

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

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Appendix E: Iceland figures, tables and raw results

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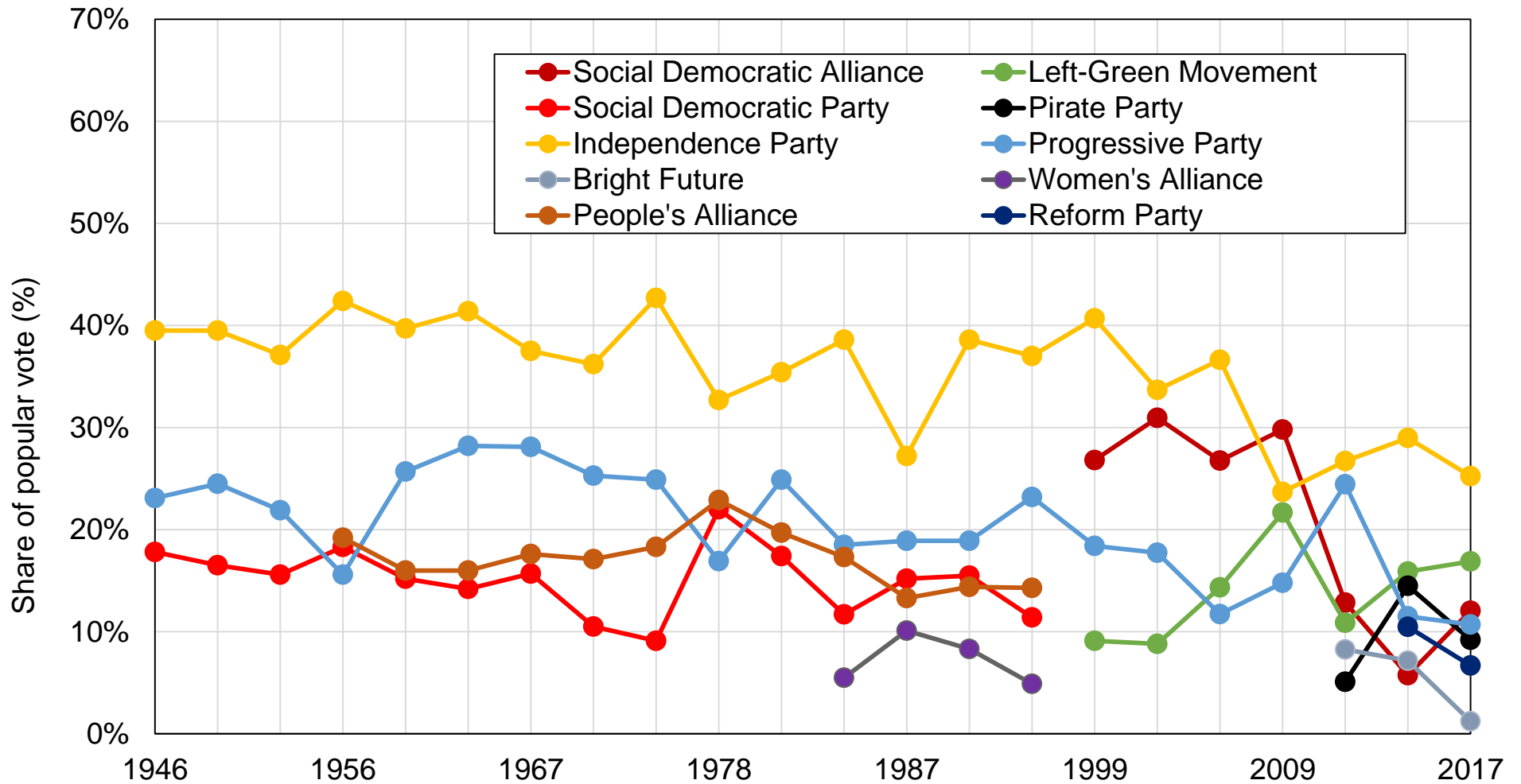
Appendix Tables

Table ED1	Survey data sources
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Table ED2 Complete descriptive statistics by decade

Table ED3 Table ED3 - The structure of political cleavages in Iceland, 2016-2017 (extended)

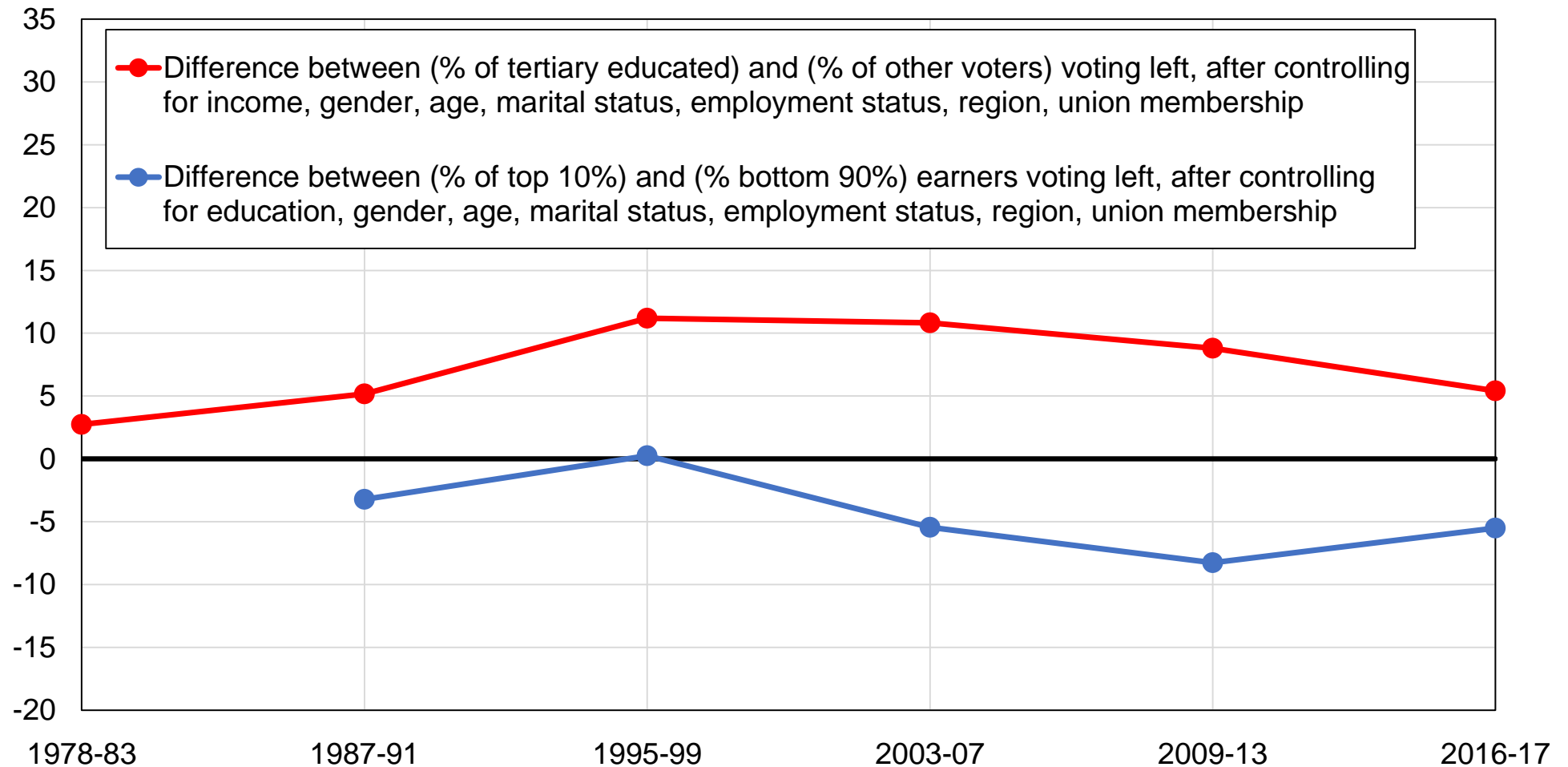
Figure E1 - Election results in Iceland, 1946-2017



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

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

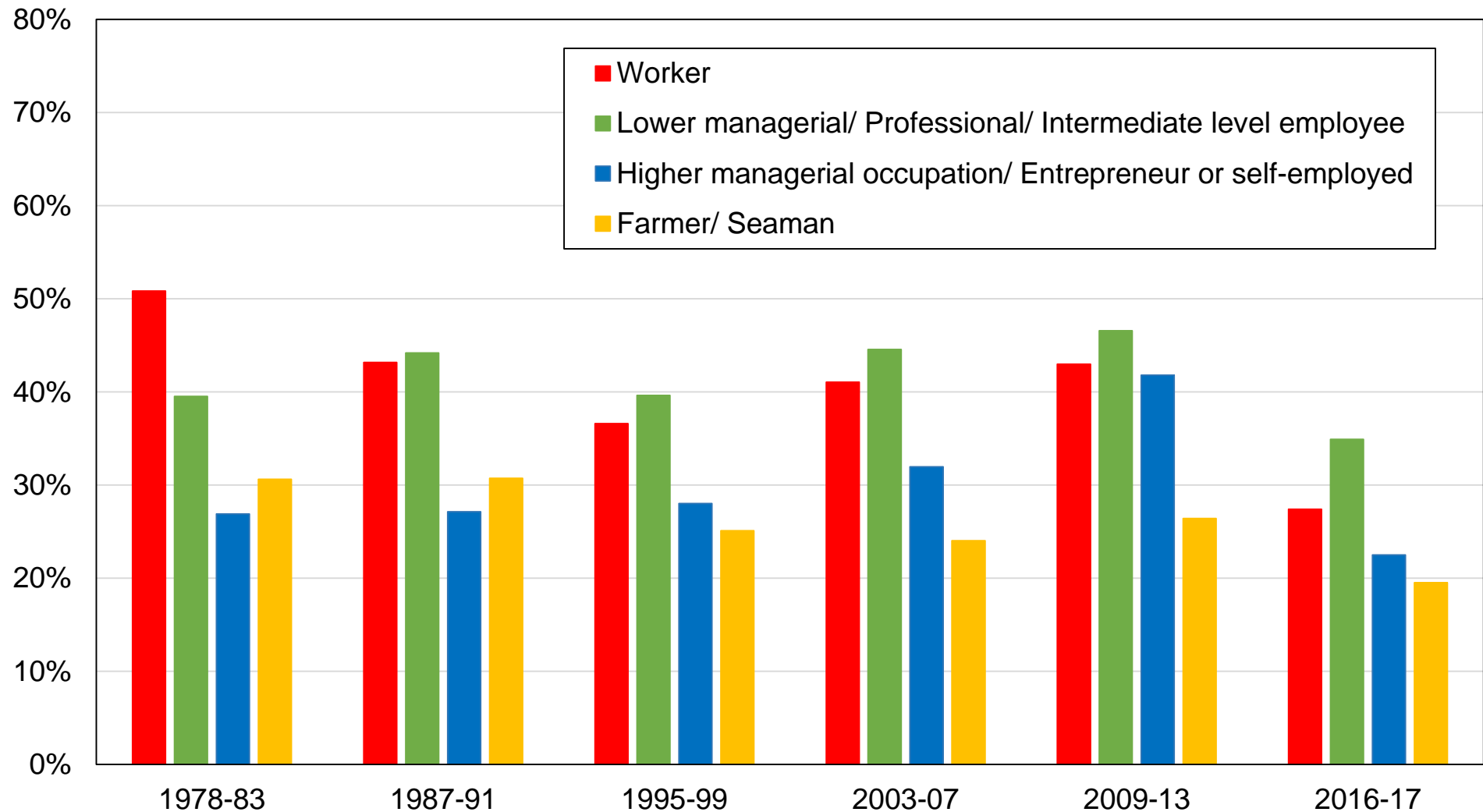
Figure E2 - The multi-elite party system in Iceland



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

Note: the figure shows the evolution of the voting pattern the tertiary educated and the top 10% earners voting for left-wing parties, after controls. Notice that the information about voters' income is not available in 1983.

Figure E3 - Vote for the left by occupation in Iceland



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

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

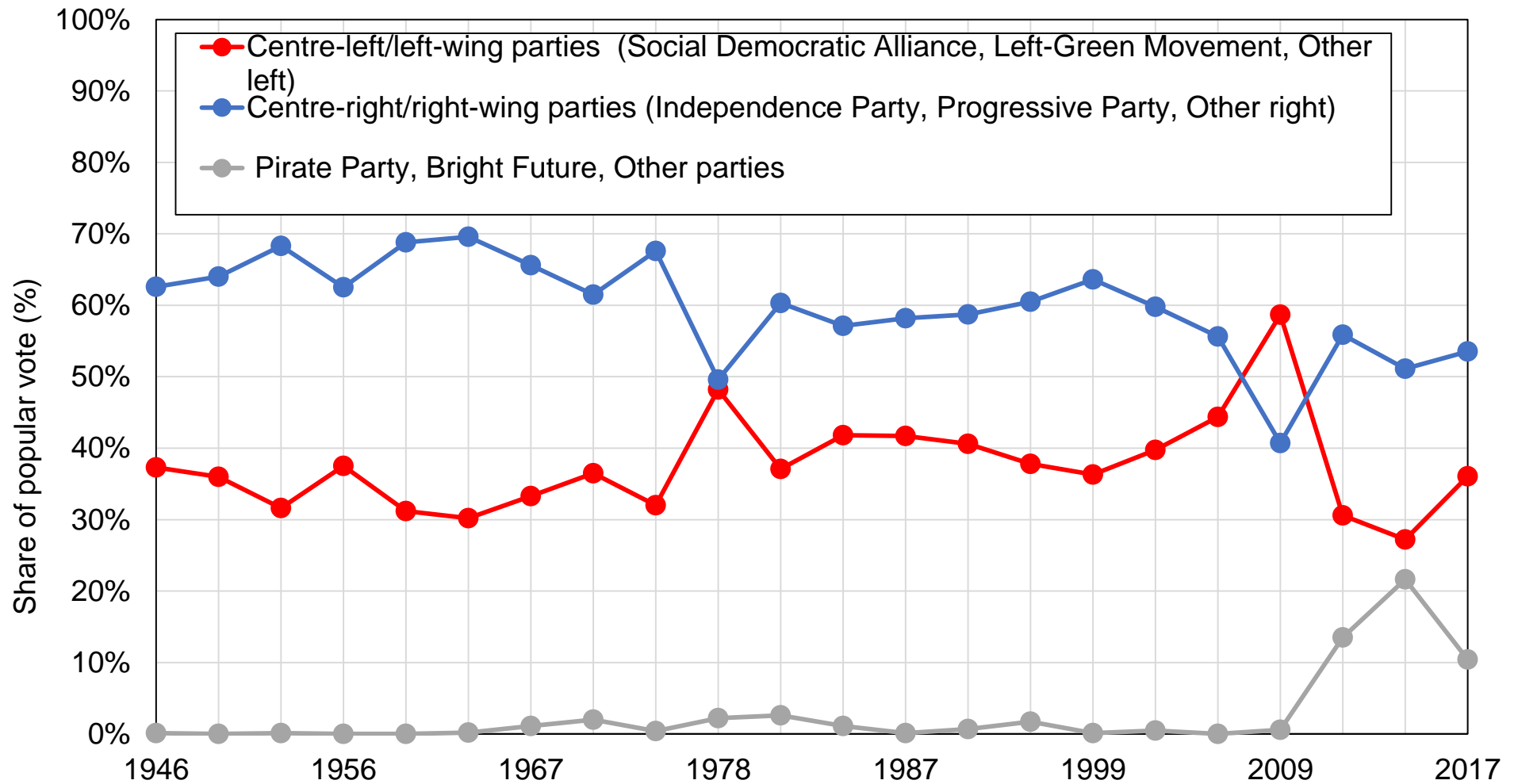
Table E1 - The structure of political cleavages in Iceland, 2016-2017

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

Source: authors' computations using Icelandic post electoral surveys.

Notes: the table shows the average share of votes received by the Social Democratic Alliance, the Left-Green Movement, the Pirate Party, the Bright Future, the Reform Party and the Independent Party by selected individual characteristics over the 2016-2017 period.

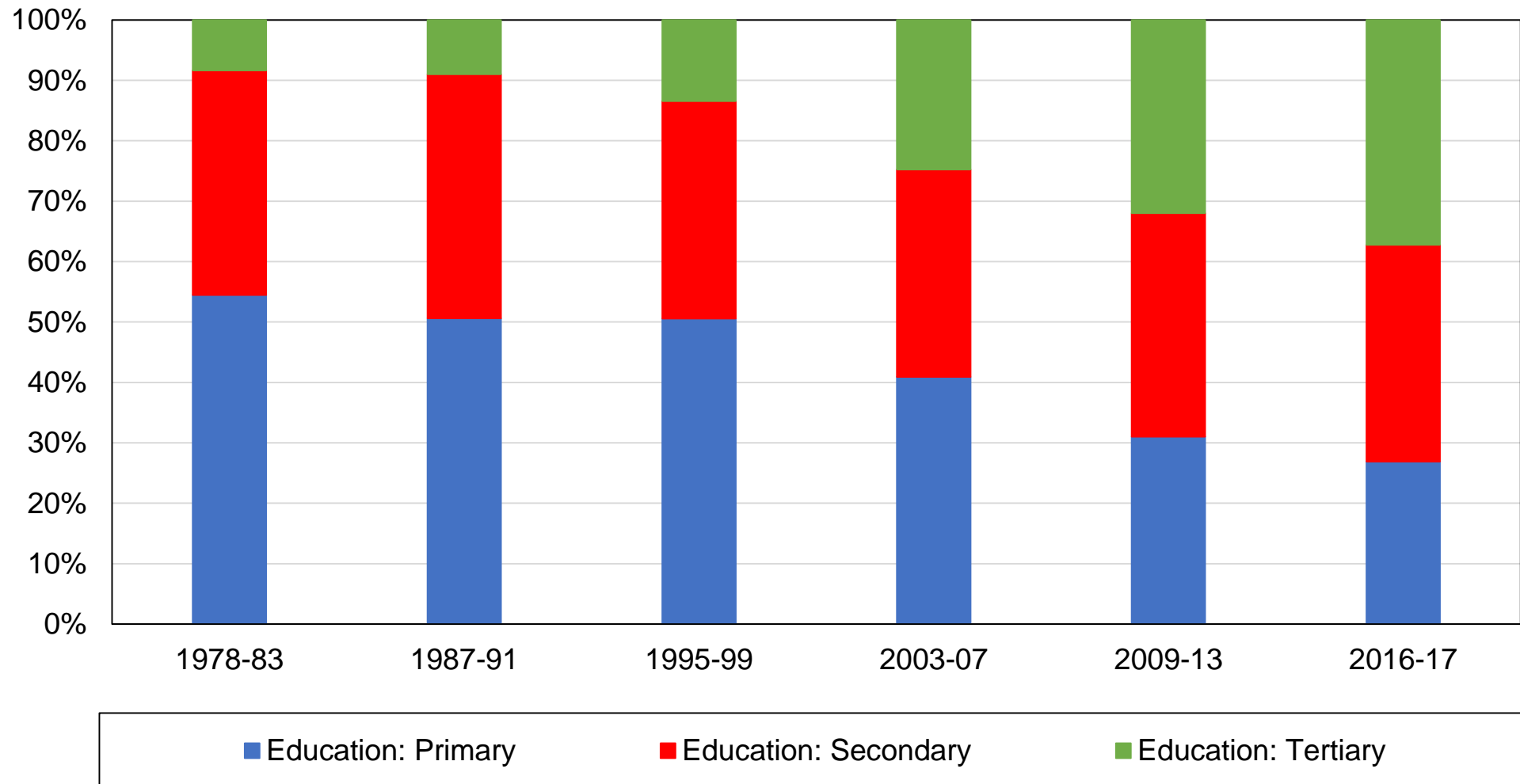
Figure EA1 - Election results by groups in Iceland, 1946-2017



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

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

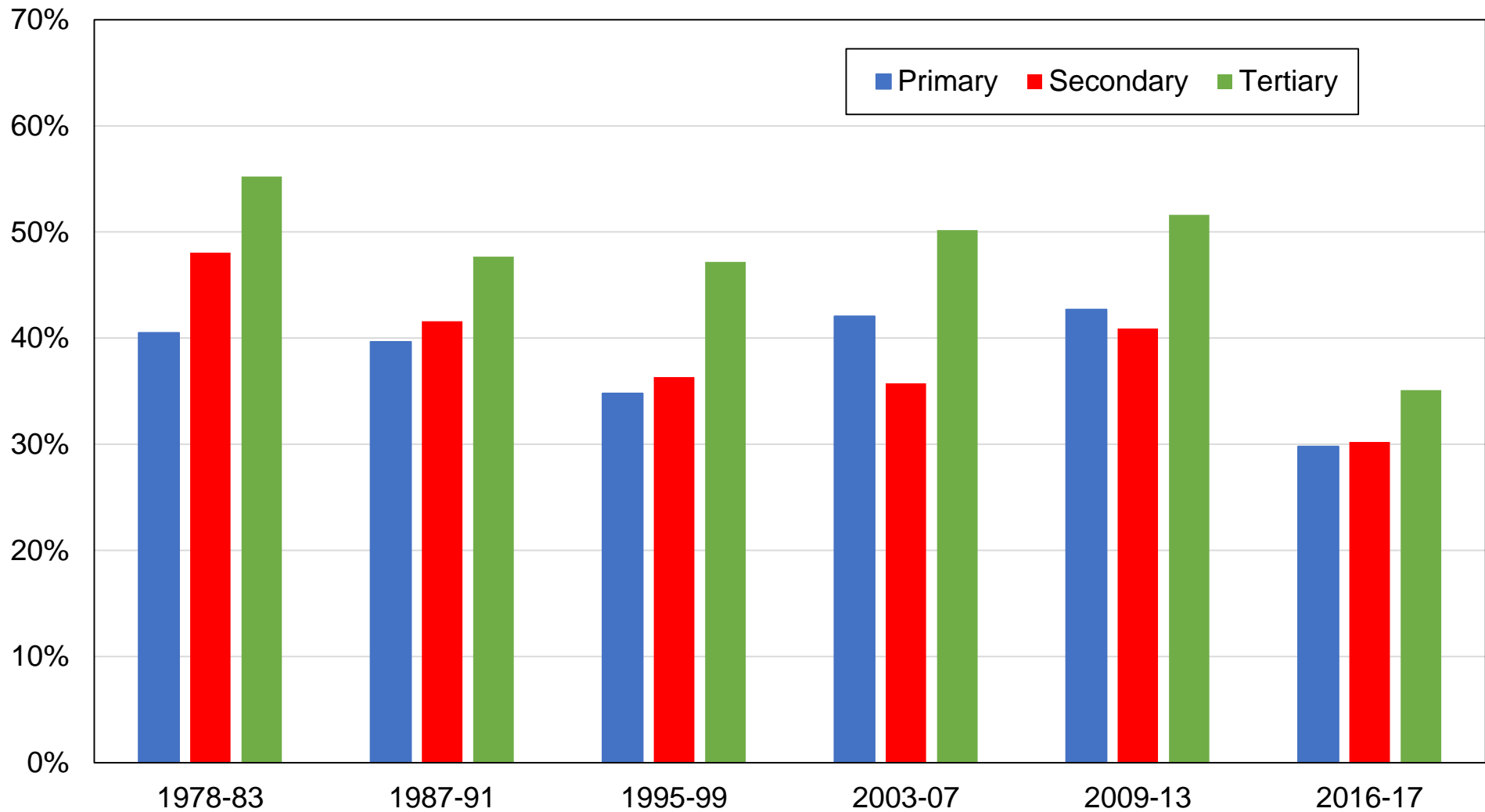
Figure EA2 - The evolution of education in Iceland



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

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

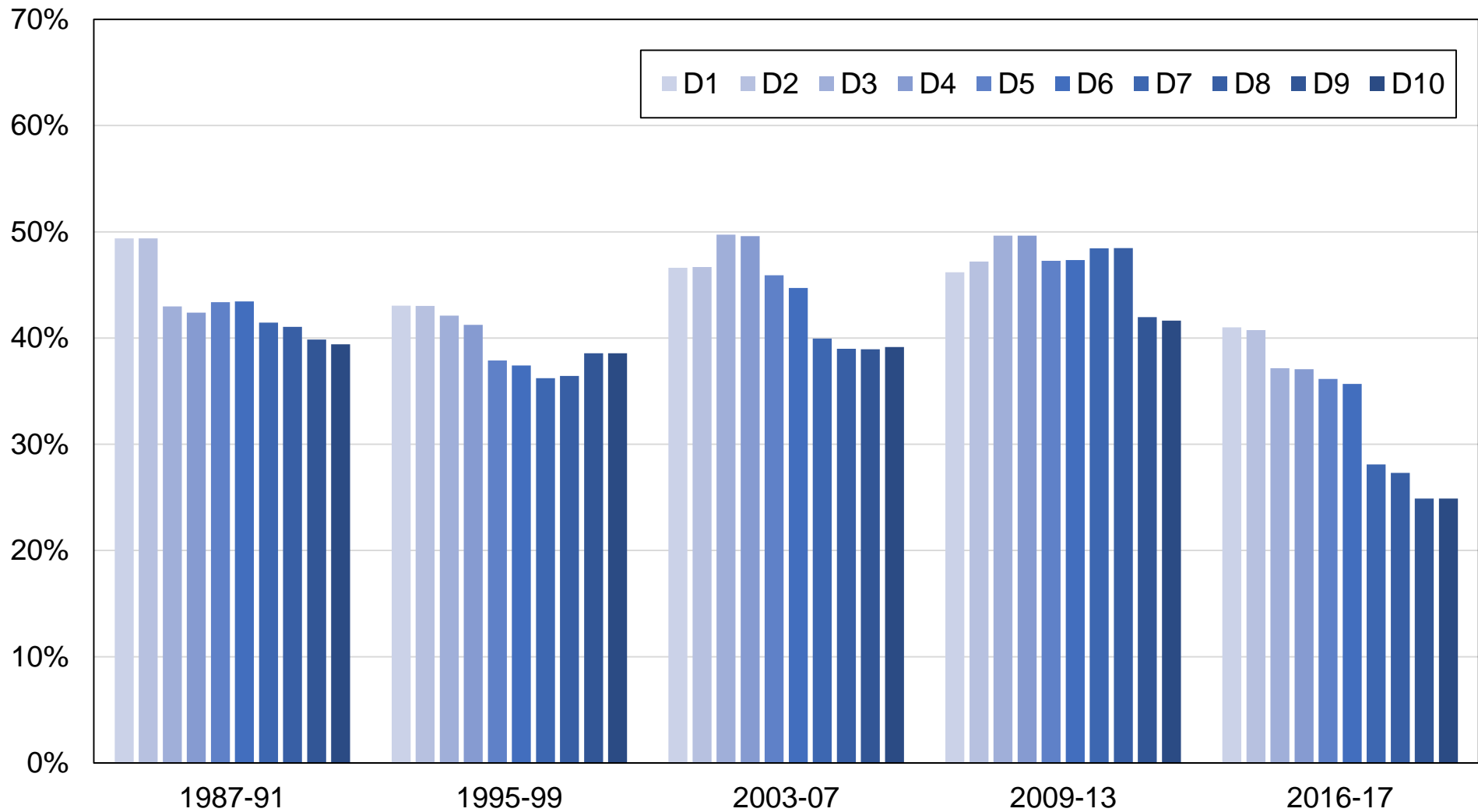
Figure EB1 - Vote for left by education level in Iceland



