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The Block-Weighted Cleavage Salience Index

Online Appendix

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Content

Table A1 reports the Total Volatility (TV), Cleavage Salience (CS), and Block-Weighted Cleavage Salience (WCS) values for class and religious cleavages in eleven European multi-party systems from 1950 to 2010. Table A2 documents the assignment of parties to the two cleavages for each country.

Table A1: Total Volatility, Cleavage Salience, and Weighted Cleavage Salience for Class and Religious Cleavages, 1950-2010

	Year	TV	CS Class	CS Religion	WCS Class	WCS Religion
Austria	1956	5.60	0.00	83.93	47.40	7.39
	1959	2.95	22.03	62.71	37.50	16.48
	1962	1.70	58.82	76.47	19.35	10.68
	1966	6.15	12.20	46.34	40.65	25.92
	1970	6.50	53.85	55.38	22.98	19.94
	1971	2.00	80.00	80.00	10.28	8.62
	1975	0.45	55.56	33.33	22.93	28.60
	1979	1.25	28.00	84.00	37.44	6.70
	1983	4.85	77.32	27.84	10.93	31.18
	1986	6.40	68.75	29.69	13.69	29.04
	1990	10.80	14.81	95.37	36.89	1.49
	1994	15.35	52.44	28.34	16.74	19.85
	1995	4.00	80.00	15.00	7.68	24.06
	1999	8.88	53.80	14.93	15.54	22.95
	2002	20.99	16.80	73.22	30.91	11.34
	2006	10.20	17.02	78.22	30.21	7.48
2008	17.49	41.21	39.03	17.68	16.23	
Belgium - Flanders	1954	8.90	25.62	88.09	22.51	6.20
	1958	4.25	67.02	95.29	9.49	3.54
	1961	7.08	20.28	100.00	24.47	0.00
	1965	11.80	34.55	57.52	17.22	18.61
	1968	6.66	16.30	71.15	22.93	11.27
	1971	2.70	48.05	47.31	13.56	19.92
	1974	3.88	48.65	68.77	12.44	12.64
	1977	4.23	12.77	81.80	20.66	8.00
	1978	6.41	11.08	3.90	20.43	41.98
	1981	12.86	7.54	90.20	20.34	3.14
	1985	8.54	27.83	30.52	17.59	24.10
	1987	3.71	10.39	87.85	22.19	3.82
	1991	13.27	39.16	33.89	11.90	17.80
	1995	5.41	11.09	9.24	17.92	24.89

	1999	10.51	47.45	47.74	7.98	11.72
	2003	13.09	66.77	9.32	7.95	19.22
	2007	14.05	54.23	25.34	7.46	22.10
	2010	17.96	9.13	96.33	13.29	0.63
Belgium - Wallonia	1954	4.15	49.40	77.35	27.53	6.92
	1958	5.16	75.56	85.65	12.38	5.03
	1961	5.44	24.20	100.00	40.01	0.00
	1965	19.33	37.39	33.04	28.52	16.45
	1968	11.77	69.50	30.50	11.40	14.57
	1971	11.54	21.75	0.17	27.28	20.95
	1974	7.95	69.18	30.82	12.44	16.22
	1977	10.57	38.98	21.67	27.14	20.16
	1978	4.73	41.01	25.58	25.09	20.05
	1981	13.23	15.77	55.77	34.07	8.65
	1985	9.09	16.83	33.66	34.91	15.01
	1987	5.88	60.54	9.18	17.97	21.04
	1991	9.73	65.55	6.43	13.49	21.09
	1995	9.92	55.14	0.20	15.12	22.47
	1999	11.56	38.99	49.29	17.82	8.54
	2003	12.97	55.74	11.26	16.12	13.63
	2007	8.35	82.98	4.01	5.02	15.07
	2010	12.91	75.29	12.24	9.30	12.82
Denmark	1953	3.10	32.26		30.62	
	1953	4.65	9.68		41.19	
	1957	3.75	84.00		6.80	
	1960	11.10	61.26		19.10	
	1964	3.05	14.75		41.69	
	1966	9.60	11.46		44.27	
	1968	11.90	56.30		18.88	
	1971	9.60	64.58	20.83	17.50	1.58
	1973	28.95	44.39	6.39	20.41	3.74
	1975	17.80	25.28	7.30	30.78	4.91
	1977	18.30	33.33	10.38	31.53	3.05
	1979	10.60	23.58	7.55	38.05	2.40
	1981	12.55	14.74	1.99	40.84	2.25
	1984	10.85	13.36	3.23	40.29	2.61
	1987	9.15	3.83	3.83	44.43	2.31
	1988	6.15	31.71	5.69	30.19	1.89
	1990	13.60	21.32	2.21	37.29	2.25
	1994	9.50	31.58	3.16	30.79	1.84
	1998	12.10	9.92	4.96	41.62	2.38
	2001	13.25	63.02	1.89	14.02	2.26
	2005	7.85	33.76	7.01	23.32	1.58
	2007	10.50	52.38	7.62	19.38	0.83
Finland	1954	3.10	6.45	0.00	44.72	
	1958	6.35	3.94	2.36	46.21	0.20
	1962	5.95	36.13	10.92	29.31	0.71
	1966	7.85	65.61	4.46	17.54	0.38
	1970	14.60	65.75	4.79	14.18	1.05
	1972	4.10	56.10	31.71	19.23	1.71
	1975	8.80	0.00	9.09	43.80	3.00
	1979	5.75	35.65	25.22	26.90	3.59
	1983	10.10	9.90	16.83	36.67	2.50
	1987	11.30	62.83	2.65	12.45	2.53

