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

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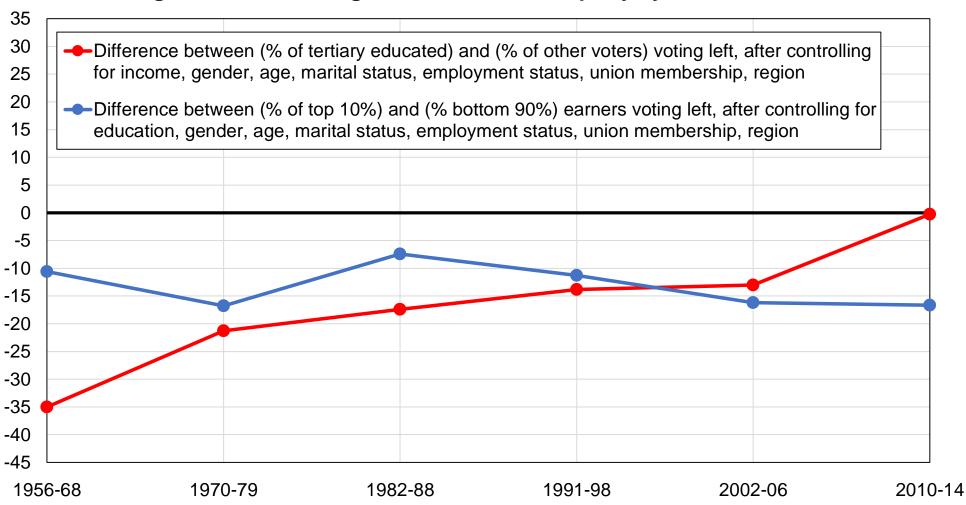
70% Social Democratic Party Left Party Green Party Moderate Party 60% Liberal People's Party Centre Party Sweden Democrats 50% Share of popular vote (%) 40% 30% 20% 10% 0% 1953 1958 1963 1968 1973 1978 1983 1988 1993 1998 2003 2008 2013 2018

Figure C1 - Election results in Sweden, 1948-2018

Source: authors' computations using official election results.

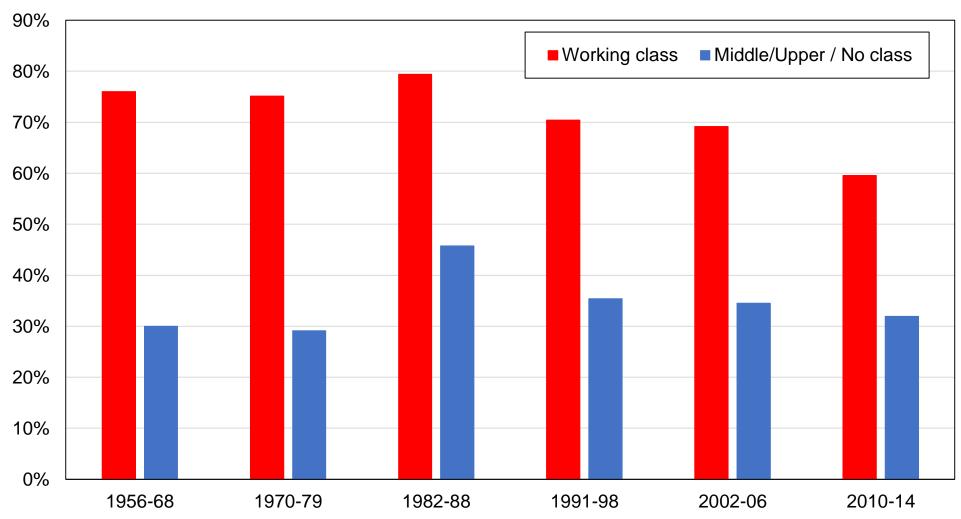
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Swedish political parties in general elections between 1948 and 2018.

Figure C2 -The emergence of a multi-elite party system in Sweden



Note: the figure shows the evolution of the left vote among tertiary-educated voters and top 10% earners, after controlling for other variables.

Figure C3 - Vote for the left by perceived social class in Sweden

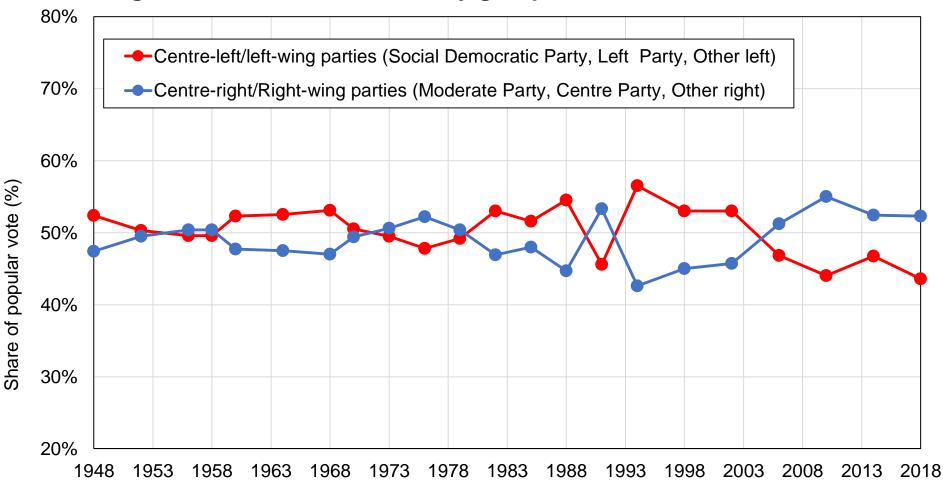


Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by self-perceived social class.

Table C1 - The structure of political cleavages in Sweden, 2010-2014								
	Share of votes received (%)							
	Social Democrats	Left Party	Green Party	The Alliance	Sweden Democrats			
Education								
Primary	38%	5%	4%	37%	12%			
Secondary	31%	6%	7%	46%	9%			
Tertiary	18%	8%	15%	53%	2%			
Income								
Bottom 50%	33%	7%	9%	37%	10%			
Middle 40%	28%	5%	8%	51%	6%			
Top 10%	16%	5%	6%	67%	4%			
Gender								
Women	28%	6%	11%	47%	5%			
Men	30%	6%	6%	46%	10%			
Age								
20-39	25%	7%	12%	44%	6%			
40-59	27%	6%	8%	50%	7%			
60+	34%	6%	6%	44%	9%			
Sector								
Private/Mixed	22%	4%	9%	54%	8%			
Public	30%	10%	12%	42%	4%			

Notes: the table shows the average share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party, the Left Party, the Green Party, the Alliance Coalition (Conservatives, Liberals, Centrists, Christian Democrats) and the Sweden Democrats by selected individual characteristics over the 2010-

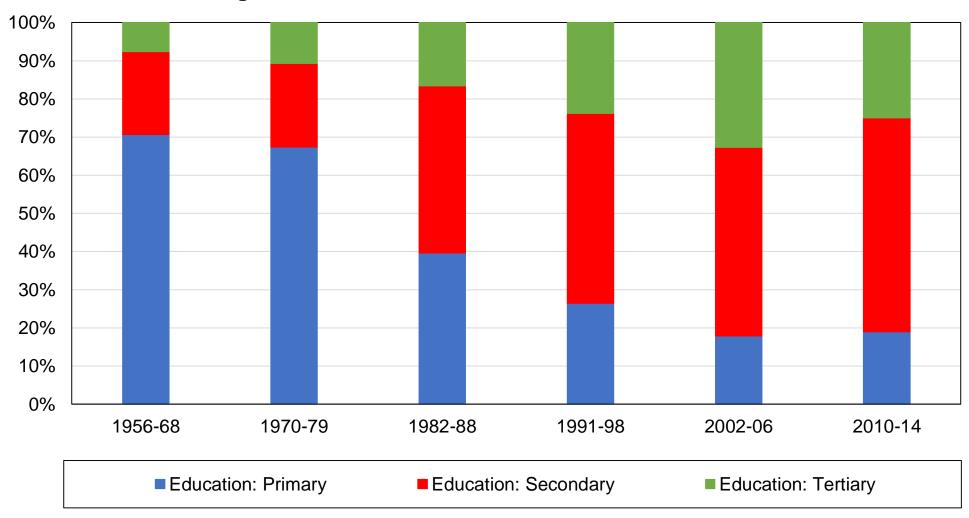
Figure CA1 - Election results by groups in Sweden, 1948-2018



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

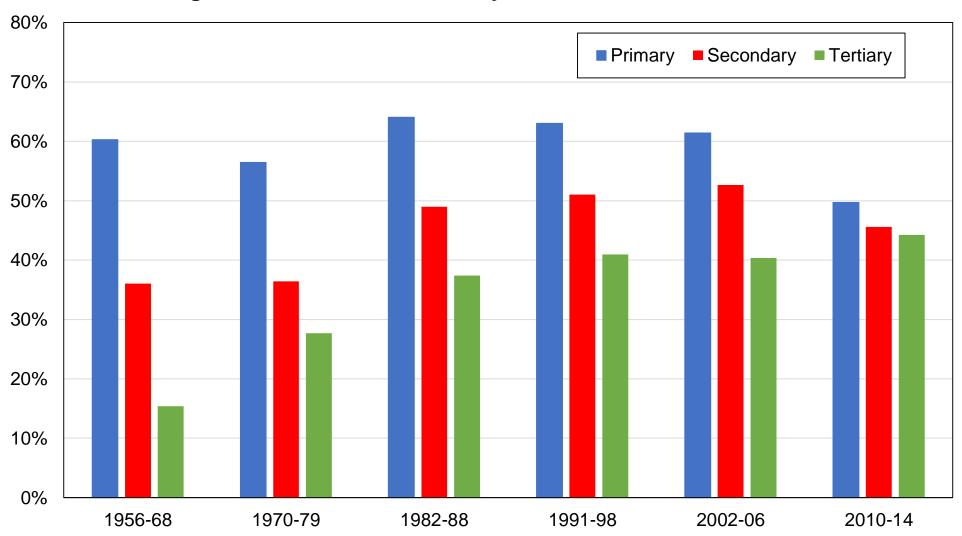
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Swedish political parties in general elections between 1948 and 2018. Parties with other political orientation and with a share of votes below 2% are not included in the graph.

Figure CA2 - The evolution of education in Sweden



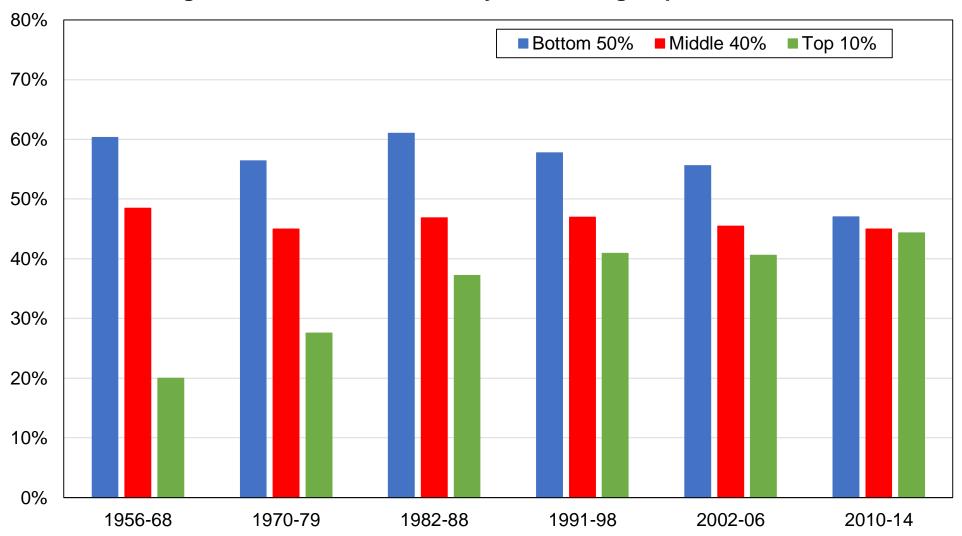
Note: the figure shows the distribution of education levels of the Swedish adult population and its evolution over time since the 1960s.

Figure CB1 - Vote for the left by education level in Sweden



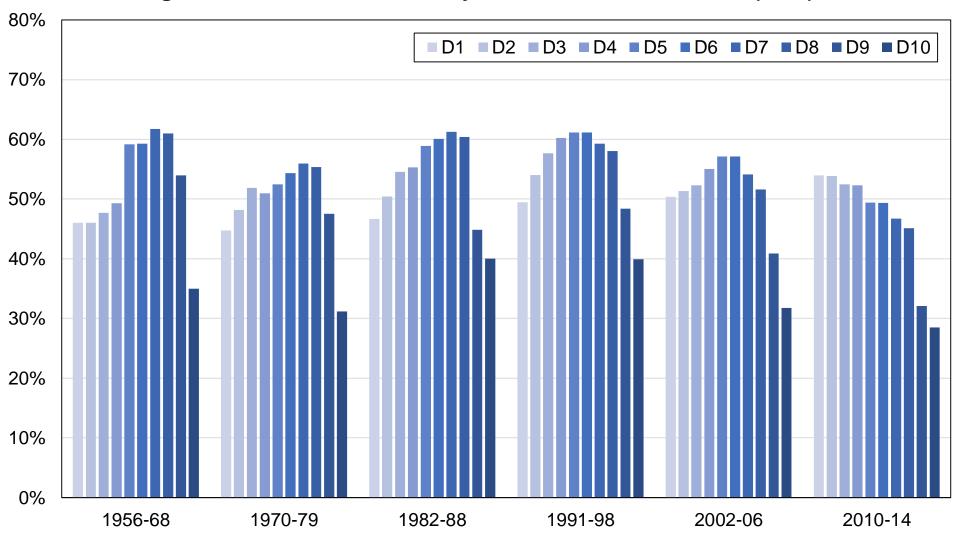
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by education level.

