

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/20075> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

**Author:** Otjes, Simon Pieter

**Title:** Imitating the newcomer. How, when and why established political parties imitate the policy positions and issue attention of new political parties in the electoral and parliamentary arena: the case of the Netherlands

**Issue Date:** 2012-10-31

### Appendix 1: categorization scheme

One can see the categories used in this study in table 9.1. This categorization scheme is based on the categories of the Comparative Agendas Project. Several categories are adapted in order to link these categories better to specific new parties and to streamline voting patterns on these issues. The key changes are that a colonial affairs category has been separated out of the foreign affairs and governance category and that moral issue category has been created from parts of the healthcare, agriculture, justice and science categories. Pensioners' affairs have been moved from social affairs to healthcare. Animals have been moved from the environment to agriculture. Immigration has been removed from the labour category and combined with the civil rights category to form an immigration category.

*Table 9.1: issue categories*

#	Issue (long name)	Issue (short hand)	Comments
1	Macro-Economy and Taxation	Economic Affairs	
2	Integration and Immigration	Immigration	Immigration added
3	Healthcare and Pensioners' Affairs	Healthcare	Pensioners' affairs added Moral issues removed
4	Agriculture and Animals	Agriculture	Animals added Moral issues removed
5	Labour	Labour	Immigration removed
6	Education and Culture	Education	
7	Environment	Environment	Animals removed
8	Energy	Energy	
9	Transport	Transport	
10	Justice, Courts and Crime	Justice	Moral issues removed
11	Social Affairs	Social Affairs	Pensioners' affairs and moral issues removed
12	Community development, Housing and Urban Planning	Housing	
13	Enterprises, Banks and Internal Trade	Enterprise	
14	Defence	Defence	
15	Science, Technology and Communication	Science	Moral issues removed
16	Foreign Trade	Trade	
17	Foreign Affairs	Foreign Affairs	Development cooperation removed
18	Democracy and Governance	Governance	Colonial Affairs removed
19	Land, Nature and Water Management	Land Management	
20	Moral issues	Moral Issues	New Category
21	Colonial Relations and Development Cooperation	Colonial Affairs	New Category

## Appendix 2: attention in the parliamentary arena

Additional regression models are included, which serve as robust checks of the results presented in chapter 5 in table 10.1 to 10.3.

*Table 10.1: multivariate regressions for attention in parliament*

Variable	Model 1	Model 2
Dependent Variable	Change in parliamentary attention	Change in parliamentary attention
Intercept	-0.0445 (0.0768)	-0.065 (0.061)
New Party Activity	0.0032 (0.0025)	0.0028 (0.0020)
Challenged	0.0676 (0.0615)	0.0831* (0.0493)
Mobiliser	0.0745 (0.0466)	0.0731** (0.0311)
Party Distance	0.000 (0.0584)	-
New Party Size	-0.0094 (0.0057)	-0.0091* (0.0046)
New Party Organisation	-0.0402 (0.07366)	0.0016 (0.0571)
New Party in Government	0.2091*** (0.0466)	0.1897*** (0.0412)
Established Party Performance	0.00120* (0.0007)	0.0007 (0.0006)
R-Squared	0.200	0.145
N	105	165

*Table 10.2: expanded statistical analysis of attention in parliamentary arena (robustness check, 1)*

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Intercept	0.010*** (0.003)	0.010*** (0.003)	0.010*** (0.003)	0.010*** (0.003)
New Party Presence	0.014 (0.015)	-	-	-
New Party Attention	-	0.001 (0.001)	-	-
Challenged	-	-	0.065 (0.063)	-
Mobiliser	-	-	-	0.028 (0.021)
R-Squared	0.000	0.003	0.001	0.000

n=3336

*Table 10.3: expanded statistical analysis of attention in parliamentary arena (robustness check, 2)*

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Model 6</b>	<b>Model 7</b>	<b>Model 8</b>	<b>Model 9</b>
Intercept	0.010*** (0.003)	0.010*** (0.003)	0.010*** (0.003)	0.010*** (0.003)
New Party Presence	-	-	-	0.014 (0.015)
New Party Size	0.004 (0.003)	-	-	-
New Party Organisation	-	0.015 (0.016)	-	-
New Party Government	-	-	0.111*** (0.033)	-
Est. Party Performance	-	-	-	0.049*** (0.017)
Interaction Term	-	-	-	-0.025 (0.080)
R-Squared	0.000	0.000	0.003	0.003

n=3336



Table 11.2: full party positions (2)

Issue	Immigration		Health		Social Affairs/ Labour		Immigration			Governance		Agriculture	
	'77-81	'82	'89	'94	'89	'94	'98	'02-3	'06	'98	'02-3	'03	'06
SGP	1.5	5	3	7.5	3	4	3	5	4	1	6	3.5	4
VVD	3.5	2	1	12	2	2	1	1	2	8	9	2	2
CPN	3.5	7											
PSP	7.5	10											
GPV	1.5	3	4	9	5	5							
PvdA	9	6	7	10	8	9	6	8	6	7	5	8	6
D66	6	8	8	11	7	10	5	7	10	6	7	7	7
PPR	7.5	11											
CDA	5	12	6	3	6	3	2	3	3	3	3	3.5	3
RPF		4	5	7.5	4	6							
CP/CD		1	2	1	1	1							
EVP		9											
GL			9	4	9	12	8	10	9	5	4	9	8
SP				5		11	7	8	7	4	1	10	9
U55+				2		8							
AOV				6		7							
CU							4	6	5	2	7	6	5
LPF							4			2	1		
PVV							2	1			5	1	
PvdD									8				10

*Table 11.3: diagnostic statistics concerning moral issues 1967-1977*

<b>Statistic</b>	<b>1967-1981</b>	<b>1971-1977</b>	<b>1977-1981</b>	<b>1981-1986</b>
N	20	38	39	56
PCCC	0.92	0.90	0.93	0.89
APRE	0.70	0.57	0.69	0.49
% Unanimous	0.02	0.07	0.07	0.06
Correlation	0.94***		0.82***	

*Table 11.4: diagnostic statistics concerning governance 1963-1977*

<b>Statistic</b>	<b>1963-1967</b>	<b>1967-1971</b>	<b>1971-1977</b>
N	15	46	82
PCCC	0.90	0.91	0.92
APRE	0.65	0.58	0.70
% Unanimous	0.12	0.09	0.07
Correlation	0.92***		0.87***

*Table 11.5: diagnostic statistics concerning the environment 1967-1977*

<b>Statistic</b>	<b>1967-1971</b>	<b>1971-1977</b>
N	13	157
PCCC	0.94	0.91
APRE	0.80	0.60
% Unanimous	0.027	0.09
Correlation	0.90***	

*Table 11.6: diagnostic statistics concerning economic affairs 1967-1977*

<b>Statistic</b>	<b>1967-1971</b>	<b>1971-1977</b>
N	53	106
PCCC	0.94	0.92
APRE	0.64	0.64
% Unanimous	0.11	0.05
Correlation	0.85***	

*Table 11.7: diagnostic statistics concerning defence 1977-1986*

<b>Statistics</b>	<b>1977-1982</b>	<b>1982-1986</b>
N	34	39
PCCC	0.95	0.96
APRE	0.80	0.84
% Unanimous	0.06	0.10
Correlation	0.92***	

*Table 11.8: diagnostic statistics concerning immigration 1977-1986*

<b>Statistic</b>	<b>1977-1982</b>	<b>1982-1986</b>
N	13	48
PCCC	0.98	0.95
APRE	0.86	0.76
% Unanimous	0.17	0.15
Correlation	0.56	

Table 11.9: diagnostic statistics concerning health 1989-1998

Statistic	1989-1994	1994-1998	1998-2002
N	59	77	98
PCCC 1D	0.90	0.93	0.90
APRE 1D	0.49	0.55	0.53
Mean PCCC 2D	0.96	0.96	n/a
Mean APRE 2D	0.85	0.80	n/a
% Unanimous	0.24	0.20	n/a
Correlation 1D	-0.03		n/a
Correlation 2D D1	0.55		n/a
Correlation 2D D2	0.73**		n/a
Root of Squared Error	1.31		n/a

Table 11.10: diagnostic statistics concerning labour and social affairs 1989-1994

Statistic	1989-1994	1994-1998
N	91	117
PCCC	0.90	0.90
APRE	0.52	0.52
% Unanimous	0.15	0.15
Correlation	0.87***	

Table 11.11: diagnostic statistics concerning governance 1998-2006

Statistic	1998-2002	2002-2006
N	98	64
PCCC 1D	0.90	0.90
APRE 1D	0.63	0.57
Mean PCCC 2D	0.96	0.96
Mean APRE 2D	0.86	0.85
% Unanimous	0.26	0.20
Correlation 1D	0.02	
Correlation 2D D1	0.92***	
Correlation 2D D2	0.43	
Root of Squared Error	1.58	

Table 11.12: diagnostic statistics concerning immigration 1998-201

Statistic	1998-2002	2002-2006	2006-2010
N	95	116	80
PCCC	0.91	0.93	0.94
APRE	0.62	0.76	0.75
% Unanimous	0.13	0.15	0.05
Correlation	1***		0.86***



*Table 11.13: diagnostic statistics concerning agriculture 2003-2010*

<b>Statistic</b>	<b>2003-2006</b>	<b>2006-2010</b>
N	44	93
PCCC	0.95	0.93
APRE	0.83	0.77
% Unanimous	0.19	0.03
Correlation	0.97***	

*Table 11.14: multivariate regression for position in parliament*

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Result</b>
Dependent Variable	Change in parliamentary position
Intercept	0.144*** (0.047)
Challenged	-0.021 (0.038)
Mobiliser	0.0012 (0.024)
Party Distance	0.042 (0.025)
New Party Size	-0.007** (0.003)
New Party Organisation	-0.079* (0.045)
New Party in Government	0.028 (0.027)
Established Party Performance	0.000 (0.000)
R-Squared	0.116
N	114

Table 11.15: comparing two-dimensional models

Period	APRE <sup>a</sup>		Votes <sup>b</sup>	Procrustean Analysis		
	1D	2D		Sum of Squares <sup>c</sup>	Correlation <sup>d</sup>	
					D1	D2
1963-1967	0.544	0.877	128	-	-	-
1967-1971	0.574	0.812	394	0.430	0.944***	0.902***
1971-1977	0.653	0.819	1218	1.045	0.966***	0.700***
1977-1981	0.594	0.838	1180	0.944	0.968***	0.745
1981-1986	0.594	0.808	2005	1.142	0.985***	0.068
1986-1989	0.596	0.846	626	0.337	0.970***	0.959***
1989-1994	0.507	0.853	1324	0.763	0.914***	0.914***
1994-1998	0.441	0.722	1569	0.344	0.956***	0.946***
1998-2002	0.566	0.867	1395	0.134	0.970***	0.984***
2002-2006	0.617	0.848	1563	0.192	0.989***	0.967***
2006-2010	0.592	0.833	1627	2.406	0.958***	0.406
2010-2011	0.650	0.845	279	0.492	0.938***	0.894***

<sup>a</sup> Measure of Error for One-Dimensional and Two-Dimensional Model;

<sup>b</sup> Number of Votes;

<sup>c</sup> Sum of Squared distances between solution in period 1 and period 2;

<sup>d</sup> Correlation between vertical and horizontal dimension for period 1 and period 2.

