

## Leaving the Space - Opening the Gap? Electoral Effects of Parties' and Voters' Repositioning

Weßels, Bernhard

Veröffentlichungsversion / Published Version

Sammelwerksbeitrag / collection article

Zur Verfügung gestellt in Kooperation mit / provided in cooperation with:

Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB)

### Empfohlene Zitierung / Suggested Citation:

Weßels, B. (2022). Leaving the Space - Opening the Gap? Electoral Effects of Parties' and Voters' Repositioning. In R. Schmitt-Beck, S. Roßteutscher, H. Schoen, B. Weßels, & C. Wolf (Eds.), *The Changing German Voter* (pp. 50-77). Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198847519.003.0003>

### Nutzungsbedingungen:

Dieser Text wird unter einer CC BY-NC-ND Lizenz (Namensnennung-Nicht-kommerziell-Keine Bearbeitung) zur Verfügung gestellt. Nähere Auskünfte zu den CC-Lizenzen finden Sie hier:

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/deed.de>

### Terms of use:

This document is made available under a CC BY-NC-ND Licence (Attribution-Non Commercial-NoDerivatives). For more information see:

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0>

# 3

## Leaving the Space—Opening the Gap?

### Electoral Effects of Parties' and Voters' Repositioning

*Bernhard Weßels*

#### Introduction

As outlined in Chapter 1, the German party system has become increasingly fragmented and polarized in the past decades. West Germany's previously super-stable party system already started to change in the early 1980s with the success of the Greens. German unification in 1990 led to further differentiation of the party system on the left. Following the 2017 federal election, yet another new party entered the Bundestag, this time on the right side of the political spectrum: the AfD. This most recent expansion of the party system is an exceptional development and came quite unexpectedly, given that, at the national level, German voters had never given parties to the right of the CDU/CSU a chance to pass the five-percent threshold required to obtain parliamentary representation. For a long time, Germany had appeared to be immune to right-wing parties, making significant inroads at the polls, although such parties were quite successful in other Western European countries, in which right-wing and populist parties had been on the rise since the early 1990s. Against this background, some observers interpreted the emergence of the AfD simply as a normalization of the German party system in the sense that already existing "sleeping" political orientations were eventually activated at elections (Anders et al. 2018: 371; Müller 2016).

Implied in this argument is a demand-side perspective on vote change: voters have preferences that are not represented, and as soon as there is a matching offer, they vote for it. This assumption finds some support in the fact that about a quarter of the AfD's vote share in 2017 came from individuals who had abstained in the 2013 election. However, this is only part of the story. To complement this demand-driven explanation, the development of political supply must be considered. At issue is whether there has been a programmatic shift of the mainstream center-left and center-right parties to the left, thus opening the space on the right side of the political spectrum and creating a gap for new right-wing populist offers.

Accordingly, the questions to be answered in this chapter are threefold. The first question puts Germany in the wider European context. Does the entry of a right-wing populist party into parliament at the 2017 German federal election signal a “normalization” in that Germany has just caught up with a broader European development? Second, the chapter queries whether it was a change in supply structures that opened the space for this party. If a repositioning of mainstream parties has happened in this way, the more general—third—question arises whether voters reacted to it and with which consequences.

The chapter adopts a dual-track perspective by examining the specific case of Germany in parallel with a broader perspective of Western Europe overall. It shows that the centrist mainstream parties—the parties of the Social Democratic family and specifically the German SPD on the center-left as well as the Liberal, Christian Democratic, and Conservative party families, respectively the CDU/CSU and FDP, on the center-right—indeed have opened a gap on the right side of the political spectrum. This analysis is followed by a discussion of research on voters’ reactions to parties’ political repositioning, which shows that evidence is mixed and there are serious doubts that voters perceive parties’ movements at all. Against this background, the chapter then explores if and with what consequences voters react to position shifts of the parties they voted for at the previous elections. It demonstrates for Germany as well as for Western Europe overall, that voters indeed respond to position shifts of the parties they voted for at the previous elections. Having established this relationship, the question is addressed to which degree parties’ repositioning has contributed to vote switching to right-wing populist parties in Western Europe in general and the AfD in Germany in particular.

As the research question deals with relationships between parties’ political supply and voters’ individual-level reactions to changes in this supply, the chapter draws on data from two levels. To indicate parties’ programmatic supply, the Manifesto Project provides data on the content of election platforms, coded into fifty-six categories, which allow for constructing ideological scales. These data are used to measure the repositioning of political parties from one election to the next (Volkens et al. 2019a). For the individual-level analysis of voters, the post-election surveys compiled by the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES 2019a, 2019b), which also incorporates the CSES module of the post-election surveys of the German Longitudinal Election Study (CrossSec09\_Post, CrossSec13\_Post, CrossSec17\_Post), is used. The Manifesto Project Dataset 2019 has been matched to this individual-level dataset. The resulting matched data cover the period from 1996 to 2017 and include fifteen Western European countries (Austria, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, and Sweden). Based on these data, findings that refer either to all countries together or to the special case of Germany are presented in the following.

## A Changing Political Space

The idea that the general structure of party competition can be conceived in spatial terms originates from Downs (1957). While the notion of space as such is derived from an economic argument, the content of the space is conceived in terms of the left–right dimension that has its origin in the historical seat allocation to political parties in parliaments (Best 1991). The left–right semantics has become a powerful heuristic in political life, both for political actors and for citizens (Fuchs and Klingemann 1989). The traditional economic cleavage could be easily mapped on this dimension. However, political competition has also always been organized by a second, cultural dimension of cleavage. This second dimension was generally much less salient than the traditional economic left–right divide, but in recent decades, it has received increased attention in the public debate (cf. Chapter 4). Accordingly, numerous scholars have pointed out that the growing importance of the cultural dimension has created a new cleavage constellation, within which a space has been opened up for new political entrepreneurs from the right to enter the scene (Kriesi et al. 2012; Hutter et al. 2016). In their interpretation, long-term trends show an “increasing conflict between universalistic/integrationist cosmopolitans and particularistic/isolationist nationalists” (Kriesi 2013: 2).

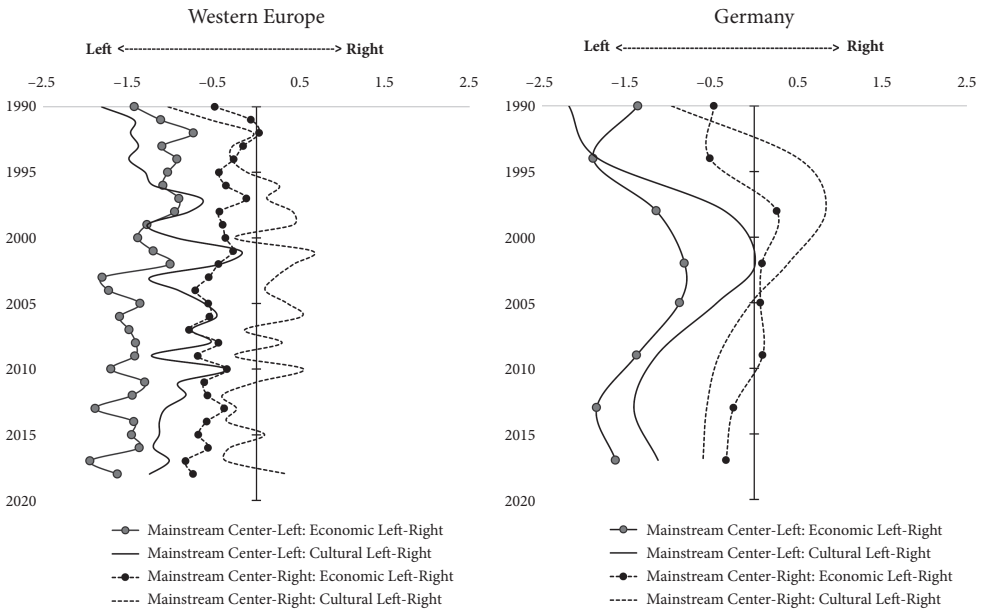
Drawing on this two-dimensional perspective allows for describing political space by four quadrants that result from the cross-classification of the economic and the cultural left–right lines of conflict. From this point of view, it is the specific combination of economically and culturally right-oriented positions in which the mainstream parties provide no viable programmatic supply. The general hypothesis, then, is that it is the opening of this particular segment in the two-dimensional political space that allowed neoliberal nationalists and right-wing populists to become important political players in almost all Western European party systems. The same may have happened in Germany in the 2017 federal election when the AfD was able to overcome the 5 percent hurdle and score larger vote shares than the FDP, the Greens, and the Left Party, thus rendering it the largest opposition party. It thus seems that the European trend of increasingly successful right-wing populists and right-wing extremists has finally also reached Germany.

Inspecting the positional movements of center-left and center-right mainstream parties for both Western Europe overall and the special case of Germany shows that these parties indeed left a gap. These movements can be made visible by examining the respective parties’ election platforms based on the data from the Manifesto Project. This project provides data on election manifestos using about fifty categories of coding topics and positions from which different kinds of position scales can be constructed (Lowe et al. 2011). The economic left–right dimension, e.g., refers to positive mentions of the free market economy, economic growth, and welfare state limitations as indications of right positions, and market regulation,

corporatism/mixed economy, and welfare state expansion of left positions. The cultural left–right dimension includes positive mentions of traditional morality as well as law and order motives and negative mentions of multiculturalism to indicate positions on the right, and the exact opposite to indicate positions on the left (see Appendix for a full list of categories). For both the economic and the cultural left–right dimension, subtracting the sum of the shares of right positions from the sum of the shares of left positions results in a scale that in principle ranges from –100 for an overall far-left position to +100 for a far-right position. However, in the following analyses, logarithmic transformations of these scales are used that have been calculated according to a formula proposed by Lowe et al. (2011), resulting in a range of roughly –5 to +5 (see Appendix A). Based on these scales, it becomes apparent that, in the Western European countries studied here, the Social Democrats have on average moved to the left both economically and culturally since the 1990s (Figure 3.1, left panel). Since 2004/2005, the center-right parties have also moved to the left on both dimensions. As a result, today the space in the quadrant defined by economically and culturally rightist positions is free from offers of centrist mainstream parties. For Germany, the programmatic shifts of the center-left SPD and the center-right CDU/CSU and FDP show a particularly pronounced picture, with both party camps having moved to the left on each of the two dimensions (Figure 3.1, right panel). Analyzing the political space in Germany, Bornschier classified the movements of Social Democrats and Christian Democrats between 1994 and 2002 as shifts to the left on the economic social welfare vs. economic liberalism dimension (Bornschier 2010). Our data show that the move to the left of CDU/CSU and FDP started earlier than that of the SPD. In recent years, however, the picture has become the same as for the Western European overall average: all parties are now positioned left of center.

There are three interesting aspects. First, the movement of the center-right parties to the left does not mean that they converged with the center-left. On the contrary: The distance between Liberals, Conservatives, and Christian Democrats on the one hand and the Social Democrats, on the other hand, has remained pretty much the same because the latter have also moved further to the left. Second, the center-right moved so far to the left that a huge gap opened on the right. Third, the development of these parties' vote shares pretty much mirrors their positional shifts. The joint vote share of the mainstream center-left and center-right parties has declined continuously. From 2005 to 2009 it amounted to about 48 percent but dropped to 34 percent between 2010 and 2014 and to 30 percent from 2014 to 2017 across the fifteen Western European countries under investigation. In Germany, the Christian Democrats, Social Democrats, and Liberals together scored 84.4 percent at the federal election in 2002, 79.2 percent in 2005, 71.4 percent in 2009, 72.0 percent in 2013, and, finally, only 64.3 percent in 2017.

These developments complement the electoral successes of right-wing populist and extremist parties in Western Europe. Right-wing populist parties have already



**Fig. 3.1** Position shifts of mainstream center-left and mainstream center-right parties on the economic and cultural left–right dimensions, 1990–2017

*Notes:* Party-specific moving averages over two elections. Mainstream center-left: Social Democratic Parties (Germany: SPD); mainstream center-right: Liberal, Christian, and Conservative Parties (Germany: FDP and CDU/CSU). Range of scales about  $-5$  to  $+5$  (log-scales calculated according to procedure proposed by Lowe et al. (2011)).

*Source:* Manifesto Project Dataset (Volkens et al. 2019a); for definition of economic and cultural left–right dimensions see Appendix A.

had some success since the early 1990s, with an average of about 6 percent of the votes in national elections. However, only from 2004 onward, there has been a steady and continuous increase in their average vote share to almost 12 percent (Guardian 2019). In Germany, the AfD came close to the 5 percent hurdle already in 2013 (4.7 percent) and easily surpassed it with 12.6 percent of the (second) votes in 2017. These numbers leave the impression that (a) there is a negative relationship between the left turn of the mainstream parties and their overall vote shares and (b) the decline in the combined vote shares of the mainstream center-left and center-right parties matches the rise of the vote share of right-wing populist parties in Western Europe overall but also specifically in Germany.

According to Roberts, “political space for populism is opened by the failure of established parties to effectively represent salient interests or sentiments in the body politic” (Roberts 2017: 390). Looking at the political space created by the economic and cultural dimensions of political conflict, we indeed see room for competitors. Placing the Western European party families and German parties in this two-dimensional space clearly shows considerable skewness in terms of the

symmetry in space. The zero point must not be regarded as the empirical political center; nevertheless, the gap left open by the mainstream parties is so huge that a potential challenger may regard this as an invitation and may ultimately be successful at the polls. Yet, this presupposes that voters actually react to shifts in parties' positions. The next section explores whether this has been the case.

### **Parties' Repositioning and Voters' Reactions—A Research Review**

Mainstream parties in Germany and elsewhere in Western Europe are embedded in social cleavages. Under normal conditions, voters of these parties are hardly available to other parties (Bartolini and Mair 1990; cf. Chapter 6). Repositioning can then be costly for parties and may lead to voter reactions that are not profitable for them. Therefore, parties tend to change their positions only under special conditions. Research shows that these conditions are manifold, complex, and do not necessarily lead different parties to react in the same ways. Adams et al. (2004) have found parties not changing positions in response to past election results but in response to strong shifts in public opinion away from them. Schumacher et al. (2013) refined this finding by demonstrating the conditionality of the effects of voters' shifts on party organizations. While leadership-dominated parties respond to changes in the mean positions of all voters, activist-dominated parties care more specifically about position shifts of their own voters. Motivation to change positions also comes from the success of competing parties. Abou-Chadi and Krause (2020) have shown that the strength of radical right parties motivates mainstream parties to change positions independently of public opinion. Yet, under normal conditions parties must stick to their "corridor of political identity" to sustain the programmatic linkages with their voters and keeping linkages requires competing parties to offer meaningful alternatives. There are two situations that may outweigh the potential costs of position shifts: one is the reaction to serious position shifts of the party voters or the electorate at large, and the other is successful mobilization. For both alternatives, the implication is that voters react to position shifts of parties.

Extant research on voters' reactions to position shifts of parties has come to different conclusions. In a recent review, Adams (2012) concludes that parties do shift positions in line with the expectations of the spatial model, whereas the assumption that voters perceive parties' policy shifts and that these perceptions lead to behavioral consequences does not find consistent support. There is strong evidence that citizens "hold reasonably accurate perceptions of parties' long-term policies, in the sense that voters' party perceptions match experts' party placements along with the left–right codings of party policy manifestos" (Adams 2012: 409). Still, this does not imply that voters react to position shifts in line with the assumption "that all voters have identical perceptions of each party's policy

positions, and that voters instantly update these perceptions—along with their party evaluations—in response to changes in the policy statements issued by the party’s elites” (Adams 2012: 403). Empirical evidence that voters react to policy shifts is weak or at best mixed. The variation of results is huge.

Adams and Somer-Topcu (2009) found that voters take some time to update their perceptions of parties’ policy positions. Voters do not react to current policy programs but policy profiles at the last election. Another study shows for Germany, the United Kingdom, Ireland, and the Netherlands that voters only perceive and react to policy shifts if they concern issues they care about (Plescia and Staniek 2017). But it is not saliency alone that renders reactions on the part of voters more likely, but also the polarity of parties’ positions on issues. Maurer et al. (2015) show that this results in party-specific issue voting. For Denmark, Seeborg et al. (2017) show in a panel study that voters update their perceptions of party positions quite accurately. Even differences in voters’ political awareness do not matter for these perception adjustments. Most recently, Spoon and Klüver (2019) have demonstrated that voters tend to switch their electoral support from mainstream parties to a non-mainstream party if the former converge on the left–right dimension.

Thus, the phenomenon of parties repositioning themselves appears to create reactions in electoral behavior. In other words, changes in parties’ supply lead to effects on the demand side. To illustrate, let us assume that the party a voter has voted for in a previous election changes its position and thus distances itself from the voter (whose position is assumed as constant). In this case, the possible recourse of the voter would be either to abstain from voting or to switch to another party. However, switching would only work if there were electoral alternatives available in close vicinity of the position held by the party supported by the voter before its programmatic shift (Bendor et al. 2011). Accordingly, it should be possible to model voters’ reaction to the repositioning of parties in spatial terms (Downs 1957; Dassonneville and Dejaeghere 2014).

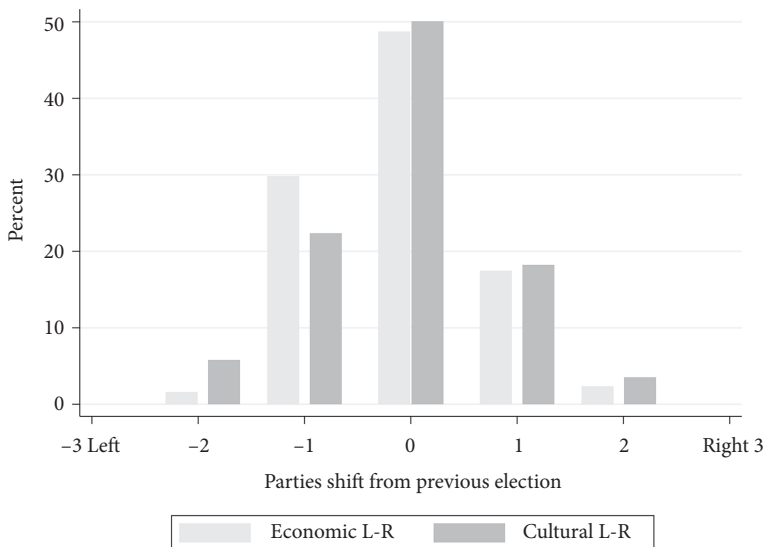
### **Measuring Parties’ and Voters’ Repositioning**

In the following, the implications of parties’ positional shifts on the two lines of conflict in party competition—the economic and the cultural—are examined. Specifically, the analyses focus on shifts that occurred between the election immediately preceding the analyzed (post-election) survey, henceforth addressed as the “most recent” or “last” election, and the one before that, henceforth addressed as the “previous” election. The parties chosen at these elections are determined by means of recall questions, one pertaining to the election on which the respective survey followed as post-election study, the other pertaining to the previous election. Parties’ position shifts are measured by means of data from the Manifesto



Project. For reasons of comparability with the CSES and GLES survey data, we use the log version of the scales as proposed by Lowe et al. (2011). The range of the log scales of about  $-5$  to about  $+5$  matches the range of the survey measure of left–right self-placement of  $-5$  to  $+5$  quite nicely. The measurement for a party’s policy shift is the difference between its position in the most recent election and its position in the previous election. If there is no difference, no shift occurred. A negative score indicates a shift to the left and a positive score a shift to the right. According to the CSES data, about half of the voters in the fifteen Western European countries included in our study voted in the last election for a party that had not changed its position on either the economic or the cultural left–right dimension. On average, about 30 percent of the voters were confronted with a party that had moved, after they had supported it at the polls, to the left, and about 20 percent with a party that shifted its position to the right (Figure 3.2).

However, position shifts are not restricted to parties. Voters can also change their positions between elections. This can happen for various reasons. Preferences may change due to changing individual circumstances or re-evaluations of the general situation. It is also possible that parties take the lead and persuade voters to follow them, thereby altering their views. In any case, voters’ positional shifts must also be considered when examining the effects of parties’ movements in political space on voters’ choices.



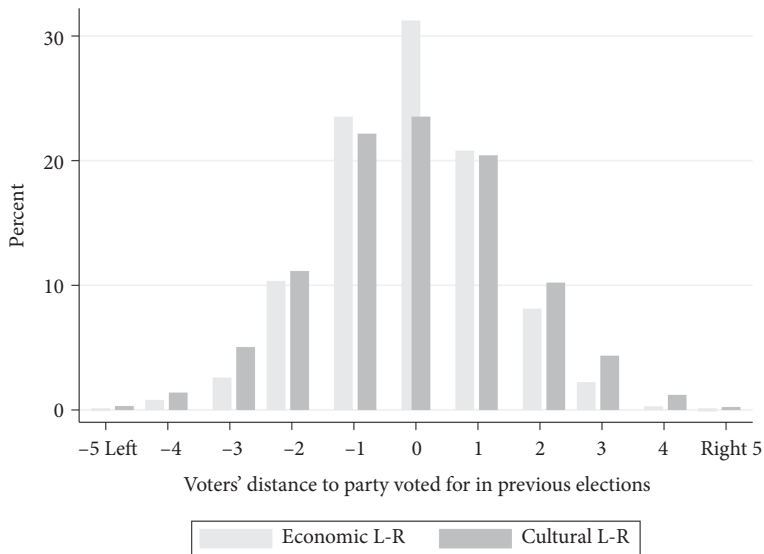
**Fig. 3.2** Parties’ repositioning in Western Europe, 1996–2017

*Notes:* Only parties chosen by respondents in previous election. Scale recoded to integer values for descriptive reasons.

*Sources:* CSES (2019a, 2019b), Manifesto Project Dataset (Volkens et al. 2019a).

We have direct measurements of parties' position changes from the previous to the recent election. Unfortunately, we lack similarly direct information on position changes of voters. Shifting one's vote from one party to another may have different reasons. In the context of spatial voting, there are three possible reasons for vote shifting: (1) The party has changed its position away from the voter, (2) the voter has changed his or her position away from the party voted for in the previous election, and (3) another party has moved closer to the voter's position and he or she has switched to this now more proximate party. If the party has maintained its position, only (2) or (3) could be reasons for switching.

The distribution of voters' distances to the economic and the cultural left–right positions of the party they voted for in the previous election, measured by the distance between this party's positions on each of these dimensions and voters' left–right self-placement, suggests that a fairly large proportion of the voters may have been motivated to watch out for a more suitable party in the subsequent elections (Figure 3.3). Empirical results on the distances between the parties and their voters show overall closer positions in the subsequent, most recent elections. In this case, distances on both dimensions amount to only a tenth of those to the parties voted for in the previous elections. If the party has not moved, this may



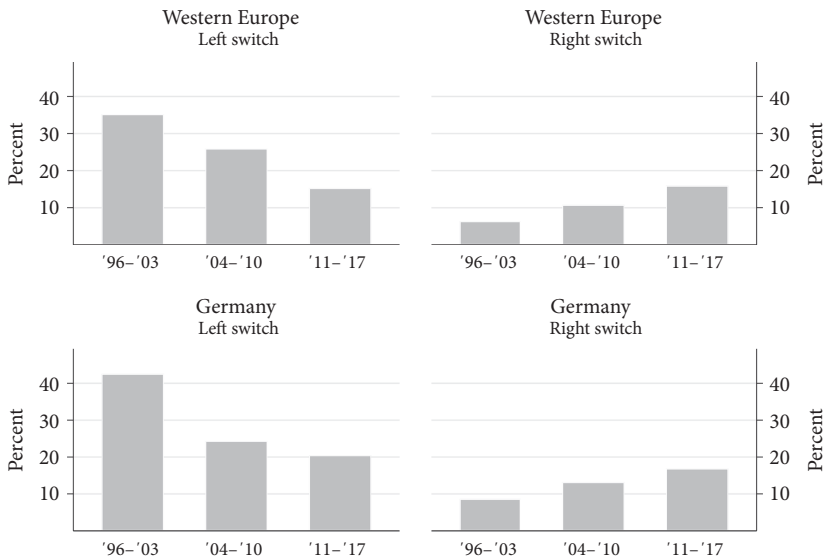
**Fig. 3.3** Distance to the party voted for in previous elections, Western Europe 1996–2017

*Notes:* Distances between economic and cultural left–right positions of parties as determined by party manifestos and voters' self-placements on left–right scale. Left–right scale for voters standardized to range of party manifesto scales from original scaling 0 to 10.

*Sources:* CSES (2019a, 2019b), Manifesto Project Dataset (Volkens et al. 2019a).

indicate that the voter may have changed position. But this is only suggestive and not measured precisely, because the logical alternatives are that another party has moved closer or that the voter just made a bad choice in the previous election in terms of proximity.

Voters' options for reacting to increasing distances between the parties they voted for in the past and their own views are either abstention due to alienation (Aarts and Weßels 2005) or switching to a more proximate party. Non-voting due to alienation from the parties that moved to the left or the right on the economic or the cultural left–right dimension has occurred rather rarely. Only about 2 percent of all voters on either side have joined the non-voter camp in Germany. Vote switching between parties has been much more frequent. Figure 3.4 shows its long-term development among Western European voters and German voters. To get an idea of how changes in voters' choices developed over time, the 21 years for which CSES studies are available (1996–2017) are divided into three seven-year periods: 1996–2003, 2004–2010, 2011–2017. This way, a reasonable number of studies and countries are available for each period. Furthermore, the steady rise of right-wing populist and right-wing extremist parties in Europe began in 2004 with an increase in the average vote share across Western Europe of almost half a percentage point



**Fig. 3.4** Vote switching in Western Europe and Germany, 1996–2017

*Note:* Left and right-switching defined by change between reported party choices in previous and recent elections with regard to party families (ordered from left to right: Communist, Green, Social Democratic, Liberal, Christian, Conservative, and Nationalist party family; corresponding to the party families' average positions on the left–right measure of the Manifesto Project Dataset (Volkens et al. 2019a)).

*Source:* CSES waves 1 to 5 (CSES (2019a, 2019b)).

per year, a trend that wore out in 2011 and the following years with an annual increase of a tenth of a percentage point (Guardian 2019). Left- and right-switching is defined in this analysis in terms of changing from a party from a certain family to a party from another family, positioned either on the left or on the right of the initial one.