Figure CB2 - Vote for the left by education group in Sweden



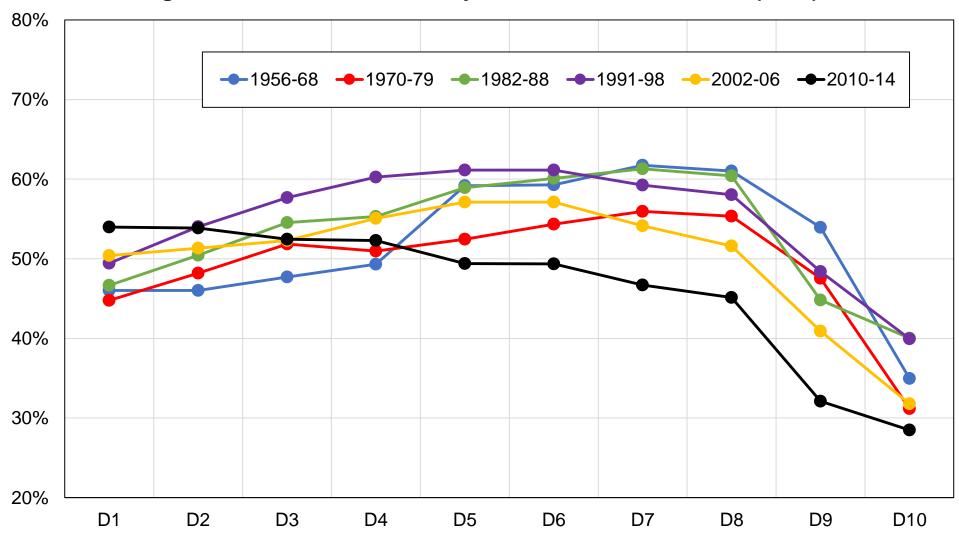
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by education group.

Figure CB3 - Vote for the left by income decile in Sweden (bars)



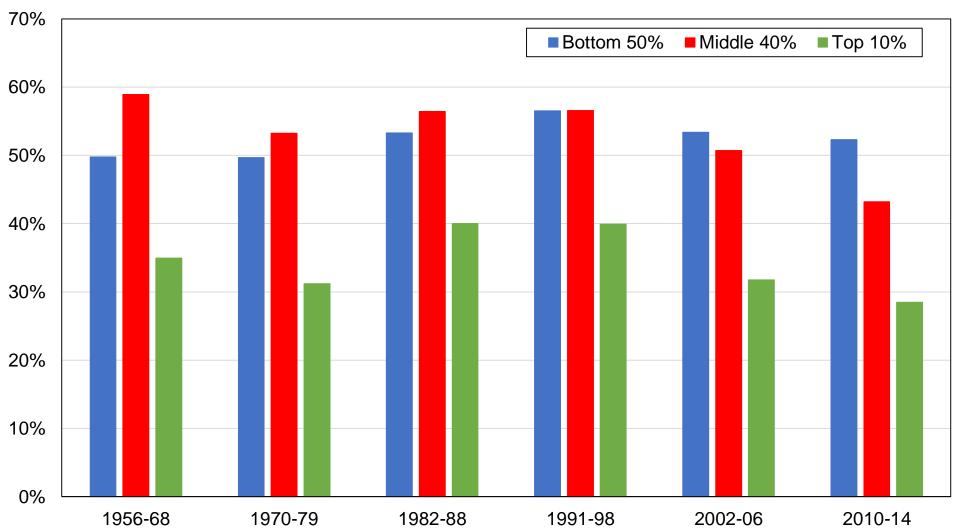
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income decile.

Figure CB4 - Vote for the left by income decile in Sweden (lines)



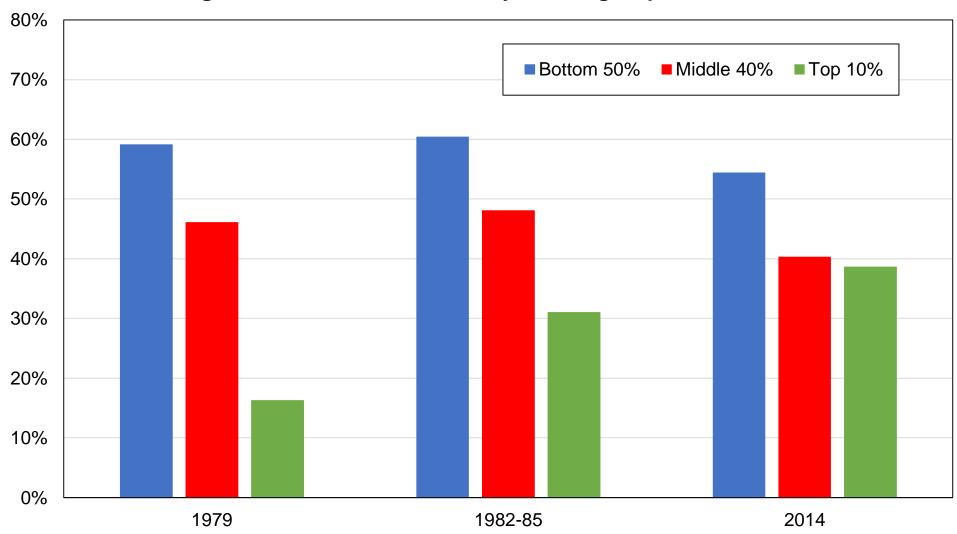
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income decile.

Figure CB5 - Vote for the left by income group in Sweden



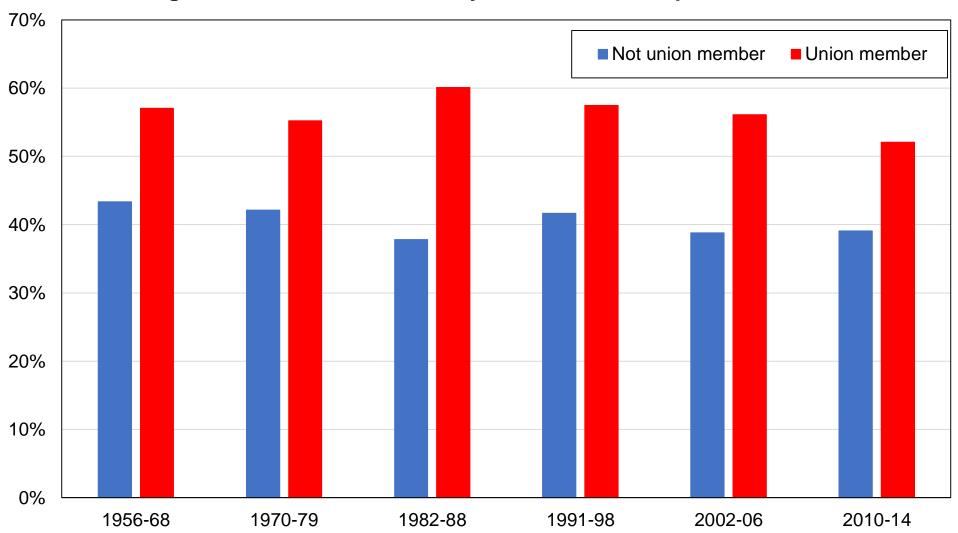
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by income group.

Figure CB6 - Vote for the left by wealth group in Sweden



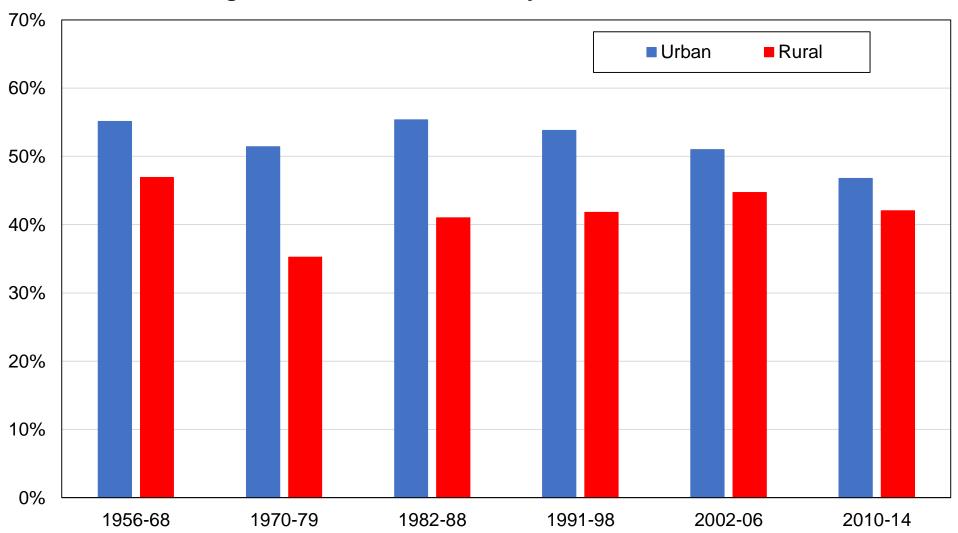
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by wealth group.

Figure CB7 - Vote for the left by union membership in Sweden



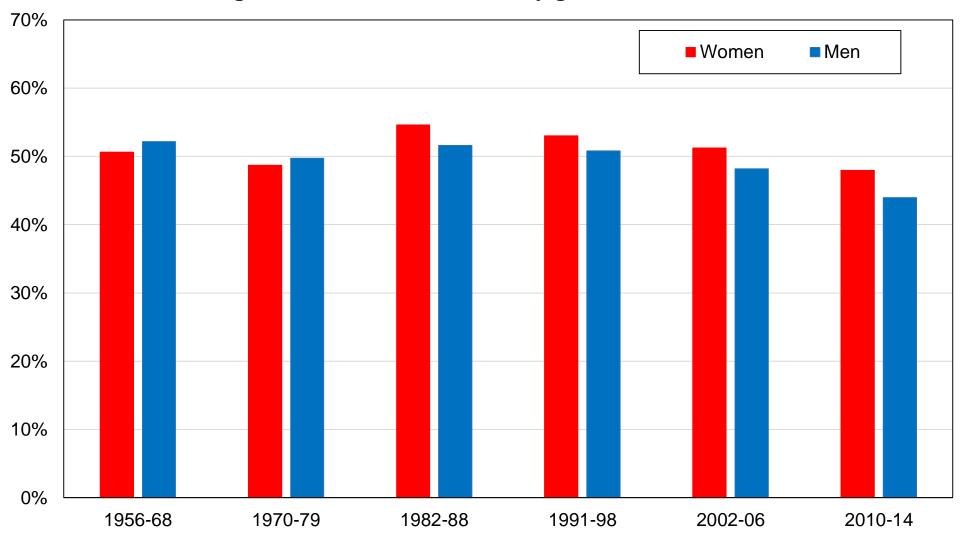
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by union membership status.

Figure CB8 - Vote for the left by location in Sweden



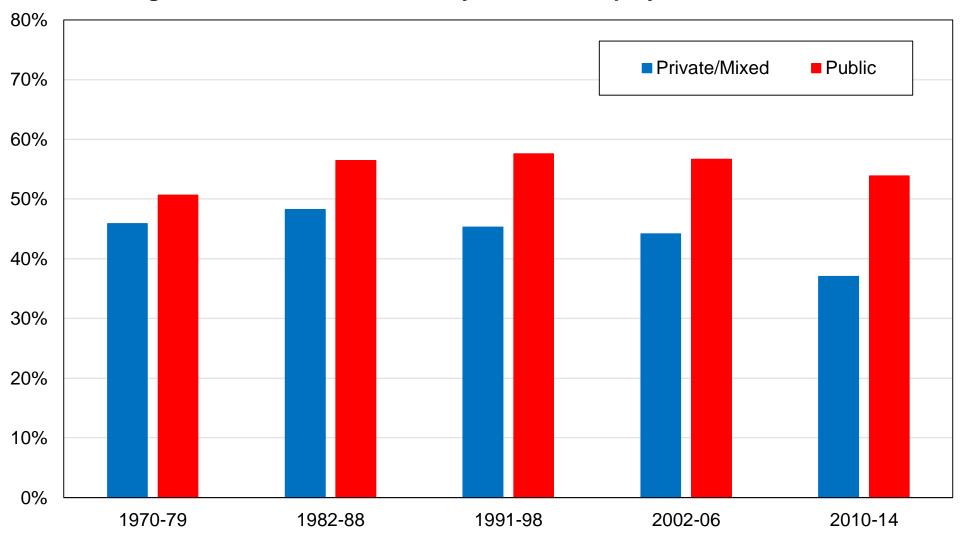
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by rural-urban location.

Figure CB9 - Vote for the left by gender in Sweden



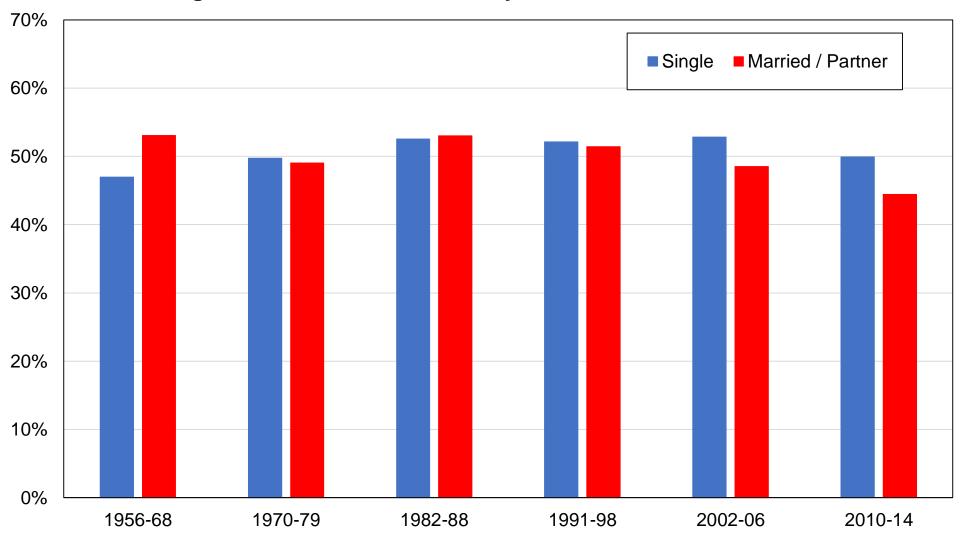
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by gender.

