

# Changing Party Systems, Socio-Economic Cleavages, and Nationalism in Northern Europe, 1956-2017

*Technical Appendix*

Clara Martínez-Toledano  
Alice Sodano

February 2021



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*Changing Party Systems, Socio-Economic Cleavages,  
and Nationalism in Northern Europe, 1956-2017* \*

Clara Martínez-Toledano<sup>†</sup>      Alice Sodano<sup>‡</sup>

February 2021

**Appendix**

This document supplements our working paper “Changing Party Systems, Socio-Economic Cleavages, and Nationalism in Northern Europe, 1956-2017”. It contains all appendix tables and figures.

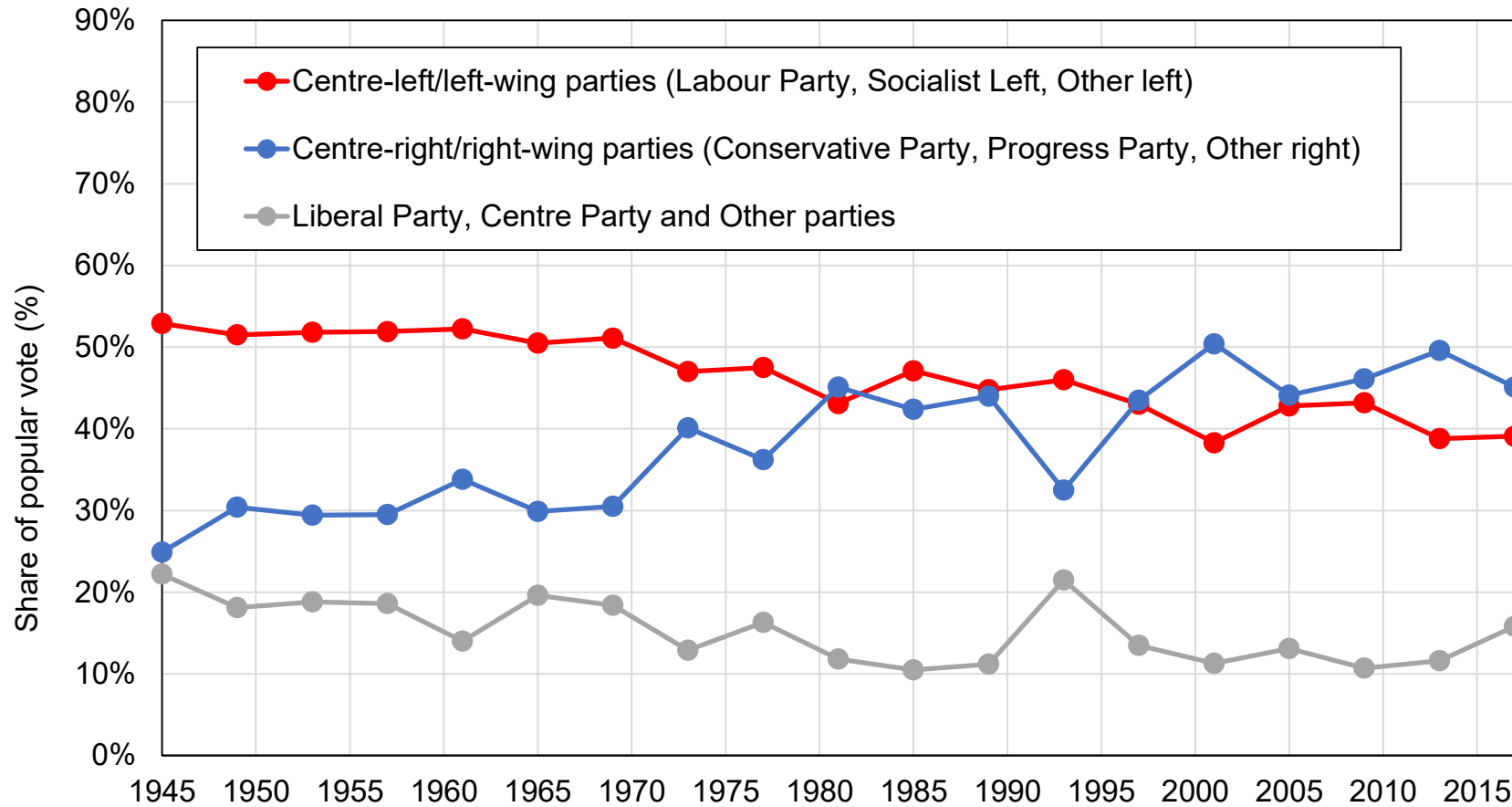
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\*We are grateful to Amory Gethin and Thomas Piketty for their useful advice.

<sup>†</sup>Imperial College London - World Inequality Lab; email: c.martinez-toledano@imperial.ac.uk.

<sup>‡</sup>Paris School of Economics – World Inequality Lab; email: sodano.alice@psestudent.eu.

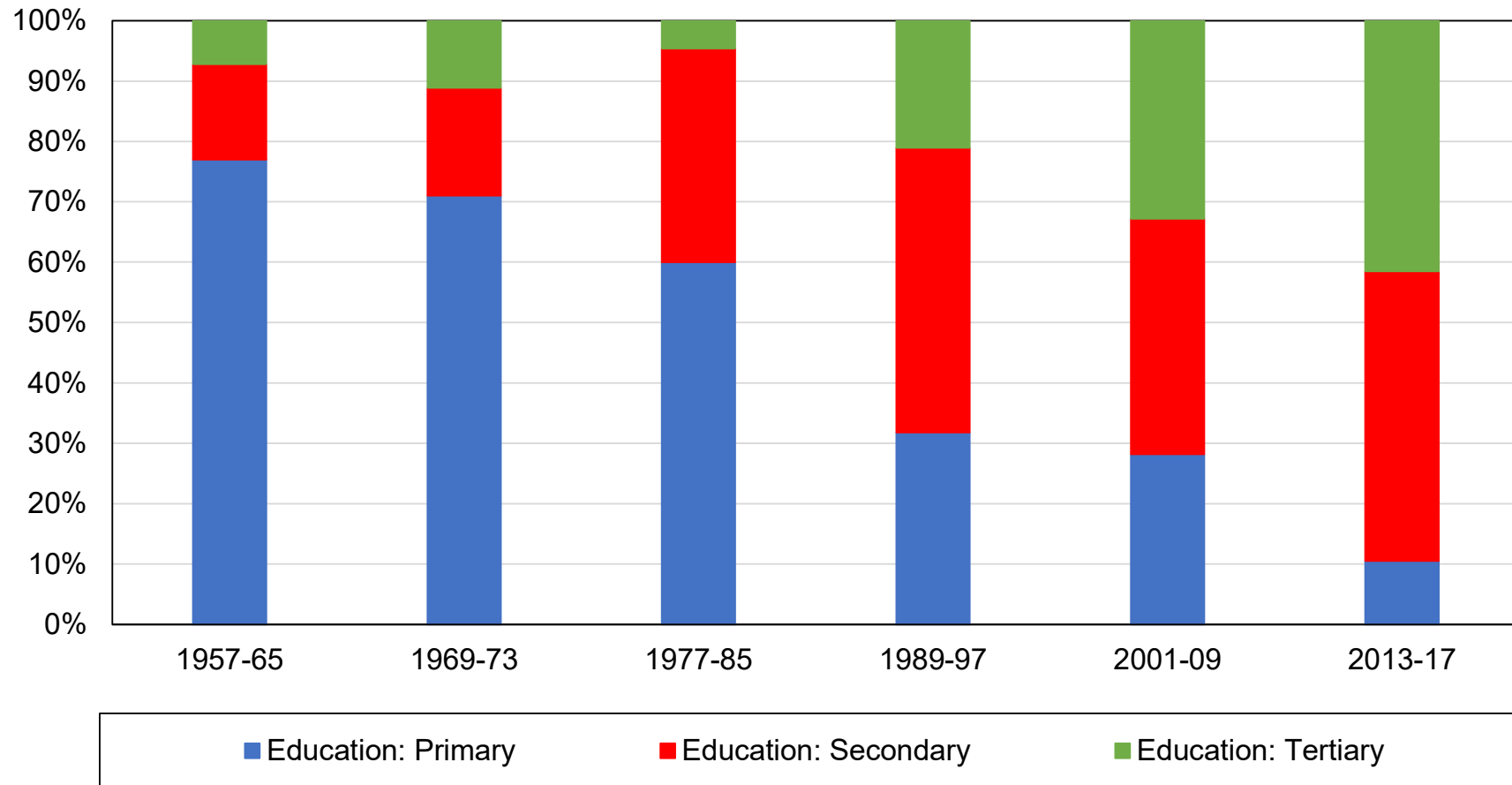
**Figure AA1 - Election results by groups in Norway, 1945-2017**



**Source:** authors' computations using official election results.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Norwegian political parties in general elections between 1945 and 2017.

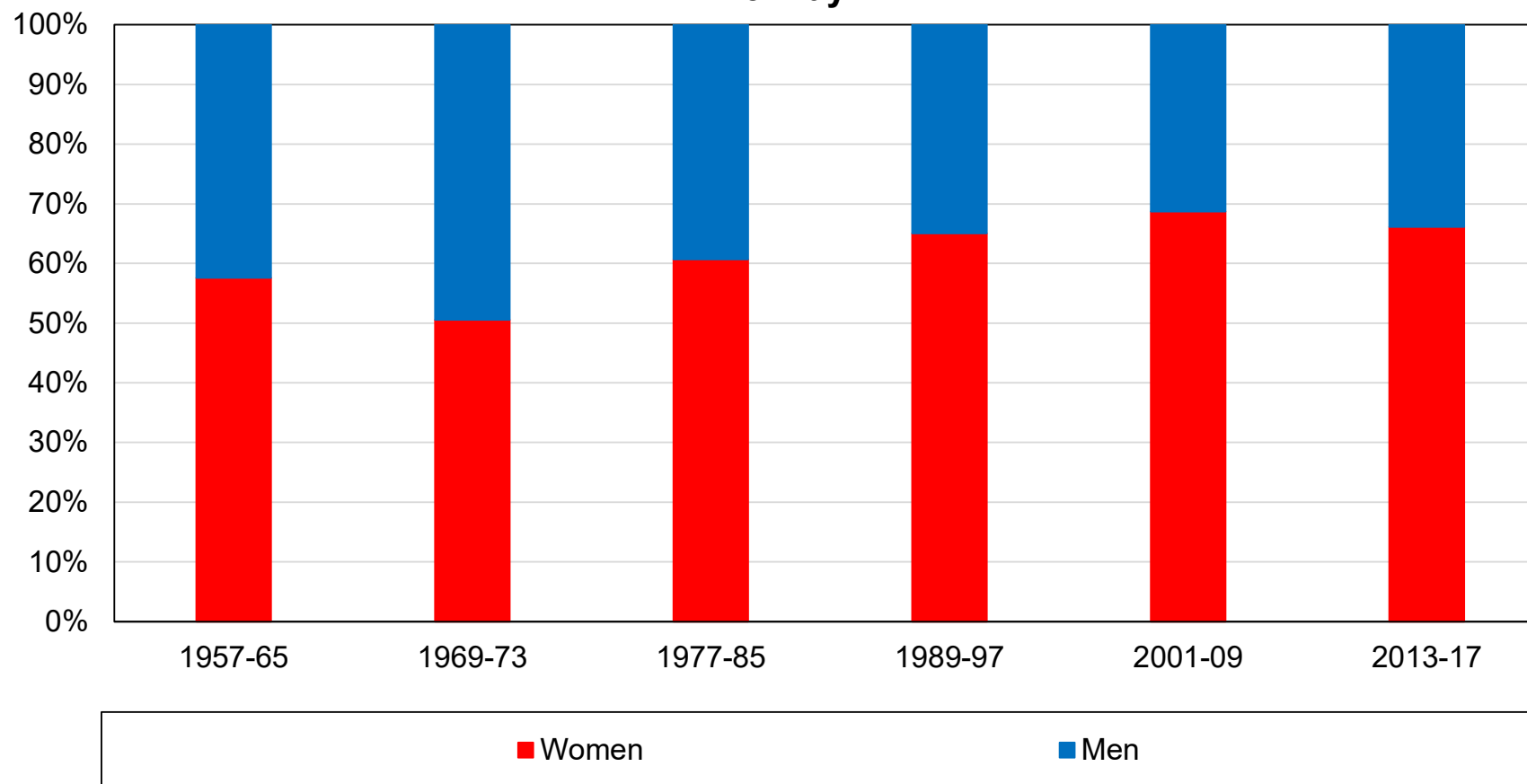
**Figure AA2 - The evolution of education in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the distribution of education levels of the Norwegian adult population and its evolution over time since 1957.

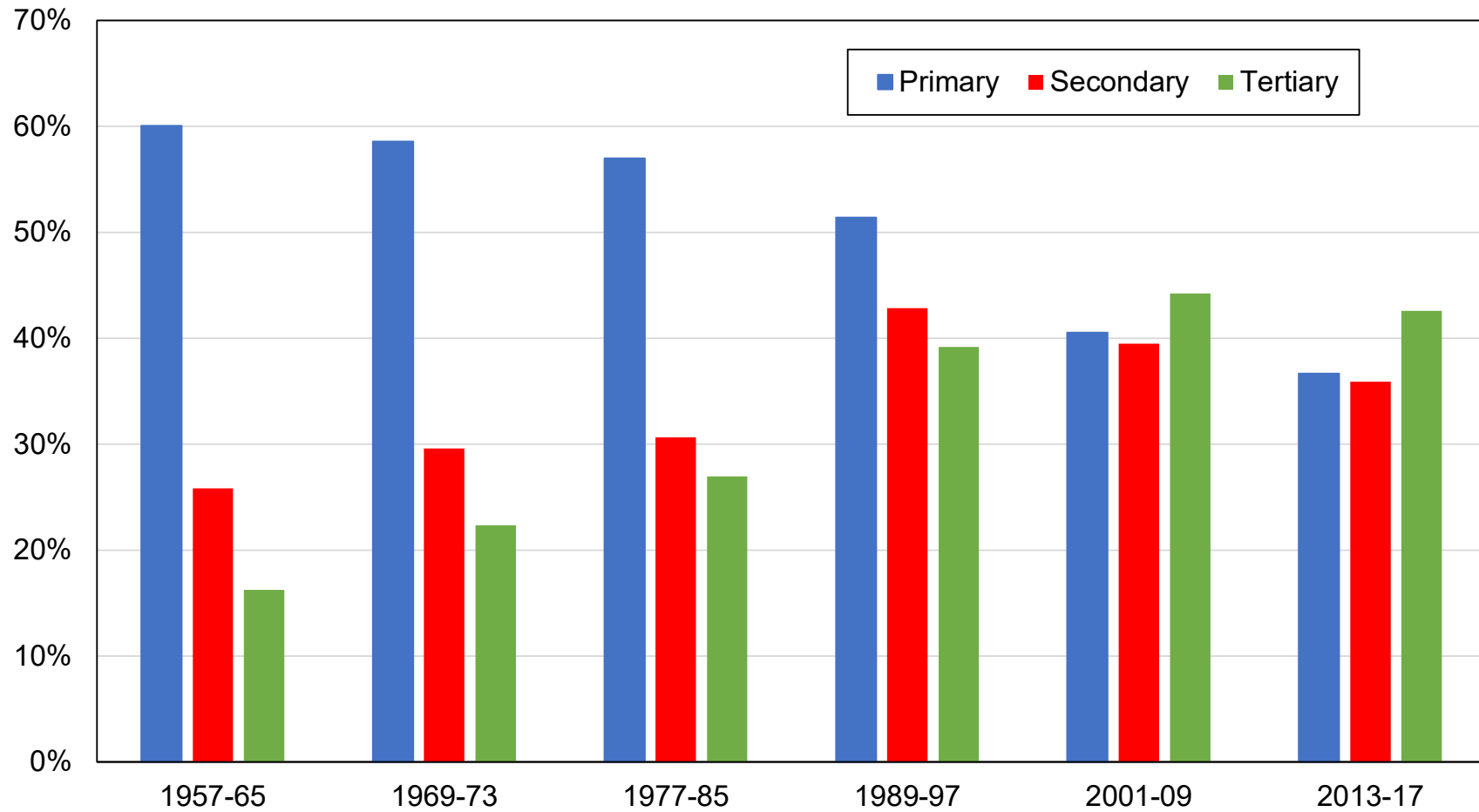
**Figure AA3 - The evolution of public sector employment by gender in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the distribution of public sector employment by gender of the Norwegian adult population and its evolution over time since 1957.

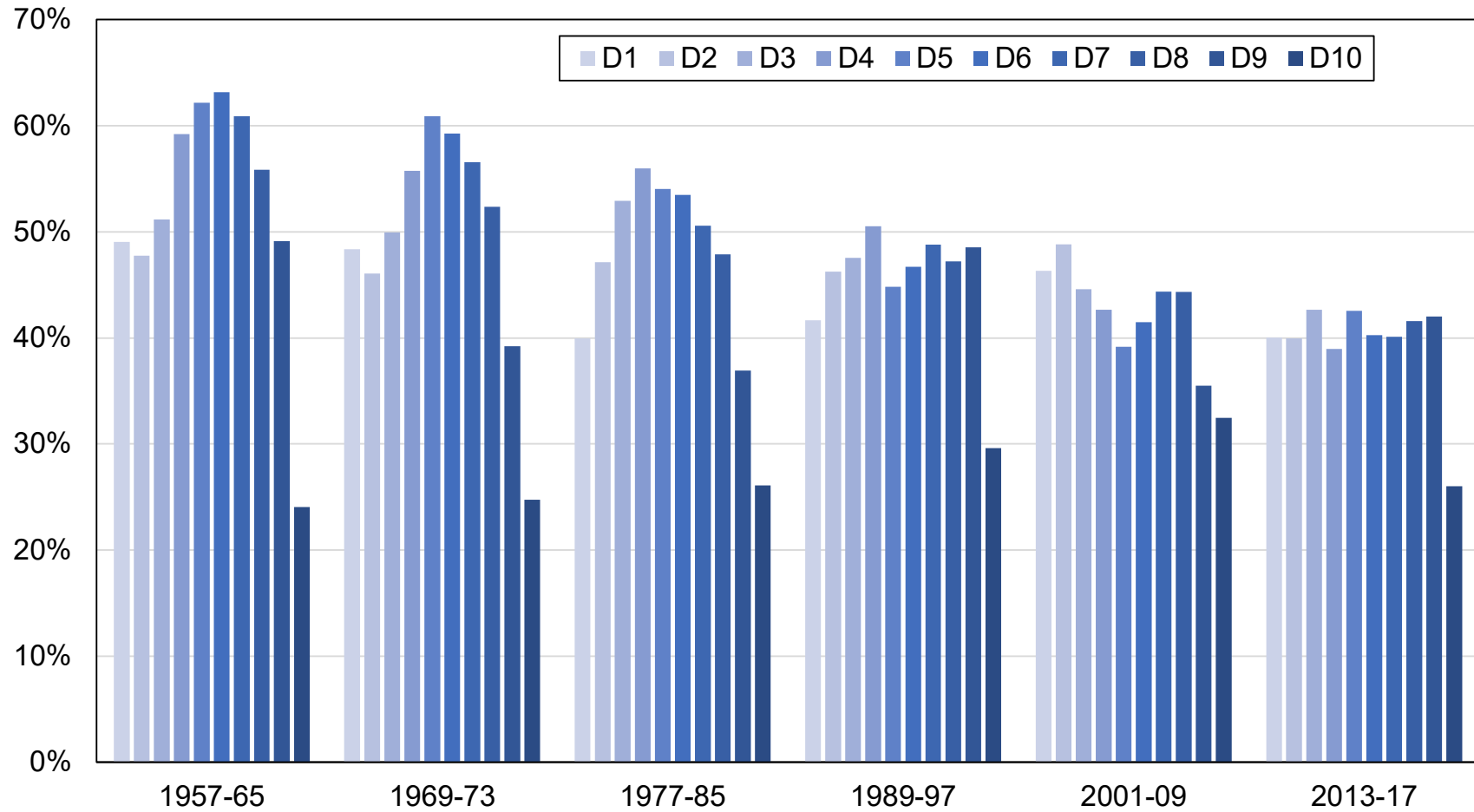
**Figure AB1 - Vote for the left by education level in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by education level.

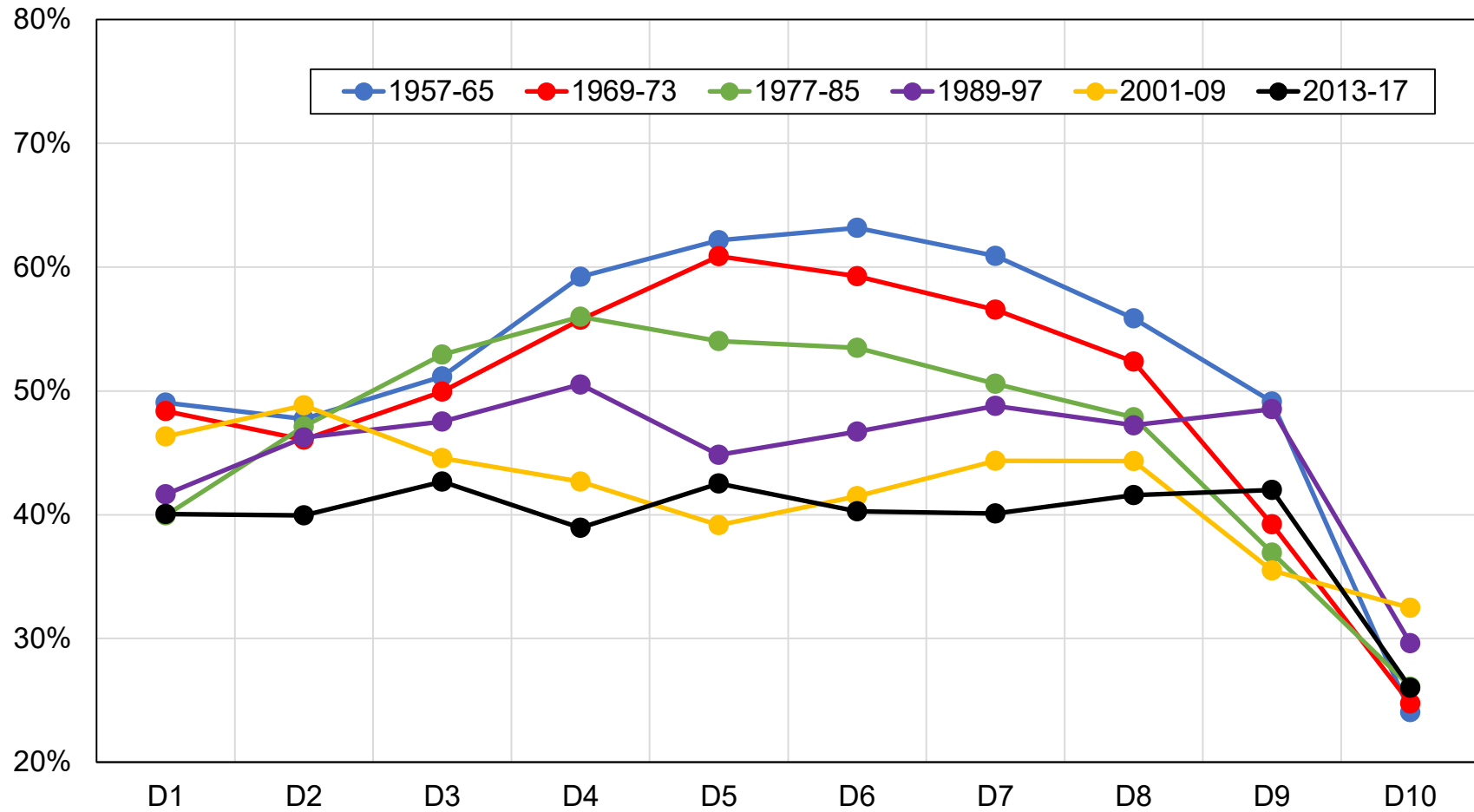
**Figure AB2 - Vote for the left by income decile in Norway (bars)**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income decile.

**Figure AB3 - Vote for the left by income decile in Norway (lines)**

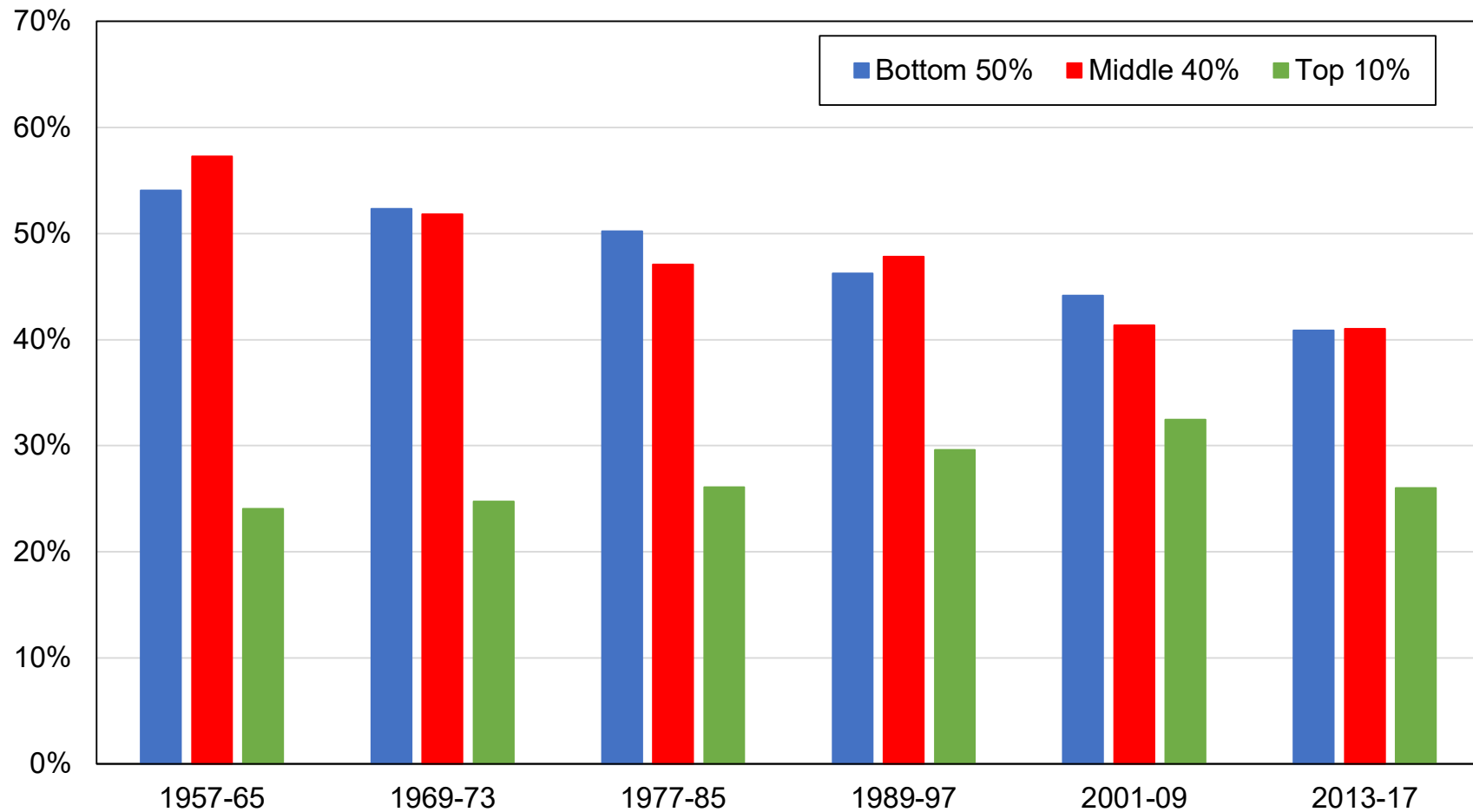


**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income decile.



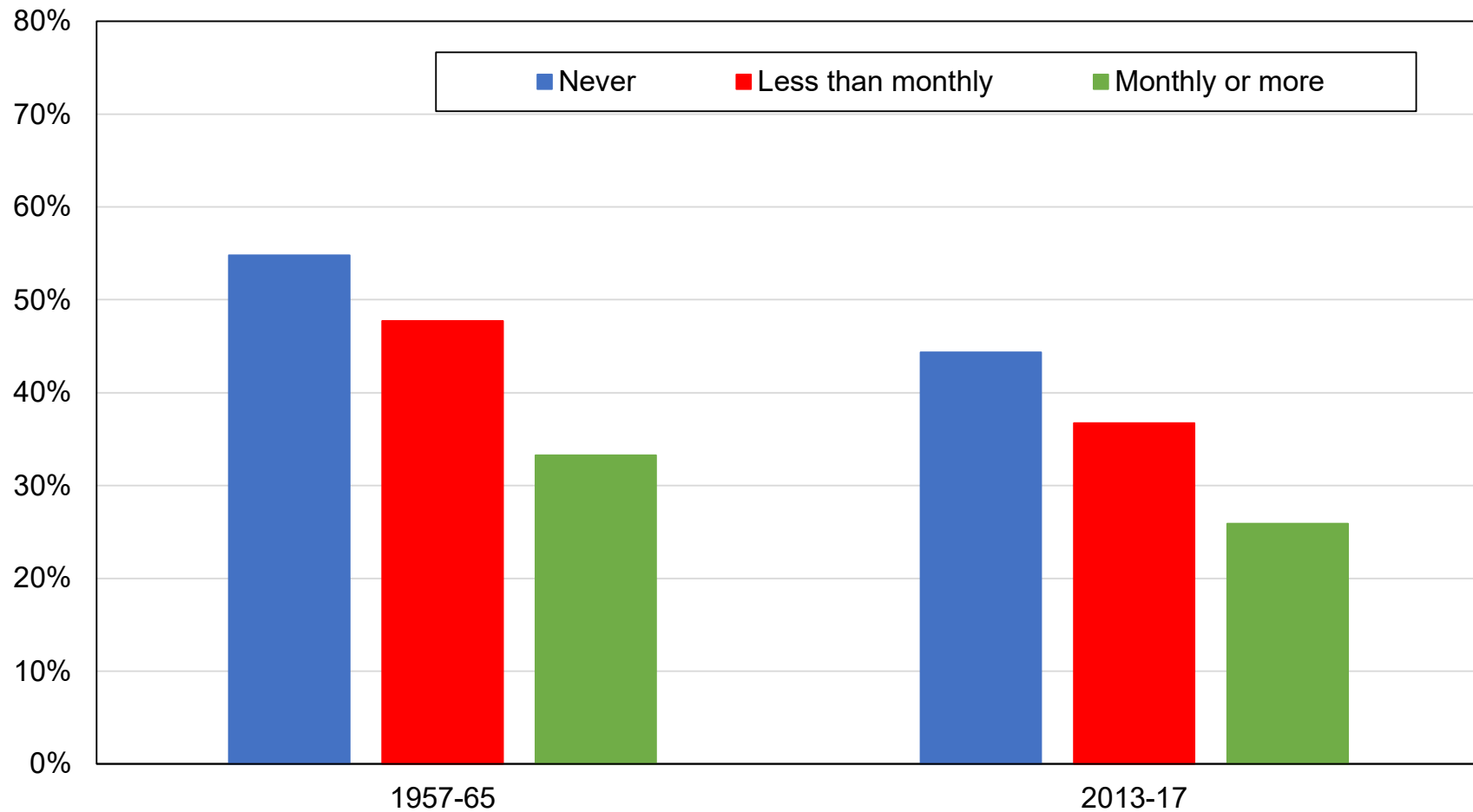
**Figure AB4 - Vote for the left by income group in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income group.

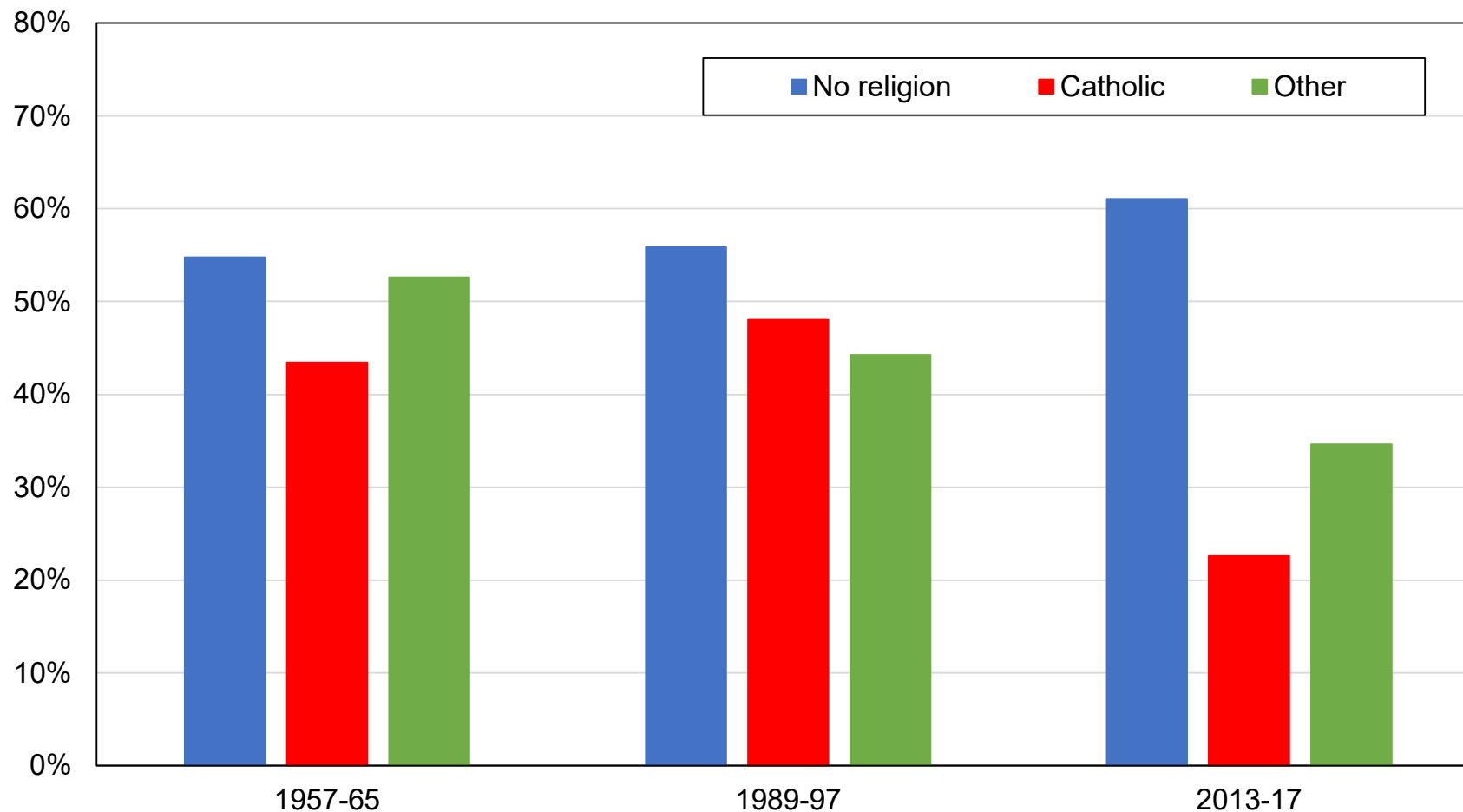
**Figure AB5 - Vote for the left by church attendance in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by church attendance.

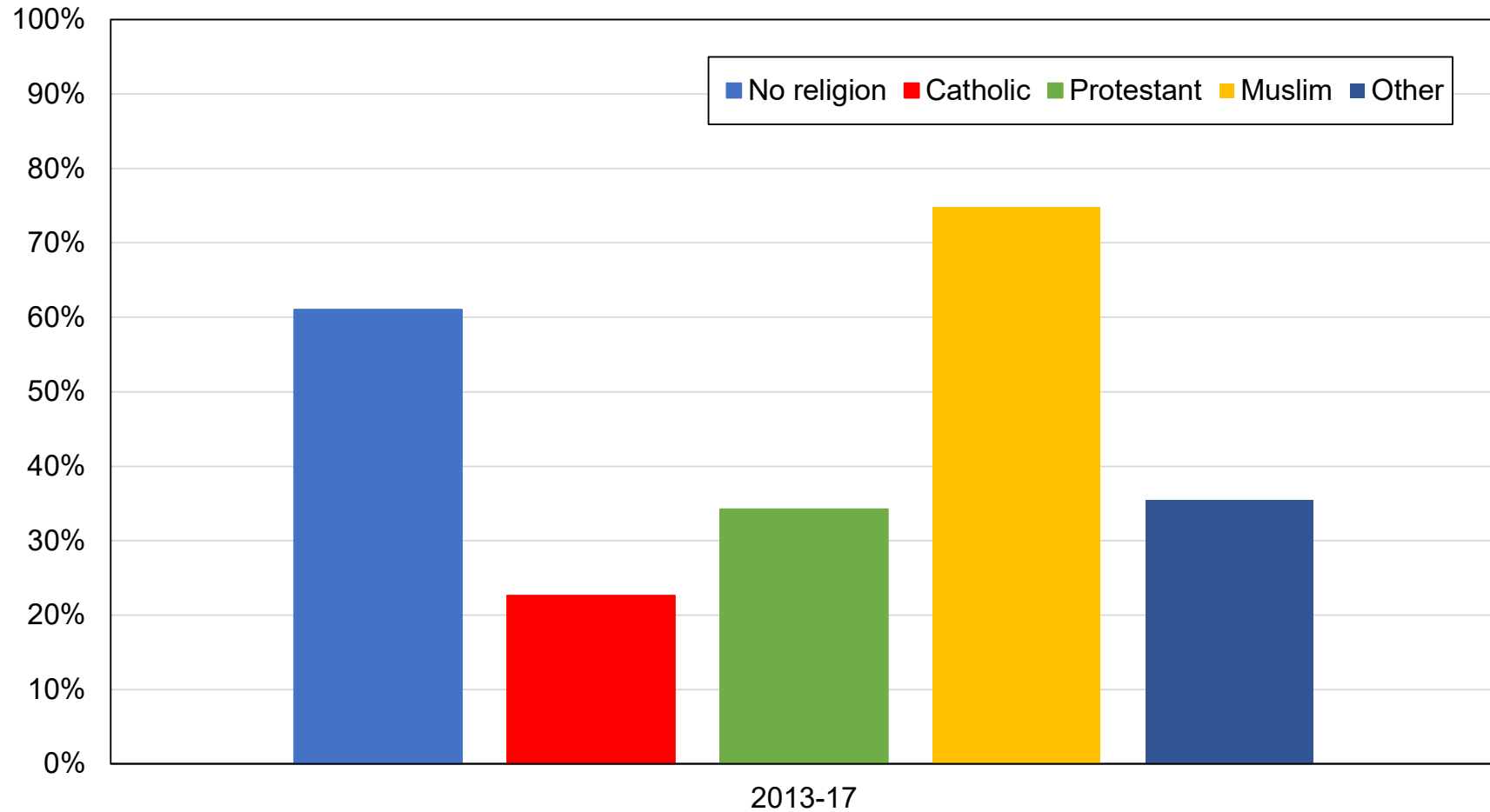
**Figure AB6 - Vote for the left by religious affiliation in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by religious affiliation.

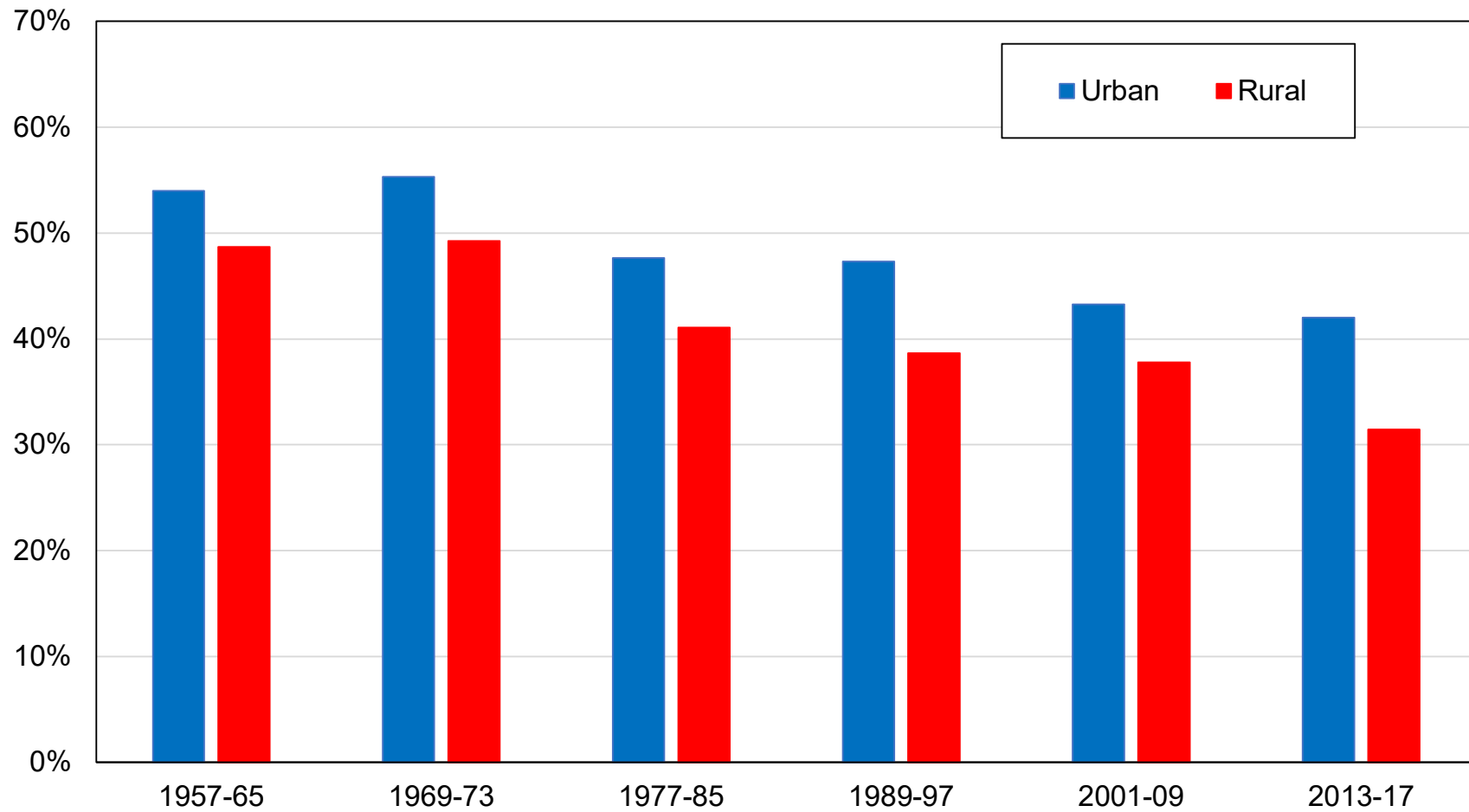
**Figure AB7 - Vote for the left by religious affiliation in Norway, 2013-17**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by religious affiliation over the last decade.

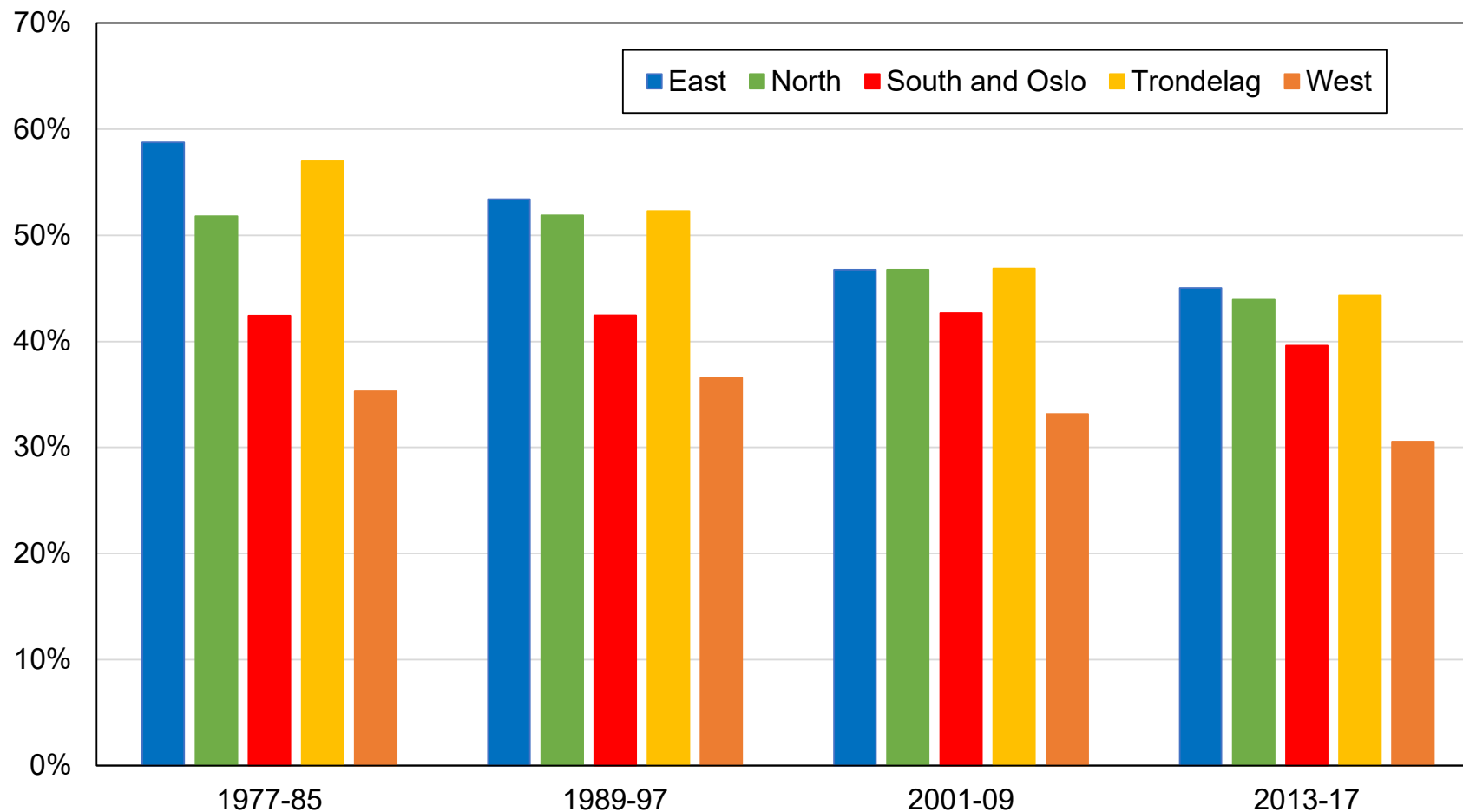
**Figure AB8 - Vote for the left by location in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by rural-urban location.

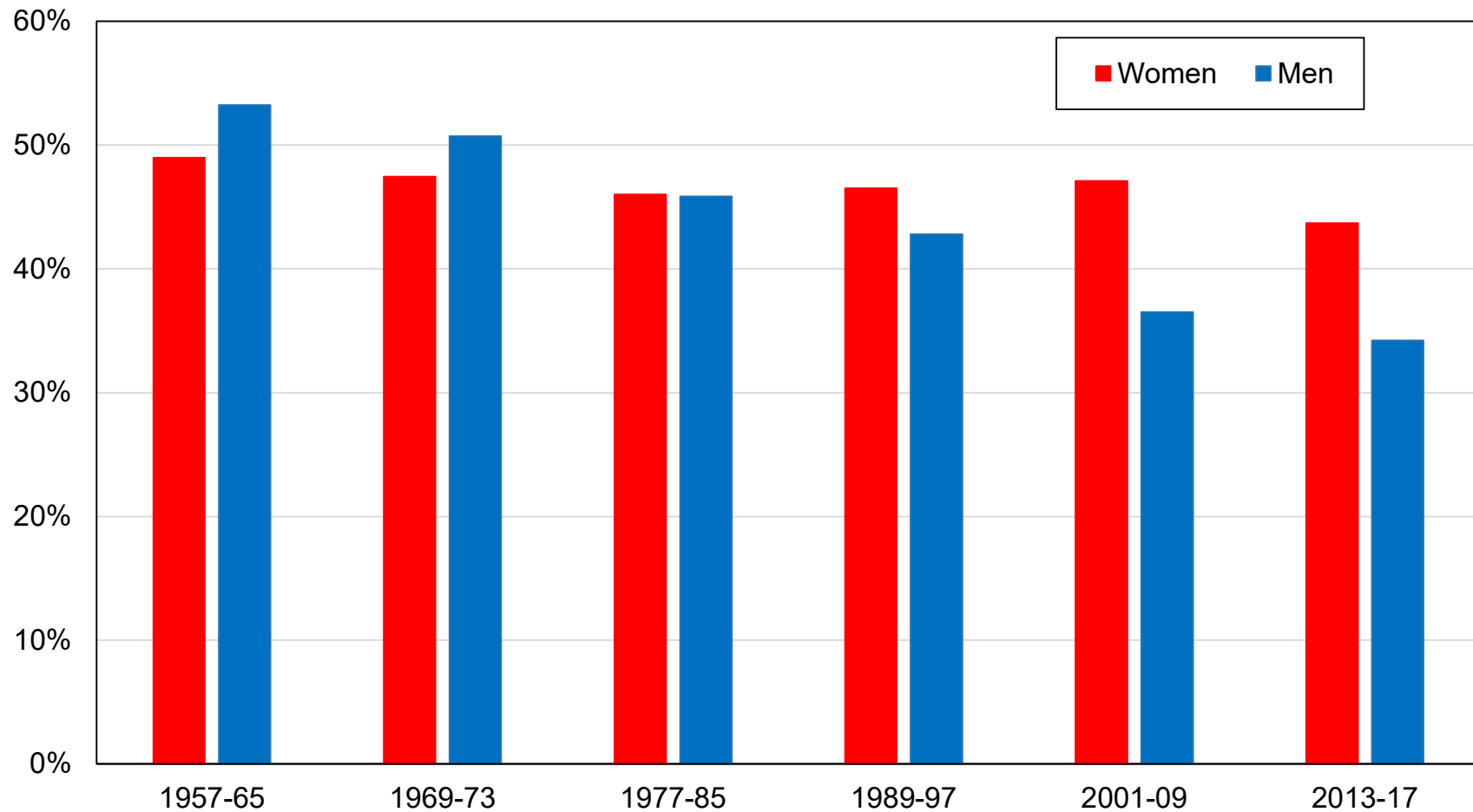
**Figure AB9 - Vote for the left by region of residence in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by region of residence.

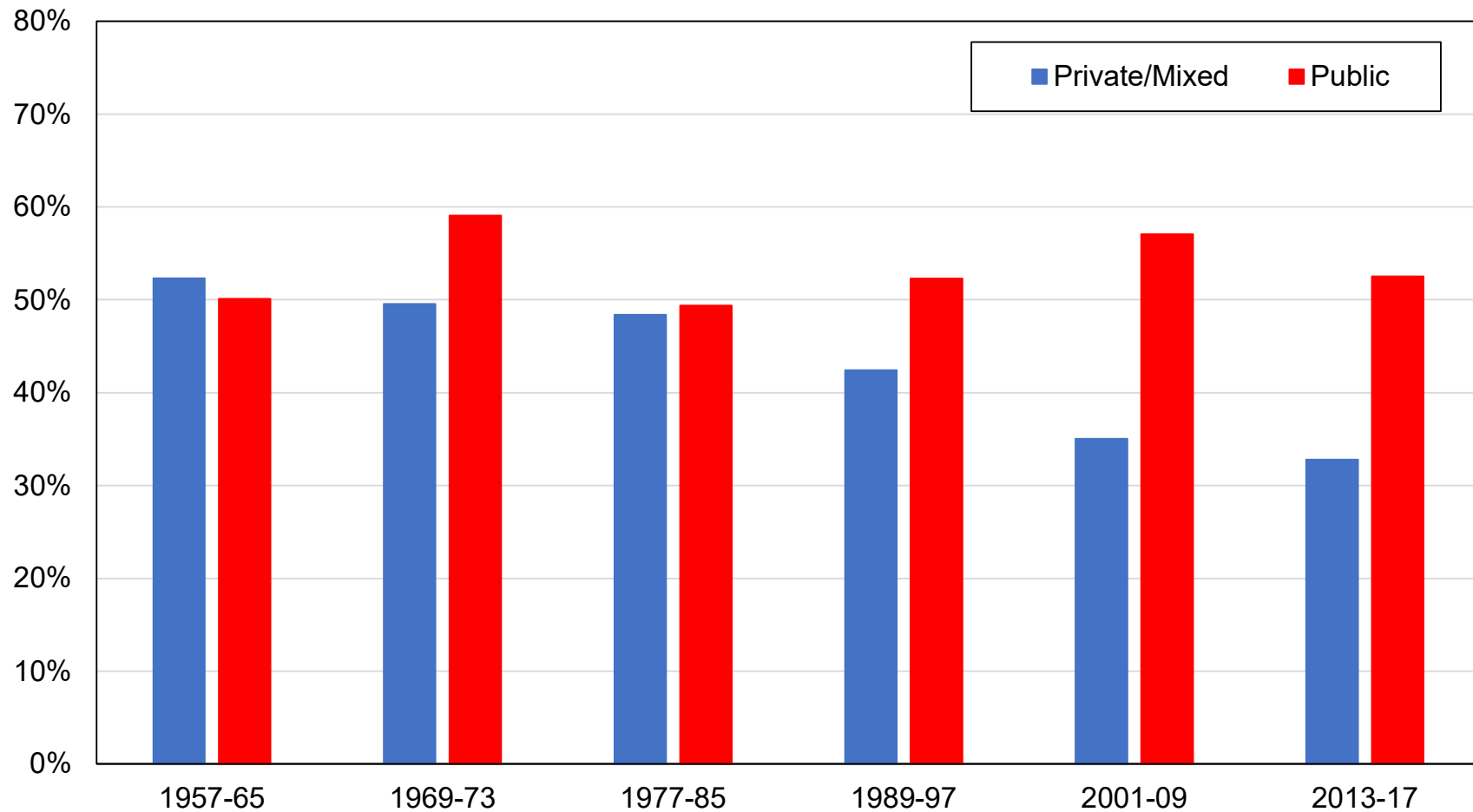
**Figure AB10 - Vote for the left by gender in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by gender.

**Figure AB11 - Vote for the left by sector of employment in Norway**

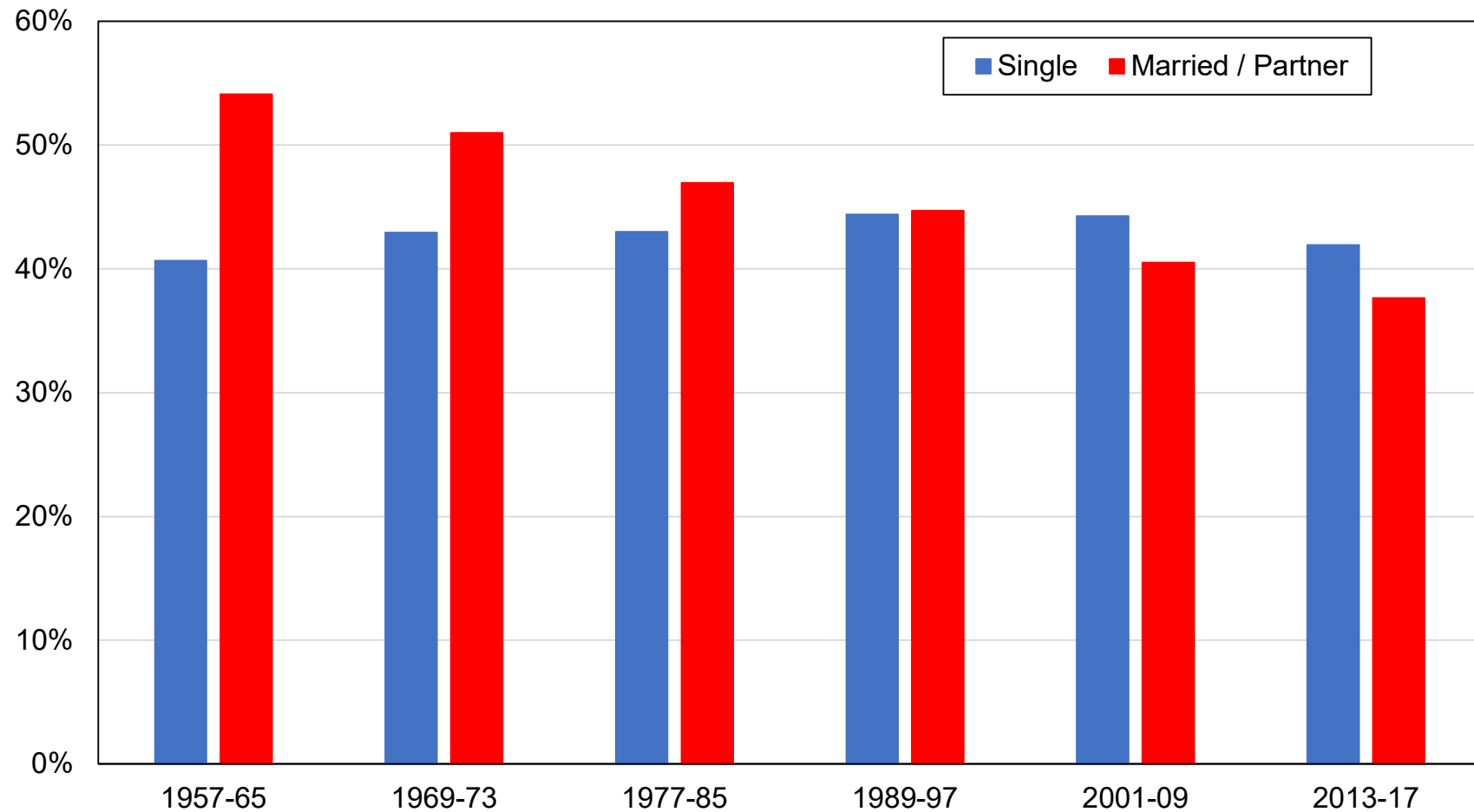


**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by employment sector.



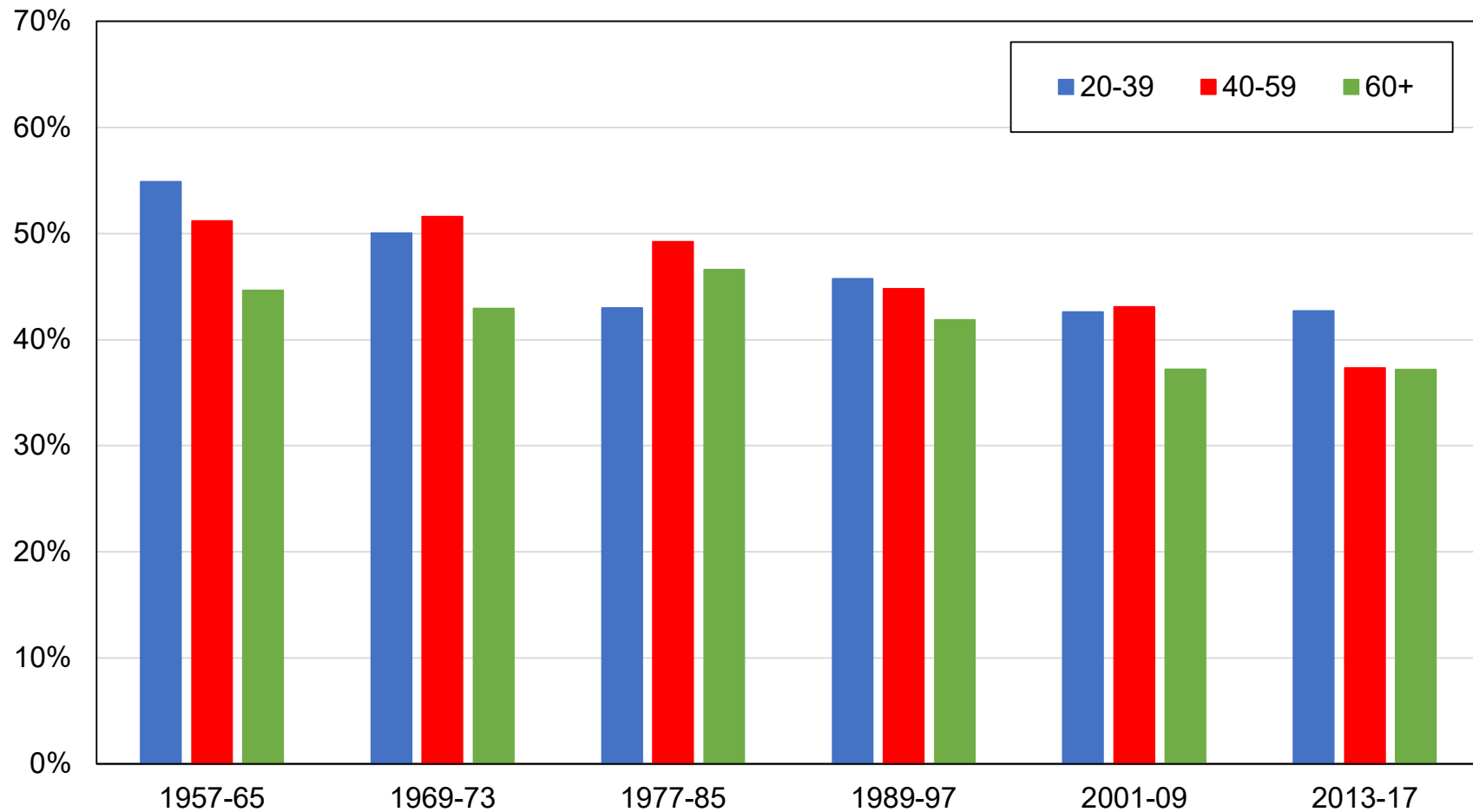
**Figure AB12 - Vote for the left by marital status in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by marital status.

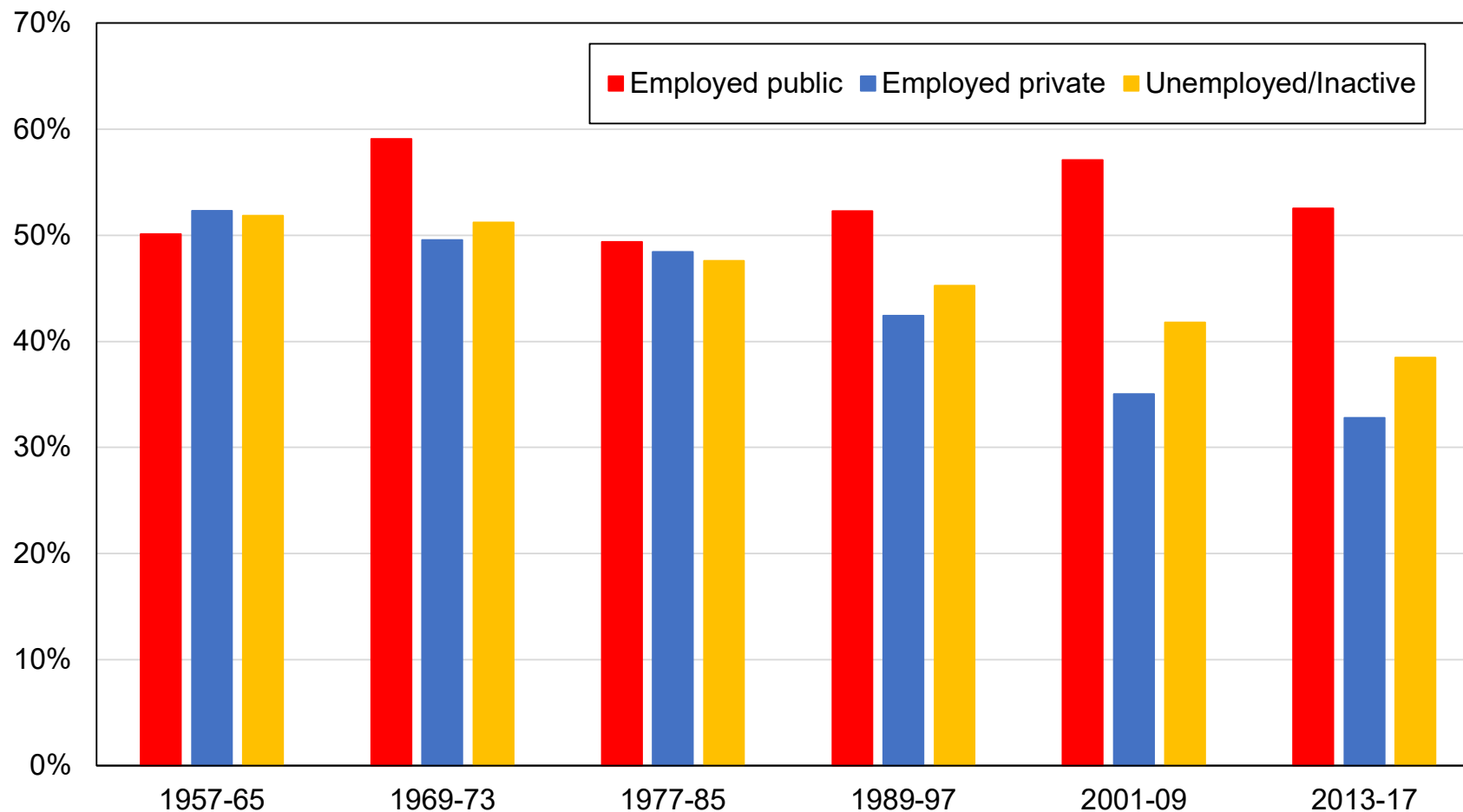
**Figure AB13 - Vote for the left by age group in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by age group.

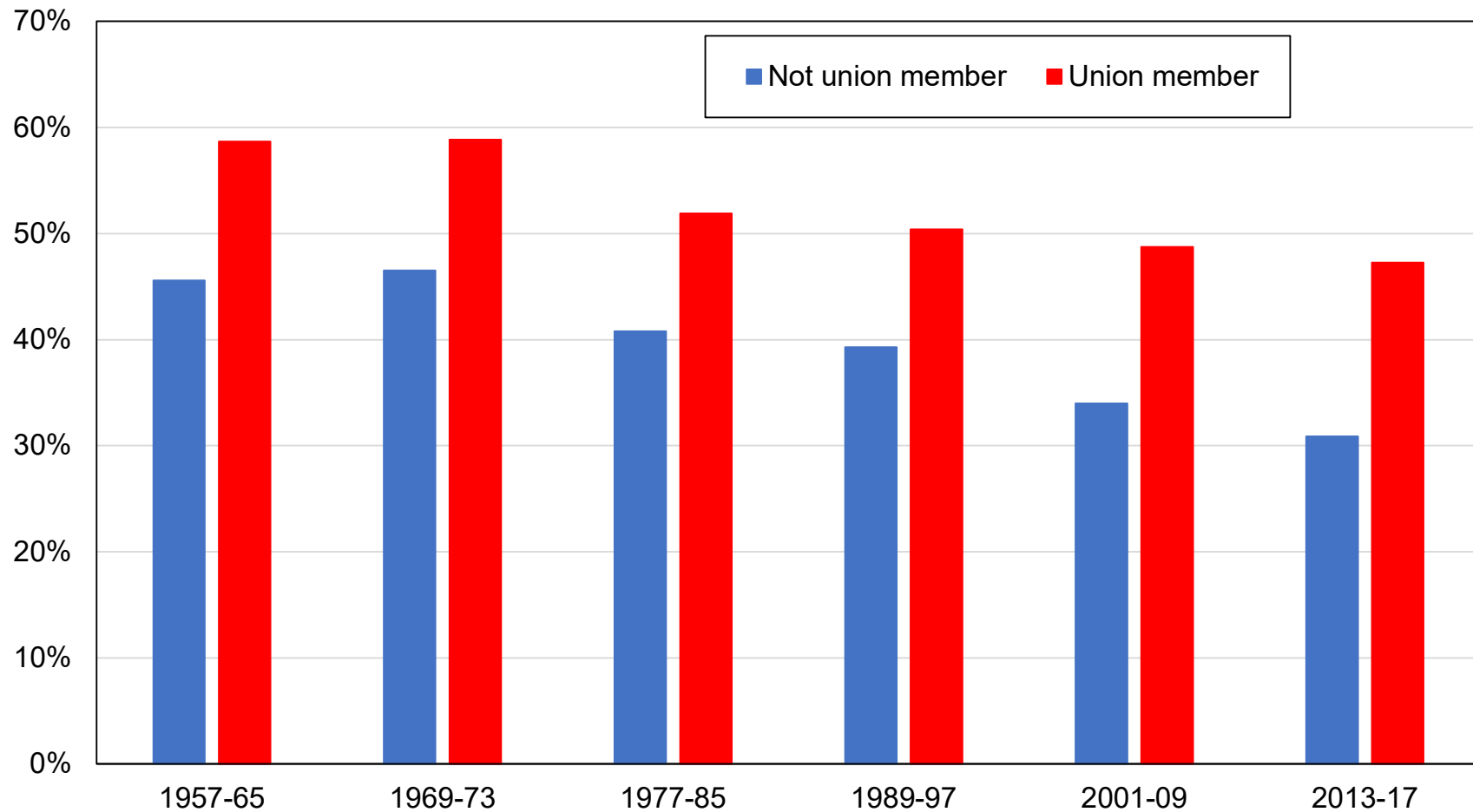
**Figure AB14 - Vote for the left by employment status in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by employment status.

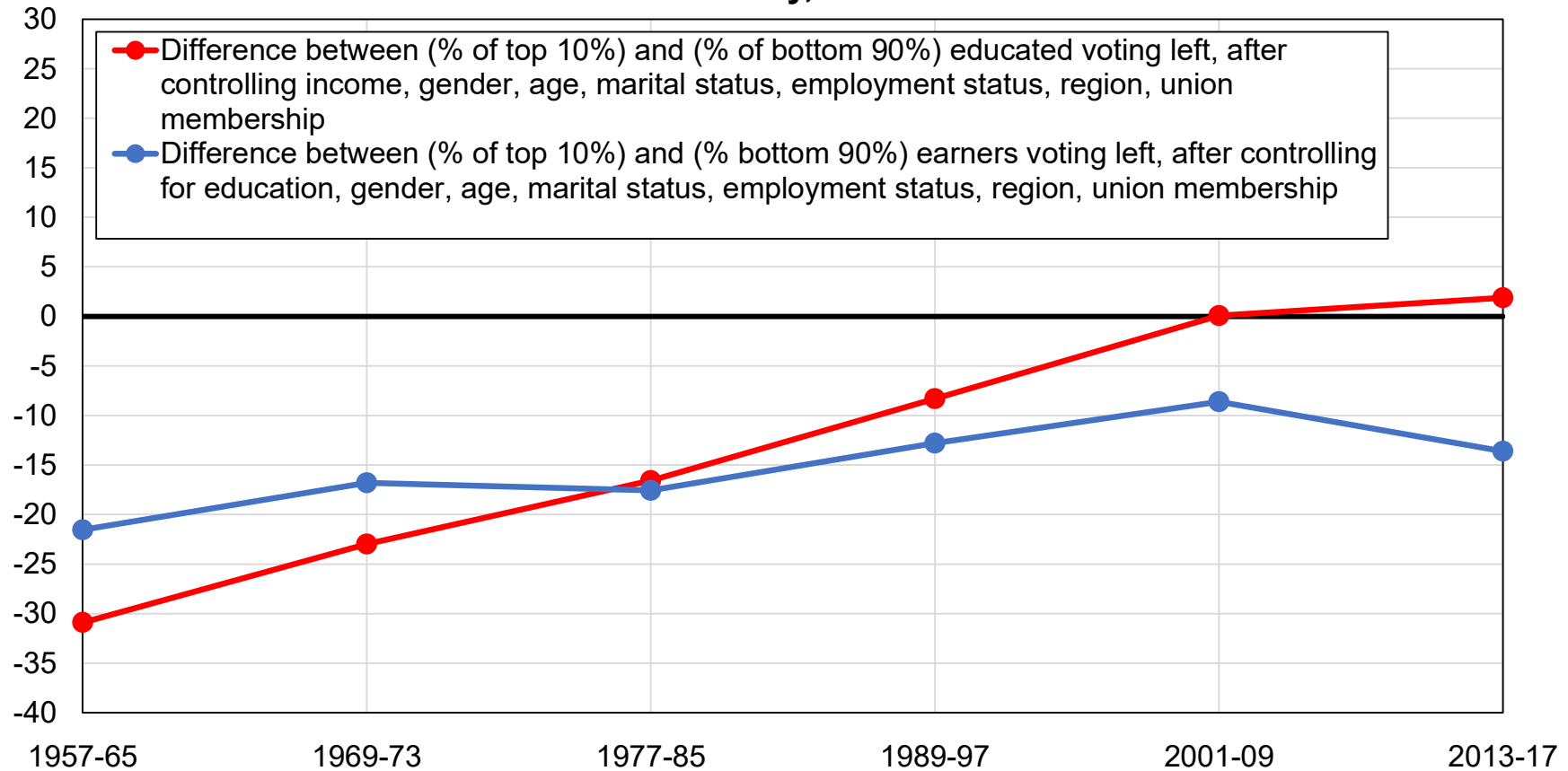
**Figure AB15 - Vote the left by union membership in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by union membership status.

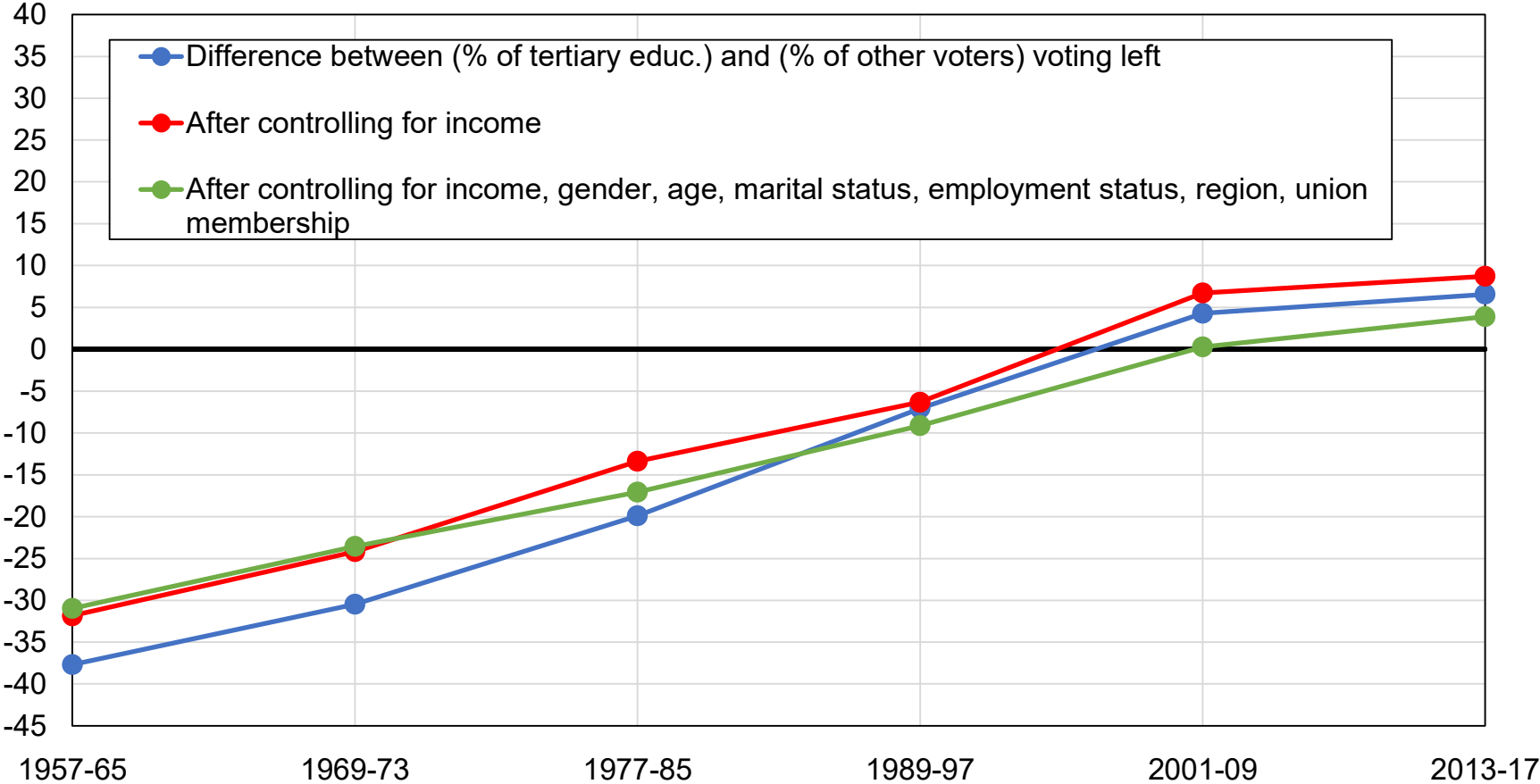
**Figure AB16 - Vote for the left among highest-educated and top-income voters in Norway, after controls**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the evolution of the voting pattern among the top 10% educated and the top 10% earners voting for the left-wing parties, after controls.

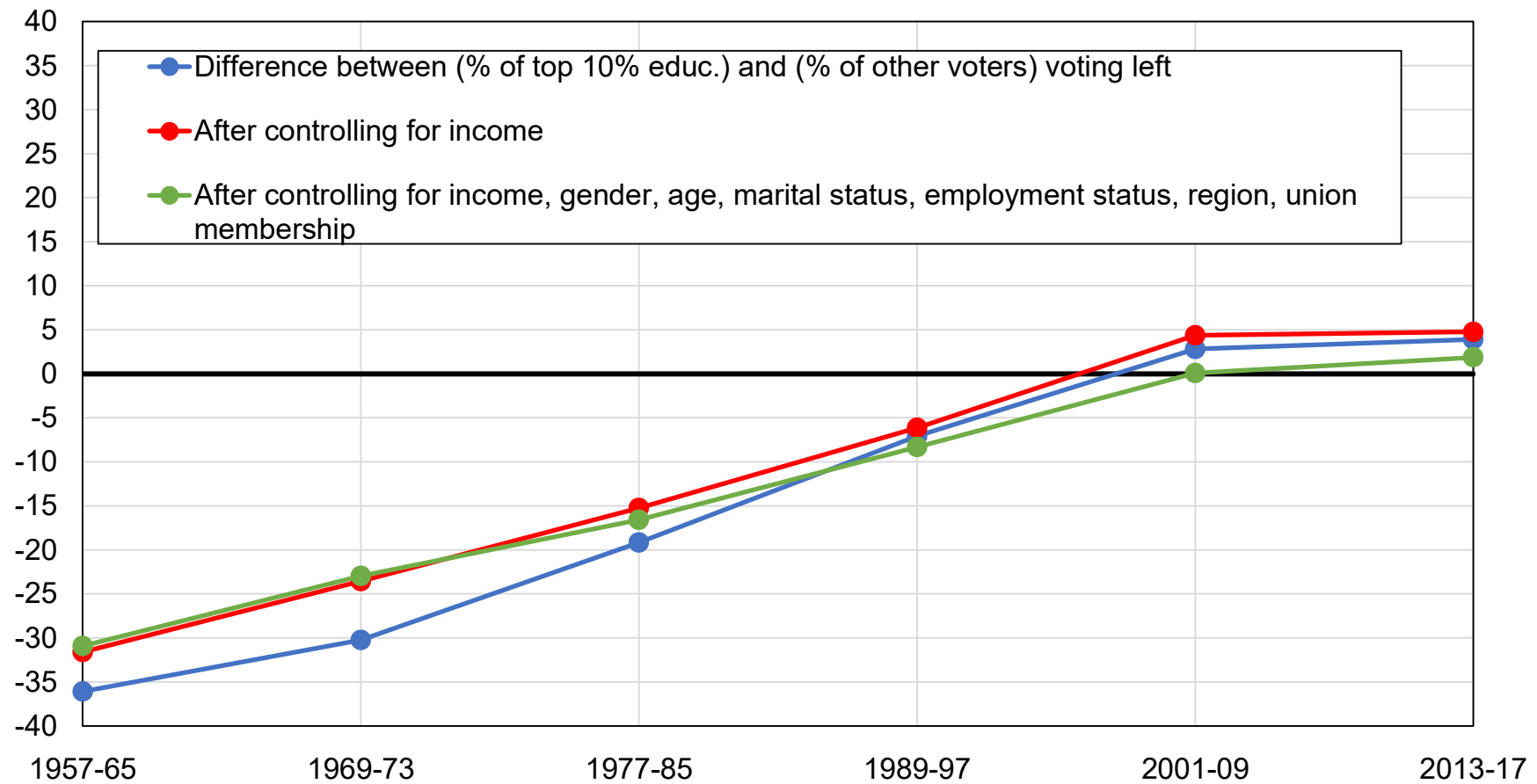
**Figure AB17 - Vote for the left among tertiary-educated voters in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of tertiary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

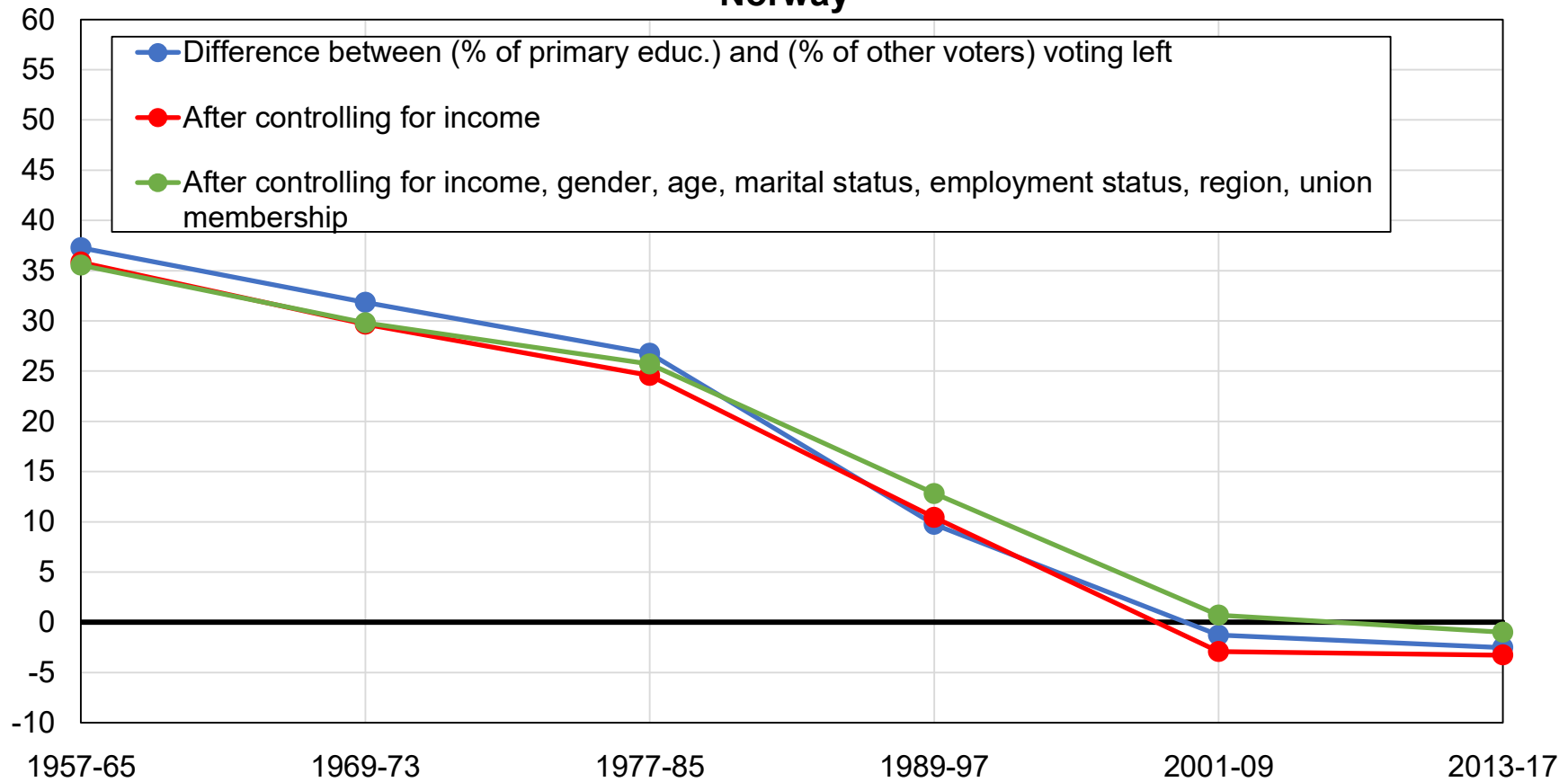
**Figure AB18 - Vote for the left among higher-educated voters in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

**Figure AB19 - Vote for the left among primary-educated voters in Norway**

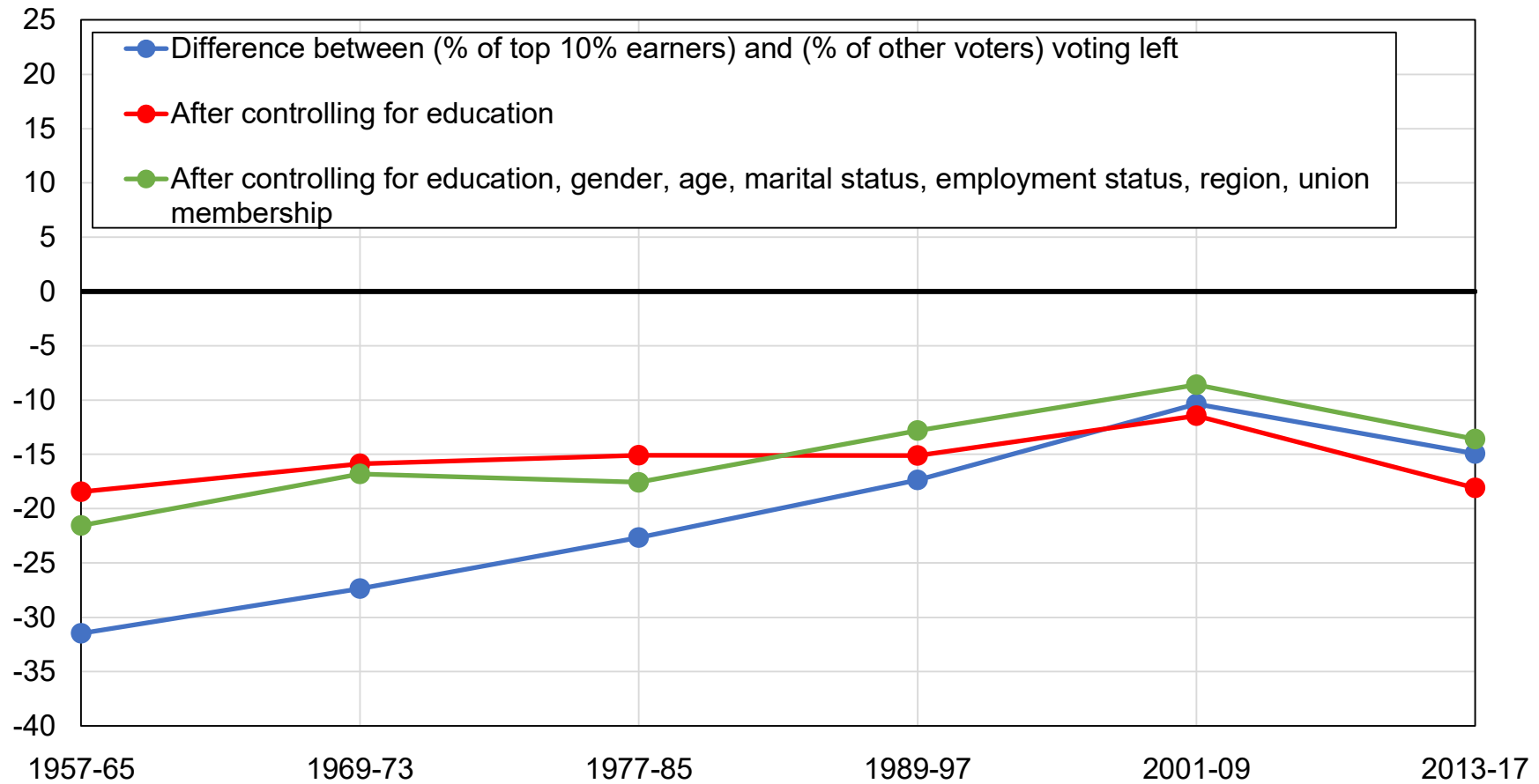


**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of primary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.



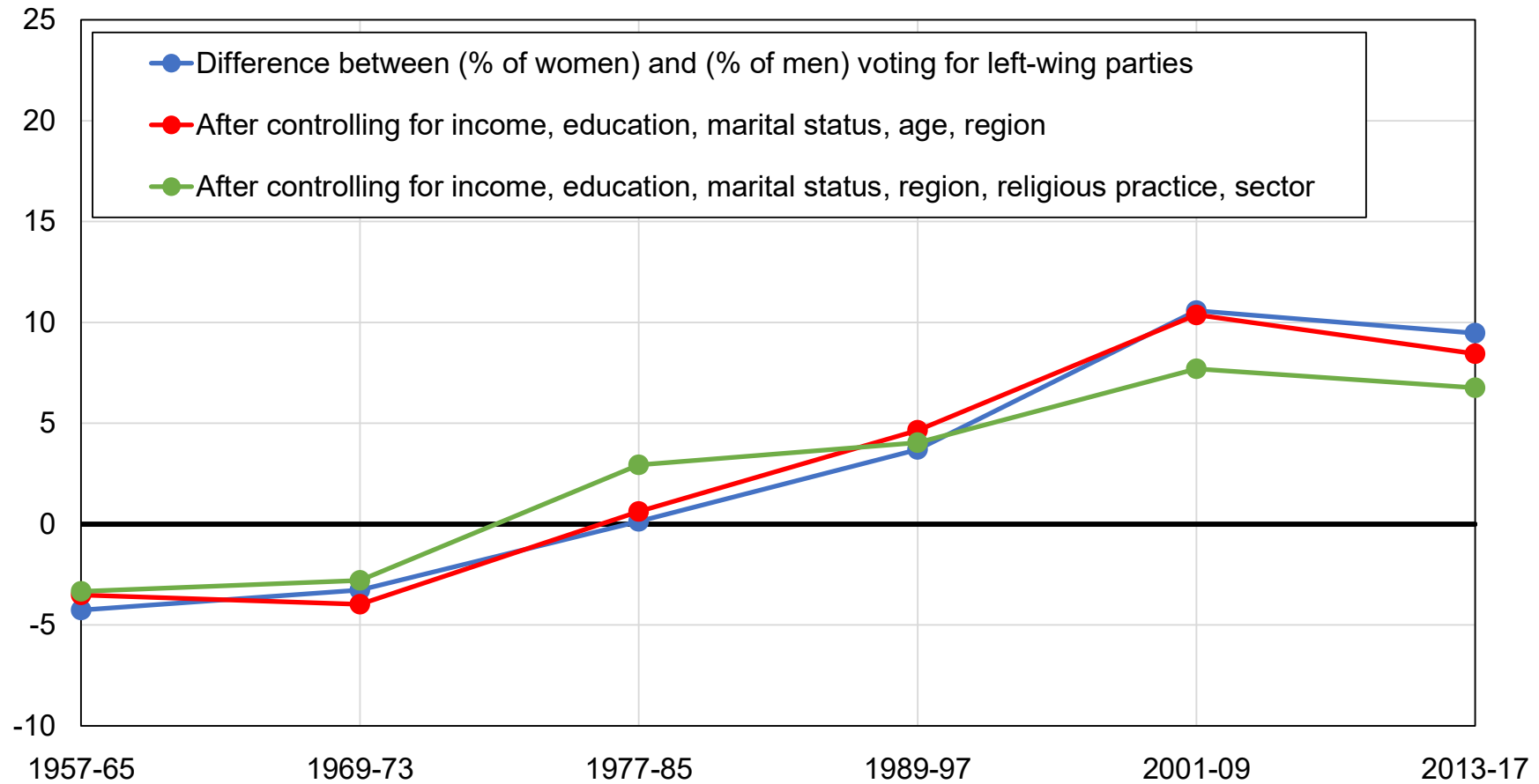
**Figure AB20 - Vote for the left among top 10% earners in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for left parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

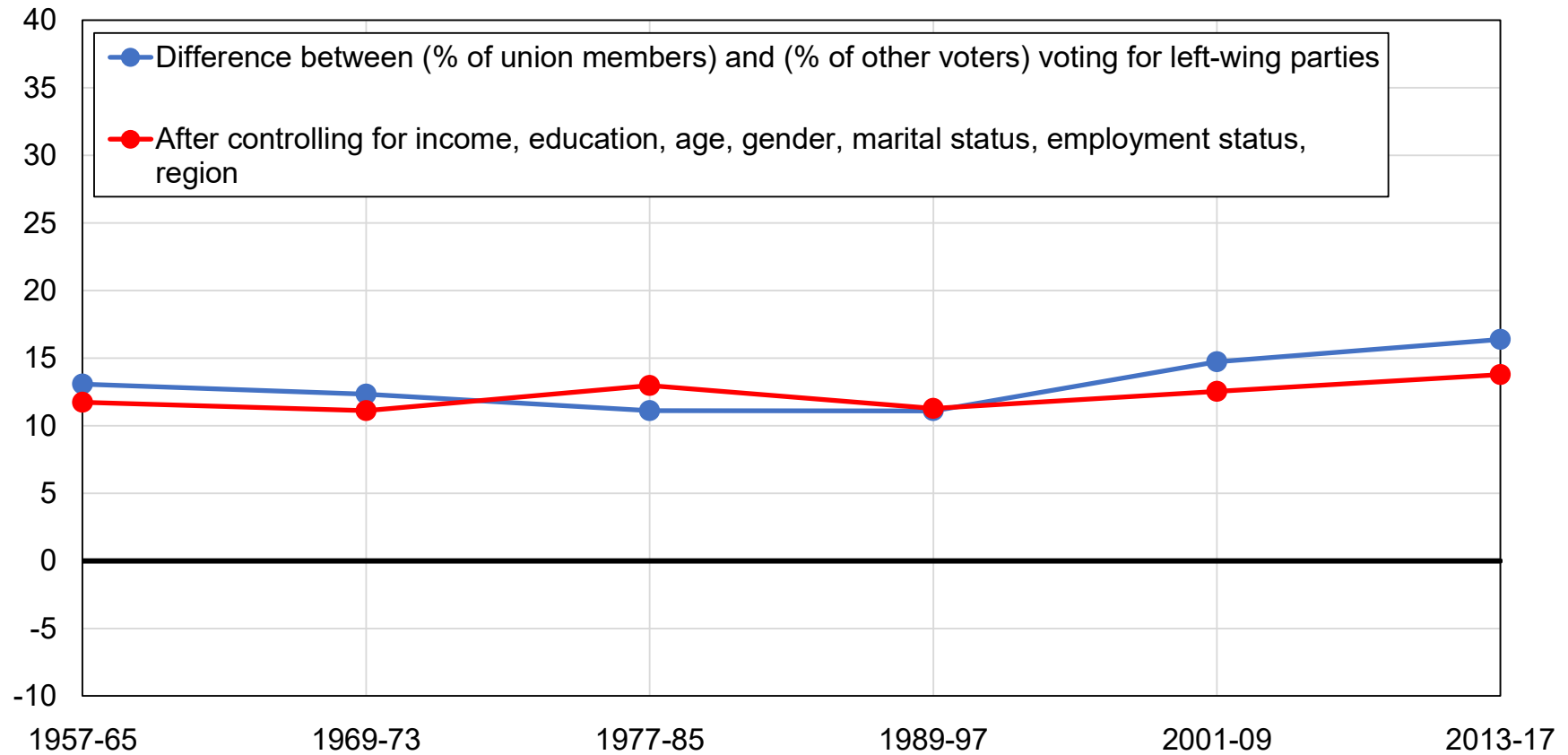
**Figure AB21 - Vote for the left among women in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

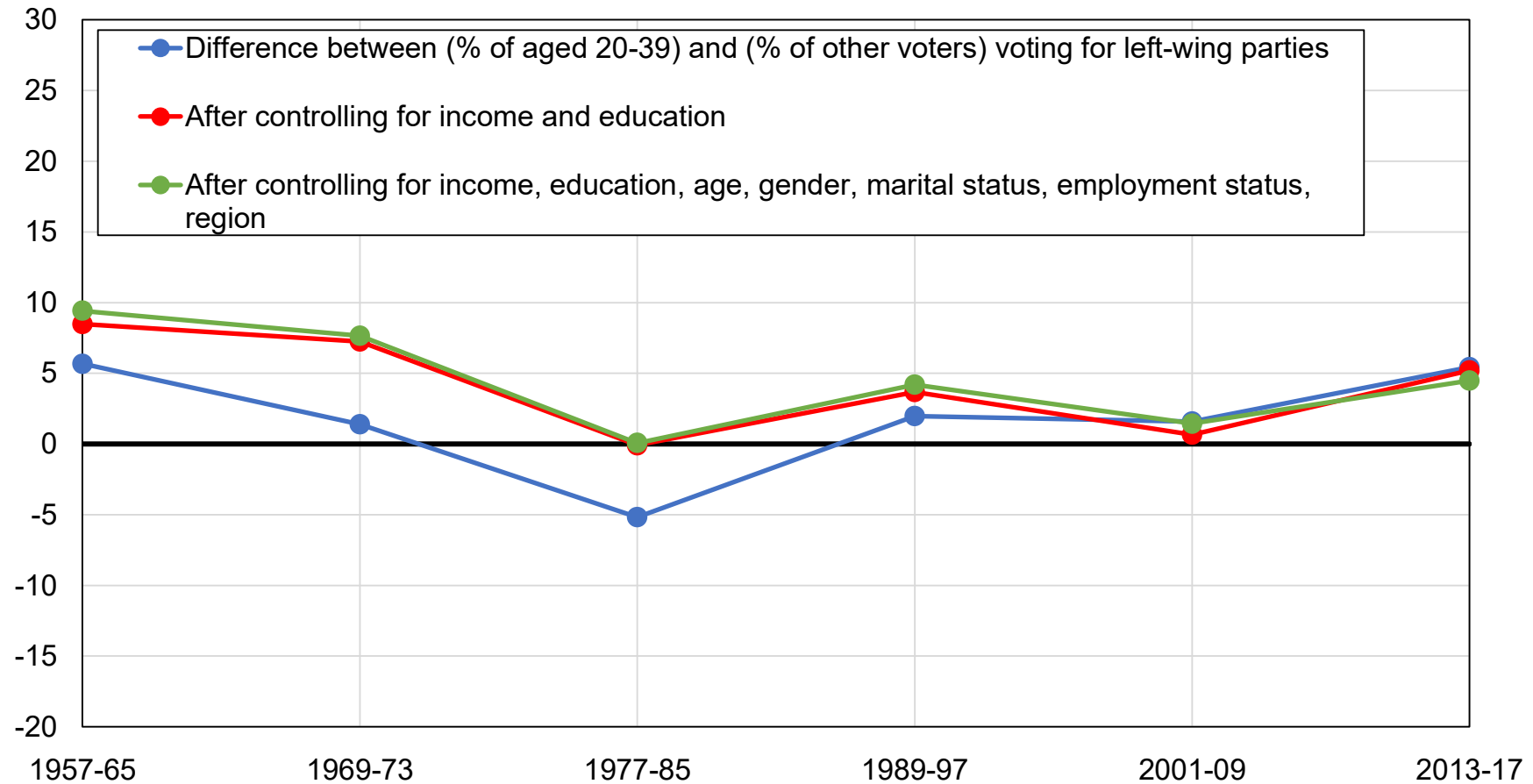
**Figure AB22 - Vote for the left among union members in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of union members and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

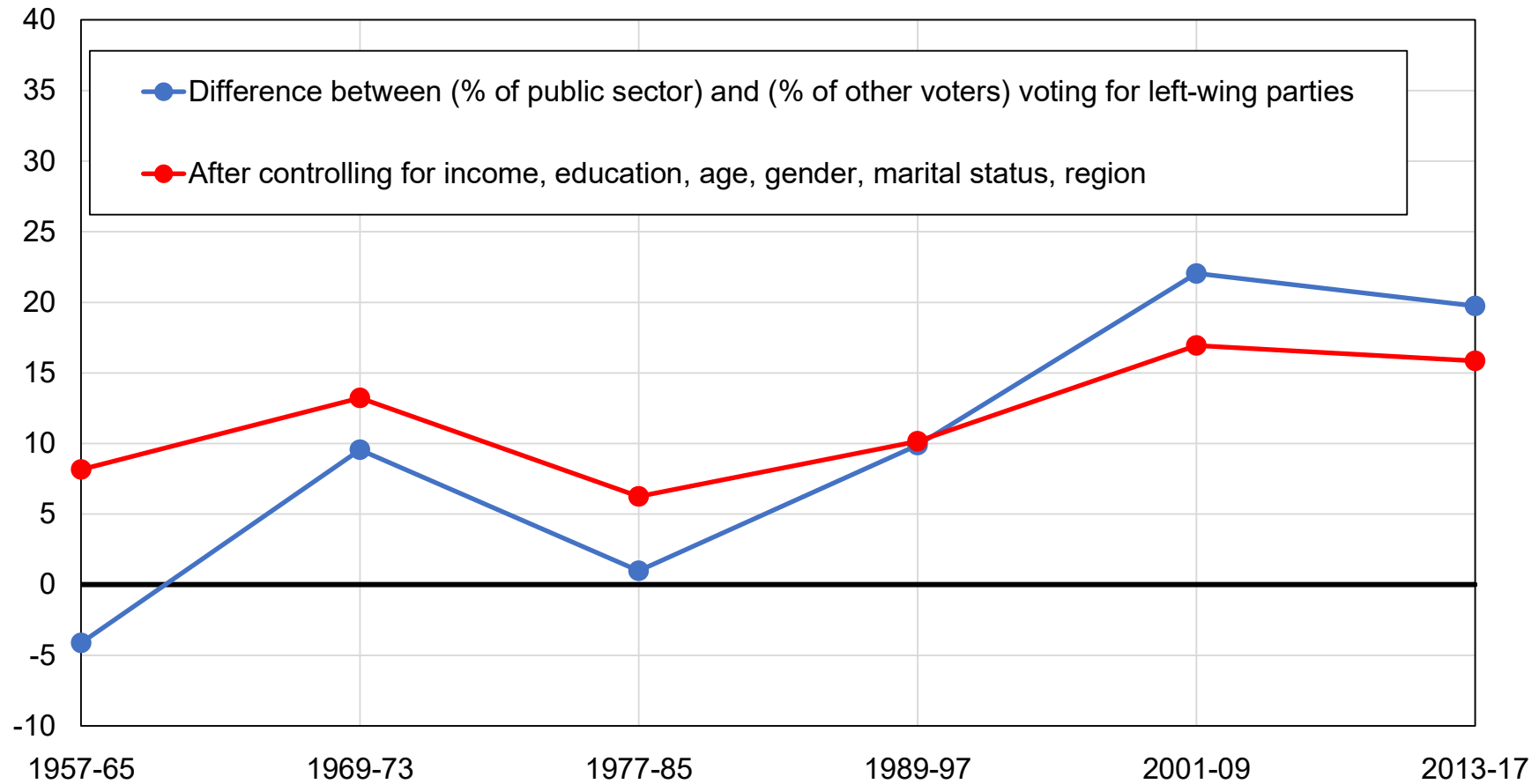
**Figure AB23 - Vote for the left among young voters in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of voters aged 20-39 and the share of voters older than 40 voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

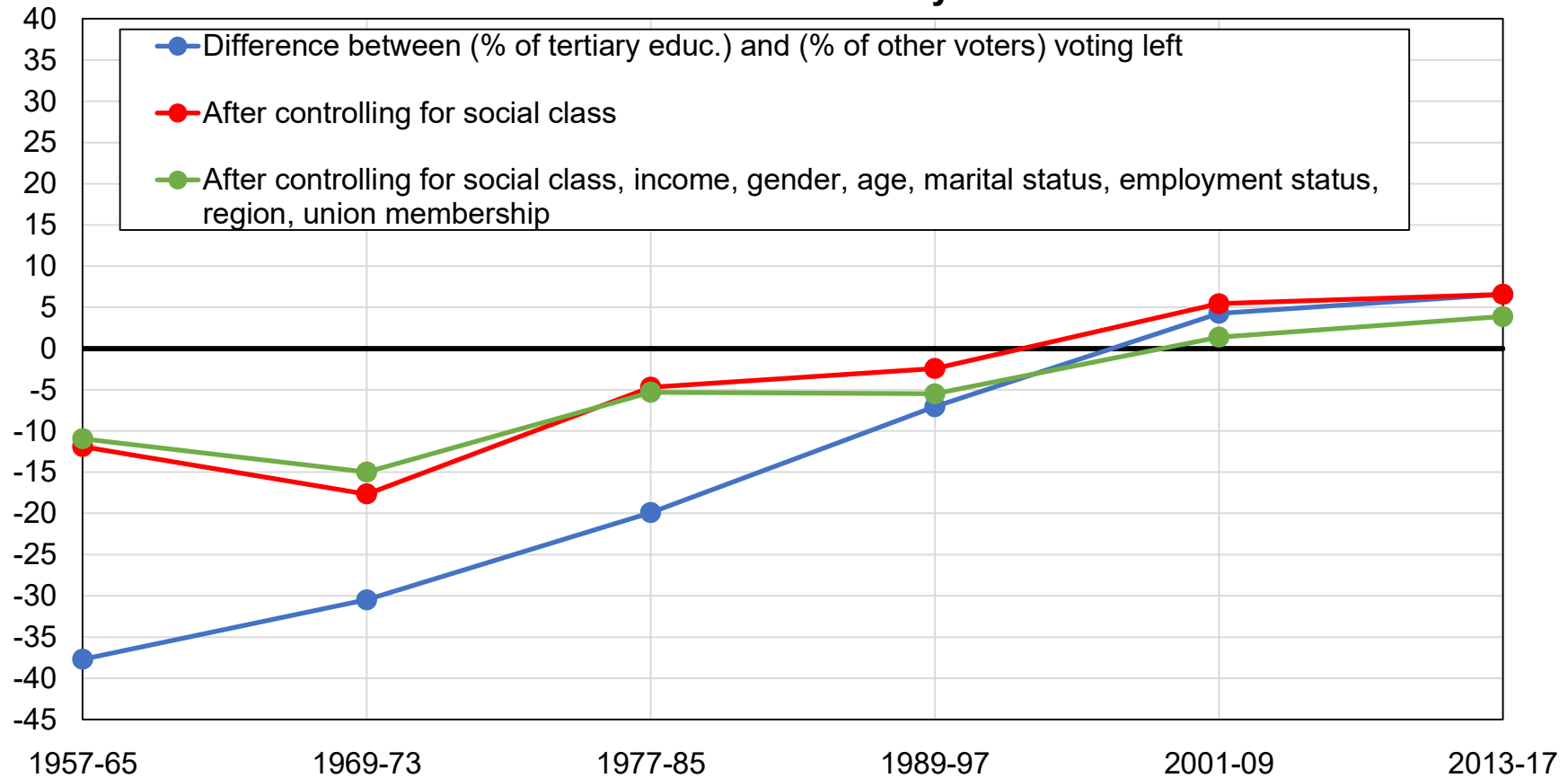
**Figure AB24 - Vote for the left among public sector workers in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of public sector workers and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

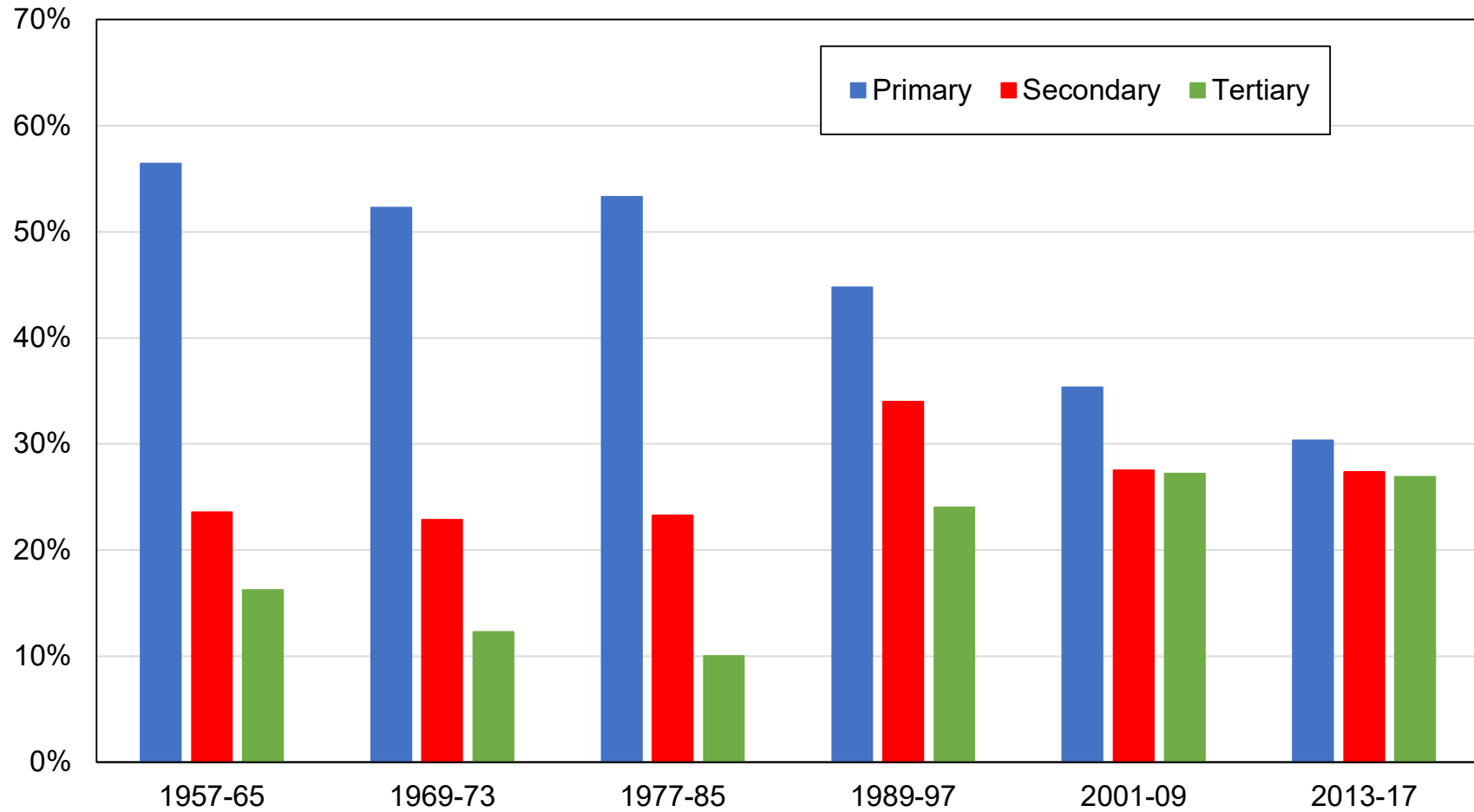
**Figure AB25 - Vote for the left among tertiary-educated voters: the role of class in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of tertiary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for social class and other variables.

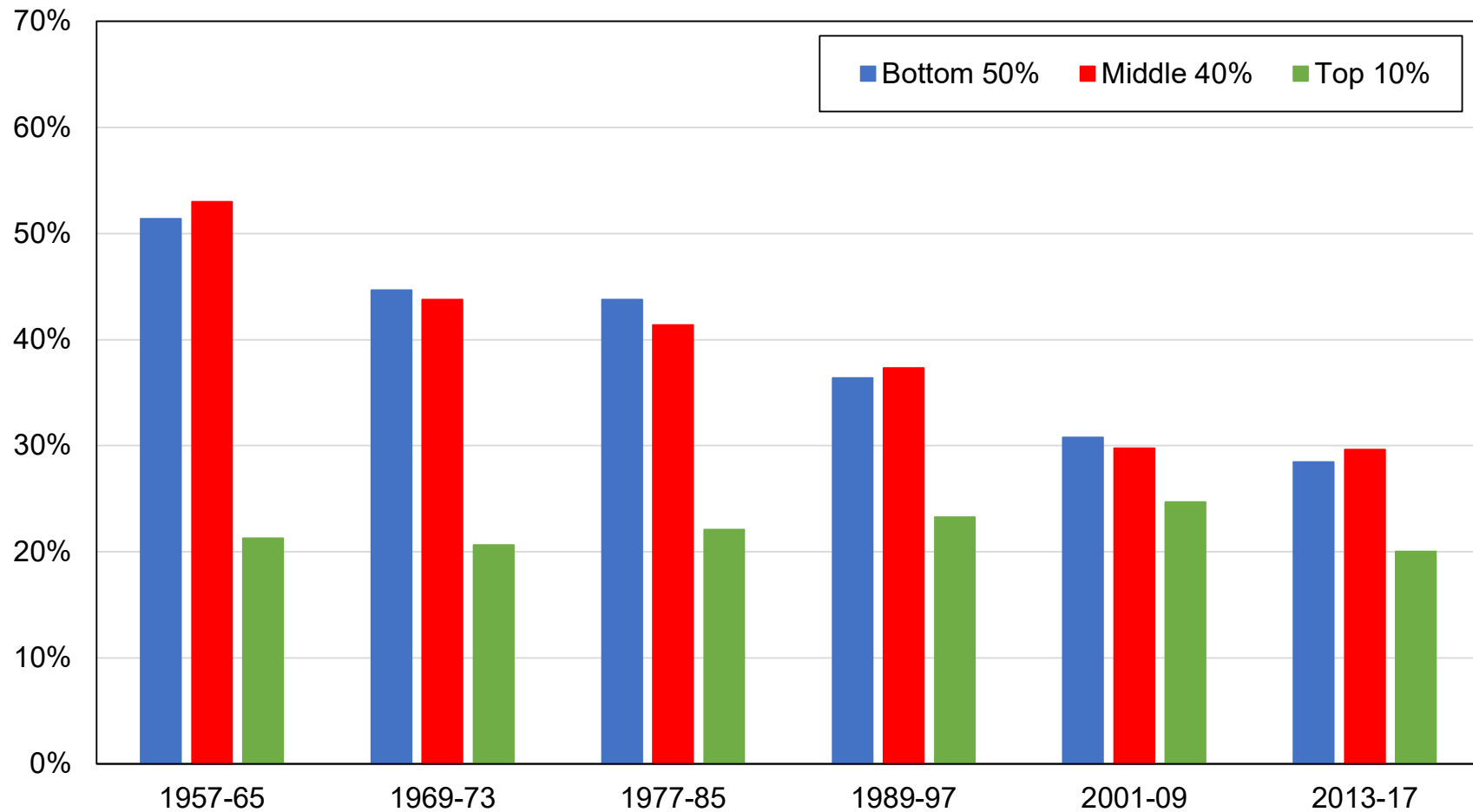
**Figure AC1 - Vote for the Labour Party by education level in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party by education level.

**Figure AC2 - Vote for the Labour Party by income group in Norway**

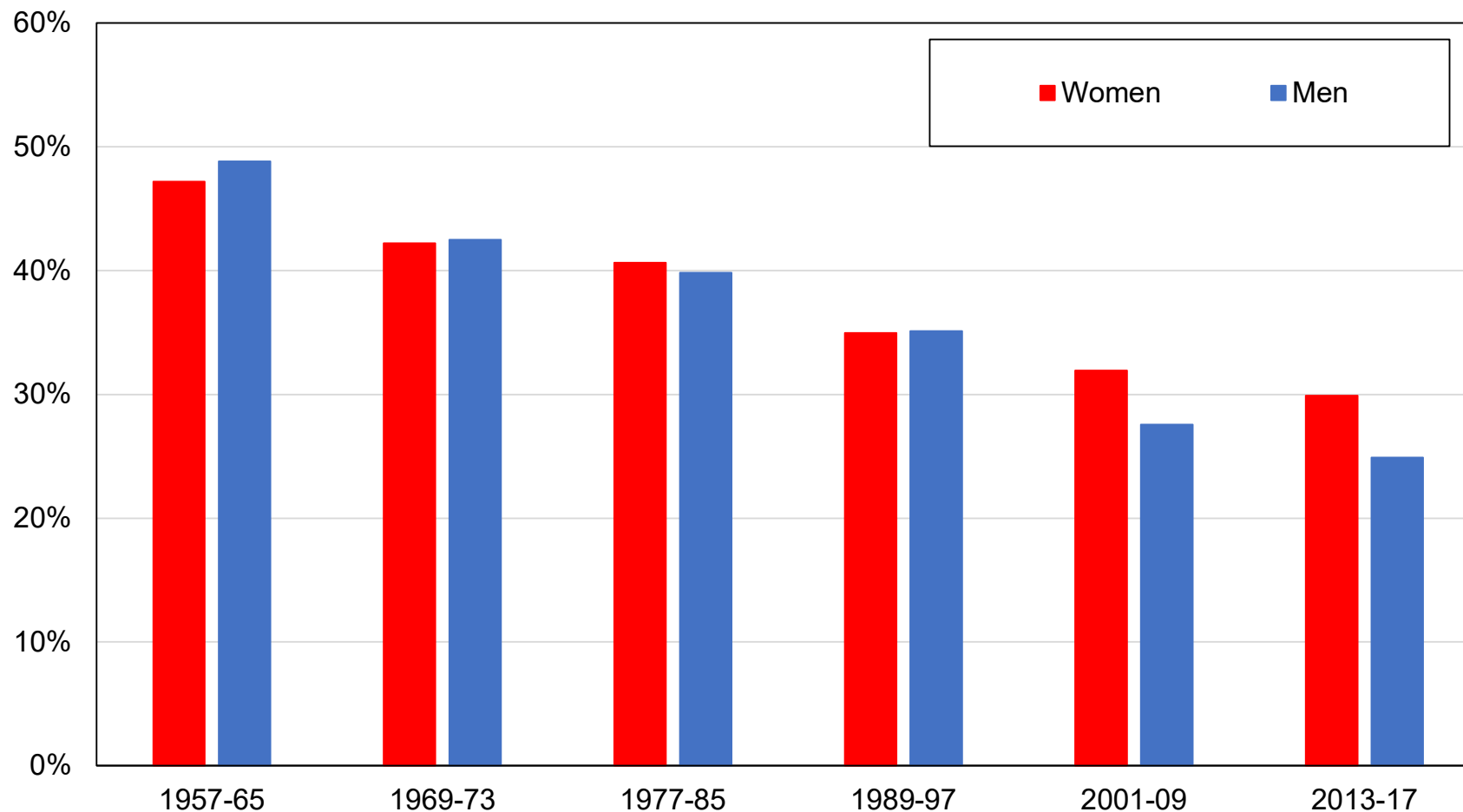


**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party by income group.



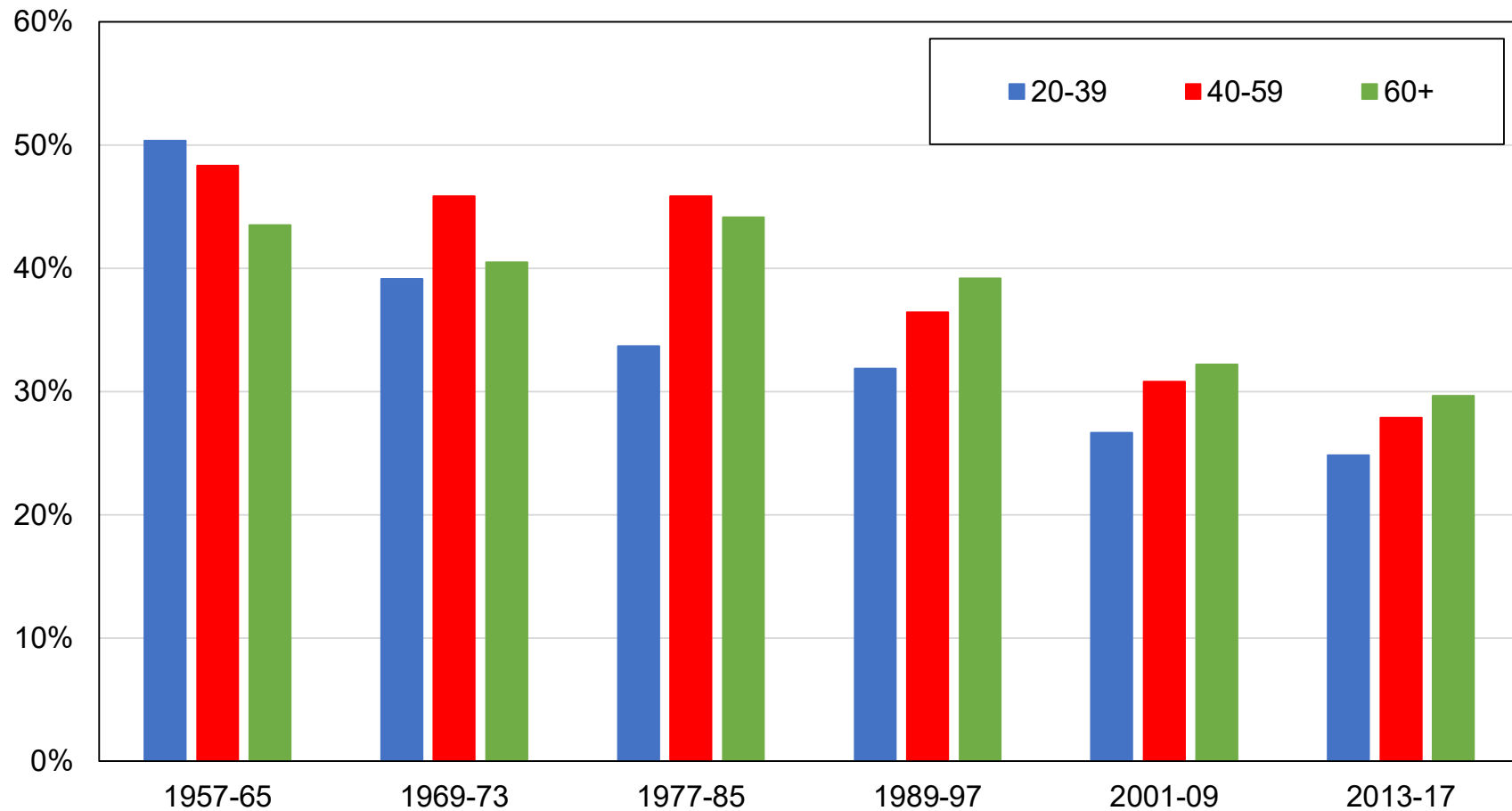
**Figure AC3 - Vote for the Labour Party by gender in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party by gender.

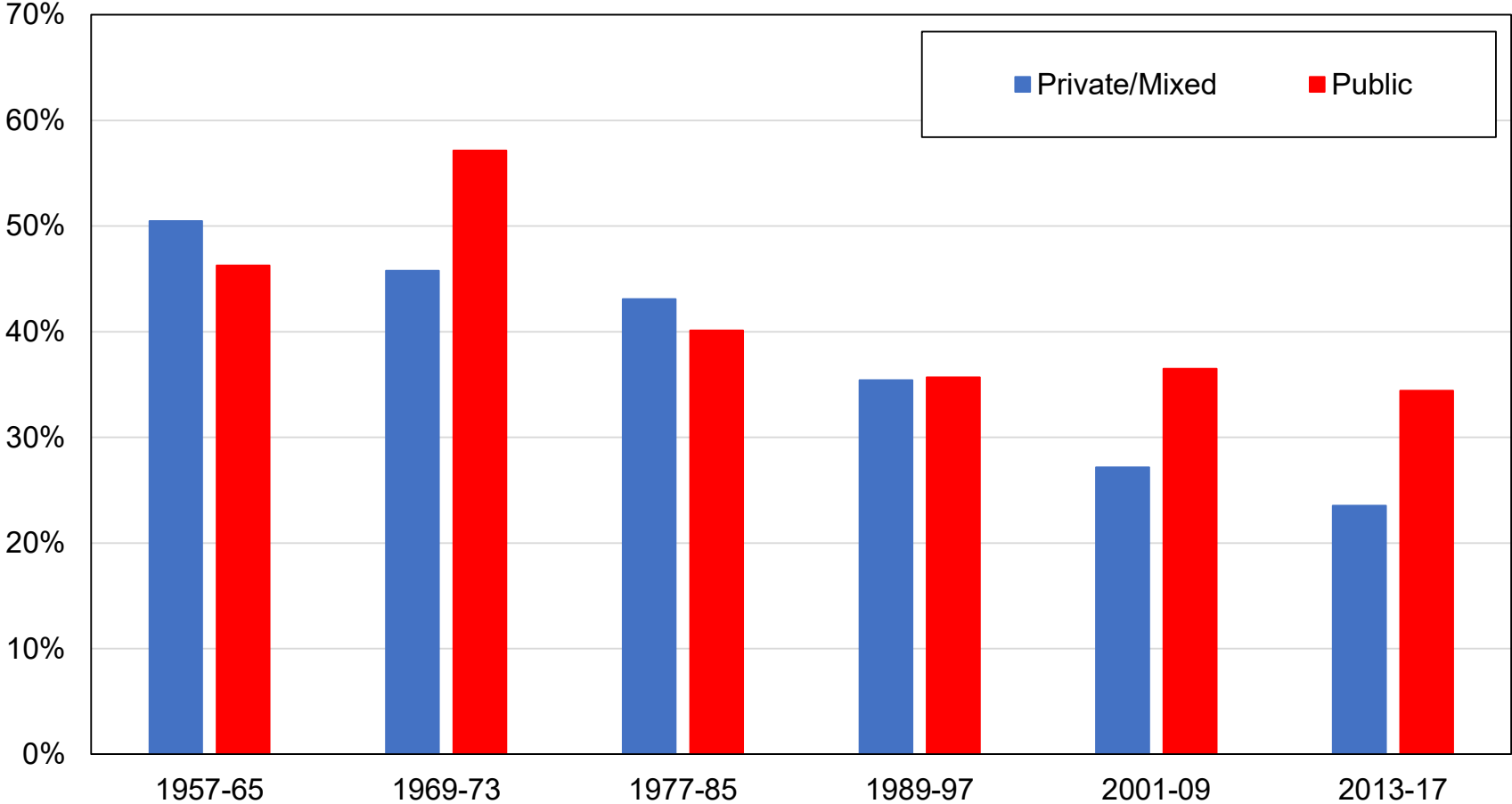
**Figure AC4 - Vote for the Labour Party by age group in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figures shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party by age group.

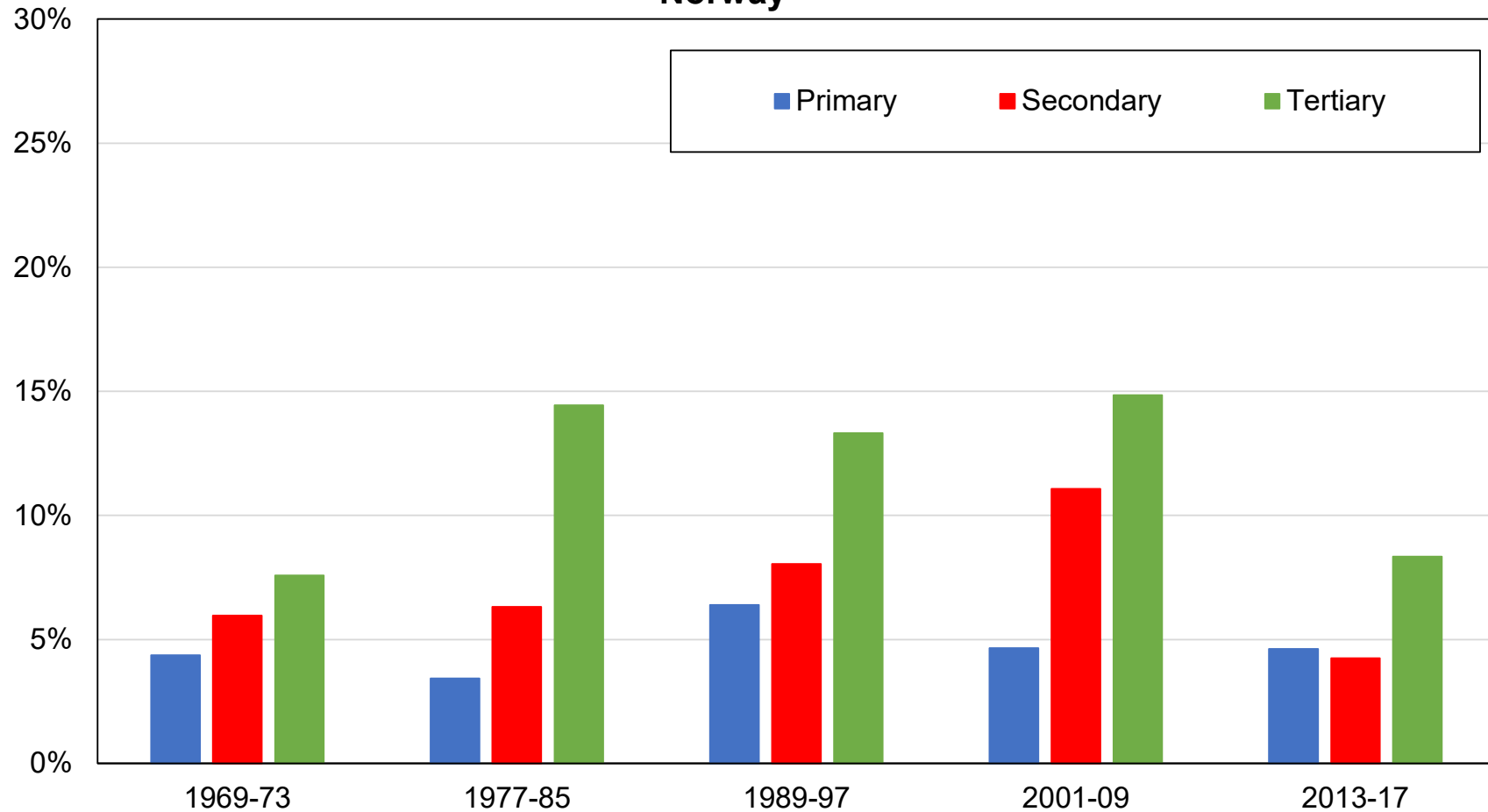
**Figure AC5 - Vote for the Labour Party by sector in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figures shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party by sector.

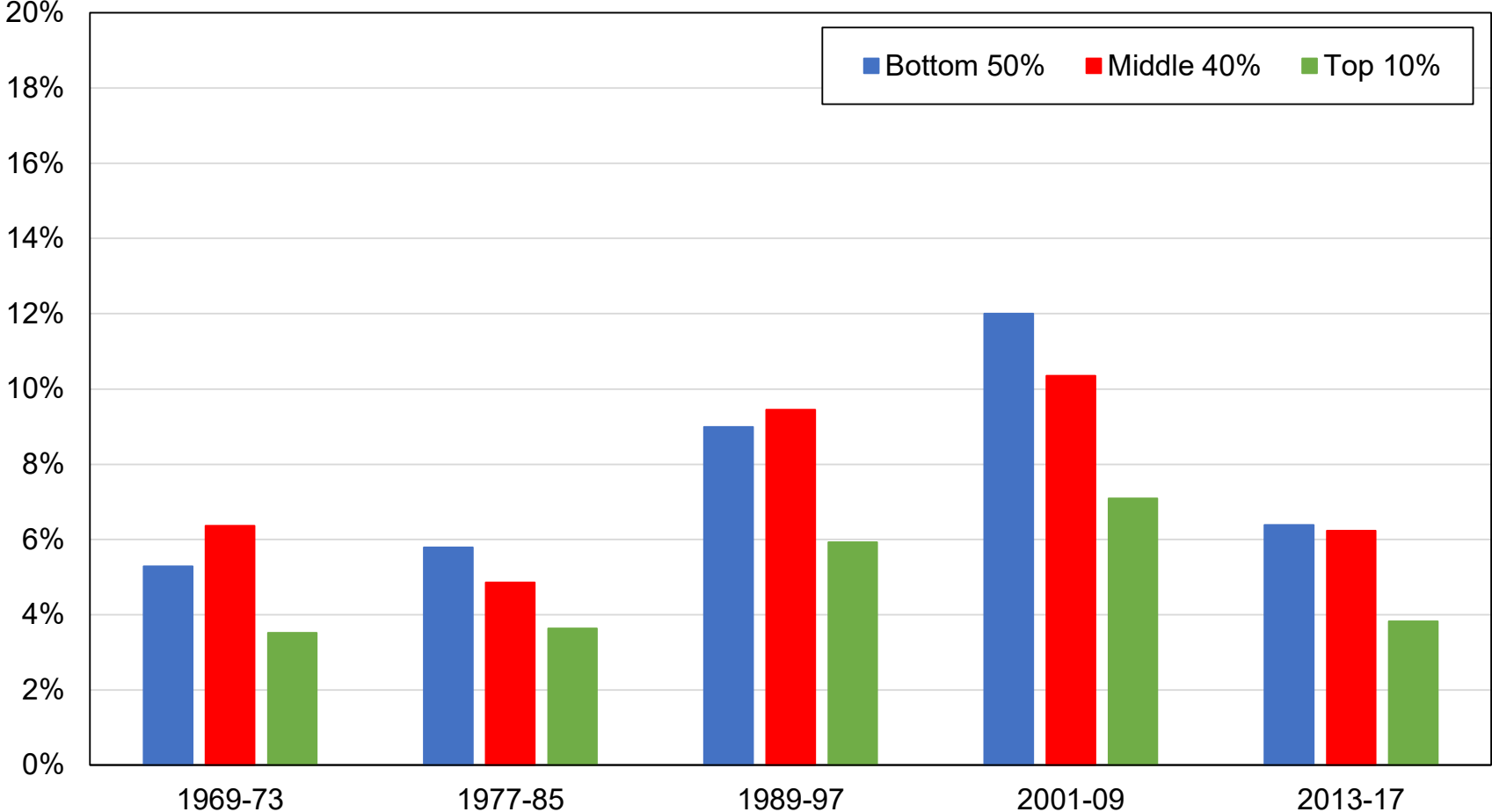
**Figure AC6 - Vote for the Socialist Left Party by education level in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Socialist Left Party by education level.

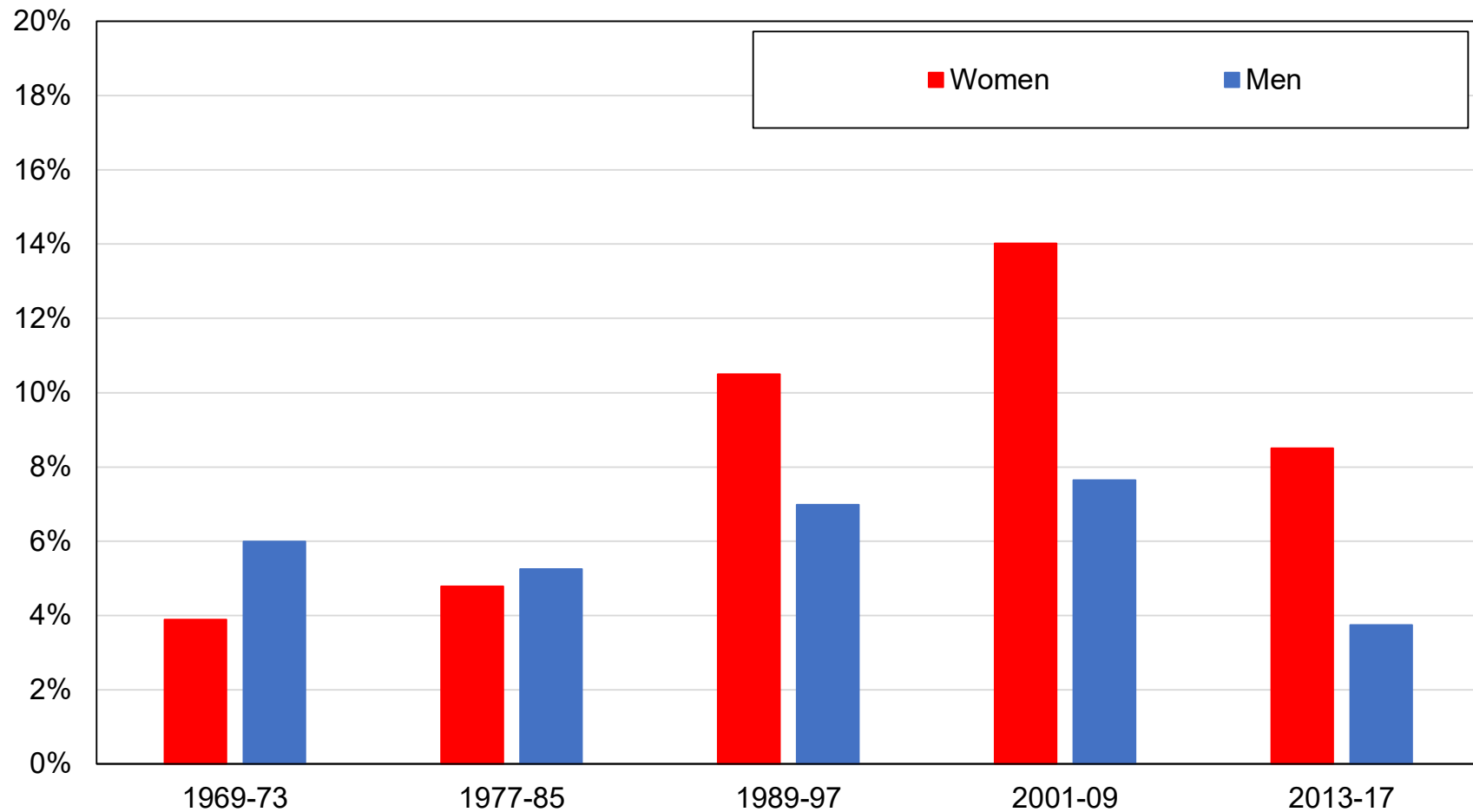
**Figure AC7 - Vote for the Socialist Left Party by income group in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Socialist Left Party by income group.

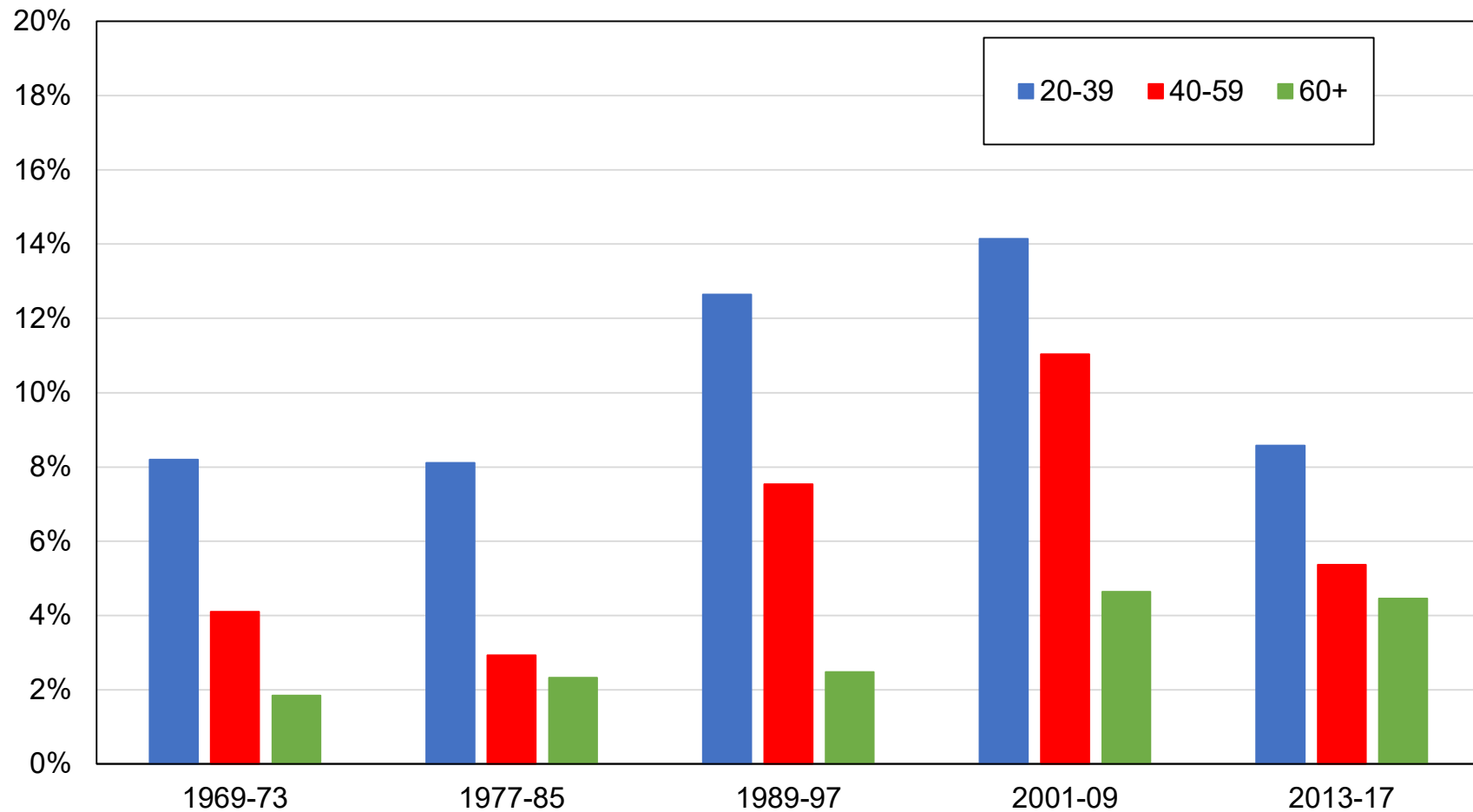
**Figure AC8 - Vote for the Socialist Left Party by gender in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Socialist Left Party by gender.