The interesting aspect of the results displayed in Figure 3.4 is that the patterns of switching have changed considerably: The proportion of those switching to the left, which had been very high in the first period (1996–2003), has continuously decreased over time. In contrast, switching to the right has become more frequent. While in the first period, the proportion of those switching to the left was about four times higher than of those switching to the right, in the last period (2011–2017) the two directions are almost on par, their shares amounting to about 14 to 18 percent. In other words, right-switching has been about twice as high in the third period as it was in the first. These alterations in voters' switching patterns could be an explanation for the centrist mainstream parties' decreasing electoral fortunes.

### **Vote Switching: A Reaction to Parties' Repositioning or Position Changes of Voters?**

The research literature on voters' reactions to parties' positional and policy shifts does not provide clear evidence to suggest whether voters are aware of parties' movements. Yet, the hypothesis pursued here, namely that it is the gap in political supply that opened the space for new challengers from the political right, is tested under the assumption that voters react to the observable repositioning of the mainstream parties on the left and the right. Therefore, the relationship between parties' shifts and voters' reactions must be demonstrated. The empirical task is to answer the following questions: How are parties' positional changes, voters' distances to the parties they chose in the previous election, and their party switching at the most recent election related? Does it make a difference whether one looks at the economic or the cultural left–right dimension of political conflict?

The evidence at the aggregate level suggests that mainstream parties' repositioning on the left leads to votes switching to the right and vice versa. Regarding the relevance of the economic and cultural left–right dimension, the general expectation—given the general salience of the two dimensions for the conflict structure (cf. Chapter 4)—is that the economic dimension has a stronger impact on vote switching. However, this may depend on political camps. Perhaps the cultural conflict dimension is more important for center-right mainstream parties.

To test these expectations, two rather parsimonious models have been calculated. Specifically, two multi-level fixed-effects logistic regression models have

been estimated, one for left-switching and one for right-switching as dependent variables. As predictors, the models include position shifts of the parties the respondents had voted for at the previous election compared to the most recent election. As described above, this information is generated from the Manifesto Project Dataset (Volkens et al. 2019a), using the two ideological scales in the log version. The second set of independent variables includes the left–right distances on both dimensions between the positions of the parties at the previous election, determined using the data from the Manifesto Project, and the positions of the respondents as measured by the CSES and GLES surveys by means of respondents’ general left–right self-placement, standardized to the range of the manifesto left–right logarithmic scales. Dummy variables for party families are included as controls, with Communist respectively Nationalist party families as baselines. Since further control variables, such as party identification, age, and education, did not show statistically significant effects, we opted for the more parsimonious model described above. It includes four explanatory variables and five party family dummies for both dependent variables (see Table 3.A1 in Appendix).

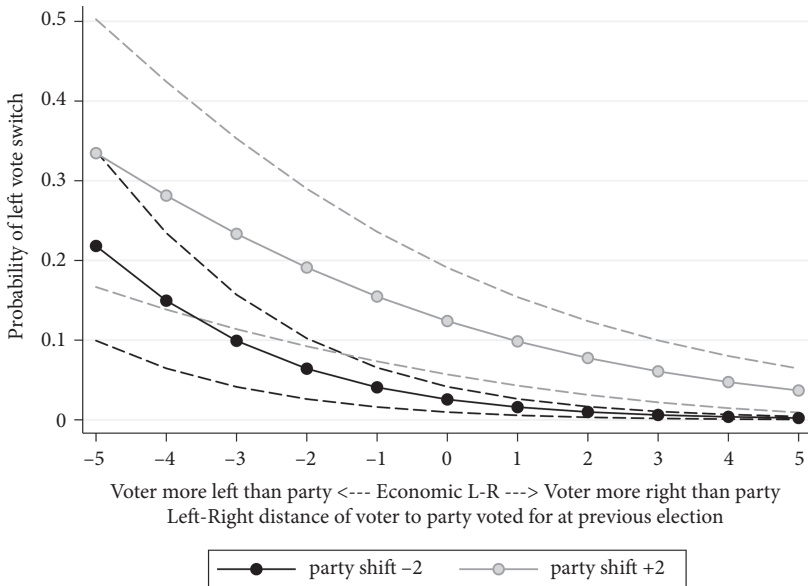
At the core of interest are the variables indicating parties’ positional shifts in interaction with voters’ positional shifts. The emphasis on these factors’ interaction results from the fact that they can compensate each other. Let us assume a party has moved to the left. If a voter who supported it at the previous election has also moved to the left, there is no need for switching. If only the party has moved but not the voter, the likelihood that he or she looks for other political offers increases. If the voter has moved, again he or she should be motivated to look for a different party. If the party has moved in one direction and the voter in the other, the probability of vote switching should be highest. Therefore, not taking the interaction into account cannot provide an answer regarding the character and strength of the effect of positional shifts on vote switching.

However, the constitutive terms of the regression equation can also provide useful information, namely their effects when the interaction variable is zero (Brambor et al. 2006). Under the condition that voters do not move, a previously supported party’s positional shift to the right on the economic dimension leads to a statistically significant increase in Western European voters’ left-switching (see Table 3.A1 in Appendix). Under the same condition, a party’s move to the left on the cultural dimension increases right-switching on the part of voters. If parties do not move, a voter’s movement to the left on the economic dimension leads to more left-switching, whereas a move to the right on the cultural dimension increases right-switching. These findings show that there are different effects for switching, depending on which of the two conflict dimensions—the economic or the cultural left–right contrast—is concerned. The asymmetry in the effects of both the repositioning of parties’ and voters’ distance to the party previously voted for concerning the two dimensions of conflict is remarkably clear: left-switching is determined by the economic left–right dimension but not by the

cultural left–right dimension. Right-switching, by contrast, is mainly induced by the cultural left–right dimension.

However, parties and voters are communicating vessels, and the assumption of one remaining constant and the other moving is probably not the most realistic one. The pattern of positional stability with regard to parties or voters on at least one of the two dimensions of conflict pertains to 40 percent of the electoral choices examined in our analysis. Hence, in about 60 percent of our cases, shifts occurred with regard to both parties and voters. It is therefore necessary to consider the interaction between the shifts of parties and the movement of voters.

Regarding effects on vote switching, there is a strong interplay between parties' repositioning and voters' distances to the respective parties of choice in the previous election. Regarding the economic left–right dimension, the probability of a voter switching to the left is highest if he or she has moved to the left and the party voted for in the previous election has moved to the right. The distance to the party voted for in the last election is large and negative, implying that the voter has moved to the left (Figure 3.5). The probability of left-switching is still high in



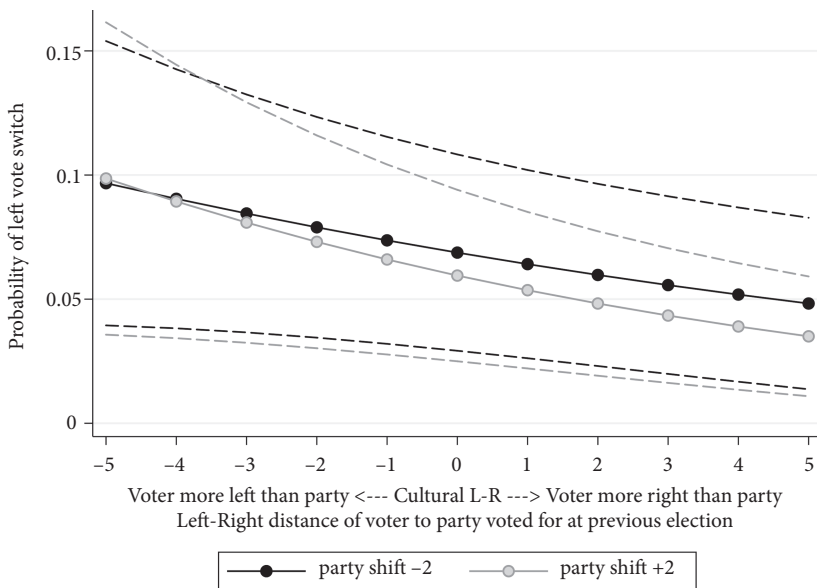
**Fig. 3.5** Marginal probabilities for left vote switching depending on parties' repositioning and voters' distance on the economic left–right dimension to the party voted for in the previous election, Western Europe 1996–2017

*Notes:* Marginal effects derived from Table 3.A1, Model 1. Covariates fixed at their means. Dashed lines indicate 95 percent confidence intervals. Party shift refers to the difference between the position of the party a respondent voted for in the previous election compared to that same party's position in the most recent election.

*Source:* Micro-level data from CSES (2019a, 2019b) combined with Manifesto Project Dataset (Volkens et al. 2019a).

cases in which a voter moved to the left of the position of the party voted for in the previous election and the party has also moved to the left. However, the likelihood of such a switch amounts to only about half the size. The difference in effects by a party's movement is significant, indicating that both the repositioning of the parties and the voters are of relevance. Turning to the cultural left–right dimension, a voter's distance to the party voted for at the previous election and movement of the party voted for at the previous election has a much lower impact on vote switching to the left. Neither a voter's distance to the party voted for previously nor the party's movement shows a statistically significant effect. Thus, left-switching depends on what happens on the economic left–right dimension. The cultural dimension has no significant effect (Figure 3.6).

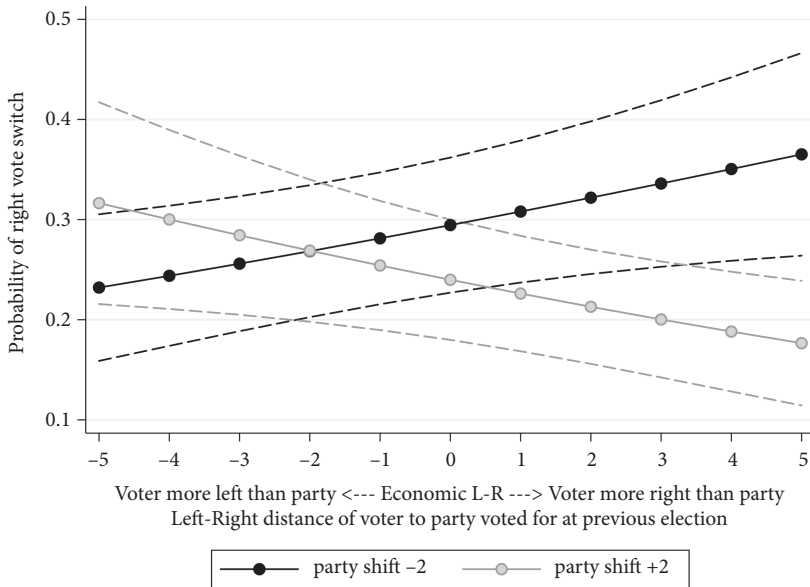
Turning to right-switching, shifts in the economic left–right dimension produce effects that again clearly show the common impact of supply, i.e., the movement of the party voted for in the previous election, and demand, i.e., the change in left–right distance to that party. If voters have moved to the right and the party



**Fig. 3.6** Marginal probabilities for left vote switching depending on parties' repositioning and voters' distance on the cultural left–right dimension to the party voted for in the previous election, Western Europe 1996–2017

*Notes:* Marginal effects derived from Table 3.A1, Model 2. Covariates fixed at their means. Dashed lines indicate 95 percent confidence intervals. Party shift refers to the difference between the position of the party a respondent voted for in the previous election compared to that same party's position in the most recent election.

*Source:* Micro-level data from CSES (2019a, 2019b) combined with Manifesto Project Dataset (Volkens et al. 2019a).



**Fig. 3.7** Marginal probabilities for right vote switching depending on parties' repositioning and voters' distance on the economic left-right dimension to the party voted for in the previous election, Western Europe 1996–2017

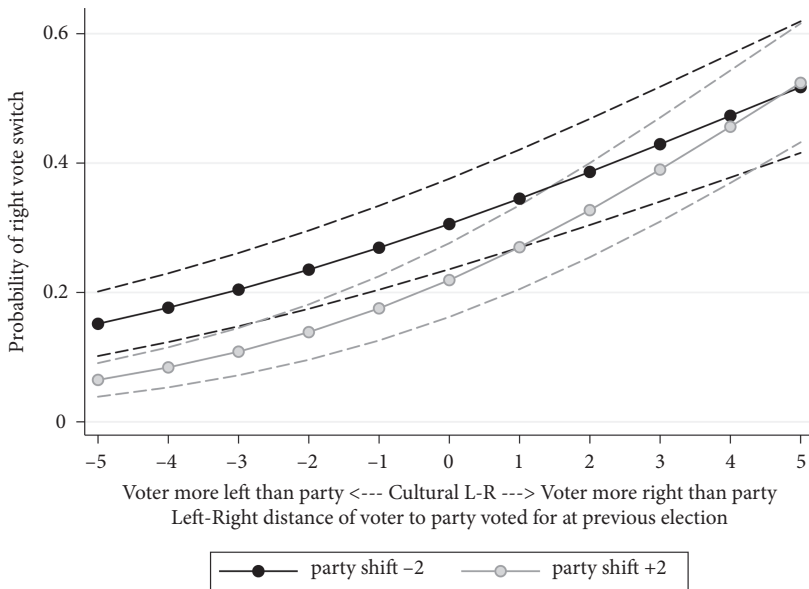
*Notes:* Marginal effects derived from Table 3.A1, Model 2. Covariates fixed at their means. Dashed lines indicate 95 percent confidence intervals. Party shift refers to the difference between the position of the party a respondent voted for in the previous election compared to that same party's position in the most recent election.

*Source:* Micro-level data from CSES (2019a, 2019b) combined with Manifesto Project Dataset (Volkens et al. 2019a).

has moved to the left, the probability of a shift to the right in one's vote choice is highest. If the party has also moved to the right, this compensates for the shift in the position of the voter to some extent and accordingly decreases the probability of right-switching considerably and in a statistically significant way (Figure 3.7). The movement of voters on the cultural left-right dimension relative to the party they have voted for in the previous election has a strong and statistically significant effect. Voters' positional moves to the right lead to a much higher likelihood of switching to the right also in their electoral choices than positional stability or even shifts to the left. This is true regardless of change in the position of the party voted for. There is no difference regardless of whether the party voted for in the last election has moved to the left or the right (Figure 3.8).

Turning to the special case of Germany, country-specific logistic regressions show similar but not identical patterns. Regarding the economic left-right dimension and left-switching, the pattern is very similar to the Western European one. Regarding the cultural dimension, German voters show a pattern with no impact attributable to the parties' repositioning, but effects regarding the voters'





**Fig. 3.8** Marginal probabilities for right vote switching depending on parties' repositioning and voters' distance on the cultural left–right dimension to the party voted for in the previous election, Western Europe 1996–2017

*Notes:* Marginal effects derived from Table 3.A1, Model 2. Covariates fixed at their means. Dashed lines indicate 95 percent confidence intervals. Party shift refers to the difference between the position of the party a respondent voted for in the previous election compared to that same party's position in the most recent election.

*Source:* Micro-level data from CSES (2019a, 2019b) combined with Manifesto Project Dataset (Volkens et al. 2019a).

own positional moves. Here, the clear result is that the more voters turn culturally to the right the more they switch to the left. Regarding right-switching and the economic dimension for German voters, there also exists a significant effect of the party's move to the right or the left. If the party has moved to the right, the probability of right-switching is lower. It is in general higher if a voter him- or herself has moved to the right. For the cultural dimension, findings are equivalent to the Western European ones: a voter's movement counts, but not movement of the party (tables and figures are documented in the Online Appendix).

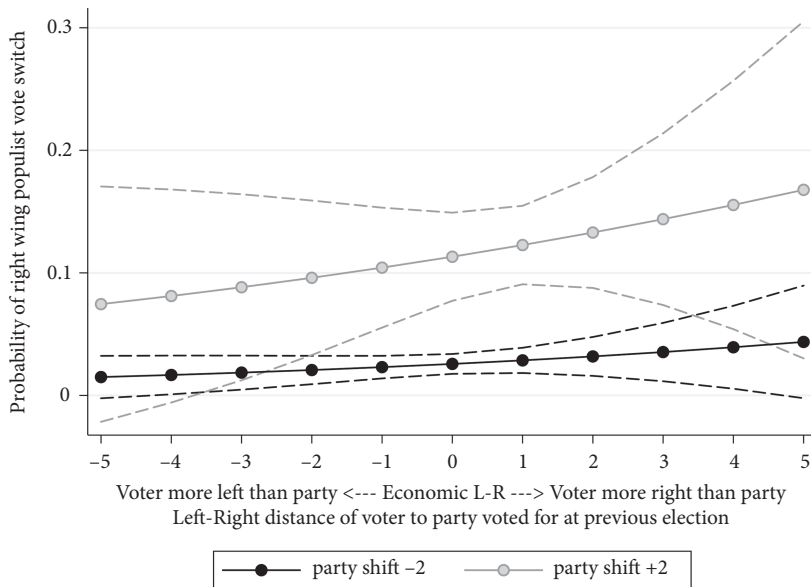
These analyses show that voters react to parties' repositioning. The chance that voters switch their electoral choices is higher when a party changes its position. However, this is not the only reason for switching. Position changes of the voters themselves also matter. If a voter's position moves away from the party he or she has voted for at the previous election, the probability of switching increases too. The results show that the necessary condition for the hypothesis is met, namely that the recent successes of right-wing populist parties in general and the AfD in Germany, in particular, are a result of a gap mainstream parties opened up in the

political space. More globally, they suggest that the success of right-wing populist or extremist parties in general and the AfD in Germany, in particular, is a reaction to changing political supply creating a gap for their specific programmatic offers.

### **Shifting Parties, Shifting Voters, and Turns to Right-Wing Populist Parties**

We have seen above that parties' and voters' positional shifts are consequential for electoral behavior. Depending on the shifts' direction, voters switch to parties further to the left or further to the right. These findings indicate reasonable political behavior: if parties change their positions and voters do not follow, party-switching becomes likely. However, electoral switches to the left and the right are not triggered by the same dimension of conflict. Voters' moves to the left are associated with position shifts on the economic dimension of conflict, whereas moves to the right concern the cultural dimension of conflict. A large distance of a voter to the party he or she supported at the previous election is a strong stimulus to move to another party at the subsequent election. This mechanism works in both directions, left and right, although regarding different lines of conflict. It is not yet clear, however, if it also specifically explains the success of right-wing populist parties. Our findings suggest that switching to right-wing populist parties may be stronger related to the cultural than to the economic left-right dimension. Furthermore, while parties' repositioning matters, changes in the distance between voters' positions to the party voted for in the previous election probably matter more.

In the following, these assumptions are tested using the same model setup as in the analysis of switching above. However, the dependent variable is now specified as switching to a right-wing populist party. In eight of the fifteen Western European countries under investigation here, right-wing populist parties have become quite successful since the mid-1990s. Altogether this concerns nine parties: Freedom Party of Austria, Danish People's Party, True Finns, National Front, Alternative for Germany, United Kingdom Independence Party, Party for Freedom, List Pim Fortuyn, and Sweden Democrats (Mudde 2007: 305–308; Akkerman et al. 2016: 2). The dependent variable is coded as 1 if a respondent had not voted for a right-wing populist party in the election before the recent election but subsequently switched to such a party. Code 0 is assigned if a voter chose either a right-wing populist party at both elections or any other party. Thus, the variable contrasts switching to a right-wing populist party with all other patterns of party choice, including stable support for such a party. Non-voters are not included because for them neither a party's movement nor their own position relative to a party voted for in previous elections is available. Using the same independent and control variables as above leads to a model that explains 13 percent of the variance in switching to a right-wing populist party (McKelvey & Zavoina's R-squared; cf. Table 3.A2 in Appendix).



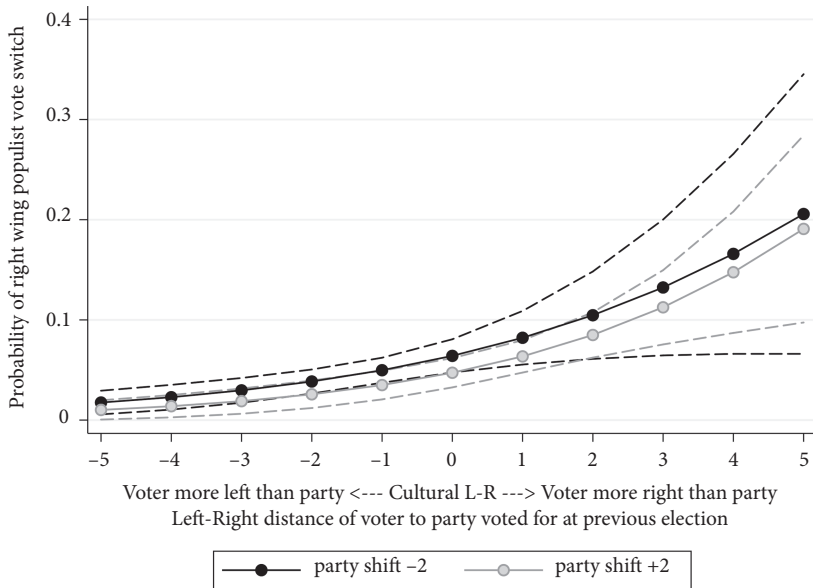
**Fig. 3.9** Marginal probabilities for switching to a right-wing populist party depending on parties' repositioning and voters' left-right distance to the party voted for in the previous election on the economic left-right dimension, Western Europe 1996–2017

*Notes:* Marginal effects derived from Table 3.A2, Model 3. Covariates fixed at their means. Dashed lines indicate 95 percent confidence intervals. Party shift refers to the difference between the position of the party a respondent voted for in the previous election compared to that same party's position in the most recent election.

*Source:* Micro-level data from CSES (2019a, 2019b) combined with Manifesto Project Dataset (Volkens et al. 2019a).

Figure 3.9 shows the marginal probabilities of the interaction between parties' repositioning and the distance to the party on the economic left-right dimension. There is no significant probability change depending on the distance of voters' left-right positions at the most recent election to the party voted for at the previous election. There is a small area in which the difference between the party's movement to the left and a party moving to the right from the previous to the recent election is significant. Surprisingly, vote switching to a right-wing populist party was more likely when the previously supported party had shifted to the right on the economic dimension.

Regarding the cultural left-right dimension, only the distance to the party voted for at the previous election matters, whereas changes on the political supply side do not. The more a voter is positioned on the right with regard to the party he or she voted for at the last election the more likely is switching to a right-wing populist party (Figure 3.10). Thus, for the cultural dimension of conflict, the specific pattern of switching votes to a right-wing populist party closely resembles the



**Fig. 3.10** Marginal probabilities for switching to a right-wing populist party depending on parties' repositioning and voters' left-right distance to the party voted for in the previous election on the cultural left-right dimension, Western Europe 1996–2017

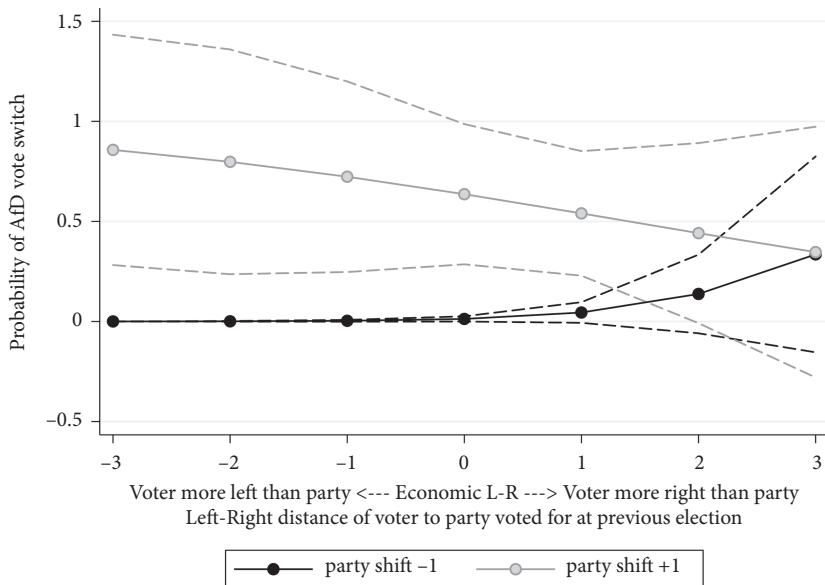
*Notes:* Marginal effects derived from Table 3.A2, Model 3. Covariates fixed at their means. Dashed lines indicate 95 percent confidence intervals. Party shift refers to the difference between the position of the party a respondent voted for in the previous election compared to that same party's position in the most recent election.

*Source:* Micro-level data from CSES (2019a, 2019b) combined with Manifesto Project Dataset (Volkens et al. 2019a).

general pattern of switching to the right observed above. Regarding the economic left-right dimension, however, the pattern of right-wing populist switching differs from that of general switching to a party further to the right.

The general diagnosis for right-switching and switching to a right-wing populist party, in particular, is the same, however: The cultural left-right dimension matters not only more but also shows more significant differences in probabilities. A second similarity is that the repositioning of parties matters only if it occurs on the economic left-right dimension. On the cultural dimension, changes in probabilities are driven by voters' distance to the party voted for at previous elections. Thus, it is the cultural dimension that motivates voters to switch to parties further to the right and right-wing populist parties in particular. A policy profile including opposition to multiculturalism and a preference for a traditional way of life and law and order seems to drive the move to the right.

Do the same patterns also describe German voters' shifts to the AfD? Since the AfD was only founded in 2013 and entered the national parliament in 2017, the



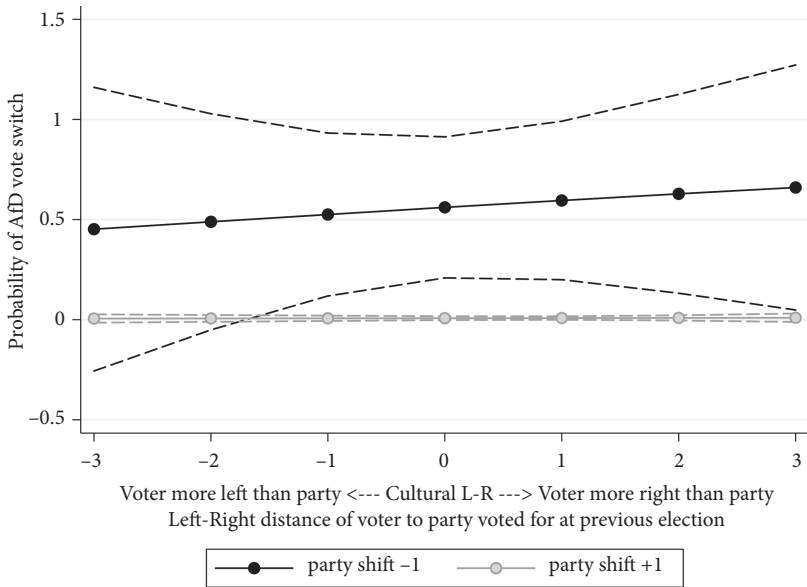
**Fig. 3.11** Marginal probabilities for switching to the AfD depending on parties' repositioning and voters' left–right distance to the party voted for in the previous election on the economic left–right dimension, Germany 2013–2017

*Notes:* Marginal effects derived from Table 3.A2, Model 4. Covariates fixed at their means. Dashed lines indicate 95 percent confidence intervals. Party shift refers to the difference between the position of the party a respondent voted for in the previous election compared to that same party's position in the most recent election.

