

# Public Policy and Party Politics (Democratic Institutional Design 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 seminar 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, and how institutional frameworks mediate to room to move of political actors. 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, migration, 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’ (newspaper articles, opinion pieces, essays). 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 you to link scholarly contributions with ‘real world’ examples but also prepare you to work on take home assignments and papers.



## LEARNING OUTCOMES

- Have a critical understanding of core political science theories related to party ideology and policy outputs and outcomes
- Develop knowledge of the empirical literature that has applied and tested these theories
- Know sources of information 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 10)	Course overview & Political Ideologies	<i>Session 2</i> (Jan 17)	Principles of Representation and Public Policy Making
<i>Session 3</i> (Jan 24)	Early links between public policy and party politics	<i>Session 4</i> (Jan 31)	Measuring Partisanship, Ideology and Policy Positions
<i>Session 5</i> (Feb 7)	<b>Reading Week</b>	<i>Session 6</i> (Feb 14)	Programmatic and Clientelistic Linkages and Public Policy
<i>Session 7</i> (Feb 21)	New Parties on the Blok and Public Policies	<i>Week 8</i> (Feb 28)	Economic Crises and Partisan Reactions to Austerity
<i>Session 9</i> (March 7)	Voter Perceptions of Parties' Policy Offers	<i>Session 10</i> (March 14)	Globalization Backlash: How Policies Strike Back
<i>Session</i> (March 21)	Populism and Party Politics I ()	<i>Session</i> (March 28)	Populism and Party Politics II ()

## 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 our discussions. There is no student presentation in this seminar but you're expected to be prepared to provide a brief summary of the underlying argument of the core readings (e.g. name the guiding hypotheses, core findings, implications). 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; regular contributions with valuable insights related to the sessions topic 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.



You're required to submit *two questions, observations or comments* that are related to the *required readings* before each session. These questions will structure our discussions in class. These comments are submitted on the course moodle. Questions/observations have to be submitted by Tuesday 4pm. This allows me to structure your questions, prepare a handout and integrate your observations into my slides. 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!!

### **Reaction Paper (20%)**

Over the term, you have to submit two reaction papers on two readings of your choice. The length of the reaction paper should not exceed 3 pages (1.5 spaced). Guidelines for writing reaction papers will be shared on moodle and discussed at the beginning of the term.

### **Research Proposal (20%)**

The research proposal serves as the fundament of your final paper, which will be a revised and expanded version of what you submit in March. The revisions / expansions should take into account the comments that you received on the proposal.

The proposal report should be 3-4 pages (single spaced) long and cover:

- introduction of the general topic or topics you are going to study (1-2 paragraph), which specific research question/claim will you be investigating (1 paragraph),
- a brief literature review (4 paragraphs),
- how you will test your research question with data (which methods; what do you expect your data to show if your theory is valid?) (1 paragraph).
- demonstrate that you have already identified datasource(s) that are of importance to your project, if possible, present what this data looks like (e.g. summary statistics, distribution plots, etc.)

### **Final Paper (40%),**

The **final paper**, which should not exceed 3.000 words. The final paper significantly revises and expands the research proposal submitted in February along the feedback provided by the course instructor.

### **The final grade consists of the following components:**

- Active Participation & Questions (20%)
- Two reaction papers (20%)
- Proposal (20%), due February 24
- Final paper: (40%), due April 5

## **ACADEMIC INTEGRITY AND AI**

Please make sure you have read and understand the ‘Academic Dishonesty’ part of the Student Handbook, the CEU Policy on Plagiarism and accompanying guidelines and the CEU Code of Ethics. Plagiarism is extremely serious academic misconduct. If you have any questions or concerns, please just ask! You can also reach out to the Academic Writing Centre for support. ‘Turnitin’ software is used to verify the originality of your work.

A goal of this course is to enhance your understanding, critical thinking skills, and develop your own voice on the topics we cover. While AI tools can be used to assist in understanding course material, brainstorming ideas, and identifying source material the use of AI tools should always support,

not supplant, your learning and your own effort to identify relevant sources. As mentioned above, any assignment submitted for a grade must be your own original work, in line with CEU's Policy on Student Plagiarism and the Student Handbook. AI tools may not be used to generate your responses or write some or all of your assignments. Text may not be copy-pasted from an AI tool (such as ChatGPT) into an assignment and presented as your own work. Automated paraphrasing by AI for graded assignments is also prohibited. Presentation of AI generated text as your own work will result in a failing grade on the assignment.

