Index

age see also retirement age
  influence on political participation 50, 52–6
‘Agenda,’ Swedish election TV coverage 299–300
Aid to Families with Dependent Children, survey 8
Alesina, A. 157
American Political Science Association
  Task Force on Inequality and American Democracy 56
Anderson, C. 183
Ansell, B.W. 64
Armingeon, K. 158–9
austerity policies
  consequences of, variability 20–21
  development 3–4
  and political participation 19–24, 312
  public employees 29, 31–7
  research challenges 24–6, 36–7
  research method 26–9, 40
  research results 29–37, 40
Austria
  welfare reforms
  electoral consequences 150
  pensions 230
Belgium
  federalization 198, 210
  and social policy development 217–18
  low incomes, influence on voting 99–100
  regionalization of social policy
    background 198–200, 204
    citizens' attitudes to 200–201, 206–16, 315
    cultural influences on 208–12, 216–18
  and education policy 209–10, 214–17
  legitimation effects 204–6, 216–18
  performance evaluation 212–16
  policy feedback studies
    advantages for 204–5
    public discourse, role of 210–12, 216–17
  regional identification differences 208–12, 217–18
  research method 204–6
  research results 206–18
Bismarckian welfare states
  benefits, entrenchment of 138
  characteristics of 133–4
  definition 132–3
  equivalence principle 134–5, 140
  reforms
    background to 138–41
    challenges of 132, 135, 138
    electoral impact of 132–8, 140–50
    pensions 139
    unemployment benefits 132–3, 136
  social democracy policy limitations 137–8
  social insurance principle 133
  status maintenance principle 133–5, 137, 139–40
Boeri, T. 226–7
Bradley, D. 66
Brambor, T. 53
Campbell, A. 6–9, 22–3, 44, 205
child care services
  and institutional responsiveness 278–80
  proximity of services 272–80
  public service expenditure, in
    Denmark 269
  and satisfaction, relationship between 281–7
How welfare states shape the democratic public

user satisfaction, impact on 276–8
user satisfaction, influences on 276–8
visibility of services 271–4
regional social policy, attitudes to 201
unemployment benefits entitlement criteria 120–21
welfare reforms electoral consequences 149–50
deservingness

cultural influences on 249–50, 259–60, 261–2
economic influences on 248–9, 252–3, 259–60, 262–3
and education level 253, 255–8
and egalitarianism 253, 256
and financial downturn 248–9
and generic groups of unemployed 263
individual-level influences on 250–51, 253, 255–8, 262
and job search obligations/ willingness 125, 263–4
need criteria 246–7
payer vs. receiver, opinions of 250–51
and perceived standard of living 253, 255–6, 258
policy influences on 246–8, 252, 258–60
and political orientation 256
research limitations 245–6, 262–4
research method 251–4
research results 245, 254–64, 267–8
risk position vs. risk attribution 248–51, 255–60, 262, 268
and structural conflicts 247–8
and visible cost hypothesis 248–9
dualization policies 3–4

citizens’ understanding
performance evaluations 289–92, 318
and election TV coverage 298–302
limitations 302–4
research method 292–3
research results 293–304
and voting, influence on 95–7, 313
of welfare and tax systems, generally 95–7

class see social class

Communism, legacy of 62
Compulsory voting 51–2, 62
Czech Republic
pensions reforms 230

Dahl, R. 41
democracy
and citizen apathy influences on 42–3
trends in 41–3
and political equality 41–2
democratic satisfaction
and accountability of leaders 182–3, 313–14
changes in, reasons for 194–5
and unemployment benefit generosity
links between 181, 183–6, 315
research method 186–8
research results 188–95
visible costs hypothesis 100, 181, 182–94, 286
visible interests hypothesis 181, 185, 192–3

Denmark
fixed-term employment in
and political party preferences 124–5, 313
trends 115–18
pensions reforms 230
public service provision
trend expenditure trends 269
and institutional responsiveness 278–80
political influence of 269
proximity of service users 271–80
research method 275–6
research results 276–87

Staffan Kumlin and Isabelle Stadelmann-Steffen - 9781782545491
Downloaded from Elgar Online at 03/14/2019 04:12:05PM via free access
Index