*Source:* Micro-level data from CSES (2019a, 2019b) combined with Manifesto Project Dataset (Volkens et al. 2019a).

analysis is constrained to switching between the 2013 and 2017 federal elections. Despite the fundamental transformation that the success of the AfD implies for the German party system, there has been less change between 2013 and 2017 in the positions of both parties and voters than during the whole period from 1998 to 2017. For this reason, the measurement of voters' distance to the party voted for at the previous election scores only within a range of  $-3$  to  $+3$ , and parties' position changes do not reach  $-2$  and  $+2$ .

In a simple logistic regression model, parties' repositioning and voters' movements bind about 15 percent of the variance in switching to the AfD (defined as changing from another party to the AfD; switches from non-voting to the AfD are excluded from the model). Contrary to the finding for general right-switching and switching to right-wing populist parties, in particular, switching to the AfD is not induced by change on the demand side, i.e., voters' distance to the party chosen at the previous election, but only by changes on the political supply side. However, on the economic left–right dimension, our finding for the AfD resembles somewhat the pattern observed for switching to right-wing populist parties in



**Fig. 3.12** Marginal probabilities for switching to the AfD depending on parties' repositioning and voters' left-right distance to the party voted for in the previous election on the cultural left-right dimension, Germany 2013–2017

*Notes:* Marginal effects derived from Table 3.A2, Model 4. Covariates fixed at their means. Dashed lines indicate 95 percent confidence intervals. Party shift refers to the difference between the position of the party a respondent voted for in the previous election compared to that same party's position in the most recent election.

*Source:* Micro-level data from CSES (2019a, 2019b) combined with Manifesto Project Dataset (Volkens et al. 2019a).

Western Europe overall. If the party supported at the previous election has moved to the right on the economic dimension, the likelihood of switching to the AfD is higher than if the party voted for at the previous election has moved to the left (Figure 3.11). For the cultural left-right dimension, the pattern is reversed: if the cultural position of the party voted for at the previous election has shifted to the left, the probability of switching to the AfD is higher than if the party has moved to the right (Figure 3.12).

### Conclusions and Speculations: A Right-wing Populist Preference Shift?

This chapter put forward the expectation that the rising electoral support for right-wing populist parties is a result of a programmatic move of mainstream center-left and center-right parties to the left. During the past ten to fifteen years, this development has opened the political space for new political entrepreneurs from the right.

Our inspection of long-term trends in the political positioning of mainstream center-left parties (Social Democrats) and center-right parties (Liberals, Christian Democrats, and Conservatives) in the two-dimensional political space defined by the economic and the cultural lines of conflict in Western Europe and specifically in Germany found indeed indications of a gap. The vote shares of these parties have decreased considerably, corresponding to the expectation that their repositioning contributed to the success of new challengers. The goal of this chapter was to clarify whether evidence for the presumed mechanisms could be found at the level of individual voters.

Examining the behavior of Western European voters in general and German voters in particular by means of parallel analyses, the study proceeded in three steps. First, a general model was estimated to test the effects of parties' repositioning as well as position shifts on the part of voters themselves on these individuals' propensity to switch to a party further to the left or the right. Left- and right-switching was defined in terms of changing from a party from a certain family to a party from another family, positioned either on the left or on the right of the initial one. Our indicator of voters' position shifts pertained to distances on the economic and the cultural left-right dimensions with regard to the party voted for in the previous election. The chapter's results suggest that voters consider spatial changes of parties for their choices. However, parties' repositioning has a smaller effect than changes of individuals' own positions. Remarkably, the economic left-right dimension showed stronger effects on switching to the left, whereas the cultural left-right dimension appeared more important for switching to the right. Parties' repositioning on the left produced right-switching on the part of voters, whereas movements to the right made left-switching more likely.

In a second step, the same model was tested specifically for switching to right-wing populist parties. Even stronger than switching to the left or the right in general, switching directed toward right-wing populists is asymmetric regarding the two ideological dimensions. On the economic left-right dimension, parties' position shifts produce a weak effect on vote switching. The more the party voted for at the previous election moved to the right, the more likely switching to a right-wing populist party became. This is an effect opposite to that of the findings for general left- or right-switching. Voters' own position shifts on the economic dimension do not produce any significant effects. In contrast, position changes of voters on the cultural left-right dimension are clearly relevant. However, parties' repositioning does not show a significant effect.

The third step of this investigation concentrated on voters' shift to the AfD in Germany between the 2013 and 2017 federal elections. Again, the model included position changes of both parties and voters. For the economic dimension, the pattern is similar to that of shifting to right-wing populist parties across Western Europe: Parties' repositioning on the right is associated with a higher probability to switch to the AfD. Regarding the cultural left-right dimension, the German

pattern differs considerably from that of Western Europe. In contrast to the latter, position shifts of voters do not have any impact on voters' likelihood to move to the AfD. Also contrasting the Western European pattern, parties' repositioning does matter, although not strongly. If the party voted for in the previous election has moved toward the cultural left, the probability of shifting to the AfD increases.

These findings show various patterns that may be relevant for the strategic behavior of political parties. In the general model, switching to the left or the right is either a counter-reaction to parties' repositioning or consonant with position changes on the part of voters themselves. However, with regard to switching to right-wing populist parties including the German AfD, it does not help the mainstream parties to move to the right on the economic dimension in order to prevent voters from turning their back on them. A possible conclusion mainstream parties might draw from these findings is to better not move to the right on the economic dimension. Regarding the cultural left–right dimension, effects are different for the Western European right-wing populist parties and the AfD in Germany. While it seems that in Western Europe overall voters' own position shifts to the right on the cultural dimension lead them to switch choices to right-wing populist parties, in the German case, no effect of voters' position shifts is discernible. Rather, a weak effect of repositioning of the party voters chose in the previous election emerges. If the party moves to the cultural left, the probability of switching to the AfD increases somewhat. However, parties' repositioning on the right does not entail any effects. Thus, moving to the right does not help prevent voters from deserting parties to support the AfD instead. The best for the mainstream parties would be to stay put in this dimension.

Contrary to the inconclusive evidence offered by previous research, the chapter provides clear indications that voters do perceive position changes of parties and react to them by altering their electoral preferences. Perhaps this effect only became visible because the analyses considered the interaction between parties' repositioning and voters' positioning. Second, the role of the economic and the cultural left–right dimensions in vote shifting seems to be asymmetric, depending on whether voters move toward parties further to the right or toward parties further to the left. Position changes on the economic left–right dimension affect both left- and right-switching as well as switching to right-wing populists in general and the AfD in particular. The cultural left–right dimension, in contrast, seems to be only relevant for switching to a party further right and specifically toward a right-wing populist party.

All in all, we found that about 50 percent of the Western European voters were in a situation in which the party they voted for in the previous elections has changed its position. More than half of these voters chose another party at the recent election than they had supported at the election before. The overall trend of these party changes seems to be more and more directed to the right than to the left. Only half



of the Western European electorates face a situation of stability and accordingly are not incentivized to consider moving to another party.

With the data available we cannot fully disentangle whether switching is a result of parties' or voters' repositioning. Obviously, there are effects of parties' repositioning. It seems plausible that there is also an additional effect of voters' preference shift. Of those voters for which the party they had voted for in the previous election did not change its position on the economic left–right dimension, about 10 percent switched to the left and about 24 percent to the right. Roughly, the same applies to the cultural left–right dimension. This seems to suggest that voters have changed their position. These results lead to the conclusion that the success of right-wing populist parties in Western Europe is not only induced by changes in political supply but also by preference changes on the part of voters. This becomes apparent only when supply factors are analytically differentiated into two dimensions of conflict, one pertaining to traditional economic left–right issues and the other to cultural left–right issues. The unidimensional standard indicator of left–right positions routinely used in election studies hides this differentiation so that the actual character of electorally relevant position changes on the part of parties and voters stays hidden. Shifting to the right happens twice as often as switching to the left, and it seems to be the cultural left–right dimension on which not only supply change has happened but also a considerable preference shift of voters to the right. Thus, not only the opening of the political space by mainstream parties has contributed to the success of competitors from the political right. Results suggest that preference shifts on the part of voters may also have contributed considerably to this development. Results also suggest that it does not help mainstream parties to behave electorally opportunistically by running after the voters. For political competition, the implication could be that it is not running after the voter but mobilization that counts for electoral success.

## Appendix A. Documentation of Left–Right Scales

Construction of left–right scales from Manifesto Project Dataset 2019 (Volkens et al. 2019b):

### Economic Left–Right

#### Economic Right

per401 Free market economy  
per402 Incentives: positive  
per407 Protectionism: negative  
per410 Economic growth: positive  
per414 Economic orthodoxy  
per505 Welfare state limitation  
per507 Education limitation  
per702 Labor groups: negative

#### Economic Left

per403 Market regulation  
per404 Economic planning  
per405 Corporatism/mixed economy  
per406 Protectionism: positive  
per409 Keynesian demand management  
per412 Controlled economy  
per413 Nationalization  
per415 Marxist analysis  
per504 Welfare state expansion  
per506 Education expansion  
per701 Labor groups: positive

## Cultural Left–Right

### Cultural Right

- per601 National way of life: positive
- per603 Traditional morality: positive
- per605 Law and order: positive
- per608 Multiculturalism: negative
- per704 Middle class and professional groups

### Cultural Left

- per201 Freedom and human rights
- per202 Democracy
- per503 Equality: positive
- per602 National way of life: negative
- per604 Traditional morality: negative
- per607 Multiculturalism: positive

## Calculation of Index

Economic Left–Right Scale =  $\log(\text{sum Economic Right} + 0.5) - \log(\text{Economic Left} + 0.5)$ ; mean – 0.92, minimum – 4.93, maximum 3.93.

Cultural Left–Right Scale =  $\log(\text{sum Cultural Right} + 0.5) - \log(\text{sum Cultural Left} + 0.5)$ ; mean – 0.51, minimum – 5.21, maximum 5.05.

## Appendix B. Regression Models

**Table 3.A1** The effect of parties' repositioning and voters' distance to the party voted for at the previous election on left- and right-switching in Western Europe

	Model 1 (left switch)		Model 2 (right switch)	
	Odds Ratio	P> z	Odds Ratio	P> z
<b>Distance to party (vote choice recall)</b>				
Economic L-R dimension	0.69	0.000	0.99	0.761
Cultural L-R dimension	0.91	0.000	1.27	0.000
<b>Party's repositioning</b>				
Economic L-R dimension	1.54	0.000	0.93	0.000
Cultural L-R dimension	0.96	0.139	0.89	0.000
<b>Party's repositioning X distance</b>				
Economic L-R dimension	1.06	0.001	0.96	0.001
Cultural L-R dimension	0.99	0.457	1.03	0.001
<b>Vote choice recall</b>				
Green Party	1.75	0.000	1.10	0.090
Social Democratic Party	2.59	0.000	0.65	0.000
Liberal Party	2.27	0.000	0.71	0.000
Christian Democratic Party	3.71	0.000	0.35	0.000
Conservative Party	8.03	0.000	0.28	0.000
Constant	0.02	0.000	0.62	0.006
N (observations)	41,221		41,221	
N (countries)	15		15	
McKelvey & Zavoina's R <sup>2</sup>	0.13		0.07	

*Note:* Results from fixed-effects multi-level logistic regression estimations with respondents clustered in countries.

*Sources:* Micro-level data from CSES (2019a, 2019b), combined with the Manifesto Project Dataset (Volkens et al. 2019a).

**Table 3.A2** The effect of parties' repositioning and voters' distance to the party voted for at the previous election on switching to right-wing populist parties

	<b>Model 3</b> <b>Switch to right-wing populist party</b>		<b>Model 4</b> <b>Switch to AfD</b>	
	<b>Odds Ratio</b>	<b>P&gt; z </b>	<b>Odds Ratio</b>	<b>P&gt; z </b>
<b>Distance to party (vote choice recall)</b>				
Economic L-R dimension	1.11	0.171	1.53	0.210
Cultural L-R dimension	1.34	0.000	1.14	0.587
<b>Party's repositioning</b>				
Economic L-R dimension	1.49	0.000	15.13	0.001
Cultural L-R dimension	0.92	0.144	0.06	0.000
<b>Party's repositioning X distance</b>				
Economic L-R dimension	1.00	0.926	0.41	0.035
Cultural L-R dimension	1.01	0.560	0.95	0.909
<b>Vote choice recall</b>				
Green Party	0.39	0.000		
Social Democratic Party	1.21	0.152		
Liberal Party	1.53	0.015		
Christian Democratic Party	1.31	0.060		
Conservative Party	1.31	0.090		
Constant	0.05	0.000	0.23	0.000
N (observations)	17,528		1,368	
N (countries)	8		1	
McKelvey & Zavoina's R <sup>2</sup>	0.13	McFadden R <sup>2</sup>	0.15	

*Note:* Results from fixed-effects multi-level logistic regression estimations with respondents clustered in eight Western European countries (Model 3) and from a logistic regression of German voters (Model 4).

*Sources:* Micro-level data from CSES (2019a, 2019b) combined with the Manifesto Project Dataset (Volkens et al. 2019a).

# References

- Aarts, Kees and André Blais. 2013. "Pull or Push?" In Kees Aarts, André Blais, and Hermann Schmitt (eds), *Political Leaders and Democratic Elections*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 165–186.
- Aarts, Kees, André Blais, and Hermann Schmitt (eds). 2013. *Political Leaders and Democratic Elections*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Aarts, Kees and Bernhard Weßels. 2005. "Wahlbeteiligung in Deutschland und bei europäischen Nachbarn." In Jürgen W. Falter, Oscar W. Gabriel, and Bernhard Weßels (eds), *Wahlen und Wähler. Analysen aus Anlass der Bundestagswahl 2002*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 595–617.
- Abedi, Amir. 2017. We Are Not in Bonn Anymore: The Impact of German Unification on Party Systems at the Federal and Land levels. *German Politics* 26 (4): 457–479.
- Abou-Chadi, Tarik. 2015. "Das Thema europäische Integration und die Wahlentscheidung bei der Bundestagswahl 2013." In Heiko Giebler and Aiko Wagner (eds), *Wirtschaft, Krise und Wahlverhalten*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 84–106.
- Abou-Chadi, Tarik and Werner Krause. 2020. The Causal Effect of Radical Right Success on Mainstream Parties' Policy Positions: A Regression Discontinuity Approach. *British Journal of Political Science* 50 (3): 829–847.
- Abramowitz, Alan I. 2013. *The Polarized Public? Why American Government is so Dysfunctional*. New York: Pearson Education.
- Achen, Christopher H. 2002. Parental Socialization and Rational Party Identification. *Political Behavior* 24 (2): 151–170.
- Achen, Christopher H. and Larry M. Bartels. 2016. *Democracy for Realists*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Adam, Silke and Michaela Maier. 2010. "Personalization of Politics: A Critical Review and Agenda for Research." In Charles T. Salmon (ed.), *Communication Yearbook 34*. New York: Routledge, 213–257.
- Adams, James. 2012. Causes and Electoral Consequences of Party Policy Shifts in Multi-party Elections: Theoretical Results and Empirical Evidence. *Annual Review of Political Science* 15 (1): 401–419.
- Adams, James, Michael Clark, Lawrence Ezrow, and Garrett Glasgow. 2004. Understanding Change and Stability in Party Ideologies: Do Parties Respond to Public Opinion or to Past Election Results? *British Journal of Political Science* 34 (4): 589–610.
- Adams, James, Lawrence Ezrow, and Somer-Topcu Zeynep. 2014. Do Voters Respond to Party Manifestos or to a Wider Information Environment? An Analysis of Mass-Elite Linkages on European Integration. *American Journal of Political Science* 58 (4): 967–978.
- Adams, James and Zeynep Somer-Topcu. 2009. Policy Adjustment by Parties in Response to Rival Parties' Policy Shifts: Spatial Theory and the Dynamics of Party Competition in Twenty-Five Post-War Democracies. *British Journal of Political Science* 39 (4): 825–846.
- Akkerman, Tjitske, Sarah L. de Lange, and Matthijs Rooduijn (eds). 2016. *Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties in Western Europe: Into the Mainstream?*, *Routledge Studies in Extremism and Democracy*. London; New York, NY: Routledge.

- Albright, Jeremy J. 2009. Does Political Knowledge Erode Party Attachments?: A Review of the Cognitive Mobilization Thesis. *Electoral Studies* 28 (2): 248–260.
- Alonso, Sonia and Sara Claro da Fonseca. 2011. Immigration, Left and Right. *Party Politics* 18 (6): 865–884.
- Alvarez, R. Michael. 1997. *Information and Elections*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Alvarez, R. Michael, D. Roderick Kiewiet, and Lucas Núñez. 2018. A Taxonomy of Protest Voting. *Annual Review of Political Science* 21 (1): 135–154.
- Alvarez, R. Michael and Jonathan Nagler. 1998. When Politics and Models Collide: Estimating Models of Multiparty Elections. *American Journal of Political Science* 42 (1): 55–96.
- Alvarez, R. Michael and Jonathan Nagler. 2004. Party System Compactness: Measurement and Consequences. *Political Analysis* 12 (1): 46–62.
- Anders, Lisa H., Henrik Scheller, and Thomas Tuntschew (eds). 2018. *Parteien und die Politisierung der Europäischen Union*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.
- Anderson, Christopher J. and Frank Brettschneider. 2003. The Likable Winner versus the Competent Loser. *German Politics and Society* 21 (1): 95–118.
- Anderson, Christopher J. and Jason D. Hecht. 2012. Voting When the Economy Goes Bad, Everyone Is in Charge, and No One Is to Blame: The Case of the 2009 German Election. *Electoral Studies* 31 (1): 5–19.
- Armington, Klaus and Lisa Schädel. 2015. Social Inequality in Political Participation: The Dark Sides of Individualisation. *West European Politics* 38 (1): 1–27.
- Arndt, Christoph and Alexander Gattig. 2005. *Dokumentation zur Erstellung eines kumulierten Datensatzes aus den Studien der Bundestagswahlen 1949 bis 2005*. ZA-number 4519. DOI: 10.4232/1.4519.
- Arnold, Felix, Ronny Freier, and Martin Kroh. 2015. Geteilte politische Kultur auch 25 Jahre nach der Wiedervereinigung? *Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (DIW)*, Berlin: *DIW-Wochenbericht* 82 (37): 803–814.
- Arzheimer, Kai. 2006. “Dead Men Walking?” Party Identification in Germany, 1977–2002. *Electoral Studies* 25 (4): 791–807.
- Arzheimer, Kai. 2009. Contextual Factors and the Extreme Right Vote in Western Europe, 1980–2002. *American Journal of Political Science* 53 (2): 259–275.
- Arzheimer, Kai. 2013. “Twenty Years After: Sozial- und wirtschaftspolitische Einstellungen von Ost- und Westdeutschen im Vergleich.” In Silke I. Keil and S. Isabell Thaidigsmann (eds), *Zivile Bürgergesellschaft und Demokratie: Aktuelle Ergebnisse der empirischen Politikforschung*. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, 299–336.
- Arzheimer, Kai. 2015. The AfD: Finally a Successful Right-Wing Populist Eurosceptic Party for Germany? *West European Politics* 38 (3): 535–556.
- Arzheimer, Kai. 2016. “Wahlverhalten in Ost-West-Perspektive.” In Harald Schoen and Bernhard Weißels (eds), *Wahlen und Wähler: Analysen aus Anlass der Bundestagswahl 2013*. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, 71–89.
- Arzheimer, Kai. 2017. Another Dog that Didn’t Bark? Less Dealignment and more Partisanship in the 2013 Bundestag Election. *German Politics* 26 (1): 49–64.
- Arzheimer, Kai and Carl C. Berning. 2019. How the Alternative for Germany (AfD) and Their Voters Veered to the Radical Right, 2013–2017. *Electoral Studies* 60: 102040.
- Arzheimer, Kai and Jürgen W. Falter. 2005. “Goodbye Lenin?” Bundes- und Landtagswahlen seit 1990: Eine Ost-West-Perspektive.” In Jürgen W. Falter, Oscar W. Gabriel, and Bernhard Weißels (eds), *Wahlen und Wähler: Analysen aus Anlass der Bundestagswahl 2002*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 244–283.

- Arzheimer, Kai and Markus Klein. 2000. "Gesellschaftspolitische Wertorientierungen und Staatszielvorstellungen im Ost-West-Vergleich." In Jürgen W. Falter, Oscar W. Gabriel, and Hans Rattinger (eds), *Wirklich ein Volk? Die politischen Orientierungen von Ost- und Westdeutschen im Vergleich*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 363–402.
- Arzheimer, Kai and Harald Schoen. 2005. Erste Schritte auf kaum erschlossenem Terrain: Zur Stabilität der Parteidentifikation in Deutschland. *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 46 (4): 629–654.
- Arzheimer, Kai and Harald Schoen. 2007. "Mehr als eine Erinnerung an das 19. Jahrhundert? Das sozioökonomische und das religiös-konfessionelle Cleavage und Wahlverhalten 1994–2005." In Hans Rattinger, Oscar W. Gabriel, and Jürgen W. Falter (eds), *Der gesamtdeutsche Wähler: Stabilität und Wandel des Wählerverhaltens im wiedervereinigten Deutschland*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 89–112.
- Bachl, Marko. 2013. "Die Wirkung des TV-Duells auf die Bewertung der Kandidaten und die Wahlabsicht." In Marko Bachl, Frank Brettschneider, and Simon Ottler (eds), *Das TV-Duell in Baden-Württemberg 2011: Inhalte, Wahrnehmungen und Wirkungen*. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, 171–198.
- Baer, Christian Klaus and Erwin Faul. 1953. *Das deutsche Wahlwunder*. Offenbach: Bollwerk-Verlag.
- Bagehot, Walter. 2001. *The English Constitution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Baker, Kendall L., Russell J. Dalton, and Kai Hildebrandt. 1981. *Germany Transformed. Political Culture and the New Politics*. Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press.
- Bargsted, Matias A. and Orit Kedar. 2009. Coalition-Targeted Duvergerian Voting: How Expectations Affect Voter Choice under Proportional Representation. *American Journal of Political Science* 53 (2): 307–323.
- Baring, Arnulf. 1982. *Machtwechsel. Die Ära Brandt - Scheel*. Stuttgart: DVA.
- Barisione, Mauro. 2009. So, What Difference Do Leaders Make? Candidates' Images and the "Conditionality" of Leader Effects on Voting. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 19 (4): 473–500.
- Barker, David C. and Adam B. Lawrence. 2006. Media Favoritism and Presidential Nominations: Reviving the Direct Effects Model. *Political Communication* 23 (1): 41–59.
- Bartels, Larry M. 1986. Issue Voting Under Uncertainty: An Empirical Test. *American Journal of Political Science* 30 (4): 709–728.
- Bartels, Larry M. 2002. Beyond the Running Tally. Partisan Bias in Political Perceptions. *Political Behavior* 24 (2): 117–150.
- Bartle, John. 2005. Homogeneous Models and Heterogeneous Voters. *Political Studies* 53 (4): 653–675.
- Bartolini, Stefano. 1999. Collusion, Competition and Democracy: Part I. *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 11 (4): 435–470.
- Bartolini, Stefano. 2000. Collusion, Competition and Democracy: Part II. *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 12 (1): 33–65.
- Bartolini, Stefano and Peter Mair. 1990. *Identity, Competition, and Electoral Availability. The Stabilisation of European Electorates 1885–1985*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Baum, Matthew A. and Angela S. Jamison. 2006. The Oprah Effect: How Soft News Helps Inattentive Citizens Vote Consistently. *The Journal of Politics* 68 (4): 946–959.
- Bélanger, Éric and Bonnie M. Meguid. 2008. Issue Salience, Issue Ownership, and Issue-based Vote Choice. *Electoral Studies* 27 (3): 477–491.



- Bellucci, Paolo. 2006. Tracing the Cognitive and Affective Roots of 'Party Competence': Italy and Britain, 2001. *Electoral Studies* 25 (3): 548–569.
- Bendor, Jonathan B., Daniel Diermeier, David A. Siegel, and Michael M. Ting. 2011. *A Behavioral Theory of Elections*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Berbuir, Nicole, Marcel Lewandowsky, and Jasmin Siri. 2015. The AfD and Its Sympathisers: Finally a Right-Wing Populist Movement in Germany? *German Politics* 24 (2): 154–178.
- Berelson, Bernard R., Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee. 1954. *Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bergbower, Matthew L. 2013. Campaign Intensity and Voting Correctly in Senate Elections. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties* 24 (1): 90–114.
- Bergbower, Matthew L., Scott D. McClurg, and Thomas Holbrook. 2015. Presidential Campaign Spending and Correct Voting from 2000 to 2008. *Social Science Quarterly* 96 (5): 1196–1213.
- Berglund, Frode, Sören Holmberg, Hermann Schmitt, and Jacques Thomassen. 2005. "Party Identification and Party Choice." In Jacques Thomassen (ed.), *The European Voter: A Comparative Study of Modern Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 106–124.
- Best, Heinrich. 1991. "Die Genese politischer Konfliktstrukturen: Modelle und Befunde zur Entstehung von Fraktionen und Parteien in West- und Mitteleuropa." In Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Richard Stöss, and Bernhard Weßels (eds), *Politische Klasse und politische Institutionen*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 107–121.
- Best, Robin E. 2011. The Declining Electoral Relevance of Traditional Cleavage Groups. *European Political Science Review* 3 (2): 279–300.
- Bieber, Ina and Sigrid Roßteutscher. 2019. "Deutschland und die Welt in Aufruhr – Zur Ausgangslage der Bundestagswahl 2017." In Sigrid Roßteutscher, Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck, Harald Schoen, Bernhard Weßels, and Christof Wolf (eds), *Zwischen Polarisierung und Beharrung: Die Bundestagswahl 2017*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 15–32.
- Bieber, Ina, Sigrid Roßteutscher, and Philipp Scherer. 2018. Die Metamorphosen der AfD-Wählerschaft: Von einer euroskeptischen Protestpartei zu einer (r)echten Alternative? *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 59 (3): 433–461.
- Bisgaard, Martin. 2015. Bias Will Find a Way: Economic Perceptions, Attributions of Blame, and Partisan-Motivated Reasoning During Crisis. *Journal of Politics* 77 (3): 849–860.
- Bittner, Amanda. 2011. *Platform or Personality? The Role of Party Leaders in Elections*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Blais, André, John H. Aldrich, Indridi H. Indridason, and Renan Levine. 2006. Do Voters Vote for Government Coalitions?: Testing Downs' Pessimistic Conclusion. *Party Politics* 12 (6): 691–705.
- Blais, André and M. Martin Boyer. 1996. Assessing the Impact of Televised Debates: The Case of the 1988 Canadian Election. *British Journal of Political Science* 26 (2): 143–164.
- Blais, André, Elisabeth Gidengil, and Neil Nevitte. 2004. Where Does Turnout Decline Come From? *European Journal of Political Research* 42 (2): 221–236.
- Blätte, Andreas, Simon Gehlhar, Jan Gehrman, Andreas Niederberger, Julia Rakers, and Eva Weiler. 2019. "Migrationspolitik im Bundestagswahlkampf 2017: Die Kluft zwischen Entscheidungs- und Darstellungspolitik." In Karl-Rudolf Korte and Jan Schoofs (eds), *Die Bundestagswahl 2017: Analysen der Wahl-, Parteien-, Kommunikations- und Regierungsforschung*. Wiesbaden: Springer, 363–387.
- Bless, Herbert and Norbert Schwarz. 1998. Context Effects in Political Judgement: Assimilation and Contrast as a Function of Categorization Processes. *European Journal of Social Psychology* 28 (2): 159–172.

