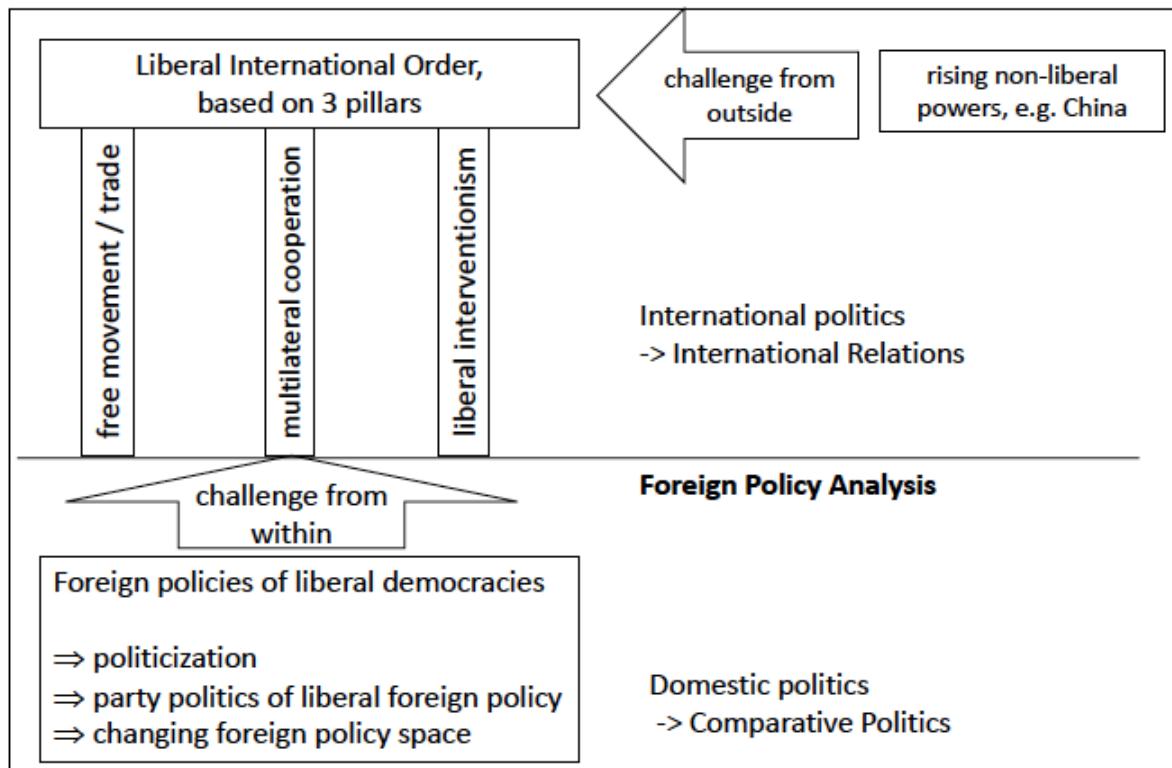


Party-Political Contestsation of the Liberal International Order
 Abbridged version of the research grant proposal

Research problem

All three pillars of the **liberal international order (LIO)** – the **free movement** of goods and people, rule-based multilateral **cooperation**, and **military interventions** to protect and promote liberal values abroad (“liberal interventionism”) – have increasingly been contested. This has amounted to a severe crisis of the international order at a time when multiple global problems such as climate change, terrorism and civil wars as well as the covid pandemic call for effective international governance (Acharya, 2018, Ikenberry, 2020). Most previous research has focused on the challenges from rising non-liberal powers such as China (Weiss and Wallace 2021) or on the attitudes of citizens (De Vries, Hobolt, and Walter 2021). In contrast, this project will focus on **political parties** as key intermediary actors in democracies that aggregate citizens’ preferences into competing visions of world order and foreign policies.

Recently, populist parties such as the Italian Northern League, the Dutch Forum for Democracy or the Hungarian Fidesz have campaigned against a further dismantling of barriers to trade (as, for example, in the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP)), against multilateral cooperation such as the Global Compact for Migration or the Istanbul Convention on combating violence against women, and against participation in military interventions (Liang, 2007, Verbeek and Zaslove, 2015, Balfour *et al.*, 2016, Henke and Maher, 2021). Although only some populist parties entered government and were able to influence government policy directly, most contributed to changes in their countries’ **foreign policy space**, i.e. the pattern of positions on a state’s external relations and the way they are linked to the core values and political ideologies as well as the lines of conflict (cleavages) in liberal democracies. In addition to the challenges from rising non-liberal powers such as China, these shifts in the foreign policy space have amounted to the biggest challenge to the LIO.



