

Public Policy and Party Politics (PhD Seminar)

COURSE DESCRIPTION

The aim of this course is to link public policies and policy-making processes to (party) politics. The course takes a comparative angle and will look at how party politics in different institutional settings interferes with public-policymaking and how diverging political ideologies influence and shape public policies. During the seminar, we will answer why governments often respond quite differently to essentially similar policy problems and current economic challenges (e.g. unemployment, financial crisis, globalization, immigration, etc.). In addition to familiarize themselves with the academic literature on public policy and party politics, the seminar requires students to examine policy proposals and how they alter along their journey through the legislative process. This is how researchers will learn how political institutions, third party actors (such as interest and lobbying groups) affect public policies. By doing this, students will also get familiar with primary sources such as policy proposals, parliamentary minutes and other sources of information that can be used to analyze public policies. By the end of the course students will be familiar with the core literature on party politics and public policy and have an understanding of how to analyze and trace public policymaking in empirical research.

LEARNING OUTCOMES

- Have a critical understanding of core political science theories relating to partisanship and median voter
- Have a well developed knowledge of the empirical literature that has applied and tested these theories
- Have a comparative grounding in major public policies and societal outcomes across (advanced) industrialized economies

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND ASSESSMENT

You are expected to attend each seminar and regularly participate in discussions. Participation is graded as follows: attendance (but no participation) will merit a C+; good faith efforts at participation will get you into the B/B+ range; valuable contributions will get you into the B+/A range. Each week you are required to come prepared with a critical understanding of the mandatory reading. I have kept reading to a minimum in order to have an in-depth discussion of the subject during the seminar. The further reading is an indication of useful literature for essays or presentations but you should go beyond and find additional relevant sources in case you opt to write your essay on a particular approach/topic.

In one session, you will be responsible to **organize and lead the discussion** on the reading. The discussion can start off with a critical observation/remark you have that is related to the topic or the reading. Alternatively, you can make use of the questions (on the readings) submitted by your peers to structure and trigger the debate. Furthermore, you are encouraged to bring in your own research topic or try to relate the discussed approaches to your particular research question, even if you will not apply the specific approach in your own research. Thinking about how a research question could be addressed using different theoretical and empirical strategies.

Presentations are intended to provide a short (i.e. no longer than 20 minutes) and distinct introductory input to a session. Presentations critically assess indicated readings and provide a

clear added value to the audience, beyond the arguments/facts provided in the specified literature. Own input is highly recommended. Additional material, such as cases that bridge theory and practice can be used to illustrate a particular approach.

The short **position/response papers** can be submitted throughout the term. Papers are due on Monday before class (in the fall term, this may change for the winter term). When you submit a response paper for a given session, you are expected to be particularly active in the discussion that week. You should be prepared to talk about the views you expressed in the paper and discuss them with your class mates. The length of each position paper/comparison should not exceed 1.500 words.

The **final research design paper** should not exceed a length of 3.000-3.500 words (a style sheet clarifying the formal requirements will be uploaded to the e-learning platform. The precise substantive requirements will be discussed in class. The research design paper has to be submitted through the e-learning platform until the end of April 2016 (exact date will be communicated at a later stage).

The final grade consists of the following components:

- Presentation in class and leading of the discussion: 20%
- Two position papers or comparison of legislative proposals (30%)
- Essays (mid-term/final): 50%

SOURCES

Political Science Data on Parties, Governments, Elections, Policies

- Website of the Comparative Manifesto Project <https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu/>
- Parliament and Government Composition Data base <http://parlgov.org/>
- Policy Agendas Project <http://www.policyagendas.org/>
- Comparative Agendas Project <http://www.comparativeagendas.org/>
- Chapel Hill Survey <http://www.chesdata.eu/>

Legislative Processes:

- UK House of Commons <http://www.parliament.uk/business/bills-and-legislation/>
- US Congress <http://www.congress.org/congressorg/issues/bills/>
- German Parliament <http://dipbt.bundestag.de/dip21.web/bt>

