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

Technical Appendix

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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.

*We are grateful to Amory Gethin and Thomas Piketty for their useful advice.
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Figure AA1 - Election results by groups in Norway, 1945-2017

Centre-left/left-wing parties (Labour Party, Socialist Left, Other left)
Centre-right/right-wing parties (Conservative Party, Progress Party, Other right)
Liberal Party, Centre Party and Other parties

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

Employed public  Employed private  Unemployed/Inactive

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

Difference between (% of top 10%) and (% of bottom 90%) educated voting left, after controlling income, gender, age, marital status, employment status, region, union membership

Difference between (% of top 10%) and (% bottom 90%) earners voting left, after controlling for education, gender, age, marital status, employment status, region, union membership

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

Difference between (% of tertiary educ.) and (% of other voters) voting left
- After controlling for income
- After controlling for income, gender, age, marital status, employment status, region, union membership

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Difference between (% of top 10% educ.) and (% of other voters) voting left</th>
<th>After controlling for income</th>
<th>After controlling for income, gender, age, marital status, employment status, region, union membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1957-65</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969-73</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-85</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989-97</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-09</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013-17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Difference between (% of top 10% earners) and (% of other voters) voting left
- After controlling for education
- After controlling for education, gender, age, marital status, employment status, region, union membership

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

- Difference between (% of union members) and (% of other voters) voting for left-wing parties
- After controlling for income, education, age, gender, marital status, employment status, region

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

Difference between (% of aged 20-39) and (% of other voters) voting for left-wing parties

- After controlling for income and education
- After controlling for income, education, age, gender, marital status, employment status, region

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

Difference between (% of public sector) and (% of other voters) voting for left-wing parties

After controlling for income, education, age, gender, marital status, region

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.
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Survey</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Sample size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Norwegian Election Study</td>
<td>NSD</td>
<td>1544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Norwegian Election Study</td>
<td>NSD</td>
<td>1623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Norwegian Election Study</td>
<td>NSD</td>
<td>1595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Norwegian Election Study</td>
<td>NSD</td>
<td>2662</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Norwegian Election Study</td>
<td>NSD</td>
<td>1730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Norwegian Election Study</td>
<td>NSD</td>
<td>1596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Norwegian Election Study</td>
<td>NSD</td>
<td>2180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Norwegian Election Study</td>
<td>NSD</td>
<td>2195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Norwegian Election Study</td>
<td>NSD</td>
<td>2194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Norwegian Election Study</td>
<td>NSD</td>
<td>2055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Norwegian Election Study</td>
<td>NSD</td>
<td>2341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Norwegian Election Study</td>
<td>NSD</td>
<td>2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Norwegian Election Study</td>
<td>NSD</td>
<td>1782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Norwegian Election Study</td>
<td>NSD</td>
<td>1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017</td>
<td>Norwegian Election Study</td>
<td>NSD</td>
<td>1966</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age: 20-39</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age: 40-59</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age: 60+</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective social class: Working class</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective social class: Middle/Upper/Other class</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education: Primary</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education: Secondary</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education: Tertiary</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment status: Employed public</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment status: Employed private</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment status: Unemployed/Inactive</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House ownership: Renting</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House ownership: Owning</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital status: Single</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital status: Married / Partner</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region: East</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region: North</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region: South and Oslo</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region: Trondelag</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region: West</td>
<td></td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion: No religion</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion: Catholic</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion: Protestant</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion: Muslim</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion: Other</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church attendance: Never</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>36%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church attendance: Less than monthly</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>42%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church attendance: Monthly or more</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural / urban: Urban</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural / urban: Rural</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sector: Private/Mixed</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sector: Public</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Decade 1</td>
<td>Decade 2</td>
<td>Decade 3</td>
<td>Decade 4</td>
<td>Decade 5</td>
<td>Decade 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender: Women</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender: Men</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union membership: Not union member</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union membership: Union member</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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

Centre-left/ left-wing parties (Social Democratic Party, Socialist People's Party, Social Liberals, Red-Green Alliance, Other left)

Centre-right/ right-wing parties (Conservative People's Party, Liberal Party, Progress Party/Danish People’s Party, Other right)

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.
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.
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Difference between (% of tertiary educ.) and (% of other voters) voting left</th>
<th>After controlling for income</th>
<th>After controlling for income, gender, age, marital status, employment status, union membership, region</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960-68</td>
<td>-20</td>
<td>-15</td>
<td>-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-79</td>
<td>-10</td>
<td>-5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-88</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990-98</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-07</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011-15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- Difference between (% of primary educ.) and (% of other voters) voting left
- After controlling for income
- After controlling for income, gender, age, marital status, employment status, union membership, region

