



Swedish Voting Behavior

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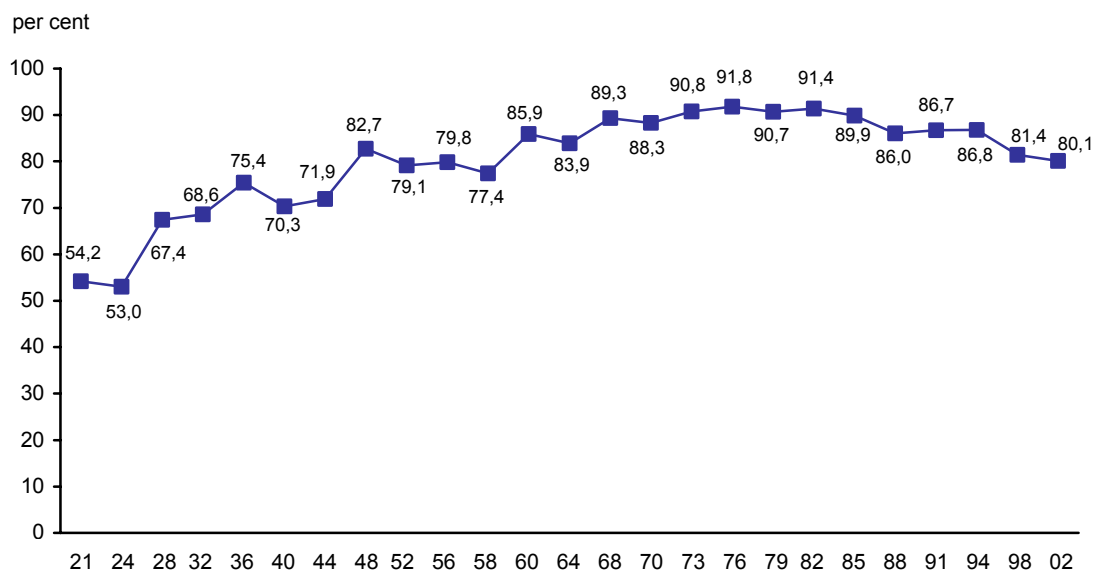
The Swedish Election Studies Program

The results presented in the following set of figures and tables stem from the Swedish Election Studies Program. The Program was initiated by Jörgen Westerståhl and Bo Särilvik in the mid 1950s, shortly after the Michigan Election Studies Project began. The first studies were done in conjunction with the local elections in 1954 and the parliamentary election in 1956.

In all parliamentary elections since 1956 – including the ATP-referendum in 1957, the Nuclear Power-referendum in 1980, the EU-referendum in 1994, the Euro-referendum in 2003 and the European Parliament elections in 1995, 1999 and 2004 – a large representative sample of eligible voters has been interviewed. The basic design in the latest studies has been a rolling panel in which half of the sample has been interviewed in connection with the previous election, and the other half in connection with the succeeding election. In recent years the sample size has been approximately 3 500 and the response rate 75 to 80 per cent.

The early Election Studies were directed by Jörgen Westerståhl (1954–1956), Bo Särilvik (1954–1973) and Olof Petersson (1973–1976). The most recent studies have been directed by Sören Holmberg (1979–2004), Henrik Oscarsson (2002 – 2004) and Mikael Gilljam (1985–1994). The latest publication from the program is **Väljare** (Voters) written by Sören Holmberg and Henrik Oscarsson.

Turnout in Swedish Riksdag Elections (per cent)



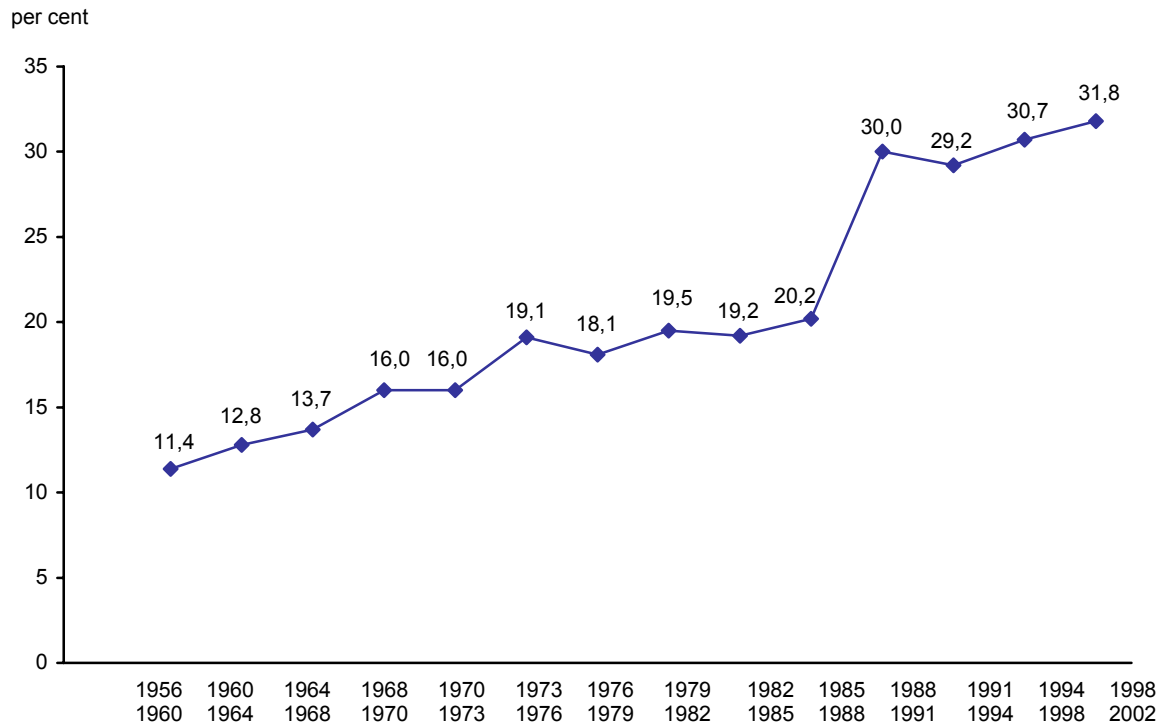
Comment: The results show turnout among registered voters (= Swedish citizens of voting age; since 1976 18 years and older).

Swedish Election Results 1976-2002 (per cent)

| Party | 1976 | 1979 | 1982 | 1985 | 1988 | 1991 | 1994 | 1998 | 2002 |
|---------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| v | 4,8 | 5,6 | 5,6 | 5,4 | 5,9 | 4,5 | 6,2 | 12,0 | 8,4 |
| s | 42,7 | 43,2 | 45,6 | 44,7 | 43,2 | 37,7 | 45,2 | 36,4 | 39,9 |
| c | 24,1 | 18,1 | 15,5 | 10,1 | 11,3 | 8,5 | 7,7 | 5,1 | 6,2 |
| fp | 11,1 | 10,6 | 5,9 | 14,2 | 12,2 | 9,1 | 7,2 | 4,7 | 13,4 |
| m | 15,6 | 20,3 | 23,6 | 21,3 | 18,3 | 21,9 | 22,4 | 22,9 | 15,3 |
| kd | 1,4 | 1,4 | 1,9 | 2,3 | 2,9 | 7,2 | 4,1 | 11,8 | 9,1 |
| mp | - | - | 1,6 | 1,5 | 5,5 | 3,4 | 5,0 | 4,5 | 4,6 |
| nyd | - | - | - | - | - | 6,7 | 1,2 | - | - |
| minor parties | 0,3 | 0,8 | 0,3 | 0,5 | 0,7 | 1,0 | 1,0 | 2,6 | 3,1 |
| total | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 |
| turnout | 91,8 | 90,7 | 91,4 | 89,9 | 86,0 | 86,7 | 86,8 | 81,4 | 80,1 |

