

## **Robert Rohrschneider**

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### **Education**

Ph.D. 1989 (Political Science), Florida State University

- Dissertation Title: "The Greening of Partisanship in Western Europe? Environmentalism, Economics, and Party Affiliation in Four West European Nations."
- Dissertation chair: Russell J. Dalton.

ICPSR summer school (1986).

Exchange student, Michigan State University, 1983-1984.

"Zwischenprüfung" (1983), political science and history, University of Freiburg, Germany.

"Abitur" (1980), Hermann-Billing High school, Celle, Germany.

### **Academic Positions**

Since July 2008, Sir Robert Worcester Distinguished Professor of International Public Opinion and Survey Research, department of political science, University of Kansas.

Professor, July 2001-June 2008, department of political science, Indiana University, Bloomington.

Acting Director, West European Studies Institute, Indiana University, spring and summer 2004

Associate Professor, July 1997-June 2001, department of political science, Indiana University, Bloomington.

Visiting Professor, November 1998-April 1999, department of social sciences, University of Mannheim, Mannheim, Germany.

Assistant Professor, July 1991-June 1997, department of political science, Indiana University, Bloomington.

Visiting Associate Professor, October-March 1994/1995, Institute for Political Science, Humboldt University, Berlin, Germany.

Assistant Professor, July 1989-June 1991, department of Political Science, University of Kentucky.

### **Areas of Academic Interest**

Political representation; European Union; German Politics; the link between institutions and attitudes and behavior; political culture; democratization; global environmental movements; elections, and political parties; political elites; research methodology.

### **Courses Taught**

- Introduction to Comparative Politics (UG)
- Political Behavior (UG)
- West European Politics (UG)
- Approaches and Issues in Industrial Democracies (G)
- Elections and Parties in Western Europe (UG)
- Comparative Political Behavior (G)
- Comparative Parties and Electoral Behavior (G)
- German Politics (UG)
- Global Environmental Politics (UG)
- European Union Politics (UG)

### **Awards**

- Best Article Award for a paper published in Political Research Quarterly during 2003, spring 2004.
- The John M. and Mary Ellen Ryan Fellow, College of Arts and Sciences, Indiana University, 1999. Awarded by the Dean to the 2 strongest tenure cases in the College of Arts and Sciences.
- 1998 Stein Rokkan prize for Comparative Social Science Research. The book is selected by the European Consortium for Political Research.
- Invited by the German Government to participate in the 2002 and 1998 election information tour.
- George F. Pruet best paper award; Florida State University, Fall 1987.

### **Fellowships and Honors**

- Fulbright Visiting Professorship and Fulbright Fellowship, Department of Politics and International Relations and Pembroke College, University of Oxford, Trinity 2016 (April-June).
- Visiting Professor, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin, June 2012.
- Netherlands Institute for Advanced Studies (NIAS); research fellowship, 2008-2009.
- Transatlantic Fellowship (Brussels), Transatlantic Center of the German Marshall Fund 2004-2005.
- German Marshall Fund of the United States, research fellowship, 2004-2005
- Visiting Fellow, Nuffield College, Oxford University, spring 2005 (declined).
- Summer research fellowship, RUGS, Indiana University, 1995, 2000.
- Fellowship, Institute for German and European Studies, Georgetown University, 1993-1994 (declined).
- Fellowship of the Social Science Research Council, 1991-1992.
- Summer research fellowship, University of Kentucky, summer 1990.

- Dissertation Fellowship, 1987-1988, Policy Science Program, Florida State University.
- APSA Travel Grant, 1985.
- Exchange Student at the Michigan State University, 1983-1984; selected by the University of Freiburg, West Germany.

### **Grants**

John Fell Fund, Oxford University, to fund data collection (2013-2014, with Stephen Whitefield).

Grants from West European Studies, and the EU center for Excellence, IU, to support the conference “Representation, Immigration, and the 2009 Election to the European Parliament,” held at IU Bloomington April 1 2008.

Grant from the Nuffield Foundation to conduct an expert survey about party positions about the EU in Western Europe, 2007 (with Stephen Whitefield).

Grant Writing Committee, WEST, 2005-2006, IU’s successful Title VI grant application.

Grants from the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation, Indiana University and Oxford University to support a conference at Indiana University in April 2004 about public opinion towards the EU in East-Central Europe (with Stephen Whitefield).