- Blinzler, Katharina, Manuela Blumenberg, and Hannah Bucher. 2019. "Die Regierungsbildung." In Sigrid Roßteutscher, Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck, Harald Schoen, Bernhard Weßels, and Christof Wolf (eds), *Zwischen Polarisierung und Beharrung: Die Bundestagswahl 2017*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 357–374.
- Blumenberg, Johannes N. and Manuela S. Blumenberg. 2017. The Kretschmann Effect: Personalisation and the March 2016 Länder Elections. *German Politics* 27 (3): 359–379.
- Blumenstiel, Jan Eric. 2011. "Abstürze, Rekorde, Überhänge und andere Superlative: Das Ergebnis der Bundestagswahl 2009." In Hans Rattinger, Sigrid Roßteutscher, Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck, and Bernhard Weßels (eds), *Zwischen Langeweile und Extremen: Die Bundestagswahl 2009*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 59–76.
- Blumenstiel, Jan Eric. 2014a. "Merkels Triumph und der Albtraum der FDP: Das Ergebnis der Bundestagswahl 2013." In Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck, Hans Rattinger, Sigrid Roßteutscher, Bernhard Weßels, and Christof Wolf (eds), *Zwischen Fragmentierung und Konzentration: Die Bundestagswahl 2013*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 101–117.
- Blumenstiel, Jan Eric. 2014b. "Voter Fragmentation and the Differentiation of Vote Functions." In Bernhard Weßels, Hans Rattinger, Sigrid Roßteutscher, and Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck (eds), *Voters on the Move Or on the Run? Oxford*: Oxford University Press, 17–39.
- Blumenstiel, Jan Eric and Thomas Plischke. 2015. Changing Motivations, Time of the Voting Decision, and Short-term Volatility – The Dynamics of Voter Heterogeneity. *Electoral Studies* 37: 28–40.
- Blumenstiel, Jan Eric and Elena Wiegand. 2014. "Wechselwähler." In Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck, Hans Rattinger, Sigrid Roßteutscher, Bernhard Weßels, and Christof Wolf (eds), *Zwischen Fragmentierung und Konzentration: Die Bundestagswahl 2013*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 133–144.
- Bol, Damien, Marco Giani, André Blais, and Peter John Loewen. 2020. The Effect of COVID-19 Lockdowns on Political Support: Some Good News for Democracy? *European Journal of Political Research*: DOI: 10.1111/1475-6765.12401.
- Boninger, David S., Jon A. Krosnick, and Matthew K. Berent. 1995. Origins of Attitude Importance: Self-Interest, Social Identification, and Value Relevance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 68 (1): 61–80.
- Books, John W. and Charles L. Prysby. 1991. *Political Behavior and the Local Context*. New York: Praeger.
- Boomgaarden, Hajo G. and Holli A. Semetko. 2007. "Duell Mann gegen Frau?! Geschlechterrollen und Kanzlerkandidaten in der Wahlkampfberichterstattung." In Frank Brettschneider, Oskar Niedermayer, and Bernhard Weßels (eds), *Die Bundestagswahl 2005*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 171–196.
- Boomgaarden, Hajo and Holli A. Semetko. 2012. "Nachrichten-Bias: Medieninhalte, Bevölkerungswahrnehmungen und Wahlentscheidungen bei der Bundestagswahl 2009." In Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck (ed.), *Wählen in Deutschland. Politische Vierteljahresschrift (PVS)* Baden-Baden: Nomos, 345–370.
- Bornschieer, Simon. 2010. *Cleavage Politics and the Populist Right: The New Cultural Conflict in Western Europe*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Bornschieer, Simon. 2012. Why a Right-wing Populist Party Emerged in France but not in Germany: Cleavages and Actors in the Formation of a New Cultural Divide. *European Political Science Review* 4 (1): 121–145.
- Bornschieer, Simon. 2018. "Globalization, Cleavages, and the Radical Right." In Jens Rydgren (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right*. New York: Oxford University Press, 212–238.

- Brady, Henry E. and Richard Johnston. 2006. "The Rolling Cross-Section and Causal Attribution." In Henry E. Brady and Richard Johnston (eds), *Capturing Campaign Effects*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 164–195.
- Brambor, Thomas, William Roberts Clark, and Matt Golder. 2006. Understanding Interaction Models: Improving Empirical Analyses. *Political Analysis* 14 (1): 63–82.
- Brandenburg, Heinz and Marcel Van Egmond. 2012. Pressed into Party Support? Media Influence on Partisan Attitudes during the 2005 UK General Election Campaign. *British Journal of Political Science* 42 (2): 441–463.
- Bräuninger, Thomas, Marc Debus, Jochen Müller, and Christian Stecker. 2019. Party Competition and Government Formation in Germany: Business as Usual or New Patterns? *German Politics* 28 (1): 80–100.
- Bräuninger, Thomas and Nathalie Giger. 2018. Strategic Ambiguity of Party Positions in Multi-Party Competition. *Political Science Research and Methods* 6 (3): 527–548.
- Brennan, Geoffrey and Loren Lomasky. 1993. *Democracy and Decision: The Pure Theory of Electoral Preference*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brettschneider, Frank. 2001. "Candidate-Voting. Die Bedeutung von Spitzenkandidaten für das Wählerverhalten in Deutschland, Großbritannien und den USA von 1960 bis 1998." In Hans-Dieter Klingemann and Max Kaase (eds), *Wahlen und Wähler*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 351–400.
- Brettschneider, Frank. 2002. *Spitzenkandidaten und Wahlerfolg*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Brettschneider, Frank and Oscar W. Gabriel. 2002. "The Nonpersonalization of Voting Behavior in Germany" In Anthony King (ed.), *Leaders' Personalities and the Outcomes of Democratic Elections*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 127–157.
- Brettschneider, Frank, Katja Neller, and Christopher J. Anderson. 2006. Candidate Images in the 2005 German National Election. *German Politics* 15 (4): 481–499.
- Brody, Richard A. and Benjamin L. Page. 1972. Comment: The Assessment of Policy Voting. *American Political Science Review* 66 (2): 450–458.
- Brooks, Clem, Paul Nieuwbeerta, and Jeff Manza. 2006. Cleavage-Based Voting Behavior in Cross-national Perspective: Evidence from Six Postwar Democracies. *Social Science Research* 35 (1): 88–128.
- Budge, Ian and Dennis J. Farlie. 1983. *Explaining and Predicting Elections: Issue Effects and Party Strategies in Twenty-Three Democracies*. London: Allen & Unwin.
- Bulmer, Simon. 2014. Germany and the Eurozone Crisis: Between Hegemony and Domestic Politics. *West European Politics* 37 (6): 1244–1263.
- Bundeswahlleiter. 2018. *Ergebnisse früherer Bundestagswahlen*. [https://www.bundeswahlleiter.de/dam/jcr/397735e3-0585-46f6-a0b5-2c60c5b83de6/btw\\_ab49\\_gesamt.pdf](https://www.bundeswahlleiter.de/dam/jcr/397735e3-0585-46f6-a0b5-2c60c5b83de6/btw_ab49_gesamt.pdf). 14–09–2019.
- Bundeswahlleiter. 2019. *Briefwahl*. <https://www.bundeswahlleiter.de/service/glossar/b/briefwahl.html>. 14–09–2019.
- Burnell, Peter and Andrew Reeves. 1984. Persuasion as a Political Concept. *British Journal of Political Science* 14 (4): 393–410.
- Bytzek, Evelyn and Sascha Huber. 2011. "Koalitionen und strategisches Wählen." In Hans Rattinger, Sigrid Roßteutscher, Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck, and Bernhard Weßels (eds), *Zwischen Langeweile und Extremen: Die Bundestagswahl 2009*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 247–264.
- Camerra-Rowe, Pamela. 2004. Agenda 2010: Redefining German Social Democracy. *German Politics & Society* 22 (1 (70)): 1–30.

- Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter*. New York: Wiley.
- Campbell, James E. 2008. *The American Campaign: U.S. Presidential Campaigns and the National Vote*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press.
- Campbell, Ross. 2019. *Popular Support for Democracy in Unified Germany: Critical Democrats*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Carmine, Edward G. and James A. Stimson. 1989. *Issue Evolution: Race and the Transformation of American Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Christian, Ben. 2017. Correct Voting at the 2013 German Federal Election: An Analysis of Normatively Desirable Campaign Effects. *German Politics* 26 (1): 170–186.
- Clark, Terry N. and Seymour M. Lipset. 1991. Are Social Classes Dying? *International Sociology* 6 (4): 397–410.
- Clark, Terry N., Seymour M. Lipset, and Michael Rempel. 1993. The Declining Political Significance of Class. *International Sociology* 8 (3): 293–316.
- Clarke, Harold D., David Sanders, Marianne C. Stewart, and Paul Whiteley. 2004. *Political Choice in Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Clarke, Harold D., David Sanders, Marianne C. Stewart, and Paul Whiteley. 2009. *Performance Politics and the British Voter*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Clarke, Harold D., Thomas J. Scotto, and Allan Kornberg. 2011. Valence Politics and Economic Crisis: Electoral Choice in Canada 2008. *Electoral Studies* 30 (3): 438–449.
- Converse, Phillip E. 1966. “The Concept of a Normal Vote.” In Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, Donald E. Stokes (ed.), *Elections and the Political Order*. New York, London, Sydney: Wiley, 9–39.
- Copelovitch, Mark, Jeffry Frieden, and Stefanie Walter. 2016. The Political Economy of the Euro Crisis. *Comparative Political Studies* 49 (7): 811–840.
- Cox, Gary W. 1997. *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World’s Electoral Systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crewe, Ivor and David Denver. 1985. *Electoral Change in Western Democracies: Patterns and Sources of Electoral Volatility*. London: Croom Helm.
- CSES. 2019a. The Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (www.cses.org). CSES INTEGRATED MODULE DATASET (IMD) [dataset and documentation]. October 17, 2019 version. doi:10.7804/cses.imd.2019-10-17.
- CSES. 2019b. The Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (www.cses.org). CSES MODULE 5 FIRST ADVANCE RELEASE [dataset and documentation]. May 21, 2019 version. doi:10.7804/cses.module5.2019-05-21.
- D’Alessio, Dave and Mike Allen. 2000. Media Bias in Presidential Elections: A Meta-Analysis. *Journal of Communication* 50 (4): 133–156.
- Dahl, Robert A. 1989. *Democracy and Its Critics*. 17th printing ed. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Dahrendorf, Ralf. 1988. *The Modern Social Conflict: An Essay on the Politics of Liberty*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson.
- Dalton, Russell J. 1984a. Cognitive Mobilization and Partisan Dealignment in Advanced Industrial Democracies. *Journal of Politics* 46 (1): 264–284.
- Dalton, Russell J. 1984b. “The West German Party System between Two Ages.” In Russell J. Dalton, Scott C. Flanagan, and Paul Allen Beck (eds), *Electoral Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies. Realignment or Dealignment?* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 104–133.
- Dalton, Russell J. 1993. *Politics in Germany*, second edition. New York: HarperCollins.

- Dalton, Russell J. 2000. Citizen Attitudes and Political Behavior. *Comparative Political Studies* 33 (6–7): 912–940.
- Dalton, Russell J. 2002. “The Decline of Party Identifications.” In Russell J. Dalton and Martin P. Wattenberg (eds), *Parties Without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 19–36.
- Dalton, Russell J. 2004. *Democratic Challenges, Democratic Choices: The Erosion of Political Support in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dalton, Russell J. 2008. The Quantity and the Quality of Party Systems. *Comparative Political Studies* 41 (7): 899–920.
- Dalton, Russell J. 2012. Apartisans and the Changing German Electorate. *Electoral Studies* 31 (1): 35–45.
- Dalton, Russell J. 2013. *The Apartisan American: Dealignment and Changing Electoral Politics*. Thousand Oaks: CQ Press.
- Dalton, Russell J. 2014. “Partisan Dealignment and Voting Choice.” In Stephen Padgett, William E. Paterson, and Reimut Zohlnhöfer (eds), *Developments in German Politics 4*. London: Macmillan Education UK, 57–77.
- Dalton, Russell J. 2017. *The Participation Gap. Social Status and Political Inequality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dalton, Russell J. 2018. *Political Realignment: Economics, Culture, and Electoral Change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dalton, Russell J. 2020. “The Blinders of Partisanship.” In Henrik Oscarsson and Sören Holmberg (eds), *Research Handbook on Political Partisanship*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 74–88.
- Dalton, Russell J., Paul A. Beck, and Robert Huckfeldt. 1998. Partisan Cues and the Media: Information Flows in the 1992 Presidential Election. *American Political Science Review* 92 (1): 111–126.
- Dalton, Russell J., Paul Allen Beck, and Scott C. Flanagan. 1984a. “Electoral Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies.” In Russell J. Dalton, Scott C. Flanagan, and Paul Allen Beck (eds), *Electoral Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies. Realignment or Dealignment?* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 3–22.
- Dalton, Russell J. and Wilhelm Bürklin. 2003. Wähler als Wandervogel: Dealignment and the German Voter. *German Politics & Society* 21 (1): 57–75.
- Dalton, Russell J., Scott C. Flanagan, and Paul A. Beck (eds). 1984b. *Electoral Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies: Realignment or Dealignment?* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Dalton, Russell J. and Willy Jou. 2010. Is There a Single German Party System? *German Politics & Society* 28 (2): 34–52.
- Dalton, Russell J. and Manfred Küchler (eds). 1990. *Challenging the Political Order. New Social and Political Movements in Western Democracies*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Dalton, Russell J., Ian McAllister, and Martin P. Wattenberg. 2002. “The Consequences of Partisan Dealignment.” In Russell J. Dalton and Martin P. Wattenberg (eds), *Parties Without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 37–63.
- Dalton, Russell J. and Martin P. Wattenberg. 1993. “The Not So Simple Act of Voting.” In Ada W. Finifter (ed.), *Political Science: The State of the Discipline II*. Washington: APSA, 193–218.
- Dalton, Russell J. and Martin P. Wattenberg (eds). 2002. *Parties without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. New York Oxford University Press.
- Damore, David F. 2004. The Dynamics of Issue Ownership in Presidential Campaigns. *Political Research Quarterly* 57 (3): 391–397.

- Damore, David F., Mallory M. Waters, and Shaun Bowler. 2012. Unhappy, Uninformed, or Uninterested? Understanding “None of the Above” Voting. *Political Research Quarterly* 65 (4): 895–907.
- Dassonneville, Ruth. 2012. Electoral Volatility, Political Sophistication, Trust and Efficacy: A Study on Changes in Voter Preferences During the Belgian Regional Elections of 2009. *Acta Politica* 47 (1): 18–41.
- Dassonneville, Ruth. 2014. Political Sophistication and Vote Intention Switching: The Timing of Electoral Volatility in the 2009 German Election Campaign. *German Politics* 23 (3): 174–195.
- Dassonneville, Ruth. 2016. Volatile Voters, Short-Term Choices? An Analysis of the Vote Choice Determinants of Stable and Volatile Voters in Great Britain. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 26 (3): 273–292.
- Dassonneville, Ruth and Yves Dejaeghere. 2014. Bridging the Ideological Space: A Cross-national Analysis of the Distance of Party Switching. *European Journal of Political Research* 53 (3): 580–599.
- Dassonneville, Ruth, Marc Hooghe, and Bram Vanhoutte. 2012. Age, Period and Cohort Effects in the Decline of Party Identification in Germany: An Analysis of a Two Decade Panel Study in Germany (1992–2009). *German Politics* 21 (2): 209–227.
- Dassonneville, Ruth and Marc Hooghe. 2017. Voter turnout decline and stratification: Quasi-experimental and comparative evidence of a growing educational gap. *Politics* 37 (2): 181–200.
- Davis, Otto A., Melvin J. Hinich, and Peter C. Ordeshook. 1970. An Expository Development of a Mathematical Model of the Electoral Process. *American Political Science Review* 64 (2): 426–448.
- De Vreese, Claes and Hajo Boomgaarden. 2003. Valenced news frames and public support for the EU. *Communications* 28 (4): 361–381.
- De Vreese, Claes H., Mark Boukes, Andreas Schuck, Rens Vliegenthart, Linda Bos, and Yph Lelkes. 2017. Linking Survey and Media Content Data: Opportunities, Considerations, and Pitfalls. *Communication Methods and Measures* 11 (4): 221–244.
- De Vries, Catherine E. 2018. The Cosmopolitan-Parochial Divide: Changing Patterns of Party and Electoral Competition in the Netherlands and Beyond. *Journal of European Public Policy* 25 (11): 1541–1565.
- Debus, Marc. 2010. Soziale Konfliktlinien und Wahlverhalten: Eine Analyse der Determinanten der Wahlabsicht bei Bundestagswahlen von 1969 bis 2009. *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* 62: 731–749.
- Debus, Marc and Jochen Müller. 2014. Expected Utility or Learned Familiarity? The Formation of Voters’ Coalition Preferences. *Electoral Studies* 34: 54–67.
- Debus, Marc, Mary Stegmaier, and Jale Tosun. 2013. Economic Voting under Coalition Governments: Evidence from Germany. *Political Science Research and Methods* 2 (1): 49–67.
- Dejaeghere, Yves and Patrick van Erkel. 2017. The Importance of Issue-Ownership and Salience for Voters’ Knowledge of Parties’ Issue Positions. *Electoral Studies* 46: 15–25.
- Detjen, Stephan. 2014. *Rechtsprechung in Zeiten der Eurokrise*. [https://www.deutschlandfunk.de/esm-urteil-rechtsprechung-in-zeiten-der-eurokrise.724.de.html?dram:article\\_id=280467](https://www.deutschlandfunk.de/esm-urteil-rechtsprechung-in-zeiten-der-eurokrise.724.de.html?dram:article_id=280467). 07.06.2014.
- Deutschmann, Paul J. 1962. “Viewing, Conversation, and Voting Intentions.” In Sidney Kraus (ed.), *The Great Debates Kennedy vs. Nixon, 1960*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 232–252.
- Dietz, Melanie and Sigrid Roßteutscher. 2019. “Von Bruchlandungen und Höhenflügen: Das Ergebnis der Bundestagswahl 2017.” In Sigrid Roßteutscher, Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck,

- Harald Schoen, Bernhard Weißels, and Christof Wolf (eds), *Zwischen Polarisierung und Beherrschung: die Bundestagswahl 2017*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 123–143.
- Dilliplane, Susanna. 2014. Activation, Conversion, or Reinforcement? The Impact of Partisan News Exposure on Vote Choice. *American Journal of Political Science* 58 (1): 79–94.
- Dobrzynska, Agnieszka, André Blais, and Richard Nadeau. 2003. Do the Media Have a Direct Impact on the Vote? The Case of the 1997 Canadian Election. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 15 (1): 27–43.
- Dogan, Mattei. 1995. Erosion of Class Voting and of the Religious Vote in Western Europe. *International Social Science Journal* 47 (4): 525–538.
- Donsbach, Wolfgang. 2002. Sechs Gründe gegen TV-Duelle: Zur politischen Bewertung einer medialen Inszenierung. *Die politische Meinung* 396 (2): 19–25.
- Donsbach, Wolfgang and Olaf Jandura. 2005. “Urteile mit Verfallsdatum: Einflüsse auf die Wahrnehmung des ersten Fernsehduells.” In Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, Wolfgang Donsbach, and Hans Mathias Kepplinger (eds), *Wählerstimmungen in der Mediendemokratie: Analysen auf der Basis des Bundestagswahlkampfs 2002*. Freiburg: Alber, 141–163.
- Donsbach, Wolfgang, Olaf Jandura, and Matthias Hastall. 2004. “Neues aus der Fernsehdemokratie: Wahrnehmung und Wirkung des ersten Fernsehduells.” In Heinrich Oberreuter (ed.), *Der versäumte Wechsel: Eine Bilanz des Wahljahres 2002*. München: Olzog, 136–156.
- Downs, Anthony 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- Druckman, James N. and Michael Parkin. 2005. The Impact of Media Bias: How Editorial Slant Affects Voters. *Journal of Politics* 67 (4): 1030–1049.
- Druckman, James N., Erik Peterson, and Rune Slothuus. 2013. How Elite Partisan Polarization Affects Public Opinion Formation. *American Political Science Review* 107 (1): 57–79.
- Duch, Raymond M., Jeff May, and David A. Armstrong. 2010. Coalition-directed Voting in Multiparty Democracies. *American Political Science Review* 104 (4): 698–719.
- Duverger, Maurice. 1954. *Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Dvir-Gvirsman, Shira. 2016. Media Audience Homophily: Partisan Websites, Audience Identity and Polarization Processes. *New Media & Society* 19 (7): 1072–1091.
- Easton, David. 1965. *A Framework for Political Analysis*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Easton, David. 1975. A Re-Assessment of the Concept of Political Support. *British Journal of Political Science* 5 (4): 435–457.
- Eberl, Jakob-Moritz, Hajo G. Boomgaarden, and Markus Wagner. 2017. One Bias Fits All? Three Types of Media Bias and Their Effects on Party Preferences. *Communication Research* 44 (8): 1125–1148.
- Elff, Martin. 2000. “Neue Mitte oder alte Lager? Welche Rolle spielen sozioökonomische Konfliktlinien für das Wahlergebnis von 1998?” In Jan W. van Deth, Hans Rattinger, and Edeltraud Roller (eds), *Die Republik auf dem Weg zur Normalität? Wahlverhalten und politische Einstellungen nach acht Jahren Einheit*. Opladen: Leske+Budrich, 67–92.
- Elff, Martin. 2007. Social Structure and Electoral Behavior in Comparative Perspective: The Decline of Social Cleavages in Western Europe Revisited. *Perspectives on Politics* 5 (2): 277–294.
- Elff, Martin. 2009. Social Divisions, Party Positions, and Electoral Behaviour. *Electoral Studies* 28 (2): 297–308.

- Elff, Martin. 2013. "Social Divisions and Political Choices in Germany, 1980-2006." In Geoffrey Evans and Nan Dirk de Graaf (eds), *Political Choice Matters: Explaining the Strength of Class and Religious Cleavages in Cross-National Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 277-308.
- Elff, Martin and Sigrid Roßteutscher. 2009. "Die Entwicklung sozialer Konfliktlinien in den Wahlen von 1994 bis 2005." In Jürgen W. Falter, Oscar W. Gabriel, and Bernhard Weßels (eds), *Wahlen und Wähler. Analysen aus Anlass der Bundestagswahl 2005*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 307-327.
- Elff, Martin and Sigrid Roßteutscher. 2011. Stability or Decline? Class, Religion and the Vote in Germany. *German Politics* 20 (1): 107-127.
- Elff, Martin and Sigrid Roßteutscher. 2017. Social Cleavages and Electoral Behaviour in Long-Term Perspective: Alignment without Mobilisation? *German Politics* 26 (1): 12-34.
- Elff, Martin, Merlin Schaeffer, Jan Paul Heisig, and Susumu Shikano. 2020. Multilevel Analysis with Few Clusters: Improving Likelihood-based Methods to Provide Unbiased Estimates and Accurate Inference. *British Journal of Political Science*: DOI: 10.17605/OSF.IO/Z65S4.
- Elgin, Ceyhun, Gokce Basbug, and Abdullah Yalaman. 2020. Economic Policy Responses to a Pandemic: Developing the Covid-19 Economic Stimulus Index. *CEPR Covid Economics: Vetted and Real-Time Papers* 1 (3): 40-53.
- Elliott, William R. and Jayanthi Sothirajah. 1993. Post-Debate Analysis and Media Reliance: Influences on Candidate Image and Voting Probabilities. *Journalism Quarterly* 70 (2): 321-335.
- Enderlein, Henrik. 2010. "Finanzkrise und große Koalition: Eine Bewertung des Krisenmanagements der Bundesregierung." In Christoph Egle and Reimut Zohlnhöfer (eds), *Die zweite Große Koalition. Eine Bilanz der Regierung Merkel 2005-2009*. Wiesbaden: VS, 234-253.
- Enelow, James and Melvin J. Hinich. 1981. A New Approach to Voter Uncertainty in the Downsian Spatial Model. *American Journal of Political Science* 25 (3): 483-493.
- Engler, Fabian, Svenja Bauer-Blaschkowski, and Reimut Zohlnhöfer. 2019. Disregarding the Voters? Electoral Competition and the Merkel Government's Public Policies, 2013-17. *German Politics* 28 (3): 312-331.
- Enyedi, Zsolt. 2005. The Role of Agency in Cleavage Formation. *European Journal of Political Research* 44: 697-720.
- Erikson, Robert and John H. Goldthorpe. 1992. *The Constant Flux: A Study of Class Mobility in Industrial Societies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Erisen, Elif and Cengiz Erisen. 2012. The Effect of Social Networks on the Quality of Political Thinking. *Political Psychology* 33 (6): 839-865.
- Evans, Geoffrey. 2010. Models, Measures and Mechanisms. An Agenda for Progress in Cleavage Research. *West European Politics* 33 (3): 634-647.
- Evans, Geoffrey and Nan Dirk de Graaf (eds). 2013. *Political Choice Matters: Explaining the Strength of Class and Religious Cleavages in Cross-National Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Evans, Geoffrey and Mark Pickup. 2010. Reversing the Causal Arrow: The Political Conditioning of Economic Perceptions in the 2000-2004 U.S. Presidential Election Cycle. *The Journal of Politics* 72 (4): 1236-1251.
- Evans, Geoffrey and James Tilley. 2012. The Depoliticization of Inequality and Redistribution: Explaining the Decline of Class Voting. *Journal of Politics* 74 (4): 963-976.
- Eveland Jr, William P. and Myiah Hutchens Hively. 2009. Political Discussion Frequency, Network Size, and "Heterogeneity" of Discussion as Predictors of Political Knowledge and Participation. *Journal of Communication* 59 (2): 205-224.



