

**Appendix A:**  
**The list of post-election surveys**

Table A1 provides the list of surveys used in the analyses. For each survey, the table provides the acronym of the polling agency, name of the analysed survey, sampling method, and the number of respondents. All surveys are available at the Czech Social Science Data Archive, except for the 2025 survey.

**Table A1: The list of analysed post-election surveys**

| Year | Polling agency / Survey                    | Sampling | n    |
|------|--------------------------------------------|----------|------|
| 1992 | STEM / Economic expectations and attitudes | quota    | 1100 |
| 1996 | CVVM / June and July 1996                  | quota    | 1840 |
| 1998 | CVVM / June 1998                           | quota    | 2035 |
| 2002 | STEM / European Social Survey 2002         | random   | 1328 |
| 2006 | CVVM / Czech election study 2006           | quota    | 2002 |
| 2010 | CVVM / Czech election study 2010           | quota    | 1857 |
| 2013 | CVVM / Czech election study 2013           | quota    | 1653 |
| 2017 | CVVM / Czech election study 2017           | quota    | 1559 |
| 2021 | CVVM / Czech election study 2021           | quota    | 1490 |
| 2025 | CVVM / Czech Attitude Barometer (wave 8)   | random   | 1750 |

**Appendix B:**  
**Construction of the social class variable**

**B.1 Question wording**

The class variable is based on question wording that remains consistent throughout all survey years, ensuring comparability over time. The only exceptions are the 1998 and 2002 surveys, in which the questions was formulated differently. Therefore, minor differences in measurement should be taken into account when analysing the 1998 election.

**B.1.1 All election years except 1998 and 2002**

Q1: ‘Now I would like to learn something about what you are currently doing. What is your current economic status?’

Answer categories:

- (1) Full-time employee
- (2) Part-time employee (half-time or more)
- (3) Part-time employee (less than half-time)

- (4) Self-employed – sole trader
- (5) Employer with employees (1–2)
- (6) Employer with employees (3 or more)
- (7) Freelance profession
- (8) Old-age pensioner
- (9) Working pensioner
- (10) Family member helping in a family business
- (11) Unemployed
- (12) Student, apprentice
- (13) Disabled
- (14) Homemaker (permanently at home)
- (15) On maternity or parental leave
- (16) Other

Q2: ‘What is (was) your profession or job position in your main employment? What kind of work do you do (did you do)?’

Open-ended question (Instructions for the interviewer: Record the answer as precisely as possible. A response such as ‘worker’ is not sufficient; further specification is required, e.g., ‘assembly line worker in engine production’.)

#### **B.1.2 1998 survey**

Q1: ‘What is your current occupation?’

Open-ended question (Instructions for the interviewer: State as accurately as possible, including whether the respondent is retired or a home-maker, unemployed, self-employed, or farming.)

#### **B.1.3 2002 survey**

Q1: ‘Which of these descriptions applies to what you have been doing for the last 7 days?’

Answer categories:

- (17) In paid work (or away temporarily) (employee, self-employed, working for your family business)
- (18) In education, even if on vacation, (not paid for by employer)
- (19) Unemployed and actively looking for a job
- (20) Unemployed, wanting a job but not actively looking for a job
- (21) Permanently sick or disabled
- (22) Retired
- (23) Doing housework, looking after children or other persons
- (24) Other

Q2: ‘In your main job (are/were) you ...’ Answer categories:

- (1) an employee,
- (2) self-employed,
- (3) or, working for your own family’s business?

Q3: 'What (is/was) the name or title of your main job?'

Open-ended question (Enter varbatim, maximum of 80 characters)

Q4: 'In your main job, what kind of work (do/did) you do most of the time?'

Open-ended question (Enter varbatim, maximum of 200 characters)

Open-ended question (Instructions for the interviewer: State as accurately as possible, including whether the respondent is retired or a home-maker, unemployed, self-employed, or farming.)

## B.2 Further transformations

Here, we describe further transformations of the class questions for all surveys except 1998 and 2002. The responses to economic status question were further transformed into adjusted EGP scheme. First, two groups were identified: entrepreneurs (employers and self-employed, response options 4 to 7) and pensioners (response options 8 and 9). The occupation of all employees (response options 1 to 3) was coded into ISCO-08 codes; these were later transformed into EGP scheme. Finally, respondents outside the labour market (response options 10 to 16) were excluded from the sample. The logic of transformation for 1998 and 2002 surveys was the same.

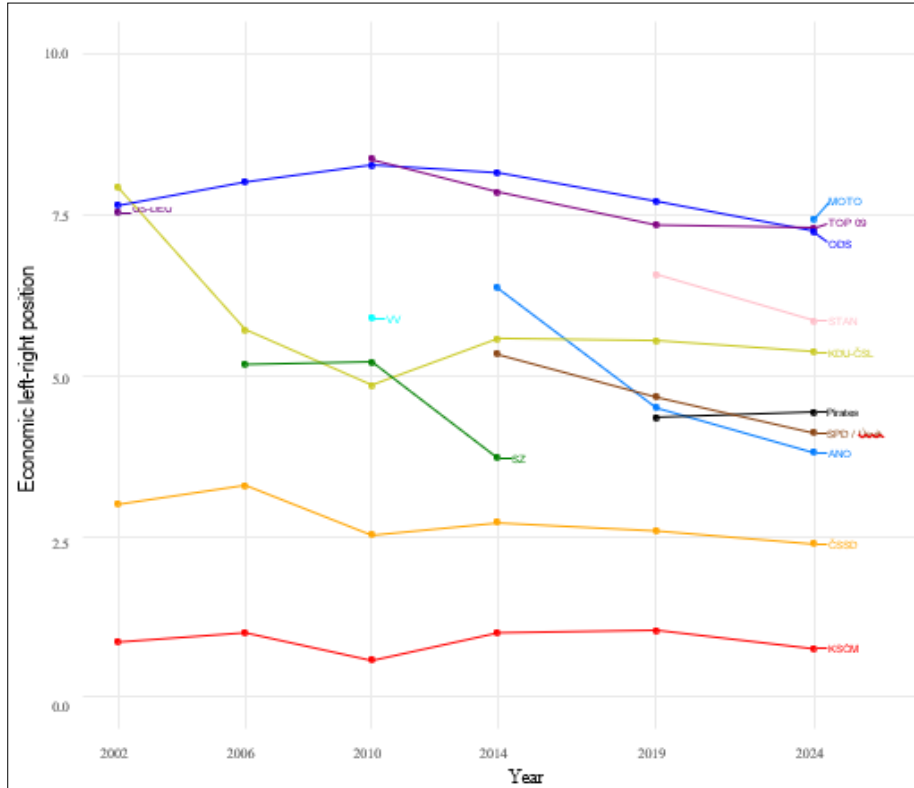
Transformations from ISCO-08 codes into EGP classes:

