

## A New Player in the Game: Changing Electoral Competition in Germany

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## A New Player in the Game: Changing Electoral Competition in Germany

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# 6

## A New Player in the Game: Changing Electoral Competition in Germany

*Aiko Wagner and Josephine Lichteblau*

### Introduction

As laid out in Chapter 1, concurrently with the establishment of the AfD since 2013, the German party system changed dramatically: at the 2017 election, polarization increased and volatility levels, as well as fragmentation, reached all-time German records. Against this background, this chapter asks how the inter-party electoral competition in Germany changed from 2013 to 2017. Considering that previous research has discussed whether there are still two distinct party systems in East and West Germany (e.g., Arzheimer and Schoen 2007; Arzheimer 2016; Abedi 2017), we will investigate such changes in electoral competition in both regions. Following Sartori, who defines a party system as “the *system of interactions* resulting from inter-party competition” (1976: 39, italics in original), we focus on the content-related properties of the German party systems. More specifically, we first investigate the extent of inter-party electoral competition in terms of overlapping electoral support of party pairs. Second, we study how the establishment and development of the AfD changed the substantial dimensions underlying this electoral competition in East and West Germany. In other words, we examine the changing structure of inter-party electoral competition, thereby providing answers to three questions: First, which dimensions were relevant for inter-party electoral competition in East and West Germany? Did, e.g., parties with similar socio-economic platforms compete for the same voters? Second, how did the structure of electoral competition change between 2013 and 2017? Was the new divide between populist and non-populist parties more important than the established policy issues? Third, are regional differences (still) visible? Or, alternatively, are the structures of electoral competition the same in East and West Germany?

We argue that temporal differences of inter-party electoral competition are mainly the result of the changing relevance of the socio-economic and socio-cultural policy issue dimensions and the newly emerged populist–pluralist

divide to (the structure of) electoral competition in East and West Germany (associational effects). Regional differences, however, are mainly the result of different voter preferences and party positions (compositional effects). Instead of focusing on manifest voting behavior, our study looks below the surface by analyzing the more nuanced, non-ipsative electoral preferences. Building on previous work on electoral competition, we apply a measure for the availability of a party's supporter for other parties. As this measure depicts the degree to which parties compete for the supporters of a specific rival, we are able to investigate inter-party electoral competition and its development from 2013 to 2017 on the individual level and in a very direct manner.

In the following section, we will discuss the concept and the nature of party competition, its relevant dimensions, regional variations, and development between 2013 and 2017 in Germany. Afterward, we will present our measurement of inter-party competition based on the individual availability of votes for different parties and our statistical approach, which includes a complex, cross-classified multi-level setting with measures on both the party and the individual level. After having presented the results on the structure of electoral competition for East and West Germany in 2013 and 2017, we will discuss the central question of the changing structure of electoral competition in Germany due to the rise of the AfD and its implications.

### Analyzing Party Systems: Two Approaches

In general, there are two approaches to analyzing party systems. Building on election results, the first approach focuses on structural characteristics of party systems, the most prominent of which being the number of parties constituting the system, the fragmentation of the party system, and/or—for systems with two major parties—the dominance and size ratio (Niedermayer 2018: 98). The second approach focuses on the content-related properties (Niedermayer 2018: 99–100). This strand of research views the dimensions of political competition and the underlying cleavage structures as the primary characteristics of party systems. Taking the (effective) number of parties (Laakso and Taagepera 1979), the underlying cleavages and issue dimensions, and the relative positioning of the relevant parties on these issues—i.e., the polarization—together, one can define a party system as “the *system of interactions* resulting from inter-party competition” (Sartori 1976: 39; italics in original; for a similar conceptualization see Duverger 1954). When analyzing party systems in the Sartorian sense, one should focus on the level of individual votes, as they are the aim of party competition. Following the reasoning of Bartolini (1999, 2000), we therefore consider the availability of voters to lie at the center of electoral competition. Availability refers to the openness of a party's supporter for other parties. If a citizen is determined

to vote only for one party, he/she is beyond competition. If, on the other hand, a party's supporter regards another party as an attractive alternative, the two parties compete for this person's vote. In the latter case, the second party is understood to be a threat to the first party, as it competes for the first party's electoral base. Consequently, to analyze party systems through the lens of electoral competition, we must look at the level of relative party preferences of the different parties within the two regional party systems in Germany. This approach has been explicated by van der Eijk and Niemöller (1983) for the Netherlands and by Wagner (2017) for the European electorates (for a conceptual discussion see Tillie 1995). With this perspective on electoral competition, we can investigate the content-related or substantial properties of the party systems in Germany, because the electoral competition in terms of supporters' availability is related to the relative positions of parties and voters in an n-dimensional competition space.

### **The German Party Systems in the East and West since the Founding of the AfD**

With regard to Germany, scholars largely agree that there are still two party systems: even nearly three decades after unification, the party system in the East seems to be different from the party system in the West. All studies dealing with that topic base this conclusion on the differences in parties' election results in the two regions, thus following the structural approach to analyzing party systems (cf. Kießling 1999; Arzheimer and Falter 2005; Dalton and Jou 2010; Arzheimer 2016; Abedi 2017). As mentioned above, the electoral support for the political parties varies notably between East and West Germany. For a long time, the differences between East and West were attributed primarily to the differing strength of the Left: While it was a major party in the East, the Left hardly played a role in West German elections. However, this situation changed with the 2017 election (see Chapter 1). With the success of the AfD, there are now two parties that are particularly strong in East Germany and significantly weaker in West Germany (cf. Arzheimer 2016). This strength of the Left and the AfD in the East is accompanied by comparatively weak results for the *Volksparteien* (catch-all parties) CDU/CSU and SPD, the Greens, and the FDP (Wagner 2019).

How do these structural differences—East vs. West and 2013 vs. 2017—occur? On a conceptual level, differences can come about in two ways and, therefore, two types of effects can theoretically be responsible for the diverging electoral support for the parties (see also Chapter 2 for the related distinction between “compositional change” and “linkage change” in the development of traditional cleavage-voting). First, there might be compositional differences, i.e., the distribution of characteristics and preferences relevant for vote choice might vary

between different (regional or temporal) electorates. On that account, the election outcomes would be the result of compositional effects. Second, the structure of competition might differ between 2013 and 2017 and between the East and West German electorates. This argument builds on the simple fact that voters don't necessarily follow the same logic when making up their minds about which party to vote for. Research on voter heterogeneity shows that different citizens apply different decision-making strategies. This relates to the varying issue importance as well: while some people might stress economic policy issues, others might base their party preference more strongly on foreign policy or issues of internal security. As a result, voters with identical policy preferences might prefer different parties (Rivers 1988; Bartle 2005; Blumenstiel and Plischke 2015). In other words, whereas people might have similar preferences on several political issues, the relative importance of these issues can vary between them. We refer to this second type of differences—differences in strength and/or direction of associations between individual attitudes and party preferences—as associational differences.

While most of the literature does not (explicitly) distinguish between the two types of possible differences between the electorates, it is predominantly compositional differences that are investigated and used to explain the East–West divide regarding the political parties' vote shares: there are more socially and economically disadvantaged people in the East, (consequently) more people with leftist attitudes with regard to socio-economic issues, stronger feelings of inequality and social injustice, and more conservative attitudes concerning socio-cultural issues (Kießling 1999; Arzheimer and Klein 2000; Arzheimer and Falter 2005; Arzheimer 2013; Arnold et al. 2015; Abedi 2017; Faus and Storcks 2019). Furthermore, East Germans are found to have weaker party attachments (cf. Chapter 1), which also contributes to the differences in elections results, as political issues and short-term campaign dynamics play a more important role in vote choice in the East (Dalton and Jou 2010). Arzheimer (2016) is the only study that explicitly distinguishes between compositional and associational differences between East and West German citizens and investigates both for the 2009 federal elections on the level of individual voters. However, he also concludes that the East–West differences in vote choice stemmed from compositional differences only since all political attitudes and evaluations exerted similar effects on vote choice among East and West German voters.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> One exception to this dominance of findings of compositional differences is the study by Arzheimer and Schoen (2007). They analyze the impact of traditional cleavage voting in East and West Germany separately for four federal elections and differentiate the socio-economic (mainly working class and union membership) and the religious cleavage (church membership and church attendance). Whereas the socio-economic cleavage is only relevant in the West, the religious cleavage works in both regions: while church attendance is positively related to voting for the CDU/CSU in West Germany, it is negatively related to voting for the Left (or its predecessor Party of Democratic Socialism—PDS) in the East.