Eardley, T. 248
education and political participation 50, 52, 61, 63, 312–13
income inequality 65–6
interpretive effects 67
and low incomes 65–6, 71, 80–82
macro and micro level factors 65–6
network effects 68
occupational roles, relevance of 68
parental background 70–71
and psychological engagement 67
research challenges and limitations 64–5, 70
research hypothesis 67–9
research method 69–73
research results 73–84, 89
research review 64–6
resource effects 68
system set-up and resource distribution 63, 65–6, 68, 70–71, 80–82
and trade union membership 68–71, 80–82
vocational vs. academic education 63, 65, 67–8, 73–84
and welfare program involvement 22
public service provision expenditure, in Denmark 269, 281–5
and institutional responsiveness 278–80
performance evaluation survey 293–7
proximity to services 272–80
user satisfaction, impact on 276–8, 281–5
and regionalization of social policy, in Belgium 209–10
and retirement age reform, attitudes to 228–9, 236–7, 239
elderly persons
political participation survey 7
public service provision in Denmark 269, 274, 276–8, 280–81
election tv coverage 298–302
and expenditure 281–5
and negative media attention 280–81
performance evaluation survey 293–302
satisfaction, impact on 280–85
election campaigns
election tv coverage, and performance evaluations 298–302
electoral accountability of political leaders, citizen attitudes to 182–3, 313–14
electoral behaviour
alternative political behaviour influences on 53–4, 312–13
trends 43, 47
citizen apathy influences on 42–3
trends 41–3
political context, relevance of 322–3
welfare state influences on 132–8, 140–41
research 8, 132–3, 142–50
electoral punishment theories and research into 156–9, 172–5, 321
criticism of 159–60
research method 160–64
research results 164–9
for welfare policy reforms 156, 314
in Austria 150
conditionality 158–9
in Denmark 150–51
in Germany 141–51
hospital service closures 160–75
likelihood of 156
pensions reforms 158
political alternatives, availability 156
in Sweden 160–75, 314
unemployment benefit retrenchment 158
equivalence principle 134–5, 140
Esping-Anderson, G. 47–8
Estévez-Abe, M. 66
European Union regional social policy, attitudes to 200–201
European Values Study 69–84

Staffan Kumlin and Isabelle Stadelmann-Steffen - 9781782545491
Downloaded from Elgar Online at 03/14/2019 04:12:05PM
via free access
external efficacy, influences on political participation 44–5

family/ marital status
  influence on political participation 50–56, 61

family-related benefits
  and political participation 50–54
  and poverty 48

Finland
  low incomes, influences on voting 99–100

fixed-term employment
  in Denmark 116–21, 125–6
  drivers for 114–15
  in Germany 115–19, 124–6
  and political party preferences 113–15, 124–8, 313

regional and national variations 113
  in Spain 117–22, 124–5
  trends 114, 127
  in UK 116–21, 125–7
  and unemployment benefits
  entitlements to 119–22
  restrictions on 115, 119–20
  welfare benefits implications of 112

Flanders see Belgium

France
  regional social policy, attitudes to 200–201

gender
  and political participation, influence on 50, 52, 61
  and retirement age reform, attitudes to 228

generosity, of benefits
  and democratic satisfaction
  links between 181, 183–6, 315
  research method 186–8
  research results 188–95
  visible costs hypothesis 100, 181, 182–94, 185–6, 248–9, 286
  visible interests hypothesis 181, 185, 192–3, 248–9
  unemployment benefits, and deservingness 246–8, 261–4

Germany
  fixed-term employment in

  and political party preferences 115–16, 124–6
  trends 117–19
  Hartz/ red-green welfare state reforms
  background to 139–40
  electoral implications of 133–9, 143–51, 314
  low incomes
  and voting, influences on 99–100
  pensions reforms 226, 230
  regional social policy, attitudes to 200–201

Social Democratic Party (SPD)
  welfare policy development role 138–9
  welfare policy reform role 139–51
  unemployment benefits
  entitlement criteria 120–21, 138–42, 144, 147
  reforms 133–4, 140–41

GI Bill (US)
  influence on political participation 64
  survey 7–8

Giger, N. 156–60, 173–4

Gilbert, N. 55

Greece
  regional social policy, attitudes to 201
  unemployment benefit, and deservingness 259

Hall, P.A. 70

Hartz Commission, welfare state reforms in Germany 140–42, 314
  electoral implications, research into 143–51

healthcare reforms
  and electoral punishment 160–75
  Healthcare Parties, role of 170–72, 174
  performance evaluation survey 293–7

Hedegaard, T. 289

hospital service closures
  and electoral punishment 160–75
  research method 160–64
  research results 164–9