Figure CB10 - Vote for the left by sector of employment in Sweden



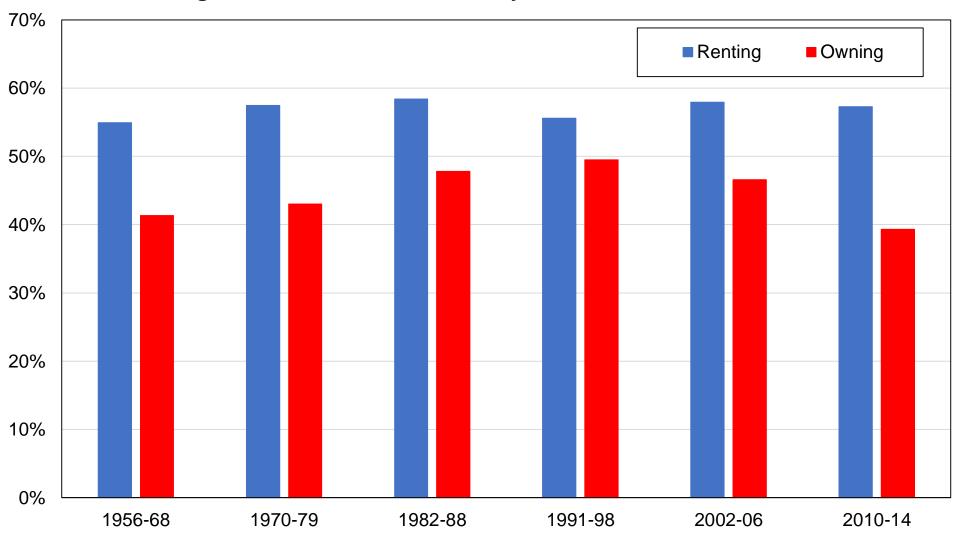
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by employment sector.

Figure CB11 - Vote for the left by marital status in Sweden



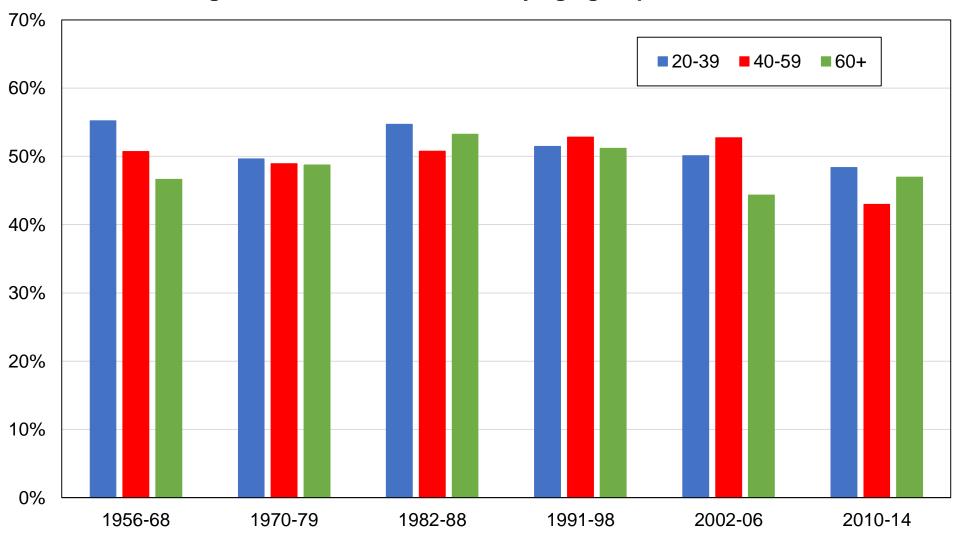
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by marital status.

Figure CB12 - Vote for the left by home status in Sweden



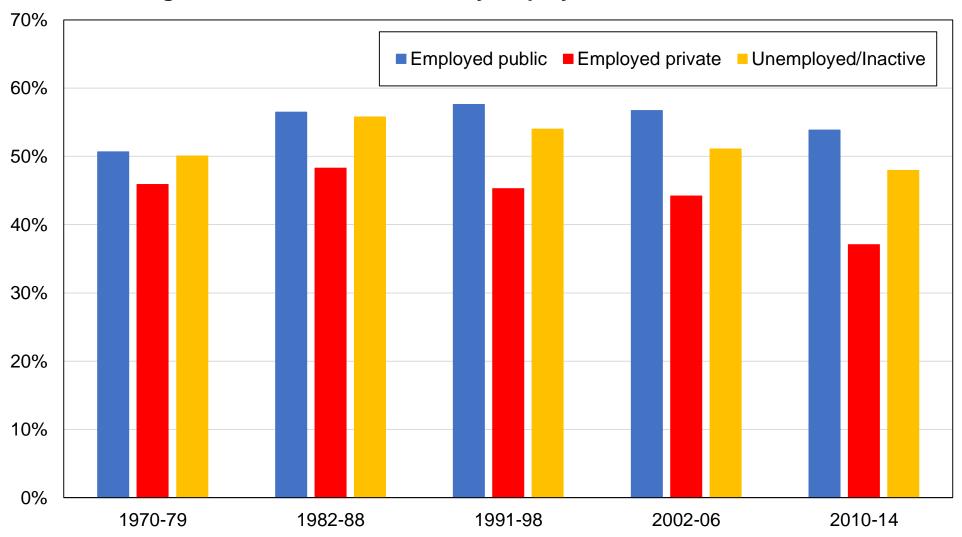
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by home ownership status.

Figure CB13 - Vote for the left by age group in Sweden



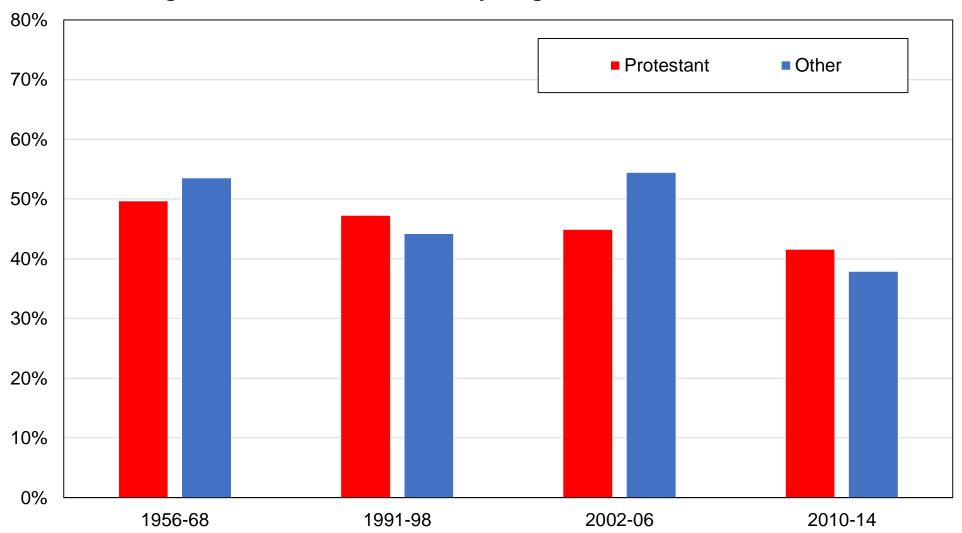
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by age group.

Figure CB14 - Vote for the left by employment status in Sweden



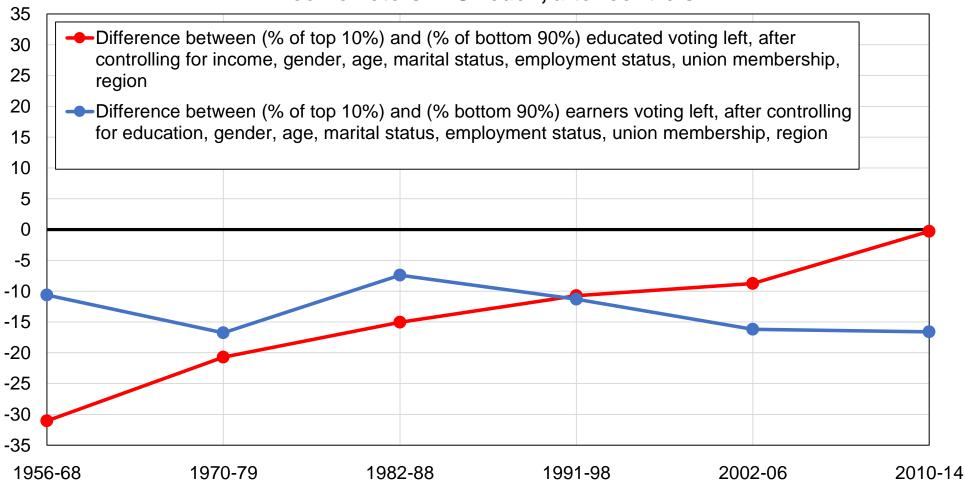
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by employment status.

Figure CB15 - Vote for the left by religious affiliation in Sweden



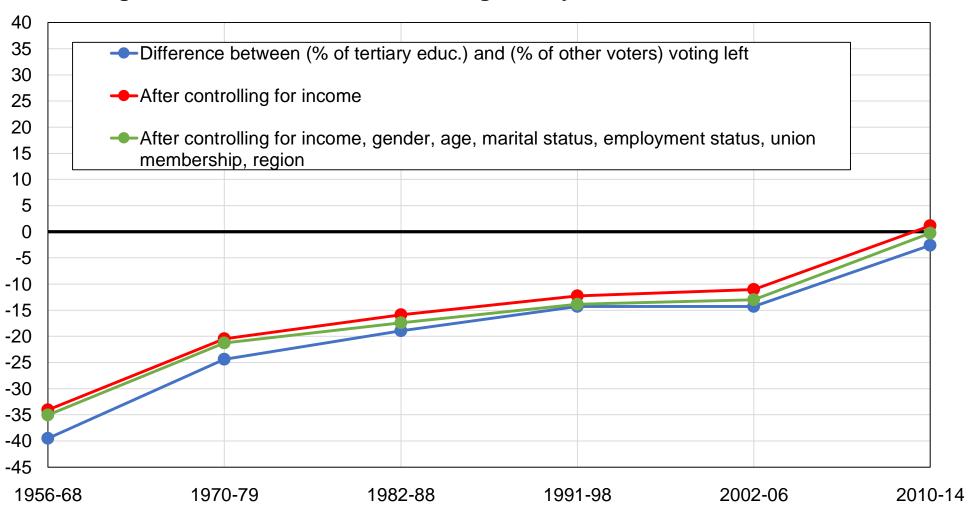
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left-wing parties by religious affiliation.

Figure CB16 - Vote for the left among highest-educated and the topincome voters in Sweden, after controls



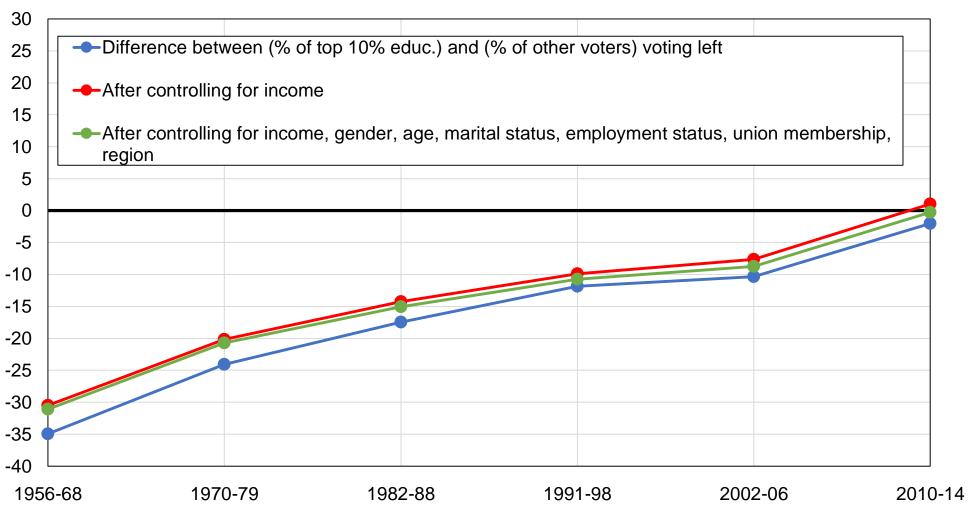
Note: the figure shows the evolution of the vote for the left-wing parties among the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of top 10% earners, after controls.

