

# The Inner Workings of Democracies: Public Policy and Party Politics (DID II)

## Dates and Time of the Course

Tuesdays: 13:30-15:10

TA: Renato De Gaspi

## INTRODUCTION

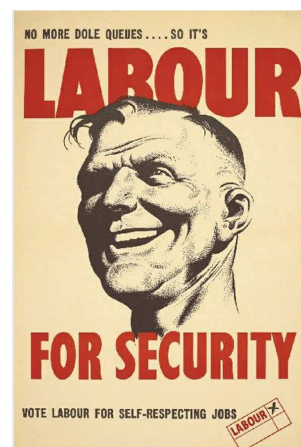
The aim of this course is to link public policies and policy-making processes to party politics and other actors that shape the making of public policies. The course takes a comparative angle and will look at how party politics and diverging political ideologies influence and shape public policies. Within the framework of this seminar, we will discuss whether and why governments respond differently to essentially similar policy problems and current (economic) challenges (e.g. unemployment, financial crisis, globalization, immigration, etc.). We will also look into how and whether the relationship between party politics and policies has evolved and changed over time and assess the question whether the great recession has led to a new style in policy-making and governance.

The course draws on a large literature that is situated at the intersection between party politics, political economy and comparative politics. Scholarly articles are at the heart of the core readings for each class. These research driven papers are complemented by ‘popular readings’ and ‘real world’ examples. In addition to discussing the proposed linkages between political parties and policies, we will also look into how researchers operationalize core concepts and how ideology, policy positions, and partisan impact on policy can be measured.

Participants are expected to familiarize themselves with various primary sources illustrating political discourses over public policies (ranging from newspapers, to parliamentary debates, public opinion polls, party statements, statements by influential vested interest groups etc.). Engaging with these materials should not only help participants to link scholarly contributions with ‘real world’ examples but also prepare you to work on take home assignments, papers and presentations.

In the final paper, you are asked to examine the policy-making process in the light of a specific argument/theoretical approach, by i.e. highlighting how and at what stages of the policy process party ideology has a significant impact or how public discourse may affect the design and outcome of a legislative project.

This exercise will illustrate how political institutions, third party actors (such as interest and lobbying groups) affect public policies. By doing this, you 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 you 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 GOALS

- 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

- Know sources of information on policy-making processes and legislative decision-making.

## COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND ASSESSMENT

Before each session, you're required to submit two questions, observations or comments that are related to the required readings. These questions will help the student who is in charge of the discussion to structure it and highlight key issues.

You are expected to attend each seminar and 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. For each session, you are required to come prepared with a critical understanding of the mandatory readings. I have kept reading to a minimum in order to have an in-depth discussion of the subject during the seminar. The further readings are indicative of additional useful literature for essays or presentations but you should go beyond this list and find additional relevant sources in case you opt to write your essay on a particular approach/topic.

It is highly recommended to also collect material and policy documents, manifestoes etc. from the parties, etc. you're most familiar with. The aim is to incorporate such documents into class exercises and group work.

In one session, you will be responsible to **organize and lead the discussion** on one of the topics. The discussion can (BUT DOES NOT HAVE TO) start off with a short summary of the reading mentioning its key take away points/arguments and is then followed by critical observations/remarks you have which are related to the overall topic or the reading. In addition, 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 link the topic to current developments and events in party politics and policy-making.

The **final paper**, which should not exceed 3.000 words, critically examines a policy-making process in the light of a **specific argument/theoretical approach** that has been discussed during the seminar. For example, you could assess how and at what stages of the policy process party ideology has a significant impact, how public discourse may affect the design and outcome of a legislative project, or how the position of a political party on a specific issue has changed over time. The precise substantive requirements will be discussed in class. For the final paper, I expect you to work with original sources (party manifestos, policy documents such as legislative proposals, parliamentary minutes, expert surveys, etc.)

