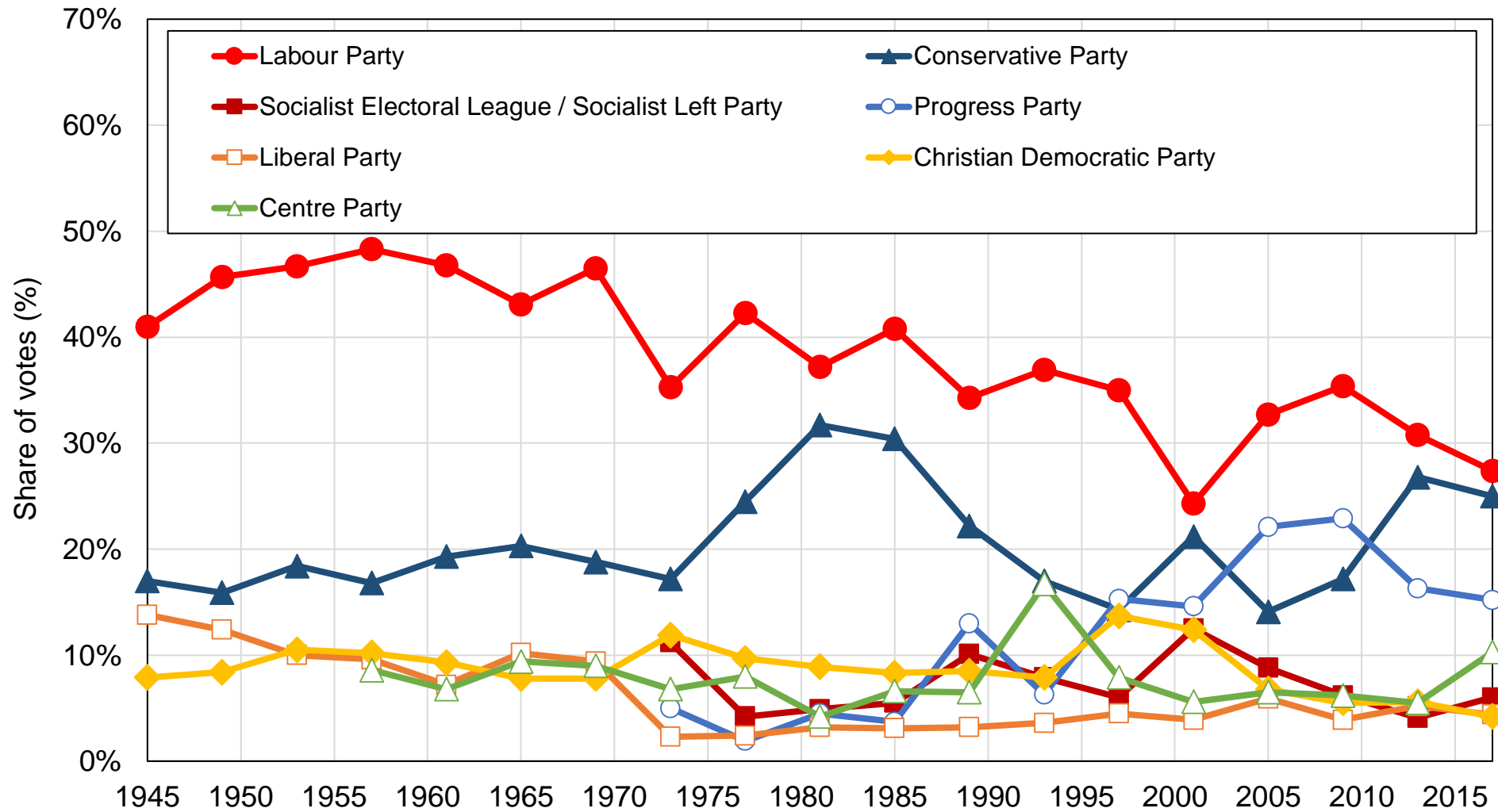


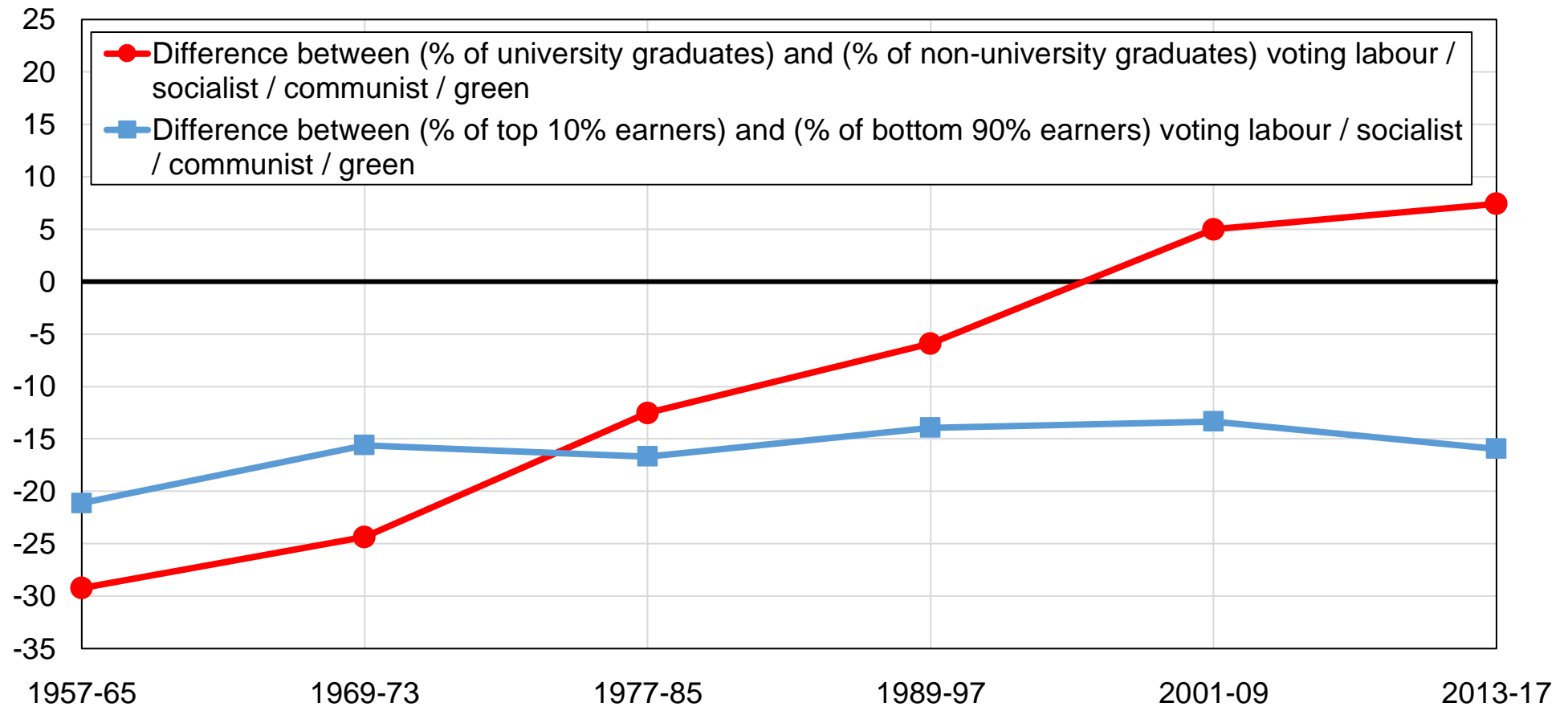
**Figure 4.1 - Election results in Norway, 1945-2017**



**Source:** authors' computations using official election results (see [wpid.world](http://wpid.world)).

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by selected political parties or groups of parties in parliamentary elections held in Norway between 1945 and 2017. The Labour Party received 27% of the votes in 2017.

