

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

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Appendix D: Finland figures, tables and raw results

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- Figure D2 The path towards a multi-elite party system in Finland
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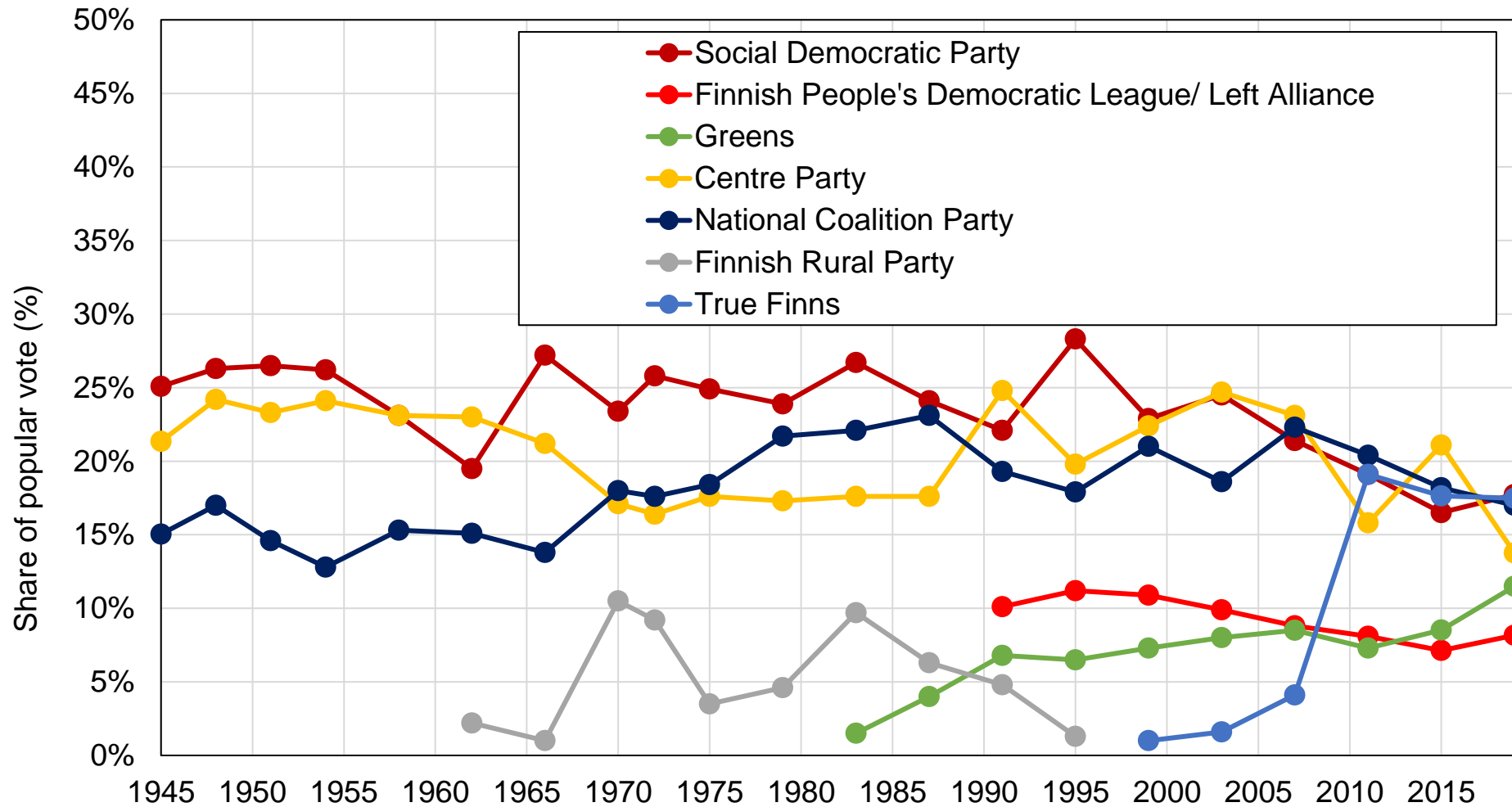
Figure DC30 Decomposition of the vote for the right among women in Finland

Appendix Tables

Table DC1 Survey data sources

Table DC2 Complete descriptive statistics by decade

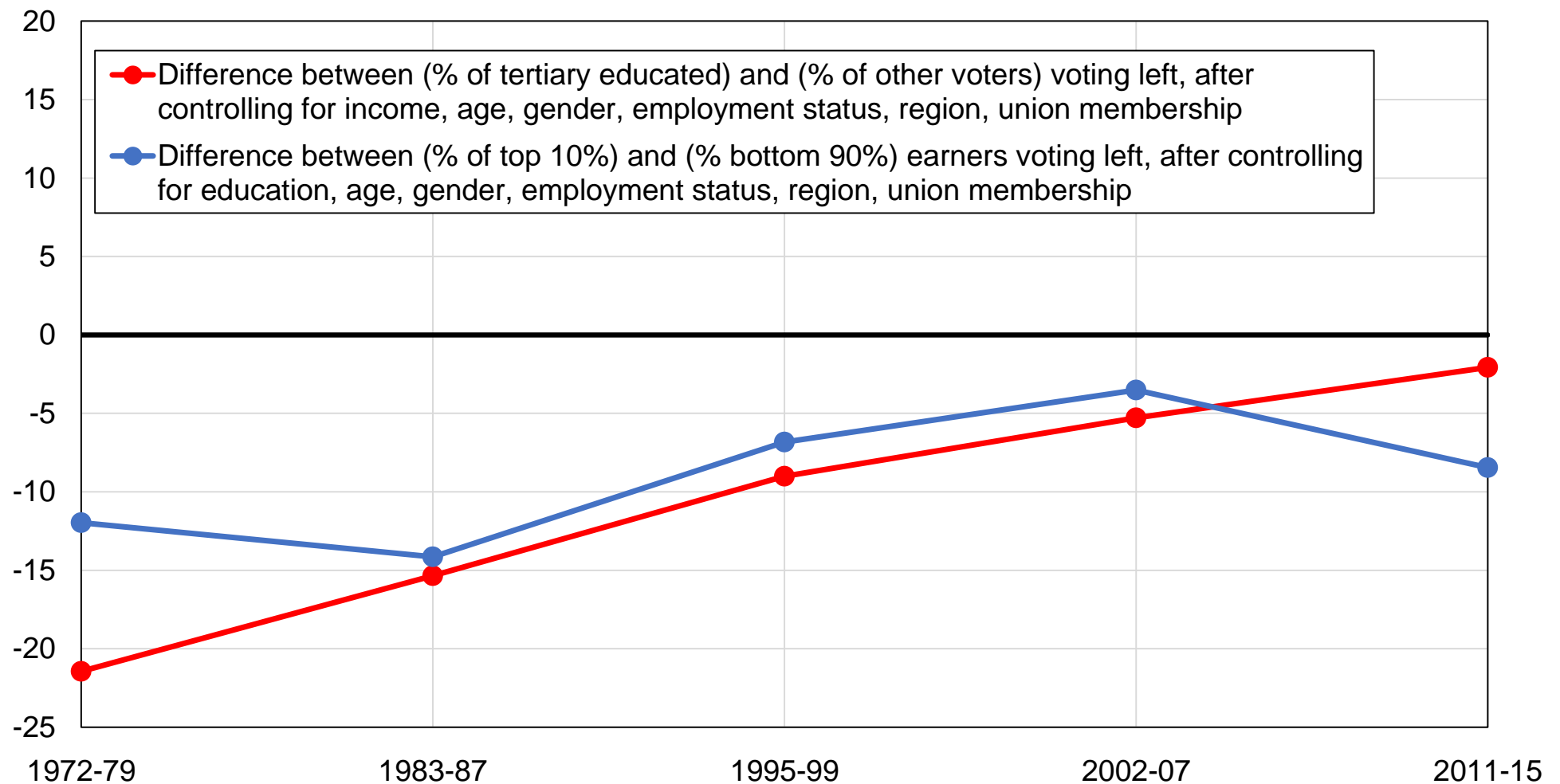
Figure D1 - Election results in Finland, 1945-2019



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

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

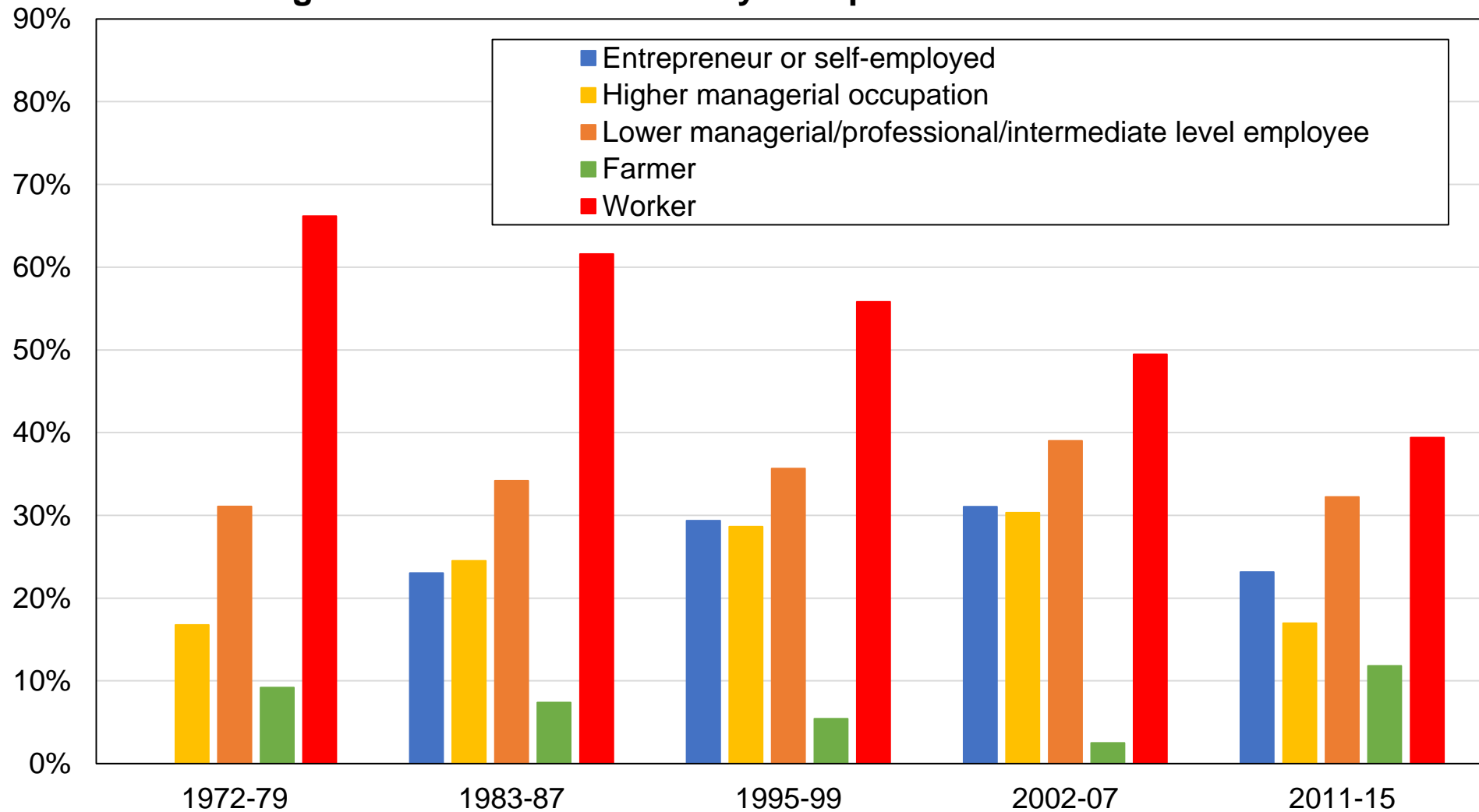
Figure D2 - The path towards a multi-elite party system in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

Figure D3 - Vote for the left by occupation class in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by occupation class. The "entrepreneur or self-employed" class is not available in 1972-1979.

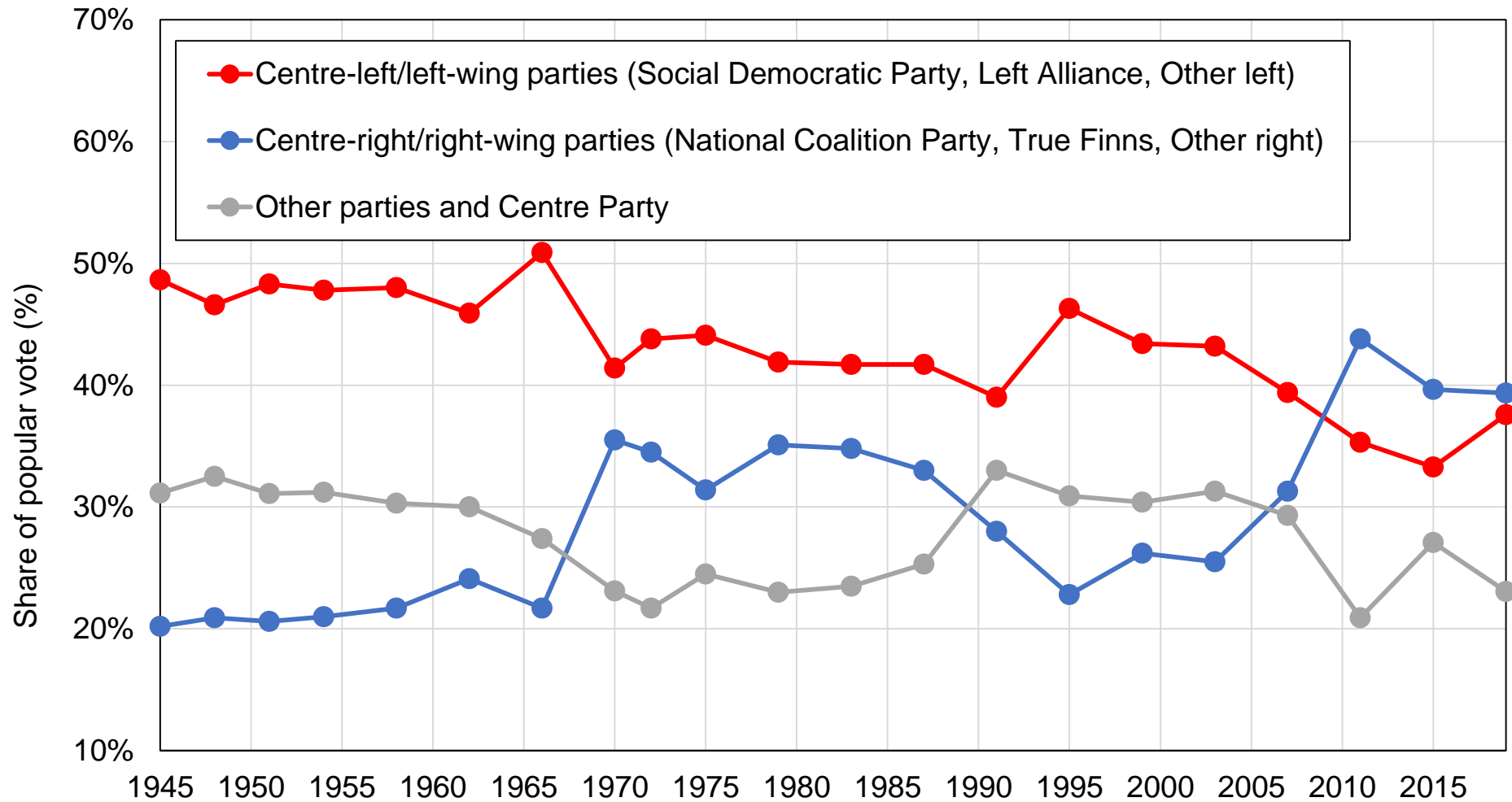
Table D1 - The structure of political cleavages in Finland, 2011-2015

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

Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

Notes: the table shows the average share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party, the Left Alliance, the Green League, the Centre Party, the Finns Party and the National Coalition Party by selected individual characteristics over the 2011-2015 period.

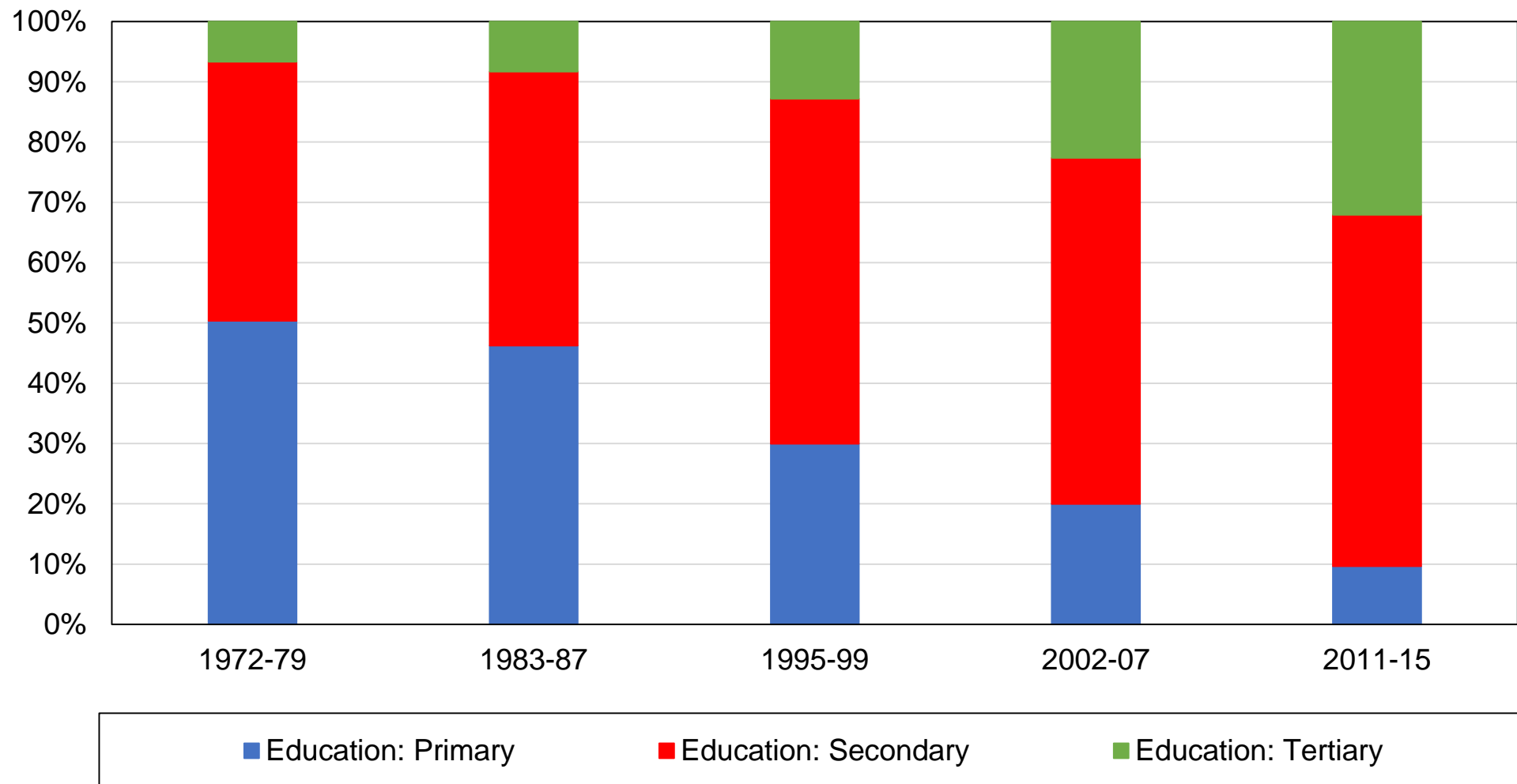
Figure DA1- Election results by groups in Finland, 1945-2019



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

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

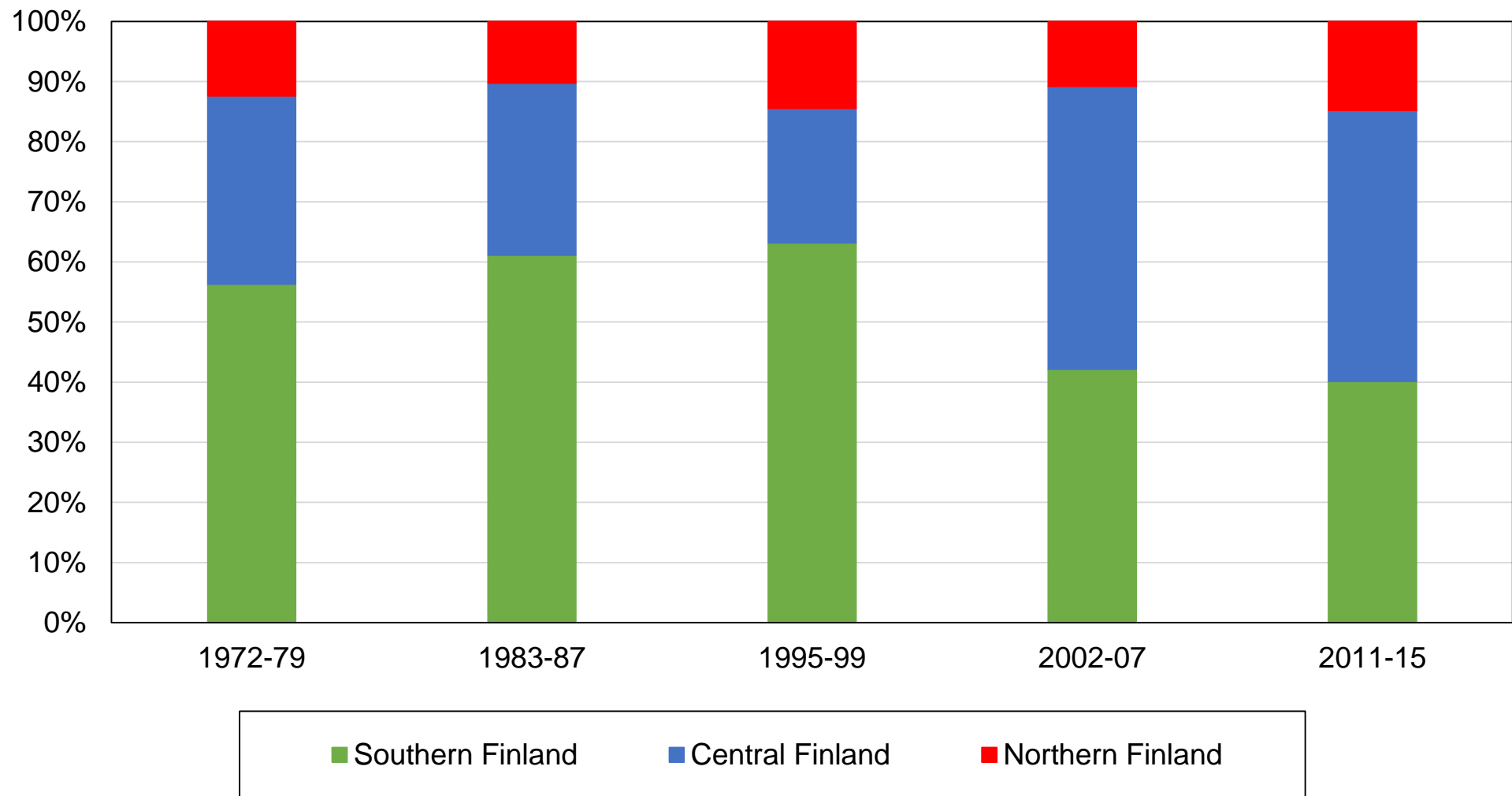
Figure DA2 - The evolution of education in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

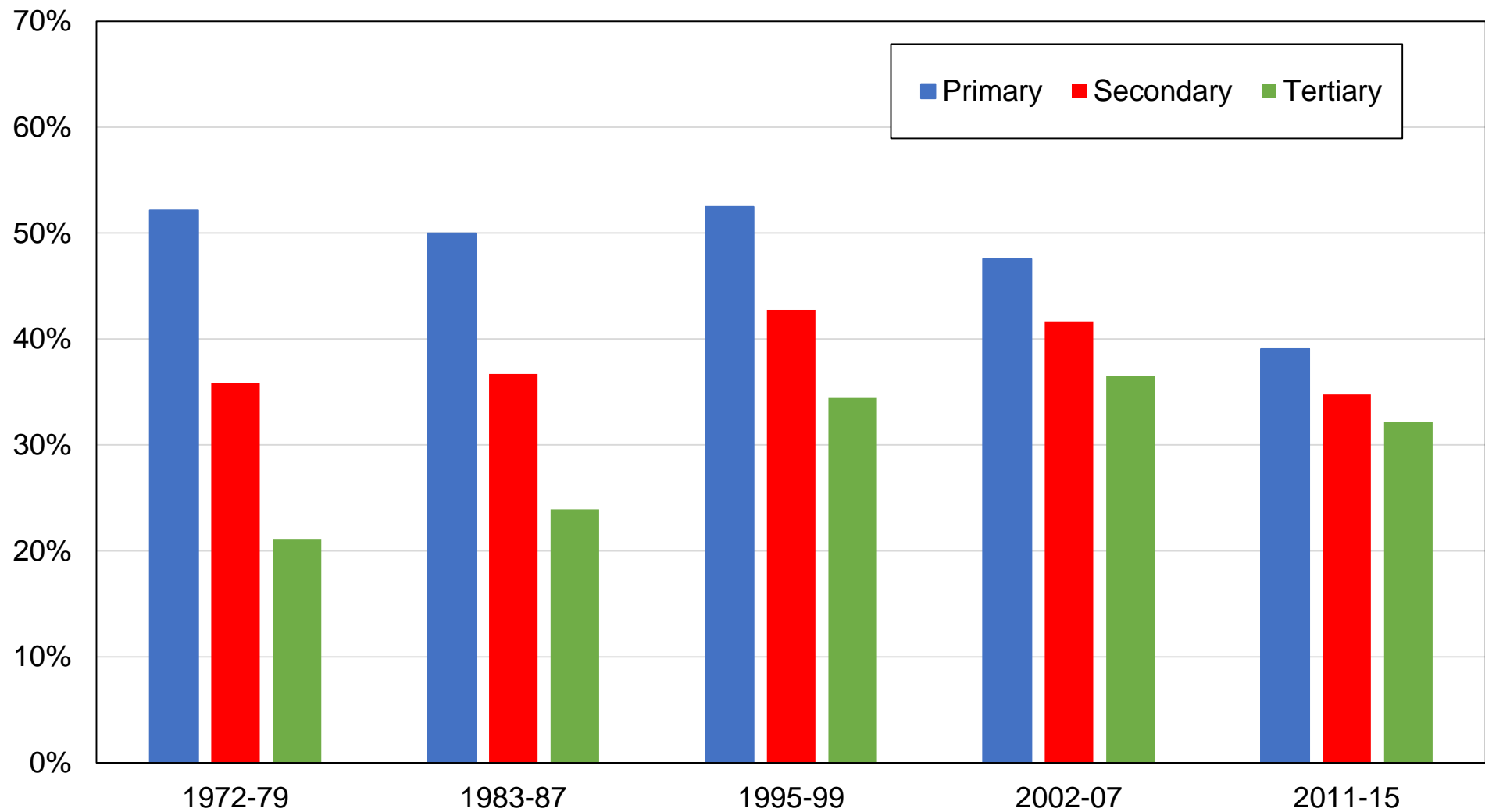
Figure DA3 - The distribution of region of residence in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

