

Chapter 4. "Changing Party Systems, Socio-Economic Cleavages and Nationalism in Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden, 1956-2017"

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Appendix B: Denmark figures, tables and raw results

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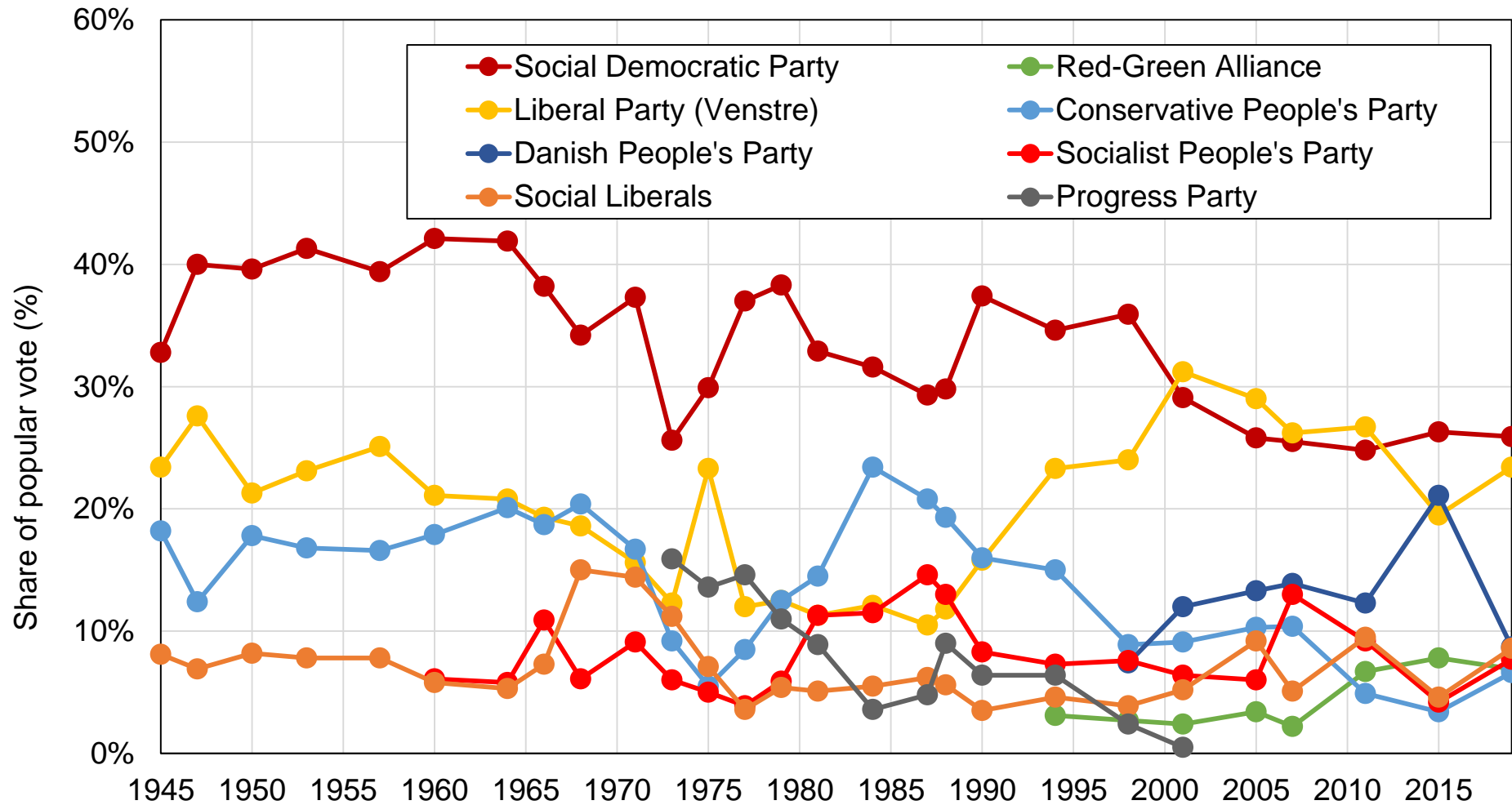
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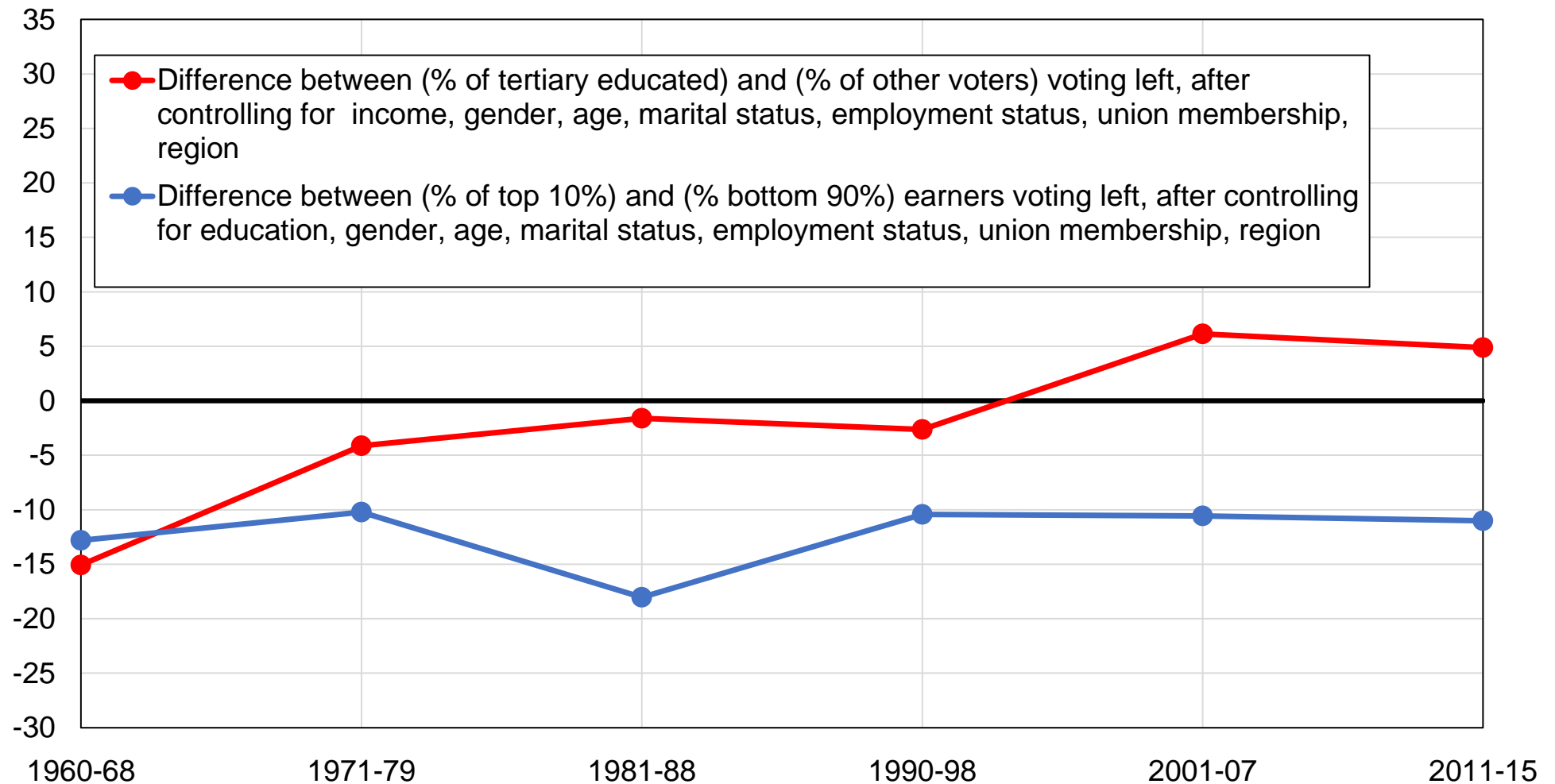
Figure B1 - Election results in Denmark, 1945-2019



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

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

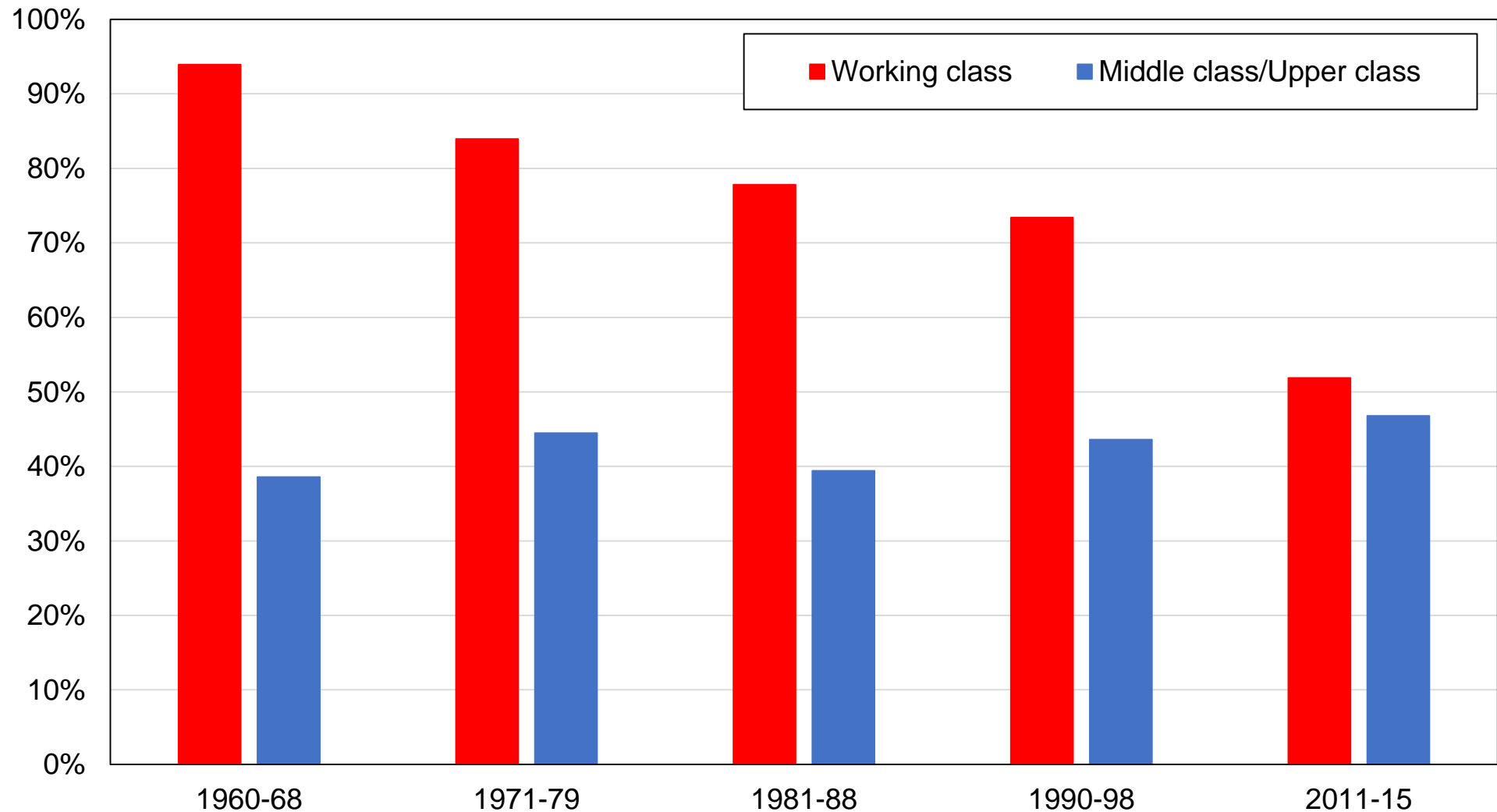
Figure B2 - The emergence of a multi-elite party system in Denmark



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

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

Figure B3 - Vote for the left by perceived social class in Denmark



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

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by perceived social class. Notice that information about class is not available in 2001-2007.

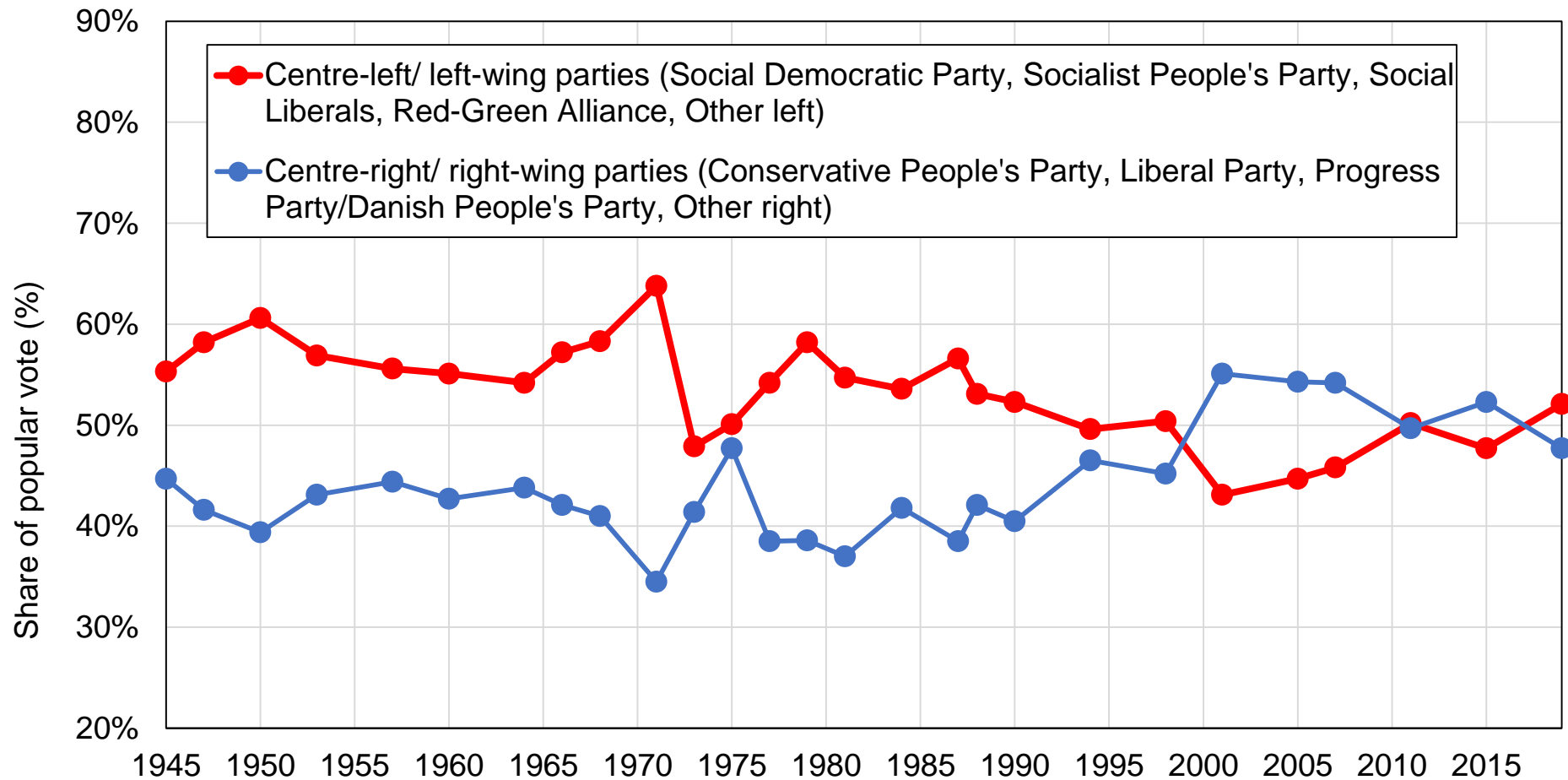
Table B1- The structure of political cleavages in Denmark, 2011-2015

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

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

Notes: the table shows the average share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party, the Social Liberal Party, the Socialist People's Party, the Red-Green Alliance, the Conservative, the Venstre and the Danish People's Party by selected individual characteristics over the 2011-2015 period.

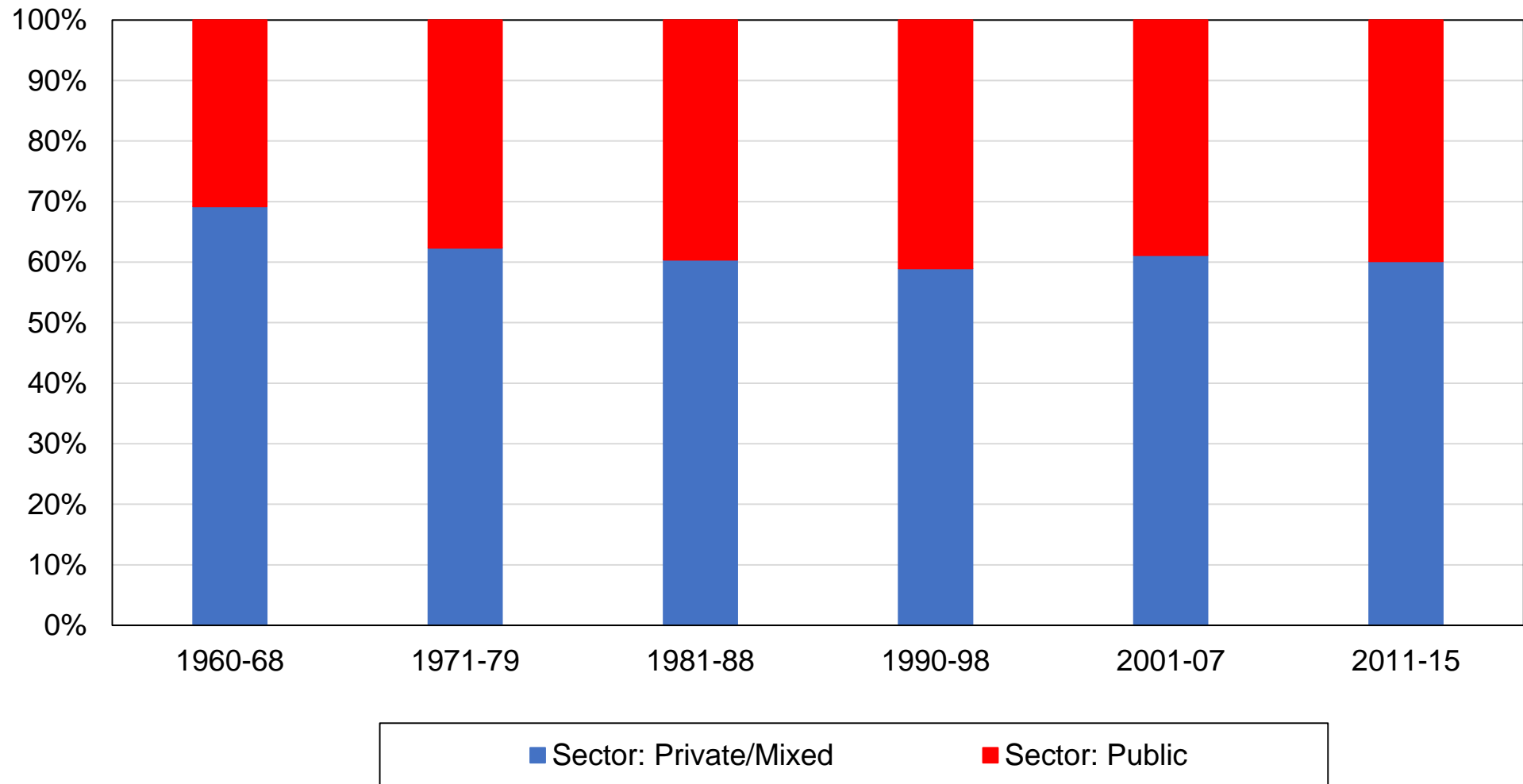
Figure BA1 - Election results by groups in Denmark, 1945-2019



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

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

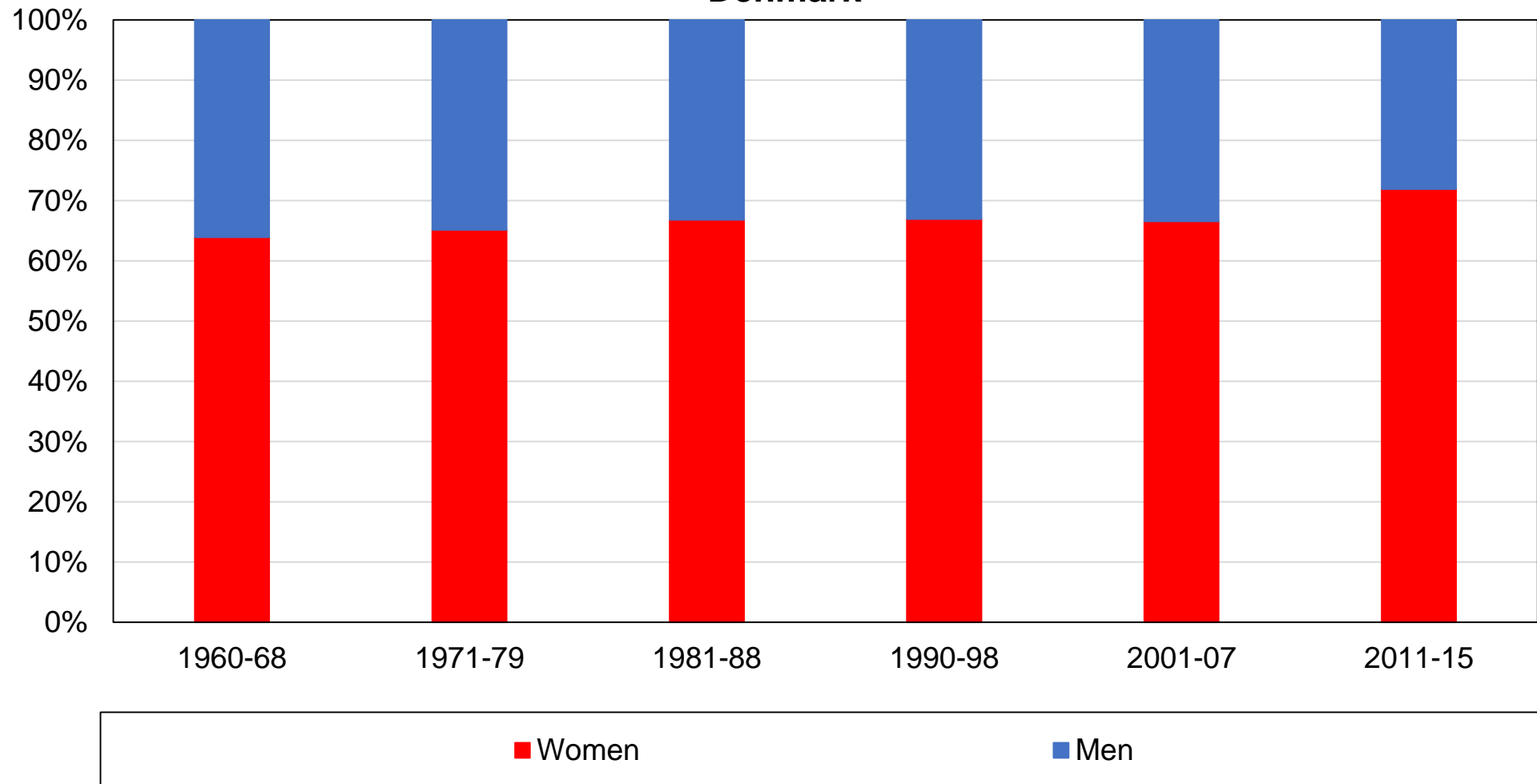
Figure BA2 - The evolution of employment sector in Denmark



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

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

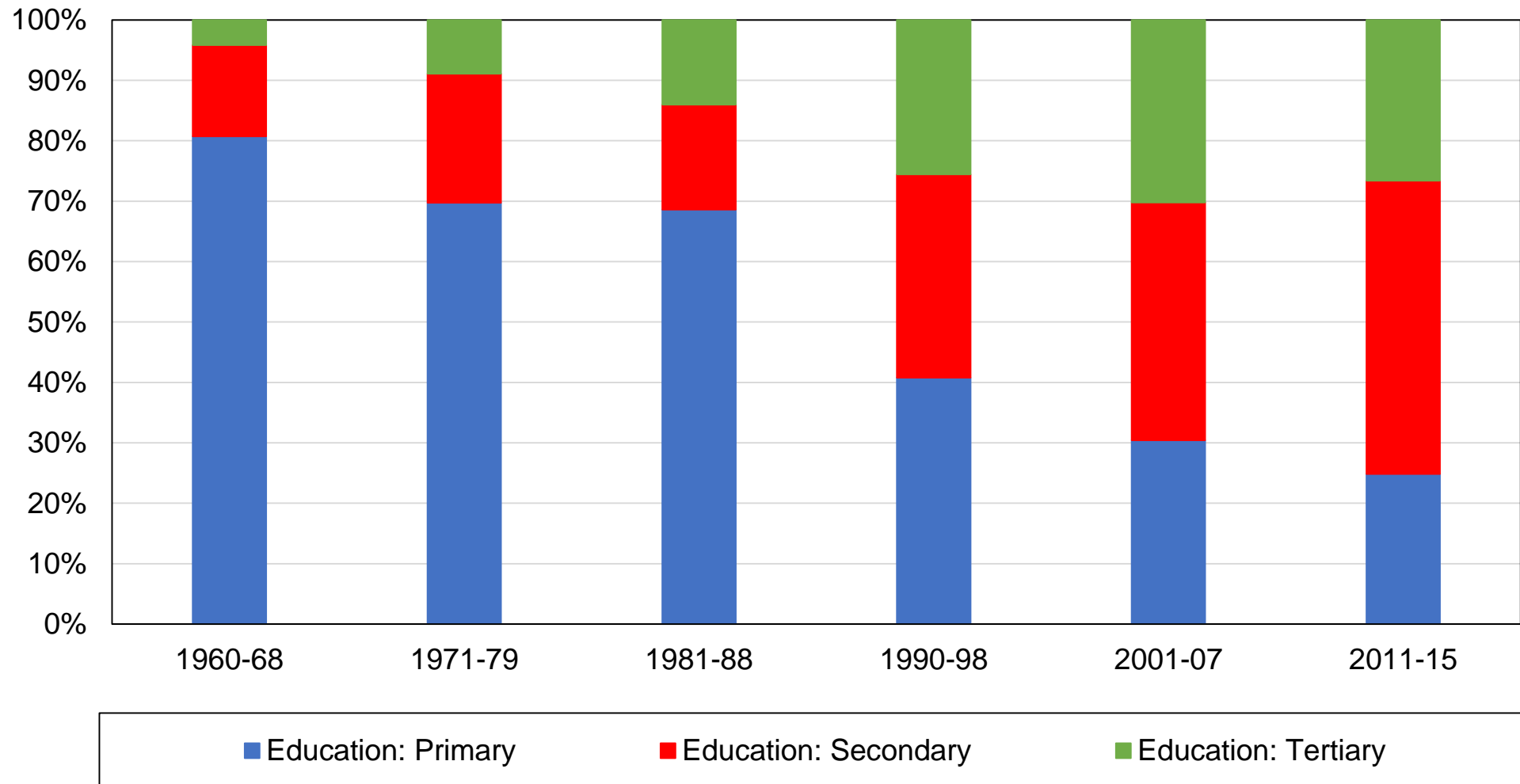
Figure BA3 - The evolution of public sector employment by gender in Denmark



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

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

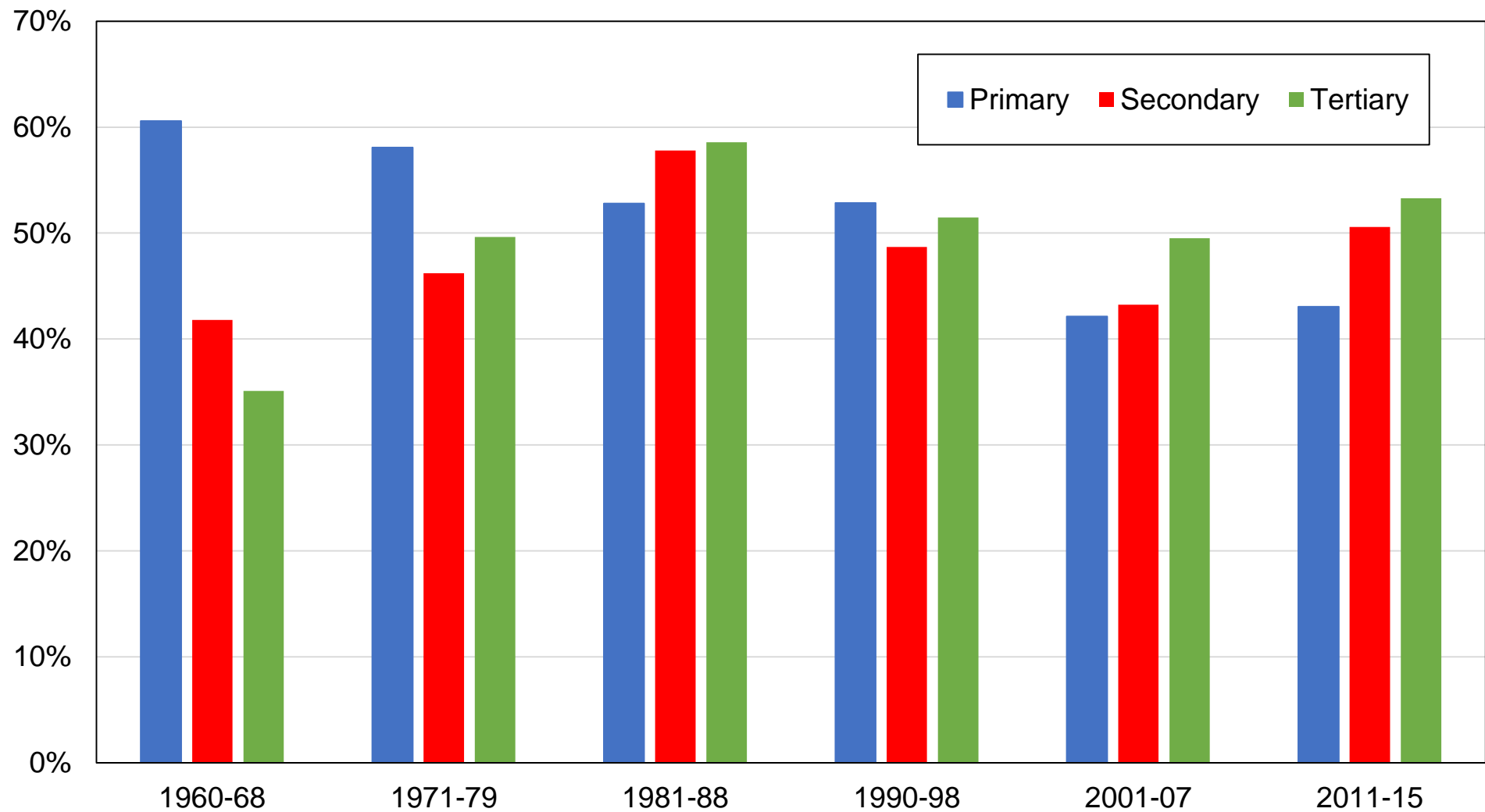
Figure BA4 - The evolution of education in Denmark



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

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

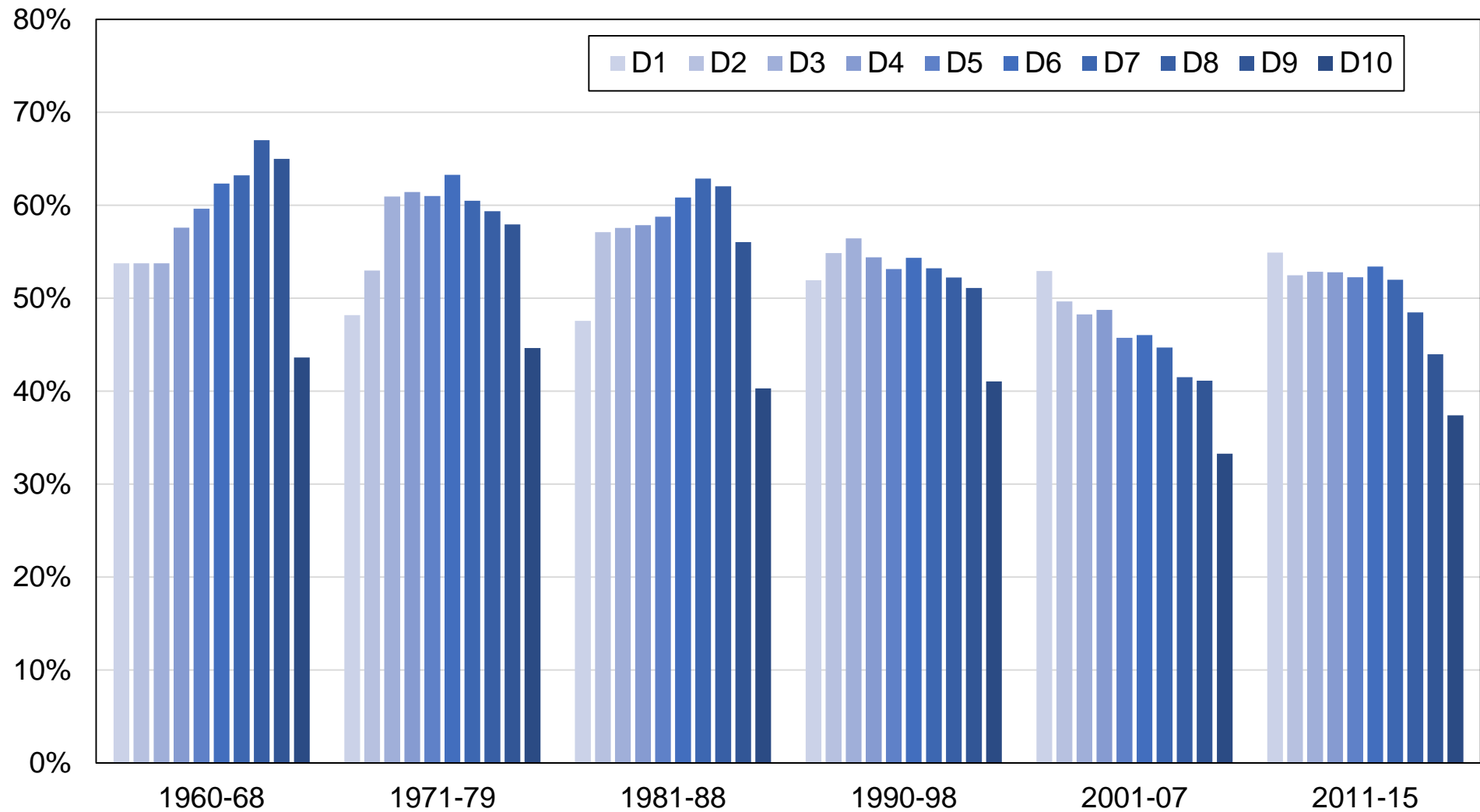
Figure BB1 - Vote for left by education level in Denmark



