



Department of Politics and Public Administration

Universitätsstraße 10
D-78457 Konstanz

www.polver.uni-konstanz.de

Declaration of Authorship

It is considered plagiarism if text or ideas from other works (books, journals, the Internet, etc.) are adopted or translated without proper citation in your scientific paper and thus falsely passed off as your own intellectual achievement.

I

something	something
-----------	-----------

hereby declare that the attached paper for the following class

something

on the following topic

something

is the result of my own, independent work. I have not used any aids or sources other than those I have referenced in the document. For contributions and quotations from the works of other people (whether distributed electronically or in hardcopy), I have identified each of them with a reference to the source or the secondary literature. Failure to do so constitutes plagiarism. I will also submit the term paper electronically to the lecturer.

Furthermore, I declare that the above mentioned work has not been otherwise submitted as a term paper.

Regarding the use of generative AI tools, I met the guidelines of the lecturer and clarified them in case of doubt.

I have used generative AI tools as an aid within the limits allowed by the lecturer. I understand that I am solely responsible for the accuracy of the content of the AI-generated text passages, as well as for referencing other people's wording and ideas in accordance with the principles of good scientific practice. In the case of an adoption of AI-generated passages that go beyond purely formal, stylistic corrections, I have marked them and, in addition to the AI tool used, I have indicated the prompts I entered.

I did not use any generative AI tools as aids.



I am aware of the following:

- I am guilty of plagiarism if, contrary to the requirements set out above, I use the work of others in my thesis without acknowledging the precise source. This would be to lay claim to an achievement that is not my own.
- If a candidate intentionally violates the University of Konstanz's Statutes to Ensure Good Scientific Practice when composing his/her thesis, it will be, in all probability, judged as an attempt at cheating (plagiarism). This means that the thesis will be graded "nicht ausreichend/fail" (5,0), placed on record in the student's examination file, and put before the Examination Board (StPA).
- In repeated or particularly serious cases, the StPA may decide to exclude the candidate from further performance assessments, resulting in a complete loss of right to take any further examinations in this study programme.
- The legal basis for this is laid down in the applicable examination regulations for the study programme in question.

I have taken note of these guidelines regarding plagiarism.

Konstanz, submitdate

Place, date

Tantzartus

Student's signature

Some very interesting research: This is very important so you should read it

Iordanis Pantzartzis¹

¹Universität Konstanz, 01/1001158

Abstract

Placeholder

Keywords:

Introduction

Literature

Theory

Data and Methods

Results

Discussion

References

- Abadie, A., & Gardeazábal, J. (2003). The Economic Costs of Conflict: A case study of the Basque Country. *The American Economic Review*, 93(1), 113–132. <https://doi.org/10.1257/000282803321455188>
- Abbott, K. W., Keohane, R. O., Moravcsik, A., Slaughter, A. M., & Snidal, D. (2000). The Concept of Legalization. *International Organization*, 54(3), 401–419. <https://doi.org/10.1162/002081800551271>
- Abbott, K. W., & Snidal, D. (1998). Why states act through formal international organizations. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 42(1), 3–32. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002798042001001>
- Abou-Chadi, T. (2014). Niche Party Success and Mainstream Party Policy Shifts – How Green and Radical Right Parties Differ in Their Impact. *British Journal of Political Science*, 46(2), 417–436. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0007123414000155>
- Abou-Chadi, T., & Krause, W. (2020). The causal effect of radical right success on mainstream parties' policy positions: A regression discontinuity approach. *British Journal of Political Science*, 50(3), 829–847. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0007123418000029>
- Acemoglu, D., Naidu, S., Restrepo, P., & Robinson, J. A. (2019). Democracy Does Cause Growth. *Journal of Political Economy*, 127(1), 47–100. <https://doi.org/10.1086/700936>
- Acemoglu, D., Naidu, S., Restrepo, P., & Robinson, J. A. (2019). Democracy does cause growth. *Journal of Political Economy*, 127(1), 47–100. <https://doi.org/10.1086/700936>
- Acemoglu, D., & Robinson, J. A. (2005, December 19). *Economic origins of dictatorship and democracy*. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511510809>
- Achterberg, P., & Houtman, D. (2006). Why do so many people vote 'unnaturally'? A cultural explanation for voting behaviour. *European Journal of Political Research*, 45(1), 75–92. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2005.00291.x>
- Achterberg, P., Houtman, D., & Derks, A. (2011). Two of a kind? an empirical investigation of anti-welfare and economic egalitarianism. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 75(4), 748–760.
- Afonso, A. (2014). Choosing whom to betray: Populist right-wing parties, welfare state reforms and the trade-off between office and votes. *European Political Science Review*, 7(2), 271–292. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s1755773914000125>
- Afonso, A., & Rennwald, L. (2018, May 24). Social Class and the Changing Welfare State Agenda of Radical Right Parties in Europe. In P. Manow, B. Palier, & H. Schwander (Eds.), *Welfare Democracies and Party Politics: Explaining Electoral Dynamics in Times of Changing Welfare Capitalism* (pp. 171–194). <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198807971.003.0007>
- Alesina, A., & Giuliano, P. (2011, January 1). *Preferences for Redistribution* (, A., & Jackson, Eds.; Vol. 1). North-Holland. <https://doi.org/10.1016/b978-0-444-53187-2.00004-8>
- Alesina, A., Glaeser, E. L., & Sacerdote, B. (2001). Why Doesn't the United States Have a European-Style Welfare State? *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, 2001(2), 187–277. <https://doi.org/10.1353/eca.2001.0014>
- Alesina, A., Miano, A., & Stantcheva, S. (2023). Immigration and Redistribution. *Review of Economic Studies*, 90(1), 1–39. <https://doi.org/10.1093/restud/rdac011>
- Andersen, J. G., & Bjørklund, T. (1990). Structural Changes and New Cleavages: the Progress Parties in Denmark and Norway. *Acta Sociologica*, 33(3), 195–217. <https://doi.org/10.1177/000169939003300303>
- Angell, N. (1912). *The Great Illusion: A study of the Relations of Military Power in Nations to Their Economic and Social Advantage*. Heinemann.
- Angrist, J. D. (1990). Lifetime Earnings and the Vietnam Era Draft Lottery: Evidence from Social Security Administrative Records. *The American Economic Review*, 80(3), 313–336. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2006669>
- Angrist, J. D., Imbens, G. W., & Rubin, D. B. (1996). Identification of Causal Effects Using Instrumental Variables. *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 91(434), 444–455. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01621459.1996.10476902>
- Angrist, J. D., Jordà, Ò., & Kuersteiner, G. M. (2018). Semiparametric Estimates of Monetary Policy Effects: String Theory Revisited. *Journal of Business & Economic Statistics*, 36(3), 371–387. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07350015.2016.1204919>
- Angrist, J. D., & Kuersteiner, G. M. (2011). Causal effects of monetary shocks: semiparametric conditional independence tests with a multinomial propensity score. *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 93(3), 725–747. https://doi.org/10.1162/rest_a_00109