- Faas, Thorsten and Sascha Huber. 2015. Haben die Demoskopen die FDP aus dem Bundestag vertrieben? Ergebnisse einer experimentellen Studie. *Zeitschrift für Palamentsfragen* 46 (4): 746–759.
- Faas, Thorsten and Tristan Klingelhöfer. 2019. The More Things Change, the More They Stay the Same? The German Federal Election of 2017 and Its Consequences. *West European Politics* 42 (4): 914–926.
- Faas, Thorsten and Jürgen Maier. 2004. Mobilisierung, Verstärkung, Konversion? Ergebnisse eines Experiments zur Wahrnehmung der Fernsehduelle im Vorfeld der Bundestagswahl 2002. *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 45 (1): 55–72.
- Falco-Gimeno, Albert. 2012. Preferences for Political Coalitions in Spain. *South European Society and Politics* 17 (3): 487–502.
- Falter, Jürgen. 1981. Kontinuität und Neubeginn. Die Bundestagswahl 1949 zwischen Weimar und Bonn. *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 22 (3): 235–263.
- Falter, Jürgen and Markus Klein. 2003. *Der lange Weg der Grünen*. München: Beck.
- Faus, Rainer and Simon Storks. 2019. *Im vereinten Deutschland geboren—in den Einstellungen gespalten? OBS-Studie zur ersten Nachwendegeneration*. Frankfurt am Main: Otto-Brenner-Stiftung.
- Festinger, Leon. 1957. *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Fieldhouse, Edward, Jane Green, Geoffrey Evans, Jonathan Mellon, Christopher Prosser, Hermann Schmitt, and Cees van der Eijk. 2020. *Electoral Shocks. The Volatile Voter in a Turbulent World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Finifter, Ada W. 1974. The Friendship Group as a Protective Environment for Political Deviants. *American Political Science Review* 68 (2): 607–625.
- Finkel, Steven E. 1993. Reexamining the Minimal Effects Model in Recent Presidential Campaigns. *Journal of Politics* 55 (1): 1–21.
- Finkel, Steven E. and Peter R. Schrott. 1995. Campaign Effects on Voter Choice in the German Election of 1990. *British Journal of Political Science* 25 (3): 349–377.
- Fiorina, Morris P. 1978. Economic Retrospective Voting in American National Elections: A Micro-Analysis. *American Journal of Political Science* 22 (2): 426–443.
- Fischer, Claude S. 1982. *To Dwell among Friends: Personal Networks in Town and City*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Flanagan, Scott C. and Russell J. Dalton. 1984. Parties under Stress: Realignment and Dealignment in Advanced Industrial Societies. *West European Politics* 7 (1): 7–23.
- Flanagan, Scott C. and Aie-Rie Lee. 2003. The New Politics, Culture Wars, and the Authoritarian-Libertarian Value Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies. *Comparative Political Studies* 36 (3): 235–270.
- Flaxman, Seth, Sharad Goel, and Justin M. Rao. 2016. Filter Bubbles, Echo Chambers, and Online News Consumption. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 80 (S1): 298–320.
- Forschungsgruppe Wahlen, Mannheim. 2019. *Politbarometer. Langzeitentwicklung: Wirtschaft und Soziales*. [https://www.forschungsgruppe.de/Umfragen/Politbarometer/Langzeitentwicklung\\_-\\_Themen\\_im\\_Ueberblick/Wirtschaft\\_und\\_Soziales/#WirtschEnt](https://www.forschungsgruppe.de/Umfragen/Politbarometer/Langzeitentwicklung_-_Themen_im_Ueberblick/Wirtschaft_und_Soziales/#WirtschEnt). July 1, 2019.
- Forschungsgruppe Wahlen, Mannheim. 2020. *Partial Cumulation of Politbarometers 1977–2018*. edited by GESIS Data Archive. Cologne.
- Fournier, Patrick, Richard Nadeau, André Blais, Elisabetz Gidengil, and Neil Nevitte. 2004. Time-of-voting Decision and Susceptibility to Campaign Effects. *Electoral Studies* 23 (4): 661–681.
- Frankland, E. Gene and Donald Schoonmaker. 1992. *Between Protest and Power. The Green Party in Germany*. Boulder/Col.: Westview.

- Franklin, Mark N. 2004. *Voter Turnout and the Dynamics of Electoral Competition in Established Democracies since 1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Franklin, Mark N., Thomas Mackie, and Henry Valen et al. 1992. *Electoral Change: Responses to Evolving Social and Attitudinal Structures in Western Countries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Franzmann, Simon T., Heiko Giebler, and Thomas Poguntke. 2020. It's No Longer the Economy, Stupid! Issue Yield at the 2017 German Federal Election. *West European Politics* 43 (3): 610–638.
- Fredén, Annika. 2017. Opinion Polls, Coalition Signals and Strategic Voting: Evidence from a Survey Experiment. *Scandinavian Political Studies* 40 (3): 247–264.
- Friedland, Lewis A. 2016. Networks in Place. *American Behavioral Scientist* 60 (1): 24–42.
- Fuchs, Dieter. 1991. “Zum Wandel politischer Konfliktlinien: Ideologische Gruppierungen und Wahlverhalten.” In Werner Süß (ed.), *Die Bundesrepublik in den achtziger Jahren*. Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 69–86.
- Fuchs, Dieter and Hans-Dieter Klingemann. 1989. “The Left-Right Schema.” In M. Kent Jennings and Jan W. Deth (eds), *Continuities in Political Action*. Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 203–234.
- Gabriel, Oscar W., Silke I. Keil, and S. Isabell Thaidigsmann. 2009. “Kandidatenorientierungen und Wahlentscheid bei der Bundestagswahl 2005.” In Oscar W. Gabriel, Bernhard Weßels, and Jürgen W. Falter (eds), *Wahlen und Wähler. Analysen aus Anlass der Bundestagswahl 2005*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 267–303.
- Gabriel, Oscar W., Jürgen Maier, and Thorsten Faas. 2020. “Politikwissenschaftliche Einstellungs- und Verhaltensforschung.” In Thorsten Faas, Oscar W. Gabriel, and Jürgen Maier (eds), *Politikwissenschaftliche Einstellungs- und Verhaltensforschung*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 17–89.
- Gabriel, Oscar W. and Katja Neller. 2005. “Kandidatenorientierungen und Wahlverhalten bei den Bundestagswahlen 1994–2002.” In Jürgen W. Falter, Oscar W. Gabriel, and Bernhard Weßels (eds), *Wahlen und Wähler 2002. Analysen aus Anlass der Bundestagswahl 2002*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 213–243.
- Gallego, Aina. 2015. *Unequal Political Participation Worldwide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gallup, George, Jr. 1987. “The Impact of Presidential Debates on the Vote and Turnout.” In Joel L. Swerdlow (ed.), *Presidential Debates and Beyond*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 34–42.
- Galston, William A. 2018. *Anti-Pluralism: The Populist Threat to Liberal Democracy*. London: Yale University Press.
- Gärtner, Lea and Alexander Wuttke. 2019. “Eingeschlossen in der Filter Bubble? Politische Kommunikationsnetzwerke im Wahlkampf.” In Sigrid Roßteutscher, Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck, Harald Schoen, Bernhard Weßels, and Christof Wolf (eds), *Zwischen Polarisierung und Beharrung: Die Bundestagswahl 2017*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 97–110.
- Gattig, Alexander. 2006. Klasseneinflüsse auf das Wahlverhalten und die Wahlbeteiligung. *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* 58 (3): 510–533.
- Geer, John G. 1988. The Effects of Presidential Debates on the Electorate's Preferences for Candidates. *American Politics Quarterly* 16 (4): 486–501.
- Geers, Sabine and Linda Bos. 2017. Priming Issues, Party Visibility, and Party Evaluations: The Impact on Vote Switching. *Political Communication* 34 (3): 344–366.
- Geers, Sabine and Jesper Strömbäck. 2019. Patterns of Intra-election Volatility: The Impact of Political Knowledge. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 29 (3): 361–380.

- Geiges, Lars. 2018. Wie die AfD im Kontext der “Flüchtlingskrise” mobilisierte. Eine empirisch-qualitative Untersuchung der “Herbstoffensive 2015”. *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* 28 (1): 49–69.
- Geiß, Stefan and Svenja Schäfer. 2017. Any Publicity or Good Publicity? A Competitive Test of Visibility- and Tonality-Based Media Effects on Voting Behavior. *Political Communication* 34 (3): 444–467.
- Gerber, Alan S., Gregory A. Huber, David Doherty, and Conor M. Dowling. 2012. Disagreement and the Avoidance of Political Discussion: Aggregate Relationships and Differences across Personality Traits. *American Journal of Political Science* 56 (4): 849–874.
- Giddens, Anthony. 1990. *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Giebler, Heiko and Aiko Wagner. 2019. “Populistische Einstellungen.” In Sigrid Roßteutscher, Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck, Harald Schoen, Bernhard Weßels, and Christof Wolf (eds), *Zwischen Polarisierung und Beharrung: Die Bundestagswahl 2017*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 295–308.
- Gill, Jeff. 2005. An Entropy Measure of Uncertainty in Vote Choice. *Electoral Studies* 24 (3): 371–392.
- Gimpel, James G. and Iris S. Hui. 2015. Seeking Politically Compatible Neighbors? The Role of Neighborhood Partisan Composition in Residential Sorting. *Political Geography* 48: 130–142.
- Giugni, Marco G. and Maria T. Grasso. 2019. *Street Citizens. Protest Politics and Social Movement Participation in the Age of Globalization*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Glinitzer, Konstantin and Nils Jungmann. 2019. “Spitzenkandidaten.” In Sigrid Roßteutscher, Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck, Harald Schoen, Bernhard Weßels, and Christof Wolf (eds), *Zwischen Polarisierung und Beharrung: Die Bundestagswahl 2017*. Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 247–262.
- Goldberg, Andreas C. 2020. The Evolution of Cleavage Voting in Four Western Countries: Structural, Behavioural or Political Dealignment? *European Journal of Political Research* 59 (1): 68–90.
- Goldthorpe, John H., David Lockwood, Frank Bechhofer, and Jennifer Platt. 1968. *The Affluent Worker in the Class Structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grabow, Karsten and Viola Neu (eds). 2018. *Das Ende der Stabilität? Parteien und Parteiensystem in Deutschland*. Sankt Augustin und Berlin: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung.
- Graefe, Andreas. 2015. German Election Forecasting: Comparing and Combining Methods for 2013. *German Politics* 24 (2): 195–204.
- Grande, Edgar and Hanspeter Kriesi. 2012. “The Transformative Power of Globalization and the Structure of Political Conflict in Western Europe.” In Hanspeter Kriesi, Edgar Grande, Martin Dolezal, Martin Helbling, Dominic Höglinger, Swen Hutter, and Bruno Wüest (eds), *Political Conflict in Western Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1–35.
- Grande, Edgar, Tobias Schwarzbözl, and Matthias Fatke. 2019. Politicizing Immigration in Western Europe. *Journal of European Public Policy* 26 (10): 1444–1463.
- Gray, Mark and Miki Caul. 2000. Declining Voter Turnout in Advanced Industrial Democracies, 1950 to 1997. The Effects of Declining Group Mobilization. *Comparative Political Studies* 33 (9): 1091–1122.
- Green, Donald, Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Schickler. 2002. *Partisan Hearts and Minds: Political Parties and the Social Identities of Voters*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Green, Jane and Sarah Hobolt. 2008. Owning the Issue Agenda: Party Strategies and Vote Choices in British Elections. *Electoral Studies* 27 (3): 460–476.

- Green, Jane and Will Jennings. 2017a. Party Reputations and Policy Priorities: How Issue Ownership Shapes Executive and Legislative Agendas. *British Journal of Political Science* 49 (2): 443–466.
- Green, Jane and Will Jennings. 2017b. *The Politics of Competence: Parties, Public Opinion and Voters*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grimm, Robert. 2015. The Rise of the German Eurosceptic Party Alternative für Deutschland, between Ordoliberal Critique and Popular Anxiety. *International Political Science Review* 36 (3): 264–278.
- Gschwend, Thomas. 2007. Ticket-splitting and Strategic Voting under Mixed Electoral Rules: Evidence from Germany. *European Journal of Political Research* 46 (1): 1–23.
- Gschwend, Thomas, Michael F. Meffert, and Lukas F. Stoetzer. 2017. Weighting Parties and Coalitions: How Coalition Signals Influence Voting Behavior. *Journal of Politics* 79 (2): 642–655.
- Gschwend, Thomas, Lukas Stoetzer, and Steffen Zittlau. 2016. What Drives Rental Votes? How Coalitions Signals Facilitate Strategic Coalition Voting. *Electoral Studies* 44: 293–306.
- Guardian. 2019. How Populism Emerged as an Electoral Force in Europe. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/ng-interactive/2018/nov/20/how-populism-emerged-as-electoral-force-in-europe>, 10.11.2019.
- Hainmüller, Jens and Michael J. Hiscox. 2007. Educated Preferences: Explaining Attitudes toward Immigration in Europe. *International Organization* 61 (2): 399–442.
- Hall, Peter A. 2012. The Economics and Politics of the Euro Crisis. *German Politics* 21 (4): 355–371.
- Hallin, David C. and Paolo Mancini. 2004. *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hameleers, Michael, Linda Bos, and Claes H. de Vreese. 2017. “They Did It”: The Effects of Emotionalized Blame Attribution in Populist Communication. *Communication Research* 44 (6): 870–900.
- Hansen, Michael A. and Jonathan Olsen. 2020. Rhapsody in Beige: The Impact of SPD Candidate Evaluations on Vote Choice in the 2009, 2013, and 2017 Federal Elections. *German Politics* 29 (2): 223–243.
- Hastie, Trevor J. and Robert J. Tibshirani. 1990. *Generalized Additive Models*. London: Chapman & Hall.
- Häusermann, Silja and Hanspeter Kriesi. 2015. “What Do Voters Want? Dimensions and Configurations in Individual-Level Preferences and Party Choice.” In Pablo Beramendi, Silja Häusermann, Herbert Kitschelt, and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds), *The Politics of Advanced Capitalism*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 202–230.
- Heath, Oliver. 2018. “Trends in Partisanship.” In Justin Fisher, Edward Fieldhouse, Mark Franklin, Rachel Gibson, Marta Cantijoch, and Christopher Wlezien (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of Elections, Voting Behavior and Public Opinion*. New York: Routledge, 158–169.
- Hegelich, Simon, David Knollmann, and Johanna Kuhlmann. 2011. *Agenda 2010. Strategien - Entscheidungen - Konsequenzen*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.
- Heimann, Siegfried. 1986. “Die Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands.” In Richard Stöss (ed.), *Parteihandbuch. Die Parteien der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1945–1980, Band 4*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 2025–2216.
- Heiss, Raffael and Jörg Matthes. 2019. Stuck in a Nativist Spiral: Content, Selection, and Effects of Right-Wing Populists’ Communication on Facebook. *Political Communication* 37 (3): 303–328.

- Hellwig, Timothy. 2014. The Structure of Issue Voting in Postindustrial Democracies. *The Sociological Quarterly* 55 (4): 596–624.
- Hellwig, Timothy. 2015. *Globalization and Mass Politics: Retaining the Room to Maneuver*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Henninger, Anette and Angelika von Wahl. 2019. “Verstetigung des Modernisierungskurses bei Gegenwind von rechts. Bilanz der Familien- und Gleichstellungspolitik 2013–2017.” In Reimut Zohlnhöfer and Thomas Saalfeld (eds), *Zwischen Stillstand, Politikwandel und Krisenmanagement. Eine Bilanz der Regierung Merkel 2013–2017*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 469–486.
- Herrmann, Michael. 2014. Polls, Coalitions and Strategic Voting under Proportional Representation. *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 26 (3): 442–467.
- Hibbs, Douglas A. 1977. Political Parties and Macroeconomic Policy. *American Political Science Review* 71 (4): 1467–1487.
- Hobolt, Sara B. and Jeffrey A. Karp. 2010. Voters and Coalition Governments. *Electoral Studies* 29 (3): 299–307.
- Hölig, Sascha and Uwe Hasebrink. 2018. Nachrichtennutzung und soziale Medien. Befunde aus dem Reuters Institute Digital News Survey 2018. *Media Perspektiven* 2018 (12): 574–582.
- Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks. 2018. Cleavage Theory Meets Europe’s Crises: Lipset, Rokkan, and the Transnational Cleavage. *Journal of European Public Policy* 25 (1): 109–135.
- Hooghe, Liesbet, Gary Marks, and Carole J. Wilson. 2002. Does Left/Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration? *Comparative Political Studies* 35 (8): 965–989.
- Hopmann, David Nicolas, Rens Vliegenthart, Claes De Vreese, and Erik Albæk. 2010. Effects of Election News Coverage: How Visibility and Tone Influence Party Choice. *Political Communication* 27 (4): 389–405.
- Huber, Sascha. 2014. “Coalitions and Voting Behavior in a Differentiating Multiparty System.” In Bernhard Weßels, Hans Rattinger, Sigrid Roßteutscher, and Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck (eds), *Voters on the Move or on the Run?* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 65–88.
- Huber, Sascha. 2017. Instrumental and Expressive Coalition Voting: The Case of the FDP in the 2009 and 2013 German Federal Elections. *German Politics* 26 (1): 104–123.
- Huckfeldt, Robert. 1983. Social Contexts, Social Networks, and Urban Neighborhoods: Environmental Constraints on Friendship Choice. *American Journal of Sociology* 89 (3): 651–669.
- Huckfeldt, Robert, Paul Allen Beck, Russell J. Dalton, and Jeffrey Levine. 1995. Political Environments, Cohesive Social Groups, and the Communication of Public Opinion. *American Journal of Political Science* 39 (4): 1025–1054.
- Huckfeldt, Robert, Ken’ichi Ikeda, and Franz Urban Pappi. 2005. Patterns of Disagreement in Democratic Politics: Comparing Germany, Japan, and the United States. *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (3): 497–514.
- Huckfeldt, Robert, Paul Johnson, and John Sprague. 2004a. *Political Disagreement. The Survival of Diverse Opinions within Communication Networks*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Huckfeldt, Robert, Jeanette Morehouse Mendez, and Tracy Osborn. 2004b. Disagreement, Ambivalence, and Engagement: The Political Consequences of Heterogeneous Networks. *Political Psychology* 25 (1): 65–95.
- Huckfeldt, Robert and John Sprague. 1988. Choice, Social Structure, and Political Information: The Information Coercion of Minorities. *American Journal of Political Science* 32 (2): 467–482.

- Huckfeldt, Robert and John Sprague. 1995. *Citizens, Politics and Social Communication: Information and Influence in an Election Campaign*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Huddy, Leonie, Lilliana Mason, and Lene Aarøe. 2015. Expressive Partisanship: Campaign Involvement, Political Emotion, and Partisan Identity. *American Political Science Review* 109 (1): 1–17.
- Hutter, Swen, Edgar Grande, and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds). 2016. *Politicising Europe: Integration and Mass Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ignazi, Piero. 1992. The Silent Counter-revolution: Hypotheses on the Emergence of Extreme Right-wing Parties in Europe. *European Journal of Political Research* 22 (1): 3–34.
- Ikeda, Ken'ichi and Sean Richey. 2009. The Impact of Diversity in Informal Social Networks on Tolerance in Japan. *British Journal of Political Science* 39 (3): 655–668.
- Indridason, Indridi H. 2011. Proportional Representation, Majoritarian Legislatures, and Coalitional Voting. *American Journal of Political Science* 55 (4): 955–971.
- Inglehart, Ronald. 1977. *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles among Western Publics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Inglehart, Ronald. 1983. Traditionelle politische Trennungslinien und die Entwicklung der neuen Politik in westlichen Gesellschaften. *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 24 (2): 139–165.
- Inglehart, Ronald. 1987. Value Change in Industrial Societies. *American Political Science Review* 81 (4): 1289–1303.
- Inglehart, Ronald. 1990. *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Inglehart, Ronald. 1997. *Modernization and Postmodernization. Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies*. Princeton/NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Inglehart, Ronald. 2018. *Cultural Evolution: People's Motivations are Changing, and Reshaping the World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Inglehart, Ronald and Pippa Norris. 2016. *Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash*. HKS working paper no. RWP16–026.
- Inglehart, Ronald and Pippa Norris. 2017. Trump and the Populist Authoritarian Parties: The Silent Revolution in Reverse. *Perspectives on Politics* 15 (2): 443–454.
- Inglehart, Ronald and Christian Welzel. 2005. *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Irwin, Galen A. and Joop J.M. van Holsteyn. 2012. Strategic Electoral Considerations under Proportional Representation. *Electoral Studies* 31 (1): 184–191.
- Iverson, Elisabeth. 2005. The Vulnerable Populist Right Parties: No Economic Realignment Fuelling Their Electoral Success. *European Journal of Political Research* 44 (3): 465–492.
- Iyengar, Shanto, Kyu S. Hahn, Jon A. Krosnick, and John Walker. 2008. Selective Exposure to Campaign Communication: The Role of Anticipated Agreement and Issue Public Membership. *The Journal of Politics* 70 (1): 186–200.
- Iyengar, Shanto, Yphtach Lelkes, Matthew Levendusky, Neil Malhotra, and Sean J. Westwood. 2019. The Origins and Consequences of Affective Polarization in the United States. *Annual Review of Political Science* 22 (1): 129–146.
- Iyengar, Shanto, Gaurav Sood, and Yphtach Lelkes. 2012. Affect, Not Ideology: A Social Identity Perspective on Polarization. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 76 (3): 405–431.
- Jacoby, William G. 2014. Is There a Culture War? Conflicting Value Structures in American Public Opinion. *American Political Science Review* 108 (4): 754–771.

- Jäger, Kai. 2019. When Do Party Supporters Abandon the Party Leader? The Intraparty Conflict of the Alternative for Germany. *Party Politics* 27 (3): 478–488.
- Jamieson, Kathleen Hall. 2015. The Discipline's Debate Contributions: Then, Now, and Next. *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 101 (1): 85–97.
- Jansen, Giedo, Geoffrey Evans, and Nan Dirk de Graaf. 2013. Class Voting and Left-Right Party Positions: A Comparative Study of 15 Western Democracies, 1960–2005. *Social Science Research* 42 (2): 376–400.
- Jennings, M. Kent and Gregory B. Markus. 1984. Partisan Orientations over the Long Haul: Results from the Three-Wave Political Socialization Panel Study. *American Political Science Review* 78 (4): 1000–1018.
- Jennings, Will and Christopher Wlezien. 2016. The Timeline of Elections: A Comparative Perspective. *American Journal of Political Science* 60 (1): 219–233.
- Jerit, Jennifer and Jason Barabas. 2012. Partisan Perceptual Bias and the Information Environment. *The Journal of Politics* 74 (3): 672–684.
- Jesse, Eckhard. 2013. "Das 'Parteiensystem' der DDR." In Oskar Niedermayer (ed.), *Handbuch Parteienforschung*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 711–737.
- Jesse, Eckhard. 2018. Die Bundestagswahl 2017 und die Regierungsbildung. *Zeitschrift für Politik* 65 (2): 168–194.
- Johann, David and Christian Glantschnigg. 2013. "Correct Voting" bei der Nationalratswahl 2008. *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* 42 (4): 373–390.
- Johann, David, Katharina Kleinen-von Königslöw, Sylvia Kritzingner, and Kathrin Thomas. 2018. Intra-Campaign Changes in Voting Preferences: The Impact of Media and Party Communication. *Political Communication* 35 (2): 261–286.
- Johann, David and Sabrina Jasmin Mayer. 2019. "Effekte spezifischen politischen Wissens auf einstellungskongruente Wahlentscheidungen." In Bettina Westle and Markus Tausendpfund (eds), *Politisches Wissen*. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, 263–288.
- John, Robert. 2010. Measuring Issue Salience in British Elections: Competing Interpretations of "Most Important Issue". *Political Research Quarterly* 63 (1): 143–158.
- Johnston, Richard and Henry E. Brady. 2002. The Rolling Cross-Section Design. *Electoral Studies* 21: 283–295.
- Johnston, Richard, Michael G. Hagen, and Kathleen Hall Jamieson. 2004. *The 2000 Presidential Election and the Foundations of Party Politics*. Cambridge/Mass: Cambridge University Press.
- Johnston, Richard, Julia Partheymüller, and Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck. 2014. "Activation of Fundamentals in German Campaigns." In Bernhard Weßels, Hans Rattinger, Sigrid Roßteutscher, and Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck (eds), *Voters on the Move or on the Run?* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 217–237.
- Johnston, Ron and Charles Pattie. 2006. *Putting Voters in Their Place: Geography and Elections in Great Britain*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Joslyn, Mark R. and Steve Ceccoli. 1996. Attentiveness to Television News and Opinion Change in the Fall 1992 Presidential Campaign. *Political Behavior* 18 (2): 141–170.
- Kaase, Max. 1984. The Challenge of the "Participatory Revolution" in Pluralist Democracies. *International Political Science Review* 5 (3): 299–318.
- Kaase, Max. 1994. Is there Personalization in Politics? Candidates and Voting Behavior in Germany. *International Political Science Review* 15 (3): 211–230.
- Kahn, Kim Fridkin and Patrick J. Kenney. 2002. The Slant of the News: How Editorial Endorsements Influence Campaign Coverage and Citizens' Views of Candidates. *American Political Science Review* 96 (2): 381–394.

