# DETERMINANTS OF AN INDIVIDUAL'S POLITICAL VOTE CHOICE

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Abstract
In this study I have tried to find determinants of one's political vote choice based on the election of September 2012. Different socio and demographic factors like income, education and religion are included in this research. Also effects of fairness and self-interest are studied. While there is little correlation between one's income and his or her vote, effects of education and religion are evident. As for fairness and self-interest, individuals who value fairness are more inclined to vote for left-winged parties.

# Contents

# Introduction

Every year in the Election period, millions of Dutch citizens go the ballot box to vote for their preferred political party. Not only old, but also younger citizens all turn up at the ballot box to cast their vote. The voters do not belong to a certain social or demographic category. Different races, social classes, genders and educated ones participate in this voting process. Throughout the years, different parties gain the most votes of the population. Such as the political party "Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie (from now on VVD)" had gained the most votes of the Dutch citizens in 2010 and 2012, whereas the "Christen-Democratisch Appèl (CDA)" had attracted most voters in earlier years (2002, 2003 and 2006). What could be the reason behind these differences? There are many reasons that may induce an individual to vote for a certain political party. Are older voters more likely to vote for a certain party because they can identify their selves with specific important values represented by the party? Are educated voters more likely to vote left-winged parties rather than right-winged parties? Underlying reasons may be able to explain the popularity of the political parties. People believe that the political parties represent values and traditions that people can relate to, identify with and believe in (Fischel, 1979). These values are measured in terms of a Left-Right ideological scale. Such classification is needed to evaluate the relationship of political parties to the election outcomes (Mair, 1984). In this study we will analyze the effect certain demographic and social factors on the vote choice of an individual. Also I will try to analyze the relationship between one's attached value of fairness and their vote choice. Although many researchers have studied the determinants of one's vote choice, but they do not have included one's attached value to fairness as a determinant. By including this, one might come to different conclusions in regard with the determinants of one's political vote choice. Compared to researches in America, little can be found about the political voting behavior in the Netherlands in the existing literature. Findings from America might not be applicable in the Netherlands, because of the difference in population or political system. With this research therefore, I hope to find out more about the political preferences of the population in the Netherlands. Understanding under which circumstances and motivation an individual will decide to vote for a political party is therefore interesting. Thus the research question can be formulated as follow:

In this study several factors will be tested on its influence on the choice of political party. Existing literature about the determinants of an individual's vote choice will be discussed. The methodology will then clarify how this research will be conducted followed by the description of the necessary data. Then results will be presented with a discussion. Finally, answers on hypotheses of the research will be given and conclusions will be drawn.

# 1.0 Theoretical framework

Voters in mass elections are known for their lack of information about relevant political matters as not many citizens follow political matters closely (Lupia, 1994). A research in America showed that the average American is poorly informed but not uninformed (Carpini, 2005). Another finding of the research is that Americans appear to be slightly less informed about politics in comparison to citizens of other comparable nations. Many scholars argue that well-informed voters are necessary for the production of responsive electoral outcomes, while others think that even ignorant voters can suffice if they can use shortcuts to gain knowledge about the political parties. Lupia (1994) found indications that badly informed voters can emulate the behavior of relatively well informed voters by assessing widely available information shortcuts. We are interested in what these ´shortcuts´ are for the Dutch population. Before we go on with the analysis of the data, examining the existing scientific literature will direct us to the most important determinants of one´s political choice. Another important shortcut might be the personal economic well-being as a determinant of the voter´s political preference. Is a poor citizen more likely to vote for a political party which states to be able to help the citizens who belong in the lower part of the socio-economic hierarchy? Are women more likely to vote for a democratic political party? But before we go on with literature review of the political determinants, political parties participating will be discussed based on their points of view:

## 1.1 Political Parties

### 1.1.1 Groenlinks

This party aims for modernization of a welfare state, such as improving access to necessary care facilities for citizens. To them freedom is central in a modern and open society and therefore needs to be protected. Groenlinks also aims to invest significantly amount of money in education. In order to get out strong of the financial crisis and for the nation to thrive again, they think that it´s essential to improve the education system. Thus, everyone should get equal chance for education. They oppose oppression of groups and folks and also think that there should be a righteous distribution of power, knowledge, property and income.

Source: (Groenlinks, n.d.)

### 1.1.2 SP

This party aims for a society where the human dignity, equality and solidarity are central. They believe that social-economic differences should be reduced, finances should not be a barrier in order to get care and costs of the care should be financed through income-related premiums. Also, healthcare should not compete with each other, but cooperate to make the healthcare better and more effective. In order to fight poverty, structural raise of the statutory minimum wage is essential plus an additional benefit of 5% for the upcoming 4 years. Citizens with a job payment of the minimum wage should get a work bonus from the government. The more income one generates, the lower the work bonus. This way, more money is available for the people who need it the most. At last the SP is also against the current feudalism. By turning the basic grant into a loan, children of lower income families are waived of the study.

Source: (SP, n.d)

### 1.1.3 D66

This party holds freedom and equality for each citizen as a central aspect. D66 also wants to share the welfare and reward performance. Investments in knowledge is essential for a successful and personal growth. The party also strives for the best education and equal chances for the education system. This way people keep developing themselves by the

knowledge they get. The economy should be sustainable; there should be an honest and open labor market and a service-oriented financial sector. D66 aims for a slower grow of the health expenditure. According to them, If the government does not intervene into reducing the health expenditure, an average household would then only pay half of their income to healthcare.

Source: (D66, n.d)

### 1.1.4 CDA

CDA sees the bible as an inspiration on their points of view and thus the way how the Netherlands should be governed. Key issues are the public justice, spread responsibility, solidarity and stewardship. Everyone should to be able to develop themselves. Individuals who are able, should participate in improving society. According to this party, people who aren't able to participate, should be supported by the government. Like the other political partie, CDA wants the healthcare to be affordable and accessible. One should have solidarity with the ones who need care. More need to be invested into preventing people to get sick rather than curing them. Quality of education system is important, such that important values like decency, respect and tolerance can be transmitted to future generations.Source: (CDA, n.d)

### 1.1.5 PvdA

PvdA is an advocate of an extensive system of social security, especially fighting against poverty and protecting citizens against loss of income due to sickness or unemployment. They believe that government funding should be accessible to the poor, whereas people who earn a higher income are obliged to pay a higher income tax in order to support the financially weak in society. Therefore, they are also against excessive top incomes, bonuses and certain privatizations. According to them, the rights of laborers should be respected more. Such that they have an influence on their working hours, length of their work contract and their right of leave. Like the other parties PVDA strives for a higher quality of education, which involves investments in the educational system in the Netherlands. Also they believe that better arrangement of the healthcare supply leads to better quality care with lower costs.

Source: (PvdA, n.d)

### 1.1.6 VVD

Freedom of the individual is central. VVD aims for a society where citizens have freedom by the of protection of citizen rights and restriction of the power of state and churches. People should be able to make their own choices. They also find that working stimulates people to be involved in society, where one is able to improve his or her independence and feeling of self-esteem. Citizens who work hard and show effort are to be rewarded. That's why the VVD strives for low taxes. Their view on healthcare is the same as CDA. Education is the key to the development of children. That's why at a young stage in their life children should start developing the necessary skills that companies require. This improves their chances in the labor market.

Source: (VVD, n.d)

### 1.1.7 ChristenUnie

ChristenUnie base their points of view on the Christian religion. There should be employment opportunities, freedom of religious expression and more attention to vulnerable groups and action against rudeness on street and TV. They believe that women, older people, immigrants and (labor)disabled people should get more chances to participate in the labor market with their talents. Talent is central. Parents must be free to choose which school their children go that fits their education and beliefs. There should be no cutbacks in the amount of money for the education system. As regards to the healthcare, their points of view look like the opinions of SP.

Source: (ChristenUnie, n.d)

### 1.1.8 PVV

PVV is the last party that will be discussed. Unlike the other political parties, the PVV is not reluctant to make big changes in the way the country is ruled. Access to the Netherlands by the immigrants should be restricted as the Dutch population shouldn't have to share their benefit with foreigners. Also, PVV wants the Netherlands as a member to exit the European Union. They believe that the nation should protect its' own people without European interventions. Furthermore, they want the retirement age needs to be set to the age of 65. Regarding education, they want foreign students to pay study fees themselves.

