‘In the eye of the beholder’. Citizens’ perceptions of the German party system 1997-2005

Kai Arzheimer (Essex)

ASGP Annual Conference, 29 May 2007
‘In the eye of the beholder’

Kai Arzheimer
(Essex)

Outline

1 Intro & Research Problem

2 Data & Method

3 Findings

4 Summary & Discussion

http://www.politik.uni-mainz.de/kai.arzheimer/partyspace.pdf
A changing party system?

- **1980s**: Polarised ‘Two-bloc’ party system (Rudzio 2006)
- **1990s**:  
  - Not much change in the West  
  - Regional 3-party-system in the East
- The setting in the mid-1990s:  
  - (Cautious) welfare-state retrenchment by CDU/CSU/FDP government  
  - Lafontaine endorses left-populist course  
  - Pragmatists struggle to control green party
A changing party system?

- **1980s**: Polarised ‘Two-bloc’ party system (Rudzio 2006)
- **1990s**: 
  - Not much change in the West
  - Regional 3-party-system in the East
- **The setting in the mid-1990s**: 
  - (Cautious) welfare-state retrenchment by CDU/CSU/FDP government
  - Lafontaine endorses left-populist course
  - Pragmatists struggle to control green party
- **But in 1997/98...** 
  - SPD invents/copies ‘Neue Mitte’
  - Majority within the Green Party willing to form coalition
  - PDS very seriously considers coalitions at Land level
Key events 1997-1999

1997m1

- Kohl candidate for 98 election

1998m1

- Schröder nominated/Green Party Conference
- BTW 1998
- SPD-PDS coalition in MVP
- Some reform measures repealed

1999m1

- CDU campaign against citizenship law launched
- CDU wins Hessen election
- Lafontaine resigns/Germany involved in Kosovo bombings
- Threshold for contributions lowered
- Green conflict over Kosovo
- German soldiers in Kosovo
- SPD: Electoral losses (Land, municipalities)

2000m1

- CDU funding scandal emerges
Key events 2000-2002

- Schäuble involved in scandal
- Schäuble resigns/CDU fined
- Green Card initiative
- Gysi/Bisky step down; Merkel CDU leader
- (Much) lower tax rates from Jan. 2001
- Fuel price crisis begins
- Leitkultur debate
- More than 4 mil. unemployed; SPD/CDU clash
- 300,000 DM deal between Kohl and persecutor
- Westerwelle FDP leader; government; private pension schemes
- PDS helps to establish Red/Green minority government in Berlin
- Schill Party in Hamburg: 19 per cent
- SPD/PDS coalition in Berlin
- Troops deployed to Afghanistan, vote of confidence
- New security laws apply
- Stolper nominated
- All nuclear powerplants to be shut down by 2021
- FDP controversy
- Conflict over Iraq, Floodings
- BTW2002/Möllermaenn fall from grace
- Schröder re-elected, defends austerity course
- Co-operation with CDU/FDP on labour market reforms begins
Key events 2003-2005

- New SPD losses at Land level
- Agenda 2010 launched
- Mass demonstrations against Agenda
- SPD conference endorses Agenda
- Schröder: 2006 election with Fischer; CSU triumph
- Extra charges for medical treatment introduced
- Schröder steps down as SPD leader
- Köhler elected Federal President
- 4.4 million unemployed
- Hartz IV law in force; WASG founded
- More than 5 million unemployed
- Grand Coalition in S-H
- SPD loses NRW, Schröder calls for early elections
- Co-operation between PDS and WASG begins
- BTW 2005
- Common CDU/CSU/FDP platform showcased
- Merkel elected

2003m1 2004m1 2005m1 2006m1
Summary

- **Bourgeois bloc**
  - FDP played with populism and equidistance
  - CDU too busy for debate on program
  - By and large kept/radicalised traditional position

- **PDS**
  - Moved towards Left Bloc in many ways
  - But: merger with WASG, campaigns against ‘neoliberal’ reform policies

- **Left Bloc**
  - Went boldly where Kohl government did not dare tread (armed forces, “The most significant reform of the German welfare state in recent decades” (Kemmerling und Bruttel 2006: 108))
  - Unprecedented move of SPD/Greens to the centre?
Summary