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

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

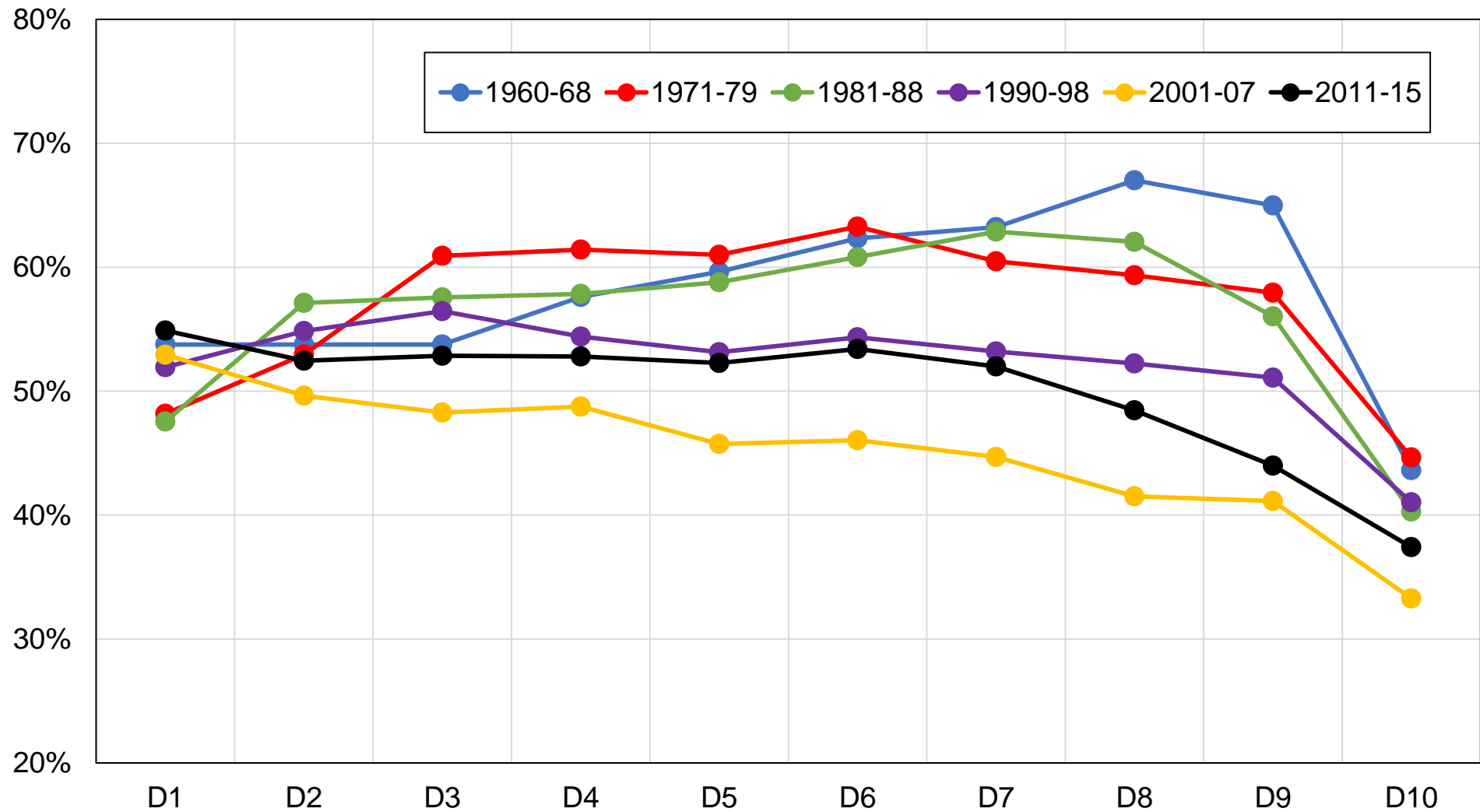
Figure BB2 - Vote for the left by income decile in Denmark (bars)



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

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

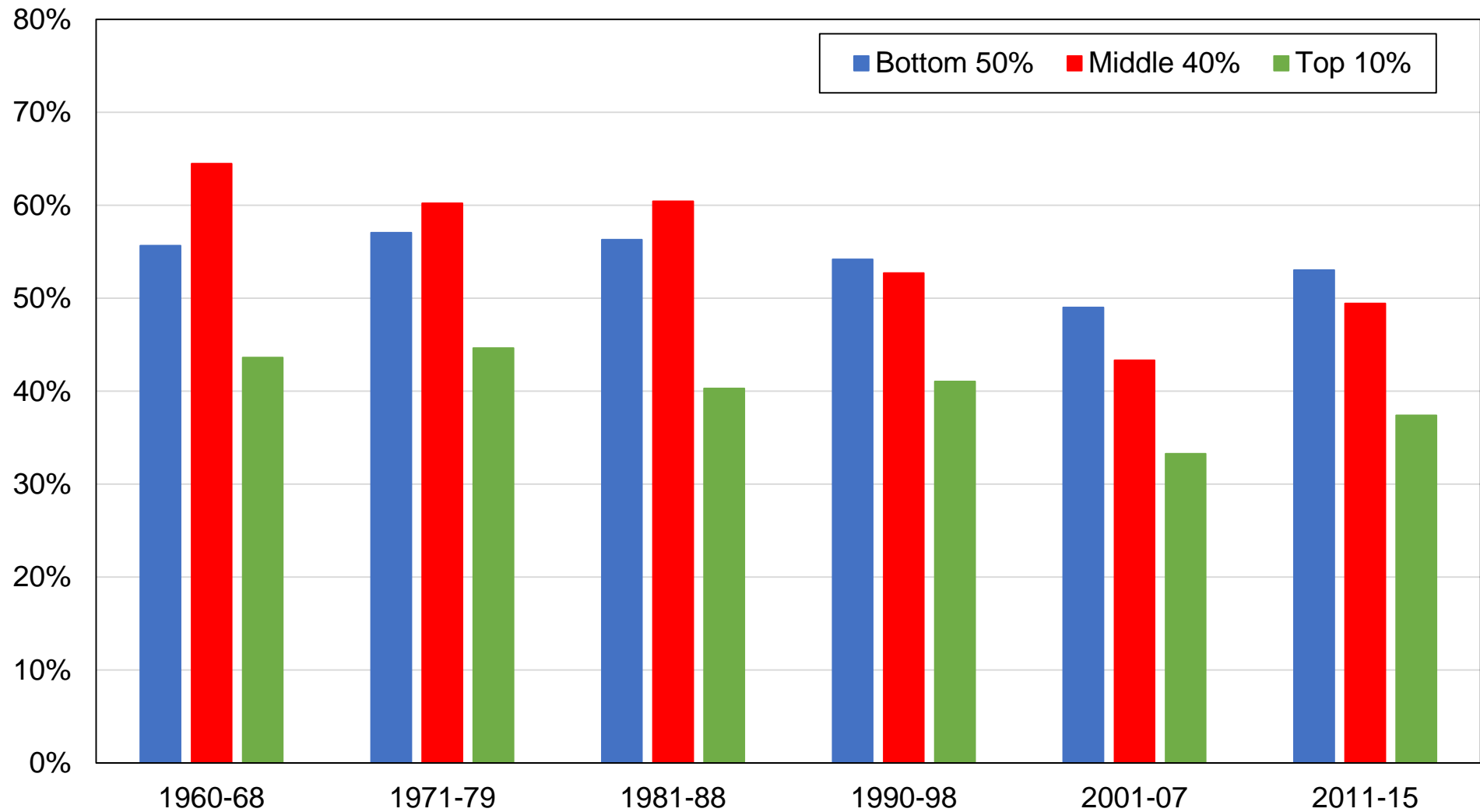
Figure BB3 - Vote for the left by income decile in Denmark (lines)



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

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

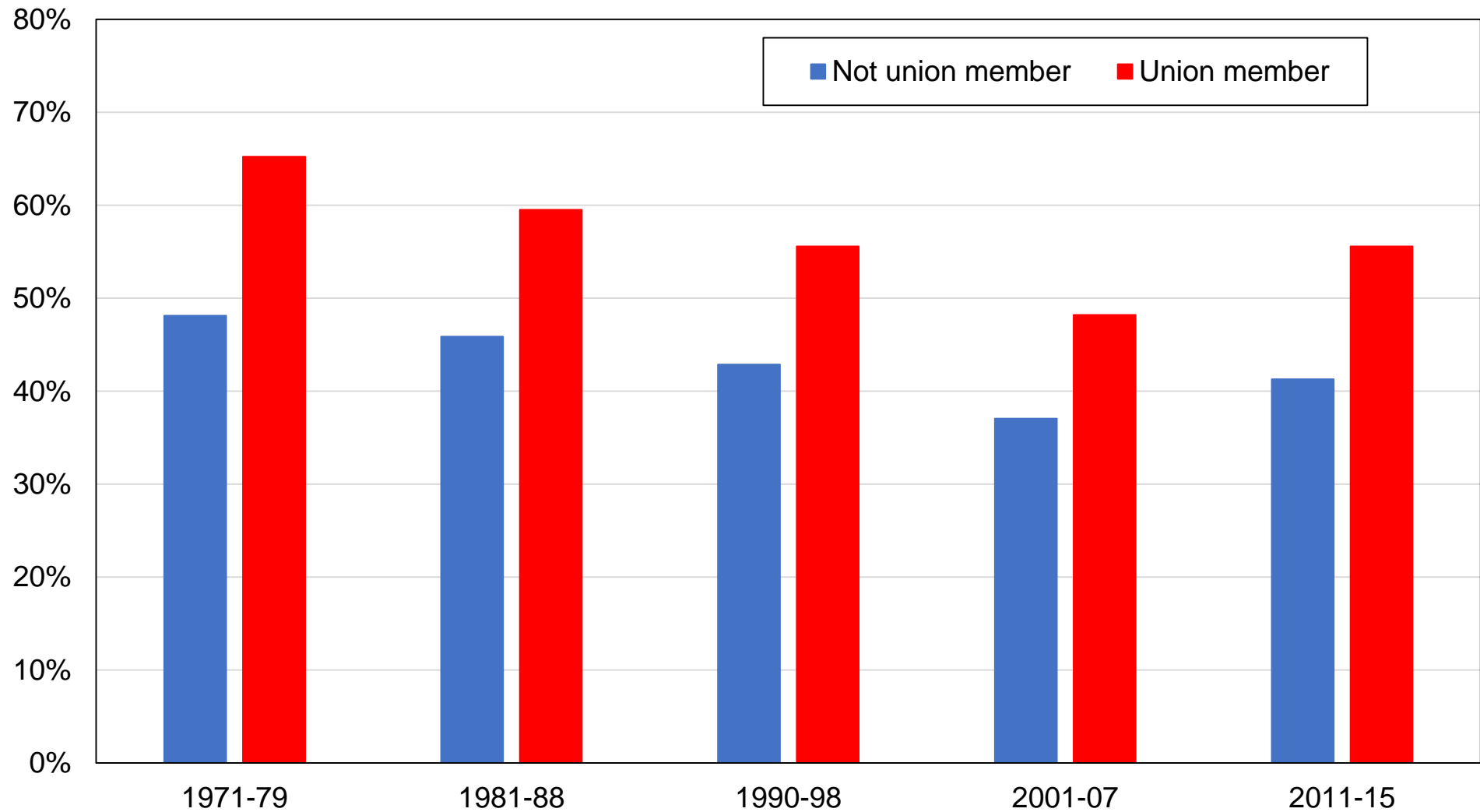
Figure BB4 - Vote for the left by income group in Denmark



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

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

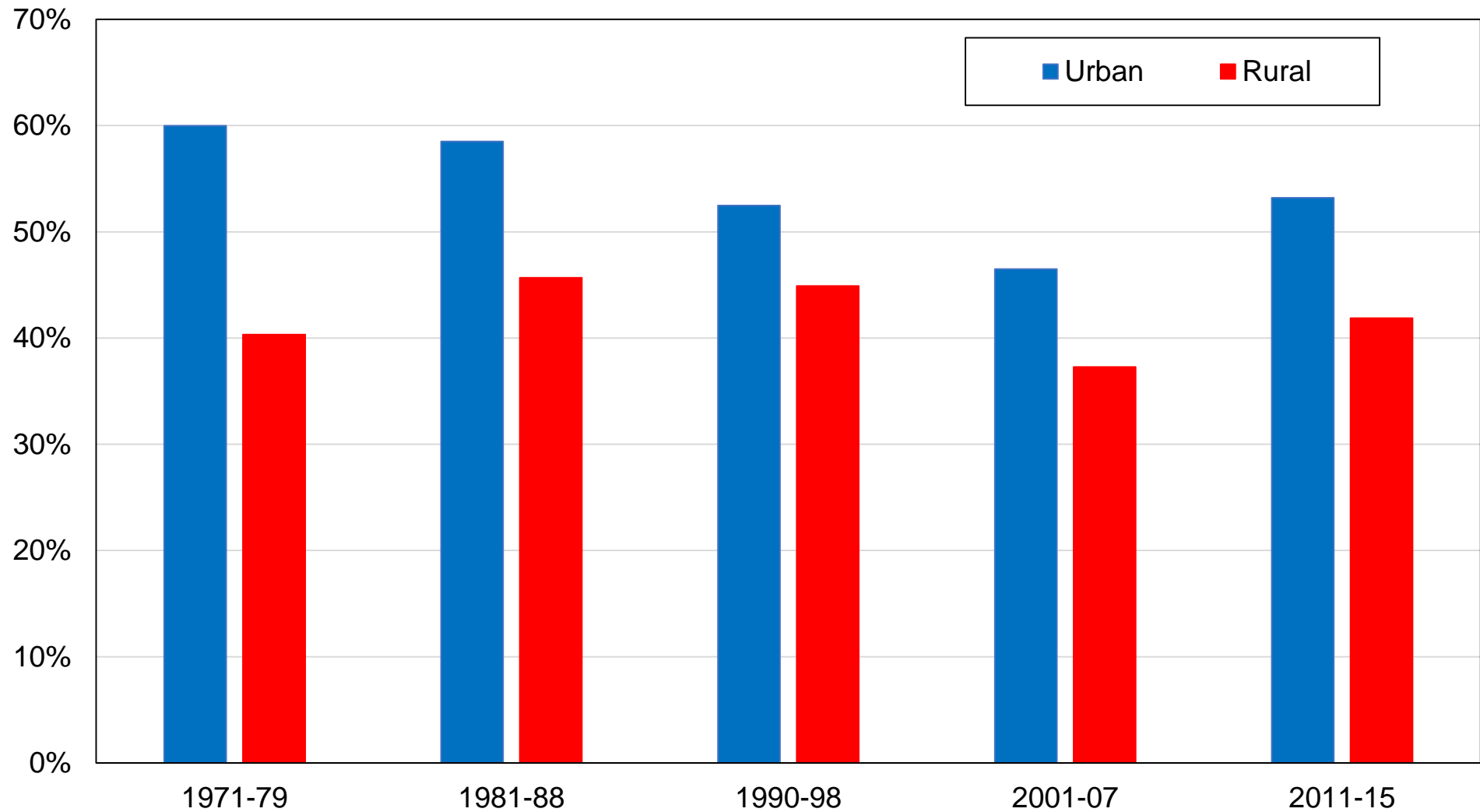
Figure BB5 - Vote the left by union membership in Denmark



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

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

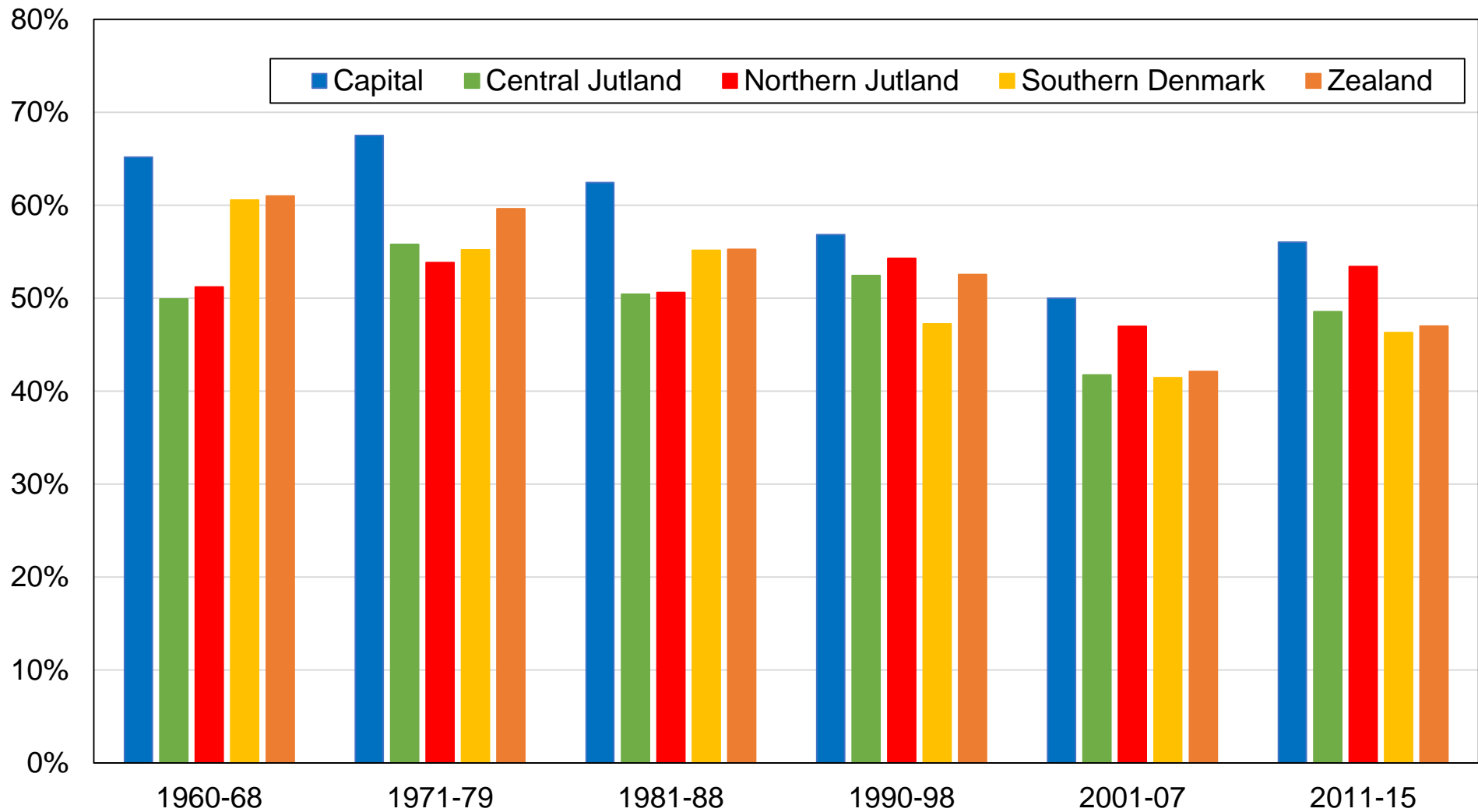
Figure BB6 - Vote for the left by location in Denmark



Source: authors' computations Danish post-electoral surveys.

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

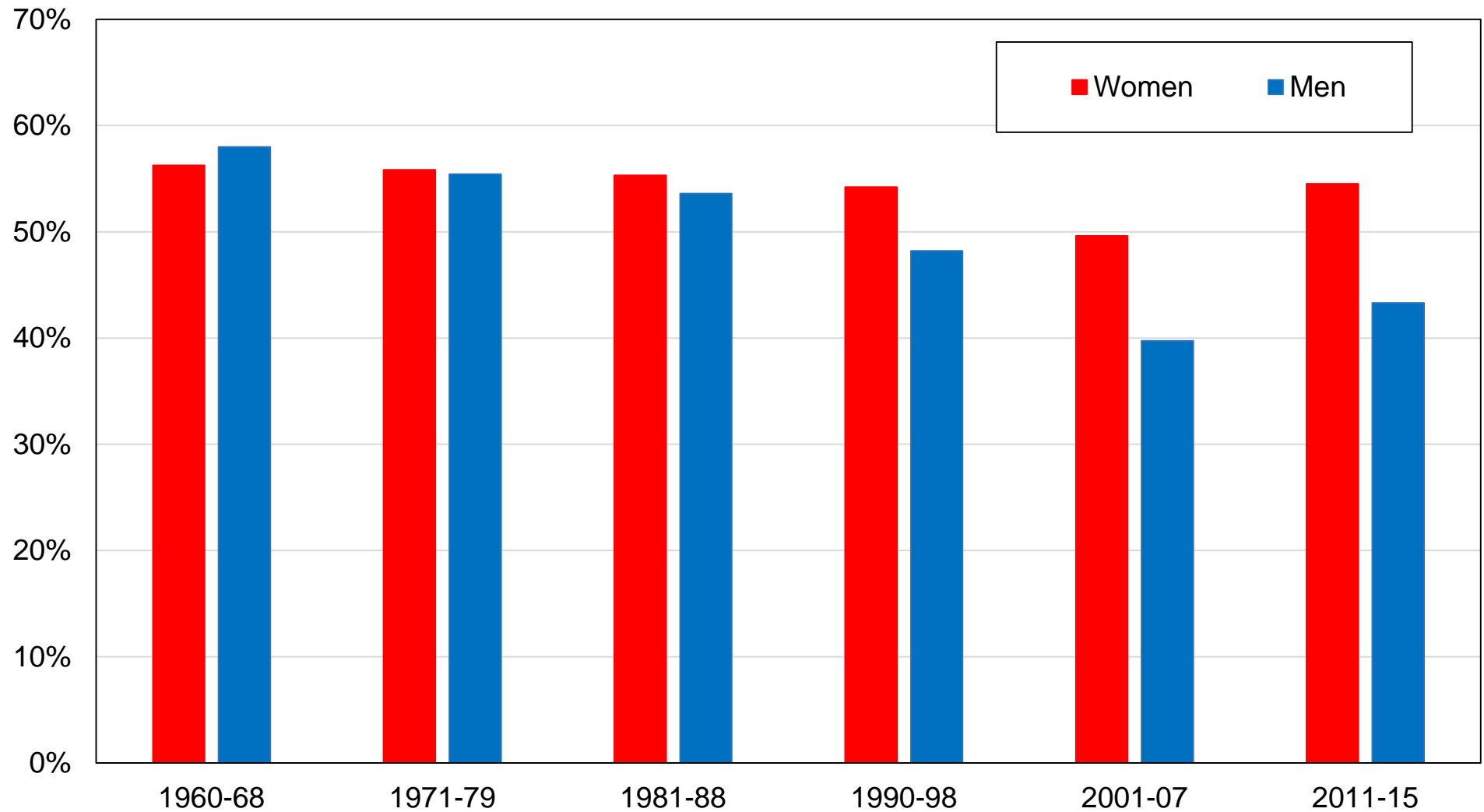
Figure BB7 - Vote for the left by region of residence in Denmark



Source: authors' computations Danish post-electoral surveys.

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

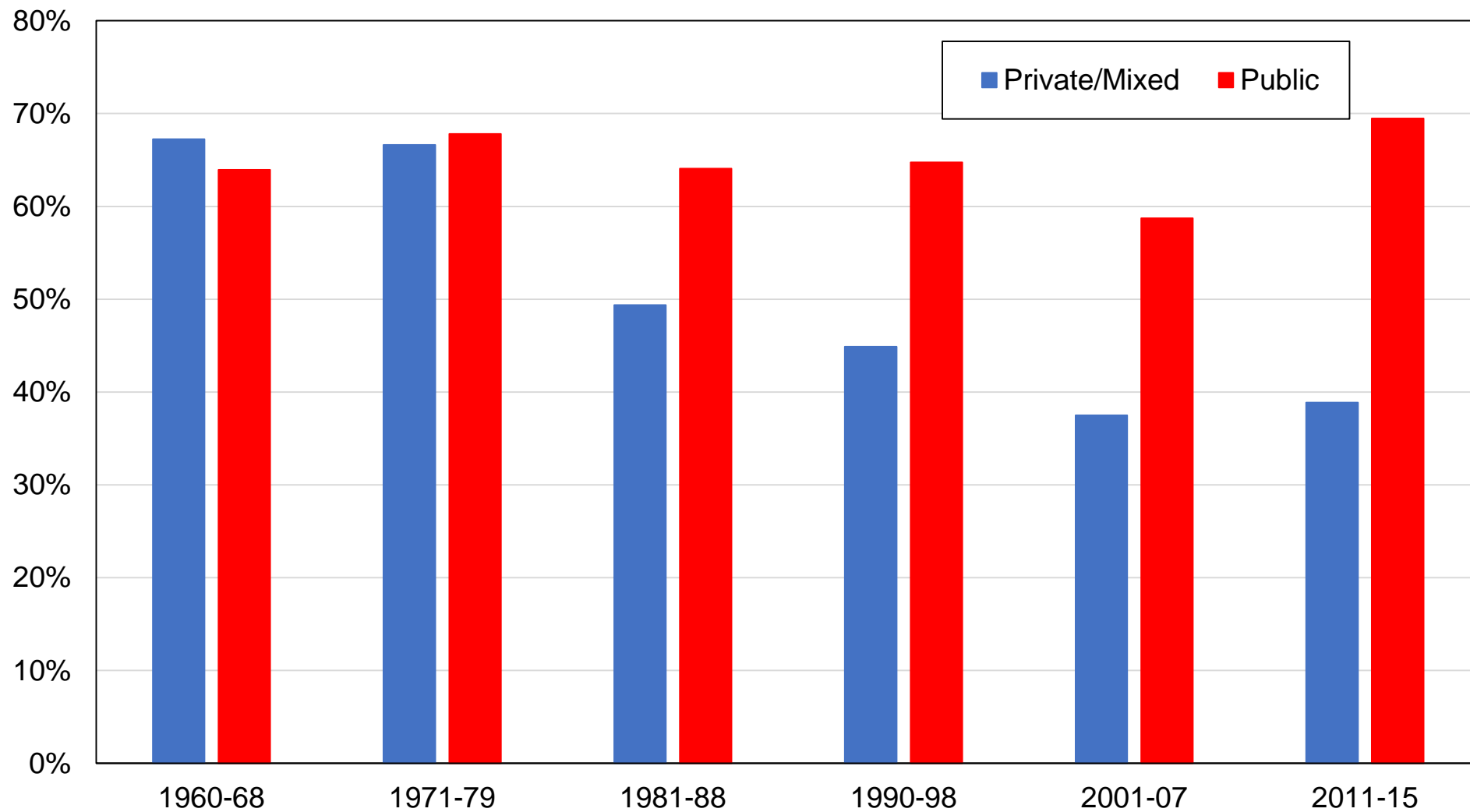
Figure BB8 - Vote for the left by gender in Denmark



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

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

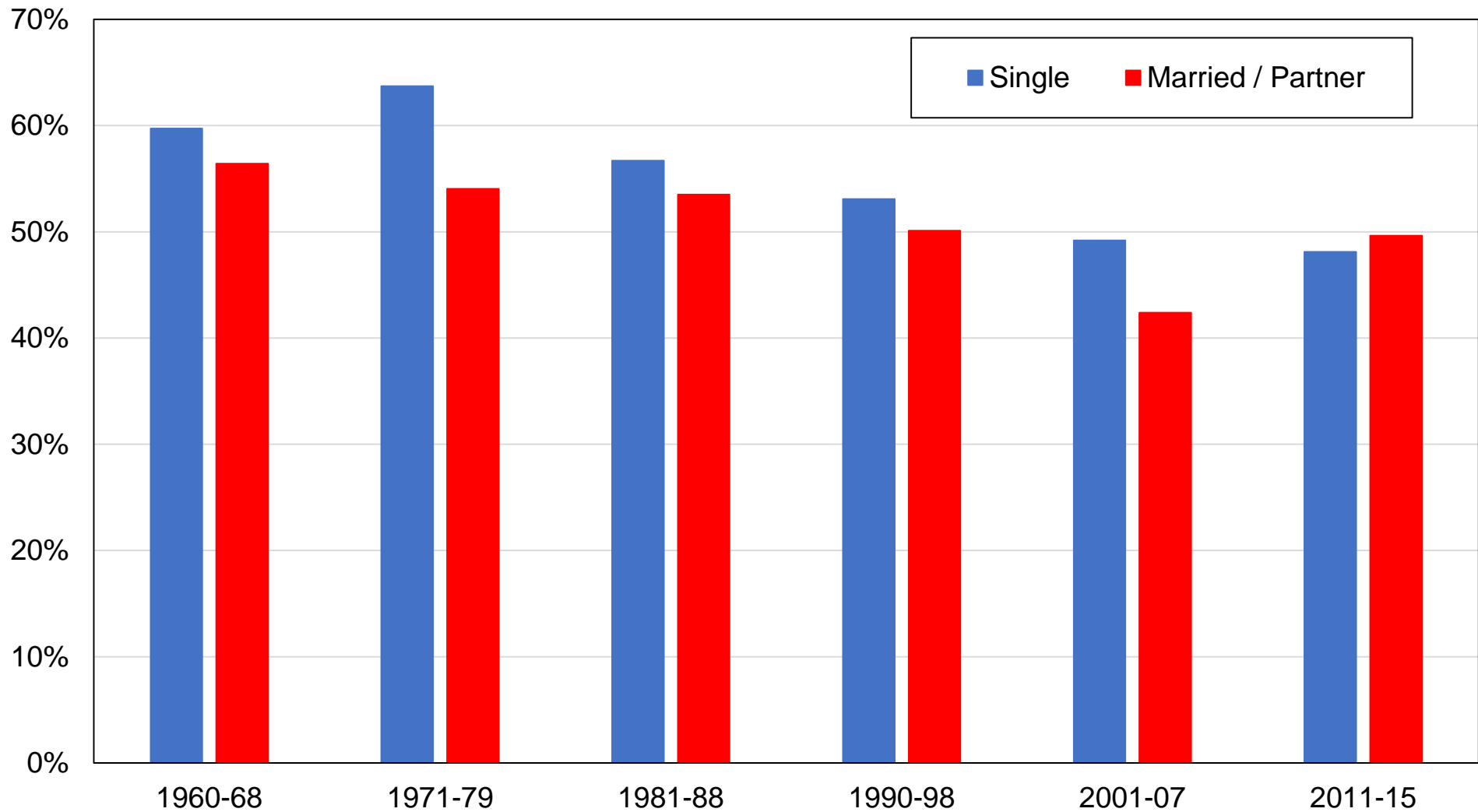
Figure BB9 - Vote for the left by sector of employment in Denmark



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

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

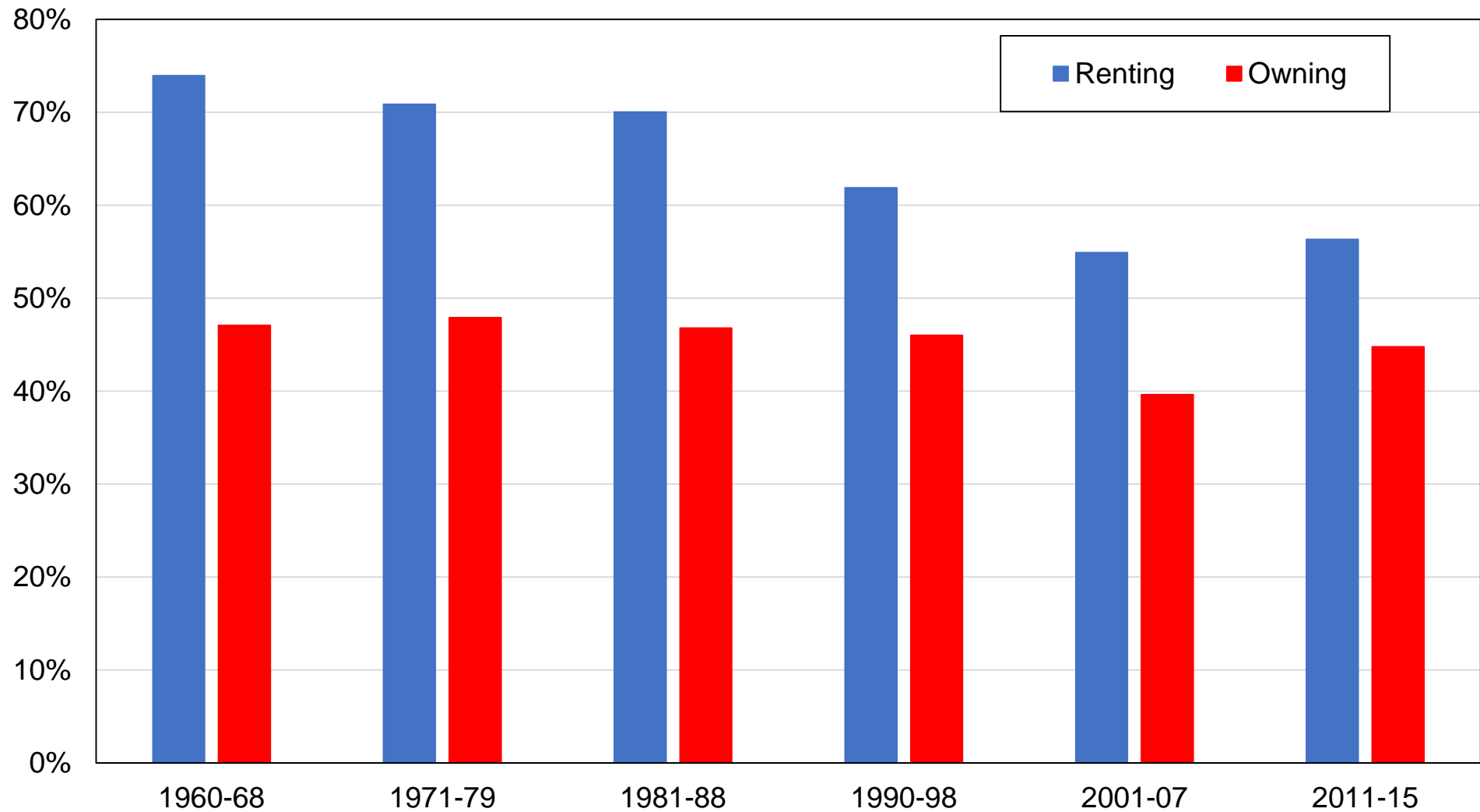
Figure BB10 - Vote for the left by marital status in Denmark



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

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

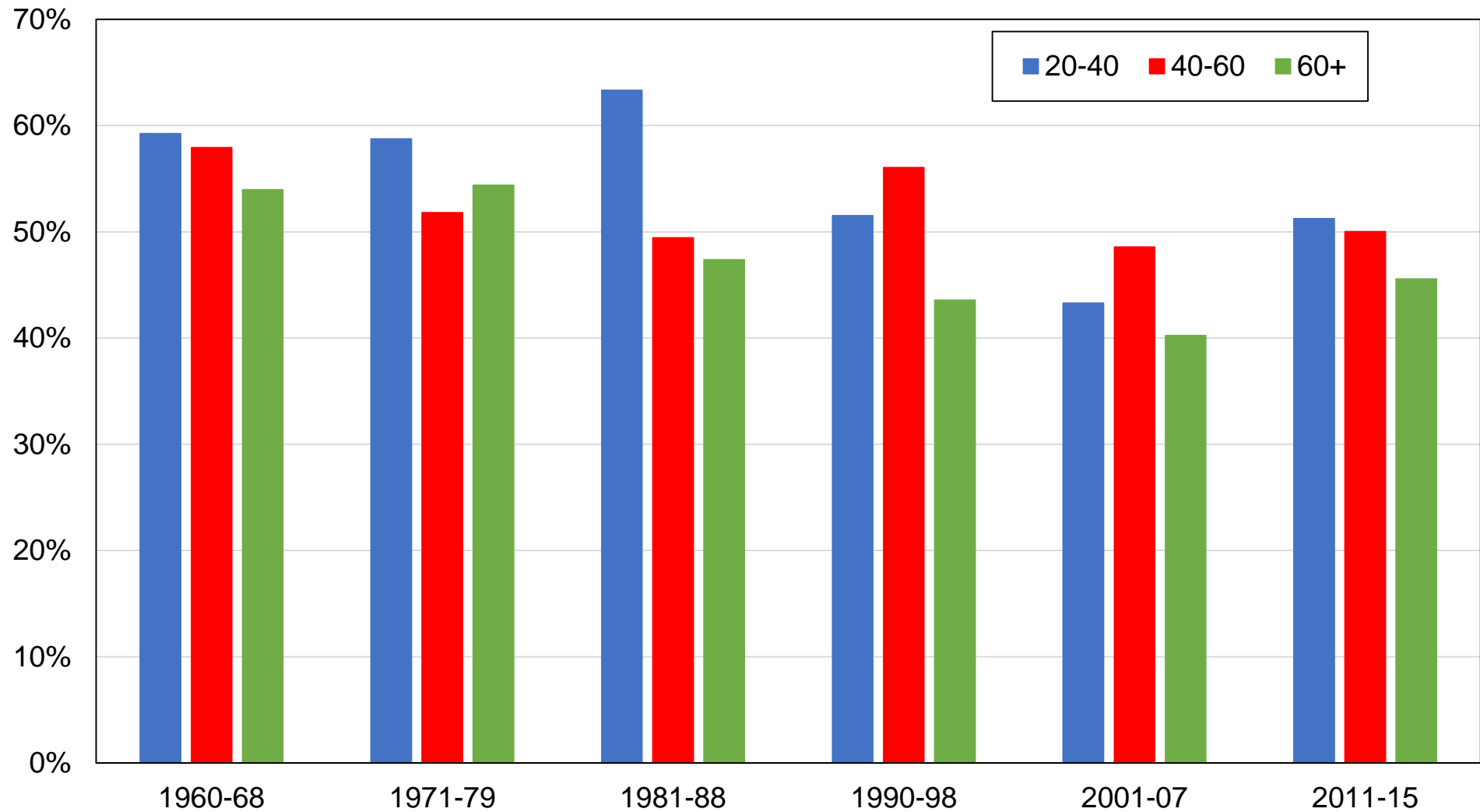
Figure BB11 - Vote for the left by home ownership status in Denmark