However, the methodological nationalism in Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) has hampered the study of **contestation and politicization of external relations**. The emphasis on *national* interests, *national* roles, *national* culture and *national* identity has eclipsed the pluralism of and competition between political ideologies and visions of an international order *within* liberal democracies. Moreover, the study of political parties has been hampered by the scarcity of high-quality data on their foreign policy positions.

Research questions

Inspired by and akin to research on political parties, European integration (Hooghe *et al.*, 2002, Jolly *et al.*, 2022), globalization and the transformation of democratic politics (Kriesi *et al.*, 2006, Kriesi *et al.*, 2012, De Wilde *et al.*, 2019, Burgoon and Trubowitz, 2021), this project examines

- 1) the **empirical questions** a) how political parties have positioned themselves on the three pillars of the LIO, b) how these positions have developed and changed over time and c) what common patterns and which differences can be found across countries and regions;
- 2) the **theoretical question** how best to understand and interpret the patterns of party-political contestation of the LIO by a) linking parties' policy positions to their core ideological beliefs and values and b) interpreting the pattern of party-political contestation with a view to the main dimensions of the policy space: the established left/right- and the new socio-cultural dimension that pits green, alternative and liberal parties against traditional, authoritarian and nationalist ones.

Research objectives

In order to answer the empirical and theoretical research questions, the project has three main research objectives:

1. To **systematically examine the changing foreign policy space** empirically in the democracies of the Global North by collecting and processing data from votes and debates in national parliaments. In a recent pilot study (Wagner 2020), I have demonstrated that these data allow more fine-grained analyses than the commonly used data, especially from party manifestos.
2. To **extend the empirical analysis to liberal democracies** outside Western Europe and North America. Foreign policies in both regions have been well documented and analyzed. Recent studies of party politics of foreign policy have found a remarkably homogeneous foreign policy space in Western Europe (Wagner *et al.* 2018). However, scholars of comparative politics have pointed out that the political cleavages and thus the policy spaces differ across regions (Deegan-Krause 2007). This project will overcome the strong Western bias in the analysis of the party politics of foreign policy by examining the foreign policy space in Eastern Europe (Czech Republic and Romania) and East Asia (Japan and South Korea).
3. To advance a **theory of the foreign policy space**. Such a theory does not aim at a set of cause-effect relations, which would explain the positions of political parties and their electoral fortunes with countries' exposure to globalization (for such an approach see Burgoon and Trubowitz, 2021). Instead, such a theory aims at identifying the "grammar behind the complexities of politicization processes" (Zürn, 2016, 74). The most important building blocks for such a theory are **cleavage theory** and a **value-based approach** to foreign policy. Cleavage theory (Lipset and Rokkan, 1967) claims that the questions (issues) that divide voters are "connected in durable dimensions" and "that political parties make programmatic commitments on these issue dimensions" (Hooghe and Marks, 2018, 109). The key question for cleavage theory is to what extent the established left/right-dimension has been complemented or even superseded by a new socio-cultural dimension. The **value-based approach** to foreign policy builds on moral psychology (Kertzer *et al.*, 2014, Rathbun and Pomeroy, 2021). Instead of treating foreign policy as a distinct field, governed by state interests under anarchy, such a value-based approach assumes that domestic and foreign policy positions emerge from shared common values that structure political debate (Rathbun, 2007, 380).

A. Burcu Bayram (Bayram, 2017, Bayram and Holmes, 2020), Joshua Kertzer (Kertzer *et al.*, 2014, Kertzer *et al.*, 2020) and Brian Rathbun (Rathbun, 2004, Rathbun, 2007, Rathbun and Stein, 2020) have shown that values such as generalized trust, community, hierarchy or equality impact on foreign policy positions. However, their studies have mostly been about the impact of one particular moral value on positions on one particular foreign policy question in a small number of countries. My theoretical research objective is to go beyond the study of specific issues and, by bringing in cleavage theory, to develop a theory of the foreign policy space, which systematically links positions on the three pillars of the LIO to a set of core values and dimensions of political contestation.

Empirically, the project goes beyond the numerous studies of individual parties or party families, single country studies or small n-comparisons (Rathbun, 2004, Hofmann, 2013, Curini and Vignoli, 2021, Ostermann and Stahl, forthcoming), and beyond sub-fields of foreign policy, such as European integration or military interventions. Instead, the project examines the entire foreign policy space that results from the three pillars of the LIO (free movement, multilateralism and liberal interventionism) in several countries in various regions of the Global North.

In terms of **theory**, the project overcomes the methodological nationalism in FPA and the deeply entrenched division of labor between the subdisciplines of International Relations (IR) and Comparative Politics (CP). While IR has paid little attention to contestation and politicization of foreign policy, students of democratic politics and political parties in CP have barely addressed the foreign policy space itself - even though denationalization and globalization have been identified as driving forces in the recent restructuring of the political space in liberal democracies. This project draws on insights from IR and CP in order to build a comprehensive theoretical framework for the study of the changing foreign policy space and the party politics of the LIO.

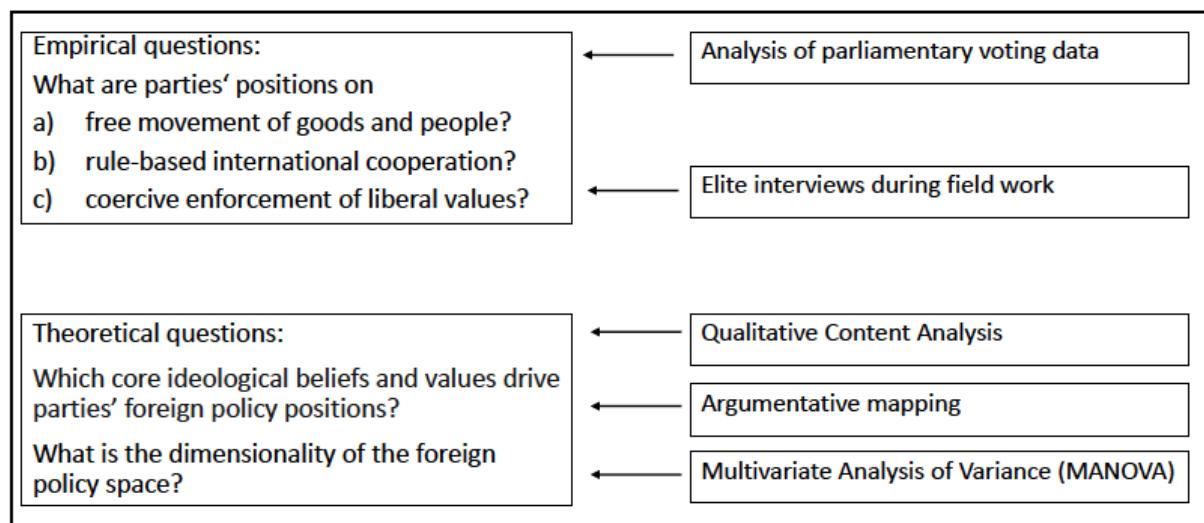
Selection of country case studies

The project will examine the foreign policy space in **five countries** of the Global North: Building on many years of work on German foreign policy, the Principal Investigator, Wolfgang Wagner, will contribute a case study of the **German** foreign policy space. In order to extend the empirical analysis to liberal democracies outside Western Europe and North America, each PhD student will carry out two in-depth case studies of two countries in one region outside Western Europe. **Eastern Europe** and **East Asia** have been selected as regions because they are known to differ with respect to the basic structure of their political space (Deegan-Krause, 2007): In **post-communist Eastern Europe**, the economic left/right dimension is generally less pronounced, which also renders the socio-cultural dimension influential. It should be noted, however, that the 'new politics'-dimension in Eastern Europe is loaded with different issues than in Western Europe: Whereas the cultural-liberal pole in the latter is closely associated with a positive attitude towards 'Europe', it has more recently been defined by 'anti-corruption' in the former. The conservative pole in (North-)Western Europe is closely associated with 'anti-immigration', it is nationalism and opposition to ethnic minorities that characterizes this pole in Eastern Europe (Hutter *et al.*, 2019).