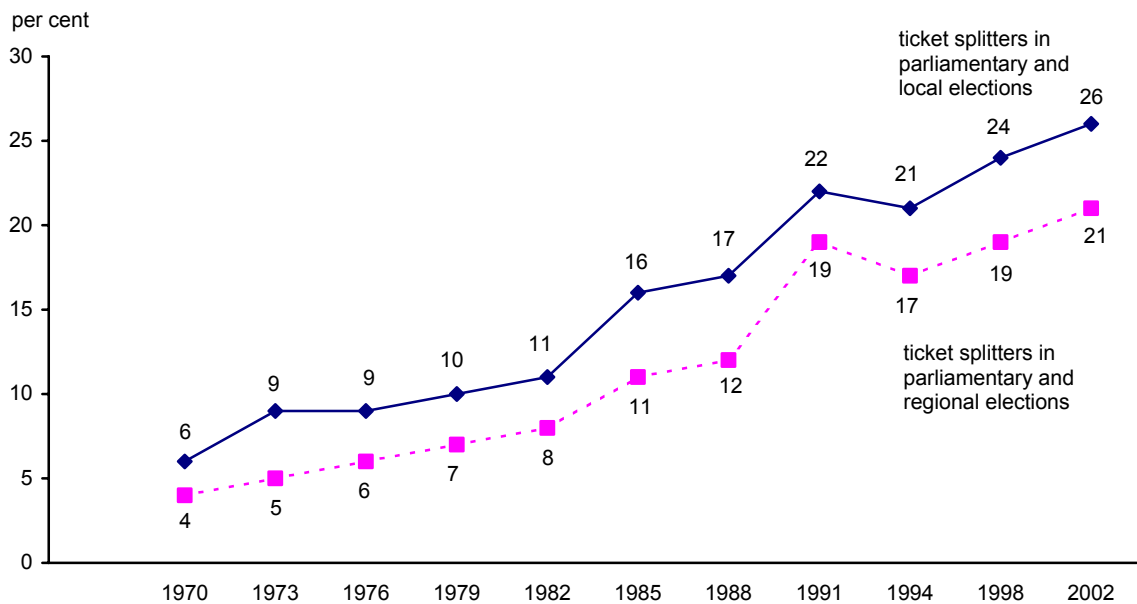
Comment: Parliamentary elections only. The initials for the parties are the customary ones in Sweden: v = Left Party, s = Social Democratic, c = Center, fp = Liberal, m = Conservative, kd = Christian Democrat, mp = Green, and nyd = New Democrats.

Party Switchers in Swedish Elections 1960-2002 (per cent)



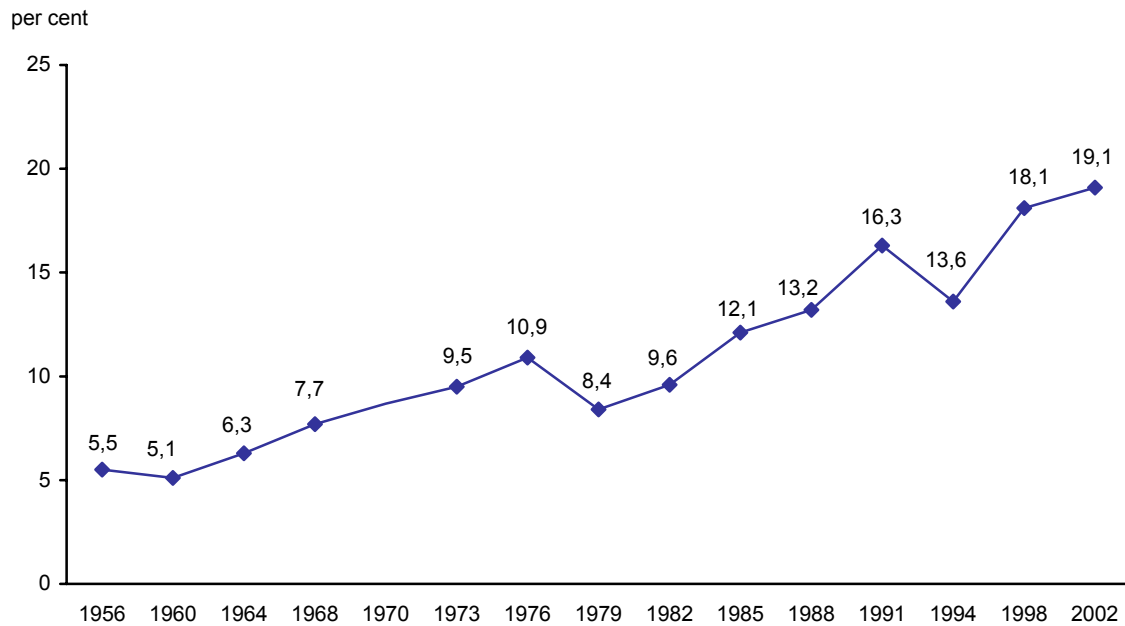
Comment: At every election, the results show the proportion party switchers among voters participating in that and the immediately preceding election. Results for the years 1960-1968 and 1973 are based entirely on recall data while results for 1970 and for the years 1976-1998 are based in part on data from panel studies.

Ticket Splitting in Swedish Elections 1970-2002 (per cent)



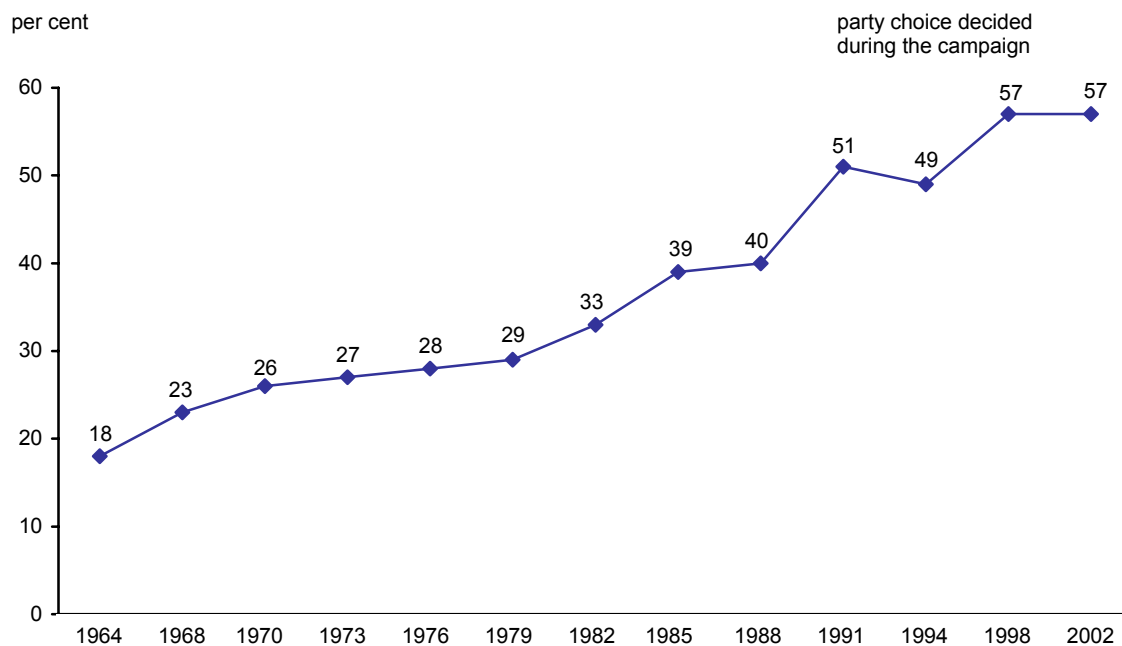
Comment: The percentage base is defined as voters participating in parliamentary and local elections (kommun) and in parliamentary and regional elections (landsting), respectively.