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

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

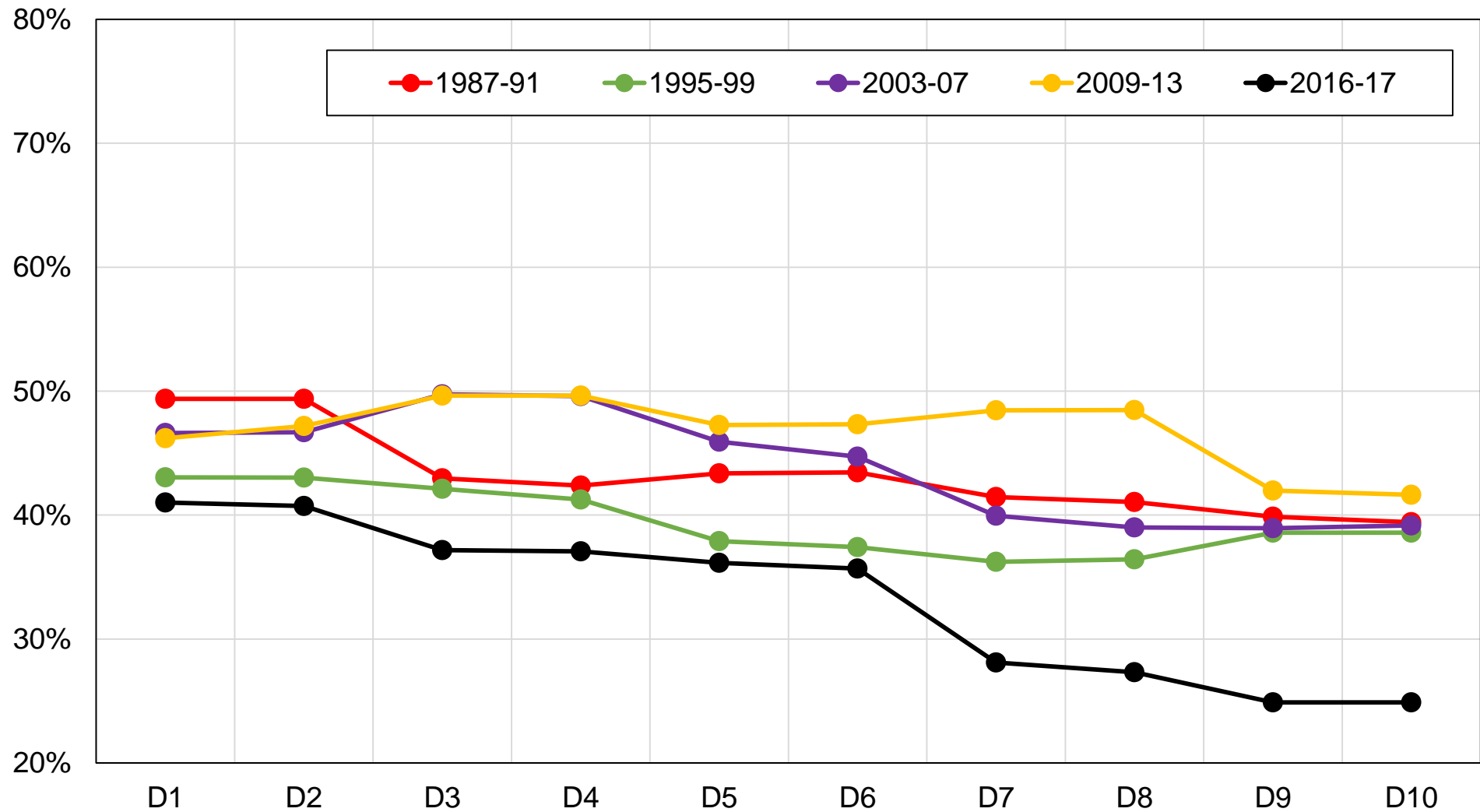
Figure EB2 - Vote for the left by income decile in Iceland (bars)



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

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

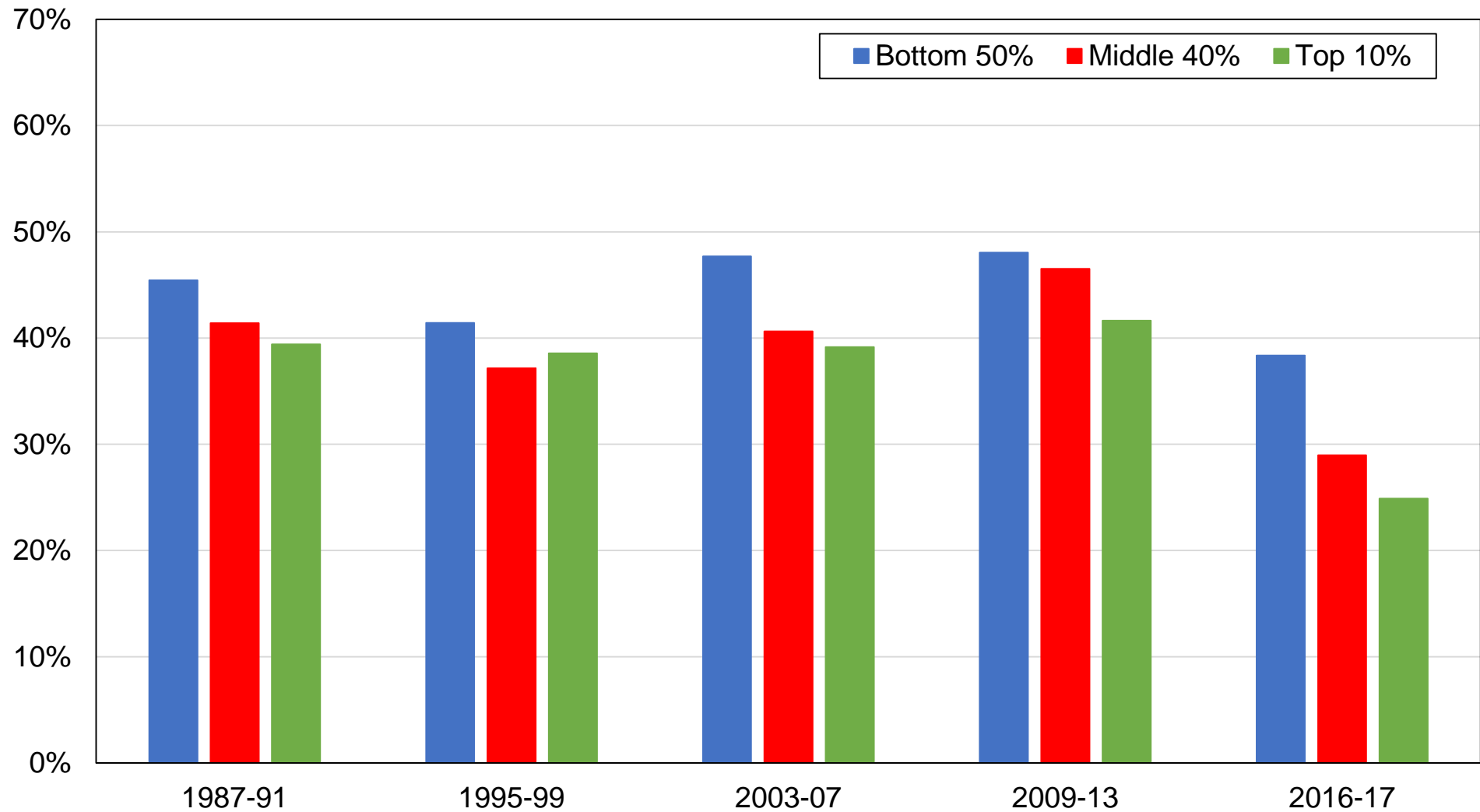
Figure EB3 - Vote for the left by income decile in Iceland (lines)



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

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

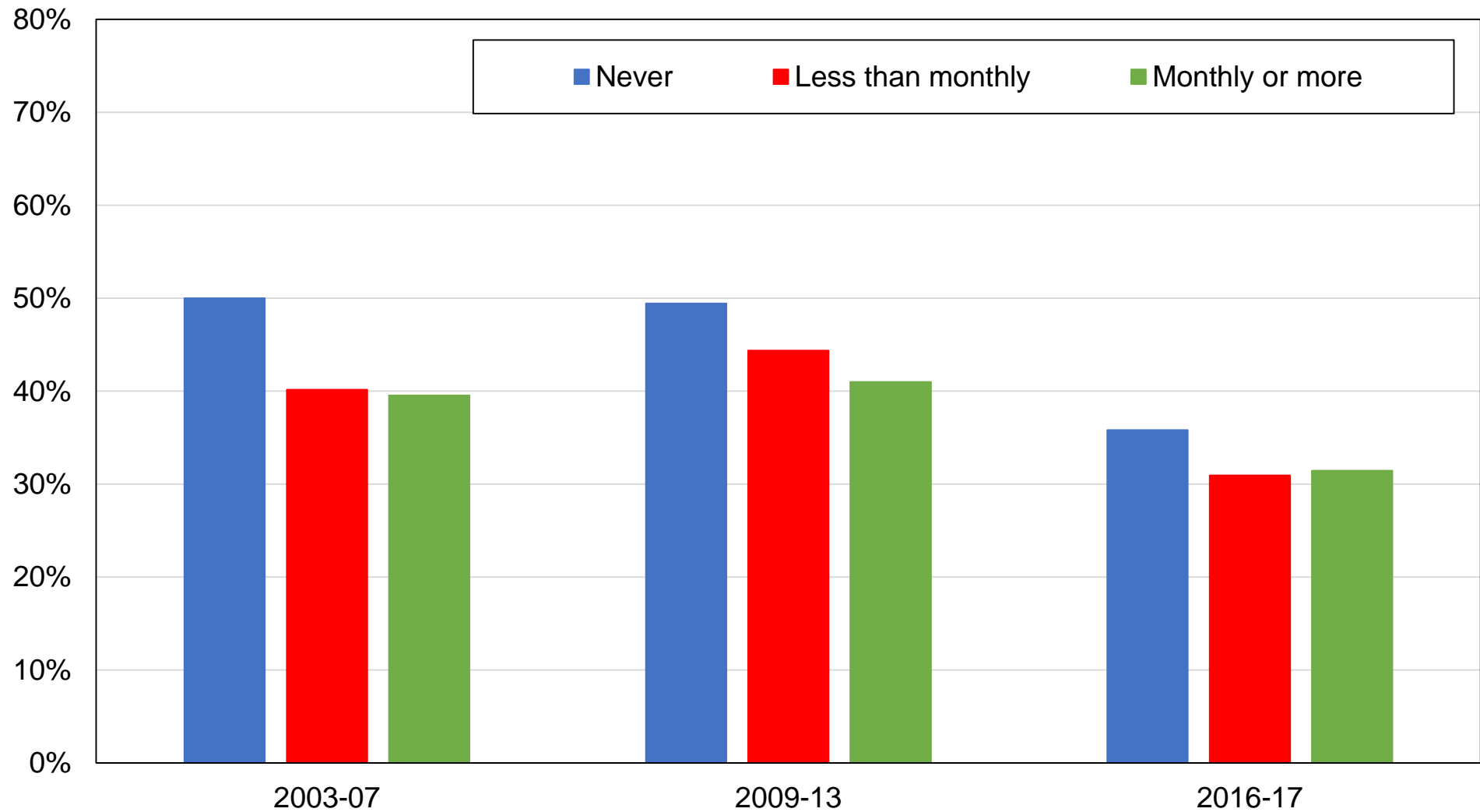
Figure EB4 - Vote for the left by income group in Iceland



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

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

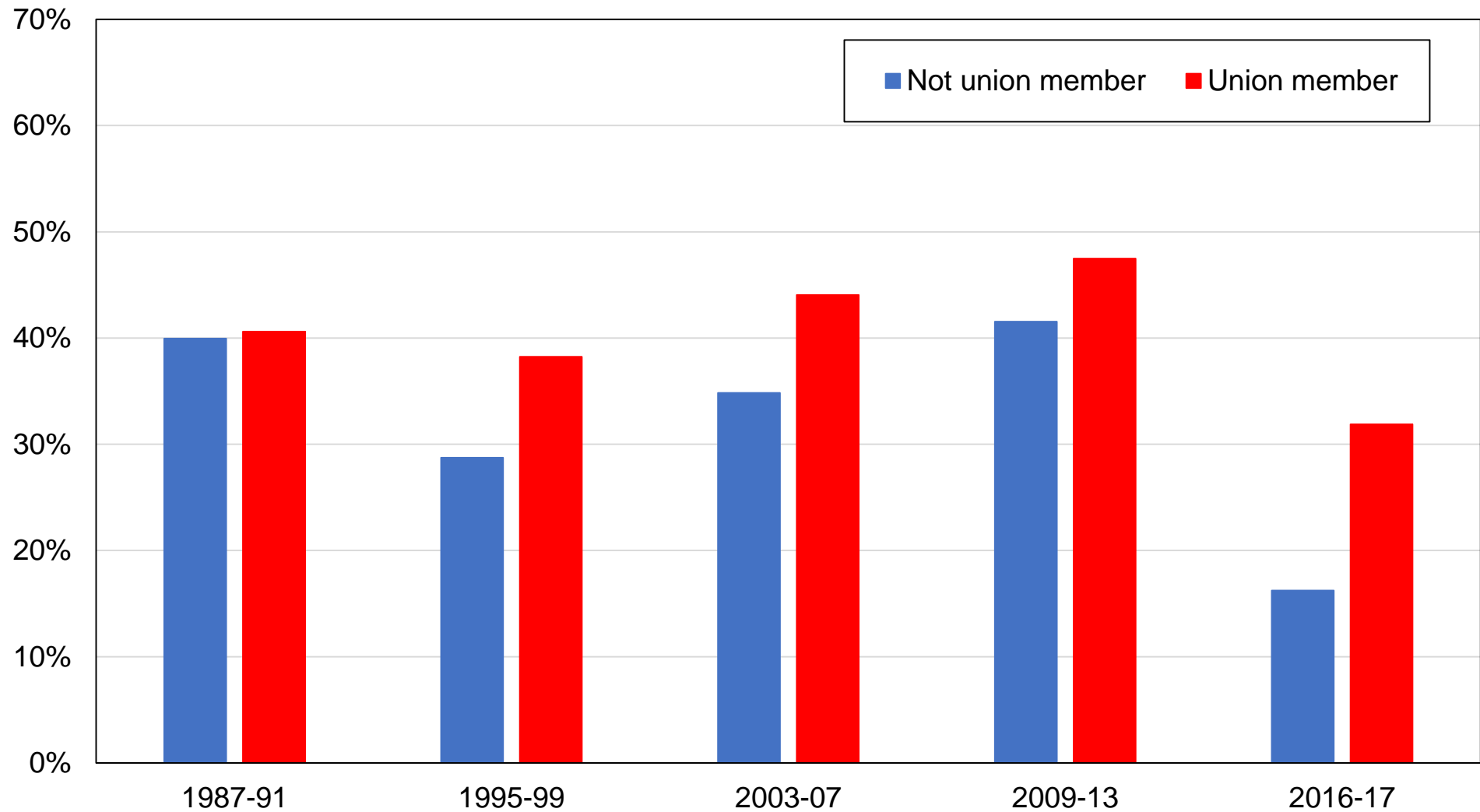
Figure EB5 - Vote for the left by church attendance in Iceland



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

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

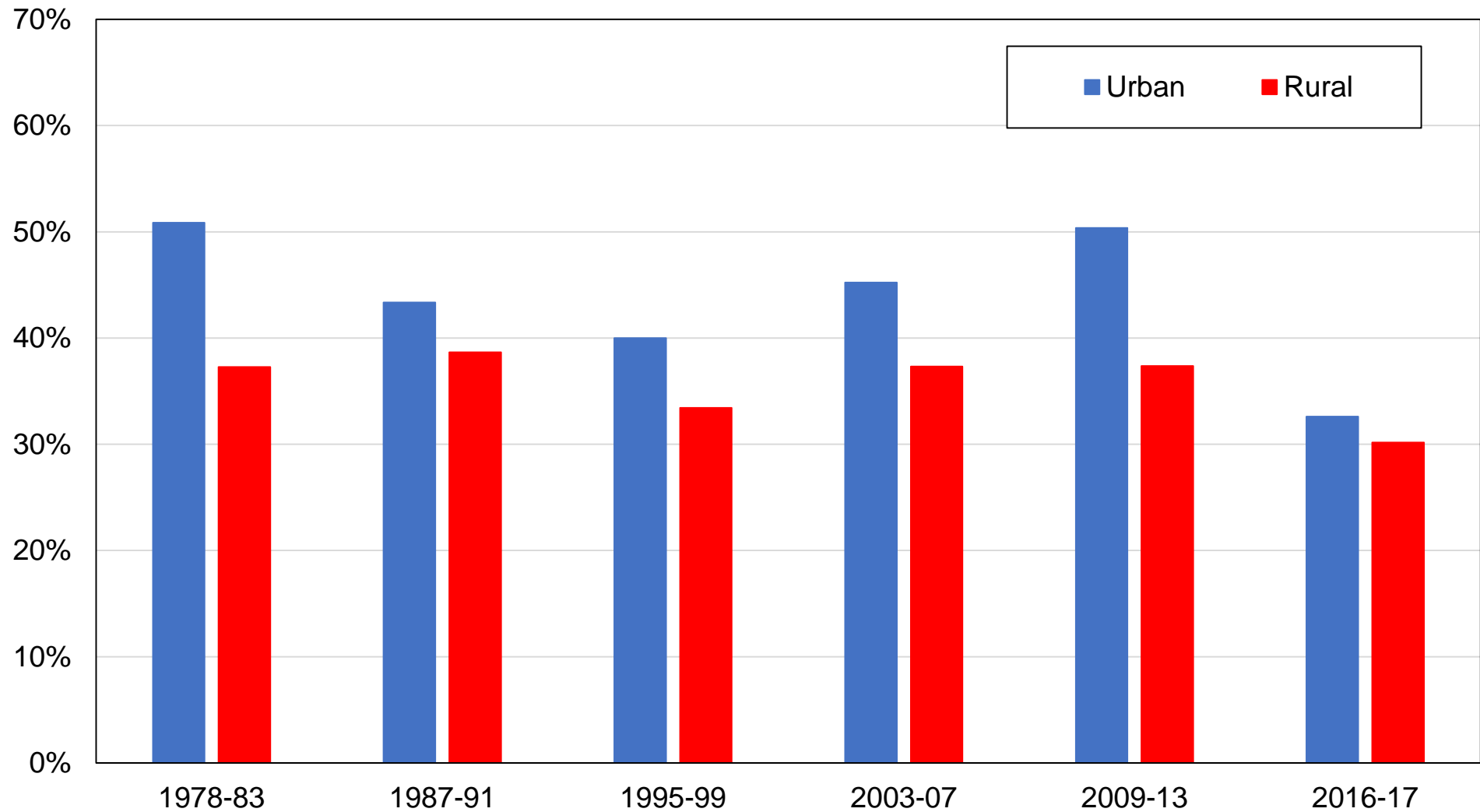
Figure EB6 - Vote the left by union membership in Iceland



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

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

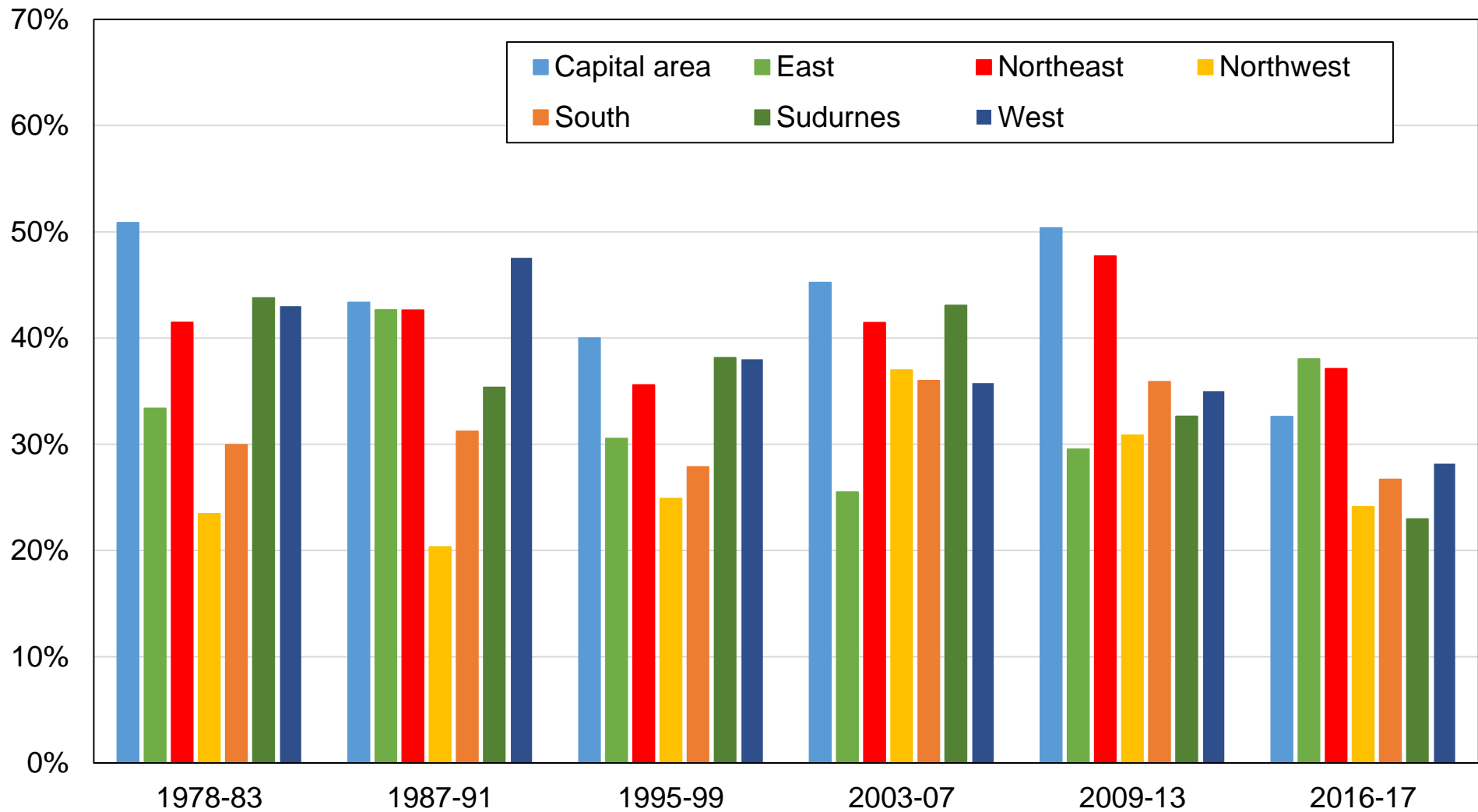
Figure EB7 - Vote for the left by location in Iceland



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

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

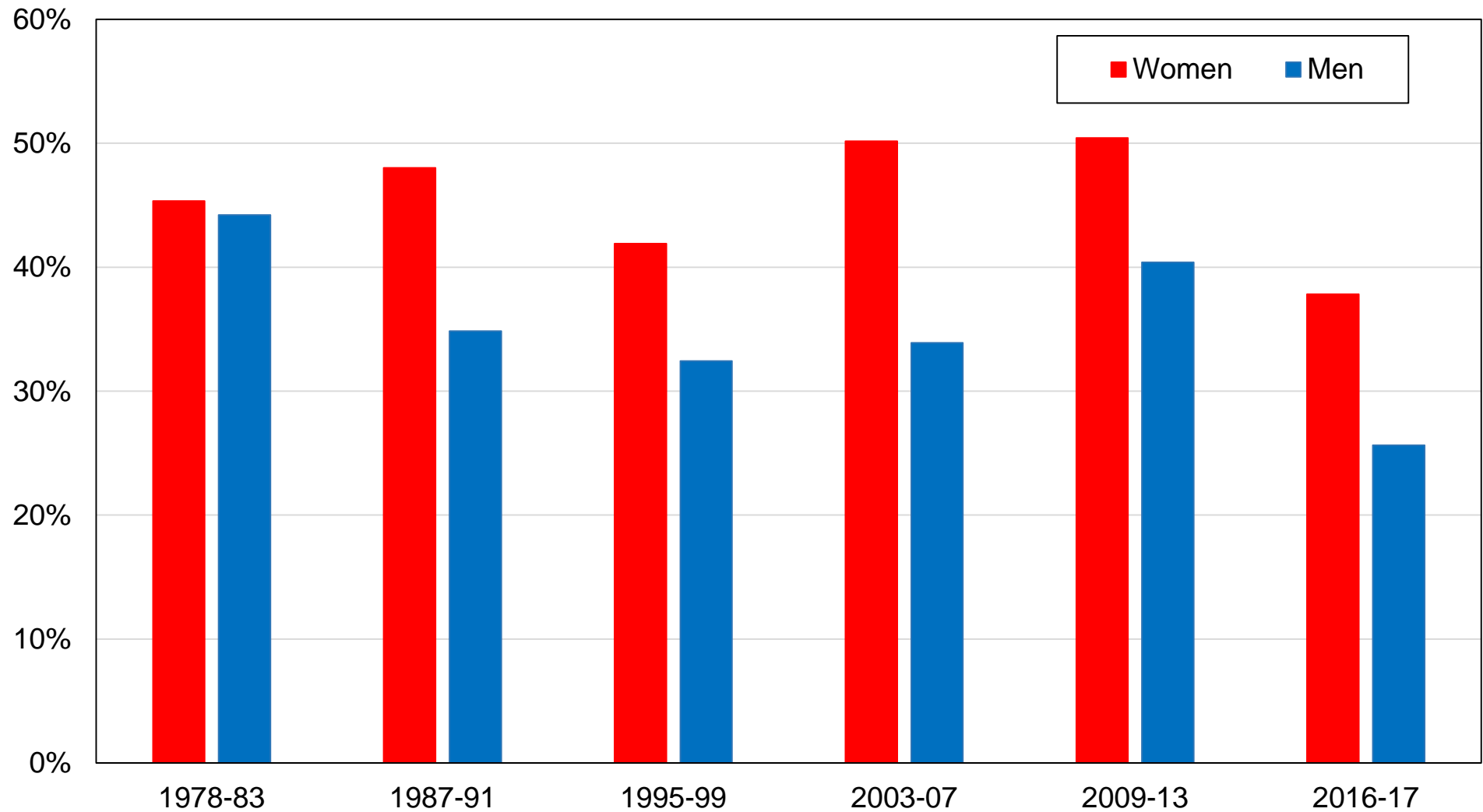
Figure EB8 - Vote for the left by region of residence in Iceland