The final grade consists of the following components:

- Active Participation (20%)
- Preparation of in-class discussion based on core readings and questions submitted by peer (30%)
- Final paper: (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, Parliamentary Minutes :

- 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>
- Website of your own national parliament, media outlets, LexisNexis Academic

## GENERAL OVERVIEW

<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>	How Do We Measure Partisanship and Policy Positions?
<i>Week 5</i>	Policy Positions and Party Preferences over Time	<i>Week 6</i>	Parties, Policies and the Public (Opinion)
<i>Week 7</i>	Programmatic and Clientelistic Linkages and Public Policy	<i>Week 8</i>	New Parties on the Block and Public Policies
<i>Week 9</i>	Pink Tide and Green Waves	<i>Week 10</i>	Populism and Party Politics
<i>Week 11</i>	How Policies Strike Back	<i>Week 12</i>	Still Room for (Party) Politics in Public Policy-Making?

**DETAILED COURSE PLAN (REQUIRED AND RECOMMENDED READINGS)**

The syllabus and in particular the e-learning platform will be amended with further popular readings

<b>Session</b>	<b>Topic and Readings</b>
Session I	<p><b>Introduction: How is Public Policy Related to Party Politics?</b></p> <p>During this session we will discuss the underlying assumptions of the traditional partisan hypothesis and critically engage with some of the underlying assumptions.</p> <p><i>Required Readings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘Public Policy and Political Parties’, Schmidt (1996)</li> <li>• ‘Political Parties and Macroeconomic Policy’, Hibbs (1977)</li> </ul> <p><i>Recommended Readings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘Ideological Congruence between Party Rhetoric and Policy-Making’, Bischof (2018)</li> </ul>
Session II	<p><b>Representative Democracy and Public Policy-Making</b></p> <p>The fact that political parties are assumed to make a difference in the way policies look like are themselves based on assumptions we have about the way representative democracies work and the way individual level preferences are channeled up and fed into the system. This session will critically assess the underlying principles of representative democracies and the actors populating representative democracies.</p> <p><i>Required Readings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘The Principles of Representative Government’ (Chapter 6), Manin (1997),</li> <li>• ‘Political Parties and Democracy’, Stokes (1999)</li> </ul> <p><i>Recommended Readings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘Does Representative Government Make a Difference?’ (Chapter 13), Gallagher, Laver and Mair (2005),</li> <li>• ‘Party Government and its Alternatives’, Katz (1987)</li> <li>• ‘Will vs. Reason: The Populist and Technocratic Form of Political Representation and Their Critique to Party Government’, Caramani (2017)</li> </ul>
Session III	<p><b>The Changing Nature of Political Parties</b></p> <p>During this session we look into the nature of political parties (what are the functions of political parties in politics and what distinguishes them from other (political) actors.</p> <p><i>Required Readings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘The Rise of Parties in Western Democracies’, Daalder (2001)</li> <li>• ‘Cartel Party’, Katz and Mair (1995, 2009)</li> </ul> <p><i>Recommended Readings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘Empty Nets: Social Democracy and the ‘Catch-All Party’ Thesis’, Allen (2009)</li> <li>• ‘Inside the Cartel Party’, Bolleyer (2009)</li> </ul>
Session IV	<p><b>How Do We Measure Partisanship and Policy Positions?</b></p>

Session	Topic and Readings
	<p>In this session we are looking into different ways how partisanship can be measured and how these measures have evolved and developed over time. We'll also discuss the pro's and con's of the various measures and critically evaluate the meaningfulness of the most commonly used dimension of political competition (left-right axis).</p> <p><i>Required Readings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 'Strengths and Weaknesses of Approaches to Measuring Policy Positions of Parties', Volkens (2007)</li> <li>• 'The Party Mandate and the Westminster Model', Hofferbert and Budge (1992)</li> <li>• 'Some Expert Judgements', Castles and Mair (1984)</li> </ul> <p><i>Recommended Readings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 'Revisiting Expert Judgments', Mair and Castles (1997)</li> <li>• 'Mapping Policy Preferences', Budge et al. (2001)</li> <li>• 'Estimating Policy Positions from Political Texts', Laver and Garry (2000)</li> <li>• 'Extracting Policy Positions from Political Texts Using Words as Data', Laver, Benoit and Garry (2003)</li> <li>• 'Experts and Manifestos: Different Sources – Same Results', Keman (2007)</li> <li>• 'Measuring Party Positions in Europe: The Chapel Hill Expert Survey Trend File', Bakker et al. (2015)</li> <li>• 'Beyond Salience and Position Taking: How Political Parties Communicate through their Manifestos', Dolezal et al. (2016)</li> </ul>

## Session V

**Policy Positions and Party Preferences over Time**

Do parties shift their positions over time? Is there convergence or rather divergence in the way parties position themselves in the political space? A large literature tries to understand how political parties react to the ever increasing constraints they are exposed to while trying to shape policies and influence them according to their ideology and preferences. In this session we will assess different theories that aim at explaining how and why political parties change their positions.

