

Dealignment, realignment and generational differences in the Netherlands

Wouter van der Brug¹ and Roderik Rekker^{1,2}

¹Department of Political Science, University of Amsterdam; ²Department of Political Science, University of Gothenburg

Online Appendices

Appendix 1. Questions wording and response categories for every variable.

| | | |
|--------------------------|--|--|
| Propensity to vote (PTV) | Below is a list of several parties. Would you please indicate on a scale from 1 to 10 how probable it is that you will ever vote for each party? | From 1 (never) to 10 (certainly someday) |
| Religion | Do you consider yourself to be a member of a particular church or religious community and if yes, to which one? How often do you generally attend church, the mosque or religious services? Is that: | <i>Various religions</i> From 1 (once a week or more) to 5 (almost never) |
| Social Class | One sometimes speaks of the existence of various social classes and groups. If you were to assign yourself to a particular social class, would you assign yourself to: | From 1 (upper class) to 5 (working class) |
| Education | What is the best description of the educational level where you last obtained a diploma or certificate? | <i>Various types of education</i> |
| Partisanship | Do you consider yourself to be an adherent of a political party? To which party are you an adherent? | 'Yes' or 'No' <i>List of parties</i> |
| Left-Right | When you think of your own political beliefs, where would you place yourself on this line? Please tell the number that applies to you. | From 0 (left) to 10 (right) |
| Redistribution | Some people think that the differences in incomes in our country should be increased. Others think that they should be decreased. Where would you place yourself? | From 1 (bigger) to 7 (smaller) |
| Immigrants | Some think that foreigners should be able to live in the Netherlands while preserving their own culture. Others think that they should fully adapt to the Dutch culture. Where would you place yourself? | From 1 (keep own culture) to 7 (adjust to Dutch culture) |
| Europe | Some people and parties think that the European unification should go further. Others think that the European unification has already gone too far. How would you place yourself? | From 1 (should go further) to 7 (has gone too far) |

Appendix 2. The distribution of age, period, and cohort.

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------|--------------------------|------|--------------------------|----------------------|-------|--------------------------|-------|---------------------|------|-------|
| Period | 1986 | 1989 | 1994 | 1998 | 2002 | 2003 | 2006 | 2010 | 2012 | 2017 |
| | 4.8% | 6.7% | 6.9% | 8.0% | 13.5% | 12.1% | 10.7% | 11.1% | 7.1% | 18.9% |
| Cohort | 18 Before 1967 | | 18 Between 1967 and 1989 | | | 18 Between 1989 and 2000 | | 18 In 2001 or later | | |
| | 33.4% | | 45.3% | | | 13.2% | | 8.1% | | |
| Age | Late adolescents (18-21) | | | Early adults (22-29) | | Middle adults (30-64) | | Late adults (65-96) | | |
| | 4.7% | | | 11.1% | | 63.7% | | 20.5% | | |

Appendix 3A. Results of regression models for PvdA only. Main effects of age, period and cohort are omitted from the table.