Source: (PVV, n.d)

How the political parties relate to each other can be explained by their position (left, middle or right). Political parties in the left wing are usually progressive in nature. They aim to support those who cannot support themselves.  Differences between the rich and poor and different genders should decrease and everyone deserves equal chances (education, healthcare). Everyone is equivalent and no one should be given privileged. They value equality over freedom. Government should interfere to decrease the social inequality. Political parties in the right wing however are conservative. They believe in survival of the fittest and economic freedom. Everyone should look after themselves and therefore shouldn't have to pay for others education or health service. For them freedom is more important than equality. Right-wing politicians strive for a market regulated economy as opposed to a government regulated economy. The political parties can be ranked from the most left wing to the most right wing. The following graph shows the position of each political party:
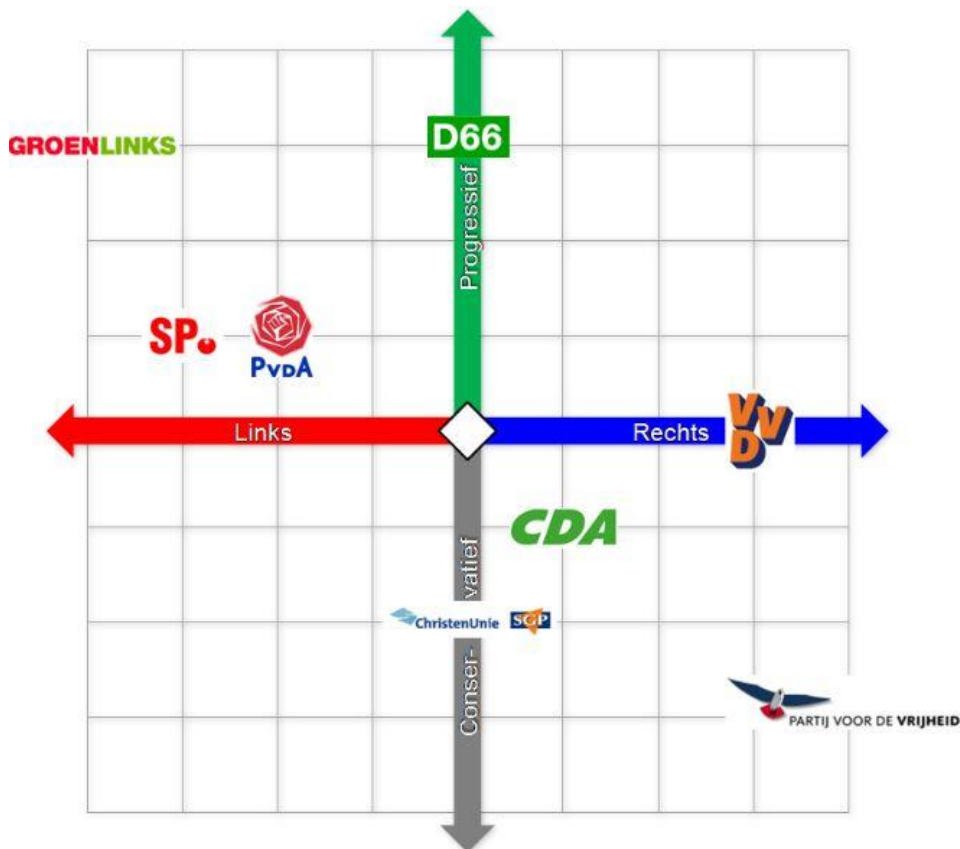


Source: (Menno, sd)

From left to right the political parties can be ranked as:

**Left**    Groenlinks    SP    PvdA    D66    ChristenUnie    CDA    VVD    PVV    **Right**

The red and blue arrows indicate the left and right side of the political spectrum, whereas the green and grey arrow denote to what extent a political party is progressive (green) and conservative (grey). For example, ideologies of D66 are progressive but do not particularly belong to the left or right side of the spectrum.

After introducing the point of view of the political parties, the next step is to determine what factors may influence the voter´s vote in the election. Existing literature about the determinants will be discussed, followed by the determinants that will be used in this study.

## 1.2 Determinants of political vote choice

In many countries the determinants of political preferences have been studied. In the study of the determinants of the political preferences, Kalaycioglu (1994) indicates that gender, formal education and religiosity have a critical role in determining party preference in Turkey.  Type of settlement and socio-economic status however has a weak impact. An American study found that other determinants like the individual's social class and household location (urban or rural) seemed to be strongly related to vote choice. These findings were based on the voting in the 1940 presidential contest between Franklin Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie (Lazarsfeld et al, 1944). Protestants in the rural middle class preferred the Republican Willkie more, while Catholics in the working-class were more likely to vote for Roosevelt. Besides these social and economic determinants, researchers tried to take a look at the vote choice from a psychological perspective. Could it be that one's attitude and voting intention predict their vote choice? A study by Kelley and Mirer (1974) found indications which suggest they do. However, the findings were based on enormous errors (Kelley and Mirer (1974). Most of these errors were due to difficulties in predicting the voting behavior of individual who were indifferent or who experienced internal conflict over the election. In the existing literature, many other determinants could be found that may influence one's voting choice. Therefore we have to make a selection of the determinants that might have a significant influence on the voting behavior of an individual.

## 1.3 Income

One important factor which might be significant for one's vote choice is income, as income distribution has always been a political matter. Richer individuals in America are more likely to vote for Republican than the poorer ones. This phenomenon has persisted with few exceptions since the New Deal era (Gelman, 2011). In a 2006 CNN poll, 66% of the respondents thinks that the Democratic Party "looks out for the interest of the average American," while 27% said this about the Republicans (Gelman, 2011). They found that most low- and moderate-income voters choose Democrats. Another study by Brooks and Brady (1999) found that income of an individual has a significant and stable impact on voting behavior. In a recent research, Powdthavee and Oswald (2014) tried to find a relationship between money and voting for right-winged political parties. They exploited a panel data set in which political attitude of individuals are included. Some of these individuals received lottery windfalls by luck. They found the larger amount of money they won, the greater their subsequent tendency to switch their political view from left to right. Therefore, this study will take income into account.

## 1.4 Education

The second factor that might have an important role in the political decision-making is one´s education level. Voters who are more educated seem to display more interest in politics and therefore tend to participate more in the political process (Nogee & Levin, 1958). However, education does not seem to affect political preferences. In their study students belonging to five colleges, between the ages of 21 and 25, were asked about their political preferences. They found that 65 percent of the respondents did not change their political attitude during their college careers. This might indicate that the political preferences of the students are formed before voting age, in which students are able to resist political influence of the university. (Nogee & Levin, 1958). A study in America found a significant correlation between the education of an individual and his or her party preference (Weiner & Eckland, 1979). However, this seems to be only significant for males. Previous studies argued that high education groups tend to vote for libertarian group and low education groups are more likely to vote for the authoritarian pole (Stubager, 2009). In more recent studies, Rocky (2014) found that more intelligent individuals are more likely to vote for left winged parties,

whereas Rindermann et al. (2012) found that higher educated individuals vote for political parties they believe will foster education.

## 1.5 Religion

The last but not least important factor involves the religion of the individual. There are several religious political parties that assume that the country should be governed from a religious point of view. For example, ChristenUnie base their points of view on the bible. They fight for more equal chances on the labor market, attention for the more vulnerable groups of the population and action against the rudeness on street and television (Christenunie). Layman (1997) found that individuals in America, who are very committed, are more likely to vote Republican than their less religious counterparts. In the Netherlands, individuals with low education level and homogeneous religious networks have a 41% chance of voting for a confessional political party, whereby non-religious individuals with homogeneous non-religious networks barely ever vote for confessional parties (Nieuwbeerta & Flap, 2000).

Researchers did not limit their analysis of political determinants to social and economic determinants. Many wondered whether self-interest and fairness would affect one´s voting behavior. It is not uncommon that individuals of the lower part of the income or education ladder might want to improve their current situation. This could be a reason why they would vote for a particular political party.

## 1.6 Self-interest and political preferences

Researchers have tried to find a relation between self-interest and political preferences. Analysts and politicians alike frequently claim that people "vote their pocketbooks" (Tufte, 1978). A research conducted by Monroe found evidence that determinants of congressional voting seemed to relate to personal economic self-interest in political behavior (Monroe, 1979). Economic conditions like inflation, unemployment, real income, seems to influence the outcomes of congressional elections in the U.S. (Stigler, 1973; Arcelus and Meltzer, 1975; Owens and Olson, 1980). There is little evidence that people vote according to changes in their personal economic well-being. Kinder and Kiewiet (1979, 1981; Kinder et al,

1980). Political voting behavior of ordinary citizens may more be influenced by their political values than by their personal needs (Sears & Lau, 1983). Two studies looked into the explanations why citizens do not include their personal situation in their vote behavior. One explanation is that a majority of the population in the U.S. feels that they are responsible for solving their own personal problems. Schlozman and Verba (1979) have examined the question of personal responsibility from a general perspective in their study of the political effects of unemployment. The belief about the "Dream" plays a major role in separating the personal experience with unemployment into political attitudes and behavior.

## 1.7 Fairness and political preferences

If self-interest doesn't play an important role in the political behavior, what about fairness? In several studies fairness appeared to influence behavior (Lerner & Lerner, 1981). As fairness have already been studied in political setting such as citizens' participation in political activities like contacting political officials and participating in demonstrations, Tyler (1988) also tried to find relations between fairness and voting behavior. Walster et al. (1978) did an early psychological research in America on fairness in which he found that a fair allocation of outcomes leads to more satisfaction in allocation setting. Results of the research support the idea that voters do not approach an election for their own personal need, but rather with the expectation that candidates will exhibit fairness. However, while they care a lot about the candidates being fair, they also hope to gain some benefit from the candidate.

In the existing literature, little can be found about the political voting behavior in the Netherlands. Notably, most of the researches come from America. Those findings might not be applicable in the Netherlands, because of the difference in population or political system. With this research therefore, we hope to find out more about the political preferences and behavior of the population in the Netherlands.