*Required Readings*

- 'Multidimensionality of Party Competition: Albright (2010)
- 'Principles vs. Pragmatism: Policy Shifts and Political Competition', Tavits (2007)
- 'Why Do Political Parties Change their Policy Positions? A Review', Fagerholm (2016)

*Recommended Readings*

- 'Restructuration of Partisan Politics', Kriesi et al. (2006); Kriesi (2010)
- 'Random Walk or Planned Excursion?', Dalton and McAllister (2014)
- 'Moderate Now, Win Votes Later: The Electoral Consequences of Parties' Policy Shifts', Adams and Somer-Topcu (2009)

## Session VI

**Parties, Policies and the Public (Opinion): What Are the Causal Links?**

In this session we will discuss how public opinion, political parties and policies are linked. We will particularly look into whether new parties give rise to a different set of policies focusing on environmentalist parties and so-called populist parties. In addition, we assess how and whether the public mood conditions parties and/or policies.

Session	Topic and Readings
	<p data-bbox="544 219 740 248"><i>Required Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="584 259 1460 383" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="584 259 1460 315">• ‘Responding to Voters or Responding to Markets? Political Parties and Public Opinion in an Era of Globalization’, Ezrow and Hellwig (2014)</li> <li data-bbox="584 327 1460 383">• ‘Public Opinion, Institutions and Welfare State Change’, Abou-Chadi and Immergut (2014)</li> </ul> <p data-bbox="544 416 799 445"><i>Recommended Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="584 479 1460 719" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="584 479 1460 535">• ‘Social Policy Responsiveness in Developed Democracies’, Brooks and Manza (2006)</li> <li data-bbox="584 546 1460 580">• ‘Inequality, Public Opinion and Redistribution’, Kenworthy and McCall (2008)</li> <li data-bbox="584 591 1460 647">• ‘Opinion-Policy Dynamics: Public Preferences and Public Expenditure in the United Kingdom’, Soroka and Wlezien (2005)</li> <li data-bbox="584 658 1460 719">• ‘Responsive Government? Public Opinion and Government Policy Preferences in Britain and Denmark’, Hobolt and Klemmensen (2005)</li> </ul>
<p data-bbox="193 775 331 804">Session VII</p>	<p data-bbox="544 775 1190 804"><b>Public Policy, Programmatic and Clientelistic Links</b></p> <p data-bbox="544 837 1460 983">Political parties operate within the triangle between policies, votes and office. Traditionally, we expect parties to trade policies for votes, however, there are also clientelistic exchanges between voters and parties (or candidates) taking place. This session sheds light on different types of clientelistic exchanges in various contexts and countries.</p> <p data-bbox="544 1016 740 1046"><i>Required Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="584 1079 1460 1225" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="584 1079 908 1113">• ‘Clientelism’, Hicken (2011)</li> <li data-bbox="584 1124 1422 1158">• ‘Varieties of Clientelism in Hungarian Elections’, (Mares and Young, 2019)</li> <li data-bbox="584 1169 1460 1225">• ‘Making it Personal: Clientelism, Favors, and the Personalization of Public Administration in Argentina’, (Oliveros, 2016)</li> </ul> <p data-bbox="544 1236 799 1265"><i>Recommended Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="584 1276 1460 1471" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="584 1276 1460 1332">• ‘Linkages between Citizens and Politicians in Democratic Politics’, Kitschelt (2000)</li> <li data-bbox="584 1344 1460 1426">• ‘How Party Linkages Shape Austerity Politics: Clientelism and Fiscal Adjustment in Greece and Portugal During the Eurozone Crisis’, (Afonso, Zartaloudis and Papadopoulos, 2015)</li> <li data-bbox="584 1438 1374 1471">• ‘Buying, Expropriating, and Stealing Votes’, (Mares and Young, 2016)</li> </ul>
<p data-bbox="193 1514 341 1543">Session VIII</p>	<p data-bbox="544 1514 1110 1543"><b>New Parties on the Block and Public Policies</b></p> <p data-bbox="544 1576 1460 1637">Parties live and die. This session looks into how new competitors shape policy outcomes and systemic aspects of political landscapes.</p> <p data-bbox="544 1648 740 1677"><i>Required Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="584 1688 1460 1789" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="584 1688 1382 1722">• ‘Newness as A Winning Formula for New Political Parties’, Sikk (2011)</li> <li data-bbox="584 1733 1460 1789">• ‘A Growing Impact of New Parties? Myth or Reality?’, Emanuele and Chiaramonte (2018)</li> </ul> <p data-bbox="544 1800 799 1830"><i>Recommended Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="584 1841 1460 1964" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="584 1841 1460 1897">• ‘New Party Performance after Breakthrough: Party Origin, Building and Leadership’, Bolleyer and Bytzeck (2017)</li> <li data-bbox="584 1908 1460 1964">• ‘Political Party Mortality in Established Party Systems: A Hierarchical Competing Risk Approach’, Bolleyer, Ibenskas and Bischoff (2019)</li> </ul>

