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OXFORD

# Globalization and Domestic Politics

Parties, Elections, and Public Opinion

*edited by* Jack Vowles and Georgios Xezonakis

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## **Globalization and Domestic Politics**

Volumes of a Collaborative Research Programme  
Among Election Study Teams from Around the World

*Series editors:* Hans-Dieter Klingemann and Ian McAllister

The Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES) is a collaborative program of research among election study teams from around the world. Participating countries include a common module of survey questions in their post-election studies. The resulting data are deposited along with voting, demographic, district, and macro variables. The studies are then merged into a single, free, public dataset for use in comparative study and cross-level analysis.

The set of volumes in this series is based on these CSES modules, and the volumes address the key theoretical issues and empirical debates in the study of elections and representative democracy. Some of the volumes will be organized around the theoretical issues raised by a particular module, while others will be thematic in their focus. Taken together, these volumes will provide a rigorous and ongoing contribution to understanding the expansion and consolidation of democracy in the twenty-first century.



Further information on CSES activities can be obtained from:

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USA

CSES web site: <http://www.cses.org>

## Series Editors' Preface

Few topics generate as much interest among observers and practitioners of politics as the quality of the democratic process. The expansion of democracy during the twentieth century, which accelerated rapidly after the collapse of communism in 1990, has meant that a majority of the world's countries are now electoral democracies. But not all democracies can be considered equal; they differ widely in terms of institutional arrangements and practices, and in the levels of public support that they attract. It is the public support for democracy that the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES) project is designed to investigate. This volume series presents the key findings from this major research project that commenced in 1994.

The first CSES volume, edited by Hans-Dieter Klingemann, has documented much of the project's historical background, the basic principles of data collection, and provided sample chapters showing many of the analytical possibilities of this unique data collection. This volume is based on the first module of survey questions in the CSES, completed in 2001, which examines the interaction of political institutions and political behaviour regarding attitudes towards the democratic regime, the political authorities, and the quality of the political process generally.

As with the first volume, the second one, edited by Russell J. Dalton and Christopher J. Anderson, addresses the fundamental question of whether the institutional structure of elections affects the nature of the public's choices. The first question looks at explanations of turnout, and how institutions structure the likelihood of voting. The second question discusses determinants of individual electoral behaviour and examines the role of institutions in shaping what kinds of political behaviour voters acquire.

The third volume in the series, by Russell J. Dalton, David Farrell, and Ian McAllister, describes and explains the role of political parties in election campaigns, in forming the electoral choice of voters, and in government and opposition. The theoretical arguments relate to the logic of the responsible parties model. It is the first study that tests these ideas using a comprehensive and comparative design. It demonstrates the importance of the left-right schema to enable political positioning, political communication, and political representation.

Representation and accountability are the focus of the fourth volume, edited by Jacques Thomassen. Inspired by Arend Lijphart's theory, the analyses contrast voting and elections in countries of majoritarian Westminster and consensus democracies. The volume asks the question: do consensus models of democracy serve the interests of their citizens better than majoritarian systems? The answer is that formal institutions such as the electoral system matter less than might be expected. What does matter is the characteristics of the party system, such as the level of polarization and the clarity of accountability.

The current volume, edited by Jack Vowles and Georgios Xezonakis, asks how globalization affects democratic mass politics, and in particular the political attitudes and behaviour of ordinary citizens and the policies of political parties—not just governments. This represents an important corrective for the extant research, which has so far dealt mostly with the public policy implications of globalization. By examining the consequences for mass political behaviour, the contributors to the volume are able to show that the relentless march of globalization over the past two decades has created winners and losers, with the political impact of the latter group being dependent on the extent to which they are able to translate economic insecurity into political action.

The contributors to the volume analyse the impact of globalization on mass politics from a variety of dimensions, and come up with several important findings. First, the key mechanisms of democracy, accountability, and representation—a key focus of the CSES surveys—are only marginally affected by globalization. This is what Vowles and Xezonakis call the 'good news'. The second and less positive message is that the social groups most affected by globalization are less likely to be satisfied with democracy or to turn out to vote. While this is not a major concern at present, they suggest that it should be closely monitored in the future.

*Globalization and Domestic Politics* shows how the CSES surveys can be utilized to address key topics in democratization, beyond what was originally envisaged by the founders of the project. Module 3 of the surveys contains several items designed to measure the impact of globalization on mass political attitudes and behaviour. The contributions to the volume use these items, but several chapters are also able to make use of the over-time dimension as well. Using the three modules of the CSES, stretching over two decades, they are able to track changes induced by changes in global economic conditions.

The sixth volume in the series, edited by Hermann Schmitt and Bernhard Wessels, will examine how far elections provide citizens with a say in how they are governed. The study builds on the debate in democratic theory that elections in the established democracies are no longer meaningful, due to a lack of choice. This has its roots in a perceived policy convergence between the

major political parties, and their stifling of the aspirations of minor party competitors. This volume is scheduled for publication in 2016.

All of the books in the series raise key questions for extending our understanding of individual citizen behaviour. Most studies of voting behaviour have been based on single-country studies, often covering just a single election. By comparing a wide range of countries, for the first time the CSES project enables the institutional environment to be brought into the equation, enhancing our understanding of the complex relationship between individual choice and institutional context. Indeed, such analyses were impossible until the CSES was established.

