**ONLINE APPENDIX**

**Appendix A: Dutch Parliamentary Study, 2006**

Table A1 displays the share of parliamentarians who were included in the sample of the Dutch Parliamentary Study, divided by party. The right-wing VVD and LPF are somewhat underrepresented in the sample. For the economic dimension, this means that, if anything, the sample will be slightly more egalitarian than parliament as a whole. On the cultural dimension, the sample might be slightly more progressive than parliament. However, the differences are quite small, especially for the LPF, whose representativeness would equal the average if only three more of their members of parliament had taken part in the survey. Andeweg and Thomassen, who collected the data, conclude that “non-response is spread more or less evenly across the different political parties. There is therefore no reason to doubt the representativeness of the study” (Andeweg and Thomassen 2007: 11).

*Table A1. Respresentativeness of DPS, 2006*

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Party** | **In parliament** | **In sample** | **% in sample**  |
| CDA | 44 | 37 | 84.1% |
| PvdA | 42 | 33 | 78.6% |
| VVD | 28 | 17 | 60.7% |
| SP | 9 | 7 | 77.8% |
| LPF | 8 | 3 | 37.5% |
| D66 | 6 | 5 | 83.3% |
| Other | 13 | 12 | 92.3% |
| Overall | 150 | 114 | 76% |

**Appendix B: Survey questions**

*Income equality*

“Some people and parties think that the differences in incomes in our country should be increased (at number 1). Others think that these differences should be decreased (at number 7). Of course, there are also people whose opinion is somewhere in between. Where would you place yourself on this line?”

*European integration*

“Some people and parties think that European unification should go further. Others think that European unification has already gone too far. Suppose the people and parties who think that European unification should go further are at the beginning of this line (at number 1) and the people and parties who think European unification has already gone too far are at the end of the line (at number 7). Where would you place yourself on this line?”

*Multiculturalism*

“Some people and parties think that foreigners should be able to live in the Netherlands while preserving all customs of their own culture. Others think that these people, if they stay in the Netherlands, should completely adjust themselves to Dutch culture. At the beginning of this line are the people (and parties) who think that foreigners and ethnic minorities should be able to live in the Netherlands while preserving all customs of their own culture (at number 1); at the end of the line are the people (and parties) who think that these people should fully adjust themselves to Dutch culture (at number 7). Where would you place yourself on this line?”

*Crime*

“People think differently about the way the government fights crime and tries to preserve law and order. At the beginning of this line are the people (and parties) who think that the government is acting too tough on crime (at number 1); at the end of this line are the people (and parties) who think that the government should act tougher on crime (at number 7). Where would you place yourself on this line?”

*Euthanasia*

“Suppose that the people (and parties) who think that euthanasia should be forbidden are at the beginning of this line (at number 1) and the people (and parties) who feel that a doctor should always be allowed to end a life upon a patient’s request are at the end of the line (at number 7). Where would you place yourself?”

*Left-right self-placement*

“It is often said of political beliefs that they are left or right. When you think of your own political beliefs, where would you place yourself on this line? Please mention the number that applies to you.”

Source: Todosijevíc, Aarts and van der Kaap (2010).

**Appendix C: Bootstrap**

The bootstrap method offers a way of estimating a confidence interval around a statistic when the conventional methods of doing so cannot be applied (Efron and Tibshirani, 1993). As Singh and Xie (2009) explain, “[t]he idea (…) is to use the data of a sample study at hand as a ‘surrogate population’, for the purpose of approximating the sampling distribution of a statistic; i.e. to resample (with replacement) from the sample data at hand and create a large number of ‘phantom samples’” (Singh and Xie, 2009: 2).

To see how this works, let us turn to the case at hand. If we want to test whether, for instance, higher educated citizens have a significantly higher level of congruence with parliament than less educated citizens on the issue of multiculturalism, we require a confidence interval to be estimated around the figure of congruence (in this case, 58.7%). Using the bootstrap method, we first note that the sample of less educated citizens on this issue consists of 876 observations, while the sample of parliamentarians consists of 111 observations. We then draw a thousand random samples with replacement of 876 observations from the sample of low educated citizens, alongside a thousand random samples of 111 observations with replacement from the sample of parliamentarians. From this, we create a thousand frequency distributions for both low educated citizens and members of parliament, which we can use, in turn, to create a thousand estimates of many-to-many congruence between low educated citizens and parliament on the issue of multiculturalism. The standard deviation from the resulting distribution can be used to determine a confidence interval, which ranges from 52.8% to 64.6% in the example. The mean and standard deviation can also be used to perform two sample t-tests, after repeating the same procedure for the sample of higher educated citizens.