Session	Topic and Readings
Session IX	<p data-bbox="544 226 898 253"><b>Pink Tide and Green Waves</b></p> <p data-bbox="544 282 1460 394">From time to time we witness groups of parties that have a particular influence on the political discourse and policy outcomes. The ‘Pink Tide’ parties in Latin America and Green Parties (around the world) are two examples of such parties, which often emerge from social movements.</p> <p data-bbox="544 427 740 454"><i>Required Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="587 472 1460 595" style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘Statist vs. Pro-Market – Explaining Leftist Governments’ Economic Policies in Latin America’, Flores-Macias (2010)</li> <li>• ‘Niche Party Success and Mainstream Party Policy Shifts – How Green and Radical Parties Differ in their Impact: Abou-Chadi (2014)</li> </ul> <p data-bbox="544 613 799 640"><i>Recommended Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="587 658 1460 920" style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘Introduction: Pink Tide Governments – Pragmatic and Populist Responses to Challenges from the Right’, (Ellner, 2019)</li> <li>• ‘Mandate and the Market: Policy Outcomes under the Left in Latin America’, (Biglaiser, 2016)</li> <li>• ‘Party Competition, Social Movements and Postmaterialist Values: Exploring the Rise of Green Parties in France and Germany’, (Kaelberer, 1998)</li> <li>• ‘Fertile Soil: Explaining Variation in the Success of Green Parties’, (Grant and Tilley, 2019)</li> </ul>
Session X	<p data-bbox="544 987 895 1014"><b>Populism and Party Politics</b></p> <p data-bbox="544 1043 1460 1211">The political discourse in many countries, East and West is polarized and increasingly dominated by populist actors and groups. While there is an increasing consensus how to define populist actors and parties, the question how to identify and classify populist policies receives less attention. This session aims at assessing the characteristics of populist public policies and discuss to what extent they entered the government agenda and in which policy fields.</p> <p data-bbox="544 1245 740 1272"><i>Required Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="587 1290 1460 1447" style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘Economy, Corruption or Floating Voters? Explaining the Breakthroughs of Anti-Establishment Reform Parties in Eastern Europe’, Hanley and Sikk (2014)</li> <li>• ‘Choosing Whom to Betray: Populist Right-Wing Parties, Welfare State Reforms and the Trade Off between Office and Vote’, Afonso (2015)</li> <li>• ‘Populism and the Economics of Globalization’, Rodrik (2018)</li> </ul> <p data-bbox="544 1480 799 1507"><i>Recommended Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="587 1525 1460 1760" style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘Do Mainstream Parties Adapt to the Welfare Chauvinism of Populist Parties?’, Schumacher and van Kersbergen (2016)</li> <li>• ‘How Populist Are the People? Measuring Populist Attitudes in Voters’, Akkerman, Mudde and Zaslove (2014)</li> <li>• ‘Studying Populism in Comparative Perspective’, Mudde and Kaltwasser (2018)</li> <li>• ‘Are Anti-Political-Establishment Parties a Peril for European Democracy?’, (Caamano and Casal Bértoa, 2020)</li> </ul>
Session XI	<p data-bbox="544 1816 1460 1868"><b>Policies Strike Back – How Austerity and Globalization Change Parties and Party Systems</b></p>