**Caution in Use:** While AI can be helpful, it does not replace critical thinking, original ideas, or deep understanding. Be aware that AI tools, including LLMs, such as ChatGPT, have limitations. They do not understand content in the way humans do and can sometimes generate misleading, inaccurate, and/or incorrect information, including generating false references.

**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><b>Course Overview and Core Political Ideologies</b></p> <p>During this session we discuss how party ideologies differ and assess the roots of different political ideologies (cleavages, conflict lines). We also look into how the traditional one-dimensional conceptualization of party competition has evolved.</p>
Session II	<p><b>Principles of 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>Early Links between Public Policy and Party Politics</b></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"> <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>• ‘Partisan Theory after Fifteen Years’, Hibbs (1992)</li> <li>• ‘Ideological Congruence between Party Rhetoric and Policy-Making’, Bischof (2018)</li> <li>• ‘Political Parties and Democracy’, Stokes (1999)</li> </ul>
Session IV	<p><b>Measuring partisanship and policy positions: Policy positions and party preferences over time</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). Also, we look into whether parties shift their position over time and assess some drivers of these movements.</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>• 'Why Do Political Parties Change their Policy Positions? A Review', Fagerholm (2016)</li> <li>• 'Random Walk or Planned Excursion?', Dalton and McAllister (2014)</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	<p><b>Reading Week</b></p> <p>Start preparing your research proposal (search for a relevant newspaper article that serves as a hook for your proposal/final paper, read up on core literature, etc. The deadline to submit the proposal is February 24.</p>
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Session VI	<p><b>Public Policy, Programmatic and Clientelistic Links</b></p> <p>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><i>Required Readings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 'Clientelism', Hicken (2011)</li> <li>• 'Varieties of Clientelism in Hungarian Elections', (Mares and Young, 2019)</li> <li>• 'Making it Personal: Clientelism, Favors, and the Personalization of Public Administration in Argentina', (Oliveros, 2016)</li> </ul> <p><i>Recommended Readings</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 'Linkages between Citizens and Politicians in Democratic Politics', Kitschelt (2000)</li> <li>• '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>• 'Buying, Expropriating, and Stealing Votes', (Mares and Young, 2016)</li> </ul>
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Session	Topic and Readings
Session VII	<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 VIII	<p data-bbox="544 1043 1460 1182"><b>Economic Crisis, Partisan, and Voter Reactions to Austerity</b></p> <p data-bbox="544 1043 1460 1182">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 1216 740 1243"><i>Required Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="587 1261 1460 1391" style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘Does Austerity Cause Polarization?’, Hübscher, Sattler and Wagner (2022)</li> <li>• ‘Economic Downturns and Political Competition since the 1870s’, Lindvall (2017)</li> <li>• ‘Fiscal Consolidation under Electoral Risk’, Hübscher and Sattler (2017)</li> </ul> <p data-bbox="544 1424 799 1451"><i>Recommended Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="587 1469 1460 1599" style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘Austerity and the Rise of the Nazi Party’, Galofré-Vilá et al. (2021)</li> <li>• ‘Beyond the 2008 Great Recession: Economic Factors and Electoral Support for the Radical Left in Europe’, Gomez and Ramiro (2017)</li> <li>• ‘Did Austerity Cause Brexit?’, Fetzer (2019)</li> </ul>
Session VIII	<p data-bbox="544 1722 1460 1861"><b>Voter’s Perceptions of Parties’ Policy Offers</b></p> <p data-bbox="544 1722 1460 1861">The changes in the party landscapes in many countries and the increasing support of more radical political parties triggers the question what kind of policies voters expect from political parties and whether citizens have a good understanding of what parties stand for in terms of their programmatic offerings. This session will shed light on voter’s perceptions of parties and voters’ policy expectations in a number of countries.</p>