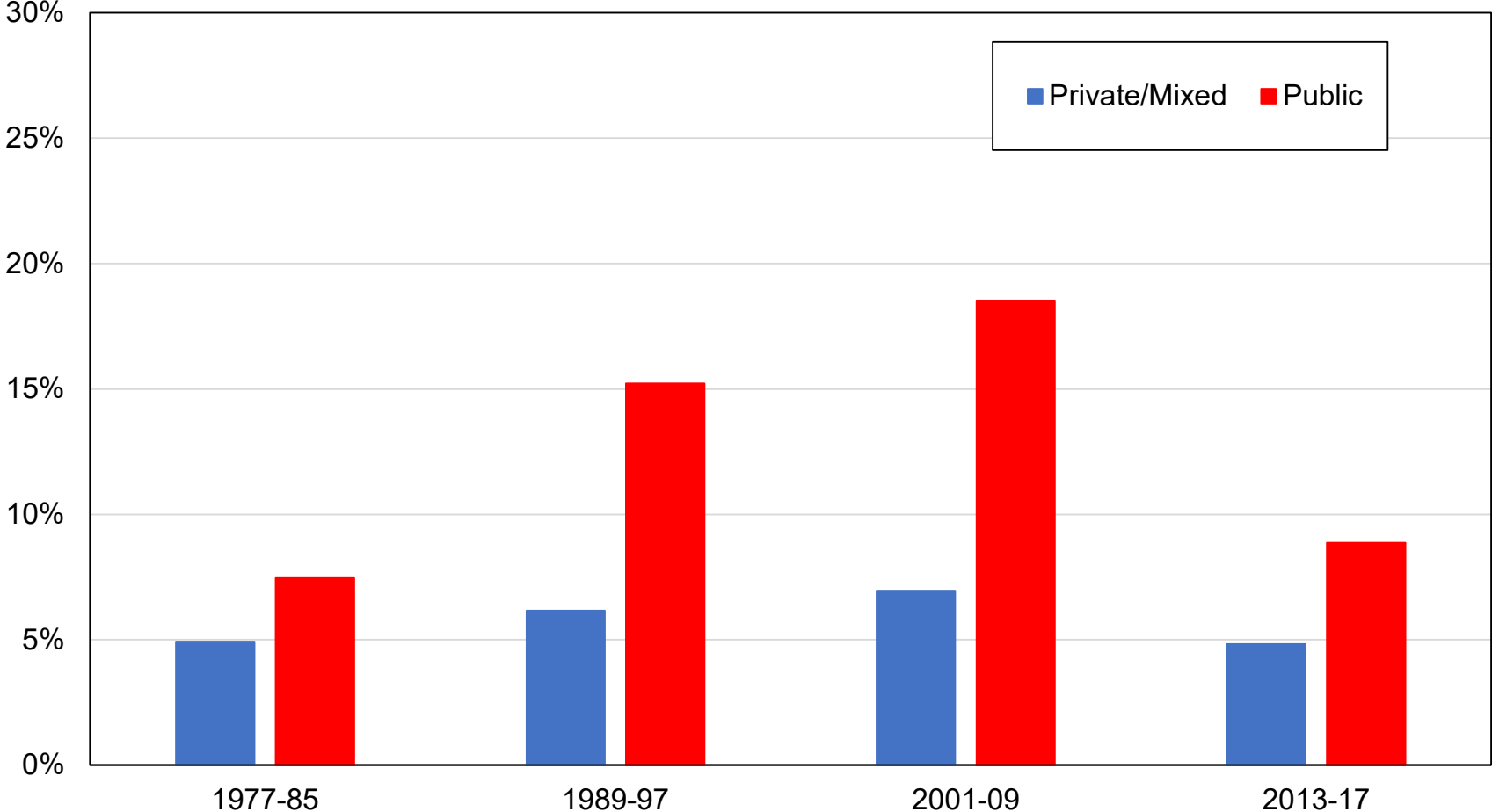
**Figure AC9 - Vote for the Socialist Left Party by age group in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Socialist Left Party by age group.

**Figure AC10 - Vote for the Socialist Left Party by sector in Norway**

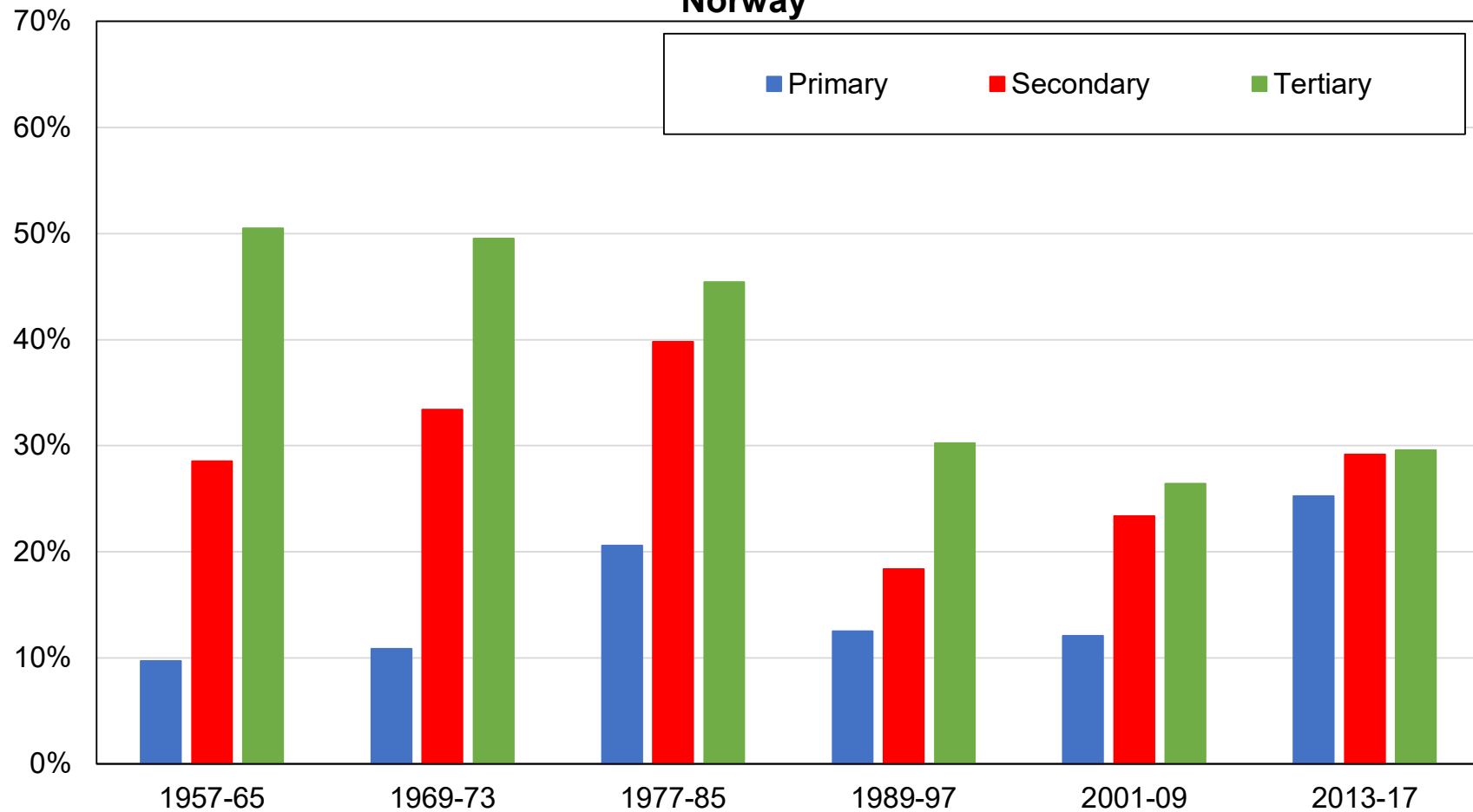


**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Socialist Left Party by sector.



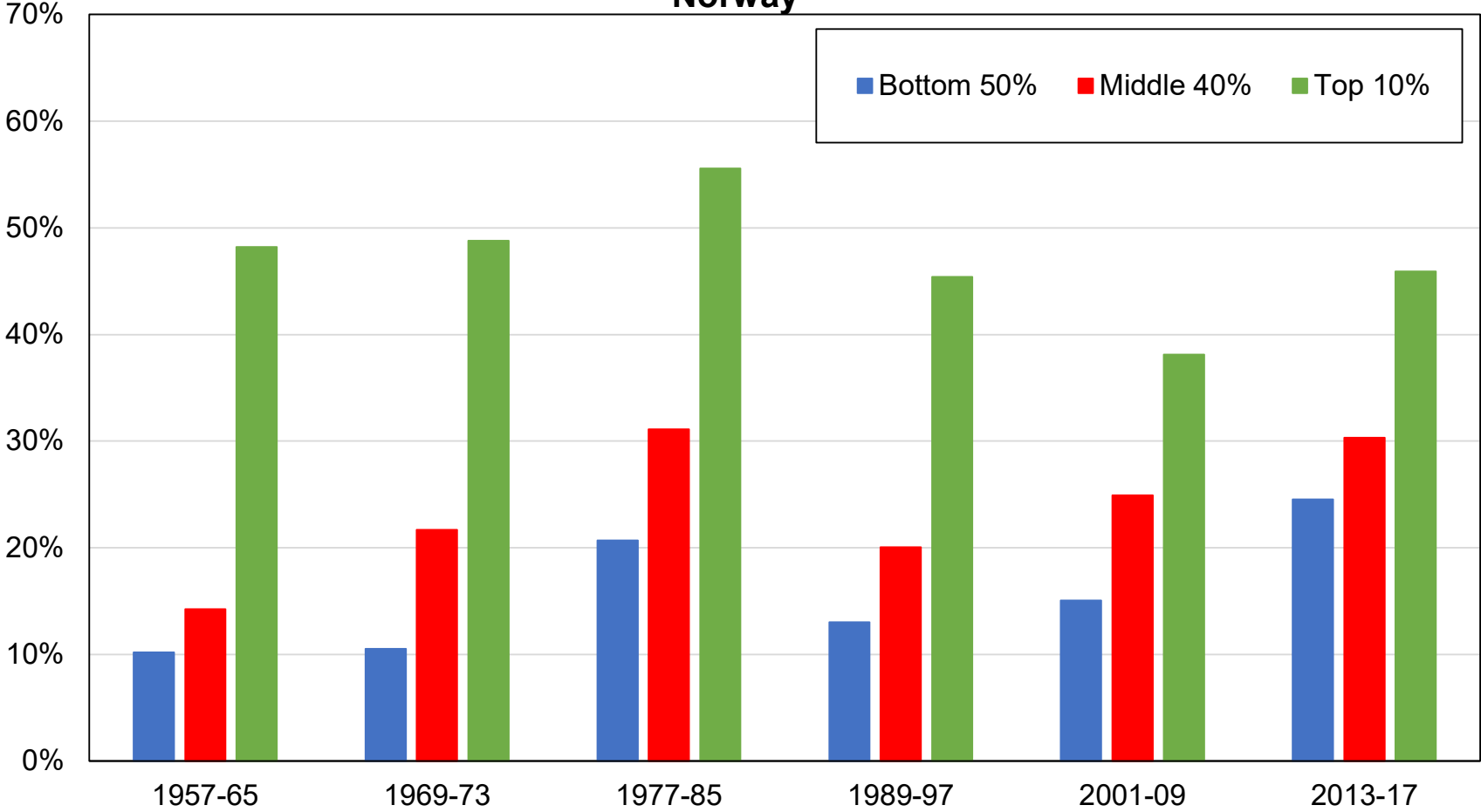
**Figure AC11 - Vote for the Conservative Party by education level in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Conservative Party by education level.

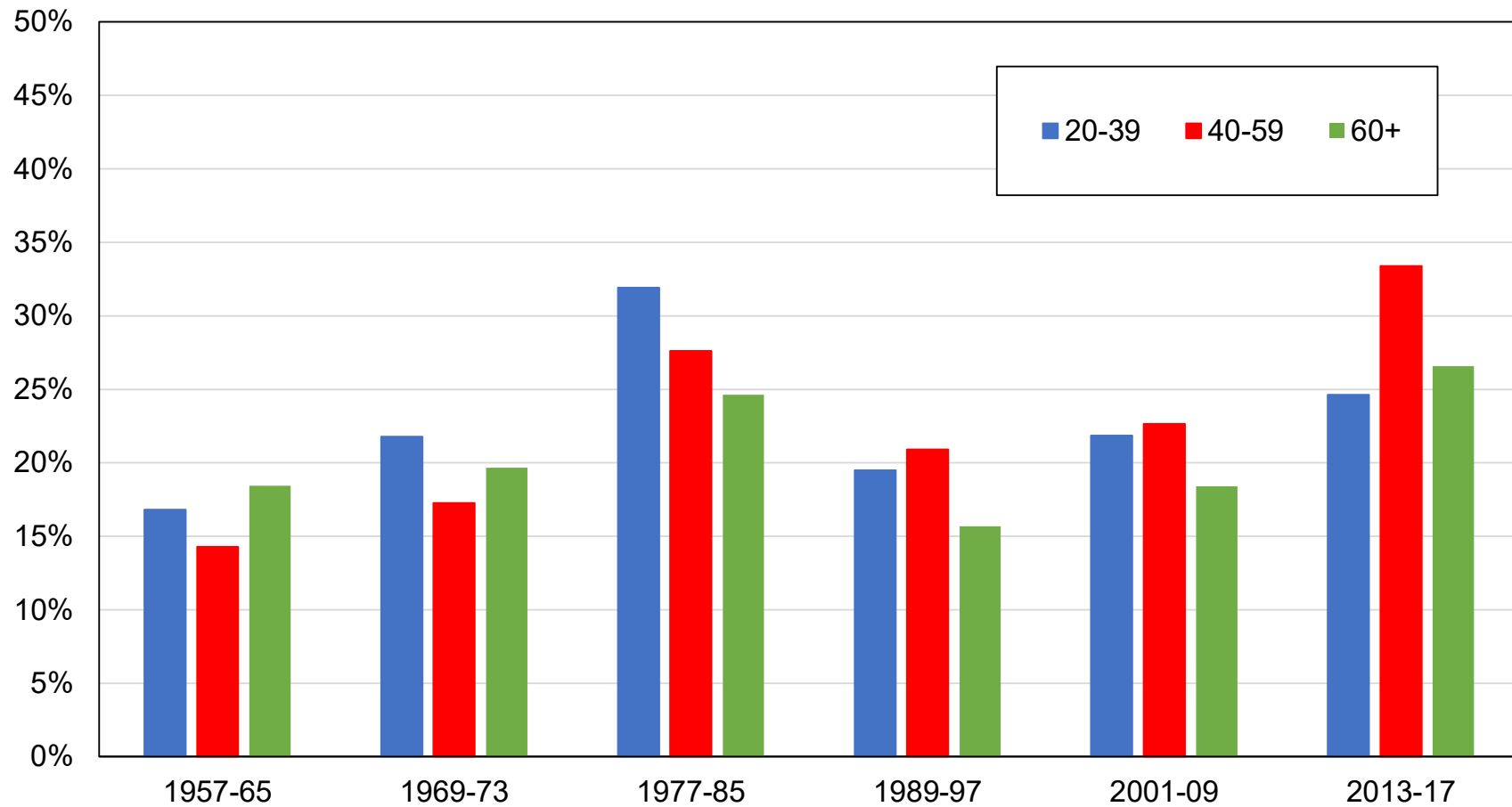
**Figure AC12 - Vote for the Conservative Party by income group in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Conservative Party by income group.

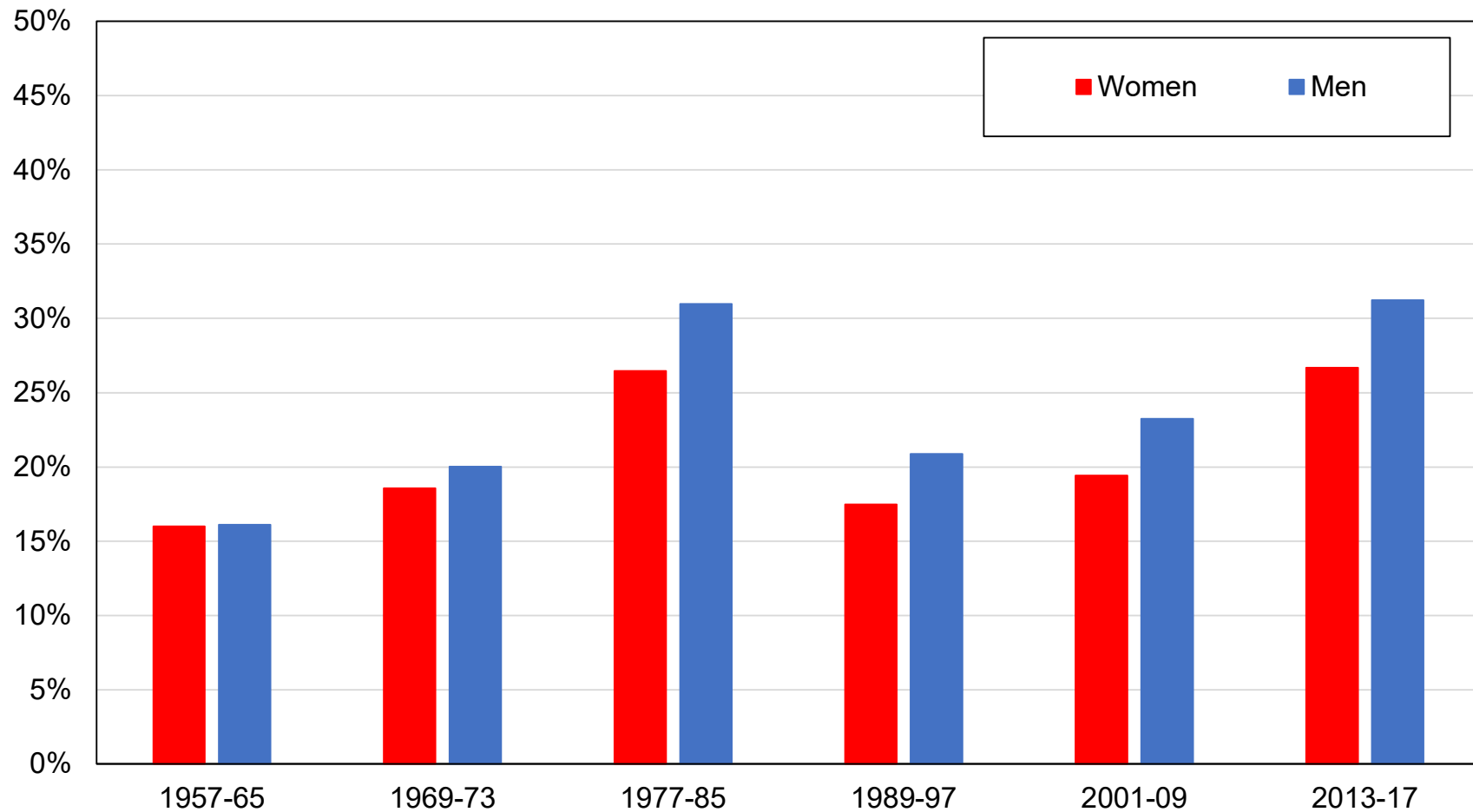
**Figure AC13 - Vote for the Conservative Party by age group in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Conservative Party by age group.

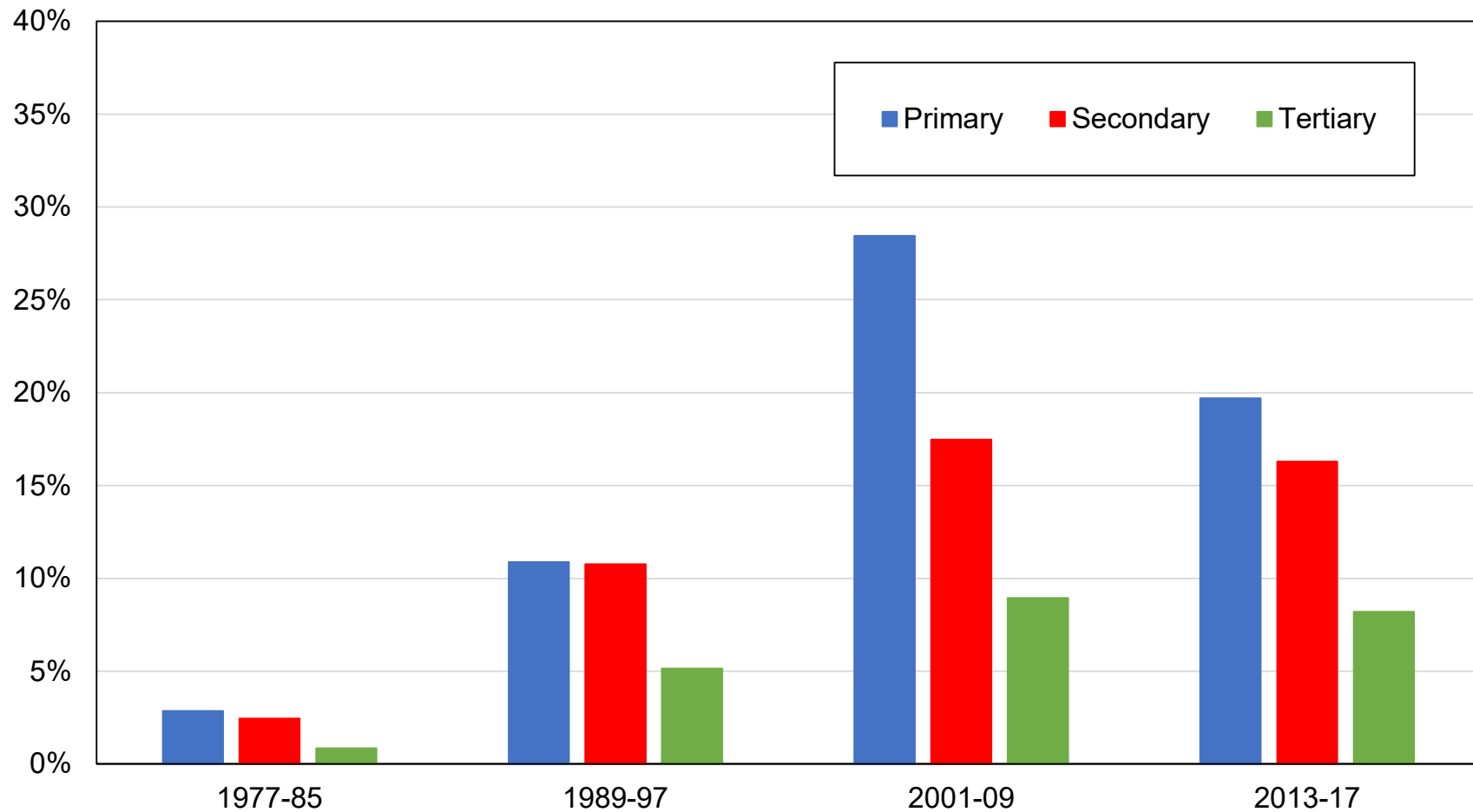
**Figure AC14 - Vote for the Conservative Party by gender in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Conservative Party by gender.

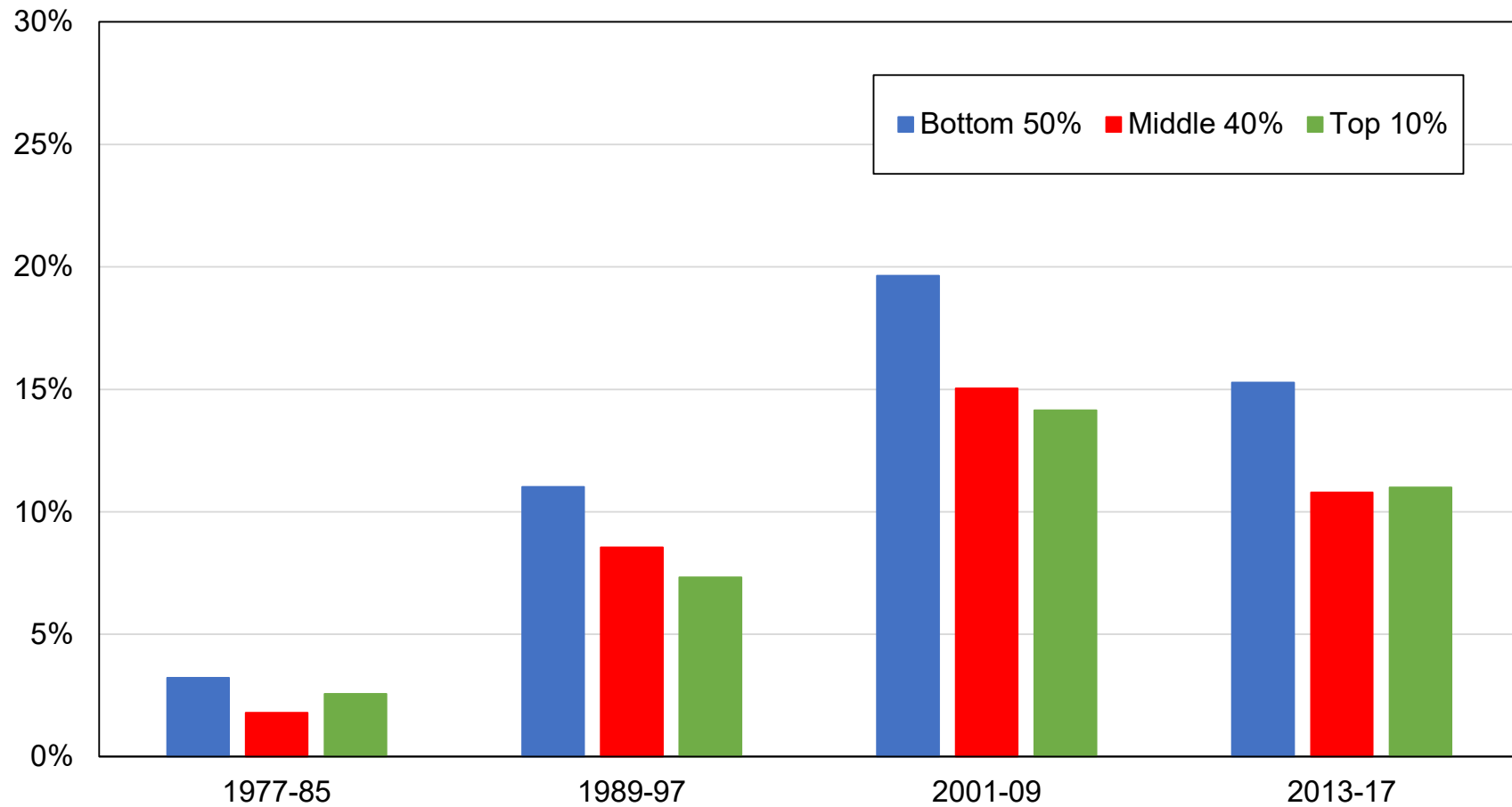
**Figure AC15 - Vote for the Progress Party by education level in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Progress Party by education level.

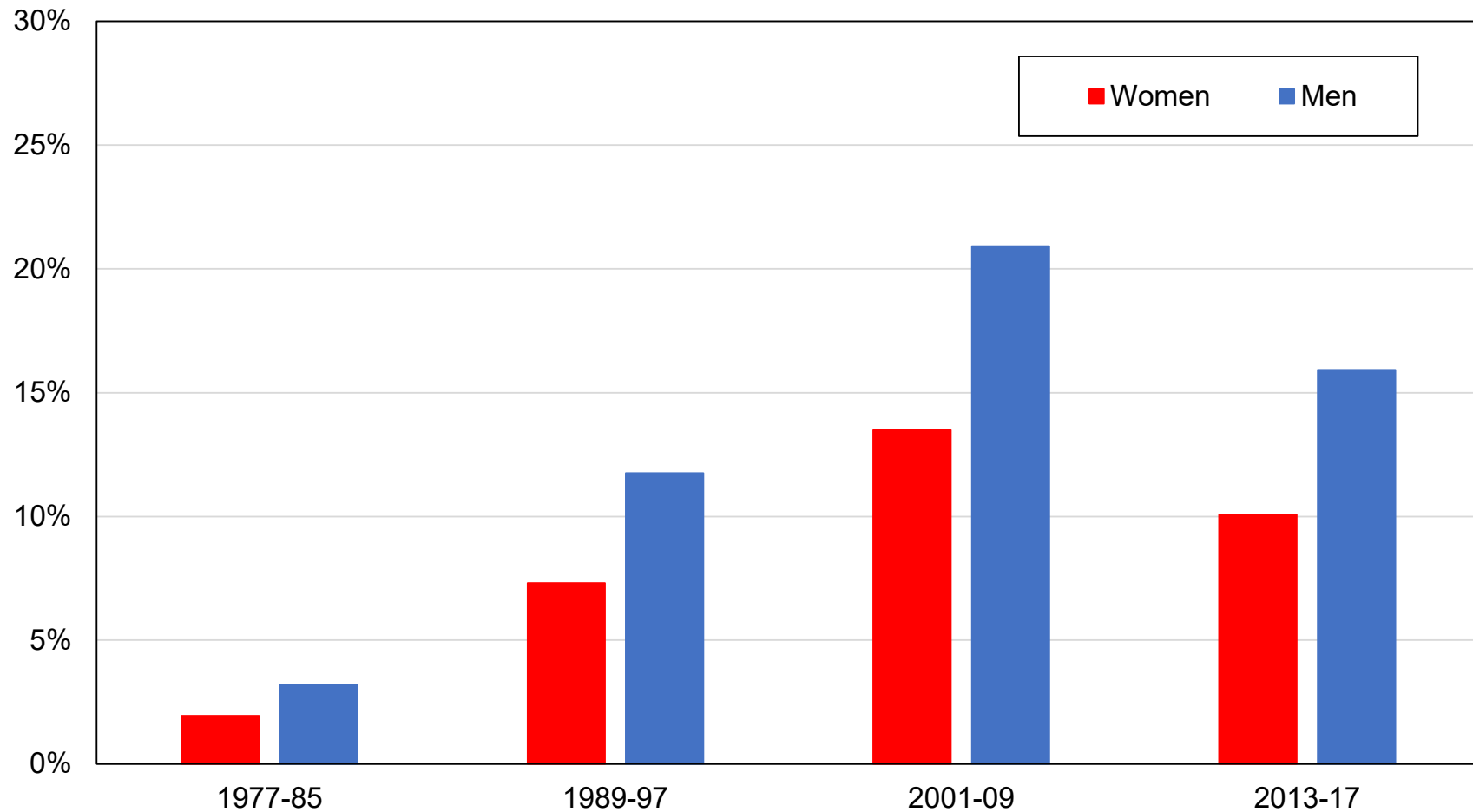
**Figure AC16 - Vote for the Progress Party by income group in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Progress Party by income group.

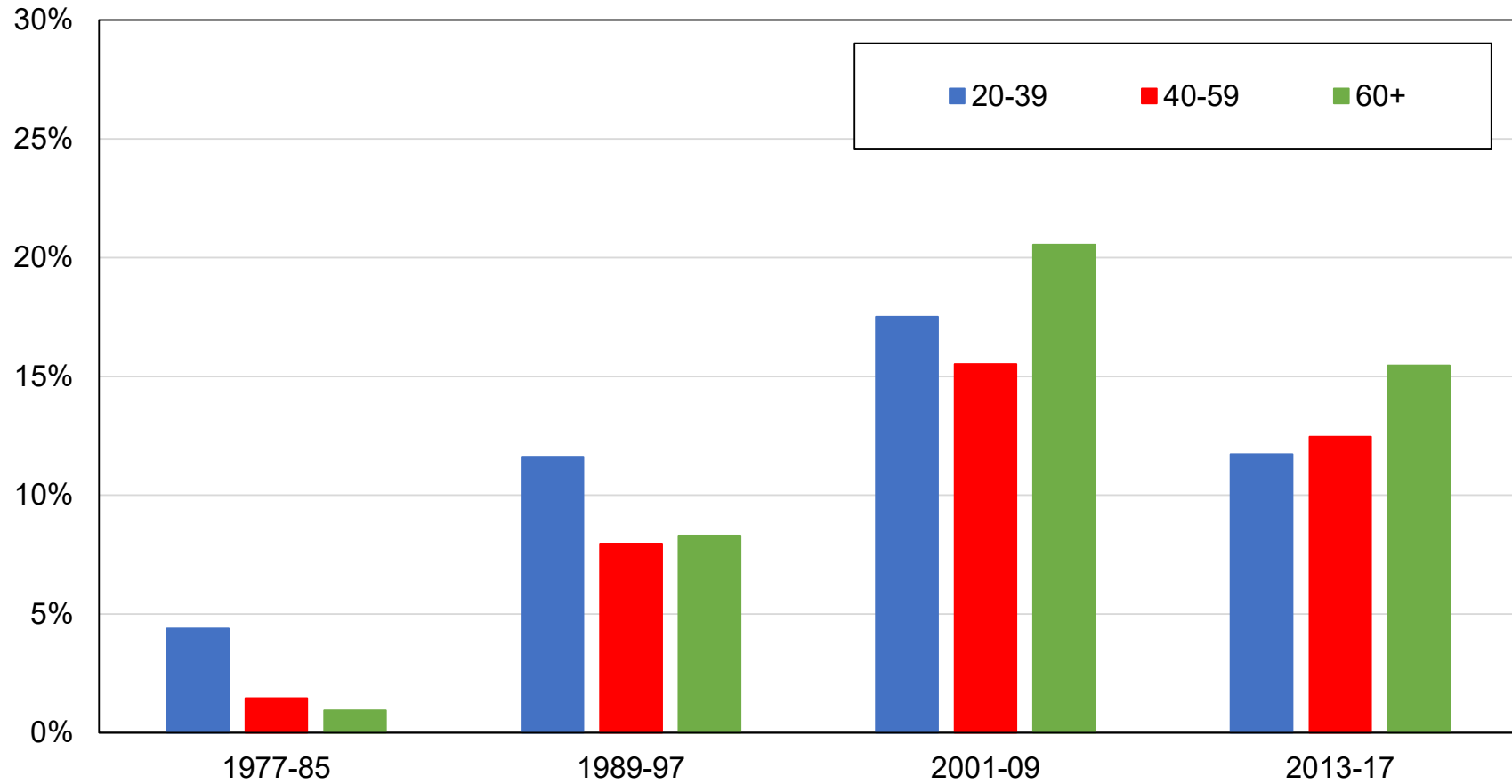
**Figure AC17 - Vote for the Progress Party by gender in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Progress Party by gender.

**Figure AC18- Vote for the Progress Party by age group in Norway**

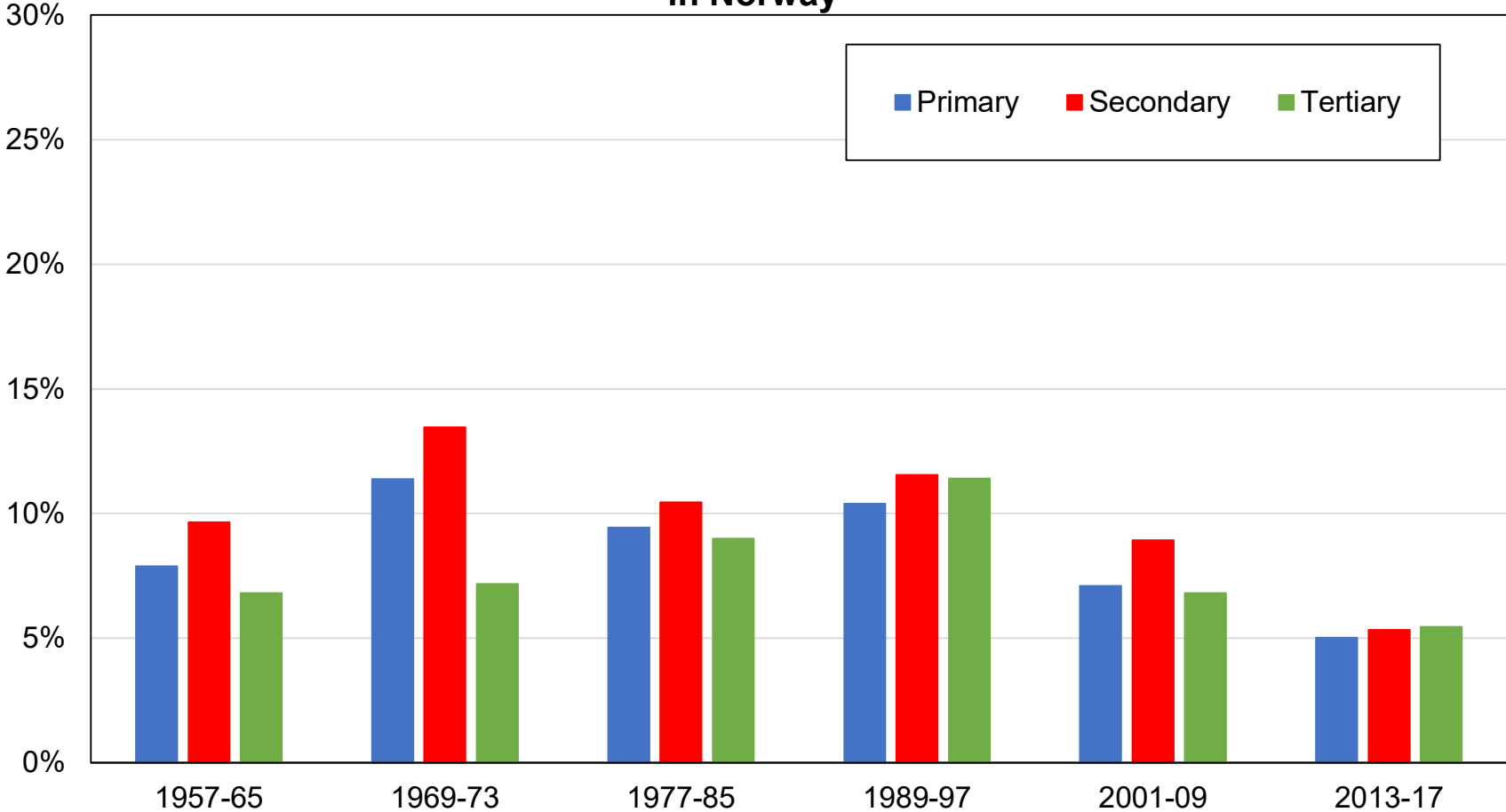


**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Progress Party by age group.



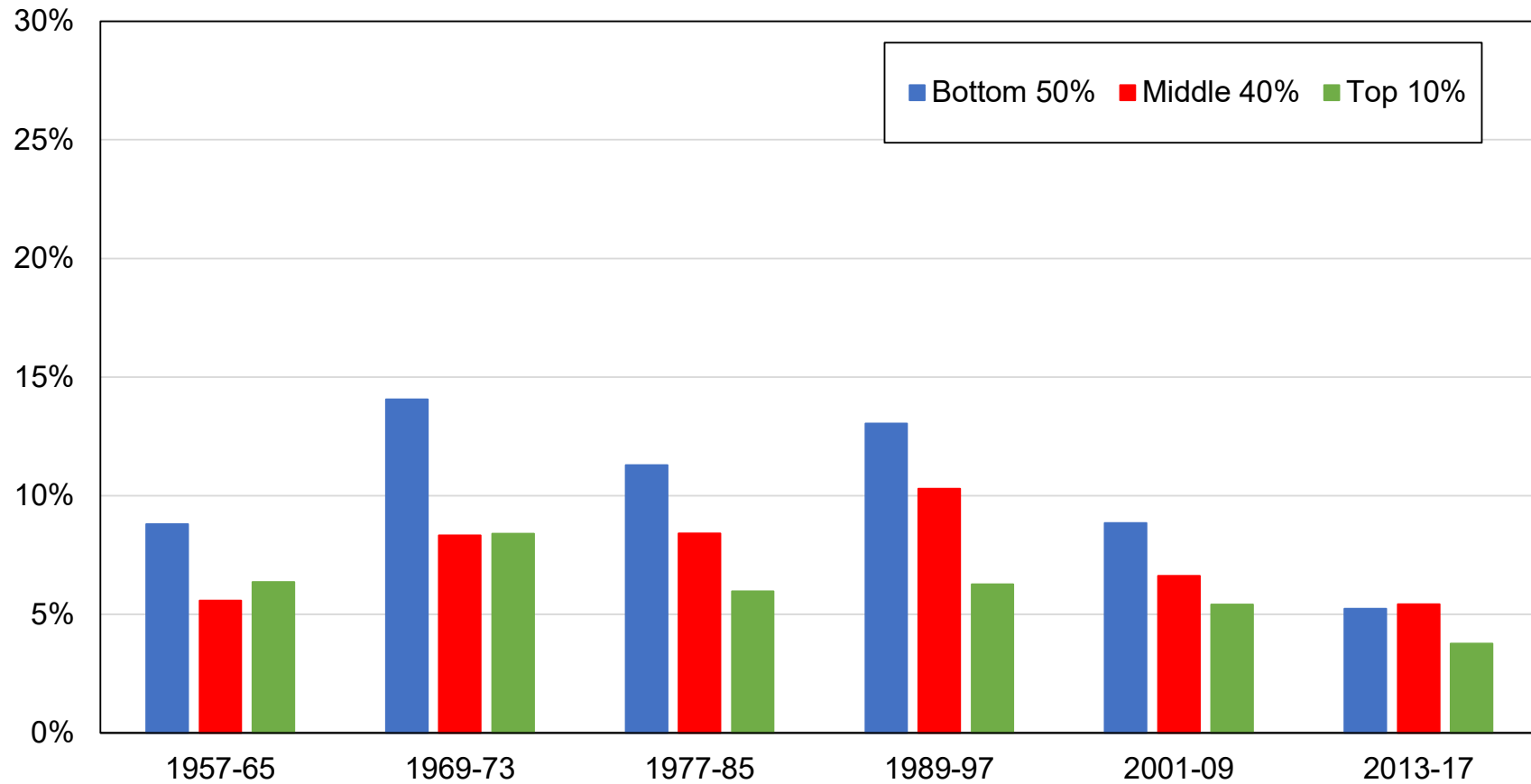
**Figure AC19 - Vote for the Christian Democratic Party by education level in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic Party by education level.

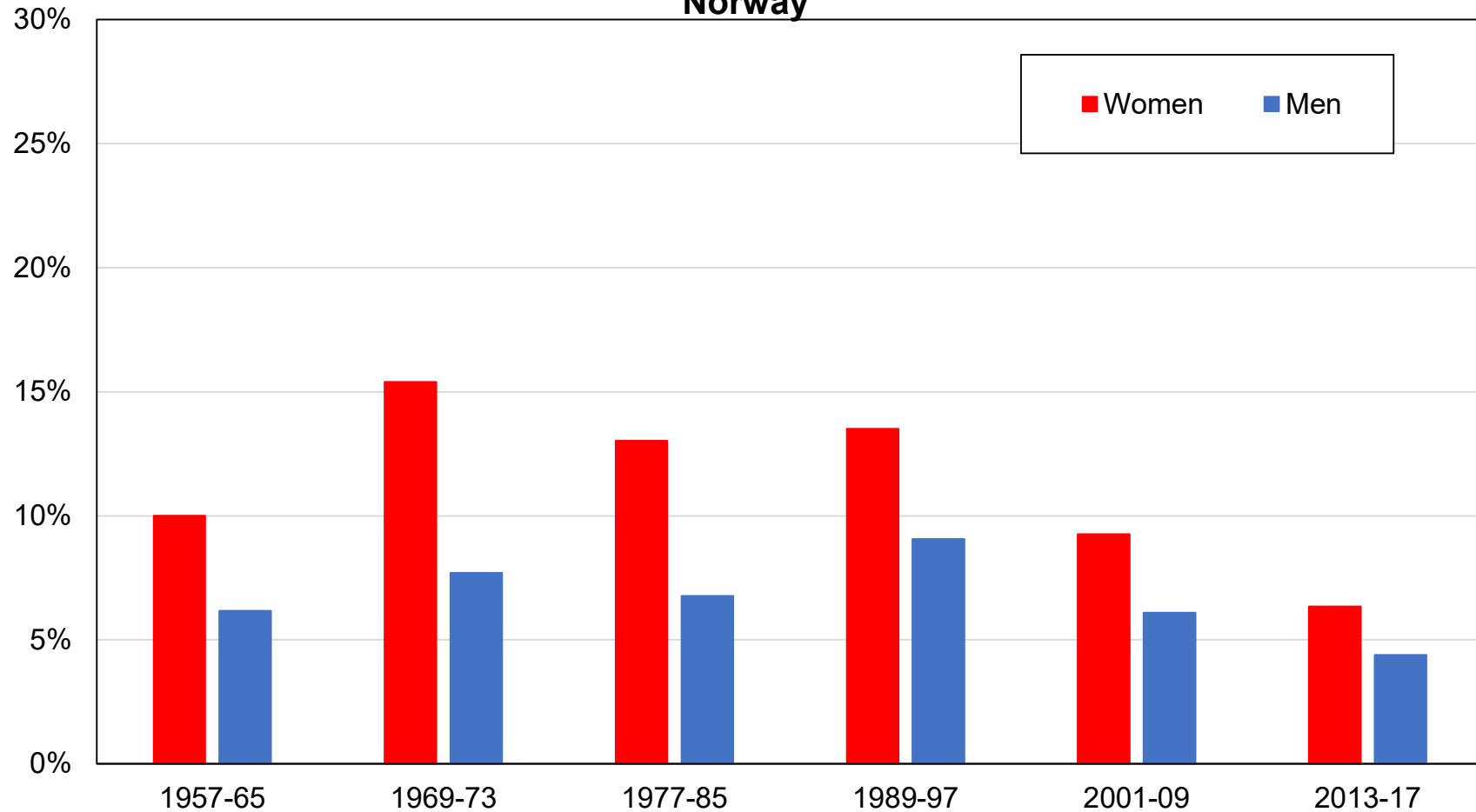
**Figure AC20 - Vote for the Christian Democratic Party by income group in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic Party by income group.

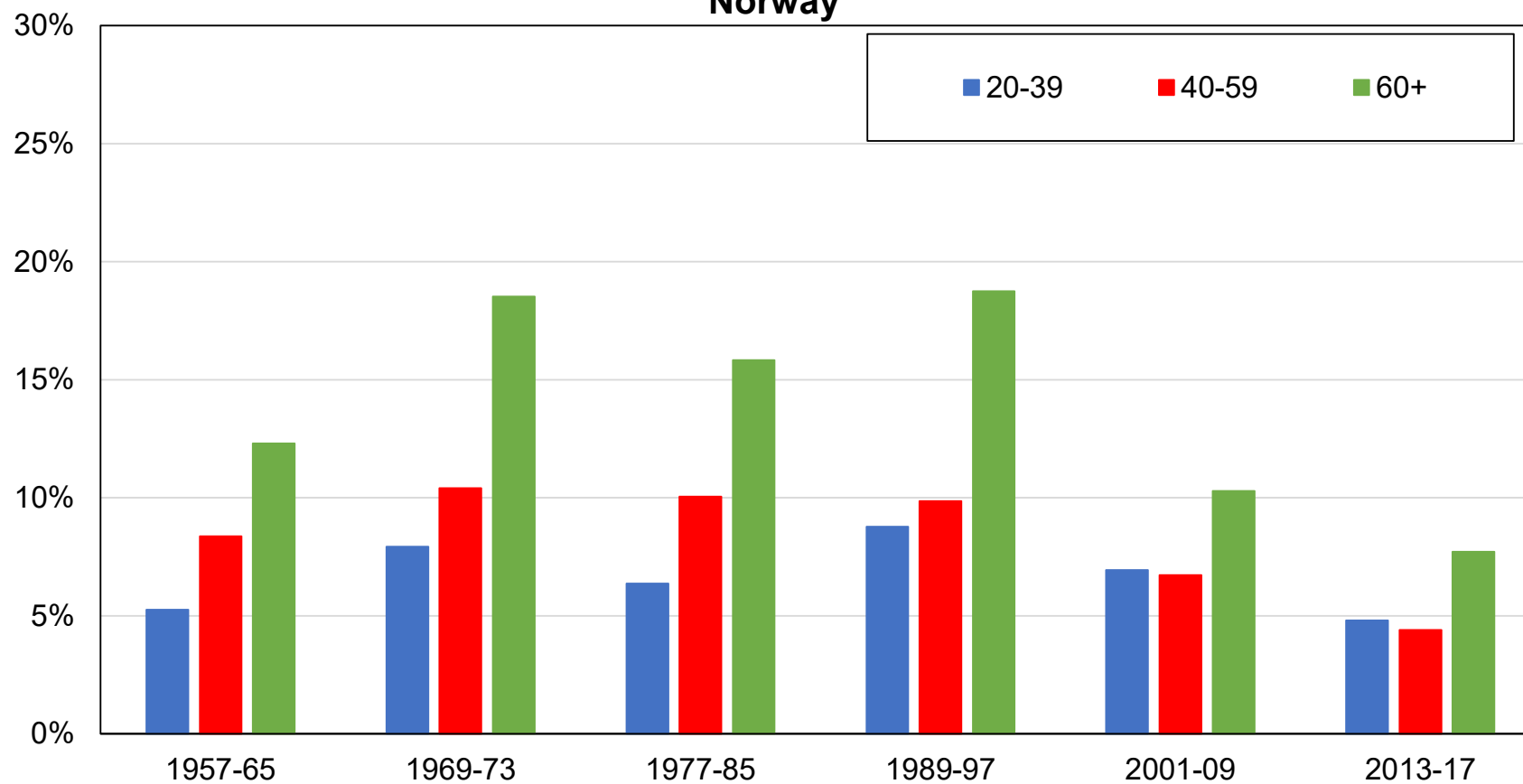
**Figure AC21 - Vote for the Christian Democratic Party by gender in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic Party by gender.

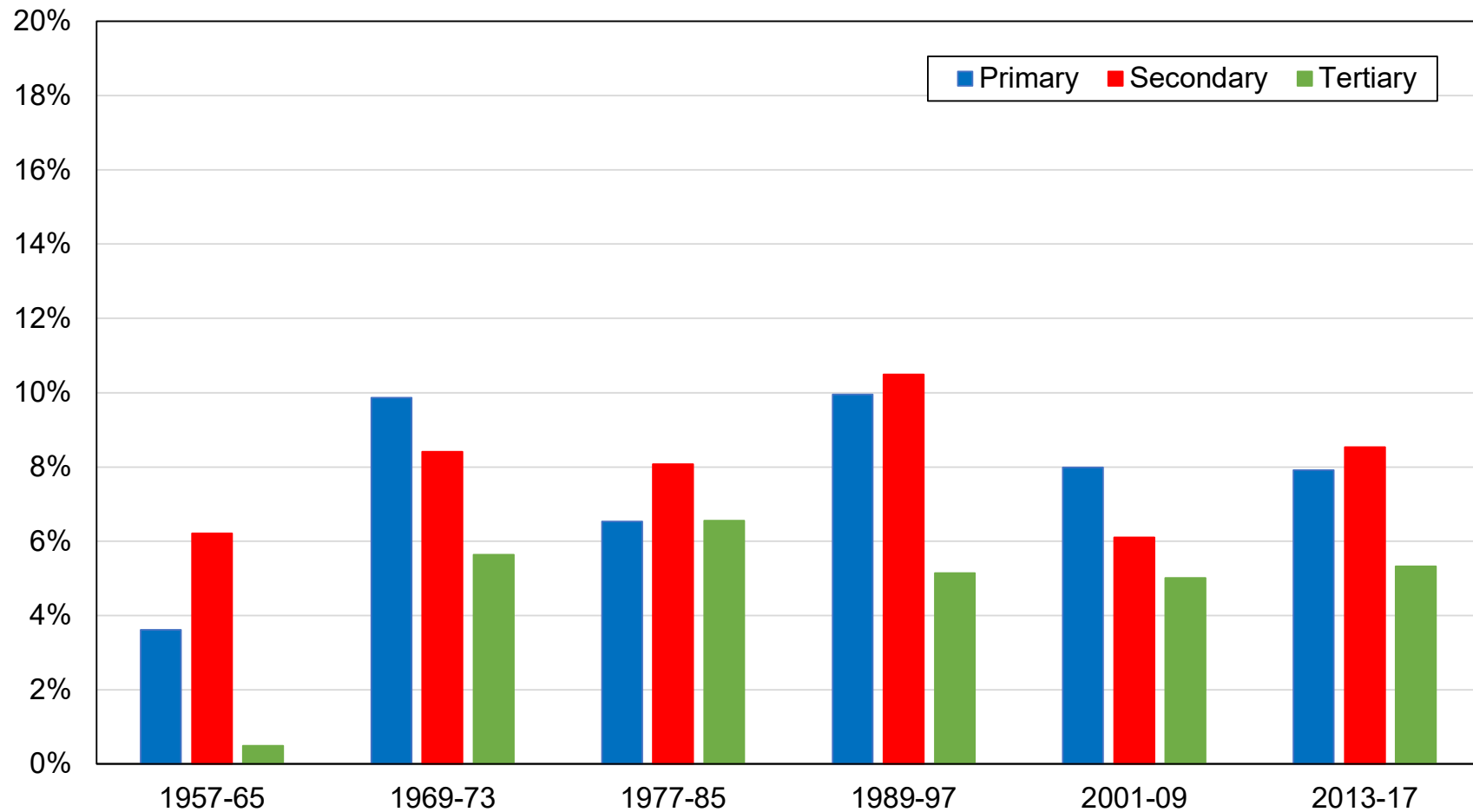
**Figure AC22- Vote for the Christian Democratic Party by age group in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Christian Democratic Party by age group.

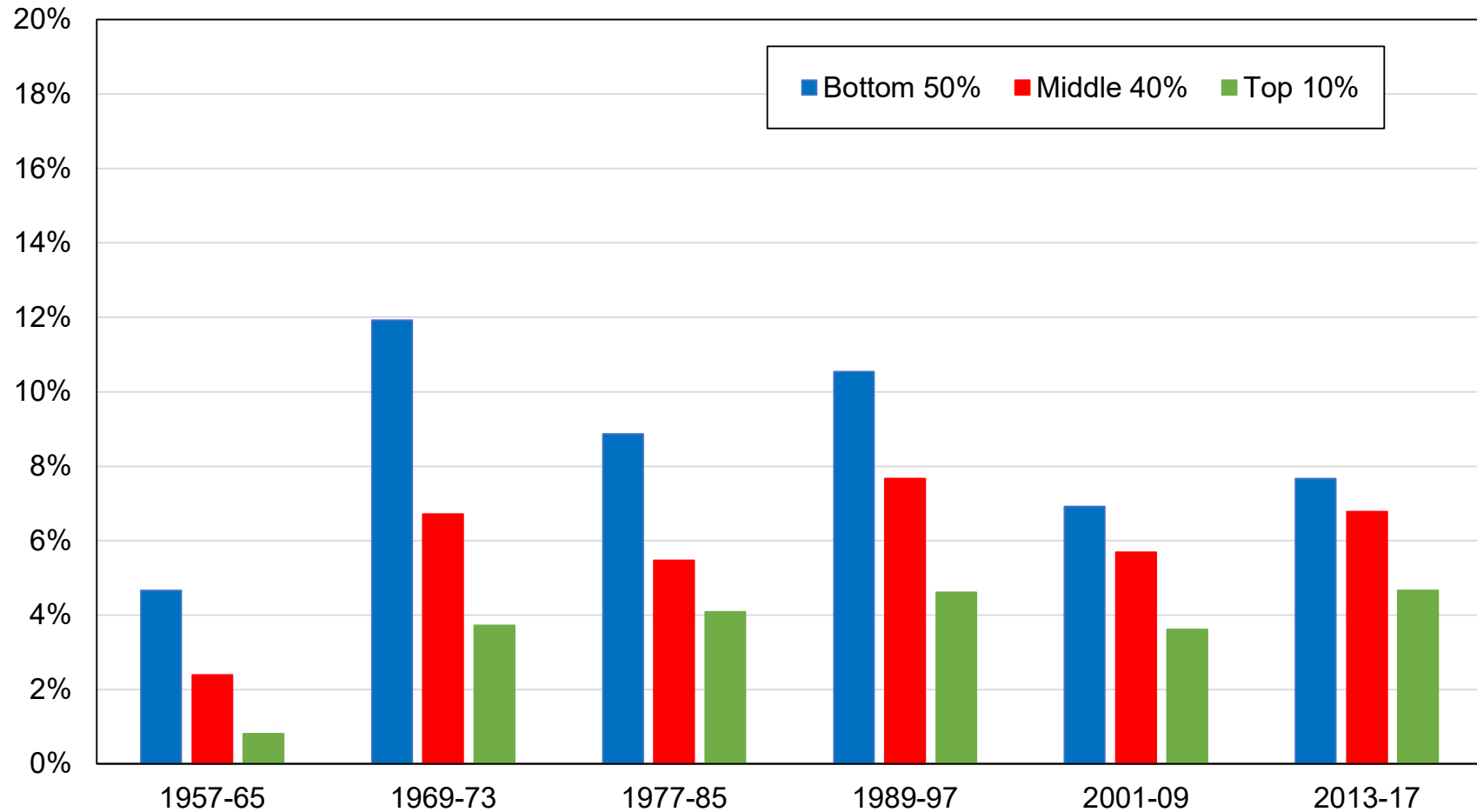
**Figure AC23 - Vote for the Centre Party by educational level in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Centre Party by educational level.

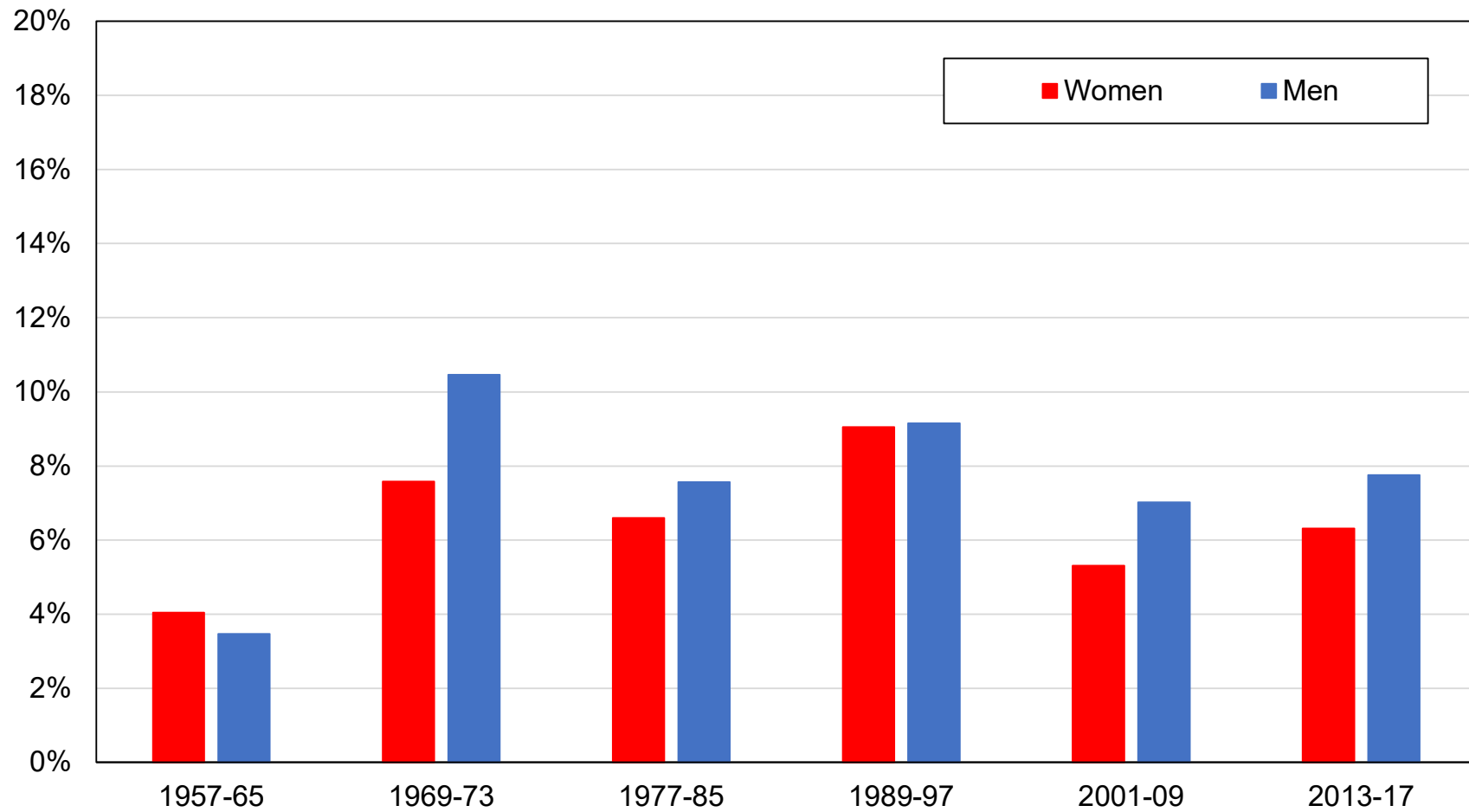
**Figure AC24 - Vote for the Centre Party by income group in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Centre Party by income group.

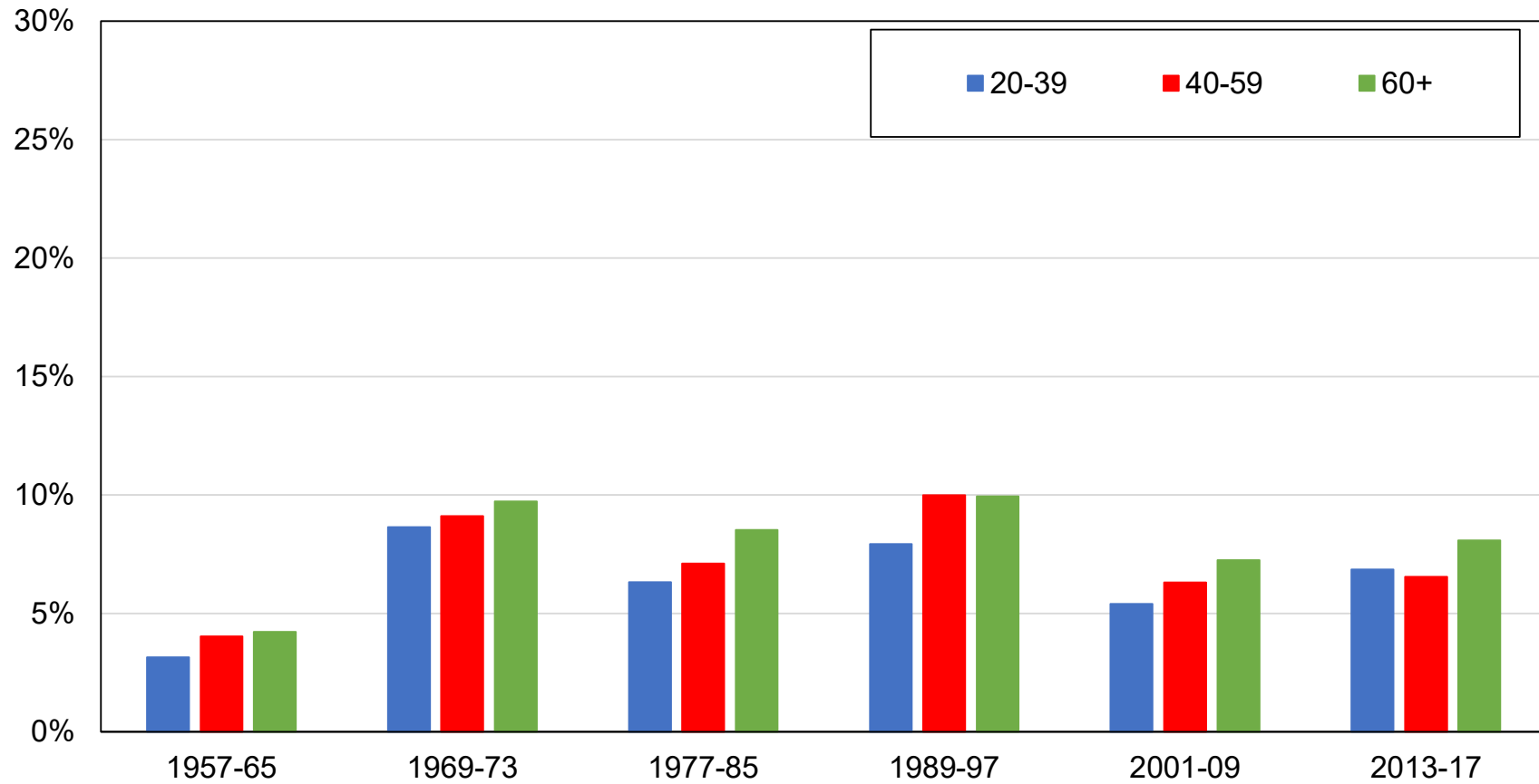
**Figure AC25 - Vote for the Centre Party by gender in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Centre Party by gender.

**Figure AC26- Vote for the Centre Party by age group in Norway**

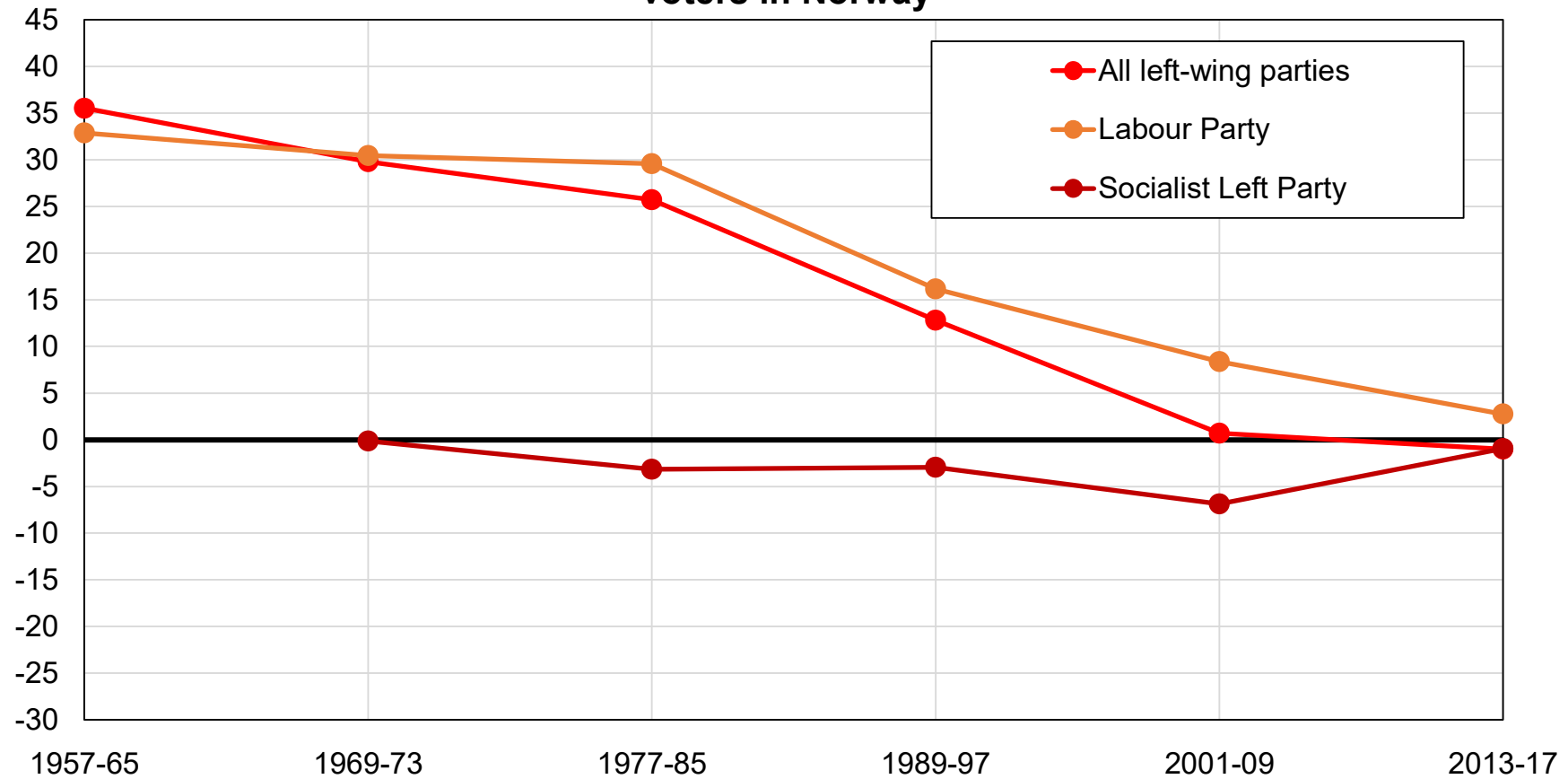


**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Centre Party by age group.



### AC27- Decomposition of the vote for the left among primary-educated voters in Norway



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of primary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for the main left-wing parties, after controlling for income, age, gender, marital status, employment status, region, and union membership.

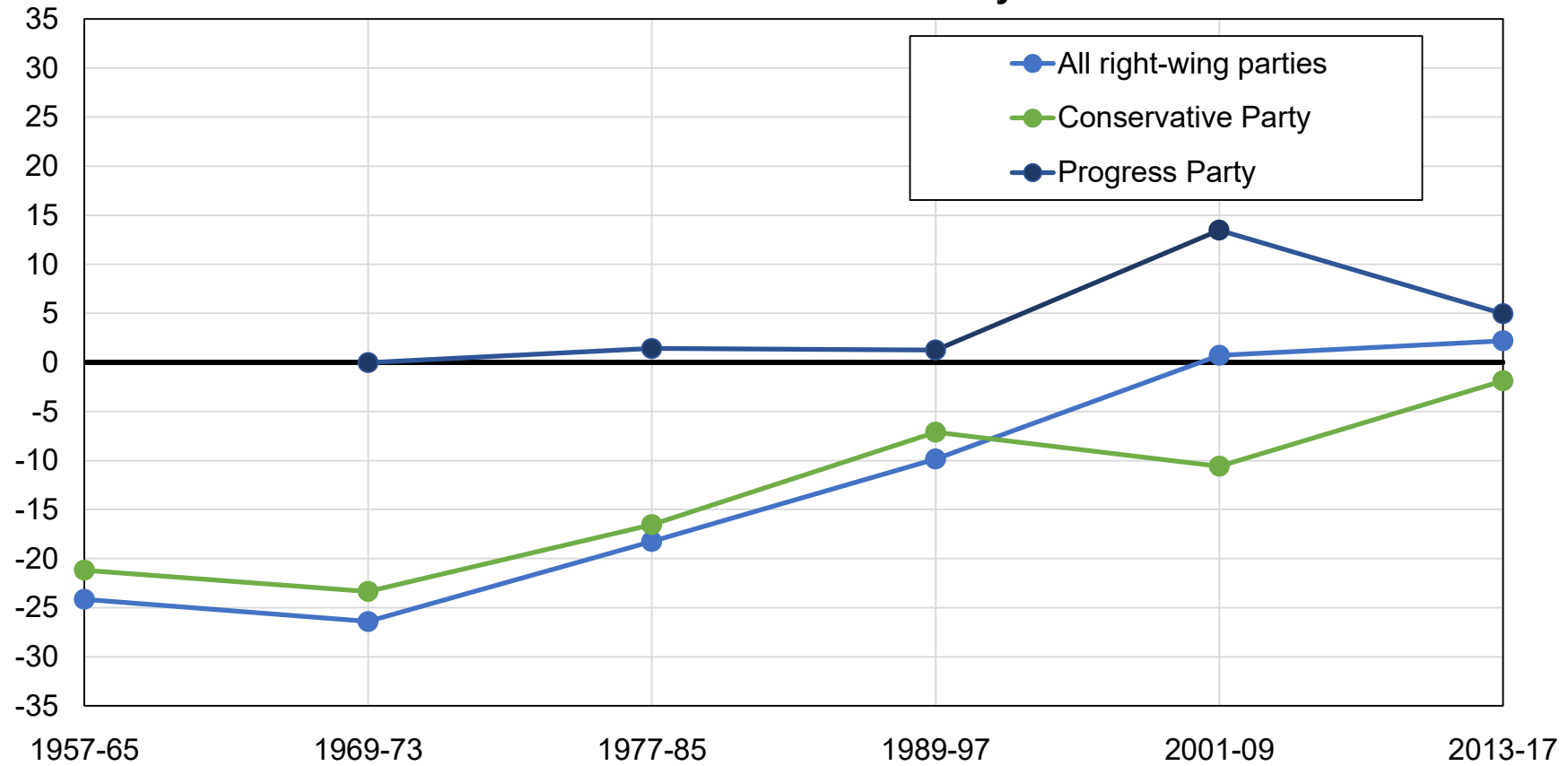
**Figure AC28- Decomposition of the vote for the left among tertiary-educated voters in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of tertiary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, after controlling for income, age, gender, marital status, employment status, region, and union membership.

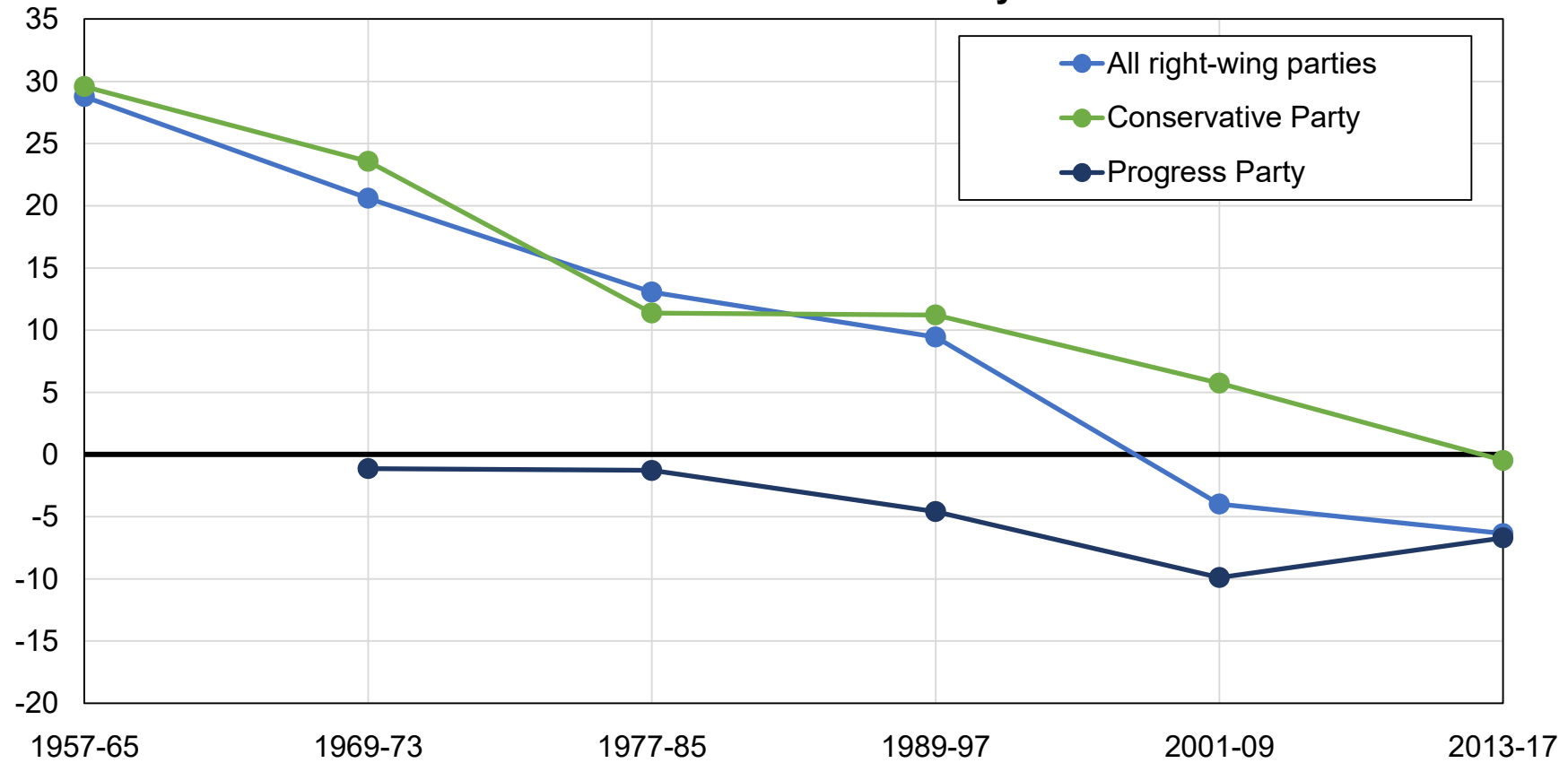
**Figure AC29 - Decomposition of the vote for the right among primary-educated voters in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of primary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for right-wing parties, after controlling for income, age, gender, marital status, employment status, region, and union membership.

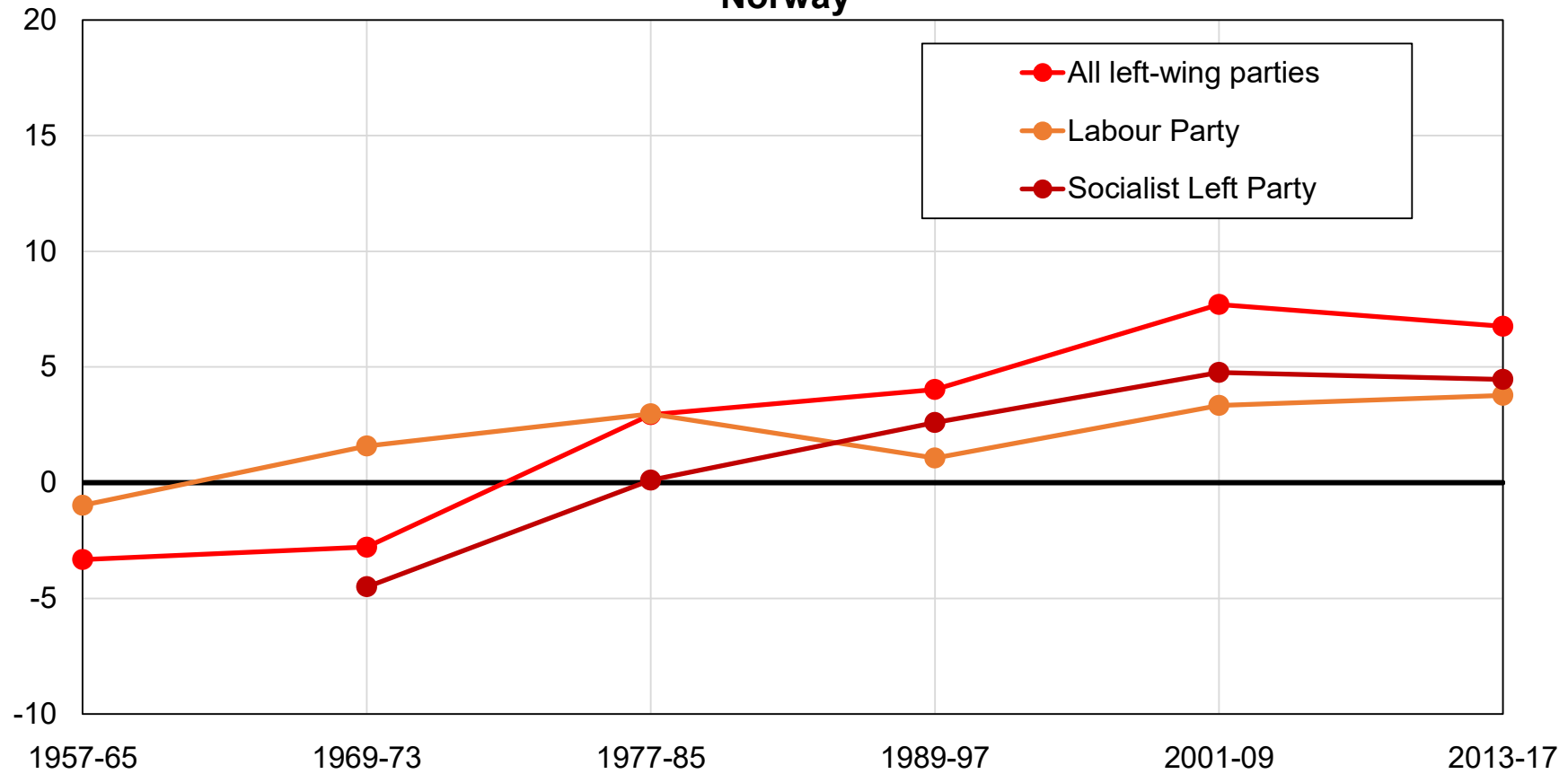
**Figure AC30 - Decomposition of the vote for the right among tertiary-educated voters in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of tertiary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for right-wing parties, after controlling for income, age, gender, marital status, employment status, region, and union membership.

**Figure AC31 - Decomposition of the vote for the left among women in Norway**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for the main left-wing parties, after controlling for income, education, age, marital status, region, religious practice, and sector.

**Table AD1 - Survey data sources in Norway**

Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
1957	Norwegian Election Study	NSD	1544
1965	Norwegian Election Study	NSD	1623
1969	Norwegian Election Study	NSD	1595
1973	Norwegian Election Study	NSD	2662
1977	Norwegian Election Study	NSD	1730
1981	Norwegian Election Study	NSD	1596
1985	Norwegian Election Study	NSD	2180
1989	Norwegian Election Study	NSD	2195
1993	Norwegian Election Study	NSD	2194
1997	Norwegian Election Study	NSD	2055
2001	Norwegian Election Study	NSD	2341
2005	Norwegian Election Study	NSD	2012
2009	Norwegian Election Study	NSD	1782
2013	Norwegian Election Study	NSD	1982
2017	Norwegian Election Study	NSD	1966

**Source:** authors' elaboration.

**Note:** the table shows the surveys used in the paper, the source from which these surveys can be obtained, and the sample size of each survey.

**Table AD2 - Complete descriptive statistics by decade in Norway**

	1957-65	1969-73	1977-85	1989-97	2001-09	2013-17
Age: 20-39	36%	36%	45%	46%	38%	33%
Age: 40-59	43%	42%	33%	35%	40%	42%
Age: 60+	21%	22%	23%	20%	22%	24%
Subjective social class: Working class	63%	65%	55%	54%	44%	
Subjective social class: Middle/Upper/Other class	37%	35%	45%	46%	56%	
Education: Primary	77%	71%	60%	32%	28%	11%
Education: Secondary	16%	18%	35%	47%	39%	48%
Education: Tertiary	7%	11%	5%	21%	33%	42%
Employment status: Employed public	7%	11%	27%	26%	24%	25%
Employment status: Employed private	51%	48%	41%	41%	37%	35%
Employment status: Unemployed/Inactive	41%	41%	33%	33%	39%	40%
House ownership: Renting	42%	17%	31%			
House ownership: Owning	58%	83%	69%			
Marital status: Single	24%	24%	28%	30%	32%	34%
Marital status: Married / Partner	76%	76%	72%	70%	68%	66%
Region: East			14%	17%	20%	15%
Region: North			11%	11%	9%	11%
Region: South and Oslo			39%	35%	33%	39%
Region: Trondelag			10%	9%	9%	9%
Region: West			27%	27%	28%	26%
Religion: No religion	56%			15%		17%
Religion: Catholic	31%			0%		1%
Religion: Protestant	0%			82%		80%
Religion: Muslim	0%			0%		1%
Religion: Other	12%			3%		2%
Church attendance: Never	64%					36%
Church attendance: Less than monthly	9%					42%
Church attendance: Monthly or more	27%	100%	100%	100%	100%	22%
Rural / urban: Urban	46%	45%	70%	79%	68%	72%
Rural / urban: Rural	54%	55%	30%	21%	32%	28%
Sector: Private/Mixed	87%	81%	60%	61%	61%	58%
Sector: Public	13%	19%	40%	39%	39%	42%

Gender: Women	50%	48%	48%	48%	48%	50%
Gender: Men	50%	52%	52%	52%	52%	50%
Union membership: Not union member	63%	64%	55%	54%	52%	53%
Union membership: Union member	37%	36%	45%	46%	48%	47%

**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian electoral surveys.

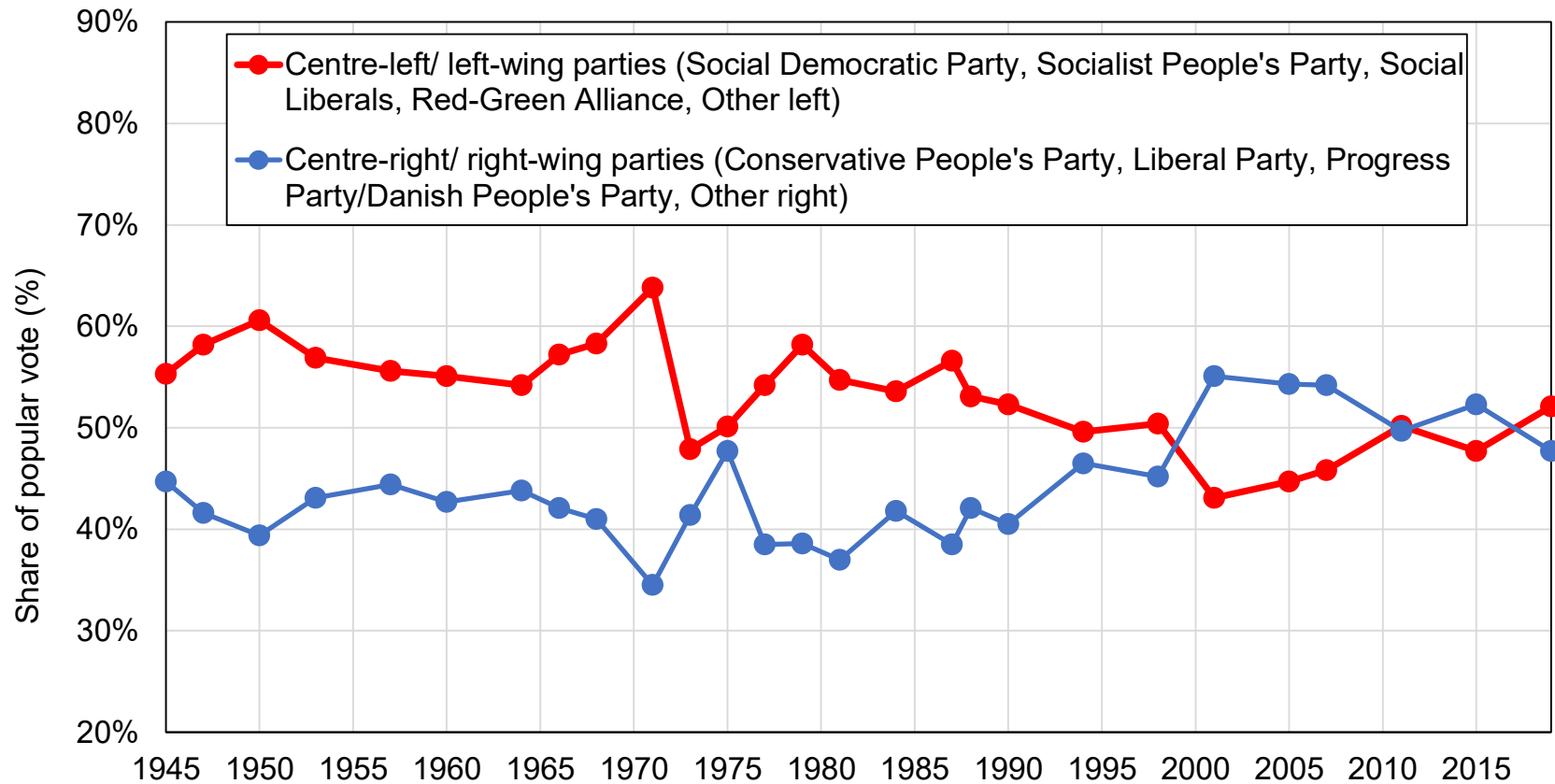
**Note:** the table shows descriptive statistics by decade for selected available variables.







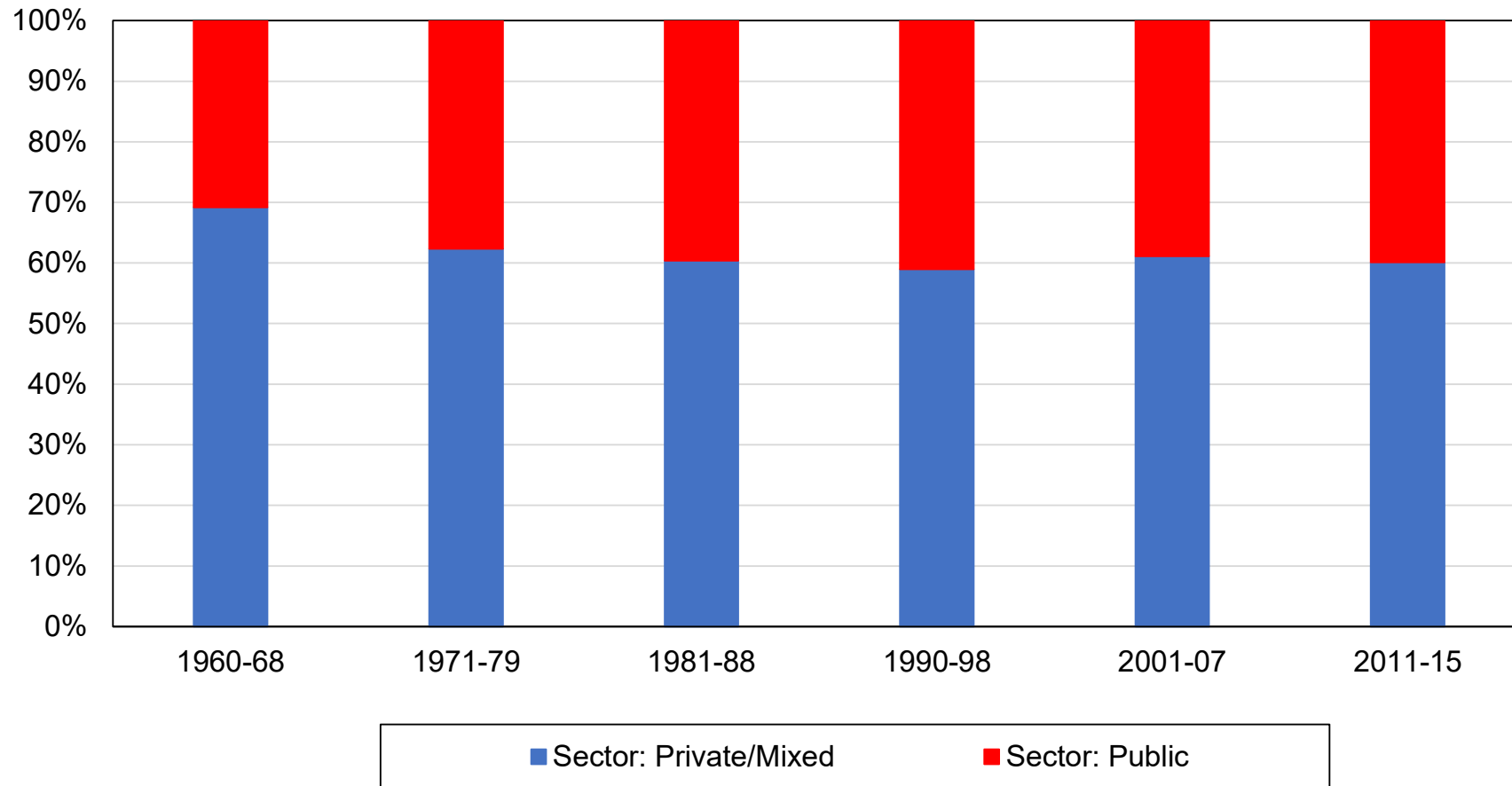
**Figure BA1 - Election results by groups in Denmark, 1945-2019**



**Source:** authors' computations using official election results.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Danish political parties in general elections between 1945 and 2019. For simplicity, the right-wing parties include also the Christian Democrats and the Centre Democrats despite their more centrist positions. Parties with other political orientation and with a share of votes below 3% are not included in the graph.

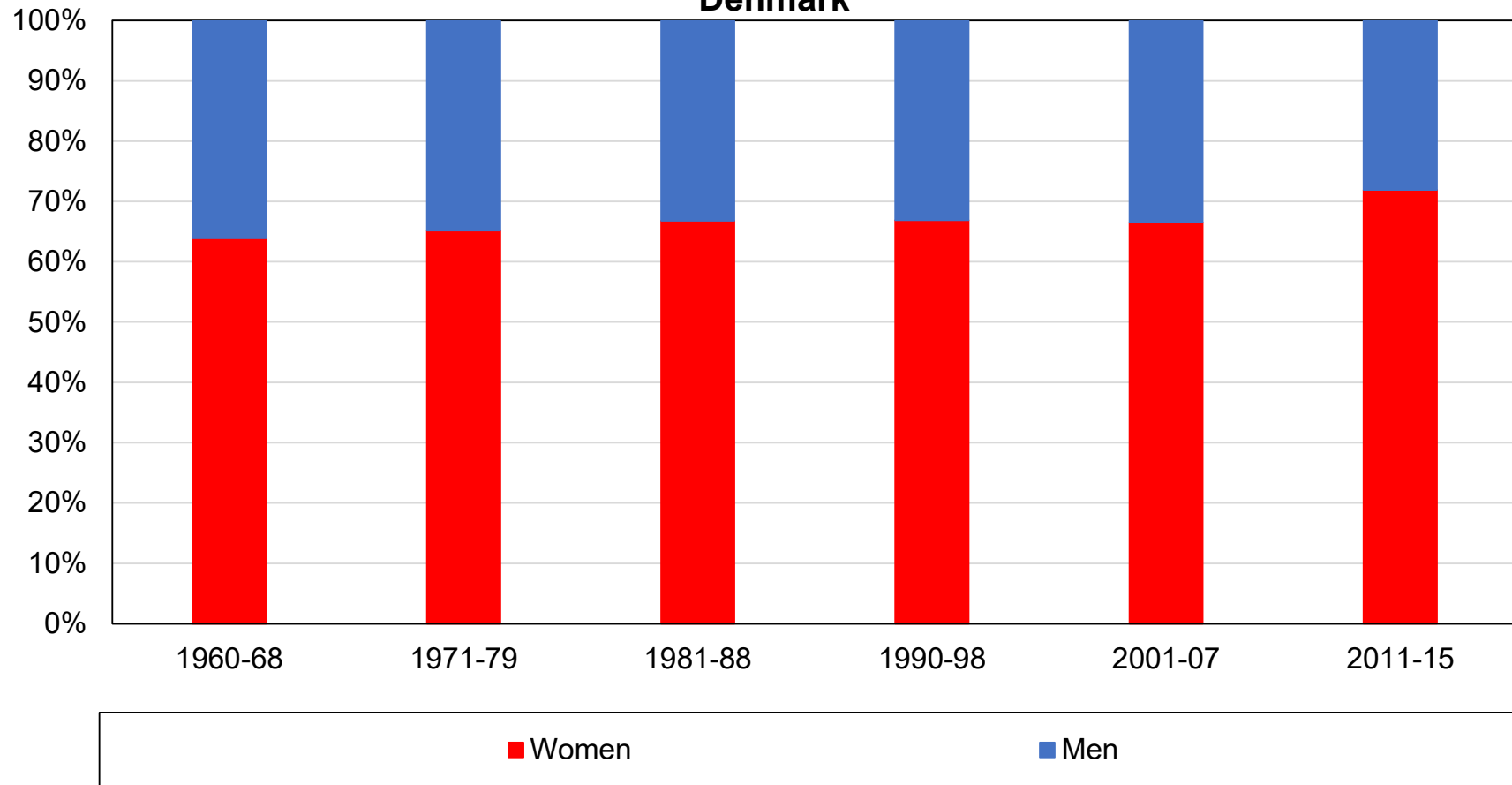
**Figure BA2 - The evolution of employment sector in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the distribution of employment sector (public vs private) of the Danish adult population and its evolution over time since the 1960s.

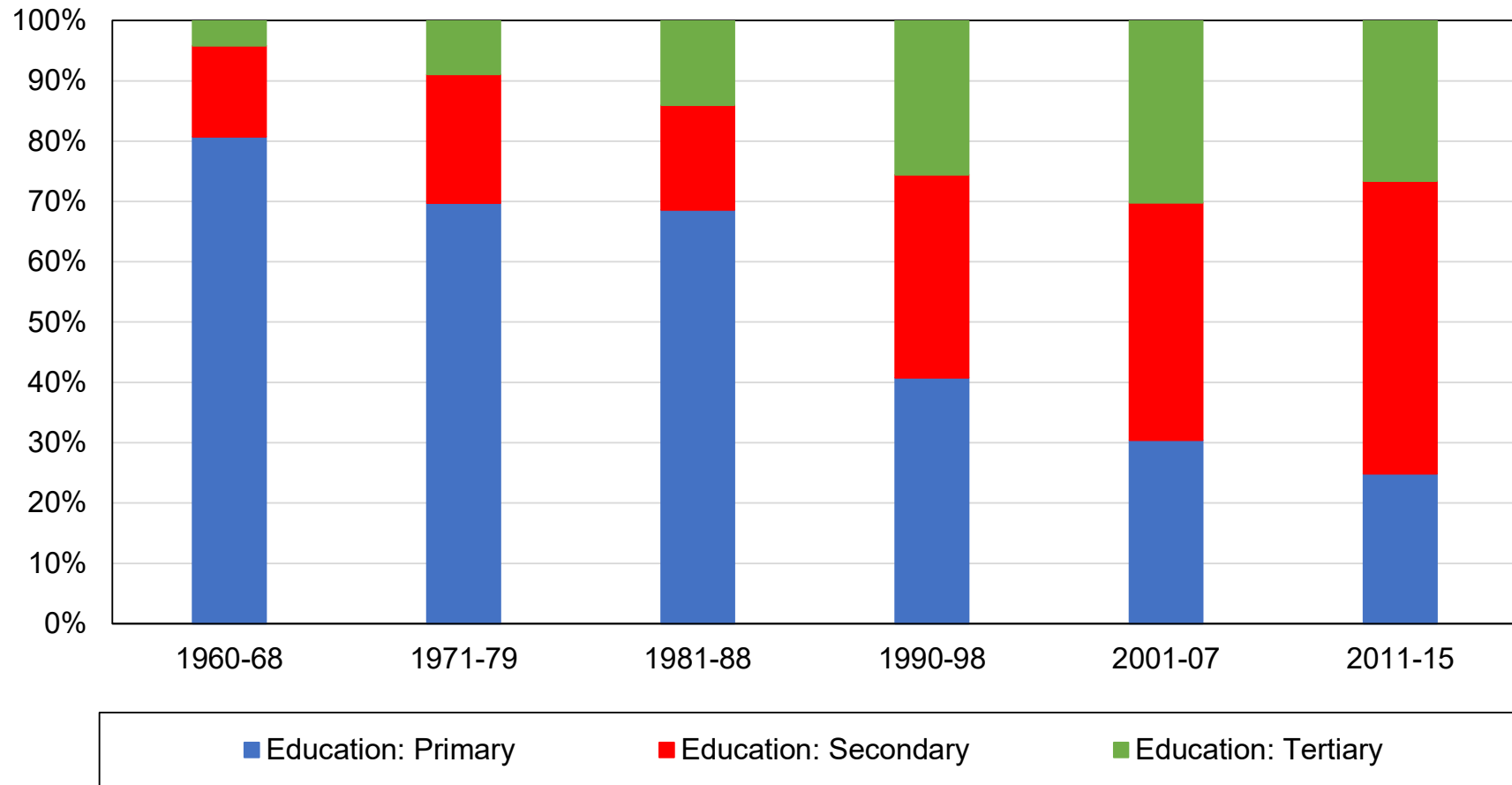
**Figure BA3 - The evolution of public sector employment by gender in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the distribution of public sector employment by gender of the Danish adult population and its evolution over time since the 1960s.

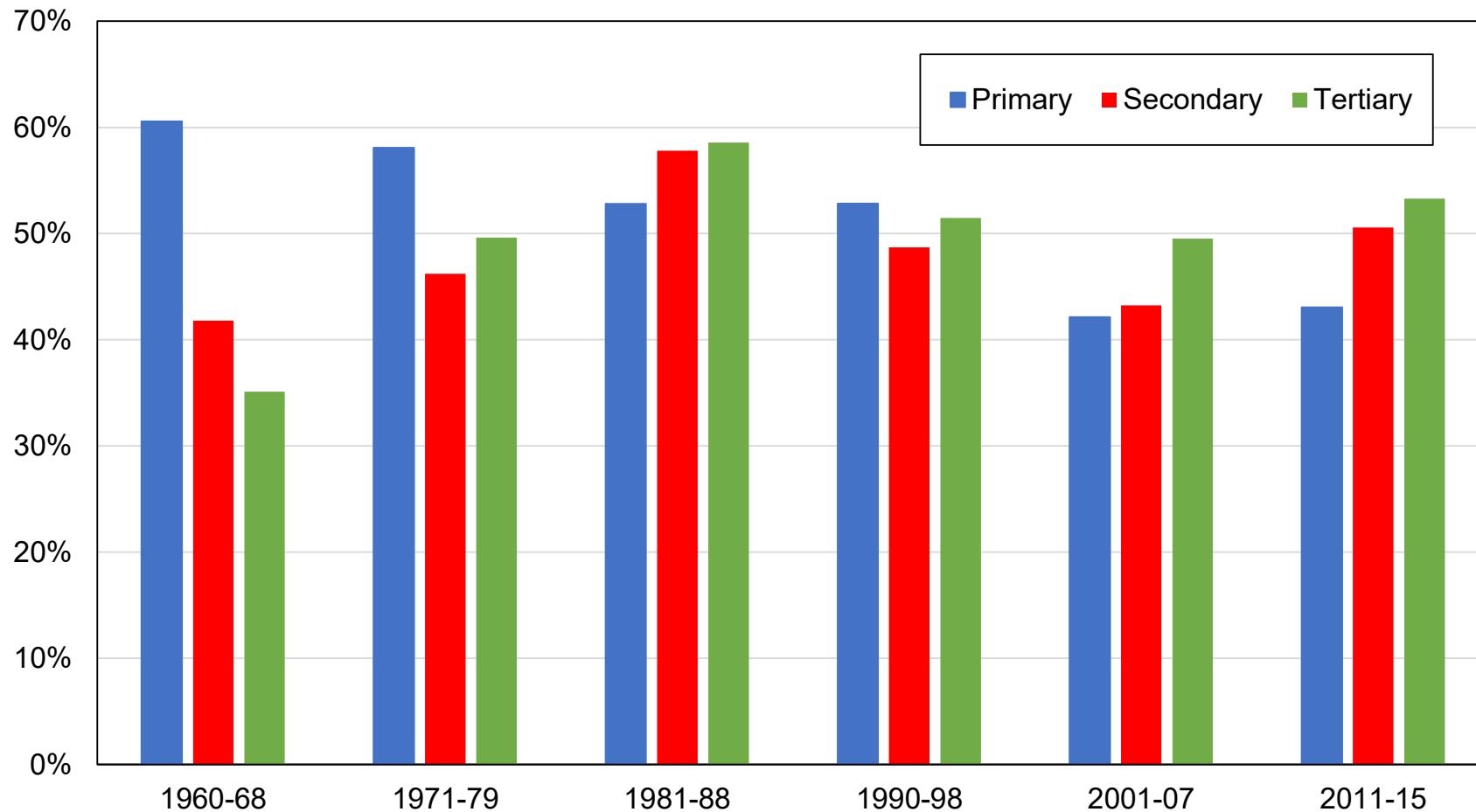
**Figure BA4 - The evolution of education in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the distribution of education levels of the Danish adult population and its evolution over time since the 1960s.

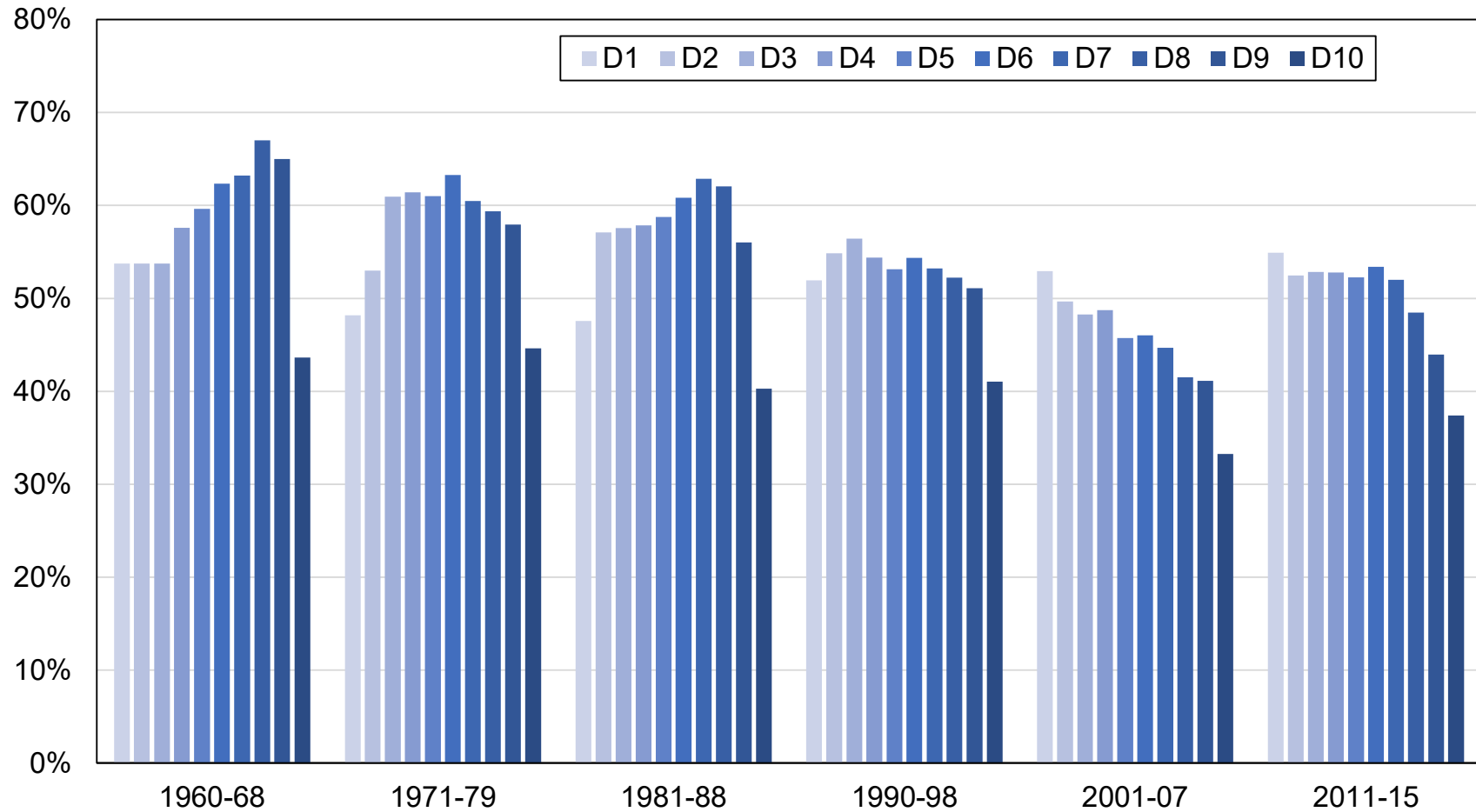
Figure BB1 - Vote for left by education level in Denmark



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by education level.

**Figure BB2 - Vote for the left by income decile in Denmark (bars)**

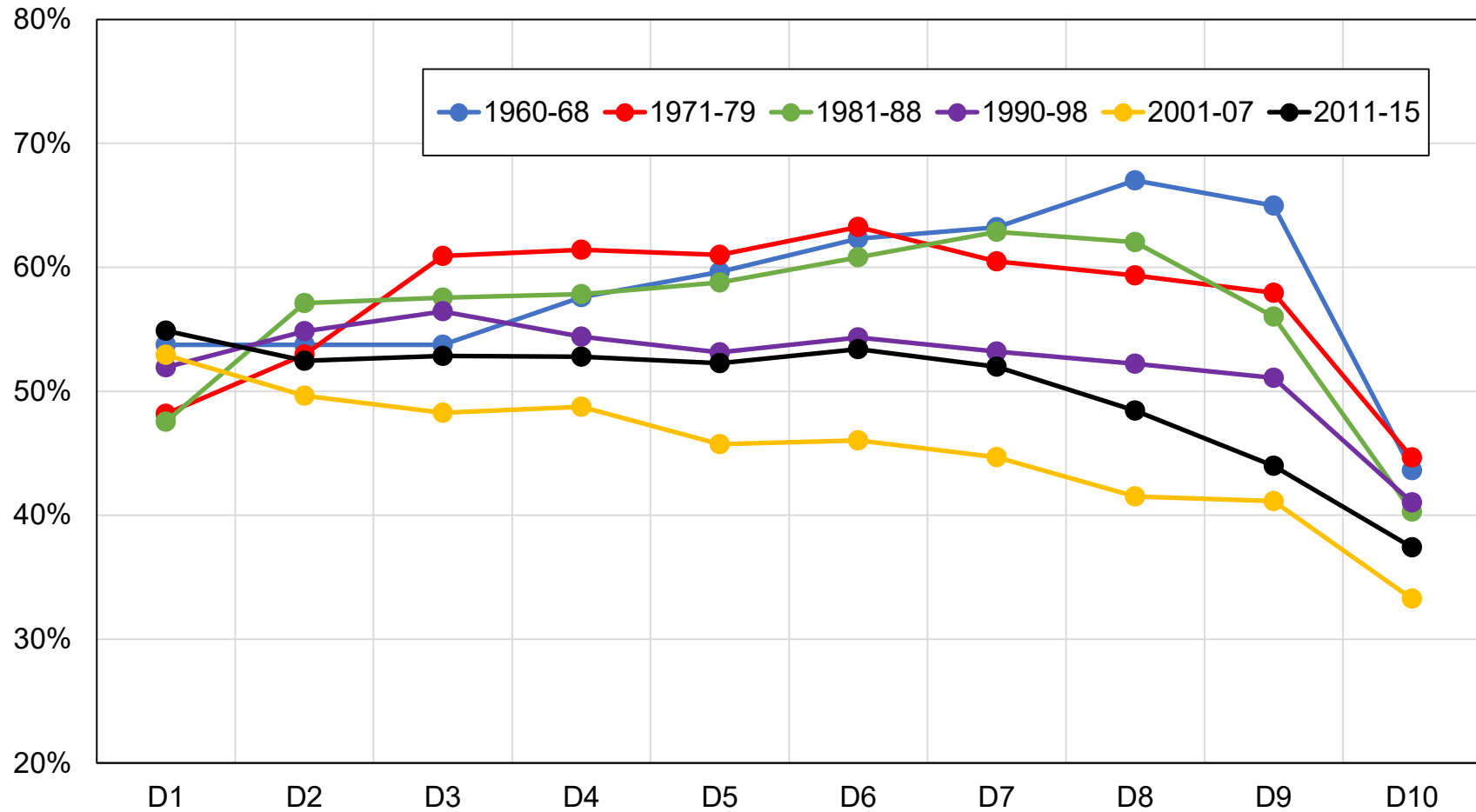


**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income decile.



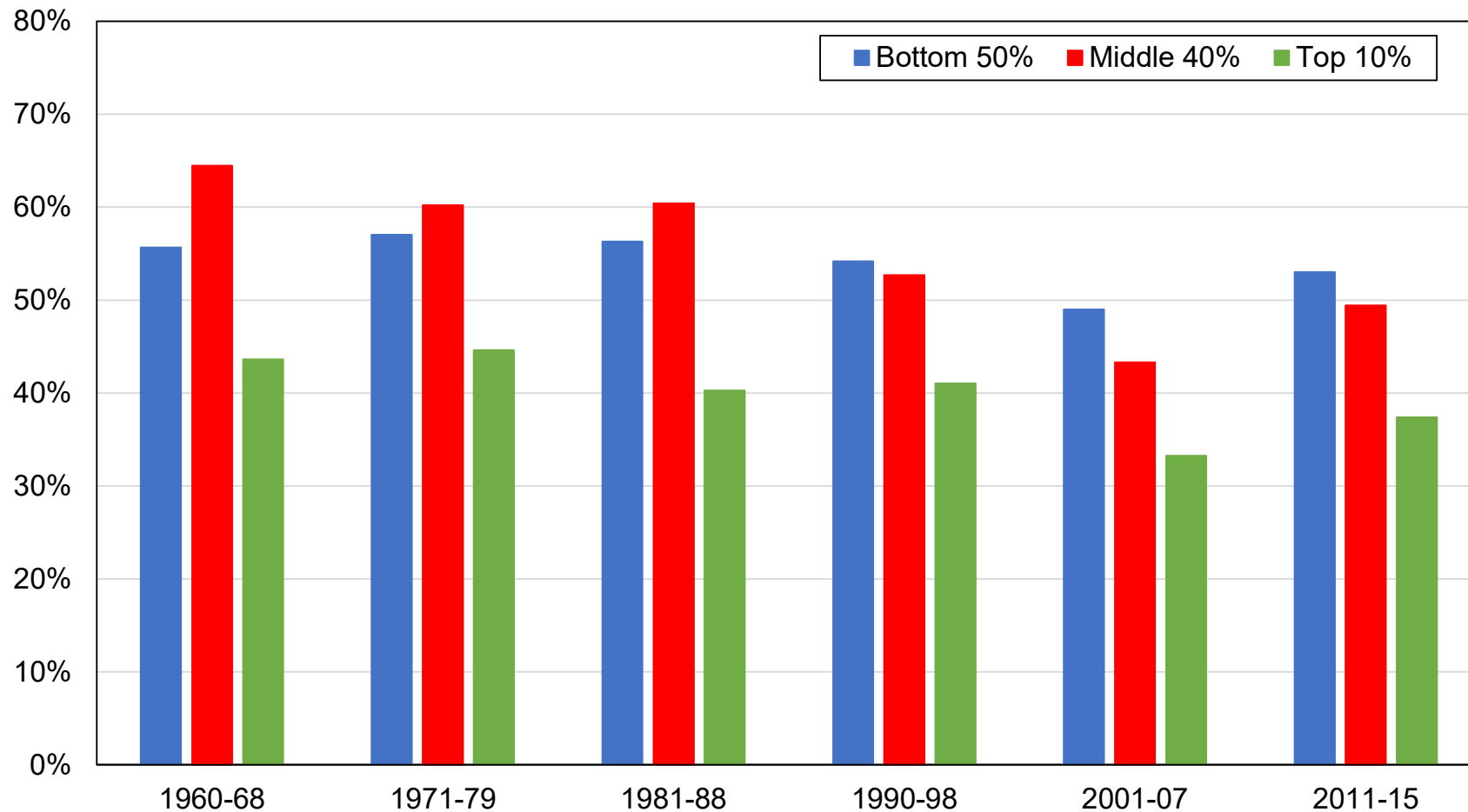
**Figure BB3 - Vote for the left by income decile in Denmark (lines)**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income decile.

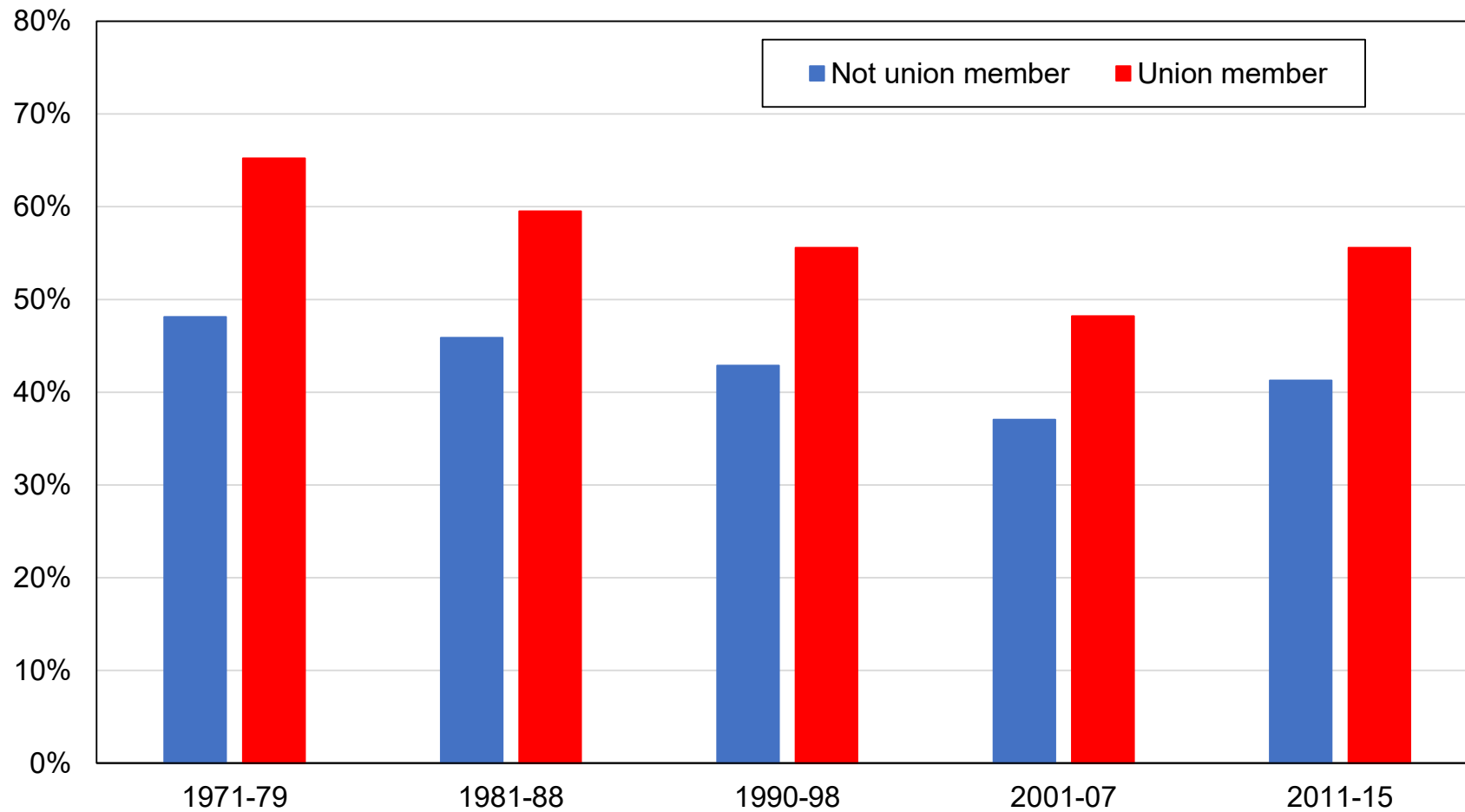
**Figure BB4 - Vote for the left by income group in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income group.

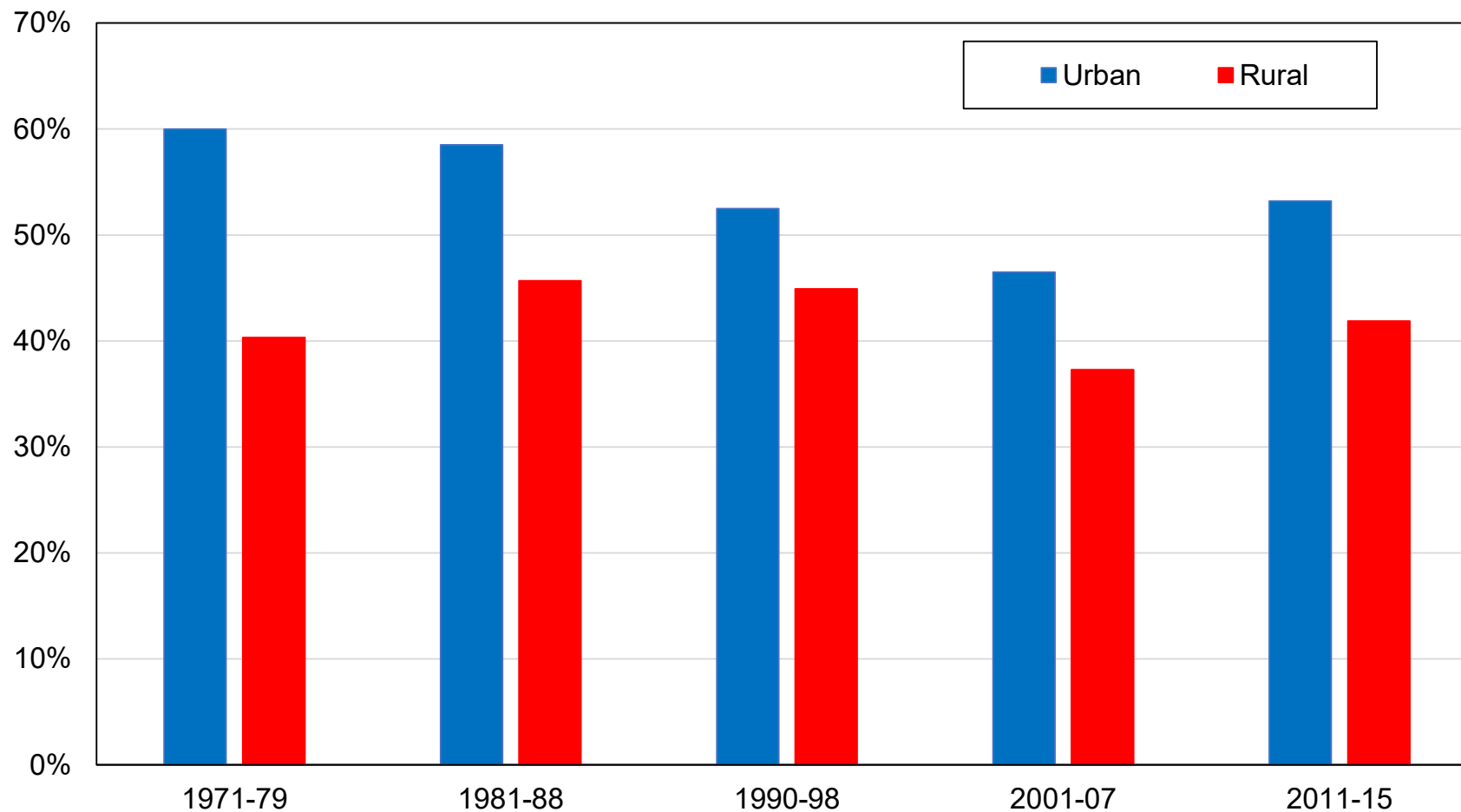
**Figure BB5 - Vote the left by union membership in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by union membership status.

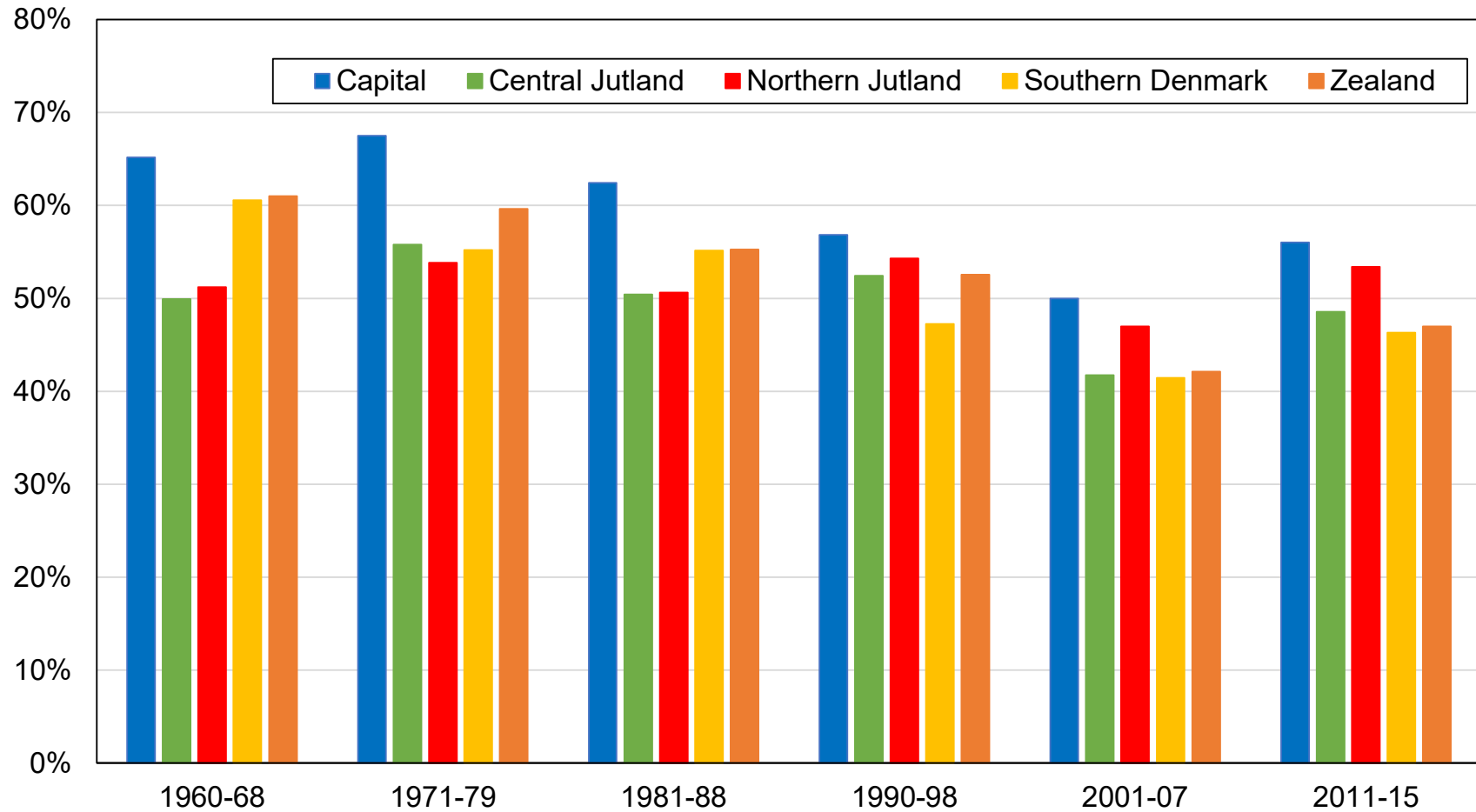
**Figure BB6 - Vote for the left by location in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by rural-urban location.

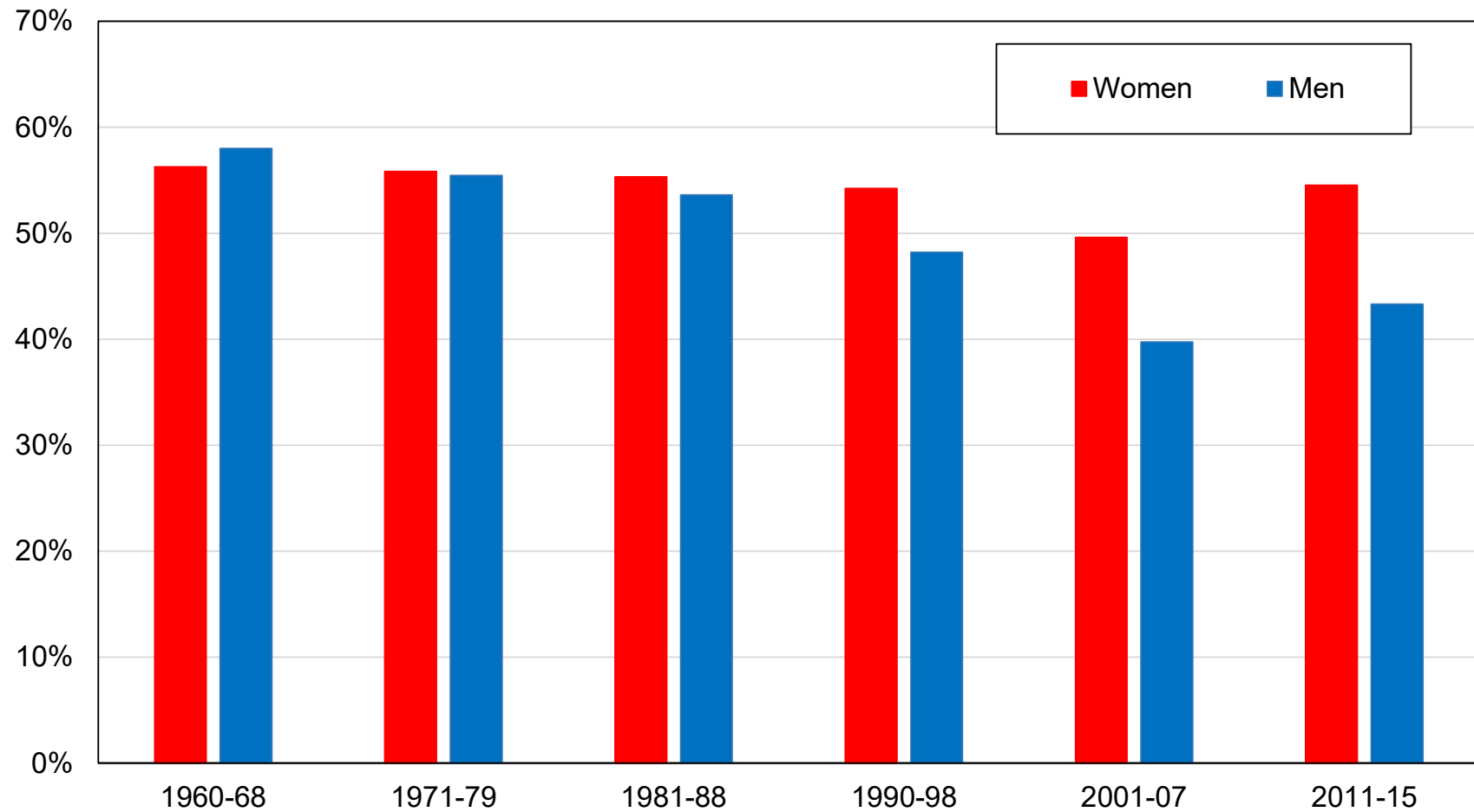
**Figure BB7 - Vote for the left by region of residence in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by region of residence.

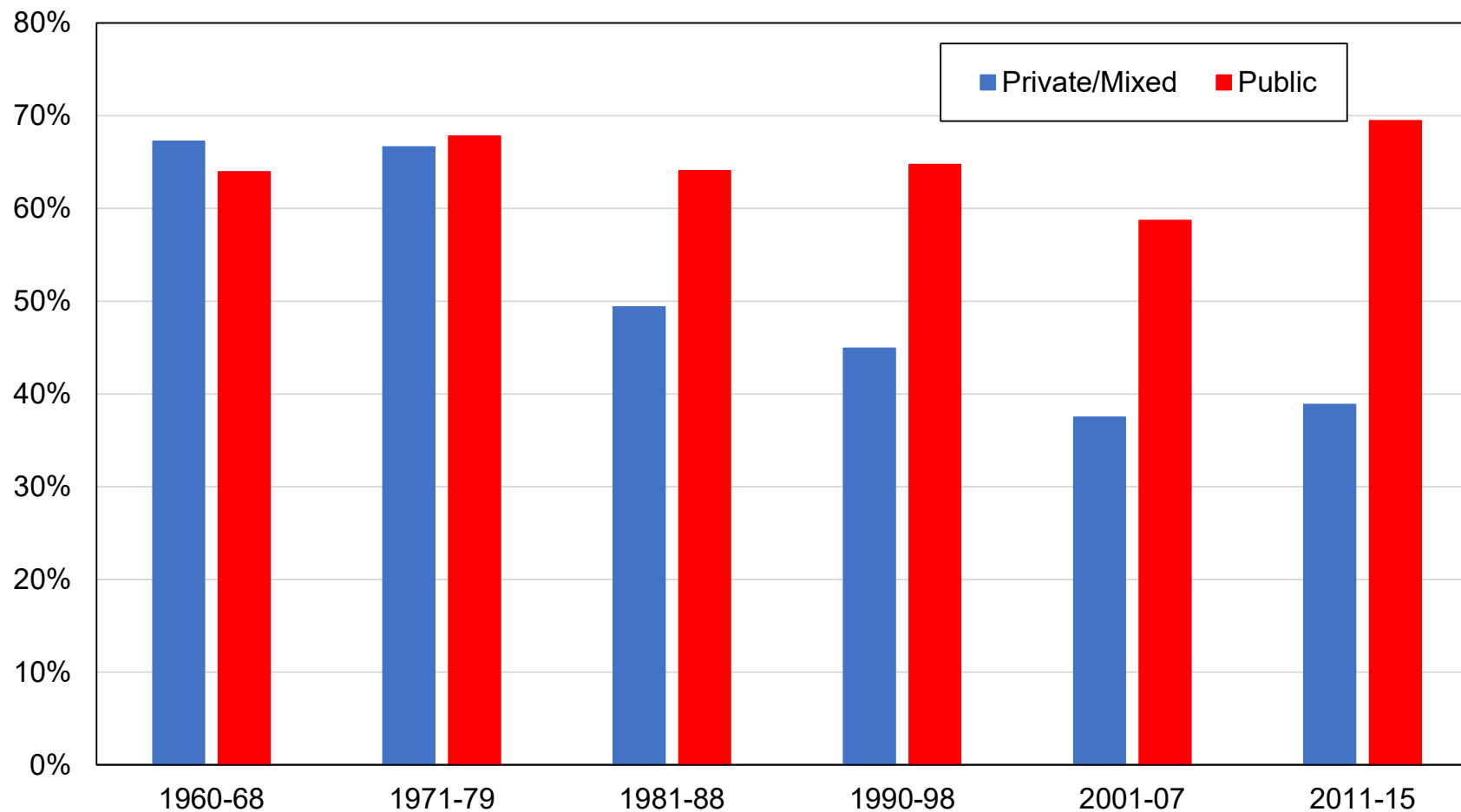
**Figure BB8 - Vote for the left by gender in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by gender.

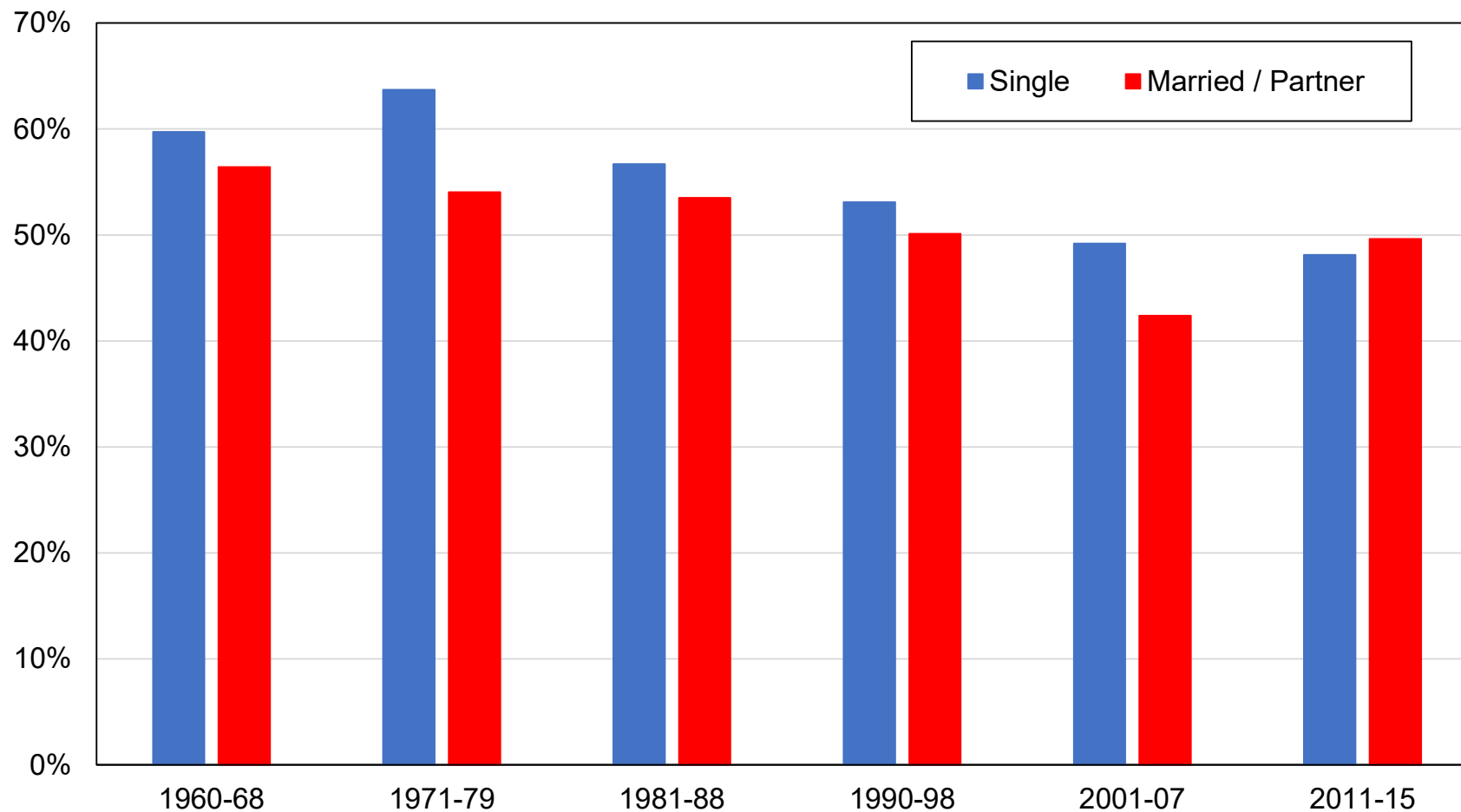
**Figure BB9 - Vote for the left by sector of employment in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by employment sector.

**Figure BB10 - Vote for the left by marital status in Denmark**

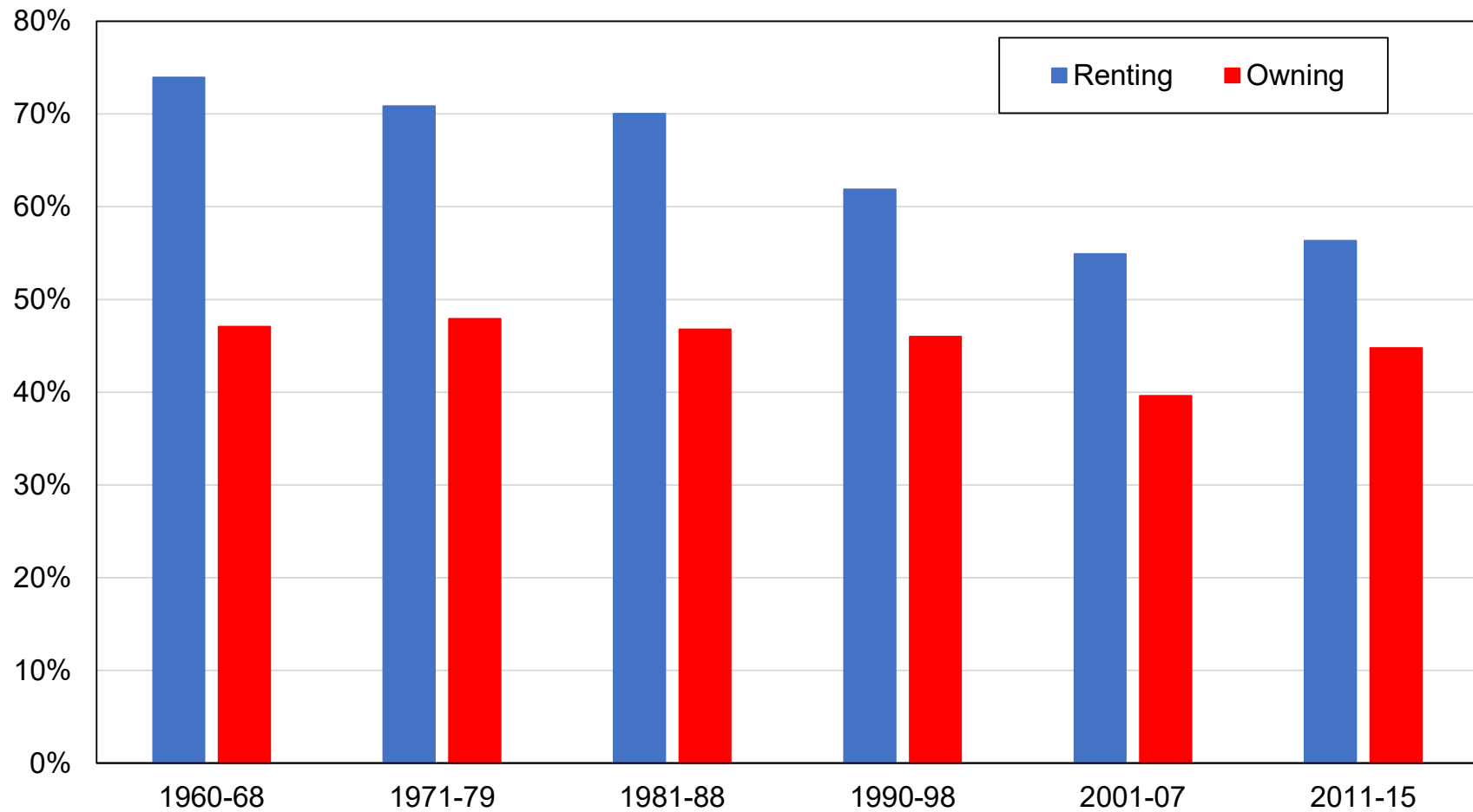


**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by marital status.



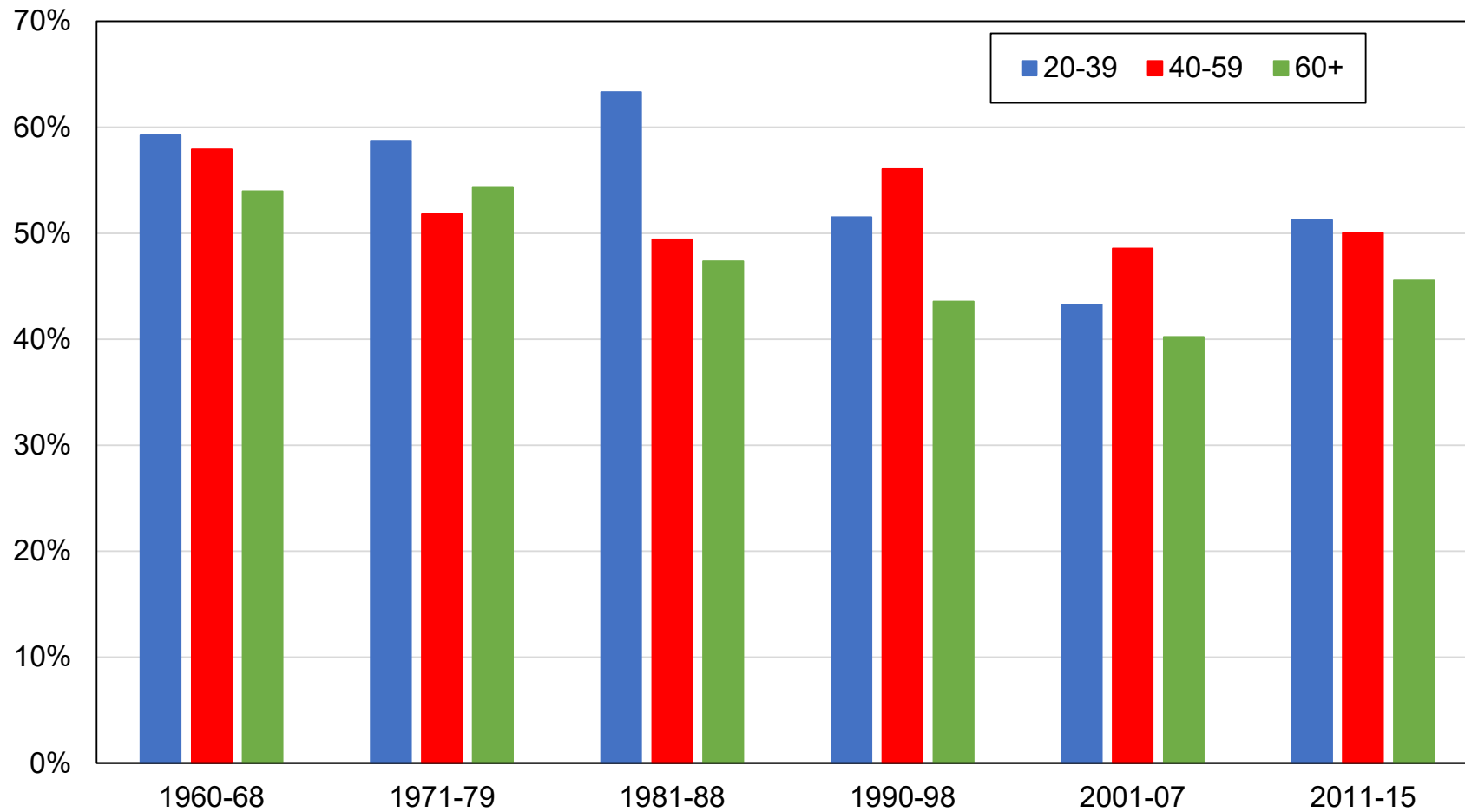
**Figure BB11 - Vote for the left by home ownership status in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by home ownership status.