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

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

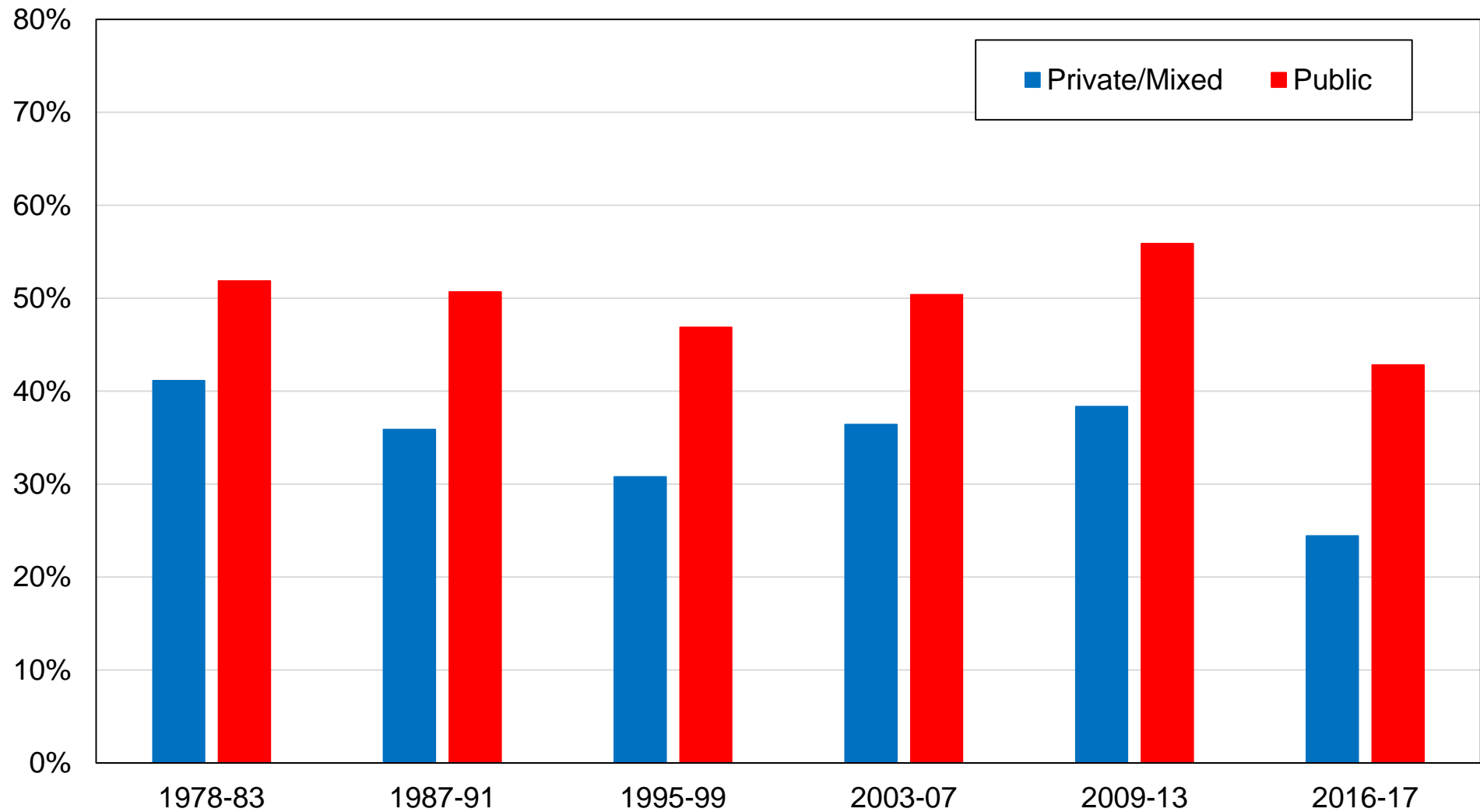
Figure EB9 - Vote for the left by gender in Iceland



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

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

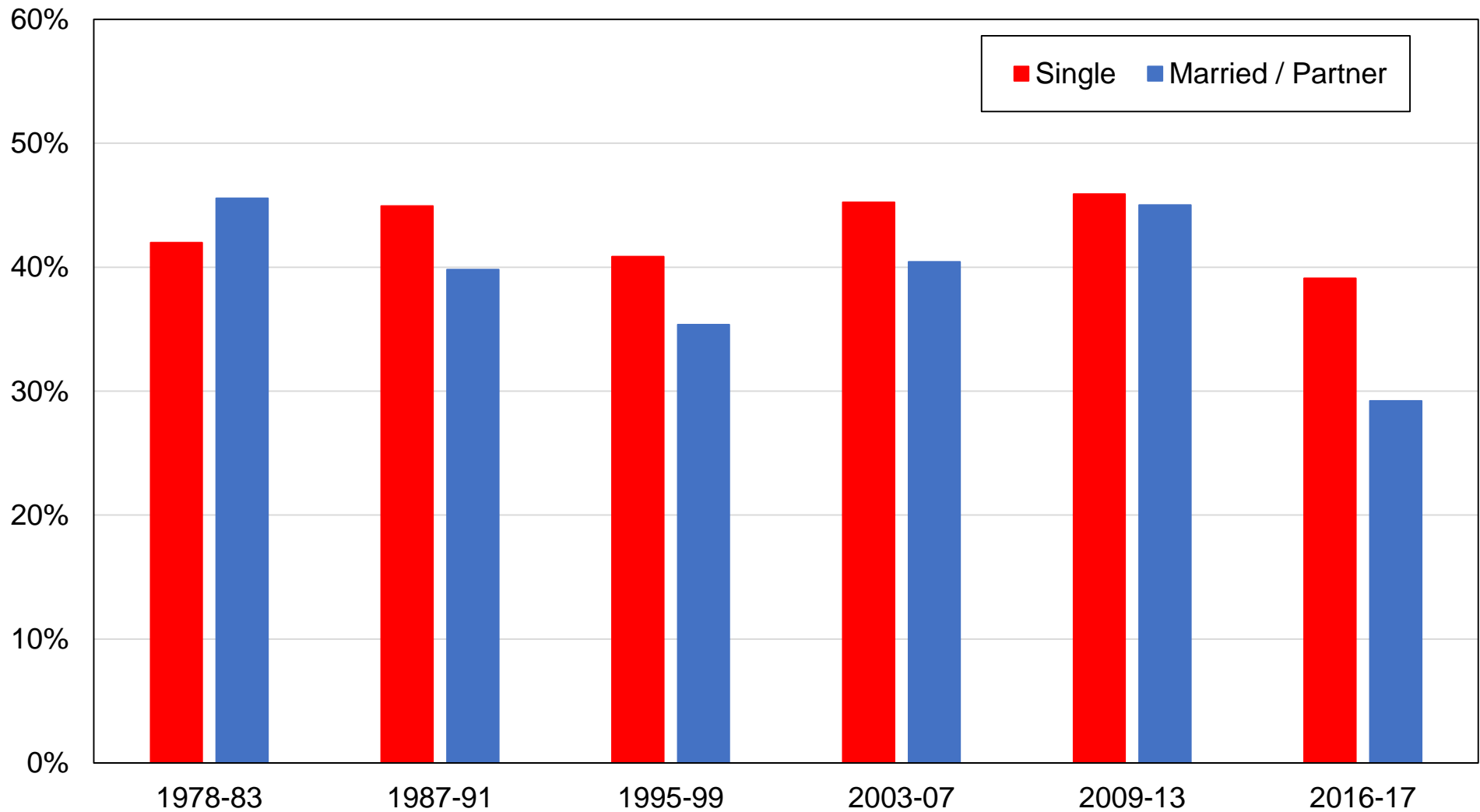
Figure EB10 - Vote for the left by sector of employment in Iceland



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

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

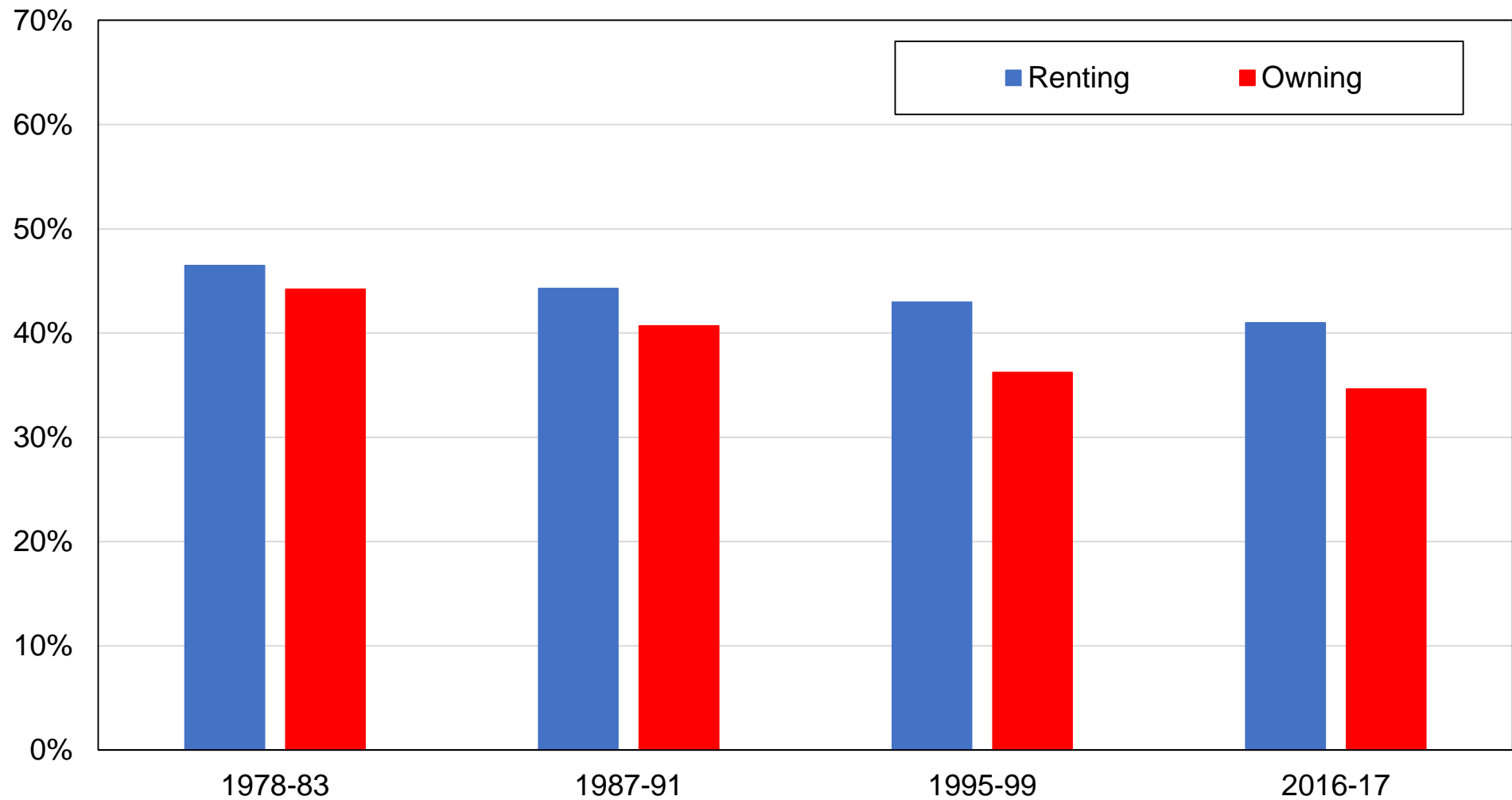
Figure EB11 - Vote for the left by marital status in Iceland



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

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

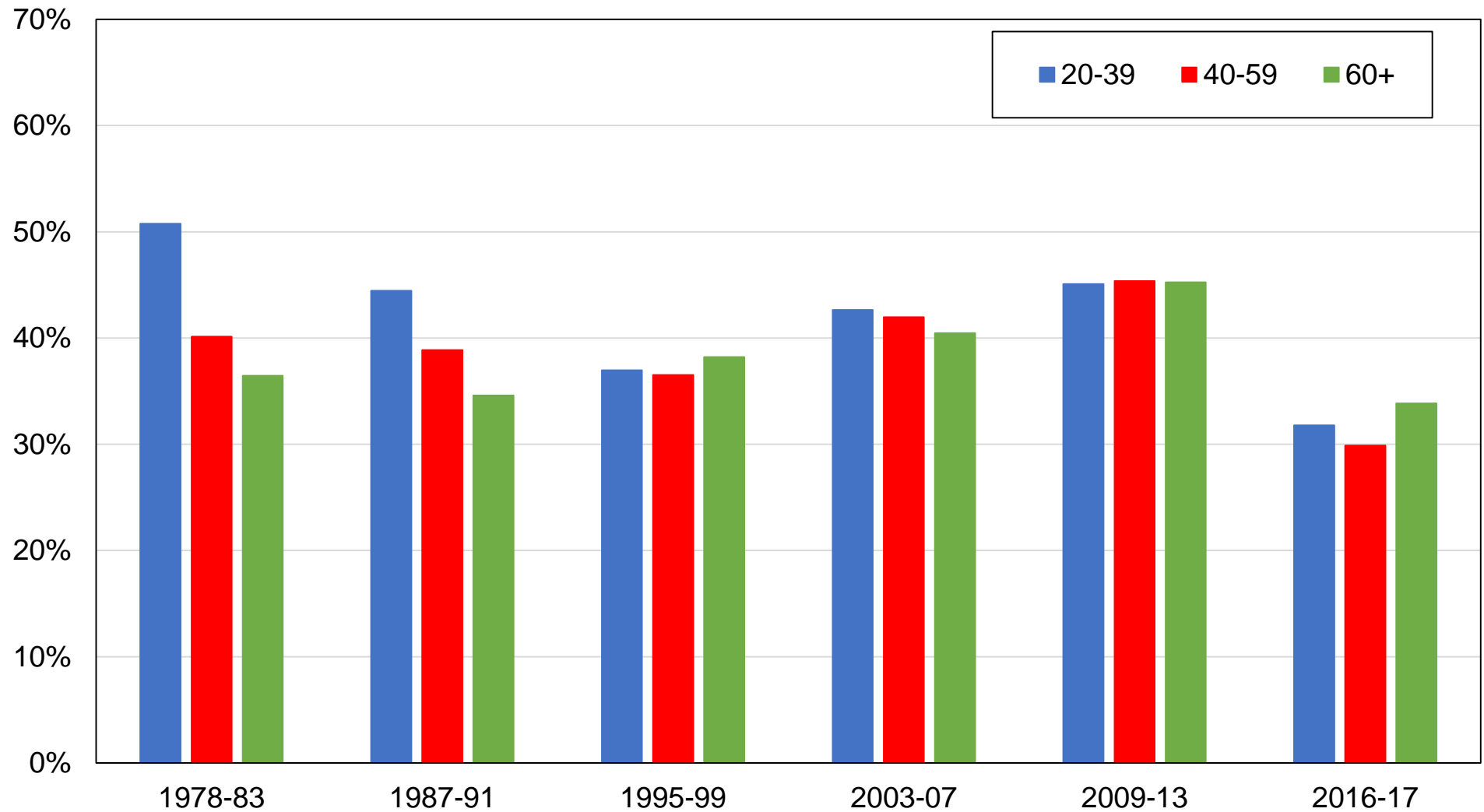
Figure EB12 - Vote for the left by home ownership status in Iceland



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

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

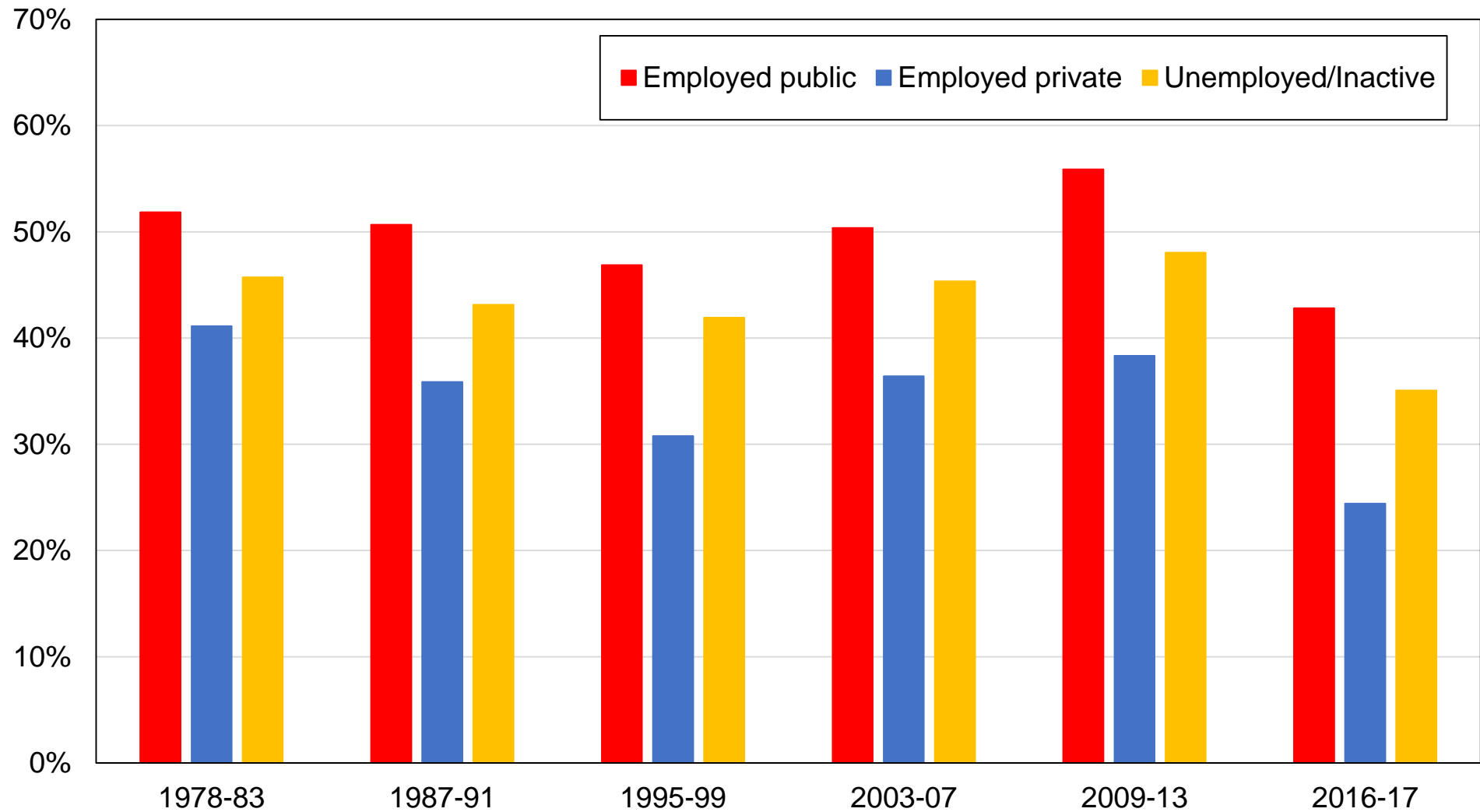
Figure EB13 - Vote for the left by age group in Iceland



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

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

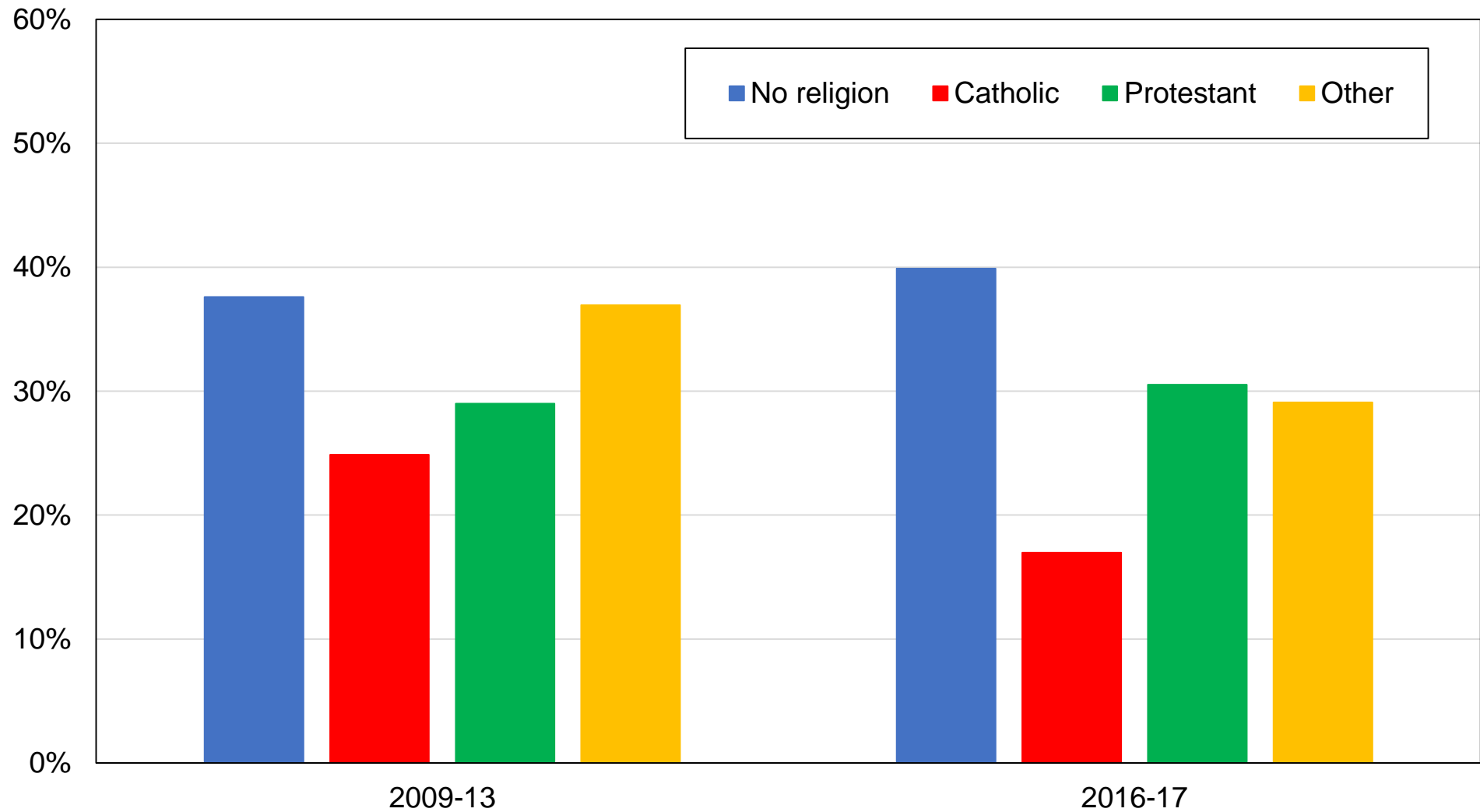
Figure EB14 - Vote for the left by employment status in Iceland



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

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

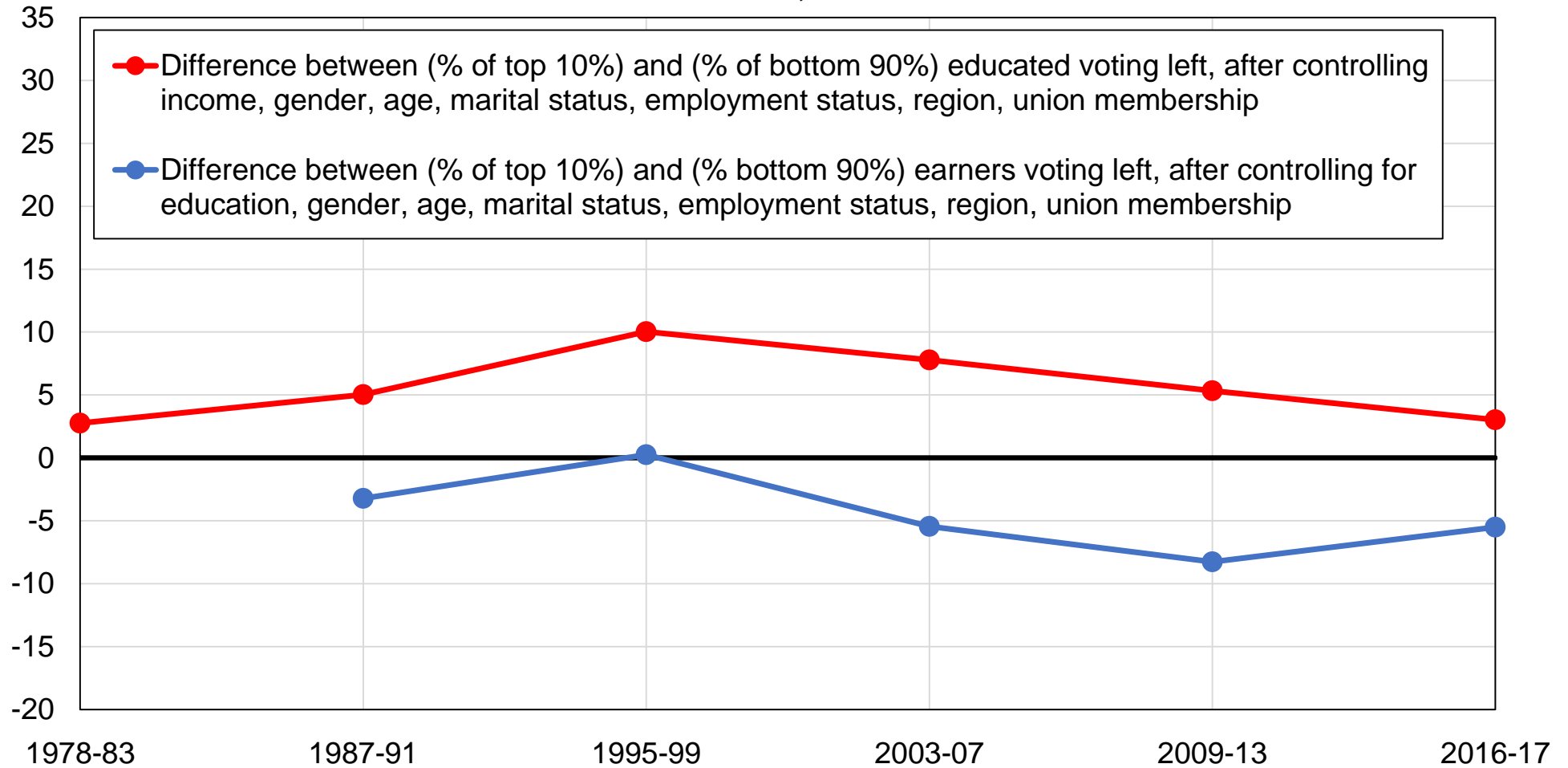
Figure EB15 - Vote for the left by religious affiliation in Iceland



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

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

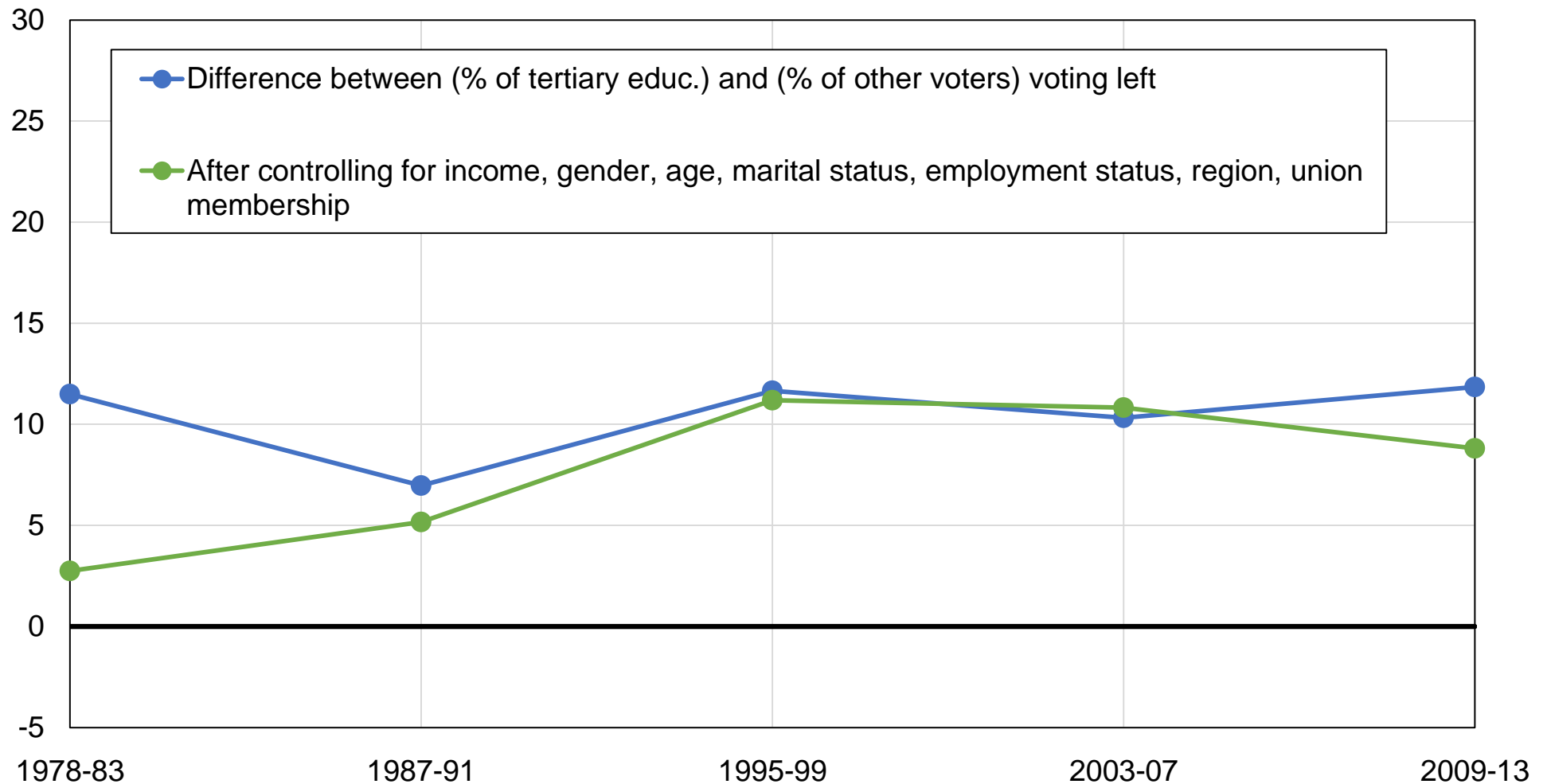
Figure EB16 - Vote for the left among highest-educated and top-income voters in Iceland, after controls



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

Note: the figure shows the evolution of the voting pattern among the top 10% educated and the share of top 10% earners voting for left-wing parties, after controls. Income is not available before 1987.