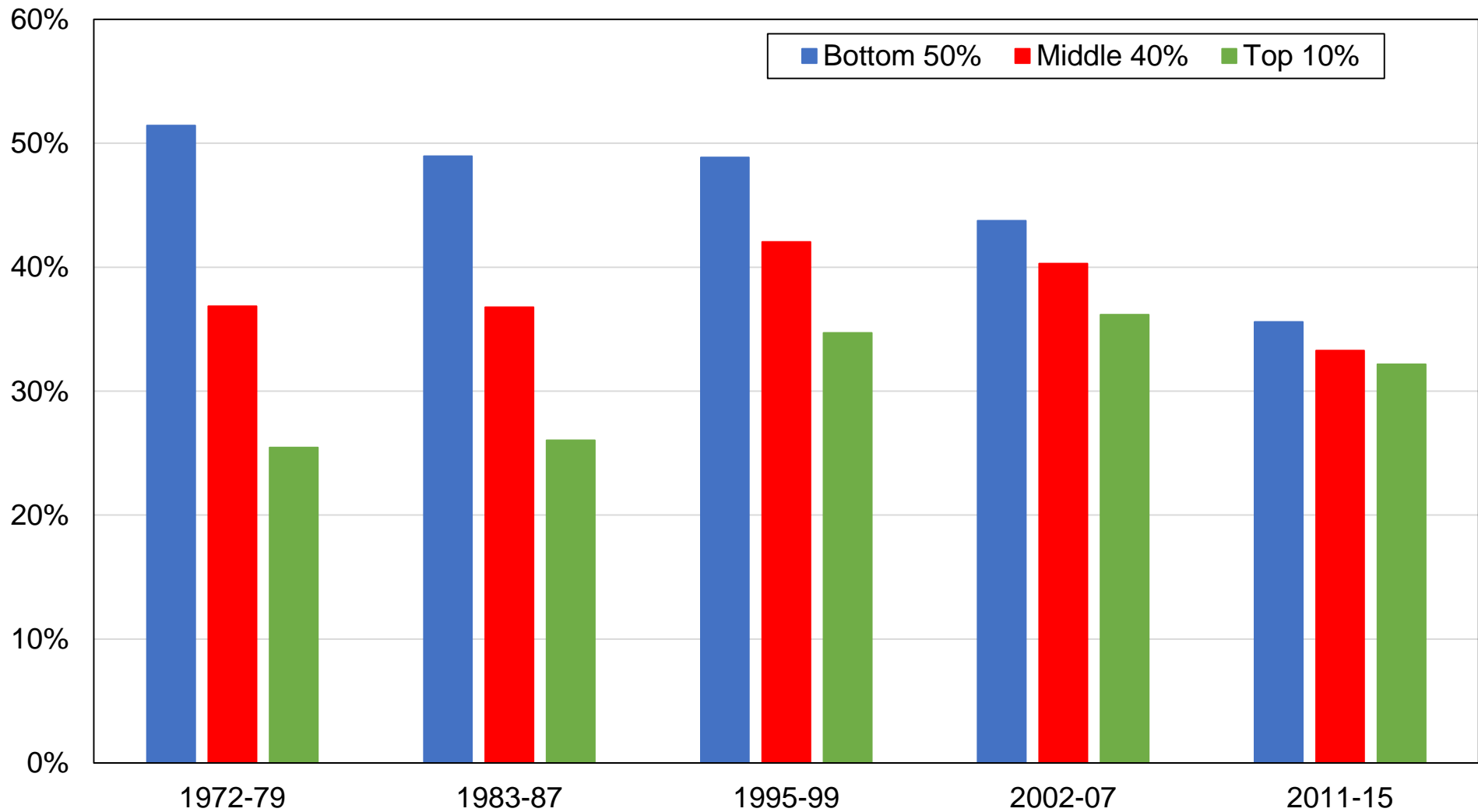
Figure DB1 - Vote for left by education level in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

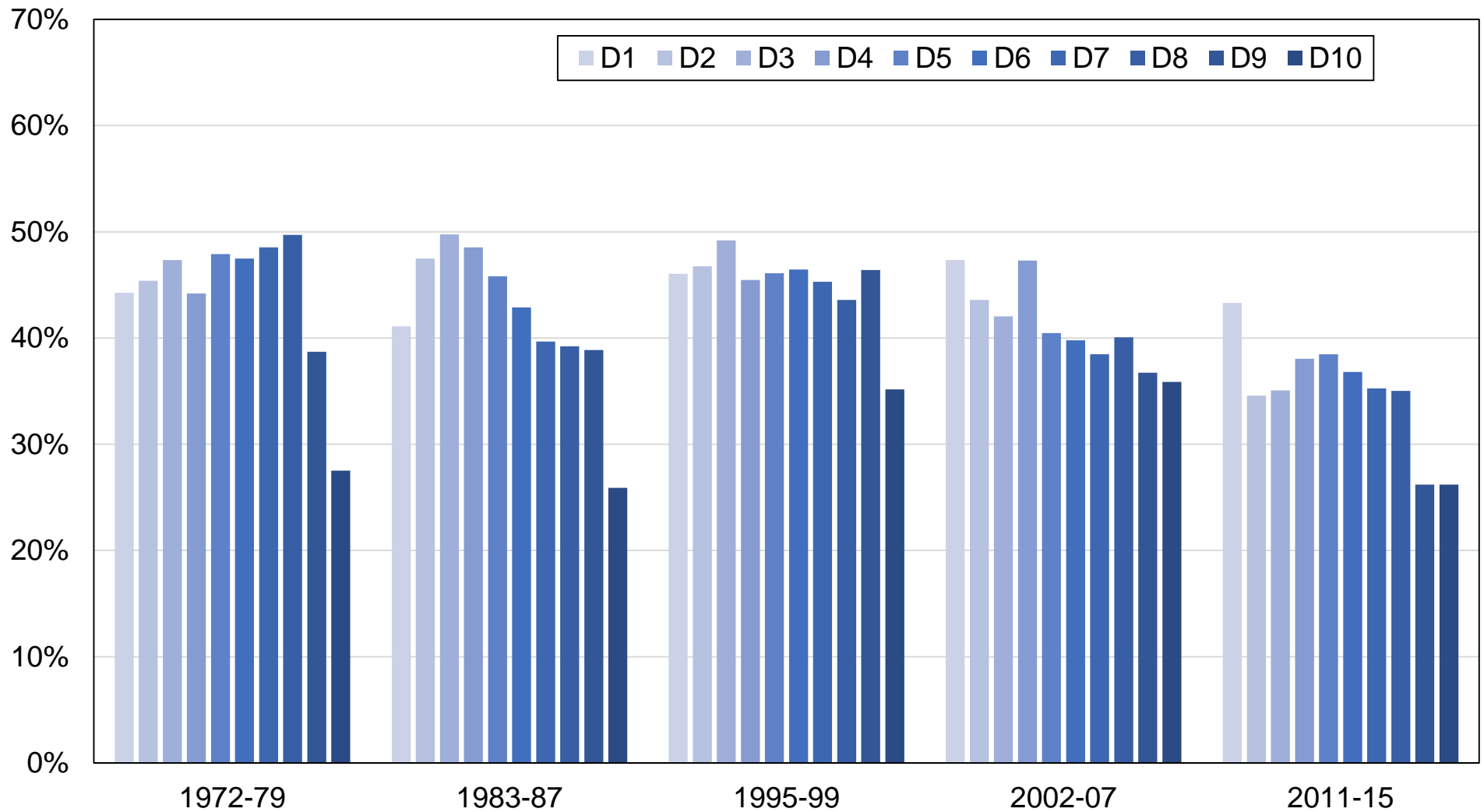
Figure DB2 - Vote for the left by education group in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

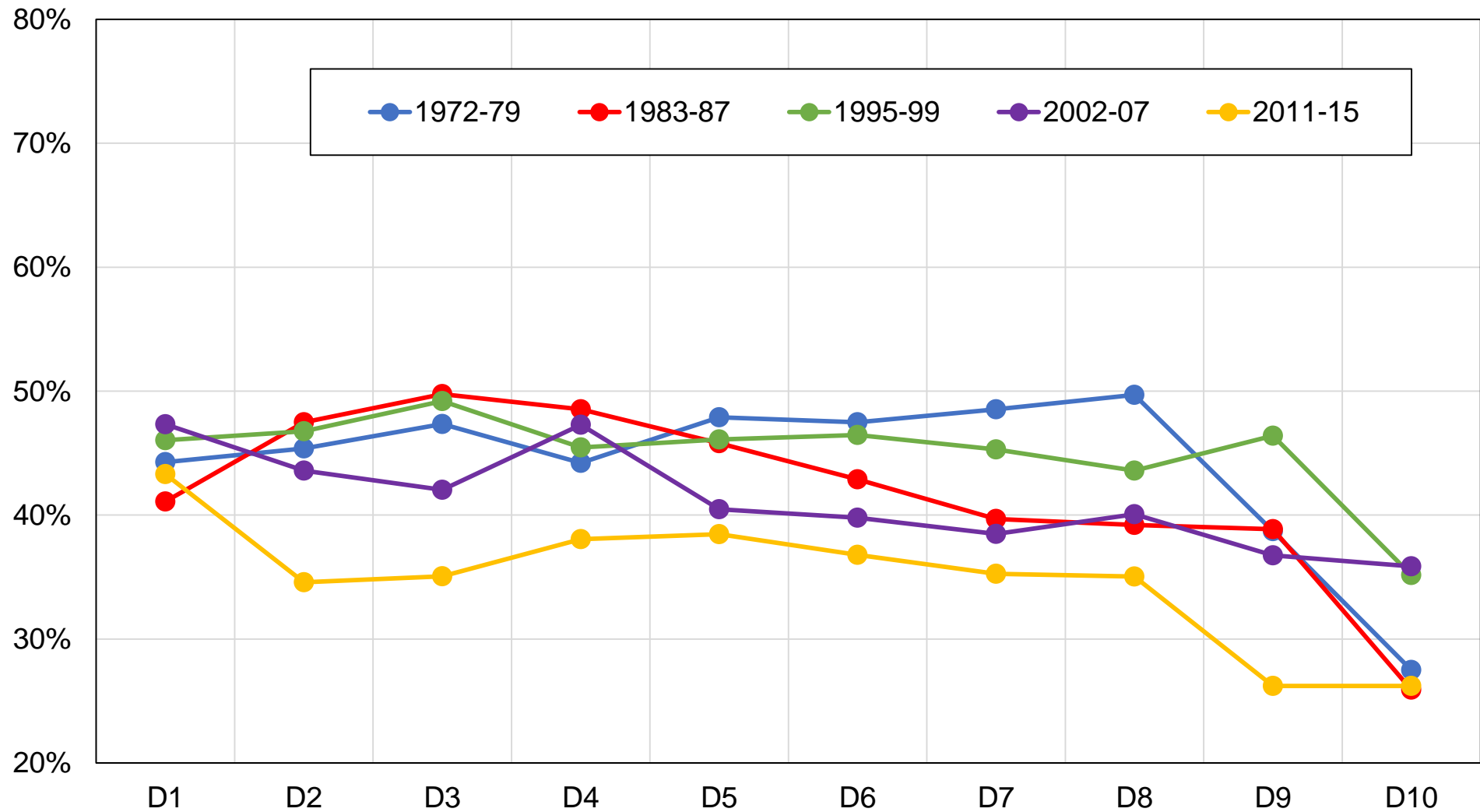
Figure DB3 - Vote for the left by income decile in Finland (bars)



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

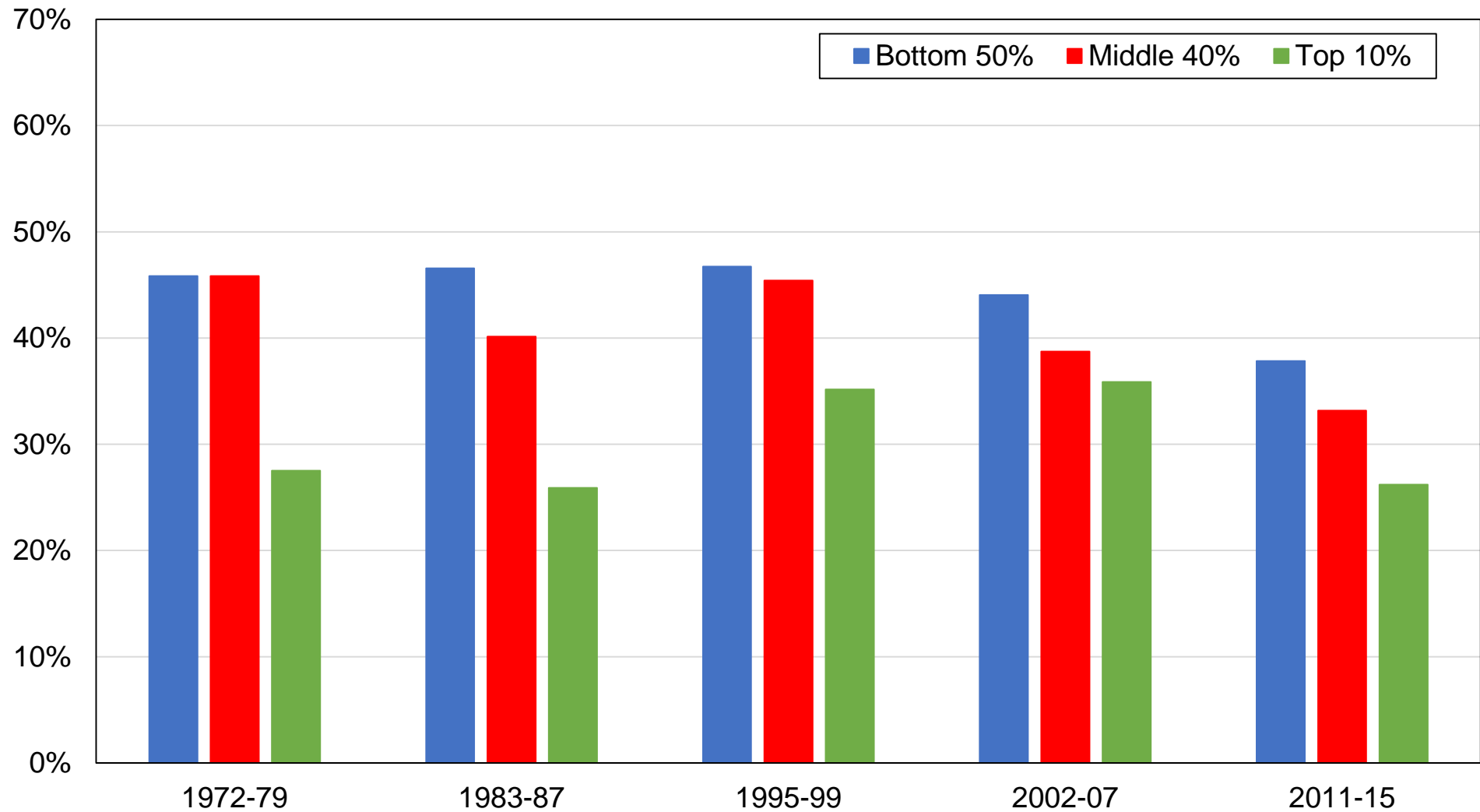
Figure DB4 - Vote for the left by income decile in Finland (lines)



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

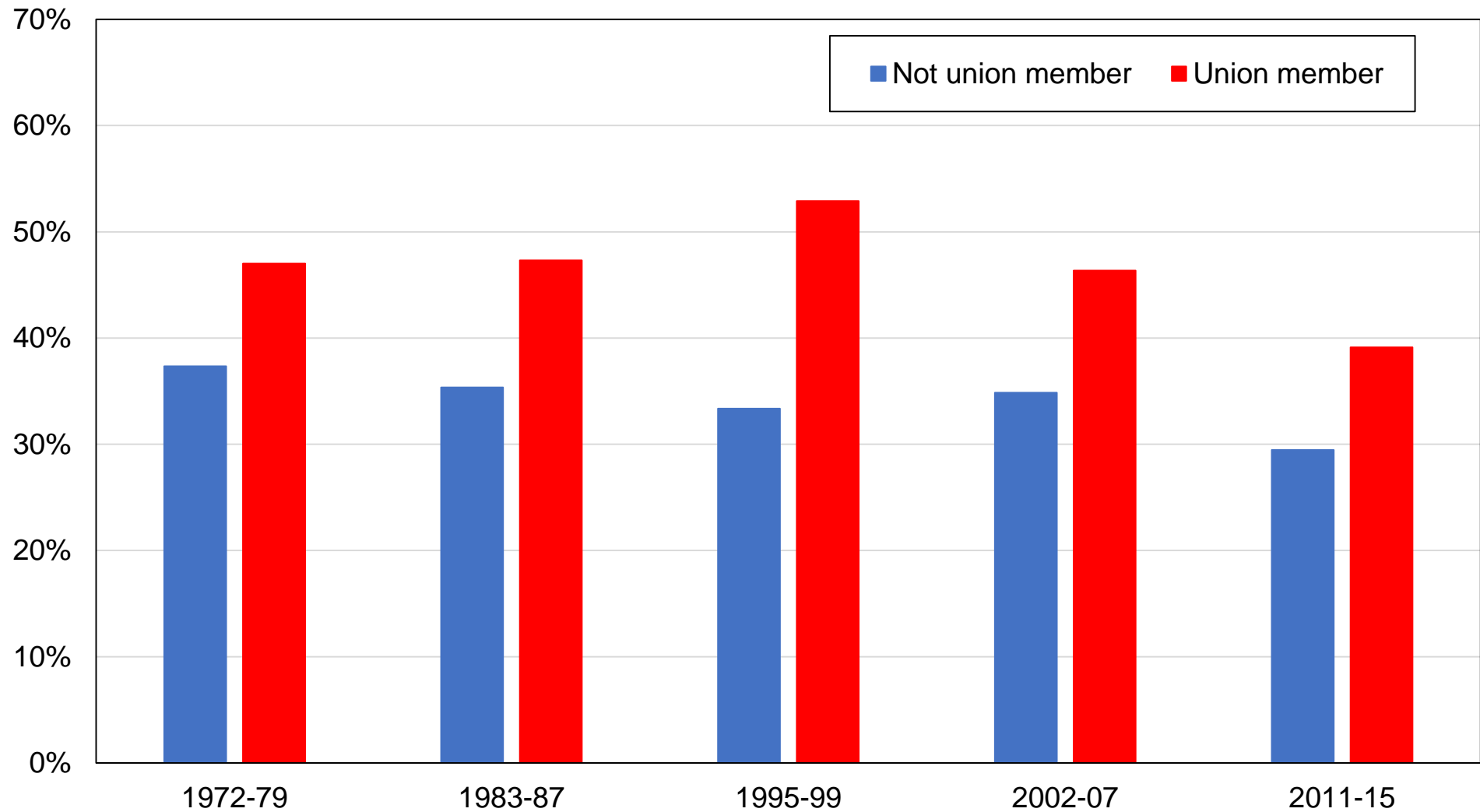
Figure DB5 - Vote for the left by income group in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

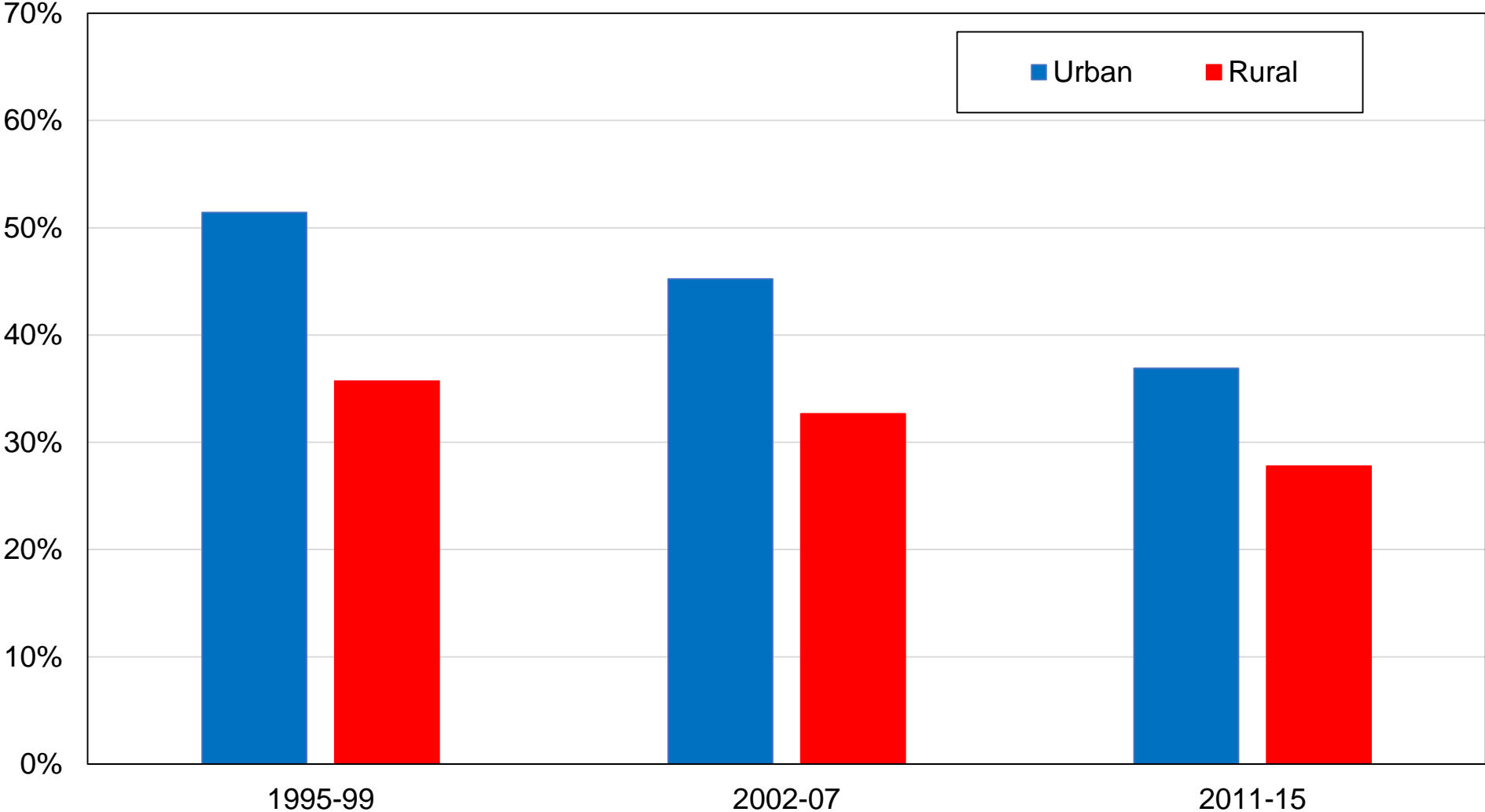
Figure DB6 - Vote the left by union membership in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

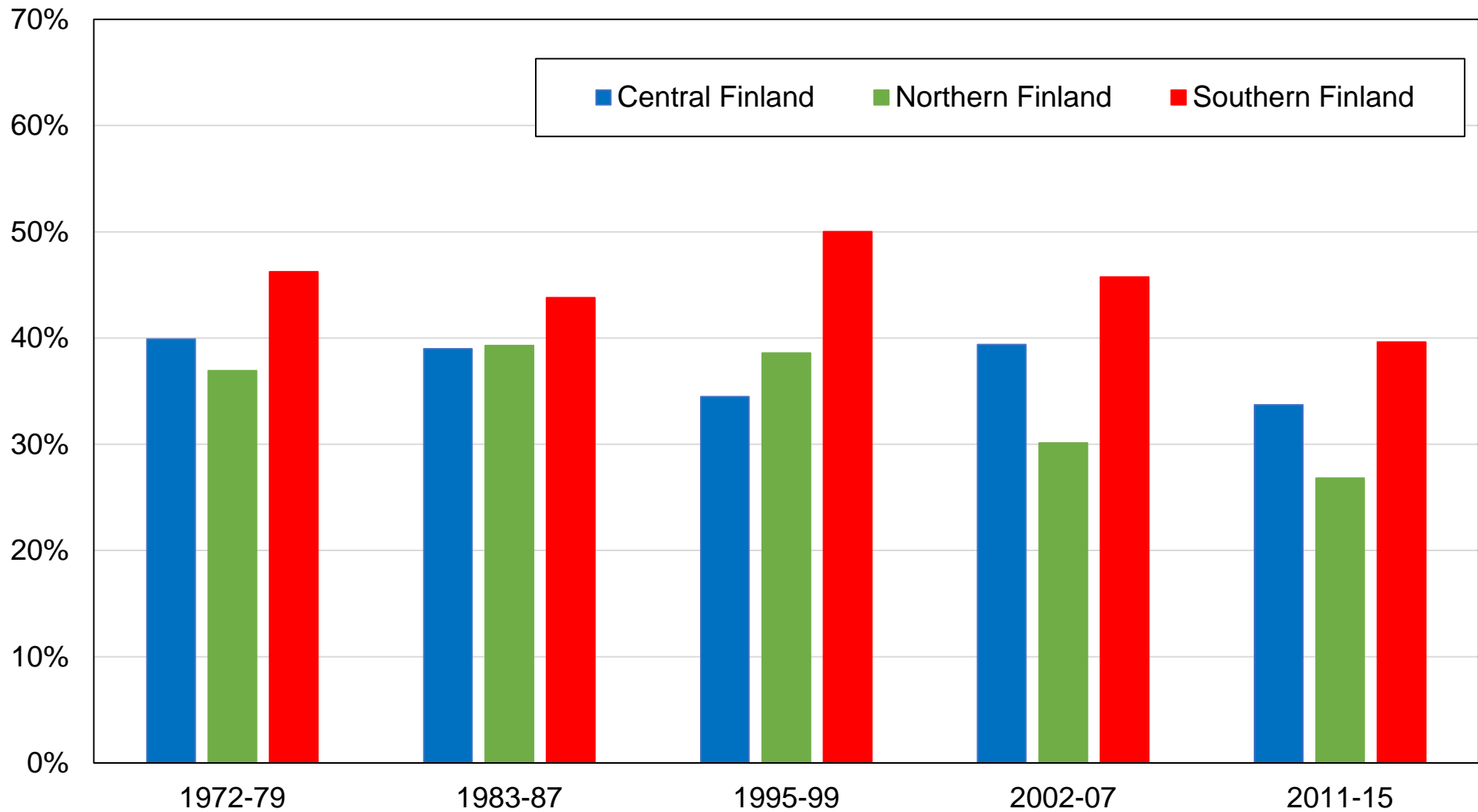
Figure DB7 - Vote for the left by location in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

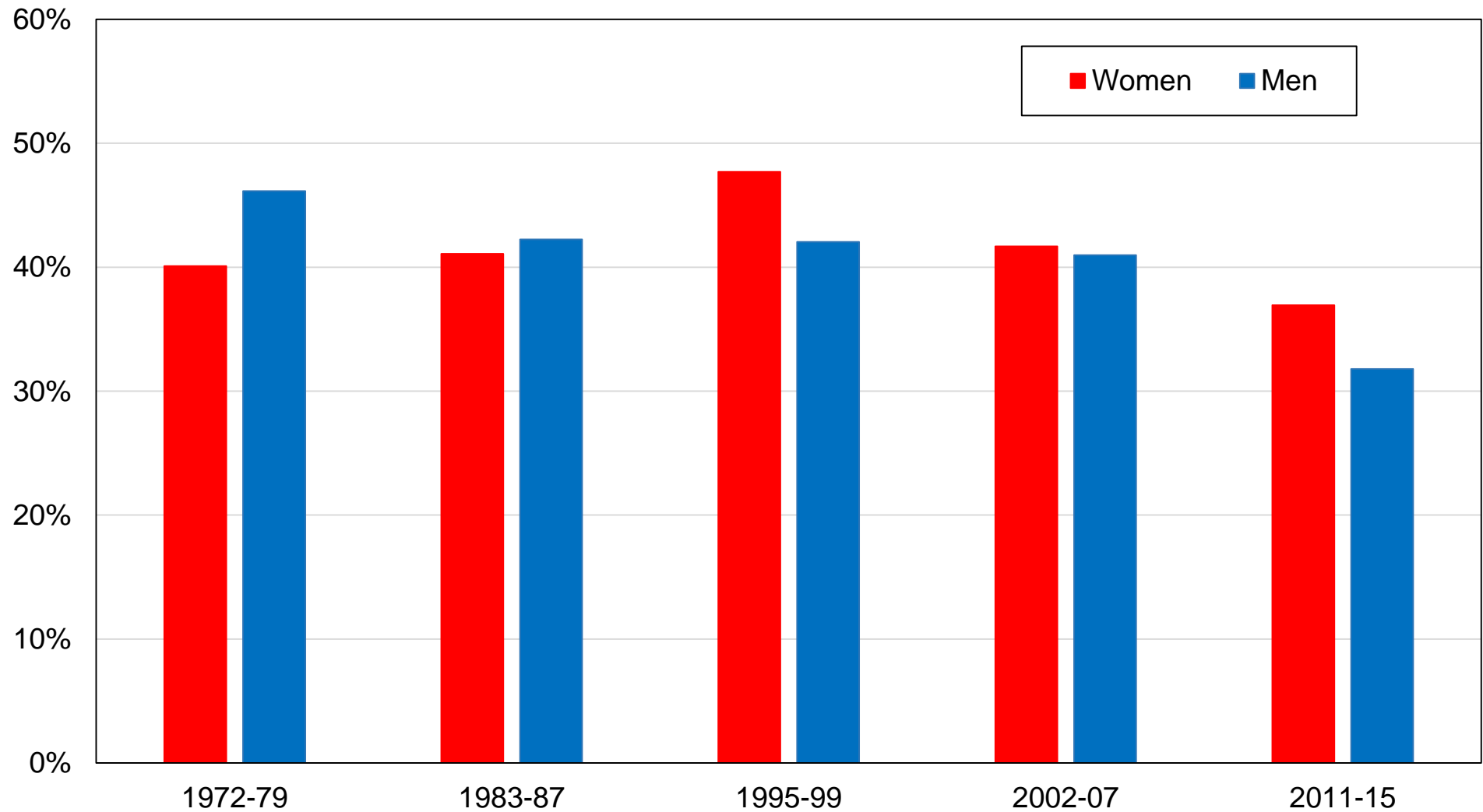
Figure DB8 - Vote for the left by region of residence in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