Note that the current approach takes a random sample for both members of parliament and citizens. This makes for a fairly strict test of statistical significance. The group of parliamentarians is treated as a random sample of a bigger population, even though it includes a large majority (76%) of all MP’s. Nevertheless, this sample is not free from measurement error. One could view it as a part of a hypothetical population, consisting of a large number of parliamentarians. The consequence of this is that the size of the confidence interval is increased, since the sample of parliamentarians is fairly small. Hence, if there is a significant difference between two figures of congruence, we can be quite confident that this is not a type I error.

**Appendix D: Congruence using three-point scales**

Table D1 presents congruence between groups of citizens and representatives when the seven-point scales are reduced to three-point scales. For reference, the original scores, i.e. when using the seven-point scales, are presented in table D2. These are the same figures which are provided in appendix G.

Table D1. Congruence between citizens and representatives using three-point scales

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | Income | Education |
|  | All | Low | Middle | High | Low | Middle | High |
| Income diff. | 81.4 | 74.5 | 79.6 | 90.7 | 73.4 | 83.0 | 88.7 |
| Eur. integration | 78.6 | 74.1 | 75.8 | 86.3 | 66.9 | 78.5 | 93.3 |
| Multiculturalism | 79.8 | 77.6 | 81.6 | 80.0 | 66.8 | 79.7 | 95.7 |
| Crime | 74.8 | 73.8 | 74.6 | 75.7 | 67.8 | 74.3 | 83.7 |
| Euthanasia | 74.1 | 74.8 | 74.7 | 72.5 | 76.9 | 73.3 | 73.0 |
| Average | 77.7 | 74.9 | 77.3 | 81.0 | 70.4 | 77.8 | 86.9 |
| Left-right | 91.9 | 93.3 | 94.9 | 86.8 | 91.5 | 97.7 | 93.9 |

Table D2. Congruence between citizens and representatives using seven-point scales

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | Income | Education |
|  | All | Low | Middle | High | Low | Middle | High |
| Income diff. | 78.4 | 69.0 | 77.5 | 88.8 | 66.7 | 80.1 | 87.1 |
| Eur. integration | 75.9 | 69.8 | 73.4 | 84.8 | 64.0 | 75.9 | 91.3 |
| Multiculturalism | 75.3 | 65.7 | 77.4 | 80.0 | 53.0 | 76.5 | 94.1 |
| Crime | 54.3 | 47.0 | 53.7 | 61.3 | 36.2 | 54.8 | 71.7 |
| Euthanasia | 57.9 | 55.1 | 55.8 | 62.5 | 48.4 | 57.4 | 65.3 |
| Average | 68.4 | 61.3 | 67.6 | 75.5 | 53.7 | 68.9 | 81.9 |
| Left-right | 89.4 | 87.8 | 88.0 | 86.8 | 78.5 | 89.7 | 95.9 |

**Appendix E: Average and left-right congruence**

Figures E1 presents the average congruence of the five policy issues in table 1, as well as congruence using the left-right scale, by income terciles. Figure E2 does the same for education terciles. To obtain a confidence interval for the average, the average standard error on the five issues was divided by the square root of five.



*Figure E1. Congruence for the average of five issues and left-right placement by income*



*Figure E1. Congruence for the average of five issues and left-right placement by education*

**Appendix F: Control variables**

Table F1 lists the gaps in congruence between lower and upper terciles, which is used as a measure of unequal representation, after controlling for variables like political participation and gender. The original gap, without any control variables, is given in the top row in percentage points. The other rows list the size of this gap after controlling for the variables in the leftward column. Between parentheses, the reduction of the effect in percentages is given.