Party Switchers during Election Campaigns 1956-2002 (per cent)



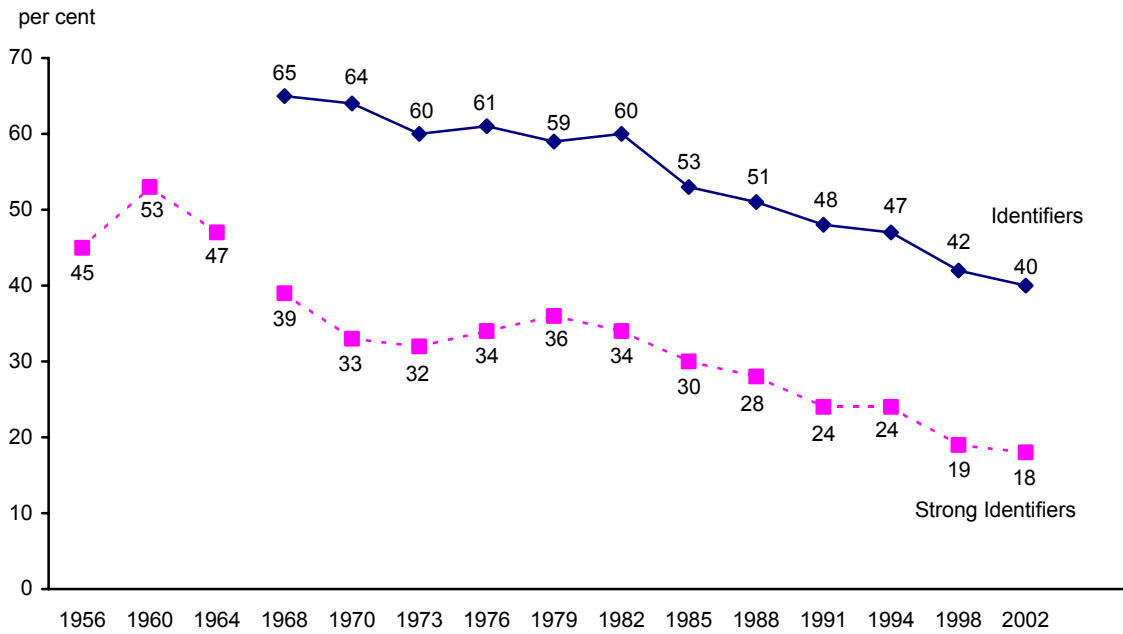
Comment: The results are based on panel data consisting of party preference data from pre-election face-to-face interviews and information about party choice in post-election mail questionnaires. No election campaign panel study was performed in 1970. The number of respondents vary around 1000.

Time of Vote Choice 1964-2002 (per cent)



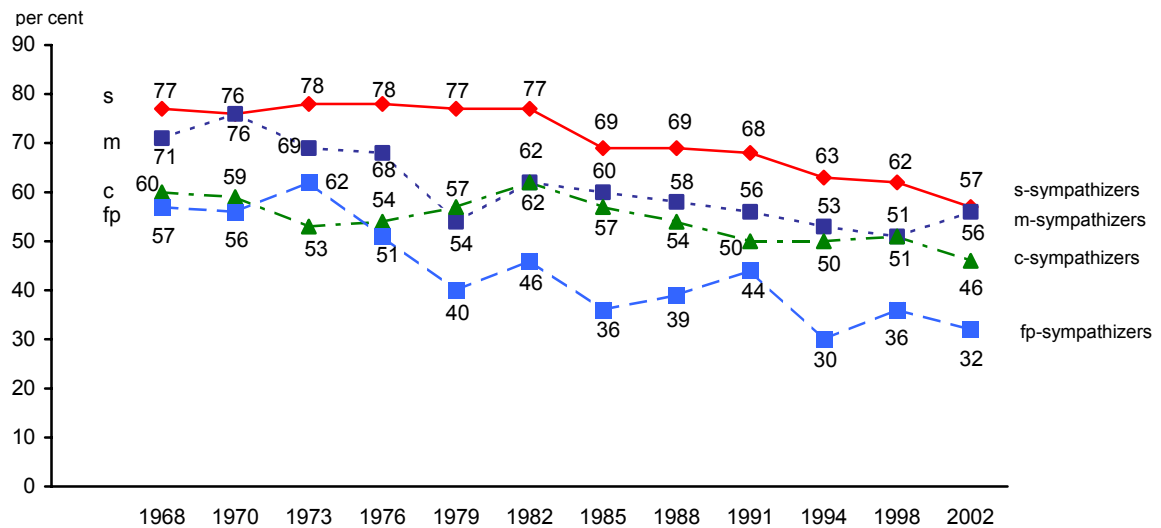
Comment: The results are based on a question with the following wording: "When did you decide which party to vote for in the election this year? Was it during the last week before the election, earlier during autumn or summer or did you know all along how you were going to vote?" The two first response alternatives have been combined into "during the campaign" category. Non-voters are not included in the analysis.

Degree of Party Identification 1956–2002. Percentage of Eligible Swedish Voters Who Consider Themselves Identifiers or Strong Identifiers of a Party (per cent)



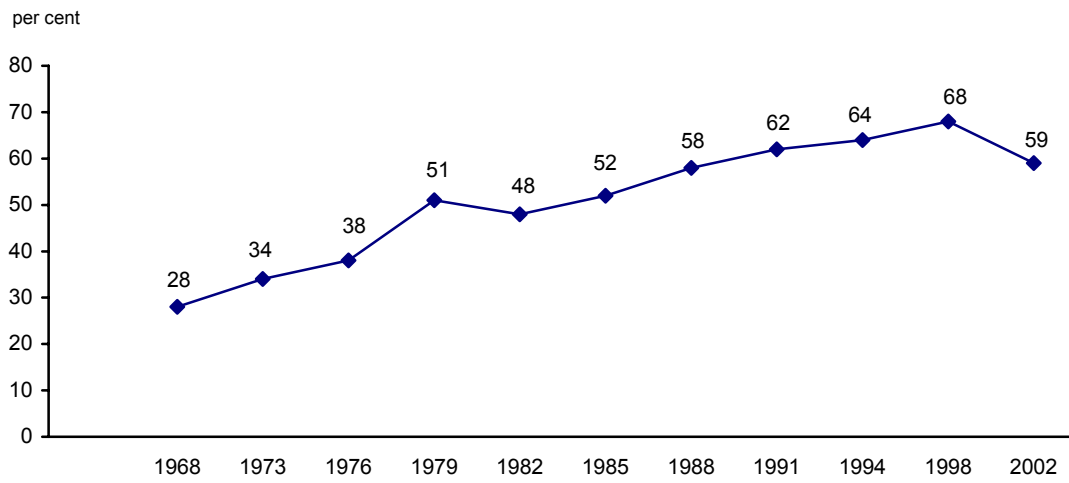
Comment: The interview question was somewhat differently phrased in the years 1956-1964.

Subjective Party Identifiers 1968–2002 among Sympathizers of Different Swedish Parties (per cent)

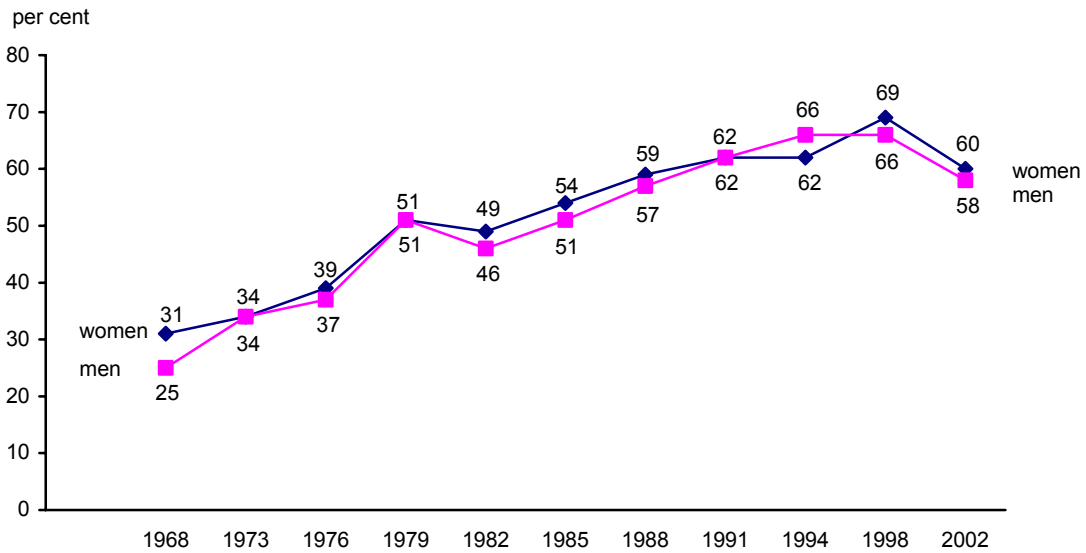


Comment: Persons who consider themselves identifiers of a party have been defined as subjective identifiers. The results for v-, kd- and mp-sympathizers in 2002 are 44, 37 and 19 per cent subjective identifiers, respectively.