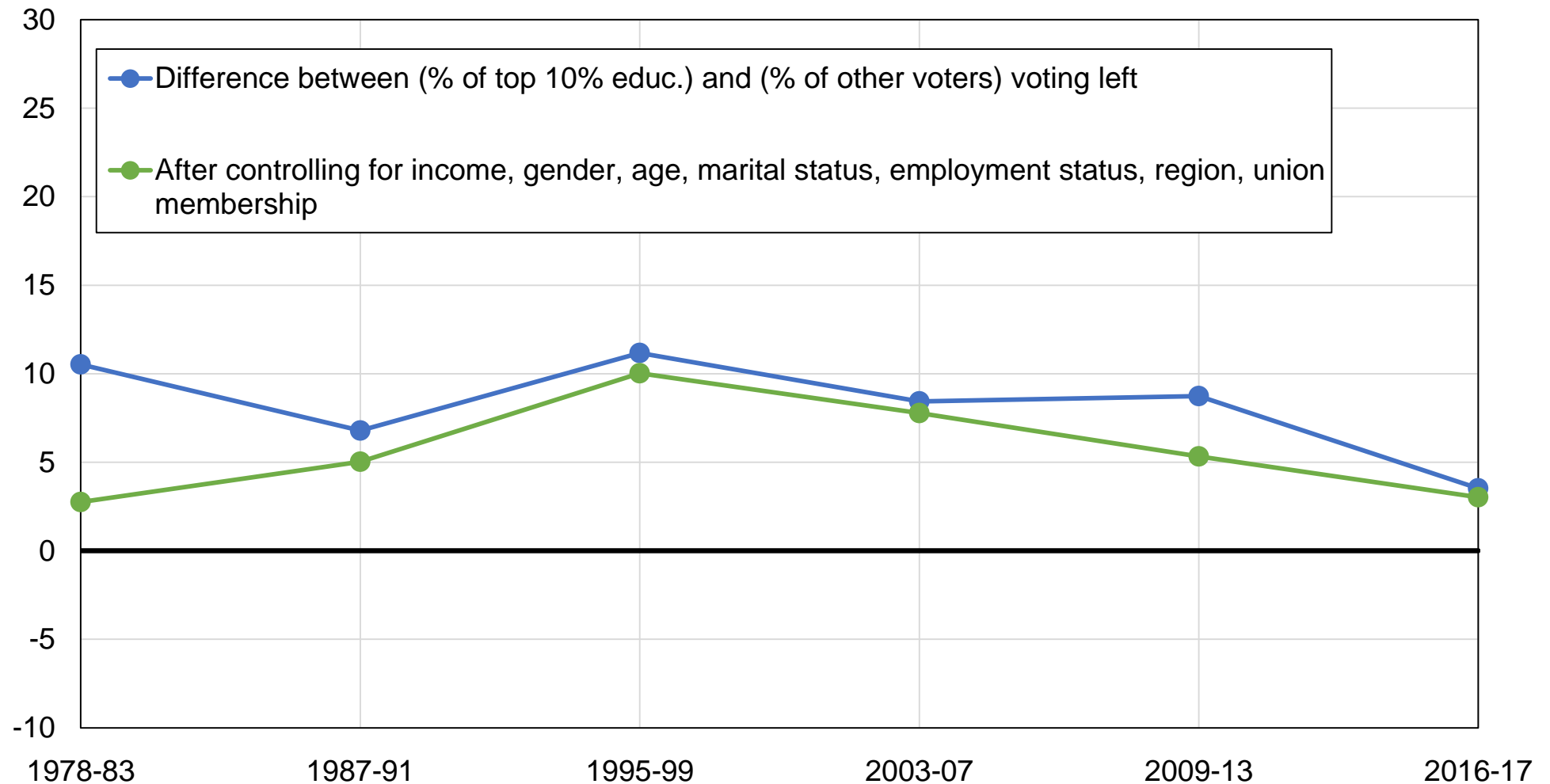
Figure EB17 - Vote for the left among tertiary-educated voters in Iceland



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

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of tertiary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables. Income is not available before 1987.

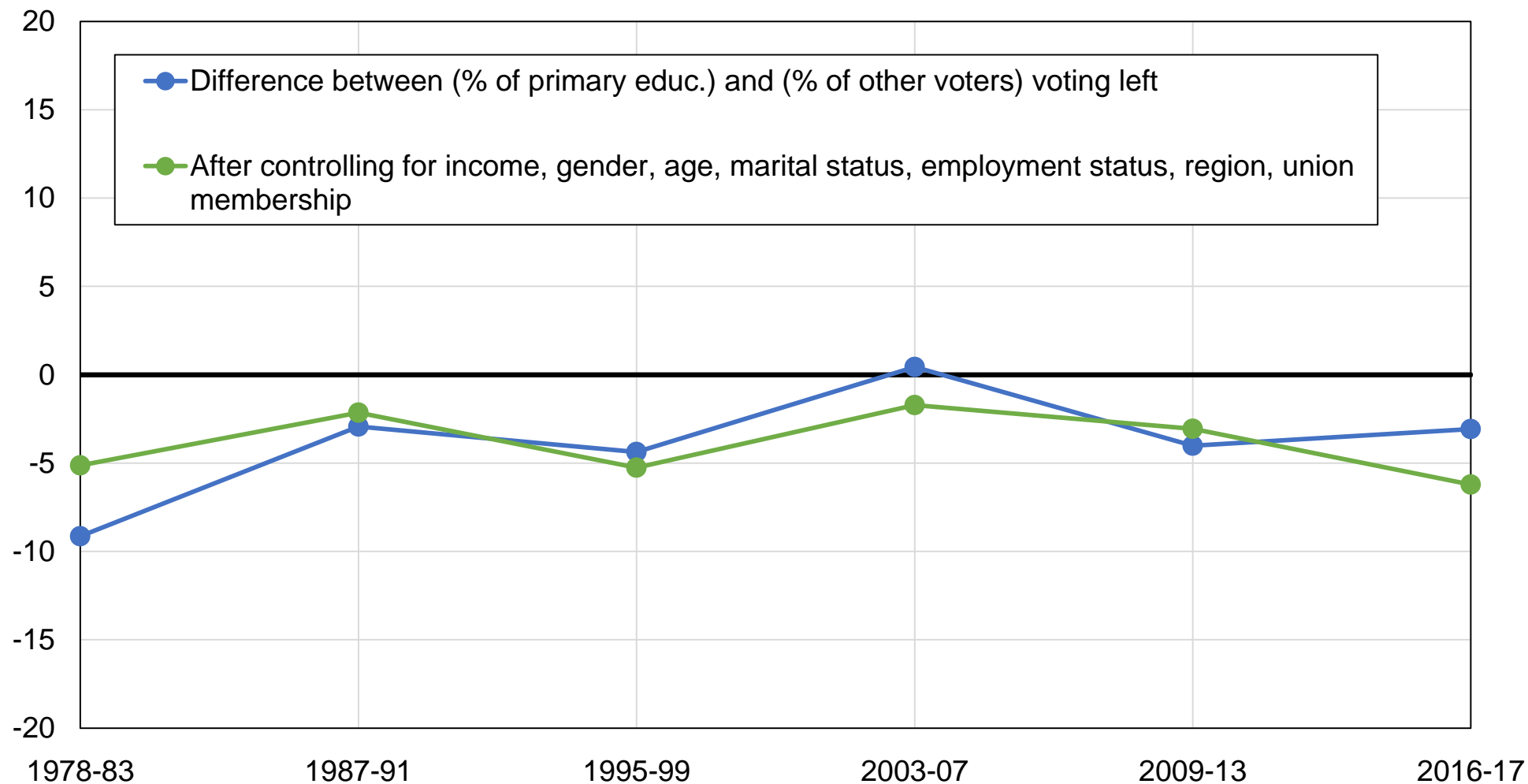
Figure EB18 - Vote for the left among higher-educated voters in Iceland



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

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables. Income is not available before 1987.

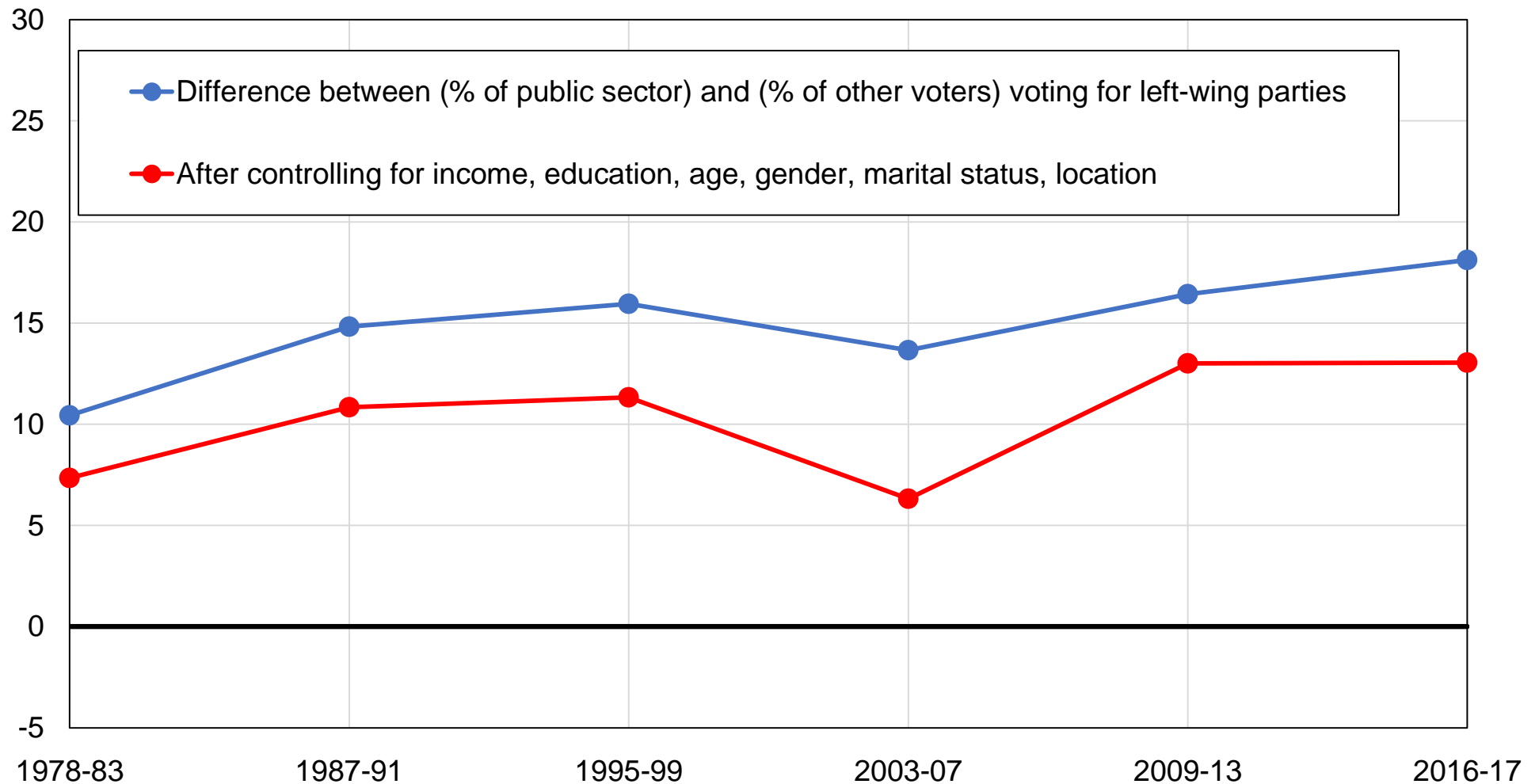
Figure EB19 - Vote for the left among primary-educated voters in Iceland



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

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of primary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables. Income is not available before 1987.

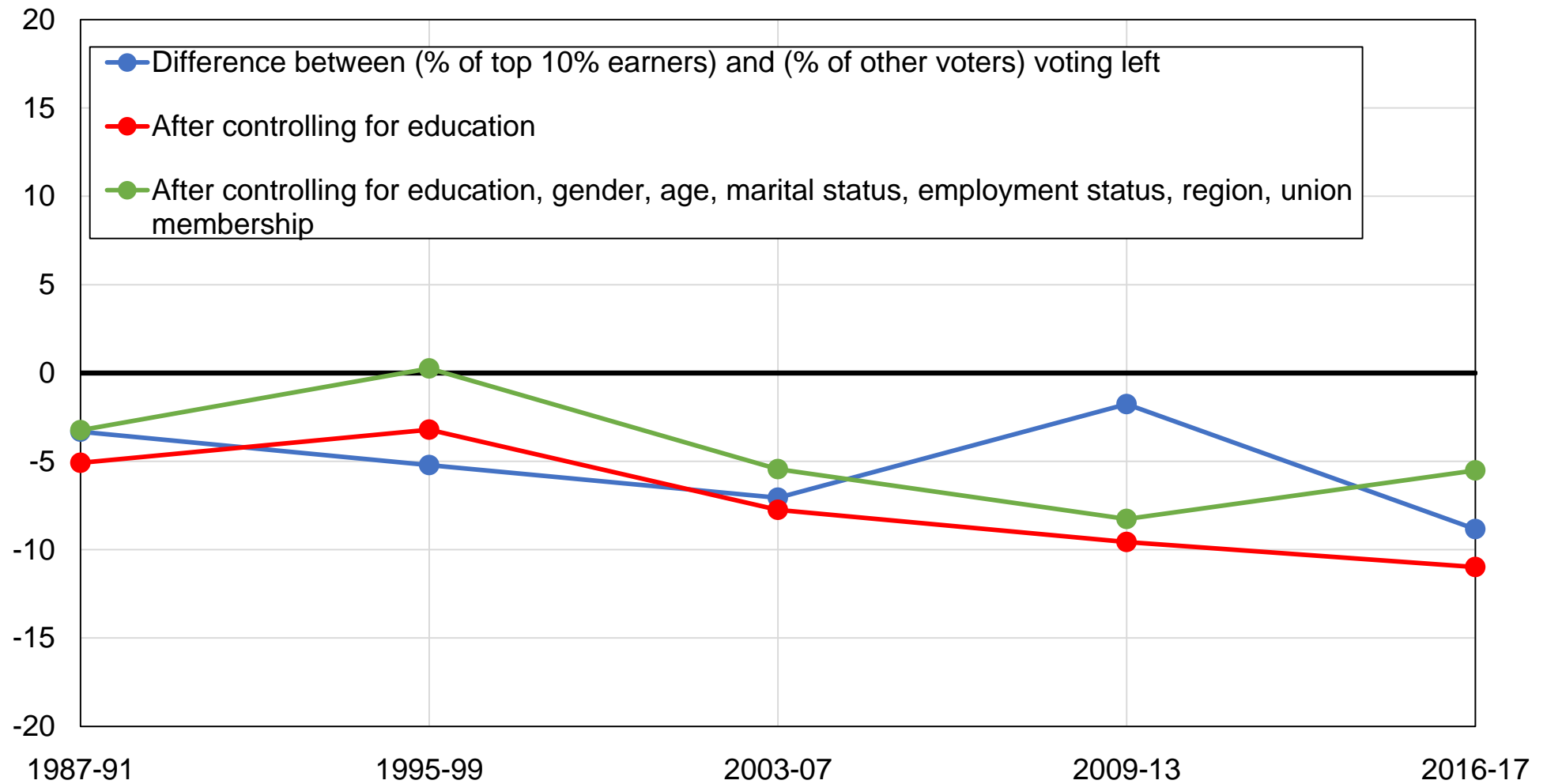
Figure EB20 - Vote for the left among public sector workers in Iceland



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

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

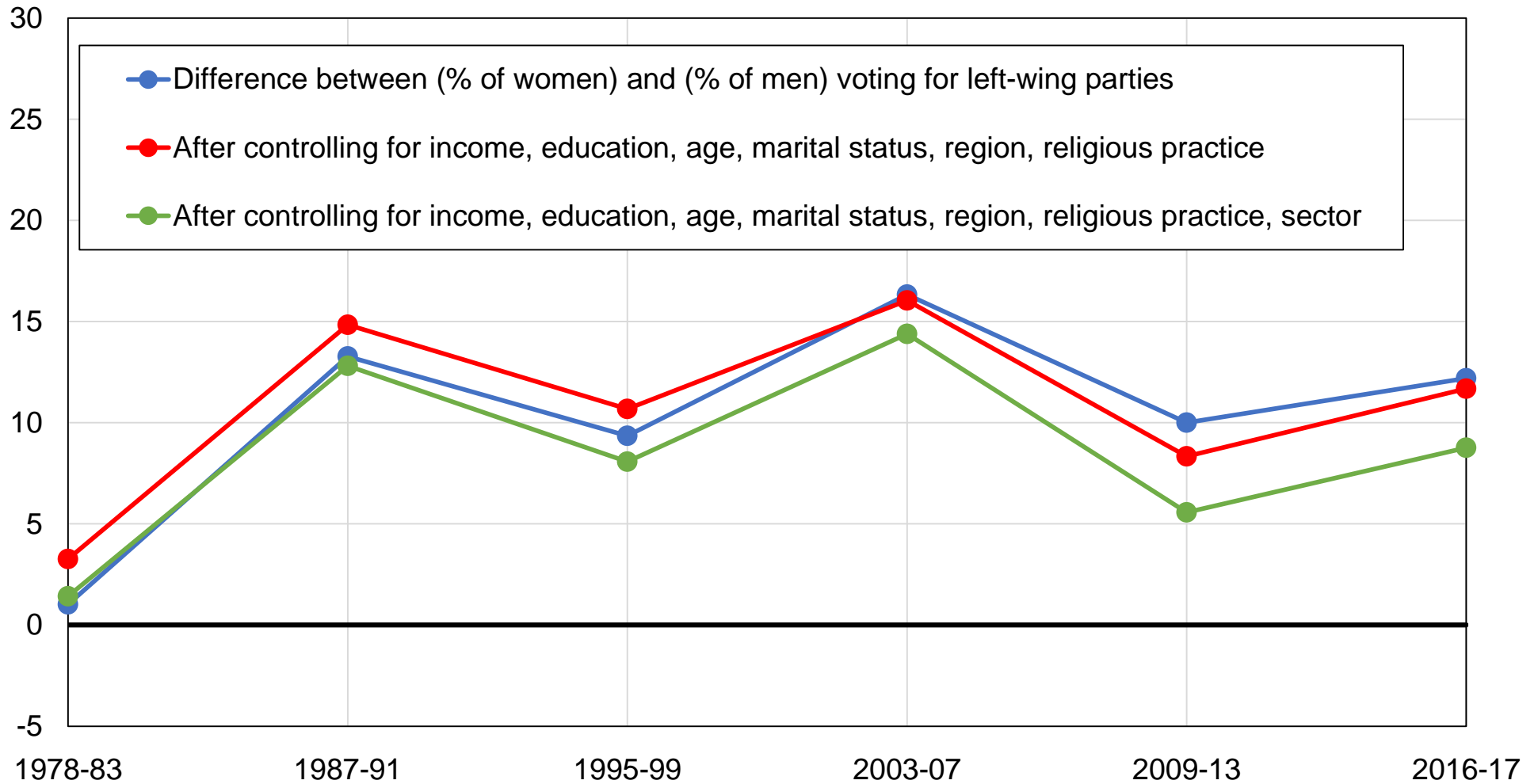
Figure EB21 - Vote for the left among top 10% earners in Iceland



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

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

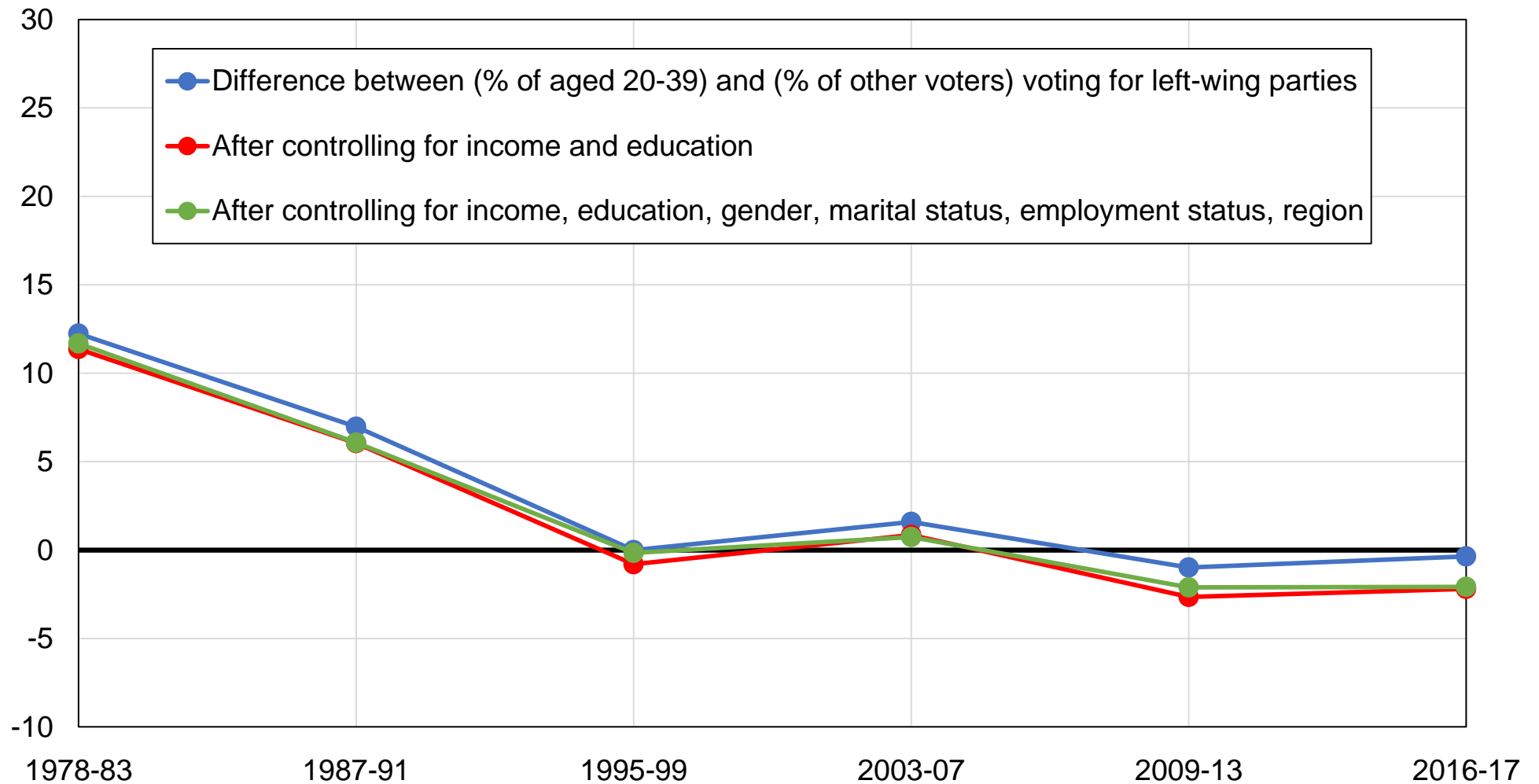
Figure EB22 - Vote for the left among women in Iceland



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

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables. Notice that the information about religiosity is not available before 2003.

