

# Measuring cleavage strength

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**Supplementary material**

Table B1. Impact of religion and religiosity on the vote. Voting choice in two categories (SPD vs. CDU)

	1969	1972	1976	1980	1983
Protestant, low attendance	-0.30 (0.68)	0.14 (0.36)	0.30 (0.28)	0.54 (0.41)	0.31 (0.31)
Protestant, high attendance	0.22 (0.72)	0.75 (0.52)	0.93* (0.44)	1.70** (0.55)	0.39 (0.41)
Catholic, low attendance	-0.15 (0.70)	0.58 (0.37)	0.91** (0.29)	1.29** (0.42)	0.52 (0.32)
Catholic, high attendance	1.11 (0.69)	2.32*** (0.38)	2.54*** (0.32)	2.73*** (0.44)	1.81*** (0.36)
Constant	-0.22 (0.67)	-1.19*** (0.34)	-0.87*** (0.26)	-1.48*** (0.39)	-0.52 (0.29)
N	608	1012	997	726	852
Log likelihood	-393.3	-596.9	-616.2	-439.3	-563.8
McFadden's R <sup>2</sup>	0.07	0.13	0.11	0.11	0.04

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Table B1 (continued)

	1987	1990	1994	1998	2002
Protestant, low attendance	0.39 (0.29)	-0.33 (0.32)	0.20 (0.30)	-0.40 (0.24)	0.24 (0.26)
Protestant, high attendance	1.10* (0.49)	0.69 (0.52)	1.01* (0.46)	0.62 (0.35)	0.46 (0.38)
Catholic, low attendance	0.71* (0.30)	0.15 (0.33)	0.72* (0.31)	-0.01 (0.26)	0.56* (0.27)
Catholic, high attendance	1.97*** (0.33)	1.22*** (0.37)	2.15*** (0.45)	1.31*** (0.29)	2.03*** (0.35)
Constant	-0.69* (0.27)	0.00 (0.29)	-0.74** (0.27)	-0.39 (0.20)	-0.32 (0.22)
N	1015	697	583	718	672
Log likelihood	-664.6	-458.7	-381.1	-461.3	-435.1
McFadden's R <sup>2</sup>	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.06

*Note: entries are coefficients estimated with logistic regressions (standard errors in parentheses). The dependent variable is coded '1' for CDU/CSU and '0' for SPD.*

*\* p<0.05 \*\*p<0.01 \*\*\*p<0.001*

Table B2. Impact of religion and religiosity on the vote. Voting choice in four categories (SPD, CDU, FDP, Green)

	1969		1972		1976		1980		Greens
	CDU	FDP	CDU	FDP	CDU	FDP	CDU	FDP	
Protestant, low att.	-0.30 (0.68)	-1.69* (0.78)	0.14 (0.36)	0.15 (0.46)	0.30 (0.28)	-0.38 (0.36)	0.54 (0.41)	0.09 (0.37)	-1.64** (0.54)
Protestant, high att.	0.22 (0.72)	-1.25 (0.88)	0.75 (0.52)	-0.35 (0.87)	0.93* (0.44)	0.33 (0.61)	1.70** (0.55)	-0.23 (0.73)	-30.34 .
Catholic, low att.	-0.15 (0.70)	-2.91** (1.02)	0.58 (0.37)	-0.18 (0.49)	0.91** (0.29)	-0.48 (0.40)	1.29** (0.42)	0.12 (0.39)	-1.99** (0.72)
Catholic, high att.	1.11 (0.69)	-3.60** (1.24)	2.32*** (0.38)	0.22 (0.54)	2.54*** (0.32)	-0.65 (0.62)	2.73*** (0.44)	0.19 (0.49)	-1.76 (1.10)
Constant	-0.22 (0.67)	-0.51 (0.73)	-1.19*** (0.34)	-1.79*** (0.44)	-0.87*** (0.26)	-1.43*** (0.32)	-1.48*** (0.39)	-1.16*** (0.35)	-1.61*** (0.41)
N	635		1118		1082		890		
Log likelihood	-492.8		-940.6		-903.1		-909.8		
McFadden's R <sup>2</sup>	0.08		0.09		0.09		0.07		

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Table B2 (continued)

	1983			1987			1990		
	CDU	FDP	Greens	CDU	FDP	Greens	CDU	FDP	Greens
Protestant, low att.	0.31 (0.31)	21.41*** (0.58)	-0.64 (0.44)	0.39 (0.29)	0.38 (0.55)	-0.41 (0.39)	-0.33 (0.32)	-0.73 (0.42)	-1.63*** (0.46)
Protestant, high att.	0.39 (0.41)	21.68 .	-1.83 (1.09)	1.10* (0.49)	1.39 (0.79)	0.47 (0.69)	0.69 (0.52)	0.14 (0.72)	-32.90 .
Catholic, low att.	0.52 (0.32)	21.38*** (0.61)	-0.75 (0.49)	0.71* (0.30)	0.28 (0.57)	-0.28 (0.41)	0.15 (0.33)	-0.44 (0.44)	-0.79 (0.45)
Catholic, high att.	1.81*** (0.36)	21.93*** (0.70)	-1.98 (1.09)	1.97*** (0.33)	0.72 (0.65)	-1.58* (0.81)	1.22*** (0.37)	-0.38 (0.55)	-2.46* (1.09)
Constant	-0.52 (0.29)	-23.51*** (0.54)	-1.39*** (0.40)	-0.69* (0.27)	-2.30*** (0.52)	-1.39*** (0.35)	0.00 (0.29)	-0.83* (0.38)	-0.83* (0.38)
N		954			1175			828	
Log likelihood		-946.6			-1229.2			-890.3	
McFadden's R <sup>2</sup>		0.04			0.04			0.04	

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Table B2 (continued)

	1994			1998			2002		
	CDU	FDP	Greens	CDU	FDP	Greens	CDU	FDP	Greens
Protestant, low att.	0.20 (0.30)	1.42 (1.05)	-1.10*** (0.30)	-0.40 (0.24)	-0.87* (0.41)	-1.12*** (0.29)	0.24 (0.26)	0.15 (0.47)	-0.54 (0.33)
Protestant, high att.	1.01* (0.46)	1.87 (1.27)	-2.23* (1.06)	0.62 (0.35)	-32.58 .	-0.91 (0.54)	0.46 (0.38)	-1.07 (1.10)	-0.38 (0.53)
Catholic, low att.	0.72* (0.31)	1.61 (1.06)	-1.10*** (0.33)	-0.01 (0.26)	-1.00* (0.48)	-0.97** (0.32)	0.56* (0.27)	-0.20 (0.52)	-1.04** (0.40)
Catholic, high att.	2.15*** (0.45)	2.53* (1.21)	-0.87 (0.70)	1.31*** (0.29)	-0.11 (0.55)	-1.79** (0.64)	2.03*** (0.35)	0.76 (0.65)	-0.15 (0.55)
Constant	-0.74** (0.27)	-3.74** (1.01)	-0.34 (0.24)	-0.39 (0.20)	-1.59*** (0.32)	-0.61** (0.22)	-0.32 (0.22)	-1.93*** (0.40)	-0.83** (0.26)
N		710			855			796	
Log likelihood		-769.7			-901.9			-850.3	
McFadden's R <sup>2</sup>		0.05			0.05			0.04	

*Note: entries are coefficients estimated with multinomial logistic regressions (standard errors in parentheses). The base outcome is 'SPD'.*

*\* p<0.05 \*\*p<0.01 \*\*\*p<0.001*