Distrust in Parties and Politicians. Proportion of Interviewed Persons Who Answered Agree (=Distrust) on Two Negatively Phrased Trust Items (per cent)

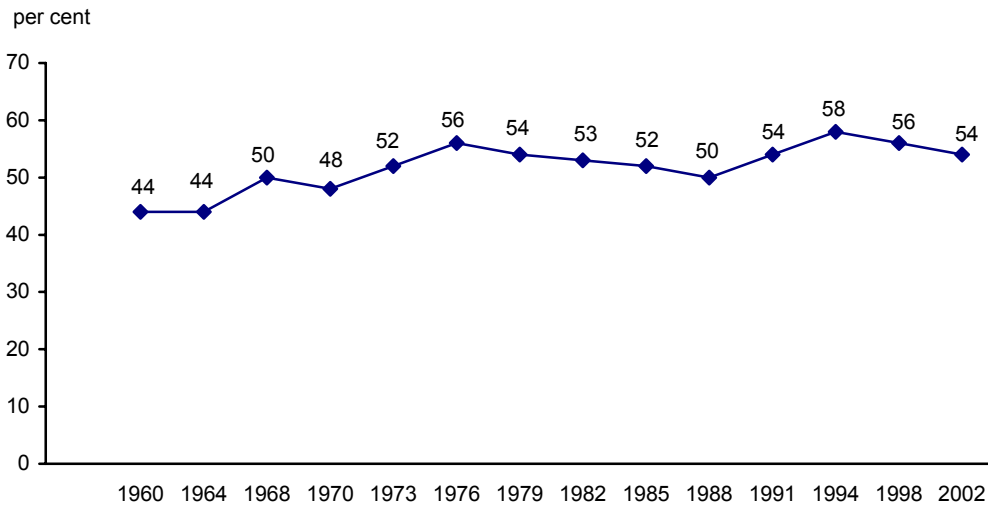


Political Distrust and Gender (per cent)

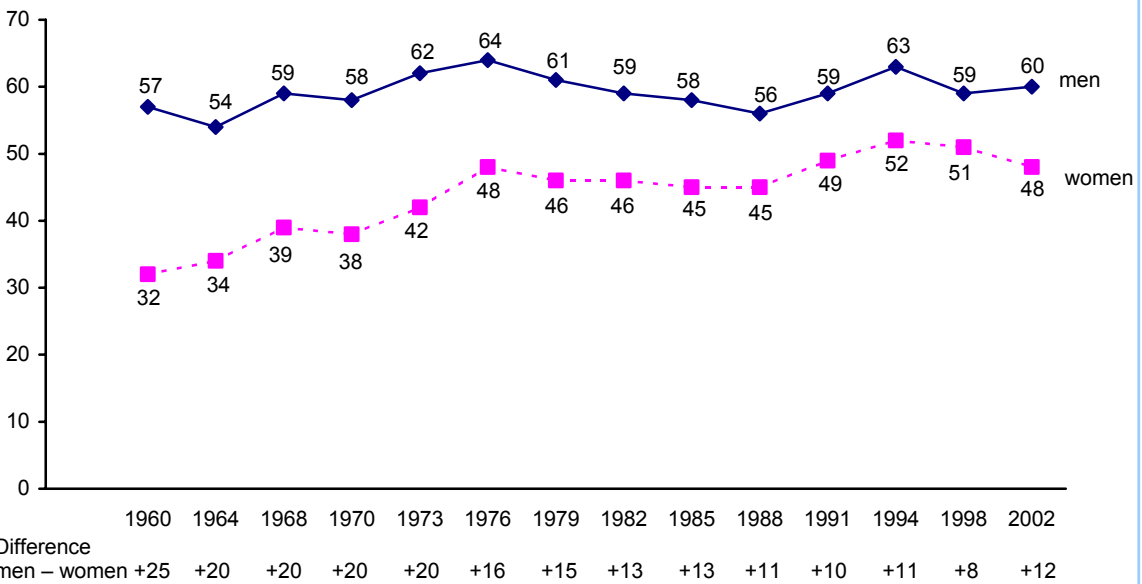


| Difference | 1968 | 1973 | 1976 | 1979 | 1982 | 1985 | 1988 | 1991 | 1994 | 1998 | 2002 |
|-------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| men - women | -6 | ±0 | -2 | ±0 | -3 | -3 | -1 | 0 | +4 | -3 | -2 |

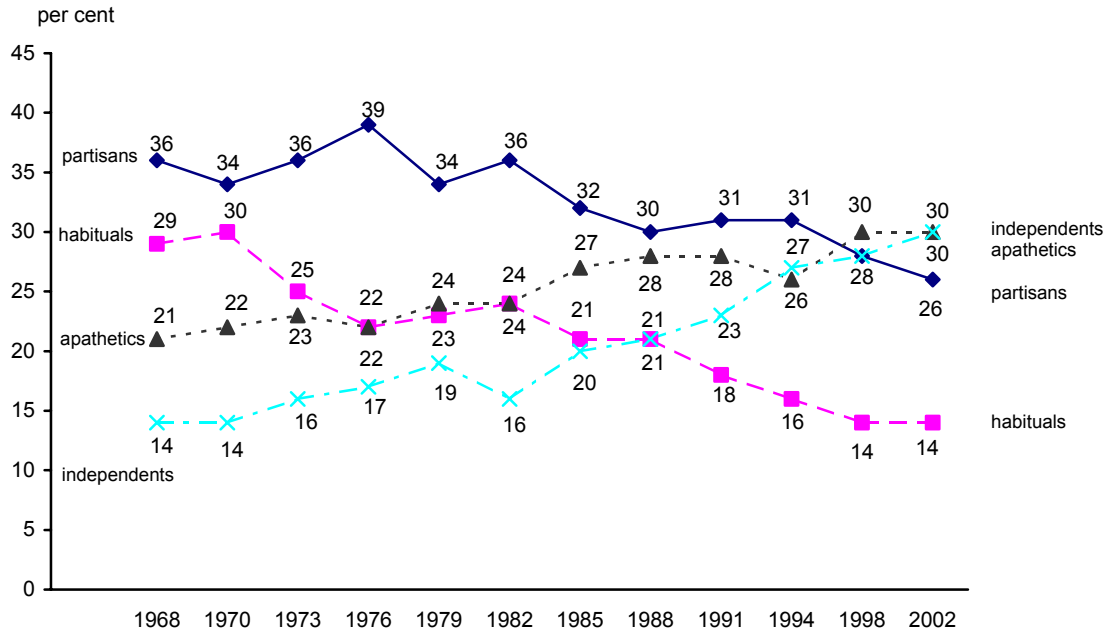
Political Interest. Proportion of Interviewed Persons Who Indicate That They Are Very Much Interested or Rather Interested in Politics (per cent)



Political Interest and Gender (per cent)



Political Interest and Political Partisanship 1968 – 2002 (per cent)