Figure CB17 - Vote for the left among tertiary-educated voters in Sweden



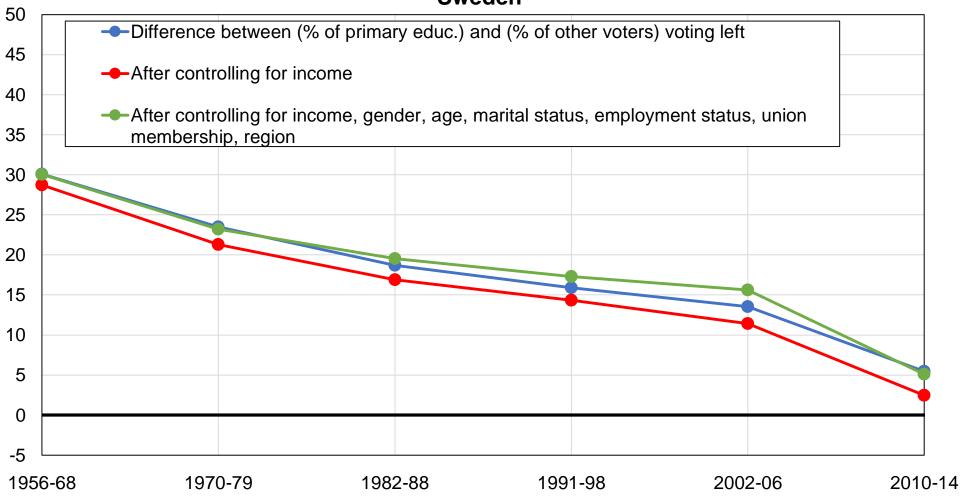
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of tertiary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure CB18 - Vote for the left among higher-educated voters in Sweden



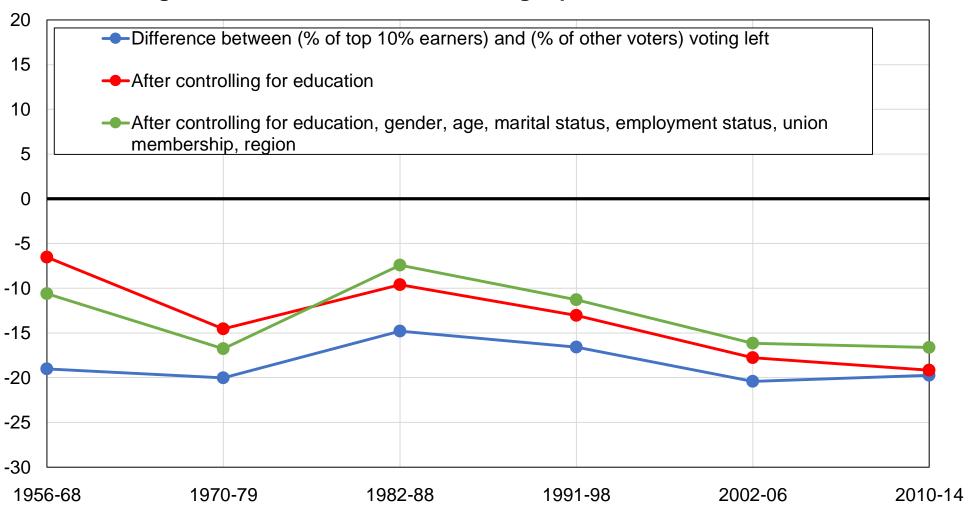
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure CB19 - Vote for the left among primary-educated voters in Sweden



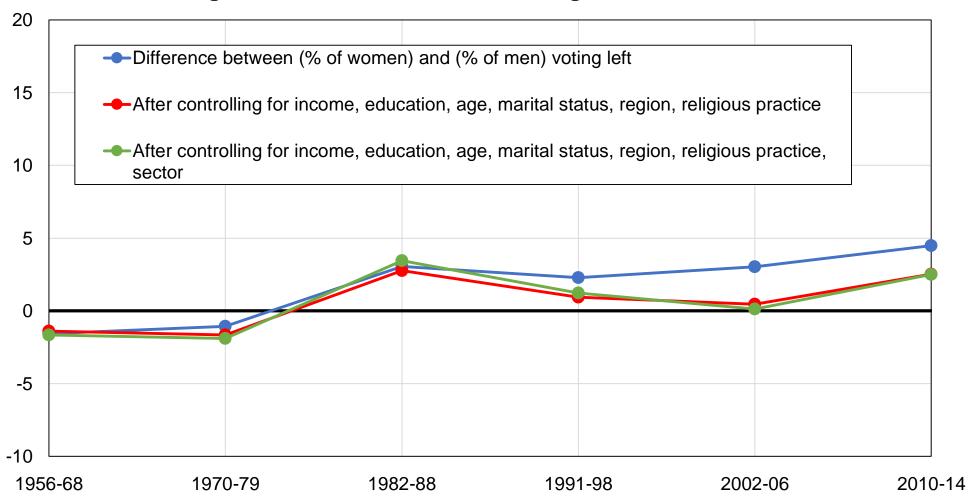
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of primary educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure CB20 - Vote for the left among top 10% earners in Sweden



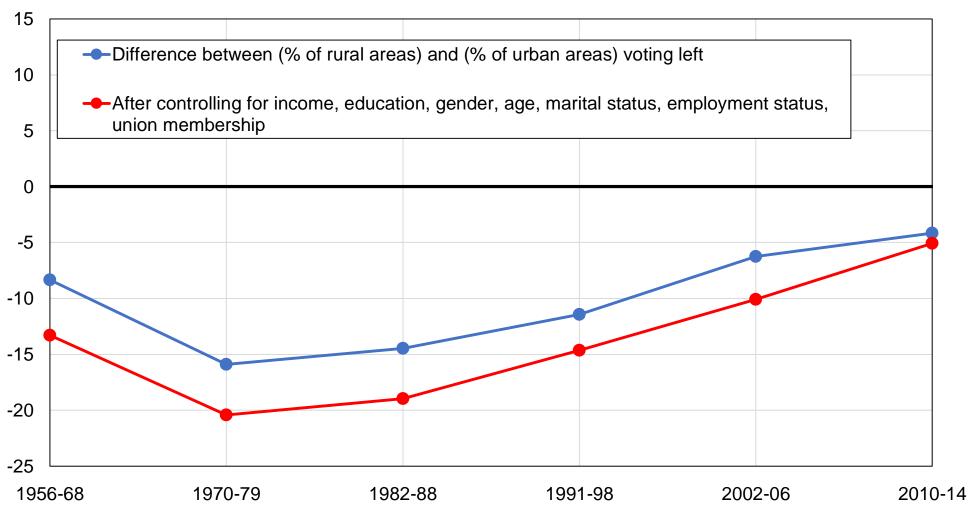
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure CB21 - Vote for the left among women in Sweden



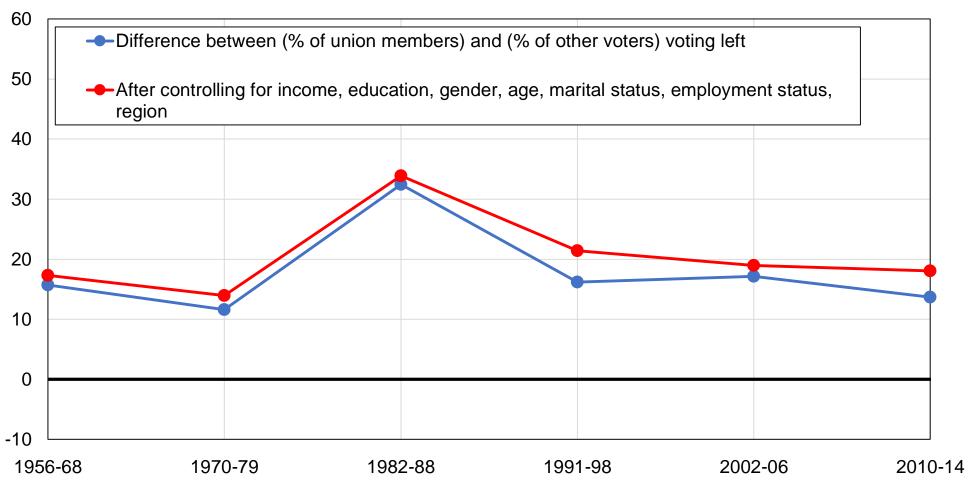
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for leftwing parties, before and after controlling for other variables. Note that the information about religiosity and sector is not available respectively in the 1970s and in the 1960s.

Figure CB22 - Vote for the left among rural areas in Sweden



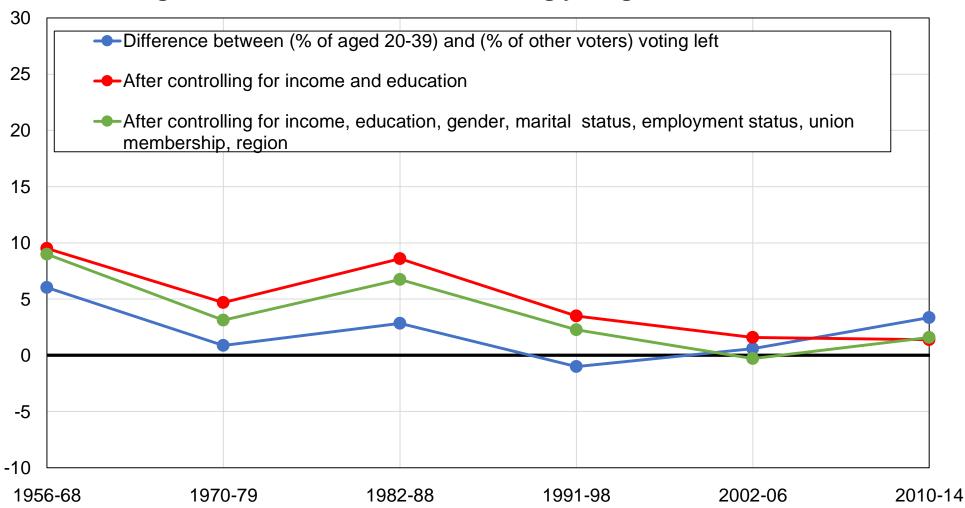
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of rural areas' voters and the share of urban areas' voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure CB23 - Vote for the left among union members in Sweden



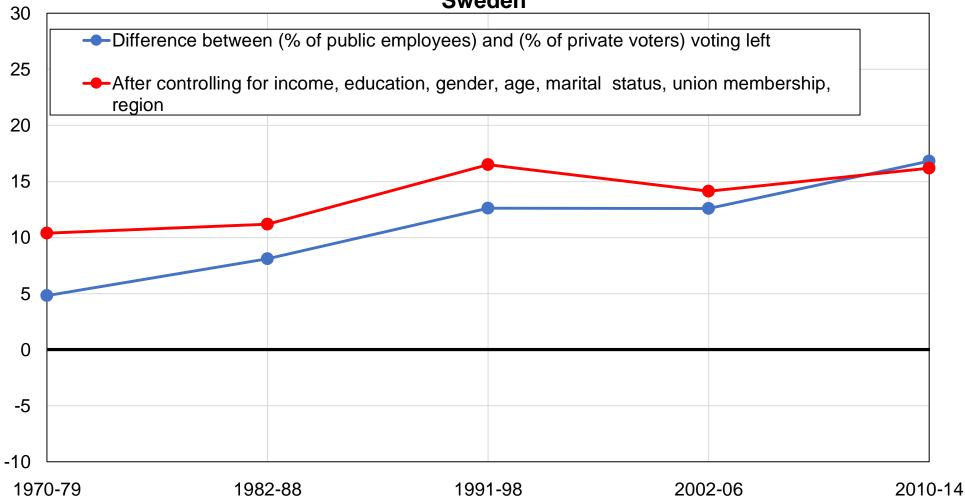
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of union members and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables

Figure CB24 - Vote for the left among young voters in Sweden



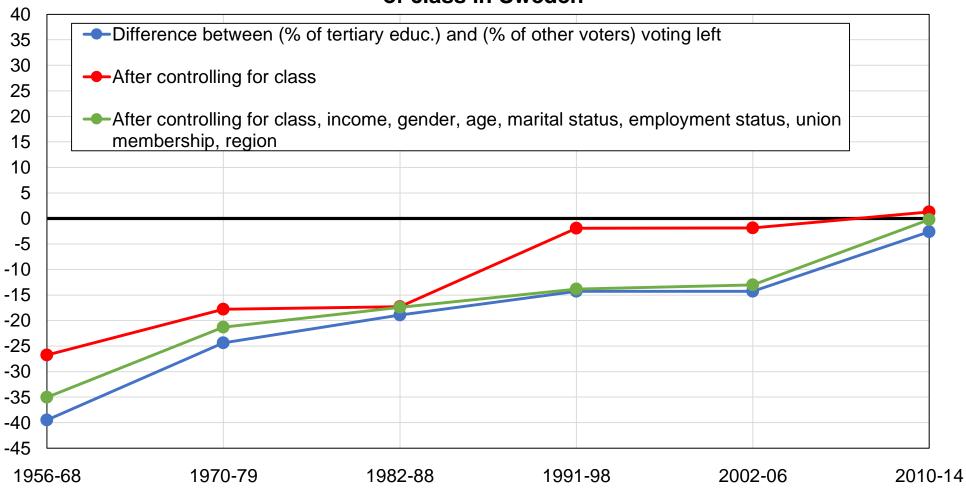
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters aged 20-39 and the share of voters older than 40 voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure CB25 - Vote for the left among public sector employees in Sweden



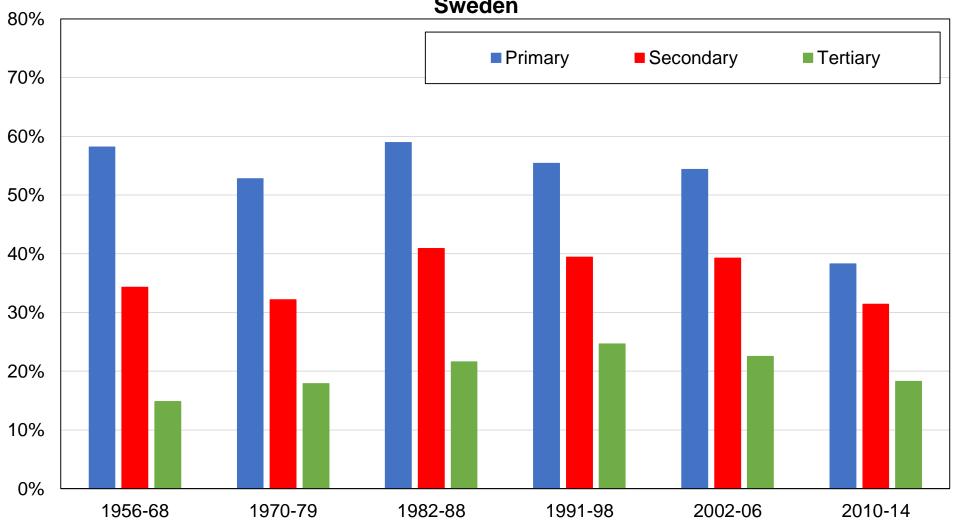
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of public employees and the share of private employees voting for left-wing parties, before and after controls.