## Changing Structures? The Dimensionality of the German Party System(s) 2013 and 2017

As regards differences between German federal elections, however, in-depth studies of the determinants of party preferences have shown that different factors played a role in the elections (besides long-term stable effects like those of party identification; see Rattinger et al. 2011; Schmitt-Beck et al. 2014; Bieber and Roßteutscher 2019). In 2013, relevant topics were the Euro crisis and the Greek government debt crisis (cf. Steinbrecher 2014: 239). In 2017, on the other hand, the campaign was mostly influenced by the debate about immigration, integration, and the so-called refugee crisis (cf. Bieber and Roßteutscher 2019: 15)—topics that shifted party preferences considerably (cf. Mader and Schoen 2019). Comparing 2013 and 2017, different issues thus gained importance—socio-economic issues in 2013 and socio-cultural issues in 2017—and the difference between both elections seems to be associational in nature (cf. Chapter 4 where it is also shown how perceived issue saliency moderates the effect of issue congruence between parties and voters on vote choice). As outlined above, most prior studies found structural differences between the party systems in the East and the West. The main causes of these differences in party strengths have been found to be compositional differences. What is missing in previous research on party system differences between East and West Germany and between different federal elections, though, is an explicit focus on the systemic character of party systems in terms of content-related interactions between parties in competition. Hence, we follow this Sartorian approach by analyzing this very system of interactions of inter-party competition from an electoral perspective.

What substantial dimensions structure the competitive space in Germany and in what respect did its structure change with the emergence of the AfD? Kitschelt and McGann (1995), among others, propose that a fitting description of the competitive space in Western democracies is a two-dimensionality that distinguishes the socio-economic and the orthogonal socio-cultural dimension (cf. Chapter 1). In this approach, parties closer to each other are thought to compete for the same voters. Recently, Norris and Inglehart argued that party competition might even be three-dimensional: “There is also the emerging Populist–Pluralist cleavage dividing parties over the location of legitimate authority in governance” (2019: 65). On this dimension, which is independent of both the socio-economic and the socio-cultural dimension, populist parties are challenging mainstream pluralists. Norris and Inglehart understand populism as a “political ideology of governance, which is about legitimate authority not substantive policy programs” (2019: 68). Consequently, parties compete on two policy issue dimensions and a third, independent dimension regarding a populist vs. a pluralist vision of society. While this is not the place to discuss the different conceptualizations of populism applied in empirical research, one cannot but notice that electoral research in Germany acknowledges

this multi-dimensionality of competition and analyzes the electoral success of, e.g., the AfD by combining socio-economic, socio-cultural, *and* populist motives of party choice (Steiner and Landwehr 2018).

Furthermore, with the success of the AfD in the 2017 election, the German party system(s) changed not only in terms of structural features (e.g., higher fragmentation; cf. Chapter 1) but also in terms of substantial features. With its extreme positions and strong emphasis on matters of European integration and—most importantly—immigration, integration, and multi-culturalism (see Berbuir et al. 2015), the socio-cultural dimension of political competition has become more polarized and salient (cf. Chapter 4). Moreover, the AfD constitutes not only a radical right but also a populist party. Applying a concept of populism linked to the “ideational approach,” originally formulated by Mudde (2004, 2007), Lewandowsky et al. (2016) found that the AfD was substantively and significantly more populist than the other main parties in Germany. Consequently, populist attitudes substantively explain electoral support for the AfD (Steiner and Landwehr 2018). At the same time, citizens with stronger populist attitudes are less likely to vote for non-populist parties, especially for the CDU/CSU and the Greens (Giebler and Wagner 2019). Based on these findings on the relevance of populism, we ask for the German case whether the populism–pluralism divide indeed constitutes a separate, new dimension of electoral competition, as proposed by Norris and Inglehart (2019). Our empirical tests will provide an answer to this question, too.

### **Analyzing the Structure of Electoral Competition in Germany**

As argued above, to analyze electoral competition, it is insufficient to focus only on election results and underlying differences in political attitudes since this perspective does not tell us anything about the *structure* of competition in a given party system. Instead, we need to apply the perspective on electoral competition between parties put forward by Tillie (1995) and others. Furthermore, we argued not only that differing attitudes can theoretically explain differences concerning the strengths of the parties in both elections but also that the relevance of the substantial dimensions underlying electoral competition can differ too. As would seem natural, the source of this voter heterogeneity in our case could be the difference between 2013 and 2017 on the one hand and the East–West difference on the other hand. However, considering the findings of the literature on East and West differences discussed above, we assume that the structure of competition is similar in both regions. The differences between the regional party systems are, then, merely compositional in nature and to a lesser extent the result of an associational difference. The structure of competition would thus be the same in the East and the West, and only the distribution of preferences would account for the different patterns of electoral competition and the different party systems. With regard



to temporal changes, studies found that the relevance of different issues changes over time and is mainly responsible for temporal changes in the relative strengths of parties. Our general assumption is therefore that there is more temporal than regional variation in the structure of inter-party electoral competition in Germany. Here, associational differences mainly account for varying electoral competition over time (and not so much for regional differences).

Building on the literature on relative issue importance in different elections and for different parties (cf., e.g., Lachat and Wagner 2018), we can develop more specific expectations with regard to temporal changes of the structure of electoral competition. When should we assume certain dimensions of competition to be of more relevance? First, a plurality of parties is found to increase the differentiation of the political offer. Such parliamentary fragmentation makes individual choices more meaningful (Weßels and Schmitt 2008), which in turn strengthens issue voting (and reduces the impact of party identification and other heuristics, see Lachat 2011). As the fragmentation of the German parliament increased in 2017, this would imply that policy issue dimensions were more important for inter-party electoral competition in 2017 than in 2013. Second, the relevance of issues and other factors of party preferences varies over time and between citizens. Saliency theory (Budge and Farlie 1983; Petrocik 1996) argues that competition consists mainly of parties emphasizing particular policies or concerns. Furthermore, comparative studies found issue saliency to be positively linked to polarization (Alvarez and Nagler 2004; Lachat 2008) as the perceived importance of an issue increases with the ideological differences among the parties in competition (Nicolet and Sciarini 2006; Lachat 2011). Therefore, the more salient and polarized an issue is, the more relevant it is for explaining inter-party electoral competition. With regard to varying issue saliencies, we mentioned above that the 2013 and the 2017 election campaigns saw different problems pressing and, hence, different issues became salient: whereas the issues of the 2013 campaign were more strongly related to the socio-economic dimension, in 2017 the campaign focus was predominantly on socio-cultural issue of immigration (cf. Chapters 1 and 5). Furthermore, existing research has shown that, due to the establishment of the AfD, the German party system became more polarized in 2017, especially with regard to the socio-cultural and populist–pluralist dimensions (Kriesi 2018). It thus seems natural to assume that electoral competition was strongly dependent on socio-economic issues in 2013, whereas it was dominated by socio-cultural issues in 2017. As mentioned above, the populist nature of this newcomer became a more and more important topic in German politics, especially since the success of the AfD in European and regional elections after the 2013 Bundestag election. Consequently, one would expect populism to play a more important role in 2017. Taken together, our objective thus is, first, to describe electoral competition in East and West Germany in 2013 and 2017—which parties competed for the same voters? Second, we want to investigate whether this electoral competition has a

three-dimensional structure, with two policy dimensions—a socio-economic and a socio-cultural one—and a separate populism–pluralism divide. Third, we will clarify whether this structure of competition is the same in East and West and whether it changed between 2013 and 2017.

