

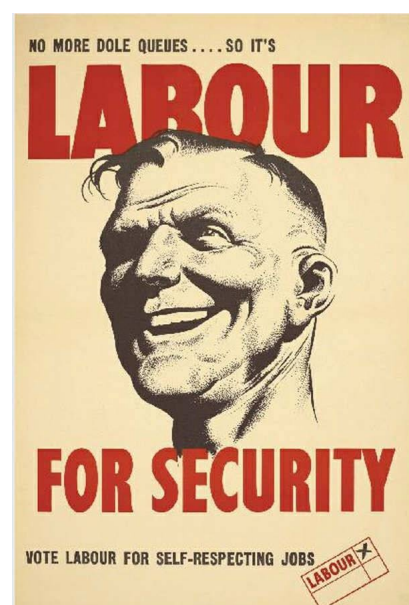
Public Policy and Party Politics (Democratic Institutional Design (DID) II)

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. Following from DID I, which discussed political institutions, here the focus is on how political actors, mostly parties, shape 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.



LEARNING OUTCOMES

- Have a critical understanding of core political science theories relating to partisanship and policy outcomes
- Have a well developed knowledge of the empirical literature that has applied and tested these theories
- Know sources of information as it related to political parties, policy-making processes, and policy outcomes
- Understand the defining characteristics of policy regimes in contemporary democracies

SESSION OVERVIEW

<i>Session 1</i> (Jan 12)	Course overview & Political Ideologies	<i>Session 2</i> (Jan 19)	How is public policy related to party politics?
<i>Session 3</i> (Jan 26)	Changing nature of political parties	<i>Session 4</i> (Feb 2)	Measuring Partisanship and Policy Positions: Policy Positions and Party Preferences over Time
<i>Session 5</i> (Feb 9)	Reading Week (preparation for presentations)	<i>Session 6</i> (Feb 16)	Worlds of Welfare and Social Policy
<i>Session 7</i> (Feb 23)	Programmatic and Clientelistic Linkages and Public Policy	<i>Week 8</i> (March 2)	Family Policy
<i>Session 9</i> (March 9)	Economic Policy & Growth Regimes	<i>Session 10</i> (March 16)	Economic Crises and Partisan Reactions to Austerity
<i>Session 11</i> (March 23)	Populism and Party Politics	<i>Session 12</i> (March 30)	Globalization Backlash: How Policies Strike Back

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND ASSESSMENT

For each session, you are expected to come prepared with a critical understanding of the readings. You do NOT need to understand the quantitative methods and can skim those portions, though you should be able to identify the key take-aways and the understand the argument.

Preparatory work and participation:

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.

Before each session, you're required to submit *two questions, observations or comments* that are related to the *required readings*. These questions will structure our discussions in class. These comments are submitted on the course moodle. Ideally, these questions/observations are submitted by Wednesday noon, but no later than Wednesday 8pm to allow for incorporation into the discussion on Thursday. Example submissions would include:

- Questions of a clarifying nature (e.g. "What does xyz mean?", "Can you provide an example of...?")
- Additional examples or more current events/data not included in the text
- A question for discussion that
 - relates to a specific passage in the text
 - makes connections between a reading and others (from the same session or other weeks)
 - challenges the argument or evidence used by the author(s)
 - ...
- Of the two questions, only one can be of the clarifying type



In-class discussion/presentation:

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 ques-

tions (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 discussion should not take more than 30 minutes.

Research Proposal and Data Report of Intended Paper Topic (20%)

Detailed information will be provided during the first session and posted on the e-learning platform in a separate document.

Final Paper (40%)

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.). More information on the final paper will be shared in class.

The final grade consists of the following components:

- Active Participation & Questions (20%)
- Preparation of in-class discussion based on core readings and questions submitted by peer (20%)
- Proposal (20%), due April 12
- Final paper: (40%), deadline tbc.