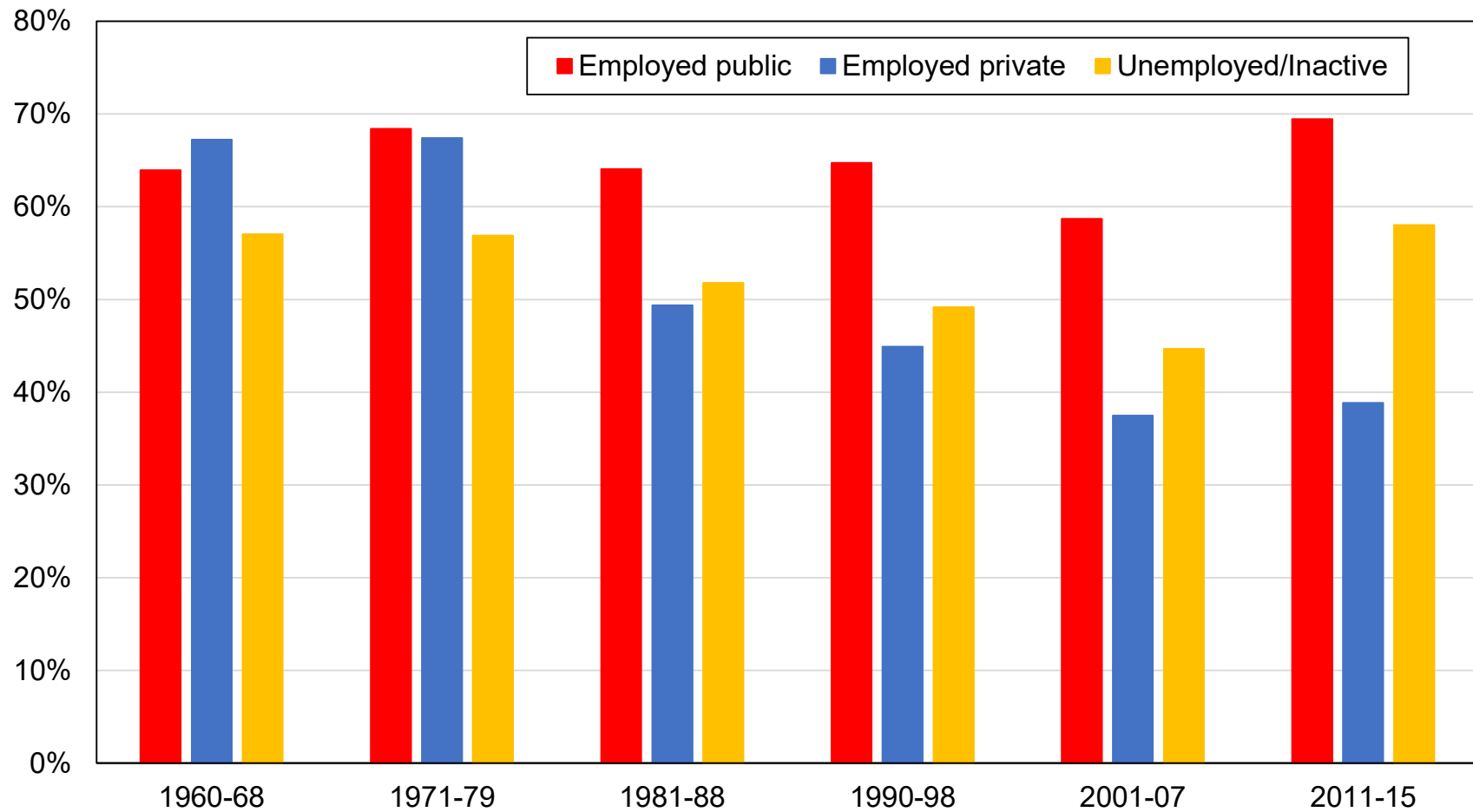
**Figure BB12 - Vote for the left by age group in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by age group.

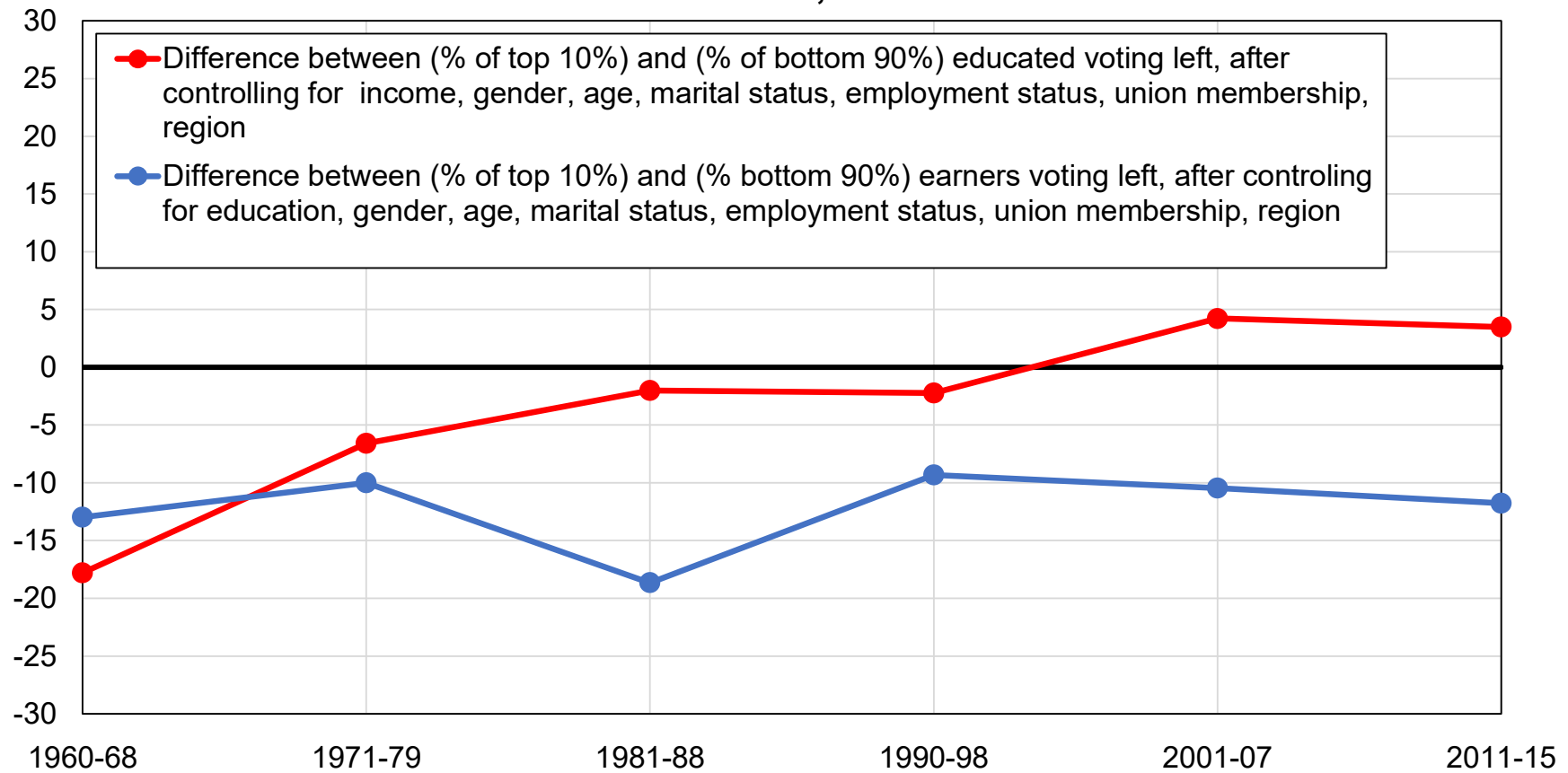
**Figure BB13 - Vote for the left by employment status in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by employment status.

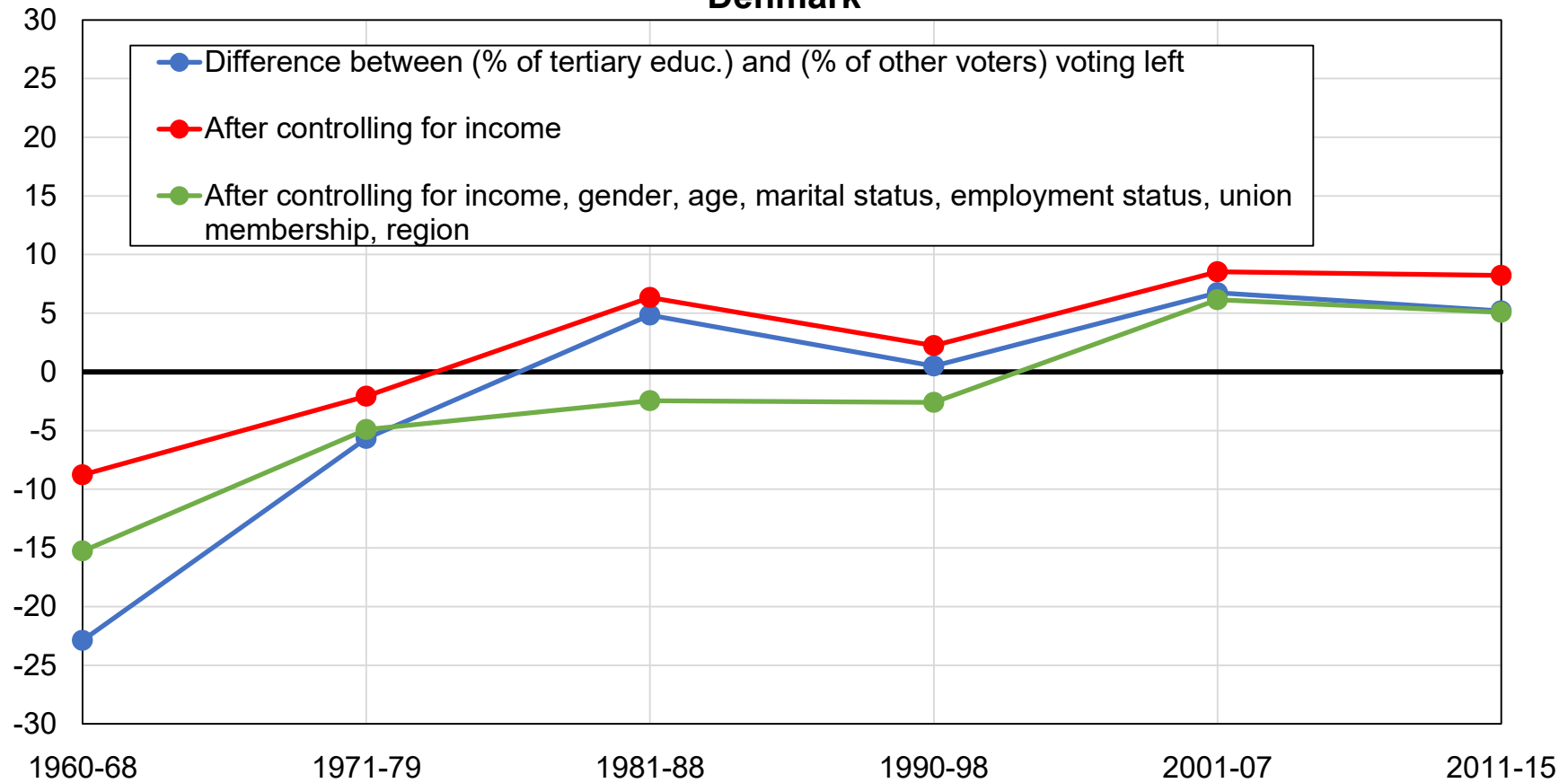
**Figure BB14 - Vote for the left among highest-educated and top-income voters in Denmark, after controls**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the evolution of the voting pattern among the top 10% educated and the top 10% earners voting for the left-wing parties, after controls

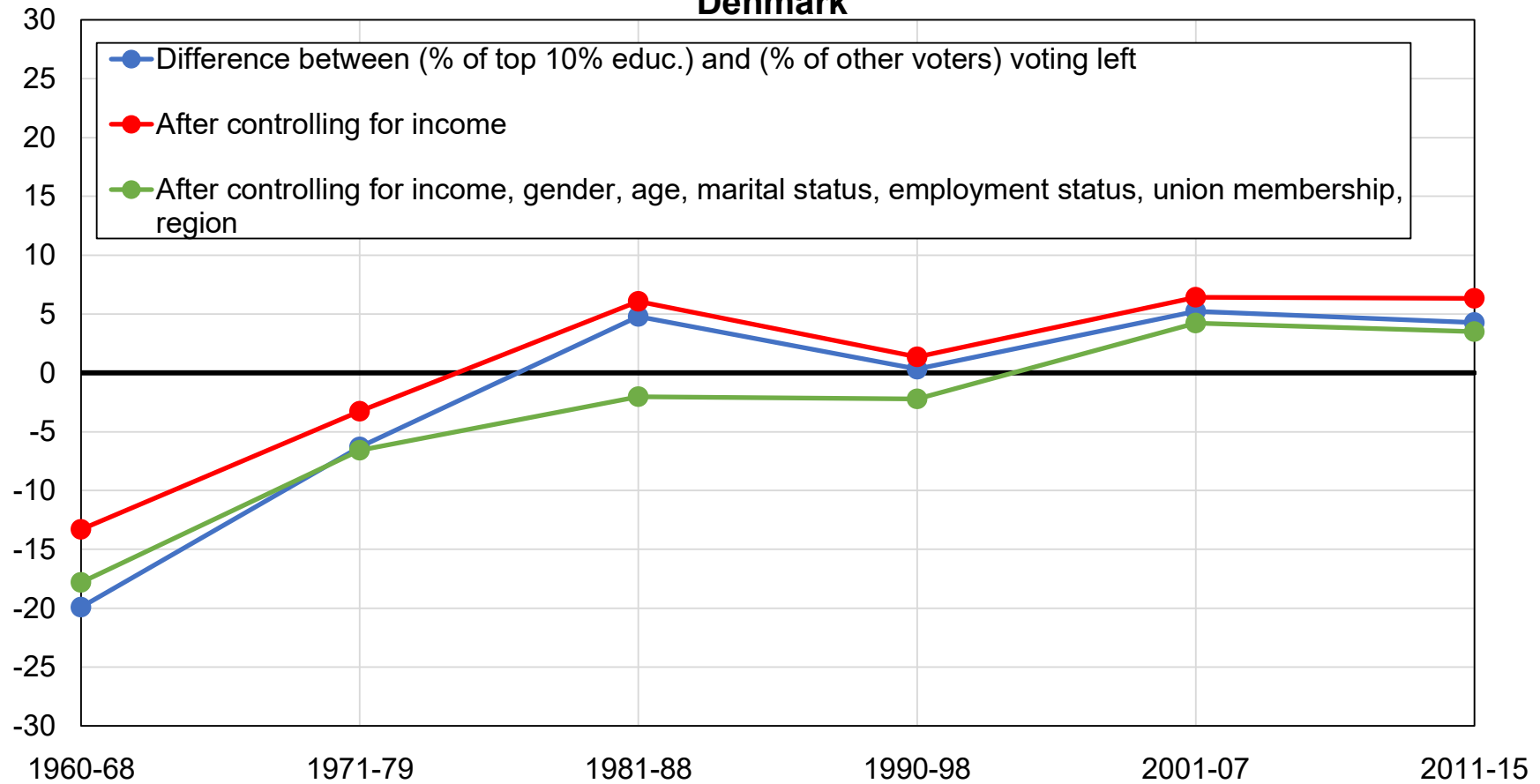
**Figure BB15 - Vote for the left among tertiary-educated voters in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of tertiary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

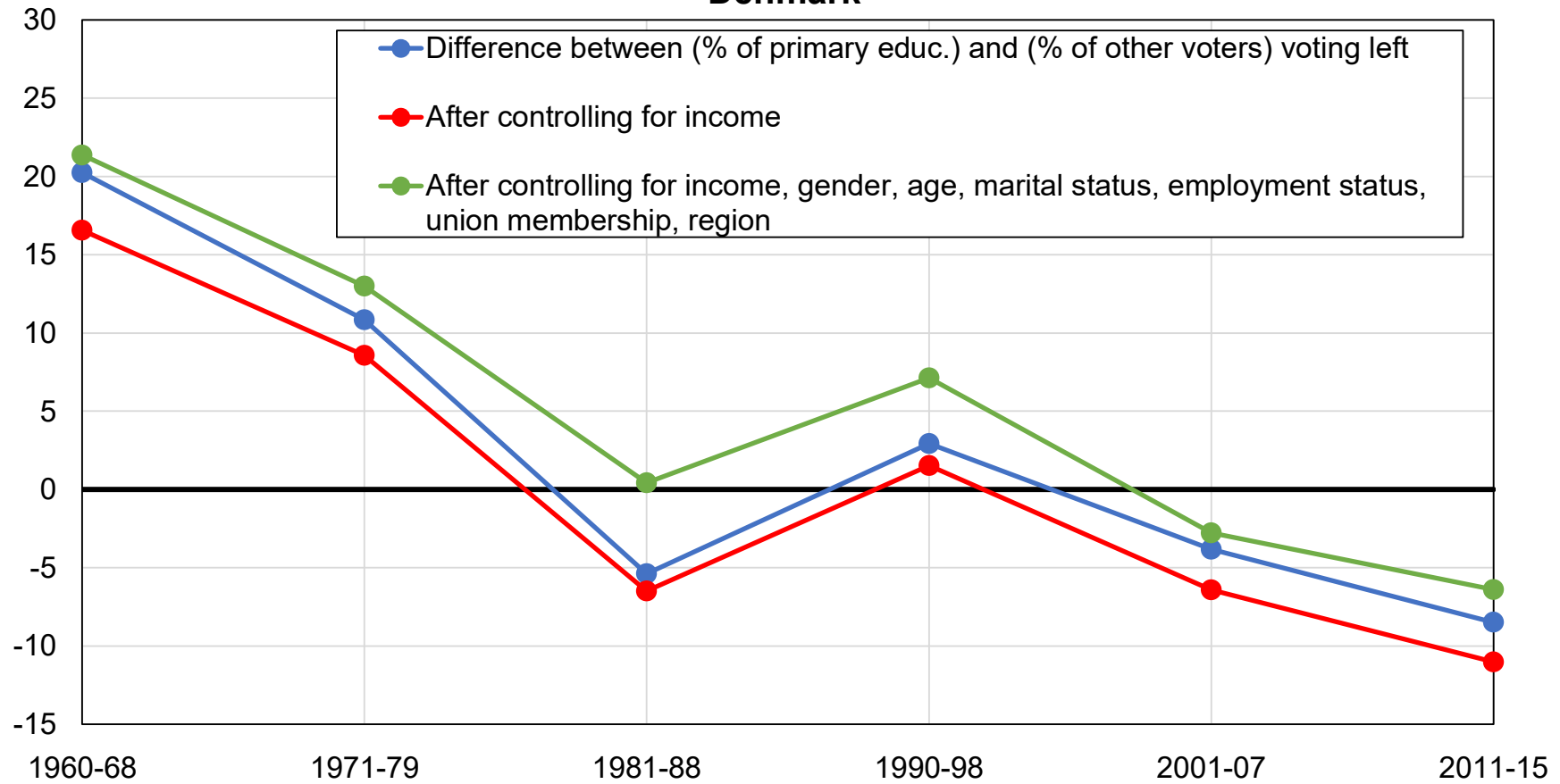
**Figure BB16 - Vote for the left among higher-educated voters in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

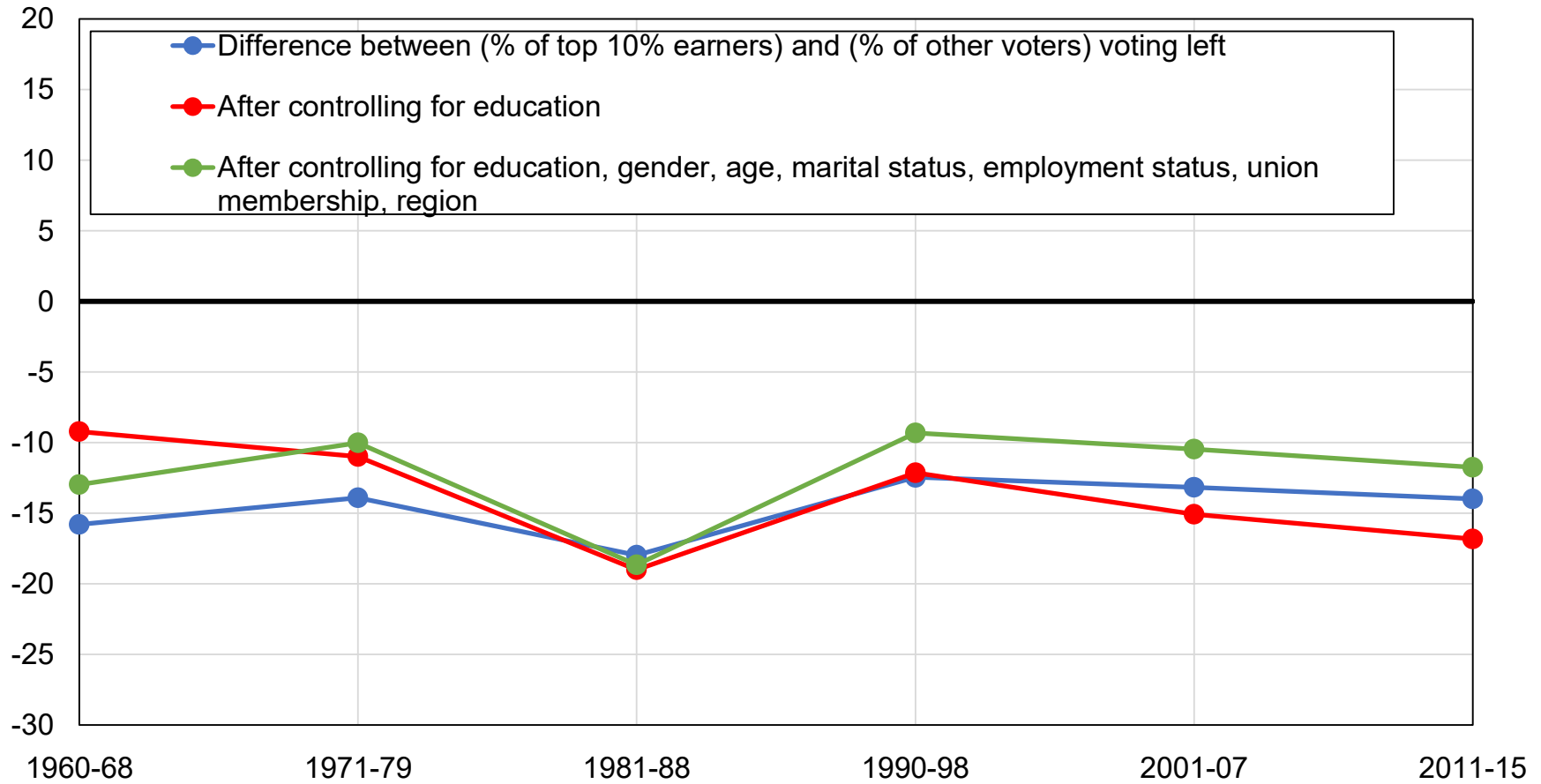
**Figure BB17 - Vote for the left among primary-educated voters in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of primary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

**Figure BB18 - Vote for the left among top 10% earners in Denmark**

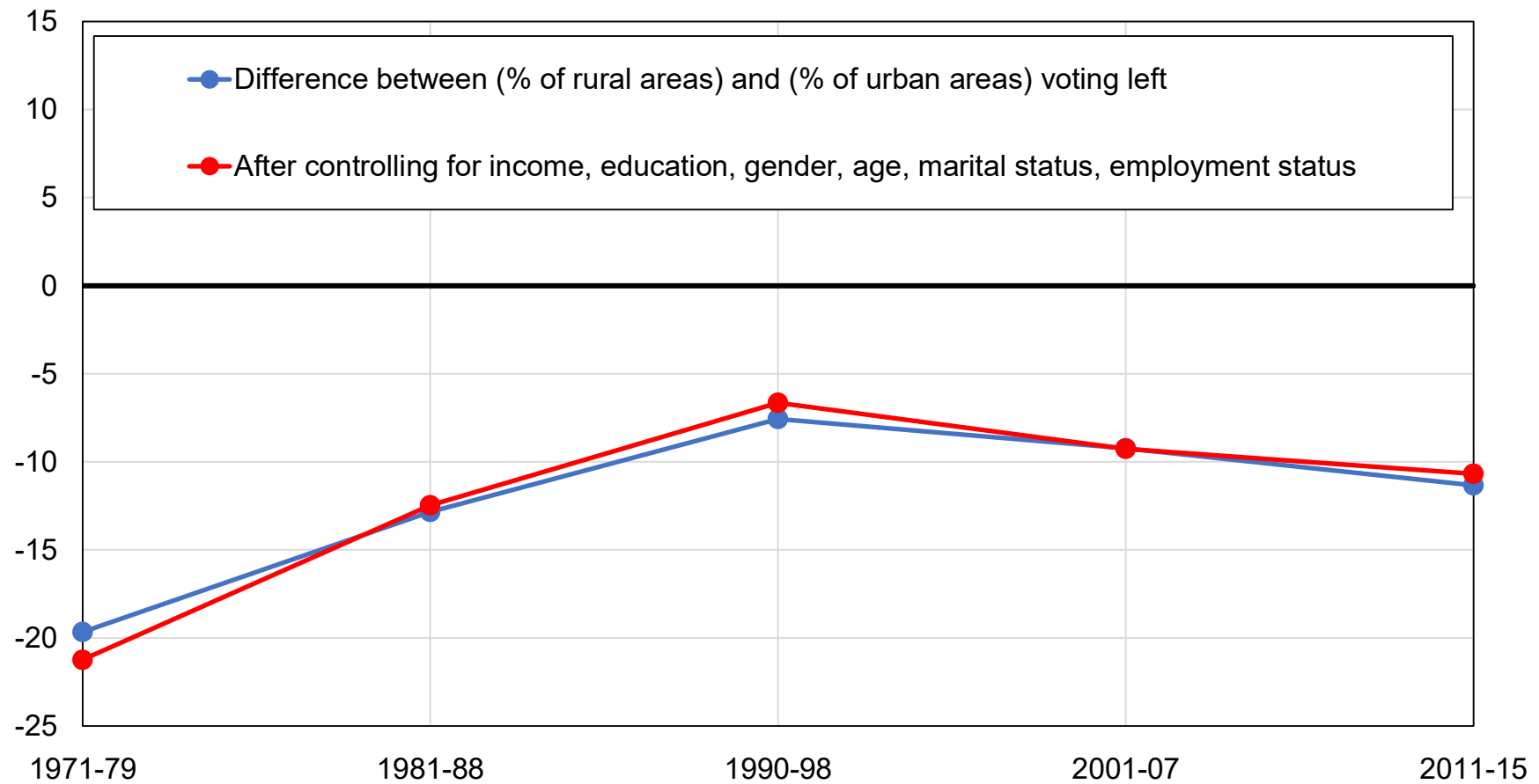


**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.



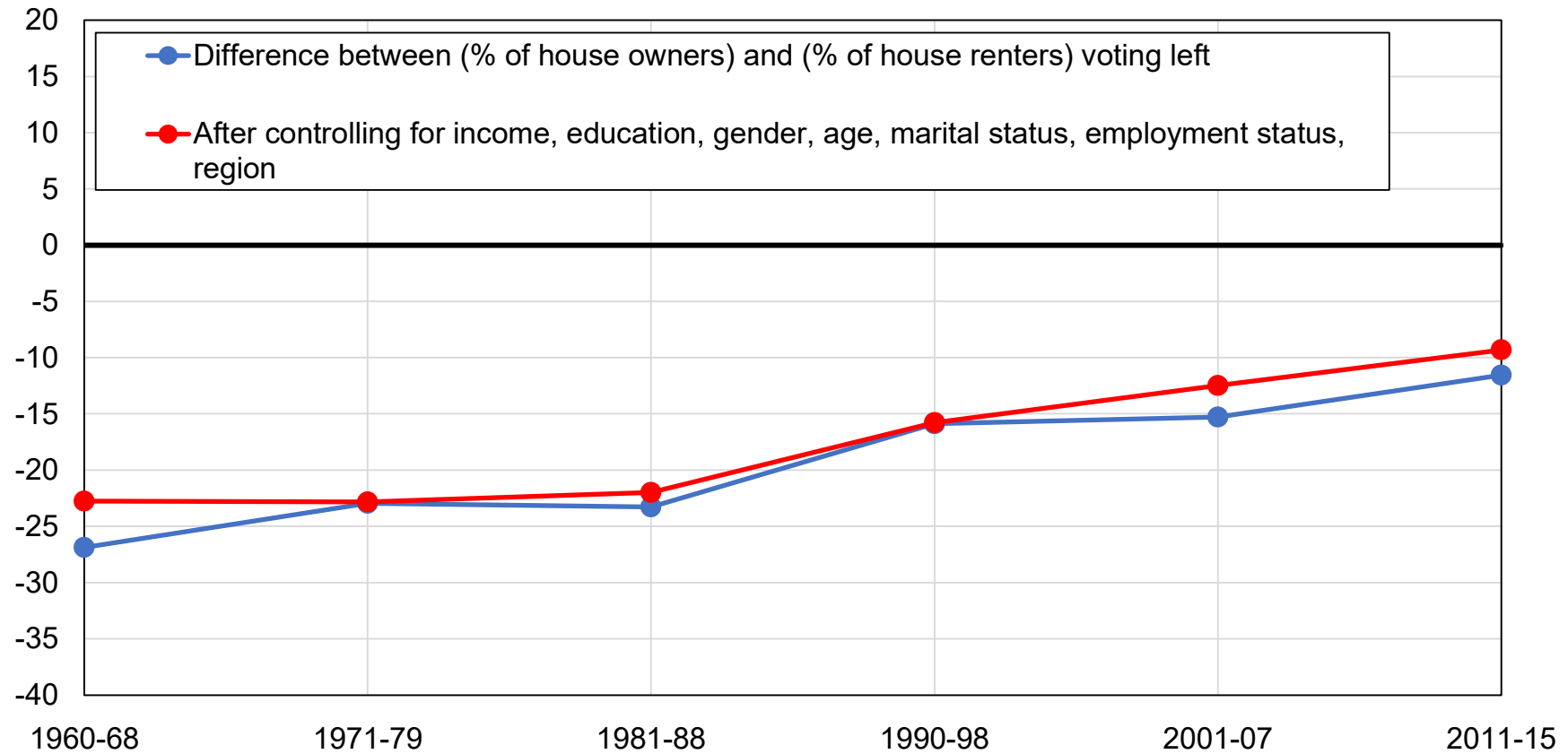
**Figure BB19 - Vote for the left among rural areas in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of rural areas and the share of urban areas voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

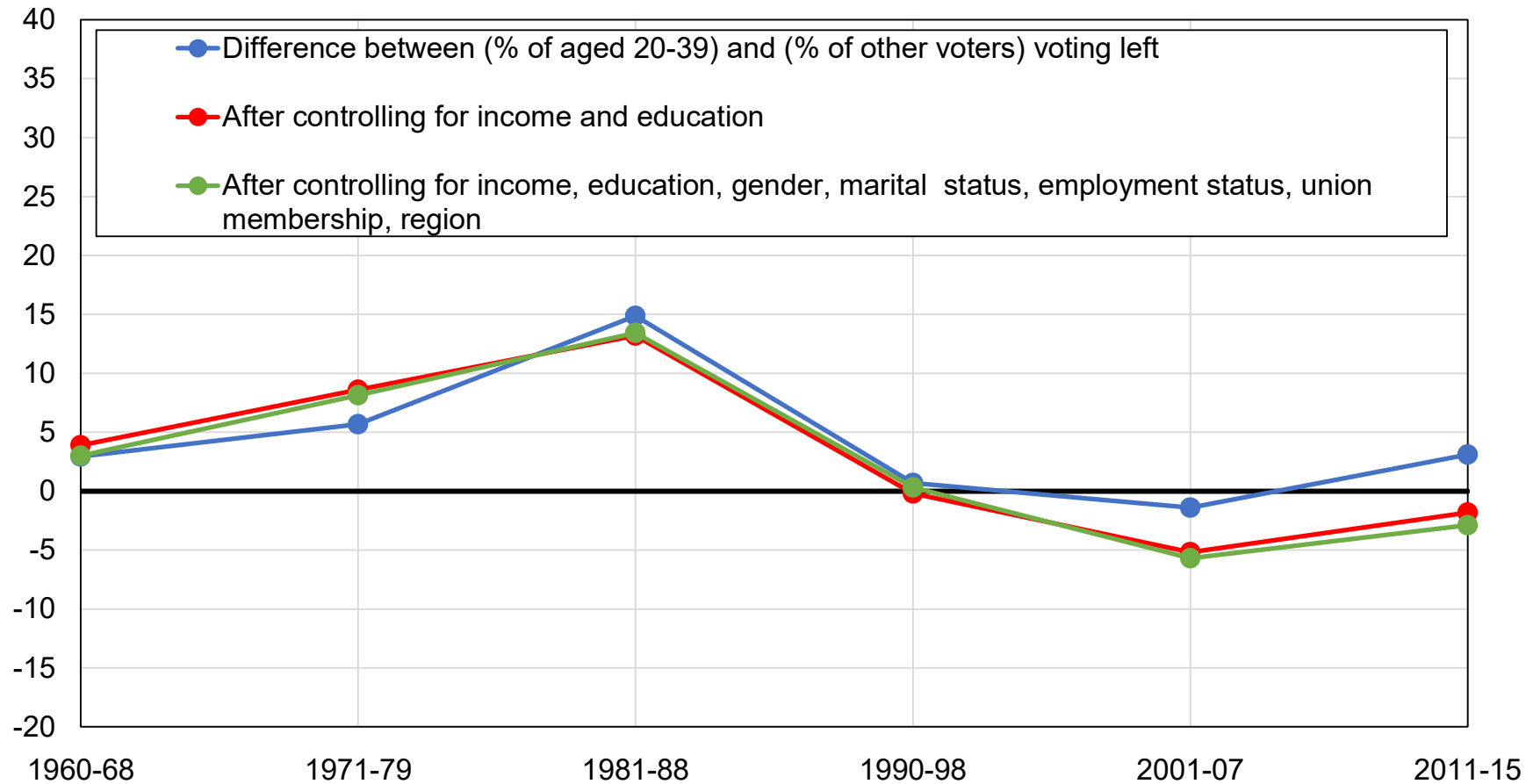
**Figure BB20 - Vote for the left among the home owners in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of home owners and the share of home renters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

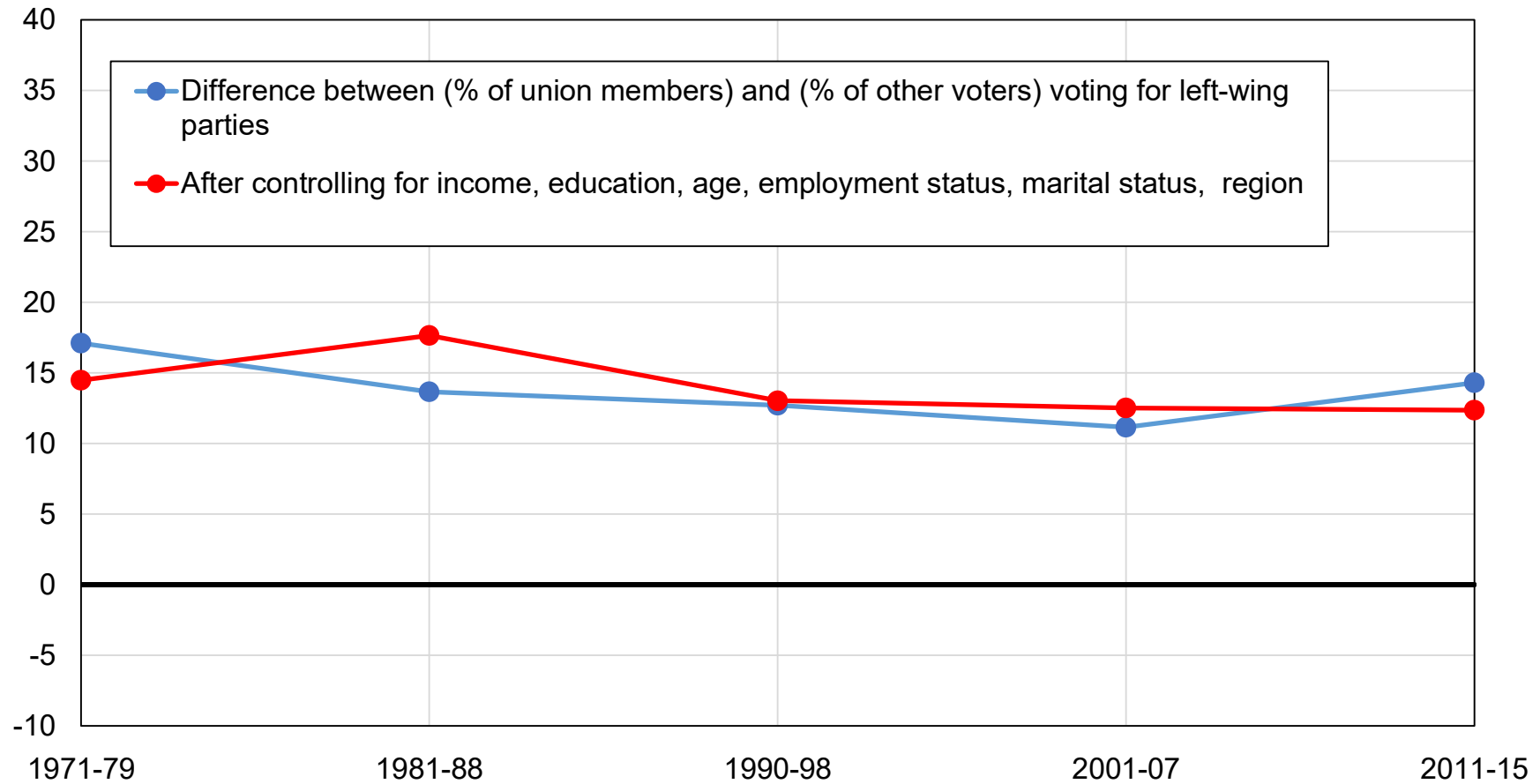
**Figure BB21 - Vote for the left among young voters in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of voters aged 20-39 and the share of voters older than 40 voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

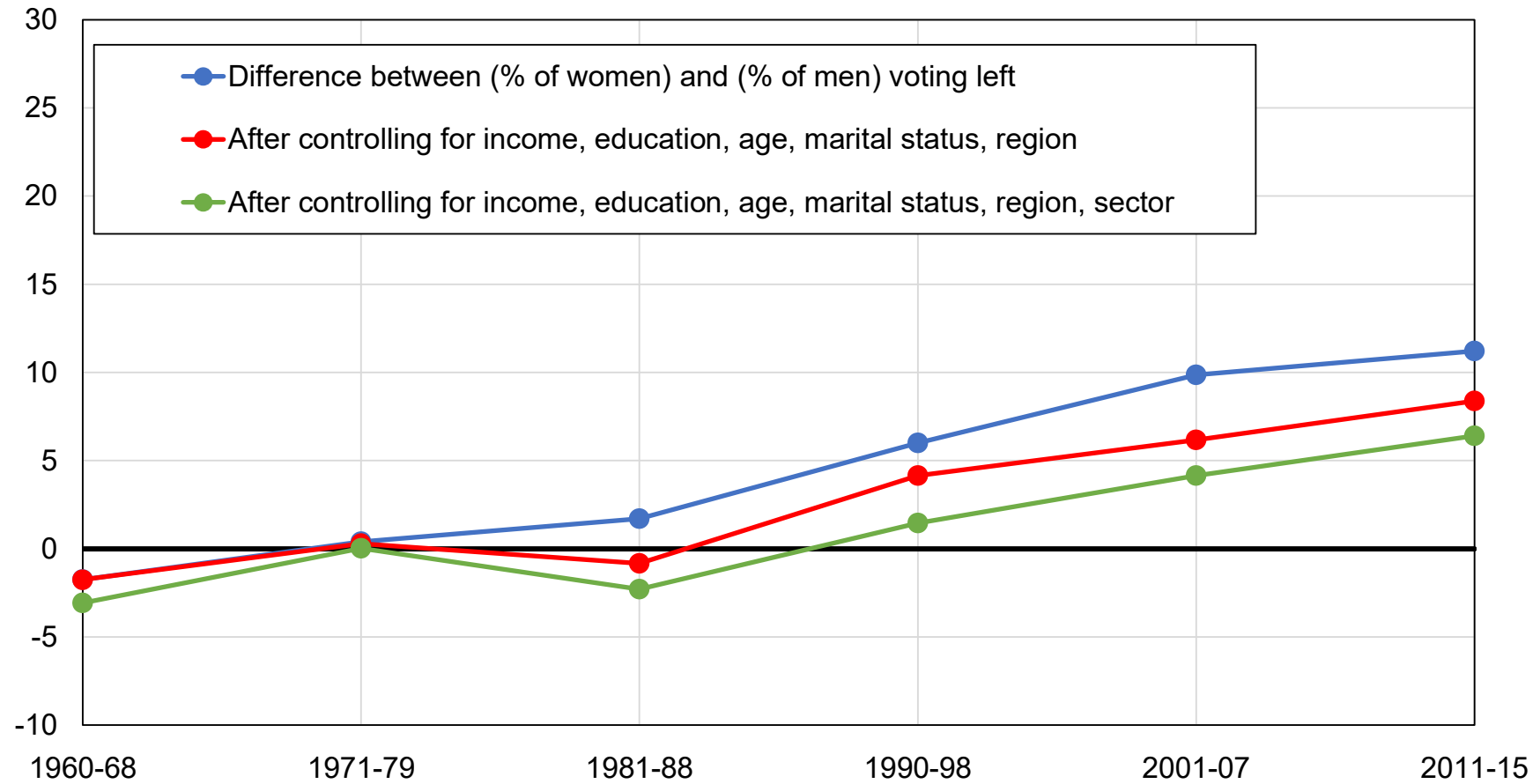
**Figure BB22 - Vote for the left among unions' members in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of union members and the share of other voters voting left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

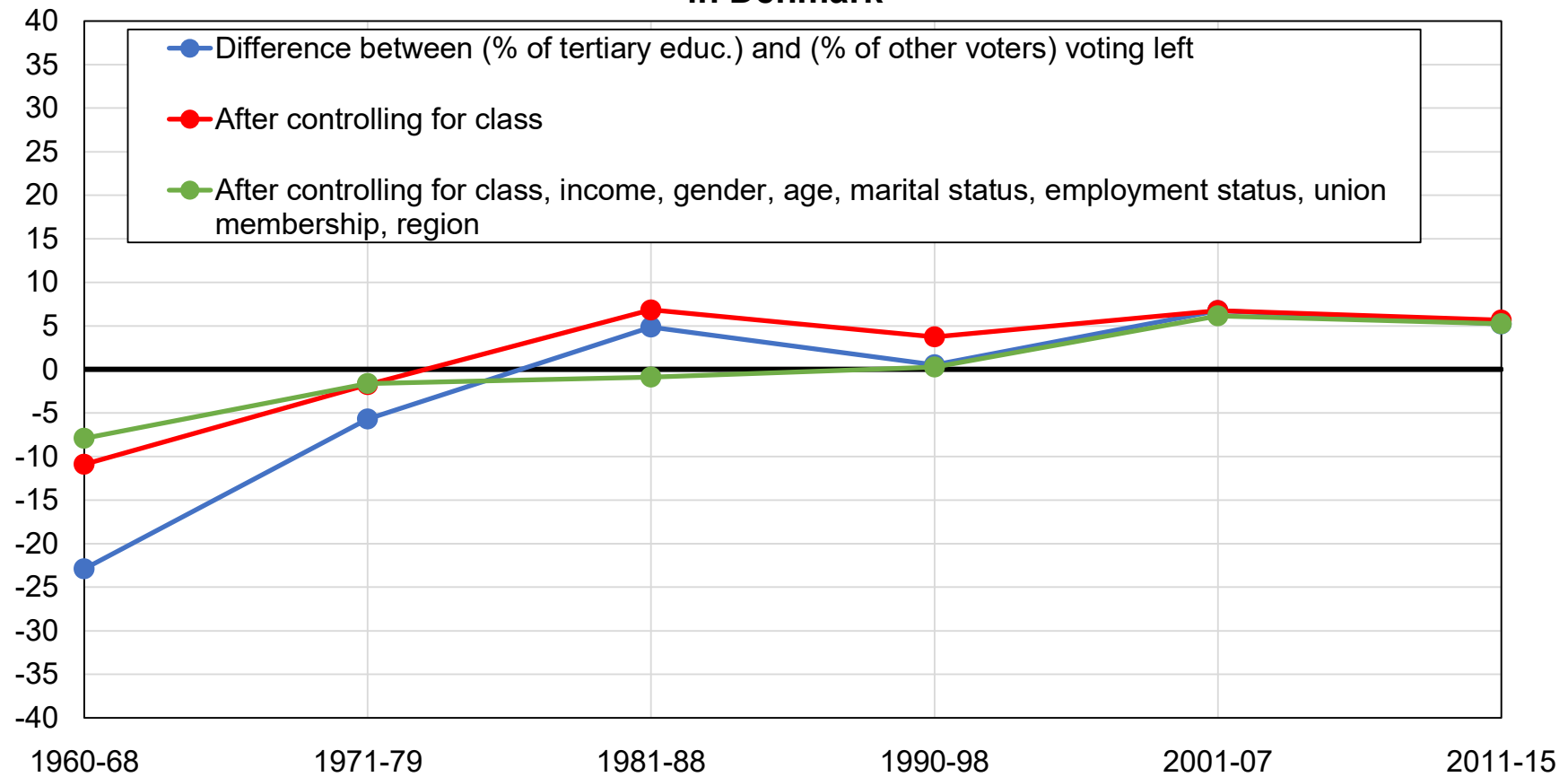
**Figure BB23 - Vote for the left among women in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

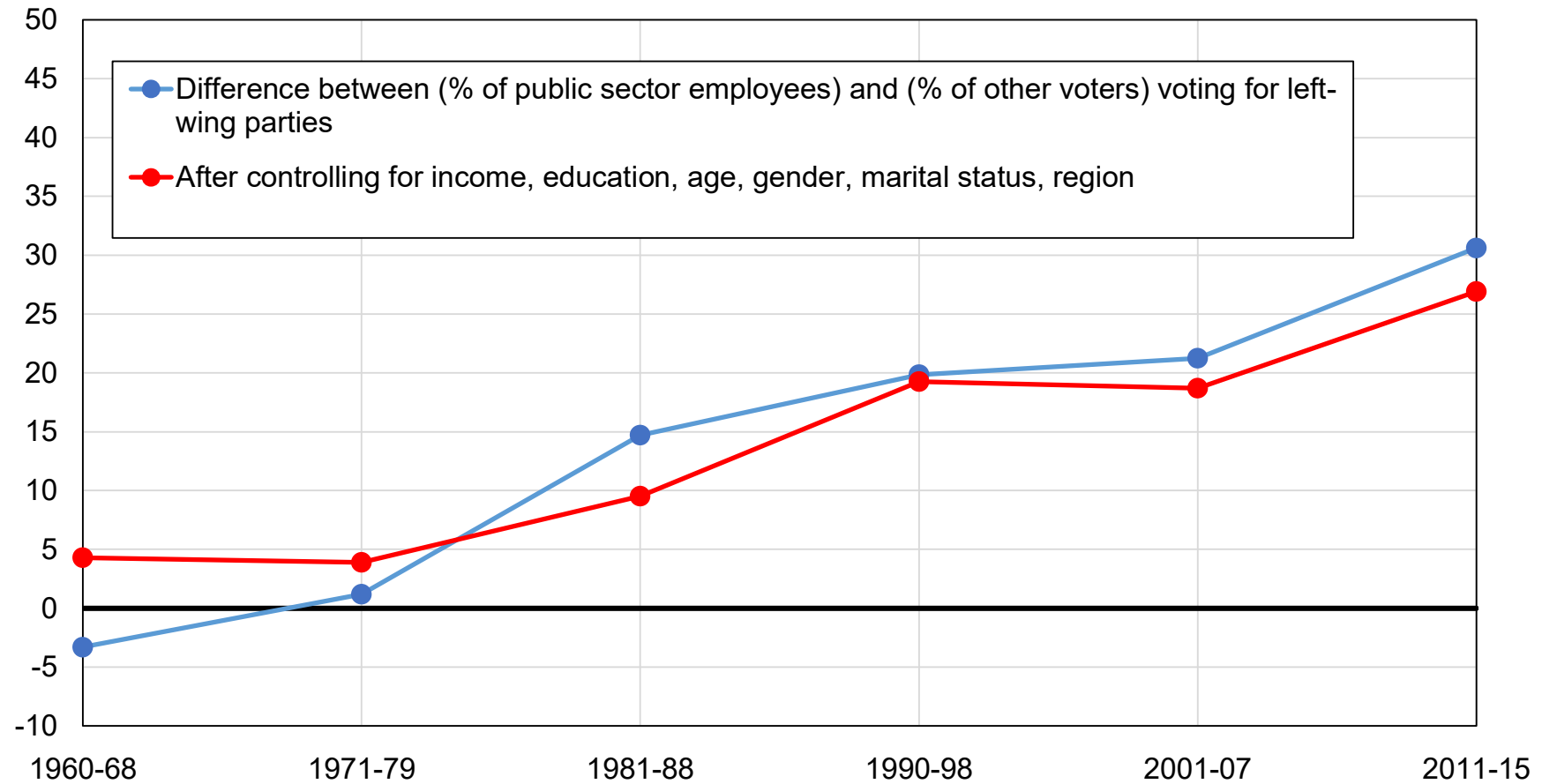
**Figure BB24- Vote for the left among tertiary educated: the role of class in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of tertiary educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for class and other variables.

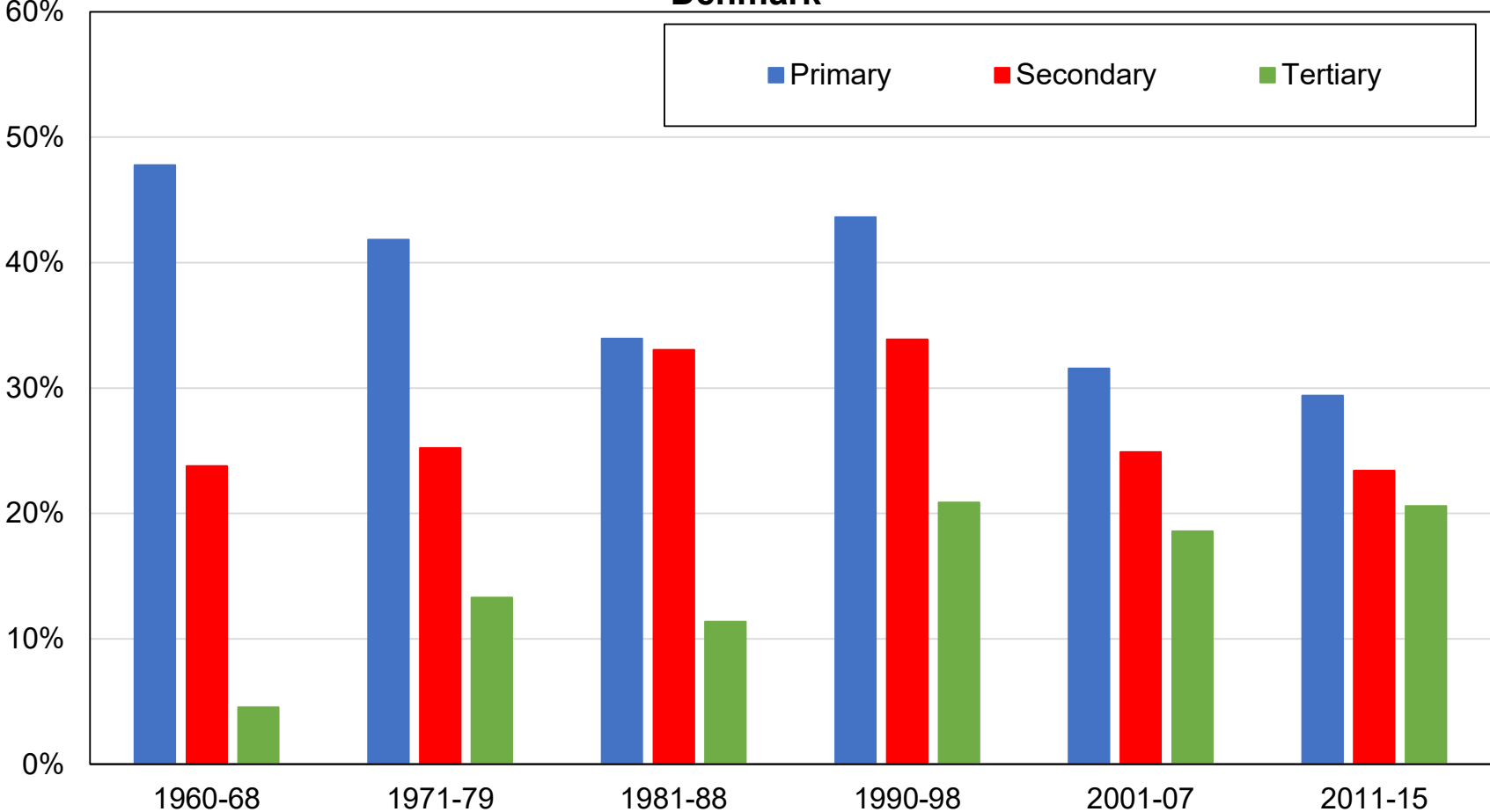
**Figure BB25- Vote for the left among public employees in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of public employees and the share of other voters voting left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

**Figure BC1 - Vote for the Social Democratic Party by education level in Denmark**

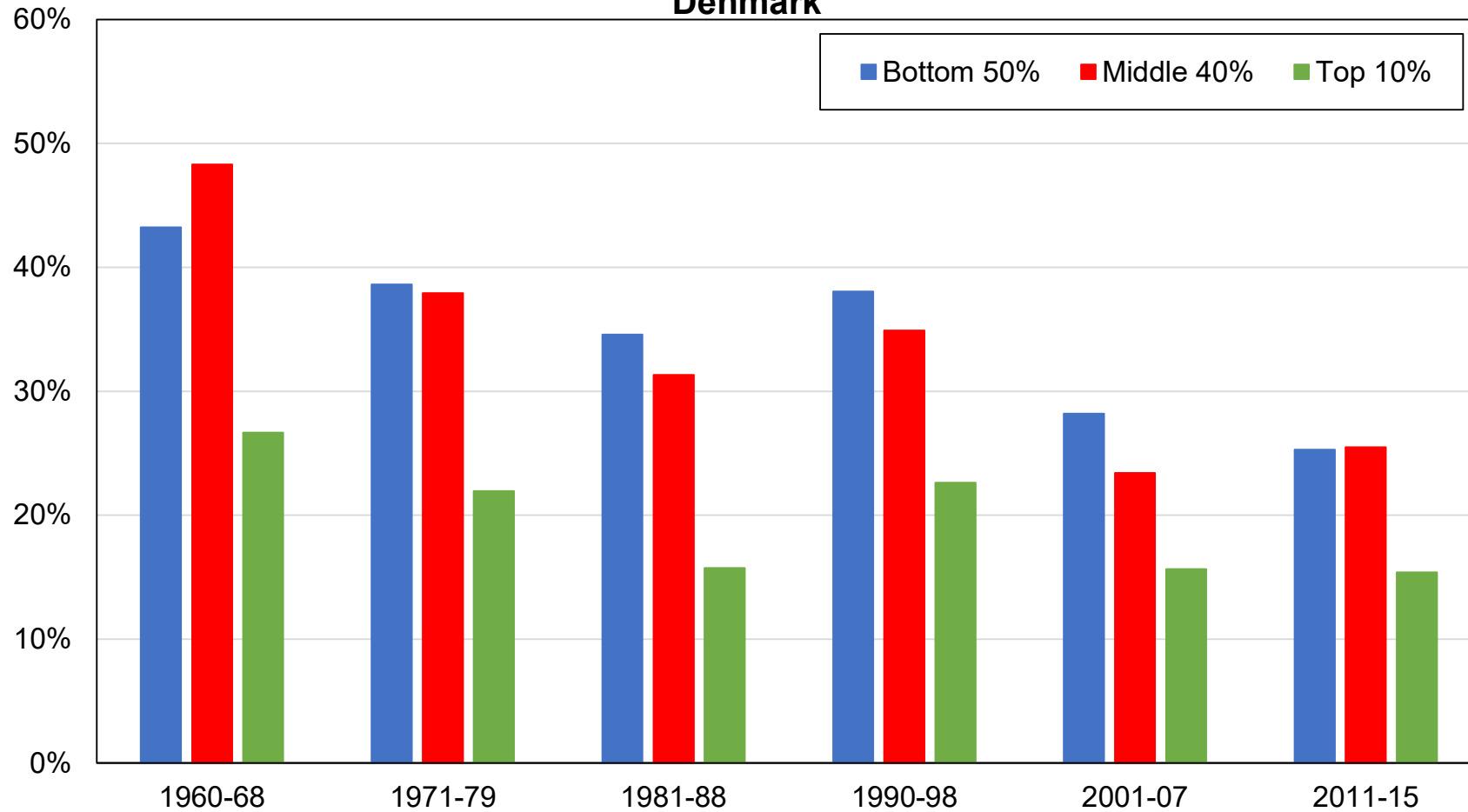


**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party by education level.



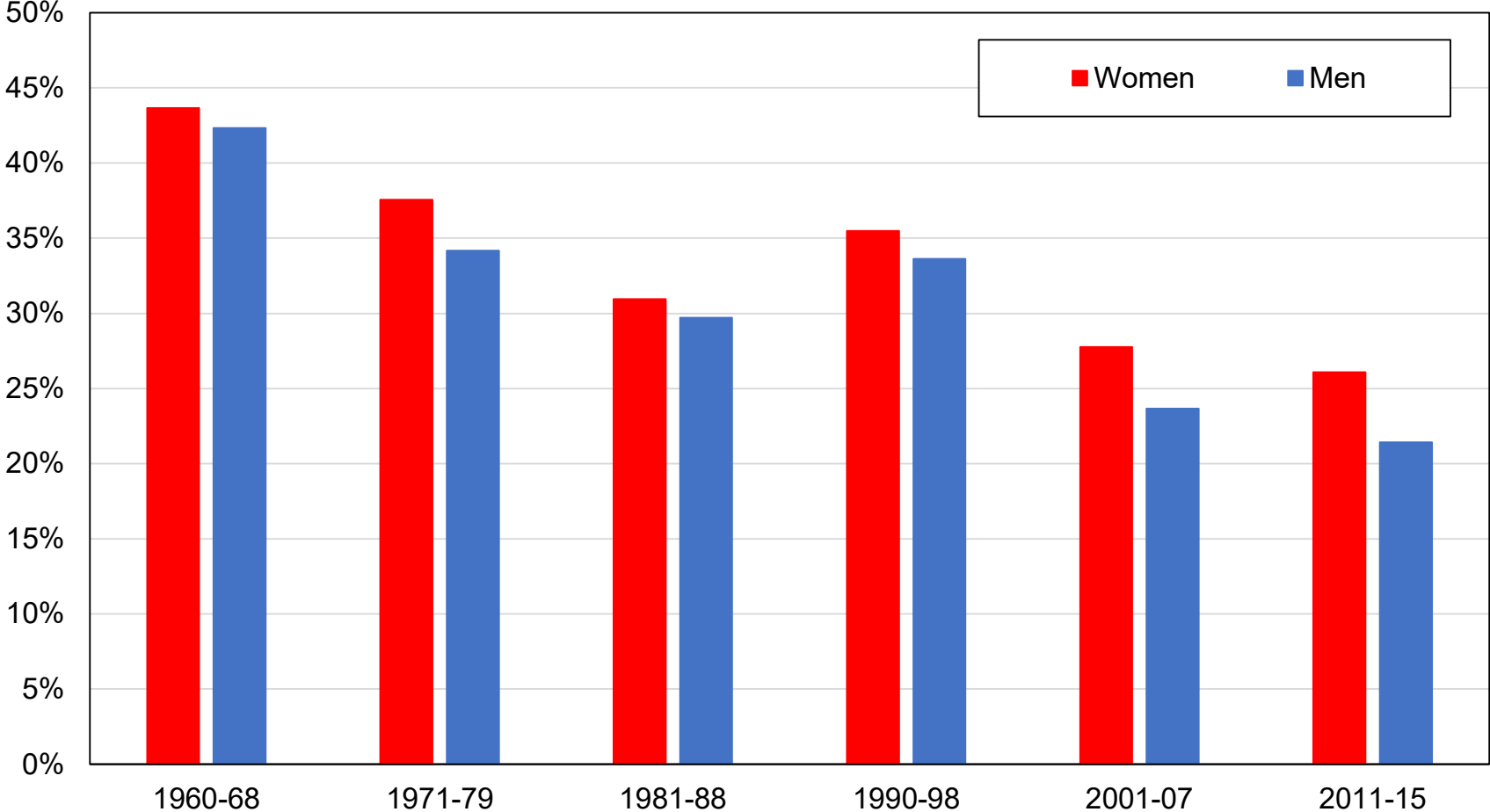
**Figure BC2 - Vote for the Social Democratic Party by income group in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party by income group.

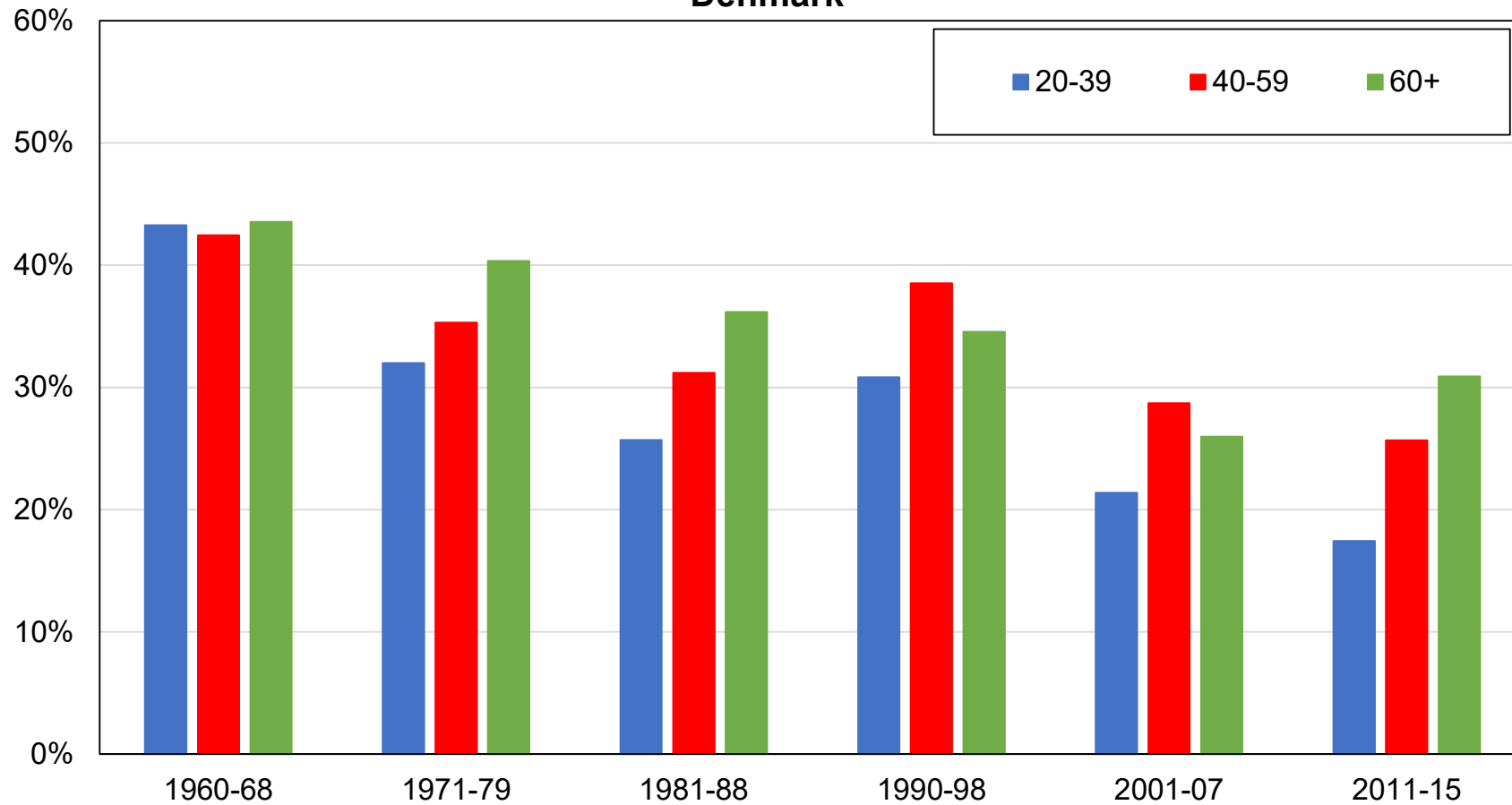
**Figure BC3 - Vote for the Social Democratic Party by gender in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party by gender.

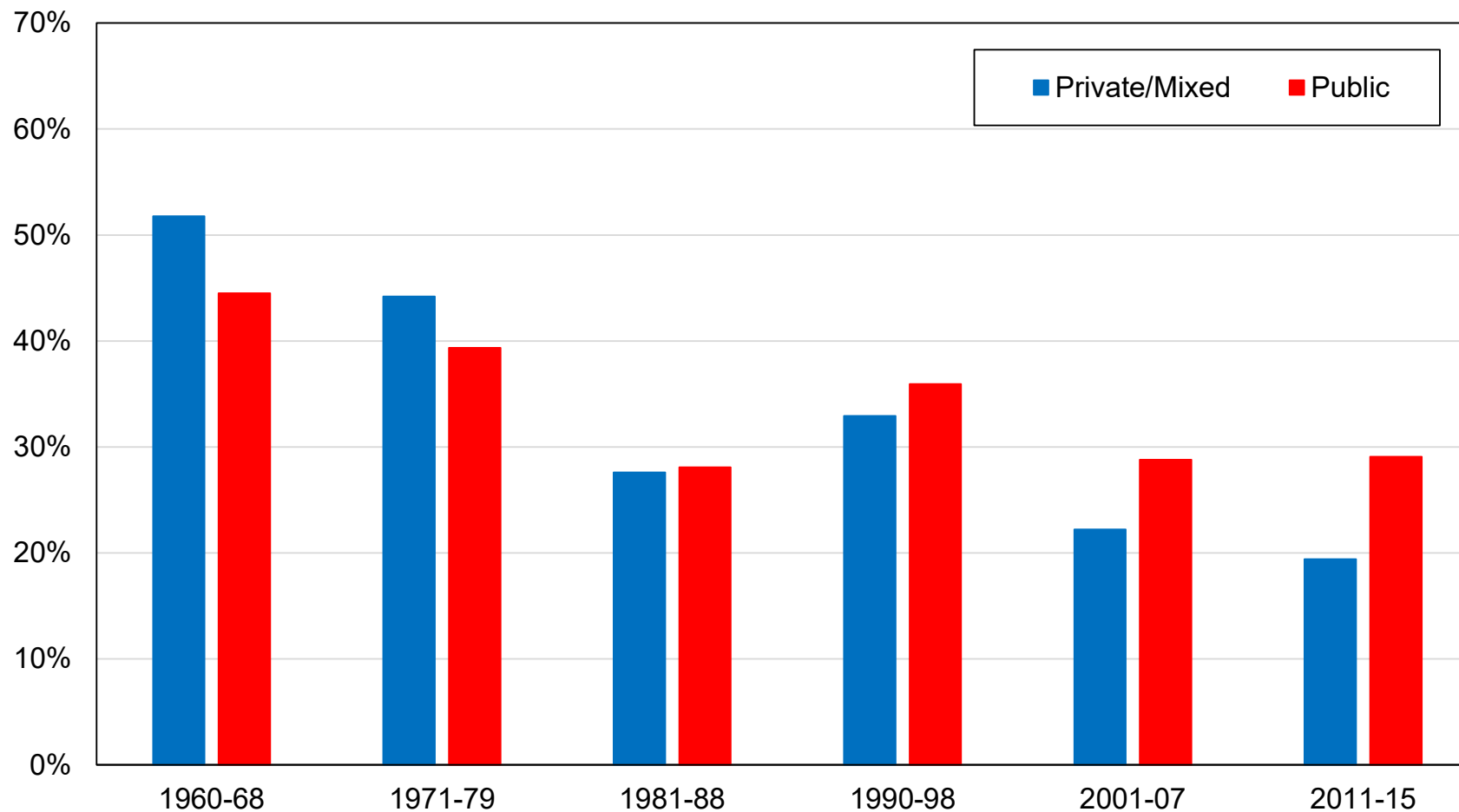
**Figure BC4 - Vote for the Social Democratic Party by age group in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figures shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party by age group.

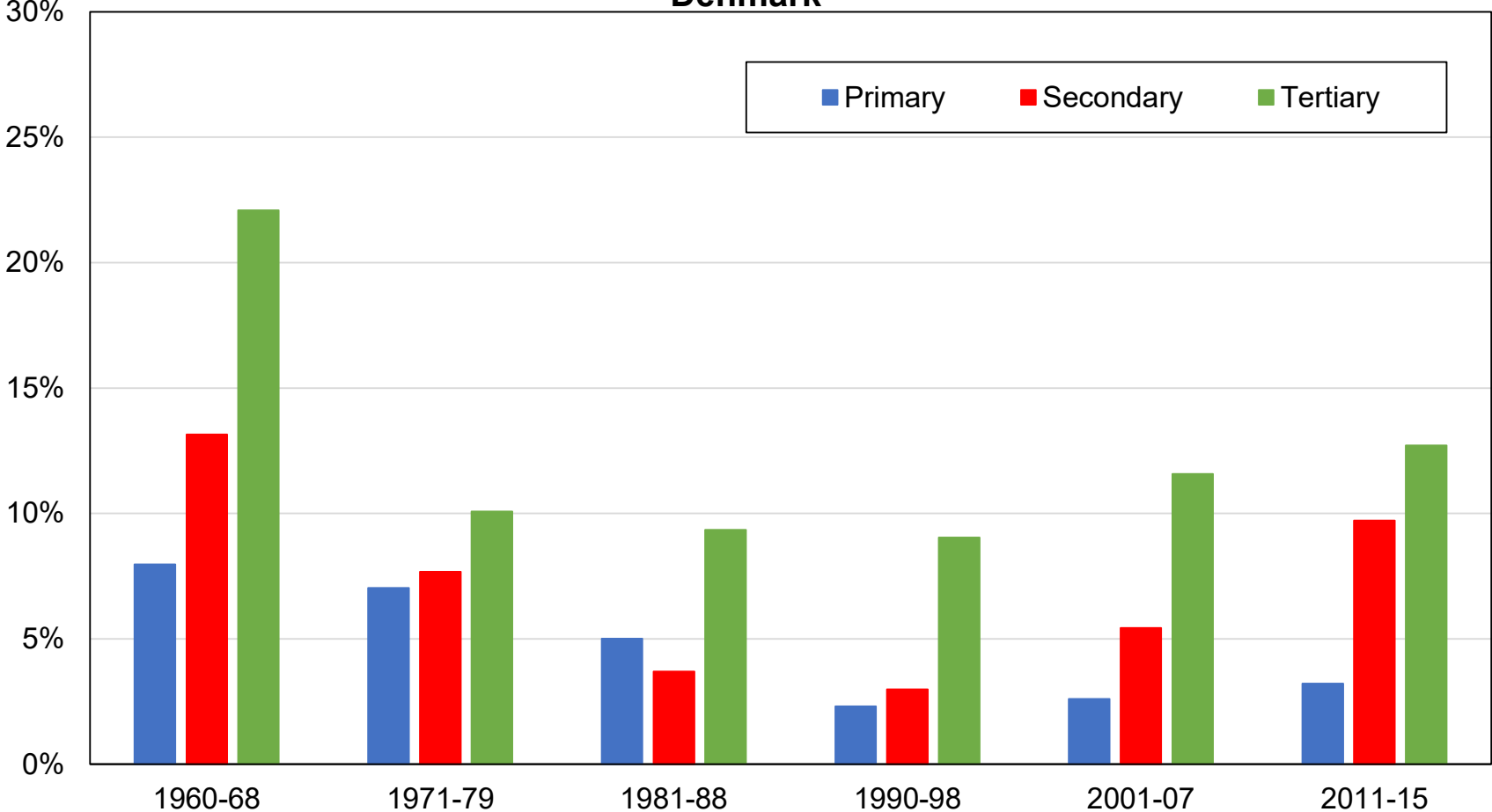
**Figure BC5 - Vote for the Social Democratic Party by sector in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party by sector.

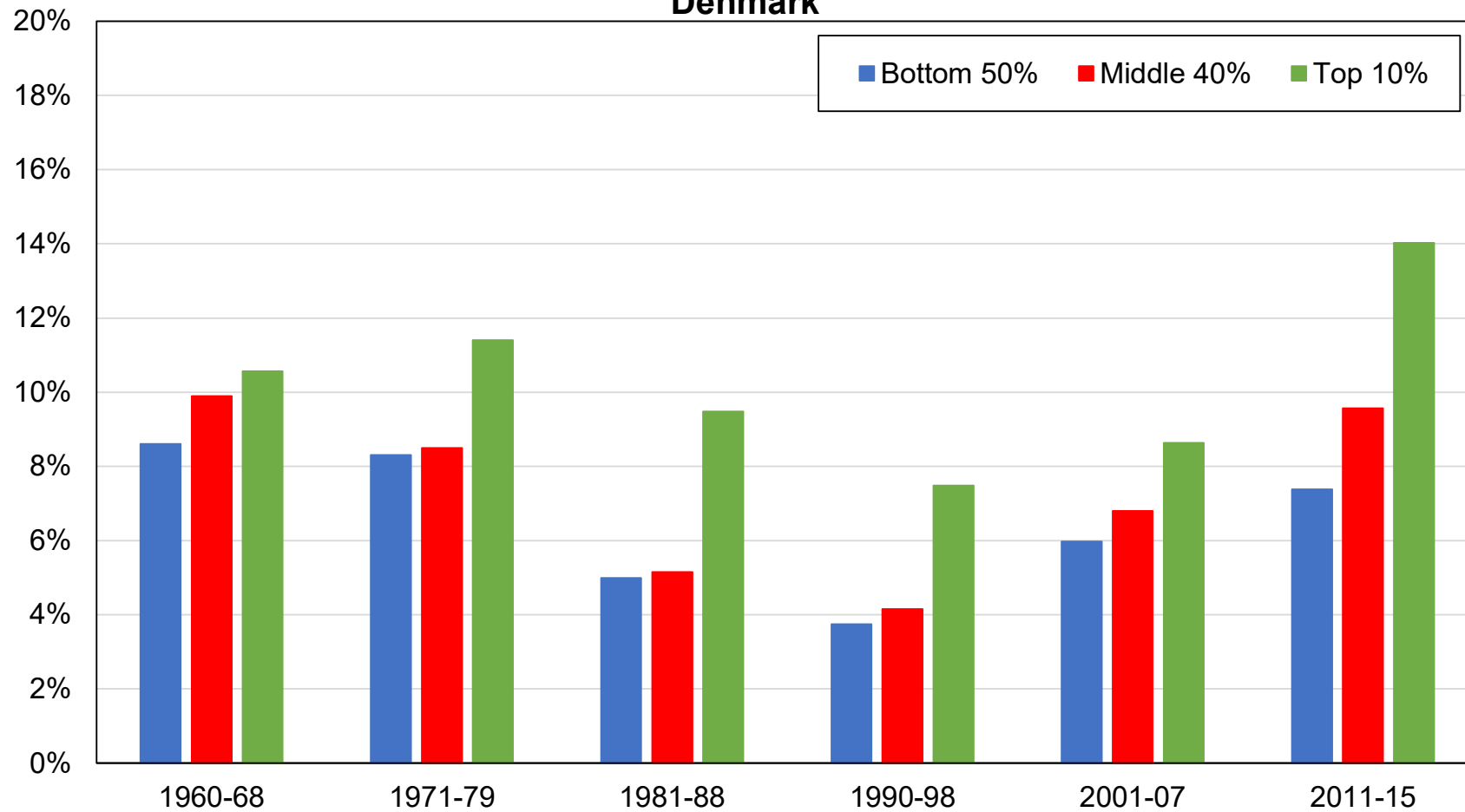
**Figure BC6 - Vote for the Social Liberal Party by education level in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Socialist Liberal Party by education level.

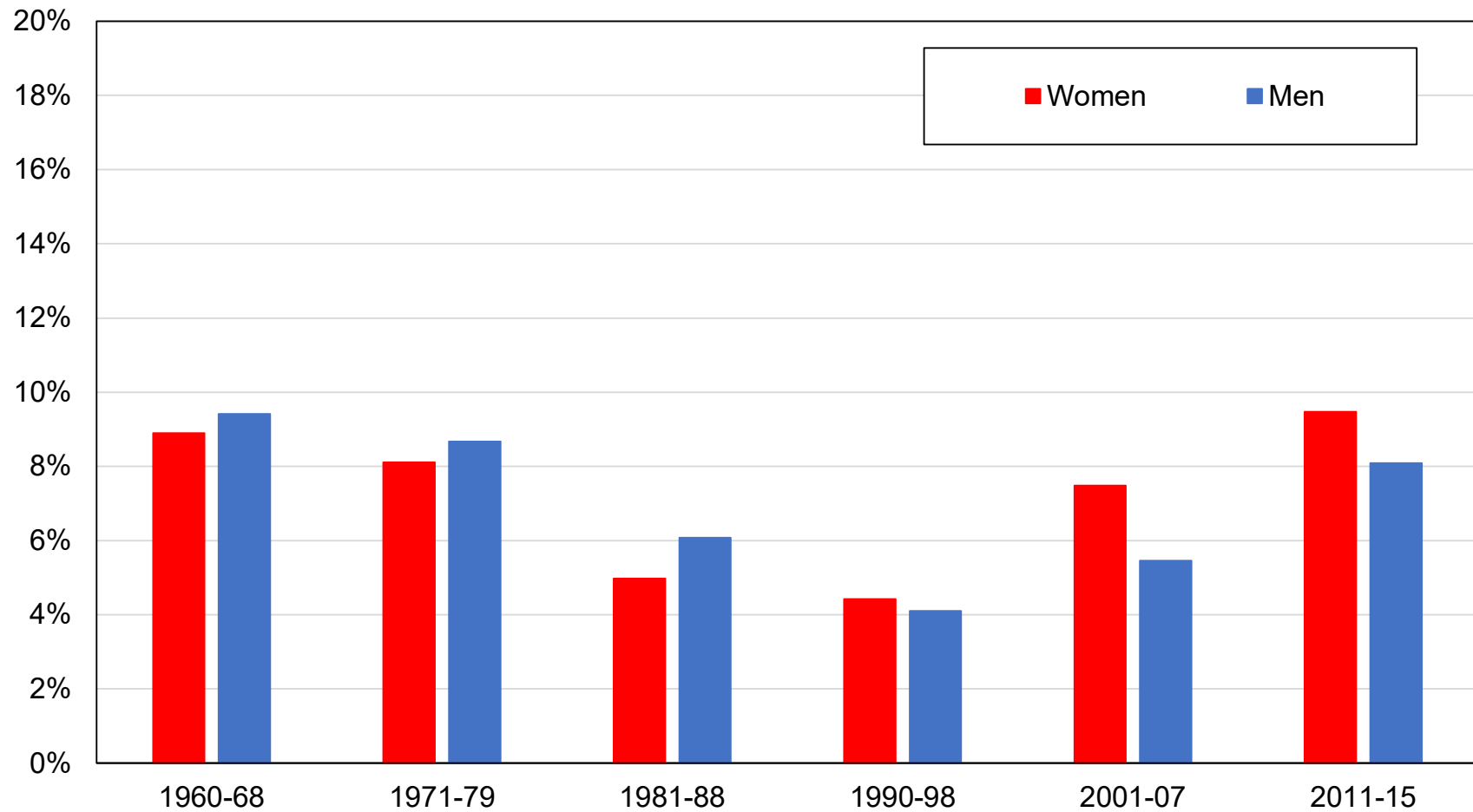
**Figure BC7 - Vote for the Social Liberal Party by income group in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Socialist Liberal Party by income group.

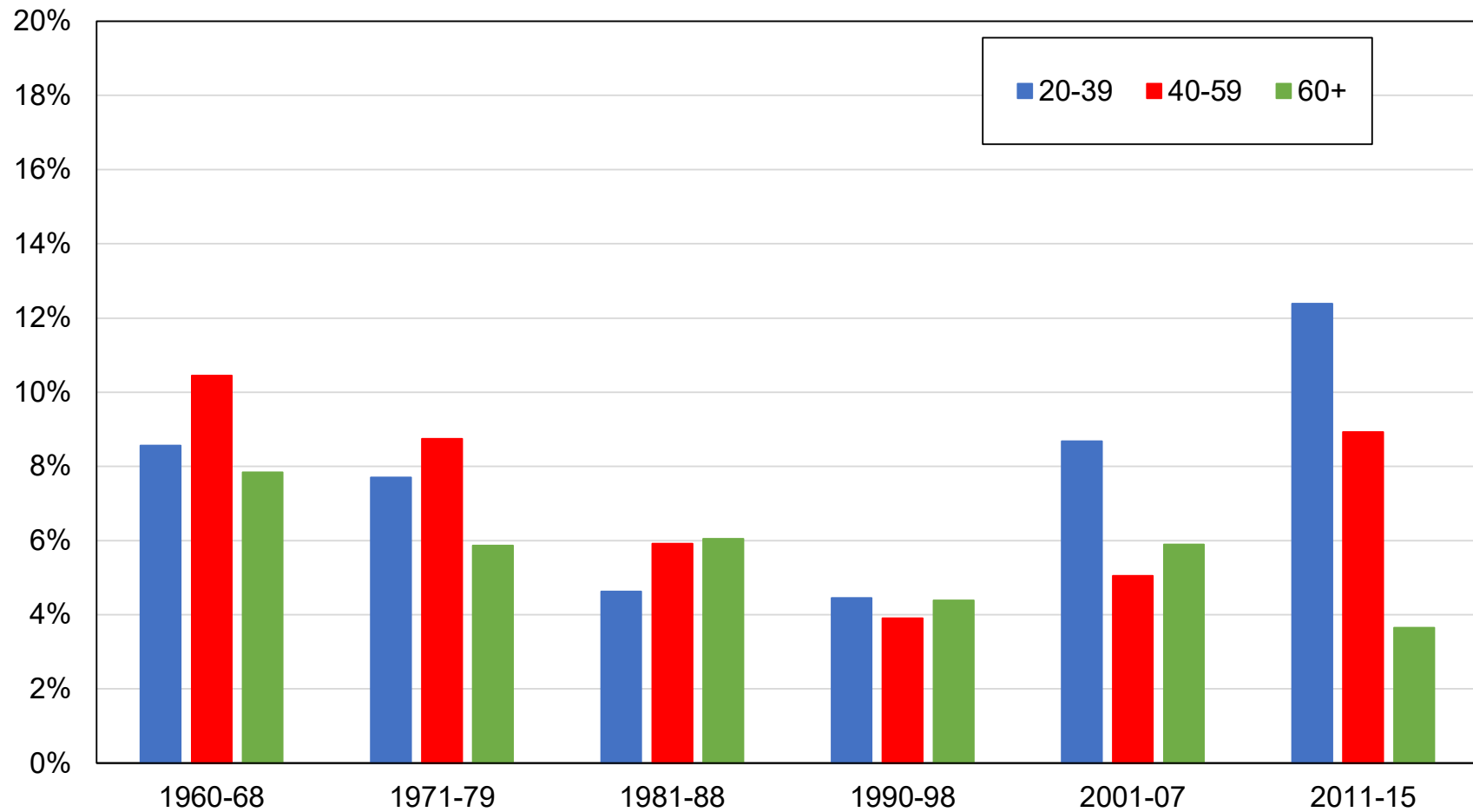
**Figure BC8 - Vote for the Social Liberal Party by gender in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Socialist Liberal Party by gender.

**Figure BC9 - Vote for The Social Liberal Party by age group in Denmark**

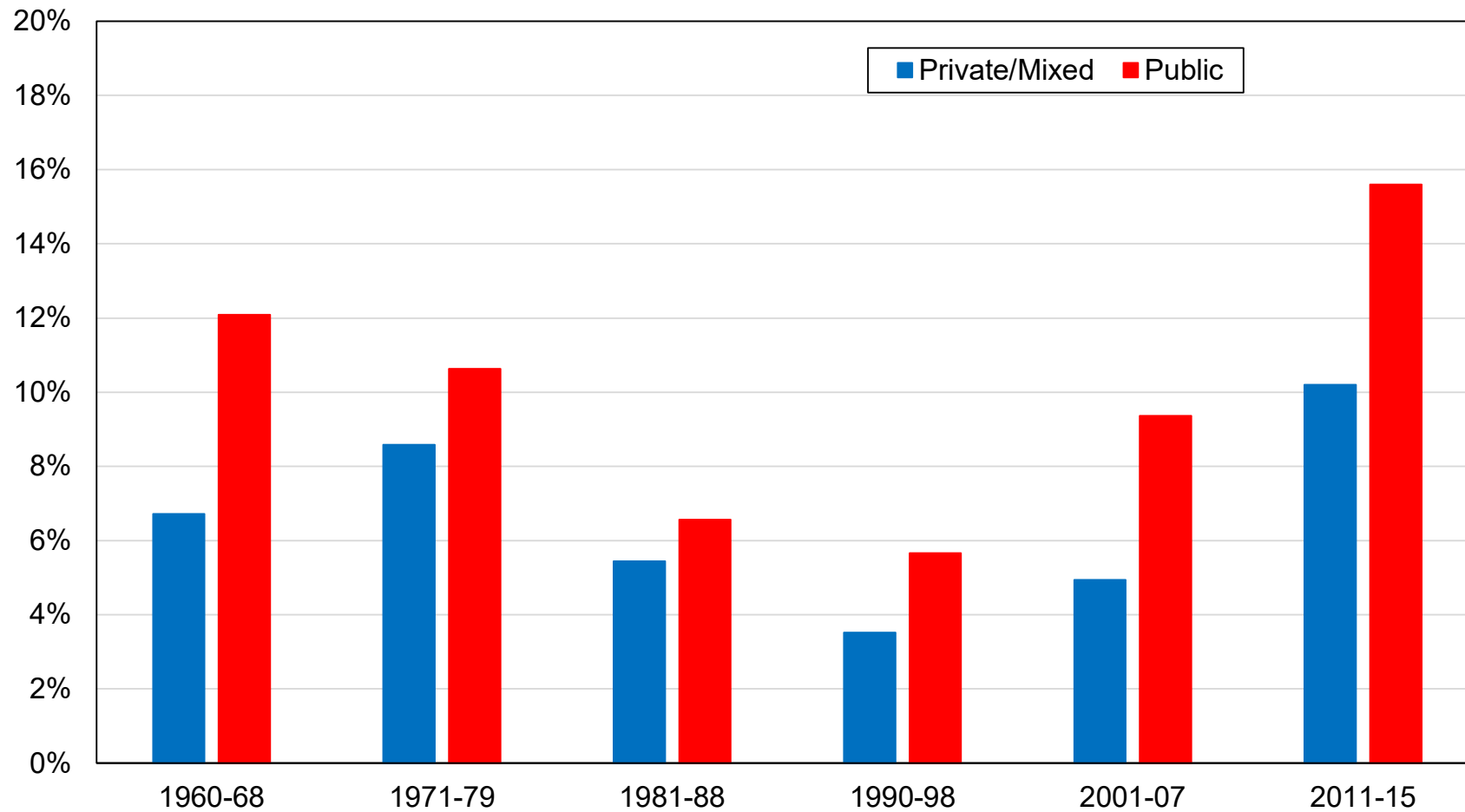


**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Socialist Liberal Party by age group.



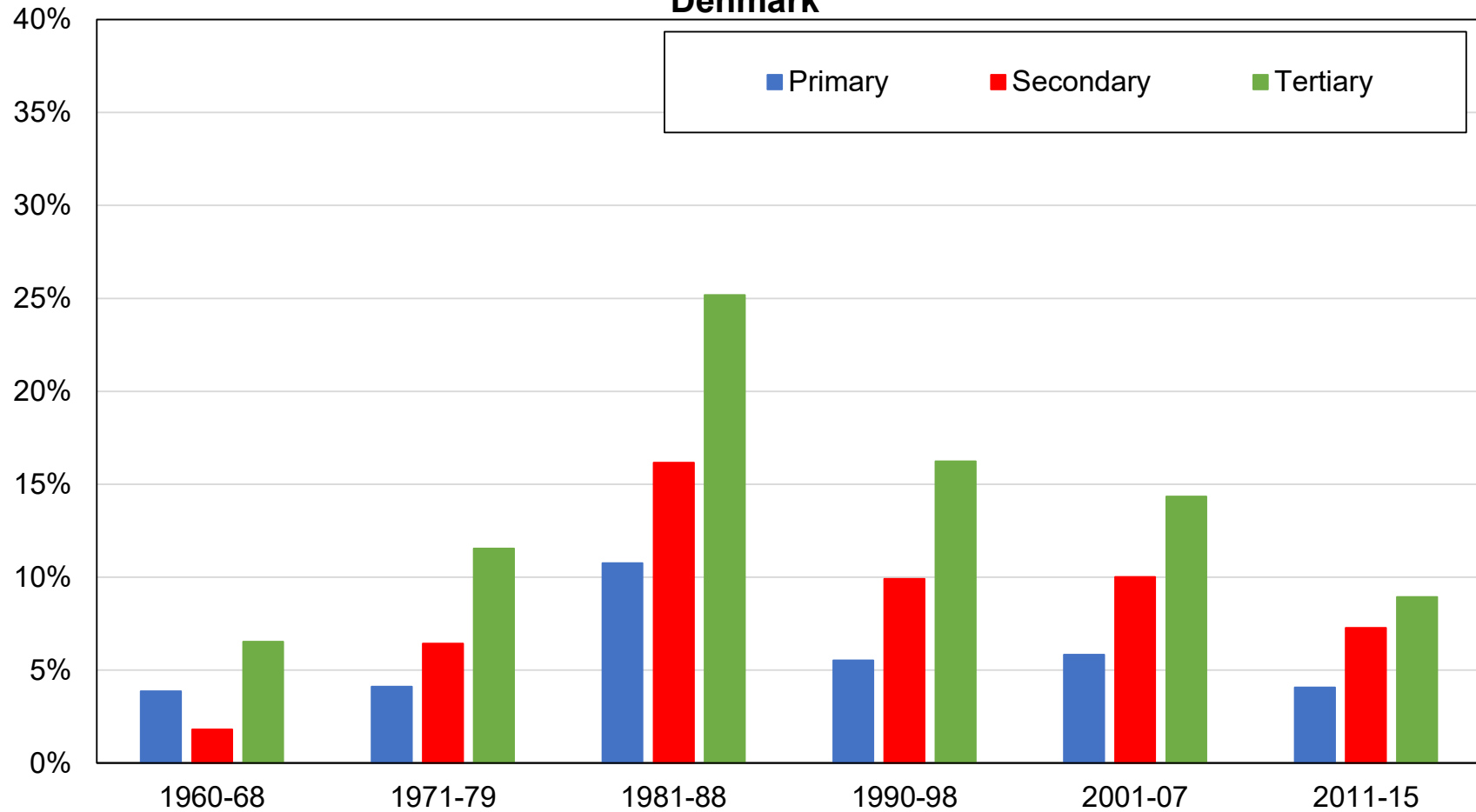
**Figure BC10 - Vote for the Social Liberal Party by sector in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Socialist Liberal Party by sector.

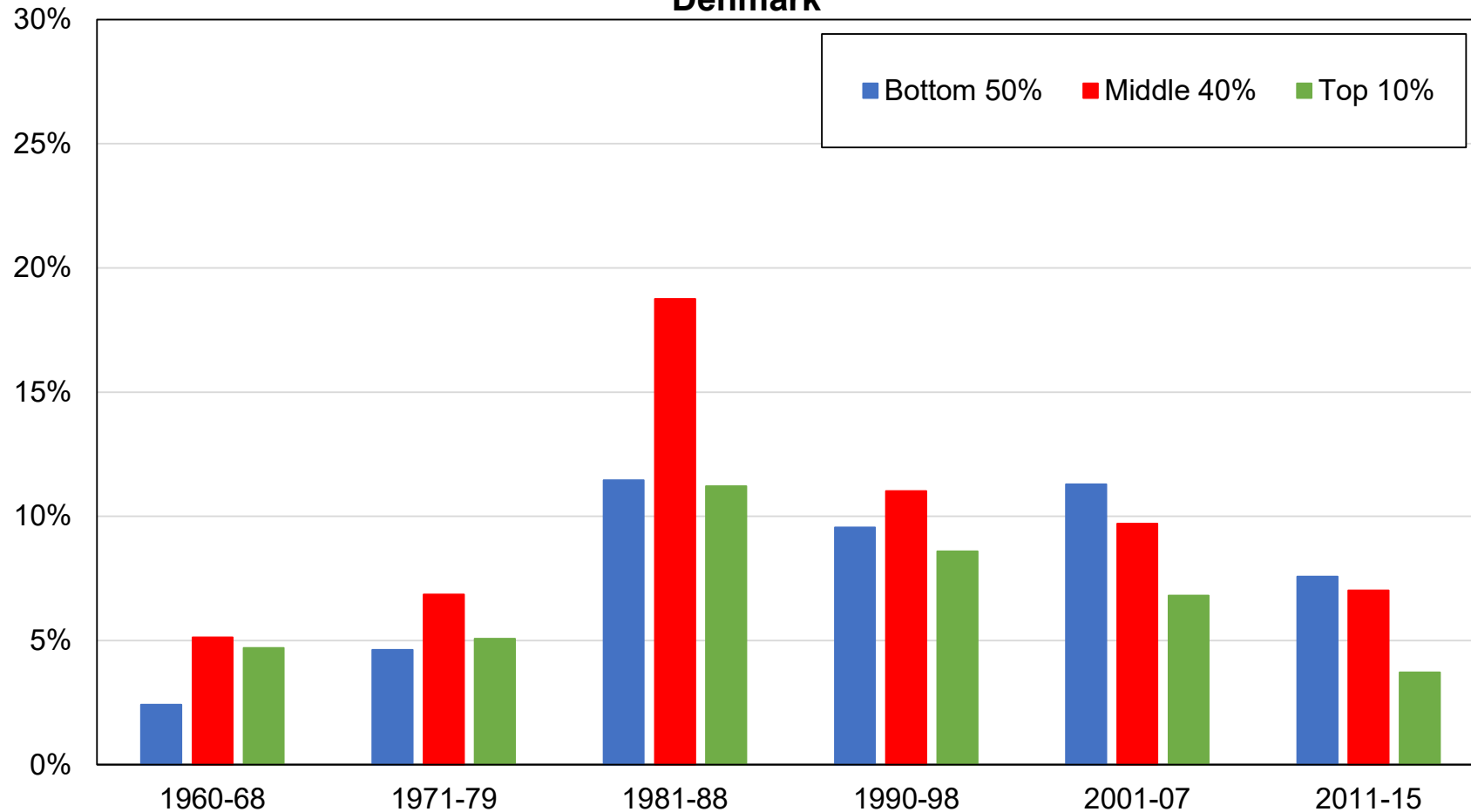
**Figure BC11 - Vote the Socialist People's Party by education level in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Socialist People's Party by education level.

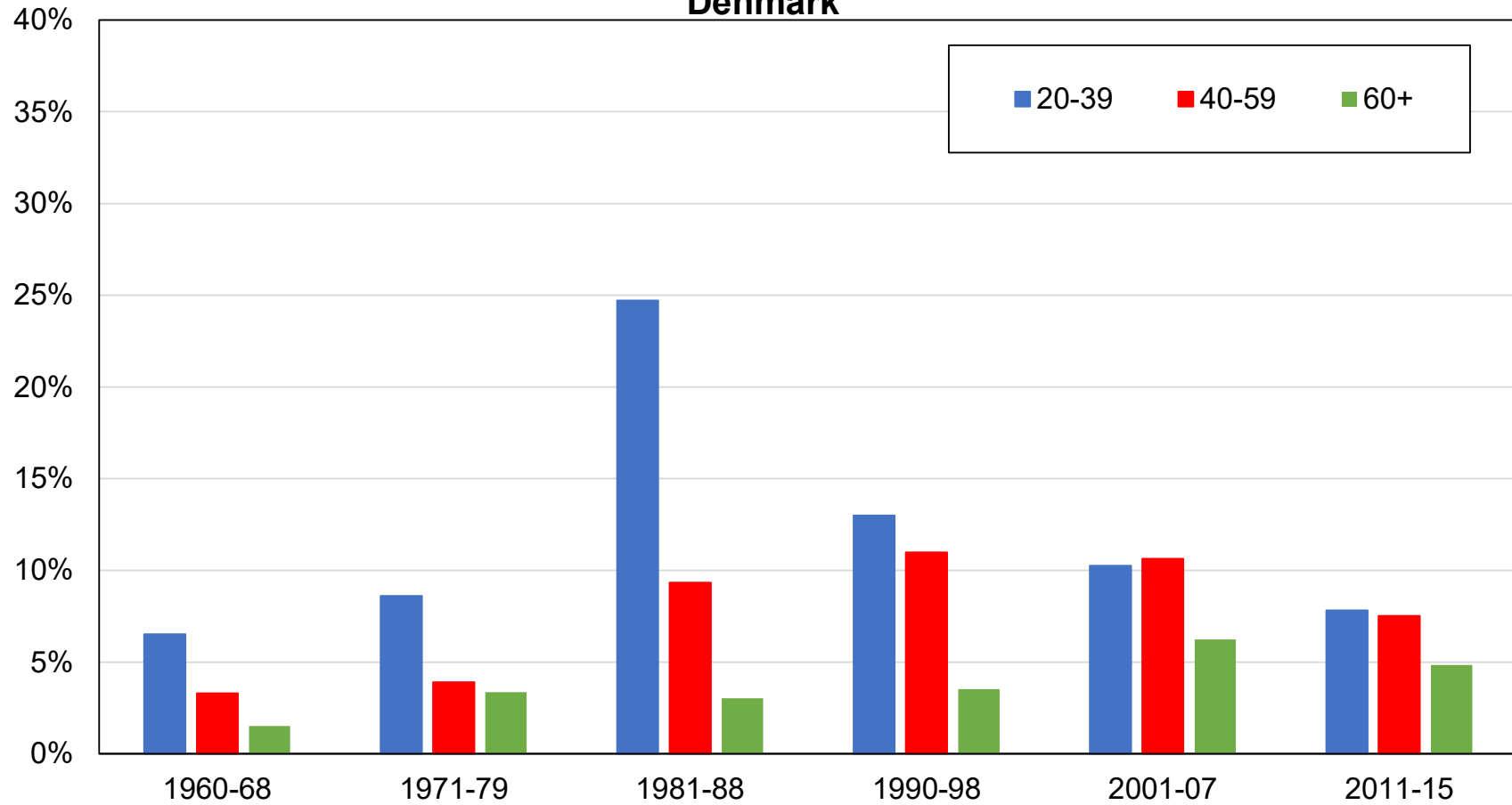
**Figure BC12 - Vote for the Socialist People's Party by income group in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Socialist People's Party by income group.

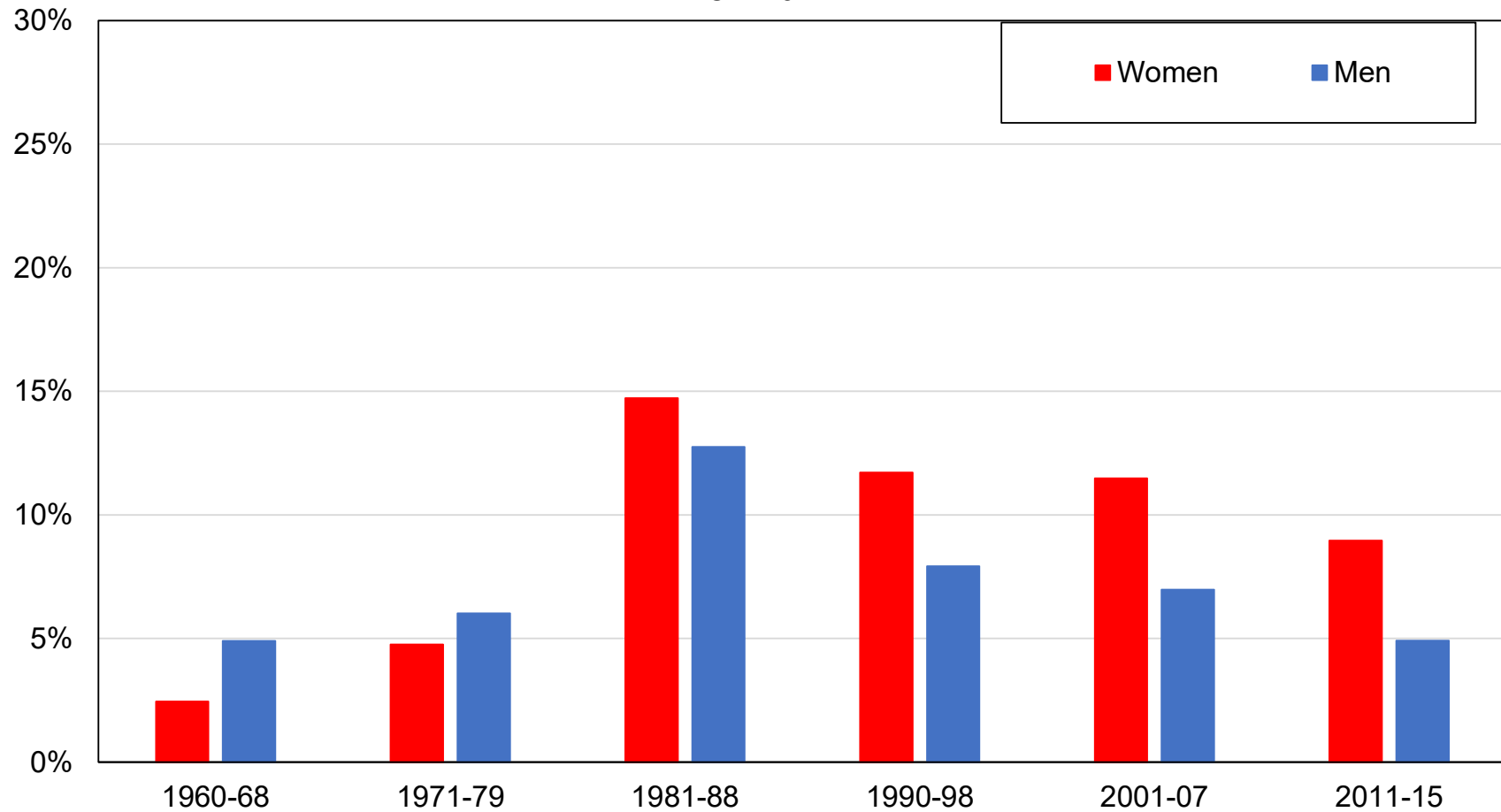
**Figure BC13 - Vote for the Socialist People's Party by age group in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Socialist People's Party by age group.

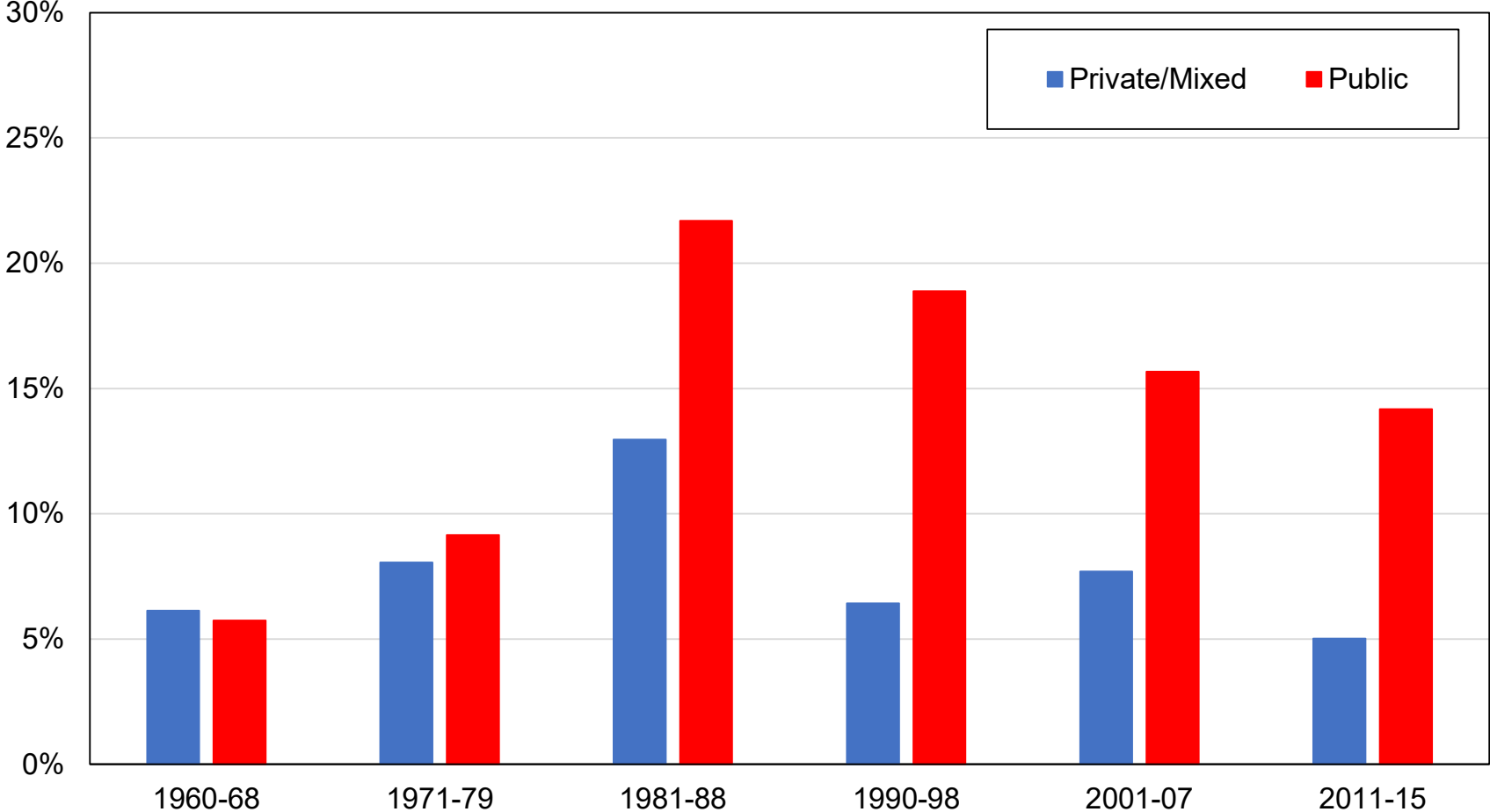
**Figure BC14 - Vote for the Socialist People's Party by gender in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Socialist People's Party by gender.

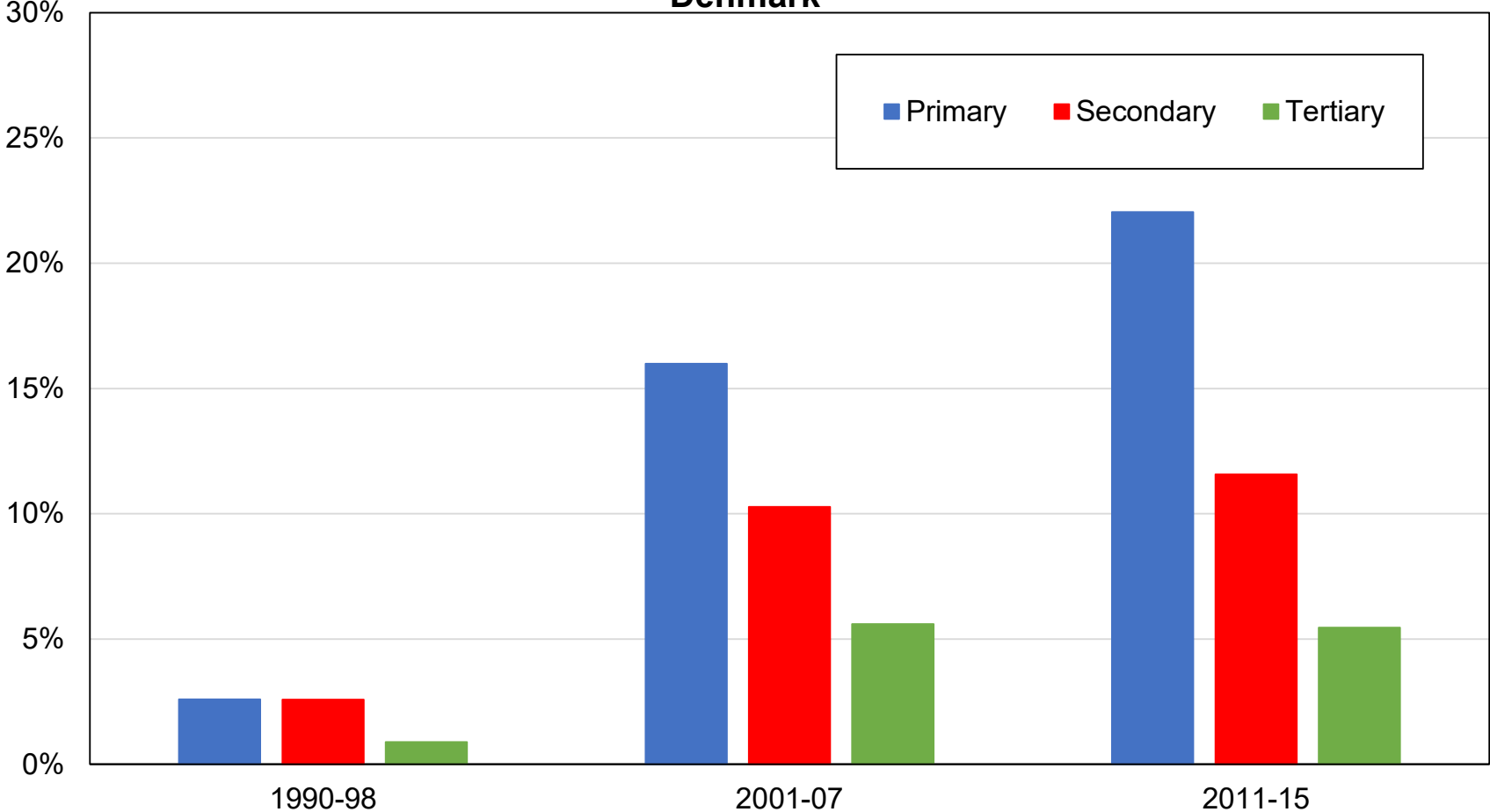
**Figure BC15 - Vote for the Socialist People's Party by sector in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Socialist People's Party by sector.

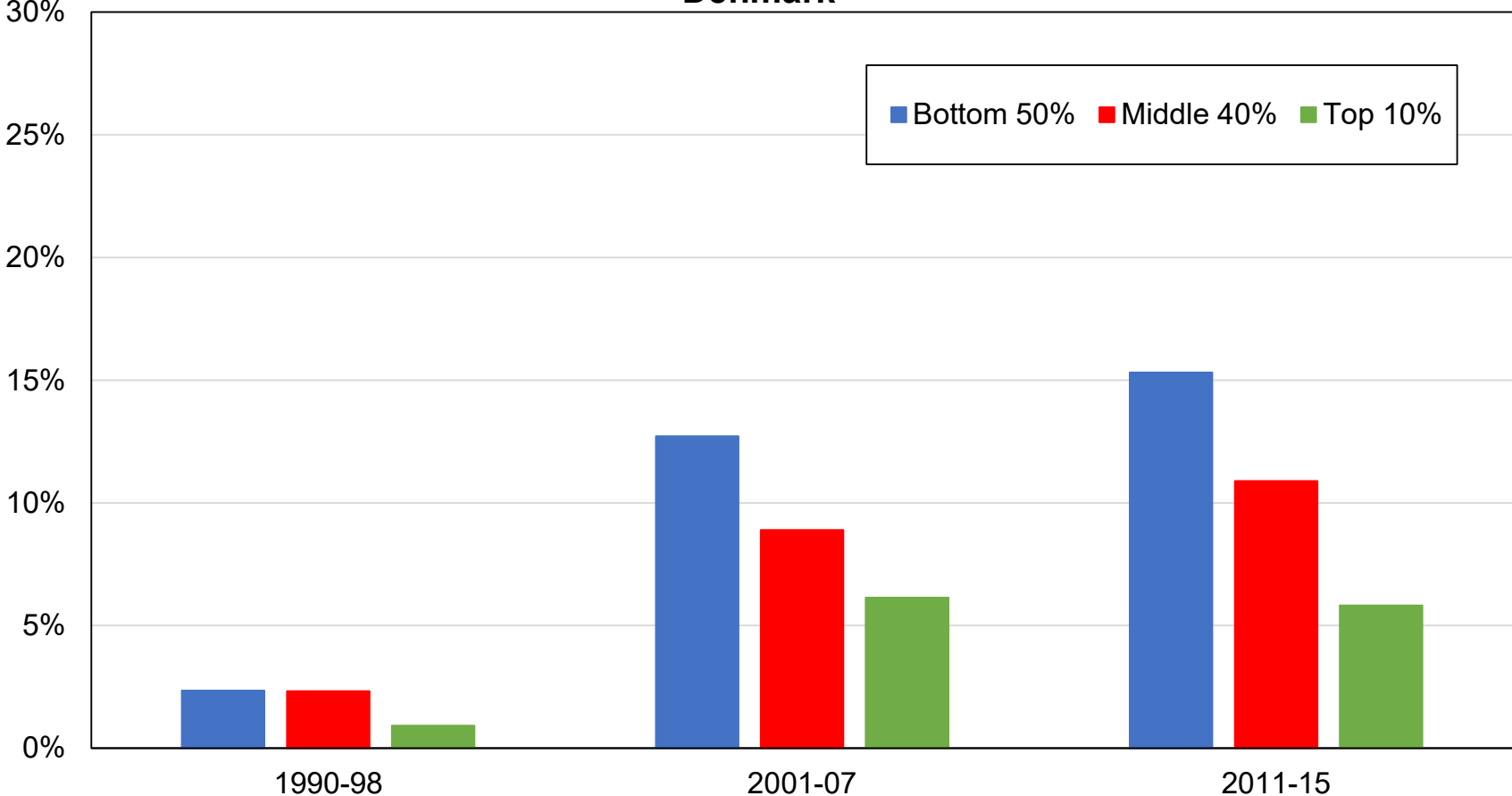
**Figure BC16 - Vote for the Danish People's Party by education level in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Danish People's Party by education level.

**Figure BC17 - Vote for the Danish People's Party by income group in Denmark**

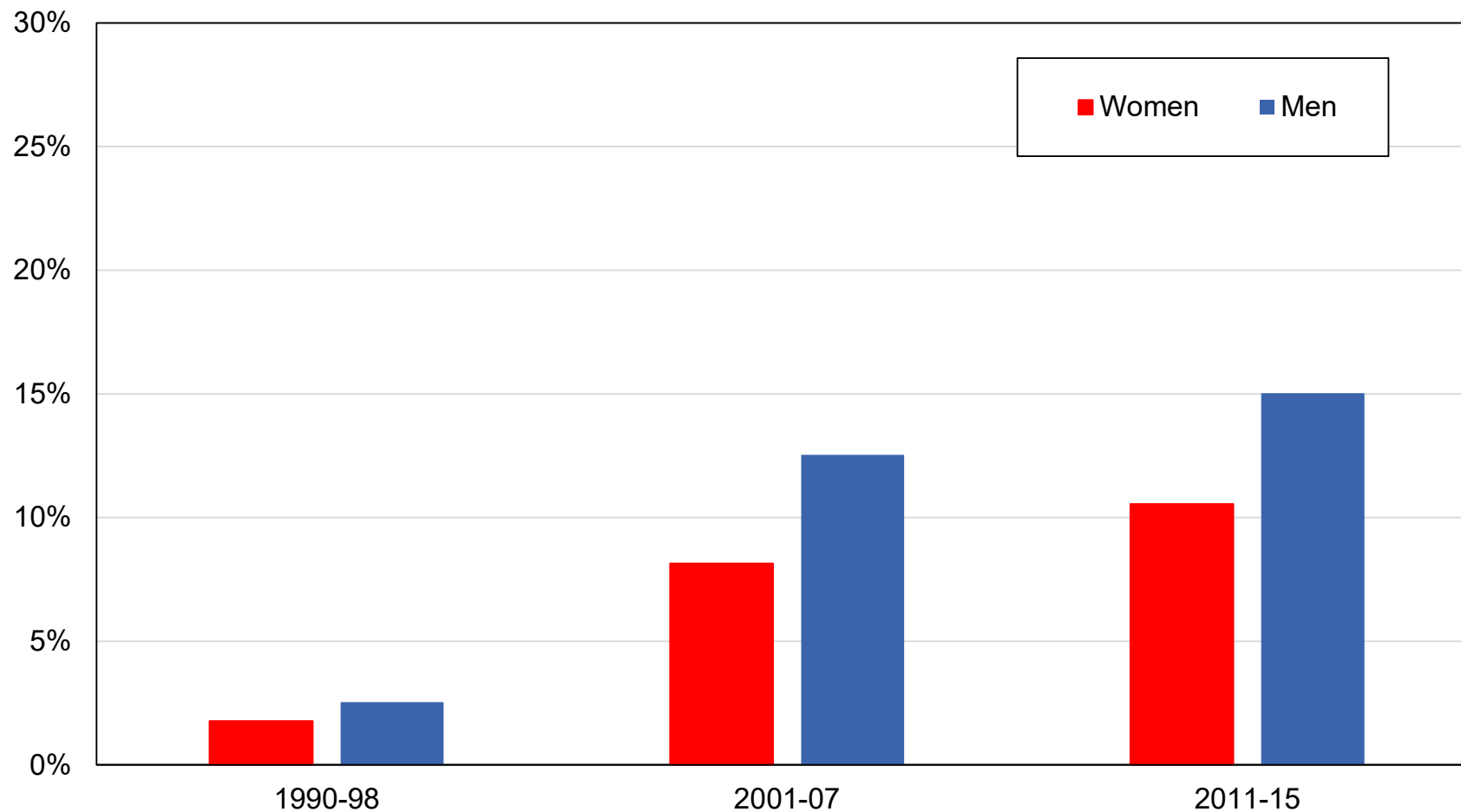


**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Danish People's Party by income group.



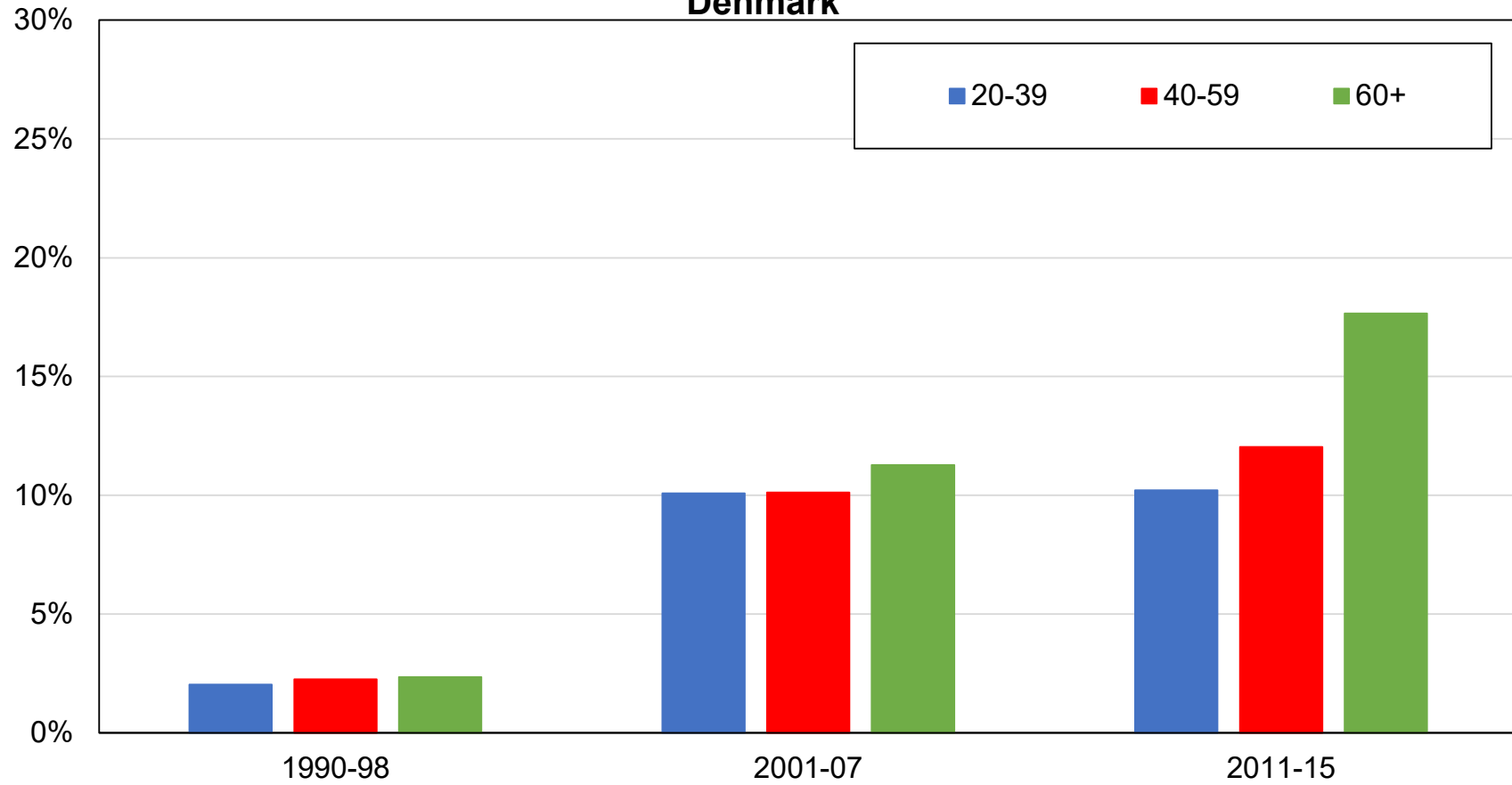
**Figure BC18 - Vote for the Danish People's Party by gender in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Danish People's Party by gender.

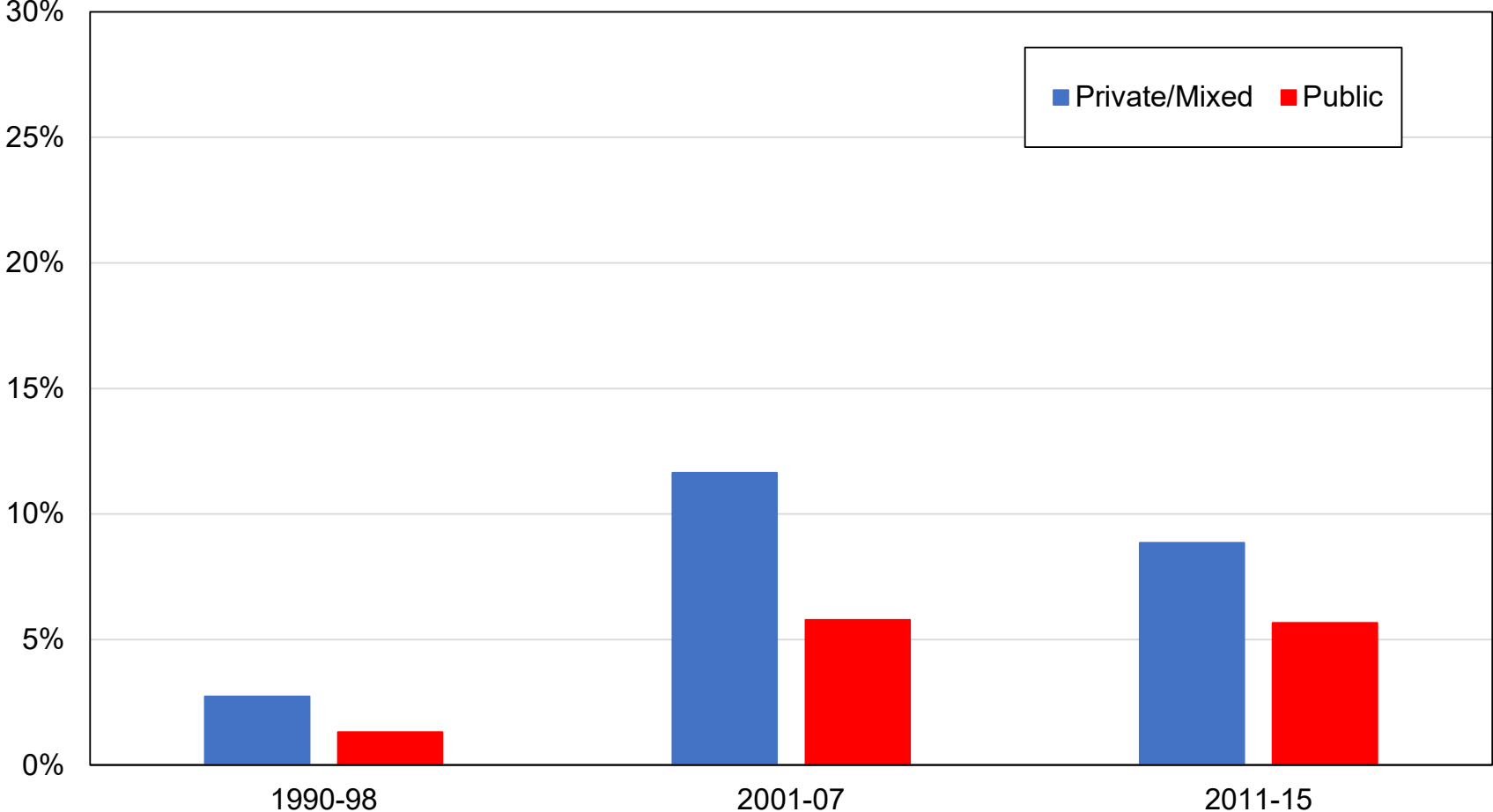
**Figure BC19 - Vote for the Danish People's Party by age group in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Danish People's Party by age group.

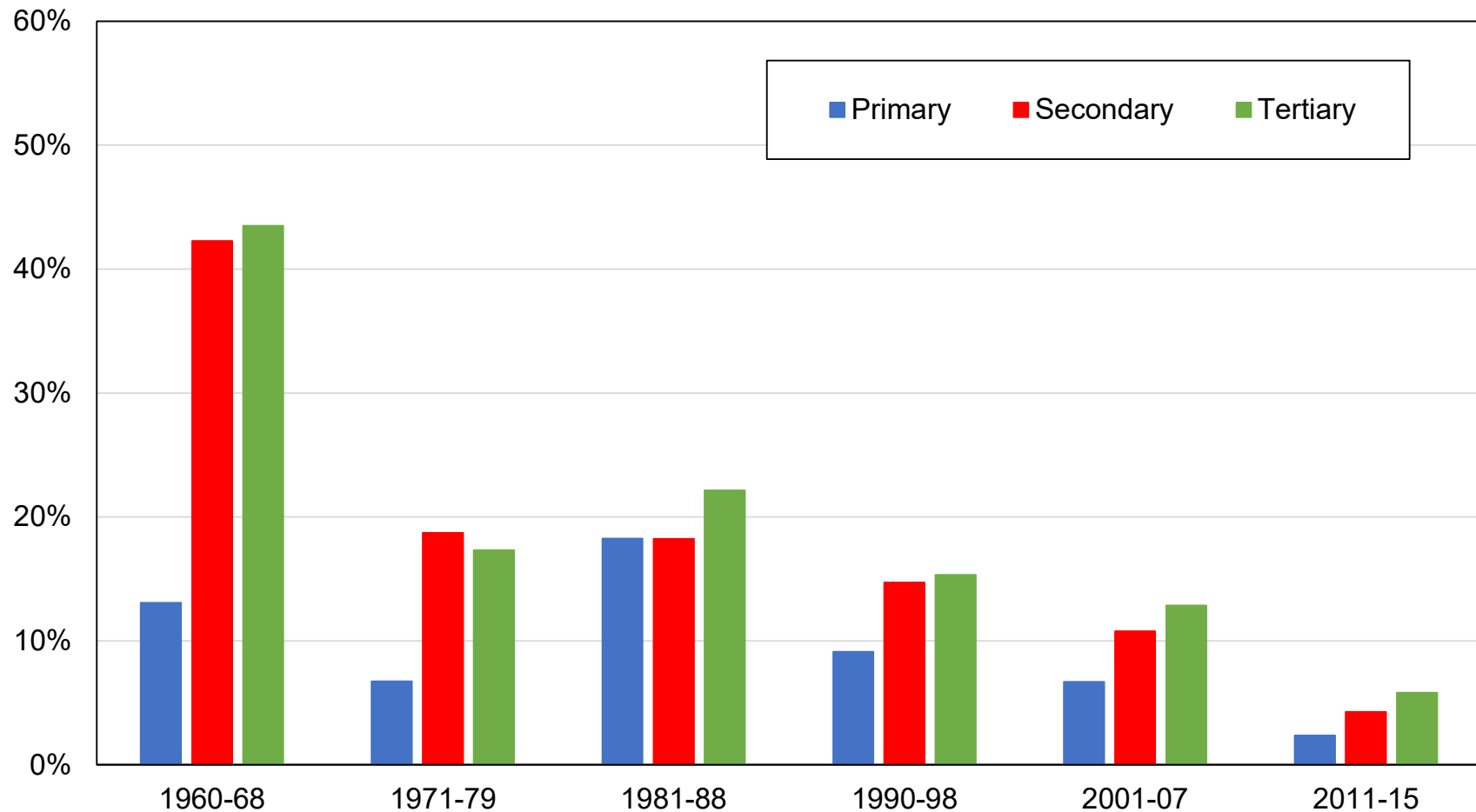
**Figure BC20 - Vote for the Danish People's Party by sector in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Danish People's Party by sector.

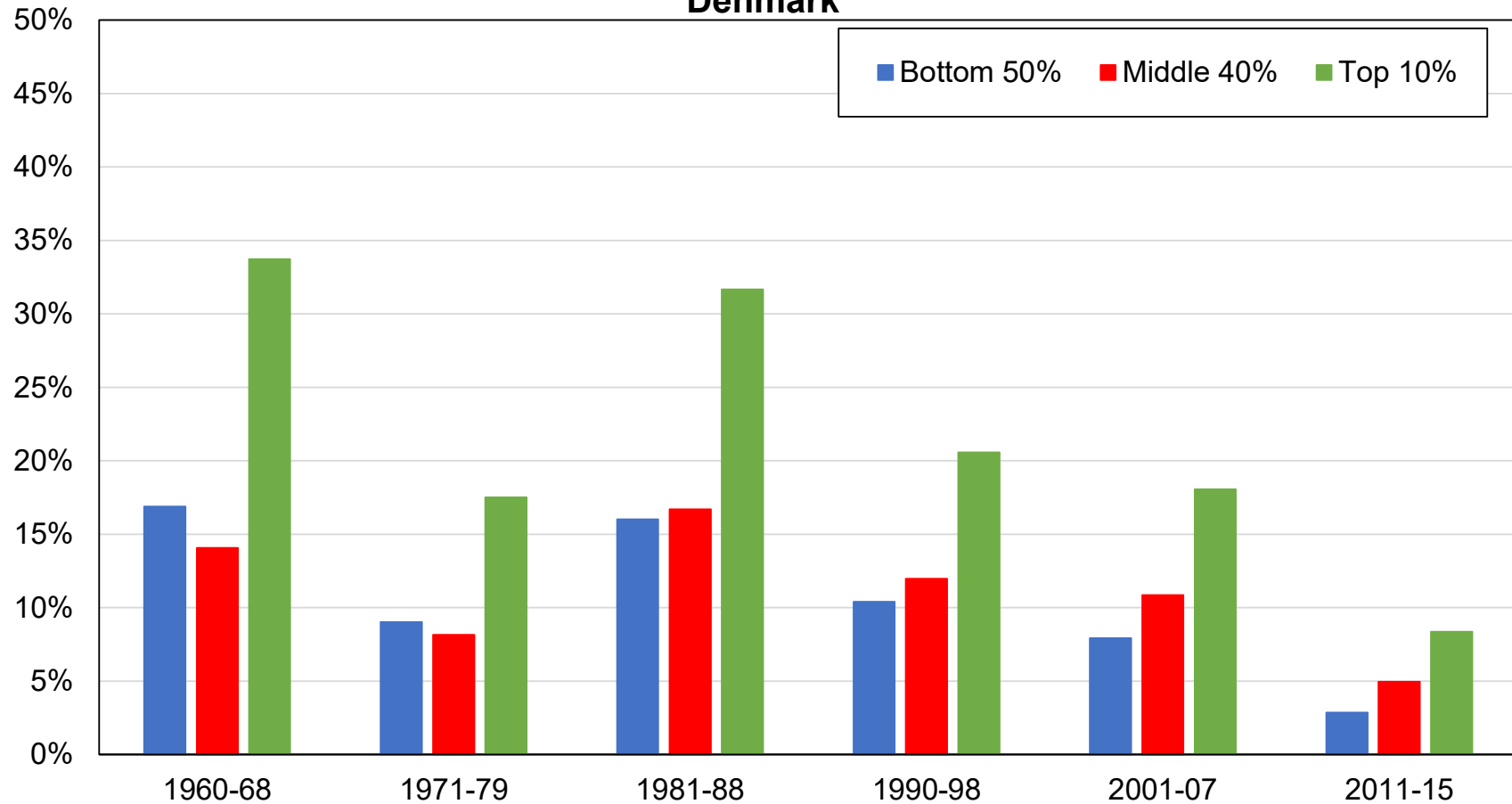
**Figure BC21 - Vote for Conservative Party by education level in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Conservative Party by education level.

**Figure BC22 - Vote for the Conservative Party by income group in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Conservative Party by income group.

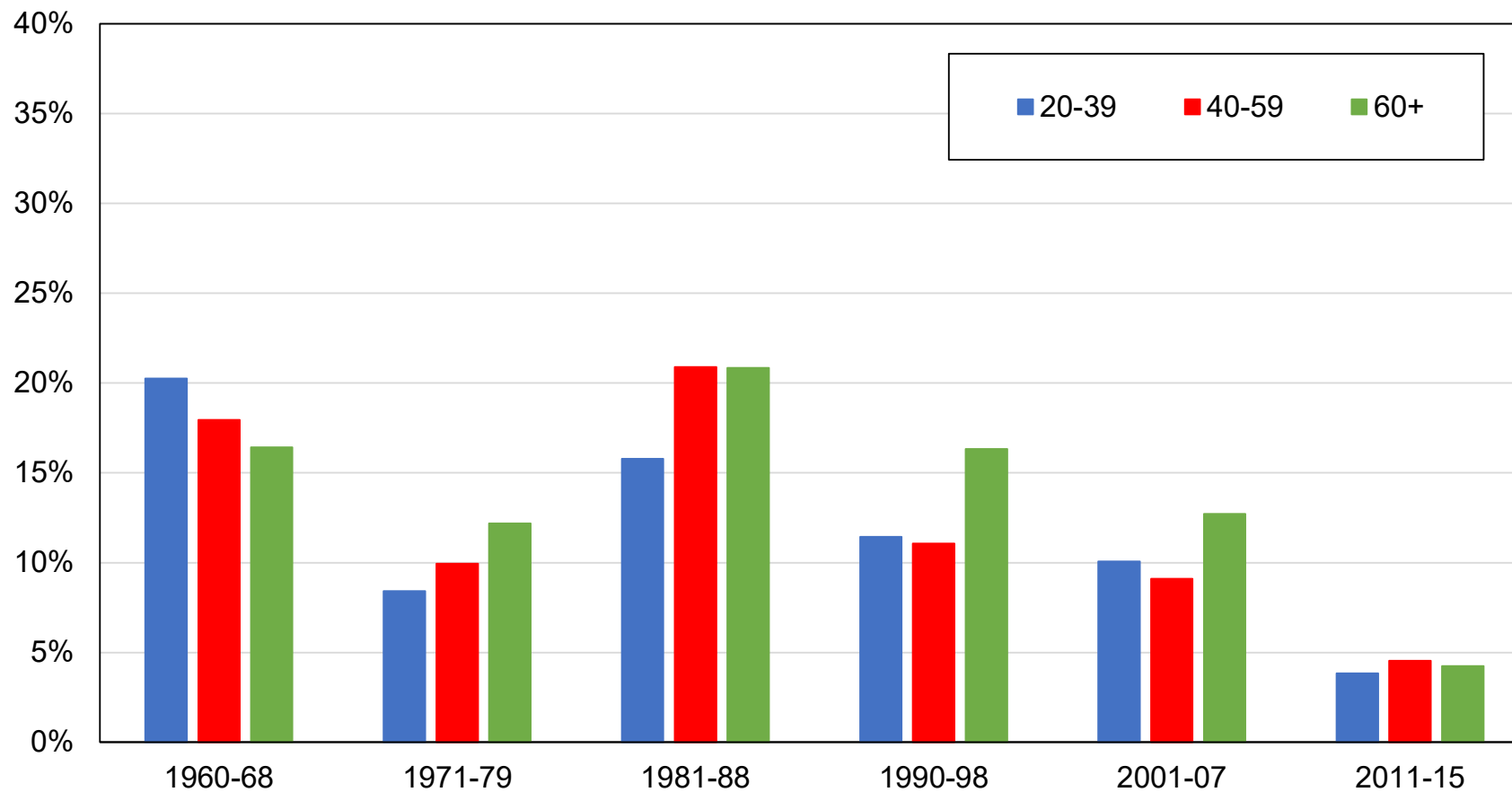
**Figure BC23 - Vote for the Conservative Party by gender in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Conservative by gender.

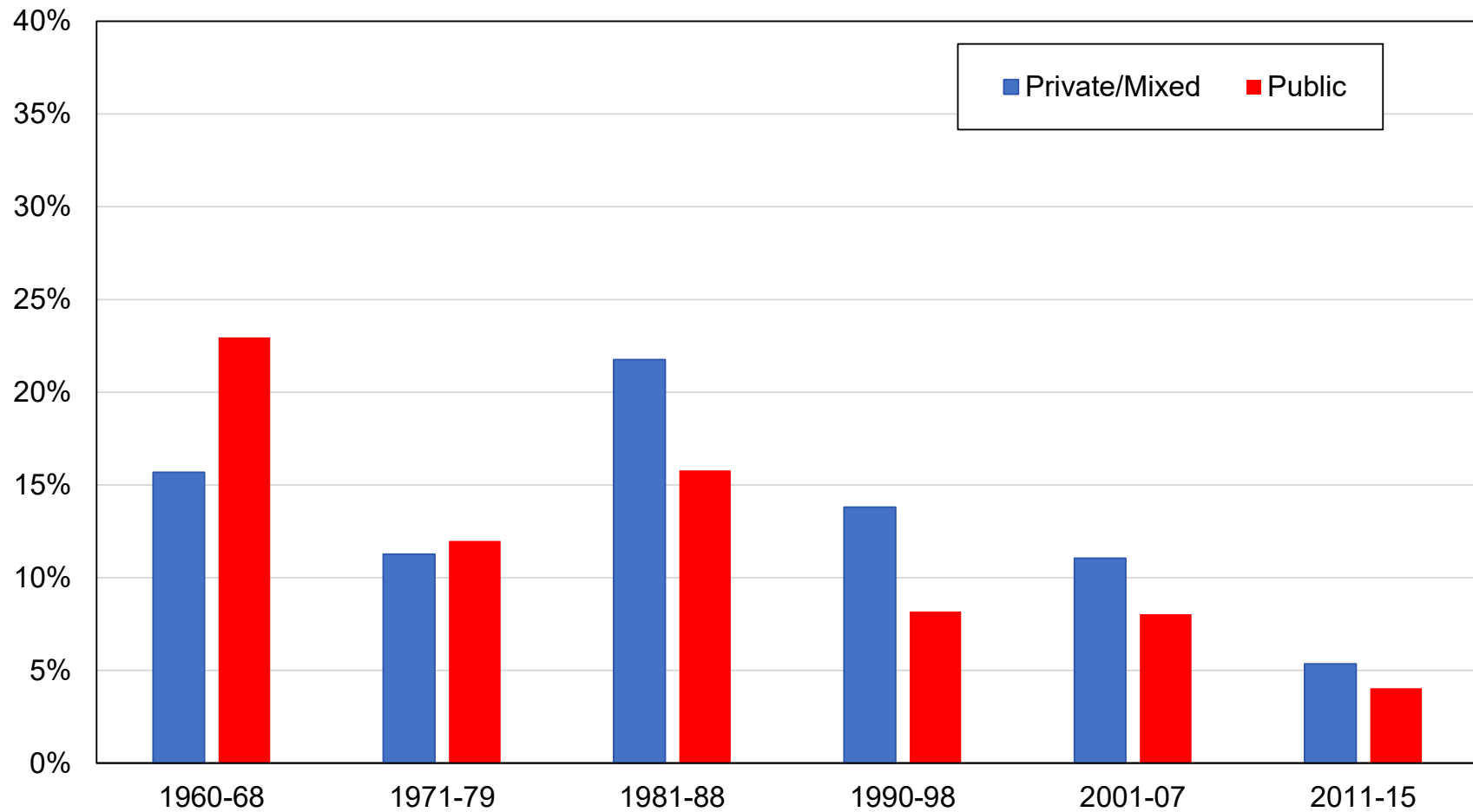
**Figure BC24 - Vote for the Conservative Party by age group in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Conservative Party by age group.