- Higher professionals (EGP I - Higher service class) = ISCO-08 codes: 11-14 (Managers), 21-26 (Professionals)
- Lower professionals (EGP II - Lower service class) = ISCO-08 codes: 31-35 (Technicians and associate professionals), 41-42 (Higher clerical)
- Routine Non-Manuals (EGP IIIa/b - Routine non-manuals (lower and higher grade)) = ISCO-08 codes: 43-44 (Clerical - more qualified / administrative), 51-54 (Service and sales workers)
- Skilled manuals (EGP V - Lower technicians / supervisors; EGP VI - Skilled manual workers) = ISCO-08 codes: 71-75 (Craft and related trades workers)
- Semi-skilled and unskilled manuals (EGP VIIa - Semi- and unskilled manual) = ISCO-08 codes: 81-83 (Machine operators, drivers); 91-96 (Elementary occupations); 61-63 (if employees, not self-employed)

## Appendix C:

### Party positions

Figure C1: Party positions according to Chapel Hill Expert Survey



Appendix D:  
Regression models

D.1 Models explaining voting for party blocs based on 3 classes

Table D1: 1992 election

|                                                    | Left (KSČM+ČSSD)     | Far right (SPR-RSČ)  | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -0.799***<br>(0.195) | -1.555***<br>(0.451) | -0.229<br>(0.151)    |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | -0.440**<br>(0.155)  | -0.658*<br>(0.292)   | -0.462**<br>(0.145)  |
| Manual workers                                     | 0.153<br>(0.147)     | 0.039<br>(0.264)     | -0.245<br>(0.151)    |
| (Intercept)                                        | -1.085***<br>(0.087) | -2.175***<br>(0.181) | -0.936***<br>(0.078) |
| N                                                  | 676                  |                      |                      |
| AIC                                                | 1381.5               |                      |                      |
| BIC                                                | 1422.1               |                      |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.37                 |                      |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for right wing parties serve as a baseline.  
Significance levels: \* $p < 0.05$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.001$ .

Table D2: 1996 election

|                                                    | Left (KSČM+ČSSD)     | Far right (SPR-RSČ)  | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -0.795***<br>(0.152) | -0.835**<br>(0.268)  | -0.833***<br>(0.244) |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | -0.139<br>(0.119)    | -1.167***<br>(0.277) | -0.286<br>(0.190)    |
| Manual workers                                     | 0.613***<br>(0.124)  | 0.440*<br>(0.205)    | -0.264<br>(0.225)    |
| (Intercept)                                        | -0.322***<br>(0.069) | -1.563***<br>(0.131) | -1.383***<br>(0.115) |
| N                                                  | 665                  |                      |                      |
| AIC                                                | 1433.6               |                      |                      |
| BIC                                                | 1474.1               |                      |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.38                 |                      |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for right wing parties serve as a baseline.  
Significance levels: \* $p < 0.05$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D3: 1998 election**

|                                                    | Left (KSČM+ČSSD+DZJ) | Far right (SPR-RSČ)  | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -0.794***<br>(0.112) | -1.913***<br>(0.449) | -1.719***<br>(0.392) |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | 0.001<br>(0.090)     | -1.036***<br>(0.312) | -0.436+<br>(0.244)   |
| Manual workers                                     | 0.573***<br>(0.105)  | 0.698**<br>(0.245)   | -0.002<br>(0.269)    |
| (Intercept)                                        | -0.220***<br>(0.054) | -2.251***<br>(0.181) | -2.157***<br>(0.161) |
| N                                                  | 966                  |                      |                      |
| AIC                                                | 1735.5               |                      |                      |
| BIC                                                | 1779.4               |                      |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.36                 |                      |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for right wing parties serve as a baseline.  
Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D4: 2002 election**

|                                                    | Left (KSČM+ČSSD+SŽJ) | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -0.877***<br>(0.163) | -1.292***<br>(0.372) |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | 0.156<br>(0.155)     | -0.332<br>(0.323)    |
| Manual workers                                     | 0.648***<br>(0.170)  | -0.007<br>(0.344)    |
| (Intercept)                                        | -0.072<br>(0.085)    | -1.631***<br>(0.181) |
| N                                                  | 368                  |                      |
| AIC                                                | 614.3                |                      |
| BIC                                                | 637.8                |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.41                 |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for right wing parties serve as a baseline.  
Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D5: 2006 election**

|                                                    | Left (KSČM+ČSSD+SŽJ) | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -0.903***<br>(0.124) | -0.723***<br>(0.209) |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | -0.056<br>(0.104)    | -0.688**<br>(0.214)  |
| Manual workers                                     | 0.607***<br>(0.118)  | -0.240<br>(0.240)    |
| (Intercept)                                        | -0.352***<br>(0.060) | -1.650***<br>(0.116) |
| N                                                  | 786                  |                      |
| AIC                                                | 1299.6               |                      |
| BIC                                                | 1327.6               |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.41                 |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for right wing parties serve as a baseline.  
Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D6: 2010 election**

|                                                    | Left (KSČM+ČSSD+SPO) | Populist (VV)        | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -1.263***<br>(0.165) | -0.727***<br>(0.169) | -1.042***<br>(0.259) |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | 0.059<br>(0.132)     | -0.313+<br>(0.170)   | -0.382<br>(0.237)    |
| Manual workers                                     | 0.796***<br>(0.146)  | 0.164<br>(0.190)     | -0.141<br>(0.278)    |
| (Intercept)                                        | -0.409***<br>(0.077) | -0.876***<br>(0.092) | -1.564***<br>(0.135) |
| N                                                  | 617                  |                      |                      |
| AIC                                                | 1370.0               |                      |                      |
| BIC                                                | 1409.9               |                      |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.39                 |                      |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for right wing parties serve as a baseline.  
Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D7: 2013 election**

|                                                    | Left (KSČM+ČSSD+SPOZ) | Far right (Úsvit)    | ANO                 | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -0.720***<br>(0.158)  | -1.068***<br>(0.311) | -0.508**<br>(0.158) | -0.711**<br>(0.254)  |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | 0.240<br>(0.160)      | -0.700*<br>(0.332)   | 0.084<br>(0.169)    | -0.450<br>(0.281)    |
| Manual workers                                     | 0.781***<br>(0.205)   | 0.585+<br>(0.313)    | 0.571**<br>(0.215)  | 0.182<br>(0.321)     |
| (Intercept)                                        | 0.301**<br>(0.092)    | -1.183***<br>(0.167) | 0.147<br>(0.095)    | -0.980***<br>(0.150) |
| N                                                  | 542                   |                      |                     |                      |
| AIC                                                | 1502.6                |                      |                     |                      |
| BIC                                                | 1554.2                |                      |                     |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.38                  |                      |                     |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for right wing parties serve as a baseline.

Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D8: 2017 election**

|                                                    | Left (KSČM+ČSSD+SPOZ) | Far right (SPD)      | ANO                 | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -0.904***<br>(0.226)  | -0.572**<br>(0.203)  | -0.270*<br>(0.136)  | -0.553<br>(0.427)    |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | -0.246<br>(0.205)     | -0.569*<br>(0.224)   | 0.020<br>(0.141)    | -1.194*<br>(0.578)   |
| Manual workers                                     | 0.116<br>(0.219)      | 0.112<br>(0.218)     | 0.049<br>(0.166)    | -0.736<br>(0.581)    |
| (Intercept)                                        | -1.033***<br>(0.113)  | -1.028***<br>(0.112) | -0.200**<br>(0.077) | -2.483***<br>(0.279) |
| N                                                  | 530                   |                      |                     |                      |
| AIC                                                | 1363.8                |                      |                     |                      |
| BIC                                                | 1415.1                |                      |                     |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.37                  |                      |                     |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for right wing parties serve as a baseline.

Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D9: 2021 election**

|                                                    | Left (KSČM+ČSSD+SPOZ) | Far right (SPD)      | ANO                  | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -0.987***<br>(0.271)  | -1.297***<br>(0.250) | -0.651***<br>(0.170) | -0.806***<br>(0.206) |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | -0.553*<br>(0.250)    | -0.123<br>(0.186)    | 0.056<br>(0.151)     | -0.053<br>(0.178)    |
| Manual workers                                     | 0.033<br>(0.274)      | 0.320<br>(0.215)     | -0.116<br>(0.207)    | -0.187<br>(0.241)    |
| (Intercept)                                        | -1.507***<br>(0.138)  | -1.100***<br>(0.114) | -0.711***<br>(0.093) | -1.046***<br>(0.110) |
| N                                                  | 540                   |                      |                      |                      |
| AIC                                                | 1451.8                |                      |                      |                      |
| BIC                                                | 1503.3                |                      |                      |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.36                  |                      |                      |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for right wing parties serve as a baseline.  
Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D10: 2025 election**

|                                                    | Left (KSČM+ČSSD+SPOZ) | Far right (SPD)      | ANO                  | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -2.174***<br>(0.455)  | -1.207***<br>(0.191) | -1.188***<br>(0.140) | -0.828***<br>(0.168) |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | -0.321<br>(0.283)     | -0.533**<br>(0.178)  | -0.010<br>(0.119)    | -0.540**<br>(0.176)  |
| Manual workers                                     | 0.324<br>(0.367)      | 0.549*<br>(0.221)    | 0.705***<br>(0.172)  | 0.219<br>(0.239)     |
| (Intercept)                                        | -2.170***<br>(0.196)  | -1.191***<br>(0.103) | -0.493***<br>(0.076) | -1.149***<br>(0.103) |
| N                                                  | 778                   |                      |                      |                      |
| AIC                                                | 1832.4                |                      |                      |                      |
| BIC                                                | 1888.3                |                      |                      |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.34                  |                      |                      |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for right wing parties serve as a baseline.  
Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**D.2 Models explaining voting for party blocs based on 3 classes and pensioners****Table D11: 1992 election**

|                                                    | Left (KSČM+ČSSD)     | Far right (SPD)      | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -0.884***<br>(0.205) | -1.147*<br>(0.496)   | -0.196<br>(0.159)    |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | -0.525***<br>(0.160) | -0.251<br>(0.324)    | -0.430**<br>(0.151)  |
| Manual workers                                     | 0.067<br>(0.150)     | 0.446<br>(0.293)     | -0.212<br>(0.159)    |
| Pensioners                                         | 0.343*<br>(0.137)    | -1.630**<br>(0.588)  | -0.130<br>(0.151)    |
| (Intercept)                                        | -1.000***<br>(0.076) | -2.582***<br>(0.203) | -0.968***<br>(0.071) |
| N                                                  | 928                  |                      |                      |
| AIC                                                | 1909.7               |                      |                      |
| BIC                                                | 1967.7               |                      |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.37                 |                      |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for right wing parties serve as a baseline.  
Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D12: 1996 election**

|                                                    | Left (KSČM+ČSSD)     | Far right (SPR-RSČ)  | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -0.804***<br>(0.161) | -0.526+<br>(0.291)   | -0.744**<br>(0.258)  |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | -0.149<br>(0.123)    | -0.858**<br>(0.301)  | -0.197<br>(0.196)    |
| Manual workers                                     | 0.603***<br>(0.129)  | 0.749***<br>(0.221)  | -0.174<br>(0.236)    |
| Pensioners                                         | 0.037<br>(0.128)     | -1.237**<br>(0.380)  | -0.356<br>(0.223)    |
| (Intercept)                                        | -0.313***<br>(0.062) | -1.872***<br>(0.139) | -1.472***<br>(0.105) |
| N                                                  | 885                  |                      |                      |
| AIC                                                | 1880.4               |                      |                      |
| BIC                                                | 1937.8               |                      |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.38                 |                      |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for right wing parties serve as a baseline.  
Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D13: 1998 election**

|                                                    | Left (KSČM+ČSSD+DŽJ) | Far right (SPR-RSČ)  | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -0.934***<br>(0.118) | -1.772***<br>(0.479) | -1.559***<br>(0.418) |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | -0.138<br>(0.093)    | -0.894**<br>(0.322)  | -0.276<br>(0.249)    |
| Manual workers                                     | 0.434***<br>(0.110)  | 0.839***<br>(0.243)  | 0.158<br>(0.279)     |
| Pensioners                                         | 0.557***<br>(0.093)  | -0.565+<br>(0.324)   | -0.640*<br>(0.317)   |
| (Intercept)                                        | -0.081+<br>(0.048)   | -2.392***<br>(0.162) | -2.317***<br>(0.148) |
| N                                                  | 1384                 |                      |                      |
| AIC                                                | 2434.6               |                      |                      |
| BIC                                                | 2497.4               |                      |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.36                 |                      |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for right wing parties serve as a baseline.

Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D14: 2002 election**

|                                                    | Left (KSČM+ČSSD+SŽJ) | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -0.931***<br>(0.168) | -1.168**<br>(0.389)  |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | 0.102<br>(0.160)     | -0.208<br>(0.332)    |
| Manual workers                                     | 0.594***<br>(0.177)  | 0.118<br>(0.356)     |
| Pensioners                                         | 0.217+<br>(0.122)    | -0.496+<br>(0.283)   |
| (Intercept)                                        | -0.018<br>(0.073)    | -1.755***<br>(0.157) |
| N                                                  | 633                  |                      |
| AIC                                                | 1064.3               |                      |
| BIC                                                | 1099.9               |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.42                 |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for right wing parties serve as a baseline.

Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D15: 2006 election**

|                                                    | Left (KSČM+ČSSD+SŽJ) | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -1.086***<br>(0.130) | -0.610**<br>(0.219)  |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | -0.239*<br>(0.107)   | -0.575*<br>(0.225)   |
| Manual workers                                     | 0.424***<br>(0.123)  | -0.127<br>(0.255)    |
| Pensioners                                         | 0.733***<br>(0.101)  | -0.451+<br>(0.243)   |
| (Intercept)                                        | -0.169**<br>(0.053)  | -1.762***<br>(0.108) |
| N                                                  | 1153                 |                      |
| AIC                                                | 1884.9               |                      |
| BIC                                                | 1925.3               |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.41                 |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for right wing parties serve as a baseline.

Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D16: 2010 election**

|                                                    | Left (KSČM+ČSSD+SPO) | Populist (VV)        | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -1.524***<br>(0.173) | -0.633***<br>(0.179) | -0.912***<br>(0.275) |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | -0.202<br>(0.136)    | -0.219<br>(0.180)    | -0.252<br>(0.251)    |
| Manual workers                                     | 0.535***<br>(0.151)  | 0.258<br>(0.203)     | -0.011<br>(0.297)    |
| Pensioners                                         | 1.044***<br>(0.127)  | -0.376+<br>(0.219)   | -0.518<br>(0.317)    |
| (Intercept)                                        | -0.148*<br>(0.068)   | -0.970***<br>(0.090) | -1.694***<br>(0.131) |
| N                                                  | 896                  |                      |                      |
| AIC                                                | 1889.6               |                      |                      |
| BIC                                                | 1947.2               |                      |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.38                 |                      |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for right wing parties serve as a baseline.

Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D17: 2013 election**

|                                                    | Left (KSČM+ČSSD+SPOZ) | Far right (Úsvit)    | ANO                | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -0.899***<br>(0.162)  | -0.881**<br>(0.329)  | -0.413*<br>(0.164) | -0.514+<br>(0.268)   |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | 0.060<br>(0.164)      | -0.512<br>(0.352)    | 0.180<br>(0.176)   | -0.253<br>(0.297)    |
| Manual workers                                     | 0.601**<br>(0.216)    | 0.773*<br>(0.331)    | 0.666**<br>(0.229) | 0.379<br>(0.343)     |
| Pensioners                                         | 0.719***<br>(0.148)   | -0.750*<br>(0.370)   | -0.381*<br>(0.191) | -0.789*<br>(0.344)   |
| (Intercept)                                        | 0.481***<br>(0.080)   | -1.370***<br>(0.159) | 0.052<br>(0.088)   | -1.177***<br>(0.144) |
| N                                                  | 807                   |                      |                    |                      |
| AIC                                                | 2072.7                |                      |                    |                      |
| BIC                                                | 2147.8                |                      |                    |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.36                  |                      |                    |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for right wing parties serve as a baseline.

Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D18: 2017 election**

|                                                    | Left (KSČM+ČSSD+SPOZ) | Far right (SPD)      | ANO                 | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -1.202***<br>(0.235)  | -0.480*<br>(0.216)   | -0.397**<br>(0.142) | -0.644<br>(0.427)    |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | -0.544**<br>(0.210)   | -0.477*<br>(0.239)   | -0.107<br>(0.148)   | -1.285*<br>(0.603)   |
| Manual workers                                     | -0.182<br>(0.227)     | 0.203<br>(0.233)     | -0.078<br>(0.176)   | -0.828<br>(0.607)    |
| Pensioners                                         | 1.195***<br>(0.167)   | -0.366<br>(0.271)    | 0.509***<br>(0.154) | 0.367<br>(0.391)     |
| (Intercept)                                        | -0.734***<br>(0.097)  | -1.120***<br>(0.110) | -0.073<br>(0.071)   | -2.391***<br>(0.237) |
| N                                                  | 768                   |                      |                     |                      |
| AIC                                                | 2001.8                |                      |                     |                      |
| BIC                                                | 2076.1                |                      |                     |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.37                  |                      |                     |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for right wing parties serve as a baseline.

Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D19: 2021 election**

|                                                    | Left (KSČM+ČSSD+SPOZ) | Far right (SPD)      | ANO                  | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -1.336***<br>(0.280)  | -1.305***<br>(0.266) | -0.948***<br>(0.176) | -0.813***<br>(0.217) |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | -0.903***<br>(0.256)  | -0.131<br>(0.193)    | -0.240<br>(0.154)    | -0.060<br>(0.184)    |
| Manual workers                                     | -0.316<br>(0.284)     | 0.313<br>(0.226)     | -0.412+<br>(0.218)   | -0.193<br>(0.256)    |
| Pensioners                                         | 1.398***<br>(0.182)   | 0.030<br>(0.232)     | 1.186***<br>(0.150)  | 0.027<br>(0.227)     |
| (Intercept)                                        | -1.157***<br>(0.116)  | -1.093***<br>(0.106) | -0.414***<br>(0.081) | -1.039***<br>(0.102) |
| N                                                  | 823                   |                      |                      |                      |
| AIC                                                | 2250.3                |                      |                      |                      |
| BIC                                                | 2325.7                |                      |                      |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.37                  |                      |                      |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for right wing parties serve as a baseline.

Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D20: 2025 election**

|                                                    | Left (KSČM+ČSSD+SPOZ) | Far right (SPD)      | ANO                  | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -2.310***<br>(0.478)  | -1.105***<br>(0.200) | -1.329***<br>(0.144) | -0.652***<br>(0.175) |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | -0.458+<br>(0.276)    | -0.431*<br>(0.184)   | -0.150<br>(0.120)    | -0.364*<br>(0.184)   |
| Manual workers                                     | 0.188<br>(0.377)      | 0.651**<br>(0.233)   | 0.565**<br>(0.181)   | 0.395<br>(0.255)     |
| Pensioners                                         | 0.547*<br>(0.223)     | -0.408*<br>(0.193)   | 0.562***<br>(0.110)  | -0.705**<br>(0.217)  |
| (Intercept)                                        | -2.033***<br>(0.162)  | -1.293***<br>(0.093) | -0.352***<br>(0.065) | -1.325***<br>(0.096) |
| N                                                  | 1158                  |                      |                      |                      |
| AIC                                                | 2795.0                |                      |                      |                      |
| BIC                                                | 2875.9                |                      |                      |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.35                  |                      |                      |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for right wing parties serve as a baseline.

Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**D.3 Models explaining voting for parliamentary parties based on 3 classes****Table D21: 1992 election**

|                                                    | LB (KSČM)            | ČSSD                 | KDU-ČSL              | LSU                  | SPR-RSČ              | ODA                  | HSD-SMS              | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -0.756**<br>(0.246)  | -0.986**<br>(0.310)  | -0.313<br>(0.285)    | -1.107***<br>(0.308) | -1.444**<br>(0.454)  | -0.072<br>(0.182)    | -1.073**<br>(0.331)  | 0.018<br>(0.175)     |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | -0.709***<br>(0.212) | -0.345<br>(0.221)    | -0.670*<br>(0.282)   | -0.467*<br>(0.218)   | -0.599*<br>(0.296)   | -0.465**<br>(0.179)  | -0.390+<br>(0.232)   | -0.618***<br>(0.184) |
| Manual workers                                     | 0.337+<br>(0.185)    | -0.107<br>(0.237)    | -0.771*<br>(0.339)   | 0.257<br>(0.207)     | 0.217<br>(0.271)     | -0.392+<br>(0.203)   | -0.041<br>(0.241)    | -0.291<br>(0.194)    |
| (Intercept)                                        | -1.128***<br>(0.113) | -1.438***<br>(0.135) | -1.754***<br>(0.158) | -1.316***<br>(0.130) | -1.826***<br>(0.183) | -0.930***<br>(0.098) | -1.504***<br>(0.142) | -0.891***<br>(0.096) |
| N                                                  | 676                  |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| AIC                                                | 2546.8               |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| BIC                                                | 2655.2               |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.30                 |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for ODS serve as a baseline.

Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D22: 1996 election**

|                                                    | ČSSD                 | KSČM                 | KDU-ČSL              | SPR-RSČ              | ODA                  | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -0.701***<br>(0.173) | -1.288***<br>(0.330) | -0.875**<br>(0.297)  | -0.732**<br>(0.274)  | 0.012<br>(0.198)     | -0.729**<br>(0.250)  |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | -0.074<br>(0.138)    | -0.396+<br>(0.228)   | -0.596*<br>(0.251)   | -1.044***<br>(0.281) | -0.000<br>(0.186)    | -0.163<br>(0.197)    |
| Manual workers                                     | 0.573***<br>(0.145)  | 0.460*<br>(0.214)    | 0.122<br>(0.239)     | 0.505*<br>(0.213)    | -0.997***<br>(0.293) | -0.198<br>(0.232)    |
| (Intercept)                                        | -0.202*<br>(0.080)   | -1.224***<br>(0.137) | -1.349***<br>(0.137) | -1.270***<br>(0.135) | -0.984***<br>(0.120) | -1.090***<br>(0.119) |
| N                                                  | 665                  |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| AIC                                                | 2238.5               |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| BIC                                                | 2319.5               |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.33                 |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for ODS serve as a baseline.

Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D23: 1998 election**

|                                                    | ČSSD                 | KSČM                 | KDU-ČSL              | US                   | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -0.823***<br>(0.130) | -1.467***<br>(0.271) | -0.737***<br>(0.179) | -0.434**<br>(0.154)  | -1.487***<br>(0.258) |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | 0.112<br>(0.110)     | -0.319+<br>(0.191)   | -0.390*<br>(0.165)   | -0.062<br>(0.143)    | -0.372*<br>(0.184)   |
| Manual workers                                     | 0.790***<br>(0.137)  | 0.631**<br>(0.203)   | 0.301<br>(0.190)     | -0.152<br>(0.202)    | 0.828***<br>(0.187)  |
| (Intercept)                                        | 0.080<br>(0.066)     | -1.156***<br>(0.117) | -0.826***<br>(0.093) | -0.648***<br>(0.088) | -1.031***<br>(0.111) |
| N                                                  | 966                  |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| AIC                                                | 3020.2               |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| BIC                                                | 3093.3               |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.35                 |                      |                      |                      |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for ODS serve as a baseline.

Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D24: 2002 election**

|                                                    | ČSSD                 | KSČM                 | Koalice              | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -0.928***<br>(0.192) | -1.034***<br>(0.312) | -0.251<br>(0.210)    | -0.956***<br>(0.283) |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | 0.385*<br>(0.185)    | -0.567+<br>(0.336)   | -0.173<br>(0.252)    | 0.051<br>(0.265)     |
| Manual workers                                     | 0.639**<br>(0.206)   | 0.586*<br>(0.286)    | -0.157<br>(0.291)    | 0.036<br>(0.307)     |
| (Intercept)                                        | 0.096<br>(0.102)     | -1.014***<br>(0.163) | -0.581***<br>(0.132) | -0.869***<br>(0.149) |
| N                                                  | 368                  |                      |                      |                      |
| AIC                                                | 1046.3               |                      |                      |                      |
| BIC                                                | 1093.2               |                      |                      |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.38                 |                      |                      |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for ODS serve as a baseline.

Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D25: 2006 election**

|                                                    | ČSSD                 | KSČM                 | KDU-ČSL              | SZ                   | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -1.008***<br>(0.139) | -1.514***<br>(0.258) | -0.854***<br>(0.210) | -1.142***<br>(0.208) | -0.804***<br>(0.212) |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | -0.070<br>(0.120)    | -0.325+<br>(0.191)   | -0.802***<br>(0.225) | -0.157<br>(0.169)    | -0.627**<br>(0.218)  |
| Manual workers                                     | 0.831***<br>(0.146)  | 0.593**<br>(0.209)   | 0.338<br>(0.227)     | 0.212<br>(0.215)     | 0.062<br>(0.251)     |
| (Intercept)                                        | -0.248***<br>(0.071) | -1.246***<br>(0.116) | -1.318***<br>(0.115) | -1.087***<br>(0.104) | -1.368***<br>(0.119) |
| N                                                  | 786                  |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| AIC                                                | 2287.7               |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| BIC                                                | 2357.7               |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.34                 |                      |                      |                      |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for ODS serve as a baseline.

Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D26: 2010 election**

|                                                    | ČSSD                 | TOP 09             | KSČM                 | VV                   | KDU-ČSL              | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -1.527***<br>(0.219) | -0.398*<br>(0.160) | -2.078***<br>(0.456) | -0.716***<br>(0.183) | -1.260**<br>(0.435)  | -0.523**<br>(0.189)  |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | 0.536**<br>(0.178)   | 0.401*<br>(0.178)  | -0.132<br>(0.312)    | 0.090<br>(0.198)     | 0.293<br>(0.356)     | -0.138<br>(0.222)    |
| Manual workers                                     | 0.860***<br>(0.195)  | -0.104<br>(0.226)  | 0.955***<br>(0.280)  | 0.313<br>(0.219)     | -0.818<br>(0.572)    | 0.155<br>(0.240)     |
| (Intercept)                                        | -0.131<br>(0.103)    | -0.101<br>(0.099)  | -1.255***<br>(0.187) | -0.313**<br>(0.105)  | -1.785***<br>(0.242) | -0.506***<br>(0.114) |
| N                                                  | 617                  |                    |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| AIC                                                | 2127.0               |                    |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| BIC                                                | 2206.6               |                    |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.34                 |                    |                      |                      |                      |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for ODS serve as a baseline.

Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D27: 2013 election**

|                                                    | ČSSD                | ANO 2011            | KSČM                | TOP 09            | Úsvit               | KDU-ČSL            | Other              |
|----------------------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -0.762**<br>(0.263) | -0.443+<br>(0.253)  | -1.028**<br>(0.333) | 0.132<br>(0.290)  | -1.004**<br>(0.369) | -0.885*<br>(0.373) | -0.507+<br>(0.286) |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | 0.567+<br>(0.294)   | 0.385<br>(0.295)    | -0.124<br>(0.357)   | 0.323<br>(0.343)  | -0.400<br>(0.411)   | -0.436<br>(0.429)  | -0.003<br>(0.333)  |
| Manual workers                                     | 1.404**<br>(0.461)  | 1.336**<br>(0.460)  | 1.443**<br>(0.489)  | -0.084<br>(0.584) | 1.351**<br>(0.513)  | 1.150*<br>(0.533)  | 1.059*<br>(0.489)  |
| (Intercept)                                        | 1.210***<br>(0.183) | 1.278***<br>(0.182) | 0.291<br>(0.208)    | 0.371+<br>(0.222) | -0.052<br>(0.227)   | -0.171<br>(0.235)  | 0.549**<br>(0.198) |
| N                                                  | 542                 |                     |                     |                   |                     |                    |                    |
| AIC                                                | 1998.1              |                     |                     |                   |                     |                    |                    |
| BIC                                                | 2088.3              |                     |                     |                   |                     |                    |                    |
| RMSE                                               | 0.32                |                     |                     |                   |                     |                    |                    |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for ODS serve as a baseline.

Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D28: 2017 election**

|                                                    | ANO 2011            | Pirates            | SPD                 | KSČM                 | ČSSD                | KDU-ČSL              | TOP 09              | STAN                | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -0.365+<br>(0.198)  | -0.579*<br>(0.226) | -0.666**<br>(0.249) | -2.475**<br>(0.780)  | -0.848**<br>(0.278) | -0.982**<br>(0.357)  | -0.417<br>(0.310)   | -0.778*<br>(0.319)  | -0.614+<br>(0.330)   |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | 0.197<br>(0.220)    | 0.030<br>(0.244)   | -0.391<br>(0.281)   | 0.151<br>(0.425)     | -0.301<br>(0.295)   | -0.590<br>(0.386)    | -0.489<br>(0.372)   | -0.742+<br>(0.380)  | -0.424<br>(0.374)    |
| Manual workers                                     | 1.068**<br>(0.336)  | 0.924**<br>(0.357) | 1.131**<br>(0.365)  | 1.162*<br>(0.512)    | 0.998**<br>(0.384)  | 0.863+<br>(0.445)    | 0.250<br>(0.503)    | 0.963*<br>(0.421)   | 0.316<br>(0.504)     |
| (Intercept)                                        | 0.901***<br>(0.135) | 0.375*<br>(0.147)  | 0.073<br>(0.158)    | -1.162***<br>(0.309) | -0.151<br>(0.168)   | -0.709***<br>(0.208) | -0.656**<br>(0.210) | -0.557**<br>(0.196) | -0.721***<br>(0.214) |
| N                                                  | 530                 |                    |                     |                      |                     |                      |                     |                     |                      |
| AIC                                                | 2137.6              |                    |                     |                      |                     |                      |                     |                     |                      |
| BIC                                                | 2252.9              |                    |                     |                      |                     |                      |                     |                     |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.29                |                    |                     |                      |                     |                      |                     |                     |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for ODS serve as a baseline.

Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D29: 2021 election**

|                                                    | ANO 2011 Pirates+STAN |                      | SPD                  | ČSSD                 | KSČM                 | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -0.683***<br>(0.183)  | -0.595***<br>(0.178) | -1.330***<br>(0.259) | -1.115***<br>(0.326) | -1.257*<br>(0.492)   | -0.638***<br>(0.193) |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | 0.179<br>(0.171)      | -0.034<br>(0.177)    | -0.000<br>(0.202)    | -0.655*<br>(0.316)   | -0.420<br>(0.422)    | -0.023<br>(0.188)    |
| Manual workers                                     | 0.252<br>(0.242)      | 0.381<br>(0.235)     | 0.688**<br>(0.249)   | 0.461<br>(0.329)     | -0.337<br>(0.586)    | 0.225<br>(0.257)     |
| (Intercept)                                        | -0.252*<br>(0.105)    | -0.248*<br>(0.104)   | -0.642***<br>(0.124) | -1.309***<br>(0.169) | -2.014***<br>(0.264) | -0.436***<br>(0.112) |
| N                                                  | 540                   |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| AIC                                                | 1877.7                |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| BIC                                                | 1955.0                |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.34                  |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for ODS serve as a baseline.

Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D30: 2025 election**

|                                                    | Pirates              | Motorists            | ANO 2011             | STAN                | SPD                  | Enough!              | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -0.149<br>(0.175)    | -1.046***<br>(0.244) | -1.025***<br>(0.157) | -0.208<br>(0.155)   | -1.043***<br>(0.204) | -2.010***<br>(0.461) | -0.528*<br>(0.257)   |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | -0.108<br>(0.191)    | -0.654**<br>(0.248)  | 0.160<br>(0.143)     | -0.221<br>(0.173)   | -0.363+<br>(0.195)   | -0.151<br>(0.294)    | -0.319<br>(0.271)    |
| Manual workers                                     | -0.315<br>(0.343)    | 0.676*<br>(0.300)    | 0.941***<br>(0.220)  | 0.118<br>(0.278)    | 0.784**<br>(0.260)   | 0.560<br>(0.392)     | -0.444<br>(0.479)    |
| (Intercept)                                        | -0.572***<br>(0.130) | -1.024***<br>(0.139) | 0.076<br>(0.092)     | -0.312**<br>(0.109) | -0.622***<br>(0.116) | -1.601***<br>(0.203) | -1.291***<br>(0.183) |
| N                                                  | 778                  |                      |                      |                     |                      |                      |                      |
| AIC                                                | 2844.0               |                      |                      |                     |                      |                      |                      |
| BIC                                                | 2941.8               |                      |                      |                     |                      |                      |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.32                 |                      |                      |                     |                      |                      |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for ODS serve as a baseline.

Significance levels: +  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

#### D. 4 Models explaining voting for parliamentary parties based on 3 classes and pensioners

**Table D31: 1992 election**

|                                                    | LB<br>(KSČM)         | ČSSD                 | KDU-ČSL              | LSU                  | SPR-RSČ              | ODA                  | HSD-SMS              | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -0.896***<br>(0.259) | -1.005**<br>(0.328)  | -0.423<br>(0.293)    | -1.080***<br>(0.327) | -1.080*<br>(0.499)   | 0.043<br>(0.193)     | -0.966**<br>(0.354)  | -0.003<br>(0.183)    |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | -0.848***<br>(0.219) | -0.363<br>(0.226)    | -0.778**<br>(0.289)  | -0.439+<br>(0.224)   | -0.233<br>(0.327)    | -0.349+<br>(0.189)   | -0.282<br>(0.241)    | -0.638***<br>(0.192) |
| Manual workers                                     | 0.198<br>(0.187)     | -0.125<br>(0.244)    | -0.882*<br>(0.356)   | 0.284<br>(0.211)     | 0.581+<br>(0.300)    | -0.276<br>(0.217)    | 0.067<br>(0.251)     | -0.312<br>(0.204)    |
| Pensioners                                         | 0.557**<br>(0.171)   | 0.072<br>(0.228)     | 0.437+<br>(0.228)    | -0.110<br>(0.234)    | -1.459*<br>(0.591)   | -0.464*<br>(0.228)   | -0.430<br>(0.292)    | 0.082<br>(0.180)     |
| (Intercept)                                        | -0.989***<br>(0.097) | -1.420***<br>(0.119) | -1.645***<br>(0.135) | -1.344***<br>(0.116) | -2.191***<br>(0.205) | -1.046***<br>(0.095) | -1.612***<br>(0.132) | -0.870***<br>(0.087) |
| N                                                  | 928                  |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| AIC                                                | 3527.4               |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| BIC                                                | 3682.0               |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.30                 |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for ODS serve as a baseline.

Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D32: 1996 election**

|                                                    | ČSSD                 | KSČM                 | KDU-ČSL              | SPR-RSČ              | ODA                  | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -0.617***<br>(0.183) | -1.414***<br>(0.349) | -0.933**<br>(0.312)  | -0.436<br>(0.297)    | 0.298<br>(0.212)     | -0.654*<br>(0.264)   |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | 0.009<br>(0.144)     | -0.522*<br>(0.231)   | -0.654*<br>(0.259)   | -0.748*<br>(0.306)   | 0.285<br>(0.199)     | -0.088<br>(0.204)    |
| Manual workers                                     | 0.656***<br>(0.152)  | 0.334<br>(0.215)     | 0.064<br>(0.244)     | 0.801***<br>(0.230)  | -0.711*<br>(0.318)   | -0.123<br>(0.244)    |
| Pensioners                                         | -0.333*<br>(0.166)   | 0.503**<br>(0.187)   | 0.231<br>(0.210)     | -1.182**<br>(0.384)  | -1.141***<br>(0.330) | -0.301<br>(0.230)    |
| (Intercept)                                        | -0.286***<br>(0.074) | -1.099***<br>(0.116) | -1.292***<br>(0.119) | -1.565***<br>(0.142) | -1.270***<br>(0.125) | -1.165***<br>(0.109) |
| N                                                  | 885                  |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| AIC                                                | 2981.2               |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| BIC                                                | 3096.1               |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.33                 |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for ODS serve as a baseline.

Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D33: 1998 election**

|                                                    | ČSSD                 | KSČM                 | KDU-ČSL              | US                   | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -0.958***<br>(0.137) | -1.744***<br>(0.286) | -0.944***<br>(0.186) | -0.337*<br>(0.164)   | -1.718***<br>(0.272) |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | -0.024<br>(0.114)    | -0.596**<br>(0.193)  | -0.597***<br>(0.170) | 0.035<br>(0.152)     | -0.604**<br>(0.187)  |
| Manual workers                                     | 0.655***<br>(0.145)  | 0.355+<br>(0.207)    | 0.093<br>(0.199)     | -0.055<br>(0.217)    | 0.596**<br>(0.191)   |
| Pensioners                                         | 0.543***<br>(0.137)  | 1.106***<br>(0.168)  | 0.831***<br>(0.159)  | -0.388+<br>(0.222)   | 0.927***<br>(0.168)  |
| (Intercept)                                        | 0.216***<br>(0.061)  | -0.879***<br>(0.100) | -0.618***<br>(0.082) | -0.745***<br>(0.088) | -0.799***<br>(0.096) |
| N                                                  | 1384                 |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| AIC                                                | 4437.2               |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| BIC                                                | 4541.9               |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.36                 |                      |                      |                      |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for ODS serve as a baseline.

Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D34: 2002 election**

|                                                    | ČSSD                 | KSČM                 | Koalice              | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -1.040***<br>(0.199) | -1.128***<br>(0.322) | -0.363+<br>(0.211)   | -0.906**<br>(0.295)  |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | 0.273<br>(0.190)     | -0.661+<br>(0.350)   | -0.286<br>(0.260)    | 0.100<br>(0.274)     |
| Manual workers                                     | 0.527*<br>(0.215)    | 0.492+<br>(0.292)    | -0.269<br>(0.305)    | 0.086<br>(0.321)     |
| Pensioners                                         | 0.448**<br>(0.156)   | 0.378+<br>(0.220)    | 0.450*<br>(0.186)    | -0.198<br>(0.248)    |
| (Intercept)                                        | 0.208*<br>(0.088)    | -0.919***<br>(0.138) | -0.468***<br>(0.112) | -0.919***<br>(0.131) |
| N                                                  | 633                  |                      |                      |                      |
| AIC                                                | 1825.4               |                      |                      |                      |
| BIC                                                | 1896.6               |                      |                      |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.38                 |                      |                      |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for ODS serve as a baseline.

Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D35: 2006 election**

|                                                    | ČSSD                 | KSČM                 | KDU-ČSL              | SZ                   | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -1.154***<br>(0.146) | -1.840***<br>(0.271) | -1.002***<br>(0.217) | -1.029***<br>(0.222) | -0.747***<br>(0.223) |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | -0.215+<br>(0.124)   | -0.650***<br>(0.193) | -0.950***<br>(0.234) | -0.045<br>(0.178)    | -0.570*<br>(0.229)   |
| Manual workers                                     | 0.685***<br>(0.154)  | 0.268<br>(0.214)     | 0.189<br>(0.236)     | 0.325<br>(0.230)     | 0.119<br>(0.267)     |
| Pensioners                                         | 0.582***<br>(0.132)  | 1.302***<br>(0.153)  | 0.593**<br>(0.181)   | -0.451+<br>(0.248)   | -0.226<br>(0.252)    |
| (Intercept)                                        | -0.102<br>(0.064)    | -0.920***<br>(0.097) | -1.170***<br>(0.100) | -1.200***<br>(0.101) | -1.425***<br>(0.112) |
| N                                                  | 1153                 |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| AIC                                                | 3427.6               |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| BIC                                                | 3528.6               |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.34                 |                      |                      |                      |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for ODS serve as a baseline.

Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D36: 2010 election**

|                                                    | ČSSD                 | TOP 09             | KSČM                 | VV                   | KDU-ČSL              | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -1.760***<br>(0.230) | -0.345*<br>(0.167) | -2.472***<br>(0.481) | -0.651***<br>(0.193) | -1.380**<br>(0.446)  | -0.421*<br>(0.199)   |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | 0.304+<br>(0.183)    | 0.454*<br>(0.187)  | -0.527+<br>(0.315)   | 0.155<br>(0.210)     | 0.173<br>(0.352)     | -0.036<br>(0.237)    |
| Manual workers                                     | 0.628**<br>(0.203)   | -0.051<br>(0.242)  | 0.559*<br>(0.276)    | 0.378<br>(0.234)     | -0.937<br>(0.603)    | 0.257<br>(0.257)     |
| Pensioners                                         | 0.930***<br>(0.176)  | -0.211<br>(0.223)  | 1.580***<br>(0.221)  | -0.261<br>(0.242)    | 0.479<br>(0.337)     | -0.410<br>(0.274)    |
| (Intercept)                                        | 0.102<br>(0.091)     | -0.154<br>(0.095)  | -0.859***<br>(0.155) | -0.378***<br>(0.101) | -1.665***<br>(0.205) | -0.609***<br>(0.112) |
| N                                                  | 896                  |                    |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| AIC                                                | 3061.7               |                    |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| BIC                                                | 3176.8               |                    |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.33                 |                    |                      |                      |                      |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for ODS serve as a baseline.

Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D37: 2013 election**

|                                                    | ČSSD                 | ANO 2011            | KSČM                 | TOP 09            | Úsvit              | KDU-ČSL             | Other              |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -0.923***<br>(0.262) | -0.444+<br>(0.252)  | -1.408***<br>(0.336) | 0.138<br>(0.283)  | -0.912*<br>(0.381) | -1.058**<br>(0.377) | -0.478+<br>(0.288) |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | 0.406<br>(0.300)     | 0.384<br>(0.302)    | -0.503<br>(0.365)    | 0.329<br>(0.347)  | -0.308<br>(0.429)  | -0.608<br>(0.443)   | 0.026<br>(0.343)   |
| Manual workers                                     | 1.243*<br>(0.490)    | 1.336**<br>(0.491)  | 1.064*<br>(0.517)    | -0.077<br>(0.623) | 1.443**<br>(0.546) | 0.978+<br>(0.562)   | 1.088*<br>(0.521)  |
| Pensioners                                         | 0.644*<br>(0.306)    | 0.002<br>(0.321)    | 1.516***<br>(0.315)  | -0.027<br>(0.376) | -0.367<br>(0.451)  | 0.691+<br>(0.362)   | -0.115<br>(0.363)  |
| (Intercept)                                        | 1.371***<br>(0.161)  | 1.279***<br>(0.162) | 0.670***<br>(0.179)  | 0.364+<br>(0.196) | -0.144<br>(0.209)  | 0.002<br>(0.203)    | 0.521**<br>(0.178) |
| N                                                  | 807                  |                     |                      |                   |                    |                     |                    |
| AIC                                                | 2922.2               |                     |                      |                   |                    |                     |                    |
| BIC                                                | 3053.6               |                     |                      |                   |                    |                     |                    |
| RMSE                                               | 0.31                 |                     |                      |                   |                    |                     |                    |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for ODS serve as a baseline.

Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D38: 2017 election**

|                                                    | ANO 2011            | Pirates              | SPD                | KSČM                 | ČSSD                 | KDU-ČSL             | TOP 09               | STAN                 | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -0.466*<br>(0.198)  | -0.226<br>(0.243)    | -0.550*<br>(0.256) | -2.904***<br>(0.825) | -0.966***<br>(0.283) | -1.114**<br>(0.365) | -0.169<br>(0.325)    | -0.648*<br>(0.330)   | -0.548<br>(0.336)    |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | 0.095<br>(0.225)    | 0.383<br>(0.263)     | -0.275<br>(0.293)  | -0.276<br>(0.408)    | -0.419<br>(0.303)    | -0.722+<br>(0.399)  | -0.241<br>(0.396)    | -0.613<br>(0.401)    | -0.358<br>(0.387)    |
| Manual workers                                     | 0.966**<br>(0.358)  | 1.277**<br>(0.389)   | 1.248**<br>(0.389) | 0.736<br>(0.514)     | 0.880*<br>(0.405)    | 0.732<br>(0.466)    | 0.499<br>(0.542)     | 1.092*<br>(0.447)    | 0.382<br>(0.536)     |
| Pensioners                                         | 0.408+<br>(0.227)   | -1.410***<br>(0.417) | -0.467<br>(0.318)  | 1.710***<br>(0.325)  | 0.471+<br>(0.266)    | 0.526+<br>(0.305)   | -0.993+<br>(0.523)   | -0.517<br>(0.404)    | -0.263<br>(0.391)    |
| (Intercept)                                        | 1.003***<br>(0.119) | 0.023<br>(0.154)     | -0.044<br>(0.146)  | -0.735**<br>(0.253)  | -0.033<br>(0.146)    | -0.578**<br>(0.178) | -0.904***<br>(0.209) | -0.687***<br>(0.183) | -0.787***<br>(0.192) |
| N                                                  | 768                 |                      |                    |                      |                      |                     |                      |                      |                      |
| AIC                                                | 3041.1              |                      |                    |                      |                      |                     |                      |                      |                      |
| BIC                                                | 3208.3              |                      |                    |                      |                      |                     |                      |                      |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.29                |                      |                    |                      |                      |                     |                      |                      |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for ODS serve as a baseline.

Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D39: 2021 election**

|                                                    | ANO 2011             | Pirates+STAN         | SPD                  | ČSSD                 | KSČM                 | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | -0.942***<br>(0.188) | -0.394*<br>(0.191)   | -1.300***<br>(0.274) | -1.340***<br>(0.337) | -1.623**<br>(0.504)  | -0.586**<br>(0.202)  |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | -0.079<br>(0.174)    | 0.167<br>(0.189)     | 0.030<br>(0.209)     | -0.880**<br>(0.325)  | -0.786+<br>(0.421)   | 0.028<br>(0.195)     |
| Manual workers                                     | -0.007<br>(0.256)    | 0.582*<br>(0.254)    | 0.719**<br>(0.262)   | 0.236<br>(0.340)     | -0.704<br>(0.612)    | 0.276<br>(0.273)     |
| Pensioners                                         | 1.035***<br>(0.166)  | -0.804**<br>(0.275)  | -0.121<br>(0.243)    | 0.901***<br>(0.228)  | 1.465***<br>(0.279)  | -0.206<br>(0.232)    |
| (Intercept)                                        | 0.007<br>(0.091)     | -0.449***<br>(0.106) | -0.672***<br>(0.114) | -1.083***<br>(0.143) | -1.648***<br>(0.216) | -0.488***<br>(0.104) |
| N                                                  | 823                  |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| AIC                                                | 2836.5               |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| BIC                                                | 2949.6               |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.33                 |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for ODS serve as a baseline.

Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table D40: 2025 election**

|                                                    | Pirates              | Motorists            | ANO 2011             | STAN                 | SPD                  | Enough!              | Other                |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Higher professionals and entrepreneurs             | 0.041<br>(0.173)     | -0.837***<br>(0.254) | -1.142***<br>(0.160) | -0.064<br>(0.154)    | -0.918***<br>(0.211) | -2.123***<br>(0.483) | -0.282<br>(0.258)    |
| Lower professionals and routine non-manual workers | 0.082<br>(0.193)     | -0.445+<br>(0.259)   | 0.043<br>(0.143)     | -0.077<br>(0.176)    | -0.238<br>(0.200)    | -0.265<br>(0.287)    | -0.073<br>(0.275)    |
| Manual workers                                     | -0.126<br>(0.367)    | 0.885**<br>(0.319)   | 0.823***<br>(0.233)  | 0.262<br>(0.296)     | 0.909***<br>(0.276)  | 0.446<br>(0.404)     | -0.198<br>(0.513)    |
| Pensioners                                         | -0.760***<br>(0.228) | -0.835**<br>(0.279)  | 0.470***<br>(0.129)  | -0.576**<br>(0.189)  | -0.500*<br>(0.204)   | 0.455+<br>(0.233)    | -0.983**<br>(0.347)  |
| (Intercept)                                        | -0.762***<br>(0.115) | -1.233***<br>(0.128) | 0.194*<br>(0.078)    | -0.456***<br>(0.097) | -0.747***<br>(0.103) | -1.487***<br>(0.168) | -1.537***<br>(0.166) |
| N                                                  | 1158                 |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| AIC                                                | 4082.9               |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| BIC                                                | 4224.5               |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |
| RMSE                                               | 0.31                 |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |                      |

Note: Coefficients from multinomial regression with standard errors in parentheses, voting for ODS serve as a baseline.

Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .S