# Welfare Democracies and Party Politics

Explaining Electoral Dynamics in Times of Changing Welfare Capitalism

Edited by Philip Manow, Bruno Palier, and Hanna Schwander



## Contents

List of Figures	ix
List of Tables	xiii
List of Contributors	xv
1. Introduction: Welfare Democracies and Party Politics— Explaining Electoral Dynamics in Times of Changing Welfare Capitalism Philip Manow, Bruno Palier, and Hanna Schwander	1
Part I. The Structure of Political Competition	
2. Welfare Democracies and Multidimensional Party Competition in Europe <i>Jonathan Polk and Jan Rovny</i>	29
3. Determinants of Dimension Dominance Herbert Kitschelt and Philipp Rehm	61
4. Public Opinion, Party Politics, and the Welfare State Johannes Lindvall and David Rueda	89
Part II. Changes in Electoral Politics	
5. Varieties of Electoral Dilemmas: Partisan Jousting over Welfare States and Immigration in a Changing Europe Kimberly J. Morgan	119
6. Social Democracy and the Welfare State in Context: The Conditioning Effect of Institutional Legacies and Party Competition Silja Häusermann	150
7. Social Class and the Changing Welfare State Agenda of Radical Right Parties in Europe  Alexandre Afonso and Line Rennwald	171

### Contents

Part III. The Move toward the Social Investment Welfare State	
8. Electoral Demand, Party Competition, and Family Policy: The Politics of a New Policy Field Hanna Schwander	197
9. Skills in Demand? Higher Education and Social Investment in Europe  Ben Ansell and Jane Gingrich	225
Part IV. Origins and Consequences of the Euro Crisis	
10. A Structural-Institutional Explanation of the Eurozone Crisis  Torben Iversen and David Soskice	257
11. European Disunion? Social and Economic Divergence in Europe, and their Political Consequences  Bruno Palier, Allison E. Rovny, and Jan Rovny	281
12. Conclusions: Electoral Dynamics in Times of Changing Welfare Capitalism Philip Manow, Hanna Schwander, and Bruno Palier	298
Index	319

# **List of Figures**

2.1.	Denmark and Spain	37
2.2.	Absolute competition axis slopes	38
2.3.	Economic salience	39
2.4.	Cultural salience	40
2.5.	Vote share of radical left and radical right parties by political economy	41
2.6.	Vote choice analysis for major left	43
2.7.	Vote choice analysis for major right	44
2.8.	Vote choice analysis for radical left	46
2.9.	Vote choice analysis for radical right	47
2.10.	Scandinavian party systems	48
2.11.	Southern party systems	50
2.12.	Anti-corruption salience in southern party systems	51
2.13.	Continental party systems	52
3.1.	Relationship between public social expenditure and progressivity	75
3.2.	Relative polarization and first-dimension dominance	79
3.3.	Benefit progressivity and first-dimension dominance	80
3.4.	Market liberal parties (1960) and dimension dominance	81
3.5.	Protestantism and dimension dominance	81
3.6.	Clientelism and first-dimension dominance	82
4.1.	Average median-voter position, 1950–2003	91
4.2.	Left-wing government and the welfare state	92
4.3.	Public opinion and party positions in Denmark	98
4.4.	Opinion, governments, and policy in Denmark	99
4.5.	Public opinion and party positions in Norway	101
4.6.	Opinion, governments, and policy in Norway	102
4.7.	Public opinion and party positions in the UK	103
4.8.	Opinion, governments, and policy in the UK	105
4.9.	Public opinion and party positions in Germany	107
4.10.	Opinion, governments, and policy in Germany	108

## List of Figures

4.11.	Public opinion and party positions in France	109
4.12.	Opinion, governments, and policy in France	111
5.1.	Average social democratic party platform mentions, 1950s-2010s	126
5.2.	Average Christian democratic party platform mentions, 1950s-2010s	126
5.3.	Average conservative party platform mentions, 1950s-2010s	127
5.4.	Pro-welfare state/social justice mentions by green, far left, and social democratic/labor parties, 1980s–2010s (decade averages)	128
5.5.	Pro-welfare state/social justice mentions in radical right-wing party manifestos, 1980s–2000s	128
5.6.	Percent of pro-welfare state/social justice statements by left parties, 1950s–present	129
5.7.	Percent of pro-welfare state/social justice statements by center-right parties (Christian democratic and conservative), 1950s–present	130
6.1.	Share of middle-class and working-class voters among voters for social democratic parties	158
6.2.	Class composition of social democratic voter constituencies and party positions regarding the expansion/support of welfare, education, and multiculturalism	160
6.3.	Class composition of social democratic voter constituencies and party positions regarding the expansion/support of welfare, education, and multiculturalism for different types of welfare democracies	162
6.4.	Class composition of social democratic voter constituencies and party positions regarding the expansion/support of welfare, education, and multiculturalism for party systems with a radical right challenger versus party systems without	164
6.A.1.	Share of middle-class, skilled manual working-class, and routine service working-class voters among voters for social democratic parties	166
6.A.2.		167
7.1.	Number of manifesto statements on welfare in six countries, 1980–2015	176
7.2.	Welfare position of radical right parties in six countries, 1980–2015	177
7.3.	Share of working-class voters within the electorate of radical right parties, of the left, and within the whole electorate	182
7.4.	Relationship between salience of redistribution and substantive position on redistribution among different party families	188
8.1	Declining relevance of core voters	202
8.2	Employment rates of women and mothers and coverage rates of children under three years in childcare and pre-school education	205