- Arkes, H. R., & Blumer, C. (1985). The psychology of sunk cost. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 35(1), 124–140. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0749-5978\(85\)90049-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/0749-5978(85)90049-4)
- Attewell, D. (2021). Deservingness perceptions, welfare state support and vote choice in Western Europe. *West European Politics*, 44(3), 611–634. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2020.1715704>
- Aydın, A. (2013). Judicial independence across Democratic regimes: Understanding the varying impact of political competition. *Law & Society Review*, 47(1), 105–134. <https://doi.org/10.1111/lasr.12003>
- Aytaç, S. E., Schiumerini, L., & Stokes, S. C. (2017). Why do people join backlash protests? Lessons from Turkey. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 62(6), 1205–1228. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002716686828>
- Baccini, L., Dür, A., & Elsig, M. (2015). The Politics of Trade Agreement Design: Revisiting the Depth–Flexibility Nexus. *International Studies Quarterly*, 59(4), 765–775. <https://doi.org/10.1111/isqu.12188>
- Bakaki, Z., Böhmelt, T., & Ward, H. (2022). Carbon Emission Performance and Regime Type: The role of Inequality. *Global Environmental Politics*, 22(2), 156–179. https://doi.org/10.1162/glep_a_00656
- Bara, C., & Hultman, L. (2020). Just Different Hats? Comparing UN and Non-UN Peacekeeping. *International Peacekeeping*, 27(3), 341–368. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13533312.2020.1737023>
- Barbieri, K. (1996). Economic Interdependence: A Path to Peace or a Source of Interstate Conflict? *Journal of Peace Research*, 33(1), 29–49. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343396033001003>
- Barbieri, K. (2002). *The Liberal Illusion*. University of Michigan Press. <https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.16590>
- Baron, R. M., & Kenny, D. A. (1986). The Moderator–Mediator Variable Distinction in Social Psychological Research: conceptual, strategic, and statistical considerations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 51(6), 1173–1182. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.51.6.1173>
- Baute, S., Abts, K., & Meuleman, B. (2019). Public Support for European Solidarity: Between Euroscepticism and EU Agenda Preferences? *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 57(3), 533–550. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.12833>
- Baute, S., Meuleman, B., Abts, K., & Swyngedouw, M. (2018). European integration as a threat to social security: Another source of euroscepticism? *European Union politics*, 19(2), 209–232. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1465116517749769>
- Becher, M. (2015). Endogenous Credible Commitment and Party Competition over Redistribution under Alternative Electoral Institutions. *American Journal of Political Science*, 60(3), 768–782. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12242>
- Benabou, R., & Ok, E. A. (2001). Social Mobility and the Demand for Redistribution: The POUM Hypothesis. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 116(2), 447–487. <https://doi.org/10.1162/00335530151144078>
- Bernauer, T. (2013). Climate change politics. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 16(1), 421–448. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-062011-154926>
- Blair, G., Christensen, D., & Rudkin, A. (2021). Do Commodity Price Shocks Cause Armed Conflict? A Meta-Analysis of Natural Experiments. *American Political Science Review*, 115(2), 709–716. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0003055420000957>
- Blalock, H. . M. . (1967). *Toward a Theor of Minority-Group Relations*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Bonica, A., & Sen, M. (2021). Estimating Judicial Ideology. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 35(1), 97–118. <https://doi.org/10.1257/jep.35.1.97>
- Boynton, G. R., Patterson, S. C., & Hedlund, R. D. (1968). The Structure of Public Support for Legislative Institutions. *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, 12(2), 163. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2110331>
- Brouard, S., & Hönnige, C. (2017). Constitutional courts as veto players: Lessons from the United States, France and Germany. *European Journal of Political Research*, 56(3), 529–552. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12192>
- Bundesministerium für Wirtschaft und Klimaschutz. (n.d.). *Was ist eigentlich der Energie- und Klimafonds?* <https://www.bmwk-energiewende.de/EWD/Redaktion/Newsletter/2020/04/Meldung/direkt-erklart.html>
- Bundesverfassungsgericht. (2022). *Unsuccessful constitutional complaint challenging the obligation for staff in the health and care sectors to provide proof of vaccination against COVID-19* [Press release]. Unsuccessful%20constitutional%20complaint%20challenging%20the%20obligation%20for%20staff%20in%20the%20health%20and%20care%20sectors%20to%20provide%20proof%20of%20vaccination%20against%20COVID-19