GENERAL OVERVIEW

	<i>Topic</i>		<i>Topic</i>
<i>Week 1</i>	Introduction: how is public policy related to party politics?	<i>Week 2</i>	Representative Democracy and Public Policy-Making
<i>Week 3</i>	Changing nature of political parties (mass party, catch-all and cartel parties)	<i>Week 4</i>	Measuring Partisanship 1: Comparative Manifesto
<i>Week 5</i>	Measuring Partisanship II: Expert Survey	<i>Week 6</i>	Partisan Politics and Public Policy: Size of Government
<i>Week 7</i>	Partisan Politics and Public Policy: Welfare State	<i>Week 8</i>	Partisan Politics and Public Policy: Education
<i>Week 9</i>	Chicken or Egg? Do New Policy Demands Give Rise to New Parties or the Other Way Around?	<i>Week 10</i>	Do Parties or the Public Opinion Determine Public Policies?
<i>Week 11</i>	Policy Positions and Party Preferences over Time	<i>Week 12</i>	Still Room for Party Politics in Public Policy-Making?

DETAILED COURSE PLAN (REQUIRED AND RECOMMENDED READINGS)

Session (Date)	Topic and Readings
Session 1	<p>Introduction: Partisanship Hypothesis</p> <p><i>Required Readings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Policy and Political Parties: Schmidt (1996) • Political Parties and Macroeconomic Policy: Hibbs (1977) <p><i>Popular Readings:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why politics is stuck in the middle (NYT, February 2010) • Politics as warfare (The Economist, November 2003) • The 2012 election: Why it matters more than most (Washington Post, September 2011)
Session 2	<p>Representative Democracy and Public Policy-Making</p> <p><i>Required Readings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Principles of Representative Government Manin (1997), Chapter 6 • Political Parties and Democracy: Stokes (1999) <p><i>Popular Reading:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is there a crisis? (The Economist, July 1999) <p><i>Recommended Readings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does Representative Government Make a Difference?: Gallagher, Laver and Mair (2005), Chapter 13 • Linkages between Citizens and Politicians in Democratic Politics: Kitschelt (2000) • Party Government and its Alternatives: Katz (1987)

Session (Date)	Topic and Readings
Session 3	<p>Political Parties</p> <p><i>Required Readings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The Rise of Parties in Western Democracies: Daalder (2001)• Cartel Party: Katz and Mair (1995, 2009) <p><i>Popular Readings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Empty vessels (The Economist, July 1999)• You pays your money (The Economist, The Economist July 1999) <p><i>Recommended Readings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Empty Nets: Social Democracy and the ‘Catch-All Party’ Thesis: Allen (2009)• Inside the Cartel Party: Bolleyer (2009)
Session 4	<p>Measuring Partisanship 1: Comparative Manifesto</p> <p><i>Required Readings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Mapping Policy Preferences: Budge et al. (2001)• The Party Mandate and the Westminster Model: Hofferbert and Budge (1992) <p><i>Recommended Readings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Strengths and Weaknesses of Approaches to Measuring Policy Positions of Parties: Volkens (2007)• The Policy Impact of Party Programmes and Government Declarations in the Federal Republic of Germany: Hofferbert and Klingemann (1990)• Estimating Policy Positions from Political Texts: Laver and Garry (2000)• Extracting Policy Positions from Political Texts Using Words as Data: Laver, Benoit and Garry (2003)

Session (Date)	Topic and Readings
Session 5	<p data-bbox="544 235 1171 264">Measuring Partisanship 2: Expert Surveys</p> <p data-bbox="544 271 775 300"><i>Required Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="587 331 1460 456" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="587 331 1262 360">• Some Expert Judgements Castles and Mair (1984) <li data-bbox="587 389 1460 456">• Expert Interpretations of Party Space and Party Locations: Huber and Inglehart (1995) <p data-bbox="544 486 847 515"><i>Recommended Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="587 546 1460 918" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="587 546 1321 575">• Revisiting Expert Judgments: Mair and Castles (1997) <li data-bbox="587 604 1406 633">• Party Policy in Modern Democracy: Benoit and Laver (2006) <li data-bbox="587 663 1385 692">• Estimating Party Policy Positions: Benoit and Laver (2007) <li data-bbox="587 721 1385 750">• Expert Judgements of Party Policy Positions: Budge (2000) <li data-bbox="587 779 1460 846">• Experts and Manifestos: Different Sources – Same Results: Keman (2007) <li data-bbox="587 875 1385 904">• Party Policy and Cabinet Portfolio in Ireland: Laver (1994)
Session 6	<p data-bbox="544 954 1219 983">Partisan Politics and PP: Size of Government</p> <p data-bbox="544 990 775 1019"><i>Required Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="587 1050 1460 1211" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="587 1050 1460 1117">• The Expansion of the Public Economy: A Comparative Analysis: Cameron (1978) <li data-bbox="587 1146 1460 1214">• The Political Economy of Government Domestic Expenditure in the Affluent Democracies: Swank (1988) <p data-bbox="544 1243 767 1272"><i>Popular Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="587 1303 1460 1406" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="587 1303 1460 1406">• The Economist (Jan. 2010). Leviathan stirs again: The growth of the state. January 1st. url: http://www.economist.com/node/15328727 <p data-bbox="544 1435 847 1464"><i>Recommended Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="587 1496 1460 1758" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="587 1496 1289 1525">• Partisan Politics and Public Finance: Cusack (1997) <li data-bbox="587 1554 1398 1583">• Do Parties Make A Difference? Blais, Blake and Dion (1993) <li data-bbox="587 1612 1460 1680">• Do Parties Make a Difference? A Reappraisal: Blais, Blake and Dion (1996) <li data-bbox="587 1709 1460 1738">• Political Parties and the Supply Side of the Economy: Boix (1997)