**Figure 4.2 - The emergence of a multi-elite party system in Norway, 1957-2017**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys (see [wpid.world](http://wpid.world)).

**Note:** the figure shows the relative support of top-income and highest-educated voters for the Labour Party, the Socialist Left Party, and other affiliated parties. In the 1950s-1960s, top-income and highest-educated voters were less likely to vote labour / socialist / communist than low-income and lower-educated voters. The labour / socialist / communist / green vote has gradually become associated with higher-educated voters, giving rise to a "multi-elite party system". Estimates control for income/education, gender, age, marital status, employment status, region, and union membership.

**Figure 4.3 - The decline of class voting in Norway, 1957-2009**



**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys (see [wpid.world](http://wpid.world)).

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Labour Party, the Socialist Left Party, and affiliated parties by subjective social class. In 1957-1965, 74% of voters identifying with the "working class" or the "lower class" voted labour / socialist and affiliated, compared to 52% in the 2000s. No data available in the 2010s.

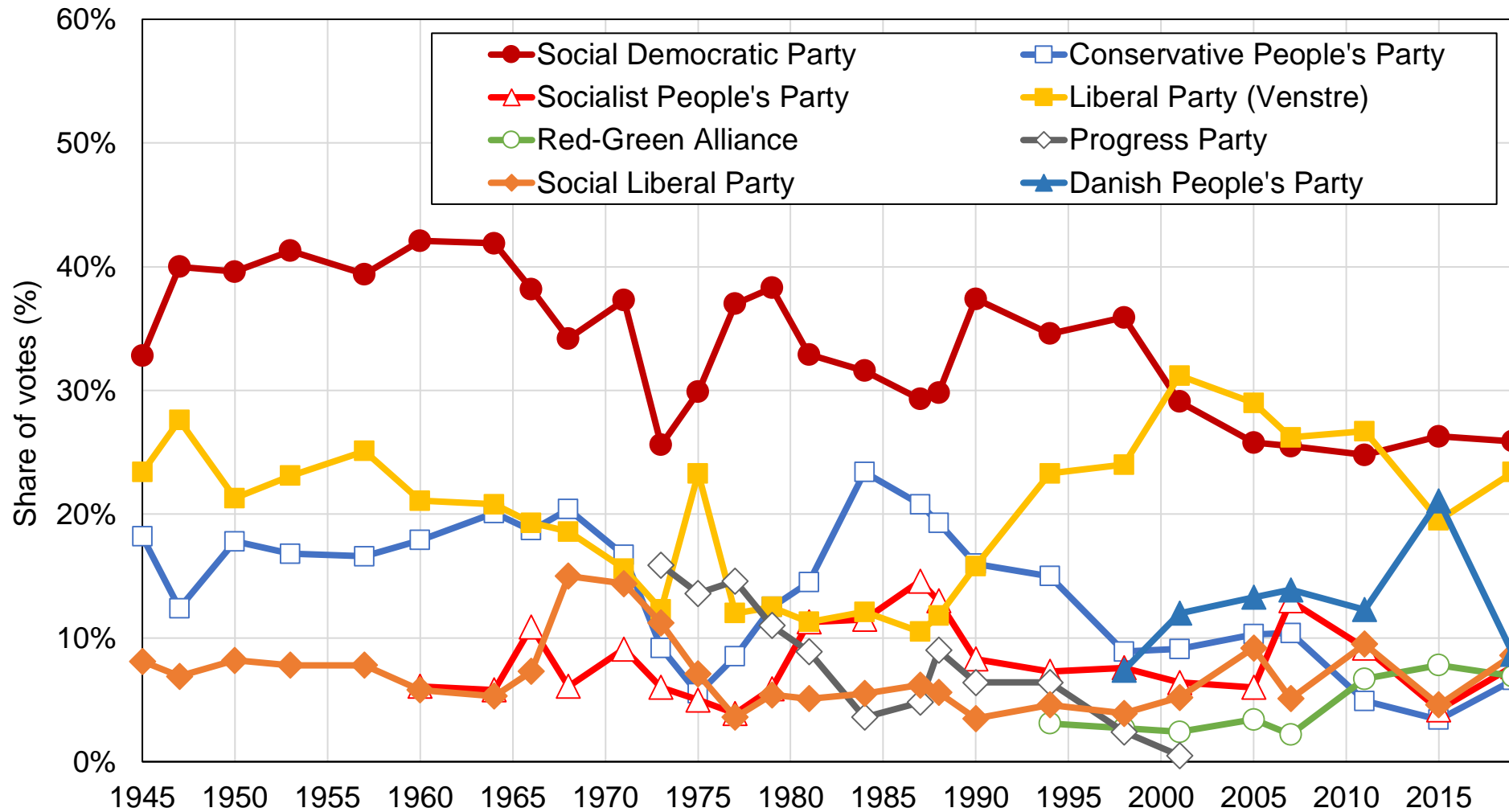
**Table 4.1 - The structure of political cleavages in Norway, 2013-2017**

	Share of votes received (%)							
	Socialist Left Party	Labour Party	Green Party	Liberal Party	Centre Party	Christian Democrats	Conservative Party	Progress Party
<b>Education</b>								
Primary	5%	30%	1%	3%	8%	5%	25%	20%
Secondary	4%	27%	3%	4%	9%	5%	29%	16%
Tertiary	8%	27%	4%	8%	5%	5%	30%	8%
<b>Income</b>								
Bottom 50%	6%	28%	4%	5%	8%	5%	25%	15%
Middle 40%	6%	30%	3%	5%	7%	3%	30%	11%
Top 10%	4%	20%	1%	8%	5%	1%	46%	11%
<b>Gender</b>								
Women	9%	30%	3%	6%	6%	6%	27%	10%
Men	4%	25%	3%	5%	8%	4%	31%	16%
<b>Age</b>								
20-39	9%	25%	5%	8%	7%	5%	25%	12%
40-59	5%	28%	2%	5%	7%	4%	33%	12%
60+	4%	30%	1%	4%	8%	8%	27%	15%
<b>Religion</b>								
No religion	16%	30%	7%	7%	3%	3%	18%	7%
Catholic	9%	9%	0%	0%	4%	10%	49%	14%
Protestant	4%	27%	2%	5%	8%	5%	31%	14%
Muslim	11%	59%	0%	4%	0%	4%	13%	5%
Other	6%	15%	9%	9%	2%	25%	17%	6%

**Source:** authors' computations using Norwegian post-electoral surveys (see wpid.world).

**Note:** the table shows the average share of votes received by the main Norwegian parties by selected individual characteristics over the 2013-2017 period. The Labour Party was supported by 9% of Catholic voters, compared to 59% of Muslim voters, during this period.