Note that not every combination of variables is controlled for. This is either because the variable has such a small effect by itself that further analysis was not needed or because the combination of variables produces sparse distributions. For instance, if ethnicity is combined with political participation and education, the sample would contain very few immigrants with high levels of participation and education. This produces unreliable estimates.

*Table F1. Gaps in congruence after controlling for selected variables*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | *Inc. ineq. (i)* | *Inc. ineq. (e)* | *Eur. int. (e)* | *Multicult. (e)* | *Crime (e)* | *Euthan. (e)* |
| None | 19.8 | 20.4 | 27.3 | 41.1 | 35.5 | 16.9 |
| Income | 12.9 (-34%) | 16.1 (-21%) | 24.2 (-11%) | 30.9 (-25%) | 34.1 (-4%) | 15.2 (-10%) |
| Participation | 19.2 (-3%) | 20.3 (-1%) | 26.4 (-3%) | 27.4 (-33%) | 32.1 (-10%) | 13.9 (-18%) |
| Knowledge | 17.7 (-11%) | 19.6 (-4%) | 25.6 (-6%) | 34.0 (-17%) | 25.6 (-28%) | 12.6 (-25%) |
| Age | 18.5 (-7%) | 17.0 (-17%) | 24.4 (-11%) | 36.9 (-10%) | 34.5 (-3%) | 13.4 (-21%) |
| Ethnicity | 13.9 (-30%) | 20.8 (+2%) | 27.2 (-1%) | 32.2 (-22%) | 34.7 (-3%) | 8.9 (-47%) |
| Gender | 18.7 (-6%) | 16.0 (-22%) | 24.9 (-9%) | 37.9 (-8%) | 35.7 (+0%) | 16.9 (+0%) |
| Inc. + part. | 11.7 (-41%) | 16.3 (-20%) | 23.6 (-14%) | 30.9 (-25%) | 31.6 (-11%) | 12.5 (-26%) |
| Inc. + know. | 9.0 (-54%) | 16.5 (-19%) | 20.9 (-24%) | 31.0 (-25%) | 25.6 (-28%) | 11.2 (-34%) |
| Inc. + age | 13.1 (-34%) | 12.9 (-37%) | 22.0 (-20%) | 34.6 (-16%) | 32.1 (-10%) | 11.6 (-31%) |
| Inc. + ethnic. | 11.0 (-44%) | 15.3 (-25%) | 28.9 (+6%) | 31.9 (-22%) | 36.6 (+3%) | 13.4 (-21%) |
| Inc. + gender | 12.6 (-37%) | 14.6 (-29%) | 23.2 (-15%) | 32.7 (-20%) | 34.0 (-4%) | 14.7 (-13%) |
| Part. + age | 15.0 (-24%) | 15.7 (-23%) | 24.6 (-10%) | 27.4 (-33%) | 27.4 (-23%) | 14.2 (-15%) |
| Part. + know. | 16.0 (-19%) | 18.1 (-12%) | 23.4 (-14%) | 32.5 (-21%) | 30.7 (-14%) | 14.8 (-12%) |

*Note: (i) in the top row stands for income; (e) stands for education. For the income effect regarding income inequality, I could obviously not control for income. Here, I controlled for education. For this effect, the reader should replace the word ‘income’ with ‘education’ in the column with control variables. For instance, I did not control for income and participation but for education and participation, reducing the income effect to 12.4 percentage points.*

**Appendix G: Many-to-many congruence over time**

Tables G1-G6 provide many-to-many congruence for income and education terciles over time on five policy issues and the left-right scale, along with 95% confidence intervals.

*Table G1. Congruence regarding income differences, 1989-2006*

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | 1989/1990 | 1998/2001 | 2006/2006 |
| Overall | 85.0[78.6 – 91.3] | 85.2[78.2 – 92.3] | 78.4[70.2 – 86.7] |
| Low income | 76.1\*[69.4 – 82.8] | 77.6[71.2 – 83.9] | 69.0\*\*[60.7 – 77.4] |
| Middle income | 88.2[81.9 – 94.6] | 89.8[83.0 – 96.7] | 77.5[68.6 – 86.4] |
| High income | 86.4[79.4 – 93.4] | 82.9[75.2 – 90.7] | 88.8[81.1 – 96.5] |
| Low education | 78.4\*[71.4 – 85.4] | 76.8[69.8 – 83.7] | 66.7\*\*[58.2 – 75.4] |
| Middle education | 90.8[85.0 - 96.7] | 90.0[83.3 – 96.7] | 80.1[72.0 – 88.3] |
| High education | 90.2[81.2 – 99.1] | 86.0[77.8 – 94.3] | 87.1[79.0 – 95.2] |