### Data and Operationalization

For our analyses, we combine data from the post-election cross-section and candidate surveys of the German Longitudinal Election Study (GLES) 2013 (CrossSec13\_Post, CandSurv13\_Plus) and 2017 (CrossSec17\_Post, CandSurv17). Our dependent variable is the individual availability of a parties' supporter for another party. It is based on a survey item called propensities to vote (PTV), derived from the 2013 and 2017 GLES post-election cross-section data sets. Respondents were asked about their individual probability to ever vote for the six biggest and most relevant political parties (CDU/CSU<sup>2</sup>, SPD, Greens, the Left, FDP, and AfD)<sup>3</sup> on an eleven-point scale ranging from 1 = "not at all probable" to 11 = "very probable." Going back to van der Eijk and Niemöller (1983), PTVs are an established, non-ipsative tool in electoral research to measure party preferences, and, based on that, parties' voter potentials. Furthermore—and more important in our context—Tillie (1995: 81ff.) convincingly demonstrates that and how individual PTV responses can be used to calculate the degree to which two parties' voter potentials overlap on the aggregate level. Thus, PTV survey items enable us to develop a direct measure of inter-party electoral competition on a party pair level and, therefore, to analyze party systems according to Sartori's notion of systems of interactions between parties.

Building on Wagner's (2017) attempt to develop a measure for the individual availability to all parties of a given system, we calculate the availability of each potential voter of a given party (A) for another party (B) as

$$Availability_{AB} = \begin{cases} 1 - \left( \sqrt{PTV_A} - \sqrt{PTV_B} \right), & PTV_B \neq 0 \\ 0, & PTV_B = 0 \end{cases},$$

where  $PTV_A$  is the PTV score<sup>4</sup> for party A and  $PTV_B$  is the PTV score for party B. The availability of a specific potential voter of party A for party B depicts the degree

<sup>2</sup> Due to the special relationship of the CDU and CSU, with the latter only competing in Bavaria and the former not competing there, and because the two parties form a single faction in the federal parliament, we follow common practice and treat them as a single party. Consequently, we replaced the Bavarian respondents' PTV responses for the CDU with their responses for the CSU.

<sup>3</sup> In the 2013 post-election survey, respondents were also asked to evaluate the probability that they ever vote for the Pirate Party of Germany. However, as the Pirate Party was of no relevance to political competition already in 2013 and had completely vanished from the electoral arena by the time of the 2017 election, we did not include it in our analyses.

<sup>4</sup> We recoded the original PTVs to 0–1, with 0 = "not at all probable" and 1 = "very probable."

to which party B competes with party A for that specific person. At the same time, it depicts the degree to which party A is threatened by party B with regard to that potential voter. Our units of analysis are therefore combinations of respondents and party pairs. A respondent is considered a potential voter of party A if his/her PTV score for party A is (a) the highest score of all parties and (b) above the midpoint of the PTV scale.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, the individual availability is only calculated for party pairs for which  $PTV_A = PTV_{max}$  and  $PTV_{max} > 0.5$ . The range of this measure is between zero (party A's potential voter is beyond competition to party B) and one (party A's potential voter is equally available to party B). Our measure fulfills important conditions that have to be met to adequately capture the degree of inter-party competition on the individual level (see Wagner 2017: 509): (i) If two parties are rated similarly on the PTV scale, the individual availability is higher (and vice versa). (ii) Ties always yield the highest possible value on the party pair-specific availability measure and therefore the highest degree of competition. (iii) Higher levels of PTVs imply higher individual availabilities and higher degrees of inter-party competition ( $PTV_A = 1$  and  $PTV_B = 0.9$  yield higher availability scores of a supporter of party A for party B than  $PTV_A = 0.6$  and  $PTV_B = 0.5$ ).

Consider as an example the PTV scores of four respondents for three parties (Table 6.1) and the resulting data structure (Table 6.2). As respondent 1 has the maximum voting propensity for all three parties, he/she can be considered a potential voter of all of them to the same degree. Consequently, respondent 1 is equally available to all the hypothetical parties, i.e., all three parties compete for respondent 1 to the same degree. In contrast, party A is the only option for respondent 2; thus, he/she is only available to the latter and (almost) beyond competition for the remaining parties. In other words, party A does not compete for respondent 2 with any of the other parties.<sup>6</sup> Respondent 3 is similar to respondent 2 in the sense

**Table 6.1** Example of PTV scores and party pair-specific availability

r	PTV A	PTV B	PTV C	Availability AB	Availability AC	Availability BA	Availability BC	Availability CA	Availability CB
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	0	0.1	0	0.32	-	-	-	-
3	0.9	0.7	0.5	0.89	0.76	-	-	-	-
4	0.7	0.5	0	0.87	0	-	-	-	-

<sup>5</sup> The restriction at this cut-off point is necessary because, according to our theoretical concept, two parties compete for voters that are potential voters of both parties. Someone whose inclinations to vote for party A goes in direction of “not at all probable” cannot be considered a potential voter of that party.

<sup>6</sup> Note that the degrees to which parties B and C compete with party A and with each other for respondent 2 (availability BA, BC, CA, CB) are not relevant for analysis, since by definition respondent 2 is not a supporter of parties B and C. The same applies to respondents 3 and 4 (maximum PTV also for party A).

**Table 6.2** Example of data structure

r	Party dyad	Availability
1	AB	1
1	AC	1
1	BA	1
1	BC	1
1	CA	1
1	CB	1
2	AB	0
2	AC	0.32
3	AB	0.89
3	AC	0.76
4	AB	0.87
4	AC	0
...		

that he/she is a supporter of party A. However, as he/she is more inclined toward parties B and C, the availability index is higher, i.e., party A competes with parties B and C for respondent 3 more than for respondent 2. Respondent 4 is also most inclined toward party A. However, whereas the magnitude of PTV differences between parties A and B is the same as for respondent 3, party A competes with party B for respondent 3 more strongly because respondent 4 gives lower PTV scores to both parties.

Our independent variables are two proximity measures regarding policy issues representing the two relevant policy issue dimensions and a proximity measure regarding the parties' degree of populism for the populist–pluralist dimension. We use the GLES 2013 and 2017 taxation/redistribution and welfare state issues<sup>7</sup> as indicators for the socio-economic issue dimension and the immigration issue<sup>8</sup> as an indicator for the socio-cultural issue. We measure relative issue proximities between the respondents and the parties constituting a party pair. Following common practice, we calculate the squared differences between the respondent's position and the positions of both party A and party B, whereby the latter are derived from the GLES 2013 and 2017 candidate study.<sup>9</sup> We then take the absolute differences of these distances and recode the variable so that higher values represent higher proximities. For the populist–pluralist dimension, we calculate

<sup>7</sup> This issue concerns the redistribution of income. The endpoints of the eleven-point scales are “lower taxes/fewer social services” and “more social services/higher taxes.”

<sup>8</sup> The socio-cultural issue deals with the subject of immigration laws and asks, also on an eleven-point scale, whether those should be more permissive or more restrictive.

<sup>9</sup> We calculate a party's position on these issues as the mean score of all candidates of that party. The wording and range of the scales are identical to those of the voter surveys.

the similarity of two parties with regard to their degree of populism, also relying on data of the GLES candidate surveys. First, we measure the degree of populism according to Lewandowsky et al. (2016), who translate two core concepts of populism—anti-elitism and popular sovereignty—to the area of candidate surveys. We then calculate squared distances between party A and party B to derive their populist similarity. To ensure comparability of effect sizes, we standardized our three proximity measures for our multivariate analyses.

Furthermore, we control for whether the respondent has a party identification (PI) for party A (1 = PI for party A, 0 = PI for another party, PI for all parties, no PI), as we assume that identifying with party A decreases the availability for another party. At the same time, having a party identification might also bias their issue positions toward the position of the party identified with.