► Bourgeois bloc
  ► FDP played with populism and equidistance
  ► CDU too busy for debate on program
  ► By and large kept/radicalised traditional position

► PDS
  ► Moved towards Left Bloc in many ways
  ► But: merger with WASG, campaigns against ‘neoliberal’ reform policies

► Left Bloc
  ► Went boldly where Kohl government did not dare tread (armed forces, „The most significant reform of the German welfare state in recent decades“ (Kemmerling und Bruttel 2006: 108))
  ► Unprecedented move of SPD/Greens to the centre?
  ► Yet kept left on highly symbolic issues
Summary

- Bourgeois bloc
  - FDP played with populism and equidistance
  - CDU too busy for debate on program
  - By and large kept/radicalised traditional position
- PDS
  - Moved towards Left Bloc in many ways
  - But: merger with WASG, campaigns against ‘neoliberal’ reform policies
- Left Bloc
  - Went boldly where Kohl government did not dare tread (armed forces, „The most significant reform of the German welfare state in recent decades“ (Kemmerling und Bruttel 2006: 108))
  - Unprecedented move of SPD/Greens to the centre?
  - Yet kept left on highly symbolic issues
    - Citizenship
    - Immigration/Right-wing extremism
    - Homosexual marriage
Impact on the public’s views?

- SPD/Greens moved a good deal but . . .
Impact on the public’s views?

- SPD/Greens moved a good deal but . . .
- Parties (try to) manipulate their public images ('Soziale Gerechtigkeit')
- Party images notoriously sticky
- ‘Hard’ policy changes could be off-set by symbolic/soft policy continuity
‘Have the political changes and events affected the public’s perceptions on the German Party system between 1997 and 2005?’
Research Question

‘Have the political changes and events affected the public’s perceptions on the German Party system between 1997 and 2005?’

- Configuration & Distances (Bloc/Camps)?
- East-West differences?
Why does it matter?

- Legitimacy
Why does it matter?

- Legitimacy
- Electoral behaviour & outcomes
  - Tactical reasons
  - Parties ‘waltzing before a blind audience’ / able to get away with everything?
  - New parties/competition
1. Low number of dimensions (i.e. 2)
   ▶ Pappi (1990)
   ▶ Warwick (2002)
2. Two bloc structure intact (especially during campaigns)
3. But at least some evidence for convergence
4. PDS closer to Left Bloc in the East
5. (Cognitively mobilised segment of population should have clearer view of what’s going on)
An ideal world . . .

- Direct comparisons between parties
  - Let respondents compare $\frac{6 \times 5}{2} = 15$ pairs of parties and record distances
  - (Let respondents rate each party on a number of well specified scales)
  - (Possibly provide well-defined anchor-points)

- Reconstruct cognitive map of party system from distances by scaling methods

- Incorporate ratings and anchor points to ease interpretation
Reality:

- Thermometer-type (1-11) ratings for six relevant parties available (monthly Politbarometer series, n=188 357)
halte sehr viel von dieser Partei

halte überhaupt nichts von dieser Partei
Reality:

- Thermometer-type (1-11) ratings for six relevant parties available (monthly Politbarometer series, n=188 357)
  - We do not know which features/dimensions citizens employ
  - But correlations between ratings are informative
    - If parties x and y are very similar: highly positively correlated ratings
    - If parties x and y are not very similar: low correlations approaching zero
    - If parties x and y are very dissimilar: highly negatively correlated ratings

- Interpret correlations as measures for perceived distances
- Apply MDS (classical metric scaling) to reconstruct cognitive map of party system
Six parties could differ on up to five dimensions → 15 unique distances could be embedded into five-dimensional space

Two dimensional ‘space’ much more likely (and manageable)

MDS:
1. Finds two-dimensional graph of party system
2. So that distances between parties match perceived distances
3. As closely as possible