| | Religion | Social Class | Education | Partisanship | Left-Right | Redistribution | Immigration | Europe |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------|
| Variable | 0.32 (0.03)*** | 0.25 (0.02)*** | 0.23 (0.05)*** | 0.38 (0.01)*** | 0.53 (0.02)*** | 0.40 (0.02)*** | 0.16 (0.03)*** | 0.05 (0.05) |
| Variable*Cohort (ref = Before 1967) | | | | | | | | |
| 18 Between 1967 and 1989 | 0.01 (0.02) | -0.09 (0.02)*** | -0.04 (0.04) | -0.03 (0.01)** | -0.03 (0.01) | -0.06 (0.02)*** | 0.08 (0.03)** | 0.04 (0.03) |
| 18 Between 1989 and 2000 | 0.03 (0.04) | -0.13 (0.04)*** | -0.02 (0.06) | -0.03 (0.01)* | -0.08 (0.02)*** | -0.09 (0.02)*** | 0.08 (0.03)* | 0.04 (0.04) |
| 18 In 2001 or later | -0.01 (0.05) | -0.11 (0.07) | -0.06 (0.09) | -0.05 (0.02) | -0.12 (0.03)*** | -0.09 (0.04)* | 0.03 (0.05) | 0.10 (0.06) |
| Joint p-value | .634 | <.001 | .719 | .014 | <.001 | .003 | .010 | .256 |
| Variable*Age (ref = Middle adults) | | | | | | | | |
| Late adolescents (18-21) | -0.01 (0.04) | 0.03 (0.05) | 0.02 (0.07) | -0.04 (0.03) | -0.01 (0.03) | -0.01 (0.03) | 0.03 (0.04) | 0.02 (0.05) |
| Early adults (22-29) | -0.03 (0.03) | -0.04 (0.03) | -0.03 (0.05) | 0.00 (0.01) | 0.00 (0.02) | -0.00 (0.02) | -0.00 (0.03) | -0.04 (0.04) |
| Late adults (65-96) | 0.05 (0.03)* | 0.00 (0.03) | -0.02 (0.05) | 0.05 (0.01)*** | 0.02 (0.02) | -0.05 (0.02)* | 0.00 (0.03) | 0.01 (0.03) |
| Joint p-value | .196 | .404 | .834 | <.001 | .772 | .105 | .824 | .525 |
| Variable*Period (ref = 1986/1994) | | | | | | | | |
| 1989 | 0.02 (0.03) | -0.01 (0.03) | -0.03 (0.06) | -0.05 (0.02)** | -0.04 (0.02)* | -0.07 (0.02)** | | |
| 1994 | -0.01 (0.04) | -0.04 (0.03) | -0.04 (0.06) | -0.05 (0.02)** | -0.11 (0.02)*** | -0.09 (0.02)*** | | |
| 1998 | 0.01 (0.04) | -0.04 (0.03) | 0.03 (0.06) | -0.08 (0.02)*** | -0.14 (0.02)*** | -0.11 (0.03)*** | -0.03 (0.04) | 0.03 (0.06) |
| 2002 | 0.09 (0.05) | -0.06 (0.03) | -0.06 (0.06) | -0.10 (0.02)*** | -0.05 (0.02)* | -0.13 (0.03)*** | 0.07 (0.04)* | 0.06 (0.06) |
| 2003 | -0.05 (0.04) | -0.04 (0.04) | -0.02 (0.07) | | -0.00 (0.02) | -0.07 (0.03)** | 0.06 (0.03) | 0.08 (0.06) |
| 2006 | -0.04 (0.03) | -0.00 (0.03) | -0.08 (0.07) | -0.04 (0.02)* | -0.07 (0.02)*** | -0.08 (0.03)** | -0.01 (0.03) | 0.02 (0.06) |
| 2010 | -0.06 (0.04) | 0.05 (0.10) | -0.07 (0.06) | -0.07 (0.02)*** | -0.08 (0.02)*** | -0.10 (0.03)*** | 0.04 (0.03) | 0.09 (0.06) |
| 2012 | -0.05 (0.04) | 0.02 (0.06) | -0.05 (0.07) | -0.09 (0.02)*** | -0.10 (0.02)*** | -0.11 (0.03)*** | -0.00 (0.04) | 0.09 (0.06) |
| 2017 | -0.11 (0.05)* | -0.04 (0.12) | -0.04 (0.06) | -0.18 (0.02)*** | -0.15 (0.02)*** | -0.05 (0.03) | 0.00 (0.04) | 0.12 (0.06)* |
| Joint p-value | .012 | .493 | .788 | <.001 | <.001 | <.001 | .012 | .071 |
| Model | | | | | | | | |
| Respondents | 14,971 | 15,364 | 15,272 | 14,511 | 16,267 | 16,775 | 15,216 | 13,442 |
| R ² | 9.4% | 4.7% | 2.5% | 16.1% | 32.7% | 12.3% | 7.1% | 4.0% |

Appendix 3B. Results of regression models for CDA only. Main effects of age, period and cohort are omitted from the table.