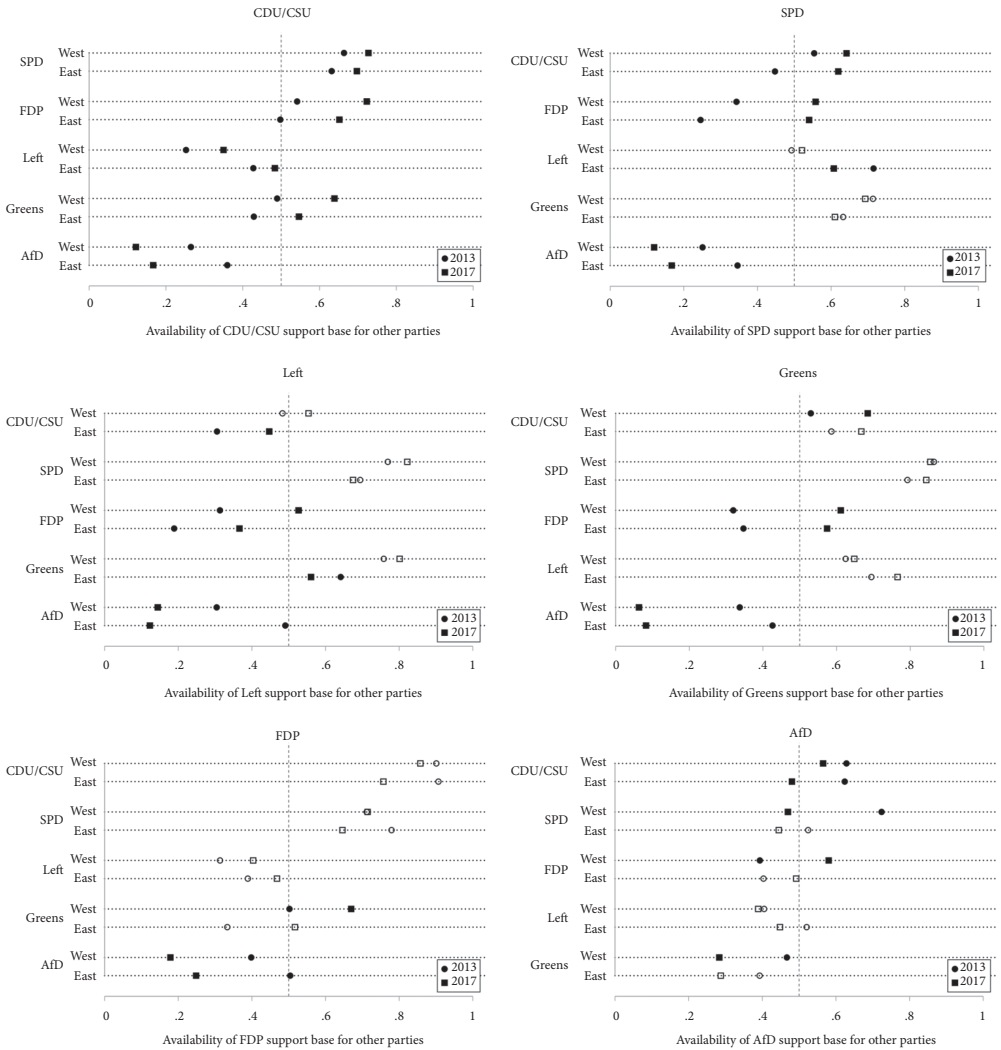
In order to investigate change in the three-dimensional structure of electoral competition in Germany, we calculate four separate regression models for 2013 and 2017, one for each of the two German regions. As our units of analysis are combinations of respondents and party pairs (see Table 6.2), we are confronted with a peculiar data structure. Our observations are clustered in two groups, respondents and party pairs, which are not nested within each other. Having such cross-classified data at hand, we would not expect the party pair-specific availabilities of a single respondent to be independent of one another. At the same time, one and the same party pair is evaluated by different respondents, which also sheds doubt on the independence of estimation errors. Hence, we calculate standard errors based on cross-classified multi-level regression models. Furthermore, we need to account for the small number of cases at the party pair level ( $N = 30$ ). Elff et al. (2020) showed that restricted maximum-likelihood estimations ensure valid estimates in settings with such a limited number of cases.

## The Intensity of Electoral Competition between the Political Parties

Figure 6.1 gives some descriptive information on our dependent variable and displays the average availabilities of each party's support base for each of the other parties in East and West Germany in 2013 and 2017.<sup>10</sup> Each subplot thus shows the degree to which the respective party was threatened by a specific competitor, which at the same time can be interpreted as the electoral potential of that competitor among the supporters of the former party.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Note that the parties' support bases of 2013 are distinct from their 2017 support bases as the GLES post-election data are cross-section and not panel data.

<sup>11</sup> In the following, we only consider electoral threat or competition to be meaningful when availability scores reach values above the midpoint of the scale ( $> 0.5$ ). Furthermore, as the focus of this paper is on how electoral competition in Germany changed from 2013 to 2017, we only report whether those



**Fig. 6.1** Availabilities of parties’ support bases for other parties in East and West Germany, 2013 and 2017

*Notes:* Filled out markers depict differences in availability scores between 2013 and 2017 that are statistically significant at least at the 5 percent level. The dashed vertical line represents the midpoint of the scale (0.5).

The upper left plot of Figure 6.1 displays inter-party electoral competition from the perspective of the CDU/CSU. In both election years and in both regions, its main competitors were the SPD and the FDP. The electoral threat by both parties

temporal changes are statistically significant in Figure 6.1 (filled out markers). Relevant regional differences are reported in the text. Respective tables reporting p-values of regional differences can be found in the Appendix (Table 6.A1 and Table 6.A2).

increased significantly from 2013 to 2017. This is particularly true for competition with the FDP: in 2013, CDU/CSU supporters were only moderately available for the Liberals—corresponding to a particularly low amount of coalition-targeted threshold insurance votes (*Leihstimmen*—see Chapter 9). However, in 2017, their availability score reached values of 0.65 in the East, and there was an even stronger threat in the West (availability of 0.75). More CDU/CSU supporters had a stronger inclination to vote for the FDP, its coalition partner for several legislatures, in the future. The SPD supporters' availability (upper right subplot) in 2013 and 2017 is highest for the CDU/CSU, the Greens, and—in the East—for the Left.

The CDU/CSU managed to increase its electoral potential among the social democratic support base from 2013 to 2017, especially in the East, causing regional differences to vanish. Yet, regional differences in electoral competition persisted with regard to the Left: unsurprisingly, in both election years, the Left was a bigger threat to the Social Democrats in the East than in the West. Whereas the Left's electoral potential among SPD supporters remained stable at a moderate level in the West, it decreased significantly in the East (availabilities of 0.72 in the East and 0.48 in the West in 2013 compared to 0.61 and 0.54, respectively, in 2017). The FDP's (center left subplot) main competitor at both elections and in both regions was the CDU/CSU, for which FDP supporters showed stable availability scores above 0.8. In general, the electoral threat of the FDP by none of the other established parties changed significantly, except for the Greens in West Germany, for which availability increased by two scale points to a meaningful level and regional differences emerged. Looking at inter-party competition from the perspective of the Greens (center right subplot), we can see that electoral competition is also strongest with regard to parties from the same political camp: the Greens' supporters in both regions and both years were most available to the Social Democrats, followed by the Left, although electoral availability for the latter was significantly higher in the East than in the West. The Left's support base (lower left subplot) was almost exclusively available to the SPD and the Greens in 2013 as well as in 2017. The availability of Left supporters for those two parties was higher in West Germany than in East Germany and stable over time.