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

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

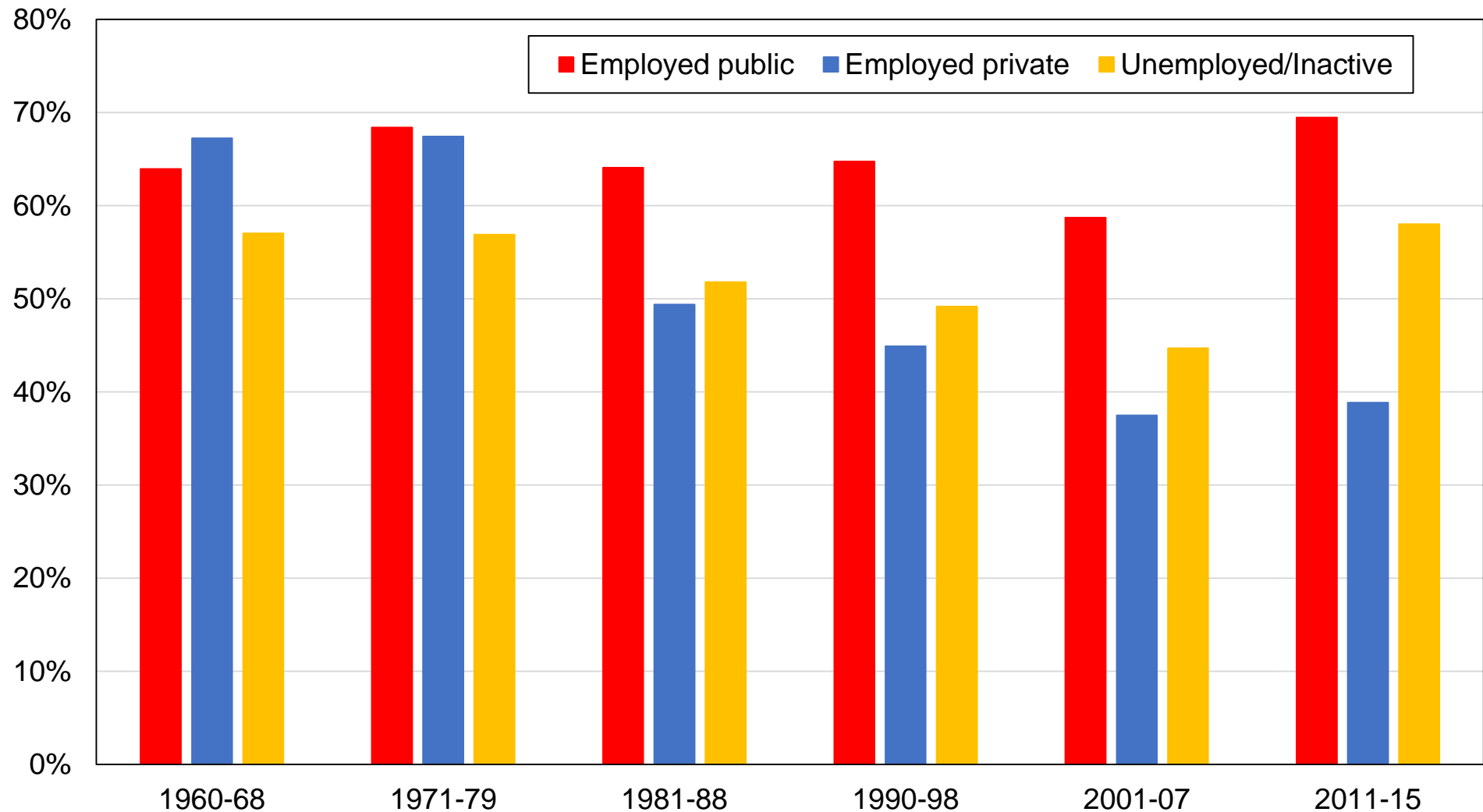
Figure BB12 - Vote for the left by age group in Denmark



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

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

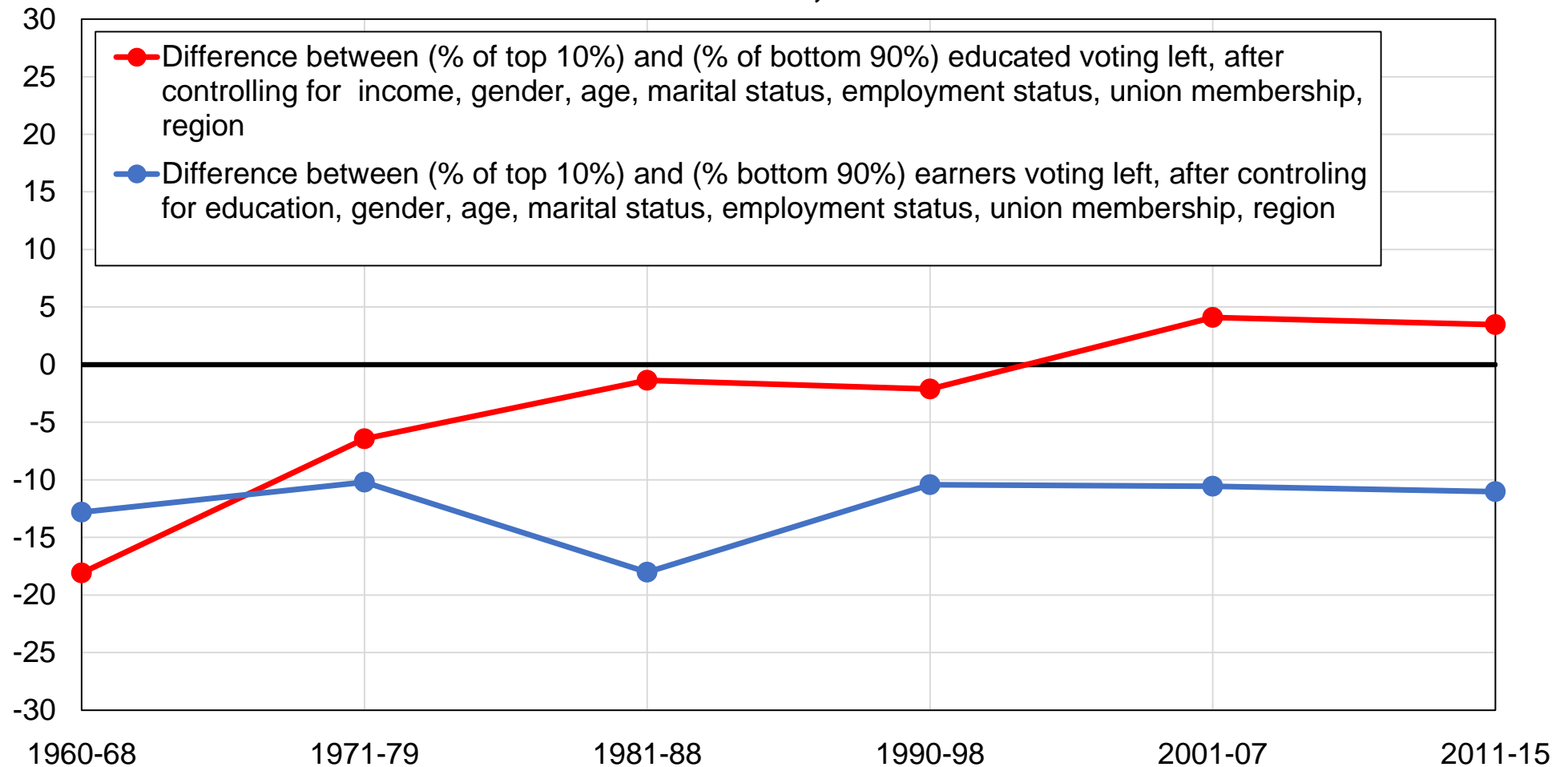
Figure BB13 - Vote for the left by employment status in Denmark



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

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

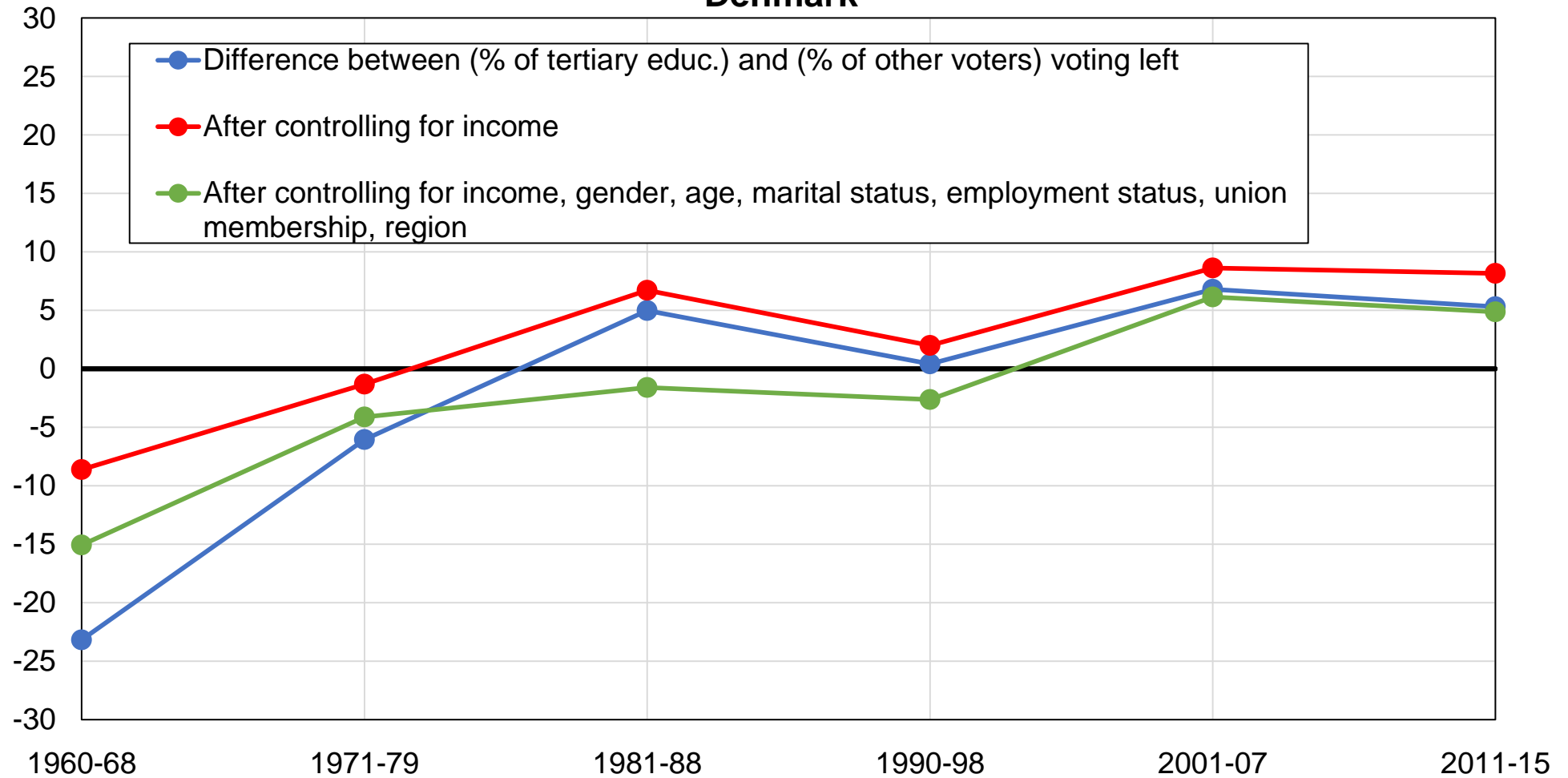
Figure BB14 - Vote for the left among highest-educated and top-income voters in Denmark, after controls



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

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

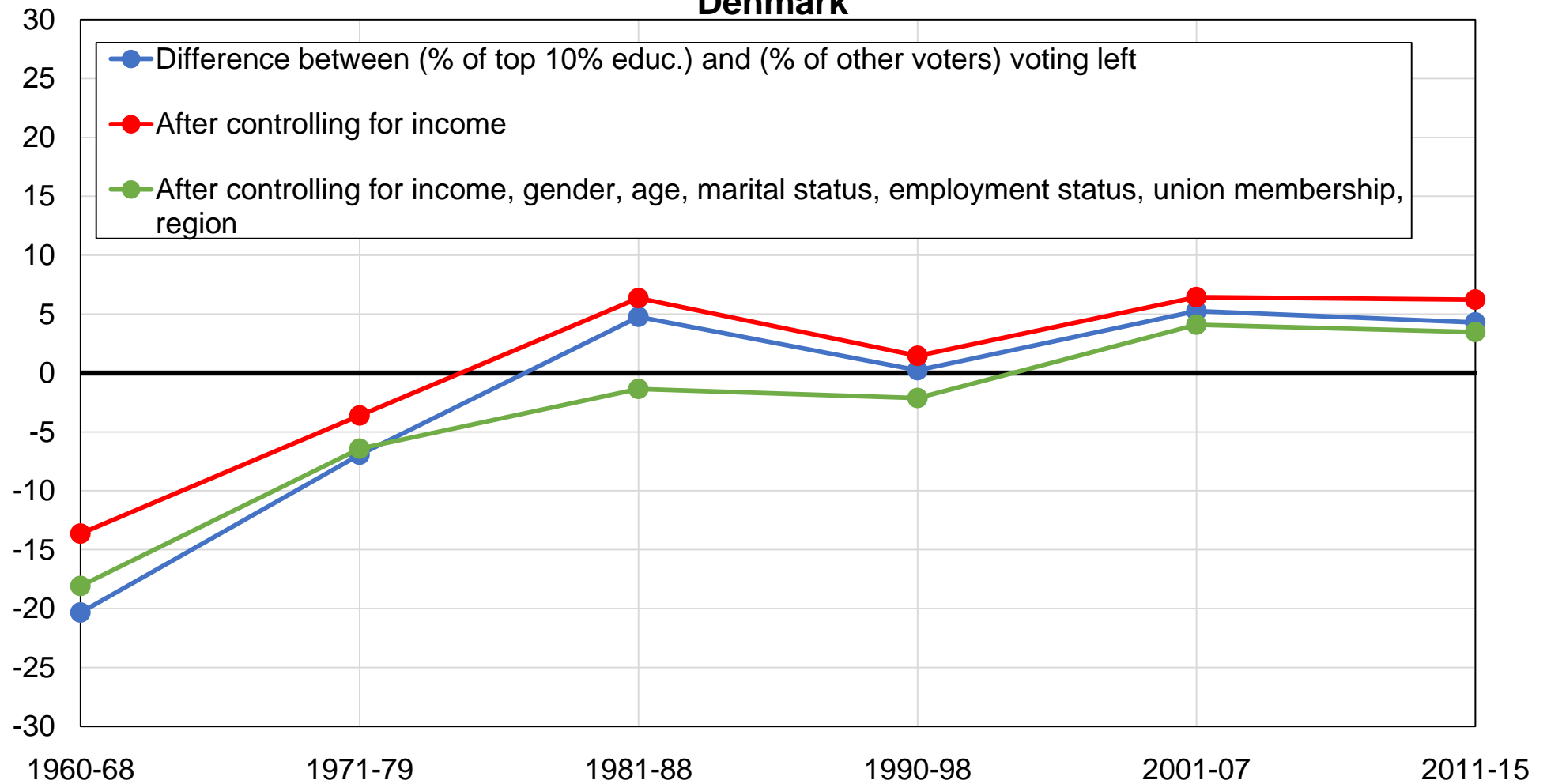
Figure BB15 - Vote for the left among tertiary-educated voters in Denmark



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

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

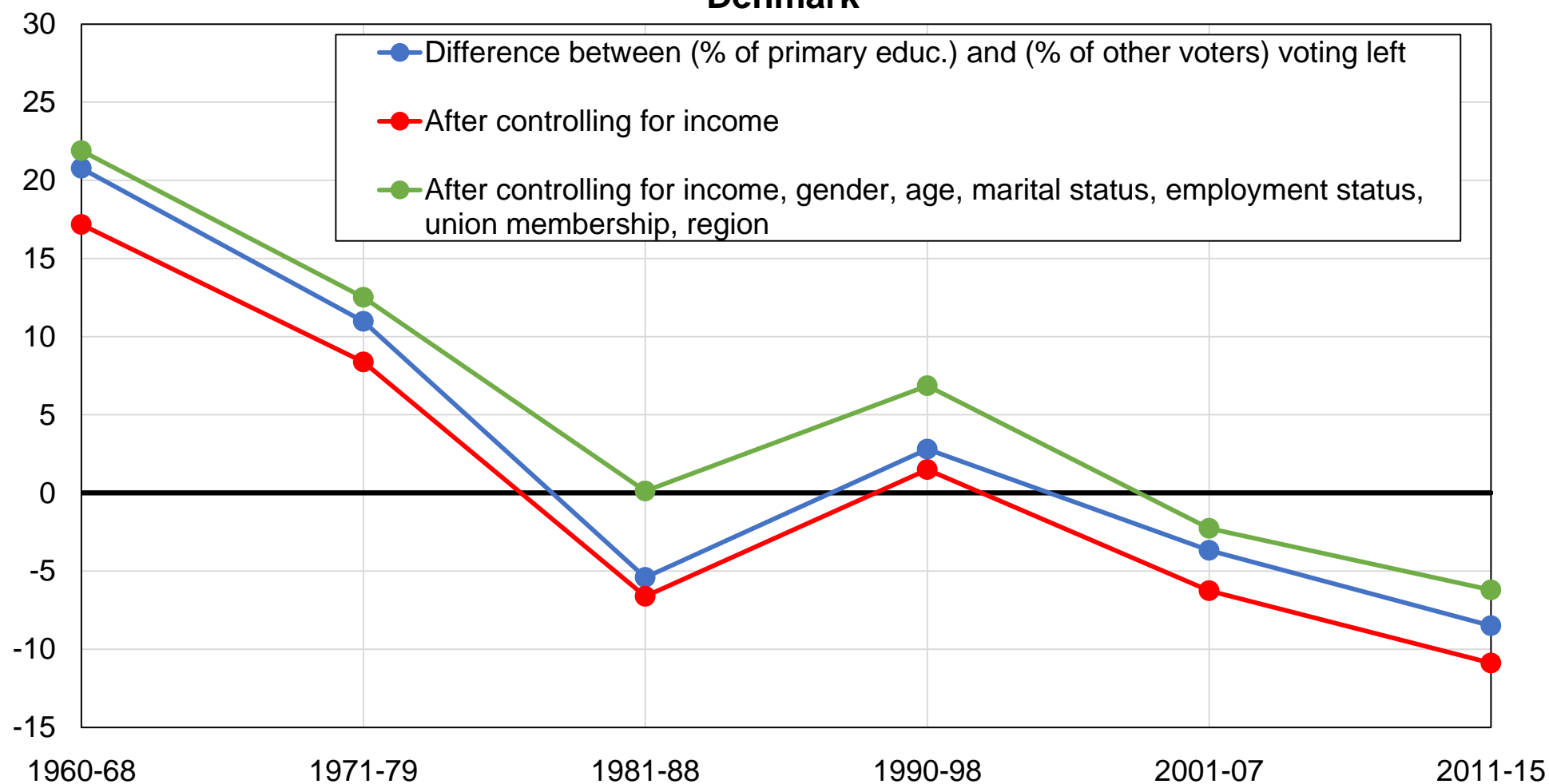
Figure BB16 - Vote for the left among higher-educated voters in Denmark



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

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

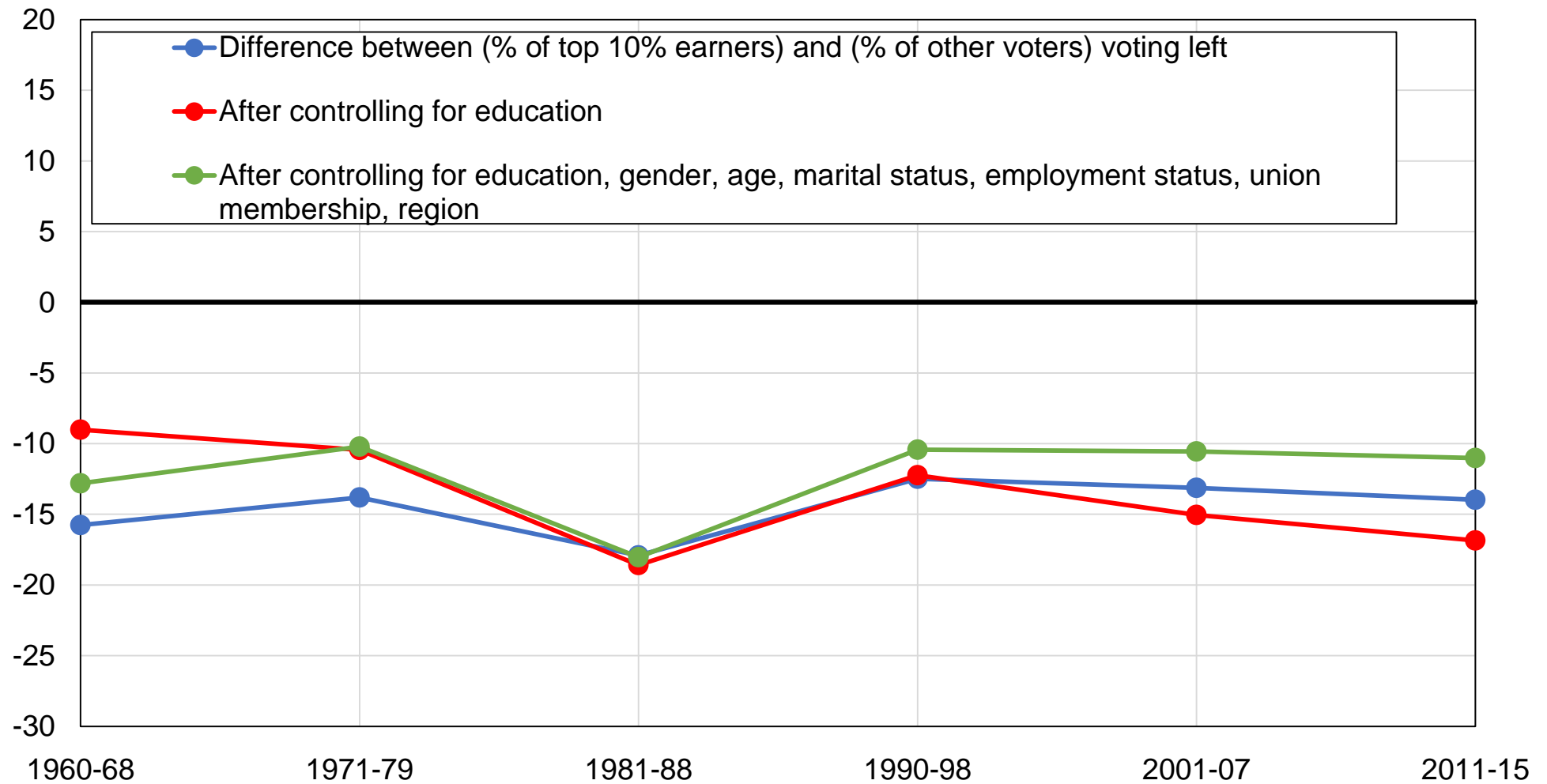
Figure BB17 - Vote for the left among primary-educated voters in Denmark



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

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

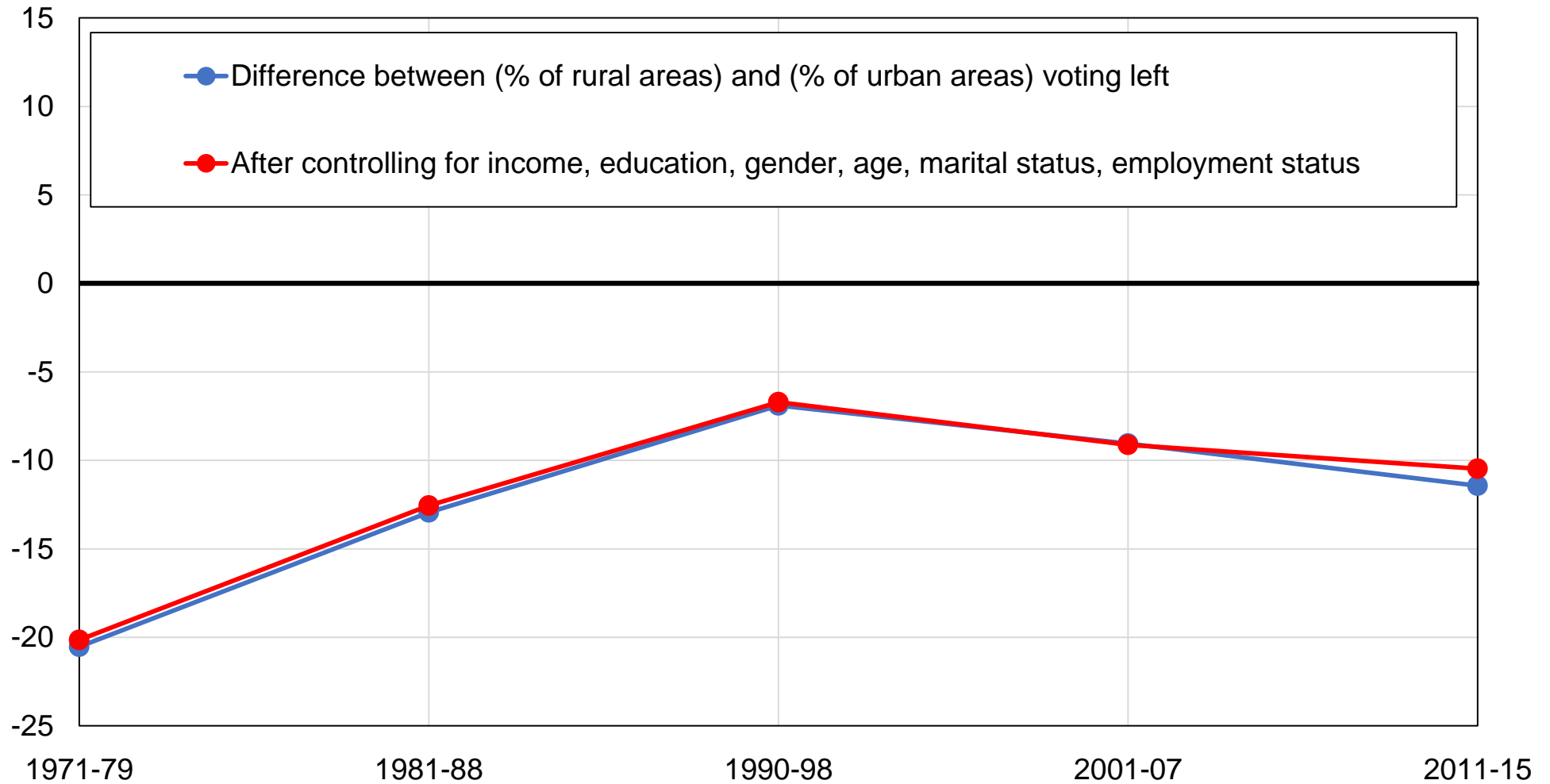
Figure BB18 - Vote for the left among top 10% earners in Denmark



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

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

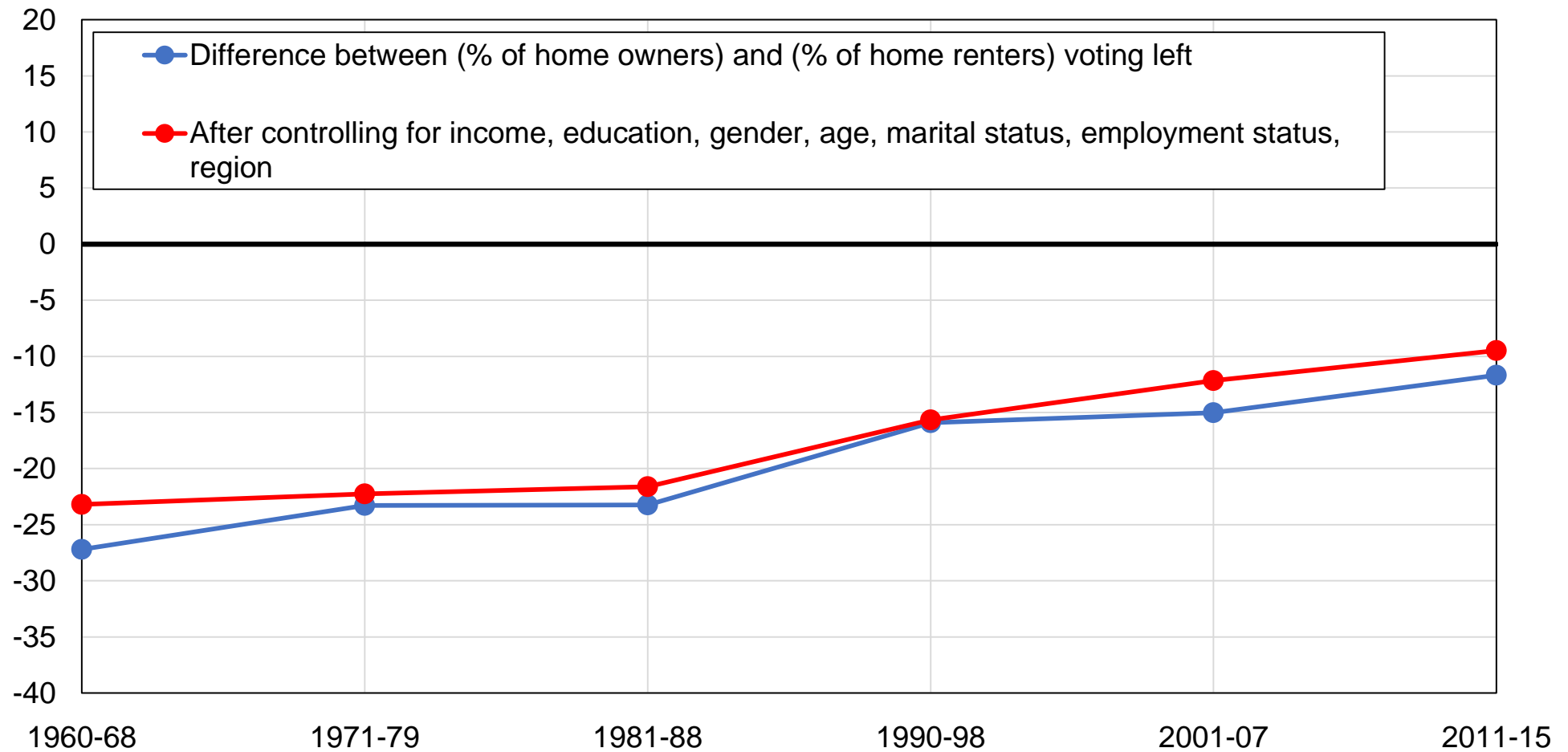
Figure BB19 - Vote for the left among rural areas in Denmark



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

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

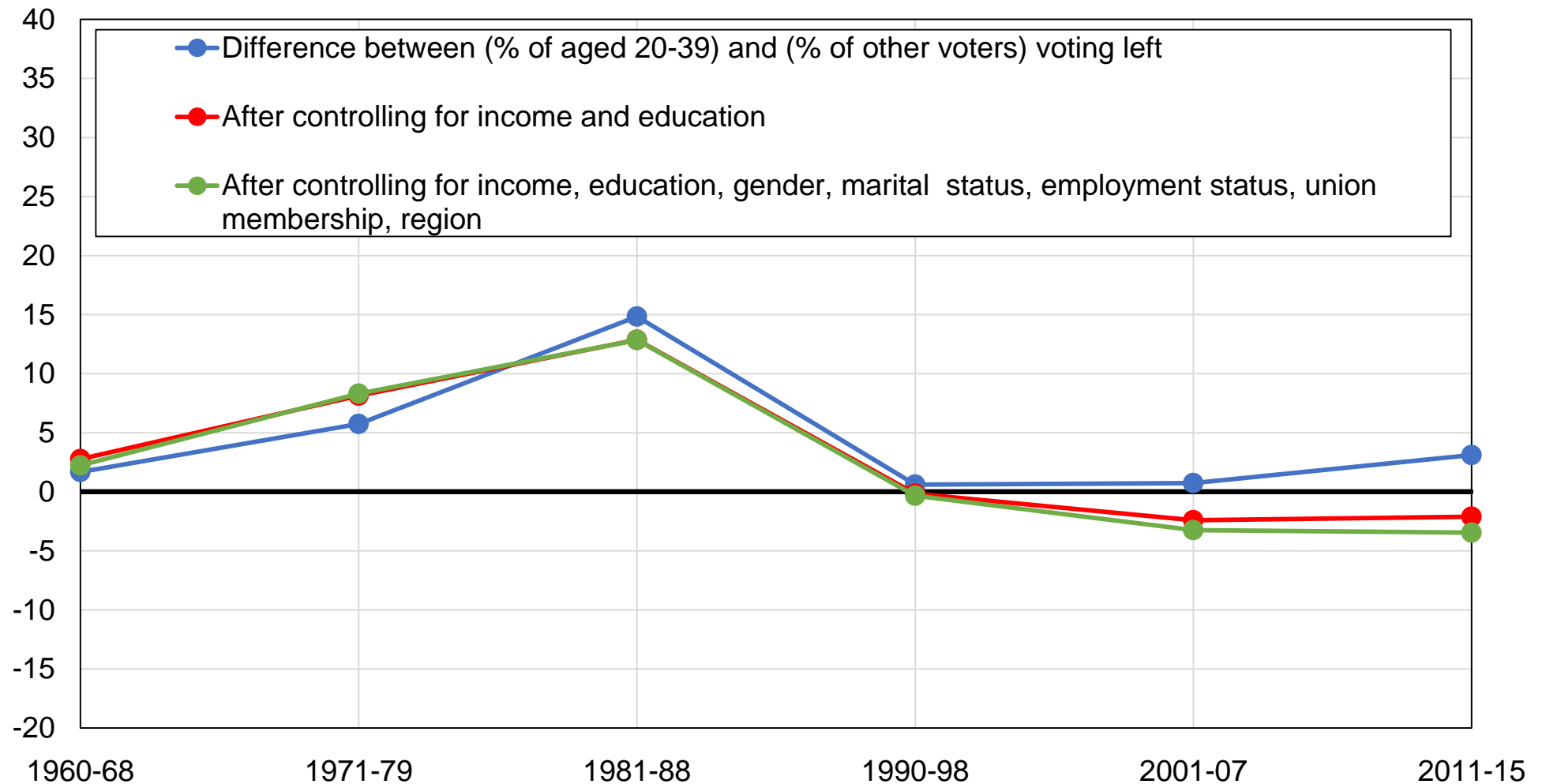
Figure BB20 - Vote for the left among home owners in Denmark



