

Books

- 2026** Braun, D., Hartland, A., Kaeding, M., Lefkofridi, Z and Weissenbach, K. (eds.) (2026). "Activating European Citizens' Trust in Times of Crisis and Polarization – Toward a New Era of Representative Democracy". SPRINGER. <https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007/978-3-032-19119-9>

Lefkofridi, Z. (ed). *Elgar Encyclopedia of Gender and Politics*. Edward Elgar Publishing. https://www.e-elgar.com/shop/gbp/elgar-encyclopedia-of-gender-and-politics-9781035322602.html?srsId=AfmBOooGEIMsq7YAlou8G_9gub7GietdWeBTB_BjWS9T_NaPqBNw30GJ

Forthcoming/Book projects

Gmainer-Pranzl, F. Lefkofridi, Z. and Zwiener-Collins, N. (eds). *Gewalt gegen Frauen: Interdisziplinäre Analysen einer gesellschaftlichen Problematik*. Peter Lang.

Lefkofridi, Z. and A. Mühlböck. *Der Weg von Frauen in die österreichische Politik - am Beispiel Salzburg: Pionierinnen erzählen - Von Barrieren, Mut und dem Weg nach oben*. Böhlau.

Articles in peer-reviewed Journals & Edited Volumes

- 2026** Lefkofridi, Z., Beloshitzkaya, V., Gorny, J. and Lotter, L. (2026). Gender Equality as Foundational to Democracy: Theory and Evidence of Gendered Political Culture(s). *Politics and Governance*. 14. <https://doi.org/10.17645/pag.11716>

Beloshitzkaya, V. and Lefkofridi, Z. (2026). Responsiveness. In Pedrazzani, A. et al. (eds). *Elgar Encyclopedia of Political Representation*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

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Ceron, M., Gianna, E. and Z. Lefkofridi. (2026). Austria: Descriptive, substantive and subjective perspectives on representation and trust. in Kaeding, M., Braun, D., Hartland, A., Weissenbach, K. and Z. Lefkofridi. *Towards a new era of representative democracy: Activating European Citizens' Trust in Times of Crises and Polarization*. Springer. DOI:10.1007/978-3-032-19119-9_1

Nezi, R. and Lefkofridi, Z. (2026). Multidimensional Representation in the EU Multilevel Polity: The Role of Congruence in Vote-switching, *Politics & Governance*. <https://doi.org/10.17645/pag.11098>

- 2025** Beloshitzkaya, V., Ceron, M. and Lefkofridi, Z. (2025). Gendered Shades of Right? Gender+ Equality Issues in the Economic Right EP2024 Political Agenda. In: Kaeding, M., Müller, M., Hoppe, A. (eds) *The 2024 European Parliament Elections. The Future of Europe*. Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-89455-8_20

Lefkofridi, Z., Wegscheider, C., and Zwiener-Collins, N. (2025). Gendered dynamics in representation: Examining candidates' policy congruence with parties and voters. *Party Politics*, 0(0). <https://doi.org/10.1177/13540688251332188>