**Figure BC25 - Vote for the Conservative Party by sector in Denmark**

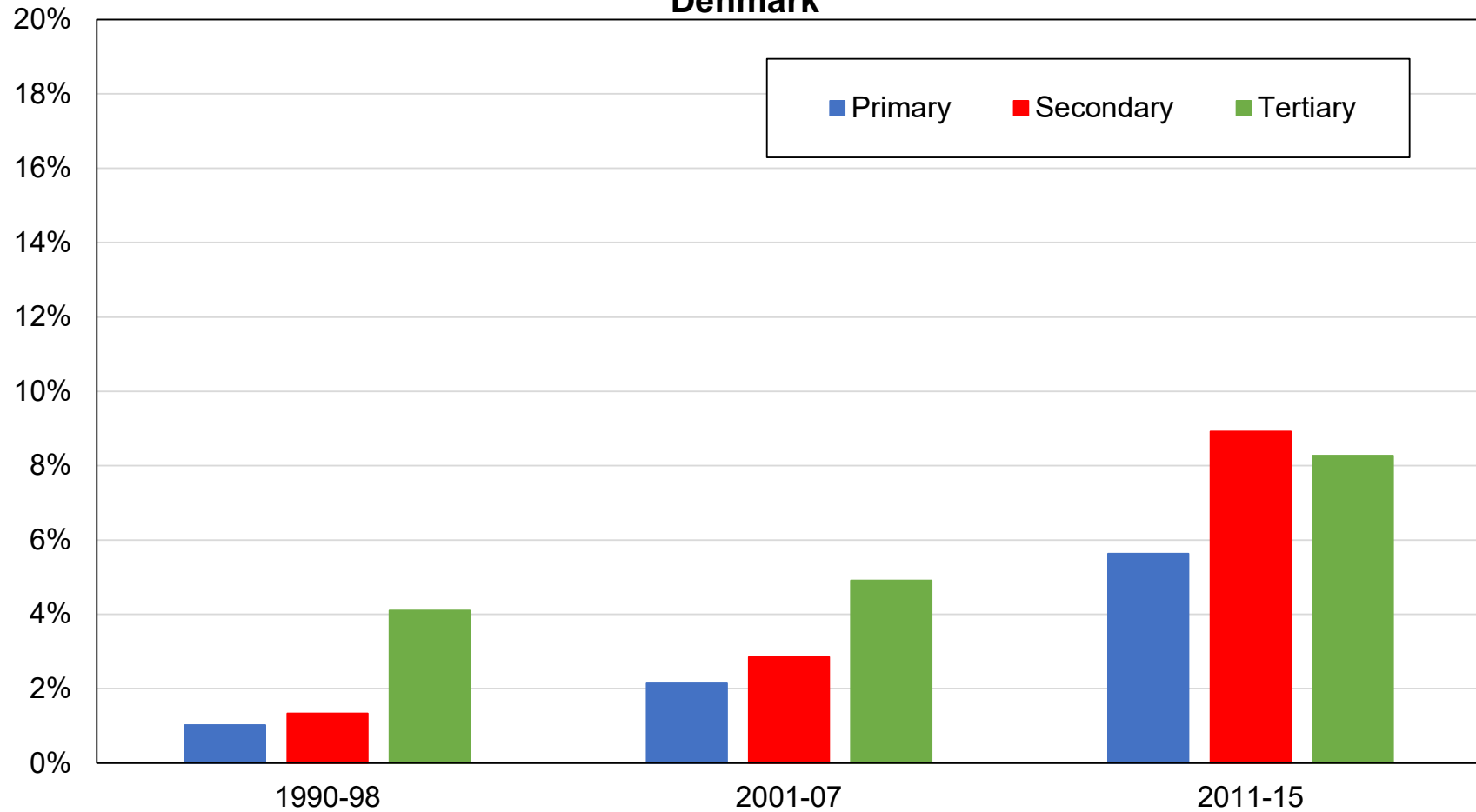


**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Conservative Party by sector.



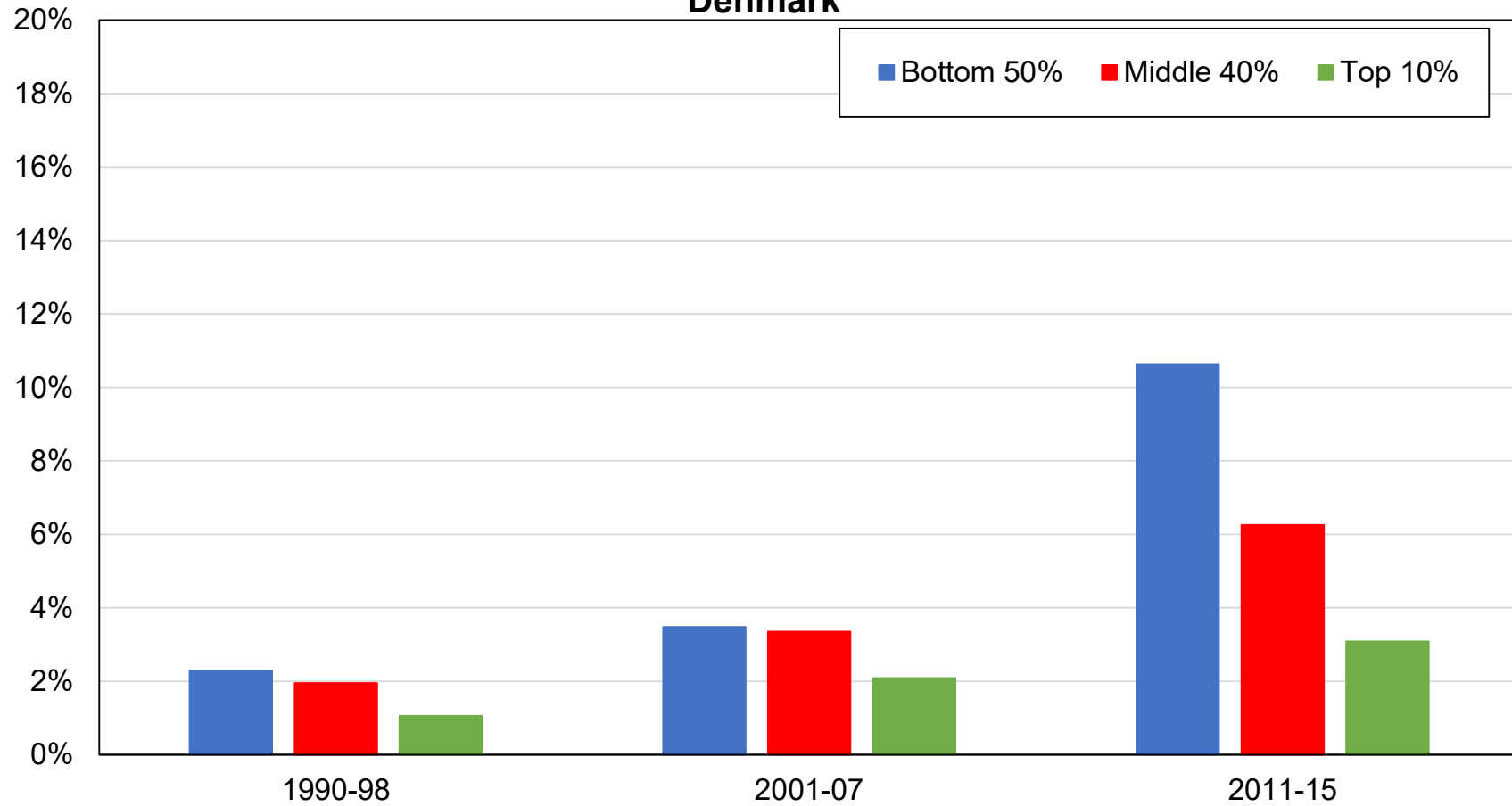
**Figure BC26 - Vote for the Red-Green Alliance by education level in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Red-Green Alliance by education level.

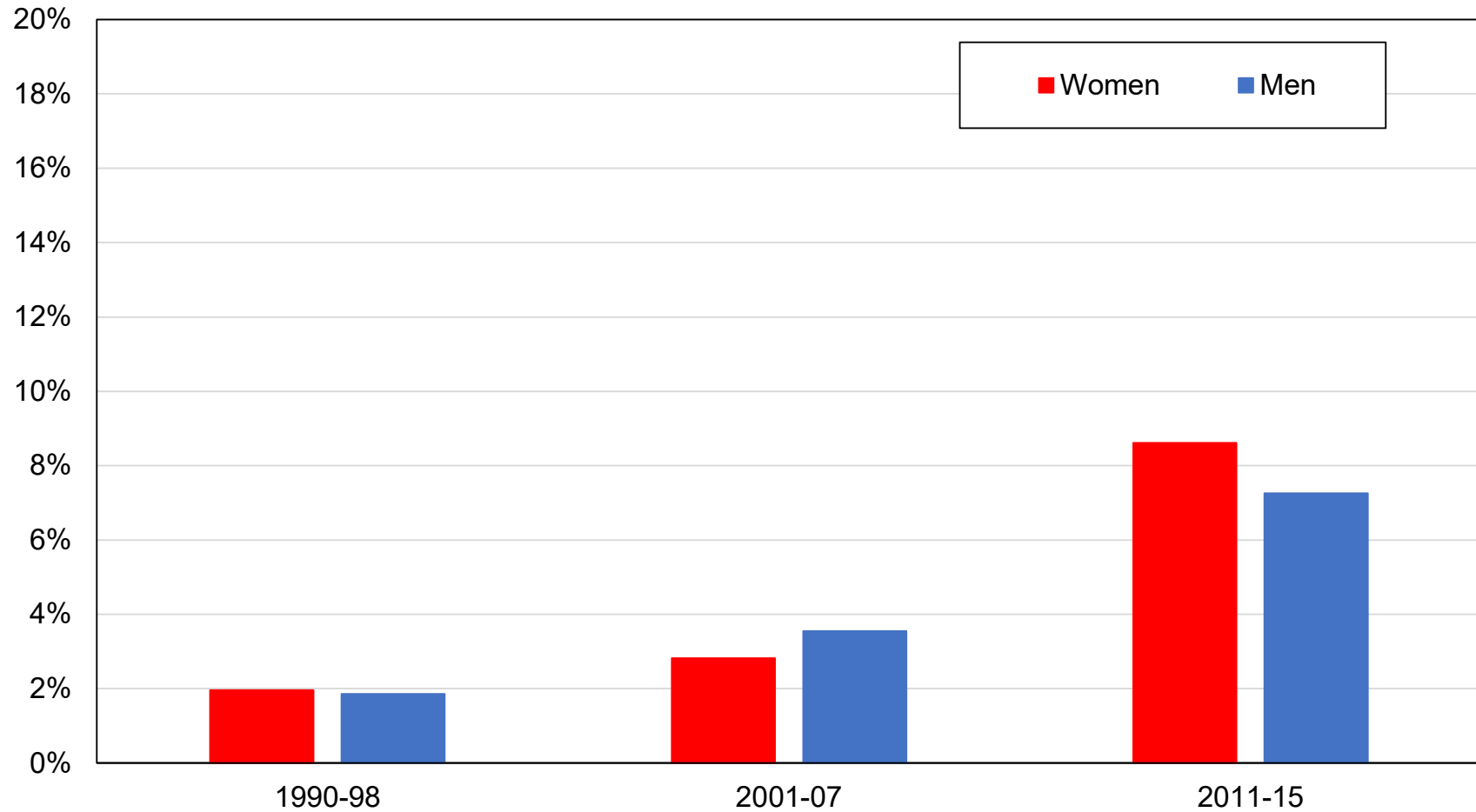
**Figure BC27 - Vote for the Red-Green Alliance by income group in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Red-Green Alliance by income group.

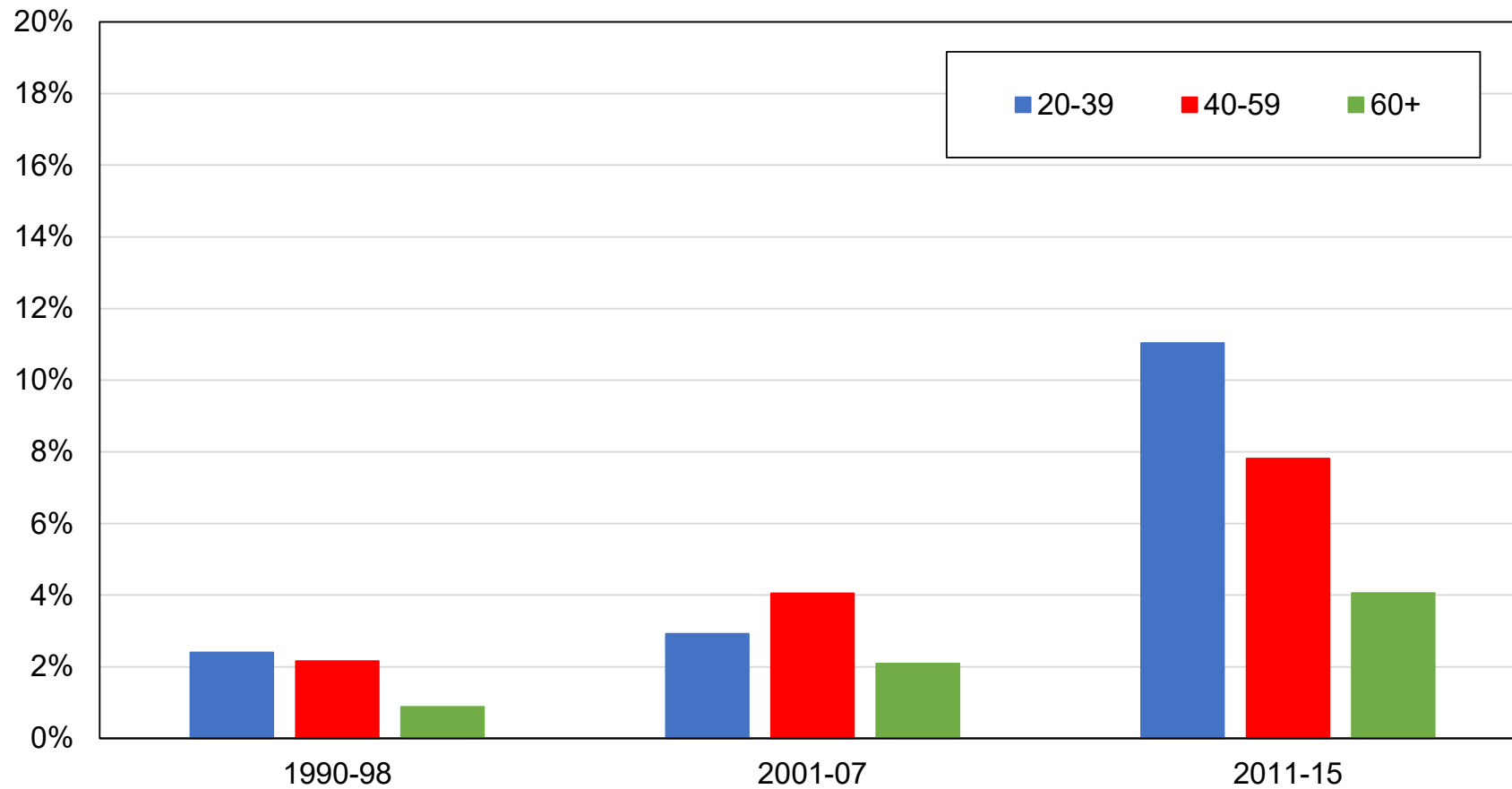
**Figure BC28 - Vote for the Red-Green Alliance by gender in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Red-Green Alliance by gender.

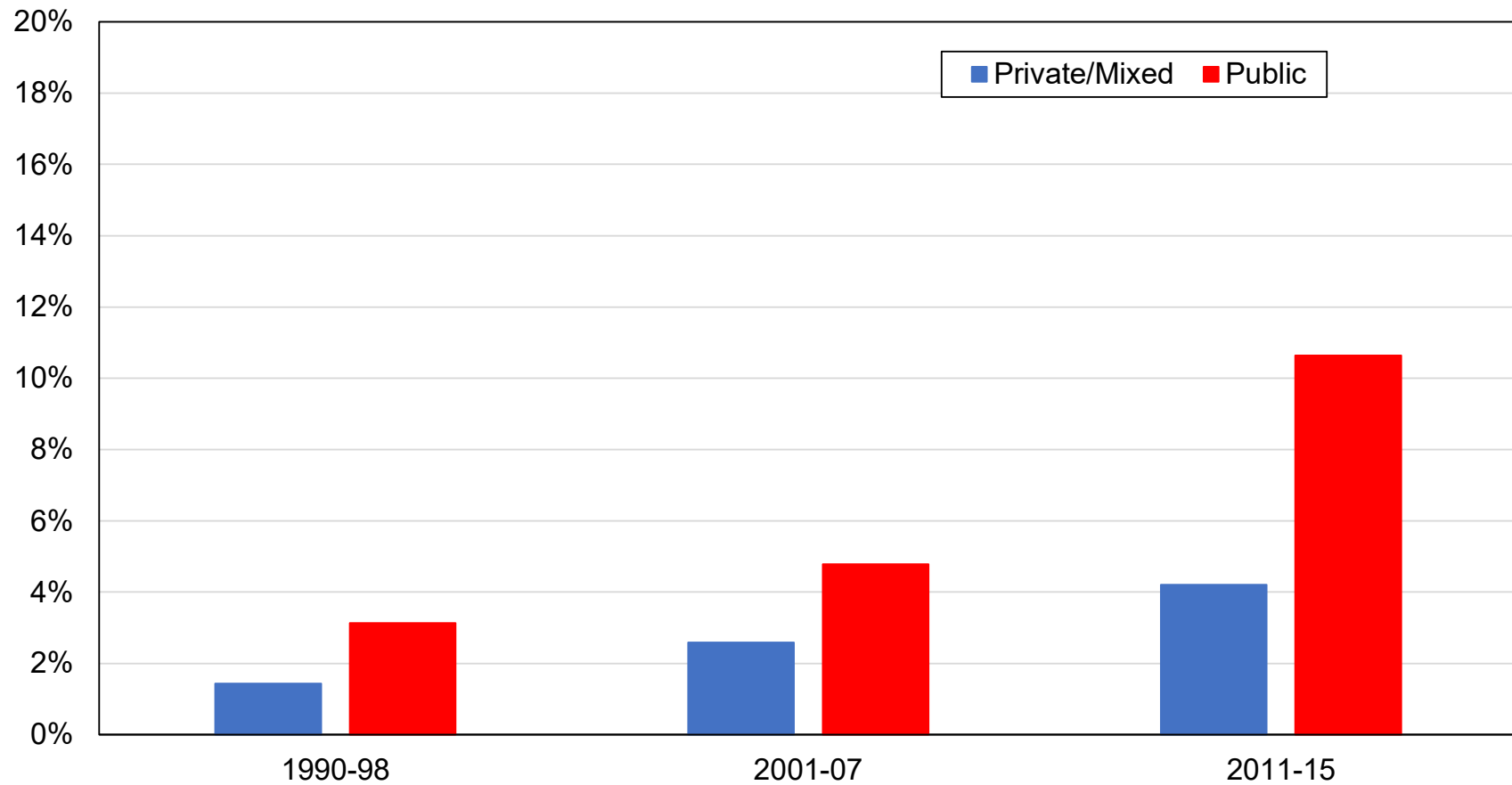
**Figure BC29 - Vote for the Red-Green Alliance by age group in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Red-Green Alliance by age group.

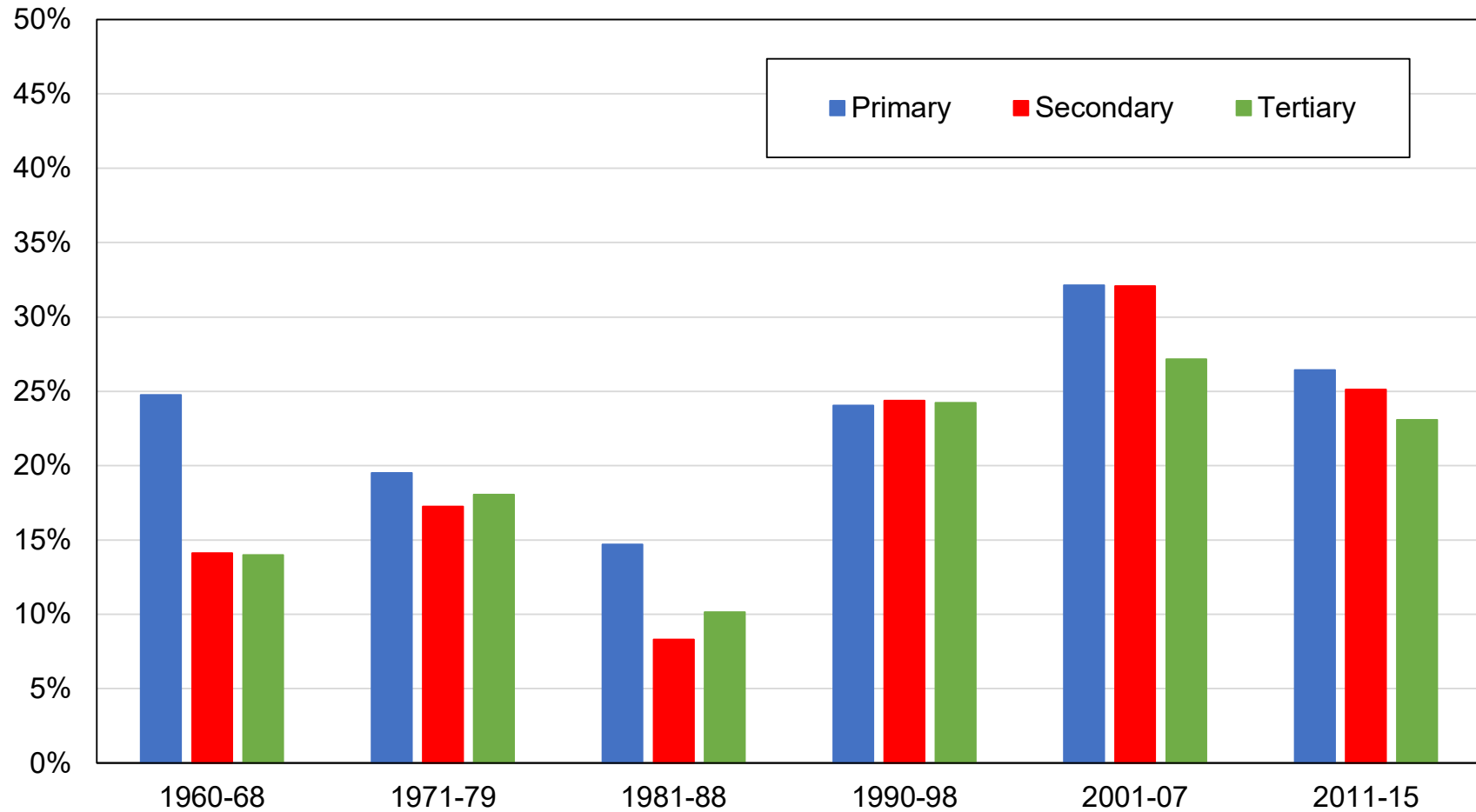
**Figure BC30 - Vote for the Red-Green Alliance by sector in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Red-Green Alliance by sector.

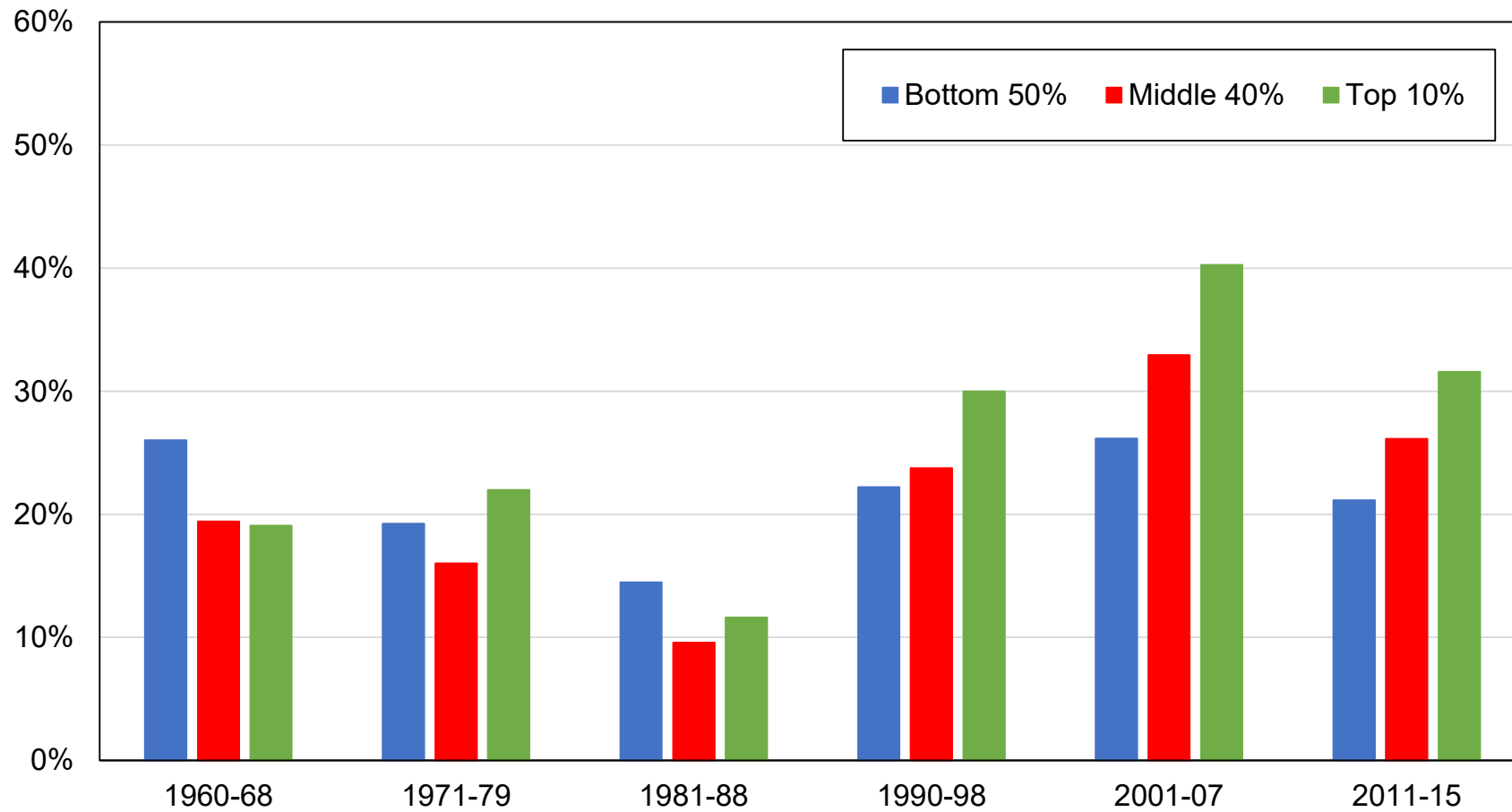
**Figure BC31 - Vote for the Venstre by education level in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Venstre by education level.

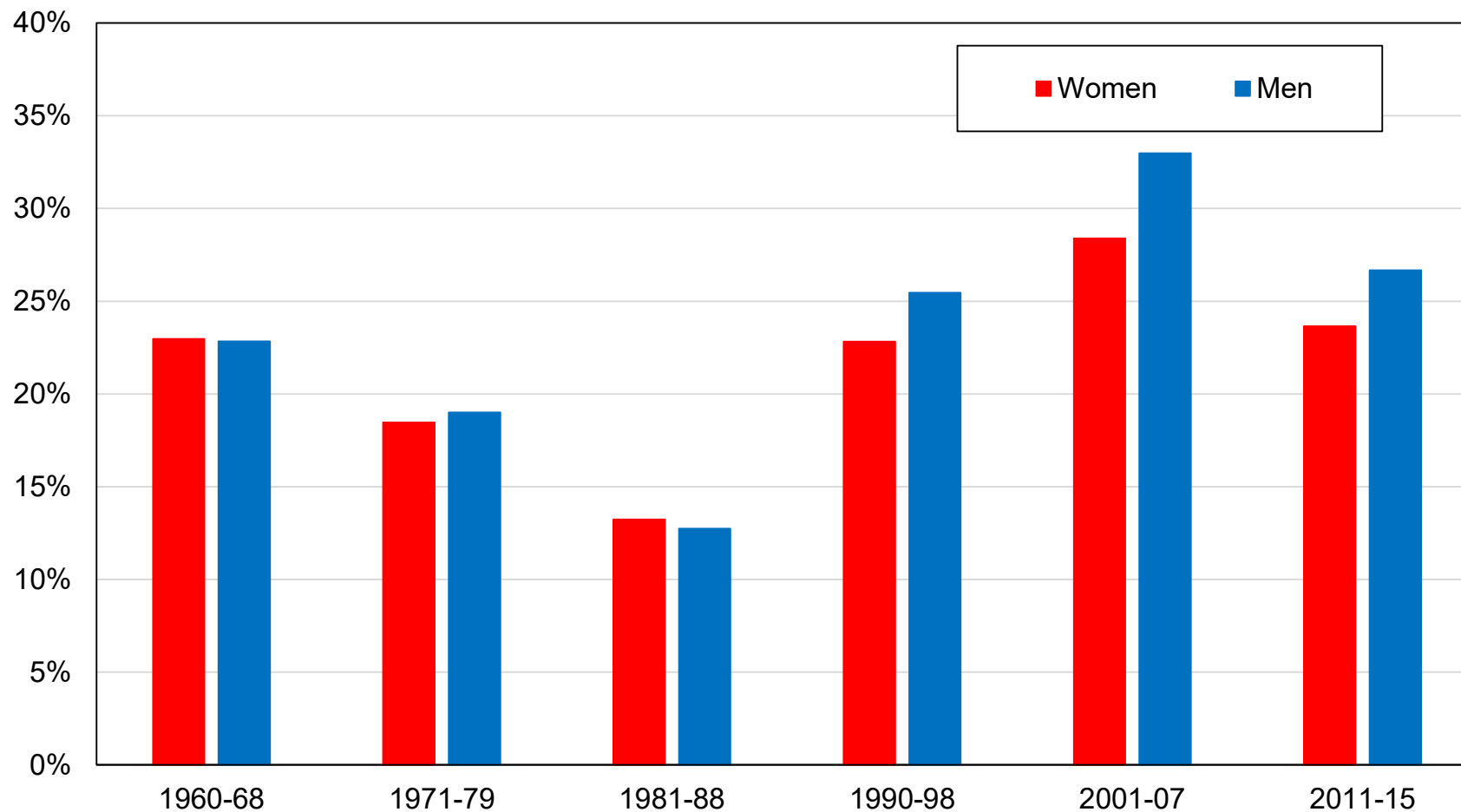
**Figure BC32 - Vote for the Venstre by income group in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Venstre by income group.

**Figure BC33 - Vote for the Venstre by gender in Denmark**

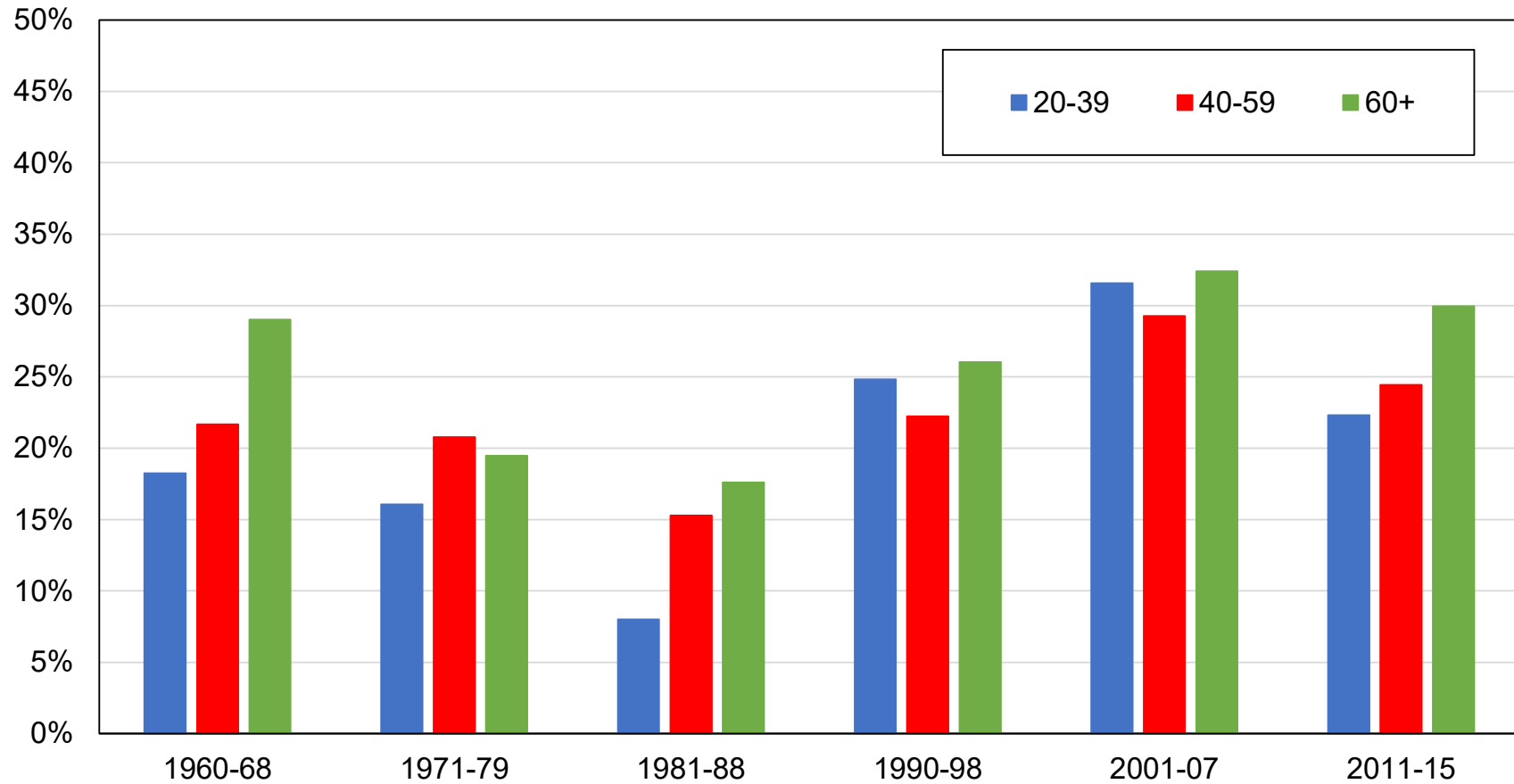


**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Venstre by gender.



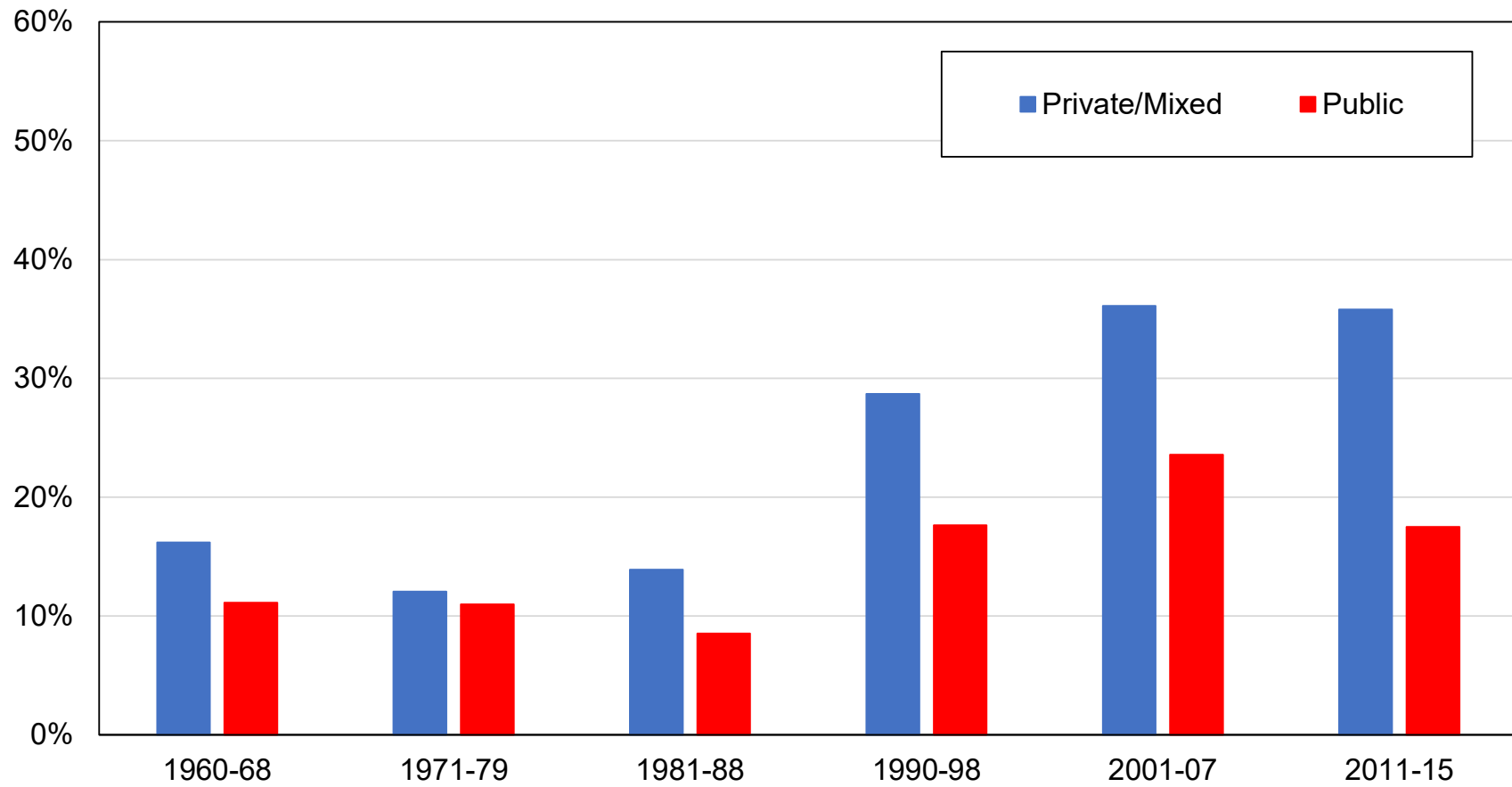
**Figure BC34 - Vote for the Venstre by age group in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Venstre by age group.

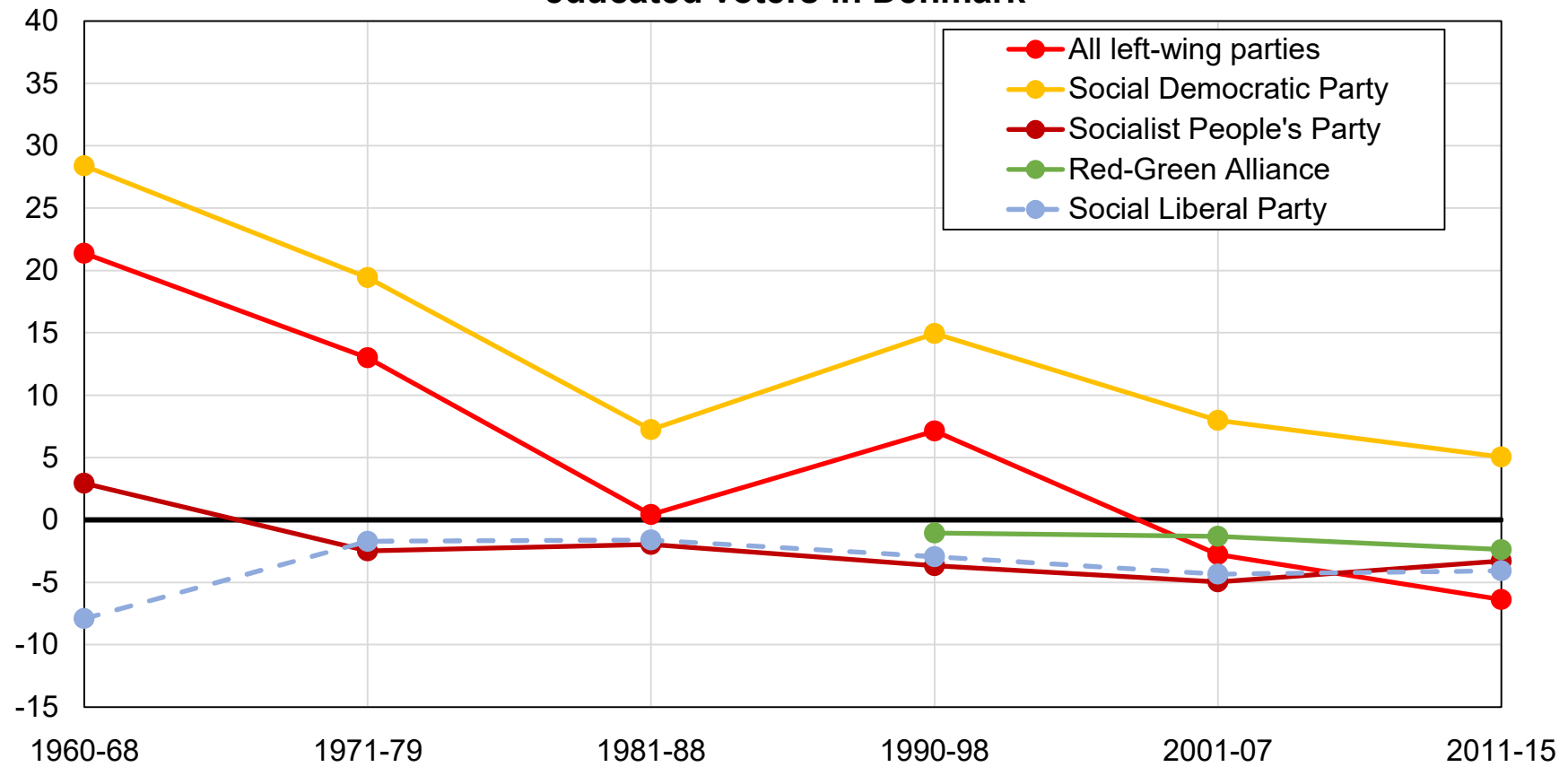
**Figure BC35 - Vote for the Venstre by sector in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Venstre by sector.

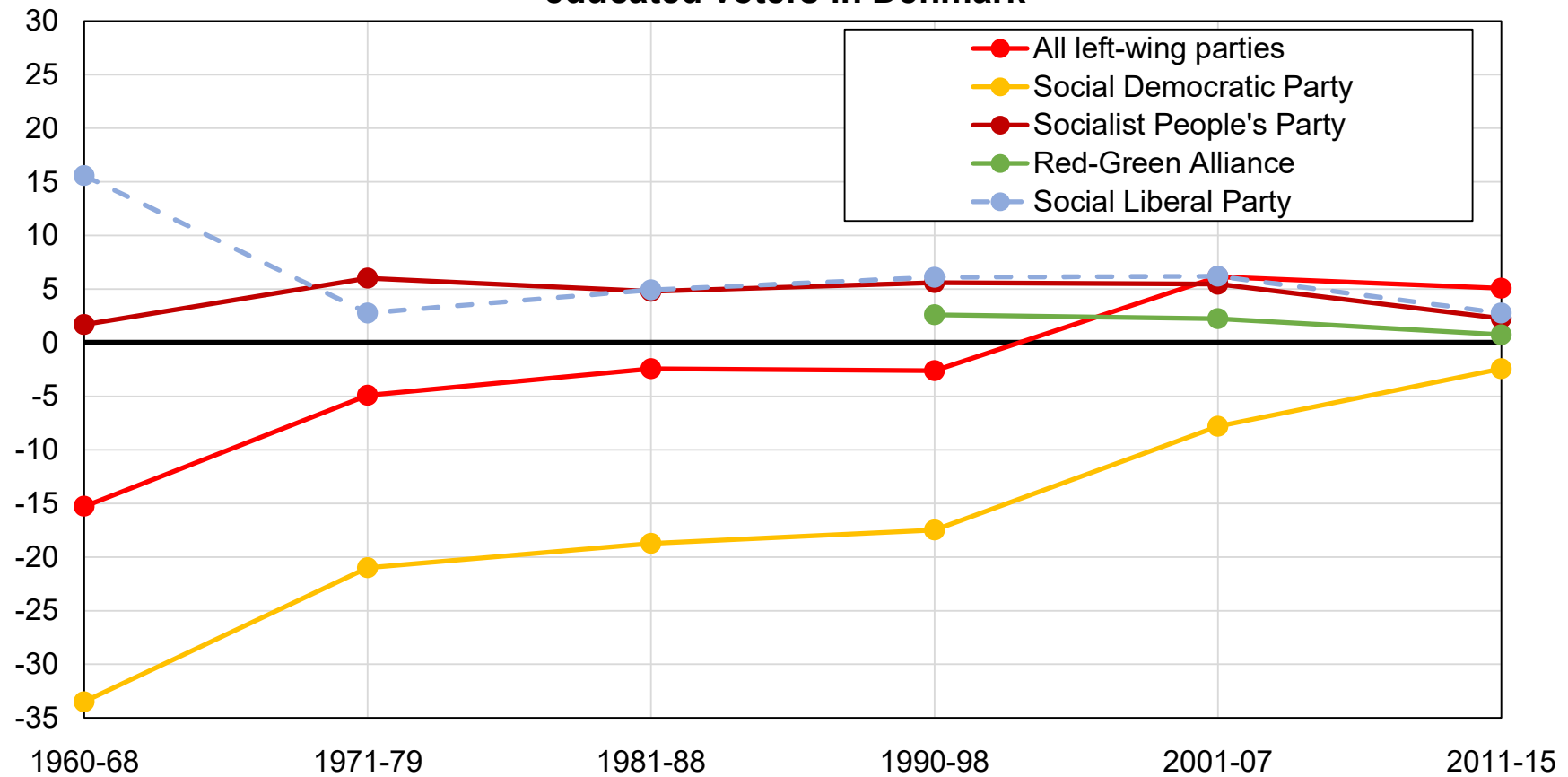
**Figure BC36 - Decomposition of the vote for the left among primary-educated voters in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of primary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for the main left-wing parties, after controls. Given its peculiar ideological position, the Social Liberal Party is represented with a dashed line.

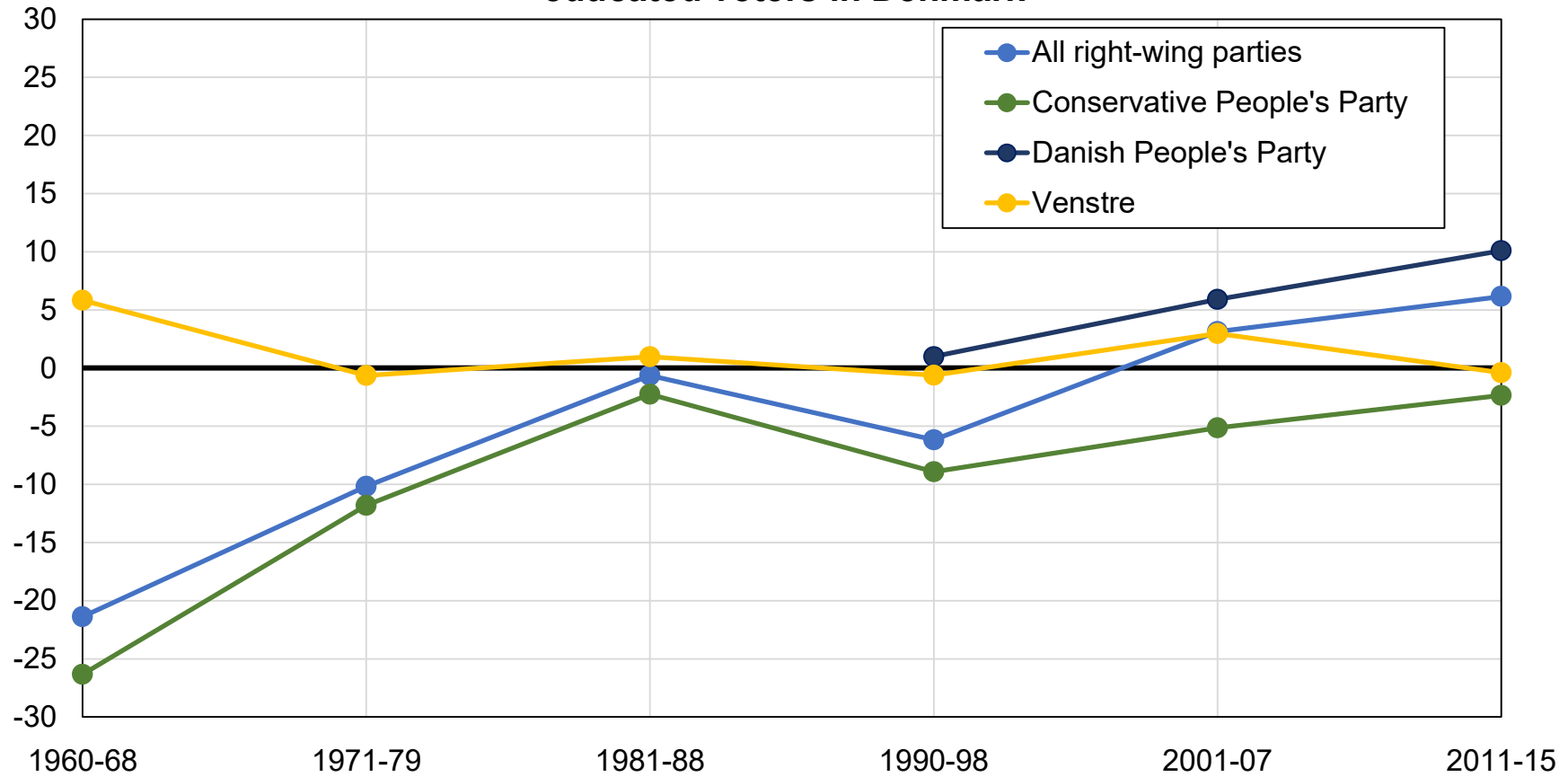
**Figure BC37 - Decomposition of the vote for the left among tertiary-educated voters in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of tertiary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for the main left-wing parties, after controls. Given its peculiar ideological position, the Social Liberal Party is represented with a dashed line.

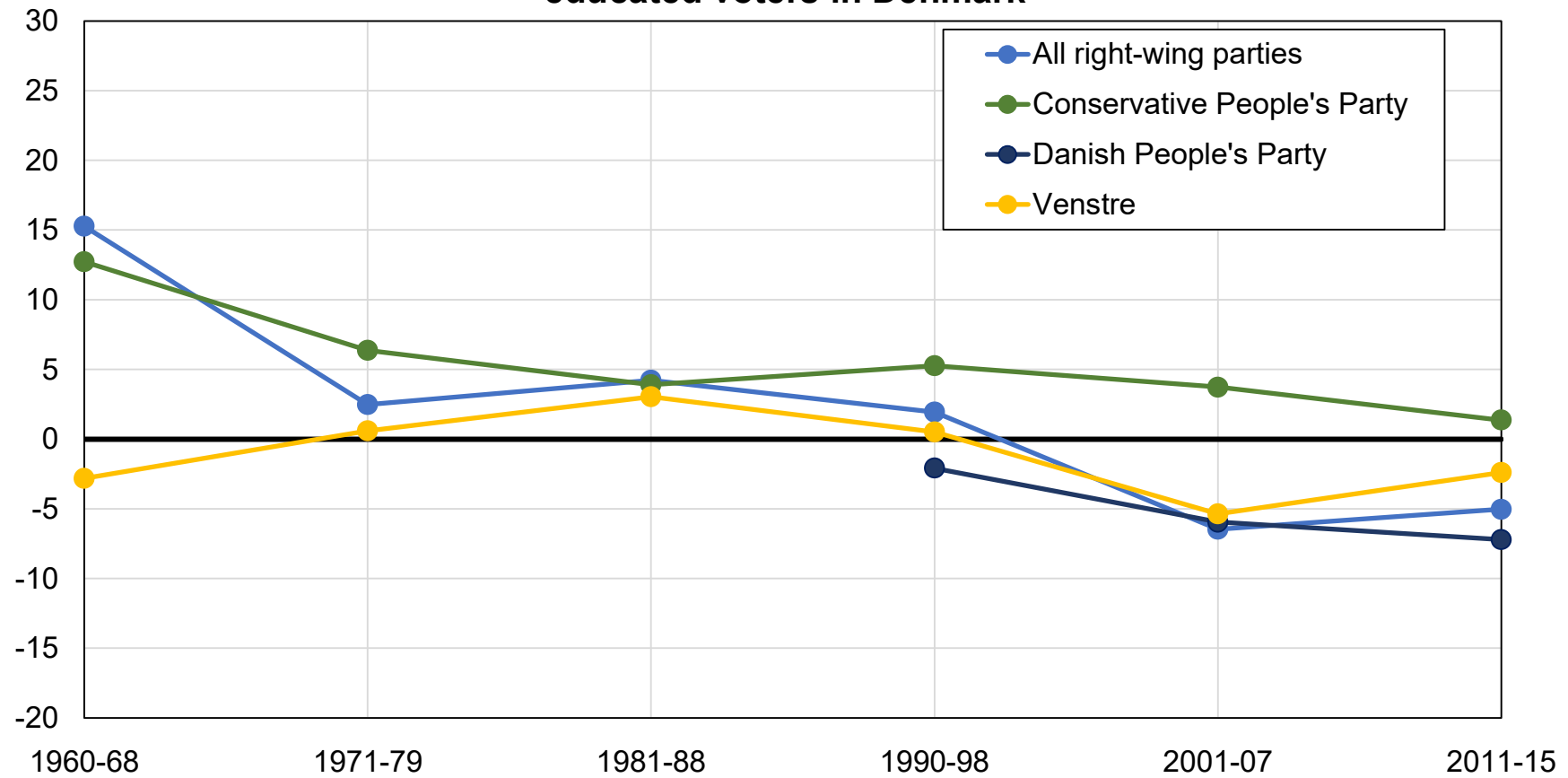
**Figure BC38 - Decomposition of the vote for the right among primary-educated voters in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of primary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for the main right-wing parties, after controls.

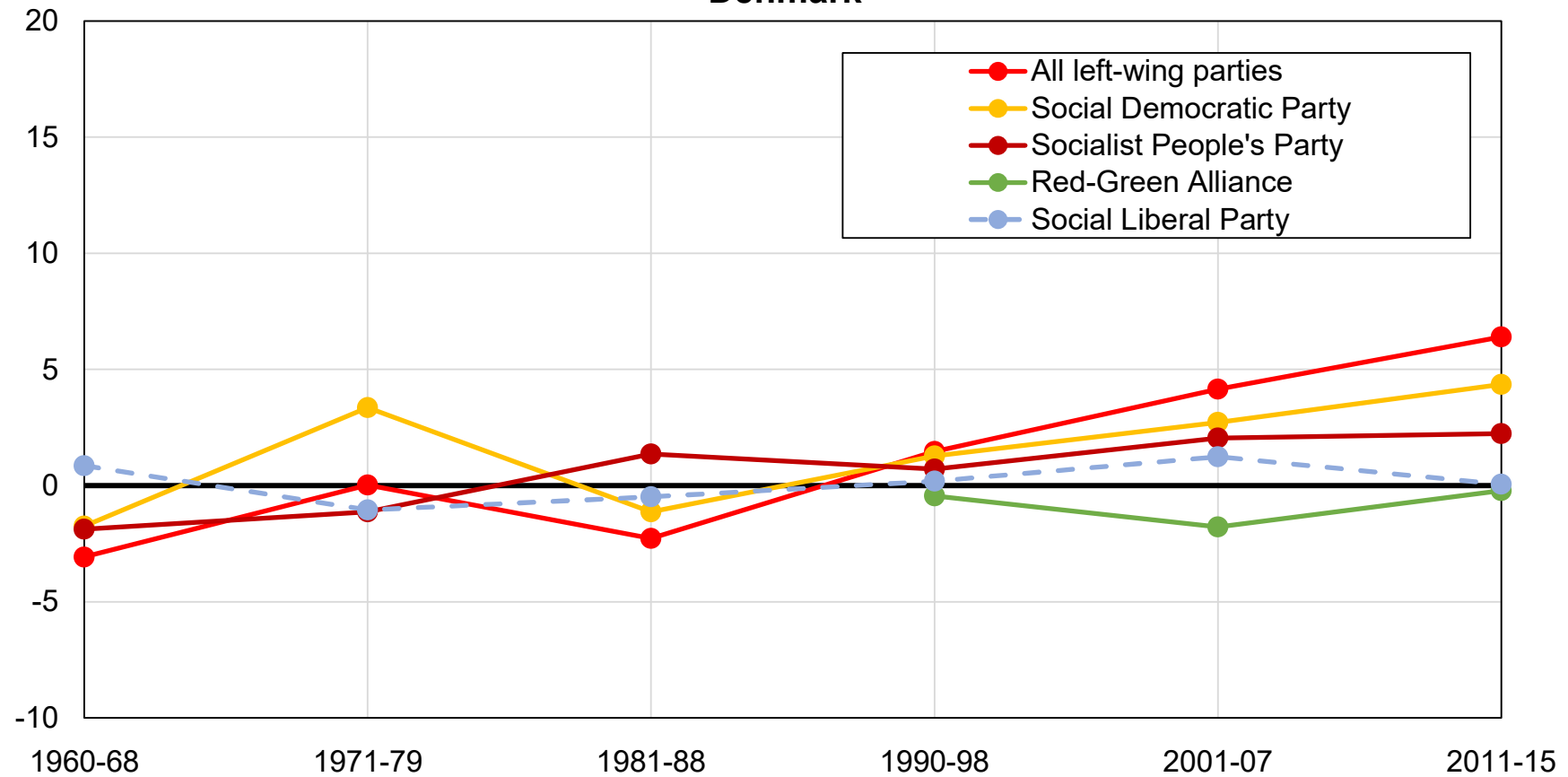
**Figure BC39 - Decomposition of the vote for the right among tertiary-educated voters in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of tertiary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for the main right-wing parties, after controls.

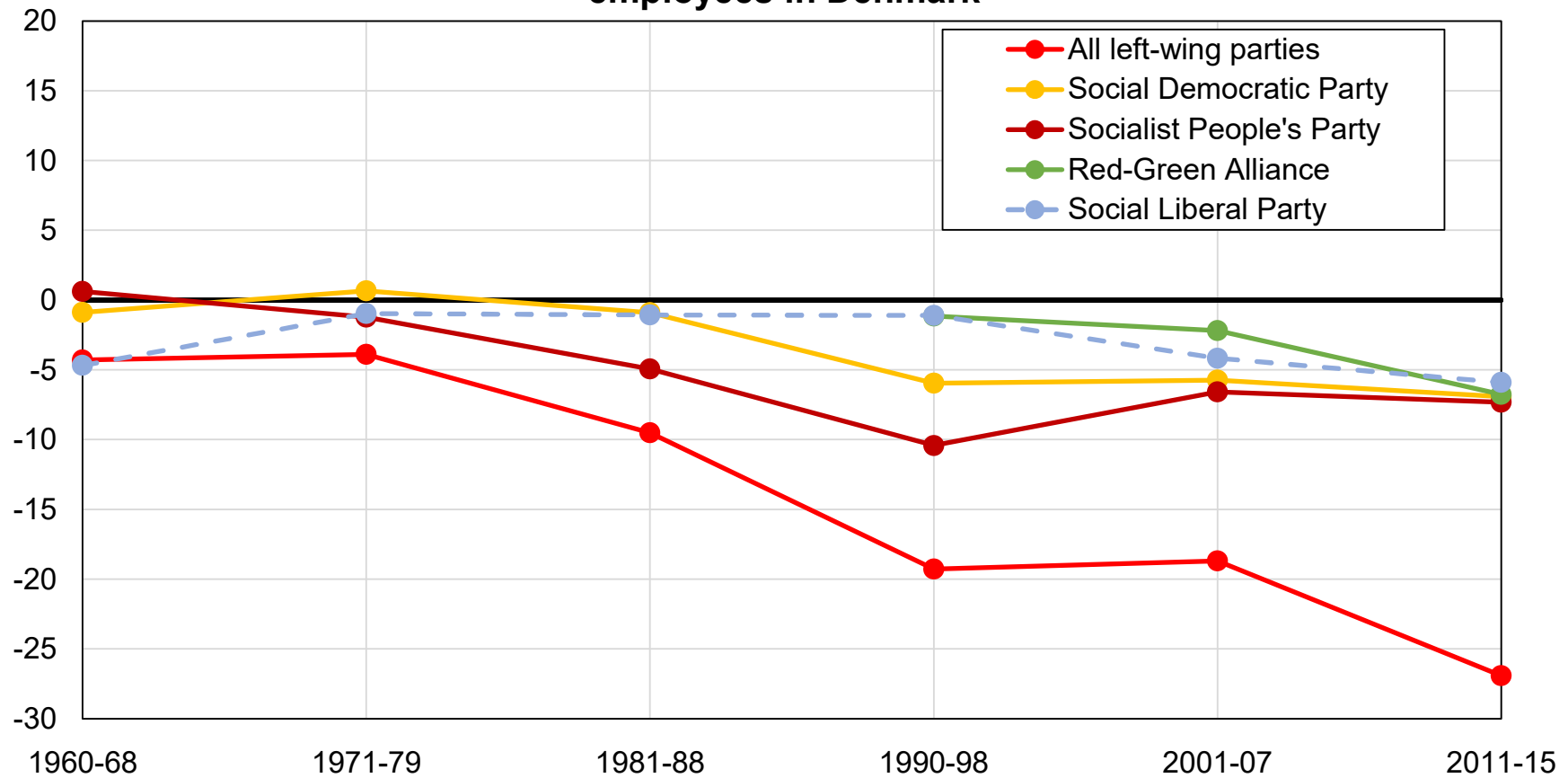
**Figure BC40 - Decomposition of the vote for the left among women in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for the main left-wing parties, after controls. Given its peculiar ideological position, the Social Liberal Party is represented with a dashed line.

**Figure BC41 - Decomposition of the vote for left among private sector employees in Denmark**

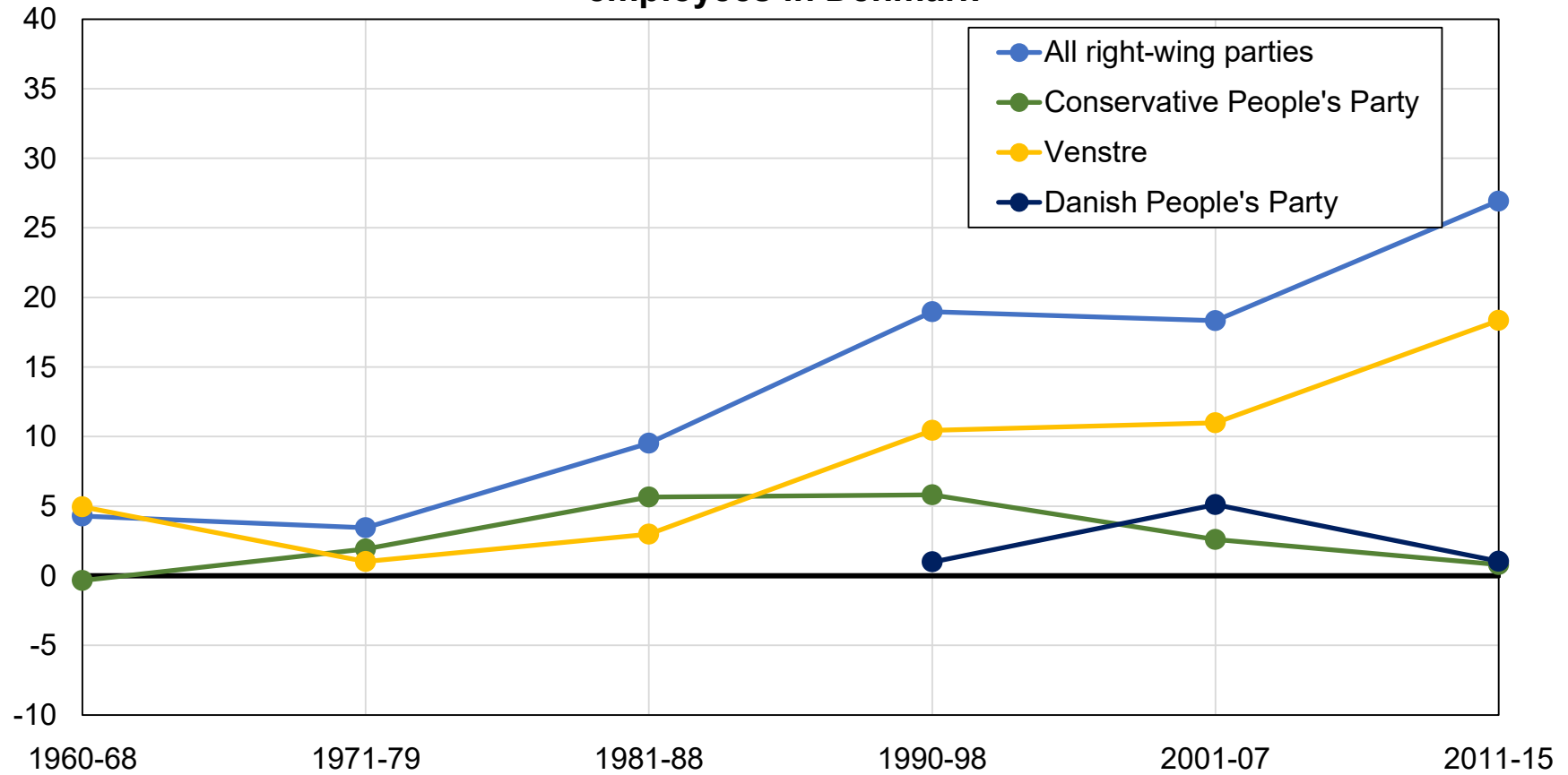


**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of private sector employees and the share of public sector employees voting for the main left-wing parties, after controls. Given its peculiar ideological position, the Social Liberal Party is represented with a dashed line.



**Figure BC42 - Decomposition of the vote for right among private sector employees in Denmark**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of private sector employees and the share of public sector employees voting for the main right-wing parties, after controls.

**Table BD1 - Survey data sources in Denmark**

Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
1960	Election Study 1971	Danish National Archives	793
1964	Election Study 1971	Danish National Archives	925
1966	Election Study 1971	Danish National Archives	1019
1968	Election Study 1971	Danish National Archives	1094
1971	Election Study 1971	Danish National Archives	1302
1973	Election Study 1973	Danish National Archives	533
1975	Election Study 1975	Danish National Archives	1600
1977	Election Study 1977	Danish National Archives	1602
1979	Election Study 1979	Danish National Archives	1990
1981	Election Study 1981	Danish National Archives	969
1984	Election Study 1984	Danish National Archives	1991
1987	Election Study 1987	Danish National Archives	4088
1988	Election Study 1988	Danish National Archives	3189
1990	Election Study 1990	Danish National Archives	1008
1994	Election Study 1994	Danish National Archives	2021
1998	Election Study 1998	Danish National Archives	2001
2001	Election Study 2001	Danish National Archives	2029
2005	Election Study 2005	Danish National Archives	2265
2007	Election Study 2007	Danish National Archives	4018
2011	Election Study 2011	Danish National Archives	2078
2015	Election Study 2015	Danish National Archives	4147

**Source:** authors' elaboration.

**Note:** the table shows the surveys used in the paper, the source from which these surveys can be obtained, and the sample size of each survey. Data for the 1960s have been obtained through survey's retrospective questions.

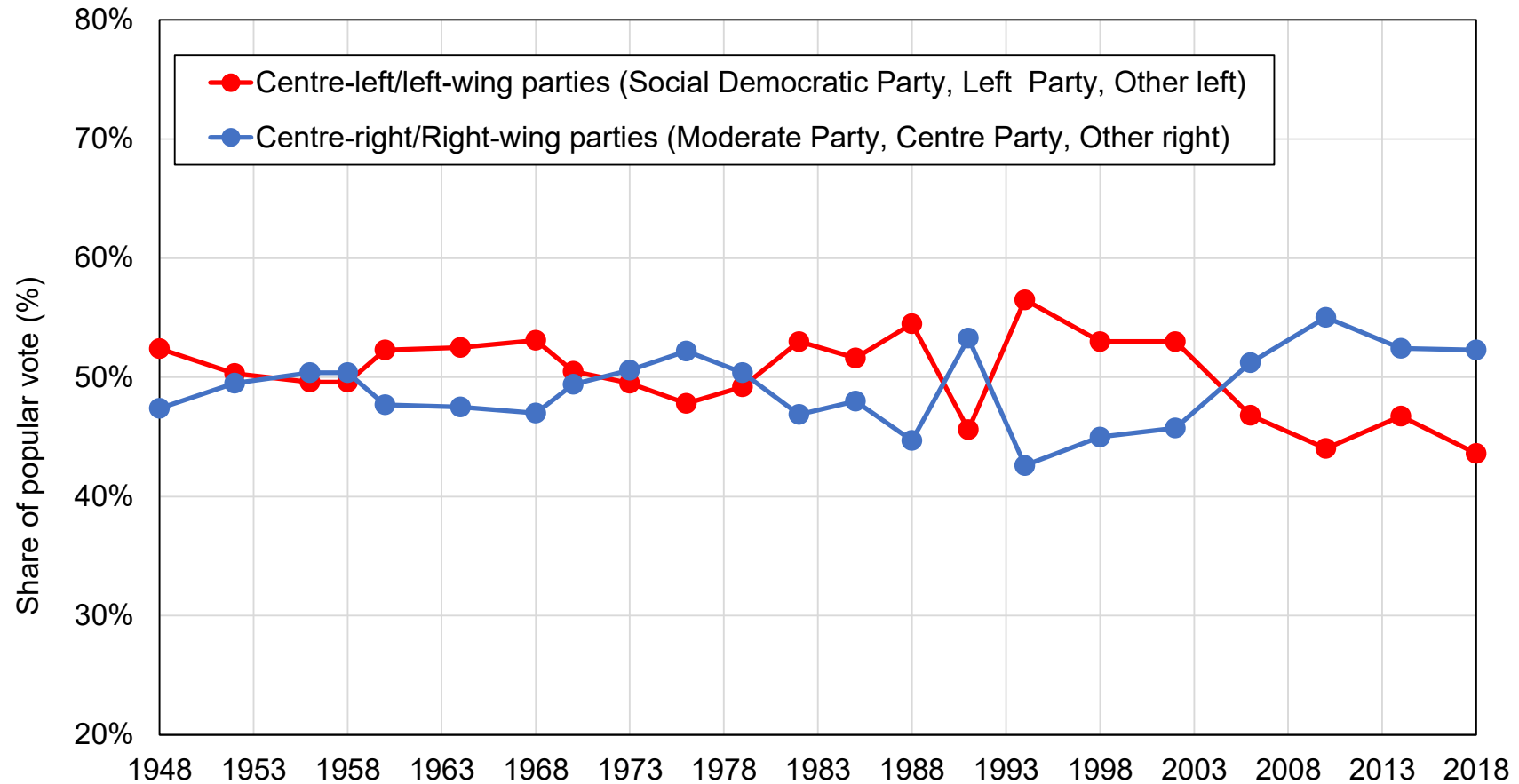
**Table BD2 - Complete descriptive statistics by decade in Denmark**

	1960-68	1971-79	1981-88	1990-98	2001-07	2011-15
Age: 20-39	40%	33%	40%	39%	29%	36%
Age: 40-59	35%	33%	31%	35%	38%	37%
Age: 60+	25%	34%	29%	26%	33%	27%
Subjective class: Working class	41%	42%	39%	34%	0%	24%
Subjective class: Middle /Upper/ No class	59%	58%	61%	66%	0%	76%
Education: Primary	81%	70%	69%	41%	30%	25%
Education: Secondary	15%	21%	17%	34%	39%	49%
Education: Tertiary	4%	9%	14%	26%	30%	27%
Employment status: Employed public	17%	19%	23%	25%	22%	29%
Employment status: Employed private	38%	32%	35%	35%	35%	44%
Employment status: Unemployed/Inactive	45%	49%	42%	40%	44%	26%
Home ownership: Renting	42%	32%	30%	29%	26%	32%
Home ownership: Owning	58%	68%	70%	71%	74%	68%
Marital status: Single	22%	22%	34%	34%	33%	49%
Marital status: Married / Partner	78%	78%	66%	66%	67%	51%
Region: Capital	22%	24%	27%	24%	30%	26%
Region: Central Jutland	30%	26%	34%	23%	23%	28%
Region: Northern Jutland	14%	10%	11%	9%	9%	9%
Region: Southern Denmark	15%	21%	11%	25%	23%	24%
Region: Zealand	19%	19%	17%	18%	15%	13%
Rural / urban: Urban		68%	71%	81%	79%	62%
Rural / urban: Rural		32%	29%	19%	21%	38%
Sector: Private/Mixed	69%	62%	60%	59%	61%	60%
Sector: Public	31%	38%	40%	41%	39%	40%
Gender: Women	51%	51%	54%	49%	47%	50%
Gender: Men	49%	49%	46%	51%	53%	50%
Union membership: Not union member		52%	46%	26%	33%	39%
Union membership: Union member		48%	54%	74%	67%	61%

**Source:** authors' computations using Danish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the table shows descriptive statistics by decade for selected available variables.

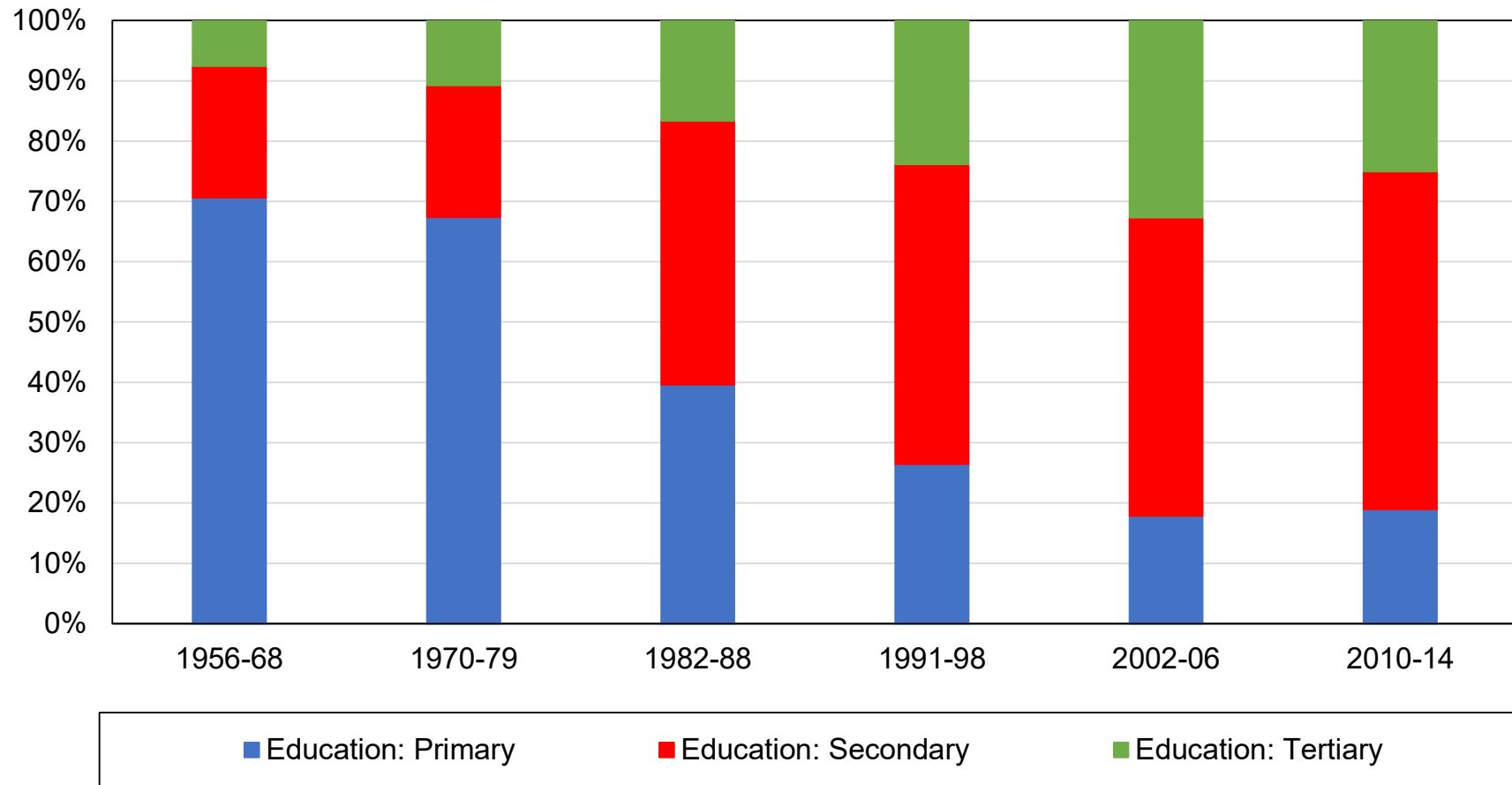
**Figure CA1 - Election results by groups in Sweden, 1948-2018**



**Source:** authors' computations using official election results.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Swedish political parties in general elections between 1948 and 2018. Parties with other political orientation and with a share of votes below 2% are not included in the graph.

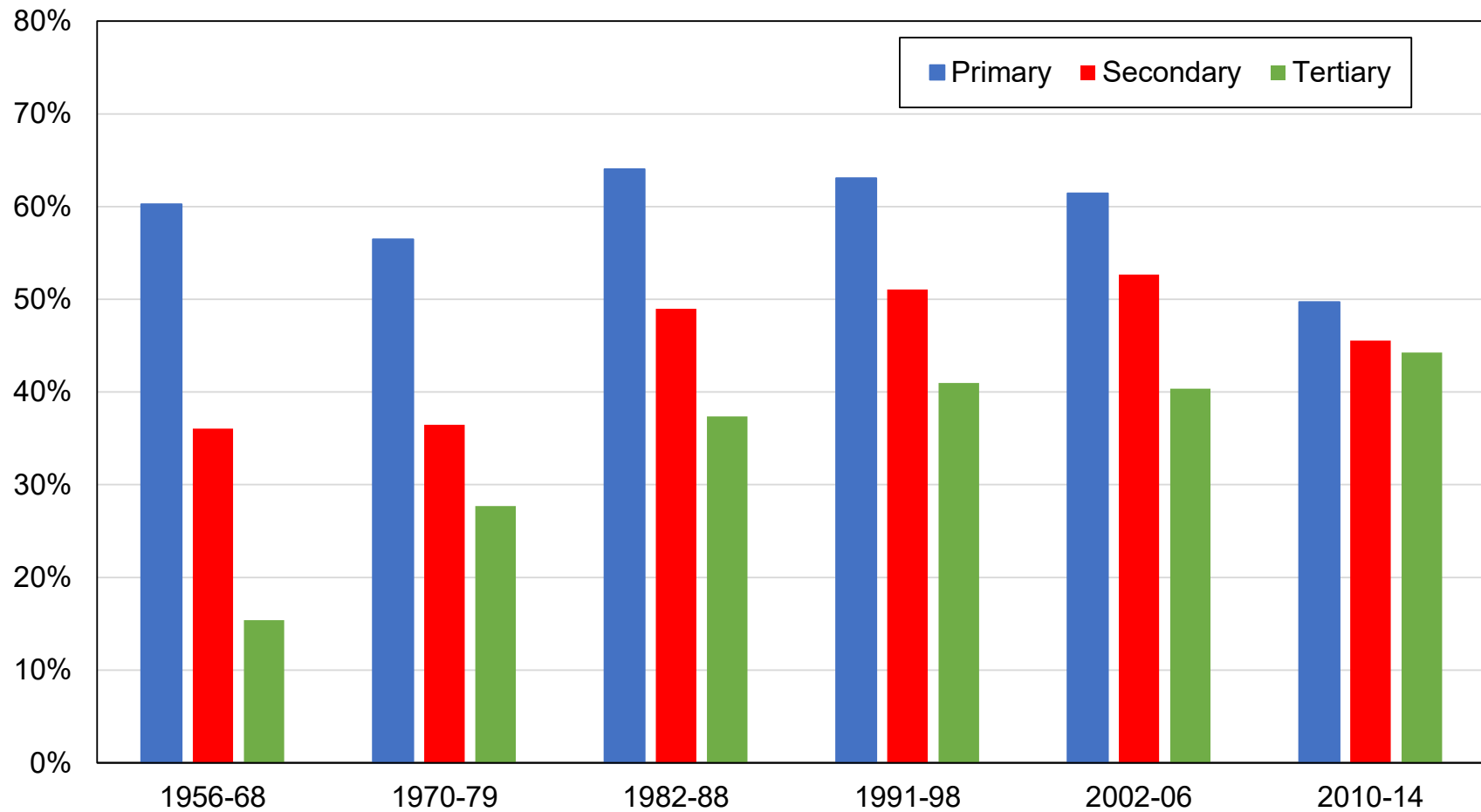
**Figure CA2 - The evolution of education in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the distribution of education levels of the Swedish adult population and its evolution over time since the 1960s.

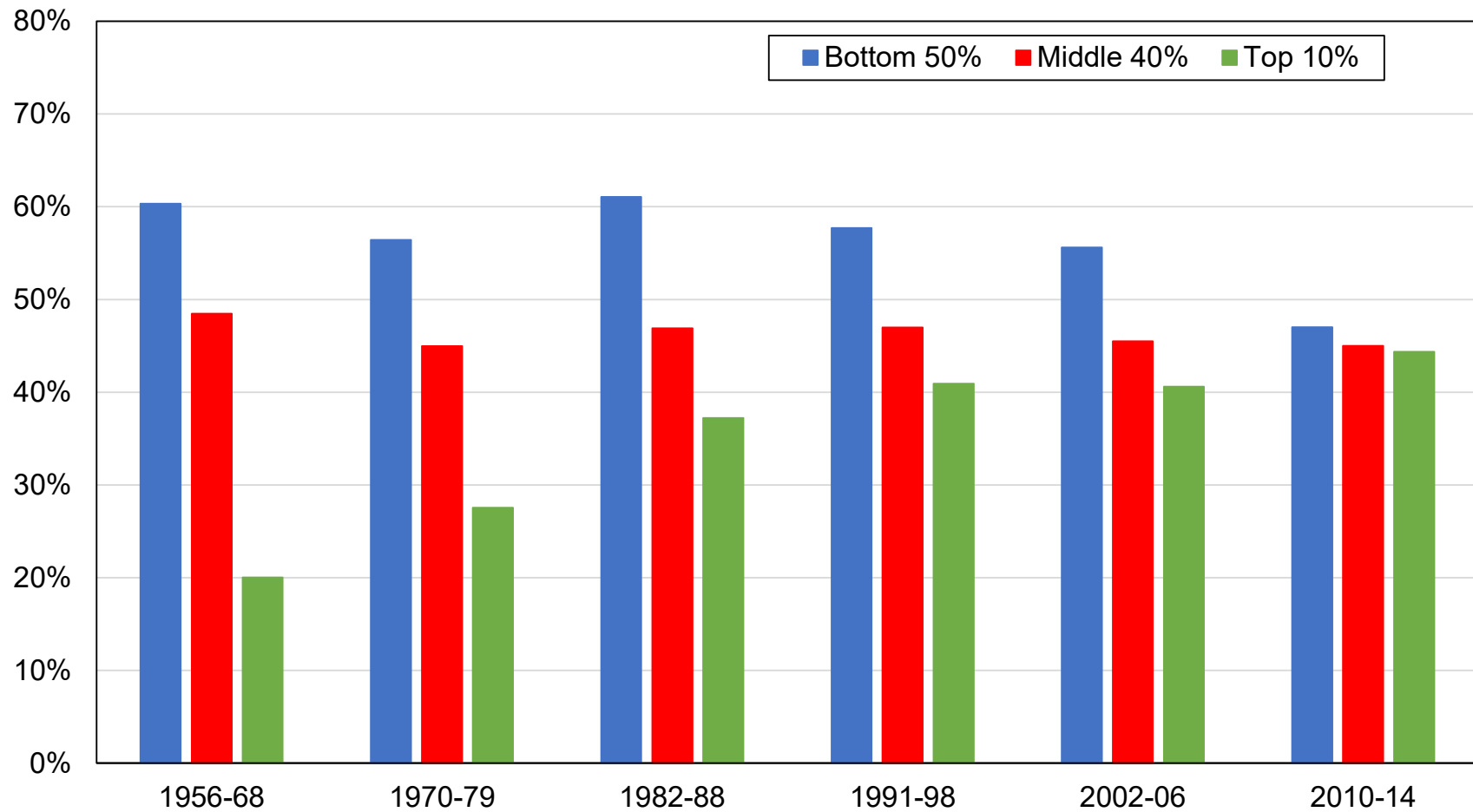
**Figure CB1 - Vote for the left by education level in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by education level.

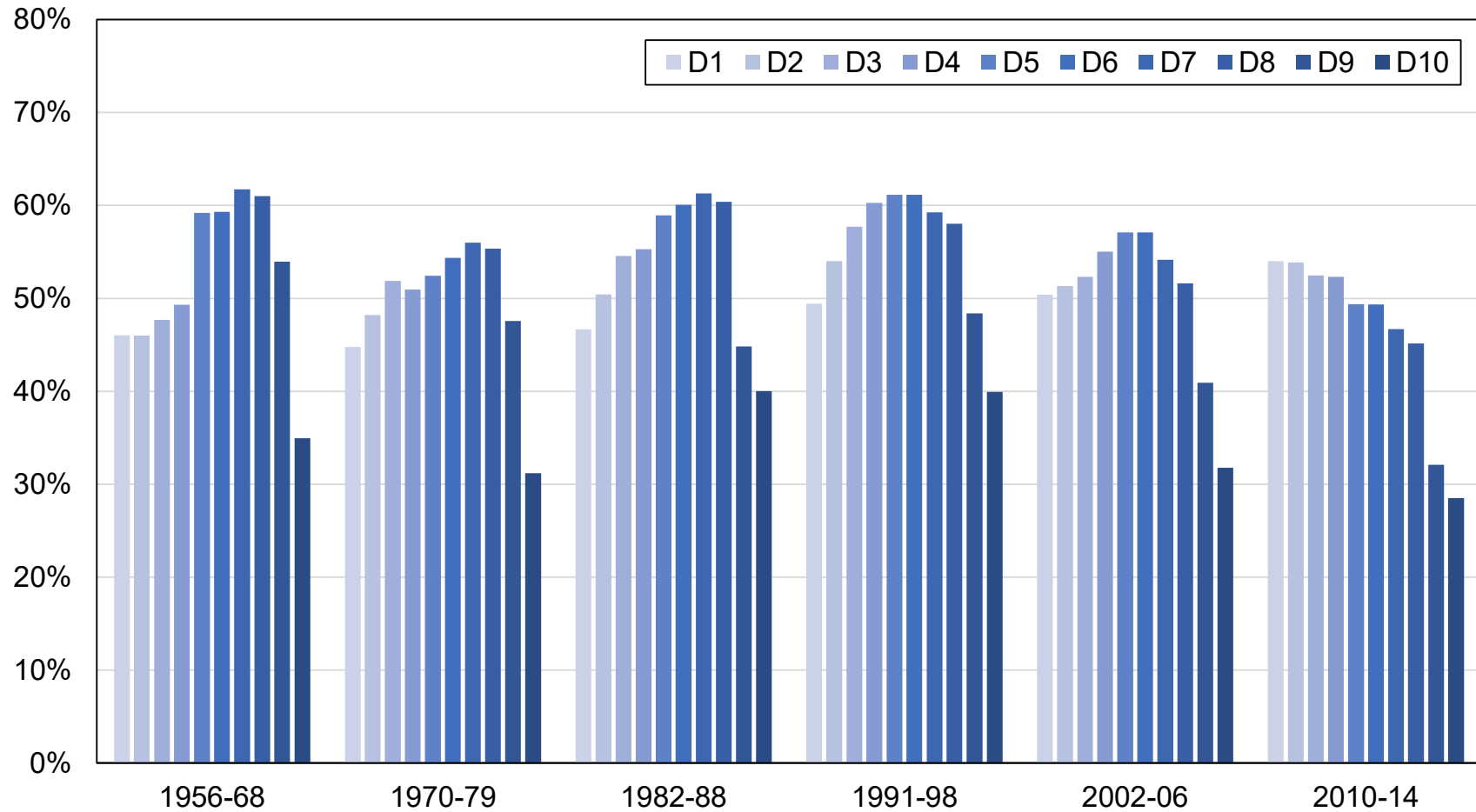
**Figure CB2 - Vote for the left by education group in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by education group.

**Figure CB3 - Vote for the left by income decile in Sweden (bars)**

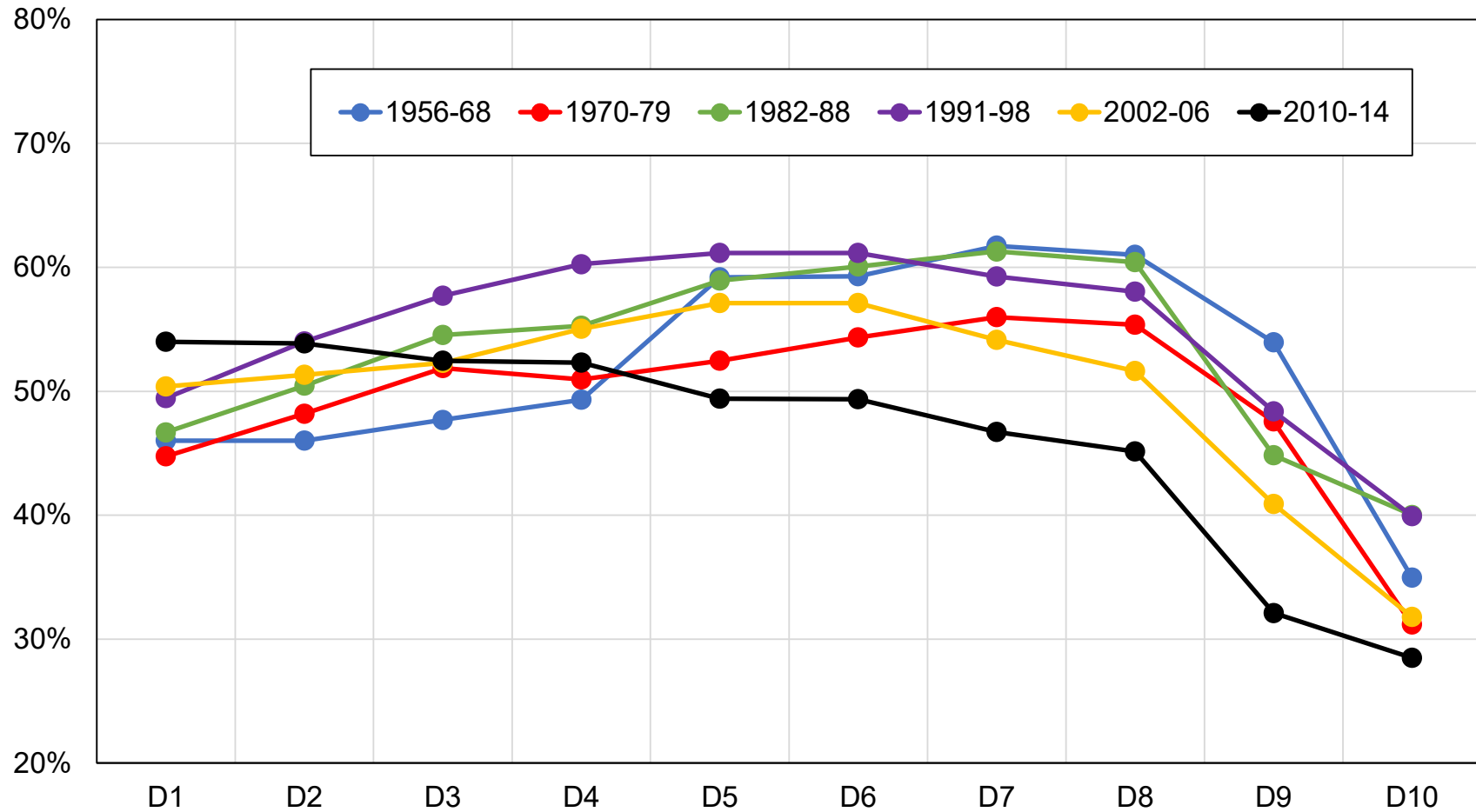


**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income decile.



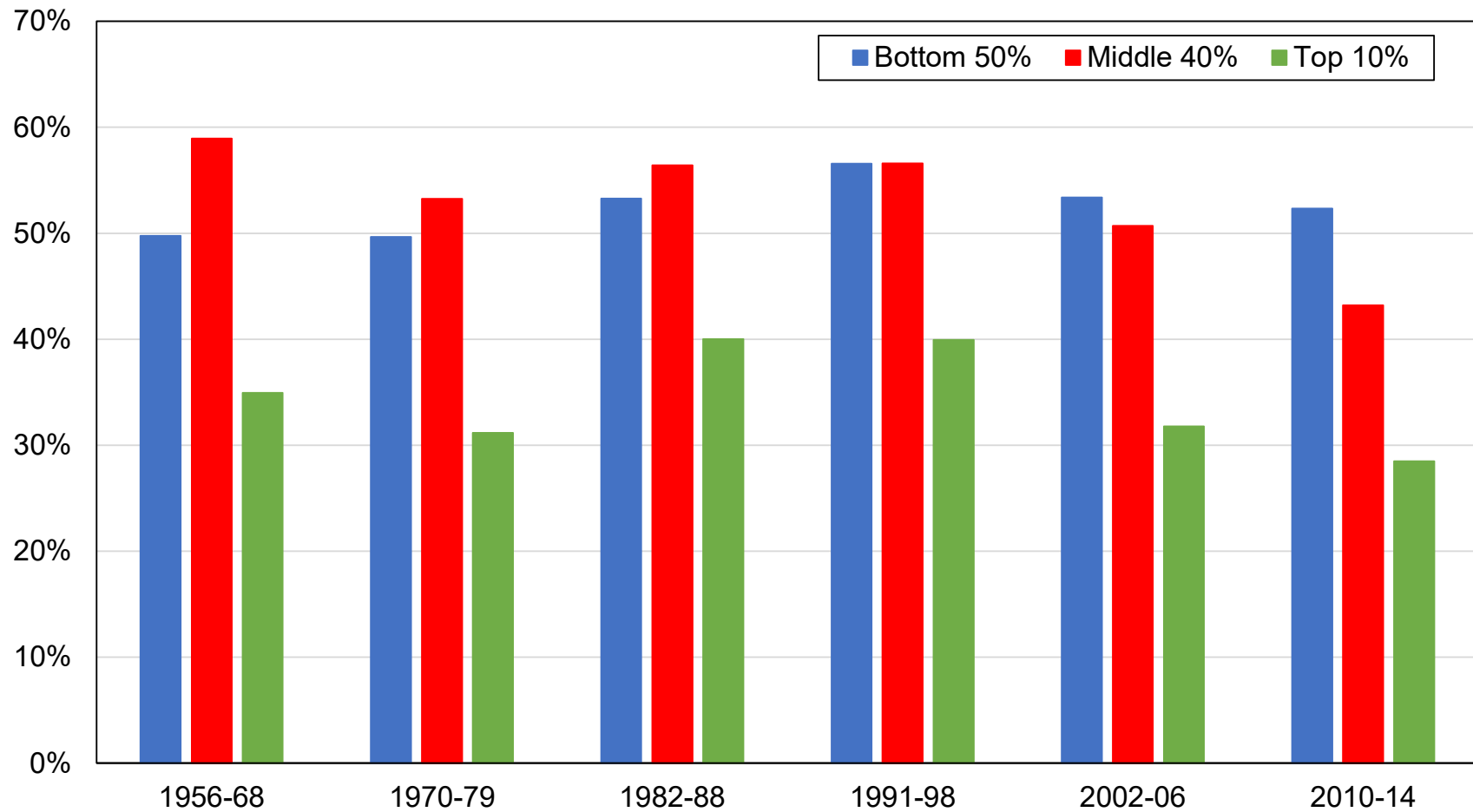
**Figure CB4 - Vote for the left by income decile in Sweden (lines)**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income decile.

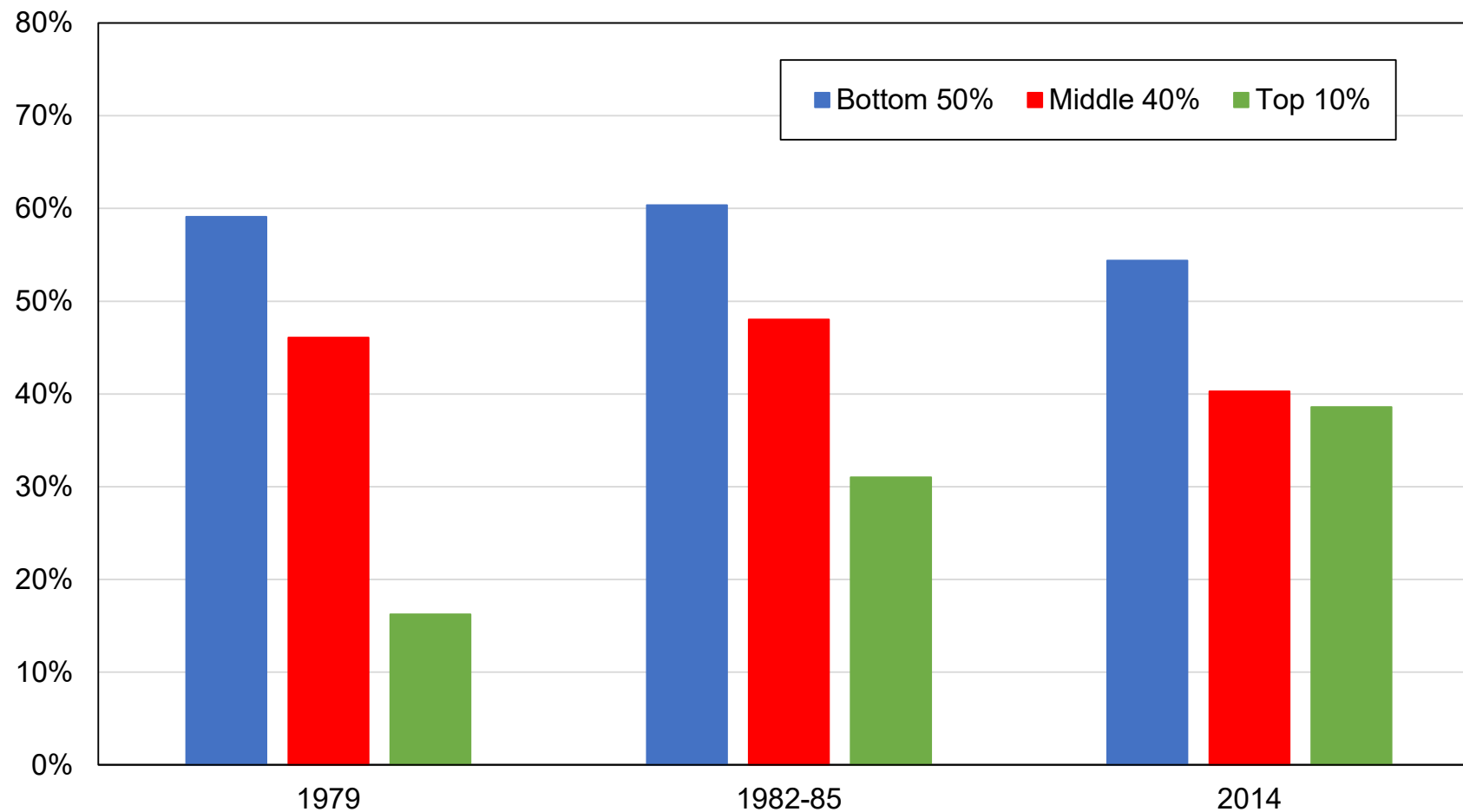
**Figure CB5 - Vote for the left by income group in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income group.

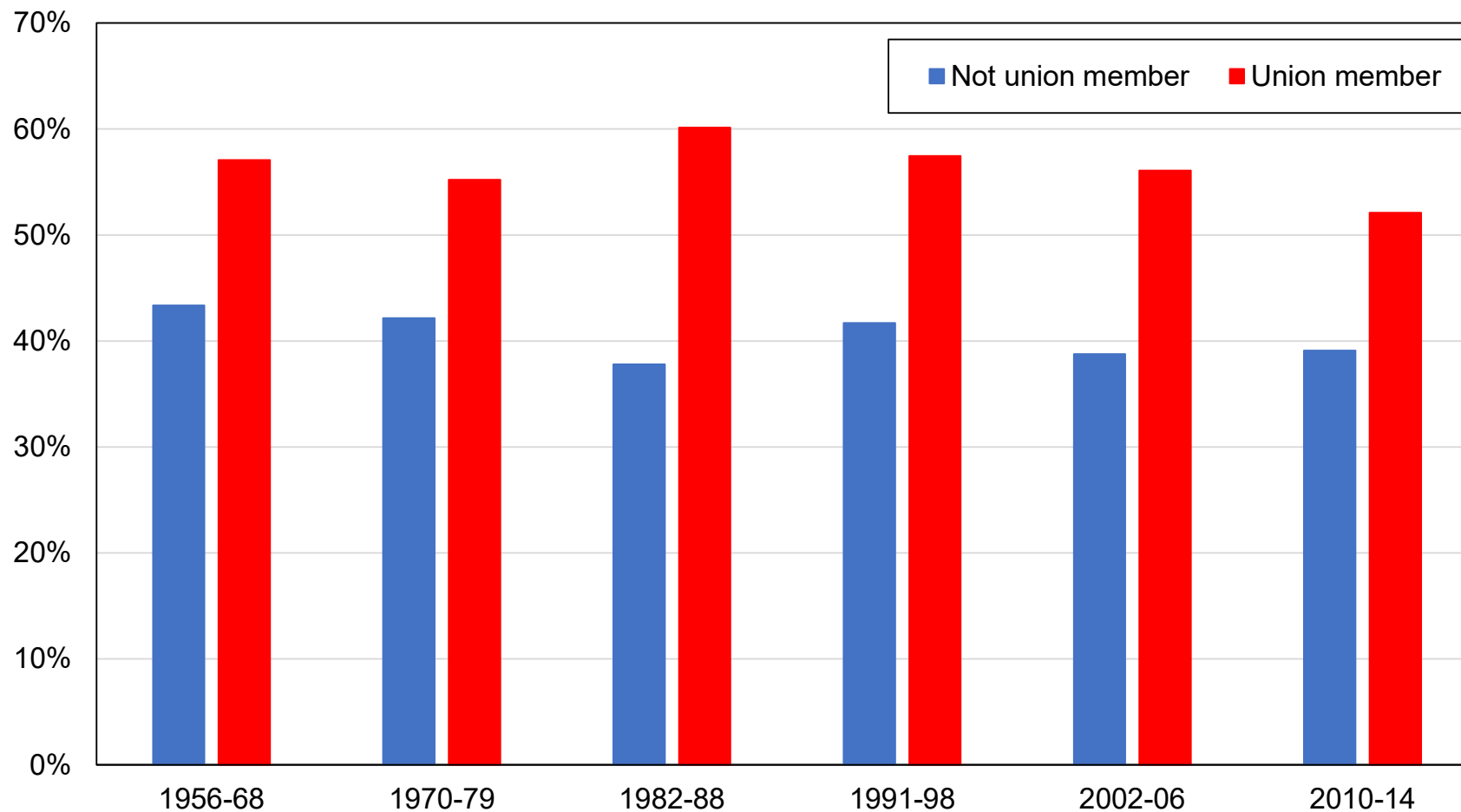
**Figure CB6 - Vote for the left by wealth group in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by wealth group.

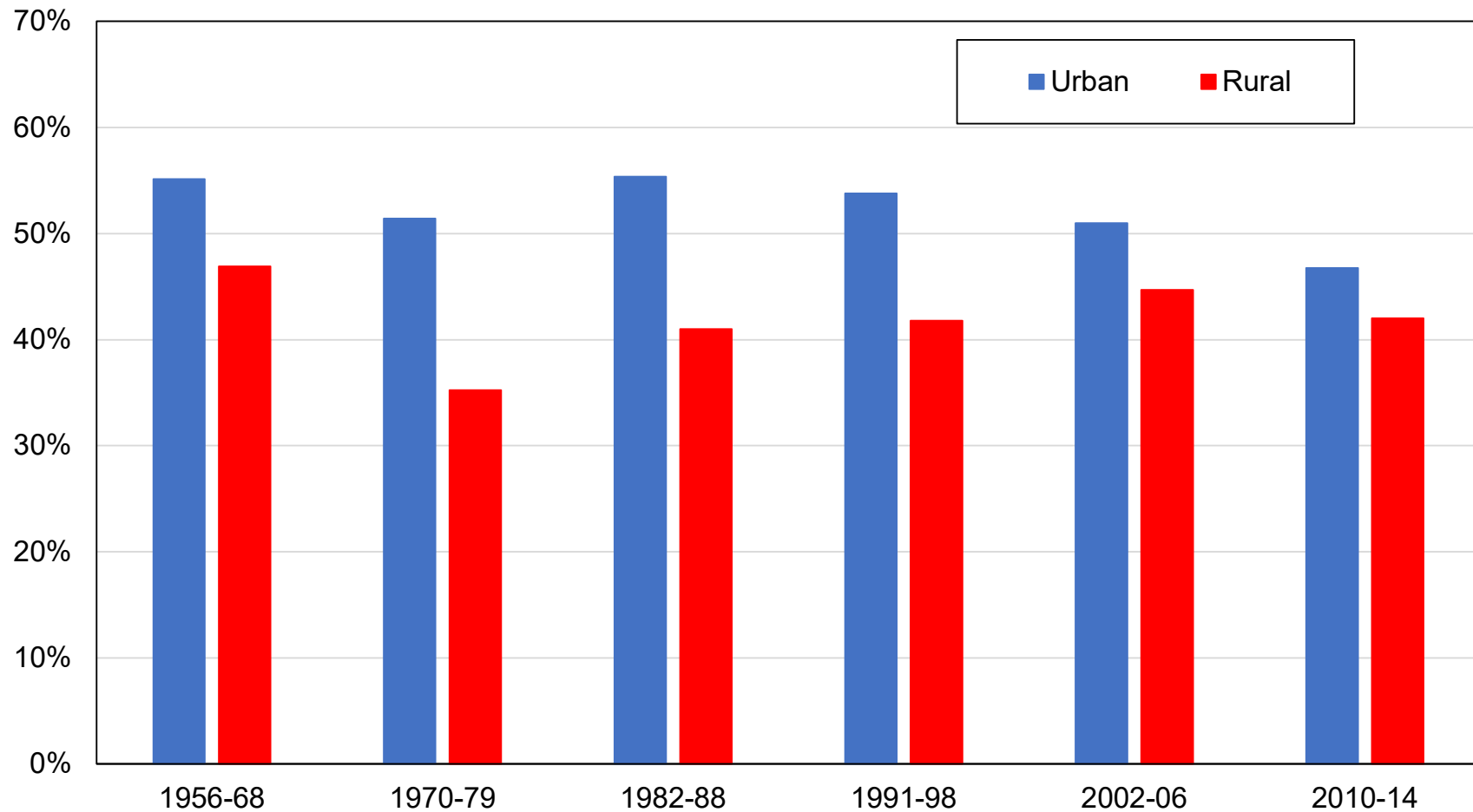
**Figure CB7 - Vote for the left by union membership in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by union membership status.

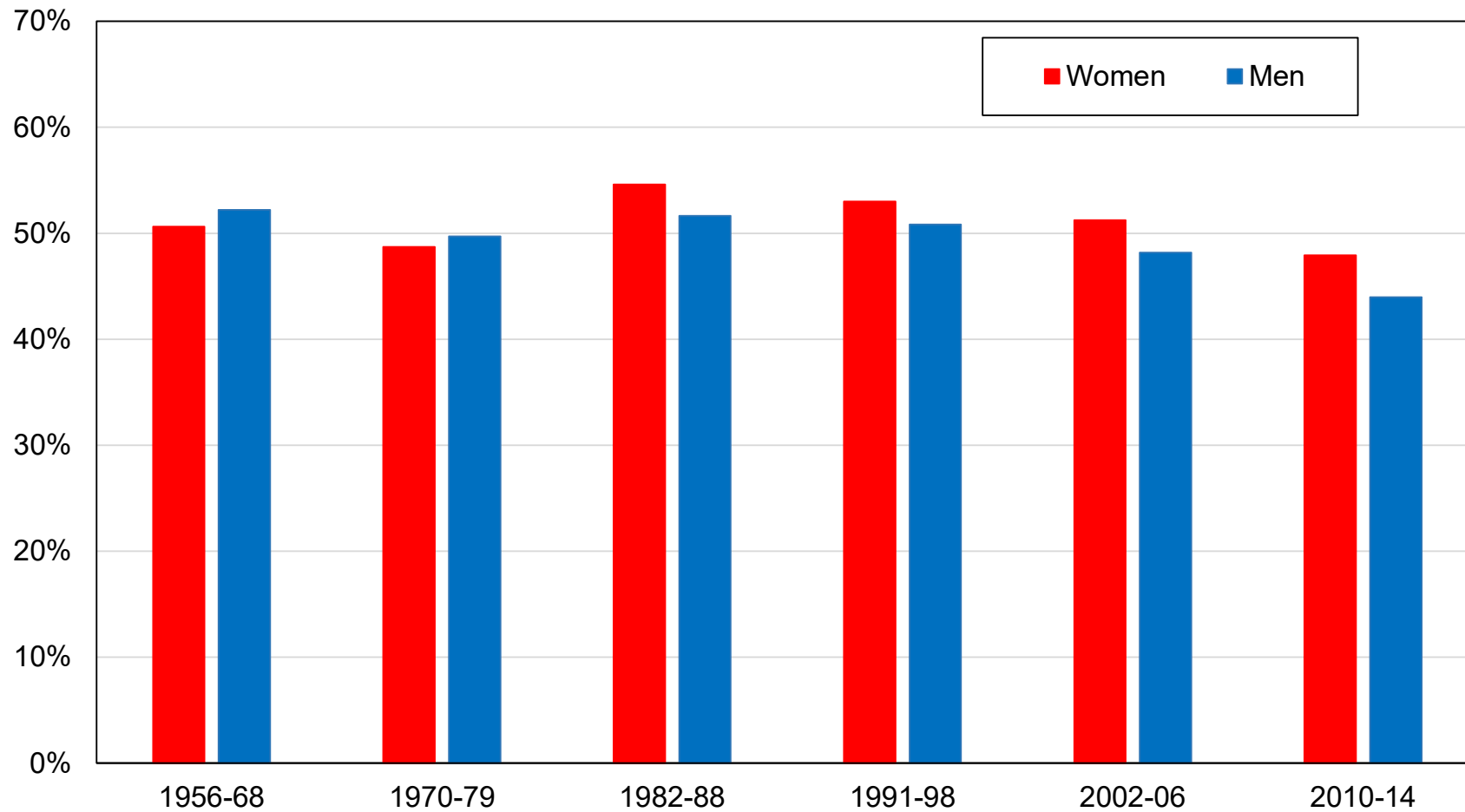
**Figure CB8 - Vote for the left by location in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by rural-urban location.

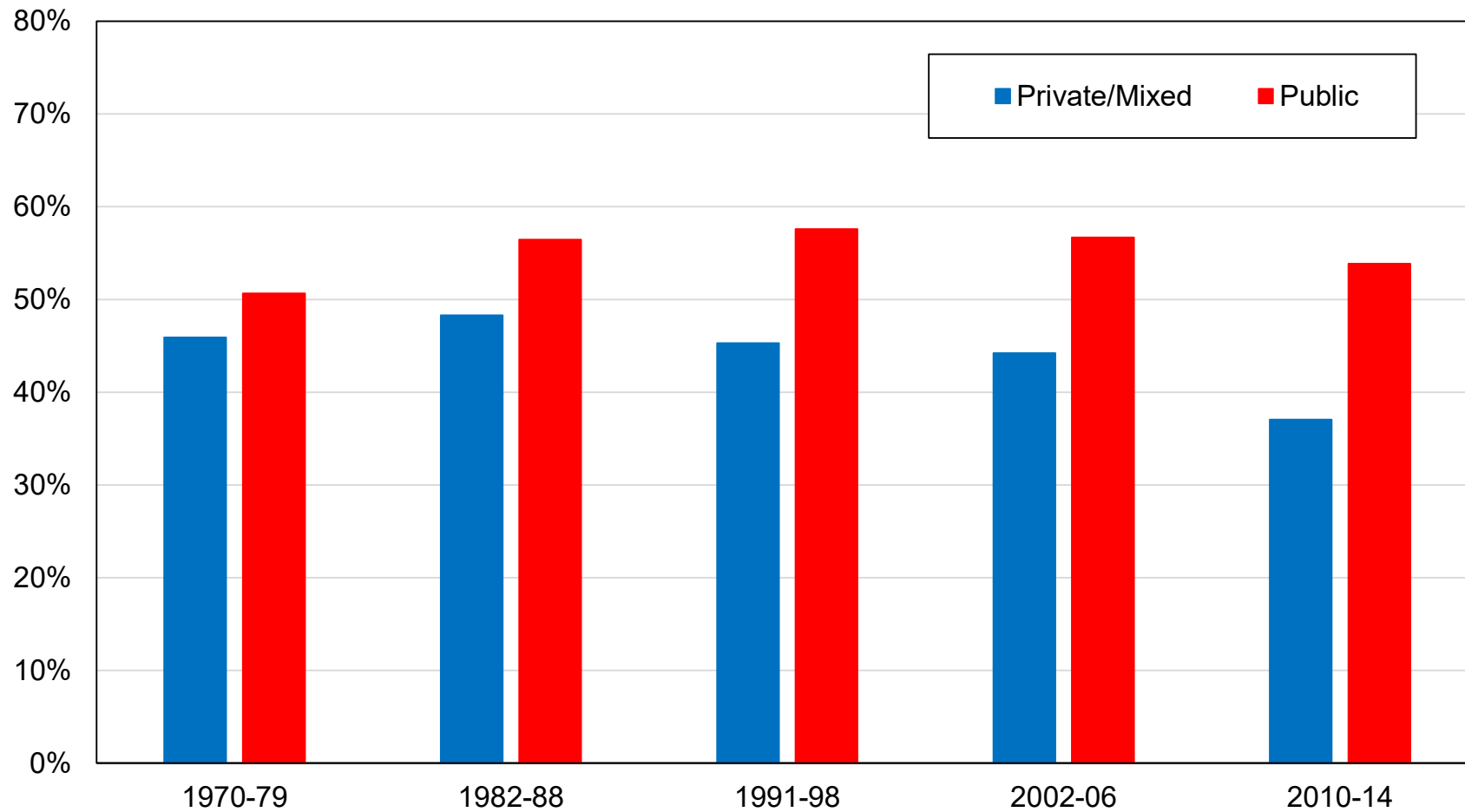
**Figure CB9 - Vote for the left by gender in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by gender.

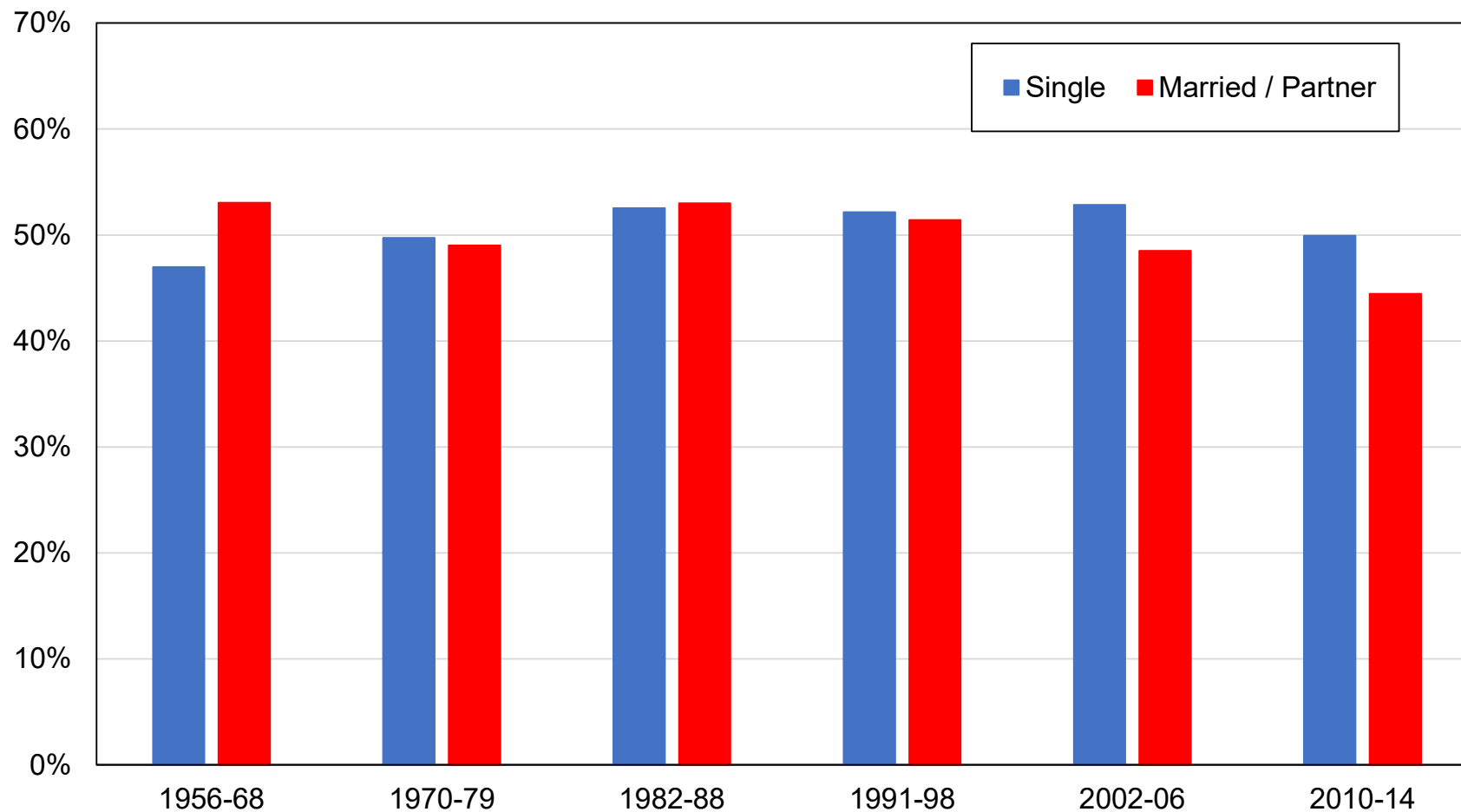
**Figure CB10 - Vote for the left by sector of employment in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by employment sector.

**Figure CB11 - Vote for the left by marital status in Sweden**

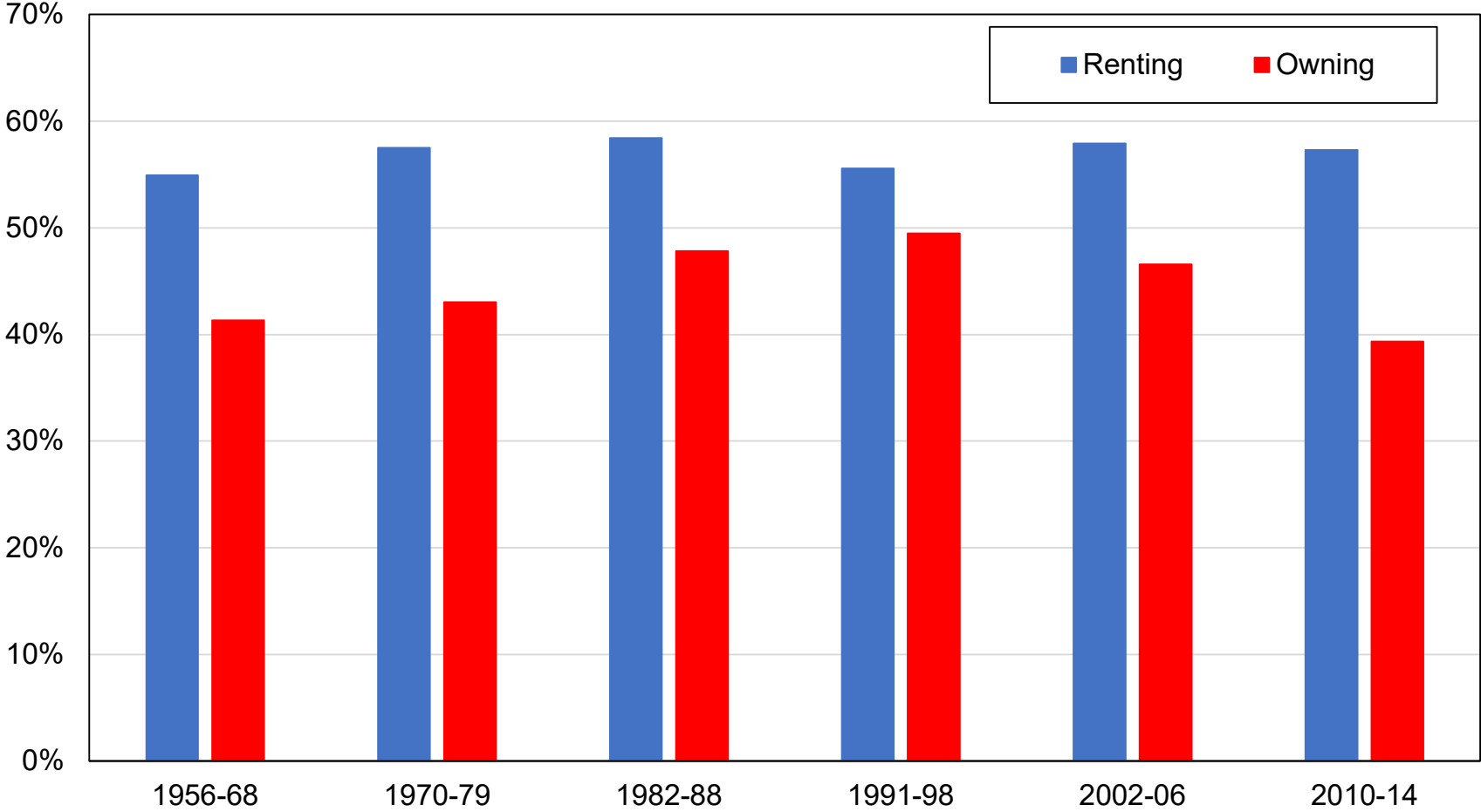


**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by marital status.



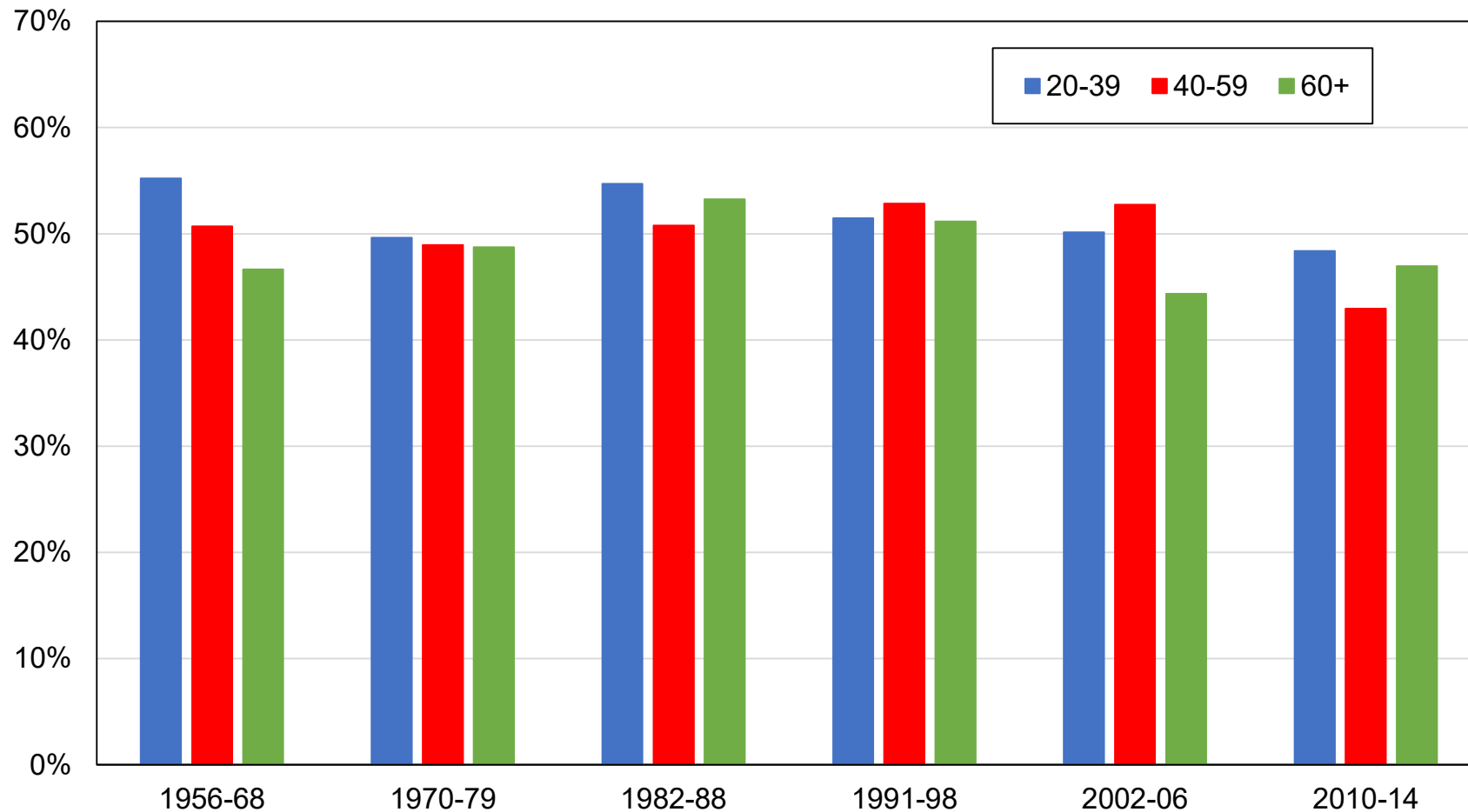
**Figure CB12 - Vote for the left by home status in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by home ownership status.

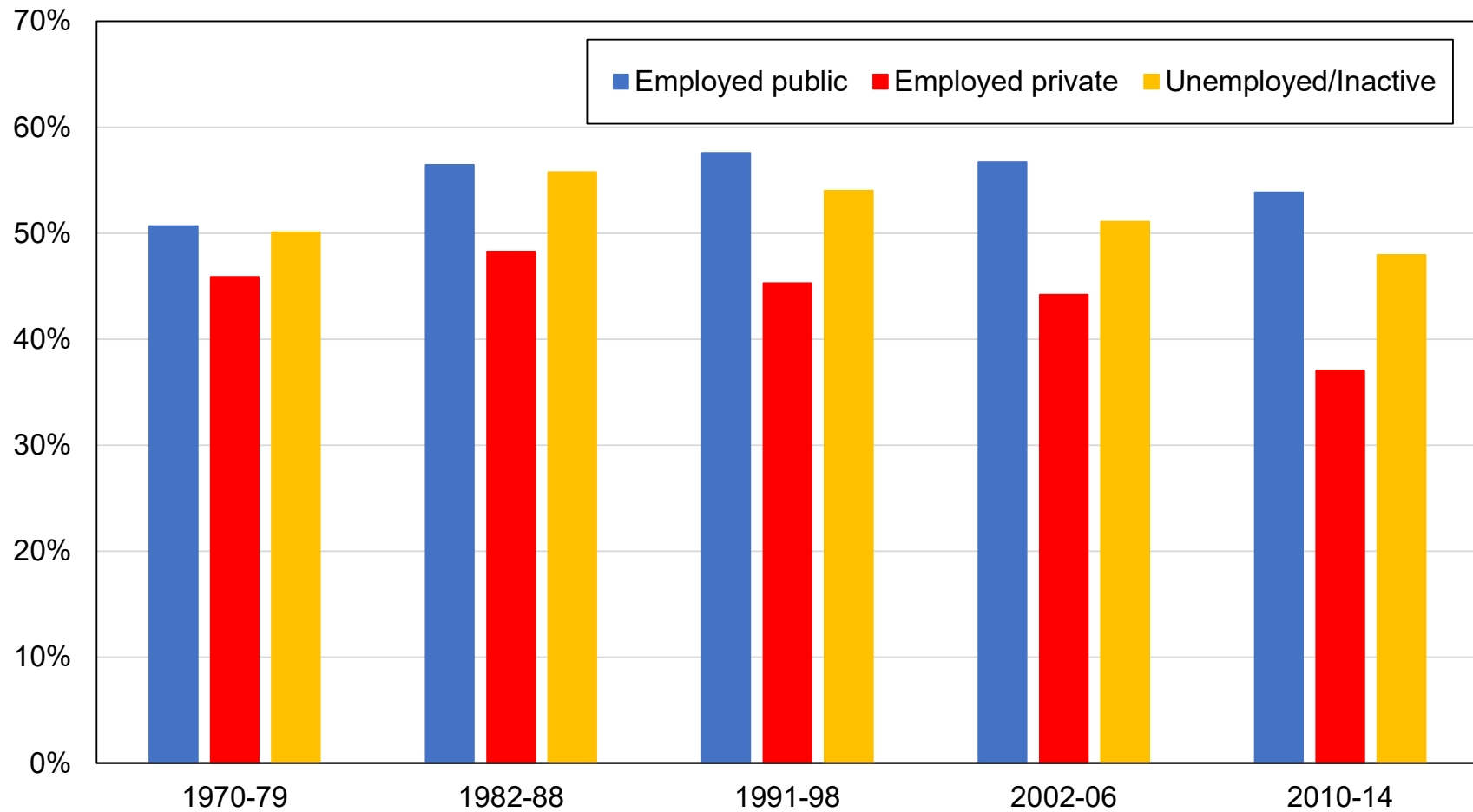
**Figure CB13 - Vote for the left by age group in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by age group.

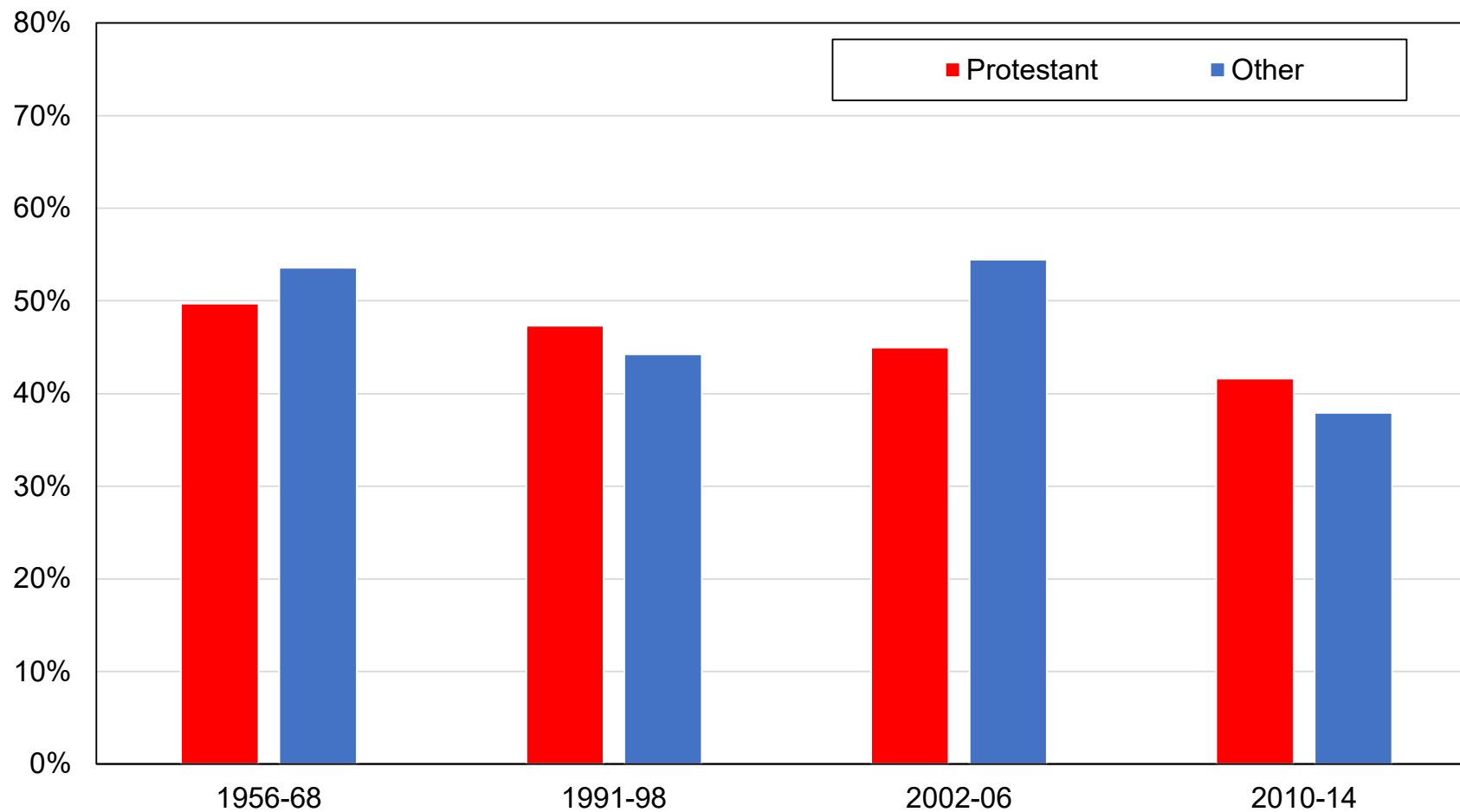
**Figure CB14 - Vote for the left by employment status in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by employment status.

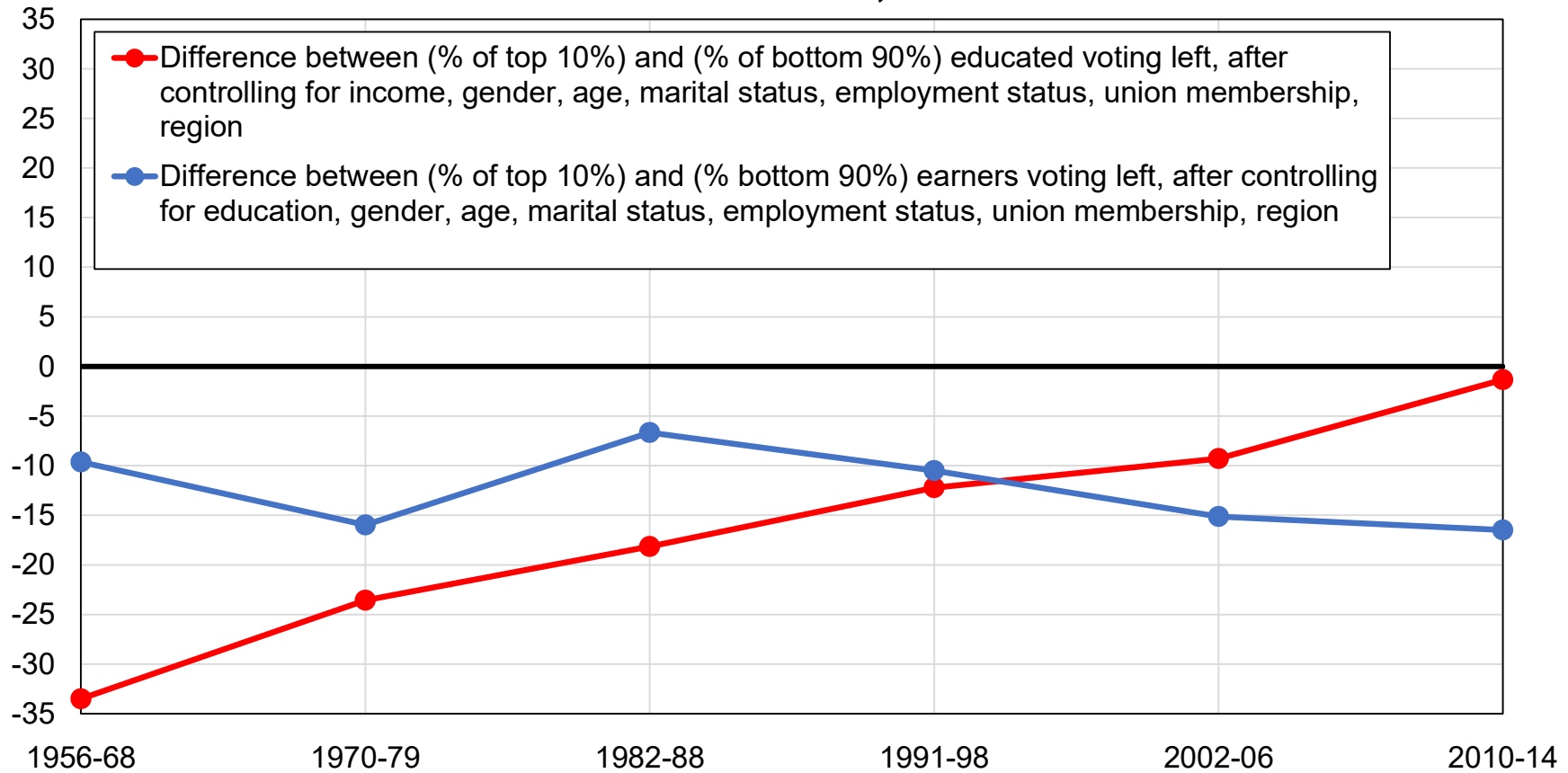
**Figure CB15 - Vote for the left by religious affiliation in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by religious affiliation.

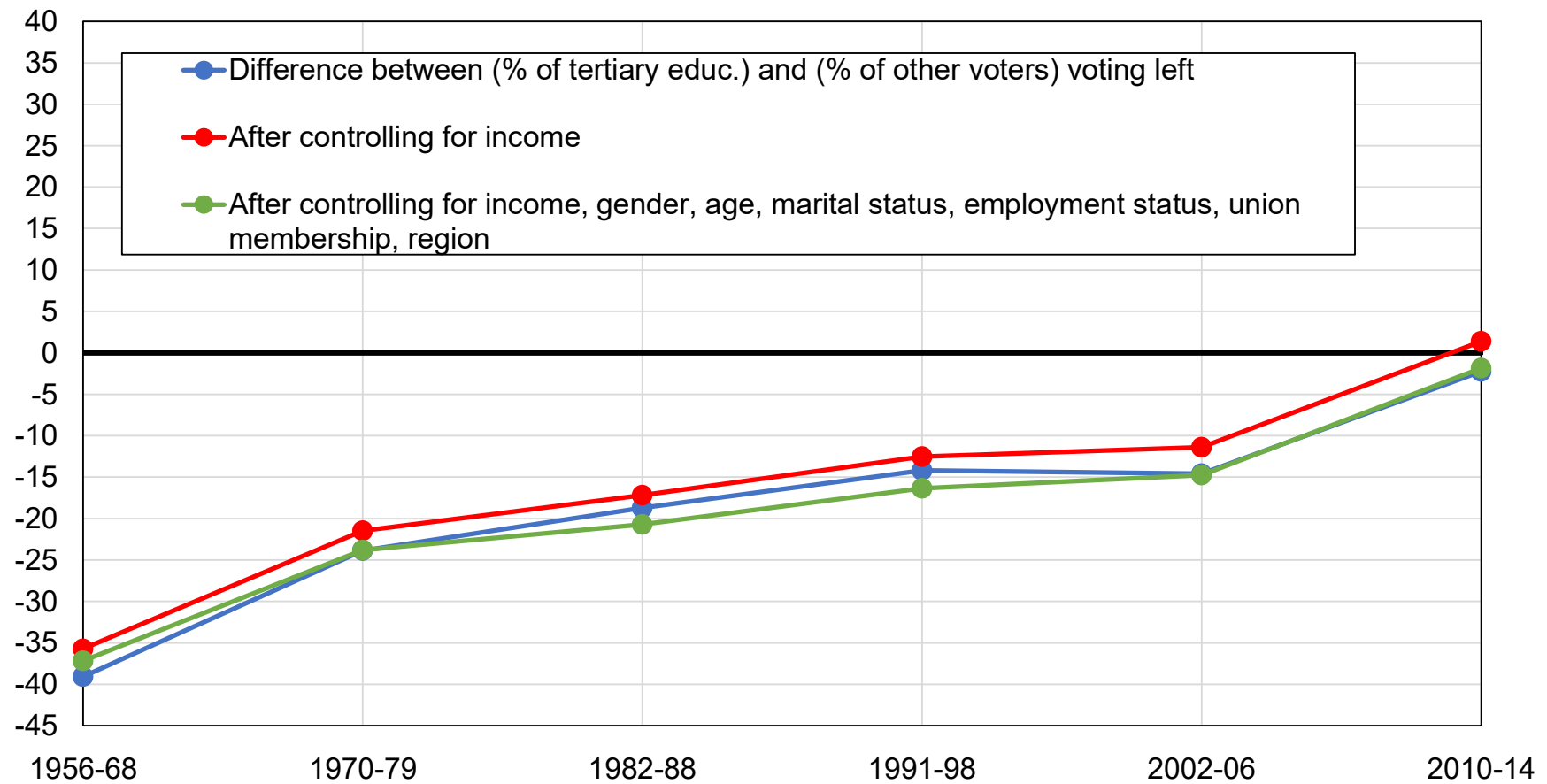
**Figure CB16 - Vote for the left among highest-educated and the top-income voters in Sweden, after controls**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the evolution of the vote for the left-wing parties among the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of top 10% earners, after controls.