East Asia is characterized by high levels of volatility as neither social structure nor cultural divides have had a strong impact on the structure of the political space (Von Schoultz, 2017, 47). Although of obvious importance to the future of the liberal international order, the USA is not included as a case study in this project as both the general political space and the foreign policy space are very well documented and researched (Kupchan and Trubowitz, 2007, Poole and Rosenthal, 2011).

Methods

To answer my **empirical questions** about the positioning of political parties, the project examines parliamentary voting data. Furthermore, the PhD students will do elite interviews during field research in the countries the study. The **theoretical question** about the dimensionality of the foreign policy space will be answered with the help of qualitative content analysis, argumentative mapping and a Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA). Taken together, the project uses a mix of **qualitative and quantitative methods**.



Parliamentary voting data

At the heart of the quantitative analysis of the foreign policy space are parliamentary voting data. As argued in my previous work (Wagner, 2020), **parliamentary voting data** come with several advantages over the data from the Manifesto Project (Volkens *et al.*, 2020) and over expert survey data, such as those of the Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES): first, while CHES data have had high levels of validity and reliability, they do not include any country outside

Europe (except Turkey) and questions on foreign policy are not included in all surveys. Second, voting data have a high level of **validity** because they are directly linked to actual policy decisions on a country's agenda. In the words of Milner and Tingley, voting in legislatures "provides an opportunity to observe the revealed preferences of elites" (Milner and Tingley, 2015, 129). Manifestos can downplay, re-frame or ignore issues on which the party is divided. In contrast, votes in parliament force parliamentarians to take a position on a specific policy proposal. This allows for a very fine-grained mapping of the foreign policy space. Third, voting data provide not only insights into the level and the pattern of political contestation among parties but also into the degree of **unity and contestation within every political party**. Fourth - and notwithstanding differences in political systems, parliamentary statutes and political culture - parliamentary voting data allow **comparisons over time, between issue areas and between countries**. Fifth and finally, the parliamentary voting dataverse will be a legacy of the project for students of foreign policy, comparative politics and international relations to use in their work.

Parliamentary voting data will be analyzed in several ways: the **Agreement Index** as developed by Simon Hix and co-authors has proven to be highly useful in quantifying levels of contestation for parliaments as a whole as well as for political parties in parliament (Hix *et al.*, 2007, Wagner, 2020). Party positions will be correlated with data on their position on the left/right and the new politics dimensions that are either directly provided by the Manifesto Project or can be calculated on the basis of their data.

Field work and semi-structured interviews

During the second and during the third year, the two PhD students will spend several weeks in the countries they study in order to carry out **semi-structured elite interviews** with parliamentarians and/or their staff and with representatives of political parties. Such elite interviews are very helpful to obtain an in-depth understanding of the cases under examination, especially for a project such as this one, which aims at a valid interpretation of the patterns of politicization and contestation. Although theorizing the changing foreign policy space must first and foremost build on the observational data described above (i.e. parliamentary votes and speeches), elite interviews have an additional contribution to make: most importantly, they are a valuable source of ideas on how to interpret the foreign policy space. As with any hermeneutic approach, such interpretations are otherwise heavily influenced by the researcher's socialization and education and thus come with an inevitable bias. In the case of this project, it is highly probable, for example, that notions of "left" and "right" are colored in Western European and North American terms. Elite interviews are highly useful as they may challenge working hypotheses and tentative interpretations. Although the interviewee's view is biased and needs to be treated with great caution (Berry, 2002), it is important to be aware of the practitioners' views and to contextualize interpretations in this light. To test the plausibility of any tentative interpretation of the nature and structure of conflict over foreign policy, parliamentarians and/or their staff and representatives of political parties will be asked how they interpret the changing positions of political parties on the liberal international order. Following the recommendation by experts on this method, the project's working hypotheses will not be disclosed to the interviewees to avoid influencing the responses (Rathbun, 2008, 698). In my own experience with semi-structured interviews (Wagner, 2001, Wagner, 2005), policy-making in individual cases is often influenced by bureaucratic routines or idiosyncratic factors, such as personal rivalries. Although of limited theoretical relevance for this project, such influences should be understood and accounted for in the respective case studies. In addition to data completion and the plausibilization of preliminary findings, the field trips and elite interviews will be useful to extend the professional networks of the PhD students. Last, not least, field trips and interviews are an invaluable experience for any PhD student as the organization, conduct and setting of interviews reveals a lot about the politics of country.