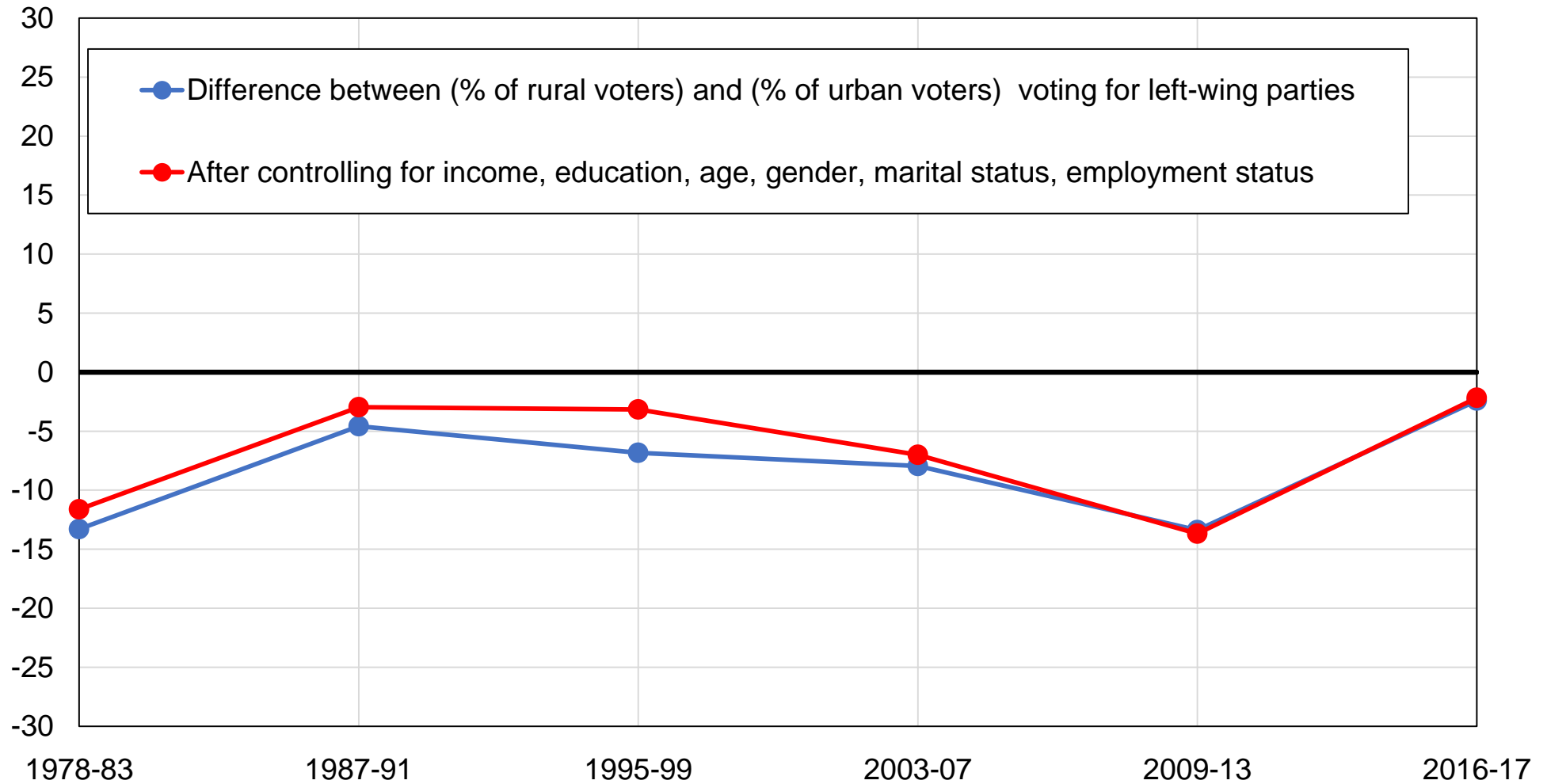
Figure EB23 - Vote for the left among young voters in Iceland



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

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

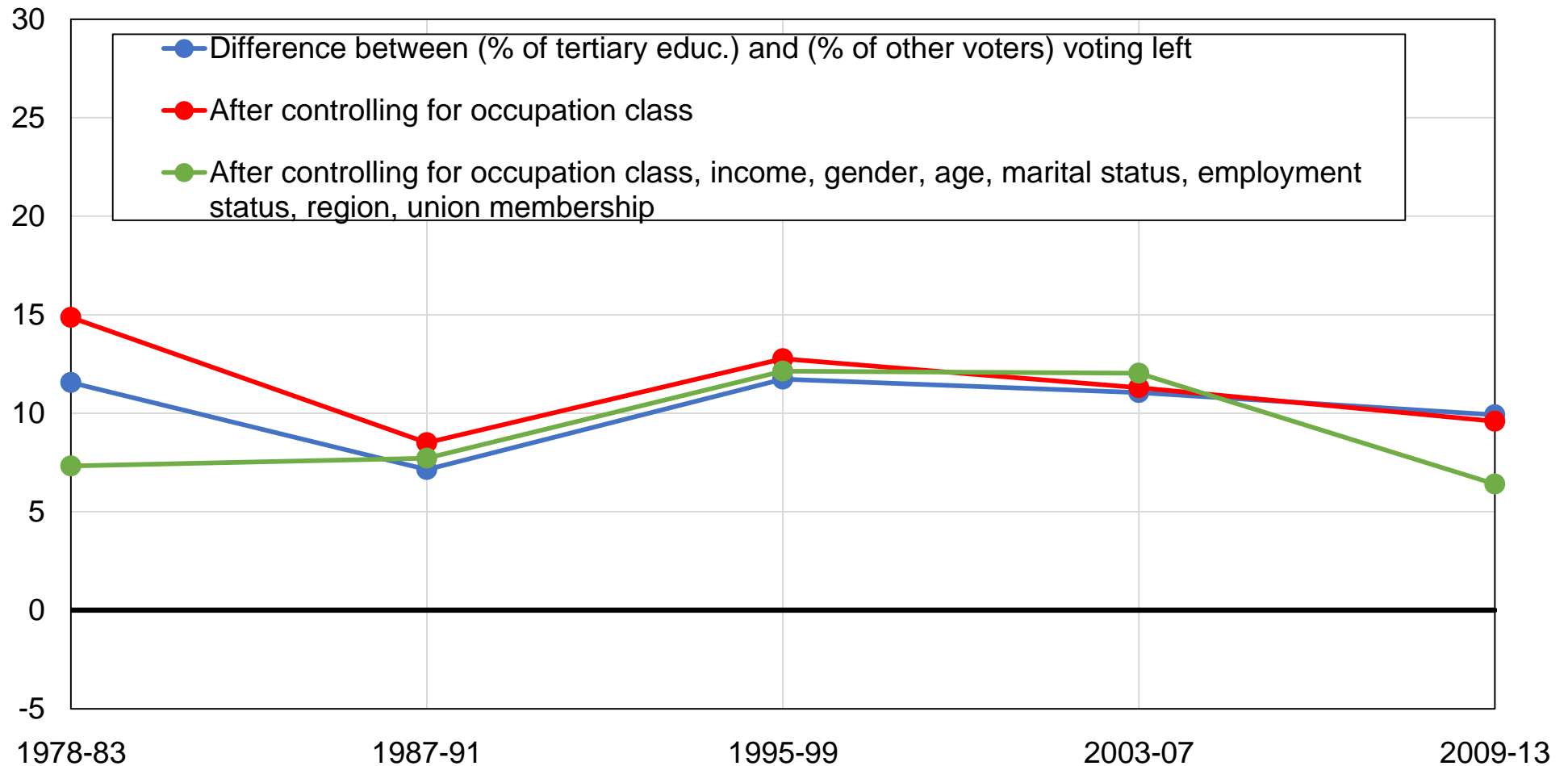
Figure EB24 - Vote for the left among rural voters in Iceland



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

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

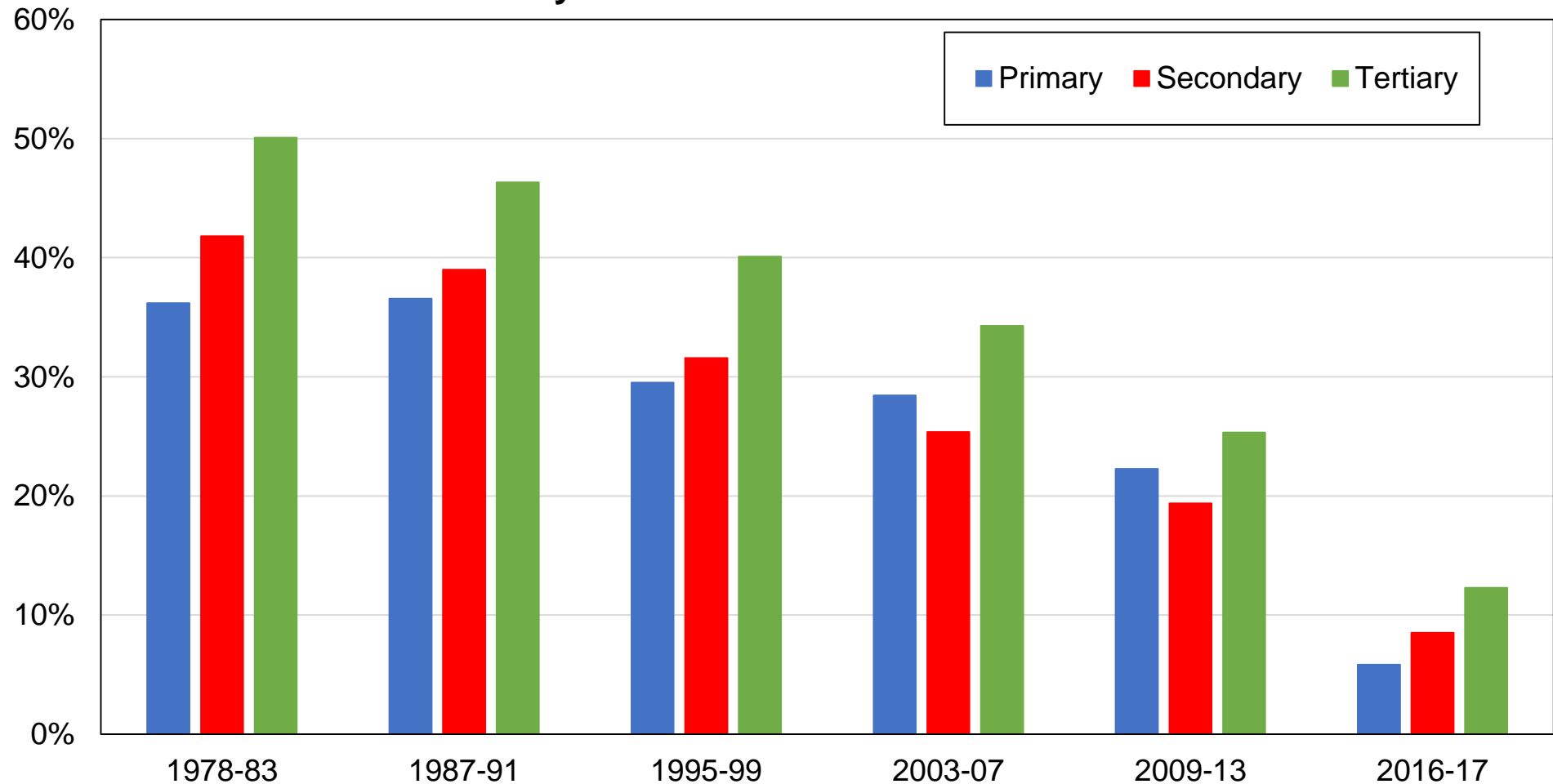
FEB25-Vote for the left among tertiary-educated voters: the role of occupation class in Iceland



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

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

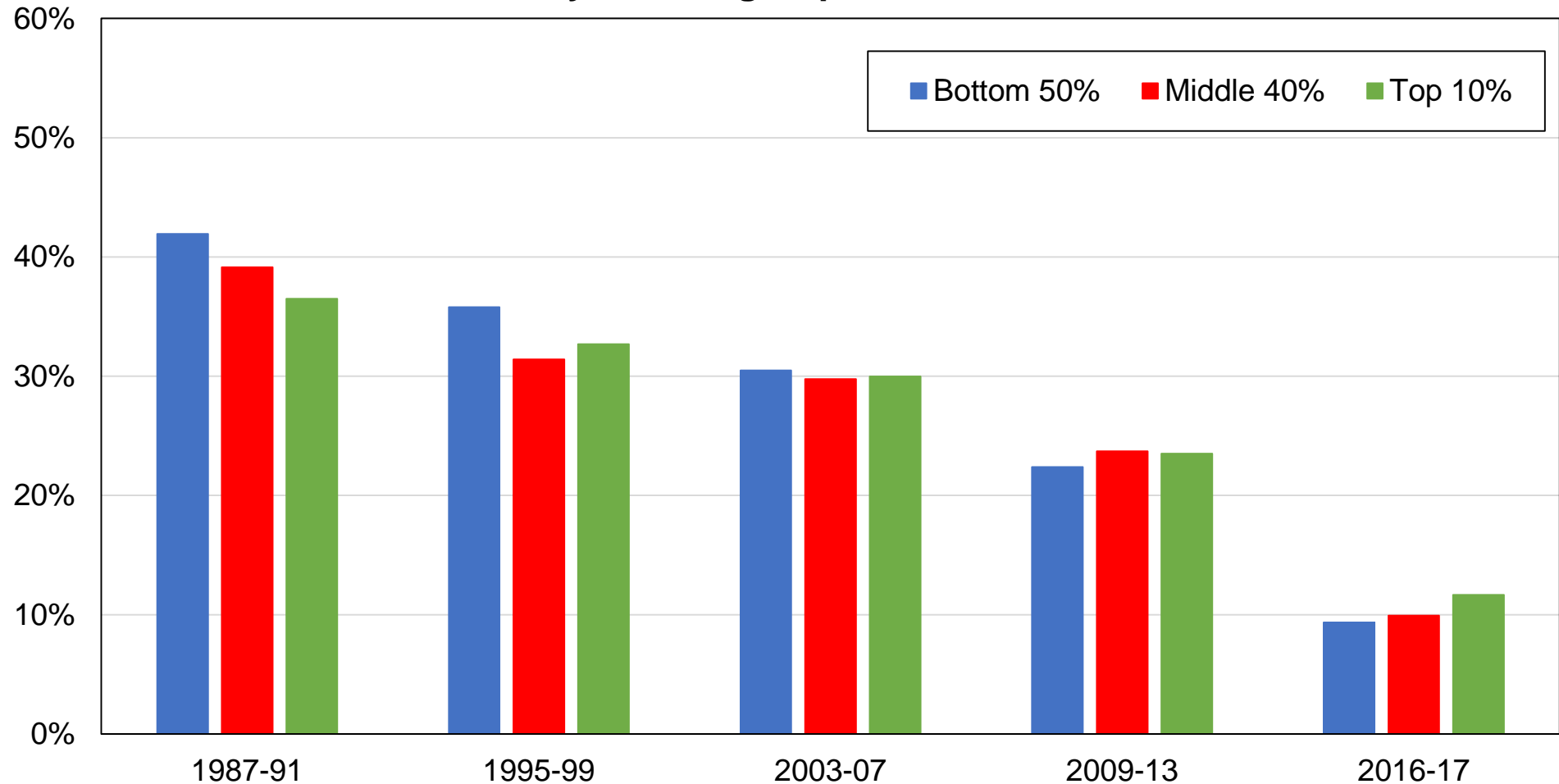
**Figure EC1 - Vote for the Social Democratic Alliance
by education level in Iceland**



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

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Alliance by education level. The Alliance was founded in 1995. For simplicity, we group the parties belonging to the Alliance (Social Democratic Party, Women's Alliance, People's Party, People's Movement) before 1995.

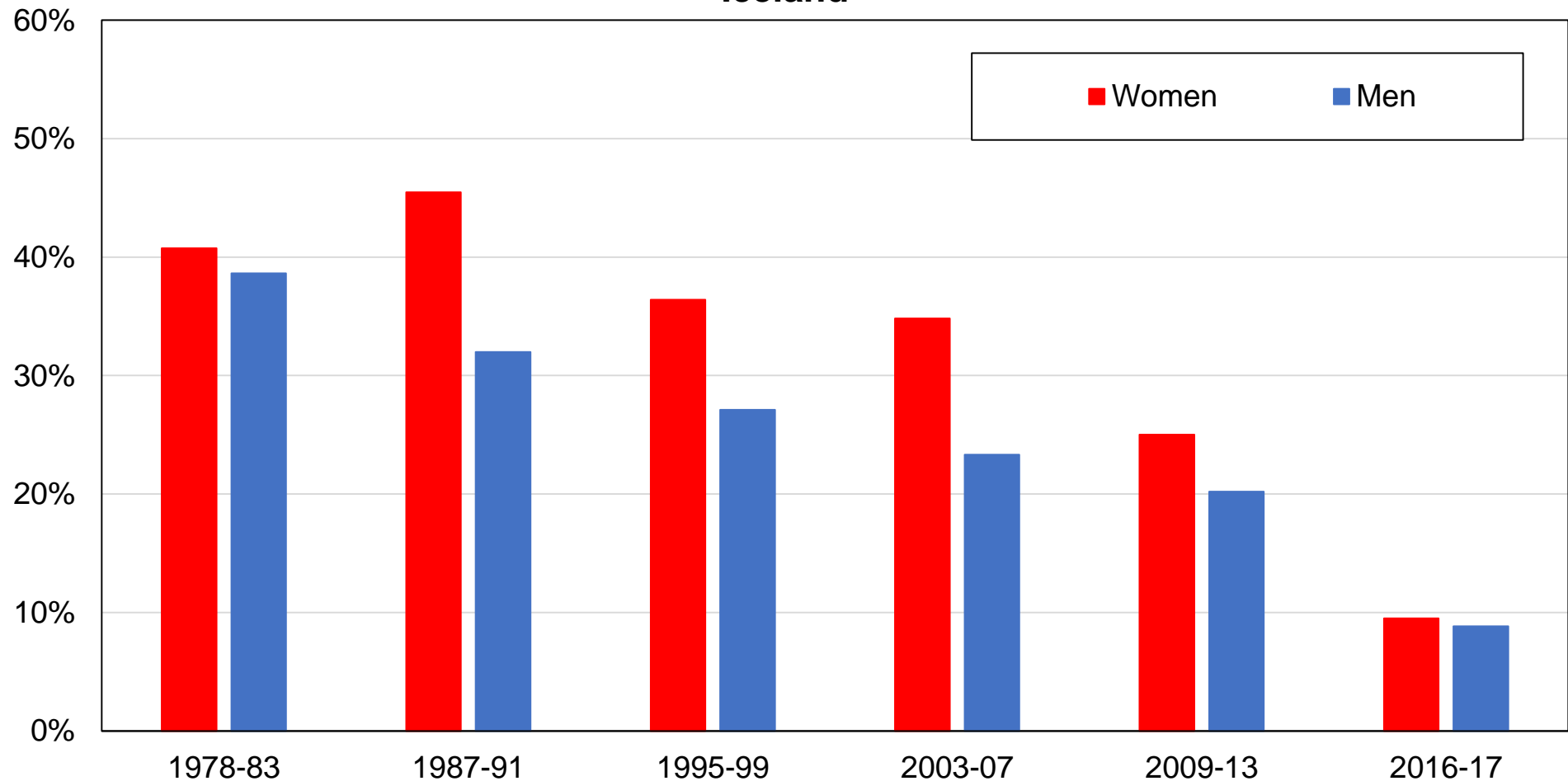
**Figure EC2 - Vote for the Social Democratic Alliance
by income group in Iceland**



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

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Alliance by income group. The Alliance was founded in 1995. For simplicity, we group the parties belonging to the Alliance (Social Democratic Party, Women's Alliance, People's Party, People's Movement) before 1995.

Figure EC3 - Vote for the Social Democratic Alliance by gender in Iceland

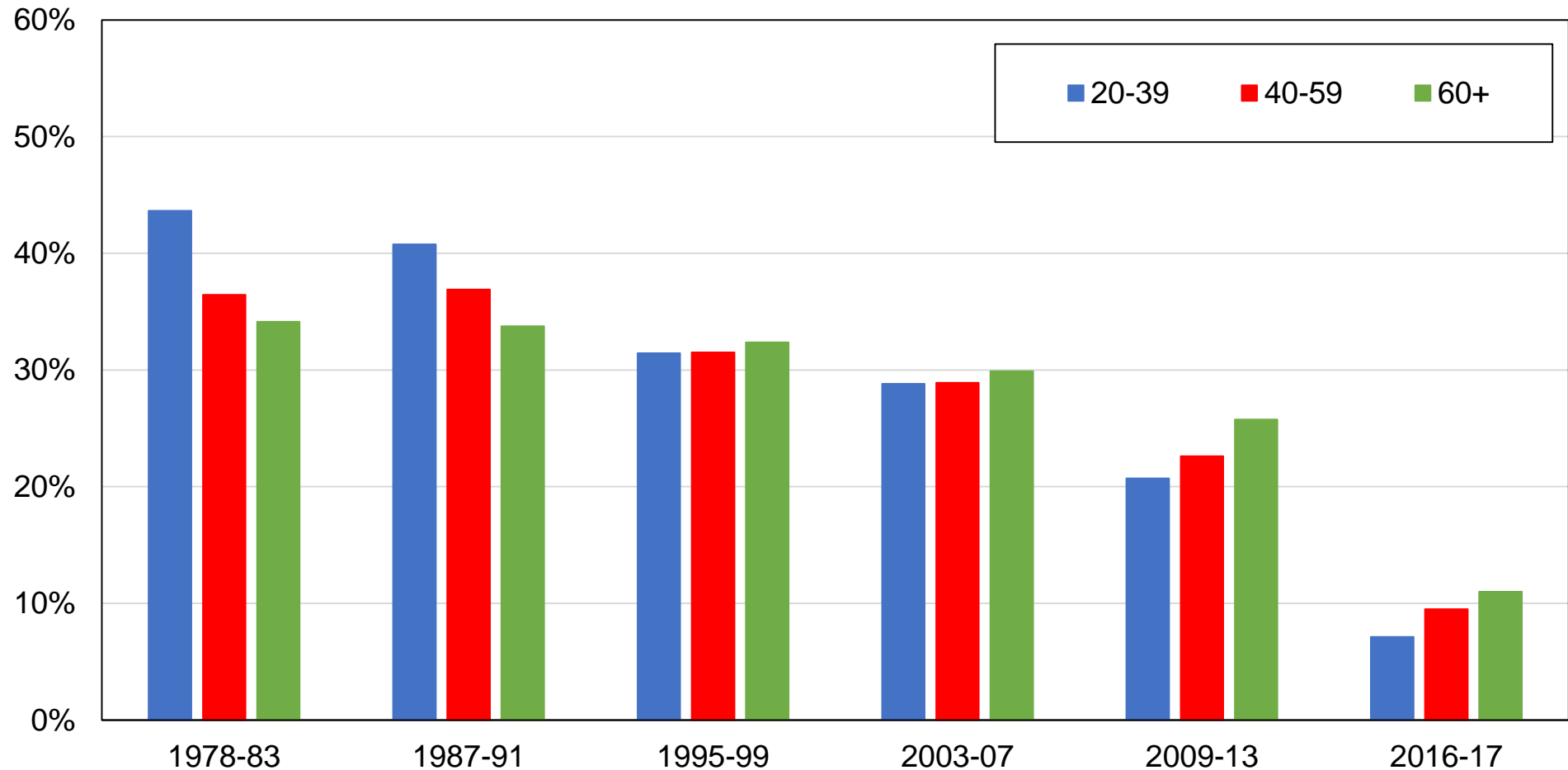


Source: authors' computations using Icelandic post-electoral surveys.

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

The Alliance was founded in 1995. For simplicity, we group the parties belonging to the Alliance (Social Democratic Party, Women's Alliance, People's Party, People's Movement) before 1995.

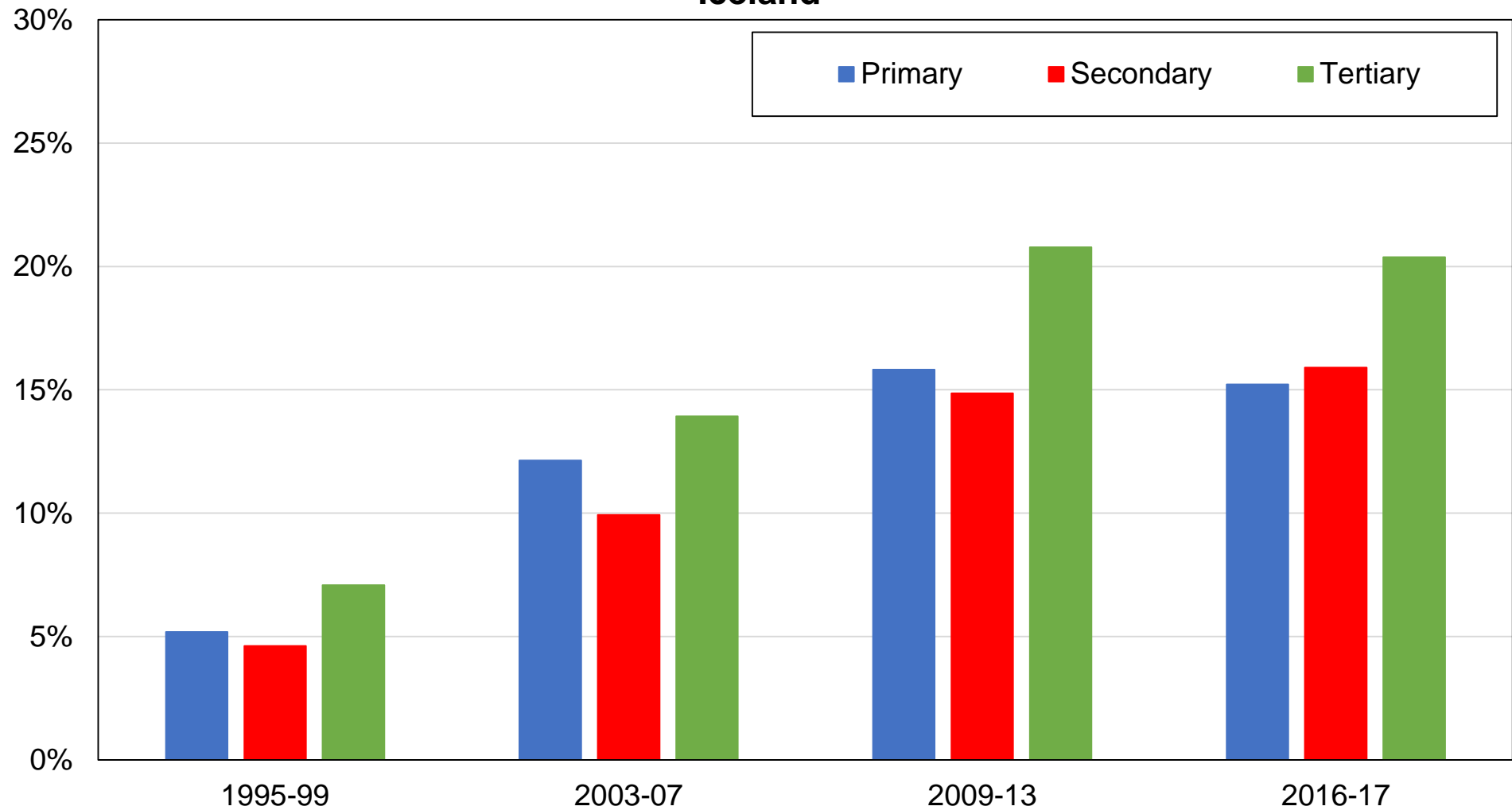
Figure EC4 - Vote for the Social Democratic Alliance by age group in Iceland



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

Note: the figures shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Alliance by age group. The Alliance was founded in 1995. For simplicity, we group the parties belonging to the Alliance (Social Democratic Party, Women's Alliance, People's Party, People's Movement) before 1995.

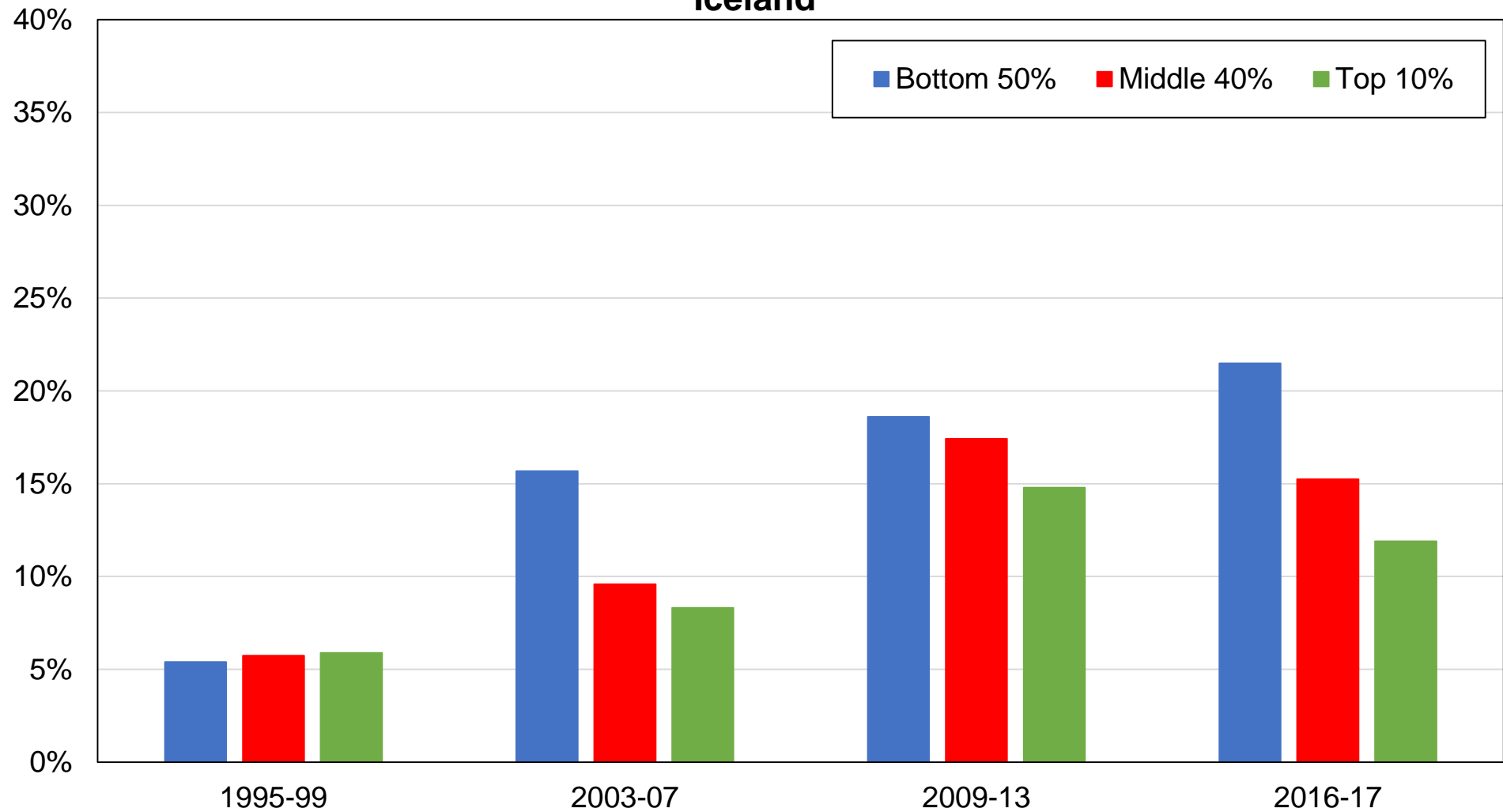
Figure EC5 - Vote for the Left-Green Movement by education level in Iceland



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

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Left-Green Movement by education level.