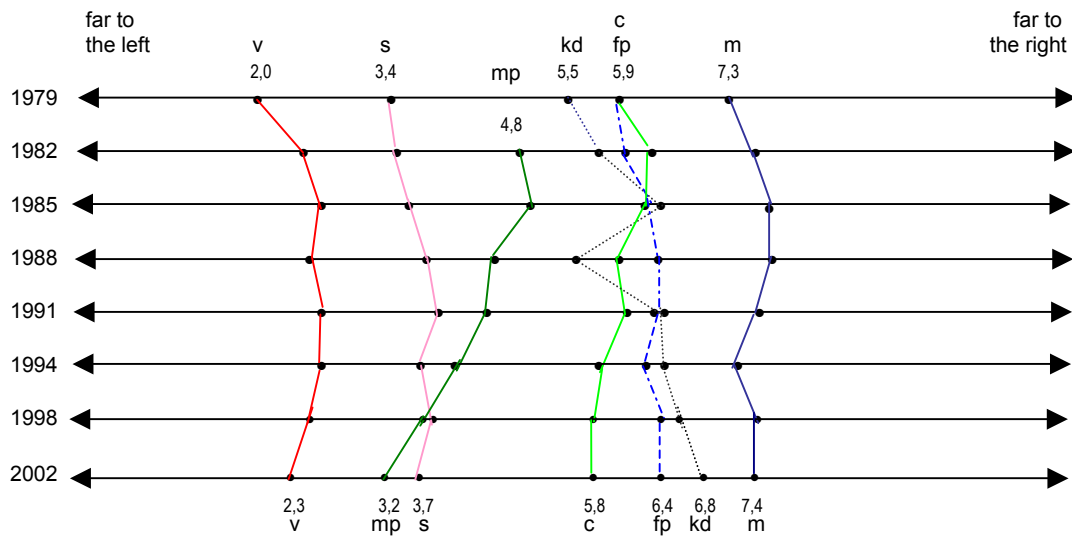


Comment: Partisans have a party identification (=strong or weak) and are interested in politics. *Independents* are interested in politics but have no party identification. *Habituals* have a party identification but lack interest in politics. *Apathetics* have neither a party identification nor interest in politics. The topology was devised by Allen Barton (1955) and applied to Sweden by Olof Petersson (1977).

Election Issues in Sweden 1979-2002. Percentage of Party Voters Who on an Open-Ended Question Mentioned the Various Issue Areas as Important for Their Party Choice (per cent)

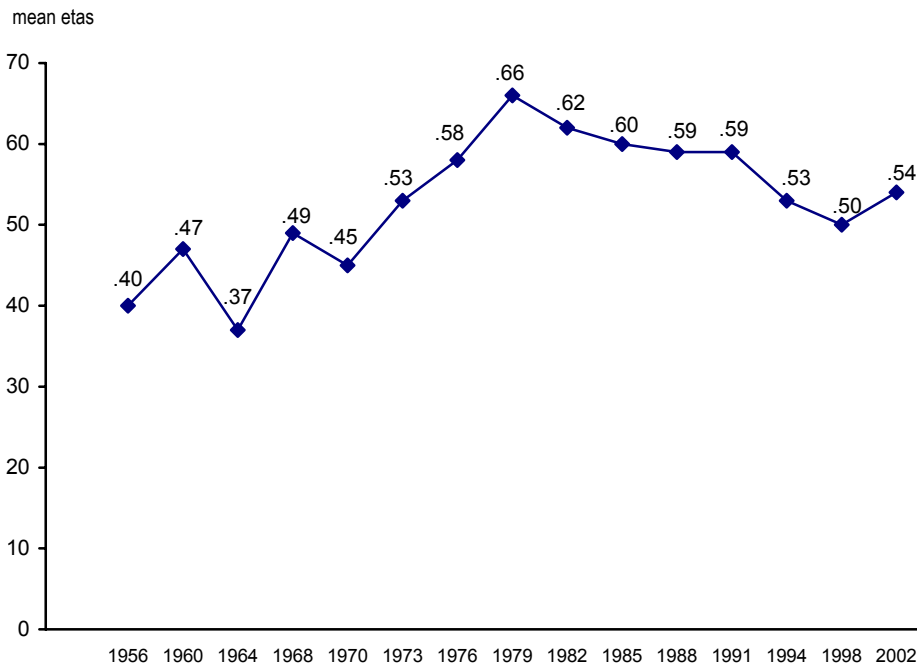
| Issue Area | 1979 | 1982 | 1985 | 1988 | 1991 | 1994 | 1998 | 2002 |
|---|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Welfare Policies | 17 | 28 | 44 | 40 | 60 | 43 | 60 | 60 |
| Full Employment | 18 | 29 | 25 | 5 | 23 | 41 | 34 | 7 |
| Environment | 6 | 7 | 22 | 46 | 25 | 20 | 12 | 8 |
| Taxes | 17 | 8 | 20 | 19 | 18 | 9 | 17 | 14 |
| Economy | 9 | 14 | 14 | 8 | 20 | 30 | 14 | 10 |
| Wage Earners' Funds | 4 | 33 | 11 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Public vs Private Sector | 5 | 2 | 7 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 1 |
| EU | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 10 | 14 | 6 | 5 |
| Immigration/Refugees | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 8 | 5 | 3 | 10 |
| Education | 6 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 20 | 29 |
| Housing | 5 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| Agriculture | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Energy/Nuclear Power | 26 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| Religion/Moral | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| Gender Equality | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| Percentage of voters who mentioned at least one issue | 62 | 76 | 78 | 72 | 82 | 79 | 77 | 73 |

Average Left-Right Self Placements among Swedish Voters 1979-2002 (means)



Comment: The left-right scale runs from 0 (far left) to 10 (far right) with a designated midpoint a 5 (neither left nor right). The mean for the entire electorate was 4.9 in 1979, 5.0 in 1982, 5.2 in 1985, 5.0 in 1988, 5.5 in 1991, 4.9 in 1994, 5.1 in 1998 and 4.9 in 2002. The mean for the nyd-voters was 6.3 in 1991 and 6.1 in 1994.

Ideological Left-Right Voting in Swedish Elections 1956-2002 (mean etas)



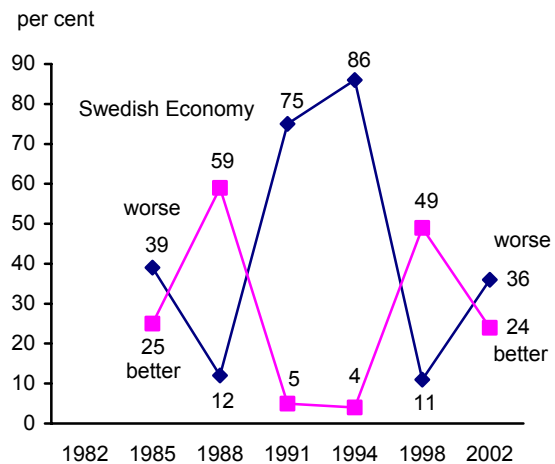
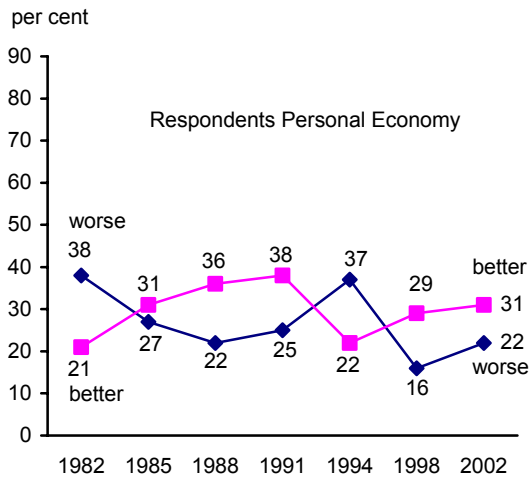
Comment: The results are mean etas based on analyses of variance treating party voting groups (5 to 8 parties) as the independent variable and three left-right issue questions with the strongest relationship with party choice as the dependent variables. The left-right issue questions are not exactly the same throughout the years.