- Kahneman, Daniel and Amos Tversky. 1972. Subjective Probability: A Judgment of Representativeness. *Cognitive Psychology* 3 (3): 430–454.
- Karvonen, Lauri. 2010. *The Personalisation of Politics: A Study of Parliamentary Democracies*. Colchester: ECPR Press.
- Katz, Elihu and Jacob J. Feldman. 1962. “The Debates in the Light of Research: A Survey of Surveys.” In Sidney Kraus (ed.), *The Great Debates Kennedy vs. Nixon, 1960*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 173–223.
- Kayser, Mark A. and Arndt Leininger. 2016. A Predictive Test of Voters’ Economic Benchmarking: The 2013 German Bundestag Election. *German Politics* 25 (1): 106–130.
- Kayser, Mark A. and Arndt Leininger. 2017. A Länder-based Forecast of the 2017 German Bundestag Election. *PS: Political Science & Politics* 50 (3): 689–692.
- Kedar, Orit. 2005. When Moderate Voters Prefer Extreme Parties: Policy Balancing in Parliamentary Elections. *American Political Science Review* 99 (2): 185–199.
- Kedar, Orit. 2012. Voter Choice and Parliamentary Politics: An Emerging Research Agenda. *British Journal of Political Science* 42 (3): 537–553.
- Keele, Luke. 2008. *Semiparametric Regression for the Social Sciences*. Chichester: Wiley Online Library.
- Kelsen, Hans. 2013. *The Essence and Value of Democracy*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Key, V. O. 1959. Secular Realignment and the Party System. *The Journal of Politics* 21 (2): 198–210.
- Kießling, Andreas. 1999. *Politische Kultur und Parteien im vereinten Deutschland. Determinanten der Entwicklung des Parteiensystems*. München: Forschungsgruppe Deutschland: Schriftenreihe Vol. 11.
- Kinder, Donald R. 1998. Communication and Opinion. *Annual Review of Political Science* 1 (1): 167–197.
- King, Anthony (ed.). 2002a. *Leaders’ Personalities and the Outcomes of Democratic Elections*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- King, Anthony. 2002b. “Do Leaders’ Personalities Really Matter?” In Anthony King (ed.), *Leaders’ Personalities and the Outcomes of Democratic Elections*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1–43.
- King, Anthony. 2002c. “Conclusions and Implications” In Anthony King (ed.), *Leaders’ Personalities and the Outcomes of Democratic Elections*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 210–221.
- Kirchheimer, Otto. 1966. “The Transformation of the Western European Party System.” In Joseph LaPalombara and Myron Weiner (eds), *Political Parties and Political Development*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 177–200.
- Kitschelt, Herbert and Anthony J. McGann. 1995. *The Radical Right in Western Europe. A Comparative Analysis*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Klapper, Joseph T. 1960. *The Effects of Mass Communication*. Glencoe/Ill.: The Free Press.
- Klein, Markus. 2005a. Der Einfluss der beiden TV-Duelle im Vorfeld der Bundestagswahl 2002 auf die Wahlbeteiligung und die Wahlentscheidung. Eine log-lineare Pfadanalyse auf der Grundlage von Paneldaten. *Zeitschrift für Soziologie* 34 (3): 207–222.
- Klein, Markus. 2005b. “Die TV-Duelle: Events ohne Effekt?” In Manfred Güllner, Hermann Dülmer, Markus Klein, Dieter Ohr, Markus Quandt, Ulrich Rosar, and Hans-Dieter Klingemann (eds), *Die Bundestagswahl 2002: Eine Untersuchung im Zeichen hoher politischer Dynamik*. Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 143–159.
- Klein, Markus and Manuela Pötschke. 2005. “Haben die beiden TV-Duelle im Vorfeld der Bundestagswahl 2002 den Wahlausgang beeinflusst? Eine Mehrebenenanalyse auf der



- Grundlage eines 11-Wellen-Kurzfristpanels." In Jürgen W. Falter, Oscar W. Gabriel, and Bernhard Weßels (eds), *Wahlen und Wähler: Analysen aus Anlass der Bundestagswahl 2002*. Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 357–370.
- Klein, Markus and Ulrich Rosar. 2007. Wirkungen des TV-Duells im Vorfeld der Bundestagswahl 2005 auf die Wahlentscheidung. *KZfJSS Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* 59 (1): 81–104.
- Klein, Markus and Ulrich Rosar. 2016. "Problem-Peer und die (Über-) Mutter der Nation: Kanzlerkandidaten und Wahlentscheidung bei der Bundestagswahl 2013." In Harald Schoen and Bernhard Weßels (eds), *Wahlen und Wähler. Analysen aus Anlass der Bundestagswahl 2013*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 91–109.
- Klein, Markus, Frederik Springer, Lena Masch, Dieter Ohr, and Ulrich Rosar. 2019. Die politische Urteilsbildung der Wählerschaft im Vorfeld der Bundestagswahl 2017. Eine empirische Analyse in der Tradition von "The People's Choice". *Zeitschrift für Parlamentsfragen* 50 (1): 22–41.
- Klofstad, Casey A., Anand Sokhey, and Scott D. McClurg. 2013. Disagreeing about Disagreement: How Conflict in Social Networks Affects Political Behavior. *American Journal of Political Science* 57 (1): 120–134.
- Knobloch-Westerwick, Silvia and Jingbo Meng. 2009. Looking the Other Way: Selective Exposure to Attitude-Consistent and Counterattitudinal Political Information. *Communication Research* 36 (3): 426–448.
- Knobloch-Westerwick, Silvia, Cornelia Mothes, and Nick Polavin. 2017. Confirmation Bias, Ingroup Bias, and Negativity Bias in Selective Exposure to Political Information. *Communication Research* 47 (1): 104–124.
- Konzelmann, Laura, Corina Wagner, and Hans Rattinger. 2012. Turnout in Germany in the Course of Time: Life Cycle and Cohort Effects on Electoral Turnout from 1953 to 2009. *Electoral Studies* 31 (2): 250–261.
- Koschmieder, Carsten and Oskar Niedermayer. 2015. "Steiler Aufstieg und tiefer Fall: die Piratenpartei Deutschland." In Oskar Niedermayer (ed.), *Die Parteien nach der Bundestagswahl 2013*. Wiesbaden: Springer, 209–235.
- Kraft, Patrick. 2012. Correct Voting in Deutschland: Eine Analyse der Qualität individueller Wahlentscheidungen bei der Bundestagswahl 2009. In *MZES Working Papers (148)*. Mannheim: Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung.
- Kraft, Patrick and Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck. 2013. "Helfen politische Gespräche, 'korrekt' zu wählen? Eine Analyse zur Bundestagswahl 2009." In Silke I. Keil (ed.), *Zivile Bürgergesellschaft und Demokratie*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 117–138.
- Kratz, Agatha. 2019. "Politische Sachfragen." In Sigrid Roßteutscher, Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck, Harald Schoen, Bernhard Weßels, and Christof Wolf (eds), *Zwischen Polarisierung und Beharrung: Die Bundestagswahl 2017*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 229–246.
- Kratz, Agatha and Harald Schoen. 2017. "Just Like Leaves in the Wind? Exploring the Interplay of Media Coverage and Personal Characteristics in Affecting Issue Salience." In Harald Schoen, Sigrid Roßteutscher, Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck, Bernhard Weßels, and Christof Wolf (eds), *Voters and Voting in Context: Multiple Contexts and the Heterogeneous German Electorate*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 43–70.
- Krause, Birgit and Volker Gehrau. 2007. Das Paradox der Medienwirkung auf Nichtnutzer. *Publizistik* 52 (2): 191–209.
- Krewel, Mona. 2014. "Die Wahlkampagnen der Parteien und ihr Kontext." In Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck, Hans Rattinger, Sigrid Roßteutscher, Bernhard Weßels, and Christof Wolf et al. (eds), *Zwischen Fragmentierung und Konzentration: Die Bundestagswahl 2013*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 35–46.

- Krewel, Mona, Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck, and Ansgar Wolsing. 2011. The Campaign and its Dynamics at the 2009 German General Election. *German Politics* 20 (1): 28–50.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter. 2010. Restructuration of Partisan Politics and the Emergence of a New Cleavage Based on Values. *West European Politics* 33 (3): 673–685.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter. 2012. The Political Consequences of the Financial and Economic Crisis in Europe: Electoral Punishment and Popular Protest. *Swiss Political Science Review* 18 (4): 518–522.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter. 2013. *Political Conflict in Europe in the Shadow of the Great Recession*. EUI, Florence.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter. 2018. The 2017 French and German Elections. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 56 (S1): 51–62.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter, Edgar Grande, Martin Dolezal, Marc Helbling, Dominic Höglinger, Swen Hutter, and Bruno Wüest. 2012. *Political Conflict in Western Europe*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter, Edgar Grande, Romain Lachat, Martin Dolezal, Simon Bornschier, and Timotheos Frey. 2006. Globalization and the Transformation of the National Political Space: Six European Countries Compared. *European Journal of Political Research* 45 (6): 921–956.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter, Edgar Grande, Romain Lachat, Martin Dolezal, Simon Bornschier, and Timotheos Frey. 2008. *West European Politics in the Age of Globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Krippendorff, Klaus. 2004. Reliability in Content Analysis. Some Common Misconceptions and Recommendations. *Human Communication Research* 30 (3): 411–433.
- Kropp, Sabine. 2010. The Ubiquity and Strategic Complexity of Grand Coalition in the German Federal System. *German Politics* 19 (3–4): 286–311.
- Krosnick, Jon A. 1989. Attitude Importance and Attitude Accessibility. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 15 (3): 297–308.
- Krosnick, Jon A. 1990. Government Policy and Citizen Passion: A Study of Issue Publics in Contemporary America. *Political Behavior* 12 (1): 59–92.
- Kuechler, Manfred. 1991. Issues and Voting in the European Elections 1989. *European Journal of Political Research* 19 (1): 81–103.
- Kuhn, Ursina. 2009. Stability and Change in Party Preference. *Swiss Political Science Review* 15 (3): 463–494.
- Laakso, Markku and Rein Taagepera. 1979. Effective Number of Parties: A Measure with Application to West Europe. *Comparative Political Studies* 12 (1): 3–27.
- Lachat, Romain. 2007. *A Heterogenous Electorate: Political Sophistication, Predisposition Strength and the Voting Decision Process*. Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Lachat, Romain. 2008. The Impact of Party Polarization on Ideological Voting. *Electoral Studies* 27 (4): 687–698.
- Lachat, Romain. 2011. Electoral Competitiveness and Issue Voting. *Political Behavior* 33 (4): 645–663.
- Lachat, Romain. 2017. “Value Cleavages.” In Kai Arzheimer, Jocelyn Evans, and Michael S. Lewis-Beck (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of Electoral Behaviour*. London: SAGE, 561–583.
- Lachat, Romain and Aiko Wagner. 2018. How Party Characteristics Drive Voters’ Evaluation Criteria. *Electoral Studies* 55: 11–20.
- Lahav, Gallya. 1997. Ideological and Party Constraints on Immigration Attitudes in Europe. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 35 (3): 377–406.
- Lane, Jan-Erik and Svante Ersson. 1997. Parties and Voters: What Creates the Ties? *Scandinavian Political Studies* 20 (2): 179–196.

- Lang, Gladys E. and Kurt Lang. 1978a. "The Formation of Public Opinion: Direct and Mediated Effects of the First Debate." In George F. Bishop, Robert Meadow, and Marilyn Jackson-Beeck (eds), *The Presidential Debates: Media, Electoral, and Policy Perspectives*. New York: Praeger, 61–80.
- Lang, Gladys E. and Kurt Lang. 1978b. Immediate and Delayed Responses to a Carter-Ford Debate: Assessing Public Opinion. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 42 (3): 322–341.
- Lange, Nico, Franziska Fislage, and Theresa Saetzler. 2014. *Positionen der Parteien zur Europawahl*. [https://www.kas.de/c/document\\_library/get\\_file?uuid=ec643a4f-5b21-d129-9e60-052ed5d931dc&groupId=252038](https://www.kas.de/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=ec643a4f-5b21-d129-9e60-052ed5d931dc&groupId=252038). 07.06.2019.
- Lasswell, Harold. 1936. *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How*. New York: Whittlesey House.
- Lau, Richard R. 2013. Correct Voting in the 2008 U.S. Presidential Nominating Elections. *Political Behavior* 35 (2): 331–355.
- Lau, Richard R., David J. Andersen, and David P. Redlawsk. 2008. An Exploration of Correct Voting in Recent U.S. Presidential Elections. *American Journal of Political Science* 52 (2): 395–411.
- Lau, Richard R., Parina Patel, Dalia F. Fahmy, and Robert R. Kaufman. 2014. Correct Voting Across Thirty-Three Democracies: A Preliminary Analysis. *British Journal of Political Science* 44 (2): 239–259.
- Lau, Richard R. and David P. Redlawsk. 1997. Voting Correctly. *American Political Science Review* 91 (3): 585–598.
- Lau, Richard R. and David P. Redlawsk. 2006. *How Voters Decide. Information Processing during Election Campaigns*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lau, Richard R. and David P. Redlawsk. 2008. Older but Wiser?: Effects of Age on Political Cognition. *The Journal of Politics* 70 (1): 168–185.
- Lazarsfeld, Paul F., Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet. 1944. *The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Leeper, Thomas J. and Rune Slothuus. 2014. Political Parties, Motivated Reasoning, and Public Opinion Formation. *Political Psychology* 35 (S1): 129–156.
- Lees, Charles. 2011. Coalition Formation and the German Party System. *German Politics* 20 (1): 146–163.
- Lees, Charles. 2018. The "Alternative for Germany": The Rise of Right-wing Populism at the Heart of Europe. *Politics* 38 (3): 295–310.
- Lehmann, Pola, Theres Matthieß, and Sven Regel. 2019. "Rechts der anderen: Themen und Positionen der AfD im Parteienwettbewerb." In Wolfgang Schröder and Bernhard Weßels (eds), *Smarte Spalter. Die AfD zwischen Bewegung und Parlament*. Bonn: Dietz, 170–199.
- Lelkes, Yphtach. 2016. Mass Polarization: Manifestations and Measurements. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 80 (S1): 392–410.
- Lemert, James B., William R. Elliot, James M. Bernstein, William L. Rosenberg, and Karl L. Nestvold. 1991. *News Verdicts, the Debates, and Presidential Campaigns*. New York: Praeger.
- Lenz, Gabriel S. 2012. *Follow the Leader? How Voters Respond to Politicians' Policies and Performance*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Lewandowsky, Marcel, Heiko Giebler, and Aiko Wagner. 2016. Rechtspopulismus in Deutschland. Eine empirische Einordnung der Parteien zur Bundestagswahl 2013 unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der AfD. *PVS Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 57 (2): 247–275.
- Lewis-Beck, Michael S., Richard Nadeau, and Angelo Elias. 2008a. Economics, Party, and the Vote: Causality Issues and Panel Data. *American Journal of Political Science* 52 (1): 84–95.

- Lewis-Beck, Michael S., Richard Nadeau, and Martial Foucault. 2013. The Compleat Economic Voter: New Theory and British Evidence. *British Journal of Political Science* 43 (2): 241–261.
- Lewis-Beck, Michael S., Helmut Norpoth, William G. Jacoby, and Herbert F. Weisberg. 2008b. *The American Voter Revisited*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Lewis-Beck, Michael S. and Tom W. Rice. 1992. *Forecasting Elections*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press.
- Linhart, Eric. 2009. A Rational Calculus of Voting Considering Coalition Signals: The 2005 German Bundestag Election as an Example. *World Political Science Review* 5 (1): 1–28.
- Linhart, Eric. 2014. “Räumliche Modelle der Politik: Einführung und Überblick.” In Eric Linhart, Bernhard Kittel, and André Bächtiger (eds), *Jahrbuch für Handlungs- und Entscheidungstheorie*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 3–44.
- Linhart, Eric and Niko Switek. 2019. “Am Ende doch wieder Schwarz-Rot – Die Koalitionsfindung nach der Bundestagswahl 2017 aus koalitions-theoretischer Perspektive.” In Karl-Rudolf Korte and Jan Schoofs (eds), *Die Bundestagswahl 2017: Analysen der Wahl-, Parteien-, Kommunikations- und Regierungsforschung*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 485–511.
- Lipset, Seymour M. and Stein Rokkan. 1967. “Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments. An Introduction.” In Seymour M. Lipset and Stein Rokkan (eds), *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-national Perspectives*. New York: Free Press, 1–64.
- Lodge, Milton and Charles S. Taber. 2013. *The Rationalizing Voter*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lowe, Will, Kenneth Benoit, Slava Mikhaylov, and Michael Laver. 2011. Scaling Policy Preferences from Coded Political Texts. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 36 (1): 123–155.
- Lowry, Dennis T., Janet A. Bridges, and Paul A. Barefield. 1990. Effects of TV “Instant Analysis and Querulous Criticism:” following the First Bush-Dukakis Debate. *Journalism Quarterly* 67 (4): 814–825.
- Lucassen, Geertje and Marcel Lubbers. 2012. Who Fears What? Explaining Far-Right-Wing Preference in Europe by Distinguishing Perceived Cultural and Economic Ethnic Threats. *Comparative Political Studies* 45 (5): 547–574.
- Lupu, Noam. 2015. Party Polarization and Mass Partisanship: A Comparative Perspective. *Political Behavior* 37 (2): 331–356.
- Luskin, Robert C., John P. McIver, and Edward G. Carmines. 1989. Issues and the Transmission of Partisanship. *American Journal of Political Science* 33 (2): 440–458.
- Mack, Oliver and Anshuman Khare. 2016. “Perspectives on a VUCA World.” In Oliver Mack, Anshuman Khare, Andreas Krämer, and Thomas Burgartz (eds), *Managing in a VUCA World*. Cham: Springer, 3–19.
- MacKuen, Michael B., Robert S. Erikson, and James A. Stimson. 1989. Macropartisanship. *The American Political Science Review* 83 (4): 1125–1142.
- Madeley, John. 1982. Politics and the Pulpit: The Case of Protestant Europe. *West European Politics* 5 (2): 149–171.
- Mader, Matthias and Harald Schoen. 2019. The European Refugee Crisis, Party Competition, and Voters’ Responses in Germany. *West European Politics* 42 (1): 67–90.
- Maier, Jürgen. 2006. “Deutschland auf dem Weg zur “Kanzlerdemokratie”? Zur Bedeutung der Kanzlerkandidaten für das Wahlverhalten bei den Bundestagswahlen 1990 bis 2005.” In Jürgen W. Falter, Oscar W. Gabriel, Hans Rattinger, and Harald Schoen (eds), *Sind wir ein Volk? Ost- und Westdeutschland im Vergleich*. München: C.H. Beck, 158–187.
- Maier, Jürgen. 2007a. “Wahlkampfkommunikation und Wahlverhalten.” In Hans Rattinger, Oscar W. Gabriel, and Jürgen W. Falter (eds), *Der gesamtdeutsche Wähler: Stabilität und*

- Wandel des Wählerverhaltens im wiedervereinigten Deutschland*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 382–411.
- Maier, Jürgen and Thorsten Faas. 2003. The Affected German Voter: Televised Debates, Follow-up Communication and Candidate Evaluations. *Communications* 28 (4): 383–404.
- Maier, Jürgen and Thorsten Faas. 2005. “Schröder gegen Stoiber: Wahrnehmung, Verarbeitung und Wirkung der Fernsehdebatten im Bundestagswahlkampf 2002.” In Jürgen W. Falter, Oscar W. Gabriel, and Bernhard Weßels (eds), *Wahlen und Wähler 2002. Analysen aus Anlass der Bundestagswahl 2002*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften 77–101.
- Maier, Jürgen and Thorsten Faas. 2011a. “Das TV-Duell 2009 – langweilig, wirkungslos, nutzlos? Ergebnisse eines Experiments zur Wirkung der Fernsehdebatte zwischen Angela Merkel und Frank-Walter Steinmeier.” In Heinrich Oberreuter (ed.), *Am Ende der Gewissheiten: Wähler, Parteien und Koalitionen in Bewegung*. München: Olzog, 147–166.
- Maier, Jürgen and Thorsten Faas. 2011b. “Miniature Campaigns” in Comparison: The German Televised Debates, 2002–09. *German Politics* 20 (1): 75–91.
- Maier, Jürgen and Thorsten Faas. 2019. *TV-Duelle, Grundwissen Politische Kommunikation*. Wiesbaden: Springer.
- Maier, Michaela. 2007b. “Verstärkung, Mobilisierung, Konversion: Wirkungen des TV-Duells auf die Wahlabsicht.” In Marcus Maurer, Carsten Reinemann, Jürgen Maier, and Michaela Maier (eds), *Schröder gegen Merkel: Wahrnehmung und Wirkung des TV-Duells 2005 im Ost-West-Vergleich*. Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 145–165.
- Maier, Michaela. 2007c. “Viel Spielraum für die eigene Interpretation: Wahrnehmung und Wirkung der Nachberichterstattung.” In Marcus Maurer, Carsten Reinemann, Jürgen Maier, and Michaela Maier (eds), *Schröder gegen Merkel: Wahrnehmung und Wirkung des TV-Duells 2005 im Ost-West-Vergleich*. Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 195–227.
- Mair, Peter. 2013. *Ruling the Void: The Hollowing of Western Democracy*. London: Verso Trade.
- Manow, Philip. 2018. *Die Politische Ökonomie des Populismus*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.
- Mauerer, Ingrid, Paul W. Thurner, and Marc Debus. 2015. Under Which Conditions Do Parties Attract Voters’ Reactions to Issues? Party-Varying Issue Voting in German Elections 1987–2009. *West European Politics* 38 (6): 1251–1273.
- Maurer, Marcus and Carsten Reinemann. 2003. *Schröder gegen Stoiber: Nutzung, Wahrnehmung und Wirkung der TV-Duelle*. 1 ed. Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Maurer, Marcus and Carsten Reinemann. 2006. *Medieninhalte, Studienbücher zur Kommunikations- und Medienwissenschaft*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Mazzoleni, Gianpietro. 1987. Media Logic and Party Logic in Campaign Coverage: The Italian General Election of 1983. *European Journal of Communication* 2 (1): 81–103.
- McAllister, I., R.J. Johnston, C.J. Pattie, H. Tunstall, D.F.L. Dorling, and D.J. Rossiter. 2001. Class Dealignment and the Neighbourhood Effect: Miller Revisited. *British Journal of Political Science* 31 (1): 41–59.
- McClurg, Scott D., Casey A. Klofstad, and Anand Edward Sokhey. 2017. “Discussion Networks.” In Jennifer Nicoll Victor, Alexander H. Montgomery, and Lubell Mark (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Networks*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 515–536.
- McCombs, Maxwell. 2014. *Setting the Agenda. The Mass Media and Public Opinion*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- McCoy, Jennifer and Murat Somer. 2019. Toward a Theory of Pernicious Polarization and How It Harms Democracies: Comparative Evidence and Possible Remedies. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 681 (1): 234–271.
- McGuire, William J. 1973. “Persuasion, Resistance, and Attitude Change.” In Ithiel de Sola Pool, Frederick W. Frey, Wilbur Schramm, Nathan Maccoby, and Edwin B. Parker (eds), *Handbook of Communication*. Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company, 216–252.
- McKinney, Mitchell S. and Diana B. Carlin. 2004. “Political Campaign Debates.” In Lynda Lee Kaid (ed.), *Handbook of Political Communication Research*. Mahwah, N.J.: Erlbaum, 203–234.
- McKinney, Mitchell S., Elizabeth A. Dudash, and Georgine Hodgkinson. 2003. “Viewer Reactions to the 2000 Presidential Debates: Learning Issue and Image Information.” In Lynda Lee Kaid, John C. Tedesco, Dianne G. Bystrom, and Mitchell S. McKinney (eds), *The Millennium Election: Communication in the 2000 Campaign*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 43–58.
- McKinney, Mitchell S. and Benjamin R. Warner. 2013. Do Presidential Debates Matter? Examining a Decade of Campaign Debate Effects. *Argumentation and Advocacy* 49 (4): 238–258.
- McLeod, Jack M., Jean A. Durrall, Dean A. Ziemke, and Carl R. Bybee. 1979. “Reactions of Young and Older Voters: Expanding the Context of Effects.” In Sidney Kraus (ed.), *The Great Debates: Carter vs. Ford, 1976*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 348–367.
- McPherson, Miller, Lynn Smith-Lovin, and James M. Cook. 2001. Birds of a Feather: Homophily in Social Networks. *Annual Review of Sociology* 27 (1): 415–444.
- Meffert, Michael F. and Thomas Gschwend. 2010. Strategic Coalition Voting: Evidence from Austria. *Electoral Studies* 29 (3): 339–349.
- Meguid, Bonnie. 2007. *Party Competition between Unequals: Strategies and Electoral Fortunes in Western Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Messina, Anthony M. 2007. *The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Miller, Warren Edward and J. Merrill Shanks. 1996. *The New American Voter*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Min, Young, Salma I. Ghanem, and Dixie Evatt. 2007. Using a Split-Ballot Survey to Explore the Robustness of the “MIP” Question in Agenda-Setting Research: A Methodological Study. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 19 (2): 221–236.
- Minkenberg, Michael. 1998. *Die neue radikale Rechte im Vergleich*. Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Minozzi, William, Hyunjin Song, David M. J. Lazer, Michael A. Neblo, and Katherine Ognyanova. 2020. The Incidental Pundit: Who Talks Politics with Whom, and Why? *American Journal of Political Science* 64 (1): 135–151.
- Mintzel, Alf. 1984. *Die Volkspartei*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Mood, Carina. 2010. Logistic Regression: Why We Cannot Do What We Think We Can Do, and What We Can Do About It. *European Sociological Review* 26 (1): 67–82.
- Morgan, Stephen L. and Christopher Winship. 2014. *Counterfactuals and Causal Inference: Methods and Principles for Social Research*. 2 ed. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Mudde, Cas. 2004. The Populist Zeitgeist. *Government and Opposition* 39 (4): 541–563.
- Mudde, Cas. 2007. *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Mudde, Cas. 2014. Fighting the System? Populist Radical Right Parties and Party System Change. *Party Politics* 20 (2): 217–226.