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- Nezi, R. and Lefkofridi, Z. (2025). Still Second-Order in 2024? National, Nationalist & Personalised Issues in the Greek EP election. *Politique européenne*, 86(86), 122-129. <https://doi.org/10.3917/e.poeu.086.0122>
- 2024** Jansesberger, V.A. and Lefkofridi, Z. (2024). Gender, Politics & the Market. *European Journal of Politics & Gender*. <https://doi.org/10.1332/25151088Y2024D000000069>
- Lefkofridi, Z. (2024). Systeme, Geschlechterrollen und ihre Konsequenzen: das (un)politische Wesen. *Fachzeitschrift Systeme: Interdisziplinäre Zeitschrift für systemtheoretisch orientierte Forschung und Praxis in den Humanwissenschaften*, 38 (1): 3-8.
- Zwittliner, L., Zwiener-Collins, N. and Lefkofridi, Z. (2024). Kognitive Dissonanz aufgrund gelebter Realitäten? Die Auswirkungen von Covid-19 Lockdownpolitik auf Österreichs Geschlechterrollenbilder [Cognitive dissonance due to lived realities? The impact of Covid-19 lockdown policies on Austria's gender role attitudes]. In: Aschauer, W., Eder, A. & Prandner, D. (eds.) *Die Auswirkungen der Corona-Pandemie auf die österreichische Gesellschaft. Ergebnisse der Längsschnittstudie „Werte in der Krise“ 2020-2022*. Baden-Baden: Nomos. [ISBN]: 978-3-7560-0639-7.
- 2023** Zwiener-Collins, N. and Lefkofridi, Z. (2023). Unequal political participation: Do gender roles matter? In: Grand, P., Fink M. & Tiemann, G. (eds.) *20 Jahre Österreich im European Social Survey: Gesellschaftliche Einstellungen, Präferenzen und Bewertungen*. Wien, Köln: Böhlau, 95–125. <https://www.vr-elibrary.de/doi/pdf/10.7767/9783205217183>
- 2022** Chesta, R. E. and Lefkofridi, Z. (2022). Symbolic Gesture in Political Protest. In R. Bettel, I. Kaldrack and K. Sturtz (eds.) *Throwing Gestures: Protest, Economy and the Imperceptible*. Verlag für Moderne Kunst ([Open Access](#)).
- Lefkofridi, Z. and Rhein, S. (2022). Inclusive Solidarity? The Social Democratic Dilemma Between EU Rules and Supporters' Preferences. In Crepaz, M. *The Handbook on Migration and Welfare*, Edward Elgar Publishing, 255–275.
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- Lefkofridi, Z., Stadler, A. and Zwiener-Collins, N. (2022). Geschlecht & Demokratie in Österreich. In Heinisch, R. Klaushofer, R. Kühberger, C. & Reiter, M. *Narrative Gelungener Demokratie? Geschichte - Politik- Recht*. Böhlau Wien: 233–251.
- 2021** Jansesberger, V. A. Lefkofridi, Z. and Mühlböck, A. (2021). Electoral Support for FPÖ in Regional and National Arenas: Different Levels of Government, Same Causality? *Regional and Federal Studies/ Annual Review of Regional Elections* ([Open Access](#)).
- 2020** Karremans, J. and Lefkofridi, Z (eds) (2020). Responsive vs. Responsible? Party Democracy in Times of Crisis. *Party Politics* (editorial). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068818761199>
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- Karremans, J. and Lefkofridi, Z. (2020). The Political Economy of the European Union: The Tension between National and Supranational Politics. In Vivares, E. (ed) *Routledge Handbook to Global Political Economy. Conversations and Inquiries*, Chapter 28 [ISBN]: 9781138479883.
- Lefkofridi, Z. and Schmitter, P.C. (2020). Neofunctionalism in the Decade of Crises. In Brack, N. and Gurkan, S. (eds). *Theorizing Crises of the European Union*, Routledge [ISBN]: 9780367431402.
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- 2018** Lefkofridi, Z. and Katsanidou, A. (2018). A Step Closer to a Transnational Party System? Competition and Coherence in the 2009 and 2014 European Parliament. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56 (6): 1462-1482. ([Open Access](#)).
- Lefkofridi, Z., Giger, N. and Holli, A-M. (2018). When all Parties Nominate Women: Gender Stereotypes and Candidate Selection. *Politics & Gender*, 1-27.
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- Lefkofridi, Z. (2017). Democratic Representation in Europe: Theory & Evidence. *Habilitationsschrift*, University of Salzburg.
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- 2015** Lefkofridi, Z. and Schmitter, P.C. (2015). Transcending or Descending? European Integration in Times of Crisis. *European Political Science Review* 7(1): 3-22.
- Lefkofridi, Z. (2015). *Die Krise in Europa und ihre Auswirkung auf die Parteienlandschaft Griechenlands*. Franz Gmainer-Pranzl und Anita Rötzer (Hg.), Zukunft entwickeln. Dokumentation der 15. Entwicklungspolitischen Hochschulwochen an der Universität Salzburg 2015 (Salzburger interdisziplinäre Diskurse, 8) Frankfurt am Main.
- 2014** Lefkofridi, Z. and Katsanidou, A. (2014). Multilevel Representation in the European Parliament, *European Union Politics* 15 (1): 108-131.
- Lefkofridi, Z., Wagner, M. and Willmann, J. (2014). Left-Authoritarians and Policy Representation in Western Europe: Electoral Choice across Ideological Dimensions, *West European Politics* 37-1: 65-90.
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- 2013** Gemenis, K. and Lefkofridi, Z. (2013). The Europeanization of Greece: A Critical Assessment. In Mannin, M. and Bretherton, C. (eds). *The Europeanization of European Politics*. Europe in Transition Series. Palgrave Macmillan: 95-108.
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- 2008** Lefkofridi, Z. and Kritzing, S. (2008). Battles fought in the EP arena: Developments in National Parties' Euro-manifestos. *Austrian Journal of Political Science* 37(3): 273-296. ([Open Access](#)).