Grant from the Nuffield Foundation to conduct an expert survey about party positions about the EU in East-Central Europe, 2003 (with Stephen Whitefield).

“Judgment Day and Beyond: The 2002 German Bundestagswahl” Grants from the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and the Friedrich-Ebert foundation to support a conference about the 2002 Federal election in Germany, 2003 (with Russell Dalton).

Research Committee Grant Award, University of Kentucky, Spring 1990.

### **Ph.D. Students (chaired the dissertation)**

At KU: Chris Kroh.

At IU: Antje Schwennicke; Nick Clark; Daniel Beers; Jeremy Albright; Melissa Schnyder; Matthew Loveless ; Lori-Poloni Staudinger; Michael Wolf.

## **PUBLICATIONS**

### **Monographs**

*The Strain of Representation. How Parties Represent Diverse Voters in Western and Eastern Europe.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012 (with Stephen Whitefield).

*Learning Democracy: Democratic and Economic Values in Unified Germany*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999. The book was awarded the VIII<sup>th</sup> Stein Rokkan prize (1998). *Choice* named it an outstanding academic book.

### ***Edited Volumes and Special Issues***

Co-editor, *Environmental Concerns During a Time of Duress*, *Environmental Politics* forthcoming in 2015 (with Russell J. Dalton).

Editor, special symposium, *Germany's federal election in September 2009—Elections in Times of Duress*. *Electoral Studies*, March 2012 (31:1).

Co-editor, *Public Opinion, Party Competition and the European Union in Post-Communist Europe*. New York: Palgrave, 2006 (with Stephen Whitefield).

Co-editor, *Judgment Day: The 2002 Election in Germany*. A special issue of *German Politics and Society*, Spring 2003 (with Russell Dalton).

### ***Articles in peer-reviewed journals***

"Representation through Parties? Environmental Attitudes and Party Stances in Europe in 2013." *Environmental Politics*, forthcoming (with Matthew R. Miles).

"Environmental Concerns During a Time of Duress: an Introduction." *Environmental Politics*, forthcoming (with Russell J. Dalton).

"Is there a Regional Cleavage in Germany's Party System? Ideological Congruence in Germany 1980-2013." *German Politics*, forthcoming.

"The Saliency of European Integration to Party Competition: Western and Eastern Europe Compared." *East European Politics and Society* February 2015(29:1): 12-39 (with Stephen Whitefield).

"Institutional Context and Representational Strain in Party-Voter Agreement in Western and Eastern Europe." *West European Politics*, December 2012 (35: 6): 1320-1340 (with Stephen Whitefield).

"Short-term Factors versus Long-term Values: Explaining the 2009 Election Results." *Electoral Studies*, March 2012, (31:1): 20-34 (with Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck and Franziska Jung).

"Germany's Federal election in September 2009—Elections in Times of Duress—Introduction." *Electoral Studies*, March 2012, (31:1): 1-4 (with Franziska Jung).

"Macro-Saliency: How Economic and Political Contexts Mediate Popular Evaluations of the Democracy Deficit in the European Union." *Journal of Politics*, 2010 (72,4): 1029-1045 (with Matthew Loveless).

“Consistent Choice Sets? The Stances of Political Parties towards European Integration in 10 Central East European Democracies, 2003-2007.” Journal of European Public Policy, 2010 (17,1): 55-75 (with Stephen Whitefield).

“The Europeanization of Political Parties in Central and Eastern Europe? The Impact of EU Entry on Issue Stances, Saliency, and Programmatic Coherence.” Journal of Post-Communist and Transition Studies 2009, 25(4): 564-584 (with Stephen Whitefield).

“Second-Order Elections versus First-Order Thinking: How Voters Perceive the Representation Process in a Multi-Layered System of Governance.” Journal of European Integration 2009 (31,5): 645-664 (with Nick Clark).

“Representational Consistency: Stability and Change in Political Cleavages in Central and Eastern Europe.” Politics&Policy, 2009 (37,4): 667-690 (with Stephen Whitefield).

“Understanding Divisions in Party Systems: Issue Position and Issue Saliency in 13 Post-Communist Democracies.” Comparative Political Studies 2009 (42,2): 280-313 (with Stephen Whitefield).

“Representation in New Democracies: Party Stances on European Integration in Post-Communist Eastern Europe.” Journal of Politics 2007 (69,4): 1133-1146 (with Stephen Whitefield).