(Aggregate data over quarters)
Problems

- No absolute point of reference, i.e. all parties could move to the right
  - Focus on configuration and distances
  - Infinite number of solutions fit equally well
    - Establish convention to make configurations for different time-points comparable
    - Shift so that SPD is at [0,0]
    - Rotate so that CDU is on the x-axis and to the right of SPD
    - If necessary, reflect at x-axis so that PDS is ‘below’ SPD and CDU
The German Partystem 1997, Q1

West

SPD
CDU
CSU
FDP
Gruene
LC
PDS
The German Partystem 1997, Q1

- West: two blocs, PDS clearly separate
- East:
  - More dispersion
  - PDS much closer to other left

West

East

SPD
CDU
CSU
FDP
Gruene
PDS
LC
BC
The German Partystem 1997, Q1

West: two blocs, PDS clearly separate

East:
- More dispersion
- PDS much closer to other left

How does this square with experts’ views (Benoit/Laver 2006)?
Experts’ views 2003

- SPD
- CDU/CSU
- FDP
- Grüne
- PDS
Experts’ views 2003

- adj. r² = 0.99
- adj. r² = 0.73
Experts’ views 2003

- SPD the Median party on general, economic and social policy left/right axes
Why the differences?

- Data collected ≈ 2003 → six years later
- CDU/CSU & East/West combined
- Experts less susceptible to media effects and partisan cues (?)
- Explicitly based on eight dimensions (Taxes vs. Spending, Social, Environment, Decentralisation, EU-Peacekeeping, -Accountability and -Authority, Immigration)...
- ... not necessarily relevant for citizens (or experts!)
The German Partystem 1997, Q1

Embedding of experts’ global left-right assessment fits well

West

East
The German Partysystem 1997, Q1

West
- Embedding of experts’ global left-right assessment fits well
- Other criteria/features relevant than just policy
  - Emotions/identities
  - Performance

East

adj. r² = 0.96

adj. r² = 0.88
West
- Embedding of experts’ global left-right assessment fits well
- Other criteria/features relevant than just policy
  - Emotions/identities
  - Performance
- East-West differences
Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 1998Q2, 1999Q3; left parties move quite a bit.

From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD.

FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU.

CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003.

Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split.
Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 1998Q2, 1999Q3; left parties move quite a bit.

From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD.

FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU.

CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003.

Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split.
Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 1998Q2, 1999Q3; left parties move quite a bit

From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD

FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU

CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003

Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split
Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 1998Q2, 1999Q3; left parties move quite a bit.

From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD.

FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU.

CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003.

Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split.
Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 1998Q2, 1999Q3; left parties move quite a lot.

From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD.

FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU.

CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003.

Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split.
Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 98Q2, 99Q3; left parties move quite a bit

From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD

FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU

CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003

Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split
West Germany 97-05

Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 1998Q2, 1999Q3; left parties move quite a bit.

From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD.

FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU.

CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003.

Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split.
Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 1998Q2, 1999Q3; left parties move quite a bit

From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD

FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU

CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003

Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split
Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 1998Q2, 1999Q3; left parties move quite a bit.

From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD.

FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU.

CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003.

Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split.
West Germany 97-05

- Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 1998Q2, 1999Q3
- Left parties move quite a bit
- From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD
- FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU
- CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003
- Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split
Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 1998Q2, 1999Q3; left parties move quite a bit.

From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD.

FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU.

CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003.

Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split.
Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 1998Q2, 1999Q3; left parties move quite a bit

From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD

FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU

CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003

Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split
Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 98Q2, 99Q3; left parties move quite a bit.

From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD.

FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU.

CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003.

Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split.
Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 98Q2, 99Q3; left parties move quite a bit

From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD

FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU

CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003

Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split
Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 98Q2, 99Q3; left parties move quite a bit. From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD. FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU. CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003. Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split.
Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 98Q2, 99Q3; left parties move quite a bit.

From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD.

FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU.

CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003.

Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split.
Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 98Q2, 99Q3; left parties move quite a bit.

From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD.

FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU.

CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003.

Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split.
Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 98Q2, 99Q3; left parties move quite a bit

From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD

FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU

CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003

Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split
West Germany 97-05

Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 98Q2, 99Q3; left parties move quite a bit.

From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD.

FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU.

CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003.

Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split.
Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 1998Q2, 1999Q3; left parties move quite a bit.

From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD.

FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU.

CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003.

Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split.
Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 98Q2, 99Q3; left parties move quite a bit.

