

# SUPPLEMENTARY ONLINE APPENDIX

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**Table A.1. Country coverage and sample size**

Country	Wave 2 (2004)	Wave 3 (2006)	Wave 4 (2008)
Austria	1,044	1,249	
Belgium	1,177	1,200	1,182
Denmark	1,115	1,196	1,265
Finland	1,268	1,215	1,368
Germany	1,649	1,714	1,734
Greece	1,292		1,232
France	935	979	1,099
Ireland	1,480	992	1,156
Netherlands	1,380	1,393	1,384
Norway	1,281	1,257	1,111
Sweden	1,401	1,414	1,339
Switzerland	926	745	752
United Kingdom	1,073	1,461	1,372
Total	16,021	14,815	14,994

*Note:* The sample encompasses country-waves in which vote choice includes a green or TAN political party. Green-shaded country-wave indicate a green party only, orange-shaded a TAN party only, and blue-shaded both parties. N=45,830

**Table A.2. Party family size**

<b>Party family</b>	<b>Waves 2-4</b>
TAN	6.83
Conservatives	16.42
Liberals	13.90
Christian democrats	16.16
Socialists/social-democrats	31.18
Radical Left	5.99
Green	7.19
Other	2.33
<b>All families</b>	<b>100.00</b>

*Note:* Unweighted percentages based on vote choice. An individual's party choice in the most recent national election is classified as TAN (or nationalist right), Conservative, Liberal, Christian Democratic, Social Democratic, Radical Left, Green, or Other (Döring and Manow 2016; Hix and Lord 1997; Jolly et al. 2022; Knutsen 2018).

**Table A.3. Control variables**

<b>Sex</b>	Self-reported. Male=1, and female=0.
<b>Rural</b>	Five-category variable that reports respondent's self-description of area where they live, ranging from 1 (big city) to 5 (farm or home in countryside).
<b>Secularism</b>	Seven-category variable tapping attendance of religious services, ranging from 1 (every day) to 7 (never).
<b>Age</b>	Calculation bases on year of birth
<b>Generation</b>	1: Millennials (born from 1980); 2: Generation X (1965--1979); 3: Boomers II generation (1955--1964); 4: Boomers I generation (1945-- 1954); 5: Silent or pre-war generation (born before 1945).
<b>Country</b>	AT, BE, CH, DE, DK, FI, FR, GR, IRL, NL, NO, SV, UK
<b>Time</b>	ESS waves 2002, 2004, 2006

**Table A.4. Descriptives**

	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>N</b>
Individual CECT	0.438	0	1	0.306	40596
Occupational CECT (green)	0.449	0	1	0.189	38330
Occupational CECT (TAN)	0.448	0	1	0.193	34197
Education (5-cat)	3.290	1	5	1.374	41825
Higher education (dichotomous)	0.358	0	1	0.479	41825
Female	0.517	0	1	0.500	41934
Rural	2.991	1	5	1.210	41913
Secular	5.483	1	7	1.517	41928
Age	51.381	21	101	16.494	41851

**Table A.5. Individual CECT by field**

<b>Educational field</b>	<b>Individual CECT</b>	<b>Size of the field</b>
Teacher training	1.000	6.7
Arts	0.952	2.4
Humanities	0.952	3.6
Social studies	0.861	8.7
Personal care	0.680	5.9
Science/mathematics	0.614	4.5
Medical & health	0.554	9.6
General education	0.531	22.6
Public order and safety	0.494	1.2
Law	0.312	1.4
Economics and commerce	0.188	14.4
Technical and engineering	0.036	18.2
Transport	0.036	1.4
Agriculture/forestry	0.000	3.3
<b>Mean / Total</b>	<b>0.438</b>	<b>100</b>

*Note:* Sample=38,116 respondents who indicated a field of study.

**Table A.6: Education and voting: field, level, and occupational context**

The **Base model** 6 corresponds to Figure 4 in the RSCAS working paper; the **Education interaction model** corresponds to Figure 5; the **CECT interaction model** corresponds to Figure 6.