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

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

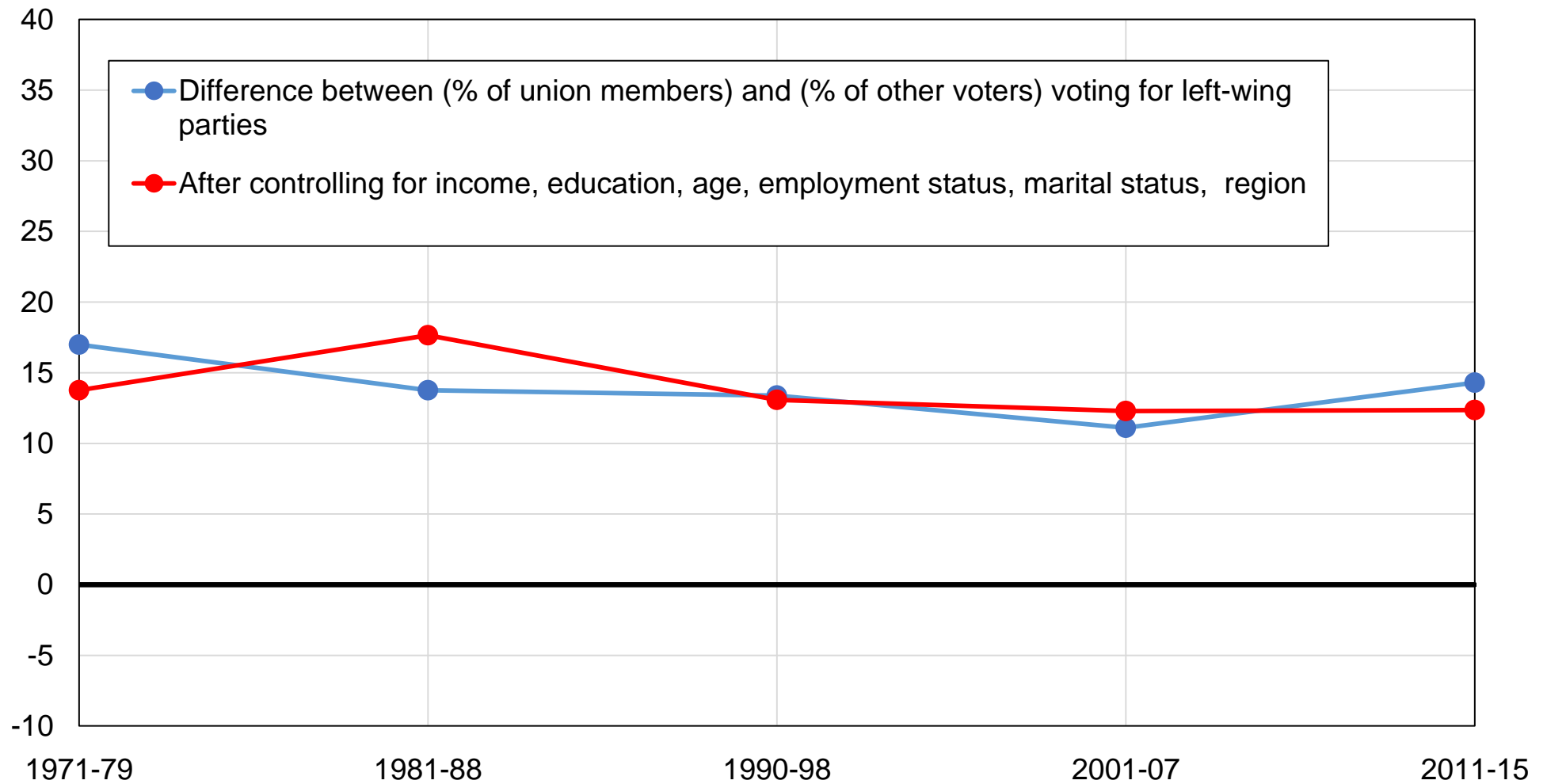
Figure BB21 - Vote for the left among young voters in Denmark



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

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

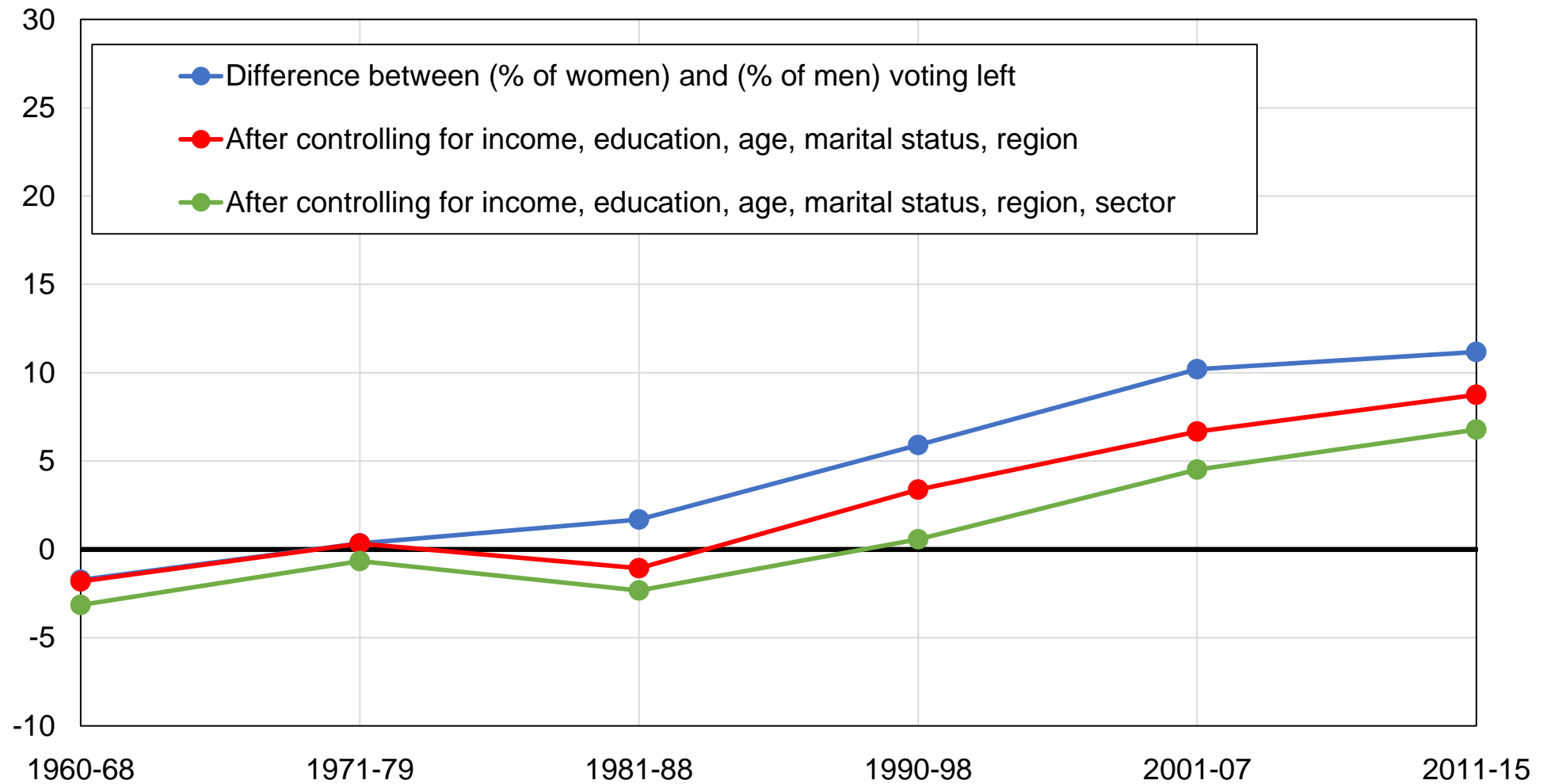
Figure BB22 - Vote for the left among union members in Denmark



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

Note: the figure shows 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.

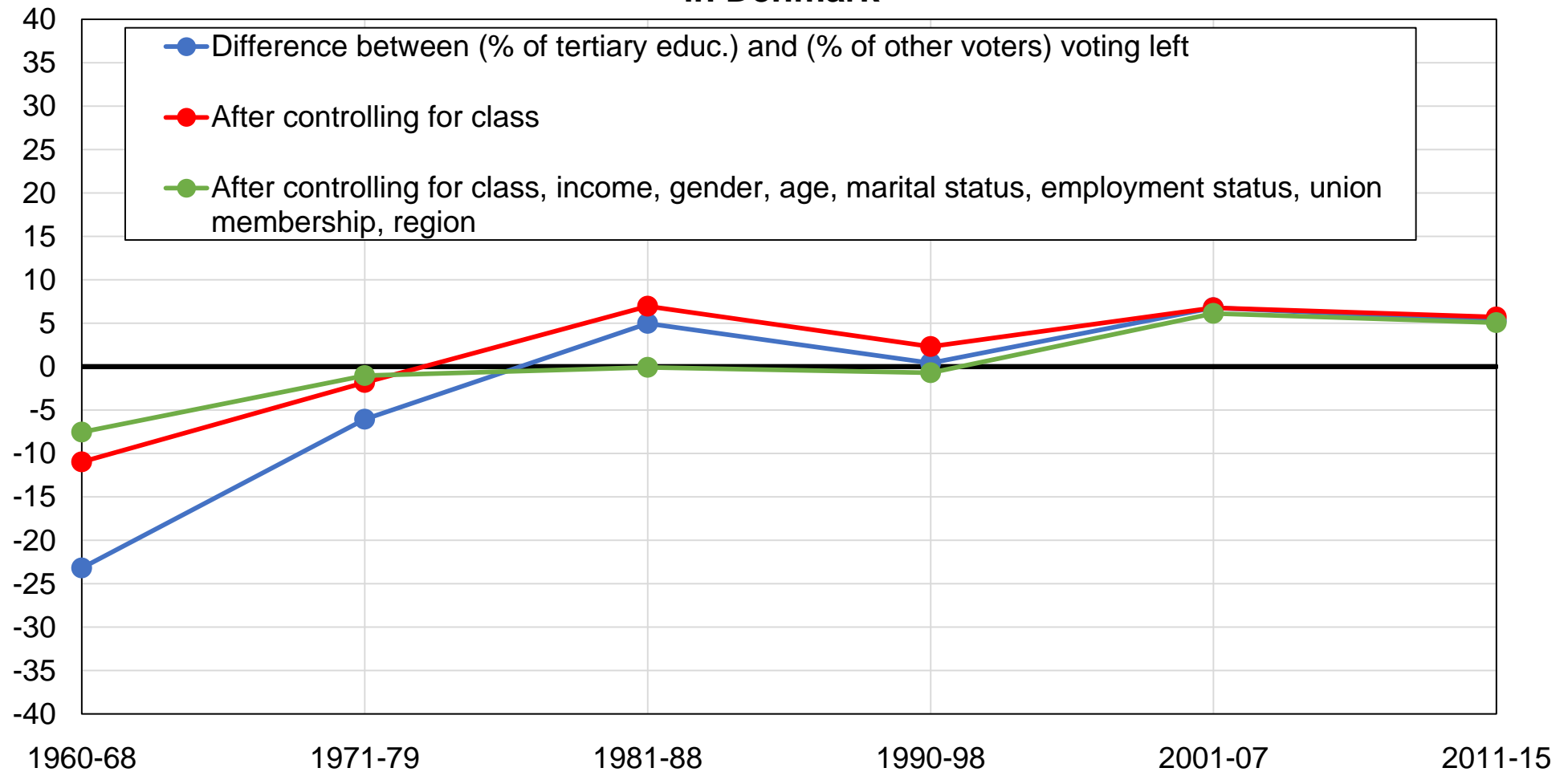
Figure BB23 - Vote for the left among women in Denmark



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

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

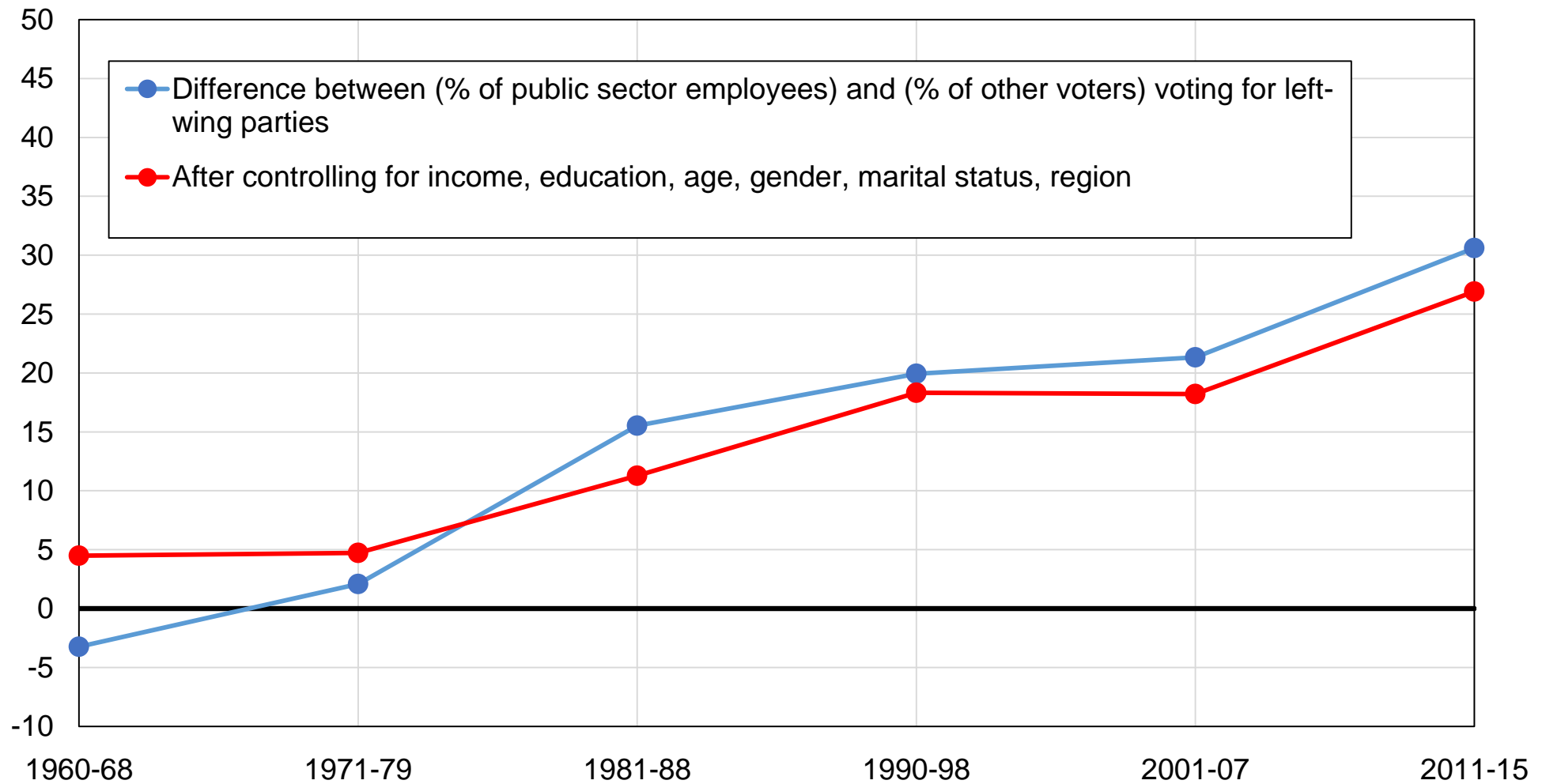
Figure BB24- Vote for the left among tertiary educated: the role of class in Denmark



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

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

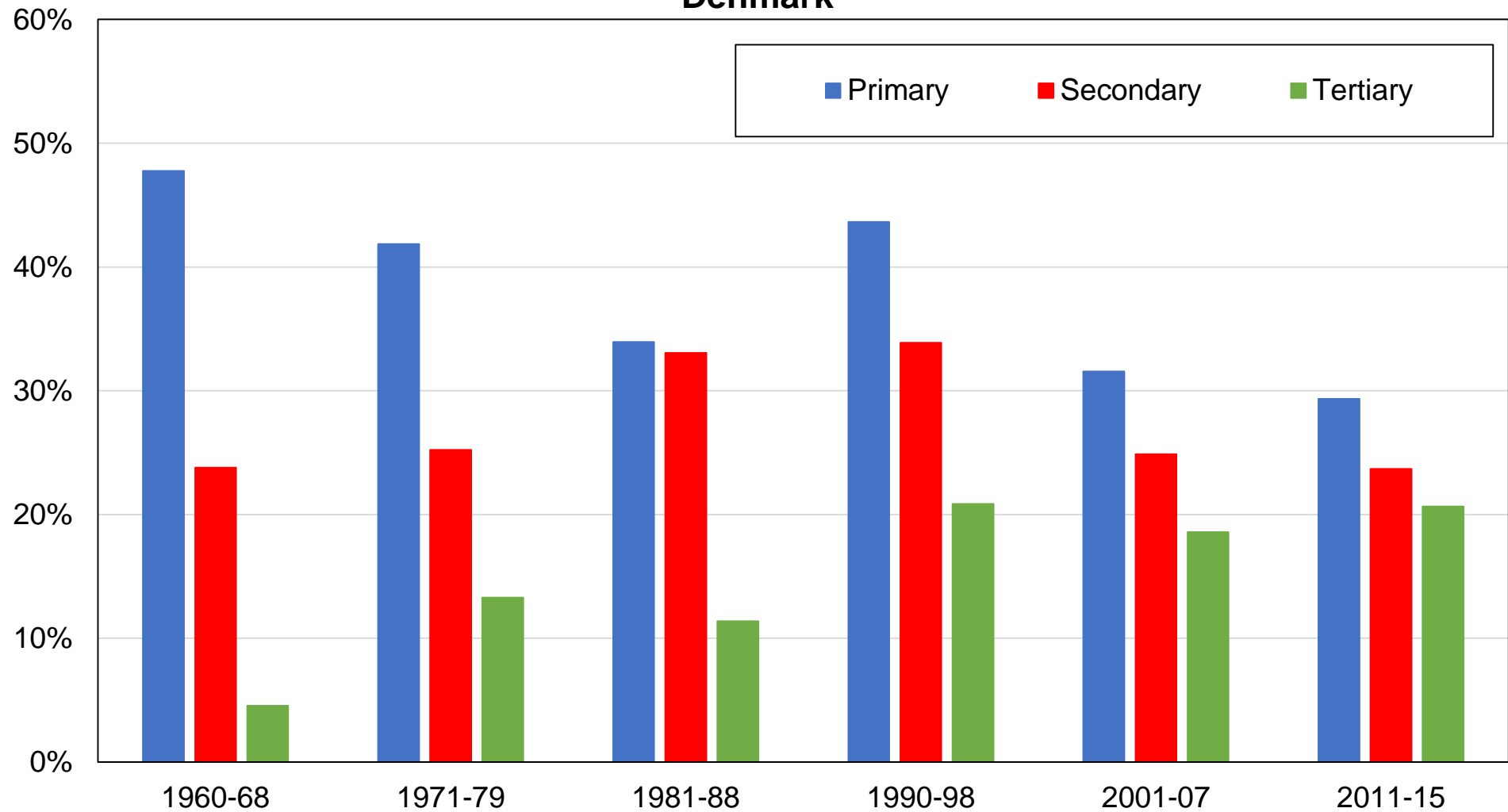
Figure BB25- Vote for the left among public employees in Denmark



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

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

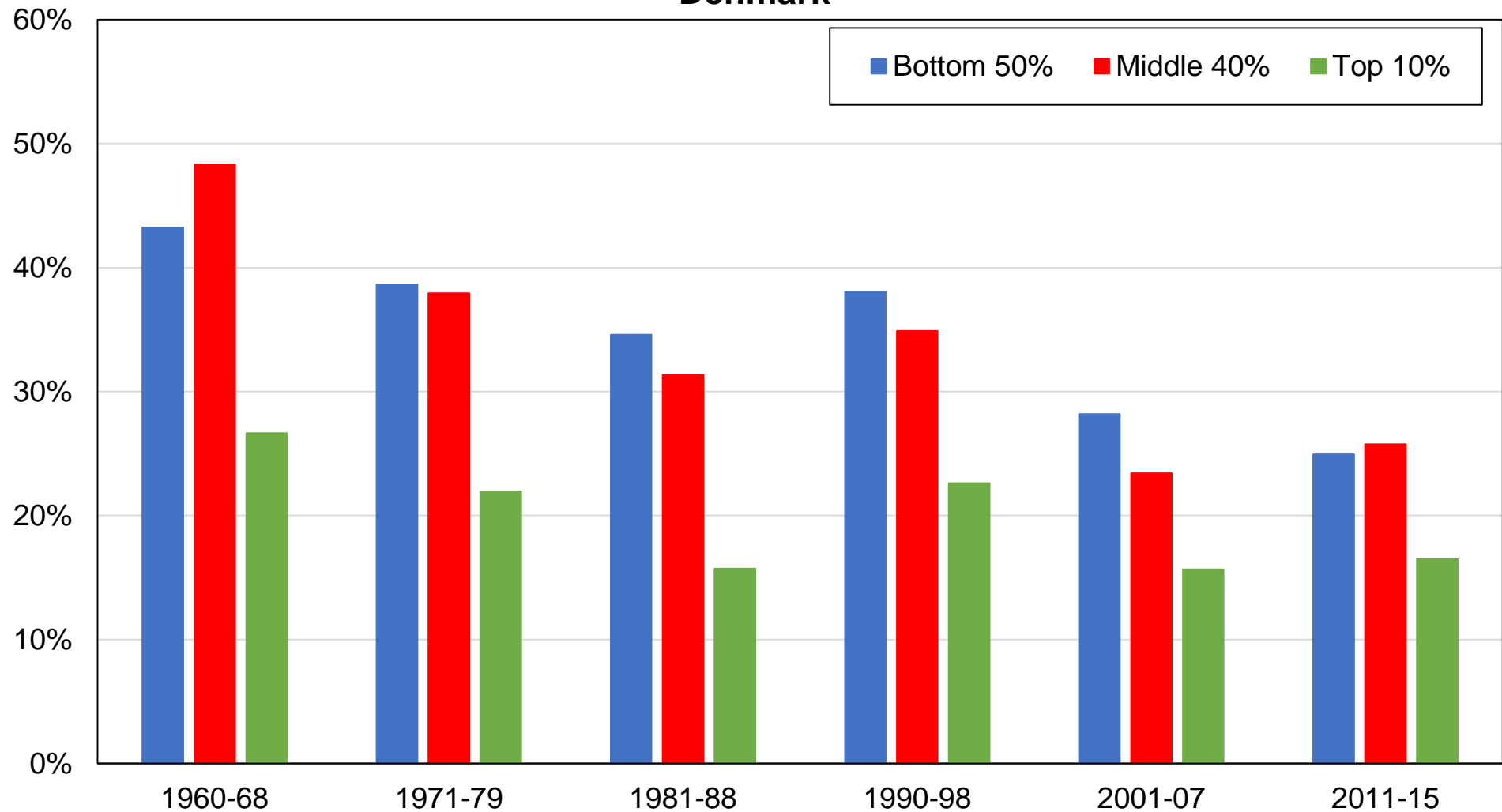
Figure BC1 - Vote for the Social Democratic Party by education level in Denmark



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

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

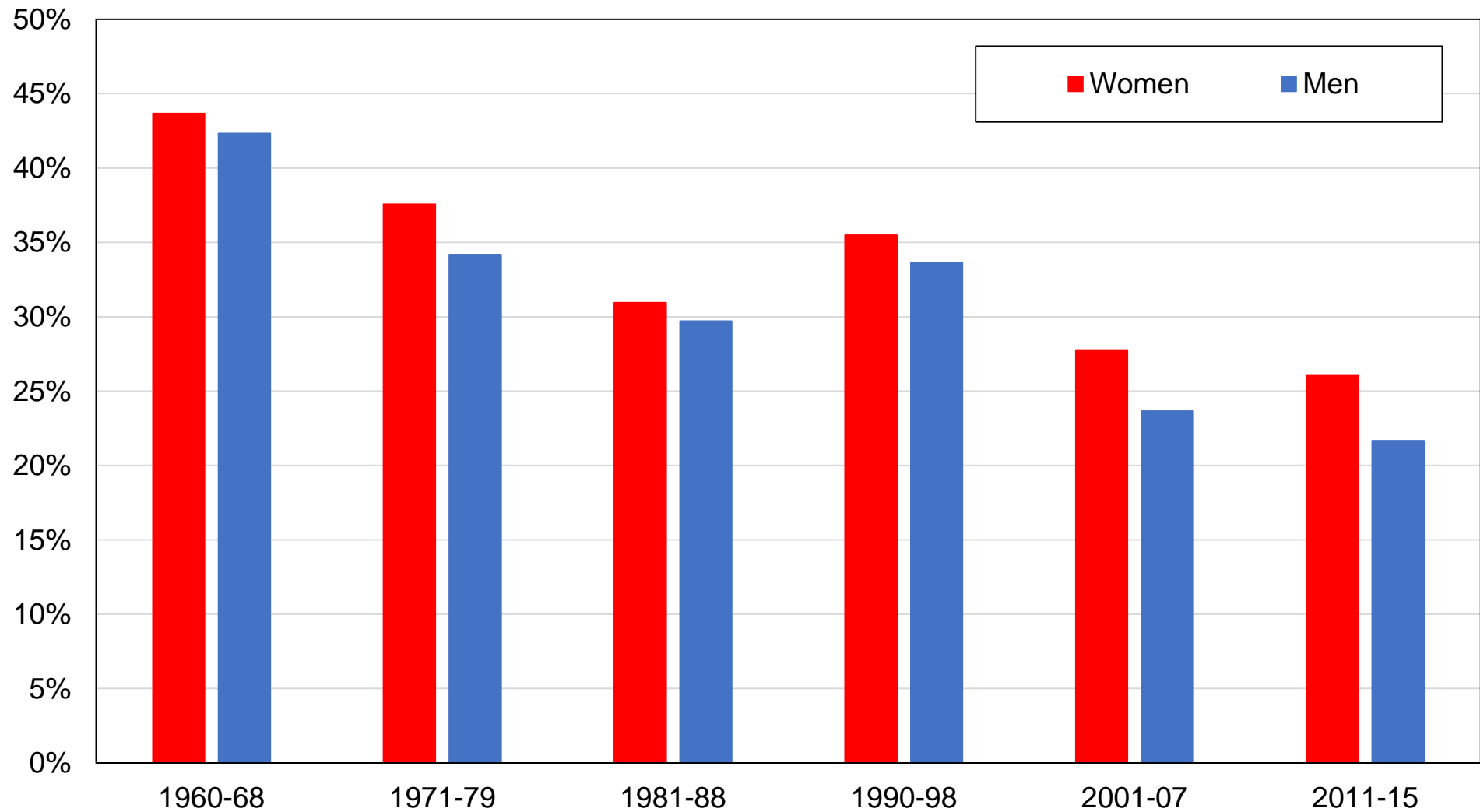
Figure BC2 - Vote for the Social Democratic Party by income group in Denmark



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

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

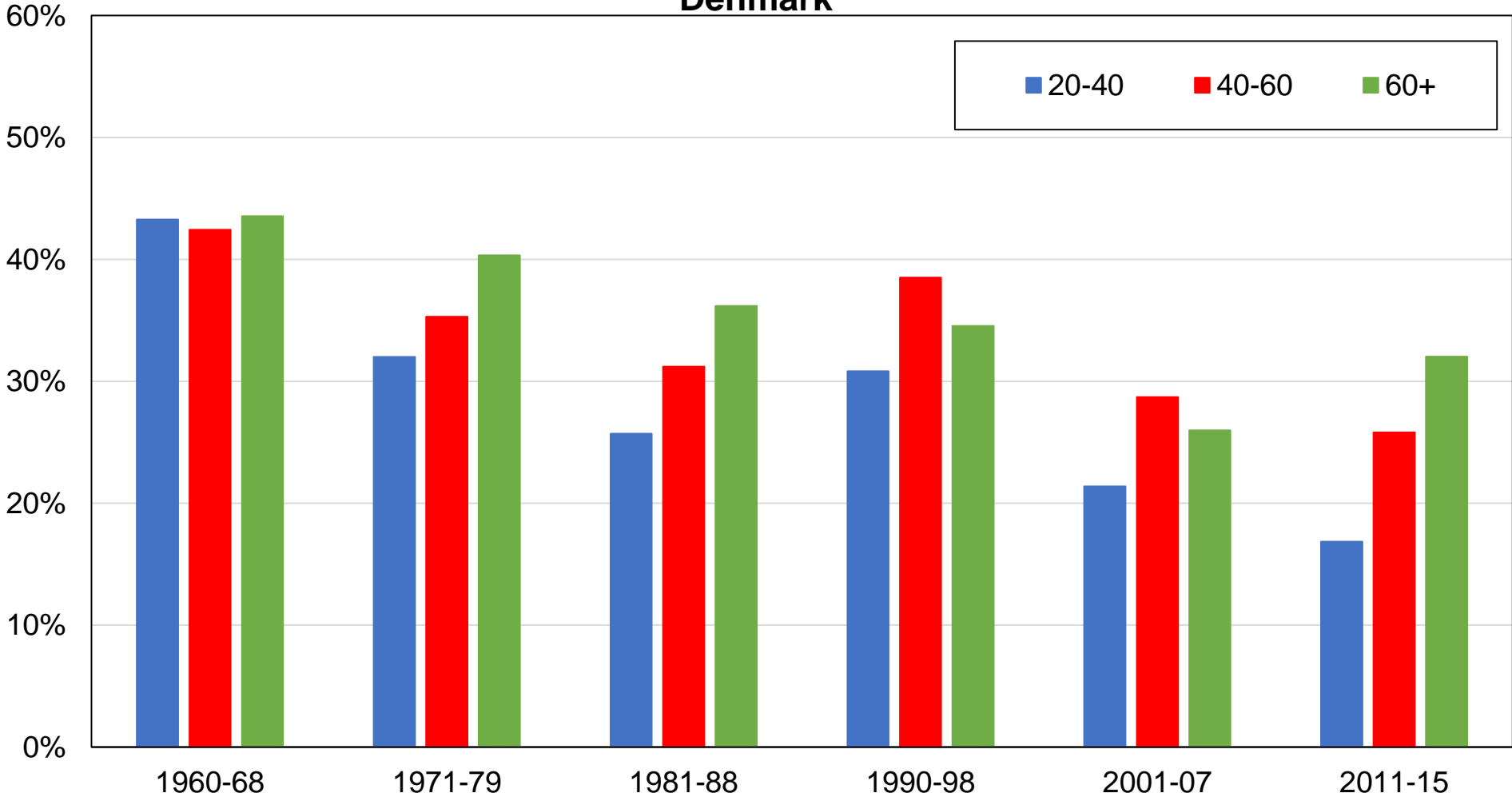
Figure BC3 - Vote for the Social Democratic Party by gender in Denmark



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

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

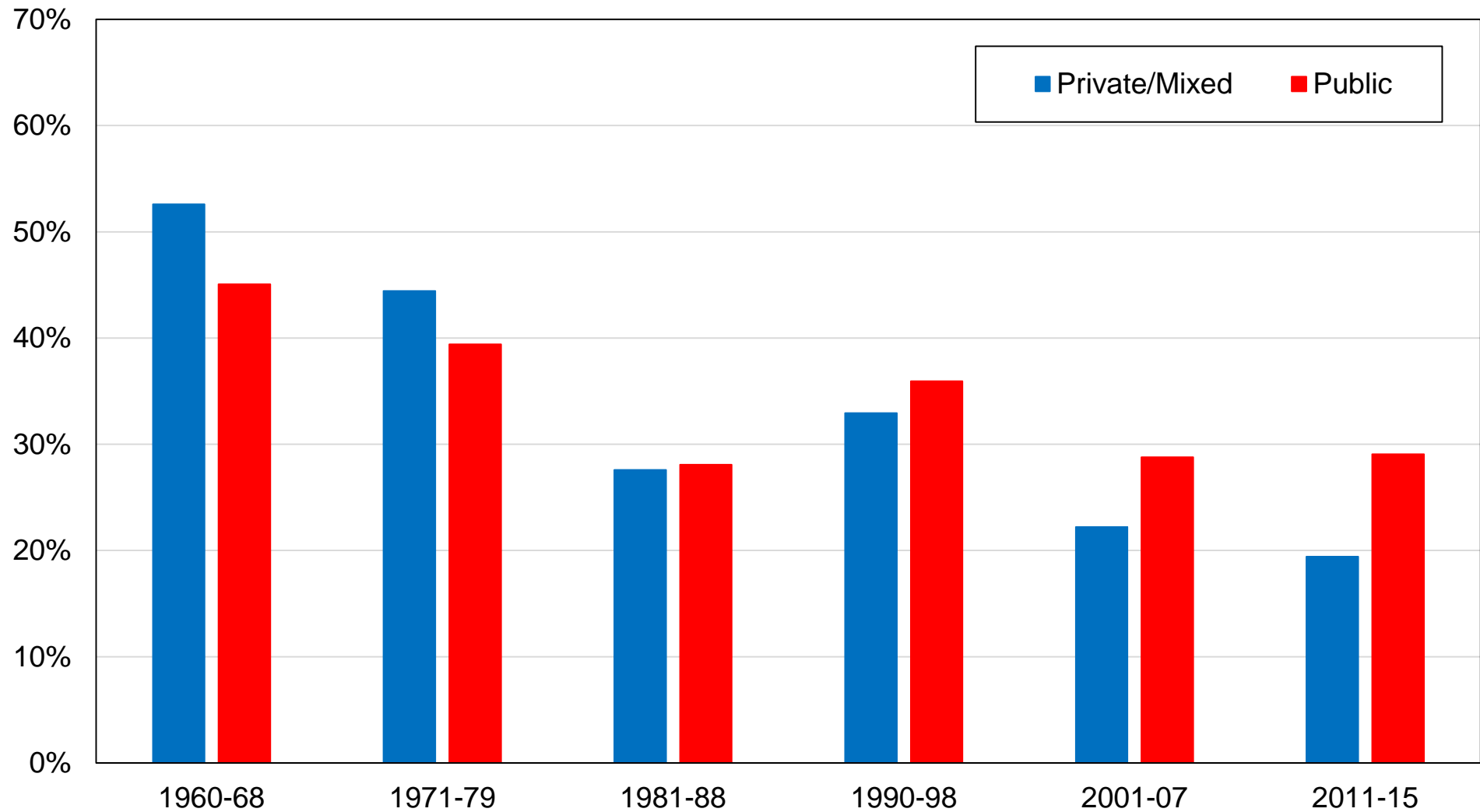
Figure BC4 - Vote for the Social Democratic Party by age group in Denmark