From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD.

FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU.

CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003.

Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split.
Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 98Q2, 99Q3; left parties move quite a bit

From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD

FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU

CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003

Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split
From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD.
From 2002Q4 on, FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU.
CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003.
Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split.
Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 1998Q2, 1999Q3; left parties move quite a bit.

From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD.

FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU-CSU.

CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003.

Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split.
Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 98Q2, 99Q3; left parties move quite a bit.

From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD.

FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU.

CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003.

Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split.
West Germany 97-05

- Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 98Q2, 99Q3; left parties move quite a bit
- From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD
- FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU
- CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003
- Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split
Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 98Q2, 99Q3; left parties move quite a bit.

From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD.

FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU.

CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003.

Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split.
Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 98Q2, 99Q3; left parties move quite a bit. From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD. FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU. CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003. Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split.
Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 98Q2, 99Q3; left parties move quite a bit.

From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD.

FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU.

CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003.

Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split.
Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 98Q2, 99Q3; left parties move quite a bit. From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD. FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU. CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003. Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split.
Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 1998Q2, 1999Q3; left parties move quite a bit.

From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD.

FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU.

CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003.

Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split.
Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 98Q2, 99Q3; left parties move quite a bit

From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD

FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU

CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003

Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split
Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 98Q2, 99Q3; left parties move quite a bit.

From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD.

FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU.

CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003.

Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split.
West Germany 97-05

- Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 98Q2, 99Q3; left parties move quite a bit
- From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD
- FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU
- CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003
- Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split
Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 98Q2, 99Q3; left parties move quite a bit. From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD. FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU. CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003. Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split.
Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 98Q2, 99Q3; left parties move quite a bit

From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD

FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU

CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003

Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split
Greens rather far apart from SPD and surprisingly close to PDS in 98Q2, 99Q3; left parties move quite a bit

From 2002Q4 on, almost identical positions for Greens and SPD

FDP not equidistant, yet often closer to SPD than CDU/CSU

CDU moves toward SPD from mid-/late 2003

Even in 2005Q4 SPD and Greens surprisingly close, bourgeois camp definitively split
East Germany 97-05

East Germany 97-05

Findings

- SPD and Greens very close from 1999, structure now clearly resembles Western setup
- CDU moves closer to SPD from mid-/late 2003
- Polarising effect of 2002 and 2005 elections
- Bourgeois camp somewhat split in late 2005
East Germany 97-05

- SPD
- CDU
- CSU
- FDP
- PDS
- Gruene
- LC
- BC

Findings:
- PDS was closer to SPD than Greens before 1999; left parties move a lot.
- SPD and Greens very close from 1999, structure now clearly resembles Western set-up.
- CDU moves closer to SPD from mid-/late 2003.
- Polarising effect of 2002 and 2005 elections.
- Bourgeois camp somewhat split in late 2005.
Findings

Polarising effect of 2002 and 2005 elections

Bourgeois camp somewhat split in late 2005

- SPD and Greens very close from 1999, structure now clearly resembles Western setup

- CDU moves closer to SPD from mid-/late 2003

- East Germany 97-05

CDU
FDP
BC
CSU

SPD
LC
Gruene
PDS
In the eye of the beholder

Kai Arzheimer
(Essex)

Intro & Research
Problem

Data & Method

Findings

Summary & Discussion

East Germany 97-05

- SPD
- CDU
- CSU
- FDP
- Gruene
- LC
- PDS
- BC

-8.8
-8
-7.2
-6.4
-5.6
-4.8
-4
-3.2
-2.4
-1.6
-0.8
-0.2
0
0.2
0.4
0.6
0.8
1.6
2

1998Q1

PDS closer to SPD than Greens before 1999; left parties move a lot

SPD and Greens very close from 1999, structure now clearly resembles Western set-up

CDU moves closer to SPD from mid-/late 2003

Polarising effect of 2002 and 2005 elections

Bourgeois camp somewhat split in late 2005
East Germany 97-05

- SPD
- CDU
- CSU
- Gruene
- PDS
- BC
- FDP
- LC

-1.8
-1.6
-1.4
-1.2
-1.0
-0.8
-0.6
-0.4
-0.2
0
0.2
0.4
0.6
0.8

1998Q2

-1
-0.5
0
0.5
1

CDU moves closer to SPD from mid-/late 2003

Polarising effect of 2002 and 2005 elections

Bourgeois camp somewhat split in late 2005

SPD and Greens very close from 1999, structure now clearly resembles Western setup