VARIABLES	Base model		Education interaction		CECT interaction	
	Green	TAN	Green	TAN	Green	TAN
Individual CECT	0.782*** (0.082)	-0.375*** (0.091)	0.697*** (0.113)	-0.248** (0.104)	0.881*** (0.182)	-0.118 (0.208)
Occupational CECT	0.997*** (0.158)	-1.142*** (0.213)	0.973*** (0.160)	-1.052*** (0.217)	1.149*** (0.295)	-0.818*** (0.316)
Higher educated	0.455*** (0.048)	-0.827*** (0.061)	0.377*** (0.086)	-0.665*** (0.088)	0.458*** (0.048)	-0.817*** (0.061)
Higher educated x individual CECT			0.154 (0.140)	-0.435** (0.172)		
Individual CECT x occupational CECT					-0.220 (0.360)	-0.643 (0.467)
<b>CONTROLS</b>						
Female	0.163*** (0.047)	-0.214*** (0.056)	0.166*** (0.047)	-0.225*** (0.056)	0.159*** (0.047)	-0.222*** (0.056)
Rural	-0.183*** (0.018)	0.028 (0.020)	-0.183*** (0.018)	0.029 (0.020)	-0.182*** (0.018)	0.029 (0.020)
Age	-0.025*** (0.001)	-0.005*** (0.001)	-0.025*** (0.001)	-0.005*** (0.001)	-0.025*** (0.001)	-0.005*** (0.001)
Secular	0.173*** (0.017)	0.140*** (0.019)	0.173*** (0.017)	0.140*** (0.019)	0.172*** (0.017)	0.140*** (0.019)
Country intercept variance	0.640** (0.280)	1.859** (0.858)	0.640** (0.280)	1.860** (0.859)	0.641** (0.280)	1.863** (0.860)
ISCO-3 intercept variance	0.079*** (0.022)	0.148*** (0.031)	0.080*** (0.022)	0.149*** (0.031)	0.079*** (0.022)	0.149*** (0.031)
Intercept	-3.185*** (0.291)	-2.680*** (0.470)	-3.133*** (0.295)	-2.752*** (0.471)	-3.248*** (0.309)	-2.796*** (0.478)
Observations	34,863	31,254	34,863	31,254	34,863	31,254
Groups	11	10	11	10	11	10
Log Likelihood	-8318.78	-7052.82	-8318.181	-7049.6	-8318.60	-7051.87
BIC	16763.08	14229.84	16772.33	14233.75	16773.16	14238.29

Note: Multilevel mixed-effects logistic with oim clustering by country and ISCO-3 occupational categories. ESS data for 2004-2008. Occupational CECT (green) averages the individual CECT by occupation aggregated across the 11 countries with a green party; occupational CECT (TAN) does the same across the 10 countries with a TAN party. The results are similar when occupational CECT is aggregated across the 13 countries with a green or TAN party.

**Table A.7. Field of education and occupation**

Models (2) & (3), and (5) & (6) in this table correspond to Figure 7 in the RSCAS working paper.