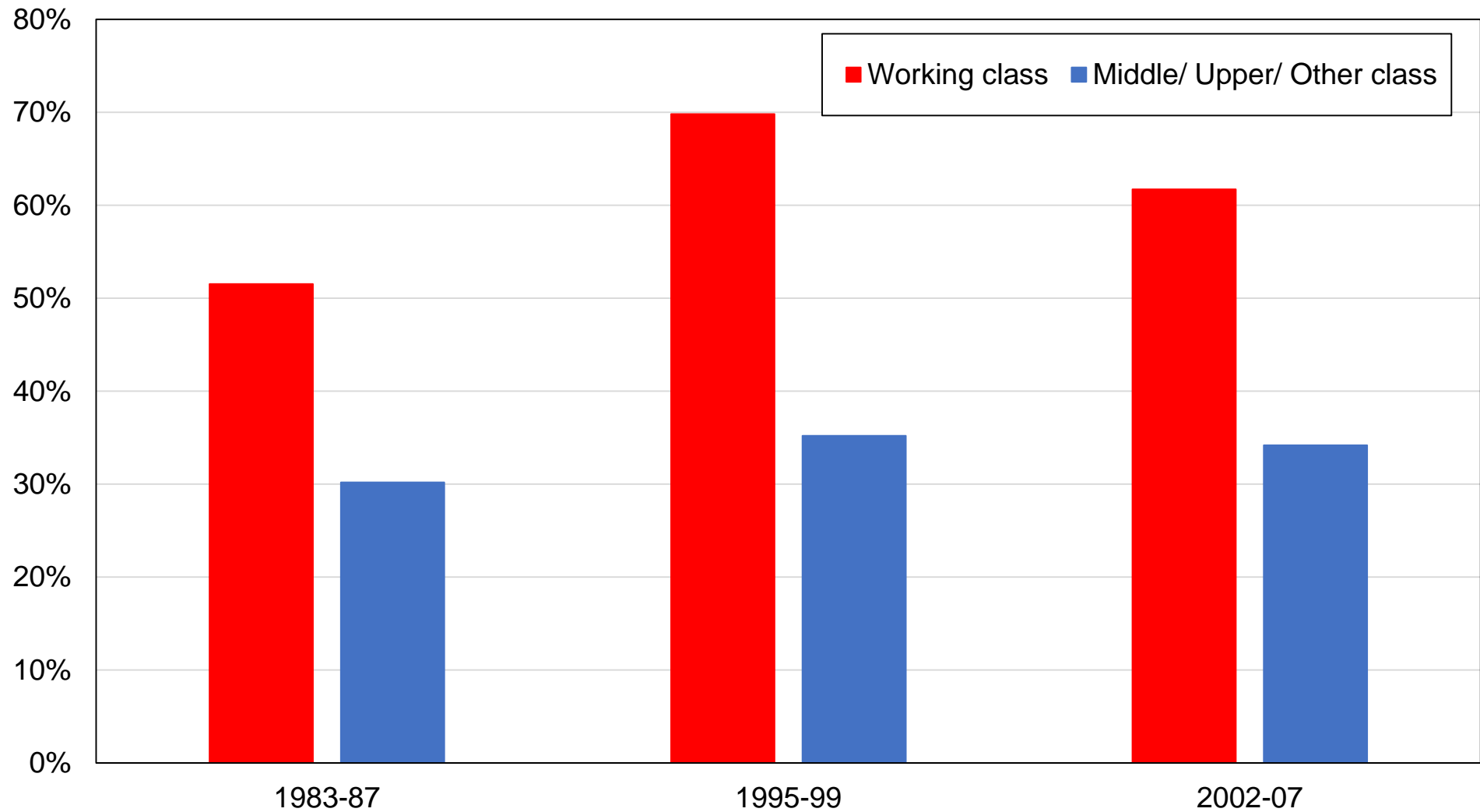
Figure DB9 - Vote for the left by gender in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

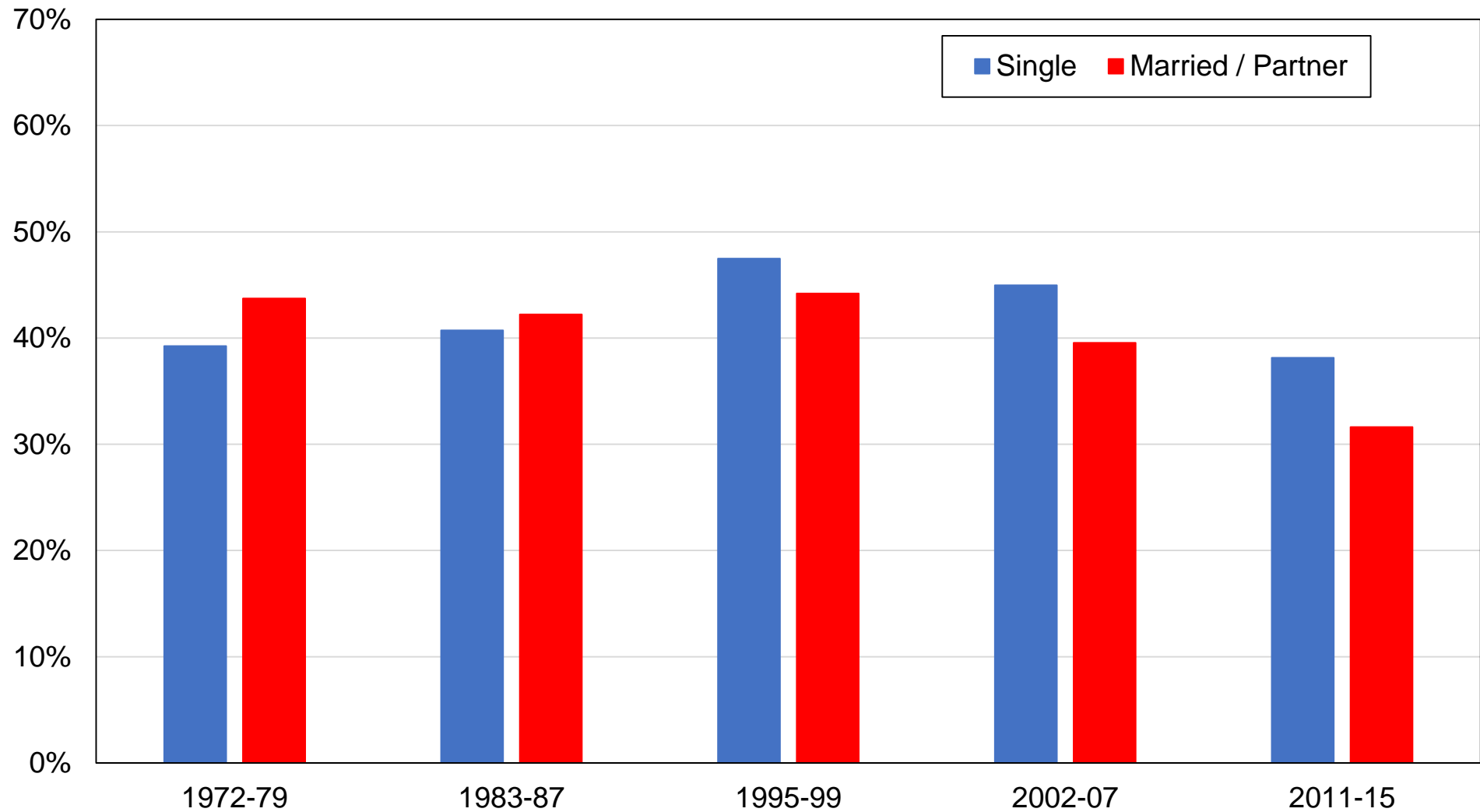
Figure DB10 - Vote for the left by perceived social class in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

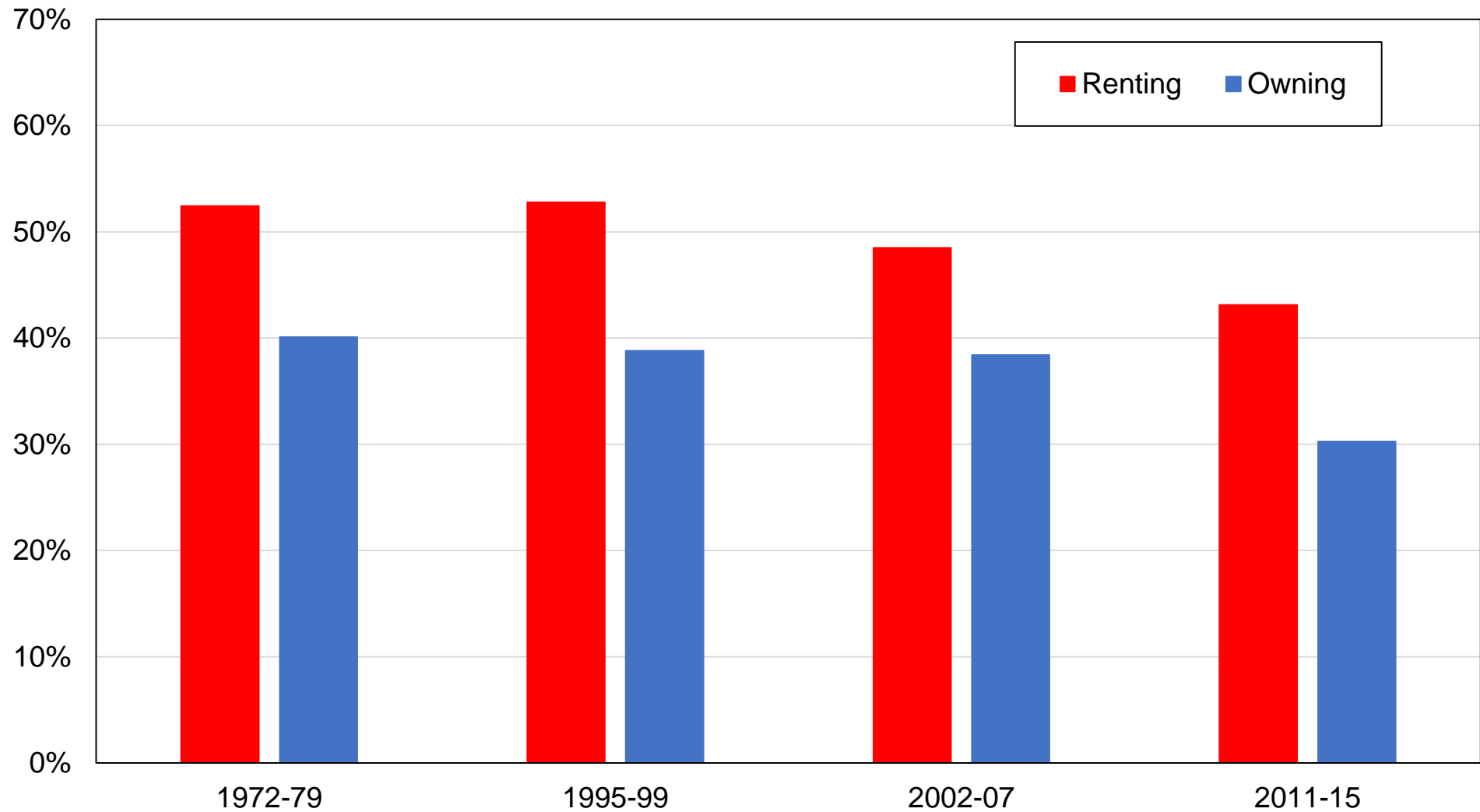
Figure DB11 - Vote for the left by marital status in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

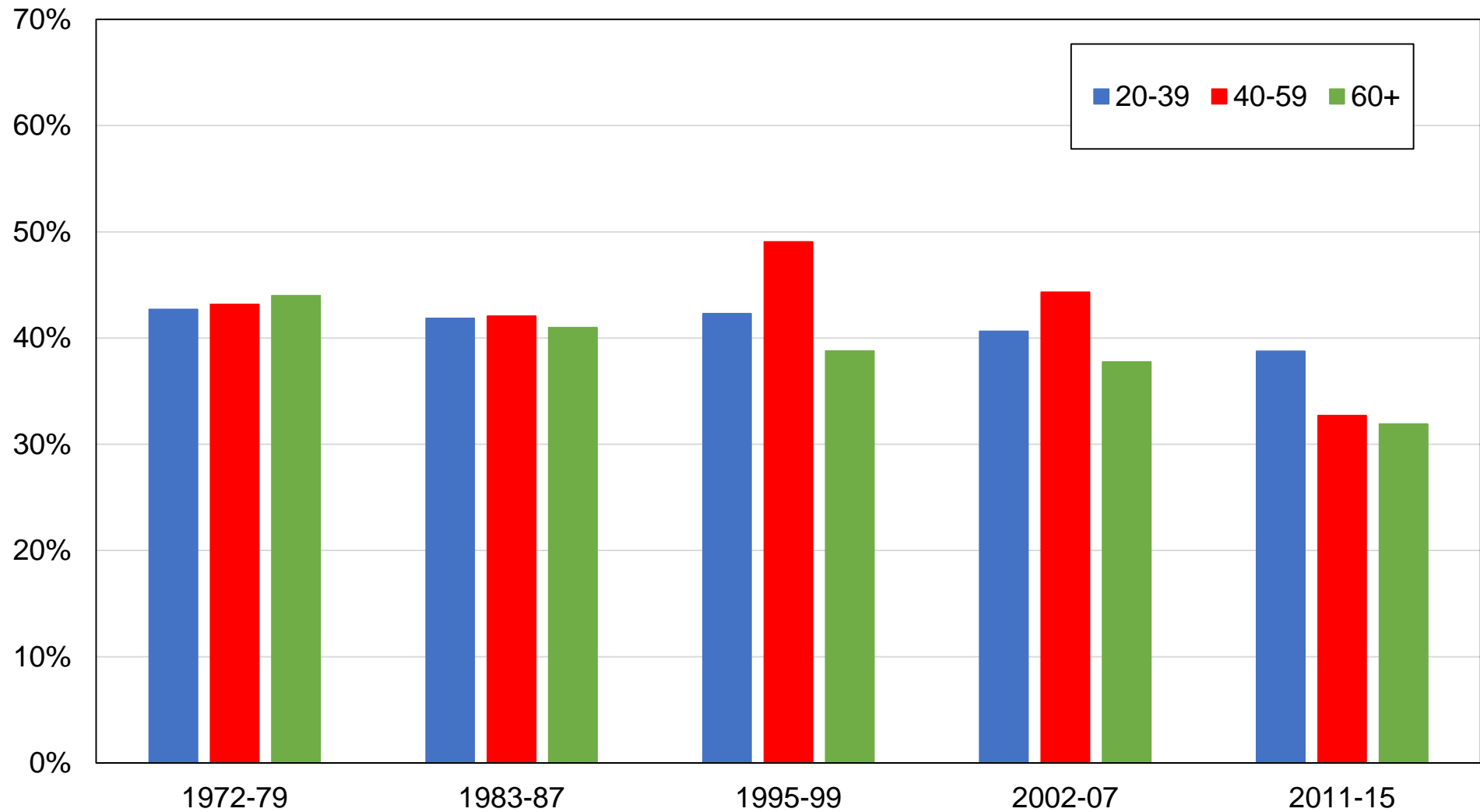
Figure DB12 - Vote for the left by home status in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

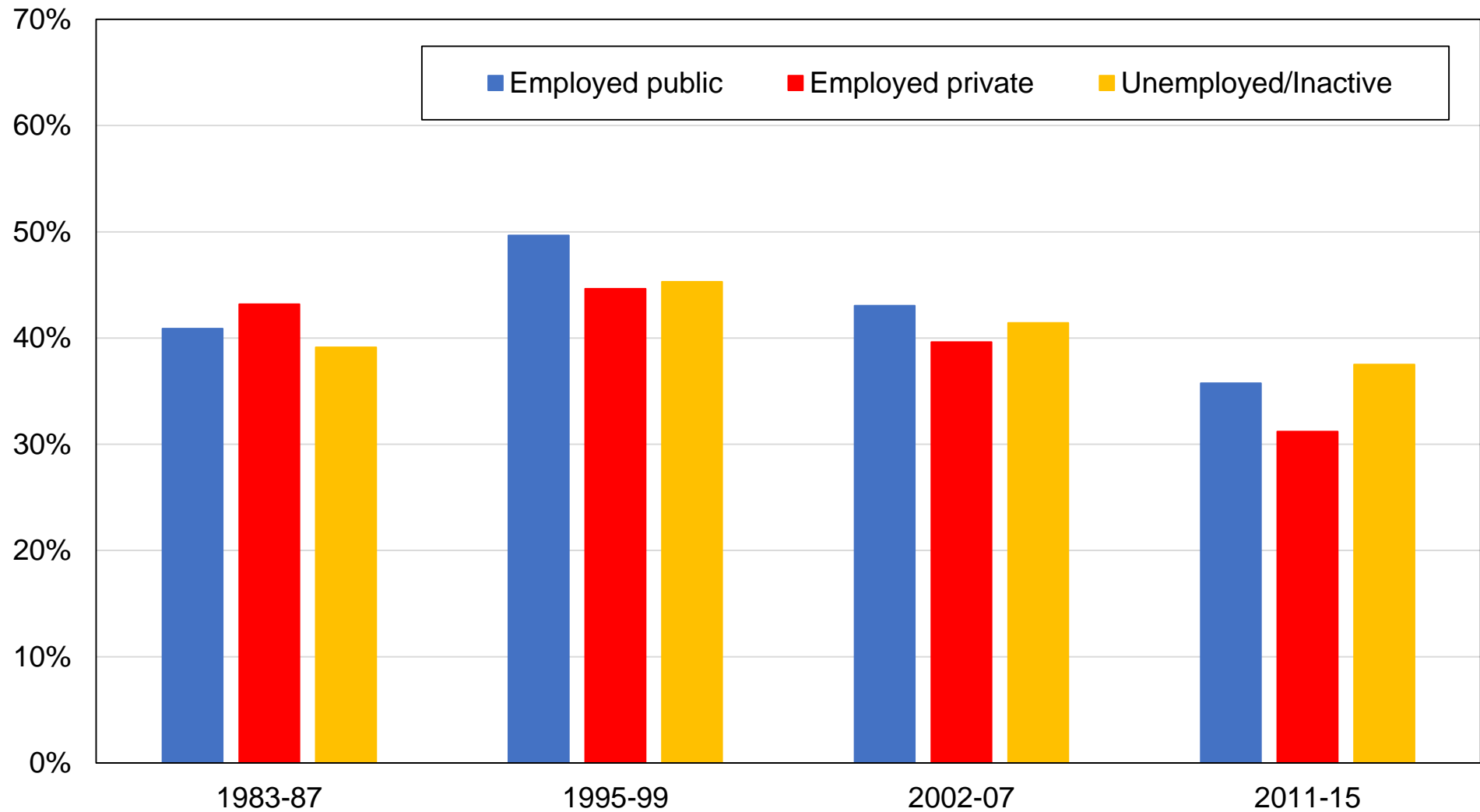
Figure DB13 - Vote for the left by age group in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

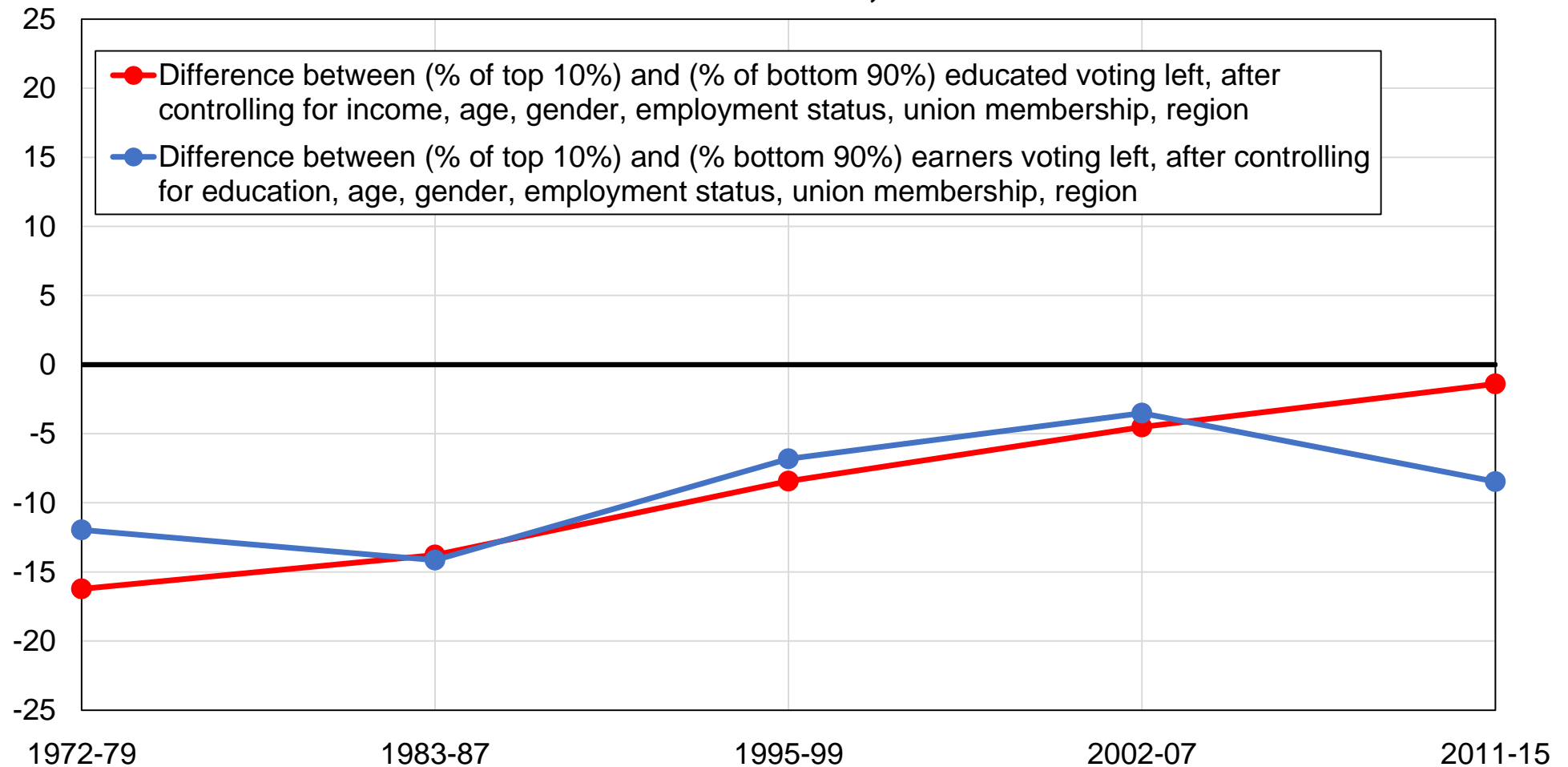
Figure DB14 - Vote for the left by employment status in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

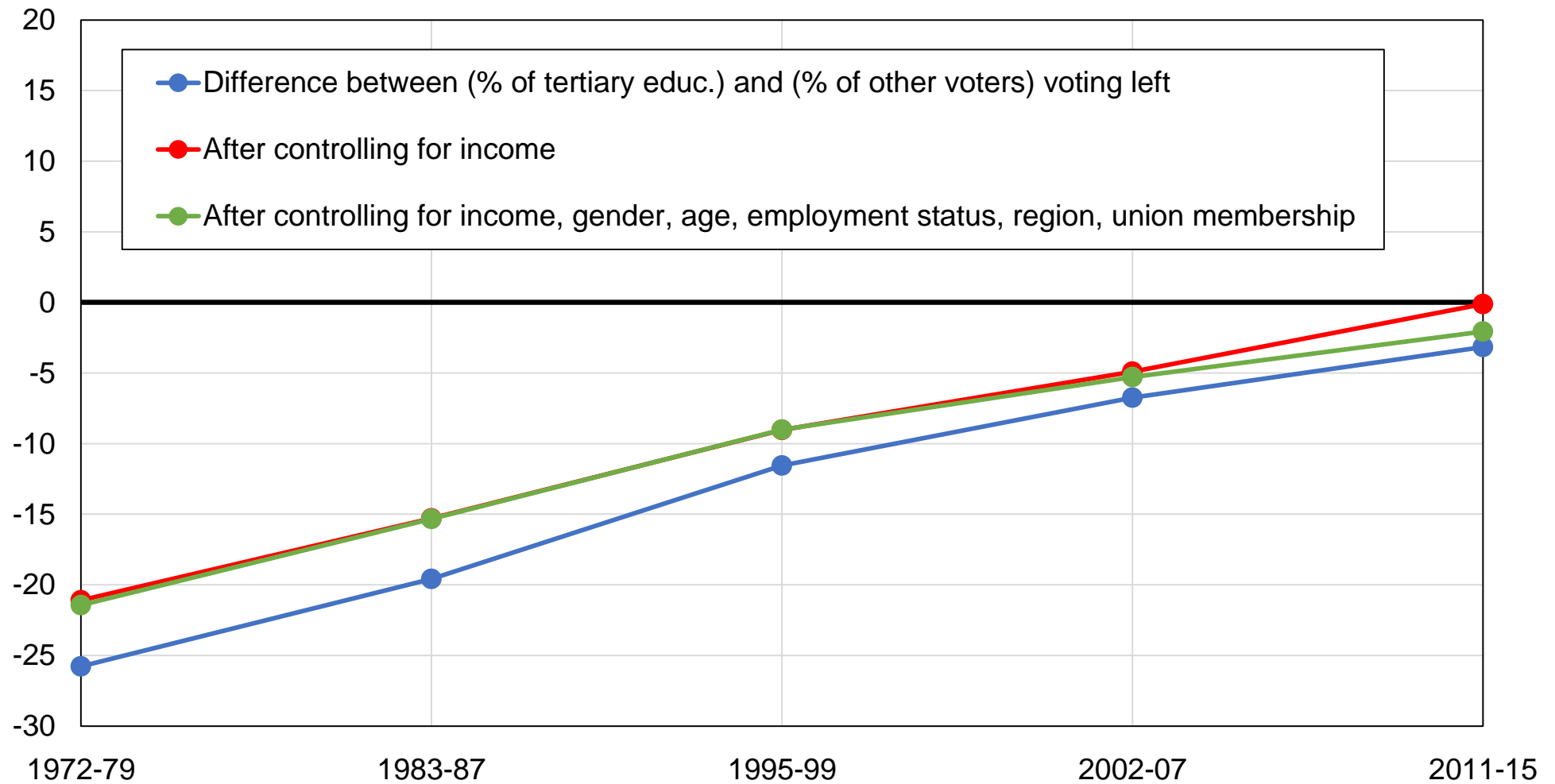
Figure DB15 - Vote for the left among highest-educated and the top-income voters in Finland, after controls