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

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

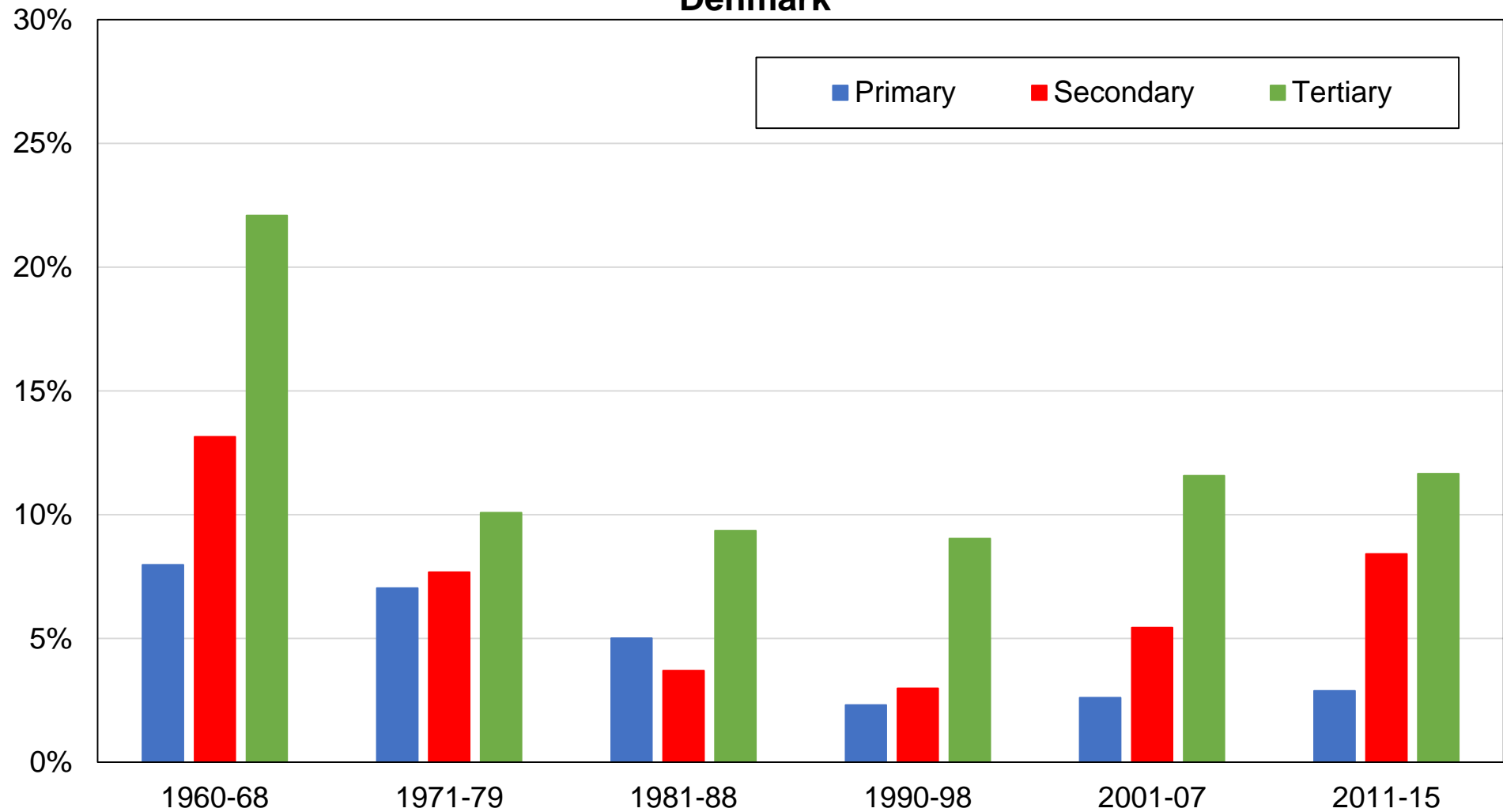
Figure BC5 - Vote for the Social Democratic Party by sector in Denmark



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

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

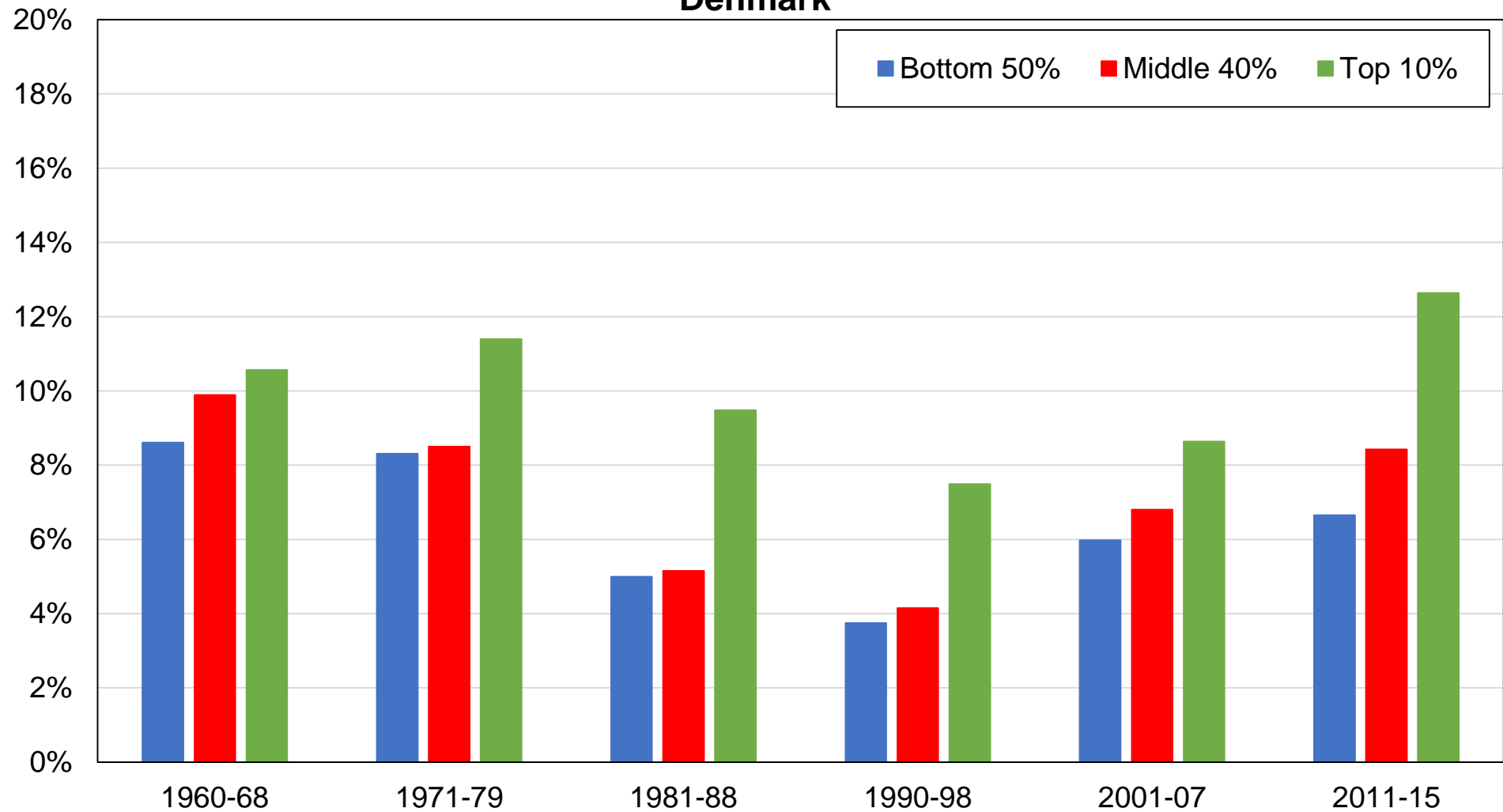
Figure BC6 - Vote for the Social Liberal Party by education level in Denmark



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

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

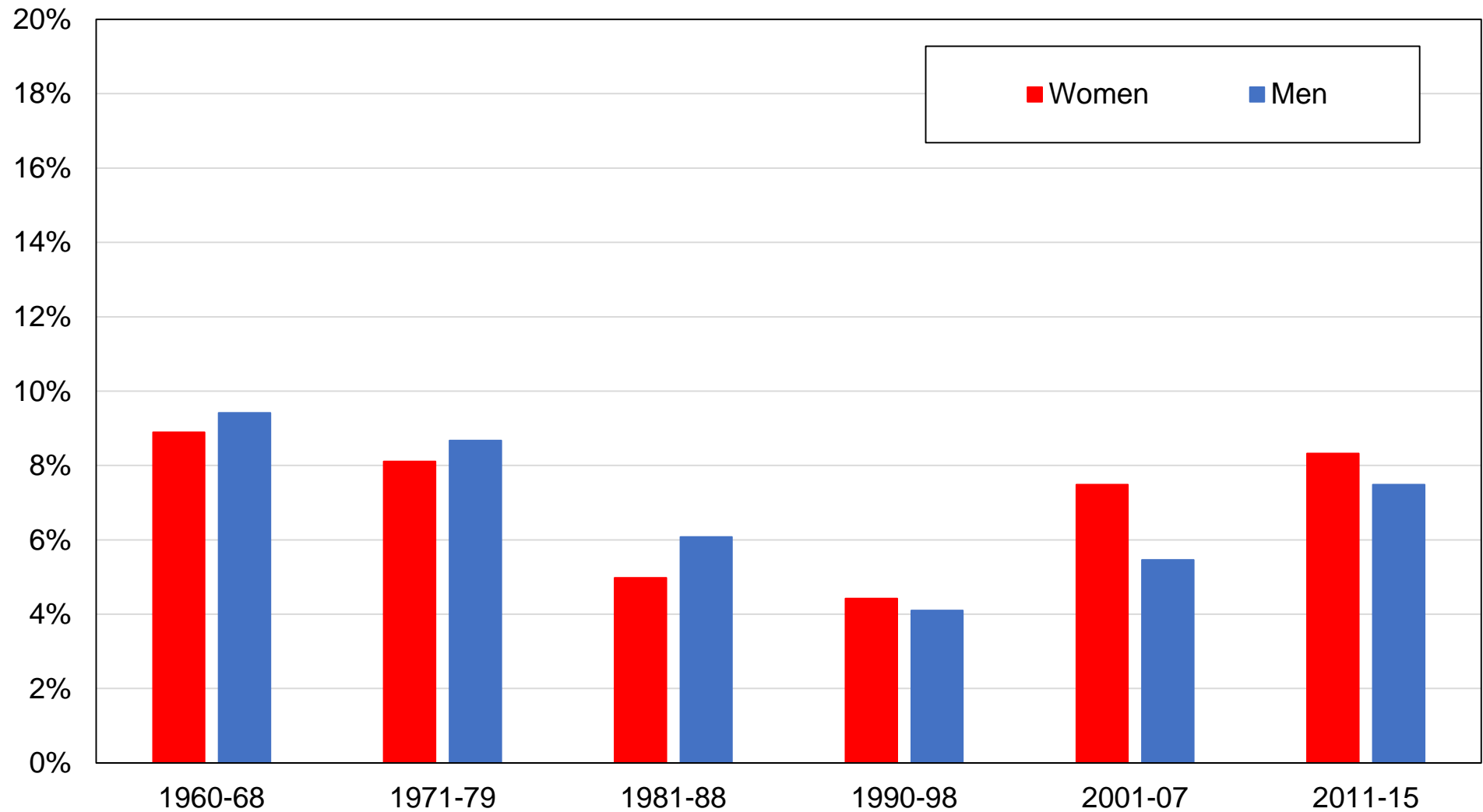
Figure BC7 - Vote for the Social Liberal Party by income group in Denmark



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

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

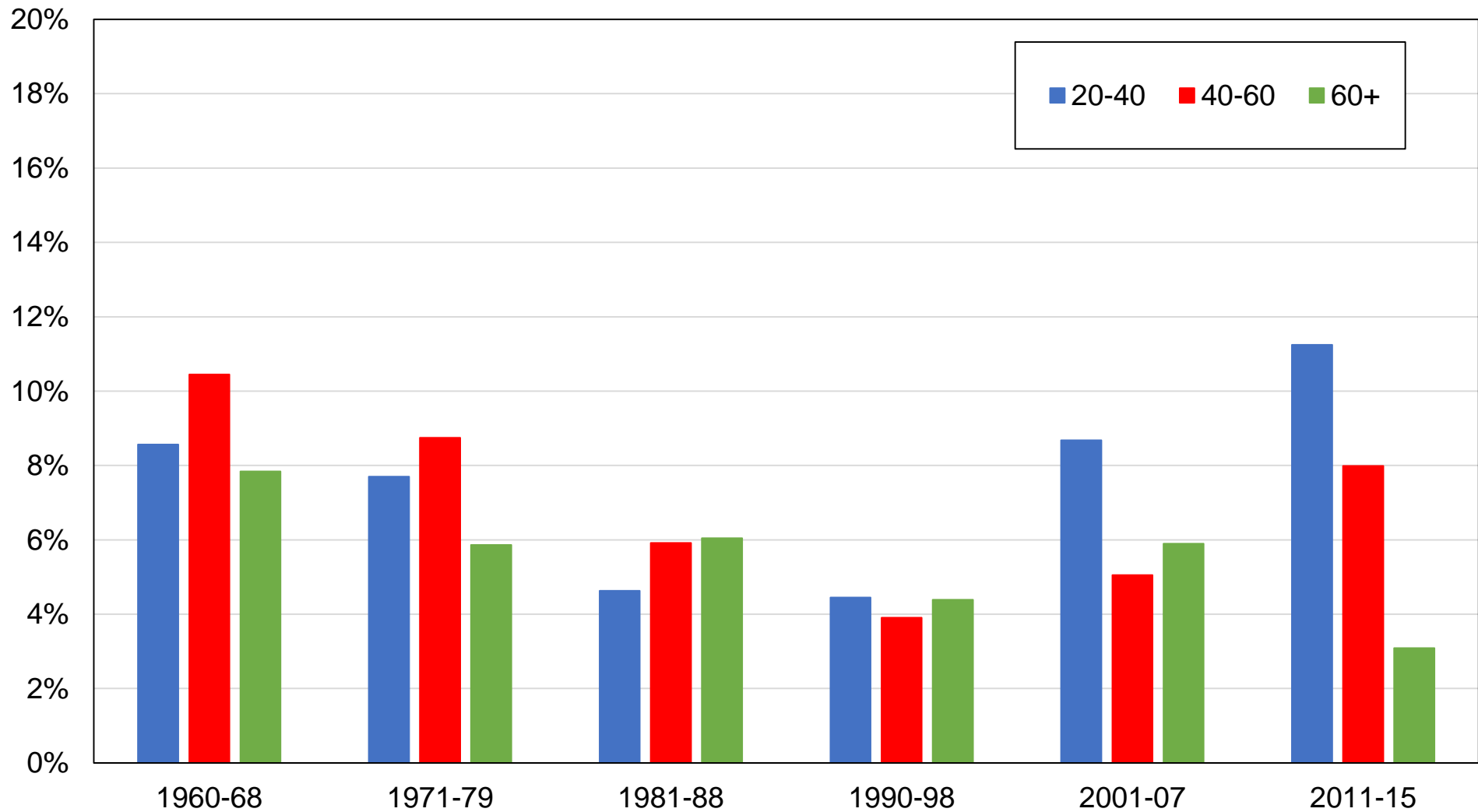
Figure BC8 - Vote for the Social Liberal Party by gender in Denmark



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

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

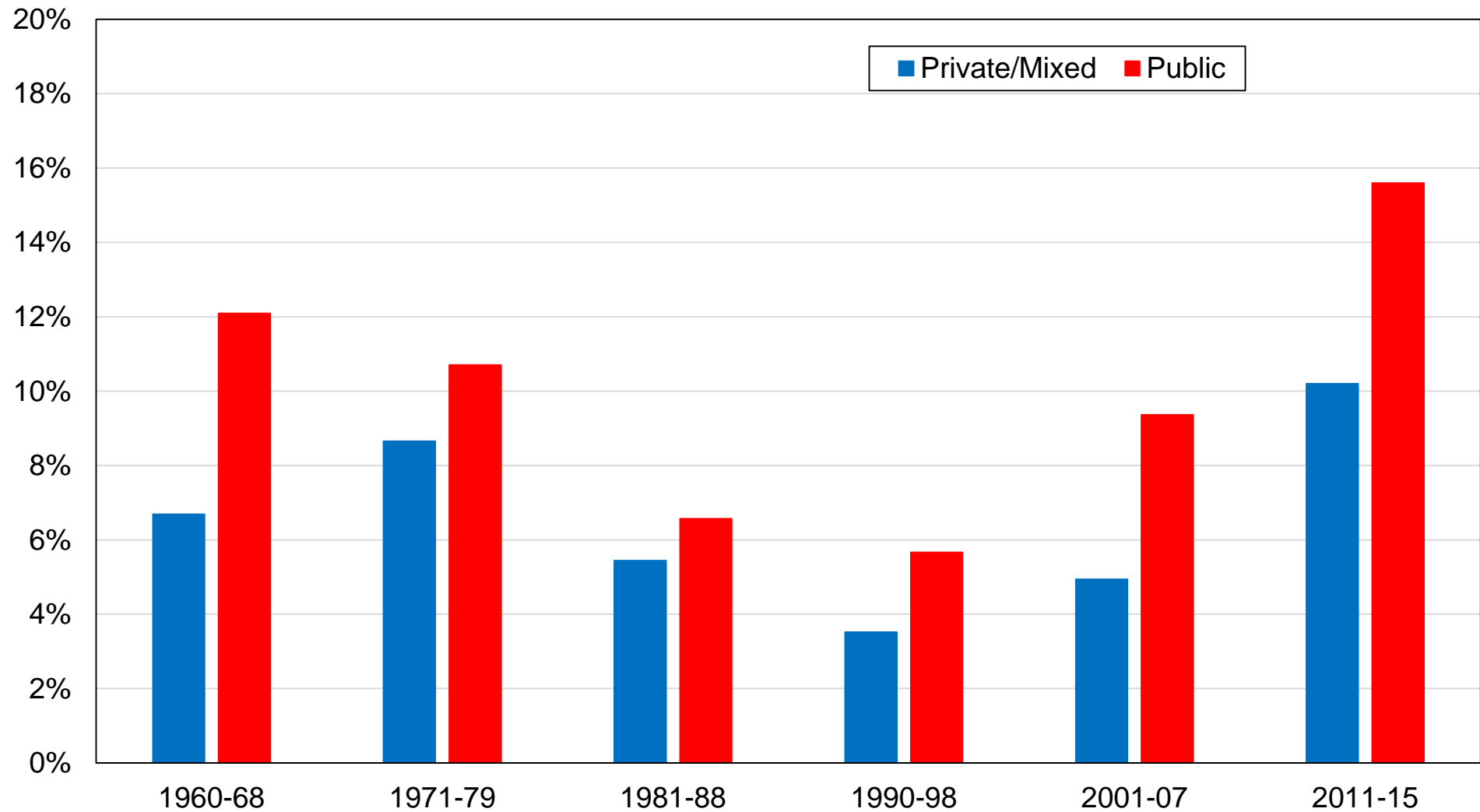
Figure BC9 - Vote for The Social Liberal Party by age group in Denmark



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

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

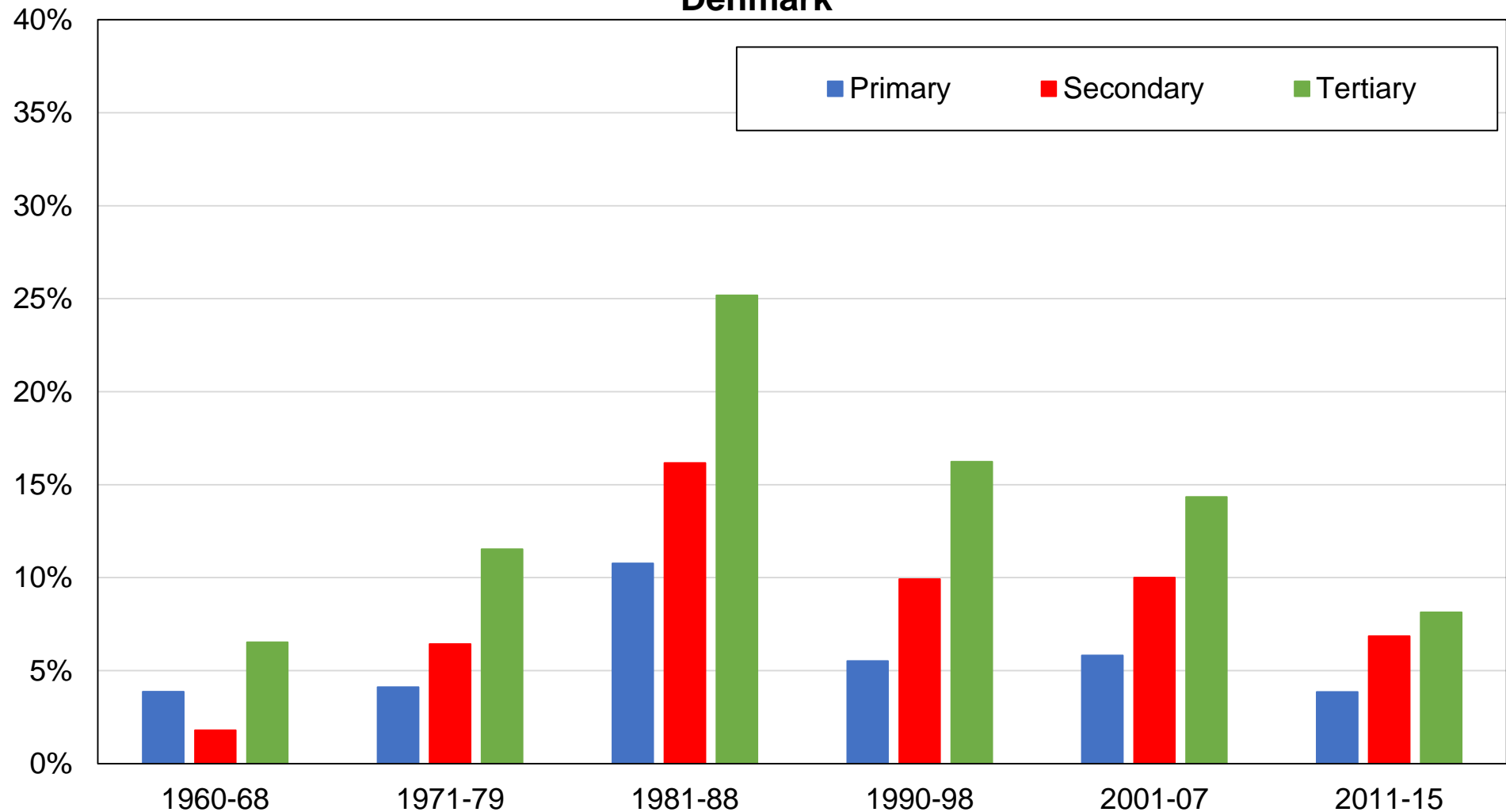
Figure BC10 - Vote for the Social Liberal Party by sector in Denmark



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

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

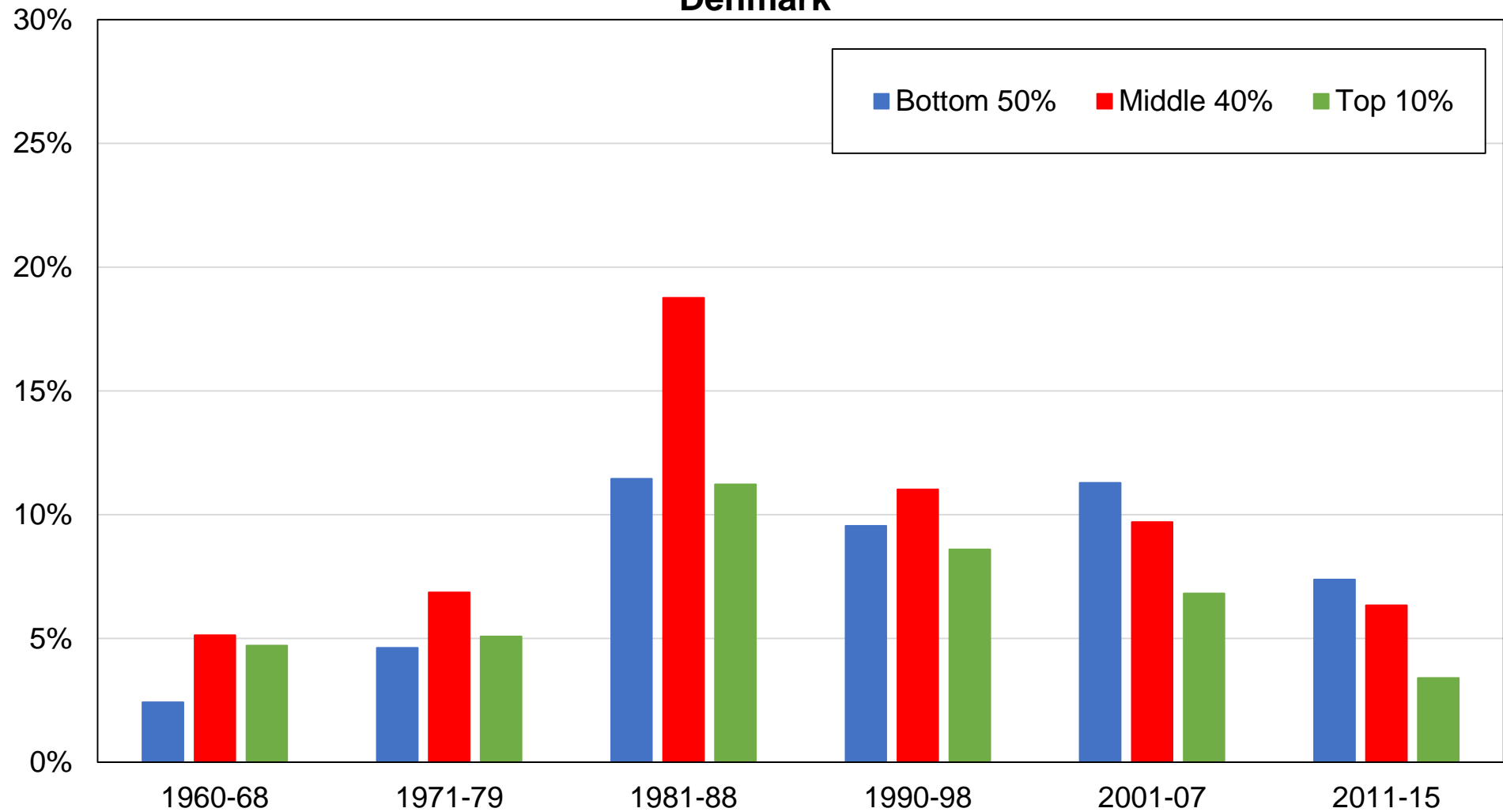
Figure BC11 - Vote the Socialist People's Party by education level in Denmark



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

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

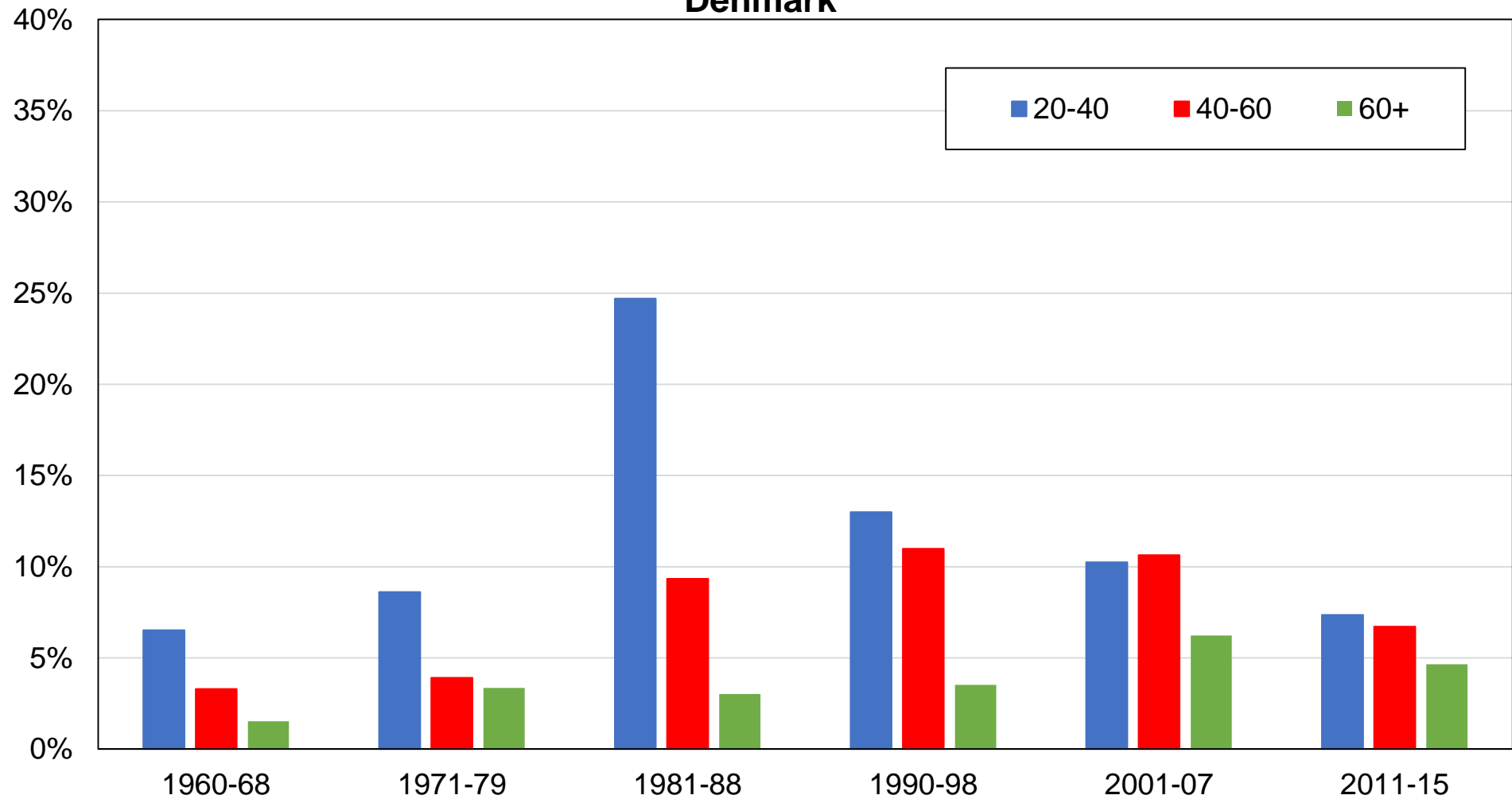
Figure BC12 - Vote for the Socialist People's Party by income group in Denmark



Source: authors' computations Danish post-electoral surveys.

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

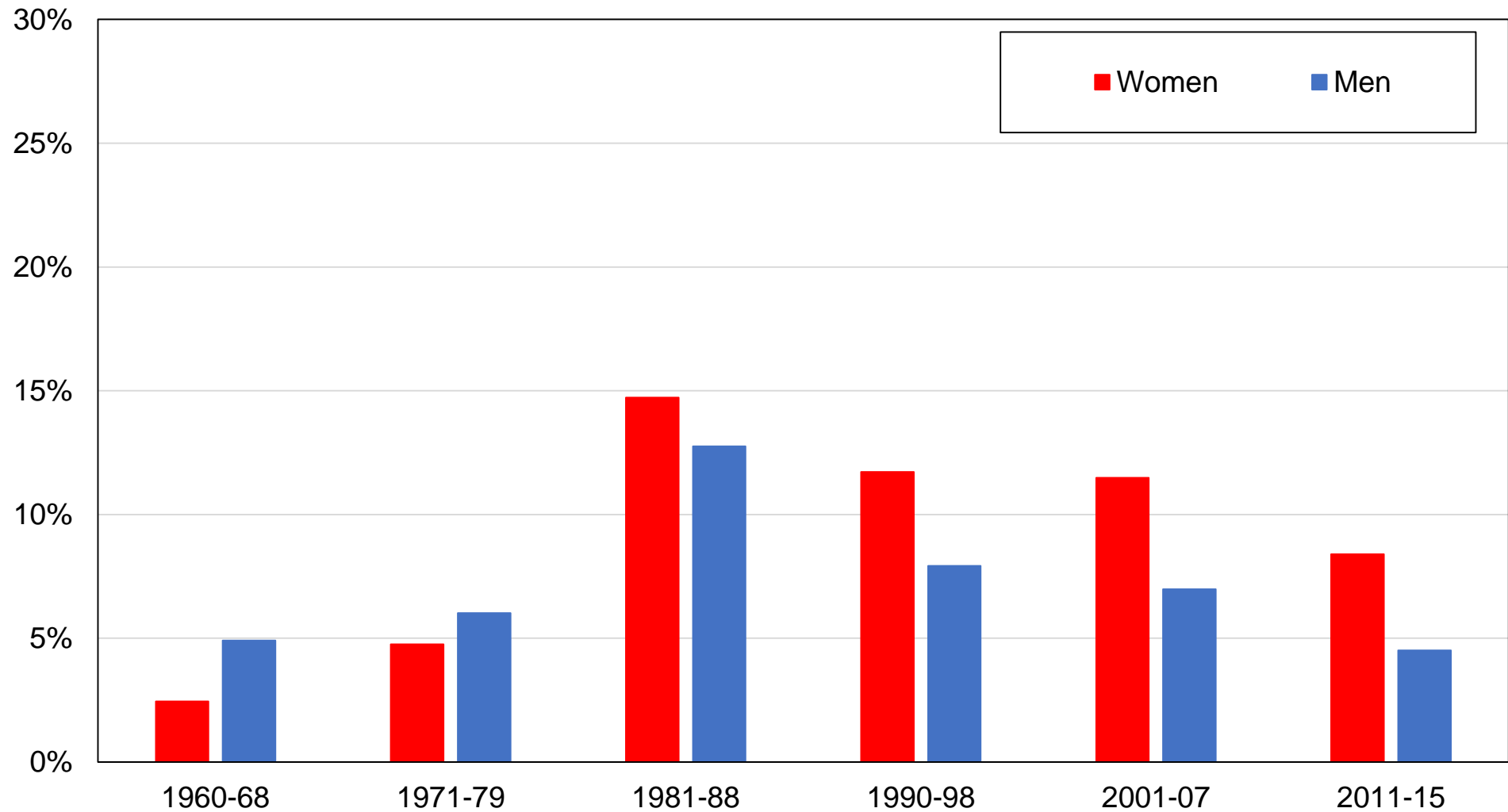
Figure BC13 - Vote for the Socialist People's Party by age group in Denmark



