3258
2003	Swiss national election studies	FORS	5891
2007	Swiss national election studies	FORS	4392
2011	Swiss national election studies	FORS	4391
2015	Swiss national election studies	FORS	5337
2019	Swiss national election studies	FORS	6664

Source: authors' elaboration. FORS: <https://forscenter.ch/projects/selects/>

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

Table CA2 - Complete descriptive statistics by decade

	1967-71	1975-79	1983-87	1991-99	2003-07	2011-19
Age: 20-40	39%	46%	44%	44%	31%	32%
Age: 40-60	37%	32%	36%	34%	38%	40%
Age: 60+	24%	21%	20%	21%	30%	28%
Education: Primary	81%	41%	26%	17%	15%	11%
Education: Secondary	14%	55%	67%	75%	75%	72%
Education: Tertiary	5%	4%	7%	8%	10%	17%
Employment status: Employed	58%	51%	60%	64%	59%	61%
Employment status: Unemployed	0%	1%	0%	1%	1%	2%
Employment status: Inactive	42%	48%	40%	35%	40%	38%
Marital status: Married or with partner	71%	71%	61%	54%	52%	53%
Religion: No religion	3%	3%	6%	9%	20%	26%
Religion: Catholic	43%	43%	42%	43%	38%	37%
Religion: Protestant	53%	53%	50%	45%	36%	31%
Religion: Other	2%	1%	3%	3%	6%	6%
Church attendance: Never	16%	19%		19%	29%	33%
Church attendance: Less than monthly	52%	60%		70%	61%	59%
Church attendance: Monthly or more	32%	22%		11%	11%	9%
Rural-urban: Rural areas	55%	47%		61%	60%	58%
Sector: Public				32%	34%	33%
Gender: Man	46%	46%	48%	46%	43%	48%
Country of birth: CH				90%	90%	83%
Country of birth: Other				10%	10%	17%
Home ownership: Yes			35%	38%	47%	50%
Region: German	75%	73%	74%	72%	73%	72%
Region: French	20%	23%	21%	24%	23%	23%
Region: Italian	4%	4%	5%	4%	4%	4%
Union membership: Yes	14%	14%	9%	17%	14%	10%

Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

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

Table CA3 - The structure of political cleavages in Switzerland, 2011-2019

	Share of votes received (%)				
	SPS / PDA	CVP	FDP	GPS / GLP	SVP / FPS / SD
Overall vote share	20%	12%	17%	15%	25%
Education					
Primary	17%	19%	12%	8%	33%
Secondary	18%	11%	16%	13%	29%
Tertiary	26%	11%	20%	23%	10%
Income					
Bottom 50%	20%	12%	12%	12%	30%
Middle 40%	21%	11%	18%	16%	21%
Top 10%	15%	12%	26%	21%	19%
Region					
German	19%	11%	15%	15%	27%
French	25%	13%	22%	15%	18%
Italian	18%	19%	25%	7%	14%
Location					
Urban	25%	9%	17%	19%	19%
Rural	16%	13%	17%	12%	29%
Religion					
No religion	29%	3%	14%	23%	24%
Catholic	17%	24%	17%	11%	24%
Protestant	18%	4%	19%	15%	27%
Other	16%	9%	15%	9%	23%
Church attendance					
Never	28%	4%	15%	22%	23%
Less than monthly	18%	13%	19%	13%	26%
Monthly or more	11%	28%	12%	6%	20%
Occupation (Oesch classif.)					
Associate managers and administrators	16%	11%	24%	10%	25%
Routine service workers	18%	16%	12%	4%	37%
Technical experts	19%	13%	22%	16%	16%

Socio-cultural semi-professionals	33%	12%	9%	17%	13%
Technicians	25%	9%	10%	9%	25%
Small business owners	15%	15%	16%	6%	37%
Skilled production workers	17%	13%	14%	5%	36%
Skilled clerks	19%	13%	18%	13%	26%
Socio-cultural professionals	33%	8%	16%	24%	8%
Liberal professions and large employers	21%	10%	24%	14%	22%
Unemployed / Inactive	20%	12%	20%	13%	22%
Managers and administrators	18%	11%	24%	11%	24%
Skilled service-workers	21%	9%	16%	7%	31%
Routine production workers	20%	19%	8%	6%	33%
Routine clerks	13%	23%	3%	7%	38%

Source: authors' computations using Swiss political attitudes surveys.

Notes: the table shows the average share of votes received by the main political parties by selected individual characteristics over the 2011-2019 period. Vote shares by group are those reported in surveys and may not match exactly official election results.