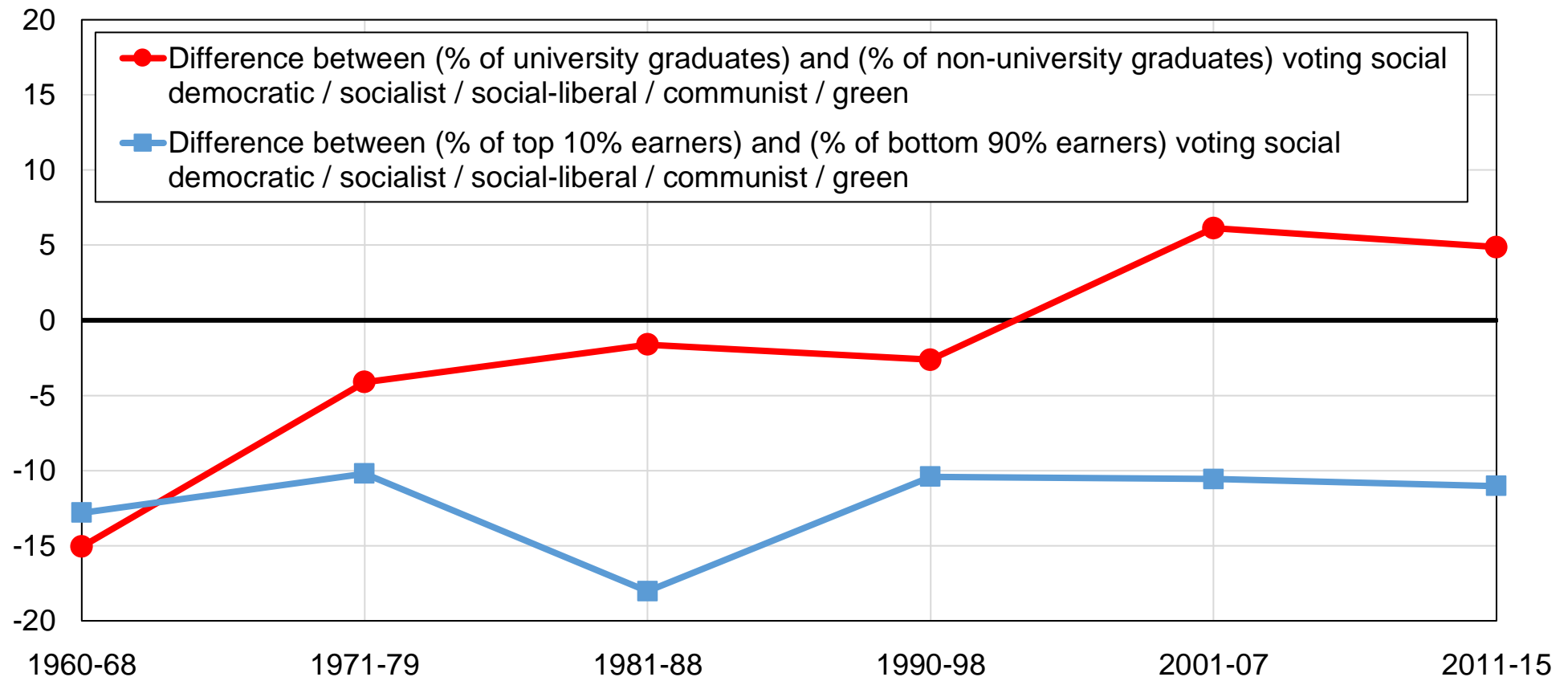
**Figure 4.4 - Election results in Denmark, 1945-2019**



**Source:** authors' computations using official election results (see wpid.world).

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by selected political parties or groups of parties in general elections held in Denmark between 1945 and 2019. The Social Democratic Party received 26% of votes in 2019.

**Figure 4.5 - The emergence of a multi-elite party system in Denmark, 1960-2015**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys (see [wpid.world](http://wpid.world)).

**Note:** the figure shows the relative support of top-income and highest-educated voters for the Social Democratic Party, the Socialist People's Party, the Social Liberal Party, the Red-Green Alliance, and affiliated parties. In the 1960s, top-income and highest-educated voters were less likely to vote social democratic / socialist / social liberal / communist than low-income and lower-educated voters. The social democratic / socialist / social liberal / communist / green vote has gradually become associated with higher-educated voters, giving rise to a "multi-elite party system". Estimates control for income/education, gender, age, marital status, employment status, region, and union membership.

**Figure 4.6 - The decline of class voting in Denmark, 1960-2015**



**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys (see [wpid.world](http://wpid.world)).

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party, the Socialist People's Party, the Social Liberal Party, the Red-Green Alliance, and affiliated parties by subjective social class. In the 1960s, 94% of voters identifying with the "working class" or the "lower class" voted for these parties, compared to 52% in the 2010s. No data available in the 2000s.

**Table 4.2 - The structure of political cleavages in Denmark, 2011-2015**

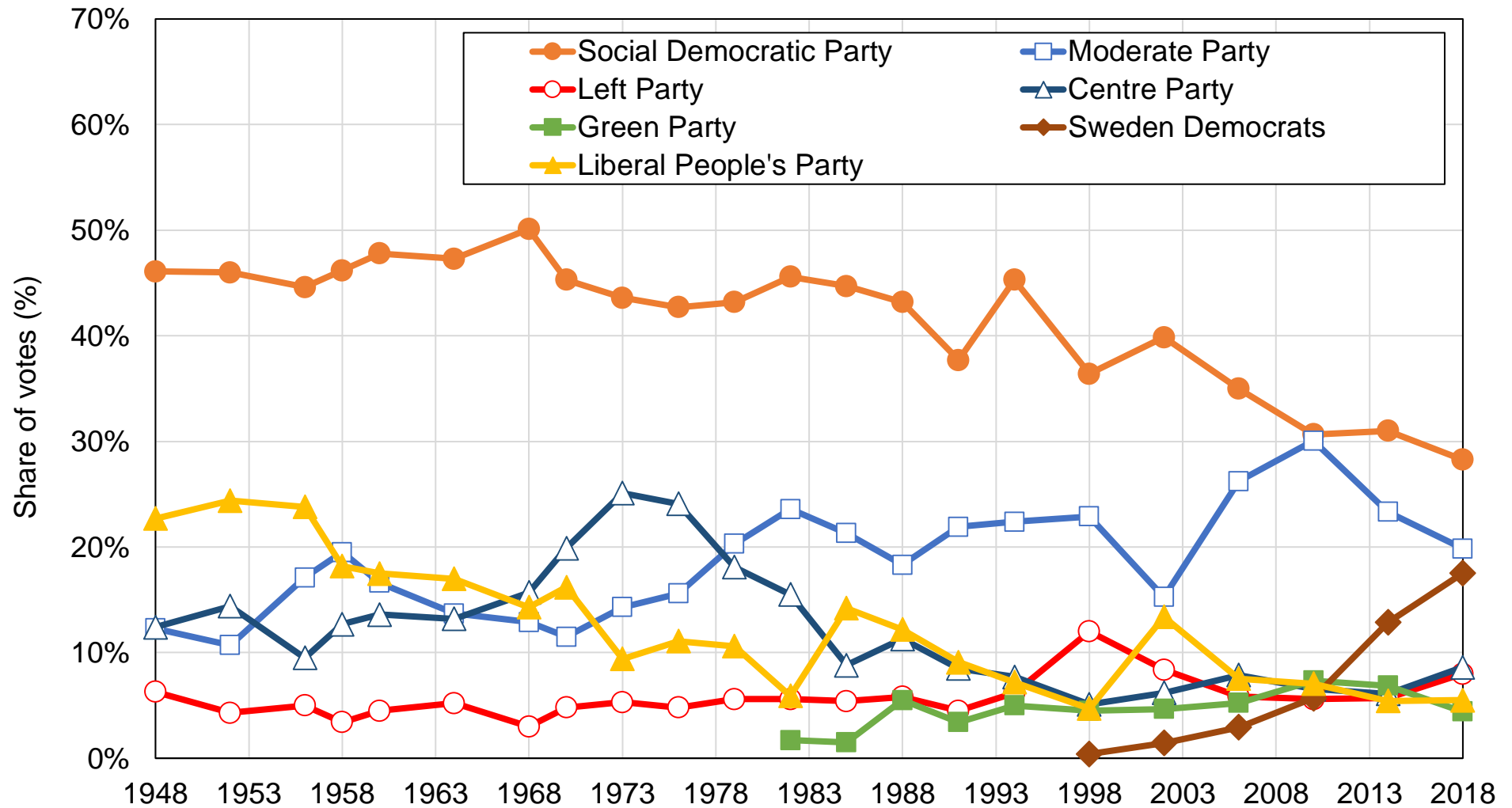
	Share of votes received (%)						
	Red-Green Alliance	Socialist People's Party	Social Democratic Party	Social Liberal Party	Venstre	Conservative People's Party	Danish People's Party
<b>Education</b>							
Primary	6%	4%	32%	3%	25%	2%	23%
Secondary	9%	7%	32%	8%	24%	4%	13%
Tertiary	9%	8%	32%	12%	22%	6%	7%
<b>Income</b>							
Bottom 50%	11%	7%	32%	7%	19%	3%	17%
Middle 40%	7%	6%	34%	8%	25%	5%	13%
Top 10%	3%	3%	29%	13%	30%	8%	6%
<b>Gender</b>							
Women	9%	8%	34%	8%	22%	4%	12%
Men	7%	5%	29%	7%	25%	4%	17%
<b>Age</b>							
20-39	11%	7%	28%	11%	21%	4%	12%
40-59	7%	7%	34%	8%	24%	5%	14%
60+	4%	5%	35%	3%	28%	4%	19%
<b>Sector</b>							
Private/Mixed	4%	5%	30%	10%	36%	5%	9%
Public	11%	14%	45%	16%	18%	4%	6%
<b>Location</b>							
Urban	10%	7%	34%	9%	21%	4%	12%
Rural	5%	6%	29%	6%	28%	4%	18%