Session (Date)	Topic and Readings
Session 7	<p data-bbox="544 235 1129 264">Partisan Politics and PP: Welfare State</p> <p data-bbox="544 271 775 300"><i>Required Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="587 331 1460 495" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="587 331 1460 398">• Political Partisanship and Welfare State Reform in Advanced Industrial Societies: Allan and Scruggs (2004) <li data-bbox="587 427 1460 495">• Politics, Institutions, and Welfare State Spending in Industrialized Democracies, 1960-82: Hicks and Swank (1992) <p data-bbox="544 524 847 553"><i>Recommended Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="587 584 1460 1070" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="587 584 1460 651">• Political Parties, Institutions, and the Dynamics of Social Expenditure in Times of Austerity Kittel and Obinger (2003) <li data-bbox="587 680 1460 748">• The Causes of Welfare State Expansion: Deindustrialization or Globalization?: Iversen and Cusack (2000) <li data-bbox="587 777 1460 844">• Distribution and Redistribution in Postindustrial Democracies: Bradley et al. (2003) <li data-bbox="587 873 1460 940">• Economic Globalization and the Welfare State in Affluent Democracies: Brady, Beckfield and Seeleib-Kaiser (2005) <li data-bbox="587 969 1460 1070">• Economic Globalization, the Macro Economy, and Reversals of Welfare: Expansion in Affluent Democracies, 1978-94: Hicks and Zorn (2005)
Session 8	<p data-bbox="544 1115 1305 1144">Partisan Politics and PP: Education & Health Care</p> <p data-bbox="544 1151 775 1180"><i>Required Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="587 1211 1460 1375" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="587 1211 1460 1279">• Determinants of public education spending in 21 OECD democracies, 1980-2001: Busemeyer (2007) <li data-bbox="587 1308 1460 1375">• Institutions, Veto Points, and Policy Results: A Comparative Analysis of Health Care: Immergut (1990) <p data-bbox="544 1404 847 1433"><i>Recommended Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="587 1464 1460 1883" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="587 1464 1460 1532">• Partisan Politics, the Welfare State, and Three Worlds of Human Capital Formation: Iversen and Stephens (2008) <li data-bbox="587 1561 1460 1662">• The Political Origins of Primary Education Systems: Ideology, Institutions, and Interdenominational Conflict in an Era of Nation-Building: Ansell and Lindvall (2013) <li data-bbox="587 1691 1460 1792">• Review Article: Dismantling the Health Care State? Political Institutions, Public Policies and the Comparative Politics of Health Reform: Hacker (2004) <li data-bbox="587 1821 1460 1883">• Partisan Strategy and Path Dependence – The Post-War Emergence of Health Systems in the UK and Sweden: Hicks (2013)