- Bundesverfassungsgericht. (2023a, November 15). *Second Supplementary Budget Act 2021 is void* (Press release). <https://www.bundesverfassungsgericht.de/SharedDocs/Pressemitteilungen/EN/2023/bvg23-101.html>
- Bundesverfassungsgericht. (2023b, December 8). *Application for preliminary injunction against transfer of EUR 60 billion borrowing authorisation to 'Energy and Climate Fund' rejected* (Press release). <https://www.bundesverfassungsgericht.de/SharedDocs/Pressemitteilungen/EN/2022/bvg22-104.html>
- Burgoon, B., & Rooduijn, M. (2020). 'Immigrationization' of welfare politics? Anti-immigration and welfare attitudes in context. *West European Politics*, 44(2), 177–203. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2019.1702297>
- Busemeyer, M. R., Rathgeb, P., & Sahm, A. H. J. (2021). Authoritarian values and the welfare state: The social policy preferences of radical right voters. *West European Politics*, 45(1), 77–101. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2021.1886497>
- Caldeira, G. A., & Gibson, J. L. (1992). The etiology of public support for the Supreme Court. *American Journal of Political Science*, 36(3), 635–664. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2111585>
- Caprioli, M., & Boyer, M. A. (2001). Gender, Violence, and International Crisis. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 45(4), 503–518. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002701045004005>
- Careja, R., & Harris, E. (2022). Thirty years of welfare chauvinism research: Findings and challenges. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 32(2), 212–224. <https://doi.org/10.1177/09589287211068796>
- Cavaillé, C., & Trump, K. (2015). The Two Facets of Social Policy Preferences. *The Journal of Politics*, 77(1), 146–160. <https://doi.org/10.1086/678312>
- CBS & AP. (2022, July 3). *Supreme Courts marshal want crack down on picketing, protests outside justices' homes*. CBS News. <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/supreme-court-marshall-wants-crack-down-on-picketing-protests-outside-justices-homes/>
- Cederman, L.-E., & Vogt, M. (2017). Dynamics and logics of Civil War. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 61(9), 1992–2016. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002717721385>
- Chapin, F. S. (1938). Design for social experiments. *American Sociological Review*, 3(6), 786. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2084712>
- Chiocchetti, P. (2023). A Quantitative Analysis of Legal Integration and Differentiation in the European Union, 1958–2020. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 61(5), 1337–1359. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.13467>
- Christenson, D. P., & Glick, D. (2015). Chief Justice Roberts's Health Care Decision Disrobed: The Microfoundations of the Supreme Court's Legitimacy. *American journal of political science*, 59(2), 403–418. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12150>
- Chua, L. J., & Haynie, S. L. (2016). Judicial Review of Executive Power in the Singaporean Context, 1965–2012. *Journal of Law and Courts*, 4(1), 43–64. <https://doi.org/10.1086/684628>
- Citrin, J., Green, D. P., Muste, C., & Wong, C. (1997). Public opinion toward immigration reform: The role of economic motivations. *The Journal of Politics*, 59(3), 858–881. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2998640>
- Cohen, D. K., & Karim, S. (2022). Does More Equality for Women Mean Less War? Rethinking Sex and Gender Inequality and Political Violence. *International Organization*, 76(2), 414–444. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0020818321000333>
- Colagrossi, M., Rossignoli, D., & Maggioni, M. A. (2020). Does democracy cause Growth? A Meta-analysis (of 2000 regressions). *European Journal of Political Economy*, 61, 101824. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejpoleco.2019.101824>
- Cole, D. (2024, September 2). *Scholz urges German parties to exclude far right as AfD poised for state election victory*. The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/article/2024/sep/01/german-far-right-party-afd-state-election-victory-thuringia>
- Colgan, J. D. (2021). Oil and Security: the necessity of political economy. *Journal of Global Security Studies*, 6(1). <https://doi.org/10.1093/jogss/ogaa008>
- Collier, P., & Hoeffler, A. (2004). Greed and grievance in civil war. *Oxford Economic Papers*, 56(4), 563–595. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oep/gpf064>
- Connolly, K. (2023, May 24). *German police stage nationwide raids against climate activists*. The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/may/24/german-police-stage-nationwide-raids-against-climate-activists>
- Cook, F. L. (1979). *Who should be helped?: Public support for social services*. Sage Publications.
- Coser, L. A. (1956). *The functions of social conflict*. The Free Press.

- Crawford, J. (2012, July 2). *Roberts switched view to uphold health care law*. CBS News. <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/roberts-switched-views-to-uphold-health-care-law/>
- Cunningham, K., Hix, S., Dennison, S., & Learmouth, I. (2024, January 23). *A sharp right turn: A forecast for the 2024 European Parliament elections*. European Council on Foreign Relations. <https://ecfr.eu/publication/a-sharp-right-turn-a-forecast-for-the-2024-european-parliament-elections/>
- Data file edition 2.2* [Data set]. (2016). ESS Round 8: European Social Survey Round 8 Data. Norwegian Agency for Shared Services in Education; Research. <http://dx.doi.org/10.21338/NSD-ESS8-2016>
- Data file edition 4.5*. [Data set]. (2008). ESS Round 4: European Social Survey Round 4 Data. Norwegian Agency for Shared Services in Education; Research. <http://dx.doi.org/10.21338/NSD-ESS4-2008>
- de Koster, W., Achterberg, P., & van der Waal, J. (2012). The new right and the welfare state: The electoral relevance of welfare chauvinism and welfare populism in the Netherlands. *International Political Science Review*, 34(1), 3–20. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512112455443>
- de Swaan, A. (1988). *In Care of the State: Health Care, Education, and Welfare in Europe and the USA in the Modern Era*. Oxford University Press.
- De Vries, C. E., & Edwards, E. (2009). Taking Europe to its Extremes: Extremist Parties and Public Euroscepticism. *Party Politics*, 15(1), 5–28. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068808097889>
- Denny, E. K., & Walter, B. F. (2014). Ethnicity and civil war. *Journal of Peace Research*, 51(2), 199–212. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343313512853>
- Diversification and Reconfiguration of Party Systems in Postindustrial Democracies. (2004, January 1).
- Doherty, D., Gerber, A. S., & Green, D. P. (2006). Personal Income and Attitudes Toward Redistribution: A study of lottery winners. *Political Psychology*, 27(3), 441–458. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2006.00509.x>
- Dörffel, C., & Freytag, A. (2023). The poverty effect of democratization. *World Development*, 165, Article 106186. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2023.106186>
- dos Santos, T. (1970). The Structure of Dependence. *The American Economic Review*, 60(2), 231–236. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1815811>
- Doucouliağos, H., & Ulubaşoğlu, M. (2008). Democracy and Economic Growth: A Meta-Analysis. *American Journal of Political Science*, 52(1), 61–83. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2007.00299.x>
- Downs, A. (1957, January 1). *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. Harper.
- Downs, G. W., Roche, D. M., & Barsoom, P. N. (1996). Is the good news about compliance good news about cooperation? *International Organization*, 50(3), 379–406. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818300033427>
- Dunning, J. H. (2002, January). Trade, location of economic activity and the multinational enterprise: A search for an eclectic approach. In J. H. Dunning (Ed.), *The Selected Essays of John H. Dunning: Theories and paradigms of international business activity* (pp. 52–76). Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Dunning, T. (2012, September). *Natural experiments in the Social Sciences*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9781139084444>
- Easton, D. (1967). *A Systems Analysis of Political Life*. Wiley.
- Easton, D. (1975). A Re-Assessment of the Concept of Political Support. *British Journal of Political Science*, 5(4), 435–457. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0007123400008309>
- Elazar, D. J. (1987, January 30). *Exploring Federalism*. University Alabama Press.
- Epstein, L., Šadl, U., & Weinshall, K. (2021). The role of comparative law in the analysis of judicial behavior. *The American Journal of Comparative Law*, 69(4), 689–719. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ajcl/avac002>
- Epstein, L., & Weinshall, K. (2021, May). *The Strategic Analysis of Judicial Behavior*. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009049030>
- European Commission. (2021, December 22). *The Commission proposes the next generation of EU own resources* [Press release]. https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/ip_21_7025
- European University Institute. (2021, April 15). *EU Legislation*. <https://www.eui.eu/Research/Library/ResearchGuides/EuropeanInformation/EU-Legislation>
- Fearon, J. D. (1995). Rationalist explanations for war. *International Organization*, 49(3), 379–414. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0020818300033324>
- Fearon, J. D., & Laitin, D. D. (2003). Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War. *American Political Science Review*, 97(1), 75–90. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0003055403000534>
- Finseraas, H. (2008). Immigration and preferences for redistribution: An empirical analysis of European survey data. *Comparative European Politics*, 6(4), 407–431. <https://doi.org/10.1057/cep.2008.3>