**Source:** authors' computations using Danish post-electoral surveys (see [wpid.world](http://wpid.world)).

**Note:** the table shows the average share of votes received by the main Danish parties by selected individual characteristics over the 2011-2015 period. 45% of public sector employees voted for the Social Democratic Party, compared to 30% of other active voters.



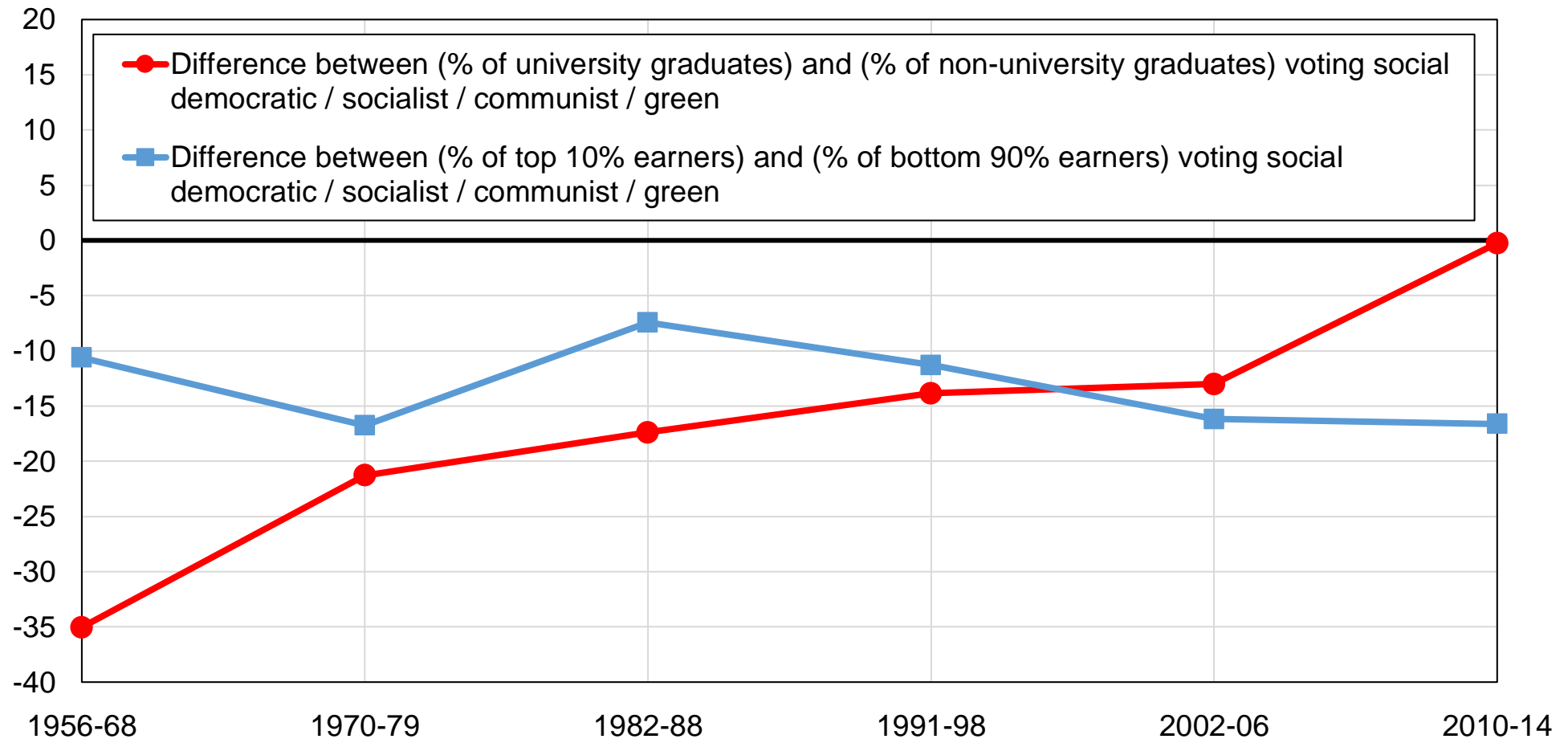
**Figure 4.7 - Election results in Sweden, 1948-2018**



**Source:** authors' computations using official election results (see wpid.world).

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by selected political parties or groups of parties in general elections held in Sweden between 1948 and 2018. The Social Democratic Party received 28% of votes in 2018.

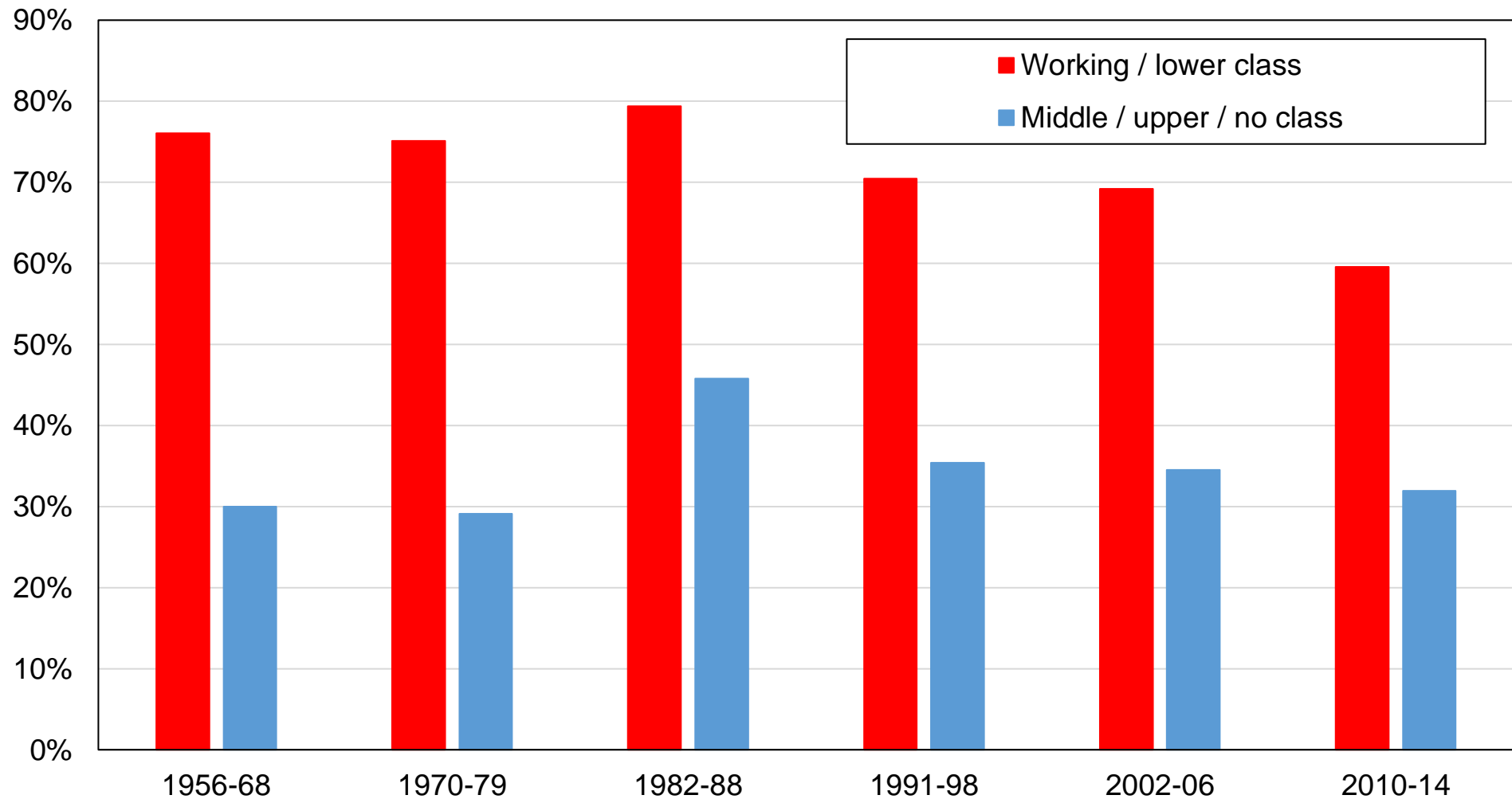
**Figure 4.8 - Towards a multi-elite party system in Sweden, 1956-2014**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys (see [wpid.world](http://wpid.world)).