Session (Date)	Topic and Readings
Session 9	<p>Chicken or Egg? Do New Policy Demands Give Rise to New Parties?</p> <p><i>Required Readings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The Radical Right in the Alps: McGann and Kitschelt (2005)• Exploring the Stabilization of a Political Force: Dolezal (2010) <p><i>Popular Readings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Fascism resurgent (The Economist, October 1999)• Greening the globe (The Economist, April 2001) <p><i>Recommended Readings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• If you Can't Beat them Join them?: Bale et al. (2010)• Success in Opposition – Failure in Government: Heinisch (2003)
Session 10	<p>Do Parties or the Public Opinion Determine Public Policies?</p> <p><i>Required Readings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Government Responsiveness and Political Competition in Comparative Perspective: Hobolt and Klemmensen (2008)• The Public as Thermostat: Wlezien (1995)• The Impact of Public Opinion on Public Policy: A Review and an Agenda: Burstein (2003) <p><i>Recommended Readings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Inequality, Public Opinion and Redistribution: Kenworthy and McCall (2008)• Social Policy Responsiveness in Developed Democracies: Brooks and Manza (2006)• Political Representation and its Mechanisms: Hakhverdian (2010)

Session (Date)	Topic and Readings
Session 11	Policy Positions and Party Preferences over Time <i>Required Readings</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Restructuration of Partisan Politics: Kriesi et al. (2006); Kriesi (2010)• Multidimensionality of Party Competition: Albright (2010)• Immigration, Europe and the ‘New’ Cultural Dimension: van der Brug and van Spanje (2009) <i>Popular Reading</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Displaced, defeated and not so sure what to do next (The Economist, January 1999) <i>Recommended Readings</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Random Walk or Planned Excursion? Dalton and McAllister (2014)• Principles vs. Pragmatism: Policy Shifts and Political Competition: Tavits (2007)
Session 12	Still Room for Politics in Public Policy-making? <i>Required Readings</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Party Government: The Challenge to Party Governments: Mair (2008)• Parties Response to Globalization: Haupt (2010) <i>Recommended Readings</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Democracy Beyond Parties: Mair (2005)• The Political Economy of Fiscal Consolidation Revisited: Hübscher (2015)

List of Readings – Required and Recommended in Alphabetical Order

- Albright, Jeremy J. 2010. “The Multidimensional Nature of Party Competition.” *Party Politics* 16(6):699–719.
- Allan, James P. and Lyle Scruggs. 2004. “Political Partisanship and Welfare State Reform in Advanced Industrial Societies.” *American Journal of Political Science* 48(3):496–512.
- Allen, Christopher S. 2009. “‘Empty Nets’: Social Democracy and the ‘Catch-All Party Thesis’ in Germany and Sweden.” *Party Politics* 15(5):635–653.
- Ansell, Ben and Johannes Lindvall. 2013. “The Political Origins of Primary Education Systems: Ideology, Institutions, and Interdenominational Conflict in an Era of Nation-Building.” *American Political Science Review* 107(3):505–522.
- Bale, Tim, Christoffer Green-Pedersen, André Krouwel and Nick 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.
- Benoit, Kenneth and Michael Laver. 2006. *Party Policy in Modern Democracies*. Routledge Research in Comparative Politics Routledge.
- Benoit, Kenneth and Michael Laver. 2007. “Estimating Party Policy Positions: Comparing Expert Surveys and Hand-Coded Content Analysis.” *Electoral Studies* 26(1):90–107.
- Blais, André, Donald Blake and Stephane Dion. 1993. “Do Parties Make a Difference? Parties and the Size of Government in Liberal Democracies.” *American Journal of Political Science* 37(1):40–62.
- Blais, André, Donald Blake and Stéphane Dion. 1996. “Do Parties Make a Difference? A Reappraisal.” *American Journal of Political Science* 40(2):514–520.
- Boix, Carles. 1997. “Political Parties and the Supply Side of the Economy: The Provision of Physical and Human Capital in Advanced Economies, 1960-1990.” *American Journal of Political Science* 41(3):814–845.
- Bolleyer, Nicole. 2009. “Inside the Cartel Party: Party Organization in Government and Opposition.” *Political Studies* 57:559–579.
- Bradley, David, Evelyne Huber, Stephanie Moller, François Nielsen and John D. Stephens. 2003. “Distribution and Redistribution in Postindustrial Democracies.” *World Politics* 55(2):193–228.
- Brady, David, Jason Beckfield and Martin Seeleib-Kaiser. 2005. “Economic Globalization and the Welfare State in Affluent Democracies, 1975-2001.” *American Sociological Review* 70:921–948.
- Brooks, Clem and Jeff Manza. 2006. “Why Do Welfare States Persist?” *Journal of Politics* 68(4):816–827.
- Budge, Ian. 2000. “Expert Judgements of Party Policy Positions: Uses and Limitations in Political Research.” *European Journal of Political Research* 37(1):103–113.
- Budge, Ian, Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Andrea Volkens, Judith Bara and Eric Tanenbaum. 2001. *Mapping Policy Preferences – Estimates for Parties, Electors, and Governments 1945-1998*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Burstein, Paul. 2003. “The Impact of Public Opinion on Public Policy: A Review and an Agenda.” *Political Research Quarterly* 56(1):29–40.