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

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

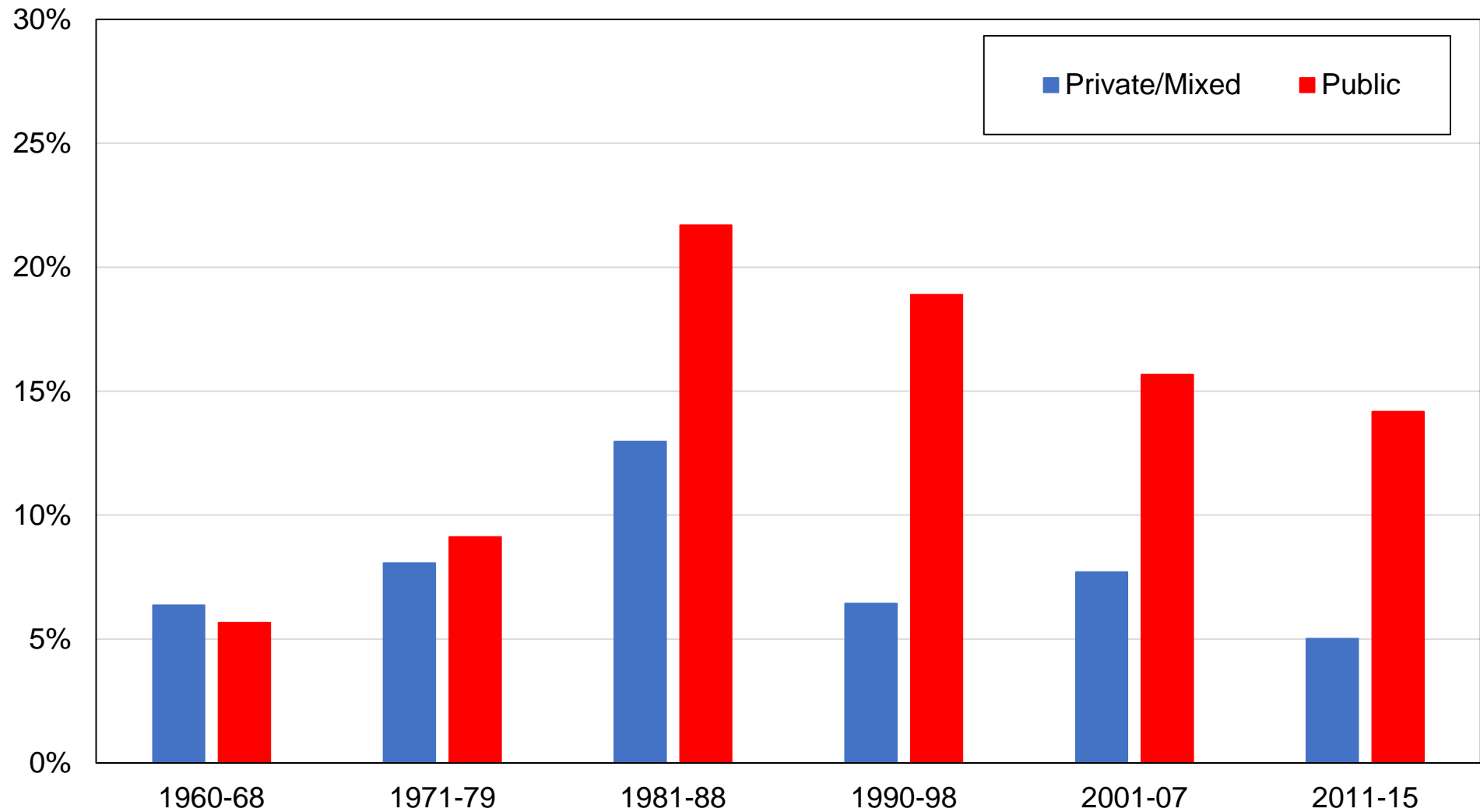
Figure BC14 - Vote for the Socialist People's Party by gender in Denmark



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

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

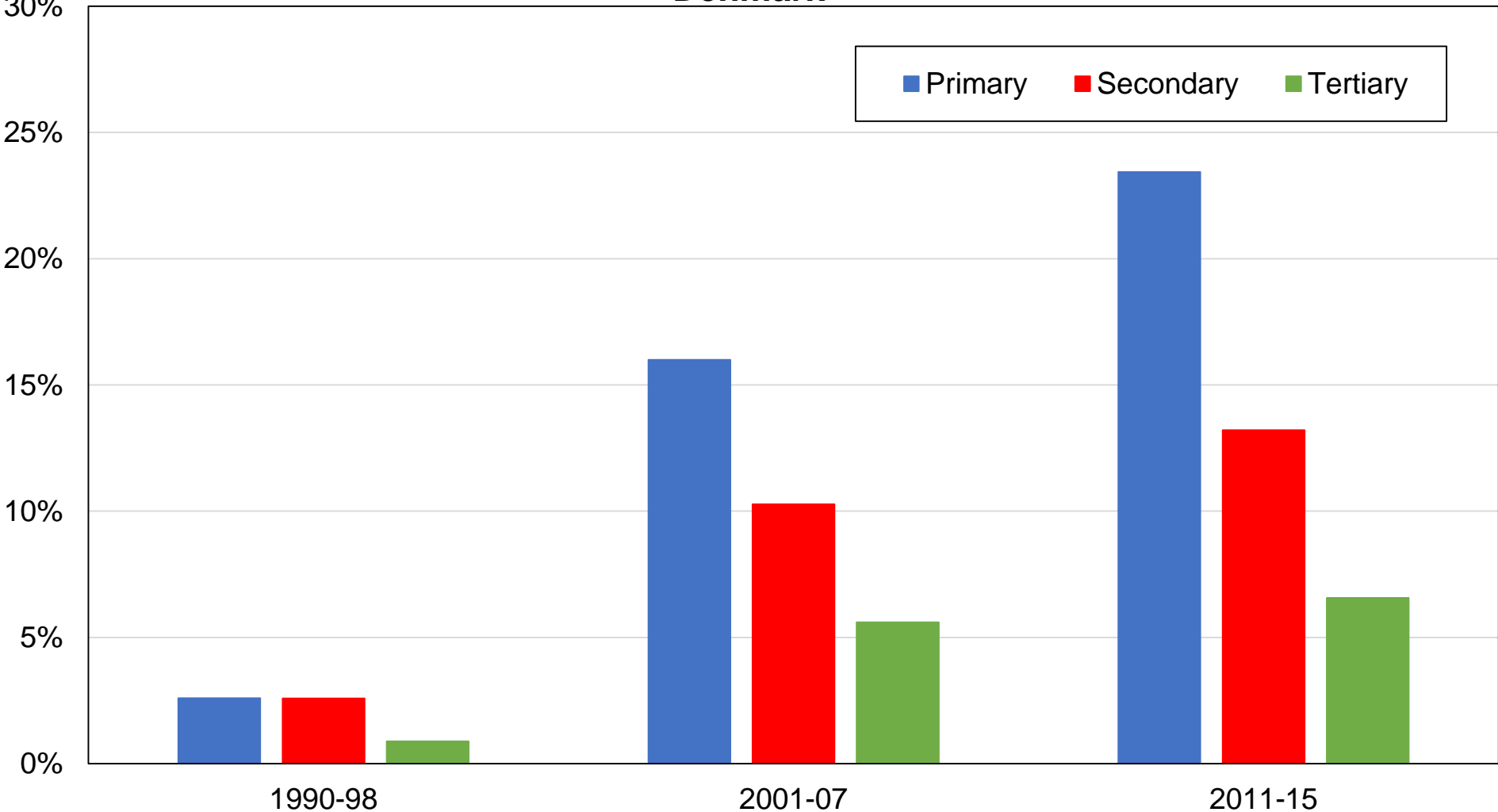
Figure BC15 - Vote for the Socialist People's Party by sector in Denmark



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

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

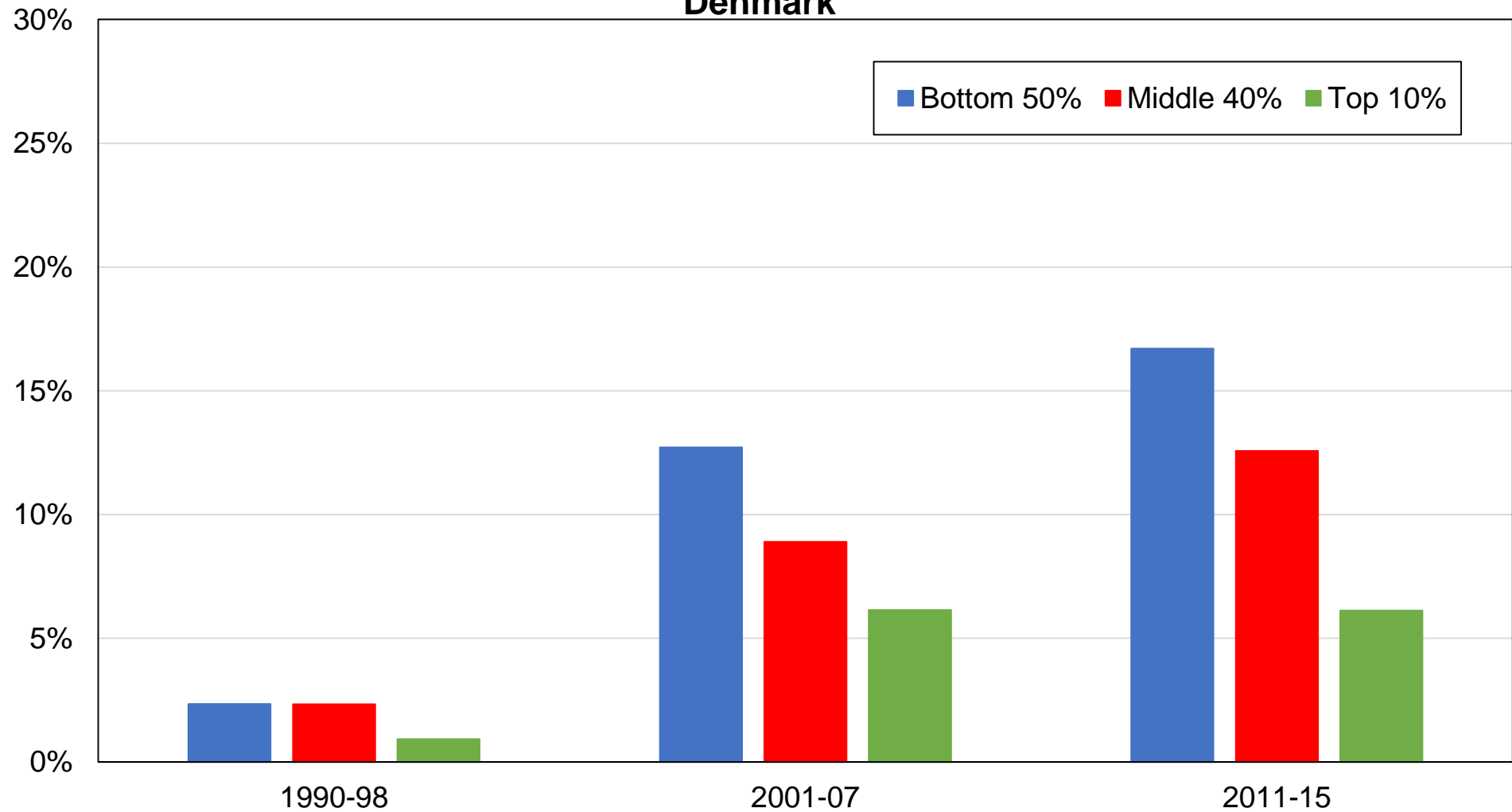
Figure BC16 - Vote for the Danish People's Party by education level in Denmark



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

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

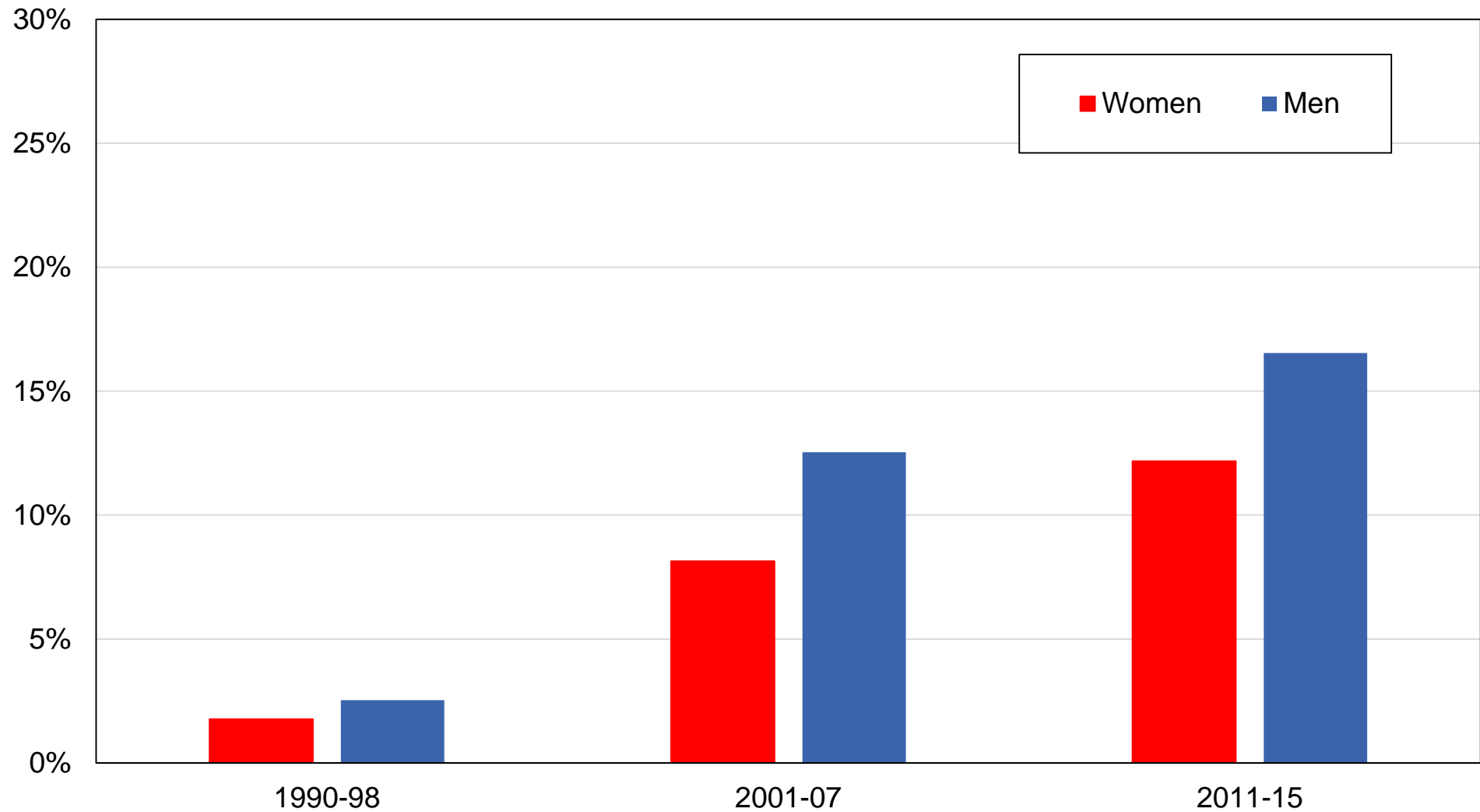
Figure BC17 - Vote for the Danish People's Party by income group in Denmark



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

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

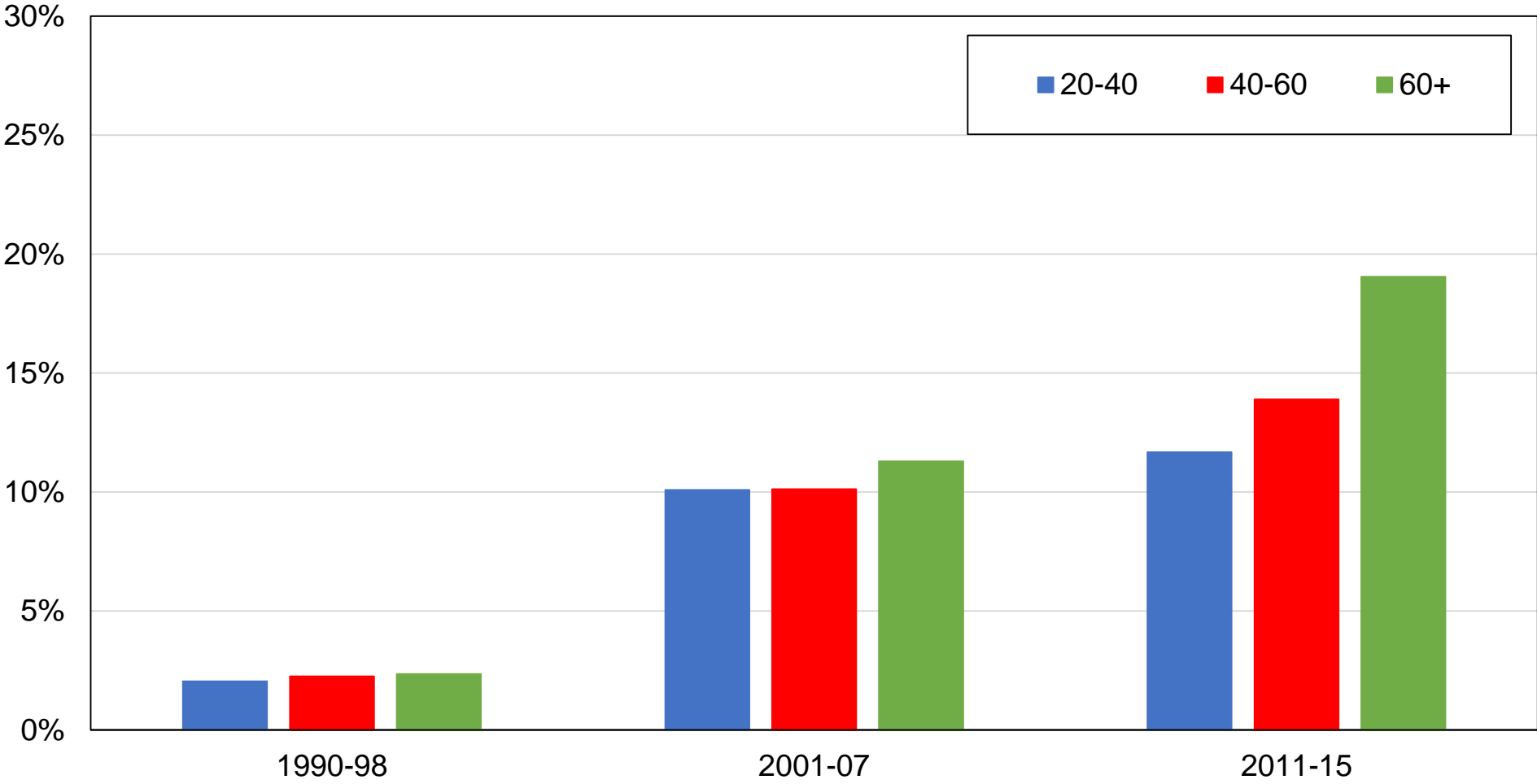
Figure BC18 - Vote for the Danish People's Party by gender in Denmark



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

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

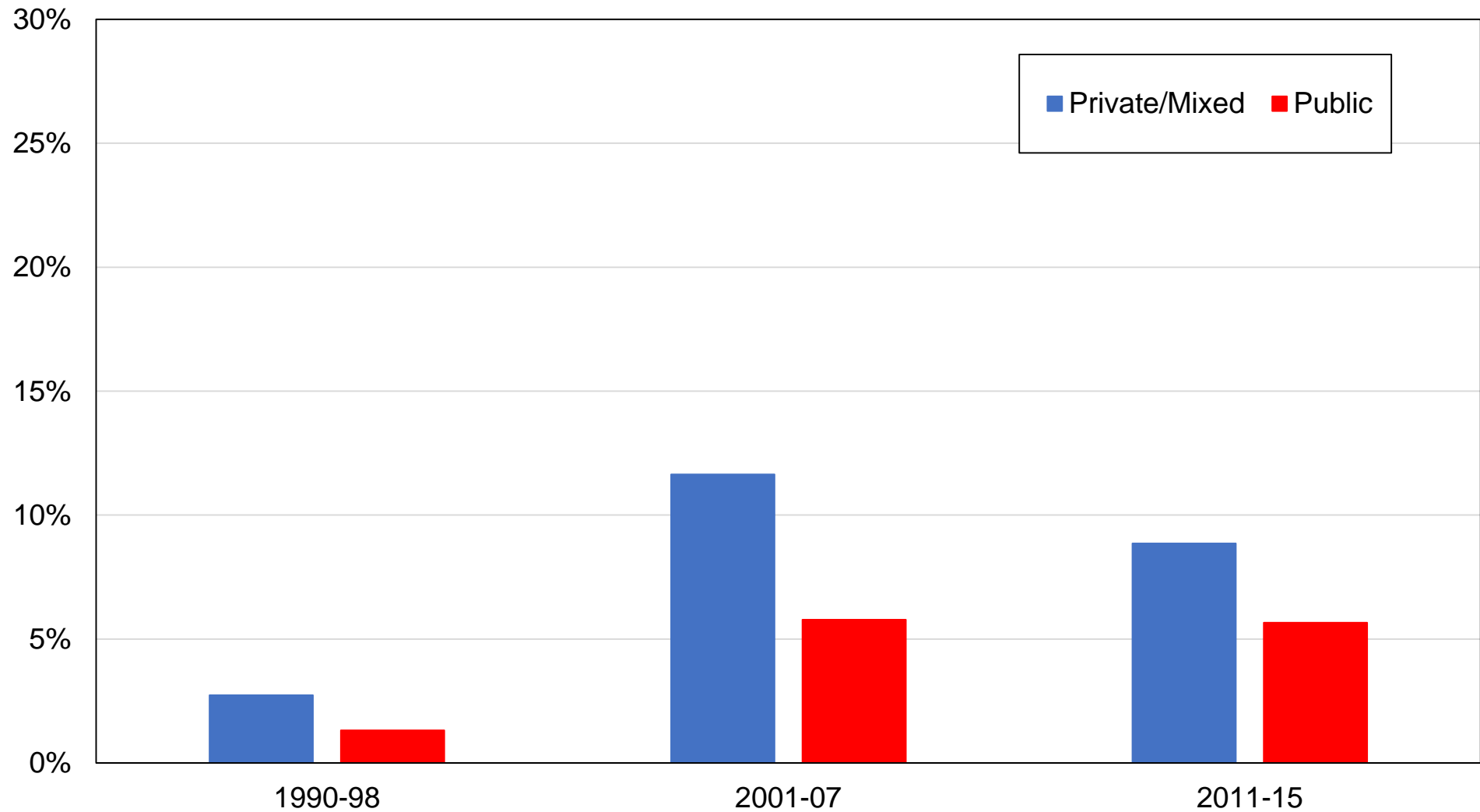
Figure BC19 - Vote for the Danish People's Party by age group in Denmark



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

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

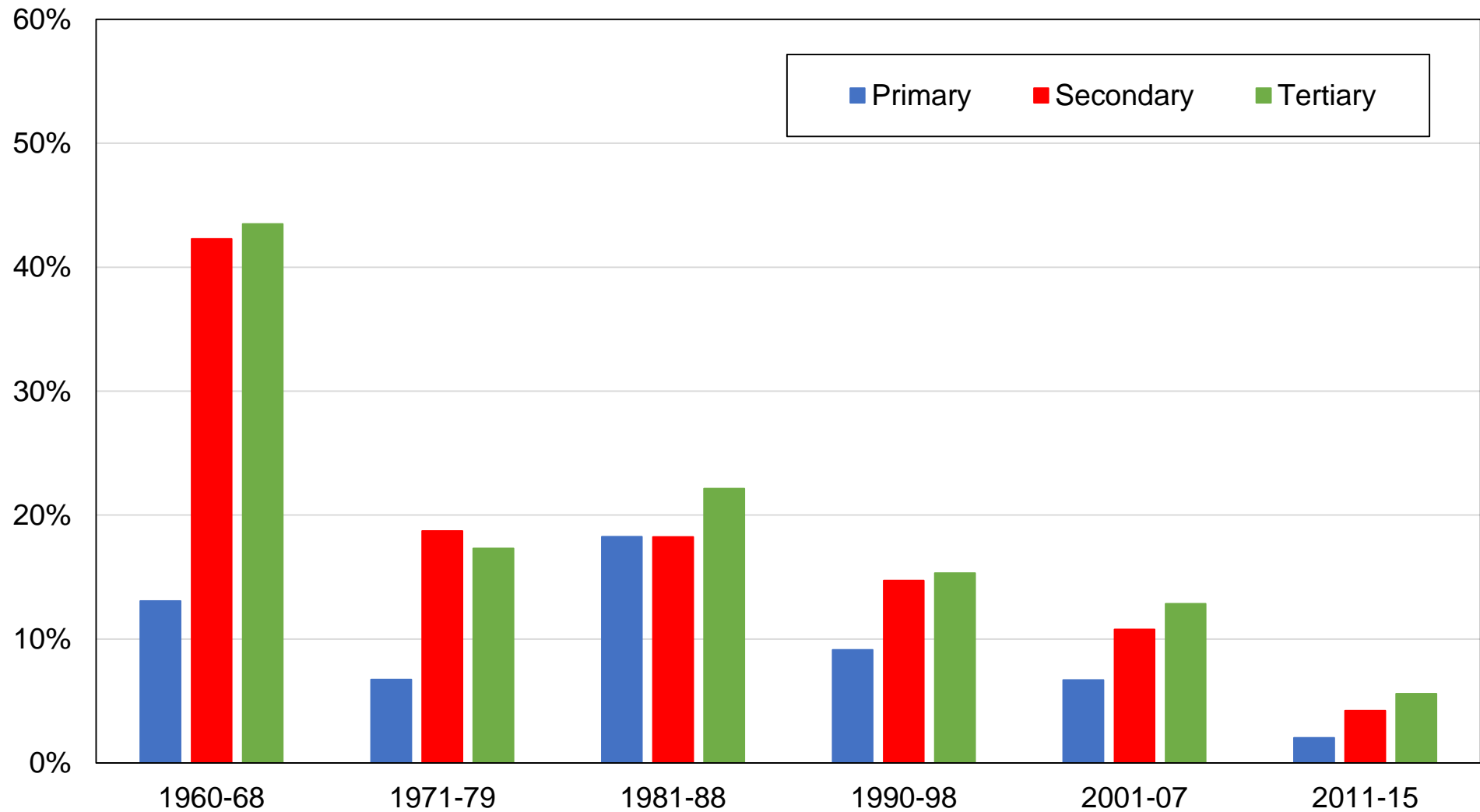
Figure BC20 - Vote for the Danish People's Party by sector in Denmark



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

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

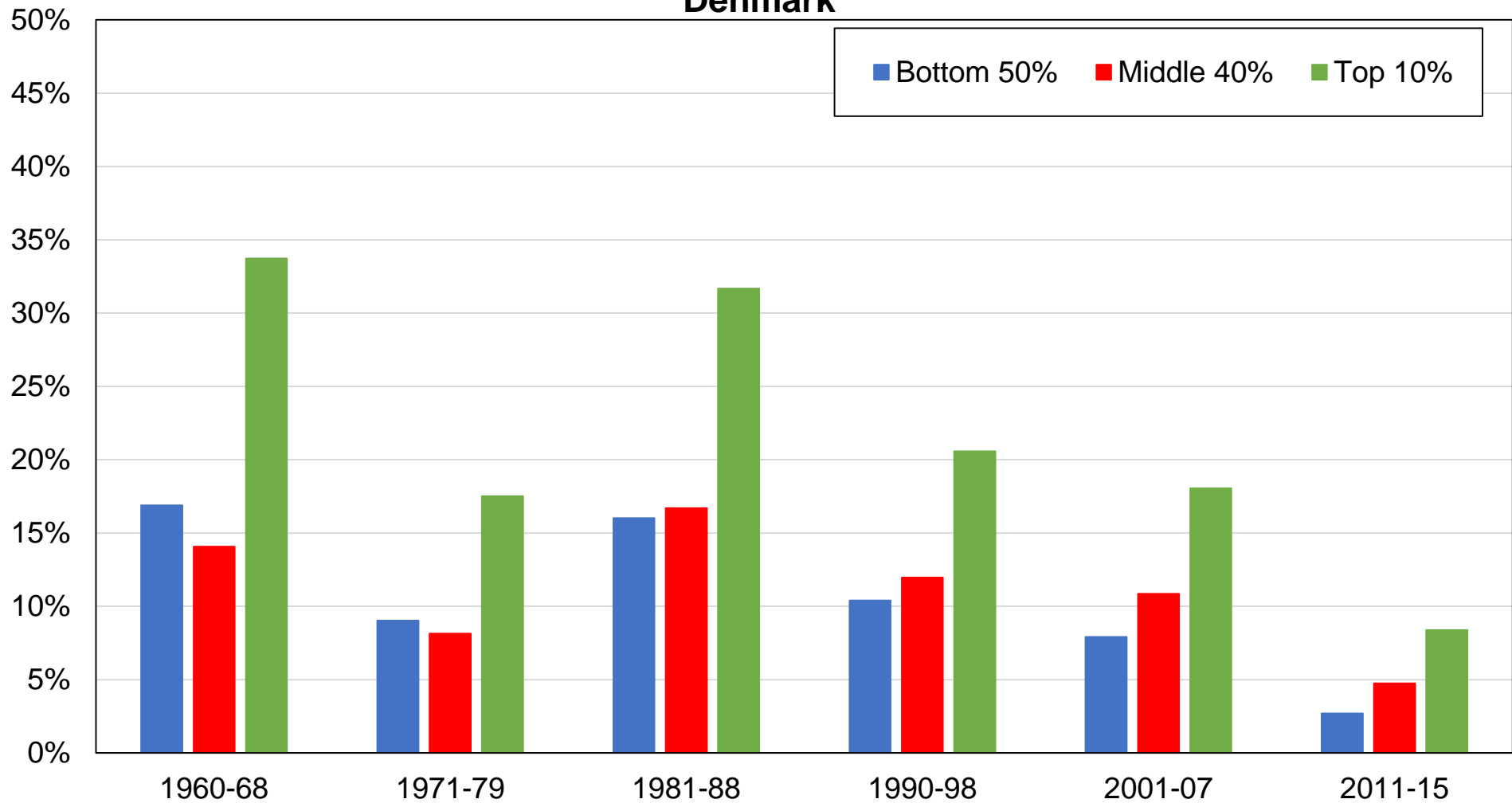
Figure BC21 - Vote for Conservative Party by education level in Denmark



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

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

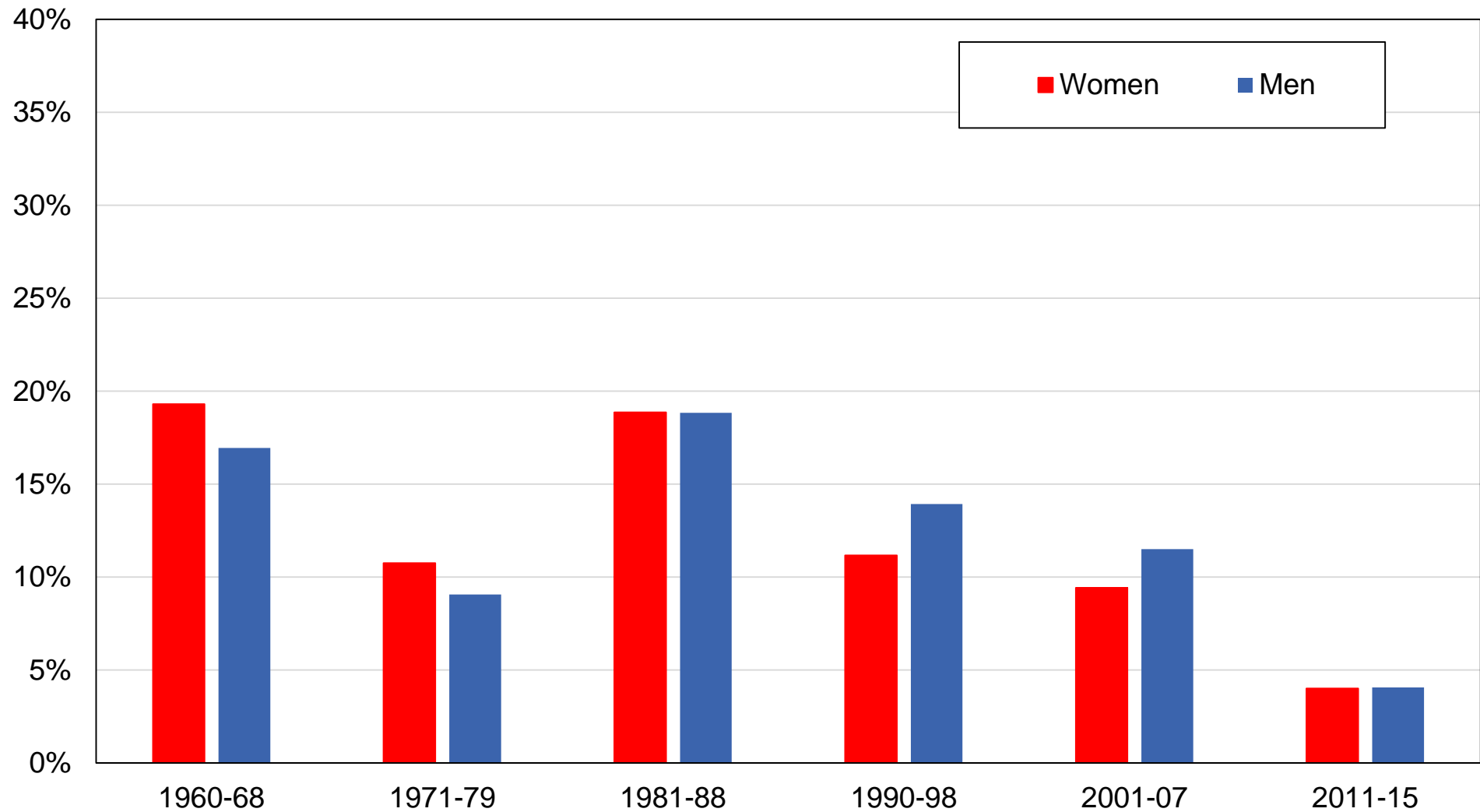
Figure BC22 - Vote for the Conservative Party by income group in Denmark



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

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

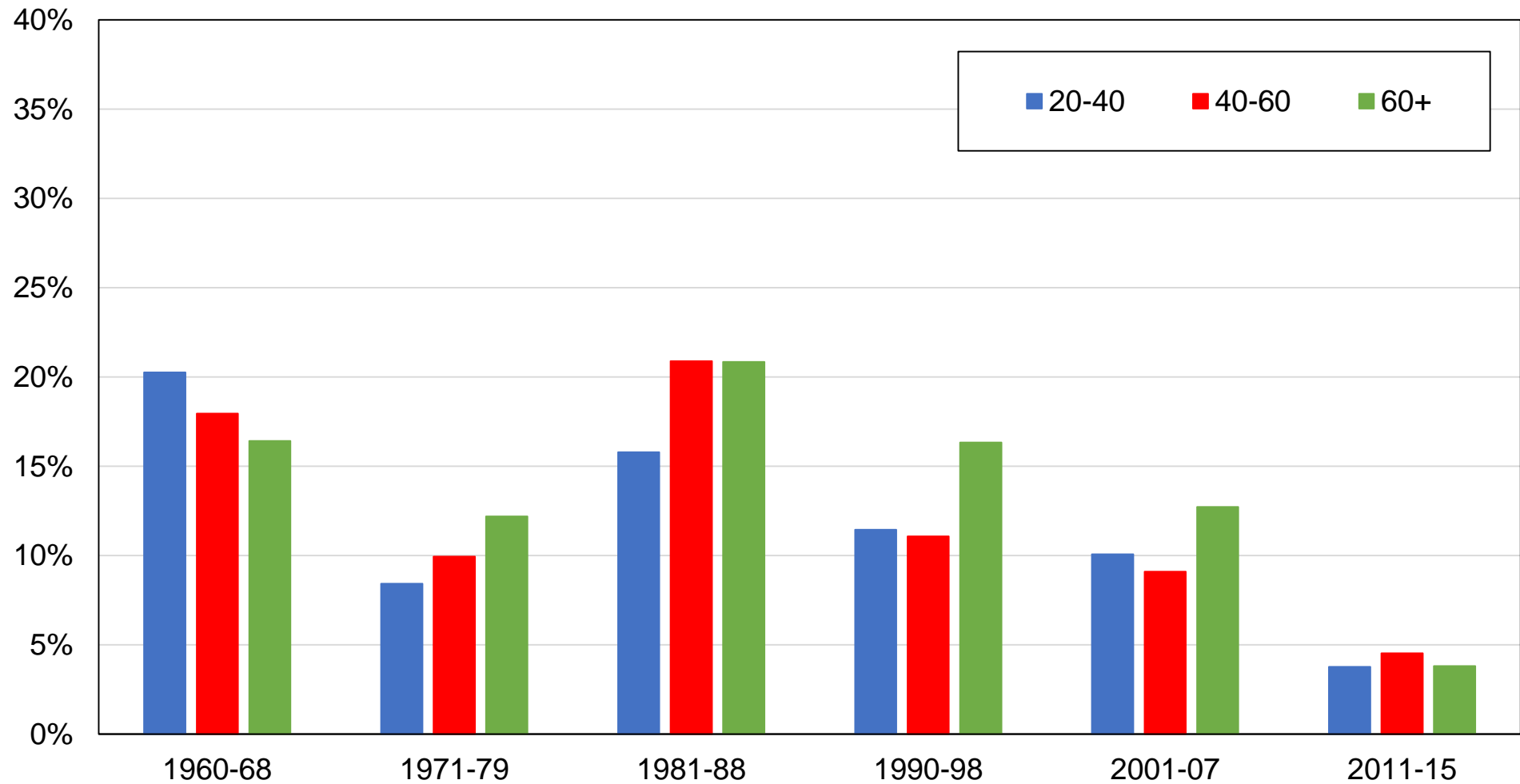
Figure BC23 - Vote for the Conservative Party by gender in Denmark