**Note:** the figure shows the relative support of top-income and highest-educated voters for the Social Democratic Party, the Left Party, the Green Party, and affiliated parties. In the 1950s-1960s, highest-educated and top-income voters were less likely to vote social democratic / socialist / communist than low-income and lower-educated voters. The social democratic / socialist / communist / green vote has become increasingly associated with higher-educated voters, leading Sweden to get closer to becoming a multi-elite party system. Estimates control for income/education, gender, age, marital status, employment status, union membership and region.

**Figure 4.9 - Class voting in Sweden, 1956-2014**



**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys (see [wpid.world](http://wpid.world)).

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party, the Left Party, the Green Party, and affiliated parties by subjective social class. In the 1950s-1960s, 76% of voters identifying with the "working class" or "lower class" voted for these parties, compared to 60% in the 2010s.

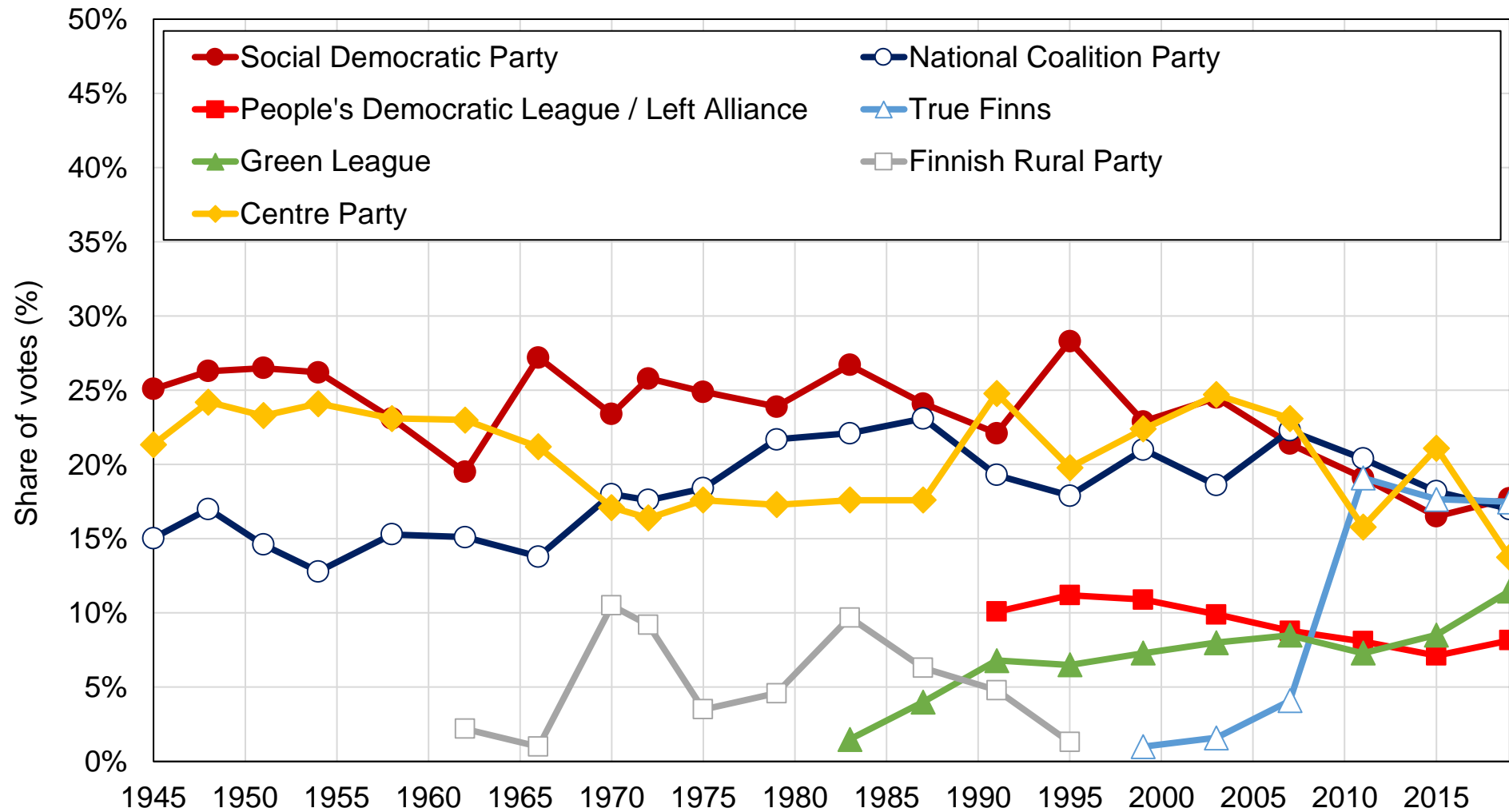
**Table 4.3 - The structure of political cleavages in Sweden, 2010-2014**

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

**Source:** authors' computations using Swedish electoral surveys (see [wpid.world](http://wpid.world)).

**Notes:** the table shows the average share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party, the Left Party, the Green Party, the Alliance Coalition (Moderate Party, Centre Party, Christian Democrats, and Liberals) and the Sweden Democrats over the 2010-2014 period. 38% of primary-educated voters voted for Social Democrats during this period, compared to 18% of university graduates.