| | Religion | Social Class | Education | Partisanship | Left-Right | Redistribution | Immigration | Europe |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------|
| Variable | 0.36 (0.02)*** | 0.20 (0.04)*** | 0.17 (0.03)*** | 0.36 (0.02)*** | 0.52 (0.02)*** | 0.38 (0.03)*** | 0.18 (0.03)*** | 0.11 (0.06) |
| Variable*Cohort (ref = Before 1967) | | | | | | | | |
| 18 Between 1967 and 1989 | -0.04 (0.01)** | 0.02 (0.03) | 0.00 (0.03) | 0.03 (0.01)* | -0.01 (0.02) | 0.02 (0.02) | 0.08 (0.03)** | 0.02 (0.04) |
| 18 Between 1989 and 2000 | -0.10 (0.02)*** | 0.00 (0.04) | -0.08 (0.05) | 0.01 (0.02) | -0.11 (0.03)*** | 0.02 (0.04) | 0.04 (0.04) | 0.04 (0.05) |
| 18 In 2001 or later | -0.06 (0.04) | 0.10 (0.06) | -0.00 (0.09) | 0.05 (0.03) | -0.10 (0.04)* | 0.06 (0.05) | 0.05 (0.06) | 0.09 (0.08) |
| Joint p-value | <.001 | .264 | .310 | .027 | <.001 | .650 | .046 | .691 |
| Variable*Age (ref = Middle adults) | | | | | | | | |
| Late adolescents (18-21) | -0.05 (0.03) | -0.14 (0.05)* | -0.06 (0.07) | -0.06 (0.04) | -0.07 (0.04) | -0.10 (0.05)* | -0.07 (0.06) | -0.09 (0.08) |
| Early adults (22-29) | -0.03 (0.02) | -0.02 (0.03) | 0.01 (0.04) | -0.05 (0.02)* | -0.02 (0.02) | -0.03 (0.03) | -0.01 (0.04) | 0.04 (0.05) |
| Late adults (65-96) | 0.05 (0.02)** | 0.07 (0.03)* | -0.04 (0.04) | 0.02 (0.01) | 0.04 (0.02)* | -0.05 (0.03) | -0.02 (0.04) | 0.01 (0.04) |
| Joint p-value | .025 | .011 | .529 | .038 | .055 | .034 | .570 | .230 |
| Variable*Period (ref = 1986/1994) | | | | | | | | |
| 1989 | 0.03 (0.03) | -0.02 (0.05) | 0.03 (0.05) | -0.06 (0.02)** | -0.04 (0.03) | -0.07 (0.03)* | | |
| 1994 | 0.01 (0.02) | -0.07 (0.05) | -0.04 (0.07) | -0.06 (0.02)** | -0.11 (0.03)*** | -0.10 (0.04)* | | |
| 1998 | 0.04 (0.02) | -0.07 (0.06) | 0.03 (0.04) | -0.09 (0.02)*** | -0.13 (0.03)*** | -0.13 (0.05)* | -0.01 (0.04) | 0.01 (0.06) |
| 2002 | 0.09 (0.04)* | -0.09 (0.05) | 0.03 (0.04) | -0.11 (0.02)*** | -0.05 (0.03) | -0.15 (0.05)** | 0.08 (0.04)* | 0.03 (0.08) |
| 2003 | -0.02 (0.02) | -0.08 (0.05) | 0.02 (0.04) | | -0.01 (0.02) | -0.10 (0.03)** | 0.06 (0.03) | 0.04 (0.07) |
| 2006 | -0.00 (0.02) | -0.06 (0.05) | 0.02 (0.05) | -0.06 (0.02)** | -0.07 (0.02)** | -0.13 (0.03)*** | 0.00 (0.03) | 0.00 (0.05) |
| 2010 | -0.03 (0.02) | -0.06 (0.05) | 0.04 (0.06) | -0.09 (0.02)*** | -0.09 (0.03)** | -0.15 (0.04)*** | 0.05 (0.05) | 0.06 (0.06) |
| 2012 | -0.02 (0.03) | -0.08 (0.09) | -0.00 (0.16) | -0.12 (0.02)*** | -0.10 (0.03)** | -0.16 (0.05)*** | 0.02 (0.06) | 0.05 (0.06) |
| 2017 | -0.08 (0.03)*** | -0.07 (0.05) | 0.03 (0.06) | -0.19 (0.02)*** | -0.16 (0.03)*** | -0.11 (0.04)** | 0.02 (0.05) | 0.09 (0.07) |
| Joint p-value | <.001 | .726 | .989 | <.001 | <.001 | .004 | .096 | .526 |
| Model | | | | | | | | |
| Respondents | 14,967 | 15,363 | 15,258 | 14,507 | 16,266 | 16,762 | 15,210 | 13,440 |
| R ² | 21.4% | 2.6% | 2.3% | 14.6% | 21.7% | 6.6% | 4.8% | 2.3% |

Appendix 4. Period effects with alternative reference categories. Main effects of age, period and cohort are omitted from the table. Interaction effects with cohort and age are also omitted, since these are identical to those reported in Table 1.