Table 11.16: comparing voting on issues and systems

Period	Issue	B <sub>1</sub>	B <sub>2</sub>	R-Squared
1963-1967	Governance	-7.600 (2.625)	2.642 (1.420)	0.641
1967-1971	Governance	-14.875 (1.797)	3.164 (1.068)	0.883
1967-1971	Environment (broad)	-11.979 (1.797)	1.614 (1.066)	0.850
1967-1971	Economic Affairs	-15.009 (2.221)	0.2991 (1.320)	0.820
1967-1971	Moral issues	-11.340 (2.277)	1.592 (1.351)	0.760
1971-1977	Governance	-7.6973 (0.8858)	0.6937 (1.009)	0.873
1971-1977	Environment (broad)	-7.8583 (0.749)	0.3412 (0.8535)	0.850
1971-1977	Economic Affairs	-7.956 (1.057)	3.660 (1.094)	0.846
1971-1977	Moral issues	-7.480 (0.823)	-1.962 (0.9379)	0.890
1977-1981	Migration	-2.582 (0.790)	-2.590 (1.494)	0.727
1977-1981	Defence	-4.592 (0.524)	0.596 (0.804)	0.907
1977-1981	Moral issues	-4.441 (0.664)	0.6515 (1.019)	0.850
1981-1986	Migration	-3.584 (1.367)	2.430 (1.724)	0.502
1981-1986	Defence	-5.230 (0.519)	2.293 (0.655)	0.928
1981-1986	Moral issues	-3.315 (1.031)	-4.036 (1.554)	0.735
1989-1994	Health	-4.811 (1.689)	-0.436 (1.248)	0.741
1989-1994	Labour and Social Affairs	-5.142 (0.880)	-0.623 (0.940)	0.853
1994-1998	Health	-1.977 (2.508)	-2.725 (2.866)	0.140
1994-1998	Labour and Social Affairs	-7.408 (1.071)	-1.418 (1.224)	0.844
1998-2002	Migration	-4.768 (0.2615)	-0.625 (0.2755)	0.985
1998-2002	Governance	0.304 (0.796)	-4.733 (0.838)	0.865
2002-2006	Migration	4.755 (0.756)	0.068 (0.720)	0.872
2002-2006	Governance	-1.671 (1.727)	1.729 (1.644)	0.227
2002-2006	Agriculture	5.697 (0.405)	0.050 (0.385)	0.901
2006-2010	Migration	-5.242 (1.081)	-1.441 (1.576)	0.777
2006-2010	Agriculture	-5.508 (0.698)	-2.489 (1.018)	0.907

#### Appendix 4: attention in the electoral arena

In table 12.1 to 12.5 additional regression models are included, which serve as robust checks of the results presented in the chapter.

*Table 12.1: multivariate regressions for attention in the electoral arena*

Variable	Model 1	Model 2
Dependent Variable	Reactive Change in Electoral Attention	Reactive Change in Electoral Attention
Intercept	0.280*** (0.088)	0.248* (0.125)
New Party Attention	-0.006** (0.003)	-0.007*** (0.003)
Challenged	-0.116 (0.172)	-0.054 (0.178)
Mobiliser	-0.136 (0.091)	0.092 (0.136)
Party Distance	-0.091 (0.305)	-0.625 (0.387)
New Party Size	0.006 (0.015)	-0.009 (0.016)
New Party Organisation	-	0.005 (0.011)
New Party Government	0.022 (0.133)	0.152 (0.149)
Established Party Performance	-0.004** (0.002)	-0.007*** (0.002)
R-Squared	0.114	0.201
N	151	93

*Table 12.2: expanded statistical analysis of attention in the electoral arena (robustness check, 1)*

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Intercept	0.036*** (0.008)	0.038*** (0.007)	0.036*** (0.007)	0.037*** (0.007)	0.036*** (0.007)
New Party Presence	0.004 (0.034)	-	-	-	-
New Party Attention	-	-0.002 (0.001)	-	-	-
Challenged	-	-	-0.137 (0.148)	-	-
Mobiliser	-	-	-	-0.041 (0.044)	-
Party Distance	-	-	-	-	-0.005 (0.150)
R-Squared	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

n=2898, except for the analysis of new party organisation (n=2854); all analyses weighted by the sum of the square roots of the lengths of the manifestos

*Table 12.3: expanded statistical analysis of attention in the electoral arena (robustness check, 2)*

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Model 6</b>	<b>Model 7</b>	<b>Model 8</b>	<b>Model 9</b>
Intercept	0.035*** (0.003)	0.035*** (0.007)	0.035*** (0.007)	0.034*** (0.008)
New Party Presence	-	-	-	0.007 (0.033)
New Party Size	0.001 (0.007)	-	-	-
New Party Organisation	-	0.081 (0.081)	-	-
New Party Government	-	-	0.058 (0.075)	-
Est. Party Performance	-	-	-	0.088** (0.043)
Interaction Term	-	-	-	-0.273 (0.171)
R-Squared	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.002

n=2898, except for the analysis of new party organisation (n=2854); all analyses weighted by the sum of the square roots of the lengths of the manifestos

*Table 12.4: expanded statistical analysis of anticipation in attention in the electoral arena (robustness check, 1)*

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Model 10</b>	<b>Model 11</b>	<b>Model 12</b>	<b>Model 13</b>	<b>Model 14</b>
Intercept	0.022*** (0.006)	0.027*** (0.006)	0.022*** (0.006)	0.024*** (0.006)	0.022*** (0.006)
New Party Presence	-0.001 (0.028)	-	-	-	-
New Party Attention	-	-0.002 (0.001)	-	-	-
Challenged	-	-	-0.022 (0.128)	-	-
Mobiliser	-	-	-	-0.077** (0.038)	-
Party Distance	-	-	-	-	-0.013 (0.184)
R-Squared	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.001	0.000

n=4011, except for the analysis of new party organisation (n=3967); all analyses by the sum of the square roots of the lengths of the manifestos

*Table 12.5: expanded statistical analysis of anticipation in attention in the electoral arena (robustness check, 2)*

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Model 15</b>	<b>Model 16</b>	<b>Model 17</b>	<b>Model 18</b>
Intercept	0.021*** (0.006)	0.025*** (0.006)	0.027*** (0.006)	0.022*** (0.006)
New Party Presence	-	-	-	0.006 (0.029)
Divorce	0.061 (0.047)	-	-	-
New Party Size	-	0.003 (0.006)	-	-
New Party Organisation	-	-	-0.000 (0.006)	-
Est. Party Performance	-	-	-	0.028 (0.032)
Interaction Term	-	-	-	-0.326** (0.131)
R-Squared	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.002

n=4011, except for the analysis of new party organisation (n=3967); all analyses by the sum of the square roots of the lengths of the manifestos

### Appendix 5: party positions in the electoral arena

An additional regression model is presented in table 13.1. This serves as a robustness check of the results presented in the chapter.

*Table 13.1: multivariate regressions for position in the electoral arena*

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Model 1</b>	<b>Model 2</b>
Dependent Variable	Reactive Change in Electoral Position	Anticipatory Change in Electoral Position
Intercept	0.040*** (0.012)	0.293*** (0.075)
Challenged	-0.005 (0.028)	-0.024 (0.177)
Mobiliser	-0.011 (0.016)	0.035 (0.088)
Party Distance	-0.054 (0.057)	0.544 (0.350)
New Party Size	0.001 (0.003)	0.028** (0.012)
New Party Government	-0.027 (0.026)	-
Established Party Performance	-0.087** (0.034)	-0.010 (0.010)
R-Squared	0.060	0.064
N	161	161

### Appendix 6: all new parties

Table 14.1 provides an overview of all parties that ran in elections for the *Tweede Kamer* between 1946 and 2010. Out of this list the new parties that are studied are selected. This list includes the party name in Dutch and English, the year in which the party first ran in elections, the election result, the inclusion and the reasons for (not) including the party.