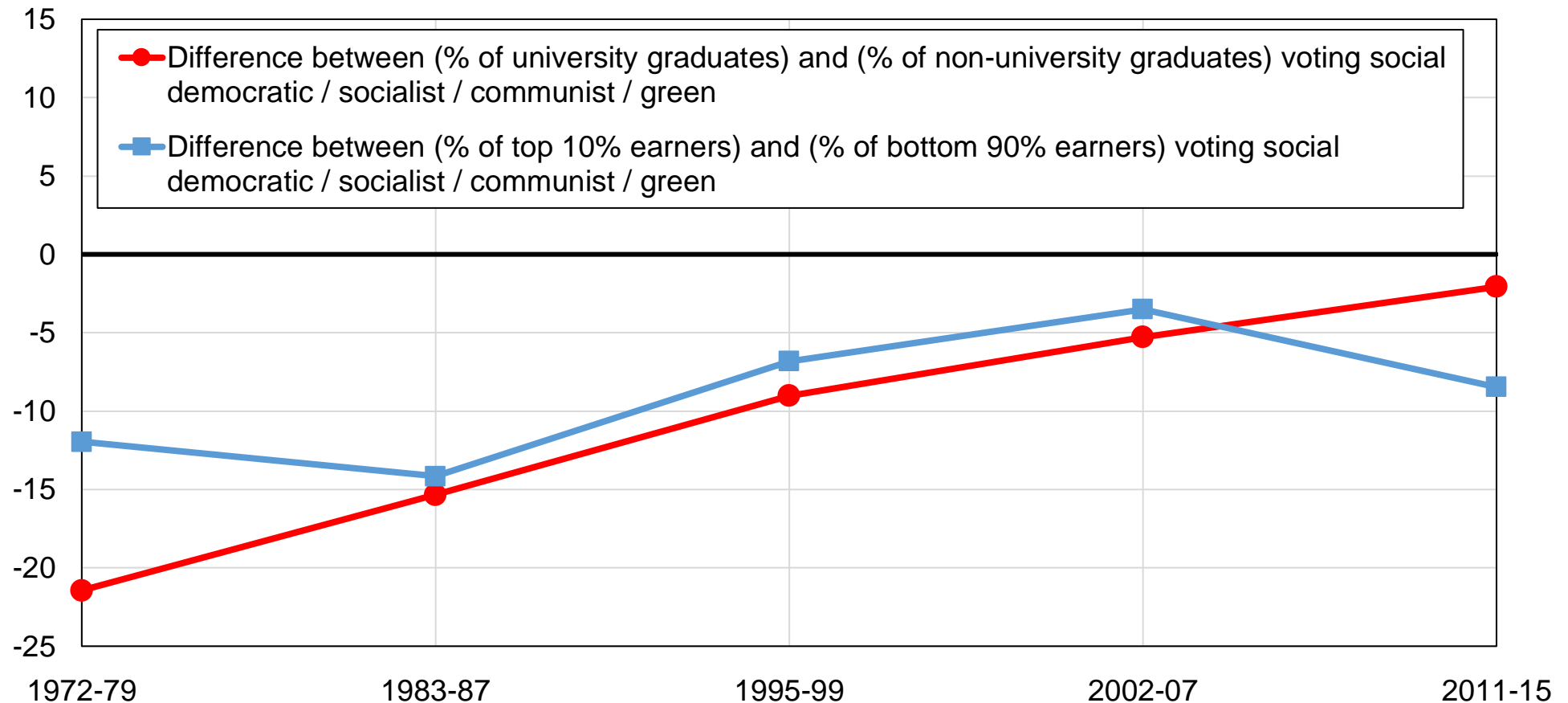
**Figure 4.10 - Election results in Finland, 1945-2019**



**Source:** authors' computations using official election results (see wpid.world).

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by selected political parties or groups of parties in parliamentary elections held in Finland between 1945 and 2019. The Social Democratic Party received 18% of votes in 2019.

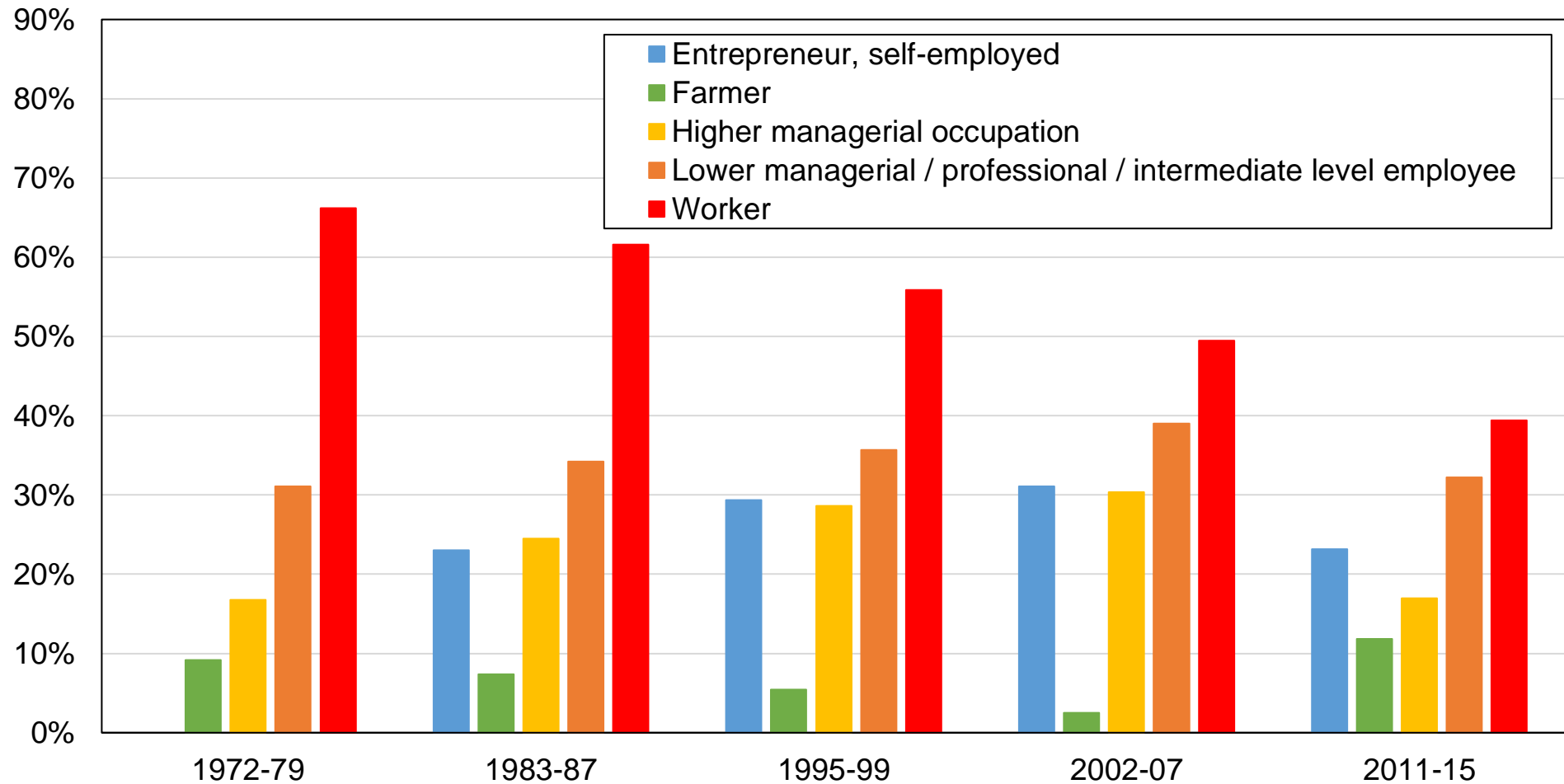
**Figure 4.11 - Towards a multi-elite party system in Finland, 1972-2015**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys (see [wpid.world](http://wpid.world)).

**Note:** the figure shows the relative support of top-income and highest-educated voters for the Social Democratic Party, the Finnish People's Democratic League / Left Alliance, the Green League, and affiliated parties. In the 1970s, top-income and highest-educated voters were less likely to vote social democratic / socialist / communist than low-income and lower-educated voters. The social democratic / socialist / communist / green vote has increasingly become associated with higher-educated voters, leading Finland to get closer to becoming a "multi-elite party system". Estimates control for income/education, gender, age, employment status, union membership, and region.

**Figure 4.12 - Vote for Social Democrats / Communists / Socialists / Greens by occupation in Finland, 1972-2015**



**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys (see [wpid.world](http://wpid.world)).

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party, the Finnish People's Democratic League / Left Alliance, the Green League, and affiliated parties by occupation. In the 1970s, 66% of workers voted social democratic / communist / socialist, compared to 9% of farmers. The "Entrepreneur and self-employed" category is not reported separately from other categories during the 1972-1979 period.