SOURCES (SELECTION)

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 Expert Survey <http://www.chesdata.eu/>
- OECD Macro Economic Indicators
- European Social Survey, World Value Survey, Eurobarometer, LatinoBarometer (individual level data on public opinion, policy preferences)

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

DETAILED COURSE PLAN (REQUIRED AND RECOMMENDED READINGS)

The e-learning platform will be amended with popular readings on specific topics

Session	Topic and Readings
Session I	<p>Course Overview and Core Political Ideologies</p> <p>During this session we discuss how party ideologies differ and assess the roots of different political ideologies.</p>
Session II	<p>How is public policy related to party politics?</p> <p>We will discuss the underlying assumptions of the traditional partisan hypothesis and critically engage with some of the underlying assumptions. 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"> • ‘Public Policy and Political Parties’, Schmidt (1996) • ‘Political Parties and Macroeconomic Policy’, Hibbs (1977) <p><i>Recommended Readings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Partisan Theory after Fifteen Years’, ? • ‘Ideological Congruence between Party Rhetoric and Policy-Making’, Bischof (2018) • ‘Political Parties and Democracy’, Stokes (1999)
Session III	<p>Changing nature of political parties</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>

Session	Topic and Readings
Session IV	<p data-bbox="544 577 1453 633">Measuring partisanship and policy positions: Policy positions and party preferences over time</p> <p data-bbox="544 667 1453 835">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). Also, we look into whether parties shift their position over time and assess some drivers of these movements.</p> <p data-bbox="544 869 738 896"><i>Required Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="584 907 1453 1048" style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Strengths and Weaknesses of Approaches to Measuring Policy Positions of Parties', Volkens (2007) • 'The Party Mandate and the Westminster Model', Hofferbert and Budge (1992) • 'Some Expert Judgements', Castles and Mair (1984) <p data-bbox="544 1059 799 1086"><i>Recommended Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="584 1097 1453 1451" style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Revisiting Expert Judgments', Mair and Castles (1997) • 'Mapping Policy Preferences', Budge et al. (2001) • 'Why Do Political Parties Change their Policy Positions? A Review', Fagerholm (2016) • 'Random Walk or Planned Excursion?', Dalton and McAllister (2014) • 'Experts and Manifestos: Different Sources – Same Results', Keman (2007) • 'Measuring Party Positions in Europe: The Chapel Hill Expert Survey Trend File', Bakker et al. (2015) • 'Beyond Salience and Position Taking: How Political Parties Communicate through their Manifestos', Dolezal et al. (2016)
Session V	<p data-bbox="544 1507 724 1534">Reading Week</p> <p data-bbox="544 1568 1453 1653">As of week VI there will be presentations/discussions led by students. This week serves to familiarize yourself with the readings of the week that you're in charge of and prepare a draft of the class input, discussion points that you plan to cover.</p>
Session VI	<p data-bbox="544 1709 991 1736">Worlds of Welfare and Social Policy</p> <p data-bbox="544 1769 1453 1915">In addition to macro-economic policies driven by underlying ideological beliefs, diverging social and welfare policies have led to distinct and regimes of specific social and labor market policy-mixes which can be traced back to the founding years of these schemes. The policy mixes significantly influence the challenges these countries face and the way social policies are reformed.</p>