All of the CSES data is freely available and can be downloaded from our website (<<http://www.cses.org>>).

Hans-Dieter Klingemann  
Ian McAllister  
Series Editors



## Preface and Acknowledgements

Like most books of this kind, *Globalization and Domestic Politics* has been a long time coming. Jack Vowles became interested in the effects of globalization on mass political behaviour more than ten years ago. As a citizen and resident of New Zealand, a small democracy greatly affected by fluctuations in the international economy, he was keen to perform systematic analysis of the effects of globalization on domestic politics more widely. His position on the Planning Committee of the Comparative Study of Election Systems (CSES) led him to see the potential of the data it had been generating for such research. Indeed, others had been there before, notably Timothy Hellwig, in his pioneering work on the effects of globalization on economic voting and the salience of left–right politics. But while not designed to assess the effects of globalization, the CSES contains several questions allowing explanation of inquiries into political efficacy, satisfaction with democracy, turnout, and other avenues for investigation into possible effects on perceptions of accountability and representation. There was much new ground to be broken.

In 2007 Jack left the University of Auckland to take up a position at the University of Exeter and was successful in his application for a Marie Curie Grant to help fund this research. Its title ‘Does Globalization Make a Difference?’ (DGMD) summed up its main thrust (Marie Curie Reintegration Grant February 2008–2012, MIRG-CT\_2007-204997). On receipt of the grant he was able to hire a Research Fellow, Georgios Xezonakis, a Greek who had recently completed his PhD at the University of Essex. Pressure of other commitments led us quickly to the decision to convene a wider group of scholars and co-edit a book jointly. And meanwhile the global financial crisis had emerged, leading us to rethink many of our assumptions.

One of the first of the collaborators we attracted was Timothy Hellwig, who was also working on his own book on globalization and mass politics. But Tim was keen to join our project as well. In June 2010 we held the first of our two workshops at Exeter. By our second meeting in London in January 2012, we had brought together a global collection of scholars: from New Zealand, Greece, Britain, Germany, and the United States, and we had many draft chapters already undergoing revision with the benefit of the wide-ranging workshop discussions. Draft chapters were also presented at Elections, Public

Opinion, and Parties (EPOP) conferences, at the Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association (APSA), receiving more useful commentary for which we give thanks to those involved.

In 2009 another Marie Curie-funded project had come to Exeter, a training network led by Professor Susan Banducci, focusing on comparative electoral behaviour. One of the PhD candidates attached to the project, Kathrin Thomas, later joined the team of authors for our globalization project. In 2010 Jack Vowles became a co-investigator in the Economic and Social Research Council-funded project Comparative Cross-National Electoral Research (CCNER) led by his Exeter colleague, Professor Jeffrey Karp. The concentration of all this activity of Exeter on similar methodological themes made possible considerable cross-fertilization between these activities. Jeff and then CCNER Research Fellow Caitlin Milazzo joined the team of collaborators. We would also like to thank the wider group of former colleagues at Exeter, both academics and administrators, who provided us with various kinds of support for this research.

Our most special thanks and acknowledgements go to those already named, and the rest of the team of chapter authors: Sarah Birch, Steve Fisher, Mark Kayser, Stratos Patrikios, Michael Peress, and Erik Tillman. We also thank Hans-Dieter Klingemann and Ian McAllister for encouraging us to develop the project for the Oxford University Press CSES series, of which they are joint editors, their comments on our submission of the first complete draft, and their strong support thereafter. We also thank Dominic Byatt at OUP for guiding us through the review process with the utmost professionalism, Sarah Parker and Olivia Wells for their assistance in the later stages, and the three anonymous reviewers of the manuscript whose comments challenged us to sharpen and more strongly focus the introductory and concluding chapters. We are also grateful for the support given by the Quality of Government Institute at the University of Gothenburg and especially to Andreas Bågenholm, Selome Gizaw, and Sofia Axelsson. Nor can we forget the CSES secretariat and, in particular, Dave Howell, whose help and support over many years has been warmly appreciated.

Finally, Jack thanks Anna for tolerating his absences while attending conferences and workshops and the occasional periods of his obsession on aspects of the project. Georgios would like to thank colleagues in Exeter, Jack Vowles and Susan Banducci for their invaluable support at an early stage of his career.

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# List of Abbreviations

AME	average marginal effect
CDU	Christian Democratic Union (Germany)
CSES	Comparative Study of Electoral Systems
ECB	European Central Bank
EDD	electorally dependent decision-maker
ENPS	effective number of parties with respect to seats
EPOP	elections, public opinion, and parties
EU	European Union
EVS	European Values Survey
FDI	foreign direct investment
FDP	Free Democratic Party (Germany)
FEVD	fixed effects vector decomposition
GDP	gross domestic product
GFC	global financial crisis
GFI	government favoritism of religion index
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IP	Independence Party (Iceland)
KOF	Konjunkturforschungsstelle [business cycle research]
MNL	Multinomial Logistic Regression
NEDD	non-electorally dependent decision-maker
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OLS	ordinary least squares
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PC	principal components
PR	proportional representation
SDA	Social Democratic Alliance (Iceland)
SMD	single-member district

## List of Abbreviations

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SPD	Social Democratic Party (Germany)
SRI	social regulation of religion index
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
VAP	Voting Age Population
WFC	world financial crisis
WVS	World Values Survey



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