- Finseraas, H., Haugsgjerd, A., & Kumlin, S. (2023). Immigration and welfare state sustainability: Whose perception is affected by fiscal cost cues? *Journal of European Public Policy*, 31(5), 1420–1437. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2023.2166572>
- Fjelde, H., & Höglund, K. (2014). Electoral Institutions and Electoral Violence in Sub-Saharan Africa. *British Journal of Political Science*, 46(2), 297–320. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0007123414000179>
- Ford, R. (2016). Who should we help? an experimental test of discrimination in the british welfare state. *Political Studies*, 64(3), 630–650. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9248.12194>
- Fortna, V. P. (2004). Interstate Peacekeeping: Causal Mechanisms and Empirical Effects. *World Politics*, 56(4), 481–519. <https://doi.org/10.1353/wp.2005.0004>
- Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung. (2023, November 15). „Größtes wirtschaftspolitisches Problem der Ampel“. <https://www.faz.net/aktuell/wirtschaft/klima-nachhaltigkeit/nach-bverfg-urteil-wird-bei-der-klimapolitik-gekuerzt-19315351-p2.html>
- Frieden, J. (1991). Invested interests: the politics of national economic policies in a world of global finance. *International Organization*, 45(4), 425–451. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0020818300033178>
- Frost, R. (2023, April 28). *German climate activists stage 10th day of controversial protests in Berlin*. Euronews. <https://www.euronews.com/green/2023/04/28/german-climate-activists-stage-10th-day-of-controversial-protests-in-berlin>
- Funk, P., & Gathmann, C. (2011). Does Direct Democracy Reduce the Size of Government? New Evidence from Historical Data, 1890–2000. *The Economic Journal*, 121(557), 1252–1280. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0297.2011.02451.x>
- Gamson, W. A. (1968). *Power and Discontent*. Dorsey.
- Garand, J. C., Xu, P., & Davis, B. C. (2017). Immigration Attitudes and Support for the Welfare State in the American Mass Public. *American Journal of Political Science*, 61(1), 146–162. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12233>
- Gartzke, E. (2007). The Capitalist Peace. *American Journal of Political Science*, 51(1), 166–191. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2007.00244.x>
- Genschel, P., Hemerijck, A., Shakespeare, S., van Parys, J., Cicchi, L., & Nasr, M. (2020). *EUI-YouGov survey on solidarity in Europe* [Data set]. European University Institute, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies. <https://hdl.handle.net/1814/67584>
- Genschel, P., & Jachtenfuchs, M. (2013). Introduction: Beyond Market Regulation. Analysing the European Integration of Core State Powers. In P. Genschel & M. Jachtenfuchs (Eds.), *Beyond the Regulatory Polity? The European Integration of Core State Powers* (pp. 1–23). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199662821.003.0001>
- Gensing, P. (2020, May 1). *Proteste gegen Corona-Maßnahmen: Einfache Erklärungen, klare Feindbilder*. ARD. <https://www.tagesschau.de/investigativ/corona-demos-105.html>
- Gibson, J. L. (2024a). Losing legitimacy: The challenges of the Dobbs ruling to conventional legitimacy theory. *American Journal of Political Science*, 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12834>
- Gibson, J. L. (2024b). Do the Effects of Unpopular Supreme Court Rulings Linger? The Dobbs Decision Rescinding Abortion Rights. *The American Political Science Review*, 1–8. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0003055424000169>
- Gibson, J. L., & Caldeira, G. A. (2009). *Citizens, Courts, and Confirmations: Positivity Theory and the Judgments of the American People*. Princeton University Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7s49r>
- Gibson, J. L., Caldeira, G. A., & Baird, V. A. (1998). On the legitimacy of national high courts. *American Political Science Review*, 92(2), 343–358. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2585668>
- Gibson, J. L., Lodge, M., & Woodson, B. (2014). Losing, but Accepting: Legitimacy, Positivity Theory, and the Symbols of Judicial Authority. *Law & Society Review*, 48(4), 837–866. <https://doi.org/10.1111/lasr.12104>
- Gilens, M. (1995). Racial Attitudes and Opposition to Welfare. *The Journal of Politics*, 57(4), 994–1014. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2960399>
- Gleditsch, N. P. (2021). This time is different! Or is it? NeoMalthusians and environmental optimists in the age of climate change. *Journal of Peace Research*, 58(1), 177–185. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343320969785>
- Grande, E., Schwarzbözl, T., & Fatke, M. (2018). Politicizing immigration in western europe. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 26(10), 1444–1463. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2018.1531909>
- Gurr, T. R. (1970). *Why Men Rebel* (1st ed.). Routledge.
- Haas, E. B. (2004). *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces 1950–1957* (3rd ed.). University of Notre Dame Press.

- Hainmueller, J., & Hiscox, M. J. (2007). Educated preferences: Explaining attitudes toward immigration in europe. *International Organization*, 61(02). <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0020818307070142>
- Hainmueller, J., & Hopkins, D. J. (2014). Public attitudes toward immigration. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 17(1), 225–249. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-102512-194818>
- Halikiopoulou, D. (2018). A right-wing populist momentum? a review of 2017 elections across europe. *JCMS Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56(S1), 63–73. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.12769>
- Hanson, G. H., Scheve, K., & Slaughter, M. J. (2007). Public finance and individual preferences over globalization strategies. *Economics and Politics*, 19(1), 1–33. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0343.2007.00300.x>
- Harish, N., & Plouffe, M. (2018). The Political Economy of Foreign Direct Investment to Developing Countries. In D. Hudson (Ed.), *Handbook of the International Political Economy of Development* (1st ed.).
- Heermann, M., & Leuffen, D. (2020). No Representation without Integration! Why Differentiated Integration Challenges the Composition of the European Parliament. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 58(4), 1016–1033. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.13015>
- Hegre, H., Bernhard, M., & Teorell, J. (2020). Civil society and the democratic peace. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 64(1), 32–62. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002719850620>
- Helmke, G. (2002). The Logic of Strategic Defection: Court–Executive relations in Argentina under dictatorship and democracy. *American Political Science Review*, 96(2), 291–303. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0003055402000175>
- Hempel, K. (2023, November 15). *Wie die Ampel gegen das Grundgesetz verstieß*. tagesschau. <https://www.tagesschau.de/inland/innenpolitik/bundesverfassungsgericht-nachtragshaushalt-102.html>
- Hensely, S. (2012, June 28). *Health Law Survives With Roberts' Vote*. NPR. <https://www.npr.org/sections/health-shots/2012/06/18/155269171/supreme-court-upholds-care-health-law-rules-mandate-is-a-tax>
- Hix, S., & Marsh, M. (2011). Second-order effects plus pan-European political swings: An analysis of European parliament elections across time. *Electoral Studies*, 30(1), 4–15. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2010.09.017>
- Hix, S., & Noury, A. (2009). After enlargement: Voting patterns in the sixth European Parliament. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 34(2), 159–174. <https://doi.org/10.3162/036298009788314282>
- Hjorth, F. (2015). Who benefits? Welfare chauvinism and national stereotypes. *European Union Politics*, 17(1), 3–24. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1465116515607371>
- Ho, D. E., Imai, K., King, G., & Stuart, E. A. (2007). Matching as nonparametric preprocessing for reducing model dependence in parametric causal inference. *Political Analysis*, 15(3), 199–236. <https://doi.org/10.1093/pan/mdl013>
- Holland, P. W. (1986). Statistics and causal inference. *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 81(396), 945–960. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01621459.1986.10478354>
- Holzinger, K., & Schimmelfennig, F. (2012). Differentiated integration in the European Union : Many concepts, sparse theory, few data. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 19(2), 292–305. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2012.641747>
- Hooghe, L., & Marks, G. (2009). A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus. *British Journal of Political Science*, 39(1), 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0007123408000409>
- Hooghe, L., Marks, G., & Wilson, C. J. (2002). Does left/right structure party positions on european integration? *Comparative Political Studies*, 35(8), 965–989. <https://doi.org/10.1177/001041402236310>
- Horowitz, M. C., Stam, A. C., & Ellis, C. M. (2015, September). *Why leaders fight*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hutter, S., & Kriesi, H. (2019). Politicizing Europe in times of crisis. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 26(7), 996–1017. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2019.1619801>
- Imai, K., Keele, L., Tingley, D., & Yamamoto, T. (2011). Unpacking the black box of causality: learning about causal mechanisms from experimental and observational studies. *American Political Science Review*, 105(4), 765–789. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0003055411000414>
- Imbens, G. W., & Lemieux, T. (2008). Regression Discontinuity Designs: A Guide to Practice. *Journal of Econometrics*, 142(2), 615–635. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jeconom.2007.05.001>
- Ivarsflaten, E. (2005). Threatened by diversity: Why restrictive asylum and immigration policies appeal to western europeans. *Journal of Elections Public Opinion and Parties*, 15(1), 21–45. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13689880500064577>