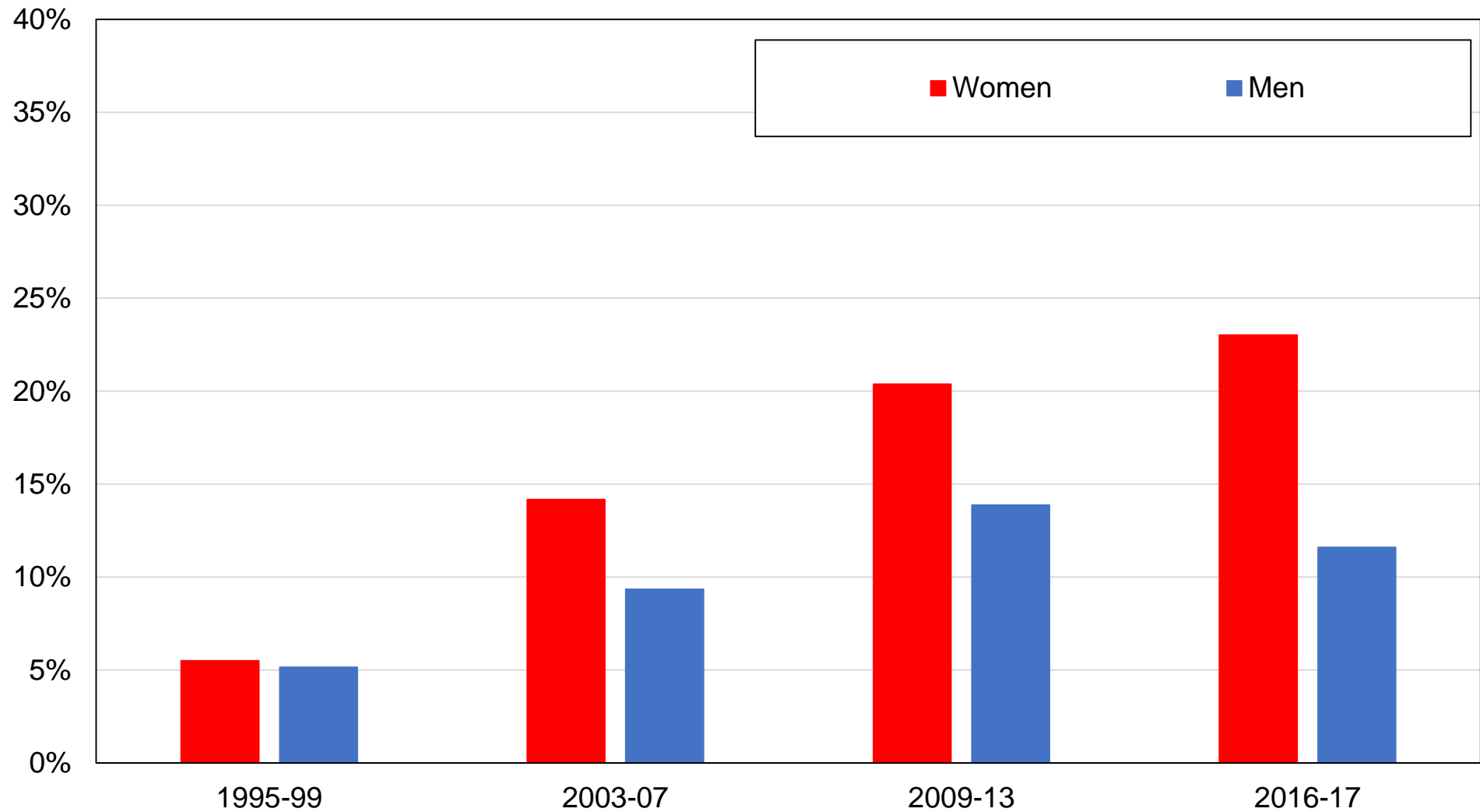
Figure EC6 - Vote for the Left-Green Movement by income group in Iceland



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

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Left-Green Movement by income group.

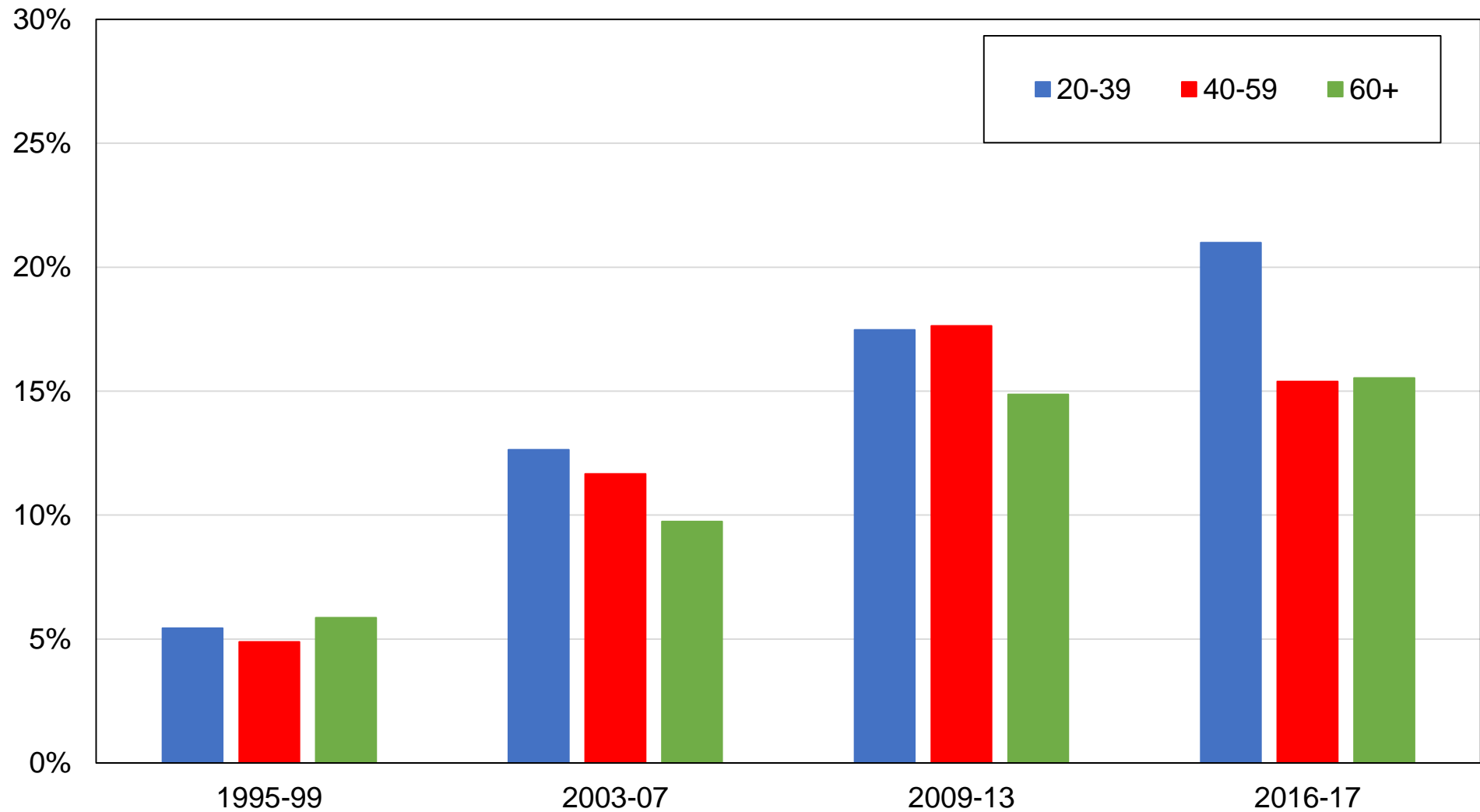
Figure EC7 - Vote for the Left-Green Movement by gender in Iceland



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

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Left-Green Movement by gender.

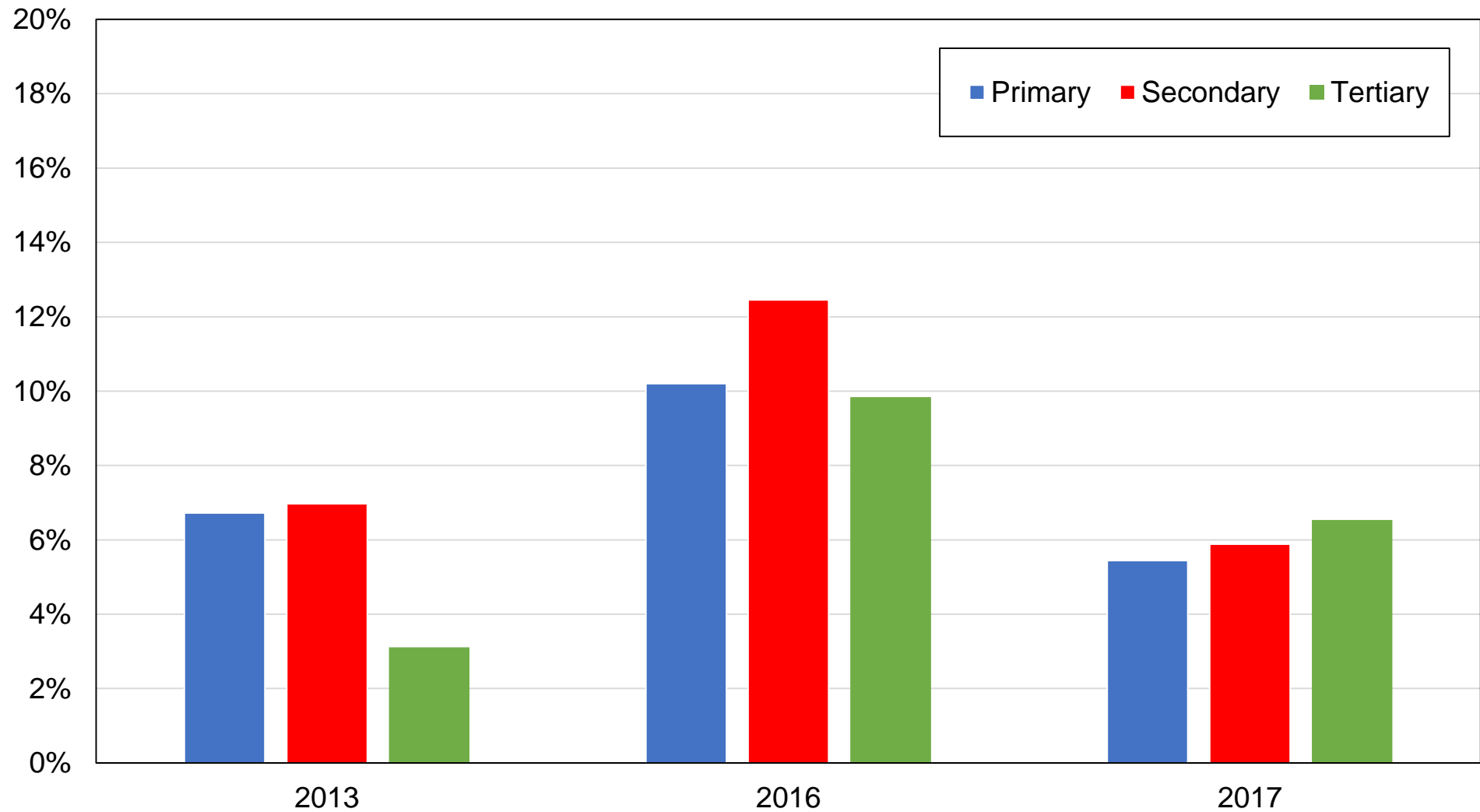
Figure EC8 - Vote for the Left-Green Movement by age group in Iceland



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

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Left-Green Movement by age group.

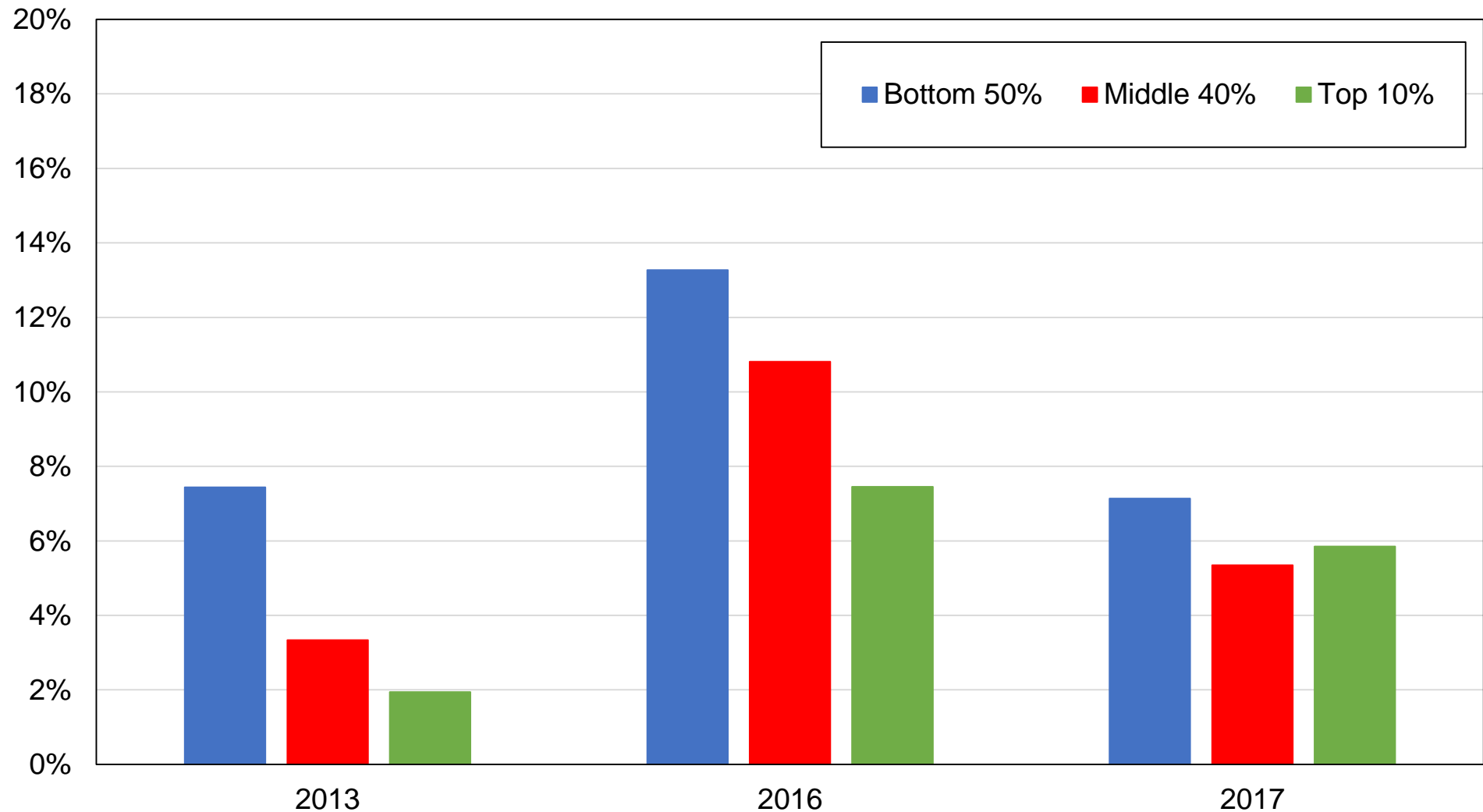
Figure EC9 - Vote the Pirate Party by education level in Iceland



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

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

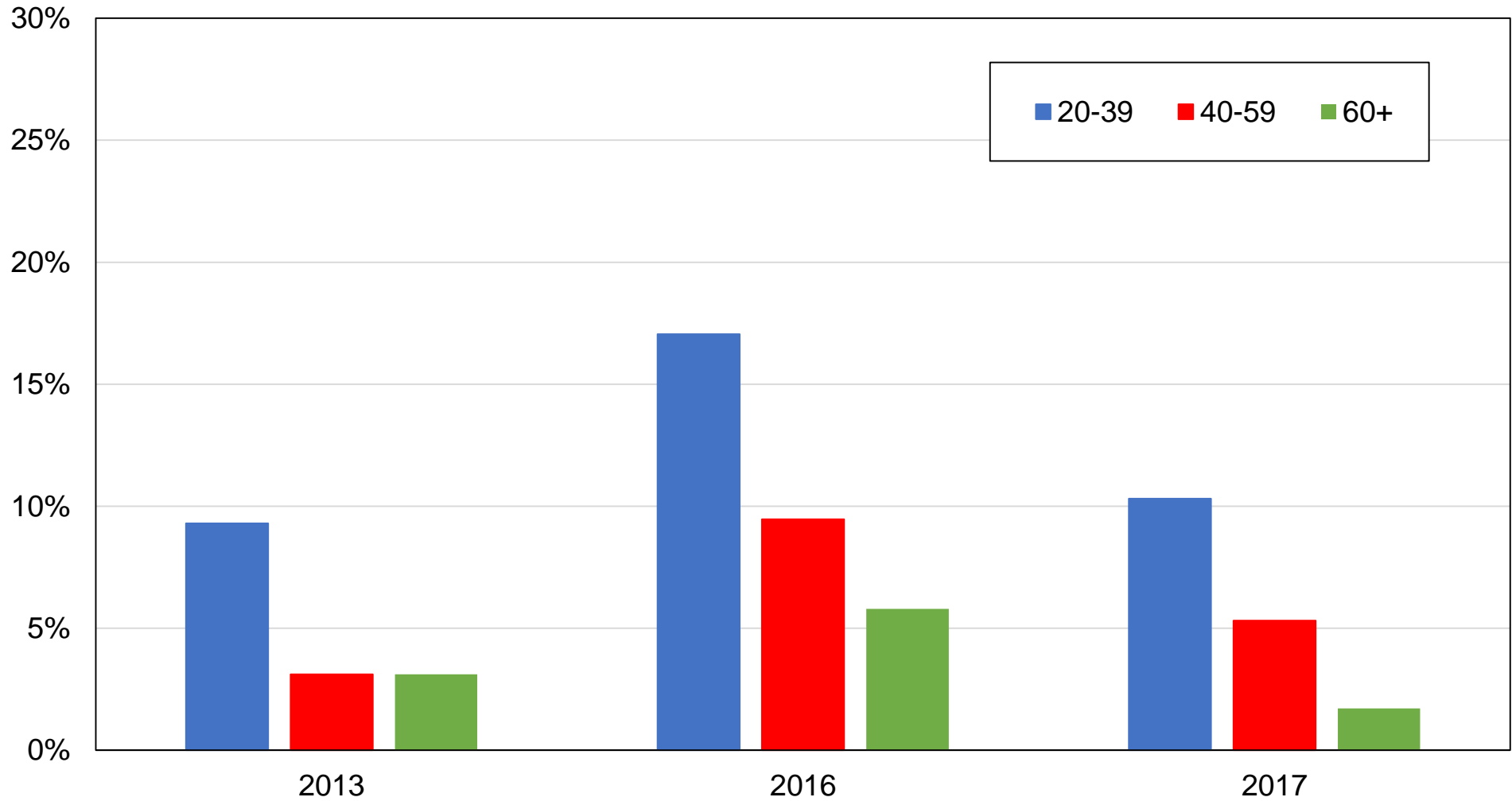
Figure EC10 - Vote for the Pirate Party by income group in Iceland



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

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

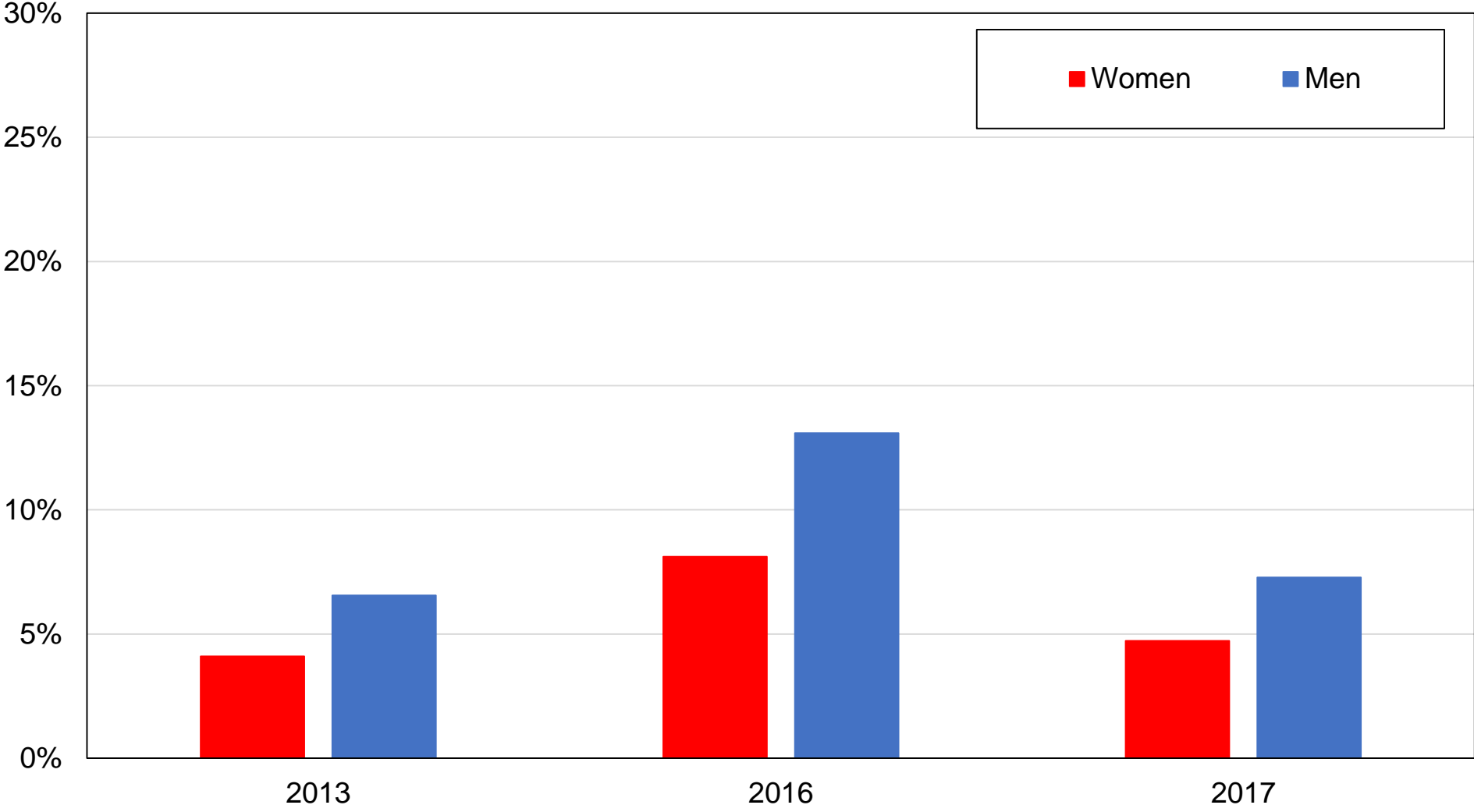
Figure EC11 - Vote for the Pirate Party by age group in Iceland



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

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

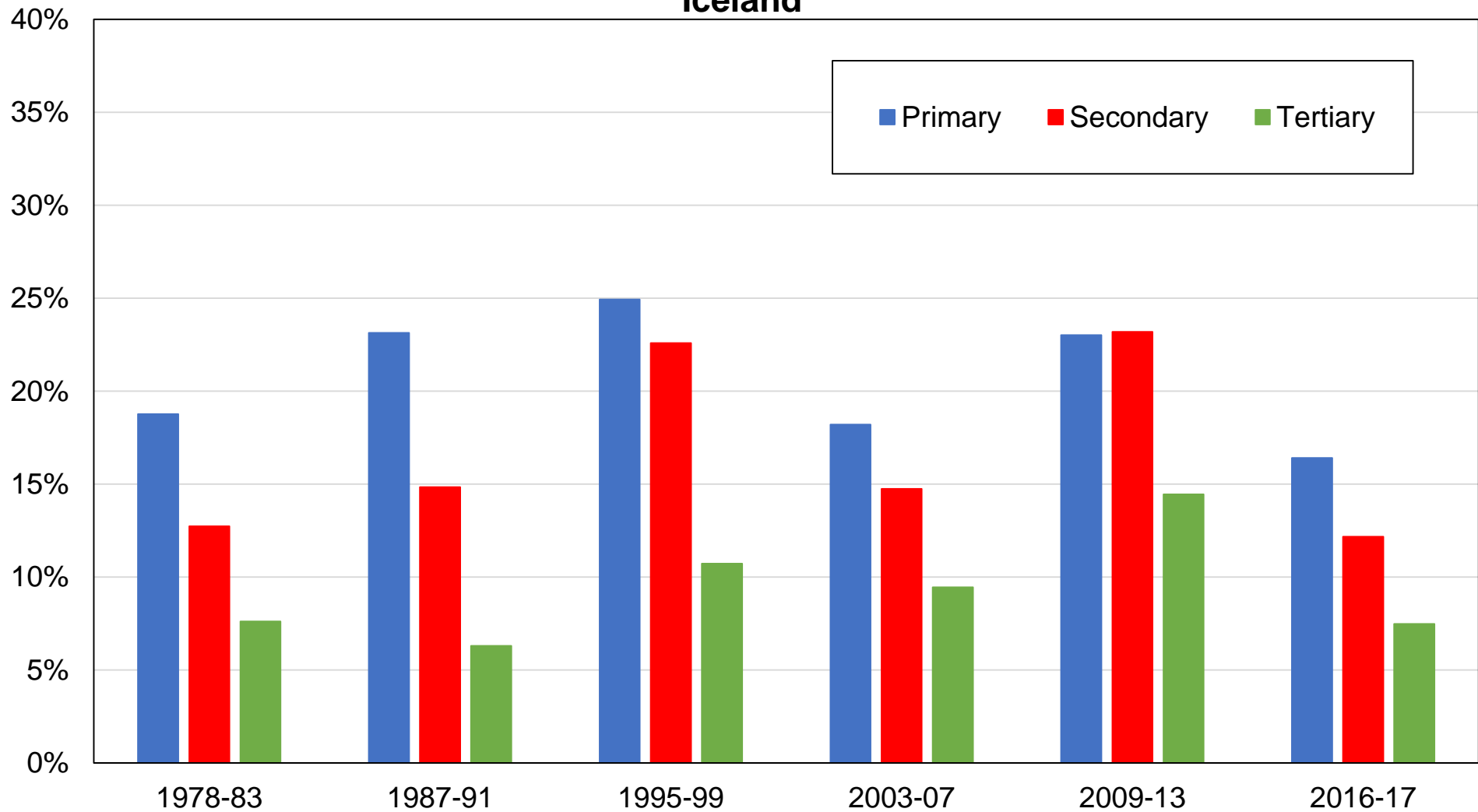
Figure EC12 - Vote for the Pirate Party by gender in Iceland