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

Difference between (% of top 10% earners) and (% of other voters) voting left

After controlling for education

After controlling for education, gender, age, marital status, employment status, union membership, region

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

- Difference between (% of rural areas) and (% of urban areas) voting left
- After controlling for income, education, gender, age, marital status, employment status

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

Difference between (% of house owners) and (% of house renters) voting left

After controlling for income, education, gender, age, marital status, employment status, region

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

- Difference between (% of union members) and (% of other voters) voting for left-wing parties
- After controlling for income, education, age, employment status, marital status, region

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

- Difference between (% of tertiary educ.) and (% of other voters) voting left
- After controlling for class
- After controlling for class, income, gender, age, marital status, employment status, union membership, region

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 Socialsit People's Party by sector.
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

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

**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

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

**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

Centre-left/left-wing parties (Social Democratic Party, Left Party, Other left)
Centre-right/Right-wing parties (Moderate Party, Centre Party, Other right)

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

Difference between (% of top 10%) and (% of bottom 90%) educated voting left, after controlling for income, gender, age, marital status, employment status, union membership, region

Difference between (% of top 10%) and (% bottom 90%) earners voting left, after controlling for education, gender, age, marital status, employment status, union membership, region

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

- Difference between (% of tertiary educ.) and (% of other voters) voting left
- After controlling for income
- After controlling for income, gender, age, marital status, employment status, union membership, region

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

Difference between (% of top 10% educ.) and (% of other voters) voting left

After controlling for income

After controlling for income, gender, age, marital status, employment status, union membership, region

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

Difference between (% of tertiary educ.) and (% of other voters) voting left
- After controlling for class
- After controlling for class, income, gender, age, marital status, employment status, union membership, region

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.
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Survey</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Sample size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>SNES, 1956</td>
<td>Swedish National Data Service</td>
<td>1131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>SNES, 1960</td>
<td>Swedish National Data Service</td>
<td>1603</td>
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<tr>
<td>1964</td>
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<td>Swedish National Data Service</td>
<td>3109</td>
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<tr>
<td>1968</td>
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<td>Swedish National Data Service</td>
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<td>1970</td>
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<tr>
<td>1973</td>
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<td>2596</td>
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<tr>
<td>1976</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>Swedish National Data Service</td>
<td>3873</td>
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<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>SNES, 1988</td>
<td>Swedish National Data Service</td>
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<td>1991</td>
<td>SNES, 1991</td>
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<td>1994</td>
<td>SNES, 1994</td>
<td>Swedish National Data Service</td>
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<td>1998</td>
<td>SNES, 1998</td>
<td>Swedish National Data Service</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>SNES, 2002</td>
<td>Swedish National Data Service</td>
<td>3788</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>SNES, 2006</td>
<td>Swedish National Data Service</td>
<td>3999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>SNES, 2010</td>
<td>Swedish National Data Service</td>
<td>3963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>CSES (Module 4)</td>
<td>CSES</td>
<td>832</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Table CD2 - Complete descriptive statistics by decade in Sweden
| 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Social Democrats</th>
<th>Left Party</th>
<th>Green Party</th>
<th>The Alliance</th>
<th>Sweden Democrats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td><strong>Income</strong></td>
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<td>33%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle 40%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Top 10%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>5%</td>
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<td>67%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-39</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-59</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60+</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>9%</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Sector</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private/Mixed</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>4%</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Religion</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Centre-left/left-wing parties (Social Democratic Party, Left Alliance, Other left)
Centre-right/right-wing parties (National Coalition Party, True Finns, Other right)
Other parties and Centre Party

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.
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.
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.
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

- Difference between (% of top 10%) and (% of bottom 90%) educated voting left, after controlling for income, age, gender, employment status, union membership, region
- Difference between (% of top 10%) and (% bottom 90%) earners voting left, after controlling for education, age, gender, employment status, union membership, region

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

Difference between (% of tertiary educ.) and (% of other voters) voting left
After controlling for income
After controlling for income, gender, age, employment status, region, union membership

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

Difference between (% of top 10% educ.) and (% of other voters) voting left
After controlling for income
After controlling for income, gender, age, employment status, region, union membership

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

- Difference between (% of primary educ.) and (% of other voters) voting left
- After controlling for income
- After controlling for income, gender, age, employment status, region, union membership