Huseby, B.M. 183
income equality/inequality
and democratic satisfaction 183
and education 65–6, 71, 80–82
performance evaluation survey
293–7
political participation 46, 65–6, 71,
80–82
income levels
and political participation 50, 52–6,
61, 65–6
austerity policies 34–5, 312
education type and level 65–6, 71,
80–82, 312–13
voting, influences on 99–100
income security
and fixed-term employment 114
as goal 4
inequality see also income equality/
inequality
of social spending on welfare
benefits 47–8, 100
internal efficacy, influences on political
participation 44–5
Ireland
regional social policy, attitudes to
201
voting, influences on 99–100
Italy
pension reforms 226, 230, 233
regional social policy, attitudes to 201
Kamens, D.H. 64
‘Karavanen,’ Swedish election TV
coverage 298–9
Keating, M. 200
Kenworthy, L. 66
Korpi, W. 226–7
Kumlin, S. 11–12, 109, 174–5, 183, 185,
188, 248–9, 271, 289, 315, 318,
320, 322–3
labour market policies see also fixed-
term employment; unemployment
benefits
asymmetric regulation, impact of
114–15
and creation of new social category
114–15
dualization, electoral implications of
150
flexibility, need for 126
non-policies, impact of 114
Larsen, A. 289
Latvia
unemployment benefit, and
deservingness 259
Left vs. Right
Bismarkian welfare reforms,
electoral implications of 140–50
political participation, influences on
123–6
Lindbom, A. 235
Lindvall, J. 115–16
low incomes
and political participation 65–6
and austerity policies 34–5, 312
and education type and level 65–6,
71, 80–82, 312–13
voting, influences on 99–100
Lynch, J. 96
McAllister, I. 182
Marshall, T.H. 44–5
Martin, C. 134
Marx, P. 114–15
means-tested benefits, and political
participation 22
Melzer-Richard model, of political
participation 46, 54–5
Mettler, S. 5–8, 21, 44, 64, 96–7
multilevel governance, influences of 4
Myrskylä, M. 96
national social policy
and European regionalization trends
199–201
Netherlands
pension increases, policy
consequences of 225–6
New Politics of the Welfare State (NP)
8, 132, 156–9, 163, 172–5, 269–71
Norway
unemployment benefit, and
deservingness 259
Palier, B. 135
parental background
influence on educational inequality
70–71
participatory mood 71
pensions
European policy trends 229–30
and life expectancy increases 223, 229–30
and political participation, influence on 96
pressure on 229–30
reforms
and electoral punishment 158
in Germany 140
performance evaluations
and citizens’ understanding 289–92, 318
election TV coverage 298–302
limitations on 302–4
research method 292–3
research results 293–304
and voting, influence on 95–7, 313
of welfare and tax systems, generally 95–7
and democratic satisfaction
unemployment benefit generosity 181, 183–95, 315
visible costs hypothesis 100, 181, 182–94, 286
visible interests hypothesis 181, 185, 192–3
experts, role in 293–7
generally 289
models of 290–92
objectivist/expert-oriented factors 291
subjective/deliberative factors 292
petitions
trends 43, 47
Picot, G. 115–16
Pierson, P.
on interpretative effects 7–8, 203–4, 322
on New Politics of Welfare State 8, 132, 156–9, 163, 173, 175, 269–71
policy feedback see also performance evaluations; regional social policy assumptions, role of 184–5
cross-level approaches to 319–21
definition 4–5, 114, 194
demand overload thesis 270
diffuse system support 182
from direct/secondary users 271–5
generational replacement 317–18
and input-output interaction 194, 315–16, 318–23
interpretation, limitations on 5, 7
lack of, reasons for 184
new politics, influence on 269–71
in Nordic countries, generally 271–3
and path dependency 271
and policy learning 271
in political context 321–3
and public service provision
deservingness 272–3, 316–17
expenditure and satisfaction, relationship between 281–7
institutional responsiveness 278–80
negative media attention 274–5, 277–8
proximity of service users 271–80, 286, 322–3
research method 275–6
satisfaction vs. dissatisfaction, impact of 274–87
self-interest, role of 270, 272–3, 278–86
visibility of services 271–4, 286
regional influences on 6–7
research into, generally
approaches, developments in 319–21
challenges 9
and cross-level thinking 319–21
limitations 7, 9, 184, 319–20
role of 5
trends 5–8
self-reinforcing feedback 270
sociotropic influences 169, 174, 185, 320–21
and unemployment benefit
deservingness 246–8, 258–61
political demonstrations
participation trends 43
political equality, influence on democracy 41
political leaders
individual accountability, citizens’ attitudes to 182–3, 313–14
political participation see also public life, participation in; voting
alternative forms of 41–2, 312–13
Index