- Iverson, E. (2007). What unites right-wing populists in western europe? *Comparative Political Studies*, 41(1), 3–23. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414006294168>
- Iversen, T., & Cusack, T. R. (2000). The causes of welfare state expansion: Deindustrialization or globalization? *World Politics*, 52(3), 313–349. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0043887100016567>
- Iversen, T., & Soskice, D. (2001). An Asset Theory of Social Policy Preferences. *American Political Science Review*, 95(4), 875–893. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0003055400400079>
- Jones, D. M., Bremer, S. A., & Singer, J. D. (1996). Militarized Interstate Disputes, 1816–1992: Rationale, Coding Rules, and Empirical Patterns. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 15(2), 163–213. <https://doi.org/10.1177/073889429601500203>
- Jordà, Ò. (2005). Estimation and inference of impulse responses by local projections. *The American Economic Review*, 95(1), 161–182. <https://doi.org/10.1257/0002828053828518>
- Kahneman, D., & Tversky, A. (1979). Prospect theory: An analysis of decision under risk. *Econometrica*, 47(2), 263–291. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1914185>
- Kanno-Younges, Z. (2022, May 12). *A Battle Over How to Battle Over Roe: Protests at Justices' Homes Fuel Rancor*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/12/us/politics/abortion-protests-supreme-court-justices.html>
- Kant, I. (1795). *Zum ewigen Frieden: Ein philosophischer Entwurf*. Friedrich Nicolovius. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-25308>
- Kim, I. S., & Osgood, I. (2019). Firms in trade and trade politics. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 22(1), 399–417. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-050317-063728>
- King, G. (1998, January). *Unifying Political Methodology: The Likelihood Theory of Statistical Inference* (1st ed.). University of Michigan Press. <https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.23784>
- Kitschelt, H., & McGann, A. J. (1995, January 1). *The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis: A comparative analysis*. University of Michigan Press.
- Kleine, M. (2013). *Informal Governance in the European Union: How Governments Make International Organizations Work*. Cornell University Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctt32b5zm.10>
- Kline, P. (2011). Oaxaca-blinder as a reweighting estimator. *American Economic Review*, 101(3), 532–37. <https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.101.3.532>
- Koch, M. T., & Fulton, S. A. (2011). In the Defense of Women: Gender, Office Holding, and National Security Policy in Established Democracies. *The Journal of Politics*, 73(1), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0022381610000824>
- Koubi, V. (2019). Climate change and conflict. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 22(1), 343–360. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-050317-070830>
- Krasner, S. D. (1983, January). *International regimes*. Cornell University Press.
- Krasno, J. S., & Green, D. P. (2008). Do televised presidential ads increase voter turnout? Evidence from a natural experiment. *The Journal of Politics*, 70(1), 245–261. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0022381607080176>
- Krehbiel, J. (2016). The politics of judicial procedures: The role of public oral hearings in the German Constitutional Court. *American Journal of Political Science*, 60(4), 990–1005. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12229>
- Krehbiel, J. N. (2019). Elections, Public Awareness, and the Efficacy of Constitutional Review. *Journal of Law and Courts*, 7(1), 53–79. <https://doi.org/10.1086/699241>
- Kroll, D. A., & Leuffen, D. (2014). Enhanced cooperation in practice. An analysis of differentiated integration in EU secondary law. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 22(3), 353–373. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2014.956781>
- Kros, M., & Coenders, M. (2019). Explaining Differences in Welfare Chauvinism Between and Within Individuals Over Time: The Role of Subjective and Objective Economic Risk, Economic Egalitarianism, and Ethnic Threat. *European Sociological Review*, 35(6), 860–873. <https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcz034>
- Lange, S. L. (2007). A New Winning Formula?: The Programmatic Appeal of the Radical Right. *Party Politics*, 13(4), 411–435. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068807075943>
- Leuffen, D., Rittberger, B., & Schimmelfennig, F. (2022, January). *Integration and differentiation in the European Union. Theories and Policies* (2nd ed.). Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-76677-1>
- Leuffen, D., Schuessler, J., & Díaz, J. G. (2020). Public support for differentiated integration: individual liberal values and concerns about member state discrimination. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 29(2), 218–237. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2020.1829005>