Table 14.1: all parties that ran in *Tweede Kamer* elections 1946-2010

#	Party Name		First Election		Inclusion	
	Dutch	English	Year	Seats	Incl.	Reason
1	<i>Katholieke Volkspartij</i>	Catholic People's Party	1946	32	no	transformation
2	<i>Lijst-Bellamy</i>	List-Bellamy	1946	0	no	no representation
3	<i>Lijst-Lopez</i>	List-Lopez	1946	0	no	no representation
4	<i>Protestantse Unie</i>	Protestant Union	1946	0	no	no representation
5	<i>Partij van de Arbeid</i>	Labour Party	1946	29	no	merger
6	<i>Partij voor de Vrijheid</i>	Freedom Party	1946	6	no	transformation
7	<i>Lijst-Welter</i>	List-Welter	1948	2	yes	
8	<i>Middenstandspartij</i>	Small Business Party	1948	0	no	no representation
9	<i>Onafhankelijke Nationale Groep</i>	Independent National Group	1948	0	no	no representation
10	<i>Oud Sociaal-Democratische Arbeiderspartij</i>	Former Social-Democratic Workers' Party	1948	0	no	no representation
11	<i>Revolutionaire Communistische Partij</i>	Revolutionary Communist Party	1948	0	no	no representation
12	<i>Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie</i>	People's Party for Freedom and Democracy	1948	0	no	transformation
13	<i>Gereformeerd Politiek Verbond</i>	Reformed Political League	1952	1 (1963)	yes	
14	<i>Jong Conservatief Verbond</i>	Young Conservative League	1952	0	no	no representation
15	<i>Katholiek Nationale Partij</i>	Catholic National Party	1952	2	no	transformation
16	<i>Partij voor Recht en Vrijheid</i>	Party for Justice and Liberty	1952	0	no	no representation
17	<i>Socialistische Unie</i>	Socialist Union	1952	0	no	no representation
18	<i>Nationale Oppositie Unie</i>	National Opposition Union	1956	0	no	no representation
19	<i>Nationale Unie</i>	National Union	1956	0	no	no representation
20	<i>BP/BMP</i>		1959	0	no	no representation
21	<i>Lijst-Wagenaar</i>	List-Wagenaar	1959	0	no	no representation
22	<i>Protestants-Christelijke Nationale Unie</i>	Protestant-Christian National Union	1959	0	no	no representation
23	<i>Pacifistisch-Socialistische Partij</i>	Pacifist-Socialist Party	1959	2	yes	
24	<i>Boerenpartij</i>	Farmers Party	1963	3	yes	



Table 14.1: all parties that ran in Tweede Kamer elections 1946-2010

#	Party Name		First Election		Inclusion	
	Dutch	English	Year	Seats	Incl.	Reason
25	<i>Christelijk Nationale Volkspartij</i>	Christian National People's Party	1963	0	no	no representation
26	<i>Lijst-Grol</i>	List-Grol	1963	0	no	no representation
27	<i>Liberale Staatspartij</i>	Liberal State Party	1963	0	no	no representation
28	<i>Nieuwe Democratische Partij</i>	New Democratic Party	1963	0	no	no representation
29	<i>Partij Economisch Appel</i>	Party Economic Appeal	1963	0	no	no representation
30	<i>Partij voor Volksreferendum</i>	Party for a Popular Referendum	1963	0	no	no representation
31	<i>Veilig Verkeer/100.000 woningen</i>	Safe Traffic/100.000 houses	1963	0	no	no representation
32	<i>Alarm</i>	Alarm	1967	0	no	no representation
33	<i>Christen-Democratische Unie</i>	Christian Democratic Union	1967	0	no	no representation
34	<i>Democraten '66</i>	Democrats 66	1967	7	yes	
35	<i>Landsbelangen</i>	National Interests	1967	0	no	no representation
36	<i>Lijst-Germeaux</i>	List-Germeaux	1967	0	no	no representation
37	<i>Lijst-Rodermond</i>	List-Rodermond	1967	0	no	no representation
38	<i>Lijst-Voogd</i>	List-Voogd	1967	0	no	no representation
39	<i>Liberale Volkspartij</i>	Liberal People's Party	1967	0	no	no representation
40	<i>Noodraad</i>	Emergency Council	1967	0	no	no representation
41	<i>Nederlandse Werknemerspartij</i>	Dutch Employees Council	1967	0	no	no representation
42	<i>Partij van het Recht</i>	Justice Party	1967	0	no	no representation
43	<i>Partij voor Ongehuwden</i>	Party for the Unmarried	1967	0	no	no representation
44	<i>Algemene Bejaardenpartij Nederland</i>	General Elderly Party Netherlands	1971	0	no	no representation
45	<i>Bejaarden en Arbeiderspartij</i>	Elderly and Workers' Party	1971	0	no	no representation
46	<i>Bejaardenpartij 65+</i>	Elderly Party 65+	1971	0	no	no representation
47	<i>Bejaardenpartij Algemeen Belang</i>	Elderly Party General Interest	1971	0	no	no representation
48	<i>Binding Rechts</i>	Binding Rightwing	1971	0	no	no representation
49	<i>Democraten 2000, Partij voor de Gewone Man</i>	Democrats 2000, Party for the Common Man	1971	0	no	no representation
50	<i>Democratisch Socialisten 1970</i>	Democratic Socialists 1970	1971	8	yes	
51	<i>Kabouters</i>	Leprechaun	1971	0	no	no representation
52	<i>Lijst-Van Velsen</i>	List-Van Velzen	1971	0	no	no representation
53	<i>Landelijke Part voor Bejaarden</i>	National Elderly Party	1971	0	no	no representation
54	<i>Nederlands Appel</i>	Dutch Appeal	1971	0	no	no representation
55	<i>Nieuwe Midden Partij</i>	New Centre Party	1971	2	yes	
56	<i>Nieuwe Roomse Partij</i>	New Roman Party	1971	0	no	no representation
57	<i>Politieke Partij Radicaalen</i>	Political Party Radicals	1971	0	no	no representation

Table 14.1: all parties that ran in Tweede Kamer elections 1946-2010

#	Party Name		First Election		Inclusion	
	Dutch	English	Year	Seats	Incl.	Reason
58	<i>Positief Social-Democraten</i>	Positive Social-Democrats	1971	0	no	no representation
59	<i>Stichting Gedupeerde Groepen 18-65+</i>	Foundation for Disadvantaged Groups 18-65+	1971	0	no	no representation
60	<i>Anti-Woningnood Actie</i>	Anti Housing Shortage Action	1972	0	no	no representation
61	<i>Democratische Middenstandspartij</i>	Democratic Small Business Party	1972	0	no	no representation
62	<i>Lijst-Stam</i>	List-Stam	1972	0	no	no representation
63	<i>Rooms-Katholieke Partij Nederland</i>	Roman-Catholic Party Netherlands	1972	1	yes	
64	<i>Christen-Democratisch Appel</i>	Christian Democratic Appeal	1977	49	no	merger
65	<i>Democratisch Actiecentrum</i>	Democratic Action Centre	1977	0	no	no representation
66	<i>Europese Conservatieve Unie</i>	European Conservative Union	1977	0	no	no representation
67	<i>Federatie Bejaardenpartijen Nederland</i>	Federation Elderly Parties the Netherlands	1977	0	no	no representation
68	<i>Kommunistische Eenheidspartij Nederland</i>	Communist Unity Party Netherlands	1977	0	no	no representation
69	<i>Lijst-Griek</i>	List-Griek	1977	0	no	no representation
70	<i>Lijst-Jusia</i>	List-Jusia	1977	0	no	no representation
71	<i>Nederlandse Volksunie</i>	Dutch People's Union	1977	0	no	no representation
72	<i>Partij voor de Belastingbetalers</i>	Tax Payers' Party	1977	0	no	no representation
73	<i>Reformatorisch Politieke Federatie</i>	Reformed Political Federation	1977	2 (1981)	yes	
74	<i>Socialistische Partij</i>	Socialist Party	1977	2 (1994)	yes	
75	<i>Verbond tegen Ambtelijke Willekeur</i>	League against Bureaucratic Arbitrariness	1977	0	no	no representation
76	<i>Centrumpartij</i>	Centre Party	1981	1	yes	
77	<i>Evangelische Volkspartij</i>	Evangelical People's Party	1981	1	yes	
78	<i>God met Ons</i>	God with Us	1981	0	no	no representation
79	<i>International Kommunistenbond</i>	International Communist League	1981	0	no	no representation
80	<i>Kleine Partij</i>	Small Party	1981	0	no	no representation
81	<i>Leefbaar Nederland</i>	Liveable Netherlands	1981	0	no	no representation
82	<i>Nederlandse Evolutiepartij</i>	Dutch Evolution Party	1981	0	no	no representation
83	<i>Partij Likwidatie van Nederland</i>	Party for the Liquidation of the Netherlands	1981	0	no	no representation

Table 14.1: all parties that ran in Tweede Kamer elections 1946-2010

#	Party Name		First Election		Inclusion	
	Dutch	English	Year	Seats	Incl.	Reason
84	<i>Partij voor Rijksgenoten</i>	Party for Kingdom inhabitants	1981	0	no	no representation
85	<i>Realisten '81</i>	Realists 81	1981	0	no	no representation
86	<i>Rechtse Volkspartij</i>	Rightwing People's Party	1981	0	no	no representation
87	<i>Save Our Souls</i>	Save Our Souls	1981	0	no	no representation
88	<i>Vredespartij</i>	Peace Party	1981	0	no	no representation
89	<i>Wereld Welzijn Bewustwording</i>	World Wellbeing Consciousness	1981	0	no	no representation
90	<i>Behoud Milieu Werk Maatschappij</i>	Keep Environment Work Society	1982	0	no	no representation
91	<i>Anti-Revolutionaire '85</i>	Anti-Revolutionaries '85	1986	0	no	no representation
92	<i>Centrum-Democraten</i>	Centre Democrats	1986	1 (1989)	no	transformation
93	<i>Federatieve Groenen</i>	Federated Greens	1986	0	no	no representation
94	<i>Humanistische Partij</i>	Humanist Party	1986	0	no	no representation
95	<i>Lijst-Brummer</i>	List-Brummer	1986	0	no	no representation
96	<i>Lijst-Wissink</i>	List-Wissink	1986	0	no	no representation
97	<i>Loesje</i>		1986	0	no	no representation
98	<i>Partij Algemeen Belang</i>	Party for the General Interest	1986	0	no	no representation
99	<i>Partij van Ambtenaren en Trendvolgers</i>	Party for Civil Servants and Trends Followers	1986	0	no	no representation
100	<i>Partij Geluk voor Iedereen</i>	Party for Happiness for Everyone	1986	0	no	no representation
101	<i>Partij voor de Middengroepen</i>	Party for Centre Groups	1986	0	no	no representation
102	<i>Socialistische Arbeiderspartij</i>	Socialist Workers' Party	1986	0	no	no representation
103	<i>Verbond Communisten Nederland</i>	League of Communists Netherlands	1986	0	no	no representation
104	<i>Anti-Werkeloosheidspartij</i>	Anti-Unemployment Party	1989	0	no	no representation
105	<i>Bejaarden Centraal</i>	Elderly Central	1989	0	no	no representation
106	<i>De Groenen</i>	The Greens	1989	0	no	no representation
107	<i>Grote Alliance Partij</i>	Large Alliance Party	1989	0	no	no representation
108	<i>GroenLinks</i>	GreenLeft	1989	6	no	merger
109	<i>Milieu Defensie Partij 2000+</i>	Environment Defense Party 2000+	1989	0	no	no representation
110	<i>Partij Democratisch- Socialisten</i>	Party Democratic Socialists	1989	0	no	no representation
111	<i>Politieke Partij voor Ouderen</i>	Political Party for the Elderly	1989	0	no	no representation
112	<i>Realisten Nederland</i>	Realists the Netherlands	1989	0	no	no representation
113	<i>Staatskundige Federatie</i>	Political Federation	1989	0	no	no representation
114	<i>Socialistische Minderheden Partij</i>	Socialist Minorities Party	1989	0	no	no representation