Session	Topic and Readings
Session VII	<p data-bbox="544 226 740 253"><i>Required Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="584 264 1458 427" style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism or More? A State-of-the-Art Report’, Arts and Gelissen (2002) • ‘The ‘Southern’ Model of Welfare in Social Europe’, Ferrera (1996) • ‘Guns and Butter? Regime Competition and the Welfare State during the Cold War’, Obinger and Schmitt (2011) <p data-bbox="544 461 799 488"><i>Recommended Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="584 528 1458 831" style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Inequality, Public Opinion and Redistribution’, Kenworthy and McCall (2008) • ‘Greens in Government: The Distributive Policies of A Culturally Progressive Force’, (Röth and Schwander, 2021) • ‘Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism’ Esping-Andersen (1990), Chapter 1, 2 and 3 • ‘The Left and Universal Basic Income: The Role of Ideology in Individual Support’, Schwander (2020) • ‘Social Policy Responsiveness in Developed Democracies’, Brooks and Manza (2006) <hr/> <p data-bbox="544 891 1190 918">Public Policy, Programmatic and Clientelistic Links</p> <p data-bbox="544 952 1458 1093">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 1126 740 1153"><i>Required Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="584 1193 1458 1330" style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Clientelism’, Hicken (2011) • ‘Varieties of Clientelism in Hungarian Elections’, (Mares and Young, 2019) • ‘Making it Personal: Clientelism, Favors, and the Personalization of Public Administration in Argentina’, (Oliveros, 2016) <p data-bbox="544 1344 799 1370"><i>Recommended Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="584 1382 1458 1574" style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Linkages between Citizens and Politicians in Democratic Politics’, Kitschelt (2000) • ‘How Party Linkages Shape Austerity Politics: Clientelism and Fiscal Adjustment in Greece and Portugal During the Eurozone Crisis’, (Afonso, Zartaloudis and Papadopoulos, 2015) • ‘Buying, Expropriating, and Stealing Votes’, (Mares and Young, 2016) <hr/> <p data-bbox="204 1637 341 1664">Session VIII</p> <p data-bbox="544 1637 927 1664">Family Policy & Labor Market</p> <p data-bbox="544 1697 1458 1778">Welfare and labor market policies have been significantly shaped by partisan ideologies. In this session, we look into how different policy regimes affect women’s labor market participation.</p>

Session	Topic and Readings
Session IX	<p data-bbox="544 226 740 253"><i>Required Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="587 271 1460 461" style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Path Shifting of the Welfare State – Electoral Competition and the Expansion of Work-Family Policies in Western Europe’, Morgan (2013) • ‘Determinants of a Silent (R)evolution: Understanding the Expansion of Family Policy in Rich OECD Countries’, Ferragina and Seeleib-Kaiser (2015) • ‘Politics of Defamilialization: A Comparison of Italy, Japan, Korea and Spain’, Estevez-Abe and Naldini (2016) <p data-bbox="544 479 799 506"><i>Recommended Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="587 524 1460 714" style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘A Welfare State Paradox: State Intervention and Women’s Employment Opportunities in 22 Countries’, Mandel and Semyonov (2006) • ‘Unemployment Reduction or Labor Force Expansion? How Partisanship Matters for the Design of Active Labor Market Policy in Europe’, Cronert (2019) • ‘The Four Worlds of ‘Welfare Reality’ – Social Risks and Outcomes in Europe’, Ferragina, Seeleib-Kaiser and Spreckelsen (2015) <hr/> <p data-bbox="544 775 1329 801">Varieties of Capitalism, Economic Policy, and Growth Regimes</p> <p data-bbox="544 835 1460 1003">While party politics is important, alternative approaches shed light on how institutions structure politics. Naturally, institutions (such as policy regimes) were initially set in place through political decisions as well and often prove to be more decisive and influential than changes in party governments. In this session we focus on two models that explain how economies are structured and how these structures influence policymaking and preferences.</p> <p data-bbox="544 1037 740 1064"><i>Required Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="587 1081 1460 1249" style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Three Worlds of Austerity: Voter Congruence over Fiscal Trade-Offs in Germany, Spain and the UK’, Hübscher, Sattler and Truchlewski (2022) • ‘The Global Economics of European Populism: Growth Regimes and Party System Change in Europe’, Hopkin and Blyth (2019) • ‘, () <p data-bbox="544 1267 799 1294"><i>Recommended Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="587 1312 660 1339" style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘, () <hr/> <p data-bbox="204 1402 312 1429">Session X</p> <p data-bbox="544 1402 1203 1429">Economic Crisis and Partisan Reactions to Austerity</p> <p data-bbox="544 1462 1460 1597">To what extent do exogenous shocks and great crisis influence party politics and alter political landscapes? The financial and economic crisis of 2008 which led to the ‘Great Recession’ represents such a shock. In this session we look into how citizens assess austerity and how governments and party systems were affected by their political decisions.</p> <p data-bbox="544 1630 740 1657"><i>Required Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="587 1675 1460 1798" style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Does Austerity Cause Polarization?’, Hübscher, Sattler and Wagner (2022) • ‘Economic Downturns and Political Competition since the 1870s’, Lindvall (2017) • ‘,