## 1.8 Hypotheses

To answer our research question, three hypotheses will be used. Several studies (Gelman 2000; Brooks & Brady 1999) acknowledged the effect of income on vote choice. Also

Powdthavee and Oswald (2014) showed that money have influence of one's tendency to vote for right-winged parties. Right-winged political parties do not share the opinion to help the lower income class of the population unlike the left-winged parties. Therefore, we expect that the lower income class is more likely to vote for the left-winged parties. Because these studies are conducted in other countries, we want to find out whether these findings might also apply to the population of the Netherlands. This brings us to the first hypothesis:

*H1: The more income an individual generates, the more likely he or she will vote for right-winged parties*

As mentioned before, educated citizens tend to participate more in the political process. But in the same study, Nogee & Levin (1958) found that one´s political preference are formed before the voting age. Another study (Weiner & Eckland, 1979) did find a significant correlation between one's education level and their party preferences. In a recent study conducted by Rindermann, Flores-Mendoza, & Woodley (2012), Rindermann argued that more intelligent individuals tend to have civic values that lead them to vote for political parties they believe will foster education and the growth of knowledge. Furthermore, Rocky (2014) found that better educated are found to consistently to be more likely to identify themselves with the ideologies of the left-winged parties. For that reason, the second hypothesis is:

*H2: Higher educated individuals are more likely to vote for left winged-parties*

Beside the education and income, many studies have looked into the influence of religion on the vote choice of citizens. Nieuwbeerta & Flap (2000) found that religious individuals are more likely to vote for confessional parties, while nonreligious individuals hardly ever vote for those parties. A report by Birdwell and Littler (2012) found that 55% of religious people with faith placed themselves on the left side of the political spectrum. They are also more likely to value equality over freedom, which match the ideologies of the left-winged parties. Would that mean that these religious individuals also take fairness into account in their vote choice? In order to answer this question the following hypothesis states:

*H3:Religious people tend to choose political parties which value fairness*

# 2.0 Methodology

## 2.1 Methods and regression model

Many studies make use of qualitative methods like online surveys. One advantage of online survey research is that one can get access to unique populations that would be difficult, if not impossible, to reach through other channels (Garton, Haythornthwaite, & Wellman, 1999). However, at the same time researchers can encounter problems as regards sampling. Aside from some basic demographic variables (even this information can be questionable) of people in online communities, little may be known about the characteristics of those individuals (Dillman, 2000).  Another advantage is that this method may save time for researchers. Thousands of people with common characteristics can be reached in a short amount of time, despite the huge geographic distances (Taylor, 2000). Finally, one can save money by choosing this method. Compared to surveys of paper format, online survey research eliminate the need for paper and other costs like those incurred through postage, printing and data entry (Llieva et al, 2002). However, getting people to fill in surveys often need financial incentives (chance to win lotteries)(Wright, 2005). This may induce the respondents to try to "stack the deck" to increase their chances of winning (Konstand et al, 2005). Another disadvantage is that one also could receive responses from certain group of people when distributing the surveys. This group might not be representative for the target population you are interested in and self-selection problem arises (Thompson et al, 2003).

The surveys will be analyzed using logistic regression analysis. This method is most suitable for investigation of discrete data such as that involving individual vote choice (Walk, 2004). Logistic regression coefficients will be presented as log-odds. Odds are defined as the ratio of the probability of success (vote for a particular party) and the probability of failure (did not vote for a particular party). An odds-ratio of 1 means that the odds that one will vote for political party x is the same as the odds not to vote for party x. If we convert the odds into probability, an odds-ratio of 1 means that 1 out of 2 times one will vote for party x. Corresponding probability would then be 50% (1/2). Odds ratio's which give a value above 1 indicate an increased likelihood of voting for a particular political party, while odd ratios with a value below 1 indicate reduced likelihood.  Furthermore odds ratio over 2.00 and

under -2.00 represent strong positive and negative effects respectively. Suppose there is 80% chance on rainfall. This would mean that with an odds-ratio of 4, 4 out of 5 times it will rain. This is equal to 8 out of 10 times, which brings us back to a percentage of (8/10) 80%. The odds and log-odds which are equivalent to the corresponding probabilities are shown in table 1 in the appendix. If a coefficient for example has a value of 0.1, the odds-ratio is increased with 10 percent.

While the dependent variable in the standard OLS model is continuous, the dependent variable in the logit model is dichotomous. In our case, the dependent variable (political party) can take 2 values, namely did vote or did not vote for a political party. Therefore a logit model is appropriate to test the hypotheses.

The model of the logistic regression (2) is defined by:

(2) $log \frac{p_i}{1-p_i}$ = α + $β_1$Income + $β_2$Education + $β_3$Religion + $β_4$Age + $β_5$Social Class + $β_k X_k$ + ε

where P denotes the probability that the dependent variable takes a value of 1. The left side of the equations denotes the log-odds ratio. α is the intercept and gives us the log-odds of the outcome Y when the other independent variables have a value of 0. β is the coefficient which indicates the effect of the corresponding independent variable has on the dependent variable. ε is the error term.

Unlike the traditional regression (Ordinary Least Squares), logistic regressions require other assumptions to satisfy in order for the model to hold. Because the population means of the dependent variable at each level of the independent variable are not on a straight line, there is no linearity. Variance of the errors is not constant, so there won't be homogeneity of variance. Also, errors are not normally distributed in logistic regressions, so there cannot be normality. There are several assumptions that need to be satisfied. Firstly, for binary logistic regressions, the dependent variable obviously needs to be dichotomous. Secondly, the error term needs to be independent. Each observation has to be independent of each other. For example, researches with a before-after design would violate this assumption as

the observations would not be independent. Also, there has to be little to no multicollinearity in the model. That is, when the independent variables are independent of each other.

A good model is essential for the testing of hypotheses. Only the meaningful variables should be included in the model. For this one can use a goodness-of-fit test. A goodness-of-fit measure tests a model against the alternative that the model does not fit to test the hypotheses. There is a wide variety of alternatives: lack of fit can have many possible reasons. Example of a lack of fit in a linear model is when the distribution of the residuals is skewed, or when there are nonlinear relationships that fit the data better. There is no single goodness-of-fit test which can fix all kinds of lack of fit. A goodness-of-fit measure therefore is only specific about the type of lack of fit it is directed against. The McFadden's index is preferred over other goodness-of-fit measures partly due to its conceptual similarity to the OLS coefficient of determination (Peng et al, 2002). In our model the McFadden $R^2$ measure will be compared to see to what extent the model is suitable for our hypotheses.

# 3.0 Data

There is a database, available on Lissdata, which provides online surveys which obtain information for example of the political vote/preferences, age, education, religion and gender of individuals. It's very detailed and access to this database is entirely free, which makes it easy and convenient to use it.

The LISS Panel consists of 4500 households, comprising 7000 individuals in the Netherlands. It is based on a true probability sample of households drawn from the population register by Statistics Netherlands. Every month, the panel members get paid for each completed questionnaire. Each participant has an identification number (ID). This way one is not able to repeat earlier completed questionnaires. The collected data covers a great number of topics such as education, income, health and politics. From this database a number of variables will be selected, which will be described in this section.

This research is focused on the political choices in the Netherlands. The aim is to find which determinants influence the political choice of an individual. Because the different variables needed for this research aren't included in one single dataset, different databases will be used. For this, it's necessary to only include individuals who completed all questions in the questionnaires which are used as variables in this research. In total five different datasets are used in this study.

The time for which that data is collected is 2012. This year is chosen, because there does not exist any other year in which all questionnaires match. One exception is the variable income, because one can only measure income generated in 2012 in the following year. So although the questionnaire is completed in 2013, the measured income derives of 2012.

Datasets

- **Work and Schooling** : An internet survey asked all respondents aged 16 years and older in the Netherlands about their labour market participation, job characteristics, pensions, schooling and courses (Lissdata, 2012). This is a longitudinal study which starting from 2008 until 2015. Because we are interested in the year 2012, we will

use wave 5 which start at 02-04-2012 and ended in 29-05-2012. In total 5,873 out of 7,472 respondents completed the survey (78,6%).

- **Economic Situation: Income:**The next internet survey asked panel member aged 16 years or older about their economic situation, in particular their income (Lissdata, 2013). For this we use wave 6 of this longitudinal study collected in the period 03-06-2013 to 30-07-2013. The questions in the survey refer to their income generated in the year 2012. In total 4,750 surveys are completed.

- **Politics and Values:** The longitudinal internet survey conducted by Suzan Elshout delivers a broad range of social core information about the panel members (Lissdata, 2013). The members are asked about their trust and interest in politics and their belief or attitude about social issues (foreigners/gender roles). Wave 6 includes 5,680 completed surveys of panel members aged 16 years and older. The data is collected from 03-12-2012 to 29-01-2013.

- **Do Voters Learn Where Parties Stand For? A Study on the Effect of the 2010 Election Campaigns on Issue Knowledge:** The last internet survey aims to collect data of the party preferences and the social attitudes and values about political issues (immigrants, taxes, healthcare)(Lissdata, 2010). This single wave study (03-05-2010 to 26-05-2010) provides 5,456 completed surveys of members of the LISS panel of 18 years of age and older.

- **Preventive care and the value of risk reduction**: Only the variable gender from this internet survey will be used in the study (Lissdata, 2008). This will be linked to the identification number of the member.

In the final sample, there are in total 1,162 observations. Because five different datasets are merged for this study, many observations are dropped due to missing values. Many individuals have not participated in all datasets, which make it hard to find out what led them to vote for a certain political party as the variables of interest are not available.