Table 14.1: all parties that ran in Tweede Kamer elections 1946-2010

#	Party Name		First Election		Inclusion	
	Dutch	English	Year	Seats	Incl.	Reason
115	<i>Vooruitstrevende Minderhedenpartij</i>	Progressive Minorities Party	1989	0	no	no representation
116	<i>Vrouwenpartij</i>	Vrouwenpartij	1989	0	no	no representation
117	<i>Algemene Democratische Partij</i>	General Democratic Party	1994	0	no	no representation
118	<i>Algemeen Ouderenverbond</i>	General Pensioners' League	1994	6	yes	
119	<i>Centrumpartij '86</i>	Centre Party 86	1994	0	no	no representation
120	<i>De Nieuwe Partij</i>	The New Party	1994	0	no	no representation
121	<i>Libertarische Partij</i>	Libertarian Party	1994	0	no	no representation
122	<i>Nieuwe Communistische Partij Nederland</i>	New Communist Party Netherlands	1994	0	no	no representation
123	<i>Partij Democratisch Appel</i>	Party Democratic Appeal	1994	0	no	no representation
124	<i>Partij voor Milieu en Recht</i>	Party for the environment and Justice	1994	0	no	no representation
125	<i>Pacifistisch-Socialistische Partij '92</i>	Pacifist-Socialist Party '92	1994	0	no	no representation
126	<i>Solidair '93</i>	Social '93	1994	0	no	no representation
127	<i>Socialistische Arbeiderspartij - Rebel</i>	Socialist Workers' Party - Rebel	1994	0	no	no representation
128	<i>Solidariteit Boerenpartij</i>	Solidarity Farmers' Party	1994	0	no	no representation
129	<i>Unie 55+</i>	Union 55+	1994	1	yes	
130	<i>Vrije Indische Partij</i>	Free Indian Party	1994	0	no	no representation
131	<i>Algemeen Ouderenverbond/Unie 55+</i>	General Pensioners' League/Union 55+	1998	0	no	no representation
132	<i>Idealisten/Jij</i>	Idealists & You	1998	0	no	no representation
133	<i>Het Kiezers Collectief</i>	The Electors' Collective	1998	0	no	no representation
134	<i>Katholieke Politieke Partij</i>	Catholic Political Party	1998	0	no	no representation
135	<i>Nederland Mobiel</i>	Netherlands Mobile	1998	0	no	no representation
136	<i>Nieuw Solidair Ouderen Verbond</i>	New Social Elderly League	1998	0	no	no representation
137	<i>Senioren 2000</i>	Seniors 2000	1998	0	no	no representation
138	<i>Natuurwetpartij</i>	Natural Law Party	1998	0	no	no representation
139	<i>ChristenUnie</i>	ChristianUnion	2002	4	no	merger
140	<i>Duurzaam Nederland</i>	Sustainable Netherlands	2002	0	no	no representation
141	<i>Lijst Pim Fortuyn</i>	List Pim Fortuyn	2002	26	yes	
142	<i>Partij van de Toekomst</i>	Party of the Future	2002	0	no	no representation
143	<i>Vrije Indische Partij/Ouderenunie</i>	Free Indian Party/Elderly Union	2002	0	no	no representation
144	<i>Verenigde Senioren Partij</i>	United Seniors Party	2002	0	no	no representation
145	<i>Republikeinse Volkspartij</i>	Republican People's Party	2002	0	no	no representation
146	<i>Leefbaar Nederland</i>	Liveable Netherlands	2002	2	yes	
147	<i>Alliantie Vernieuwing en Democratie</i>	Alliance Renewal and Democracy	2003	0	no	no representation

Table 14.1: all parties that ran in Tweede Kamer elections 1946-2010

#	Party Name		First Election		Inclusion	
	Dutch	English	Year	Seats	Incl.	Reason
148	<i>De Conservatieven.nl</i>	The Conservatives.nl	2003	0	no	no representation
149	<i>Lijst-Ratelband</i>	List-Ratelband	2003	0	no	no representation
150	<i>Lijst-Veldhoen</i>	List-Veldhoen	2003	0	no	no representation
151	<i>Partij voor de Dieren</i>	Party for the Animals	2003	2 (2006)	yes	
152	<i>Ad Bos Collectief</i>	Ad Bos Collective	2006	0	no	no representation
153	<i>Continue Direct Democratie Partij</i>	Continuous Direct Democracy Party	2006	0	no	no representation
154	<i>Een NL</i>	One Netherlands	2006	0	no	no representation
155	<i>Groen Vrij Internet Partij</i>	Green Free Internet Party	2006	0	no	no representation
156	<i>Liberaal-Democratische Partij</i>	Liberal Democratic Party	2006	0	no	no representation
157	<i>Lijst 14</i>	List 14	2006	0	no	no representation
158	<i>Lijst 21</i>	List 21	2006	0	no	no representation
159	<i>Liefde, Respect en Vrijheid - Het Zeteltje</i>	Love, Respect, Freedom - the Small Seat	2006	0	no	no representation
160	<i>Lijst Vijf Fortuyn</i>	List Five Fortuyn	2006	0	no	no representation
161	<i>Nederland Transparant</i>	Netherlands Transparent	2006	0	no	no representation
162	<i>Partij voor Nederland</i>	Party for the Netherlands	2006	0	no	no representation
163	<i>Tamara's Open Partij</i>	Tamara's Open Party	2006	0	no	no representation
164	<i>Solide Multiculturele Partij</i>	Solid Multicultural Party	2006	0	no	no representation
165	<i>Partij voor de Vrijheid</i>	Freedom Party	2006	9	yes	
166	<i>Trots op Nederland</i>	Proud of the Netherlands	2010	0	no	no representation
167	<i>Partij voor Mens en Spirit</i>	Party for Human and Spirit	2010	0	no	no representation
168	<i>Piratenpartij</i>	Pirate Party	2010	0	no	no representation
169	<i>Lijst 17</i>	List 17	2010	0	no	no representation
170	<i>Nieuw Nederland</i>	New Netherlands	2010	0	no	no representation
171	<i>Partij Eén</i>	Party One	2010	0	no	no representation
172	<i>Heel NL</i>	Whole NL	2010	0	no	no representation
173	<i>Lijst 19</i>	List 19	2010	0	no	no representation

Source: Kiesraad (2011)

## Bibliography

- Akkerman, T. 2005. "Anti-immigration parties and the defence of liberal values: the exceptional case of the List Pim Fortuyn". *Journal of Political Ideologies* 10 (3):337-354.
- Albertazzi, D. & D. McDonnell. 2008. "Introduction: The sceptre and the spectre". In *Twenty-first century populism: the spectre and the sceptre*, edited by D. Albertazzi & D. McDonnell. London: Palgrave.
- Alder, E.S. 2002. "New issues, new members: committee composition and the transformation of issue agendas on the House banking and public works committee". In *Policy dynamics*, edited by F.R. Baumgartner & B.D. Jones. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Andeweg, R. B. & G.A. Irwin. 2009. *Governance and politics of the Netherlands*. third ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Andeweg, R. B. & J. Thomassen. 2011. "Pathways to party unity: sanctions, loyalty, homogeneity and division of labour in the Dutch parliament". *Party Politics* 17 (5):655-672.
- Bale, T. 2003. "Cinderella and her ugly sisters: the mainstream and the extreme right in Europe's bipolarising party system". *West European Politics* 26 (3):67-90.
- . 2008. "Turning round the telescope. centre-right parties and immigration and integration policy in Europe". *Journal of European Public Policy* 15 (3):315-330.
- Bale, T., C. Green-Pedersen, A. Krouwel & N. Sitter. 2010. "If you can't beat them, join them? Explaining social democratic responses to the challenge from the populist radical right in Western Europe". *Political Studies* 58 (3):410-426.
- Bara, J.L. 2006. "The 2005 Manifestos: a sense of *Déjà Vu*". *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 16 (3):265-281.
- Bardi, L. & P. Mair. 2008. "The parameters of party systems". *Party Politics* 14 (2):147-166.
- Barnea, S. & G. Rahat. 2011. "'Out with the old, in with the new': What constitutes a new party?". *Party Politics* 17 (3):303-320.
- Bartolini, S. 1998. "Coalition potential and governmental power". In *Comparing party system change*, edited by P. Pennings & J.E. Lane. London: Routledge.
- Baumgartner, F.R. & B.D. Jones. 1993. *Agendas and instability in American politics*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Beekers, W.P. 2005. "Mao in de Polder. Een historisch-sociologische benadering van het Nederlandse Maoïsme 1964-1978". Master Thesis, History Department, Radboud University, Nijmegen.
- Bélanger, E. & B.M. Meguid. 2008. "Issue saliency, issue ownership and Issue-based vote choice". *Electoral Studies* 27 (3):477-491.
- Blondel, J. 1968. "Party systems and patterns of government in Western democracies". *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 1 (2):180-203.
- Boivin, B., H. Hazelhoff, B. Middel & B. Molenaar. 1977. *Een verjongingskuur voor de Partij van de Arbeid. Opkomst, ontwikkeling en betekenis van Nieuw Links*. Deventer: Kluwer.
- Bootsma, P. & C. Hoetink. 2006. *Over lijken. Ontoelaatbaar taalgebruik in de Tweede Kamer*. Boom: Amsterdam.
- Bosma, M. 2010. *Schijn-élite van de Valse munters. Drees, extreem rechts, de sixties, nuttige idioten, de Groep Wilders en Ik*. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker.