*Table G2. Congruence regarding European integration, 1998-2006*

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | 1998/2001 | 2006/2006 |
| Overall | 81.6[74.0 – 89.1] | 75.9[67.8 – 84.1] |
| Low income | 76.9\*[69.1 – 84.7] | 69.8\*[61.4 – 78.3] |
| Middle income | 81.4[73.4 – 89.4] | 73.4[64.2 – 82.6] |
| High income | 89.9[82.4 – 97.4] | 84.8[76.5 – 93.1] |
| Low education | 71.2\*\*[62.7 – 79.7] | 64.0\*\*[54.9 – 73.0] |
| Middle education | 84.0[76.4 – 91.6] | 75.9\*\*[67.6 – 84.3] |
| High education | 90.3[82.9 – 97.7] | 91.3[84.2 – 98.3] |

*Table G3. Congruence regarding multiculturalism, 1998-2006*

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | 1998/2001 | 2006/2006 |
| Overall | 79.0[72.8 – 85.1] | 75.3[68.9 – 81.7] |
| Low income | 71.5\*\*[64.6 – 78.4] | 65.7\*\*[59.9 – 71.4] |
| Middle income | 79.2[72.2 – 86.1] | 77.4[70.2 – 84.7] |
| High income | 86.8[80.4 – 93.0] | 80.0[72.4 – 87.6] |
| Low education | 64.7\*\*[58.3 – 71.1] | 53.0\*\*[47.0 – 59.0] |
| Middle education | 82.8[76.1 – 89.5] | 76.5\*\*[68.8 – 84.3] |
| High education | 86.7[80.0 – 93.3] | 94.1[87.5 – 100.7] |

*Table G4. Congruence regarding crime, 2006*

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | 2006/2006 |
| Overall | 54.2[49.4 – 59.1] |
| Low income | 47.0\*\*[42.5 – 51.5] |
| Middle income | 53.7[47.7 – 59.7] |
| High income | 61.3[55.1 – 67.6] |
| Low education | 36.2\*\*[31.6 – 40.7] |
| Middle education | 54.8\*\*[49.4 – 60.1] |
| High education | 71.7[63.7 – 79.7] |

*Table G5. Congruence regarding euthanasia, 1989-2006*

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | 1989/1990 | 1998/2001 | 2006/2006 |
| Overall | 89.0[83.5 – 94.5] | 84.3[77.5 – 91.2] | 57.9[50.8 – 64.9] |
| Low income | 79.7[72.1 – 87.3] | 81.1[73.5 – 88.8] | 55.1[47.4 – 62.8] |
| Middle income | 88.8[82.8 – 94.7] | 82.6[74.6 – 90.6] | 55.8[48.6 – 63.0] |
| High income | 88.1[81.7 – 94.6] | 86.9[79.6 – 94.3] | 62.5[54.4 – 70.7] |
| Low education | 81.0[74.2 – 87.8] | 72.6\*\*[64.8 – 80.5] | 48.4\*\*[40.6 – 56.3] |
| Middle education | 88.6[82.7 – 94.5] | 87.2[80.1 – 94.1] | 57.4[49.8 – 65.0] |
| High education | 80.3[70.8 – 89.8] | 88.6[80.9 – 96.3] | 65.3[55.7 – 74.9] |

*Table G6. Left-right congruence, 1998-2006*

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | 1998/2001 | 2006/2006 |
| Overall | 79.9[72.5 – 87.3] | 89.4[82.4 – 96.3] |
| Low income | 73.4[65.0 – 81.7] | 87.8[80.4 – 95.2] |
| Middle income | 82.3[74.6 – 90.0] | 88.0[80.0 – 95.9] |
| High income | 81.4[73.4 – 89.3] | 86.8[78.5 – 95.0] |
| Low education | 69.4\*[60.8 – 77.9] | 78.5\*\*[70.1 – 87.0] |
| Middle education | 79.5[71.8 – 87.2] | 89.7[82.2 – 97.3] |
| High education | 83.1[74.8 – 91.4] | 95.9[89.3 – 102.6] |

*Note: For all tables, \* p < 0.05; \*\* p < 0.01. All t-tests compare the low or middle terciles to the highest tercile.*

**Appendix H: Average scores over time**

Tables H1-H6 provide average scores for income and education terciles across time on five policy issues and the left-right scale, respectively. Standard errors are given in parentheses.