“Do Expert Surveys Produce Consistent Estimates of Party Stances on European Integration? Comparing Expert Surveys in the Difficult Case of Central and Eastern Europe.” Electoral Studies 2007 (26,1): 39-49 (with Stephen Whitefield; Milada Anna Vachudova, Marco Steenbergen, Gary Marks, Matthew Loveless, and Liesbet Hooghe).

“Political Parties, Public Opinion and European Integration in Post-Communist Countries: the State of the Art.” European Union Politics, March 2006 (7,1): 141-160 (with Stephen Whitefield, Forum).

“Institutional Quality and Perceptions of Representation in Advanced Industrial Democracies.” Comparative Political Studies, September 2005 (38,7): 850-874.

“Support for Foreign Ownership and Integration in Eastern Europe: Economic Interests, Ideological Commitments and International Context,” Comparative Political Studies, April 2004 (with Stephen Whitefield): 313-339.

“Democratization and Political Tolerance: A Multi-level Model of Democratic Learning in Seventeen Nations.” Political Research Quarterly September 2003 (56,3): 243-257 (with Mark Peffley). The article received the Annual Best Article Award for a paper published in PRQ during 2003.

“The Environmental Movement and the Modes of Political Action.” Comparative Political Studies, September 2003 (36,7): 743-771 (with Russell Dalton and Steven Reccia).

"It used to be the Economy. Issues and Party Support in the 2002 Election." German Politics and Society, spring 2003 (21,1): 76-94 (with Dieter Fuchs).

"Introduction: The 2002 Federal Election." German Politics and Society, spring 2003 (21,1): 1-14 (with Michael Wolf).

"Trust in Democratic Institutions in Germany: Theory and Evidence Ten Years after Unification." German Politics, December 2002 (11,3): 35-57 (with Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck).

"Mobilizing versus Chasing: How do West European Parties target Voters?" Electoral Studies, September 2002 (21,3): 367-382.

"A Global Network? Transnational Cooperation among Environmental Groups." Journal of Politics, May 2002 (64,2): 510-533 (with Russell Dalton).

"The Democracy Deficit and Mass Support for an EU-wide Government." American Journal of Political Science, April 2002 (46,2): 463-475.

"Postmaterialism and the Electoral Choice before and after German Unification." West European Politics, April 1998 (21,2): 95-116 (with Dieter Fuchs).

"Pluralism, Conflict, and Legislative Elites in the United Germany." Comparative Politics, October 1996 (29,1): 43-67.

"Institutional Learning versus Value Diffusion: The Evolution of Democratic Values Among Parliamentarians in Eastern and Western Germany." Journal of Politics, May 1996 (58,2): 442-466.

"Cultural Transmission versus Perceptions of the Economy: The Sources of Political Elites' Economic Values in the United Germany." Comparative Political Studies, February 1996 (29,1) : 78-104.

"A New Electorate? Economic Trends and Electoral Choice in the 1994 Federal Election in Germany." German Politics and Society, Spring 1995 (13,1): 100-122 (with Dieter Fuchs).

"Report from the Laboratory: The Influence of Institutions on Political Elites' Democratic Values in Germany." American Political Science Review, December 1994 (88,4): 927-941.

"How Iron is the Iron Law of Oligarchy? Robert Michels and National Party Delegates in Eleven West European Democracies." European Journal of Political Research, February 1994 (25,2): 207-238.

"New Party versus Old Left Realignments: Environmental Attitudes, Party Policies, and Partisan Affiliations in Four West European Countries." Journal of Politics, August 1993 (55,3): 682-701. Reprinted in Pippa Norris, editor, *Elections and Voting Behavior*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing.

"Environmental Belief Systems in Western Europe: A Hierarchical Model of Constraint." Comparative

Political Studies, April 1993 (26,1): 3-29.)

"The Impact of Social Movements on European Party Systems." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, July 1993 (528): 155-168.

"Public Opinion Toward Environmental Groups in Western Europe: One Movement or Two?" Social Science Quarterly, June 1991 (72,2): 251-266.

"The Roots of Public Opinion Toward New Social Movements: An Empirical Test of Competing Explanations." American Journal of Political Science, February 1990 (34,1): 1-30.

"Citizens' Attitudes Towards Environmental Issues: Selfish or Selfless?" Comparative Political Studies, October 1988 (21,3): 347-367.

### **Chapters in Edited Books**

"The Structure and Sources of Global Environmental Attitudes," in Russell J. Dalton and Christian Welzel. The Civic Culture Transformed: From Allegiant to Assertive Citizenship. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2014: 193-212 (with Mark Peffley and Matt Miles).

"The Multiple Basis of Democratic Support: Procedural Representation and Governmental Outputs," in Elections and Democracy: Representation and Accountability, edited by Jacques A. Thomassen. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014: 181-200 (with Mark Peffley).

"Unified but different: Comparing East and West German voters during the 2009 Federal election in Germany," in Wahlen und Wähler. Analysen aus Anlass der Bundestagswahl 2009. Springer: Springer Verlag, 2013: 360-379 (with Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck and Franziska Jung, in German).

"Guardians of Democracy? Elite Beliefs and the Theory of Democratic Elitism," in The Handbook of Political Behavior, edited by Russell J. Dalton and Hans-Dieter Klingemann. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2007: 65-79 (with Mark Peffley).

"Introduction: A Theoretical Backdrop," published in Public Opinion, Party Competition and the European Union in Post-Communist Europe, edited by Robert Rohrschneider and Stephen Whitefield. New York: Palgrave, 2006 (with Stephen Whitefield): pp. 1-15.

"Support for the European Union in the Baltic States," published in Public Opinion, Party Competition and the European Union in Post-Communist Europe, edited by Robert Rohrschneider and Stephen Whitefield. New York: Palgrave, 2006 (with Stephen Whitefield and Rasa Aliauskiene): 187-202.

"Attitudes Toward European Integration and NATO in Hungary, Bulgaria, and the Ukraine," published in Public Opinion, Party Competition and the European Union in Post-Communist Europe, edited by Robert Rohrschneider and Stephen Whitefield. New York: Palgrave, 2006 (with Matt Loveless): 203-216.

"Conclusion: The Political Consequences of Post-Communist Accession," published in Public Opinion, Party Competition and the European Union in Post-Communist Europe, edited by Robert Rohrschneider and Stephen Whitefield. New York: Palgrave, 2006 (with Stephen Whitefield): 241-252.

"Political Values in Unified Germany," published in Germany at 55, edited by James Sperling. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005 (with Dieter Fuchs): 155-182.

"It Used to be the Economy. The Influence of Issues on Electoral Choice in the 2002 German Elections," published in The 2002 German Election, edited by Juergen Falter, Edeltraud Roller, Bernhard Wessels. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 2005 (with Dieter Fuchs, in German): 339-356.

"Social Capital and Trust in Democratic Institutions," published in Sozialer und politischer Wandel in Deutschland, Analysen mit ALLBUS-Daten aus zwei Jahrzehnten, edited by Schmitt-Beck, Rüdiger, Wasmer, Martina, and Koch, Achim. Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Wiesbaden 2004: 235-260 (with Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck, in German).

"One Electorate? Social Policy Views and Voters' Choice in the Unified Germany since 1990," in *Germany on the Road to 'Normalcy'. Policies and Politics of the Red-Green Federal Government (1998-2002)*, edited by Werner Reutter, Palgrave, 2004: 21-46 (with Michael Wolf).

"Learning Democracy: Do Democratic Values Adjust to New Institutions?" in *Political Culture in Central and Eastern Europe – Theoretical Approaches and Empirical Evidence*, edited by Detlef Pollack, Jörg Jacobs, Olaf Müller, Gert Pickel. Aldershot: Ashgate (2002): 49-62. A different version was published as "Institutionalists versus Culturalists: Theory and Evidence from the Unified Germany". Berliner Debatte Initial 11 (May/June 2000): 47-64 (in German)

"Political Action and the Political Context: A Multi-level Model of Environmental Activism," in Dieter Fuchs et al., editors, *Citizen and Democracy in East and West: Studies in Political Culture and Political Process*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 2001: (with Russell Dalton).

"The Influence of Political Values on Institutional Trust and Electoral Behavior," in Hans-Dieter Klingemann and Max Kaase, eds. *Die Bundestagswahl 1998*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag (2001): 245-282, (with Dieter Fuchs; in German).

"Visions of Democracy," in Peter Merkl, ed., *Germany at Fifty*. London: MacMillan Press (1999): 72-83.

"The Greening of Europe," in Roger Jowell, John Curtice, Alison Park, Lindsay Brook, Katarina Thomson, Caroline Bryson, editors, *British—and European—Social Attitudes. The 15<sup>th</sup> Report*. Aldershot: Ashgate (1998): 101-123 (with Russell Dalton).