Party Profiles 1982 – 2002. Per cent Respondents Who Mentioned at Least One Election Issue for the Relevant Party (per cent)

| party | 1982 | 1985 | 1988 | 1991 | 1994 | 1998 | 2002 |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| v | 48 | 58 | 47 | 25 | 52 | 63 | 49 |
| s | 88 | 64 | 59 | 60 | 83 | 78 | 61 |
| c | 58 | 46 | 54 | 42 | 47 | 34 | 35 |
| fp | 45 | 62 | 59 | 54 | 46 | 43 | 68 |
| m | 68 | 70 | 54 | 67 | 66 | 72 | 70 |
| kd | | 29 | | 58 | 49 | 61 | 54 |
| mp | | | 80 | 52 | 71 | 55 | 51 |
| nyd | | | | 59 | 38 | | - |
| mean five old parties | 61 | 60 | 54 | 50 | 59 | 58 | 57 |
| mean seven parties | | | | 51 | 59 | 58 | 55 |

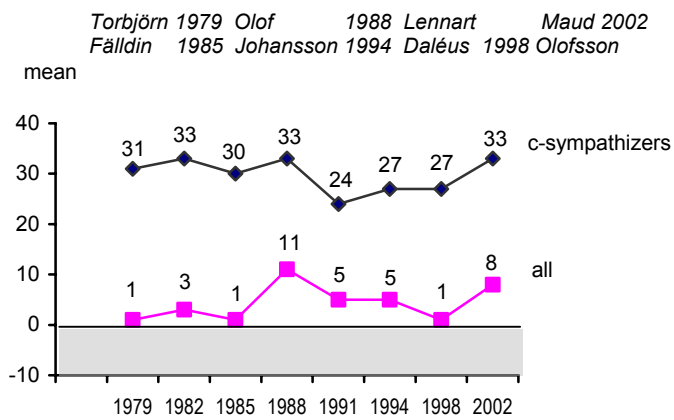
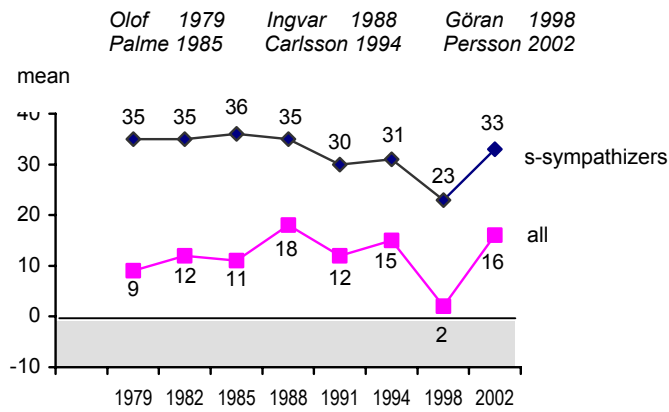
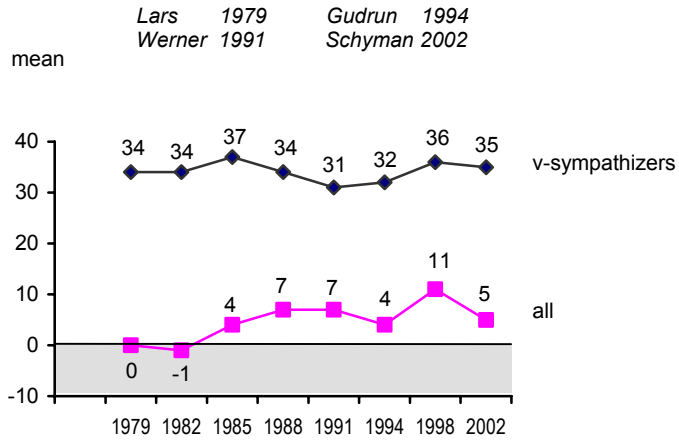
Comment: Post-election data only. The results are based on open-ended interview questions, one per party.

Retrospective Evaluations of the Development of the Swedish Economy and the Respondents Personal Economy

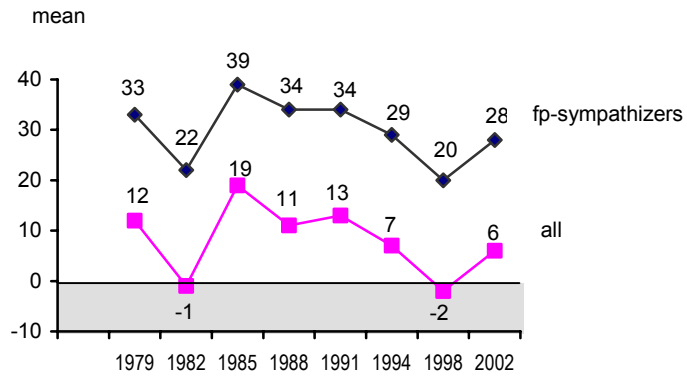


Comment: The interview question on the Swedish economy was not put in 1982. The time frame for the evaluations was "the two-three latest years" in the Election Studies in 1982-1994. In 1998 the time frame was changed to "the last twelve months". The interview questions also included a middle response alternative ("about the same"). The per cent calculations include don't know-answers comprising between 0-2 per cent for the question on personal economy and between 3-8 per cent for the question on the Swedish economy.

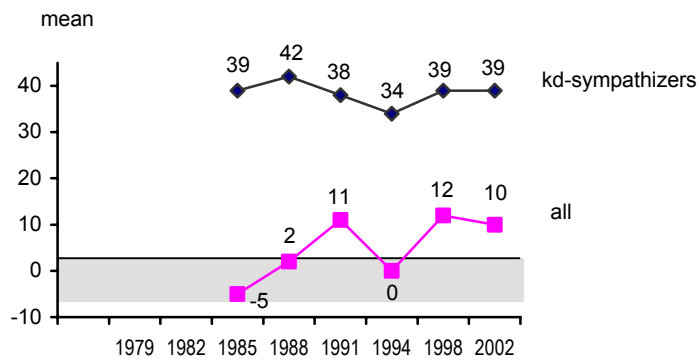
Party Leader Popularity 1979 – 2002 (mean)



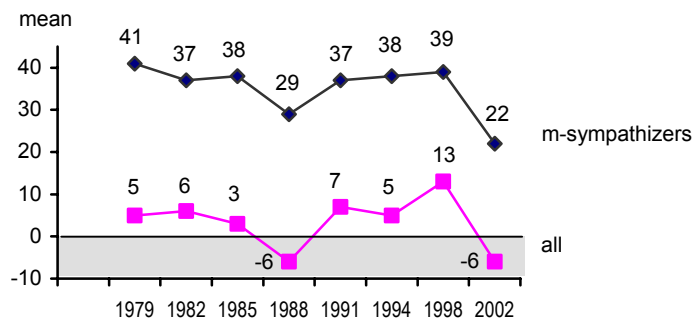
Ola 1979 Bengt 1985 Lars 1998
 Ullsten 1982 Westerberg 1994 Leijonborg 2002



Alf Svensson 1985-2002



Gösta Ulf 1982 Carl 1988 Bo 2002
 Bohman 1979 Adelsohn 1985 Bildt 1998 Lundgren



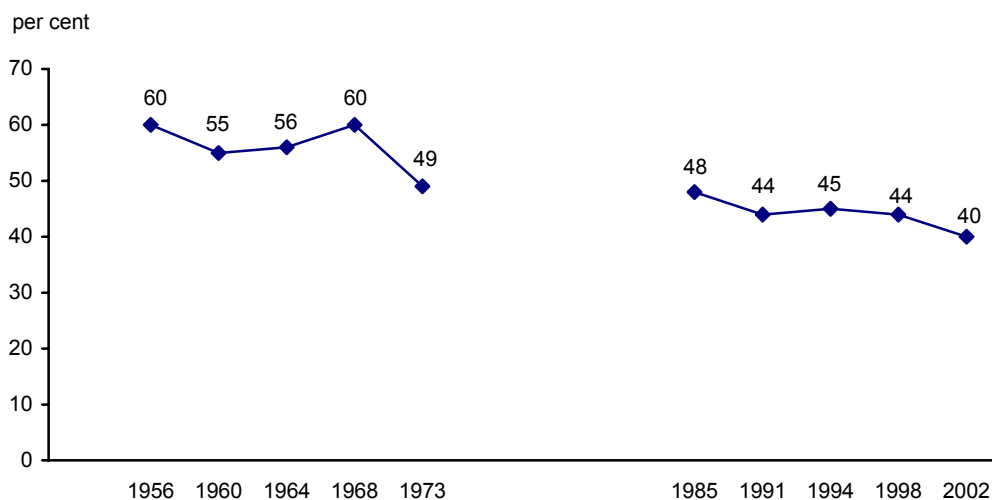
Comment: Party Leader popularity has been measured on an eleven point like-dislike Scale running between -5 and +5. The results are means multiplied by 10 to yield values between -50 (dislike) and +50 (like).