- Busemeyer, Marius R. 2007. "The Impact of Fiscal Decentralization on Education and Other Types of Spending."
- Cameron, David R. 1978. "The Expansion of the Public Economy: A Comparative Analysis." *American Political Science Review* 72(4):1243–1261.
- Castles, Francis G. and Peter Mair. 1984. "Left-Right Political Scales: Some 'Expert' Judgments." *European Journal of Political Research* 12:73–88.
- Cusack, Thomas R. 1997. "Partisan Politics and Public Finance: Changes in Public Spending in the Industrialized Democracies, 1955-1989." *Public Choice* 91(3-4):375–395.
- Daalder, Hans. 2001. The Rise of Parties in Western Democracies. In *Political Parties and Democracy*, ed. Larry Diamond and Richard Gunther. John Hopkins UP pp. 40–51.
- Dalton, Russel J. and Ian McAllister. 2014. "Random Walk or Planned Excursion? Continuity and Change in the Left-Right Positions of Political Parties." *Comparative Political Studies* forthcoming:1–29.
- Dolezal, Martin. 2010. "Exploring the Stabilization of a Political Force: The Social and Attitudinal Basis of Green Parties in the Age of Globalization." *West European Politics* 33(3):534–552.
- Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver and Peter Mair. 2005. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*. 4th ed. McGraw Hill.
- Hacker, Jacob S. 2004. "Review Article: Dismantling the Health Care State? Political Institutions, Public Policies and the Comparative Politics of Health Reform." *British Journal of Political Science* 34(4):693–724.
- Hakhverdian, Armén. 2010. "Political Representation and its Mechanisms: A Dynamic Left-Right Approach for the United Kingdom, 1976-2006." *British Journal of Political Science* 40(4):835–856.
- Haupt, Andrea B. 2010. "Parties' Responses to Economic Globalization - What is Left for the Left and Right for the Right?" *Party Politics* 16(1):5–27.
- Heinisch, Reinhard. 2003. "Success in Opposition – Failure in Government: Explaining the Performance of Right-Wing Populist Parties in Public Office." *West European Politics* 26(3):91–130.
- Hibbs, Douglas A. 1977. "Political Parties and Macroeconomic Policy." *American Political Science Review* 71(4):1467–1487.
- Hicks, Alexander and Christopher Zorn. 2005. "Economic Globalization, the Macro Economy, and Reversals of Welfare: Expansion in Affluent Democracies, 1978-94." *International Organization* 59:631–662.
- Hicks, Alexander M. and Duane H. Swank. 1992. "Politics, Institutions, and Welfare State Spending in Industrialized Democracies, 1960-82." *American Political Science Review* 86(3):658–674.
- Hicks, Timothy. 2013. "Partisan Strategy and Path Dependence – The Post-War Emergence of Health Systems in the UK and Sweden." *Comparative Politics* 45(2):207–226.
- Hobolt, Sara Binzer and Robert Klemmensen. 2008. "Government Responsiveness and Political Competition in Comparative Perspective." *Comparative Political Studies* 41(3):309–337.
- Hofferbert, Richard I. and Hans-Dieter Klingemann. 1990. "The Policy Impact of Party Programmes and Government Declarations in the Federal Republic of Germany." *European Journal of Political Research* 18(3):277–304.
- Hofferbert, Richard I. and Ian Budge. 1992. "The Party Mandate and the Westminster Model: Election Programmes and Government Spending in Britain, 1948-1985." *British Journal of Political Science* 22(2):151–182.
- Huber, John D. and Ronald Inglehart. 1995. "Expert Interpretations of Party Space and Party Locations in 42 Societies." *Party Politics* 1(1):73–111.