influences on 53–4
research method 47–9
research results 49–57, 61–2
trends 29, 31–5, 43, 47
and austerity policies 19–24, 312
online activism trends 29, 31–5
political efficacy, influences on 31–5
research challenges 24–6, 36–7
research method 26–9, 40
research results 29–37, 40
citizen apathy
influences on 42–3
trends in 41–3
and economic development 21
and education
income inequality 65–6
influence on 50, 52, 61, 63, 312–13
interpretative effects 67
and low incomes 65–6, 71, 80–82
macro and micro level influences 65–6
network effects 68
occupational roles, relevance of 68
parental background 70–71
and psychological engagement 67
research challenges and limitations 64–5, 70
research hypothesis 67–9
research method 69–73
research results 73–84, 89
research review 64–6
resource effects 68
system set-up and resource distribution 63, 65–6, 68, 70–71, 80–82
trade union membership 68–71, 80–82
vocational vs. academic education 63, 65, 67–8, 73–84
and welfare program involvement 22
influences on 20–21, 42–3
age 50, 52–6
austerity policies 34–5, 312
citizen understanding of welfare and tax systems 95–7
communism 62
compulsory voting 51–2, 62
education 50, 52, 61, 63–6, 69–84, 89, 312–13
family/ marital status 50–56, 61
family-related benefits 50–54
gender 50, 52, 61
income levels 34–5, 50, 52–6, 61, 80–82
individual experiences 96
internal efficacy 44–5
party strength, Left vs. Right 123–6
pensions 96
poverty 43
public policy 43–6
redistributive policies 45–6
trade union membership 50, 52, 61, 68–71, 80–82
urban population 50, 52, 61
and means-tested benefits 22
Melzer-Richard model of 46, 54–5
and political education opportunities 22
political efficacy, influences on 31–5, 44–5, 312
and public policy
cognitive effects 44
influences of 43–6
Poor Laws example 44–5
theories on 20–24
political party preferences
context, importance of 322–3
of fixed-term workers 113–15, 313
in Denmark 125–6
in Germany 115–16, 123–5
in Spain 123–4
in Sweden 114–15
in UK 125–7
and internalized social welfare policies 135–6
and social demand 116
Portugal
political participation trends 47
regional social policy, attitudes to 201
post-materialism, relevance of 227
poverty
and political participation 43
welfare spending, influence on 48
power resource theory
and retirement age, attitudes to 226–7
proximity, of services
and policy feedback 271–3
public employees
and austerity policies 29, 31–7
political participation, influences on 29, 31–7
public life, participation in
and responsibility of leaders 182–3, 313–14
policy influences on 21–2
public opinion, influences of see also deservingness
negative media attention 274–5, 277–8, 280–81
reform policies 236–40, 316–17, 321
public service provision
policy feedback from
and deservingness 272–3, 316–17
expenditure and satisfaction, relationship between 281–7
and institutional responsiveness 278–80
and negative media attention 274–5, 277–8
proximity of service users 271–80, 286, 322–3
research method 275–6
satisfaction vs. dissatisfaction, impact of 274–87
self-interest, role of 270, 272–3, 278–86
visibility of services 271–4, 286
Raven, J. 225–6
redistributive policies, and political participation 45–6
regional social policy
citizens’ attitudes to 200–201, 203–4
European policy trends 199–201
legitimation effects 198–204, 315
influences on 198–9, 202
mediating actors 202
policy requirements 201–4
and public discourse 202
policy feedback, influences on 202–4
retirement age increases
attitudes to, influences on age 224, 226–9, 236–7, 239
alignment hypothesis 226
education 228–9, 236–8
gender 228, 236–7
policy developments 224–9
research method 230–32
research results 232–40
saturation hypothesis 225–6
social class 226–9, 235–40
changes over time 224–6
and life expectancy trends 223, 229–30, 316
positive consequences of policy change 225–6
and power resource theory 226–7
reform, of welfare policies and electoral punishment 156–8, 160–75, 314–15, 321
public opinion influences on 236–40, 316–17, 321
Rosenstone, S.J. 22
Rueda, D. 115–16
Scharpf, F. 203
Schattverschneider, E.E. 269
Schram, S.F. 184, 186, 271–2, 322
self-interest, and public service provision 270, 272–3, 278–86
service provision see public service provision
Singer, M. 183
Skocpol, T. 4–5
Slovakia
pensions reforms 230, 233
unemployment benefit, and deservingness 259
social class
and retirement age increases 226–9, 235–40
social insurance principle 133
social policy see national social policy; regional social policy
social spending, on welfare benefits
inequality of 47–8, 100
and life cycle priorities 48
and poverty 48
visibility of 100
Index