"Electoral Change and Dealignment," in Hans-Dieter Klingemann and Max Kaase, ed. *Bundestagswahl 1987*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1990, with Russell Dalton (in German): 297-324.



### **Book Reviews**

“Review Symposium. *When Ways of Life Collide. Multiculturalism and Its Discontents in the Netherlands*. By Paul M. Sniderman and Louk Hagendoorn. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.” Perspectives on Politics 2008 (6,4): 802-803

*The Outsider*. Paul Sniderman. Journal of Politics, 65, 4 (November): 1281-1282.

*The New Politics of the Right*. Hans-Georg Betz and Stefan Immerfall. Journal of Politics 62,2 (May 2000): 619-620.

*Between Protest and Power: The Green Party in Germany*, by E.Gene Frankland and Donald Schoonmaker. Environment 35, 9 (1993): 25.

*Neue Politik in Alten Parteien* by Hermann Schmitt, Newsletter of the Conference Group on German Politics, March 1988.

### **Research in Progress**

In preparation: Co-editor, *The 2014 European Parliamentary Election*, in preparation for a special issues in Electoral Studies (with Hermann Schmitt).

In preparation: Co-editor, special issue, *Germany's federal election in September 2013*, in preparation for a special issue in German Politics (with Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck).

“The Impact of the Economic Depression on Political Representation in Europe” (with Stephen Whitefield). The project investigates whether parties nowadays represent various social groups as well as they did at the beginning of the economic crisis. To this end, we recently completed a new data set that contains the stances of over 200 political parties in 2008 and 2013.

“Elections in Times of Crisis.” Together with Hermann Schmitt (University of Manchester), I am currently organizing a workshop on the 2014 European parliamentary election to be held at KU in April 2015. Revisions of the papers will be reviewed by Electoral Studies for a special symposium.

“Political Representation in Germany.” The project traces the ability of German parties to represent voters in the former East and West effectively. Together with a collaborator in Germany, we currently organized a special issue on the German elections.

### **Conferences Organized**

“The European Parliament Election 2014 in Times of Economic Duress,” April 20, 2015 (with Hermann Schmitt).

“The 2009 Federal Election in Germany,” April 26, 2010, Lawrence, Kansas University.

“Representation, Immigration, and the 2009 Election to the European Parliament,” April 1, 2008, Bloomington, Indiana University.

“Public Opinion and the European Union in post-communist democracies, April 1-2, 2004, Bloomington, Indiana University, (with Stephen Whitefield).

### ***Administrative and Service Activities***

At Kansas University:

- Search committee (2009-2011, chair 2010-2011; 2014-2015).
- Advisory committee (2009-2010; 2014-2015).
- Council of Distinguished Professors, 2009-present.
- Steering Committee of Distinguished Professors, 2011-2014.

At Indiana University:

- Chair, Comparative Politics group, Department of Political Science, Indiana University, 1996-2002; 2007-2008.
- Organizer, Comparative Politics speaker series, 2001-2007; 2009-present.
- Acting Director, West European Studies, Indiana University, spring and summer 2004.
- Search Committees (multiple years; chaired two searches); International Exchange Committee; award committee (West European Studies); Personal Committee (multiple years); graduate admissions committee (multiple years).
- Reviewer for professional journals, University Presses, and the NSF.

Editorial Board, The Journal of Politics, 2009-2013.

Editorial Board, Electoral Studies, 2002-present.

Editorial Board, Political Behavior, 2004-present.

Chair, Best Paper presented at the 2014 meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Fall 2014.

Member, Emerging Young Scholar award committee, APSA-section Public Opinion, Parties, and Elections, spring 2011.

Chair, APSA-CP Best Article published in Comparative Politics in 2005-2006 award committee. Spring 2007.

Member, award committee, best graduate student paper, Midwest Political Science Association, 2001.

Member, award committee, best paper in quantitative methods, Midwest Political Science Association, 1998.

External reader for a doctoral thesis, Australian National University

Research Assistant, Florida State University: "Environmental Movements in Western Democracies" project, Department of Political Science at Florida State University; Principal Investigator: Russell J. Dalton, 1985-1987; "A Joint American/West German Research Seminar on New Social Movements", Florida State University, Spring 1987; "Compilation of a Research Directory Project", German Conference Group, Fall 1987.