	1991	13.05	9.58	0.38	29.12	3.09
	1995	11.55	64.94	0.87	13.89	2.97
	1999	9.75	52.82	9.74	16.37	3.79
	2003	6.75	9.63	20.00	30.91	3.94
	2007	6.25	58.40	8.80	12.94	4.47
Germany	1957	7.95	4.40	63.52	30.40	18.31
	1961	14.20	44.37	33.80	21.20	30.05
	1965	7.55	33.77	29.80	26.89	33.41
	1969	6.55	31.30	12.98	29.75	40.12
	1972	6.20	45.16	19.35	25.28	36.21
	1976	3.90	79.49	97.44	8.80	1.25
	1980	4.45	3.37	93.26	41.65	3.00
	1983	8.35	56.89	50.90	16.56	23.96
	1987	5.90	23.73	76.27	28.22	10.51
	1990	9.60	10.42	4.17	32.16	41.98
	1994	7.55	62.91	32.45	15.13	28.03
	1998	8.20	59.76	81.71	18.51	6.42
	2002	6.75	52.59	49.63	20.15	19.39
	2005	8.40	4.76	39.29	40.86	21.37
	2009	14.10	56.74	9.93	15.10	30.44
Italy	1958	7.90	20.25	27.85	33.09	30.59
	1963	8.55	43.86	48.54	25.38	19.66
	1968	7.65	8.50	11.11	41.91	34.67
	1972	10.90	4.59	4.59	42.84	36.92
	1976	15.60	39.10	39.10	30.88	23.57
	1979	13.15	17.87	17.87	37.94	31.46
	1983	9.60	12.50	52.08	41.13	15.76
	1987	8.95	19.55	11.73	36.68	30.28
	1992	20.90	34.93	20.57	24.73	23.59
	1994	42.35	21.37	40.26	22.49	7.35
	1996	13.95	23.30	29.75	23.09	4.07
	2001	24.65	29.01	20.08	18.88	2.56
	2006	10.30	20.39	12.62	34.31	5.94
	2008	10.50	87.62	24.76	4.49	4.21
Luxembourg	1954	9.50	33.68	32.63	26.66	30.45
	1959	8.65	0.58	72.25	39.97	10.79
	1964	11.85	51.05	27.43	22.66	25.91
	1968	10.30	21.36	17.48	34.68	30.95
	1974	15.95	10.97	47.96	40.86	15.56
	1979	14.05	71.53	46.62	10.19	19.43
	1984	14.10	19.86	1.42	30.93	36.08
	1989	15.90	50.31	26.42	15.20	23.84
	1994	9.50	42.11	27.37	15.69	22.01
	1999	7.80	6.41	6.41	24.99	28.17
	2004	10.20	5.00	58.92	24.88	14.83
	2009	4.82	2.80	40.19	25.58	22.75
The Netherlands	1956	4.10	56.10	41.46	16.42	30.97
	1959	5.90	49.15	16.95	17.59	43.19
	1963	4.95	15.15	5.05	28.68	49.56
	1967	10.75	34.88	45.12	19.60	26.01
	1971	13.75	38.18	45.45	21.76	22.36
	1972	12.15	17.70	39.92	30.78	21.75

	1977	12.75	1.96	1.18	36.37	35.58
	1981	8.70	47.13	6.90	17.50	33.05
	1982	9.90	12.12	14.14	30.32	29.45
	1986	10.40	8.65	42.31	32.06	22.15
	1989	4.95	7.07	21.21	33.83	31.04
	1994	22.05	34.69	56.46	18.81	11.76
	1998	16.75	65.97	20.60	13.54	18.66
	2002	30.55	38.46	28.31	17.23	23.01
	2003	15.90	67.30	1.26	12.66	31.89
	2006	20.31	16.23	2.93	35.51	31.16
	2010	23.90	24.56	53.18	27.25	8.70
Norway	1957	4.20	2.38	7.14	50.47	9.47
	1961	7.15	4.90	13.29	49.55	8.06
	1965	10.25	15.12	14.15	42.86	6.70
	1969	5.65	7.96	0.88	46.85	7.73
	1973	22.15	20.09	18.28	37.16	9.72
	1977	15.95	2.19	14.11	45.87	8.33
	1981	11.40	38.60	6.14	26.04	8.35
	1985	6.55	61.83	9.92	17.75	7.48
	1989	15.95	7.84	0.94	41.75	8.42
	1993	15.35	4.23	3.58	43.96	7.62
	1997	16.70	19.16	34.73	34.52	8.94
	2001	15.90	28.93	6.29	27.01	11.81
	2005	18.85	24.67	30.50	32.17	4.80
	2009	7.10	4.23	16.90	41.18	4.74
Sweden	1956	3.40	23.53		37.93	
	1958	7.30	0.00		49.60	
	1960	3.65	72.60		14.33	
	1964	4.35	5.75	42.53	49.48	1.03
	1968	6.05	9.09	5.79	48.27	1.41
	1970	8.70	33.33	4.60	33.40	1.72
	1973	8.60	15.12	1.16	41.51	1.78
	1976	3.00	46.67	13.33	25.33	1.21
	1979	6.45	20.93	0.78	38.59	1.39
	1982	7.90	30.38	6.33	35.65	1.78
	1985	8.60	12.79	58.14	43.69	5.19
	1988	7.55	13.91	39.07	42.19	1.77
	1991	15.45	61.81	17.80	16.12	5.84
	1994	12.55	72.91	25.10	13.95	3.07
	1998	14.55	21.65	51.89	37.92	5.63
	2002	14.55	1.03	16.84	47.80	7.57
	2006	15.83	47.13	15.86	21.59	5.55
	2010	8.70	52.73	11.44	17.14	4.96