Closer to SPD than Greens before 1999; left parties move a lot
East Germany 97-05

- SPD
- CSU
- FDP
- PDS
- LC
- Gruene

Findings

- SPD and Greens very close from 1999, structure now clearly resembles Western set-up
- CDU moves closer to SPD from mid-/late 2003
- Polarising effect of 2002 and 2005 elections
- Bourgeois camp somewhat split in late 2005
East Germany 97-05

- SPD
- CSU
- FDP
- PDS
- Gruene
- LC
- CDU
- BC

1998Q4

-0.2  0    0.2
-0.4  0    0.4
-0.6  0    0.6
-0.8  0    0.8

SPD and Greens very close from 1999, structure now clearly resembles Western setup

Polarising effect of 2002 and 2005 elections

Bourgeois camp somewhat split in late 2005
East Germany 97-05

- SPD
- CSU
- PDS
- Gruene
- FDP
- CDU
- LC

Findings:
- SPD and Greens very close from 1999, structure now clearly resembles Western setup.
- CDU moves closer to SPD from mid/late 2003 due to the polarising effect of 2002 and 2005 elections.
- Bourgeois camp somewhat split in late 2005.
East Germany 97-05

Findings

- PDS closer to SPD than Greens before 1999; left parties move a lot
- SPD and Greens very close from 1999, structure now clearly resembles Western set-up
- CDU moves closer to SPD from mid-/late 2003
- Polarising effect of 2002 and 2005 elections
- Bourgeois camp somewhat split in late 2005
East Germany 97-05

- SPD
- Gruene
- FDP
- BC
- CSU
- CDU
- PDS

Findings:
- PDS closer to SPD than Greens before 1999; left parties move a lot
- SPD and Greens very close from 1999, structure now clearly resembles Western set-up
- CDU moves closer to SPD from mid-/late 2003
- Polarising effect of 2002 and 2005 elections
- Bourgeois camp somewhat split in late 2005
East Germany 97-05

- SPD
- PDS
- FDP
- CSU
- Greens
- CDU
- Bündnis 90/Die Grünen

'In the eye of the beholder'
Kai Arzheimer
(Essex)

Intro & Research
Problem
Data & Method
Findings
Summary & Discussion

Findings:
- SPD and Greens very close from 1999, structure now clearly resembles Western setup
- CDU moves closer to SPD from mid-/late 2003
- Polarising effect of 2002 and 2005 elections
- Bourgeois camp somewhat split in late 2005
East Germany 97-05

Intro & Research

Problem

Data & Method

Findings

Summary & Discussion

Kai Arzheimer
(Essex)

‘In the eye of the beholder’

SPD

CDU

CSU

FDP

Gruene

PDS

LC

BC

-0.8

-0.6

-0.4

-0.2

0

0.2

0.4

0.6

0.8

2000Q2

-0.8 closer to SPD than Greens before 1999; left parties move a lot

SPD and Greens very close from 1999, structure now clearly resembles Western setup

CDU moves closer to SPD from mid-/late 2003

Polarising effect of 2002 and 2005 elections

Bourgeois camp somewhat split in late 2005
East Germany 97-05

- SPD
- Gruene
- PDS
- FDP
- CSU
- CDU
- SPD
- Greens

-2.0
-1.5
-1.0
-0.5
0.0
0.5
1.0
1.5
2.0
2000Q3

Comparison of parties in East Germany from 1997 to 2005.