## 3.1 Variables

**Vote choice**

The dependent variable in this research is the vote in the parliamentary elections of 12 September 2012. This variable is chosen as dependent variable because we are interested in

the effect of several variables on the vote of an individual. By taking the elections in 2012, we try to establish a more accurate relation between the vote and the determinants of the background of the individual (education, age, gender etc.). Table 1 gives an overview of votes for each political party that is included in this study

| Vote choice | Observations | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| VVD (liberal party) | 360 | 30.85 |
| PvdA (labor party) | 302 | 25.88 |
| PVV (Wilders freedom party) | 100 | 8.57 |
| SP (socialist party) | 149 | 12.77 |
| CDA (Christian democrat party) | 79 | 6.77 |
| D66 (social-liberal party) | 100 | 8.57 |
| ChristenUnie (Christian union party) | 39 | 3.34 |
| GroenLinks (green party) | 38 | 3.26 |
| Total | 1,167 | 100.00 |

Table 1

Notably the most votes of the population go to either VVD (30.85%) or PvdA(25.88%). The rest of the votes seems to be distributed between PVV, SP, CDA and D66. ChristenUnie(3.34%) and Groenlinks(3.26%) seem to attract fewer citizens to vote for them.

**Income**

Income will be the interest variable, which is categorical, for the first hypothesis. This is the generated income in 2012 by the individual. Income is categorized into six groups: 8.000 – 16,000, 16,000 – 24,000, 24,000 – 36,000, 36,000 – 48,000, 48,000 – 60,000, 60,000 or more.

**Education**

As mentioned before, education seems have influence on the political preferences of an individual (Weiner & Eckland, 1979). In the internet survey Jan Nelissen has categorized the possible education levels. The education levels which are used in this study can be found in table 2 in the appendix. As there are different education levels which can be grouped into one bigger category (e.g. VWO and gymnasium belong both to the pre-university secondary education), several education levels will be grouped. This brings us a total of 27 to 7

education groups. Divisions of the groups can be found in table 2. As there are only few observations for either the first category "no education followed" and the last category "other education", these levels will be dropped in this study.

| Education group | Represents | Categories included |
| --- | --- | --- |
| 1 | Elementary education | 2-3 |
| 2 | Lower secondary education | 4-11 |
| 3 | Higher general continued education | 12 & 13 |
| 4 | Higher secondary education | 14 & 15 |
| 5 | Middle-level applied education | 16-18 |
| 6 | Universities of applied sciences | 19-21 |
| 7 | University education | 22-26 |

Table 2

An overview of all categories can be found in table 2 in the appendix. This variable is our interest variable for hypothesis 2.

Religion

Religion will be categorized in 11 different religious groups, which can be found in table 2 in the appendix. This is the interest variable for hypothesis 3. It only indicates the religion in the year 2012. So if one changed their religion before, this is not included in the study.

## 3.2 Control variables

As control variable we will include age. All respondents are at least 16 years old to be able to participate in the survey. This variable is continuous and functions as a control variable in our regression. Beside age we will also include gender as control variable in all hypotheses. As gender seemed to make a difference in for example the effect of education on political preference (Weiner & Eckland, 1979), this may also influence the dependent or independent variable. Also the social class and position of individuals in the household will be included.

Both variables are categorical, of which the specification of the groups are showed in table 2 in the appendix.

Social attitudes and values

Other control variables will be measured in the form of statements in which individuals are required to give a rate based on their opinion about the statement on a scale of 0 (not satisfied at all) to 10 (entirely satisfied). Statements involve asking the individual's opinion about their satisfaction about their current financial situation and the current economic situation. In another statement individuals were asked about their opinion whether income differences should be increased or decreased on a scale of 1 (increase) to 5 (decrease). The last control variable is a statement about the amount of interest in political topics on a scale of 1(very interested) to 3 (not interested). Ratings on the first three statements could give an indication of the political views of the voters. Are individuals, who are not satisfied with their financial income, more likely to vote for left-winged parties? Do individuals, who think that differences in income should be increased, particularly vote for right-winged parties? If we relate these statements with the ideologies of the parties, we would expect that left-winged voters consist of mainly citizens, who are satisfied with their financial situation and think that income differences should be decreased. As described before, left-winged parties aim to decrease income differences which would help those who have limited financial resources. This would indicate that the voter cares about fairness. Regarding the statement about the current economic situation, we expect the ones who are unsatisfied to vote for left-winged parties. They strive for the government's active role in regulating the economy, while the extreme right-winged parties state the opposite. Choosing a particular party in order to improve one's financial situation or the current economic situation would possibly imply self-interest. A summary of the statements can be found in table 2 below:

| Statements |
|---|
| How satisfied are you with your financial situation? |
| How satisfied are you with the current economic situation in the Netherlands? |
| Where would you place yourself on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means that differences in income should increase and 5 means that differences in income should decrease? |
| Are you very interest in political topics, fairly interested or not interested? |

Table 2

# 4.0 Results

In this section results of the eight regressions will be presented. In table 5-12 in the appendix results of the models are presented. In each of the models, voting for the party of interest is contrasted with voting for other parties. Socio-demographics variables such as gender, age and income are included in the models. Also all coefficients with the corresponding standard error are presented. The result per political party will be presented, after having looked at the correlations between the variables to check for multicollinearity. This occurs when two or more independent variables are highly correlated with each other. As a result at least one independent variable would be able to predict the value of the other independent variables. In table 4 in the appendix correlation between the variables are presented. The highest correlation we see is -0.4410 between education groups and social class. However, as it is not highly correlated and thus not predictable, there is no indication for multicollinearity.

Not all categories for the variables are shown in the models. Different categories of variables may be included in some of the models, but are left out in the other. This can be explained by what is called perfectly predicted values. This is a problem that can occur when dichotomous variables are used as dependent variables. A plausible explanation is that the observed respondents for that particular category of a variable may solely consist of those who did not vote for that party at all. This in turn would give no coefficient estimates for that particular category as result.

## 4.1 VVD

The first outcome variable is dummy variable where 1 indicates that the individual voted VVD and 0 indicates otherwise. The regression can be found in table 5 in the appendix. The results indicate that socio-structural variables are important for understanding what part of the population group votes for VVD. When looking at the social classes, upper working class and working are negatively significant in comparison with the base category Upper class. Corresponding odds ratios are respectively 0.121 and 0.122. Belonging to lower social classes decreases the probability that the voter chooses VVD. It is also notable there is little probability that VVD receives votes of voters who have a more negative view on the

statement regarding the current economic situation. Also religion appears to be a predictor of an individual's vote choice for VVD. Being Calvinist and protestant decreases the probability of voting for VVD. The same results regarding the social-structural variables are found in a study by Dassonneville (2014). Furthermore, individuals with a stronger view on the statement about decreasing income differences are more likely to vote for another party rather than for VVD. The probabilities to choose VVD decreases as one finds it more important that income differences should be decreased. Finally, individuals with a university of applied sciences and university education will have a significant lower probability to vote for VVD. From these findings we can derive that there is little chance that Calvinists and Protestants, as well as individuals belonging to lower social classes and individuals with a university of applied sciences and university education will vote for VVD. At last individuals who value fairness and who display self-interest (wanting to improve current economic situation) are less likely to choose VVD.

## 4.2 PvdA

The second regression can be found in table 6. Religion has also an important role in the vote choice of certain group of individuals. Roman-Catholics are less likely to vote for PvdA, whereas followers of Judaism have a significant increased probability to choose VVD compared to non-religious individuals with odds-ratio's of respectively -0.561 and 1.768. Furthermore, having a stronger view on the statement regarding income differences is associated with a higher probability to vote for PvdA. If we take the ideologies of PvdA into account, this finding confirms that individuals with strong views regarding the income differences are more likely to vote for extreme left-winged parties such as PvdA. Regarding the educational levels, individuals with higher general continued education and university of applied sciences education and university education have significant increased probabilities to vote for PvdA. Corresponding odds-ratio's are respectively 1.151 and 0.604. Being somewhat unsatisfied with one's financial situation does seem to significantly increase the probability to vote for PvdA, but this is only significant for one category with odds of 2.725. An explanation could be that like the individuals in America, more Dutch voters also feel responsible for their own personal problem and vote more according their political values than their personal need. PvdA particularly attracts voters with strong views on income

difference, voters who are somewhat unsatisfied with their financial situation, Judaist and individuals with higher general continued education and university of applied sciences education. The party will less likely receive votes from Roman-Catholics.

## 4.3 PVV

Table 7 in the appendix displays the results of the political party PVV. Being Roman-Catholics significantly increases the probability to vote for PVV, whereas members of religions other than Dutch reformed and Calvinist have decreased probabilities to choose PVV. Odds-ratio's are respectively 0.677 and -0.559. In this model, findings on statements do not seem to be associated with the likelihood to vote for PVV. Being more satisfied about one's financial situation or the current economic situation, as well as the view on income differences does not significantly increase or decrease the probability that one votes for another party or PVV. Furthermore, odds that individuals with middle-level applied education, university of applied sciences education and university education vote for PVV, significantly decreases. Corresponding odds (-0.711, -1.713 and -1.997) are more negative, as the educational level of an individual increases. Votes for PVV come particularly from Roman-Catholics, whereas other religions and individuals with middle-level applied education, university of applied sciences education and university education are more likely to vote for other parties than PVV.

## 4.4 SP

The next regression is about the political party SP in table 8 in the appendix. Remarkably, SP is preferred by citizens in lower social classes as results show a significantly increased probability that SP is voted for with odds-ratio's of respectively 0.907, 1.171 and 1.567 for the middle, upper working and working class. Regarding the influence of religion on the vote choice for SP, being Calvinists significantly decrease the probability that a voter chooses SP. At last, there seems to be a positive correlation between voters who think income differences should be decreased and voting for SP. Individuals who have strong views on decreasing income differences are more likely to vote for SP than other parties. This finding is similar to the results for PvdA. Both parties belong to the extreme left of the political spectrum, which may indicate that voters who value fairness are more likely to vote for left-

winged parties. Concluding, individuals of lower social classes and individuals who value fairness have increased probabilities to vote for SP while Calvinists are more inclined to vote for other parties instead of SP.