*Table H1. Average scores on income equality, 1989-2006*

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | 1989/1990 | 1998/2001 | 2006/2006 |
| Parliamentarians | 4.70 (0.113) | 4.93 (0.117) | 4.64 (0.144) |
| All respondents | 4.80 (0.043) | 4.96 (0.035) | 5.23 (0.031) |
| Low income | 5.19 (0.083) | 5.24 (0.063) | 5.51 (0.054) |
| Middle income | 4.87 (0.064) | 5.03 (0.059) | 5.29 (0.050) |
| High income | 4.31 (0.086) | 4.52 (0.063) | 4.87 (0.054) |
| Low education | 4.84 (0.050) | 5.16 (0.065) | 5.59 (0.068) |
| Middle education | 4.73 (0.095) | 4.85 (0.050) | 5.17 (0.043) |
| High education | 4.53 (0.207) | 4.88 (0.067) | 4.90 (0.060) |

*Table H2. Average scores on European integration, 1998-2006*

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | 1998/2001 | 2006/2006 |
| Parliamentarians | 3.33 (0.118) | 3.99 (0.158) |
| All respondents | 3.87 (0.037) | 4.69 (0.035) |
| Low income | 4.04 (0.070) | 4.88 (0.064) |
| Middle income | 3.85 (0.068) | 4.76 (0.059) |
| High income | 3.59 (0.065) | 4.43 (0.060) |
| Low education | 4.16 (0.072) | 5.19 (0.077) |
| Middle education | 3.80 (0.052) | 4.66 (0.049) |
| High education | 3.59 (0.072) | 4.17 (0.068) |

*Table H3. Average scores on multiculturalism, 1998-2006*

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | 1998/2001 | 2006/2006 |
| Parliamentarians | 4.35 (0.105) | 4.38 (0.136) |
| All respondents | 4.69 (0.036) | 5.21 (0.030) |
| Low income | 4.86 (0.066) | 5.41 (0.055) |
| Middle income | 4.68 (0.064) | 5.12 (0.051) |
| High income | 4.48 (0.064) | 5.10 (0.052) |
| Low education | 5.14 (0.066) | 5.88 (0.060) |
| Middle education | 4.64 (0.050) | 5.14 (0.043) |
| High education | 4.11 (0.070) | 4.55 (0.058) |

*Table H4. Average scores on crime, 2006*

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | 2006/2006 |
| Parliamentarians | 4.84 (0.095) |
| All respondents | 6.00 (0.024) |
| Low income | 6.12 (0.040) |
| Middle income | 6.00 (0.040) |
| High income | 5.86 (0.042) |
| Low education | 6.40 (0.043) |
| Middle education | 6.01 (0.033) |
| High education | 5.49 (0.051) |

*Table H5. Average scores on euthanasia, 1989-2006*

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | 1989/1990 | 1998/2001 | 2006/2006 |
| Parliamentarians | 4.59 (0.130) | 4.93 (0.148) | 4.74 (0.153) |
| All respondents | 4.92 (0.050) | 5.16 (0.040) | 5.90 (0.032) |
| Low income | 4.77 (0.109) | 5.01 (0.075) | 5.87 (0.058) |
| Middle income | 4.87 (0.078) | 5.22 (0.073) | 5.91 (0.054) |
| High income | 5.16 (0.086) | 5.35 (0.068) | 5.90 (0.054) |
| Low education | 4.86 (0.060) | 4.99 (0.081) | 5.83 (0.077) |
| Middle education | 5.13 (0.105) | 5.23 (0.058) | 5.94 (0.045) |
| High education | 5.15 (0.212) | 5.27 (0.073) | 5.83 (0.058) |