Other Publications

- 2025** Katholische Aktion Österreich (2025). Demokratie leben und gestalten. Ein Dossier der Katholischen Aktion Österreich (KAÖ). https://www.kaoe.at/dl/urNuJmoJLmKIJqx4KJKJmMJkkmNk/Dossier_KAO_2025_digital_pdf

- 2024** Swoboda, H., Lang, S., Empowerment & Gendergerechtigkeit im Fokus (2024). In: Hoffmann, M., Spittler, N., Aigner, E., Körner, D., & Hinterberger, F., (Eds.), Earth4All: Austria. Earth4All. <https://earth4all.life/wp-content/uploads/2024/07/Earth4All-Austria.pdf>

Ceron, M. and Lefkofridi, Z. (2024). Deliverable D4.2 – Report (including policy recommendations) on the patterns of objective and subjective representation across countries and across parties within countries, ActEU.

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Engeli, I., Belknap, E., Maglietta, V. and Lefkofridi, Z. (2024). Attacks against Gender Equality across Time & Space. *PushBackLash Policy Brief*. URL: https://pushbacklash.eu/sdc_download/1783/?key=wpj4emysth9t69vmtjk63rq5t12szn

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- 2023** Dinas, E. et al. (2023). The Greek political landscape 2019-2021. *Friedrich Ebert Stiftung*. URL: <https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/athen/19371.pdf>

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- 2015** Fasone, C., Fromage, D. and Lefkofridi, Z. (2015). Parliaments, Public Opinion and Parliamentary Elections in Europe. *European University Institute- Max Weber Program* 2015/18.

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- 2025** Kulterer, L. and Lefkofridi, Z. (2025). The rise of the far-right Freedom Party (FPÖ) in Austria and its implications for democracy, gender rights, European Integration, and migration. *Australian Outlook*. URL: <https://www.internationalaffairs.org.au/australianoutlook/the-rise-of-the-far-right-freedom-party-fpo-in-austria-and-its-implications-for-democracy-gender-rights-european-integration-and-migration/>

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- 2018** Lefkofridi, Z. Conflicting Visions of Europe Come to A Head with Hungary Vote. *Global Observatory*, International Peace Institute, 26.10.2018. URL: <https://theglobalobservatory.org/2018/10/conflicting-visions-europe-come-to-head-hungary-vote>
- Katsanidou, A. and Lefkofridi, Z. Shifting Dynamics: Mapping the Divisions within and Between European Parliament Party Groups Ahead of the 2019 European Election. *LSE-European Politics and Policy Blog*, 03.11.18. URL: <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/euoppblog/2018/11/02/shifting-dynamics-mapping-the-divisions-between-and-within-party-groups-in-the-european-parliament-ahead-of-the-2019-elections>
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- 2014** Lefkofridi, Z. A nationalist alliance in the European Parliament would be more effective if it were framed around left-right issues rather than immigration or Euroscepticism, *LSE European Politics and Policy Blog*, 23.05.2014. URL: <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/euoppblog/2014/05/23/a-nationalist-alliance-in-the-european-parliament-would-effective-if-it-were-framed-around-left-right-issues-rather-than-immigration-or-euroscepticism>
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Citation Metrics

Citation Indices	All	Since 2021
Citation	1820	1025
h-index	22	18
i10-index	26	20

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