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

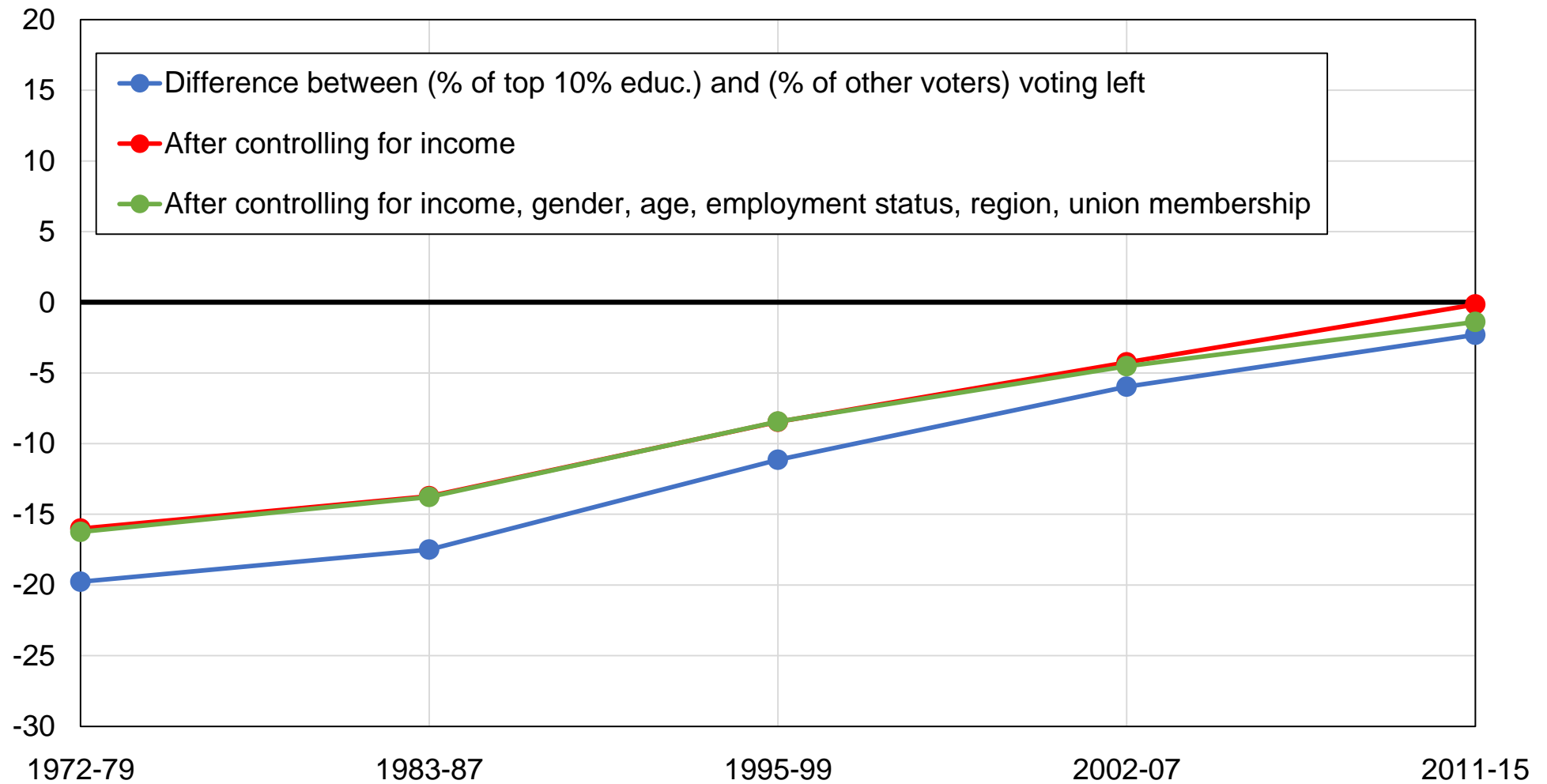
Figure DB16 - Vote for the left among tertiary-educated voters in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

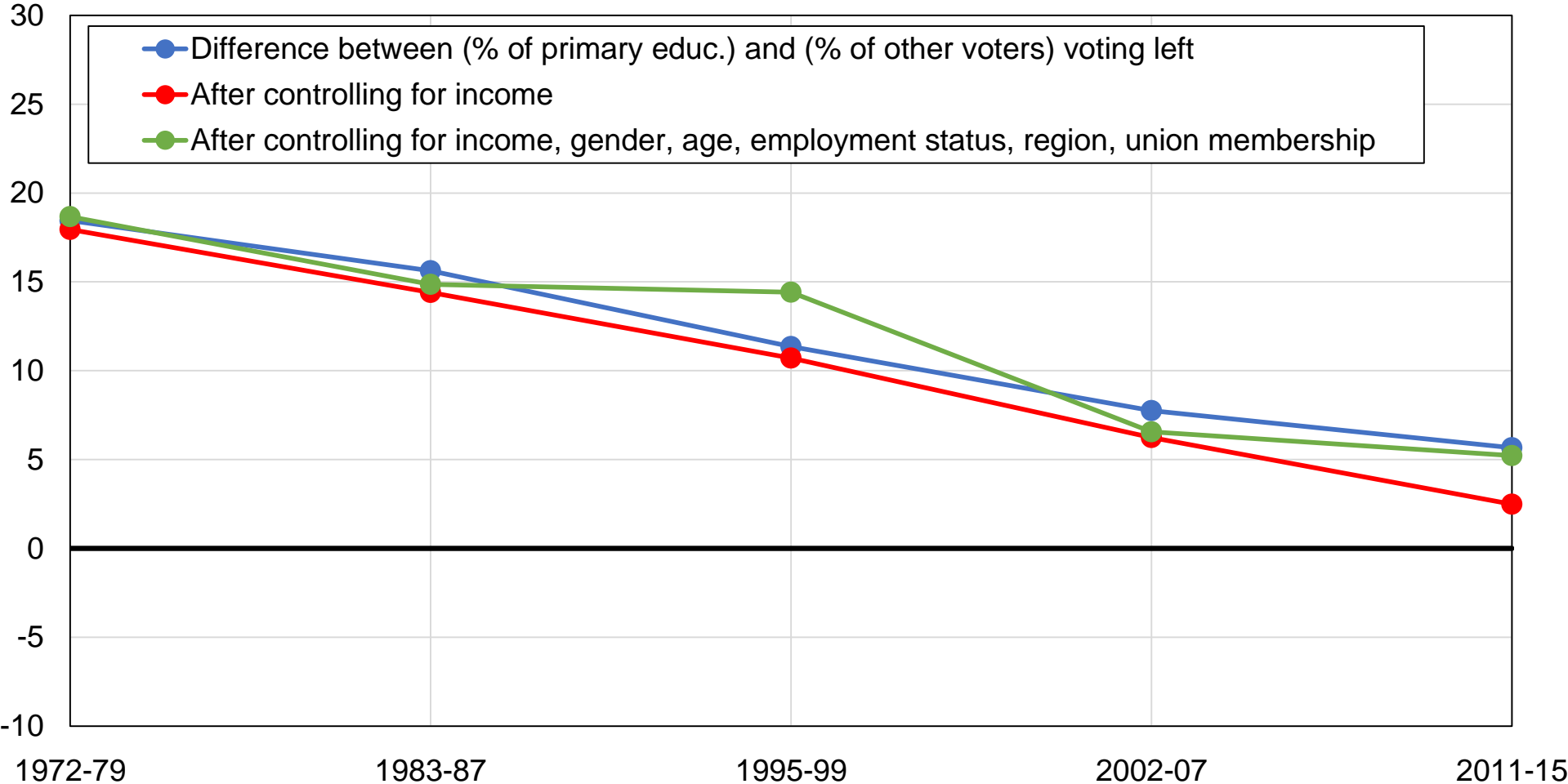
Figure DB17 - Vote for the left among higher-educated voters in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

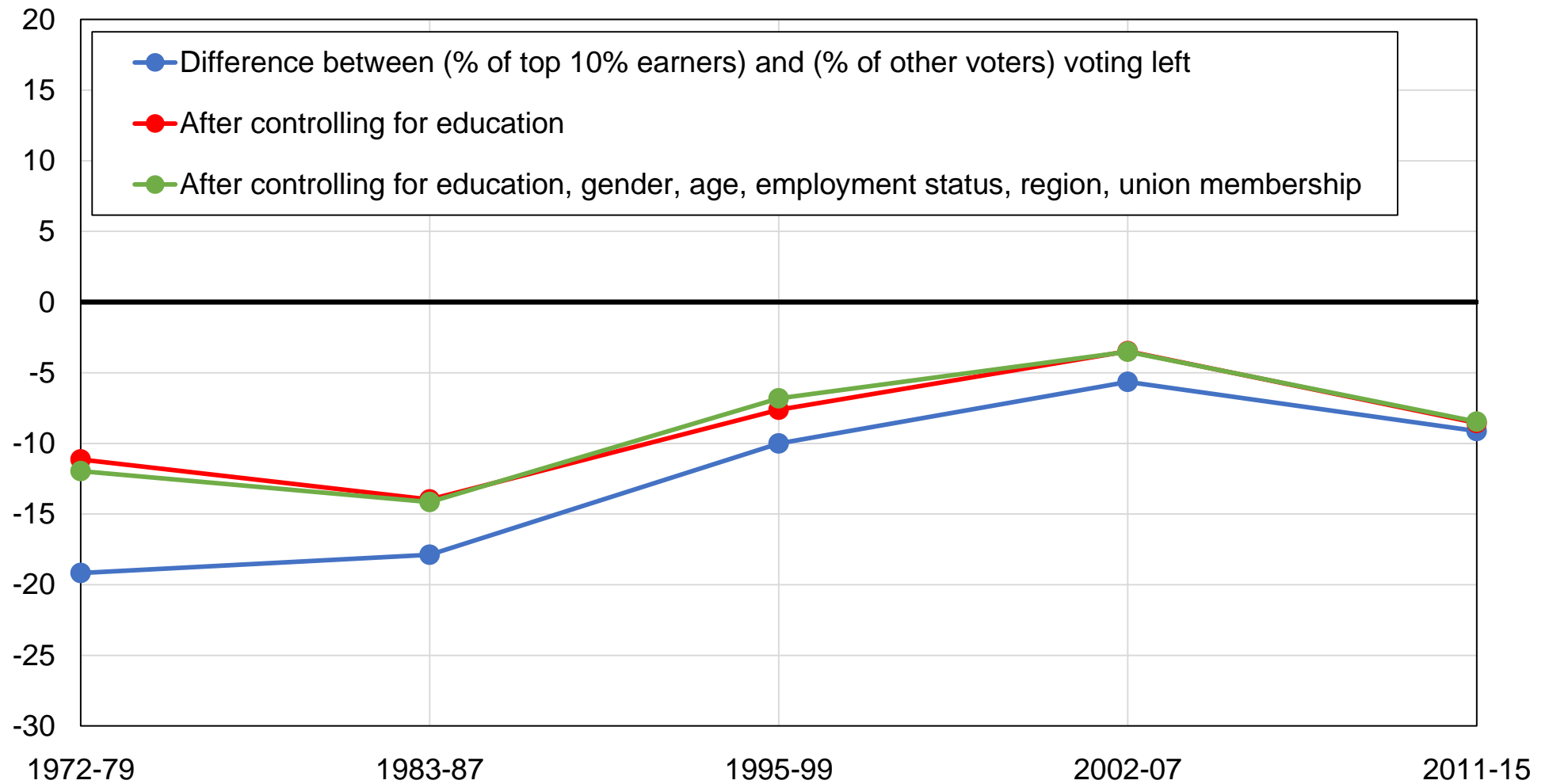
Figure DB18 - Vote for the left among primary-educated voters in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

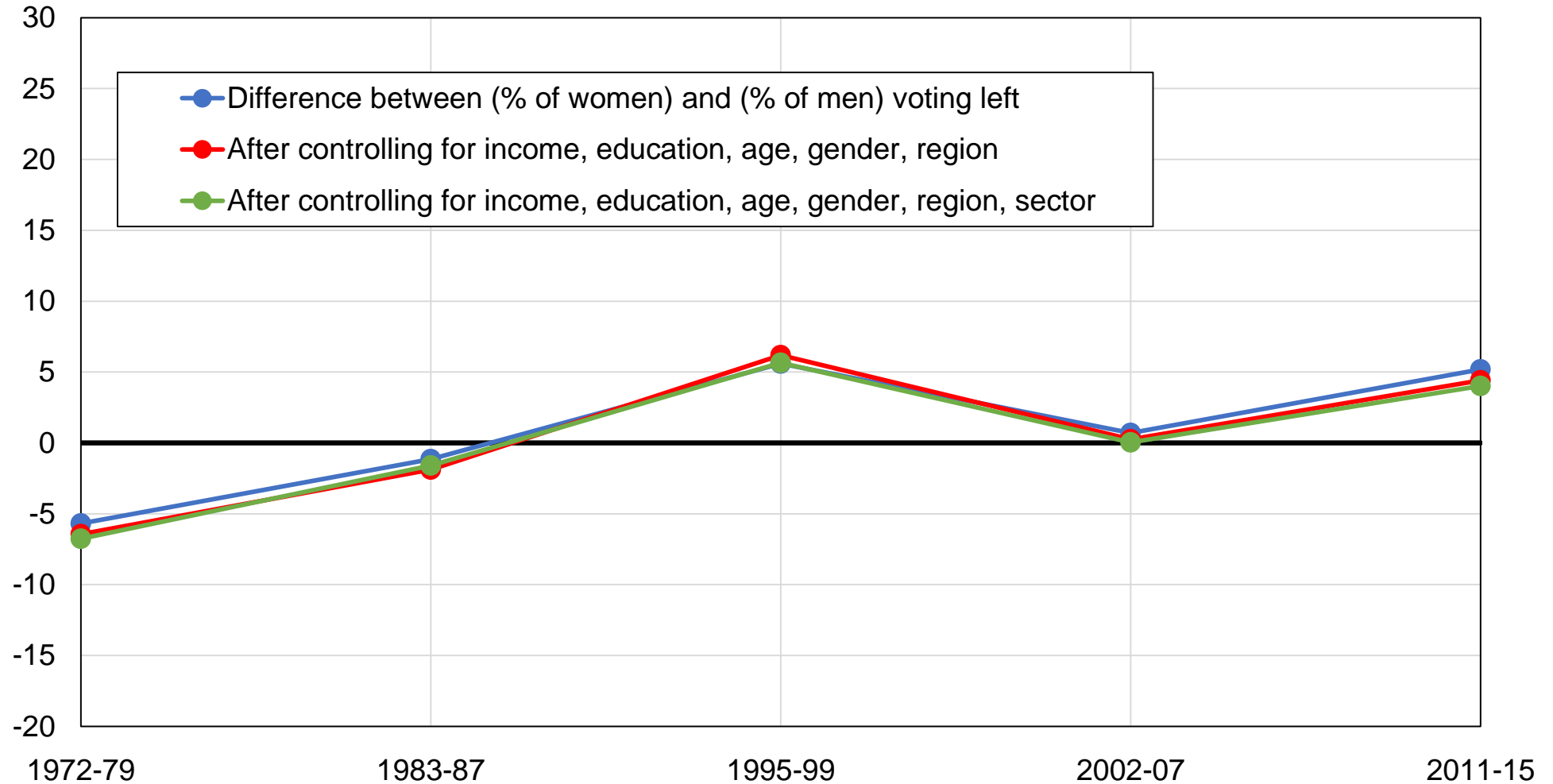
Figure DB19 - Vote for the left among top 10% earners in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

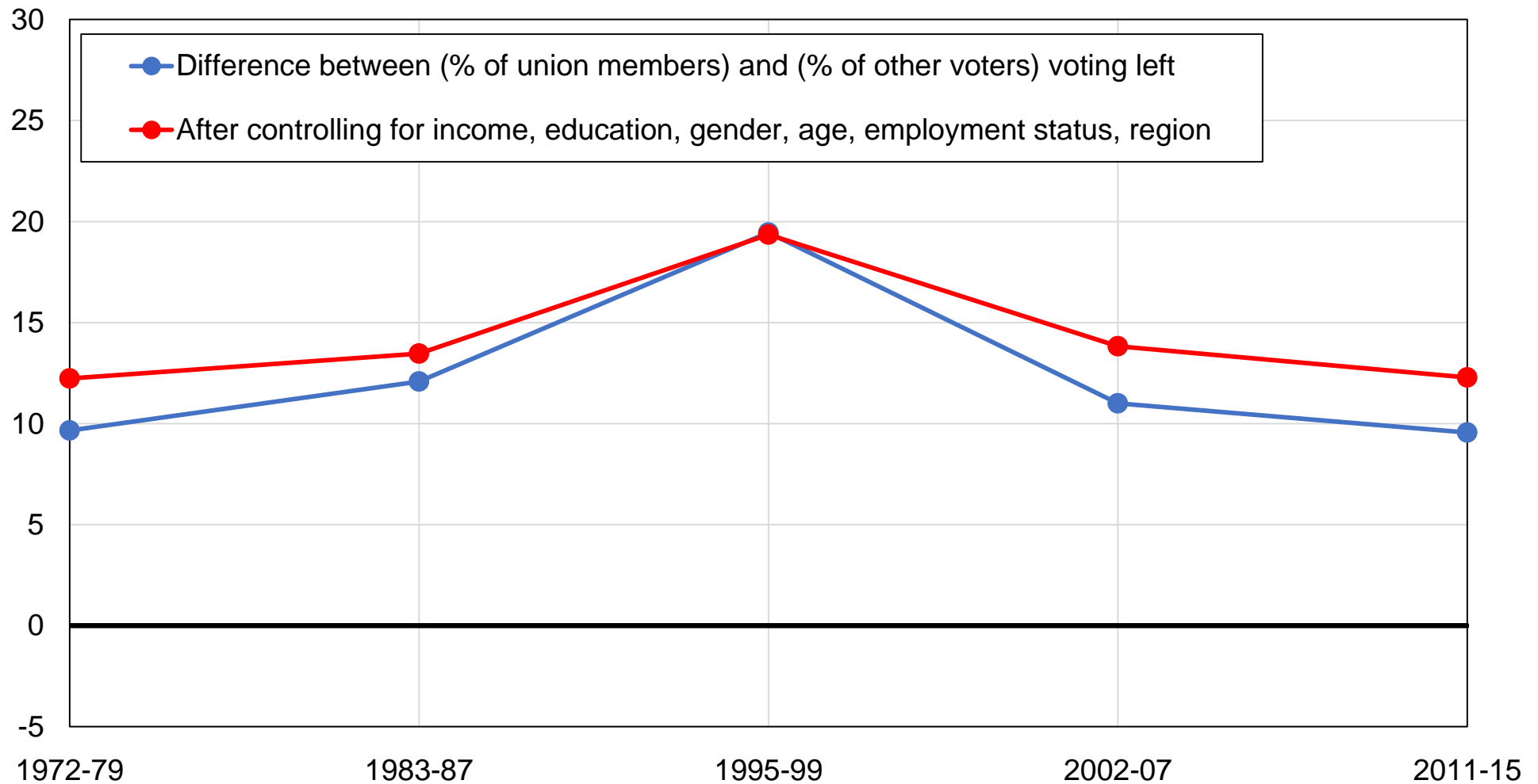
Figure DB20 - Vote for the left among women in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

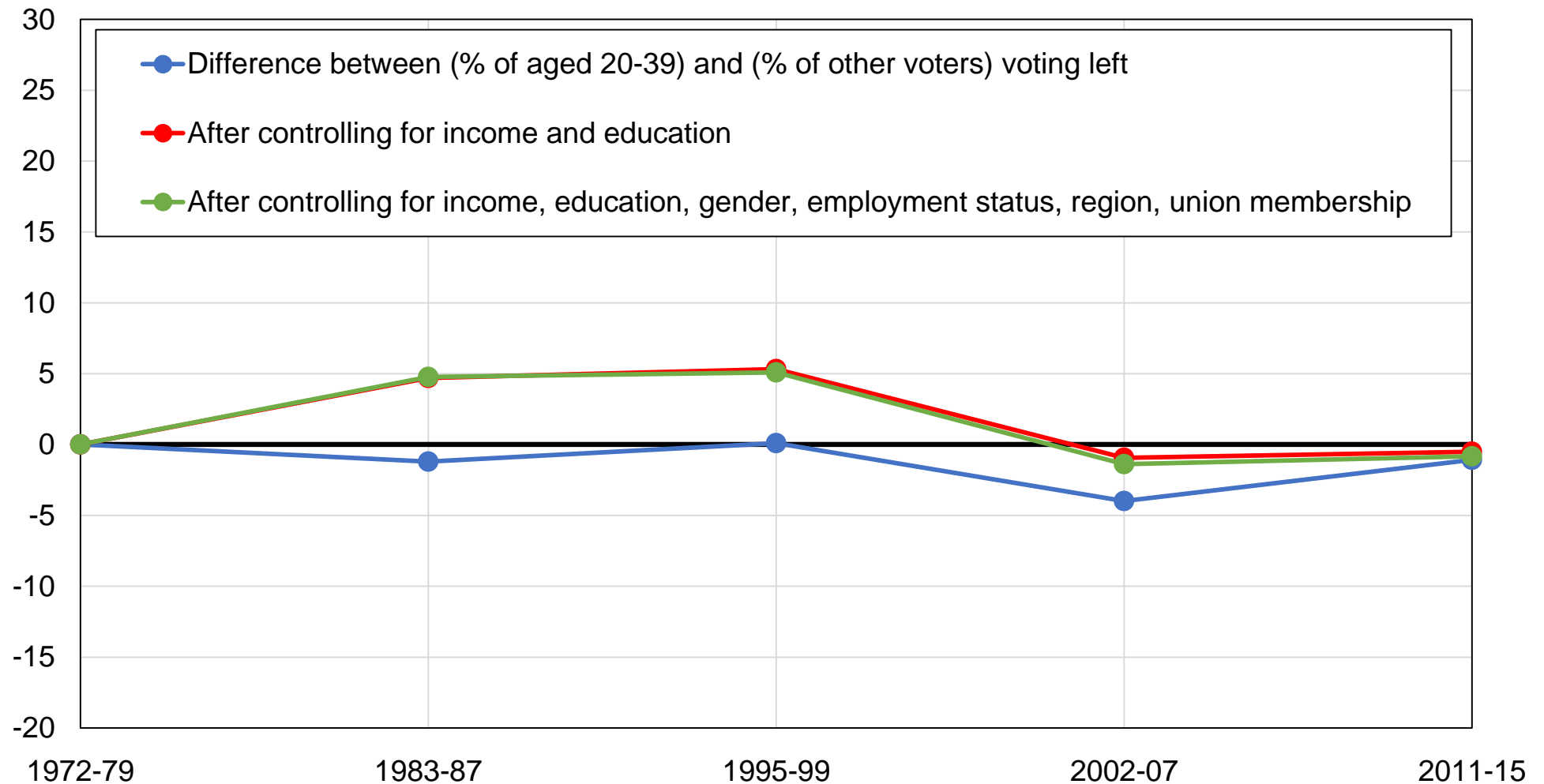
Figure DB21 - Vote for the left among union members in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

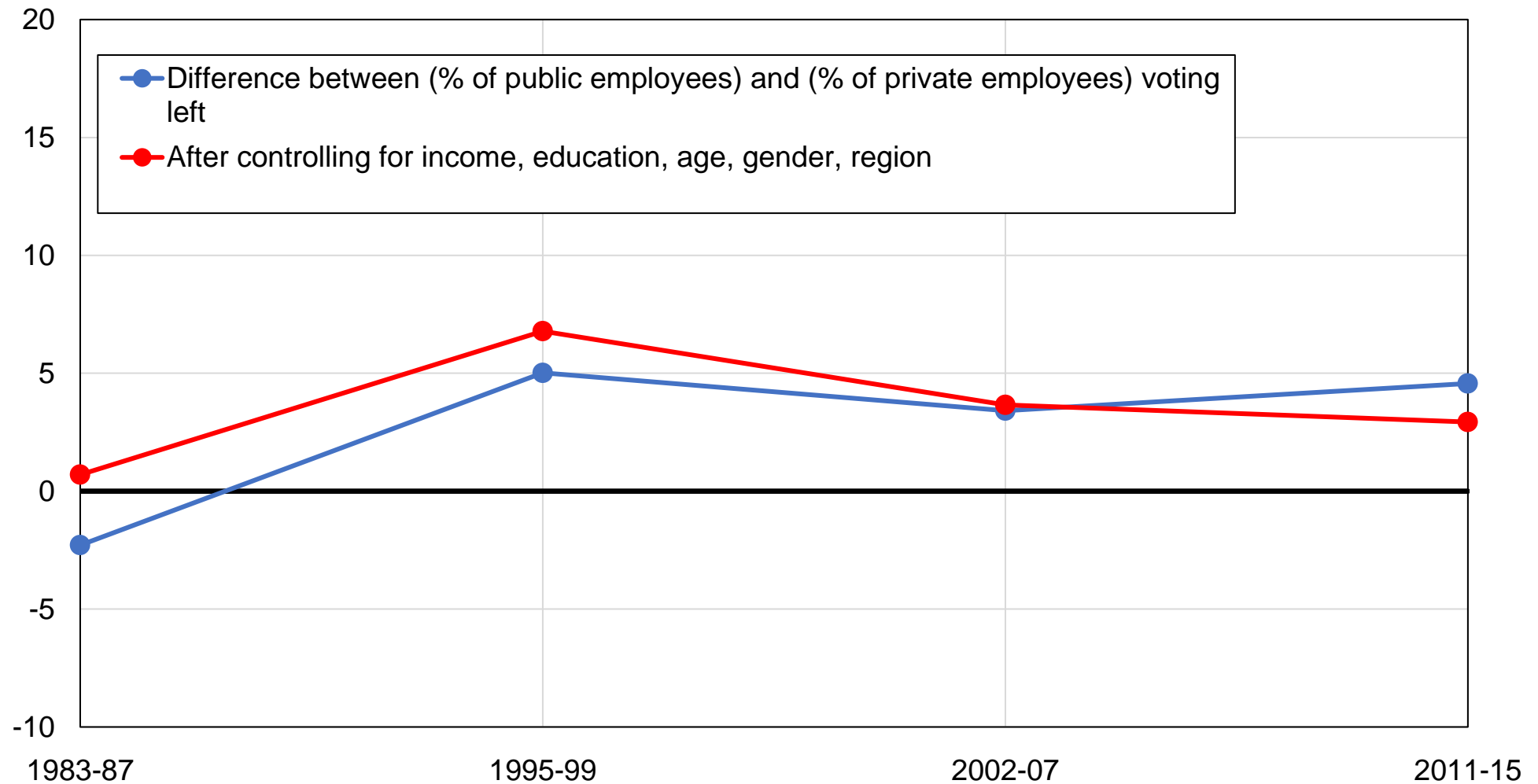
Figure DB22 - Vote for the left among young voters in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