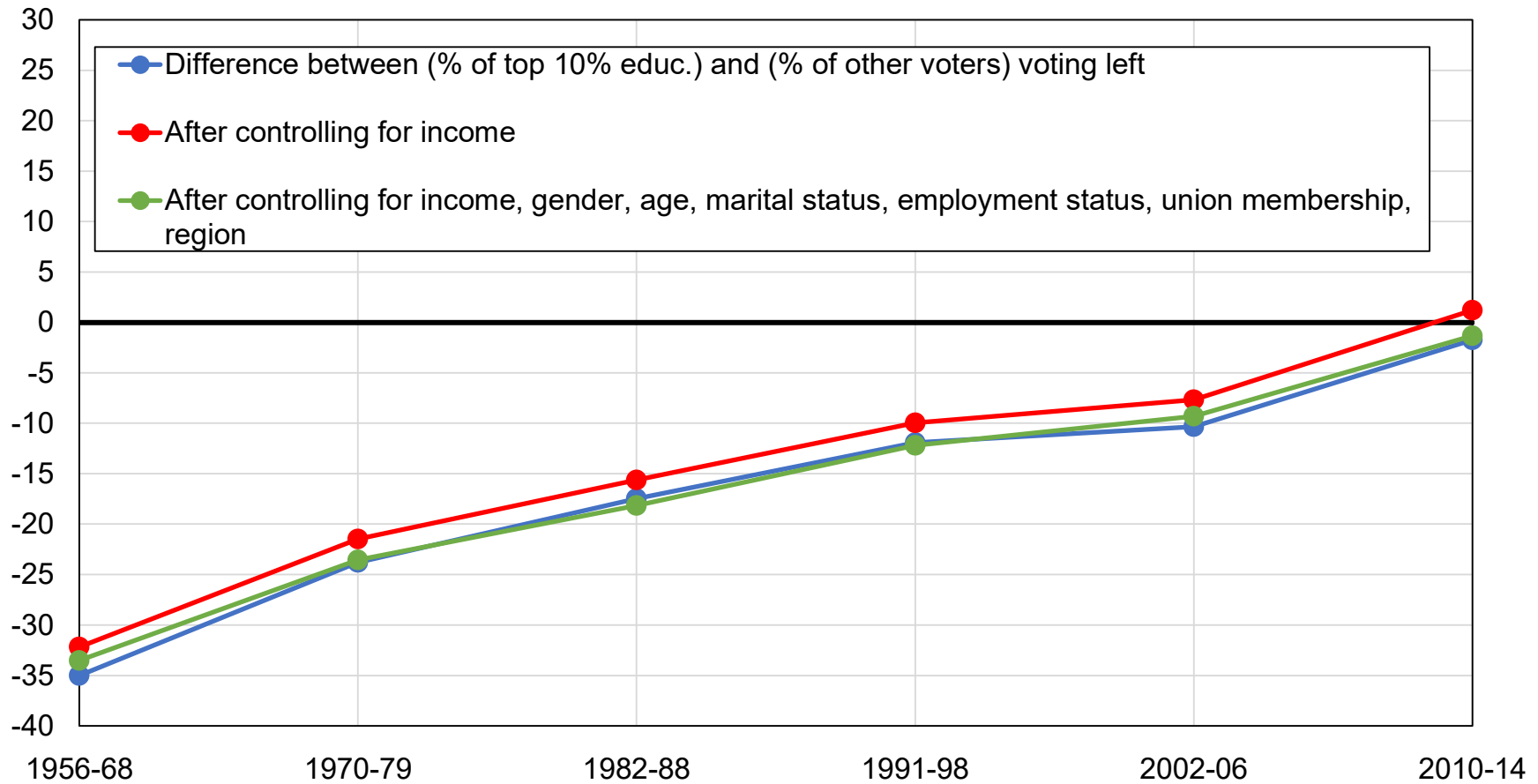
**Figure CB17 - Vote for the left among tertiary-educated voters in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of tertiary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

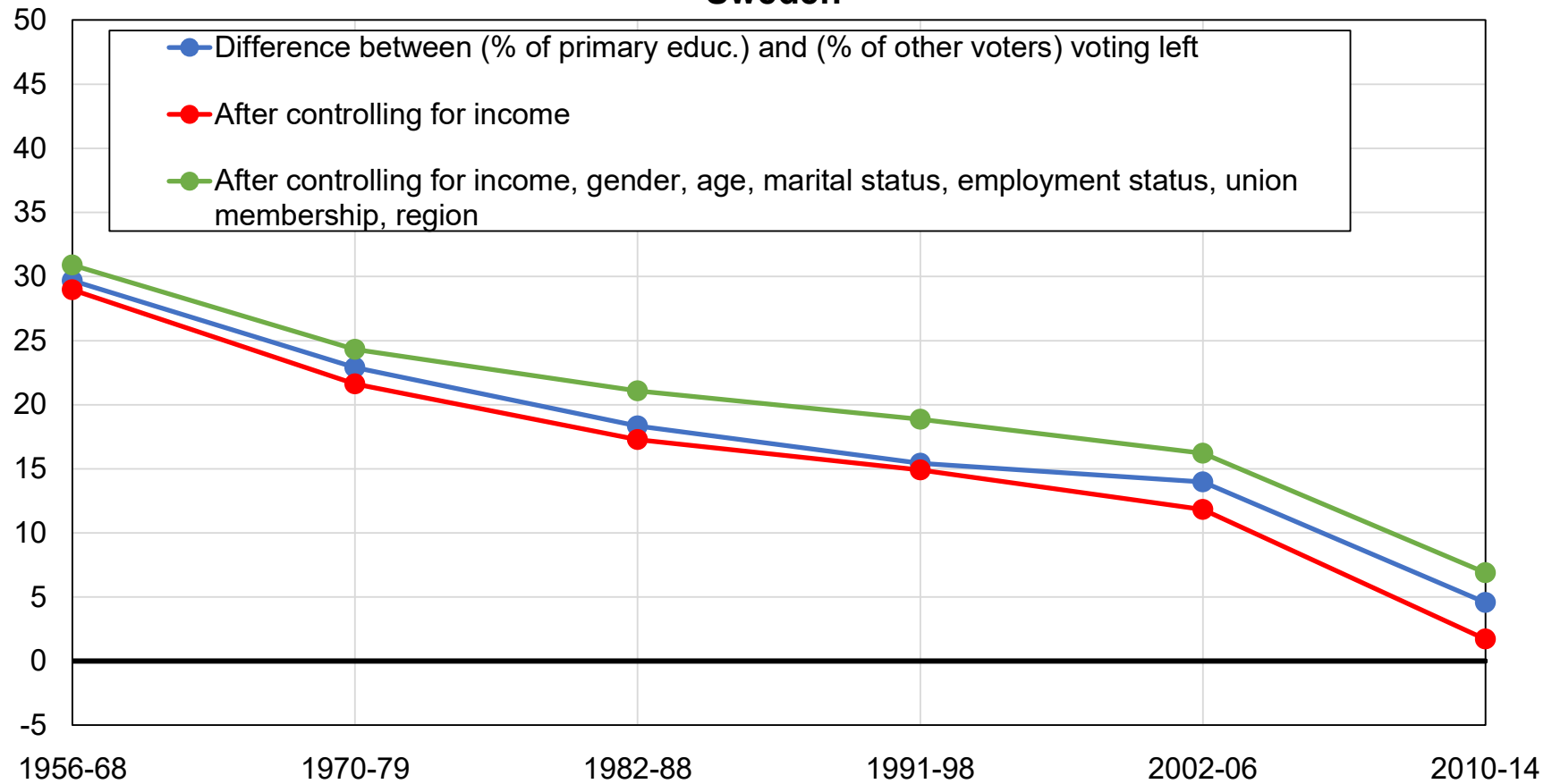
**Figure CB18 - Vote for the left among higher-educated voters in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

**Figure CB19 - Vote for the left among primary-educated voters in Sweden**

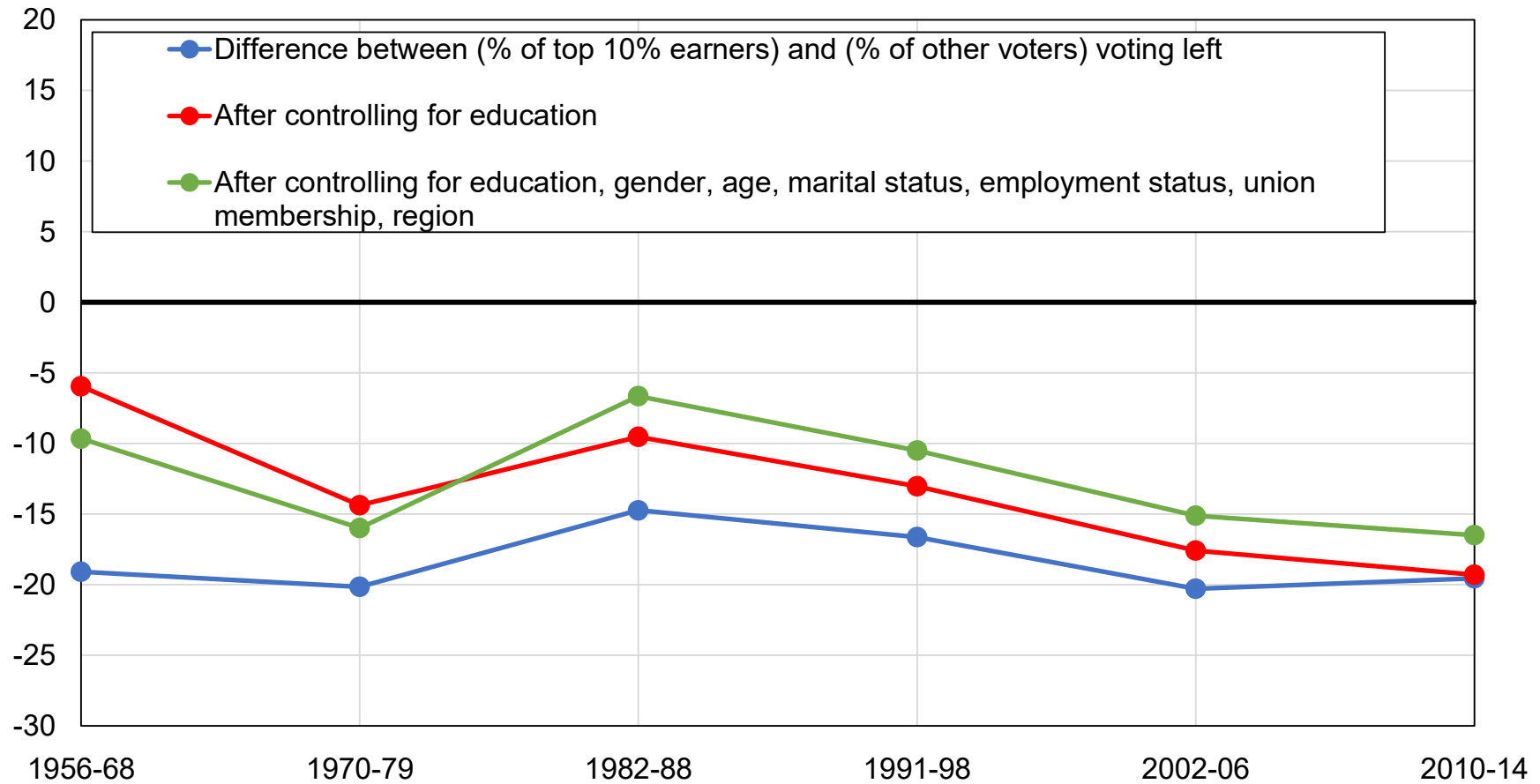


**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of primary educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.



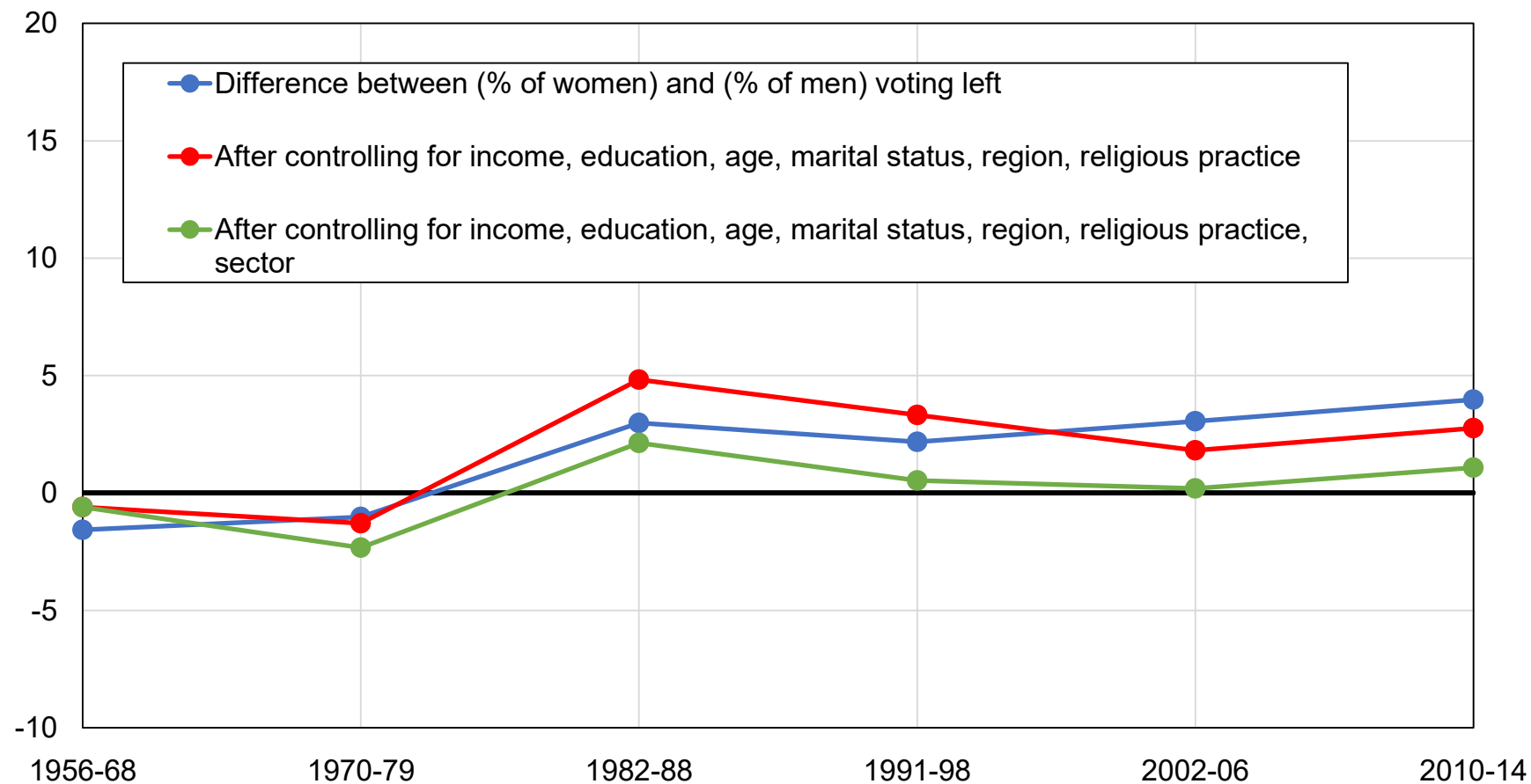
**Figure CB20 - Vote for the left among top 10% earners in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for left parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

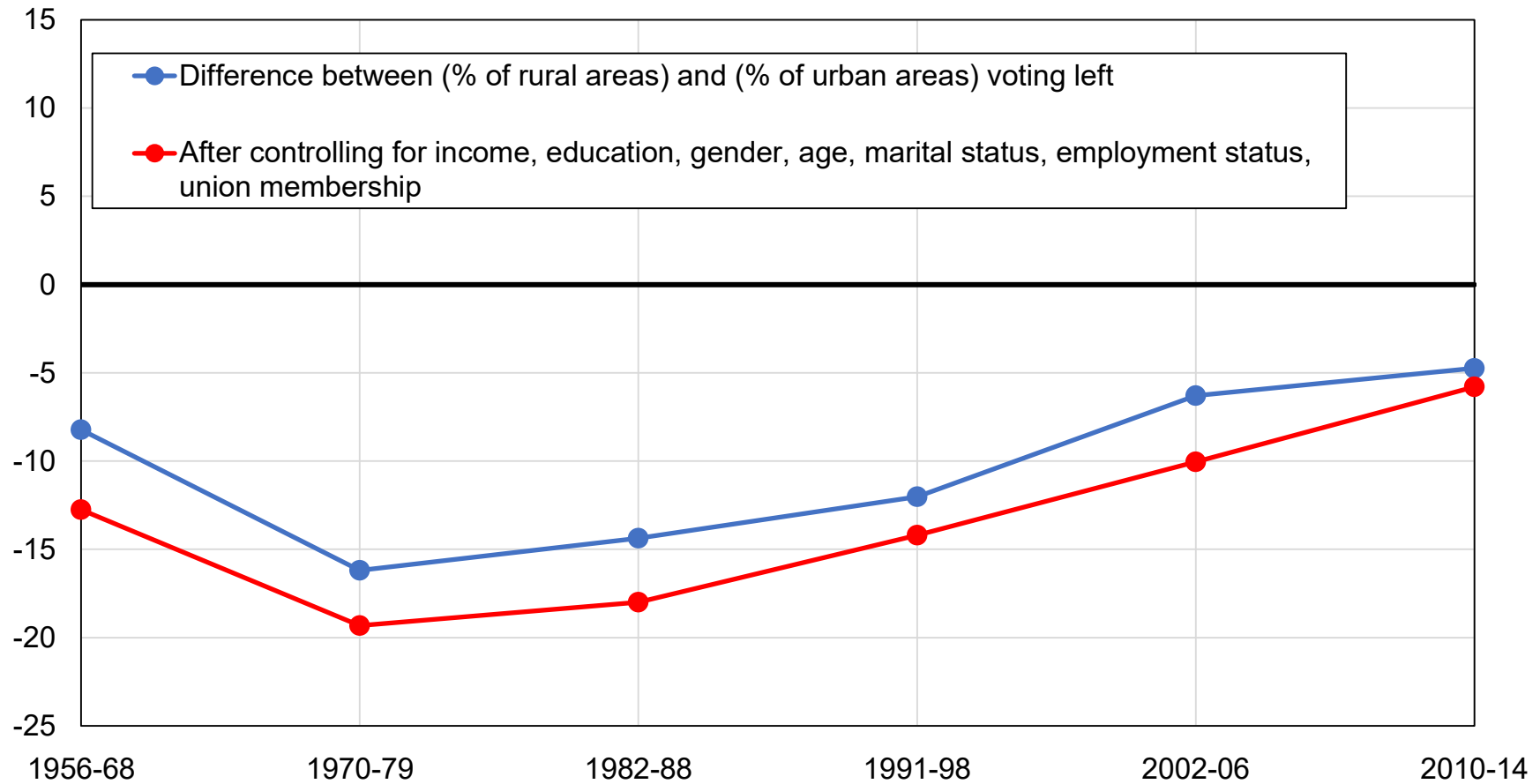
**Figure CB21 - Vote for the left among women in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish post electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables. Note that the information about religiosity and sector is not available respectively in the 1970s and in the 1960s.

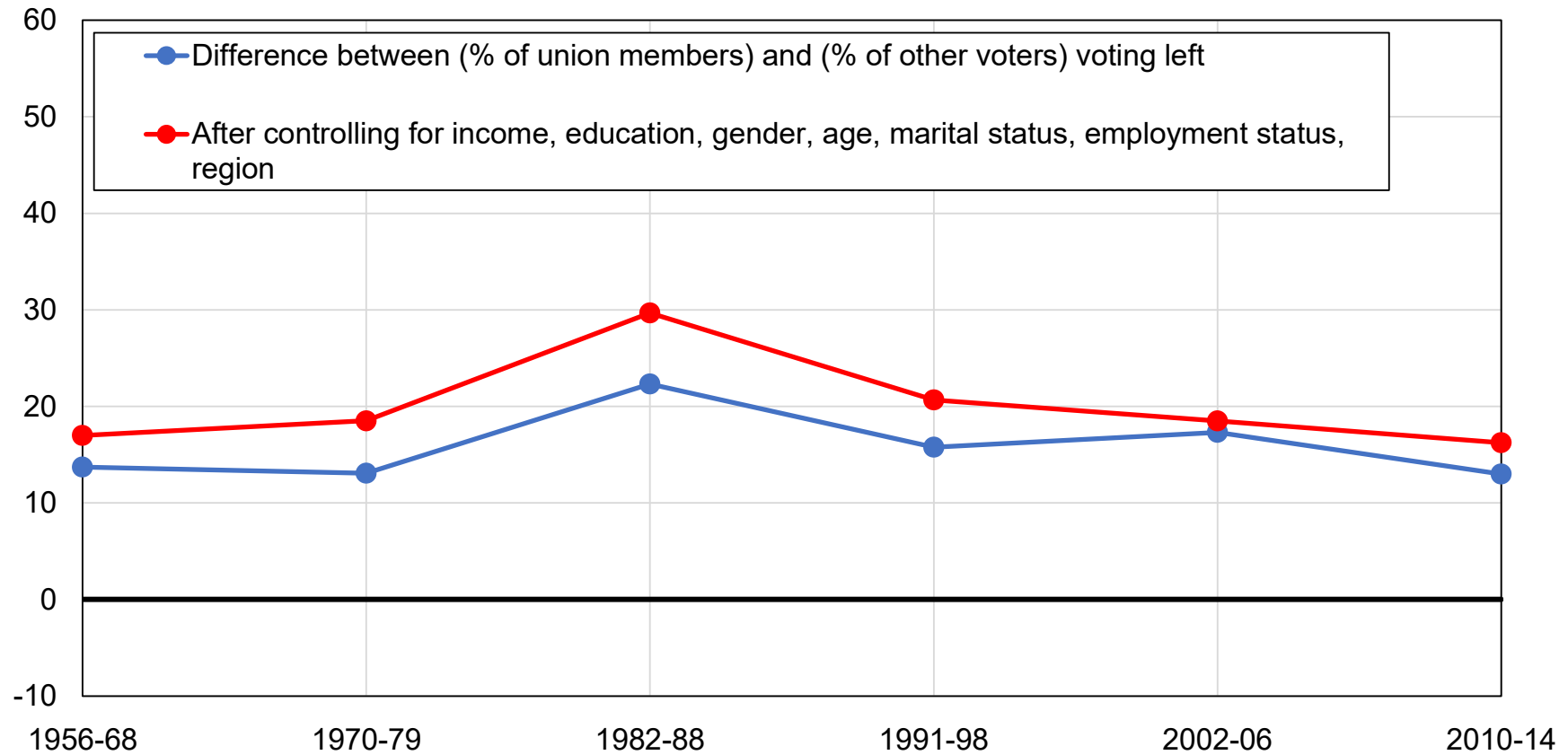
**Figure CB22 - Vote for the left among rural areas in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of rural areas' voters and the share of urban areas' voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

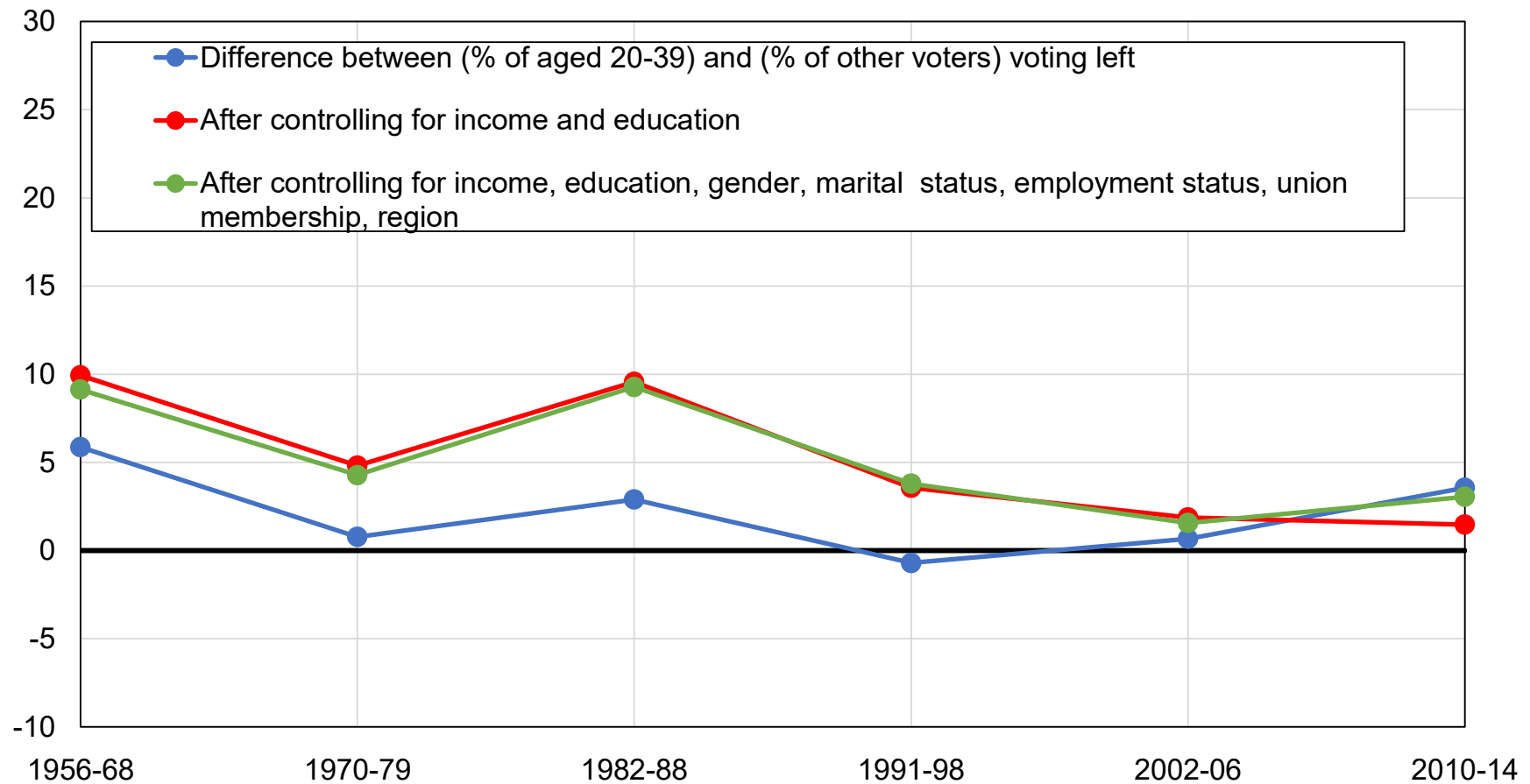
**Figure CB23 - Vote for the left among union members in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of union members and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables

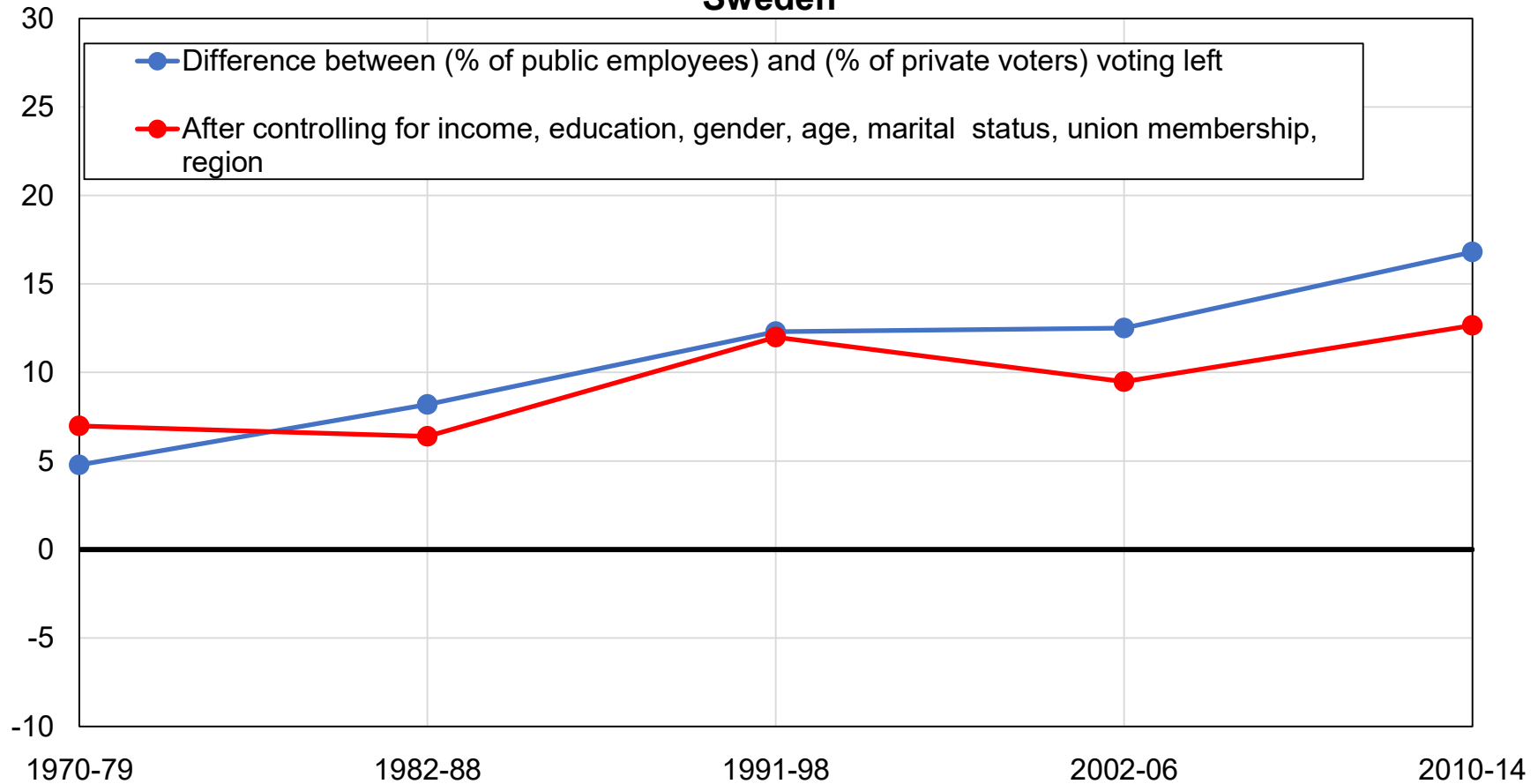
**Figure CB24 - Vote for the left among young voters in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of voters aged 20-39 and the share of voters older than 40 voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

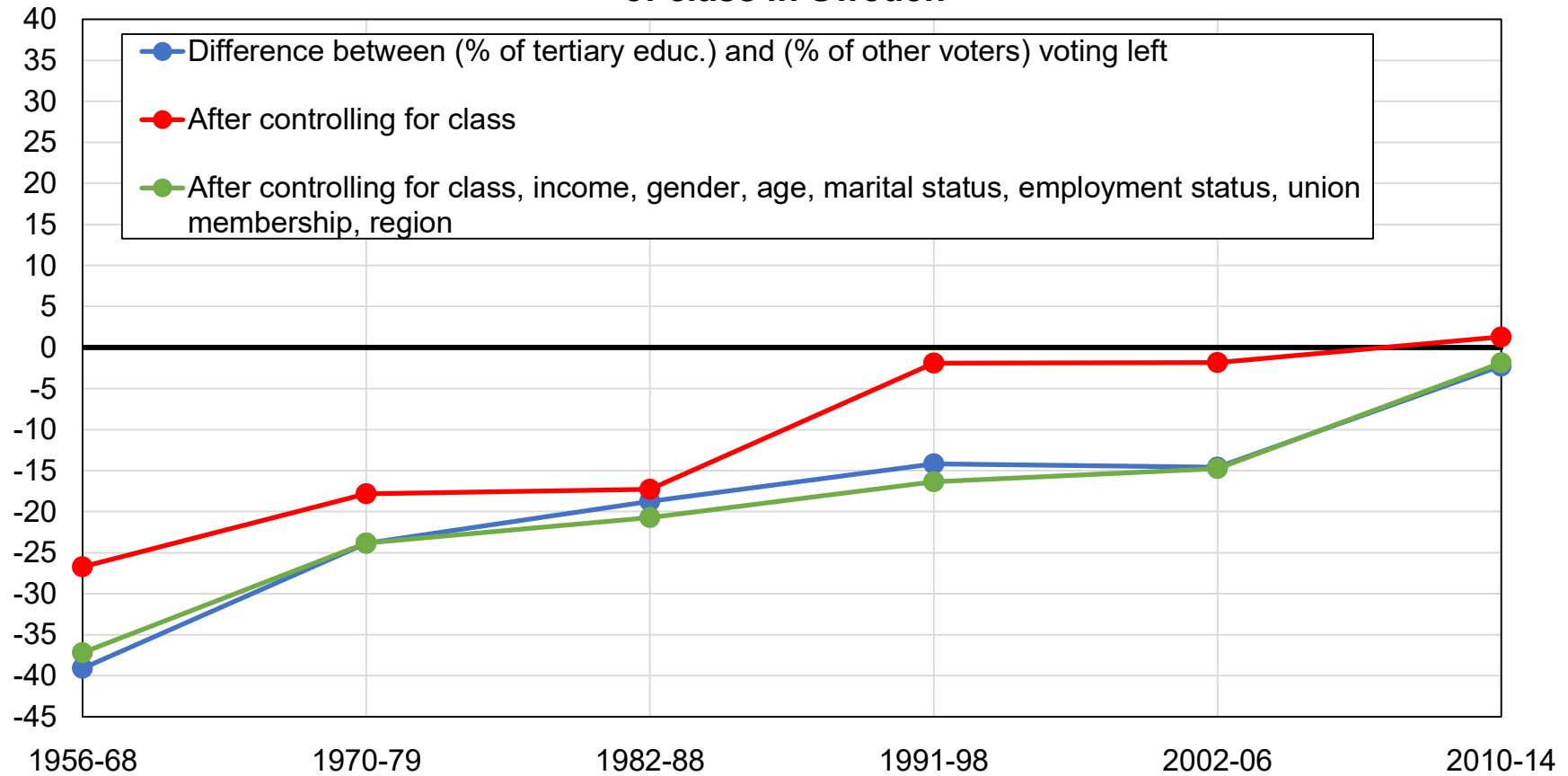
**Figure CB25 - Vote for the left among public sector employees in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of public employees and the share of private employees voting for left-wing parties, before and after controls.

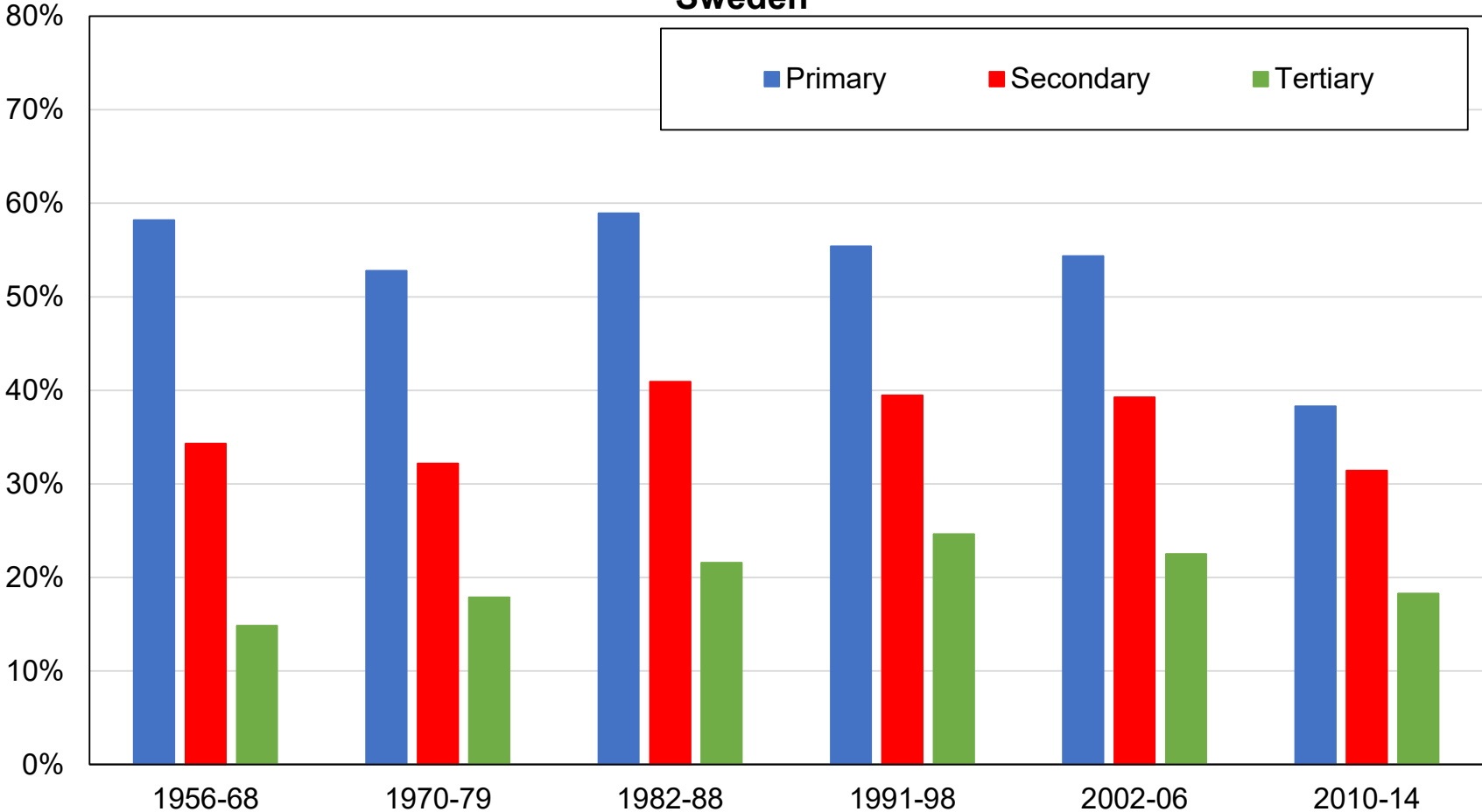
**Figure CB26 - Vote for the left among tertiary-educated voters: the role of class in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of tertiary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for class and other variables.

**Figure CC1 - Vote for the Social Democratic Party by education level in Sweden**

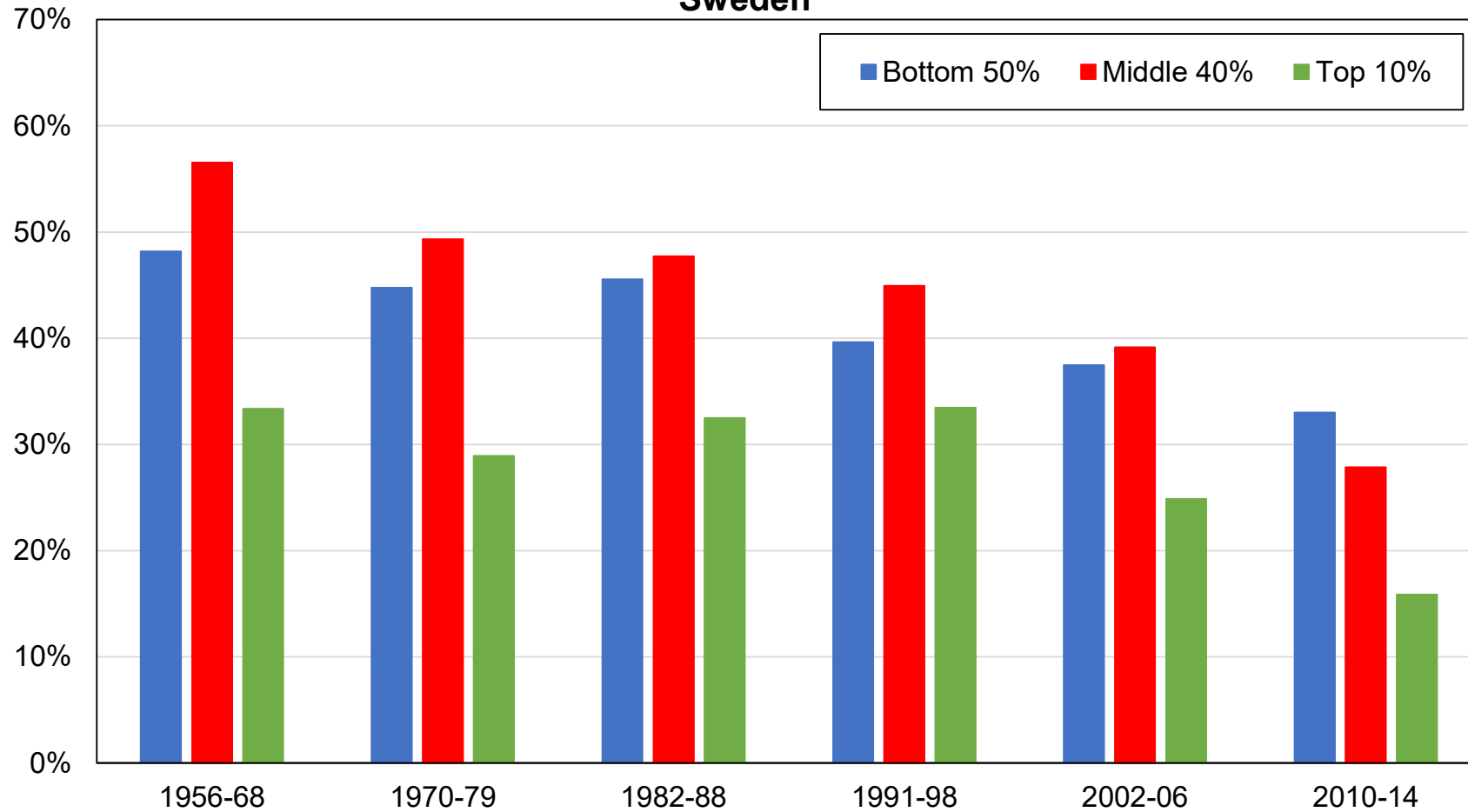


**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party by education level.



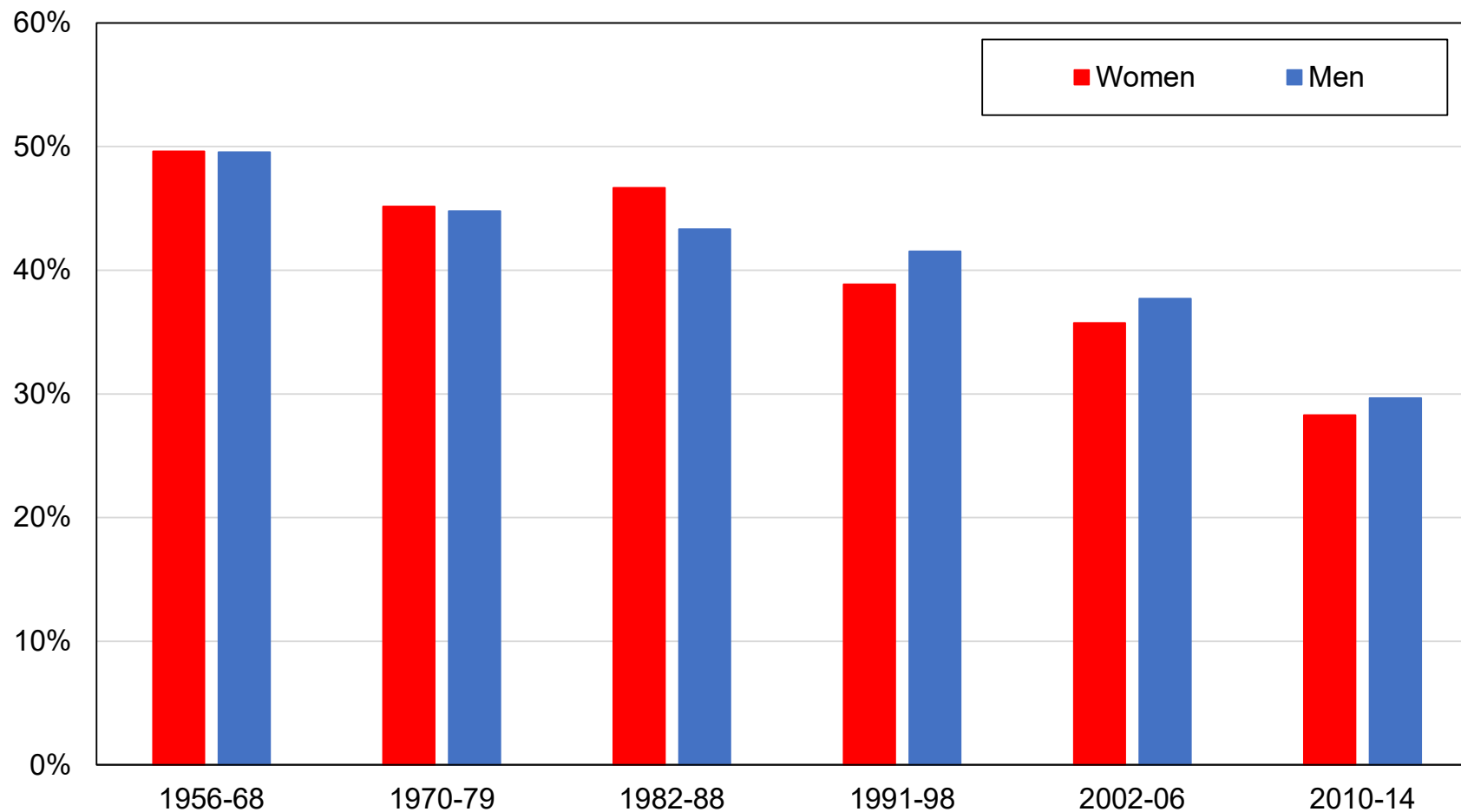
**Figure CC2 - Vote for the Social Democratic Party by income group in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party by income group.

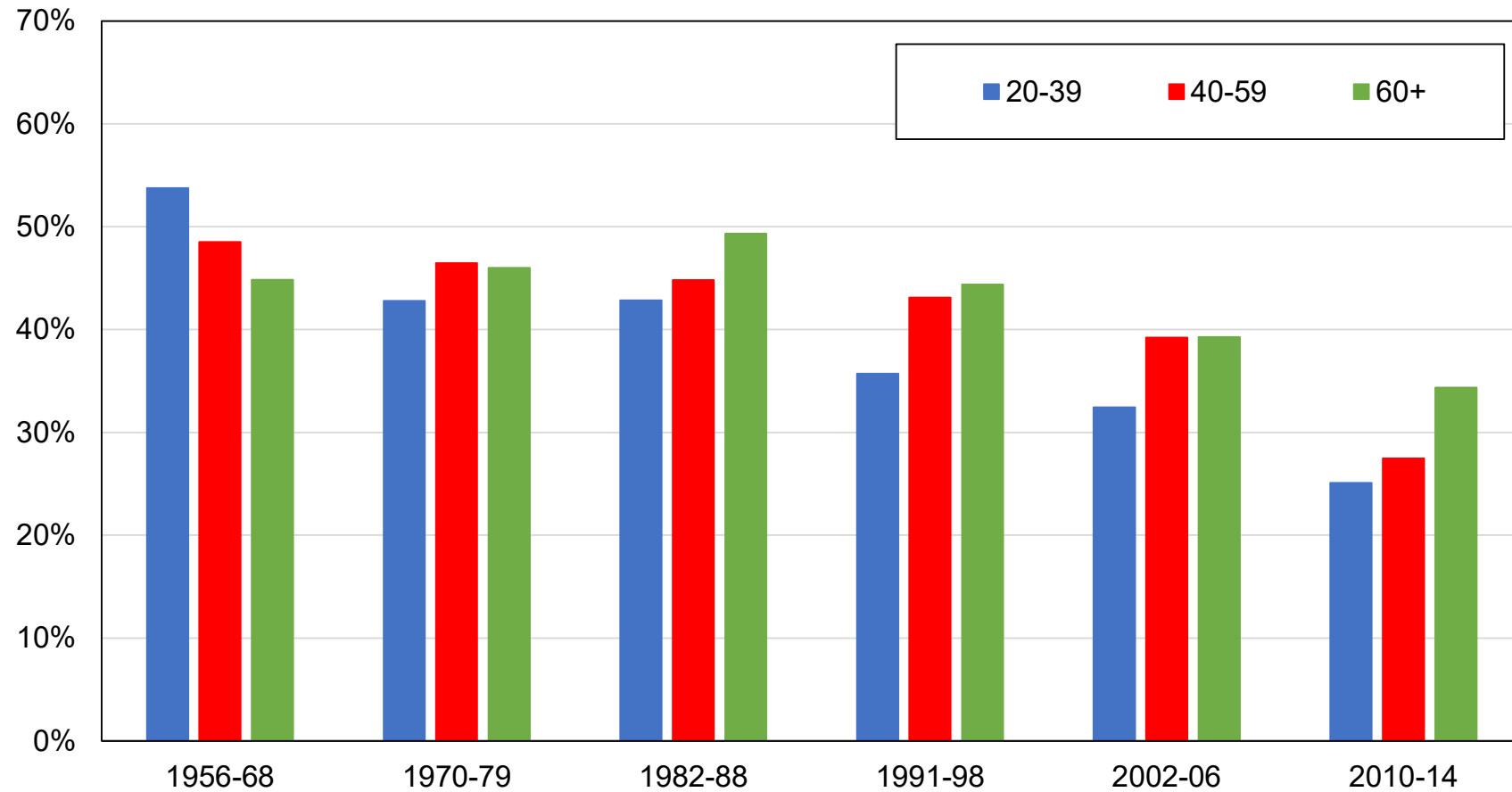
**Figure CC3 - Vote for the Social Democratic Party by gender in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party by gender.

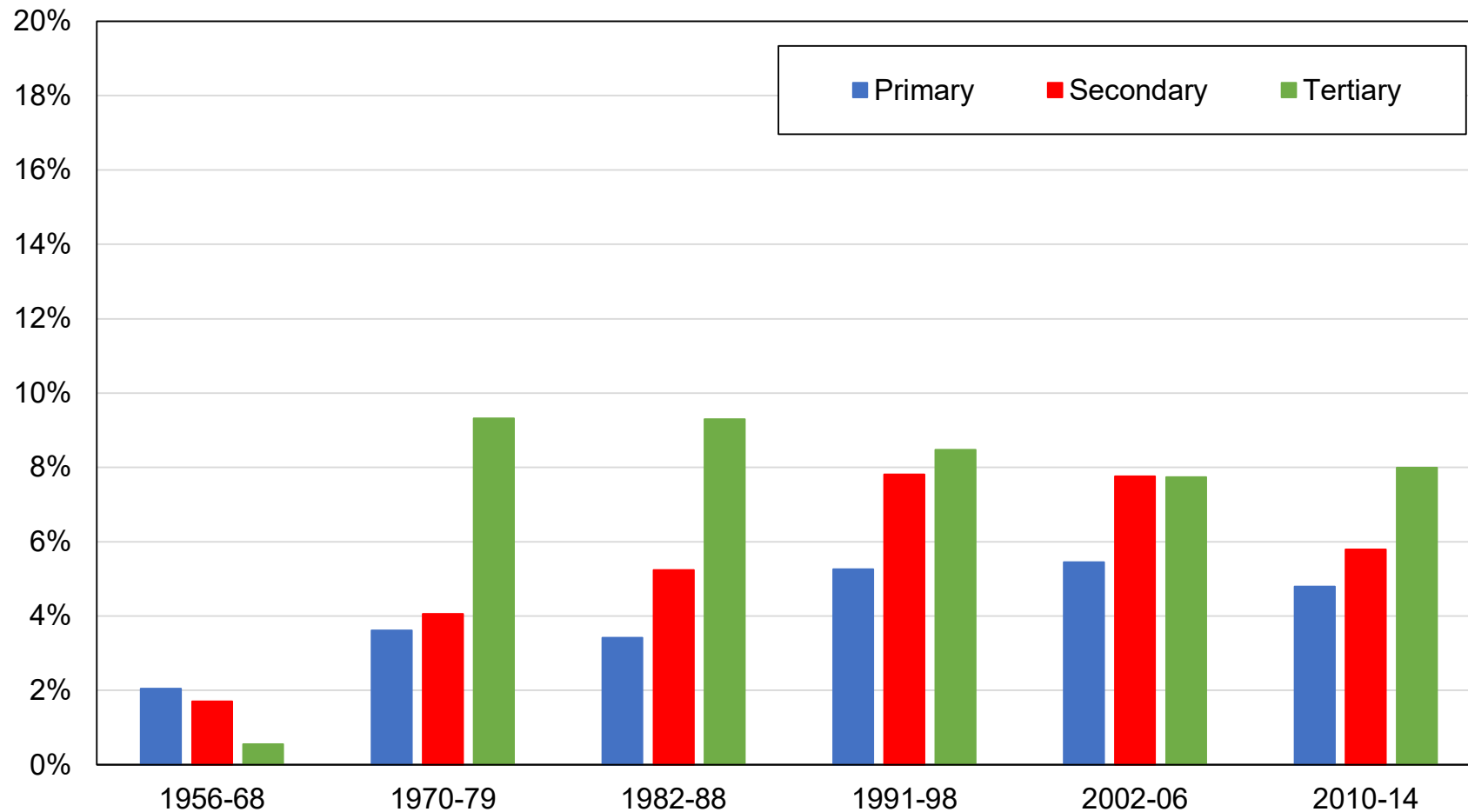
**Figure CC4 - Vote for the Social Democratic Party by age group in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** : the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party by age group.

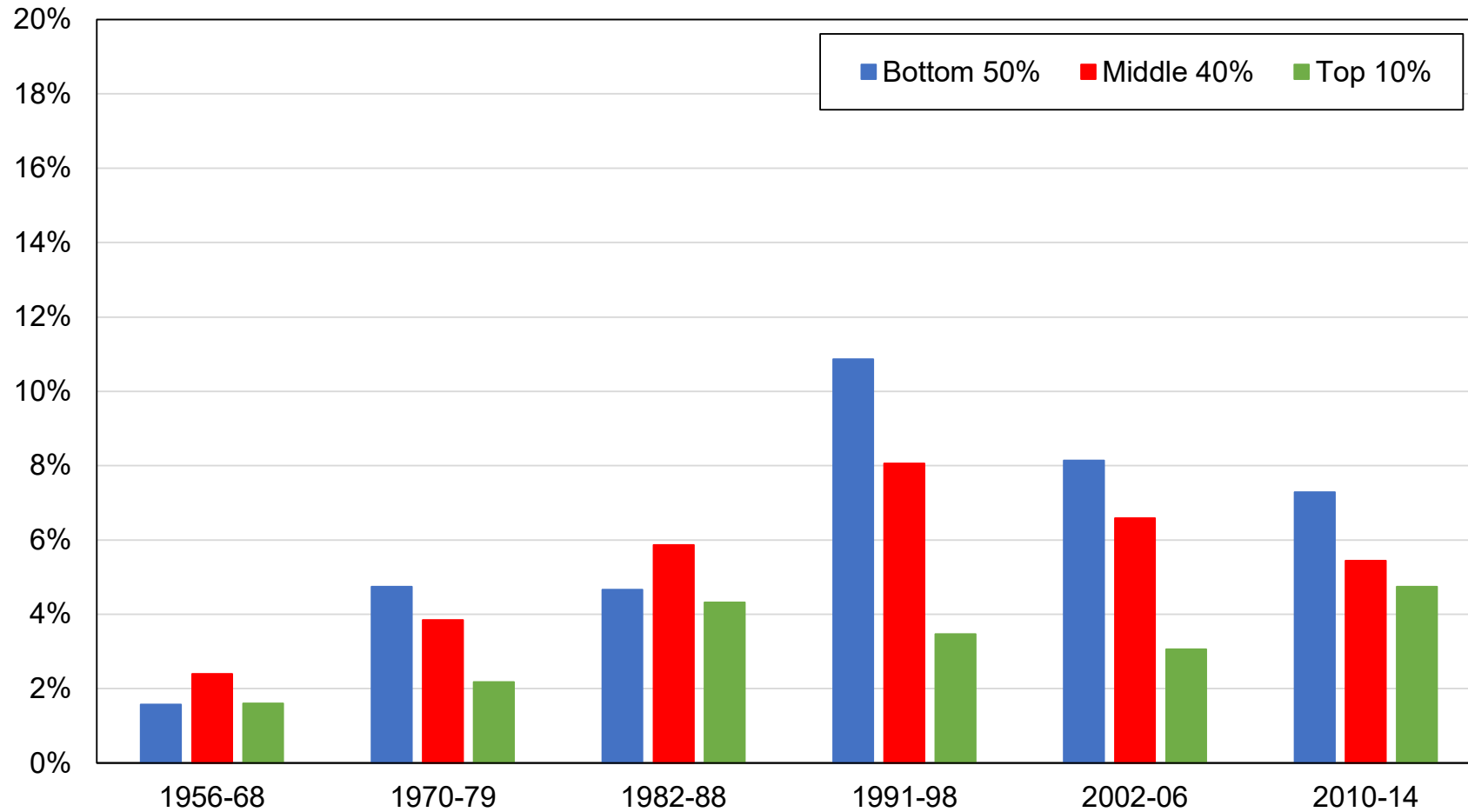
**Figure CC5 - Vote for the Left Party by education level in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Left Party by education level.

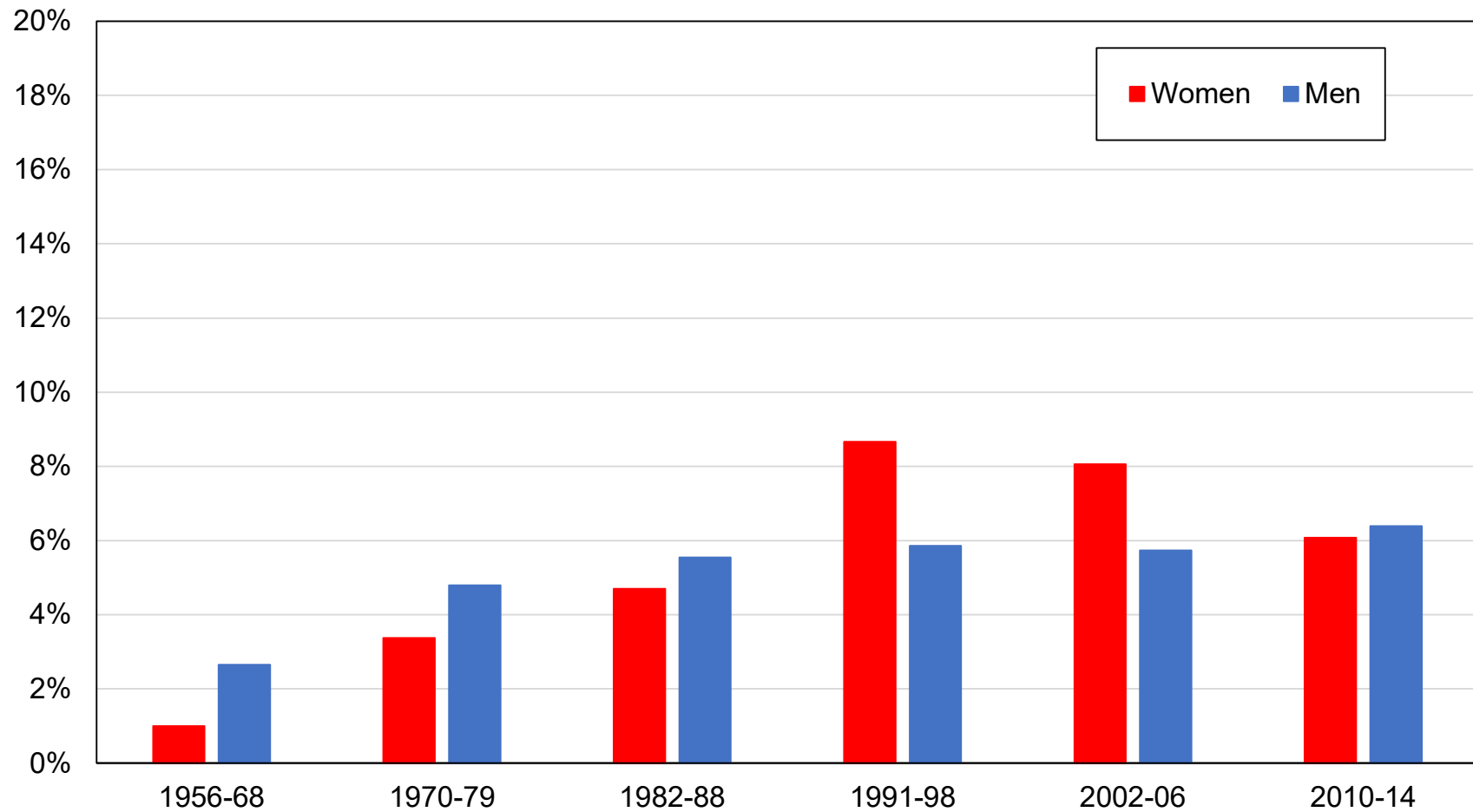
**Figure CC6- Vote for the Left Party by income group in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Left Party by income group.

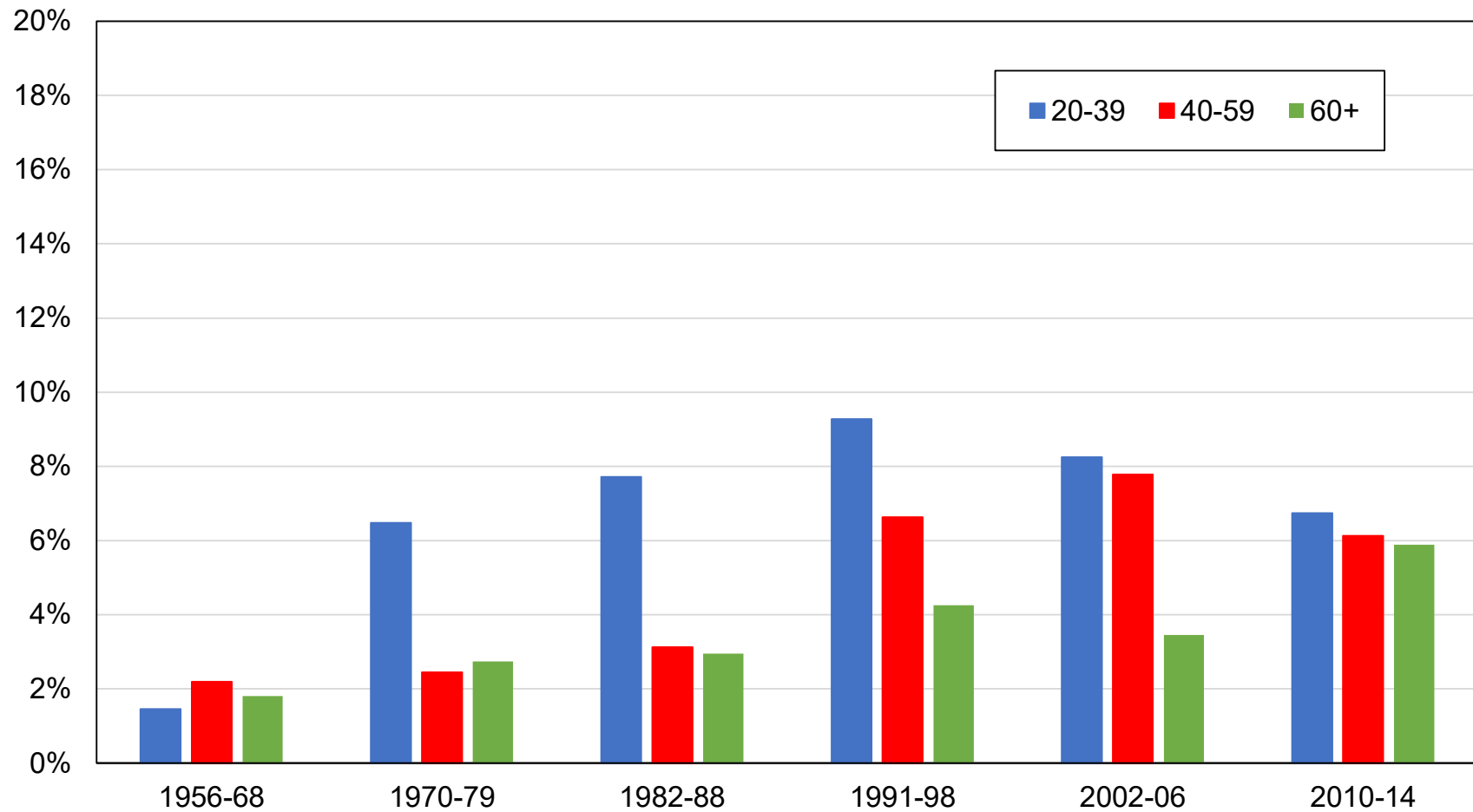
**Figure CC7 - Vote for the Left Party by gender in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Left Party by gender.

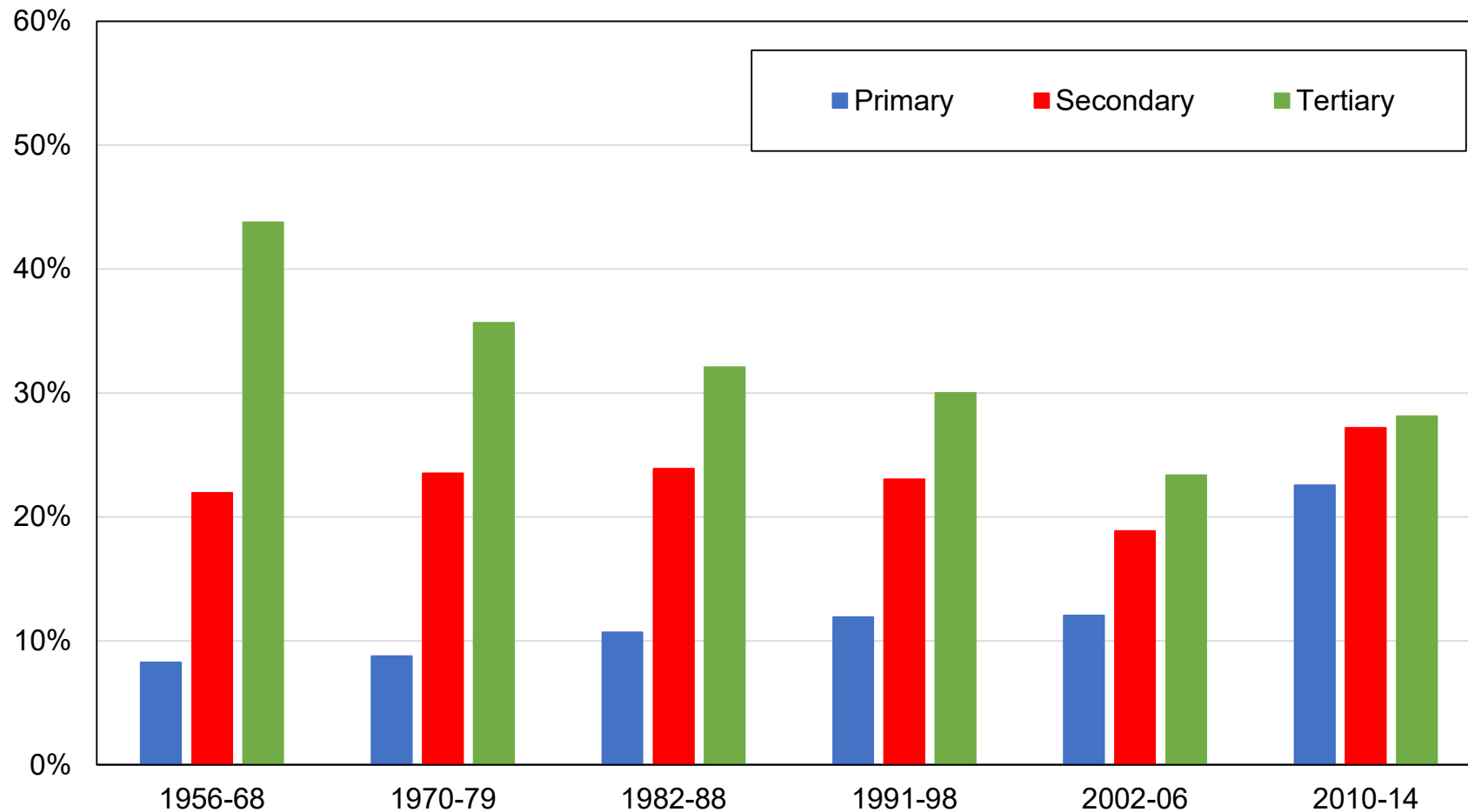
**Figure CC8 - Vote for the Left Party by age group in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Left Party by age group.

**Figure CC9 - Vote for the Moderate Party by education level in Sweden**

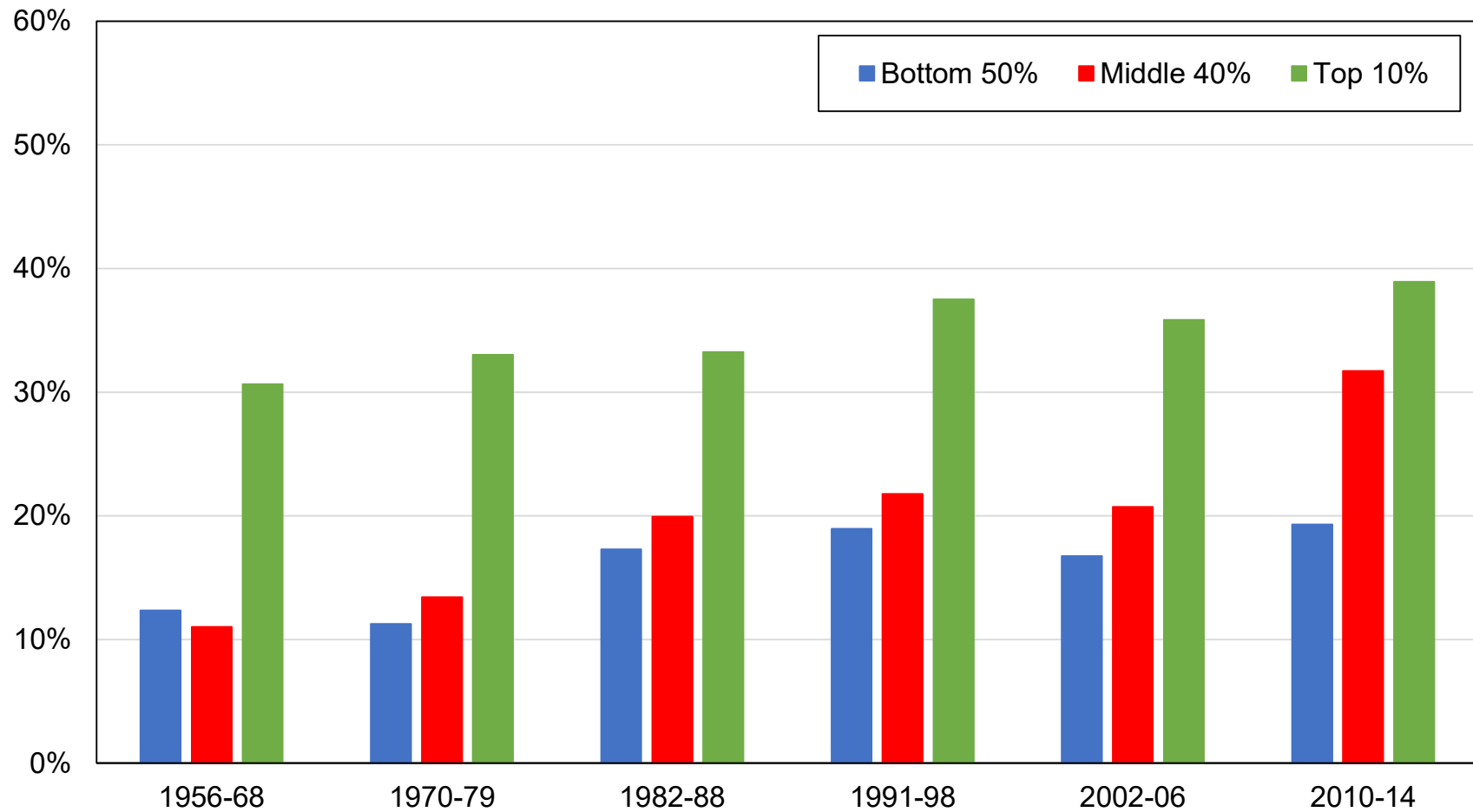


**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Moderate Party by education level.



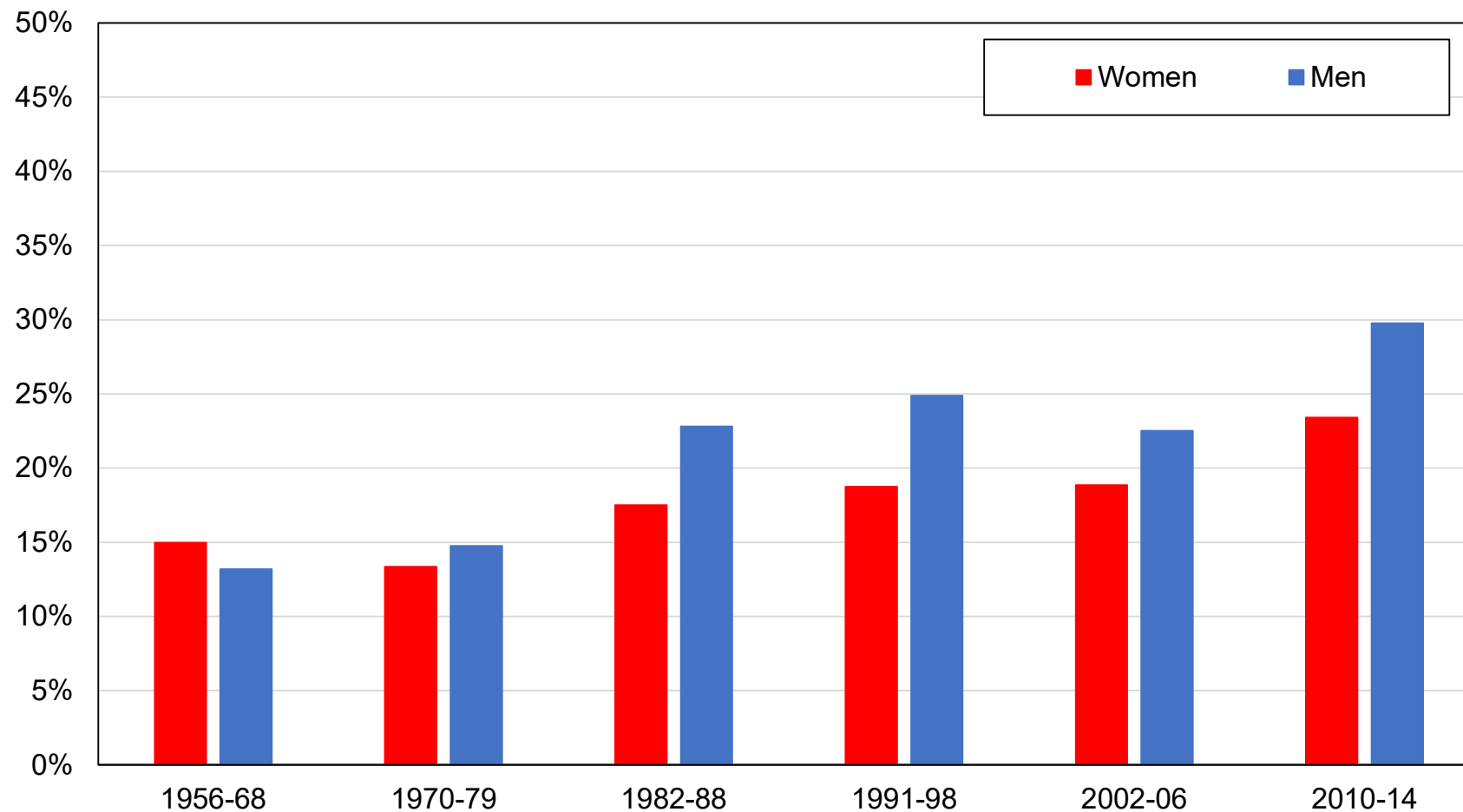
**Figure CC10 - Vote for the Moderate Party by income group in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Moderate Party by income group.

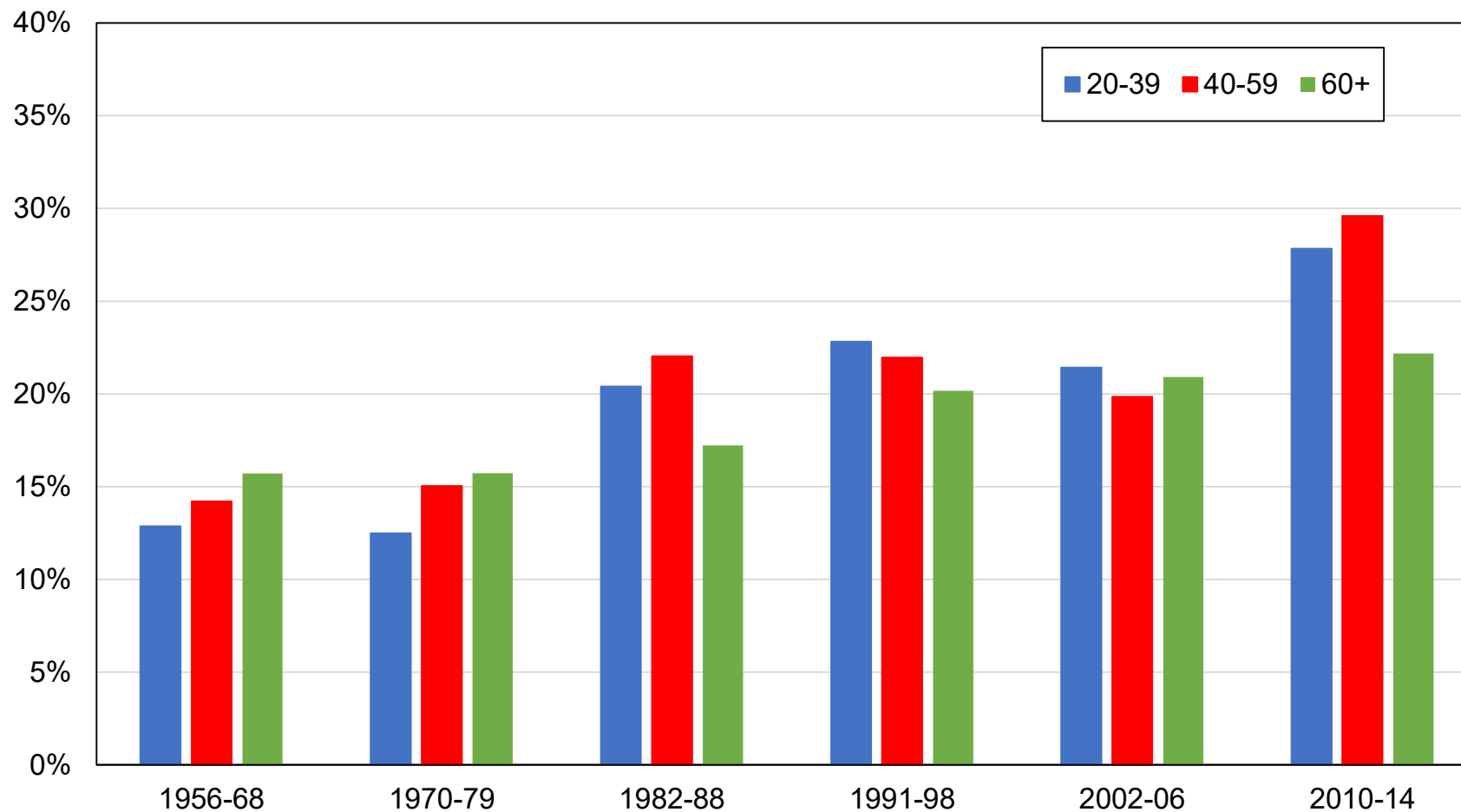
**Figure CC11 - Vote for the Moderate Party by gender in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Moderate Party coalition by gender.

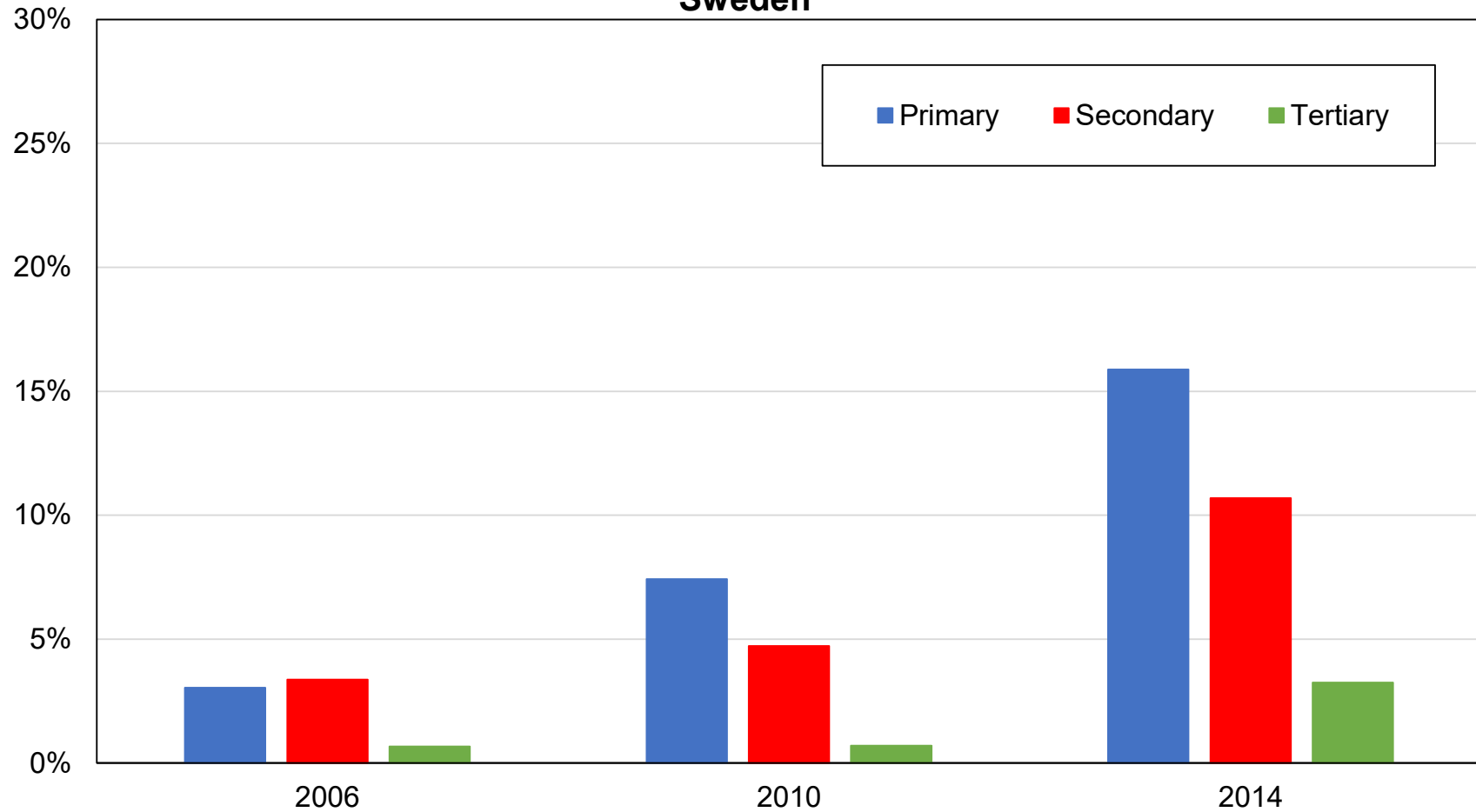
**Figure CC12 - Vote for the Moderate Party by age group in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Moderate Party by age group.

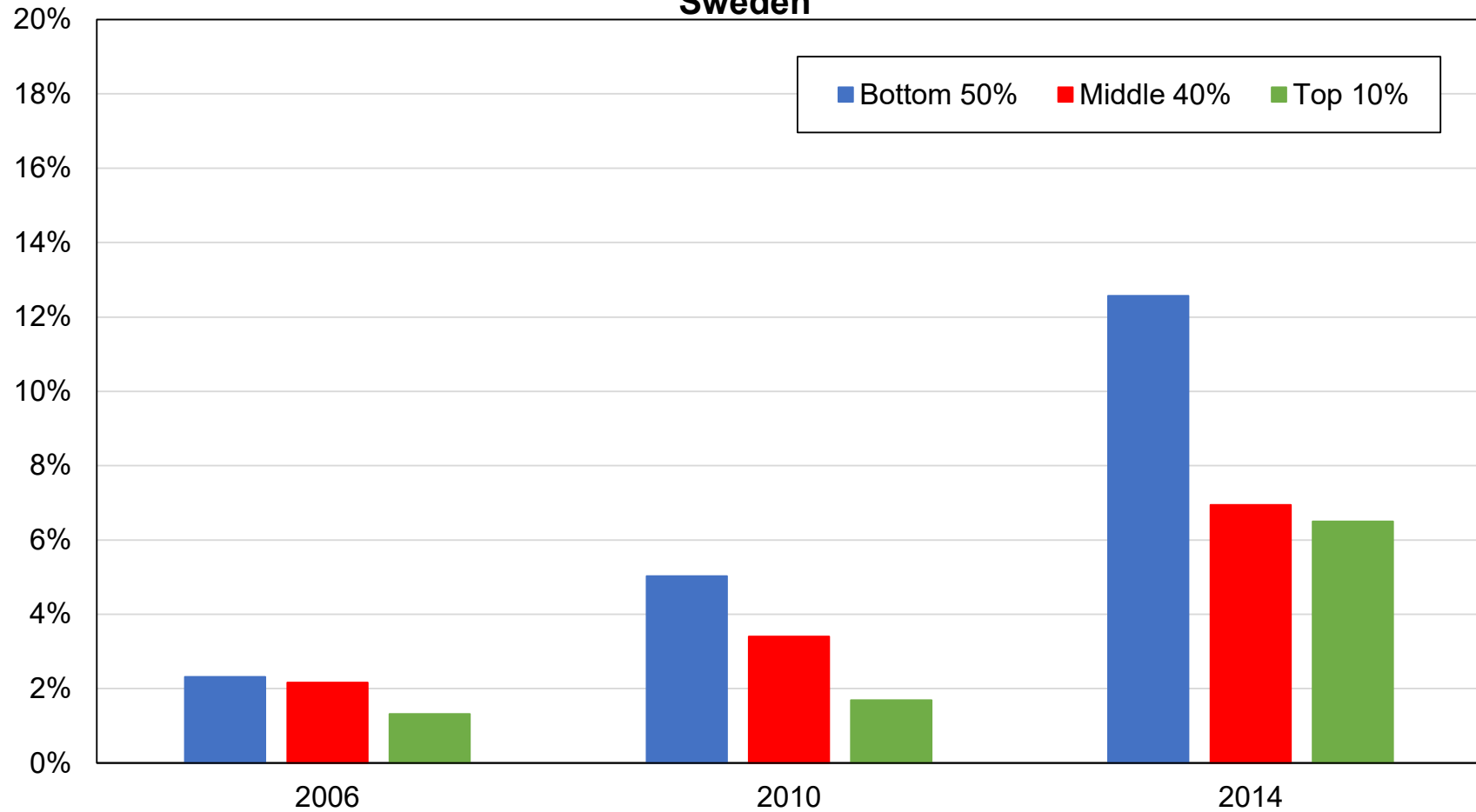
**Figure CC13 - Vote for the Sweden Democrats by education level in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Sweden Democrats by education level.

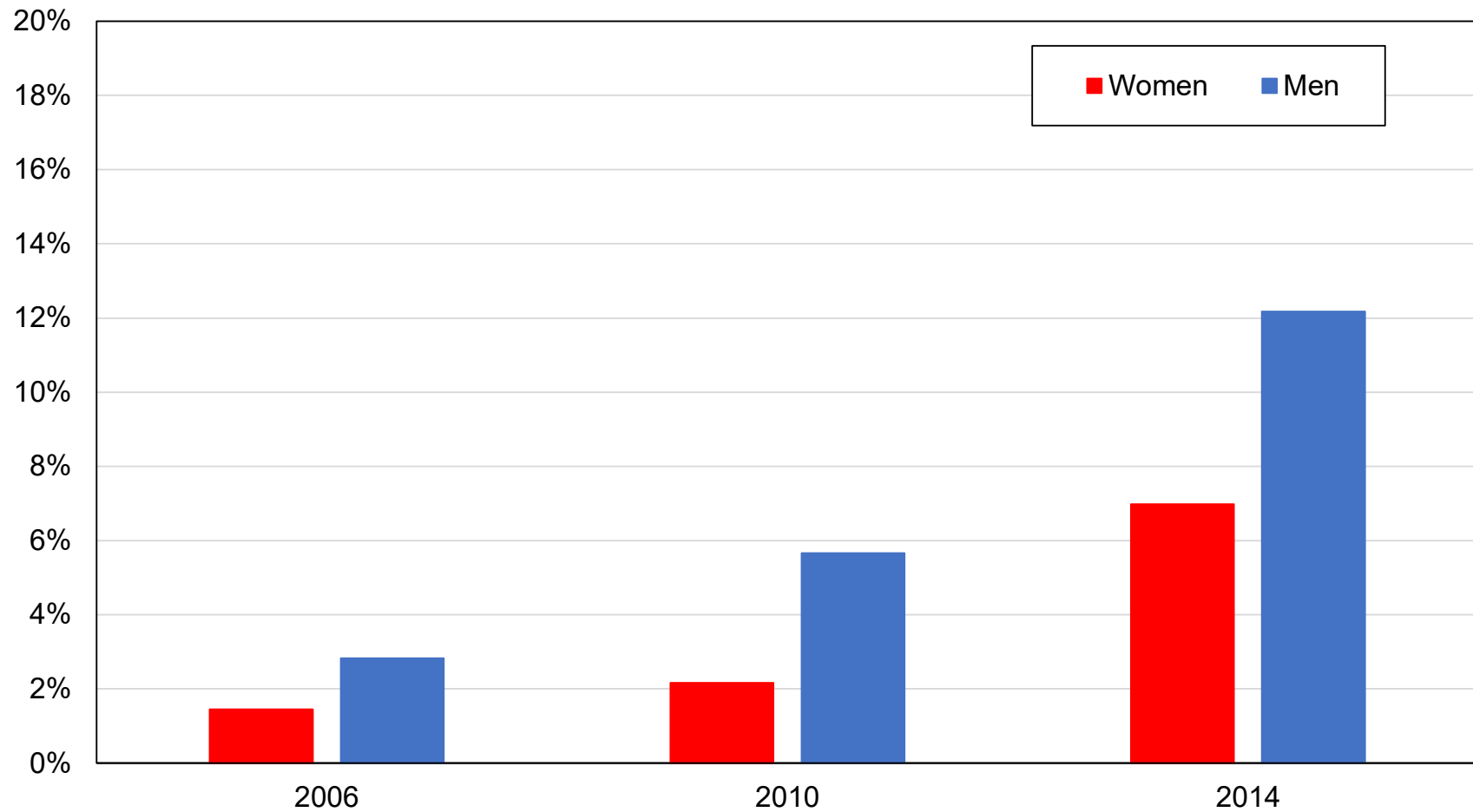
**Figure CC14 - Vote for the Sweden Democrats by income group in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Sweden Democrats by income group.

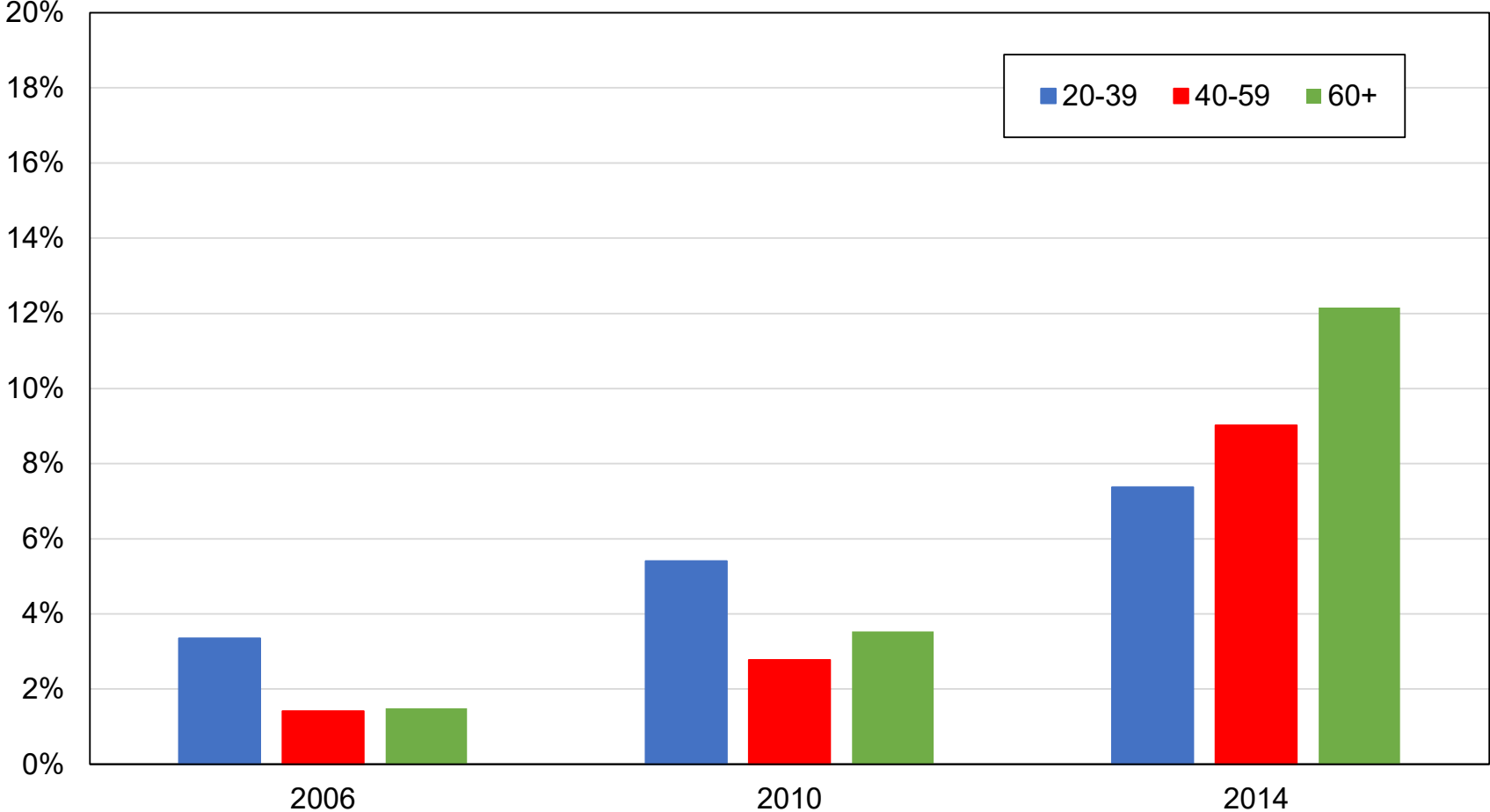
**Figure CC15 - Vote for the Sweden Democrats by gender in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Sweden Democrats by gender.

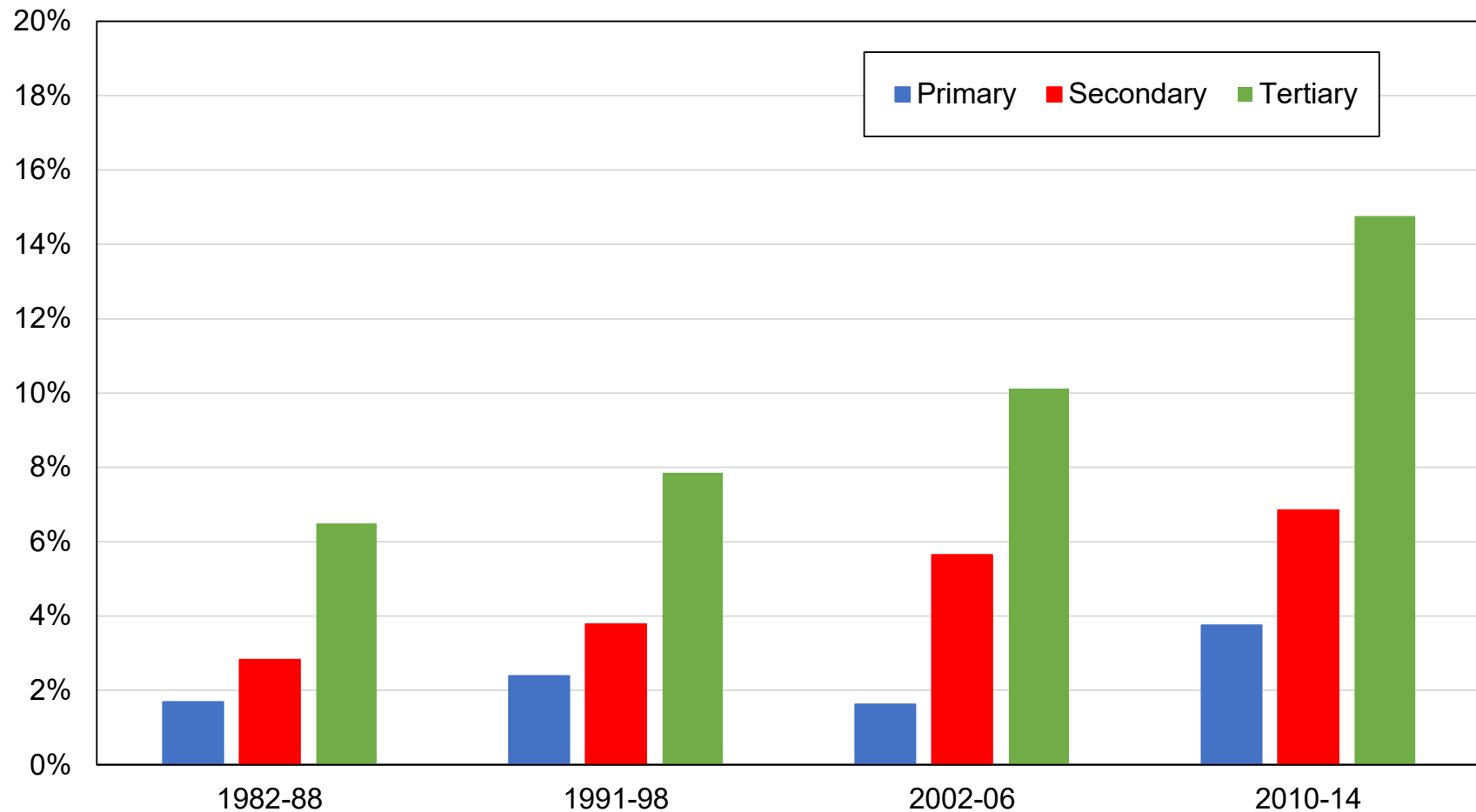
**Figure CC16 - Vote for the Sweden Democrats by age group in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Sweden Democrats by age group.

**Figure CC17 - Vote for the Green Party by educational level in Sweden**

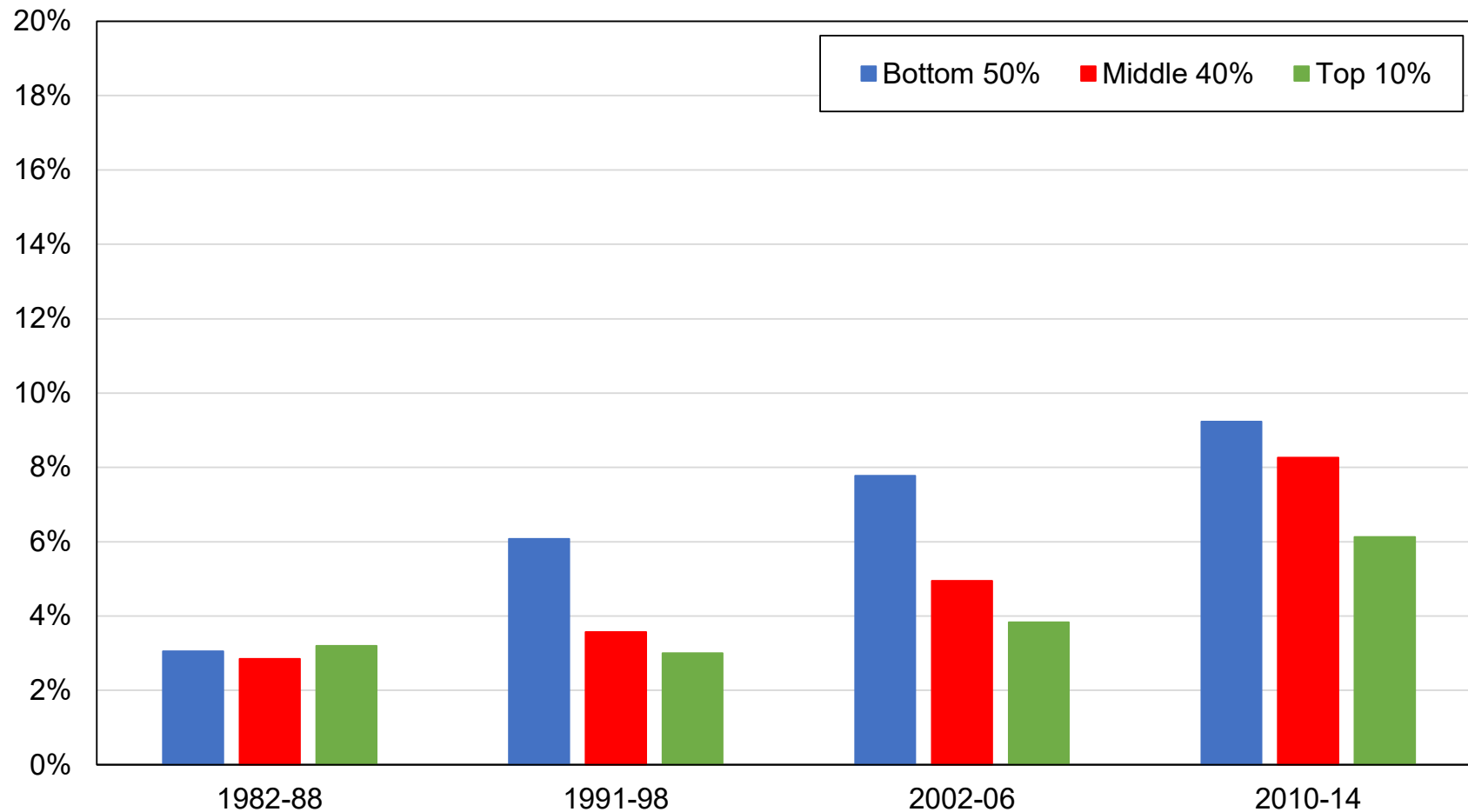


**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Green Party by educational level.



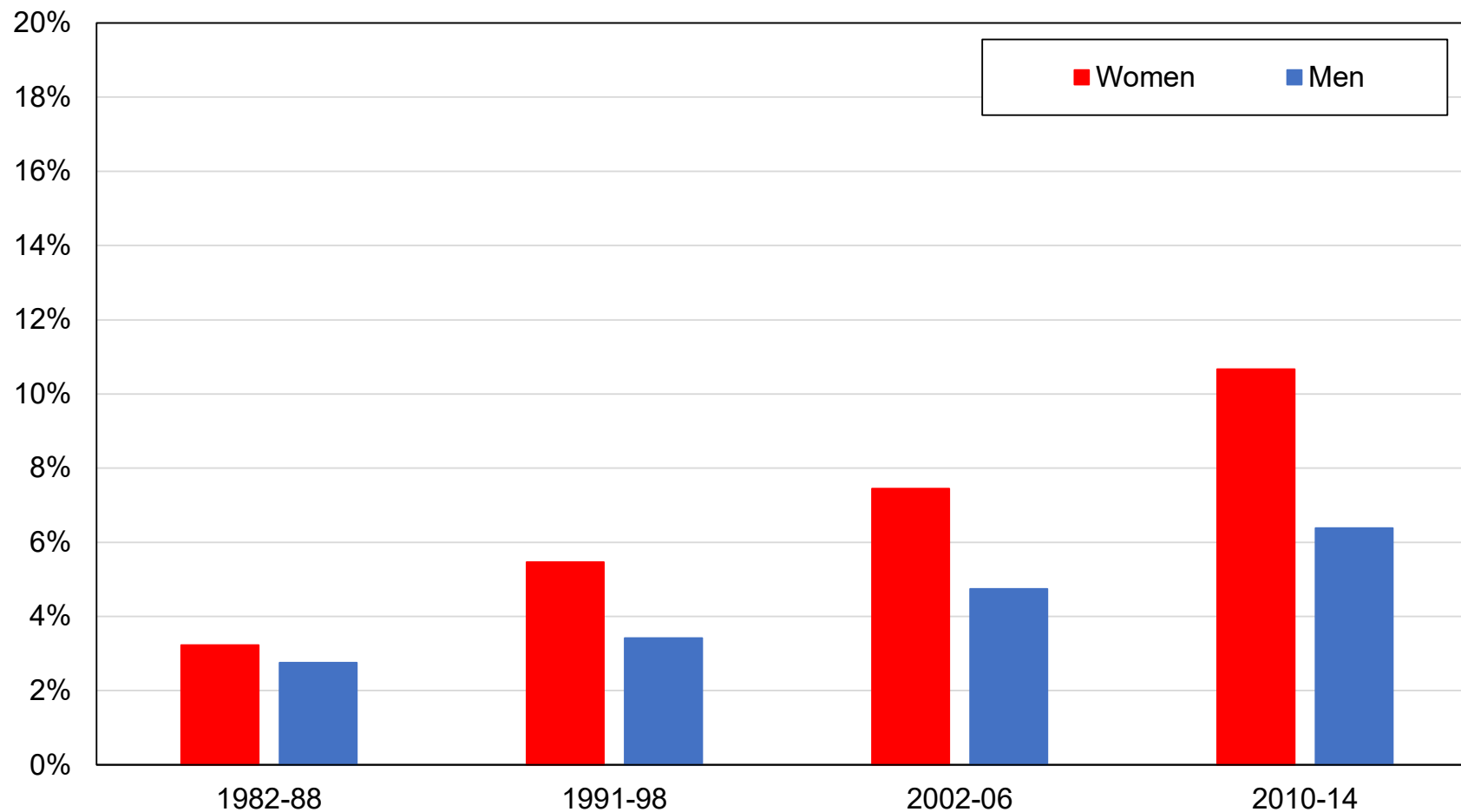
**Figure CC18 - Vote for the Green Party by income group in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Green Party by income group.

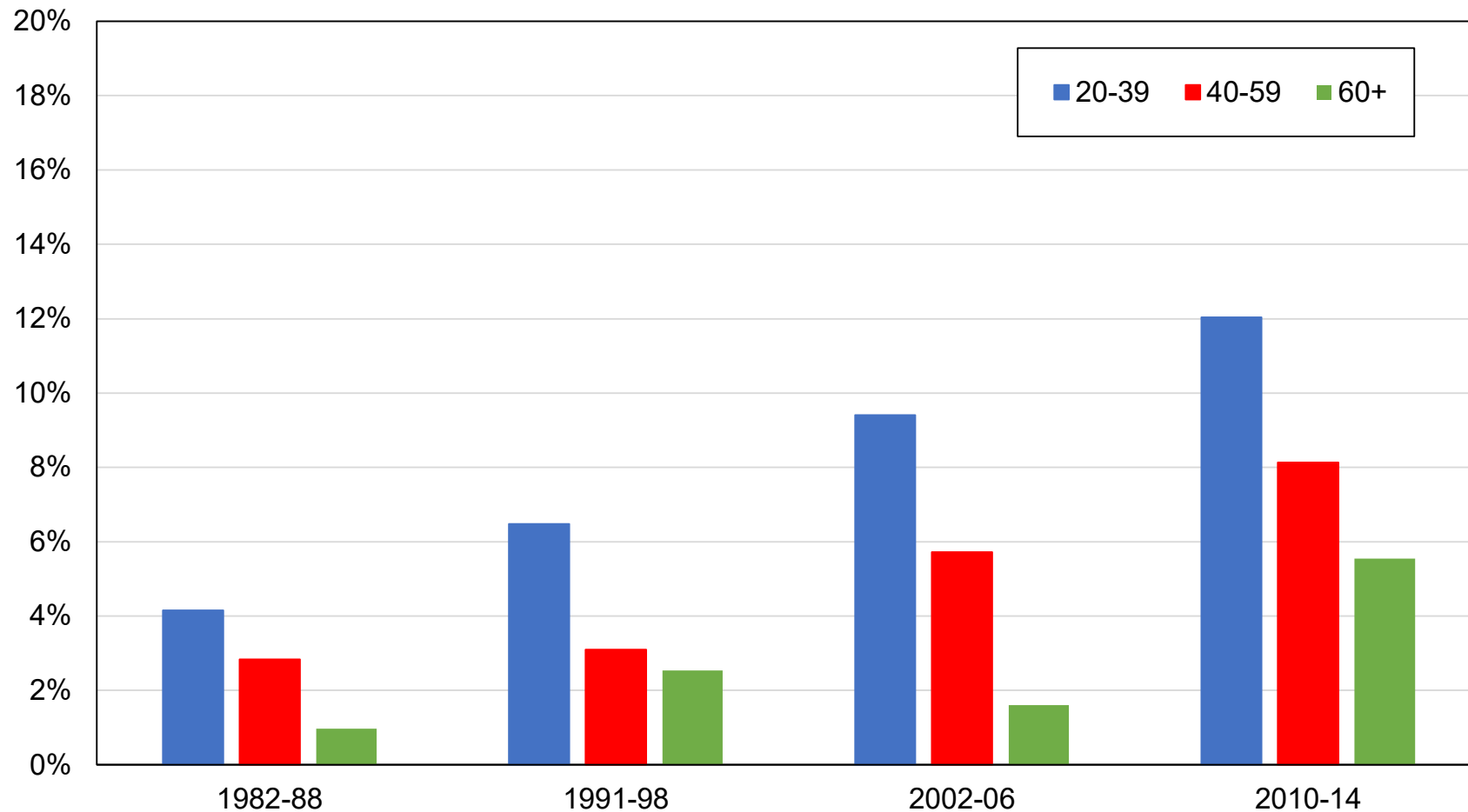
**Figure CC19 - Vote for the Green Party by gender in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Green Party coalition by gender.

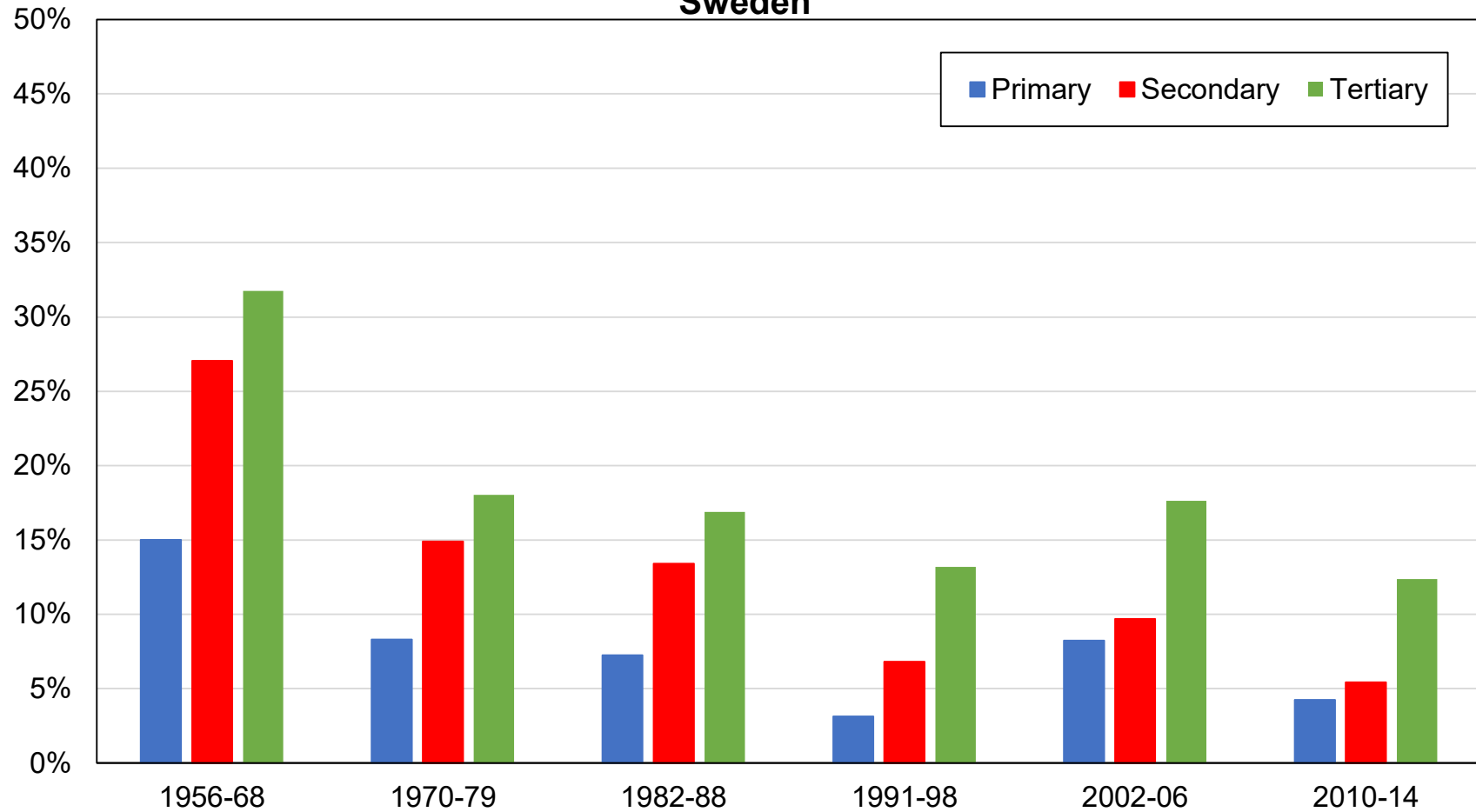
**Figure CC20 - Vote for the Green Party by age group in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Green Party by age group.

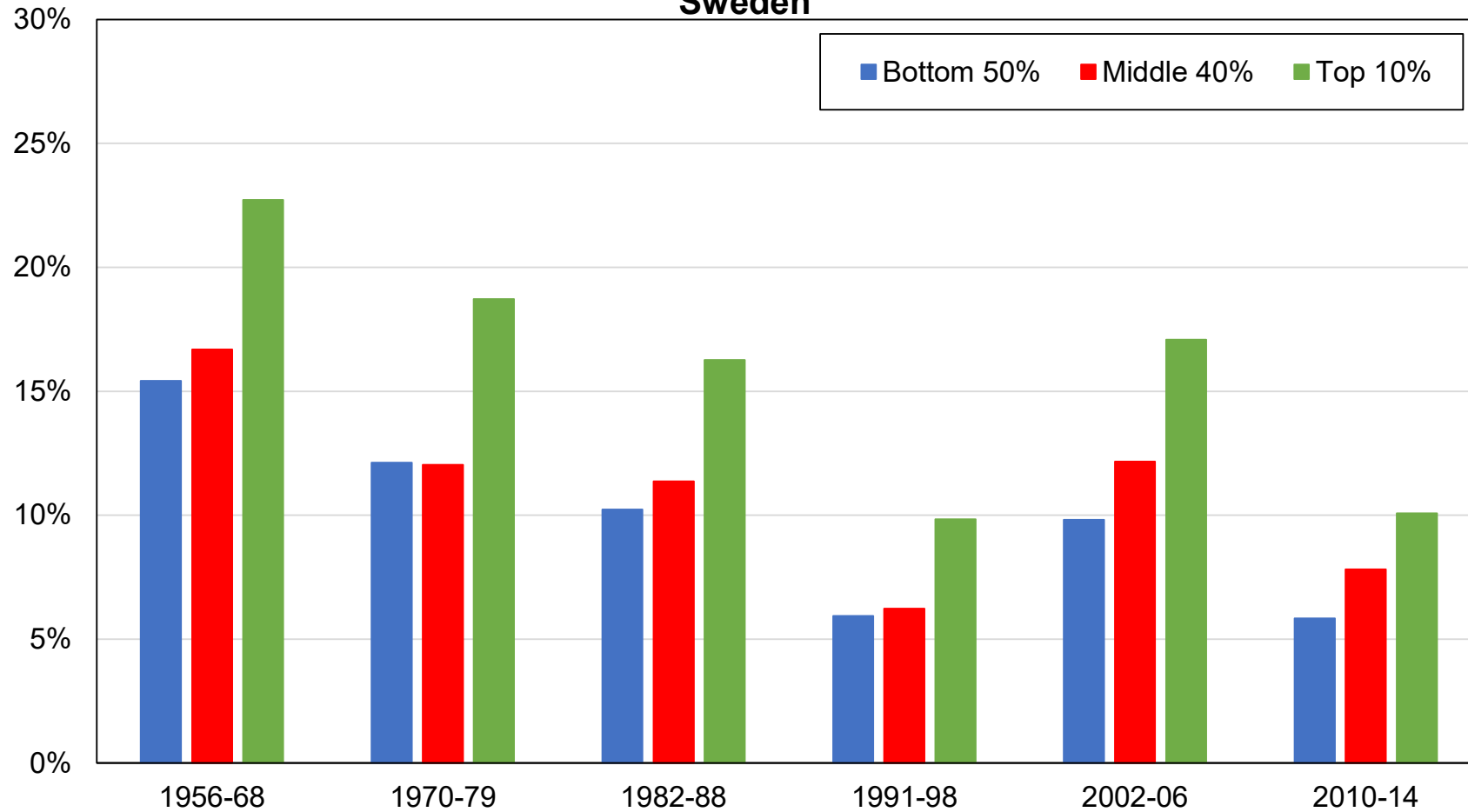
**Figure CC21 - Vote for the Liberal People's Party by educational level in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Liberal People's Party by educational level.

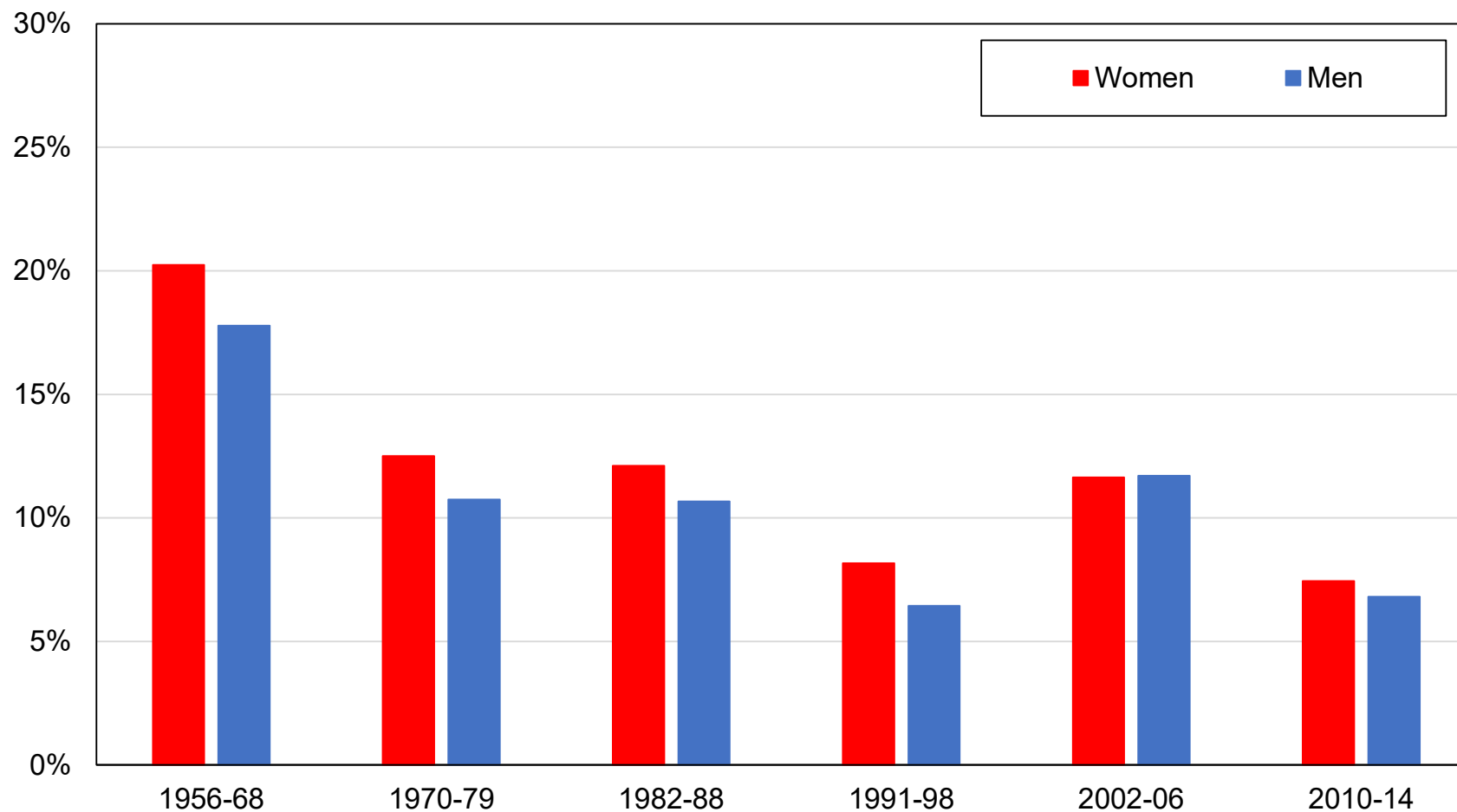
**Figure CC22 - Vote for the Liberal People's Party by income group in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Liberal People's Party by income group.

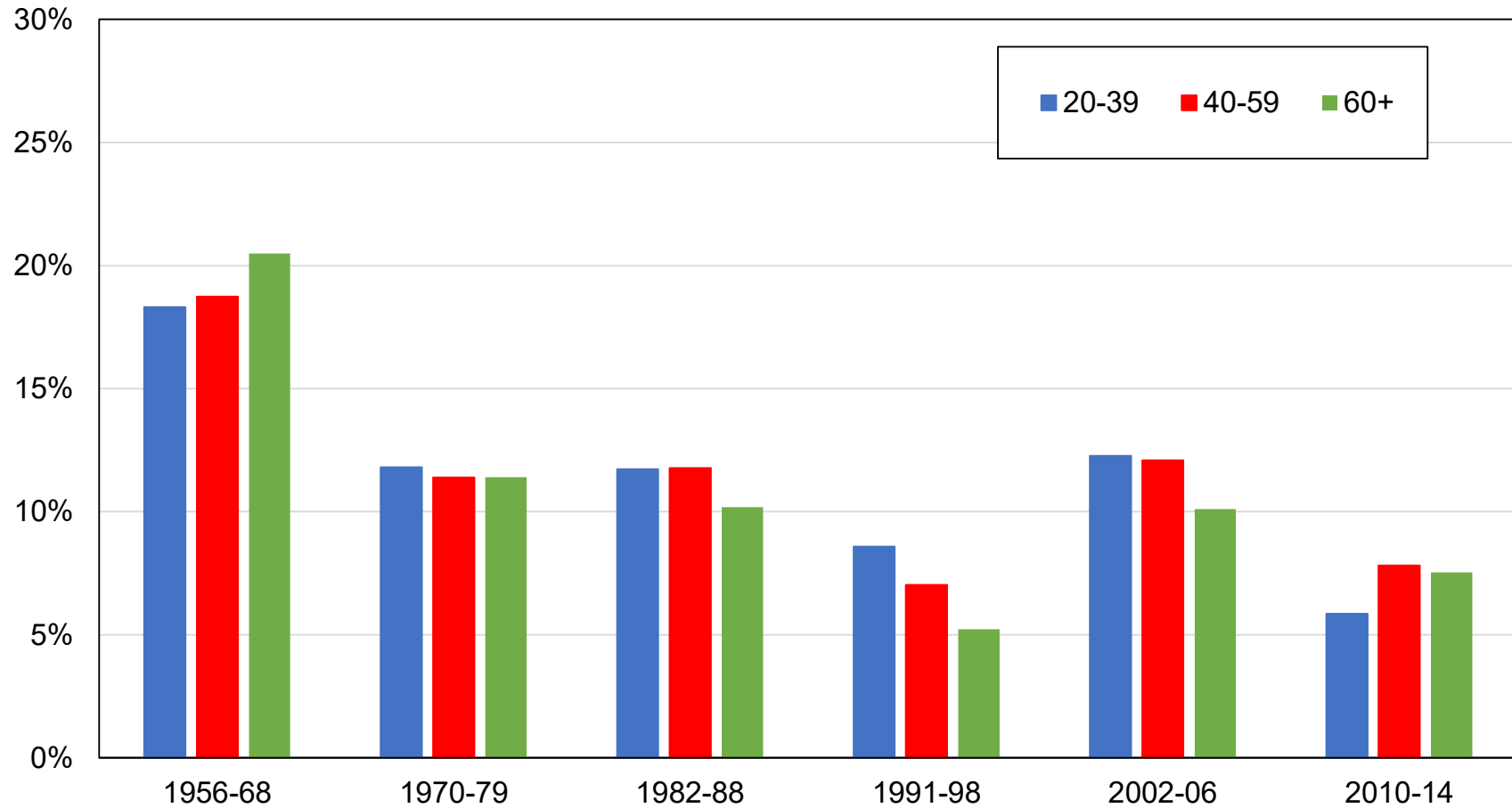
**Figure CC23 - Vote for the Liberal People's Party by gender in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Liberal People's Party coalition by gender.

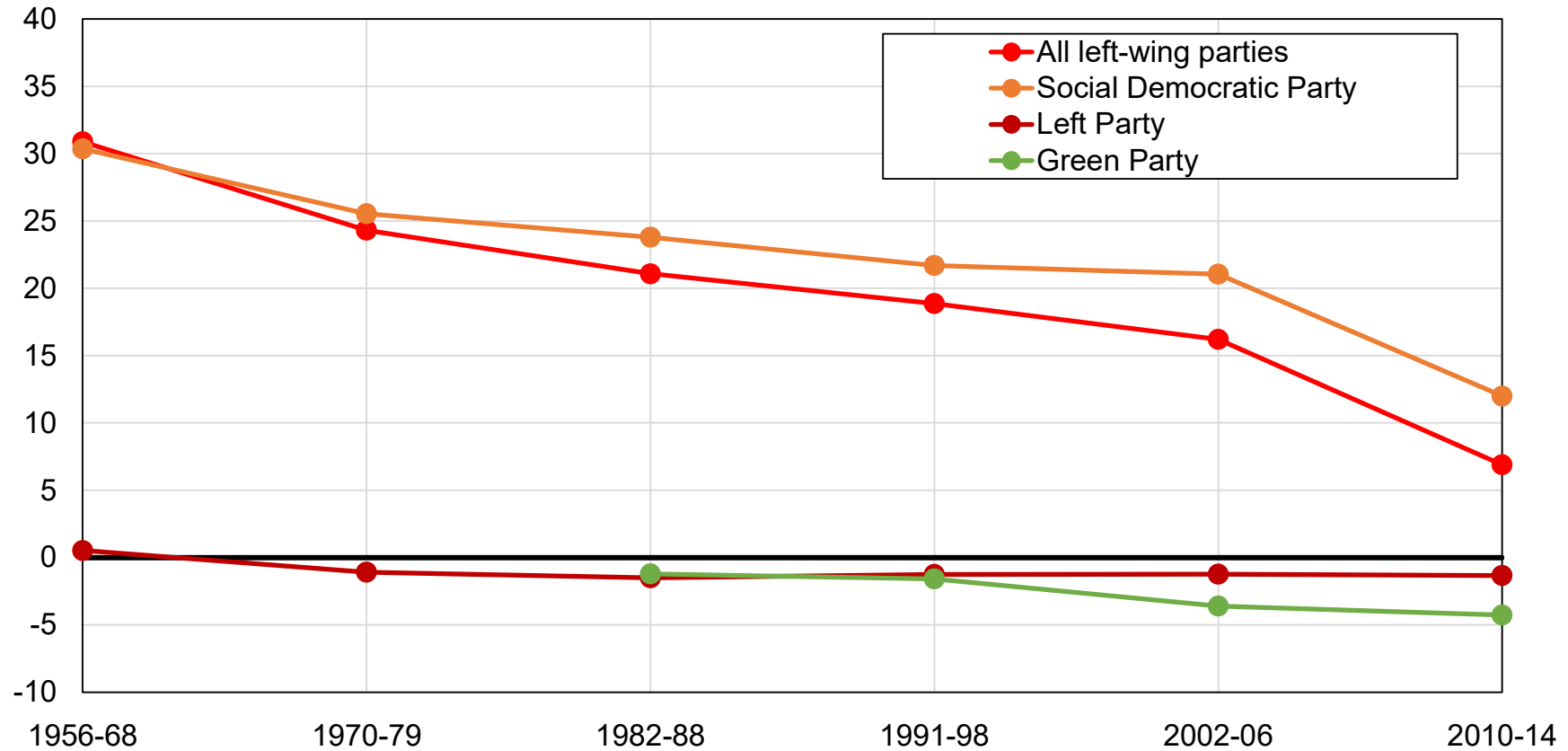
**Figure CC24 - Vote for the Liberal People's Party by age group in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Liberal People's Party by age group.

**Figure CC25 - Decomposition of the vote for the left among primary-educated voters in Sweden**

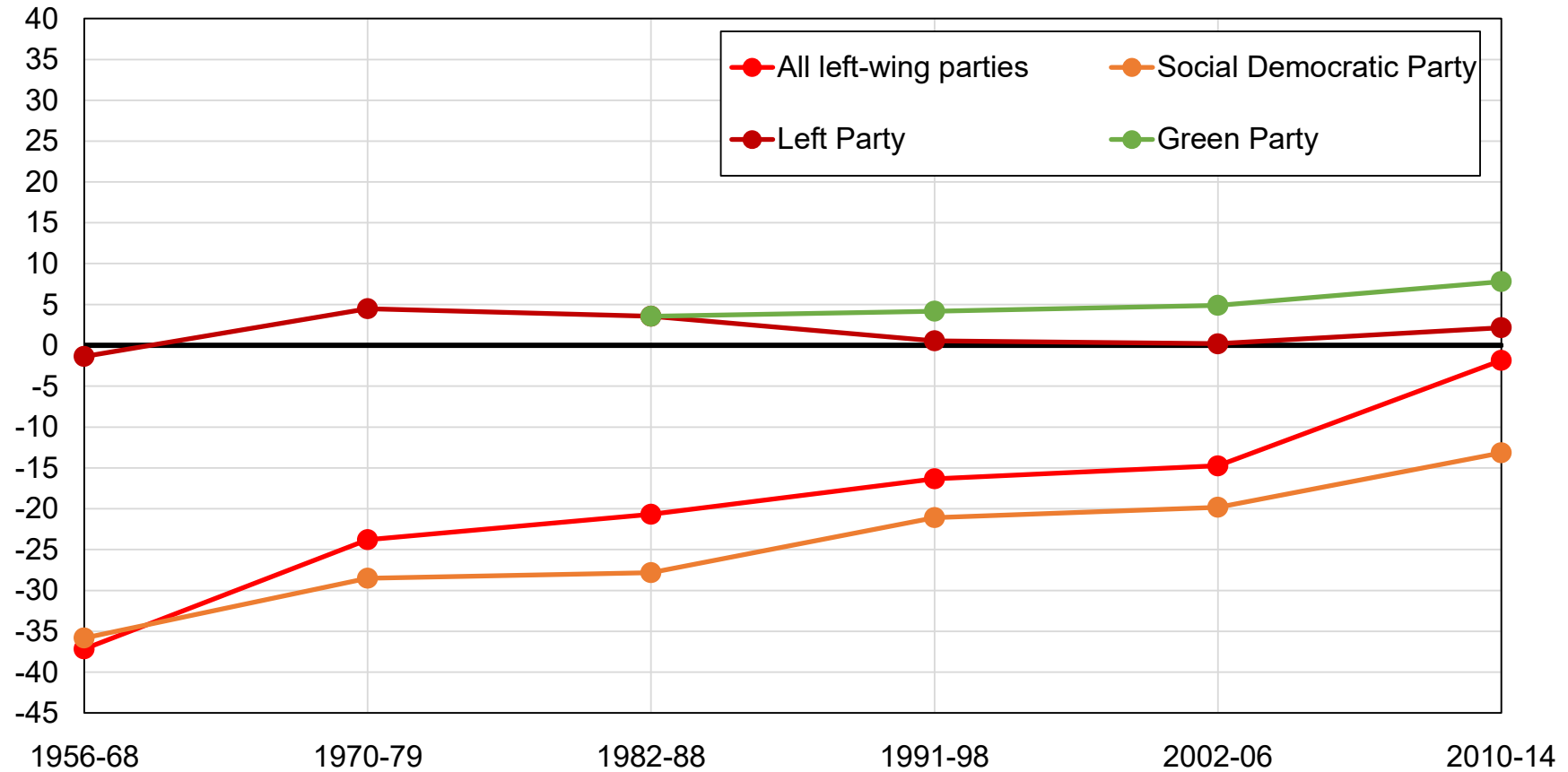


**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of primary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for the main left-wing parties, after controlling for income, age, gender, marital status, union membership, employment status, and region of residence.



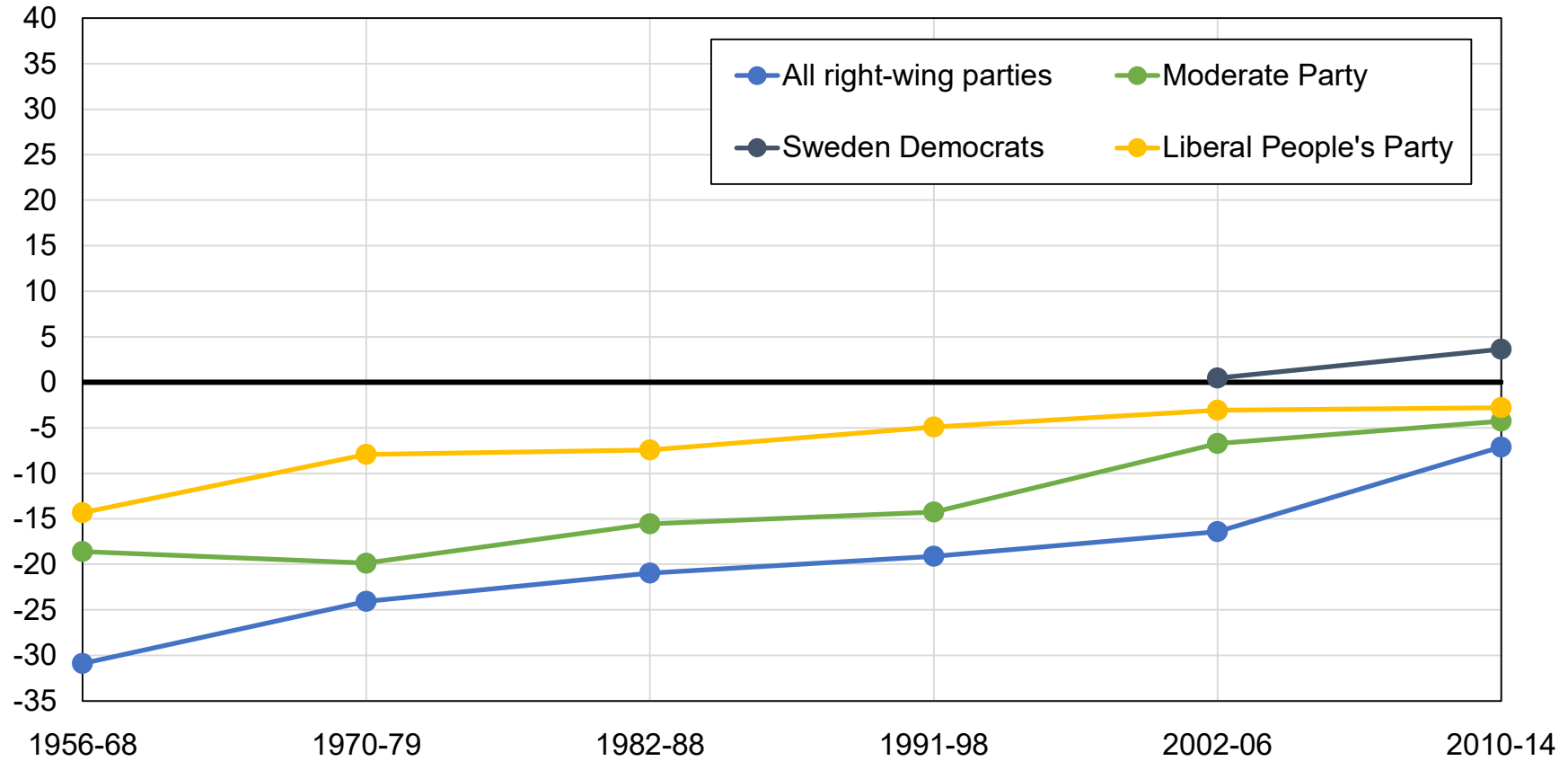
**Figure CC26 - Decomposition of the vote for the left among tertiary-educated voters in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of tertiary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for the main left-wing parties, after controlling for income, age, gender, marital status, union membership, employment status, and region of residence

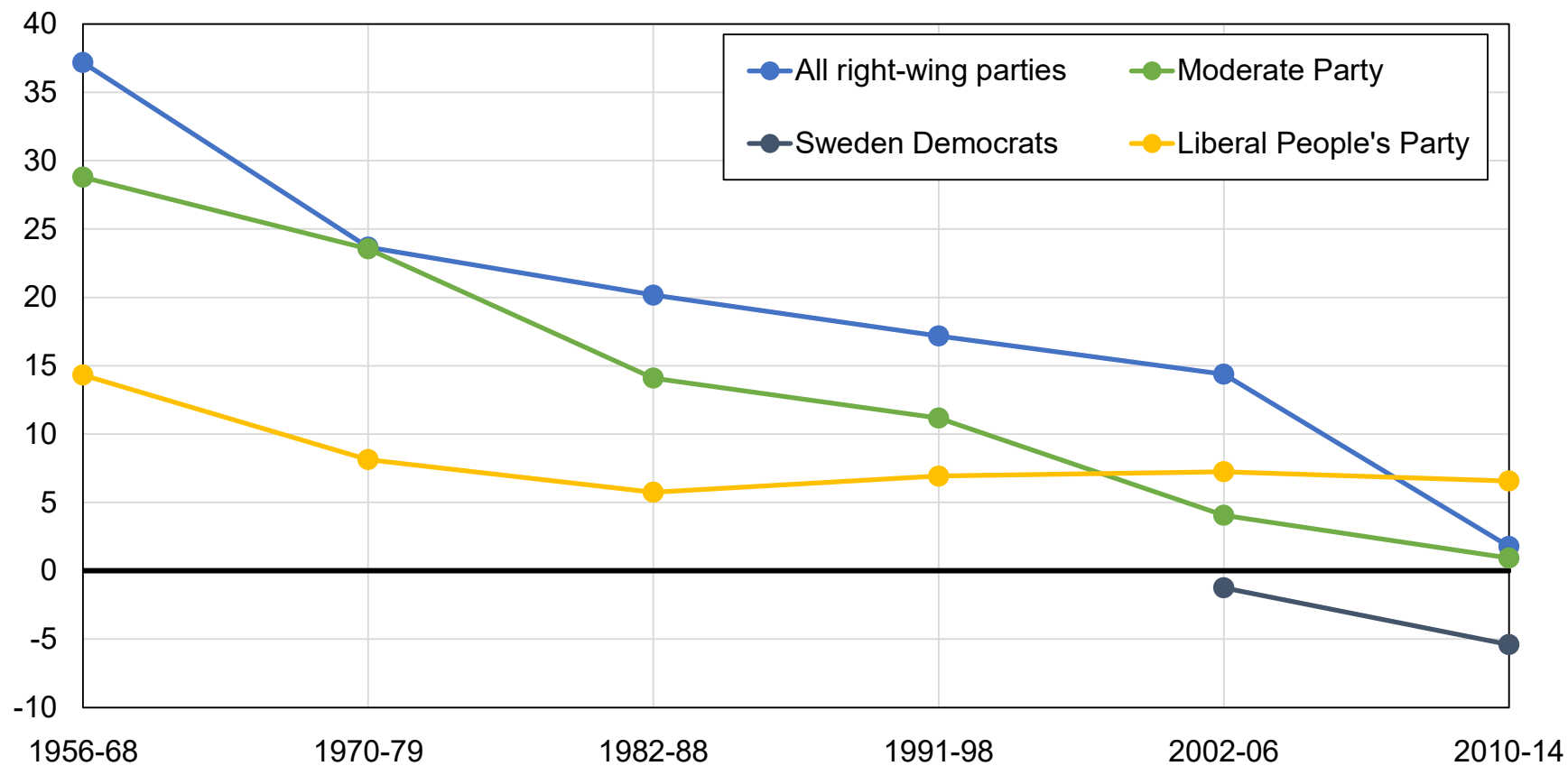
**Figure CC27 - Decomposition of the vote for the right among primary-educated voters in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of primary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for the main right-wing parties, after controlling for income, age, gender, marital status, union membership, employment status, and region of residence

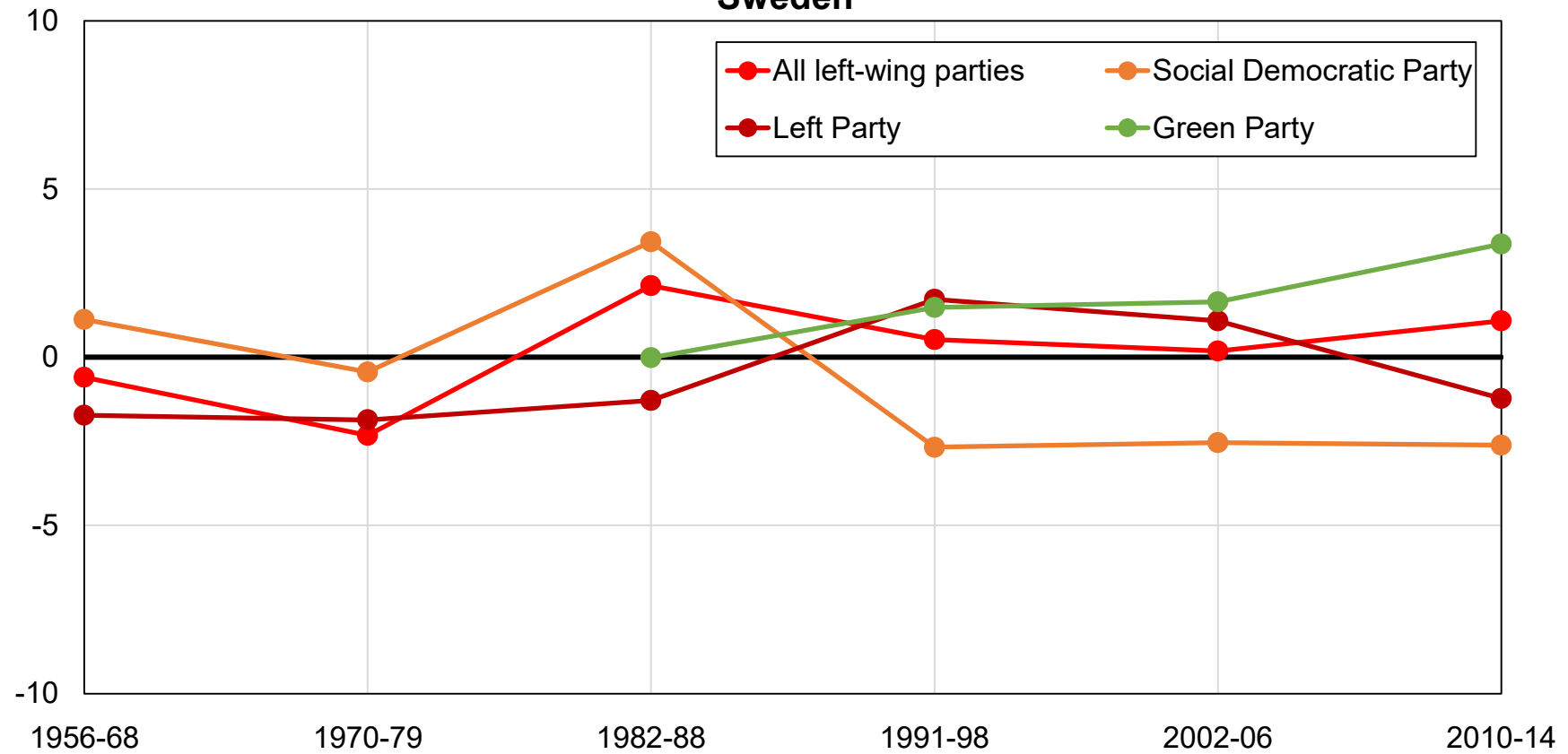
**Figure CC28 - Decomposition of the vote for the right among tertiary-educated voters in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of tertiary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for the main right-wing parties, after controlling for income, age, gender, marital status, union membership, employment status, and region of residence.