## 4.5 CDA

Regression results of CDA are displayed in table 9. In this model age appears to be a significant variable. A year increase in age corresponds with an odds-ratio of 1.038. As an individual gets older, the probability that he or she votes for CDA significantly increases. This might indicate that CDA voters mainly consist of rather older than younger voters. Furthermore, results indicate that religion of an individual matters for the understanding whether he or she votes for CDA. Being Roman-Catholic, Calvinist and Protestant increases the probability that he or she chooses CDA with odds-ratios of respectively 2.071, 2.413 and 4.477. These findings might indicate that older voters, Roman-Catholics, Calvinists and Protestants have increased probabilities to vote for CDA instead of other parties.

## 4.6 D66

The results for D66 are displayed in table 10. It is notable that D66 has a higher probability to receive votes from unwedded partners than household heads with an odds-ratio of 1.213. Regarding the view on income differences, D66 particularly attracts voters who are neutral about income differences. There are no indications which imply that being either more or less satisfied about income differences have an influence on the vote choice for D66. Finally, individuals with university education are more likely to vote for D66. The corresponding odds-ratio is 1.338. From these findings, we can derive that unwedded partners, voters who are neutral about income differences and individuals with university education have an increased probability to vote for D66.

## 4.7 ChristenUnie

The results for the ChristenUnie is given in table 11. We see that the variable income is positively significant on the vote choice for ChristenUnie. The higher income one has generated, the more likely he or she will vote for ChristenUnie. With each percentage increase in one's income, the odds-ratio to vote for ChristenUnie increases with 1.096.

Statement regarding the satisfaction of the current economic situation in the Netherlands has one significant coefficient. Individuals who are neutral about the current economic situation have decreased probabilities to vote for ChristenUnie with odds of 0.291. The significance of several categories of religion supports the findings of an earlier study conducted by Nieuwbeerta and Flap (2000). Religious individuals are more likely to vote for confessional parties than non-religious individuals. Those who are either Dutch reformed, Calvinist, Protestant and other religions (excluding Roman-Catholics and Humanists) are far more likely to vote for ChristenUnie compared to nonreligious individuals. The corresponding odds-ratios are respectively 1.024, 3.435, 1.831 and 2.743. As for the influence of education on the likelihood to vote for ChristenUnie, individuals with higher secondary education and university of applied sciences are more inclined to vote for ChristenUnie with odds-ratios of 1.074 and 2.670. Votes for ChristenUnie are more likely to come from higher income classes, neutral individuals regarding the economic situation, as well as Dutch reformed, Calvinist, Protestant, other religions, individuals with higher secondary education and university of applied sciences.

## 4.8 Groenlinks

The last regression in table 12 applies to the political party Groenlinks. Similar to CDA, age seems to matter in the choice to vote for Groenlinks. With each year increase in age, voters are 1.049 times more likely to vote for Groenlinks. Furthermore, one category of the variable education is significant. Individuals with university education have an increased chance to vote for Groenlinks with an odds-ratio of 3.222. Mainly older individuals and individuals with university education are inclined to vote for Groenlinks.

To what extent are the results valid? For this we will use the McFadden $R^2$ to evaluate this matter. This will be tested for each political party. Findings are shown below:

| Column1 | VVD | PvdA | PVV | SP | CDA | D66 | ChristenUnie | Groenlinks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| McFadden $R^2$ | 0.178 | 0.110 | 0.196 | 0.172 | 0.259 | 0.131 | 0.531 | 0.164 |

Table 3

We notice that the regression with the vote outcome ChristenUnie has the highest score and PvdA the lowest. McFadden himself has stated that values of 0.2 to 0.4 for $R^2$ represent an excellent model fit (Henser and Stopher, 1979). Obviously, the higher the score the better the model fit. Overall, the McFadden $R^2$ varies but each indicates a relatively good model fit.

# 5.0 Discussion

Now that the results have been discussed, coefficients should be interpreted properly and relations between dependent and independent variables will be explained. To compare the findings of the regressions, all significant coefficients are presented in table 13 in the appendix. Non-significant coefficients indicate that the coefficient (whether positive or negative) is not different from zero (the independent variable has no effect on the dependent variable).

## 5.1 Income

The income variable is positively significant for the vote choice for ChristenUnie. This party is being voted more by those who have generated a higher income. The hypothesis that voters who earn more are more likely to vote for right-winged political parties doesn't seem to hold as ChristenUnie's position is rather in the middle than right in the political spectrum. If it would be true, a significant positive coefficient on the right-winged parties would have been found. It would make sense that those who aim for more equality for the poor, would want to increase their income (and thus decreasing the income differences). However, that's not the case here. A possible explanation might be that in wealthier countries an individual's income has little effect on their vote choice (Enns & Wlezien). The Netherlands has a per capita GDP of $47,633, which makes the country twelfth in the list of the 25 richest populated countries in 2016 (Worldatlas, 2016). Thus, it's reasonable to consider the country as a relatively wealthy country. The coefficient for income is not significant in other regressions, indicating that income might not have any influence on one's vote choice.

## 5.2 Education

The different categories of education seem to have a significant effect on the vote choice. This is in particular true for individuals with university education. Voters in that category are more likely to vote Groenlinks and D66. As position of Groenlinks is the leftmost of all political parties, the corresponding coefficient of 1.170 supports the second hypothesis (higher educated voters are more likely to vote for left-winged political parties). D66's position is in the middle, but their points of view are focused on for example fairness of education (equal chances for education system for everyone) and improving the education

system, which might have attracted the vote of the higher educated voters. The findings on individuals with university of applied sciences also confirm the second hypothesis, as they are less likely to vote for the right-winged parties (VVD and PVV) and more likely to vote for left-winged party such as PvdA. Notice that the coefficients of PVV are more negative as the education level goes up. That might indicate that the higher education level one has, the less likely he or she will vote for right-winged parties. As stated earlier, these findings might indicate that higher educated individuals identify themselves more with the ideologies of left-winged parties regarding the education system. In that case the second hypothesis seems to hold true.

## 5.3 Religion

The many different religion categories show a significant effect on the vote choice, which indicate its' importance as a determinants. Calvinists are most likely to vote for ChristenUnie, secondly the political party CDA and less likely to vote for VVD and SP compared to non-religious voters. The same applies to the other religions (Roman-Catholic, Protestant Church of the Netherlands and Hinduism), which coefficients are significant. Voters with Protestant Church of the Netherlands belief are more likely to vote for ChristenUnie and CDA and less likely for VVD. Notably, what can be concluded is that religious voters are obviously far more likely to vote for confessional parties such as ChristenUnie compared to non-religious voters and less likely to vote for VVD. This might suggest that religious people with faith are more likely to value equality over freedom than non-religious voters. At last, voters of other religions do not seem agree with the points of view of PVV as they are less likely to vote for the party than non-religious voters. There are no strong indications that religious voters are inclined to vote for left-winged parties. Therefore, the hypothesis that religious individuals are more likely to vote for parties that value does not seem to hold. Mainly left-winged parties value fairness, while right-winged parties strive for more personal responsibility and value freedom over fairness.

## 5.4 Statements

We included the statements to see whether they can explain how people think about fairness/self-interest aside from the position of the political parties. Three out of four

statements show significant results. The first one relates to one's satisfaction of his financial situation. Individuals who are slightly unsatisfied about their financial situation are more likely to vote for PvdA than other parties. A possible explanation could be that they believe that PvdA strives to increase their income as PvdA belongs to the left wing with a strong belief of reducing income difference between the rich and the poor. Another statement concerns the current economic situation. Those who evaluate the current economic situation to be bad (score 1) are less likely to vote for VVD and more likely to vote for SP and D66. If we take the positions of the political parties into account, there would be a logical explanation. As SP belongs to the left wing, they believe the government should intervene in the economy in order to improve it. VVD on the opposite, which belongs to the right wing, would strive for economic freedom. Those who consider the current economic situation to be bad would then logically vote for parties in the left wing. This might indicate that those individuals are acting in their own self-interest, because they would involve their personal situation in the voting process. The last statement concerning the income distribution can be linked to fairness. If one believes that income differences should be decreased, this indicates that he or she cares about fairness. Voters who strongly think that income differences should be decreased (maximum score of 5) hardly ever vote for a right-winged parties such as VVD. This effect decreases for voters who are more neutral about the income differences. We notice that the likelihood of voting for PvdA is positive, and increases as the rating goes up.  It might indicate that those with strong opinions about decreasing income differences believe that PvdA is able to defend their opinion. This is reflected in their vote choice. The same results can be concluded for SP.

## 5.5 Control variables

Age does seem to matter for those voting for CDA and Groenlinks, where the effect of age is slightly stronger for Groenlinks. It might be that older voters identify themselves more with the points of view of the left-winged/middle political parties, rather than right-winged parties. VVD has little chance to be chosen by the lower social classes: upper working class and working class. This seems logical as the left-winged parties aims to strenghten the position of the lower social classes. This is reinforced by the positive coefficient for SP as the party is preferred by the middle class, upper working class and working class. With the belief

of improving their situation, lower social classes are more likely to vote for left-winged parties and less likely for right-winged parties.