- Bosscher, P. 1994. "De jaren 1946-1970". In *Honderd jaar sociaal-democratie in Nederland 1894-1994*, edited by M. Brinkman, M. Keizer & M. van Rossem. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker.
- Bovend'Eert, P.P.T. & H.R.B.M. Kummeling. 2010. *Het Nederlandse parlement*. Deventer: Kluwer.
- Bovens, M., H. Pellikaan & M. Trappenburg. 1998. "Nieuwe tegenstellingen in de Nederlandse politiek". In *Nieuwe tegenstellingen in de Nederlandse politiek*, edited by M. Bovens, H. Pellikaan & M. Trappenburg. Amsterdam: Boom.
- Brambor, T., W.R. Clark & M. Golder. 2006. "Understanding interaction models: improving empirical analyses". *Political Analysis* 14 (1):63-82.
- Brants, K. & H. Hogendoorn. 1983. *Van vreemde smetten vrij. Opkomst van de Centrumpartij*. Bussum: De Haan.
- Brants, K and P. van Praag (2007) "Professioneler, harder en persoonlijker Veranderingen in de campagnevoering na 1966 en 2002" Paper presented at the fourth yearly congress of the Netherlands Institute of Government.
- Breeman, G., D. Lowery, C. Poppelaars, S.L. Resodihardjo, Timmermans. A & J. De Vries. 2009. "Political attention in a coalition system: analysing Queen's Speeches in the Netherlands 1945-2007". *Acta Politica* 44 (1):1-27.
- Breeman, G., H. Then, J. Kleinnijenhuis, W. Van Atteveldt & A. Timmermans. 2009. Strategies for improving semi-automated topic classification of media and parliamentary documents. Paper read at MPSA Conference, at Chicago.
- Budge, I. 2001. "Theory and measurement of party policy positions". In *Mapping policy preferences. Estimates for parties, electors and governments 1945-1998*, edited by I. Budge, H.-D. Klingemann, A. Volkens, J. Bara & E. Tanenbaum. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Budge, I., H.-D. Klingemann, A. Volkens, J. Bara & E. Tanenbaum, eds. 2001. *Mapping policy preferences. Estimates for parties, electors and governments 1945-1998*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bürklin, W.P. 1985. "The German Greens: The post-industrial non-established and the party system". *International Political Science Review* 6 (4):463-481.
- Cals, J.M.Th., A.M. Donner, M. Albrecht, N. Cramer, H. Daudt, A. Fortanier-De Wit, J.P.A. Gruijters, J. Van der Hoeven, H.J.M. Jeukens, J.M. Kan, D.H.M. Meuwissen, J.W. De Pous, J.H. Prins, Y. Scholten, Simons. D., A.J. Verburgh & H.B.J. Witte. 1968. *Eerste rapport van de staatscommissie van advies in zake de Grondwet en de Kieswet*. The Hague: SDU.
- . 1969. *Tweede rapport van de staatscommissie van advies in zake de Grondwet en de Kieswet*. The Hague: SDU.
- . 1971. *Eindrapport van de staatscommissie van advies in zake de Grondwet en de Kieswet*. The Hague: SDU.
- CBS. 2012. Statline. In *Statline*, edited by CBS. The Hague: CBS.
- Ceci, J.T. & E.L. Kain. 1982. "Jumping on the bandwagon with the underdog: the impact of attitude polls on polling behaviour". *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 46 (2):228-242.
- Claassen, R. 2011. *Het huis van de vrijheid. Een politieke filosofie voor vandaag*. Amsterdam: Ambo.
- Clinton, J.D. 2007. "Lawmaking and roll calls". *Journal of Politics* 69 (2):457-469.
- Coffé, H. 2005 "Do individual factors explain the difference success of the two Belgian extreme right parties". *Acta Politica* 2005, 40 (1):74-93.
- Converse, P.E. & G. Dupeux. 1962. "Politicization of the electorate in France and the United States". *Public Opinion Quarterly* 26 (1):1-23.

- Couwenberg, S.W. 2004. *Opstand der burgers: de Fortuyn-revolte en het demasque van de oude politiek*, *Civis Mundi* jaarboek. Budel: Damon.
- Curran, G. 2004. "Mainstreaming populist discourse: the race-conscious legacy of neo-populist parties in Australia and Italy". *Patterns of Prejudice* 38 (1):37-55.
- Daalder, H. 1965. "De kleine politieke partijen - een voorlopige poging tot inventarisatie". *Acta Politica* 1 (1-4):172-196.
- . 1966. "The Netherlands: Opposition in a segmented society". In *Political oppositions in Western democracies*, edited by R.A. Dahl. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- De Bas, J. 1999. *De muis die even brulde. De Evangelische Volkspartij 1981-1991*. Kampen: Kok.
- De Beus, J., J. van Doorn & P. de Rooy. 1993. *De ideologische driehoek. Nederlandse politiek in historisch perspectief*. Amsterdam: Boom.
- De Boer, B., P. Lucardie, I. Noomen & G. Voerman. 1999. "Kroniek 1998. Overzicht van de partijpolitieke gebeurtenissen van het jaar 1998". In *Jaarboek Documentatiecentrum Nederlandse Politieke Partijen 1998*, edited by G. Voerman. Groningen: University of Groningen.
- De Gaay-Fortman, B. & H. Van Egdome. 1988. "20 jaar PPR in de Nederlandse politiek". *Actuele Onderwerpen* (2233).
- De Lange, S. 2008. *From pariah to power: Explanations for the government participation of radical right-wing populist parties in West European parliamentary democracies*. Antwerp: University of Antwerp.
- De Voogd, J. 2011. *Bakfietsen en rolluiken. De electorale geografie van Nederland*. Utrecht: Bureau De Helling.
- De Vos, H. 1976. *Geschiedenis van het socialisme in Nederland in het kader van zijn tijd. Deel 2*. Baarn: Wereldvenster.
- De Vries, C., A. Hakhverdian & B. Lancee. 2011. The dynamics of voters' left/right identification: the role of economic and cultural attitudes. Paper read at ECPR General Conference, 25-27 August, Reykjavik.
- De Vries, J. & S. Van der Lubbe. 2004. *Een onderbroken evenwicht in de Nederlandse politiek: Paars II en de revolte van Fortuyn*. Amsterdam: Van Genneep.
- Deegan-Krause, K. 2007. "New dimensions of political cleavage". In *The Oxford handbook of political behaviour*, edited by R.J. Dalton & H.-D. Klingemann. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Demker, M. 1997. "Changing party ideology: Gaullist parties facing voters, leaders and competitors". *Party Politics* 3 (3):407-426.
- Denekamp, P., J.W. Duyvendak, J. Hofman, P. De Jong, P. Kruizinga & R. Leijser. 1982. *Ontwapenend. Geschiedenis van 25 jaar PSP*. Amsterdam: De Bevrijding.
- Denekamp, P., J. Hofman, C. Huinder, P. Kruizinga, J. Lagendijk & R. Vuurmans. 1987. *Onstuimig maar geduldig. Interviews en biografische schetsen uit de geschiedenis van de PSP*. Amsterdam: De Bovenbouw.
- Deschouwer, K., ed. 2007. *New parties in government. In power for the first time*. Edited by K. Deschouwer. London: Routledge.
- DiMaggio, P.J. & W.W. Powell. 1991. "The Iron Cage Revisited: institutional isomorphism and collective rationality". In *The new institutionalism in organizational analysis*, edited by P.J. DiMaggio & W.W. Powell. Chicago: Chicago University Press.



- Dinan, D. 2004. *Europe recast. A history of the European Union*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Donavan, M. & D. Broughton. 1999. "Party system change in Western Europe". In *Changing party systems in Western Europe*, edited by D. Broughton & M. Donavan. London: Pinter.
- Döring, H. 1995. "Time as a scarce resource: government control of the agenda". In *Parliaments and majority rule in Western Europe*, edited by H. Döring. Frankfurt: Campus Verlag.
- . 2001. "Parliamentary agenda control and legislative outcomes in Western Europe". *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 26 (1):145-165.
- Downs, A. 1957. *An economic theory of democracy*. New York: Harper Collins.
- Downs, W.M. 2001. "Pariahs in their midst: Belgian and Norwegian parties react to extremist threats". *West European Politics* 24 (3):23-42.
- Duverger, M. 1954. *Political parties: their organization and activity in the modern state*. Translated by B. North & R. North. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons Inc.
- Faas, H. 1967. *God, Nederland en de Franje. Necrologie van het Nederlandse partijenwezen*. Utrecht: Bruna.
- Flight, S. & J. Felix. 1995. "Het ene issue is het andere niet". In *Verkoop van de politiek. De verkiezingscampagne van 1994*, edited by K. Brants & P. Van Praag. Amsterdam: Spinhuis.
- Fortuyn, P. 2002. *De puinhopen van acht jaar Paars: een genadeloze analyse van de collectieve sector en aanbevelingen voor een krachtig herstelprogramma*. Uithoorn: Karakter.
- Gauja, A. 2010. "Evaluating the success and contribution of a minor party: the case of the Australian Democrats". *Parliamentary Affairs* 63 (3):486-503.
- Gerring, J. 2007. *Case study research. Principles and practices*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Godschalk, J.J. 1970. "Enige politieke en sociale kenmerken van de oprichters van D66". *Acta Politica*, 5(1): 62-74.
- Gower, J.C. & G.B. Dijksterhuis. 2004. *Procrustes problems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gray, V., D. Lowery, J. Monogan & E.K. Godwin. 2010. "Incrementing towards nowhere: universal health care coverage in the states". *Publius* 40 (1):82-113.
- Green-Pedersen, C. 2007. "The conflict of conflicts in comparative perspective. Euthanasia as a political issue in Denmark, Belgium and the Netherlands". *Comparative Politics* 393 (3):273-291.
- Green-Pedersen, C. & P.B. Mortensen. 2010. "Who sets the agenda and who responds to in the Danish parliament? A new model of issue competition and agenda-setting". *European Journal of Political Research* 49 (2):257-281.
- Hainsworth, P. 2008. *The extreme right in Western Europe*. London: Routledge.
- Hansen, M.E. 2009. "The positions of Irish parliamentary parties 1937-2006". *Irish Political Studies* 24 (1):29-44.
- Hansen, M.E. 2008. "Reconsidering the party distances and dimensionality of the Danish Folketing". *Journal of Legislative Studies* 14 (3):264-278.
- Harinck, G. 2001. "Het ontstaan van het Gereformeerd Politiek Verbond 1945-1949". In *De Antirevolutionaire Partij 1829-1980* edited by G. Harinck, R. Kuiper & P. Bak. Hilversum: Verloren.
- Harmel, R. 1985. "On the study of new parties". *International Political Science Review* 6 (4):403-418.