| | Religion | Social Class | Education | Partisanship | Left-Right | Redistribution | Immigration | Europe |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Variable | 0.29 (0.02)*** | 0.16 (0.02)*** | 0.16 (0.01)*** | 0.32 (0.00)*** | 0.49 (0.01)*** | 0.29 (0.01)*** | 0.23 (0.01)*** | 0.14 (0.02)*** |
| Variable*Period (ref = 2003/2006) | | | | | | | | |
| 1986 | 0.05 (0.02)* | 0.06 (0.02)** | 0.01 (0.02) | 0.05 (0.01)*** | 0.03 (0.01)* | 0.10 (0.02)*** | | |
| 1989 | 0.07 (0.02)*** | 0.05 (0.02)* | 0.00 (0.02) | -0.01 (0.01) | -0.02 (0.01) | 0.02 (0.02) | | |
| 1994 | 0.04 (0.02)* | -0.00 (0.02) | -0.03 (0.02) | -0.01 (0.01) | -0.10 (0.01)*** | -0.01 (0.02) | -0.06 (0.02)*** | -0.05 (0.02)** |
| 1998 | 0.06 (0.02)*** | -0.01 (0.02) | 0.01 (0.02) | -0.04 (0.00)*** | -0.13 (0.01)*** | -0.04 (0.01)** | -0.08 (0.02)*** | -0.04 (0.02)* |
| 2002 | 0.12 (0.02)*** | -0.02 (0.02) | 0.02 (0.02) | -0.05 (0.01)*** | -0.04 (0.01)*** | -0.06 (0.02)*** | 0.01 (0.02) | -0.02 (0.02) |
| 2006 | 0.01 (0.02) | 0.02 (0.02) | -0.05 (0.02)** | | -0.07 (0.01)*** | -0.03 (0.01)* | -0.08 (0.01)*** | -0.05 (0.02)** |
| 2010 | -0.01 (0.02) | 0.03 (0.02) | -0.01 (0.02) | -0.03 (0.00)*** | -0.09 (0.01)*** | -0.05 (0.01)*** | -0.02 (0.01) | 0.02 (0.02) |
| 2012 | -0.01 (0.02) | 0.03 (0.02) | -0.02 (0.02) | -0.06 (0.01)*** | -0.11 (0.01)*** | -0.05 (0.02)** | -0.07 (0.02)*** | 0.02 (0.02) |
| 2017 | -0.06 (0.02)*** | 0.03 (0.02) | -0.01 (0.02) | -0.13 (0.01)*** | -0.15(0.01)*** | -0.01 (0.01) | -0.06 (0.01)*** | 0.05 (0.02)** |
| Joint p-value | <.001 | <.001 | <.001 | <.001 | <.001 | <.001 | <.001 | <.001 |
| | Religion | Social Class | Education | Partisanship | Left-Right | Redistribution | Immigration | Europe |
| Variable | 0.23 (0.01)*** | 0.19 (0.01)*** | 0.15 (0.01)*** | 0.19 (0.01)*** | 0.34 (0.01)*** | 0.28 (0.01)*** | 0.17 (0.02)*** | 0.19 (0.02)*** |
| Variable*Period (ref = 2017) | | | | | | | | |
| 1986 | 0.10 (0.02)*** | 0.03 (0.02) | 0.01 (0.02) | 0.18 (0.01)*** | 0.18 (0.02)*** | 0.11 (0.02)*** | | |
| 1989 | 0.13 (0.02)*** | 0.02 (0.02) | 0.01 (0.02) | 0.12 (0.01)*** | 0.13 (0.01)*** | 0.03 (0.02) | | |
| 1994 | 0.10 (0.02)*** | -0.03 (0.02)* | -0.02 (0.02) | 0.12 (0.01)*** | 0.06 (0.02)*** | -0.00 (0.02) | -0.00 (0.02) | -0.11 (0.02)*** |
| 1998 | 0.12 (0.01)*** | -0.03 (0.01)* | 0.02 (0.02) | 0.09 (0.01)*** | 0.02 (0.01) | -0.03 (0.01)* | -0.03 (0.02) | -0.10 (0.02)*** |
| 2002 | 0.18 (0.02)*** | -0.04 (0.01)** | 0.03 (0.02) | 0.08 (0.01)*** | 0.12 (0.01)*** | -0.05 (0.02)** | 0.07 (0.02)*** | -0.07 (0.02)*** |
| 2003 | 0.06 (0.02)*** | -0.03 (0.02) | 0.01 (0.02) | | 0.15 (0.01)*** | 0.01 (0.01) | 0.06 (0.01)*** | -0.05 (0.02)** |
| 2006 | 0.07 (0.01)*** | -0.01 (0.01) | -0.04 (0.01)** | 0.13 (0.01)*** | 0.08 (0.01)*** | -0.02 (0.01) | -0.02 (0.01) | -0.10 (0.01)*** |
| 2010 | 0.05 (0.01)*** | -0.00 (0.01) | -0.00 (0.01) | 0.10 (0.01)*** | 0.06 (0.01)*** | -0.04 (0.01)** | 0.04 (0.01)** | -0.03 (0.01)* |
| 2012 | 0.05 (0.01)*** | -0.00 (0.01) | -0.01 (0.01) | 0.07 (0.01)*** | 0.05 (0.01)*** | -0.04 (0.01)** | -0.01 (0.01) | -0.04 (0.01)** |
| Joint p-value | <.001 | <.001 | <.001 | <.001 | <.001 | <.001 | <.001 | <.001 |