- SPD and Greens very close from 1999, structure now clearly resembles Western setup.
- CDU moves closer to SPD from mid-/late 2003.
- Polarising effect of 2002 and 2005 elections.
- Bourgeois camp somewhat split in late 2005.
East Germany 97-05

- SPD
- Gruene
- PDS
- CDU
- FDP
- BC
- CSU

2000Q4

- PDS closer to SPD than Greens before 1999; left parties move a lot
- SPD and Greens very close from 1999, structure now clearly resembles Western set-up
- CDU moves closer to SPD from mid-/late 2003
- Polarising effect of 2002 and 2005 elections
- Bourgeois camp somewhat split in late 2005
East Germany 97-05

- SPD
- CDU
- CSU
- FDP
- Gruene
- PDS
- LD
- BC

-2.0 -1.8 -1.6 -1.4 -1.2 -1.0 -0.8 -0.6 -0.4 -0.2 0 0.2 0.4 0.6 0.8 1.0

2001Q1

Polarising effect of 2002 and 2005 elections

Bourgeois camp somewhat split in late 2005

SPD and Greens very close from 1999, structure now clearly resembles Western set-up

Left parties move a lot

Closer to SPD than Greens before 1999
PDS closer to SPD than Greens before 1999; left parties move a lot.

SPD and Greens very close from 1999, structure now clearly resembles Western set-up.

CDU moves closer to SPD from mid-/late 2003.


Bourgeois camp somewhat split in late 2005.
East Germany 97-05

- SPD
- CDU
- FDP
- Gruene
- LC
- BC
- CCSU
- PDS

Findings:
- SPD and Greens very close from 1999, structure now clearly resembles Western setup.
- CDU moves closer to SPD from mid-/late 2003.
- Polarising effect of 2002 and 2005 elections.
- Bourgeois camp somewhat split in late 2005.
East Germany 97-05

PDS

SRD

Gruene

CDU

FDP

BC

CSU

SPD

LC

2001Q4

-0.8

-0.6

-0.4

-0.2

0

0.2

0.4

0.6

0.8

-0.8

-0.6

-0.4

-0.2

0

0.2

0.4

0.6

0.8

-2

0

2

-2

0

2

-2

0

2

-2

0

2
"East Germany 97-05"

- SPD
- CSU
- FDP
- Gruene
- PDS
- BC
- CDU

Findings:
- PDS closer to SPD than Greens before 1999; left parties move a lot
- SPD and Greens very close from 1999, structure now clearly resembles Western setup
- CDU moves closer to SPD from mid-/late 2003
- Polarising effect of 2002 and 2005 elections
- Bourgeois camp somewhat split in late 2005
In the eye of the beholder

Kai Arzheimer (Essex)

Intro & Research

Problem

Data & Method

Findings

Summary & Discussion

East Germany 97-05

SPD

LC

Gruene

CDU

FDP

CSU

PDS

PDS closer to SPD than Greens before 1999; left parties move a lot

SPD and Greens very close from 1999, structure now clearly resembles Western set-up

CDU moves closer to SPD from mid-/late 2003

Polarising effect of 2002 and 2005 elections

Bourgeois camp somewhat split in late 2005
East Germany 97-05

- SPD
- CSU
- FDP
- Gruene
- PDS
- BC
- CDU

2002Q3

-4
-2
0
2
4
6
8
East Germany 97-05

- SPD
- CDU
- CSU
- FDP
- PDS
- Gruene
- BCCSU
- LDP

Findings:
- PDS closer to SPD than Greens before 1999;
- Left parties move a lot,
- SPD and Greens very close from 1999, structure now clearly resembles Western setup;
- CDU moves closer to SPD from mid-/late 2003;
- Polarising effect of 2002 and 2005 elections;
- Bourgeois camp somewhat split in late 2005.
East Germany 97-05

- SPD
- Grüne
- CDU
- CSU
- FDP
- PDS
- BC
- LC

Data & Method

Findings

- SPD and Greens very close from 1999, structure now clearly resembles Western setup
- CDU moves closer to SPD from mid-/late 2003
- Polarising effect of 2002 and 2005 elections
- Bourgeois camp somewhat split in late 2005

Summary & Discussion
East Germany 97-05

SPD, LC, Gruene

CDU, CSU, BC

FDP

PDS

-0.8  -0.6  -0.4  -0.2  0  0.2  0.4  0.6  0.8
2003Q2

SPD closer to SPD than Greens before 1999; left parties move a lot

SPD and Greens very close from 1999, structure now clearly resembles Western setup