## 5.6 Causal relationship and correlation

The purpose of this study was not to find causal relationships between independent variables and dependent variables, but rather to uncover correlations between them. There are no single factors that could determine one's vote choice. Rather, it's a mixture of different factors. In this study we have used demographic and socio-structural variables. However, studies (Rosema 2004; Van der Brug 2010) show that those variables are not sufficient to explain and therefore predict citizens' party preferences and vote choices. With these findings, we can only describe correlation between socio-structural factors (income, religion and education) and one's vote choice. Other influences like age and social class are evaluated as well.

# 6.0  Limitations and recommendations

One of the limitations of this research is measurement error. There is a chance that citizens do not know exactly their income or lie about it. Especially statements are vulnerable to measurement error as ratings could be given randomly or citizens attach different value to a specific rate. Also, one could question whether the selected population is suitable to represent the whole Dutch population. Because the data is collected from internet surveys, citizens, who do not use or have internet but did vote, are not included. This could lead to other significant coefficients which might lead to other results. Furthermore, many observations had to be dropped and as a result there were with different observations between the samples. Information (probably useful) is lost. This could be solved if one has a larger sample. Another limitation is that this research only analyzed socio and demographic factors. As other researches (Rosema 2004; Van der Brug 2010) stated, these are not enough to explain one's voting behavior. In this research we only included 8 political parties. Other political parties were not included because there were not enough observations. But for a valid model, these political parties should be considered too. Regarding the internal validation, seeing the most of the assumptions hold, it's reasonably to consider the model to be lacking several useful explanatory variables. Many factors could influence the voting decision. For example, in this study the voting choice of parents are not taken into account. It is plausible to think that parents could influence their children's voting decision.

## 6.1 Suggestions for future research

As is described earlier, one of the biggest limitations is the limited variables that are included in the model. Future researches should include more explanatory variables. Samples also need to expand in order to get more valid results so one is more able to draw findings which could be generalized in the Netherlands. More political parties could then be taken into account in the research. Another suggestion would be to change/expand the method of collecting data. Although nearly every household have access to the internet, not everyone would be interested to fill in internet surveys. Especially those of older generations are less likely to fill in internet surveys.

# 7.0 Conclusions

There are many factors which could determine an individual's vote choice. In this study we focused on the social and demographic factors. In order to obtain data for this study, data were collected from internet surveys. Included variables were not limited to only quantitative measure like age or education levels, also statements regarding one's value of fairness or self-interest were included. Results show that income does have little correlation with an individual's vote choice, as only one significant coefficient is found. However, there is strong evidence that education have an impact on the vote choice. The highest educated part of the Dutch population do not seems to share the points of view of the right-winged political parties as findings indicates that they are less likely to vote for utter right political parties VVD and PVV. Findings of the individuals with university of applied sciences follow the same pattern. Regarding religion, no clear correlations are found between religions and their belief about fairness. However, several religion groups do have preferences for particular political parties. It's important to include more variables in future research, as one's vote choice might also be influenced by either the vote choice of parents or close friends or family.

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# Appendix

| p | odds | logodds |
|---|---|---|
| .001 | .001001 | -6.906755 |
| .01 | .010101 | -4.59512 |
| .15 | .1764706 | -1.734601 |
| .2 | .25 | -1.386294 |
| .25 | .3333333 | -1.098612 |
| .3 | .4285714 | -.8472978 |
| .35 | .5384616 | -.6190392 |
| .4 | .6666667 | -.4054651 |
| .45 | .8181818 | -.2006707 |
| .5 | 1 | 0 |
| .55 | 1.222222 | .2006707 |
| .6 | 1.5 | .4054651 |
| .65 | 1.857143 | .6190392 |
| .7 | 2.333333 | .8472978 |
| .75 | 3 | 1.098612 |
| .8 | 4 | 1.386294 |
| .85 | 5.666667 | 1.734601 |
| .9 | 9 | 2.197225 |
| .999 | 999 | 6.906755 |
| .9999 | 9999 | 9.21024 |

Table 1

| Highest level of education completed with diploma or certificate | Education group |
|---|---|
| 1 did not complete any education | omitted |
| 2 did not complete primary school | 1 |
| 3 primary school | 1 |
| 4 lower and continued special education | 2 |
| 5 VGLO (continued lower education) | 2 |
| 6 LBO (lower professional education) | 2 |
| 7 lower technical school, household school | 2 |
| 8 MULO, ULO, MAVO (lower/intermediate secondary education; US: junior high school) | 2 |
| 9 VMBO vocational training program (preparatory intermediate vocational school) | 2 |
| 10 VMBO theoretical or combined program (preparatory intermediate vocational school) | 2 |
| 11 MMS (intermediate girls' school) | 2 |
| 12 HBS (former pre-university education, US: senior high school) | 3 |
| 13 HAVO (higher general secondary education; US: junior high school) | 3 |
| 14 VWO (pre-university education, US: senior high school) | 4 |
| 15 gymnasium, atheneum, lyceum (types of pre-university education programs) | 4 |
| 16 KMBO (short intermediate professional education), VHBO (preparatory higher | 5 |

| | |
|---|---|
| professional education) | |
| 17 MBO professional training program (intermediate professional education) | 5 |
| 18 MBO-plus to access HBO, short HBO education (less than two years) (higher professional education | 5 |
| 19 HBO (higher professional education), institutes of higher education, new style | 6 |
| 20 teacher training school | 6 |
| 21 conservatory and art academy | 6 |
| 22 academic education (including technical and economic colleges, former style) bachelor's degree (kandidaats) | 7 |
| 23 academic education (including technical and economic colleges, former style) master's degree (doctoraal) | 7 |
| 24 academic education, bachelor | 7 |
| 25 academic education, master | 7 |
| 26 doctor's degree (Ph.D, including doctoral research program to obtain Ph.D) | 7 |
| 27 other | omitted |

Table 2

| Variable | Categories | Variable | Categories |
|---|---|---|---|
| log_income | Continuous | Statements: | |
| Social class | Upper class | How satisfied are you with your financial situation? | 1-10 |
| | Upper middle class | How satisfied are you with the current economic situation in the Netherlands? | 1-8 |
| | Middle Class | Are you very interested in political topics, fairly interested or not interested? | 1-3 |
| | Upper working class | Where would you place yourself on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means that differences in income should increase and 5 means that differences in income should decrease? | 1-5 |
| | Working class | Position in household | Household head |
| Religion | no religious denomination | | Wedded partner |
| | Roman-Catholic | | Unwedded partner |
| | Dutch reformed | | Parent (in law) |
| | Calvinist | | Child living at home |
| | Protestant Church of the Netherlands | | Housemate |
| | Buddhism | | Family member or boarder |
| | Hinduism | Age | Continuous |
| | Islam | Education groups | 1-7 |
| | Judaism | Gender | Male/Female |
| | Humanism | | |
| | other | | |

Table 3

| | Social class | Age | Financial situation | Economic situation | Political topics | Income differences | Education | Income(log) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Social class | 1.0000 | | | | | | | |
| Age | 0.0917 | 1.0000 | | | | | | |
| Financial situation | -0.2622 | 0.0817 | 1.0000 | | | | | |
| Economic situation | -0.1801 | -0.0840 | 0.3882 | 1.0000 | | | | |
| Political topics | 0.2120 | -0.1181 | -0.0456 | -0.0248 | 1.0000 | | | |
| Income differences | 0.3591 | 0.1631 | -0.1714 | -0.1227 | 0.0894 | 1.0000 | | |
| Education | -0.4410 | -0.1636 | 0.1483 | 0.1486 | -0.1872 | -0.1636 | 1.0000 | |
| Income(log) | 0.0436 | -0.1549 | -0.0496 | 0.0095 | 0.1402 | 0.0171 | -0.0281 | 1.0000 |

Table 4

| Dependent variable: VVD | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Income(log) | 0.0226 | Religion | |
| | (0.0151) | Roman-Catholic | -0.0814 |
| Age | -0.0137 | | (0.200) |
| | (0.00870) | Dutch reformed | -0.304 |
| Social class | | | (0.340) |
| Upper middle class | -0.749 | Calvinist | -1.037* |
| | (0.598) | | (0.493) |
| Middle class | -1.020 | Protestant | -1.356*** |
| | (0.600) | | (0.407) |
| Upper working class | -2.111** | Other | -0.580 |
| | (0.716) | | (0.457) |
| Working class | -2.106** | Political topics | |
| | (0.701) | Fairly interested | 0.263 |
| Household position | | | (0.253) |
| Wedded partner | 0.00493 | Not interested | 0.271 |
| | (0.250) | | (0.331) |
| Unwedded partner | 0.0608 | Rating statement income differences | |
| | (0.381) | 2 | -0.639 |
| Child at home | 0.363 | | (0.646) |
| | (0.416) | 3 | -2.128*** |
| Rating statement financial situation | | | (0.594) |
| 3 | 0.151 | 4 | -2.901*** |
| | (1.087) | | (0.604) |
| 4 | -1.488 | 5 | -3.444*** |
| | (1.118) | | (0.635) |
| 5 | -0.864 | Education | |
| | (0.934) | 3 | -0.678 |
| 6 | -0.288 | | (0.417) |
| | (0.893) | 4 | -0.200 |
| 7 | -0.378 | | (0.511) |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | (0.882) | 5 | -0.131 |
| 8 | -0.386 | | (0.261) |
| | (0.879) | 6 | -0.739** |
| 9 | -0.0921 | | (0.284) |
| | (0.925) | 7 | -0.945** |
| Rating statement economic situation | | | (0.358) |
| 1 | -2.195* | Gender | |
| | (1.113) | Female | -0.102 |
| 2 | -0.867 | | (0.226) |
| | (0.703) | Constant | 4.494** |
| 3 | -0.631 | | (1.460) |
| | (0.663) | | |
| 4 | -0.771 | | |
| | (0.642) | | |
| 5 | -0.520 | | |
| | (0.634) | | |
| 6 | -0.451 | | |
| | (0.632) | | |
| 7 | -0.592 | | |
| | (0.677) | | |
| 8 | -1.251 | | |
| | (0.998) | | |
| N | 858 | | |
| Standard errors in parentheses | | | |
| * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001 | | | |