Teaching Assistant, Department of Political Science at Florida State University, 1984-1985, Summer 1987, 1988-1989.

### ***Invited Presentations***

- "Not Just About Winners and Losers: How Parties Evaluate the Performance of Democracies," presented at the Center for New Institutional Social Sciences, Washington University, September 26, 2014.
- "Polarization over Integration? The Stances of Political Parties on European Integration, 2008-2013." Hans-Dieter Klingemann lecture, Leuphana University Lueneburg, June 10, 2014.
- "The Dog that Hardly Barked: The Stances of Political Parties about European Integration in Western Europe", 2008-2013, presented at the conference "Elections in Europe in Times of Crisis", European University Institute, Robert Schuman Centre For Advanced Studies, November 28-29, 2013
- "German Social Democracy and European Integration during the Economic Crisis: Opportunity or Quandary?" Presented at a roundtable at the Center for European Studies, Harvard University, September 19, 2013.
- "The Nature and Origins of Party Stances on the Performance Democracies in Europe," Nuffield College, Oxford University, November 13, 2012.
- "Political Representation and Institutions in Europe," presented at the Center for Democracy, UC Irvine, March 23, 2012.
- Discussant, European Science Foundation conference "Understanding European Diversity." Berlin, September 8-10, 2011.
- Discussant, conference "The 2009 German Election," University of Mannheim, Mannheim, September 2010.
- "Understanding the 2009 Election Outcome," presented at the Baker Institute, Rice University, October 30, 2009.
- "Do Political Parties represent Voters in Europe?" Presented at the department of political science at the University of Houston, October 29, 2009.
- "Voters, Parties, and Policies," Nuffield College, Oxford University, May 26, 2009.
- "Political Representation in Europe," presented at the University of Amsterdam, April 9, 2009.
- "Ideology and Representation in Europe, presented at the University of Twente, February 4, 2009.
- "Political Representation in Europe" presented in the department of political science at the University of Leiden, November 12, 2008.
- "Dynamic Representation: The Stances of Political Parties towards European Integration, 2003-2007, presented at the Connex workshop on Representation, European University Institute, Florence, April 22-23, 2008.

- “Second-Order Elections versus First-Order Thinking: How Voters Perceive the Representation Process in a Multi-Layered System of Governance,” presented at the European Election Studies meeting, Cadenabbia, March 2007.
- “The Democracy Deficit and the Enlarged European Union,” presented at the Department of Political Science, Oxford University, May 16, 2006.
- “Is there a Democracy Deficit in the enlarged European Union?” paper presented at the European Election Studies meeting, Lisbon, May 11-13, 2006
- “Responsible Party government? Party stances about integration in East-Central Europe.” Department of Political Science, Central European University, May 20, 2005.
- “Explaining Party Stances on Political and Economic integration in Post-Communist Eastern Europe.” Oxford University, January 28, 2005.
- “Party Stances about European Integration in East-Central Europe.” Institute of Social Psychology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, November 3, 2004.
- “Cross-Validating Results from Two Expert Surveys,” presented at a conference at the University of Amsterdam, October 15-17, 2004 (with Liesbet Hooghe, Gary Marks, Stephen Whitefield).
- “It used to be the Economy: Issues and Party Support in the 2002 Federal Election” presented at a conference, entitled *Judgment Day and Beyond: the 2002 Federal Election*, department of political science; University of California, Irvine January 2003.
- “One Electorate? The Sources of Voters’ Choice in the Unified Germany Since 1990” presented at a conference, entitled *The 2002 Federal Elections*, department of Political Science, University of Minnesota, September 27-29, 2002.
- “Support for Foreign Ownership in Eastern Europe: Economic Interests, Ideological Commitments and International Context,” *Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin*, June 2002.
- “Trust in Institutions”, written for presentation at the conference “German Unification: A Decade Hence”, Texas AM University, February 10-12, 2002 (with Ruediger Schmitt-Beck). The paper was also presented at the University of Zuerich, May 2002.
- “Fair Institutions: The Democratic Deficit and Mass Support for a Europe-wide Government,” presented at Nuffield, Oxford University, February 16, 2001.
- “Institutionalists versus Culturalists: Theory and Evidence from Germany” paper presented at the conference “Political Culture”, Frankfurt/Oder, Germany, May 26-28, 2000.
- “Transition Democracies: The East/West German Model,” presented at the conference “Re-thinking democracy in the New Millenium.” University of Houston, Houston, Texas, February 17-20, 2000; also presented at the department of political science, University of Kentucky, Lexington, March 6, 2000.
- Symposium “Subcultural Homogeneity, Political Tolerance, and Democratization.” Washington University, St. Louis, September 27-29, 1999.
- “The Greening of the Globe” presented at the Mannheim Centre for European Social Research, Mannheim, Germany, March 1999.
- “Learning Democracy,” presentation at the department of social sciences, University of Mannheim, Germany, January 1999.
- “The Two Electorates: Determinants of Electoral Choice in eastern and western Germany,” presentation at a conference about Germany's 1998 federal election. University of California, San Diego, May 1998.
- “The Persistence of Socialist Economic Beliefs,” presentation at a conference about political values in