*Table H6. Average scores on left-right self-placement, 1998-2006*

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | 1998/2001 | 2006/2006 |
| Parliamentarians | 3.50 (0.112) | 3.95 (0.124) |
| All respondents | 3.90 (0.034) | 4.17 (0.028) |
| Low income | 3.80 (0.062) | 4.13 (0.052) |
| Middle income | 3.89 (0.062) | 4.07 (0.048) |
| High income | 3.95 (0.059) | 4.33 (0.047) |
| Low education | 4.06 (0.064) | 4.34 (0.066) |
| Middle education | 3.96 (0.048) | 4.17 (0.040) |
| High education | 3.61 (0.068) | 4.05 (0.053) |

**Appendix I: Cumulative congruence**

Table I1 contains the cumulative congruence scores between representatives and (groups of) citizens. The cumulative measure differs from the non-cumulative measures in the sense that lower scores indicate a close overlap between distributions (see Golder and Stramski 2010). If we take this into account, the table clearly points towards the same conclusion that was presented in the main text: the highest income and education terciles are better represented than the lower terciles on all issues with the exception of euthanasia.

Table I1. Cumulative congruence between citizens and representatives

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | Income | Education |
|  | All | Low | Middle | High | Low | Middle | High |
| Income diff. | 63.4 | 92.0 | 68.2 | 30.6 | 99.9 | 56.7 | 29.8 |
| Eur. integration | 75.3 | 96.8 | 81.1 | 46.3 | 125.3 | 71.6 | 22.4 |
| Multiculturalism | 82.3 | 103.5 | 73.7 | 70.9 | 149.3 | 75.8 | 16.1 |
| Crime | 118.7 | 131.2 | 120.4 | 104.5 | 158.7 | 119.3 | 69.3 |
| Euthanasia | 119.8 | 120.0 | 121.1 | 118.5 | 119.2 | 123.1 | 109.2 |
| Average | 91.9 | 108.7 | 92.9 | 74.1 | 130.5 | 89.3 | 49.3 |
| Left-right | 22.9 | 21.6 | 14.0 | 37.6 | 41.5 | 23.0 | 9.5 |

More generally, the Pearson correlation between the cumulative scores in table I1 and the non-cumulative scores in table D2 is -0.96 (*p* < 0.001, N = 42). If we include the other years as well, the correlation is -0.93 (*p* < 0.001, N = 91). Figure I1 below shows the close association between both ‘many-to-many’ congruence measures for all groups and years.



*Figure I1. Many-to-many congruence measures across income, education, and time*

**Appendix J: Congruence by party**

Tables J1-J3 contain congruence scores for representatives and voters for each of the three major political parties (CDA, PvdA and VVD). These voters are split up by income and education terciles. Tables J4-J6 contain the congruence scores when we compare the representatives of each party with all respondents. To be clear, this means that in table J1 we compare CDA representatives with, for example, low-educated CDA voters, while in table J4 we compare the same representatives with all low-educated citizens.

Table J1. Congruence between CDA representatives and CDA voters

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | Income | Education |
|  | All | Low | Middle | High | Low | Middle | High |
| Income diff. | 58.8 | 49.2 | 60.2 | 66.0 | 45.1 | 59.3 | 72.9 |
| Eur. integration | 68.0 | 62.8 | 65.7 | 73.1 | 49.6 | 68.6 | 83.4 |
| Multiculturalism | 60.7 | 52.1 | 59.9 | 68.3 | 47.6 | 60.9 | 74.0 |
| Crime | 49.7 | 41.3 | 48.8 | 57.2 | 36.7 | 49.1 | 66.2 |
| Euthanasia | 30.5 | 28.8 | 30.6 | 31.7 | 28.7 | 30.1 | 33.2 |
| Average | 53.5 | 46.8 | 53.0 | 59.2 | 41.5 | 53.6 | 65.9 |