Party Leaders as Potential Vote-Getters for Their Parties (per cent)

| party | 1979 | 1982 | 1985 | 1988 | 1991 | 1994 | 1998 | 2002 |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| v | 15 | 18 | 26 | 22 | 26 | 13 | 19 | 23 |
| s | 11 | 16 | 13 | 14 | 9 | 7 | 6 | 11 |
| c | 10 | 20 | 13 | 14 | 6 | 10 | 12 | 21 |
| fp | 22 | 8 | 27 | 18 | 18 | 17 | 4 | 6 |
| m | 26 | 14 | 18 | 7 | 18 | 28 | 33 | 4 |
| kd | - | - | 7 | - | 13 | 18 | 25 | 32 |
| mp | - | - | - | - | 3 | 6 | 6 | 14 |
| nyd | - | - | - | - | 20 | 8 | - | - |
| mean five old parties | 17 | 15 | 19 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 13 |
| mean seven parties | - | - | - | - | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 |

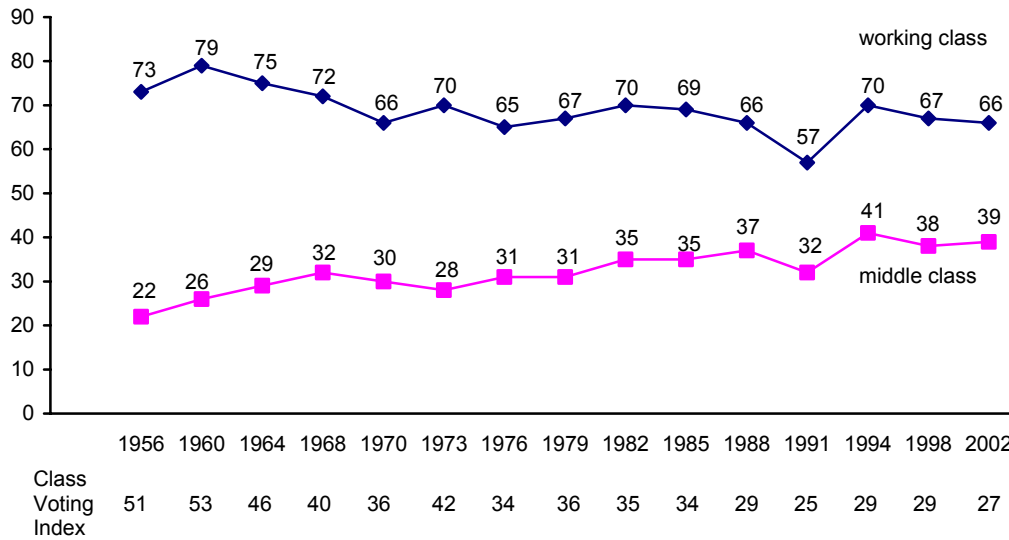
Comment: Party and party leader popularity have been measured on the same eleven point like-dislike scale. The results show per cent respondents among a party's sympathizers who like the party leader better than the party.

Candidate Recognition. Proportion of Respondents Who Can Name at Least One Riksdag Candidate in Their Own Constituency (per cent)



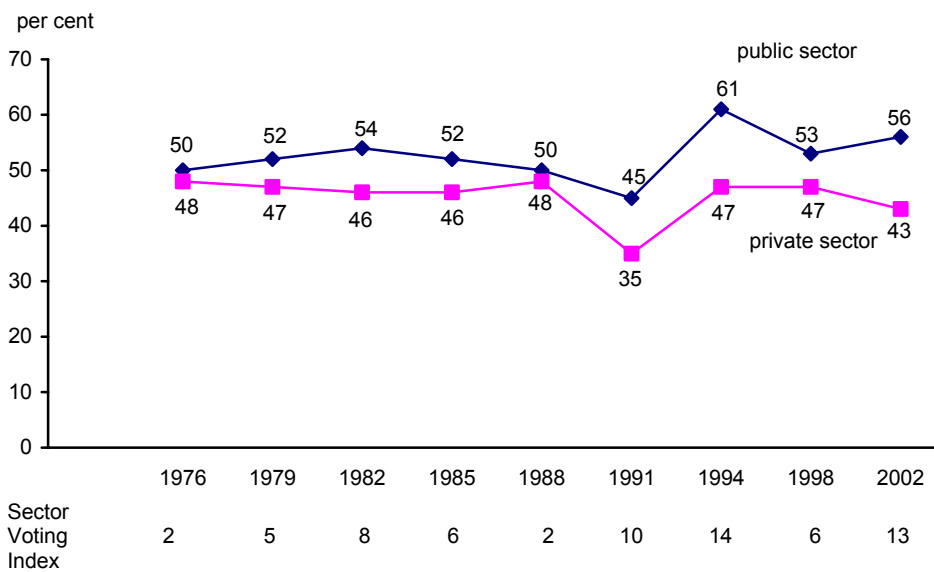
Comment: Only voters are included. The data is collected after the elections. In the years 1964 – 1994, the correctness of names given was not checked systematically. Minor tests indicate that the results for the years 1964 – 1994 should be scaled down 5 – 8 percentage points if one wants to estimate the proportion of voters who mention correct candidate names. A check in 1998 and 2002 showed that the proportion of party voters who could mention at least one correct name was 32 and 30 per cent respectively.

Class Voting in Swedish Elections 1956-2002. Percentage Voting Socialist among Workers and in the Middle Class (per cent)



Comment: The Class Voting Index (Alford's index) is defined as the percentage voting socialist (v or s) among workers minus the percentage voting socialist in the middle class. The results have been corrected for the oversampling of Social Democratic voters in the earlier election studies. The percentage base is all party voters. Students are excluded from the analysis.

Sector Voting in Swedish Elections 1976 – 2002. Percentage Voting Socialist among Voters in the Public and the Private Sector (per cent)



Comment: The Sector Voting Index is modelled after Alford's Class Voting Index and show the percentage voting socialist (v or s) in the public sector minus the percentage voting socialist in the private sector. Public-Private sector is determined by an interview question asking voters to indicate which sector they belong to. The analysis only includes gainfully employed people.

Social Categories x Party Choice in Sweden 1956-2002 (Cramer's V)

| Category | Year | | | | | | | | | | Diff | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|-------|-------|
| | 56 | 60 | 64 | 68 | 70 | 73 | 76 | 79 | 82 | 85 | 88 | 91 | 94 | 98 | 02 | 56-02 | b*10 | b*50 |
| Class (2 cat) | .53 | .55 | .47 | .41 | .39 | .44 | .39 | .42 | .39 | .35 | .33 | .28 | .32 | .31 | .28 | -.25 | -.055 | -.276 |
| Residence (2-cat) | .30 | . | . | . | . | . | .17 | .18 | .16 | .15 | .11 | .09 | .16 | .14 | .17 | -.13 | -.032 | -.159 |
| Union membership (5-cat) | .34 | . | .34 | .25 | .26 | .23 | .20 | .23 | .27 | .23 | .25 | .21 | .22 | .18 | .19 | -.15 | -.029 | -.144 |
| Occupation (8-cat) | . | . | . | . | . | . | .22 | .24 | .21 | .20 | .20 | .17 | .20 | .18 | .19 | -.03 | -.018 | . |
| Education (3-cat) | .28 | .27 | .29 | .23 | .25 | .27 | .25 | .25 | .27 | .23 | .25 | .24 | .22 | .21 | .20 | -.08 | -.015 | -.075 |
| Urban-Rural (4-cat) | .25 | .19 | .18 | . | . | . | .16 | .17 | .19 | .20 | .20 | .18 | .15 | .14 | .15 | -.10 | -.014 | -.068 |
| Income (5-cat) | . | .20 | .16 | .12 | .12 | .11 | .13 | .16 | .14 | .13 | .14 | .12 | .13 | .13 | .15 | -.05 | -.006 | -.028 |
| Church Attendance (4-cat) | .17 | . | .22 | .23 | . | . | . | . | . | .27 | .25 | .24 | .22 | .17 | .19 | +.02 | +.001 | +.007 |
| Marital Status (4-cat) | .08 | .09 | .08 | .08 | .07 | .09 | .07 | .12 | .06 | .08 | .08 | .08 | .08 | .09 | .11 | +.03 | +.002 | +.012 |
| Age (7-cat) | .07 | .09 | .07 | .06 | .08 | .09 | .07 | .10 | .10 | .08 | .08 | .09 | .09 | .10 | .11 | +.04 | +.006 | +.032 |
| Sex (2-cat) | .07 | .09 | .12 | .08 | .12 | .06 | .05 | .09 | .09 | .10 | .09 | .12 | .13 | .14 | .10 | +.03 | +.009 | +.043 |
| Public-Private Sector (2-cat) | . | . | . | . | . | . | .05 | .10 | .17 | .15 | .11 | .17 | .15 | .11 | .15 | +.10 | +.021 | . |