CDU moves closer to SPD from mid-/late 2003

Polarising effect of 2002 and 2005 elections

Bourgeois camp somewhat split in late 2005
East Germany 97-05

Findings

- SPD and Greens very close from 1999, structure now clearly resembles Western setup
- CDU moves closer to SPD from mid-/late 2003
- Polarising effect of 2002 and 2005 elections
- Bourgeois camp somewhat split in late 2005
East Germany 97-05

- SPD
- CDU
- CSU
- FDP
- Gruene
- PDS
- LC

Findings:
- PDS closer to SPD than Greens before 1999; left parties move a lot
- SPD and Greens very close from 1999, structure now clearly resembles Western setup
- CDU moves closer to SPD from mid-/late 2003
- Polarising effect of 2002 and 2005 elections
- Bourgeois camp somewhat split in late 2005
East Germany 97-05

In the eye of the beholder

Kai Arzheimer
(Essex)

Intro & Research
Problem
Data & Method
Findings
Summary & Discussion

Election Results

- SPD
- CSU
- FDP
- Gruene
- LC
- BC
- PDS

2004Q1

Polarising effect of 2002 and 2005 elections

CDU moves closer to SPD from mid-/late 2003

Left parties move a lot

Structure now clearly resembles Western setup

PDS closer to SPD than Greens before 1999.
East Germany 97-05

- SPD
- LC
- Gruene
- CDU
- CSU
- FDP
- PDS

Polarising effect of 2002 and 2005 elections
Bourgeois camp somewhat split in late 2005

Intro & Research
Problem
Data & Method
Findings
Summary & Discussion
East Germany 97-05

Findings

- PDS closer to SPD than Greens before 1999;
- Left parties move a lot
- SPD and Greens very close from 1999, structure now clearly resembles Western setup
- CDU moves closer to SPD from mid-/late 2003
- Polarising effect of 2002 and 2005 elections
- Bourgeois camp somewhat split in late 2005
East Germany 97-05

- SPD
- CDU
- CSU
- FDP
- Gruene
- PDS
- LC

Findings:
- SPD and Greens very close from 1999, structure now clearly resembles Western set-up
- CDU moves closer to SPD from mid-/late 2003
- Polarising effect of 2002 and 2005 elections
- Bourgeois camp somewhat split in late 2005
East Germany 97-05

In the eye of the beholder

Kai Arzheimer (Essex)

Intro & Research

Problem

Data & Method

Findings

Summary & Discussion

East Germany 97-05

- East Germany 97-05

- SPD

- CDU

- CSU

- FDP

- Gruene

- PDS

- LC

- BC

- 2005Q1

- Structure now clearly resembles Western set-up

- Buergeois camp somewhat split in late 2005
East Germany 97-05

SPD
LC
Gruene

CDU
FDP
BC

PDS
CSU

-0.8 -0.6 -0.4 -0.2 0 0.2 0.4 0.6 0.8

2005Q2

SPD and Greens very close from 1999, structure now clearly resembles Western set-up

CDU moves closer to SPD from mid-/late 2003

Polarising effect of 2002 and 2005 elections

Bourgeois camp somewhat split in late 2005

East Germany 97-05

SPD
LC
Gruene

CDU
FDP
BC

PDS
CSU

-0.8 -0.6 -0.4 -0.2 0 0.2 0.4 0.6 0.8

2005Q2

SPD and Greens very close from 1999, structure now clearly resembles Western set-up

CDU moves closer to SPD from mid-/late 2003

Polarising effect of 2002 and 2005 elections

Bourgeois camp somewhat split in late 2005

East Germany 97-05

SPD
LC
Gruene

CDU
FDP
BC

PDS
CSU

-0.8 -0.6 -0.4 -0.2 0 0.2 0.4 0.6 0.8

2005Q2

SPD and Greens very close from 1999, structure now clearly resembles Western set-up

CDU moves closer to SPD from mid-/late 2003

Polarising effect of 2002 and 2005 elections

Bourgeois camp somewhat split in late 2005
East Germany 97-05

SPD
LC
Gruene

CDU
BC
CSU

PDS

2005Q3

Intro & Research
Problem
Data & Method
Findings
Summary & Discussion
East Germany 97-05