Figure CB26 - Vote for the left among tertiary-educated voters: the role of class in Sweden



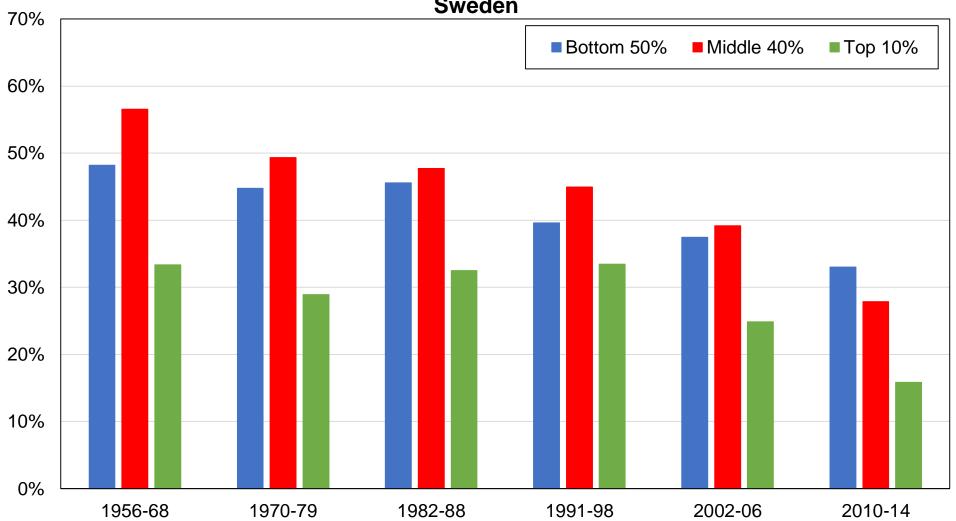
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of tertiary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for left-wing parties, before and after controlling for class and other variables.

Figure CC1 - Vote for the Social Democratic Party by education level in Sweden



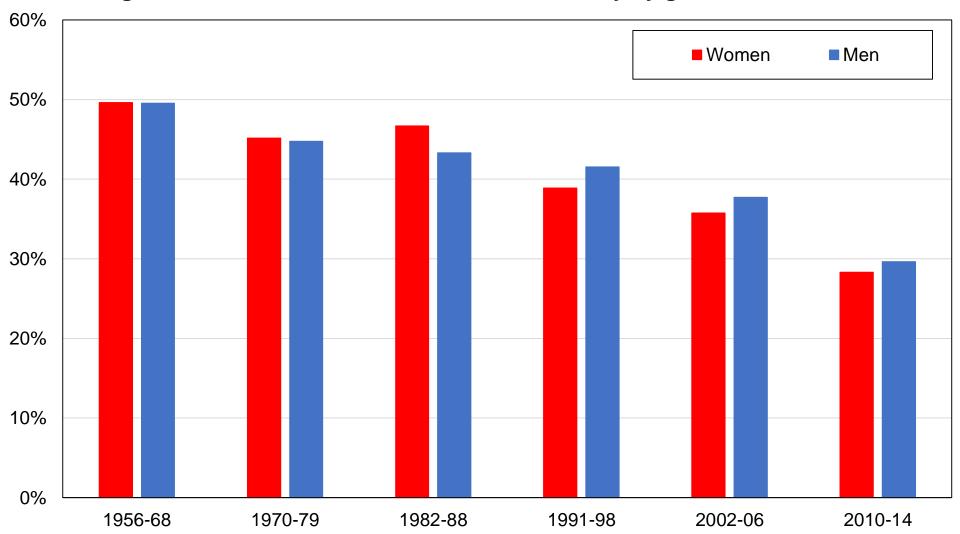
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party by education level.

Figure CC2 - Vote for the Social Democratic Party by income group in Sweden



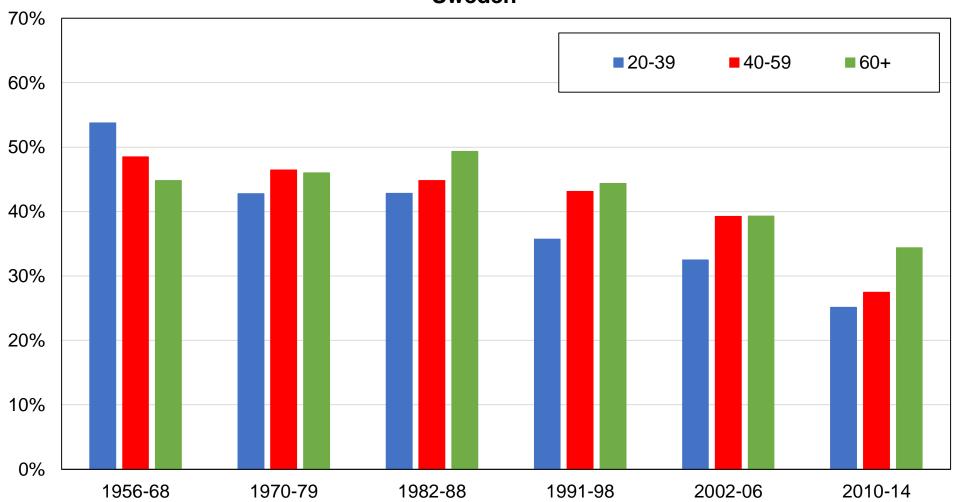
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party by income group.

Figure CC3 - Vote for the Social Democratic Party by gender in Sweden



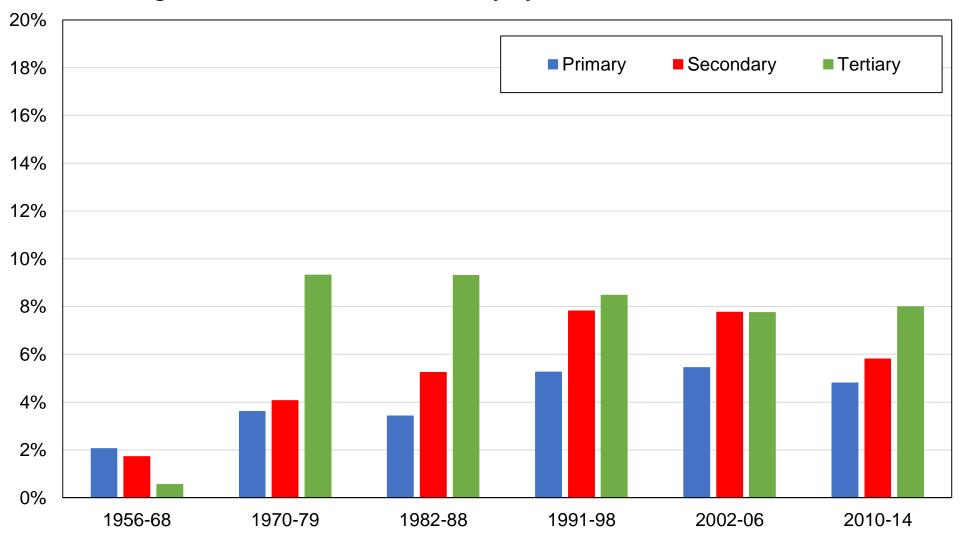
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party by gender.

Figure CC4 - Vote for the Social Democratic Party by age group in Sweden



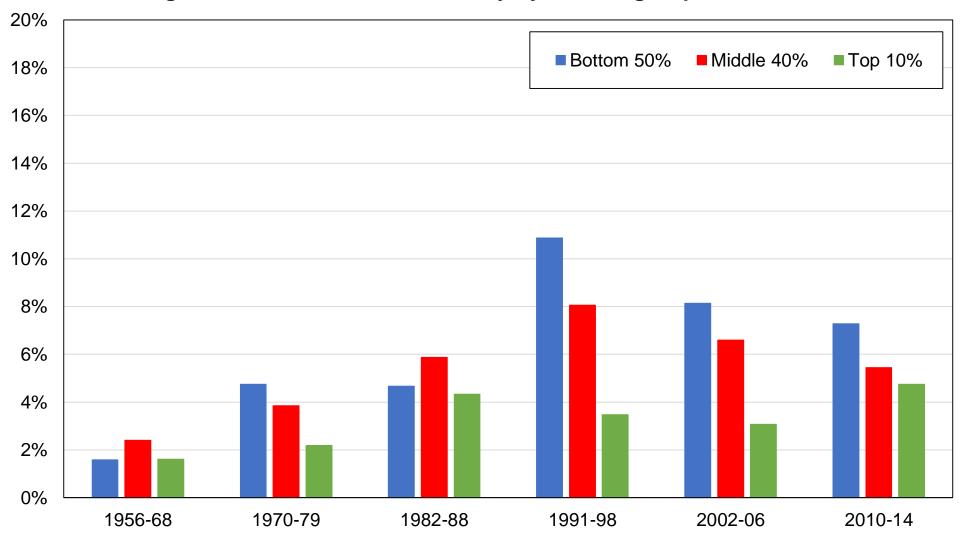
Note: : the figure shows the share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party by age group.

Figure CC5 - Vote for the Left Party by education level in Sweden



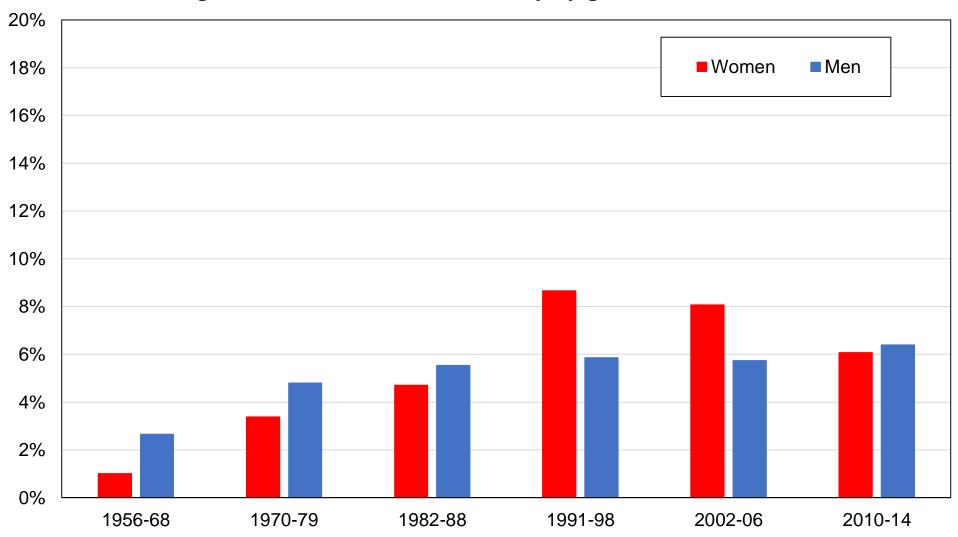
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Left Party by education level.

Figure CC6- Vote for the Left Party by income group in Sweden



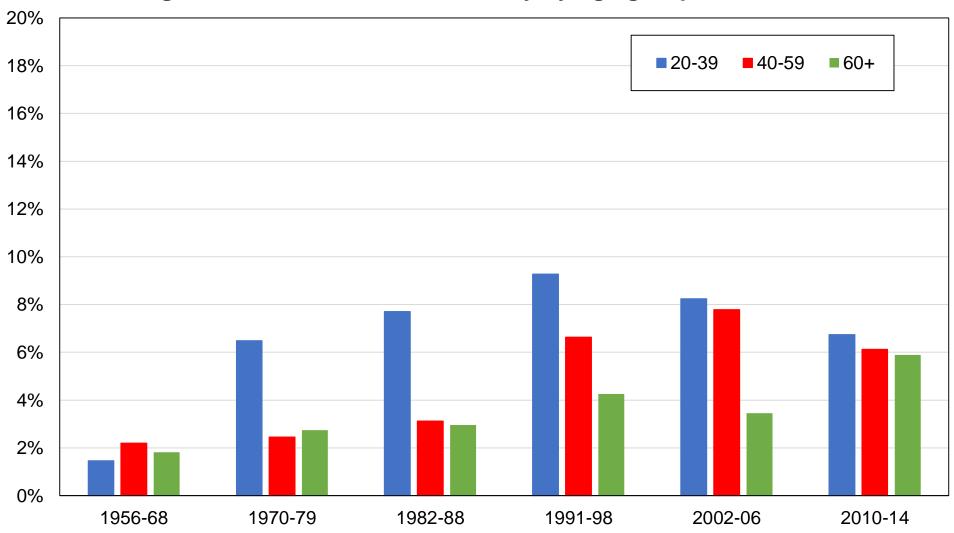
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Left Party by income group.