**Figure CC29 - Decomposition of the vote for the left among women in Sweden**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for the main left-wing parties, after controlling for income, education, age, marital status, region of residence, religious practice, and employment sector.

Table CD1 - Survey data sources in Sweden			
Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
1956	SNES, 1956	Swedish National Data Service	1131
1960	SNES, 1960	Swedish National Data Service	1603
1964	SNES, 1964	Swedish National Data Service	3109
1968	SNES, 1968	Swedish National Data Service	3356
1970	SNES, 1970	Swedish National Data Service	4815
1973	SNES, 1973	Swedish National Data Service	2596
1976	SNES, 1976	Swedish National Data Service	2652
1979	SNES, 1979	Swedish National Data Service	3758
1982	SNES, 1982	Swedish National Data Service	3724
1985	SNES, 1985	Swedish National Data Service	3873
1988	SNES, 1988	Swedish National Data Service	3926
1991	SNES, 1991	Swedish National Data Service	3700
1994	SNES, 1994	Swedish National Data Service	3341
1998	SNES, 1998	Swedish National Data Service	2901
2002	SNES, 2002	Swedish National Data Service	3788
2006	SNES, 2006	Swedish National Data Service	3999
2010	SNES, 2010	Swedish National Data Service	3963
2014	CSES (Module 4)	CSES	832

**Source:** author's elaboration.

**Note:** the table shows the surveys used in the paper, the source from which these surveys can be obtained, and the sample size of each survey.

**Table CD2 - Complete descriptive statistics by decade in Sweden**

	1956-68	1970-79	1982-88	1991-98	2002-06	2010-14
Age: 20-39	36%	38%	43%	42%	40%	33%
Age: 40-59	41%	36%	32%	34%	36%	36%
Age: 60+	23%	26%	25%	23%	24%	31%
Subjective social class: Working class	48%	62%	51%	49%	48%	44%
Subjective social class: Middle/Upper/No	52%	38%	49%	51%	52%	56%
Education: Primary	71%	67%	40%	26%	18%	19%
Education: Secondary	22%	22%	44%	50%	49%	56%
Education: Tertiary	8%	11%	17%	24%	33%	25%
Employment status: Employed public		25%	28%	25%	26%	15%
Employment status: Employed private		42%	42%	38%	40%	27%
Employment status: Unemployed/Inactive		33%	30%	36%	34%	59%
House ownership: Renting	61%	41%	38%	43%	30%	26%
House ownership: Owning	39%	59%	62%	57%	70%	74%
Marital status: Single	31%	30%	31%	33%	33%	30%
Marital status: Married / Partner	69%	70%	69%	67%	67%	70%
Region: Götland				48%	48%	50%
Region: Norrland				14%	13%	12%
Region: Svealand				37%	38%	37%
Religion: Protestant	95%		0%	97%	96%	90%
Religion: Other	5%		0%	3%	4%	10%
Church attendance: Never	67%		61%	57%	52%	62%
Church attendance: Less than monthly	16%		10%	9%	7%	6%
Church attendance: Monthly or more	16%		29%	34%	41%	31%
Rural / urban: Urban	56%	81%	83%	82%	84%	82%
Rural / urban: Rural	44%	19%	17%	18%	16%	18%
Sector: Private/Mixed		62%	60%	60%	61%	64%
Sector: Public		38%	40%	40%	39%	36%
Gender: Women	50%	49%	51%	49%	50%	49%
Gender: Men	50%	51%	49%	51%	50%	51%
Union membership: Not union member	37%	37%	31%	42%	37%	48%
Union membership: Union member	63%	63%	69%	58%	63%	52%

**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the table shows descriptive statistics by decade for selected available variables.

**Table CD3 - The structure of political cleavages in Sweden, 2010-2014 (extended)**

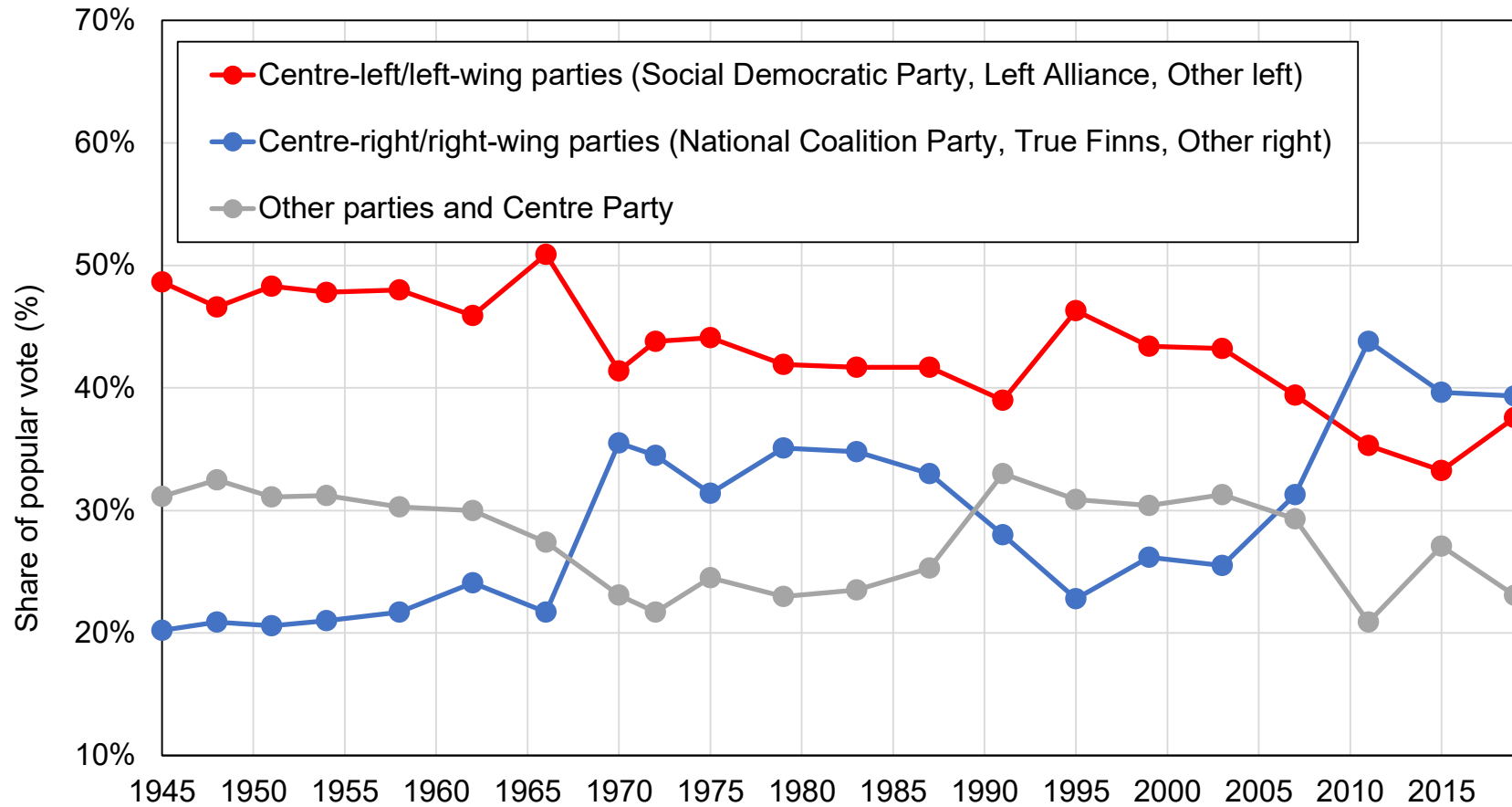
	Share of votes received (%)				
	Social Democrats	Left Party	Green Party	The Alliance	Sweden Democrats
<b>Education</b>					
Primary	38%	5%	4%	37%	12%
Secondary	31%	6%	7%	46%	9%
Tertiary	18%	8%	15%	53%	2%
<b>Income</b>					
Bottom 50%	33%	7%	9%	37%	10%
Middle 40%	28%	5%	8%	51%	6%
Top 10%	16%	5%	6%	67%	4%
<b>Gender</b>					
Women	28%	6%	11%	47%	5%
Men	30%	6%	6%	46%	10%
<b>Age</b>					
20-39	25%	7%	12%	44%	6%
40-59	27%	6%	8%	50%	7%
60+	34%	6%	6%	44%	9%
<b>Sector</b>					
Private/Mixed	22%	4%	9%	54%	8%
Public	30%	10%	12%	42%	4%
<b>Religion</b>					
Protestant	29%	3%	9%	55%	3%
Other	27%	3%	8%	58%	0%

**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys.

**Notes:** the table shows the average share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party, the Left Party, the Green Party, the Alliance Coalition (Conservatives, Liberals, Centrists, Christian Democrats) and the Sweden Democrats by selected individual characteristics over the 2010-2014 period.



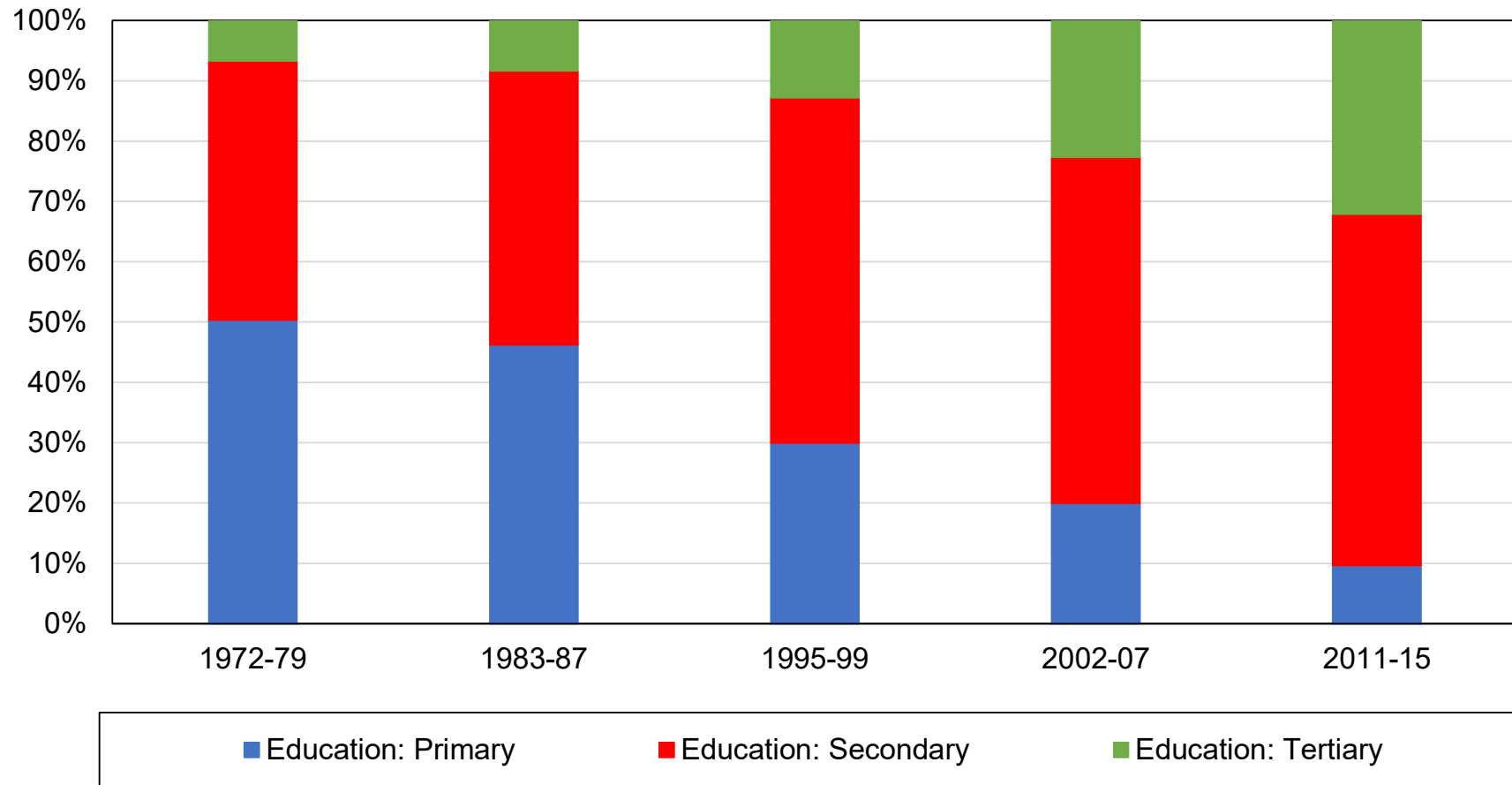
**Figure DA1- Election results by groups in Finland, 1945-2019**



**Source:** authors' computations using official election results.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Finnish political parties in general elections between 1945 and 2019.

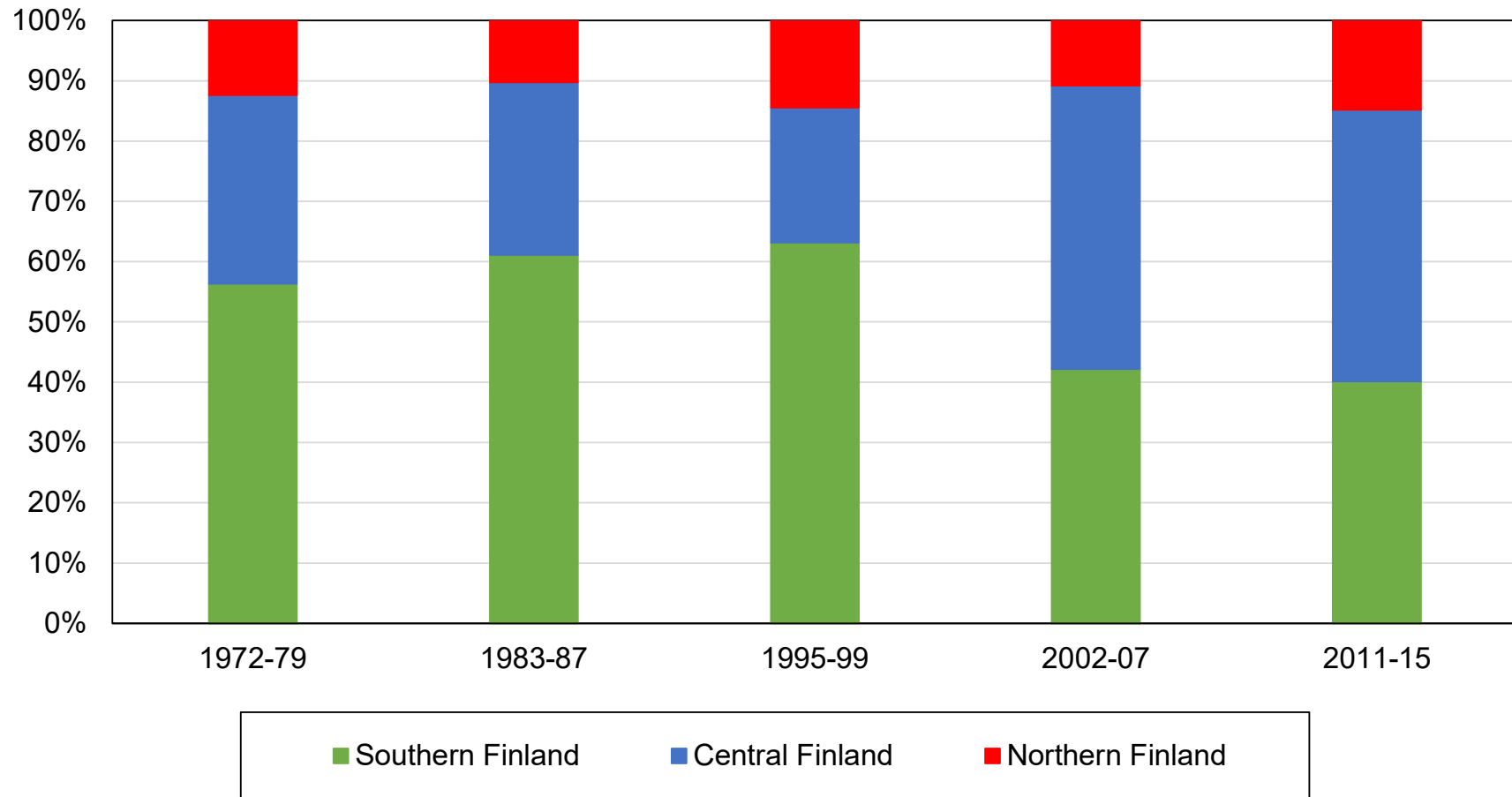
**Figure DA2 - The evolution of education in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the distribution of education levels of the Finnish adult population and its evolution over time since the 1960s.

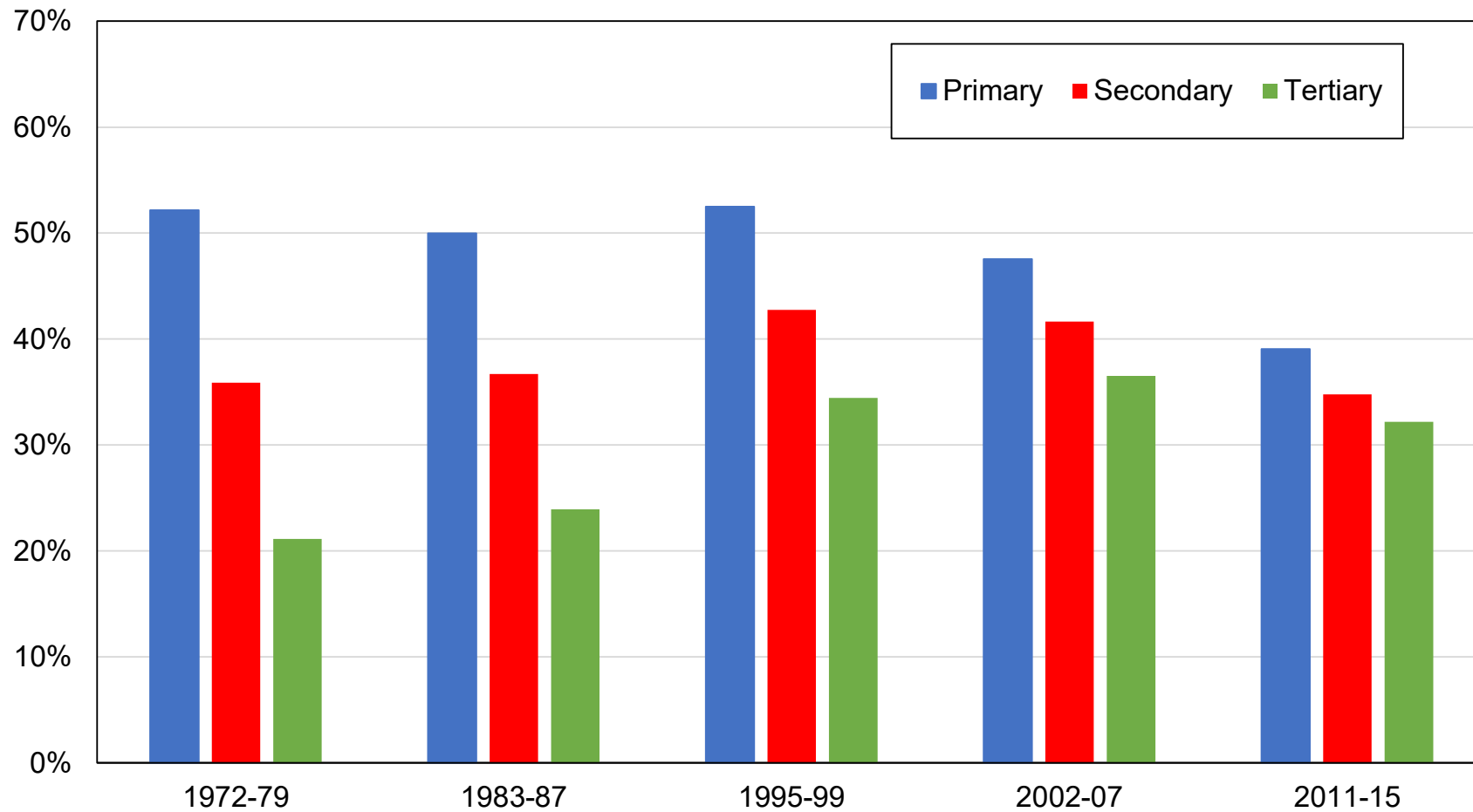
**Figure DA3 - The distribution of region of residence in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the distribution of region of residence in Finnish adult population and its evolution over time since the 1970s.

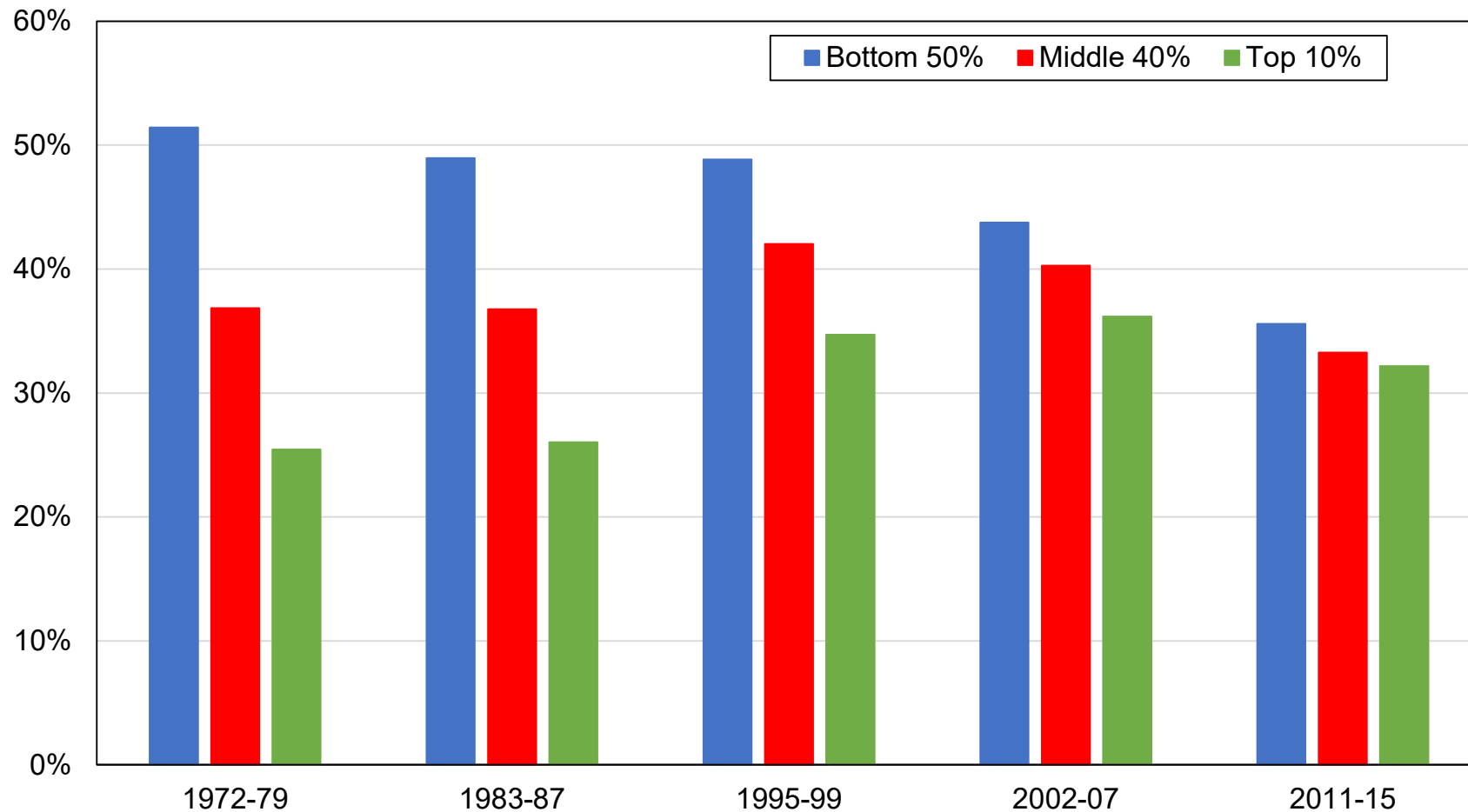
**Figure DB1 - Vote for left by education level in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by education level.

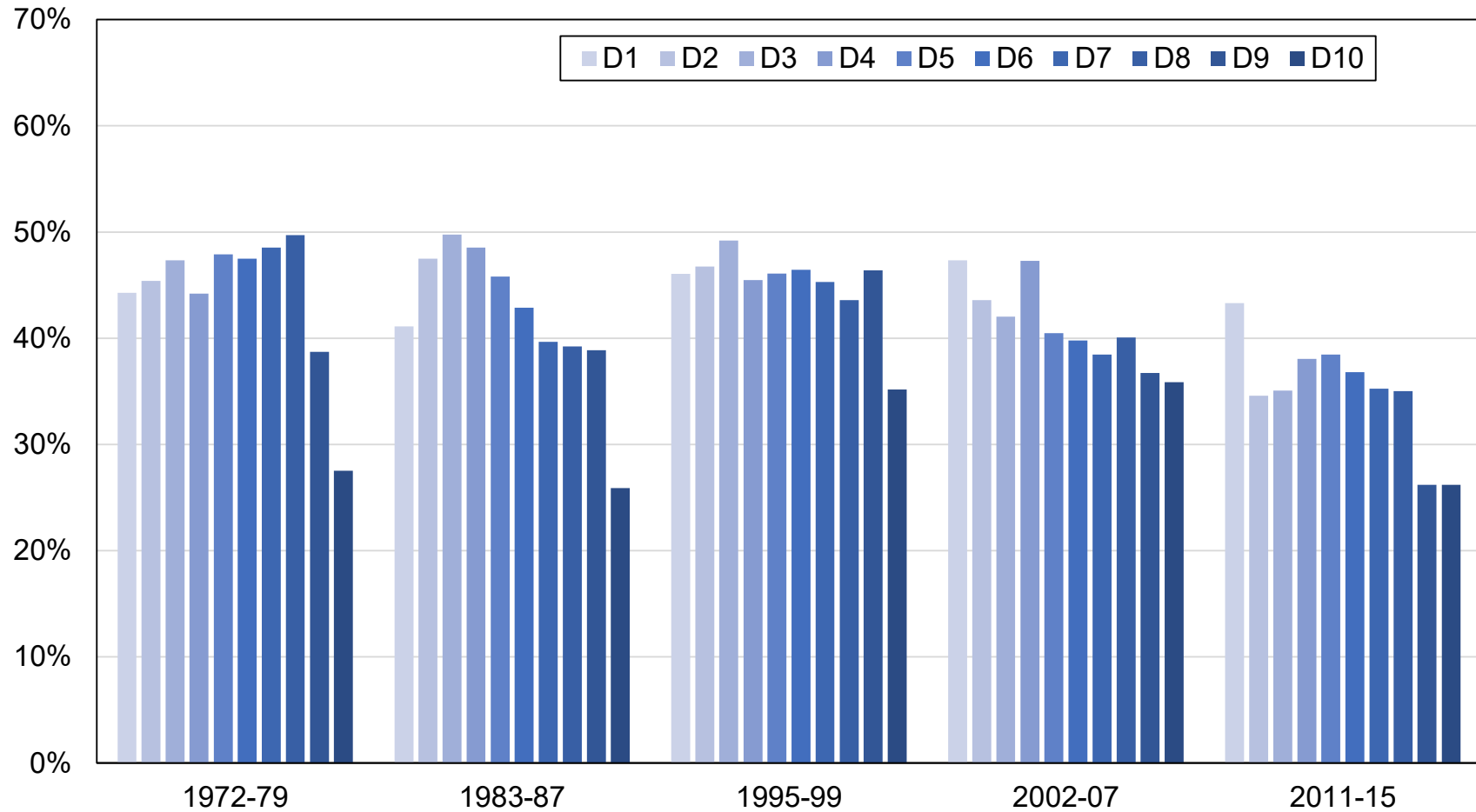
**Figure DB2 - Vote for the left by education group in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by education group.

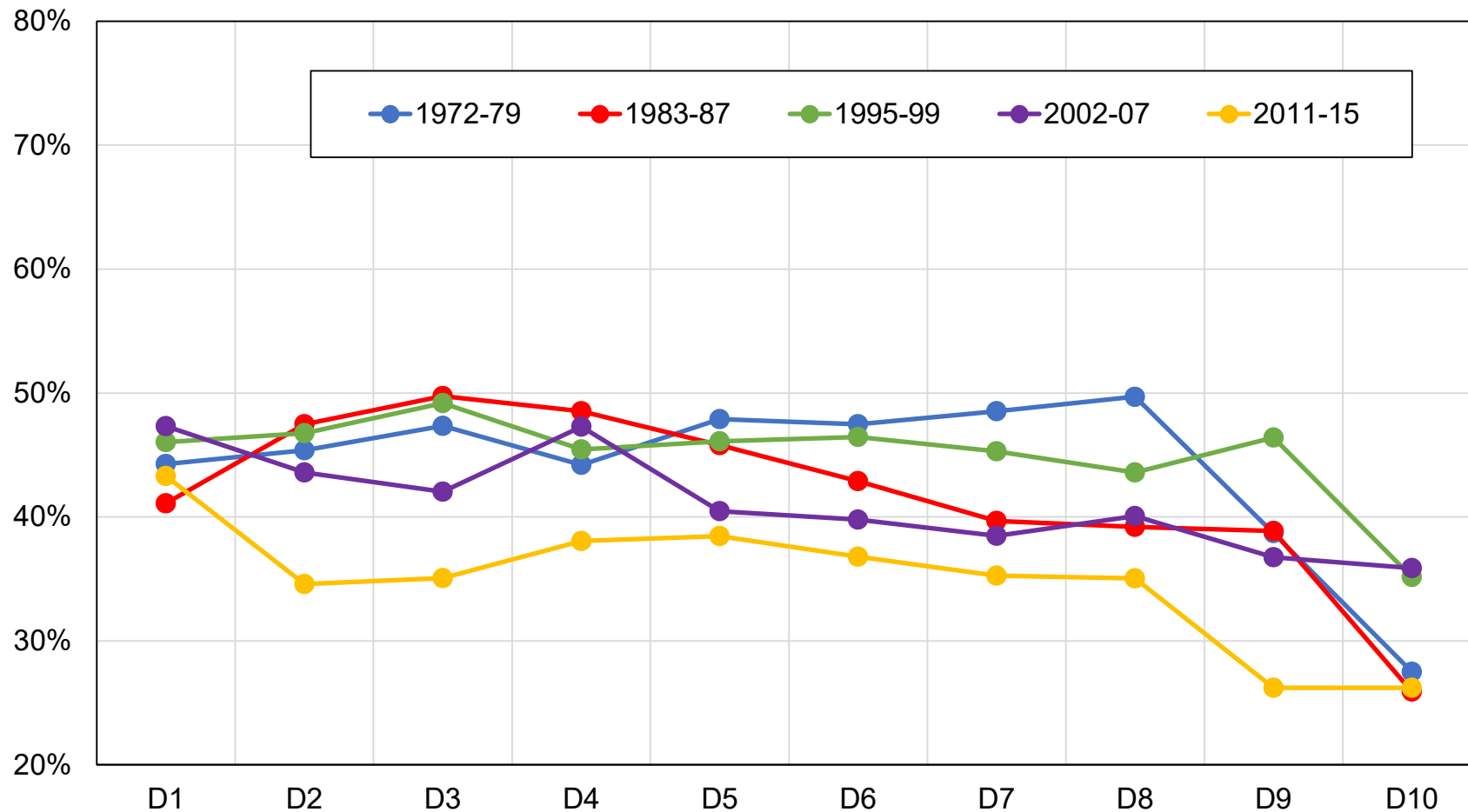
**Figure DB3 - Vote for the left by income decile in Finland (bars)**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income decile.

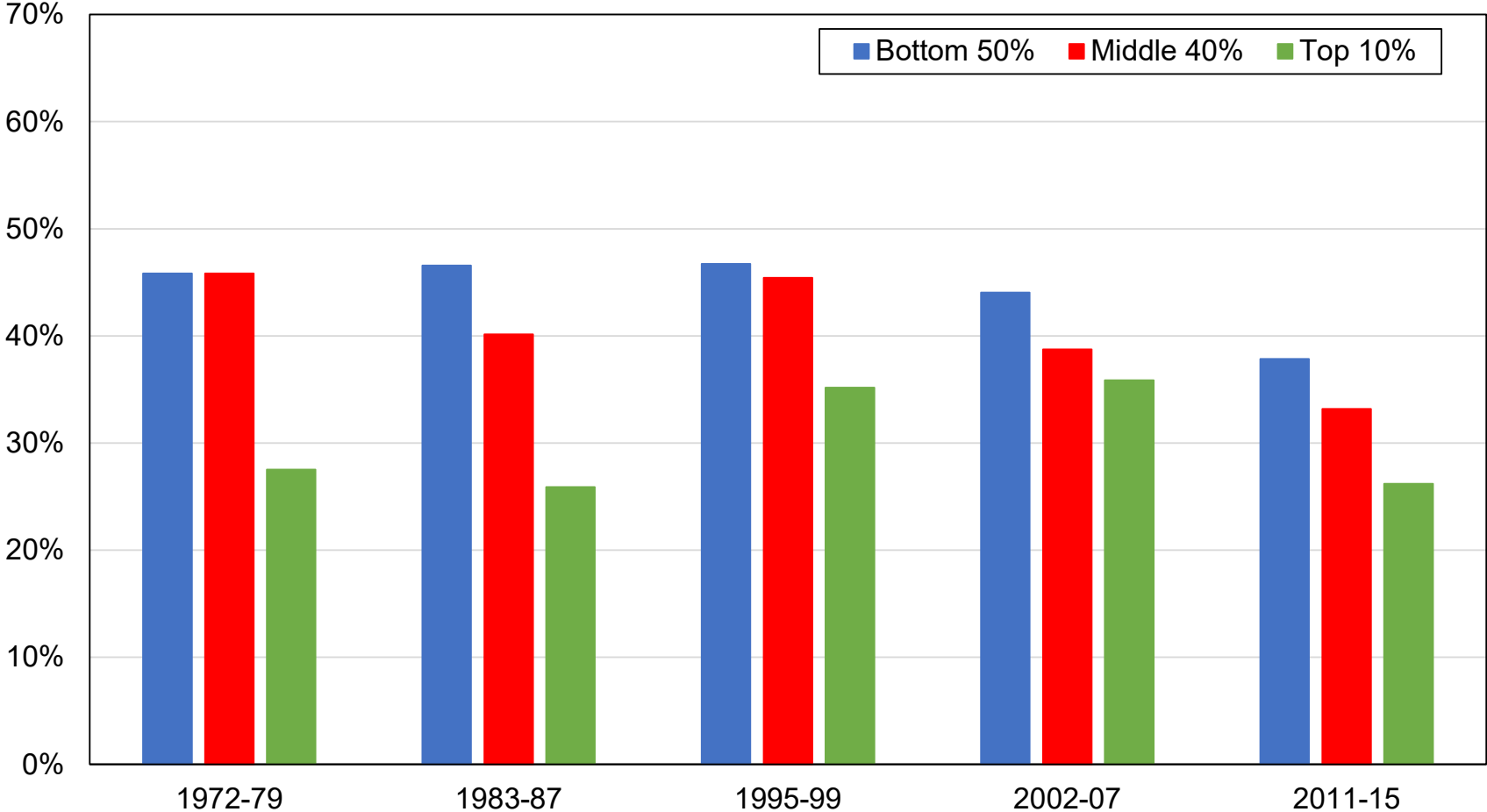
**Figure DB4 - Vote for the left by income decile in Finland (lines)**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income decile.

**Figure DB5 - Vote for the left by income group in Finland**

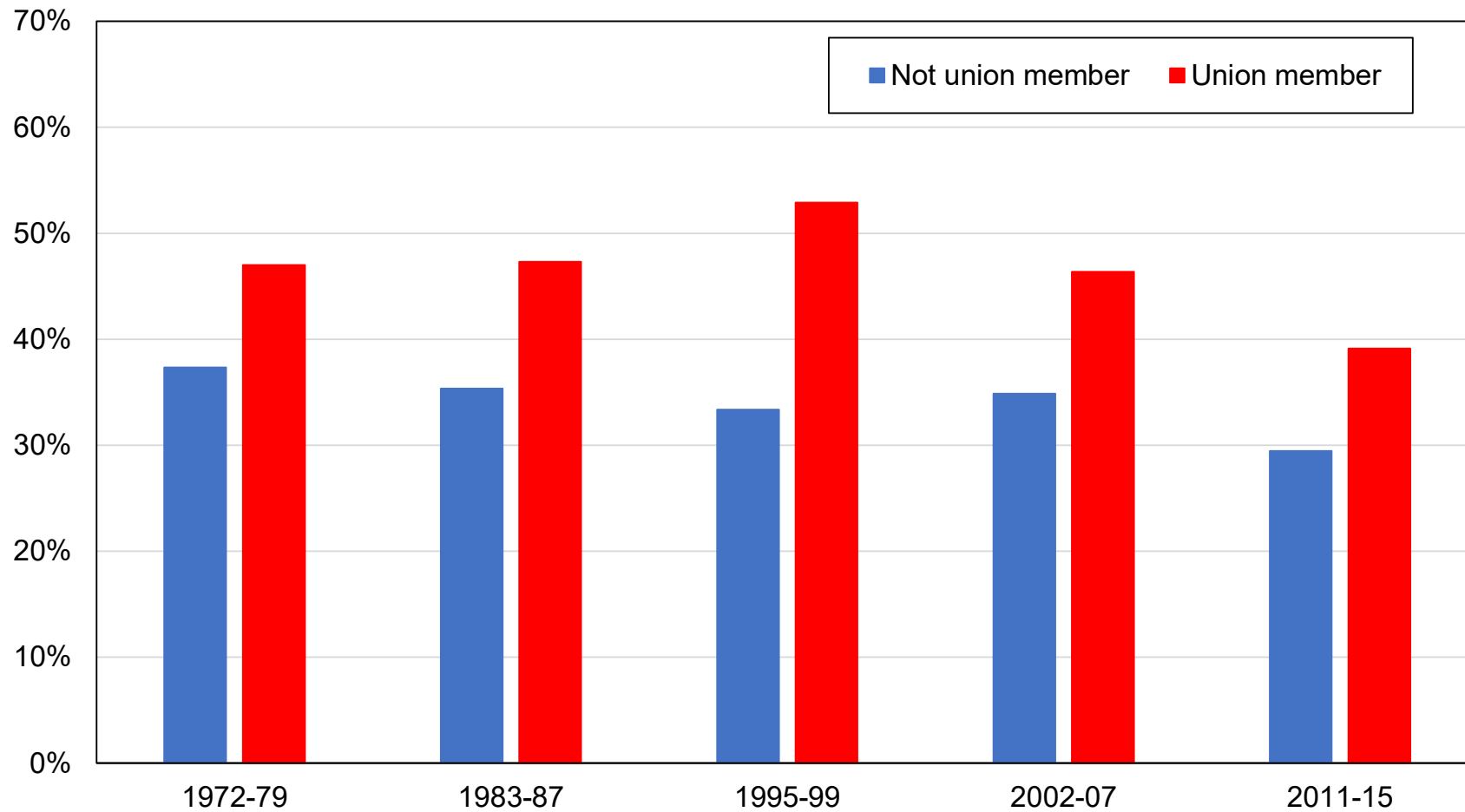


**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income group.



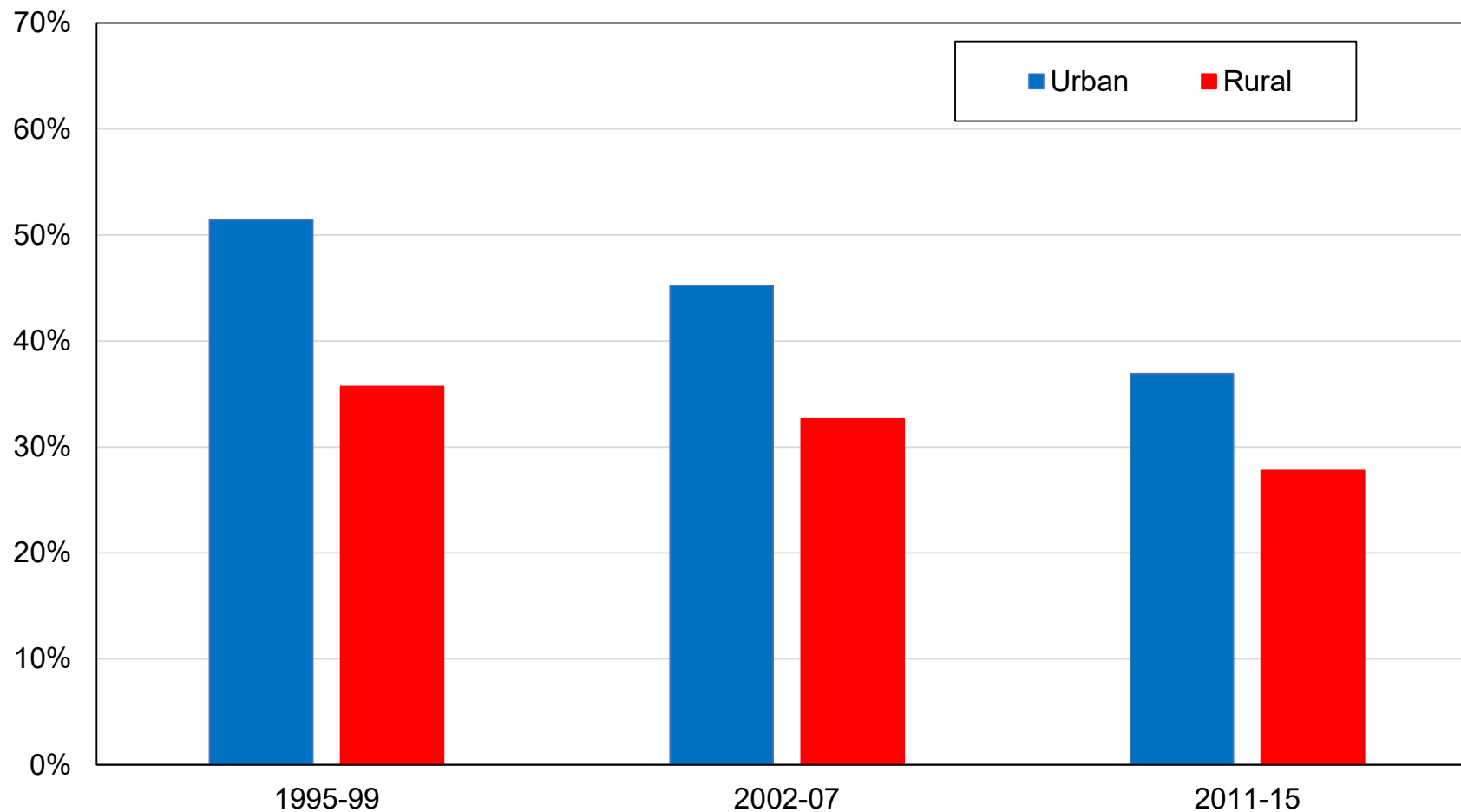
**Figure DB6 - Vote the left by union membership in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by union membership status.

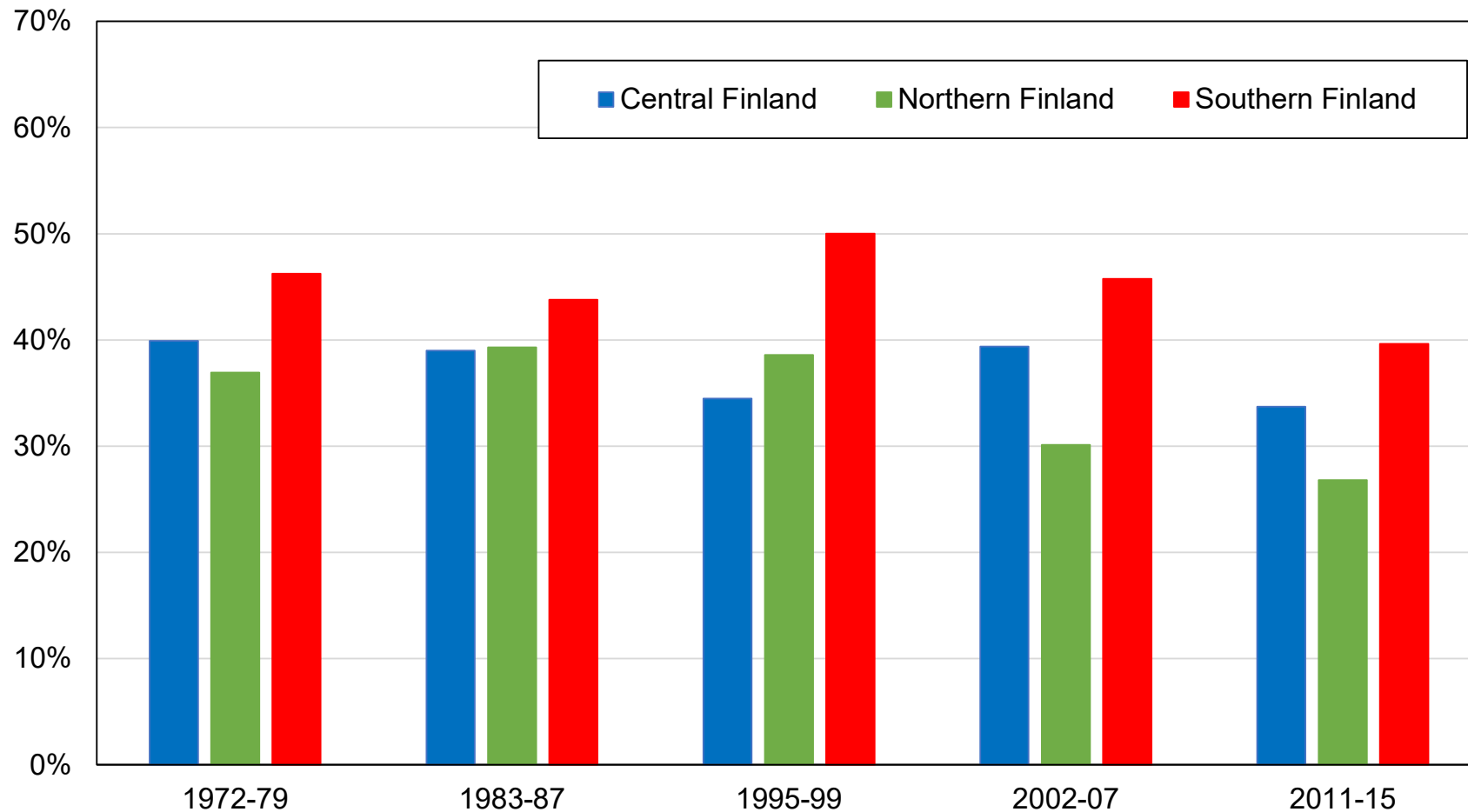
**Figure DB7 - Vote for the left by location in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by rural-urban location.

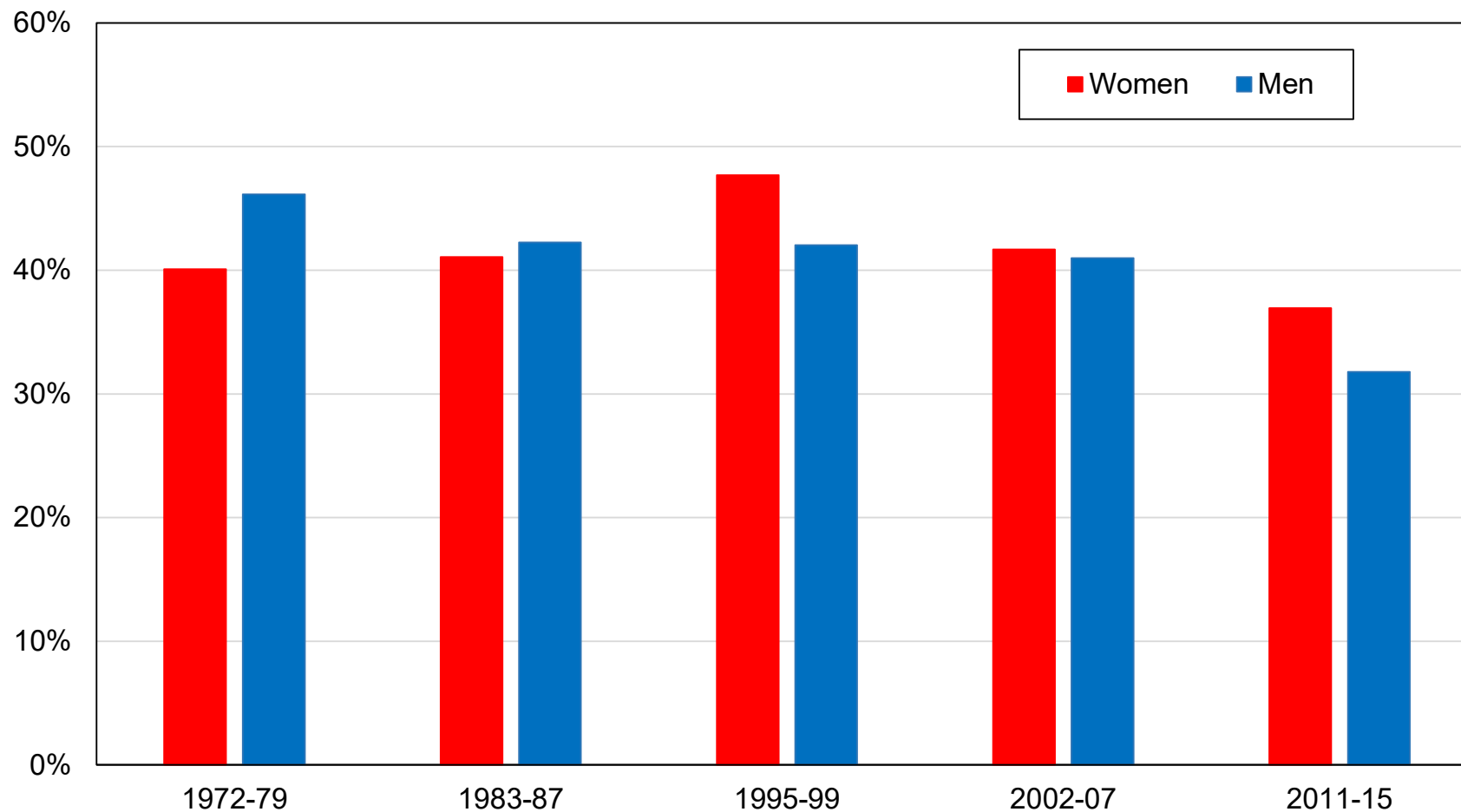
**Figure DB8 - Vote for the left by region of residence in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by region of residence.

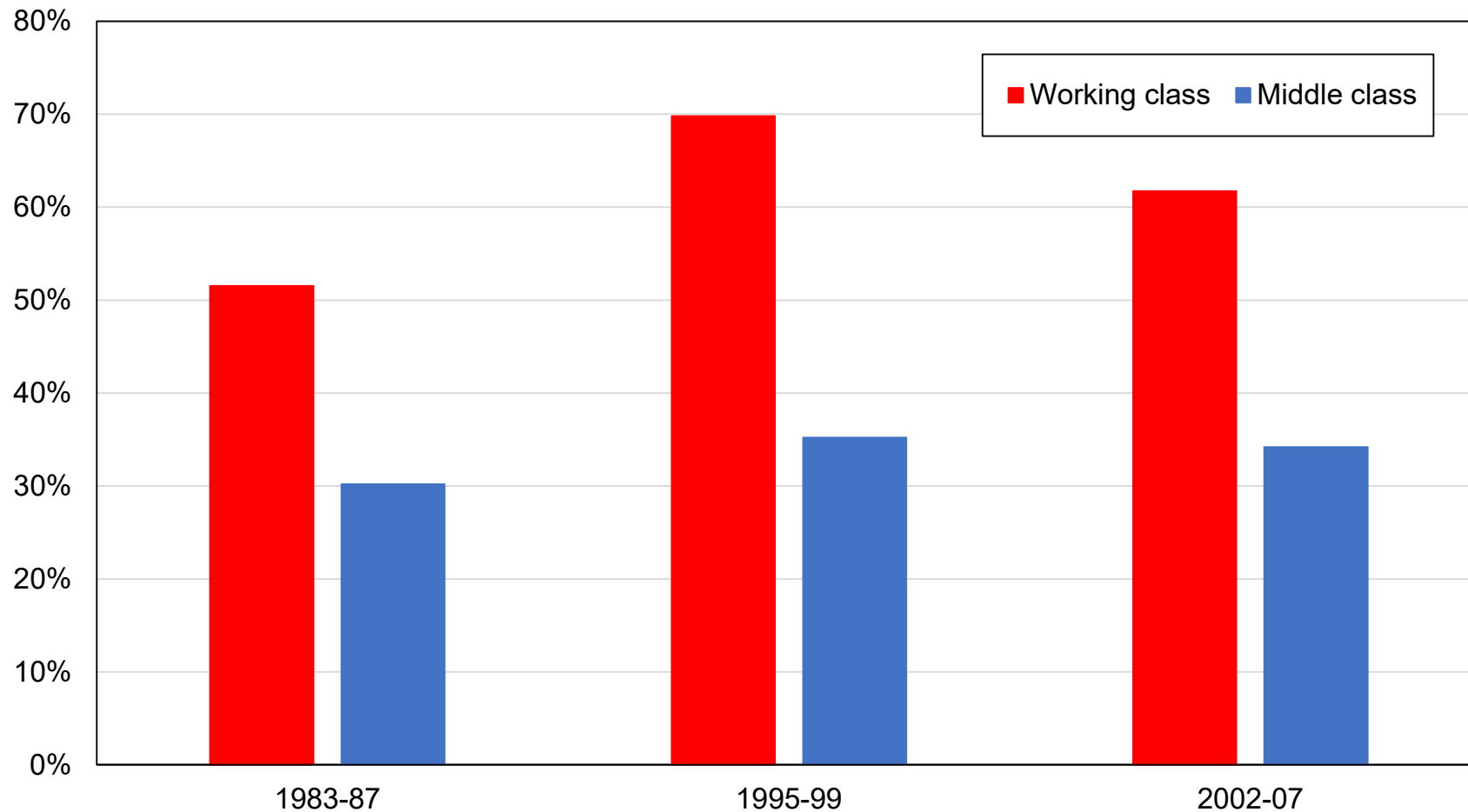
**Figure DB9 - Vote for the left by gender in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by gender.

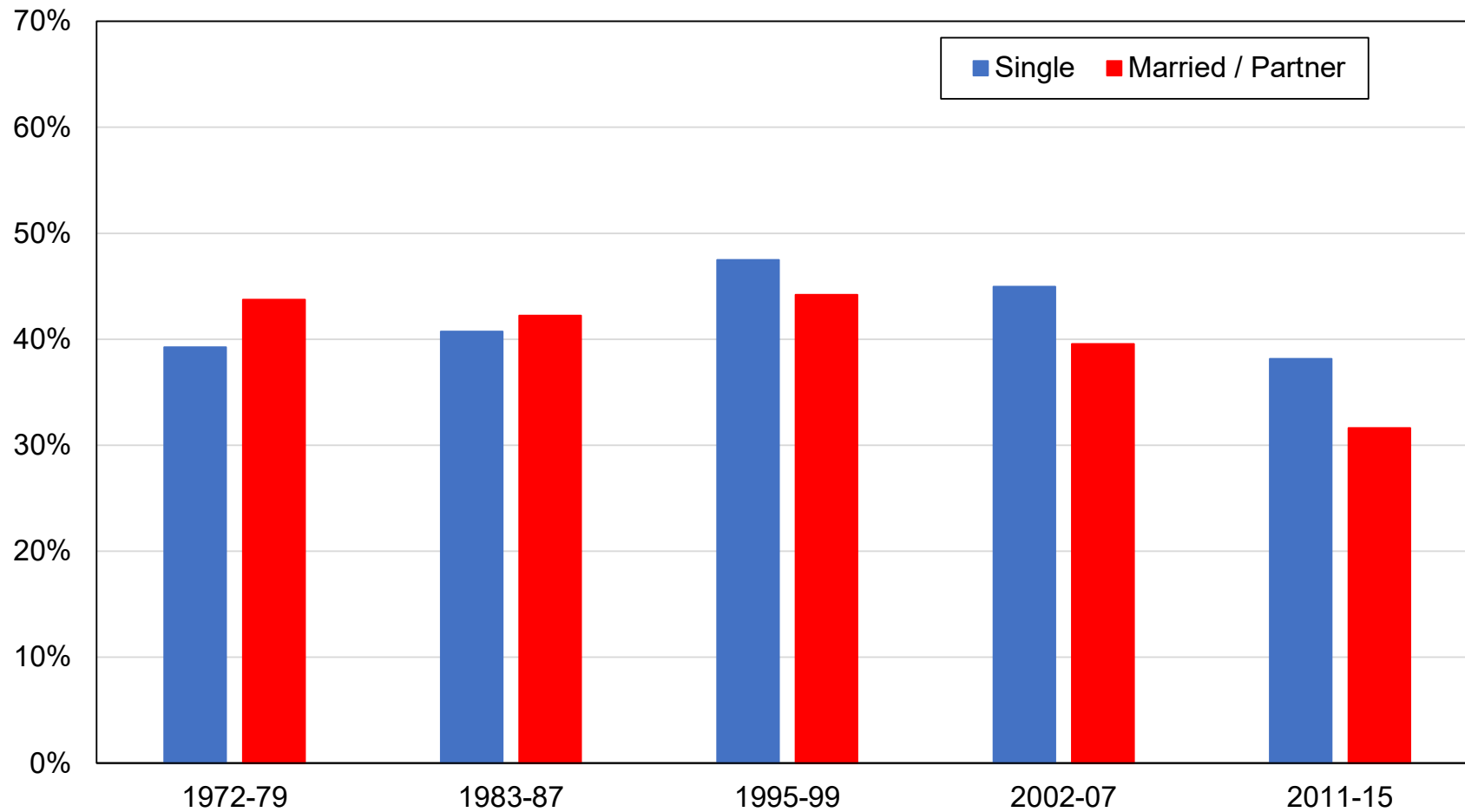
**Figure DB10 - Vote for the left by perceived social class in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by perceived social class.

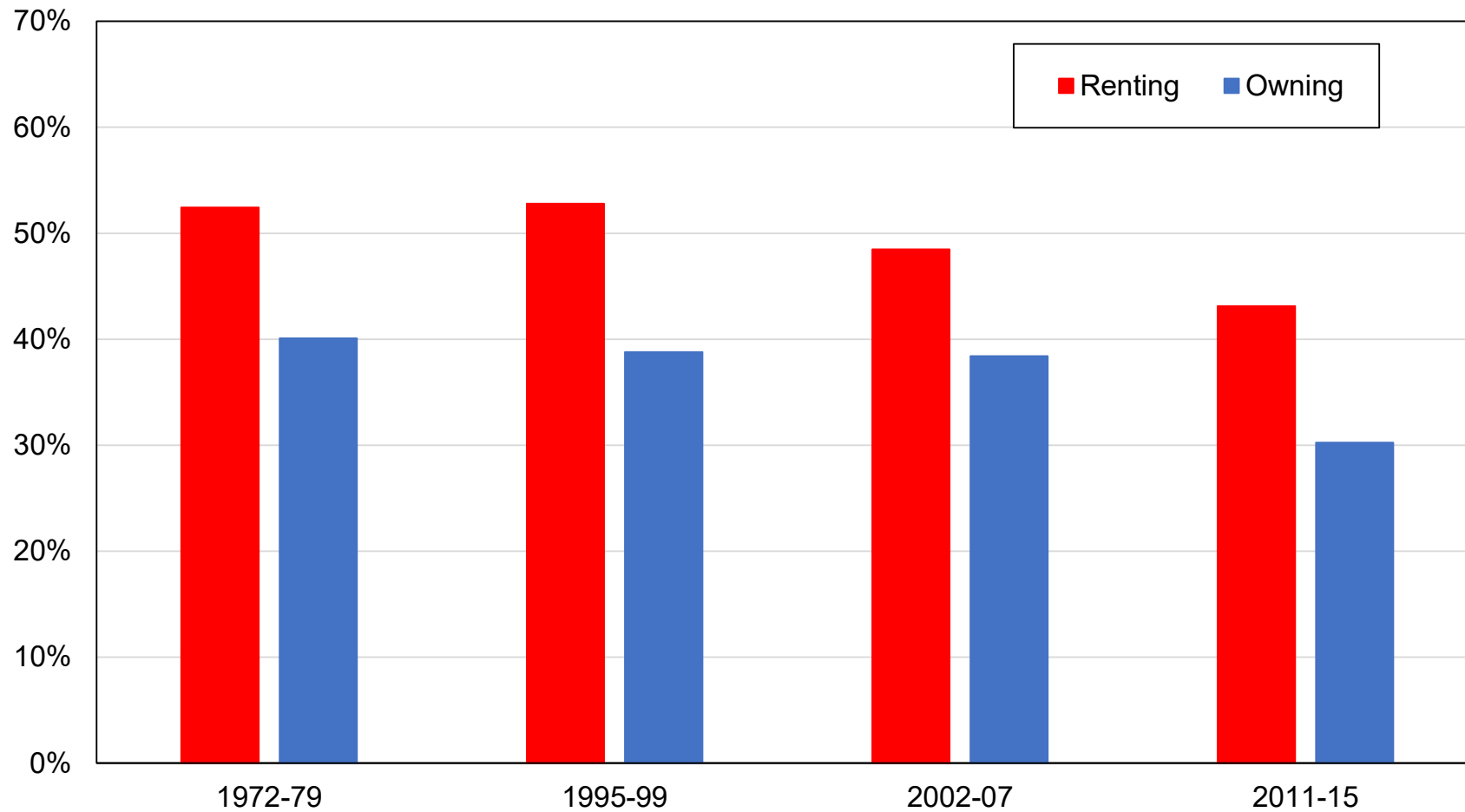
**Figure DB11 - Vote for the left by marital status in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by marital status.

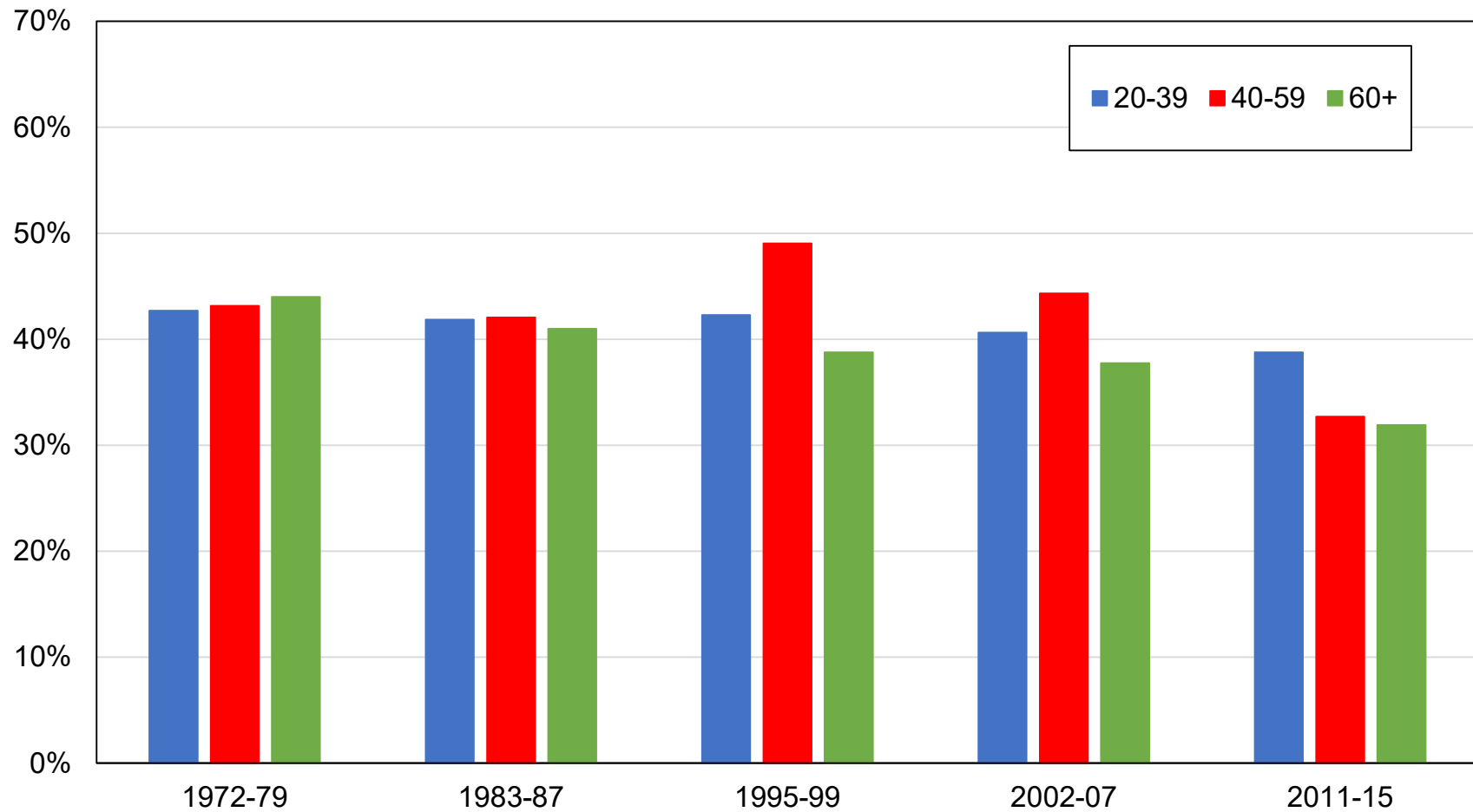
**Figure DB12 - Vote for the left by home status in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by home ownership status.

**Figure DB13 - Vote for the left by age group in Finland**

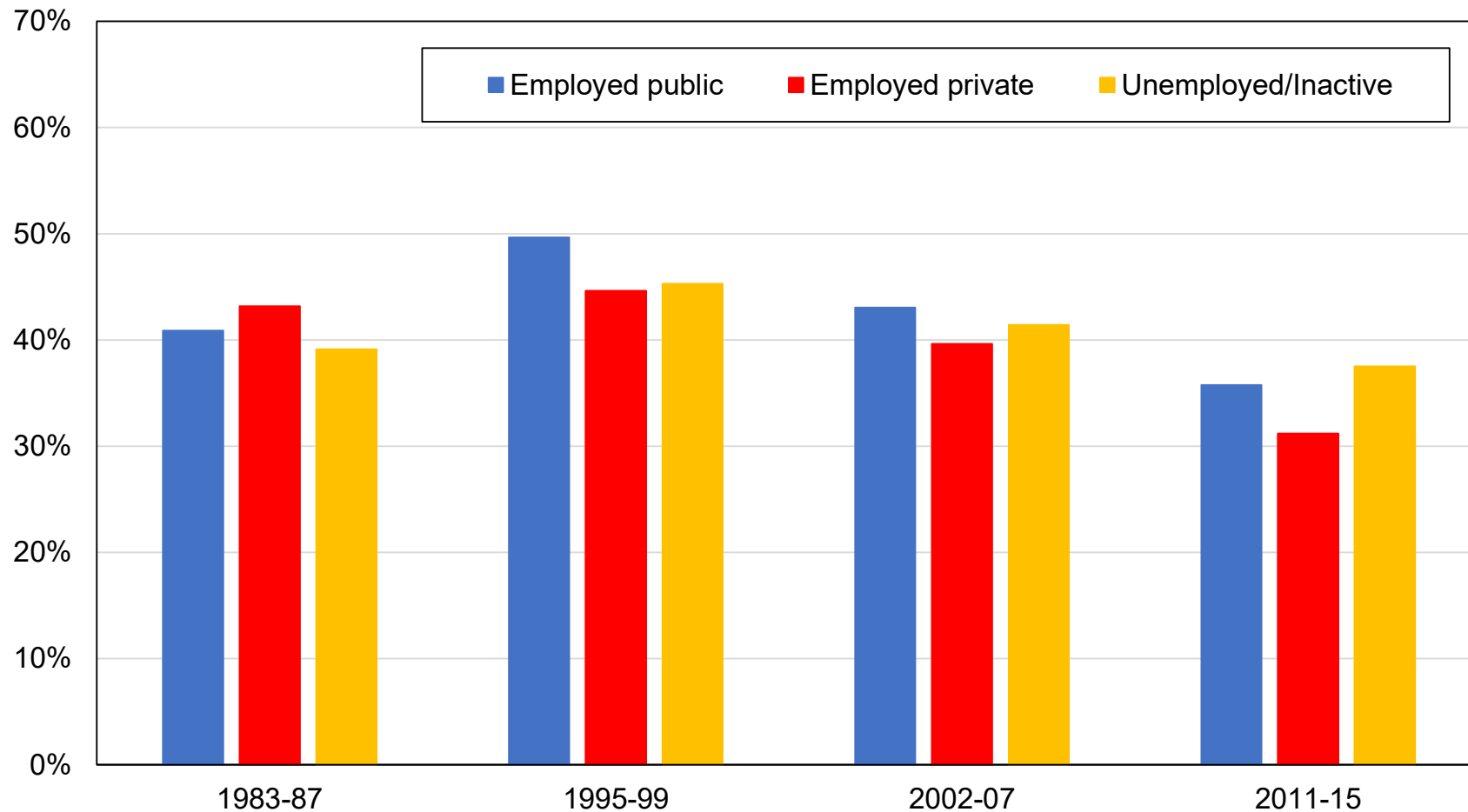


**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by age group.



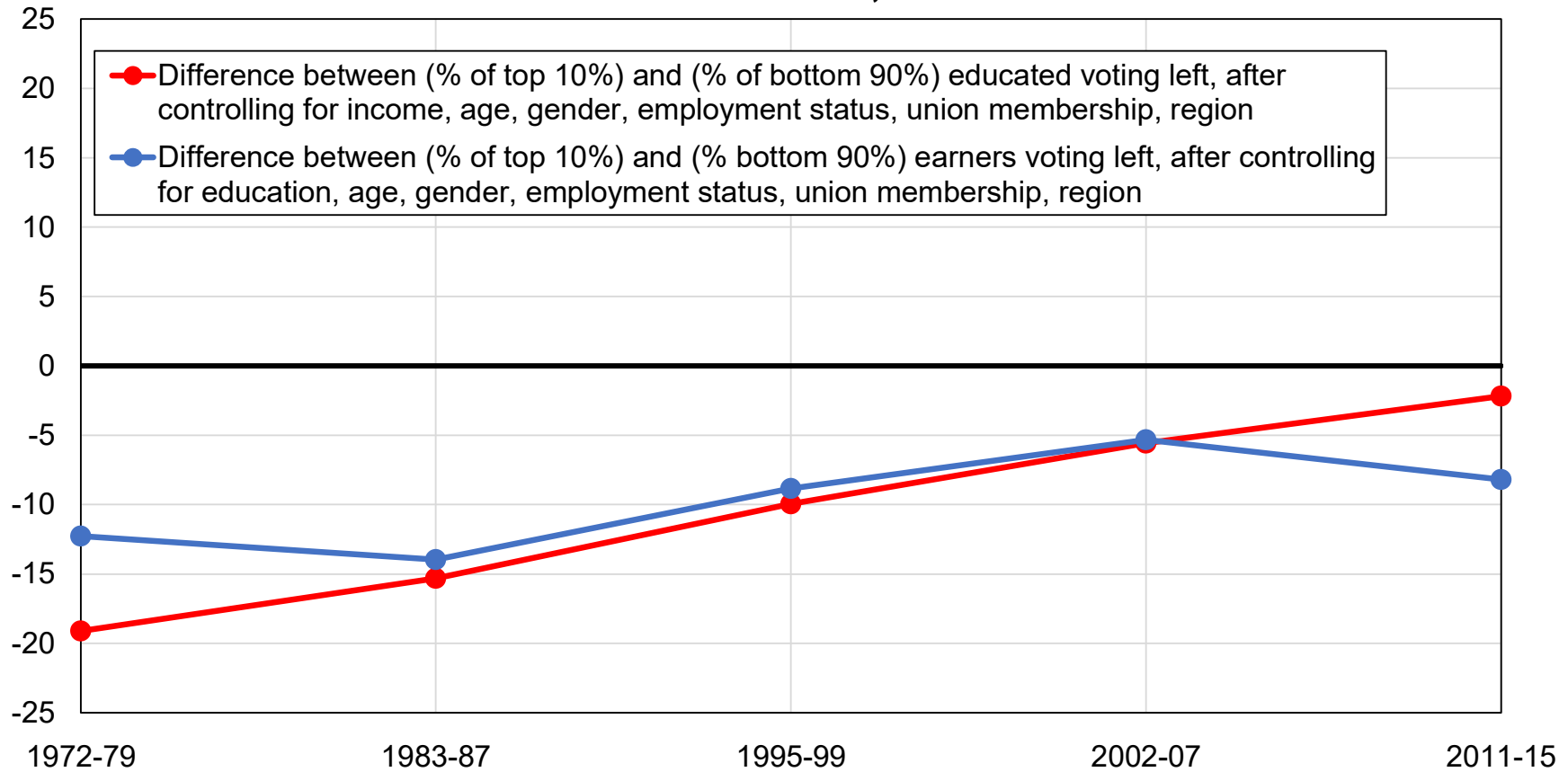
**Figure DB14 - Vote for the left by employment status in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by employment status.

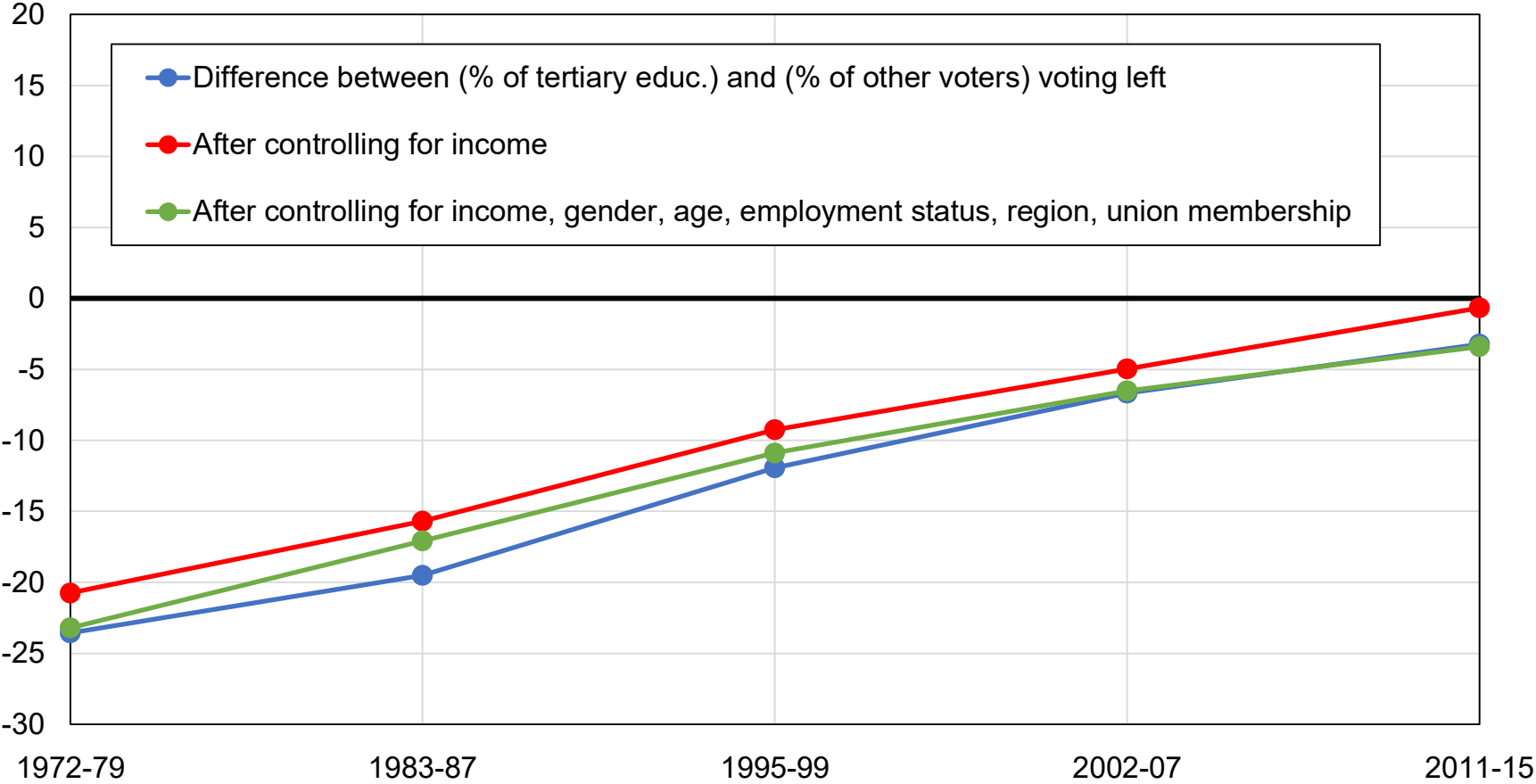
**Figure DB15 - Vote for the left among highest-educated and the top-income voters in Finland, after controls**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the evolution of the voting pattern among the top 10% educated and the 10% of earners voting for left-wing parties, after controlling for other variables.

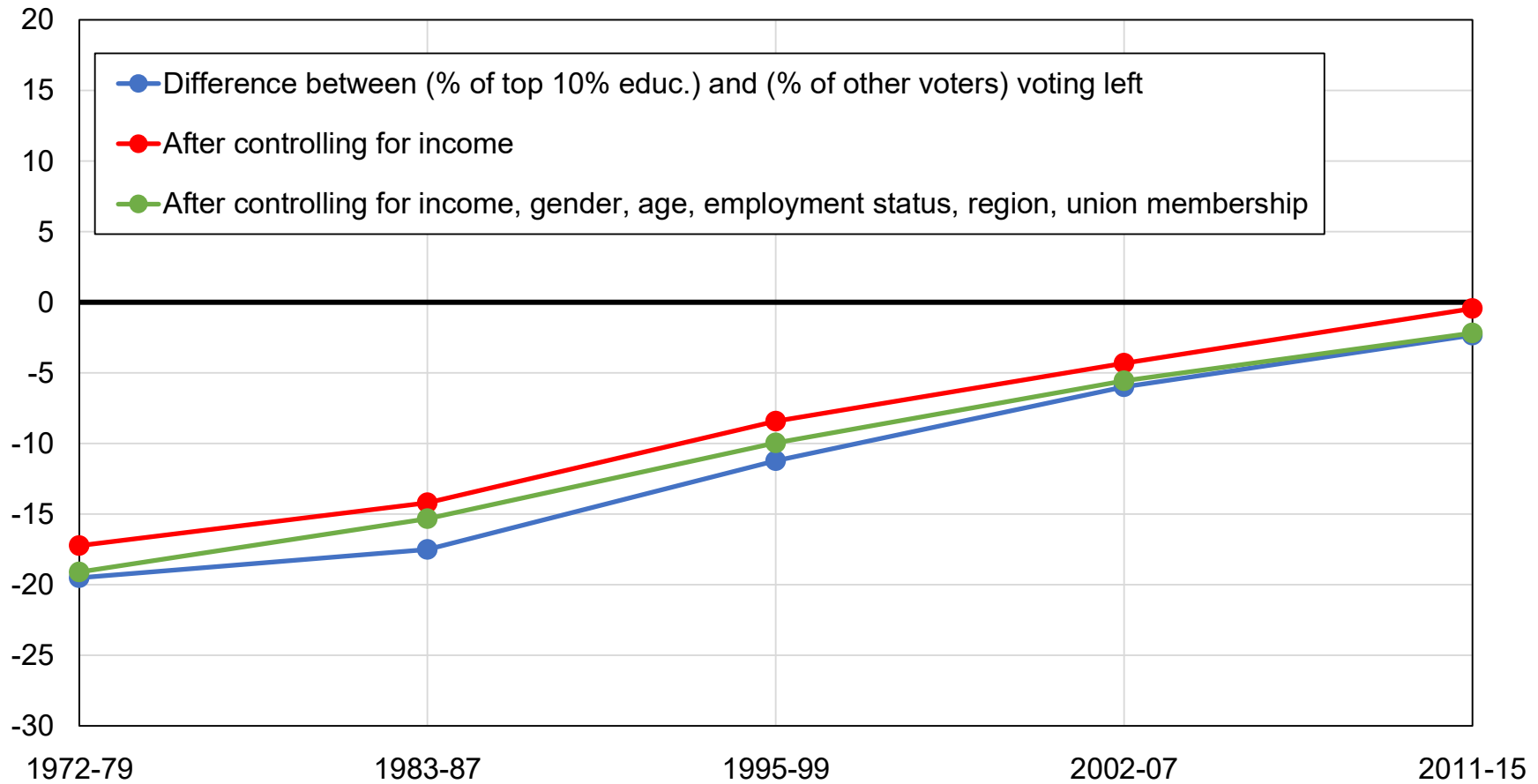
**Figure DB16 - Vote for the left among tertiary-educated voters in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of tertiary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

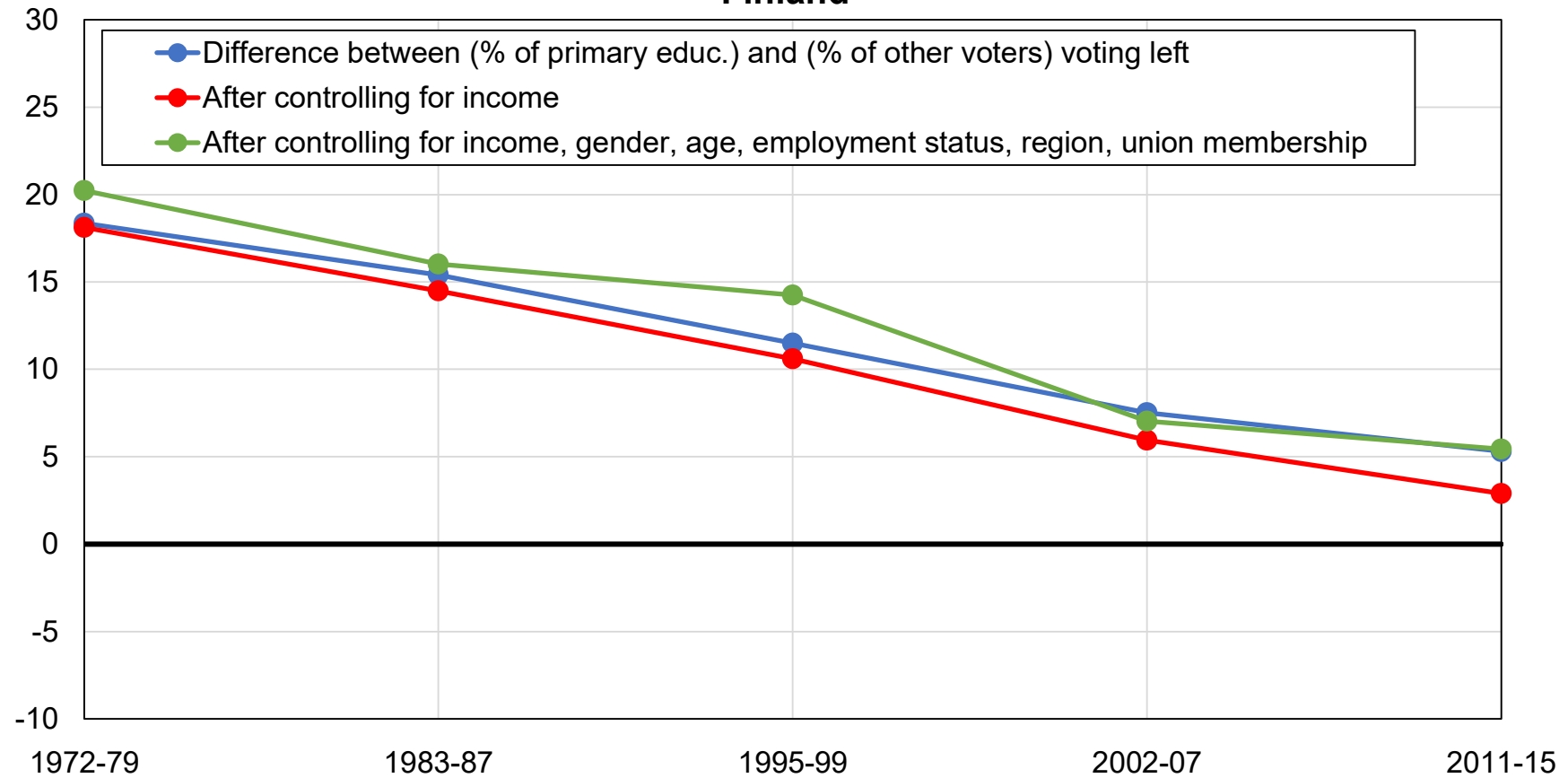
**Figure DB17 - Vote for the left among higher-educated voters in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

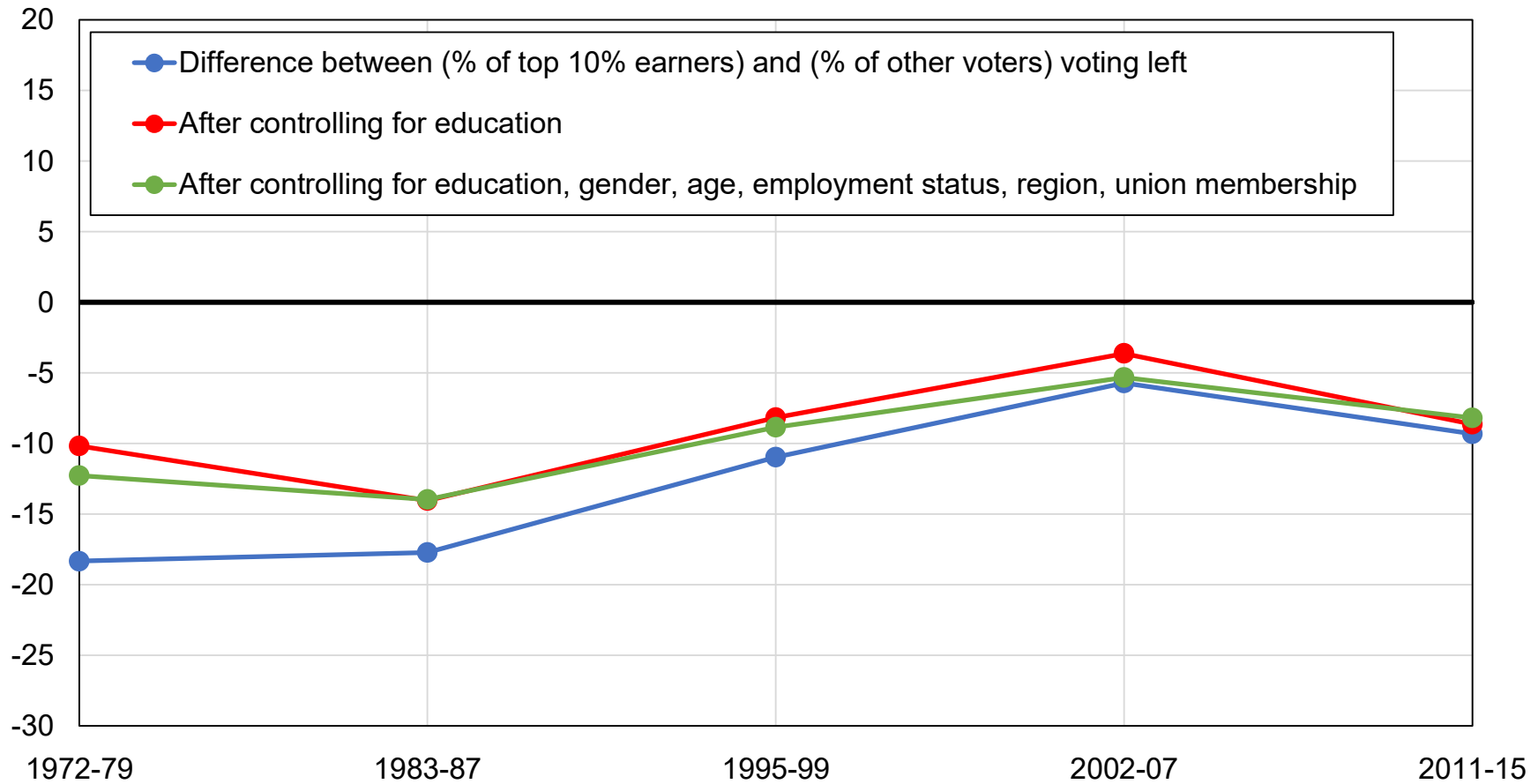
**Figure DB18 - Vote for the left among primary-educated voters in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of primary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

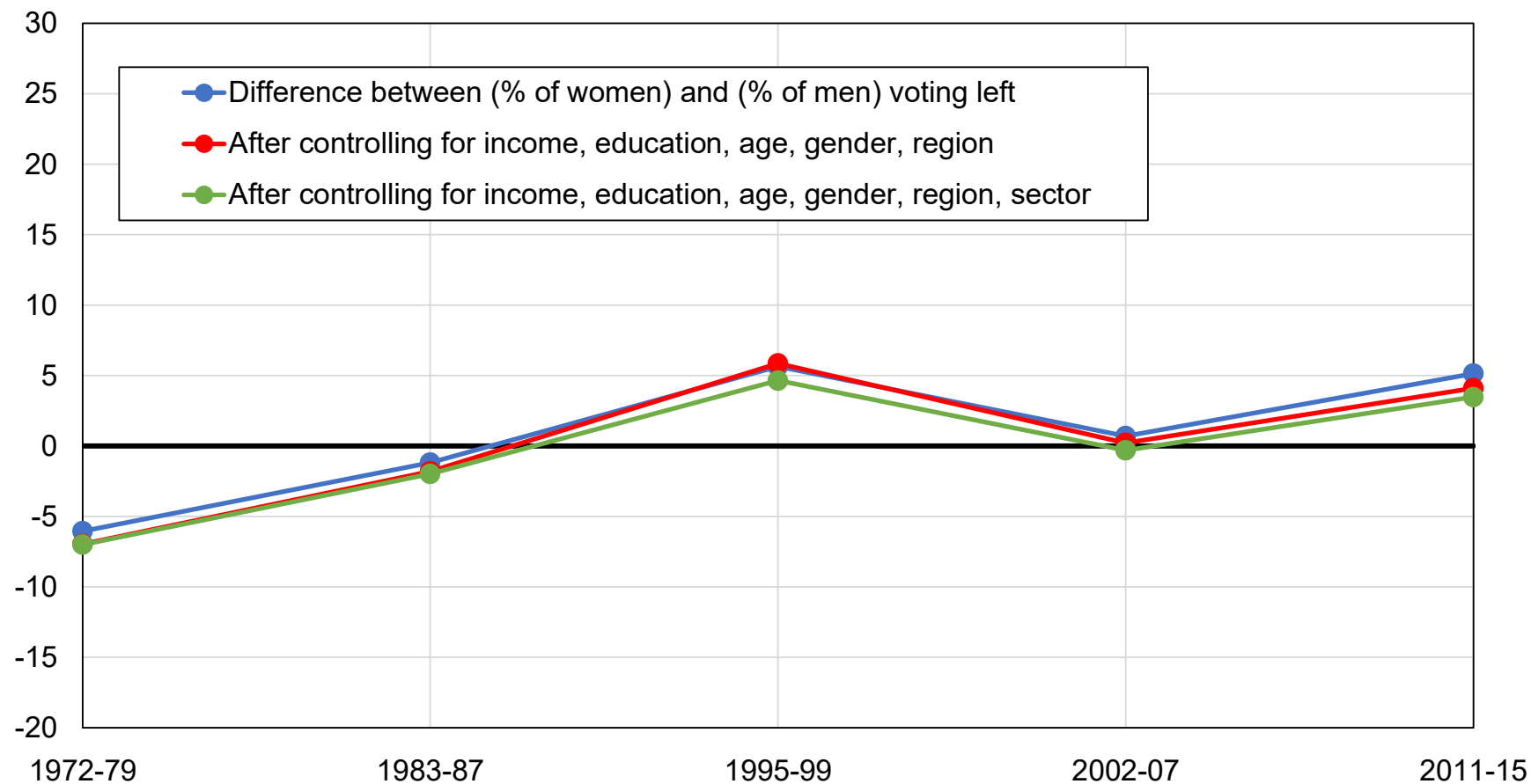
**Figure DB19 - Vote for the left among top 10% earners in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

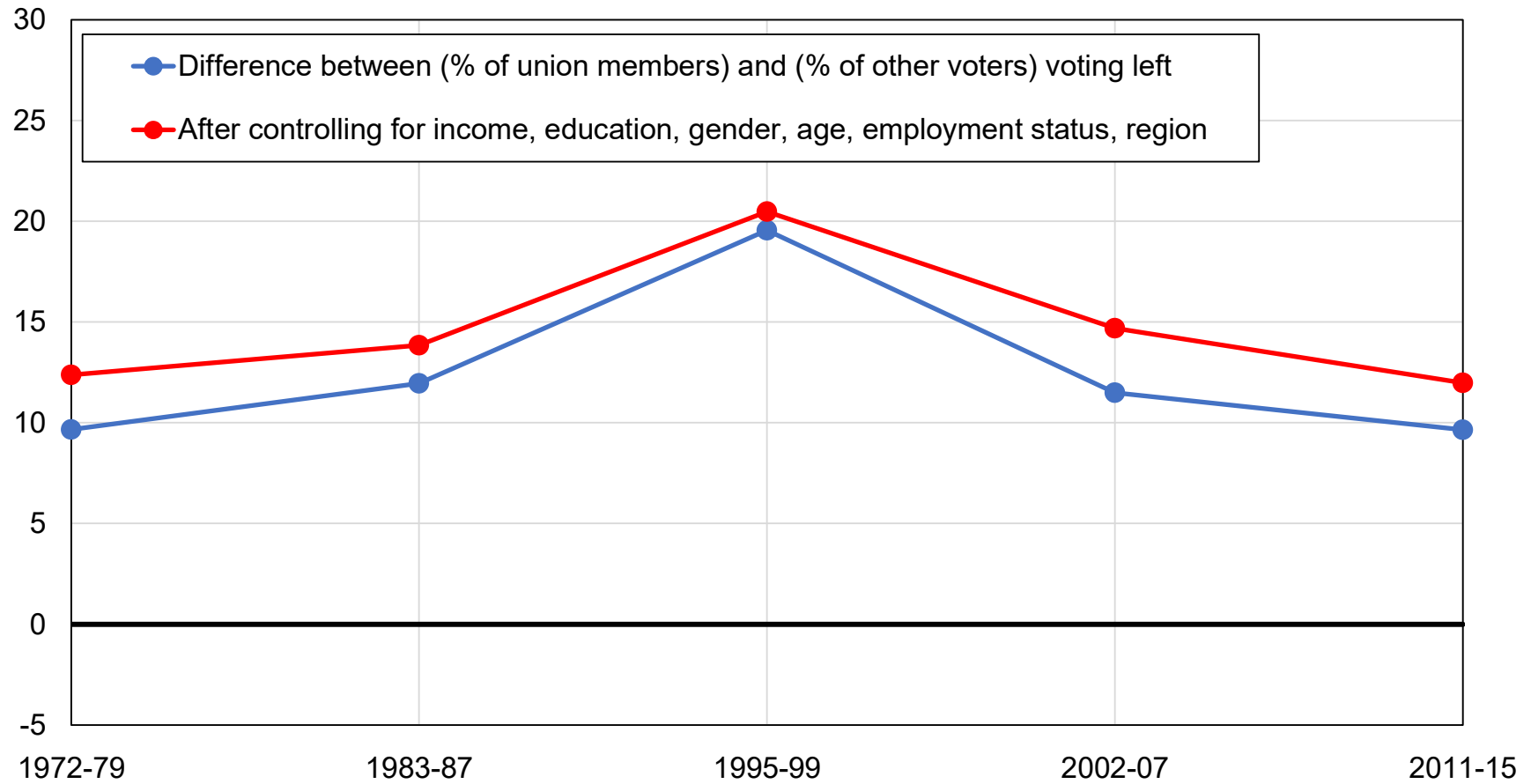
**Figure DB20 - Vote for the left among women in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables. Notice that the information about employment sector is missing in the 1972-1979.

**Figure DB21 - Vote for the left among union members in Finland**

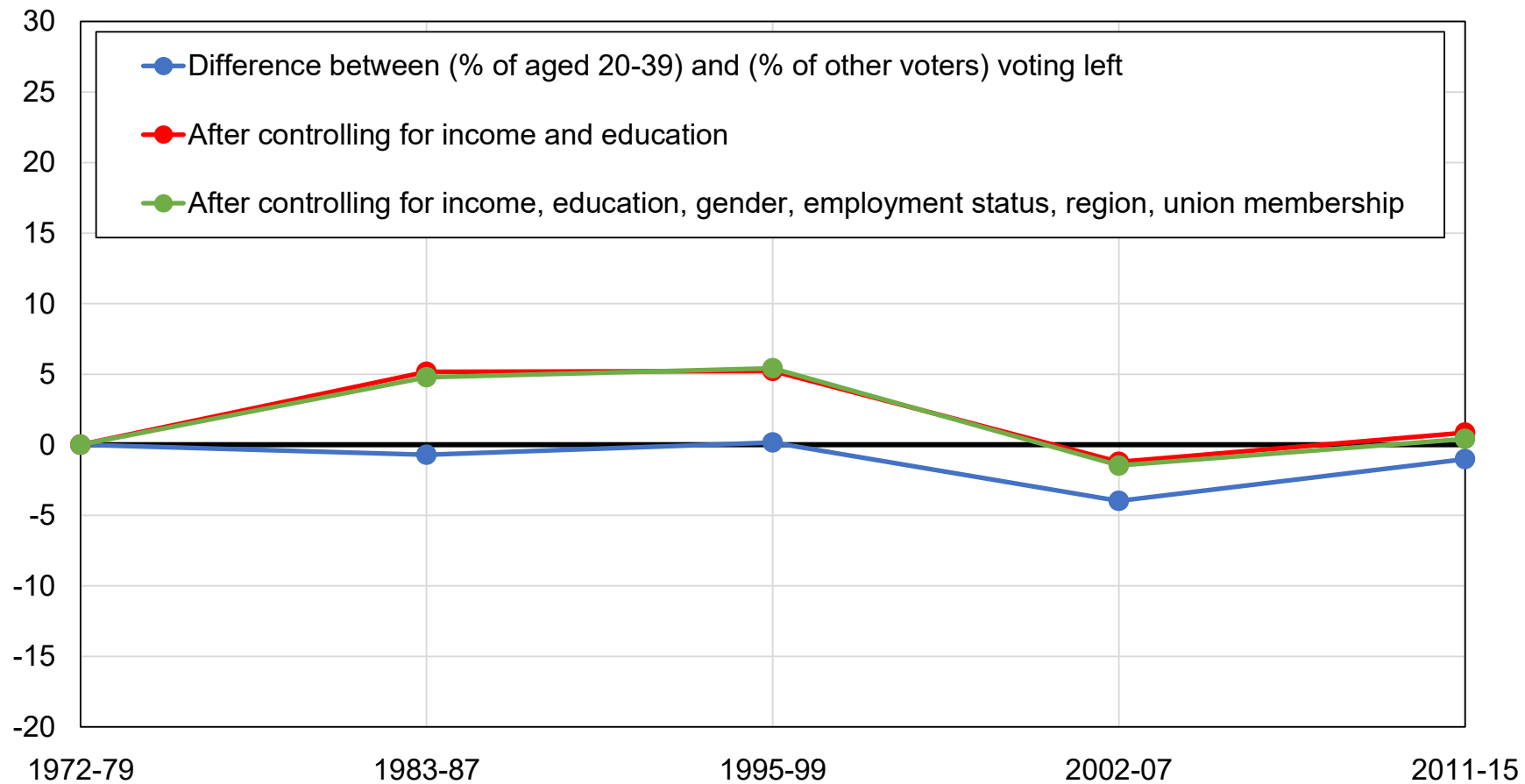


**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share the share of union members and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.



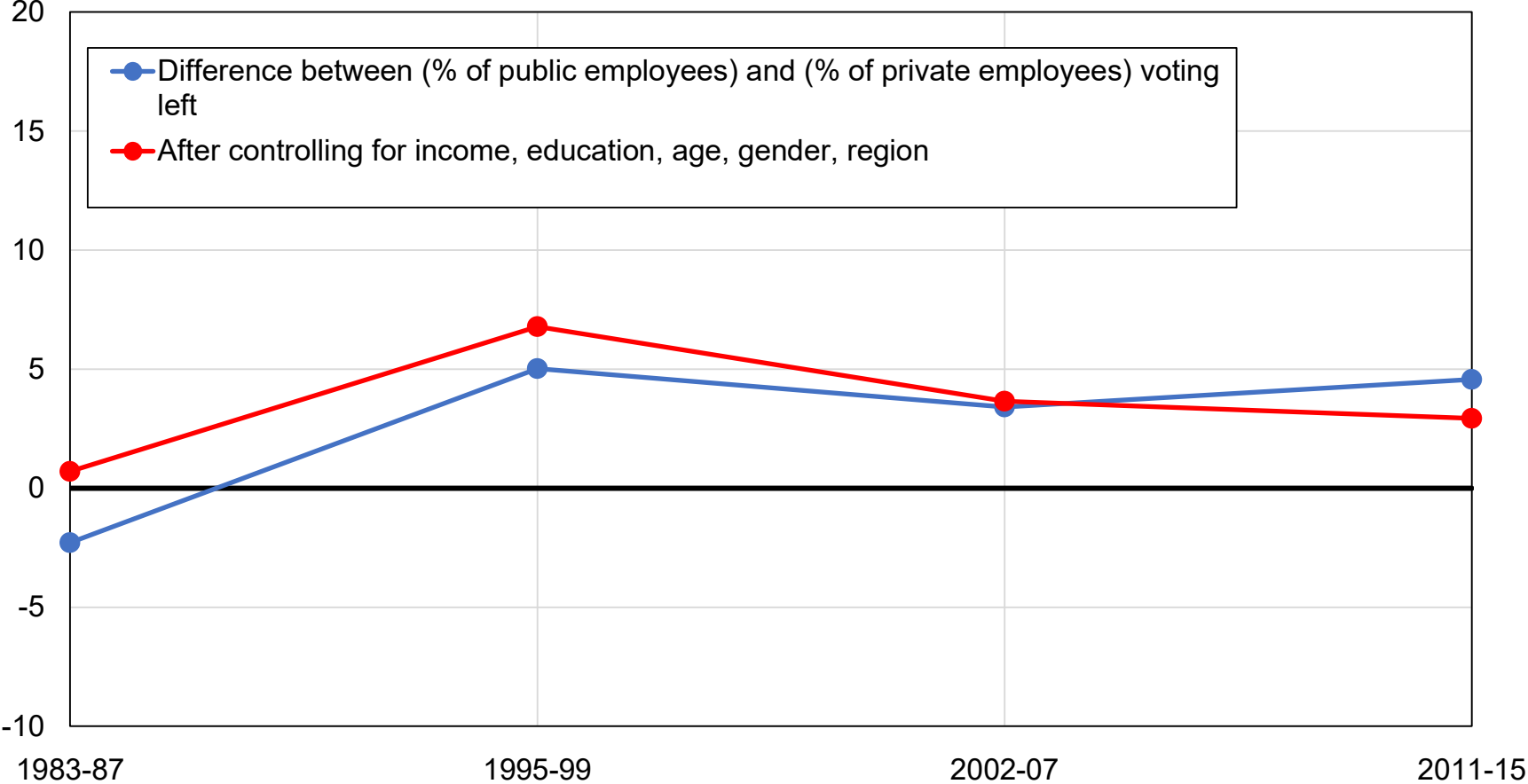
**Figure DB22 - Vote for the left among young voters in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of voters aged 20-39 and the share of voters older than 40 voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

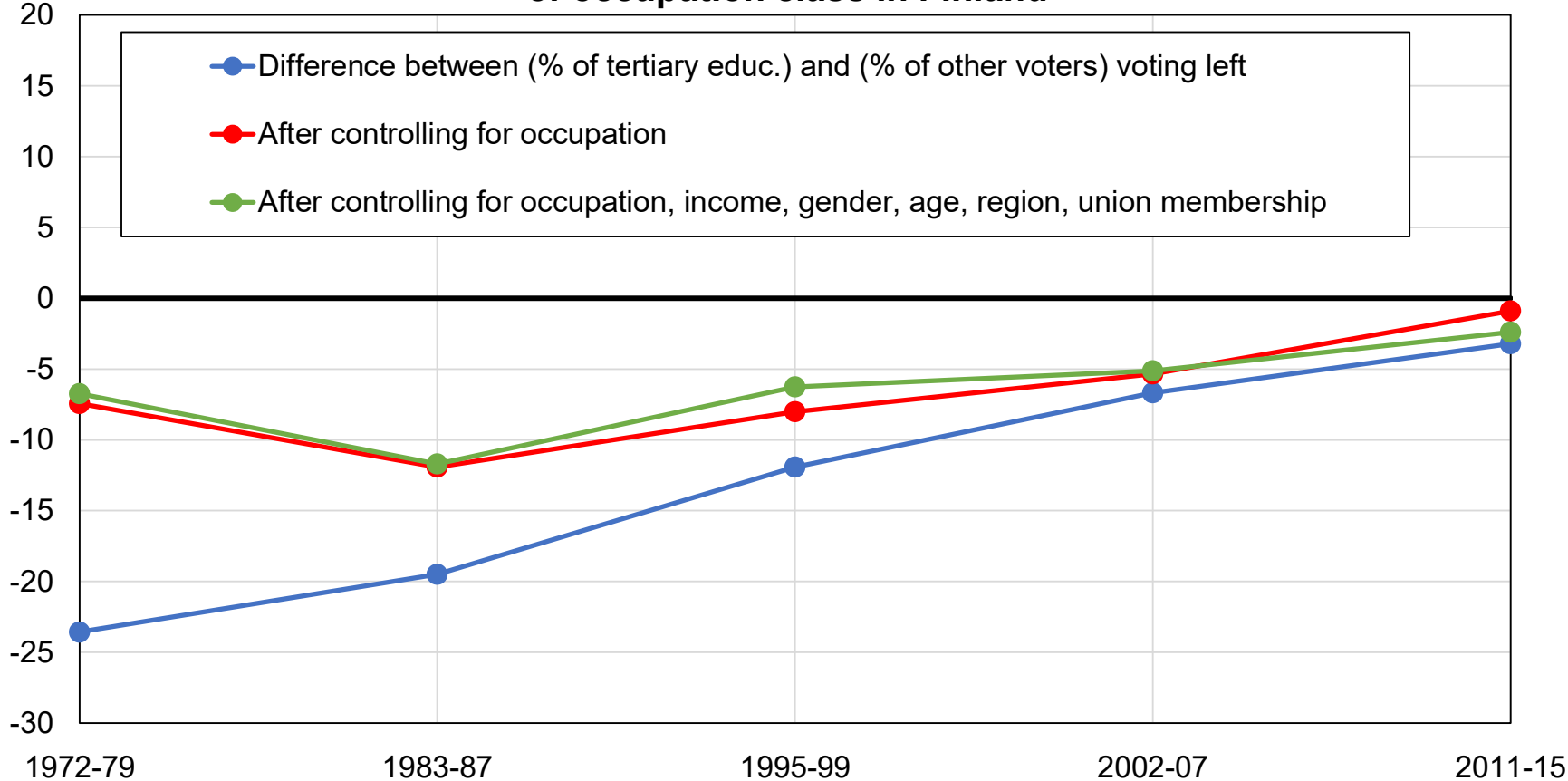
**Figure DB23 - Vote for the left among public employees in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of public and private employees voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

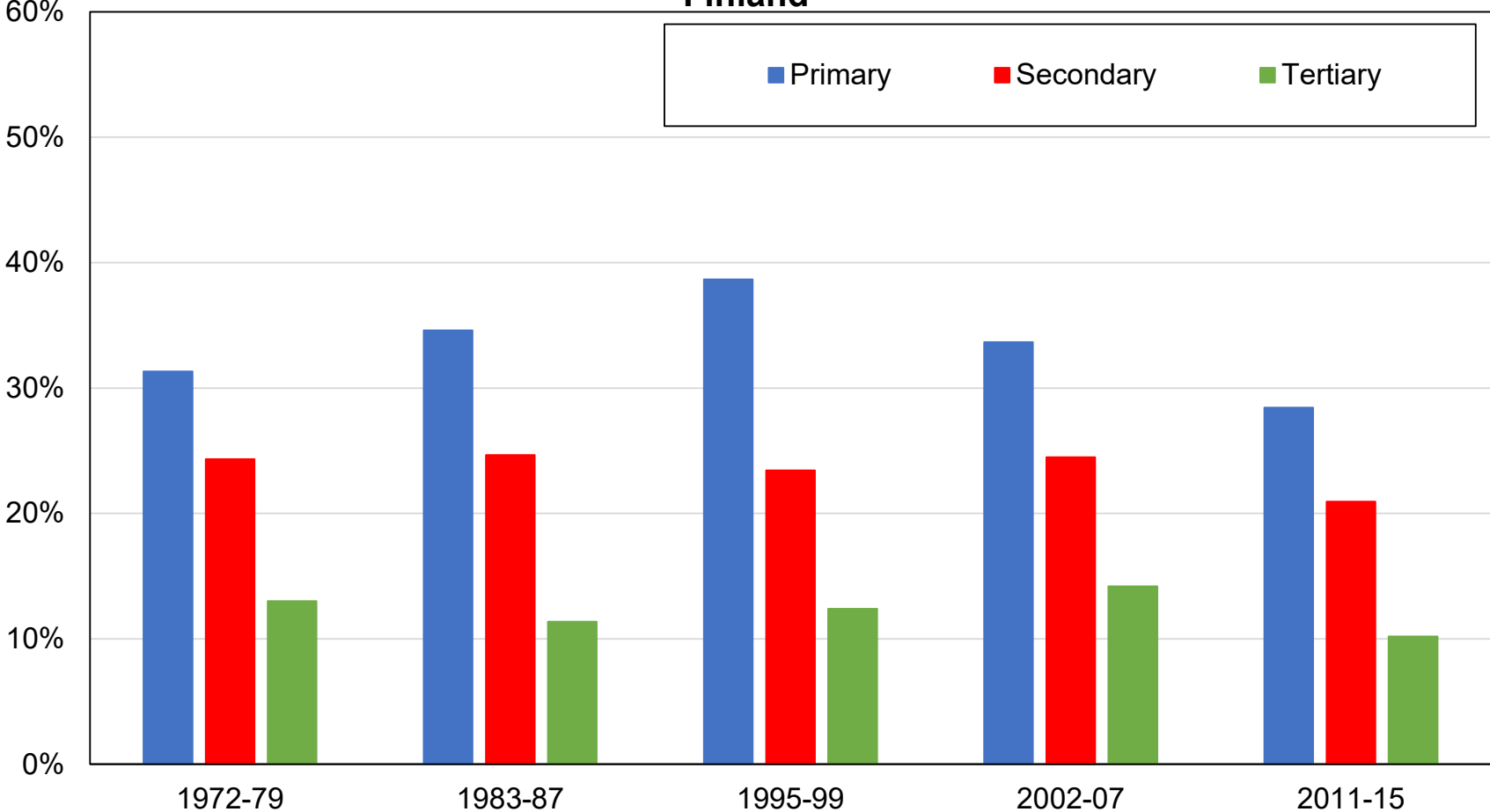
**Figure DB24 - Vote for the left among tertiary-educated voters: the role of occupation class in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of tertiary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for occupation class and other variables.

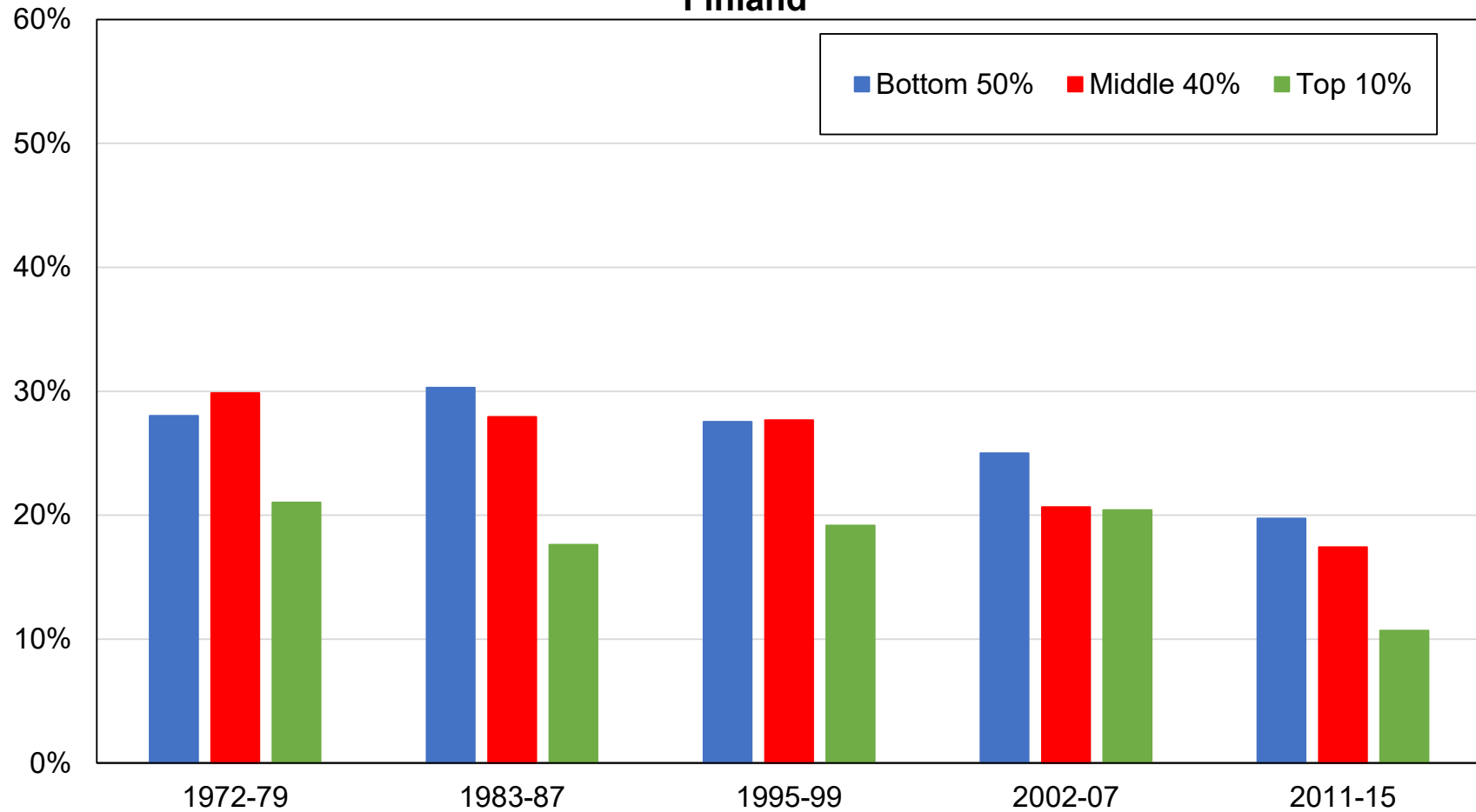
**Figure DC1 - Vote for the Social Democratic Party by education level in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party by education level.

**Figure DC2 - Vote for the Social Democratic Party by income group in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party by income group.

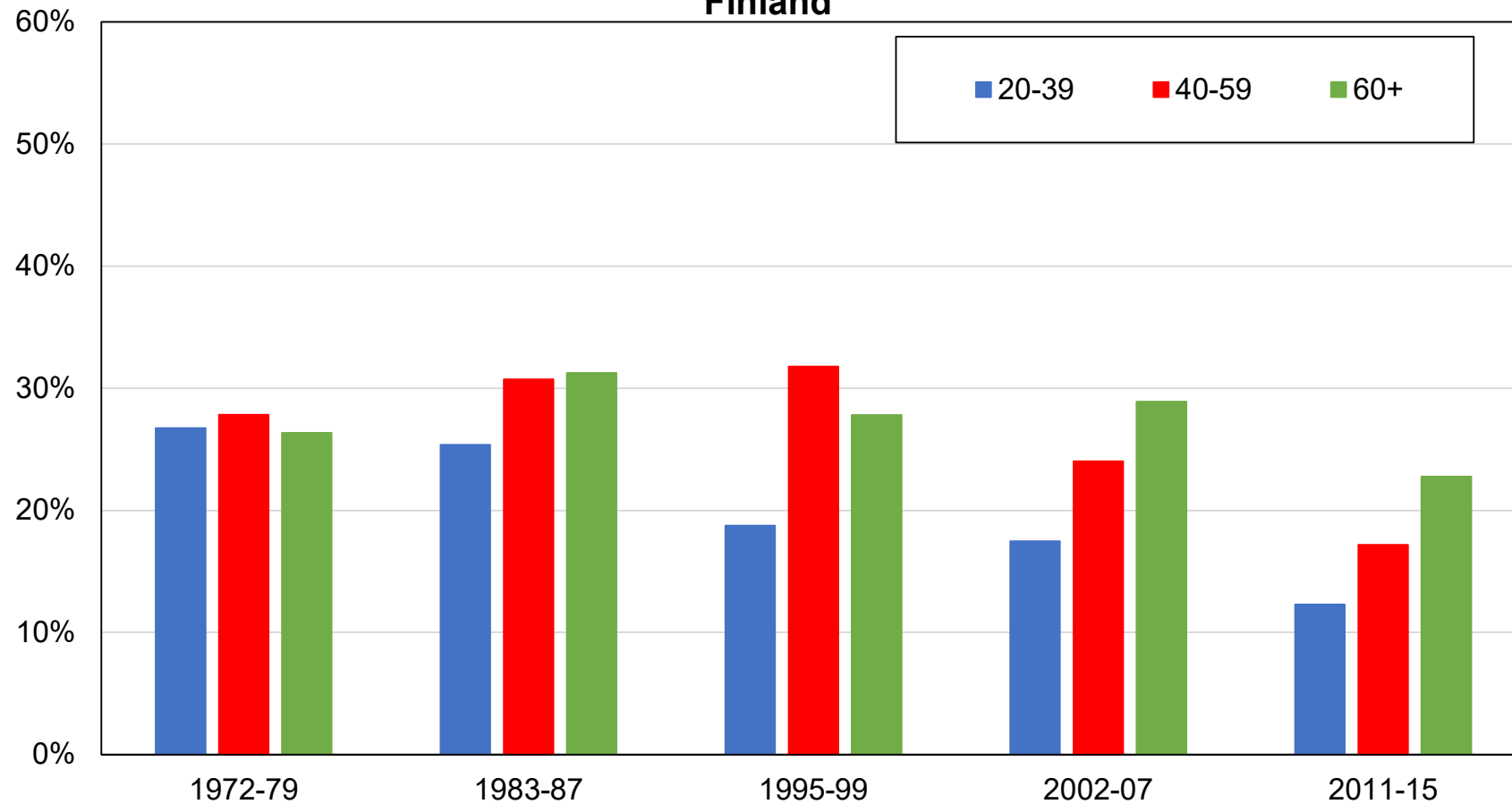
**Figure DC3 - Vote for the Social Democratic Party by gender in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party by gender.

**Figure DC4 - Vote for the Social Democratic Party by age group in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party by age group.

**Figure DC5 - Vote for the FPD/Left Alliance by education level in Finland**

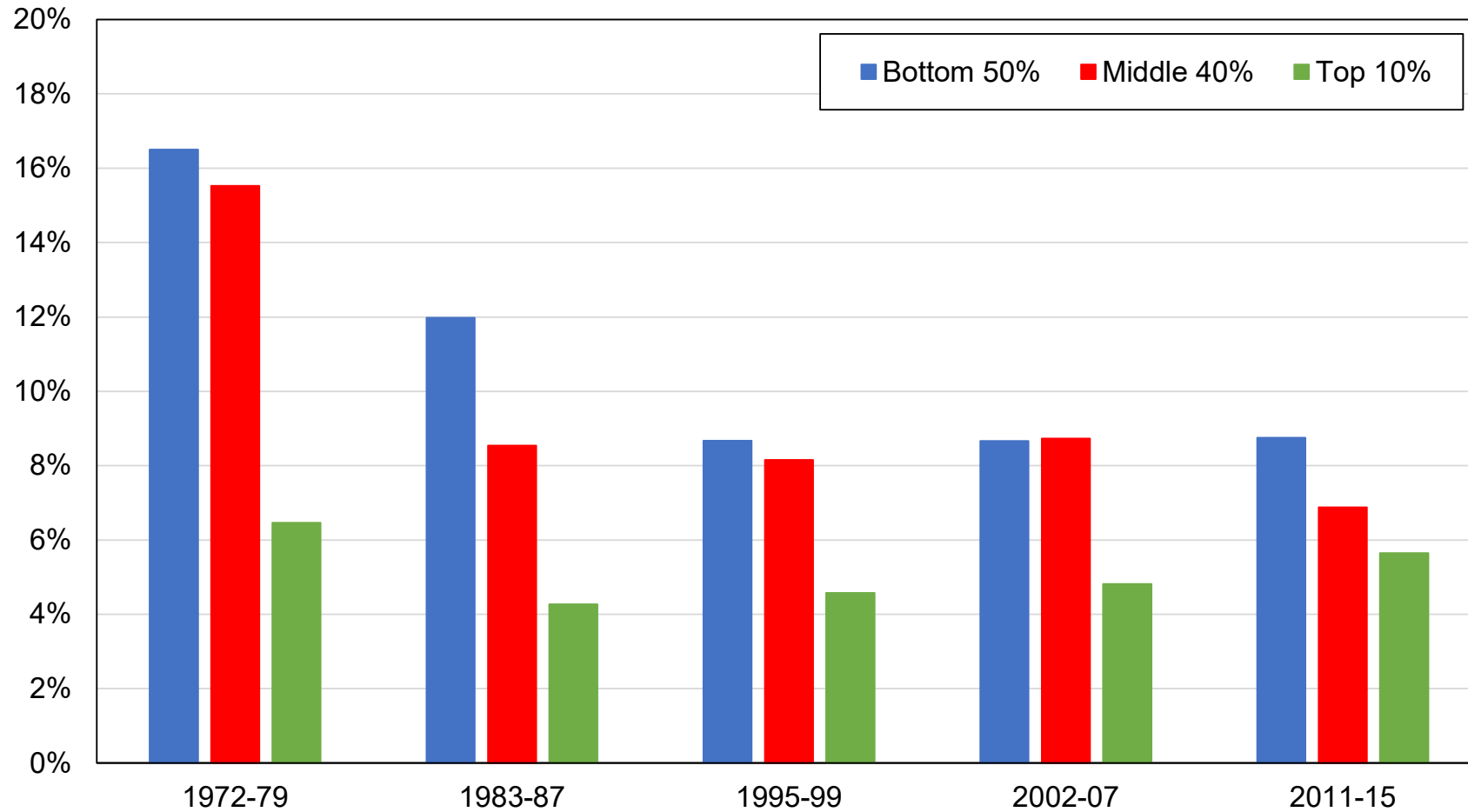


**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Finnish People's Democratic League/Left Alliance by education level.



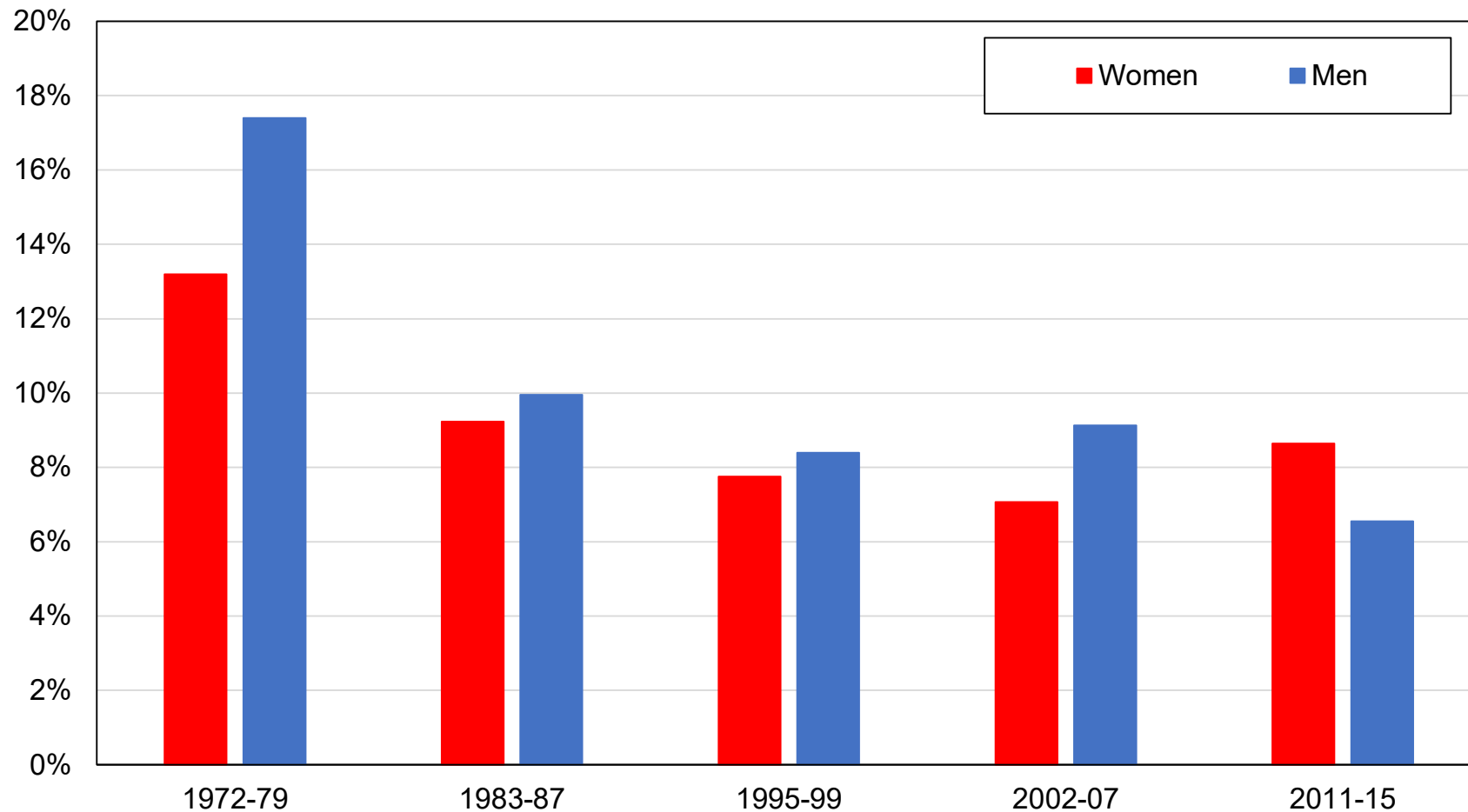
**Figure DC6 - Vote for the FPDL/Left Alliance by income group in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Finnish People's Democratic League/ Left Alliance by income group.

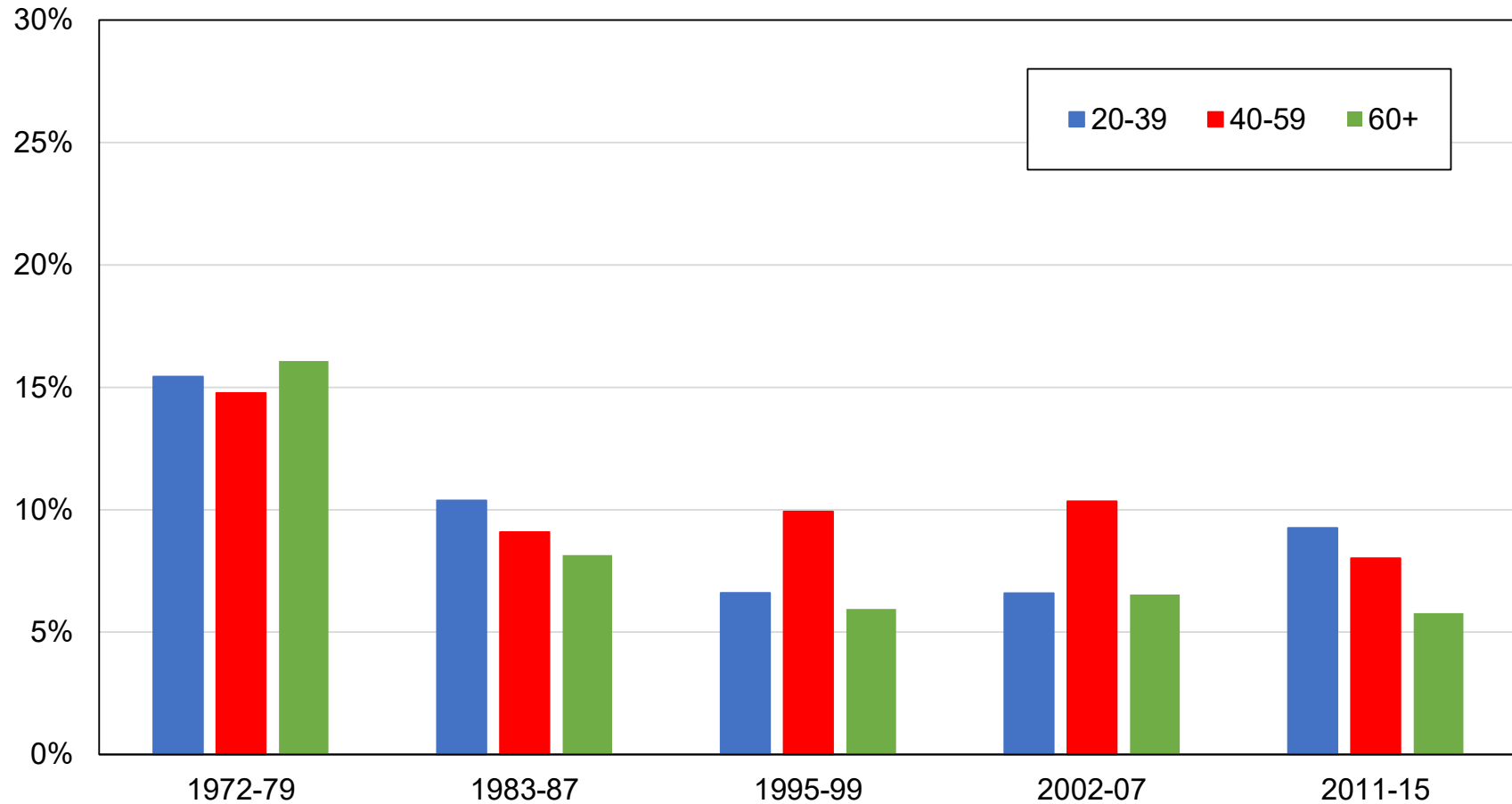
**Figure DC7 - Vote for the FPDL/Left Alliance by gender in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Finnish People's Democratic League/Left Alliance by gender.

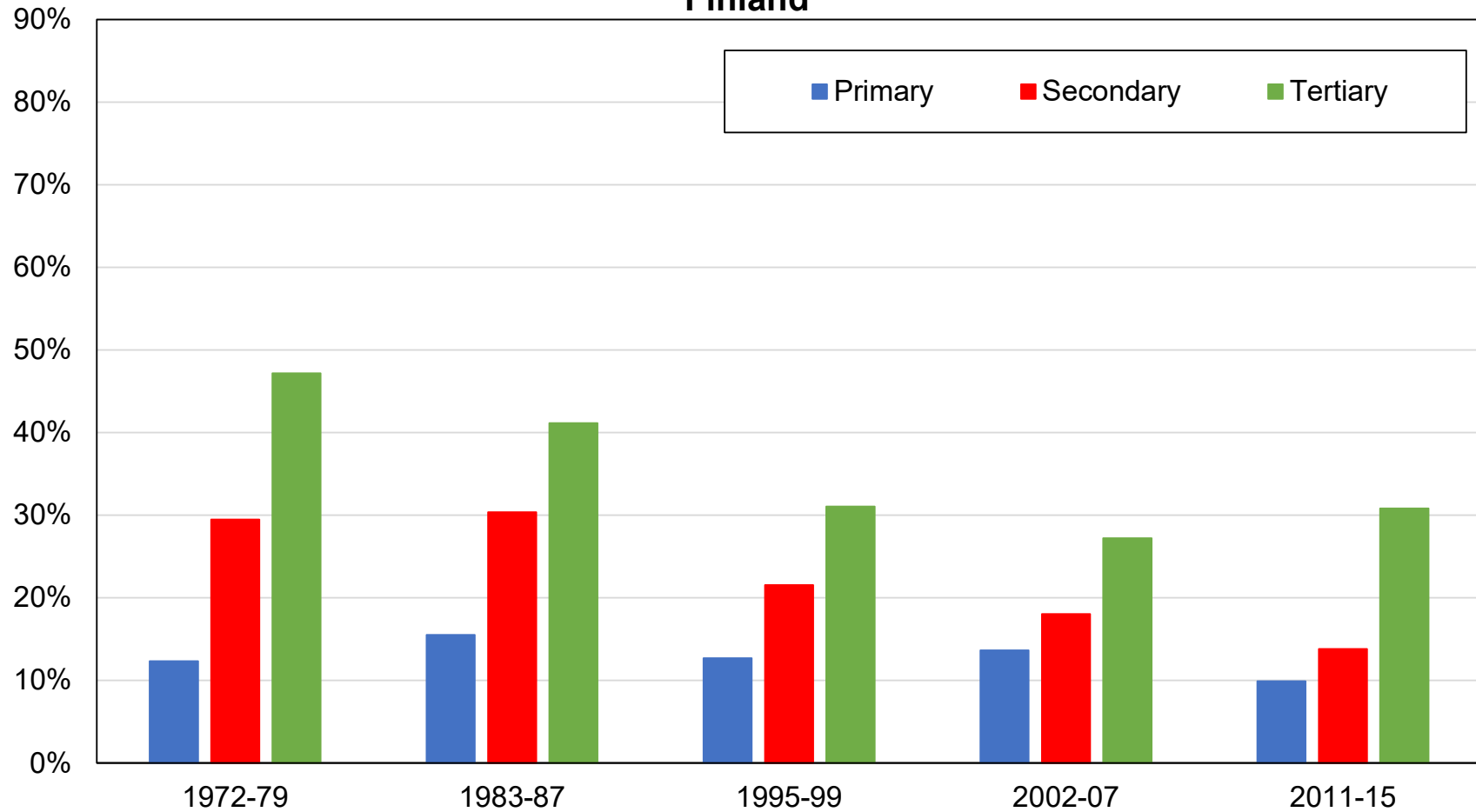
**Figure DC8 - Vote for the FPDL/ Left Alliance by age group in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Finnish People's Democratic League/Left Alliance by age group.

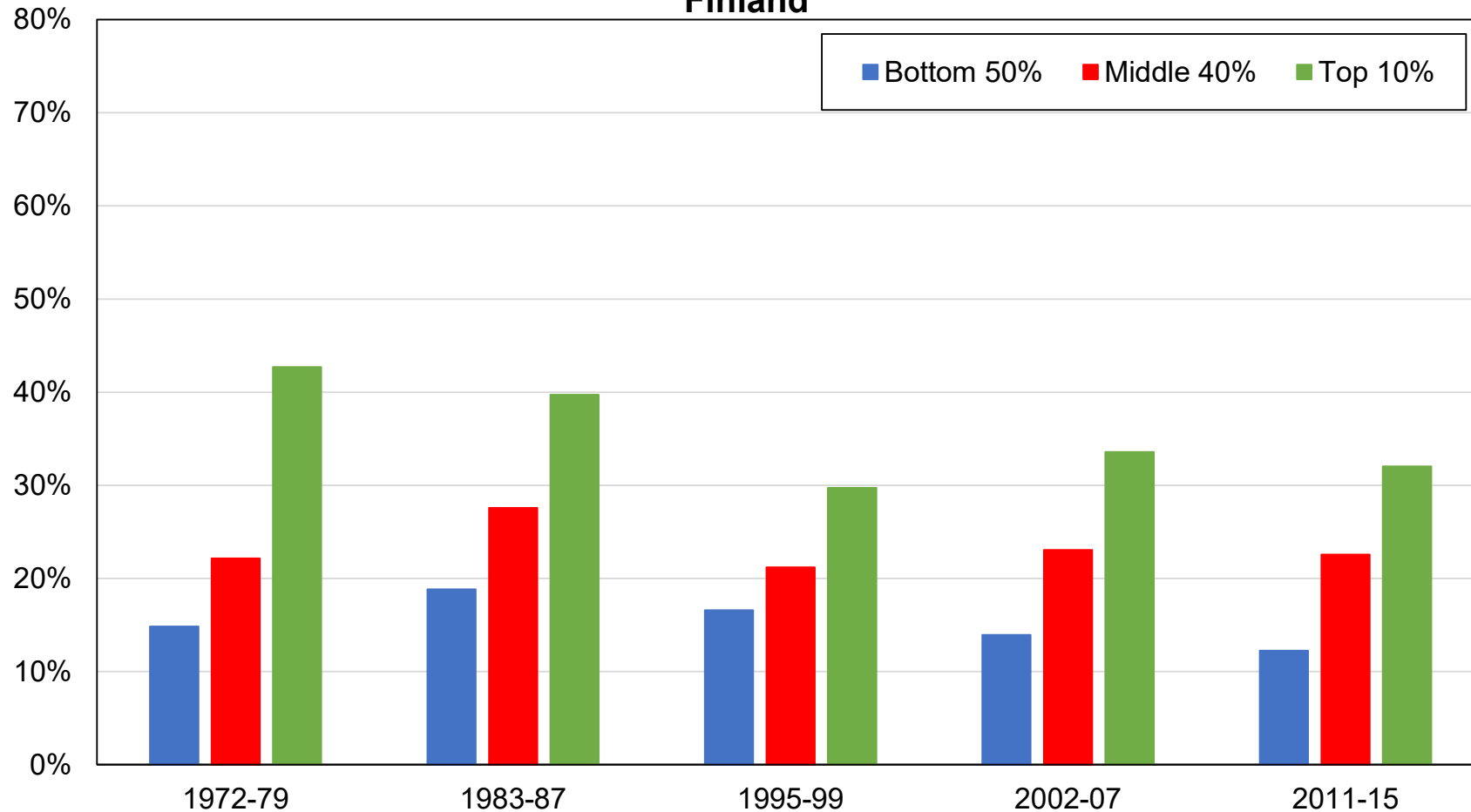
**Figure DC9 - Vote for National Coalition Party by education level in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the National Coalition Party by education level.

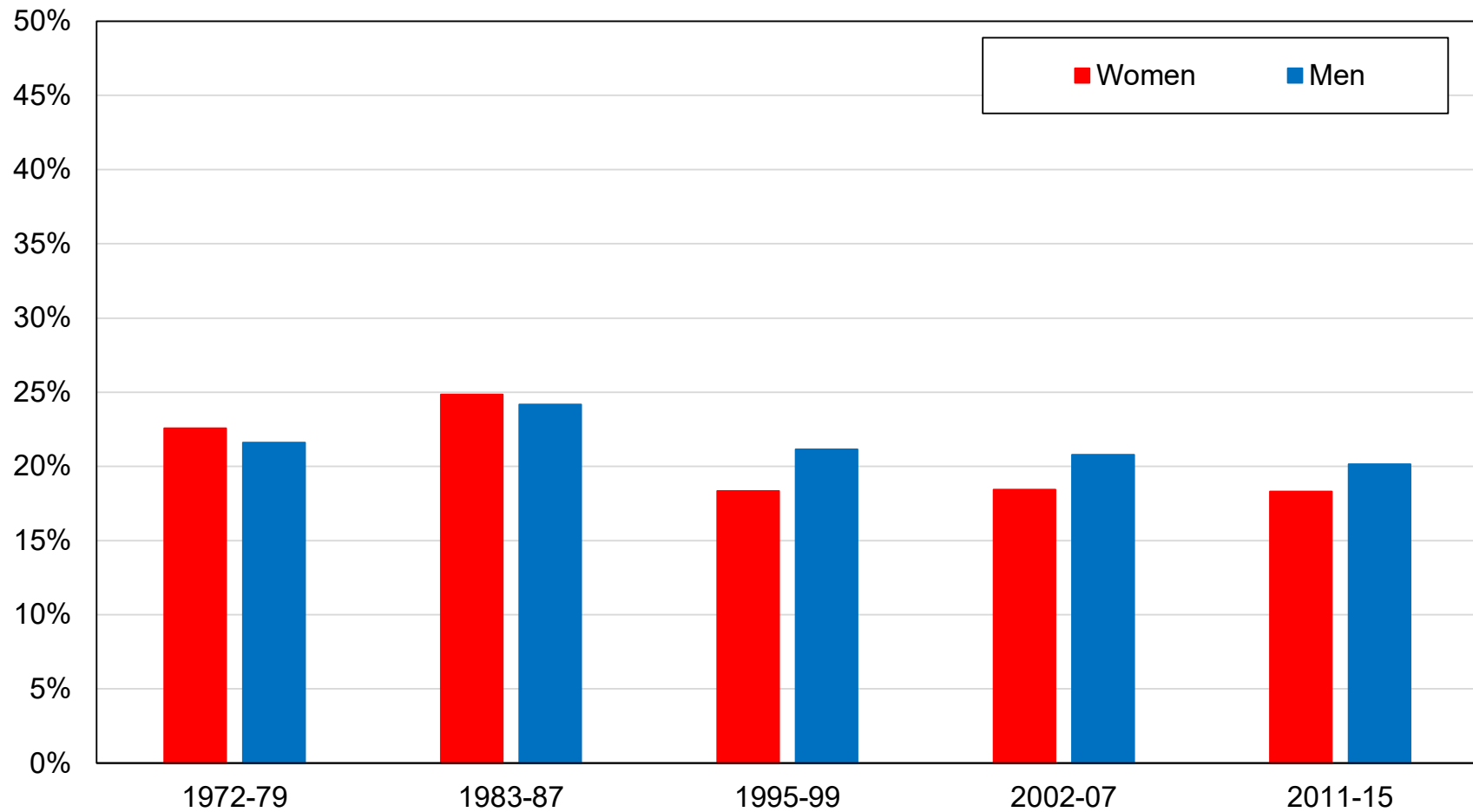
**Figure DC10 - Vote for the National Coalition Party by income group in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the National Coalition Party by income group.