- Levy, J. S. (2013). Interstate War and Peace. In W. Carlesnaes, T. Risse, & B. A. Simmons (Eds.), *Handbook of International Relations* (2nd ed., pp. 581–606). SAGE Publications.
- Lijphart, A. (1969). Consociational democracy. *World Politics*, 21(2), 207–225. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2009820>
- Lijphart, A. (1971). Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method. *American Political Science Review*, 65(3), 682–693. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1955513>
- Lijphart, A. (1977). *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration*. Yale University Press.
- Lin, K., & Doherty, C. (2023, July 21). *Favorable views of Supreme Court fall to historic low*. Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2023/07/21/favorable-views-of-supreme-court-fall-to-historic-low/>
- Lipset, S. (1963, January 1). *Political man: The social bases of politics*. Doubleday.
- Lodge, M., & Taber, C. S. (2013). *The Rationalizing Voter*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9781139032490>
- Louviere, J. J., Hensher, D. A., Swait, J., & Adamowicz, W. (2000, September). *Stated Choice Methods: Analysis and Applications*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511753831>
- Mahoney, J. (2000). Path dependence in historical sociology. *Theory and society*, 29(4), 507–548. <https://doi.org/10.1023/a:1007113830879>
- Mahoney, J., & Rodríguez-Franco, D. (2015). Dependency Theory. In C. Lancaster & N. van de Walle (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Politics of Development* (pp. 22–42). <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199845156.013.13>
- Malang, T., & Holzinger, K. (2020). The political economy of differentiated integration: The case of common agricultural policy. *The Review of International Organizations*, 15(3), 741–766. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11558-020-09384-z>
- Manow, P., Palier, B., & Schwander, H. (2018, May 24). *Welfare democracies and party politics*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198807971.001.0001>
- , M. (2003). How the Poor Became Black: The Racialization of American Poverty in the Mass Media. In S. F. Schram, J. B. Soss, & R. C. Fording (Eds.), *Race and the Politics of Welfare Reform* (pp. 101–130). University of Michigan Press. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.11932>
- Martin, L., & Simmons, B. A. (2013). Interational Organization and Institutions. In W. Carlnaes, T. Risse, & B. A. Simmons (Eds.), *Handbooks of International Relations* (pp. 326–352). SAGE Publications.
- May, T. (2023, October 4). *Breaking: Rishi sunak confirms cancellation of hs2 phase 2*. Railway-News. <https://railway-news.com/breaking-rishi-sunak-confirms-cancellation-of-hs2-phase-2/>
- McCauley, J. F., & Posner, D. N. (2015). African borders as sources of natural experiments promise and pitfalls. *Political Science Research and Methods*, 3(2), 409–418. <https://doi.org/10.1017/psrm.2014.37>
- Meissner, K. L., & Schoeller, M. G. (2019). Rising despite the polycrisis? The European Parliament's strategies of self-empowerment after Lisbon. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 26(7), 1075–1093. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2019.1619187>
- Meltzer, A. H., & Richard, S. F. (1981). A rational theory of the size of government. *Journal of Political Economy*, 89(5), 914–927. <https://doi.org/10.1086/261013>
- Mewes, J., & Mau, S. (2012, August 29). Unraveling working-class welfare chauvinism: Welfare attitudes in europe and beyond. In S. Svallfors (Ed.), *Contested welfare states* (pp. 119–157). Stanford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780804783170-008>
- Mitchell, R. J. (2009, January). *International politics and the environment*. Sage Publications. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446269503>
- Moland, M. (2023). Opting for Opt-outs? National Identities and Support for a Differentiated EU. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 62(1), 55–73. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.13478>
- Mondon, A. (2022). Populism, public opinion, and the mainstreaming of the far right: The ‘immigration issue’ and the construction of a reactionary ‘people’. *Politics*, 026339572211047. <https://doi.org/10.1177/02633957221104726>
- Moravcsik, A. (1998, January). *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. Routledge.
- Mousseau, M. (2013). The Democratic Peace Unraveled: It's the Economy. *International Studies Quarterly*, 57(1), 186–197. <https://doi.org/10.1111/isqu.12003>

- Mroß, K., Fiedler, C., & Grävingholt, J. (2022). Identifying Pathways to Peace: How international support can help prevent conflict recurrence. *International Studies Quarterly*, 66(1). <https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqab091>
- Mullen, E., & Nadler, J. (2008). Moral spillovers: The effect of moral violations on deviant behavior. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 44(5), 1239–1245. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2008.04.001>
- Nelson, M., Driscoll, A., Krehbiel, J., & Samarth, T. (2023). *Replication Data for: Evaluating Excuses: How the Public Judges Noncompliance* [Data set]. Harvard Dataverse. <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/TIYVXH>
- Nielsen, R. A. (2016). Case selection via matching. *Sociological Methods & Research*, 45(3), 569–597. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0049124114547054>
- Nolan, B., Richiardi, M. G., & Valenzuela, L. (2019). The drivers of inequality in rich countries. *Journal of Economic Surveys*, 33(4), 1285–1324. <https://doi.org/10.1111/joes.12328>
- Novak, S. (2020). The Role of Courts in Remediating Climate Chaos: Transcending Judicial Nihilism and Taking Survival Seriously. *Georgetown Environmental Law Review*, 32(4), 743–778.
- Oatley, T. (2023). *International Political Economy* (7th ed.). Routledge.
- Obinger, H., Castles, F. G., & Leibfried, S. (2005). Introduction: Federalism and the welfare state. In H. Obinger, F. G. Castles, & S. Leibfried (Eds.), *Federalism and the Welfare State: New World and European Experiences* (pp. 1–48).
- Oliver, J. E., & Wood, T. J. (2014). Conspiracy Theories and the Paranoid Style(s) of Mass Opinion. *American Journal of Political Science*, 58(4), 952–966. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12084>
- Olson, T. (2022, May 9). *McConnell, Grassley slam protests outside justices' homes, say lawbreakers 'must be held accountable'*. Fox News. <https://www.foxnews.com/politics/senate-republicans-grassley-mcconnell-supreme-court-abortion-roe-protests>
- Pearl, J. (2009, September). *Causality: Models, Reasoning and Inference* (2nd ed.). Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511803161>
- Pearl, J. (2014). The deductive approach to causal inference. *Journal of causal inference*, 2(2), 115–129. <https://doi.org/10.1515/jci-2014-0016>
- Pevehouse, J., Nordstrom, T., & Warnke, K. (2004). The correlates of war 2 international governmental organizations data version 2.0. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 21(2), 101–119. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07388940490463933>
- Prosser, C. (2016). Second order electoral rules and national party systems: The Duvergerian effects of European Parliament elections. *European Union Politics*, 17(3), 366–386. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1465116516633300>
- Przeworski, A., & Teune, H. (1970). *The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry*. Wiley.
- Putnam, R. D. (1988). Diplomacy and domestic politics: the logic of two-level games. *International Organization*, 42(3), 427–460. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0020818300027697>
- Reeskens, T., & Van Der Meer, T. (2018). The inevitable deservingness gap: A study into the insurmountable immigrant penalty in perceived welfare deservingness. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 29(2), 166–181. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0958928718768335>
- Rehm, P. (2009). Risks and Redistribution: An Individual-Level Analysis. *Comparative Political Studies*, 42(7), 855–881. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414008330595>
- Reif, K., & Schmitz, H. (1980). Nine Second-Order National Elections – A Conceptual Framework for the Analysis of European Election Results. *European Journal of Political Research*, 8(1), 3–44. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.1980.tb00737.x>
- Reiter, D. (2017). Is democracy a cause of peace? *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.287>
- Risse, T. (2005). Neofunctionalism, European identity, and the puzzles of European integration. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 12(2), 291–309. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501760500044033>
- Rittberger, V., Zangl, B., & Kruck, A. (2013, October). *Internationale Organisationen*. Springer.
- Romer, T. (1975). Individual welfare, majority voting, and the properties of a linear income tax. *Journal of Public Economics*, 4(2), 163–185. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0047-2727\(75\)90016-x](https://doi.org/10.1016/0047-2727(75)90016-x)
- Römer, T., & Rosenthal, H. (1979). The elusive median voter. *Journal of Public Economics*, 12(2), 143–170. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0047-2727\(79\)90010-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/0047-2727(79)90010-0)
- Ross, M. L. (2015). What have we learned about the resource curse? *Annual Review of Political Science*, 18(1), 239–259. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-052213-040359>
- Rovny, J. (2012). Where do radical right parties stand? Position blurring in multidimensional competition. *European Political Science Review*, 5(1), 1–26. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s1755773911000282>

- Rovny, J., & Polk, J. (2019). Still blurry? Economic salience, position and voting for radical right parties in Western Europe. *European Journal of Political Research*, 59(2), 248–268. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12356>
- Rubin, D. B. (1974). Estimating causal effects of treatments in randomized and nonrandomized studies. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 66(5), 688–701. <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0037350>
- Rubin, D. B. (1977). Assignment to treatment group on the basis of a covariate. *Journal of educational statistics*, 2(1), 1–26. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1164933>
- Rueda, D., & Stegmüller, D. (2015). The Externalities of Inequality: Fear of Crime and Preferences for Redistribution in Western Europe. *American Journal of Political Science*, 60(2), 472–489. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12212>
- Rydgren, J., & Ruth, P. (2011). Voting for the Radical Right in Swedish Municipalities: Social Marginality and Ethnic Competition? *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 34(3), 202–225. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9477.2011.00269.x>
- Samuels, D., & Vargas, T. R. (2022). Democracy, rural inequality, and education spending. *World Development*, 162, 106136. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2022.106136>
- Sarkees, M. R., Wayman, F. W., & Singer, J. D. (2003). Inter-State, Intra-State, and Extra-State Wars: A Comprehensive Look at Their Distribution over Time, 1816–1997. *International Studies Quarterly*, 47(1), 49–70. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2478.4701003>
- Schäfers, M. (2023, November 15). *Union verklagt Ampel wegen Nachtragshaushalt in Karlsruhe*. tagesschau. <https://www.tagesschau.de/inland/innenpolitik/bundesverfassungsgericht-nachtragshaushalt-102.html>
- Scharpf, F. W. (1993). Legitimationsprobleme der Globalisierung Regieren in Verhandlungssystemen. In C. Böhrer & G. Wewer (Eds.), *Regieren im 21. Jahrhundert — zwischen Globalisierung und Regionalisierung: Festgabe für Hans-Hermann Hartwich zum 65. Geburtstag* (pp. 165–185). VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-663-11267-9_7
- Scheepers, P. (2002). Ethnic exclusionism in european countries. public opposition to civil rights for legal migrants as a response to perceived ethnic threat. *European Sociological Review*, 18(1), 17–34. <https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/18.1.17>
- Schimmelfennig, F., & Winzen, T. (2020a). *Differentiated EU Integration: Maps and Modes* (EUI Working Paper RSCAS 2020/24). Roberts Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies. <https://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/66880>
- Schimmelfennig, F., Leuffen, D., & De Vries, C. E. (2022). Differentiated integration in the European Union: institutional effects, public opinion, and alternative flexibility arrangements. *European Union Politics*, 24(1), 3–20. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14651165221119083>
- Schimmelfennig, F., & Winzen, T. (2020b, February). *Ever looser Union? Differentiated European Integration*. Oxford University Press.
- Schneider, G. (2014). Peace through globalization and capitalism? Prospects of two liberal propositions. *Journal of Peace Research*, 51(2), 173–183. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343313497739>
- Schofield, H. (2024, June 9). *Macron takes huge risk with surprise election*. BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/c8009e2z4xlo>
- Schuessler, J., Heermann, M., Leuffen, D., De Blok, L., & De Vries, C. E. (2022). Mapping public support for the varieties of differentiated integration. *European Union Politics*, 24(1), 164–183. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14651165221127633>
- Schumacher, G., & Van Kersbergen, K. (2016). Do mainstream parties adapt to the welfare chauvinism of populist parties? *Party Politics*, 22(3), 300–312. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068814549345>
- Schumpeter, J. (1919). *Zur Soziologie der Imperialismen*. Mohr Siebeck.
- Segal, J. A. (1997). Separation-of-Powers games in the positive theory of Congress and courts. *American Political Science Review*, 91(1), 28–44. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2952257>
- Segal, J. A., & Cover, A. D. (1989). Ideological values and the votes of U.S. Supreme Court justices. *American Political Science Review*, 83(2), 557–565. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1962405>
- Segal, J. A., & Spaeth, H. J. (2002). *The Supreme Court and the Attitudinal Model Revisited*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511615696>
- Shadish, W. R., Cook, T. D., & Campbell, D. T. (2002, January). *Experimental and quasi-experimental designs for generalized causal inference*. Cengage Learning.
- Shayo, M. (2009). A Model of Social Identity with an Application to Political Economy: Nation, Class, and Redistribution. *The American Political Science Review*, 103(2), 147–174. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0003055409090194>