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

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

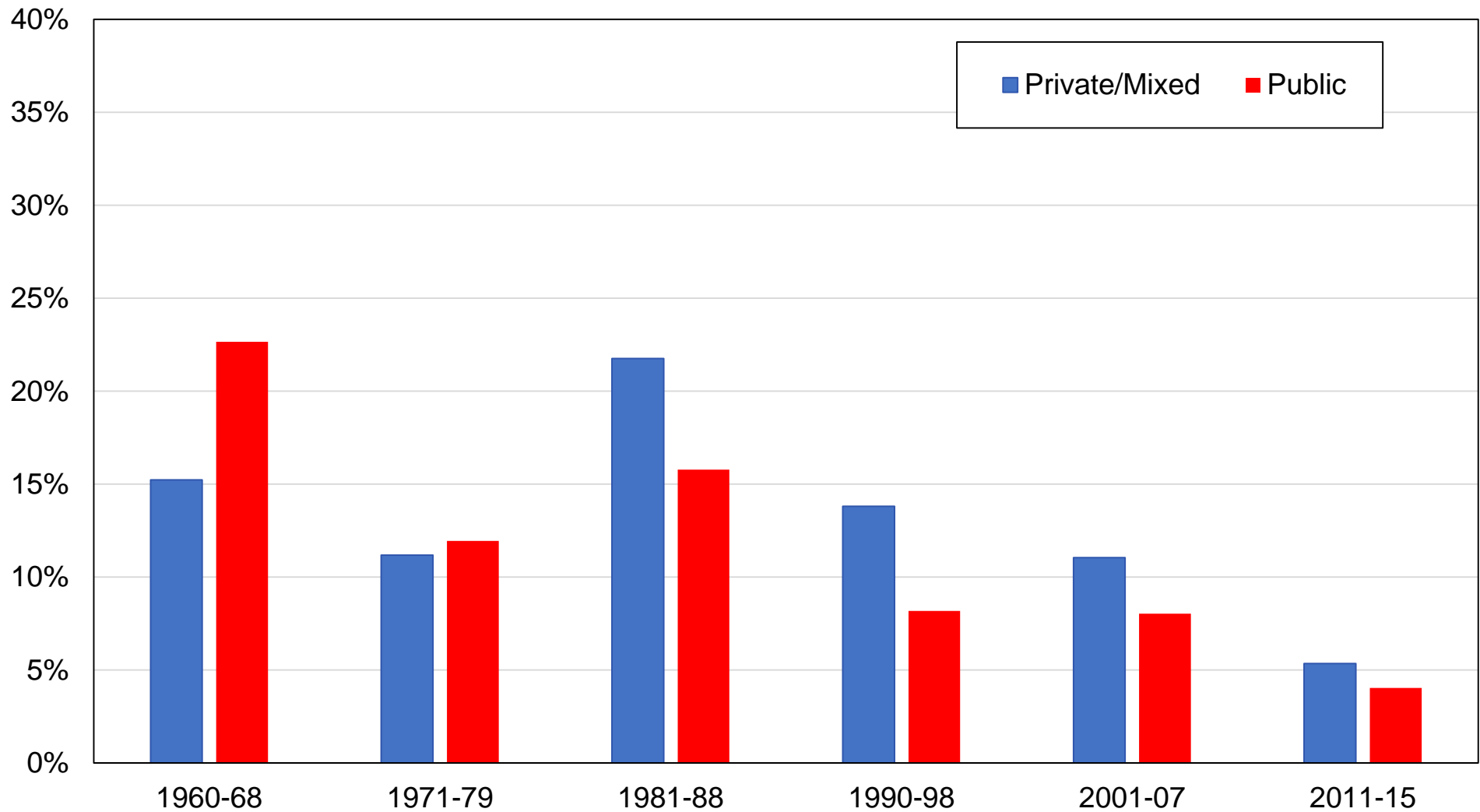
Figure BC24 - Vote for the Conservative Party by age group in Denmark



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

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

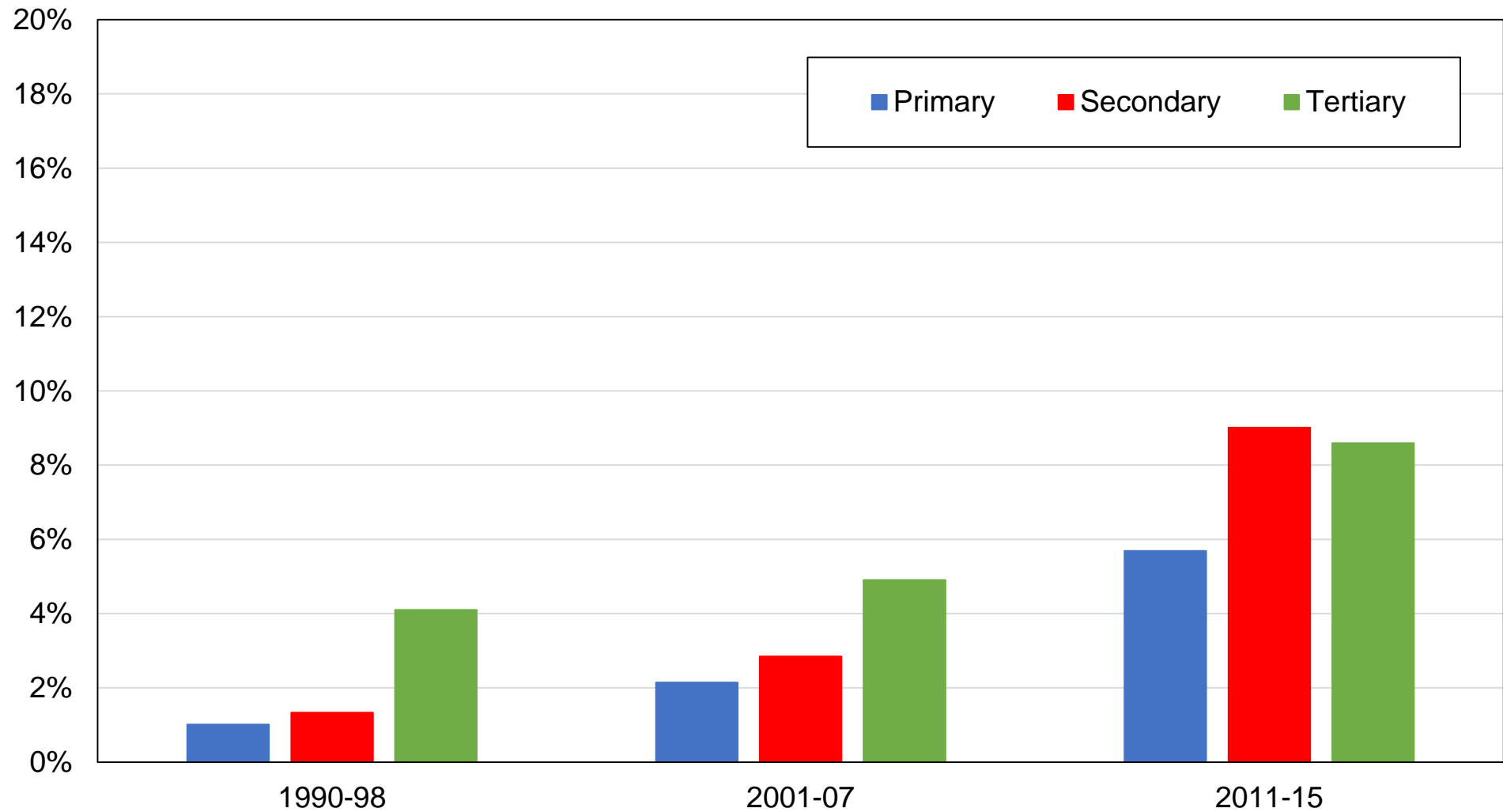
Figure BC25 - Vote for the Conservative Party by sector in Denmark



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

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

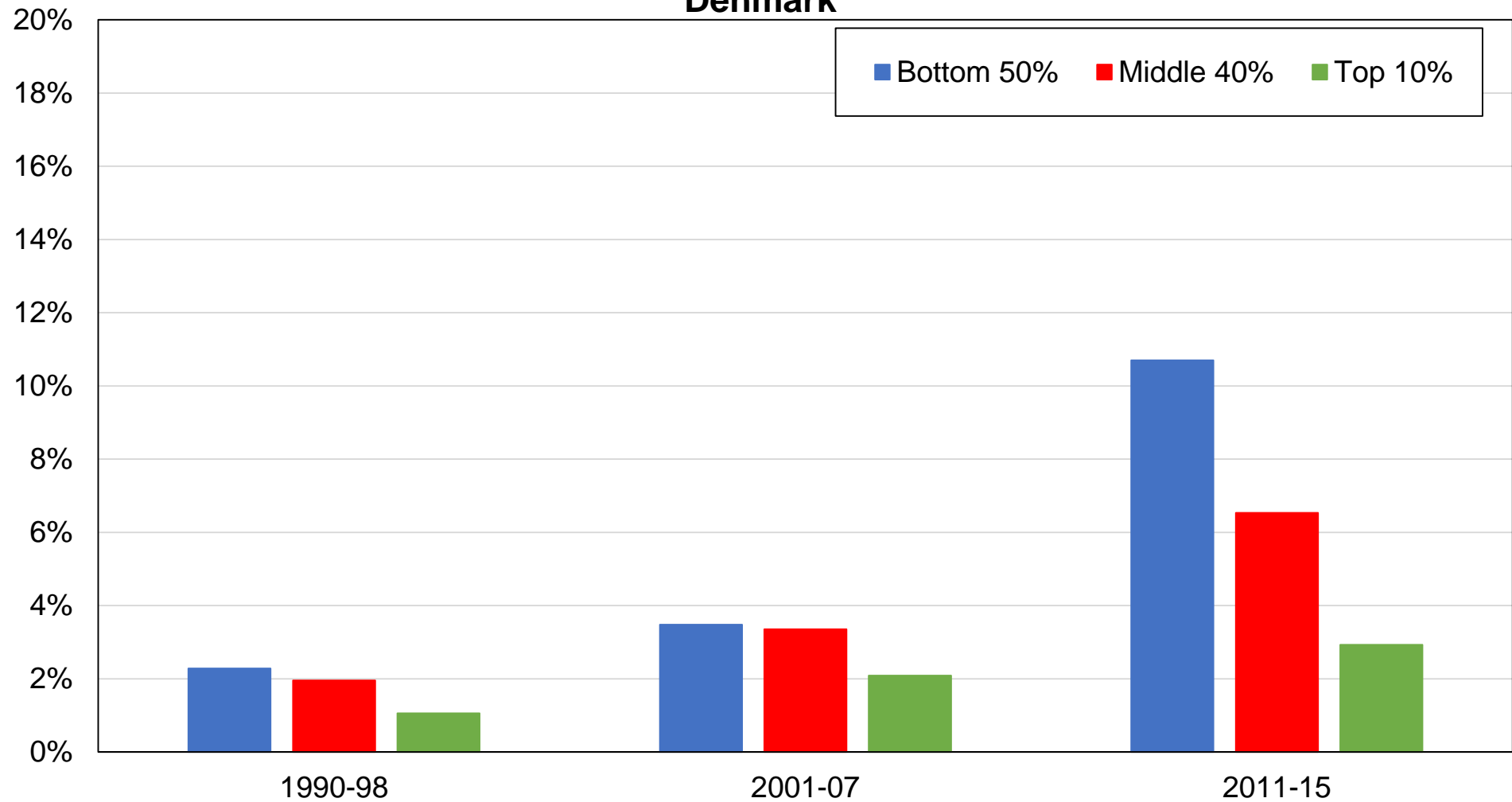
Figure BC26 - Vote for the Red-Green Alliance by education level in Denmark



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

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

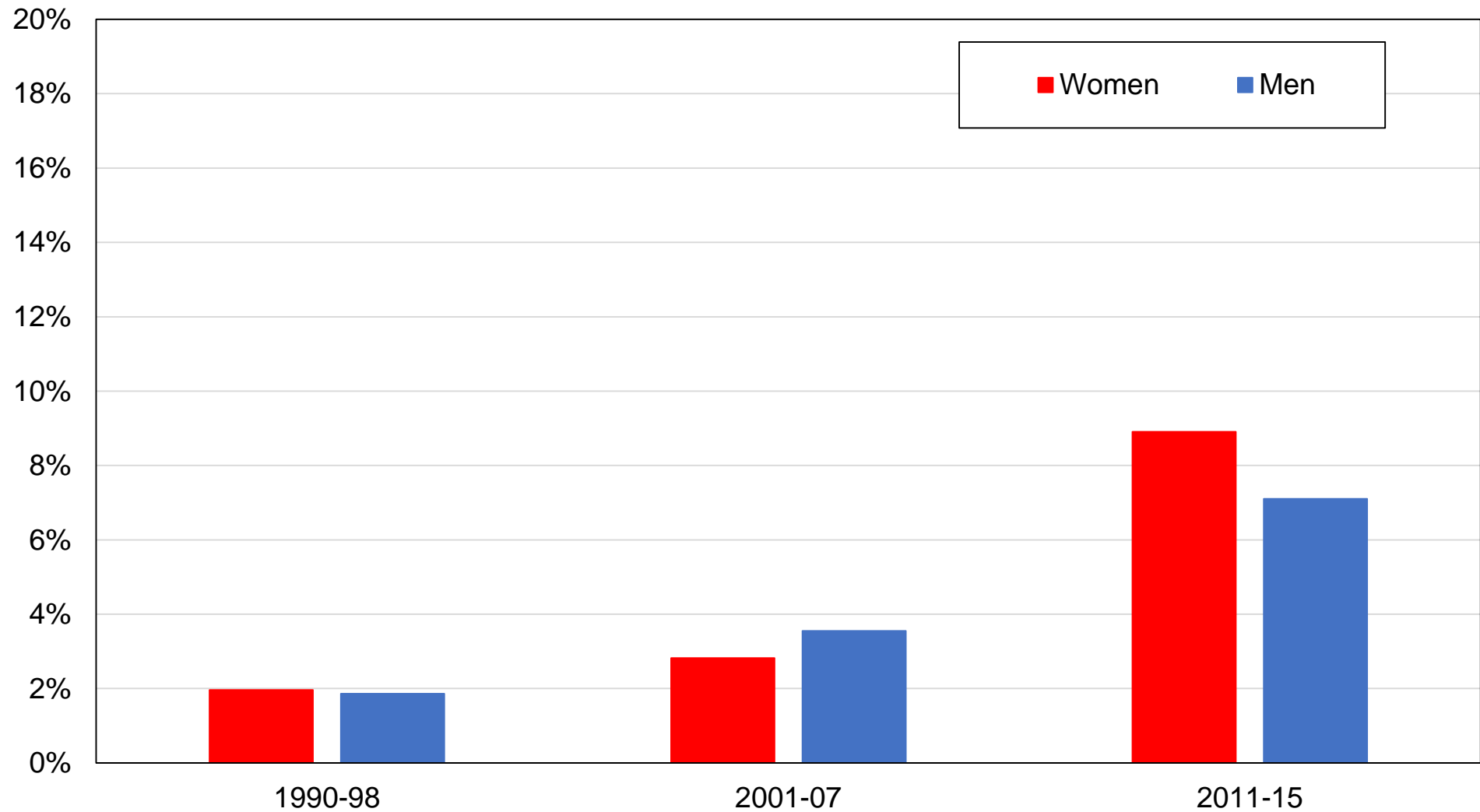
Figure BC27 - Vote for the Red-Green Alliance by income group in Denmark



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.

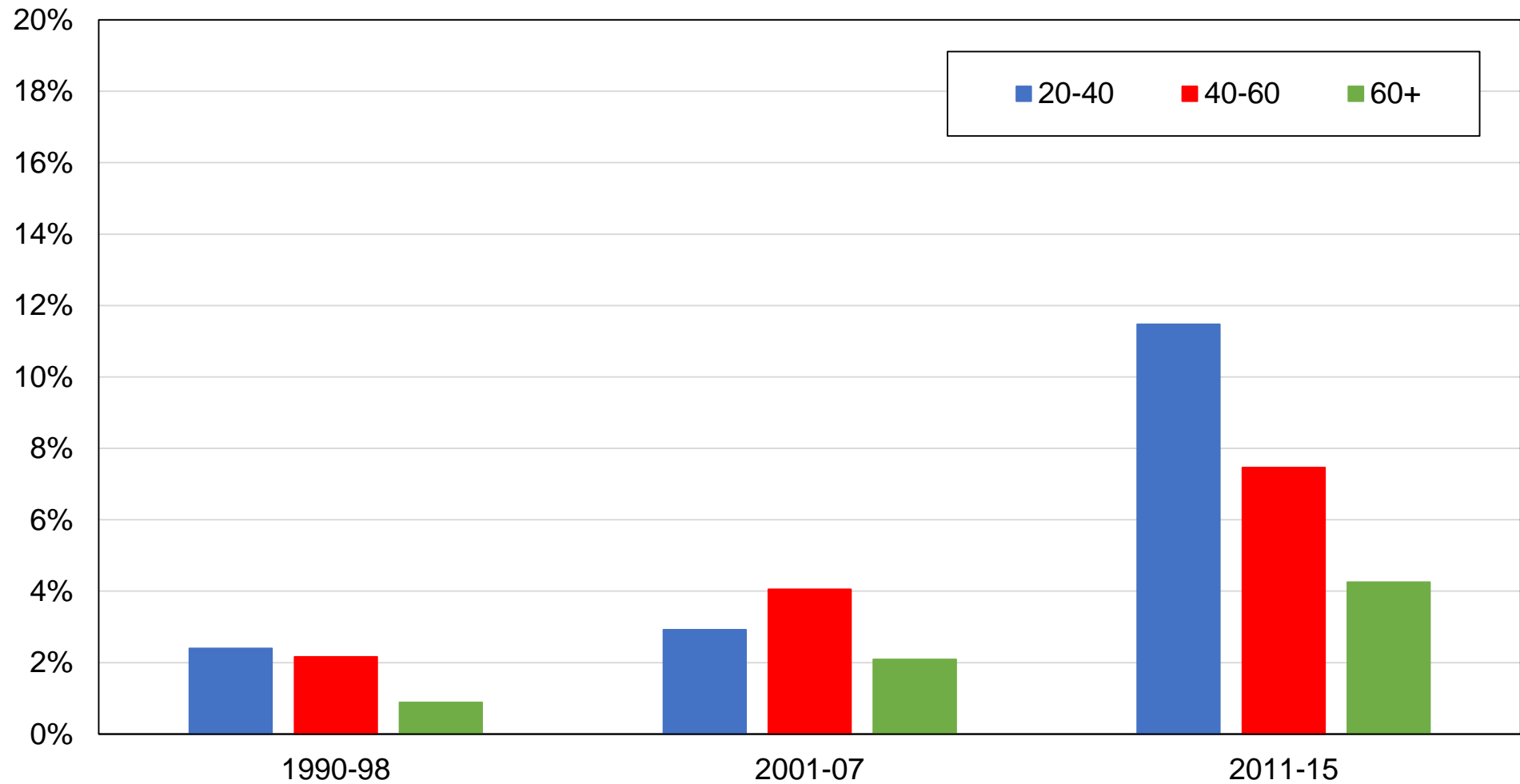
Figure BC28 - Vote for the Red-Green Alliance by gender in Denmark



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

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

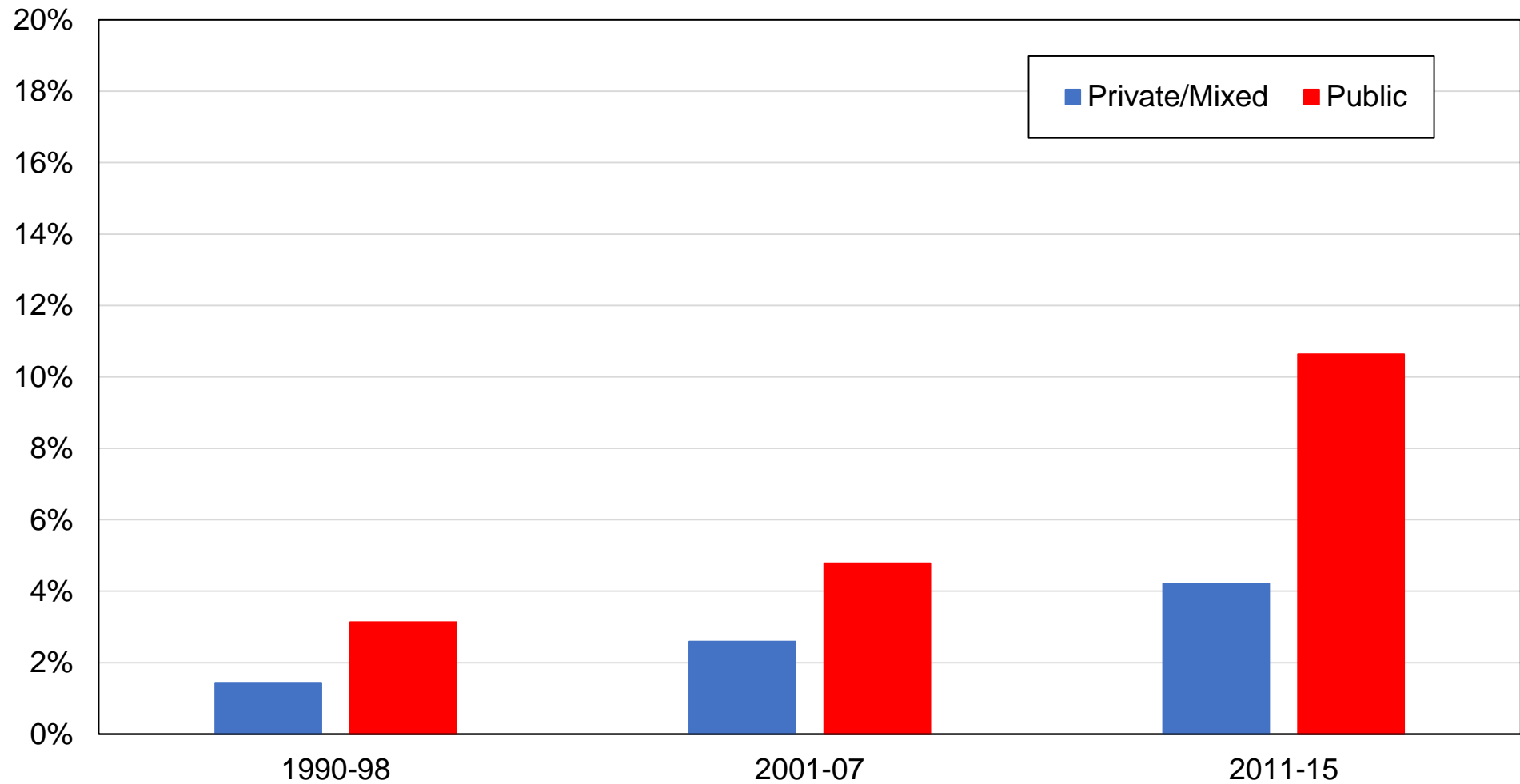
Figure BC29 - Vote for the Red-Green Alliance by age group in Denmark



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.

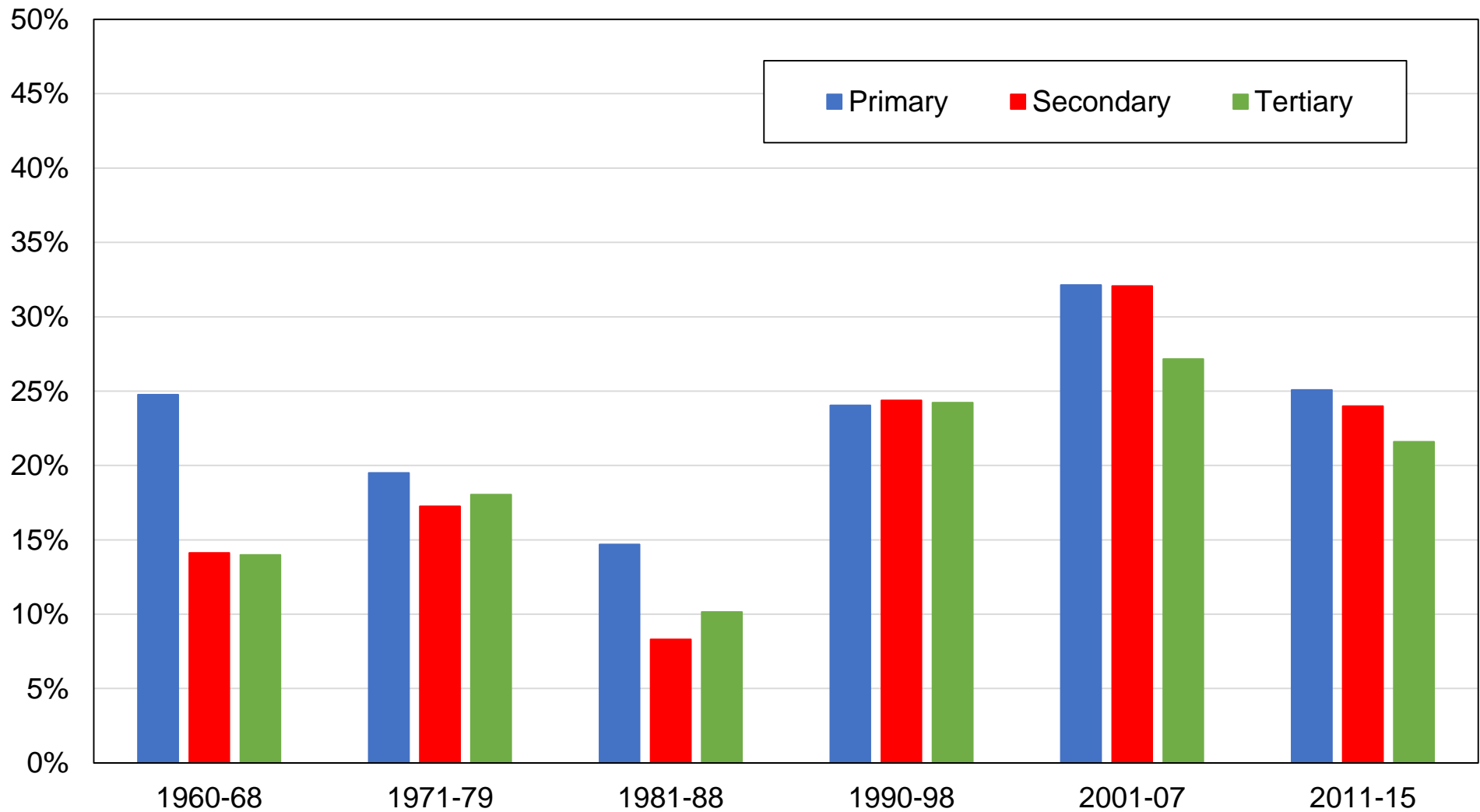
Figure BC30 - Vote for the Red-Green Alliance by sector in Denmark



Source: authors' computations using Danish post electoral surveys.

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

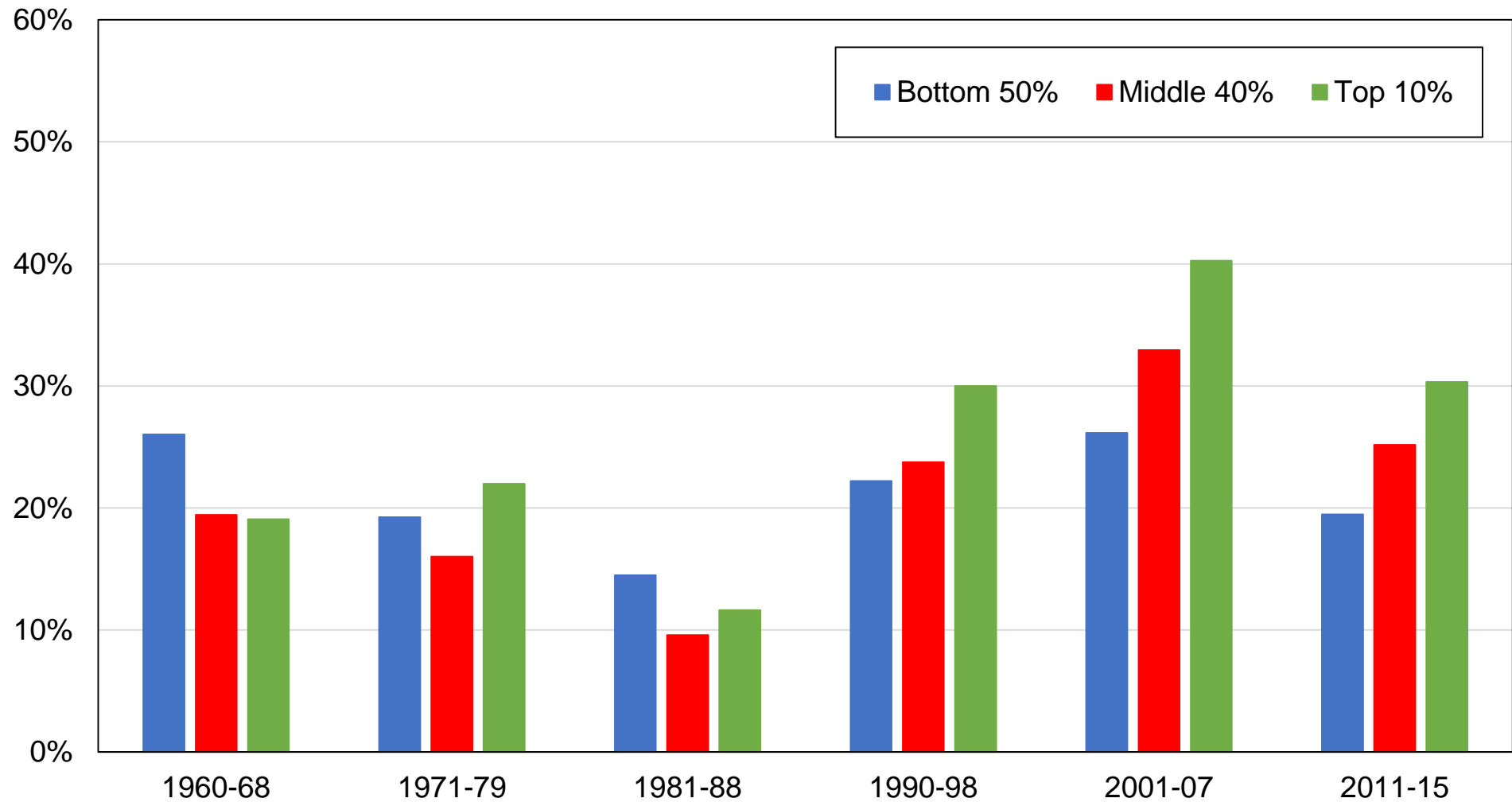
Figure BC31 - Vote for the Venstre by education level in Denmark



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

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

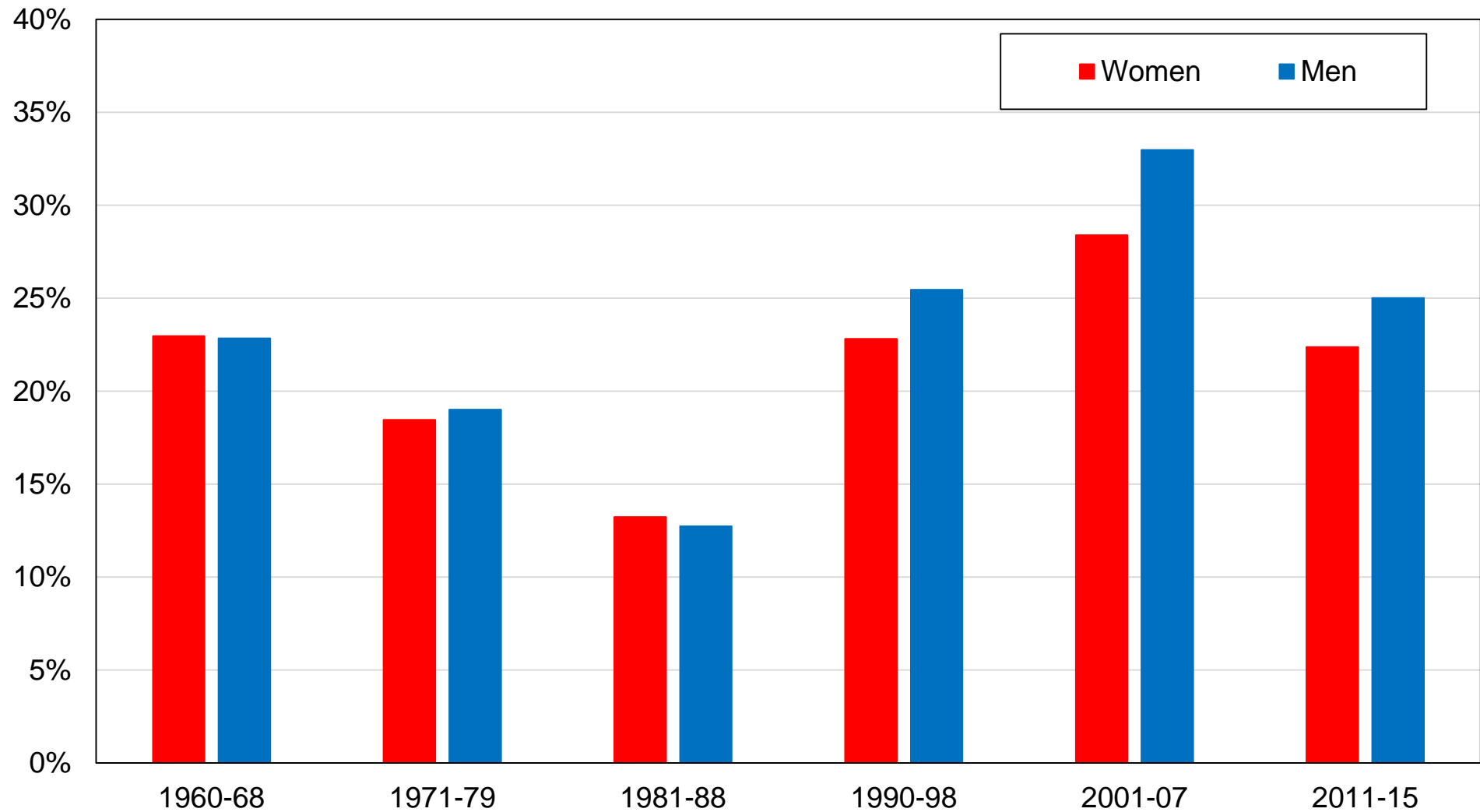
Figure BC32 - Vote for the Venstre by income group in Denmark