Qualitative content analysis of speeches in parliament

Whereas roll call votes show the patterns of contestation and the structure of the foreign policy space, **computer-aided qualitative content analysis, argumentative mapping and a MANOVA** provide insights into the specific **terms of contestation**, i.e. the 'underlying grammar' that links support and opposition to the elements of the liberal international order to core values and political doctrines. An in-depth understanding of the terms of contestation is essential for the theorizing of the foreign policy space that the project will advance. The mix of content analysis, argumentative mapping and MANOVA has been successfully tested in my pilot study on German, British and Canadian parliamentary debates on military interventions (Wagner, 2020).

Qualitative content analysis will be carried out with interactive-hermeneutic text analysis software *Nvivo*, which combines the merits of deductive and inductive approaches in the interpretation of texts (Krippendorff, 2018), such as speeches in parliament. In contrast to unsupervised and thus purely inductive algorithms such as *Wordfish* (Slapin and Proksch, 2008), qualitative content analysis starts with a coding scheme that is derived deductively (Mayring, 2014). The coding scheme for the project will build on my own pilot study (Wagner, 2020), related work on military interventions (Geis *et al.*, 2013) as well as on the literature on moral values in foreign policy (Kertzer *et al.*, 2014). Core political values, such as generalized trust, community, hierarchy or equality will provide the foundational level

of the coding scheme. In *Nvivo*, additional levels, such as trust in international institutions, can be introduced by way of subcategories and sub-subcategories, which can be re-grouped during the process of coding. Because the terms of foreign policy contestation will to some extent be context-, country- and issue-specific, the subcategory and sub-subcategory levels need continuous recalibration to maximize the fit with the content under study. The combination of a deductively derived coding scheme, especially on the most general foundational level and two further levels of inductively inspired subcategories and sub-subcategories, allow a comparison across countries while doing justice to the specifics of the case under study.

Qualitative content analysis will be applied to the parliamentary debates about **specific cases**, which represent the three pillars of the liberal international order - free movement of goods and people, rule-based multilateral cooperation and military interventions – at two points in time in each of the countries under study. The resulting dataset allows inferences about differences in the foreign policy between countries and regions as well as about changes and developments over time.

Argumentative mapping and multivariate analysis of variance

Argumentative mapping is first and foremost a visualization device the prime purpose of which is to make main patterns of party-political contestation accessible and understandable to a broader audience. Based on the data from the qualitative content analysis, it shows patterns of support for the various elements of the liberal international order across parties, countries, issues, and time periods. Although highly useful for **science communication** it has a major shortcoming: argumentative mapping visualizes the absolute differences in party positions, but it cannot control for additional factors influencing party positions. Most importantly whether a party is part of a governing coalition or in opposition has a tremendous impact on the positions that MPs take in parliamentary debates.

Therefore, argumentative mapping is best understood as a steppingstone towards a **MANOVA**. This method can quantify the relative influence of parliamentarians' nationality, party affiliation and their party's status in government or in opposition on a number of arguments or frames being used in their speeches. The MANOVA thus provides a common measure for degrees and patterns of support for the various elements of the liberal international order across parties, countries, issues, and time periods. Moreover, the MANOVA can determine to what extent contestation of the LIO is a **transnational**, rather than a national phenomenon by quantifying the impact of MPs' nationality, on the one hand, and their affiliation with a transnational party family, on the other hand, on their voting behavior and on their speeches. The MANOVA is therefore crucial to overcome FPA's traditional methodological nationalism.

Acharya, A., 2018. *The end of American world order*. Cambridge: Polity.

Balfour, R., Emmanouilidis, J.A., Fieschi, C., Grabbe, H., Hill, C., Lochocki, T., Mendras, M., Mudde, C., Niemi, M.K. & Schmidt, J., 2016. *Europe's troublemakers. The populist challenge to foreign policy*. Brussels.

Bayram, A.B., 2017. Due deference: cosmopolitan social identity and the psychology of legal obligation in international politics. *International Organization*, 71 (Supplement S1), S137–S163.

Bayram, A.B. & Holmes, M., 2020. Feeling their pain: affective empathy and public preferences for foreign development aid. *European Journal of International Relations*, 26 (3), 820-850.

Berry, J.M., 2002. Validity and reliability issues in elite interviewing. *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 35 (4), 679-682.