Lastly, turning to the new competitor in the German party system(s), the AfD (lower right subplot), the most interesting pattern of inter-party competition (changes) occurs. First and foremost, we observe an electoral closure of AfD supporters. In 2013, the AfD's overall threat by other parties was already relatively low, and the AfD support base only showed substantial availability levels for the CDU/CSU and the SPD. For the latter, however, this was only the case in the West. By 2017, the electoral competition with regard to those parties had decreased to a moderately low level. Overall, there was no longer any serious threat for the new challenger party in the East. In the West, the Christian Democrats and Liberals—who were able to increase electoral pressure on the AfD from 2013 to 2017—were the only parties for which AfD supporters were somewhat available. On the other

hand, we can also observe an electoral closure of the established parties with regard to the AfD. Albeit on low levels, the AfD was a bigger threat to all other parties in 2013 than in 2017.<sup>12</sup> With an average availability level of below 0.15 in both regions, there was de facto no longer any electoral potential for the AfD among the established parties' supporters at the last federal elections.

All in all, we see clear shifts in inter-party electoral competition from 2013 to 2017. For 50 percent of party pairs comprised of established parties in the East and 55 percent in the West, we find statistically and substantially significant changes<sup>13</sup> in the availability of these parties' support bases. Overall, the availability of party supporters increased for all parties except for the AfD, meaning that electoral competition between the established, especially the mainstream parties became more intense in the sense that electoral threat increased. The AfD as the new challenger party was beyond electoral competition in 2017, as there was a closure of the AfD support base vis-à-vis the established parties and at the same time closure of the other major parties' support bases vis-à-vis the AfD.

### **The Dimensionality and Structure of Electoral Competition in Germany**

How did these shifts in inter-party electoral competition come about? As outlined above, two kinds of factors can theoretically be responsible: First, compositional differences might have emerged, i.e., preferences of voters and/or positions of the political parties with regard to issues relevant for political competition in Germany might have changed. In Figure 6.2, the distributions of voters' issue preferences with regard to the taxation/redistribution and immigration issue for 2013 and 2017 in East and West Germany are plotted. Concerning the taxation/redistribution issue, we see that there were no substantial changes in party supporters' preferences on the aggregate level, neither in the East nor in the West. Calculating the Duncan Indices of Dissimilarity (DID, range from 0 to 1) for temporal distributional differences confirms this observation (0.07 in the East and 0.11 in the West).

For the immigration issue, we can observe shifts in voter preferences from 2013 to 2017, albeit only in East Germany. Here, people's preferences shifted somewhat to the right, and the DID of 0.16 hints at more pronounced differences in distributions as compared to the taxation/redistribution issue. In the West, the distribution of preferences in 2017 was almost identical to that in 2013 (DID = 0.08).

<sup>12</sup> Against this background, it seems plausible that the majority of the AfD's electoral gains in 2017 stemmed from former nonvoters and voters of minor parties.

<sup>13</sup> A change is considered meaningful if either average availability levels above the midpoint of the scale in 2013 increased significantly in 2017 or average availability levels increased from below 0.5 to above or decreased from above 0.5 to below the midpoint of the scale.



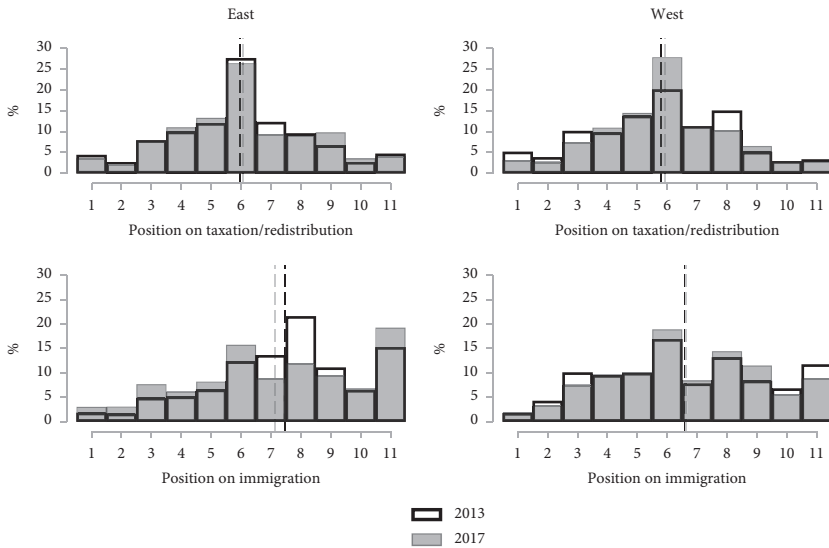
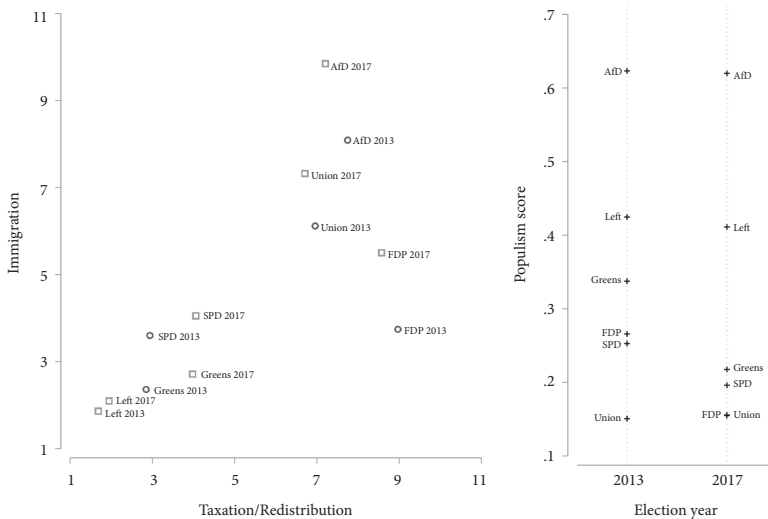


Fig. 6.2 Individual positions on taxation/redistribution and immigration in 2013 and 2017

Comparing issue preferences between East and West German party supporters, we conclude that there were no relevant differences concerning their welfare state orientations in both election years ( $DID = 0.11$  in 2013 and  $0.06$  in 2017). Things look different, however, when inspecting the immigration issue: on average, East Germans favored restrictive immigration policies more than West Germans in 2013 and 2017 ( $DID = 0.21$  in 2013 and  $0.15$  in 2017).

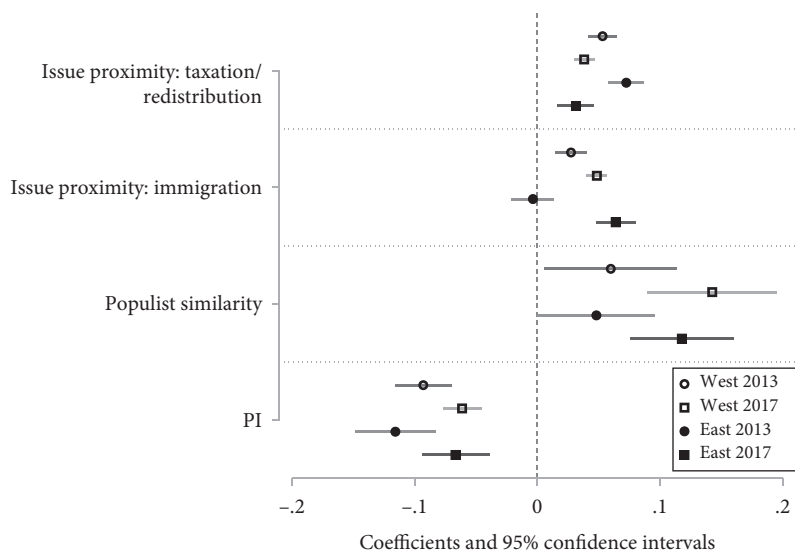
Turning to the political supply side, Figure 6.3 shows the parties' policy positions with regard to the immigration and taxation/redistribution issues as well as their degree of populism. With regard to the first, there were only minor changes of party positions; merely the SPD and the Greens moved to the right on that issue, and the parties on the right moved slightly toward the center. Consequently, the relative proximity of the parties to the majority of voters located at the center did not change substantively. Concerning the immigration issue, most parties—especially the CDU/CSU, FDP, and AfD—shifted toward a more restrictive position in 2017, resulting in a somewhat higher degree of polarization with regard to that issue. However, since this shift involved almost all parties, the relative positions of most parties vis-à-vis each other did not change substantively. Looking at the parties' degrees of populism, we see a similar result. Due to the less populist profiles of the Greens, the FDP, and the SPD, polarization with respect to that dimension increased.