socio-economic inequality see income equality/inequality

sociotropic influences on policy developments 169, 174, 185, 320–21
Soede, A. 229–30
Soroka, S. 225
Soss, J. 5–6, 8, 21, 44, 184, 186, 271–2, 322
Spain
austerity policies consequences, variability of 20–21
development 19
and online activism 29, 31–5
and political interest 29, 31–5
and political participation 19–24, 29, 31–7, 312
research challenges 20–24
research limitations 36–7
research method 24–6, 40
research results 29–37, 40
fixed-term employment in and political party preferences 124–5
trends 117–19
regional social policy, attitudes to 200–201
unemployment benefits and deservingness 259
entitlement criteria 120–22
Stadelmann-Steffen, I. 55
status maintenance principle 134–6, 138, 140–41
Svallfors, S. 6–7, 271, 317–18, 319
Sweden
elections electoral punishment 160–75, 314
procedures 161
tv coverage 298–302
fixed-term workers party preferences 115–16
healthcare reforms background 164
citizen reaction to 160–75
expenditure trends 160–61
Healthcare Parties, role of 170–72, 174, 314
research method 160–64
research results 164–9
state vs. county responsibilities for 160–61
performance evaluations
election tv coverage 298–302
role of experts in 293–7
welfare benefits system citizen understanding of 95–6
expenditure and distribution 95, 100, 160–61
taxation of benefits 95
trade union membership influence on political participation 50, 52, 61
education type and level 68–71, 80–82
unemployment and political participation and austerity policies 34–5
voting abstention 115
unemployment benefits under Bismarkian welfare state reforms 133–4, 137, 140–42, 144, 147
deservingness attitudes to 245, 249–51
and benefit generosity, relationship between 246–8, 261–4
cultural influences on 249–50, 259–62
economic influences on 248–9, 252–3, 259–60, 262–3
and education level 253, 255–8
and egalitarianism 253, 256
and financial downturn 248–9
and generic groups of unemployed 263
individual-level influences on 250–51, 253, 255–8, 262
and job search obligations/willingness 125, 263–4
need criteria 246–7
payer vs. receiver, opinions of 250–51
and perceived standard of living 253, 255–6, 258
policy influences on 246–8, 252, 258–60

Staffan Kumlin and Isabelle Stadelmann-Steffen - 9781782545491
Downloaded from Elgar Online at 03/14/2019 04:12:05PM via free access
welfare state expenditure and distribution 95, 100
‘Uppdrag Granskning,’ Swedish election TV coverage 300–302
urban population influence on political participation 50, 52, 61
Verba, S. 7, 22, 42–3
visibility, of services and policy feedback 271–4, 286
voting, influences on 93–5, 100–102, 105–9, 313
visible costs hypothesis 100, 181, 182–94, 248–9, 286
visible interests hypothesis 181, 185, 192–3, 248–9
vocational education and political participation 63, 65, 67, 312–13
occupational roles, relevance of 68
research hypothesis 67–9
research method 69–73
research results 73–84, 89
and wage inequality 66
voting, influences on direct vs. indirect welfare benefits 93–5, 97, 102–5, 313
performance evaluation, citizens’ abilities 95–7, 313
policy mix variations importance of 93–7, 101–9
at macro level 105–8
at micro level 101–5
visibility of 93–5, 100–102, 105–9, 313
research method 98–102, 111
results 96, 98–109, 111
trends 93
retrospective economic voting 290
tax benefits 94–5, 97, 104–5
tax levels 93–4, 104–5, 109
unemployment 114
and ‘vote Right’ preferences 104–6, 108
Vrooman, C. 229–30
Wallonia see Belgium
Wänström, J. 157

Staffan Kumlin and Isabelle Stadelmann-Steffen - 9781782545491
Downloaded from Elgar Online at 03/14/2019 04:12:05PM via free access
Welch, E. 64
welfare benefits
  political participation of recipients
  and austerity policies 29, 31–5, 312
social spending
  inequality of 47–8, 100
  and poverty 48
  visibility of 100
welfare policies
  and political learning opportunities 22
retrenchment
  attitude changes, influences on 226–9, 321
  attitude changes, over time 224–6
  and electoral punishment 156–8, 160–75, 314–15, 321
welfare reforms, generally
  electoral consequences 133–9, 141–51, 313–14
  and electoral punishment 160–175, 314, 321
healthcare entrenchment 160–175
welfare states, generally see also
  Bismarckian welfare states
  attitudes to
    and citizen apathy 41–3
    regional variations 6–7
  cause and effect, interaction of 55
class influences on 226–9, 235–40
developmental stages 3–4
goals of 4, 45
recalibration 4
Wlezien, C. 225
Wolfinger, R.E. 22
Zaller, J. 274, 280–81