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Session	Topic and Readings
	<p>In this session, we will look into how unpopular policies and the consequences of globalization impact party politics and affect party systems and political discourse. The literature concerned with globalization backlash posits that automatization, macro-economic policies to enhance the competitiveness of domestic economies, and neo-liberal policies led reverberations in domestic politics such as an increasing level of political polarization and fragmentation and the emergence of new political parties lending a voice to ‘globalization losers’ and disenfranchised citizens.</p> <p><i>Required Readings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• ‘Austerity, Economic Vulnerability, and Populism’, Baccini and Sattler (2020)</li><li>• ‘Does Austerity Causes Polarization?’, Hübscher, Sattler and Truchlewski (2020)</li><li>• ‘The Backlash Against Globalization’, Walter (2021)</li></ul> <p><i>Recommended Readings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• ‘Parties Response to Globalization’, Haupt (2010)</li><li>• ‘The Electoral Consequences of Offshoring: How the Globalization of Production Shapes Party Preferences’, Rommel and Walter (2018)</li></ul>
Session XII	<p><b>Still Room for Parties in Policy-Making?</b></p> <p>To what extent are parties in government still able to shape public policies? Are we moving towards a world of (global) public policy without party politics? What is the role of parties in government and political parties in general in an interdependent and globalised world?</p> <p><i>Recommended Readings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• ‘Democracy Beyond Parties’, Mair (2005)</li></ul>

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## List of Readings – Required and Recommended in Alphabetical Order

- Abou-Chadi, Tarik. 2014. “Niche Party Success and Mainstream Party Policy Shifts – How Green and Radical Right Parties Differ in Their Impact.” *British Journal of Political Science* 46:417–436.
- Abou-Chadi, Tarik and Ellen M. Immergut. 2014. “Public Opinion, Institutions and Welfare State Change.” Paper prepared for presentation at the 110th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington DC.
- Adams, James and Zeynep Somer-Topcu. 2009. “Moderate Now, Win Votes Later: The Electoral Consequences of Parties’ Policy Shifts in 25 Postwar Democracies.” *Journal of Politics* 71(2):678–692.
- Afonso, Alexandre. 2015. “Choosing Whom to Betray: Populist Right-Wing Parties, Welfare State Reforms and the Trade-off Between Office and Votes.” *European Political Science Review* 7(2):271–292.
- Afonso, Alexandre, Sotirios Zartaloudis and Yannis Papadopoulos. 2015. “How Party Linkages Shape Austerity Politics: Clientelism and Fiscal Adjustment in Greece and Portugal During the Eurozone Crisis.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 22(3):315–334.
- Akkerman, Agnes, Cas Mudde and Andrej Zaslove. 2014. “How Populist Are the People? Measuring Populist Attitudes in Voters.” *Comparative Political Studies* 47(9):1324–1353.
- Albright, Jeremy J. 2010. “The Multidimensional Nature of Party Competition.” *Party Politics* 16(6):699–719.
- Allen, Christopher S. 2009. “‘Empty Nets’: Social Democracy and the ‘Catch-All Party Thesis’ in Germany and Sweden.” *Party Politics* 15(5):635–653.
- Baccini, Leonardo and Thomas Sattler. 2020. “Austerity, Economic Vulnerability, and Populism.”
- Bakker, Ryan, Catherine E. De Vries, Erica Edwards, Liesbet Hooghe, Seth Jolly, Gary Marks, Jonathan Polk, Jan Rovny, Marco Steenbergen and Milada Anna Vachudova. 2015. “Measuring Party Positions in Europe: The Chapel Hill Expert Survey Trend File, 1999-2010.” *Party Politics* 21(1):143–152.
- Biglaiser, Glen. 2016. “Mandate and the Market: Policy Outcomes under the Left in Latin America.” *Comparative Politics* 48(2):185–204.
- Bischof, Daniel. 2018. “Ideological Congruence between Party Rhetoric and Policy-Making.” *West European Politics* 41(2):310–328.
- Bolleyer, Nicole. 2009. “Inside the Cartel Party: Party Organization in Government and Opposition.” *Political Studies* 57:559–579.
- Bolleyer, Nicole and Evelyn Bytzek. 2017. “New Party Performance after Breakthrough: Party Origin, Building and Leadership.” *Party Politics* 23(6):772–782.
- Bolleyer, Nicole, Raimond Ibenskas and Carina Bischoff. 2019. “Perspectives on Political Party Death: Theorizing and Testing Downsian and Sociological Rationales.” *European Political Science Review* 11(1):19–35.
- Brooks, Clem and Jeff Manza. 2006. “Social Policy Responsiveness in Developed Democracies.” *American Sociological Review* 71:474–494.
- 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.
- Caamano, José Rama and Fernando Casal Bértoa. 2020. “Are Anti-Political-Establishment Parties a Peril for European Democracy? A Longitudinal Study from 1950 till 2017.” *Representation* 56(3):387–410.
- Caramani, Daniele. 2017. “Will vs. Reason: The Populist and Technocratic Form of Political Representation and Their Critique to Party Government.” *American Political Science Review* 111(1):54–67.