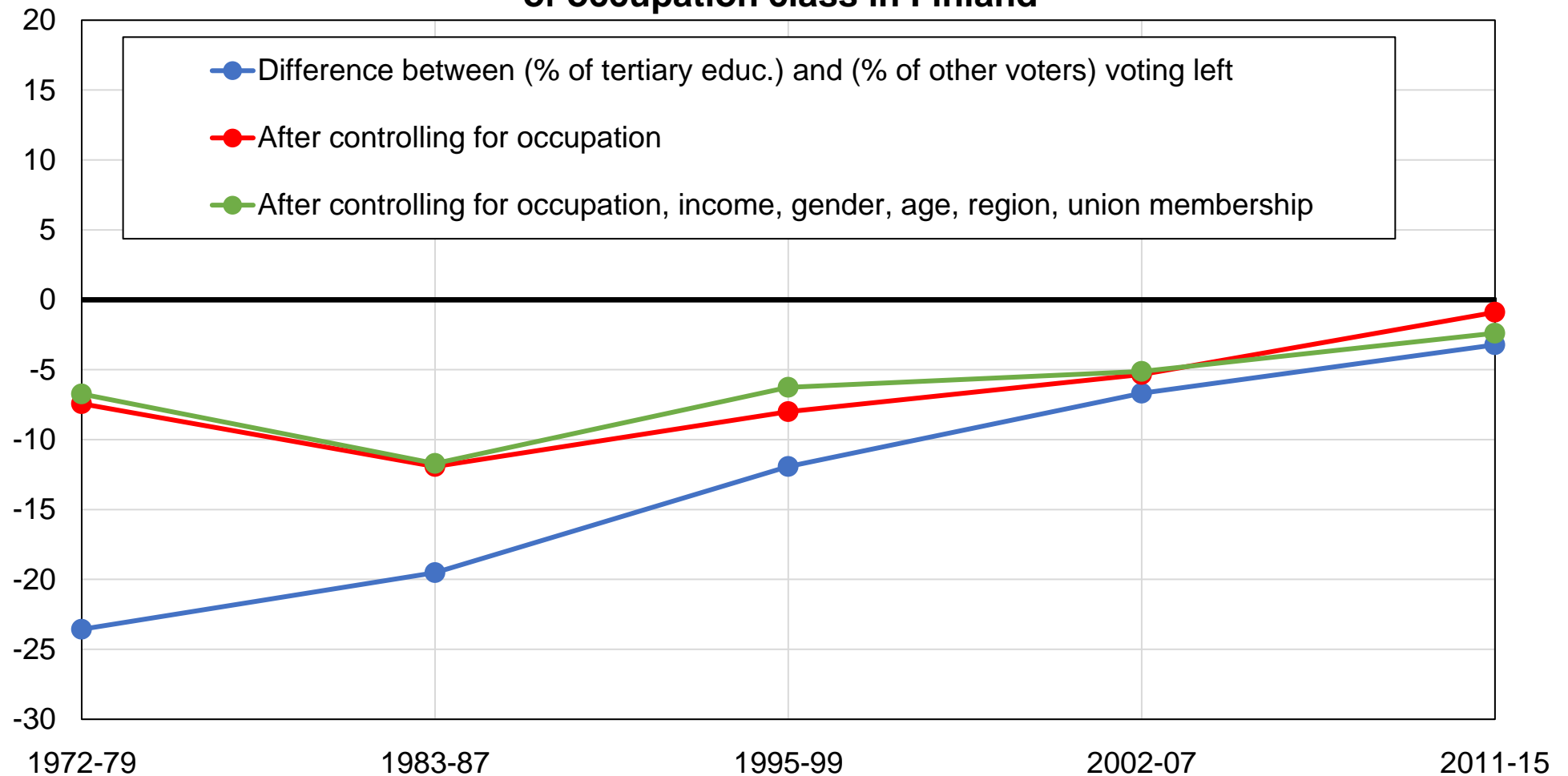
Figure DB23 - Vote for the left among public employees in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

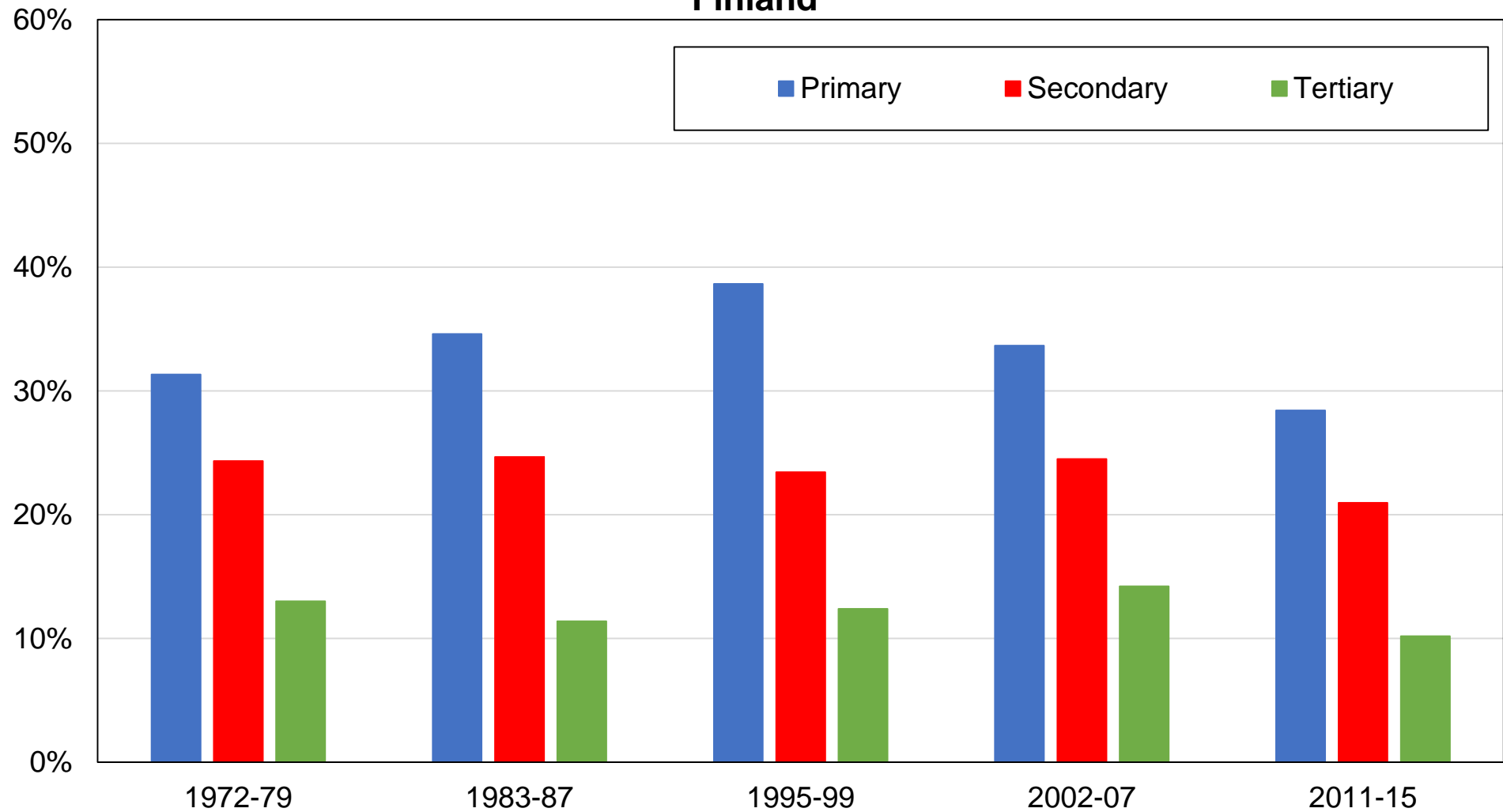
Figure DB24 - Vote for the left among tertiary-educated voters: the role of occupation class in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

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



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

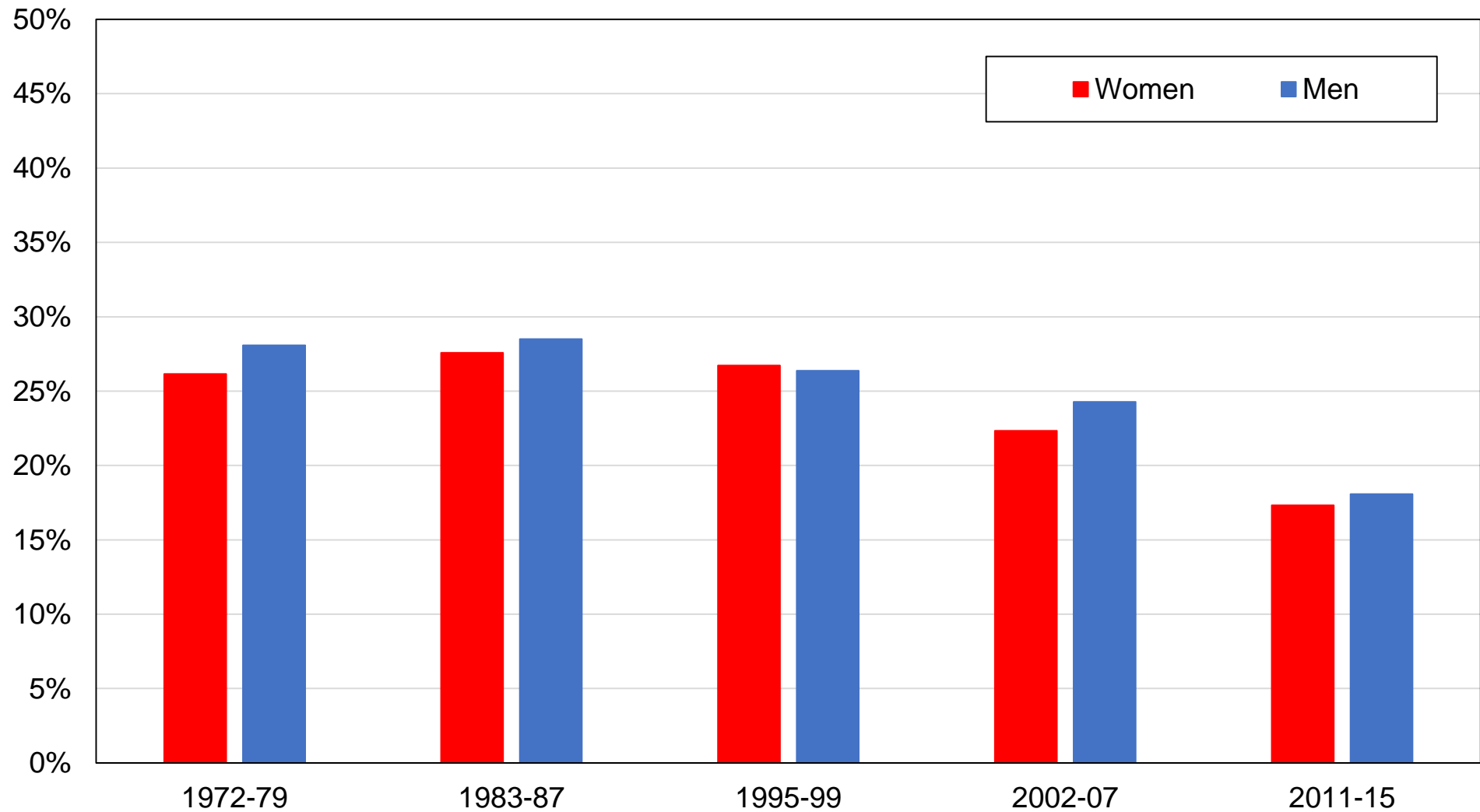
Figure DC2 - Vote for the Social Democratic Party by income group in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

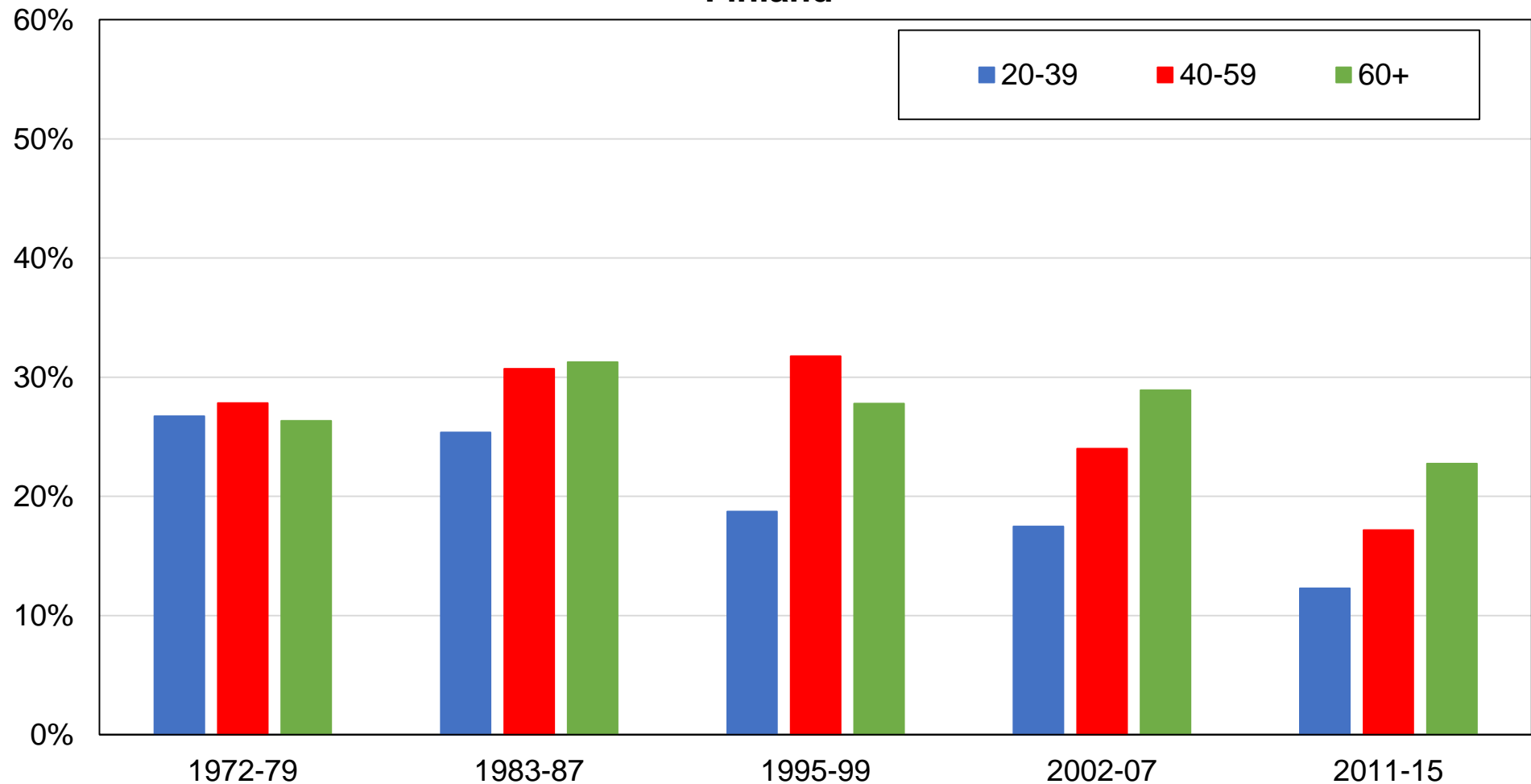
Figure DC3 - Vote for the Social Democratic Party by gender in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

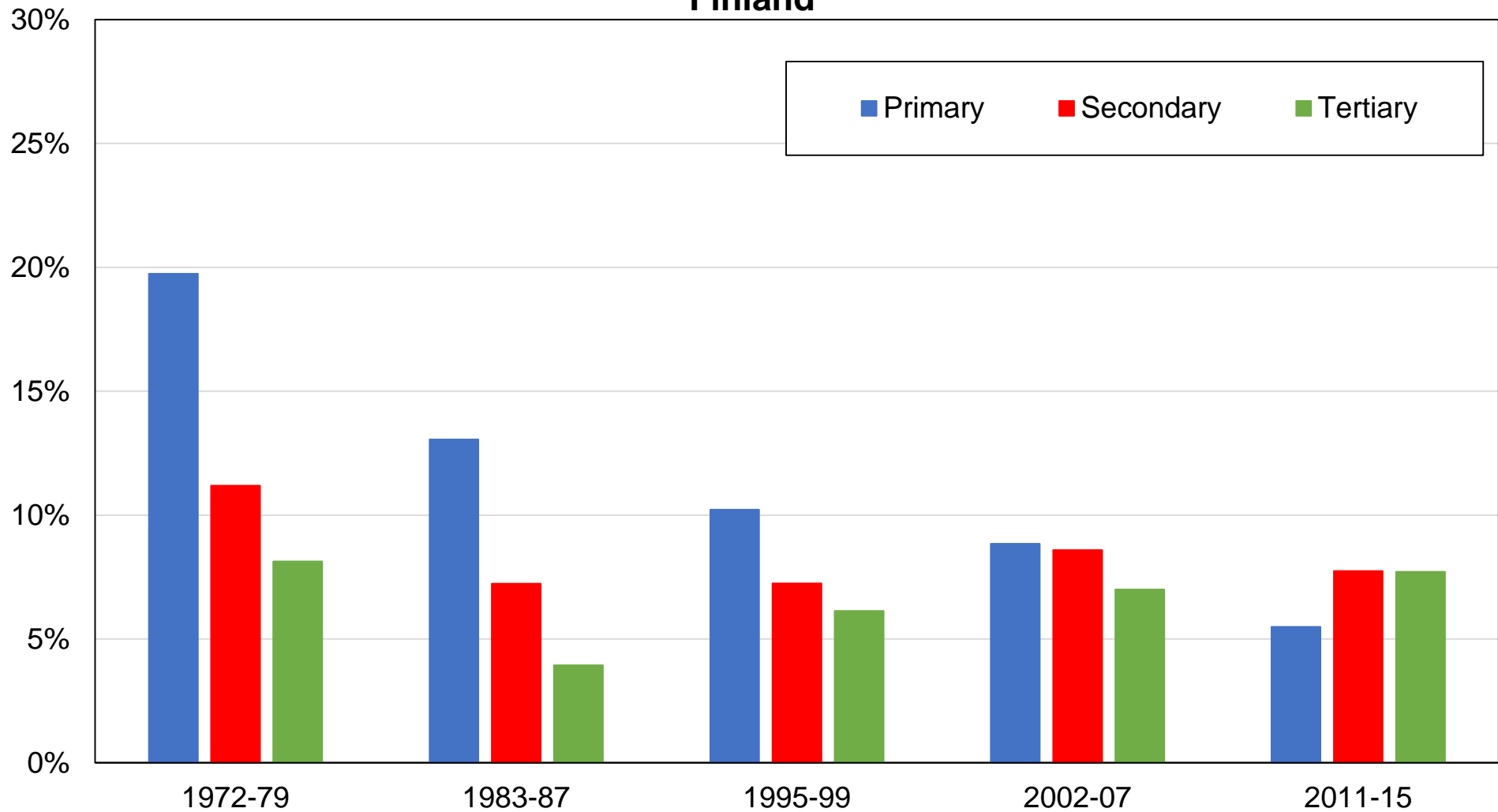
Figure DC4 - Vote for the Social Democratic Party by age group in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

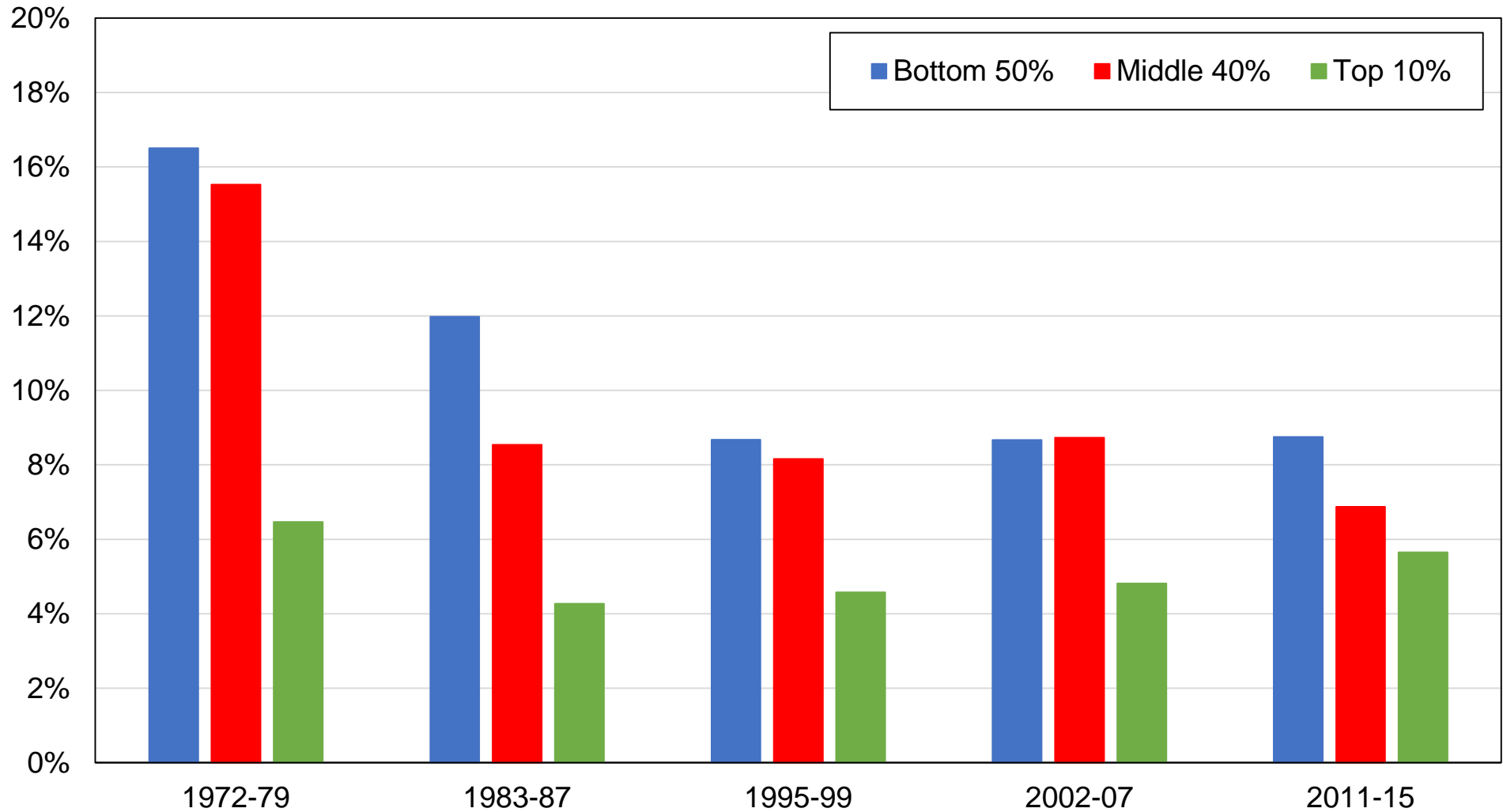
Figure DC5 - Vote for the FPD/Left Alliance by education level in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

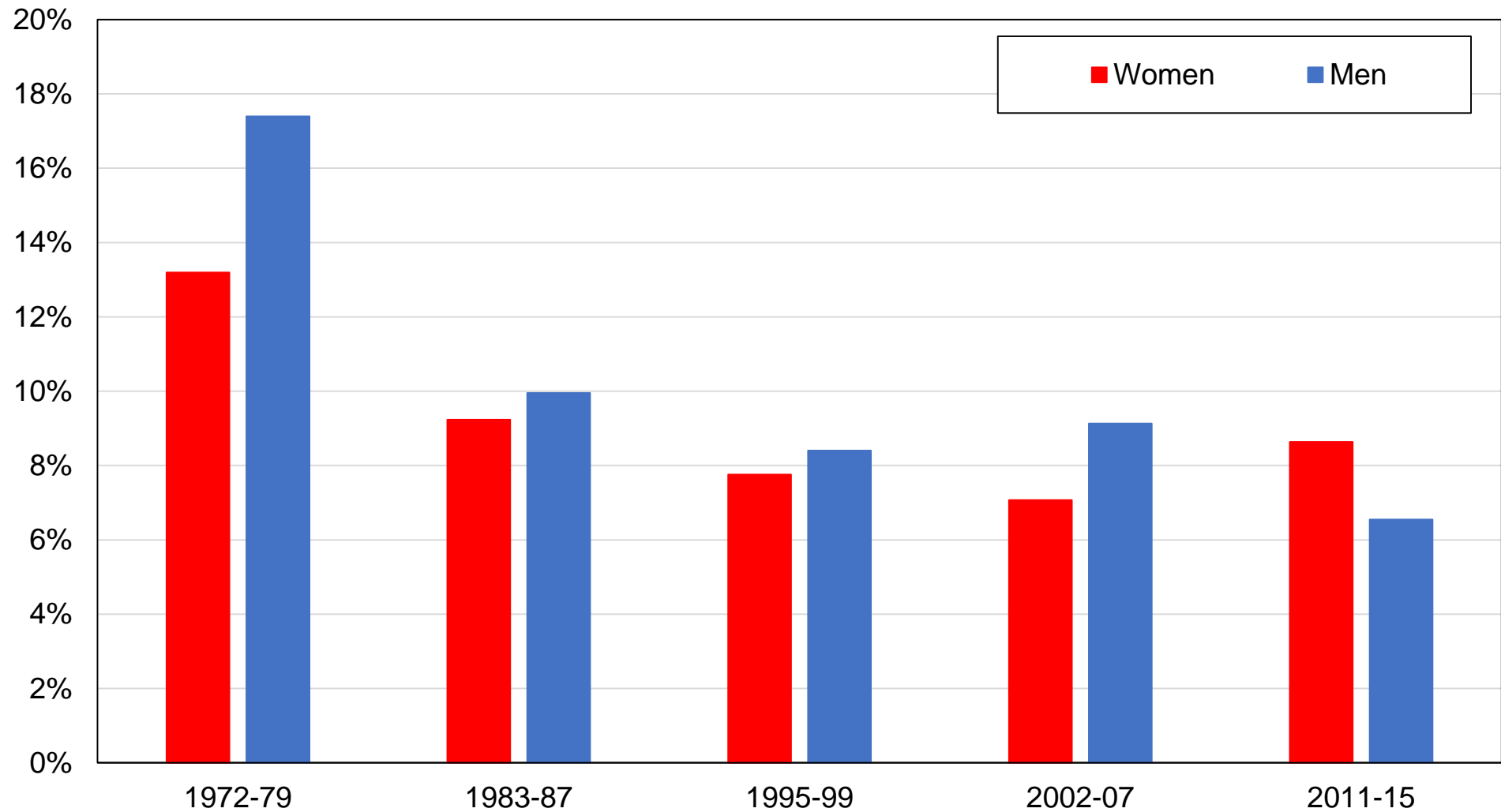
Figure DC6 - Vote for the FPD/Left Alliance by income group in Finland



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.

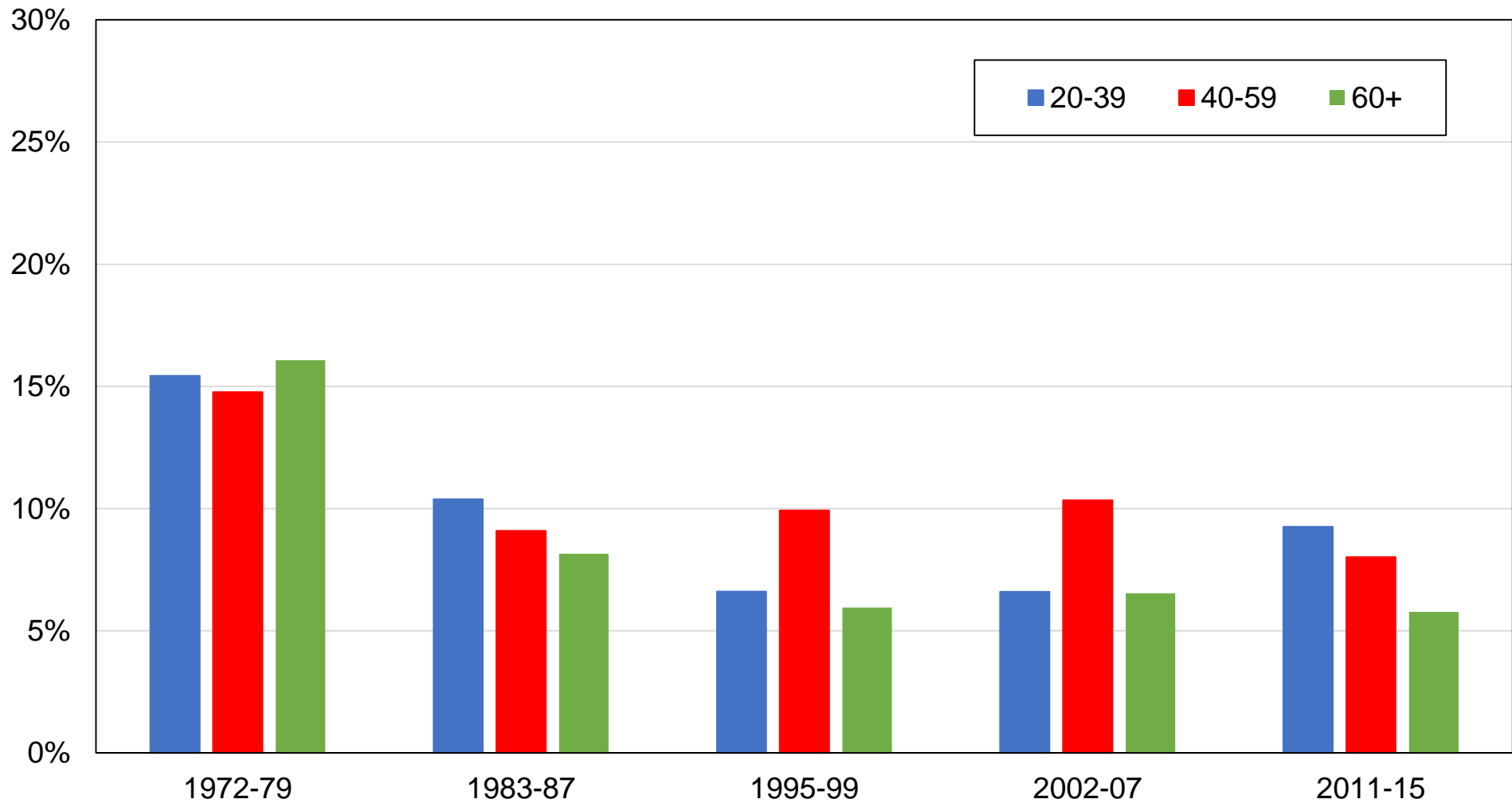
Figure DC7 - Vote for the FPD/Left Alliance by gender in Finland



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.