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

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

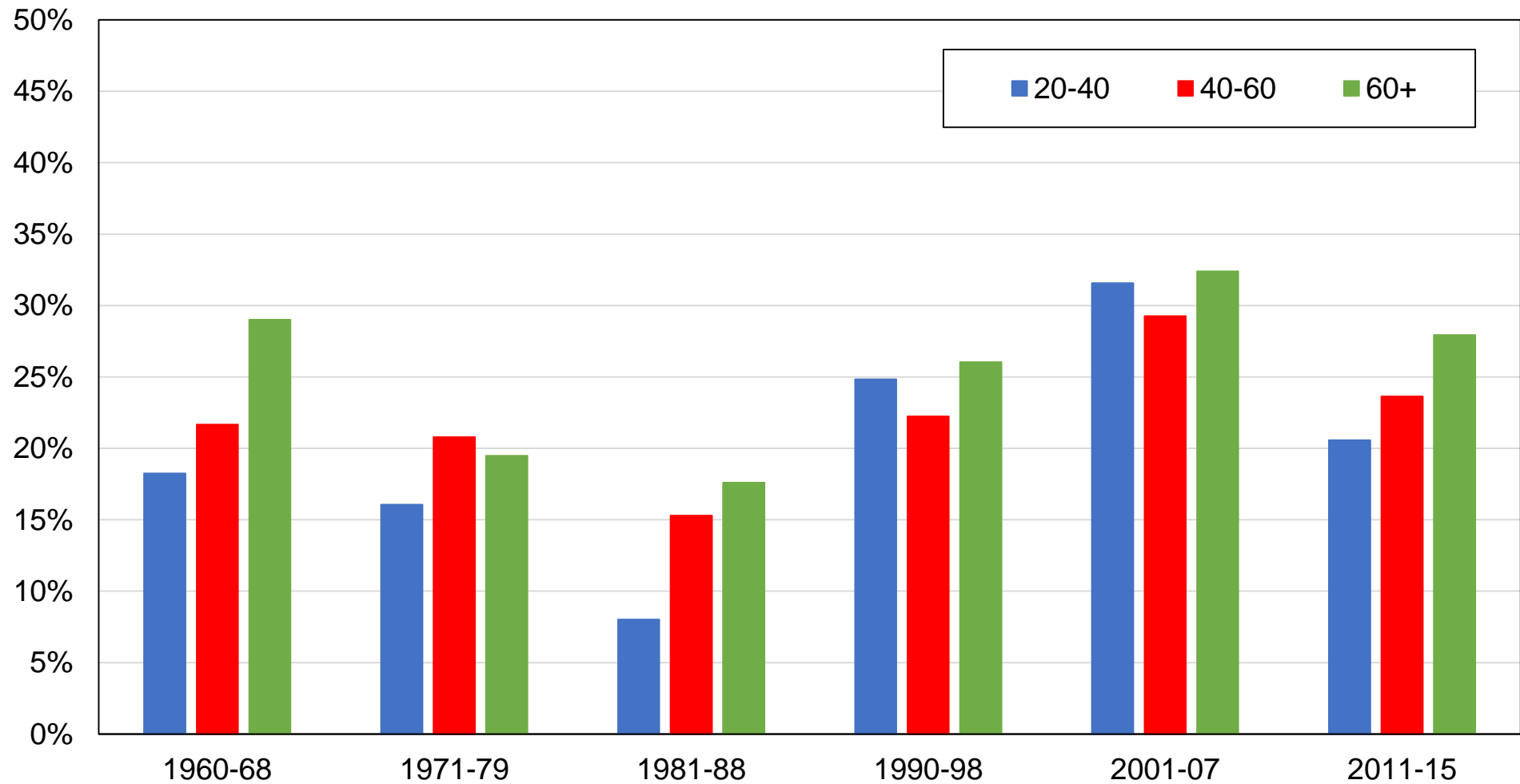
Figure BC33 - Vote for the Venstre by gender in Denmark



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

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

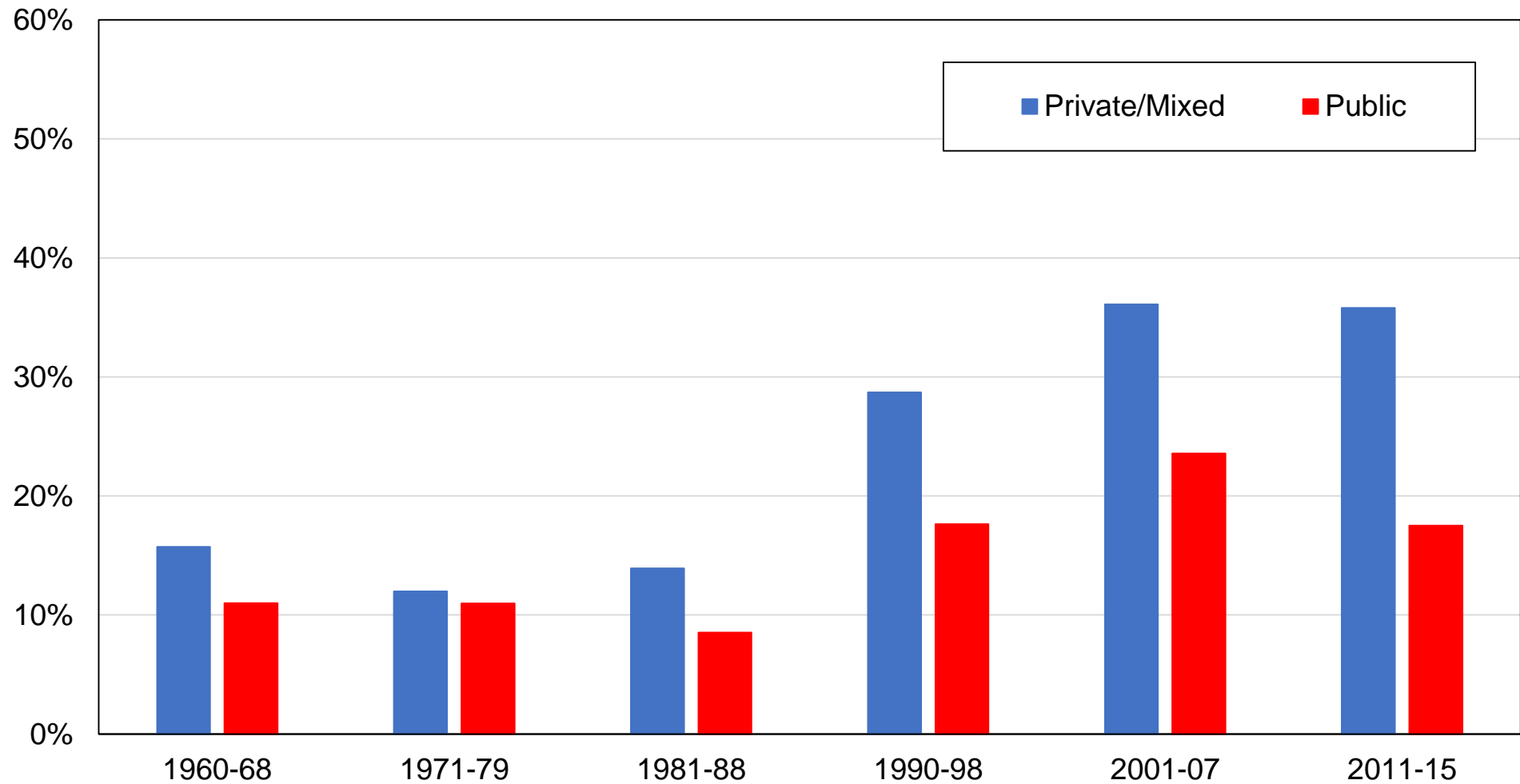
Figure BC34 - Vote for the Venstre by age group in Denmark



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

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

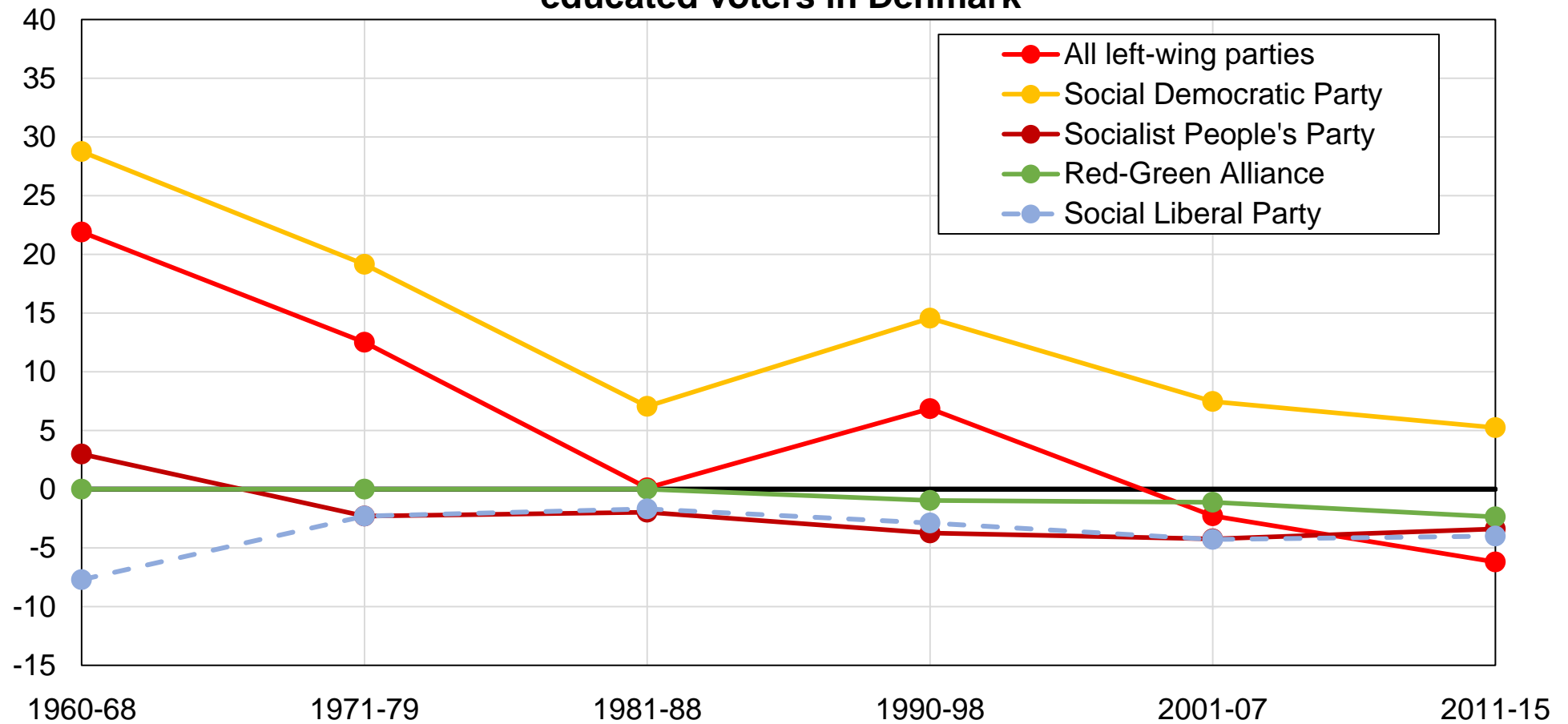
Figure BC35 - Vote for the Venstre by sector in Denmark



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

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

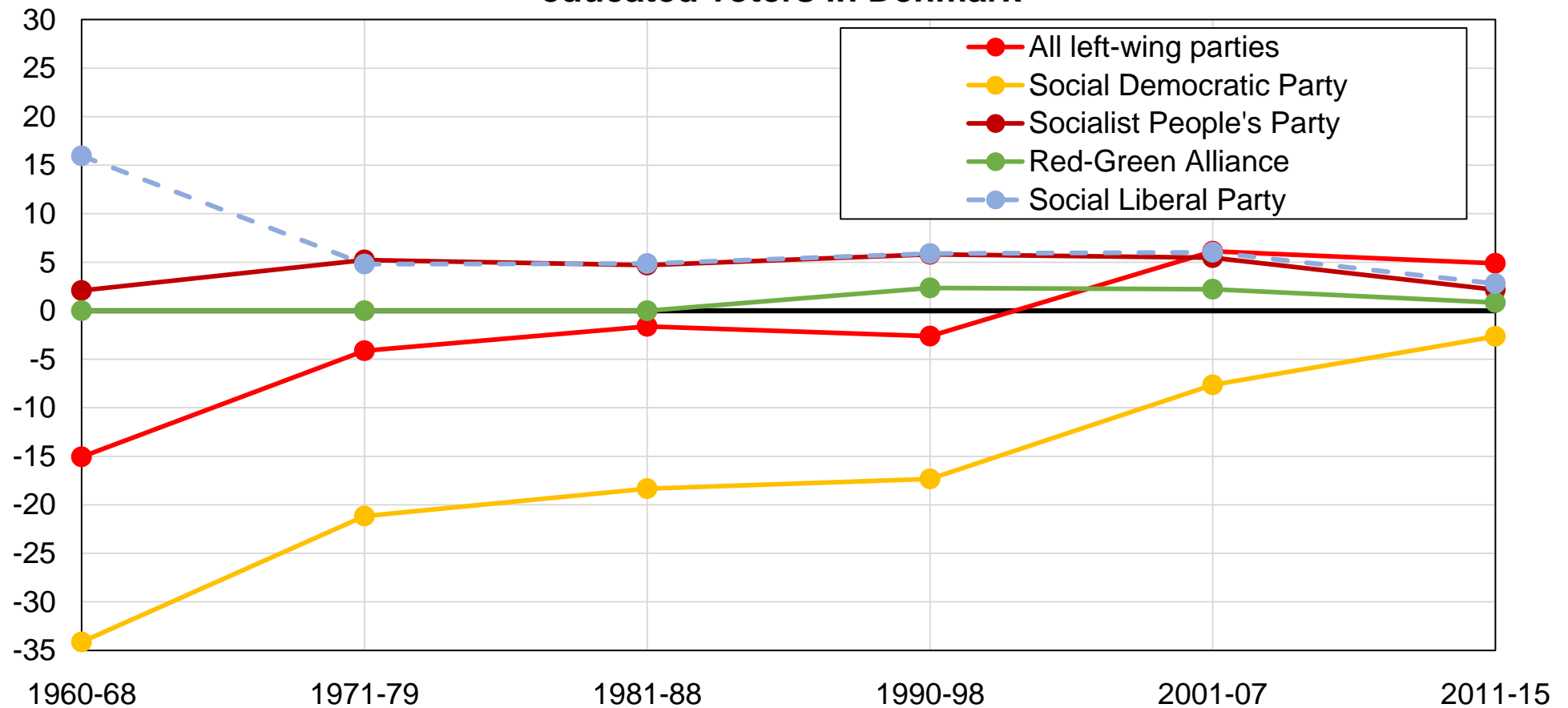
Figure BC36 - Decomposition of the vote for the left among primary-educated voters in Denmark



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 controlling for income, gender, age, marital status, employment status, union membership, and region. Given its peculiar ideological position, the Social Liberal Party is represented with a dashed line.

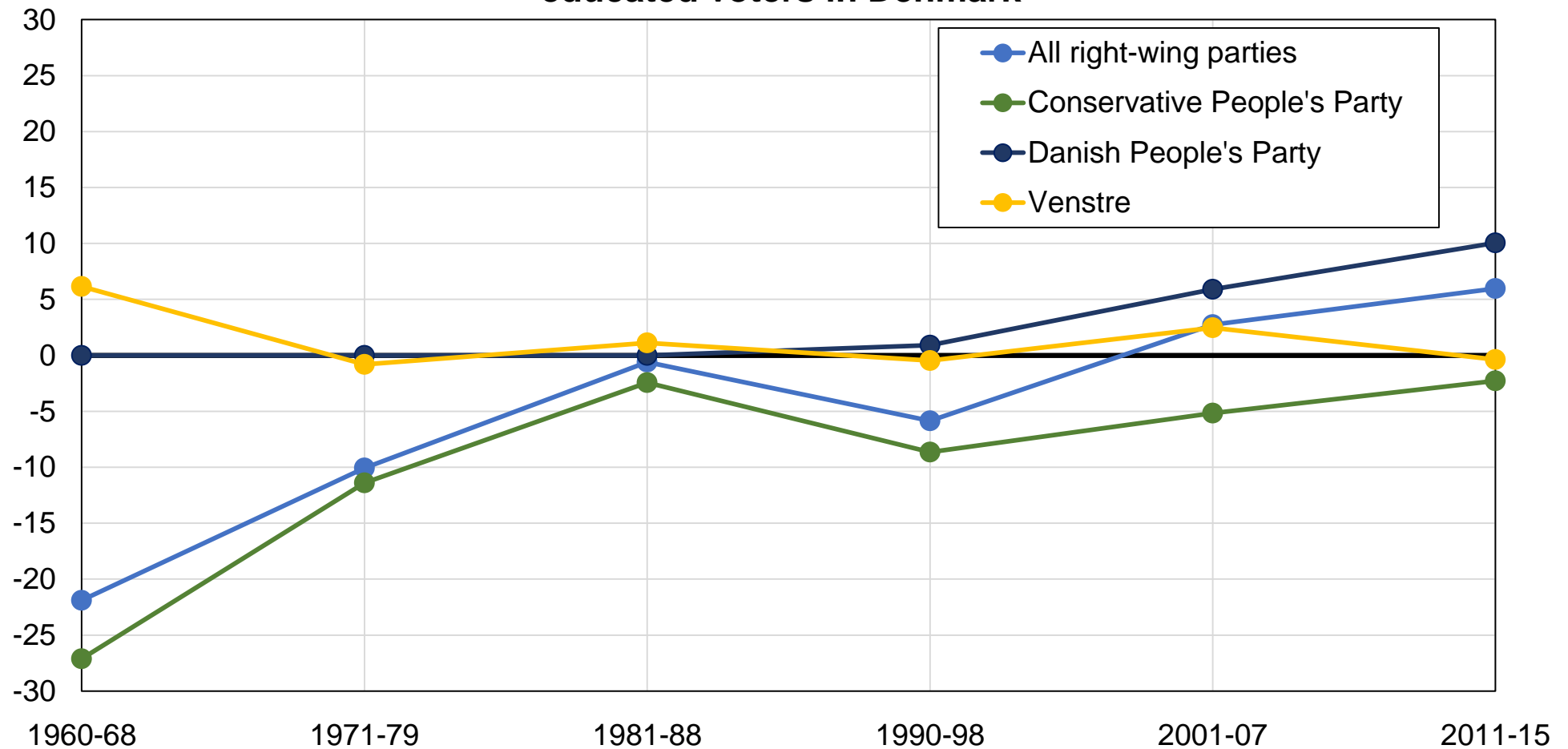
Figure BC37 - Decomposition of the vote for the left among tertiary-educated voters in Denmark



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 controlling for income, gender, age, marital status, employment status, union membership, and region. Given its peculiar ideological position, the Social Liberal Party is represented with a dashed line.

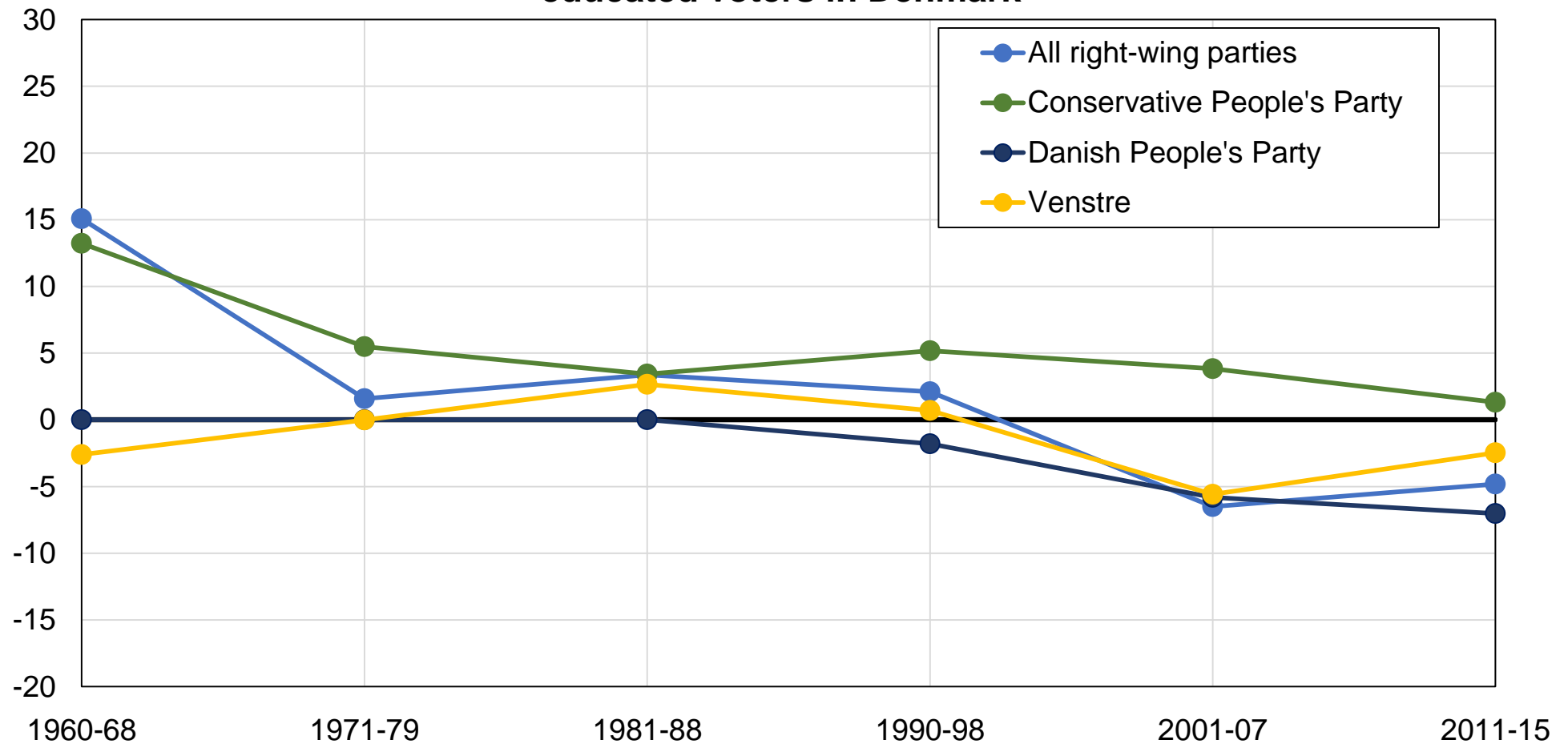
Figure BC38 - Decomposition of the vote for the right among primary-educated voters in Denmark



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

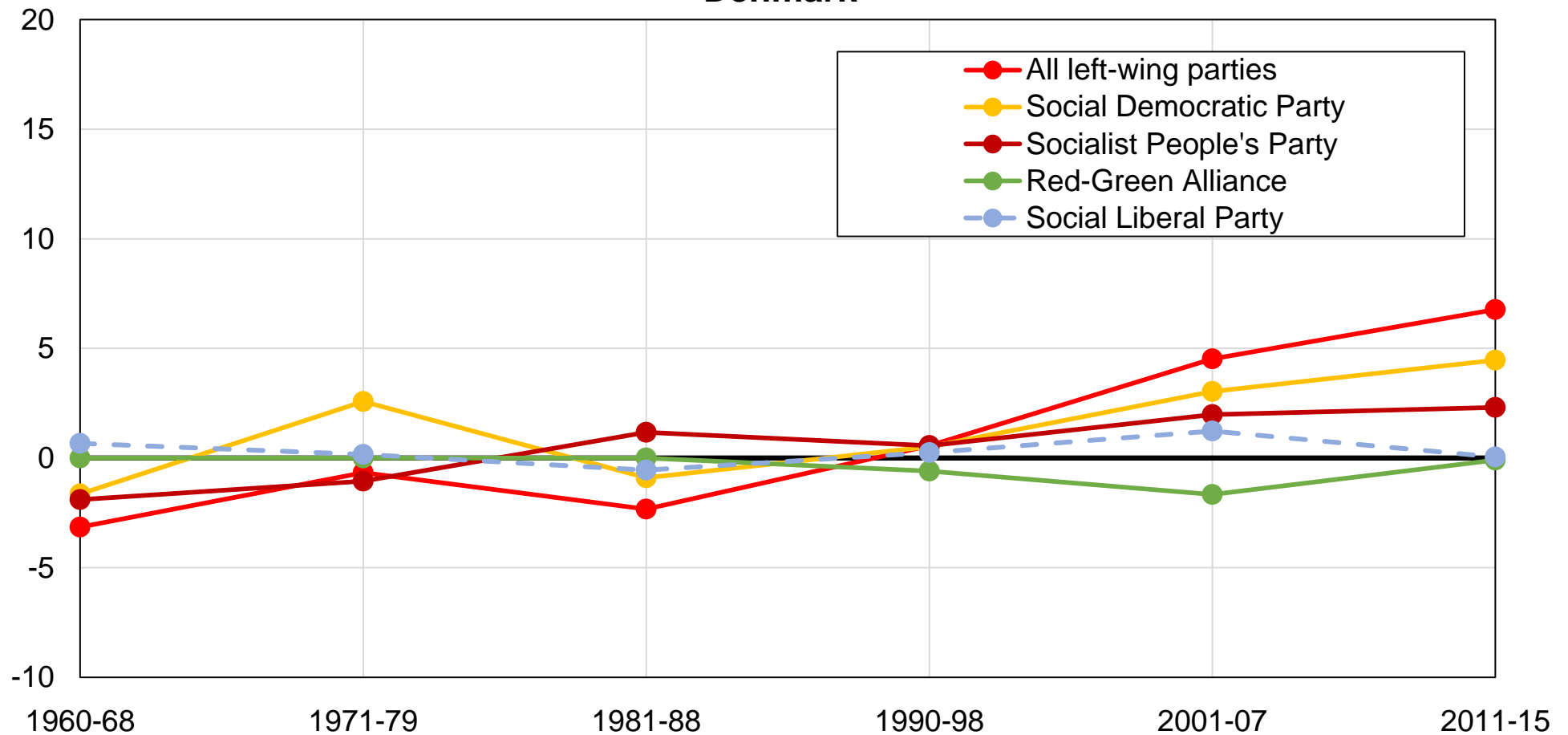
Figure BC39 - Decomposition of the vote for the right among tertiary-educated voters in Denmark



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

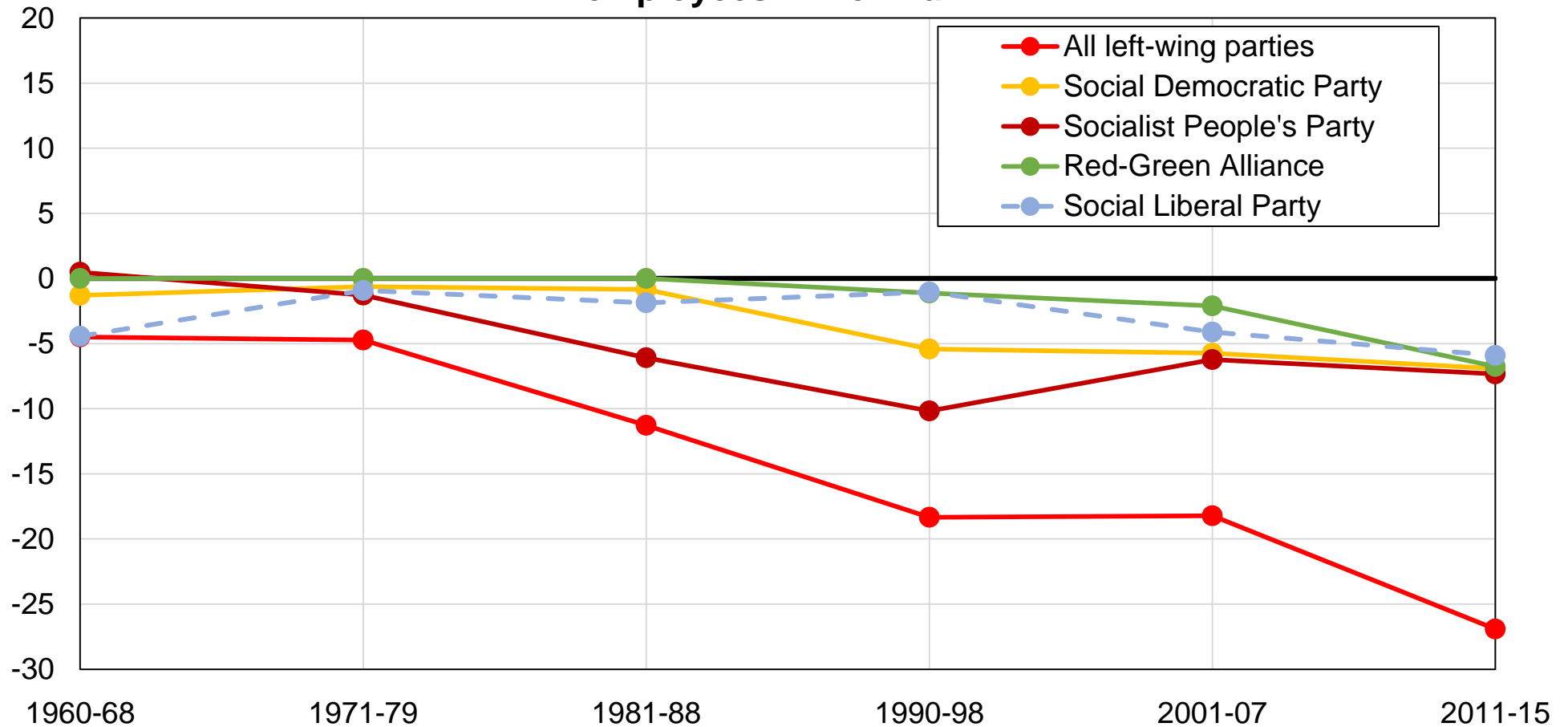
Figure BC40 - Decomposition of the vote for the left among women in Denmark



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 controlling for income, education, age, marital status, region, and sector. Given its peculiar ideological position, the Social Liberal Party is represented with a dashed line.

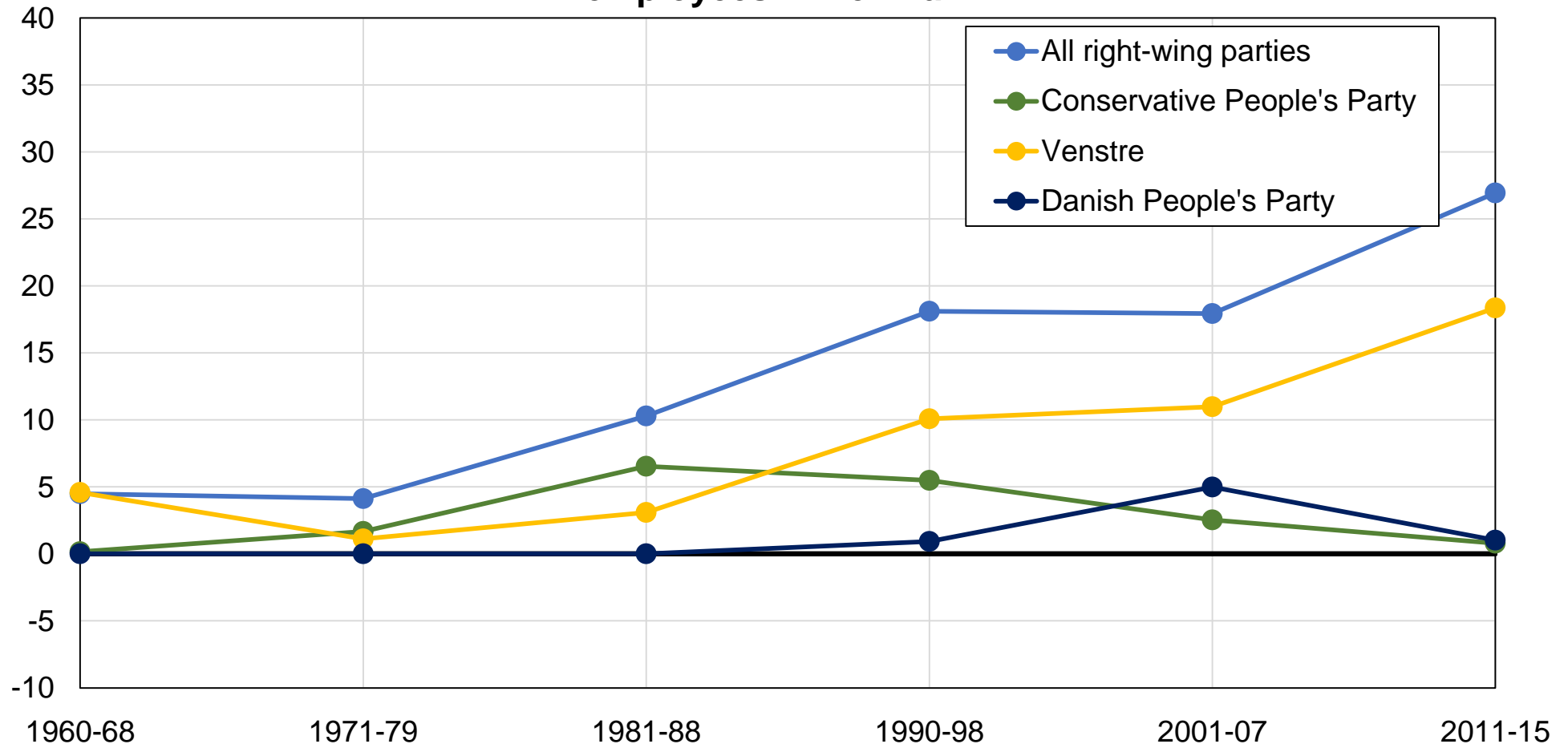
Figure BC41 - Decomposition of the vote for left among private sector employees in Denmark



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 controlling for income, education, age, gender, marital status, and region. 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 controlling for income, education, age, gender, marital status, and region.

Table BD1 - Survey data sources in Denmark

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

Source: authors' elaboration.

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

Table BD2 - Complete descriptive statistics by decade in Denmark

	1960-68	1971-79	1981-88	1990-98	2001-07	2011-15
Age: 20-40	40%	33%	40%	39%	29%	36%
Age: 40-60	35%	33%	31%	35%	38%	37%
Age: 60+	25%	34%	29%	26%	33%	27%
Subjective class: Working class	41%	44%	43%	40%		24%
Subjective class: Middle class/Upper class	59%	56%	57%	60%		76%
Education: Primary	81%	70%	69%	41%	30%	25%
Education: Secondary	15%	21%	17%	34%	39%	49%
Education: Tertiary	4%	9%	14%	26%	30%	27%
Employment status (recoded): Employed public	17%	19%	23%	25%	22%	29%
Employment status (recoded): Employed private	38%	32%	35%	35%	35%	44%
Employment status (recoded): Unemployed/Inactive	45%	49%	42%	40%	44%	26%
Home ownership: Renting	42%	32%	30%	29%	26%	32%
Home ownership: Owning	58%	68%	70%	71%	74%	68%
Marital status: Single	22%	22%	34%	34%	33%	49%
Marital status: Married / Partner	78%	78%	66%	66%	67%	51%
Region: Capital	22%	24%	27%	24%	30%	26%
Region: Central Jutland	30%	26%	34%	23%	23%	28%
Region: Northern Jutland	14%	10%	11%	9%	9%	9%
Region: Southern Denmark	15%	21%	11%	25%	23%	24%
Region: Zealand	19%	19%	17%	18%	15%	13%
Rural / urban: Urban		68%	71%	81%	79%	62%
Rural / urban: Rural		32%	29%	19%	21%	38%
Sector: Private/Mixed	69%	62%	60%	59%	61%	60%
Sector: Public	31%	38%	40%	41%	39%	40%
Gender: Women	51%	51%	54%	49%	47%	50%
Gender: Men	49%	49%	46%	51%	53%	50%
Union membership: Not union member		52%	46%	26%	33%	39%
Union membership: Union member		48%	54%	74%	67%	61%

Source: authors' computations using Danish electoral surveys.

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