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

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

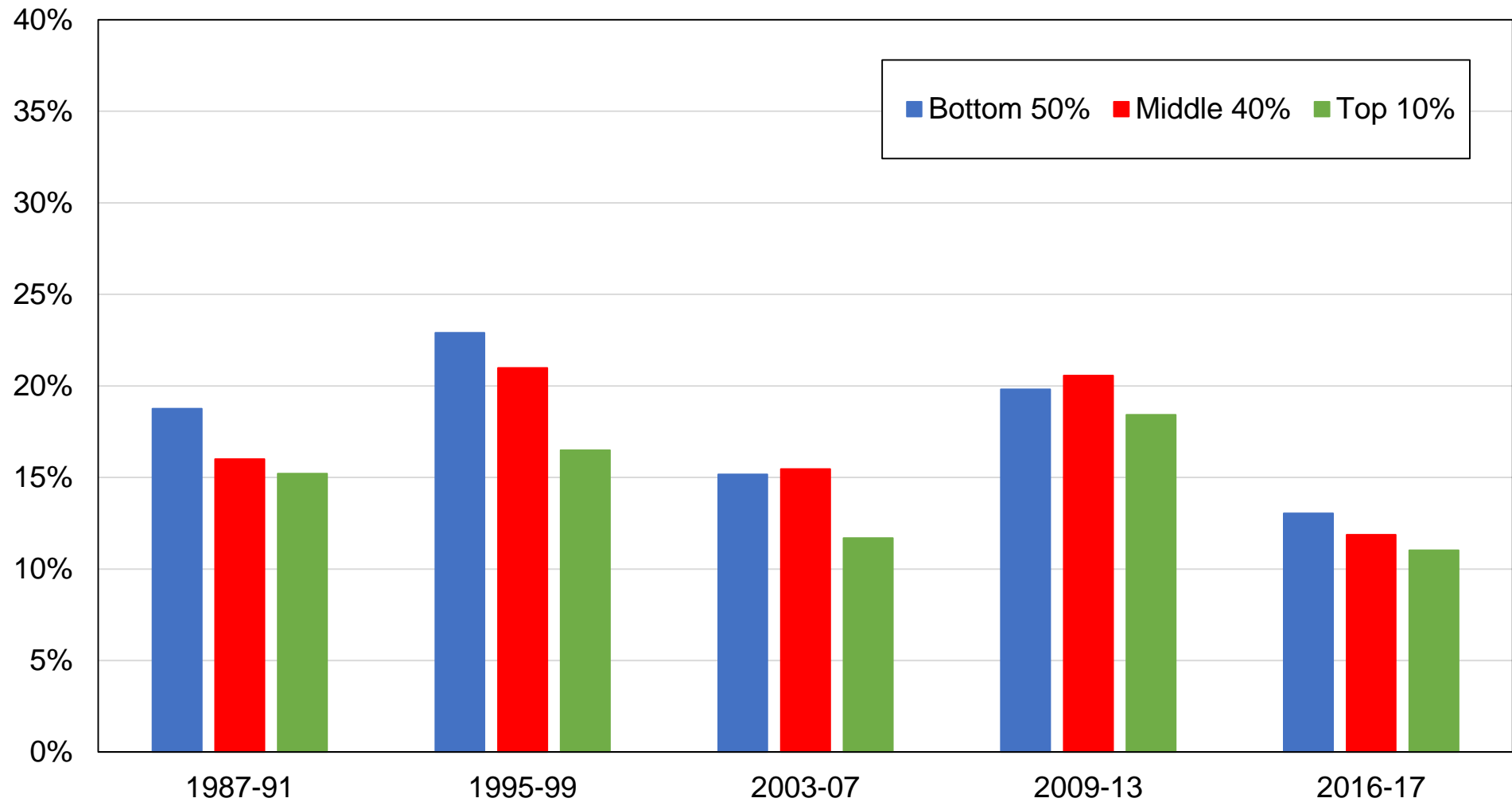
Figure EC13 - Vote for the Progressive Party by education level in Iceland



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

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

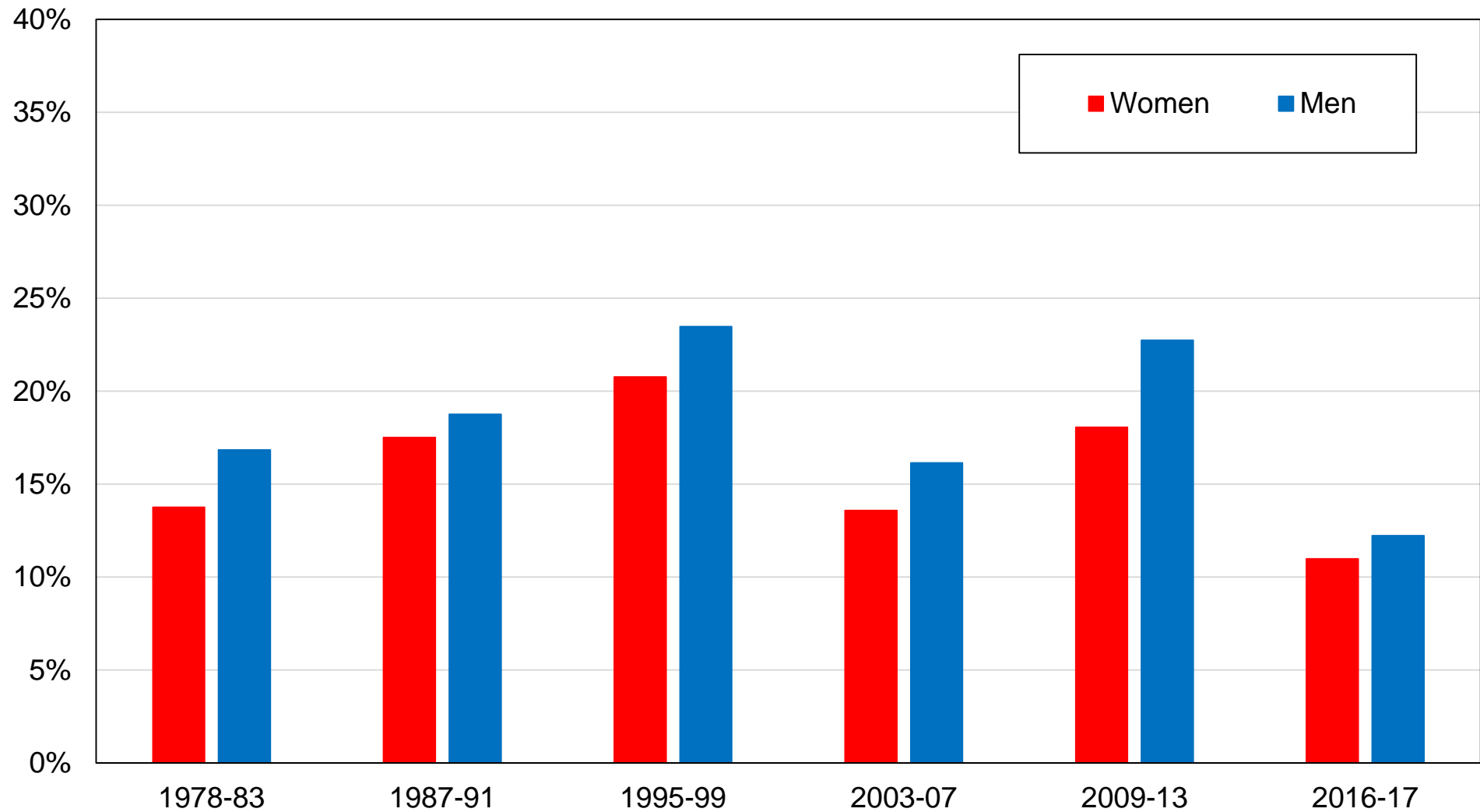
Figure EC14 - Vote for the Progressive Party by income group in Iceland



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

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

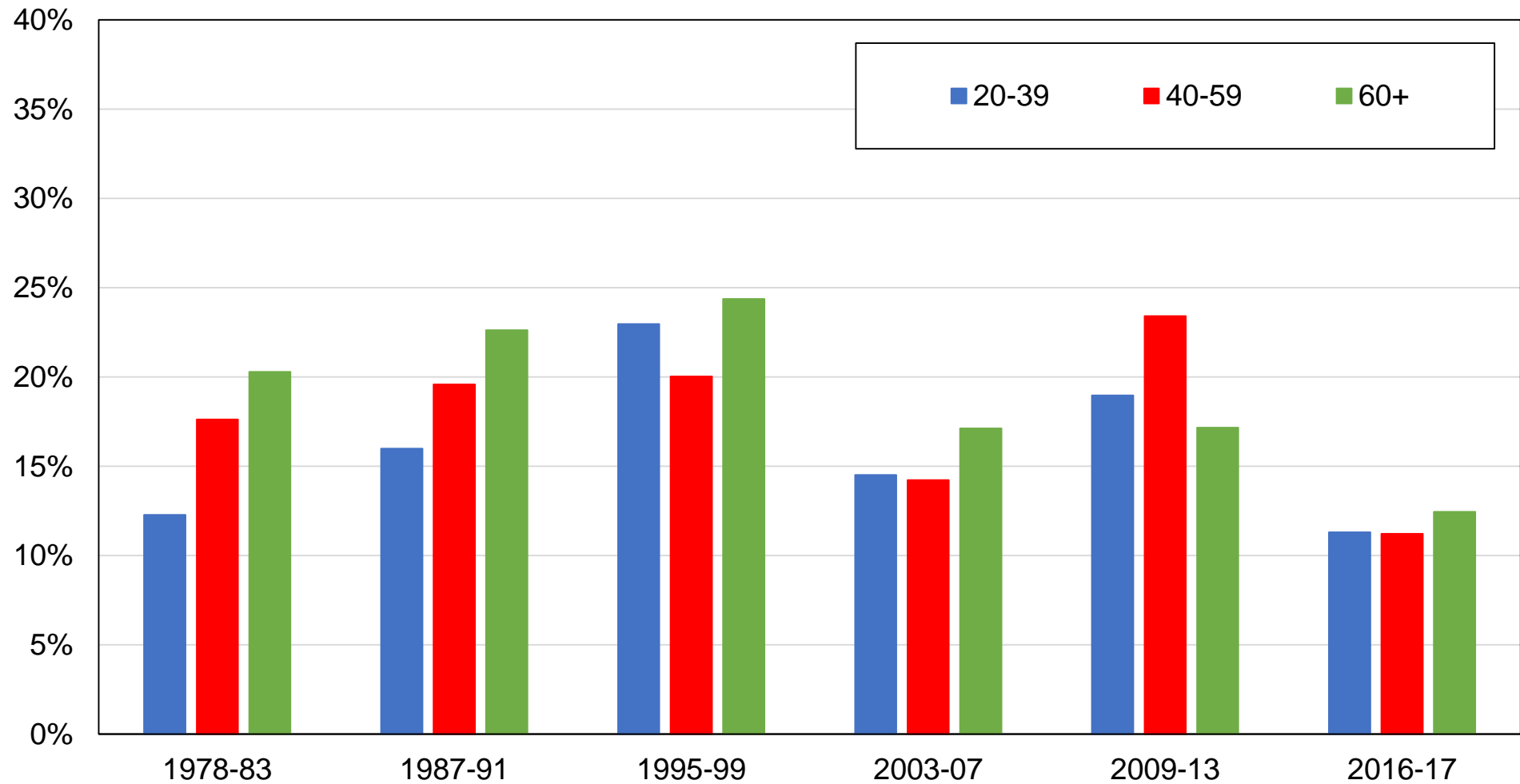
Figure EC15 - Vote for the Progressive Party by gender in Iceland



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

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

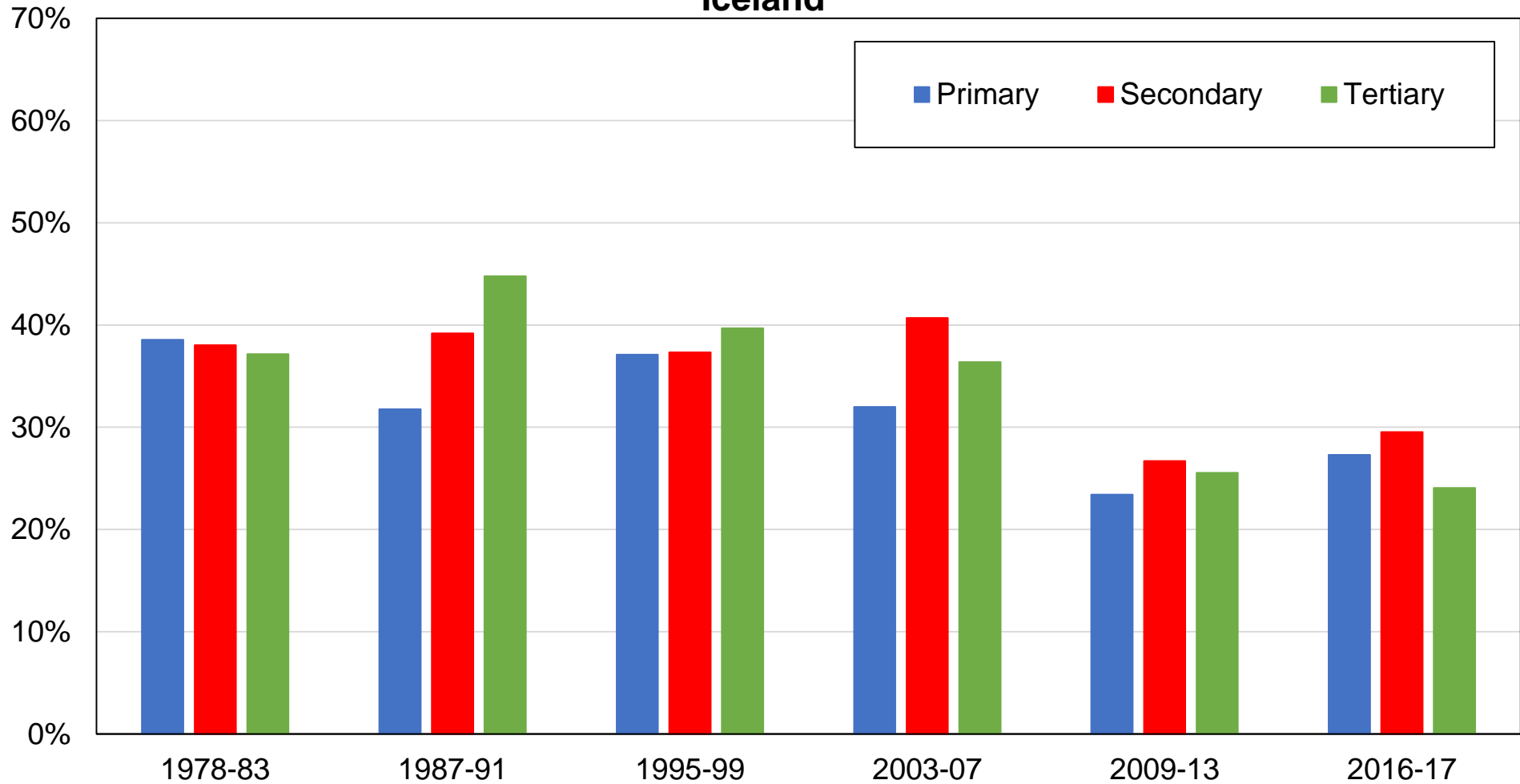
Figure EC16 - Vote for the Progressive Party by age group in Iceland



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

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

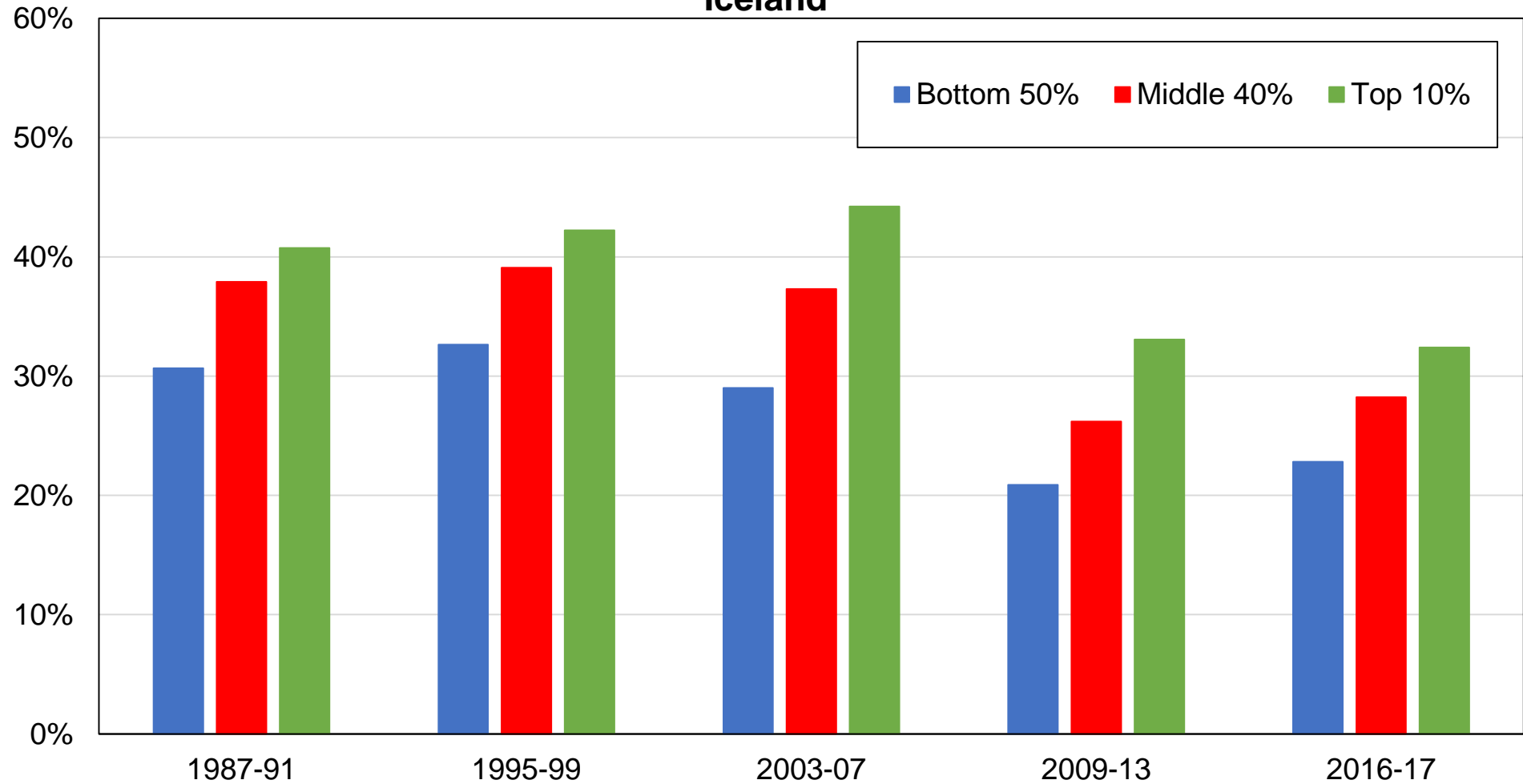
Figure EC17 - Vote for the Independence Party by education level in Iceland



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

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

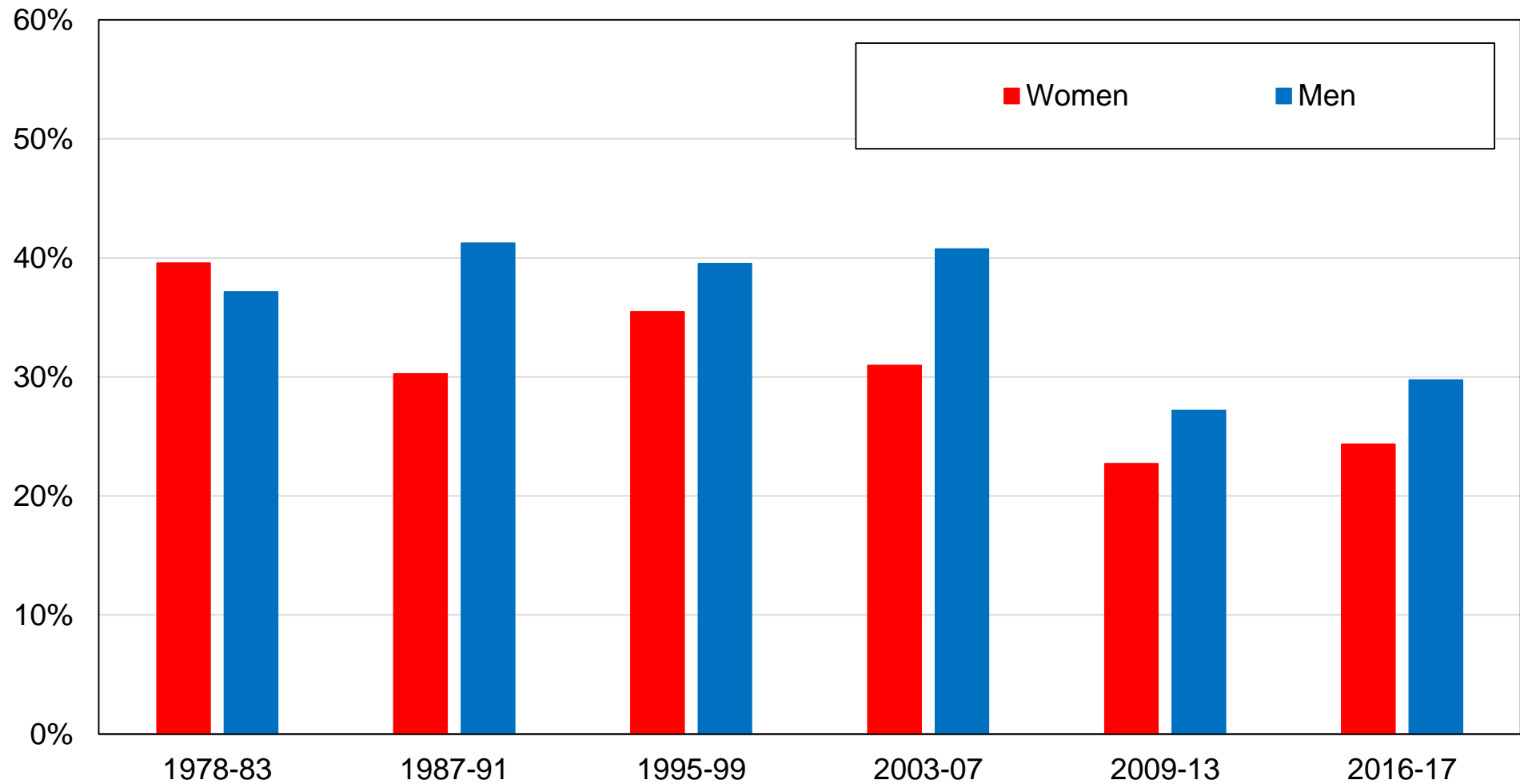
Figure EC18 - Vote for the Independence Party by income group in Iceland



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

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

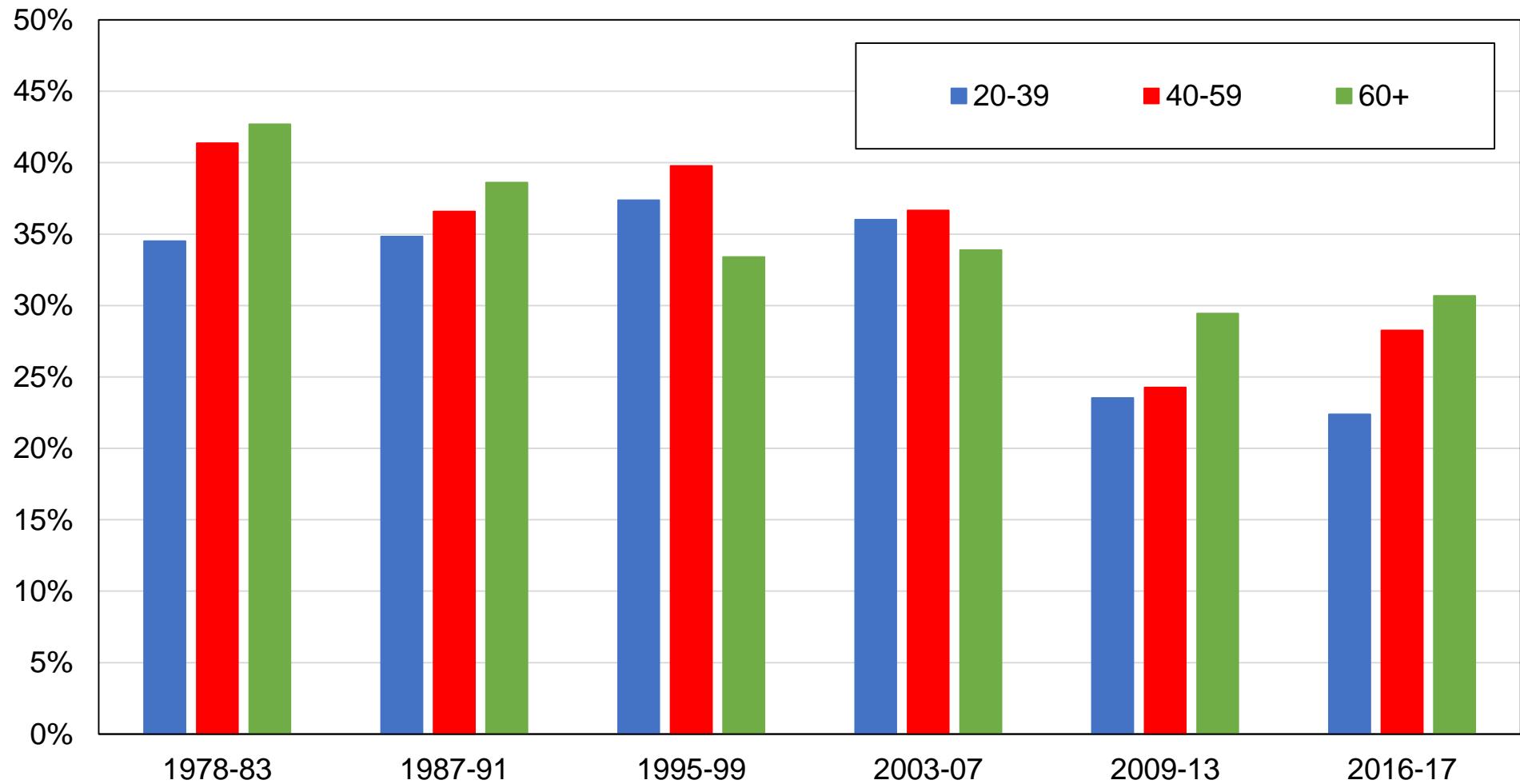
Figure EC19 - Vote for the Independence Party by gender in Iceland