- Castles, Francis G. and Peter Mair. 1984. "Left-Right Political Scales: Some 'Expert' Judgments." *European Journal of Political Research* 12:73–88.
- 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, Laurenz Ennser-Jedenastik, Wolfgang C. Müller, Katrin Praprotnik and Anna Katharina Winkler. 2016. "Beyond Salience and Positin Taking: How Political Parties Communicate through their Manifestos." *Party Politics* forthcoming:1–13.
- Ellner, Steve. 2019. "Introduction Pink-Tide Governments: Pragmatic and Populist Responses to Challenges from the Right." *Latin American Perspectives* 46(1):4–22.
- Emanuele, Vincenzo and Alessandro Chiaramonte. 2018. "A Growing Impact of New Parties? Myth or Reality? Party System Innovation in Western Europe after 1945." *Party Politics* 24(5):475–487.
- Ezrow, Lawrence and Timothy Hellwig. 2014. "Responding to Voters or Responding to Markets? Political Parties and Public Opinion in an Era of Globalization." *International Studies Quarterly* 58:816–827.
- Fagerholm, Andreas. 2016. "Why Do Political Parties Change their Policy Positions? A Review." *Political Studies Review* 14(4):501–511.
- Flores-Macias, Gustavo A. 2010. "Statist vs. Pro-Market – Explaining Leftist Governments' Economic Policies in Latin America." *Comparative Politics* pp. 413–433.
- Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver and Peter Mair. 2005. *Representative Government in Modern Europe*. 4th ed. McGraw Hill.
- Grant, Zack P. and James Tilley. 2019. "Fertile Soil: Explaining Variation in the Success of Green Parties." *West European Politics* 42(3):495–516.
- Hanley, Seán and Allan Sikk. 2014. "Economy, Corruption or Floating Voters? Explaining the Breakthroughs of Anti-Establishment Reform Parties in Eastern Europe." *Party Politics* 22(4):522–533.
- 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.
- Hibbs, Douglas A. 1977. "Political Parties and Macroeconomic Policy." *American Political Science Review* 71(4):1467–1487.
- Hicken, Allen. 2011. "Clientelism." *Annual Review of Political Science* 14:289–310.
- Hobolt, Sara Binzer and Robert Klemmensen. 2005. "Responsive Government? Public Opinion and Government Policy Preferences in Britain and Denmark." *Political Studies* 53(2):379–402.
- 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.
- Hübscher, Evelyne, Thomas Sattler and Zbigniew Truchlewski. 2020. "Fiscal Trade-Offs and the Politics of Austerity." paper presented at the ECPR General Conference (virtual) 2020.
- Kaelberer, Matthias. 1998. "Party Competition, Social Movements and Postmaterialist Values: Exploring the Rise of Green Parties in France and Germany." *Contemporary Politics* 4(3):299–315.
- 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.

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