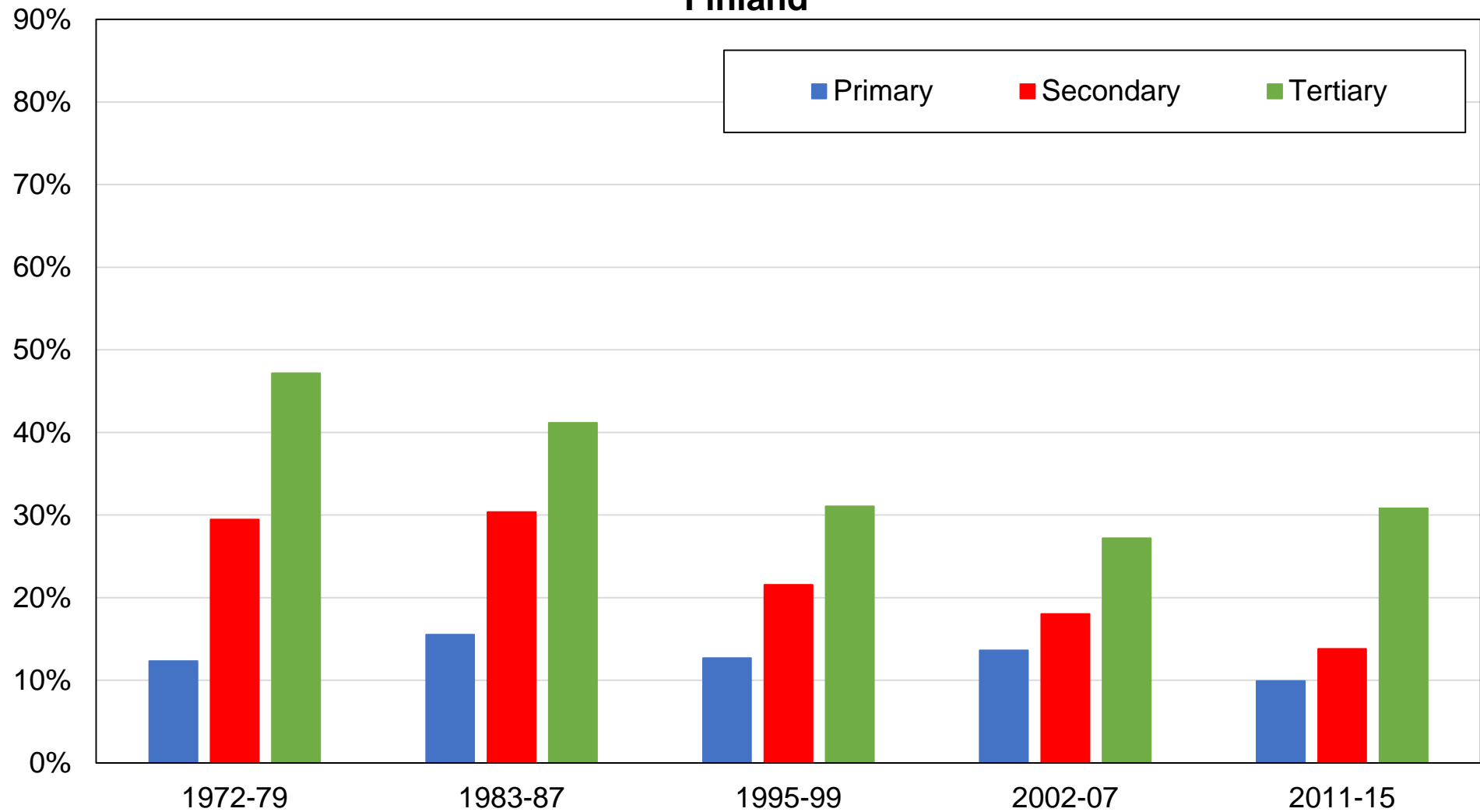
Figure DC8 - Vote for the FPD/ Left Alliance by age group in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

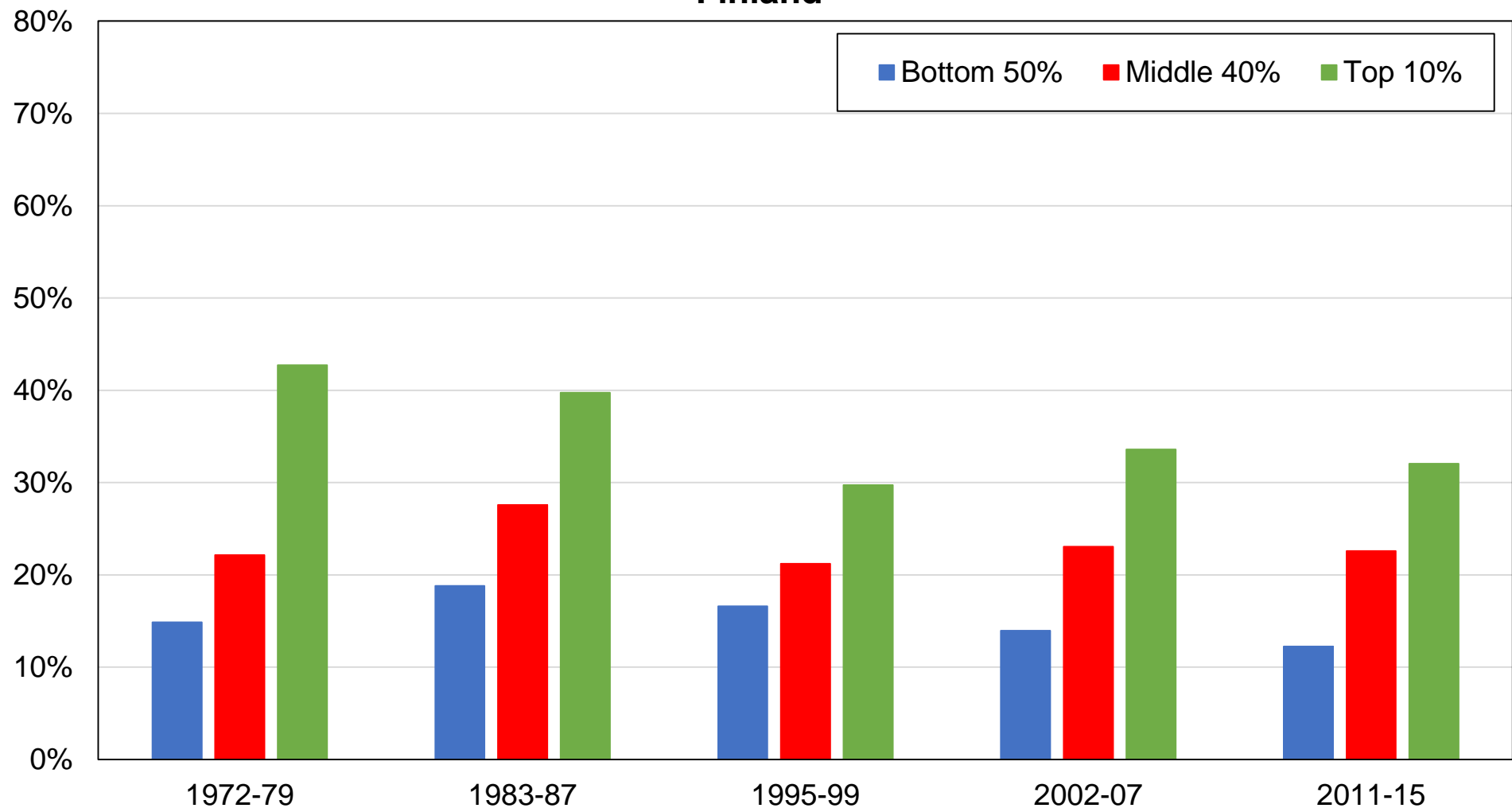
Figure DC9 - Vote for National Coalition Party by education level in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

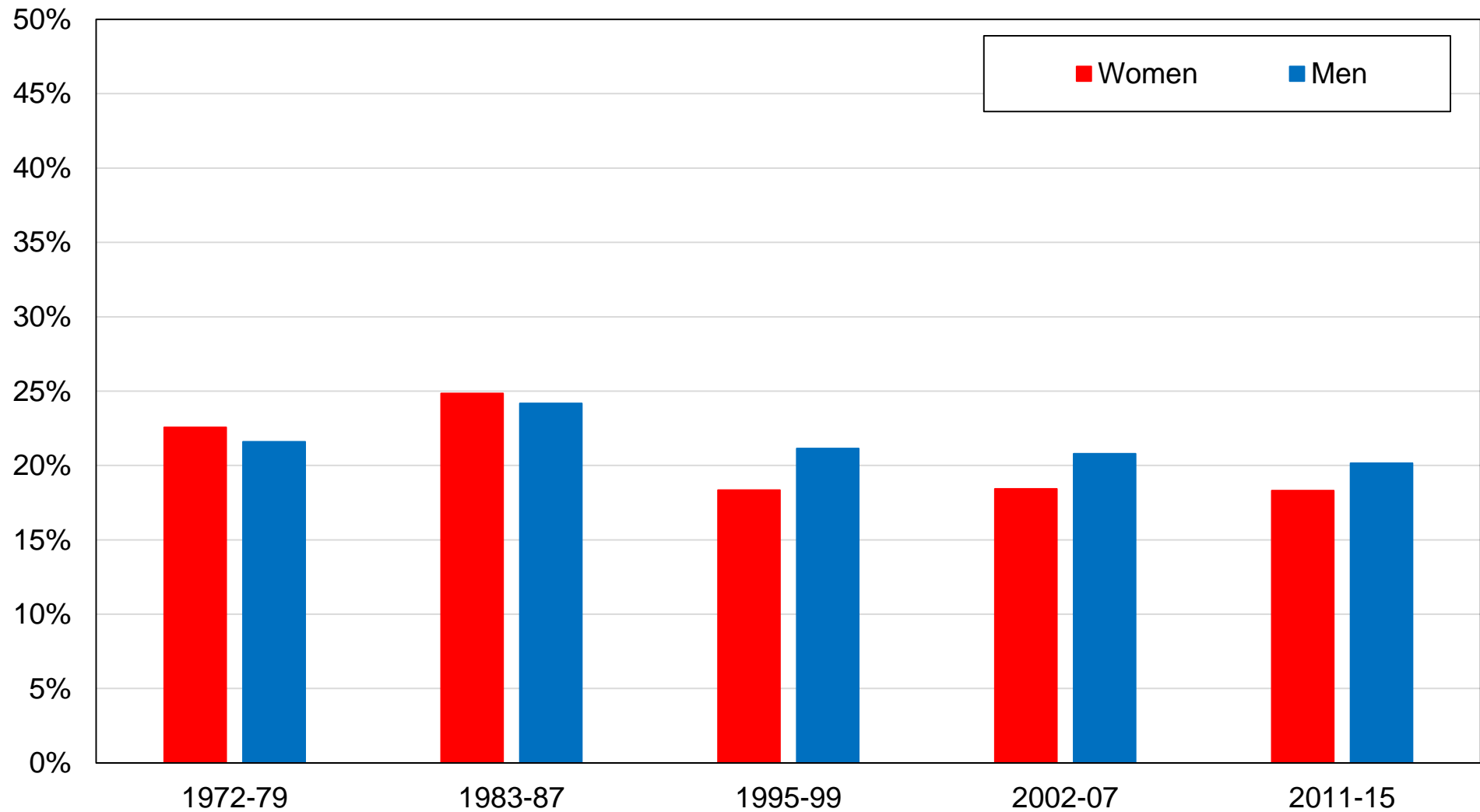
Figure DC10 - Vote for the National Coalition Party by income group in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

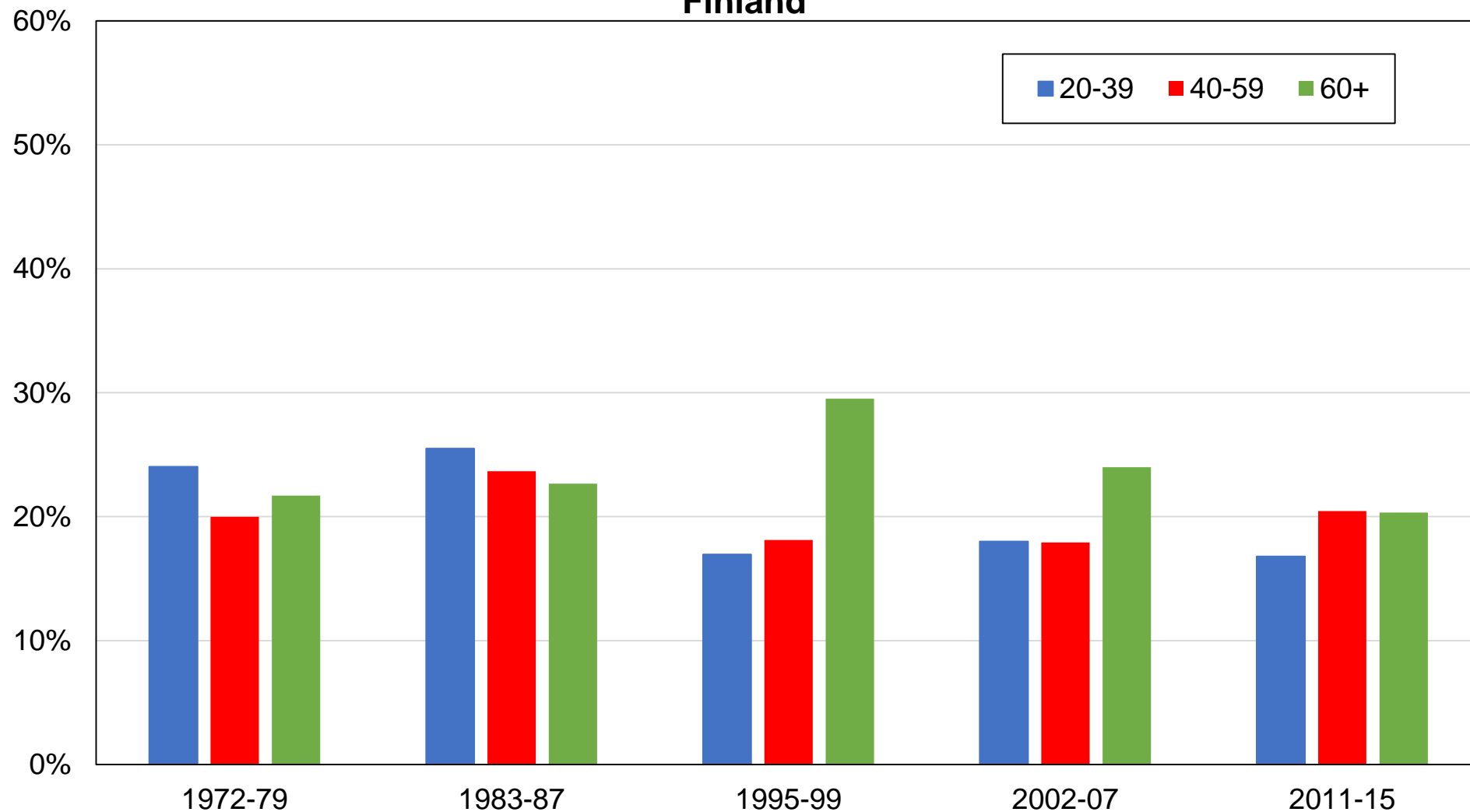
Figure DC11 - Vote for National Coalition Party by gender in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

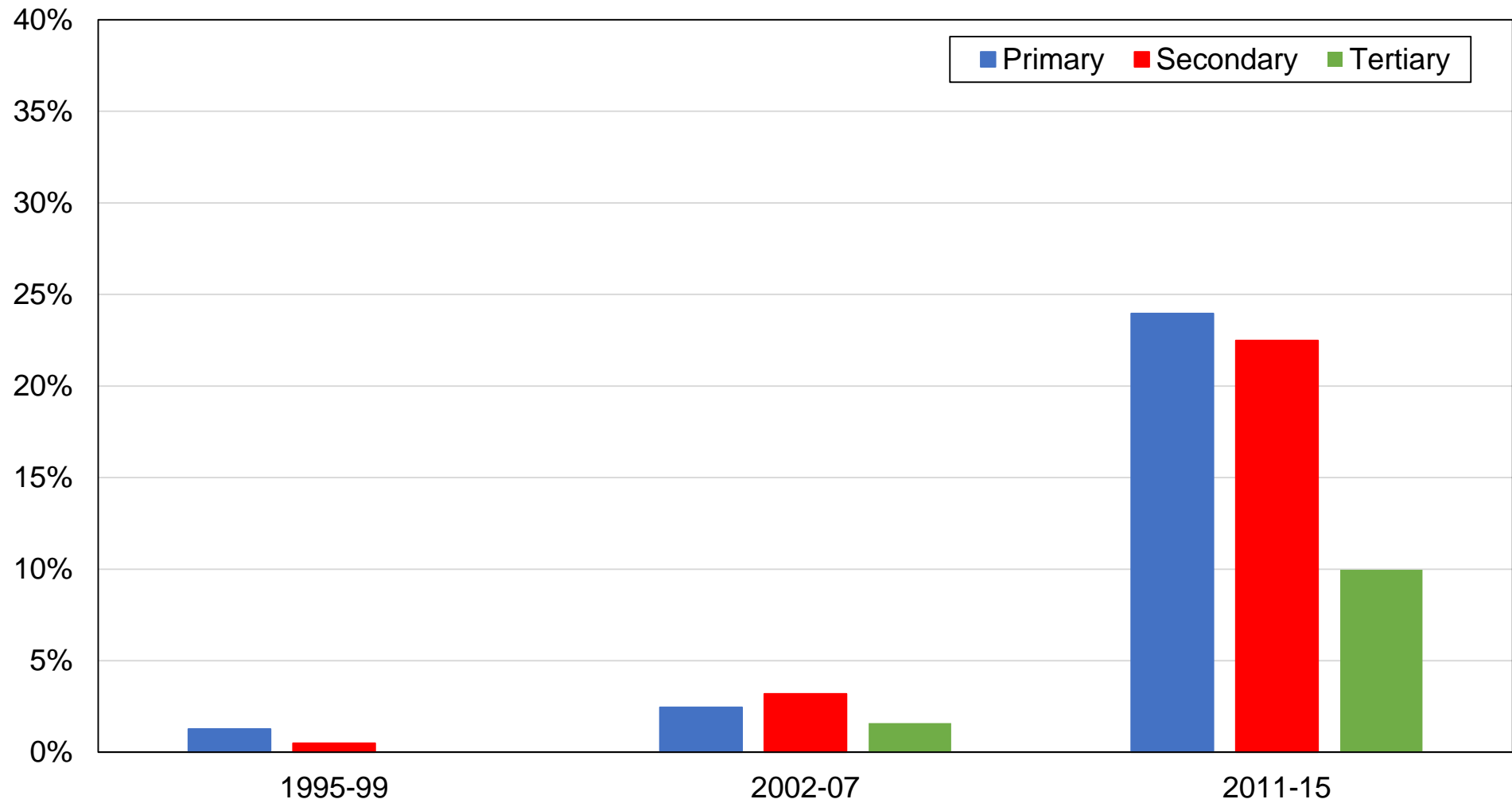
Figure DC12 - Vote for the National Coalition Party by age group in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

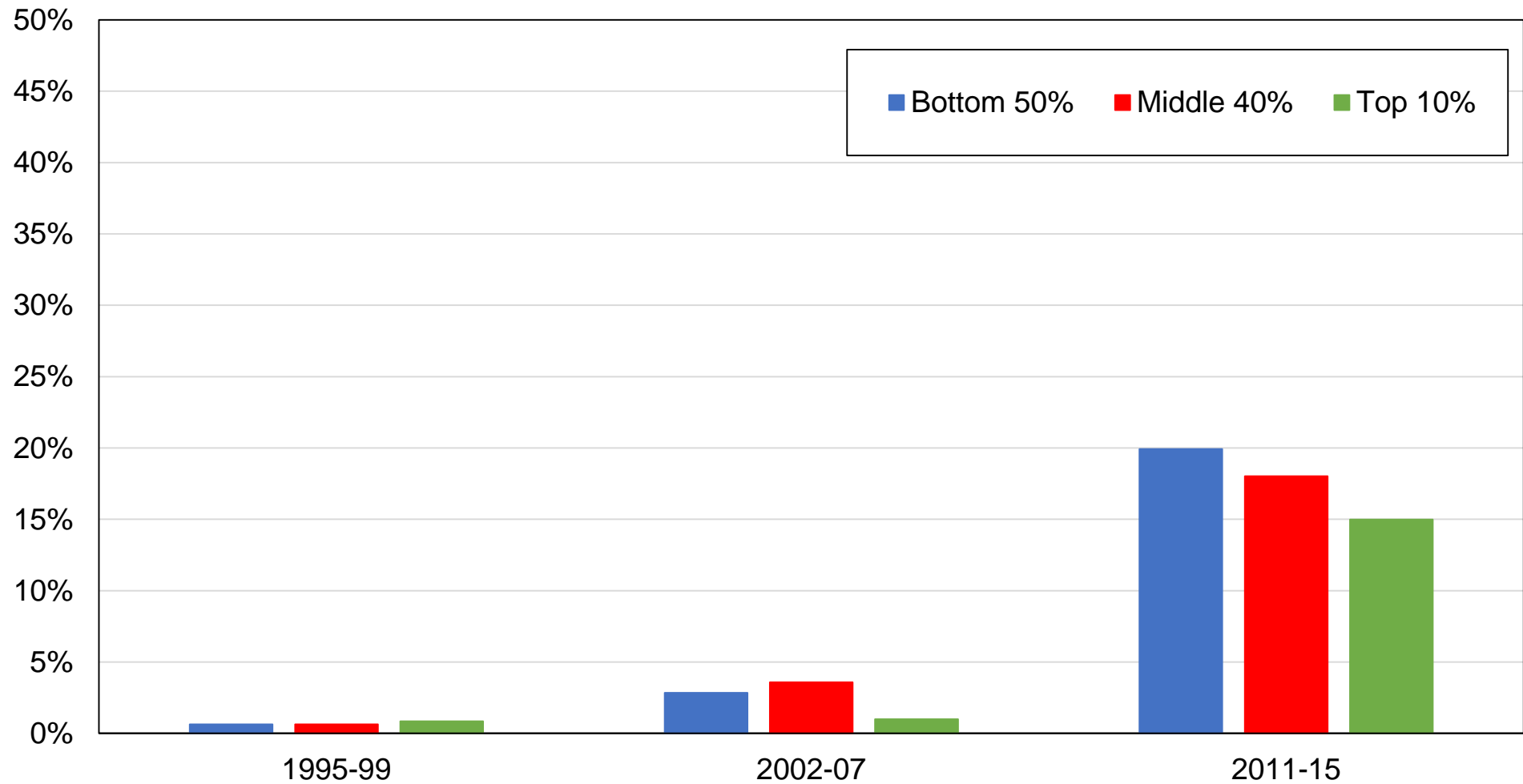
Figure DC13 - Vote for the True Finns by education level in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

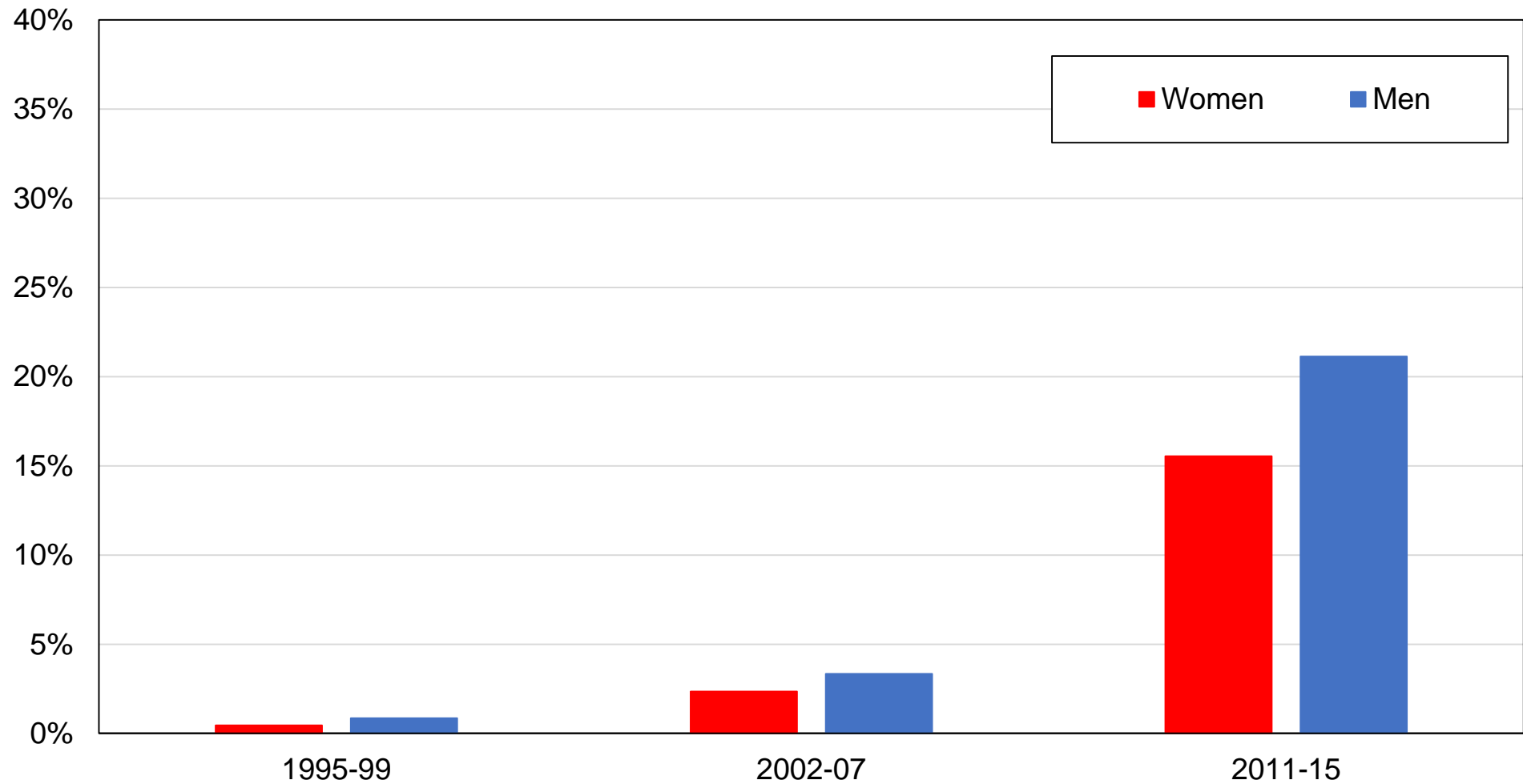
Figure DC14 - Vote for the True Finns by income group in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