Table 5

| Dependent variable: PvdA | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Income(log) | -0.00806 | Religion | |
| | (0.0154) | Roman-Catholic | -0.561* |
| Age | 0.00594 | | (0.222) |
| | (0.00869) | Dutch reformed | -0.0119 |
| Social class | | | (0.329) |
| Upper middle class | 0.0462 | Calvinist | -0.910 |
| | (0.663) | | (0.517) |
| Middle class | -0.0532 | Protestant | -0.243 |
| | (0.659) | | (0.320) |
| Upper working class | 0.197 | Buddhism | 1.063 |
| | (0.724) | | (0.969) |
| Working class | 0.145 | Hinduism | 0.915 |
| | (0.719) | | (1.553) |
| Household position | | Islam | 1.230 |
| Wedded partner | 0.00909 | | (1.027) |
| | (0.246) | Judaism | 1.768* |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Unwedded partner | -0.765 | | (1.914) |
| | (0.473) | Humanism | -0.0330 |
| Child at home | -0.231 | | (0.813) |
| | (0.443) | Other | -0.485 |
| Rating statement financial situation | | | (0.477) |
| 3 | 1.669 | Political topics | |
| | (1.360) | Fairly interested | -0.0744 |
| 4 | 2.725* | | (0.250) |
| | (1.295) | Not interested | -0.256 |
| 5 | 2.248 | | (0.338) |
| | (1.249) | Rating statement income differences | |
| 6 | 2.183 | 3 | 0.699** |
| | (1.236) | | (0.626) |
| 7 | 2.241 | 4 | 1.515*** |
| | (1.229) | | (0.629) |
| 8 | 2.027 | 5 | 1.630*** |
| | (1.233) | | (0.640) |
| 9 | 1.959 | Education | |
| | (1.267) | 3 | 1.151** |
| Rating statement economic situation | | | (0.392) |
| 1 | 0.103 | 4 | 0.530 |
| | (0.903) | | (0.544) |
| 2 | 0.209 | 5 | 0.147 |
| | (0.712) | | (0.266) |
| 3 | 0.248 | 6 | 0.604* |
| | (0.683) | | (0.287) |
| 4 | 0.0729 | 7 | 0.452 |
| | (0.659) | | (0.372) |
| 5 | 0.201 | Gender | |
| | (0.654) | Female | -0.0433 |
| 6 | 0.185 | | (0.223) |
| | (0.655) | Constant | -5.796*** |
| 7 | 0.878 | | (1.642) |
| | (0.698) | | |
| 8 | 0.0551 | | |
| | (1.086) | | |
| N | 847 | | |
| Standard errors in parentheses | | | |
| * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001 | | | |

Table 6

| Dependent variable: PVV | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Income(log) | -0.00203 | Religion | |
| | (0.0241) | Roman-Catholic | 0.677* |
| Age | -0.0181 | | (0.322) |
| | (0.0162) | Dutch reformed | 0.656 |
| Social class | | | (0.466) |
| Middle class | 0.309 | Calvinist | -0.346 |
| | (0.544) | | (0.819) |
| Upper working class | 0.655 | Other | -1.559* |
| | (0.681) | | (0.783) |
| Working class | 0.588 | Political topics | |
| | (0.667) | Fairly interested | 0.355 |
| Household position | | | (0.498) |
| Wedded partner | 0.176 | Not interested | -0.317 |
| | (0.429) | | (0.607) |
| Unwedded partner | -0.169 | Rating statement income differences | |
| | (0.819) | 2 | -0.642 |
| Child at home | -0.769 | | (0.906) |
| | (0.891) | 3 | -1.330 |
| Rating statement financial situation | | | (0.803) |
| 2 | -2.166 | 4 | -1.256 |
| | (2.150) | | (0.814) |
| 3 | -1.747 | 5 | -0.715 |
| | (2.052) | | (0.836) |
| 4 | -3.317 | | |
| | (2.193) | 3 | -0.185 |
| 5 | -1.407 | | (0.577) |
| | (1.970) | 5 | -0.711* |
| 6 | -1.948 | | (0.337) |
| | (1.948) | 6 | -1.713*** |
| 7 | -1.867 | | (0.492) |
| | (1.949) | 7 | -1.997* |
| 8 | -2.129 | | (0.832) |
| | (1.960) | Gender | |
| 9 | -2.976 | Female | 0.0459 |
| | (2.068) | | (0.414) |
| Rating statement economic situation | | Constant | 2.129 |
| 1 | -0.647 | | (2.278) |
| | (1.094) | | |
| 2 | 0.257 | | |
| | (0.817) | | |
| 3 | -0.221 | | |
| | (0.791) | | |
| 4 | -0.185 | | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | (0.753) | | |
| 5 | -1.524 | | |
| | (0.799) | | |
| 6 | -0.706 | | |
| | (0.769) | | |
| 8 | -0.210 | | |
| | (1.499) | | |
| N | 766 | | |
| Standard errors in parentheses | | | |
| * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001 | | | |

Table 7

| Dependent variable: SP | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Income(log) | -0.0188 | Religion | |
| | (0.0206) | Roman-Catholic | -0.237 |
| Age | -0.00430 | | (0.285) |
| | (0.0125) | Dutch reformed | -0.0274 |
| Social class | | | (0.421) |
| Middle class | 0.907* | Calvinist | -1.176* |
| | (0.461) | | (1.066) |
| Upper working class | 1.171* | Protestant | -0.736 |
| | (0.583) | | (0.508) |
| Working class | 1.567** | Buddhism | 0.286 |
| | (0.548) | | (1.297) |
| Household position | (0.337) | Islam | 0.467 |
| Wedded partner | -0.226 | | (1.088) |
| | (0.527) | Humanism | -0.147 |
| Unwedded partner | 0.405 | | (0.990) |
| | (0.547) | Other | -1.977 |
| Child at home | 0.660 | | (1.066) |
| | (1.416) | Political topics | |
| Rating statement financial situation | | Fairly interested | 0.0201 |
| 2 | -0.606 | | (0.384) |
| | (1.621) | Not interested | 0.682 |
| 3 | -1.745 | | (0.453) |
| | (1.570) | Rating statement income differences | |
| 4 | -1.185 | 3 | 0.456 |
| | (1.489) | | (1.112) |
| 5 | -0.636 | 4 | 1.446* |
| | (1.445) | | (1.102) |
| 6 | -1.084 | 5 | 1.775* |
| | (1.428) | | (1.106) |
| 7 | -1.795 | Education | |
| | (1.426) | 3 | -1.163 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 8 | -1.064 | | (0.690) |
| | (1.434) | 4 | -0.417 |
| 9 | -1.757 | | (0.945) |
| | (1.517) | 5 | 0.451 |
| 10 | -0.918 | | (0.309) |
| | (1.653) | 6 | 0.0344 |
| Rating statement economic situation | | | (0.370) |
| 1 | 1.421* | 7 | -0.0441 |
| | (0.979) | | (0.569) |
| 2 | 0.439 | Gender | |
| | (0.877) | Female | 0.392 |
| 3 | 0.649 | | (0.296) |
| | (0.823) | Constant | -4.194* |
| 4 | 1.245 | | (1.986) |
| | (0.775) | | |
| 5 | 1.028 | | |
| | (0.782) | | |
| 6 | 0.458 | | |
| | (0.798) | | |
| 7 | 0.405 | | |
| | (0.945) | | |
| N | 843 | | |
| Standard errors in parentheses | | | |
| * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001 | | | |

Table 8

| Dependent variable: CDA | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Income(log) | -0.0242 | Religion | |
| | (0.0309) | Roman-Catholic | 0.728*** |
| Age | 0.0371* | | (0.448) |
| | (0.0174) | Dutch reformed | 1.108 |
| Social class | | | (0.674) |
| Upper middle class | -0.325 | Calvinist | 0.881** |
| | (0.842) | | (0.721) |
| Middle class | 0.263 | Protestant | 1.499*** |
| | (0.848) | | (0.500) |
| Upper working class | 1.042 | Other | -0.0450 |
| | (1.014) | | (1.100) |
| Working class | 1.115 | Political topics | |
| | (1.042) | Fairly interested | -0.517 |
| Household position | | | (0.457) |
| Wedded partner | 0.278 | Not interested | -0.0368 |
| | (0.471) | | (0.590) |
| Unwedded partner | -0.782 | Rating statement income differences | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | (1.110) | 2 | 0.615 |
| Child at home | -0.0232 | | (1.245) |
| | (0.997) | 3 | 0.525 |
| Rating statement financial situation | | | (1.169) |
| 6 | -1.390 | 4 | -0.665 |
| | (1.230) | | (1.207) |
| 7 | -0.623 | 5 | -1.279 |
| | (1.169) | | (1.262) |
| 8 | -0.467 | Education | |
| | (1.162) | 3 | -0.551 |
| 9 | -0.760 | | (1.124) |
| | (1.291) | 4 | -0.0414 |
| 10 | 0.478 | | (1.178) |
| | (1.374) | 5 | 0.545 |
| Rating statement economic situation | | | (0.464) |
| 1 | 0.0107 | 6 | 0.565 |
| | (1.587) | | (0.517) |
| 2 | -0.545 | 7 | -0.0774 |
| | (1.300) | | (0.684) |
| 3 | -1.062 | Gender | |
| | (1.256) | Female | 0.350 |
| 4 | -1.143 | | (0.470) |
| | (1.184) | Constant | -4.299 |
| 5 | -0.673 | | (2.381) |
| | (1.148) | | |
| 6 | -1.123 | | |
| | (1.153) | | |
| 7 | -0.583 | | |
| | (1.223) | | |
| N | 784 | | |
| Standard errors in parentheses | | | |
| * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001 | | | |