- Harmel, R. & D. Robertson. 1985. "Formation and success of new parties. A cross-national analysis". *International Political Science Review* 6 (4):501-523.
- Harmel, R. & L. Svåsand. 1997. "The influence of new parties on old parties' platforms. The cases of the Progress Parties and Conservative Parties of Denmark and Norway". *Party Politics* 3 (3):315-340.
- Haus, C. & D. Rayside. 1978. "The development of new parties in Western democracies since 1945". In *Political parties: development and decay*, edited by L. Maisel & J. Cooper. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Heinisch, R. 2003. "Success in opposition - failure in government: explaining the performance of the rightwing populist parties in public office". *West European Politics* 26 (3):91-130.
- Hippe, J., R. Kroeze, P. Lucardie & G. Voerman. 2005. "Kroniek 2004. Overzicht van de partijpolitieke gebeurtenissen van het jaar 2004". In *Jaarboek Documentatiecentrum Nederlandse Politieke Partijen 2004*, edited by G. Voerman. Groningen: University of Groningen.
- Hippe, J., P. Lucardie & G. Voerman. 1995. "Kroniek 1994. Overzicht van partijpolitieke gebeurtenissen van het jaar 1994". In *Jaarboek Documentatiecentrum Nederlandse Politieke Partijen 1994*, edited by G. Voerman. Groningen: University of Groningen.
- . 1996. "Kroniek 1995. Overzicht van partijpolitieke gebeurtenissen van het jaar 1995". In *Jaarboek Documentatiecentrum Nederlandse Politieke Partijen 1995*, edited by G. Voerman. Groningen: University of Groningen.
- . 2004. "Kroniek 2002. Overzicht van partijpolitieke gebeurtenissen van het jaar 2002". In *Jaarboek Documentatiecentrum Nederlandse Politieke Partijen 2002*, edited by G. Voerman. Groningen: University of Groningen.
- Hix, S. 2001. "Legislative behaviour and party competition in the European Parliament: An application of NOMINATE to the EU". *Journal of Common Market Studies* 39 (4):663-688.
- Hix, S. & A. Noury. 2007. Government-opposition or left-right? The institutional determinants of voting in eight parliaments. Paper read at Annual Conference of the American Political Science Association, Chicago.
- Hix, S., A. Noury & G. Roland. 2006. "Dimensions of politics in the European Parliament". *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (2):494-511.
- Holzacker, R. 2002. "National parliamentary scrutiny over EU Issues - comparing the goals and methods of governing and opposition parties". *European Union Politics* 3 (4):339-352.
- Hug, S. 1997. *Altering party systems. Strategic behaviour and the emergence of new political parties in Western democracies*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Hug, S. & T. Schulz. 2007. "Left-right positions of political parties in Switzerland". *Party Politics* 13 (3):305-330.
- Huijbrechts, D. 2006. Ignore, copy/paste, delete? Assessing established parties' responses to new party emergence. edited by Master-Thesis. Amsterdam: Free University of Amsterdam.
- Inglehart, R. 1984. "The changing structure of political cleavages in Western society". In *Electoral change. Realignment and dealignment in advanced industrial democracies*, edited by R.J. Dalton, S.C. Flanagan & P.A. Beck. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- Janda, K. 1990. 'Towards a Performance Theory of Change in Political Parties'. Paper presented at the 12th World Congress of the International Sociological Association, 9-13 July, Madrid.
- Jones, B.D. & F.R. Baumgartner. 2005. *The Politics of attention. How government prioritizes problems*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Jong, R., H. Van der Kolk & G. Voerman. 2011. *Verkiezingen op de kaart 1848-2010*. Utrecht: Matrijs.
- Jun, H.-W. & S. Hix. 2009. "Party behaviour in the parliamentary arena: the case of the Korean National Assembly". *Party Politics* 15 (6):667-694.
- Kagie, R. 2004. *De Socialisten. Achter de schermen bij de SP*. Amsterdam: Mets en Schilt.
- Keyes, R. 2006. *The quote verifier. Who said what, where and when*. New York: St.Martin's Griffin.
- Keylor, W.R. 2003. *A world of nations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kiesraad. 2012. *Verkiezingsuitslagen*. Kiesraad 2012 [cited January 4 2012]. Available from <http://www.verkiezingsuitslagen.nl/>.
- Kitschelt, H. 1995. *The radical right in Western Europe: a comparative analysis*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Klaassen, W. 2000. *Progressieve samenwerking van PvdA, D66, PPR en PSP 1966-1977*. Alphen aan den Rijn: Vis Offset.
- Klei, E. 2010. "'Een toevlucht voor de zijnen." Het Gereformeerd Politiek Verbond (1948-2003)". In *Van de marge naar de macht. De ChristenUnie 2000-2010*, edited by J. Hippe & G. Voerman. Amsterdam: Boom.
- . 2011. *'Klein maar krachtig, dat maakt ons uniek' Een geschiedenis van het Gereformeerd Politiek Verbond*. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker.
- Koole, R. 1992. *De opkomst van de moderne kaderpartij : veranderende partijorganisatie in Nederland 1960-1990*. Utrecht: Het Spectrum.
- . 1995. *Politieke partijen in Nederland. Ontstaan en ontwikkeling van partijen en het partijstelsel*. Utrecht: Het Spectrum.
- . 2002. "Politieke partijen: pijlers met betonrot?" In *Democratie in Verval* edited by J. Van Holsteyn and C. Mudde. Amsterdam: Boom.
- . 2010. *Mensenwerk. Herinneringen van een partijvoorzitter 2001-2007*. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker.
- Krajenbrink, E.J. 2005. *Het Landbouwschap. 'Zelfgedragen verantwoordelijkheid' in de land- en tuinbouw 1945-2001, Faculty of Arts*. Groningen: University of Groningen.
- Kreulen, E. 1995. "De campagne van 1994 in vogelvlucht. Van bevroren AOW tot bedreigde mongooltjes". In *Verkoop van de Politiek. De Verkiezingscampagne van 1994*, edited by K. Brants & P. Van Praag. Amsterdam: Spinhuis.
- Kriesi, H. & T. Frey. 2008. "The Netherlands: a challenge that was slow in coming". In *West European politics in the age of globalization*, edited by H. Kriesi, E. Grande, R. Lachat, M. Dolezal, S. Bornschieer & T. Frey. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Krouwel, A. & P. Lucardie. 2008. "Waiting in the wings: new parties in the Netherlands". *Acta Politica* 43 (2-3):278-307.
- Laver, M. 2006. "Legislatures and parliaments in comparative context". In *The Oxford handbook of political economy* edited by B. Weingast & D. Wittman. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Laver, M. & J. Garry. 2000. "Estimating policy positions from political texts". *American Journal of Political Science* 44 (3):619-634.

- Leefbaar Nederland. 2003. "Leefbaar Nederland komt eraan". In *Verkiezingsprogramma's 2002 & 2003. Bijeengebracht door het Departement Politieke Wetenschap van de Universiteit Leiden en het Documentatiecentrum Nederlandse Politieke Partijen*, edited by Documentatiecentrum Nederlandse Politieke Partijen. Amsterdam: Rozenberg Publishers. 2003.
- Lees-Marshment, J. (2001) "The Marriage of Politics and Marketing" in *Political Studies* 49(4): 692-713.
- Lijphart, A. 1968. *Verzuiling, pacificatie en kentering in de Nederlandse politiek*. Amsterdam: De Bussy.
- Lipschits, I. 1982. *Politieke stromingen in Nederland. Inleiding tot de geschiedenis van de Nederlandse politieke partijen*. Kluwer: Deventer.
- Lipset, S.M. & S. Rokkan. 1967. *Party systems and voter alignments*. New York: Free Press.
- Louwerse, T. 2011. *Political parties and the democratic mandate. Comparing collective mandate fulfillment in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands*. Leiden: Leiden University.
- Louwerse, T. & S.P. Otjes. 2011. Talking the talk, walking the walk. Comparing speech and votes in the Dutch parliament. In *NIOD Workshop E-History*. Amsterdam.
- Lowery, D., S.P. Otjes, S. Gherghina, A. Van Witteloostuijn, G. Peli & H. Brasher. 2010. "Unpacking LogM: towards a more general theory of party system density". *American Journal of Political Science* 54 (4): 921-935.
- . forthcoming. "Policy agendas and births and deaths of political parties: the Dutch model". *Party Politics* In Press.
- Lucardie, P. 1986. "Dwergen, splinters, eendagsvliegen. Een nieuwe poging ter inventarisatie van partijen aan de rand van het partijstelsel ". In *Jaarboek Documentatiecentrum Nederlandse Politieke Partijen 1985*, edited by R. Koole. Groningen: University of Groningen.
- . 1991. "Stiefkinderen van de sociaal-democratie. DS'70 vergeleken met zusterpartijen elders in Europa". In *Jaarboek Documentatiecentrum Nederlandse Politieke Partijen 1990*, edited by G. Voerman. Groningen: University of Groningen.
- . 1993. "Op zoek naar zusterpartijen. D66 en het democratisch radicalisme in West-Europa". In *Jaarboek Documentatiecentrum Nederlandse Politieke Partijen 1992*, edited by G. Voerman. Groningen: University of Groningen.
- . 1998. "Een geschiedenis van 15 jaar Centrumstroming". In *Extreem-rechts in Nederland*, edited by J.J.M. Van Holsteyn & C. Mudde. Den Haag: SDU.
- . 2000. "Prophets, purifiers and prolocutors". *Party Politics* 6 (2):175-185.
- . 2004. "Ex oriente lux. Nieuwe partijen in Nederland vergeleken met Duitse soortgenoten". In *Jaarboek Documentatiecentrum Nederlandse Politieke Partijen 2003*, edited by G. Voerman. Groningen: University of Groningen.
- . 2008a. "The Netherlands: populism versus pillarization". In *Twenty-first century populism. The spectre of Western European democracy*, edited by D. Albertazzi & McDonnell. D. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- . 2008b. "Twee in, dertien uit. Electoraal succes and falen van nieuwe partijen in 2006". In *Jaarboek Documentatiecentrum Nederlandse Politieke Partijen 2006*, edited by G. Voerman. Groningen: University of Groningen.
- . 2009. "Rechts-extremisme, populisme of democratisch populisme. Opmerkingen over de politieke plaatsbepaling van de Partij voor de Vrijheid en Trots op Nederland". In *Jaarboek Documentatiecentrum Nederlandse*