All in all, there were no major compositional changes on the political demand side except for the immigration issue preferences of East Germans. Furthermore,



**Fig. 6.3** Party positions in 2013 and 2017 on taxation/redistribution, immigration, and populism

the positions of the political parties toward each other did also not change substantively for any of the issues. Therefore, our descriptive results suggest that compositional effects cannot account for the differences in inter-party electoral competition between 2013 and 2017, whereas the more right-wing attitudes in the East concerning immigration policies can help understand the regional differences. Hence, our claim that the differences in availabilities of party supporters for other parties from 2013 to 2017 is attributed to a varying structure of political competition seems to be more plausible. To more thoroughly investigate whether associational differences can indeed account for the temporal variations of electoral competition, we calculated four separate cross-classified regression models (see Table 6.A3). For each year in each region, we regressed the individual availability of a party's potential voter for a specific other party on relative issue proximities between these two parties with regard to the economy/welfare state and immigration policies as well as the populist similarity of the parties. Figure 6.4 displays the coefficients of our independent variables (and our control variable PI) of all four models. First, we see that all but one of our coefficients show positive signs and are statistically significant. Substantially, this is in line with the assumptions of the spatial model of party competition: a specific party's potential voter is more available for another party if both parties are similarly close to the supporter's own ideal point with regard to the welfare state or immigration issue. In other words, if two parties are equally close to a potential voter, the latter is equally available to both. Hence, political parties primarily compete for citizens that are located between them in the political space. The positive coefficients for

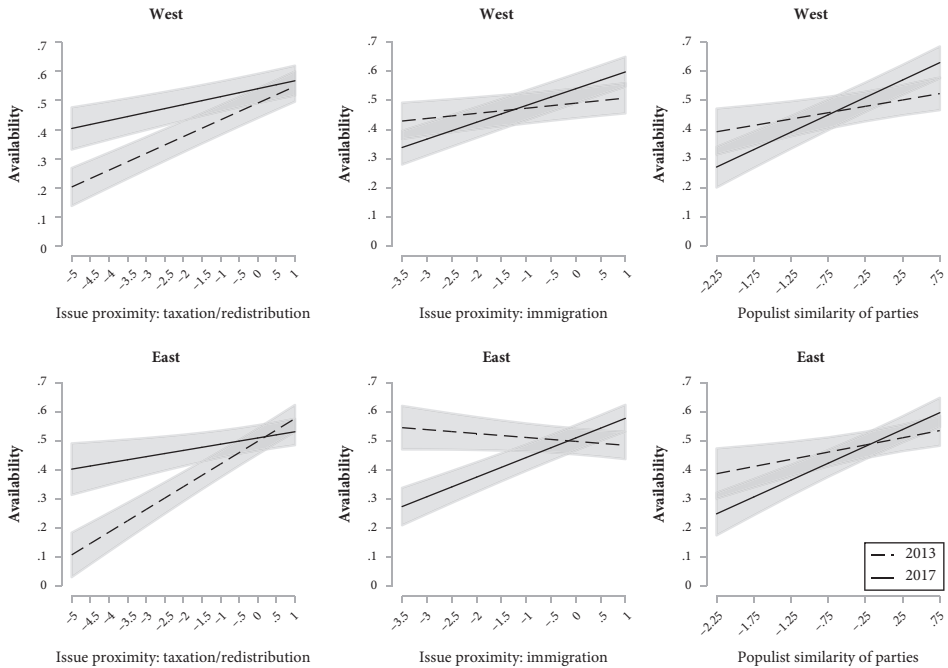


**Fig. 6.4** Results of cross-classified multi-level models regressing dyadic availability on policy issue proximities and populist similarity

*Notes:* Coefficients are standardized. N (West 2013): 5,690 observations simultaneously nested in 979 individuals and 30 party pairs; N (West 2017): 7,967 observations simultaneously nested in 1,240 individuals and 30 party pairs; N (East 2013): 2,937 observations simultaneously nested in 576 individuals and 30 party pairs; N (East 2017): 3,494 observations simultaneously nested in 586 individuals and 30 party pairs.

the populist–pluralist similarity of parties can mean that the more similar parties are with regard to their degree of populism, the more intense electoral competition is between them, or more specifically, the more available party supporters are for the respective other party. Conversely, non-populist parties hardly compete for the same voters as populist parties do.

How did the structure of inter-party electoral competition change from 2013 to 2017 in East and West Germany? As fragmentation of the German party system(s) increased and, thus, the political offer became more differentiated and peoples' choices more meaningful, we expected an increasing relevance of policy issues for inter-party electoral competition in general. However, this claim is only supported for the issue proximities with regard to immigration policies. For that issue, the coefficients increased substantially from 2013 to 2017 in both regions, meaning that inter-party electoral competition was structured more by the immigration issue in 2017 than in 2013. The taxation/redistribution issue was even less relevant in 2017 than in 2013. Figure 6.5 illustrates this: in 2013, economic issue proximity had a strong effect on a party supporter's individual availability for another party. In cases in which a party's policy position is very distant from a party supporter's ideal point as compared to that of the supported party, there



**Fig. 6.5** Marginal effect plots for policy issue proximities and populist similarity, East and West, 2013 and 2017

*Notes:* Coefficients are standardized. Shaded areas depict the 95 percent confidence intervals.

is factually no competition between the parties; this person's vote is beyond competition (predicted availabilities of 0.2 in the West and 0.1 in the East). As already outlined, in 2017 the immigration issue not only dominated the political debate but also was very polarized. Economic issues, however, only played a minor, if any, role in the 2017 election campaign, and there was also no polarization with regard to that dimension. From this perspective, the increasing relevance of the immigration issue and the decreasing relevance of the taxation/redistribution issue for inter-party electoral competition, as shown in the marginal effect plots of Figure 6.5, seem plausible. Consequently, we find that in 2013 the economic issue was more relevant for electoral competition than the immigration issue. In East Germany, parties actually did not compete at all on that issue at that election. A shift in the relevance of these two policy issues vis-à-vis each other from 2013 to 2017, however, can only be observed in East Germany. Here, the effect of issue proximity regarding immigration on individual availability was significantly higher than the effect of taxation/redistribution issue proximity. In West Germany in 2017, the difference in the effect sizes of the immigration and economic issue is very small; both issues were therefore equally relevant for party competition in the West.

Turning to the coefficients for our populism variable, we can observe bigger values in 2017 than in 2013 in both regions, which is in line with our expectations. This means that the degree to which parties competed with each other over potential voters was structured more strongly by their similarity concerning a populist–pluralist vision of society in 2017 than in 2013. In fact, in 2017 this variable shows the largest coefficient of all variables considered here. Thus, the new, saliency-winning populist–pluralist divide or dimension of politics structured inter-party electoral competition more strongly than the older economic and even the immigration issue that had experienced high saliency at that time. These results support the interpretation of three-dimensional political competition in Germany.

Regarding our control variable, we can state that party identification decreases the availability of a party's supporter for another party. The effect was weaker in 2017, which speaks in favor of the reasoning presented above about the decreasing importance of party identification in more fragmented and polarized party systems.

Inspecting Figure 6.4 with regard to differences in the structure of electoral competition between East and West Germany, we conclude that differences still existed in 2013: the taxation/redistribution issue was more relevant for party competition in the East than in the West and vice versa for the immigration issue. Yet, in 2017, the effect sizes of all three variables were not distinguishable between the regions; the differences have vanished. This means that regional differences with regard to the degree to which political parties compete for individual voters with each other can no longer be explained by differences in the structure of inter-party electoral competition. Whereas associational effects with regard to the economic and the immigration issue and compositional effects with regard to different distributions of preferences toward immigration policies can account for the East–West variation in inter-party competition in 2013, only the latter is a plausible source of explanation for the variation in 2017.