Table J2. Congruence between PvdA representatives and PvdA voters

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | Income | Education |
|  | All | Low | Middle | High | Low | Middle | High |
| Income diff. | 85.5 | 68.1 | 86.3 | 87.3 | 77.8 | 85.6 | 88.1 |
| Eur. integration | 56.9 | 50.0 | 55.0 | 66.0 | 40.1 | 57.0 | 72.1 |
| Multiculturalism | 68.2 | 60.9 | 69.2 | 74.2 | 46.0 | 69.6 | 85.2 |
| Crime | 50.5 | 42.7 | 48.6 | 60.5 | 27.2 | 53.1 | 73.0 |
| Euthanasia | 61.3 | 57.6 | 63.2 | 62.0 | 58.4 | 60.4 | 71.4 |
| Average | 64.5 | 55.8 | 64.4 | 70.0 | 49.9 | 65.2 | 78.0 |

Table J3. Congruence between VVD representatives and VVD voters

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | Income | Education |
|  | All | Low | Middle | High | Low | Middle | High |
| Income diff. | 52.7 | 48.1 | 51.2 | 55.9 | 45.9 | 49.6 | 59.4 |
| Eur. integration | 76.1 | 78.6 | 70.8 | 75.8 | 79.4 | 78.0 | 70.1 |
| Multiculturalism | 67.1 | 64.6 | 73.8 | 60.7 | 57.7 | 68.7 | 68.0 |
| Crime | 58.4 | 57.4 | 61.0 | 57.0 | 51.0 | 55.2 | 63.1 |
| Euthanasia | 71.4 | 71.0 | 69.2 | 72.7 | 77.6 | 63.2 | 80.9 |
| Average | 65.2 | 63.9 | 65.2 | 64.4 | 62.3 | 63.0 | 68.3 |

Table J4. Congruence between CDA representatives and all citizens

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | Income | Education |
|  | All | Low | Middle | High | Low | Middle | High |
| Income diff. | 50.6 | 41.9 | 50.7 | 58.9 | 39.5 | 52.3 | 58.1 |
| Eur. integration | 60.9 | 54.8 | 58.3 | 67.7 | 48.9 | 60.9 | 71.9 |
| Multiculturalism | 63.1 | 55.9 | 64.5 | 68.0 | 46.7 | 64.6 | 73.4 |
| Crime | 50.1 | 44.6 | 48.3 | 55.9 | 33.7 | 50.3 | 65.1 |
| Euthanasia | 37.3 | 32.3 | 41.6 | 36.2 | 31.1 | 36.3 | 42.4 |
| Average | 52.4 | 45.9 | 52.7 | 57.3 | 40.0 | 52.9 | 62.2 |

Table J5. Congruence between PvdA representatives and all citizens

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | Income | Education |
|  | All | Low | Middle | High | Low | Middle | High |
| Income diff. | 79.3 | 80.7 | 81.1 | 69.9 | 76.5 | 77.7 | 72.0 |
| Eur. integration | 54.3 | 48.2 | 51.7 | 63.6 | 42.3 | 54.3 | 69.7 |
| Multiculturalism | 57.2 | 50.0 | 59.4 | 62.5 | 38.2 | 58.7 | 73.0 |
| Crime | 44.5 | 40.6 | 42.7 | 50.4 | 30.9 | 44.7 | 60.7 |
| Euthanasia | 59.6 | 57.0 | 57.3 | 65.0 | 50.1 | 59.4 | 73.0 |
| Average | 59.0 | 55.3 | 58.4 | 62.3 | 47.6 | 58.9 | 69.7 |

Table J6. Congruence between VVD representatives and all citizens

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | Income | Education |
|  | All | Low | Middle | High | Low | Middle | High |
| Income diff. | 32.7 | 26.3 | 31.4 | 36.4 | 25.3 | 32.7 | 35.8 |
| Eur. integration | 75.9 | 70.2 | 76.7 | 78.2 | 66.2 | 77.6 | 74.8 |
| Multiculturalism | 63.2 | 57.9 | 66.9 | 65.0 | 48.3 | 66.5 | 70.4 |
| Crime | 55.3 | 48.7 | 55.3 | 62.7 | 38.6 | 56.1 | 71.1 |
| Euthanasia | 68.9 | 66.2 | 66.6 | 74.2 | 59.5 | 68.2 | 81.3 |
| Average | 59.2 | 53.9 | 59.4 | 63.3 | 47.6 | 60.2 | 66.7 |