

Figures

1.1	Average vote shares of left parties in national elections in Europe, 1960–2020	<i>page 7</i>
1.2	Average vote shares of left parties in national elections in Europe, by region, 1960–2020	9
1.3	Causal temporalities in the trajectory of social democratic parties	12
1.4	Structural occupational change in labor markets	32
1.5	Ideal-typical programmatic strategies in the political space	47
1.6	Programmatic positions of European parties on the economic and GAL-TAN dimensions	48
1.7	Programmatic positions of European parties on the economic and immigration dimensions	49
1.8	Development of the occupational knowledge economy: service sector employees with tertiary education as a share of total service sector employment	55
1.9	Total expenditures on consumption and investment and weight of spending on investment in total expenditure	57
1.10	Development of electoral shares in national elections for different party families over time, by regions (Continental, Nordic, Southern, and Anglo-Saxon European countries)	60
1.11	Left–right self-positioning and policy preferences on the two dimensions of political competition	61
2.1	Knowledge economy index	79
2.2	Urban and rural areas	80
2.3	Voting in the early 1980s and 2010s	91
2.4	Party family vote share by urban type	93
2.5	Regional patterns of competition, post 2010	94
2.6	Mobilization in the 1980s	96
2.7	Historic mobilization and regional type	98
2.A1	Regional patterns of competition, post 2010	100

3.1	Vote shares of social democratic parties in Western Europe	103
3.2	Vote switching from social democratic parties conditional on LR ideology	109
3.3	Vote switching from social democratic parties conditional on education	110
3.4	Vote switching from social democratic parties conditional on union membership	111
3.5	Vote switching from social democratic to other parties	112
3.6	Vote switching from social democratic to other parties, conditional on education	113
3.7	Vote switching between social democratic and other parties	115
3.8	Determinants of vote choice between SD and MR	117
3.9	Determinants of vote choice between SD and Green	118
4.1	Composition of electorates of party families by respondents and parental class	129
4.2	AMEs of respondents and parental class on support for party families	131
4.3	AMEs of parental class on support for party families, across geographical regions	132
4.4	AMEs of parental class on support for party families, across generations, for Northwestern Europe	134
4.5	Average predicted levels of support for party families by patterns of intergenerational mobility for Northwestern Europe	136
4.6	Average predicted levels of support for party families by patterns of intergenerational mobility among Gen X or Millennial respondents for Northwestern Europe	137
5.1	Transition away from Social Democrats, across entire lifespan	151
5.2	Transition away from SP, across elections	153
5.3	Transition away from Labour, across elections	154
5.4	Transition away from the SPD, across elections	155
5.5	The threat of AfD, a new party entry from the right	157
5.6	Who switches away from Social Democrats to any other party?	159
5.7	Who switches to whom?	160
6.1	Social democratic electoral potential and mobilization in ten European countries, 2000s and 2010s	173
6.2	Electoral potential and mobilization for different party families in ten European countries, 2000s and 2010s	175

6.3	Inward and outward overlaps by education, Nordic and Continental Europe	178
6.4	Inward and outward overlaps by education, Southern Europe	181
6.5	Inward and outward overlaps as a share of the overall electorate, comparison of magnitudes	183
6.A1	Inward and outward overlaps by subjective class, Continental and Nordic Europe	188
6.A2	Inward and outward overlaps by subjective class, Southern Europe	189
6.A3	Average voting propensities among overlapping voters	190
7.1	Voter movements	203
7.2	Attitudinal correlates of vote switching by party family: determinants of switching out and into Social Democracy	204
7.3	Voter movements, low-education/low-income group	207
7.4	Attitudinal correlates of party family switching out of Social Democracy by select education-income groups	209
8.1	Changes in the class composition of trade union membership	223
8.2	Changes in voting patterns among union members	225
8.3	Predicted probabilities of policy support on three dimensions	232
8.4	Predicted probabilities of policy support among unionized voters	235
8.5	Standpatters' and switchers' policy preference stances on three dimensions	240
9.1	Support for four social democratic programmatic strategies in the entire electorate	260
9.2	Support for four social democratic programmatic strategies among the potential social democratic electorate	261
9.3	Support for four social democratic programmatic strategies by left-right self-positioning	263
9.4	Support for four social democratic programmatic strategies by position on the economic dimension	264
9.5	Support for four social democratic programmatic strategies by position on the cultural dimension	265
9.6	Social Democrats vs. Green Left: predicted probabilities of choosing the social democratic party over the green and left-libertarian option by attitude	268
9.7	Social Democrats vs. Radical Left: predicted probabilities of choosing the social democratic party over the radical left option by attitude	269

9.8	Social Democrats vs. Moderate Right: predicted probabilities of choosing the social democratic party over the moderate right option by sociocultural attitude	270
9.9	Social Democrats vs. Radical Right: predicted probabilities of choosing the social democratic party over the radical right option by attitude	271
9.10	Support for different social democratic programmatic strategies by left–right self-positioning, Austria, Switzerland, and Sweden	272
9.11	Support for different social democratic programmatic strategies by left–right self-positioning, Germany, Spain, and Denmark	273
10.1	Distribution of current vote choices of voters who had chosen major left parties at $t - 1$	289
10.2	Distribution of movements between prior and current election, all major left parties in the data	290
10.3	Movement from $t - 1$ to t on the economic left–right scale based on the Comparative Manifesto Project for major left parties	294
10.4	Movement from $t - 1$ to t on the cultural liberal–conservative scale based on the Comparative Manifesto Project for major left parties	295
10.5	Comparing movements from $t - 1$ to t , economic left–right and cultural liberal–conservative scales	296
10.6	Moderation in prior cycle and subsequent vote choice of survey respondents who had voted for major left parties in the prior cycle	298
11.1	Parties' positions relative to mean of the scale and their electoral payoff	327
11.2	Parties' positions relative to ML (Social Democracy) and ML's vote share	331
12.1	Predicted vote share of social democratic parties by level of fiscal consolidation and incumbency status	352
12.2	Predicted vote share of social democratic parties by level of spending- and revenue-based consolidations and incumbency status	353
12.3	Predicted vote share of social democratic parties by level of consolidation in different areas and incumbency status	356
12.A1	Distribution of fiscal consolidation programs	364
12.A2	Distribution of spending- and revenue-based consolidation programs	365

List of Figures	xiii
12.A3 Distribution of different types of consolidation	365
13.1 Leader changes in social democratic and conservative/Christian democratic parties	373
13.2 The polling effects of leadership changes and the frequency of leadership changes	384
13.3 Polling effects of leader changes across party families	385
13.4 The electoral effects of leadership changes and the frequency of leadership changes	387
13.5 The electoral effects of leadership changes and the frequency of leadership changes conditional on party family	388