Table A2: Composition of Party Blocks for Class and Religious Cleavages by Country

	Class Cleavage	Religious Cleavage
Austria	Socialists (SPO), Austrian People's Opposition (WOV)/Communists and Left Socialists (KuL)/ Communist Party (KPÖ), Democratic Progressive Party (DFP), Socialist Left Party (SLP)/ The Left	Austrian People's Party (ÖVP), the Christians (DC)*
Belgium (Flanders)	Flemish Socialist Party (BSP), Flemish Socialist Party – Different) (SP. A) & SPIRIT (SPSp)*, Communist Party (KP)*	Christian People's Party (CVP)/ Christian Democratic and Flemish (CD & V), Christian Democratic and Flemish (CD & V) & (NVA)*
Belgium (Wallonia)	Francophone Socialist Party (PS), Communist Party (PC)*	Christian Social Party (PSC)/ Democratic Humanistic Centre (CDH)
Denmark	Social Democrats (SD), Communist Party (DKP)/ The Unity List (ELRG), Socialist People's Party (SF), Left Socialist Party (VS)	Christian People's Party (KrF)/ Christian Democrats (KD)
Finland	Social Democrats (SSP), the Finnish People's Democratic Union (SKDL)/Left Alliance (V), Social Democratic League of Workers and Smallholders (TPSL)*, Communist Party (SKP)*, For Peace and Socialism (KTP)*, The Finnish Workers' Party (STP)*	Christian League (SKL)/ Christian Democrats (KD)
Germany	Social Democrats (SPD), Communist Party (KPD), All-German People's Party (GVP)*, Action for Democratic Union (ADF)*, German Peace Union (DFU)*, Democratic Socialist (PDS)/ the Left (L)	Christian Democratic Union (CDU), Christian Social Union (CSU)
Italy	Communist Party (PCI/ PDS), the Democrats of the Left (DS)* Proletarian Unity*, Party of the Italian Communist (PdCI)*, Communist Re-foundation (RC)*, Continuous Struggle (LC)*, Socialist Party (PSI), New Italian Socialists Party (NPSI)*, United Socialist Party *, Social Democrats (PSDI), Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity (PSIUP), Democratic Party of Proletarian Unity for Communism (PdUP)*, Democratic Proletarian (DP), Democrats Socialist (DS), Italian Socialists (SI)*, Democratic Party (PD)*, The Left-The Rainbow (SA)*	Christian Democrats (DC), Popular Party (PPI)*, Christian Democratic Centre (CCD) - United Christian Democrats (CDU)*/Union of Christian and Centre Democrats (UDC)*, Segni Pact*
Luxembourg	Socialist Workers' (POSL)/ Social-Democratic Party (LSAP) Communist Party (PCL), Socialists, Social Democratic Party (PSD), Independent Socialists, The Left	Christian Social Party (PCS)/ Christian Social Peoples Party (CSV)
The Netherlands	Communist Party (CPN), Labour Party (PvdA), Democratic Socialists 70 (DS 70), Pacifist Socialist Party (PSP),	Anti Revolutionary Party (ARP), Catholics/ Catholic People's Party (KVP),

	Green Left (GL), Socialist Party (SP)	Christian Historical Union (CHU), Political Reformed Party (SGP)*, Reformed Political League (GPV), Roman Catholic Party (RKPN)*, Catholic National Party (KNP)*, Evangelical People's Party (EVP)*, Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA), Reformed Political Federation (RPF)*, Christian Union (CU)*
Norway	Labour party (DNA), Communist Party (NKP), Socialist Left Party (SV)	Christian People's Party (KrF), Christian Unity Party (KSP)*
Sweden	Social Democrats (SdaP), Communist Party (SKV)/Left Party (V)	Christian Democratic Party (KdS) (the results of 1985 are those with the Centre Party [C])

Note: Assignment of parties based on their core identity or genetic origin as a class-based or religious party based on Smith (1976, 1989) or assigned by the authors; see article for details.

*Assignment of party by authors.

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