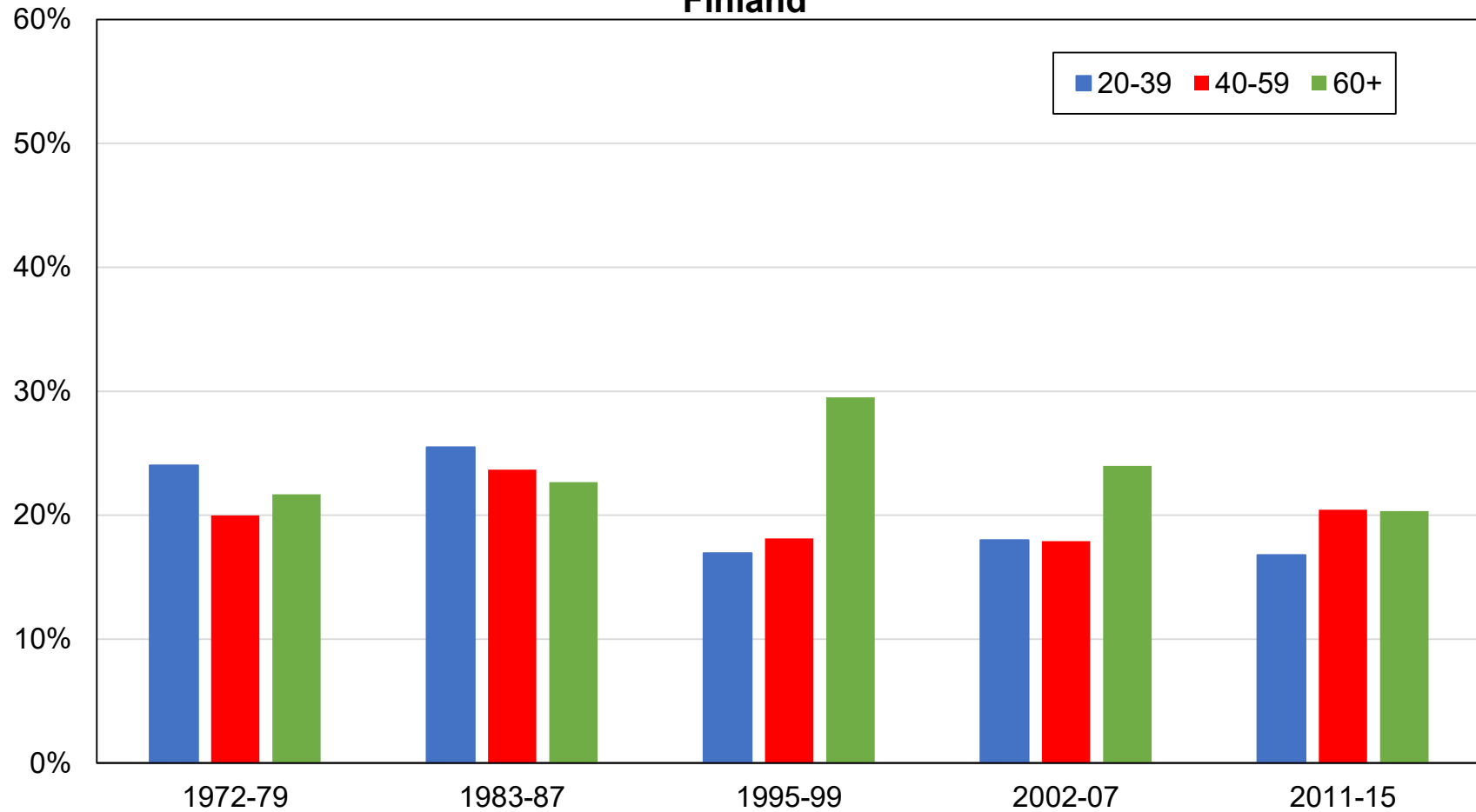
**Figure DC11 - Vote for National Coalition Party by gender in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the National Coalition Party by gender.

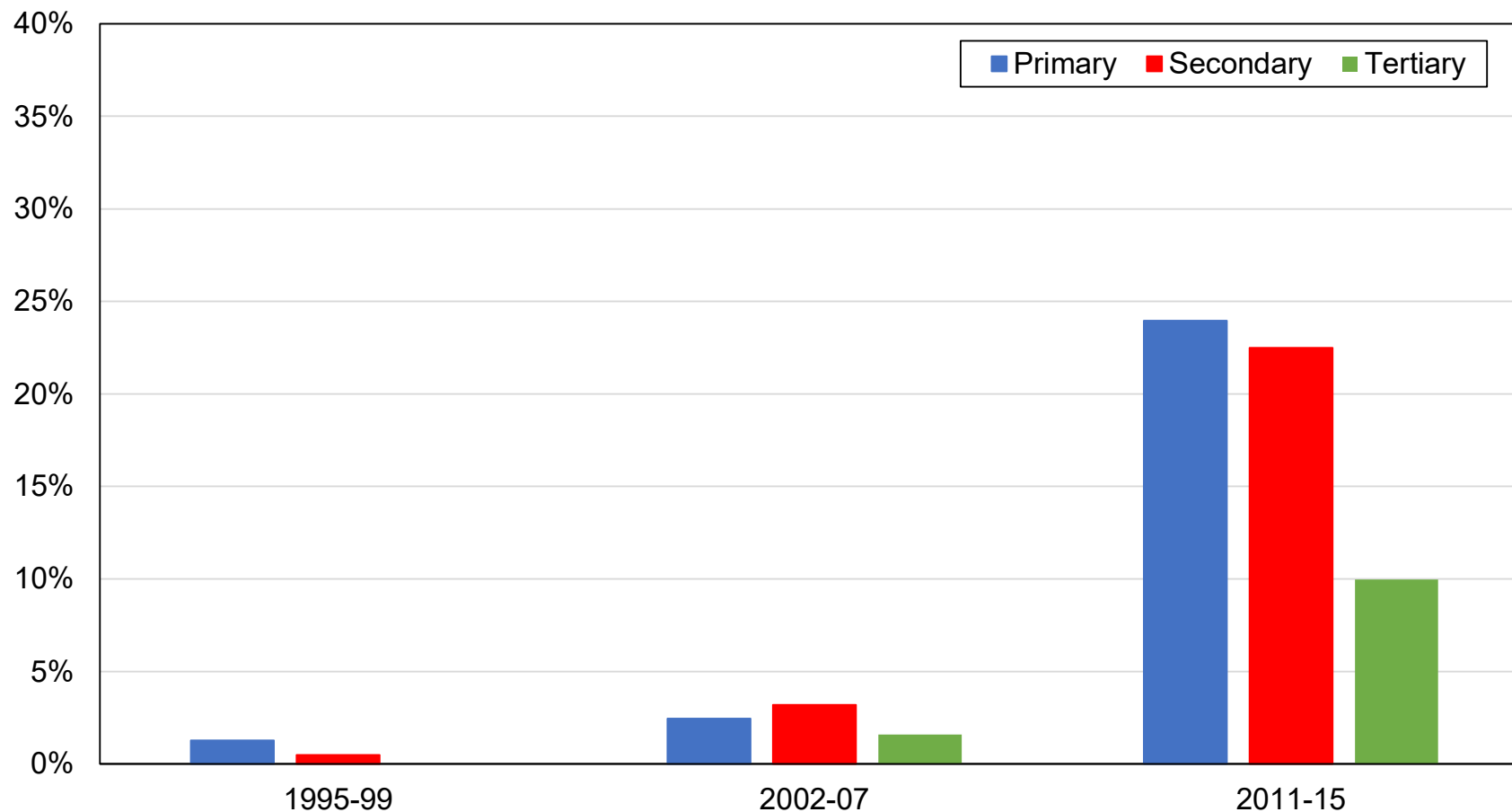
**Figure DC12 - Vote for the National Coalition Party by age group in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the National Coalition Party by age group.

**Figure DC13 - Vote for the True Finns by education level in Finland**

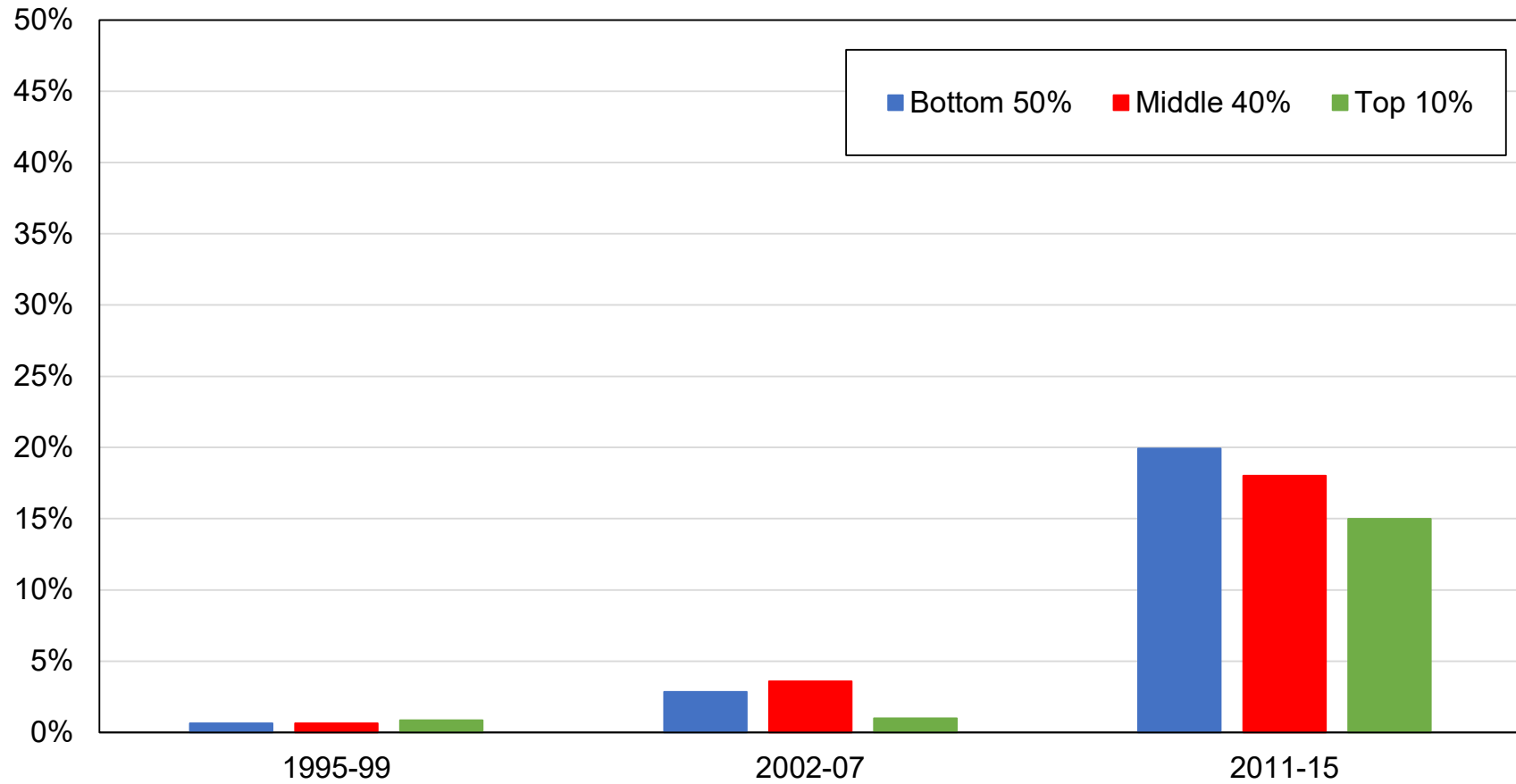


**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the True Finns by education level.



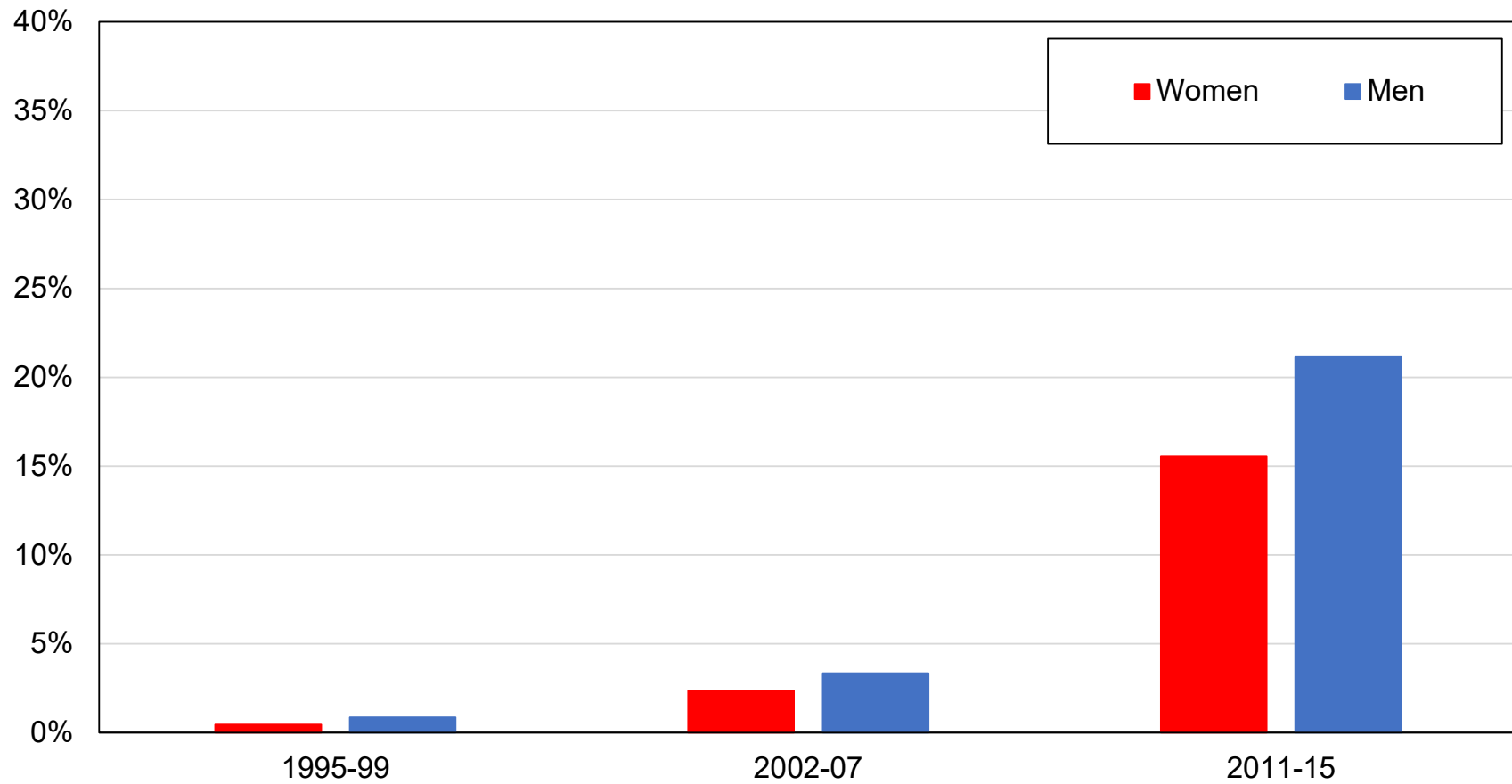
**Figure DC14 - Vote for the True Finns by income group in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the True Finns by income group.

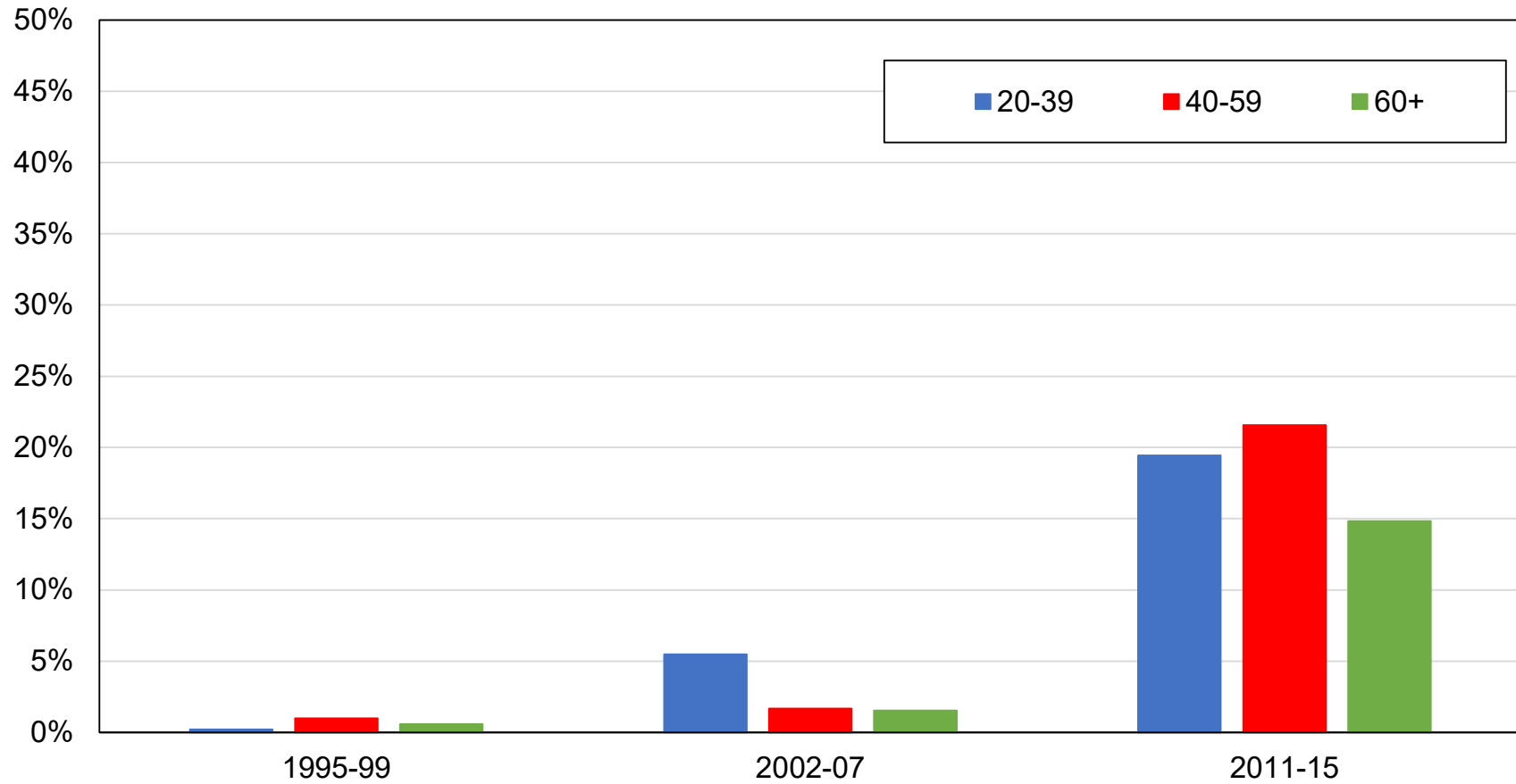
**Figure DC15 - Vote for the True Finns by gender in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the True Finns by gender.

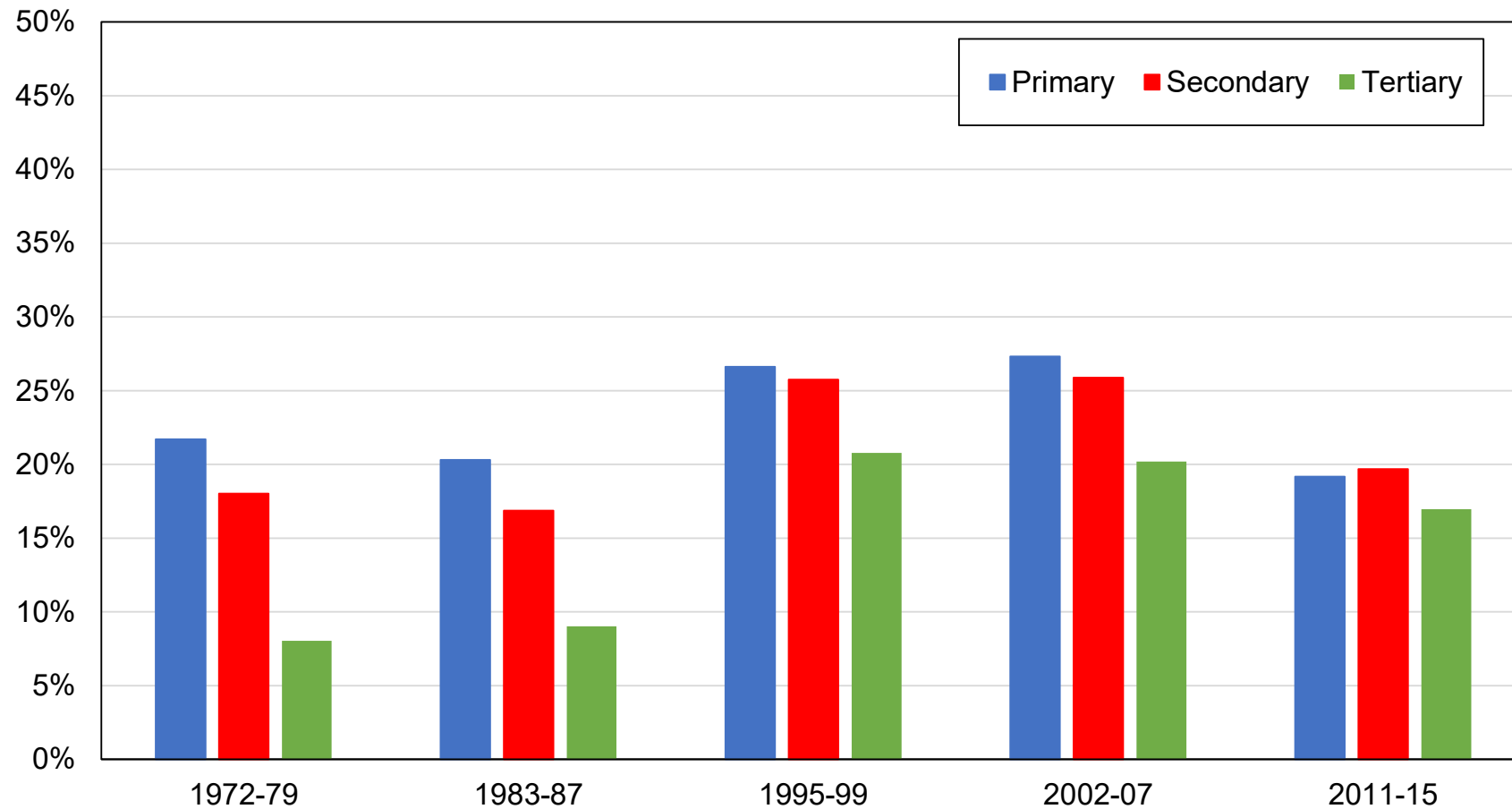
**Figure DC16 - Vote for the True Finns by age group in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the True Finns by age group.

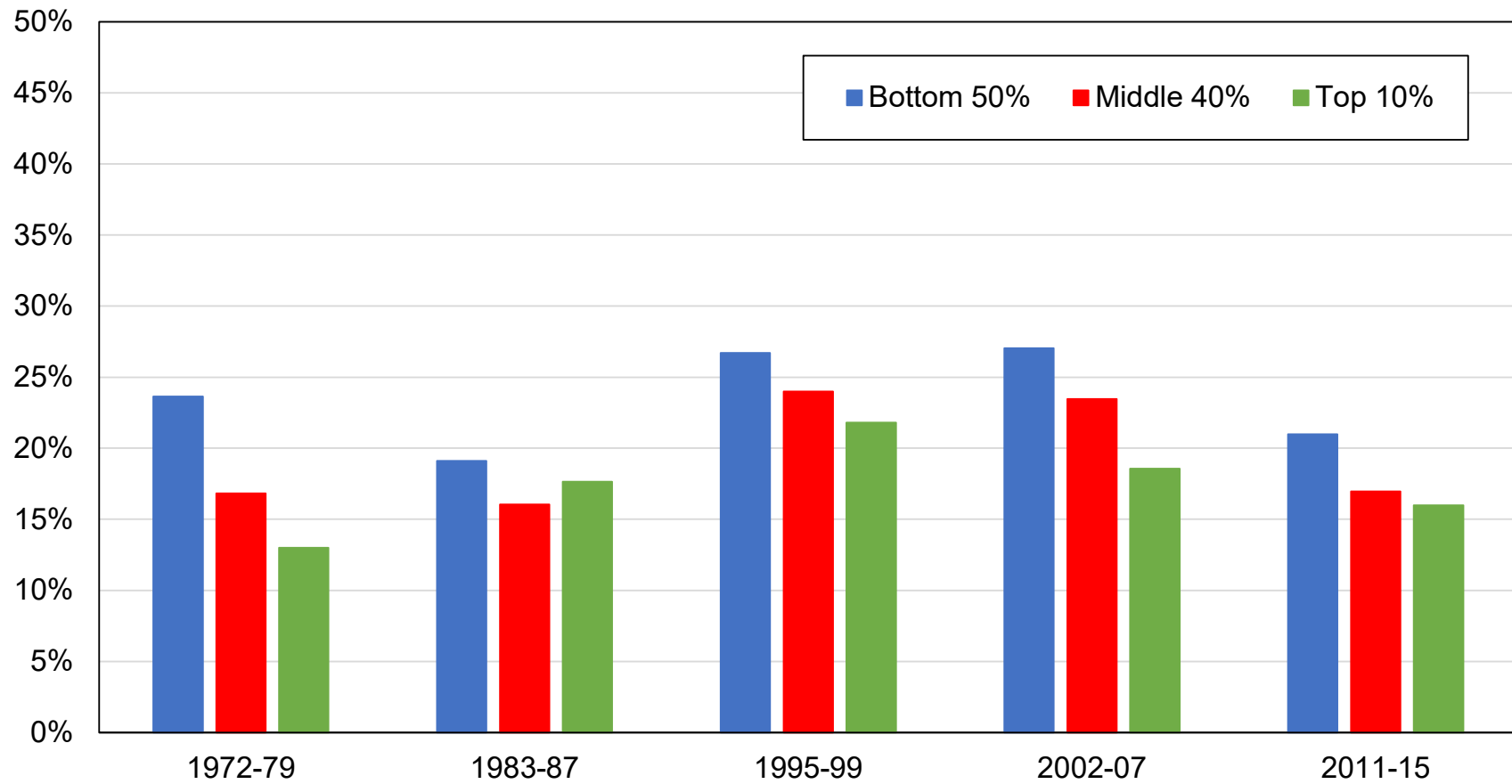
**Figure DC17 - Vote for the Centre Party by education level in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Centre Party by education level.

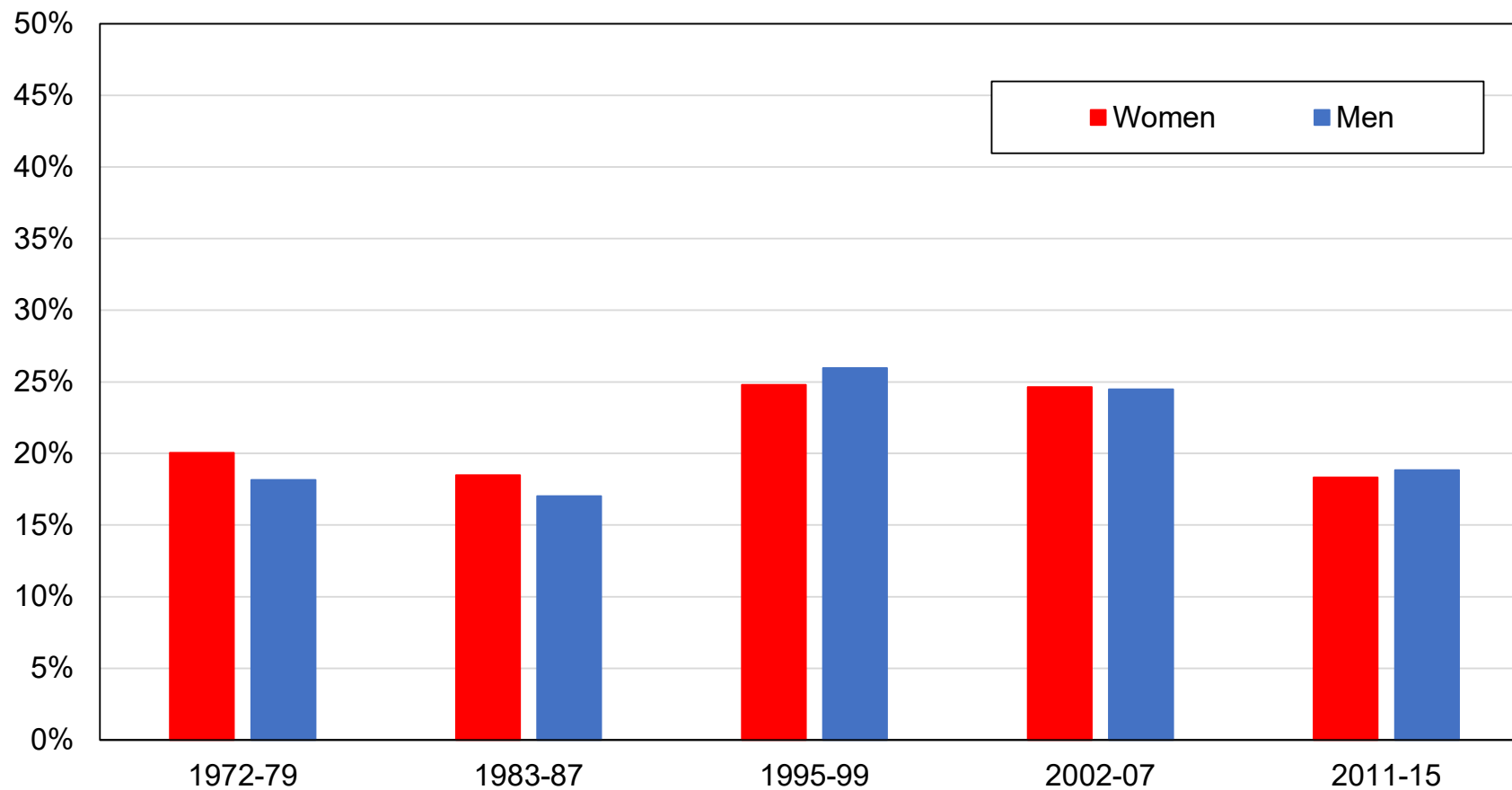
**Figure DC18 - Vote for the Centre Party by income group in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Centre Party by income group.

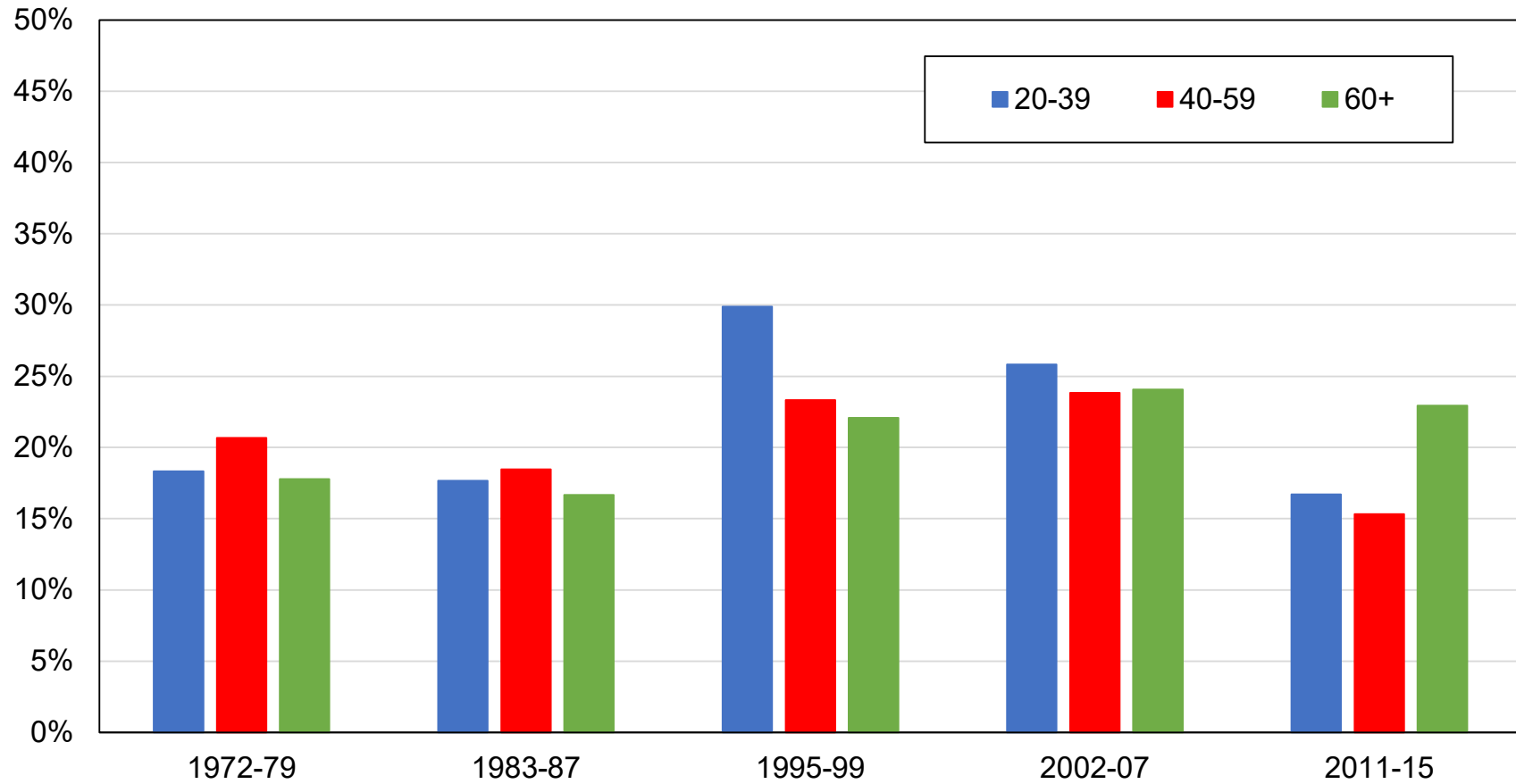
**Figure DC19 - Vote for the Centre Party by gender in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Centre Party by gender.

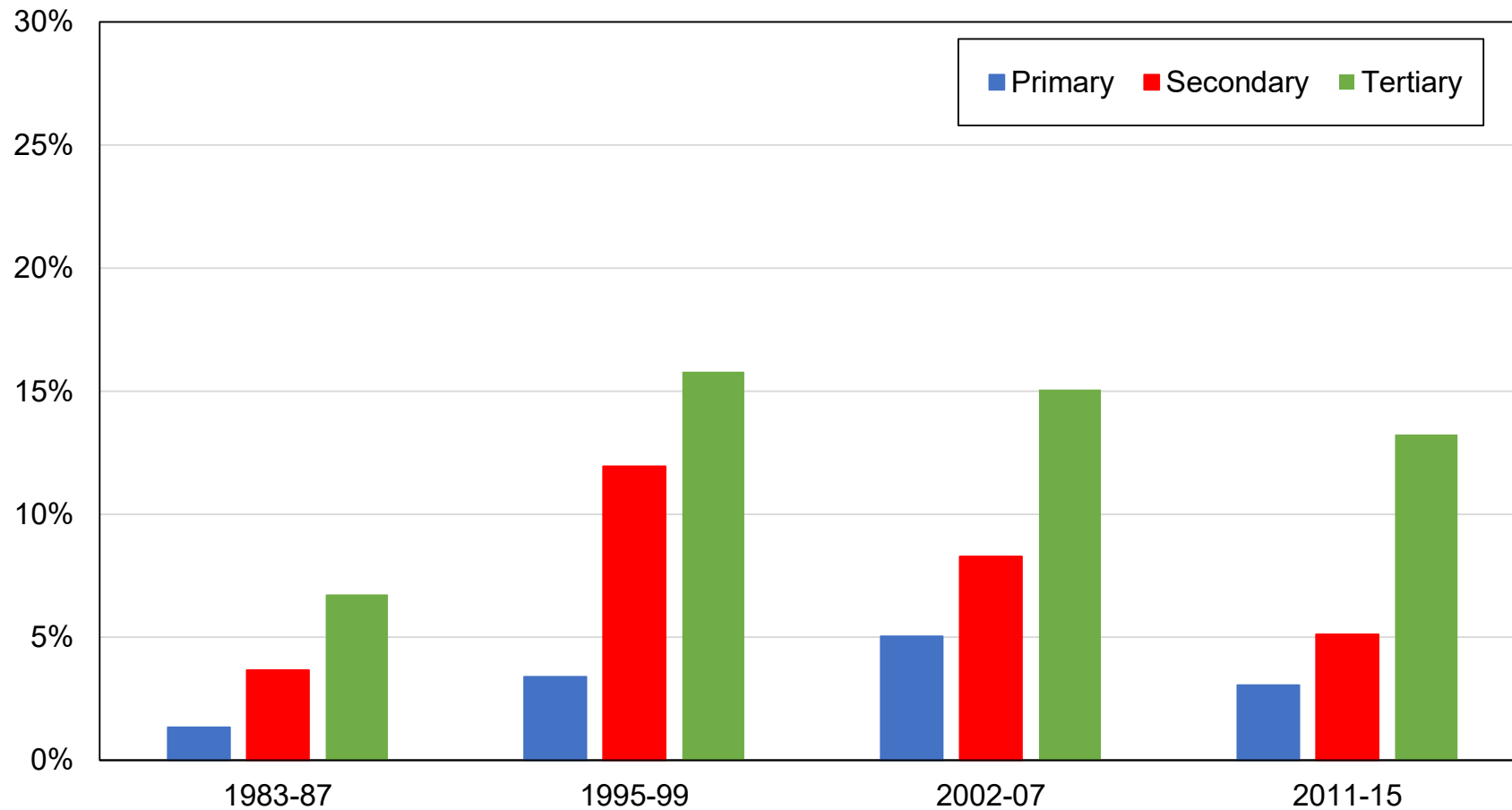
**Figure DC20 - Vote for the Centre Party by age group in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Centre Party by age group.

**Figure DC21 - Vote for the Green League by education level in Finland**

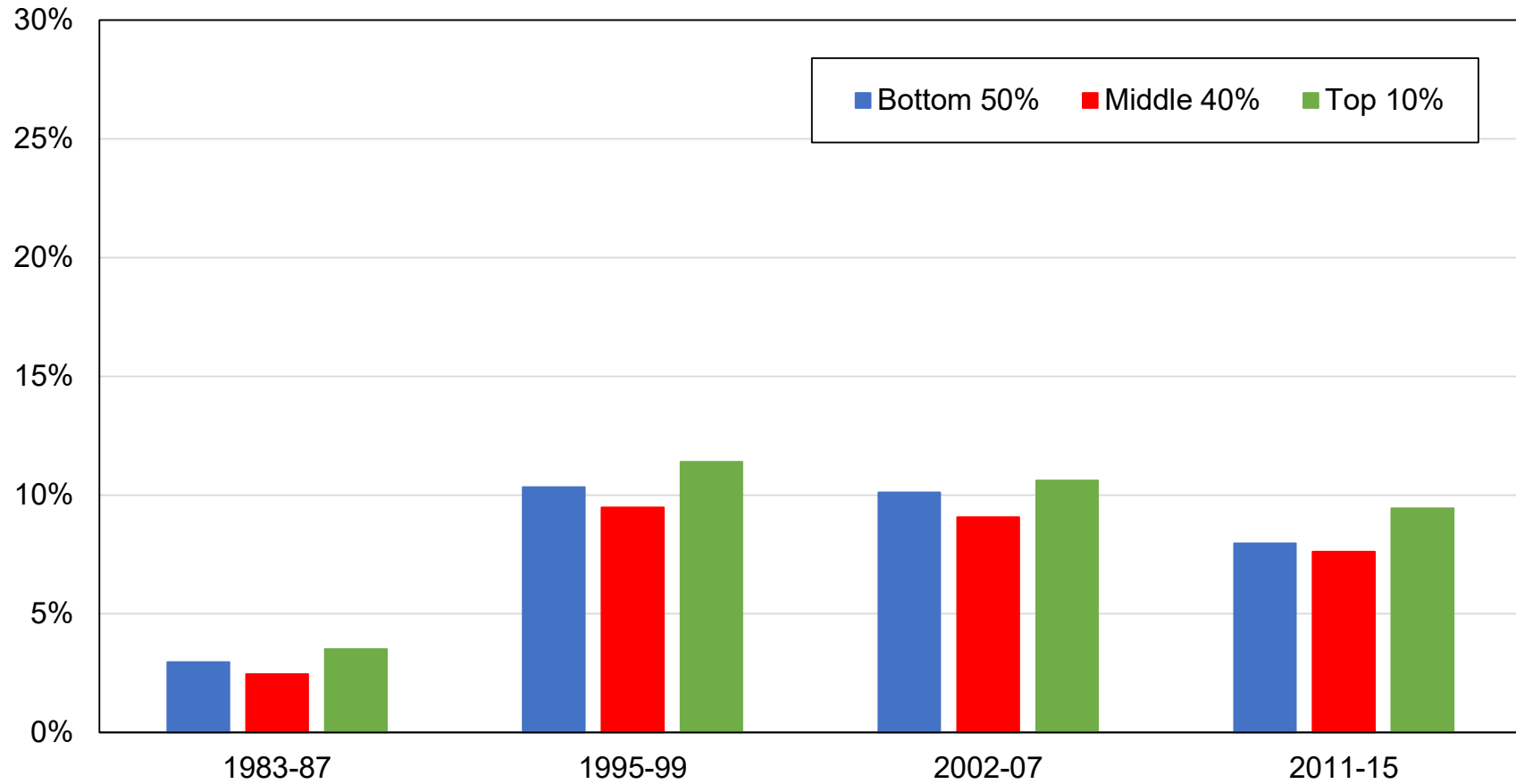


**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Green League by education level.



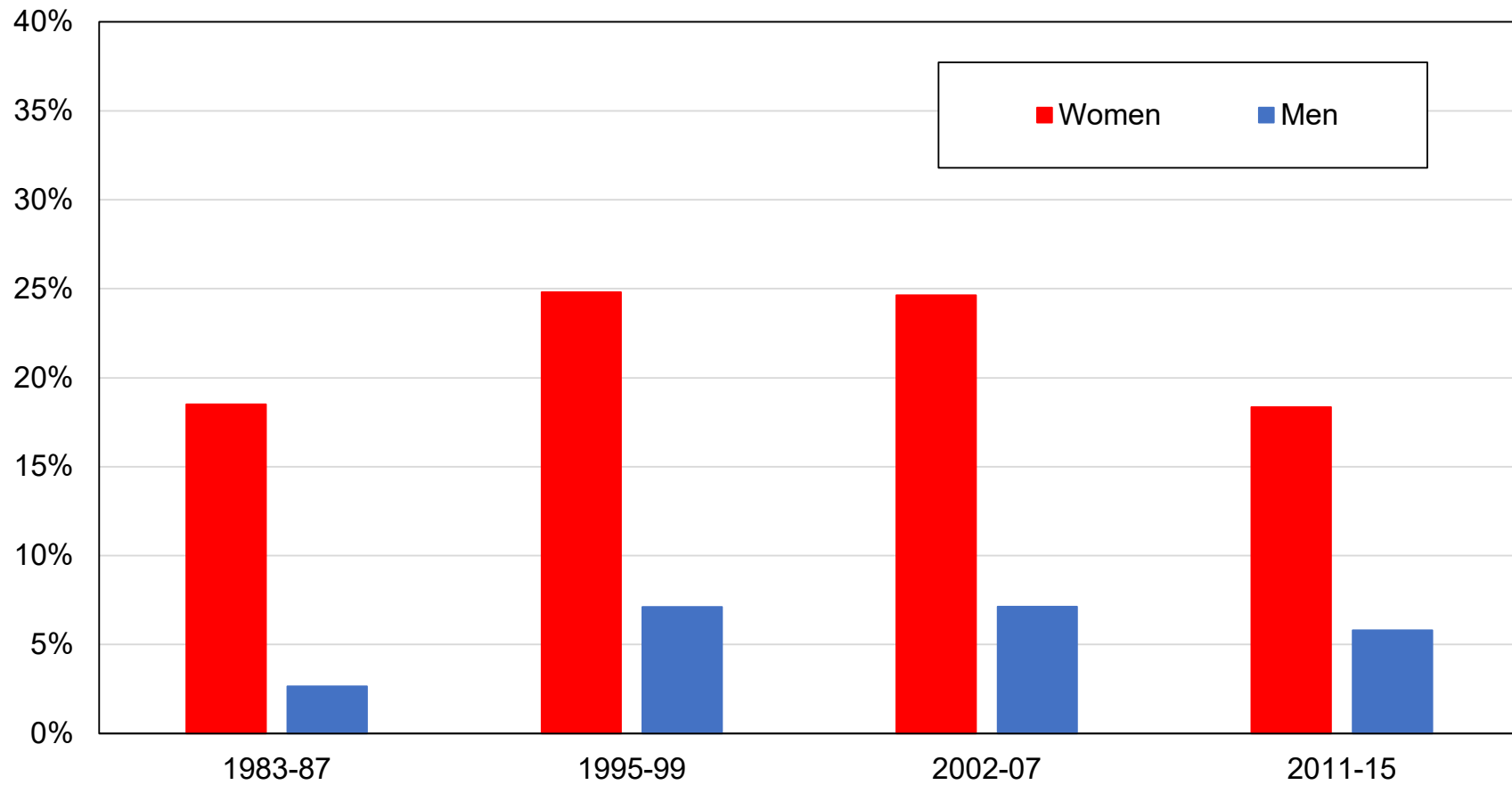
**Figure DC22 - Vote for the Green League by income group in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Green League by income group.

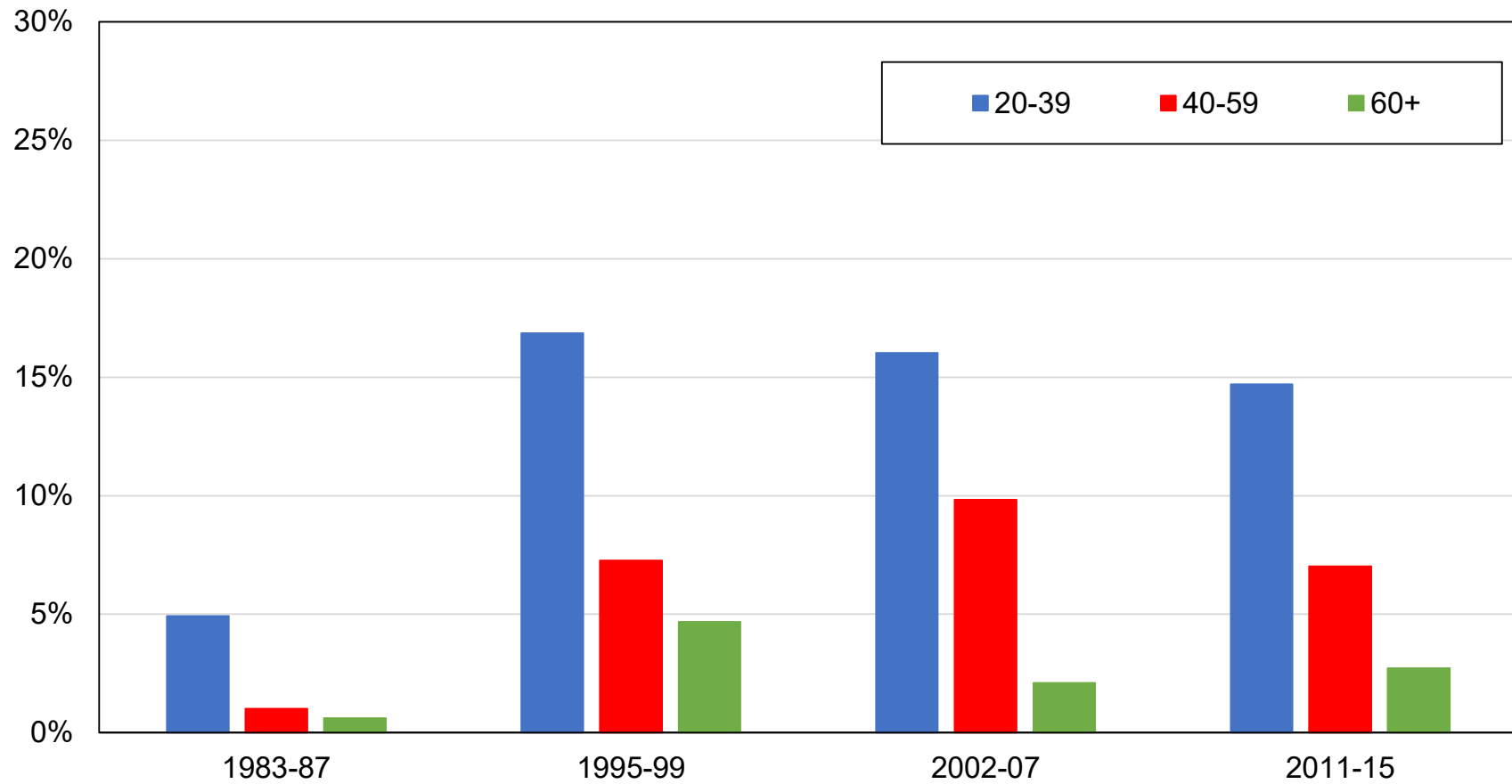
**Figure DC23 - Vote for the Green League by gender in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Green League by gender.

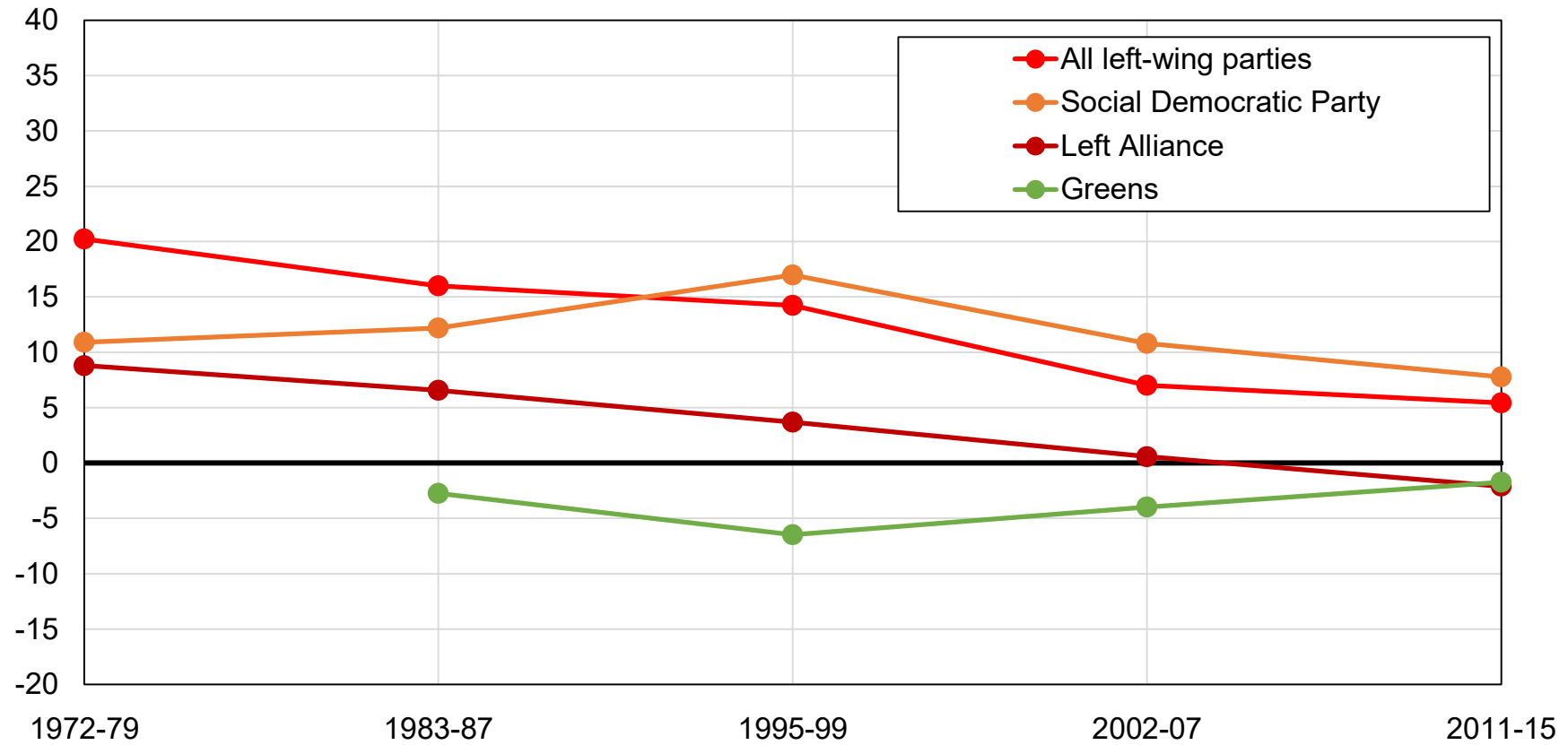
**Figure DC24 - Vote for the Green League by age group in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Green League by age group.

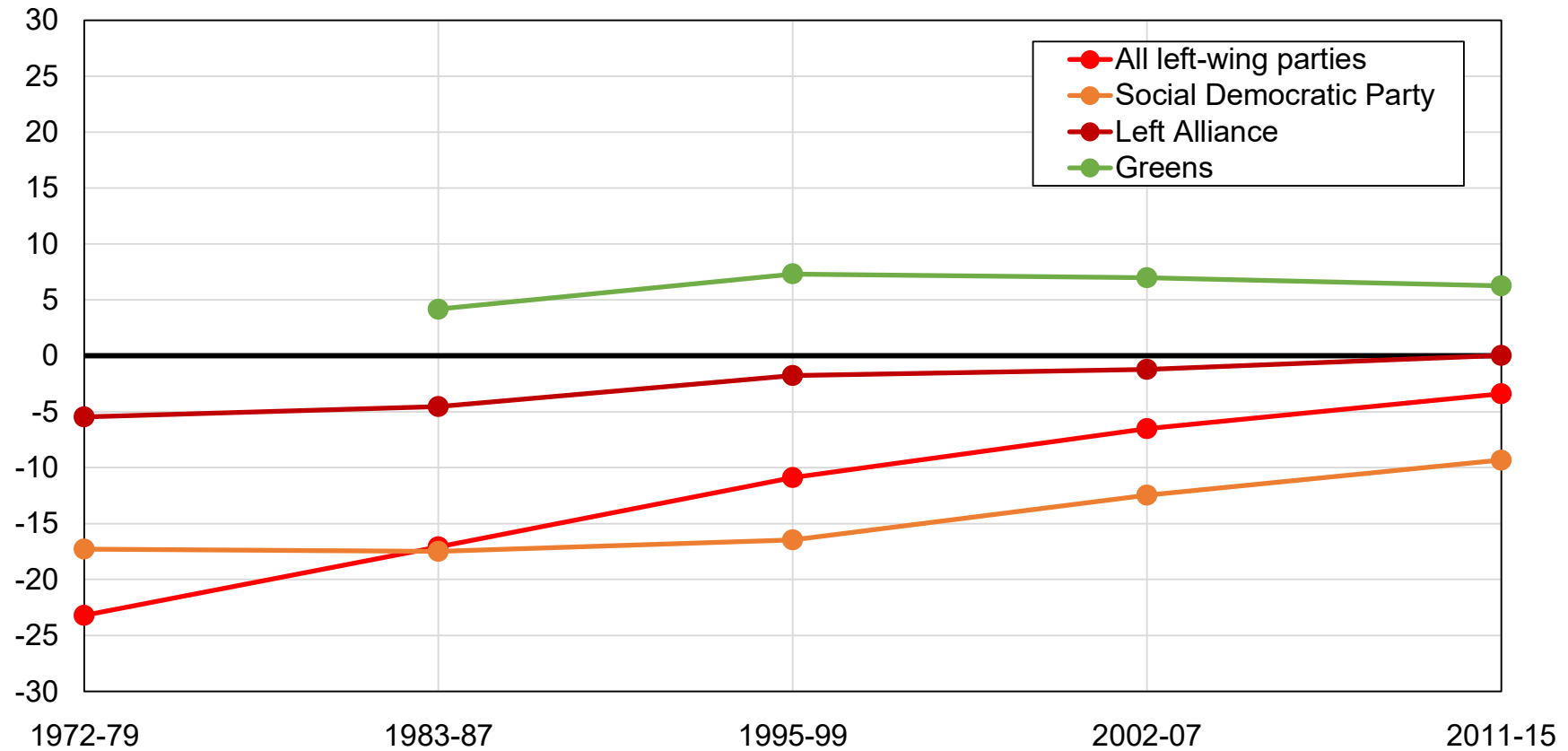
**Figure DC25 - Decomposition of the vote for the left among primary-educated voters in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of primary-educated voters and other voters voting for the main left-wing parties, after controlling for income, age, gender, employment status, union membership, and region of residence.

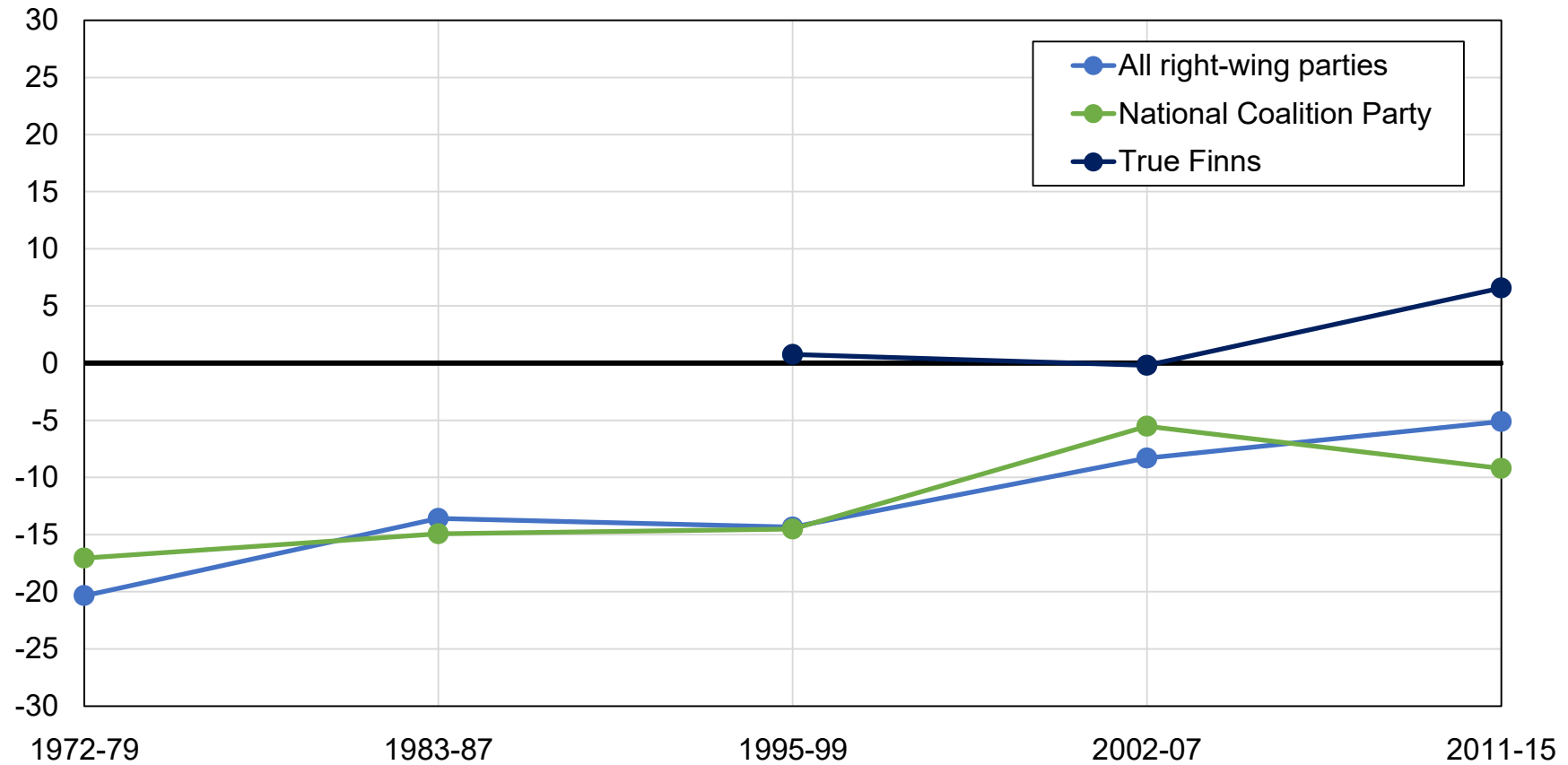
**Figure DC26- Decomposition of the vote for the left among tertiary-educated voters in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of tertiary-educated and other voters voting for the main left-wing parties, after controlling for income, age, gender, employment status, union membership, and region of residence.

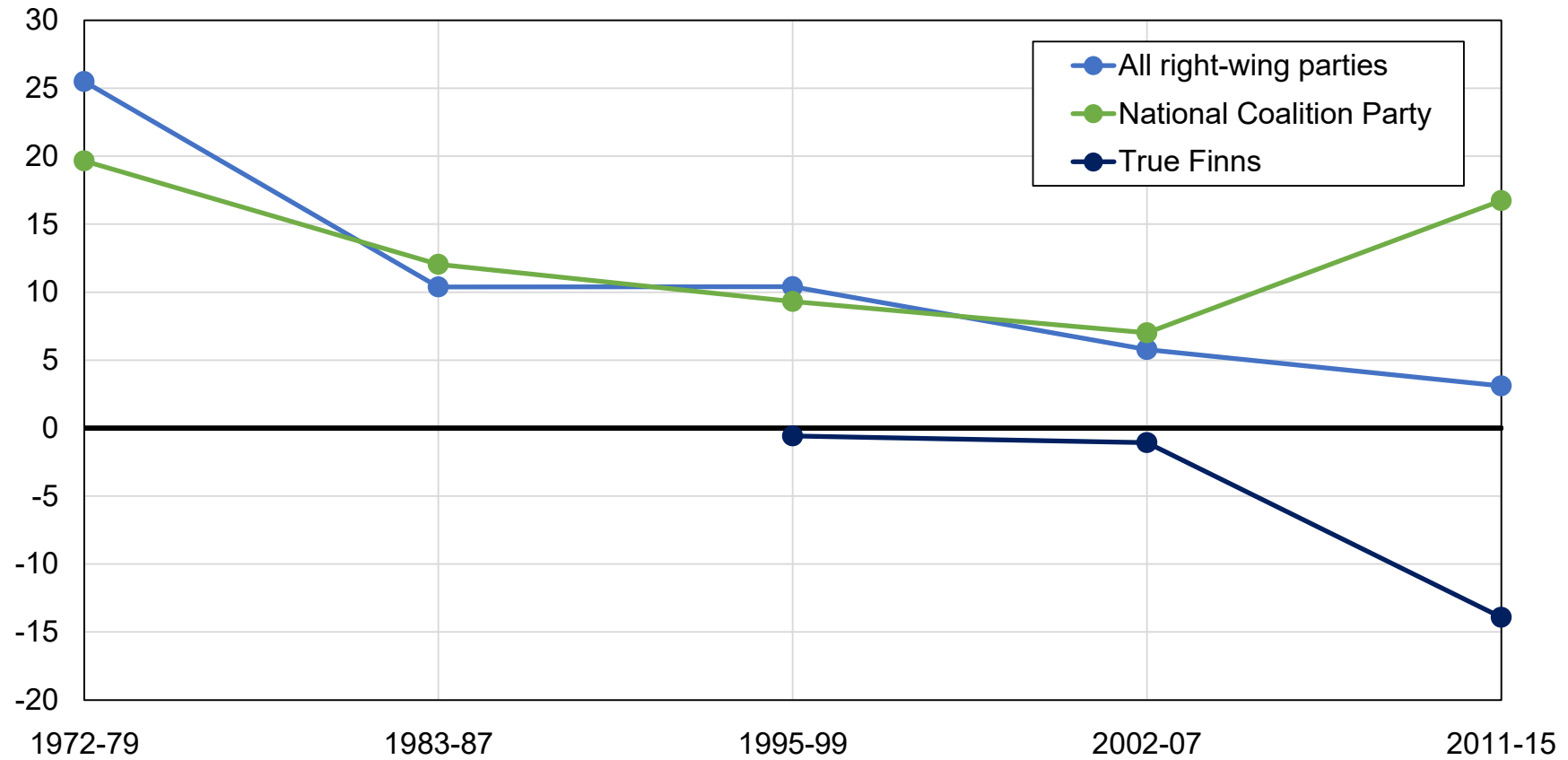
**Figure DC27 - Decomposition of the vote for the right among primary-educated voters in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of primary-educated and other voters voting for the main right-wing parties, after controlling for income, age, gender, employment status, union membership, and region of residence.

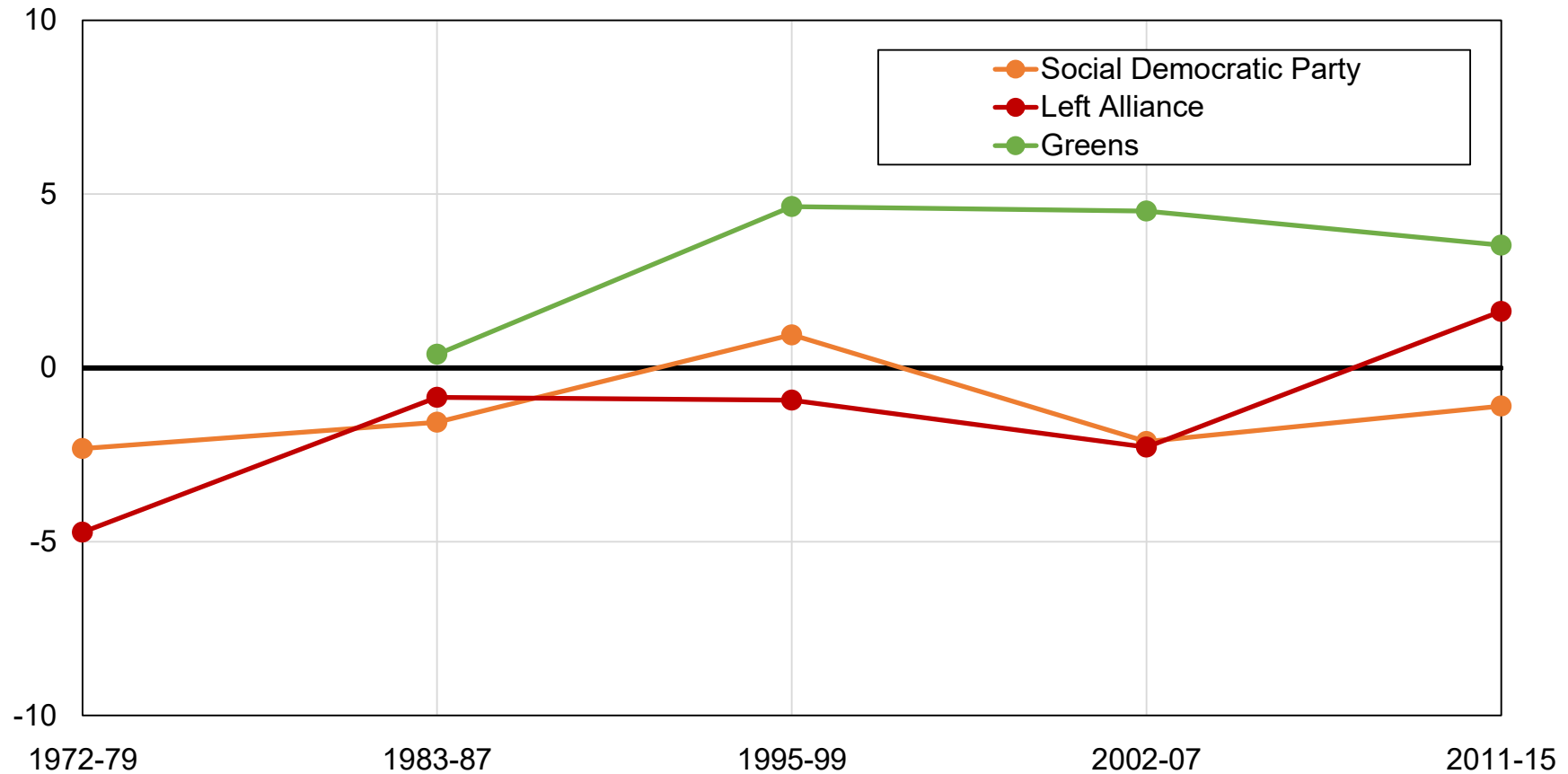
**Figure DC28 - Decomposition of the vote for the right among tertiary educated in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of tertiary-educated and other voters voting for the main right-wing parties, after controlling for income, age, gender, employment status, union membership, and region of residence.

**Figure DC29 - Decomposition of the vote for the left among women in Finland**

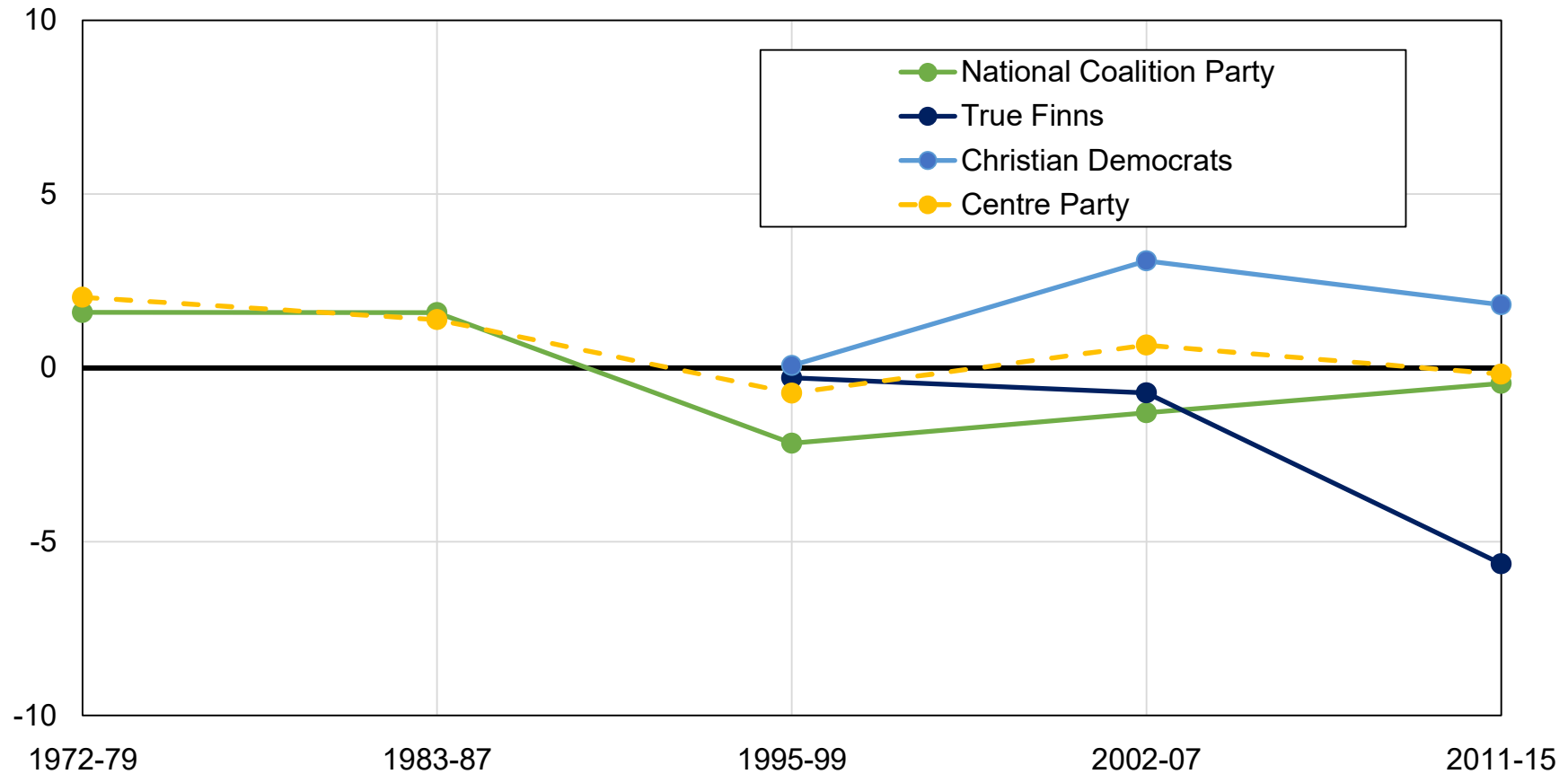


**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of women and men for the main left-wing parties, after controlling for income, education, age, region of residence, and employment sector.



**Figure DC30 - Decomposition of the vote for the right among women in Finland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of women and men for the main right-wing parties, after controlling for income, education, age, region, and sector. The line for the Centre Party is dashed since it does not belong to the right-wing parties.

**Table DC1 - Survey data sources in Finland**

Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
1972	Finnish Voter Barometers	Finnish Social Science Data Archive	1544
1975	Finnish Voter Barometers	Finnish Social Science Data Archive	1461
1979	Finnish Voter Barometers	Finnish Social Science Data Archive	1595
1983	Finnish Voter Barometers	Finnish Social Science Data Archive	2662
1987	Finnish Voter Barometers	Finnish Social Science Data Archive	1730
1995	Finnish Voter Barometers	Finnish Social Science Data Archive	1596
1999	Finnish Voter Barometers	Finnish Social Science Data Archive	2180
2003	Finnish National Election Studies	Finnish Social Science Data Archive	2195
2003	Finnish Voter Barometers	Finnish Social Science Data Archive	2194
2007	Finnish National Election Studies	Finnish Social Science Data Archive	2055
2011	Finnish National Election Studies	Finnish Social Science Data Archive	2341
2015	Finnish National Election Studies	Finnish Social Science Data Archive	2012

**Source:** authors' elaboration.

**Note:** the table shows the surveys used in the paper, the source from which these surveys can be obtained, and the sample size of each survey.

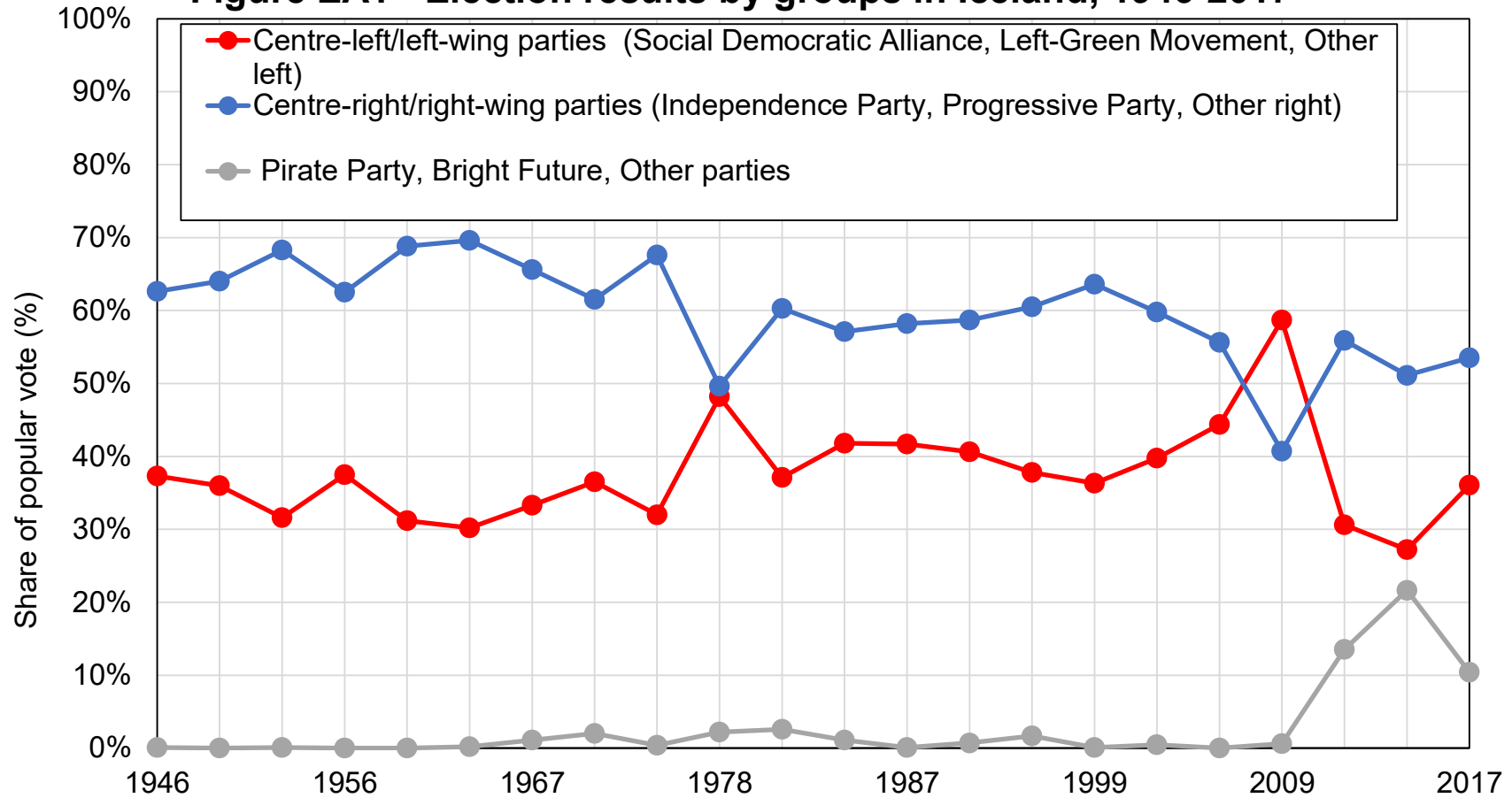
**Table DC2 - Complete descriptive statistics by decade in Finland**

	1972-79	1983-87	1995-99	2002-07	2011-15
Age: 20-39	48%	53%	40%	34%	34%
Age: 40-59	37%	31%	44%	40%	31%
Age: 60+	15%	16%	15%	26%	35%
Subjective social class: Working class		53%	33%	37%	
Subjective social class: Middle class		47%	67%	63%	
Education: Primary	50%	46%	30%	20%	10%
Education: Secondary	43%	45%	57%	57%	58%
Education: Tertiary	7%	8%	13%	23%	32%
Employment status: Employed public		25%	24%	21%	19%
Employed status: Employed private		41%	38%	37%	37%
Employed status: Unemployed/Inactive	100%	34%	37%	41%	44%
House ownership: Renting	31%		30%	30%	35%
House ownership: Owning	69%		70%	70%	65%
Marital status: Single	29%	36%	24%	35%	45%
Marital status: Married / Partner	71%	64%	76%	65%	55%
Occupation: Entrepreneur or self-employed	0%	5%	11%	9%	11%
Occupation: Farmer	13%	9%	6%	4%	4%
Occupation: Higher managerial occupation	8%	6%	6%	6%	6%
Occupation: Lower managerial/professional/intermediate level employee	30%	33%	20%	33%	35%
Occupation: Worker	49%	47%	57%	48%	44%
Region: Central Finland	31%	29%	22%	47%	45%
Region: Northern Finland	12%	10%	14%	11%	15%
Region: Southern Finland	56%	61%	63%	42%	40%
Rural / urban: Urban			64%	68%	71%
Rural / urban: Rural			36%	32%	29%
Sector: Private/Mixed		62%	61%	64%	67%
Sector: Public		38%	39%	36%	33%
Gender: Women	51%	51%	50%	51%	50%
Gender: Men	49%	49%	50%	49%	50%
Union membership: Not union member	47%	49%	27%	43%	52%
Union membership: Union member	53%	51%	73%	57%	48%

**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys and Voter Barometers.

**Note:** the table shows descriptive statistics by decade for selected available variables.

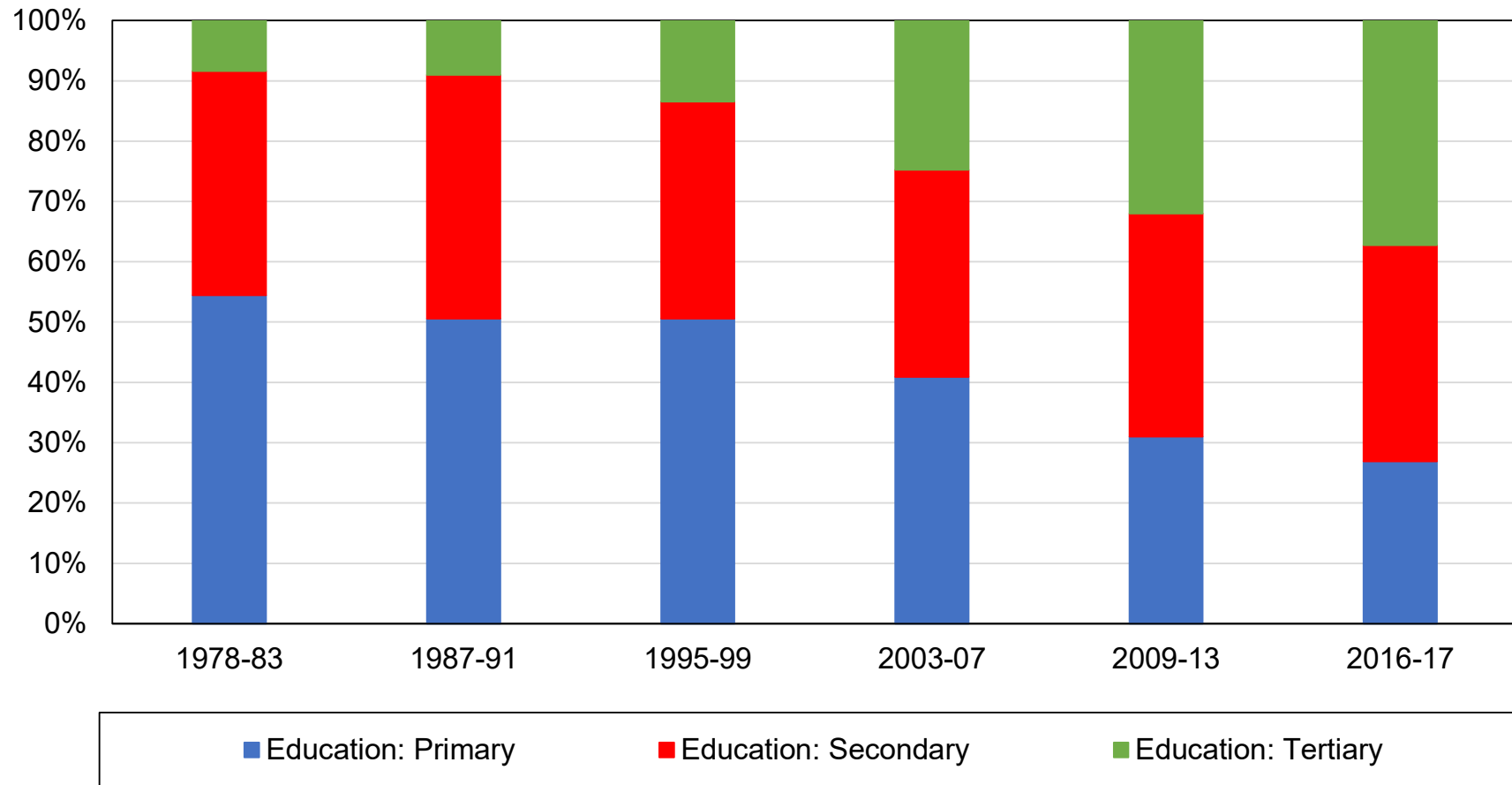
**Figure EA1 - Election results by groups in Iceland, 1946-2017**



**Source:** authors' computations using official election results.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Icelandic political parties in general elections between 1946 and 2017.

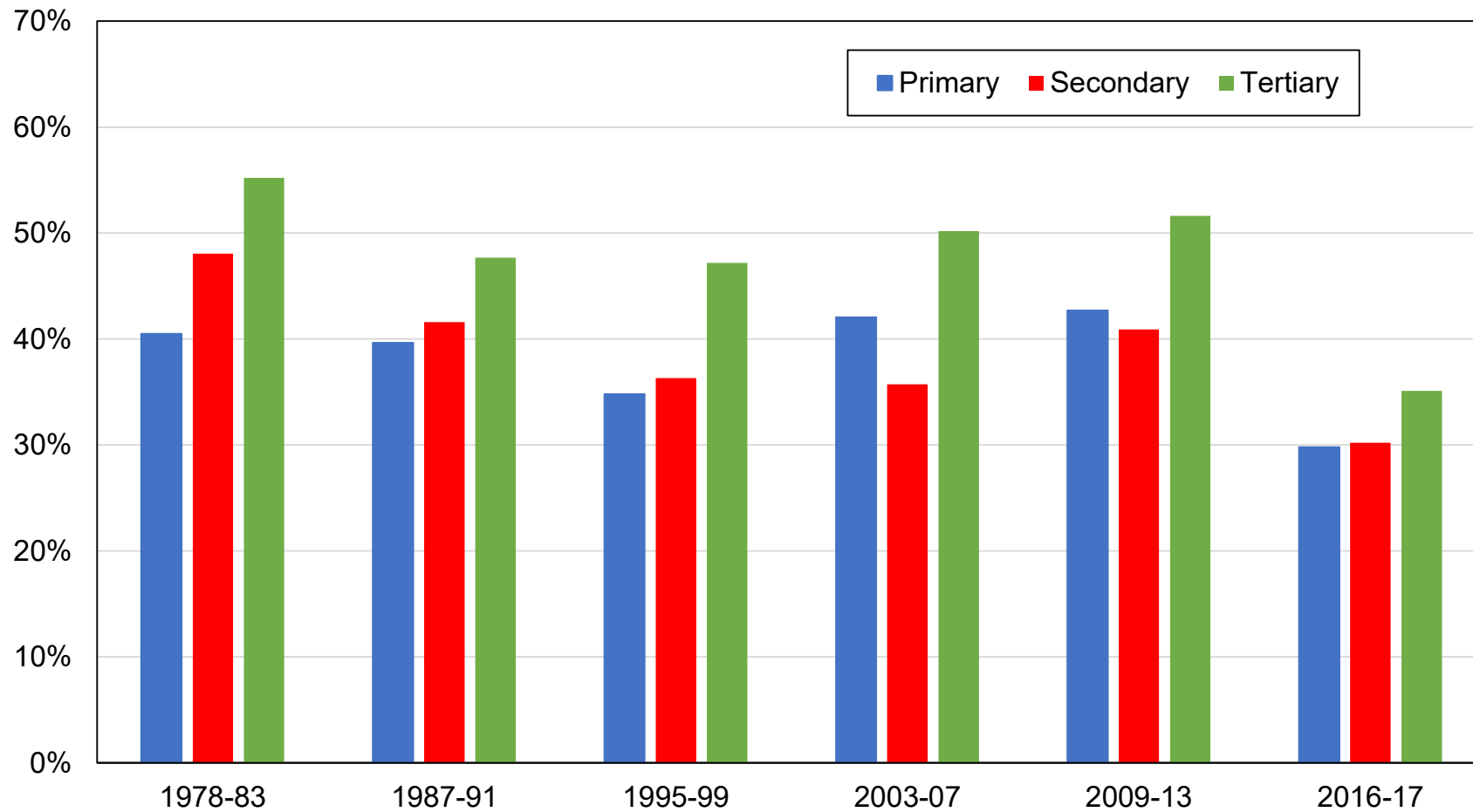
**Figure EA2 - The evolution of education in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the distribution of education levels of the Icelandic adult population and its evolution over time since 1978.

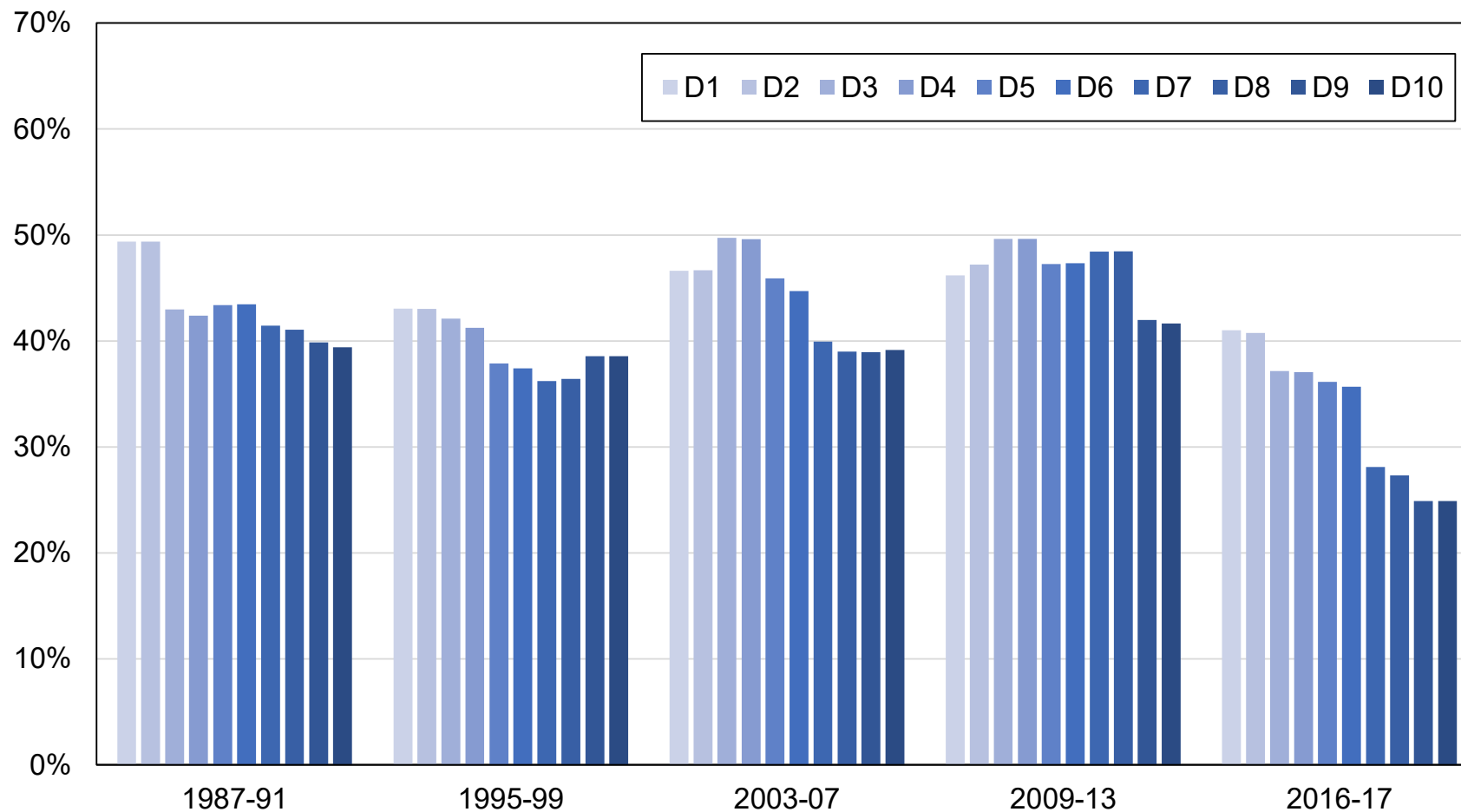
**Figure EB1 - Vote for left by education level in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by education level.

**Figure EB2 - Vote for the left by income decile in Iceland (bars)**

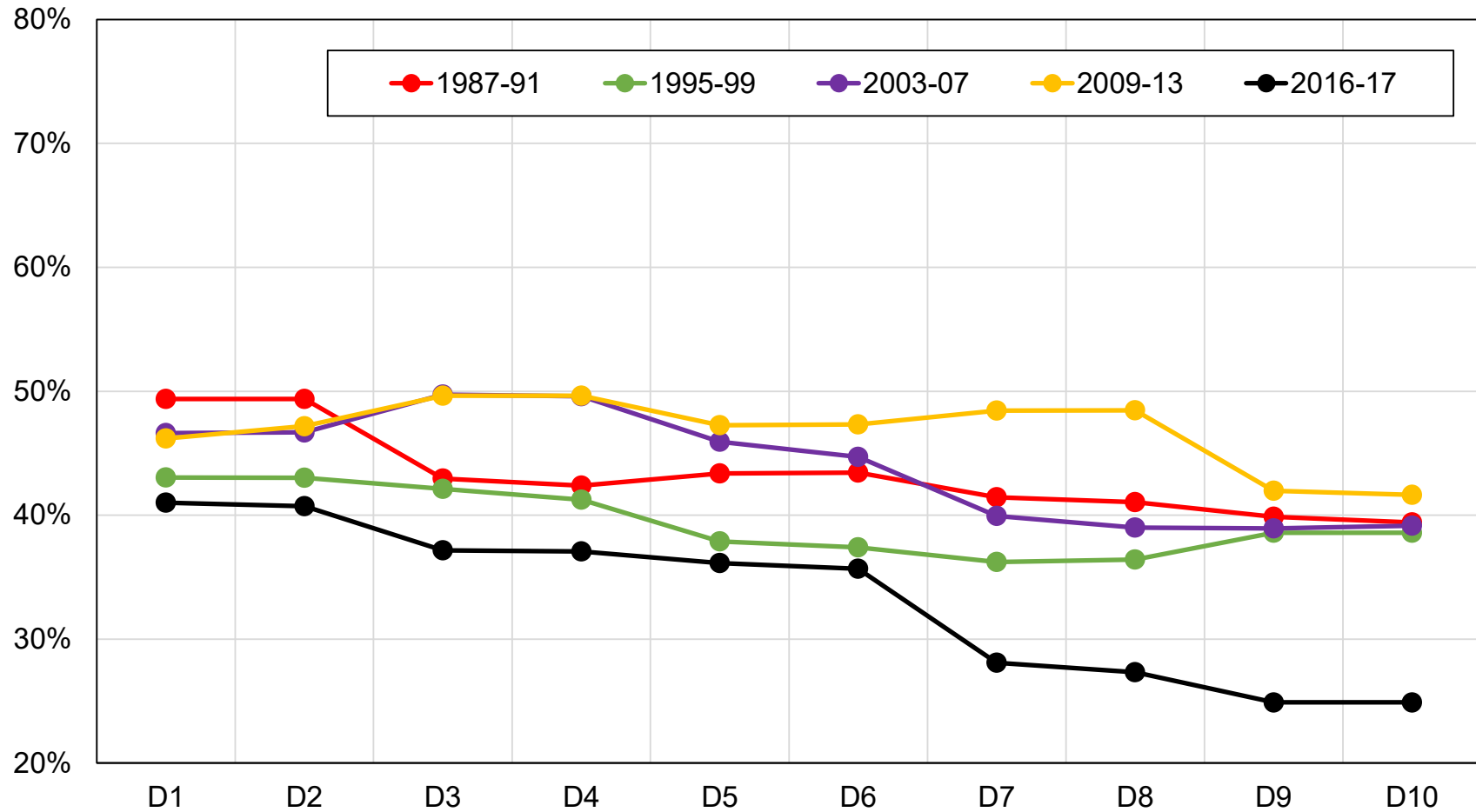


**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income decile.



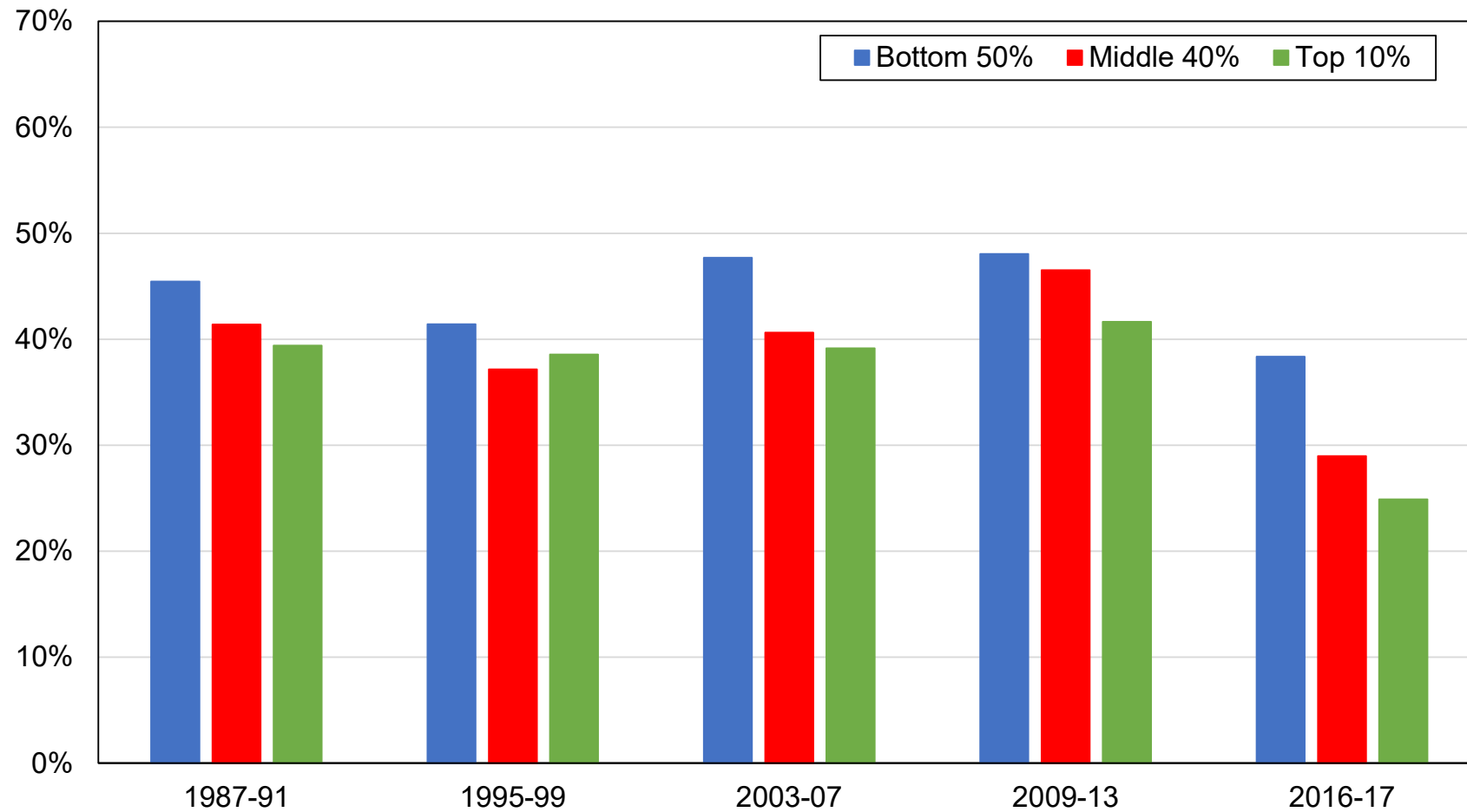
**Figure EB3 - Vote for the left by income decile in Iceland (lines)**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income decile.

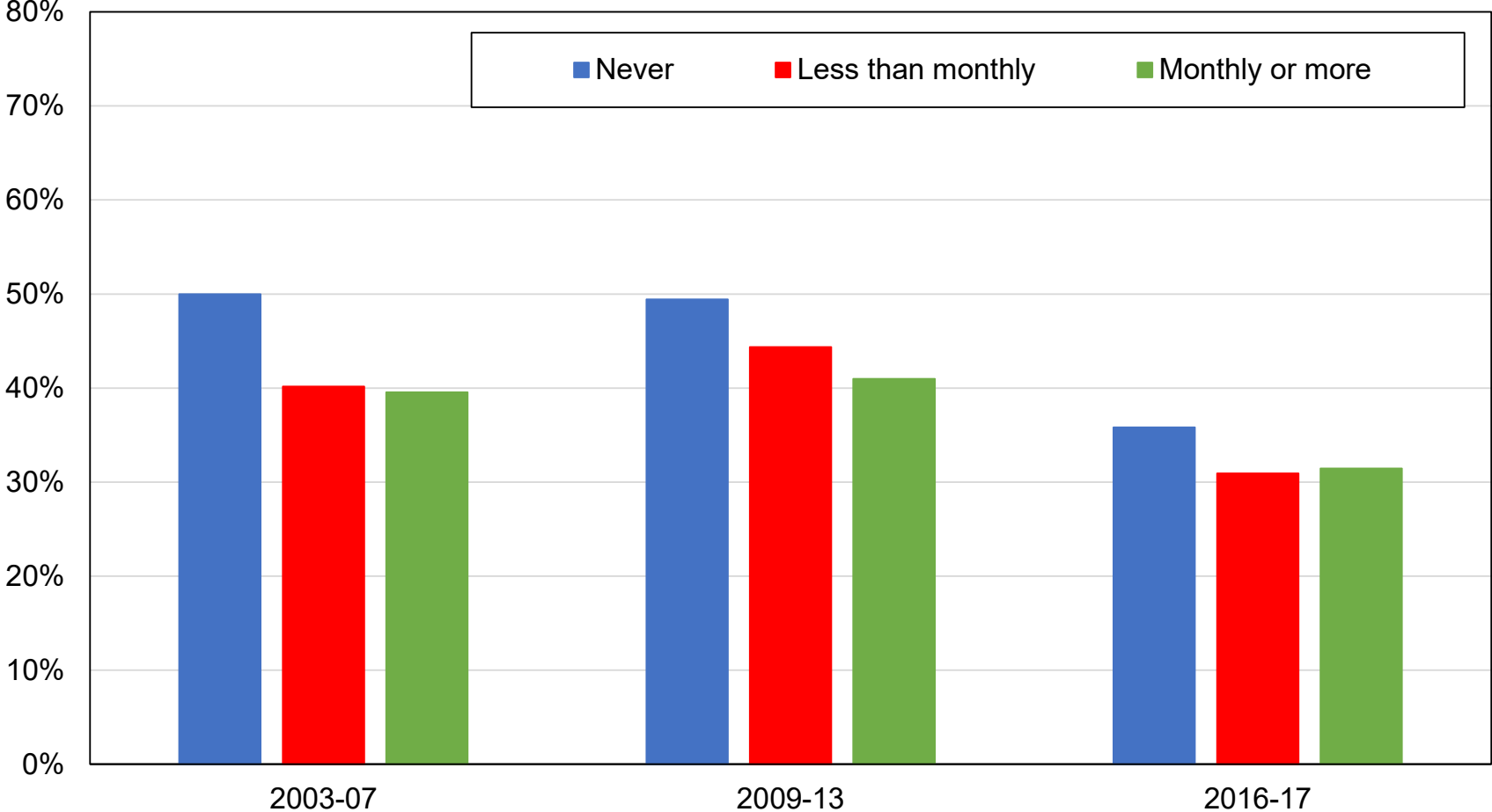
**Figure EB4 - Vote for the left by income group in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income group.

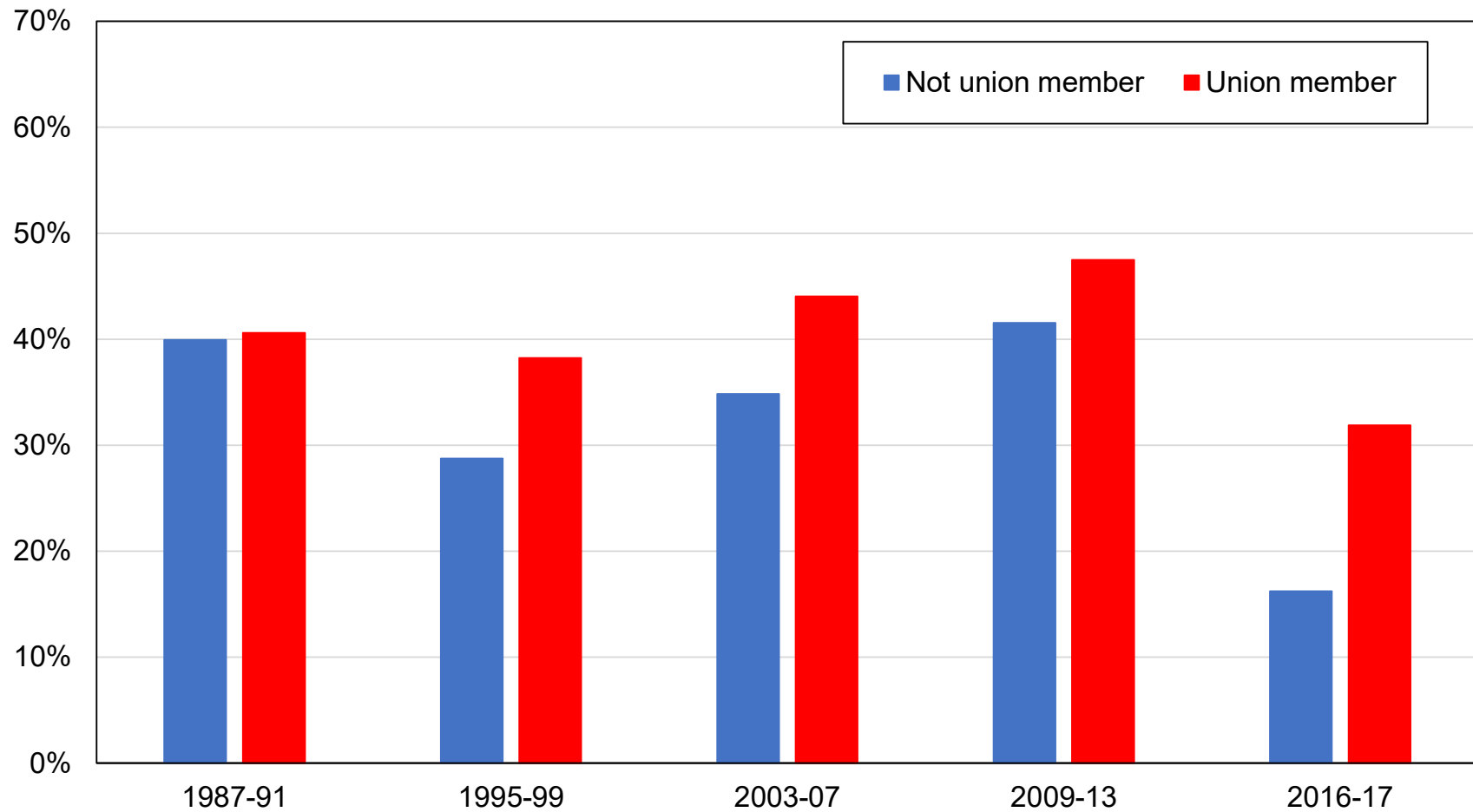
**Figure EB5 - Vote for the left by church attendance in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by church attendance.

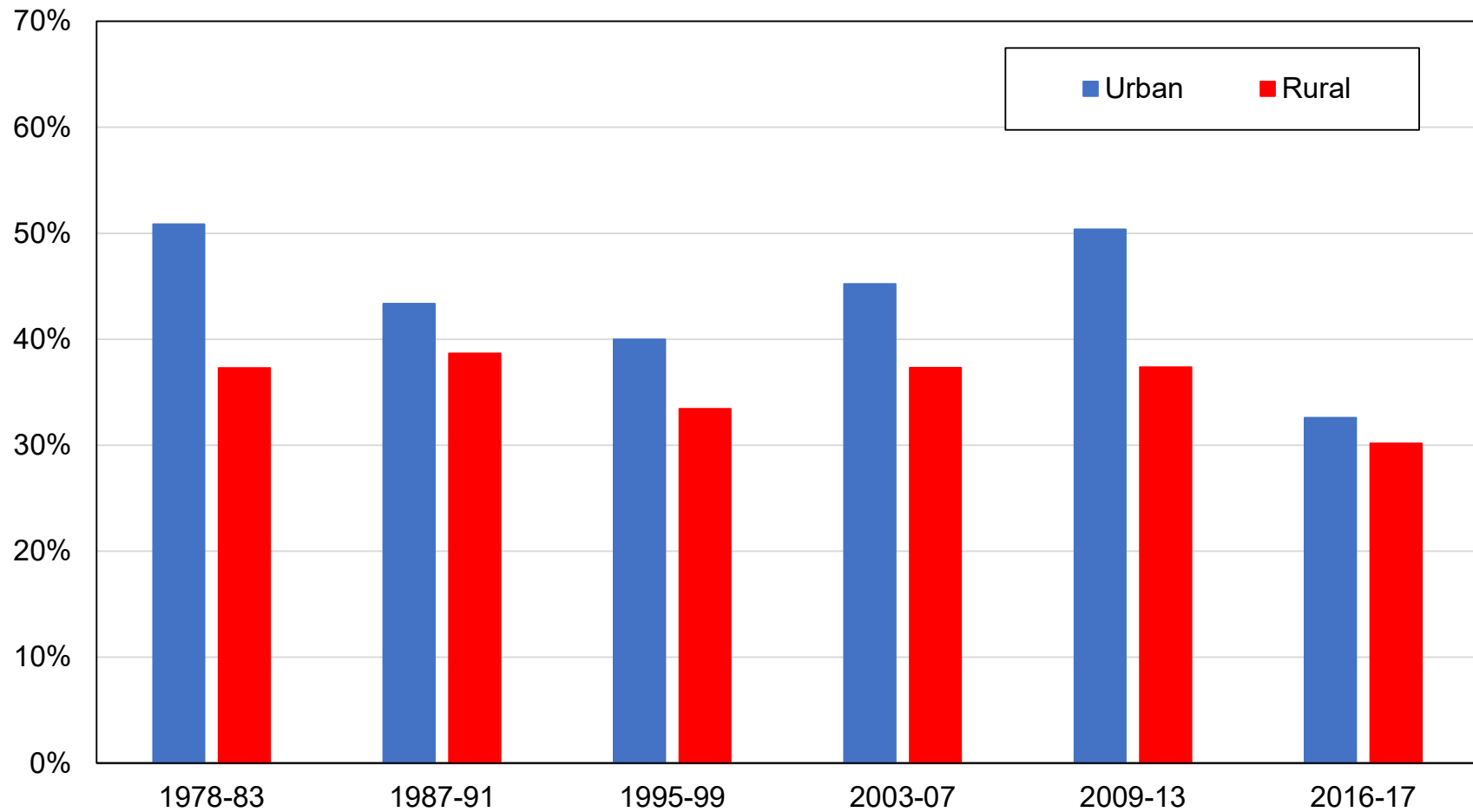
**Figure EB6 - Vote the left by union membership in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by union membership status.

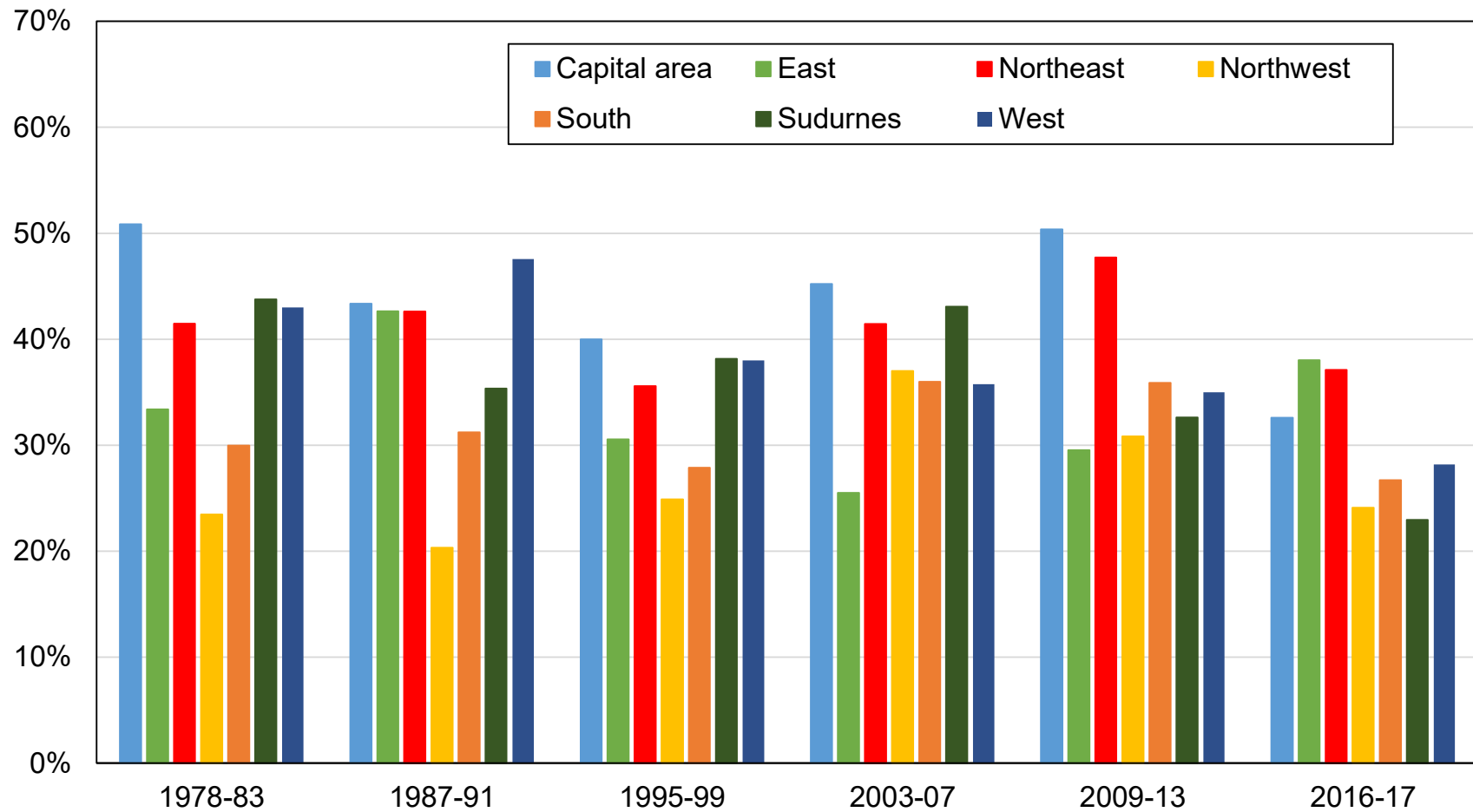
**Figure EB7 - Vote for the left by location in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by rural-urban location.

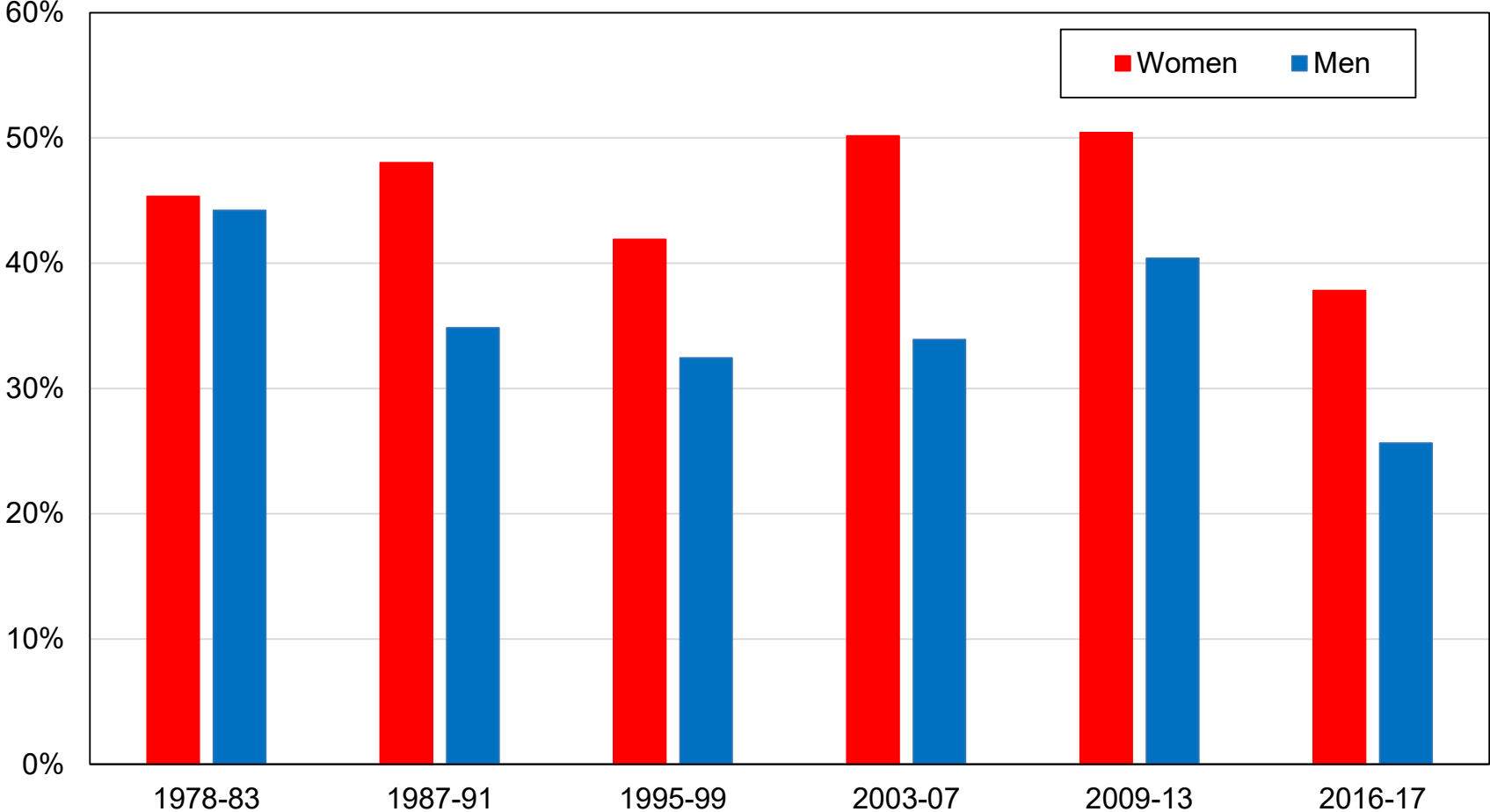
**Figure EB8 - Vote for the left by region of residence in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by region of residence.

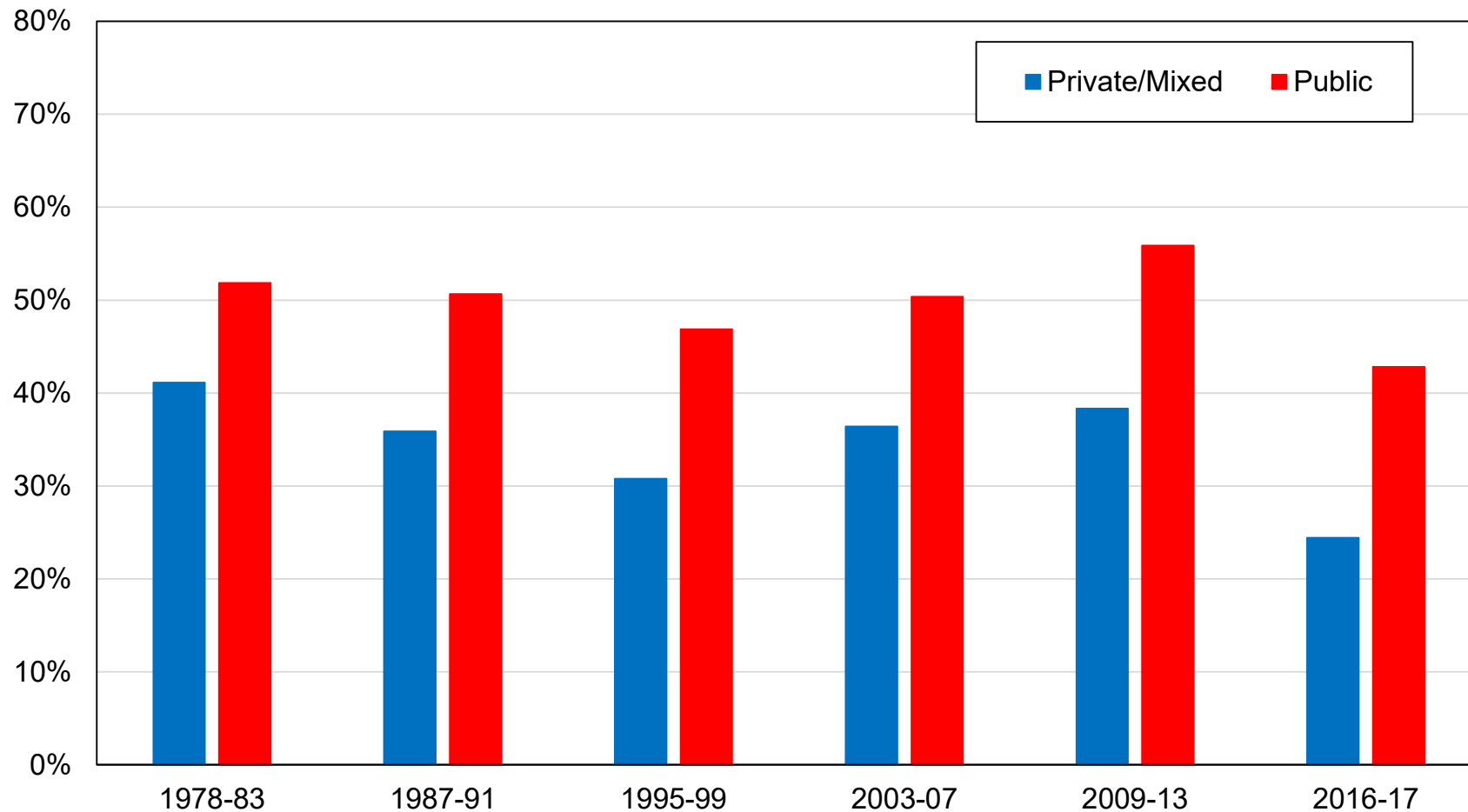
Figure EB9 - Vote for the left by gender in Iceland



Source: authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by gender.

**Figure EB10 - Vote for the left by sector of employment in Iceland**

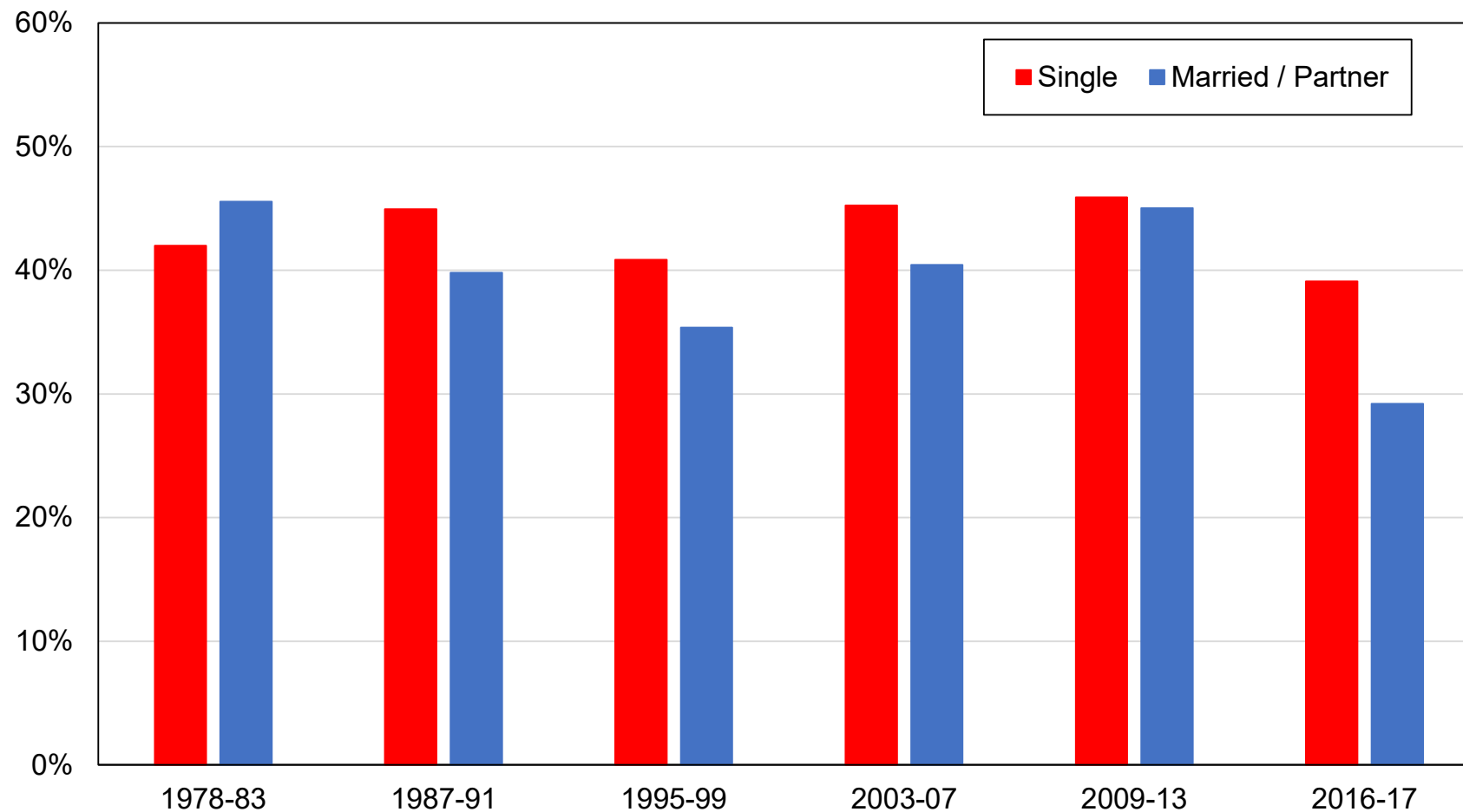


**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by employment sector.



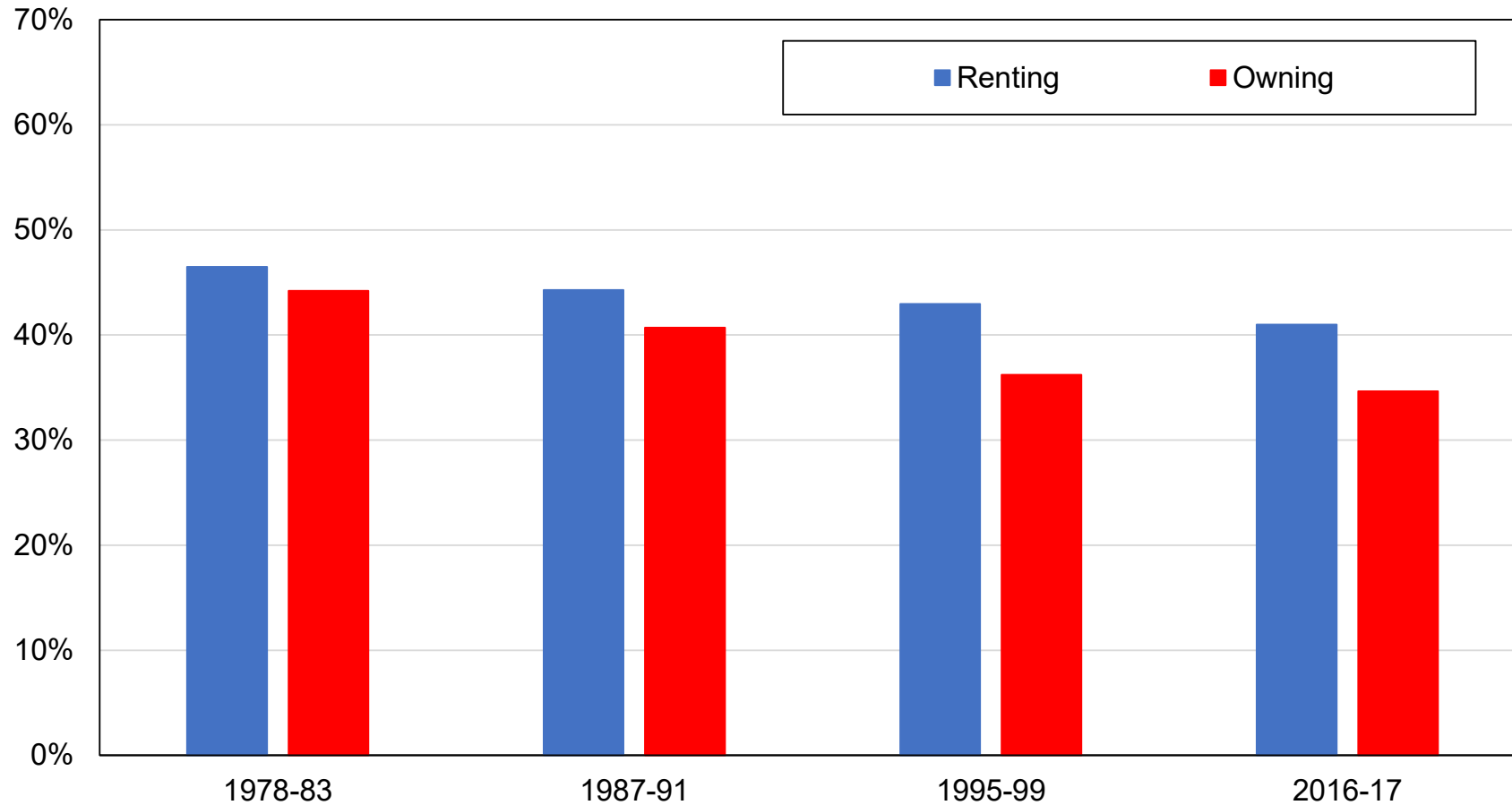
**Figure EB11 - Vote for the left by marital status in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by marital status.

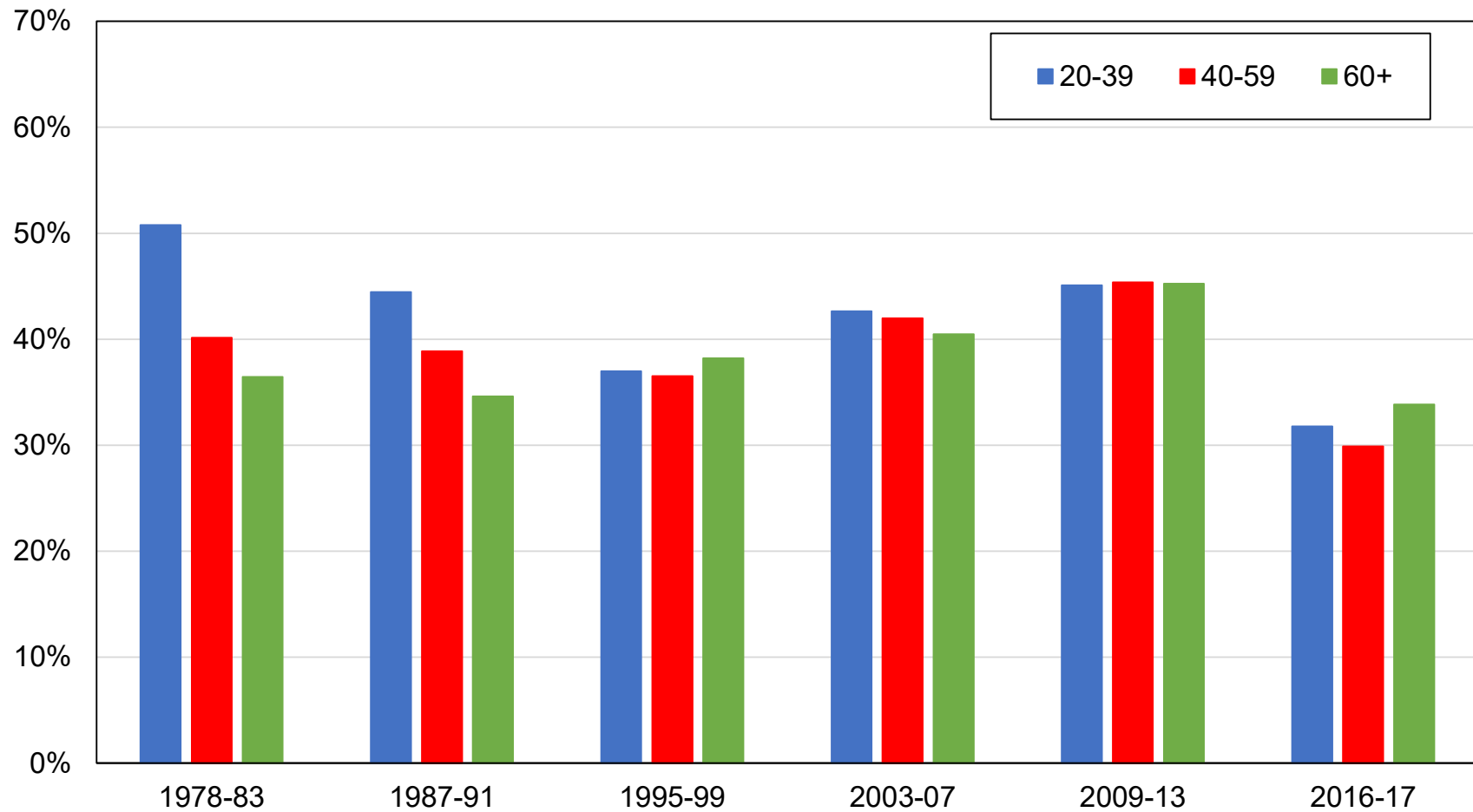
**Figure EB12 - Vote for the left by home ownership status in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by home ownership status.

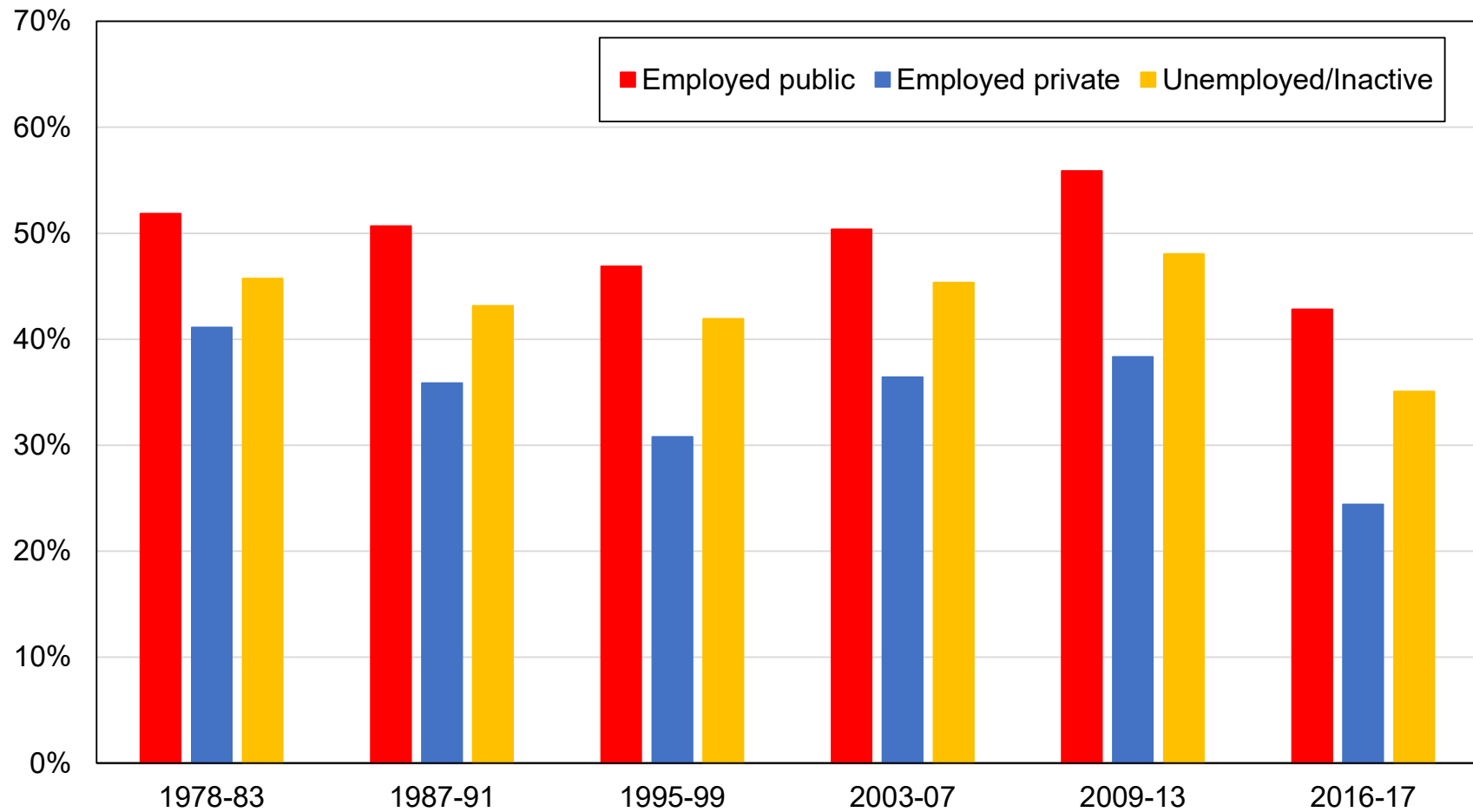
**Figure EB13 - Vote for the left by age group in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by age group.

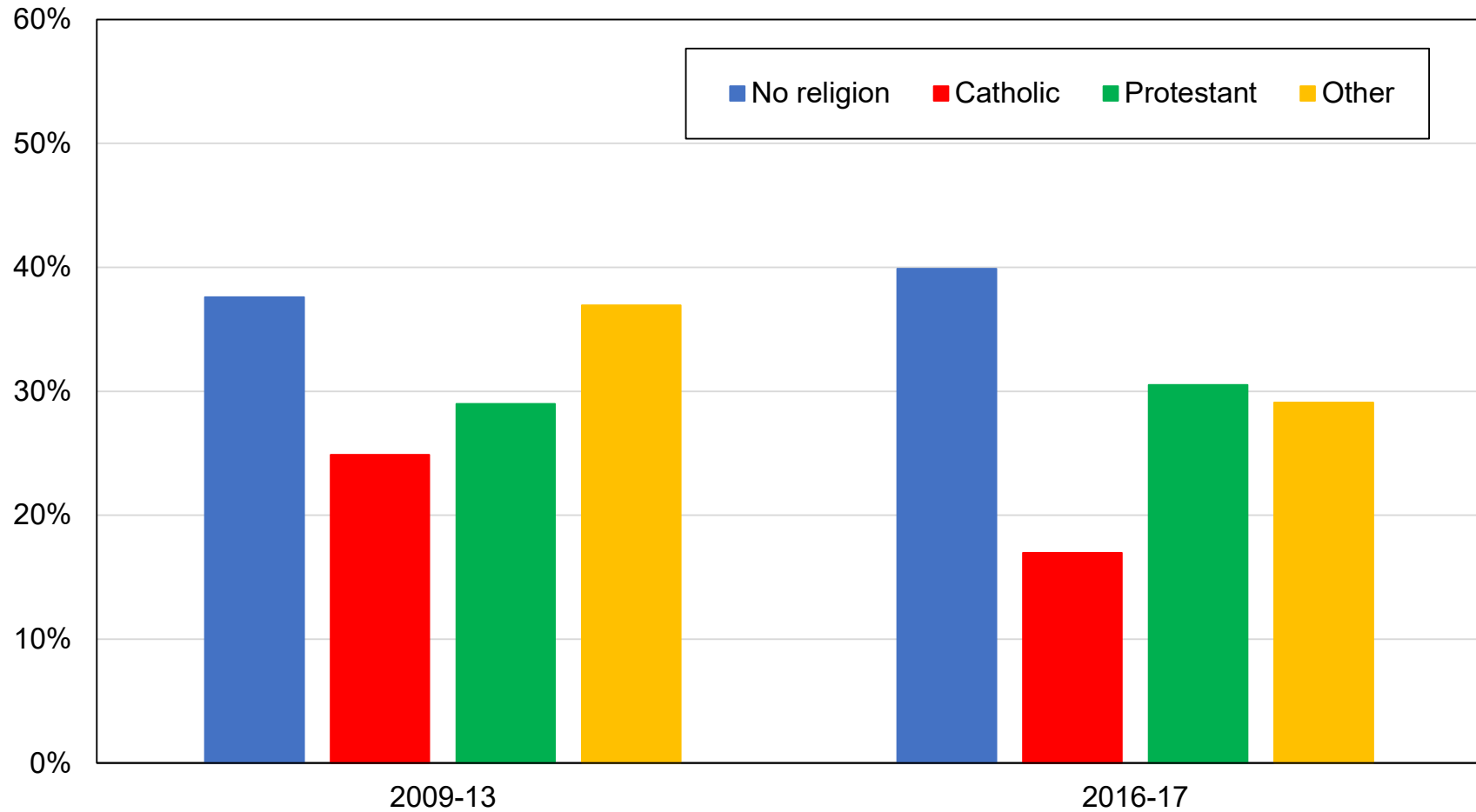
**Figure EB14 - Vote for the left by employment status in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by employment status.