Session	Topic and Readings
Session X	<p data-bbox="544 226 740 253"><i>Required Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="584 264 632 371" style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● ‘,’</li> <li>● ‘,’</li> <li>● ‘,’</li> </ul> <p data-bbox="544 400 799 427"><i>Recommended Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="584 450 632 557" style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● ‘,’</li> <li>● ‘,’</li> <li>● ‘,’</li> </ul> <hr/> <p data-bbox="544 611 1166 638"><b>Globalization Backlash: How policies ‘strike back’</b></p> <p data-bbox="544 674 1460 931">As we’ve seen throughout this course, the policies implemented by party governments create path dependencies, their own supporting groups but also, over time, groups of losers. In this session, we look how international interdependence (globalization) and domestic policy reactions to cope with globalization leads to political repercussions and polarization. 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 polities 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="544 965 740 992"><i>Required Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="584 1010 1460 1144" style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● ‘Austerity, Economic Vulnerability, and Populism’, Baccini and Sattler (2020)</li> <li>● ‘The Backlash Against Globalization’, Walter (2021)</li> <li>● ‘Globalization Backlash in Developing Countries: Broadening the Research Agenda’, Rudra, Nooruddin and Bonifai (2021)</li> </ul> <p data-bbox="544 1205 799 1232"><i>Recommended Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="584 1272 1460 1406" style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● ‘The Electoral Consequences of Offshoring: How the Globalization of Production Shapes Party Preferences’, Rommel and Walter (2018)</li> <li>●</li> <li>●</li> </ul>
Session XI	<p data-bbox="544 1469 916 1496"><b>Populism and Party Politics I</b></p> <p data-bbox="544 1532 1460 1666">While populism has become a buzzword and part of many public debates, the concept has a long history and different ‘faces’ and phases of populism have been discussed or identified over time. In this session we differentiate between different types of populism, learn about waves of populism and aim to define what populism is and what not.</p> <p data-bbox="544 1704 740 1731"><i>Required Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="584 1749 632 1856" style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● ‘,’</li> <li>● ‘,’</li> <li>● ‘,’</li> </ul> <p data-bbox="544 1868 799 1895"><i>Recommended Readings</i></p> <ul data-bbox="584 1912 632 2020" style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● ‘,’</li> <li>● ‘,’</li> <li>● ‘,’</li> </ul>

**Session****Topic and Readings**

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Session XII

**Populism and Party Politics II & Future of Policy and Politics**

In this last session, we continue our discussion on populism but assess how populism affects policies and whether there are specific policy fields that are particularly affected by populists and their programmatic offers. We conclude with an outlook and a critical appraisal of the current state of party government, policy-making mechanisms and the type of policy mixes proposed by parties from different ‘families’

*Required Readings*

- ‘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)

*Recommended Readings*

- ‘Choosing Whom to Betray: Populist Right-Wing Parties, Welfare State Reforms and the Trade Off between Office and Vote’, Afonso (2015)
- ‘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)

## 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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 Position 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.
- Fagerholm, Andreas. 2016. “Why Do Political Parties Change their Policy Positions? A Review.” *Political Studies Review* 14(4):501–511.
- Fetzer, Thimo. 2019. “Did Austerity Cause Brexit?” *American Economic Review* 109(11):3849–3886.
- 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.

- 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.
- Grant, Zack P. and James Tilley. 2019. "Fertile Soil: Explaining Variation in the Success of Green Parties." *West European Politics* 42(3):495–516.
- Hibbs, Douglas A. 1977. "Political Parties and Macroeconomic Policy." *American Political Science Review* 71(4):1467–1487.
- Hibbs, Douglas A. 1992. "Partisan Theory after Fifteen Years." *European Journal of Political Economy* 8:361–373.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- Keman, Hans. 2007. "Experts and Manifestos: Different Sources – Same Results for Comparative Research?" *Electoral Studies* 26(1):76–89.
- 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.
- Manin, Bernard. 1997. *The Principles of Representative Government*. Cambridge University Press.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- Rudra, Nita, Irfan Nooruddin and Niccolo W. Bonifai. 2021. "Globalization Backlash in Developing Countries: Broadening the Research Agenda." *Comparative Political Studies* 54(13):2416–2441.
- 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.

- Stokes, Susan C. 1999. "Political Parties and Democracy." *Annual Review of Political Science* 2:243–267.
- Volgens, 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* 24:421–442.