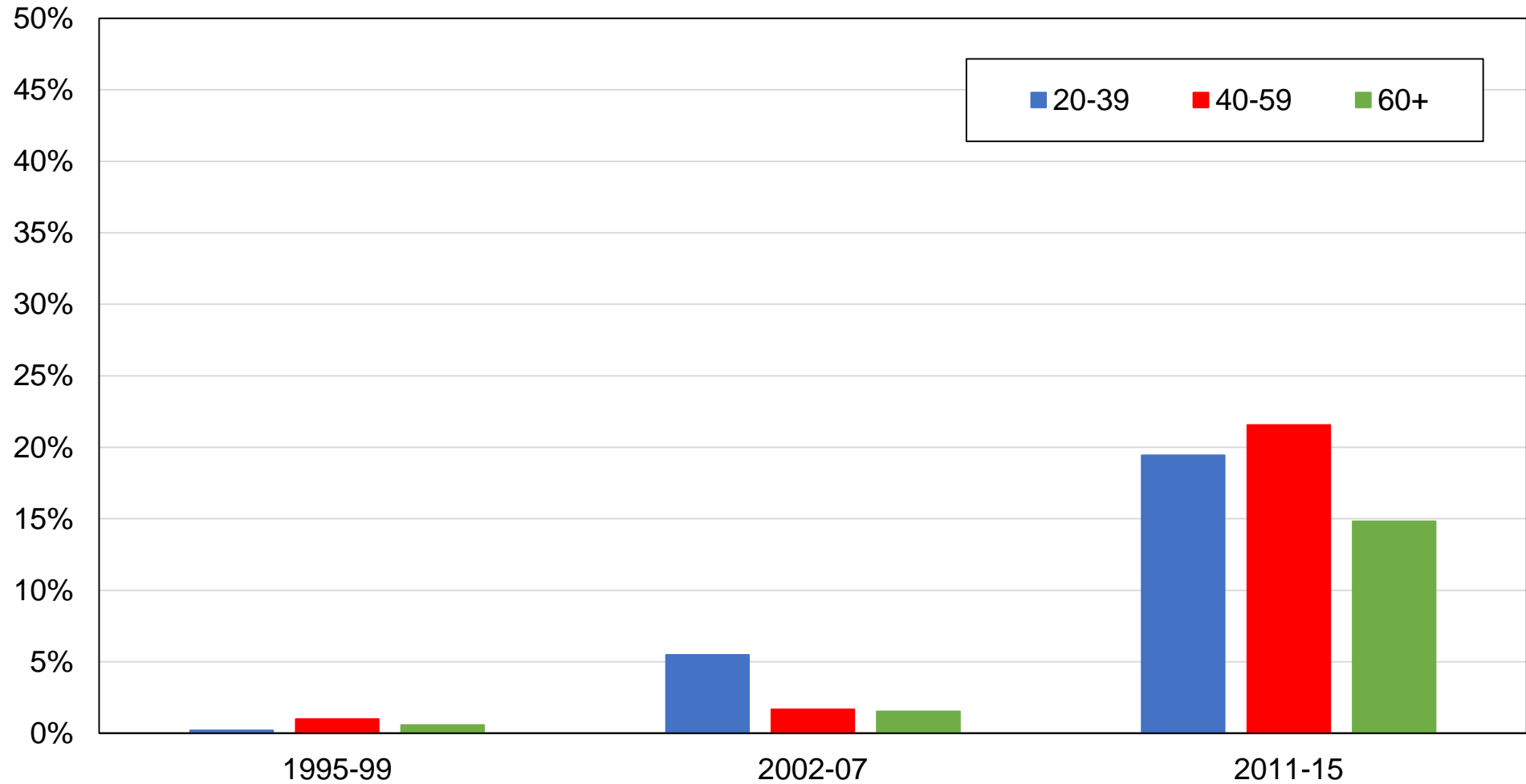
Figure DC15 - Vote for the True Finns by gender in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

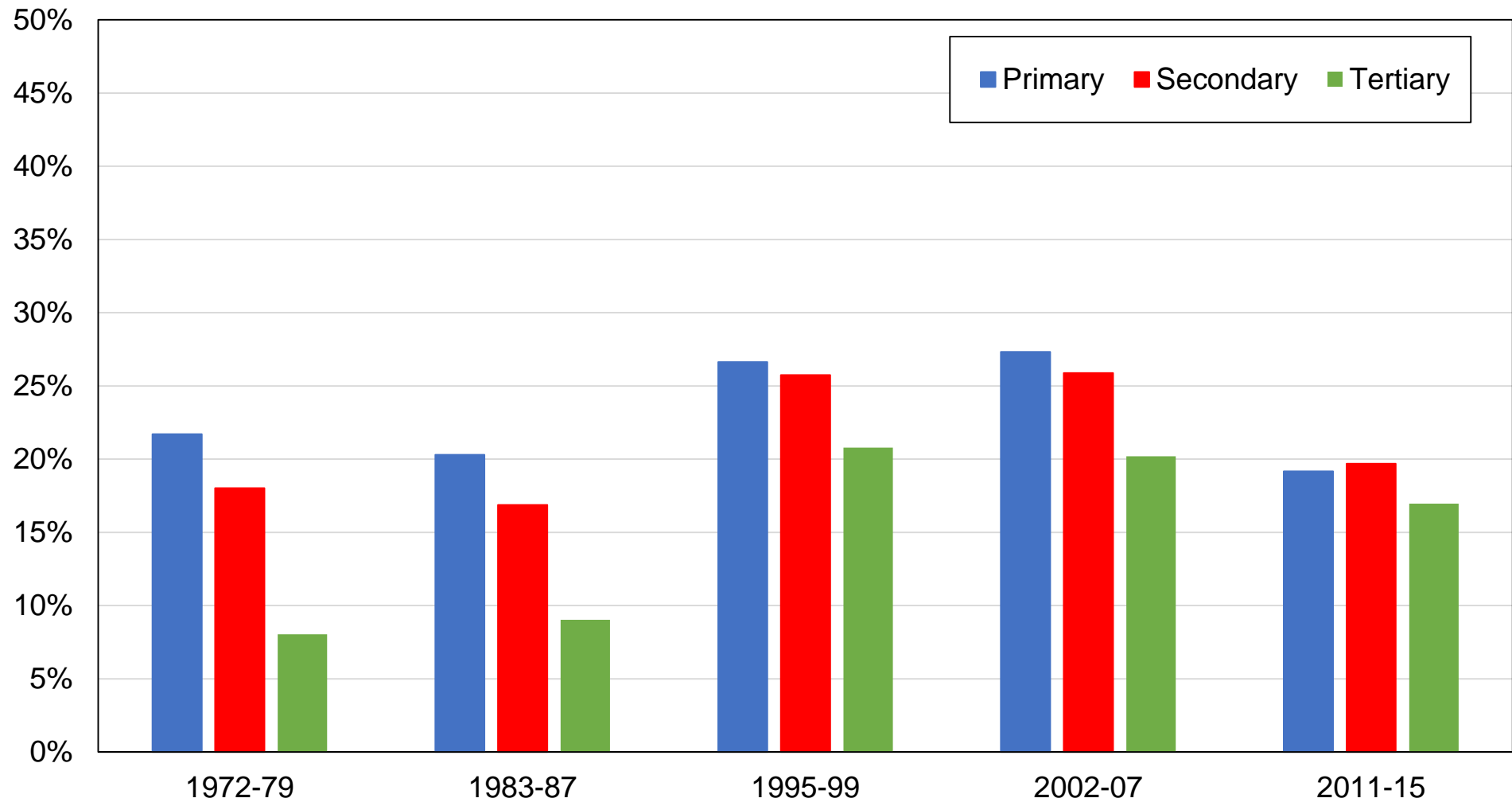
Figure DC16 - Vote for the True Finns by age group in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

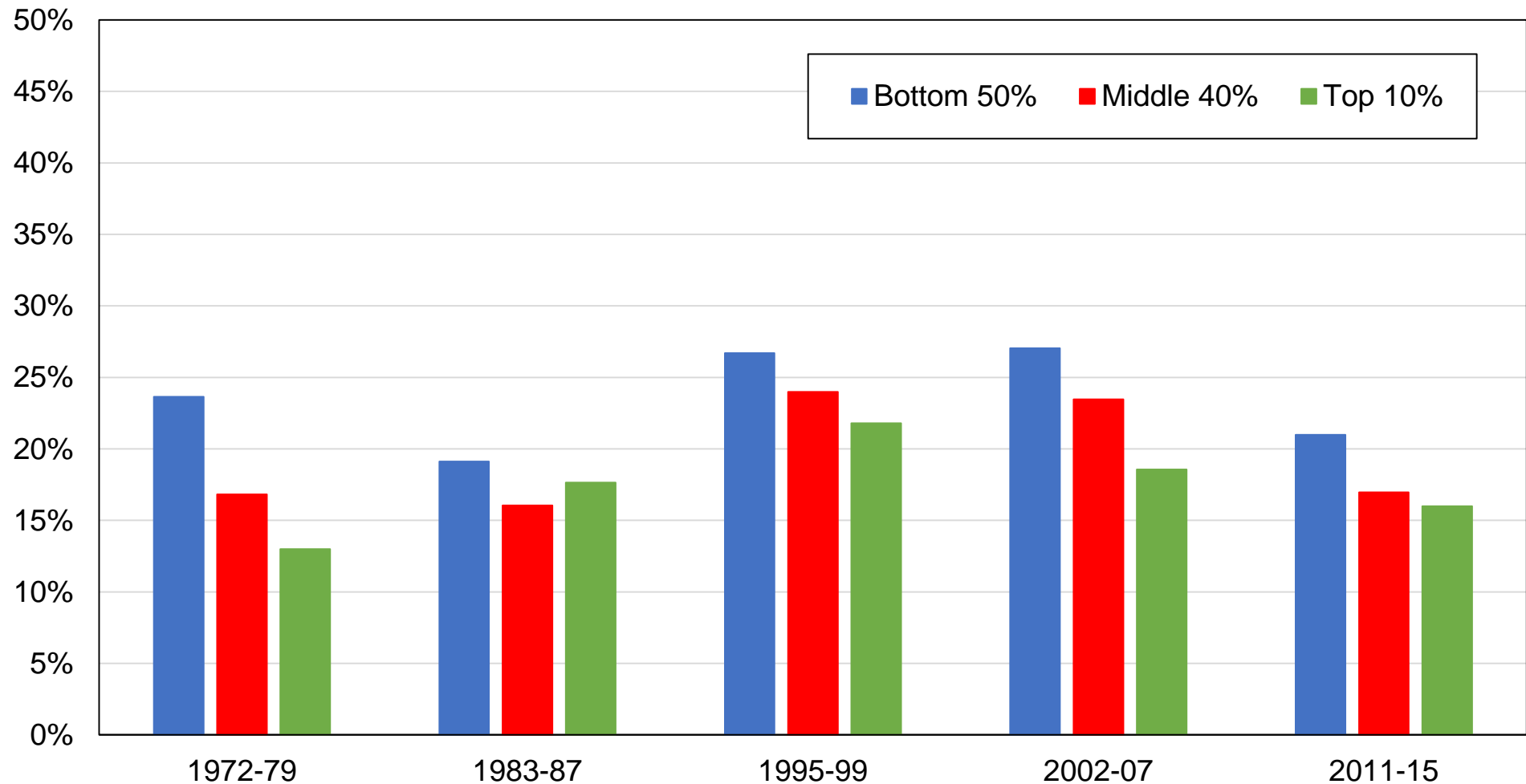
Figure DC17 - Vote for the Centre Party by education level in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

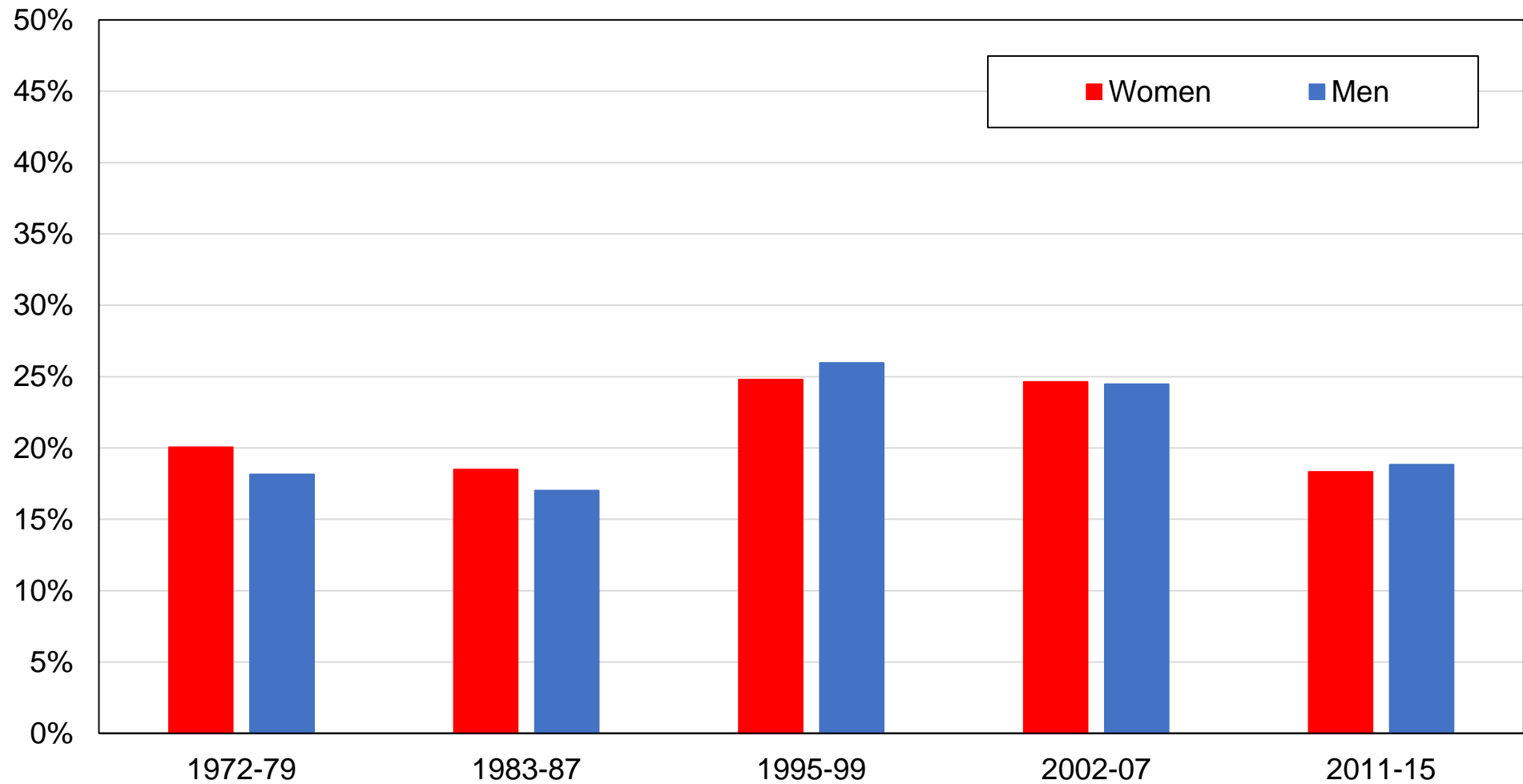
Figure DC18 - Vote for the Centre Party by income group in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

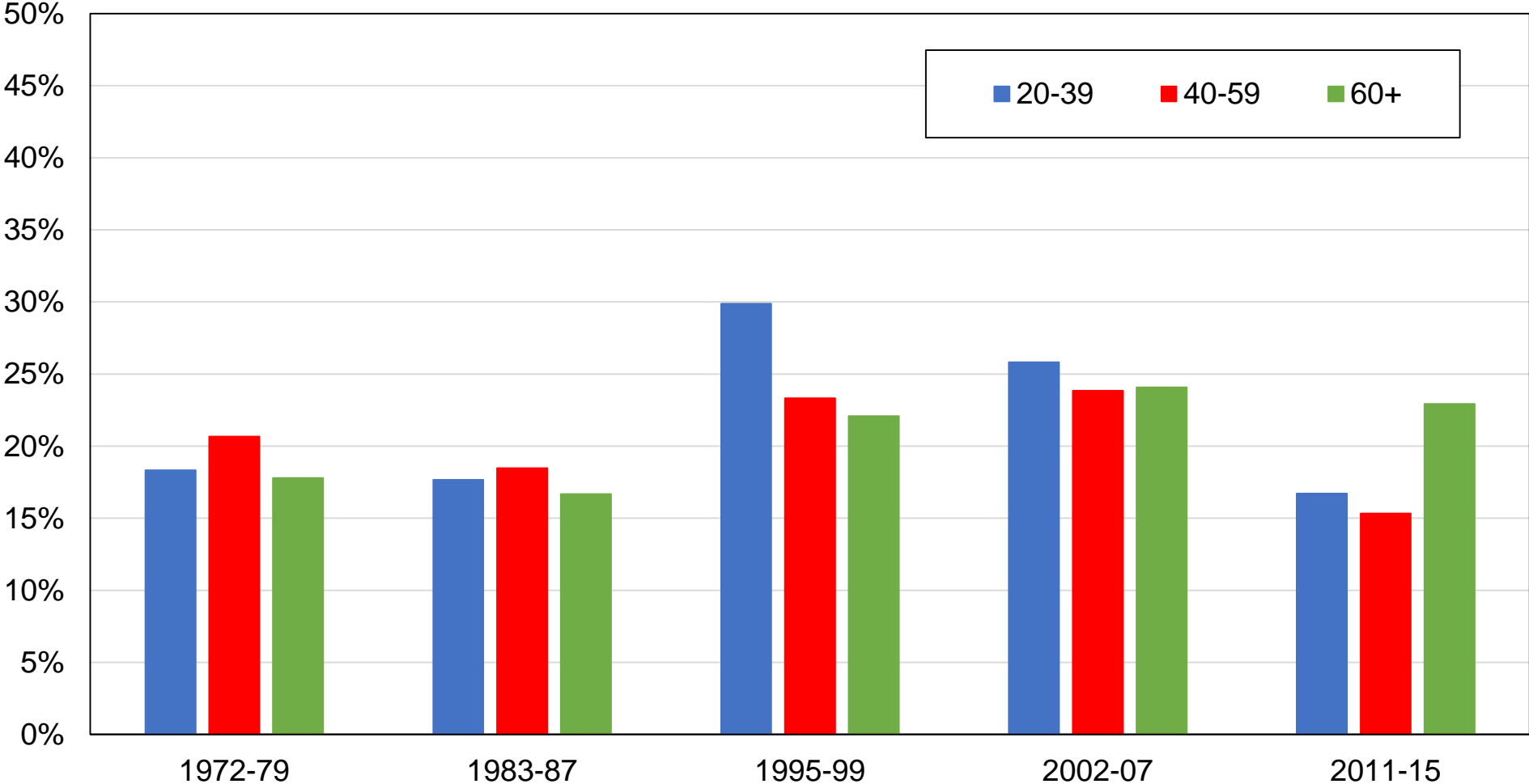
Figure DC19 - Vote for the Centre Party by gender in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

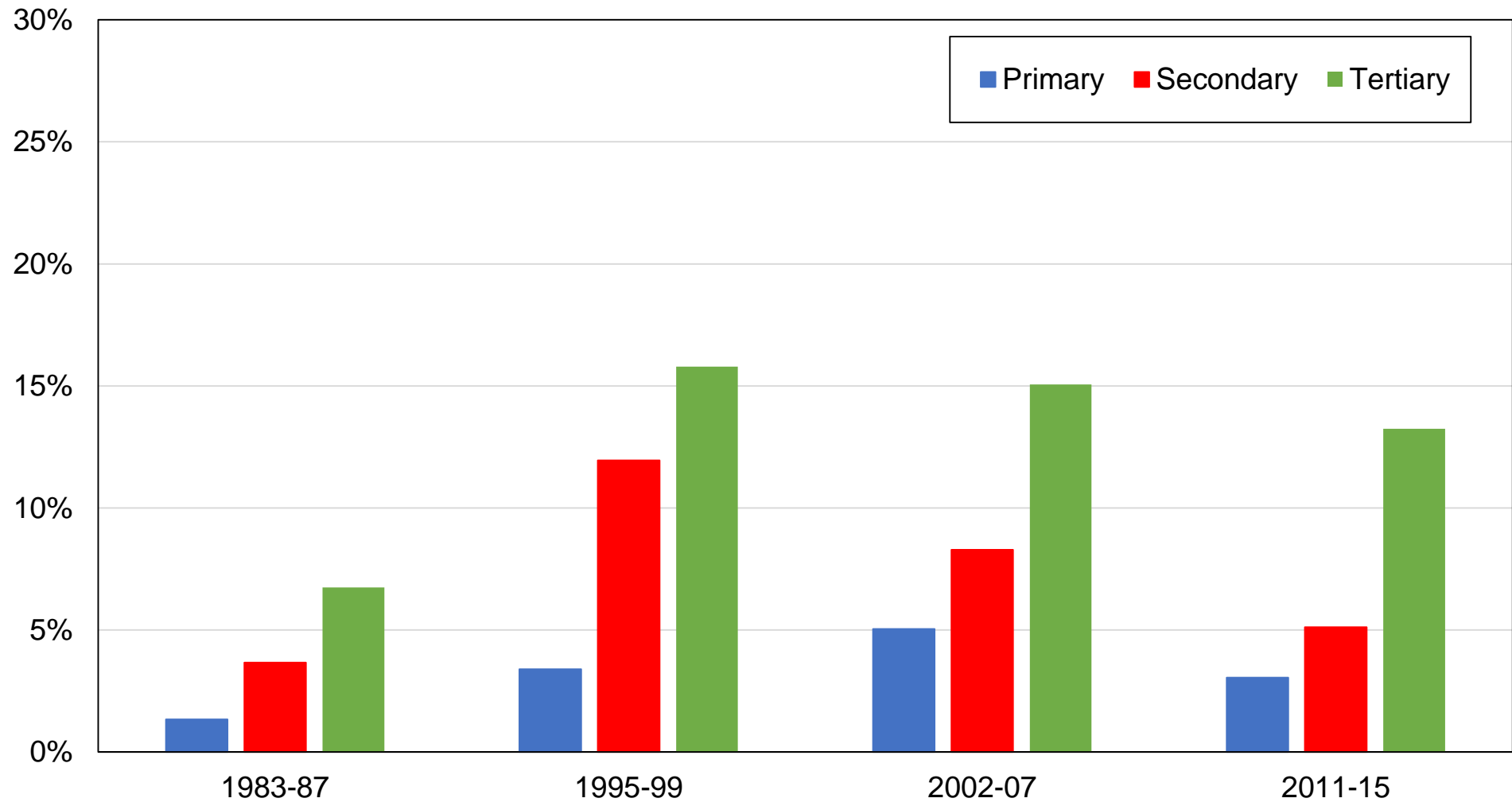
Figure DC20 - Vote for the Centre Party by age group in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

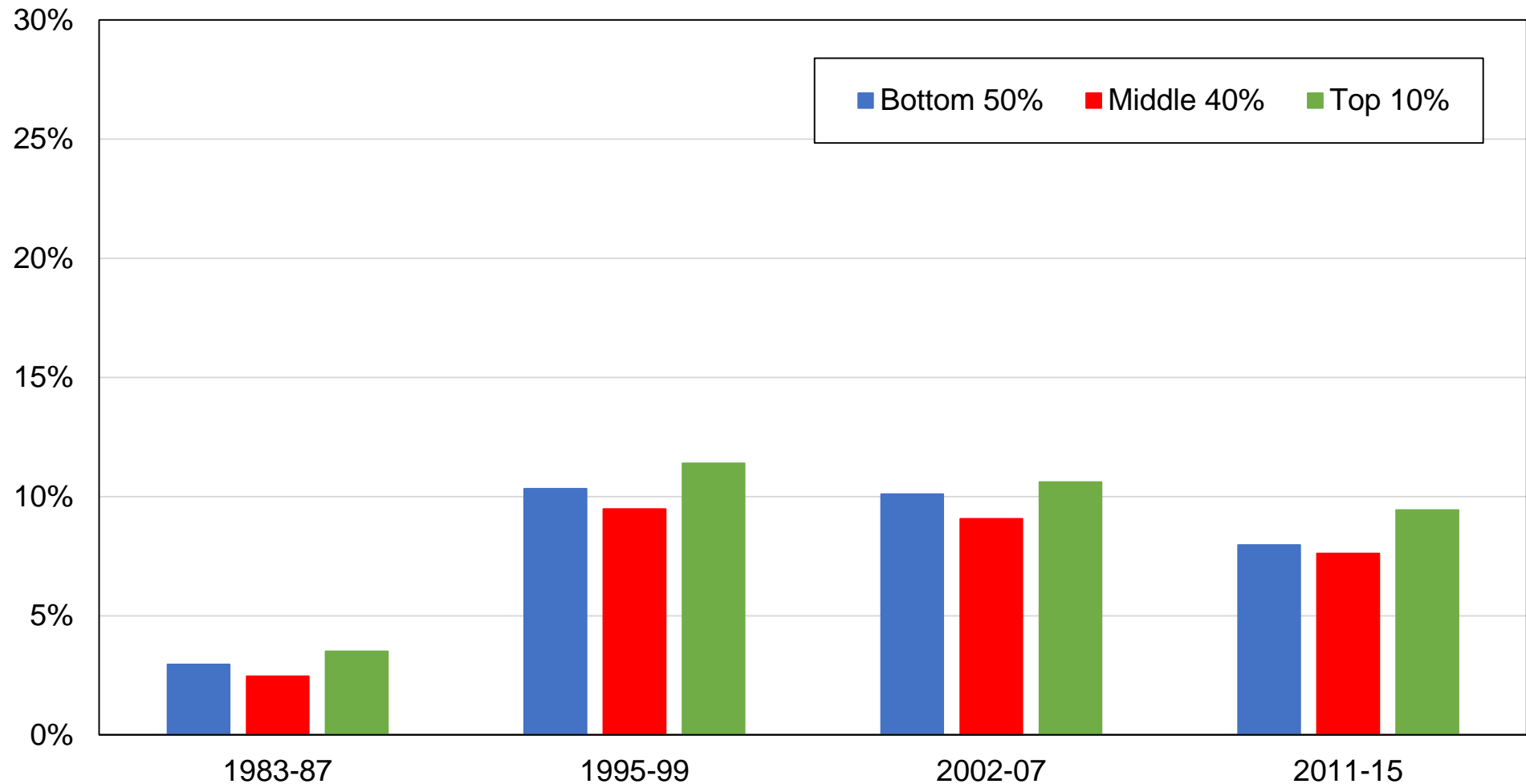
Figure DC21 - Vote for the Green League by education level in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

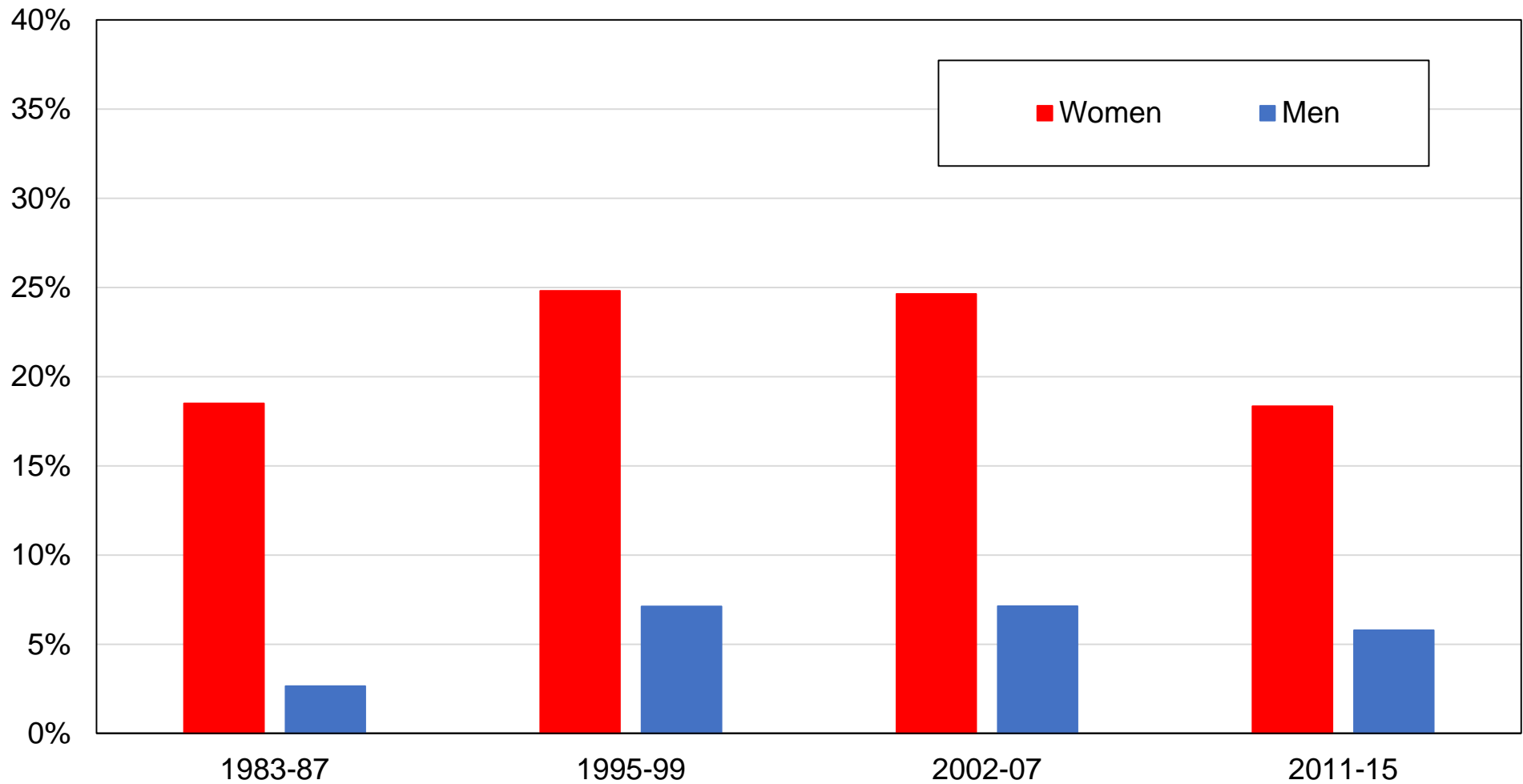
Figure DC22 - Vote for the Green League by income group in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