- Mudde, Cas. 2019. *The Far Right Today*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Mughan, Anthony. 2000. *Media and the Presidentialization of Parliamentary Elections*. London: Palgrave.
- Müller-Rommel, Ferdinand (ed.). 1995. *New Politics*. Aldershot: Dartmouth.
- Müller, Jan-Werner. 2016. *What Is Populism?* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Müller, Wolfgang C. 2008. Warum Große Koalition? Antworten aus koalitionstheoretischer Sicht. *Zeitschrift für Staats- und Europawissenschaften* 6 (3): 499–523.
- Mummolo, Jonathan and Clayton Nall. 2017. Why Partisans Do Not Sort: The Constraints on Political Segregation. *The Journal of Politics* 79 (1): 45–59.
- Münch, Ursula and Heinrich Oberreuter (eds). 2015. *Die neue Offenheit: Wahlverhalten und Regierungsoptionen im Kontext der Bundestagswahl 2013*. Frankfurt: Campus.
- Mushaben, Joyce Marie. 2017. Wir schaffen das! Angela Merkel and the European Refugee Crisis. *German Politics* 26 (4): 516–533.
- Mutz, Diana C. 2002. Cross-cutting Social Networks: Testing Democratic Theory in Practice. *The American Political Science Review* 96 (1): 111–126.
- Mutz, Diana C. 2006. *Hearing the Other Side: Deliberative Versus Participatory Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Myles, John. 1990. “Labour Markets and Life Cycles.” In Roger Friedland and A. F. Robertson (eds), *Beyond the Marketplace: Rethinking Economy and Society*. New York: De Gruyter, 271–298.
- Nadeau, Richard, Ruth Dassonneville, Michael S. Lewis-Beck, and Philippe Mongrain. 2020. Are Election Results More Unpredictable? A Forecasting Test. *Political Science Research and Methods* 8 (4): 764–771.
- Neu, Viola. 2007. “Linkspartei.PDS (Die Linke).” In Frank Decker and Viola Neu (eds), *Handbuch der deutschen Parteien*. Wiesbaden: VS, 314–328.
- Neundorf, Anja, Daniel Stegmueller, and Thomas J. Scotto. 2011. The Individual-Level Dynamics of Bounded Partisanship. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 75 (3): 458–482.
- Newton, Kenneth. 2019. *Surprising News: How the Media Affect—and Do Not Affect—Politics*. Boulder/Col.: Lynne Rienner.
- Nezi, Roula. 2012. Economic Voting under the Economic Crisis: Evidence from Greece. *Electoral Studies* 31 (3): 498–505.
- Nezi, Roula and Alexia Katsanidou. 2014. From Valence to Position: Economic Voting in Extraordinary Conditions. *Acta Politica* 49 (4): 413–430.
- Nicholson, Stephen P. 2012. Polarizing Cues. *American Journal of Political Science* 56 (1): 52–66.
- Nicolet, Sarah and Pascal Sciarini. 2006. When Do Issue Opinions Matter, and to Whom? The Determinants of Long-Term Stability and Change in Party Choice in the 2003 Swiss Elections. *Swiss Political Science Review* 12 (4): 159–190.
- Niedermayer, Oskar. 2008. “Das fluide Fünfparteiensystem nach der Bundestagswahl 2005.” In Oskar Niedermayer (ed.), *Die Parteien nach der Bundestagswahl 2005*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 9–35.
- Niedermayer, Oskar. 2012. “Regionalisierung des Wahlverhaltens und des Parteiensystems auf der Bundesebene 1949 bis 2009.” In Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck (ed.), *Wählen in Deutschland. PVS Sonderheft 45*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 134–156.
- Niedermayer, Oskar. 2013. “Das Parteiensystem der Bundesrepublik Deutschland.” In Oskar Niedermayer (ed.), *Handbuch Parteienforschung*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 739–764.
- Niedermayer, Oskar. 2015. “Nichts ist mehr, wie es einmal war: Das Parteiensystem nach der Bundestagswahl 2013.” In Ursula Münch and Heinrich Oberreuter (eds), *Die neue*

- Offenheit. Wahlverhalten und Regierungsoptionen im Kontext der Bundestagswahl 2013.* Frankfurt: Campus, 311–326.
- Niedermayer, Oskar. 2016. Flüchtlingskrise und Parteiensystem. Die Veränderung des Parteiensystems und die möglichen Folgen für die Bundestagswahl 2017. *Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft, Politik* 65 (3): 297–308.
- Niedermayer, Oskar. 2018. “Die Entwicklung des bundesdeutschen Parteiensystems.” In Frank Decker and Viola Neu (eds), *Handbuch der deutschen Parteien*. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, 97–125.
- Nieuwbeerta, Paul. 1996. The Democratic Class Struggle in Postwar Societies: Class Voting in Twenty Countries. *Acta Sociologica* 39 (4): 345–383.
- Noelle-Neumann, Elisabeth. 1974. The Spiral of Silence. A Theory of Public Opinion. *Journal of Communication* 24 (2): 43–51.
- Norpoth, Helmut and Thomas Gschwend. 2013. Chancellor Model Picks Merkel in 2013 German Election. *PS: Political Science & Politics* 46 (3): 481–482.
- Norpoth, Helmut and Thomas Gschwend. 2017. Chancellor Model Predicts a Change of the Guards. *PS: Political Science & Politics* 50 (3): 686–688.
- Norris, Pippa. 2011. *Democratic Deficit: Critical Citizens Revisited*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Norris, Pippa and Ronald Inglehart. 2019. *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nyhuis, Dominic and Carolina Plescia. 2018. The Nonideological Component of Coalition preferences. *Party Politics* 24 (6): 686–697.
- Oesch, Daniel. 2013. “The Class Basis of the Cleavage between the New Left and the Radical Right: An Analyses for Austria, Denmark, Norway and Switzerland.” In Jens Rydgren (ed.), *Class Politics and the Radical Right*. London: Routledge, 31–51.
- Ohr, Dieter. 2000. “Wird das Wählerverhalten zunehmend personalisierter, oder: Ist jede Wahl anders? Kandidatenorientierungen und Wahlentscheidung in Deutschland von 1961 bis 1998.” In Markus Klein, Wolfgang Jagodzinski, Ekkehard Mochmann, and Dieter Ohr (eds), *50 Jahre Empirische Wahlforschung in Deutschland: Entwicklung, Befunde, Perspektiven, Daten*. Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag 272–308.
- Ohr, Dieter, Hermann Dülmer, and Markus Quandt. 2009. “Kognitive Mobilisierung oder nicht-kognitive De-Mobilisierung? Eine längsschnittliche Analyse der deutschen Wählerschaft für die Jahre 1976 bis 2005.” In Oscar W. Gabriel, Bernhard Weßels, and Jürgen W. Falter (eds), *Wahlen und Wähler, Analysen aus Anlass der Bundestagswahl 2005*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 536–558.
- Ohr, Dieter, Markus Klein, and Ulrich Rosar. 2013. “Bewertungen der Kanzlerkandidaten und Wahlentscheidung bei der Bundestagswahl 2009.” In Bernhard Weßels, Harald Schoen, and Oscar W. Gabriel (eds), *Wahlen und Wähler. Analysen aus Anlass der Bundestagswahl 2009*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften 206–230.
- Olsen, Jonathan. 2007. The Merger of the PDS and WASG: From Eastern German Regional Party to National Radical Left Party? *German Politics* 16 (2): 205–221.
- Oppelland, Torsten. 2019. “Profilierungsdilemma einer Regierungspartei in einem fragmentierten Parteiensystem. Die CDU in der Regierung Merkel III.” In Reimut Zohlnhöfer and Thomas Saalfeld (eds), *Zwischen Stillstand, Politikwandel und Krisenmanagement. Eine Bilanz der Regierung Merkel 2013–2017*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 63–86.
- Oppelland, Torsten. 2020. Die thüringische Landtagswahl vom 27. Oktober 2019: Das nächste Experiment – eine rot-rot-grüne Minderheitsregierung mit Verfallsdatum. *Zeitschrift für Parlamentsfragen* 51 (2): 325–348.



- Oskarson, Maria. 2005. "Social Structure and Party Choice." In Jacques Thomassen (ed.), *The European Voter: A Comparative Study of Modern Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 84–105.
- Oskarson, Maria and Marie Demker. 2015. Room for Realignment: The Working-Class Sympathy for Sweden Democrats. *Government and Opposition* 50 (4): 629–651.
- Pappi, Franz Urban. 1973. Parteiensystem und Sozialstruktur in der Bundesrepublik. *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 14 (2): 191–213.
- Pappi, Franz Urban. 1977. "Sozialstruktur, gesellschaftliche Wertorientierungen und Wahlabsicht." In Max Kaase (ed.), *Wahlsoziologie heute. Analysen aus Anlaß der Bundestagswahl 1976*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 195–229.
- Pappi, Franz Urban. 1985. "Die konfessionell-religiöse Konfliktlinie in der deutschen Wählerschaft. Entstehung, Stabilität und Wandel?" In Dieter Oberndörfer, Hans Rattinger, and Karl Schmitt (eds), *Wirtschaftlicher Wandel, Religiöser Wandel und Wertwandel*. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 263–290.
- Pappi, Franz Urban, Anna-Sophie Kurella, and Thomas Bräuninger. 2019. Die Etablierung neuer Parlamentsparteien. Wählerpräferenzen als Erfolgsfaktor für die Alternative für Deutschland 2017 und die Grünen 1986. *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 60 (2): 273–298.
- Pappi, Franz Urban and Susumu Shikano. 2001. Personalisierung der Politik in Mehrparteiensystemen am Beispiel deutscher Bundestagswahlen seit 1980. *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 42 (3): 355–387.
- Pappi, Franz Urban and Paul W. Thurner. 2002. Electoral Behaviour in a Two-vote System: Incentives for Ticket Splitting in German Bundestag Elections. *European Journal of Political Research* 41 (2): 207–232.
- Pardos-Prado, Sergi, Bram Lancee, and Iñaki Sagarzazu. 2014. Immigration and Electoral Change in Mainstream Political Space. *Political Behavior* 36 (4): 847–875.
- Parker-Stephen, Evan. 2013. Tides of Disagreement: How Reality Facilitates (and Inhibits) Partisan Public Opinion. *The Journal of Politics* 75 (4): 1077–1088.
- Partheymüller, Julia. 2017. "Agenda-Setting Dynamics during the Campaign Period." In Harald Schoen, Sigrid Roßteutscher, Bernhard Weßels, and Christof Wolf (eds), *Voters and Voting in Context: Multiple Contexts and the Heterogeneous German Electorate*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 13–42.
- Partheymüller, Julia. 2018. *Campaign Dynamics at German Federal Elections, 2005–2013*. Mannheim: University of Mannheim. Dissertation.
- Partheymüller, Julia and Anne Schäfer. 2013. Das Informationsverhalten der Bürger im Bundestagswahlkampf 2013. *Media Perspektiven* (12): 574–588.
- Partheymüller, Julia, Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck, and Christian Hoops. 2013. Kampagnendynamik bei der Bundestagswahl 2013: Die Rolling Cross-Section-Studie im Rahmen der "German Longitudinal Election Study" 2013. *MZES Working Papers – Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung* (154).
- Paterson, William E. and David Southern. 1991. *Governing Germany*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Patterson, Thomas E. 1993. *Out of Order: How the Decline of the Political Parties and the Growing Power of the News Media Undermine the American Way of Electing Presidents*. New York: Alfred Knopf.
- Pattie, Charles J. and Ron J. Johnston. 2008. It's Good To Talk: Talk, Disagreement and Tolerance. *British Journal of Political Science* 38 (4): 677–698.
- Pattie, Charles J. and Ron J. Johnston. 2011. A Tale of Sound and Fury, Signifying Something? The Impact of the Leaders' Debates in the 2010 UK General Election. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 21 (2): 147–177.

- Payne, John W., Eric J. Johnson, and James R. Bettman. 1993. *The Adaptive Decision Maker*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pedersen, Mogens N. 1979. The Dynamics of European Party Systems: Changing Patterns of Electoral Volatility. *European Journal of Political Research* 7 (1): 1–26.
- Petrocik, John R. 1991. “Divided Government: Is It All in the Campaigns?” In Gary W. Cox and Samuel Kernell (eds), *The Politics of Divided Government*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 13–38.
- Petrocik, John R. 1996. Issue Ownership in Presidential Elections, with a 1980 Case Study. *American Journal of Political Science* 40 (3): 825–850.
- Petrocik, John R., William L. Benoit, and Glenn J. Hansen. 2003. Issue Ownership and Presidential Campaigning, 1952–2000. *Political Science Quarterly* 118 (4): 599–626.
- Picard, Robert G. 2015. “Understanding the Crisis.” In Robert G. Picard (ed.), *The Euro Crisis in the Media: Journalistic Coverage of Economic Crisis and European Institutions*. London: I.B. Tauris, 1–18.
- Pickel, Susanne. 2019. “Die Wahl der AfD: Frustration, Deprivation, Angst oder Wertekonflikt.” In Karl-Rudolf Korte and Jan Schoofs (eds), *Die Bundestagswahl 2017- Analysen der Wahl-, Parteien-, Kommunikations- und Regierungsforschung*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 145–175.
- Plasser, Fritz and Günther Lengauer. 2010. “Wahlkampf im TV-Studio: Konfrontation in der Medienarena.” In Fritz Plasser (ed.), *Politik in der Medienarena: Praxis politischer Kommunikation in Österreich*. Wien: facultas.wuv, 193–240.
- Plescia, Carolina and Magdalena Staniek. 2017. In the Eye of the Beholder: Voters’ Perceptions of Party Policy Shifts. *West European Politics* 40 (6): 1288–1309.
- Plischke, Thomas and Michael Bergmann. 2012. “Entscheidungsprozesse von Spätscheidern bei der Bundestagswahl 2009.” In Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck (ed.), *Wählen in Deutschland. PVS Sonderheft 45*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 489–513.
- Poguntke, Thomas. 1987. New Politics and Party Systems: The Emergence of a New Type of Party? *West European Politics* 10 (1): 76–88.
- Poguntke, Thomas. 1993. *Alternative Politics. The German Green Party*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Poguntke, Thomas. 1999. “Die Bündnisgrünen in der babylonischen Gefangenschaft der SPD?” In Oskar Niedermayer (ed.), *Die Parteien nach der Bundestagswahl 1998*. Wiesbaden: VS, 83–101.
- Poguntke, Thomas. 2014. Towards a New Party System: The Vanishing Hold of the Catch-all Parties in Germany. *Party Politics* 20 (6): 950–963.
- Poguntke, Thomas and Paul Webb. 2005. “The Presidentialization of Politics in Democratic Societies: A Framework for Analysis.” In Thomas Poguntke and Paul Webb (eds), *The Presidentialization of Politics: A Comparative Study of Modern Democracies*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1–25.
- Preißinger, Maria and Harald Schoen. 2016. It’s Not Always the Campaign: Explaining Inter-election Switching in Germany, 2009–2013. *Electoral Studies* 44: 109–119.
- Przeworski, Adam. 2010. *Democracy and the Limits of Self-Government*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Przeworski, Adam. 2019. *Crises of Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Przeworski, Adam and John Sprague. 1986. *Paper Stones: A History of Electoral Socialism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Pürer, Heinz. 2015. *Medien in Deutschland. Presse - Rundfunk - Online*. Konstanz: UTB.
- Rae, Douglas. 1968. A Note on the Fractionalization of Some European Party Systems. *Comparative Political Studies* 1 (3): 413–418.

- Rae, Douglas and Michael Taylor. 1970. *The Analysis of Political Cleavages*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Rahat, Gideon and Tamir Sheafer. 2007. The Personalization(s) of Politics: Israel, 1949–2003. *Political Communication* 24 (1): 65–80.
- Rapeli, Lauri. 2018. Does Sophistication Affect Electoral Outcomes? *Government and Opposition* 53 (2): 181–204.
- Rattinger, Hans, Sigrid Roßteutscher, Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck, and Bernhard Weßels et al. 2011. *Zwischen Langeweile und Extremen: Die Bundestagswahl 2009*. Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Rattinger, Hans and Harald Schoen. 2009. “Ein Schritt vorwärts, zwei zurück: Stabiles und wechselndes Wahlverhalten bei den Bundestagswahlen 1994 bis 2005.” In Oscar W. Gabriel, Bernhard Weßels, and Jürgen W. Falter (eds), *Wahlen und Wähler. Analysen aus Anlass der Bundestagswahl 2005*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 78–102.
- Rattinger, Hans and Elena Wiegand. 2014. “Volatility on the Rise? Attitudinal Stability, Attitudinal Change, and Voter Volatility.” In Bernhard Weßels, Hans Rattinger, Sigrid Roßteutscher, and Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck (eds), *Voters on the Move or on the Run?* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 287–307.
- Redlawsk, David P. 2002. Hot Cognition or Cool Consideration? Testing the Effects of Motivated Reasoning on Political Decision Making. *Journal of Politics* 64 (4): 1021–1044.
- Redlawsk, David P., Andrew J. W. Civettini, and Karen M. Emmerson. 2010. The Affective Tipping Point: Do Motivated Reasoners Ever “Get It”? *Political Psychology* 31 (4): 563–593.
- Reif, Karlheinz and Hermann Schmitt. 1980. Nine Second-Order National Elections—A Conceptual Framework for the Analysis of European Election Results. *European Journal of Political Research* 8 (1): 3–44.
- Reiljan, Andres. 2019. “Fear and Loathing across Party Lines” (also) in Europe: Affective Polarisation in European Party Systems. *European Journal of Political Research* 59 (2): 376–396.
- Rennwald, Line and Geoffrey Evans. 2014. When Supply Creates Demand: Social Democratic Party Strategies and the Evolution of Class Voting. *West European Politics* 37 (5): 1108–1135.
- RePass, David E. 1971. Issue Salience and Party Choice. *American Political Science Review* 65 (2): 389–400.
- RePass, David E. 1976. Comment: Political Methodologies in Disarray: Some Alternative Interpretations of the 1972 Election. *American Political Science Review* 70 (3): 314–331.
- Richey, Sean. 2008. The Social Basis of Voting Correctly. *Political Communication* 25 (4): 366–376.
- Richey, Sean. 2012. Random and Systematic Error in Voting in Presidential Elections. *Political Research Quarterly* 66 (3): 645–657.
- Rivers, Douglas. 1988. Heterogeneity in Models of Electoral Choice. *American Journal of Political Science* 32 (3): 737–757.
- Roberts, Kenneth M. 2017. “Populism and Political Parties.” In Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, Paul A. Taggart, Paulina Ochoa Espejo, and Pierre Ostiguy (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Populism*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 390–413.
- Rohrschneider, Robert. 1993. New Party versus Old Left Realignments: Environmental Attitudes, Party Policies, and Partisan Affiliations in Four West European Countries. *The Journal of Politics* 55 (3): 682–701.

- Rohrschneider, Robert. 2002. Mobilizing versus Chasing: How Do Parties Target Voters in Election Campaigns? *Electoral Studies* 21 (3): 367–382.
- Rohrschneider, Robert, Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck, and Franziska Jung. 2012. Short-term Factors versus Long-term Values: Explaining the 2009 Election Results. *Electoral Studies* 31 (1): 20–34.
- Rohrschneider, Robert and Stephen Whitefield. 2017. Party Positions about European Integration in Germany: An Electoral Quandary? *German Politics* 26 (1): 83–103.
- Romer, Daniel, Kate Kenski, Paul Waldman, Christopher Adasiewicz, and Kathleen Hall Jamieson. 2004. *Capturing Campaign Dynamics: The National Annenberg Election Survey*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rosar, Ulrich and Hanna Hoffmann. 2015. “Einflüsse der Bewertung der Kanzlerkandidaten Steinbrück und Merkel auf die Wahlchancen ihrer Parteien bei der Bundestagswahl 2013: War er der Falsche, war sie die Richtige?” In Karl-Rudolf Korte (ed.), *Die Bundestagswahl 2013*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 119–139.
- Rose, Richard and Ian McAllister. 1986. *Voters Begin to Choose: From Closed-Class to Open Elections in Britain*. London: Sage.
- Rosenstein, Aviva W. and August E. Grant. 1997. Reconceptualizing the Role of Habit: A New Model of Television Audience Activity. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 41 (3): 324–344.
- Rosenstone, Steven. 1983. *Forecasting Presidential Elections*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Rössler, Patrick. 1997. *Agenda-Setting: Theoretische Annahmen und empirische Evidenzen einer Medienwirkungstheorie*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Roßteutscher, Sigrid. 2009. *Religion, Zivilgesellschaft, Demokratie. Eine internationale vergleichende Studie zur Natur religiöser Märkte und der demokratischen Rolle religiöser Zivilgesellschaften*. Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Roßteutscher, Sigrid. 2012. Die konfessionell-religiöse Konfliktlinie zwischen Säkularisierung und Mobilisierung. *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* Special Issue 45: 111–133.
- Roßteutscher, Sigrid, Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck, Harald Schoen, Bernhard Weßels, and Christof Wolf et al. 2019. *Zwischen Polarisierung und Beharrung: die Bundestagswahl 2017*. Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlag.
- Roßteutscher, Sigrid and Daniel Stegmüller. 2014. “Network Politicization and Political Integration: From Grand Cleavage Structures to the Social Capital of Private Networks.” In Bernhard Weßels, Hans Rattinger, Sigrid Roßteutscher, and Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck (eds), *Voters on the Move or on the Run?* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 167–192.
- Roth, Dieter. 1990. Die Wahlen zur Volkskammer der DDR – Versuch einer Erklärung. *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 31 (3): 369–393.
- Rovny, Jan. 2012. Who Emphasizes and Who Blurs? Party Strategies in Multidimensional Competition. *European Union Politics* 13 (2): 269–292.
- Rovny, Jan and Jonathan Polk. 2019. New Wine in Old Bottles: Explaining the Dimensional Structure of European party systems. *Party Politics* 25 (1): 12–24.
- Rucht, Dieter. 1994. *Modernisierung und neue soziale Bewegungen*. Frankfurt: Campus.
- Rudi, Tatjana and Harald Schoen. 2013. “Verwählt? Eine Analyse des Konzepts ‘korrektes Wählen’ bei der Bundestagswahl 2009.” In Bernhard Weßels, Harald Schoen, and Oscar W. Gabriel (eds), *Wahlen und Wähler*. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, 407–425.
- Ryan, John Barry. 2011. Social Networks as a Shortcut to Correct Voting. *American Journal of Political Science* 55 (4): 753–766.

- Rydgren, Jens (ed.). 2018. *The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Saalfeld, Thomas and Harald Schoen. 2015. "Party Politics and Electoral Behaviour." In Sarah Colvin (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of German Politics & Culture*. London: Routledge, 105–118.
- Sartori, Giovanni. 1976. *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sassen, Sakia. 1996. *Losing Control? Sovereignty in the Age of Globalization*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Schäfer, Armin, Sigrid Roßteutscher, and Simone Abendschön. 2020. Rising Start-up Costs of Voting: Political Inequality among First-time Voters. *West European Politics* 43 (4): 819–844.
- Scharkow, Michael and Marko Bachl. 2017. How Measurement Error in Content Analysis and Self-Reported Media Use Leads to Minimal Media Effect Findings in Linkage Analyses: A Simulation Study. *Political Communication* 34 (3): 323–343.
- Schenker, Nathaniel and Jane F. Gentleman. 2001. On Judging the Significance of Differences by Examining the Overlap between Confidence Intervals. *The American Statistician* 55 (3): 182–186.
- Scherer, Philipp. 2011. "Jenseits von Links und Rechts: Spielt Ideologie für Parteien und Wähler keine Rolle mehr?" In Evelyn Bytzek and Sigrid Roßteutscher (eds), *Der unbekannte Wähler?* Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 23–42.
- Scherer, Philipp and Lars-Christopher Stövsand. 2019. "Ideologie." In Sigrid Roßteutscher, Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck, Harald Schoen, Bernhard Weßels, and Christof Wolf (eds), *Zwischen Polarisierung und Beharrung: Die Bundestagswahl 2017*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 219–228.
- Scheufele, Bertram, Julia Schünemann, and Hans-Bernd Brosius. 2005. Duell oder Berichterstattung? *Publizistik* 50 (4): 399–421.
- Scheufele, Dietram A., Bruce W. Hardy, Dominique Brossard, Israel S. Waismel-Manor, and Erik Nisbet. 2006. Democracy Based on Difference: Examining the Links Between Structural Heterogeneity, Heterogeneity of Discussion Networks, and Democratic Citizenship. *Journal of Communication* 56 (4): 728–753.
- Schilpp, Jan. 2018. "Welchen Einfluss haben populistische Einstellungen auf die Wahlentscheidung? Eine Fallstudie am Beispiel der Bundestagswahl." Unpublished BA thesis, University of Mannheim.
- Schmidt, Manfred G. 1985. Allerweltparteien in Westeuropa? Ein Beitrag zu Kirchheimers These vom Wandel des westeuropäischen Parteiensystems. *Leviathan* 13 (3): 376–397.
- Schmidt, Manfred G. 2007. "Die Sozialpolitik der zweiten rot-grünen Koalition (2002–2005)." In Christoph Egle and Reimut Zohlnhöfer (eds), *Ende des rot-grünen Projektes: Eine Bilanz der Regierung Schröder 2002 – 2005*. Wiesbaden: VS, 295–312.
- Schmitt-Beck, Rüdiger. 2008. "Bandwagon Effect." In Wolfgang Donsbach (ed.), *The International Encyclopedia of Communication*. New York: Wiley, 57–61.
- Schmitt-Beck, Rüdiger. 2009. "Kampagnendynamik im Bundestagswahlkampf 2005." In Oscar W. Gabriel, Bernhard Weßels, and Jürgen W. Falter (eds), *Wahlen und Wähler: Analysen aus Anlass der Bundestagswahl 2005*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 146–176.
- Schmitt-Beck, Rüdiger. 2014. Euro-Kritik, Wirtschaftspessimismus und Einwanderungskepsis: Hintergründe des Beinah-Wahlerfolges der Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) bei der Bundestagswahl 2013. *Zeitschrift für Parlamentsfragen* 45 (1): 94–112.