**Table 4.4 - The structure of political cleavages in Finland, 2011-2015**

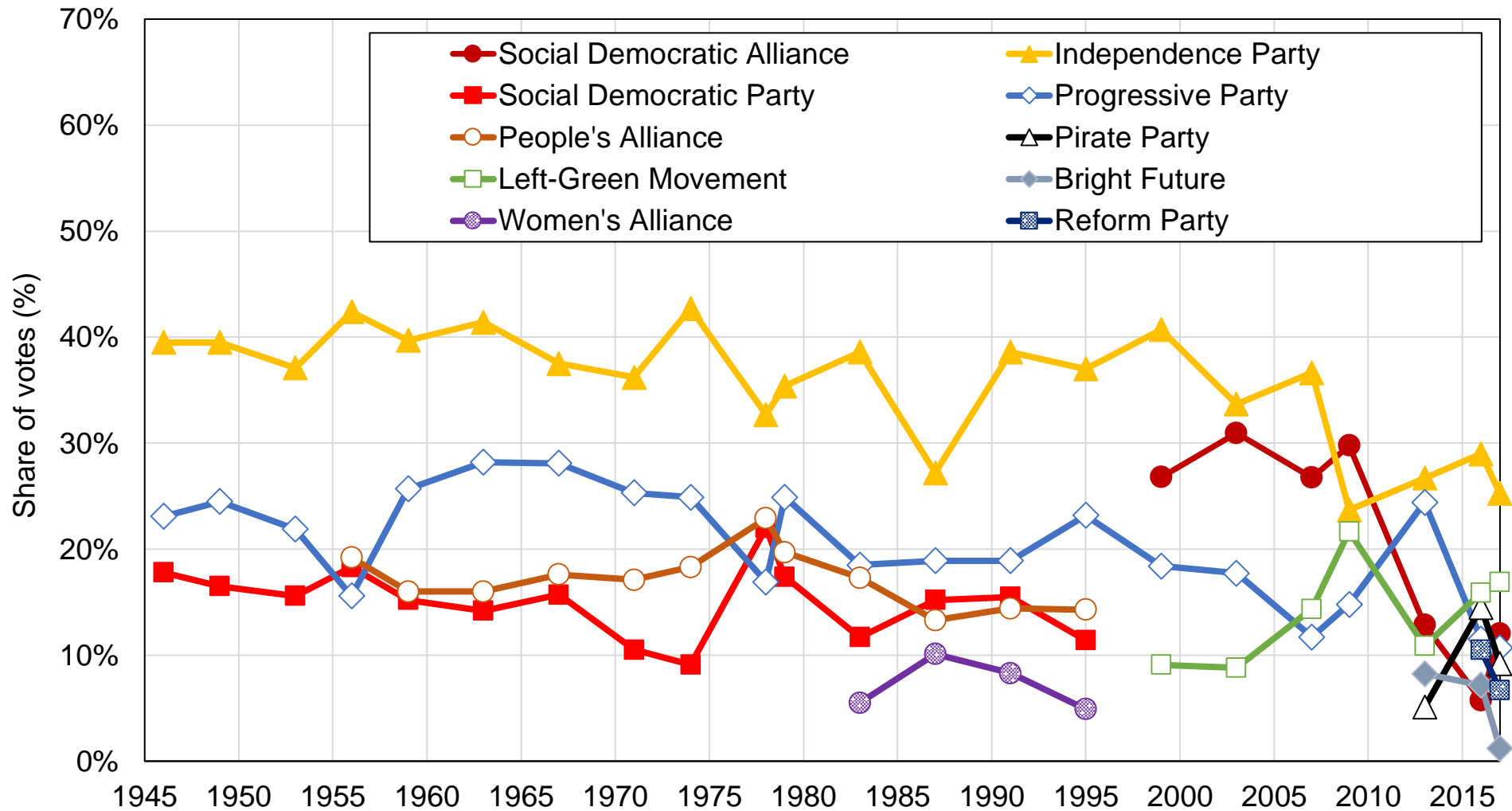
	Share of votes received (%)					
	Left Alliance	Green League	Social Democrats	Centre Party	National Coalition Party	True Finns
<b>Education</b>						
Primary	5%	3%	28%	19%	10%	24%
Secondary	8%	5%	21%	20%	14%	22%
Tertiary	8%	13%	10%	17%	31%	10%
<b>Income</b>						
Bottom 50%	9%	8%	20%	21%	12%	20%
Middle 40%	7%	8%	17%	17%	23%	18%
Top 10%	6%	9%	11%	16%	32%	15%
<b>Age</b>						
20-39	15%	17%	12%	17%	4%	9%
40-59	7%	15%	17%	20%	4%	8%
60+	3%	23%	23%	20%	6%	6%
<b>Gender</b>						
Women	9%	10%	17%	18%	18%	16%
Men	7%	6%	18%	19%	20%	21%
<b>Location</b>						
Urban	8%	9%	18%	15%	22%	17%
Rural	6%	4%	16%	28%	13%	22%

**Source:** authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys (see [wpid.world](http://wpid.world)).

**Notes:** the table shows the average share of votes received by the main Finnish parties by selected individual characteristics over the 2011-2015 period. 28% of primary-educated voters voted for Social Democrats, compared to 10% of university graduates.



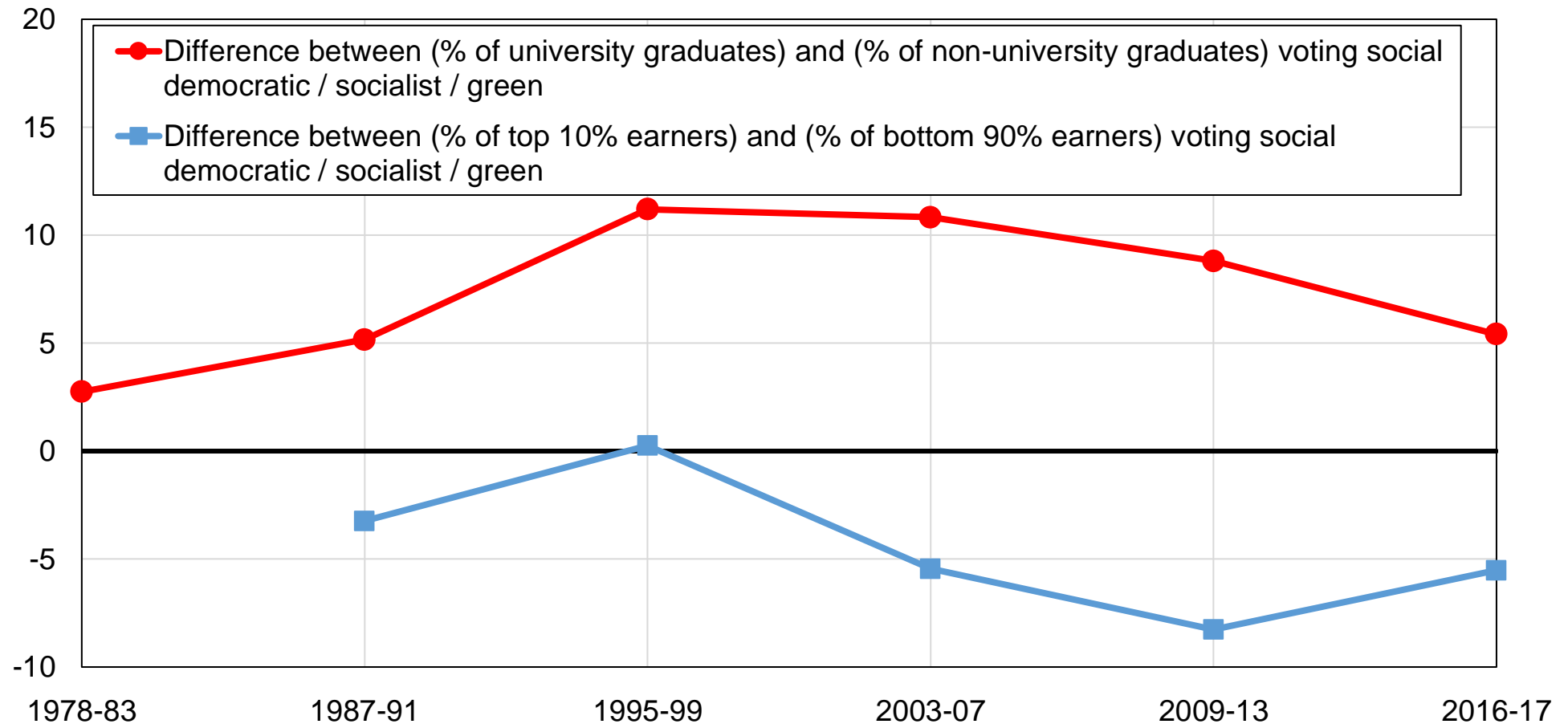
**Figure 4.13 - Election results in Iceland, 1946-2017**