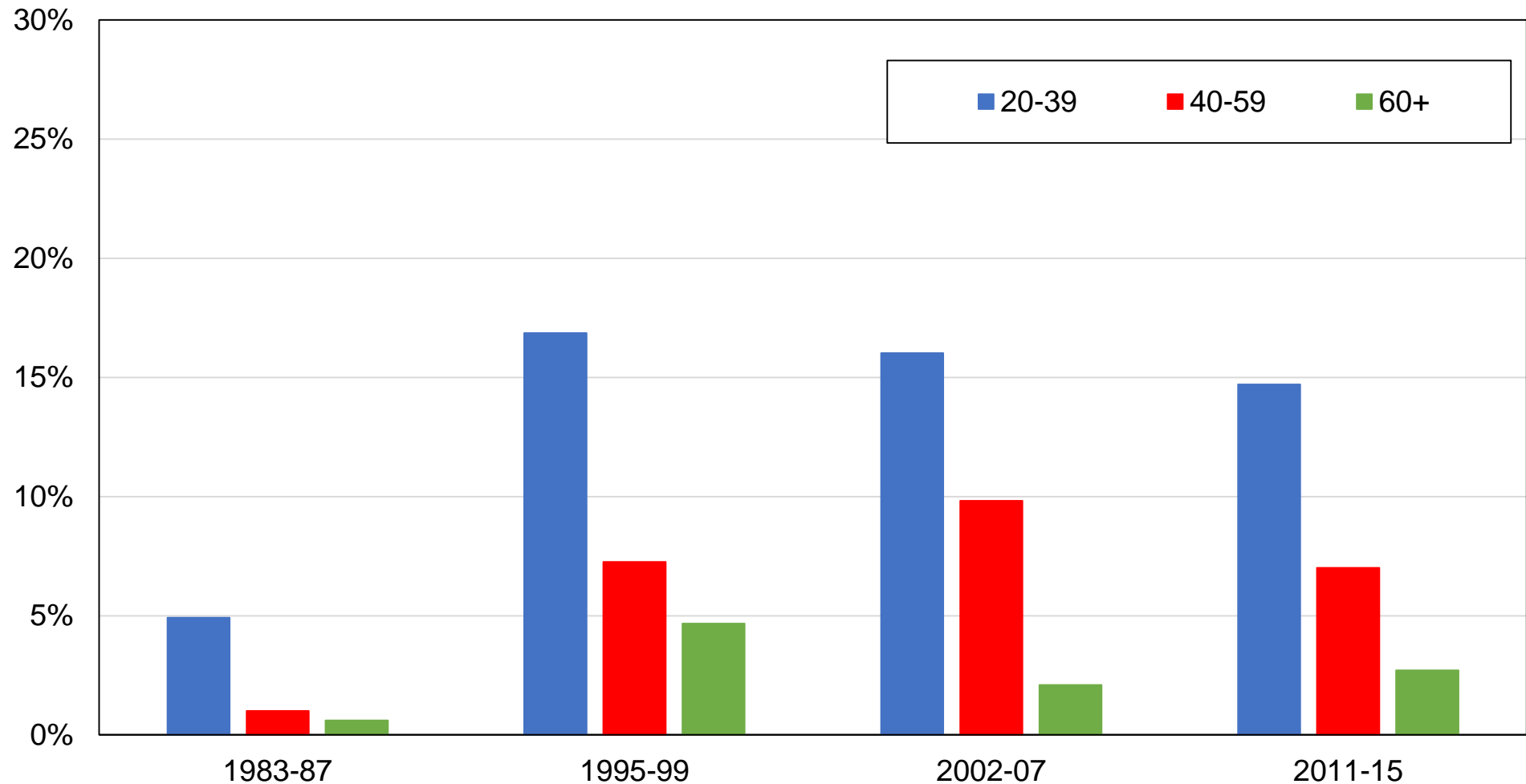
Figure DC23 - Vote for the Green League by gender in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

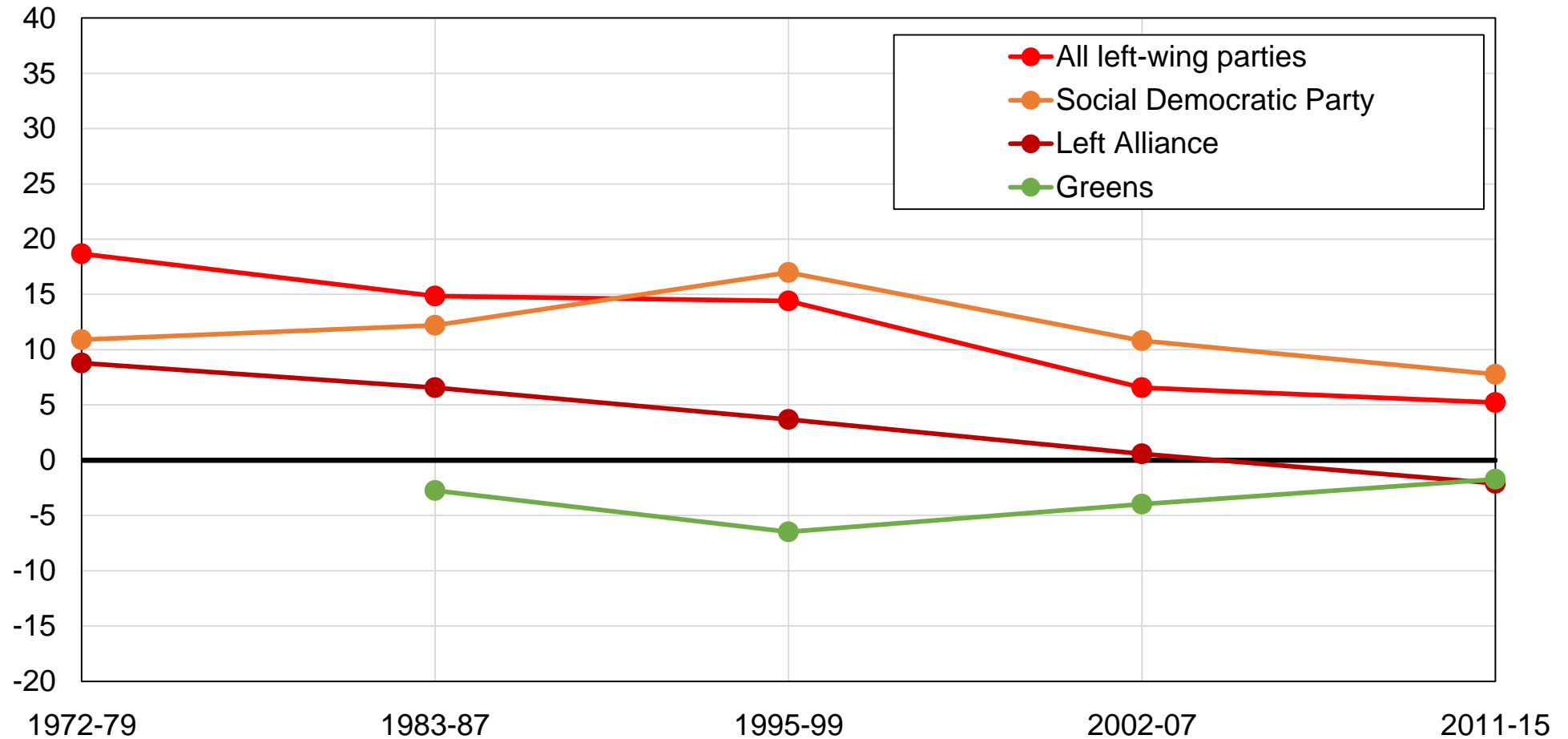
Figure DC24 - Vote for the Green League by age group in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

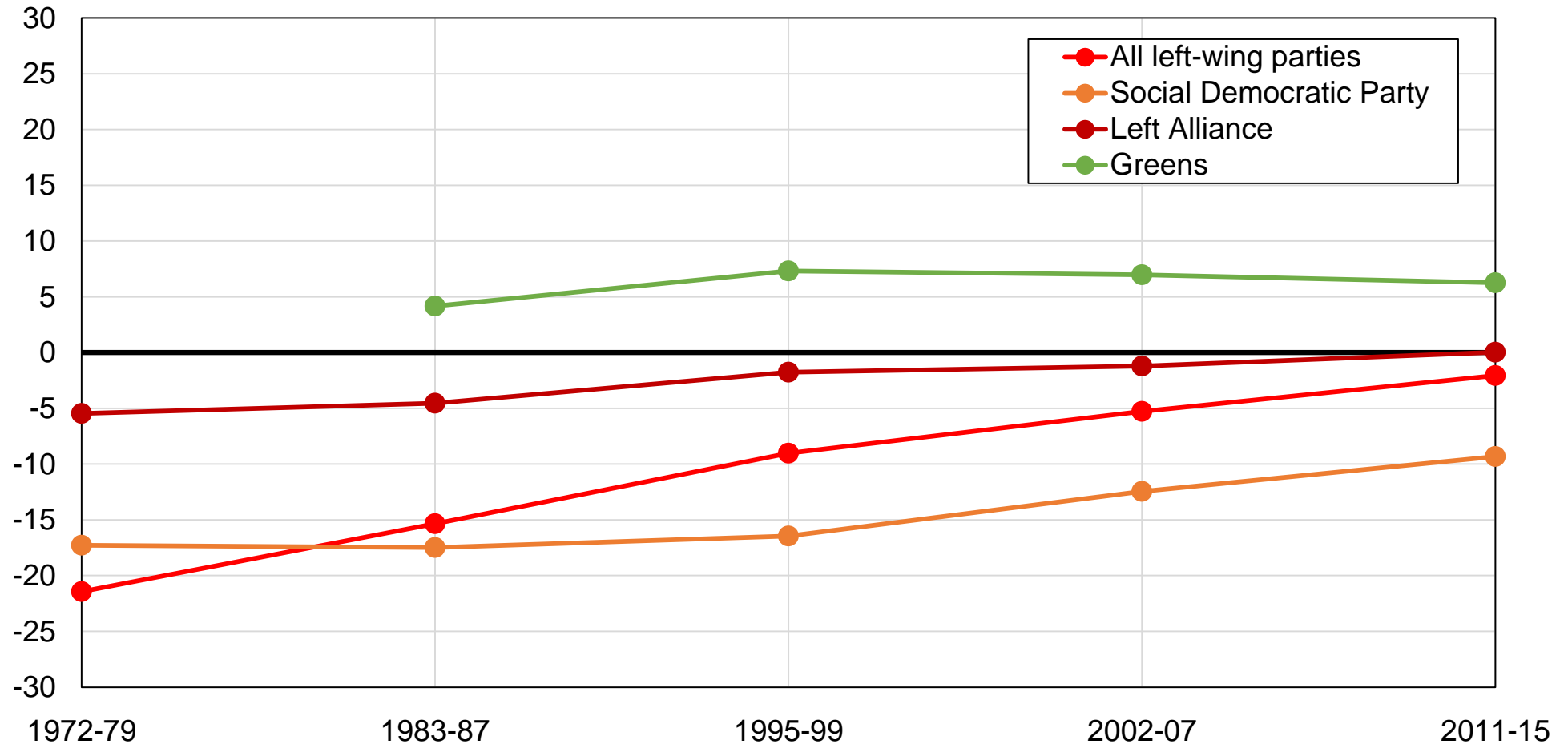
Figure DC25 - Decomposition of the vote for the left among primary-educated voters in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

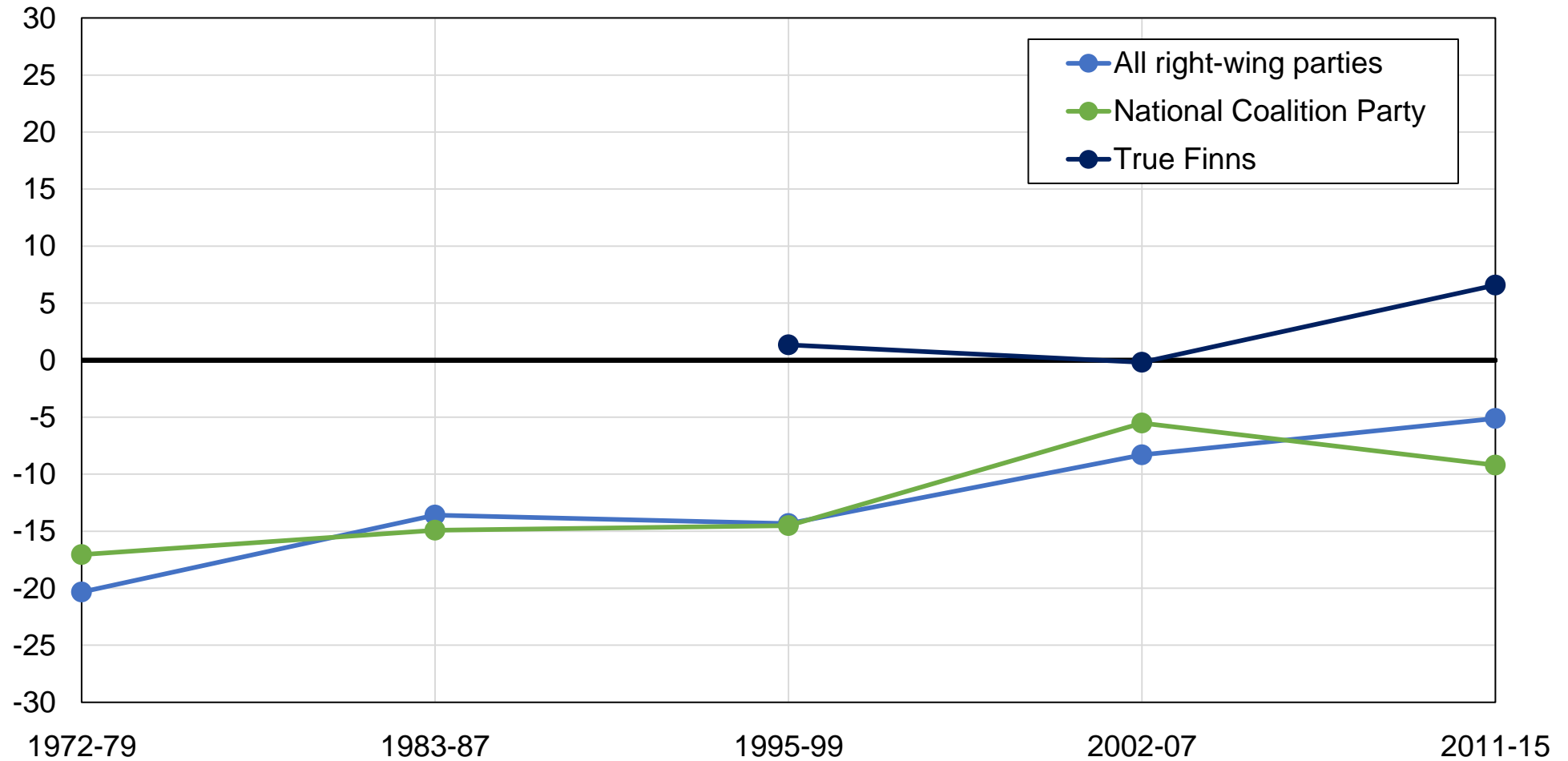
Figure DC26- Decomposition of the vote for the left among tertiary-educated voters in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

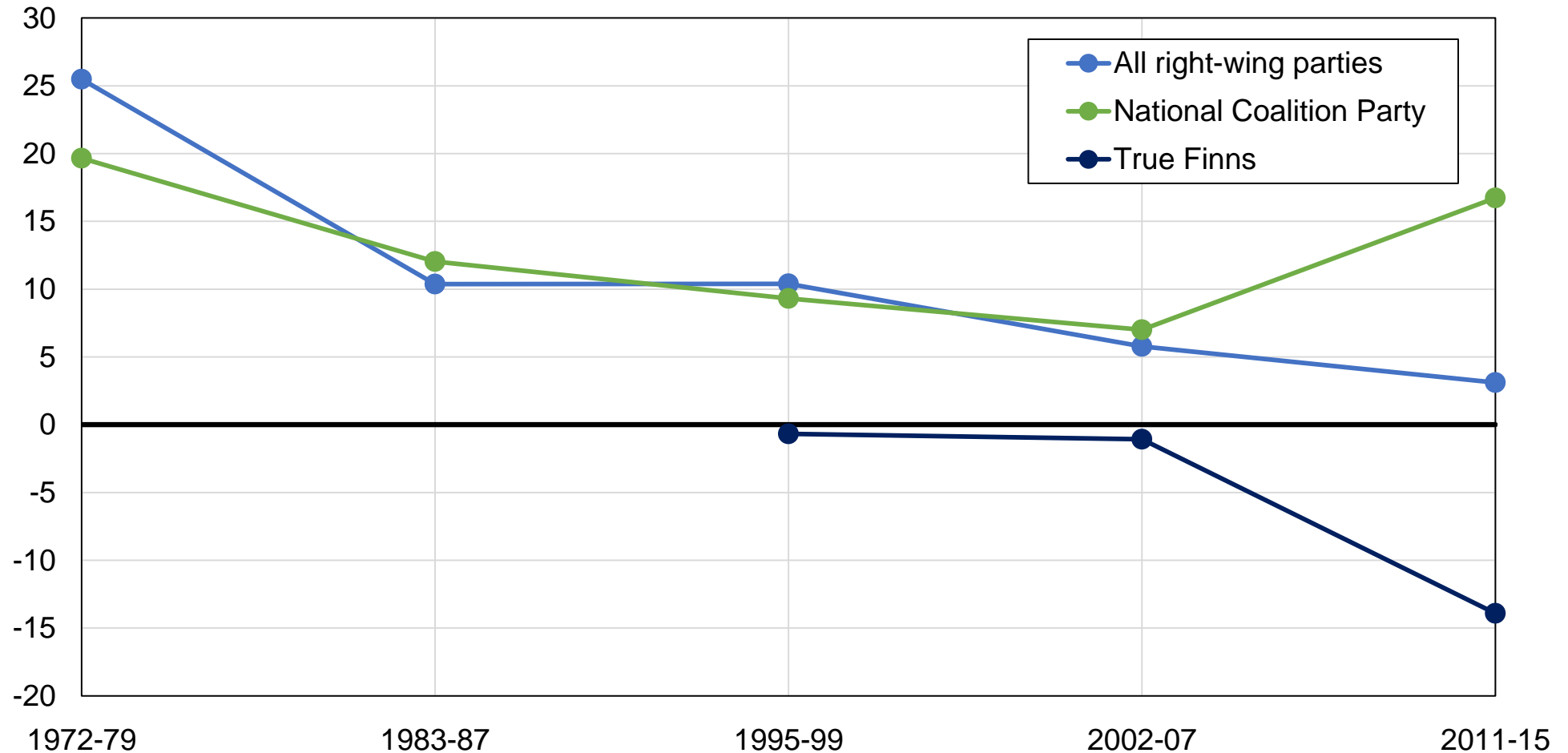
Figure DC27 - Decomposition of the vote for the right among primary-educated voters in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

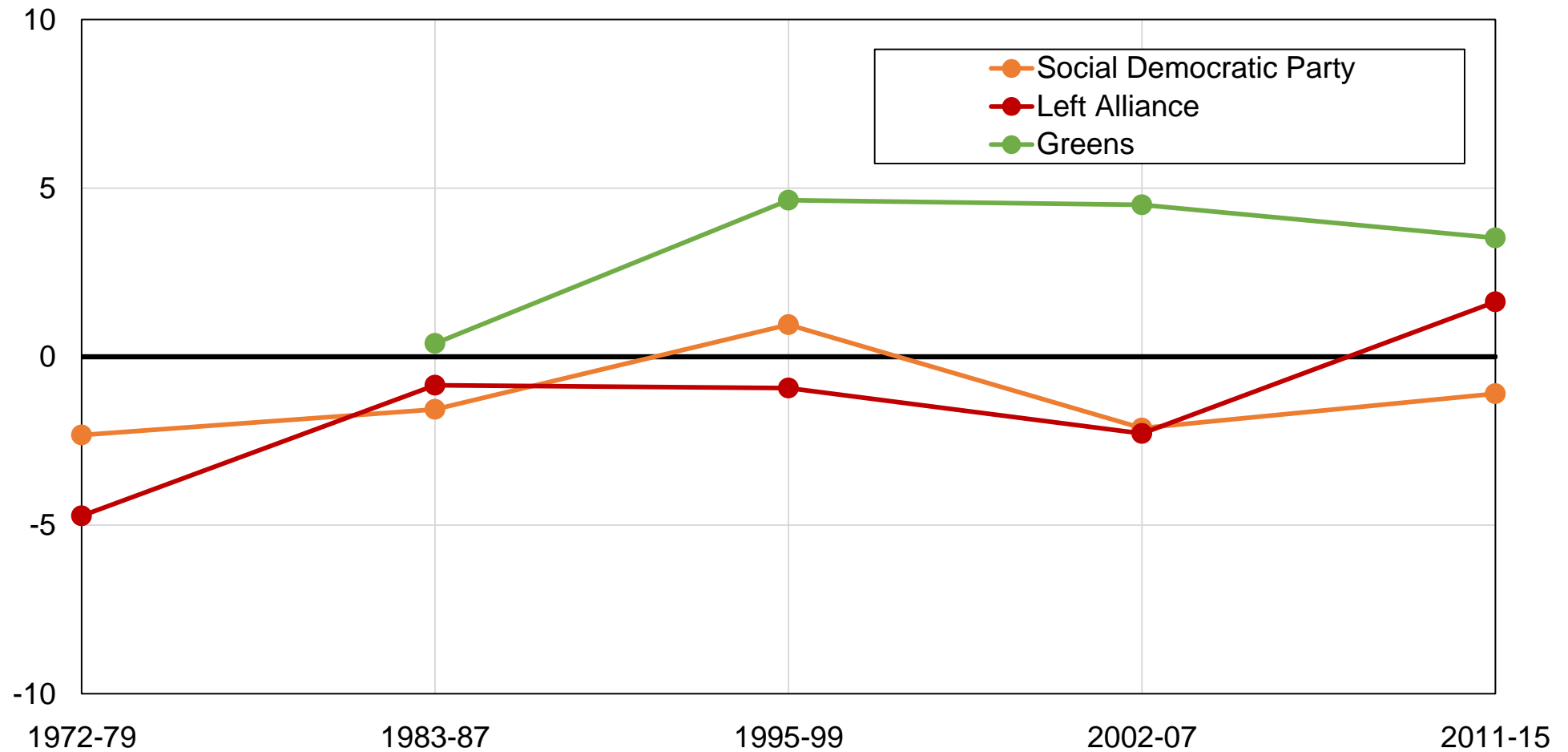
Figure DC28 - Decomposition of the vote for the right among tertiary educated in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

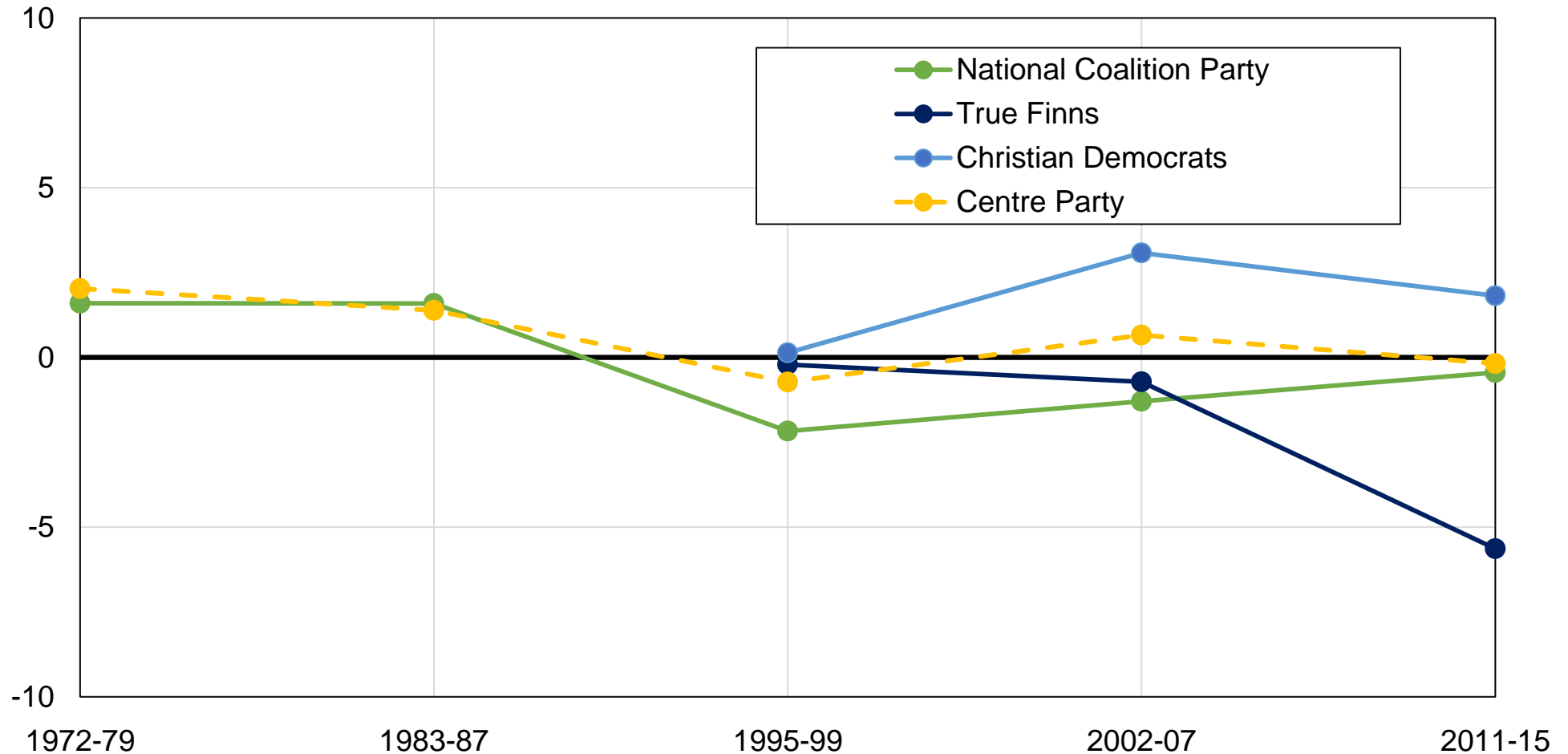
Figure DC29 - Decomposition of the vote for the left among women in Finland



Source: authors' computations using Finnish electoral surveys.

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

Table DC1 - Survey data sources in Finland

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

Source: authors' elaboration.

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

Table DC2 - Complete descriptive statistics by decade in Finland

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

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

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