Figure CC7 - Vote for the Left Party by gender in Sweden



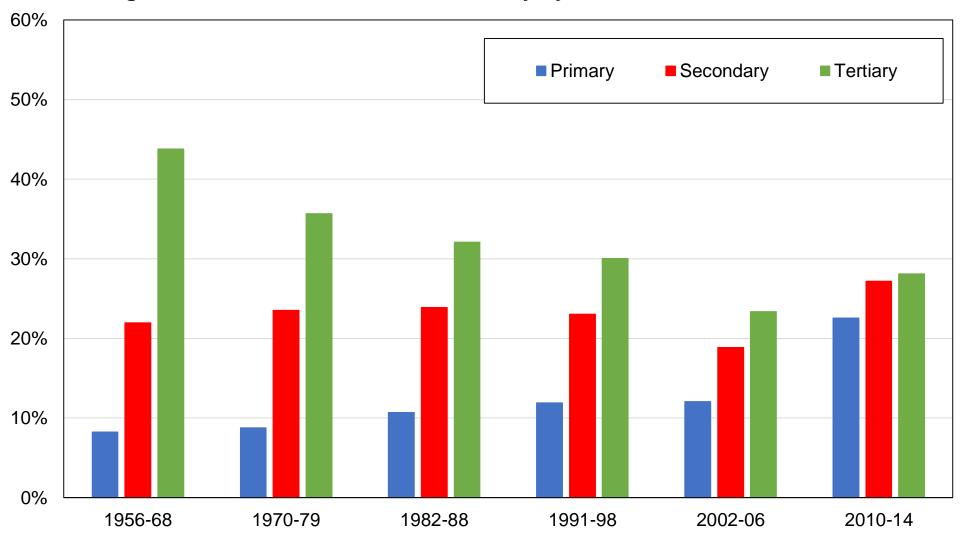
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Left Party by gender.

Figure CC8 - Vote for the Left Party by age group in Sweden



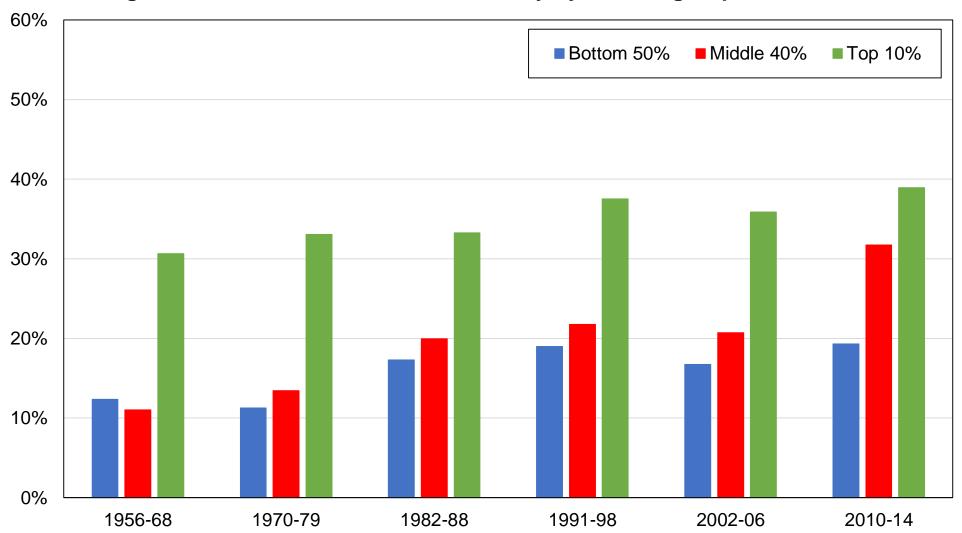
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Left Party by age group.

Figure CC9 - Vote for the Moderate Party by education level in Sweden



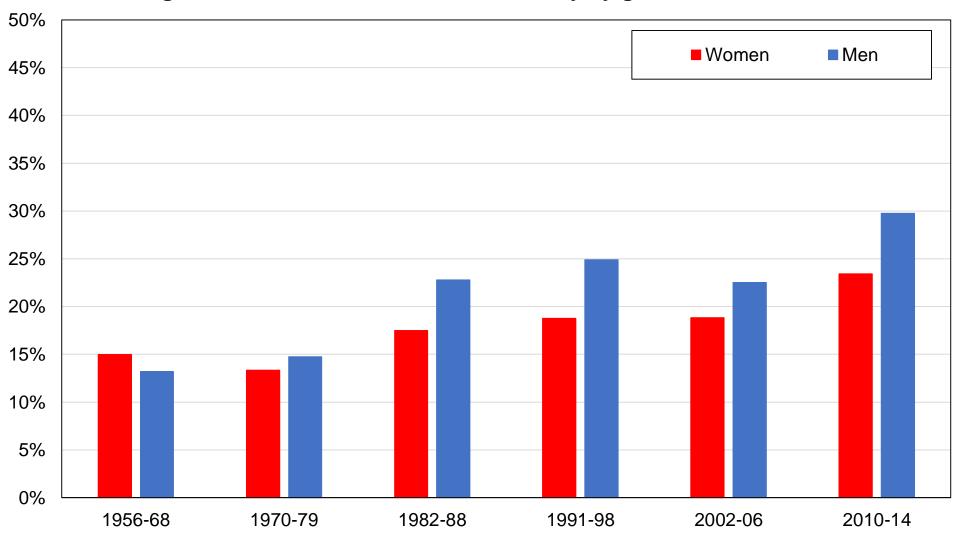
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Moderate Party by education level.

Figure CC10 - Vote for the Moderate Party by income group in Sweden



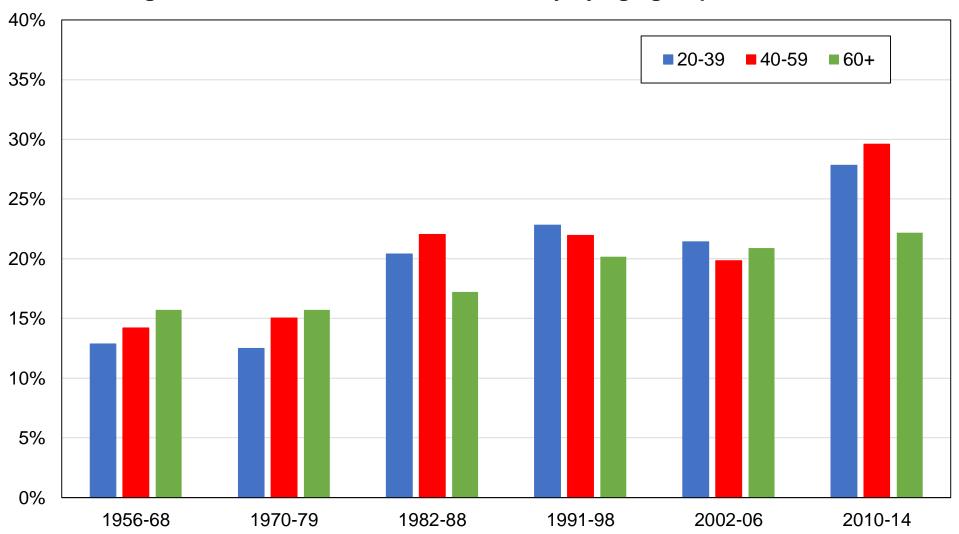
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Moderate Party by income group.

Figure CC11 - Vote for the Moderate Party by gender in Sweden



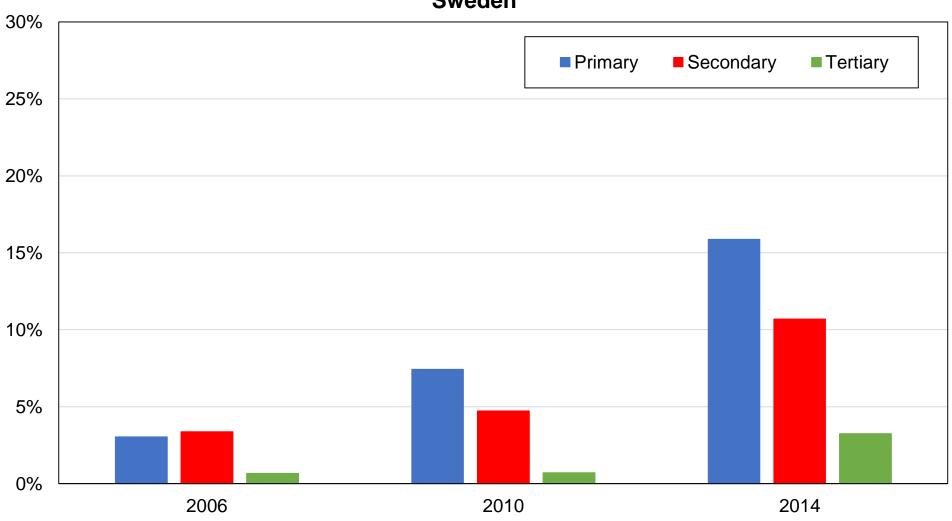
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Moderate Party coalition by gender.

Figure CC12 - Vote for the Moderate Party by age group in Sweden



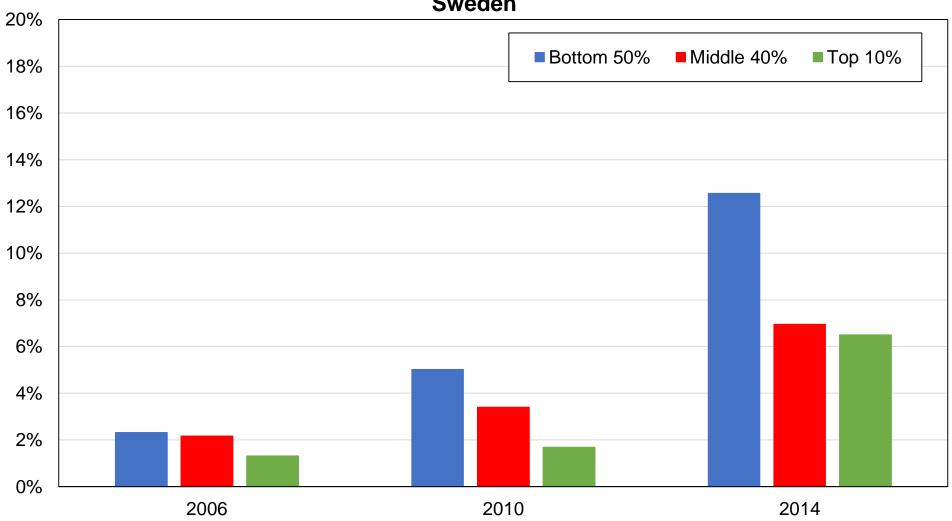
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Moderate Party by age group.

Figure CC13 - Vote for the Sweden Democrats by education level in Sweden



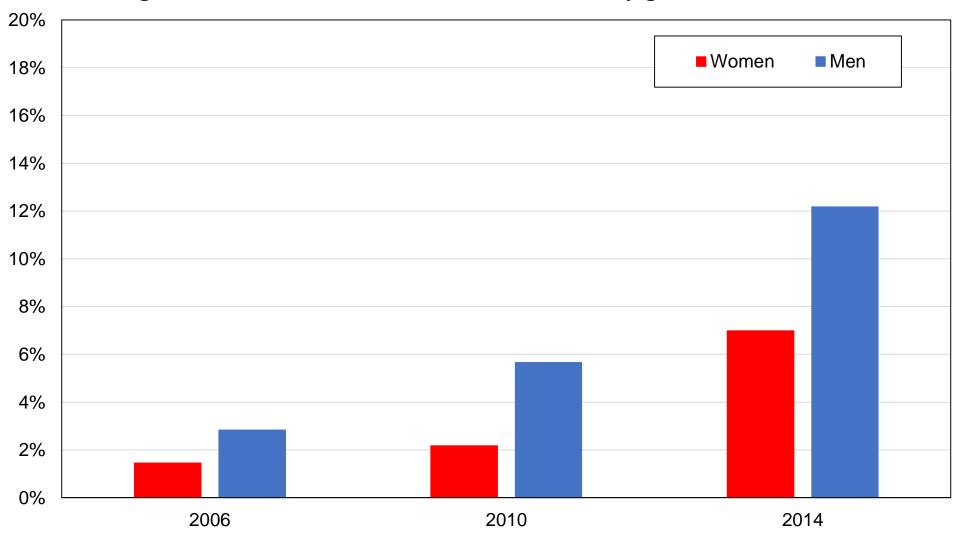
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Sweden Democrats by education level.

Figure CC14 - Vote for the Sweden Democrats by income group in Sweden



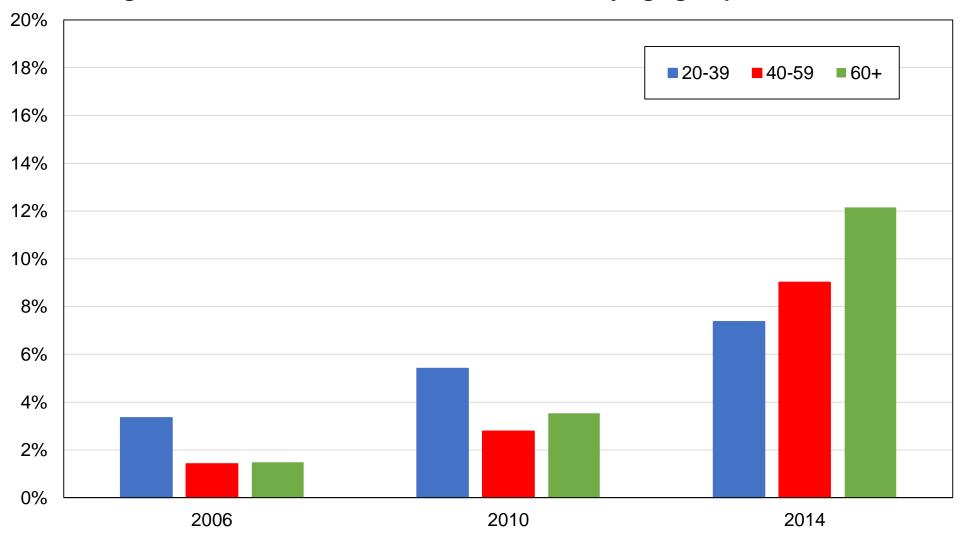
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Sweden Democrats by income group.