**Source** : authors' computations using official election results (see [wpid.world](http://wpid.world)).

**Note** : the figure shows the share of votes received by selected political parties or groups of parties in parliamentary elections held in Iceland between 1946 and 2017. The Independence Party received 25% of votes in 2017.

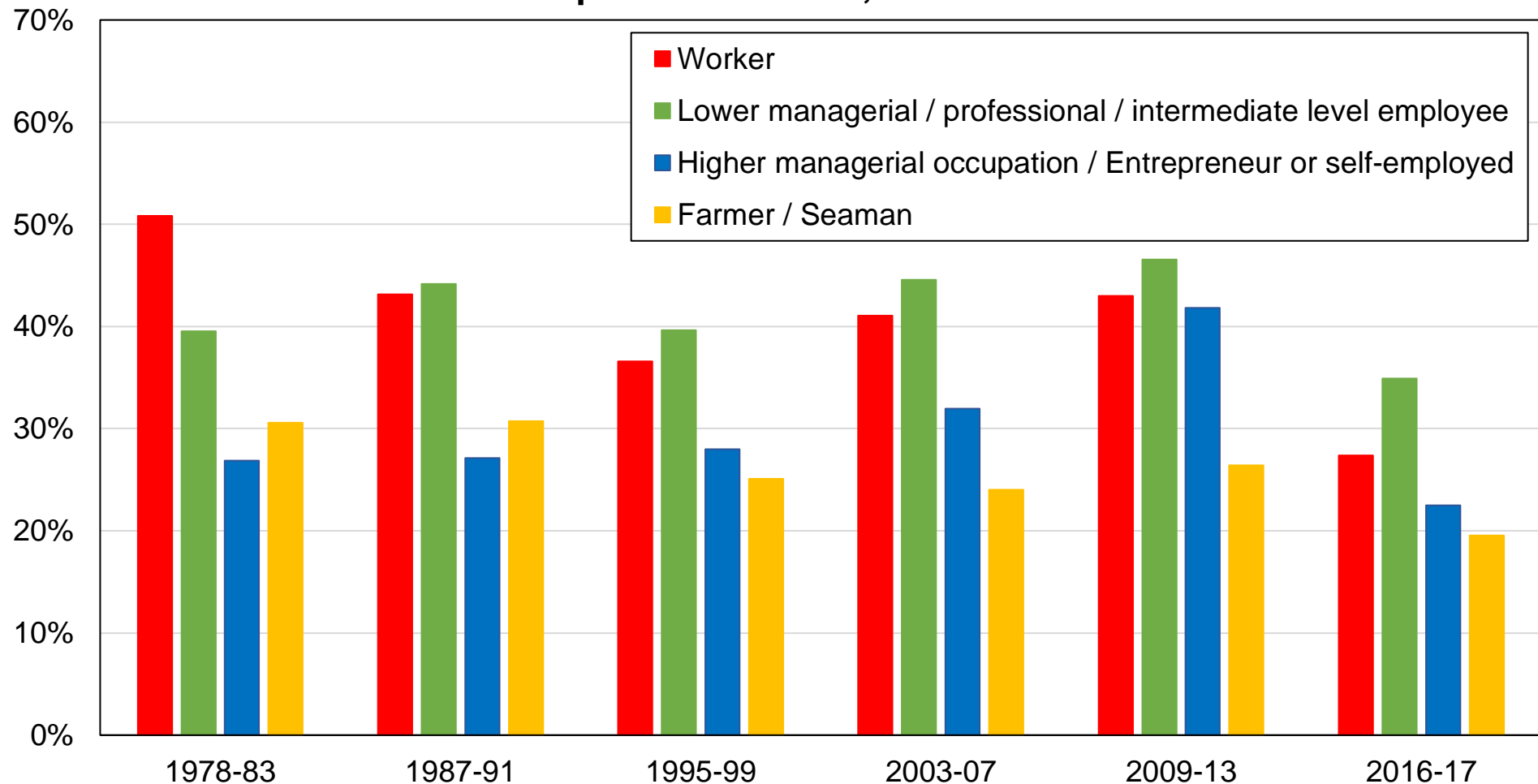
**Figure 4.14 - The persistence of a multi-elite party system in Iceland, 1978-2017**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys (see [wpid.world](http://wpid.world)).

**Note:** the figure shows the relative support of top-income and highest-educated voters for the Social Democratic Alliance, the Left-Green movement, and affiliated parties. Since the 1970s-1980s, the social democratic / socialist / green vote has always been associated with higher-educated voters, while top-income voters have remained more likely to vote for right-wing parties. Iceland has thus been characterized by a "multi-elite party system". Estimates control for income/education, gender, age, employment status, marital status, union membership, and region. The 1983 survey does not contain information on income.

**Figure 4.15 - Vote for Social Democrats / Socialists / Greens by occupation in Iceland, 1978-2017**



**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys (see [wpid.world](http://wpid.world)).

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Alliance, the Left-Green movement, and affiliated parties by occupation. In the 1970s, 51% of workers voted social democratic / socialist / green, compared to 27% of voters employed in higher managerial occupations or who were entrepreneurs or self-employed.

**Table 4.5 - The structure of political cleavages in Iceland, 2016-2017**

	Share of votes received (%)						
	Left-Green Movement	Social Democratic Alliance	Pirate Party	Bright Future	Reform Party	Progressive Party	Independence Party
<b>Education</b>							
Primary	15%	6%	8%	3%	5%	16%	27%
Secondary	16%	9%	9%	3%	7%	12%	30%
Tertiary	20%	12%	8%	6%	13%	7%	24%
<b>Income</b>							
Bottom 50%	21%	9%	10%	3%	6%	13%	23%
Middle 40%	15%	10%	8%	5%	11%	12%	28%
Top 10%	12%	12%	7%	4%	17%	11%	32%
<b>Gender</b>							
Women	23%	10%	6%	4%	8%	11%	24%
Men	12%	9%	10%	3%	10%	12%	30%
<b>Location</b>							
Urban	18%	9%	9%	5%	12%	7%	27%
Rural	16%	9%	7%	2%	4%	18%	28%
<b>Sector</b>							
Private/Mixed	14%	7%	9%	4%	12%	12%	30%
Public	26%	13%	7%	5%	8%	11%	19%
<b>EU Membership</b>							
Against	13%	3%	6%	2%	5%	16%	40%
Pro	18%	22%	16%	8%	17%	6%	7%

**Source:** authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys (see [wpid.world](http://wpid.world)).

**Notes:** the table shows the average share of votes received by the main Icelandic parties by selected individual characteristics over the 2016-2017 period. 22% of voters favorable to Iceland joining the European Union voted for the Social Democratic Alliance during this period, compared to 3% of voters opposed to Iceland joining the EU.