Böller, F., 2021, online first. Vandenberg Vanished: US Congress and the Politicisation of Military Interventions. *Parliamentary Affairs*.

Börzel, T.A. & Zürn, M., 2021. Contestations of the liberal international order: From liberal multilateralism to postnational liberalism. *International Organization*, 75 (2), 282-305.

Burgoon, B. & Trubowitz, P., 2021. *The Retreat of the West. Globalism, Nationalism, and the Liberal Order*. unpublished manuscript.

Coticchia, F. & Vignoli, V., 2020. Populist parties and foreign policy: The case of Italy's Five Star Movement. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 22 (3), 523-541.

Curini, L. & Vignoli, V., 2021. Committed Moderates and Uncommitted Extremists: Ideological Leaning and Parties' Narratives on Military Interventions in Italy. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 17 (3), orab016.

De Vries, C. & Hobolt, S., 2020. *Political Entrepreneurs: The Rise of Challenger Parties in Europe*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

De Vries, C.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.

De Wilde, P., Koopmans, R., Merkel, W., Struijbis, O. & Zürn, M. (eds.) (2019) *The struggle over borders: Cosmopolitanism and communitarianism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Deegan-Krause, K., 2007. New dimensions of political cleavage. In R.J. Dalton & H.-D. Klingemann (eds.) *Oxford Handbook of Political Behaviour*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 538-556.

Geis, A., Müller, H. & Schörnig, N. (eds.) (2013) *The militant face of democracy: liberal forces for good*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Haesebrouck, T., Reykers, Y. & Fonck, D., 2022. Party politics and military deployments: explaining political consensus on Belgian military intervention. *European Security*, 31 (1), 76-96.

Haesebrouck, T. & Van Immerseel, A., 2020. When does politics stop at the water's edge? A QCA of parliamentary consensus on military deployment decisions. *European Political Science Review*, 12 (3), 371-390.

Henke, M. & Maher, R., 2021. The populist challenge to European defense. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 28 (3), 389-406.

Hix, S., Noury, A.G. & Roland, G., 2007. *Democratic politics in the European Parliament*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hofmann, S.C., 2013. *European security in NATO's shadow: party ideologies and institution building*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hooghe, L. & Marks, G., 2018. Cleavage theory meets Europe's crises: Lipset, Rokkan, and the transnational cleavage. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 25 (1), 109-135.

Hooghe, L., Marks, G. & Wilson, C.J., 2002. Does left/right structure party positions on European integration? *Comparative Political Studies*, 35 (8), 965-989.

Hutter, S., Altiparmakis, A. & Vidal, G., 2019. Diverging Europe: The political consequences of the crises in a comparative perspective. In S. Hutter & H. Kriesi (eds.) *European Party Politics in Times of Crisis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 329-354.

Ikenberry, G.J., 2020. *A world safe for democracy: Liberal internationalism and the crises of global order*. Yale University Press.

Jolly, S., Bakker, R., Hooghe, L., Marks, G., Polk, J., Rovny, J., Steenbergen, M. & Vachudova, M.A., 2022. Chapel Hill Expert Survey trend file, 1999–2019. *Electoral studies*, 75, 102420.

Kertzer, J.D., Brooks, D.J. & Brooks, S.G., 2020. Do Partisan Types Stop at the Water's Edge? *The Journal of Politics*, 83 (4), 1764-1782.

Kertzer, J.D., Powers, K.E., Rathbun, B.C. & Iyer, R., 2014. Moral support: How moral values shape foreign policy attitudes. *The Journal of Politics*, 76 (3), 825-840.

Kriesi, H., Grande, E., Dolezal, M., Helbling, M., Höglinger, D., Hutter, S. & Wüest, B., 2012. *Political conflict in western Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kriesi, H., Grande, E., Lachat, R., Dolezal, M., Bornschier, S. & Frey, T., 2006. Globalization and the transformation of the national political space: Six European countries compared. *European Journal of Political Research*, 45 (6), 921-956.

Krippendorff, K., 2018. *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Kupchan, C.A. & Trubowitz, P.L., 2007. Dead center: the demise of liberal internationalism in the United States. *International Security*, 32 (2), 7-44.

Liang, C.S. (ed.) (2007) *Europe for the Europeans: The foreign and security policy of the populist radical right*, Aldershot: Ashgate.