Table 9

| Dependent variable: D66 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Income(log) | -0.000749 | Religion | |
| | (0.0242) | Roman-Catholic | 0.156 |
| Age | 0.0106 | | (0.300) |
| | (0.0127) | Dutch reformed | -0.120 |
| Social class | | | (0.584) |
| Upper middle class | 0.246 | Calvinist | -0.456 |
| | (0.730) | | (0.792) |
| Middle class | -0.261 | Protestant | -0.363 |
| | (0.743) | | (0.527) |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Upper working class | -0.866 | Humanism | 0.757 |
| | (1.060) | | (1.045) |
| Working class | -1.257 | Other | -1.580 |
| | (1.079) | | (1.048) |
| Household position | | Political topics | |
| Wedded partner | -0.0451 | Fairly interested | -0.0783 |
| | (0.396) | | (0.346) |
| Unwedded partner | 0.193** | Not interested | -0.0268 |
| | (0.459) | | (0.509) |
| Child at home | -0.682 | Rating statement income differences | |
| | (0.816) | 3 | 0.439* |
| Rating statement financial situation | | | (0.633) |
| 3 | -0.665 | 4 | 1.003 |
| | (1.602) | | (0.662) |
| 4 | 0.375 | 5 | 0.558 |
| | (1.333) | | (0.735) |
| 5 | -1.296 | Education | |
| | (1.330) | 3 | -0.0602 |
| 6 | -1.258 | | (0.757) |
| | (1.255) | 4 | 0.714 |
| 7 | -1.167 | | (0.810) |
| | (1.217) | 5 | -0.255 |
| 8 | -1.322 | | (0.531) |
| | (1.212) | 6 | 0.667 |
| 9 | -1.864 | | (0.489) |
| | (1.307) | 7 | 0.291* |
| 10 | -1.547 | | (0.547) |
| | (1.455) | Gender | |
| Rating statement economic situation | | Female | 0.0139 |
| 1 | 0.550 | | (0.339) |
| | (1.573) | Constant | -3.271 |
| 2 | -0.366 | | (2.093) |
| | (1.302) | | |
| 3 | -0.313 | | |
| | (1.267) | | |
| 4 | 0.297 | | |
| | (1.193) | | |
| 5 | 0.538 | | |
| | (1.182) | | |
| 6 | 0.401 | | |
| | (1.185) | | |
| 7 | 0.438 | | |
| | (1.247) | | |
| 8 | 0.662 | | |
| | (1.476) | | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| N | 866 | | |
| Standard errors in parentheses | | | |
| * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001 | | | |

Table 10

| Dependent variable: ChristenUnie | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Income(log) | 0.0919* | Religion | |
| | (0.0440) | Roman-Catholic | 1.966 |
| Age | -0.0494 | | (1.334) |
| | (0.0275) | Dutch reformed | 0.024** |
| Social class | | | (1.407) |
| Upper middle class | 1.207 | Calvinist | 1.234*** |
| | (2.093) | | (1.305) |
| Middle class | 2.650 | Protestant | 0.605*** |
| | (2.157) | | (1.250) |
| Upper working class | 2.934 | Other | 1.009*** |
| | (2.411) | | (1.285) |
| Working class | 2.225 | Political topics | |
| | (2.560) | Fairly interested | -0.367 |
| Household position | | | (0.751) |
| Wedded partner | 1.564 | Not interested | -0.238 |
| | (0.850) | | (1.090) |
| Child at home | 1.118 | Education | |
| | (1.134) | 3 | 0.0223 |
| Rating statement financial situation | | | (1.809) |
| 5 | -2.195 | 4 | 0.071* |
| | (2.222) | | (1.525) |
| 6 | -2.636 | 5 | 0.167 |
| | (2.122) | | (0.927) |
| 7 | -0.302 | 6 | 0.982* |
| | (2.015) | | (1.006) |
| 8 | -1.453 | 7 | 1.455 |
| | (2.016) | | (1.080) |
| 9 | -0.940 | Gender | |
| | (2.176) | Female | -1.544 |
| 10 | 2.111 | | (0.842) |
| | (2.206) | Constant | -6.861 |
| Rating statement economic situation | | | (3.594) |
| 3 | -1.221 | | |
| | (1.587) | | |
| 4 | -0.736 | | |
| | (1.057) | | |
| 5 | -1.233** | | |
| | (1.205) | | |

| 6 | -0.809 | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | (1.024) | | |
| 7 | -2.385 | | |
| | (1.220) | | |
| N | 779 | | |
| Standard errors in parentheses | | | |
| * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001 | | | |

Table 11

| Dependent variable: Groenlinks | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Income(log) | -0.0883 | Religion | |
| | (0.0549) | Roman-Catholic | -0.796 |
| Age | 0.0477* | | (0.645) |
| | (0.0239) | Calvinist | -0.221 |
| Social class | | | (1.155) |
| Middle class | 0.653 | Protestant | 0.287 |
| | (0.597) | | (0.692) |
| Upper working class | 0.248 | Humanism | -0.386 |
| | (1.032) | | (1.435) |
| Working class | -0.309 | Other | -0.269 |
| | (1.312) | | (0.724) |
| Household position | | Political topics | |
| Wedded partner | -0.189 | Fairly interested | 0.345 |
| | (0.638) | | (0.631) |
| Unwedded partner | 0.769 | Not interested | -1.221 |
| | (0.822) | | (1.245) |
| Rating statement financial situation | | Rating statement income differences | |
| 4 | -0.615 | 3 | -0.260 |
| | (1.682) | | (1.151) |
| 5 | -1.521 | 4 | 0.788 |
| | (1.517) | | (1.102) |
| 6 | -3.289 | 5 | 1.162 |
| | (1.717) | | (1.130) |
| 7 | -2.573 | Education | |
| | (1.451) | 3 | 0.789 |
| 8 | -2.076 | | (1.106) |
| | (1.410) | 5 | -0.677 |
| 9 | -0.835 | | (0.984) |
| | (1.435) | 6 | 1.216 |
| 10 | -2.643 | | (0.772) |
| | (1.877) | 7 | 1.170* |
| Rating statement economic situation | | | (0.921) |
| 3 | -0.0967 | Gender | |
| | (1.552) | Female | 0.817 |

| 4 | 0.631 | | | | | | (0.555) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | (1.305) | Constant | | | | | -5.634* |
| 5 | 0.994 | | | | | | (2.511) |
| | (1.277) | | | | | | |
| 6 | 0.963 | | | | | | |
| | (1.284) | | | | | | |
| 7 | 0.913 | | | | | | |
| | (1.482) | | | | | | |
| 8 | 2.650 | | | | | | |
| | (1.645) | | | | | | |
| N | 738 | | | | | | |
| Standard errors in parentheses | | | | | | | |
| * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001 | | | | | | | |

Table 12

| | VVD | PvdA | PVV | SP | CDA | D66 | ChristenUnie | Groenlinks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Income(log) | | | | | | | 0.0919* | |
| Age | | | | | 0.0371* | | | 0.0477* |
| Middle class | | | | 0.907* | | | | |
| Upper working class | -2.111** | | | 1.171* | | | | |
| Working class | -2.106** | | | 1.567** | | | | |
| Unwedded partner | | | | | | 0.193** | | |
| Financial situation (rating 4) | | 2.725* | | | | | | |
| Current economic situation(rating 1) | -2.195* | | | 1.421* | | 1.421* | | |
| Current economic situation(rating 5) | | | | | | | -1.233** | |
| Current economic situation(rating 7) | | -2.719 | | | | | | |
| Religion (Roman-Catholic) | -0.784 | | 0.677* | | 0.728*** | | | |
| Religion (Dutch reformed) | | | | | | | 0.024** | |
| Religion (Calvinist) | -1.037* | | | -1.176* | 0.881** | | 1.234*** | |
| Religion (Protestant) | -1.356*** | | | | 1.499*** | | 0.605*** | |
| Religion (Judaism) | | 1.768* | | | | | | |
| Religion (other) | | | -0.559* | | | | 1.009*** | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Income differences (rating 3) | -2.128*** | 0.699** | | | | 0.439* | | |
| Income differences (rating 4) | -2.901*** | 1.515*** | | 1.446* | | | | |
| Income differences (rating 5) | -3.444*** | 1.630*** | | 1.775* | | | | |
| Education (group 3) | | 1.151** | | | | | | |
| Education (group 4) | | | | | | | 0.071* | |
| Education (group 5) | | | -0.711* | | | | | |
| Education (group 6) | -0.739** | 0.604* | -1.713*** | | | | 0.982* | |
| Education (group 7) | -0.945** | | -1.997* | | | 0.291* | | 1.170* |

Table 13