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

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

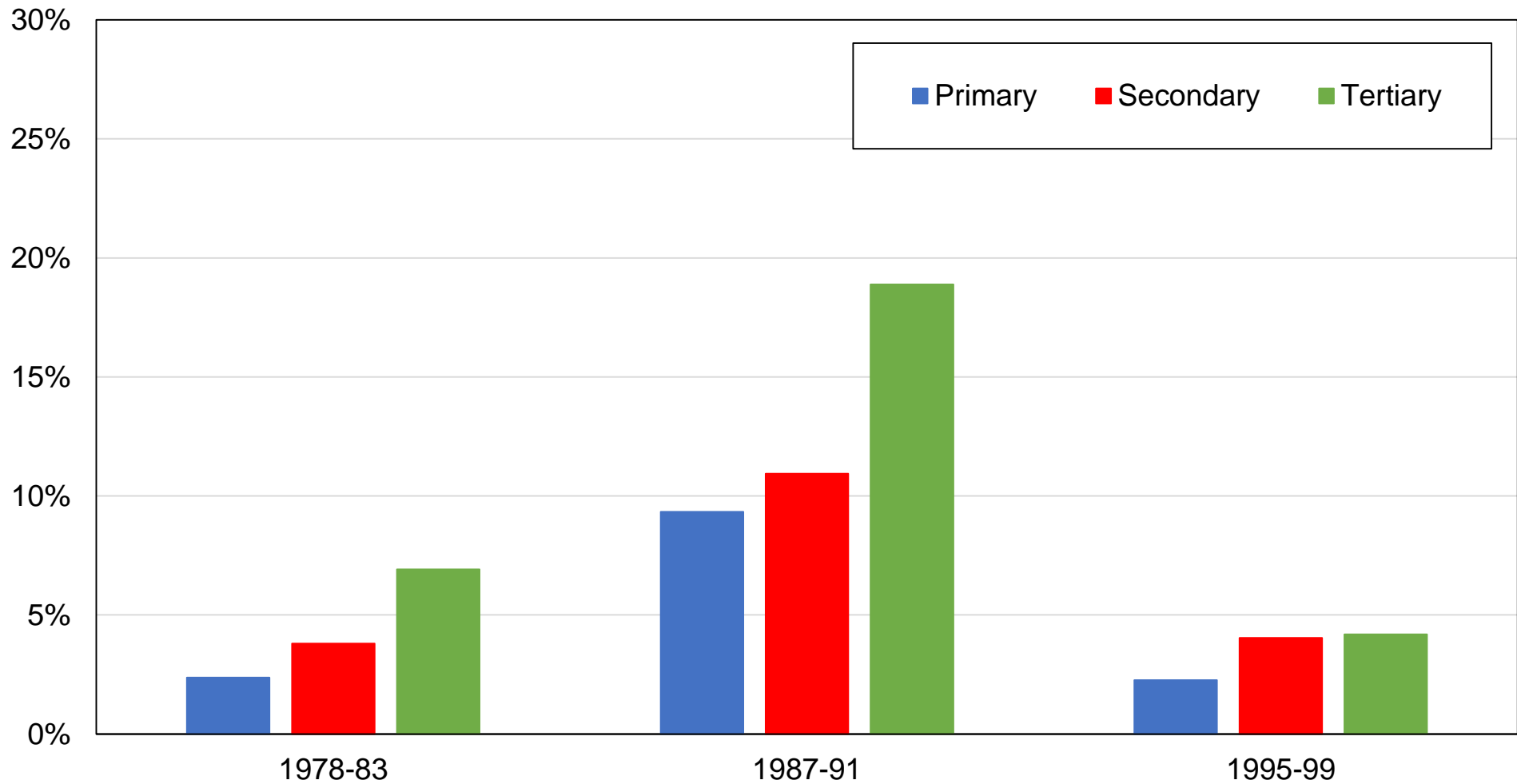
Figure EC20 - Vote for the Independence Party by age group in Iceland



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

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

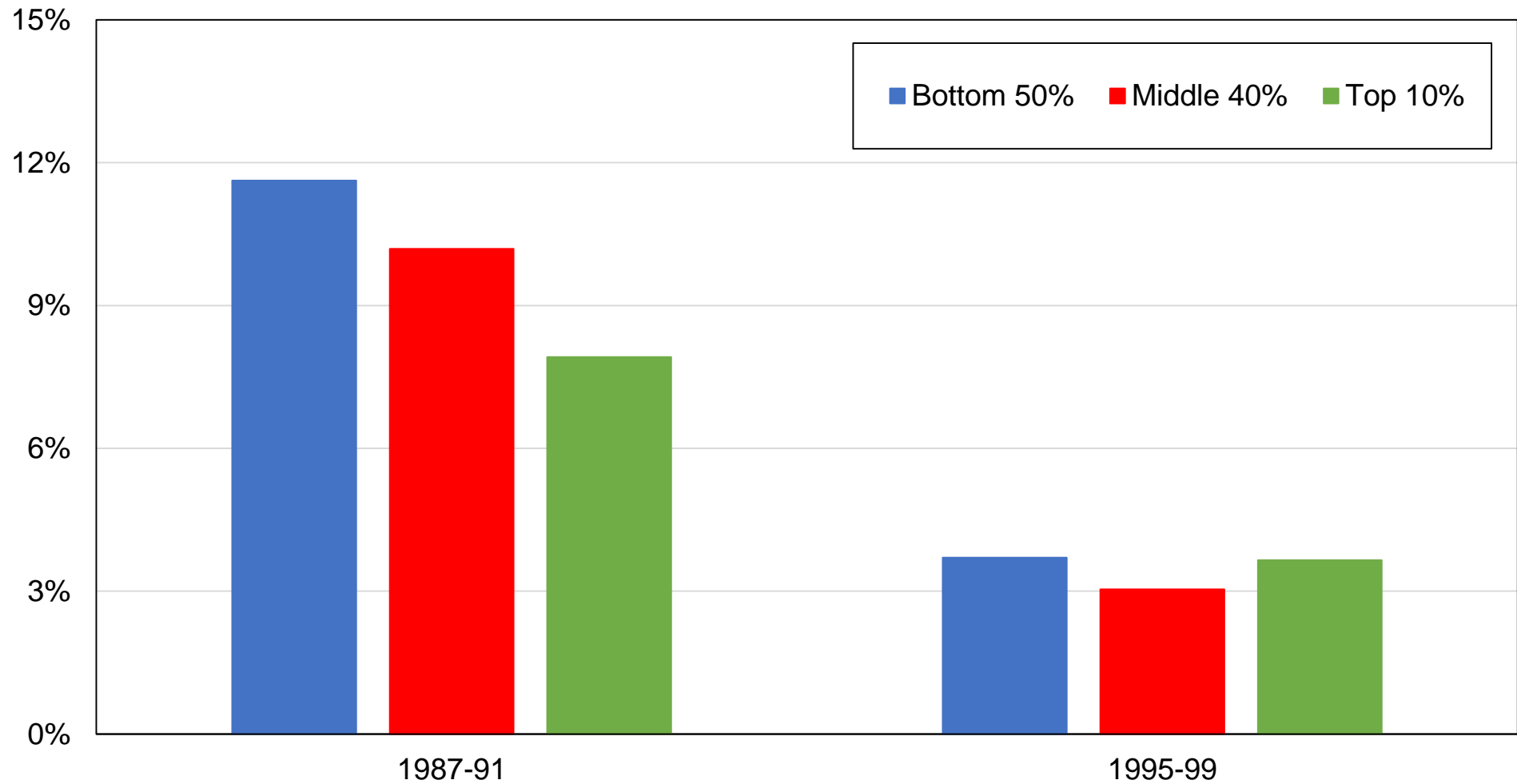
Figure EC21 - Vote for Women's Alliance by education level in Iceland



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

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Women's Alliance by educational level.

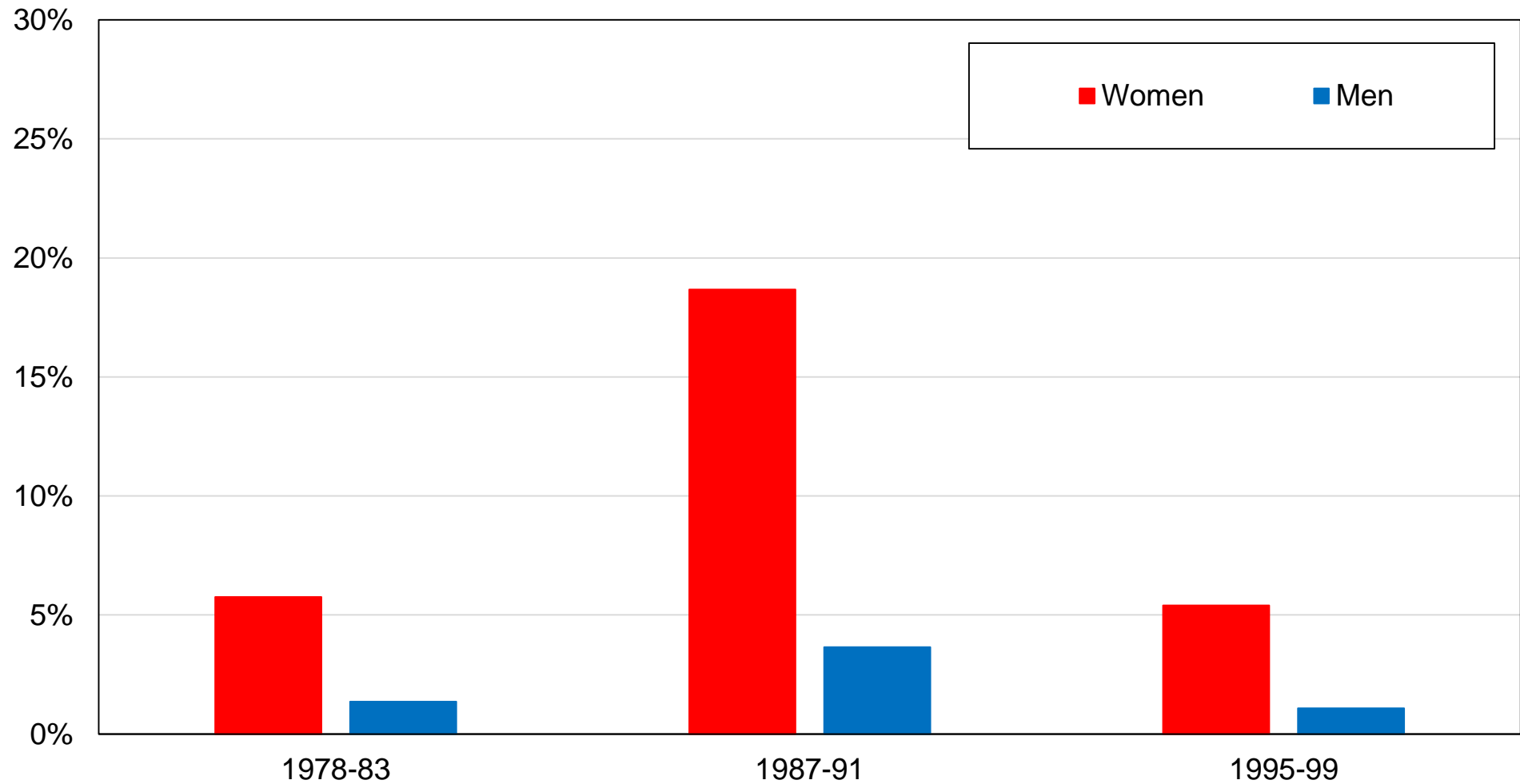
Figure EC22 - Vote for Women's Alliance by income group in Iceland



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

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Women's Alliance by income group.

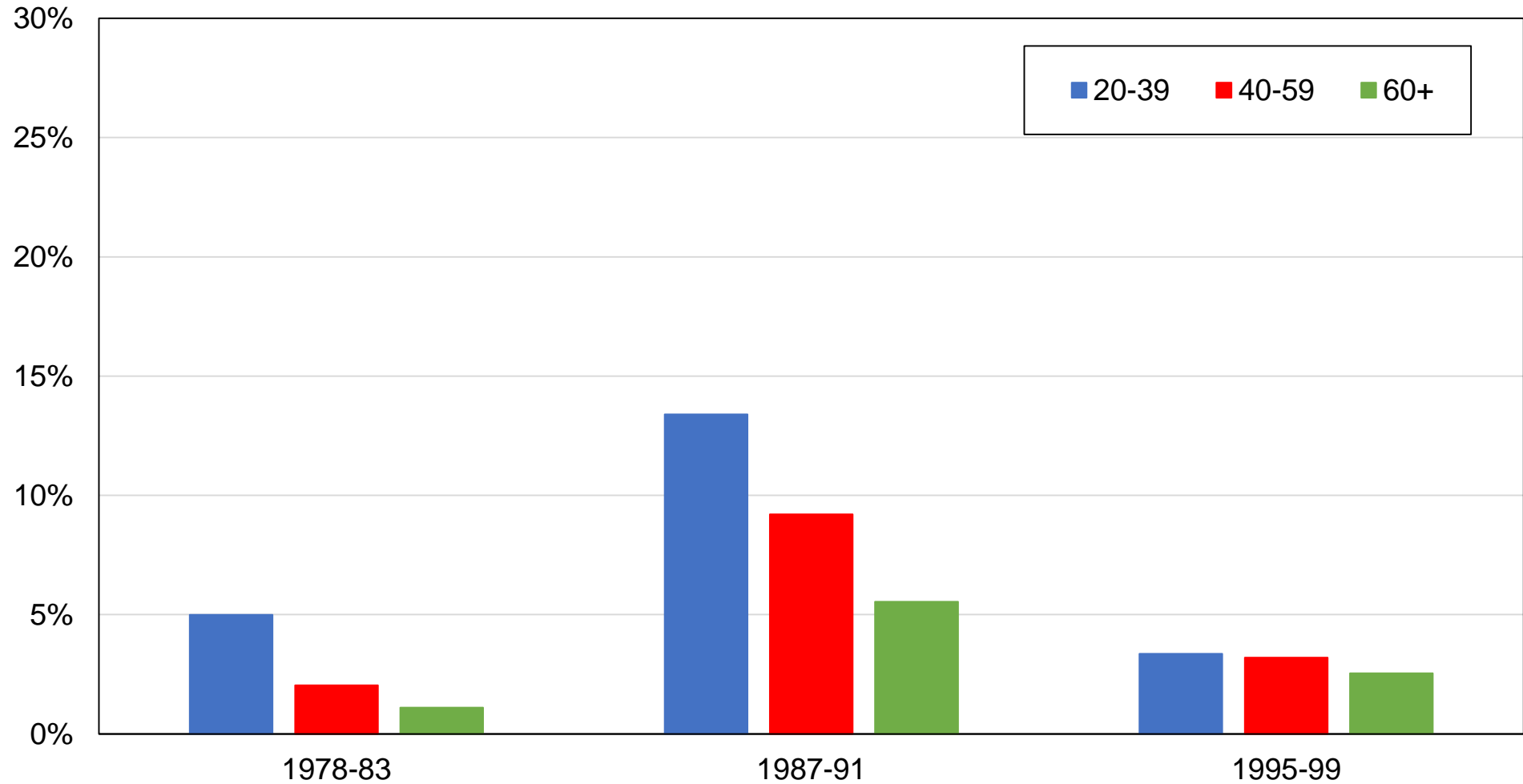
Figure EC23 - Vote for Women's Alliance by gender in Iceland



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

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Women's Alliance by gender.

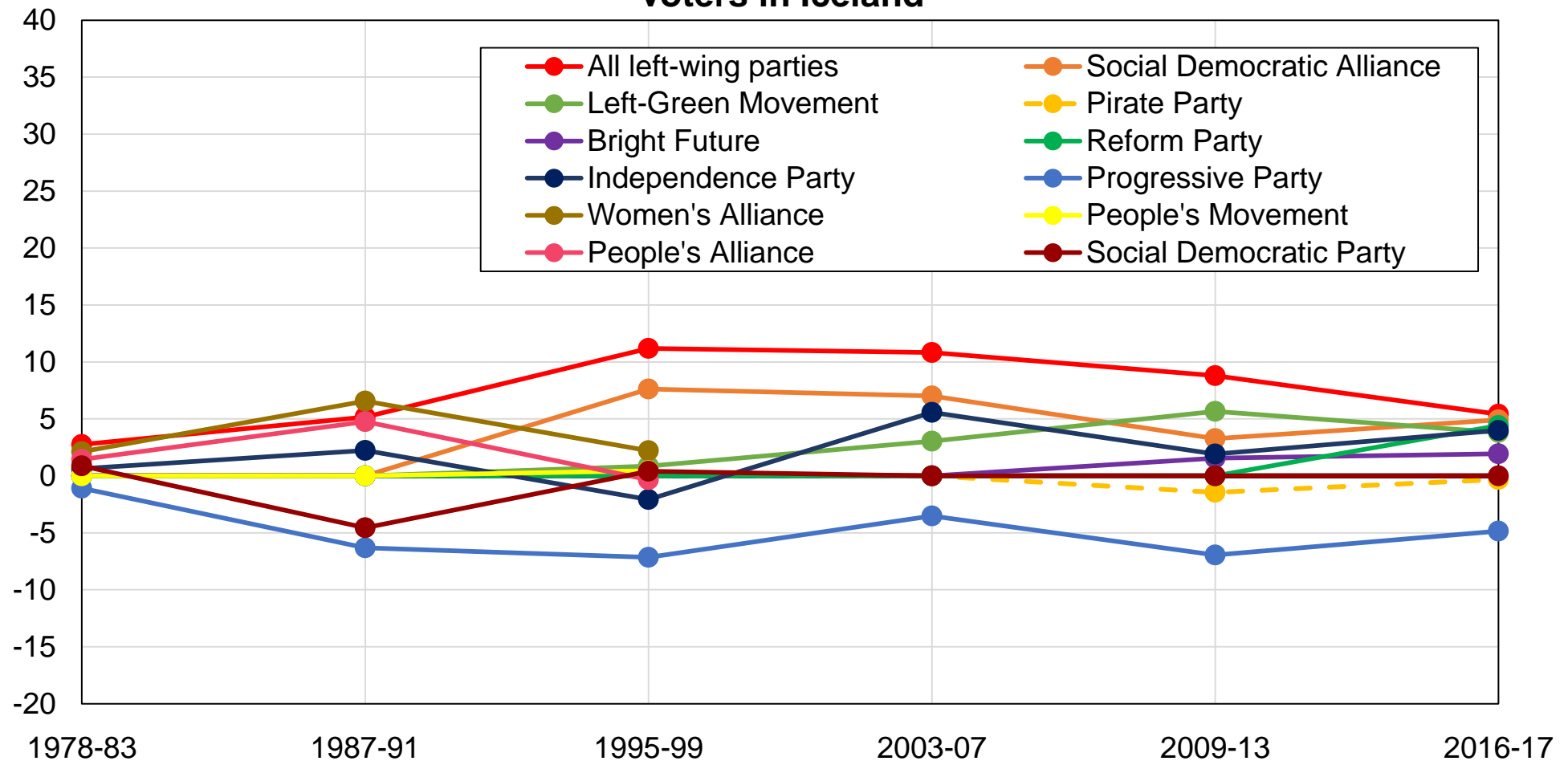
Figure EC24 - Vote for Women's Alliance by age group in Iceland



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

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Women's Alliance by age group.

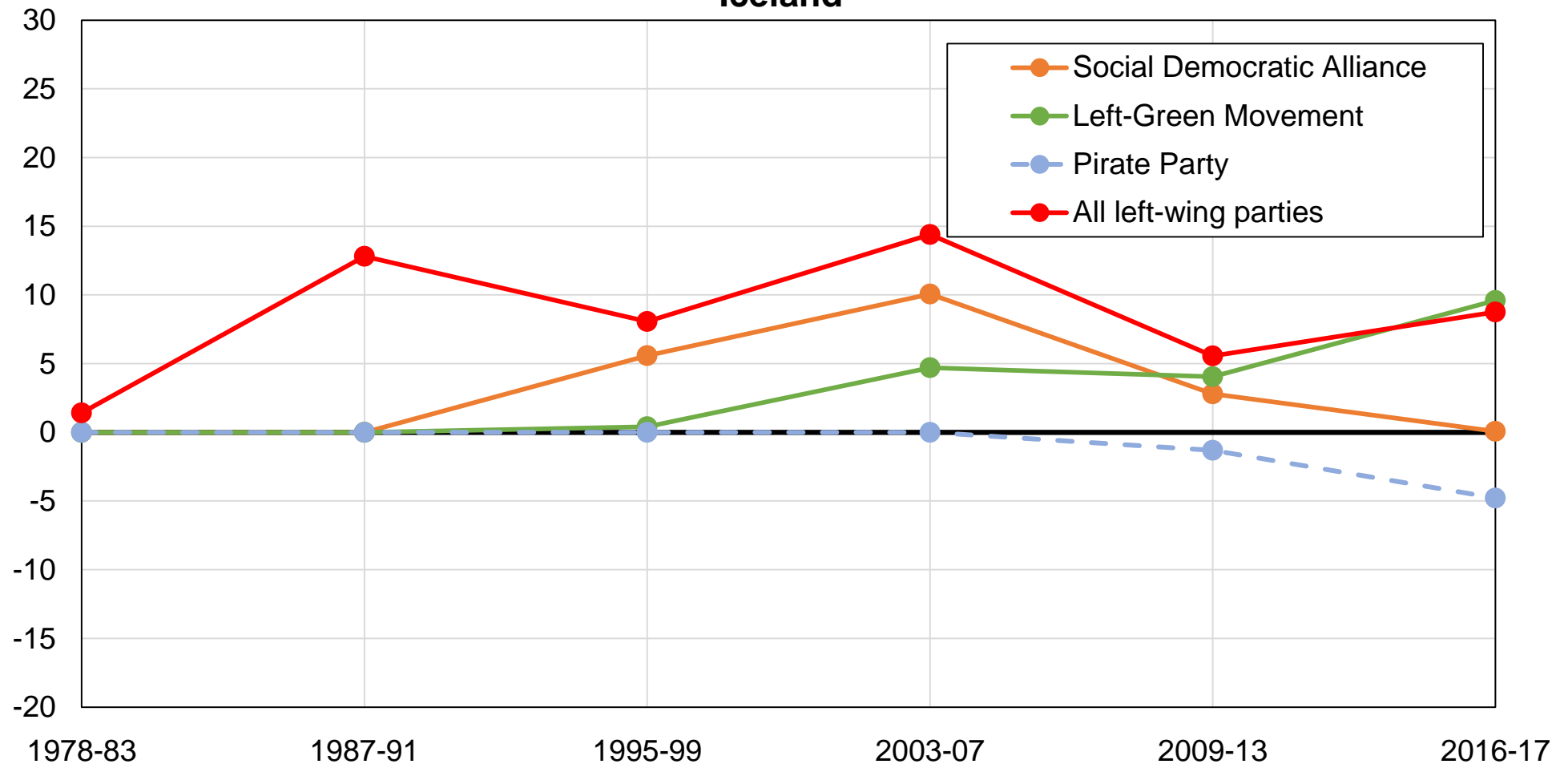
Figure EC25 - Decomposition of the vote among tertiary-educated voters in Iceland



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

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

Figure EC26 - Decomposition of the vote for the left among women in Iceland



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

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

Table ED1 - Survey data sources in Iceland

Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
1983	ICENES, 1983	University of Iceland	1003
1987	ICENES, 1987	University of Iceland	1745
1991	ICENES, 1991	University of Iceland	1491
1995	ICENES, 1995	University of Iceland	1721
1999	ICENES, 1999	University of Iceland	1631
2003	ICENES, 2003	University of Iceland	1446
2007	ICENES, 2007	University of Iceland	1595
2009	ICENES, 2009	University of Iceland	1385
2013	ICENES, 2013	University of Iceland	1479
2016	ICENES, 2016	University of Iceland	1295
2017	ICENES, 2017	University of Iceland	2073

Source: authors' elaboration.

Note: the table shows the surveys used in the chapter, the source from which these surveys can be obtained, and the sample size of each survey. Data for 1978 have been obtained through the 1983 survey's retrospective questions.

Table ED2 - Complete descriptive statistics by decade in Iceland

	1978-83	1987-91	1995-99	2003-07	2009-13	2016-17
Age: 20-39	52%	51%	48%	44%	39%	34%
Age: 40-59	31%	32%	35%	38%	40%	37%
Age: 60+	16%	17%	17%	18%	21%	29%
Education: Primary	54%	51%	51%	41%	31%	27%
Education: Secondary	37%	40%	36%	34%	37%	36%
Education: Tertiary	8%	9%	13%	25%	32%	37%
Employment status: Employed public	25%	24%	23%	23%	28%	25%
Employment status: Employed private	53%	52%	55%	52%	49%	51%
Employment status: Unemployed/Inactive	22%	23%	23%	25%	24%	25%
House ownership: Renting	24%	21%	26%			28%
House ownership: Owning	76%	79%	74%			72%
Marital status: Single	25%	28%	30%	30%	30%	30%
Marital status: Married / Partner	75%	72%	70%	70%	70%	70%
Occupation: Farmer/Seaman	17%	13%	10%	8%	6%	5%
Occupation: Higher managerial occupation/Entrepreneur or self-employed	9%	11%	12%	12%	7%	11%
Occupation: Lower managerial/professional/intermediate level employee	23%	45%	58%	66%	74%	75%
Occupation: Worker	51%	31%	21%	14%	14%	9%
Region: Capital area	54%	55%	56%	59%	61%	62%
Region: East	5%	5%	4%	4%	4%	3%
Region: Northeast	10%	11%	13%	10%	10%	11%
Region: Northwest	3%	3%	3%	4%	3%	3%
Region: South	11%	9%	9%	9%	9%	8%
Region: Sudurnes	7%	6%	6%	5%	5%	5%
Region: West	10%	10%	9%	9%	8%	7%
Religion: No religion					16%	19%
Religion: Catholic					1%	1%
Religion: Protestant					81%	75%
Religion: Muslim					0%	0%
Religion: Other					1%	5%
Church attendance: Never				22%	24%	24%
Church attendance: Less than monthly				68%	68%	68%
Church attendance: Monthly or more				10%	8%	7%

Rural / urban: Urban	54%	55%	56%	59%	61%	62%
Rural / urban: Rural	46%	45%	44%	41%	39%	38%
Sector: Private/Mixed	68%	68%	71%	69%	64%	67%
Sector: Public	32%	32%	29%	31%	36%	33%
Gender: Women	47%	49%	49%	50%	49%	50%
Gender: Men	53%	51%	51%	50%	51%	50%
Union membership: Not union member		17%	22%	22%	16%	10%
Union membership: Union member		83%	78%	78%	84%	90%

Source: authors' computations using Icelandic post electoral surveys.

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

Table ED3 - The structure of political cleavages in Iceland, 2016-2017 (extended)

	Share of votes received (%)						
	Social Democratic Alliance	Left Green Movement	Pirate Party	Progressive Party	Independence Party	Reform Party	Bright Future
Education							
Primary	6%	15%	8%	16%	27%	5%	3%
Secondary	9%	16%	9%	12%	30%	7%	3%
Tertiary	12%	20%	8%	7%	24%	13%	6%
Income							
Bottom 50%	9%	21%	10%	13%	23%	6%	3%
Middle 40%	10%	15%	8%	12%	28%	11%	5%
Top 10%	12%	12%	7%	11%	32%	17%	4%
Gender							
Women	10%	23%	6%	11%	24%	8%	4%
Men	9%	12%	10%	12%	30%	10%	3%
Age							
20-39	7%	21%	13%	11%	22%	10%	5%
40-59	10%	15%	8%	11%	28%	10%	4%
60+	11%	16%	4%	12%	31%	7%	2%
Location							
Urban	9%	18%	9%	7%	27%	12%	5%
Rural	9%	16%	7%	18%	28%	4%	2%
Sector							
Private/Mixed	7%	14%	9%	12%	30%	12%	4%
Public	13%	26%	7%	11%	19%	8%	5%
EU Membership							
Against	3%	13%	6%	16%	40%	5%	2%
Pro	22%	18%	16%	6%	7%	17%	8%
NATO Membership							
Discontinue	13%	36%	20%	5%	9%	2%	4%
Stay	8%	11%	6%	13%	35%	12%	4%
Religion							
No Religion	9%	27%	19%	5%	13%	10%	5%

Catholic	7%	9%	30%	11%	26%	11%	6%
Protestant	9%	15%	5%	13%	31%	8%	3%
Other	7%	13%	19%	11%	19%	10%	5%

Source: authors' computations using Icelandic post electoral surveys.

Notes: the table shows the average share of votes received by the Social Democratic Alliance, the Left-Green Movement, the Pirate Party, the Bright Future, the Reform Party and the Independent Party the by selected individual characteristics over the 2016-2017