- Hübscher, Evelyne. 2015. "The Political Economy of Fiscal Consolidation Revisited." *Journal of Public Policy* forthcoming:1–29.
- Immergut, Ellen M. 1990. "Institutions, Veto Points, and Policy Results: A Comparative Analysis of Health Care." *Journal of Public Policy* 10(4):391–416.
- Iversen, Torben and John D. Stephens. 2008. "Partisan Politics, the Welfare State, and Three Worlds of Human Capital Formation." *Comparative Political Studies* 41(4/5):600–637.
- Iversen, Torben and Thomas Cusack. 2000. "The Causes of Welfare State Expansion: Deindustrialization or Globalization?" *World Politics* 52:313–349.
- Katz, Richard S. 1987. Party Government and its Alternatives. In *Party Governments: European and American Experiences*, ed. Richard S. Katz. Vol. 2 of *The Future of Party Government* Walter de Gruyter pp. 1–27.
- Katz, Richard S. and Peter Mair. 1995. "Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party." *Party Politics* 1(1):5–28.
- Katz, Richard S. and Peter Mair. 2009. "The Cartel Party Thesis: A Restatement." *Perspectives on Politics* 7(4):753–766.
- Keman, Hans. 2007. "Experts and Manifestos: Different Sources – Same Results for Comparative Research?" *Electoral Studies* 26(1):76–89.
- Kenworthy, Lane and Leslie McCall. 2008. "Inequality, Public Opinion, and Redistribution." *Socio-Economic Review* 6(1):35–68.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 2000. "Linkages between Citizens and Politicians in Democratic Polities." *Comparative Political Studies* 33(6/7):845–879.
- Kittel, Bernhard and Herbert Obinger. 2003. "Political Parties, Institutions, and the Dynamics of Social Expenditure in Times of Austerity." *Journal of European Public Policy* 10(1):20.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter. 2010. "Restructuration of Partisan Politics and the Emergence of a New Cleavage Based on Values." *West European Politics* 33(3):673–685.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter, Edgar Grande, Romain Lachat, Martin Dolezal, Simon Bornschier and Timotheos Frey. 2006. "Globalization and the Transformation of the National Political Space: Six European Countries Compared." *European Journal of Political Research* 45(6):921–956.
- Laver, Michael. 1994. "Party Policy and Cabinet Portfolios in Ireland 1992: Results from an Expert Survey." *Irish Political Studies* 9(1):157–164.
- Laver, Michael and John Garry. 2000. "Estimating Policy Positions from Political Texts." *American Journal of Political Science* 44(3):619–634.
- Laver, Michael, Kenneth Benoit and John Garry. 2003. "Extracting Policy Positions from Political Texts Using Words as Data." *American Political Science Review* 97(2):311–331.
- Mair, Peter. 2005. "Democracy Beyond Parties."
- Mair, Peter. 2008. "The Challenge to Party Government." *West European Politics* 31(1):211–234.
- Mair, Peter and Francis G. Castles. 1997. "Revisiting Expert Judgements." *European Journal of Political Research* 31:147–157.
- Manin, Bernard. 1997. *The Principles of Representative Government*. Cambridge University Press.
- McGann, Anthony J. and Herbert Kitschelt. 2005. "The Radical Right in The Alps: Evolution of Support for the Swiss SVP and Austrian FPÖ." *Party Politics* 11(2):147–171.
- Schmidt, Manfred G. 1996. "When Parties Matter: A Review of the Possibilities and Limits of Partisan Influence on Public Policy." *European Journal of Political Research* 30:155–183.

- Stokes, Susan C. 1999. "Political Parties and Democracy." *Annual Review of Political Science* 2:243–267.
- Swank, Duane H. 1988. "The Political Economy of Government Domestic Expenditure in the Affluent Democracies, 1960-80." *American Journal of Political Science* 32(4):1120–1150.
- Tavits, Margit. 2007. "Principle vs. Pragmatism: Policy Shifts and Political Competition." *American Journal of Political Science* 51(1):151–165.
- van der Brug, Wouter and Joost van Spanje. 2009. "Immigration, Europe and the 'New' Cultural Dimension." *European Journal of Political Research* 48:309–334.
- Volkens, Andrea. 2007. "Strengths and Weaknesses of Approaches to Measuring Policy Positions of Parties." *Electoral Studies* 26(1):108–120.
- Wlezien, Christopher. 1995. "The Public as Thermostat: Dynamics of Preferences for Spending." *American Journal of Political Science* 39(4):981–1000.