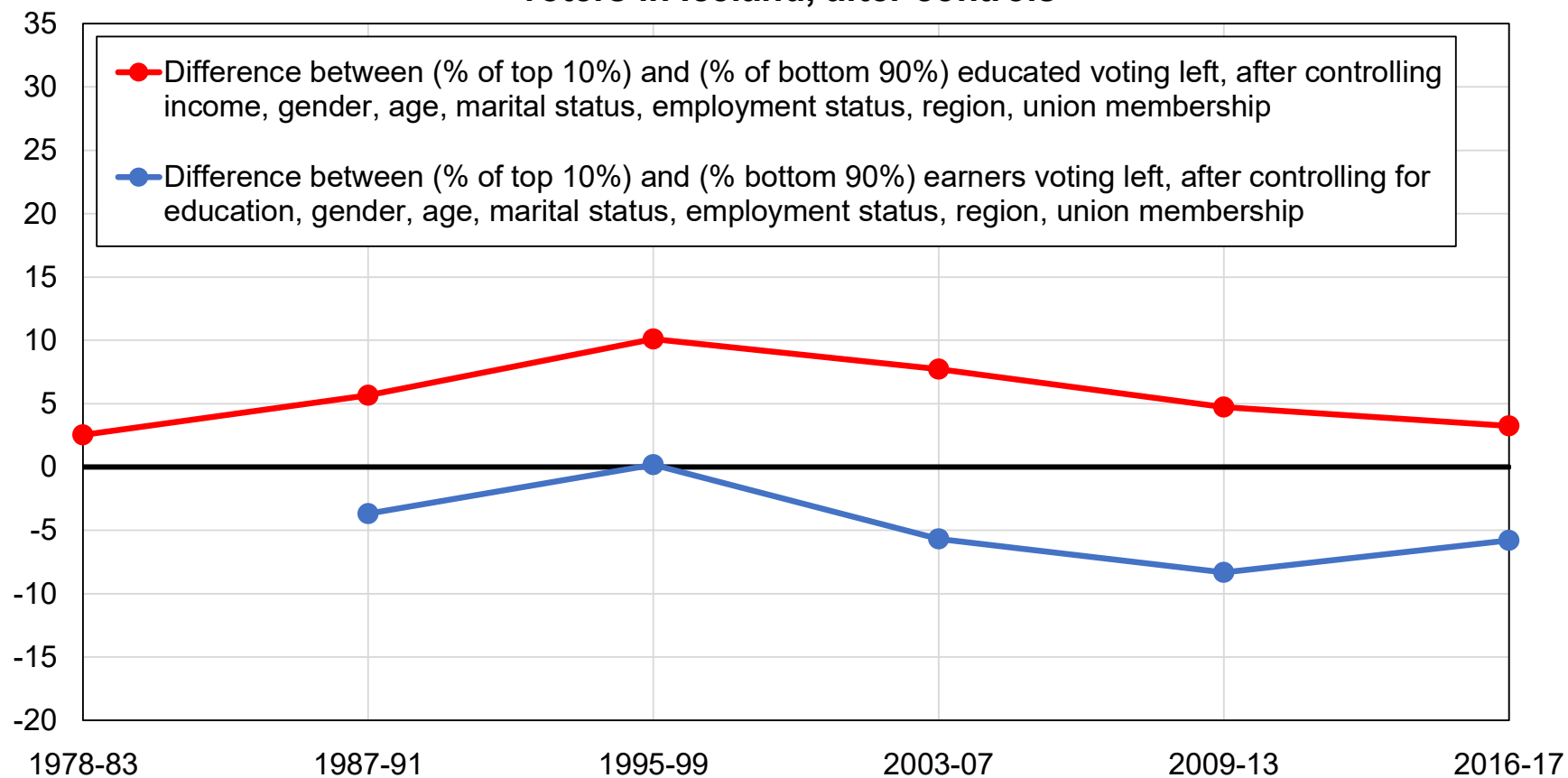
**Figure EB15 - Vote for the left by religious affiliation in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by religious affiliation.

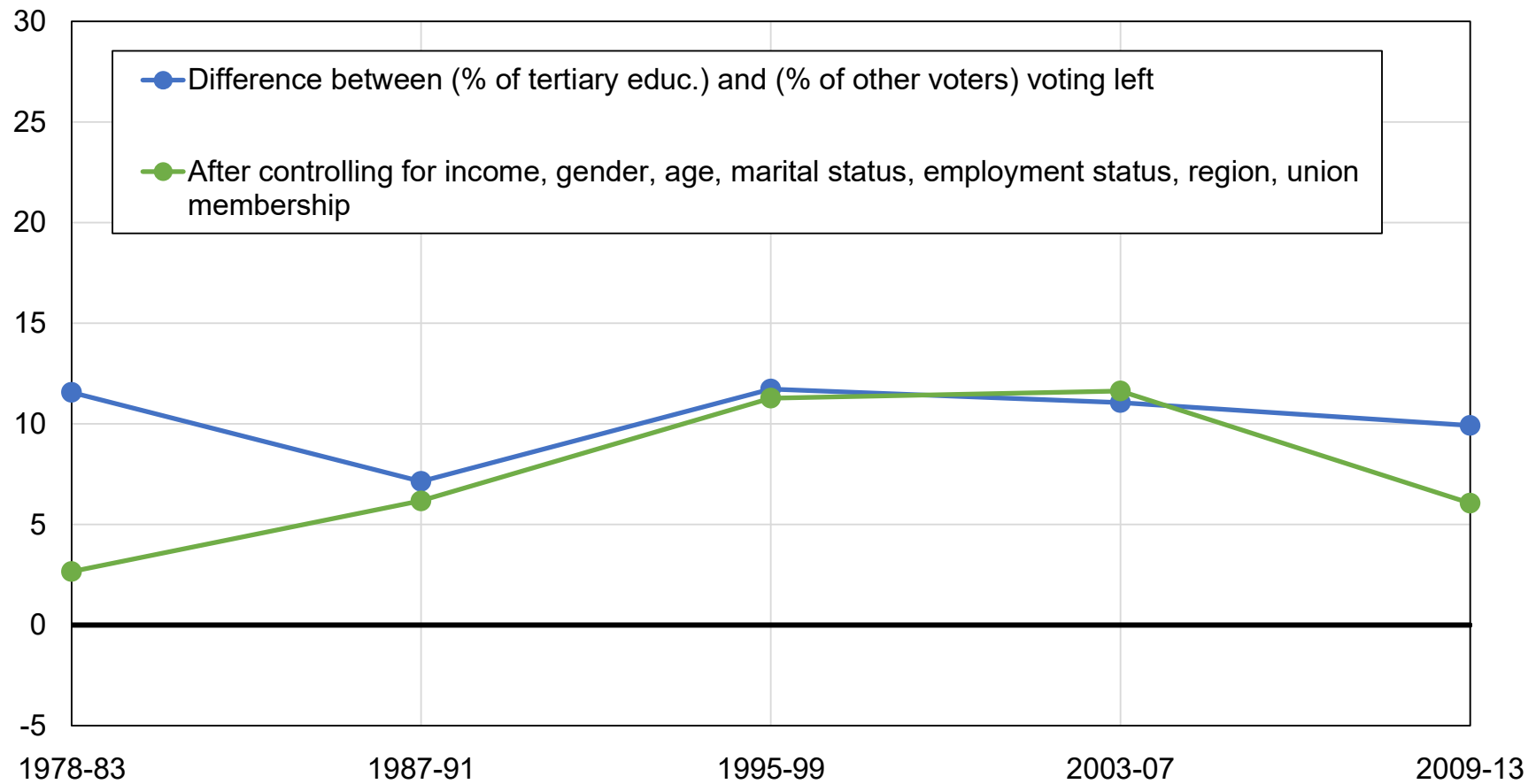
**Figure EB16 - Vote for the left among highest-educated and top-income voters in Iceland, after controls**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the evolution of the voting pattern among the top 10% educated and the share of top 10% earners voting for left-wing parties, after controls. Income is not available before 1987.

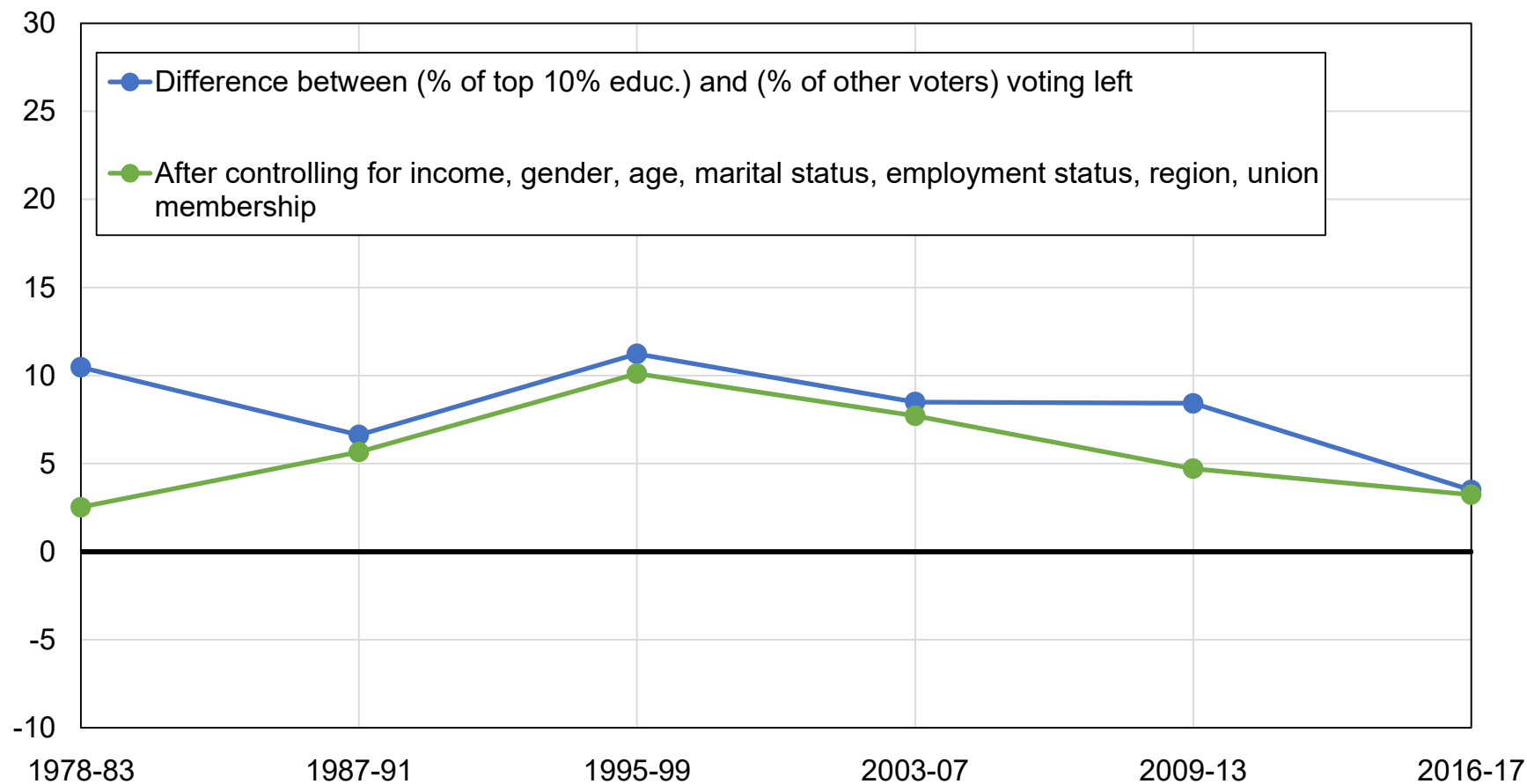
**Figure EB17 - Vote for the left among tertiary-educated voters in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of tertiary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables. Income is not available before 1987.

**Figure EB18 - Vote for the left among higher-educated voters in Iceland**

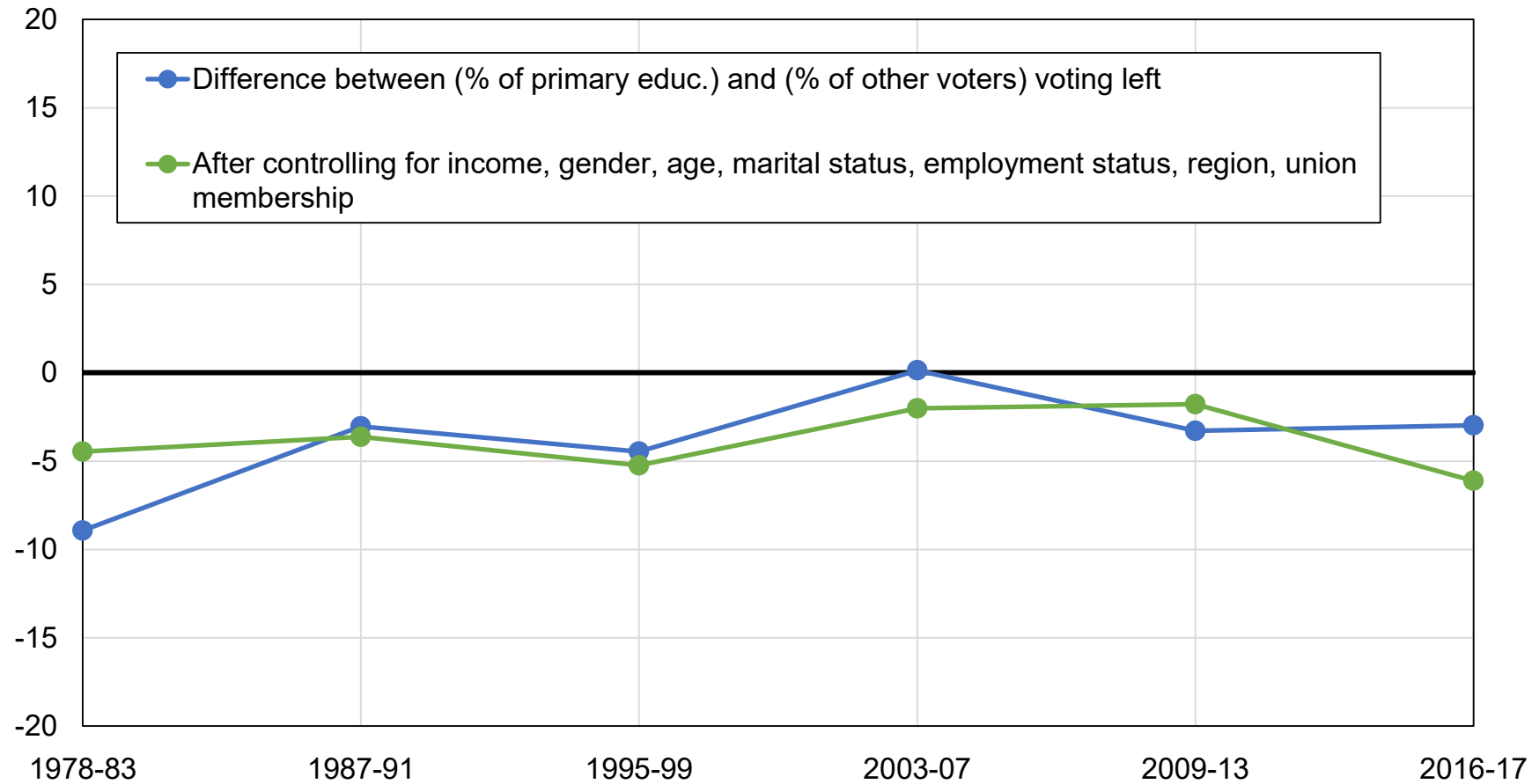


**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables. Income is not available before 1987.



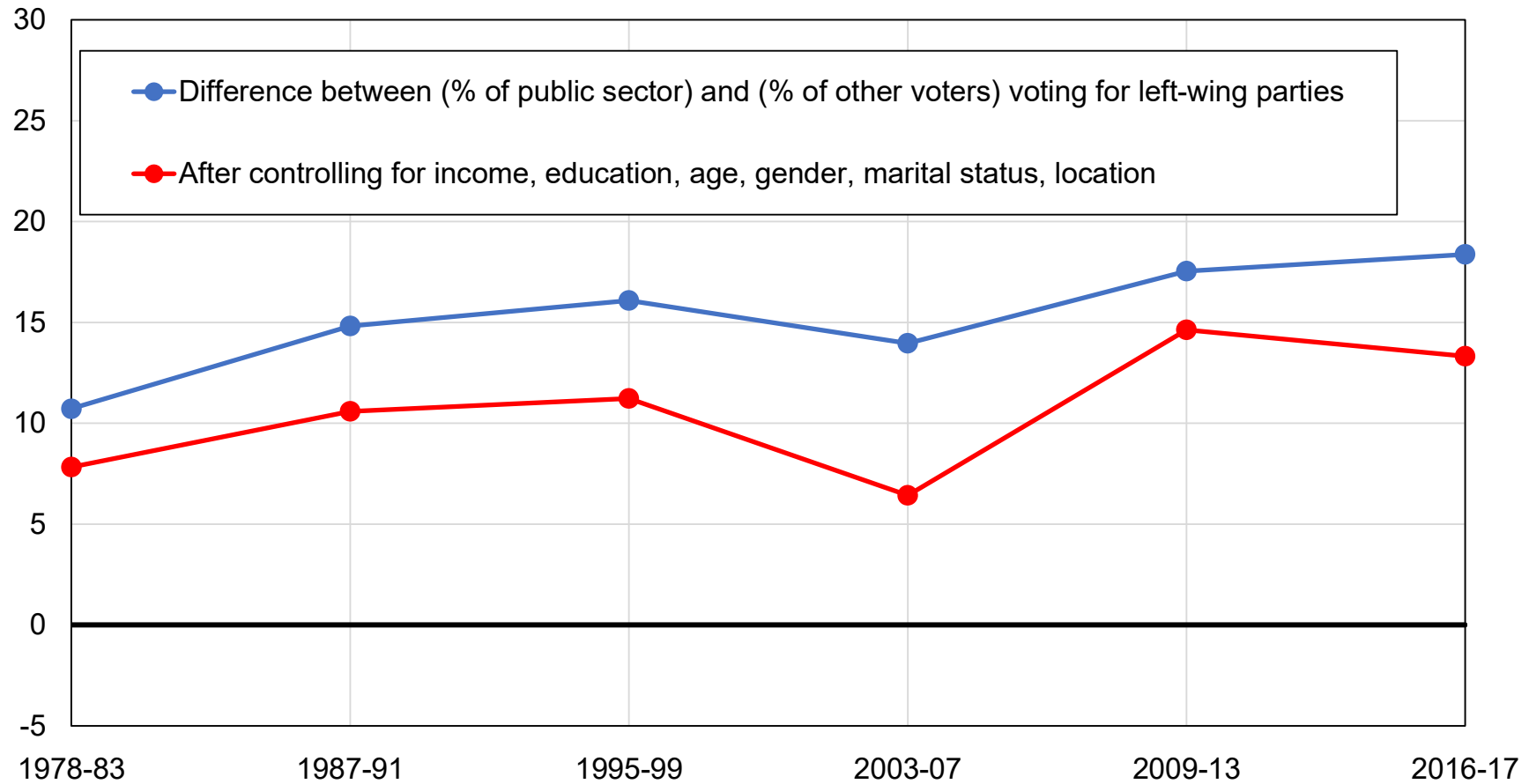
**Figure EB19 - Vote for the left among primary-educated voters in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of primary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables. Income is not available before 1987.

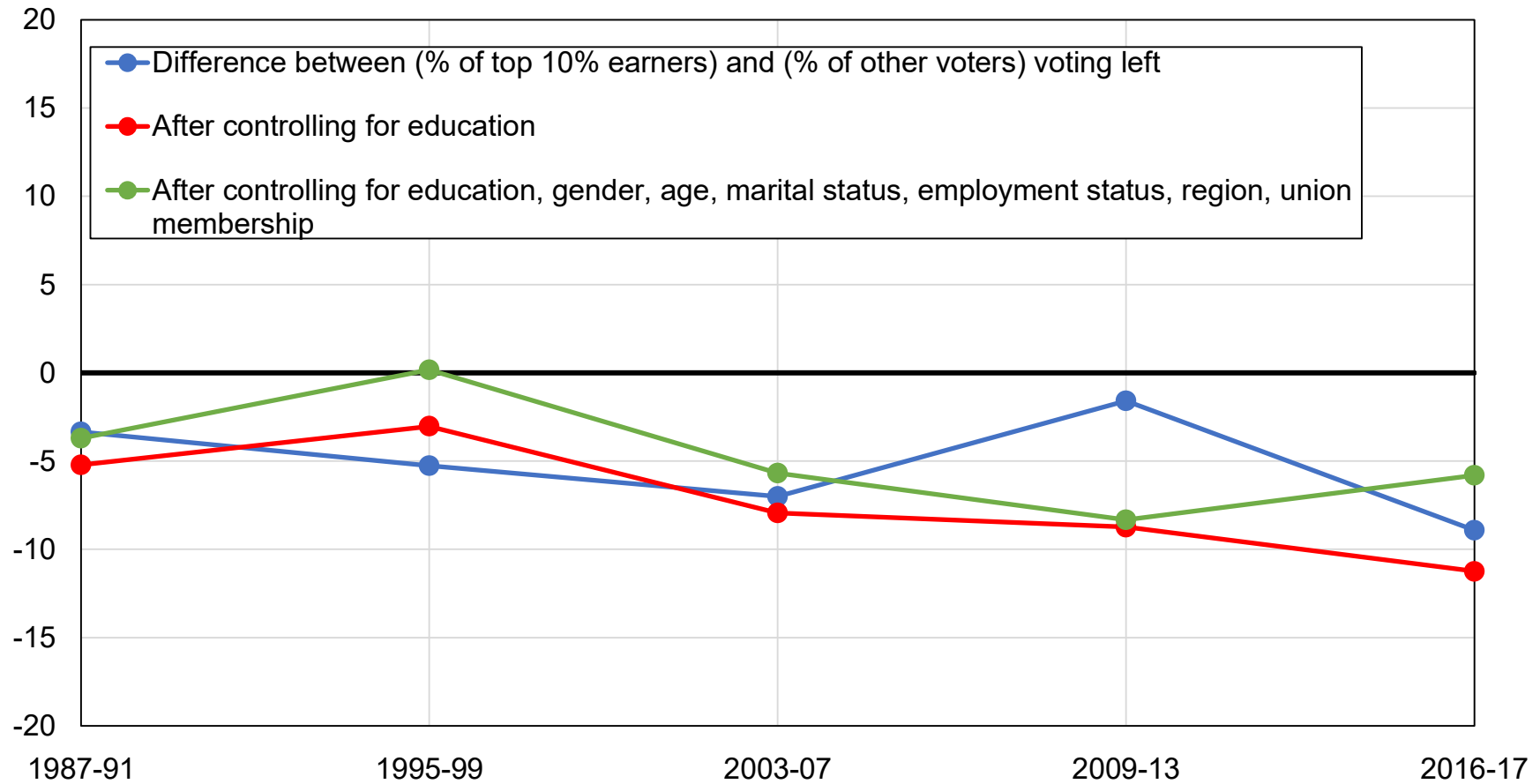
**Figure EB20 - Vote for the left among public sector workers in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of public sector workers and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

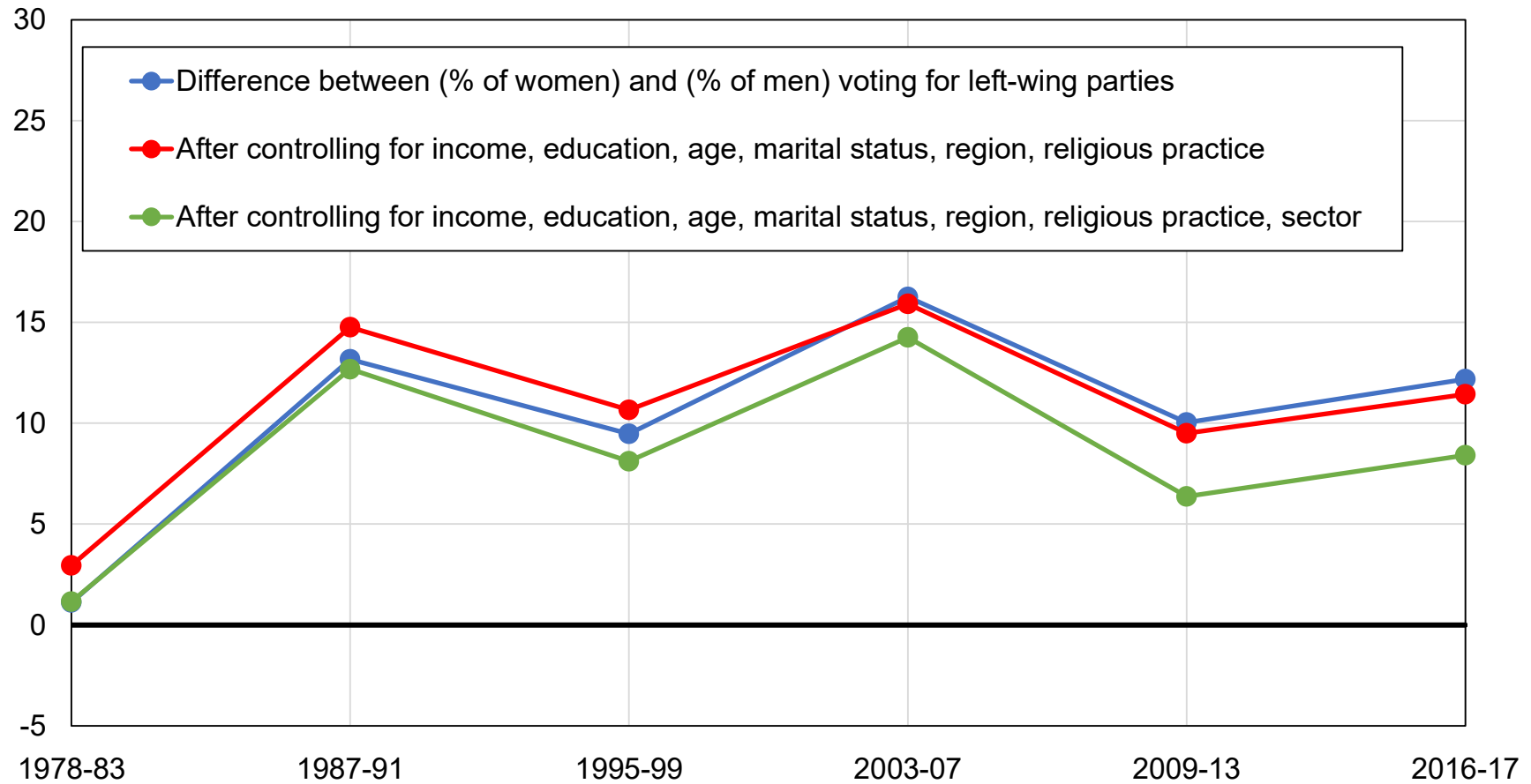
**Figure EB21 - Vote for the left among top 10% earners in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for left parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

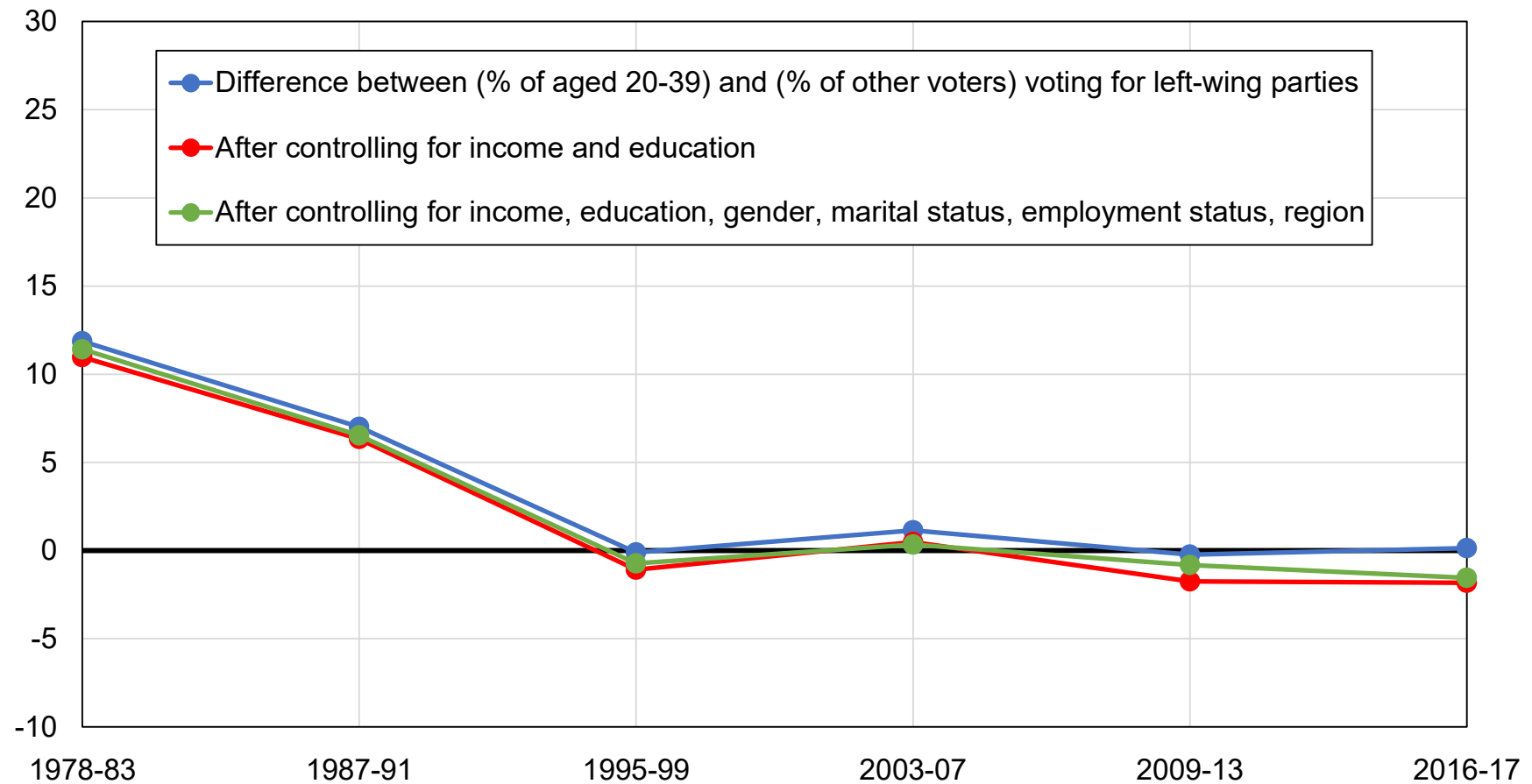
**Figure EB22 - Vote for the left among women in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables. Notice that the information about religiosity is not available before 2003.

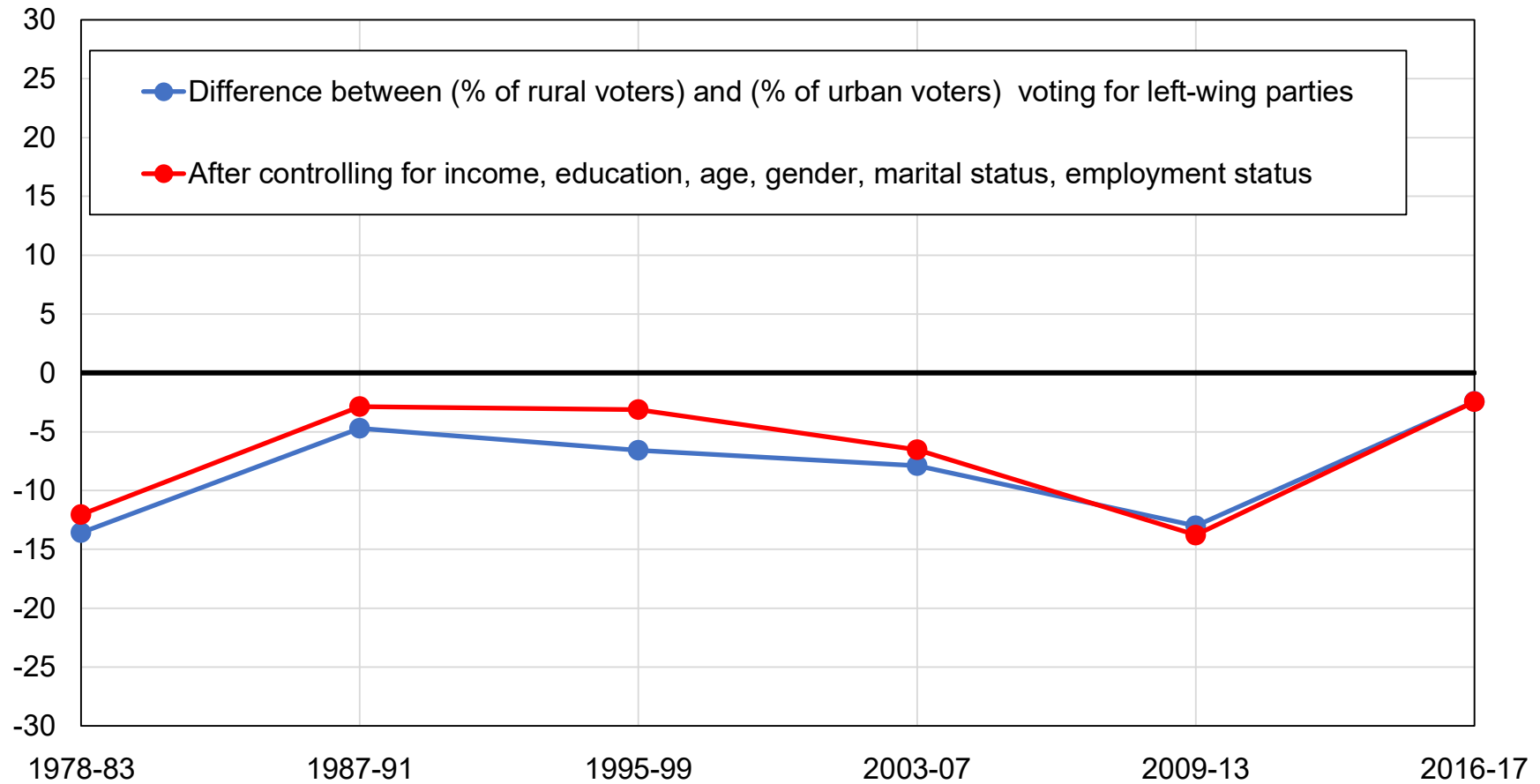
**Figure EB23 - Vote for the left among young voters in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of voters aged 20-39 and the share of voters older than 40 voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

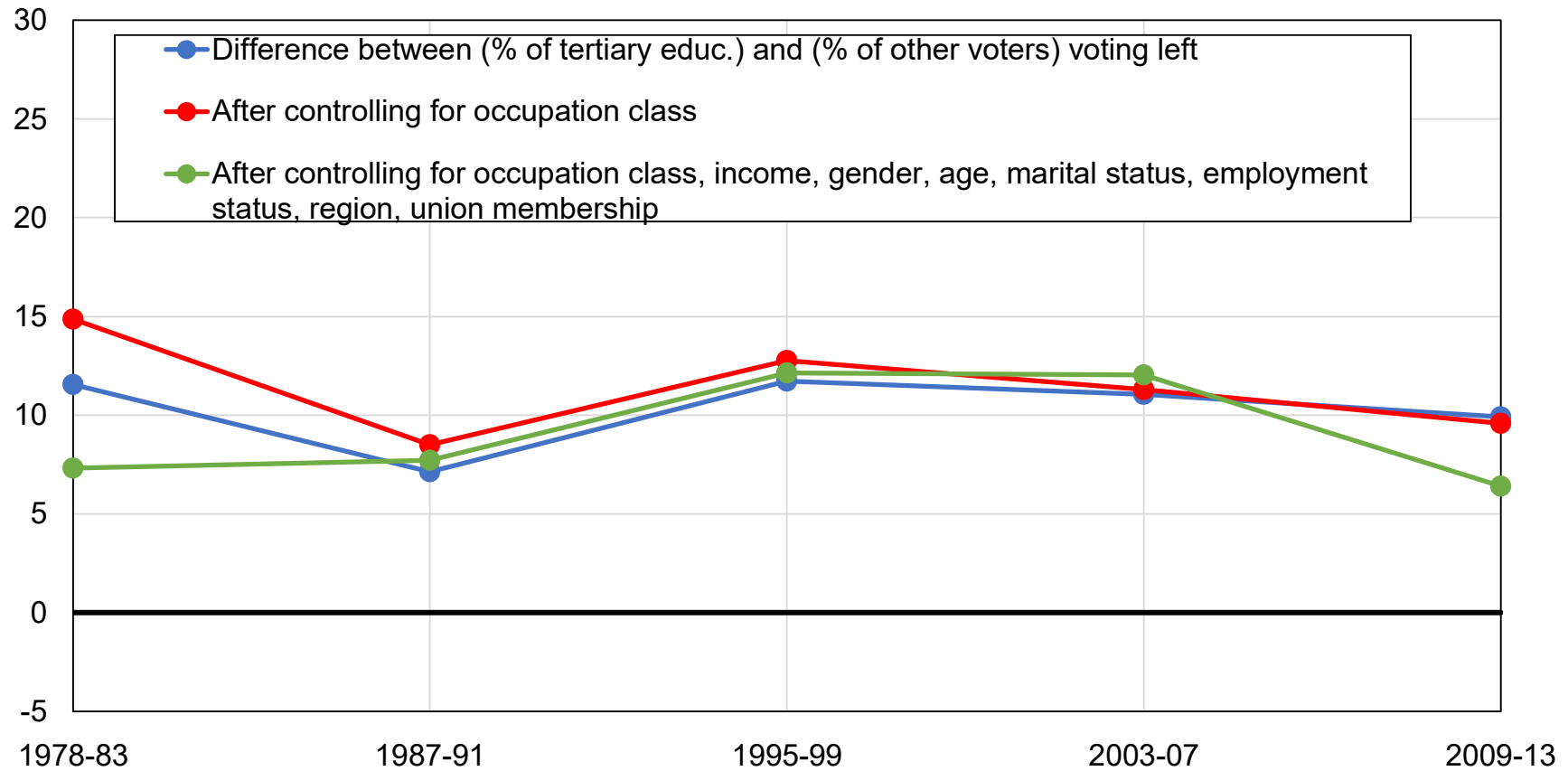
**Figure EB24 - Vote for the left among rural voters in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of rural areas voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

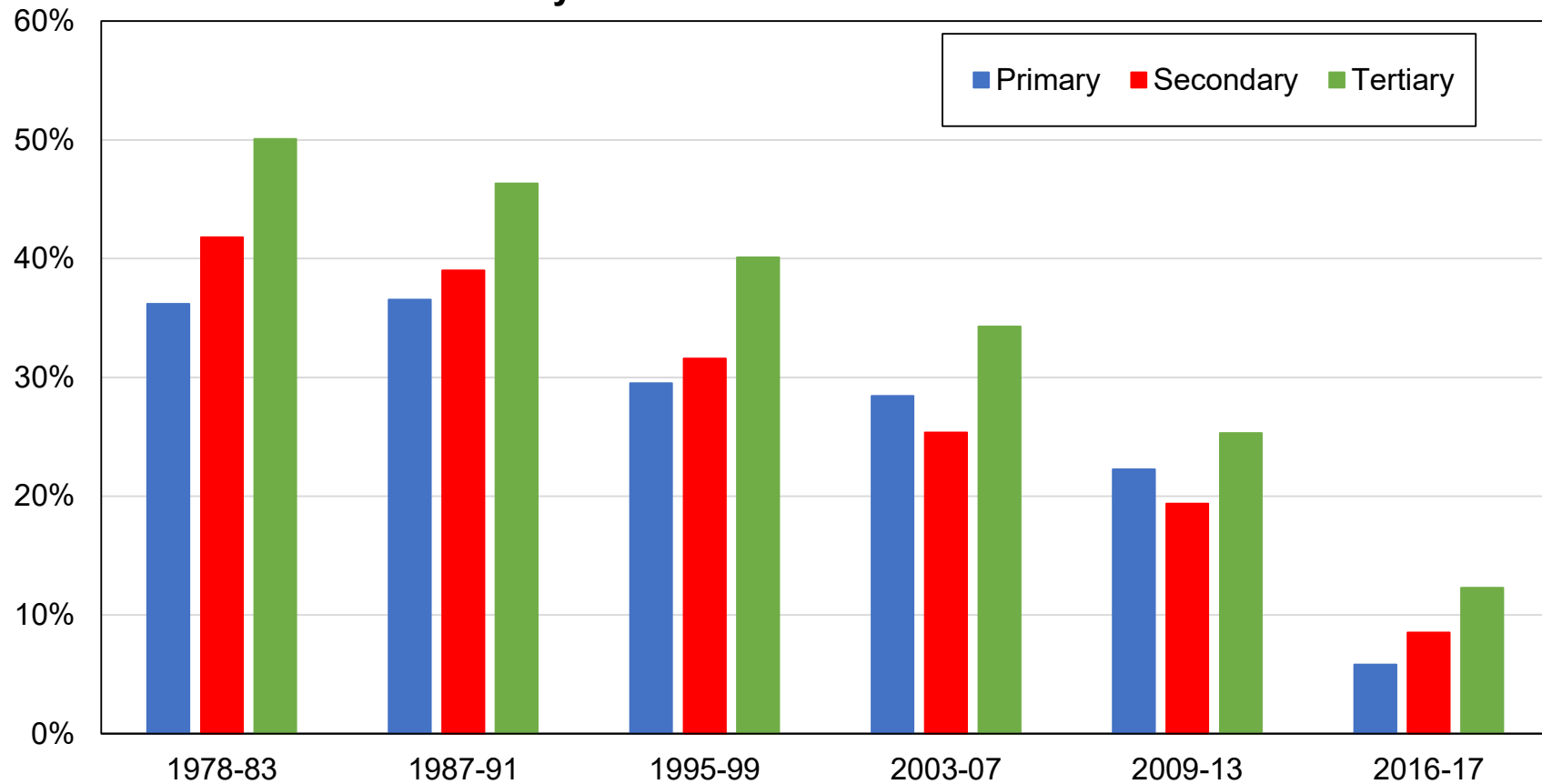
## FEB25-Vote for the left among tertiary-educated voters: the role of occupation class in Iceland



**Source:** author's computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of tertiary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for occupation class and other variables.

**Figure EC1 - Vote for the Social Democratic Alliance  
by education level in Iceland**

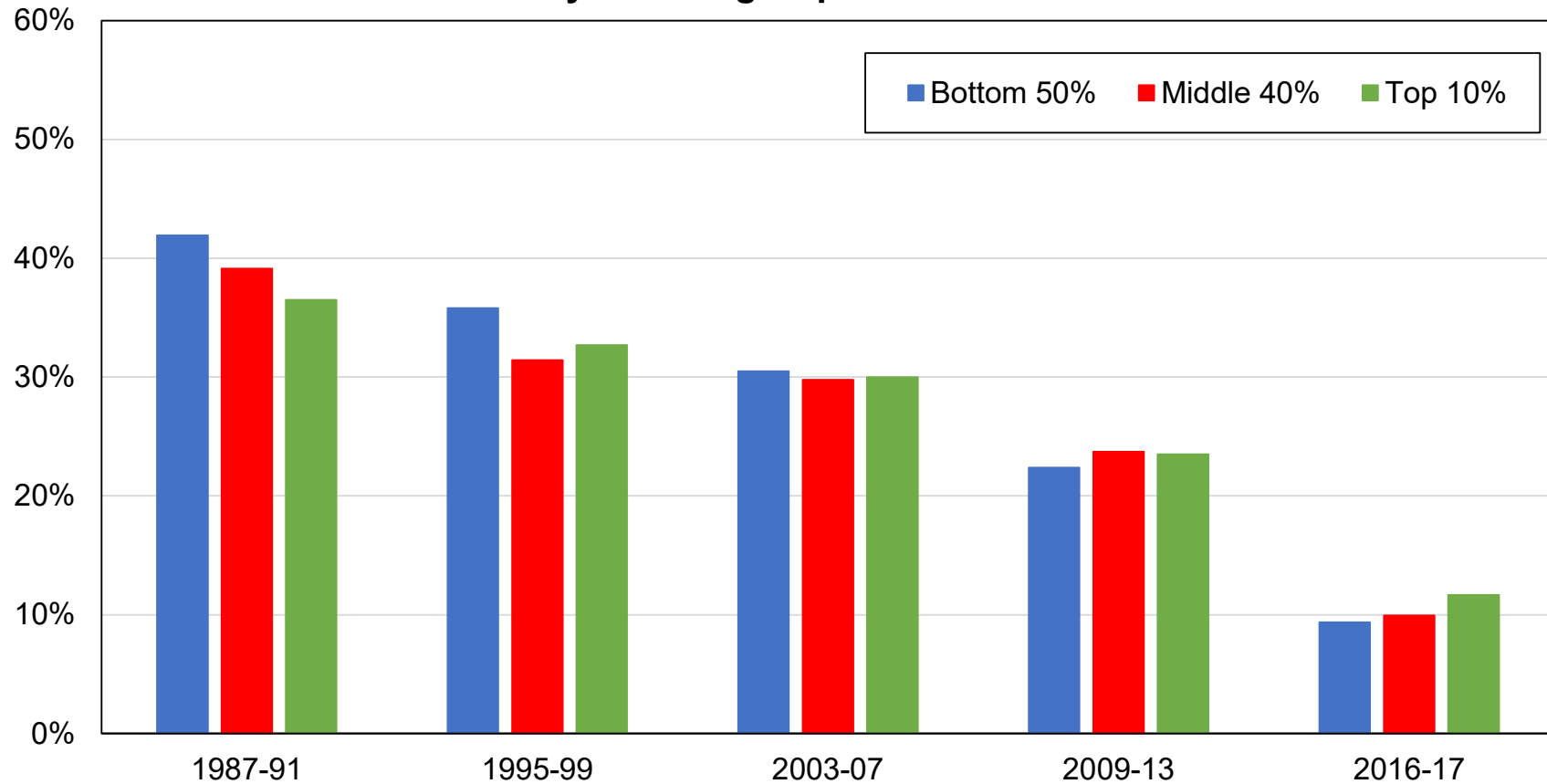


**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Alliance by education level. The Alliance was founded in 1995. For simplicity, we group the parties belonging to the Alliance (Social Democratic Party, Women's Alliance, People's Party the People's Movement) before 1995.



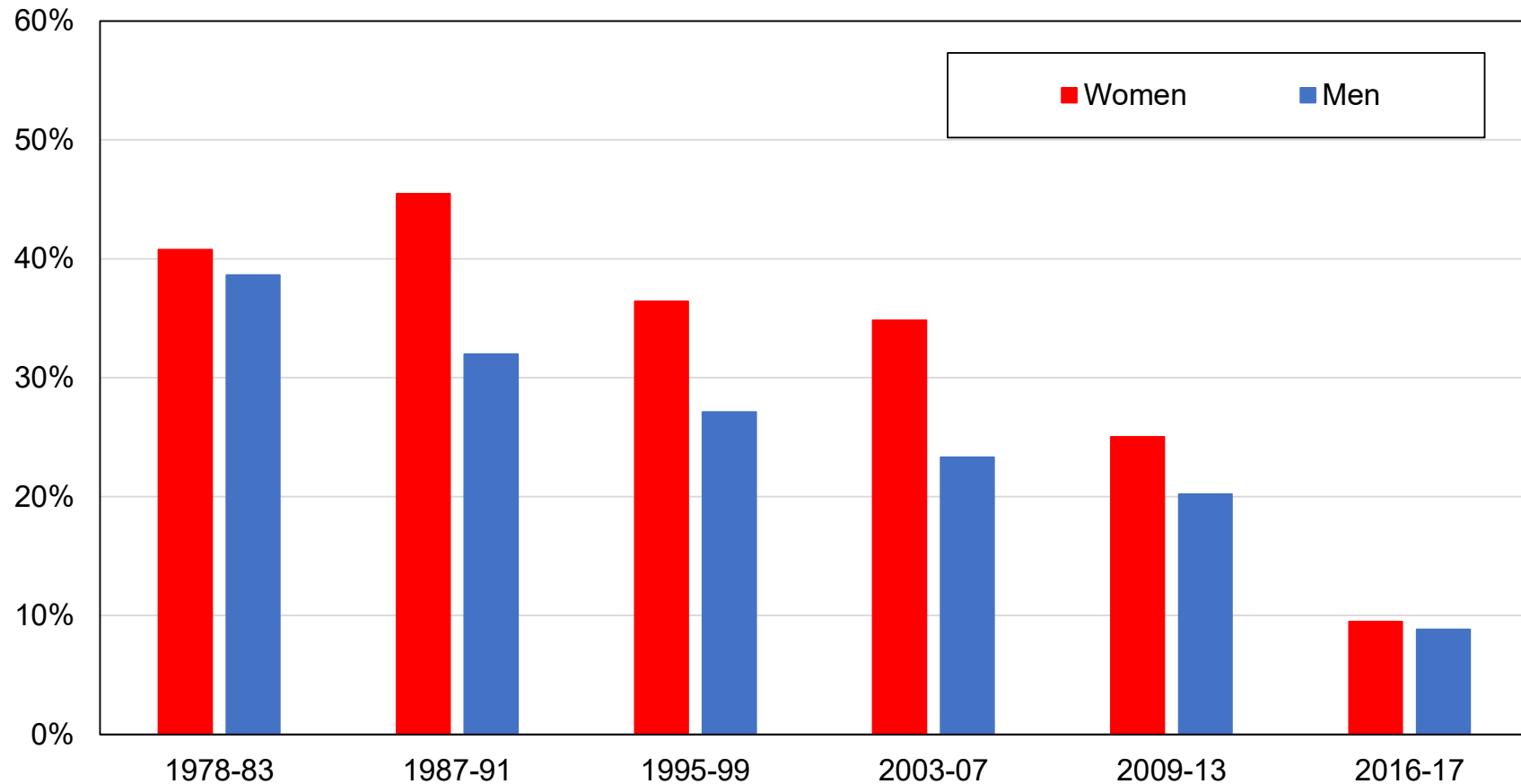
**Figure EC2 - Vote for the Social Democratic Alliance  
by income group in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Alliance by income group. The Alliance was founded in 1995. For simplicity, we group the parties belonging to the Alliance (Social Democratic Party, Women's Alliance, People's Party the People's Movement) before 1995.

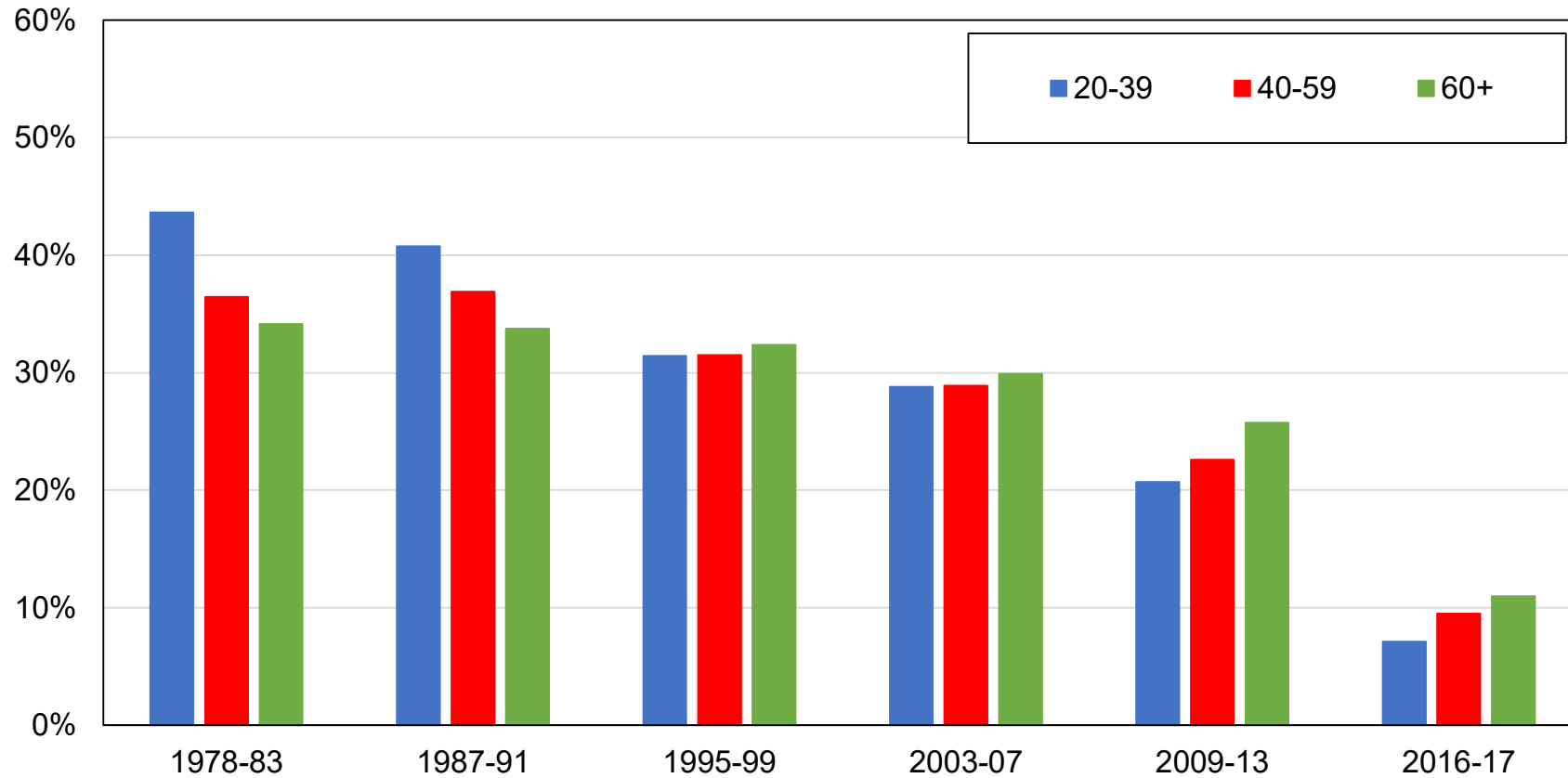
**Figure EC3 - Vote for the Social Democratic Alliance by gender in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Alliance by gender. The Alliance was founded in 1995. For simplicity, we group the parties belonging to the Alliance (Social Democratic Party, Women's Alliance, People's Party the People's Movement) before 1995.

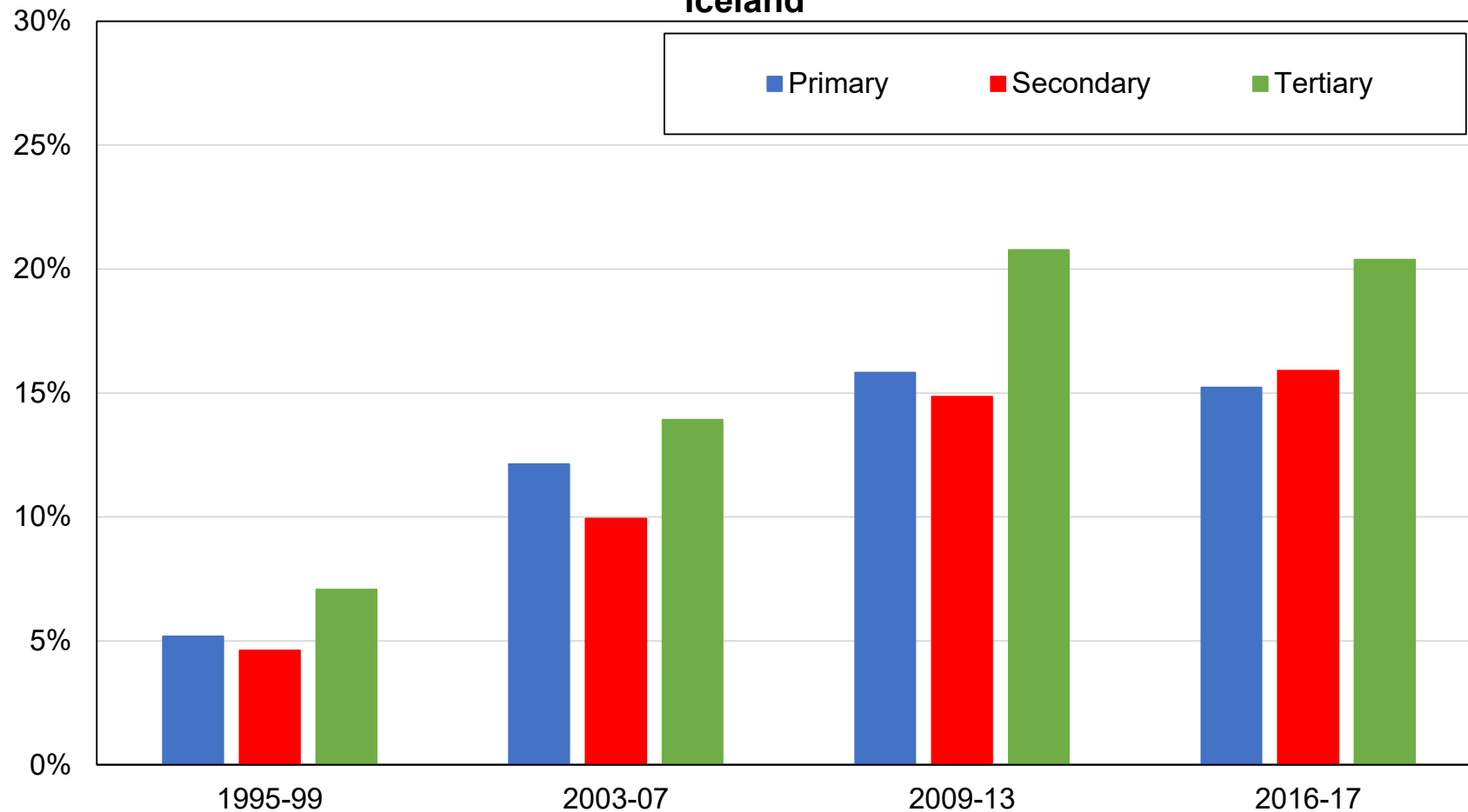
**Figure EC4 - Vote for the Social Democratic Alliance by age group in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figures shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Alliance by age group. The Alliance was founded in 1995. For simplicity, we group the parties belonging to the Alliance (Social Democratic Party, Women's Alliance, People's Party the People's Movement) before 1995.

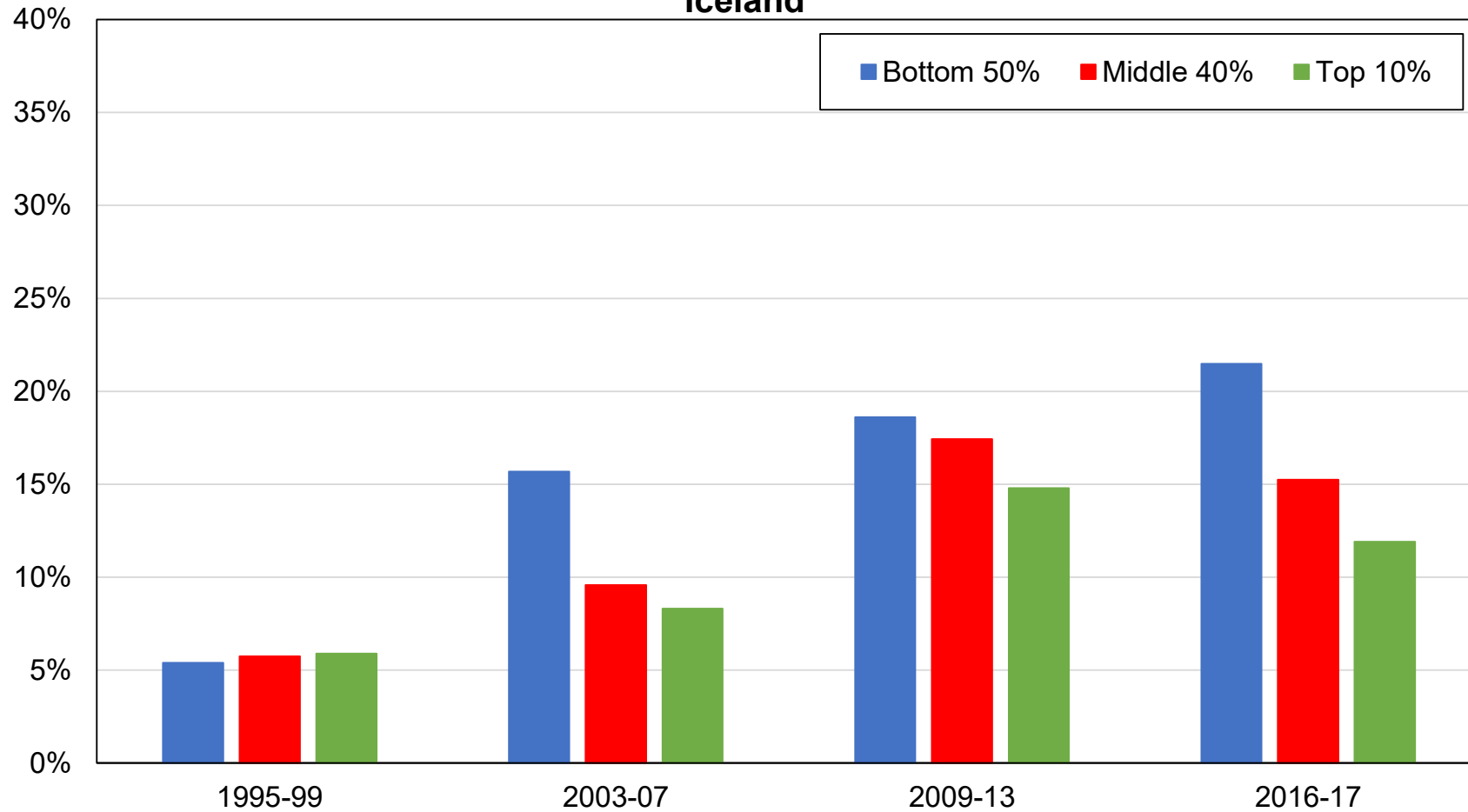
**Figure EC5 - Vote for the Left-Green Movement by education level in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by Left-Green Movement by education level.

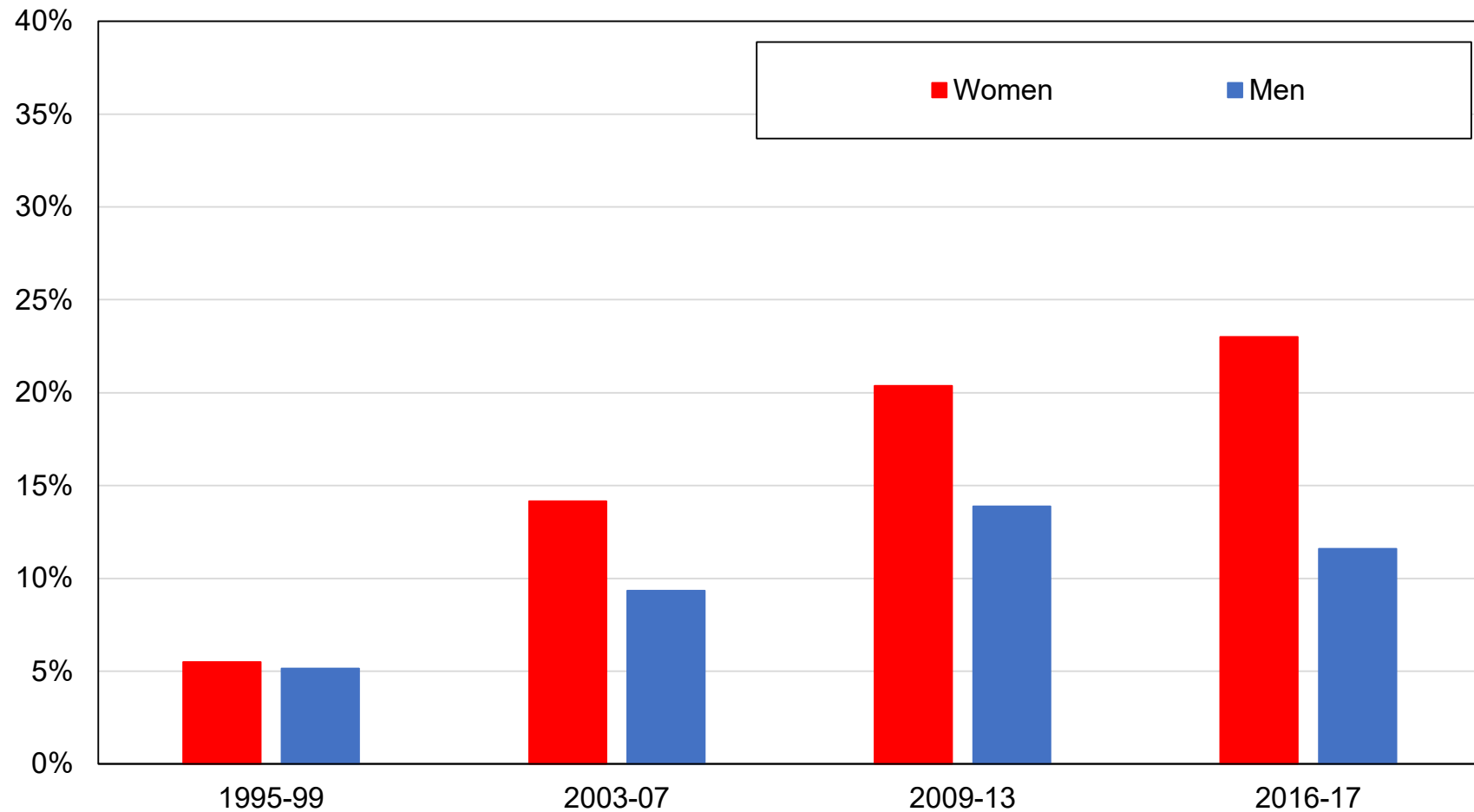
**Figure EC6 - Vote for the Left-Green Movement by income group in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Left-Green Movement by income group.

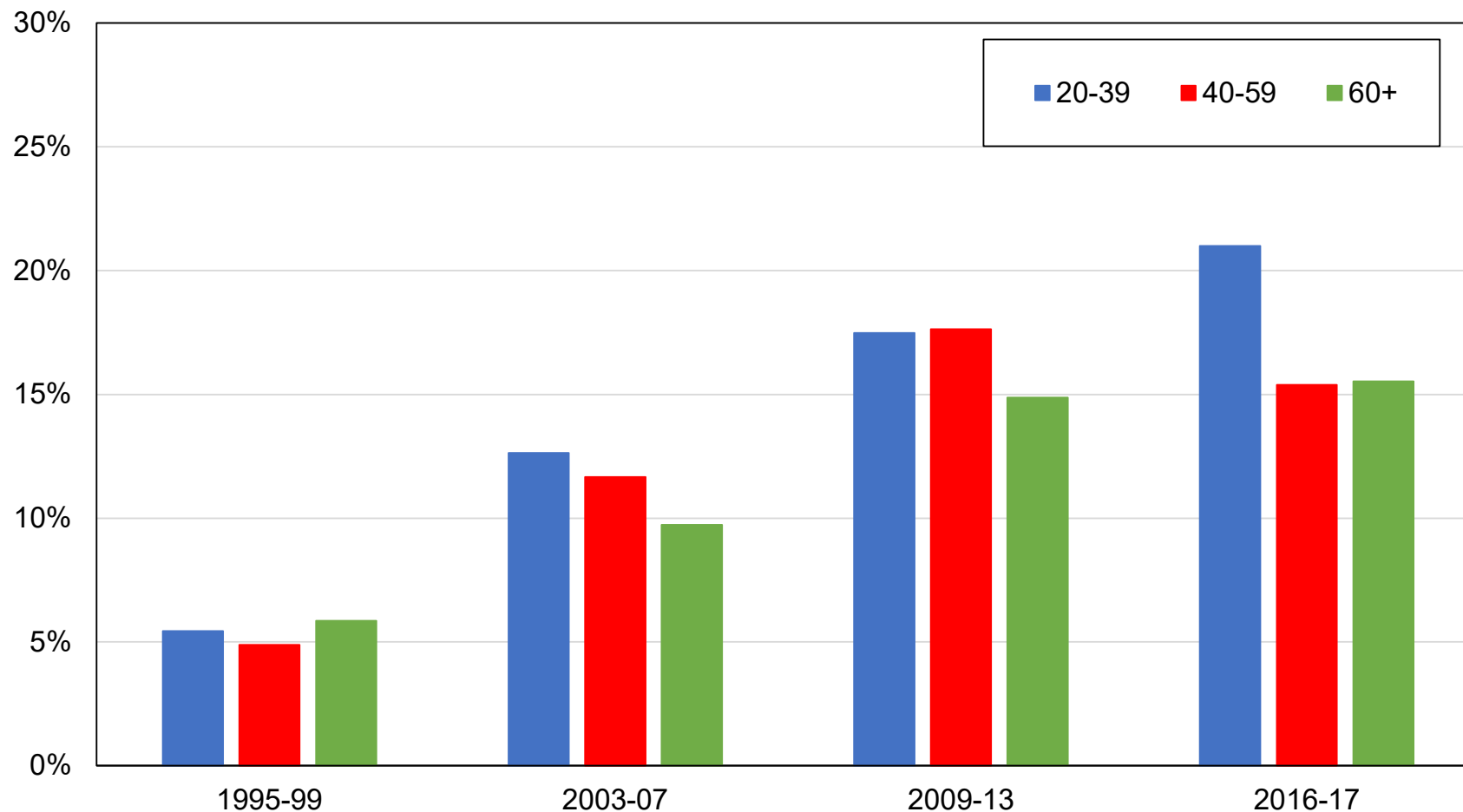
**Figure EC7 - Vote for the Left-Green Movement by gender in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Left-Green Movement by gender.

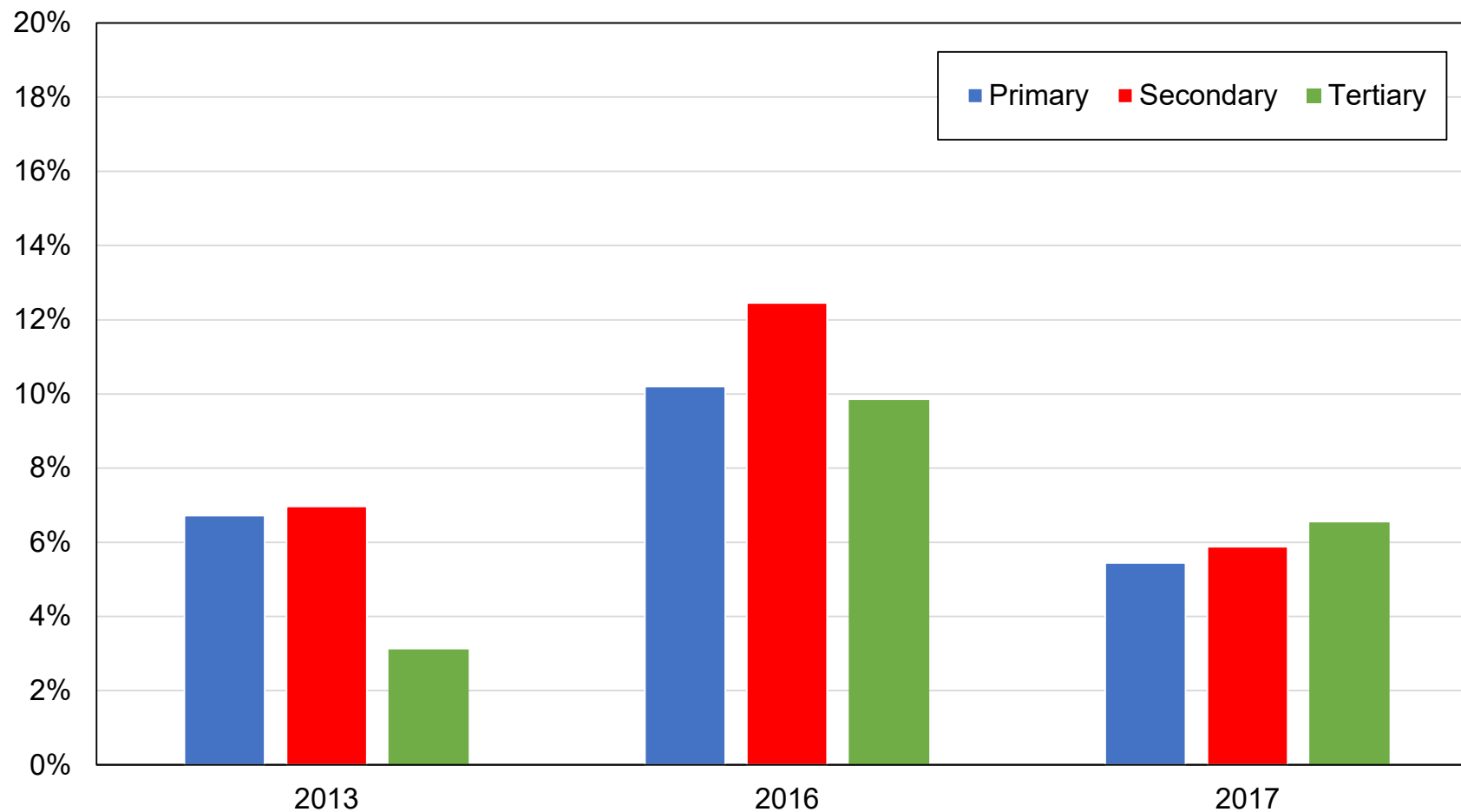
**Figure EC8 - Vote for the Left-Green Movement by age group in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Left-Green Movement by age group.

**Figure EC9 - Vote the Pirate Party by education level in Iceland**

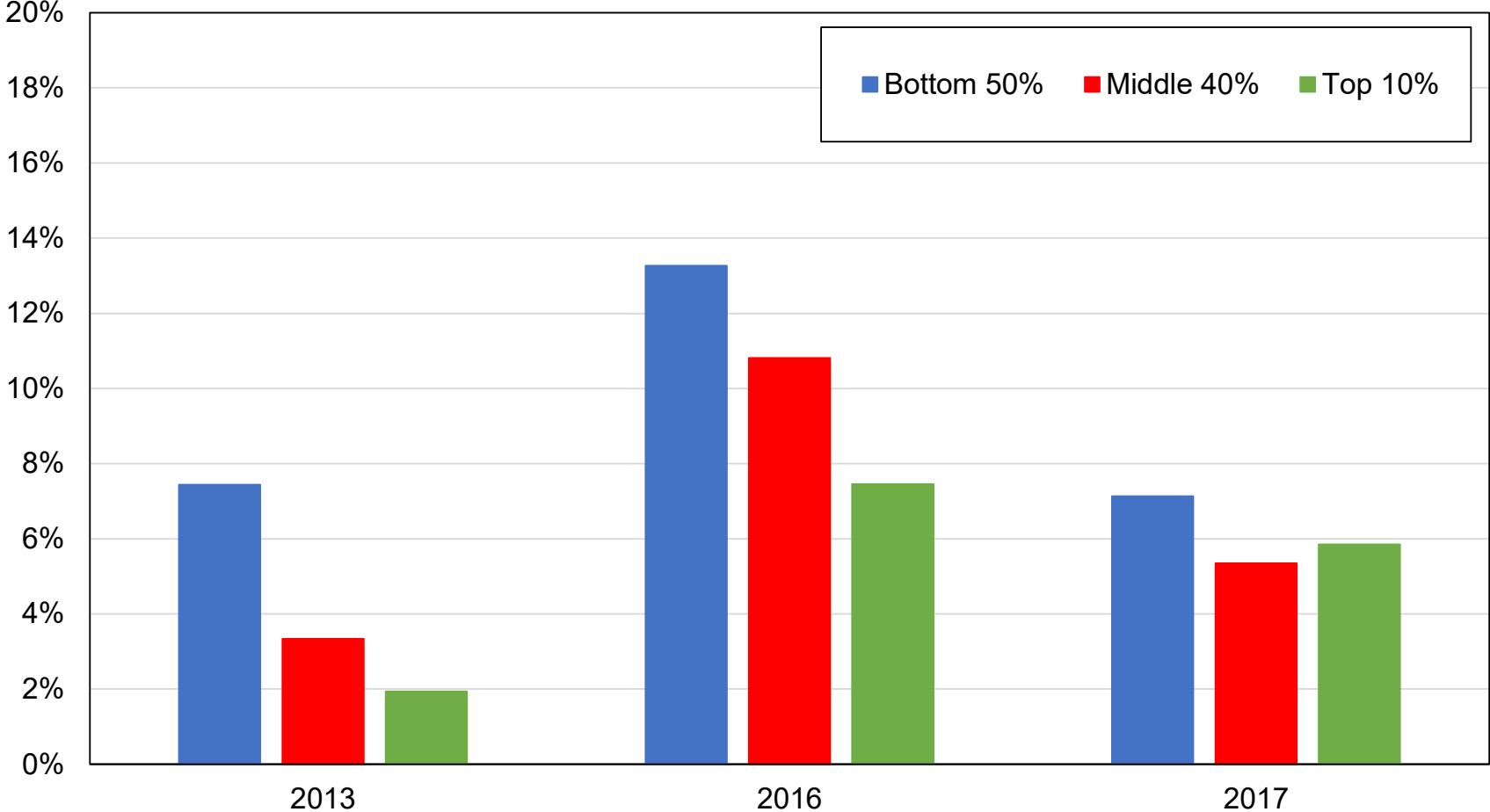


**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Pirate Party by education level.



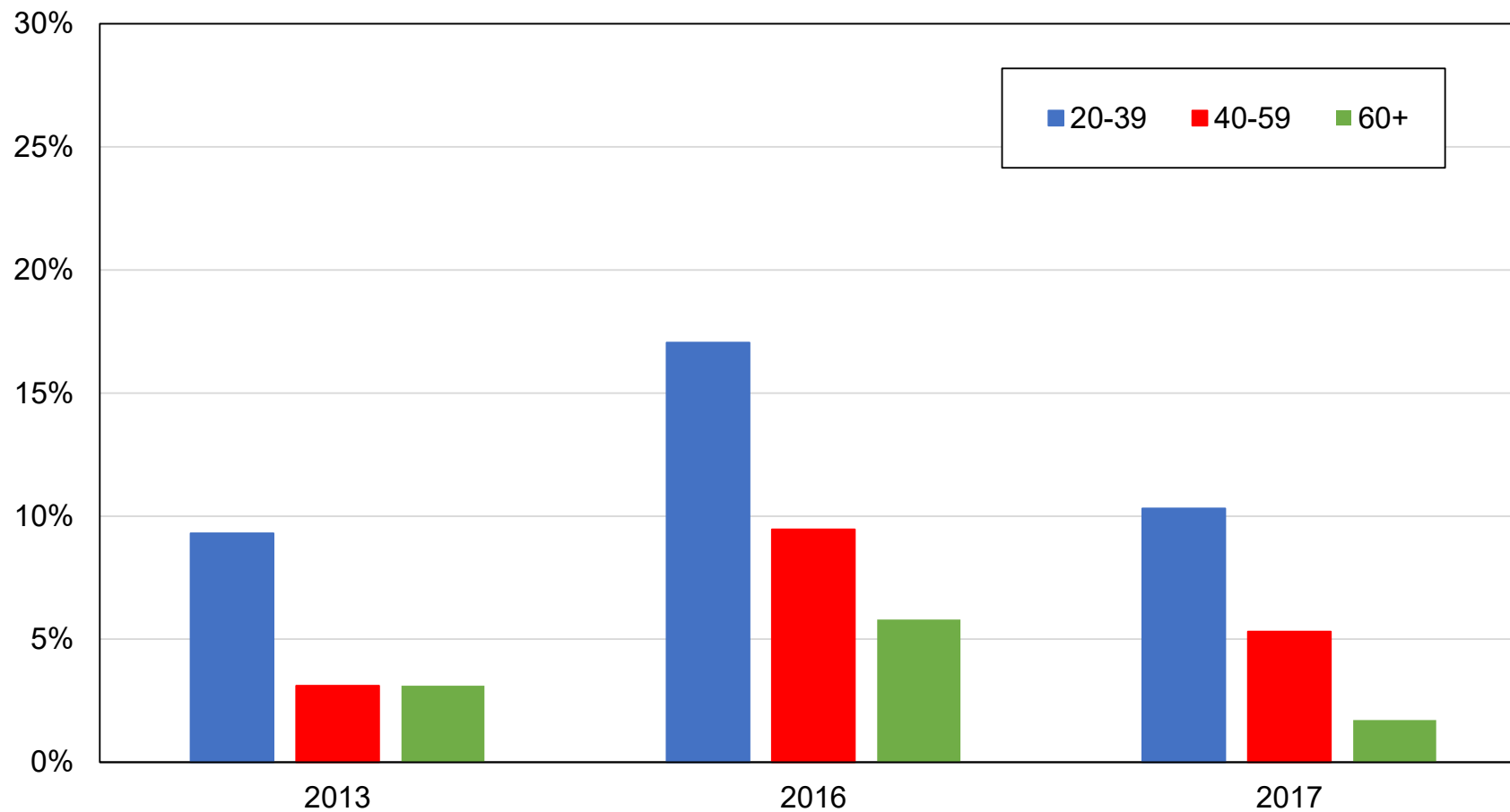
**Figure EC10 - Vote for the Pirate Party by income group in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Pirate Party by income group.

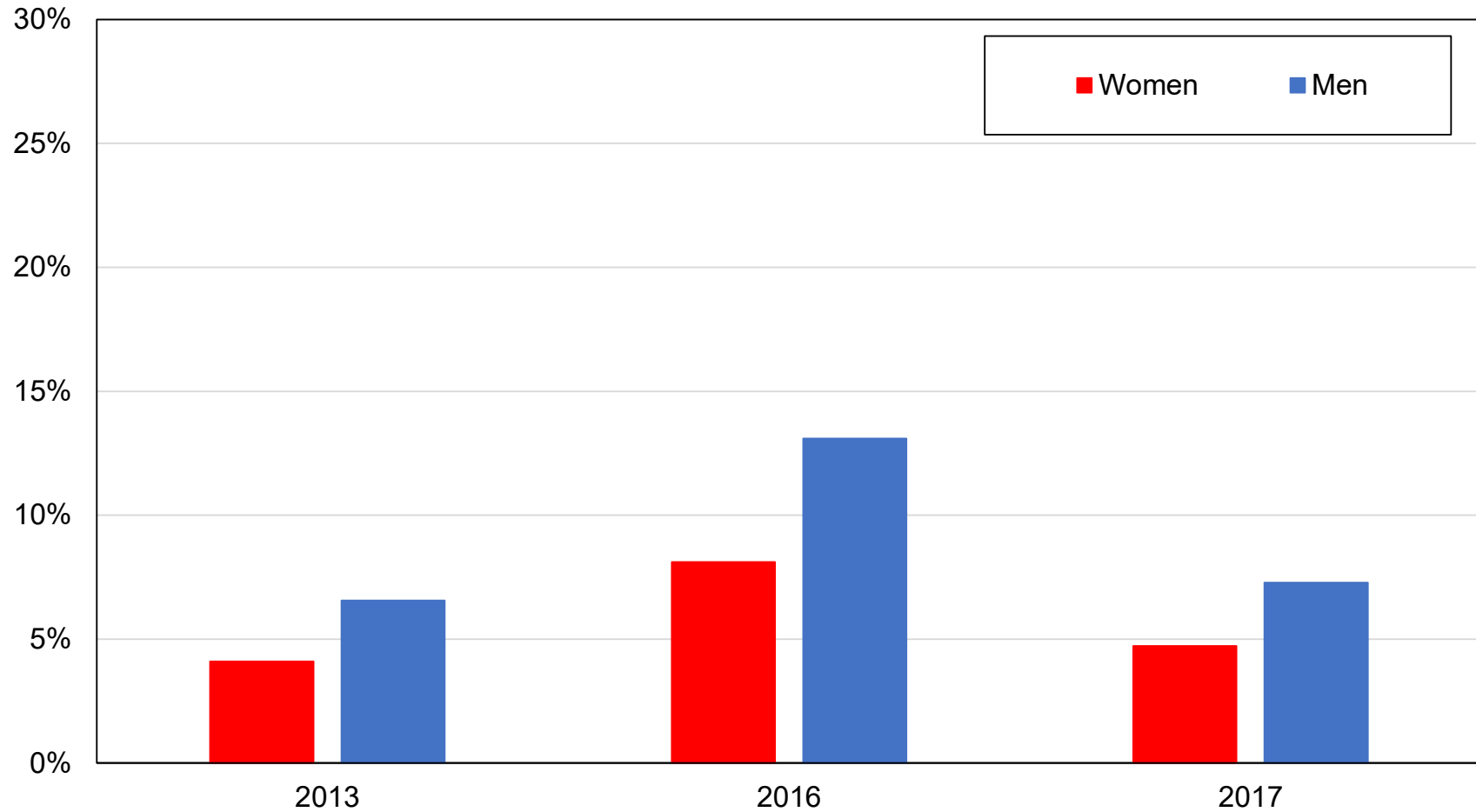
**Figure EC11 - Vote for the Pirate Party by age group in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Pirate Party by age group.

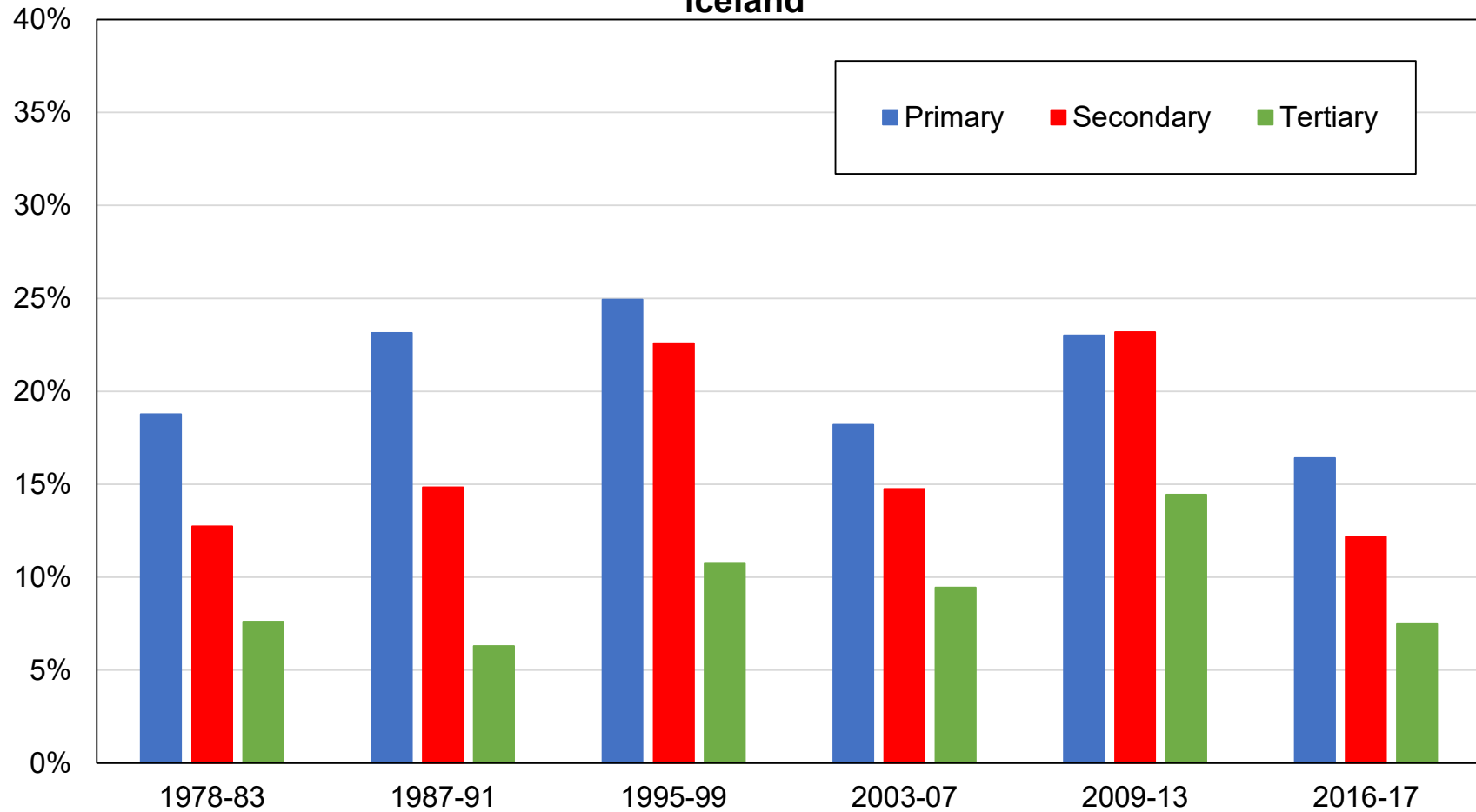
**Figure EC12 - Vote for the Pirate Party by gender in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Pirate Party by gender.

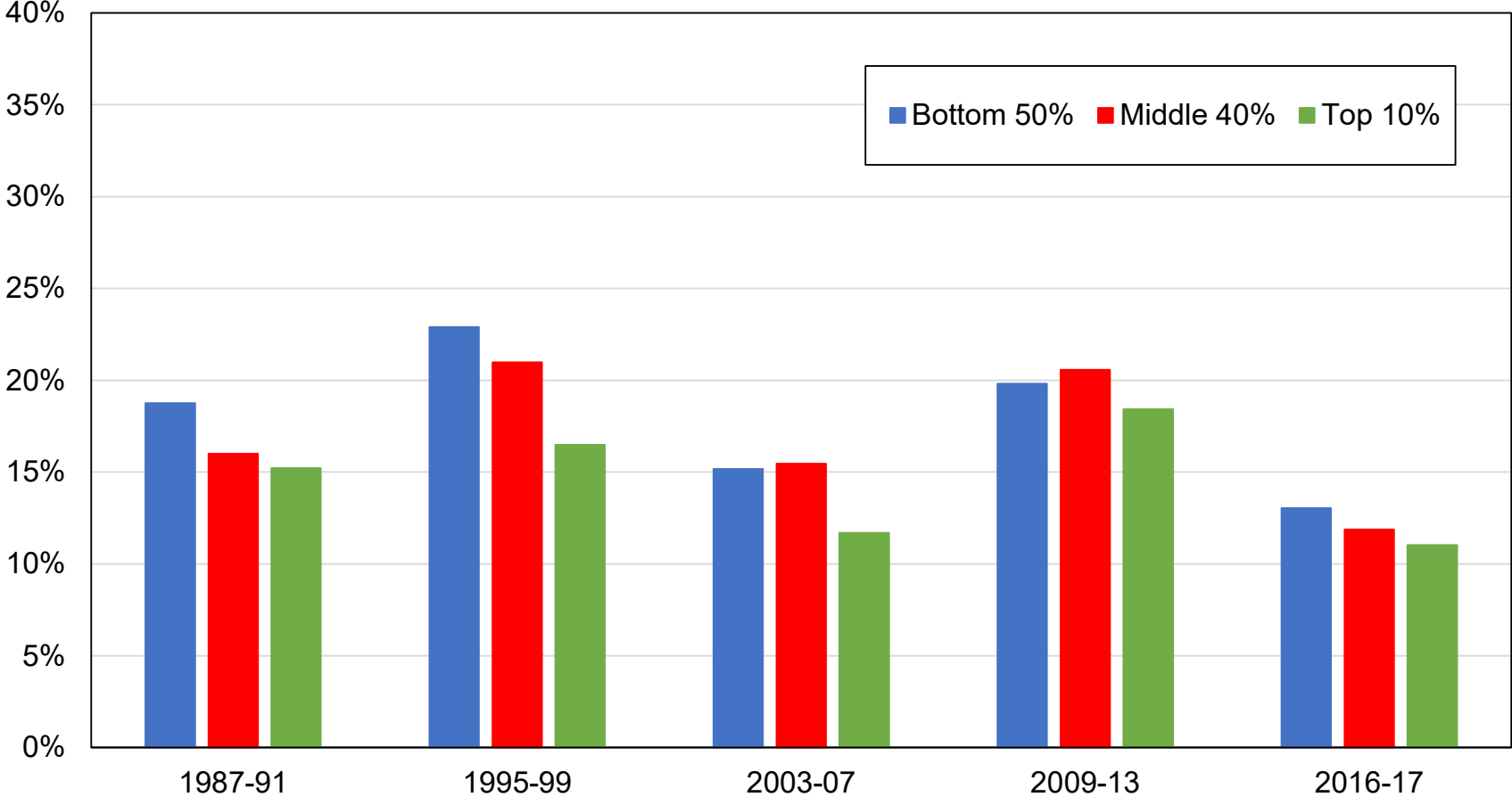
**Figure EC13 - Vote for the Progressive Party by education level in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Progressive Party by education level.

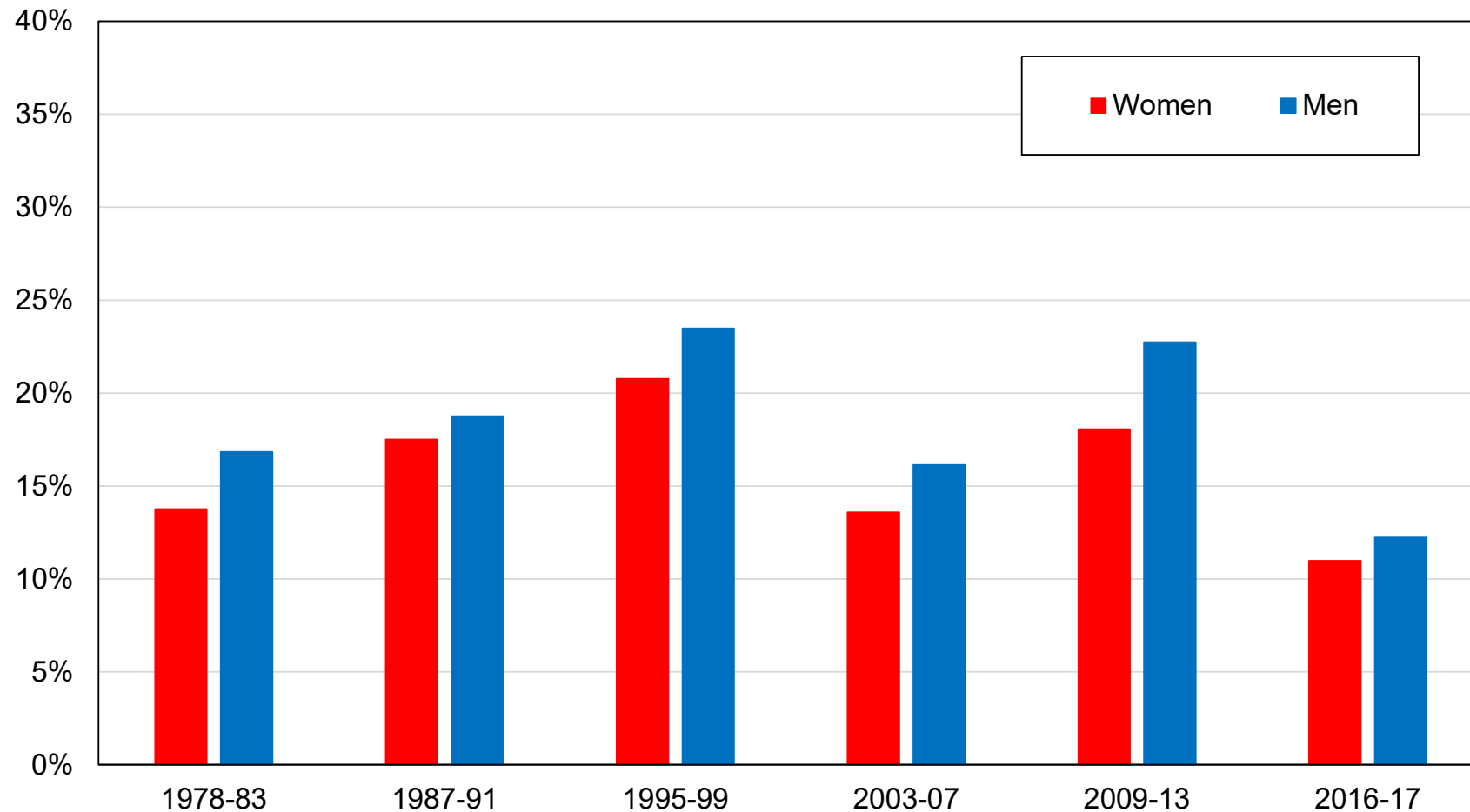
**Figure EC14 - Vote for the Progressive Party by income group in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Progressive Party by income group.

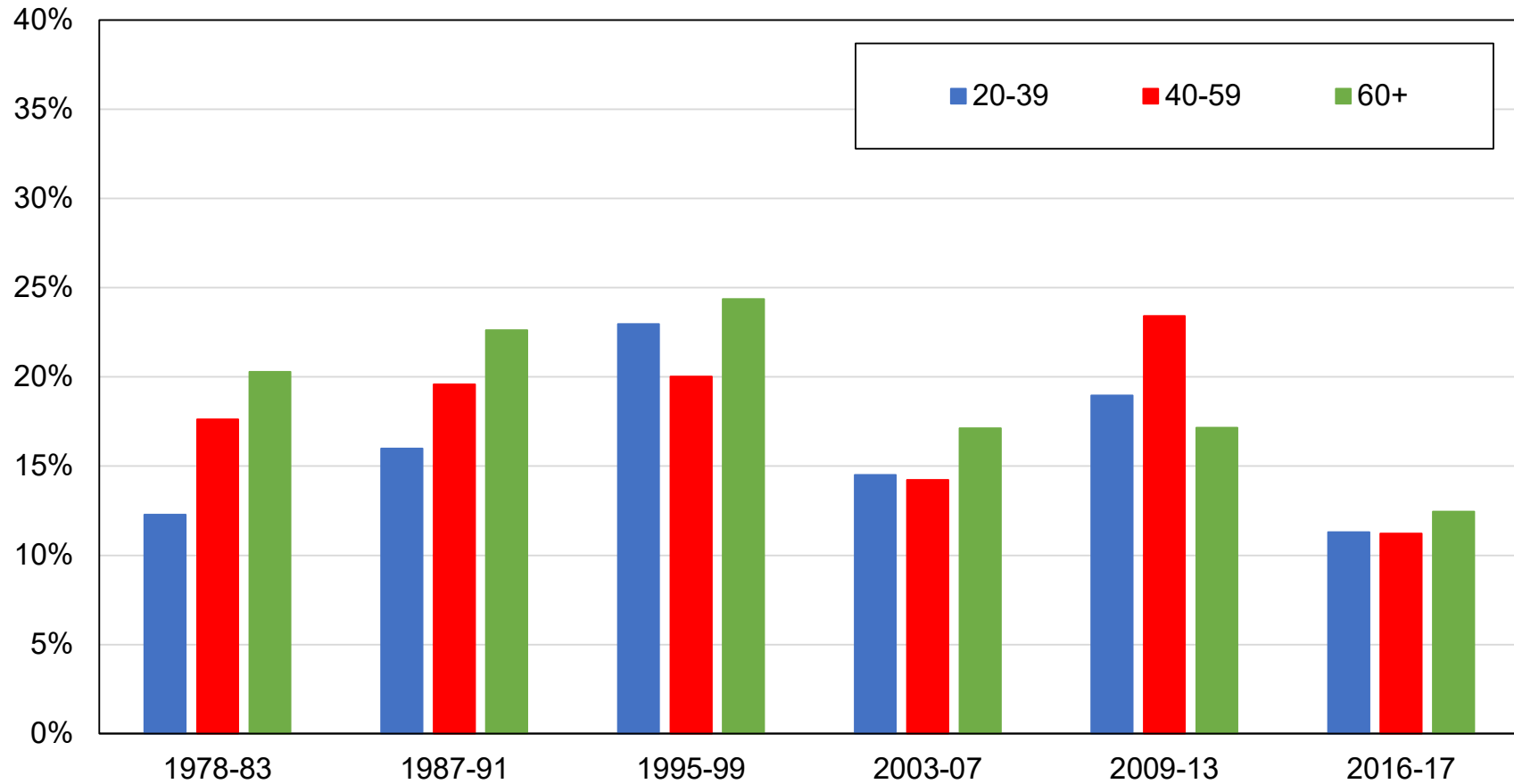
**Figure EC15 - Vote for the Progressive Party by gender in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Progressive Party by gender.

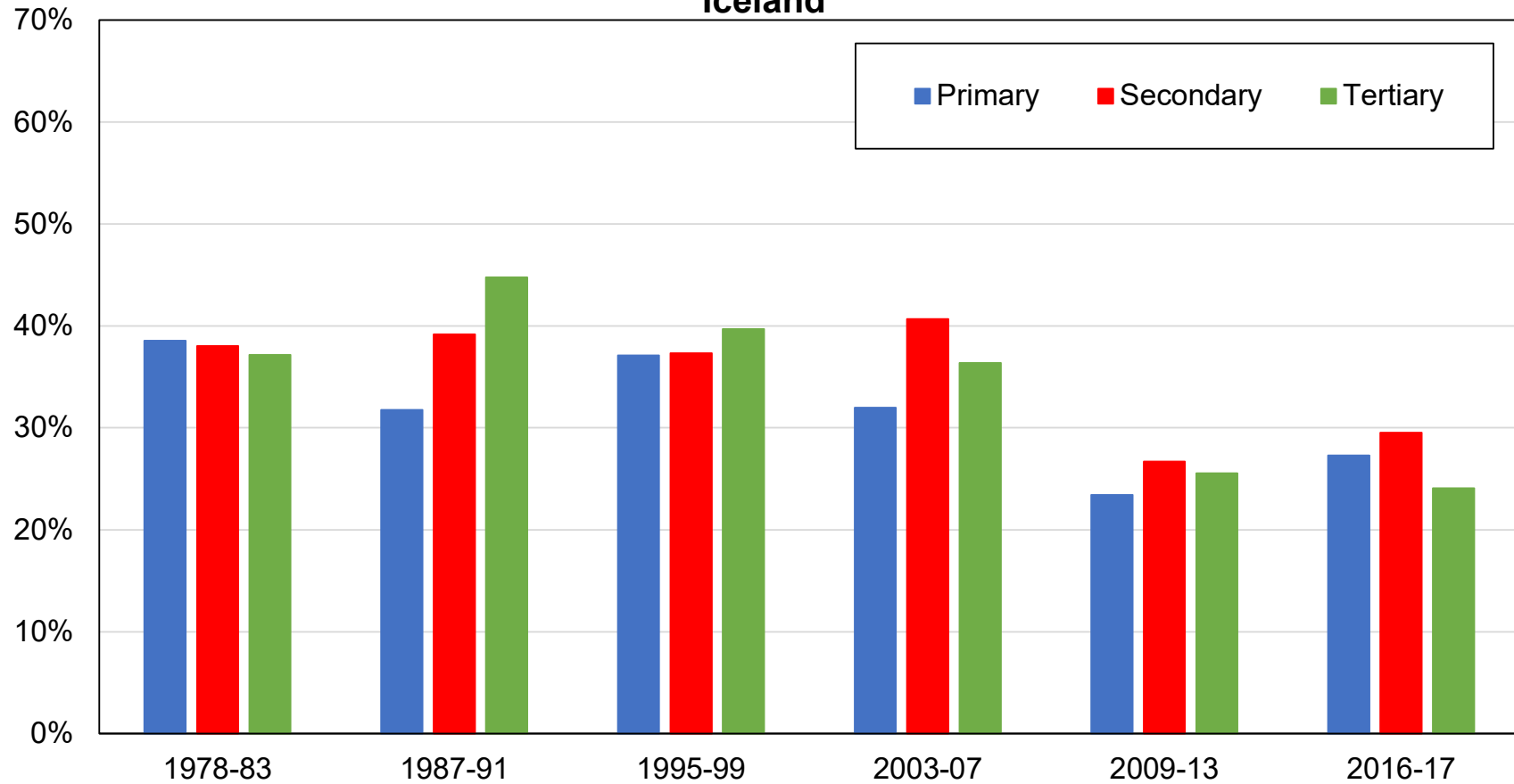
**Figure EC16 - Vote for the Progressive Party by age group in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Progressive Party by age group.

**Figure EC17 - Vote for the Independence Party by education level in Iceland**

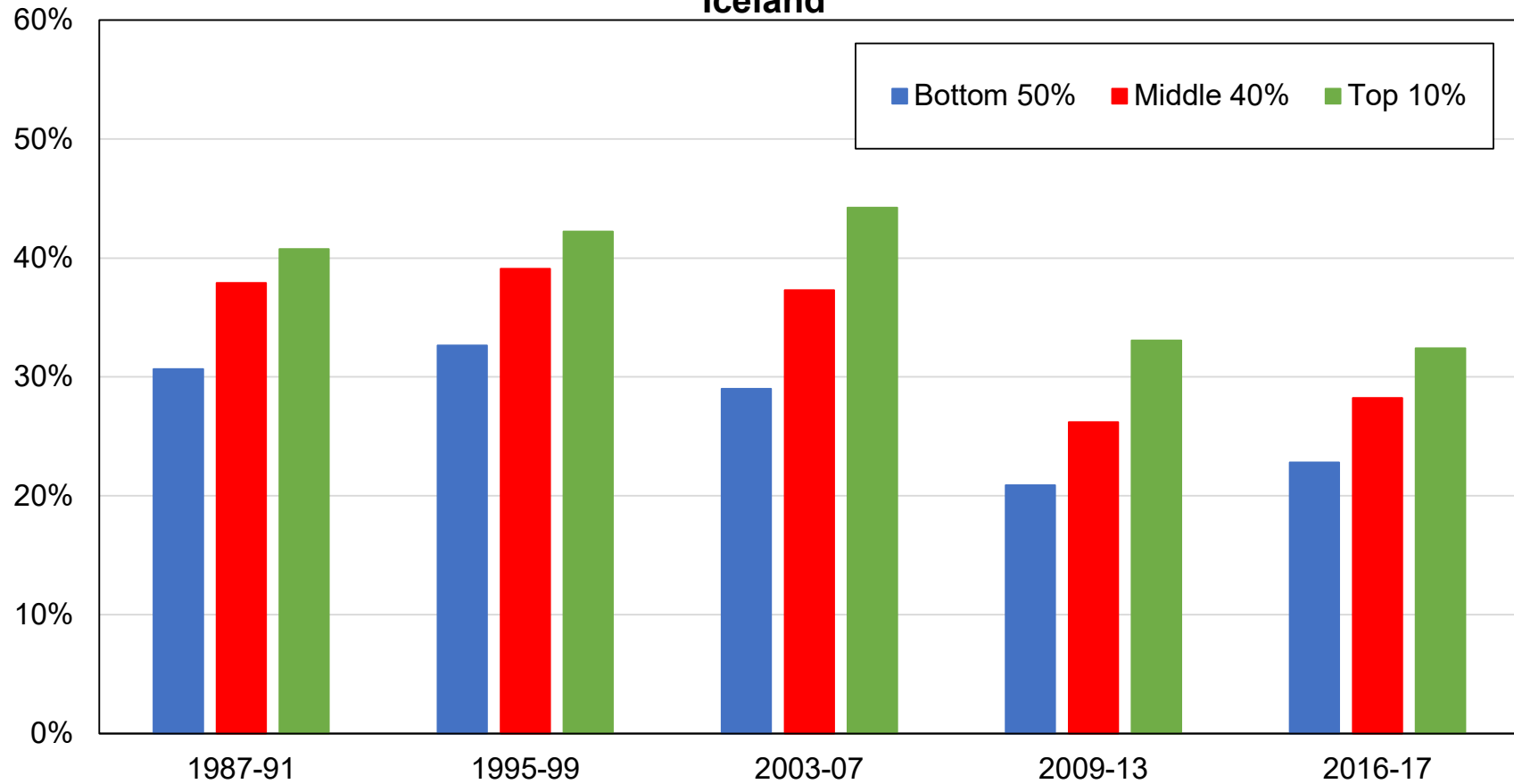


**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Independence Party by educational level.



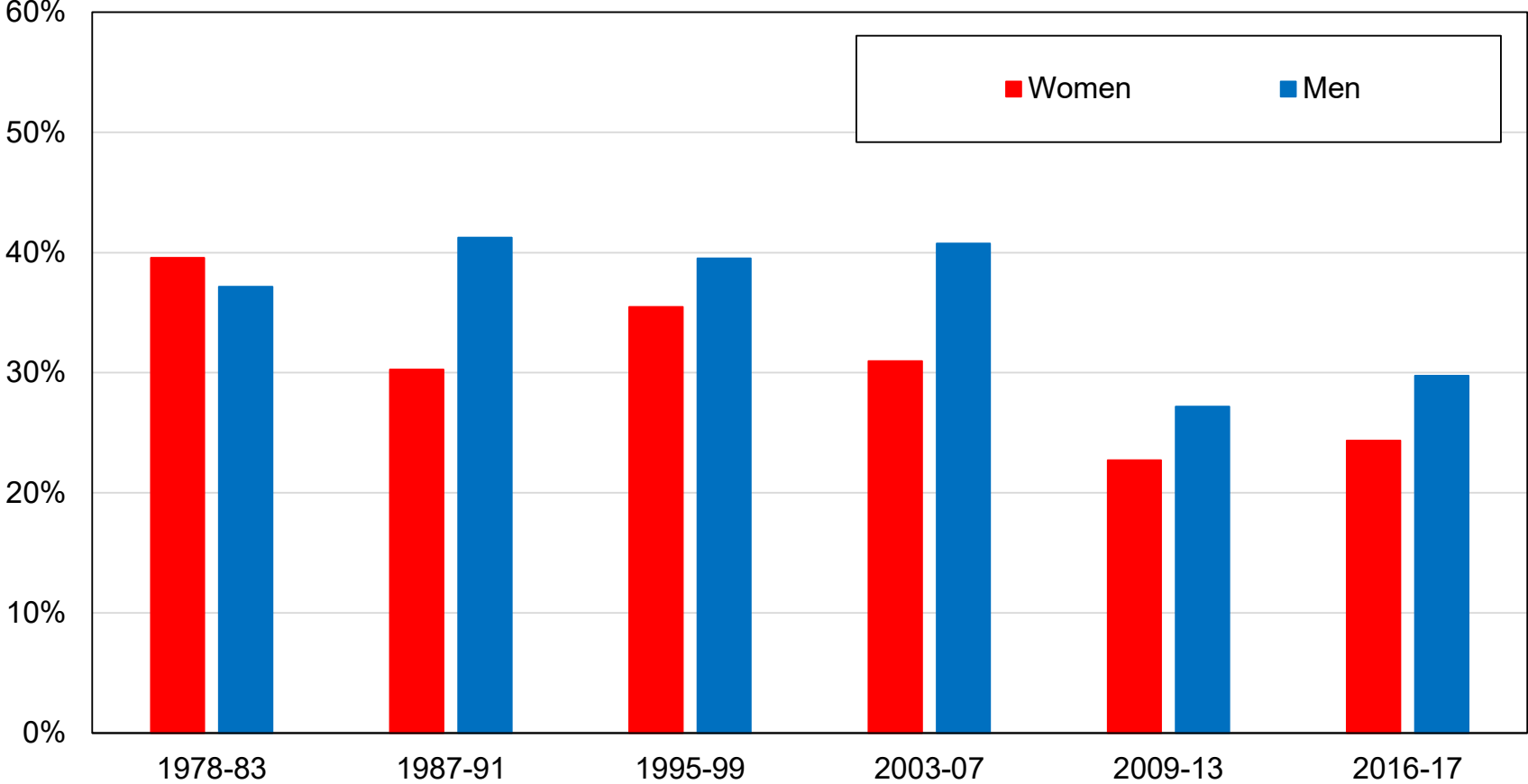
**Figure EC18 - Vote for the Independence Party by income group in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Independence Party by income group.

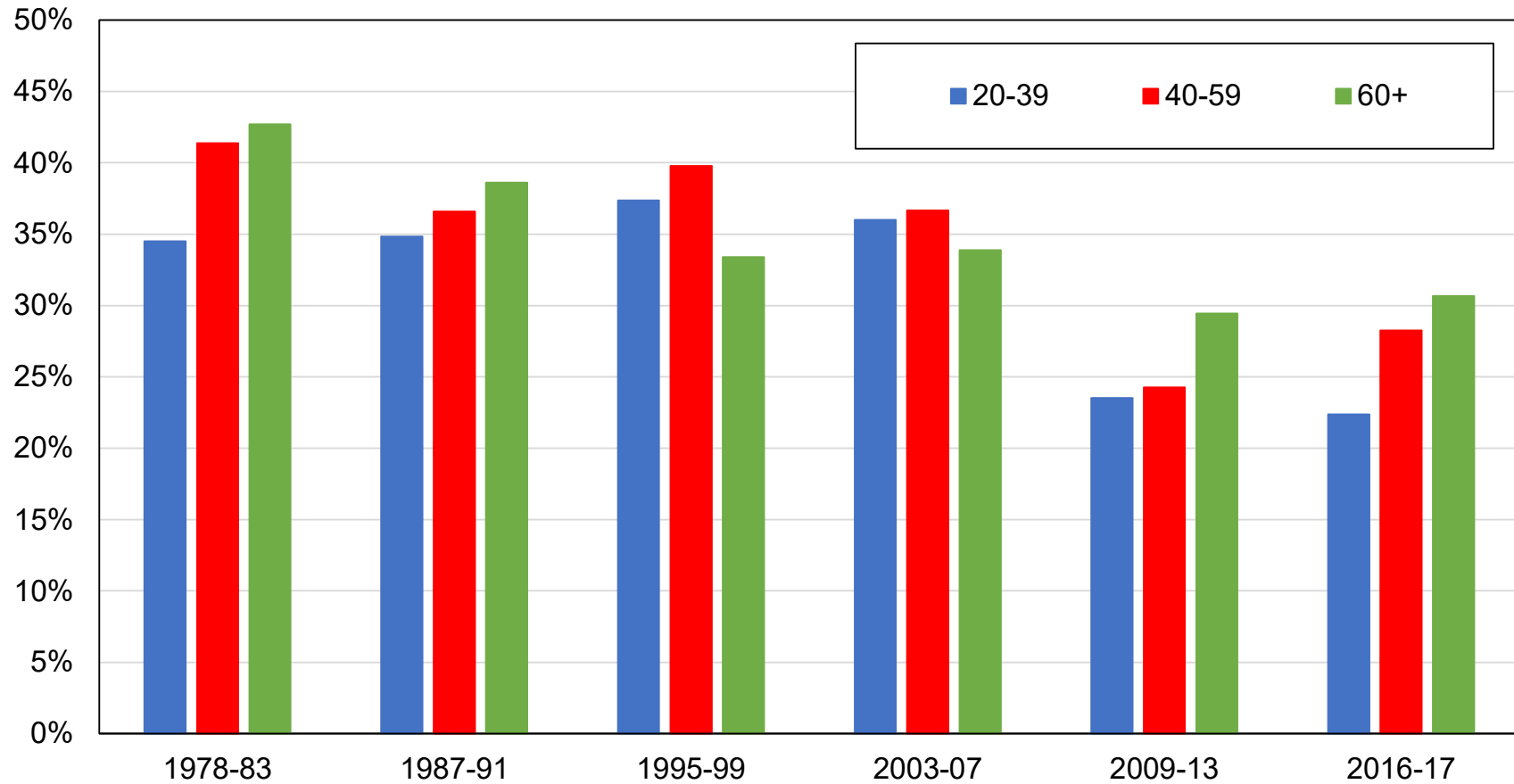
**Figure EC19 - Vote for the Independence Party by gender in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Independence Party by gender.

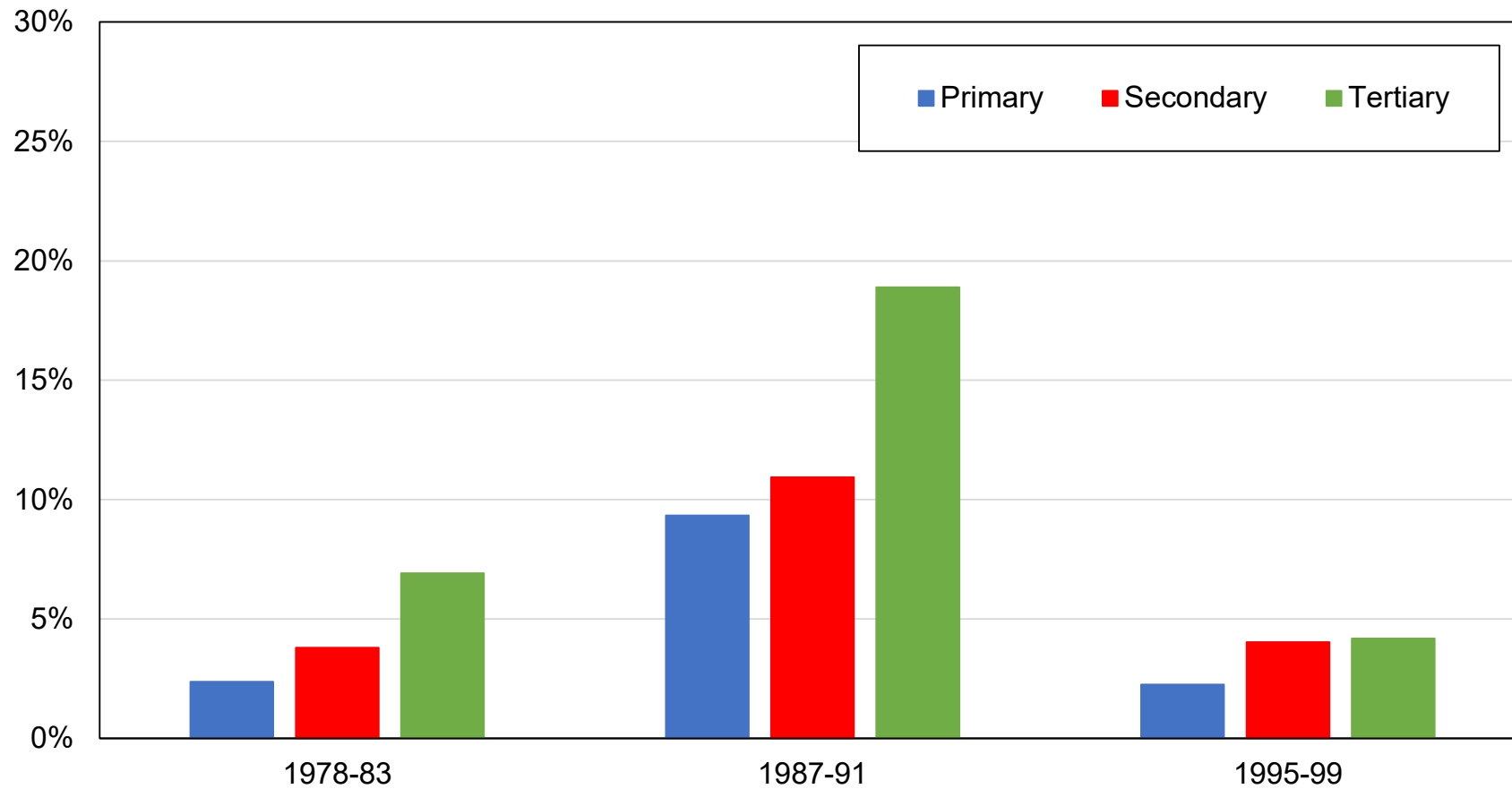
**Figure EC20 - Vote for the Independence Party by age group in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Independence Party by age group.

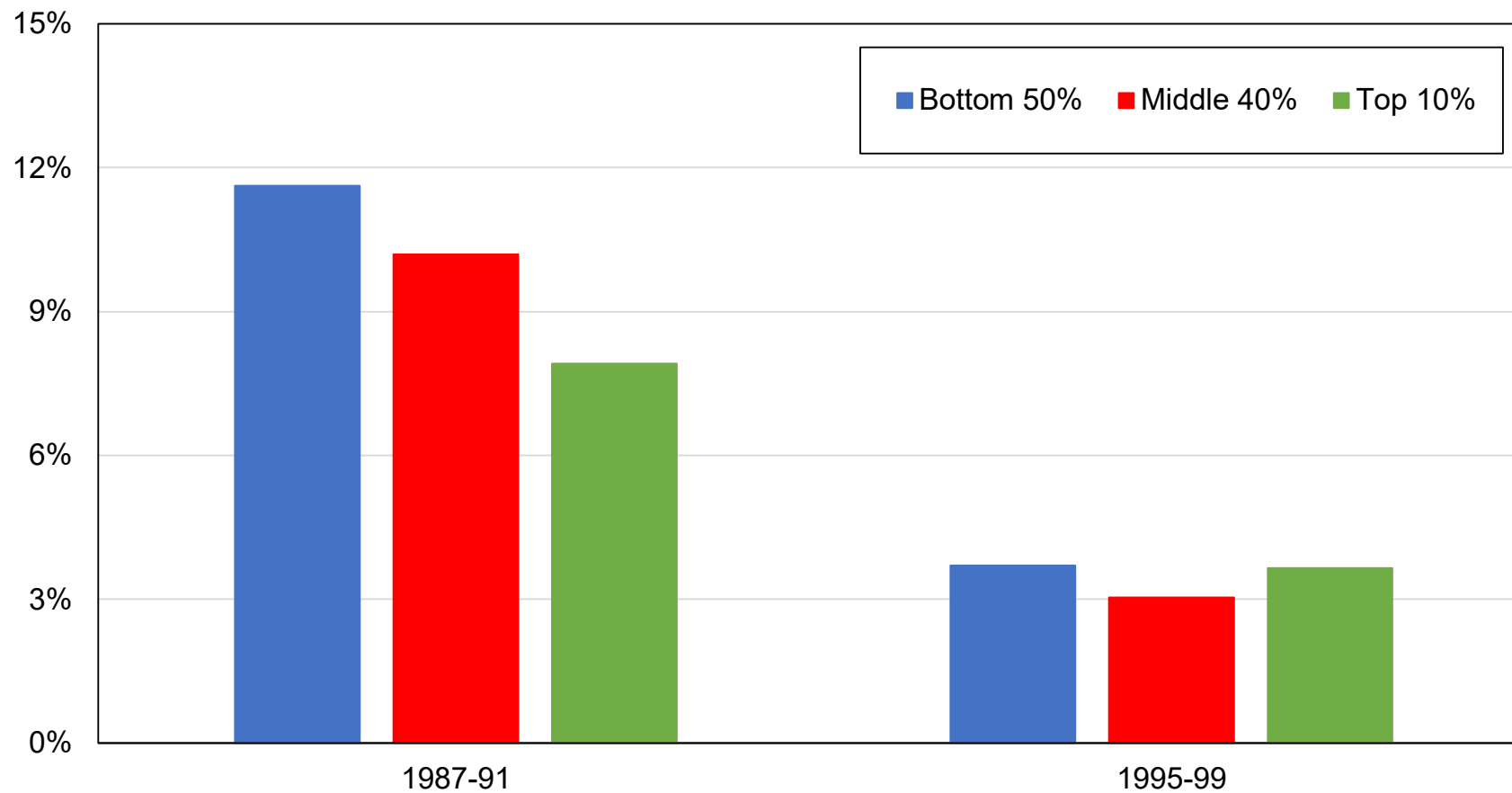
**Figure EC21 - Vote for Women's Alliance by education level in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Women's Alliance by educational level.

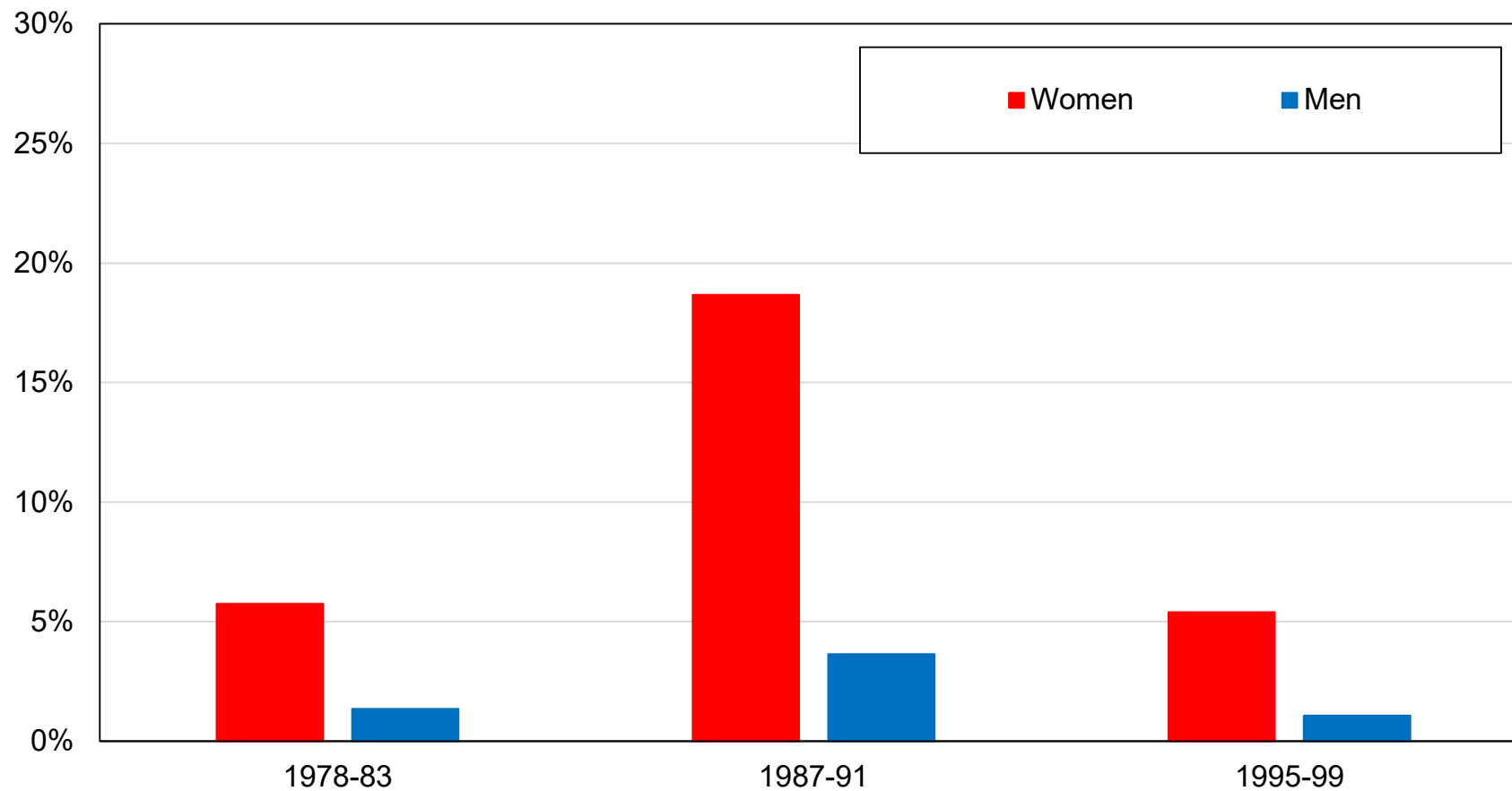
**Figure EC22 - Vote for Women's Alliance by income group in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Women's Alliance by income group.

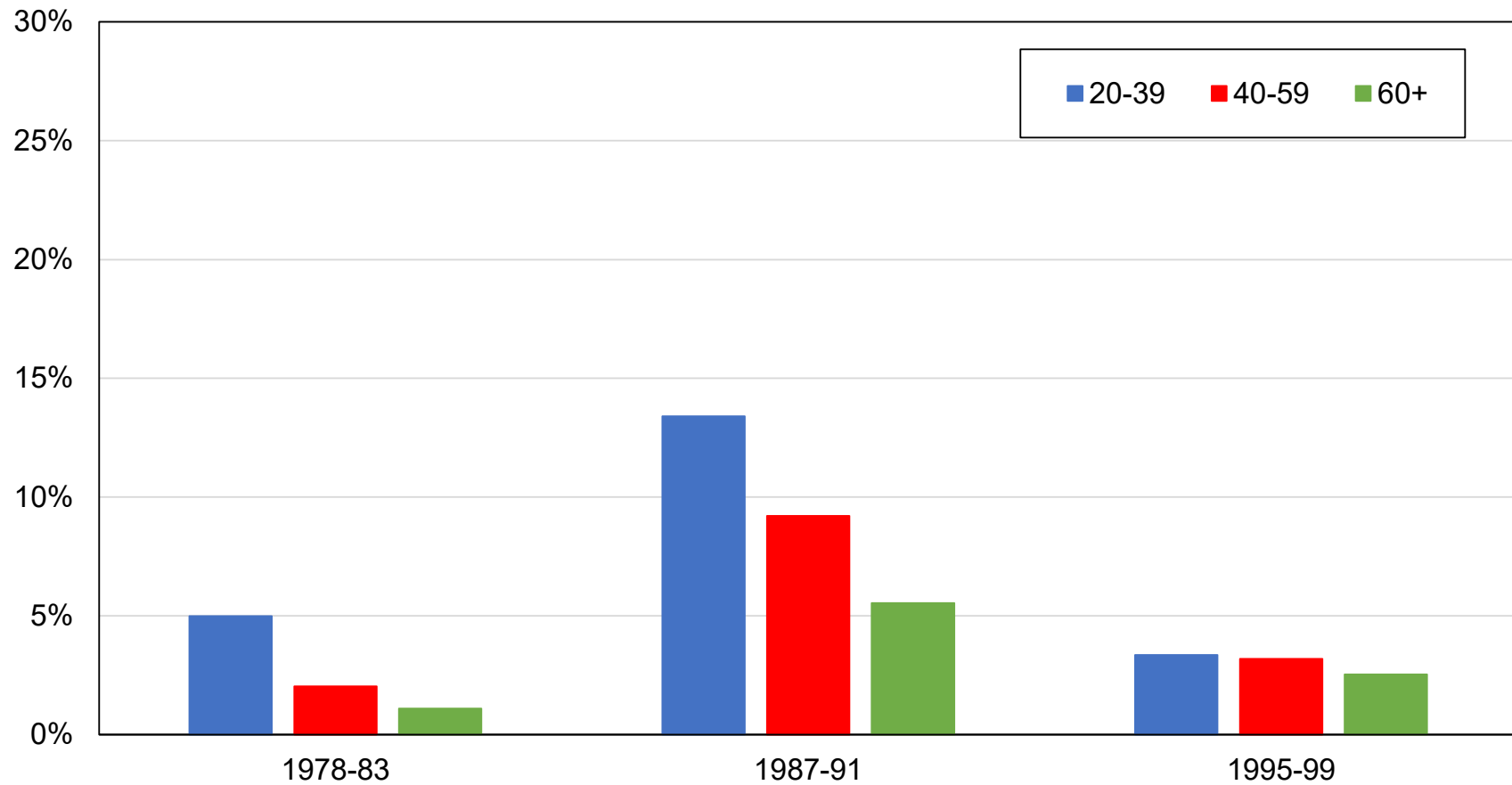
**Figure EC23 - Vote for Women's Alliance by gender in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Women's Alliance by gender.

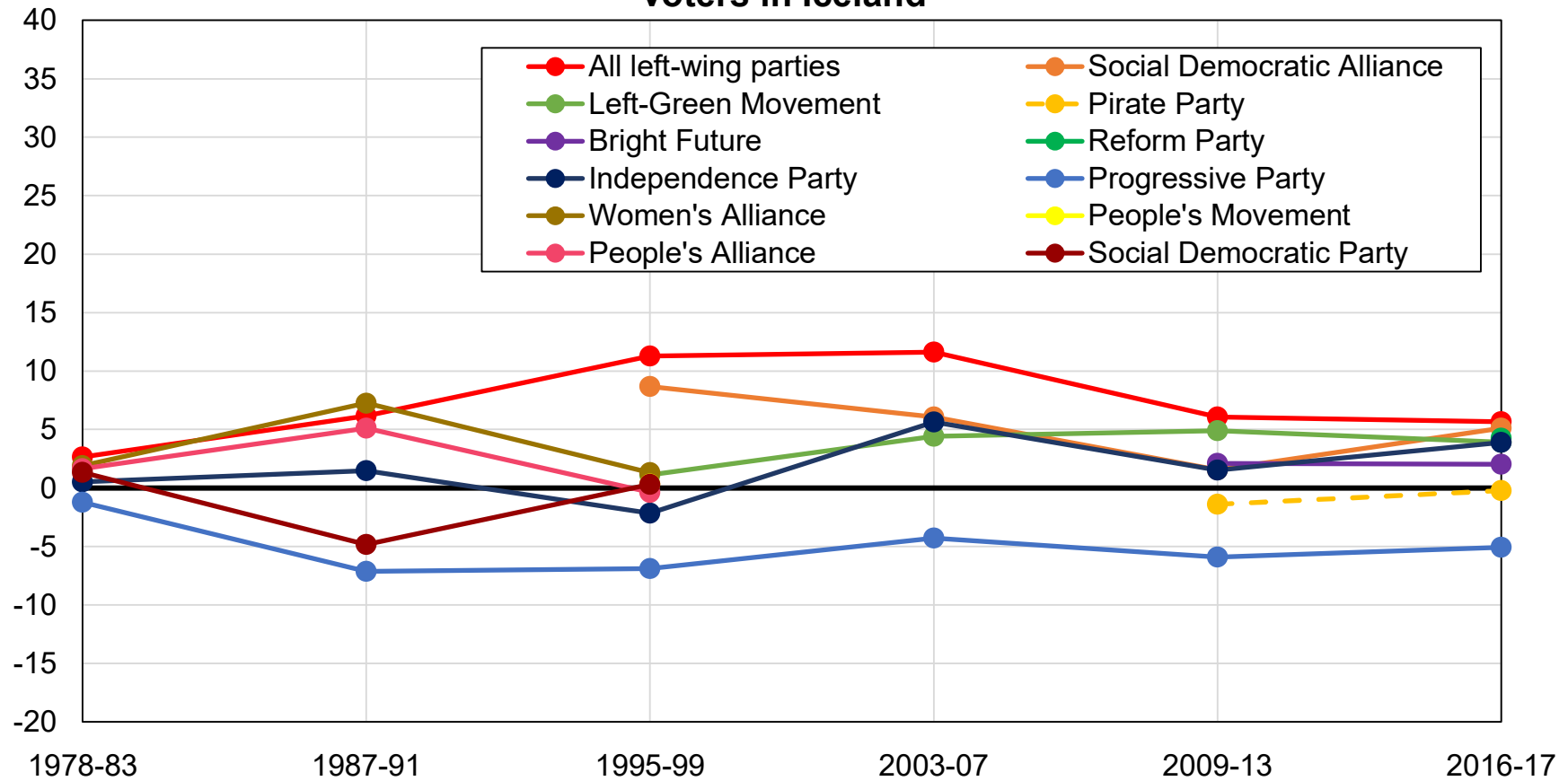
**Figure EC24 - Vote for Women's Alliance by age group in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Women's Alliance by age group.

**Figure EC25 - Decomposition of the vote among tertiary-educated voters in Iceland**

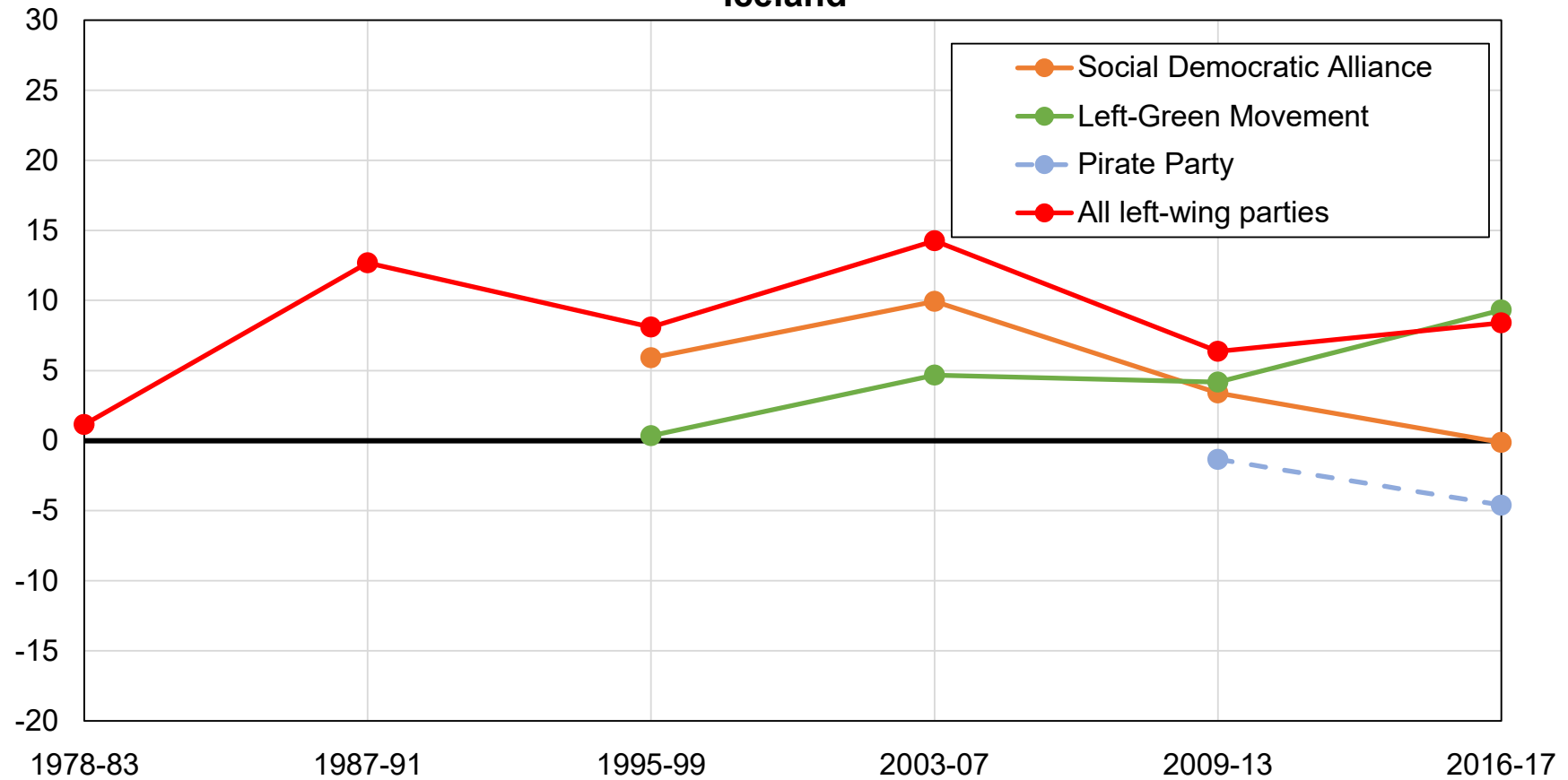


**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of primary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for the main political parties, after controlling for income, gender, age, marital status, region, employment status, and union membership.



**Figure EC26 - Decomposition of the vote for the left among women in Iceland**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for the main left-wing parties and for the Pirate Party, after controlling for education, income, age, marital status, region, religious practice, and employment sector..

Table ED1 - Survey data sources in Iceland			
Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
1983	ICENES, 1983	University of Iceland	1003
1987	ICENES, 1987	University of Iceland	1745
1991	ICENES, 1991	University of Iceland	1491
1995	ICENES, 1995	University of Iceland	1721
1999	ICENES, 1999	University of Iceland	1631
2003	ICENES, 2003	University of Iceland	1446
2007	ICENES, 2007	University of Iceland	1595
2009	ICENES, 2009	University of Iceland	1385
2013	ICENES, 2013	University of Iceland	1479
2016	ICENES, 2016	University of Iceland	1295
2017	ICENES, 2017	University of Iceland	2073

**Source:** authors' elaboration.

**Note:** the table shows the surveys used in the paper, the source from which these surveys can be obtained, and the sample size of each survey. Data for 1978 have been obtained through the 1983 survey's retrospective questions.

**Table ED2 - Complete descriptive statistics by decade in Iceland**

	1978-83	1987-91	1995-99	2003-07	2009-13	2016-17
Age: 20-39	52%	51%	48%	44%	39%	34%
Age: 40-59	31%	32%	35%	38%	40%	37%
Age: 60+	16%	17%	17%	18%	21%	29%
Education: Primary	54%	51%	51%	41%	31%	27%
Education: Secondary	37%	40%	36%	34%	37%	36%
Education: Tertiary	8%	9%	13%	25%	32%	37%
Employment status: Employed public	25%	24%	23%	23%	28%	25%
Employment status: Employed private	53%	52%	55%	52%	49%	51%
Employment status: Unemployed/Inactive	22%	23%	23%	25%	24%	25%
House ownership: Renting	24%	21%	26%			28%
House ownership: Owning	76%	79%	74%			72%
Marital status: Single	25%	28%	30%	30%	30%	30%
Marital status: Married / Partner	75%	72%	70%	70%	70%	70%
Occupation: Farmer/Seaman	17%	13%	10%	8%	6%	5%
Occupation: Higher managerial occupation/Entrepreneur or self-employed	9%	11%	12%	12%	7%	11%
Occupation: Lower managerial/professional/intermediate level employee	23%	45%	58%	66%	74%	75%
Occupation: Worker	51%	31%	21%	14%	14%	9%
Region: Capital area	54%	55%	56%	59%	61%	62%
Region: East	5%	5%	4%	4%	4%	3%
Region: Northeast	10%	11%	13%	10%	10%	11%
Region: Northwest	3%	3%	3%	4%	3%	3%
Region: South	11%	9%	9%	9%	9%	8%
Region: Sudurnes	7%	6%	6%	5%	5%	5%
Region: West	10%	10%	9%	9%	8%	7%
Religion: No religion					16%	19%
Religion: Catholic					1%	1%
Religion: Protestant					81%	75%
Religion: Muslim					0%	0%
Religion: Other					1%	5%
Church attendance: Never				22%	24%	24%
Church attendance: Less than monthly				68%	68%	68%
Church attendance: Monthly or more				10%	8%	7%

Rural / urban: Urban	54%	55%	56%	59%	61%	62%
Rural / urban: Rural	46%	45%	44%	41%	39%	38%
Sector: Private/Mixed	68%	68%	71%	69%	64%	67%
Sector: Public	32%	32%	29%	31%	36%	33%
Gender: Women	47%	49%	49%	50%	49%	50%
Gender: Men	53%	51%	51%	50%	51%	50%
Union membership: Not union member		17%	22%	22%	16%	10%
Union membership: Union member		83%	78%	78%	84%	90%

**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post electoral surveys.

**Note:** the table shows descriptive statistics by decade for selected available variables.

**Table ED3 - The structure of political cleavages in Iceland, 2016-2017 (extended)**

	Share of votes received (%)						
	Social Democratic Alliance	Left Green Movement	Pirate Party	Progressive Party	Independence Party	Reform Party	Bright Future
<b>Education</b>							
Primary	6%	15%	8%	16%	27%	5%	3%
Secondary	9%	16%	9%	12%	30%	7%	3%
Tertiary	12%	20%	8%	7%	24%	13%	6%
<b>Income</b>							
Bottom 50%	9%	21%	10%	13%	23%	6%	3%
Middle 40%	10%	15%	8%	12%	28%	11%	5%
Top 10%	12%	12%	7%	11%	32%	17%	4%
<b>Gender</b>							
Women	10%	23%	6%	11%	24%	8%	4%
Men	9%	12%	10%	12%	30%	10%	3%
<b>Age</b>							
20-39	7%	21%	13%	11%	22%	10%	5%
40-59	10%	15%	8%	11%	28%	10%	4%
60+	11%	16%	4%	12%	31%	7%	2%
<b>Location</b>							
Urban	9%	18%	9%	7%	27%	12%	5%
Rural	9%	16%	7%	18%	28%	4%	2%
<b>Sector</b>							
Private/Mixed	7%	14%	9%	12%	30%	12%	4%
Public	13%	26%	7%	11%	19%	8%	5%
<b>EU Membership</b>							
Against	3%	13%	6%	16%	40%	5%	2%
Pro	22%	18%	16%	6%	7%	17%	8%
<b>NATO Membership</b>							
Discontinue	13%	36%	20%	5%	9%	2%	4%
Stay	8%	11%	6%	13%	35%	12%	4%
<b>Religion</b>							
No Religion	9%	27%	19%	5%	13%	10%	5%

Catholic	7%	9%	30%	11%	26%	11%	6%
Protestant	9%	15%	5%	13%	31%	8%	3%
Other	7%	13%	19%	11%	19%	10%	5%

**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post electoral surveys.

**Notes:** the table shows the average share of votes received by the Social Democratic Alliance, the Left-Green Movement, the Pirate Party, the Bright Future, the Reform Party and the Independent Party the by selected individual characteristics over the 2016-2017