- Politieke Partijen 2007*, edited by G. Voerman. Groningen: University of Groningen.
- Lucardie, P., M. Bredewold, G. Voerman & N. Van de Walle. 2008. "Kroniek 2006: overzicht van de partijpolitieke gebeurtenissen van het jaar 2006". In *Jaarboek Documentatiecentrum Nederlandse Politieke Partijen 2006*, edited by G. Voerman. Groningen: University of Groningen.
- Lucardie, P. & C.P. Ghillebaert. 2008. "The short road to power - and the long way back: newly governing parties in the Netherlands". In *New parties in government. In power for the first time*, edited by K. Deschouwer. London: Routledge.
- Lucardie, P., M. Nieboer & I. Noomen. 1992. "Kroniek 1991: overzicht van de partijpolitieke gebeurtenissen van het jaar 1991". In *Jaarboek Documentatiecentrum Nederlandse Politieke Partijen 1991*, edited by G. Voerman. Groningen: University of Groningen.
- Lucardie, P., I. Noomen & G. Voerman. 2003. "Kroniek 2001: overzicht van de partijpolitieke gebeurtenissen van het jaar 2001". In *Jaarboek Documentatiecentrum Nederlandse Politieke Partijen 2001*, edited by G. Voerman. Groningen: University of Groningen.
- Lucardie, P. & P. Pennings. 2010. "Van groen en rood naar groen en paars? De programmatische ontwikkeling van GroenLinks". In *Van de straat naar de staat?*, edited by P. Lucardie & G. Voerman. Amsterdam: Boom.
- Lucardie, P., W. Van Schuur & G. Voerman. 1997. *Verloren illusie, geslaagde fusie? GroenLinks in historisch en politicologisch perspectief* Leiden: DSWO Press.
- Lucassen, L. & J. Lucassen. 2011. *Winnaars en verliezers. Een nuchtere balans van vijfhonderd jaar immigratie*. Bert Bakker: Amsterdam.
- Mair, P. 1983. "Adaptation and control: towards an understanding of party and party system change". In *Western European party systems: continuity and change*, edited by H. Daalder & P. Mair. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- . 1997a. "E.E. Schattschneider's *The Semi-Sovereign People*". *Political Studies* 45 (5):947-954.
- . 1997b. *Party system change: approaches and interpretations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 1999. "New political parties in established systems. How succesful are they?". In *Elites, parties and democracy: festschrift for professor Mogens N. Pedersen*, edited by E. Beukel, K.K. Klausen & PE. Mouritzen. Odense: Odense University Press.
- . 2001. "The green challenge and political competition: how typical is the German experience?". *Continuity and change in German politics* 10 (2):99-116.
- . 2007. "Left-right orientations". In *The Oxford handbook of political behaviour*, edited by R.J. Dalton & H.-D. Klingemann. Oxford: University Press.
- Marx, M. & A. Schuth. 2010. DutchParl. A Corpus of parliamentary documents in Dutch. Paper read at Language Resources and Evaluation LREC 2010, at Valetta, Malta.
- McLaughlin, G.H. 1969. "SMOG Grading: A new readability formula". *Journal of Reading* 12 (8):639-646.
- Meeuwissen, J. 2011. "Partij voor de Dieren. Een onderzoek naar de electorale doorbraak en voortdoring van een nieuwe partij", Institute of Political Science, Leiden University, Leiden

- Meguid, B.M. 2005. "Competition between unequals: the role of mainstream party strategy in niche party success". *American Political Science Review* 99 (3):347-359.
- . 2007. *Party competition between unequals*. Cambridge Cambridge University Press.
- Mikhaylov, S., M. Laver & K. Benoit. 2008. *Coder Reliability and Misclassification in Comparative Manifesto Project Codings*. Dublin: Trinity College.
- Minkenbergh, M. 2001. "The radical right in public office: agenda-setting and policy effects". *West European Politics* 24 (4):1-21.
- Misiano, C. 2005. Opposition research. In *The West Wing*. United States.
- Mokken, R.J. & C. Lewis. 1982. "A nonparametric approach to the analysis of dichotomous item responses". *Applied Psychological Measurement* 6 (4):417-430.
- Mudde, C. 1995. "Right-wing extremism analyzed. A comparative analysis of the ideologies of three alleged right-extremist parties (NPD, NDP, CP'86)". *European Journal of Political Research* 27 (2):203-224.
- . 2004. "The populist zeitgeist". *Government and Opposition* 39 (4):541-563.
- Nieboer, M. & P. Lucardie. 1992. "'Aanschuren tegen het CDA' of aansluiten bij klein links? De geschiedenis van de Evangelische Volkspartij". In *Jaarboek Documentatiecentrum Nederlandse Politieke Partijen 1991*, edited by G. Voerman. Groningen: University of Groningen.
- Niemöller, K. & W. Van Schuur. 1983. "Stochastic models for unidimensional scaling: Mokken and Rasch". In *Data analysis and the social sciences*, edited by D. McKay, N. Schofield & P. Whiteley. London: Frances Pinter Publisher.
- Nooij, A.T.J. 1969. *De Boerenpartij. Desoriëntatie en radikalisme onder boeren*. Meppel: J.A. Boom en Zoon.
- Norris, P. 2005. *Radical right: voters and parties in the electoral market*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Norris, P. & J. Lovenduski. 2004. "Why parties fail to learn: electoral defeat, selective perception and British party politics". *Party Politics* 10 (1):85-104.
- Obdeijn, H. & M. Schrover. 2008. *Komen en gaan. Immigratie en emigratie in Nederland vanaf 1550*. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker.
- Otjes, S.P. 2008. "'No more tradition's chains will bind us.'" On the relationship between manifestos of principles and election manifestos", Institute of Political Science, Leiden University, Leiden.
- . 2011. "Party competition between unequals [Book Review]". *Acta Politica* 46 (3):320-323.
- Outshoorn, J. 1986. *De politieke strijd rondom de abortuswetgeving in Nederland 1964-1984*. Den Haag: VUGA.
- Partij voor de Vrijheid. 2010. *De agenda voor hoop en optimisme. Een tijd om te kiezen: PVV 2010-2015*.
- Pedersen, M.N. 1982. "Towards a new typology of party life spans and minor parties". *Scandinavian Political Studies* 5 (1):1-16.
- Pellikaan, H. 2004. "Partijen in een politieke ruimte". In *Jaarboek Documentatiecentrum Nederlandse Politieke Partijen 2002*, edited by G. Voerman. Groningen: University of Groningen.
- Pellikaan, H., S.L. De Lange & T. Van der Meer. 2007. "Fortuyn's legacy: party system change in the Netherlands". *Comparative European Politics* 5 (3):282-302.