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

- Difference between (% of women) and (% of men) voting left
- After controlling for income, education, age, gender, region
- After controlling for income, education, age, gender, region, sector

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

Difference between (% of union members) and (% of other voters) voting left

- After controlling for income, education, gender, age, employment status, region

Source: authors' computations using Finnish 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 DB22 - Vote for the left among young voters in Finland

Difference between (% of aged 20-39) and (% of other voters) voting left

After controlling for income and education

After controlling for income, education, gender, employment status, region, union membership

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 FPDL/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.
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

All right-wing parties
National Coalition Party
True Finns

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.
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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Survey</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Sample size</th>
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<td>1972</td>
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<td>2015</td>
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<td>2012</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

![Bar chart showing vote for the left by home ownership status in Iceland from 1978-83 to 2016-17.

**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

Difference between (% of top 10%) and (% of bottom 90%) educated voting left, after controlling income, gender, age, marital status, employment status, region, union membership.

Difference between (% of top 10%) and (% bottom 90%) earners voting left, after controlling for education, gender, age, marital status, employment status, region, union membership.

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

Difference between (% of tertiary educ.) and (% of other voters) voting left

After controlling for income, gender, age, marital status, employment status, region, union membership

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

Difference between (% of top 10% educ.) and (% of other voters) voting left

After controlling for income, gender, age, marital status, employment status, region, union membership

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

Difference between (% of top 10% earners) and (% of other voters) voting left
After controlling for education
After controlling for education, gender, age, marital status, employment status, region, union membership

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

Difference between (% of women) and (% of men) voting for left-wing parties
- After controlling for income, education, age, marital status, region, religious practice
- After controlling for income, education, age, marital status, region, religious practice, sector

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

Difference between (% of aged 20-39) and (% of other voters) voting for left-wing parties
After controlling for income and education
After controlling for income, education, gender, marital status, employment status, region

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

Difference between (% of rural voters) and (% of urban voters) voting for left-wing parties

After controlling for income, education, age, gender, marital status, employment status

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Survey</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Sample size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>ICENES, 1983</td>
<td>University of Iceland</td>
<td>1003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>ICENES, 1987</td>
<td>University of Iceland</td>
<td>1745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>ICENES, 1991</td>
<td>University of Iceland</td>
<td>1491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>ICENES, 1995</td>
<td>University of Iceland</td>
<td>1721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>ICENES, 1999</td>
<td>University of Iceland</td>
<td>1631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>ICENES, 2003</td>
<td>University of Iceland</td>
<td>1446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>ICENES, 2007</td>
<td>University of Iceland</td>
<td>1595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>ICENES, 2009</td>
<td>University of Iceland</td>
<td>1385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>ICENES, 2013</td>
<td>University of Iceland</td>
<td>1479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>ICENES, 2016</td>
<td>University of Iceland</td>
<td>1295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017</td>
<td>ICENES, 2017</td>
<td>University of Iceland</td>
<td>2073</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age: 20-39</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age: 40-59</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age: 60+</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education: Primary</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education: Secondary</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education: Tertiary</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment status: Employed public</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment status: Employed private</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment status: Unemployed/Inactive</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House ownership: Renting</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House ownership: Owning</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital status: Single</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital status: Married / Partner</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation: Farmer/Seaman</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation: Higher managerial occupation/Entrepreneur or self-employed</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation: Lower managerial/professional/intermediate level employee</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation: Worker</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region: Capital area</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region: East</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region: Northeast</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region: Northwest</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region: South</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region: Sudurnes</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region: West</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion: No religion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion: Catholic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion: Protestant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion: Muslim</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion: Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church attendance: Never</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church attendance: Less than monthly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church attendance: Monthly or more</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>2020</td>
<td>2030</td>
<td>2040</td>
<td>2050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural / urban: Urban</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural / urban: Rural</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sector: Private/Mixed</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sector: Public</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender: Women</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender: Men</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union membership: Not union member</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union membership: Union member</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** authors’ computations using Icelandic post electoral surveys.

**Note:** the table shows descriptive statistics by decade for selected available variables.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table ED3 - The structure of political cleavages in Iceland, 2016-2017 (extended)</th>
<th>Share of votes received (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social Democratic Alliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Income</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bottom 50%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle 40%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Top 10%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-39</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-59</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60+</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Location</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sector</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private/Mixed</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EU Membership</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Against</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pro</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NATO Membership</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discontinue</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stay</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Religion</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Religion</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Catholic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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 period.