- SPD
- Gruene
- CSU
- FDP
- CDU
- PDS
- BC
- LC

Findings:
- PDS closer to SPD than Greens before 1999; left parties move a lot
- SPD and Greens very close from 1999, structure now clearly resembles Western set-up
- CDU moves closer to SPD from mid-/late 2003
- Polarising effect of 2002 and 2005 elections
- Bourgeois camp somewhat split in late 2005
PDS *closer* to SPD than Greens before 1999; left parties move a lot

SPD and Greens very close from 1999, structure now clearly resembles Western set-up

CDU moves closer to SPD from mid-/late 2003

Polarising effect of 2002 and 2005 elections

Bourgeois camp somewhat split in late 2005
Distance between SPD/CDU
Distance between SPD/PDS

- Data & Method
- Findings

Summary & Discussion
Variation within Right Camp

- BTW: Westerwelle leader
- Hartz IV

Radius RC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>West</th>
<th>East</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1996m1</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998m1</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000m1</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002m1</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004m1</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006m1</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Distance between PDS/Right Camp

PDS-RC

1996m1
1998m1
2000m1
2002m1
2004m1
2006m1

West
East

BTW
Confidence V.
Hartz IV
BTW
‘Plus ça change, plus c’est la même chose’?

- Major policy and coalition changes do affect citizens’ perceptions of the party system.
‘Plus ça change, plus c’est la même chose’?

- Major policy and coalition changes do affect citizens’ perceptions of the party system
  - Hartz-Cooperation reduced SPD-CDU distance to \( \approx 60 \) per cent of its maximum
  - PDS moved closer to SPD after MVP & Berlin coalitions
  - ‘Truce’ within Red/Green coalition from summer 2002 shaped citizens’ perceptions
  - Much more divergence in Right Camp in the 2005 election’s aftermath
‘Plus ça change, plus c’est la même chose’?

- Major policy and coalition changes do affect citizens’ perceptions of the party system
  - Hartz-Cooperation reduced SPD-CDU distance to ≈ 60 per cent of its maximum
  - PDS moved closer to SPD after MVP & Berlin coalitions
  - ‘Truce’ within Red/Green coalition from summer 2002 shaped citizens’ perceptions
  - Much more divergence in Right Camp in the 2005 election’s aftermath

- Once again: Voters no fools
‘Plus ça change, plus c’est la même chose’?

➤ But...
‘Plus ça change, plus c’est la même chose’?

▶ But...

- Parties (media?) still able to emphasise differences during campaigns
- Even during Hartz-Cooperation, SPD and CDU quite far apart
- ‘Two blocs + PDS’-structure as obvious in 2005 as in 1997
- Perception of PDS image in the East now closer to Western pattern
‘Plus ça change, plus c’est la même chose’?

- But...
  - Parties (media?) still able to emphasise differences during campaigns
  - Even during Hartz-Cooperation, SPD and CDU quite far apart
  - ‘Two blocs + PDS’-structure as obvious in 2005 as in 1997
  - Perception of PDS image in the East now closer to Western pattern
- Political turmoils of the last years had little lasting impact on citizens
1. Impact of Grand Coalition? → data
Where do we go from here?

1. Impact of Grand Coalition? → data
2. Subgroups and subnational → $n$
Where do we go from here?

1. Impact of Grand Coalition? → data
2. Subgroups and subnational → \( n \)
3. *What* makes parties similar/dissimilar → collect data
Where do we go from here?

1. Impact of Grand Coalition? → data
2. Subgroups and subnational → $n$
3. *What* makes parties similar/dissimilar → collect data
4. Combine with media data → data (?)
Where do we go from here?

1. Impact of Grand Coalition? → data
2. Subgroups and subnational → \( n \)
3. What makes parties similar/dissimilar → collect data
4. Combine with media data → data (?)

http://www.politik.uni-mainz.de/kai.arzheimer/partyspace.pdf
Bibliography I


How to convert Pearson correlations into distances \([0,1]\)?

\[ d = 1 - \left( \frac{r}{2} + \frac{1}{2} \right) \] (1)