- Pellikaan, H., T. Van der Meer & S. De Lange. 2003a. "De positie van politieke partijen in het vraagstuk van de multiculturele samenleving". In *Politiek in de multiculturele samenleving*, edited by H. and M. Trappenburg Pellikaan. Amsterdam: Boom.
- . 2003b. "The road from a depoliticized to a centrifugal democracy". *Acta Politica* 38 (1):23-49.
- Pels, D. 2003. *In de geest van Pim. Het gedachtegoed van een politieke dandy*. Amsterdam: Ambo.
- . 2005. *Een zwak voor Nederland. Ideeën voor een nieuwe politiek*. Amsterdam: Anthos.
- . 2011. *Het volk bestaat niet. Leiderschap en populisme in de mediademocratie*. Amsterdam: Bezige Bij.
- Peress, M. 2011. Identification of a semiparametric item response model. Paper read at 2011 Mid-West Political Science Conference. Chicago.
- Perlmutter, T. 2002. "The Politics of restriction: the effect of xenophobic parties on Italian immigration policy and German asylum policy". In *Shadows over Europe. The development and impact of the extreme right in Western Europe*, edited by M.A. Schain, A. Zolberg & P. Hossay. Houndmills: Palgrave/MacMillan.
- Petrocik, J.R. 1996. "Issue ownership in presidential elections". *American Journal of Political Science* 40 (3):825-850.
- Politieke Unie 55+. 1994. Concept-verkiezingsprogramma/partijprogramma van de Politieke Unie 55+. Deventer: Politieke Unie 55+.
- Poole, K. T. 2005. *Spatial models of parliamentary voting* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Poole, K.T. & H. Rosenthal. 2009. *Ideology and congress*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.
- Popper, K.R. 1959. *The logic of scientific discovery*. London: Routledge.
- Rijksvoorlichtingsdienst. 1977. Samenvatting beleid Kabinet Den Uyl 1973-1977. edited by Algemene Zaken. The Hague: Staatsuitgeverij.
- Robertson, D. 1976. *A theory of party competition*. London: Wiley.
- Rochon, T.R. 1985. "Mobilizers and challengers: towards a theory of new party success". *International Political Science Review* 6 (4):419-439.
- Rogmans, B. 1991. *Hans van Mierlo. Een bon vivant in de politiek*. Utrecht: Het Spectrum.
- Rohrschneider, R. 1993. "New party versus old left realignments: Environmental attitudes, party policies, and partisan affiliations in four West European countries". *The Journal of Politics* 55 (3):682-701.
- Rosenthal, H. & E. Voeten. 2004. "Analyzing roll calls with perfect spatial voting: France 1946-1958". *American Journal of Political Science* 48 (3):620-632.
- Rydgren, J. 2004. "Explaining the emergence of radical right-wing populist parties: the case of Denmark". *West European Politics* 27 (3):474-502.
- Sartori, G. 1976. *Parties and party systems: a framework for analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Scarrow, S. 2000. "Parties without members? Party organization in a changing electoral environment". In *Parties without partisans. Political change in advanced industrial democracies*, edited by R.J. Dalton & M.P. Wattenberg. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Schaafsma, F.M. 2006. "Eendagsvlieg of haas in de marathon. Een onderzoek naar de levensvastbaarheid van de Partij voor de Dieren". Master Thesis, Department of History, University of Groningen, Groningen.
- Schain, M.A. 2002. "The Impact of the French National Front on the French political system". In *Shadows over Europe. The development and impact of the extreme right in Western Europe*, edited by M.A. Schain, A. Zolberg & P. Hossay. Houndmills: Palgrave/MacMillan.
- . 2006. "The extreme right and immigration policy making: measuring direct and indirect effects". *West European Politics* 29 (2):270-289.
- Schattschneider, E.E. 1960. *The semi-sovereign people. A realist's view on democracy in America*. New York: Holt, Rineheart and Winston.
- Schikhof, M. 1998. "Strategieën tegen extreem-rechts en hun gevolgen". In *Extreem-rechts in Nederland*, edited by J.J.M. Van Holsteyn & C. Mudde. Den Haag: SDU.
- Sjöblom, G. 1968. *Party strategies in a multiparty system*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Slager, K. 2001. *Het geheim van Oss. Een geschiedenis van de SP*. Amsterdam: Atlas.
- Slagter, T.H. & G. Loewenberg. 2009. "Path dependence as an explanation of the institutional stability of the German parliament". *German Politics* 18 (4):469-484.
- Slapin, J.B., and S.-O. Proksch. 2008. "A Scaling Model for Estimating Time-Series Party Positions from Texts". *American Journal of Political Science* 52 (3):705-722.
- Smith, G. 1989. "Core persistence: change and the people's party". *West European Politics* 12 (4):157-168.
- Spirling, A. & I. McLean. 2007. "UK OC OK? Interpreting optimal classification scores for the UK House of Commons". *Political Analysis* 15 (1):85-96.
- Stam, W. 1966. *De Boerenpartij*. Amsterdam: Bezig Bij.
- Van der Steen, P. 1995. "De doorbraak van de 'gewone mensen'-partij. De SP en de Tweede-Kamerverkiezingen van 1994". In *Jaarboek Documentatiecentrum Nederlandse Politieke Partijen 1994*, edited by G. Voerman. Groningen: University of Groningen.
- Tahk, A. 2010. Properties of ideal-point estimators. Paper read at the 27th Annual Summer Meeting of the Society for Political Methodology, at Iowa City.
- Tavits, M. 2006. "Party system change. Testing a model of new party entry". *Party Politics* 12 (1):99-119.
- Thieme, M. 2006. *De eeuw van het dier*. Antwerpen: Houtekiet.
- Tinnemans, W. 1995. *Een gouden armband: een geschiedenis van mediterrane immigranten in Nederland 1945-1995*. Utrecht: Nederlands Centrum Buitenlanders.
- Tomassen, E. 2003. "Tussen eenheid en verscheidenheid. Katholieke politiek dissidentisme in Nederland 1945-1980". Master Thesis, Department of History, Radboud University Nijmegen, Nijmegen.
- Tromp, B. 1989. "Party strategies and system change in the Netherlands". *West European Politics* 12 (4).
- Van Bergen, B.A.A. 1996. "De splinter in het vlees van de KVP. Een onderzoek naar de geschiedenis van de Katholieke Nationale Partij in de politiek van de jaren 1946-1955", History Department, Groningen University, Groningen.
- Van den Brink, R. 2006. *In de greep van de angst*. Antwerpen: Houtekiet.
- Van der Brug, W. 2004. "Issue ownership and party choice". *Electoral Studies* 23 (2):209-233.



- . 1997. *Where's the party*, Faculty of Social and Behavioral Sciences. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam.
- Van der Brug, W. & J. Van Spanje. 2009. "Immigration, Europe and the 'new' cultural cleavage". *European Journal of Political Research* 48 (3):309-334.
- Van der Land, L. 1962. *Ontstaan van de Pacifistisch-Socialistische Partij*. Amsterdam: Bezige Bij.
- Van der Land, M. 2003. *Tussen ideaal en illusie. De geschiedenis van D66 1966-2003*. Den Haag: SDU.
- Van der Steen, P. 2004. *Cals. Koopman in verwachtingen 1914-1971*. Amsterdam: Balans.
- Van der Zwan, A. 2008. *Van Drees tot Bos. Zestig jaar succes en mislukking*. Amsterdam: Balans.
- Van Diepen, R. 2004. *Hollanditis. Nederland en het kernwapendebat, 1977-1987*. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker.
- Van Donselaar, J. & C. Van Praag. 1983. *Stemmen op de Centruumpartij. De opkomst van anti-vreemdelingenpartijen in Nederland*. Leiden: Universiteit Leiden.
- Van Egdome, H. 1991. *Er werd een commissie ingesteld ... Lief en Leed in 23 jaar PPR*. Amsterdam: Leeuwenberg.
- Van Holsteyn, J.J.M. 1998. "Hans Janmaat, Kamerlid". In *Extreem-rechts in Nederland*, edited by J.J.M. Van Holsteyn & C. Mudde. Den Haag: SDU.
- Van Kersbergen, K. & A. Krouwel. 2008. "A double-edged sword! The Dutch centre-right and the 'foreigners' issue". *Journal of European Public Policy* 15 (3):398-414.
- Van Kessel, S. & A. Krouwel. 2011. "Van vergankelijke radicale dissidenten tot kwelgeesten. Nieuwe politieke partijen in Nederland en de toekomst van de representatieve democratie". In *Democratie doorgelicht. Het functioneren van de Nederlandse democratie*, edited by R. B. Andeweg & J. Thomassen. Leiden: Leiden University Press.
- Van Mulligen, R. 2010. "Tussen Evangelisch en Reformatorisch. De politieke getuigenis van de RPF (1975-2003)". In *Van de marge naar de macht. De ChristenUnie 2000-2010*, edited by J. Hippe & G. Voerman. Amsterdam: Boom.
- Van Riel, C. & J.J.M. Van Holsteyn. 1998. "In de raad. Over het functioneren van gemeenteraadsleden van extreem-rechts". In *Extreem-rechts in Nederland*, edited by J.J.M. Van Holsteyn & C. Mudde. Den Haag: SDU.
- Van Spanje, J. 2010. "Contagious parties. Anti-immigration parties and their impact on other parties' immigration stances in contemporary Western Europe". *Party Politics* 16 (5):563-586.
- Van Spanning, H. 2001. "Van Vrij-antirevolutionair naar Christelijk-Historische Unie". In *De Antirevolutionaire Partij 1829-1980*, edited by G. Harinck, R. Kuiper & P. Bak. Hilversum: Verloren.
- Van Stipdonk, V.P. & J.J.M. Van Holsteyn. 1996. "Wat ouderen verbond: verklaringen van het succes van een nieuwe partij". In *Jaarboek Documentatiecentrum Nederlandse Politieke Partijen 1995*, edited by G. Voerman. Groningen: University of Groningen.
- Van Tijn-Koekebakker, M., W. Brinkman & W. Koomen. 1971. "Onderzoeksproblemen. Verschillen in stemgedrag tijdens het Cabinet Cals". *Acta Politica* 5 (2):173-177.
- Verrips, G. 1995. *Dwars, duivels en dromend. De geschiedenis van de CPN 1938-1991*. Amsterdam: Balans.

- Vingerling, H. & C.C. Schouten. 2003. *Democratisch Socialisten '70. Nevenstroom in de sociaal-democratie, Faculty of Social Sciences*. Rotterdam: Erasmus University Rotterdam.
- Visscher, G. 1994. *Parlementaire Invloed op wetgeving. Een inventarisatie van de invloed van de beide Kamers der Staten-Generaal op de wetgevende activiteiten van de kabinetten Marijnen tot en met Lubbers I*. Den Haag: SDU.
- Voerman, G. 1988. "De 'Rode Jehova's': een geschiedenis van de Socialistische Partij". In *Jaarboek Documentatiecentrum Nederlandse Politieke Partijen 1987*, edited by R. Koole. Groningen: University of Groningen.
- . 1991. "Een geval van politieke schizofrenie. Het gespleten gedachtegoed van DS'70". In *Jaarboek Documentatiecentrum Nederlandse Politieke Partijen 1990*, edited by G. Voerman. Groningen: University of Groningen.
- Vossen, K. 2003. *Vrij vissen in het vondelpark. Kleine politieke partijen 1918-1940*. Amsterdam: Wereld Bibliotheek.
- . 2005. "De andere jaren zestig. De opkomst van de Boerenpartij (1963-1967)". In *Jaarboek Documentatiecentrum Nederlandse Politieke Partijen 2005*, edited by G. Voerman. Groningen: University of Groningen.
- . 2010. Different flavours of populism in the Netherlands. Four case-studies. Paper read at the Politicologenetmaal 2010, at Leuven.
- Walgrave, S. & K. De Swert. 2007. "Where does issue ownership come from? From the party or from the media? Issue-party identifications in Belgium 1991-2005". *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 12 (1):37-67.
- Walgrave, S. & P. Van Aelst. 2006. "The contingency of the mass media's political agenda setting power: toward a preliminary theory". *Journal of Communication* 56 (1):88-109.
- Walgrave, S., F. Varone & P. Dumont. 2006. "Policy with or without parties? A comparative analysis of policy priorities and policy changes in Belgium, 1991 to 2000". *Journal of European Public Policy* 13 (7):1039-1052.
- Waltmans, H. 1983. *Niet bij rood alleen. Vijftien jaar Nederlandse politiek en de geschiedenis van de PPR* Groningen: Xeno.
- Wielenga, F. 2010. *Nederland in de twintigste eeuw*. Amsterdam: Boom.
- Wilson, F.L. 1998. "The center-right at the end of the century". In *The center-right at the end of the century*, edited by F.L. Wilson. Houndmills: MacMillan.
- Witte, R. 1998. "Een kwestie van gewinning. Reacties op de Centrumstroming". In *Extreem-rechts in Nederland*, edited by J.J.M. Van Holsteyn & C. Mudde. Den Haag: SDU.
- Wolters, M. 1984. *Interspace politics, Faculty of Social Sciences*. Leiden: Leiden University.
- Wring, D. 2005. "The Labour Campaign" *Parliamentary Affairs* 58(4): 712-724.
- Yin, R.K. 2009. *Case study research. Design and methods*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Zaslove, A. 2006. "The politics of immigration: a new electoral dilemma for the right and the left". *Review of European and Russian Affairs* 2 (3):10-36.