Comment: The b-values refer to the linear trend over time. B*10 express the average change in correlations in ten years. B*50 express the average change in correlations during a 50-year period. The categories used are: Age (18-21, 22-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, 60-69, 70+), Sex (Male, Female), Education (Low, Intermediate, High) where the category High is reserved for university degrees, Marital Status (Single, Living together, Married, Widow/Widower), Church Attendance (Once a Week, Once a Month, Once a Year, Never), Occupation (Industrial Blue Collar, Blue Collar, Low White Collar, Intermediate White Collar, Higher White Collar, Private Enterprise, Farmers, Students), Class (Working Class, Middle Class), Union Membership (Implemented, No-membership, LO, TCO, SACO, Employers' Organisation, Other), Income (Five categories after percentiles 15-20-30-20-15, Rural-Urban (Countryside, Small Town, Large Town, Stockholm/Göteborg/Malmö), Type of Residence (Rent, Home Owner), Sector (Public Sector, Private Sector).

Difference in Party Choice Between Women and Men 1948 – 2002 (percentage point difference)

| party | 48 | 52 | 56 | 60 | 64 | 68 | 70 | 73 | 76 | 79 | 82 | 85 | 88 | 91 | 94 | 98 | 02 |
|-------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| v | +2 | +2 | +1 | +2 | +1 | +1 | +2 | +3 | 0 | +1 | +2 | +1 | -1 | 0 | -2 | -5 | -3 |
| s | +3 | +2 | +1 | -2 | +3 | 0 | 0 | -1 | +1 | -1 | -2 | -5 | -3 | 0 | +3 | +5 | +3 |
| c | +1 | +4 | +3 | +1 | +4 | +3 | +1 | 0 | -2 | -4 | 0 | +1 | +1 | -2 | -3 | 0 | +1 |
| fp | -4 | -8 | -3 | -1 | -4 | -2 | -2 | -2 | 0 | 0 | -2 | -3 | 0 | -2 | -2 | -2 | 0 |
| m | -2 | 0 | -2 | 0 | -4 | -2 | 0 | 0 | +1 | +4 | +4 | +7 | +5 | +5 | +7 | +7 | +3 |
| kd | | | | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -1 | -1 | -1 | -1 | -2 | -2 | -1 | -4 | -2 |
| mp | | | | | | | | | | | -1 | 0 | 0 | -3 | -2 | -2 | -2 |

sum per cent
difference for
the five old
parties

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|----|---|----|---|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|---|----|----|----|
| 12 | 16 | 10 | 6 | 16 | 8 | 5 | 6 | 4 | 10 | 10 | 17 | 10 | 9 | 17 | 19 | 10 |
|----|----|----|---|----|---|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|---|----|----|----|

Comment: A positive (+) difference means that the relevant party was more supported among men than among women while a negative (-) difference indicate more support among women than among men.

In Which Age Group Does the Parties Have Their Strongest Support?

| election year | party | | | | | | |
|---------------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|------------|---------|------------|
| | v | s | c | fp | m | kd | mp |
| 1948 | young | no diff | old | young | old | - | - |
| 1956 | - | young | old | old | no diff | - | - |
| 1960 | old | young | old | old | old | - | - |
| 1964 | old | no diff | middle age | no diff | old | - | - |
| 1968 | no diff | no diff | middle age | young | old | - | - |
| 1970 | young | no diff | young | old | old | - | - |
| 1973 | young | middle age | young | old | old | - | - |
| 1976 | young | middle age | young | young/old | middle age | - | - |
| 1979 | young | old | old | young | middle age | - | - |
| 1982 | young | old | old | no diff | middle age | - | - |
| 1985 | young | old | old | no diff | young | old | young |
| 1988 | young | old | old | young | young | old | middle age |
| 1991 | middle age | old | old | young | young | old | young |
| 1994 | young | old | old | no diff | old | no diff | young |
| 1998 | young | old | old | young | young | old | young |
| 2002 | young | middle/old | old | young | no diff | old | young |

Comment: *Young* is defined as 18 – 30 years, *middle age* as 31- 60 and *old* as 61 – 80. *No diff* means there is no difference in party support across age groups.

Voters' Self Reported Reasons for the Choice of Party. Percent saying "One of the most important reasons" among All Voters in 1988, 1994 and 2002 and among Party Voters in 2002

| Theoretical Explanation | Reason to Vote | Year | | 2002 | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|--|------|------|------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|--|
| | | 1988 | 1994 | 2002 | v | s | c | fp | m | kd | mp | | |
| Issue Voting | The party has a good policy on issues that I think is important | | | 51 | 60 | 40 | 47 | 59 | 53 | 66 | 66 | 66 | |
| Ideological Voting | The party has a good political ideology | 41 | 41 | 45 | 46 | 41 | 48 | 46 | 46 | 54 | 51 | 51 | |
| Campaign Agenda Voting | The party has good policies on many of the issues in recent public debates | 33 | 32 | 34 | 36 | 27 | 32 | 45 | 36 | 36 | 32 | 32 | |
| Prospective Voting | The party has a good program for the future | | | 34 | 37 | 29 | 38 | 31 | 36 | 38 | 42 | 42 | |
| Competence Voting | The party has competent persons that can run the country | 30 | 31 | 31 | 22 | 36 | 24 | 18 | 35 | 32 | 17 | 17 | |
| Retrospective Voting | The party has done a good job in politics in recent years | | | 25 | 25 | 32 | 15 | 13 | 16 | 34 | 17 | 17 | |
| Party Leader Voting | The party has a good party leader | 23 | 20 | 24 | 23 | 29 | 32 | 17 | 9 | 41 | 7 | 7 | |
| Habitual Voting | I always vote for the party | 27 | 21 | 16 | 10 | 24 | 24 | 4 | 20 | 7 | 6 | 6 | |
| Group Interest Voting | The policies of the party is usually favourable to the occupational group to which I belong | 21 | 18 | 14 | 15 | 18 | 24 | 6 | 14 | 11 | 5 | 5 | |
| Party Identification Voting | I feel like a supporter of the party | 21 | 16 | 14 | 7 | 19 | 23 | 8 | 11 | 16 | 5 | 5 | |
| Instrumental Voting | The party is a big party and therefore it has greater possibilities than a smaller party to implement its policies | | | 14 | 2 | 25 | 5 | 4 | 17 | 5 | 1 | 1 | |
| Candidate Voting | The party has good Riksdag candidates on the ballot in my constituency | | 9 | 10 | 8 | 10 | 20 | 7 | 8 | 15 | 7 | 7 | |
| Tactical Voting | The party is a small party that risks falling under the four percent threshold to the Riksdag | | | 6 | 3 | 2 | 18 | 5 | 2 | 8 | 36 | 36 | |

Comment: "You say you are going to vote for [...] in this year's Riksdag election. How important are the following reasons for your choice of party?". The alternatives were "one of the most important reasons", "fairly important reason", "not particularly important reason" and "not at all important reason".

Swedish Voting Behavior

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