## Conclusion

How is electoral competition in Germany structured? Did the establishment and development of the right-wing populist AfD change the structure of competition? And did these changes occur to the same extent in both regions, East and West? These questions are fundamental to understanding the current politics in Germany. In this analysis, we investigated the differences and similarities of electoral competition since the founding of the AfD in East and West Germany at the 2013 and 2017 federal elections. By asking whether there are attitudinal differences between the four corresponding electorates and focusing on the structure of competition, we took a Sartorian perspective on party systems as systems

of interactions between parties. Accordingly, competition on the electoral level is characterized by the openness or availability of a party's support base for another party. In line with recent research, we ask if a three-dimensional view of the structure of party competition is more adequate than the traditional two-dimensionality. Therefore, besides taking into account the socio-economic and socio-cultural issue dimension, we included the populism–pluralism divide as a third dimension structuring the political space. With respect to these three dimensions, we differentiated between compositional effects—different attitudes and positions of parties and voters that might explain temporal and regional differences between the party systems—and associational effects—the relative relevance of these dimensions that might explain the differences between the party systems. We referred to the latter as different structure of electoral competition.

Our main findings are threefold. First, the relevance of policy issue dimensions for electoral competition varies over time, but less so across the two regions. The taxation/redistribution issue, as an indicator of the socio-economic issue dimension, was more relevant in 2013 than in 2017. In contrast, the immigration issue, representing the socio-cultural dimension, was more relevant in the 2017 election. Taken together, the relative proximities on those issues make the electoral overlaps within the two political camps—center-left and center-right—plausible. Second, despite a substantial though varying role of these relative issue proximities, electoral competition in Germany can be considered three-dimensional. More important for inter-party competition than issue proximity is the degree of a party's populism. Especially in 2017, parties with a similar level of populism competed for the same voters whereas populist and non-populist parties hardly competed with each other. East and West Germany are similar in this respect too. The structure of competition is very similar in both regions but changed from 2013 to 2017.

Against the background of these first two findings and considering the observed polarization regarding the populist–pluralist divide, our third main finding—the double-sided electoral closure regarding the AfD—becomes plausible: Already in 2013, AfD supporters were hardly available for other parties, and other major parties' support bases weren't available for the AfD either. This trend increased from 2013 to 2017. Therefore, with the establishment of the AfD as a new player in the game of electoral competition in Germany, we observe a segmentation of party competition in East and West Germany and, in this context, a diminishing role of (formerly) relevant policy issues for the structure of electoral inter-party competition.

## Appendix

**Table 6.A1** Regional differences in average availability scores of parties' support bases for other parties, 2013

Support base of:	Availability for:					
	CDU/CSU	SPD	FDP	Left	Greens	AfD
CDU/CSU		-0.05	-0.04	0.16***	-0.08*	0.08
SPD	-0.13**		-0.11**	0.21***	-0.09*	0.08
FDP	0.01	0.07		0.14	-0.11	0.14
Left	-0.19***	-0.07*	-0.13**		-0.13**	0.17**
Greens	0.07	-0.08*	0.04	0.08		0.09
AfD	0.00	-0.19*	-0.01	0.12	-0.07	

*Notes:* \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Negative values = support bases are less available in the East than in the West; positive values = support bases are more available in the East than in the West.

**Table 6.A2** Regional differences in average availability scores of parties' support bases for other parties, 2017

Support base of:	Availability for:					
	CDU/CSU	SPD	FDP	Left	Greens	AfD
CDU/CSU		-0.04	-0.08**	0.12***	-0.11***	0.05
SPD	-0.03		-0.02	0.08*	-0.10**	0.05
FDP	-0.10**	-0.06		0.05	-0.16**	0.08
Left	-0.12*	-0.16***	-0.16***		-0.26***	-0.01
Greens	-0.02	-0.02	-0.04	0.12*		0.02
AfD	-0.09	-0.03	-0.10	0.07	0.01	

*Notes:* \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Negative values = support bases are less available in the East than in the West; positive values = support bases are more available in the East than in the West.

**Table 6.A3** Regression results of cross-classified linear models

	(1) West 2013	(2) West 2017	(3) East 2013	(4) East 2017
Issue proximity: taxation/redistribution	0.05*** (0.04/0.06)	0.04*** (0.03/0.05)	0.07*** (0.06/0.09)	0.03*** (0.02/0.05)
Issue proximity: immigration	0.03*** (0.01/0.04)	0.05*** (0.04/0.06)	-0.00 (-0.02/0.01)	0.06*** (0.05/0.08)
Populist similarity	0.06* (0.01/0.11)	0.14*** (0.09/0.20)	0.05* (0.00/0.1)	0.12*** (0.08/0.16)
PI	-0.09*** (-0.12/-0.07)	-0.06*** (-0.08/-0.05)	-0.12*** (-0.15/-0.08)	-0.07*** (-0.09/-0.04)
Constant	0.53*** (0.47/0.59)	0.58*** (0.52/0.64)	0.57*** (0.51/0.62)	0.53*** (0.49/0.58)
$\sigma^2$ party pair level	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.01
$\sigma^2$ respondent level	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.02
$\sigma^2$ respondent-p	0.08	0.06	0.07	0.08
R <sup>2</sup>	0.14	0.27	0.12	0.20
N observations	5,690	7,967	2,937	3,494
N individuals	979	1,240	576	586
N party pairs	30	30	30	30

Notes: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Lower/upper bound of 95 percent confidence interval in parentheses. Coefficients are standardized.



# GLES Datasets

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Abbreviation	Reference
CampPanel09	GLES (2015): Short-term Campaign Panel (GLES 2009). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5305 Data file Version 5.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.12198.
CampPanel09-13	GLES (2016): Repeatedly questioned respondents of the Short-term Campaign Panel 2009 and 2013 (GLES). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5757 Data file Version 1.1.0, doi:10.4232/1.12536.
CampPanel13	GLES (2016): Short-term Campaign Panel 2013 (GLES). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5704 Data file Version 3.2.0, doi:10.4232/1.12561.
CampPanel13-17	GLES (2018): Repeatedly questioned respondents of the Short-term Campaign Panel 2013 and 2017 (GLES). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA6827 Data file Version 1.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.13129.
CampPanel17	GLES (2018): Short-term Campaign Panel (GLES 2017). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA6804 Data file Version 6.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.13150.
CandSurv09	GLES (2012): Candidate Campaign Survey, Survey (GLES 2009). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5319 Data file Version 2.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.11444.
CandSurv13_Plus	GLES (2014): Candidate Campaign Survey 2013, Survey and Electoral/Structural Data (GLES). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5716 Data file Version 3.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.12043.
CandSurv17	GLES (2018): Candidate Campaign Survey (GLES 2017). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA6814 Data file Version 3.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.13089.
CrossSec09_Cum	GLES (2019): Pre- and Post-election Cross-Section (Cumulation) (GLES 2009). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5302 Data file Version 6.0.2, doi:10.4232/1.13230.
CrossSec09_Post	GLES (2019): Post-election Cross-Section (GLES 2009). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5301 Data file Version 4.0.2, doi:10.4232/1.13229.
CrossSec09_Pre	GLES (2019): Pre-election Cross-Section (GLES 2009). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5300 Data file Version 5.0.2, doi:10.4232/1.13228.
CrossSec13_Cum	GLES (2019): Pre- and Post-election Cross-Section (Cumulation) (GLES 2013). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5702 Data file Version 4.0.1, doi:10.4232/1.13233.