Germany and the US. Georgetown University, Washington D.C., October 1996.

- "Can one Learn Democracy by Watching it?" presentation at Cornell University, Ithaca, September 1994.
- "Democracy and Political Elites in Germany: Report from a Study in Progress," presentation at the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin, Germany, January 1992.

#### **Conference Papers and Reports**

- "The 2014 European Parliamentary Election. Why the mainstream parties ignored the rise of Euro-skepticism," presented at the annual conference of the World Association of Public Opinion Research (WAPOR), Nice France, September 4-6, 2014.
- "Polarization over European Integration? Comparing the Stances of Political Parties on European Integration in Western and Eastern Europe, 2008-2013," presented at the 8<sup>th</sup> ECPR General conference, Glasgow, September 3-6, 2014.
- "The Impact of the Financial and Euro Crisis on Party Stances on the Economy in Europe," presented at the American Political Science Association meeting, Washington D.C., August 28-31, 2014.
- "Party Stances on European Integration, 2008-2013," presented at the Midwest Political Science Association meeting, Chicago, April 3-6, 2014.
- "The Nature and Origins of Party Stances on the Performance of Democracies in Europe," presented at the Midwest Political Science Association meeting, Chicago, April 10-14, 2013.
- "How Parties Evaluate the Performance of Democracies in Europe: Electoral Potential and Democratic Legacy," presented at the annual meeting of the Dutch-Flemish political science association, May 30-31, 2013.
- "The Influence of Mass Party Organizations and Leadership Popularity on Parties' Electoral Success in Europe," presented at the annual meeting of the European Consortium for Political Research in Mainz, Germany, March 11-16, 2013.
- "Institutional Context and Representational Strain in Party-Voter Agreement in Western and Eastern Europe," intended to present the paper at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, New Orleans, September 2012 (APSA meeting was cancelled).
- "Institutional Context and Representational Strain in Party-Voter Agreement in Western and Eastern Europe," prepared for presentation at the annual meeting of the European Consortium for Political Research in Antwerp, April 10-15, 2012 (with Stephen Whitefield).
- "The Influence of Mass Party Organizations on Party-Voter Agreement in Europe," presented at the annual meeting of the European Consortium for Political Research, St. Gallen, Switzerland, April 13-17, 2011 (with Stephen Whitefield).
- "Representation in Europe: How well do Parties Represent Unaligned Voters?," presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 2010 (with Stephen Whitefield).
- "The Democracy Deficit and the Enlarged European Union," presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2007.
- "The Nature and Sources of Party Divisions in 13 Post-Communist Democracies," presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2006.