Figure CC15 - Vote for the Sweden Democrats by gender in Sweden



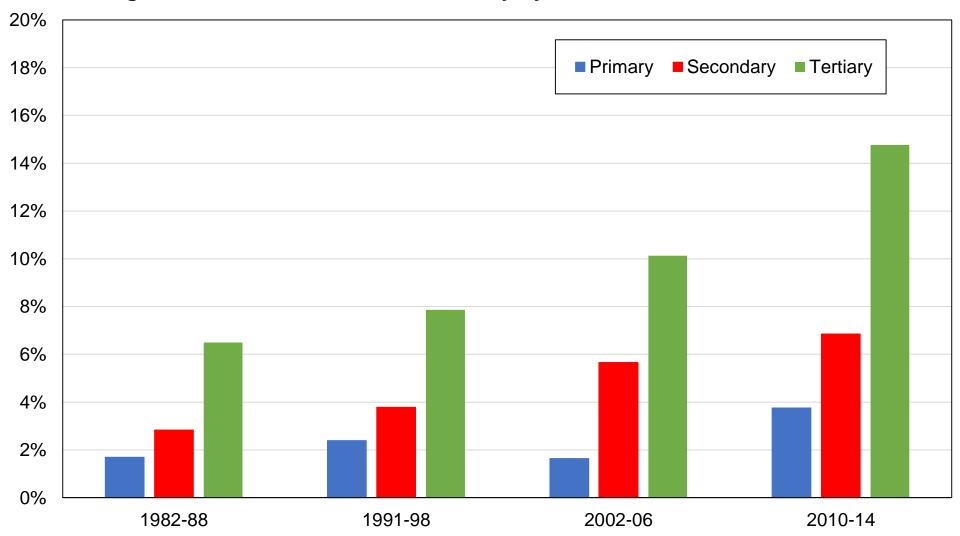
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Sweden Democrats by gender.

Figure CC16 - Vote for the Sweden Democrats by age group in Sweden



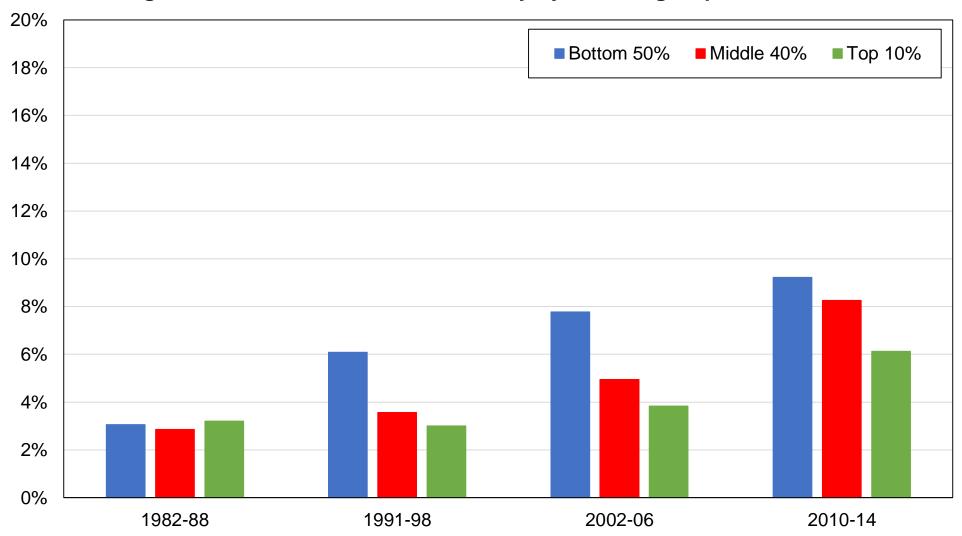
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Sweden Democrats by age group.

Figure CC17 - Vote for the Green Party by educational level in Sweden



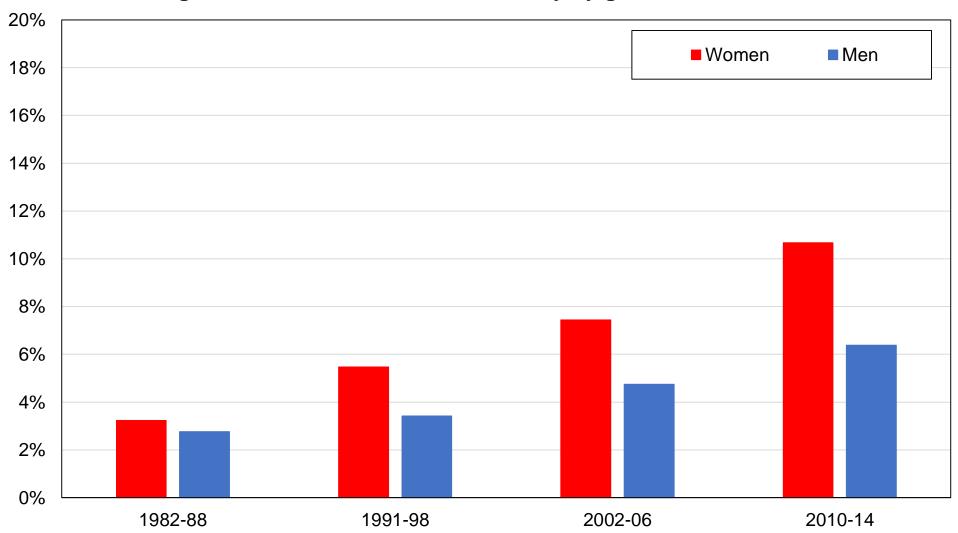
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Green Party by educational level.

Figure CC18 - Vote for the Green Party by income group in Sweden



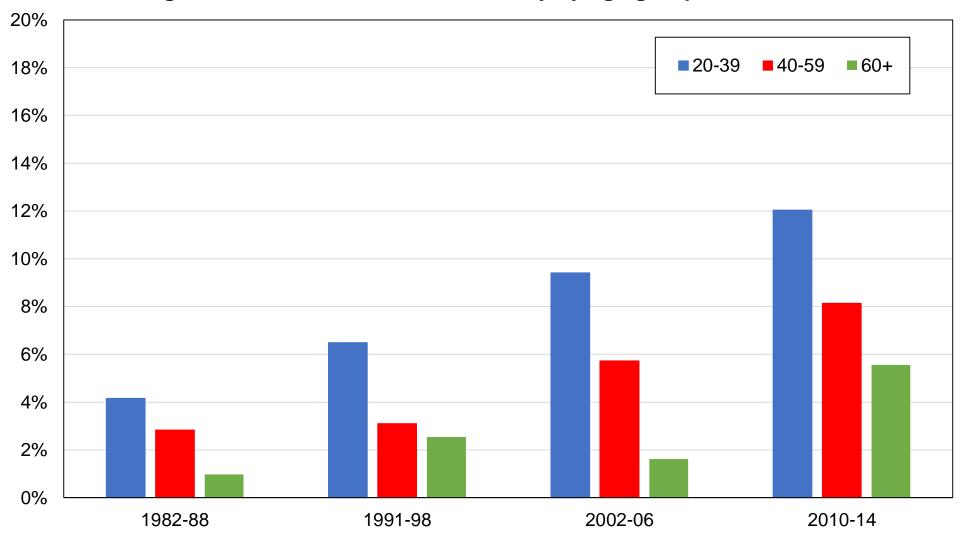
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Green Party by income group.

Figure CC19 - Vote for the Green Party by gender in Sweden



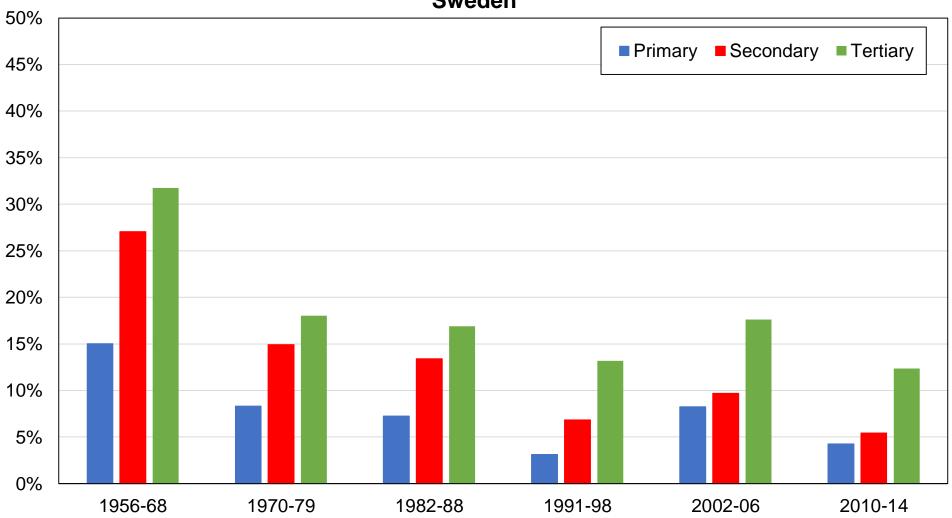
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Green Party coalition by gender.

Figure CC20 - Vote for the Green Party by age group in Sweden



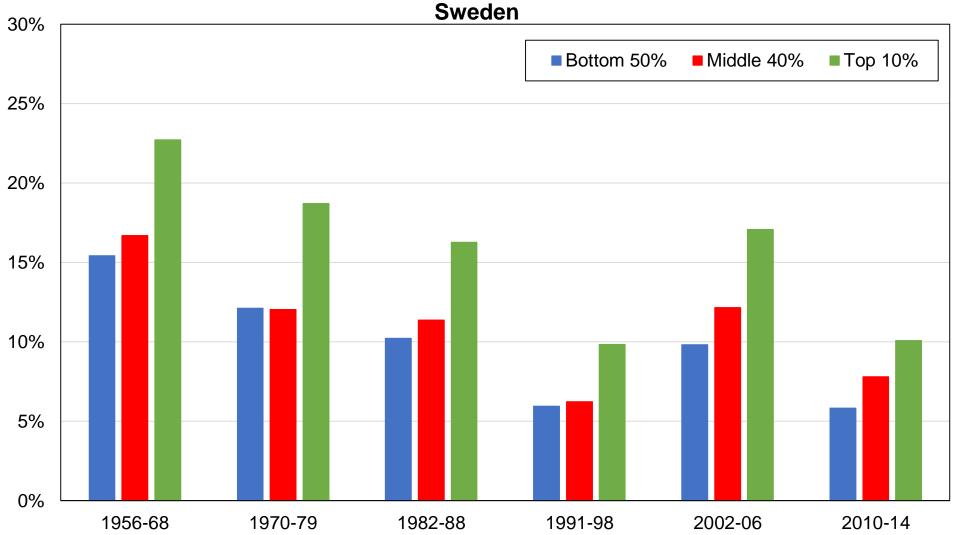
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Green Party by age group.

Figure CC21 - Vote for the Liberal People's Party by educational level in Sweden



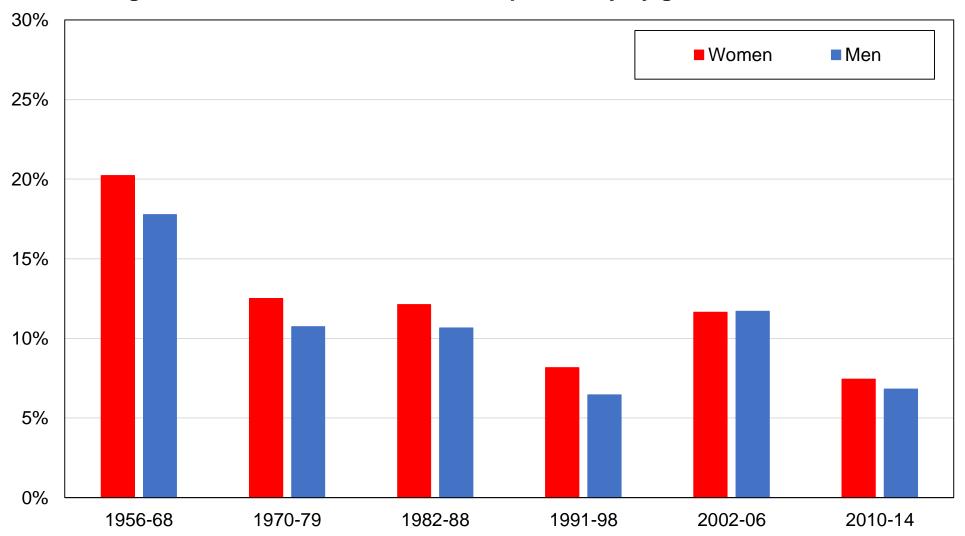
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Liberal People's Party by educational level.

Figure CC22 - Vote for the Liberal People's Party by income group in Sweden



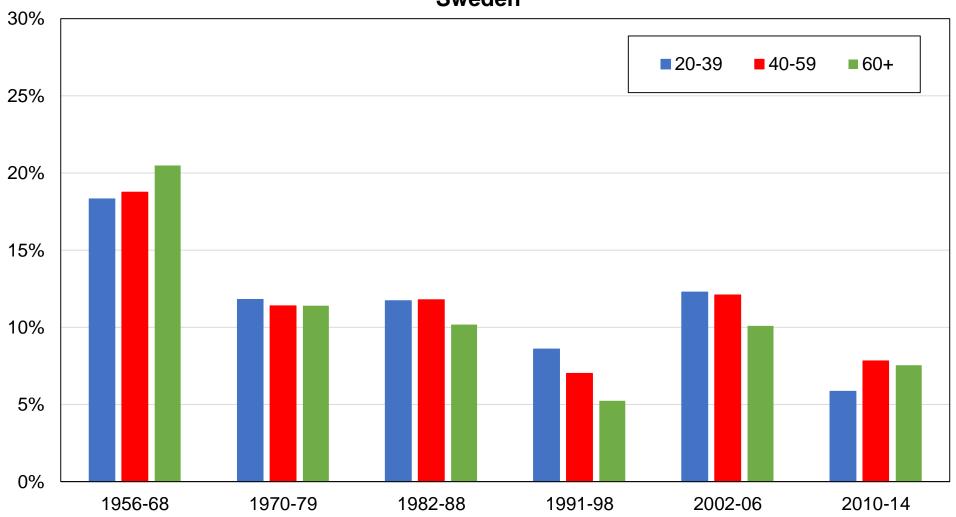
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Liberal People's Party by income group.