Session	Topic and Readings
Session XI	<p data-bbox="544 226 799 253"><i>Recommended Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="587 271 1460 443" style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Austerity and the Rise of the Nazi Party’, Galofré-Vilá et al. (2021) • ‘Beyond the 2008 Great Recession: Economic Factors and Electoral Support for the Radical Left in Europe’, Gomez and Ramiro (2017) • ‘Did Austerity Cause Brexit?’, Fetzer (2019) • ‘Fiscal Consolidation under Electoral Risk’, Hübscher and Sattler (2017) <hr/> <p data-bbox="544 506 895 533">Populism and Party Politics</p> <p data-bbox="544 562 1460 763">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, macroeconomic policies to enhance the competitiveness of domestic economies, and neoliberal 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 data-bbox="544 770 740 797"><i>Required Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="587 808 1460 902" style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Do Mainstream Parties Adapt to the Welfare Chauvinism of Populist Parties?’, Schumacher and van Kersbergen (2016) • ‘Studying Populism in Comparative Perspective’, Mudde and Kaltwasser (2018) <p data-bbox="544 913 799 940"><i>Recommended Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="587 958 1460 1122" style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘How Populist Are the People? Measuring Populist Attitudes in Voters’, Akkerman, Mudde and Zaslove (2014) • ‘Are Anti-Political-Establishment Parties a Peril for European Democracy?’, (Caamano and Casal Bértoa, 2020) • ‘’,
Session XII	<p data-bbox="544 1189 1166 1216">Globalization Backlash: How policies ‘strike back’</p> <p data-bbox="544 1223 740 1249"><i>Required Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="587 1261 1460 1368" style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Austerity, Economic Vulnerability, and Populism’, Baccini and Sattler (2020) • ‘The Backlash Against Globalization’, Walter (2021) • ‘Populism and the Economics of Globalization’, Rodrik (2018) <p data-bbox="544 1458 799 1485"><i>Recommended Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="587 1525 1460 1606" style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘The Electoral Consequences of Offshoring: How the Globalization of Production Shapes Party Preferences’, Rommel and Walter (2018)

List of Readings – Required and Recommended in Alphabetical Order

- 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.
- Arts, Wil and John Gelissen. 2002. “Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism or More? A State-of-the-Art Report.” *Journal of European Social Policy* 12(2):137–158.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- Cronert, Axel. 2019. “Unemployment Reduction or Labor Force Expansion? How Partisanship Matters for the Design of Active Labor Market Policy in Europe.” *Socio-Economic Review* 17(4):921–96.
- 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.
- Esping-Andersen, Gøsta. 1990. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Cambridge University Press.
- Estevez-Abe, Margarita and Manuela Naldini. 2016. “Politics of Defamilialization: A Comparison of Italy, Japan, Korea and Spain.” *Journal of European Social Policy* 26(4):327–343.
- Fagerholm, Andreas. 2016. “Why Do Political Parties Change their Policy Positions? A Review.” *Political Studies Review* 14(4):501–511.