- Sheffer, L., Loewen, P. J., Soroka, S., Walgrave, S., & Sheaffer, T. (2017). Nonrepresentative representatives: An experimental study of the decision making of elected politicians. *American Political Science Review*, 112(2), 302–321. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0003055417000569>
- Sides, J., & Citrin, J. (2007). European opinion about immigration: The role of identities, interests and information. *British Journal of Political Science*, 37(3), 477–504. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0007123407000257>
- Skitka, L. J., Hanson, B. E., Morgan, G. S., & Wisneski, D. C. (2021). The Psychology of Moral Conviction. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 72(1), 347–366. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-063020-030612>
- Smidt, H. (2020). United Nations Peacekeeping locally: Enabling conflict resolution, reducing communal violence. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 64(2-3), 344–372. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002719859631>
- Sniderman, P. M., Hagendoorn, L., & Prior, M. (2004). Predisposing Factors and Situational Triggers: Exclusionary Reactions to Immigrant Minorities. *American Political Science Review*, 98(1), 35–49. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s000305540400098x>
- Staton, J. K., & Vanberg, G. (2008). The value of vagueness: delegation, defiance, and judicial opinions. *American Journal of Political Science*, 52(3), 504–519. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2008.00326.x>
- Stone Sweet, A. (1998). Rules, dispute resolution, and strategic behavior. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 10(3), 327–338. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0951692898010003006>
- Stone Sweet, A. (2000, February). *Governing with judges: Constitutional Politics in Europe*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/0198297718.001.0001>
- Stone Sweet, A., & Sandholtz, W. (1997). European integration and supranational governance. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 4(3), 297–317. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501769780000011>
- Taggart, P. (2004). Populism and representative politics in contemporary Europe. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 9(3), 269–288. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1356931042000263528>
- Tajfel, H., Billig, M., Bundy, R. P., & Flament, C. (1971). Social categorization and intergroup behaviour. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 1(2), 149–178. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2420010202>
- Tarchi, D., Sermi, F., McMahon, S., Kalantaryan, S., Belmonte, M., & Urso, G. (2020, December 17). *Atlas of migration – 2020*. Publications Office of the European Union. <https://doi.org/10.2760/430992>
- Telle, S., De Blok, L., De Vries, C. E., & Cicchi, L. (2022). Elite-Mass Linkages in the Preference Formation on Differentiated Integration. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 60(6), 1663–1683. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.13339>
- Thistlethwaite, D. L., & Campbell, D. T. (1960). Regression-discontinuity analysis: an alternative to the ex post facto experiment. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 51(6), 309–317. <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0044319>
- Tomz, M., & Weeks, J. L. P. (2013). Public Opinion and the Democratic Peace. *American Political Science Review*, 107(4), 849–865. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0003055413000488>
- Tomz, M., & Weeks, J. L. P. (2020). Human Rights and Public Support for War. *The Journal of Politics*, 82(1), 182–194. <https://doi.org/10.1086/705741>
- Tomz, M., Weeks, J. L. P., & Yarhi-Milo, K. (2020). Public Opinion and Decisions About Military Force in Democracies. *International Organization*, 74(1), 119–143. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0020818319000341>
- Totenberg, N., & McCammon, S. (2022, June 24). *Supreme Court overturns Roe v. Wade, ending right to abortion upheld for decades*. NPR. <https://www.npr.org/2022/06/24/1102305878/supreme-court-abortion-ro-v-wade-decision-overturn>
- Turner, J., Brown, R., & Tajfel, H. (1979). Social comparison and group interest in ingroup favouritism. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 9(2), 187–204. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2420090207>
- United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. (2023). *The Sustainable Development Goals Report 2023: Special edition*. <https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/report/2023/>
- van Oorschot, W. (2000). Who should get what, and why? on deservingness criteria and the conditionality of solidarity among the public. *Policy & Politics*, 28(1), 33–48. <https://doi.org/10.1332/0305573002500811>
- van Oorschot, W. (2006). Making the difference in social europe: Deservingness perceptions among citizens of european welfare states. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 16(1), 23–42. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0958928706059829>

- Vanberg, G. (1998). Abstract judicial review, legislative bargaining, and policy compromise. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 10(3), 299–326. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0951692898010003005>
- Vanberg, G. (2005). *The Politics of Constitutional Review in Germany*. Cambridge University Press.
- Vanberg, G. (2015). Constitutional Courts in Comparative Perspective: A theoretical assessment. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 18(1), 167–185. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-040113-161150>
- Vollaard, H., Van De Bovenkamp, H., & Martinsen, D. S. (2015). The making of a European healthcare union: a federalist perspective. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 23(2), 157–176. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2015.1034160>
- Wahlke, J. C. (1971). Policy Demands and System Support: The Role of the Represented. *British journal of political science (Print)*, 1(3), 271–290. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0007123400009121>
- Wallerstein, I. (2011). *The Modern World-System I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (1st ed.). University of California Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1pnrj9>
- Walter, B. F., Howard, L. M., & Fortna, V. P. (2020). The extraordinary relationship between peace-keeping and peace. *British Journal of Political Science*, 51(4), 1705–1722. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s000712342000023x>
- Walzer, M. (1983, January). *Spheres of Justice: A Defense of Pluralism and Equality*. Basic Books.
- Ward, A. (2024, March 19). *Eco protesters cannot claim a 'climate emergency' as justification for vandalism, the UK's most senior judge rules*. MailOnline. <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-13212441/Eco-protesters-climate-emergency-vandalism-judge-rules.html>
- Watts, R. L. (2008, January 1). *Comparing Federal Systems* (3rd ed.). McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Weede, E. (2003). Globalization: Creative Destruction and the Prospect of a Capitalist Peace. In G. Schneider, K. Barbieri, & N. P. Gleditsch (Eds.), *Globalization and Armed Conflict* (pp. 311–323). Rowman & Littlefield.
- Whitaker, R., Hix, S., & Zapryanova, G. (2017). Understanding Members of the European Parliament: Four waves of the European Parliament Research Group MEP survey. *European Union Politics*, 18(3), 491–506. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1465116516687399>
- Will, J. (1993). The dimensions of poverty: Public perceptions of the deserving poor. *Social Science Research*, 22(3), 312–332. <https://doi.org/10.1006/ssre.1993.1016>
- Winters, M. S. (2014). Targeting, Accountability and Capture in Development Projects. *International Studies Quarterly*, 58(2), 393–404. <https://doi.org/10.1111/isqu.12075>
- Winzen, T. (2015). From Capacity to Sovereignty: Legislative politics and differentiated integration in the European Union. *European Journal of Political Research*, 55(1), 100–119. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12124>
- Winzen, T. (2022). Does differentiated integration weaken parliamentary involvement? Evidence from the European Union's interparliamentary conferences. *European Union Politics*, 24(1), 42–62. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14651165221104907>
- Wright, J., & Winters, M. S. (2010). The Politics of Effective Foreign Aid. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 13(1), 61–80. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.032708.143524>
- Xu, Y. (2017). Generalized Synthetic Control Method: causal inference with interactive fixed effects models. *Political Analysis*, 25(1), 57–76. <https://doi.org/10.1017/pan.2016.2>
- Yordanova, N. (2011). The European Parliament: In need of a theory. *European Union Politics*, 12(4), 597–617. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1465116511417188>
- Zhelyazkova, A. (2014). From selective integration into selective implementation: The link between differentiated integration and conformity with EU laws. *European Journal of Political Research*, 53(4), 727–746. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12062>
- Zulianello, M., & Larsen, E. G. (2023). Blurred positions: The ideological ambiguity of valence populist parties. *Party Politics*, 30(1), 190–199. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13540688231161205>
- Zürn, M. (1996). Über den Staat und die Demokratie im europäischen Mehrebenensystem. *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, 37(1), 27–55.