Figure CC23 - Vote for the Liberal People's Party by gender in Sweden



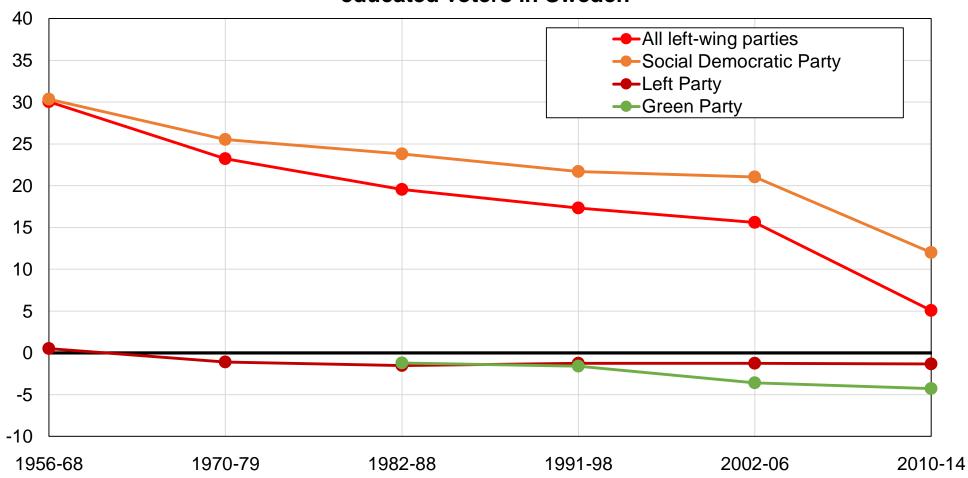
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Liberal People's Party by gender.

Figure CC24 - Vote for the Liberal People's Party by age group in Sweden



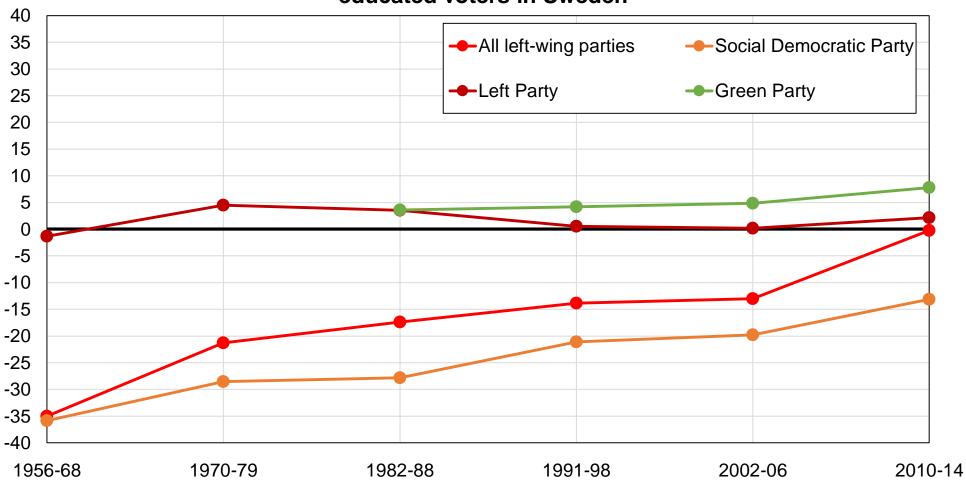
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Liberal People's Party by age group.

Figure CC25 - Decomposition of the vote for the left among primaryeducated voters in Sweden



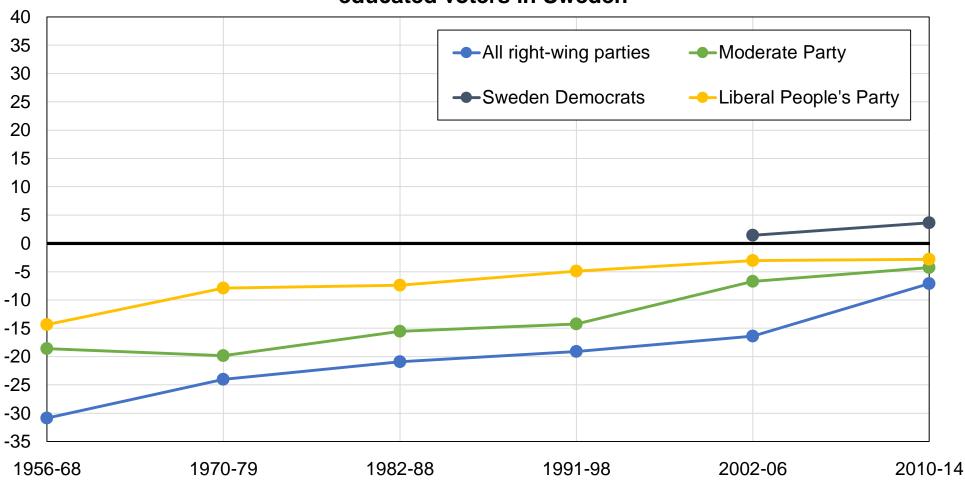
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of primary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for the main left-wing parties, after controlling for income, age, gender, marital status, union membership, employment status, and region of residence.

Figure CC26 - Decomposition of the vote for the left among tertiaryeducated voters in Sweden



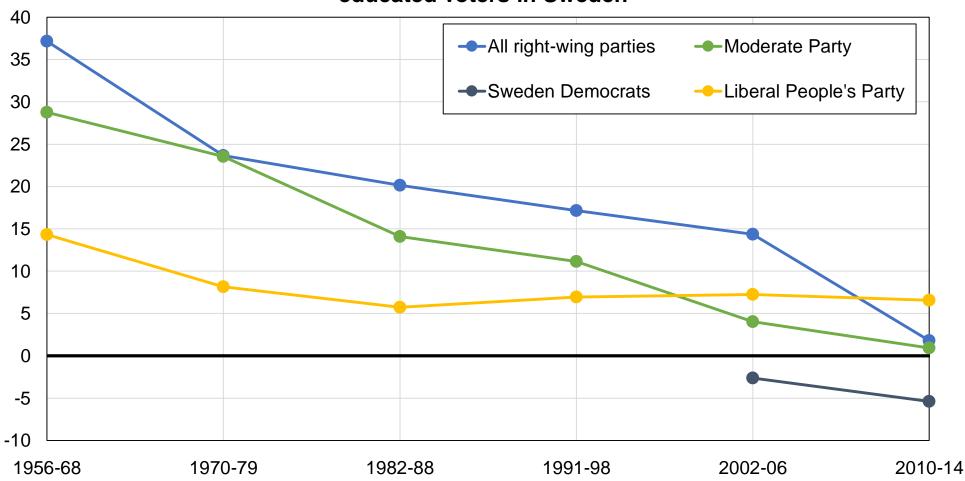
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of tertiary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for the main left-wing parties, after controlling for income, age, gender, marital status, union membership, employment status, and region of residence.

Figure CC27 - Decomposition of the vote for the right among primaryeducated voters in Sweden



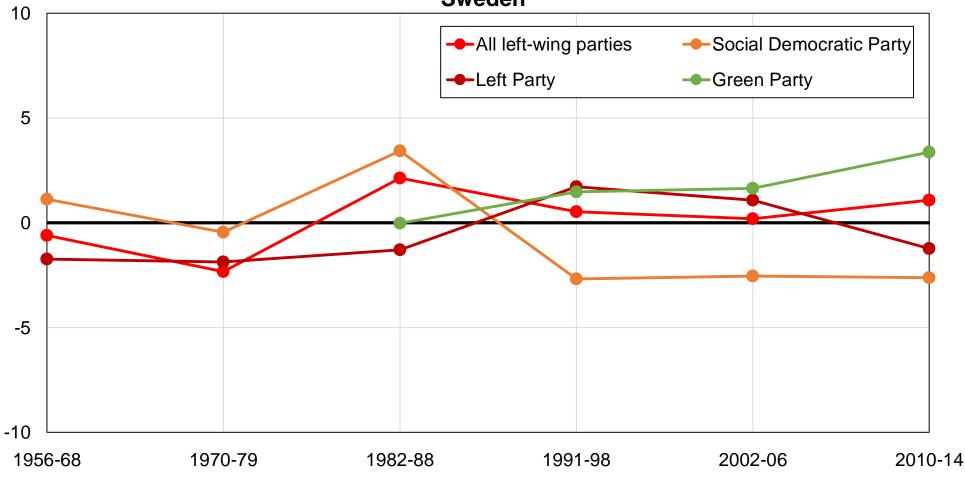
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of primary-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for the main right-wing parties, after controlling for income, age, gender, marital status, union membership, employment status, and region of residence.

Figure CC28 - Decomposition of the vote for the right among tertiaryeducated voters in Sweden



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

Figure CC29 - Decomposition of the vote for the left among women in Sweden



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

Table CD1 - Survey data sources in Sweden								
Year	Survey	Source	Sample size					
1956	SNES, 1956	Swedish National Data Service	1131					
1960	SNES, 1960	Swedish National Data Service	1603					
1964	SNES, 1964	Swedish National Data Service	3109					
1968	SNES, 1968	Swedish National Data Service	3356					
1970	SNES, 1970	Swedish National Data Service	4815					
1973	SNES, 1973	Swedish National Data Service	2596					
1976	SNES, 1976	Swedish National Data Service	2652					
1979	SNES, 1979	Swedish National Data Service	3758					
1982	SNES, 1982	Swedish National Data Service	3724					
1985	SNES, 1985	Swedish National Data Service	3873					
1988	SNES, 1988	Swedish National Data Service	3926					
1991	SNES, 1991	Swedish National Data Service	3700					
1994	SNES, 1994	Swedish National Data Service	3341					
1998	SNES, 1998	Swedish National Data Service	2901					
2002	SNES, 2002	Swedish National Data Service	3788					
2006	SNES, 2006	Swedish National Data Service	3999					
2010	SNES, 2010	Swedish National Data Service	3963					
2014	CSES (Module 4)	CSES	832					

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.

	1956-68	1970-79	1982-88	1991-98	2002-06	2010-14
Age: 20-39	36%	38%	43%	42%	40%	33%
Age: 40-59	41%	36%	32%	34%	36%	36%
Age: 60+	23%	26%	25%	23%	24%	31%
Subjective social class: Working class	48%	62%	51%	49%	48%	44%
Subjective social class: Middle/Upper/No class	52%	38%	49%	51%	52%	56%
Education: Primary	71%	67%	40%	26%	18%	19%
Education: Secondary	22%	22%	44%	50%	49%	56%
Education: Tertiary	8%	11%	17%	24%	33%	25%
Employment status: Employed public		25%	28%	25%	26%	15%
Employment status: Employed private		42%	42%	38%	40%	27%
Employment status: Unemployed/Inactive		33%	30%	36%	34%	59%
House ownership: Renting	61%	41%	38%	43%	30%	26%
House ownership: Owning	39%	59%	62%	57%	70%	74%
Marital status: Single	31%	30%	31%	33%	33%	30%
Marital status: Married / Partner	69%	70%	69%	67%	67%	70%
Region: Götland				48%	48%	50%
Region: Norrland				14%	13%	12%
Region: Svealand				37%	38%	37%
Religion: Protestant	95%		0%	97%	96%	90%
Religion: Other	5%		0%	3%	4%	10%
Church attendance: Never	67%		61%	57%	52%	62%
Church attendance: Less than monthly	16%		10%	9%	7%	6%
Church attendance: Monthly or more	16%		29%	34%	41%	31%
Rural / urban: Urban	56%	81%	83%	82%	84%	82%
Rural / urban: Rural	44%	19%	17%	18%	16%	18%
Sector: Private/Mixed		62%	60%	60%	61%	64%
Sector: Public		38%	40%	40%	39%	36%
Gender: Women	50%	49%	51%	49%	50%	49%
Gender: Men	50%	51%	49%	51%	50%	51%
Union membership: Not union member	37%	37%	31%	42%	37%	48%
Union membership: Union member	63%	63%	69%	58%	63%	52%

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

Table CD3 - The structure of political cleavages in Sweden, 2010-2014 (extended)

		Share of votes received (%)					
	Social Democrats	Left Party	Green Party	The Alliance	Sweden Democrats		
Education							
Primary	38%	5%	4%	37%	12%		
Secondary	31%	6%	7%	46%	9%		
Tertiary	18%	8%	15%	53%	2%		
Income							
Bottom 50%	33%	7%	9%	37%	10%		
Middle 40%	28%	5%	8%	51%	6%		
Top 10%	16%	5%	6%	67%	4%		
Gender							
Women	28%	6%	11%	47%	5%		
Men	30%	6%	6%	46%	10%		
Age							
20-39	25%	7%	12%	44%	6%		
40-59	27%	6%	8%	50%	7%		
60+	34%	6%	6%	44%	9%		
Sector							
Private/Mixed	22%	4%	9%	54%	8%		
Public	30%	10%	12%	42%	4%		
Religion							
Protestant	29%	3%	9%	55%	3%		
Other	27%	3%	8%	58%	0%		

Notes: the table shows the average share of votes received by the Social Democratic Party, the Left Party, the Green Party, the Alliance Coalition (Conservatives, Liberals, Centrists, Christian Democrats) and the Sweden Democrats by selected individual characteristics over the 2010-2014 period.