- Ferragina, Emanuele and Martin Seeleib-Kaiser. 2015. "Determinants of a Silent (R)evolution: Understanding the Expansion of Family Policy in Rich OECD Countries." *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society* 22(1):1–37.
- Ferragina, Emanuele, Martin Seeleib-Kaiser and Thees Spreckelsen. 2015. "The Four Worlds of 'Welfare Reality' – Social Risks and Outcomes in Europe." *Social Policy and Society* 14(2):287–307.
- Ferrera, Maurizio. 1996. "The 'Southern' Model of Welfare in Social Europe." *Journal of European Social Policy* 6(1):17–37.
- Fetzer, Thiemo. 2019. "Did Austerity Cause Brexit?" *American Economic Review* 109(11):3849–3886.
- Galofré-Vilá, Gregori, Christopher M. Meissner, Martin McKee and David Stuckler. 2021. "Austerity and the Rise of the Nazi Party." *The Journal of Economic History* forthcoming:1–33.
- Gomez, Raul and Luis Ramiro. 2017. "Beyond the 2008 Great Recession: Economic Factors and Electoral Support for the Radical Left in Europe." *Party Politics* forthcoming:1–11.
- 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.
- 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.
- Hopkin, Jonathan and Mark Blyth. 2019. "The Global Economics of European Populism: Growth Regimes and Party System Change in Europe." *Government and Opposition* 54(2):193–225.
- Hübscher, Evelyne and Thomas Sattler. 2017. "Fiscal Consolidation under Electoral Risk." *European Journal of Political Research* 56(1):151–168.
- Hübscher, Evelyne, Thomas Sattler and Markus Wagner. 2022. "Does Austerity Cause Polarization?" *British Journal of Political Science* forthcoming.
- Hübscher, Evelyne, Thomas Sattler and Zbigniew Truchlewski. 2022. "Three Worlds of Austerity: Voter Congruence over Fiscal Trade-Offs in Germany, Spain and the UK." *Socio-Economic Review* forthcoming.
- 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.
- Lindvall, Johannes. 2017. "Economic Downturns and Political Competition since the 1870s." *Journal of Politics* 79(4):1302–1314.
- Mair, Peter and Francis G. Castles. 1997. "Revisiting Expert Judgements." *European Journal of Political Research* 31:147–157.
- Mandel, Hadas and Moshe Semyonov. 2006. "A Welfare State Paradox: State Intervention and Women's Employment Opportunities in 22 Countries." *American Journal of Sociology* 111:1910–49.
- Mares, Isabela and Lauren Young. 2016. "Buying, Expropriating, and Stealing Votes." *Annual Review of Political Science* 19:267–288.
- Mares, Isabela and Lauren Young. 2019. "Varieties of Clientelism in Hungarian Elections." *Comparative Politics* forthcoming:1–32.

- Morgan, Kimberly J. 2013. "Path Shifting of the Welfare State – Electoral Competition and the Expansion of Work-Family Policies in Western Europe." *World Politics* 65(1):73–115.
- Mudde, Cas and Cristobal Rovira Kaltwasser. 2018. "Studying Populism in Comparative Perspective: Reflections on the Contemporary and Future Research Agenda." *Comparative Political Studies* forthcoming:1–27.
- Obinger, Herbert and Carina Schmitt. 2011. "Guns and Butter? Regime Competition and the Welfare State during the Cold War." *World Politics* 63(2):246–270.
- Oliveros, Virginia. 2016. "Making it Personal: Clientelism, Favors, and the Personalization of Public Administration in Argentina." *Comparative Politics* 48(3):373–391.
- Rodrik, Dani. 2018. "Populism and the Economics of Globalization." *Journal of International Business Policy* pp. 1–22.
- Rommel, Tobias and Stefanie Walter. 2018. "The Electoral Consequences of Offshoring: How the Globalization of Production Shapes Party Preferences." *Comparative Political Studies* 51(5):621–658.
- Röth, Leonce and Hanna Schwander. 2021. "Greens in Government: The Distributive Policies of A Culturally Progressive Force." *West European Politics* 44(3):661–689.
- 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.
- Schumacher, Gijs and Kees van Kersbergen. 2016. "Do Mainstream Parties Adapt to the Welfare Chauvinism of Populist Parties?" *Party Politics* 22(3):300–312.
- Schwander, Hanna. 2020. "Labor Market Insecurity among the Middle Class: A Cross-Pressured Group." *Political Science Research and Methods* 8:369–374.
- Stokes, Susan C. 1999. "Political Parties and Democracy." *Annual Review of Political Science* 2:243–267.
- Volkens, Andrea. 2007. "Strengths and Weaknesses of Approaches to Measuring Policy Positions of Parties." *Electoral Studies* 26(1):108–120.
- Walter, Stefanie. 2021. "The Backlash against Globalization." *Annual Review of Political Science* forthcoming:1–36.