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Abbreviation	Reference
CrossSec13_Post	GLES (2019): Post-election Cross-Section (GLES 2013). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5701 Data file Version 3.0.1, doi:10.4232/1.13232.
CrossSec13_Pre	GLES (2019): Pre-election Cross-Section (GLES 2013). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5700 Data file Version 2.0.2, doi:10.4232/1.13231.
CrossSec17_Cum	GLES (2019): Pre- and Post-election Cross-Section (Cumulation) (GLES 2017). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA6802 Data file Version 3.0.1, doi:10.4232/1.13236.
CrossSec17_Post	GLES (2019): Post-election Cross-Section (GLES 2017). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA6801 Data file Version 4.0.1, doi:10.4232/1.13235.
CrossSec17_Pre	GLES (2019): Pre-election Cross-Section (GLES 2017). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA6800 Data file Version 5.0.1, doi:10.4232/1.13234.
LongPanel09-17	GLES (2016): Long-term Panel 2009–2013–2017 (GLES 2013). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5322 Data file Version 1.1.0, doi:10.4232/1.12627.
MediaContent09_TV	GLES (2015): Campaign Media Content Analysis, TV (GLES 2009). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5306 Data file Version 1.2.0, doi:10.4232/1.12211.
MediaContent09_Print	GLES (2012): Campaign Media Content Analysis, Print Media (GLES 2009). Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5307 Data file Version 1.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.11387.
MediaContent13_Print	GLES (2015): Campaign Media Content Analysis, Print Media (GLES 2013). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5706 Data file Version 1.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.12293.
MediaContent13_TV	GLES (2015): Campaign Media Content Analysis: TV (GLES 2013). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5705 Data file Version 1.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.12173.
MediaContent17_Print	GLES (2018): Campaign Media Content Analysis, Print Media (GLES 2017). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA6809 Data file Version 1.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.13130.
MediaContent17_TV	GLES (2018): Campaign Media Content Analysis, TV (GLES 2017). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA6808 Data file Version 1.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.13186.
RollCrossSec09	GLES (2019): Rolling Cross-Section Campaign Survey with Post-election Panel Wave (GLES 2009). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5303 Data file Version 6.0.2, doi:10.4232/1.13215.
RollCrossSec13	GLES (2019): Rolling Cross-Section Campaign Survey with Post-election Panel Wave (GLES 2013). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5703 Data file Version 2.0.2, doi:10.4232/1.13214.
RollCrossSec17	GLES (2019): Rolling Cross-Section Campaign Survey with Post-election Panel Wave (GLES 2017). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA6803 Data file Version 4.0.1, doi:10.4232/1.13213.
Track09_01	GLES (2011): Long-term Online Tracking, T1 (GLES 2009). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5334 Data file Version 3.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.10757.

Abbreviation	Reference
Track09_02	GLES (2011): Long-term Online Tracking, T2 (GLES 2009). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5335 Data file Version 4.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.10830.
Track09_03	GLES (2011): Long-term Online Tracking, T3 (GLES 2009). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5336 Data file Version 4.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.10390.
Track09_04	GLES (2011): Long-term Online Tracking, T4 (GLES 2009). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5337 Data file Version 3.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.10393.
Track09_05	GLES (2015): Long-term Online Tracking, T5 (GLES 2009). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5338 Data file Version 3.1.0, doi:10.4232/1.12271.
Track09_06	GLES (2015): Long-term Online Tracking, T6 (GLES 2009). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5339 Data file Version 3.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.12220.
Track09_07	GLES (2013): Long-term Online Tracking, T7 (GLES 2009). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5340 Data file Version 4.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.11699.
Track09_08	GLES (2015): Long-term Online Tracking, T8 (GLES 2009). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5341 Data file Version 2.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.12221.
Track09-17_Cum	GLES (2019): Longterm-Online-Tracking, Cumulation 2009–2017 (GLES). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA6832 Data file Version 1.1.0, doi:10.4232/1.13416.
Track10_09	GLES (2015): Long-term Online Tracking, T9 (GLES 2009). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5342 Data file Version 2.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.12222.
Track10_10	GLES (2015): Long-term Online Tracking, T10 (GLES 2009). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5343 Data file Version 2.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.12223.
Track10_11	GLES (2015): Long-term Online Tracking, T11 (GLES 2009). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5344 Data file Version 2.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.12224.
Track10_12	GLES (2015): Long-term Online Tracking, T12 (GLES 2009). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5345 Data file Version 2.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.12225.
Track11_13	GLES (2015): Long-term Online Tracking, T13 (GLES 2009). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5346 Data file Version 2.1.0, doi:10.4232/1.12277.
Track11_14	GLES (2015): Long-term Online Tracking, T14 (GLES 2009). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5347 Data file Version 2.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.12227.
Track11_15	GLES (2015): Long-term Online Tracking, T15 (GLES 2009). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5348 Data file Version 2.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.12228.
Track11_16	GLES (2015): Long-term Online Tracking, T16 (GLES 2009). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5349 Data file Version 2.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.12229.

Abbreviation	Reference
Track12_17	GLES (2015): Long-term Online Tracking, T17 (GLES). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5350 Data file Version 1.2.0, doi:10.4232/1.12230.
Track12_18	GLES (2014): Long-term Online Tracking, T18 (GLES). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5351 Data file Version 2.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.12033.
Track13_19	GLES (2014): Long-term Online Tracking, T19 (GLES). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5719 Data file Version 2.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.12034.
Track13_20	GLES (2018): Long-term Online Tracking, T20 (GLES). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5720 Data file Version 3.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.13016.
Track13_21	GLES (2015): Long-term Online Tracking, T21 (GLES). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5721 Data file Version 3.1.0, doi:10.4232/1.12231.
Track13_22	GLES (2015): Long-term Online Tracking, T22 (GLES). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5722 Data file Version 3.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.12232.
Track14_23	GLES (2015): Long-term Online Tracking, T23 (GLES). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5723 Data file Version 2.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.12421.
Track14_24	GLES (2015): Long-term Online Tracking, T24 (GLES). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5724 Data file Version 1.2.0, doi:10.4232/1.12279.
Track14_25	GLES (2015): Long-term Online Tracking, T25 (GLES). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5725 Data file Version 2.1.0, doi:10.4232/1.12280.
Track14_26	GLES (2015): Long-term Online Tracking, T26 (GLES). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5726 Data file Version 1.1.0, doi:10.4232/1.12281.
Track15_27	GLES (2015): Long-term Online Tracking, T27 (GLES). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5727 Data file Version 1.1.0, doi:10.4232/1.12282.
Track15_28	GLES (2016): Long-term Online Tracking, T28 (GLES). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5728 Data file Version 2.1.0, doi:10.4232/1.12521.
Track15_29	GLES (2016): Long-term Online Tracking, T29 (GLES). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5729 Data file Version 1.1.0, doi:10.4232/1.12522.
Track15_30	GLES (2016): Long-term Online Tracking, T30 (GLES). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5730 Data file Version 1.2.0, doi:10.4232/1.12540.
Track16_31	GLES (2016): Long-term Online Tracking, T31 (GLES). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5731 Data file Version 1.1.0, doi:10.4232/1.12655.
Track16_32	GLES (2016): Long-term Online Tracking, T32 (GLES). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5732 Data file Version 1.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.12625.

Abbreviation	Reference
Track16_33	GLES (2016): Long-term Online Tracking, T33 (GLES). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5733 Data file Version 1.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.12675.
Track16_34	GLES (2017): Long-term Online Tracking, T34 (GLES). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5734 Data file Version 1.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.12731.
Track17_35	GLES (2017): Longterm-Online-Tracking, T35 (GLES). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA6815 Data file Version 1.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.12795.
Track17_36	GLES (2017): Longterm-Online-Tracking, T36 (GLES). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA6816 Data file Version 1.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.12872.
Track17_37	GLES (2019): Longterm-Online-Tracking T37 (GLES). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA6817 Data file Version 2.0.1, doi:10.4232/1.13295.
Track17_38	GLES (2018): Longterm-Online-Tracking T38 (GLES). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA6818 Data file Version 1.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.13009.
TVDeb09_Surv	GLES (2011): TV Debate Analysis, Survey (GLES 2009). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5309 Data file Version 2.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.10368.
TVDeb13_Surv	GLES (2015): TV Debate Analysis, Survey (GLES 2013). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5709 Data file Version 3.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.12287.
TVDeb17_Surv	GLES (2019): TV Debate Analysis, Survey (GLES 2017). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA6810 Data file Version 1.0.0, doi:10.4232/1.13256.

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