- Schmitt-Beck, Rüdiger. 2017. The “Alternative für Deutschland in the Electorate”: Between Single-Issue and Right-Wing Populist Party. *German Politics* 26 (1): 124–148.
- Schmitt-Beck, Rüdiger and Thorsten Faas. 2009. Federal Parliament Election 2005 Campaign Dynamics: Pre- and Post-Election Study. *GESIS Data Archive ZA4991: Data file Version 1.0.0*.
- Schmitt-Beck, Rüdiger, Thorsten Faas, and Christian Holst. 2006. Der Rolling Cross-Section Survey: Ein Instrument zur Analyse dynamischer Prozesse der Einstellungsentwicklung: Bericht zur ersten deutschen RCS-Studie anlässlich der Bundestagswahl 2005. *ZUMA-Nachrichten* 30 (58): 13–49.
- Schmitt-Beck, Rüdiger, Thorsten Faas, and Ansgar Wolsing. 2010a. Kampagnendynamik bei der Bundestagswahl 2009: Die Rolling-Cross-Section-Studie im Rahmen der “German Longitudinal Election Study” 2009. *MZES Working Papers – Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung* (134).
- Schmitt-Beck, Rüdiger and Patrick Kraft. 2014. “Political Information Flows and Consistent Voting: Personal Conversations, Mass Media, Party Campaigns, and the Quality of Voting Decisions at the 2009 German Federal Election.” In Bernhard Weßels, Hans Rattinger, Sigrid Roßteutscher, and Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck (eds), *Voters on the Move or on the Run?* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 193–216.
- Schmitt-Beck, Rüdiger and Oana Lup. 2013. Seeking the Soul of Democracy: A Review of Recent Research into Citizens’ Political Talk Culture. *Swiss Political Science Review* 19 (4): 513–538.
- Schmitt-Beck, Rüdiger and Julia Partheymüller. 2012. Why Voters Decide Late: A Simultaneous Test of Old and New Hypotheses at the 2005 and 2009 German Federal Elections. *German Politics* 21 (3): 299–316.
- Schmitt-Beck, Rüdiger, Hans Rattinger, Sigrid Roßteutscher, and Bernhard Weßels. 2010b. “Die deutsche Wahlforschung und die German Longitudinal Election Study.” In Frank Faulbaum and Christof Wolf (eds), *Gesellschaftliche Entwicklungen im Spiegel der empirischen Sozialforschung*. Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag, 141–172.
- Schmitt-Beck, Rüdiger, Hans Rattinger, Sigrid Roßteutscher, Bernhard Weßels, and Christof Wolf et al. 2014. *Zwischen Fragmentierung und Konzentration: Die Bundestagswahl 2013*. Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Schmitt-Beck, Rüdiger, Jan van Deth, and Alexander Staudt. 2017. Die AfD nach der rechtspopulistischen Wende. Wählerunterstützung am Beispiel Baden-Württembergs. *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* 27 (3): 273–303.
- Schmitt-Beck, Rüdiger, Stefan Weick, and Bernhard Christoph. 2006. Shaky Attachments: Individual-level Stability and Change of Partisanship among West German Voters, 1984–2001. *European Journal of Political Research* 45 (4): 581–608.
- Schmitt, Hermann. 2009. “Partisanship in Nine Western Democracies: Causes and Consequences.” In John Bartle and Paolo Bellucci (eds), *Political Parties and Partisanship: Social Identity and Individual Attitudes*. London: Routledge, 75–87.
- Schmitt, Hermann and Sören Holmberg. 1995. “Political Parties in Decline?” In Hans-Dieter Klingemann and Dieter Fuchs (eds), *Citizens and the State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 95–133.
- Schmitt, Hermann and Andreas M. Wüst. 2006. The Extraordinary Bundestag Election of 2005: The Interplay of Long-Term Trends and Short-Term Factors. *German Politics and Society* 24 (1): 27–46.
- Schmitt, Johannes and Simon T. Franzmann. 2020. “The Origins of Party System Polarisation: How Parties and Voters Shape the Ideological Spread in Party Systems.” In

- Sebastian Bukow and Uwe Jun (eds), *Continuity and Change of Party Democracies in Europe*. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, 59–90.
- Schmollinger, Horst W. 1986. "Die Nationaldemokratische Partei." In Richard Stöss (ed.), *Parteienhandbuch. Die Parteien der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1945–1980, Band 4*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1892–1921.
- Schoen, Harald. 1999. Split-ticket Voting in German Federal Elections, 1953–90: An Example of Sophisticated Balloting? *Electoral Studies* 18 (4): 473–496.
- Schoen, Harald. 2003. *Wählerwandel und Wechselwahl. Eine vergleichende Untersuchung*. 1 ed. Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Schoen, Harald. 2007. Campaigns, Candidate Evaluations, and Vote Choice: Evidence from German Federal Election Campaigns, 1980–2002. *Electoral Studies* 26 (2): 324–337.
- Schoen, Harald. 2014. "Wechselwahl." In Jürgen Falter and Harald Schoen (eds), *Handbuch Wahlforschung*. Wiesbaden Springer VS, 489–522.
- Schoen, Harald. 2019a. Not a Powerful Electoral Issue Yet: On the Role of European Integration in the 2017 German Federal Election. *Journal of European Public Policy* 26 (5): 717–733.
- Schoen, Harald. 2019b. "Wechselwähler." In Sigrid Roßteutscher, Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck, Harald Schoen, Bernhard Weßels, and Christof Wolf (eds), *Zwischen Polarisierung und Beharrung: Die Bundestagswahl 2017*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 145–154.
- Schoen, Harald and Konstantin Gavras. 2019. "Eher anhaltende Polarisierung als vorübergehende Verstimmung." In Reimut Zohlnhöfer and Thomas Saalfeld (eds), *Zwischen Stillstand, Politikwandel und Krisenmanagement: Eine Bilanz der Regierung Merkel 2013–2017*. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, 17–37.
- Schoen, Harald, Hans Rattinger, Maria Preißinger, Konstantin Gavras, and Markus Steinbrecher. 2017a. *Election Campaigns and Voter Decision-Making in a Multi-Party System: The 2009 and 2013 German Federal Elections*. Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Schoen, Harald, Sigrid Roßteutscher, Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck, Bernhard Weßels, and Christof Wolf (eds). 2017b. *Voters and Voting in Context. Multiple Contexts and the Heterogeneous German Electorate*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schoen, Harald and Agatha Rudnik. 2016. "Wirkungen von Einstellungen zur europäischen Schulden- und Währungskrise auf das Wahlverhalten bei der Bundestagswahl 2013." In Harald Schoen and Bernhard Weßels (eds), *Wahlen und Wähler. Analysen aus Anlass der Bundestagswahl 2013*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 135–160.
- Schoen, Harald and Bernhard Weßels. 2016. "Die Bundestagswahl 2013 - eine Zäsur im Wahlverhalten und Parteiensystem?" In Harald Schoen and Bernhard Weßels (eds), *Wahlen und Wähler. Analysen aus Anlass der Bundestagswahl 2013*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 3–19.
- Schönbach, Klaus and Holli A. Semetko. 2000. "'Gnadenlos professionell': Journalisten und die aktuelle Medienberichterstattung in Bundestagswahlkämpfen 1976–1998." In Hans Bohrmann, Otfried Jarren, Gabriele Melischek, and Josef Seethaler (eds), *Wahlen und Politikvermittlung durch Massenmedien*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 69–78.
- Schönhoven, Klaus. 2014. "Geschichte der deutschen Gewerkschaften: Phasen und Probleme." In Wolfgang Schroeder (ed.), *Handbuch Gewerkschaften in Deutschland*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 57–83.
- Schroeder, Alan. 2008. *Presidential Debates: Fifty Years of High-Risk TV*. 2nd ed. New York: Columbia University Press.

- Schroeder, Wolfgang and Bernhard Weßels. 2019a. "Rechtspopulistische Landnahme in der Öffentlichkeit, im Elektorat und in den Parlamenten." In Wolfgang Schroeder and Bernhard Weßels (eds), *Smarte Spalter. Die AfD zwischen Bewegung und Parlament*. Bonn: Dietz, 9–43.
- Schroeder, Wolfgang and Bernhard Weßels (eds). 2019b. *Smarte Spalter. Die AfD zwischen Bewegung und Parlament*. Bonn: Dietz.
- Schuessler, Alexander A. 2000. *A Logic of Expressive Choice*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Schultze, Rainer-Olaf. 2018. Realignment oder das Ende normaler Politik? Wahlen im Wandel des historisch-politischen Kontextes. *Zeitschrift für Parlamentsfragen* 49 (4): 729–743.
- Schumacher, Gijs, Catherine E. de Vries, and Barbara Vis. 2013. Why Do Parties Change Position? Party Organization and Environmental Incentives. *The Journal of Politics* 75 (2): 464–477.
- Schwander, Hanna and Philip Manow. 2017. "Modernize and Die"? German Social Democracy and the Electoral Consequences of the Agenda 2010. *Socio-Economic Review* 15 (1): 117–134.
- Seeberg, Henrik Bech, Rune Slothuus, and Rune Stubager. 2017. Do Voters Learn? Evidence That Voters Respond Accurately to Changes in Political Parties' Policy Positions. *West European Politics* 40 (2): 336–356.
- Semetko, Holli A. and Klaus Schönbach. 1994. *Germany's "Unity Election". Voters and the Media*. Cresskill, N.J.: Hampton Press.
- Settle, Jaime E. and Taylor N. Carlson. 2019. Opting Out of Political Discussions. *Political Communication* 36 (3): 476–496.
- Shah, Dhavan V., Jaeho Cho, William P. Eveland Jr, and Nojin Kwak. 2005. Information and Expression in a Digital Age: Modeling Internet Effects on Civic Participation. *Communication Research* 32 (5): 531–565.
- Shaw, Daron R. 1999. A Study of Presidential Campaign Event Effects from 1952 to 1992. *The Journal of Politics* 61 (2): 387–422.
- Shayo, Moses and Alon Harel. 2012. Non-consequentialist Voting. *Journal of Economic Behaviour & Organization* 81 (1): 299–313.
- Shehata, Adam and Jesper Strömbäck. 2020. "Media and Political Partisanship." In Henrik Oscarsson and Sören Holmberg (eds), *Research Handbook on Political Partisanship*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 60–73.
- Shikano, Susumu, Michael Herrmann, and Paul W. Thurner. 2009. Strategic Voting under Proportional Representation: Threshold Insurance in German Elections. *West European Politics* 32 (3): 634–656.
- Shikano, Susumu and Konstantin Käppner. 2016. "Valenz im ideologischen Parteienwettbewerb während des Bundestagswahlkampfes 2013." In Harald Schoen and Bernhard Weßels (eds), *Wahlen und Wähler*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 245–270.
- Siaroff, Alan. 2003. Two-and-a-Half-Party Systems and the Comparative Role of the "Half". *Party Politics* 9 (3): 267–290.
- Sides, John and Jack Citrin. 2007. European Opinion about Immigration: The Role of Identities, Interests and Information. *British Journal of Political Science* 37 (3): 477–504.
- Siefken, Sven T. 2018. Regierungsbildung "wider Willen" – der mühsame Weg zur Koalition nach der Bundestagswahl 2017. *Zeitschrift für Parlamentsfragen* 49 (2): 407–436.



- Simpson, Gavin. 2014a. *Confidence Intervals for Derivatives of Splines in GAMs*. <https://www.fromthebottomoftheheap.net/2014/06/16/simultaneous-confidence-intervals-for-derivatives/>. 01–03–2019.
- Simpson, Gavin. 2014b. *Identifying Periods of Change in Time Series with GAMs*. <https://www.fromthebottomoftheheap.net/2014/05/15/identifying-periods-of-change-with-gams/>. 01–03–2019.
- Sinnott, Richard. 1998. Party Attachment in Europe: Methodological Critique and Substantive Implications. *British Journal of Political Science* 28 (4): 627–650.
- Skitka, Linda J., Elizabeth Mullen, Thomas Griffin, Susan Hutchinson, and Brian Chamberlin. 2002. Dispositions, Scripts, or Motivated Correction? Understanding Ideological Differences in Explanations for Social Problems. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 83 (2): 470.
- Smets, Kaat. 2012. A Widening Generational Divide? The Age Gap in Voter Turnout Through Time and Space. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties* 22 (4): 407–430.
- Smith, Jeffrey A., Miller McPherson, and Lynn Smith-Lovin. 2014. Social Distance in the United States: Sex, Race, Religion, Age, and Education Homophily among Confidants, 1985 to 2004. *American Sociological Review* 79 (3): 432–456.
- Sniderman, Paul M., Louk Hagendoorn, and Markus Prior. 2004. Predisposing Factors and Situational Triggers: Exclusionary Reactions to Immigrant Minorities. *The American Political Science Review* 98 (1): 35–49.
- Somer-Topcu, Zeynep. 2015. Everything to Everyone: The Electoral Consequences of the Broad-Appeal Strategy in Europe. *American Journal of Political Science* 59 (4): 841–854.
- Spier, Tim. 2010. “Das Ende der Lagerpolarisierung?” In Karl-Rudolf Korte (ed.), *Die Bundestagswahl 2009: Analysen der Wahl-, Parteien-, Kommunikations- und Regierungsforschung*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 298–319.
- Spier, Tim. 2013. “Realisierbare Koalitionsoption im Zeithorizont 2013/2017? Perspektiven von Rot-Rot-Grün.” In Frank Decker and Eckhard Jesse (eds), *Die deutsche Koalitionsdemokratie vor der Bundestagswahl 2013*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 369–389.
- Spier, Tim. 2015. “Große Koalitionen in den deutschen Bundesländern 1949–2013.” In Ursula Münch and Heinrich Oberreuter (eds), *Die neue Offenheit. Wahlverhalten und Regierungsoptionen im Kontext der Bundestagswahl 2013*. Frankfurt: Campus, 359–385.
- Spier, Tim, Felix Butzlaff, Matthias Micus, and Franz Walter. 2007. *Die Linkspartei: Zeitgemäße Idee oder Bündnis ohne Zukunft?* Wiesbaden: Springer VS.
- Spoon, Jae-Jae and Heike Klüver. 2019. Party Convergence and Vote Switching: Explaining Mainstream Party Decline across Europe. *European Journal of Political Research* 58 (4): 1021–1042.
- Staudt, Alexander and Julia Partheymüller. 2020. R Package “smoothit”. *Version: 1.0*.
- Staudt, Alexander and Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck. 2018. Kampagnendynamik bei der Bundestagswahl 2017: Die Rolling Cross-Section-Studie im Rahmen der “German Longitudinal Election Study” 2017. *MZES Working Papers – Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung* (172).
- Staudt, Alexander and Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck. 2019. “Nutzung traditioneller und neuer politischer Informationsquellen im Bundestagswahlkampf 2017.” In Sigrid Roßteutscher, Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck, Harald Schoen, Bernhard Weßels, and Christof Wolf (eds), *Zwischen Polarisierung und Beharrung: Die Bundestagswahl 2017*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 63–79.
- Steeper, Frederick T. 1978. “Public Responses to Gerald Ford’s Statement on Eastern Europe in the Second Debate.” In George F. Bishop, Robert Meadow, and Beeck Jackson (eds),

- The Presidential Debates: Media, Electoral, and Policy Perspectives*. New York: Praeger, 81–101.
- Steinbrecher, Markus. 2014. “Wirtschaftliche Entwicklung und Eurokrise.” In Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck, Hans Rattinger, Sigrid Roßteutscher, Bernhard Weißels, and Christof Wolf (eds), *Zwischen Fragmentierung und Konzentration: Die Bundestagswahl 2013*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 225–238.
- Steiner, Nils D. and Claudia Landwehr. 2018. Populistische Demokratiekonzeptionen und die Wahl der AfD: Evidenz aus einer Panelstudie. *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 59 (3): 463–491.
- Stier, Sebastian, Nora Kirkizh, Caterina Froio, and Ralph Schroeder. 2020. Populist Attitudes and Selective Exposure to Online News: A Cross-Country Analysis Combining Web Tracking and Surveys. *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 25 (3): 426–446.
- Stoker, Gerry. 2017. *Why Politics Matters: Making Democracy Work*. 2nd ed. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Stokes, Donald E. 1963. Spatial Models of Party Competition. *American Political Science Review* 57 (2): 368–377.
- Stroud, Natalie Jomini. 2008. Media Use and Political Predispositions: Revisiting the Concept of Selective Exposure. *Political Behavior* 30 (3): 341–366.
- Stroud, Natalie Jomini. 2010. Polarization and Partisan Selective Exposure. *Journal of Communication* 60 (3): 556–576.
- Stroud, Natalie Jomini. 2011. *Niche News: The Politics of News Choice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Stubager, Rune. 2018. What Is Issue Ownership and How Should We Measure It? *Political Behavior* 40 (2): 345–370.
- Stubager, Rune and Rune Slothuus. 2013. What Are the Sources of Political Parties’ Issue Ownership? Testing Four Explanations at the Individual Level. *Political Behavior* 35 (3): 567–588.
- Sunstein, Cass. 2007. Republic.com 2.0. *Princeton University Press, JSTOR*.
- Taber, Charles S. and Milton Lodge. 2006. Motivated Skepticism in the Evaluation of Political Beliefs. *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (3): 755–769.
- Teney, Céline, Onawa Promise Lacewell, and Pieter De Wilde. 2014. Winners and Losers of Globalization in Europe: Attitudes and Ideologies. *European Political Science Review* 6 (4): 575–595.
- Thomeczek, Jan Philipp, Michael Jankowski, and André Krouwel. 2019. “Die politische Landschaft zur Bundestagswahl 2017.” In Karl-Rudolf Korte and Jan Schoofs (eds), *Die Bundestagswahl 2017: Analysen der Wahl-, Parteien-, Kommunikations- und Regierungsforschung*. Wiesbaden: Springer, 267–291.
- Tiemann, Guido. 2019. The Shape of Utility Functions and Voter Attitudes towards Risk. *Electoral Studies* 61: 102051.
- Tillie, Jean. 1995. *Party Utility and Voting Behavior*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.
- Tooze, Adam. 2018. *Crashed: How a Decade of Financial Crises Changed the World*. London: Penguin.
- Träger, Hendrik and Jan Pollex. 2016. Das Großstadttrauma der CDU bei Oberbürgermeisterwahlen: Warum verlieren die Kandidaten der Christdemokraten so oft? *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* 26 (3): 279–300.
- Tsfati, Yariv. 2003. Debating the Debate: The Impact of Exposure to Debate News Coverage and Its Interaction with Exposure to the Actual Debate. *International Journal of Press/Politics* 8 (3): 70–86.

- Tversky, Amos and Daniel Kahneman. 1974. Judgment under Uncertainty: Heuristics and Biases. *Science* 185 (4157): 1124–1131.
- Ulbig, Stacy G. and Carolyn L. Funk. 1999. Conflict Avoidance and Political Participation. *Political Behavior* 21 (3): 265–282.
- van der Brug, Wouter, Meindert Fennema, and Jean Tillie. 2000. Anti-immigrant Parties in Europe: Ideological or Protest Vote? *European Journal of Political Research* 37 (1): 77–102.
- van der Eijk, Cees, Mark Franklin, and Michael Marsh. 1996. What Voters Teach Us about Europe-Wide Elections: What Europe-Wide Elections Teach Us about Voters. *Electoral Studies* 15 (2): 149–166.
- van der Eijk, Cees, Mark N. Franklin, Thomas Mackie, and Henry Valen. 1992. “Cleavages, Conflict Resolution and Democracy.” In Mark N. Franklin, Thomas Mackie, and Henry Valen (eds), *Electoral Change. Response to Evolving Social and Attitudinal Structures in Western Countries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 406–431.
- van der Eijk, Cees and Broer Niemöller. 1983. *Electoral Change in the Netherlands. Empirical Results and Methods of Measurement*. Amsterdam: CT Press.
- van der Meer, Tom WG, Erika van Elsas, Rozemarijn Lubbe, and Wouter van der Brug. 2015. Are Volatile Voters Erratic, Whimsical or Seriously Picky? A Panel Study of 58 Waves into the Nature of Electoral Volatility (The Netherlands 2006–2010). *Party Politics* 21 (1): 100–114.
- van der Waal, Jeroen, Peter Achterberg, and Dick Houtman. 2007. Class Is Not Dead—It Has Been Buried Alive: Class Voting and Cultural Voting in Postwar Western Societies (1956–1990). *Politics & Society* 35 (3): 403–426.
- Vavreck, Lynn. 2009. *The Message Matters: The Economy and Presidential Campaigns*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Volkens, Andrea, Werner Krause, Pola Lehmann, Theres Matthieß, Nicolas Merz, Sven Regel, and Bernhard Weißels. 2018. Manifesto Project Dataset (MRG/CMP/MARPOR). Version 2018b. Berlin: Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB).
- Volkens, Andrea, Werner Krause, Pola Lehmann, Theres Matthieß, Nicolas Merz, Sven Regel, and Bernhard Weißels. 2019a. The Manifesto Data Collection. Manifesto Project (MRG/CMP/MARPOR). Version 2019b. Berlin: Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB).
- Volkens, Andrea, Werner Krause, Pola Lehmann, Theres Matthieß, Nicolas Merz, Sven Regel, and Bernhard Weißels. 2019b. The Manifesto Data Collection. Manifesto Project (MRG/CMP/MARPOR). Version 2019b. Codebook. Berlin: Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB).
- von Schoultz, Åsa. 2017. “Party Systems and Voter Alignments.” In Kai Arzheimer, Jocelyn Evans, and Michael S. Lewis-Beck (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of Electoral Behaviour*. London: SAGE, 30–55.
- Wowles, Jack and Georgios Xezonakis (eds). 2016. *Globalization and Domestic Politics: Parties, Elections, and Public Opinion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wagner, Aiko. 2017. A Micro Perspective on Political Competition: Electoral Availability in the European Electorates. *Acta Politica* 52 (4): 502–520.
- Wagner, Aiko. 2019. Typwechsel 2017? Vom moderaten zum polarisierten Pluralismus. *Zeitschrift für Parlamentsfragen* 51 (1): 114–129.
- Wagner, Aiko and Bernhard Weißels. 2012. Kanzlerkandidaten – Wie beeinflussen sie die Wahlentscheidung? *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* (Sonderheft 45): 345–370.
- Wagschal, Uwe. 2020. “Polarisierung der Parteiensysteme in Zeiten des Populismus.” In Romana Careja, Patrick Emmenegger, and Nathalie Giger (eds), *The European Social Model*

- under Pressure: Liber Amicorum in Honour of Klaus Armingeon*. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, 365–382.
- Ware, Alan. 1996. *Political Parties and Party Systems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wattenberg, Martin P. 1991. *The Rise of Candidate-Centered Politics*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press
- Wattenberg, Martin P. 2008. *Is Voting for Young People?* New York: Pearson Longman.
- Weber, Till and Mark N. Franklin. 2018. A Behavioral Theory of Electoral Structure. *Political Behavior* 40 (4): 831–856.
- Weischenberg, Siegfried, Maja Malik, and Armin Scholl. 2005. Journalismus in Deutschland 2005. *Media Perspektiven* 7: 346–361.
- Weßels, Bernhard. 1991. *Erosion des Wachstumsparadigmas: Neue Konfliktstrukturen im politischen System der Bundesrepublik?* Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Weßels, Bernhard. 1994. “Gruppenbindung und rationale Faktoren als Determinanten der Wahlentscheidung in Ost- und Westdeutschland.” In Hans-Dieter Klingemann and Max Kaase (eds), *Wahlen und Wähler. Analysen aus Anlaß der Bundestagswahl 1990*. Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 123–157.
- Weßels, Bernhard. 2000. “Gruppenbindung und Wahlverhalten: 50 Jahre Wahlen in der Bundesrepublik.” In Markus Klein, Wolfgang Jagodzinski, Ekkehard Mochmann, and Dieter Ohr (eds), *50 Jahre empirische Wahlforschung in Deutschland*. Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 129–158.
- Weßels, Bernhard, Hans Rattinger, Sigrid Roßteutscher, and Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck (eds). 2014. *Voters on the Move or on the Run?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Weßels, Bernhard and Hermann Schmitt. 2008. Meaningful Choices, Political Supply, and Institutional Effectiveness. *Electoral Studies* 27: 19–30.
- Whiteley, Paul, Harold D. Clarke, David Sanders, and Marianne C. Stewart. 2013. *Affluence, Austerity and Electoral Change in Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wiesendahl, Elmar. 2016. Der Kulturkonflikt um die Flüchtlingskrise und die politischen Folgen. *Zeitschrift für Staats- und Europawissenschaften* 14 (1): 53–79.
- Wiesenthal, Helmut. 2014. “Gewerkschaften in Politik und Gesellschaft: Niedergang und Wiederkehr des ‘Modells Deutschland’” In Wolfgang Schroeder (ed.), *Handbuch Gewerkschaften in Deutschland*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 395–421.
- Wilke, Jürgen. 2009. “Historische und intermediale Entwicklungen von Leitmedien.” In Daniel Müller, Annemone Ligensa, and Peter Gendolla (eds), *Leitmedien. Konzepte – Relevanz – Geschichte*. Bielefeld: transcript, 29–52.
- Wirth, Werner and Rinaldo Kühne. 2013. “Grundlagen der Persuasionsforschung.” In Wolfgang Schweiger and Andreas Fahr (eds), *Handbuch Medienwirkungsforschung*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 313–332.
- Wlezien, Christopher. 2005. On the Salience of Political Issues: The Problem with “Most Important Problem”. *Electoral Studies* 24 (4): 555–579.
- Wolf, Christof and Sigrid Roßteutscher. 2013. Religiosität und politische Orientierung? Radikalisierung, Traditionalisierung oder Entkopplung? *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* 65 (1): 149–181.
- Wood, Simon. 2006. *Generalized Additive Models: An Introduction with R*. Boca Raton, FL: Chapman and Hall/CRC.
- Wood, Simon. 2011. Fast Stable Restricted Maximum Likelihood and Marginal Likelihood Estimation of Semiparametric Generalized Linear Models. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society Series (B)* 73: 3–36.
- Wood, Simon. 2016. R Package ‘mgcv’. Version: 1.7, <https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/mgcv/mgcv.pdf>.

- Wuttke, Alexander. 2020. New Political Parties through the Voters' Eyes. *West European Politics* 43 (1): 22–48.
- Yuan, Jing, Minghui Li, Gang Lv, and Z. Kevin Lu. 2020. Monitoring Transmissibility and Mortality of COVID-19 in Europe. *International Journal of Infectious Diseases* 95: 311–315.
- Zajonc, Robert B. 1968. Attitudinal Effects of Mere Exposure. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 9 (2): 1–27.
- Zaller, John. 1996. "The Myth of Massive Media Impact Revived: New Support for a Discredited Idea." In Diana C. Mutz, Paul M. Sniderman, and Richard A. Brody (eds), *Political Persuasion and Attitude Change*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 17–78.
- Zaller, John R. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Zimmermann, Hubert. 2014. A Grand Coalition for the Euro: The Second Merkel Cabinet, the Euro Crisis and the Elections of 2013. *German Politics* 23 (4): 322–336.
- Zohlnhöfer, Reimut. 2011. The 2009 Federal Election and the Economic Crisis. *German Politics* 20 (1): 12–27.
- Zohlnhöfer, Reimut and Thomas Saalfeld (eds). 2015. *Politik im Schatten der Krise: Eine Bilanz der Regierung Merkel 2009–2013*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.
- Zohlnhöfer, Reimut and Thomas Saalfeld (eds). 2019. *Zwischen Stillstand, Politikwandel und Krisenmanagement: Eine Bilanz der Regierung Merkel 2013–2017*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.