- “Responsible Party Government? Party Stances on European Integration in Post-Communist Eastern Europe,” presented at the annual meeting of the APSA in Washington, DC, August 31 through September 4, 2005.
- “Explaining Party Stances on Political and Economic integration in Post-Communist Eastern Europe,” presented at the Elections, Parties, and Public Opinion conference, University of Oxford 10-12 September 2004.
- “Political Representation in Western Europe,” presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, August 28 to September 1, 2002.
- “Support for Foreign Ownership in Eastern Europe: Economic Interests, Ideological Commitments and International Context,” presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2002.
- “Ideological Values, Democratic Performance, and Economic Conditions: The Sources of Regime Support and Party Preferences in Germany,” presented at the 1<sup>st</sup> ECPR General Conference, University of Kent at Canterbury, September 6-8, 2001.
- “Explaining Citizens’ Views about Civil Liberties across the Globe: The Micro and Macro-level Sources of Political Intolerance,” presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 29 to September 2, 2001.
- “Public Opinion About Political Representation in West European Democracies,” presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2001.
- “What Factors Shape the Activities of Environmental Groups? Testing Alternative Models with Evidence from a Global Environmental Organizations Survey” paper prepared for presentation at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington D.C., September 2000 (with Lori Poloni-Staudinger, Russell Dalton, and Steve Reccia).
- “Global Environmentalism and the Modes of Political Action,” presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2000 (with Russell Dalton and Steve Reccia).
- “Economic versus Political Perceptions: The Origins of Public Support for a Europe-wide Parliamentary System,” presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2000.
- “Do Ecological Groups Cooperate Globally?” paper to be presented at the workshop of the European Consortium for Political Research, Mannheim, March 1999 (with Russell Dalton).
- “How do West European Parties Target Voters in Election Campaigns?” presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, September 1998.
- “Can Democracies Convert Anti-Democrats? Theory and Evidence from a Three Year Panel Study of Eastern German Parliamentarians,” presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 1998.
- “The Greening of the Globe: The Sources of Environmental Attitudes on Five Continents,” presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 1997 (with Russell Dalton).
- “Regime Change and Elites’ Democratic Values in Germany,” presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 29 to September 1, 1996.
- “Ideology, Performance, and Democratic Stability,” paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 1996.
- (with Dieter Fuchs) “The Electoral Process in the United Germany,” presented at the annual meeting of

the American Political Science Association, Chicago, September 1995.

- "Pluralism, Conflict, and Legislative Elites in the United Germany," presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, September 1994.
- "Democracy and Elites' Economic Values in the United Germany," presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 1994.
- "Regime Exposure and Elites' Values: How can Berlin's Parliamentarians ever get along?" Presented at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Honolulu, November 1993.
- "Notes from the Laboratory: The Influence of Institutions on Elite Values in Germany," invited presentation at the University of California at Irvine, November 1993.
- "Political Elites and Civil Liberties in the United Germany," presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 1993.
- "Notes from the 'Laboratory': Elites' Political Values in the United Germany," presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 1993.
- "Iron Law of Oligarchy or Soft Law of Democracy? Robert Michels and National Party Delegates in Eleven West European Democracies," presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, September 1992.
- "New Party versus Old Left Realignments: Environmental Attitudes, Party Policies, and Partisan Affiliations in Four West European Countries," presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 1991.
- "New Politics in Old Parties: Environmental Issues in Four West European Party Systems," presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, September 1990.
- "The Cognitive Foundation of Environmentalism in Western Europe," presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 1990.
- "Environmentalism and Political Conflicts in Western Europe," presented at the annual meeting of the Council of European Studies Association, Washington D.C., March 1990.
- "Public Opinion Toward New Social Movements: An Empirical Test of Competing Explanations," presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, September, 1989.
- "Realignment and New Social Movements," presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 1989.
- "Structures, Attitudes, and the Environment: A Comparison of Four European Nations," presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, November, 1988.
- "One Movement or Two: Environmentalism in Western Europe," presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association in Chicago, September 1987.
- "The Origin of Popular Environmental Attitudes," presented at the regional meeting of the International Studies Association in Tuscaloosa, 23-25 October, 1987.
- "Environmental Action in Western Europe: A Preliminary Report of Findings" (co-author). Tallahassee: Report of the Environmental Movements in Western Democracies Project, 1986.

### ***Other Conference Activities***

- Chair and discussant, "European Integration," annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science

Association, Chicago, April 2010.

- Chair and discussant, "Ethnic Identity, Ethnic Conflict, and the Quest for Democracy," annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2001.
- Chair of the panel "Disproportionality in Electoral Systems and Discontinuity in Electoral Outcomes," annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 1997.
- Chair and co-organizer of the panel "After the Iron Curtain: Party Systems and the Electoral Process in Advanced Industrialized Democracies," annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, September 1995.
- Chair of the panel "Political Parties and Political Careers," annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, September 1994.
- Discussant, "The Politics of Identity and Diversity," annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago 1994.
- Discussant, "Best Laid Plans? Public Attitudes Towards Integration in Europe and North America," annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago 1993.
- Organizer and Chair of the panel "Responding to New Challenges? Established Parties and Contemporary Issues in Industrialized Democracies," annual meeting of the APSA, San Francisco , September 1990.
- Discussant, "Dynamic Studies of Voting Change," annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago 1990.