Lipset, S.M. & Rokkan, S., 1967. Cleavage structures, party systems, and voter alignments: an introduction. In S.M. Lipset & S. Rokkan (eds.) *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*. Toronto: Free Press, 1-64.

Mayring, P., 2014. *Qualitative content analysis. Theoretical foundation, basic procedures and software solution*.: (free download via Social Science Open Access Repository SSOAR).

Mello, P.A., 2022. German Parliamentary Debates and Decision-Making on Afghanistan. *Orient: German Journal for Politics, Economics and Culture of the Middle East*, 61 (1), 44-49.

Milner, H.V. & Tingley, D., 2015. *Sailing the water's edge: The domestic politics of American foreign policy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Ostermann, F., Böller, F., Christiansen, F., Coticchia, F., Fonck, D., Herranz-Surrallés, A., Kaarbo, J., Kucmas, K., Onderco, M., Pedersen, R., Raunio, T., Reykers, Y., Smetana, M., Vignoli, V. & Wagner, W., 2020. Parliamentary Deployment Vote Database Version 2. V1 ed.: Harvard Dataverse.

Ostermann, F. & Stahl, B., forthcoming. Theorizing Populist Radical-Right Foreign Policy: Ideology and Party Positioning in France and Germany. *Foreign Policy Analysis*.

Pennings, P., 2018. Polarization or post-Cold War consensus? Trends in the partisan positions on internationalism and defence, 1945–2016. Unpublished manuscript, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam.

Pool, K.T. & Rosenthal, H.L., 2011. *Ideology and congress*. New Brunswick, NJ/London: Transaction Publishers.

Rathbun, B.C., 2004. *Partisan interventions: European party politics and peace enforcement in the Balkans*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Rathbun, B.C., 2007. Hierarchy and community at home and abroad: Evidence of a common structure of domestic and foreign policy beliefs in American elites. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 51 (3), 379-407.

Rathbun, B.C., 2008. Interviewing and qualitative field methods: pragmatism and practicalities. In J. Box-Steffensmeier, H. Brady & D. Collier (eds.) *The Oxford handbook of political methodology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 685-701.

Rathbun, B.C. & Pomeroy, C., 2021. See No Evil, Speak No Evil? Morality, Evolutionary Psychology, and the Nature of International Relations. *International Organization*, 1-34.

Rathbun, B.C. & Stein, R., 2020. Greater goods: morality and attitudes toward the use of nuclear weapons. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 64 (5), 787-816.

Raunio, T. & Wagner, W. (eds.) (2017) *Challenging Executive Dominance. Legislatures and Foreign Affairs. Special Issue of West European Politics*.

Raunio, T. & Wagner, W., 2020. The Party Politics of Foreign and Security Policy. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 16 (4), 515-531.

Schattschneider, E.E., 1942. *Party government*. New York City, NY: Rinehart & Company.

Slapin, J.B. & Proksch, S.O., 2008. A scaling model for estimating time-series party positions from texts. *American Journal of Political Science*, 52 (3), 705-722.

Verbeek, B. & Zaslove, A., 2015. The impact of populist radical right parties on foreign policy: the Northern League as a junior coalition partner in the Berlusconi governments. *European Political Science Review*, 7 (4), 525-546.

Volkens, A., Burst, T., Krause, W., Lehmann, P., Matthieß, T., Merz, N., Regel, S., Weßels, B. & Zehnter, L., 2020. The Manifesto Data Collection. Manifesto Project (MRG/CMP/MARPOR). Version 2020b. Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB).

Von Schoultz, Å., 2017. Party systems and voter alignments. In K. Arzheimer, J. Evans & M.S. Lewis-Beck (eds.) *The Sage handbook of electoral behaviour*. London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi/Singapore: Sage, 30-55.

Wagner, W., 2001. German EU constitutional foreign policy. In V. Rittberger (ed.) *German foreign policy since unification. Theories and case studies*, Manchester/New York. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 185-229.

Wagner, W., 2005. From vanguard to laggard: Germany in European security and defence policy. *German Politics*, 14 (4), 455-469.

Wagner, W., 2020. *The democratic politics of military interventions. Political parties, contestation and decisions to use force abroad*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Zürn, M., 2016. Opening up Europe: next steps in politicisation research. *West European Politics*, 39 (1), 164-182.