	Voting green			Voting TAN		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Individual CECT	0.782*** (0.082)	0.785*** (0.082)	0.789*** (0.082)	-0.375*** (0.091)	-0.378*** (0.091)	-0.380*** (0.091)
Occupational CECT	0.894*** (0.142)	0.685*** (0.189)	0.645*** (0.205)	-1.020*** (0.191)	-0.671*** (0.200)	-0.660*** (0.255)
Higher educated	0.455*** (0.048)	0.448*** (0.049)	0.390*** (0.052)	-0.827*** (0.061)	-0.798*** (0.061)	-0.660*** (0.063)
Female	0.163*** (0.047)	0.164*** (0.047)	0.186*** (0.048)	-0.214*** (0.056)	-0.189*** (0.056)	-0.231*** (0.056)
Rural	-0.183*** (0.018)	-0.184*** (0.018)	-0.182*** (0.018)	0.028 (0.020)	0.026 (0.020)	0.022 (0.020)
Age	-0.025*** (0.001)	-0.025*** (0.001)	-0.025*** (0.001)	-0.005*** (0.001)	-0.005*** (0.001)	-0.005*** (0.001)
Secular	0.173*** (0.017)	0.172*** (0.017)	0.172*** (0.017)	0.140*** (0.019)	0.140*** (0.019)	0.144*** (0.019)
<b>OCCUPATIONAL CONTROLS</b>						
Sociocultural professionals		0.143* (0.086)				
Production workers					0.346*** (0.071)	
Self-employed professionals			0.076 (0.123)			-0.485*** (0.177)
Small business owners			-0.137 (0.115)			-0.242*** (0.088)
Technical (semi-)professionals			0.058 (0.131)			-0.686*** (0.117)
Production workers			-0.284** (0.131)			<i>reference</i>
(Associate) managers			-0.186* (0.105)			-0.723*** (0.099)
Clerks			-0.309*** (0.113)			-0.276*** (0.105)
Socio-cultural (semi-)professionals			<i>reference</i>			-0.613*** (0.159)
Service workers			-0.208** (0.101)			-0.011 (0.096)
Country intercept variance	0.640** (0.280)	0.636** (0.278)	0.627** (0.274)	1.859** (0.858)	1.853** (0.855)	1.905** (0.878)
ISCO-3 intercept variance	0.079*** (0.022)	0.076*** (0.022)	0.065*** (0.021)	0.148*** (0.031)	0.132*** (0.029)	0.081*** (0.024)
Intercept	-3.185*** (0.291)	-3.110*** (0.295)	-2.891*** (0.327)	-2.680*** (0.470)	-2.931*** (0.472)	-2.588*** (0.477)
Observations	34,863	34,754	34,754	31,254	31,159	31,159
Number of groups	11	11	11	10	10	10
Log likelihood	-8318.78	-8293.83	-8285.19	-7052.82	-7021.89	-6990.06
BIC	16763.08	16723.59	16769.05	14229.84	14178.28	14176.72

Note: Multilevel mixed-effects logistic with oim clustering by country and ISCO-3 occupation, controls for time and country not shown.

**Table A.8. Field of education across generations**

These models correspond to Figure 8 in the RSCAS working paper.

	Green voting	TAN voting
Individual CECT	0.718*** (0.214)	-0.572** (0.267)
<b>Generations (ref=Millennials)</b>		
Gen X (born 1965-1979)	-0.243 (0.150)	-0.187 (0.150)
Boomers II (born 1955-1964)	-0.184 (0.153)	-0.406*** (0.155)
Boomers I (born 1945-1954)	-0.665*** (0.165)	-0.400** (0.157)
Silent gen (born before 1945)	-1.315*** (0.175)	-0.497*** (0.153)
<b>Interaction</b>		
Millennials X individual CECT	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
Gen X * individual CECT	0.045 (0.237)	0.044 (0.300)
Boomers II * individual CECT	0.040 (0.243)	0.113 (0.313)
Boomers I * individual CECT	0.167 (0.258)	0.259 (0.315)
Silent gen * individual CECT	0.050 (0.281)	0.460 (0.307)
<b>CONTROLS</b>		
Occupational CECT	0.875*** (0.142)	-1.014*** (0.191)
Higher educated	0.445*** (0.049)	-0.813*** (0.061)
Female	0.153*** (0.047)	-0.214*** (0.056)
Rural	-0.192*** (0.018)	0.032 (0.020)
Secular	0.168*** (0.017)	0.145*** (0.019)
Country intercept variance	0.631** (0.276)	1.861** (0.859)
ISCO-3 intercept variance	0.078*** (0.022)	0.148*** (0.031)
Intercept	-3.735*** (0.307)	-2.690*** (0.478)
Observations	34,931	31,278
Number of groups	11	10
Loglikelihood	-8316.31	-7047.55
BIC	16831.39	14291.75

Note: Multilevel mixed-effects logistic with oim clustering by country and ISCO-3 occupation; controls for time and country not shown. ESS data for 2004-2008.



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