8.3.	Support for the male breadwinner model among women with different skill levels, over time	210
8.4.	Party configuration of family policy orientation in France, 2002–12	213
8.5.	Party configuration of family policy orientation in Germany, 1998–2013	213
8.6.	Party configuration of family policy orientation in Spain, 2004–8	215
9.1.	Proportion of graduates in best job category	237
9.2.	Proportion of graduates in bottom two job quality categories	237
9.3.	Wage premium for graduates in 2012	238
9.4.	Changes in the graduate wage premium, 1993–2012	239
9.5.	Changes in the effect of being a graduate on job quality, 1993–2011	240
9.6.	Cross-country patterns of graduate stock and mismatch	241
9.7.	Skill mismatch and relative gross monthly wages	242
9.8.	Change in the relationship between graduate status and non-standard employment, 1994–2012	243
9.9.	Graduate cohorts and job quality	245
9.10.	Graduate cohorts in mismatched jobs	246
10.1.	Two clusters of Eurozone countries (bold) using price levels and export performance, 1972–2000	268
10.2.	The southern European risk premium on long-term interest rates from the Maastricht Treaty to 2014	270
10.3.	The north-south trade gap	271
l0.4.	The north-south bargaining game	274
11.1.	Center and periphery of the EU	286
11.2.	Difference-in-difference models assessing socio-economic outcomes across the center and the periphery between the 1990s, 2000s,	
	and 2010s	287
11.3.	Radical left- and right-wing support across the center and periphery	293
l 1.4.	Positions of party groups, and their mean vote share	294
12.1.	Vote shares of formerly communist, now radical left, parties in the south, and of the radical right in Scandinavia	302
12.2.	Vote shares of CD parties, 1940–2014, in nine countries with a continental (AUT, DEU, BEL, NLD, CH) and a southern	20.5
	(FRA, PRT, ESP, ITA) trajectory	305
12.3.	Partisan center of gravity of member states' governments, their parliaments, and the EP on the pro-/anti-EU dimension since	
	1957 or 1979, respectively	311

## **List of Tables**

2.A.1.	MNL vote choice model for liberal welfare democracies	54
2.A.2.	MNL vote choice model for continental welfare democracies	55
2.A.3.	MNL vote choice model for Nordic welfare democracies	56
2.A.4.	MNL vote choice model for southern welfare democracies	56
3.1.	Dominance of first-dimension politics	73
3.2.	Welfare states and progressivity	74
3.3.	Variable definition and sources	76
3.4.	Correlation matrix	78
6.1.	Class composition of social democratic voter constituencies as determinant of party positions regarding the expansion/support of welfare, education, and multiculturalism	161
6.2.	Class composition of social democratic voter constituencies as determinant of party positions regarding the expansion/support of welfare, education, and multiculturalism for different types of welfare democracies	162
6.3.	Class composition of social democratic voter constituencies as determinant of party positions regarding the expansion/support of welfare, education, and multiculturalism for party systems with a radical right challenger versus party systems without	164
7.1.	Positions on redistribution of party families, Chapel Hill Expert Survey, 1999–2014	175
7.2.	Relationship between welfare position of radical right parties and that of other party families (CMP data)	186
7.3.	Relationship between salience of redistribution and substantive position on redistribution among different party families (Chapel Hill Expert Survey)	187
7.A.1.	Data used for the voters' analysis	190
8.1.	The competitive party constellation and its effect on parties'	170
J.1.	family policy constellation	203
8.2.	Support for the male breadwinner model among men and women, over time	209

#### List of Tables

8.3.	Examples of individualizing and familializing family policy	212
9.1.	Higher education, high-skill protection, and labor market outcomes	231
9.2.	Cross-national examples and welfare democracies	231
9.3.	Graduates in the workforce and job quality distribution, 1993–2012 (ECHP-SILC)	236
9.4.	Skill mismatch and political attitudes in the ESS	249
10.1.	Summary of relevant institutional differences between southern Europe and northern Europe	266
11.1.	Cluster analysis	285